G. 8. 16

THE WORKS

OF THE
Reverend and Learned DIVINE,

Thomas Jackſon, D.D.

Sometime Preſident of *Corpus Chriſti* College in *Oxon*;

Such as were, and ſuch as Never before were
PRINTED.

In Three Volumes.

WITH THE
AUTHORS LIFE,
AND
A Large and Uſeful *TABLE* to the Whole.

LONDON:
Printed by *Andrew Clark*, for *John Martyn*, *Richard Chiſwell*,
and *Joſeph Clark*; and are to be ſold at the *Bell*, and at the *Roſe*
and *Crown* in St. *Paul's* Church-yard, and at the *Star*
in *Little-Britain*. MDCLXXIII.

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J. P.
Sc.

1730:03

To the moſt Reverend Father in *GOD*,

GILBERT,

By Divine Providence,

Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury,

His GRACE,

Primate of all *England*, and Metropolitan, and
one of His *Majeſties* moſt Honourable Privy-Council.

May it pleaſe Your GRACE,

OUR moſt Holy and Wiſe God, who at firſt commanded Light to ſhine out of Darkneſs, was pleaſed, as in former Ages, ſo in the late Times of publick Calamity, to make His Face to ſhine upon His Servants, who choſe rather to quit all Externals, than to loſe Peace of Conſcience; to become Aliens to their Mothers, than Complices with ſtrange Children.

I have alway cauſe to remember many, and at this time a neceßity to relate ſome ſweet Contrivances of Gods Providence manifeſted in thoſe days.

One *was, Gods creating for me, out of the Infelicities of thoſe Times,* this Happineſs, *then, to be made known unto* Your Grace.

A Second *was, Gods improvement of this Bleſſing, ſo, as to bring on a greater, by inclining* Your Heart, *not only to take notice of ſo mean a Perſon,* *but with* Memorable Alacrity *to gratifie my Deſires of viewing the pretious and excellent Manuſcripts of the Reverend and Learned Dr.* Jackſon, *of bleſſed Memory.*

The Third *was, That after theſe Two Favours ſown in tears, (times of the Churches affliction) there was another, reaped in joy, at the* bleſſed Time *of Reſtitution; a Preferment to a Prebend in the Cathedral Church of* Worceſter, *beſtowed upon me by* His Sacred Majeſty, *but by* Your Graces *voluntary Mediation.*

There be due, by way of Juſtice, unto Patrons *and* Benefactors, *two things,* Improvement *and* Gratitude.

I do therefore here make unto Your Grace *a ſolemn legal Tender of an ancient Debt, a multitude of moſt humble, dutiful and cordial Thanks, due unto* Your Grace *for all Your Favours: Beſeeching* Your Grace, *not only to pity, but to accept them, even for that quality, which makes things ſometimes to be rejected, their Plainneſs and Simplicity; and to believe that I neither think my Debt leſſened by what I now pay, nor find mine Heart any whit emptied, but that it ſtill remains full, and fully reſolved to practiſe the more excellent way of paying Thanks, by Prayer in the Cloſet, rather than by publiſhing them in Print.*

The Improvement of Your Graces Favour *in my Prebend, muſt appear in the Imployment of the Profits, (which were neither ſpent in profuſeneſs, nor hoarded up in avarice, nor beſtowed upon Relations) and diſcharge of incumbent Duties; and theſe were performed with fidelity, and to the beſt of my Abilities, and with frequent reflections, that* Your Grace *did place me there.*

And for thoſe rare Manuſcripts, though I improved them firſt to my private comfort in time of affliction, to my imployment in a time of Caſhierment or Sequeſtration, and into a Library when I had twice loſt my Books; yet ſoon after, as I received them from Your Grace moſt freely, ſo I freely delivered them for Publick Good: and having now paſt the Preſs, ſome Ones *of them (which have been twice printed) are become Thouſands, and others are improved above an Hundred-fold.*

From this I receive comfort, that my private deficiency in thankfulneſs to Your Grace, *may be ſupplied abundantly from a publick ſtock. For whereever this Authors Works ſhall be read, it will be known to all, that beſides what they owe unto* Your Grace *for Your conſtant care and continual vigilancy over the Church, they are indebted to* Your Grace *intirely for a third part of theſe Learned* Comments upon the Creed, *or rather wholly for them all; the other Parts being not likely to have come forth (as they now come) unleſs impelled by what Your Grace communicated; and ſo will find themſelves obliged to acknowledge a great Debt of Thanks to* Your Grace, *and to pay that Debt in Prayer to God, That He will prolong Your Days, continue Your Health, and aſſiſt You in Your Government. That God will graciouſly pleaſe to beſtow this Bleſſing upon this* Church, *ſhall be the daily Prayer of*

Your GRACES moſt Obliged, Grateful
and Dutiful Son and Servant,

Barnabas Oley.

A PREFACE TO THE Chriſtian Reader;

PARTICULARLY,

To the Younger Sort of Students in Divinity, and Academical Men.

Grace, Mercy and Peace from our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

IT is the part of Ingenuity to acknowledge, *By whom a man hath profited.*

M. Aurelius Antoninus moſt gratefully mentions ſome ſingle Rules of Morality, which he received from *ſuch* and *ſuch*, the prudent Inſtructors of his Youth.

See his Meditations in Engliſh,(and in Greek and Latin,) put out by the learned Dr. Caſaubon.

It is a piece of charity to ſhew unto others thoſe Mines that have enriched our ſelves: or the Fountains out of which we have drawn *cleanſing* and *quenching*, *nouriſhing* and *healing* Waters.

We do not well to conceal from thoſe in the City (though they have ſhut us out as unclean) the great good we have diſcovered during our excluſion, (thus much in effect, ſaid the Samaritan Lepers, 2 *King*. 7. 9.

O that my Lord was acquainted with the Prophet in Iſrael, (ſaid *Naamans* little captive Maid). He would cure my Maſters Leproſie, 2 *King*. 5.

Come ſee a man that told me all that ever I did, ſaid the Samaritan woman to her neighbours, *Joh*. 4. 29.

If I miſtake not, I ſhall in ſome acceptable meaſure at once perform (at leaſt reſemble) all the forementioned Offices, when I have in ſhort told the Chriſtian, more ſignally the Learned, or Reader willing to learn, thus much: That, *What acquired skill I have in Theology, what underſtanding I have got in Holy Scripture,* (under God) *I owe it in a manner All to this Author. Hic vir, hic eſt.* This is the Man whom I acknowledge to have been my Maſter, and *Myſtagogus in Divinis.* From him I learned how to uſe *my ſmall* Stock of Humane Learning in the purſuit of Divine. By him was my Soul convinced of the truth of Scriptures, and ſtored with Arguments to perſwade others, that at leaſt it was worth their labour to try, whether faithful practice of Scripture Rules would not produce a willing ſubmiſſion to the Authority of Scripture. I did not know what a Monſter that *Idol Infallibility* was, till I ſaw it drawn out by his Pencil. I had ſwallowed, and as I thought concocted, the common *Definition* of *Faith*, by a *Full particular Aſſurance.* But when I read this Author, I perceived, that *Plerophory* was the golden Fruit that grew on the top-branch, not the Firſt ſeed, no not the ſpreading Root, of that *Tree of Life*, by feeding on which, *The Juſt do Live*; And, that, true *Fiducia* can grow no faſter then, but ſhoots up juſt parallel with, *Fidelitas*; I mean, that, true confidence towards God, is adæquate to ſincere and conſcientious Obedience to his Holy Precepts.

Faith is an Aſſent to the Truth or Goodneſs of what God Revealeth in his Word, be it Hiſtory, Myſtery, Precept, Promiſe or Threat.

Before I had read this Author, I meaſured Hypocriſie by the groſs and vulgar Standard; thinking the Hypocrite had been one that had deceived men like himſelf: But in this Author I found him to be a man that had attained the *Magiſterium Satanæ*, even the Art of deluding his own Soul, with unſound, but high and immature perſwaſions of ſanctity and certainty; and that, not by the Cubeia, or cogging of unrighteouſneſs, but by virtue of ſome one, or more excellent Qualities, wherein he out-ſtrips the very Saints of God.

From him I learned many inſtances and exemplifications of that Holy, but heavy Doom of our Saviour, *The things which are in high eſteem with men, are abomination in the ſight of God.* And that, the *common Notions* of the World, touching *Good* and *Evil*, are as diſtorted, and monſtrous, as if a man ſhould define *an humble meek man*, by *Cowardiſe*: or a *Prudent Chriſtian*, to be *One, That had conquered his Conſcience.*

Luke 16.15.

And I hold my ſelf obliged further to profeſs, that I have not only reaped from this Authors ſowen fields, an Harveſt of *Knowledge*, but alſo ſome weighty ſheaves of *conſolation*: He hath ſo convincingly (above others) proved out of *Moſes*, the Prophets, and the Pſalms, (and the Jews alſo) *That our bleſſed Lord Jeſus is the Chriſt*, that my Soul reſts upon it as upon a Baſis, immoveable.

It will be conſequent to what was laſt ſaid, and ſeaſonable here to tell the Reader, that he will find in this Author *An eminent Excellency*, in that part of Divinity which I make bold to call *Chriſtology*, in diſplaying *The great Myſtery of Godlineſs, God the Son of God manifeſted in humane Fleſh.* And this he never thinks well done, till he have laid the type or ſhadow of the Old Teſtament upon the ſubſtance in the New; until he have laid the Propheſie (as *Eliſha* laid his body upon the dead child) face to face, and eyes to eyes, upon *the holy Child Jeſus*. And his powerful dexterity in this kind hath purchaſed him ſo high an eſteem amongſt the Learned (though much diſſenting from him in opinion) that in their Works they have quoted him, and commended him, as *an Author*.

This gives me *the cue* to turn my ſpeech towards my Reverend Brethern of the Church of *England.* I *ſpeak* this only to the younger Clergy, (it would be preſumption to *think* upon the elder in this period) and I ſpeak it with all imaginable reſpect and tenderneſs. Thoſe that have compaſſion on the multitude, that teach the people knowledge, and for their edification do ſeek out *acceptable words in writings, upright and true*; that mean to tread the good old way for better inſtructing the poor of the Flock, may find in this Authors Works, matter, proper, for *Chriſtenings*, *Communions*, *Funerals*, *Faſts*; for every *Dominical* and *Feſtival* in the year: but abundance of matter for thoſe days, on which our Church commemorates the great Benefits received by the *Incarnation*, *Birth*, *Death*, *Reſurrection and Aſcenſion of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.*

As for Expounding the Doctrinal, and opening the more difficult places of Holy Scripture, this Author ſeems to have a rare felicity therein, above the profeſſed Commentators or Expoſitors, whether Proteſtants or Papiſts. And often, when he pretends but to take one Verſe as the centre of his Diſcourſe, he illuminates the Reader in a great circumference of the Context. I ſhall ſay more, (He that will try, I hope, ſhall find my words true) He that will carefully peruſe this Good Authors Works, ſhall thereby have a goodly proſpect of the Old and New *Teſtaments* opened unto him; ſhall mightily improve in the underſtanding of the Holy Bible. And, putting a caſe, that beſides the Holy Bible and Fathers, I ſhould be confined to the uſe of one Author, (whom I would chuſe) and no more, I ſhould make choice of this Authors Works. And I am further perſwaded, that were his Works tranſlated into Latin; the Chriſtian World (of what Diviſion ſoever, that keeps the foundation) would confeſs it ſelf confirmed by him, and a Debtor to him.

And now having this opinion rooted in my heart, I hope the Reader will approve, at leaſt pardon, if I pronounce this Author, *The Divine*, of his Rank, and Age: and if in token of my private thankfulneſs, for good received from him, I breathe out, firſt towards Heaven, *Benedic Anima mea Domino*, &c. (Pſal 103.) and then *towards men on earth, tokens of good will.*

Ovid. Met. 4. l.

——— *qui Te genuere Beati.*
Et mater Fœlix & fortunata profecto
Siqua Tibi ſoror eſt, & quæ dedit ubera Nutrix.

Happy were the Parents that had ſuch a *Son of underſtanding*. Bleſſed was the womb that bore him, and the paps that gave him ſuck. Bleſſed was that *Alma Mater*, that had ſuch a name writ in her *Matricula*, (in whoſe bleſſing her other Siſter was bleſſed alſo) and that *Phrontiſterion*, which had him firſt a nurſing ſon, and the other which had him afterward a nurſing father of her children. Bleſſed were the Places where theſe Apoſtolical Feet of Beauty trod, when he went abroad *Evangelizans pacem*, *Evangelizans Bona.* And bleſſed be the memory of that man, whoſe hand (like the hand in the Margin) pointed out firſt unto me this Author. His Name is ſweet, and his Bones ſhall one day flouriſh out of their Duſt.

If others at the firſt view, (nay, after ſome reviews) of this Author come not up to my rate, or eſteem of him, *I* have their excuſe as ready in my Pen, as mine own blame is freſh in my memory. For when a Fatherly Friend of mine (Mr. *Ni. Ferrar* of happy memory, thinking my younger years had need of ſuch an Inſtructor) commended this Author unto my Reading; for ſome time after, *I* wiſhed he had lent me his Underſtanding together with his Books: Yet with frequent Reading, *I* firſt began to like, at laſt *I* maſtered, and made mine own, ſo much of him as enabled me to improve, and impart his Sence to others: I often took his matter, and preparing it to their Capacity, preached it in popular Auditories. I ſhame not to tell this, becauſe I think it no *Plagium*; I know my Title to it was juſt, by Donation; the Author intended it for this purpoſe: His very deſign being to afford helps to younger Students, and to give the abler, hints and provocations for ſearches into the leſs beaten, but more profitable paths, the abſtruſer, but richer Veins of Theology.

It is to be expected that two Objections will *militate* againſt the Labours of this great Author, and either break the arms, (weaken the hands at leaſt) or dazel, if not darken, the eyes of the induſtrious Reader. The One is, That his Style is obſcure. The Other, That his Doctrine is Arminian. The ſecond part of this Preface will endeavour (with humility and reaſon) to anſwer them. And to the former of theſe, I ſay, His Style is full and deep, which makes the Purity of it ſeem a kind of darkneſs; and though it abound in ſubſtantial Adjectives, yet it is more ſhort than other Authors, in Relatives, in *Eeking* and helping particles, becauſe he writ to Scholars. His ſtream runs full, but always in its own Channel, and within the Banks; if any will yet ſay it overflows, he muſt give me leave to tell him, it then inriches the ground. His Pen drops Principles as frequently, as ordinary mens do ſence. His matter is rare; His Notions, uncouth parcels of truth, digged *è profundo*, and ſo at firſt Aſpect look like ſtrangers to the Ordinary Intellect, but with Patience and Uſance will ceaſe to be ſo. And the Reader ſhall aſſuredly find this moſt certain token of true Worth in Him, that the more he is acquainted with him, the better he ſhall like him. The probability of this proof I gather from one of thoſe *Reſponſa prudentum*, which long ſince I read in *Plutarch*. A profeſſed Orator had made a ſpeech for One, who upon the firſt reading, went about the conning of it with much cheerfulneſs and contentment; but after that two or three days familiarity and repetition, had begot in him a *Faſtidium*, he came to the Orator and told him; *Sir, at the firſt or ſecond reading, I liked this Oration very well; but now, I am quite of another mind; to ſay the truth, I loath it heartily. Well*, ſays the Orator, *How oft mean you to ſpeak this Oration to the people? any* *more than Once?* *No*, ſaid he, *but Once only.* *Go your way then, they will like it as well as you did at firſt time, I warrant you.* But, *Reader*, if thou wilt believe thirty or forty years Experience, or Verſation of this Author, thou wilt find at every return, new matter both of Obſervation and delight in Him.

Now for the ſecond Objection.

1. It is a meer Noiſe, the phanſie of a prejudicate Mind. The Reader muſt *in Juſtice* examine particulars, before he paſs his Judgment; and then *in Wiſdom*, not ſuffer himſelf to be deprived of a rich *Treaſure*, upon poor Pretences. It would fret a Son of Valour, to find himſelf Robbed by a Weakling and a Coward, that had firſt poſſeſſed his phanſie that ſome *Viſors* (ſupported with Stakes in the twilight) were ſtout Fellows ready to come in, if he did not deliver his Gold.

2. I may with modeſty aver, That I know not one word in all his Works that can poſſibly be ſo wreſted by the diſſenting, as to give offence to the Objector.

3. I find him throughout the whole Body of his Writings moſt religiouſly careful to give unto God the things that be Gods, even the *Glory of his Grace*, ~~his moſt~~ *Gratuitous Grace* in Chriſt, *preventing*, *exciting*, *furthering*, and *making to perſevere* in all works or courſes of Chriſtianity, and that ſo requiſite and intrinſecal to every holy Action, that all our ſufficiency is from it. By the *Grace of God* we are what we are, and do what we do. And ſurely had the great Goodneſs of the Lord been taught and tendered in ſuch manner as this Author ſets it forth, this Age had felt it ſelf better thriven in Chriſtianity, and in the power of Godlineſs, than it now is. Sin had not ſo abounded, but Grace had ſuperabounded, and reigned through righteouſneſs unto eternal life by Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.

4. Nor can any man (think I) produce one paſſage, that intimates, much leſs infers any inordinate prelation of *The ſtrength of Nature*, He making the chief uſe of that poor remnant of Free-will left in us ſons of *Adam*, to conſiſt not *in meriting or preparing*, but, in our *not being ſo untoward patients* as we might poſſibly be, in *not doing that evil* which is in Our power to do.

5. Nor will any man ſpeak evil of Him, but he that him-

ſelf narrows the Grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and engroſſes that plenteous ranſom he paid for all the ſons of *Adam*, to ſome ſmall number of ſuch as he conceits himſelf to be.

Finally, if the worſt be given that this Objection pretends to, the offence will be much aſſwaged, if the ordinary Reader do but know, that the Lutheran, *i. e.* a conſiderable part of the Reformed Church, is of that opinion, and that the other name is uſed moſtly to inflame the *Odium*.

In ſum, this *Man of God* knew he might not ſtrive, nor multiply Queſtions to gender ſtriſe: therefore he demands but two *poſtulata* of the diſſenting man. 1. *That God hath a true freedom in doing good.* 2. *That man hath a true freedom in doing evil.* From him that agrees with him in theſe two, he will not diſſent in other points. See his Epiſtle before the ſixth Book.

But from ſuch as teach, *That all events are ſo irreſiſtibly decreed by God, that none can fall out otherwiſe than they do.* Or, *That nothing can be amended that is amiſs*; He juſtly differs. For, beſides that the Tenets be * *Turkiſh*, being preſſed, they yield a *morbid* bitter juice, and put out a forked ſting. Their neceſſary conſequent being, that either, *There is no moral evil under the Sun*; or, *That the Fountain of Goodneſs* (who is *Ultor & intentator malorum*) *his will is the cauſe of ſuch evil.*

* *See Buſbequius Epiſt.* 4.

The expectation of the Reader quickens me, to give over the Commendation of the whole, and to render him an Account of the Parts, how they be now diſpoſed in this *New Edition*. And to ſatisfie that, *I* willingly now addreſs my ſelf.

This *Great Author* having framed to himſelf an *Idea* of that complete Body of Divinity which he intended; For his own more regular proceeding, and the Readers better underſtanding, did direct all his Lines in the whole *Periphery* of his Studies, unto the Heads contained in the *Creed*, as unto their proper *Centre*.

He publiſhed in his Life-time *Nine Books of Comments upon the Creed*, and part of a Twelfth; beſides *Twelve Sermons or Treatiſes relating to two of the Nine Books* aforeſaid.

There were publiſhed in the years 1654. and 1657. (that was nigh twenty years after their Authors death) the Tenth and Eleventh Books of *Comments upon the Creed*. For which *two Excellent Books,* as alſo, for what *Additions* are *De Novo,* made to the former, in this *New Edition,* the Church is indebted to the *moſt Reverend Father in God,* GILBERT, *by Divine Providence Lord Archbiſhop of* CANTERBURY, *&c.* (who procured the Papers from the Reverend Doctor *Newlin,* Succeſſor and Executor to the Author, and the careful Preſerver of his Manuſcripts) beſides what ſhe ows his Grace for his indefatigable vigilancy and care of her welfare.

Theſe *twelve Books*, and the *twelve Treatiſes* or Sermons, are in this preſent *Edition,* diſpoſed into *three Tomes.*

In the *Firſt Tome* are contained *Five Books, viz.* The

I. *Of the Eternal Truth of Scripture.*

II. *How neceſſary the Miniſtry of Man is for Planting of Faith.*

III. *Blaſphemous Poſitions of Jeſuites,* &c. *about the Churches Authority.*

IV. *Of Juſtifying Faith:* or, *That Faith by which the Juſt doth Live.*

V. *Of the Originals of Unbelief, Miſ-belief, Miſ-perſwaſions,* &c.

In the *ſecond Tome* be contained the *Four next Books*; *viz.* The

VI. *Of the Divine Eſſence and Attributes. To which are annexed,* Nine *of the Twelve Sermons or Treatiſes (mentioned above, Four of which make up that Treatiſe which the Author Intituled,* About the Signs of the Times) *as relating to the Diſcourſes about* Gods Providence *contained in that Book:* which Nine *are now reckoned with, and as Parts of that Sixth Book.*

VII. *Of the Knowledge of Chriſt. Before which*

which be placed, as Introductions, two Sermons, (Bethlehem and Nazareth, The Woman a true Help to Man) *and,* Chriſts Anſwer to St. *John*'s Diſciples, *the remaining three of the twelve: as alſo, two Sermons, one, about the* Wiſe-men of the Eaſt; *the other,* Rachels Tears, *never printed before: All which Conſtitute the ſeventh Book.*

VIII. *The Humiliation of the Son of God.*

IX. *Of the Conſecration of the Son of God to his Everlaſting Prieſthood.*

In the *third Tome* be contained three Books, *viz.* The

X. *Which Treateth of many uſeful and weighty Subjects. Of Original Righteouſneſs in* Adam. *How Sin found entrance into the World. Of Original Sin. Of Mans Servitude to Sin. Of Freedom of VVill. Of Mortification. It contains alſo, A Grave Anſwer to Mr.* Burton's *Exception. A Paraphraſe upon the* xi. *firſt Chapters of* Exodus. *Chriſts Exerciſing his Everlaſting Prieſthood; and divers other matters, very conſiderable.*

XI. *VVhich Treats of* Chriſts *Exaltation, and Seſſion at Gods Right Hand. His being made* Lord and Chriſt. *His coming with Power to Judge the Quick and the Dead; To raiſe the Bodies of the Dead; To award Life and Death Everlaſting* ſecundum Opera: *where the Queſtion about* Merit *is well handled. To which are*

annexed.

annexed, about XX. *Sermons, One of which (placed before the Sermons of Blood) upon* Geneſis 42. 21. *was never Printed before.*

XII. *Contains a Treatiſe of the Holy Catholick Church. To which is annexed, A Treatiſe of Chriſtian Obedience, never Printed before, which is conceived to be a part of the ſecond Book of that Treatiſe.*

I have always ſufficient reaſon to ſuſpect the weakneſs of my *Judgment*: And I do here very ſeriouſly reflect upon the feebleneſs of my *Memory*, which hath ſometimes been ſo nullified (but, for a very little moment, I bleſs God) by the ſuddain Ingruence of a Lethargy or Apoplexy, that I could not remember the name of any one in my Pariſh, where I have been Vicar forty years. And therefore beforehand, begging pardon if I fail, I tell the Reader, that I do now intend, and deliberate to recollect, and here ſet down *all ſuch particulars* as may any way contribute to the benefit or content of the Reader, to the credit or caution of the Stationer. I inſert this *latter term*, becauſe the very laſt time I did the office of a Prefacer for one, (as I am now doing for three) my *imperfect ſhallow ſenſe*, by the Printers leaving out the *firſt letter and word*, and ſomewhere *divers words*, was turned into *perfect Non-ſenſe*: ſo that one who blamed me as *cenſorious* for an hard word in that Preface, not put in by me; was very candid, that he did not blame me as *ſenſeleſs*, for more words left out by the Printer.

The *Firſt Particular* I think of, (conſequent to what is ſaid before, concerning the Ordering of the Books in their ſeveral Tomes) is, to ſhew, *To which Article of the Creed* (reſpectively) *theſe Books of Comments upon the Creed*, do relate.

I ſhould wholly wave this Labour, (becauſe uſeleſs to the Learned) but that I know ſome that love and read this Author who are no great Scholars. Now theſe may be willing to know, that the Firſt Five Books relate only to the firſt Article, or firſt part of the Article, [*I believe in God*:] the five, being chiefly, if not wholly ſpent, in declaring, *What Belief is. What Motives we have to believe Holy Scripture. What Helps be needful for Plantation of Faith. What Errours be, Negatively, Privatively or Poſitively oppoſite to Faith*; with their Originals.

The Sixth Book, (with the *Nine Appendices*) treating of *Gods Eſſence and Attributes*; very largely of *His infinite Power and Providence* viſible in the Creation and Government of the World, relate to that part of the Article wherein we profeſs our Faith, [*In God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth.*]

All the Five Sermons or Treatiſes placed *Tome* 2. *Fol.* 401. being figured and counted with the Seventh Book, as Parts of it, becauſe Introductive to it: the Seventh Book it ſelf: the whole Eighth and Ninth: the latter part of the Tenth; and the former part of the Eleventh Books, relate to the Articles concerning *Our bleſſed Saviour, from his Conception to his coming to Judgment, Incluſivé.*

How this Learned Author proves, by Reaſon, that the *Reſurrection of the Body is poſſible*; How he confirms a Chriſtians Faith, *that it is future, and ſhall be,* See *Tome* 3. *Fol.* 421. &c.

He that would taſte the Joys, or ſee a Glimpſe of the Glory in *Life Everlaſting*, let him read *Tome* 3. *Fol.* 498 &c.

He that would ſee the dreadful Torments of *Death Eternal*, may without danger take a view of them, (*Tome* 3. *Fol.* 448. &c.) and ſeeing, ſo fear them, that (by Gods Grace) he never come to feel them.

The Twelfth Book hath (in the former part of it) a moſt Rational and Solid Diſcourſe of the *Holy Catholick Church.*

It is meet here to let the Reader know, (that he may ſerve himſelf of what he finds diſperſed upon thoſe Heads) that this Authors Comments upon the other *three Articles*, as alſo *His Devotions*, His Soliloquies or Meditations upon *the Holy, Bleſſed, and Undivided Trinity*, are not found; which loſs I do moſt heartily lament. And my ſorrow for his loſt Book of *Prodigies*, is not turned into joy, but rather returned upon me, by what I have ſeen written, either *pro* or *con*, upon that ſubject: either by the exceſſive Collection of Particulars accounted Prodigies, or by *that very Learned Tract*, in part occaſioned by that Collection. Our great Author would have been an excellent Anſwerer or Moderator in thoſe Diſputes. Surely, there is a right uſe of *Real Prodigies*, and of all the Tragical Acts and Accidents which have been ſince thoſe Books were written. And that is, not to ſtir up men to cenſure, or diſturb States, but to ſerious Repentance, to more conſtant and fervent Prayers for the Peace and Proſperity of *Prince* and People, of Church and State. And he that makes not ſuch uſe of them, adds one to the number of them.

Another *Particular* not needleſs to be known, is this: The Authors Works at firſt were Printed by peice-meal, as they came off hand, ſome at *Oxford*, ſome at *London*, ſome Fifty ſeven, ſome Forty ſeven, others Thirty ſeven years ago. The Fourth Book [*Of Juſtifying Faith*,] was twice Printed in *Quarto*; once in the year 1615. a ſecond time (divers years after) with ſome ſmall variation in Obedience to the King, who prohibited Divines to meddle with *Quinquarticular Controverſies*: This laſt Edition is made according to the firſt Impreſſion of that Fourth Book, as being conceived to be the better.

The *Nine Sermons* Printed and Placed all together, (*Tome* 2. *Fol.* 287. &c.) which upon the firſt Folio bear this *Title*, [*Divers Sermons*; *with a ſhort Treatiſe befitting theſe preſent time*;] and afterward *Fol.* 349. 351. have this Title ſet before the four latter Sermons, [*A Treatiſe concerning the Signs of the times*, or *Gods Fore-warnings*:] theſe, making (in their Titles) mention of *time* and *times*, may make an inquiſitive Reader deſirous to know *the time* when theſe Sermons were Preached; and that was, as I ſuppoſe, about the year of our Lord 1635. My conjecture is grounded upon theſe three Particulars:

1. All the Nine were Printed at *Oxford* in the year 1637.
2. Some of them were Preached at *New-Caſtle*, ſome *before the King*; which may ſeem to imply ſome diſtance of time.
3. The great Viſitation by Wind, which did ſo affect (I ſhould ſay aſtoniſh) our great Author, happened upon the fourth of *November* 1636. not long before thoſe Troubles in *Scotland* began, which brought on that Parliament which begun *November* 3. 1640.

It is meet the Chriſtian Reader be ſecured, that this great Author hath not been injured by perverting his ſenſe. And what better Argument than this can be given? that no alteration hath been made, where the matter ſeemed to require *a correction*. For example: *In the Epiſtle to the Reader, Tome* 1. *line* 14. there, the word *Conſcience* looks as if it would be changed into *Conſcious*, or to be conſtrued for *Guilt*. So *Tome* 1. *fol* 13. *l* 25. [*And yet*--] after theſe two words, conjecture would inſert two more to compleat the ſenſe, *viz* [*they perſecuted*] But the temptations of theſe probabilities did not prevail to make the addition to the one, or the alteration in the other. The Reader may perhaps of himſelf find one or two ſuch paſſages, in the *ſecond Tome, Fol.* 7. and 9. which yet were not tampered with.

This tenderneſs of doing the Author wrong, hath begot a care of doing all thoſe perſons right who had any intereſt in his Writings. Thoſe, to whom the Author did dedicate his Books, were either *Right Honourable Patrons*, *Right Reverend Fathers*, or Right Religious Sons of the Church. Whilſt they were living, he honoured their *Perſons*: And that every *Pious Reader* may have Remembrancers to honour the *Memories* of them dead, all the Epiſtles Dedicatory prefixed to the ſeveral Books, are Printed in this Edition; and who will deny ſuch honour unto the Saints?

I challenge Invention her ſelf to contrive a Memorial equal to the Merit of that Noble Perſon, who was Gods Inſtrument to *Divert* our Author (my Pen had a mind to write *Convert*) from being a *Merchant*, to become a *Divine*: this was *the Right Honourable* Ralph *Lord* Eure, *Baron of* Malton, *&c.* To this diſcerning Noble Lord, did the Author (in ſuch exact *Decorum* as he always kept) dedicate the Firſt Fruits of his Printed Labours, having before conſecrated them and all the other unto God. I never knew this Noble Lord, nor any of his Poſterity; yet can I not forbear to ſay, *Bleſſed be his Memory!* and where-ever the Writings of our Author are read, *Let this which he hath done be reported of him!*

The next Advertiſement is about the *Titles* or Briefs upon the *Tops*, and the *Figures* at References on the *Sides*, of the Leaves: Both which (as I ſuppoſe) were the work of the Corrector. There is *now and then* a miſtake in a *Title*; and if there be any in the Figures, in regard the *Quarto*-Pages were changed into *Folio's*, and the *Folio's* in the New and Old are not of the ſame content, the Reader knows on whom to beſtow his pardon.

I cannot call to mind (though I have ſummoned all my Faculties) any thing worthy to ſtay the Chriſtian Reader any longer at the Door of this goodly Edifice; unleſs he will be content to hear a ſhort Relation how this great Authors Works come to be Printed in this manner: And I the rather tell it, becauſe it was a thing which I had heretofore attempted, but without effect, (and ſo had another pious Gentleman to his coſt, which was all loſt) and becauſe it is now effected by Gods moving the hearts of three Stationers voluntarily to undertake the thing: And truly they deſerve very hearty commendation not only for expiating the Preſſes from thoſe ſinful abuſes which this Author lays to their charge, (*Tome* 2. *Fol.* 331. and *Tome* 3. *Fol.* 711.) by Printing an Author ſo full of all excellent Learning, good Morality, and true Divinity, and by deſigning to do it ſo well; but alſo for vanquiſhing all the difficulties which ſtood in the way to hinder the deſign; which were more than any meer Spectator can imagine, unleſs experienced in like Affairs.

The Right of the Printed Copies (which the Sationer takes as *his own Freehold*) was diſperſed in five or ſix ſeveral hands; ſo that it coſt them a conſiderable deal of pains and ſum of money to get a Propriety to themſelves. And this inclines me the more, to excuſe their ſending abroad Papers for Subſcriptions, and inſerting my Name, both without my conſent; who lookt upon the former as no great credit to the Author, and the latter as crediting me with an Imployment which I did not diſcharge.

For I here acknowledge that my ſervice to the Publick conſiſts only in aſſiſting the Stationers with Direction how to order the Books; in preparing the Manuſcripts not before Printed; in making an *Index*; Collecting the *Errata*; and picking this Preface (with ſome ſmall addition and alteration) out of three compoſed before; which poor *Gibeonitiſh* (yet Divine) *Drudgery*, I ſhall think highly rewarded if it prove acceptable to thoſe that moſt freely committed the Manuſcripts to my hands: And I hope it will the rather be accepted, becauſe I tranſmitted all the Manuſcripts (that be Printed) to the Stationer as freely as I received them from the Gratious Donor.

But if my poor *Labour* be ſerviceable to the *Church of England*, and by Divine acceptation become imputable to mine account, *I* ſhall moſt humbly acknowledge it for a reward of his infinite Bounty, who amongſt other Bleſſings undeſerved, hath let me live to ſee this Work done, *before I go hence and be no more ſeen.*

The READERS
Moſt humble Servant in Chriſt,
B. OLEY.

THE WORKS OF THE

Reverend and Learned DIVINE,

Thomas Jackſon, D.D.

Sometime Preſident of *Corpus Chriſti* College in *Oxon.*

The Firſt Volume.

In which is contained,

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II. *How far the Miniſtry of Men is Neceſſary for Planting True Chriſtian Faith, and Retaining the Unity of it Planted.*

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IV. *Of Juſtifying Faith, or Faith by which the Juſt do Live.*

V. *Of the Original of Unbelief and Miſ-belief, or Miſ-perſwaſion concerning the Verity, Unity and Attributes of the Deity.*

LONDON:
Printed by *Andrew Clark*, for *John Martyn*, *Richard Chiſwell*,
and *Joſeph Clark*; and are to be ſold at the *Bell*, and at the *Roſe*
and *Crown* in St. *Paul's* Church-yard, and at the *Star*
in *Little-Britain*. MDCLXXIII.

THE
LIFE & DEATH
OF THE
REVEREND, LEARNED & PIOUS
D^{r} JACKSON,
DEAN of *PETERBOROUGH*,
AND
Preſident of *Corpus-Chriſti* College in *Oxford.*

Written by a late Fellow of the ſame College.

BEing earneſtly deſired by an intimate and powerful Friend, to deliver ſome *Character* of that Reverend and Learned Dr. *Jackſon*, (late Preſident of our College) I might very well excuſe my ſelf from my unworthineſs to undertake ſo weighty a Task. I muſt ſeriouſly confeſs, it was not ſo much the *Importunity of that Friend*, which prevailed with me, as *the Merit of the man* *which Extorted it*, and made me reſolve rather to run any hazard of my own Reputation, than not to pay the Honours due to his Memory. The Reſpect and Intereſt which he gained in the hearts of all men that he converſed with, (and moſt from them that knew him beſt) was too great to be buried in his Grave, or to be extinct with his Perſon. A good Name is compared to a rich and pleaſant *Odour*, which not only affects the Senſe, whilſt he that wears it is in preſence, but fils the houſe, and makes you enquire, who had been there, although the Party be gone out of the Room. For his *Birth*, He was deſcended from a very worthy Family in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*. His Life ſeemed to be Conſecrated to Virtue and the Liberal Arts, from his very childhood: He had a natural Propenſity to Learning, from which no other *Recreation* or *Employment* could divert him. He was firſt deſigned (by his Parents) to be a Merchant in *Newcaſtle*, where many of his near Friends and Alliance lived in great Wealth and Proſperity; but neither could that Temptation lay hold upon him.

Therefore (at the inſtance of a Noble *Lord*) he was ſent to the *Univerſity of Oxford*, for which highly eſteemed Favour he returns his ſolemn thanks, in the very firſt *Words* and *Entrance* of this Book. He was firſt Planted in *Queens College*, under the Care and Tuition of the *Profound* Dr. *Crakanthorp*, and from thence removed to *Corpus-Chriſti* College; Where although he had no notice of the vacancy of the Place, till the day before the Election, yet he anſwered with ſo much readineſs and applauſe, that he gained the admiration, as well as the Suffrages of the Electors, and was *choſen with full Conſent*, although they had received Letters of *Favour* from *Great Men* for another *Scholar*. A ſure and honorable Argument of the incorruptedneſs of that Place, *when the peremptory* Mandamus *of the Pious Founder*, *Nec prece, nec pretio*, (preſented with the Merits of a young man and a Stranger) ſhall prevail more than all other Sollicitations and Partialities whatſoever. This Relation hath been often aſſured unto me from one of the Electors (yet living) Mr *John Hore* of *Weſt-Hendred*, a man of Reverend years and goodneſs. There was now a welcome neceſſity laid upon him, to preſerve the High Opinion which was conceived of him, which he did in a Studious and Exemplary Life, not ſubject to the uſual intemperances of that Age. Certainly the Devil could not find him idle, nor at leiſure to have the Suggeſtions of Vice whiſpered into his ear. And although many in their youthful times have their Deviations and Exorbitancies, which afterwards prove Reformed and Excellent men; Yet it pleaſed God to keep him in a conſtant Path of Virtue and Piety.

He had not been long admitted into this place, but that he was made more Precious, and better Eſtimated by all that knew him, by the very danger that they were in, ſuddenly to have parted with him: For walking out with others of the Younger company to waſh himſelf, He was in imminent peril of being *Drowned. The Depth cloſed him round about, the Weeds were wrapt about his head. He went down to the bottom of the Mountains, the Earth with her bars was about him for ever, yet God brought his ſoul from Corruption,* Jonah 2 5,6. that (like *Moſes* from the flags) for the future Good of the Church and Government of the College where he lived, there might be preſerved the meekeſt man alive, or (like *Jonas*) *there might be a Prophet revived* (as afterwards he proved) *to forwarn the people of enſuing deſtruction*, if peradventure they might Repent, and God might revoke the Judgements pronounced againſt them, and ſpare this great and ſinful Nation. It was a long (and almoſt incredible) ſpace of time wherein he lay under water, and before a Boat could be procured, which was ſent for, rather to take out his Body (before it floated) for a decent Funeral, than out of hopes of recovery of Life. The Boatman diſcerning where he was by the bubling of the water, (the laſt ſigns of a man Expiring) thruſt down his hook at that very moment, which by happy Providence (at the firſt Eſſay) lighted under his arm, and brought him up into the Boat. All the parts of his Body were ſwollen to a *Vaſt* proportion, and although by holding his head downward they let forth much water, yet no hopes of Life appeared, therefore they brought him to the Land, and lapped him up in the Gowns of his Fellow-Students, the beſt ſhrowd that Love or Neceſſity could provide. After ſome warmth, and former means renewed, they perceived that Life was yet within him, conveyed him to the College, and commended him to the ſkill of Dr. *Channel*, an Eminent Phyſician of the ſame Houſe, where, with much Care, Time and Difficulty, he recovered to the equal joy and wonder of the whole Society. All men concluded him to be reſerved for High and Admirable Purpoſes. His grateful Acknowledgements towards the Fiſherman and his Servants that took him up, knew no limits, being a conſtant Revenue to them whilſt he lived. For his thankfulneſs to Almighty God no heart could conceive, nor Tongue expreſs it but his own, often commemorating the Miracle of Divine Mercy in his deliverance, and reſolving hereafter *not to live to himſelf, but to God that raiſeth the dead.* Neither did he ſerve God *with that which coſt him nothing*; I muſt rank his *abundant* CHARITY, and *Riches of his Liberality* amongſt the Virtues of his firſt years, as if he would ſtrive with his Friends, Patron and Benefactors, *Utrum illi largiendo, an ipſe diſpergendo vinceret*, *Whether they ſhould be more bountiful in giving, or he in diſperſing*: Or that he was reſolved to pay the Ranſome of his life into Gods Exchequer, which is the Bodies of the Poor. His heart was ſo free and enlarged in this kind, that very often his *Alms-deed* made him more Rich that received it, than it left him that gave it. His progreſs in the ſtudy of Divinity was ſomething early, becauſe (as he well conſidered) the journey that he intended was very far, yet not without large and good Proviſions for the way. No man made better uſe of Humane knowledge, in ſubſervience to the Eternal Truths of God, produced more Teſtimonies of Heathens to convert themſelves, and make them ſubmit the Rich Preſents of their Wiſe Men, to the Cradle and Croſs of Chriſt. He was furniſhed with all the Learned Languages, Arts and Sciences, as the prævious diſpoſitions, or *Beautiful Gate* which led him into the *Temple*; but eſpecially *Metaphyſicks*, as the next in attendance, and moſt neceſſary *Handmaid* to Divinity, which was the Miſtreſs where all his thoughts were fixed, being wholly taken up with the *Love* and admiration of Jeſus Chriſt, and him Crucified. The reading to younger Scholars, and ſome Employments impoſed by the Founder, were rather recreations and aſſiſtances, than diverſions from that intended Work. The Offices which he undertook (out of Duty, not Deſire)

Deſire) *were never the moſt profitable*, *but the more ingenuous*; not ſuch as might *fill his Purſe*, but *encreaſe his Knowledge.* It was no ſmall acceſſion of reſpect unto him, (or rather a conſequent of the good repute which he had already gained) that thoſe two Noble Hoſtages, M. *Edward* and M. *Richard Spencers*, Sons to the Right Honorable *Robert* Lord *Spencer*, Baron of *Wormleighton*, were commended to his charge, whom he reſtored fully inſtructed with all good Literature, the glory of Learned and Religious Nobility, and the very Ornaments of the Countrey where they lived; for which faithful diſcharge of his great Truſt, he (and his Memory) were ever in ſingular Veneration with that whole Family, and their Alliances. His Diſcourſe was very Facetious (without offence) when Time, and Place, and Equality of Perſons permitted it. He was *Entregens*, (as our Neighbours ſpeak it) a man (upon occaſions offered) *of Univerſal Converſation.* When he was choſen into Office, the Governor of the College was wont to give this Teſtimony of him, *That he was a man moſt ſincere in Elections*, and that in a Dubious victory of younger wits, it was the ſafeſt *experiment* for an happy choice, to follow the *Omen* of his *Judgement.* He read a Lecture of Divinity in the College every *Sunday* morning, and another day of the week at *Pembroke College*, (then newly erected) by the inſtance of the Maſter and Fellows there. He was choſen Vice-Preſident for many years together, who by his place was to moderate the Diſputations in Divinity. In all theſe He demeaned himſelf with great depth of Learning, *far from that knowledge which puffeth up*, but accompanied with all gentleneſs, courteſie, humility and moderation. From the College, he was preferred to a Living in the Biſhoprick of *Durham* (in their Donation) and from thence (with conſent from the ſame College obtained, where no requeſt could be denied him) removed to the Vicarage of *Newcaſtle*, a very populous Town, furniſhed with multitudes of men, and no ſmall variety of Opinions. It was a difficult task, (and only worthy of ſo pious an Undertaker) ſo to become All Things to All men, that by all means he might gain ſome. This was the place where he was firſt appointed ed by his friends to be a Merchant; but he choſe rather to be *a Factor for Heaven.* One precious ſoul refined, poliſhed, and fitted for his Maſters uſe, preſented by him, was of more value to him, than all other Purchaſes whatſoever. He adorned the doctrine of the Goſpel (which he preached and profeſſed) with a ſuitable life and converſation: Manifeſting the ſigns of a true Apoſtle. In all things ſhewing himſelf a Patern of good works, In doctrine incorruptneſs, gravity, ſincerity, ſound ſpeech that cannot be condemned, that they which were of the *contrary part might be aſhamed, having no evil thing to ſay of him,* Titus 2.7,8.

I lately received Letters from a Gentleman, who lived there at the ſame time with him, who gave this Teſtimony of him. He was a man very ſtudious, humble, courteous, and charitable. At *Newcaſtle* (when he went out) what money he had, he uſually gave to the poor, who at length flocked ſo unto him, that his ſervant took care that he had not too much in his pocket. At a certain time Dr. *Henderſon*, the Towns Phyſician, his neighbour and intimate acquaintance, (having made a Purchaſe) ſitting ſad by him, and fetching a ſigh, he demanded what was the reaſon? He ſaid that he had a payment to make and wanted money: Dr *Jackſon* bad him be of good chear, for he would furniſh him; and calling for his ſervant, told him the Phyſicians need, and asked what money he had. The man ſtepping back ſilent, the Doctor bids him ſpeak, at length the man ſaid, Forty ſhillings; he bad him fetch it, for Mr. *Henderſon* ſhould have it all: at which Mr. *Henderſon* turned his ſadneſs into laughter; Dr. *Jackſon* demanded his reaſon: He ſaid, that he had need of Four hundred pound, or Five hundred pound. Dr. *Jackſon* anſwered, that he thought Forty ſhillings was a great ſum, and that he ſhould have it, and more alſo if he had it. Thus in a *place of buſie Trade and Commerce,* his mind was intent upon better things, willing *to ſpend and to be ſpent for Them, not ſeeking Theirs, but Them.* After ſome years of his continuance in this Town, he was invited back again to the Univerſity by the death of the Preſident of the ſame Colledge, being *choſen in* *his abſence*, at ſo *great a diſtance*, ſo unexpectedly without any *ſuit* or *petition* upon his part, that he knew nothing of the vacancy of the Place, but by the ſame Letters that enformed him that it was conferred upon himſelf. A preferment of ſo good account, that it hath been much deſired, and eagerly ſought after by many eminent men, but never before went ſo far to be accepted of. Upon his return to *Oxford*, and admiſſion to his Government, They found no alteration by his long abſence, and more converſe with the World, but that he appeared *yet more humble in* his elder times; and this not out of coldneſs and remiſſion of ſpirit, but from a prudent choice and experience of a better way: not without the great Example of *Paul* the Aged, who when he had Authority to command that which is convenient, (yet for loves ſake) choſe rather to beſeech. He ruled in a moſt obliging manner, the Fellows, Scholars, Servants, Tenants, *Nemo ab eo triſtis diſceſſit*, no man departed from him with a ſad heart, excepting in this particular, that by ſome miſdemeanor, or willing errour, they had created Trouble, or given any offence unto him. He uſed the *Friends* as well as the *Memory* of his *Predeceſſors* fairly. He was *Præſidens pacificus*, a lover and maker of Peace. He ſilenced and compoſed all differences, diſpleaſures and animoties by a prudent Impartiality, and the example of his own ſweet diſpoſition. All men taking notice that nothing was more hateful unto him than Hatred it ſelf, nothing more offenſive to his body and mind, it was a ſhame and cruelty (as well as preſumption) to afflict his peaceable ſpirit. It is a new and peculiar Art of Diſcipline, but ſucceſsfully practiſed by him, that thoſe under his Authority were kept within Bounds and Order, not ſo much out of fear of the Penalty, as out of love to the Governor. He took notice of that which was good in the worſt men, and made that an occaſion to commend them for the goods ſake; and living himſelf, *tanquam nemini ignoſceret*, as if he were ſo ſevere, that he could forgive no man, yet he reſerved large Pardons for the imperfections of others. His nature was wholly compoſed of the properties of Charity it ſelf. Charity ſuffereth long, and is kind, *&c.* Beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things. I can truly avouch this teſtimony concerning him, that living in the ſame College with him, more than twenty years, (partly when he was Fellow, and partly when he returned Preſident) I never heard (to my beſt remembrance) one word of Anger, or diſlike againſt him. I have often reſembled him in my thoughts (with favour of that honorable Perſon be it ſpoken) to him (whoſe name ſounds very near him) who being placed in the upper part of the World, carried on his Dignity with that Juſtice, Modeſty, Integrity, Fidelity, and other gracious plauſibilities, that in a place of Truſt, he contented thoſe whom he could not ſatisfie, and in a place of Envy procured the Love of them who emulated his greatneſs, and by his Example ſhewed the preheminence and ſecurity of true Chriſtian Wiſdom, before all the ſleights of humane Policy, that in a buſie time no man was found to accuſe him; So this *good Man* (in that inferior Orb which God had placed him) demeaned himſelf with that Chriſtian Innocency, Candor, Wiſdom and Modeſty, that malice it ſelf was more wary than to caſt any aſperſions upon him. I ſhall willingly aſſociate Him to thoſe other Worthies his Predeceſſors in the ſame College (all living at the ſame time) To the invaluable Biſhop *Jewel*, *Theologorum quas Orbis Chriſtianus per aliquot annorum centenarios produxit maximo*; as grave Biſhop *Goodwin* hath deſcribed him, the greateſt Divine that for ſome former Centuries of years the Chriſtian World hath produced. To the famous Mr. *Hooker*, who for his ſolid Writings was ſirnamed, *The Judicious*, and entitled by the ſame, *Theologorum Oxonium*. The *Oxford* of Divines, As One calls *Athens*, The *Greece* of *Greece* it ſelf. To the learned Dr. *Reinolds*, who managed the Government of the ſame College, with the like care, honour and integrity, although not with the ſame auſterities.

Dr. *Juxon.*

He willingly admitted (and was much delighted in) the acquaintance and familiarity of hopeful young Divines, not deſpiſing their youth, but accounting them as Sons and Brethren, encouraging and adviſing them what Books to read, and with what holy preparations, lending them ſuch Books as they had need of, and hoping withal, that (conſidering the brevity of his own life) ſome of them might live to finiſh that work upon the *Creed,* which he had happily begun unto them. This was one of the ſpecial advices and directions which he commended to young men; *Hear the Dictates of your own Conſcience: Quod dubitas ne feceris*, making this the Comment upon that of *Syracides*, In all thy matters *truſt* (or believe) *thine own ſoul*, and bear it not down by impetuous and contradictious luſts, *&c.* He was as diffuſive of his knowledge, counſel, and advice, as of any other his works of Mercy.

In all the Hiſtories of Learned, Pious and Devout men, you ſhall ſcarcely meet with one that diſdained the World more generouſly; not out of ignorance of it, as one brought up in Cells and darkneſs, for he was known and endeared to men of the moſt reſplendent Fortunes; nor out of melancholy diſpoſition, for he was chearful and content in all eſtates, but out of a due and deliberate ſcorn, knowing *the true value,* that is, *the vanity* of it. As preferments were heaped upon him without his ſuit or knowledge, ſo there was nothing in his power to give, which he was not ready and willing to part withal, to the deſerving or indigent man. His Vicarage of S. *Nicholas* Church in *Newcaſtle*, he gave to Mr. *Alvye* of *Trinity* Colledge, upon no other relation, but out of the good opinion which he conceived of his merits. The Vicarage of *Witny* neer *Oxford*, after he had been at much pains, travel and expence to clear the Title of the Rectory to all ſucceeding Miniſters, when he had made it a Portion fitting either to give or keep, he freely beſtowed it upon the worthy Mr. *Thomas White*, then Proctor of the Univerſity, late Chaplain to the College, and now Incumbent upon the Rectory. A College Leaſe, of a place called *Lye* in *Glouceſterſhire*, preſented to him as a gratuity by the Fellows, he made over to a Third, (late Fellow there) merely upon a Plea of Poverty. And whereas they that firſt offered it unto him were unwilling that he ſhould relinquiſh it, and held out for a long time in a dutiful oppoſition, He uſed all his power, friendſhip, and importunity with them, till at length he prevailed to ſurrender it. Many of his neceſſary friends and attendance have profeſſed that they made ſeveral journeys, and employed all powerful mediation with the Biſhop, that he might not be ſuffered to reſign his *Prebendſhip* of *Wincheſter* to a Fourth; and upon knowledge that by their contrivance, he was diſappointed of his reſolution herein, he was much offended that the *Manus mortua*, or *Law of Mortmain* ſhould be impoſed upon him, whereby in former days they reſtrained the liberality of devout men toward the Colleges and the Clergy. But this was interpreted as a diſcourteſie and diſſervice unto him, who knew that it was *a more Bleſſed thing to give than to receive.* But that which remained unto him, was diſperſed unto the Poor, to whom he was a faithful diſpenſer in all places of his abode, diſtributing unto them with a *free heart, a bountiful hand, a comfortable ſpeech, and a chearful eye.* How diſreſpectful was he of Mammon, the God of this world, the golden Image which Kings and Potentates have ſet up? before whom the Trumpets play for War and Slaughter, and Nations and Languages fall down and worſhip, beſides all other kind of Muſick for jollity and delight, to drown (if it were poſſible) the noiſe of Blood, which is moſt audible, and cries loudeſt in the ears of the Almighty. How eaſily could he caſt that away, for which others throw away their lives and ſalvation, running headlong into the place of eternal skreekings, weeping, and gnaſhing of teeth. If it were not for this ſpirit of Covetouſneſs, all the World would be at quiet. Certainly (although the nature of man be an apt ſoil for ſin to flouriſh in, yet) if the *Love of money be the root of all evil*, it could not grow up in him, *becauſe in him it had no root*: and if it be ſo hard for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of God, and the narrow gate which leads unto Life, then he that ſtooped ſo low by humbleneſs of mind, and emptied himſelf ſo nearly by mercifulneſs unto the Poor, muſt needs find an eaſier paſſage: Doubtleſs, they that ſay and do theſe Things, ſhew plainly that they ſeek another Countrey, that is, an heavenly, for if they had been mindful of *This*, they might have taken opportunity to have uſed it more advantageouſly.

His *Devotions* towards God were aſſiduous and exemplary, both in publick and private. He was a diligent frequenter of the publick Service in the Chappel, very early in the Morning, and at Evening, except ſome urgent occaſions of Infirmity did excuſe him. His private Conferences with God by Prayer and Meditation were never omitted, upon any occaſion whatſoever. When he went the yearly progreſs to view the *Colledge*-Lands, and came into the Tenants Houſe, it was his conſtant cuſtom, (before any other buſineſs, diſcourſe or care of Himſelf, were he never ſo wet or weary) to call for a retiring room to pour out his ſoul unto God, who led him ſafely in his journey. And this he did not out of any ſpecious pretence of Holineſs, to devour a Widows Houſe with more facility, Rack their Rents, or Enchance their Fines. For excepting the conſtant Revenue to the Founder (to whom he was a ſtrict Accomptant) no man ever did more for them, or leſs for himſelf. For thirty years together he uſed this following Anthem and Collect (commanded by the Pious Founder) in Honour and Confeſſion of the Holy and Undivided Trinity. *Salva nos, Libera nos, Vivifica nos, O Beata Trinitas,* &c. "Save us, Deliver us, Quicken us, "O Bleſſed Trinity. Let us praiſe God the Father, and "the Son, with the Holy Spirit, let us praiſe and Super-"exalt his Name for ever. *Almighty and everlaſting God, which haſt given unto us, thy ſervants, Grace, by the Confeſſion of a true Faith, to acknowledge the Glory of the Eternal Trinity, and in the Power of the Divine Majeſtie to Worſhip the Unity: We beſeech thee that through the ſtedfaſtneſs of this Faith, we may evermore be defended from all Adverſity, which liveſt and reigneſt,* &c.

This he did perform, not only as a Sacred Injunction of the *Founder* (upon him and all the Society) but he received a great Delight in the performance of it. No man ever wrote more highly of the Attributes of God than he, and yet he profeſſes that he always took more comfort in admiring, than in diſputing, and in praying to, and acknowledging the *Majeſtie* and *Glory* of the *Bleſſed Trinity*, than by too curiouſly prying into the *Myſterie*. He compoſed a *Book of Private Devotions*, which ſome judicious men (having peruſed the ſame) much Extolled and Admired, as being repleniſhed with Holy Raptures, and Divine Meditations, which is not now to be found.

Thus have many other Famous Sholars and Polemical men (in their Elder times) betaken themſelves to Catechizing and Devotion, as *Pareus*, Biſhop *Andrews*, Biſhop *Vſher*. And *Bellarmin* himſelf ſeems to prefer his Book *De Aſcenſione Mentis ad Deum, of the Aſcenſion of the Soul to God*, before any other part of his Works. Books (*ſays he*) are not to be eſtimated, *Ex multitudine foliorum, ſed ex fructibus*, *By the multitude of the Leaves, but the Fruit.* My other Books I read only upon neceſſity, but this I have willingly read over three or four times, and reſolve to read it more often; whether it be (*ſays he*) that the Love towards it be greater than the Merit, becauſe (like another *Benjamin*) it was the Son of mine old age, or, *&c.*

He ſeemed to be very *Prophetical* of the Enſuing times of trouble, as may evidently appear by his Sermons bebefore the *King*, and Appendix about the ſigns of the Times, or *Divine Forewarnings* therewith Printed ſome years before, touching the *Great* Tempeſt of Wind which fell out *upon the Eve of the Fifth of* November, 1636. He was much aſtoniſhed at it; and what apprehenſion he had of it appears by his words.——*This mighty Wind was more than a Sign of the Time, the very Time it ſelf was a Sign, and portends thus much, That though we of this Kingdom were in firm League with all Nations, yet it is ſtill in Gods Power, we may fear in his Purpoſe, to plague this Kingdom by this or the like tempeſts more grievouſly than he hath done at any time by Famine, Sword or Peſtilence, to bury many living ſouls, as well of Superiors, as of Inferior Rank, in the Ruine of their ſtately Houſes, or meaner Cottages, &c.* as you may read in more words, in the Second Tome of theſe his Works, now Printed anew in Folio, *fol.* 394. This was obſerved by many, but ſignally by the Prefacer to M. *Herberts Remains.* I ſhall not prevent the Reader, or detain him ſo long from the Original of that Book as to repeat the Elogies which are there conferred upon Him; I cannot forbear one paſſage in that Preface wherein he makes this profeſſion. *I ſpeak it in the preſence of God, I have not read ſo hearty, vigorous a Champion againſt* Rome *(amongſt our Writers of his rank) ſo convincing and demonſtrative as Dr.* Jackſon *is. I bleſs God for the confirmation which he hath given me in the Chriſtian Religion againſt the* Atheiſt, Jew *and* Socinian, *and in the Proteſtant againſt* Rome.

As he was always a Reconciler of differences in his Private Government, ſo he ſeriouſly lamented the Publick Breaches of the Kingdom. For the Diviſions of *Reuben* he had great Thoughts of Heart. At the firſt Entrance of the Scots into *England*, he had much compaſſion for his Countreymen, although that were but the beginning of their Sorrows. He well knew that War was commonly attended with Ruine and Calamity, eſpecially to Church and Church-men; and therefore that Prayer was neceſſary and becoming of them, *Da pacem Domine in diebus noſtris, &c. Give peace in our time, O Lord, becauſe there is no other that fighteth for us but only thou, O God*, One drop of Chriſtian blood (though never ſo cheaply ſpilt by others like water upon the ground) was a deep Corroſive to his tender heart. Like *Rachel weeping for her children*, he could not be comforted. His body grew weak, the chearful hue of his countenance was impaled and diſcoloured, and he walked like a dying *Mourner* in the ſtreets. But God took him from the evil to come; It was a ſufficient Degree of puniſhment for him to foreſee it; it had been more than a thouſand Deaths unto him to have beheld it with his Eyes. When his *Death* was now approaching, being in the chamber with many others, I overheard him with a ſoft voice repeating to himſelf theſe and the like Ejaculations. *I wait for the Lord, my Soul doth wait, and in his Word do I hope; my Soul waiteth for the Lord more than they that watch for the morning. As for me, I will behold thy face in righteouſneſs, I ſhall be ſatisfied when I awake with thy likeneſs.* And he ended with this *Cygnean Cantion*, Pſal. 116.5. *Gracious is the Lord and righteous, yea our God is merciful. The Lord preſerveth the ſimple, I was brought low, and he helped me. Return unto thy reſt, O my Soul*, which ſome judicious men (having peruſed the ſame) much Extolled and Admired, as being repleniſhed with Holy Raptures, and Divine Meditations, which is not now to be found.

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Soul, for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee. And having thus ſpoken, ſoon after he ſurrendred up his Spirit to Him that gave it.

If you ſhall curiouſly enquire what this Charitable man left in *Legacy* at his death, I muſt needs anſwer, that giving all in his Life time, as he owed nothing but Love, ſo he left nothing when he Dyed. The Poor was his Heir, and he was the Adminiſtrator of his own Goods, or (to uſe his own Expreſſion in one of his laſt Dedications) he had little elſe to leave his Executors, but his Papers only, which the Biſhop of *Armagh* (being at his Funerals) much deſired might be carefully preſerved. This was that which he left to Poſterity *in pios uſus*, for the furtherance of Pitty and Godlineſs, *in perpetuam Eleemoſynam*, for a perpetual deed of Charity, which I hope the Reader will advance to the utmoſt improvement. He that reads this will find his Learning Chriſtening him *The Divine*, and his Life witneſſing him a man of God, a Preacher of Righteouſneſs, and, I might add, a Prophet of things to come. They that read thoſe Qualifications which he in his Second and Third Book requires in them which hope to underſtand the Scriptures aright, and ſee how great an inſight he had into them, and how many hid Myſteries he hath unfolded to this Age, will ſay his Life was good, *Superlatively good.* The Reader may eaſily perceive that he had no deſign in his opinions; no hopes but that bleſſed One propoſed in the beginning, that no preferment nor deſire of Wealth, nor affectation of Popularity, ſhould ever draw him from writing upon this Subject; for which no man ſo fit as he, becauſe (to uſe his own *Divine* and high *Apophthegm*) *No man could properly write of Juſtifying Faith, but he that was equally affected to Death and Honour.*

Thus have I preſented you with a Memorial of that Excellent Man, but with *infinite diſadvantage* from the unskilfulneſs of the Relator, and ſome likewiſe from the very diſpoſition of the Party himſelf. The humble man conceals his perfections with as much pains, as the proud covers his defects, and avoids obſervation as induſtriouſly, as the Ambitious provoke it. He that would draw a face to the Life, commands the Party to ſit down in the Chair in a conſtant and unremoved Poſture, and a Countenance compoſed, that he may have the full view of every line, colour, and dimenſion; whereas he that will not yield to theſe Ceremonies, muſt be ſurprized at unawares, by Artificial ſtealth, and unſuſpected glances, like the Divine who was drawn at diſtance from the Pulpit, or an ancient man in our days, whoſe Statue being to be erected, the Artificer that carved it, was enforced to take him ſleeping. That which I have here deſigned (next to the Glory of God, which is to be praiſed in all his Saints) is the benefit of the Chriſtian Reader, that he may learn by his Example, as well as by his Writings, by his Life as well as by his Works, which is the earneſt deſire of him who unfeignedly wiſhes the health and Salvation of your Souls.

E. Vaghan.

THE ETERNAL TRUTH OF SCRIPTURES, AND Chriſtian Belief

Thereon wholly depending, Manifeſted by
its own light.

Delivered
In two Books of Commentaries upon the Apoſtles *Creed*.

The former,
Containing the poſitive grounds of Chriſtian Religion in general, cleared from all exceptions of Atheiſts or Infidels.

The later,
Manifeſting the Grounds of Reformed Religion to be ſo firm and ſure, that the Romaniſts cannot oppugn them, but with the utter overthrow of the Romiſh Church, Religion and Faith.

By THOMAS JACKSON D.D.

LONDON:
Printed for *John Martyn*, *Richard Chiſwel*,
and *Joſeph Clark*. 1673.

TO THE
RIGHT HONORABLE
Ralph Lord Eure,

Baron of *Malton* and *Wilton*, Lord Preſident
of His Majeſties Court eſtabliſhed in the Principality
and Marches of *Wales*;

My ſingular good ***LORD.***

Right Honorable,

THough few others would, I truſt Your Lordſhip *will vouchſafe countenance to theſe Commentaries, rude and imperfect I muſt confeſs, but whoſe untimely or too haſty birth (if ſo it prove, and muſt be cenſured) hath not been cauſed by any inordinate appetite, but only from a longing deſire of teſtifying that love and duty which I ow unto your* Honorable Family and Perſon, *as in many other reſpects, ſo chiefly in this:* That being ingaged unto a more gainful, but not ſo good a courſe of life, and well-nigh rooted in another ſoil; *I was by* your *Lordſhips* favourable advice and countenance tranſplanted to this famous Nurſery of good Learning. *Wherein (by his bleſſing who only gives increaſe to what his ſervants plant or water) I have grown to ſuch a degree of maturity, as theſe raw Meditations argue, or ſo wild a graft was capable of. Coarſe and unpleaſant my fruit may prove: but, whiles it ſhall pleaſe the Lord to continue his wonted bleſſings of health and other opportunities, altogether unfruitful (by his aſſiſtance)*

ance) I will not, altogether idle I cannot, be. Such as theſe firſt-fruits are (much better I dare not promiſe,) the whole after-crop, I truſt, ſhall be: both, for the ſincerity of my intention, acceptable (I doubt not) to my God; the later, I hope, more ripe in the judgement of men, then can in reaſon be expected the firſt-fruits of the ſame mans labours ſhould be. Thus humbly beſeeching your Honour *to accept theſe as they are, and to eſteem of them (howſoever otherwiſe) as an undoubted pledge of a mind indeavouring to ſhew it ſelf thankful for benefits already received; and much deſiring the continuance of your honorable favours: I continue my prayers to the Almighty that he would multiply his beſt favours and bleſſings upon you.*

Corpus-Chriſti Colledge in
Oxford, Octob. 5.

Your Lordſhips

much devoted Chaplain,

THOMAS JACKSON.

TO THE
Chriſtian Reader.

IGnorant altogether I am not of the diſpoſition, though not much acquainted with the practiſes of this preſent age: wherein, to have meditated upon ſo many ſeveral matters as I here preſent unto thy Chriſtian view; will unto ſome (I know) ſeem but an effect of melancholy, as to have taken the pains to pen them, will argue my want of other imployments, or forlorn hopes of worldly thriving. Unto others (and thoſe more to be regarded) ſo ſoon in print to publiſh what had been not ſo well concocted, and more rawly penned, will be cenſured as a ſpice of that vanity which uſually haunts ſmatterers in good learning, but wherewith judicious Clerks are ſeldom infected. To the former I only wiſh minds more ſettled, or leſs conſcience of their own extravagancies and careleſs miſpence of choiceſt time, faults apt to breed a miſlike of others induſtry in ſuch courſes as will approve themſelves in his ſight that ſits as Judge and Tryer of all our ways, howſoever ſuch as deſire to be meer By-ſtanders as well in Church as Commonwealths affairs, may upon ſiniſter reſpects, mutually miſinform themſelves. For many of the later, I am afraid, leſt, being partly ſuch and ſo eſteemed, they prepoſterouſly affect to be taken for more judicious Scholars than indeed they are: for the foſtering of which conceit in others, their unwillingneſs to publiſh what they have conceived aright, may well be apprehended as a means not improbable. Not to expoſe their Meditations to publick cenſure, is and hath been (as the Chriſtian world too well can witneſs) a reſolution incident to men of greateſt judgement: though no ſuch eſſential property, as neceſſarily argues, either all ſo minded to be, or all otherwiſe minded, not to be alike judicious. Certain it is, the more excellent the internal feature of mens minds is, the greater diſparagement to them will an ordinary repreſentation of it be, and to adorn their choice conceits with ſuch outward attire as beſt beſeems them, would require too great coſt and charges. Thus from perfection oftimes ſprings defect: whileſt judgement, too much over-growieg fancy, and drying up that kind affection, whereby the fruit and virtue of one ſoul is diffuſed unto another, makes men more zealous of diminiſhing the high eſtimate of their fore-prized worth, than zealous of their inferiors good, which many times might be reaped in greateſt abundance from ſuch labours as yield leaſt contentment to their Authors. In this reſpect alone can I gratulate my imperfections: hoping that as my meditations can neither pleaſe the delicate, for their form, nor inform the judicious for their matter, ſo they may prove neither offenſive for the one, nor unfruitful for the other, unto many of a middle and inferior rank.

At the leaſt (I truſt) they will occaſion ſome others, whom God hath bleſſed with better ability and opportunity, to hunt that out which in this long range I may chance to ſtart, or make full conqueſt of that goodly field wherein that ineſtimable Pearl lies hid, for whoſe diſcovery theſe my travels may happily yield ſome obſervations not impertinent. To this end have I purpoſely trained my wits to untrodden paths, to adventure on new paſſages, unto that true treaſure which all of us traffick for, oftimes one to anothers hindrance, the more becauſe we beat one place too much, when as many others might afford us the ſame or greater commodities better cheap. Though the truth be one; yet it is not always of one ſhape, whiles we look upon it divers ways. The Mine wherein it lies, is inexhauſtible; oftimes more full of droſs and rubbidge, where moſt have digged: and, though the inward ſubſtance of it be the ſame, yet the refining of it admits variety of inventions. Do not prejudice me (charitable Reader) ſo much as in thy ſecret cenſure, as if theſe premiſes might ſeem to argue my diſſent in any concluſions which our Church profeſſeth: the event (I truſt) ſhall acquit me, and condemn all my Accuſers, if any I have, and how I ſtand affected in points of ſpiritual obedience to my Superiors, thou mayeſt be informed, if it pleaſe thee but to peruſe ſome few ſheets of theſe my firſt-fruits, which I preſume thou wilt, ſurely thou oughteſt, ere thy cenſure paſs upon me. If in the explication of ſome Points I fully accord not with ſome well eſteemed domeſtick Writers: I truſt *Sarahs* free-born children may enjoy that priviledge amongſt themſelves, which is permitted the ſons of *Hagar*, in reſpect of their brethren, though all abſolute Bondmen to their Mother. Yet that I do not thus far diſſent from any of my Mothers children, upon emulation or humour of contradiction, thou wilt reſt ſatisfied upon my ſincere religious Proteſtation, That the whole Fabrick of this intended work was ſet, and every main Concluſion reſolved upon, before I read any Engliſh Writer upon the Arguments which I handle. From ſome indeed which had written before me, I have ſince perceived a direct diſſent in one or two points of moment; but wherein they had (in my judgement) contradicted the moſt judicious Writers of our Church and all Antiquity I am acquainted with, more raſhly, than I would do the meaneſt this day living. Yet ſhall they, or whoſoever of their opinion, find the manner of my diſputing with them, ſuch as ſhall not (I truſt) exaſperate, howſoever the diſſonance of matter may diſlike them. For Outlandiſh or Foreign Latin Writers, I ingeniouſly confeſs, when I firſt laboured to be inſtructed in the fundamental principles of faith and manners, ſome points which I much wiſhed, I found they had not handled, in others, wherein I miſliked nothing as unſound, I could not always find that full ſatisfaction, which (methought) a more accurate Artiſt (for a mean one I was then my ſelf) would require, The greater ſince hath been my deſire either of giving, or by my attempt, of procuring ſatisfaction. But will not others, when I have done my beſt, ſo think and ſay of mine, as I have done of theſe much better endeavours? It were great arrogance to expect any leſs. Notwithſtanding, if what they ſhall find defective in my labours, move them to no worſe patience, than what I thought (at leaſt) was ſo in theirs that every way go before me, hath done me: nor I, nor they, nor the Church of Chriſt, (by this means partaker, and free to diſlike or approve of both our labours) ſhall (I truſt) have any great cauſe to repent us of our pains. For thy better ſatisfaction, I will acquaint thee with the particulars which moved me to write.

Firſt, in unfolding the nature and properties of Chriſtian Faith, to omit the errours of the Romiſh Church, (wherein it is impoſſible it ſhould ever come to full growth,) many in reformed, too much followed in particular Sermons, did ſtrive to ripen it too faſt. *I have heard complaints immediately from the mouthes of ſome yet living, of others deceaſed, that they had been ſet too far in their firſt Leſſons: that the hopes they had out of hand directly built upon Gods general promiſes, applied to them by their Inſtructers, were too weighty, unleſs the foundations of their faith had firſt been more deeply and ſurely planted.* That certainty of Juſtification and full perſwaſion of inherent ſanctifying grace, whereat theſe Worthies (whoſe footſteps I preciſely track not) aim, is (I proteſt) the mark which I propoſe unto my ſelf, but cannot hope at the firſt ſhoot to hit; if at the ſecond, third, or fourth (as ſhall pleaſe God,) it muſt content me. In the mean time (I hope) I ſhall neither offend him, nor any of his, as long as I gather ground of what I proſecute, and ſtill come nearer and nearer the propoſed end. The firſt ſtep, me thought, that tended moſt directly to this certain apprehenſion of ſaving faith, was our *undoubted Aſſent* unto the divine truth of Scriptures in general: and for the working of this aſſurance, means ſubordinate I could conceive none better for the kind (particulars others happily may find more forcible,) than ſuch as I have proſecuted at large in the firſt Book: not ignorant, that ſuch as moved me more, might move others leſs, thoſe every man moſt, that were of his own gathering, wherein the diſpoſition of the divine Providence (always concurrent to this ſearch ſo men would mark it) is moſt conſpicuous. For this purpoſe I have propoſed ſuch variety of Obſervations, as almoſt every one able to read the Scriptures or other Authors, of what ſort or profeſſion ſoever, ſtudents eſpecially, may be occaſioned to make the like themſelves, well hoping to find a Method as facile and eaſie for eſtabliſhing the aſſent of the ſimple, and altogether illiterate, unto thoſe articles whoſe diſtinct explicite knowledge is moſt neceſſary to ſalvation. But many (I know) will deem the broken traditions, or imperfect relations of heathen men (for theſe I uſe,) but weak ſupporters for ſo great an Edifice: nor did I intend them for ſuch ſervice. Their ignorance notwithſtanding, and darkned minds, do much commend the light of divine truth; ſo may the experience of their vanity diſpoſe our minds to embrace the ſtability of Gods Word with greater ſtedfaſtneſs. We know the virtue and benefit of the Sun, not ſo much by looking upon it ſelf continually or directly, as by the variety of other objects or colours, all preſent with it to the eye, but altogether inviſible or indiſtinguiſhable without it: ſo for my part, I muſt profeſs, that ſuch hiſtorical Narrations, poetical fictions, or other conceits of Heathens as they themſelves knew little uſe of, nor ſhould I have done had I been as they were, being compared with this heavenly light of Gods Word, did much affect me, even in my beſt and moſt retired meditations of ſacred myſteries; their obſervation, as it were, tied my ſoul by a new knot, or feſt, more ſurely unto that truth,

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Yea, even in points wherein my heart, unto my ſeeming, was beſt eſtabliſhed, it much did nouriſh, augment, and ſtrengthen belief already planted, to obſerve the perfect conſonancy of profane with ſacred Writers, or the occaſions of their diſſonancy, to be evidently ſuch, as Scriptures ſpecifie: that of many events wondred at by their Heatheniſh relators, no tolerable reaſon could be given, but ſuch as are ſubordinate to the never-failing rules of Scripture. And whoſoever will, may (I preſume) obſerve by Experiment, the truth of what I ſay. There is no motive unto belief ſo weak or feeble, but may be very available for quelling temptations of ſome kind or other, either in ſpeculation or practiſe; oftimes ſuch as are abſolutely more weak or feeble, more effectual for expelling ſome peculiar diſtruſt or preſumption, than others far more forcible and ſtrong for vanquiſhing temptations of another kind, in nature moſt grievous. Many half Students, half gallants, are often tempted either to diſtruſt the commendations of this *Eden* which we are ſet to dreſs, or diſtaſte the food of life that grows within it, from delights ſuggeſted by prophane books, wherewith commonly they are firſt acquainted, and hence much affect the knowledge their Authors proffer, as likely to Deifie them in the worlds eyes. Our proneneſs to be thus perſwaded, is a witneſs of our firſt Parents tranſgreſſion, and theſe ſuggeſtions as reliques of Satans baits, whereby he wrought their bane. But what is the remedy? not to tread in any Heathen ſoil, leſt theſe Serpents ſting us? rather the beſt medicine for this malady would be a confection of that very fleſh wherein ſuch deadly poyſon lodged. Other arguments may more perſwade the judicious, or ſuch as in ſome meaſure have taſted the fruits of the Spirits: But none the curious Artiſt better, than ſuch as are gathered from his eſteemed Authors. Even ſuch as are in faith moſt ſtrong, of zeal moſt ardent, ſhould not much miſpend their time, in comparing the degenerate fictions, or hiſtorical relations of times ancient or modern, with the everlaſting truth. For, though this method could not add much encreaſe, either to their faith, or zeal, yet would it doubleſs much avail for working placid and mild affections. The very Pen-men of ſacred Writ themſelves were taught patience, and inſtructed in the ways of Gods providence, by their experience of ſuch events as the courſe of time is never barren of, not always related by Canonical Authors, nor immediately teſtified by the Spirit, but oftimes believed upon a moral certainty, or ſuch a reſolution of circumſtances concurrent into the firſt cauſe or diſpoſer of all affairs, as we might make of modern accidents, were we otherwiſe partakers of the ſpirit, or would we mind heavenly matters as much as earthly.

Generally two points I have obſerved, not much for ought I know, if handled at all by any writer: albeit their fruit and uſe would fully recompence the beſt pains of any one mans life-time, though wholly ſpent in their diſcuſſion, whoſe want in my mind hath been the bane of true devotion in moſt ages. The firſt is an *equivalency of means* in the wiſdom of God ſo proportioned to the diverſity of times, as no age could have better than the preſent, howſoever they may affect the extraordinary ſigns and wonders of former generations. Of this argument here and there, as occaſion ſhall ſerve, in this work; elſwhere at large, if God permit. The ſecond is, *an equivalency of Errours*, Hypocriſie, Infidelity, and Idolatry; all which vary rather their ſhape than ſubſtance, in moſt men; through Ages, Nations, and Profeſſions, the ignorance of God remaining for the moſt part the ſame, his attributes as much (though in another kind) transformed by many in outward profeſſion joyned with the true Church, as in times paſt by the Heathen. The truth of which aſſertion, with the original cauſes of the error, and means to prevent it, are diſcuſſed at large in the Article of the Godhead. Many likewiſe for ought their conſcience (becauſe not rightly examined) will witneſs to the contrary, are ſtrongly perſwaded they love Chriſt with heart and ſoul, and ſo deteſt as well the open blaſphemy, or profeſſed hatred, which the Jew; as the ſecret enmity the Jeſuit or other infamous Hereticks, bear againſt him: whenas oftimes the only ground of their love to him, is their ſpite to ſome or all of theſe, as they are deciphered to them in odious ſhape; the only original of their deſpite to theſe, the very dregs of Jewiſh, Popiſh, or other Heretical humours in themſelves, by ſome light tincture of that truth which they outwardly profeſs, exaſperated to more bitter enmity againſt them with whoſe internal temper they beſt agree, than otherwiſe they could conceive; as admiſſion to place of credit or authority makes baſe minds, conſcious of their own forepaſt villanies, more rigid cenſurers of others miſdemeanures, or cruel perſecutors of ſuch malefactors, as themſelves in action have been, and in heart yet are (were all occaſions and opportunities the ſame) than any moderate or ſincere man in life and action could be. Of the original of this diſeaſe, with the criſis and remedy, as alſo the tryal of faith inherent, in the Articles concerning Chriſt and Remiſſion of ſins.

From the manner of *Jeruſalems* progreſs to her firſt deſtruction, and diſcovery of the Jews natural temper (the principal ſubject of my ſubciſive or vacant hours from meditations, and other neceſſary imployments of my calling) I have obſerved *the original as well of moſt ſtates, as mens miſcariages profeſſing true Religion, to have been from preſumption of Gods favour before dangers approach, and diſtruſt of his mercy after calamities ſeize upon them*: The root of both theſe miſperſwaſions to be ignorance or errour in the doctrine of Gods providence, whoſe true knowledge (if I may ſo ſpeak) is the fertil womb of all ſacred moral truths, the only rule of rectifying mens wills, perſwaſions and affections, in all conſultations or practiſes private or publick. Unto this purpoſe much would it avail to be reſolved, whether all things fall out by fatal neceſſity, or ſome contingently; how fate and contingency (if compatible each with other) ſtand mutually affected, how both ſubordinate to the abſolute immutability of that one everlaſting decree. Want of reſolution in theſe points, (as far as my obſervation ſerves me) hath continually bred an univerſal threefold want: of care and vigilancy for preventing dangers in themſelves avoidable; of alacrious endeavours to redeem time in part ſurprized by them; of patience, of hearty ſubmiſſion to Gods will, and conſtant expectation of his providence, after all hope of redemption from temporal plagues long threatned by his Meſſengers, is paſt. For here we ſuppoſe (what out of the fundamental principles of Chriſtian Religion ſhall in good time be made evident) that *in all ruinated ſtates*, or forepaſt alterations of Religion from better to worſe, there was a time wherein the poſſibility of misfortunes which afterwards befel them, might have been prevented, a time wherein they might have been recovered from imminent dangers, wherewith they were incompaſt, a time after which there was no poſſibility left them of avoiding the day of viſitation, never brought forth but by the precedent fulneſs of iniquity, but always neceſſarily by it. In the diſcuſſion of theſe and other points of like nature (becauſe more depending upon ſtrict examination of conſequences deduced from the undoubted rules of Scripture, than upon authorities of Antiquity, skill in the Tongues, or any other Learning that required long experience or obſervation) I laboured moſt, whilſt thoſe Arts and Sciences which are moſt conducible to this ſearch, were freſheſt in my memory. And could I hope to ſatisfie others in all or moſt of theſe, as fully as I have long ſince done my ſelf, I ſhould take greateſt pleaſure in my pains addreſſed to this purpoſe. But would it pleaſe the *Lord* in mercy *to raiſe up ſome Engliſh Writer*, that could in ſuch ſort handle *theſe points*, as their uſe and conſequence, *or neceſſity of preſent times requires: ſucceeding ages* (I am perſwaded) ſhould have more cauſe *to bleſs the day of his nativity*, than of the *greateſt States-mens* or *ſtouteſt Warriors* this land hath yielded ſince the birth of our Fathers this day living. It ſhall ſuffice me to begin the offering with my mite, in hope ſome Learned Academicks (for unto them belongs the conqueſt of this Golden Fleece) will employ their Talents to like publick uſe. What I conceive, ſhall be (by Gods aſſiſtance) unfolded in as plain and unoffenſive terms, as the nature of the ſubject will bear, or my faculties reach unto, partly in the Article of Gods providence, partly in other diſcourſes directly ſubordinate unto it.

Laſtly, for the full and perfect growth, at leaſt for the ſweet and pleaſant flouriſhing of lively *Faith*, one of the moſt effectual means our induſtry that can but plant or water, attains unto, would be to *unfold the harmony betwixt Prophetical predictions, and Hiſtorical events* concerning the Kingdom of Chriſt, and time of the Goſpel: a point, for ought I know, not purpoſely handled by any modern Writer, except thoſe whoſe ſucceſs cannot be great, until their delight in contention and contradiction be leſs. Notwithſtanding, whatſoever I ſhall find good in them or any other, without all reſpect of perſons, much more without all deſire of oppoſition, or occaſion of contention (a matter always undecent in a Chriſtian, but moſt odious and lothſome in a ſubject ſo melodious and pleaſant,) I will not be afraid to follow, intending a full Treatiſe of the divers kinds of Propheſies, with the manner of their interpretations, before the Articles of Chriſts *Incarnation*, *Paſſion* and *Aſcenſion*.

Theſe are the eſpecial points, which for the better confirmation of true Chriſtian faith, and rectifying perſwaſions in matters of manners or good life, are principally aimed at in theſe meditations. The main obſtacle the Atheiſt ſtumbles at, is the Article of the bodies Reſurrection. Whoſe paſſive poſſibility ſhall (by Gods aſſiſtance) be evidently demonſtrated againſt him by the undoubted rules of nature, whoſe Prieſt or Miniſter he profeſſeth himſelf to be. That *de facto* it ſhall be, the Scriptures, whoſe truth ere then will appear Divine, muſt aſſure us; Nature cannot, though thus much were in ſome ſort known and believed by many natural men from traditions of the ancient, or ſuſpected from ſome notions of the

Law of Nature not quite obliterated in all ſorts of the Heathen, as ſhall in that Article (God willing) be obſerved. But why our Aſſent unto this and all other Articles in this Creed, being in good meaſure eſtabliſhed, the momentary hopes or tranſitory pleaſures of this world, ſhould with moſt in their whole courſe of life, with all of us in many particular actions, in private and ſecret temptations, more prevail, than that exceeding weight of glory, which Chriſtian hope would faſten on our ſouls, to keep unruly affections under, hath often enforced me to wonder, and wonderment hereat firſt moved me to undertake theſe labours, if by any means I may attain unto the cauſes of this ſo grievous an infirmity, or find out ſome part of a remedy for it. Doubtleſs, had the Heathen Philoſophers but known or ſuſpected ſuch joys, as we profeſs we believe and hope for, or ſuch a death, or more than deadly torments, as after this life ended we fear, their lives and manners would as far have ſurpaſſed the beſt Chriſtians now living, as their knowledge in ſupernatural myſteries came ſhort of the moſt learned that are or have been in that profeſſion: and yet whatſoever helps any Chriſtian or Heathen had for encreaſing knowledge or bettering manners, are more plentiful in this than any precedent age, ſo that the fault is wholly in our ſelves, that will not apply medicines already prepared, as ſhall (God proſpering theſe proceedings) be declared in the laſt Article of this Creed.

For Controverſies betwixt us and the Romiſh Church, beſides ſuch as are directly oppoſite to the end and method propoſed, I purpoſely meddle with none: of that rank, ſome (as that of the Churches infallibility) undermine the very foundation; others (as the doctrine of Merit and Juſtification, the Propitiation of the Maſs) unroof the Edifice, and deface the Walls of Chriſtian Faith, leaving nothing thereof but Altar ſtones for their Idolatrous Sacrifices. For this reaſon have I built with one hand, and uſed my weapon with the other: laying the poſitive or general grounds of Faith againſt the Infidel or Atheiſt in the firſt Book, and guarding them in the ſecond by the Sword of the Spirit, againſt all attempts of Romiſh *Sanballats* or *Tobiahs*, who ſtill labour to perſwade our people the walls of Chriſts Church *here* erected ſince our fore-fathers redemption from captivity, unleſs ſupported by their ſuppoſed infallibility, are ſo weak, * *That if a Fox ſhould go upon them, he ſhould break them down.* *Nehem.* 4. 5. In the third (which was at this time intended, but muſt ſtay a while to bring forth a fourth) I batter thoſe painted walls, whoſe ſhallow foundations are diſcovered in the ſecond. The other Controverſies about the Propitiatory Sacrifices of the Maſs, Merits and Juſtification, I proſecute in the Articles of Chriſts Paſſion, and of final Judgement.

By this (beloved Reader) thou mayſt perceive my journey is long, and may well plead my excuſe for ſetting forth ſo ſoon: but from that courſe which I have choſen, or rather God hath ſet me, I truſt nor hopes of preferment, nor any deſires of worldly wealth, nor affectation of popularity, by handling more plauſible or Time-ſerving Arguments, ſhall ever draw me away. ☞ *So far I am from aiming at any ſuch ſiniſter end, That ſince I begun to comment upon the nature of Chriſtian faith, I never could, nor ever ſhall perſwade my ſelf it poſſibly can find quiet lodging, much leſs ſafe habour, but in an heart alike affected to Death and Honor; always retaining the Deſires, and Fear of both (either ſeverally conſidered,*

conſidered, or mutually compared) *in equal ballance.* Both are good when God in mercy ſends them; both evil, and hard to determine whether worſe, to unprepared minds, or whilſt procured by our ſollicitous or importunate ſuit, or beſtowed upon us in their Donors anger. Only this difference I find; death is mankinds inevitable doom, but worldly preferment neither ſo common to all, nor ſo certain to any: the leſs (in reaſon) ſhould be our endeavours either for providing it or preparing our ſelves to ſalute it decently, though coming of its own accord to meet us. *But what meditations can be too long, or what endeavours too laborious for gaining of an happy end, or giving a Meſſenger of ſo importunate and weighty conſequence as death one way or other brings, correſpondent entertainment?* This Chriſtian modeſty I have learned long ſince of the Heathen *Socrates*, to beſeech my God he would vouchſafe me ſuch a portion of wealth, or whatſoever this world eſteems, as none but an honeſt, upright, religious mind can bear: or, to uſe the words of a better Teacher, *That of all my labours under the Sun*, I may reap the fruit in holineſs, and in the end, the End of theſe my preſent Meditations, *Everlaſting Life.*

Thine in Chriſt,

THOMAS JACKSON.

THE ETERNAL TRUTH OF SCRIPTURES, AND CHRISTIAN BELIEF, thereon wholly Depending; manifeſted by its own LIGHT.

The firſt Book of Comments upon the Creed.

Firſt General Part.

SECT. I.

I believe in God the Father, &c.

IF in any at all, moſt of all in this preſent Argument, may the Truth of that uſual Axiom beſt appear,

Dimidium facti, qui bene cœpit, habet.

What's well begun, is well-nigh done.

If God ſhall enable me rightly to unfold the contents and meaning of this firſt word [*Believe*] I may juſtly preſume, the one half of this intended work to be finiſhed in it, ſeeing it is an eſſential part of every Article in the Creed: ſuch a part, as, if it be underſtood amiſs, we cannot poſſibly underſtand any one propoſition of this whole confeſſion aright. I ſhall not therefore ſeem tedious (I truſt) unto the judicious Reader, although I be ſomewhat long in unfolding the nature and conditions of belief; the divers acceptions and degrees of the ſame; with the means how it is, or may be wrought in our hearts.

Whether we ſpeak of the Act, and operation of believing, or of the diſpoſition and inclination of the mind, whence this operation proceedeth, it skilleth not much: he that knoweth the true meaning of the one, without any further inſtruction may know the other. And becauſe the Act or Operation is more eaſie to be known, let us begin with the moſt common and general, that is, with the beſt and moſt uſually known acception or notion of belief.

CHAP. I.

Of Belief in general.

TO believe a thing, is to aſſent unto it as true, without any evident certainty of the truth thereof, either from our ſenſe or underſtanding.

2. That *Belief* is an *Aſſent*; that to *Believe* is to *Aſſent*, all agree: but what more beſides aſſent is required to ſome, eſpecially to Chriſtian belief, is much controverſed among Divines: of which (God willing) in the Articles following.

3. That *evident certainty, either of ſenſe or underſtanding, muſt be excluded from the aſſent, which is properly called belief, is evident and certain* by our uſual and common ſpeech. Thus whiles we demand of him that relates any thing unto us for true (as news or the like) whether he know his relation to be certainly true, or no: if he neither have immediately heard, nor ſeen the things which he relates, but have only taken them at the ſecond hand, his uſual anſwer is: Nay, I know not certainly, but I verily believe they are true, for divers reaſons and credible reports: but if he had either ſeen or heard them himſelf, he would not ſay, *I believe*, but, *I know* they are moſt true. For evident certainty doth drown belief,

4. Yet is this evident knowledge (whether ſenſitive or intellectual) to be excluded only from the thing it ſelf which is to be directly believed, not from other things that are linked or united to it by nature.

5. That which we evidently know, may oft-times be the cauſe, why we believe ſome other matters that have affinity with it. As he that ſeeth it very light in the morning, when he firſt openeth his eyes, may probably believe the Sun is up, becauſe he evidently ſeeth the air to be light. But no man (if you ſhould ask him the ſame queſtion) would ſay, that he believed the Sun was up, when either the heat thereof doth ſcorch his face, or the beams dazle his eyes; for now he knoweth this truth directly and evidently in it ſelf. Nor is there any man that hath his right mind, that will ſay he verily believeth twice two make four: for this is evident, and certain to ordinary capacities, and he that only believeth this, knoweth nothing. For what men know certainly and evidently, they will not ſay, they only believe, but know: what they ſo know not, they may truly and properly ſay, they believe, if their aſſent to it be greater then to the contrary.

6. Some again diſtinguiſh this unevident aſſent (which is properly called belief) from other aſſents or opinions, by the grounds on which it is built. The ground of it (in their opinion) is *Authoritas docentis*, the authority of the teacher or avoucher of the points propoſed to be believed.

7. This diſtinction in ſome caſes is true, but it is not neceſſary to all belief; nor doth it fully and properly diſtinguiſh belief from other unevident aſſents or perſwaſions. For even thoſe aſſents or perſwaſions, which ſeem moſt to rely upon authorities, may be

ſtrengthened by other motives or inducements: yea our belief, or relying upon authorities, uſually (always if it be ſtrong) ariſeth from experiment of our Authors fidelity and skill, as ſhall appear hereafter. For our preſent proceedings we take it here as granted or ſuppoſed, that this word [*Belief*] as it is uſually taken, is more general then that Aſſent or Perſwaſion, which relies upon authority; yet not ſo general as to comprehend theſe aſſents or perſwaſions, which are evidently certain.

8. It may be objected, that the Apoſtle calleth evident knowledge, belief, when he ſaith, The Devils believe there is a God, and tremble. For it ſhould ſeem, that the Devils know as evidently that there is a God, as we do that the Sun did ſhine but yeſterday, or this morning. For they once enjoyed the preſence of God, and ſaw his glory, and ſince have had evident experience of his power.

9. Of Gods Being (no doubt) they have evident certainty; albeit of his other Attributes their knowledge is not ſo direct nor evident, but conjectural, or a kind of *Belief*. Wherefore unto this place of our Apoſtle we may anſwer two ways: Either that under this word [*Belief*] he comprehends not only their aſſent unto the Being, or exiſtence of the Godhead, but their aſſent unto other Attributes of God, which they know not ſo evidently, and therefore may be ſaid to believe them. Or if he underſtand only that aſſent, which they gave unto the Exiſtence or Being of the Godhead, he calleth this (though joined with evident knowledge) a Belief, in oppoſition or with reference unto the Belief of Hypocrites (againſt whom he there ſpeaks) which was much leſs then this aſſent of Devils. For albeit that which is greater in the ſame kind, cannot be properly and abſolutely ſaid to be the leſs; as we cannot properly and abſolutely ſay that four is three, but rather contains three in it: yet upon ſome reference of the greater unto the leſs contained in it, or unto ſome other third, we may denominate the greater with the name of that which is leſs in the ſame kind: as we may ſay of him that promiſed three and gave four, that he gave three, becauſe three is contained in four. So the Philoſopher ſaith, that *Habitus eſt diſpoſitio*, every habit is a diſpoſition, not abſolutely and properly, for it is more; yet becauſe it is more, with reference unto that which is leſs, or unto the ſubject in whom it is, we may ſay it is *diſpoſitio*, that is, it contains diſpoſition in it, albeit no man would ſay that *habitus* were *diſpoſitio*, if he ſhould define it.

10. And men uſually object to ſuch as ſcoff at matters of Religion, that the day will come, wherein, if they repent not, they ſhall believe the things which now they little regard; Albeit they cannot be ſaid in that day to believe them, if we ſpeak properly and abſolutely, without reference to their former incredulity: Our meaning is, they ſhall do more then believe them, for they ſhall feel them. Nor can we ſay properly that the Elect after the Reſurrection ſhall believe the Articles of Faith: ſeeing all agree, that of theſe three principal vertues, *Faith*, *Hope*, and *Love*, only Love ſhall then remain. The reaſon is that which you have heard already; becauſe evident knowledge muſt be excluded from the nature of faith and belief; and the godly ſhall then clearly ſee Chriſt

face to face, and fully enjoy the fruit of his Paſſion, which now they only believe.

11. As for certainty, *we may not exclude it from the nature of belief,* unleſs this ſpeech be warily underſtood. For the certainty of the Articles of our Faith ought to be greater, then the certainty of other knowledge; for we muſt believe them, although they be contrary to the capacity of our underſtanding: for even this muſt we believe, that many things (as all ſupernatural things) ſurpaſs the reach of our underſtanding. Yet this we may ſafely ſay, that the certainty of the Articles of our Belief, [as of Chriſt his Death, of his and our Reſurrection,] cannot be ſo great to us in this life, as it ſhall be in the world to come, when we ſhall evidently know them. This rule then is infallible; *That the knowledge of any thing is more certain, then the belief thereof: although the belief of ſome things (as of Chriſt his Paſſion) be more certain, then the knowledge of other things; as namely, then the knowledge of humane Sciences.* So then out of this it is evident, that belief taken generally, doth neither exclude all certainty, nor neceſſarily require any; ſeeing ſome belief hath a kind of certainty adjoined with it, and ſome cannot admit it. Wherefore it remaineth, that *Aſſent is the eſſence of belief in general;* I ſay, *ſuch an aſſent, as is not joined with evidency.*

12. *This Aſſent may be weaker or ſtronger, and ſo come nearer unto, or be farther from certainty, according to the nature of that object, whereunto we give aſſent; or according to the nature of that whereupon our belief is grounded; or laſtly, according to our apprehenſion either of the object, or that which is the ground of our aſſent. Exceſs in the firſt of theſe* [to wit, in certainty or ſtability of the object] *doth rather argue a poſſibility of firmer belief, or more credibility, not more firm or actual belief.* For as many things are more intelligible then others, and yet are leaſt underſtood of many: ſo many that are moſt credible, are leaſt believed.

13. *Exceſs in the ſecond of theſe,* whence the aſſent of belief may be ſtrengthned, [that is, in the ground of belief,] *doth rather argue a ſtronger hypothetical belief, then any abſolute belief; unleſs the apprehenſion or conceit of this ground be ſtrong and lively.* In ordinary reports or contracts, it skills not of what credit the party be, unto whoſe credence or authority we are referred for the truth of any promiſe or report; unleſs we have good inducements to think, that he did either ſay, or promiſe as we were told. If we be not thus perſwaded by ſome apprehenſion of our own; we give only conditional aſſent unto the report or promiſe, and believe both with this limitation, [if he ſay ſo, whoſe credit we ſo eſteem.] But if we can fully apprehend that he ſaid ſo, we believe abſolutely.

14. As in ſcience or demonſtrations it is requiſite, both that we know the true cauſe of the effect, and alſo that we apprehend it certainly as the true cauſe; (otherwiſe we have only an opinion:) ſo in true and abſolute belief it is requiſite, that we have both a ſure ground of our belief, and a true apprehenſion of that ground; otherwiſe our belief muſt needs be conditional, not abſolute. *It remaineth therefore that we ſet down, firſt the nature of the objects that may be believed: ſecondly, the ſeveral grounds of belief:* and

thirdly, the manner of apprehending them; albeit in ſome the apprehenſion of the object it ſelf, and the ground of belief, are in a ſort all one; as in that belief which is not grounded upon the authority of the Teacher. This rule is general; *Whereſoever the objects are in themſelves more credible, the ground may be more ſtrong, and the apprehenſion more lively, ſo men be capable of it, and induſtrious to ſeek it:* and equal apprehenſion of ſuch objects as are more credible in themſelves, (upon ſuch grounds as are more firm) makes the belief ſtronger, then it could be of objects leſs credible, or upon grounds leſs firm. *Cæteris paribus, every one of theſe three: Firſt, Greater credibility of the object. Secondly, Surer ground of belief. Thirdly, More lively apprehenſion of the object or ground, encreaſe belief.*

15. For the *Objects of belief*, (whence this aſſent muſt be diſtinguiſhed,) they *are either natural, or ſupernatural*; but firſt of that which is *natural. The objects of natnral belief are of two ſorts*, either *ſcibilia*, or *opinabilia*; either ſuch things as may be evidently known in themſelves, but are not ſo apprehended by him that believes them; or elſe ſuch things, as we can have no evident or certain knowledge of, but only an opinion. And of this nature are all the monuments of former ages, and relations of antient times, in reſpect of us which are now living: all future contingents, or ſuch effects, as have no neceſſary natural cauſe why they ſhould be, nor no inevitable let or hinderance why they may not be; as whether we ſhould have rain or fair weather the next month, whether ſuch or ſuch Nations ſhall wage war againſt each other the next year. Theſe matters paſt, and contingent which are not yet, but may be, albeit they agree in the general nature of *opinabilia*, that neither of them can be exactly known, but only by opinion believed: yet both differ in that which is the ground of our aſſent or belief. The ground or reaſon why we believe things paſt, (as that *Tully* lived in *Julius Cæſar*'s time, or that the *Saxons* inhabited this land,) is the report of others. The ground or reaſon why we believe future contingents, is the inclination or propenſion which we ſee in ſecond cauſes to produce ſuch effects; or the coherence betwixt any natural or moral contingent cauſe, and their poſſible or probable iſſue. As if we ſee one Kingdom mighty in wealth, and at peace and unity in it ſelf, bearing inveterate hate to another; or if we know that the one hath ſuffered wrong, not likely to be recompenced, and yet able in politick eſtimation to make it ſelf amends: we believe that ſuch will ſhortly be at open hoſtility one with another. Or if we ſee the air wateriſh, we believe it will ſhortly rain. Yet are not the grounds why we believe things paſt, and the grounds of believing future contingents, always ſo oppoſite, but that they may jump in one, and conſpire mutually for the ſtrengthning of belief. For we would believe our former conjecture of war or weather a great deal the better, if a cunning Stateſman ſhould give judgement of the one, or an Aſtronomer, or ſome that we know very weatherwiſe, his opinion of the other. For now beſides the probability of our own conjectures, we have other mens authority to confirm our belief. In both kinds, (either where the grounds of each are ſeveral, or where both conſpire together) as the ground of belief, or our apprehenſion of the ground is greater, ſo our belief waxeth

ſtronger. Thus we believe the *Roman* ſtories of *Cæſar*'s times more firmly, then the relations of *Herodotus* concerning matters of *Egypt*, or other Countreys; becauſe more Writers, and they ſuch as are leſs ſuſpected of vanity or impoſture, do teſtifie the truth of the *Roman* affairs.

16. Other things, which are credible, or may be believed, are (as we ſaid) *ſcibilia*; ſuch things as may be exactly known by natural reaſon, though not of the party which only believes them; (for exact knowledge always expels meer belief of the ſame thing in the ſame party.) That the Sun is bigger then the Earth, or that the motion thereof is ſwifter then any Arrows flight, may be known exactly by a Mathematician; but ordinary Countrey-men (ſuch as are not ruſtically wayward) do believe it; evidently and exactly know it they cannot. *The ground* of their belief in ſuch a caſe is *authoritas docentis*. And this authority of teachers, or others, upon whoſe aſſertions we rely, conſiſteth partly in a perſwaſion of the teachers or relators skill in thoſe matters which he teacheth or relateth; and partly in his honeſty, fidelity, or veracity in his dealings or ſayings. And as theſe are reputed greater, ſo do we more believe him in theſe things which he avoucheth for true, and rely more ſecurely upon his authority. For as we ſaid before, *Cæteris paribus, the certainty of belief encreaſeth as the ground of belief doth, both for the number of points believed, and for the firmneſs of the belief it ſelf.* If two of the ſame faculty teach us divers things, whereof we have no other ground but their aſſertion, we believe him better, whoſe skill and fidelity we account of better; and the more the parties be that report or avouch the ſame thing, the more we believe them, if they be reputed skilful and honeſt. And where the authority is the ſame, both for extenſion and degrees, yet we believe the things taught, better, from the better or more immediate apprehenſion of the authority. As if *Ariſtotle*, *Euclide*, or *Archimedes* were alive, and in that reputation for skill in their ſeveral profeſſions, which their Works are in; we would believe thoſe concluſions which we heard them teach, better than ſuch as we had from them by others, or (as we ſaid) at the ſecond hand. For though the authority in both caſes were the ſame; yet ſhould not our apprehenſion of it be ſo, but more immediate in the former, We ſee by daily experience, how opinions only grounded upon the authority of teachers for their skill in ſuch matters well reputed of, do enforce others (eſpecially inferiors in that kind of skill) to give an aſſent unto the ſame truth, although they have good ſhew of reaſon to the contrary. As what Countrey-man is there, but would think he might ſafely ſwear, that the Earth were an hundred times greater then the Sun? yet if an Aſtronomer, (of whoſe skill he hath had experience in other matters, which he can better diſcern) one whom he knew to be an honeſt plain dealing man, not accuſtomed to cog with his friend, ſhould ſeriouſly avouch the contrary, *that the Sun is bigger than the Earth*; few Countrey-men would be ſo wayward as not to believe their friend Aſtronomer, Albeit (his authority ſet aſide) they had no reaſon to think ſo, but rather the contrary. And it were a ſign of ignorant arrogancy, if Punies or Freſh-men ſhould reject the axioms and principles of *Ariſtotle*, uſual in the Schools,

becauſe they have ſome reaſons againſt them, which themſelves cannot anſwer. For reaſon might tell them, that others (their betters) which have gone before them, have had greater reaſons to hold them, then they can yet have to deny them. This perſwaſion of other mens skill or knowledge will win the aſſent of modeſt and ingenuous youths, unto ſuch Rules or Axioms, as otherwiſe they would ſtifly deny, and have witty reaſons to overthrow. But albeit this aſſent, which men give to concluſions, they know not themſelves, but only believe upon other mens aſſeverations, may be very great; as many Countrey-men will believe an Aſtronomer affirming that the Sun is greater then the Earth, better then they will the honeſteſt of their neighbours in a matter that may concern both their commodities: yet if the relators or avouchers could make them conceive any probable reaſon of the ſame concluſions, [as if the Aſtronomer in the mentioned caſe could ſhew, how every body the further it is from us ſeemeth the leſs, and then declare how many hundred miles the Sun is from us:] Mens minds would be a great deal better ſatisfied, and this aſſent or belief, which formerly did only rely upon authority, would be much ſtrengthned by this ſecond tie or hold-faſt. And if we would obſerve it, *There is uſually a kind of regreſs betwixt our Belief of Authorities, and our Aſſent unto concluſions taught by them. Firſt, (uſually) we believe Authority, and afterwards the concluſions taught by it, for the Authorities ſake. But after we once find experiment of the truth of concluſions ſo taught, we believe the authority the better from this experimental truth of the concluſion.*

17. Out of all theſe acceptions and degrees of Belief or Aſſent, ſomething may be gathered for better expreſſing the ſeveral degrees of true Chriſtian belief; which like *Jacob*'s ladder reacheth from Earth to Heaven. The firſt ſtep whereof is belief or aſſent unto things ſupernatural.

The firſt general part.

SECT. II.

CHAP. II.

Of Aſſent unto Objects ſupernatural.

1. THings ſupernatural we call ſuch, as the natural reaſon of Man cannot attain unto; or ſuch, as naturally can neither be known or aſſented unto as probable, but are made known or probable by revelation. Such are the myſteries of our Salvation, and the Articles of Chriſtian Belief. For *no Article of our Belief (if we conſider them with all the circumſtances, and in that exact manner as they are propoſed in Scripture to be believed) could ever have come into corrupted mans cogitation, unleſs God had revealed it unto him.* Seeing then we cannot know them in any ſort by humane Reaſon and Authority; neither can

humane reaſon or authority be the ground of our aſſenting to them; it remaineth then, that *Authoritas docentis*, *The Word of God*, be the ground of our belief.

2. Here then muſt you call to mind what we ſaid before, that *authoritas docentis did conſiſt in two things; namely in the skill and fidelity, or ſincerity of the Teacher: and by how much we know thoſe to be greater, by ſo much is our aſſent or belief ſtrengthned.* Now it is evident to reaſon, that God is infinitely wiſe, and therefore cannot be deceived; whence neceſſarily it followeth, that he knoweth, and can tell us the truth. Again, it is evident that God is moſt juſt and true, and therefore will not deceive us, but will tell us the truth if he profeſs ſo. Again, we cannot conceive of God aright, but we muſt conceive of him as omnipotent and full of power; and conſequently ſuch an one as needs not in policy, or jealouſie of our emulating him in knowledge, to tell us otherwiſe then he knows. And therefore *Ariſtotle* reprehends the Poets for ſaying, that the Gods did envy Men knowledge. His reſolution is in *Engliſh* to this effect,

Metaphyſ. Lib. 1. Cap. 2.

Ἀλλ' οὔτε τὸ θεῖον φθονερὸν ἐνδέχεται εἶναι, Ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν, Πολλὰ ψεύδονται ἀοιδοί.

That Poets ſhould the Gods bely,
More like, than Gods ſhould Men envy.

3. And if the Heathen were of opinion, that the Gods did not envy Men knowledge; then muſt they needs believe, that if they taught them any, they would teach them true knowledge. Wherefore this muſt be laid down as a certain ground, *That whatſoever God teacheth us, is moſt true.* Nor is there any, (admitting there were a God) but would aſſent unto this. But here is the difficulty. How can we be aſſured that God doth teach us any of theſe things? Or, how ſhall we know that this we call Scripture, is the Word of God? If our apprehenſion of this ground be ſure, our faith is firm and abſolute: if our apprehenſion hereof be doubtful, our faith muſt needs be unſtable, or, at the beſt, but conditional,

4. Let us firſt therefore look what this conditional aſſent or belief doth bind us unto.

Although many, that firmly believe, *whatſoever God ſaith, is true*, either do not acknowledge or do not firmly believe that theſe Scriptures are the Word of God: yet thus much in all ſenſe and reaſon any natural man will grant; there be great preſumptions and probabilities, why they ſhould be taken for the Word of God. And he that doth acknowledge but thus much, doth by this acknowledgement bind himſelf to reverence them above all humane writings. For all men naturally know, that if they be Gods Word, they are worthy all poſſible reverence. Wherefore if a man ſuppoſe it only as probable, that they are, or know nothing to the contrary why they may not be Gods Word: he is bound to reverence and eſteem them above all words or writings of man. As for example; If any Subject in this land ſhould receive Letters concerning ſome lawful and indifferent requeſt from any other his equal or fellow ſubject, whom he had great reaſon well to reſpect; ſuppoſe he certainly knew that they were ſuch a mans Letters, and no counterfeit: yet if he ſhould receive Letters in his

Majeſties Name, containing the ſame or other as reaſonable requeſt: although he knew not ſo certainly that theſe were his *Majeſties Letters*, as that the others were ſome well-reſpected Subjects, yet is he in duty bound to uſe them with greater reſpect and reverence, than the former. The bare preſumption and probability that they were *the Kings Letters*, doth bind him to enquire further, whether they were his Letters or no: nor were his fault excuſable, if he ſhould ſhew any ſign of diſloyalty, or irreverence towards them, until he knew that they were not ſuch, as their Title or ſuperſcription did import.

5. He that hath but the ſame probability, that the Scriptures contain in them Gods own words, as that *Livy* his Hiſtories contain the *Roman* affairs, muſt needs eſteem of them infinitely above all humane works. And *This fruit hypothetical or ſuppoſed Belief may bring forth, even in the unregenerate or natural man.* And what hath been ſaid of reverence to the Scriptures upon this ſuppoſal, is alſo moſt true of mans actions. *If men do but believe it as probable, that the Scriptures are the Word of God: this belief will procure many good moral actions, and much amendment of life, though not ſuch ſpiritual perfection, as God in his Word requireth.* And the reaſon of this aſſertion is evident. For we ſee daily, that men undertake actions of great difficulty and danger, not ſo much according to the probability of attaining ſome good, as according to the greatneſs of that good which poſſibly may be attained. So we ſee many, that might live in eaſe at home with certainty of moderate gains, to undertake voyages to the *Weſt* or *Eaſt Indies*, only upon this reſolution, That if it be their luck or lot to be rich, there they may have enough, although the adventure be ſubject to great dangers, and obnoxious to infinite caſualties. And many there be, that will not uſually lay out a penny, but upon very fair ground of ſome gain or ſaving thrift, who yet will be well content to venture a Crown or an Angel in a Lottery, where there may be ſome poſſibility, though not probability, of obtaining twenty or thirty pounds. Theſe, and infinite other examples, obvious to daily experience, may ſerve as a perfect induction of our general aſſertion. *That the meer poſſibility of obtaining ſome great and extraordinary good, is of greater moment in ſwaying mens actions, then certainty of accompliſhing petty deſires, or greateſt probabilities of purchaſing ordinary commodities or delights.* To deduce then out of this general the particular we intended. In the Scripture are promiſed to all ſuch as love God and do his will, far greater bleſſings, then humane knowledge could ever have conceived. The like is true in avoiding dangers. Men oftentimes undertake matters of more difficulty and charges, to prevent ſome grievous miſchances which may inſue, then they would do to eſcape ſome imminent but ordinary danger, or to releaſe themſelves from ſome ſmaller harms that already have befallen them. Could men conſider theſe things ſeriouſly, and account of them but as probable: what is there in this life, which in any reaſon they ſhould not venture for the obtaining of ſo great a good? Were men but probably perſwaded that there were (as the Scriptures and the Articles of our Belief tell us) a life everlaſting, full laden with all the fruits of true life, joy, peace, and all choiceſt pleaſures, without any annoyance: how could they not be moſt

ready, and willing to ſpend this whole tranſitory life (whoſe days are but few, and moſt of them evil, full fraught with grief and diſtreſs) in the ſervice of God, who would thus reward them? Yea, how could they not be deſirous to lay down this life it ſelf, upon hope of obtaining ſuch a life? For this life compared to that to come, hath not the proportion of a Farthing to whole Millions of Gold, or all the treaſures in this World. Nor is the caſe herein like unto that of adventures or Lottery; where a man may venture his life, or goods if he liſt, but if he do not, none calleth him to an account for not doing it: But in the Scriptures everlaſting torments, grief, and perpetual horror are threatned to all ſuch, as frame not their lives according to Gods will in them revealed.

CHAP. III.

Of general incitements to ſearch the truth of Scriptures or Chriſtian belief.

1. WE may hence clearly ſee how inexcuſable, even in the judgment of fleſh and blood, all men are, that either by hearing or reading have any acceſs unto the Goſpel, and do not uſe the beſt endeavours of their natural wit (if God as yet have touched their hearts with no better grace) to ſearch out the truth thereof. For ſeeing in the Scriptures are propoſed to every mans choice everlaſting life, or everlaſting death: what extreme madneſs is it for men to enter into any courſe of life, or to undertake any matter of moment, which may exact their chief imployments, before they have diligently looked to the main chance? before they have tryed the utmoſt of their wits, and others beſt advice, to know the tenour of their own eſtate? We ſee daily what great pains men of no ſmall account do take in the ſtudy of Alchymy, ſpending their ſpirits, and moſt of their ſubſtance in trying concluſions, and ſearching out the truth of thoſe things, for which they have but weak grounds of Philoſophy or reaſon; only the conceit of the good they aim at, (which is rather poſſible then probable for them to attain) inforceth a kind of hope, and encourageth them to go forward.

2. To ſpeak nothing of the good the Scripture promiſeth, the very conceit of eternal death (me thinks) ſhould move, either the Chymicks, (which ſpend much gold only upon hope of getting more) or any other man whatſoever, to ſpend all the treaſure, whatſoever either this their Art, or all other could yield, to ſecure themſelves from ſuch horrible torments, as the Scriptures threaten to their Contemners or negligent Hearers. And why ſhould not all men then in reaſon beſtow moſt time and pains, in ſearching the truth of thoſe things, which concern their ſouls eſtate? whoſe ſecurity in all reaſon they ſhould purchaſe with the higheſt hopes, and utmoſt aim of all other travails in this life. Here then (as I ſaid) the full height of mans Iniquity, and his inexcuſable Madneſs, is moſt plainly diſcovered; that having theſe two motives,

which in natural reaſon do ſway all Humane Actions, offering themſelves to encourage him in ſearching the Scriptures: yet notwithſtanding moſt men beſtow leſs labor in them, then in other ordinary Studies. Firſt, if we compare the good they ſet before us, as a recompence and reward of our travails, it is beyond all comparison greater then the ſcope of any other Trade or Science. For here is a double Infinity of ſolid Good: Firſt, they promiſe Joy two ways Infinite, both in Degree and Continuance. Secondly, they threaten unto their Contemners and deſpiſers death and torments doubly infinite, both in Degree and Continuance. Now if the probabilities of the truth of Scriptures were far leſs, than is uſually found in other ſtudies, or Humane hopes; yet could this in Humane reaſon be no reaſon why we ſhould labour leſs in them, than in other affairs; ſeeing the incomparable exceſs of the good they promiſe, doth abundantly recompence this. But if the Probability of the truth of Scripture, be in natural reaſon equal to the probabilities which men uſually take for their grounds in many greateſt attempts; then certainly not to beſtow as great pains and travail, in trying the truth of their promiſes, as in any other Humane attempts, or affairs, doth argue infinite Madneſs. Ask we the Chymick, what reaſon he hath to toil ſo much in the ſtudy of *Paracelſus*, or other intricate Writers of his Faculty; (the like we may ſay of any Phyſicians:) their anſwer (as you may read in their writings) is this: *Many Philoſophers in former ages have laboured much in this ſtudy, and have ſet down good rules of their experiments; who* (as is probable) *would never have taken ſuch pains upon no ground.* And verily this tradition, or the authority they give to their Writers, is their chief motive. For I think few of their Ancient Authors have bequeathed to their ſucceſſors any Gold made by this Art, thereby to encourage them. If then tradition, conſent of time, or approbation of Authors, or relation of experiments, be an eſpecial inducement for men to adventure their charge, pains, and travel in this Faculty, as in all other affairs: without all controverſie the Scriptures in all motives have an eſpecial Prerogative above all other faculties or ſciences, albeit humane reaſon were admitted judge. For the Authority of Gods Church is far more general, then the conſent of any Writers in any one faculty whatſoever. The conſent of time likewiſe is greater. For no Age ſince Chriſts time in theſe civil parts of the World, but by the report of other Writers, as well as Chriſtians, hath yielded obedience unto Scriptures as the Word of God. Men of moſt excellent ſpirits and learning in every Age, have addicted their ſtudies unto this truth. About the time of our Saviours coming, Curious Arts, and other civil diſciplines did moſt flouriſh. The Grecians ſought after Wiſdom and ſecular Philoſophy with the like; the Romans after Policy, State-knowledge, and diſcipline of war; all the World almoſt, (above others, thoſe places wherein Chriſtianity was firſt planted) was then ſet upon Curious Arts: yet we ſee how the ſtudy and ſearch of Scriptures in ſhort time did prove, as *Aaron*'s Rod amongſt the Magicians Serpents. It hath devoured all, and brought them to acknowledge Allegiance unto it; uſing the help of beſt ſecular Arts, as it were Nutriment for the growth of Chriſtianity, and expelling the reſt as Excrements out of the Church. Nor can the Atheiſt name any Age, wherein the Heathen had an *Oliver* to oppugn our profeſſion, but we had a *Rowland* to defend it. If they had a *Porphyrie* or *Celſus* to oppoſe Philoſophy againſt it, we had an *Origen* (a * *Man by their own confeſſion*, of the moſt rare wit and hope for Philoſophy then living,) to forſake Philoſophy and follow Chriſtianity. *It was not deſpair which made him, and many other excellent Scholars, Chriſtians*: but the ſure hope which they found in this profeſſion, made them contemn all other hopes, and cleave to it with their hearts and ſouls; albeit their ſouls ſhould, for ſo doing be violently ſeparated from their bodies. This trial, I am perſwaded, few of their greateſt Philoſophers would have endured; but they had the Potentates of the World, as ready to applaud them, as to diſgrace the Chriſtians; and yet the Chriſtians multiplied as the *Iſraelites* did by oppreſſion in *Egypt*. How reſolute they were, if we may not be believed bearing witneſs of our own profeſſion, let * *Pliny* teſtifie, in whoſe judgement, Conſtancy and Reſolution was the only crime in our Profeſſion deſerving puniſhment. And for this cauſe, he took want of reſolution, in ſuch as had been accuſed before him under the name of Chriſtians, as a ſufficient Argument that they were not Chriſtians in deed or heart; For, ſuch, as he had been informed, could not be inforced to any ſuch idolatrous practiſe, as he perſwaded theſe men unto.

* Porphyrius in vita Plotini.

* Epiſt.lib. 10. ep. 100. ad Trajan. aliter Ep. 97. In iis, qui ad me tanquam Chriſtiani deferebantur, hunc ſum ſequutus modum. Interrogavi ipſos, an eſſent *Chriſtiani*, confitentes iterum, ac tertio interrogavi, ſupplicium minatus, perſeverantes duci juſſi. Neq; enim dubitabam, qualecunq; eſſet quod faterentur, pervicaciam certè & inflexibilem obſtinationem debere puniri—— Propoſitus eſt libellus ſine autore multorum nomina continens, qui negant ſe eſſe *Chriſtianos*, aut fuiſſe. Quum præeunte me deos appellarent, & imagini tuæ, quam propter hoc juſſeram cum ſimulachris numinum adferri, thure, ac vino ſupplicarent, præterea maledicerent Chriſto; *quorum nihil cogi poſſe dicuntur, qui ſunt revera Chriſtiani, dimittendos putavi.*

3. Laſtly, the experiments which are related by Authors of this profeſſion, men (in any reaſonable mans judgement) as much to be Believed herein, as any other Writers in theirs; are far more notable and apt to produce belief, and hope of attaining the truth in this profeſſion, than any others can have in theirs. The experiments of others were but ordinary and natural; theſe are extraordinary and ſupernatural. *If the Atheiſt ſhould impudently deny the truth of their report: we may convince him with St.* Auguſtine*'s acute Dilemma. If the Miracles related by our Writers be true, they give evident experiment of the truth of Scripture: if there were no ſuch particular miracles, but all feigned; then this was a miracle above all miracles, that Chriſtian Religion ſhould prevail againſt all other Arts, Power, or Policy, without any extraordinary event or miracle.* It was not ſo eaſie a matter to cozen all the *Roman* Emperours, and their Deputies, with feigned Tales; the World, which hated Chriſtians ſo much, was inquiſitive enough to know the truth of their reports. I may conclude; *Niſi veritas magna fuiſſet non prævaluiſſet.* It was miraculous doubtleſs, that it ſhould ſo encreaſe without arms; without any promiſe of carnal pleaſure, or ſecurity: but even againſt their natural inclination that did profeſs it, and all the Worlds oppoſition againſt it. It had enemies both private and publick, domeſtick and foreign, even the fleſh and ſenſe of thoſe which followed it fought againſt it.

4. *Mahomet* ſince that time hath found a multitude of followers;

but all either enforced to follow him by threats of ſhame, diſgrace, and tortures in this life; or elſe allured thereto by fair promiſes of carnal pleaſures to be perpetual without interruption in the life to come. He hath ſet his followers ſuch a courſe, as they might be ſure both of wind and tide. And *if the Haven whereat they arrive were as ſafe as their courſe is eaſie, they were of all men the moſt happy.* But Chriſtianity from its firſt beginning, was to row againſt the ſtream of fleſh and blood, and to bear out ſail againſt all the blaſts that the Devil, World, or Fleſh could oppoſe againſt it. In a word, *the increaſe of Mahumetiſm hath followed the barbarous Turkiſh Monarchies advancement, as moiſture in bodies doth the increaſing fulneſs of the Moon.* And it had been an extraordinary Miracle, if a barbarous multitude (never acquainted with any civil pleaſures,) ſhould not have compoſed their minds unto their Emperours, in following a Religion, framed, as it were, to court the ſenſes, and wooe the fleſh. But Chriſtianity then flouriſhed moſt, when the ſcorching heat of perſecution was at the height: When the countenance of Emperours, as terrible to their foes (for their Heroical valour) as plauſible to their friends (for their lovely carriage) were moſt fiercely ſet againſt it. What Princes either more terrible to their enemies, or more amiable to their friends, than *Trajan*, *Diocleſian*, or others of the Chriſtians perſecutors were? What man living is there of civil education, that would not have lothed *Mahomet*, and the whole ſucceſſion of the *Ottoman* Family, in reſpect of theſe *Roman* Princes? And yet a great part of their native Subjects, men, as otherwiſe excellently qualified, ſo of a quiet and peaceable diſpoſition, yet ready always to venture their lives for theſe Heathen Princes, in moſt dangerous ſervice againſt the enemies of the *Roman* Empire, but moſt ready to follow the Crucified Chriſt through fire and ſword, againſt their Emperours command (dearer to them than this mortal life) and all the Worlds threats, or allurements. It were ſottiſh to think, that ſuch men had not perfect notice of ſome Higher Powers Commandment to the contrary, (whom they thought it ſafer to obey) when they contradicted the commandments, or fair allurements of theſe ſupreme Earthly Powers. And it were a ſilly perſwaſion to think, that, if the great *Turk* would change his religion for any other, that might yield like hopes of carnal pleaſure after this life, any great number of his Subjects would loſe their dignities for refuſing ſubſcription.

5. The brief of what hath been, or may be ſaid concerning the grounds or motives of our Aſſent unto Objects ſupernatural, may be compriſed in theſe four Propoſitions following; of which the firſt two are Axioms evident in nature, and received by all. The two latter undoubted Axioms amongſt true Believers, but ſuppoſitions only to meer natural men, or Novices in Chriſtianity.

6. The firſt, *The Stile or Title of theſe Sacred Books pretending divine Authority, bind all men to make trial of their truth, commended to us by our Anceſtors, confirmed to them by the Blood of Martyrs their Predeceſſors, to uſe the means which they preſcribe for this trial*; that is, *Abſtinence from things forbidden, and Alacrity in doing things commanded by them.*

7. The ſecond, *Ordinary Apprehenſion*, or *natural Belief of matters*

contained in Scriptures, or the Chriſtian Creed, are of more force to cauſe men to undertake any good, or abſtain from any evil, than the moſt firm Belief of any ordinary matters, or any points of meer Natural conſequence.

8. The third, *Objects and grounds of Chriſtian Belief have in them greater ſtability of truth, and are in themſelves more apt to found moſt ſtrong and firm Belief, then any other things whatſoever meerly credible.*

9. For, as the moſt noble Eſſences, and firſt Principles of every Art, are moſt intelligible: ſo are divine Truths of all other moſt Credible. Not that they are more eaſie to be Aſſented to of any, at their firſt propoſal, But that they have a greater meaſure of credibility in them: and as their credibility and truth is inexhauſtible, ſo *Belief* of them once planted, can never grow to ſuch fulneſs of certainty, as not to receive daily increaſe, if we apply our minds diligently unto them: ſo that true Chriſtian *Belief* admits no ſtint of growth in this life, but ſtill comes nearer and nearer to that evidence of Knowledge, which ſhall ſwallow it up in the life to come. For the conceit of impoſſibilities or repugnances in nature, objected by the obdurate Atheiſts to make the Principles of Chriſtian religion ſeem incredible (that they might like old Truants have the company of Novices in Chriſtianity to loiter, or miſpend good hours with them:) we ſhall by Gods aſſiſtance diſpel them, and all other Clouds of like Errours, in unfolding the truth of thoſe Articles, which they moſt concern.

10. The fourth, *The means of apprehending the truth of Scriptures, and experiments confirming their divine Authority, are, both for variety of kinds, and number of Individuals in every kind, far more and more certain, than the means of apprehending the grounds of any other Belief, or the experiments of any other teachers Authority.*

11. Some Particulars of every kind, with the General Heads or Common places whence like Obſervations may be drawn, we are now to preſent, ſo far as they concern the confirmation of the truth of Scriptures in general. For the experiments, which confirm the truth of ſuch particular places of Scripture, as teach the Articles of our Creed expreſly, will come more fitly into the unfolding of the Articles themſelves.

The

The ſecond general part of the firſt Book.

Sect. I.

Of Obſervations internal or incident unto Scriptures, without Reference to any relations or events, other then are ſpecified in themſelves.

ALthough the *Experiments* confirming the truth of Scriptures be, as I have ſaid, many and divers; yet all may be *reduced into theſe general heads or kinds. They may be found either in the Stile or Character of theſe Writings themſelves; the Affections or diſpoſitions of their Writers; or in Events or Experiments (whatſoever the courſe of times affords) anſwerable to the Rules ſet down in Scriptures.*

Chap. IV.

Of Hiſtorical Characters of Sacred Writings.

TO any man indued with reaſon not perverted, the Books of *Moſes* give more perfect proof of matters done and acted, then any other Hiſtory in the World can poſſibly do: albeit we ſet aſide the *ſecret Characters of Gods Spirit ſpeaking in them, which we ſuppoſe can be diſcerned of none, but ſuch as have the mark of the Lamb anſwerable to it engraven upon their hearts*: But now we ſeek ſuch inducements to Belief, as may perſwade the natural unregenerate man of the Hiſtorical truth of theſe ſacred Volumes.

2. The prejudices ariſing from the ſtrangeneſs of matters related by him, the Reader ſhall find mitigated in the next diſcourſe. In the mean time I muſt requeſt him to ſuſpend his judgment of them, and only to intend the lively Characters of Hiſtorical truth in other relations, of matters neither ſtrange nor incredible in themſelves. Either *Moſes* wrote a true Hiſtory, or elſe his words are but a Fiction: either *Poetical* to delight others, or *Political* to advantage himſelf or his ſucceſſors. Let ſuch as doubt of their Hiſtorical truth, duly examine, whether many things related by him can poſſibly be referred to any of theſe two ends. As for example, if theſe relations, *Gen.* 4. 1. and the 25. had not been either real adjuncts of ſome *Famous Truth* then ſufficiently known, or elſe appointed by God to be notified for ſome ſpecial purpoſe to poſterity: how could it poſſibly have come into any mans thought, or to what end ſhould it have gon thence into his Pen, to ſhew the reaſon why *Evah* ſhould call her firſt ſon *Cain*, or her third *Seth*.

3. He that would ſet himſelf to contradict, might reply; *Moſes* his invention was ſo copious, as to forecaſt that thoſe inſertions might make his Hiſtory ſeem more probable: or that he ſpake un-

awares according to the Cuſtom of the times wherein he lived. But why then ſhould he omit the like in all the generations from *Cain* and *Seth* unto *Noah?* the reaſon of whoſe name given him by his father he likewiſe ſpecifies, *Geneſis* 5. 29. *Then* Lamech *begat a ſon, and called his name* Noah, *ſaying, This ſame ſhall comfort us concerning our work, and ſorrow of our hands, as touching the earth which the Lord hath curſed.* It was doubtleſs from ſome diverſity in the matter preſuppoſed unto this work, not from the workmans choice or invention, why the reaſon of theſe three mens names ſhould be ſpecified, as afterwards will more plainly appear. For the poſitive notes, or ſure tokens of a true Hiſtory, they are moſt plentiful in the ſtories of *Abraham, Jacob*, and *Joſeph.* Each part of which, the Divine Providence, (whereof theſe are the moſt Ancient, moſt perfect, and moſt lively patterns,) would have ſet out with ſuch perſpicuity of all circumſtances, that the Reader might be an eye-witneſs of their Hiſtorical Truth. The ſubject and iſſue whereof is in it ſelf ſo pleaſant, as will raviſh ſober and attentive minds, and allure them to follow the main current of Divine Myſteries, which flow from theſe Hiſtories mentioned, as from their firſt Heads or Fountains. To point at ſome few, rather then handle any particulars.

4. If we may judge of the truth of mens writings by their outward form or Character, as we do of mens honeſty by their looks, ſpeech, or behaviour: what Hiſtory in the world bears ſo perfect reſemblance of things done and acted, or yields (without further teſtimony then its own) ſo full aſſurance of a true narration, as the ſtories of *Abrahams* departure out of his Land, his anſwers to God, *Sarahs* diſtruſt upon miſconceit of Gods promiſes; her ſeeking to fulfil it by giving her Maid to *Abraham*, the manner of her ſpeech upon her Maids contemning her, the debate and iſſue of her controverſie, the Dialogue between the Angels of God and *Abraham*, with *Sarahs* Apology for laughing at their Meſſage; *Abrahams* journey to Mount *Moriah*, his ſervants expedition to *Aram Naharim*, with his commiſſion to provide his young Maſter a Wife? There appears not in any of theſe the leaſt ſurmiſe of any *Political* reſpect, nor any ſign of affected delight, or *Poetical* repreſentations: ſeeing this Author falls immediately into other matters, and relates every thing (though many of moſt divers natures) with ſuch natural ſpecification of every circumſtance, as unleſs our hearts were prepoſſeſt with Belief, that he had writ them by his direction, who perfectly knoweth all things, as well fore-paſt, as preſent, or to come, we would be perſwaded that moſt of them were relations of ſuch as acted them, uttered to their familiar friends imdiately upon the fact, whileſt all circumſtances were freſh in memory.

5. How others are affected I cannot tell; methinks when I read that ſtory, *Geneſis* 34. I am transformed into a Man of the Old World, and become a neighbour of old *Jacob*, over-hearing him and his ſons debating the ſlaughter of the Sichemites: the old man complains; *Ye have troubled me, and made me ſtink among the inhabitants of the land, as well the Canaanites as the Perizzites: and I being few in number, they ſhall gather themſelves together againſt me, and ſo ſhall I and my houſe be deſtroyed: and they anſwered and ſaid; Shall he abuſe our Siſter as a Whore?*

6. Or if this deſcription, though iſſuing as naturally out of the real diſpoſition of the true (no feigned) parties deſcribed, as brightneſs out of the body of the Sun, yet becauſe but ſhort, may ſeem more imitable by Art: I will propoſe a longer Dialogue betwixt this old man and his ſons for a pattern: of which the faireſt colours, that Art or Invention can put upon any feigned Subject, will come as far ſhort, as *Solomons* gaudy, but artificial attire, did of the native beauty of wild Lillies; or any dy that Art can give, of the natural ſplendor of fineſt Pearls, the Onyx or other more precious ſtone. * The ſtory is, *Geneſis* 42. from the 29. unto the 15. verſe of the 43. Chapter. The circumſtances, which I would eſpecially commend unto the Readers conſideration, are, firſt; The old mans jealouſy, v. 36. upon his ſons relation what had befallen them in their journey, and the Governours deſire of ſeeing *Benjamin*, v. 31, 32, 33, 34, 35. His peremptory reply, v. 38. to *Reubens* anſwer, v. 37. The manner of his relenting, chap. 43. v. 6. upon neceſſity of their going for more food; and his ſons peremptory refuſal to go without *Benjamin*, in the five firſt verſes of the 43. Chapter. His condeſcending v. 11. upon their juſt Apology for mentioning their youngeſt brother to the Governour; and *Judahs* undertaking for *Benjamins* ſafe conduct back, and forth, in the 10. 9. 8. and 7. verſes; laſtly, the cloſe or *Epiphonema* of his ſpeech, v. 13. and 14. *Whileſt I compare one of the circumſtances with another, and all of them with other precedent and conſequent, (chiefly with* Judahs *ſpeech to* Joſeph, *Geneſis* 44. *from the ſixteenth verſe to the end of the Chapter,) although I knew no other Scripture to make me a Chriſtian, this one place would perſwade me to become a Pythagorean, and think that my ſoul had been in ſome of* Jacobs *ſons, where it had heard this controverſie, rather then to imagine, that it could have been feigned by any that lived long after.*

7. Or if we conſider not the particular relations only, but the whole contrivance and iſſue of this ſtory; what pattern of like invention had *Moſes* to follow? If the Atheiſt grant ſuch a Divine Providence,

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* Geneſis 42. 29. *And they came to* Jacob *their father unto the land of Canaan, and told him all that had befallen them, ſaying,* v. 30. *the man, who is lord of the land, ſpake roughly unto us, and put us in priſon as Spies of the Countrey.* V. 31. *And we ſaid unto him, we are true, men, and are no Spies.* V. 32. *We be twelve brethren, ſons of our father: one is not, and the youngeſt is this day with our father in the land of Canaan.* V. 33. *Then the Lord of the Countrey ſaid unto us, Hereby ſhall I know if ye be true men; Leave one of your brethren with me, and take food for the famine of your houſes, and depart;* Verſe 34. *And bring your youngeſt brother unto me, that I may know that ye are no Spies, but true men: So will I deliver you your brother, and ye ſhall occupy in the land,* Verſe 35. *And as they emptied their ſacks, behold, every mans bundle of money was in his ſack, and when they and their father ſaw the bundles of their money, they were afraid.* Verſe 36. *Then* Jacob *their father ſaid unto them, Ye have robbed me of my children:* Joſeph *is not, and* Simeon *is not, and ye will take* Benjamin*: all theſe things are againſt me.* Verſe 37. *Then* Reuben *anſwered his father, ſaying, Slay my two ſons, if I bring him not to thee again: Deliver him to mine hand, and I will bring him to thee again.* V. 38. *But he ſaid, my ſon ſhall not go down with you: for his brother is dead, and he is left alone: if death come unto him by the way which ye go, then ye ſhall bring my gray head with ſorrow unto the grave.* Chap. 43. v. 1. *Now great famine was in the land.* V. 2. *And when they had eaten up the corn which they had brought from Egypt, their father ſaid unto them, Turn again, and buy us a little food.* V. 3. *And* Judah *anſwered him, ſaying, The man charged us by an oath, ſaying, Never ſee my face, except your brother be with you.* V. 4. *If thou wilt ſend our brother with us, we will go down and buy thee food.* V. 5. *But if thou wilt not ſend him, we will not go down: for,* &c.

V. 6. *And Iſrael ſaid, wherefore dealt ye ſo evil with me, as to tell the man, whether ye had yet a brother, or no?* V. 7. *And they anſwered, The man asked ſtraitly of our ſelves, and of our kinred, ſaying, Is your father yet alive? Have ye any brother? And we told him according to theſe words. Could we know certainly that he would ſay, Bring your brother down?* V. 8. *Then ſaid* Judah, *to* Iſrael *his father. Send the boy with me, that we may riſe and go, and that we may live and not die, both we, and thou, and our children.* V. 9. *I will be ſurety for him, of my hand ſhall thou require him: If I bring him not to thee, and ſet him before thee, then let me bear the blame for ever.* 10. *For except ye had made this tarrying, doubtleſs by this we had returned the ſecond time.* V. 11. *Then their father ſaid unto them, If it muſt needs be ſo now, do thus: Take of the beſt fruits of the land in your veſſels, and bring the man a preſent; a little Rozen, a little Honey, Spices, and Myrrh, Nuts, and Almonds.* V. 12. *And take double money in your hand, and the money that was brought again in your ſacks mouths; carry it again in your hand, leſt it were ſome overſight.* V. 13. *Take alſo your brother, and ariſe, and go again to the man.* V. 14. *And God Almighty give you mercy in the ſight of the man, that he may deliver you your other brother, and* Benjamin*: but I ſhall be robbed of my child, as I have been.*

as he deſcribes ; let him tell us whence he learned it. If from any more antient deſcription, let this be ſuſpected for artificial ; if not, let this be acknowledged for the firſt natural repreſentation of it. Without either a former pattern to imitate, or true reſemblance of ſuch a *Divine Providence* in events immediately to be related, how could ſuch a ſupreme Power, governing and diſpoſing all things contrary to the deſigns and purpoſes of man, be by mortal man conceived ? More probable is the Poets fiction, that *Minerva* ſhould be conceived in *Jupiters* brain ; then that humane fancy ſhould bring forth a more Omnipotent, more wiſe or excellent deity, than the Poets make their *Jupiter*, without any true image of his Providence, manifeſted in the effects ? But after the manifeſtation of it in the ſtory of *Joſeph*, and the live-picture of it taken by *Moſes*, all imitation of it was not ſo difficult ; though he that would ſeek to imitate him fully ſhould herein come as far ſhort of the ſolid marks of his hiſtorical truth, as the Egyptians Juglers tricks did of true Miracles.

8. As all theſe, and many other places yield undoubted Characters of true Hiſtorical narrations, ſo do his ſpeeches unto this people, *Deut.* 29. 30, 31. Infallible ſymptoms of a dying man, and one that indeed had borne this mighty Nation, as an Eagle bears her young ones upon her wings. *Theſe admirable ſtrains of his heavenly admonitions, and divine propheſies, compared with the lively images of former truths, witneſs that he was the* Janus *of Prophets,* Vates oculatus tam præteritorum quam futurorum, *one that could both clearly ſee what had been done before his birth, and what ſhould fall out after his death*: Both which ſhall hereafter (God willing) better appear, by matters related, and events foretold by him.

9. But to proceed, the whole Hiſtorical part of the Bible, not *Moſes* his Books alone, yield plenty of ſuch paſſages, as being compared with other circumſtances, or the main drift and ſcope of the entire ſtories, whereof they are parts, leave no place for imagination, either why they ſhould, or how poſſibly they could have been inſerted by Art or Imitation ; or have come into any mans thoughts, not moved by the real occurrence of ſuch occaſions as are ſpecified in the matters related. And ſeeing all of them are related by ſuch as affect no Art ; many of them by ſuch as lived long after the parties that firſt uttered or acted them : we cannot conceive how all particulars could be ſo naturally and fully recorded, unleſs they had been ſuggeſted by his Spirit, who giveth mouth and ſpeech to man, who is alike preſent to all ſucceſſions, able to communicate the ſecret thoughts of forefathers ~~to~~ their children, and put the very words of the deceaſed, never regiſtred before in the mouths or pens of their ſucceſſors for many generations after, as diſtinctly and exactly, as if they had been caught in Characters of Steel or Braſs, as they iſſued out of their mouths.

10. When I read that ſpeech in *Ovid*, 4. *Metam. Fab.* 8.

Sive es mortalis, qui te genuere beati,
Et Mater fœlix, & fortunata profectò
Si qua tibi Soror eſt, & quæ dedit ubera Nutrix.
If mortal thou, thrice happy ſure thy Parents be ;
Or if thou any Siſter haſt, thrice happy ſhe ;
Thrice happy Nurſe, whoſe breaſts gave ſuck to thee.

I ſee no inducement to believe this for a true Story, becauſe I know the end and aim of his writing was, to invent *Veriſimilia*, to feign ſuch ſpeeches, as beſt befitted the perſons whoſe part he took upon him to expreſs, thereby to delight his hearers with variety of lively repreſentations. But when I read that narration of our Saviours Apology for himſelf againſt the *Jews*, which ſaid he had an unclean ſpirit, *Luke* 11. 14. and a woman coming in with her verdict, *Now bleſſed is the womb that bare thee, and the paps that gave thee ſuck*, *v.* 27. This unexpected ſtrain, with our Saviours reply unto it; *Yea rather bleſſed are thoſe that hear the Word of God and keep it*, *v.* 28. ſo briefly inſerted into the Story, inforce me to think, that it was penned by one that ſought only to relate the truth, part of which was this womans ſpeech. But with the means of knowing the New Teſtament to be the Word of God, I will not here meddle: the Old Teſtament ſufficiently proveth it, beſides many other experiments to be proſecuted in the unfolding of ſundry Articles.

Chap. V.

Of the Harmony of ſacred Writers.

Another Inducement for believing the truth of the Old Teſtament, is the *Harmony* of ſo many ſeveral writers, living in ſuch diſtance of Ages, handling ſuch diverſity of arguments, and covering them with ſtiles, for the majeſty of ſome, and the familiarity of others, more different, then *Virgil*'s verſes, and the rudeſt Countrey-mans talk; and yet all of them retaining the ſelf ſame reliſh. Whiles we read *Tully*, *Virgil*, *Livy*, *Saluſt* and *Ovid*, though all living near about one time; yet their writings differ as much as Fleſh and Fiſh. Many learned men like ſome one or few of theſe, and yet much miſlike others, reputed as excellent writers in their kind, living about the ſame time: much more might he that ſhould have read the common or vulgar Hiſtoriographers, Poets, or Orators of that time, have contemned them as baſe in reſpect of the former. But the Prophets of the Old Teſtament, and the Hiſtoriographers of the ſame, though differing infinitely in degrees of ſtile and invention; yet agree as well in the ſubſtance or eſſential quality of their writings, as the ſame Pomander chafed and unchafed. There is the ſame odour of life, and goodneſs in both, but more fragrant and piercing in the one than in the other. And no man that much likes the one, can miſlike the other: he may like it leſs, but diſlike it he cannot, if he like the other.

Omnibus eſt illis vigor & cœleſtis origo.

2. Many other inducements of this kind are ſet down at large, by that Flower of *France*, and glory of Chriſtian Nobility, in the 24 and 25 Chapters of his book of the truth of Chriſtian Religion: as alſo in *Ficinus* and *Vives*, whoſe labours it is hard to

ſay whether he hath more augmented or graced. One eſpecial motive is from the drift, and ſcope of all theſe ſacred writings; whether Hiſtories, Prophets, Pſalms, or the Goſpel. *The end and ſcope of all theſe, is only to ſet out the glory of God, and the good of mankind.* In their moſt famous victories, and good ſucceſs of their beſt contrived policies, they aſcribe the glory wholly to God. There is no circumſtance inſerted to erect the praiſe of man, not of the chiefeſt managers of ſuch affairs. They account it the greateſt praiſe that can be given unto their Worthies,to let the World know they were Beloved of God, and that God did fight for them. Not one Writer in this ſacred volume bewrays the leaſt ſign of envy towards others, that lived with him, or had gone before him: Not one that giveth the leaſt ſuſpition of ſeeking his own praiſe by leſſening others deſerts, as if he had corrected wherein others had erred, or finiſhed what they had well begun, but left imperfect. No intimation in any of them to let poſterity underſtand, that it ſhould think it ſelf beholding to them for their good directions. They ſeek no thanks, as if they undertook their labours voluntarily, only for the good of others; but proclaim a neceſſity laid upon them, for doing that which they do, and a Wo if they do it not. They ſpare not to rehearſe the iniquity, and ſhame of their progenitors and neareſt kinsfolks, with Gods fearful judgments upon them for the ſame, to regiſter their Prince and peoples, or their own diſgrace (as the World counteth diſgrace) to all poſterity: ſo Gods Name may thereby be more glorified, and his Church edified, *Jer.* 9. *v.* 23, 24. *Let not the wiſe man glory in his wiſdom, nor the ſtrong man glory in his ſtrength: but let him that glorieth, glory in that he underſtandeth and knoweth the Lord. Jeremy* himſelf revealeth his own ſlackneſs in undertaking his appointed charge, *Jer.* 20. *v.* 7. 8, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18. he no where bewrays any deſire of praiſe, as if he had excelled all his equals in wit: all that is good in him, or his people, he giveth to God. *Daniel*, who did excel in the interpretations of dreams and prophecies, and had the ſtate of many kingdoms for many years to come revealed unto him; ſo as if he would have challenged the revelation of his countreys return from Captivity, he could not have been diſproved, yet ingenuouſly ſheweth that he learned this out of the prophecy of *Jeremy. Dan.* 9. *v.* 2. Although his meaſure of knowledge was exceeding great, yet he affects not the reputation of *Knowing above that meaſure, which God hath given him, Romans* 12. 3.

3. This one quality (in them all) of not ſeeking their own, nor their countreys praiſe, but only the praiſes of their God, and the profit of his Church (if we conſider it well) may ſufficiently teſtifie, that they ſpeak not upon private motions, who were thus clear from all ſuſpition of private reſpects. Nor can we ſuſpect, that they ſhould thus conſpire together unto one end, from the will and purpoſe of man. For what man could limit others thoughts, or rule their wits which lived after him? Leaſt of all can Chance be imagined the Author of ſo many ſeveral writers conſtancy in conſpiring thus to one end in ſeveral Ages. Let us conjecture what cauſes we can, St. *Peter* muſt reſolve the doubt, 2 *Peter* 1. 20, 21. *All of them ſpake as they were moved by the holy Spirit, which was preſent one and the ſame to all.* If they had not ſpoken as they were moved

by the Spirit, but as if they had moved themſelves, to find out matter, or ſtretched their wits to enlarge invention: then would the later ſort eſpecially have catched at many By-narrations, and inſerted many παρεργὰ, little pertinent to that foundation which others had layed before them. But now we ſee the continual drift of their writings ſo ſeriouſly ſet upon one and the ſelf-ſame end, as if they had all wrought by anothers diction, who had caſt the platform of the edifice himſelf, not minded to finiſh his work in any of the firſt workmens age: and yet will have the latter to begin where the other left, without any alteration or tricks of their own invention.

4. All theſe properties of theſe ſacred Writers, do ſufficiently witneſs their motives to have been Divine, but more abundantly whileſt we conſider the vanity of the Jewiſh people, if we take them as they are by nature, not ſanctified by the Spirit of God. For naturally they are given to magnifie their own Nation, more then any other people living, yea to make God beholden unto them for their ſanctity: few of them would ſeek the praiſe of their God, but with reference to their own. Hence our Apoſtle St. *Paul* brings it as an argument of the truth of his Goſpel, 2 *Cor.* 4. 5. in that he *did not preach himſelf but Chriſt Jeſus the Lord, and himſelf their ſervant for his ſake*; ſo doth our Saviour, *John* 7. *v.* 18. *He that ſpeaketh of himſelf ſeeketh his own glory, but he that ſeeketh his glory that ſent him, the ſame is true, and no unrighteouſneſs is in him.* This ſincerity in teaching, (eſpecially in a man of Jewiſh progeny) when it is tried to continue without all affectation or diſſimulation, is the true κριτήριον or touchſtone, the Livery or Cognizance of a man ſpeaking by the Spirit of God. The like lively Characters of ſincerity are not to be found in any elſe, ſave only in theſe ſacred Writers, or ſuch as have ſincerely obeyed their doctrine. And in many of thoſe books which our Church accounts Apocryphal, there evidently appears a ſpice of ſecular vanity; howſoever the Penmen of them were truly religious ſanctified men, and have ſought to imitate the writings of the Prophets, and other Writers of this ſacred Volume. But much more eminent is the like vanity in *Joſephus*, a man otherwiſe as excellent for meer natural parts, or artificial learning, as his Countrey yielded any, not inferiour to any Hiſtoriographers whatſoever.

5. Seeing in this whole body of Scriptures there appears one and the ſame Spirit, albeit the members be of diverſe faſhion and quality: this ſacred volume it ſelf may ſerve as a lively type or image of that *Unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace*, which ought to be in the Church and myſtical body of Chriſt, *Epheſ.* 4. *v.* 3. They all endeavour to *keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.* None of them preſumed to *underſtand above that which was meet for them to underſtand.* All *according to ſobriety, as God dealt to every one of them the meaſure of faith.* They are as *many members of one body, which have not one office*, *v.* 4. And we may ſee that verified in the Canon of the Old Teſtament, which St. *Paul* attributes unto the Church in Chriſt; *There are diverſities of gifts, but the ſame Spirit.* 1 Cor. 12. 4. And again, *To one was given the ſpirit of wiſdom*, as unto *Solomon*; Verſe 14. *to another knowledge*, as unto *Ezra, Nehemiah*; *to another faith*, as unto *Moſes, Abraham*; *to another prophecy*, as unto *Eſay, Jeremy*: *All* Verſe 11.

theſe gifts were wrought by one and the ſame Spirit, which diſtributeth to every one as he would. The beſt means to diſcern this harmony in their ſeveral writings, would be, to retain the unity of the Spirit by which they wrote. But alas! we have made a diviſion in the body of Chriſt, whileſt one of us detracts, envies or ſlanders another; or whiles we wrangle unmannerly about idle queſtions, or terms of art, our jars, (ours that have the name of Chriſts meſſengers) make all the World beſides, and our ſelves oft-times (we may fear) doubt of the true and real unity betwixt Chriſt and his members, now eclipſed by our carnal diviſions. But howſoever, theſe here mentioned are, in their kind, good motives unto ſober minds; and the more diligent and attentive men are to obſerve theſe and the like, the more fully ſhall they be perſwaded, that theſe writings are the dictates of the Holy Ghoſt.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Affections or diſpoſitions of the ſacred Writers.

WIth the Experiment of this kind we may rank the vehemency of affection, which appears in many of theſe ſacred writers, moſt frequent in the book of *Pſalms*. And to diſtinguiſh feigned or counterfeit from true experimental affections, is the moſt eaſie, and moſt certain kind of Criticiſm. He that never had any himſelf may ſafely ſwear, that moſt Poets ancient or modern, have had experience of wanton loves. For who can think that *Catullus*, *Ovid*, and *Martial* had never been acquainted with any but painted women, or written of love matters only as blind men may talk of Colours? Or, who can ſuſpect, that either *Ovid* had penned his books *De Triſtibus*, or *Boetius* his *Philoſophical Conſolation*, only to move delight, (as children oft-times weep for wantonneſs:) or feigned theſe ſubjects to delude the World, by procuring real compaſſion to their counterfeit mourning? But much more ſenſible may we feel the pulſes of our Pſalmiſts paſſions beating their ditties, if we would lay our hearts unto them. Albeit we ſeek not to prove their divine authority from the ſtrength of paſſion ſimply, but from the objects, cauſes, or iſſue of their paſſions. And the Argument holds thus; *As the Ethnick Poets paſſions, expreſſed in their writings, bewray their experience in ſuch matters as they wrote of; as of their carnal delight in love enjoyed, or of earthly ſorrow for their exiles, death of friends, or other like worldly croſſes: So do theſe ſacred Ditties witneſs their Pen-mens experience in ſuch matters as they profeſs; as of ſpiritual joy, comfort, ſorrow, fear, confidence, or any other affection whatſoever.* If we compare *Ovids* Elegy to *Auguſtus* with that Pſalm of *David*, (in number the 51.) why ſhould we think that the one was more conſcious of miſdeameanour towards that Monarch, or more ſenſibly certain of his diſpleaſure procured by it, than the other of foul offences towards God, and his heavy hand upon him for them? *Davids* penitent bewailing of his ſouls loſs, in being ſeperated from her wonted joys, his humble intreaty and importunate ſuit, for reſtauration to his former eſtate, argue, he

Triſti. lib. 2.

he had been of more entire familiar acquaintance with his heavenly, than *Ovid* with his earthly Lord; that he had received more ſenſible pledges of his love, was more deeply touched with the preſent loſs of his favour, and better experienced in the courſe and means of reconcilement to it again. Pſalm 51.1. *Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy loving kindneſs: according to the multitude of thy compaſſions put away mine iniquities.* Verſe 2. *Waſh me throughly from mine iniquity, and cleanſe me from my ſin.* Verſe 3. *For I know mine iniquities, and my ſin is ever before me. Againſt thee, againſt thee only have I ſinned, and done evil in thy ſight.* What was it then which cauſed his preſent grief? bodily pain? exile, loſs of goods, want, or reſtraint of ſenſual pleaſures? Yea, what was there that worldly minded men either deſire or know, which was not at his command? And yet, he, well for health of body, only oppreſſed with grief of mind, moſt deſirous to ſequeſter himſelf from all ſolace, which his Court or Kingdom could afford, in hope to find his company alone who was inviſible, and to renew acquaintance with his Spirit. *Create a clean heart (O God) and renew a right ſpirit within me. Caſt me not away from thy preſence, and take not thy holy ſpirit from me.* He accounts himſelf but as an exile, though living in his native ſoil, but as a ſlave, though abſolute Monarch over a mighty people; whileſt he ſtood ſeparate from the love of his God, and lived not in ſubjection to his ſpirit. If one in hunger ſhould loath ordinary or courſe fare, we would conjecture he had been accuſtomed to more fine and dainty meats. Hereby then it may appear, that *David* had taſted of more choice delights, and purer joys, then the carnal minded knew, in that he loaths all earthly comfort in this his anguiſh, (wherein he ſtood in greateſt need of ſome comfort,) deſiring only this of God; *Reſtore me to the joy of thy ſalvation, and eſtabliſh me with thy free Spirit.* So far was he from diſtruſting the truth of that ineffable joy, which now he felt not (at the leaſt) in ſuch meaſure as he had done before, that he hopes by the manifeſt effects of it once reſtored, to diſſwade the Atheiſt from his Atheiſm, and cauſe laſcivious or blood-thirſty minds to waſh off the filth, wherein they wallow, with their tears. For ſo he addeth, *Then ſhall I teach thy ways unto the wicked, and ſinners ſhall be converted unto thee. Deliver me from blood, O God, which art the God of my ſalvation, and my tongue ſhall ſing joyfully of thy righteouſneſs. Open thou my lips, O Lord, and my mouth ſhall ſhew forth thy praiſe;* which as yet he could not ſhew forth to others, becauſe abundance of joy did not lodge in his heart; for God had ſealed up ſorrow therein, until the ſacrifice of his broken and contrite heart were accompliſhed. From the like abundant experience of this heavenly joy, the Pſalmiſt, *Pſalm 66. verſe 16.* burſteth out into like confident ſpeeches; inviting us, as Chriſt did his Apoſtle *Thomas*, to come near and lay our hands upon his healed ſore, and by the ſcars to gather the ſkill and goodneſs of him that had thus cured him, beyond all expectation: Verſe 16. *Come and hearken all yea that fear God, and I will tell you what he hath done to my ſoul;* Verſe 17. *I called unto him with my mouth, and he was exalted with my tongue.* Verſe 20. *Praiſed be God which hath not put back my prayer, nor his mercy from me.* The fulneſs of his inward joys was ſuch, and Gods providence over him ſo manifeſt and wonderful, that the preſent age wherein he lived could not (to his ſeeming) but take notice of it, whileſt the particulars, wherein the Lord had heard him, were in freſh memory: and all poſterity,he preſumes out of the abundance of his own belief, ſhould ſtill believe the goodneſs of God, from this experimental relation of his goodneſs towards him. He that hath leaſt experience of the like in himſelf, would he but attentively mark the fervency of thoſe mens zeal, and vehemency of their godly paſſions, expreſſed in theſe here mentioned, and many like unaffected ſtrains, could not but acknowledge that famous inſcription, which a later degenerate laſcivious Poet, (out of ſuch a vain-glorious humour, as moves ſome baſely deſcended to uſurp the Arms of Noble men whoſe names they bear,) ſought to beſtow on all, even upon ſuch as himſelf was, *Vates* in name, but not in quality, to belong of right only to theſe Pſalmiſts, or ancient ſacred Poets.

Eſt Deus in vobis, agitante caleſcitis illo:
Impetus hic ſacræ ſemina mentis habet.

Sure in your breaſts Gods Spirit hath his ſeat,
Tis Divine motion breeds this heavenly heat.

For who can imagine, that the Author of the 74 Pſalm, v. 9. ſhould complain, without ſome touch of that Spirit, which he knew had been more plentiful in ſuch as had gone before him; *We ſee not our ſigns, there is not one Prophet more, not any that knoweth how long* v. 10. *O God, how long ſhall the adverſary reproach? ſhall the enemy blaſpheme thy name for ever?* v. 11. *Why withdraweſt thou thine hand, even thy right hand? Draw it out of thy boſome and conſume them.* v. 12. *Even God is my king of old, working ſalvation in the mids of the Earth.* Theſe ſober and conſtant motions, as it were of *Syſtoles* and *Diaſtoles* between Deſpair and Hope, expreſt in this and the 44 Pſalm, argue that thoſe wonders and noble works, which they had heard with their ears, and their fathers had told them, were no Fables, but matters truly and really acted, which had left deep impreſſion in their fore fathershearts, who had ſo thorowly felt and taſted the extraordinary Goodneſs of their God, that the longing deſire of like Favour is transfuſed as hereditary to poſterity, as the deſire of ſuch meats as Parents beſt affect, and uſe moſt to feed upon, uſually remains in their Children.

2. Or, to uſe the Author of the 42 Pſalm his own compariſon; *Braying* doth not more ſenſibly notifie the *Harts panting after the water-brooks*, than that Pſalm doth his thirſting after the Spirit of Life; which ſometime had been diffuſed through his Faculties, and had fructified in Joy and comfort, but now in theſe ſtorms of affliction lay hid in his heart, only ſupporting it with hopes of like fruit againſt a better ſeaſon; as the ſap whereby trees flouriſh in Summer, retiring to the root in Winter, preſerveth them ſound within, ſo that although Froſts may nip, and ſtorms outwardly deface them, yet they break forth again, and bear fruit in the Spring. And although I never miſtruſted the truth of that diſſenſion, betwixt the willingneſs of the Spirit, and weakneſs of the Fleſh, oft mentioned in Scripture;

yet I know not how it addeth more life to my Belief, whileſt I ſee this conflict acted by the Author of the 42 and 43 Pſalms. The fleſh complains, as if his heart were ready to cloſe with dejected fear; *My ſoul is caſt down within me, all thy waves and flouds are gone over me.* The Spirit like a good Phyſician, by reiterating that ſpeech of comfort, *Why art thou caſt down, O my ſoul, and why art thou ſo diſquieted within me*, raiſeth it up again, and dilateth his heart with hope in God againſt all hope in worldly ſight. For ſo he concludeth both theſe Pſalms, *Wait on God: for I will yet give him thanks: he is my preſent help, and my God.* Generally, though the Pſalmiſts complaints be oft-times grievous, yet they never end them but with Hearty Prayer; though God oft-times lay great Plagues upon them; yet is their Confidence always as great, that he will heal them. The beginning of their mournful Ditties, always repreſent the ſtorms of grief and ſorrow, that had gone over their ſouls: their end and cloſe is like the appearing of the Morning Star, foreſhewing the removal of the ſhadow of death, wherein they ſate. Their ſudden tranſitions from grief to joy, is even as the breaking out of the Sun from under a thick tempeſtuous Cloud: So that the outward Character of their Songs, is a lively repreſentation of that truth, which one of them out of his inmoſt experience hath left regiſtred to the World; *His wrath endureth but the twinckling of an eye, and in his pleaſure is life: heavineſs may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning*, Pſal. 30. 5.

3. This patience in Adverſity, and confident expectation of deliverance from above, compared with the Heathens impatience, always ready to accuſe their Gods in their unexpected calamities, and ſeeking to vent their grief in Poetical Invectives againſt them, infallibly teſtifie, that the one did onely know the Divine Powers by hear-ſay, the others by experience; and that God was near to this people in all which they called upon him, and beheld the affairs of the Heathen onely afar off.

4. Yet beſide theſe particular lively Characters of experimental joy or grief, fear, or confidence: their conſonancy with the hiſtorical truth of alterations in the ſtate of Jewry, will much illuſtrate the former obſervations. For albeit the Pſalmiſts in their greateſt diſtreſſes or calamities, murmur not againſt the Lord God, as the Heathens do: yet the tenour of ſome late mentioned, with divers other Pſalms, argue that the people of God in thoſe times wherein they were written, either had not ſuch manifeſt ſigns of Gods favour; or elſe found not ſuch ſpeedy deliverance from the dangers feared, or calamities ſuffered by them, as the Prophet *David* in the 27 *Pſalm*, v. 1. and other of their Godly Anceſtors had done. *The Lord* (ſaith *David*) *is my light, and my ſalvation, whom ſhall I fear? The Lord is the ſtrength of my life, of whom ſhall I be afraid? Though an hoſt pitched againſt me, mine heart ſhould not be afraid: though war be raiſed againſt me, yet I will truſt in this*; to wit, upon his former experience of Gods mercies ſpecified, *v.* 2. *When the wicked mine enemies came, and my foes came upon me to eat up my fleſh, they ſtumbled and fell.* But greater was his confidence from the more often experience of Gods favour, when as his caſe otherwiſe, for the multitude and malignity of his enemies, was more deſperate, *Pſal.* 3. v. 1. *Many were his adverſaries that roſe up againſt* him; *and many that ſaid unto* his

ſoul (when he fled from his ſon *Abſolom*) v. 2. *There is no help for him in his God.* Yet he, as an expert Souldier, cannot be terrified with ſtales or brags, but betaketh himſelf unto his weapons, *v.* 3. *Thou Lord art a buckler for me, my glory, and the lifter up of my head.* So little is he diſmayed, that after his prayers he taketh his quiet reſt; v. 4. *I did call upon the Lord with my voyce, and he heard me out of his holy mountain. I laid me down and ſlept, and roſe again, for the Lord ſuſtained me;* v. 5, *I will not be afraid for ten thouſand of the people, that ſhould beſet me round about.* The ſame confidence, raiſed from the experience of Gods aſſiſtance, was in the Author of the 46 Pſalm, *God is our help and ſtrength, a very preſent help in trouble: Therefore will we not fear though the earth be moved, and though the mountains fall into the midſt of the Sea.* The manner of *Davids* carriage, his confident preſaging of good ſucceſs, in times more apt to breed deſpair in others leſs experienced in aſſiſtance from above, expreſt in ſundry Pſalms, compoſed when he fled from *Saul*, yield abundance of obſervations pregnant for this purpoſe.

5. Otherwhiles this Kingly Prophet expoſtulates the wrongs offered by his enemies ſo confidently, and relateth his own integrity in ſuch pathetical and ſerious manner, that unleſs the inſcription of his Petitions, or other Hiſtorical circumſtance, did give us notice to whom he tendred his complaints, we would think that they had been ſo many reports of what he had openly pleaded at ſome Bar, or Court of Civil Juſtice, in the perſonal preſence, ſight, or audience of ſome viſible Judge, ready to give ſentence for him upon the firſt hearing of his cauſe. If any civil Heathen, that never had heard of any inviſible God, ſhould have taken up ſome of his Pſalms (the ninth for example) in the ſtreets, he would have imagined that the Author of them had either heard ſome ſupreme Magiſtrate in his time deeply proteſting his reſolution for righting the poor, or elſe had been moſt intimately acquainted with the integrity of his proceedings in matters of Juſtice, that he durſt ſo confidently avouch unto the world on his behalf, *Pſalm* 9. *v.* 8. *He ſhall judge the world in righteouſneſs, and the people with equity,* v. 9, *The Lord alſo will be a refuge for the poor, a refuge in due time, even in affliction.* v. 10. *And they that know thy Name, will truſt in thee: for thou Lord haſt not failed them that ſeek thee.* So lively was *Davids* and other Ancient Pſalmiſts experience of the inviſible Gods aſſiſtance always ready, as well in war as in peace, as well in executing judgement upon their treacherous, deceitful or ſecret enemies, as in giving them victory over their profeſt and potent Foes.

6. But Poſterity had not, oftentimes, ſo full experience of the ſame aſſiſtance, as appeareth from the manner of their complaints. The reaſon of this diverſity, in the ancient and later Pſalmiſts apprehenſion of Gods favour; either in delivering them from danger, or righting them from wrong; was from the diverſity of Times, the later not yielding ſo manifeſt and frequent documents of Gods mercy or juſtice, as the former had done. As Gods plagues upon the Ancient Iſraelites were oft-times ſudden, and (for the time) violent; ſo their deliverance from them was ſpeedy, becauſe their ſtubbornneſs was leſs, and the ſins, for which they were to repent, of leſs continuance. *But the continual increaſe of this peoples wickedneſs, in their ſucceſſions, and poſterities ſlackneſs, in ſorrowing either for their own*

or Predeceſſors ſins, made Gods plagues inflicted upon them more durable, as appeareth by the long Captivities and oppreſſions of this people in later Ages, if we compare them with the often, but ſhort afflictions, which in former times had befallen them. This long durance of great calamities, made Poſterity leſs apprehenſive of Gods promiſes than their forefathers had been; at the leaſt, whiles theſe continued, they were leſs acquainted with Gods favour than their Predeceſſors were. And from the want of like ſenſible experience of his preſent help in time of trouble, later generations are more querulous and leſs confident in their prayers uttered in their diſtreſs, as we may ſee in the 98, and other Pſalms, conceived by the Godly amongſt this people in the calamities of later times. Thus we may ſee how truly the diverſity of Gods dealing with his people in different Ages, is repreſented in the Character, Stile or Affection of theſe ſacred Writers, all much different in former and later Ages: much more may we preſume, that the general and true Diverſity of Times, and GODS divers manner of proceeding with mankind in their ſeveral Generations, is moſt truly related and exemplified in the Hiſtorical relations of the ſame ſacred Volumes; of which in the Section following.

7. Thus much of Experiments, or Obſervations drawn from the Character, or tenor of theſe ſacred Writings themſelves, or their Writers Affections repreſented in them. Theſe I have gathered, not that I can hope to perſwade any man ſo much by reading them, as by occaſioning him to obſerve the like, whiles he readeth theſe ſacred Volumes. For every man that readeth them with attentive Obſervation, may apprehend much more for the framing of true *Belief* in his own heart, than he can expreſs to others: yea, to ſeek to make full reſemblance of our inward *Belief*, or ſuch Experiments as confirm it, by outward diſcourſe, were all one, as if a man out of the ſlight impreſſion or tranſitory repreſentation of his own face which he had lately beheld in a Glaſs, ſhould ſeek to deſcribe it as fully and perfectly to another mans Apprehenſion, as if he had looked upon it with him in the ſame Glaſs.

8. As the Repreſentation of our bodily ſhape, is lively and perfect whileſt we behold it in a true and perfect Glaſs; but the Memorial or Phantaſie of it when we are gone thence, imperfect and dull: So is the apprehenſion of our own, or experiments of others *Belief*, ſenſible and freſh, whileſt we ſet our hearts and minds unto this perfect Law of Liberty, the onely true Glaſs of our Souls; but more hard to retain in memory, or to be fully repreſented to another by diſcourſe, than our bodily ſhape is by a bare deſcription. And as in the Art of Painting, general rules may be given for the right drawing of Pictures, yet he that will take any particular mans, muſt look upon the live face it ſelf, or uſe the benefit of his Glaſs: So in this caſe, there may be good directions given, how men ſhould draw Experiments, or take Obſervations of this kind, which being taken, cannot be fully imprinted in another, by him that took them: but every man muſt have continual recourſe unto this Spiritual Glaſs, which far ſurpaſſeth all bodily Glaſſes in this; that in It we may ſee, not onely the true ſhape and proportion of our Souls as they are, or of what faſhion they ſhould be; but It hath alſo an operative force of aſſimilating them unto the paterns of god-

ly and religious mens Souls repreſented herein, yea, even of tranſforming them into the ſimilitude of that Image wherein they were firſt created. *The* Ideas *of Sanctity and Righteouſneſs contained in this* Spiritual Glaſs, *are the cauſes of our Edification in good life and Vertue: as the* Idea *or Platform in the Artificers head, is the cauſe of the Material houſe that is builded by it.*

SECT. II.

Of Experiments and Obſervations External, anſwerable to the rules of Scripture.

CHAP. VII.

Containing the Topick, whence ſuch Obſervations muſt be drawn.

1. IF the Books of ſome Ancient rare Author, who had written in ſundry Arts, ſhould be found in this Age; all bearing the Authors name and other commendable Titles prefixed: a reaſonable man would ſoon be perſwaded, that they were his whoſe name they bore; but ſooner, if he had any poſitive arguments to perſwade himſelf of their Antiquity, or if they were commended to him by the authority or report of men in this caſe credible. But, beſides all theſe, if every man according to his Experience or skill in thoſe Arts and Faculties which this Ancient Writer handles, ſhould upon due examination of his Concluſions or diſcourſe, find reſolution in ſuch points as he had always wavered in before; or be inſtructed in matters of his Profeſſion or Obſervation, whereof he was formerly ignorant: this would much ſtrengthen his aſſent unto the former reports or traditions concerning their Author, or unto the due praiſes and Titles prefixed to his Works; albeit he that made this trial, could not prove the ſame truth ſo fully to another, nor cauſe him to *Believe* it ſo firmly as he himſelf doth, unleſs he could induce him to examine his writings by like Experiments, in ſome faculty wherein the Examiner had ſome, though leſs, skill. And yet, after the like trial made, he, that had formerly doubted, would *Believe* theſe works to be the ſuppoſed Authors, and ſubſcribe unto the Titles and commendations prefixed, not ſo much for the Formers Report or Authority, as from his own Experience. Now we have more certain Experiments to prove that the Scriptures are the word of God, than we can have to prove any mens works to be their ſuppoſed Authors: for one Author in any age may be as good as another; He perhaps better, of whom we have heard leſs. We could in the former caſe only certainly Believe that the Author, whoſoever, was an excellent Scholar; but we could not be ſo certain that it was none other but he whoſe name it did bear:

For there may be many *Ariſtotles* and many *Platoes*, many Excellent men in every Profeſſion, yet but *One God that is All in All*; whoſe Works we ſuppoſe the Scriptures are, which upon ſtrict examination will evince him alone to have been their Author.

2. *The means then of eſtabliſhing our aſſent unto any part of Scripture, muſt be from Experiments and Obſervations agreeable to the rules in Scripture.* For when we ſee the reaſon and manner of ſundry events, either related by others, or experienced in our ſelves, which otherwiſe we could never have reached unto by any Natural Skill; or, generally, when we ſee any effects or concurrence of things which cannot be aſcribed to any but a Supernatural Cauſe, and yet they fully agreeing to the Oracles of Scriptures or Articles of *Belief*: This is a ſure Pledge unto us, that he who is the *Author of Truth*, and gives being unto all things, was the *Author of Scriptures*.

3. Such Events and Experiments are divers, and according to their diverſities may work more or leſs on divers diſpoſitions; Some may find more of one ſort, ſome of another, none all. Some again may be more induced to Believe the truth of Scriptures from one ſort of Experiments, ſome from others. *Thoſe obſervations are always beſt for every man, which are moſt incident to his Vocation.* With ſome variety of theſe obſervations or Experiments we are in the next place to acquaint divers Readers.

CHAP. VIII.

That Heatheniſh Fables ought not to Prejudice Divine Truth.

1. NOthing more uſual to men, wiſe enough in their generation, than for the variety or multitude of falſe reports concerning any Subject, to diſcredit All that are extant of the ſame. And all inclination unto diffidence or diſtruſt is not always to be miſliked; but onely when it ſways too far, or extends it ſelf beyond the limits of its proper Circumference, that is, matters of Bargain or ſecular Commerce. As this diffident temper is moſt common in the cunning managers of ſuch affairs: ſo the firſt degree or propenſion to it were not much amiſs in them, did they not *Tranſcendere à genere ad genus*; that is, were not their Miſtruſt commonly too generally rigid and ſtiff. For moſt men of great dealings in the world, finding many ſlippery companions, hold it no ſin to be at the leaſt ſuſpicious of all: Others, being often cozened by ſuch as have had the name and reputation of Honeſt men, begin to doubt whether there be any ſuch thing indeed, as that which men call *Honeſtie*; and from this doubting about the real nature of Honeſtie in the Abſtract, they reſolve undoubtedly, That if any man in theſe days do not deal ill with others, it is onely for want of fit opportunity to do himſelf any great good, But as Facility in yielding Aſſent, unleſs it be moderated by diſcretion, is an infallible Conſequent of too great ſimplicity, and lays a man open to abuſe and wrong in matters of this life: *ſo General Miſtruſt is the certain forerunner of Infidelity*, and makes a man apt enough to cozen himſelf, without a tempter, in matters of the life to come; though otherwiſe this is the

very diſpoſition which the great Tempter works moſt upon: who for this reaſon, when any notable truth of greater moment falls out, labours by all means to fill the world with reports of like events, but ſuch as upon examination he foreſees will prove falſe: for he knows well, that the *Belief* of moſt pregnant truths may by this means be much impaired, as honeſt men are uſually miſtruſted when the world is full of knaves. And to ſpeak the truth, *It is but a very ſhort Cut betwixt general and rigid Miſtruſt in worldly dealings, and Infidelity in ſpiritual matters*; which indeed is but a kind of diffidence or miſtruſt: and he that from the experience of often cozenage comes once to this point, That he will truſt none in worldly affairs but upon ſtrong ſecurity or legal aſſurance, may eaſily be tranſported by the variety or multitude of reports, in ſpiritual matters, notoriouſly falſe, to Believe nothing but upon the ſure pledge and evidence of his own Senſe or natural Reaſon. This is one main fountain of Atheiſm; of which (God willing) in the Article of the Godhead. In this place I onely deſire to give the Reader notice of Satans Policy, and to advertiſe him withal, that as there is kind of *Ingenuous Simplicity*, which if it match with ſobriety and ſerious meditation, doth prepare our Hearts to *Chriſtian Belief*; ſo there is a kind of *Suſpicion*, by which we may out-reach the old Serpent in his ſubtilty, and prevent his former Method of deceit. So, whileſt we read or hear variety of reports concerning any *notable Event*, or many Writers beating about one matter, every one of which may ſeem improbable in particular Circumſtances, or elſe their diverſity ſuch as makes them Incompatible; *we ſhould be Jealous, that there were ſome notable Truth, whoſe Belief did concern us, which Satan hath ſought to diſparage* by the mixture, either of groſs improbable fruitleſs fables, or elſe of diſſonant probabilities.

2. Truth is the Life and nutriment of the world, and the Scriptures are the Veins or Veſſels wherein it is contained; which ſoon corrupts and putrifies, unleſs it be preſerved in them, as in its proper Receptacles, as both the fabulous conceits of the Heathen and fooliſh practices of the Romiſh Church in many points may witneſs. But as from Aſphaltites, or the dead ſea, we may find out the pleaſant ſtreams and freſh ſprings of *Jordan*: ſo from the degenerate and corruped relliſh of *decayed Truth*, which is frequent in the puddle and ſtanding lakes of Heathen Writers, we may be led to the pure *Fountain of Truth* contained in theſe ſacred Volumes of Scripture.

3. The Experiments, which now we ſeek or would occaſion others (*chiefly young ſtudents*) to obſerve, are ſuch as the Heathen did gueſs at; or men out of the works of nature, by reading of Poets, or Ancient Writers, may yet doubt of: whereas the true reſolution of them only depends upon the Truth ſet down in Scripture.

CHAP. IX.

Obſervations out of Poets in general, and of Dreams in particular.

1. THe moſt *exquiſite Poems are but a kind of pleaſant waking dream, and the art of Poetry a lively imitation of ſome delightful viſions.* And as nothing comes into a mans Fancy by night in dreams, but the parts or matters of it have been formerly in his outward ſenſes (for even when we dream of golden Mountains or Chimeras, the ſeveral ingredients have a real and ſenſible truth in them; only the frame or proportion is ſuch, as hath no ſenſible example in the works of nature:) ſo in ancient Poems, which were not made in imitation of former, as pictures drawn from pictures, but immediately deviſed (as we now ſuppoſe) from the ſenſible experiments of thoſe times (as pictures drawn from a living face) many parts and lims have a real and ſenſible truth, only the compoſition or frame is Artificial and feigned, ſuch as cannot perhaps be parallel'd in every circumſtance, with any real events in the courſe of times. And albeit the events (which the moſt ancient Poets relate) through long diſtance of time, ſeem moſt ſtrange to us, yet is the ground (of their *Devices* eſpecially) Such, as upon better ſearch may always be referred to ſome *Hiſtorical truth*, which yielded ſtuff to Poetical ſtructure, as days ſpectacles do unto nights viſions. This *Ariſtotle* had obſerved out of the practice of the beſt ancient Poets, and preſcribes it as a rule to Poets, to have always an Hiſtorical truth for their Ground. Nor durſt Poets have been ſo audacious in their fictions at the firſt, ſeeing their profeſſion was but either to imitate nature, or adorn a known truth; not to diſparage any truthby prodigious or monſtrous fictions, without any ground of like experience. For this is a fundamental law of their Art;

Curandum, ut quando non ſemper Vera profamur,
Fingentes, ſaltem ſint illa Simillima Veri.

Hieron. Vida Lib. 2. Poet.

Though al's not true that feigning Poets ſing,
Yet nought on Stage but in truths likeneſs bring.

None, I think, will be ſo fooliſh as to take *Homer* in the literal ſence when he tels us how *Iris* by day, and *Sleep* by night, run Errands for the greater Gods, and come with theſe and the like meſſages unto Kings chambers:

Ὀυ χρὴ παννύχιον εὕδειν βουληφόρον Ἄνδρα.

Who will by counſel guide a State,
Muſt early riſe, and lie down late.

Yet with ſuch Artificial and painted plumes oftentimes are covered true and natural bodies, though the meſſengers be Poetical and feigned; yet theſe kinds of night-meſſages had an Hiſtorical truth: for not the Poets only, but many great Philoſophers of the old world, have taken Nocturnal preſages for no dreams or fancies. Hence did *Homer* uſurp his liberty, in feigning his Kings and Heroicks, ſo often admoniſhed of their future eſtate by the gods: he preſumed at leaſt, that theſe fictions might carry a ſhew of truth in that age, wherein ſuch admonitions by night were not unuſual. And his conceit is not diſſonant unto the ſacred ſtory, which bears record of like effects in Ancient times, and gives the true cauſe of their expiration in later.

2. So uſual were dreams among the Patriarchs, and their interpretations ſo well known, that *Jacob* could at the firſt hearing interpret his young ſon *Joſephs* dream, *Gen.* 37. 10, 11. *What is this dream that thou haſt dreamed? Shall I, and thy mother and thy brethren come indeed, and fall on the ground before thee?* Nor did he take it only for a Fable, no more then his brethren had done his former for a Fancy; for, as the text ſaith, *his brethren envied him, but his father noted the ſaying.* And *Joſeph* himſelf coming to riper years, was as expert in interpreting *Pharaohs* and his ſervants dreams, *Gen.* 40. *verſe* 12, 13. *Then* Joſeph *ſaid unto him, this is the interpretation of it: The three branches are three days; within three days ſhall* Pharaoh *lift up thine head, and reſtore thee unto thine office, and thou ſhalt give* Pharaohs *cup into his hand, after the old manner when thou waſt his Butler.* And *verſe* 19. *Within three days ſhall* Pharaoh *take thine head from thee, and ſhall hang thee on a tree, and the birds ſhall eat thy fleſh from off thee.* Theſe conſiderations will not ſuffer me miſtruſt divers Ancient Hiſtoriographers, making report, how Princes and Fathers of Families have had fore-warnings of future events, either concerning themſelves, their Kingdoms or Poſterity. Nor were all dreams among the Heathens illuſions of wicked ſpirits: for *Elihu* ſpake, out of the common experience of thoſe Ancient times wherein he lived; *God ſpeaketh once or twice,* (that is, uſually) *and one ſeeth it not. In dreams and viſions of the night, when ſleep falleth upon men, and they ſleep upon their beds, then he openeth the ears of men, even by their corrections, which he had ſealed, that he might cauſe man to turn away from his enterpriſe, and that he might hide the pride of man, and keep back his ſoul from the pit, and that his life ſhould not paſs by the ſword.* A lively experiment of *Elihu* his obſervation we have, *Gen.* 20. 3. When *Abimelech* King of Gerar had taken *Sarah, Abrahams* wife, *God came to him in a dream by night, and ſaid to him, Behold, thou art but dead, becauſe of the woman which thou haſt taken; for ſhe is a mans wife.* And again, *verſe* 6, 7. *God ſaid unto him by a dream, I know that thou didſt this even with an upright mind, and I kept thee alſo that thou ſhouldeſt not ſin againſt me, therefore ſuffered I not thee to touch her: Now then deliver the man his wife again; for he is a Prophet, and he ſhall pray for thee, that thou mayeſt live: but if thou deliver her not again, be ſure that thou ſhalt die the death, thou, and all that thou haſt.* And *Moſes* witneſſeth the ordinary Prophecy of ancient times to have conſiſted of dreams and viſions, *Numb.* 12. 6, 7. *If there be a Prophet of the Lord amongſt you, I will be known unto him by a viſion, and will ſpeak unto him by a dream. My ſervant* Moſes *is not ſo* (that is, he is no ordinary Prophet) *unto him will I ſpeak mouth to mouth, and by viſion, and not in dark words, but he ſhall ſee the ſimilitude of the Lord.*

Gen. 37. 10.
Verſe 11.
Job 33.
Verſe 14.
Verſe 15.
Verſe 16.
Verſe 17.

3. Theſe allegations ſufficiently prove, that night-dreams and viſions were frequent, and their obſervation (if taken in ſobriety)

to good uſe, in Ancient times even amongſt the Nations, until they forgot, as *Joſeph* ſaid, *That interpretations were from God*, and ſought to find out an *Art of interpreting them*: Then night-viſions did either ceaſe, or were ſo mixt with deluſions, that they could not be diſcerned; or, if their events were in ſome ſort foreſeen, yet men being ignorant of Gods providence, commonly made choice of ſuch means for their avoidance, as proved the neceſſary occaſions or provocations of the events they feared.

Gen. 40. 8.

4 Much better was the temper of the Nations before *Homers* time: They, amongſt other kinds of propheſyings and Sooth-ſayings, held dreams and their interpretations (as all other good gifts) to be from God. As no evil was done in the Grecian Camp, which the Gods, in their opinion, did not cauſe, ſo *Homer* brings in *Achilles* adviſing *Agamemnon* to conſult their Gods interpreters with all ſpeed for what offence committed againſt them they had ſent the Peſtilence into their Camp.

'Αλλ' ἄγε δή τινα Μάντιν ἐρείομεν, ἢ ἱερῆα
Ἢ καὶ 'Ονειροπόλον, καὶ γάρ τ' Ὄναρ ἐκ Διός ἐστιν.

Homer Il. 1.

But to what Prieſt, or Prophet ſhall we wend,
Or Dreamer? For even Dreams from *Jove* deſcend.

All thoſe kinds of Predictions had been in uſe amongſt the Heathens, as they were amongſt the Iſraelites; albeit in later times they grew rare in both: for the *encreaſe of wickedneſs* throughout the World, the multiplicity of buſineſs and *ſolicitude of Humane affairs*, and mens *too much minding of politick means*, and other ſecond cauſes of their own good, *did cauſe the defect of true dreams and other divine admonitions for the welfare of mankind.*

5. This cauſe the Scriptures give us, 1 *Sam.* 28. 6. *Saul* (who had followed the Faſhions of other Nations, not the preſcripts of Gods Word) *asked counſel of the Lord, but the Lord anſwered him not, neither by dreams, nor by* * *Urim, nor by Prophets.* His ſins had made a ſeparation between him and the God of Iſrael, who for this cauſe will not afford his preſence to his Prieſts or Prophets that came as mediators betwixt *Saul* and him; much leſs would he vouchſafe his Spirit unto ſuch Prieſts or Prophets as were carnally minded themſelves. This was a rule ſo well known to the people of God, that *Strabo* from the tradition of it (for *Moſes* his ſtory he had not read) reckons up this as a ſpecial point of *Moſes* his doctrine, concerning the worſhip of the God of Iſrael; his words are to this effect: Moſes *taught, that ſuch as lived chaſtly and uprightly ſhould be inſpired with true viſions by night, and ſuch men it was meet, ſhould conſult the Divine Powers in the Temple by night-viſions: but others, who were not ſo well minded, ought not to intrude themſelves into this ſacreed buſineſs; or, if they would, they were to expect no true viſions, but Illuſions or idle dreams; from God they were not to expect any.* Yet may it not be denied, but that the Heathens were oft-times, by Gods permiſſion, truly reſolved by Dreams or Oracles (though miniſtred by Devils) of events that ſhould come; but ſeldom were ſuch reſolutions for their good: So the Witch, which *Saul* moſt Heathen-like conſulted, when God had caſt him off, did procure

* i.e. *by Prieſts.*

See Strabo. Caſaubons *Edit. l.* 16. *p.* 761.

him a true prediction of his fearful end. This is a point wherein I could be large, but I will conclude. As the Heathens relations of ſundry events uſual in Ancient times, confirm the truth of the like, recorded in Scripture; ſo the Scriptures give the true cauſes of their *Being*, *Ceaſing*, or *Alteration*: which the corrupt and Polypragmatical diſpoſition of later Ages, without revelation from the cauſe of cauſes and diſpoſer of times, could never have dreamed of; as may partly appear from what hath been ſaid of Dreams; more fully from that, which follows next of Oracles.

CHAP. X.

Of Oracles.

I Have often and daily occaſion (for the ſatisfaction of my mind in ſundry queſtions that might otherwiſe have vext me) to thank my God, that as he made me a Reaſonable Creature, and of a Reaſonable Creature a Student or contemplator, ſo He did not make me a meer Philoſopher: (though *Plato* thought this deſerved the greateſt thanks, as being the greateſt benefit beſtowed upon him by his God) but never was I more incited in this reſpect to bleſs the day wherein I was made a Chriſtian, then when I read *Plutarchs* Tract of the cauſes why Oracles ceaſed in his time. Whether Heathen Oracles were all illuſions of Devils or ſome uttered by God himſelf for their good (though oft-times without ſucceſs, by reaſon of their curioſity and ſuperſtition) I now diſpute not. That Oracles in ancient times had been frequent; that ſuch events had been foretold by them, as ſurpaſſed the skill of humane reaſon: all Records of unpartial Antiquity bear uncontrolable evidence. Nor did the Heathen Philoſophers themſelves, which lived in the Ages immediately following their decay, call the truth of their former uſe in queſtion: but from *Admiration of this known change*, they were incited to ſearch the cauſe of their ceaſing. *Plutarch*, after his acute ſearch of ſundry cauſes and accurate Philoſophical diſputes, refers it partly unto the *Abſence of his Demoniacal Spirits, which by his Philoſophy might die or flit from place to place, either exiled by others more potent, or upon ſome other diſlike*; and *partly unto the alteration of the ſoil*, wherein Oracles were ſeated, which yielded not Exhalations of ſuch a divine temper as in former times it had done; and without a certain temperature of exhalations or breathing of the Earth, the Demoniacal Spirits (he thought) could not give their Oracles, more then a Muſician can play without an inſtrument. And this decay or alteration of the ſoil of *Delphi*, and like places, was (in his judgment) probable, from the like known experience in ſundry Rivers, Lakes, and hot-Baths; which, in ſome places did quite dry up and vaniſh; in others, much decay for a long time, or change their courſe; and yet afterwards recover their former courſe or ſtrength, either in the ſame places, or ſome near adjoyning. Thus he expected Oracles ſhould either come in uſe again in *Greece*, or elſe burſt out in ſome more convenient Soil. The Atheiſts of this age (our Engliſh home-bred ones at leaſt) have altogether as great reaſon to deny the decay or drying up of Rivers and Lakes, as to ſuſpect

Lib de Defectu Oraculorum.

ſuſpect the frequency of Oracles, or other events in times paſt: for neither they nor their fathers have had any more experience of the one than of the other. *Plutarchs* teſtimony (amongſt many others) is Authentick for the uſe and decay of Oracles: but neither his Authority, nor the reaſons which he brings, can give ſatisfaction to any man that ſeeks the true cauſe of their defect. He refers it (indeed) in a generality to the Gods; not that they wanted good will to mankind ſtill, but that the matter did decay which their Miniſters (the demoniacal Spirits) did work upon, as you heard before. We may upon ſure grounds with confidence affirm, That even this decay of matter, which he dreams of (had it conferred ought to the uſe of Oracles) was from God. And *he* (as the Pſalmiſt ſpeaks) *that turneth the floods into a wilderneſs, and dryeth up the water ſprings, and maketh a fruitful land barren, for the iniquity of them that dwell therein,* did alſo bring, not onely the Oracle of *Delphi*, ſo much frequented amongſt the Grecians, but all other kinds of divinations, uſed amongſt his own people in the old World, to deſolation: and by pouring out his Spirit more plenteouſly upon the barren hearts of us Heathen, hath filled the Barbarous Nations of *Europe* with better ſtore of Rivers of comfort than the Ancient Iſrael, his own inheritance, had ever known. Or if we deſire a more immediate cauſe of theſe Oracles defect amongſt the Heathens; the time was come, *that the ſtrong mans houſe was to be entred, his goods ſpoiled, and himſelf bound; now the Prince of this world was to be caſt out.*

Pſal. 107.

Matth. 12.29.
John 12. 31.

Plutarchs relation of his demoniacal Spirits mourning for great *Pans* death, about this time, is ſo ſtrange, that it might perhaps ſeem a Tale, unleſs the truth of the common bruit had been ſo conſtantly avouched by ear-witneſſes unto *Tiberius*, that it made him call a Convocation of Wiſe men, as *Herod* did at our Saviours birth, to reſolve him who this great *Pan*, late deceaſed, ſhould be. *Thamous*, the Egyptian Maſter (unknown by that name to his Paſſengers, until he anſwered to it at the third call of an uncouth voyce, uttered *ſine Authore* from the land, requeſting him to proclaim the news of great *Pans* death, as he paſſed by *Palodes*) was reſolved to have let all paſs as a Fancy or idle Meſſage, if the wind and tide ſhould grant him paſſage by the place appointed: but, the wind failing him on a ſudden, at his coming thither, he thought it but a little loſs of breath to cry out aloud unto the ſhore, as he had been requeſted, *Great* Pan *is dead.* The words, as *Plutarch* relates, were ſcarce out of his mouth, before they were anſwered with a huge noiſe, as it had been of a multitude, ſighing and groaning at this wonderment. If theſe Spirits had been by nature mortal, as this Philoſopher thinks, the death of their chief Captain could not have ſeemed ſo ſtrange: but that a far greater than the greateſt of them, by whoſe power the firſt of them had his being, ſhould dye to redeem his enemies from their thraldom, might well ſeem a matter of wonderment and ſorrow unto them. The circumſtance of the time will not permit me to doubt, but that *under the known name of* Pan *was intimated the great Shepherd of our ſouls, that had then laid down his life for his flock*; not the feigned ſon of *Mercury* and *Penelope*, * as the Wiſemen fooliſhly reſolved *Tiberius*: Albeit even this baſe and counterfeit reſolution of theſe Heathens coyning, bears a lively image

* Οἷα δὲ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων παρόντων, ταχὺ τὸν λόγον ἐν Ρώμῃ σκεδασθῆναι, καὶ τὸν Θαμοῦν γενέσθαι μετάπεμπτον ὑπὸ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος· οὕτω δὲ πιστεῦσαι τῷ λόγῳ τὸν Τιβέριον, ὥστε διαπυνθάνεσθαι καὶ ζητεῖν περὶ τοῦ Πανός. εἰκάζειν δὲ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν φιλολόγους συχνοὺς ὄντας, τὸν ἐξ Ερμοῦ καὶ Πηνελόπης γεγενημένον. Plut. ubi ſup.

image (for the exact proportion) of the divine truth, Charactred out unto us in Scripture. For it ſhall appear by ſufficient teſtimonies, in their due time and place to be produced, that ſundry general, confuſed, or Enigmatical traditions of our Saviours Conception, Birth, and Paſtoral Office, had been ſpread abroad amongſt the Nations. Hence, inſtead of *Him*, they frame a *Pan*, the God of Shepherds; inſtead of the *Holy Spirit*, by whom he was to be conceived, they have a *Mercury* (their falſe Gods feigned Meſſenger and Interpreter) for *Pans* father; inſtead of the *Bleſſed Virgin*, who was to bear our Saviour, they have a *Penelope* for their young Gods Mother. The affinity of quality and offices, in all the parties here parallel'd, made this transfiguration of divine Truth eaſie unto the Heathen; and the manner of it cannot ſeem improbable to us, if we conſider the wonted vanity of their imaginations, in transforming the glory of the Immortal God into the ſimilitude of earthly things, moſt diſlike to it in nature and quality. Thus admitting *Plutarchs* ſtory to be moſt true, it no way proves his intended concluſion, that the wild goatiſh *Pan* was mortal: but the Scriptures ſet forth unto us the true cauſe, why both he, and all the reſt of that helliſh crew ſhould at that time howl and mourn, ſeeing by the *Great Shepherds Death* they were become *Dead in Law*; no more to breath in Oracles, but quite to be deprived of all ſuch ſtrange motions, as they had ſeduced the ignorant World with, before. All the antick tricks of *Faunus*, the Satyrs, and ſuch like creatures, were now put down; God had reſolved to make a tranſlation of his Church; and for this cauſe the Devils were enforced to diſſolve their old Chappels, and ſeek a new form of their Liturgy or Service. Whileſt the Iſraelites were commanded to conſult with Gods Prieſts, Prophets, or other Oracles, before they undertook any difficult war or matters of moment, Satan had his Prieſts and Oracles as much frequented by Heathen Princes upon the like occaſions. So *Strabo* witneſſeth, That the Ancient Heathen, in their chief conſultations of State, did rely more upon Oracles than humane policy. If *Moſes* were *forty days in the Mount*, to receive Laws from Gods own mouth; *Minos* will be *Jupiters* Auditor, in his Den or Cave, for the ſame purpoſe. In emulation of *Shiloh*, or *Kirjath-jearim*, whileſt the Ark of God remained there, the Heathens had *Dodona*; and for *Jeruſalem*, they had *Delphi*, garniſhed with rich donatives of Foreign Princes as well as Grecians; ſo magnified alſo by Grecian Writers, as if it had been the intended *Parallel of the holy City*. Inſomuch, that *Plutarch* thinks the ſtory, commonly received of that Oracles original, to be leſs probable, becauſe it aſcribes the invention of it to Chance, and not to the Divine Providence, or Favour of the Gods, when as it had been ſuch a direction unto *Greece*, in undertaking wars, in building Cities, and in times of Peſtilence and Famine. Whether theſe effects in Ancient times had been always from the information of Devils (as I ſaid before) I will not diſpute. That this Oracle had been often conſulted, it is evident; and that oftentimes the Devils deluded ſuch as conſulted them, is as manifeſt. *But ſince that ſaying of the Prophet was fulfilled*, I will put my Law in their inward parts, and write in their hearts; *ſince the knowledge of Truth hath been ſo plenteouſly made known and revealed, and the principles of Religion ſo much dilated and enlarged by*

Lib. citato.

Plat. in Minoe

Plut. ibid.

Jer. 31. 33.

diſcourſe, the Devil hath choſen proud hearts and buſie brains for his Oracles; ſeeking by their ſubtilty of wit, and plauſibility of diſcourſe, to counterfeit and corrupt the form of wholeſome Doctrine; as he did of old, the truth of Gods viſible Oracles, by his Apiſh Imitations.

3. This concluſion then is evident, both from the joynt authority of all Ancient Writers, as well prophane as ſacred, That *God in former times had ſpoken unto the World by Dreams, Viſions, Oracles, Prieſts and Prophets; and that ſuch revelations had been, amongſt the Iſraelites, as the Stars or Night-Lamps; amongſt the Heathen as Meteors, fiery Apparitions, or wandering Comets, for their direction in the time of darkneſs and ignorance.* But when both the ſenſible experience of our times, and the relations of former Ages, moſt unpartiall in this caſe, have ſufficiently declared unto us, *That all the former twinckling Lights are vaniſhed*; the reaſon of this alteration, I ſee, men might ſeek by Natural Cauſes, as *Plutarch* did; but this doubt is cleared, and the queſtion truly reſolved by our Apoſtle in theſe words, *At ſundry times, and in divers manners, God ſpake in the old time to our Fathers by the Prophets; in theſe laſt days he hath ſpoken unto us by his Son, whom he hath made Heir of all things, by whom alſo he made the world:* who, *being* (as the Apoſtle there ſaith) *the Brightneſs of his glory*, hath put the former lights, which ſhined in darkneſs, to flight. The conſideration hereof confirms the truth of our Apoſtle to all ſuch as are not blinded in heart, where he ſaith, That *the night was paſt, and the day was come:* For the ſudden vaniſhing of all former lights, about this time (aſſigned by Chriſtians) of our Saviours Birth, abundantly evince, That this was the *Sun of Righteouſneſs, which* (as the Prophet had foretold) *ſhould ariſe unto the world.* It was the light which had lately appeared in the Coaſts of *Jury*, then approaching *Italy*, *Greece*, and other of theſe *Weſtern Countreys*, which did cauſe theſe ſons of darkneſs (the demoniacal Spirits) *to flit weſtward*, as Darkneſs it ſelf doth from the face of the Sun, when it begins to appear in the *Eaſt*. And *Plutarch* tells us, That *after they had forſaken the Countrey of Greece, they haunted littled deſart Iſlands, near adjoyning to the coaſts of this our* Britany; *where they raiſed ſuch hideous ſtorms and tempeſts, as Navigators report they have done of late in that Iſland, called by their own Name.* Both reports had their times of truth; and the like may be yet true, in ſome places, more remote from commerce of Chriſtians. But the Heathen (as Heatheniſh minded men do even to this day) ſought the reaſons of ſuch alterations from ſenſible Agents, or ſecond Cauſes, which have ſmall affinity with thoſe effects: or if they had, yet the diſpoſition of ſuch cauſes depends wholly upon his will, who, though moſt *Immutable in Himſelf, changeth times and ſeaſons at His pleaſure.* And whereſoever the light of his Goſpel cometh, it verifieth that ſaying of our Apoſtle, *Ecce vetera tranſierunt, & nova facta ſunt omnia:* And new times yield new obſervations; which cannot be taken aright, nor their cauſes known, without eſpecial directions from this rule of Life. By which it plainly appeareth, that the *ſecond* main *Period of the World*, ſince the Flood (whoſe beginning we account from the Promulgation of the Law, and the diſtinction of the Iſraelites from other people, until the time of Grace) *yields great alteration and matter of much different obſervation from the former.* And in the declining, or later

Heb. 1. 1.

Malach, 4. 2.

Plut. ibid.

part of this ſecond age, we have deſcribed unto us, as it were, *an Ebbe or ſtanch in the affairs of the Kingdom of Iſrael, going before the general Fulneſs of Time*: After which we ſee the Tenor of all things in *Jury*, and of other Kingdoms of the world, quite changed. But the particulars of this change I intend to handle hereafter: I now would proſecute my former obſervations of the old world.

4. Continually, whileſt we compare *Ancient Poets or Stories* with the *Book of Geneſis*, and other volumes of ſacred Antiquity: theſe ſacred books give us the pattern of the waking thoughts of Ancient times. And the Heathen Poems, with other fragments of Ethnick writings (whoſe entire bodies, though not ſo aged as the former, being but the works of men, have periſhed) contain the dreams and fancies which ſucceeding ages by hear-ſay, and broken reports, had conceived, concerning the ſame or like matters. So no doubt had God diſpoſed, that the delight which men took in the uncertain Glimpſe of truth in the one, ſhould enure their mindes the better to obſerve the light which ſhineth in the other; and that the unſtable variety of the one, ſhould prepare mens hearts more ſtedfaſtly to imbrace the truth and ſtability of the other, when it ſhould be revealed unto them. And, as any man almoſt, if he be obſervant of his former actions, cogitations, and occurents, may find out the occaſion how dreams (though in themſelves oftentimes prodigious, abſurd and fooliſh) come into his Brain or Fancy: ſo may any judicious man, from the continual and ſerious obſervation of this Regiſter of truth, find out the Original, at leaſt, of all the principal heads or common places of Poetical fictions, or ancient Traditions, which cannot be imagined they ſhould ever have come into any mans fancy, unleſs from the Imitation of ſome Hiſtorical truth, or the Impulſion of real events ſtirring up admiration. *For Admiration* (as ſhall afterward appear) *did breed, and Imitation ſpoil, the divine Art of Poetry.*

Chap. XI.

Of the Apparitions of the Heathen Gods and their Heroicks.

1. Were all the works of Ancient Poets utterly loſt, and no tradition or print of their inventions left, ſo as the Art of Poetry were to begin anew, and the Theatre to be raiſed from the ground; the moſt curious wits in this or near adjoyning Countreys, might for many generations to come, *Beat their Brains, and ſift their Fancies*, until they had run over all the forms and compoſitions which the whole Alphabet of their Fantaſms could afford, before they could ever dream of bringing the gods in viſible ſhape upon the Stage, or interlacing their Poems with their often apparitions. And unleſs enſuing times ſhould yield matter of much different obſervations from that which theſe preſent do, this invention would be accounted dull, and find but ſorry and unwelcome entertainment of the auditors or ſpectators. That the like invention finds ſome acceptation now, it is, becauſe mens minds have been poſſeſſed with this conceit from the tradition

of their forefathers. For many inventions, which in ſucceſſion ceaſe to be of like uſe and conſequence as they were in former times, become yet matters of delight and ſport unto poſterity; as Shooting continues ſtill an Exerciſe of good recreation to us of this Land, becauſe it hath been a practice of admirable uſe and conſequence unto our worthy Anceſtors. But whence came this conceit of the gods appearing in ſenſible ſhapes, into *Homers* and other ancient Poets heads? How became it a common place of Poetical invention, whilſt Poetry it ſelf was but beginning? Surely, as God had ſpoken in divers manners unto the old world, ſo had he appeared in divers forms (perhaps) not only to the Iſraelites, but unto other nations alſo, before the diſtinction of this people from them: howſoever, as the Devils had counterfeited Gods manner of ſpeaking to his people, ſo did they the manner of His, or his Angels apparitions.

2. Such apparitions of God or his Angels, the ſacred Story tells us, were frequent, not only in *Abrahams*, *Iſaacs*, *Jacobs*, and the Patriarchs times, but in the Ages immediately going before the times that *Homer* wrote of: ſo that the traditions of theſe undoubted Experiments (if *Greece* or *Aſia* had not the like in *Homers* time) might then be freſh and unqueſtionable. So God appeared to *Moſes* in the Buſh; his Angel to *Balaam*, to *Gideon*, to *Manoah* and his wife. The like apparitions in times following were more rare in Iſrael; not that the date of Gods or his Angels extraordinary preſence, was utterly expired: but their preſence was ſeldom apprehended, by reaſon of that peoples blindneſs of heart, and want of Prophets eyes. For *Eliſha*'s ſervant had not ſeen ſo much as a glimpſe of any Angel, albeit a mighty Hoſt of theſe heavenly Souldiers had pitched their tents about him, unleſs his Maſter, by his prayer to God, had opened his eyes. His Maſter and he may be a perfect *Emblem* of the heavenly and worldly wiſe. The ſervant did ſee the hoſt of the Aſſyrians as clearly, perhaps more clearly, at the leaſt he deſcryed it ſooner than his Maſter did: *And when the ſervant of the man of God aroſe early to go out, behold, an hoſt compaſſed the City with horſes and chariots. Then his ſervant ſaid unto him, Alas Maſter, how ſhall we do? And he anſwered, Fear not: for they that be with us are more than they that be with them. Then Eliſha prayed, and ſaid, Lord open his eyes that he may ſee. And the Lord opened the eyes of the ſervant, and he looked, and behold, the mountain was full of horſes and chariots round about Eliſha.* This place, and that other of the Angels appearing to *Balaam*, may inſtruct us, that ſuch apparitions might be conſpicuous to ſome one or few whom they concerned, though not to others preſent with them: and that the eyes of ſome, which were open enough to worldly ſpectacles, might be cloſe ſhut to theſe celeſtial viſions, as the ears of others have been in like caſe. For S. *Paul* onely *Heard the voyce* which cryed aloud unto him: though *thoſe that were with him ſaw the light* that ſhone at his converſion, and were aſtoniſhed at it. From the like experience about *Greece* or *Aſia*, in his own, or the uſual tradition of the like in former times, did *Homer* bring in *Pallas* appearing thus to *Achilles*;

Exod. 3.2, *Numb.* 22.22.

Judg. 6.11. *Judg.* 13. 3.

2 *Kings* 6. 15. &c.

Acts 22. 9.

Οἴῳ φαινομένη τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὔτις ὁρᾶτο: *Iliad.* 1.

Of all the reſt, not one but he
The Goddeſs did, though preſent, ſee.

3. As the end and purpoſe which *Homer* aſſigns for theſe apparitions of his gods; ſo are both theſe, and many other particular circumſtances of his gods aſſiſting the Ancient Heroicks, ſuch as might juſtly breed offence to any ſerious Reader, if a man ſhould avouch them in earneſt, or ſeek to perſwade him to expect more than meer delight in them. Yet I cannot think, that he would have feigned ſuch an Aſſiſtance, unleſs the Valour of ſome men, in former times, had been extraordinary, and more than natural. Which ſupernatural Excellency in ſome before others, could not proceed but from a ſupernatural Cauſe. And thus far his conceit agrees with Scripture: that there were more Heroical ſpirits in old times, than in later, and more immediate directions from God, for managing of moſt wars. And from the experience hereof, the ancient Poets are more copious in their Hyperbolical praiſes of their Worthies, then the diſcreeter ſort of later Poets durſt be, whileſt they wrote of their own times. Not that the Ancient were more licentious, or leſs obſervant of *Decorum* in this kind of fiction, than the other: but *becauſe the manifeſtation of a Divine power in many of their victories, was more ſeen in Ancient, than in later times*: ſo that ſuch fictions, as to the ancient people might ſeem (by reaſon of theſe extraordinary events then frequent) very probable; would have been cenſured as ridiculous and apiſh in ſucceeding ages, wherein no like events were manifeſted. The like extraordinary manifeſtation of Gods power in Battel, and of this Heroical valour inſpired into men, we ſee moſt frequent in the ancient Stories of the Bible, as in the Books of *Moſes*, *Joſhua*, *Judges*, *Samuel*: ſome One man in thoſe times, was worth a Thouſand others: but in the Hiſtories of the later Kings of *Judah* and *Iſrael*, ſuch extraordinary Heroical ſpirits are very rare. * One or two Miraculous Victories *Iſrael* had in *Eliſhahs*, and *Judah* in *Ezekiahs* time: but by the power of Angels: no extraordinary valour of any man was much ſeen in them. And, theſe few excepted, their Battels, their Victories, and manner of fight, come near unto the nature of other nations in the ſame time. Generally from *Rehoboams* time, the Hiſtories of *Judah* and *Iſrael* fall much more within the compaſs of modern and ordinary obſervation, then did the events of former ages. And if we had any perfect Regiſter of ſuch matters as had fallen out in other Nations and Kingdoms during the time of *Moſes*, *Joſhua* and the *Judges*: we ſhould find them much more conſonant to the ſacred Stories of theſe times, than are any Hiſtories of later times, or of former ages, wherein any Hiſtoriographer of better account did live. And albeit I cannot excuſe *Herodotus* and *Cteſias*, either from affecting fabulous narrations, or too great facility in admitting the ſuperſtitious report or hear-ſay-traditions of others: yet is mens miſtruſt of them uſually more univerſal, than in Scholaſtick diſcretion and obſervation it need to be; onely becauſe the like events have not been uſual in any Age throughout theſe parts of the world, ſince the times whereof they wrote. No marvel if many ſince that time ſuſpect the ſigns and wonders of the old world, when as the Pſalmiſt, that lived before moſt Heathen Writers that are extant (beſides ſuch as relate like ſtrange events) complains, *Pſal.* 74. 9. *We ſee not our ſigns, there is not one Prophet more.* Generally, *after* Judah *had been captived by the Gentiles, that and other Kingdoms lie, as it were, under one Parallel*, and may almoſt be meaſured by the ſame line: the elevation

* *The Reader may adde the like obſervation of Giants Frequent in the Times of* Moſes *and* Joſhua, *but afterwards ſeldom mentioned in the ſacred ſtory. A repreſentation of which Hiſtorical Truth we have in Two or Three ſpeeches of* Neſtor [Iliad *α & η*] *in which he intimates that in his youth (which was about* Joſhua's *time) there had been many Giants and men of ſtature and ſtrength unuſual in the time of the* Trojan *wars. His Cyclopes for the manner of their habitation and other qualities are live pictures of the* Anakims *expelled* Hebron *and the mountain Countreys of* Judah *by* Joſhua. Vid. Maſium in cap. 11. Joſuæ. verſ. 21. & Auguſt De Civit. Dei Lib. 15. Cap. 9. & Vivem in Comment.

vation of the Jew and Gentile is much-what the ſame, and the ſame celeſtial obſervation may ſerve for both. *The Prieſts, after their return from captivity, were forbidden to eat of the Moſt Holy Thing, till there aroſe up a Prieſt with* Urim *and* Thummim, *Ezra* 2. 63. *But, either no ſuch did ariſe at all, from the erection of the Second Temple until Chriſts time: or, if any did, it was but to give this people a Farewel of Gods extraordinary ſpeaking unto them, either by Prieſts or Prophets.* Joſephus *confeſſeth, that revelations by* Urim *and* Thummim *did finally ceaſe* 200 *years before his time.* But more probable is the opinion of others, that this, as all other kind of Prophecies, and many extraordinary ſigns of Gods power and preſence (ſometime moſt frequent in that Nation) did ceaſe with that Generation which returned from captivity, or immediately after the the finiſhing of the *Second Temple:* as if God during all that time, had appointed *a Faſt or Vigil,* as an Introduction to the Time of Fulneſs, *Joel* 2. 28. Wherein *their ſons and daughters ſhould prophecy, and their old men dream dreams, and their young men ſee viſions, and his Spirit ſhould be poured out on all fleſh;* as well upon the ſervant as the maſter; as well upon the Gentile, as the Jew, *Mal.* 1. 11. *For this cauſe, as I ſaid, God had enjoyned this long faſt in* Judah, *to humble the Jew, and teach him, that he was no more his God than the Gentiles;* and impoſed ſilence to all his Prophets, diſ-inuring his choſen *Iſrael* from his *wonted Call:* that ſo, this people might grow more mild, and apt to herd together with his other flock, now to be brought into the ſame fold, wherein both might joyntly hear the *great Shepherds voyce.* As God, elſwhere, had threatned, ſo it came to paſs, that viſions had ceaſed in *Judah,* before the riſing of the Roman Empire: and likely it is that preſages by dreams, or like means, formerly uſual among the ancient Heathen, did either altogether determine, or much decreaſe in many Nations about the ſame time. For which reaſons, the Romans of that age, being the only wiſe men of the world (given too much by nature unto ſecular Policy:) did give leſs credit to the relations of the ancient Greeks, or the events regiſtred by their Anceſtors in their own Countrey. The *like incredulity remaineth in moſt of us;* but may be eaſily removed by diſcovering the root of it.

Antiq. Lib. 3. Cap. 9.

CHAP. XII.

The Reaſons of our miſtruſting of Antiquities.

1. IT is the common practiſe of men to meaſure matters of Ancient times, by obſervation of the times and place wherein they live: as commonly we paſs our cenſure on other mens actions and intentions, according to our own reſolutions and ſecret purpoſes in like caſes. And, beſides this general occaſion of miſtaking other mens actions, and events of other times, every particular ſort of men ſeek to aſſign cauſes of things ſutable unto their proper Faculties. The *Natural Philoſopher* ſtriveth to reduce all effects to *Matter* and *Form,* or ſome ſenſible quality; the *Mathematician,* to abſtract *Forms* or *Figures,* or inſenſible influences; the *Politician* thinks no alteration in publick States, or private mens affairs, falls out, but from ſome Politick cauſe or *Purpoſe of man:* and whileſt in the Annals of Antiquities he reads of ſundry events, ſurpaſſing the reach or skill of mans invention, or contrary to the ordinary courſe of nature, he attributes all unto the

Simplicity or credulity of their Anceſtors. Albeit, if we ſhould ſearch the true cauſe of their credulity in yielding aſſent unto ſuch ſtrange reports, it will eaſily confute the error of poſterity: for this credulity in ſuch particulars, could not have been ſo great in their Anceſtors, unleſs their minds had been firſt inclined to the general, from the tradition of their Predeceſſors. But why their forefathers ſhould either have invented ſuch ſtrange reports, or be ſo inclinable to believe them: if we ſearch into the depth or firſt ſpring of this perſwaſion, we cannot imagine any other cauſe, but the real and ſenſible *Experience* of ſuch ſtrange events as they reported to poſterity. This did enforce *Belief* upon the firſt Progenitors of any Nation: and from the fulneſs of this perſwaſion, or actual *Belief* in them, was bred this credulity or aptneſs in poſterity, to believe the like, which yet in ſucceſs of time did by little and little wear out. It is great ſimplicity and uncharitable credulity in us, to think, that either the moſt Ancient, or middle Ages of the world, were generally ſo ſimple, credulous, or apt to believe every thing, as ſome would make them. It had been as hard a matter to have perſwaded men of thoſe times, that there were no Gods, no divine power or providence: as it would be to perſwade the modern Athieſts, that there is an Almighty power, which created all things; governeth and diſpoſeth of all things to his glory. *The moſt politick Atheiſt now alive, is as Credulous in his kind, as the ſimpleſt creature in the old world was:* and will yield his aſſent unto the Epicures or other Brutiſh Philoſophers concluſions, upon as light reaſons, as they did their Belief unto any Fable concerning the power or providence of the Gods: the reaſon of both their credulities in two contrary kinds, is the ſame. The often manifeſtation of an extraordinary power in Battels, or preſence in Oracles, and ſenſible documents of revenge from heaven, made the one prone to entertain any report of the Gods, though never ſo ſtrange: and the want of like ſenſible ſigns or documents of the ſame power in our days (whilſt all mens minds are ſtill ſet upon Politick means and practices for their own good) doth make the other ſo credulous and apt to aſſent to any Politick Diſcourſe, and ſo averſe from Belief of the Prophets or ſacred Writers, which reduce all effects to the *Firſt Cauſe*. But this we cannot do ſo immediately as the Ancient did: becauſe God uſeth his Wiſdom more in the managing of this Politick world, than he did in times of old; *and men naturally are leſs apprehenſive of His Wiſdom, than of His Power; ſo that his preſent ways are not ſo obvious at the firſt ſight unto ſenſe as ſometimes they were, though more conſpicuous to ſanctified reaſon now at this day than before, and the manner of his proceeding more apt to confirm true Belief in ſuch as follow his preſcripts, than ever it was.* For the ſame reaſon were the Ancient Iſraelites more prone to Idolatry, than their ſucceſſors were, after the erection of the ſecond Temple; or either of them were at any time to ſerve their GOD. For the ſenſible ſigns and bewitching inticements of ſome extraordinary powers, miſtaken for Divine, were then moſt common; and Gods Wonders and miracles grew more rare, becauſe they ſwerved from his commandments. What Jew was there, almoſt, in the time of the *Maccabees*, but would have given his body for an Holocauſt, rather than ſacrifice to any of the Heathen Gods? The undoubted experience of long Wo and miſery for their former Idolatry, made them ſo averſe from this ſin. And the certain ſigns of the Meſſiahs approach, did ſupport them from falling into Atheiſm. Such violence as theſe later willingly ſuffered at the hands of Heathen Princes, rather than they would conſent unto Idolatry, their Forefathers in the Wilderneſs were as ready to offer unto *Aaron*, for not furthering them in their Idolatrous imaginations. So we read *Exod.* 32. when God had but for a while withdrawn his extraordinary preſence from them, and *Moſes* his inſtrument in working miracles, had been but a ſhort time out of their ſight: they complain he tarried long, *and gather themſelves together againſt Aaron, and ſay unto him; Up, and make us Gods to go before us: for of this Moſes, the man that brought us out of the land of Egypt, we know not what is become of him.* There was *no danger leſt they ſhould turn Athieſts, this was a ſin unknown in that age.* And this people had experience enough of extraordinary powers in *Egypt*, which they took for Gods. So far are they from thinking there was *no God* that guides the world, that they thought there were *Many:* and if one did withdraw his preſence, another might ſerve to conduct them: one they muſt have, otherwiſe all help of man was in vain. As *Jannes* and *Jambres* had withſtood *Moſes* Miracles with their Magick; ſo had the Devils, their maſters, ſought to work wonders about the Egyptian idols, which did ſtupifie the people. For albeit *Their wonders* were not ſo great, as *Gods*: yet were they more delightful to their outward ſenſe; for their ſervice for the moſt part, was ſport and play. They were never dainty to ſhew their jugling tricks, for their own advantage; always pliable to the humors and luſts of men: whereas the Omnipotent Majeſtie of God would have all to frame their lives and actions according to his written Laws, which might not be altered or miſinterpreted, at the pleaſure of men; nor would he vouchſafe to work his miracles in all ages, or unto ſuch as were unworthy Spectators of them. Thus had Satan his Oracles and Sacrifices oft-times better frequented, than God had his; *As in theſe times, ſuch Preachers as will accommodate themſelves unto the peoples Humors, are moſt frequented; but ſuch as hold this ſin as Sacriledge and diſhonour to their God, are deſpiſed and ſet at nought.* And though we may not mitigate *Aarons* fault, nor diminiſh theſe Iſraelites tranſgreſſion (as their fooliſh poſterity doth) by transferring the blame of this *Idolatrous fact upon the Magicians which followed the Hoſt of Iſrael out of Egypt*: yet it is more than probable from the circumſtance of the Text (beſides the tradition of the ancient Hebrews) that there was ſome *magical or demoniacal skill practiſed in the ſudden moulting of this Egyptian god*, whence this peoples ſuperſtition towards it was increaſed. * The Heathen Princes of thoſe times were no Babies; as wary (we may preſume) upon what occaſion to forgo their children, as miſers are to part with money: and yet theſe were wreſted from them, and their blood ſhed by their own hands, to pacifie the rage of powers, then manifeſtly known for ſupernatural. But when both Gods Wonders grew rare, and the Devils tricks waxed ſcant, either by reſtraint from above, or of their own free choice, as if by their long continuance they had grown out of requeſt: they ſee it more boot to draw the Politick world unto Atheiſm, which never did flouriſh until the riſing of the Roman Monarchy. Unto this main inconvenience of the late Romans, and other worldly wiſe mens diſtruſt of wonders paſt, this ſecond miſchief did accrew, That *ſundry Writers of thoſe times, did hold it a part of their Profeſſion, to fill their Books with ſuch ſtuff, as they found in Ancient ſtories; as if their Hiſtories or*

*Plutarch de defectu Oracul. pag. 742. Ed. H. Steph.

Poems had not been Current, without as many parts or heads of invention, as others had in former Ages. And this experience of counterfeit wonders, meeting with the want of experience of any true wonders of that time, did concur as *Form* and *Privation* for the producing of *Infidelity* in mens minds already diſpoſed to this evil by *Secular Policy*. And theſe were enough to carry our minds below the loweſt degree of any credulity, or ſuſpition of truth, in like reports: unleſs the Scripture did forewarn us of this guile and policy of Satan, which we may the better prevent, if we diligently obſerve; *Firſt*, the difference of times and places: *Secondly*, how ſtrange *Fables* and lying wonders receive *Being* from notable and admirable *decayed Truths*, as *Baſer Creatures*, do *life*, from the diſſolution of more *Nobles Bodies*.

Chap. XIII.

Of the Diverſity of Events in different Ages.

THe divers Characters of different times rightly taken, give us as eaſie and perfect a *Criſis* between the Fictions of later, and the true Annals of former Ages: as out of ordinary diſcretion men uſually make between fooliſh Travellers reports of great wonders in *Spain*, or *France*, and the judicious records of uncouth ſights, and ſtrange events, in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*. And we have altogether as little reaſon to deny either the general truth of ſtrange events recorded by the Ancient, or the *Prototypes* of Poetical inventions in former times, for the want of like experience in later, as we have to diſcredit *Benzos Martyrs*, or other late Navigators obſervations of the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*; becauſe many, who have travelled *France*, *Spain* and *Italy*; while they make true relations of their travels, relate no ſuch event, as the *Indies* afford many. And yet Guls, when they flie abroad, will relate (among ſuch as know them not) as ſtrange matters of near adjoyning Countreys, as he that hath compaſſed the utmoſt ends of the World. Now it were a great folly to diſcredit all late Navigators, for the abſurdity of ſome few Guls, and as great madneſs it were to diſparage all Ancient ſtories, for the abſurd and prepoſterous imitation of later Writers, againſt all experience of later times. For diverſity of times yields as great diverſity of obſervations, as the diverſity or diſtance of place: onely this is the difference; daily obſervation yields experiments of this diverſity in place, whereas the Word of God alone which endures for ever, giveth us the ſure rules and grounds of alterations in the events of different ages. And yet in many remote places lately made known unto the Inhabitants of *Europe*, ſuch ſtrange events as Antiquity hath told us, were ſometimes frequent in theſe Countreys which we now inhabit, are not at this day altogether unuſual. And the face of Time is now there much-what ſuch, as the Ancient Regiſters of Times have pourtrayed unto us: as if the affairs and faſhion of this viſible world, were framed according to ſome inviſible paterns or ſuperceleſtial Characters; which varying their aſpect in revolutions of time, did now (by reflecting that force upon thoſe remote countreys, which they did on theſe near adjoyning in times paſt) produce the like ſhape and faſhion of things there, as they have done here. And thoſe places ſhall, in time, come to the ſelf ſame temper and diſpoſition which we now enjoy : and the poſterity of ſuch as now live there, ſhall hereafter ſuſpect the undoubted ſtories of our times concerning their Anceſtors, as we do many Ancient ſtories of *Jewry*, *Syria*, *Aſia*, or our own countreys, for want of like modern experiments in our land.

2. For the better rectifying of our *Aſſent*, which muſt be by the right balancing of *Credulity* and *Miſtruſt*, it ſhall not be amiſs to conſider, that, beſides theſe general diverſities of times and places, *Particular Kingdoms and nations have their ſeveral ages proportionable to Infancy, Youth, Virility, and Old age in men.* Nor is the Period either of the whole Age, or the ſeveral parts thereof, one and the ſame in all, but varies in divers kingdoms, as the courſe of life, or ſeveral ages do in divers men. *Some Kingdoms bear age well unto a Thouſand; Some to ſix hundred years: Others break and decay in half that time.* Again, as in the courſe of mans life diverſity of ages requires divers manners or conditions: ſo, in the ſame people or nation, ſome events are uſual, as beſt befitting them in that degree of their growth which anſwers to Youth, or Infancy, which ſeldom or never fall out in that part of their age which anſwers unto mature or Old age in men, becauſe not convenient for their conſtitution then; and yet the want of like experience makes them as diſtruſtful and incredulous of what formerly had been, as old men are forgetful of their own diſpoſition or temper in youth. *Generally, when the fulneſs of any nations Iniquity (wherein their decrepit age conſiſteth) is come, They grow more and more incredulous:* ſo as they verifie the *Latin Proverb* concerning the diſpoſition of old men: *Nullus ſenex veneratur Jovem*: more true of States;

As they grow old,
Their zeal grows cold.

3. As the world was redeemed by Chriſt, ſo do nations begin a new Computation of their ages, from their Admiſſion to Chriſtianity. Some were come to *Youth*, or *Virility* in that profeſſion, before others were born in Chriſt: as *Aſia* and *Africa*, for the moſt part, were Chriſtians before *Europe*. Again, the Ancient inhabitants in ſome provinces had been Chriſtians, long before other people that afterward ſubdued them, and lived in their countreys: as the Brittains in this Iſland had been long partakers of Gods mercy in Chriſt, before the Saxons; and the Ancient Gauls, before the Franks, which afterward ſeated themſelves in their habitations. Generally, *Miracles were uſual in the Infancy of Chriſtianity*, as we read in Eccleſiaſtical ſtories: *nor can it be certainly gathered when they did generally ceaſe*. To ſay they indured no longer then the *Primitive* Church, can give no univerſal ſatisfaction, ſave only to ſuch as think it enough for all the world to have the light of the Goſpel lockt up in the Chancel of ſome one glorious Church: for ſome Churches were but in the *Prime*, or Change, when others were *Full* of Chriſtian knowledge. The uſe of Miracles at the ſame inſtant was befitting the one, not the other. For God uſually ſpeaks to new-born children in Chriſt, by Miracles or ſenſible declarations of his *Power*, *Mercy*, or *Juſtice*: as parents deterr their children from evil, in tender years, by the rod, or other ſenſible

ſigns of their diſpleaſure; and allure them to goodneſs with apples, or other like viſible pledges of their love: but, when they come to riper years, and are capable of diſcourſe, or apprehenſive of wholſom admonitions, they ſeek to rule them by reaſon. Proportionably to this courſe of parents doth God ſpeak to his Church: in her *Infancy*, (whereſoever planted) by ſenſible documents of his *Power*; in her *Maturity*, by the ordinary *Preaching* of his word, which is more apt to ripen and confirm true Chriſtian Faith then any miracles are, ſo men would ſubmit their reaſon unto the rules ſet down in Scripture, and unpartially examine all events of time by them, as elſewhere, God willing, we ſhall ſhew.

4. Theſe grounds, well conſidered, will move any ſober ſpirit at the leaſt to ſuſpend his aſſent, and not ſuffer his mind to be haſtily overſwayed with abſolute diſtruſt of all ſuch Miracles, as either our writers report to have been wrought in this our land at the *Saxons* firſt coming hither, or the *French Hiſtoriographers* record in the firſt converſion of the *Franks*, or in the prime of that Church.

5. And the *Franks* and *Saxons* before their converſion to Chriſtanity, were much-what of that temper, in reſpect of their preſent poſterity, as *Greece* was of in *Homers*, or *Italy* in the days of *Romulus*, in reſpect of *Cicero's*, or *Plutarchs* time: nor would I deny, but that admonitions by dreams were uſual amongſt them, as they had been amongſt the *Eaſtern nations*.

And, without prejudice to many noble Patriots and worthy members of Chriſt this day living in that famous Kingdom of *France*, I ſhould interpret that dream of * *Baſſina*, Queen unto *Childerick* the firſt, of the preſent ſtate of *France*: in which the laſt part of that threefold viſion is more truly verified, then it was ever in the lineal ſucceſſion of *Childerick* and *Baſſina*, or any of the *Merovingian*, or *Carlovingian* Families.

* *See* Aimoinus (aliter Annonius.) de Geſtis Francorum Lib. 1. c. 7, & 8. *in the* Corpus Franciæ *Hiſtor. printed in Folio*. 1613. Hanoviæ.

6. The viſion was of three ſorts of beaſts; The *Firſt*, *Lions and Leopards*; The *ſecond*, *Bears and Wolves*; The *third*, *of Dogs or leſſer creatures*, biting and devouring one another. The interpretation which *Baſſina* made of it, was regiſtred certain hundred years ago: That theſe troups of vermin or leſſer creatures, did ſignifie a people without fear or reverence of their Princes, ſo pliable and devoutly obſequious to follow the Peers or Potentates of that Nation in their factious quarrels, that they ſhould involve themſelves in inextricable tumults to their own deſtruction.

7. Had this viſion been painted, only with this general notification; that it was to be *Emblematically* underſtood of ſome ſtate in Europe: who is he that can diſcern a picture by the known party whom it repreſents, but could have known as eaſily, that this was a map of thoſe miſeries that lately have befalne *France*; whoſe bowels were almoſt rent and torn, with civil and domeſtick Broyls: *God grant her cloſed wounds fall not to bleed a freſh again. And that her people be not ſo eagerly ſet to bite and tear one another (like dogs or other teſtie creatures) until all become a prey to Wolves and Bears, or other great ravenous Beaſts*; which ſeek not ſo much to tear or rent in heat of revenge, as lie in wait continually to devour and ſwallow with unſatiate greedineſs, the whole bodies of mighty Kingdoms, and to die her Robes, that rides as queen of Monſters upon that *many Headed Beaſt*, with ſtreams of bloud that iſſue from the bodies

ſqueezed and cruſhed between their violent teeth; yea, even with the *Royal blood* of Kings and Princes. Many ſuch examples of admonitions by dreams and other extraordinary ſigns of future wo or calamities, both foretold and fulfiled many hundred years ſince *Baſſina* and *Childericks* days, I could bring, which might confirm the Hiſtorical truth of the like mentioned in Scriptures to any civil Heathen, as they have inforced ſuch as we moſt ſuſpect for Atheiſts, to acknowledge a divine power or providence in them. And I know not what reaſon any profeſſor of truth can have to deny the like preſignifications in later times upon extraordinary occaſions, or in ſome tranſmutations of Kingdoms; if he have ſo much Religion as not to doubt of *Nebuchad-nezzars* viſion. But of ſuch ſigns, (whether good, or ominous) and of their lawful uſe elſewhere. Of the uſe of prophecies amongſt the Heathen and Barbarous people, and of that offence which ſome take at ſuch as ſeem to give any credit to them, as if this were againſt the truth of Scriptures, we may perhaps take occaſion to ſpeak, when we come to unfold the divers kinds of prophecies amongſt the Jews, with their interpretations. Thus much may ſuffice for the removal of that prejudice, which *Atheiſts*, *Infidels*, and other *Worldly-wiſe men* have of their Anceſtors Credulity, or fabuloſity, which were not incident to primary Antiquity, but unto Ages in ſucceſſion nearer to thoſe times wherein wonders had been plentiful: as commonly the Braggadochian humour doth haunt the degenerate race of worthy anceſtors, before their poſterity come to be Sneaks or Peſants, which in the race of private perſons anſwers in proportion to Infidelity, the common Sympton of decrepit Age in Kingdoms.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Original and right uſe of Poetry: with the manner of its Corruption by later Poets.

1. THe poſitive truth, which (in the removal of impediments and offences) hath been made more then probable in the former diſcourſe, may yet be made more evident from more particular obſervations concerning the manner how Monſtrous Fables have deſcended from true Wonders: which will beſt appear by ſetting down the Original and right Uſe of Poetry.

2. A *Poet* being (as his name imports) a *Maker*, according to the Latin proverb, is not made by Art, but framed to this divine Faculty by Nature. Not that any amongſt the Romans became Poets on a ſodain: but that many very fruitful wits in all other kinds of learning, could not be forced by any induſtry, art, or culture to ſuch a temper, as was befitting this plant of Eden, which groweth not in any modern breaſt without more tender care and greater cheriſhing, then any other ſlip or branch of the tree of knowledge; and yet when all is done ſeldom comes to any proof, unleſs it borrow grounds from the Ancient: as tender plants can hardly be removed

from a better ſoil to a worſe, without ſome of the earth wherein they naturally grow. Were arts to begin anew, *Poetry*, which was the firſt and moſt common among the Ancient, in all probability, would ſpring the laſt, and grow the ſloweſt amongſt us. Their wits of old were not naturally or generally better then ours: why then was the way to *Parnaſſus*, which unto us, uſing all help of Art and Imitation, is laborious and hard to aſcend, ſo plain and eaſie to them, without any guide or help; all other Artificial learning being then either unknown, or very skant? Such knowledge or obſervations as they had or cared for, they knew not otherwiſe how to convey unto poſterity, then by Poetical numbers and reſemblances. He is a Poet by nature (ſaith that excellent Poet and divine Philoſopher) *That is apt to be raviſhed with the true and native beauty of ſuch Objects as are repreſented to his ſenſes, and can expreſs his conceit by ſuch pleaſant reſemblances, as often as he ſhall have occaſion to utter his mind in writing or ſet ſpeech.* This inclination or diſpoſition is as the ground or ſoil wherein *Poetry* doth naturally grow, whether in Ancient or Modern breaſts: but the Ancient had this advantage. The faſhion of the world in their times was more apt to raviſh their thoughts with Admiration: wonderful Events were then frequent: nor did their frequency abate, but rather increaſe wonderment, becauſe their variety was great, and the apprehenſion of inviſible or ſupernatural Powers in them uſual. So that admiration was then inforced upon men, and the breaſts of ſuch as diligently obſerved theſe events, or were any way diſpoſed by nature to the Faculty, were inſpired with lively and ſublimate affections, apt to vent themſelves in ſuch Poetical Phraſe and reſemblances, as we cannot reach unto, unleſs we raiſe our invention by Art and imitation, and ſtir up Admiration by meditation and ſtudy. And becauſe neither our ſenſes are moved with any extraordinary effects of Gods *Power*, nor our minds bent to obſerve the ways of his *wiſdom*, ſo as we might be ſtricken with true Admiration of them, we have fewer good ſacred Poems, then of any other kind. But as the Ancients chief learning did conſiſt of Poetry: ſo the excellency of their *Poetry* was chiefly ſeen in the proper and native ſubject of this Faculty, that is, in matters of Sacred Uſe or obſervation: whence the title of *Vates* did decend unto ſecular or profane Poets, which retained the number and manner of ſpeech uſed by the former.

3. That ſuch as were *Vates* indeed, were taught the ſublimity of ſpeech by admiration of extraordinary events, may be confirmed by the Hiſtorical narrations of the ſacred Story: Wherein Poetical hymns or ſongs are the uſual conſequents of ſtrange or wonderful events. As, *Judg.* 5. after the victory gotten over Siſera, *Then ſang* Deborah, *&* Barach *the ſon of* Ahinoam, *the ſame day, ſaying; Praiſe ye the Lord, &c.* So likewiſe *Hannah* after the Lord had heard her prayer, and taken away her barrenneſs, burſt out into the like Poetical Hymn, 1 *Sam.* 2. So did the Bleſſed Virgin upon her coſen *Elizabeths* ſalutation, and *John* Baptiſt ſpringing in her womb, take up her ſong, *Luke* 1. 46. *My ſoul doth magnifie the Lord, &c.* So doth *Zachary*, *John* Baptiſts father, take up his prophecy, *Luke* 1. 68. and *Simeon*, *Luke* 2. 28. So likewiſe after the manifeſtation of Gods wonders in the red Sea, all his people (as if they had been bap-

tized in a ſacred *Helicon*) preſently turn Poets, *Exod.* 15. 1. And again, *Numb.* 21. after they had returned to *Beer*, the *Well* which *Moſes* had opened out of the hard rock with his rod, Iſrael (as if they had waſhed their mouths in *Hippocrene*) had their voices tuned to an high ſtrain of *Poetry*: *Then Iſrael ſang this ſong*: *Riſe up, WELL, ſing ye unto it, the Princes digged this Well, the Captains of the people digged it, even with their ſtaves.*

4. That the frequent uſe of *Poetry* among the Ancient heathen, did ariſe from like occaſions, may be gathered from *Strabo*: who from Antiquity, better known to him then us, avoucheth it as unqueſtionable, that all other ſet ſpeech, whether Hiſtorical or Rhetorical, was but the Progeny of *Poetry*, falling in latter times from its wonted ſtate and dignity; whereas the Ancients knew no other branch of Artificial or ſet ſpeech, but only *Poetry*. Albeit to ſpeak properly, it was (in reſpect of the Efficient or impulſive cauſes) rather *Superartificial*, then Natural or Artificial; and Rhetorick and Hiſtory only Artificial. This opinion will not ſeem ſtrange, if we conſider, that the wiſer ſort in thoſe times did commend ſuch matters only to writing, as might inflame poſterity with devotion and love of vertue. For *Poetry* as the ſame Author tells us, was accounted by Antiquity *Prima quædam Philoſophia*, a kind of ſacred moral Philoſophy, appropriated, as it ſeems, at the firſt to the relation or repreſentation of ſupernatural Events or divine matters only: of which the moſt Ancient had beſt experience, and were impelled to communicate them to poſterity, elevated (as is obſerved before) by the excellency of the Object, to this celeſtial kind of ſpeech which is moſt apt to raviſh younger wits, as it ſelf was bred of Admiration. This uſe of *Poetry* appears in ſome Fragments of moſt Ancient Poets, in their kind proportionable to the book of *Pſalms*, of *Job*, and the ſongs of *Moſes*, the only patern of true Poſie: whoſe ſubjects, uſually, are the wonderful works of God manifeſted unto men. Some degenerate footſteps of theſe Holy men, the Heathen, about *Homers* time, did obſerve: uſing their Poets and Muſicians for planting modeſty and chaſtity amongſt other vertues in their auditors.

Strabo Lib. 1. Fol. 15.

Hom. Odyſ.

* ——— (φρεσὶ γὰρ κέχρητ' ἀγαθῇσι
Πὰρ γὰρ ἔην καὶ ἀοιδὸς ἀνήρ, ᾧ πόλλ' ἐπέτελλεν
Ἀτρείδης, Τροίην δὲ κιὼν εἴρυσθαι ἄκοιτιν)
Ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ μιν μοῖρα θεῶν ἐπέδησε δαμῆναι,
Δὴ τότε τὸν μὲν ἀοιδὸν ἄγων ἐς νῆσον ἐρήμην,
Κάλλιπεν οἰωνοῖσιν ἕλωρ καὶ κύρμα γενέσθαι.
Τὴν δ' ἐθέλων ἐθέλουσαν ἀνήγαγεν ὅνδε δόμονδε.

* So *Agamemnon* left the muſical Poet as Guardian to *Clytemneſtra*, who continued chaſt and loyal until *Ægiſthus* got the Poet conveyed into an uninhabited *Iſland*. For this reaſon was Poetry [b] taught children firſt throughout the Grecian Cities, as *Moſes* had commanded the Iſraelites to teach their children his divine Poem, *Deut.* 31. 19. and 32. 46. And they much wrong that divine [c] Philoſopher, that think he was any farther an enemy unto the ſacred Faculty, then only to ſeek the reformation of it by reducing it to its firſt natural uſe; which was not meer delight, as *Eratoſthenes* dreamed, rightly taxed by *Strabo* for this error. That might perhaps be true of the Comical Latin Poets;

Poeta quum primum animum ad ſcribendum appulit,
Id ſibi negoti credidit ſolum dari,
Populo ut placerent quas feciſſet Fabulas.
When firſt the Poet bent his wits to write,
The only mark he aim'd at, was delight.

[b] Strabo ibid.

[c] Plat. lib. 10. de Repub.

Which notwithſtanding had neither been the onely, nor chief uſe; no end at all, but rather an adjunct of *Poetry* amongſt the Ancient: by the wiſer and better ſort of whom nothing was apprehended, at leaſt approved as truly delightful, which was not alſo Honeſt and of profitable uſe for bettering life and manners. The Law of nature being then leſs defaced, They could read it without ſpelling, and comprehend all the *Three Elements of Goodneſs*, joyntly under one entire conceit, as we do the product of divers Letters or Syllables in one word, without examination of their ſeveral value apart. But when the Union of this Trinity, wherein the nature of Perfect Goodneſs conſiſts, was once diſſolved in mens hearts, and Delight had found a peculiar Iſſue without mixture of Honeſty or Utility: the deſire of becoming popular Poets, did breed the bane of true Poeſie; and thoſe Sacred Numbers, which had been as *Amulets* againſt vice, became incentives unto luſt. Or if we would but ſearch the native uſe of *Poetry* by that end which men, not led awry by hopes of applauſe, or gain, or other external reſpects, but directed rather by the internal impulſion of this Faculty, and ſecret working of their Souls, do aim at: *It principally ſerves for Venting Extraordinary Affections.* No man almoſt ſo dull, but will be Poetically affected in the ſubject of his ſtrongeſt paſſions. As we ſee by experience, that where the occaſions either of *Joy*, for the Fortunate Valour; or *Sorrow*, for the miſhaps of their Countrey-men, or Alliance, are moſt rife, this diſpoſition is both moſt pregnant and moſt common. And as Speech or Articulation of voyces in general, was given to man for communicating his conceits or meaning unto others; ſo *Poetry*, the *Excellency* of *Speech*, ſerves for the more lively expreſſing of his Choicer Conceits, for *Beautifying His darling-thoughts or Fancies*, which almoſt diſdain to go abroad in other than this exactly-proportioned attire, *The ſouls wooing ſuits* (if I may ſo ſpeak) whereby ſhe wins others to Sympathize with her in abundance of *Grief*, or to conſent with her in exceſſive *Joy*, or finally to ſettle their *Admiration* or diſlike where ſhe doth hers. And the more ſtrange or wonderful the matter conceived, or to be repreſented, is, the more pleaſant and admirable will the true and natural repreſentation of it be: and the more he that conceives it, is raviſhed with delight of its Beauty or goodneſs, the more will he long to communicate his conceit and liking of it to others. Whence, ſuch as had ſeen the Wonders of God, and had been fed with his Hidden Manna, ſought by their lively and hearty repreſentations to invite others, as the Pſalmiſt doth, *To taſte and ſee the goodneſs of the Lord*, as Birds and Beaſts, when they have found pleaſant food, call (on their faſhion) unto others of the ſame kind, to be partakers with them in their Joy: until Satan, who hunts after the life of Man, as Man doth after the life of Birds, did invent his counterfeit *Calls* to allure our ſouls into his Snare. For, when men had once taken a delight in the natural repreſentation of events, delightful in themſelves: he ſtirred up others to invent the like, albeit there were no real truth or ſtability in the things repreſented, and the manner of repreſentation uſually ſo light and affected, as could argue no credence given by the Authors to their own report, but rather a deſire to pleaſe ſuch as had never ſet their minds to any Inquiſition of ſolid Truth, whoſe unſettled Fancies cannot chooſe but fall in Love with as many Fair

Pſal. 34. 8.

Pictures of others pleaſant Imaginations as are preſented to them. For, as to view the connexion of real Cauſes with their Effects (moſt of all, if both be rare, or the concurrence of Circumſtances unuſual) doth much affect the judicious underſtanding: ſo the quaint or curious contrivance of Imaginary Rarities, ſet forth in ſplendent Artificial colours, doth captivate the Fancies of ſuch as are not eſtabliſhed in the love of truth. But (as the Orator ſaid of ſuch as applauded the Tragedy of *Pylades* and *Oreſtes*) how would ſuch mens ſouls be raviſhed, could they upon ſure grounds be perſwaded, that theſe ſtories were true, albeit devoid of Artificial Colours, or Poetical contrivances, never uſed by ſacred Antiquity: in whoſe expreſſion of Wonders, the Phraſe is uſually moſt Poetical, as naturally it will always be, where the mind is much affected; their invention leſs Artificial or affected, than our Hiſtorical Narrations of Modern affairs; the Character of their ſtile (as was intimated before) doth argue that they ſought onely to ſet down the true Proportion of matters ſeen and heard, with ſuch reſemblances as were moſt incident to their kind of life. And from the Efficacy of ſuch extraordinary effects upon their ſouls, is it, that the Prophets ſo often expreſs the ſame things in divers words, as if all they could ſay, could not equalize the ſenſible Experiments, which did move their Hearts and Fancies (as the Muſicians hands or breath doth his inſtruments) to ſound out ſuch Pathetical Ditties. Nor had their Ditties any greater diſproportion with their ſubject, than our Songs of Famous Victories, have with theirs; or other paſſionate Ditties, with their Compoſers affections: albeit he that hath experience of *Love*, or abundant *Grief*, or *Joy*, will ſpeak in another Dialect, than ordinarily he uſeth, without any touch of affectation.

5. Hence we may clearly diſcern, whileſt wonders decayed, and men ſought as great delight in Feigned, as their forefathers had done in True Repreſentations: how the diſproportion betwixt Repreſentations, and the real Events, or Experiments of the times, wherein the later Poets lived, became ſo Monſtrous and Prodigious. This fell out juſt ſo, as if the Armourers of this Age ſhould not obſerve the ſtature of men now living, but faſhion their Armour by old *Guy* of *Warwicks* Harneſs; or our Painters, not look upon the bodies of modern Engliſh-men, but take their proportions from ſome Ancient Pictures, which had been truly taken about ſome 1000 years ago, in ſome other Countrey, that had yielded men of more ample ſtature in that Age, than this Land of ours did in any. Such an Errour as this, which we have mentioned in *Poetry*, would quickly have been reformed in any other Faculty, that had concerned mens temporal profit or commodities, or whereof others had been as competent Judges as the Profeſſors: for ſo, when they had begun to wander, or digreſs a little from their right end, they ſhould preſently have been called to this account; *Quid ad rem*? your Work may be Pretty, but not to our Purpoſe. But when ſuch Admirable Events, as were well worth Poetical expreſſion, decreaſed, and worldly cares did multiply, as men increaſed; the divine Art of *Poetry*, which admits not many competent Judges in any age, was counted no better than a matter of meer delight, or recreation; and for this reaſon the Prodigious Repreſentations of it, ſo Monſtrouſly diſproportionable to the truth repreſented (becauſe oft-times more

pleaſant to men wearied with other ſtudies or imployments, than the bare narration of the truth) were never reformed. And ſo at length, that *Audacious Licentiouſneſs of Fictions*, for moving delight, did in the judgement of Poſterity diſparage the very paterns or Prototypes of Poetical repreſentations, whereunto later Poems had been framed: As many Tall Fellows in this preſent age, if they ſhould ſee the true image or picture of ſome Ancient Giants, would ſwear that the Painter had played the Poet: were it not that the dead bodies or limbs of ſome Ancient people, lately digged out of the ground, did by their unuſual bigneſs teach us to eſtimate (as we ſay) *Ex pede Herculem*, how great others might have been, whoſe big limbs and bones have not come unto this Ages ſight.

6. But moſt of theſe ſtrange Events were ſuch, as did continue no longer than while they were a doing, wherefore we muſt ſeek out the true proportion of theſe Heavenly Bodies, by their ſhadows, repreſented in the later Profane Poets. The Original and manner of whoſe digreſſion from the paterns of the Ancient Divine Poets, or rather from Divine truth, the patern of Ancient *Poetry* it ſelf, was partly as you have heard, partly as followeth.

7. Gods wonderful works have been more plenteous in *Aſia*, than in other parts of the world; more plentiful in *Judea*, and the Regions about it, than in other parts of *Aſia*; moſt plentiful in them, about the Iſraelites deliverance out of *Egypt*. In that time, and in the ages before, or immediately ſucceeding it, Artificial learning was very ſcant; and Characters, either not invented, or their uſe very rare in moſt places. The freſh memory of ſuch wonders preſuppoſed; the lively image either of ſuch licentiouſneſs in coyning fables, or confounding true Hiſtories with the mixture of falſe and unnatural circumſtances (as theſe wants every where in all times naturally breed) we may cleerly behold in the modern Turks: who are as abundant in *Prodigious Fables*, as defective in good learning; and for want of printing, or neglect of writing, have no perfect Character of the worlds Faſhion in times paſt, nor any diſtinct order of former Events. *It is but a petty Soleciſm among them, to affirm that* Job *the Huſhite was chief Juſtice; and* Alexander *the Great, Lieutenant General unto King* Solomon.

Nullum habent Turcæ temporum neque ætatum rationem, miréq; hiſtorias omnes miſcent & confundunt: cum iis in mentem veniet, non verebuntur affirmare, Regis Solomonis Magiſtrum Curiæ fuiſſe Jobum; ejus exercitus præfectum Alexandrum Magnum; aut his etiam abſurdiora. *Buſbequius, Epiſt.* 1.

8. The like confuſion of times and places might be more incident unto the Aſiatick Nations, before *Alexanders* time, becauſe their Anceſtors had been acquainted with more ſtrange events, latelier forepaſt than the modern Turks are. Now always the more ſtrange the events be, the more ready they be to Mount upon the Wings of Fame; and once ſo mounted, the more apt to receive increaſe in every Circumſtance, and vary their ſhape, whileſt they flie onely from mouth to mouth in the open air, not faſhioned or limited at their firſt birth, by ſome viſible Character, or permanent Stamp ſet upon them.

9. From this vicinity of true wonders in *Jury*, or thereabouts, were the *Medes*, *Perſians* and *Syrians*, ſo much addicted to Fabulous Narrations, that their delight in ſuch traditions did make their later Writers ambitious in the skill of coyning wonders; as *Strabo* tells us. And *Greece*, as it received Artificial learning firſt from *Aſia*, ſo did it drink in this humour with it. For the traditions of Gods Miracles in *Jury*, and the Regions about it, having been

Strabo. Lib. 11. Fol.107.

been far ſpread, when *Greece* began firſt to tattle in Artificial learning, the *Grecians* (*always Children in true Antiquity*, as the Egyptian Prieſt told one of their Philoſophers) were apt to counterfeit the form of Ancient Truths, and miſapply it to unſeemly matters, or fooliſh purpoſes; as children will be doing that in homelier ſtuff, which they ſee their elders do in better. Finally, the ſame humour which yet reigns amongſt men, might poſſeſs moſt of the Heathen. There is no famous Event that falls out (though it be but a notable Jeſt) but in a ſhort time, is aſcribed to a great many more than have any affinity with it. As many of *Diogenes* conceits have been fathered upon *Tarleton*: and what the Chriſtians ſay of S. *George*, the Turks aſcribe to * *Chederley*. If it be any ſtory concerning Way-faring men; every Hoſtler, Tapſter or Chamberlain, will tell you that it fell out in their Town, or in the Countrey thereabouts. And though you hear it in twenty ſeveral places, yet ſhall you have always ſome new tricks of addition put upon it. In like manner did the reports of ſundry events, which either fell out, onely in *Jury*, or upon occaſion of Gods people, flie about the world, ſometime with cut and mangled, but moſt uſually with enlarged, Artificial wings, as if the ſame had been acted every where, or the like invented upon every occaſion.

* *Or* Chederles, Busbequius Ibid.

Chap. XV.

Of ſome particular Fables reſembling ſome true ſtories of the Bible.

1. To draw ſome inſtances from the *The firſt Fountain.* The Well of *Beer*, mentioned before, did prefigure *Chriſt*, the *Rock* and *Fountain*, whence iſſue ſtreams of waters unto Eternal life. And that ſacred Poetical ſpirit, which now poſſeſſed them, was as a *Præludium* to thoſe Hymns and Songs uttered by Chriſts Apoſtles, and his Diſciples, when the Spirit of God was poured upon them, after Chriſts Glorification. Neighbour-Countreys, amongſt whom the Fame of this Event was ſpread, might eaſily hence take occaſion to aſcribe the effect unto the Well. And hence had *Greece* her *Helicon*, and others (by her) reputed Sacred Wells, whoſe waters drunk did make men Poets on a ſudden. Beſides that, the opportunity of ſuch places, as *Helicon* and *Parnaſſus* were, did diſpoſe mens minds unto this Faculty, The Demoniacal ſpirits, which for this reaſon would frequent the ſame, might inſpire ſuch with *Poetical Fury* as did obſerve their Rites and Ceremonies; counterfeiting the ſpirit of Divine Prophecies, as they had done Gods voyce in Oracles. Who can doubt, if he compare both ſtories, but that the Fable of *Hippocrene* or *Aganippe* in *Bœotia*, ſo called becauſe digged by an horſes foot, as Poets feign, did take beginning from the ſtory of this Sacred Well which *Moſes* digged with his Rod; and (as the Iſraelites have a tradition) the Princes afterwards, with their Staves? And the Phænicians which followed *Cadmus* into *Europe*, are made ſuch wanderers by the Poets, as the Iſraelites were in the wilderneſs: and *Cadmus* himſelf, the Founder of *Hippocrene* or *Aganippe*, amongſt other of his inventions is ſaid to have been the firſt

Numb. 21.

that

Numb. 21.6. Ovid. Met. l. 3. Fab. 1. vel. 2.

that taught *Greece* the uſe of letters, or that wrote Hiſtories in proſe; and in one word, another *Moſes*. The fiery Serpents, which ſtung the Iſraelites murmuring for want of water, might grow in ſhort time to be Dragons; and hence, as it is moſt likely, are *Cadmus* companions ſaid to be ſlain by a Dragon, whileſt they ſought for water. The Sun, as we read in the ſtory of *Joſhua*, at his prayer once ſtood ſtill in the vale of *Gibeon*. The occaſion is in the ſame place ſpecified; That *Joſhua* might have A Day of the Amorites: ſuch A Day as was never before it, nor ſhall be after it. This ſtrange Miraculous Event, the Heathen people of thoſe times had noted, and delivered it by tradition unto their poſterity; who, after the manner of this world, ſought to aſſign ſome cauſes of it. The Poets in ages following, aſcribe it (with ſome additions) unto that unnatural prodigious murther which *Atreus* had committed; and for ought we know, beſides the reaſons ſpecified in ſacred Writ, God might uſe this, partly as a means, to make *Greece* and other Countreys, that ſhould hear of *Atreus* Bloody Fact, ſtand amazed at ſuch foul Impiety, whereat the heavens did bluſh, and the Sun ſtood ſtill. The times of *Atreus* his Fact, and *Joſhua* his Victory, come near to one point: if *Statius* the Poet be not far out in his Chronology. For he tels us, that this horrible fact of *Atreus* was committed, about the time of the *Theban* War; for which reaſon the *Mycenæ* amongſt other good neighbours, did not aid King *Adraſtus*, and his *Argives* againſt the *Thebans*.

Joſh. 10.13.

Milite vicinæ nullo juvere Mycenæ.
Funereæ dum namq; dapes, mediiq; recurſus
Solis; & hinc alii miſcebant prælia fratres.

Their *Mycene* neighbours only ſend no aid,
Their Tragick chear had bred ſuch bloody broils,
Whoſe direful ſight the bluſhing Sun had ſtaid,
Whilſt fierce revenge in heart of Brothers boils.

2. And ſome Chronologers, whoſe skill in this Faculty, and other good Literature, I eſpecially Reverence, refer the Siege of *Troy* to the time of Judges, or Age following *Joſhua*; whereas the *Theban* war was in the Age before: for *Tydeus*, Father unto *Diomedes* (who was one of the greateſt Sticklers againſt *Troy*) was one of the greateſt Chieftains in the *Theban* War.

3. From the forementioned humour of ſeeking to play the Poets or Painters in adorning true ſtories; or of vain curioſity in inventing the like: we may eaſily conjecture, what variety of reports would in that temper of the world be extant, of *Sampſons* Conſecrated Hair, wherein his inconquerable ſtrength, as the ſacred ſtory tells us, did conſiſt. Let *Dalilah*, *Sampſons* wife, be but miſtaken for his daughter; (as few reports of foreign or forepaſt matters, but vary as much in ſome circumſtance or other) and for *Sampſon* and *Dalilah* you have the famous Legend *Niſus* and *Scylla*. This miſtake was very eaſie. For ſuch as heard of *Dalilahs* treachery, without any particular certainty of that circumſtance, whether ſhe were his daughter or wife, might juſtly ſupect that ſhe was his daughter, one that wanted an husband, doting upon ſome foreigner, whom ſhe hoped to win unto her love by this practiſe. Or perhaps *Scylla* had betrayed her Father *Niſus*, upon

Judg. 16.17, 18.

hope of ſatisfying her luſt; and *Ovid* (with other Poets) having heard of like practice, did Stage-play-like put *Sampſons* Hair upon *Niſus* his Head; as uſually the Grecian Poets have borrowed their beſt Stage-attire from the glorious Wardrobe of *Iſrael.* Other circumſtances of this ſtory are very like; ſave onely that *Ovid* feigns *Niſus* his unvanquiſhable fortune, to have been ſeated in one hair, which was of the colour of his coſtly robes.

Ovid.Metam. l. 8. fab. 1.

———— ———Cui ſplendidus oſtro
Inter honoratos medio de vertice canos
Crinis inhærebat, Magni Fiducia Regni.

One ſcarlet bright, amids the ranks of white and reverend hairs,
He had, whereon did hang the Hope and Hap of his affairs.

But *Sampſons* ſtrength was in his locks, as he told *Dalilah*; *There never came raſor upon my head, for I am a Nazarite unto God from my mothers womb: therefore if I be ſhaven, my ſtrength will go from me, and I ſhall be weak, and be like all other men.* For the means and opportunities whereby *Dalilah* did, and *Scylla* is feigned to have compaſſed her intended treaſon, they are the very ſame. *Dalilah*, as it is ſaid, made *Sampſon* ſleep upon her knee, and ſhe called a man, and made him to ſhave the ſeven locks of his head; and ſo *Ovid* brings in *Scylla*, taking the like opportunity of her fathers ſleep;

Judges 16. 17.

Verſe 19.

Prima quies aderat, qua curis feſſa diurnis
Pectora ſomnus habet, thalamos taciturna paternos
Intrat, & (heu facinus!) fatali nata parentem
Crine ſuum ſpoliat———

Firſt ſleep was come, and weary limbs were at their ſweet repoſe
When ſhe unto her fathers bed, in ſlieſt ſilence goes:
But let no ſilence cloak her ſhame, (O deteſtable theft!)
Her Father of his Fatal Hair the Daughter hath bereft.

4. Not much greater variety is there between the ſtory of *Lots* wifes transformation into a pillar of ſalt, and *Niobes* into a ſtone. The Poets feign that *Niobe* was transformed, upon her grief for death of her children: and the Jews have a Tradition, that *Lots* wife was overtaken with that *Hideous ſhowre of Fire and Brimſtone*, whilſt ſhe ſtaid behind her husband to ſee what would become of her friends, and her kinsfolk, which remained in *Sodom.* And it is probable out of that Chapter, that *Lots* ſons in Law remained in *Sodom*, and likely their wives too, *Lots* other daughters. For ſo it is ſaid (not without Emphaſis in the Original) *Take thy wife and thy two daughters, which are found,* or (as the *Chaldee* paraphraſe) *which are found faithful with thee* (that is, which are not corrupt by converſing with others abroad) *leſt thou be deſtroyed with others in the puniſhment of this city.* Whether this Tradition of the *Jews* be true or no, it makes little for my preſent purpoſe. Very Ancient it is, and whether true or falſe, might give occaſion to the former Fable, as other ſtories of the Bible do ſometimes the rather, becauſe the ſenſe is miſtaken. As the common opinion is, that *Lots* wife was transformed into a *Pillar*

Ovid.Met.l.6 Fab.3. aliis 4.

Gen. 19. 14.

Verſe 15.

of Salt, when as no circumſtance of the Text doth enforce ſo much, but rather leaves us free, to think, what is more probable; that fearful ſhowers of Gods Vengeance, wherewith *Sodom* was deſtroyed, were heaped upon her, ſo that her body was wrapt up in that congealed matter, which was perhaps in form like to ſome thunderſtone, or the like, from which it could not be diſcerned, being as it were Candied in it.

5. If ſuch a transformation of *Lots* wife ſeem ſtrange; what will the Atheiſt ſay unto the deſtruction of *Sodom*, and the five Cities? or if this ſeem more ſtrange and incredible, becauſe their deſtruction vaniſheth whilſt they periſhed; What can he ſay to the Salt Sea? Doubtleſs, unleſs God had left this as a *Laſting Monument* to confute the Incredulity of Philoſophers, by an ocular and ſenſible Demonſtration, they would have denied the truth of this Effect, as well as they doubt of the Cauſe, which the Scriptures aſſign of it. Is the violence of that ſtorm, which deſtroyed the five Cities, ſtrange, and above the force of nature? ſo is the quality of that Sea, and the * ſoil about it, contrary to the nature of all other Seas, or in-land Lakes. And let the moſt curious Philoſopher in the world give any natural cauſe of it; and the diſproportion between the cauſe, and the known effect, will be more Prodigious in Nature, than the cauſe, which *Moſes* gives of it, is ſtrange, Some Cauſe by their confeſſion it muſt have; and though the ſtorm were raiſed by a Supernatural Power, yet admitting the violence of it, to be ſuch as the Scripture tells us, and the fall of ſo much durable matter, no cauſe can be conceived, ſo probable in Nature, as that which *Moſes* gives; as out of the grounds of Philoſophy, and divers experiments in Nature, I could eaſily prove. But † *Strabo* that great Philoſopher, and no Credulous Antiquary, hath eaſed me of this labour. For albeit he held the *Syrians* for a Fabulous people: yet the evident marks of Gods wrath, that had been kindled in that place (as concavities made by fire, diſtillation of pitch out of the ſeared rocks, the noyſom ſmell of the waters thereabouts, with the reliques and ruines of the Ancient Habitations) made the Tradition of neighbour Inhabitants ſeem probable unto him; That there had been *Thirteen populous Cities* in that ſoil, of which *Sodom* was the chief, whoſe circumference then remaining, was ſixty furlongs. But (as the cuſtom is of Secular Philoſophers) he ſeeks to aſcribe the cauſe of this deſolation rather unto Earth than Heaven, and thinks the Lake was made by an Earthquake, which had cauſed the burſting out of hot waters, whoſe courſe was upon Sulphur and Brimſtone. And it is not unlikely, that the earth did tremble, whilſt the heavens did ſo terribly frown, and the Almighty gave his Fearful Voyce from out the clouds: and once having opened her mouth to ſwallow up thoſe *Wicked Inhabitants*, the *Exhalations of whoſe ſins had bred theſe Storms*, became afterwards a Pan or Receptacle of moyſture, infecting all the waters which fell into it, with the loathſome qualities of thoſe dregs of Gods wrath, which had firſt ſettled in it; as bad Humors, when they ſettle in any part, plant (as it were) a new nature in the ſame, and turn all Nutriment into their Subſtance.

Chap.

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* Haud procul inde campi, quos ferunt olim uberes magniſq; Urbibus habitatos, fulminum jactu arſiſſe, & manere veſtigia, terrámq; ſpecie torridam, vim frugiferam perdidiſſe; nam cuncta ſponte edita, aut manu ſata, ſive herba tenus aut flore, ſeu ſolitam in ſpeciem adolevere, atra, & inania velut in cinerem vaneſcunt. Ego ſicut Judaicas quondam urbes igne cœleſti flagraſſe conceſſerim, ita halitu lacus inſici terram, corrumpi ſuperfuſum ſpiritum, eóq; fœtus ſegetum & autumni putreſcere reor, ſole, cœloq; juxtà gravi. *Tacitus lib. 5. Hiſt.*

† Strabo l. 16. p. 764.

CHAP. XVI.

Of NOAHS and DEUCALIONS *Floud, with other Miſcellane Obſervations.*

1. NOt any ſon ſo like his natural father, as *Deucalions* Floud is like *Noahs*. Every School-boy, from the Similitude of their ſubſtance, at the firſt ſight can diſcern the one to be the baſtard Brood of the other; albeit *Ovid*, from whom we have the picture of the one, hath left out, and added, divers Circumſtances at his pleaſure; which aſſures me, that he had never read the ſacred Story (as ſome think he did) but took up the confuſed Tradition of it, which had paſſed through many hands before his time: For other Poets which had come to * *Plutarchs* reading, though not to ours, make mention of *Deucalions* Ark, his Doves returning to him again before the waters Fall, his Prognoſtication of the waters decreaſe, by her perpetual abſence at her laſt ſetting out. This Tradition was ſo commonly received in *Greece*, that ſome Etymologiſts think the Famous Hill *Parnaſſus* did take its name from the Arks abode upon it, as if it had firſt been called † *Larnaſſus*. Theſe are ſure teſtimonies that ſuch a floud had been: but that in *Deucalions* time any ſuch had been, or that the Ark did ſtay in *Greece*, hath no ſhew of truth. See St. *Auguſtine*, *De civit. Dei. Lib.* 18. *cap.* 10. *& L. Vives*.

2. If *Trogus Pompeius* Works had come entire into our hands, or had they light upon a more skilful and ſincere Epitomiſt then *Juſtin*, we ſhould have found more evident prints of the ſtory of *Noahs* Floud, in that Controverſy, between the *Scythians* and *Egyptians*; whether were the moſt Ancient people: As *Juſtin* relates it, *Lib.* 2. thus it was.

3. The Egyptians thought the Heavens over them had been in love with their ſoil, and that from the conjunction of the ones mildneſs with the others Fertility, the firſt people of the world had been brought forth in *Egypt*. The *Scythians* alledged, it was moſt probable, that their countrey was firſt inhabited, becauſe if fire had ſhut up the womb of their mother earth, this Element did forſake theirs firſt, as being the coldeſt countrey: or if water had covered the face of nature, and made it unapt for conception by too much moiſture, this Veil was firſt put off in *Scythia*, as being the higheſt part of the inhabited Land. Unto theſe reaſons of the *Scythians*, the *Egyptians* yielded, as *Juſtin* reports. Both of them erred in the manner of mans Propagation; both again held a general Truth, in thinking mankind had ſome late Propagation, and that Kingdoms had not been ſo frequented with people in former generations, as now they were. The *Scythians* agreed herein with Scripture, That the higher parts of the World, which they inhabited, or parts near unto them, were firſt dried up from the waters; for in the mountains of *Armenia* the Ark ſtayed, and *Noah* went firſt on land in that countrey. The Story of whoſe preſervation in this Deluge, and the propagation of Mankind from him, and his children, not being expreſly recorded to the *Scythians*, they Imagine that men had grown like Muſhromes after Rain, becauſe they had

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* Plut. de Solertia Animalium. Οἱ μὲν οὖν μυθολόγοι τῷ Δευκαλίωνί φασι περιστερὰν ἐκ τῆς λάρνακος ἀφιεμένην, δήλωμα γενέσθαι, χειμῶνος μὲν, εἴσω πάλιν ἐνδυομένην. εὐδίας δὲ, ἀποπτᾶσαν.

† ἀπὸ τῆς λάρνακος. *which word* Plutarch *uſeth in that place.*

been ſo few, and now were come unto ſuch great multitudes. Nor did *Noah* only go firſt on land in *Armenia*, but his poſterity had their habitation in the mountainous Countreys, until their multitude cauſed them to ſeek more room; as we may gather *Gen.* 11. V. 1, & 2. *Then the whole earth was of one Language, and one Speech; and as they went from the Eaſt* (that is, from *Armenia*) *they found a Plain in the Land of Sinar, and there they abode.* Some broken Traditions of this Truth might cauſe the Ancient *Scythians* to ſtand upon their Pantofles, and plead Priority of nature from ſuperiority of place. And this conceit of Antiquity being propagated to poſterity, they ſeek to Fortify their Title to it (called in queſtion) by ſuch reaſons as were alledged before. And even in theſe their reaſons, though falſe in particular, there appears a certain general glimpſe of Divine Truth: For in that they take it as granted, that either fire or water had ſtopped the courſe of nature, this is an infallible Argument, that they had heard of the Dominion allotted by Fate to thoſe two Elements over other Bodies; albeit they did not rightly apprehend the manner of the worlds deſtruction by them, nor whethers courſe was firſt paſſed. This Tradition of the Worlds deſtruction by Fire and Water, and the diſtinction of their courſes (though not ſo plainly revealed in the old Teſtament) had come more diſtinctly to *Ovids* hand; who bringeth in *Jupiter*, reſolving to plague the old World rather by Water then Fire, becauſe it was to have a Fatal diſſolution by Fire:

Tres vero Noe filii Semas, Japhetus, & Chamas centum annis ante diluvium nati, primi relictis montibus planitiem habitare cœperunt, & aliis recenti etiam tum cladis memoria pavidis, nec audentibus à celſiore loco deſcendere, idem faciendi autores & exemplum fuere. *Joſeph. lib.* 1. *Antiq. cap.* 5.

Met. L. 1. Fab. 7. Jamq; erat in totas ſparſurus fulmina terras, ſed timuit, ne fortè ſacer tot ab ignibus æther conciperet flammas, totúſq; ardeſceret axis.

Eſſe quoque in Fatis reminiſcitur affore Tempus
Quo Mare, quo Tellus, correptaque Regia Cœli
Ardeat, & Mundi Moles operoſa laboret;

He calls to mind the day would come (for Fates had ſet the ſame)
When Sea and Land, Heavens, Elements, and all this Mundane Frame
Should ſweat with Heat, and melt as Wax before the Fearful Flame.

4. The Egyptians likewiſe had many reaſons why they might juſtly think themſelves a very Ancient people, and thoſe not diſſonant unto Scripture; which witneſſeth Egypt to have been a mighty Kingdom, every way better repleniſhed then any other Countrey that we can read of in times ſo Ancient; firſt poſſeſt by *Mizraim*, the ſon of *Cham*, by whoſe name it is continually called by the ſacred Writers, as well the Prophets and late Hiſtoriographers, as by *Moſes*; and in the Eaſtern Languages bears that name until this day, as * *Mercerus* tells us. This *Mizraim* alſo did propagate ſundry particular Nations in ſhort time, as we find regiſtred *Gen.* 10. 13, 14. All which might make for the Egyptians conceit of their antiquity. And albeit the old Canaanites were as Ancient and populous a Nation (though not ſo united in a Kingdom) as the Egyptians; yet, before theſe Altercations aroſe, or (at leaſt) before any other people took notice of them, their poſterity was rooted out by the Iſraelites, who though they came in the others place, yet came not into competition with the Egyptians for Antiquity in the Judgement of any Heathen writer; becauſe the Iſraelites were no people, till the time that Egypt was one of the mightieſt Nations upon earth; and the Heathen being igno-

* Com. in Gen. cap. 10. v. 6. Vid. & Joſephum, lib. 1. Antiq. cap. 7.

ignorant (as making little reckoning of their original) took them for a Colonie of the Egyptians, as appears by *Strabo*, * who in recompence of this his Error hath elſewhere acquainted us, with another experiment, which may confirm the Antiquity of *Moſes* ſtory concerning *Shems* poſterity.

Moſes tells us *Gen.* 10. 23. that *Aram*, ſon of *Shem*, and brother to *Aſhur*, had *Uz*, and *Chul*, and *Maſh* unto his ſons. The Aramites no queſtion had their name and propagation from *Aram*. Some think the Arabians, or other Countreys about *Idumæa*, or both, had their original from *Uz*: Others, that the *Maſſiani* in *Arabia* were ſo called of *Maſh*: *Joſephus*, that the *Armenians* were the progeny of *Chul*. Conſonant to all theſe opinions is * *Strabo* his obſervation of theſe people; whom the *Grecians* call *Syrians*, the *Syrians* themſelves call *Aramæans*; and his collection is, That the Armenians and the Erembi (that is, the ancient *Arabians*) have taken their denomination from the ſame name, a little varied (as the cuſtom is) by continuance of time, and variety of Dialect. That theſe three Nations did all proceed from one ſtock, he gathers from the ſimilitudes and perfect reſemblances of their nature, cuſtoms, and manner of life.

5. But for the firſt habitation or Antiquity of *Armenia* or *Scythia* it skills not much. That man-kind had a new propagation about the time aſſigned by *Moſes* of the Univerſal Floud, and that the Nations were propagated from thoſe Regions, which *Moſes* tells us were allotted to the Sons of *Noah*, and inhabited by his Nephews, is apparent, from the ſuddain encreaſe of Arts and Sciences: Which were in a good meaſure perfect in thoſe Countreys, in times as ancient as any profane Hiſtory can point unto; yet ſeated only in a narrow room, whence they were derived, as from a Centre, to more remote parts of the World. The ripeneſs of Literature, Civil Diſcipline, and Inventions, amongſt the *Aſſyrians*, *Caldeans*, and *Egyptians*, before the like did ſo much as bud forth in *Greece*, *Italy*, or other Countreys, far diſtant from the former, doth argue, that theſe were the ſtock, and others but ſlips or Branches tranſplanted thence. Again, the State and Pomp of theſe Eaſtern Countreys, before *Greece*, or *Italy*, or any other Weſtern People, did grow into the Faſhion of a Kingdom or civil Nation, demonſtrates unto us, That the Inhabitants of thoſe places were the Heirs of the World, who had the Court, Kingdom, and Metropolis amongſt them, and other Nations but as Colonies of men of meaner ſort, not ſo near allied unto the Firſt-born; or (as it were) of a younger houſe, and a far

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* *Lib.* 16.

* Sed Scripturam mutare cum ſit vetuſta, non eſt neceſſe; culpanda potius nominis mutatio quæ frequens eſt & uſitata omnibus gentibus; & videntur quidam literarum mutationibus temerariis eam efficere. Optimè omnium exiſtimo Poſſidonium, hîc quoq; à gentium cognatione & communitate interpretationem vocum ducere. Nam Armeniorum, Syrorum, & Arabum, multum cognationis præ ſe ſerunt nationes, ſermone, vita, corporum forma, maximè ubi degunt in vicinia. Idq; oſtendit Meſopotamia ex tribus his conflata populis. Maximè enim in his ſimilitudo eſt illuſtris: quod ſi qua eſt varietas pro eo atq; aliæ partes aliis magis ad ſeptentrionem, aut meridiem vergunt, aut in medio ſunt ſitæ; nihilominus tamen communis affectio obtinet. Aſſyrii quoq; Ariani & Armenii inter ſe atq; iſtorum ſunt aſſimiles. Eſtque colligendum harum gentium nomina eſſe affinia: Qui enim à nobis Syri, ii ab ipſis Syris Aramæi dicuntur, hiſque conveniunt Armenii & Arabes, & Erembi, *Strab. l.* 1. *This opinion of* Strabo *confirms* Joſephus *obſervation concerning the changing of nations names,* Lib. 1. Antiq. c. 6. Porro gentium quædam adhuc ſervant derivatam à ſuis conditoribus appellationem, quædam etiam mutaverunt, nonnullæ in familiarem accolis & notiorem vocem ſunt verſæ, Græcis potiſſimúm talis nomenclaturæ autoribus. Hi enim poſterioribus ſæculis veterem locorum gloriam ſibi uſurpârunt, gentes nominibus ſibi notis inſigniunt, dúmq; tanquam ad ſuum jus attinerent, mores quóq; proprios in illas invehunt.

ruder Education. And it is moſt likely, or rather evident, that the ſons of *Japhet* did firſt inhabit *Scythia*, or the Northern parts of *Aſia Minor*, and other parts near adjoyning, before they came into *Greece*, or other Countries of *Europe*. And theſe were the ſons of *Noahs* meaneſt poſterity, until the fulneſs of *Shem* and *Chams* iniquity were accompliſhed. For as Gods promiſe unto *Abraham* was not accompliſhed in his Perſon, but in his Poſterity, many generations after his death; ſo neither did his curſe upon *Cham* take place till the ſame time. The Execution of Gods curſe upon the one, was the collation of his bleſſing upon the other: but the enlarging of *Japhets* race came along after both. Thus the *Egyptians* were the firſt great Princes; the *Aſſyrians*, *Medes* and *Perſians* the next; the *Grecians* and *Romans* after them; and in later times the race of *Iſmael* hath been the mighty People: for of him the *Saracens* lineally deſcend, and the *Turks*, by Adoption Heirs of the ſame promiſe. So truly doth the Scripture tell us the truth of all Antiquity, and the true cauſes of Nations encreaſe; but of this elſwhere. To conclude this ſtory of *Noah*.

Vid. Fagium in cap. 16. Geneſ. & Paræum.

6. The former Argument drawn from the ſudden increaſe and propagation of men, the ſcarcity of Arts, Civil Diſcipline and Inventions, with other Experiments better known to them than us, enforced certain of the Ancient Philoſophers to hold a perpetual Viciſſitude, ſome of General, ſome of Particular Deluges, whereby the works of Antiquity, once come to perfection, had been, and continually ſhould be defaced; either generally throughout the World, or in ſundry Countries according to the extent of the Inundation. This Opinion might ſeem more ſafe, becauſe not eaſie to be diſproved in the Old World, in which the wiſeſt living (beſides the people of God) had no diſtinct Knowledge of any thing, that had hapned a hundred years before his own Birth; much leſs what mutations ſhould follow after his death: but unto us their Prognoſtication is like unto ſome late Prophecies of Dooms-day, confuted by a world of witneſſes, even by the continuance of every thing after that time, which, by their prophecies, ſhould have impoſed a fatal end to all things. We may truly uſe the Mockers words, to theſe mockers of truth; *Since the old Philoſophers died, all things continue alike*, Seed-time and Harveſt have been ſtill diſtinct, nor hath there been any Flood to deſtroy either the whole Earth, or any entire Nation thereof. For Aſſurance of which promiſe, the Almighty hath ſet his Bow in the Cloud: whoſe Natural Cauſes, though the Philoſophers can in ſome ſort aſſign, and ſhew the manner how diverſities of colours ariſe in it; yet the Ancient Poets ſaw more (than either they themſelves have left expreſt, or later Philoſophers ſought to conceive) when they feigned *Iris* to be *Thaumantis Filia*, the Daughter, or (as we of this age would ſay) the Mother of Wonderment; the Meſſenger of the great God *Jupiter* and his Goddeſs *Juno*. The occaſions of this Fiction (had they been well acquainted with them) might have informed Philoſophers, that the Rain-bow, had ſome better uſe, than a bare Speculation how it was made; ſome Final, beſides the Material and Efficient Cauſe, unto whoſe ſearch the Admirable Form or compoſition of it did incite men naturally. And the Ancient Philoſophers (who were for the moſt part Poets, and endued with more lively notions of the Firſt and Supreme Cauſe

of all things) did uſually aſſign a Final Cauſe, (commonly) Supernatural, of ſuch effects as proceeded from Efficient and Material Natural Cauſes. As the Pythagoreans thought the Thunder (whoſe matter, form, and efficient they well knew) was made to terrifie ſuch as were in Hell; not erring in the general, that it had ſome ſuch like uſe, though miſtaken in the particulars, whom it was made to terrifie. Natural Philoſophy gives us the Material and ſenſible Efficient Cauſes; the Scripture onely the true and Supernatural End, which leads us to the Immortal, Inviſible, and Principal Efficient Cauſe of all natural effects, even of Nature it ſelf. And *Ariſtotle* acknowledgeth the motions or diſpoſitions of the Matter to depend upon the End or Final Cauſe: albeit he gives no Final cauſe at all of main principal, much leſs the Supreme or Principal Final cauſe of all natural effects, but confounds the Form with the End, againſt his own principles, and contrary to the Analogy between Nature and Art, which is the ground of all his Diſcourſe, about the Matter, Form, and Efficient. For the Artificial Form is not the End of the Artiſts work, but rather incites the Spectator to view and admire his Skill, from which his gain or fame may redound. And theſe (one, or both) are the Principal end of all his labours: ſo is the Glory of the Firſt and Supreme Efficient Cauſe, the Principal and utmoſt End of all the works of Nature, and *Nature it ſelf* (if I may ſo ſpeak) *the Art or Skill of the Firſt and Supernatural Cauſe.* But as *Ariſtotles* Philoſophy is imperfect, becauſe it leads us not, either unto the Firſt Cauſe, or Laſt end of all things; ſo it is fully ſufficient to confute ſuch Divines, as think there were Rainbows before the Flood. Which opinion hath no pretence of Scripture to enforce it: and grounds in nature it can have none, unleſs they will avouch this evident untruth, That every diſpoſition of the Air, or every Cloud, is fitly diſpoſed to bring forth the Rain-bow. And if other Natural Cauſes, with their motions and diſpoſitions, depend upon the Final; ſuch as acknowledge the truth of Scripture, have no reaſon to think, that either the Clouds or Air had that peculiar diſpoſition which is required unto the production of the Rain-bow, before the Flood, when this wonderful Effect could have no ſuch uſe or end, as it hath had ever ſince. For it was ordained, as the Scripture tells us, to be a Sign or witneſs of Gods Covenant with the New World, a Meſſenger to ſecure mankind from deſtruction by Deluges. Now if it had appeared before, the Sight of it, after the flood, could have been but a ſilly comfort to *Noahs* Timorous Poſterity; whoſe miſtruſt, leſt the like inundation ſhould happen again, was greater, than could be taken away by any ordinary or uſual Sign, if we may believe ſuch *Teſtimonies of Antiquity as we have no reaſon to ſuſpect. I omit the diſcuſſion of † their Opinion, who think the Rain-bow doth naturally argue ſuch a temper of the air, as is unapt for the preſent to conceive any Exceſſive Moiſture. Either from theſe reaſons in nature, then well known, or from the Tenour of Gods forementioned Covenant, communicated to the Ancient Heathen people by Tradition, doth *Jupiter* in *Homer* make *Iris* the Meſſenger of his Peremptory command unto *Neptune*, to deſiſt from aiding the *Grecians*.

Ariſt. 2. Poſt. Phyſ. 2. l. c. 3.

Gen 9. 12, 13, 14.

* Joſeph. hiſt. Noæ. Ant. 1. Lib.

† Vid. Ammian. Marcel. lib. 20. in Fine. Et quoniam indicium eſt permutationis auræ (ut diximus) à ſudo aëre nubium concitans globos, aut contrà ex concreto immutans in ſerenam lætitiam cœlum: ideo apud poëtas legimus ſæpe Irim de cœlo mitti, cum præſentium rerum fit ſtatus mutatio. *See* Joh. Archiep. Cantuarienſis Perſpectiva Communis, *Lib.* 3. *in Fine.*

Ἀγγελίλω

Ἀγγελίην τινά τοι Γαιήοχε κυανοχαῖτα,
Ἦλθον δεῦρο φέρουσα παραὶ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο,
Παυσάμενόν σ᾽ ἐκέλευσε μάχης ἠδὲ πτολέμοιο,
Ἔρχεσθ᾽ ἢ μετὰ φῦλα θεῶν ἢ εἰς ἅλα δῖαν.

From Jove *I come a Meſſenger, to him that* Neptune *hight,*
His pleaſure is, that thou henceforth, ne come in field or fight:
But hence to Heaven, or to wide Sea addreſs thy ſpeedy flight.

7. The true Mythology of which Fiction I ſhould, from the circumſtance of the Story, conjecture to be this. The ſwelling of waters and abundance of moiſture, did advance the *Grecians*, and annoy the *Trojans*, for whom fair weather was beſt, as having greateſt uſe at that time of ſervice by Horſe. For this reaſon is *Neptune* by *Iris* commanded to get him into the Sea; which is as much as to ſay, the Over-flow of waters and abundance of moiſture was now to be aſſwaged; and *Apollo* on the other ſide ſent to encourage *Hector* and his *Trojans*; The meaning is, that *Jupiter* would now have fair and dry weather.

Ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε, νῦν ἱππεῦσιν ἐπότρυνον πολέεσσι,
Νηυσὶν ἔπι γλαφυρῇσιν ἐλαυνέμεν ὠκέας ἵππους. Hom Ibid.
Αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ προπάροιθε κιὼν, ἵπποισι κέλευθον
Πᾶσαν λειανέω, τρέψω δ᾽ ἥρωας Ἀχαιούς.

Go to! prepare the Troops of Horſe (for they muſt do the deed)
And charge thine enemies at their ſhips, but charge them with all ſpeed;
Mean time I'le go before, and ſmooth the way, you follow muſt;
I'le turn the Grecian Chieftains back, or lay them in the duſt.

Such myſteries of Nature are often wrapt in Poetical Fictions, though many of them not ſo eaſie to be diſcerned in ſuch diſtance of time; this kind of Divinity being now worn out of date. But we that have this Supernatural Commentary upon the works of nature, may *ſee in the mixt colours of the Rain-bow*, more clearly than in any Prophetical viſion, *the Old Worlds deſtruction by Water: and This preſents future conſumption by Fire*, whoſe brightneſs is predominant in the wateriſh humour. The reſolution of the cloud, by the heat of Sunbeams reflected upon it, prefigures unto us the melting of the Elements with fire, 2 *Pet.* 3.12.

8. Scarce any thing in the frame of Nature, no not the untruths of Poetical Fables, or lying ſtories, but bear Witneſs of the Divine Truth revealed in Scriptures; ſo men would not be prepoſterous in their obſervations; like *Julian* the Apoſtate: who ſought to diſcredit the Sacred Story of the Tower of *Babel*, by the Poets fictions of the Giants war againſt Heaven; as if there had been no more probability in the one than in the other. If he could have ſhewed us any Poem of the ſame Subject, more Ancient than that ſtory, he might have had ſome piece of an excuſe for his Impiety; ſome pretence for accuſing the Scripture of Poetical Imitation: but if the Poets have been Imitators of *Moſes*, or other Writers of this ſtory, the blame muſt lie upon them, either for wilful corrupting of the truth, or (which is moſt likely) for taking the Hyperbolical Phraſe of Scriptures in a ſtrict ſenſe; as if they had meant to build a Tower

up to *Heaven indeed*, when as the Phraſe importeth no other intendment in them, than onely *To build an Exceeding High Tower*, which might ſecure them from Inundation (as ſome think;) or elſe endure as a Monument of their Fame, or a Refuge whereunto they might reſort, and continue their Combination.

9. But the later *Grecians*, having their Conſciences convict with the Evidence, not their Affections conquered with the Love of Truth, were driven into more deſperate Impudence, to ſay that our Saviour Chriſt had taken thoſe Divine Sentences, which they could not but admire, out of their divine *Plato*; whereas *Plato* himſelf, (as S. *Ambroſe* and S. *Auguſtine*, out of Teſtimonies not now producible, gather) had his beſt Divinity from ſuch as wrote of Chriſt, although the *Medley of their Divinity and his Philoſophy, is but like the mingling of* Jordans *ſweet ſtreams with the ſalt Sea.* That *Plato* had either read, or been inſtructed by ſuch as had read the Books of *Moſes*, he will eaſily Believe, that ſhall read the ſpeech of *Ariſtophanes* in the Dialogue of Love, or Banquet-diſcourſe. *In the beginning* (ſaith he) *there were three ſorts or Sexes of men, not theſe two only which are now extant, Male, and Female; But a third common nature compoſed of theſe, whoſe Name now onely remaineth, without any ſuch real Nature, as the word* Androgyni *imports.*

Aug. lib. 3. de Doctr. Chriſt. Cap. 28.

Plato in Conviv.

10. This opinion (doubtleſs) was conceived from a miſconceit of *Moſes* his meaning, in making divers mention of our Firſt Parents Creation. *Gen.* 2. He makes firſt mention of *Adams* Creation, then of *Evahs*, diſtinct from it. But *Gen.* 1. 26, 27. and *Chap.* 5. 1, 2. He ſeemeth to relate both their Creations ſo joyntly and briefly, that a man, not acquainted with the Hebrew Dialect, nor the Myſteries of Matrimony repreſented in that Story, might think, that neither diſtinct Man or Woman had been there created, but *Androgyni*. *Furthermore God ſaid, Let us make* Man *in our likeneſs according to our Image, and let* Them *rule over the fiſh of the Sea, and over the fowl of the Heaven, and over the beaſts, and over all the Earth, and over every thing that creepeth or moveth on the earth. Thus GOD created* Man *in his own Image, in the Image of GOD created he* Him; *he created* Them *Male and Female.* And a ſecular Artiſt that affecteth Artificial, being ignorant of *Moſes* his Method, might think that theſe were not Repetitions of the ſame, but diſtinct Stories of divers Creations. From the like ignorance of the *Grecians* in the Eaſtern tongues, or ſome default in the written copies which they followed, did the River *Perath* enlarge its name by tranſlation from one tongue to another, as it doth its ſtreams by paſſing from place to place. For if we joyn the Hebrew Pronoun or Article with the Noun, whereby this River is named in Scripture, the compound is onely different in Termination from the ſame Rivers name in Greek. *Moſes Gen.* 2. having mentioned Three Rivers of the Garden, addeth, *And there was a Fourth which is Perath* [* *Hu Perath*] or rather [*Hu Prath*] which words conjoyned are *Huphrath.* All theſe argue, that the ſacred Antiquity of *Jewry* was, unto other Nations, as *Nilus* to *Egypt*, the main Stream or Principal River, whence they drew moſt of their Inventions, either of neceſſity or delight; albeit theſe Cuts or petty ſtreams thence deriv'd, did quite alter their native quality in the conveyances, receiving infection from the Soyl through which they ran, or putrifying the Ciſterns wherein they ſetled.

** Which according unto the Greek Termination is* Euphrates, *not* Euphrathes, *as of the Hebrew* Beth *is the Greek* Beta, *not* Betha.

11. For confirmation of all, we may add this. The Greek Alphabet hath been taken from the Hebrew, as is evident to ſuch as will compare both. The Grecians themſelves acknowledge, that they had their very Letters from the *Phœnicians*, who were next neighbours to *Judea*.

12. To Recollect the ſum of all that hath been ſaid throughout this Diſcourſe. As both the firſt Elements, and ſundry Primitive words of the Greek and Hebrew, ſcarce differ ſo much one from another, as Three from Four, or one *Digit* number from the next unto it, and yet after many deflections from the firſt *Roots* or *Themes* of both, and new *Frames* of words by Artificial Compoſition, (a thing as natural to the Greeks as ſpreading branches to the Vine) the Languages themſelves, or whole product of both Elements, are much different: So are the Principal or firſt Heads of the Grecian Inventions, derived for the moſt part from the Hebrews; although by ſucceſſive Artificial Imitation their Variety grow greater, and their reſemblance of divine Truth the leſs. So likewiſe were Logical conceits firſt clothed, like Natures children, in Terms not much abhorrent from Common and Civil Uſe; but after divers Reflections of Artiſts Imaginations, and endleſs Revolutions of Conceit upon Conceit, the Logicians Dialect is become a Diſtinct Language from all others; ſo that a man may as well ſpeak Greek to a meer Latiniſt, as Logick-Latin to a meer Humanitian. Thus much of the Heathens digreſſion from the Hiſtorical truth of Scriptures. It remains that we compare the Moral uſe and iſſue of their Inventions with the End, Scope and Fruit of theſe Divine writings.

Chap. XVII.

Of ſacred Writers Sobriety and Diſcretion, in relating true Miracles; compared eſpecially with later Heathens vanity, in coyning Fruitleſs Wonders.

1. Albeit the Superſtition of later Gentiles was moſt oppoſite to the moſt True, moſt Ancient Religion of the Iſraelites: yet if we trace the moſt Civil ſort of them backwards in their Siniſter ways, we ſhall find It, and the right path of the Iſraelites, like the two oppoſite Branches of *Pythagoras* his Letter, jumping as it were in one Trunk. Sundry Fragments of *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Pythagoras*, yea of *Eurypides*, much later than the former, with many Sayings of other Ancient Poets and Philoſophers, do witneſs that their Authors had *Many Notions of Good and Evil*, not much diſſonant from the Moral Law of God, fully conſonant (for their general truth) unto the good Sentences of *Jobs* Friends: albeit even theſe were mingled with many particular Errors of the Divine providence. Much more did the moſt of the Heathen, ſince the diviſion of the Jews from other people, by their Sacred Laws, go much, every day more than other, awry, from thoſe good rules of life, which had been naturally ingrafted, both in the Jews and Gentiles Hearts. Theſe excellent Sayings of the Ancient Heathen, and their poſterities credulity

to believe all reports of their Gods, demonſtrate that they had obſerved many Wonderful Experiments, and Evident Documents of a Divine providence; and communicated the ſame unto poſterity, both in plain Literal Moral Diſcourſes and Allegorical or Myſtical Fictions. In thus doing, perhaps not intending ſo much, that their Succeſſors ſhould expect the ſame Events, or Courſe of things to continue for ever: as that they ſhould learn to Reverence theſe Sacred Powers, to glorifie them as Divine, who could always alike effect what they intended, though by means moſt contrary. But unto the Heathen, deſtitute of Gods written Word, the beſt Obſervations of their Anceſtors became quickly like a Kalendar out of date; they could not diſcern the works of God, nor his inward ſecret Calling, when once the courſe of his proceedings, or manner of his ſpeaking to them changed. Thus *Planetiades* in *Plutarch* aſcribes the defect of Oracles unto the Careleſneſs or Malignancy of the Gods, as if, theſe once taken away, they had no other means left for procuring the welfare of Mankind. But in *Jewry* the true Doctrine of the Divine Power, or Providence, was well known. For God by *Moſes* had both given them his written Oracles as an abſolute Ephemerides of all things that had been ſince the firſt moment of Time, by whoſe Rules they were to diſcern all other ſucceeding Predictions; and alſo continually raiſed them up Prophets, like yearly Aſtronomers, to continue the Ephemerides, which *Moſes* had made for the direction of mans Life, and to inſtruct them as it were in a Monthly Kalendar of every particular Alteration or Change, unto which that great Law-giver in his General Predictions could not deſcend. From this reaſon it is, that the Pen-men of the Sacred Story do not always relate the ſame, or like Events, but aſſign divers manners of his working and ſpeaking to ſeveral Ages. Some afford us lively Monuments of his *Power*, others Paterns of his *Wiſdom*; ſome Examples of his *Juſtice*, others of his *Mercy*: yet all of them continually acknowledge him to be the *Onely Author of their Good*, albeit the manner of procuring it be divers, yea contrary. Thus *Ezra*, *Nehemiah* and other Godly men of that time, aſcribe their Redemption from Babyloniſh Captivity, as immediately to the Wonderful Working of their God, as their Fore-elders did their Deliverance from Egyptian Thraldom: although no ſuch Miracle of his Power were ſeen in the later. The former Deliverance had confirmed his Omnipotent Ability of doing what He would, the later, his infinite Wiſdom in doing what He could, by what means He would: and it was his good Pleaſure to be Glorified in ſundry Ages, by divers Manifeſtations of his ſeveral Attributes.

Plut. de defectu Oraculorum.

2. But the Heathen wanting His Word for their direction, after they had once begun, knew not how to make an End. If God ceaſe to ſhew his Miracles in any one kind, which they had heard of before, either they ſought to continue them by feigning the like, (more ready to play upon former reports, than to obſerve the courſe of Gods proceedings in their own times:) or elſe from the variety of wonderful Events, whoſe Cauſe they knew not, they imagine a plurality of Gods. Others, from theſe mens Superſtition and Curioſity, were prone to ſuſpect the Truth of what had been; after once ſuch ſenſible Events, or Experiments begun to ceaſe. This gave

the firſt occaſion unto Atheiſm; which hath moſt abounded ſince the propagation of the Goſpel, whoſe Glory hath quite extinguiſhed thoſe petty lights, which purblind Heathen onely uſed for their direction, being moſt conſpicuous to the Fleſh or Senſe, as the Goſpel is to the Spirit. For as dim or weak ſights can make ſome ſhift with Star-light or Candles, that ſhine afar off, but are quite put out by looking upon the bright Sun; So hath the Brightneſs of Chriſts Glory revealed, put out the Eyes of corrupted Nature, in ſuch as loved darkneſs more than Light, and would not ſeek for any remedy at his Hands, which giveth Sight to the Blind. Yet might this their diſeaſe be ſooner cured, if they would compare other Countries vanity in feigning wonders without Occaſion, with this Religious Sobriety of the later Writers of the Bible, or other godly men, who have written of Jews Affairs; not one of them ſince *Ezekiahs* time relating ſuch wonders, as their Fathers had told them. This *Sobriety* in them evidently ſhews, that the Former Miracles were no Fictions of Humane Fancy: otherwiſe the Jews, living between *Ezekiahs* and Chriſts time, would have been copious in their Inventions of the like, as we ſee by experience, that the *learned Jews* ſince our Saviours time have been moſt ridiculouſly apiſh in coyning, and the *Illiterate* as groſs in believing moſt abſurd and *Filthy Fables.* That this people, during the whole time of the *Second Temple*, added no books to the Canon of the Bible, confirms their Forefathers care, of admitting none in former times, but upon evident and ſure Experiments of their divine Authority. Again, it was moſt miraculous, that this people which had Prophets, and ſacred Writers in every Age, before the Babyloniſh Captivity, ſhould after their redemption thence lie ſo quiet, that not the moſt Learned among them did ever challenge the name of Prophet; though they had men of divine ſpirits, and excellent obſervation in Heavenly matters, as appears by the Author of *Eccleſiaſticus*, the Book of *Wiſdom*, and other Books of good uſe amongſt all Religious men, though not Canonical amongſt the Jews themſelves. Anſwerable to this ſobriety of the learned was the diſpoſition of the unlearned among this people; which during the former Period of time, wherein they wanted Prophets, were generally moſt averſe from all Idolatry, whereunto they were moſt prone, while Prophecies were moſt plentiful amongſt them; and yet continued ſtill as far from Atheiſm, as Idolatry. The reaſon of all which, I have given before. *God had injoyned a General Silence throughout this Land, that all might hearken more attentively unto the Cryers voyce, appointed to prepare the ways of the Lord*: after whoſe meſſage once fully accompliſhed, as it had been after the ringing of a Market-Bell, every Mountebank throughout their coaſts, ſets to ſale the dreams and fancies of his own brain, for Divine Prophecies.

3. Laſtly, the Heathen in their moſt Sacred Traditions, and matters of greateſt conſequence, add circumſtances according to the occurrents of their own Times, which ſuit no better with the Subſtance or Eſſence of their Anceſtors Obſervations, than a *Pigmies* ſlipper with a *Gyants* Foot. How ſhamefully doth the wanton Poet feign his Gods to long after ſuch matters, as he himſelf did moſt delight in? The beſt end and uſe of his greateſt Gods apparitions are oft times to accompliſh beaſtly luſt; Divine truths are uſually

transformed into the Poets private affection. *Ovids* deſcription of *Jupiters* coming to *Semele*, * is not much unlike the manner of GODS paſſing by † *Eliah* upon the mount; and therefore not altogether unbeſeeming the Majeſtie of the Great King, if all circumſtances were anſwerable to the ſubſtance of the deſcription: but it is brought to an abſurd, prophane and fooliſh purpoſe. So likewiſe * *Semeles* petition unto *Jupiter*, is but † *Moſes* his requeſt unto God, Effeminate and transformed in ſundry circumſtances to the Poets humour. *Moſes*, *Exod.* 33.18. deſired to ſee the Glory of the Lord: and the Lord anſwered him, *Thou canſt not ſee my Face: for there ſhall no man ſee my Face and live.* Yet willing to confirm this his Servants Faith, he condeſcends thus far to his ſuit * *whilſt my glory paſſeth by, I will put thee into a cleft of the rock; and will cover thee with mine hand whilſt I paſs by, and thou ſhalt ſee my back-parts, but my face ſhall not be ſeen.* Either from ſome miſtaking of this place, or from experience of others ſudden death, upon ſuch apparition of the Divine Majeſtie, as *Moſes* and *Elias* by peculiar diſpenſation had eſcaped, did that tradition ſpring which *Manoah* conceited ſo deeply, *Judg.* 13.22. *And Manoah ſaid unto his wife; we ſhall ſurely dye, becauſe we have ſeen God;* as *Gideon* had done likewiſe, *Judg.* 6.22. † *Alas my Lord God, for becauſe I have ſeen the Angel of the Lord face to face, I ſhall dye.* This Tradition had come to *Ovids* * hands, who makes that Majeſtie, which he had deſcribed to be ſo great, ſo Improvident withal, as to grant her fooliſh requeſt, on whom he doted, to her utter ruine; and ſo Impotent, that he could not protect her, albeit he ſtrove to cover her with his hand: and ſo finally neither the God could injoy his Love, nor his beſt Beloved her Life. Such are the conſequences of later Heathens greateſt Miracles; but in the Sacred Story, wherein are ſpecified Events as ſtrange as Poets relate any, ſuch cauſes are aſſigned of them, as are more weighty, and the manner of their relation more grave and Serious than the Events are Rare; if God at any time appear, either in viſion by night, or corporal ſhape by day, it is for ſome Extraordinary purpoſe. All the Miracles or wonders wrought in *Iſrael*, were to bring that people unto the knowledge of the true God, to rely continually upon his Providence; A matter more hard, if we conſider the frailty of our own fleſh, than the effecting of any Miracles, reported to have been wrought for the Jews. Why his Wonderful Works ſhould be moſt frequent amongſt this people, this reaſon is as plain as probable, from the End. This people was placed as a Light unto all the Nations of the World beſides: They injoyed extraordinary proſperity that others might be allured to reverence them, and Taſte the Goodneſs of their God: Their unuſual Judgements and ſtrange kind of Afflictions were as ſo many Proclamations unto the World, to beware of like Rebellion: ſeeing all the world was ſet on wickedneſs, and God had appointed a day, wherein he would judge the world in righteouſneſs, neceſſary it was, to ſet out a patern of his Mercy and Juſtice in ſome People; and ***without wrong to any other***, *it*

* Aethera conſcendit vultúmque ſequentia traxit Nubila, queis nimbos immiſtáq; fulgura ventis Addidit, & tonitrus & inevitabile Fulmen. *Lib.* 3. *Metam. Fab.* 3.

† 1 Kings 19. 11, 12. *And behold, the Lord went by, and a mighty ſtrong wind rent the mountains and brake the rocks before the Lord, and after the wind an earthquake, and after the earthquake fire*

* Det Pignus amoris Si modo verus is eſt, quantúſq; & qualis ab alta Junone excipitur, tantus taliſq; rogato Det tibi complexus, ſuáq; ante inſignia ſumat. *Ovid. Ib.*

†*Exod.* 33. 12, 13. & 18. *Then* Moſes *ſaid unto the Lord; See, thou ſayeſt unto me, Lead this people forth, and thou haſt not ſhewed me whom thou wilt ſend with me: Thou haſt ſaid moreover, I know thee by name, and thou haſt alſo found grace in my ſight: Now therefore I pray thee, if I have found favour in thy ſight, ſhew me now the way that I may know thee, and that I may find grace in thy ſight. Again he ſaid, I beſeech thee ſhew me thy glory.* * Exod. 33. 21, 22, 23. † *Hence was that of* Homer, lib. 1. Odyſſ.————Ὁ δὲ φρεσὶν ᾗσι νοήσας, Θάμβησεν κατὰ θυμὸν: ὀΐσατο γὰρ θεὸν εἶναι. * Corpus mortale tumultus Non tulit æthereos doniſq; jugalibus arſit.

was His eſpecial Favour, to make choice of Abrahams *ſeed* for this purpoſe, on whom he ſhowred his mercies in greateſt abundance, whilſt they were obedient and faithful in the works of *Abraham*; but when *they rebelled, and vexed his holy Spirit, then he turned to be their Enemy, and he fought againſt them,* making them continual Examples of his unpartial Judgements, as ſhall appear in the next Section.

Iſa. 63. 10.

SECT. III.

The *Third Section* of the Second General Part.

LIB. I.

Containing Experiments drawn from the Revolution of States, or Gods publick Judgements, but eſpecially of the Eſtate of the Jews from time to time.

OF all external Experiments, the moſt Firm and ſolid, for aſſuring the truth of theſe divine Oracles unto our ſouls, are gathered from the *Revolution* of States, or Gods *Judgements* upon ſeveral Lands and people. In the obſervation of which, the continual ſtory of the Jewiſh Nation doth beſt direct us. The Intercourſe of their particular afflictions, before our Saviours time; the manner of their Recovery from them, as from ſo many Spices of ſome grievous diſeaſe growing upon them; *The Epidemical * diſeaſe which through every generation haunts theirs, ſince they deſired our Saviours blood to be upon them and their children:* are ſo many *Probata*, or tried *Experiments*, that theſe *Celeſtial precepts* contain the onely Method of preſerving the Publick or private welfare of Mankind, whoſe obſervations may cure, whoſe neglect will breed, all the miſery that can befal any people. *And this Method I would wiſh every Chriſtian to follow; Firſt diligently to conſider the State of the Jews from time to time, for it evidently confutes the Atheiſt,* and confirms the Truth of the Old Teſtament: and *the truth of it* eſtabliſhed, *doth* moſt evidently *confute the Jew*, and witneſs the truth of the Goſpel unto us, as ſhall be proved (God willing) in due place.

* *Crantzius l. 10. Wandal. c. 18.* Chriſtiano ſanguine abutuntur ad Reſtinguendum Cruorem qui perpetuò illis Fluit, *whoſe fathers cried, His Blood be on us and our children.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the State of the Jews in General, before our Saviours time, with Tullies *Objection againſt them.*

1. IT is ſtoried of * *Alphonſus* the Great, that being ſometime Priſoner to his Enemies, he did ſo carry himſelf amongſt them, and preſcribe them ſuch Conditions for his releaſe, as might argue, that they had overcome him only by Chance. This was not ſo ſtrange in a Prince, ſo Famous and Venerable for the Integrity of his whole life, and ſo Amiable in his carriage towards his Enemies; A man, as it were made to overcome and quell all the ſpightful malice or Baſe Intendments, that could be deviſed againſt him, by his Heroical open Heart, and Bountiful Hand towards all, and indefatigable Clemency even towards ſuch, as ſought to outvie it by Ingratitude, and juſt provocation of his heavieſt diſpleaſure. But that the Jews, a people whom others prejudicial conceit of their peeviſh ſelf-conceited Singularity (raiſed from their ſtrict obſervation of Laws contrary to the cuſtoms of other people) had made for the moſt part Odious, ere known unto the world, ſhould † *Victi victoribus leges dare*, being Captives give Laws unto their Conquerors, even to ſuch as ſought to Triumph in their diſgrace, as Birds over an Owl caught in a ſnare; did juſtly miniſter occaſion of Wonderment to ſundry Heathen, and might have taught the proudeſt and mightieſt of their Enemies, that they had overcome them *onely by permiſſion or Chance*, or (if theſe words ſeem unfit) for want of that good Hap and Favour in their Battels, which they after their overthrows finding, became by it in a ſort, Conquerors of their enemies, even whilſt they were detained in Captivity.

* Enimvero tanta fuit autoritas *Alphonſi*, ut etiam victus conditiones dixerit, & victores victi metu ceſſerint, quaſi victoriam caſu non virtute ſe conſecutos arbitrati Ant. Panormitan. l. 4. de dict. & Fact. Alphon.

† Auguſt. (ex Seneca) l. 6. de Civit. Dei. c. 11.

2. The full Height and Amplitude of thoſe Fortunes, whereof This People was onely capable, would bring the natural man, (could he fully comprehend them) within perfect ken of that Incomprehenſible Omnipotent Power, which was onely able to effect them. But becauſe theſe cannot be taken by any Ethnick Obſervations, which reach not near thoſe Ancient times, wherein their Extraordinary Succeſs was moſt Conſpicuous; we muſt gather them from the manner of their States declining, ſince it hath been known to Ethnick or other Writers, not liable to ſuſpition of partiality on their behalf. God in his providence (as *Moſes* prophecies compared with later, and the ſucceſſion of their Hiſtories, Teſtifie) had ordained, as the Fulneſs of Time and their Iniquity drew near, his Favours toward them ſhould decreaſe by ſuch an uniform proportion, that their Contraction in later, might notifie their exceſſive Greatneſs in former times. The manner of their deliverance from the Babyloniſh Captivity (to ſuch as rightly obſerve the divers manner of Gods proceeding in different ages before, ſpecified) will give the true Eſtimate of Wonders wrought for their Forefathers: and *Cyrus* Favour towards them will appear moſt credible, from the repreſentation of like extraordinary Kindneſs ſhewed them in *Egypt* by *Ptolomæus Philadelphus*; * *who, though their ſupreme Lord by right of Conqueſt, ſet at liberty a Hundred thouſand of their Bodies, captivated by his Father, to*

submit

Of the favours that God procured the Jews from Divers Kings, &c. See Joſephus, Antiq. l. 12. c. 2. & 3. l. 14. c. 16. & 17. l. 16. c. 10. l. 19. c. 4, 5, 6, 7. 1 Mac. 15.

ſubmit himſelf unto their Laws, which he (directed by the Divine providence) cauſed to be tranſlated into the moſt known tongue then on earth, through which the nations (as it were through a perſpective glaſs) might better diſcern the New Star of *Jacob* which was ſhortly to ariſe.

3. It is a point without the Circumference of Politick Obſervation, plainly arguing ſuch a Celeſtial Providence, as can controul the purpoſes of the greateſt Princes, why *Jeruſalem* ſo often Ruinate, ſhould ſtill be repaired again; or, the Temple continue in ſuch Beauty after it had ſo often fallen into the enemies hands; eſpecially ſeeing the Flouriſhing ſtate of the One was apprehended by their Conquerors, as a great Encouragement, and the Fortification of the Other, as a great Opportunity of this peoples Rebellion; upon which conſideration * *Artaxerxes* did inhibit the execution of *Cyrus* Grant for the Re-edifying of *Hieruſalem.* The City walls had been razed ſince the time of the Babyloniſh Captivity, (which was before any Heathen Hiſtoriographer of note) firſt by *Ptolomey the Firſt*; ſecondly by *Pompey the Great*; and yet repaired before *Veſpaſians* time, who overthrew their ſtrongeſt munitions, as *Adrian* afterwards did the ſame, once again repaired.

* *Ezra* 4. 17. 1 *Eſdr.* 2.25, &c. *Joſ.l.*11. *Antiq.cap.*3. Etſi Cambyſem pro Artaxerxe habeat, Appianus de Bell. Syriac. *Yet here is omitted the re-edification by* Hircanus *in* Julius *his time.* Joſ. Ant.l.14.c.16. *Their demoliſhing by* Soſius.l.14.c. 28. & l. 15. c. 1. *Re-edifying in* Caius *his time.* Joſeph. Antiq. l.14. c. 17. *and in* Claudius *his time.* Empto jure muniendi, ſtruxere muros in pace tanquam ad Bellum. *Tacitus Hiſt. l.*5.

4. The Truth again of that Favour which they found under the Egyptians, (though otherwiſe known by unpartial writers) is more than Credible in it ſelf, from the extraordinary Favour which they found amongſt the Nations, about the time of their Conqueſt by *Pompey.* *Tully* tells us in his Oration *pro Flacco,* that Gold was tranſported out of *Italy* it ſelf, and all the reſt of the Roman Provinces, for Garniſhing the Temple of *Hieruſalem.* The prohibition of this practice in *Aſia,* enacted by *Flaccus* Governour of that Province, was afterward laid to his Charge, though the like had been decreed by the Roman Senate in the time of *Tullies* Conſulſhip. It was no little prejudice unto his cauſe, that *Pompey* in the Conqueſt of that City, did think ſo reverently of the Jews Religion and Temple, that albeit he * viewed the Golden Table, Candleſtick and other Veſſels of like metal, with many coſtly Ornaments, and two thouſand Talents of their ſacred Treaſure: yet did he not diminiſh ſo much as one Jot of it, nor ſpoil *Jeruſalems* Temple of any Ornaments, to beautifie the Temples of his Roman Gods. This abſtinence of *Pompey,* *Tully* in the forecited place acknowledgeth, albeit (for bettering the cauſe he had in hand) unwilling to confeſs, that *Pompey* did abſtain for any Religious Reſpect of the Jews or their Laws: for after many ſhifts, † he takes this as the beſt argument to elevate the Romans conceit of the Jewiſh Religion; *whilſt* Jeruſalem *flouriſhed and the Jews were quiet, yet their ſacred rites were altogether diſſonant unto the ſplendor of the Roman Empire, the gravity of that nation, and the inſtitution of their Anceſtors; much more* (as he thought) *ſhould the Romans now make leſs account of that Nation, which had given perfect proof what good will they had born unto the Romans, by their late taking arms againſt them. And what good will the Immortal Gods did bear to them, their late Fortunes did witneſs; in that they had been vanquiſht, made tributary, and* (*as he thought*) *were at the Romans diſpoſition for their preſervation or deſtruction.*

* Joſ. de Bell. Jud.l.1.c.5.

† *Cicero pro Flacco.* Sua cuíq; civitati religio, Læli, eſt, noſtra nobis. Stantibus Hieroſolymis, pacatíſq; Judæis, tamen iſtorum religio ſacrorum à ſplendore hujus imperii, gravitate nominis noſtri, majorum inſtitutis abhorrebat. Nunc verò hoc magis, quod illa gens, quid de imperio noſtro ſentiret, oſtendit armis; quàm chara diis immortalibus eſſet, docuit, quod eſt victa, quod elocata, quod ſervata.

5. If theſe Jews late ſubjection were any diſparagement to their Religion; much more might *Pompeys* and *Tullies* overthrow diſcredit the Roman Gods, which *Pompeys* Faction did reverence more than *Cæſars*; yea Fortune it ſelf, on whoſe Favour * *Tully* relied after he had fallen out with all the reſt, could not be excuſed, if earthly calamity were any juſt preſumption of impiety againſt Heaven. But if *Tully* would have ſought but the firſt Fountain of his Countries wrack; want of Reverence to the Jewiſh Temple, and their Religion was cauſe of *Pompeys* and *Craſſus* overthrow, and their overthrow the Ruine of the Roman State.

* Lib. Epiſt. ad Attic.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Pompey's *ill ſucceſs after his entry of the* Sanctum Sanctorum: *The manner of his death fitting his ſin. Of* Craſſus, Caſſius, *&c.*

1. I Know the Secular Politician can eſpy many Overſights in *Pompeys* proceeding againſt *Cæſar*, and aſſign other Cauſes of his diſaſter: But he that had gone into the Temple of the Lord, with more Reverence than *Pompey* did, might have underſtood that it was his *Unhallowed progreſs into the Moſt Holy Place*, which had ſet an untimely Period to his Greatneſs growth. *This was the main Spring or Head of all his other particular Errours* obſerved by Secular Politicians. Hitherto he had marvellouſly proſpered in all his ways; Fortune had been his Guide, and Felicity his Attendant. Although his Wiſdom and Experience would not ſuffer him to overſee any thing, that lay within the compaſs of Warlike skill; yet happy Chance delighted to have a Finger in his proceedings, always bringing ſomewhat to his aid, and furtherance, *from beyond the Hemiſphere of Humane Policy*; ſo as the Iſſue and product of all his Enterpriſes were ſtill diſcerned to be greater, than could amount from the particular means forecaſt by him, or his Counſellers, for their Atchievement. * He had the help of Wind, and weather, to proſecute his foes by Sea: the Favour of † Moon and Stars to make him Conqueror by Land. Thus Fates had been his friend, until his aſcending the *Holy Mount*: but upon his deſcent thence, Fortune (to uſe the Romans language) began to turn her wheel upon him. His wonted providence and forecaſt * forſook him; and he that in his younger days (when his heart was as full of hopes as his blood of ſpirits) had uſed greateſt vigilancy to prevent all dangers in matters of ſmaller moment, whoſe loſs might eaſily have been recovered: now in that age, whoſe uſual Symptomes are Timidity, and too much care, ſuffers thoſe Conſultations on which his Own, his Friends, his Countries Fates, and Fortunes wholly depended, on which *the whole ſtate of the world did in a manner hang*, to paſs away as in a dream; yielding his irrevocable conſent to whatſoever any Paraſite ſhould propoſe, in points wherein errour and overſight were incorrigible, and their conſequence, if bad, remedileſs; with as great ſpeed and little care, as a man would anſwer, yes, or yea, to ſome idle queſtion propoſed unto him betwixt ſleeping and waking. Anſwerable to this his Sottiſh demeanor, *Victory*, which before had Wooed him,

The original cauſes of Pompeys *fortunes ſudden alteration.*

* *See* Tully de lege Manilia, *of* Pompeys *felicity in his African expedition; and piratical war.*

† *As in his Conqueſt of* Mithridate, *See* Flor. de Geſt. Rom. l. 3. cap. 5. Nocturna ea Dimicatio fuit. Et Luna in partibus, quippe quaſi commilitans, cum à tergo hoſtibus, à facie Romanis ſe præbuiſſet, Pontici per errorem longius cadentes umbras ſuas, quaſi hoſtium corpora petebant. Vid. Stadii comment. in locum.

* Vid. Plut. in Pompeio, & Appianum lib. 2. de Bell. civili. & Dionem, in initio lib. 42.

him, once in his laſt extremity (like a wanton Minion diſpoſed to flout her Blind decrepit doting Lover) ſeems a little to make toward him, * either wanting eyes to diſcern her, or wit to give her entertainment. *But not* Victory *her ſelf could make him victorious, in whoſe death and overthrow the Almighty would have his Judgements ſeen.* For ſeeing it could not content him to have vanquiſhed ſo many Kings and Kingdoms, but he will provoke the King of Kings in his own houſe, by his *Unmannerly Intruſion into his moſt Secret Cloſet, reſerved alone, of all places of the earth beſides,* (though all the earth beſides were His) *for His Holineſs preſence and his Prieſts:* it ſeemed juſt to this Lord of Heaven and Earth, the Supreme diſpoſer of all Succeſs, to give the Kingdoms ſubdued by *Pompey* into his Fatal Enemies hand, not leaving him ſo much firm ground of all his conqueſts as might decently cover his miſerable Corps. *Since the foundations of the Earth and Sea were laid,* [a] *never had ſo high a Flow of all good fortunes, ſo ſuddain, ſo ſtrange, ſo low and naked an Ebbe, Ut cui modò defuerat terra ad victoriam, deeſſet ad ſepulturam:* that he, who, as the Roman Orator ſaith, had conquered more Provinces than almoſt any of his Countreymen had ſeen, He[b] that had commanded 1000 ſhips, reſtored the uſe of the Sea to the Nations again, and freed all others from the violence of Pirates, ſole Lord of that Element, and the coaſts adjoyning; ſhould (upon that very day, which in memory of this [c] matchleſs victory he had celebrated ſome few years before at *Rome* with greateſt Triumph and Solemnity) become a prey to a Beggarly Egyptian Boat, and fall into ſuch baſe Huckſters hands, as knew not the worth of ſo great a Prize, but (as if he had been ſome ravenous Sea-monſter, that had lived by Publick Harms, of whoſe death only ſome petty commodity might be made) preſent his Head to the chief Magiſtrate in hope of reward, leaving that Body, whoſe goodly preſence had over-charged the greateſt Temples, like a peſtiferous Carrion, or ſome offenſive Garbage, or forlorn Spawn, rather hid then * Buried in a little heap of Sand.

* *Such was* Cæſars *cenſure.*

[a] Hîc, poſt tres conſulatus, & totidem triumphos, domitumq; terrarum orbem, ſanctiſſimi viri, in id evecti ſuper quod aſcendi non poteſt, duodeſexageſimum annum agentis, pridie natalem ipſius, vitæ fuit exitus: in tantum in illo viro à ſe diſcordante Fortuna, *ut cui modo ad victoriam Terra defuerat, deeſſet ad ſepulturam.* Vellei. Pater. Hiſtor. lib. 2.

[b] Qui mare univerſum, quod Romanis parebat, pacaverat, in eo ipſo periit, qui olim mille navibus (tot enim ferunt) præfuerat, tunc in navicula prope Ægyptum occiſus eſt, idq; ab eo Ptolomæo quodammodo, cujus patrem ipſe in eam regionem ac Regnum reduxerat. Dion. Hiſt. Rom. lib. 42. & ſtatim poſt. Sic Pompeius, inter Romanos habitus antea potentiſſimus, ut Agamemnon etiam cognominaretur, quod mille navibus & ipſe cum Imperio præfuiſſet, tunc quaſi unus de extremæ ſortis Ægyptiis, ad montem Caſſium interiit, ea ipſa die, qua quondam de Mithridate & Piratis triumphum duxerat: ut ne in his quidem extrema cum primis convenerint.

[c] *The Piratical was the moſt honourable War that ever any Roman undertook, and juſtly deſerved a glorious triumph: but* Pompey *triumphed in his Sin, whileſt he included* Juries *Conqueſt, as part of that days glory, which the Lord for this reaſon would have defaced by his miſerable death, as he had polluted the ſolemnity of Gods Sabbath in* Jeruſalem, *for he took it on the Sabbath day.* Vid. Joſph lib. 1. de Bell. Jud. cap. 5. *And* Dion. l. 66. *ſays that* Titus *did ſo,* ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Κρόνου ἡμέρᾳ, ἣν μάλιστα ἔτι καὶ νῦν Ἰουδαῖοι σέβουσι.

* Τῷ ναοῖς βρίθοντι πόση σπάνις ἔπλετο τύμβου; Vix caperet templum quem parva recondit arena. Epitaph. Pompeii apud Appian. l. 2. de Bello Civili.

2. The ſtrange ſtupidity, and more ſtrange Deſtiny of this famous Prince, ſo Wiſe by nature, ſo well experienced, and always before this time moſt Fortunate, did argue to the Heathens apprehenſion, that *He was* [a] Θεοβλαβὴς as we would ſay, *Taken in the Brain by the Hand of God, and his Hopes blaſted from above.* But ſuch is the prepoſterous dulneſs of Humane ſagacity in Divine matters, that even where the Print of Gods ways is moſt ſenſible and perſpicuous, the wiſeſt of us run Counter ſtill until His Word direct our footſteps, and His Spirit give life unto our ſenſes. For the moſt

[a] Appian. ibid.

Religious amongſt the Romans, [b] deeming *Pompey* ſuch as they thought themſelves, one that had never given juſt offence to any of their Gods; upon his miſcarriage, either altogether [c] Diſclaim the Divine Providence, or elſe Exclaim againſt the Ingratitude or Malignity of Celeſtial Powers; as if there had been no other God or Gods, but ſuch as they and *Pompey* had well deſerved of. Whereas his Fatal Overthrow, whom their gods they thought had moſt reaſon to favour, ſhould have inſtructed them, that there was a God of gods in *Jury*, which did bear rule over the ends of the world, who would not be worſhiped after their faſhion, as *Pompey* dreamed. For the reaſon of his deſire to ſee the *Moſt Holy Place*, was to be reſolved whether the Romans, which worſhipped the gods of every Nation ſubdued by them, had not that God already, which the Jews adored: [d] but finding no graven Image, nor likeneſs of any thing in heaven or earth, many Romans, which till that time had lived in ſuſpence and admiration who this God of the Jews ſhould be, held their concealed Myſteries for meer Gulleries, and thought it folly to worſhip they knew not whom, For [e] *Incerti Judæa Dei*; yet were his Judgements upon this great Peer of *Rome*, the firſt among that people, that had to do with the Jews, moſt certain, yet Judgements mixt with Mercy and long ſuffering. Seeing *Uzza*, and *Uzziah* King of *Juda*, for intermedling in the Prieſts office, were ſmitten, the one with ſudden death, the other with continual Leproſie until his dying day; who can expect that this Alien ſhould eſcape unpuniſht for like preſumption? Nevertheleſs, becauſe he did approach the *Moſt Holy Place*, though with an unſanctified heart, yet with no ſacrilegious hands, he had a longer time of repentance then his next Peer in Might amongſt the Romans, his Predeceſſor in like miſerable and diſgraceful death, though his Succeſſor in like, but more ſhameful ſacrilegious baſe profaneneſs.

[b] *The Romans prepoſterous and impious collections upon* Pompeys *overthrow.*

[c] *Hence were theſe and like complaints* Marmoreo Licinus tumulo jacet; at Cato parvo, Pompeius nullo; quis putet eſſe Deos?

[d] Romanorum primus Cn. Pomp. Judæos domuit. Templumq; jure victoriæ ingreſſus eſt. Inde vulgatum, Nulla Intus Deûm effigie, vacuam ſedem, & Inania Arcana. Tacitus lib. 5. Hiſtor. Vide Florum l. 3. c. 5.

[e] Lucan. 2. lib.

3. That *Sacriledge was one eſpecial cauſe of* Craſſus *miſcarriage in the* Parthian *wars, the Heathens of that time had obſerved*; and it may be, *Plutarch*, from unwritten Traditions the nurſe of errour, did miſtake the ſtory. Sure it was not the Goddeſs of [f] *Hierapolis*, but the God of the holy City, which made the young and aged to ſtumble one againſt another. Or if *Craſſus* and his Son had this firſt *Omen* of their overthrow at their Egreſs out of this Goddeſſes Temple; this doth not argue that it was either ſolely or principally for this offence therein committed; albeit even *ſacrilegious wrongs again the Heathen Gods, did oft redound to the true Gods diſhonour*, being not intended by worldly minded men, ſo much againſt them in Particular, as in contempt of Deity or Divine Power Simply: Nor are ſuch warnings uſually ſent immediately [g] upon the principal Fact, but rather after continuance in the like. And the vicinity of this [h] places name, (which was a ſecond witneſs of *Craſſus* ſins) might have put him in mind of his former miſdeeds in *Jeruſalem*, with whoſe ſacred treaſure he had dealt juſt ſo, as *Plutarch* ſaith he did

The miſcarriage of Craſſus *parallel to the manner of his ſin againſt* Jeruſalem.

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[f] Γίνεται δὲ πρῶτον αὐτῷ σημεῖον ἀπὸ τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης, ἣν οἱ μὲν Ἀφροδίτην, οἱ δὲ Ἥραν, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀρχὰς ϗ σπέρματα πᾶσιν ἐξ ὑγρῶν παρασχοῦσαν αἰτίαν ϗ φύσιν νομίζουσι, ϗ τὴν πάντων εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἀρχὴν ἀγαθῶν καταδείξασαν. ἐξιόντων γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, πρῶτος ἐσφάλη κατὰ τὰς πύλας ὁ νεανίας Κράσσος, εἶτ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ περιπεσὼν ὁ πρεσβύτερος, &c. Plutarch in Craſſo.

[g] *As the Deſtruction of* Hieruſalem *did not immediately follow upon our Saviours, but upon his Servants*, S. James *unjuſt Death.*

[h] *This* Hierapolis *was* Bambyca *or* Edeſſa, *where* Dirceto *the great* Syrian *Goddeſs was worſhipped, as appears from* Strabo's 16. *Book*: ὑπέρκειται δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ σχοίνους τέτταρας διέχουσα ἡ Βαμβύκη, ἣν ϗ Ἔδεσσαν ϗ Ἱερὰν πόλιν καλοῦσιν, ἐν ᾗ τιμῶσι τὴν Συρίαν θεὰν τὴν Ἀταργάτιν. *It was beyond* Euphrates: *whereas* Craſſus *had ominous ſigns of his deſtruction at his firſt paſſage over that River.* Plutarch.

with the treaſury of that Goddeſs of *Hierapolis*. Which makes me ſuſpect that *Plutarch* did miſtake the ſtory. For as *Joſephus* tells us, he took away the two thouſand Talents, which *Pompey* left untoucht, and eight thouſand beſides. But ſuch was the Heathens prejudice of the Jews, that the leaſt injury offered to their Idol-Gods was more then the moſt grievous ſacriledge that could be deviſed againſt the God of *Iſrael*. The worſt that could be done againſt his Temple, was, in many of their opinions, but as reprochful words, which can bear no Action, becauſe not eaſily appliable to any determinate perſon: with many of them it was all one, *Non eſſe Deos, & non apparere*, repreſented in ſome viſible ſhape or image. Thus *Polybius*, otherwiſe an ingenuous writer, imputes the cauſe of *Antiochus Epiphanes* ſuddain and fearful death, unto his intended pillage of the Goddeſs *Artemis* Temple; when as this miſcreant was guilty of that actual crime before, for ranſacking the Temple of *Jeruſalem*. (See *Joſeph. Antiq. l.* 12. *c.* 13.) But as the plenary cauſe of *Craſſus* miſerable and ſhameful death, was his ſhameleſly miſerable and Sacrilegious Mind in general: *ſo in the means, or manner of His end, the Almighty would have his particular offences againſt his Prieſt and Temple to be moſt Eminent and Conſpicuous.* * *Eleazer* the high Prieſt, ſeeing him wholly bent to make a golden Harveſt of the Parthian expedition, feared leſt he ſhould rake all the ſacred Treaſure into his coffers. For preventing of which miſchief he preſents him with a *Golden Beam*, whereon the Hangings of the Temple hung, hoping thereby to redeem the reſt of the ſacred Treaſure; but he having gotten this into his hands, which otherwiſe he could not have found (being covered with wood) contrary to his Oath, moſt agreeable to his Humour, ſeized upon all the reſidue. Yet gold, which he thus greedily ſought, as (to his ſeeming) the only ſure Nerve of war, by the Almighties diſpoſition, became the indiſſoluble chain of his diſmal Fates. As love to it had made him perjure himſelf to circumvent Gods Prieſt; ſo did it expoſe him to circumvention by a Perjured † Villain; who having found out his appetite, prepared a fit Bait for his Bane. For by feeding this greedy thirſt of gold, he inſinuated himſelf into the ſociety of his Secrets, which he diſcloſed unto the Parthian. Had *Craſſus* wits naturally been ſo dull, or had he uſually ſhewed himſelf ſo groſs and ſottiſh, as he proved in this expedition, he had never born any place among the Romans, much leſs had they ever permitted him to manage any foreign Wars. But † partly from his prodigious Stupidity, uncapable of any warning by ſo many Ominous Signs and tokens, as did ſtupifie his whole Army beſides, partly from his more then brutiſh Facility, in taking an uncouth way (as if he had been a tame beaſt before the drover) until he came to *the very Stand*, where his enemies ſtood with their bows bent, and their arrows of death made ready upon the ſtring

* Eleazárus cum videret Craſſum totum eſſe in colligendo auro, timens omnibus Templi ornamentis, trabem hanc, redemptionem pro omnibus ei dedit, cum prius eum jurejurando obſtrinxiſſet, nihil aliud loco moturum; contentum eo quod ipſe traderet, æſtimatum plurimis aureorum millibus. Hæc trabs inſerta erat trabi cavæ ligneæ, quod cæteris omnibus ignotum, ſolus ſciebat Eleazarus. Craſſus tamen & hanc pro reliquo templi auro accepit, & mox violato jurejurando totum quantum intus erat egeſſit. *Joſeph. Ant. Lib.* 14. *c.* 12. † Maximam autem calamitatis partem Augarus ipſis Oſroenus attulit. Is Romanis ante fœdere junctus, ſub Pomp. Barbarorum partes tum potiores habuit. Quod idem Alchaudonius quoq; Arabs fecit, ſemper potentiori ſe ſolitus adjungere: Cæterúm hic quia manifeſto defecerat à Romanis caveri facile potuit. Augarus autem, quum Partho ſtuderet, ſimulaivt ſe Craſſi amicum, liberaliterq; ei pecuniam ſuam impendens, & exploravit omnia ejus conſilia, & Partho enunciavit. *Dion. Lib* 40.

† Vid. Plutarch. in Craſſo. Dionem l. citato. Appian. de Bell. Parth.

ſtring for his deſtruction, all the Roman writers agree, that *He was lead awry by Siniſter Fates.* Now if they had but once read what God he was, that had blinded *Abſalom* to diſclaim *Achitophels* good counſel, and ratifie *Huſhais* plot for his Overthrow, 2 *Sam* 17. they would eaſily have granted that the ſame God, and no other, * had infatuated *Craſſus* heart to renounce *Caſſius*, and other grave experienced Roman Warriors wholeſome advice, and betake himſelf wholly to the Barbarous Fugitive *Augarus* directions, ſuborned by the Parthian to betray him.

4. But *Caſſius*, much wiſer then his General in this one particular of miſtruſting Foreigners, was afterwards as far over-ſeen in the main chance, and overtaken with that ſin which had cauſed *Craſſus* blindneſs: Firſt, *polluted with like* * *Sacriledge*, and cruel oppreſſion of theſe Jews: then with his own bloud, † ſhed by his ſervant at his commandment, upon as groſs an over-ſight as *Craſſus* had commited. *So ſhall they all, ſooner or later, be Infatuate, that rob God of His Honour, and put their truſt in Wrong and Violence.* And thus till this time did they periſh all, as many as bare ill will to *Sion*; for *Hieruſalems* Hour was not yet come, becauſe the Day-ſpring had not viſited her from on High. The glory of her Temple was not as yet revealed; unto whom, after Her children had offered greater diſgrace then the Romans had done to their Temple, the Staff of her wonted Stay begins to break, the bonds of her former peace untwine, and only one part of her double Fates remain; if then ſhe fall, ſhe riſeth not again, ſhe hath no inclination left but to deſtruction; *The burthen of the Fathers ſins, and the yoke of captivity due thereto, grows heavier and heavier in the deſcent upon poſterity,* without all hope of recovery, much leſs of revenge, upon ſuch as offer her greateſt violence; but rather happy ſhall that man be thought, and higheſt earthly honour ſhall be the wages of his ſervice, that rewards her children, as they had ſerved their *Lord and Saviour*. But theſe times were not come in *Craſſus* or *Caſſius* days, in which ſome Reliques of her Ancient Hopes remained, to ſee the rods and ſcourges of her correction conſume and wither, after once the Almighty had taken off his puniſhing Hand. And if unto theſe Three above mentioned, we add the like deſtiny of *Antony* and *Scipio*; and the ill ſucceſs of the other Romans, who had ought to do with theſe Jews before our Saviours time: we may

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* Tum Caſſiani rurſum ægrè ferebant, & omiſſo Craſſo, qui monitores audire gravabatur, conviciis inceſſebant Abgarum, (*in Greek*, Acbarus, *in Dion.* Augarus. *and in Plut. in Craſſ.* Ariamnes.) Sceleratiſſime hominum, quis te malus dæmon ad nos adduxit? quibus veneficiis, quibus præſtigiis perſuaſiſti Craſſo ut per vaſtas ſolitudines iter faceret, Numidæ latrorum principi magis decorum quàm Romano Imperatori? Ille verſipellis confortabat eos blanditiis, & hortabatur, durarent pauliſper: milites verò ſublevabat accurrens, & cum riſu cavillabatur: Quid, per Campaniam vos iter facere putatis, ut requiratis fontes ac rivos & umbras, ſcilicet, balneáſque & continuata penè diverſoria? non meminiſtis vos tranſire per Arabum & Aſſyriorum confinia? Ita tum Abgarus Romanos quaſi pædagogus quidam caſtigabat: & priuſquam deprehenderetur in perfidia ábequitavit, non clam, ſed ex conſenſu Craſſi, fingens ſe curaturum neceſſaria & turbaturum conſilia hoſtium. Appian de Bell. Parth. Augarus, ſi quod utile conſilium Craſſus cepiſſet, dehortatus hominem eſt: ſin damnoſum, confirmavit; ac tandem hujuſmodi rem confecit. Craſſus Seleuciam contendere decreverat, quò ſe tutò cum exercitu ac commeatu præter Euphratem ac trans eundem pervenire poſſe cogitabat: à Seleucia (quam ut à Græcis hominibus habitatam, facile ſperabat in ſuam poteſtatem venturam) ad Cteſiphontem Urbem haud difficulter ſe trajecturum. Id conſilium, tanquam multo tempore opus habiturum, ut repudiaret, ac potius adverſum Surenam, qui prope cum parva manu eſſet, iret, Augarus perſuaſit. Quibus conſtitutis, cum Craſſum ut periret, Surenam (cum quo ſub ſpeculandi prætextu frequenter congrediebatur) ut ſuperare poſſet, paraviſſet, Romanos nihil ſolicitos, ac tanquam ad certam jam victoriam proficiſcentes, eduxit: in eíſq; tum per inſidias opprimendis Parthum adjuvit. *Dion Lib.* 40. *As he came into this danger by* Augarus *treachery, ſo was he ſlain after he had yielded himſelf unto* Surenas, *contrary to his oath and promiſe,* Vid Appian. l. citato, & Strabon. l. 16.

* *So ſaith St* Auguſtin de Civit. Dei. l. 18. c. 45. Poſtea, (i. poſt Pompeii victoriam de Judæis) Caſſius Templum ſpoliavit. *Of his cruel exactions in Judea,* Vide Joſeph. antiq. l. 14. c. 18.

† *Of his groſs error in miſtaking his victorious friend for his perſecuting enemy,* Vide Velleium Paterculum l. 2. & reliquos Rom hiſt. autores.

Jerem. 2.3.
Levit. 23.10.

conclude, that although the Romans were then Lords of the earth, yet This People, whom they held as Baſe, retained the priviledge of Gods Royal Prieſts. *Although the ſouls of all fleſh were the Lords, who for this cauſe revenged the oppreſſed in every Nation:* yet *Iſrael only* (as the Prophet ſpeaks) *was as a Thing Hallowed unto the Lord, His Firſt Fruits; all ſuch as devoured them did offend, evil ſhould come upon them,* although inflicted by their own, or their ſervants hands at their appointment. Laſtly, if we call to mind the former diſtinction of Ages, and the divers manner of Gods dealing with them, before and after the Babyloniſh Captivity; the contraction or Abridgment of their large Priviledges, in the long ſucceſſion of times foretold, by Ancient, and acknowledged by their own later Writers: we cannot miſtruſt the Amplitude of their Fundamental Charter, or their Hiſtorical Narrations of what the Lord had done of old unto *Jabin, Siſera,* and *Sennacherib,* would we (allowing ſome different condition of times) compare theirs with *Pompeys* and his Complices unuſual Fates. Gods Power was more immediately manifeſted in the one, his Wiſdom more admirable in the other, his Juſtice the ſame in Both. *Yet a Roman would reply: If* Pompey *had ſo grievouſly offended, why ſhould He not have born the whole burden of His ſins? So he ſhould, had either he alone offended, or the Romans ſuffered him to have lived a Private Life; but if they will aſſociate themſelves as members to their natural Head, and profeſs their ſervice and Allegiance unto Him, that ſtood as proſcribed by the Court of Heaven: Gods quarrel with the whole Faction is moſt Juſt, All of them are guilty of their Generals Sins, All liable to the Plagues and Puniſhments due thereto.* Yet, beſides that *Pompeys* intolerable Preſumption and Prophaneneſs, according to the uſual Courſe of Gods Juſtice, might propagate his Deſtiny unto ſuch of his Adherents, as had been free from any actual wrong done to the Jews, or contempt of their God and Religion in particular: a great many of his Chief Followers had polluted themſelves with the like Sin in *Jeruſalem.* For, as * *Joſephus* tells us, *Pompey* went not into the *Moſt Holy Place* alone, but accompanied with a Multitude. All of them, no doubt, had ſinned preſumptuouſly againſt the Admonitions and Threatnings of Gods Prieſts; and this peoples curſe (it ſeems) did follow them, whither they themſelves durſt not; for as the ſame Writer teſtifies, *No other calamity in that war did grieve the Nation ſo much, as this Polluting of their Temple.*

Gods Judgments upon Pompeys *Faction, were moſt juſt, becauſe they had participated of his Sin.*

5. Whatſoever *Tullies* or other Politick Romans conceit of this people in his time was; many amongſt the Romans, as well as in moſt other Nations, had (without queſtion) either obſerved the like Fatal miſchances of ſuch as vexed them, or elſe had felt ſome good in obſerving their Laws, whoſe perſons unknown they hated. In one, or both which reſpects, theſe Jews ſtood upon better terms with their Conquerors, than any other Captives did. And unleſs it had been a received Opinion amongſt other Romans, that this had been *A People Favoured of the Divine Powers;* why ſhould *Tully* have objected their late Conqueſt by *Pompey* to prove the contrary? And (me thinks) it might have moved him and others, ſo much devoted

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* Judæorum quidem 12. millia occubuerunt: Romanorum vero perpauci, ſed plures ſauciati ſunt. Nihil autem gravius in illa Clade Judæorum genti viſum eſt, quam ſanctum illud Arcanum, neque cuiquam prius viſum, alienis eſſe detectum. Denique Pompeius una cum *Suis Comitibus* in templum ingreſſus, ubi neminem præter Pontificem adeſſe Fas erat, quæ intus erant candelabra cum lychnis & menſis in quibus libare atque adolere moris eſt, & vaſcula ex auro cuncta ſpectavit. *Joſeph. de Bello Judaico. l. 1. c. 5.*

to the Roman Gods before, to have thought theſe Jews did ſerve a better God than they knew any, after they had ſeen their own ſtate utterly ruined without all hope of recovery, and their Gods either unwilling, or unable, (as *Tully* doubtfully complains) to redreſs thoſe miſeries and calamities, of which they ſhould at leaſt have given them warning, when as *Hieruſalems* Walls, which *Pompey* had demoliſhed, were (according to this peoples Hope, from which no power on earth could deject them, being ſupported by the Expreſs Promiſe of their God) Re-edified within twenty years, and they graced with great Priviledges for their good Service performed to *Cæſar*. For chiefly by their means became He Lord of *Egypt*, the firſt and ſureſt ground of his good ſucceſs in Africk; as *Joſephus* out of the publick Decrees and Teſtimonies of Roman Writers boldly avoucheth, challenging the Heathen to diſprove him or his Teſtimonies, if they could, Though this they eaſily might have done, if he had cited them amiſs, becauſe the Originals were then every where Extant.

6. The former Teſtimonies alledged out of *Tully* (whoſe works we have) ſo well agreeing with *Joſephus*, who it ſeems had never read them, will not ſuffer any ingenious man to ſuſpect the truth of that which the ſame *Joſephus* cites, out of *Strabo* the Cappadocian, whoſe works are loſt. [a] *The Jews* (ſaith he) *have crept into moſt Cities, nor can a man almoſt name any place in the inhabited world, where they once get footing, but they hold poſſeſſion.* Egypt, Cyrene, *and many other Nations have admitted their Rites, and in lieu of them, nurſe huge multitudes of Jews uſing their own Domeſtick Law. Beſides that a great part of* Alexandria *is aſſigned to their uſe, there be Colonies of this Nation throughout* Egypt *which enjoy Magiſtrates of their own, for determining all controverſies of right and wrong in ſuch ſort and form as is uſed in Abſolute States.* [b] Saint *Auguſtine* hath the ſame obſervation out of *Seneca*'s Books concerning Superſtition, which this Reverend Father had peruſed, though, with divers others of that famous Philoſophers works, now loſt.

7. What *Strabo* had obſerved of theſe Jews in *Syllas*, and *Seneca* in his time, is intimated by [c] *Tully* in fewer words. *You know well* (ſaith he unto his adverſary) *what a great faction it is: how cloſely they band together, what ſway they bear in aſſemblies.* But how great ſoever the number of this people was at *Rome*, they durſt not have been ſo bold in the Miſtreſs-City of the World, unleſs their Patrons there had been many. And it ſeems by *Tullies* concluſion, in the fore-mentioned place, that the bare unkindneſs offered by *Flaccus* to this Nation, was worſe taken at *Rome*, than the wrongs and violence, which he was accuſed to have done to ſundry other people. [d] *The gold* (ſaith he) *for which* Flaccus *was accuſed, is in the Treaſury: you charge him not with theft, but only ſeek to make him odious: your ſpeech is turned from the Judges, and directed to the Company.*

Vide Joſeph. l.14. Antiq. c.14, 15,16, 17.

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[a] Quatuor erant genera in Cyrenenſium urbe, Cives, Agricolæ, Inquilini, & Quarti Judæi, hoc jam in omnes urbes ſubrepſit, &c. *Joſ. Ant. l.* 14. *c.* 12.

[b] Seneca inter alias civilis Theologiæ ſuperſtitiones reprehendit Sacramenta Judæorum---, Chriſtianos tamen jam tunc Judæis inimiciſſimos in neutram partem commemorare auſus eſt, ne vel laudaret contra ſuæ patriæ veterem conſuetudinem, vel reprehenderet contra propriam forſitan voluntatem. De illis ſanè Judæis, cum loqueretur, ait, cum interim uſque eo ſceleratiſſimæ gentis conſuetudo convaluit, ut per omnes jam terras recepta ſit, victi victoribus leges dederunt—. Mirabatur hæc dicens, & quid divinitus ageretur, ignorans, ſubjecit plane ſententiam, qua ſignificaret, quid de illorum ſacramentorum ratione ſentiret. Ait enim: Illi tamen cauſas ritus ſui noverunt, & major pars populi facit, quod cur faciat, ignorat. *Aug. l.* 6. *de Civit. c.* 11.

[c] Sequitur auri illa invidia Judaici. Hoc nimirum eſt illud, quod non longe à gradibus Aureliis hæc cauſa dicitur, ob hoc crimen hic locus, abs te, Læli, & illa turba quæſita eſt. Scis quanta ſit manus, quanta concordia, quantum valet in concionibus, &c. *Cic. Orat pro Flacco.*

[d] Aurum in ærario eſt, furtum non reprehenditur, à judicibus oratio avertitur, vox in coronam turbámque effunditur. *Cic. Orat. pro Flacco.*

Chap. XX.

Tacitus *Objections againſt the Jews refuted, by their palpable groſneſs, and more competent Teſtimony of other Heathen Writers.*

1. Unto this their powerfulneſs in perſwading other Nations to renounce their own, and imbrace their Laws and Religion, * *Tacitus* aſcribes the increaſe of theſe Jews eſtate; albeit he maliciouſly attributes this attractive force unto the Impiety of their Laws, as if by Sympathy they had wrought moſt upon wicked and depraved natures. But wherein did their Impiety conſiſt? † *What we Romans eſteem Sacred, they account Profane, what is polluted to us, is lawful to them.* This argues that either the Roman Religion, or Theirs, was Superſtitious and profane: and he, like a true Patriot and right Romaniſt, loath to ſuſpect that Religion wherein his Forefathers had proſpered ſo well, charges the contrary Orthodoxal with ſuperſtitious Impiety. Moſt true it was, that the Jews of his time were a wicked people, but every way of the *Looſing Hand*: their ſtrength, which had been long in gathering, was ſuddenly broke by *Titus*, and their wonted means of encreaſe, by addition of Proſelytes, quite cut off. For after the Temples deſtruction, *Nullus ad amiſſas ibat amicus opes*: From the firſt day of our Saviours Miniſterial Function, they did not win half ſo many Gentiles to Judaiſm, as our Saviour and his Diſciples did Jews unto Chriſtianity. *Tacitus* then ſpake not of ſuch Jews as lived in his time, when their ſtrength and greatneſs was in the Wane; but of their Anceſtors, during the time of the Second Temple. Nor was it that, which was moſt wicked indeed in this people, or their predeceſſors (as their particular oppoſition, or contrariety unto divine truths) but rather what was only good in them, as their Conſtancy in their Religion, and ſtedfaſt Profeſſion of *Abrahams* Faith, common to them and the Chriſtians; which was the ground of this Politicks hateful Cenſure, for this reaſon like bitter againſt them and the Chriſtians. That either ſhould be ſo reſolute in defence of their own Religion, was, in his opinion, a *Pernicious Superſtition*, liable to any puniſhment that could be impoſed, as * another Roman Writer of his time was not aſhamed to avouch. If *wilfulneſs* ſimply deſerve puniſhment, the Carnal minded make no ſcruple in what meaſure it be inflicted, ſeeing the more grievous the Torture is, the greater it always argues their Wilfulneſs or Obſtinacy to be, that will undergo it rather than obey their Superiors, ſo as the Crime ſeem always commenſurable to the Puniſhment, though it could be increaſed *in infinitum*. And *Tacitus* ſeems well to approve of *Antiochus*'s *Savage Cruelty* againſt the Jews, as a Medicine that would in time have wrought a Reformation, if the Parthian had permitted this cruel Chirurgion to have applied his Patients with change of ſuch corroding plaiſters. *So Immoderate is the ambitious mans deſire, that to be Lord of others Bodies doth but whet his appetitite, and ſtir up a longing*

The grounds of Worldly Greatneſſes hatred againſt reſolute Profeſſors of truth.

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* Hi ritus quoquo modo inducti, antiquitate defenduntur. Cætera inſtituta ſiniſtra, fœda, pravite valuere. Nam peſſimus quiſque ſpretis religionibus patriis, tributa & ſtipes illuc congerebant. *Tacit. Hiſt. l. 5.*

† Profana illic omnia, quæ apud nos ſacra. Rurſum conceſſa apud illos, quæ nobis inceſta. *Idem ibid.*

* Interim in iis, qui ad me tanquam Chriſtiani deferebantur, hunc ſum ſequutus modum. Interrogavi ipſos, an eſſent Chriſtiani: confitentes iterùm ac tertiò rogavi, ſupplicium minatus, perſeverantes duci juſſi. Neq; enim dubitabam, qualecunque eſſet quod faterentur, *pervicaciam certè, & inflexibilem obſtinationem debere puniri*, Plin. Epiſt. l. 10. Epiſt. 100. alit. 97.

to become Lord of their Faith and Conſciences alſo. And to refuſe abſolute Obedience in matters Spiritual, as well as Temporal, unto ſuch as are competent Judges of the one, not of the other, is a Sin as hateful as Rebellion, the fouleſt Crime that can be conceived or faſhioned in the Politicians Brain.

2. Beſides theſe general motives, which would miniſter enough of matter for Superiours to condemn their Inferiours: it did in particular exaſperate *Tacitus*, and other Politicks of his temper, to ſee ſo many natural Romans renounce their Name and Country, forſake Father and Mother, Friend and Alliance, for maintenance of Jewiſh Religion. And albeit that Nation had ſuſtained incredible calamities by the Romans, yet it vexed him to remember, that they ſhould be able to have done the [†] Romans ſo much miſchief, always ſtirring when others were quiet; being, to his ſeeming, a Baſe People in reſpect of many other ſubject to the Roman Empire. Perhaps his hate to Chriſtians was propagate from his inveterate malice againſt theſe Jews, in whoſe region Chriſtianity (as he confeſſeth) did firſt ſpring. But [*] *Plinies* teſtimony will ſufficiently quit the Chriſtians from *thoſe Imputations*, which [†] *Tacitus* unjuſtly layeth upon them. As for that impiety, wherewith he chiefly chargeth the Jews Religion, it implies an Evident Contradiction. *Such as conform themſelves* (ſaith he) *to their cuſtoms are likewiſe transformed in mind. The firſt precept, wherewith they are ſeaſoned, is to contemn the Gods, to put off all natural affection to their Country.* If the Jews did either forſake father, or mother, or other kindred, it was for the love of their God, Religion and Country. For, unleſs the greatneſs of their love to God drowned the other, no people in the world did ever match them in love to their Kinſfolks, Friends and Country-men. But if they perſwaded the Romans to eſteem the glory of *Rome* as vile, in reſpect of *Hieruſalem*; and account Romiſh Rites and Ceremonies, compared with theirs, as Sacrilegious and profane; they did That but upon good and warrantable grounds, which any true Roman would have done upon far worſe; that is, they ſought their Countries good, by winning the good will of others to their Eſtate and Religion.

3. But what madneſs poſſeſſed *Tacitus* his mind, that he ſhould think, or rather write (for I do not think that he thought, or cared what he wrote, when he avouched) that the wickedneſs of their Laws was a means of alluring wicked or lewd companions to their obſervance? I would their greateſt Enemies were admitted Judges; whether ſuch as indeed were, or ſuch as any Civil Heathen would ſo account, not ſuch as it pleaſed *Tacitus* only, out of meer pride and ſpleen, to call wicked perſons, would not in all likelihood, be more ready to ſubſcribe unto the Rites of *Venus* or *Bacchus*, (whoſe ſervice *Tacitus* ſo well likes) or any other of the Romiſh Gods, than tie themſelves unto Judaical Ceremonies; which, once ſubſcribed unto, were to be moſt ſtrictly obſerved

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[†] Judæi (ut eſt gens ea, iræ, ſi ſemel ea correpta fuerit, acerbiſſimæ) multa ac gravia mala quidem Romanis intulerant, longè tamen plura paſſi ſunt. *Dion. lib.* 49.

[*] Affirmabant autem hanc eſſe ſummam, vel culpæ ſuæ vel erroris, quod eſſent ſoliti *ſtato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Chriſto quaſi Deo dicere* ſecum invicem; ſeque *Sacramento* non in ſcelus aliquod obſtringere; ſed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depoſitum appellati abnegarent——. Quo magis neceſſarium credidi ex duabus ancillis, quæ *Miniſtræ* dicebantur, quid eſſet veri, & per tormenta quærere. Sed nihil aliud inveni, quam ſuperſtitionem pravam, & immodicam: ideoque dilata cognitione ad conſulendum Te decucurri *Plin. Epiſt. l.* 10. *Ep.* 100 *aliis* 97.

[†] Tranſgreſſi in morem eorum idem uſurpant, nec quidquam prius imbuuntur, quam contemnere Deos, exuere patriam; parentes, liberos, fratres, vilia habere. *Tacit. Hiſt. l.*5.

ſerved by Aliens as well as Jews; nor could they be throughly acquainted with their Laws, ~~or admitted~~ to other Myſteries, until they had communicated with them in that Sacrament of *Circumciſion, always moſt loathſome and Grievous to Fleſh and Blood.* What pleaſures of the fleſh, what diſſoluteneſs or Luxurie, or what, that can be properly called Sin or Enormity, did their Laws maintain or nouriſh, or their Rites or Ceremonies any way inſinuate? All that *Tacitus* (comparing their rites with thoſe of *Bacchus*) could in concluſion ſay againſt them, was, *That* * Bacchus *his rites were Merry and pleaſant; Theirs, abſurd and Baſe.*

4. Unto theſe Political Surmiſes of *Tacitus*, altogether ignorant of foreign Antiquities, I will oppoſe the judgement of *Strabo* a leſs Partial † writer, and a profeſſed Antiquary, living about our Saviours time: from whom amongſt others we may gather, that the Famous and Conſpicuous *Hill of* Sion *ſtood as a Problem to oppoſe the Nations*; and from Admiration of her ſtrange and unobſervable Fortunes and change, were ſo many Opinions blazed abroad of thoſe Jews Original and ſtate. Of all that were extant in his time, capable of any Credit, this following went beſt for currant, and did ſway the moſt, to wit; That theſe Jews (as you heard before of his errour in this particular) were deſcended from the Egyptians: the cauſe of their departure out of *Egypt*, was to ſeek a place, where they might worſhip God aright, perſwaded hereunto by *Moſes*, whom he takes for an Egyptian Prieſt, but one that condemned the Egyptians for painting Beaſts, the Africans and Grecians for uſing Pictures of men to repreſent God; deeming it a *madneſs to imagine, that He that contained all things, could be repreſented by any viſible or ſenſible Creature.* Chaſtity and holineſs were the diſpoſitions of ſuch as ſought Him, or could hope to know His Will: and for this purpoſe ordained Sacrifice, neither chargeable to ſuch as ſhould uſe them, nor otherwiſe offenſive by their undecency, lewdneſs or abſurdity. * *With theſe perſwaſions* (ſaith he) Moſes *prevailed with the better ſort, and ſuch as feared God, to forſake* Egypt *: and ſeated once about* Jeruſalem, *neighbour Countries did aſſociate themſelves unto them, allured by the Equity of their Laws, and the Purity of the Religion which they profeſſed, whence he erected a new Kingdom, and that no mean One. And his Succeſſors for a time continued in his Inſtitutions; juſt and rightly Religious. But after they had* (as *Tacitus* likewiſe obſerveth) *joyned the Prieſthood to ſupport their Kingdom, they grew more* † *Superſtitious, Tyrannical to their own, and noiſome neighbours to other Countries.* * *Yet was their Hold or Fort ſtill had in Honour: not deteſted as a neſt of Thieves or ſeat of Tyrants, but Reverenced as a Temple.* Thus far *Strabo*: Who, although he were miſtaken in ſundry particulars of this Peoples Antiquity, (as all beſide themſelves of neceſſity were, by reaſon This ſacred Volume was kept ſecret from all ſuch as did not obſerve their Rites) yet from Tradition he had learned as much, as could be known of them in general: That *Moſes* their firſt Law-giver was a Prophet, and one that relied not upon Policy, but the Divine Oracles; that this people in Ancient times had been much better, and had proſpered accordingly.

* Liber feſtos lætoſque ritus poſuit; Judæorum mos abſurdus ſordidúſque. *Tacit. Hiſt lil.* 5.

† Strabo's *Teſtimony of the Jews religion.* Lib. 16. p. 761. Caſaub. Edit.

* Ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτα λέγων ἔπεισεν εὐγνώμονας ἄνδρας οὐκ ὀλίγους — καὶ παραδώσειν ὑπισχνούμενος τοιοῦτον σεβασμὸν καὶ τοιαύτην ἱεροποιίαν, ἥτις οὐδὲ δαπάναις ὀχλήσει τοὺς χρωμένους, οὔτε θεοφορίαις, οὔτε ἄλλαις πραγματείαις ἀτόποις. οὗτος μὲν οὖν εὐδοκιμήσας τούτοις συνεστήσατο ἀρχὴν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν, ἁπάντων προσχωρησάντων ῥᾳδίως τῶν κύκλῳ διὰ τὴν ὁμιλίαν καὶ τὰ προτεινόμενα. οἱ δὲ διαδεξάμενοι χρόνους μέν τινας ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς διέμενον δικαιοπραγοῦντες, καὶ θεοσεβεῖς ὡς ἀληθῶς ὄντες.

† *Yet was* Strabo *ſomewhat offended with Circumciſion and their Sabbaths, as being ignorant, of their cauſes; as their Sabbaths indeed were then ſuperſtitious.*

* Ἦν δ' ὅμως εὐπρέπειά τις περὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν αὐτῶν, οὐχ ὡς τυραννεῖον βδελυττομένων, ἀλλ' ὡς ἱερὸν σεμνυνόντων καὶ σεβομένων. Strabo lib. 16. p. 761. *See* Dions *acquital of theſe Jews from* Tacitus *imputations.* Diverſum à reliquis hominibus obtinent, cum aliis in rebus, uſuque vitæ quotidiano, tum eo præſertim quòd nullum ex cæteris diis colunt, *unum* autem quendam ſummo ſtudio venerantur. Nec ullum ſimulachrum Hieroſolymis unquam habuerunt, nimirum ſuum illum Deum Ineffabilem & formæ expertem, religioſo ejus cultu cæteros mortales ſuperant. *Dion. lib.* 37.

5. With this *Strabo* the Geographer, that noble Hiſtorian *Dion Caſſius* well accords, but more fully with *Strabo* the Cappadocian, whoſe Works, now loſt, *Joſephus* cited. *This people* (ſaith *Dion*) *differ from others, as in many other points and daily practiſe of life, ſo eſpecially in this, that they worſhip no other Gods, but onely One of their own, whom they hold to be Inviſible and Ineffable, and for this cauſe admit not any Image of Him: yet do they worſhip Him more devoutly and religiouſly than any other people do their Gods.* But who this God of theirs was, or how He came at firſt to be thus Worſhipped, how greatly he was feared of this people, were points he liſted not to meddle withall, many other had written thereof before him. It ſeems he gave but little credence unto *Tacitus* diſcourſe of their Original, for he ingeniouſly profeſſeth: *That he knew not whence they had this name of Jews, but others that followed their Rites, although Aliens by Birth and Progeny, did Brook the ſame Name or Title; even amongſt the Romans themſelves there were of this Profeſſion.* He addeth; *Although this People had been often cruſhed and diminiſhed: yet did they riſe and increaſe again above the Controul of all other Laws, only ſubject to their Own.* Thus he ſpake of the Jews living in *Pompey*'s time, after which they had been often cruſhed before *Tacitus* wrote, yet recovered ſtrength again.

Regio ipſa, Judæa; gens, Judæi appellantur. Id cognomenti unde initium ceperit haud ſcio. Quin, & alii homines qui ſecundum eorum ſtatuta vivunt, id gerunt, quanquam alienigenæ. Eſt id genus hominum apud Romanos etiam, atque tametſi ſæpe imminutum fuerit, ita tamen auctum eſt, ut etiam condendi leges licentiam ſibi vindicarit. *Or as ſome read*, ut legum quóque poteſtatem vicerit. *Dion. Ibid.*

CHAP. XXI.

The means of theſe Jews thriving in Captivity. In what they exceeded other people, or were exceeded by them.

1. THeſe Allegations, and many other, which out of Heathen Writers I could bring, ſufficiently prove, that albeit theſe Jews taſted of as bitter calamities as any other did: yet had they this ſtrange Advantage of all; that whereas all other were forſaken of their Friends in their adverſity, and their Laws uſually changed by their Conquerors, oft-times abrogated or neglected by themſelves upon their ill ſucceſs: theſe Jews ſtill found moſt Friends, and their Laws (never forſaken by them) moſt earneſt Favourers, in the time of their Captivity and diſtreſs, *This was quite contrary to Nature, Politick Obſervation, or Cuſtom of the world.* Wherefore ſeeing Nature and Policy can afford us none, we muſt ſeek reſolution from their Laws. The reaſons ſubordinate to the *Cauſe of Cauſes* (Gods *Providence*) were theſe. In the time of their diſtreſs, They did more faithfully practiſe their Laws themſelves, and had better opportunity, or greater neceſſity of communicating them unto others: they being of themſelves always moſt potent to allure ſober and diſcreet minds to their obſervance, made known and not prejudiced by the fooliſh or ſiniſter practice of their Profeſſors. So their great Law-giver had foretold, *Deut.* 4. *verſ.* 5,6,7,8. *Behold I have taught you Ordinances and Laws, as the Lord my God commanded me, that ye ſhould do even ſo in the land, whither ye go to poſſeſs it. Keep them therefore and do them; for That is your Wiſdom*

God was more Favourable to theſe Jews than to any other People.

In what ſenſe the Jews might truly be thought a Mighty Nation.

and Underſtanding in the ſight of the people, which ſhall hear of all theſe Ordinances, and ſhall ſay; Only this People is Wiſe and of Underſtanding, and a great Nation. For what Nation is ſo Great unto whom the Gods come ſo near unto them, as the Lord our God is near unto us in all that we come unto Him for? And what Nation is ſo great that hath Ordinances and Laws ſo righteous, as all this Law which I ſet before you this day? That They had not in later times ſo great proſperity, as others had, was no Argument that Their God was not more near to Them, than the Gods of other Nations to their Worſhippers; For *He was the God of gods*, and Lord of lords, which did good to every Nation; yea, *He* made the Romans ſo great a Nation, albeit they knew it not. That theſe Jews were now in ſubjection, and the Romans Lords, was no Argument that *He* was better to the Romans than to Them, or that They were a leſs Nation, if we make an equal compariſon. For if God ſhould often recover a man from dangerous diſeaſes, and propagate his life unto two hundred years, in health and ſtrength competent for old Age; This were no argument to prove that *He* were not more Favourable to him, than to men of younger years or middle age, whoſe ſtrength is greater for the preſent, but they unlikely to recover health often impaired, or to renew life once loſt in Humane Eſtimation, or to account half ſo many years. In like ſort was *This Peoples often Recovery* from ſo many Overthrows and Captivities; their long continuance a diſtinct Nation from others: more Extraordinary than the Romans preſent Strength or Greatneſs. And albeit many other Empires and States were larger, than the Kingdom of *Iſrael* was at any time, yet no other people could be ſaid ſo great a Nation as this. For others continued the ſame rather by Identity of Soyl, or like Form of Government, than by any Real or Material Unity or Identity of people: their increaſe was meerly Political, and their greatneſs roſe by way of Addition or Accumulation; that is, by admitting ſuch mixture of others, that from the firſt Erection of the Kingdom, ere it came to its full greatneſs, the number of Aliens might overſpread and hide the natural inhabitants, or Progenies of ſuch as laid the Fundamental Laws thereof, which were ſeldom ſo continuate by direct Succeſſion, as they might be rightly diſtinguiſhed from others. And as *Theſeus* his ſhip was accounted one and the ſame, becauſe it retained the ſame Form, though not ſo much of the ſame Timber, whereof it was firſt built, as did go to the making of Half the Keel: ſo the greateſt States amongſt the Heathens, retained perhaps ſome few Fundamental Laws, or reliques of Ancient Families deſcending from their Firſt Founders, in which reſpect alone they might be taken for one Kingdom, but not ſo properly termed one People or Nation, to whom greatneſs could be truly Attributed, ſeeing a great many of ſeveral people were to ſhare in this Title. But *Theſe Jews* (beſides the perpetual Unity of their Particular, as well as Fundamental Laws, leſs varied either by change, addition, or abrogation, than the Laws of any other Nation) *continued ſtill One and the ſame People by a ſtrict Union of Succeſſion, their growth was natural, after the manner of Vital Augmentation.* For albeit they admitted ſome mixture of ſtrangers, they could notwithſtanding always diſtinguiſh the *Progeny of Foreign*

Stocks from their natural Branches; which they could ſtill derive from their ſeveral Stems, and theſe all from one and the ſame Root: ſo that after ſo many Changes, and Alterations of their State from better to worſe, and back again; after ſo many glorious Victories, as Scriptures mention gotten by them over others; and ſo many captivities of their perſons and deſolations of their Countries, as others had wrought, *They remained ſtill one and the ſame people, by ſuch a kind of Unity, as a great Oak is ſaid One and the Same Tree, from its firſt Spring to its laſt Fall, whether naked and bereft of leaves by blaſts of Autumn or Winters froſt, or ſpoiled of Boughs by the Loppers Ax, or Beautified with pleaſant Leaf, or far-ſpreading Branches.* If the glory of other Kingdoms were more Splendent for a *Flaſh*, preſently to be extinguiſhed, (as being greater than their corruptible nature was capable of:) this no way impeacheth Gods promiſe for making *Abrahams* Seed a *Mighty Nation*; ſeeing it was not at any time ſo great a People as at all times it might have been, had they obſerved the means appointed for their growth. *How incomparable the Height of* Sions *Roof, above other Nations, might have been, we may gueſs from the Capacity of her Foundations.* The known Altitude and continuance of her Walls, though never finiſhed to her Founders deſire, yet *Such*, as whoſo ſhall look upon with an unpartial eye, muſt acknowledge ordained for Extraordinary Strength and Greatneſs. For take we this Kingdom with its defects; what wonder can Revolutions of time afford like to this late mentioned? That by ſuch an *Unity of Natural propagation from One Root*, (almoſt periſhed before it ſprouted) *and diſtinct lineal ſucceſſion never interrupted*, Abrahams *Seed ſhould continue One and the Same Nation for Two thouſand years:* Sometimes the mightieſt amongſt Coeval Kingdoms, a ſcourge and terrour to all neighbour Countries; and after many grievous wounds and deadly, (in their eſtimation that gave them, received from others) ſtill preſerved alive, to ſee the ſucceſſive riſe and fall of *Three* great and potent *Monarchies*, yet able in decrepit days, to hold play with the *Fourth*, the mightieſt that ever was on earth, even whileſt it was in it's Beſt Age, full Strength and perfect Health, free from any inteſtine Broils, ſecure of all external Aſſaults. Much better were theſe Jews able to encounter the Roman Empire in *Tacitus* his life time, then It, (within three hundred years after his death) to defend the Imperial Seat againſt Barbarous, ſilly, and fooliſh Nations, unhatched when the Roman Eagles wings were ſpread over the moſt famous Kingdoms of the earth. Suppoſe the Roman Empire had received, at the ſame time, but half ſo terrible a blow in *Italy*, as the Jews had done in *Jury* and *Hieruſalem* under *Veſpaſian*, and his Son: how eaſily had the commotions of their Reliques, in *Trajans* and *Adrians* times, ſhaken the Roman yoke from off the Nations neck? Or if the other ten Tribes return had been but half ſo entire and complete, as *Judahs* and *Benjamins* were; the *Roman Eagles* had never come to prey upon their *Carkaſſes* in the Territories of *Judea*. But it was their *Strong God*, which before had ſcattered *Iſrael* amongſt the Nations, and at the time appointed ſhut theſe Jews up in *Hieruſalem*, as in a Priſon.

The ſtrength and continuance of theſe Jews diſeaſed eſtate, argues how incomparable their ſtrength might have been, had they followed their Lawgivers Precepts for the preſervation of their Health.

The Roman Empire had never the like puſh before it fell, as it had by the Jews in Adrians *time.*

2. Again other Kingdoms gained little by their greatneſs, ſave onely *Magnificent Names or ſwelling Titles.* No other people enjoyed ſo great proſperity, ſo good cheap, as This ſometimes did, and all times might have done. No other had ſo good Aſſurance or Security of that Proſperity or Peace they enjoyed, as This People had, unleſs themſeves had made a wilful Forfeiture: nor was the Publick Health or Welfare of any other State or Kingdom ſo fully communicated to every particular and inferiour member. For uſually the Titulary or abſtract Brightneſs of that Glory, wherewith other Great States outwardly ſeemed moſt to ſhine, was maintained with the perpetual Harms and internal ſecret Miſchiefs of many private perſons, as *Great Flames are not nouriſhed without great ſtore of Fuel*: whereas the proſperity of *Davids* Throne, as in other points ſo in this, was eſtabliſhed like the Moon: that whileſt They turned unto their God, their State was capable of greateſt Splendor, without conſumption of their natural parts or Subſtance. And even whileſt other States did for their ſins prevail againſt Theirs, yet ſuch Peers as had been principal Inſtruments of their wo, and took Occaſion to diſgrace their Laws or Religion, in their Captivity and diſtreſs, had for the moſt part (as was obſerved before) *Fearful and diſaſterous Ends*: and might more juſtly have taken up that complaint, after their ſpoils of *Jewry*, which *Diomedes* did after the deſtruction of *Troy*,

Quicunque Iliacos ferro violavimus Agros,
——————nefanda per Orbem
Supplicia ſcelerum pœnas expendimus Omnes.

What did *Troys* Fall, or *Phrygian* Spoils, the *Grecians* State advance?
(Victors chance.
Whom Fearful Plagues Haunt through the world: Such was the

Many of them (no doubt) before their dying day, had obſerved as he did, that they had fought againſt ſome God, whilſt they wrong'd this people: and would have been as unwilling to bear Arms againſt them again, as he was againſt the Reliques of the *Trojans*:

Nec mihi cum Teucris ullum poſt eruta Bellum
Pergama: nec veterum memini lætorve malorum.

War:
With *Troy* my Splene to *Trojans* ceaſt, her flames quench th'heat of
I little Joy of what is paſt; Rub not a Bleeding Scar.

3. For theſe and many like Conſequents, this people in the Iſſue and upſhot of their greateſt calamities, had both reaſon to rejoyce, *and the Heathens juſt cauſe to ſay: The Lord had done great things for them,* albeit he often ſuffered them to be Conquered. *For even this Sicklineſs of their State was a means of its long Life, Their Scourges and Phlebotomies a Sign of Gods tender Care over their Health,* until they grew proud of his Favour, and waxed obdurate by his often Fatherly corrections, as one of their own Writers well obſerves, *The Lord doth not long wait for us, as for other Nations whom He puniſheth when they are to come to the Fulneſs of their Sins. But thus He dealeth*

Pſal. 126. 2.

2 Mac. 6. 14.

eth with us, that our ſins ſhould not be heaped up to the Full, ſo that afterwards He ſhould puniſh us, and therefore He never withdraws His mercy from us, and though He puniſh with adverſity, yet doth He never forſake his people.

4. Finally, their *Decay* and *Increaſe* was ſuch as could not be meaſured by the Rules of Policy. Hence was it that *Tacitus* was not *tacitus*, but a Tatler, tranſported from himſelf, his wonted ſagacity and ingenuity, as being quite out of his natural Element, while he medled with their affairs. That Contrariety, which he obſerves betwixt Theirs and the Romans *Religion*, was as great betwixt their *Policies*. What was good in the One, was naught in the Other: that which *Rome* did think might preſerve her in health, was apprehended, by the wiſeſt amongſt this People, as ready Poyſon for their State. Thoſe Plots which would have cruſhed any other People once brought under, did oft work *Their Advancement, and their Enemies Fall.* Whence both their *Riſing* and *Falling*, and Conſequently, the Succeſs of ſuch as oppoſed themſelves againſt Them, were, in other Nations apprehenſion, ſometime in their own, meerly *Fatal*, altogether *Incorrigible* by worldly *Policy*, eſpecially in more *Antient times*. Hence did the Wiſe men of *Chaldea*, upon the firſt notice of the Winds Turning for them, read *Hamans* Deſtiny, but too late: *If* Mordecai *be of the ſeed of the Jews, before whom thou haſt begun to Fall, thou ſhalt not prevail againſt Him, but ſhalt ſurely Fall before Him.* *Achior* the Ammonites Speech to *Holofornes*, whether truly uttered by him, or Feigned by the Penman of that Story, was framed (no doubt) according to the known Experience of thoſe times, and contains ſuch Advice, as a Faithful Councellor, well acquainted with their Eſtate, upon like Occaſion ſhould have given unto his Lord, not ſo well acquainted with it. This he was bound unto by the rules of Poetry, which the Author of that Book (unleſs perhaps his Memory fail'd him in the Circumſtance of Time, an Eſcape incident to Fictions, for their Affinity with Lies) very well obſerves, if his work be rather to be cenſured for a Poem than an Hiſtory; his Advice was This: *And whiles They ſinned not before their God, They proſpered, becauſe the God that hated iniquity was with Them. But when They departed from the way which he appointed Them, They were deſtroyed in many Battels after a Wonderful Sort, and were led Captive into a Land which was not theirs: and the Temple of their God was caſt to the ground, and their Cities were taken by the Enemies. But But now They are turned to their God, and are come up from the Scattering wherein They were ſcattered, and have poſſeſſed* Hieruſalem, *where their Temple is, and dwell in the Mountains which were Deſolate. Now therefore my Lord and Governor, if there be any Fault in this People, ſo that They have ſinned againſt their God, let us conſider that this ſhall be their Ruine, and let us go up, that we may overcome Them. But if there be none Iniquity in this People, let my Lord Paſs By, leſt their Lord defend Them, and their God be for Them, and we become a Reproach before all the World.* The firſt Root of all ſuch Effects or known *Experiments*, as in Ancient time, yielded matter to their Neighbours of this or like obſervation, was Gods *Firſt Promiſe* unto *Abraham*: *And I will make of thee a great Nation, and will bleſs Thee, and make thy Name Great, and Thou ſhalt be a Bleſſing, I will alſo bleſs them that bleſs Thee, and curſe them that curſe Thee, and in Thee ſhall all the Families of the earth*

Eſther 6. 13.

Unto what time this Hiſtory is to be referred, ſee Sulpit. Severus. *Judith* 5. 17, *&c.*

Gen. 12. 2.

earth be Bleſſed. Which promiſe, as it doth concern the Temporal ſtate of the Jews, was to be limited according to the Tenor of *Achior*'s Speech, and did then only take Effect, when they followed *Abrahams* Footſteps, and lived in Faithful Obedience to Gods Laws, or having tranſgreſſed them, did turn again with their whole Heart to ſeek the God of their Fathers. † From Experience of their good Succeſs in ſuch caſes, partly (I think) were their Neighbour Countries ſo Savage and Mercileſs towards them in their greateſt Diſtreſs, always Crying, upon like occaſion, as the Edomites did in the *Day* of *Hieruſalem, Down with it! down with it!* *even to the Ground.* Becauſe they could not hope for any Revenge, but by waiting the *Turning of their Fates*, and taking them in the *Ebbing of their Fortunes*: for when they begun to riſe, they knew there was no means to ſtay them. The * *Arabians* Immane and Savage Practices upon their Embaſſadors, ſeeking Compaſſion to their Lamentable Eſtate torn and ruinate by the *Mighty Hand* of their *God*, in a Fearful and Prodigious Earthquake, do argue a deep rooted Memory of their Anceſtors ſtrange Overthrows (mentioned in Scripture) by this peoples Forefathers, and theſe later *Arabians* long lying in wait to do theſe Jews a Miſchief, if they had not been reſtrained by the *Mighty Hand of God*; who now, as they ſuppoſe, being turned their Enemy, they apprehend this Opportunity of working a Full Revenge. Nor are their hard hearts mollified with their Publick Miſeries, nor their inveterate malice ſo quenched with their Embaſſadors Blood, ſhed in the ſeventh year of *Herods* reign, but it burſt out again in *Veſpaſians* time. For theſe *Arabians*, though never (as *Am. Marcellinus*, Lib. 14. notes) any true Friends, or Well-willers to the Roman State, were the forwardeſt men to aſſiſt *Titus* in *Hieruſalems* laſt and *Fatal Siege.* For the ſame reaſons were the Nations round about them as earneſtly bent to hinder the Re-edifying of *Hieruſalem*, after the Return from Captivity, as theſe were now to pull it down, as fearing leſt this Peoples good Fortunes ſhould riſe again with their City Walls. But as *Nehemiah* notes, *After the enemies had heard that the Wall was finiſhed, they were afraid, and their Courage failed them, for they knew that this work was wrought by God.* Nehem. *6.16.*

5. Theſe and like Obſervations make me think, it was not Skill in Aſtrology, or ſuch Arts as the *Magi* uſed, (whereunto this of all people was leaſt addicted) which firſt hatched that opinion of the † *Jews deſcent from the Magi:* rather the later Heathen, ignorant of their Original, and not able to derive that ſtrange ſucceſs which did haunt them, or their demeanour anſwerable thereto, from Ordinary or natural Cauſes, referred all to Magick Spells, or ſome Art of Divination. *So unwilling is Fleſh and Blood to acknowledge ſuch as They Hate, for the Beloved of the Lord; and ſo powerful is the Prince of darkneſs, either to blind the hearts of the worldly wiſe, or to avert their eyes from beholding an Unpleaſant Truth,* that if at any time the Finger of God appear in the Deliverance or good Succeſs of his people, the Infidel or Natural man aſcribes ſuch effects as Magicians (unleſs upon preſumption of Travellers Priviledge amongſt the Ignorant) durſt not arrogate to themſelves, unto *Magical or other like Arts*; becauſe the corruption of their Nature is more capable of ſuch Practices, than of true *Belief* in God, and they more prone in diſtreſs

to

† *The Cauſes of the Heathens Inſulting over the Jews in their diſtreſs.*

* Judæa terra quali nunquam ante motu concuſſa, magnam per totam eam regionem jacturam fecit pecudum: quin & hominum oppreſſa ſunt ruinis ædium circiter decem millia. Militaris tamen multitudo nihil detrimenti accepit, utpote ſub dio agitans. Hæc clades etiam in majus aucta rumoribus, quos nuncii, gentilium odiorum non ignari, dabant auribus Arabum, immane quantum extulit hoſtium animos, quaſi ſubverſis Judæorum urbibus & extinctis hominibus, nulli jam ſupereſſent. Legatos itáq; gentis, qui rebus afflictis pacem petituri venerant comprehenſos necaverunt, moxque magna alacritate properaverunt ad hoſtilem exercitum. *Joſeph. Antiq l.15. c.7.*

† Refert Diog. Laertius in Prooemio, p. 6.

to flie unto Sorceries or Magick Charms, than with true Faith and Firm Conſtancy to expect *The Deliverance of the Lord* by ſuch means as the Faithful Iſraelites did. * So when the Chriſtian Legion had, by their Prayers, relieved *Antoninus*'s Army, ready to ſwound for Thirſt, with plenty of water, in as Miraculous Sort as *Eliſha* did ſometime the Hoſt of *Iſrael*; the Heathens, acknowledging the Effect for Supernatural, aſcribed it to *Arnuphis*, the *Egyptian Sorcerer*, his acquaintance with *Mercury*, and other ſuppoſed Gods of the Air. In like ſort the modern Jew, acknowledging many Wonders wrought by our Saviour; takes it for a ſufficient Argument, That all of them were wrought by *Magick Skill*, onely becauſe the Evangeliſt ſaith, *He had been in Egypt*; ſo is he blinded with wilful malice, that he cannot ſee how, by this Objection, he lays all the wonders which *Moſes* wrought, open to the like Exception of *Atheiſts*, *Infidels* and *Heathen*. For both *Moſes*, in whom he *Truſts*, and *Abraham* in whom he *Glories*, and all the Patriarchs, from whom the Jews deſcended, had been in *Egypt* in ripe Age, where our Saviour came not, but in his Infancy. As for his Miracles, the Teſtimony of *Moſes*, and other Prophets, whoſe divine Authority is acknowledged by the Jew, ſhall evince them wrought by *The Finger of God*. In the mean time the eſtate of the Jews ſince *Their* death, ſufficiently known to all the world, and foretold by *Them*, ſhall manifeſt againſt the Atheiſt, that *They* all wrote by *the Spirit of God*.

* Dion Xiphil. l. 71.

2 *Kings* 3.

See Munſter *on the Second Chapter of Matth.* Hebr.

CHAP. XXII.

That all the Heathens Objections againſt, or doubts concerning the Jews *Eſtate, are prevented or reſolved by* Jewiſh *Writers.*

1. OUt of that which hath been hitherto *Premiſed*, this *Concluſion* ſtands firm, ſupported both by foreign Writers obſervation, and theſe Jews own confeſſion, *That they were a People Remarkable, for their unuſual Proſperity and Calamity*. I am fully perſwaded it would have given full Satisfaction to any Ingenuous Roman or later Heathen, *That this was a People Beloved of God*, had they known as much as we do: that all they could Object in contempt of the Jews, or their Religion, had been (conceived before by the Aſſyrian and Babylonian; but Falſified in the Event) fully anſwered by Judaical Writers, and plainly foretold by their Prophets; leſt ſuch Events as occaſioned others to contemn them, might have proved Temptations to the Godly amongſt this people, as if they had been *Forſaken of their God*. The days had been, wherein the Babylonians had taken themſelves for men, and their Idols for gods, as good as *Rome* had any; and theſe Jews for as Baſe a People as the world yielded: *They had gathered captivity as the ſand, mocked the Kings, and made a ſcorn of the Princes, deriding every ſtrong Hold*: and hence (as the Prophet foreſaw) they were as ready as the Romans *to take courage in tranſgreſſing and doing wickedly, imputing this their power unto their God*. But the Prophet is not herewith diſmayed, nor tempted to think his Gods power was leſs than theirs; albeit,

Hab. 1. 16.

earth be Bleſſed. Which promiſe, as it doth concern the Temporal ſtate of the Jews, was to be limited according to the Tenor of *Achior*'s Speech, and did then only take Effect, when they followed *Abrahams* Footſteps, and lived in Faithful Obedience to Gods Laws, or having tranſgreſſed them, did turn again with their whole Heart to ſeek the God of their Fathers. † From Experience of their good Succeſs in ſuch caſes, partly (I think) were their Neighbour Countries ſo Savage and Mercileſs towards them in their greateſt Diſtreſs, always Crying, upon like occaſion, as the Edomites did in the *Day* of *Hieruſalem, Down with it! down with it! even to the Ground.* Becauſe they could not hope for any Revenge, but by waiting the *Turning of their Fates*, and taking them in the *Ebbing of their Fortunes*: for when they begun to riſe, they knew there was no means to ſtay them. The * *Arabians* Immane and Savage Practices upon their Embaſſadors, ſeeking Compaſſion to their Lamentable Eſtate torn and ruinate by the *Mighty Hand* of their *God*, in a Fearful and Prodigious Earthquake, do argue a deep rooted Memory of their Anceſtors ſtrange Overthrows (mentioned in Scripture) by this peoples Forefathers, and theſe later *Arabians* long lying in wait to do theſe Jews a Miſchief, if they had not been reſtrained by the *Mighty Hand of God*; who now, as they ſuppoſe, being turned their Enemy, they apprehend this Opportunity of working a Full Revenge. Nor are their hard hearts mollified with their Publick Miſeries, nor their inveterate malice ſo quenched with their Embaſſadors Blood, ſhed in the ſeventh year of *Herods* reign, but it burſt out again in *Veſpaſians* time. For theſe *Arabians*, though never (as *Am. Marcellinus*, Lib. 14. notes) any true Friends, or Well-willers to the Roman State, were the forwardeſt men to aſſiſt *Titus* in *Hieruſalems* laſt and *Fatal Siege*. For the ſame reaſons were the Nations round about them as earneſtly bent to hinder the Re-edifying of *Hieruſalem*, after the Return from Captivity, as theſe were now to pull it down, as fearing leſt this Peoples good Fortunes ſhould riſe again with their City Walls. But as *Nehemiah* notes, *After the enemies had heard that the Wall was finiſhed, they were afraid, and their Courage failed them, for they knew that this work was wrought by God.* Nehem. 6.16.

5. Theſe and like Obſervations make me think, it was not Skill in Aſtrology, or ſuch Arts as the *Magi* uſed, (whereunto this of all people was leaſt addicted) which firſt hatched that opinion of the † *Jews deſcent from the Magi*: rather the later Heathen, ignorant of their Original, and not able to derive that ſtrange ſucceſs which did haunt them, or their demeanour anſwerable thereto, from Ordinary or natural Cauſes, referred all to Magick Spells, or ſome Art of Divination. *So unwilling is Fleſh and Blood to acknowledge ſuch as They Hate, for the Beloved of the Lord; and ſo powerful is the Prince of darkneſs, either to blind the hearts of the worldly wiſe, or to avert their eyes from beholding an Unpleaſant Truth*, that if at any time the Finger of God appear in the Deliverance or good Succeſs of his people, the Infidel or Natural man aſcribes ſuch effects as Magicians (unleſs upon preſumption of Travellers Priviledge amongſt the Ignorant) durſt not arrogate to themſelves, unto *Magical or other like Arts*; becauſe the corruption of their Nature is more capable of ſuch Practices, than of true *Belief* in God, and they more prone in diſtreſs

† *The Cauſes of the Heathens Inſulting over the Jews in their diſtreſs.*

* Judæa terra quali nunquam ante motu concuſſa, magnam per totam eam regionem jacturam fecit pecudum: quin & hominum oppreſſa ſunt ruinis ædium circiter decem millia. Militaris tamen multitudo nihil detrimenti accepit, utpote ſub dio agitans. Hæc clades etiam in majus aucta rumoribus, quos nuncii, gentilium odiorum non ignari, dabant auribus Arabum, immane quantum extulit hoſtium animos, quaſi ſubverſis Judæorum urbibus & extinctis hominibus, nulli jam ſupereſſent. Legatos itaq; gentis, qui rebus afflictis pacem petituri venerant comprehenſos necaverunt, moxque magna alacritate properaverunt ad hoſtilem exercitum. *Joſeph. Antiq l.* 15. *c.*7.

† Refert Diog. Laertius in Proœmio, p. 6.

to flie unto Sorceries, or Magick Charms, than with true Faith and Firm Conſtancy to expect *The Deliverance of the Lord* by ſuch means as the Faithful Iſraelites did. * So when the Chriſtian Legion had, by their Prayers, relieved *Antoninus*'s Army, ready to ſwound for Thirſt, with plenty of water, in as Miraculous Sort as *Eliſha* did ſometime the Hoſt of *Iſrael*; the Heathens, acknowledging the Effect for Supernatural, aſcribed it to *Arnuphis*, the *Egyptian Sorcerer*, his acquaintance with *Mercury*, and other ſuppoſed Gods of the Air. In like ſort the modern Jew, acknowledging many Wonders wrought by our Saviour; takes it for a ſufficient Argument, That all of them were wrought by *Magick Skill*, onely becauſe the Evangeliſt ſaith, *He had been in Egypt*; ſo is he blinded with wilful malice, that he cannot ſee how, by this Objection, he lays all the wonders which *Moſes* wrought, open to the like Exception of *Atheiſts*, *Infidels* and *Heathen*. For both *Moſes*, in whom he *Truſts*, and *Abraham* in whom he *Glories*, and all the Patriarchs, from whom the Jews deſcended, had been in *Egypt* in ripe Age, where our Saviour came not, but in his Infancy. As for his Miracles, the Teſtimony of *Moſes*, and other Prophets, whoſe divine Authority is acknowledged by the Jew, ſhall evince them wrought by *The Finger of God*. In the mean time the eſtate of the Jews ſince *Their* death, ſufficiently known to all the world, and foretold by *Them*, ſhall manifeſt againſt the Atheiſt, that *They* all wrote by *the Spirit of God*.

* Dion Xiphil. l. 71.

2 *Kings* 3.

See Munſter *on the Second Chapter of Math.* Hebr.

CHAP. XXII.

That all the Heathens Objections againſt, or doubts concerning the Jews *Eſtate, are prevented or reſolved by* Jewiſh *Writers.*

1. OUt of that which hath been hitherto *Premiſed*, this *Concluſion* ſtands firm, ſupported both by foreign Writers obſervation, and theſe Jews own confeſſion, *That they were a People Remarkable, for their unuſual Proſperity and Calamity*. I am fully perſwaded it would have given full Satisfaction to any Ingenuous Roman or later Heathen, *That this was a People Beloved of God*, had they known as much as we do: that all they could Object in contempt of the Jews, or their Religion, had been (conceived before by the Aſſyrian and Babylonian; but Falſified in the Event) fully anſwered by Judaical Writers, and plainly foretold by their Prophets; leſt ſuch Events as occaſioned others to contemn them, might have proved Temptations to the Godly amongſt this people, as if they had been *Forſaken of their God*. The days had been, wherein the Babylonians had taken themſelves for men, and their Idols for gods, as good as *Rome* had any; and theſe Jews for as Baſe a People as the world yielded: *They had gathered captivity as the ſand, mocked the Kings, and made a ſcorn of the Princes, deriding every ſtrong Hold*: and hence (as the Prophet foreſaw) they were as ready as the Romans *to take courage in tranſgreſſing and doing wickedly, imputing this their power unto their God*. But the Prophet is not herewith diſmayed, nor tempted to think his Gods power was leſs than theirs; albeit,

Hab. 1. 16.

albeit, to ſhew himſelf a true Patriot of *Iſrael*, he complains of their Intolerable Preſumption, which in due time he well foreſees ſhould be abated. *Art not thou of old, my Lord my God, mine Holy One? we ſhall not die: O Lord, thou haſt ordained them for Judgement, and O God thou haſt eſtabliſhed them for correction. Thou art of pure eyes, and canſt not behold wickedneſs: wherefore doſt thou look upon* The Tranſgreſſors, *and holdeſt thy tongue when the wicked devoureth the man that is more righteous than He? and makeſt men as the fiſhes of the ſea, and as the creeping things, that have no Ruler over them? They take up all with the Angle, they catch it in their Net, and gather it in their Yarn, whereof they rejoyce and are glad. Therefore they ſacrifice unto their Net, and burn incenſe unto their Yarn, becauſe by them their portion is Fat, and their meat plenteous. Shall they therefore ſtretch out their Net, and not ſpare continually to ſlay the Nations?* No: he knew their time was limited, and other Nations, as *Jeremiah* ſaith, *when his Time was come, were to ſerve themſelves of Him*; though God at that time had expoſed the Princes of *Judah* to his violence, for their Violent Oppreſſion of their Brethren, as *Habakkuk* expreſly notes in the beginning of his fore-mentioned Prophecy. Theſe Jews, before the Event did prove the contrary, were as incredulous they ſhould be brought into Captivity by the Babylonian, or ſuch fooliſh Idolaters, as the Romans were of their great proſperity under *David* or *Solomon*. And for to beat down this proud Humour in them, the Prophet *Ezekiel* foretels, That for their Extream Cruelty the Lord would puniſh them by the *Moſt Wicked* of the Heathen: *Make a chain: for the Land is full of the judgement of Blood, and the City is full of Cruelty. Wherefore I will bring the* Moſt Wicked *of the Heathen, and they ſhall poſſeſs their houſes: I will alſo make the Pomp of the Mighty to ceaſe, and their Holy Places ſhall be defiled. When Deſtruction cometh, they ſhall ſeek peace, and ſhall not have it: Calamity ſhall come upon Calamity, and Rumor ſhall be upon Rumor: then ſhall they ſeek a Viſion of the Prophet, but the Law ſhall periſh from the Prieſt, and Counſel from the Ancient.* And leſt any ſhould marvel, why God would ſo uſe his Choſen People; he gives the reaſon in the words immediately following, *Becauſe he was a God of Juſtice. The King ſhall mourn, and the Princes ſhall be cloathed with deſolation, and the hands of the people in the land ſhall be troubled: I will do unto them according to their ways, and according to their judgements will I judge them, and they ſhall know, That I am The Lord.* Ezek. 7. 23.

2. More particularly both *Tullies* Objection, concerning their Overthrow and Conqueſt, is directly anſwered; *Strabo* and *Seneca*'s doubt, concerning their thriving in Captivity, fully reſolved; and *Tacitus* falſe Imputations of their increaſe, ſufficiently cleared by the Pſalmiſt: *They were ſtained with their own works, and went a whoring with their own inventions: therefore was the wrath of the Lord kindled againſt his people, and he abhorred his own inheritance, and he gave them into the hand of the Heathen: and they that hated them were Lords over them. Their enemies alſo oppreſſed them, and they were humbled under their hand. Many a time did he deliver them, but they provoked him by their counſels, therefore they were brought down by their iniquities.* Pſal. 106.39. Had *Tully* read thus much, he might have been fully ſatisfied, that it was not love or hate of his Immortal gods, which made

the Romans Conquerors, the Jews Captives: But it was their Love to Sin, only Hateful to their God, which brought them in ſubjection unto the Romans; and made *Cæſar*, whom *Tully* and other Romans hated, Lord over them, as they had been over the Jews. And if *Strabo*, *Seneca*, *Tacitus*, or others, that either envied or marvelled at theſe Jews proſperity, had read what follows in the ſame *Pſalm*, they had reſted better ſatisfied with the reaſon that the Pſalmiſt there gives, than with ſuch as Blundering Politicians gueſs at: *For although they had been brought down by their iniquity, yet their God, who had given them into their Enemies Hand, ſaw when they were in Affliction, and heard their Cry. And he remembred his Covenant towards them, and repented according to the multitude of his Mercies; and gave them Favour in the ſight of all them that led them away Captives.* The Pſalmiſt had better underſtanding of Gods dealing with theſe People, than *Tully* and *Strabo* had; and in Con[illegible]nce of Gods Mercies, which they had often taſted, he conclu[illegible] with this Prayer: *Save us, O Lord our God, and gather us from among the Heathen, that we may praiſe Thy Holy Name, and glory in thy Praiſes.* Though this Godly Pſalmiſt ſaw this People in greater diſtreſs than they were in *Tullies* time, yet he attributes not their Captivity and oppreſſion unto any want of Good-will in their God towards them, but unto their Ingratitude towards him: for if they had been thankful unto Him, the Blows that light on them ſhould have been ſpent upon their Enemies. But as another Pſalmiſt complains in the perſon of his God, *Pſal.* 81. 11. *My people would not hear my voice, and Iſrael would have none of Me. So I gave them over unto the Hardneſs of their Hearts, and they have walked in their own Counſels. O that my People would have hearkened unto Me, and Iſrael had walked in my ways, I would ſoon have humbled their Enemies, and turned my hand againſt their Adverſaries: The haters of the Lord ſhould have been Subject to them, and their time ſhould have endured for ever. I would have fed Them* (ſaith the Lord) *with the fineſt wheat, and with the honey out of the rock would I have ſatisfied Thee.*

Pſal. 106. 44, 45, 46.

Verſe 47.

Gods Eſpecial Favours towards the Jews, no way impeach his unpartial Judgments.

3. This one place, to omit many other, abundantly proves the former Aſſertion, That *if this People had continued in well doing, all the Nations ſhould* continually *have wondred at Their Extraordinary Proſperity.* But here a Chriſtian may as well doubt, as the Heathen wonder, Why Iſrael after ſo many Tranſgreſſions, as the Author of the hundred and ſixth *Pſalm* complains of, was not deſtroyed at once, as other great and mighty Nations had been. For the more abundant Favours their Fore-fathers had found, and the greater Gods Bleſſings (laid up for their Poſterity) were, the greater was their Ingratitude in rebelling, their Rebellion it ſelf ſo much more wilfully Hainous; and always the more wilful or Hainous any Sin is, the more grievous, certain, and more ſpeedy puniſhment it deſerves. How could *That Moſt Juſt and Holy One*, which ſo often proteſteth *He reſpecteth no mens Perſons*, ſpare this moſt Ungrateful, Stubborn, and Rebellious People, longer than any other?

4. The full and neceſſary Conſequence of theſe Collections is Thus much, and no more: *The Final Extirpation of theſe Jews had been accompliſhed many Generations before it came to paſs, had the Lord been only Juſt, or reſpected only their deſerts, whom he ſo often preſerved, when juſtly he might have deſtroyed them.* But if we look farther into the ways of Gods Providence, *The true End and reaſon of deſtroying*

others, and preſerving them, will appear one and the ſame. For that ſuddain Execution of his Juſtice upon others, which did ſo much advance his Glory, equally practiſed upon them, had as greatly impeached It amongſt the Nations. This cauſe of their long preſervation the Lord himſelf aſſigns, *Deut.* 32. 26. *I have ſaid I would ſcatter them abroad, I would make their Remembrance to ceaſe from amongſt men; ſave that I feared the Fury of the Enemy, leſt their Adverſaries ſhould wax proud, and leſt they ſhould ſay, Our high hand, and not The Lord, hath done all this.* Again, as the Lord was moſt Juſt, ſo was he moſt Kind and Merciful towards all, (none excepted) even towards the Gentiles, in theſe Jews; for by their ſtrange deliverance and reſtauration, the other might have learned, *That their God was a God of gods*, and Lord of lords, moſt worthy to be Honoured of all the world, as he himſelf addeth in the fore-cited place: *For the Lord ſhall judge his people, and repent towa*[illegible] *ſervants, when he ſeeth that their power is gone, and none ſhut up in* [illegible]*, nor left abroad: when men ſhall ſay, Where are their Gods, their mighty God in whom they truſted, which did eat the fat of their ſacrifices, and did drink the wine of their drink-offering? Let them riſe up and help you; let him be your refuge: Behold now, for I, I am He, and there is no gods with Me.* Thus, ſince theſe Jews began firſt to be a Nation, as well the *Wane* as the *Entreaſe* of their eſtate; or (to uſe our Apoſtles words) as well their *Diminution* as *Abundance* might have yielded the docil and well diſpoſed, greater riches, than the Spoils of their Cities and Country did the proud and Mighty amongſt the Gentiles. And albeit they ofttimes ſinned more grievouſly than others did, yet were there always left ſome Godly amongſt this People, which in their diſtreſs knew themſelves, and could teach others the right way to Repentance; of which the Heathen, one and other, were altogether Ignorant. And this was an eſpecial Cauſe, though ſubordinate to the former, of their long preſervation. For when they were not ſo extreme bad, as to continue in former ſins, but unfeignedly called upon the Lord in their diſtreſs, He heard their prayers; and being once received to His, they found Favour at their Enemies hands. So *Solomon* had obſerved, *When the ways of a man pleaſe the Lord, he will make alſo his Enemies to be at peace with him.* The truth whereof we have ſeen continually experienced in theſe Jews, before our Saviours time, though much degenerate from their Anceſtors. *But their poſterity, as much degenerate from them as they from the other, go as far beyond the middle ſort in puniſhment, as they came ſhort of their Firſt Fore-fathers in all Graces and Favours beſtowed upon them by their God.* Though theſe (ſuch I mean as lived ſince our Saviours time) cry unto the Lord, yet doth he not hear them, although their diſtreſſes have been more, and more grievous, many hundred years together, then their Fore-fathers? What is the reaſon? *Becauſe they have turned their ears continually from hearing the Law, therefore their prayers are continually turned into ſin*, Prov. 28. 9. Pſal. 109. 7.

Deut. 32. 36, 37, 38, 39.

Prov. 16. 7.

5. Thus though the Alteration of the Jewiſh State be ſuch, as all the World might Wonder, and ſtand amazed at; ſuch as would make the wiſeſt Heathen Giddy, that ſhould ſeek to compaſs the true Cauſes thereof by *Politick Search*; yet unto us Chriſtians, that have the Oracles of our God, their Eſtate cannot ſeem ſtrange;

ſeeing nothing, good or bad, that hath befallen this people, from their firſt Beginning to this preſent day, but is Foretold in the Sacred Story, which hath continually proved it ſelf as *Infallible a Prognoſtication* for what is to come; as it is an *Authentick Regiſter* of all things paſt.

6. The particular *Kalendars*, wherein their *Good or Diſmal Days* are diſtinguiſhed, according to the diverſity of their ways, we may find *Levit.* 26. After *Moſes* had propoſed Extraordinary Bleſſings, if they would walk in the Laws which he had given them, he threatned them with Plagues and Calamites in their own Land; with *Bodily ſickneſs, Incurſion of Enemies, Oppreſſions and ſpoyl of goods, ſtrange overthrows in Battel, and fearfulneſs of Heart*, v. 16. And if theſe would not reclaim them, then he threatneth to puniſh them *Seven Times more* according to their Sins: as with *Barenneſs of Soyl, Prodigious Famine, and ſcarcity of Fruit*, v. 18. And yet if they hold on ſtill to walk ſtubbornly againſt Him, He threatneth to multiply the former plagues *Seven Times*; by ſending *wild Beaſts among them, which ſhould ſpoyl them, and deſtroy their Cattel, and make them few in number, and your High-ways ſhall be deſolate*, v. 21. The like multiplying of his Plagues for the Increaſe of their Stubbornneſs, he reiterates Twice again. *Yet, if by thoſe you will not be Reformed*, &c. He increaſeth all the Former Plagues *Seven Times again*, v. 23. and 28. The Firſt and Second degrees of the Plagues threatned, were in part fulfilled in the days of *Gideon, Samſon, Samuel* and *Saul*. The third likewiſe (by Wild Beaſts) we ſee fulfilled in the days of *Jehoram* King of *Iſrael*, 2 *King*. 17. 25, 26. The fourth and fifth likewiſe we ſee in part fulfilled in their Captivity, in the days of *Manaſſeh, Jehoiachim*, and *Zedekiah*; and in the time of *Ptolomey* the Firſt, under *Antiochus Epiphanes*. Both their own and other Stories, give us full Experiments of this Prophecie. As their ſtubbornneſs did Increaſe, ſo Gods plagues here threatned did wax more Grievous: theſe later Calamities being, at the leaſt, *Seven Times* greater (both for Extent and Durance) than the former Perſecutions, which they ſuffered by the Philiſtines, Moabites, Aramites, and Ammonites. *But The laſt Plague, which containeth all the reſt more than Seven Times, was not accompliſhed till after our Saviours Death: after which time, all the reſt* (in part fulfilled before) *are more than Seven Times multiplied upon them.* In their former Overthrows or Captivities, they ſuffered the violence of War, and oftentimes felt the Extremity of *Hoſtile Laws*: but after theſe Storms were paſt, ſo they would ſubmit themſelves unto their Conquerors, they uſually found (as was ſhewed before) more than ordinary Favour at their hands. But *ſince our Saviours Death, the Memory of their former Plagues hath been but an Invitation of the like, or worſe; their continual bad uſage preſcribing the lawfulneſs of their abuſe.* In the 28. of *Deuteronomy*, the Extraordinary Bleſſings and Plagues which were to overtake this People, either in their Life or Death, are more exactly calculated. And albeit their Bleſſings might have been more, and more Admirable, than the Curſes that have befallen them: yet *Moſes* (it ſeems) foreſeeing, or fearing *what would Be*, rather than hoping the *Beſt that might Be*, is almoſt *Four times as long in Calculating their Plagues, as their Bleſſings.* So have the *Miſeries of theſe later Jews been Four times as long as the proſperity of their worthy Anceſtours*; if we would take an exact meaſure of the One, from the Sacred Hi-

ſtories before the Babyloniſh Captivity, of the Later, from Experience and Relation of Jewiſh or Heathen Writers. And yet no Plague, either known by Experience, or related by any Writers, but is evidently foretold by *Moſes*. His particular Predictions ſhall be inſerted, as the Events ſhall give the Occaſion throughout this Diſcourſe. To begin with that moſt Horrible Plague, *Deut.28.53, &c. And thou ſhalt eat the fruit of thy Body, even the Fleſh of thy Sons and thy Daughters, which the Lord thy God hath given thee, during the ſiege and ſtraitneſs, wherein thy enemy ſhall incloſe thee. So that the Man that is tender and exceeding dainty among you, ſhall be grieved at his Brother, and at his Wife that lieth in his Boſom, and at the remnant of his Children, which he hath yet left. For fear of giving unto any of them of the fleſh of his Children, whom he ſhall eat, becauſe he hath nothing left him in that ſiege and ſtraitneſs, wherein the enemy ſhall beſiege thee in all thy Cities. The tender and dainty Woman among you, which never could venture to ſet the ſole of her foot on the ground, (for ſoftneſs and tenderneſs) ſhall be grieved at her Husband that lieth in her Boſom, and at her Son, and at her Daughter, and at her After-birth, that ſhall come out from between her feet; and at her Children which ſhe ſhall bear. For when all things lack, ſhe ſhall eat them ſecretly, during the ſiege and ſtraitneſs, wherein thine enemy ſhall beſiege thee in thy Cities.* This * Prophecie we ſee fulfilled, to an Hairs-Breadth, in *Veſpaſians* time.

* *It was verified in that woman of* Samaria, *who in the Siege and Famine boyled her Son,* 2 Kings 6.29. *Fulfill'd in that noble woman which in the laſt ſiege did ſeeth Hers, in that manner, as* Joſephus *tells, Book 7. Chapt. 8. of the Jewiſh Wars.*

Chap. XXIII.

The Fulfilling of Moſes *and others Prophecies, touching the Deſolation of* Jewry, *and Deſtruction of* Jeruſalem: *and the Signs of the Time, witneſſing Gods Wonderful Hand therein.*

1. Seeing that part of *Tacitus* is loſt, whence we might have known more, concerning their Calamity, than we can find now in Heathen Writers, we muſt take the *Concluſions*, anſwerable to *Moſes* predictions, from *Joſephus* a Jew by Birth, no way partial for Chriſtians. And his *Concluſions* (to omit *Moſes*'s Authority or other Inducements) cannot ſeem Improbable, from ſuch *Premiſſes*, as the Roman Writers have confirmed; though little intending ſuch *Inferences*, as we now make from them. Do thoſe calamities of the Jews, related by *Joſephus* and *Euſebius*, ſeem ſtrange? They juſtly may, if we conſider This People *as Natural or Ordinary men*, not as *Paterns of* GODS *Extraordinary Judgments*. Strange might their Judgments ſeem, and incredible to the Romans or Worldly-wiſe, unleſs other circumſtances of that Time, witneſſed by the Romans themſelves, were as rare. But if, *By the Romans Opinion, every Unuſual Effect in Nature did Portend ſome ſuch ſtrange Event in Humane Affairs:* why ſhould not the Wiſeſt of them in that Age, expect ſome Extraordinary or Miraculous Matters of *Veſpaſians* time? yet, (excepting what he did to thoſe ſtubborn Jews) his other Acts were but Ordinary, and required no Pompous or Magnificent *Prologues:* whereas many *Signs*, either foreſhewing his *Exaltation to the Empire*, or confirming his *Right* unto it, or *Authority* in Managing it, were ſuch as no Heathen, I think, hath ever heard of before, but moſt Conſonant unto Gods wonted Signs in *Iſrael* whilſt their Kings did

proſper. Seeing the Wiſdom of the Wiſe, and Underſtanding of the Prudent amongſt this People, had been long hid, as the Lord had threatned by his Prophet *Eſay*, Chapt. 29. and they themſelves had complained, *We ſee not our tokens*, *we have not one Prophet more:* Whence was it that *Joſephus* the Jew ſhould become a Prophet for *Veſpaſians good*, who had already brought much, likely to bring more Harm upon his Country and Him, now Captived, and Impriſoned by Him? So [a] *Suetonius* and *Tacitus* (no Factious Friends for Jews or Chriſtians) tell us, *Joſephus* did Solace himſelf at his Commitment, with This; That *Veſpaſian* the Emperour ſhould ſhortly releaſe him. Though *Veſpaſian* at that time was far enough from ſuch Hopes, in the Judgment of the Roman State, which had appointed him General in the Jewiſh Wars, becauſe [b] His mean Birth, and obſcure Family, did miniſter leaſt Suſpicion of affecting the Splendour and Dignity of the Roman Empire, if He ſhould prove Conquerour. Did the reſt of his unruly Country-men, conceit any ſuch matter of *Veſpaſian*, as *Joſephus* did? Then had they not continued ſtubborn as they did. But although *Iſrael* knew him not, and his people had no underſtanding, *yet the dumb* [c] *Ox knew him to be his Owner, and appointed Lord of the Earth, and in Sign of his Submiſſion to him, having caſt off his yoak, ran furiouſly into the Room where he ſate at Supper*; where affrighting his Attendants from him, he ſtraight proſtrates himſelf before his Feet, (as if he had been weary) offering his neck to *His Clemency*. Oracles had ceaſed in *Jewry*, (at leaſt from ſpeaking any good unto the Jews) yet the Oracles of *Carmel* aſſure *Veſpaſian* of good Succeſs in all that he ſhould ſet His hand unto.

2. As theſe, and many other Preſignifications were more than Natural, ſo the means of his Advancement (if we reſpect only the purpoſe of men) were meerly Caſual: nor is it poſſible for the *Atheiſt* to imagine their Concurrence contrived by *Policy*.

3. But herein we may clearly ſee *Gods Covenant* of exalting this People, and humbling their foes, *quite Inverted*. *All* the Plagues threatned to ſuch as bare ill will to *Sion*, light on her Friends and Inhabitants; All the Bleſſings promiſed to ſuch as prayed for *Jeruſalems* Peace, are heaped upon them that work her Ruine. More particularly do they verifie that Propheſie of *Moſes*, *Deut.* 28. 43. *The ſtranger that is amongſt you ſhall climb up on high, and thou ſhalt come down beneath alow.* For theſe Children of the Kingdom, taking Violent but falſe hold upon Gods trueſt Promiſes, do, by their unſeaſonable deſire of exalting themſelves above the Nations, hoiſe Him up to higheſt Dignity, that was ordained to pluck them down from their ſeat, and bring them below all other people. *The manner of it was thus.*

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[a] Et unus ex Nobilibus Captivis Joſephus, cum conjiceretur in vincula, conſtantiſſimé aſſeveravit fore, ut ab eodem brevi ſolveretur, verum jam imperatore. *Sueton in Veſp. It is not probable that either* Suetonius, Tacitus, *or* Dion *ſhould take this teſtimony from* Joſephus (*though he relate it, Book* 3. *Chapt.* 14. *of the Jewiſh Wars*) *but from the Romans that were ear-witneſſes of it. It is leſs probable again that* Joſephus *ſhould learn this from any prophecies concerning Chriſt, for he knew* Veſpaſian *was no Jew: rather God made him as a mouth to thoſe other dumb ſigns which Roman Writers relate, by his appointment foreſhewing* Veſpaſians *Exaltation*; *as* Dion *notes: For ſpeaking of other ſigns he ſaith:* Sed hæc quidem omnia egebant interpretatione. At Joſephus, natione Judæus, ante ab eo captus conſtrictúſque vinculis ridens ait; Nunc quidem me vincies, poſt annum autem ſolves, quum fueris Imperator factus. Igitur Veſpaſianus ut alii quidam, ad principatum natus erat. *Dion. hiſt. Rom. lib.* 66.

[b] Suetonius in Veſpaſiano.

[c] Prandente eo quondam, *Canis* Extrarius triclinio manum humanam intulit. Cœnante rurſus, *Bos* arator decuſſo jugo, triclinium irrupit, ac fugatis miniſtris, quaſi defeſſus, procidit ad ipſos accumbens pedes cervicémque ſubmiſit. Apud Judæam Carmeli Dei Oraculum conſulentem, ita confirmavere Sortes, ut quicquid cogitaret animo volverétque quantumlibet magnum, id eſſe proventurum pollicerentur. *Suet. in Veſp.* Dion Caſſius *Reports that of the* Ox *and* Dog, *and other particulars beſides.* Lib. 66. initio.

* 4. There was a conſtant Opinion through the Eaſt, that *Jewry* about this time ſhould bring forth the *Monarch of the World.* In confidence of which Prophecie, the Jews (as the Roman Writers obſerve) did Rebel. *Veſpaſian* (otherwiſe likely to have lived in Danger, and died in Obſcurity and diſgrace, whereunto *Nero* had deſigned him) appointed, for reaſons afore alledged, to Manage theſe Wars, gets *Renown* for his good Service, among the Romans; *Good will* of the Eaſtern Nations, and upon *Nero*'s death and Civil Broils thence enſuing, partly by promiſe of aſſiſtance from the Parthian, partly by other unexpected Occurrents, had the *Empire* thruſt upon him, otherwiſe † backward of himſelf to entertain *Hopes*, ſuggeſted to him from Heaven by many wonderful Signs and Tokens.

* Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus & conſtans Opinio: eſſe in Fatis, ut eo tempore Judæâ profecti rerum potirentur. Id de Imperatore Romano, (quantum Eventu poſtea patuit) prædictum, Judæi ad ſe trahentes, rebellarunt: cœſóque Præpoſito, Legatum inſuper Syriæ Conſularem ſuppetias ferentem rapta Aquilâ fugaverunt. Ad hunc motum comprimendum, cùm exercitu auxiliari, & non inſtrenuo duce, cui tamen tuto tanta res committeretur, opus eſſet, ipſe potiſſimùm delectus eſt, ut induſtriæ expertæ, nec metuendus ullo modo ob Humilitatem Generis ac Nominis. *Sueton. in Veſp.* † Nec tamen quidquam ante tentavit, promptiſſimis atque etiam inſtantibus ſuis, quàm ſolicitatus quorundam & ignotorum & abſentium fortuito Favore. *Suet. ibid.*

Yet after all this, being made Emperour on a ſuddain, before he could bethink himſelf what belonged to ſo High a Place, he wanted (* as the Hiſtorian notes) Authority and Majeſty to countenance his proceedings: and theſe again are confirmed unto him, at his firſt entrance into the Empire, by means more Miraculous than the former. *Since* Rome *began was it not heard, that any Roman had opened the eyes of the Blind; unleſs this man had been from God, he could have done nothing.* Why then do the Heathen rage, and the people murmur a vain thing, againſt God, and his Anointed, *The Chriſt*, as if He had not Healed him which was born Blind, with Spittle? when as *Veſpaſian, late Elected Emperour, did cure one deſperately blind, by ſpitting upon his eyes*; or whence came that vertue into this new Emperours feet, that he ſhould heal a lame and withered thigh, by treading upon it? Both theſe effects were well known unto the moſt judicious Roman Writers of thoſe times, ſo conſtantly avouched by them, as can leave no place for ſuſpicion in Ages following †.

* Sueton. Autoritas & quaſi Majeſtas quædam, ut ſcilicet inopinato & adhuc novo Principi deerat: hæc quoque acceſſit.

† Æſtimari à medicis jubet Veſpaſianus an talis cæcitas ac debilitas ope humana ſuperabiles forent. Medici variè diſſerere. Huic non exeſam vim luminis & redituram ſi pellerentur obſtantia: illi elapſos in pravum artus, ſi ſalubris vis adhibeatur, poſſe integrari. Id fortaſſe cordi Deis, & divino miniſterio principem electum: denique patrati remedii gloriam penes Cæſarem; irriti ludibrium penes miſeros fore. Igitur Veſpaſianus cuncta fortunæ ſuæ parêre ratus, nec quidquam ultrà incredibile, læto ipſe vultu, erectâ quæ aſtabat multitudine, juſſa exequitur. Statim converſa ad uſum manus, ac cæco reluxit dies. Utrumque qui interfuere nunc quoque memorant, poſtquam nullum mendacio pretium. *Tacitus hiſtor. lib.* 4. Suetonius *hath the ſame ſtory with the ſame circumſtances.*

5. What ſhall we, Chriſtians, ſay to theſe things? Only this; In both theſe *Cures* there was the *Finger of God*, pointing out *Veſpaſian* to the World, as * *Chriſts Right Hand appointed for ſome Extraordinary and Peculiar Service, even to inflict the Plagues foretold by him, upon theſe Jews, which had reviled, traduced, and crucified the Lord of Glory for the like*, and infinite other far greater Miracles wrought amongſt

* *Seeing they had rejected the true Son and Heir of* David, *the Lord raiſed up* Veſpaſian *(as it were an adopted Son and lively patern of old* David *both in meanneſs of Birth, Manner of Exaltation and Humility) to rule them with an iron rod, and feed them with the Sword.* Suetonius *Character of his patience and diſpoſition, hath a perfect reliſh of* Davids *Spirit.* Mediocritatem priſtinam néque diſſimulavit unquam, ac frequenter etiam præ ſe tulit. Quin & conantes quoſdam originem Flavii generis ad Conditores Reatinos Comitémque Herculis cujus monumentum exſtat via Salaria referre, irriſit ultro. Adeóque nihil ornamentorum extrinſecus cupidè appetivit, ut triumphi die fatigatus tarditate & tædio pompæ non reticuerit: merito ſe plecti, qui triumphum quaſi aut debitum majoribus ſuis, aut ſperatum unquam ſibi, tam ineptè ſenex concupiſſet. *Sueton. in Veſpaſian.*

them. Theſe ſtrange Calamities, had they fallen in *Nero's*, or other like Emperours time, might have been attributed to their Cruel diſpoſition: but that *Veſpaſian*, for his natural * Inclination another *Moſes*, ſcarce provocable to revenge Practice of Treaſon againſt his Perſon in private men, ſhould work that ſtrange deſolation upon a whole Land, hath this ſignification, that he was *Gods Inſtrument only in this Buſineſs*; what he did, he did impelled by Him, not of his own Motion or Inclination. And becauſe he had † diligently executed that which was right in Gods eyes, and had done unto theſe Jews, according to all things that were in Gods Heart, he had (by what Revelation God beſt knoweth) *Jehu's* Bleſſing Sealed unto him, *That his Son ſhould ſit upon his Throne*: ſo confident was he in this perſwaſion, as after the diſcovery of many, to ſcorn all Conſpiracies, though daily intended againſt him; avouching ſtill, *either his Sons, or None*, muſt ſucceed him in the Empire, as both of them did. Though the later (much degenerate from ſo worthy a Father, moſt diſlike unto his noble Brother) was moſt unworthy, and uncapable of ſo High a Place, but only from his Fathers deſerts, which GOD had ordained, ſhould be rewarded with this Honour. Had either of his Sons rendred according to the reward beſtowed upon them, more Scepters had ſprung from the *Flavian* Stock: *But as it Grew apace, ſo did it quickly Fade*; *Titus*, the faireſt Branch to all mens ſeeming, being plucked off, to his great Hearts grief, in the Bloſſom, for what *Secret Sin*, GOD knoweth beſt, *This one was grievous enough*, to have deſerved a more grievous death, that apprehending his Fates approach, he durſt ſo Confidently look Heaven in the Face, and *Expoſtulate his untimely death as unjuſt, ſeeing he never had offended the Sacred Powers thereof but Only Once*. The Signs of thoſe Times were Extraordinary, could the Romans have rightly obſerved them: *But theſe Great Conquerours were taken with their Captives Errour* in not diſcerning, or miſ-applying them. As the Spring Sun, which naturally reviveth all other living Creatures, oftentimes prepareth ſuch Human bodies as are fulleſt of Life and Bloud, but moſt neglective of the opportunity of taking Phyſick, or uſing Diet convenient for that ſeaſon, to hot and deſperate diſeaſes, never perceived in their Summers growth, until they be ripe of death in the Autumn: ſo albeit the Sun of Righteouſneſs, whoſe coming into the world, was to give life unto it, did firſt ariſe in *Jewry*; yet by her Childrens Confidence in their wonted Temper, ſo whole and ſound unto their ſeeming, that of all other people, they only needed no Phyſician, the very Beams of ſaving Health did ſecretly diſpoſe their evil diſpoſed hearts to violent death, which burſt out in the later end or Autumn of that Age, wherein he appeared. For that Generation with whom our Saviour Chriſt Jeſus converſed on earth, was not fully paſt, until this People began to ſwell with inſolent and proud hopes of Soveraignty over others, and by their untimely provocation of the Romans, bring ſuddain Deſtruction upon themſelves; as ſtout and full Bodies, by violent and unſeaſonable Exerciſes, are ſooneſt brought down from the height of their ſtrength, unto the grave. The Romans again, ſeeing theſe Jews defeated, and themſelves poſſeſſed of their hopes, (*Veſpaſian* being called to the Empire during theſe Wars, which *Titus* his Son did gloriouſly finiſh, to the utter ruine of that Nation) think ſure their

* Néque cæde cujuſquam unquam lætatus, juſtis ſuppliciis illacrymavit etiam & ingemuit. *Idem. Ibid.*

† Convenit inter omnes tam certum eum de ſuâ ſuorúmque genitura ſemper fuiſſe: ut poſt aſſiduas in ſe conjurationes auſus ſit affirmare Senatui, *aut Filios ſibi ſucceſſuros, aut Neminem*. Dicitur etiam vidiſſe quondam per quietem, ſtateram in media parte veſtibuli Palatinæ domus poſitam examine æquo: cum in alterâ parte Claudius & Nero ſtarent, in alterâ ipſe ac filii. Nec res fefellit: quando totidem annis, paríque temporis ſpatio utríque imperaverunt. *Sueton. in Veſpaſ.*

Suetonius in Veſpaſ. & Tacitus, Hiſt. l. 5. Vid. annot. ex Tacito infrà paragr. 8. & ex Sueton. ſuprà 4.

Gods had been more potent than the GOD of the Jews, and apply the Prophecie, meant of Chriſt, unto *Veſpaſian, as if He had been That Monarch of the World*, which, according to the common received Opinion throughout the Eaſt, was at this time to ariſe in *Jewry*. *So doth the God of this World ſtill blind the eyes of the worldly-wiſe with Fair Shews or earthly ſhadows of Heavenly Things, that they cannot, or care not to look into the Body or Subſtance of Divine Myſteries, for whoſe repreſentation only thoſe are given*; otherwiſe uncapable of any cauſe either in Nature, Reaſon, or Policy. *Veſpaſian* the Emperour (indeed) was the Second Type or ſhadow of the Meſſiah, That great Monarch and Prince of Peace, whoſe endleſs Kingdom ſhall put down all Wars for ever. For ſeeing by the Fall of theſe Jews, as Saint *Paul* ſaith, *Salvation is come unto the Gentiles, it pleaſed the Wiſdom of our* GOD, *to have their Deſtruction Solemnized with the ſelf-ſame Signs, that His birth had been, which brought forth Life unto the World.*

For immediately after their *Fatal Overthrow* by *Titus*; *Janus* had his Temple ſhut, and *Peace* a Temple erected by *Veſpaſian*. Thus Divine Suggeſtions Effect no more in moſt mens thoughts, than diurnal Intention of mind doth in hard Students broken ſleeps; which uſually ſet the Soul a working, ſeldom finding any diſtinct Repreſentation of what ſhe ſeeks, though contenting her ſelf oft-times for that Seaſon with ſome pleaſant Phantaſm, as much different from the true nature of that ſhe hunts after, as the Clouds, which *Ixion* imbraced, were from *Juno*. Veſpaſians *Secret Inſtinct* in this devotion did aim no doubt (as it was directed by all Signs of the Time) at the true *Prince of Peace*, but was choaked and ſtifled in the Iſſue or Paſſage, and his intent blinded in the Apprehenſion, by the palpable and groſs conceits of Romiſh Idolatry, wherein he had been nuzled; as mens In-bred deſire of true Happineſs is uſually taken up and blind-folded by ſuch pleaſant ſenſible Objects, as they moſt accuſtom themſelves unto. And yet, God knows, whether this vertuous Emperours laſt Hopes were inwardly rooted in Pride and Preſumption of heart; or rightly conceived there, were only brought forth amiſs. As, if a man ſhould firſt apprehend the ſtate of Bleſſedneſs or Regeneration in a dream, the Repreſentation of it would be groſs, though the Apprehenſion ſound. Quite contrary to his Sons diſpoſition, when he himſelf apprehends death coming upon him, (which the Phyſicians and Aſtronomers could not perſwade him to beware of) he ſolaced himſelf with this ſaying; *Now ſhall I be a God*: his inward Hopes of a Cœleſtial ſtate after this life might (for ought that any man knows) be true and ſound, and the repreſentation only tainted with the Romans groſs Conceit.

Dion. Xiph. l. 66.

6. But whatever became of Him in that other World; His *Entrance* into this, His *Continuance* herein, and *Departure* hence, were in all the worlds ſight of unuſual and Extraordinary Obſervation. The diſpoſition of the Times, by the moſt irreligious amongſt the Romans, were referred to Fates or Divine Powers, who had not graced the Birth, Life, and Death, or long flouriſhing Reign of *Auguſtus*, with half ſo many Tokens of their Preſence on Earth, or Providence over Humane Affairs. What Effect, or iſſue, can the Roman aſſign anſwerable unto them? *Rome* could not invite the Nations to come and ſee, whether any proſperity were like hers, for hers had been far greater and of longer continuance, than now

under *Veſpaſian*; who was ſuddenly called away by a [a] *Comet from Heaven*, and *Auguſtus his Sepulchre opening of its own accord to welcome him to his Grave.* Whereat then did all theſe Signs point? They ſhould have been as a New Star to lead the wiſe men of the Weſt unto *Hieruſalem*, now crying out of the duſt unto the careleſs Roman, [*] *Have ye no regard all ye that paſs by? Behold and ſee if there be any ſorrow like unto my ſorrow which is done unto me, wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me in the day of his fierce wrath?* It was not *Titus* and *Veſpaſian* that had afflicted her, they were but His Deputies, that was Lord of *Sion*, who had Decreed what they Effected. [b] For this cauſe did neither the *Father* nor the *Son* take the name of *Judaicus*, albeit the Difficulty of the War, begun by the Father, and the Famouſneſs of the Victory atchieved by the Son (according to the cuſtom of the Romans obſerved by them in their Triumphs and other Solemnities) did ſolicit them hereunto. For what Victory gotten by any Roman was like unto this, either for the multitude of the Slain, or the Captives? Nothing in this kind could ſeem ſtrange unto the Politician, if it had proceeded from *Tacitus* Pen. But Satan, it ſeems, by Gods permiſſion, hath called in that part of *Tacitus*, as a Book too dangerous for his Scholars to read; leſt, giving Credence unto it, they might Believe him leſs, and Chriſtians more, in any other points; and yet praiſed be the Name of Our Gracious God, who envies no man the truth, and hath left us abundant Records of this Story, all anſwerable to his Sacred Word, and Prophecies of old concerning *Hieruſalem*. From that part of *Tacitus*, which is left, we may gather, how conſonant his Concluſions would have been unto that *Faithful, and moſt Ingenious Hiſtorian Joſephus*, with whom he Jumps in theſe particulars; That this people were of *Bodies* [c] *Healthful and able*, *their City* [d] *exceeding ſtrong*, every way well provided againſt long Siege: Which Aſſertion would have miniſtred Suſpicion to ſuch as meaſure all Stories by rules of Policy, unleſs ſome Roman writer had avouched it, ſeeing *Pompey* had razed the City-walls, and *Soſius* had taken it by force in *Auguſtus* time; ſince continuing in Subjection unto the Romans until the laſt and Fatal Rebellion. But *Tacitus* tells us, that theſe Jews made their benefit of *Claudius* his covetouſneſs, and purchaſed licenſe to fortifie the City in time of Peace againſt War: during which it grew more populous than before, by the reliques of other ruinated Cities reſorting unto it. And albeit he differ from *Joſephus* in the number of the beſieged; yet he *acknowledgeth Six Hundred Thouſand of all ſorts; the Women as reſolute as the Men*; Armour and Munition enough for as many as could; and yet more in this People that durſt uſe and manage them, than could be expected in ſuch a number. Their Seditious, and Factious, their ſtubborn and deſperate minds againſt God and man, and their own ſouls, neglective of fearful Signs from Heaven, and other prodigious Tokens foretelling their Deſolation, are Pathetically deſcribed by the ſame Writer. The preparations likewiſe on *Titus* his part we may gather from him, to be as great as any Roman ever uſed. His Army, at the firſt approach to the City, thought ſcorn to expect the help of Famine to make the Beſieged yield; and yet after one or two Aſſaults made to little purpoſe, enforced to deſiſt, until all the Engins of Battery, either of Ancient or Modern Invention, were ready. And all theſe circumſtances, we have fully ſet down in this fragment of *Tacitus* which is left.

[a] Dion. ex Xiphil. lib. 66.

[*] *Lamen.* 1. 12.

[b] His de cauſis uterque Imperatoris Nomen obtinuit, neuter tamen *Judaicus* cognominatus eſt, licet alia multa, ut par erat tam magnâ parta victoria, atque imprimis arcus Triumphales eis decreti ſunt. *Dion. lib.* 66.

[c] *So are they not now.*

[d] Fons perennis aquæ, cavati ſub terra montes, & piſcinæ ſervandis imbribus: præviderant conditores ex diverſitate morum, crebra bella; inde cuncta, quamvis adverſus longum obſidium: & à Pompeio expugnatis, metus atque uſus pleráque monſtravere. Atq; per avaritiâ Claudianorum temporum, empto jure muniendi, ſtruxere muros in pace tanquam ad bellum: magna colluvie, & cæterarum urbium clade aucti. *Tacit. Hiſt. lib.* 5. *The Writers of Sacred Story complain of defect of water in* Hieruſalem *ſince that time.* V. Strab. l. 16. Eſt locus ſaxoſus aquis ipſe quidem abundans. *This barrenneſs was only about* Hieruſalem; *for* Tacitus *acknowledgeth the fertility of* Judæa

7. Were that Regiſter of *Hieruſalems Tragical Funerals* (to uſe his words) now extant as entire, as he intended it, what other *Concluſion* from the former *Premiſſes* could we expect, than ſuch Wo and Miſeries as *Moſes* and *Jeremy* had foretold, and others have related to us? *Joſephus* (as if *Jeremiahs* ſpirit had directed his Pen) ſaith, their Miſery did far ſurpaſs all Plagues inflicted upon any Nation, either by God or Man. *The multitude of Jews dead in the Wars, was equal to the number of living men in* Iſrael *under King David,* when *Jacobs* poſterity flouriſhed moſt, beſides Fifty Thouſand taken Captives. The * number (albeit he maketh it eleven hundred Thouſand) cannot ſeem ſtrange, if we conſider the Confluence of this people from all Nations almoſt under Heaven unto *Hieruſalem* at their Paſſover. *Dion* telleth us, that beſides the natural inhabitants of *Jewry,* ſtrangers, not only of Jewiſh Progeny, but ſuch as obſerved their Rites and Cuſtoms, did flock to the Cities defence, both from thoſe parts of the Roman Empire, through which they were ſcattered, and from the Countries beyond *Euphrates* not Subject to the Romans: Conſonant herein, to *Joſephus,* † where he telleth us that the greateſt part of the ſlain, were ſtrangers, but moſt of Jewiſh Progeny. *The whole Nation* (to uſe his words) *was ſhut up by Fates, as in a Priſon*; or to ſpeak more ſignificantly; Foyled by the Romans in the Field: they were driven into the *City* as into a *Slaughter-Houſe.* And here the Pſalmiſts curſe beginneth to ſeize upon the Nation, *that which ſhould have been for their Good, proves the occaſion of their Fall:* the Effect of Gods bleſſing upon *Abraham* proves a Plague to his Seed: the huge number, wherewith God had multiplied them, which had late made them ſwell with hopes of Victory in the Open field, brings grievous Famine ſuddenly upon them once incloſed in the City: and Famine no ſooner got within the Walls, but lets in her Fellow-meſſengers of Gods wrath; firſt breeding the Peſtilence by the Carkaſes of the famiſhed, then diſpoſing the Bodies of the living to receive this and ſuch other loathſom infectious diſeaſes, as hunger and the huge Multitude of the beſieged in ſuch a ſtrait place would quickly breed; and yet they ſo deſperately ſet to increaſe theſe Miſeries, as even in their greateſt penury to receive Fugitives from *Titus* Camp. For, as *Dion* ſtorieth, divers of his Souldiers fled to the beſieged, being partly wearied of the difficult Siege, partly animated thereto, by a Rumour bruited throughout the Roman Army, that this City could not be taken.

8. Thus, *All Occaſions conſpire to work them Wo whom God will plague.* The general perſwaſion of the Eaſt, that *Jewry,* about this time, ſhould bring forth the *Monarch of the world,* miniſters matter for their Falſe Prophets to work upon: and from their truſt in their Prophets, it was, that neither the preſent Adverſity which they felt, nor *Prodigious Signs* from Heaven could diſſwade or terrifie *the Seditious* from their enterpriſe unhappily undertaken. God (no doubt) had ſo diſpoſed, that the Roman Souldiers ſhould deſpair of Victory, to give Countenance to theſe falſe Prophets, and make theſe Caſt-aways, who ſtill delighted moſt in Lyes, more confident in the ways of death. Though the Signs, recorded by * *Tacitus* (and *Joſephus* in his 7th Book 12. Chapt. of the Jewiſh Wars) might ſeem Fearful, yet their Interpretation was Ambiguous: they might as well menace Their Enemies Harm, as Their Deſtruction; howſoever to regard them

* Joſephus *ſays, that, the High Prieſt (requeſted by* Ceſtius, *in* Nero*'s time) Numbred the people in* Jeruſalem, *at Eaſter; and (reckoning but Ten to a Lamb) found,* 270000 *perſons purified and Sound. Well then, might the number of Captives be* 97000. *and deſtroyed in the Siege* 1100000. *as he ſays.*

† Book 7. ch. 17. *of the Jewiſh Wars.*

* Tacitus *concurring with* Joſephus *in relation of thoſe horrible ſigns, addeth:* Pauci in metum trahebant: pluribus perſuaſio inerat, antiquis Sacerdotum literis contineri, eo ipſo tempore fore, ut valeſceret Oriens, profectique Judæa rerum potirentur, quæ ambages Veſpaſianum ac Titum prædixerant. Sed vulgus more humanæ cupidinis, Sibi tantam fatorum magnitudinem interpretati, ne adverſis quidem ad vera mutabantur. *Tacit. Hiſt. lib.* 5. *Unto all the former miſchiefs theſe did accrew:* Prælia, dolus, incendia inter ipſos, & magna vis frumenti ambuſta. *Tacit. Hiſt. lib.* 5.

them much might argue Heatheniſh Superſtition; and *Indiſcreet avoidance of Superſtition, makes Hypocritical Profeſſors of true Religion prepoſterouſly ſtubborn in Imitation of true Confidence.* They could pretend the Prophets admonition: *Learn not the ways of the Heathen, and be not afraid of the ſigns of Heaven, though the Heathen be afraid of ſuch. For the cuſtoms of the people are vain,* Jer. 10. 2. and hence aſſume his Reſolution to themſelves, *Paveant Illi, ne autem paveas Tu*; Let the Idolatrous Heathen tremble and quake, but why ſhould *Iſrael* be afraid of theſe Apparitions of their God? Or if a man would have meaſured all by *Politick Obſervations*, it was more likely the Romans ſhould have forſaken the Siege, than the Beſieged have fallen into their hands. But *God was againſt Them, and They could not be for Themſelves.* For, as † *Dion* notes, (which I think *Joſephus* omitteth) they themſelves, by making way for their more commodious defence, did (againſt their will) demoliſh the chief Muniment of the Temple; at which breach the Romans entred, but not without ſome Stay, *Amated* only *with Reverence* of The Place. Nor did the Succeſs anſwer their Reſolution in the Aſſault, (albeit they were far more in number than the defendants) until *Titus* commanded part of the Temple to be ſet on fire: But then, as the ſame Author witneſſeth, Some offered their bodies for ſheaths unto the Romans ſwords; Some killed their Fellows, requited inſtantly with like kindneſs from them again; Some leapt into the fire; *All accounted it their Happineſs to periſh with the Temple.* Dion. l. 66.

9. The Lord had often profeſſed his diſlike unto their Solemn Feaſts, and his loathing of their Sacrifices; both fully manifeſted in this their laſt Calamity. Such as the Stench of their Dead was now to their polluted ſenſes, Such had the Abomination of their ſweeteſt Incenſe long been to *His Holineſs*, now to be purged with the Prieſts own Bloud, ſacrificed in the flames and ruines of the Temple: the City, as oft before, was now taken upon the Sabbath day. Other particular Miſeries, deſcribed by *Joſephus* and *Euſebius*, I leave for this time to the Readers private Meditations: deſirous only in theſe Generalities, to juſtifie theirs or other Eccleſiaſtical Writers reports, againſt all Suſpicions caſt upon them by Atheiſts or Infidels, from the Teſtimony of ſuch as Infidelity it ſelf cannot ſuſpect for partial. Both ſorts afford us Evident Documents of the Divine Truth of Scripture; and might afford us more than we are aware off, were we better acquainted with the Ancient manner of interpreting Scriptures amongſt the Jews, in our Saviours and his Apoſtles time: of which hereafter. If now upon Occaſions of theſe relations concerning *Jeruſalems* laſt Day, and the *Signs of the Times* enſuing, I interpret One or Two places otherwiſe, than ſuch as are moſt followed in our times do, the Chriſtian Reader, I hope, will grant me Pardon, upon promiſe of ſuch Satisfaction as ſhall befit one Ingenuous Chriſtian to expect of another, to be made; when I ſhall come to explicate the divers kinds of *Prophecies* amongſt Gods People, with the right manner of their *Interpretations.*

† Cúmque vicina quædam ædificia ſuccendiſſent, velut hac quóque via Romanos, etiamſi maxime circulo illo potirentur, ab ulteriori progreſſu rejecturi: ſimul & ipſum deſtruxere murum, & inviti munitionem, qua templum includebatur, exuſſerunt. Ita Romanis aditus ad Templum patefactus fuit. *Dion. Lib. 66.*

Chap. XXIV.

The Fulfilling of our Saviours Prophecie, Mat. 24. *with others, concerning the Times enſuing* Jeruſalems *Deſtruction.*

1. READING *Joſephus*, I cannot but acknowledge *Hieremiahs Lamentation*, as well for a *Prophecie* of theſe late times under *Veſpaſian*, and *Titus*, as an *Hiſtory* or *Elegie* of the miſeries that had befallen *Jeruſalem* by *Nebuchadnezzar*. The Lord, I know, had then done *that which he purpoſed*: but now more properly hath *fulfilled his word that he had determined of old time; he hath thrown down and not ſpared, he hath cauſed thine enemies to rejoyce over thee, and ſet up the Horn of thine Adverſaries. Ariſe, cry in the night, in the beginning of the watches: pour out thine heart like water before the face of the Lord, lift up thine hand towards him for the life of thy young children, that famiſh for hunger in all the corners of the ſtreets.* Theſe words perhaps were meant, in divers meaſures, of both Calamities; but the Complaint following, of the later only under *Titus*: *Behold, O Lord, and conſider to whom thou haſt done thus. Shall the women eat their fruit, and children of a ſpan long? ſhall the Prieſt and the Prophet be ſlain in the Sanctuary of the Lord? the young and the old lie on the ground. My Virgins, and my Young-men are fallen by the ſword: thou haſt ſlain them in the Day of Thy Wrath: thou haſt killed and not ſpared. Thou haſt called as in a Solemn Day my Terrours round about; ſo that in the day of the Lords wrath none eſcaped or remained. Thoſe that I have nouriſhed and brought up hath mine Enemy conſumed.*

Lament. 2.17, &c.

2. Many particulars, here ſet down by *Jeremy*, are not ſo much as once intimated by the Sacred Story, which deſcribes the Siege by *Nebuchadnezzar*. But no calamity either intimated by any Hiſtorical Relations of thoſe times, or prefigured in *Jeremies* complaint, but in this later Siege by *Titus*, is moſt exactly fulfilled: as if the Lord had but ſown the ſeeds of deſtruction and deſolation by *Nebuchadnezzar*, which now being come to their full growth and ripeneſs, this People muſt reap according to the full meaſure of their Iniquity. They are as dry Stubble, and the Romans as a conſuming Fire. *Nebuchadnezzars* Hoſt perhaps ſlew ſome, but had no occaſion to make a General Maſſacre in the Temple, deſtitute of Defendants ere it was taken, the King and his greateſt Commanders being firſt fled into the Wilderneſs; nor was it deſtroyed until the heat of War was paſt, and moſt of the People lead into Captivity. But whilſt in this later deſtruction by *Titus*, it fell by the furious Heat and Brunt of War, the number of ſuch, as were either willing or forced to end their days with it, was of all ſorts exceeding Great: and which was moſt Miſerable, many who had taken their Farewel of Life, and had bid Death *welcome*, revived again to renew their more than deadly Sorrows, and to reiterate their bitter Complaints, which *This Lamentable Accident* could only teach them to Act aright, and utter with ſuch *Tragical and Hideous Accent*, as was befitting a Calamity ſo Strange and Fearful as never had been known before. Even ſuch as Famine had cauſed to faint, having their Vocal Inſtruments clung together, and their Eyes more than half cloſed up with death, upon ſight, or noiſe of the Temples crackling in its laſt and Fatal Fire, rowſed up their ſpirits, and reſumed

Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. l. 7. c. 10, 11.

ſumed their wonted ſtrength, to proclaim unto all Neighbour-Regions in ſhrill and lowdeſt Out-cries; *That there was Never Any Sorrow like unto this Sorrow wherewith the Lord had afflicted them in the Day of his Fierce Wrath*; and yet they blow the fire which it had kindled, ventilating and inlarging the devouring flame (whoſe extinction the abundance of their Bloud did otherwiſe ſeem to threaten) by violent Breathing out their laſt Breath into it. The gaſtly Confuſion of this Fearful Spectacle and hideous noiſe are ſo lively expreſſed by *Joſephus*, and others, that they may well ſerve the Chriſtian Reader, as a Map of Helliſh miſery. I only proſecute the fulfilling of *Jeremies* Prophecie, in particulars related by * *Joſephus*: as of *The Womans Eating Her Child*, a Thing † never heard of in that or any Nation before: of the Prieſts Slaughter both in the Temple, and after the deſtruction of it. For *Titus*, otherwiſe inclined to Mercy, ſeeing it conſumed by Fire, which he ſought by all means to ſave, commanded ſuch of the *Prieſts*, as had eſcaped the flame, in a By-room adjoining, *to be Executed*, telling them, *It was fit they ſhould periſh with the Temple*, for whoſe ſake, might it have ſtood, he willingly would have ſaved their lives. Again, the Maſſacre of the promiſcuous multitude of women and children, unfit for War, are particularly deſcribed with all the circumſtances by *Joſephus*, Book 7. Chapt. 11. of the Jewiſh Wars. *Of ſix thouſand perſwaded by a Falſe Prophet to repair unto the Temple, there to expect Signs from God of their deliverance, not one Man, Woman, or Child eſcaped.*

* Joſeph. lib. 7. c. 8. De Bello Judaic.

† *So the Circumſtances of his relation plainly ſhew. It was worſe than That, 2 King. 6.*

3. Thus *Moſes* fore-ſhews the grievous Plagues, which hung over this Nations head, but then afar off: *Jeremy* after points out the Very Place where they ſhall fall; our Saviour Chriſt only knew the diſtinct Period of Time, wherein Both the former Prophecies ſhould be accompliſhed. I will not trouble the Reader with Reherſal of particular Calamities fore-told by Him; their obſervation is already made unto his hand by *Euſebius*, and will apply themſelves, being compared with *Joſephus*; ſo perhaps will not ſome places of Scripture following, though as much concerning the ſame times. For the better underſtanding of which, we muſt call to mind, what was obſerved before; That *Hieruſalem was the Lords own Seat, and the Jews a People ſet apart by Him, and diſtinguiſhed of purpoſe from others, to Exemplifie his Mercy and Juſtice in their Proſperity and Diſtreſs.* Conſequent hereunto his pleaſure was, that in the deſolation of *Jewry*, and deſtruction of the Temple, other Nations ſhould be put in mind of their mortality, and not think in their hearts that theſe were Greater Sinners than any other Nation; but rather that he who plagued them was Lord of the whole Earth, as well as *Jewry*; that the like and more Fearful Judgments did hang over their heads, unleſs they would learn by the known Calamities of this People, to avoid them. So ſaith the Lord to All the Earth without Exception: *For Lo, I begin to plague the City where my Name is called upon, and ſhould you go free? ye ſhall not go quit: for I will call for a ſword upon all the inhabitants of the earth, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts. Therefore Prophecie thou againſt them, all theſe words, and ſay unto them; The Lord ſhall roar from above, and thruſt out his voice from His Holy Habitation: He ſhall roar upon his habitation, and cry aloud, as they that preſs the grapes, againſt all the inhabitants of the earth. The ſound ſhall come to the ends of the earth: for*

Mat. 24. Luke 21.

Jer. 25. 29.

for the Lord hath a controverſie with the Nations, and will enter into judgment with All Fleſh, and he will give them, that are wicked, to the ſword. And thus ſaith the Lord God of Hoſts; Behold, a plague ſhall go forth from Nation to Nation, and a great whirl-wind ſhall be raiſed from the coaſts of the earth, and the ſlain of the Lord ſhall be at that day, from one end of the earth even unto the other end of the earth; they ſhall not be mourned, neither gathered nor buried, but ſhall be as the dung upon the ground. Howl ye ſheep-herds and cry, and wallow your ſelves in aſhes, ye principal of the flock: for your days of ſlaughter are accompliſhed, and of your diſperſion, and ye ſhall fall like Precious Veſſels. And the flight ſhall fail from the ſheepherds, and the eſcaping from the Principal of the flock. Thus when the City and Temple was firſt deſtroyed by *Nebuchadnezzar*, all the Nations round about them were enforced to taſt of the ſame Cup. *Babylon* her ſelf that begun the Carouſe, which ſhe meant not to Pledge; hoping to make her ſelf Sport to ſee others drunk with the Bloud of their ſlain, was compelled at length to drink ſo deep of the dregs, till (as the Prophet ſpeaketh) all her ſtrong men did fall, and her Princes ſlept their *Everlaſting Sleep*. This Prophecy notwithſtanding concerns the Second Deſtruction of *Hieruſalem*, as literally as the former: and ſundry plagues here mentioned, for ought that can be gathered from any Hiſtory Sacred or Profane, were not in any degree verified of the Nations, in the days of *Nebuchadnezzar*, or his Son. But ſcarce any Nation was free from ſuch calamities as are here deſcribed, in the time of *Titus* and his Succeſſors; as ſhall be declared anon. *Rome* her ſelf, which had rejoyced at *Judahs* miſery, and triumphed in *Iſraels* wo, troden *Hieruſalem* under her feet, and given her duſt and aſhes for a covering to her Nakedneſs, was ſhortly after *Pinched at the Heart* with like Sorrows; howſoever her outward *Robes of Majeſty* did cover her ſecret Wounds from their eyes that lived after, or beheld her eſtate only afar off, not acquainted with her inward Gripes or ſmothered Out-cries. *All is not Sound within, that is Fair without, nor they furtheſt from Danger who feel leaſt pain for the Preſent*: ſuch as ſince have lived ſecureſt, neither regardful of *Hieruſalems* miſery, nor the calamities of other Nations that enſued them, altogether unacquainted with any like ſorrows of their own times, ſhall have their deepeſt ſhare in the Horrours of that *Dreadful Day*, whereof theſe were but *Shadows* and Maps, to repreſent unto us in ſome proportion the *Inconceiveable Affrightments* that ſhall then appear. But as no man knows of that Day and Hour, ſo neither did the Prophets themſelves diſtinctly conceive the manner of it: They did ſee it only in theſe Adumbrations, which in proceſs of time grew ſtill more lively. The ſecond deſtruction of *Hieruſalem*, and the Signs following it, exceeds the former in the diſtinct prefiguration of the later day, as much as a Map of a particular Country taken at large, doth the repreſentation of the ſame in a general Map of the whole Earth, of like quantity. And *as Maps have a diſtinct quantity of their own, eaſie to be known by ſenſe*, but which no man meaſures ſo much for it ſelf, as for to know the Capacity of the Country which it repreſents: *ſo have moſt Prophecies of the Old Teſtament a diſtinct, Peculiar, Natural, or Literal ſenſe Verified in the time of the Law, which is not ſo much to be reſpected as the Myſteries of the Goſpel, or matters of the world to come prefigured by theſe Events paſt*: the moſt ſecret of which Myſteries, after ſome one or few Circumſtances be revealed, may be diſtinctly known. For the proportion of one Circumſtance or Event with another, is all one in the later, and in the former; ſo that by the diſtinct knowledge of the former, we may diſcern the later, after it be Parallel'd in any one part: as by the meaſure of a Map, we find out the quantity of the ground repreſented. For this reaſon hath our Saviour Chriſt pictured us out The Laſt Day by the calamities of *Hieruſalem* only. For, (under correction) I ſhould think, that no one part of his Prophecie, *Mat.* 24. from the 15. to the 36. Verſe, but is literally meant, and hath been verified of *Hieruſalems Fatal Day*, and the times enſuing. For ſo our Saviour concludes; *Verily I ſay unto you, this Generation ſhall not paſs, till All theſe things be done. All what? All he had ſpoken of before. What, did the Sign of the Son of man appear? did he ſend his Angels with a great ſound of a trumpet, to gather the Elect from the four winds?* No. Chriſt is not yet come: the Elect are not thus gathered. Yet upon *Hieruſalems* deſtruction they had the *watch-word* given: the Nations had then a glimpſe of his Laſt Coming in Glory: *Then it ſounded the firſt time unto judgment*; and the *Sun and Moon were ſeen in Tragical Attire*, that the whole world might take notice of ſuch a *woful Tragedy* towards, as we expect: wherein the whole Frame of Nature, even the earth it ſelf, this *Stage of Mortality*, ſhall be *Actors*; and all Mankind were *Then* ſet to *Learn* their *Parts*. Our Saviours coming with *power and great glory*, mentioned in the ninth Verſe, muſt be underſtood in ſuch a ſenſe, as he is ſaid to have *Come in his Kingdom*, or *with Power*, at his Transfiguration. And that firſt Verſe of the ninth of *Mark* will beſt interpret the place above-cited, *Mat.* 24. 34. Sundry learned Interpreters, I know, expound both places otherwiſe. * But, to omit the former for this preſent, the continuation of our Saviours ſpeech doth enforce this my Interpretation of Saint *Matthew*. For having ſpoken of the calamities that were ſhortly to fall out in *Judah* and *Hieruſalem*, (as all agree) in the former verſes, he addeth, *Verſe* 29. *And immediately after the tribulations of thoſe days, ſhall the Sun be darkned, and the Moon ſhall not give her light, and the Stars ſhall fall from Heaven, and the Powers of Heaven ſhall be ſhaken. And then ſhall appear the ſign of the Son of Man in Heaven; and then ſhall all the kindreds of the earth mourn; and they ſhall ſee the Son of man come in the clouds of Heaven, with power and great glory: and he ſhall ſend his Angels with a great ſound of a trumpet, and they ſhall gather together his Elect from the four Winds, and from the one end of heaven to the other. Now learn a Parable of the Fig-tree; when her bough is yet tender, and it bringeth forth leaves, ye know that Summer is near: ſo likewiſe when ye ſee all theſe things, know that the Kingdom of God is near, even at the doors. Verily I ſay unto you, This Generation ſhall not paſs, till all theſe things be done.* Some refer theſe words [*immediately after*] to the troubles of the Church; as if their meaning were this: *And immediately after God hath made an End of the troubles of his Church, theſe Signs ſhall follow.* But who knows when that ſhall be? whereas our Saviours words muſt be referred to thoſe days whereof he had ſpoken, which were compriſed within determinate and ſet Bounds, and would ſhortly manifeſt themſelves; ſo as all men might be certain when to expect thoſe Signs, which he promiſed to all the world for the confirmation of His Doctrine and their Faith. The full and natural meaning of the

* *Some interpret theſe words,* Of the Goſpels promulgation, *which is called* the power of God: *but it is uſual in Prophecies, to attribute that unto the Type or Pledge which is proper to the Subſtance. And* CHRIST'S *Transfiguration was both a lively Type and a Pledge of his future appearance in Power and great Glory.*

place is, as if he had ſaid: *When you have ſeen* Hieruſalems *Fatal Day, then look for ſuch Signs in the Sun and Moon as I have told, for the one doth Prognoſticate the others Approach, as certainly, as the Budding of the Fig-tree doth Summer.* The like connexion of theſe fearful Signs with *Hieruſalems* deſolation, we have in Saint *Luke, chapt.* 21. 25. having ſpoken before only of the tribulation of *Hieruſalem*, he continueth his ſpeech: *Then there ſhall be ſigns in the Sun, and in the Moon, and in the Stars, and upon the earth, trouble amongſt the Nations with perplexity, the Sea and the Waters ſhall roar, and mens hearts ſhall fail them for fear, and for looking after thoſe things which ſhall come on the world. For the Powers of Heaven ſhall be ſhaken; and then ſhall they ſee the Son of man come in a cloud with power and great glory. And when theſe things begin to come to paſs, then look up and lift up your Heads, for your Redemption draweth near. And he ſpake to them a Parable; Behold the Fig-tree and all trees, when they now ſhoot forth, ye ſeeing them, know of your own ſelves that Summer is then near: ſo likewiſe ye, when ye ſee theſe things come to paſs, know ye that the Kingdom of God is near. Verily I ſay unto you; this generation ſhall not paſs, till All Theſe Things be done.* As we are bound by Chriſtian Faith to Believe that this Prophecie is not yet, but ſhall be *Fully accompliſhed* at the laſt Day: ſo in truth I ſhould ſuſpect my Heart of Infidelity, if I did not acknowledge it truly verified (in ſuch a ſenſe as I have intimated) immediately after the deſtruction of *Hieruſalem.* The former *Diſtinction* of *Our Saviours Coming in Power, or to preſent the terrours of the laſt Day*, and *His laſt coming unto Judgment Indeed*, he himſelf hath intimated: for he gave his Diſciples infallible Signs, when they might certainly expect the former, verſe 33. *Heaven and earth ſhall paſs*, &c. *but of that day and hour* (to wit, of the laſt judgment) *no man, no not the Angels of Heaven, but my Father only knoweth.* As if he had ſaid; *This laſt day ſhall not come with ſuch Obſervation, as the former will: the Signs here deſcribed ſhall not Prognoſticate, but accompany it:* In the *Former*, there were Signs in the Sun and Moon; but in the *Later*, both Sun and Moon ſhall ceaſe to Be: In the *Former*, the Powers of Heaven were ſhaken, the Earth did tremble, and the Sea did roar; in the *Later*, *The Heavens ſhall be gathered like a ſcroll, and paſs away with a noiſe, the* * *Elements ſhall melt with heat, and the Earth with the works that are therein ſhall be burnt,* † *the Sea ſhall be no more:* the whole Frame of Nature ſhall be diſſolved on a ſuddain, and ſuch as until that time mind earthly matters, confining their thoughts within this *Sphere of Mortality*, ſhall be intrapped in the ruines, and preſt down to Hell with the weight of it; Only ſuch as being *In* this world, are not *Of* it, but *have their Converſation in Heaven, where their Redeemer ſits at the right hand of GOD*, ſhall eſcape theſe ſuddain and fearful dangers, as Birds that are without the Compaſs of the Trap when it begins to fall; Seeing it will be too late for men to begin their *Belief Then*: too late to flie from death, when deſtruction hath ſurpriſed them; or to cry for *Mercy* firſt, when Gods *Judgments* begin to ſeize upon the World. The *Atheiſt* or *careleſs Worldling* may gather both the Terrours and Calamities of that Day, from the often-mentioned lively repreſentation of it under *Titus*: for even in his time the Heavens and the Earth did threaten to paſs away, that all the world might know Chriſts words ſhould not paſs away. The fire of Gods wrath, which

* *2 Pet.* 3. 12.

† *Revel.* 21. 1.

Moſes had foretold ſhould eat the Foundations of the Mountains in *Jewry*; and ſuch as * *Joſephus* tells us had been kindled in the Holy Mount, did devour the Foundations of the Mount *Veſuvius* † in *Campania*. The Conſequences thereof, with other Prodigious Concomitants, were ſo ſtrange and fearful, that if we compare the Ingenious Heathen Hiſtoriographers deſcription of them, with the fore-cited place of S. *Luke*, his Relation doth as fully anſwer our Saviours Prediction, as the Hiſtorical narrations of Events paſt, contained in Scripture, do the Prophecies that had gone of them before.

* Bell. Jud. l. 7. c. 11.

† *It is worth the labour to Compare the* 16. & 20. *Epiſt of* Pliny'*s ſixth Book of Epiſtles with* Dion; *and conſider.*

4. “The ſudden Earthquakes were ſo Grievous, that all the Valley was ſultering hot, and the tops of the Mountains ſunk down; under the ground were noiſes like Thunder, anſwered with like Bellowings above. The Sea roared, and the Heavens reſounded like noiſe; huge and great Craſhings were heard, as if the Mountains had fallen together: great ſtones leaped out of their places, as high as tops of Hills; and after them iſſued abundance of Fire and Smoak, inſo much that it darkned the Air and obſcured the Sun, as if it had been Eclipſed, ſo that night was turned into day, and day into night. Many were perſwaded, that the Giants had raiſed ſome Civil Broyls amongſt themſelves, becauſe they did ſee their Shapes in the ſmoak, and heard a noiſe of Trumpets: others thought the World ſhould be reſolved into the old Chaos, or conſumed with Fire; ſome ran out of their Houſes into the Streets; others from the Streets or High-ways into their Houſes; others from Sea to Land; ſome again from the Land to the Sea. So *Dion*. l. 66.

5. Theſe queſtionleſs were *The Signs of the Son of Man*, that made all the Kindreds of the Earth thus Mourn. For the Calamity was Publick: the Abundance of Aſhes and Duſt was ſuch, that it overſpread *Egypt*, *Africk* and *Syria*, choaking not only Men, but Beaſts and Birds, poyſoning Fiſhes, and ſpoiling the grounds where it came. The Inhabitants of *Rome* (whither this infection came a few days after the fire kindled in *Campania*) thought that the Frame of the World had been out of joynt: that the Sun did fall down to the earth, and the earth aſcend up to heaven. And albeit the aſhes and duſt did not ſuch preſent harm there, as it had done every where elſe; yet it bred a moſt grievous Peſtilence breaking out not long after: and in the year following, whileſt *Titus* went to view the calamities of *Campania*, a great part of *Rome* was burnt by fire iſſuing out of the ground. Amongſt other harms, theſe following were moſt remarkable: It conſumed the Temple of *Serapis*, of *Iſis*, of *Neptune*, the *Pantheon*, the *Diribitorium*, the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, unto which the Jews were not long before enjoyned to pay that Tribute, which they formerly had done to the Temple of *Hieruſalem*. *Thus though the Ark be taken, yet will it be the Downfal of Dagon* their chief God that took it: and though *Hieruſalem* lay buried in her Ruines, for her peoples grievous Sins; yet ſhall hers, as *All Sacred Penſions Sacrilegiouſly employed, devour the Seats of their poſſeſſors*. But what can we more ſay, than this noble Hiſtoriographer hath ſaid of this Event: *Id malum Divinum potius quam Humanum fuit*: this was a Calamity more than Humane, in which the *Finger of God* was Evidently ſeen. And as it was a Type of the laſt Day: ſo may it, and the like following, confirm the truth of *Sodoms*

Dion. lib. 66.

Deſtruction. Nor did God ſpeak only once in this Language to the Roman: (to omit other wonderful works of God in theſe times, to be recounted in their proper place.) The like fearful Earthquakes, with other Prodigious Concomitants, fell out in *Trajans* time at *Antioch*: But the harms not terminate within her Territories, or the Cities about her, herewith deſtroyed. For abundance of Souldiers and multitudes of other people did repair from all quarters to the Emperor Wintering there; ſome in Embaſſages, ſome for Suits, ſome upon other Buſineſſes, ſome to ſee Plays and Pageants. Whence the damage, as this Author ſaith, did redound to all that were Subject to the Roman Empire. This out of queſtion was the Lords doing, *That all the world might Hear and Fear his Wondrous Works*, and wondering enquire after the true Cauſes and meaning of them. Thus *Antioch*, as well as *Edom* and *Babylon*, is overtaken with the Pſalmiſts curſe, for *Rejoycing in the Day of Jeruſalem*. Beſides the Maſſacres of the Jews there committed when *Titus* came unto that City; the Inhabitants after their *Inſinuating Gratulations*, petitioned with all Humility and Policy, that the Reliques of this People (for whom there was no place left in their own land) might be Extirpate thence, compriſing the Chriſtians, no doubt, under this Name.

See Joſ. lib. 7. de Bell. Jud. c. 21. *or* 24.

6. Many particulars, then known, are not regiſtred by ſuch Heathen writers as now are extant; and many *Signs* of thoſe *Times* not regarded by any Heathen: all which might witneſs the Truth of our Saviours Predictions, and expound their meaning, were they as well known to us, as to the Faithful then living; whoſe Meditations, it ſeems, were ſo wholly taken up with theſe Contemplations, that they had no leiſure to leave their Comments in writing to Poſterity. That dreadful Wo directed againſt the women of *Hieruſalem*, with child and giving ſuck, did take theſe *Antiochians* at the rebound. Women in ſuch caſes could not die, but a double death, and yet how many ſuch were ſlain none can tell. Of an infinite company of all ſorts, ſtarved by their cloſe impiſonment in houſes, whoſe foundations were ſunk, the roof remaining, *Only one woman was found alive, which had ſuſtained her ſelf and her child by her milk; Another child found in the like concavity alive, ſucking his deceaſed Mothers Dugs.* In fine (ſaith the Author) there was no kind of violent Diſaſter, which did not at this time befal men. For the Earthquakes being cauſed by the Divine Power, mens Wits were not their own, nor knew they what Medicine to ſeek for theſe Miſhaps. Such as were on the Houſe-tops had no Liſt to deſcend to fetch any thing out; ſuch as were in the Field, had no Mind to return back to fetch their clothes; *Trajan himſelf was drawn out at a window by no Mortal Creature* (as this Writer thinks) ſo aſtoniſhed with this diſaſtrous Sight, that for many days after the Earthquake had ceaſed, he durſt not come into any Houſe. See *Dion l.* 68.

Dion. l. 68.

7. Neither of theſe ſtrange *Signs* of the *Son of Man* fell out in any corner of the world, but the one in the *Chief*, the other in the *Second* City of the Empire, at that time the Emperors Court: ſo that the whole *Worlds Repreſentative* (as we may ſo ſpeak) *was in Danger*, and all men, at leaſt, men of all ſorts, at their Wits End; and by their terrors all mankind had publick warning to prepare themſeves againſt *That terrible and dreadful Day*: Theſe being ſuch

Types of it, as the Firſt Deſtruction of the Holy City and Temple by *Nebuchadnezzar*, was of the Second by *Titus*; ſo as that which is truly ſaid of the one, may in an higher degree be truly avouched of the other.

8. Of theſe times again was that of the Prophet meant; *I will pour out my ſpirit upon all fleſh, and your ſons and your daughters ſhall prophecy. And I will ſhew wonders in the heavens and in the earth, Blood and Fire, and Pillars of Smoak: the Sun ſhall be turned into darkneſs, and the Moon into Blood, before the great and terrible Day of the Lord come. But whoſoever ſhall call on the name of the Lord ſhall be ſaved.* If we rightly obſerve the Prophets Method in this place, it will both juſtifie and illuſtrate the former Interpretation of *Jeremy*, and our Saviours Prophecy. Firſt he ſpeaks (none can deny) of Chriſts coming in the Fleſh, and Effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt upon all people; *I will pour out my Spirit upon all fleſh.* By The Spirit, the Goſpel was to be communicated to all Nations: and thus (as the Evangeliſt witneſſeth) at the firſt deſcending of the Holy Ghoſt upon the Apoſtles, there were reſident at *Hieruſalem* men that feared God of every Nation under heaven: and all theſe at their Baptiſm *received the gift of the Holy Ghoſt*, whereby they might manifeſt the Power and Vertue of the Goſpel unto the Countries where they lived. If we compare the generality of S. *Lukes* ſpeech in that fifth verſe, with our Saviours, *Mat.* 24. 14. *And this Goſpel of the Kingdom ſhall be preached throughout the whole world, for a witneſs unto all Nations, and then ſhall the End come*: We cannot doubt but our Saviours prophecy was verified before *the deſtruction of Hieruſalem*, which was *the End he meant ſhould come*. But why ſhould the Prophet *Joel*, immediately after his deſcription of the time of Grace, add in the ſecond place; *I will ſhew wonders in the Heavens, and in the Earth; blood and fire, and pillars of ſmoak?* Doth he call the people of God again unto Mount *Sinai, to fire, blackneſs, darkneſs, and tempeſt, unto the ſound of Trumpets, the voyce of words, which they that once had heard, ſhould not deſire to hear any more?* No: but he would have the world underſtand, That after the Goſpel was once proclaimed throughout It, the Lord would ſhew himſelf as terrible a Judge to all ſuch as did not embrace the Glad Tidings thereof, as he had done before to the Iſraelites at the promulgation of the Law. Both that fearful ſight in Mount *Sinai*, and thoſe other Prodigious Apparitions in *Italy* and *Syria*, were Types and repreſentations of *That Dreadful Day*. The former was ſeen and teſtified by the Iſraelites only, becauſe the Law was only revealed to them: the horrors of the later are regiſtred by Heathen Writers, known and felt by the principal Nations of the World, and from them diffuſed to all others (as Earthquakes, which begin at the Centre, leave their Effects upon the whole Surface of the Earth) becauſe *the Goſpel was at that time communicate to all the inhabited or frequented Parts of the World*. Thoſe Prodigious Signs then, which the Prophet *Joel* deſcribes, and the Heathen witneſs to have been ſo frequent among the Nations, preſently after *Jeruſalems* deſtruction, and the Extirpation of the Jews, were added as ſo many Seals, to aſſure the Truth of the Prophets and Goſpel; and to teſtifie both to Jew and Gentile, That if either the one did follow his Jewiſh Sacrifice, or the other his wonted Idolatry, after the Truth of Gods

Joel 2. 28, 30, 31.
Zach. 14. 7.
Acts 2. 5.
Acts 2. 5.

new Covenant with Mankind was Sealed and Proclaimed, *There remained no more ſacrifice for ſins, but a fearful looking for of judgement and violent fire:* that there was no other name under Heaven able to ſave them from ſuch everlaſting Flames, as they now had ſeen ſome Flaſhes of, but only *the name of Jeſus*, whom the Jew had crucified. So the Prophet *Joel* concludes, *Whoſoever ſhall call upon the Name of the Lord*, that is, of *Jeſus* (for now all Iſrael might know for a ſurety, that God had made that *Jeſus* whom they had Crucified, both *Lord and Chriſt*) *He ſhall be ſaved.* The fruits of calling upon the name of the Lord, and that diſtinction betwixt the ſtate of the *Elect* and *Reprobate*, intimated by the Prophet in the laſt Verſe of that Chapter, ſhall be moſt fully manifeſted in the Day of Judgement: For ſuch as have watched and prayed continually, always expecting their Maſters Coming, ſhall, upon the firſt apprehenſion of his approach, lift up their Heads, as knowing that their *Redemption draweth near.* But for the Riotous or careleſs liver, he ſhall not be able to ſtand before the *Son of Man:* inſtead of calling upon his Name, he ſhall cry unto the Hills, *Cover me*, and to the Mountains, *Fall ye upon me.* Yet was the ſame diſtinction, between the Reprobate and the Elect, truly notified by the confident Carriage of the Chriſtians in thoſe fearful times lately mentioned (which did ſo much affright the Heathen) as we may gather from *Antoninus* the Emperors Decree, inhibiting the Chriſtians perſecution by the Commons of *Aſia.* It ſeems the other had accuſed the Chriſtians as Hurtful Perſons and offenſive to the Gods; unto which the Emperor makes Reply in this manner: *I know the Gods are careful to diſcloſe hurtful perſons; for they puniſh ſuch as will not worſhip them, more grievouſly than you do thoſe whom you bring in trouble, confirming that opinion which they conceive of you, to be wicked and ungodly Men*——. *It ſhall ſeem requiſite to admoniſh you of the Earthquakes, which have and do happen amongſt us; that being therewith moved, ye may compare our eſtate with theirs: They have more Confidence to God-wards than you have.* I will ſhut up this Diſcourſe for the preſent with that Saying of our Saviour; *Remember Lots Wife:* and His Exhortation, *Take heed to your ſelves, leſt at any time your Hearts be oppreſſed with Surfetting and Drunkenneſs, and Cares of this Life; and leſt that Day come on you unawares: for as a ſnare ſhall it come on all them that dwell on the face of the whole Earth.* So did the former Calamities in *Titus* and *Trajans* time, which were as the Days of *Noah*; *They ate, they drank, and roſe up to play:* and when they ſaid, *Pax & tuta omnia*, ſudden deſtruction came as an unexpected Actor upon the Stage. For as you heard before, one Cauſe of the great Concourſe unto *Antioch* at that direful Seaſon, was to ſee Plays and Prizes: and in the former under *Titus*, * two whole Cities were overwhelmed with the Tempeſt of Gods Wrath, while the Citizens were ſitting in the Theatre. So *muſt all ſuch Fruitleſs Spectacles, or pleaſant (but unſeaſonable) Comedies, be concluded with their Spectators Tragedy in the Cataſtrophe of this great and ſpacious Amphitheatre.*

Euſeb. l. 4. c. 13.

Luke 21. 34.

* Duas integras urbes, Herculaneum & Pompeios, populo ſedente in Theatro, penitus obruit. *Dion.* l. 66.

All

All that follows, till you come at the ninth Paragraph, was, An Appendix *in the former Edition; yet ſet before the whole Book; and ſo muſt be accounted, and allowed for in the Reading.*

ALbeit Lawful in every Age it hath been, to Vary (if without diſſenſion) from former Interpreters, in unfolding Divine Myſteries, without Cenſure of Irregularity, ſo the Explication be Parallel to the *Analogy of Faith*: yet partly, to clear my ſelf from all Suſpicion of Affecting Novelties; partly, more fully to ſatisfie the ingenious and unpartial Reader, I have thought good to acquaint him with *Some Obſervations*, which have almoſt betrothed my mind unto that Expoſition, of our Saviours Words related by S. *Matthew* and S. *Luke*, which I here commend to his Chriſtian conſideration.

That happily will cauſe others to ſuſpend their Judgements, which for a long time did retard my Perſwaſion, and inhibit my Aſſent unto the Truth I here deliver. For albeit the Reaſons alledged ſeemed very probable, whileſt weighed apart, but far more pregnant from comparing the Concurrence of all Circumſtances, which led me to that opinion: yet on the other ſide ſtrange it ſeemed, that my beſt grounds being borrowed from the relation of Antiquity, no Ancient Writer, living ſhortly after thoſe times, ſhould have obſerved the like. But whilſt I conſidered again, how the Almighty, whether, in his juſt Judgment for the Sins of that preſent, or, in his Wiſdom and Mercy for the greater good of future Generations, had deprived us of all their ſacred Meditations, that lived about *Titus*'s time, or immediately after: both Effects, as I conceived, might have One and the ſame juſt Cauſe, though ſecret and only known to God, not fit for us to make any further Inquiry after, than might ſtir us up to true Admiration of his Wiſdom. And truly Admirable his Wiſdom ſeemed in this, that the Canon of the new Teſtament being finiſhed in the moſt known Tongue then extant in the World, (in which reſpect beſides others, *The Goſpel of the Kingdom might be truly ſaid to be preached through The whole, for a witneſs to all Nations*) he would have it Severed from all other Writings, as well by the *Subſequent as Precedent Silence of Eccleſiaſtical Sacred Writers.* He that would not have any Prophet in *Iſrael* after the Erection of the Second Temple, would not for the ſame Cauſe only known to Him, have any Writings of men, (otherwiſe moſt religious and devout) to be extant in the Age immediately following the Goſpels Promulgation, that It thus ſhining like a Solid or compact glorious *Star in the Tranſparent Sphere, Environed every where with Vacuity,* might more clearly *Manifeſt its ſelf by its own Light* to be Superceleſtial.

Neceſſary it was the Period of that Generation, wherein our Saviour lived and died, ſhould have the Divine Truth of his Goſpel confirmed unto them by Signs (as the * Prophet ſpeaks) *In the heavens and in the earth*, to increaſe their *Care and diligence* in commending it *to Poſterity*, who were to rely on it immediately, not on their Fore-fathers relation of ſigns paſt. The like or more effectual, and as fully anſwerable to the Rules ſet down in it, they could not want, ſo long as they carried ſouls or minds careful to obſerve and practiſe what is preſcribed. And who knows whether the Lord had not appointed, that the ſerious conſideration of thoſe *Prodigious Signs*, which followed the publiſhing of the Goſpel, ſhould ſleep in all or moſt intermediate Ages, till theſe later days wherein we live, wherein ſuch *Obſervations* are more *Seaſonable*, *We being the Men on whom the later Ends of the World are come.* Happily had Eccleſiaſtick Writers Commented upon thoſe times, our curious Modern Wits, too much addicted unto Gentiliſm, would have given leſs Credence to the pregnant Teſtimonies of prophane Authors, as ſuſpecting, leſt Chriſtians, (in whoſe Cuſtody their writings for many generations have been) had infected either the whole Diſcourſes or ſome peculiar Circumſtances pertinent to their purpoſes, or apt to countenance their Opinions, otherwiſe improbable in the worlds Judgement. But now, by how much the Silence of Eccleſiaſtick Authors in theſe narrations hath been greater, and the Teſtimonies of Heathen Writers more plentiful or pregnant, ſo much the more unexcuſable is the curious and unregenerate *Artiſt*, or incredulous *Atheiſt*. That moſt generations, ſince thoſe times whereof we treat, ſhould expect Signs in the Sun, and Moon, to come before the Day of Judgment, cannot ſeem either ſtrange in it ſelf, or prejudicial to this Doctrine which we deliver, if we call to mind how men otherwiſe truly Religious have been uſually ignorant, or miſtaken in the meaning of divine Myſteries, until the time appointed for their Revelation, or until they unfold their *Enigmatical Conſtruction* by the approach or Real *Exiſtence* of the Events foretold. Thus, many well affected to our Saviour and his doctrine did expect *Elias* ſhould come before the Kingdom were reſtored to *Iſrael*, even whilſt they had *John Baptiſt*, (of whom that Prophecy was properly meant) amongſt them; Yea, after he had Sealed his Embaſſage with his Blood. Even in the Apoſtles time, That our Saviour ſhould inſtantly come to give Final Judgement, was an Opinion (as it ſeems from S. *Paul* his Admonition to the *Theſſalonians*) generally received amongſt Chriſtians: firſt occaſioned as is moſt probable, from miſconſtruction of our Saviours Propheſie, *Verily I ſay unto you, This Generation ſhall not paſs till all theſe things be done*, and this Miſconſtruction cauſed from a Common Errour or Ignorance in not diſtinguiſhing betwixt the *Typical* and the *Myſtical* or Subſtantial Senſe of Propheſies; oft-times, both alike literally and neceſſarily imported in the ſelf-ſame words.

* *Joel* 2. 30.

2 *Theſſ.* 2. 1.

From this Errour of Chriſtians in miſapplying our Saviours words unto the *Subſtance*, which, for that time, were only appliable to the *Type*, was the like Tradition propagated to the Heathen of thoſe times: as may be gathered from *Lucan*, who lived when S. *Paul* flouriſhed, and dyed by the ſame Tyrants appointment. His deſcription of the laſt Day is but a Poetical Deſcant upon our Saviours words related by three of his Evangeliſts: *The Sun ſhall wax dark, and the Moon ſhall not give her light, and the Stars of heaven ſhall fall, and the powers of heaven ſhall be ſhaken.* ----ſic

Lucan. Lib. 1.

————ſic, cum compage ſoluta,
Secula tot Mundi Suprema coegerit Hora,
Antiquum repetens iterum Chaos, omnia miſtis
Sidera ſideribus concurrent: Ignea pontum
Aſtra petent: Tellus extendere Littora nolet,
Excutietq; Fretum: Fratri contraria Phœbe
Ibit, & obliquum bigas agitare per orbem
Indignata, diem poſcet ſibi: totaq; diſcors
Machina divulſi turbabit Fœdera Mundi.

When the laſt hour hath ſum'd up Time, and when
This Frame reſolves into's Firſt Chaos; Then
The Stars ſhall juſtle, Reel, Fall fowl, and drop
Into the Sea. Churl Earth will grudge; and ſtop
The waters Courſe. The Moon ſhall Counter-move
The Sun: And claim to Rule the Day. Thus *Love*,
(Love, that Aton'd each Atome with his Brother,
Made Feuds (in League or Truce) to Kiſs each other;)
Love, Ligament of Th' univerſe, Turn'd Hate;
All falls in pieces———. See you, Dooms-Days Fate!

The Romans might well have taken their Martyred Poet for a Prophet, at leaſt in this Prediction, when within few years after they did behold the Sun and Moon, with all the Hoſt and powers of heaven, Tragically Acting what he had penn'd. * The Romans conceit of that rueful Spectacle, whoſe Admiration had brought her great *Philoſopher*, † *Natures Curious Secretary*, to his untimely Death, in in *Dions* words (Book 66.) was thus: *Poſtremo tantus fuit cinis, ut inde pervenerit in Africam, Syriam, & Ægyptum, introieritq; Romam, ejuſq; aerem compleverit, & ſolem obſcuraverit. Nec mediocris etiam Romæ trepidatio complures ad dies accidit* (or as ſome read) [*id Romæ accidit paucis poſt diebus,*] *quum omnes ignorarent .id quod factum erat in Campania, nec quid eſſet, conjectura aſſequi poſſent. Itaq; etiam ii putare cæperunt omnia ſurſum deorſum ferri, ſolemq; in terram cadere, ac terram in cælum conſcendere.* * So well doth this Heathen expreſs the Prophets Words: *I will ſhew Wonders in the heavens, and in the earth, Blood, and Fire, and Pillars of ſmoak*, Joel 2. 30. But moſt admirable is the conſent between the ſame Prophet, and *Pliny* the younger, who was an eye-witneſs of the firſt riſing of that ſmoak, portending ſuch diſmal times. That great and terrible Day of the Lord, *before which* (as the Prophet ſpeaks) *the Sun was to be turned into darkneſs, and the Moon into Blood*, was not to be terminated unto one ſet, Natural, or Artificial day, but to be extended unto all the Prodigious Calamities, which after *Jeruſalems* deſtruction ſucceſſively enſued throughout the world, or (as another † Prophet ſpeaks) *unto the continuance of that great Controverſie which the Lord had with the Nations*: before which, the *Burning of* Veſuvius *was as a Beacon* to give warning to all fleſh. And the Ingenious Reader, will, I hope, be incited, by *Plinies* expreſſing the beginning of that Prodigious Sight, to Admire the Hidden Myſteries, that are often enwrapt in the *Enigmatical Propriety of Prophetical Words*, rather than cenſure this Obſervation following for a Tale of Smoak

** A preamble to ſuch Effects they might have ſeen in that calamity at Ve*ſuvius, Jam navibus cinis inciderat: quo propius accederet calidior & denſior. Jam pumices etiam, nigríq; & ambuſti, & fracti igne lapides: jam vadum ſubitum, ruináq; montis littora obſtantia. *Plin. lib. 6. Epiſt. 16.*

† *It was He that writ the Natural Hiſtory.*

** See the fifth Paragraph of this Chapter, where this is Engliſhed.*

† *Jer.* 25. 31.

or *Critical Conjecture*, ſet beyond that Region wherein theſe *Fiery Comets* appeared. The word in the Original, rendred by *Pillars*, properly ſignifies a *Palm-Tree*: From the *Analogy* betwixt *Pillars*, and whoſe long Trunk and broad Top, it comes to ſignifie a *Pillar*, or *Supporter*. *Pliny* the younger ſetting down the occaſion and manner of his Uncles death, reſembles the firſt Apparition of that Huge and ſtrange Cloud unto a * *Pine-tree*; for to no other (as he ſaith) he could more fitly compare it, though for this reaſon, it might altogether as fitly have been compared to † a *Palm-tree*, had that Tree been as well known in *Italy*, as in the Region wherein the Prophet lived, that did foretel this ſtrange Apparition ſo long before. *Plinies* words are theſe, *Mater mea indicat ei apparere nubem inuſitata & magnitudine & ſpecie. Surgit ille——— aſcendit locum, ex quo maxime Miraculum illud conſpici poterat. Nubes, incertum procul intuentibus ex quo monte (Veſuvium fuiſſe poſtea cognitum eſt) oriebatur: cujus formam non alia magis arbor quàm Pinus expreſſerit. Nam longiſſimo velut trunco elata in altum quibuſdam ramis diffundebatur. Credo, quia recenti ſpiritu evecta, dein ſeneſcente eo deſtituta, aut etiam pondere ſuo victa, in latitudinem vaneſcebat, candida interdum, interdum * ſordida & maculoſa, prout terram cineremve ſuſtulerat. Magnum id, propiuſq; noſcendum ut Eruditiſſimo Viro viſum eſt.* It was told Him, That there Appeared a Cloud, for Bigneſs and Shape never the like ſeen. Up he Gets——and goes to an Advantage whence he might the Better ſee that Strange Sight. A Cloud Roſe, (as yet the Beholders knew not from what Mountain, afterwards it was found to be *Veſuvius*) much reſembling a Pine-tree, For it ſeemed to have as it were, a Long Trunk, and Boughs ſpreading out above---- Sometime it appeared White, other-while Duskie and Dapled (or ſtained and ſpotted) according to the blended proportions of Earth and Aſhes. He thought it a ſtrange Sight indeed, and worthy his Adventuring nearer to View it, *&c.* That the Sun was turned into Darkneſs, that with this Smoak was mixed Fire, may appear from the ſame Authors Words a little after: *Jam dies alibi, illic nox omnibus noctibus nigrior, denſiorque, quam tamen Faces † multa, variaque lumina. ſolvebant.* Plin. Ep. l. 6. Ep. 16.

* Pinaſter nihil eſt aliud quam pinus ſilveſtris mira altitudine, & à medio ramoſa, ſicut pinus in vertice. *Plin. Hiſt. lib.* 16 *cap.* 10.

† Pliny *the Philoſopher ſaith of Palm-trees,* merito dicentur externæ. Nulla eſt in Italia ſponte genita—. Teretes atq; proceræ ſunt—Coma omnis in cacumine. *L* 13. *c.* 4.

* *Repreſenting Blood and Fire as the Prophet had foretold.*

† *Fiery Meteors.*

This, which occaſioned Wonderment to the Heathen, was (no doubt) a ſufficient Warning to all Godly Chriſtians, to betake themſeves to their Prayers: to expect the confirmation of their Faith by their mighty deliverance from thoſe dangers, wherein innumerable Heathens utterly periſhed, which made the hearts of all mankind, (beſides) to fail. *This corporal preſervation of the Elect from fear or danger, whileſt Caſt-aways periſhed, and trouble raged among the Nations, was that Redemption which our Saviour ſpeaks of.*

And when theſe things begin to come to paſs, then look up, and lift up your heads: for *your Redemption* draweth nigh. For this was a ſure Type or pledge of their and our Everlaſting Redemption. And before the burſting out of that Fire, and the erection of thoſe Pillars of Smoak before mentioned, God, as our Saviour foretold, had ſent his Angels to gather his Elect together, either to places free from thoſe general Calamities, or miraculouſly to preſerve them in the midſt of them. For to deny or ſuſpect the

Luke 21.28.

the truth of *Dions* relations, I have no reaſon: and yet what other Cauſe to aſſign of thoſe Giants Apparitions in *Veſuvius*, and the Towns about it immediately before that danger, I know not, but only that which our Saviour had given.

And he ſhall ſend his Angels with a great ſound of a trumpet, and they ſhall gather together his Elect from the Four winds, and from the one end of the Heaven to the other. Mat. 24. 31.

Thus *Dion*; *Ita vero res acta: Viri multi & magni omnem naturam Humanam excedentes, quales exprimuntur Gigantes, partim in ipſo monte, partim in agro circumjacente, ac in oppidis interdiu noctúque terram obire, atque aera permeare viſebantur. Poſthac conſecuta eſt maxima ſiccitas, ac repentè ita graves terræ motus facti, &c. L. 66.*

The like *Gathering of the Elect*, Eccleſiaſtick Writers mention in the Siege of *Jeruſalem* and Jewiſh Wars; the Godly ſit at eaſe and in peace, whilſt the Obſtinate and Seditious were overwhelm'd *with Calamity upon Calamity.* And yet all the Calamities which accompanied *Jeruſalems* Deſtruction, did in greater meaſure afflict the Heathens within few years after It was deſtroyed. Above other places, Gods plagues hanted the *Roman Court*, that all the world might take notice of our Saviours Prophecies. And the Romans, albeit they knew not who had given the Advice, reſolved yet to practiſe as our Saviour adviſed. *Let him* (ſaith our Saviour) *that is upon the houſe top, not come down into the houſe, neither enter therein, to fetch any thing out of his houſe. And let him that is in the field, not turn back again unto the things which he left behind him, to take his clothes.* Mark 13. 15, 16. So *Pliny* teſtifies, that, in the times above mention'd, albeit the Pumice ſtones did flie about mens ears in the open fields; yet they held it more ſafe during the Earthquake, to be abroad, than within doors, arming their heads with Pillows and Bolſters againſt the blows they expected. *In commune conſultant, intra tecta ſubſiſtant, an in aperto vagentur: nam crebris vaſtiſque tremoribus tecta nutabant; & quaſi emota ſedibus ſuis, nunc huc, nunc illuc abire, aut referri videbantur. Sub dio rurſus, quanquam levium exeſórumque pumicum caſus metuebatur: quod tamen malorum collatio elegit——. Cervicalia capitibus impoſita linteis conſtringunt. Id munimentum adverſus incidentia fuit.* Plin. Ep. l. 6. Ep. 16.

This was the beginning of that *Great and terrible Day of the Lord*, foretold by the Prophet, wherewith the world was for a long time ſhaken by Fits, as it were by a *deadly Fever*, as may appear from the like calamities in *Trajans* times, related by *Dion*. Our Saviour himſelf expounds the Prophets words not of One Day, but Days; *for there ſhall be in Thoſe Days ſuch tribulation, as was not from the beginning of the Creation which God created, neither ſhall be.* Mark 13. 19. So terrible were theſe days, that, as our Saviour in the next words addeth, except the Lord had made an end of them, they had quickly made an end of all man-kind. *Even at that time the world by the Ordinary Courſe of Gods Juſtice ſhould have been deſtroyed*, but He ſpared it at the inſtant prayers of his Choſen, as he would have ſaved *Sodom* after Judgment was gone out, had there been but a few ſuch Faithful men in it, as in the fore-mentioned times the world had many. *So merciful is our God*, ſo loving unto all the works of his hands, that his Son cannot come to Judgment ſo long as *he ſhall find faith upon the earth. Whoſoever*, ſaith the Prophet, *ſhall call upon the Name of the Lord, ſhall be ſaved*; yea, he ſhall ſave others, as our Bleſſed Saviour more fully foretels what

Mark 13. 20.

the Prophet ſaw but in part: *Except that The Lord had ſhortned thoſe days, no fleſh ſhould be ſaved: but for the Elects ſake which he hath choſen, He hath ſhortned thoſe days.* Other Propheſies there be of thoſe times, which ſeem to intimate a final deſtruction of all Fleſh without delay: and ſo, no doubt, the Prophets themſelves conceived of the world, as *Jonah* did of *Nineve*, which he looked ſhould inſtantly have periſhed upon the Expiration of the time he had foretold. Wrath they had ſeen go out from the Lord, of force enough to have diſſolved the Frame of Nature, but could not uſually foreſee either the *Number of the Faithful*, or the diſpoſitions of mens hearts upon their *Summons*: but This Great *Prophet*, who only foreſaw all things, not only foretels the Calamities or Judgments due unto the world, but withal foreſees the Number of the Elect, their inclination to hearty prayers and Repentance, by which he knew the fierce Wrath of God, whoſe repreſentation the * Prophet ſaw, ſhould be diverted from the world; that his ſtroke ſhould be a little broken.

* *Joel* 2.

* Vide Cyprianum ad Demetrianum.

* Out of ſuch *Fathers* as lived in the Ages following, it is evident the Calamities of theſe times had been ſuch, as did threaten the worlds end; many reliques of that grievous diſeaſe, wherewith the world was ſick almoſt unto death, remained until Saint *Cyprians* time. But as *Jeruſalems* Plagues did Prognoſticate the Storms of Gods Wrath which were ſhortly after to be ſhowred upon the Nations; ſo theſe Caſt-away Jews prefigure the Heathens Temper: of whom that ſaying of our Saviour holds as true, *They are like unto children ſitting in the market-place, and crying one to another, and ſaying; We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced: we have mourned unto you, and ye have not wept.*

Luke 7. 32.

In our Saviours time, God invited them with Peace and Plenty, which they fooliſhly attribute to their gods, or their own Policy: after his Death he threatens them with the former Calamities, all which they falſly * aſcribe (as the Superſtitious in like caſes uſually do) to the *Alteration of Religion*, and the decay of Idolſhip.

* Dixiſti per nos fieri, & quod nobis debeant imputari omnia iſta, quibus nunc mundus quatitur & urgetur; quod diiveſtri à nobis non colantur. *Cyprian. ad Demet.*

Would God, the temper of this preſent Age were not much worſe than either the Jews or Gentiles was; not ſuch as did threaten the Final Deſtruction of the World, from which Faith hath utterly periſhed. But of this Argument, as far as befits Chriſtian Sobriety to enquire, by Gods Aſſiſtance, in its proper place. Thus much in this place I have added, to perſwade the Reader, that *For ought any man knows, or for any precedent Sign can be expected, it may This Night ſound to Judgment:* Watch we therefore, and pray continually, that we may be Counted Worthy to eſcape all theſe things that ſhall come to paſs, and that we may ſtand before The Son of Man.

9. Thus much of the Prophecies concerning *Hieruſalems* Deſtruction, and the *Signs of thoſe Times*. Ere we return to ſurvey the Jews eſtate ſince, it ſhall not be amiſs to Note, how upon the Expiration of their Intereſt in Gods promiſes, confirmed unto their father *Iſaac*, the Seed of *Iſmael* began to enter upon the other Moiety of his Promiſe made to *Abraham*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

That the Saracens *are the true* Sons *of* Iſmael: *Of their Conditions and Manners Anſwerable to* Moſes *Prophecy.*

1. THat the ſons of *Iſaac* and *Iſmael* (for more than 3000 years after their Fathers Death, in Countries almoſt as many Miles diſtant from their Original Seat, whither ſcarce any other Aſiaticks come) ſhould *Kithe* each other with as little Scruple as if they were *Full Couſin Germanes*, to me hath ſeemed an Argument, That *the Lord had appointed Both, for Continual Signs unto the Nations:* the more, whiles I conſider with what Difficulty of Search, Variety of Conjectures, and Uncertainty of Reſolution the beſt Antiquaries amongſt the Natural Inhabitants of thoſe Countries aſſign either their firſt Planters there, or the Regions whence they came.

2. But howſoever ſuch as we call *Saracens*, are beſt known to the modern *Jews* of *Spain* by the name of *Iſmaelites*; yet in theſe later days (diſpoſed to quarrel with former Ages) ſome begin to *Suſpect*, others to *Contradict* the Common received Opinion, as well concerning the *Saracens* natural deſcent from *Hagar* and *Iſmael*, as their pretended Original from *Sarah*, *Abrahams* lawful Wife. Unto which bold Aſſertion, or needleſs Scruple, though utterly devoid of all Ground, either of Reaſon or Authority, we are thus far beholden; it hath occaſioned us to ſeek the Ground of the contrary out of Antiquity, as well Secular as Eccleſiaſtick: Whoſe pregnant Conſonancy with the Sacred Oracles is Pertinent to this Preſent, Neceſſary for Subſequent Diſcourſe, in it ſelf neither unpleaſant, nor unprofitable to the Judicious Chriſtian Reader.

3. Of *Abrahams* Baſe-Seed, ſome (in Scripture) are denominate from their Mother, known by the name of *Hagarens*; Others from her Son, their Father, are called [a] *Iſmaelites:* ſome take their names from his Sons, as *Kedar*, *Duma*, *Naphiſh*, [b] *Jetur*, *&c.* Not any people in Scripture (to my remembrance) take their name from *Nebaioth* his eldeſt Son: which adds probability to [c] their Opinion, who think ſuch as the Heathen called *Nabathæi*, were in Scritures tearmed *Iſmaelites*, as ſole Heirs to their firſt Progenitors Name: Their ſeat was in the beſt part of *Arabia Petræa*, near unto the *Midianites*, as is probable from the Story of *Joſeph*; who in one place, is ſaid to be ſold unto the *Iſmaelites*, in another, to the *Midianites*, theſe being near Neighbours, as it ſeems, and Copartners in Traffick. As the *Nabathæans* are not mentioned in Scripture, ſo neither do I find the name of *Iſmael* in any Ancient Heathen Writer: All of them I think being of *Strabo* his mind, who (Book 16.) profeſſeth; That he omits the Ancient names of the *Arabians*, partly becauſe in his time they were out of Uſe, partly for the *Harſhneſs of their Pronunciation*; unto which Exception the name of *Iſmael* was moſt obnoxious.

4. The Seat of ſuch as the Scripture calls *Hagarens*, was in the Deſart *Arabia*, betwixt *Gilead* and *Euphrates*, as we may gather from 1 *Chron.* 5. 9, 10. This people were called by the Heathen ['Αγραῖοι] *Agrai*, (a name more conſonant to their name in Hebrew [הגרי] than the Latin *Hagarens*) rightly placed by *Ptolomy* in the Deſart

[a] *So theſe Two are diſtinguiſhed,* 1 Chron. 27. 30, 31.

[b] 1 *Chron.* 5. 19.

[c] Goropius Becanus in Hiſpanicis.

Arabia, and by *Strabo* (Book 16.) in that very place [a] which the Scripture makes the Eaſtern Bounds of *Iſmaels* Poſterity; their Metropolis or chief City in later times was [b] *Atra*, or *Atræ*, and the Inhabitants thereof *Atreni*, unleſs both *Dion* and *Herodian* either miſtook, or have been miſtaken to have written *Atreni* for *Agreni*. But to omit the particular denomination of *Iſmaels* Seed, they were beſt known to Ancient Heathens from the manner of their habitation in [c] Tents: and *Scenitæ Arabes* was a name *General*, and (I think) *Equivalent* to his *Race*, unleſs perhaps the *Midianites* or *Idumæans* might ſhare with them in this Name, as they were partakers of their Quality: which is not ſo to be appropriated unto either, as if they had neither Houſe or Town; for the Tents of *Kedar* are moſt famous in Scripture, yet ſaith the Prophet, *Let the Wilderneſs and the Cities thereof lift up their voice, the Towns that Kedar doth inhabit: Iſaiah* 42. 11. Nor did he mean as many Tents as would make a Town; for even in *Moſes* time they had their places of defence, as appears *Gen.* 25. 16. *Theſe be the ſons of* Iſmael, *and theſe be their Names, by their Towns and by their Caſtles, twelve Princes of their Nation*, or rather twelve Heads of ſo many ſeveral Houſes, Tribes, or *Clans*; which kind of Regiment they continued, till four hundred years after Chriſt. And the Heathen Writers, both Greek and Latin, better expreſs *Moſes* words in the fore-cited place [נשאים לאמתם] than ſundry Modern Interpreters do; who call them Dukes or Princes, being to the [d] Grecians φυλαρχοὶ Ἀράβων, to the Latins *Phylarchi Arabum*, or to the later Writers *Saracenorum*, albeit [e] ſome Latin Writers call them *Reguli Saracenorum*.

a *To wit, next unto the* Chaulotæans *or inhabitants of* Havilah.

b *This name* [Atreni] *it ſeems was peculiar to the inhabitants of* Atra, *the chief City of the* Agarens *or* Agræans, *as* Petræ *was the Metropolis of the* Nabathæans: *ſo that the* Atreni *and* Agareni *differ as the* Petræni *&* Nabathæi.

c Cælius Auguſtinus Curio, *in his* Hiſtoria Saracenica, *ſpeaks of a City called* Scene *(perhaps it ſhould be* Scenæ) *in* Arabia Deſerta. *And* Strabo *in his* 16. *Book* (*of* Cauſabons *Edit. pag.* 648.) *Tells of* Scenæ: Διέχουσι δὲ τῆς Σελευκείας αἱ Σκηναὶ σχοίνους ὀκτωκαίδεκα.

d Strabo lib. 16. in deſcript. Syriæ, & lib. 2. *e* Ammian. Marcell. lib. 23.

5. The proof of our intended *Concluſion* depends upon theſe two *Premiſſes*; The *Firſt*, That the *Saraceni* were the ſame people whom the Ancients call the *Scenitæ Arabes*, as is expreſly avouched by *Ammianus Marcellinus* in ſundry [f] places, and every one will acknowledge, that compares the [g] Ancient and later Romans, writing the ſame Stories. The *Second*, That the Scenitæ Arabes were the ſeed of *Iſmael*; which doth appear by the *Identity* of their *Habitation*, *Condition*, and *Quality*.

f Lib. 23. Scenitæ Arabes quos Saracenos poſteritas appellavit.

g *Whom the Ancient Writers call* Phylarchi Arabum, *the later call* Phylarchi Saracenorum, *as appears by* Sextus Rufus, *and* Jornandes. Montes Armeniæ, primum per Lucullum Romana arma viderunt; per quem & Oſroene & Saracenorum Phylarchi devicti Romanis ſe dediderunt. Jornandes *lib.* 1. *So he calls them by anticipation, as in Scripture places are oft times called by thoſe names which are beſt known in the Writers time; not by the names which they bare in thoſe Ancient times of which they write. So likewiſe,* Sextus Rufus *in his Breviary of the Roman Story, ſpeaking of the Conſuls time, mentioneth the Saracens; albeit no mention is made of them or their* Phylarchi, *by any Roman that lived within* 200 *years of* Pompeys *Conqueſts.*

6. Firſt, it is evident out of *Pliny* and [h] *Strabo*, That the Scenitæ Arabes were ſeated Eaſtward about the River *Euphrates*, noiſom Neighbours to *Caldæa* and *Meſopotamia*; ſome part whereof in *Strabo* his time they inhabited: on the Weſt part they bordered upon *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*: So *Ammianus Marcellinus* in his 22 Book, deſcribing the Situation of *Egypt*, ſaith, [i] *It bordered on the Eaſt upon the Cataracts of* Nilus, *and the Scenitæ Arabes, whom now we call Saracens.* And in

h Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν τὰ ἐντὸς Εὐφράτου ταῦτα δ᾽ ἐστὶν ἥ τε εὐδαίμων Ἀραβία πᾶσα, ἀφοριζομένη τῷ τε Ἀραβίῳ κόλπῳ παντὶ, καὶ τῷ Περσικῷ, καὶ ὅσην οἱ Σκηνῖται καὶ οἱ Φύλαρχοι κατέχουσιν, οἱ ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην καθήκοντες, καὶ τὴν Συρίαν. *Strabo l.* 2. *Ed. Caſaub.* p. 130. Et lib. 16. Syria Orientem verſus terminatur Euphrate & Arabibus Scenitis.

i Egyptia Gens, qua Orientem è regione proſpicit, Elephantinam & Meroen urbes Æthiopum, & Cata-dupos rubrúmque Pelagus & Scenitas prætenditur Arabas, quos Saracenos nunc appellamus. *Amm. Marcell. lib.* 22.

in his 14 Book, deſcribing the ſituation of the Saracens, he makes *Aſſyria* their border on the Eaſt, and the confines of *Blemyæ* and the Cataracts of *Nilus* on the Weſt. And *Moſes* Geneſis 25. ſaith, *The ſons of* Iſmael *dwell from* Shur, *which is towards* Egypt, *unto* Havilah, *which is toward* Aſhur, *in the way from* Egypt *thither*. This land of *Havilah*, or (according to the Orthography of the Hebrew) *Chavilah*, Famous in Scripture for Gold, retained the ſame name in * *Strabo*'s time; the inhabitants called by him *Chaulotæans*, next Neighbours to the *Hagarens*, or *Agræi*, whoſe Country *Severus* ſuſpected to have had good ſtore of Gold.

* *Lib.16. initio deſcript. Arabiæ.*

7. * If *Amm. Marcellinus* had but known how fully *Moſes* had prevented him in his Obſervations of theſe Saracens, (gathered from his Experience of their behaviour) many hundred years before the Romans had heard of ſuch a people; nay ere they themſelves were any Nation; it would perhaps have moved him to have thought better of *Moſes* writings, and worſe of his Maſter *Julian* for oppugning them. *And if neither Love, nor Fear of God, or true Religion, methinks natural civil Modeſty ſhould enforce men to Believe His Report of things paſt, that can ſo clearly point out the nature of men many hundred years before they come into the world.* For ſo we muſt eſteem *Moſes* words of *Iſmael* and *Hagar*, though Hiſtorically verified in their perſons, yet withal a Typical Prophecy of their Poſterities Conditions. And it is a demonſtrative Argument, That their wildneſs was foretold by His Spirit, that only can command Nature, and preſcribe limits to the free thoughts of man, in that this Progeny (throughout ſo many hundred Generations) vary no more from their firſt Progenitors agreſt and fierce qualities, than the wild Plants of the Foreſt, never accuſtomed to Humane Culture, do from the Trees whence they are propagate.

* *The deſcription of the Saracens Situation and conditions out of* Ammianus Marcellinus, *in his 14 Book, compared with* Moſes *Characters of* Iſmael, *and his Prophecy of his Poſterity*, Gen. 25.18. *and* Gen. 16. 6. *and* 12. Saraceni nec amici nobis unquam nec habendi [alii legunt, nec Hoſtes optandi] ultro citróque diſcurſantes, quicquid inveniri poterat, momento temporis parvi vaſtabant, milvorum rapaci vitæ ſimiles; qui ſi prædam deſpexerint celſiùs, volatu rapiunt celeri, aut ſi impetrarint non immorantur. Super quorum moribus pauca expediam. Apud has gentes, quarum initium ab Aſſyriis ad Nili Cataractas porrigitur & confinia Blemyarum, omnes pari ſorte ſunt Bellatores, ſeminudi, coloratis Sagulis pube tenus amicti, equorum adjumento pernicium, graciliúmque camelorum per diverſa reptantes in tranquillis vel turbidis rebus. Nec eorum quiſquam aliquando ſtivam apprehendit, vel arborem colit, aut arva ſubigendo quæritat victum, ſed errant ſemper per ſpatia longè latéque diſtenta, ſine lare, ſine ſedibus fixis aut legibus, nec idem perferunt diutius Cœlum, aut tractus unius ſoli illis unquam placet, vita eſt illis ſemper in fugâ, uxoréſque Mercenariæ conductæ ad tempus ex pacto: atque ut ſit ſpecies matrimonii, dotis nomine futura conjunx trætam vel Haſtam & tabernaculum offert marito, poſt ſtatum diem ſi id elegerit diſceſſura: incredibile eſt, quo ardore apud eos in Venerem utérque ſexus ſolvitur. Ita autem quoad vixerint, latè palantur, ut alibi mulier nubat, in loco pariat alio, liberóſque procul educet, nulla copia quieſcendi permiſſa. Victus univerſis Caro ferina eſt, lactíſque abundans copia, quâ ſuſtentantur, & herbæ multiplices, & ſi quæ alites capi per aucupium poſſunt. Et pleróſque nos vidimus frumenti uſum & vini penitus ignorantes. Hactenus de natione pernicioſa.

8. *Iſmael*, as *Moſes* tells us, was begotten of *Hagar* an Egyptian hireling: * The *Matrimony* of Saracen women in *Ammianus* his time was *Mercenary*, and upon compact for a time. *Hagar* conceived *Iſmael* in *Abrahams* houſe, but ready to bring him forth in the Wilderneſs, whither he and ſhe were ſent again, after her return unto her Miſtreſs: The Saracen women of *Ammianus* his time Marry in one place, Bear children in another, and Bring them up in a third far diſtant; never permitted to live in reſt: and in ſhew of Matrimony, they bring a Spear and a Tent for their Dowry, being indeed a perfect Emblem of their mercenary roveing life: for theſe they may by Covenant take with them at the end of their ſervice, and be packing from their Maſters to ſeek their food in the Wilderneſs, as their Mother *Hagar* taught them. Who would think, but that

* *See the laſt Note, out of* Am. Marc.

that it were more likely one ſhould die rather of hunger than thirſt in the Wilderneſs? Or who could imagine, that *Abraham* (unleſs directed by ſome ſecret inſtinct, preſaging that rude and ſharking life, whereunto this wild ſlips progeny was ordained) could ſuffer *Iſmael* and *Hagar* to go to the Wilderneſs out of his houſe, which God had bleſt with all manner of ſtore, only furniſhed with a little Bread, and a Bottle of Water, ſo quickly ſpent, that the Child had almoſt died for thirſt, before God did provide him more. This did portend, that his Poſterity ſhould be pinched with like Penury, ſcant of water (their beſt drink) ſtraitning their Territories (as [a] *Strabo* tells us) in *Arabia*; and after they had enlarged the bounds which *Moſes* ſet them, [b] even in *Meſopotamia* it ſelf, they are confined to dry and barren places; nor could the Prophet, [c] better expreſs the future Barrenneſs of *Babylon*, and the Regions about, then by Intimating it ſuch, as the Sons of Deſolation, which ſought their food out of Flint, ſhould not be able to Inhabit. That Water, many years after *Strabo*'s time, was the Scenite Arabians beſt, or only Drink, appears from [d] *Peſcennius Nigers* Reply unto his Souldiers, pretending lack of Wine as cauſe of their lack of Courage, or faint Service, *You may be aſhamed* (ſaith he) *of this Excuſe, whereas they that foyl you, are but Water-drinkers.* And *Ammianus* ſaith, he knew very many of them in his time, that neither knew uſe of Wine nor Corn. *Moſes* deſcribing the manner of *Iſmaels* life, ſaid he was an *Archer in the Wilderneſs.* None of the Saracens, if we may believe *Ammianus*, did ever ſet his hand to the Plough, but got their living for the moſt part by their [e] Bow. For as were they, ſuch was their meat, wild Fleſh or Veniſon, Herbs or Milk, or ſuch wild Fowls as the Wilderneſs did afford, and they could catch. For their own Wildneſs he compares them to Kites, ready to ſpy a prey, but ſo untame withal, that they would not ſtay by it, as Crows or other ravenous Birds do by Carrion, but preſently fled with what they caught unto their neſts. So notoriouſly was their Wildneſs incorporated into their Nature, that the more Tame they grew, the leſs right they ſeemed to have unto their names, as *Strabo* intimates.

[a] Τὰ δ' ἑξῆς τῆς Μεσοποταμίας μέχρι Κοίλης Συρίας, τὸ μὲν πλησιάζον τῷ ποταμῷ καὶ τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν, Σκηνῖται κατέχουσιν Ἄραβες, δυναστείας ἀποτετμημένοι μικρὰς ἐν λυπροῖς χωρίοις διὰ τὰς ἀνυδρίας. Strabo lib. 16. p. 765.

[b] Τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν κεκλιμένα τῆς Μεσοποταμίας, καὶ ἀποτέρω τῶν ὀρῶν ἄνυδρα καὶ λυπρὰ ὄντα ἔχουσιν οἱ Σκηνῖται Ἄραβες, λῃστρικοί τινες καὶ ποιμενικοί· μεθιστάμενοι ῥᾳδίως εἰς ἄλλους τόπους, ὅταν ἐκλείπωσιν αἱ νομαὶ καὶ αἱ λεηλασίαι. Idem, p. 747.

[c] Iſaiah 13. 20. *From which place we may gather that ſuch as the Ancient Writers of ſacred Story would have termed Hagarens or Iſmaelites, were called by later, Arabians: nor is it uſual after* Jehoſhaphats *time (if at all) to mention the Iſmaelites or Hagarens; The name of the Arabians being then equivalent to the Iſmaelite, if we take them generally, as may be gathered likewiſe from* Joſephus *in ſundry places, amongſt others, from his* 13 *chapter of his Firſt Book of Antiquities.*

[d] Tumultuantibus iis qui à Saracenis victi fuerunt, & dicentibus, Vinum non cepimus; Erubeſcite, inquit, illi qui vos vincunt Aquam bibunt. Vide Aelium Spartian: in Peſcennio Nigro.

[e] *The Saracens have been Famous for their Artillery throughout all their Generations.*

9. Yet did they not more fully reſemble *Iſmael* and *Hagars* Conditions, than prepoſterouſly imitate *Abrahams* Rites or Religion. Their Father *Iſmael* was about thirteen years old when God eſtabliſhed his Covenant with *Abraham*: and for this reaſon not * circumciſed until that Age: the Saracens † till this day circumciſe not their children before that time; when as they might with as good reaſon defer it till about the hundreth year of their age, becauſe

* Iſaacum octavo mox die circumcidunt, qui mos adhuc Judæis durat, ut poſt totidem dies circumciſionem celebrent——. Arabes vero poſt decimum tertium annum id faciunt. Iſmael enim generis eorum autor, *Abrahamo* è concubina natus, poſt tantum temporis eſt circumciſus. *Joſephus Antiq. l.* 1. *c.* 12, *&* 13. *This cuſtom was continued by the Saracens of* Spain *and* Africk.

† Lud. vives De. verit. Fid. l. 4. c. 12. *Says, the Saracens Circumciſe their children at* 14 *years old. The Turks, I know not whether upon ignorance of* Iſmaels *age, at the time of his Circumciſion, or upon other occaſions, (perhaps miſtaking years for days) Circumciſe their children at eight years old.* Philip. Lonicer. tom. 1. l. 2. part 3. cap. 24.

Abraham was thereabouts when he firſt received this Seal of Gods Covenant. *Abraham* erected Altars, and *Jacob* annointed the ſtone, in the place where God had appeared to him: the *Saracens* from theſe or like Traditions, *Celebrate their Sacrifices* [a] *Unto a ſtone with Apiſh and Childiſh Solemnities.* God commanded *Moſes* (ignorant belike of that religious and decent cuſtom which his Forefathers in like caſes uſed) to put off his ſhoes, when he was to tread on Holy Ground; Which Rite, was afterwards obſerved by the Jews in their more Solemn *Vows*, and the [b] Saracens to this day have their *Nudipedalia ſacrificia.* *Abraham*, if we may believe [c] *Joſephus* from his ſober Contemplation of the Heaven and Stars, began to deteſt the Idolatry of the Heathen, and to adore that Divine Providence, by which theſe ſuppoſed Gods were guided: the Saracens falling back to Heatheniſm, adore *Lucifer* or the Morning-Star; and from their Forefathers no doubt the Iſraelites learned this Idolatry in the Wilderneſs. And as I ſhould conjecture their habitation in Tents, and wandering life was not continued, throughout ſo many Generations, ſo much upon Neceſſity, as in Imitation of *Abrahams* uſing Tents, neceſſary in that time for him, that would Journey throughout ſo many Countries as he was enforced to do.

[a] Saracenis autem (quandoquidem & ipſi de ea re aliquid dicere velle videntur) ſufficiat ad confuſionem quod in eremo lapidi inanimato ſacrificia faciant, acclaméntque hanc vocem *Chobar*, quod à partibus acceptum per puerilia Myſteria & Feſta peragant. Synodus Nicena ſecunda. Actione quarta in Epiſt. Germani Epiſc. ad Thom. Epiſc. Claudiopolios. *The Jews and Saracens had objected worſhipping of Images to the Chriſtians of that Age, and this Synod uſeth this Apology better beſeeming a ſcolding Butter queen than ſuch as ſhould be Reverend Fathers; their teſtimonies notwithſtanding we may admit without Prejudice to that Controverſie betwixt us and them.* [b] Nunc quoque Mauri & Saraceni, ejuſmodíque genus hominum, templa, in quibus Sacra facturi ſunt, non ingrediuntur niſi Calceis depoſitis. *Gyraldus de Symb. Pythag.* [c] *Joſeph. Antiq. l.* 1. *c.* 8. *Vide Hieron. in vita Hilarionis. Et Riberam in quint. Amoſ. numero.* 72. *Of the occaſions of theſe Saracens Idolatry, and prepoſterous Imitation of the Patriarchs,* vide Sozomen. lib. 6. c. 38.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Beginning and Progreſs of Iſmaels *Greatneſs.*

1. THe chief ſtrength of *Iſmaels* Sons in Ancient time did conſiſt in Artillery, as we may gather from the Prophet, *Iſaiah* 21. 16. *Yet an year according to the years of an hireling, and all the glory of Kedar ſhall fail, and the reſidue of the number of the ſtrong Archers of the ſons of Kedar ſhall be few: for the Lord God of Iſrael hath ſpoken it.* Though the plague here threatned by the Aſſyrians did overtake them: yet as Saint *Jerom* notes, they eſcaped the rod of Gods wrath, better than moſt of their Neighbours, by reaſon of their ſpeedy removal from place to place, moſt of them ſuch as were never out of their dwelling, whilſt they had Tents, and Camels, and Waſtes to range in. Afterwards they continued troubleſom Neighbours unto *Syria*, until it was annext to the Roman Empire, by whoſe valour the ſtrength of their Archers was again diminiſhed, and the Raign of their Phylarchi cut ſhort. Strabo. lib. 16 But their Country firſt brought into the Form of a Province by *Trajan*, in whoſe time the Hagarens, (ſo ſoon are they weary of Civil Subjection) begun to revolt, and for ought I find, were never brought again to perform perfect obedience unto the Roman or any other people.

2. Their City, ſaith *Dion*, was neither great nor rich, yet had it *Zoars* priviledge: He that preſerved the one from the Storms of Fire and Brimſtone, which devoured far greater Neighbour-Cities, did Lege hiſtor. apud Dion. l. 68.

did guard the other againſt the violence of two moſt Potent Emperours, who had over-run the mightieſt Kingdoms of the Earth. The Heathen thought the Sun, to whom their City was conſecrated, did protect it. But can they ſhew us any Prophecy of Old, given by *Phœbus* for this peoples good? we can ſhew them the expreſs promiſe of *Abrahams* God, more than two thouſand years before, for making Them and their Brethren a *Mighty Nation.* Let the Atheiſt judge, whether their Gods Arm was ſhortned, or whether His Miracles, which the Scripture tells us were wrought for the ſons of the Free-woman, whilſt they followed their Fathers ſteps, can ſeem incredible, being compared with the wonderful deliverance of the Agarens, the ſons of the Bond-woman, from *Trajan* and *Severus*, both Beſieging them in Perſon. The ſoyl about their City was barren, and when *Trajan* beſieged it, very hot; ſo that the violence of the Siege could not be long. Theſe Signs the Politicians could aſſign of *Trajans* ill ſucceſs. But *whence was it, that as oft as the City was aſſaulted, the Souldiers were annoyed with Lightnings, Thunders, Whirl-winds and Hail? affrighted or dazled with the Apparition of Rain-Bows? whence was it that Flies ſhould corrupt and ſpoil their meat, whilſt they did eat it?* by theſe and the like means, wonderful in the Heathens ſight, was *Trajan* forced to give over the Siege; which he had followed, not without great danger of his life, by coming within theſe *ſtrong Archers ſhot* in viewing the City, ſhortly after, (as if he had fought before with men, but now againſt God) falling into a diſeaſe, whereof he died.

See Dion. lib. 75. *where he calls* Them Atreni.

3. About Eighty years after, the Emperour *Severus*, diſdaining (as *Trajan* had done) that theſe Hagarens ſhould ſtand out ſtill againſt the Romans, when all the reſt about them had yielded, being repulſed with loſs of Men and Munition, made great preparation for the ſecond Aſſault, in which (after great loſs of his Souldiers) having overthrown part of the City-wall, he cauſed the Retreat to be ſounded in Policy, hoping the beſieged would have come to intreat for Peace and Liberty, which he was not minded to grant, but upon Condition they would bewray the hidden Treaſure ſuppoſed to be Conſecrated to the Sun. But they continued reſolute a whole day, giving no intimation of any Treaty for Peace. The Souldiers in the mean time were ſo diſcontented, that on the morrow following, the Europeans before moſt reſolute, would not enter at the Breach: and the Syrians, enforced to undertake the ſervice, had a grievous Repulſe. So, ſaith *Dion, God delivered the City, recalling the Souldiers by* Severus, *when they might have entred, and reſtraining* Severus *the ſecond day by the Souldiers backwardneſs.* The Conqueſt after this breach, was in Martial Eſteem ſo eaſie, that one of his Captains confidently undertook to Effect it, without the hazard of any other mans life beſides, ſo he might have but 550 European Souldiers aſſigned him. To which fair Profer the Emperour (as pettiſh as they had been peeviſh) in a diſtracted Chaſe replied: *But where ſhall I find ſo many Souldiers?* and ſo departed into *Paleſtina.* Thus are the proud Aſſaults of greateſt Monarchs, in their height of ſtrength, but like the Billows of a ſwelling Tide, which break over the banks, and immediately fall again. *The Almighty hath ſet bounds to both, which they muſt not paſs;* and under his protection may *Iſmael* reſt, as ſecure from the Roman Forces, to whom he had

Lib. 75.

given all the Regions round about them, as *Edom* did from the Iſraelites, *when they ſlew mighty Kings*, and caſt out far greater Neighbour Nations. It is probable that theſe Hagarens, after their good ſucceſs againſt *Trajan* and *Severus*, did propagate their Name to all the ſons of *Iſmael*; as whole Nations in like caſes take new Denominations from the Ring-leaders unto Revolt.* *Sozomen* and † S. *Hierom*, both living ſhortly after this people was generally known by the name of *Saracens*, avouch without queſtion, (what they could have given reaſon for, had they fore-ſeen Poſterities Incredulity) They uſurped the name of *Sarah*, in hope to extinguiſh that note of Baſtardy, imported in their former Name of *Hagarens*: as great mens Baſtards in few deſcents, will attempt the changing of their Ignominious Coat. And in all Eccleſiaſtical Writers, the names of *Saracens* or *Hagarens*, are uſed promiſcuouſly as Equivalent; which argues that the name of *Hagarens* had ſometimes been common to all the race of *Iſmael*, not appropiate to the *Agrai*, or ſuch as the Scripture calls *Hagarites*.

4. It is evident out of *Ammianus*, that the name of *Saracens* was not Ancient. The firſt certain mention of it is in *Ptolemy*: who deſcribes a Region called *Saracene* in the Weſt part of *Iſmaels* Territories, as they are deſcribed by *Moſes*, and a people, called *Saraceni* in the wealthy *Arabia*, near unto the Mountains, which the *Scenitæ* inhabit. Whether the Fertility of the Soyl, might make them ſcorn their former Name, as it would cauſe them loath their Ancient Seat: or whether given, or taken upon other occaſions: the whole Progeny as well in the Deſart *Arabia*, as elſewhere, was willing to make the Benefit of it, as an Argument to perſwade the world they were Free-born, and true Heirs of that Promiſe whence the Jews were fallen. For *Mahomet*, as all Writers agree, uſed this plauſible *Etymology* as a fair Colour to countenance his *Foul Blaſphemies*: and a * Grave Relator of Truth, not accuſtomed to make Speeches for dead men to utter, brings in the later Saracens in the Siege of *Torutum* (which was a mile from *Tyre*) uſing their Name derived from *Sarah*, as an argument to perſwade their true deſcent from *Abraham*, for whoſe ſake they hoped for Favour at Chriſtians hands. But they could not ſo eaſily change their Nature, as their Name: the greater they grow in might, the more exactly they fulfil that Prophecy of *Iſmael*, *And he ſhall be a Wild Man, his hand ſhall be againſt every man, and every mans hand againſt Him.* For a long time they continued, like Forward, but poor Gameſters, not able to Set at more than *One at once*, and that for no great Stake, without ſome to bear their part; until at length by their Treacherous Shuffling from Side to Side, and Banding ſometimes with one, ſometimes another againſt ſome third, they grew ſo fluſh, that they durſt *Set at All*, and take *Aſia*, *Europe*, and *Africk* to Task at once.

5. Sometimes they took part with *Mithridate*, and other Eaſtern Nations, againſt *Lucullus* and *Pompey*, and yet ready to joyn with *Pompey* againſt the Jews. Some of them again were for the Parthians againſt the Romans, others for the Romans againſt the Parthians, ſome now for the one, then for the other, as *Alchaudonius* and † *Augarus* before mentioned. Some again for *Peſcennius Niger* againſt *Severus*, others againſt *Peſcennius*, afterwards one while for the Perſian, and another while for the Romans, as in the times of

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* Lib. 6. cap 38.

† Comment. in 21 Iſa. & 25 Ezech.

*Ibi ab Saracenis cœpta eſt Oratio, quæ commiſerationem, efflagitaret. Communem eſſe Deum quem utríq; colerent, ritumdiverſum. Illis Abraham eſſe generis principium, quod à Sara geniti Saraceni dicantur, fratres eſſe, communi præditos humanitate, ſub uno patre Deo, humanarum rerum varietate jam ſe victos ſæpe ante victores, *Krantzius Saxon. l. 7. c. 12.*

† Oſroenus Dioni, aliis Arabs, quanquam & Oſroeni Arabes origine, Meſopotamiæ incolæ.

Conſtantius and *Julianus.* † The later of whom they Reverenced moſt of any Roman; and yet at length, not ſatisfied in their Expectations, * revolting from him. Afterwards, they ſerve under the Romans againſt † the Gothes: and yet while the Gothes and other Barbarous people, claſp with the Roman Eagle in the Weſt, Theſe foul Harpies pluck off her Train in the Eaſt; and not therewith content, take their flight toward the Weſt, to ſnatch the meat out of the other Buſſards mouth, and beat them one after another from the prey which they had ſeized on in *Spain* and *Africk*; attempting the like in *France*, *Greece* and *Germany*; diſ-pluming the Breaſts, and oft-times ready to devour the very Heart, even *Italy* and *Rome* it ſelf.

† Cum armigera gradiens manu in ſtatione quadam ſub pellibus manſit, ubi Saracenorum reguli gentium genibus ſupplices nixi, oblata ex auro Corona, tanquam mundi nationúmq; ſuarum Dominum adorârunt, ſuſcepti gratanter ut ad furta bellorum adpoſiti. *Ammian. Marcell. l.* 23.

* Hos Saracenos ideo patiebamur infeſtos, quod Salaria Muneráque plurima à Juliano ad ſimilitudinem præteriti temporis accipere vetiti, queſtiq; apud eum, ſolum audierant Imperatorem bellicoſum & vigilantem, Ferrum habere non Aurum. *Ammian. lib.* 25.

† *A naked Saracen iſſuing from his own company, ſet upon a Body of Gothes, Slew one, ſet his mouth to the wound, and ſuckt the blood. So ſaith* Ammian. Marcel. *in the end of his laſt Book.*

6. Finally, as *Iſmael* began firſt to give proof of his might, when *Iſaac*'s ſtrength began to fail, ſo can we ſcarce name any place where *Iſaac*'s Seed have been ſcattered, whither the dread of *Iſmaels* hath not followed them: that ſuch Chriſtians, as would not ſuffer the miſerable Eſtate of the one to ſink into their ſouls, nor learn to fear Gods Judgements ſhewed upon Them, might apprehend the other, as preſent Executioners of like Wo and Vengeance upon Themſelves. It is well obſerved by the Author of the *Tripartite work, Touching the Sacred War* (*annexed to the Council of Lateran*) that the Perſecution of Chriſtians by the Saracen, hath been every way greater and more grievous without interruption, than all the Perſecutions under the Roman Emperors, or any Foreign Enemies. Theſe provocations by this Fooliſh Nation, witneſs the Truth of Gods threatnings to the Ancient Jews, and that our pride of heart hath been like theirs: for the aſſwaging whereof his pleaſure hath been, *To bring the moſt wicked of the Heathen to poſſeſs our houſes, and to defile the Holy Places.* According to their Judgement hath he judged the moſt part of Chriſtendom. Such Servility as the Jews ſuffered under the Greeks and Aſiaticks, have *They* endured under the Saracen, and the Turk, who is but a Proſelyte of *Iſmael*, and Heir by adoption of that promiſe, *Gen.* 17. 20. *I will multiply him exceedingly, and I will make a great nation of him.* Beſides his participation with him in the Covenant of Circumciſion, (the beſt Pledge and ground of *Iſmaels* greatneſs) the Manners and Conditions of the Turks and Saracens have great Affinity; The Turk alſo is a wild Man, yea this is the Signification of his Name (as † *Chalcocondylas* and *Lonicer* expound it.) But though both Turks and Saracens by Chriſtians continuance in their Fathers ſins, have been perpetual Scourges of Chriſtendom; yet hath God at ſundry times given us manifeſt Signs of Help laid up in ſtore, ſo that we would turn to him with our whole hearts. *The ſtrange an almoſt Incredible, though moſt undoubted Victories, which Chriſtians ſometimes had over them, do lively repreſent the Miraculous Victories of the Jews over the Heathen, related in Scriptures.* To omit others, *It might be remembred as an Irrefragable Witneſs as well of the multitude of Gods Mercies towards us, as of* Iſmael's *Poſterity, that Three Hundred and Eighty*

† Utérque in limine ſuæ hiſtoriæ. Arabs *likewiſe is as much as* homo agreſtis, *or* incultus. *And* Arabia, *as much as* terra agreſtis & inculta: *in which all things grow promiſcuouſly. And if I miſtake not, only the deſolate barren parts of that Country, which we call* Arabia *is ſo called in Sacred Story.*

Eighty Thouſand of them ſhould be ſlain all in one day by one Chriſtian General. * Unleſs the Lord had raiſed us up a *Gedeon* then, he only knows how quickly theſe parts of Chriſtendom might have been Re-baptized in their Blood, and born the name of *Saracens* ever after. And, as a German Writer well obſerves, the French Kings might well brook that Title of *Chriſtianiſſimi*, from that Admirable Exploit of *Carolus Martellus*, the next means under Gods Providence that other parts of *Europe* had not Saracen Tyrants inſtead of Chriſtian Princes. Of ſuch particular *Experiments*, as the Hiſtories of Turks and Saracens afford, anſwerable to the Prophecies in Scripture concerning them, we ſhall have fitter occaſion to ſpeak hereafter.

* *See* Crantzius Hiſt. Sueciæ. lib. 4. cap. ult. *and French* Hiſt. Serres p. 35. *and the Latin Hiſt. of France. And* Naucleris 2. vol. Generation. 25. p. 653. Cælius Aug. Curio Hiſtoria Saracenica. Lib. 2.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Perſecutions of the Jews by Trajan, *and the Deſolation of their Country by* Adrian: *their Scattering through other Nations, Foretold by* Moſes.

1. THough the Greatneſs of the Jews Former Plagues under *Veſpaſian* had made their number leſs in their own Land; yet *Egypt*, *Cyrene*, and *Cyprus*, had too many of thoſe Snakes within their Bowels, until their deadly Stings, provoking others, did procure their own Deſtruction. In the later end of *Trajans* Reign, the *Manner* of *their Outragious Maſſacres*, *practiſed upon both* * *Greeks and Romans* in the forementioned Countries, was as Hainous, as the *Facts* themſelves; though theſe Hainous beyond all Credence, if not related by moſt credible and moſt unpartial Writers. Beſides the particular Butcheries which they committed throughout *Egypt*; About *Cyrene* theſe Jews did ſlay two hundred thouſand; and in *Cyprus* two hundred and fifty thouſand. The Lord (no doubt) had ſmitten them, as he had threatned *Deut.* 28. 28. *with this Madneſs and Blindneſs of heart*, that they might hereby provoke this Puiſſant Emperors Indignation; which otherwiſe would have ſlept, but now purſues them throughout his Dominions, not as Enemies, or Rebels of the Empire, but *as Noxious Creatures to Humane Society*, with Revenge ſuiting to their former Outrages. † Partly for the Cyprians better Security in time to come, partly in Memory of their former Miſery, and theſe Jews Infamy; *It is publickly enacted, that no Jew, though driven by Tempeſt thither, ſhould preſume to ſet foot within their Coaſt, upon pain of preſent execution, as already condemned by his very Appearance on that Soil*, which had been tainted with the deadly Venom of his Country-men.

* *The Jews did eat their fleſh. Beſmeared Themſelves with their Blood Wore their skins. Sawed them aſunder. Caſt them to Beaſts. Made them Kill one another, &c.* Dion. l. 68. in Fine.

† Dion. ibid.

2. But leſt Poſterity, little reſpective of Jewiſh Affairs (through negligence of the Roman Writers) ſhould forget, or, from the inconſiderate frailty of Humane Nature, leſs obſerve theſe two moſt grievous Perſecutions of the Jews then was behoveful for Teſtification of *Moſes*, or Chriſts Prophecies, and Confirmation of Chriſtian Faith: In *Adrians* time (like Traytors that had fainted upon the Rack before their full Confeſſion taken) they are recovered to greater Torture. And leſt the Nations in that, or

Ages following, ſhould not acknowledge them to have been ſuch a *Mighty People*, as the ſacred Story makes them: they are made a *Spectacle* to the world again, to ſhew their Natural Strength by their grievous lingring pains in dying. This was that which *Moſes* had ſaid, *Deut.* 28. 59. *The Lord will make thy plagues wonderful, and the plagues of thy ſeed, great plagues and of long continuance, ſore diſeaſes, and of long durance.* Yet their Deſtruction now, as at both times (always) before, was from their own Procurement. For *Adrian*, cauſing new *Ælia* built by him where *Hieruſalem* ſtood, to be inhabited by others, Chriſtians as well as Jews, and permitting the uſe of their Country-Religion to all: the Jews began firſt to Repine while *Adrian* was near, afterwards to Mutiny upon his departure out of theſe Eaſtern Provinces.

3. The Freſh memory of their former Deſolation, made their ſtrength ſeem little, and the Apprehenſion of their weakneſs made the Romans Care for preventing new dangers, leſs than otherwiſe it might, and in reaſon ſhould have been. But as men Environed with Darkneſs, have great advantage of ſuch as ſtand in the Light; and preſumption of good-caſting in the beginning brings ſuch, as intend the after-game well, to better poſſibility of winning the ſtake: ſo theſe Jews, partly through the Romans Confidence of their ſtrength; partly by their own Secrecy in meeting, ſecurity of harbour in Caves and Dens purpoſely digged in the earth, and diligent providing neceſſaries for war; from little and contemptible beginnings gather ſuch ſtrength and reſolution, that they can be content to ſet the *whole Stock* upon it, offering Battel unto the choiceſt Warriors of the Empire, to * *Julius Severus* that noble General himſelf, called to this Service (ſuch was the danger) out of this Iſland of *Britain*. And albeit the Romans in the end had the Victory without Controverſie, † yet would they not have wiſhed many Triumphs at the ſame price. This peoples laſt conflict with death and deſtruction now ſeizing upon them, may witneſs to the world, that they had been a principal part of it, now ſo generally and deeply affected with their laſt pangs. For as this judicious and unpartial Writer ſaith; *The whole world, in a manner, was ſhaken with this commotion of the Jews,* Dion. 69 Book.

4. But as the Preacher obſerveth, that *riches are oftentimes reſerved to the owners for their evil*: So theſe Jews Extraordinary ſtrength was given them for like Deſtruction. The greater danger their Mutiny had occaſioned to the Empire, the greater was the Emperors Severity in puniſhing their Rebellion paſt, the greater his care to prevent the like in time to come. In battels and skirmiſhes were ſlain of this people 580000. beſides an infinite number, conſumed with famine and diſeaſes, during the time of this lingring war, protracted of purpoſe by the Romans, not willing to try it out in open field with ſuch a forlorn deſperate multitude. Now as * *Moſes* had expreſly foretold, and † *Dion*

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* *Hadrianus* optimos quoſque duces adverſum eos mittit, quorum primus fuit Julius Severus qui ex Brittannia cui præerat, contra Judæos miſſus eſt &c. *Dion Hiſt. Rom. l.* 69.

† Periere quoque ex Romanis complures in eo bello. Quamobrem *Hadrianus*, cum ſcriberet ad Senatum, non eſt uſus illo Exordio, quo uti Imperatores conſueverunt: *Si Vos Liberique veſtri valetis, Bene eſt; Ego quidem & Exercitus Valemus.* Dion. Ibidem.

* *Deut.* 28. 62.

† Julius Severus nulla ex parte auſus eſt apertè cum hoſtibus congredi, multitudine ipſorum atq; deſperatione cognita, ſed eos ſingulatim militum legatorumq; numero aliquo adoriens, & commeatum prohibens atq; includens, ſeriùs quidem, ſed minore cum periculo, & adterere & exhaurire, & exſcindere potuit, ut pauci admodum evaſerint, & quinquaginta eorum arces munitiſſimæ, viciq; celeberrimi atq; nobiliſſimi nongenti octoginta quinque funditus everſi ſint. Cæſa ſunt in excurſionibus prœliiſq; hominum quingenta octoginta millia: eorum autem qui fame, morbo, & igni interierunt, indagari multitudo non potuit, ita ut omnis penè Judæa deſerta relicta fuerit. *Dion. Hiſt Rom. lib.* 69.

(living not long after this time) *Emphatically notes, They were left Few in number,* their land laid waſte, fifty of their ſtrongeſt Munitions utterly razed, 985 of their chief and moſt populous Towns ſackt and conſumed by fire.

5. This Mighty Deſtruction of theſe Jews, and general Deſolation of their Country by Romans, and their Tributaries of theſe Weſtern Countries, * a people ſtrange and perhaps unheard of to their Anceſtors: are Everlaſting Monuments of the truth of *Moſes* his Prophecy, *Deut.* 28. 49. *The Lord ſhall bring a nation upon thee from far, even from the end of the world, flying ſwift as an Eagle; a nation whoſe tongue thou ſhalt not underſtand: a nation of a fierce countenance, which will not regard the perſon of the old, nor have compaſſion of the young. The ſame ſhall eat the fruit of thy cattel, and the fruit of thy land, until thou be deſtroyed; and he ſhall leave thee neither wheat, wine, or oyl, neither the increaſe of thy kine, nor the flocks of thy ſheep, until he have brought thee to nought. And he ſhall beſiege thee in all thy Cities, until thy high and ſtrong walls fall down, wherein thou truſteſt, in all the land: and he ſhall beſiege thee in all thy cities throughout thy land, which the Lord thy God, hath given thee.* Thus at length *Judah* as well as *Iſrael,* hath ceaſed to be a Nation not without *Manifeſt Signs* † *foreſhewing their Fatal Expiration.* Solomons *Sepulchre,* which they held in greateſt Honor, a little before this War, *did fall aſunder of its own accord;* as if it would have ſignified unto them, that Gods Covenant, made with *Solomon* for *Judah's* peace and reſtauration, was now utterly void, and finally Cancelled by its Rupture and Fall. *Wolves and Hyena's did howl throughout their Streets, and devour this People in the Fields:* theſe are the Lords *Meſſengers of Woe* and vengeance to this ungracious ſeed, whoſe Fathers had kill'd and ſtoned his Prophets, ſent unto them for their good. Yet is not the wrath of the Lord ceaſed, but his hand is ſtretched out againſt them ſtill. For * *Adrian,* after this ſtrange Deſolation, by publick Decree ratified with the Senates conſent, prohibits any Jew to come within the view of *Jury.* This he did only in a Politick reſpect, leſt the ſight of their native Soyl might inſpire this People with ſome freſh deſperate Reſolutions, but herein made, though unwittingly, *Gods Angels to keep,* by his powerful ſword, this wicked Progeny of thoſe rebellious and *Ungracious Husband-men,* that had kill'd their Lords Firſt-born, *out of that Paradiſe,* which he had ſet them to dreſs and keep. The ſame mighty Lord, having now (as it were) *Diſparked* the place which he had walled and fenced about, and graced with many *Charters of greateſt Priviledges,* doth by his Arm, ſtretched out againſt them ſtill, ſcatter the Reliques of this Raſcal Herd throughout all the Nations under heaven. So as this Remnant (left by *Adrian*) and their race, have been as the Game, which Gods judgements have held in perpetual Chace for this Fifteen hundred years.

6. Thus are Gods Judgements executed upon this People; according to the order and courſe of *Moſes* his Sentence, pronounced againſt them almoſt two thouſand years before. For after he had foretold that Paucity, whereunto this laſt War had brought them, *Deut.* 28. 62. he addes immediately, *Verſe* 63. *As the Lord hath rejoyced over you to do you good, and to multiply you; ſo he will rejoyce over you to deſtroy, and bring you to naught: and ye ſhall be rooted out of the land,*

* Adrian *and* Trajan *were both Spaniards by Birth,* Julius Severus *was called to their deſtruction out of this Iſland, wherein* Veſpaſian *had given beſt proof of his good Services. Their Enſigns (being Eagles) were as Emblems of their Swiftneſs to execute Gods wrath upon this people: and* Moſes *in this place by Divine Inſpiration, alludes unto the Roman Eagles.*

† *Signs foreſhewing* Juries *deſolation by* Adrian, *recorded by* Dion *l.* 69. *and others.*

* Jornandes de Regn. ſucceſſ. (in octa.) p. 103. Euſeb. l. 4. c. 6. ex Ariſtone Pellæo.

whither thou goeſt to poſſeſs it: and the Lord ſhall ſcatter thee amongſt all people, from the one end of the world to the other. † Such as were Captivate in this War, were tranſplanted by *Adrian* into *Spain*, his native Country: where they had their Synagogues ſince his, until *Ferdinando* and *Iſabels* time. Of their ill reſt there, and in other of theſe Weſtern Nations, (foretold by *Moſes* in the very next words) we are now to treat: but firſt to advertiſe the Reader, * That the ſtate of theſe Jews, from this time until the Expiration of the Roman Empire, cannot eaſily be gathered from any *Roman Writers*; who *ſeldom vouchſafe the Jews or Chriſtians any mention, unleſs enforced thereunto by ſome ſuch Famous War or Mutiny, as fell out in* Veſpaſians, Trajans, *or* Adrians *time*; or by ſome other event redounding to the Romans glory; whereas *Jury* after this time, was not famous for any tumult, till *Romes* Captivity; the Jews wanted ſtrength, and Chriſtians willing minds, to erect any Emperors praiſe by their Seditions. So that, whatſoever Calamity, Either of Them ſuffered by the Romans, was paſt over by Roman Writers, as private wrongs not worthy of Regiſtring in their Annals.

7. * No marvel then, if they took no notice of our Saviour, or his acts, all tending to Peace and Loyalty. For as *Tacitus* notes, † *Judea* was moſt quiet in *Tiberius* time; which was the beſt news the Romans cared to hear thence: only *Tacitus* ſpleen to Chriſtians (it ſeems) had made him inquiſitive of their firſt Original, whoſe Author he acknowledgeth to have been one Chriſt, put to death by *Pontius Pilate*, in the reign of *Tiberius*.

8. The eſtate of theſe Jews in general, between *Adrians* and *Honorius* time, may be gathered out of the Reverend Fathers of the Primitive Church; who uſually ſtopt the Heathens or Blaſphemous Athieſts mouths, by propoſing their condition, then known unto all the world, for ſuch as our Saviour had foretold. But theſe Reverend Fathers obſervations, and ſuch ſcattered teſtimonies of their eſtate and quality, as can be gathered out of Roman Writers, during that flouriſhing age of Fathers, and continuance of the Roman Empire, will come in more fitly in the Article of our Saviours Paſſion.

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† Quos verò Hadrianus in eo bello Judæos cepit, in Hiſpaniam exulatum miſit; (hæc fuit decima eorum Captivitas) porrò ex eo tempore, ad fœliciſſima uſq; tempora Catholicorum regum Ferdinandi & Iſabellæ, atq; etiam Emanuelis invicti Portugalliæ regis publicæ in Hiſpania Judæorum Synagogæ fuere *Jo. Vaſæus, Chron. Hiſpan. An. Chriſti* 137. *vide Pet. Ant. Beuter. l.* 10. *c.* 19.

* *So the Continuer of the Hiſtory of the ſacred War complains.* Nulli mirum erat, nos rerum per Judæam geſtarum notitia deſtitui, ob Romanorum tum in Judæos tum in Chriſtianos invidiam, quorum quidem tempore, & devotionem & pietatem, ſuperſtitioſam quandam perſuaſionem credebant. Nulla igitur corum ratione habita, ret mentionem de his habere dignati ſunt. Adde quod qui Syriæ præfectus erat, hanc quoque viribus, opibus, armis, militibus exutam, regebat. Cúmq; Chriſtiana res pace quam bello magis accreſceret, tumultu nunquam inclaruit Judæa, neminem Imperatorum ſeditiòne nobilitavit. *Baſil. Johan. Herold. lib.* 1. *cap.* 15. *de Contin. Bell. Sacri.* * *Why Roman Writers make no mention of our Saviour Chriſt or his Acts.* † Tacit. Lib. 5. Hiſtor. Ergo abolendo rumori Nero ſubdidit reos, & quæſitiſſimis pœnis affecit, quos per flagitia inviſos, vulgus Chriſtianos appellabat. Auctor nominis ejus Chriſtus, qui, Tiberio imperante, per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum ſupplicio affectus erat. *Tacit. Annal Lib.* 15.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the Jews eſtate after the Diſſolution of the Roman Empire, generally throughout Europe, *until their coming into* England.

1. AFter the diſſolution of the Roman Empire, they had ſome hopes of taking root under the ſhelter of * *Theodebert* and *Theodorick*, Kings of a great part of *France*, and other Provinces, then annexed to that Kingdom. And whilſt the Biſhops of thoſe Countries made Merchandize of ſacred Orders, theſe Jews purchaſed Chriſtians for their Bond-ſlaves; until *Gregory* the Great, by his Fatherly Admonitions and reproof, wrought a Reformation of theſe two foul Enormities, and open Scandals of Chriſtianity. Their number after was much increaſed throughout moſt parts in *France*, by their ſudden decreaſe in *Spain*, cauſed by *Siſebodus* King of the Gothes, and † Lord of that Countrey; who had urged them to profeſſion of Chriſtian Religion, or perpetual exile from his Dominions. Such as made choice of Baniſhment, before Baptiſm, fled in troops into *France*: where in ſhort time, they and their Countrey-men, there reſiding before, had as hard entertainment under *Dagobert*, though peaceably admitted at the firſt. * Some think the Fame and Honor, which the Goth had purchaſed amongſt Chriſtians by his late Fact, did enflame the Franck with a zealous deſire of like glory: others from more particular information of Ancient Writers, as well † *French* as * *Spaniſh*, refer the Original of both Perſecutions unto *Heraclius* the Emperor; who ſeeking his Fates in the Stars, pulls down Gods Judgements from heaven upon theſe Jews, ſcattered from the Eaſt to Weſt. By this means, he had learned (whether by meer skill in Aſtrology, or otherwiſe, is not now to be diſputed) *That the wings of his Empire ſhould be clipped by a Circumciſed people.* This fore-knowledge, howſoever gotten, was not given him for his Good (for his Fears came upon him, whence he leaſt ſuſpected;) but for theſe Jews Miſchief: for, he deeming Them the likelieſt, or the only men, that could bring his Fates upon him, inſerts the former Perſecution as a condition of peace, then conluded between him and *Siſebutus*; afterwards prevails with *Dagobert*, for enforcing all the Jews throughout his Dominions, *either to renounce Circumciſion*, France, *or their Lives.* And no doubt, but he, that could prevail thus far with theſe Weſtern Kings, did alſo deal effectually with other Soveraignties of *Europe*, nearer unto his Imperial Seat, for diſinabling of this Nation from effecting what he feared: much more would he ſeek their Extirpation or Converſion, throughout his own proper Dominions. And ſo I find his perſecution of the Jews record-

* Tunc temporis, Galliarum Epiſcopi, ſacros ordines non niſi pretio & quæſtu conferebant; uti ne hodie quidem faciunt: & Judæi, genus hominum cœlo quóq; ipſi inviſum, Chriſtiana mancipia poſſidebant, Gregorio utcúnque non placebat, &c *Papyrius Maſſon. lib.* 1. *Annal. Francorum*, p. 63.

† Vide Crantzium, lib. 4. Seciæ, c. 33.

* Paul. Æmil. in Dagoberto

† Heraclius cum literis abunde eſſet inſtructus, ad ultimum Aſtrologus efficitur: Agnoſcens itáq; in ſignis ſiderum, imperium ſuum à circumciſa gente vaſtandum, & autumans id de Judæis fuiſſe præmonſtratum, per internuntios Dagobertum rogavit, Regem Francorum, ut cunctos Judaicæ ſtirpis qui in Provinciis illi ſubjectis manebant, Chriſtianos fieri præciperet, eos vero qui nollent aut exilio aut morte damnari. Quod Dagobertus volens effecit, omnes qui noluerint Baptiſma ſuſcipere, procul à finibus eliminans Franciæ. Porro Heraclio non de Judæis, ſed de Saracenis fuerat præoſtenſum. *Aimoinus ſive Annonius, lib.* 4. *cap.* 22. * *Vide Hiſpan. hiſtor. Fran. Taraphæ (Bound up with* Vaſæus) *&c. in* Siſebuto. *I ſuppoſe* Siſebodus *in* Crantzius, *and* Siſebutus *in* Tarapha, *and* Vaſæus) *are the ſame. As alſo that* Egica *a ſucceeding King, or* Egican, *in* Vaſæus, *and* Egyta *in* Tarapha, *be the ſame.*

ed, by ſuch as wrote his life, * as one of the chief Memorables in his Reign: which confirms their report, though otherwiſe Authentick, who refer the two former Perſecutious, under the Goth and Frank, unto the occaſions above mentioned.

2. Shortly after, the Progeny of ſuch as had been enforced to Baptiſm by † *Siſebutus*, for their revolt from Chriſt, and conſpiracy againſt *Egica* (his Anointed) and his Kingdom, were adjudged to perpetual Servitude, throughout all the Provinces belonging to *Spain*: prohibited the uſe of their rites and Ceremonies, not permitted to inhabit together; but, as if the Lord had uſed the *Land of* Jury *as a Marl-pit*, to fat the Soil of this Nation where his Vine was planted; after he had led forth the Jews thither in heaps, he ſcatters their heaps over the whole ſurface of the Land. All Parents not ſuffered to commerce with their children at all, after the ſeventh year of their age, committed by publick Decree to the Education of Chriſtians, appointed in riper years to be given in marriage unto their Sons and Daughters; that ſo the ſucceſſion of infidelity might be aboliſhed. But Chriſtian Princes conſultations prevail as little for their good, as *Pharaohs* policy for their Fore-fathers harm: they muſt multiply, that Gods plagues may be multiplied upon them. This laſt here mentioned, in their eſtimation not the leaſt, though otherwiſe intended by the ſtate of *Spain*, was by the diſpoſition of the Divine Providence brought to paſs, that another Prophecy of *Moſes* might be fulfilled: *Thy Sons and thy Daughters ſhall be given unto another people; and thine eyes ſhall ſtill look for them, even till they fall out; and there ſhall be no power in thy hand*, Deut. 28. 32.

3. Of their Eſtate from this Accident, till three hundred years after, nothing memorable hath come unto my reading: diſhonorable it was, in that their name, throughout this time, ſeems quite put out; miſerable we may preſume it, in that their wonted curſe is not expired, but rather increaſed in ages following, in which we have expreſs, diſtinct, undoubted, records.

4. About the year one thouſand, they were ſo vexed throughout moſt parts of *Europe*, that, as *Moſes* had foretold, and † my Author (little thinking of *Moſes* ſpeeches) expreſly notes, *They could find no reſt*. A company of them, ſeated about *Orleans*, out of their Deviliſh Policy, addreſs an *Embaſſage to the Prince of Babylon*, advertiſing him, that the Chriſtians in theſe *Weſtern parts* were joyning forces to aſſault him, hoping hereby to make him invade *Chriſtendom*, by whoſe broils they expected, either better ſecurity from wonted dangers, or fitter opportunity of fiſhing for gain in troubled ſtreams. But the tenor of their Embaſſage being either known, or ſuſpected by the Chriſtians, the *Embaſſador* upon his return was called in queſtion, convict, and ſentenced to the Fagot. Nor could the hainouſneſs of the Fact be expiated by his death; the reſt of his Country-men (generally preſumed to be as treacherous, when occaſion ſerved) were made away, without any *Formal courſe of Law*, by *Fire*, *Water*, *Sword*, or what *inſtrument* of *death* came next

* Judæos etiam invitos ad Baptiſmum compulit. Matheſeos ſtudiis operam dedit, haruſpiciis & præſtigiis dæmonum fidem adhibuit. *Append, Aur. Victoris.*

† Hoc tempore Judæi perfidi non ſolum tunicam ſacri Baptiſmatis, quam ſuſceperant, macularunt: Sed etiam contra Regem regnúmque conſpirare auſi ſunt, in quos hæc pœna ſtatuta, ut omnibus ſuis rebus nudati, tam ipſi perfidi, quam uxores eorum & filii, ac reliqua poſteritas per cunctas Hiſpaniarum Provincias, ſervituti ſubjacerunt perpetuæ, maneréntq; uſquequâq; diſperſi. Præterea quicunq; eoſdem Judæs, in ſervitutem reciperent, in nullo eos permitterent rituum ſuorum ceremonias celebrare aut colere. Filii vero eorum ab ætatis anno Septimo, nullam cum parentibus ſuis habitationem, aut ſocietatem habere permitterentur, ſed fideliſſimis Chriſtianis nutriendi traderentur, & filiæ eorum ac filii Chriſtianis in matrimonium darentut, ne infidelium patrum ſuorum Semitas quibuſlibet occaſionibus iterare poſſent. *Vaſæus in Chron Hiſpan. anno 694.*

† Judæi ea tempeſtate, in pluribus Europæ locis graviter vexati, quid agerent, aut quo ſe verterent neſciebant, &c. *Papir. Miſſonus ex Glabro.*

next to hand; This fury of Chriſtians raging againſt them, as far as the fame of their villany was ſpread, which was quickly blazed throughout *Europe*.

5. Ere this time *Iſmael* was come to his full growth, and his poſterity having proſecuted their old broken title to the Land of Promiſe, through their diviſion had left the poſſeſſion of it to the Turk: and ſo far is *Iſaac*'s ſeed from all hope of poſſeſſing the good things thereof, that the very love which Chriſtians, the true ſeed of *Abraham*, bare unto theſe *Lovely dwellings of Jacob*, breeds his ungracious poſterities Wo, unto whom the inheritance belonged. For *no expedition, either made, or intended by Chriſtians for recovering Jewry from the Turk and Saracens, but bringeth one Plague or other upon the Jew*; ſo provident is this People, to procure their own miſchief, and as it were to anticipate Gods Judgments upon themſelves, by ſuch Devices as their former Embaſſage, whoſe effect was to haſten the Sacred War: which in the Age following, undertaken upon other occaſions, more than doubles all their wonted miſeries. For it being intended againſt the Turk and Saracen, theſe other Infidels were apprehended as a fit ſubject for ſuch Souldiers, as were indeed bent for *Aſia* and the *Holy Land*, to practiſe licentious hoſtile Outrages upon, by the way. Others again made a ſhew of ſetting forward againſt the Turks or Saracens of *Aſia*, intending indeed only to ſpoil the Jews of *Europe*; Unto which purpoſe that *worthy Edict of the Claremont Council* miniſtred this occaſion.

6. * The joint conſent of Biſhops and others there aſſembled, teſtified aloud in theſe Terms, *Deus vult*, *Deus vult*, having found (as it ſeems) ſome laviſh commendations, as if it had been *the voice of God, and not of Man*, brought forth a Rumour of a voice from Heaven, calling Europæans into *Aſia*: The report was not ſo vain, as the people of thoſe times credulous. For beſide ſuch as were appointed, or would have been approved by the Council, huge multitudes of all ſorts, conditions and ſexes, run like Hounds to the falſe Hallow; ſome pretending the Holy Ghoſts preſence in viſible ſhape. Amongſt the reſt, one † *Emicho*, with a great band of his Country-men gathered from the banks of *Rhein*, having ranged as far as *Hungary*, and there either deſpairing of his hoped prey in *Aſia*, or only *uſing this expedition, generally countenanced by Chriſtian Princes, as a fair pretence to catch ſome Booty nearer home*, falleth upon the Jews about that Country, compelling them either to live Chriſtians, or die. Beſides the ſpoil of their goods, twelve thouſand of their perſons were ſlain by *Emicho*, and his Complices, as the Annals of theſe Countries do teſtifie. The like had been practiſed a little before by one *Godeſcalcus* a Dutch Prieſt; who had perſwaded the King of *Hungary*, that it was a charitable deed to kill theſe uncharitable Jews, until his beaſtly life did diſcredit his Doctrine, and Chriſtians begun to feel the harms of ſuch licentious Pilgrimages, after the Jews being exhauſted, could not ſatisfie his, and his followers greedy appetites.

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* Aventinus Boiorum Annalium libro quinto, p. 361. Ex Germaniis cælitùs voce edita (ita prædicant) *Deus vult*, Galliis, Hiſpaniis, Britanniis, Italiâ, Siciliâ, innumerabilis hominum vis, duces, præfecti, Tetrarchæ, Dynaſtæ, Epiſcopi, Sacrificuli, Monachi, fœminæ ſacratæ, cives, opifices, agricolæ, viri, mulierculæ cum cunis, paſtores cum pecore, relictis regno, urbibus, caſtellis, ſacerdotiis, templo, contuberniis, uxoribus, liberis, prædiis, aratro, in Aſiam gregatim migrant; ſub ſpecie religionis (ita ſunt humana) nefanda ſcelera impune perpetrant. Anſerem præferunt ſanctum eſſe. Carolum Magnum revixiſſe prædicant——. † Emicho quoque Dynaſta cum Rheni accolis unde oriundus erat, ad Pannoniam proceſſit. Iique omnes Judæos ſub jugo religionis noſtræ mittere conantur, Philoſophiam noſtram recipere recuſantes compilant, bonis omnibus ſpoliant, extorres urbibus agunt, domibus eliminant atque contrucidant. Duodecim tum millia Judæorum in noſtra regione cæſa fuiſſe, in Annales relatum eſt.

7. About the ſame Age, * *Petrus Cluniacenſis* directeth a Parenetical diſcourſe unto *Lewis* the French King, for furtherance of his intended Expedition againſt the Saracens; ſhewing him withal a ready means of maintaining his Army, making the perfidious Jews purchaſe their lives with loſs of their goods. But more vehement, if not more Jewiſh, was *Rodulphus Vilis* the German Monk, delivering it in Sermons as ſound Doctrine, throughout both *Germanies*, that for the better ſupply of the ſacred War, (which Chriſtians he thought were bound in conſcience to undertake) the *Jews*, being as great enemies to Chriſtianity as the Saracens were, might not only be robbed of all their goods, but ought to be put to death by Chriſtians; as a good *Omen* to their future ſucceſs againſt the Saracens. And unleſs Saint *Bernard*, with other grave Divines of that Age, had ſounded a Counter-blaſt to this *Furious Doctrine*, both by Mouth and Pen; this Monks preſcript had been practiſed generally throughout *Germany*, ready enough to hold on as ſhe had begun to evacuate her ſelf of Jewiſh bloud, always apprehended by that people as the worſt humour in their Body Politick: Many ſuch general *Maſſacres* have been intended againſt them in divers Countries; but God ſtill raiſed up one or other to ſollicite their Cauſe, becauſe † he hath an ear continually unto the *Pſalmiſts Petition*, not ſo much for Theirs as Chriſtians good; *Slay them not leſt my people forget it, but ſcatter them abroad by thy power, Pſal.* 59. 11. Unleſs God had given them ſuch trembling hearts, and ſorrowful minds (as *Moſes* had foretold) through *Germany*, *France*, and other Countries, they had not been ſcattered ſo ſoon through *this Iſland*; whither they were firſt brought from *France*, by him that brought many grievances thence unto this Nation. But the evil which he intended, hath God turned to our good. For Gods *Iſrael* planted here until this day, may hear and fear his *Heavy Judgment*, manifeſted upon theſe *Jews* in the time of our Fore-fathers; albeit at their firſt coming they found ſome breathing from their wonted perſecutions. *But ſo prodigious is all appearance of proſperity, in ſuch as God hath curſed, that theſe Jews hopes of eaſe and welfare, are an infallible Symptom of great diſtemper in the Publick State wherein they live.* Twice only I find in all the Legend of their wandring, they had obtained ſome freedom, and hopes of flouriſhing in the Lands where they were ſcattered: once in *France*, in the time of *Theodebert* and *Theoderick*, when ſacred orders (as you heard before) were ſet to ſale; Once in *England*, under *William Rufus*, whoſe conditions were ſuch, that whoſoever would give enough, might have whatſoever lay in his power to grant. Their eſtate in *England*, during other three Kings reign until *Richard* the firſt, yields little matter of obſervation: this peoples hate had not as yet broken out againſt them, but was all this time in gathering; and after their firſt planting here, they were to have a time to bring forth fruit for others to eat, a time to gather wealth for others to ſpend, as *Moſes* had foretold.

* Per id tempus Judæi in Gallia & Germania rerum ſuarum ſedem ac domicilium non pauci habebant; Petrus Cluniacenſis literas ad Ludovicum ſcripſit quæ extant; iis laudat conſilium regis de bello pro Chriſtianis adverſus Arabes Perſáſque ſuſcipiendo: deinde, expoſita Judæorum perfidia atque improbitate, Auferatur ait, vel maxima ex parte imminuatur Judaicarum divitiarum male parta pinguedo, & Chriſtianus exercitus, qui ut Saracenos expugnet, pecuniis, vel terris propriis, Chriſti domini ſui amore, non parcit, Judæorum theſauris tam peſſimè acquiſitis non parcat, reſervetur eis vita, auferatur pecunia. Serviant populis Chriſtianis, etiam ipſis invitis, divitiæ Judæorum. Crudelior in eos Rodulphus Vilis Monachus fuit, &c. Papirius Maſſonus libro tertio in Ludovico ſeptimo, p. 244.

† *Why the Lord would not have the Jews utterly deſtroyed.*

8. Moſt miſerable in the mean time was their eſtate throughout the *Eaſtern Empire*, as one of their own Writers, (*Benjamin Tudelenſis* who went on Pilgrimage to viſit his Country-men, whereſoever diſperſed throughout the world) complaineth of their general hard

uſage amongſt the *Grecians*, inſtancing in ſuch as were ſeated about [a] *Conſtantinople*, within whoſe walls they might not come, but upon occaſion of publick Commerce or buſineſs; in which caſe they were allowed paſſage only by Boat, having their habitation, as it were, in an Iſland. Amongſt two thouſand of this ſervile Congregation there reſiding, not one permitted to come on horſe-back, ſave only *Solomon* the Emperours Phyſitian; whoſe exaltation (perhaps not fourteen handfuls above ground) was held as a publick grace of the whole Nation, the chief ſolace of that miſerable and ſervile uſage, which all the reſt, without difference, good or bad, did ſuſtain, daily beat and ſcourged in the open ſtreets. Yet muſt we believe this Relator; That theſe Jews were wealthy, good and merciful men, obſervant of the Law, ſuch as could patiently endure this miſerable captivity. But *Patience perforce*, according to the Proverb, *is no Patience*. If GOD had granted them ability, or opportunity, they had quickly ſhewed their Jewiſh minds by Jewiſh actions. And why he keepeth them continually under, unwilling to hear their cry, though They cannot, we Chriſtians may eaſily perceive the cauſe. For ſo his Prophet [b] *Samuel* had foretold; *And ye ſhall cry out at that day, becauſe of your King whom ye have choſen you; and the Lord will not hear you at that day*. Which words, [c] as a learned convert Jew rightly obſerveth, were not fulfilled in *Samuels* time; whoſe opinions may be fortified by theſe reaſons.

9. *Samuels* authority over that people, was not ſo ſtrictly linked with GODS, but that they might reject the one for their preſent Judge, ſtill retaining the other for their ſupream Lord: and who can deny, that the God of their Fathers did rule over them in *Davids*, *Solomons*, *Jehoſhaphats* and *Ezekiahs* times? Sin no doubt they did in abandoning Gods Prieſt and Prophet, to follow the faſhions of other Nations, in ſubmitting themſelves unto a King. And *Samuel*, like a good Phyſician, forewarneth them of that incurable diſeaſe, which this new-fangle and intemperate act did even then Prognoſticate: whoſe *Fatal Criſis* notwithſtanding did not inſue, until they (overgrown with deſperate, wilful, and intemperate malice) had rejected *Him* with open mouth, who was both *Prieſt* and *Prophet*, and their lawful *King*; whoſe Kingdom was not of this world, whoſe Sovereignty was ſo united with the Divine Majeſty, that * *in caſting him away, they could not but caſt off God, that he ſhould not reign over them.*

10. Again, before that time, God always heard their cry, and redeemed them from all Foreign Bondage; and ſuch as *Samuel* there deſcribeth, was neither general, nor perpetual under their own

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[a] Nulli Judæi intra urbem habitant, excluſi enim ab illis ſunt brachio aquarum, atque inter illud & Sophiæ maris brachium aliud concluſi, neque in urbem ire permittuntur niſi navigio, idque negotii & commercii cauſa: ſúntque Judæi circiter bis mille, qui cum magiſtris congregantur, hoc eſt ſapientum diſcipulis, inter quos primas obtinent Abtalion magnus & Abdias & Aaron Cuſpus, & Joſephus Sarginus, & Eliakim gubernator; ex illis quidam ſunt artifices veſtium ſericarum, quamplurimi vero mercatores ſunt, iíque ditiſſimi. Nulli Judæo illic equo vehi licet, præter Selomonem Ægyptium Medicum regium, cujus officio Judæi recreantur, ſuámque captivitatem ſolantur, quam gravem ſentiunt; oppidò enim inviſi ſunt Græcis Judæi omnes, nullo bonorum ac malorum diſcrimine; propter coriarios, qui dum pelles conficiunt, impuram aquam in plateas, ante ſuas ipſorum portas, effundunt: ideóque omnes gravi jugo pariter premuntur, atque in plateis vapulant, & coguntur violenter inſervire. Verum Judæi ipſi divites, ut dixi, ſunt, viríque boni ac miſericordes, præceptorúmque obſervatores, qui captivitatis miſeriam æquo ferunt animo. *Benjamin Tudelenſis in Itinerario*, p. 31.

[b] *The fulfilling of* Samuels *Prophecy in the Jews living after our Saviours death*, 1 *Sam.* 8. 18.

[c] Johan. Baptiſta de confut. Jud. parte tertia.

* *Gods words in that ſeventh verſe, are as if he had ſaid: Let it not grieve thy righteous Spirit, that they grow weary of thee, but let them have their will, for ſo will they ſerve thy Lord and thy Redeemer.* Sunt verba (opinor) filii Dei ſeu ſecundæ perſonæ Trinitatis, 1 *Sam.* 8. 7.

Kings: neither did the beſt of ſuch uſe any, nor the worſt all, or moſt part of the natural Iſraelites, in ſuch ſort as he there threatneth; yet all the miſeries there threatned, 1 *Sam.* 8. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17. have been ſince accompliſhed in full meaſure, if I may ſo ſpeak, *in length, breadth, and profundity.* Firſt, this *Servility* hath been extended *over All the Nations, without exception.* Secondly, the continuance of it hath been exceeding *long* and perpetual *without interruption*; and ſo muſt continue until they confeſs their forefathers rebellion, and acknowledge him for their King, whom rejecting, they rejected God; for he that will not ſo honour the Son, cannot Honour the Father as King. Laſtly, thoſe marks of ſervility, ſet forth by *Samuel*, have been ſo deeply imprinted in this Generation rejected of GOD, that his Prophecy compared with Modern Hiſtories concerning them, will ſeem but as Painted Wounded men in a cloth of Arras, to the bleeding reliques of a ſcattered, vanquiſhed Army. For neither under any *Cæſar*, (though they made choice of *Cæſar* for their King) nor under any other Kings or States, have they lived as Free-Denizons, capable of publick Office or Honour: the beſt of them are but as Slaves, prohibited to uſe the meaneſt of Chriſtians ſo: The moſt of them, as *Samuel* foretold, are admitted in Commonwealths, for manual ſervices or other handy-crafts Imployments; Captains I think none of them have been; unleſs perhaps in ſome deſperate ſervices: many of them in greater Cities are ſuffered to follow Merchandize, that they may ſerve the State as Spunges; always ſurer to be ſqueezed for the moiſture they have ſucked, than to be nouriſhed by it: ſundry of them are curious Artificers, and profeſs ingenious Trades; like ſilly Silk-worms, permitted to exerciſe their skill in precious Stuff, to fill Princes Coffers, and find their Countries cloathing.

11. The poſſeſſion of Fields and Vineyards, hath not been ſo uſual amongſt this people, as their ſpoil amongſt ſuch as poſſeſſed any: ſo this Jew relateth it as a ſpecial prerogative of * *Calonymus*, the ſon of *Theodorus* (both in their life-times) chief of the Synagogue in *Narbona*, and lineally deſcended (as he pretendeth) from *David*, that he might quietly poſſeſs the fruits of his grounds. The Princes, it ſeemeth, of that and like places, did take other Jews *fields and vineyards, and beſt Olive-trees, and gave them unto their ſervants*, rather tything than taking the tenth of their ſeed and Vineyards; for that uſually was the Jews part, the other nine (as *Samuel* foretold, 1 *Sam.* 8. 14, 15, 16.) fell unto Princes Officers lot.

12. But the greater theſe diſperſed ſons of *Iſaac* Servility was, the more it commendeth the fidelity of Gods Word concerning the ſons of *Rechab*, who, as this Author relateth, live united in form of a * Kingdom or Nation, not ſubject to any foreign yoke; rather able to offend their Neighbours, than likely to receive harms from them. Their eſtate to this Authors days continued ſuch, as they themſelves acknowledged unto *Jeremy*; only experience (it ſeemeth)

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* Ex Narbona proficiſcitur lex in omnes nationes; ubi ſapientes ſunt & magni & ſuſpiciendi, imprimis Calonymus Filius Theodori bonæ memoriæ ex ſemine David recta genealogia, qui prædia & fundos habet à principibus regionis, nullius hominis vim aut impetum metuentia. *Benjamin. Tudelenſ. in Itin. p.* 14.

* Eſt urbs enim ipſa Theima magna & frequens. Horum regio inter montes qui ſeptentrionales dicuntur, ſedecim dierum itinere protenditur, urbibus magnis & munitiſſimis exculta, nullóque externæ gentis jugo ſubdita. Unde prodeuntes incolæ finitimas & remotiores etiam gentes diripiunt omnes quotquot ſunt uſque ad Arabes; qui cum ipſis fœdus habent. *Idem, p.* 75.

had taught them to build Cities, for their better ſecurity againſt the incurſion of Foreigners, which was not againſt their Oath, in caſe of neceſſity, as appeareth from *Jeremy* 35. 9, 10, 11, 12. Becauſe in other points, *they have obeyed the commandment of* Jonadab *their Father, and kept his precepts, and done according to all that he had commanded them; therefore* Jonadab *hath not wanted a man to ſtand before him until this day*; that is, their eſtate hath continued, ſuch as their Father left them, much better than the eſtate of *Abrahams* Sons by *Sarah*; Though this Jew at his return to *Paris*, then flouriſhing with all manner of Arts and Sciences, found his Country-men marvellous great Students in Divinity, and in much better ſtate than might be expected to continue any long time.

13. *Lewes* the ſeventh, albeit inſtigated thereto (as was ſaid before) had not ſhorn them ſo near upon his Expedition to the *Holy Land*, but that they might bear Fleece again for his Son to pluck off. Their Synagogues had remained ſtill beautified; and their private wealth, either before his death much increaſed, or in his time not much impaired. But Almighty GOD, who in Teſtimony of his rejoycing to do them good, had raiſed up *Cyrus* to *Balthazars* Throne, to releaſe their Nation from that Captivity, which *Nabuchad-nezzar* had brought upon them; to give the world as perfect a proof of his *Rejoycing over them to deſtroy them, and bring them to nought*, *Deut*. 28. 63. did Advance *Philippus Auguſtus* *, Son unto the former *Lewes*, unto the Crown of *France*, to defeat the Jews throughout that Kingdom, in an inſtant, of all their former hopes. No ſooner was he enthroned King, but preſently he giveth forth his Edict; That their Synagogues ſhould be ſpoiled of all Donatives and Ornaments belonging to them: and, informed of the grievances which Chriſtians ſuſtained by them, granteth a general Releaſe of all Debts due unto them from Chriſtians, confiſcating all their Lands and immoveable Goods. This was done that *Moſes* his Prophecy might be fulfilled in part, *Deut*. 28. 30, 31, 32. *Thou ſhalt build an houſe, and not dwell therein; thou ſhalt plant a Vineyard, but ſhalt not eat the fruit thereof. Thine Ox ſhall be ſlain before thine eyes, but thou ſhalt not eat thereof: Thine Aſſe ſhall be violently taken away before thy face, and ſhall not be reſtored unto thee: Thy ſheep ſhall be given unto thine enemies, and no man ſhall reſcue them for thee: the fruit of thy Land, and all thy labours ſhall a people which thou knoweſt not, eat; And thou ſhalt never but ſuffer wrong and violence always.*

The perſecution of the Jews in France *under* Philippus Auguſtus.

* An. 1179. Kalen. Octob. Ludovici patris conſenſu Philippus apud Rhemos regium ornatum noménq; ſumpſit, præſente Henrico regis Angliæ filio, & cæteris regni proceribus. Quamprimum honorem illum adeptus eſt, Judæorum Synagogas donariis omnique ſupellectile ſpoliari mandavit: cúmque eos audiſſet Chriſtianis moleſtos eſſe, primum debita omnibus remiſit, deinde fundos eorum & res non moventes, fiſco addixit. *Pap. Maſſon. lib.* 3. *Annal. Franc. initio Phil. Aug. p.* 250.

CHAP.

Chap. XXIX.

Of the fulfilling other particular Prophecies of Moſes *in the Jews perſecutions, in* England, Germany, France *and* Spain.

1. THat they ſhould not once or twice, in this or that Age, in ſome one or few Kingdoms only, but always, in every place, where they have come ſince their rooting out of their own Land, ſuffer ſuch wrong and violence; muſt needs be thought to have proceeded, *rather from Divine Juſtice, than mans Injuſtice, which could not but have varied with the diverſity of times and places*, and the ſeveral diſpoſitions of parties, amongſt whom in this their long Pilgrimage they have lived. And yet this brief Enumeration (following) of their particular ſpoils, and hard uſages, ſince *Philippus Auguſtus* time, throughout the moſt civil and beſt Governed States of *Europe*, will abundantly confirm the truth of *Moſes* general Induction, in the place now cited, *Thou ſhalt never but ſuffer wrong and violence always.* To begin with their perſecutions in this Land.

2. Had *Henry* (the eldeſt ſon of *Henry* the ſecond) (who was * preſent at the fore-named French Kings Coronation, acquainted with theſe ſevere Edicts againſt the Jews) lived to enjoy the Crown of *England* after his Father, as he was entituled King with him: the grievous wrongs and violence, immediately after befalling theſe Jews throughout this Kingdom, had been aſcribed to this politick imitation of the French King his Brother; at leaſt men would have thought, they had been done by his ſufferance or connivence. But God had taken him away, and yet theſe Jews Intreaty continues much worſe under *Richard* the firſt, who never intended them like harm; only upon his Coronation day, (*with his Reign begins their Wo*, which ends not till their final Extirpation hence) not willing to be beholden unto them for their preſents, or (as ſome think) partly afraid leſt admitted to his preſence, they might practiſe ſome Sorcery upon his body, he gave command that no Jew ſhould come either within the Church, where he was Crowned, or the Palace where he was to Dine. But they deſirous to preſent him with ſome gift in hope to have their Charters, and other Priviledges, granted by other Kings, confirmed by him, preſs in at the Palace-Gate amongſt others, making (perhaps) more haſt but worſe ſpeed; one of them receiving a blow for his forwardneſs by one of the Kings ſervants, who might well juſtifie the fact by the Kings command to keep them out. The people about the Gate apprehend the matter ſo, as if this Jew had been beat by the Kings commandment, and ſo they thought might all the reſt of that crew: and hence fall upon them with ſuch weapons as they could find, as it was eaſie to find bats to beat theſe doggiſh Jews home to their kennels, where they found but ſilly ſhelter: For albeit their houſes were ſtrong, yet the rage of the people was too great againſt them. With the multitude the former rumour was enlarged, that it was the Kings pleaſure to have all the Jews deſtroyed: *And*, as the Axiom is, *Mens own deſires are quickly believed.* So far more apt they were to

* Papirius Maſſonus, loco citato.

The lamentable maſſacre of the Jews upon K. Richard *the firſt his Coronation day.*

apprehend this rumour as true, than to examine whether it were true or no, that the Lord Chief Juſtice and other Officers, ſent from the King to appeaſe the tumult, were more likely to catch harm themſelves, than to free theſe Jews from preſent danger: ſome of whoſe houſes now flaming gave the people light to ſpoil and rifle others in the dark. For ſo violently were they ſet to wrong them, and eat their labours, that they could not be ſatisfied from Dinner-time on the one day, to two a clock on the other: many of theſe Jews in the mean time being roſted, or ſmothered with their goods; others leaping out of the fire, fell upon their enemies weapons. Although the outrage was ſuch, as in a peaceable ſtate might ſeem intolerable; yet was the hainouſneſs of the offence quite ſwallowed up by the multitude of the offenders. But as the Engliſh eſcapt unpuniſhed: ſo the Jews were not amended, by their correction. *Their Stubbornneſs, as the Scripture tells me, did firſt procure their Blindneſs, and their Blindneſs becoming Hereditary, hath confirmed their Stubbornneſs to Poſterity.*

The Brutiſh Stupidity of the Jews.

3. The former violence which they ſuffered, would have been a ſufficient Caveat to any people in the world beſides, to have carried themſelves with more moderation in a ſtrange land: but not the flies ſo ſtupid and ſenſeleſs in diſcerning the cauſes of their ſmart, as this people is. Their perfidiouſneſs and daily ſucking of Chriſtians blood, had made them moſt odious in this, as in other Lands; and though a number of them be Maſſacred to day for like attempts; yet the reſt are as ready again to morrow to ſeize upon every ſore, either to exhauſt the reliques of life from ſuch as are ſhrunk in their eſtate, by cruel exactions, and damned uſury; or elſe to intrude themſelves, as wedges or inſtruments of diviſions, into every breach that ſhall appear amongſt Chriſtians, or between them and others. In which practiſe they have been continually cruſht. Finally, their general carriage is ſo odious and prepoſterous, that, *Albeit the* Chriſtian *Magiſtrates conſpire together for their good, they themſelves will certainly provoke their own miſery.*

Their Maſſacre in Lin *in* Norfolk.

4. The lamentable death of thoſe *Jews in London*, had purchaſed pity and compaſſion towards the reſt, (as the Kings Proclamation for their peace and ſecurity did witneſs) but their *Brethren of Lin* cannot abſtain from offering that violence, from which the King had priviledged them, to one of their own lineage, for becoming a Chriſtian; attempting forcible entrance into the Church, whither he had fled for Sanctuary. Unleſs they had thus riotouſly violated the Kings Peace, the Chriſtians had not aſſembled together, and the *Inhabitants* were afraid at all to meddle with them. But ſo God had provided, that a great company of *Foreign Mariners* ſhould repair unto this mutiny; who, moved with indignity of the attempt, could not content themſelves with the reſcue of the Convert, (at the firſt perhaps only intended) but aſſault theſe mutinous Jews, through fear repairing to their houſes; which the other firſt rifle, then burn together with their owners, departing unpuniſhed with ſpoil.

5. The end of the Kings Proclamation being once fruſtrate, by this ſtrange Accident, though not purpoſely or directly violated by the Inhabitants of this place; his Subjects elſewhere are willing enough to imitate the Fact, without any occaſion of like wrongs,

offered by the Jews, only upon opportunity of doing violence by the Kings abſence, and the preſent muſtering of Souldiers for the *Holy Land*; upon whom, tranſported hence, their Partners in evil, here at home remaining, might poſt over the whole blame of the fact, of part whereof no doubt his Souldiers had been guilty. The like Maſſacres of theſe Jews enſued at *Stamford*, at *Lincoln*, and S. *Edmundsbury* ſhortly after; but of all others, moſt memorable and lamentable was that, which in the ſame Lent befel them at *York*.

The Horrible Conſpiracy of the Jews againſt their own ſouls in York.

6. The Jews there dwelling had heard by this time, what had been done unto their brethren in *London*, and *Lin*, and ſee now the like or greater violence intended againſt themſelves: ſo that as *Moſes* in the fore-cited place, *Deut.* 28. 34. addeth; *They became mad for the ſight of their wrong and violence, which their eyes did ſee.* One of their learned Rabbines perſwades four hundred of his company, beſieged with him in a ſtrong Tower by a furious multitude, to prove themſelves (ſuch as the world had long taken them, and were now perſecuted for) right *Cut-throats indeed*, rather than fall into their enemies hands; *himſelf confirming his Doctrine by his example, in cutting his Wives throat firſt, then his Childrens, and laſtly by killing himſelf.* The reſidue of the four hundred, which he had perſwaded unto this unnatural and Jewiſh Act, not only willing to imitate him herein, would before their death have enforced many others, that would not yield unto this Rabbines advice, to a more violent death, had they not conveyed themſelves into a ſtrong Turret, within the main Tower, which defended them from the flames that conſumed their goods. And yet theſe poor ſouls, that had ſcaped their fellows violence, were born to ſuffer the like of their *Chriſtian Enemies*; *to their ſhame*, who had promiſed them life, upon condition they would yield themſelves, and become Chriſtians; which whether they meant in heart or no as they promiſed, he that trieth the ſecrets of all hearts doth know. Sure I am, *their profeſſed Chriſtian enemies did turn Jews in heart*, that treacherouſly killed them before any trial made of their ſincerity towards Chriſt.

7. All theſe wrongs and violences were committed only by the people, much againſt the Magiſtrates minds; but hereafter the ſupreme Magiſtrates, Kings themſelves (as if they had learned wit of their ſubjects) took the Monopoly of wronging the Jews into their own hands. To omit what *Richard* the firſt had done unto them, their hard uſage under King *John*, *Henry* the third, and *Edward* the firſt, * makes me think, that *Moſes*, in the laſt words of his often mentioned Prophecie, *Deut.* 28. ſpake in his language that ſaid, *Patria eſt ubicunque bene eſt:* ſo as *England*, and every place in *Europe*, wherein their condition of life hath been more hard and burdenſom, than their forefathers had been in *Egypt*, may be ſaid to be *that Egypt*, whereunto *the Lord had threatned to bring them again by ſhips.* King *Johns* exactions were ſo grievous, that they had rather ſuffer than do what he commanded, many of them being impriſoned and tortured before they would yield what he demanded. What an intolerable thing was it, for a private man in thoſe times to

* *Yet were it worth enquiry, Whether ſuch as have been tranſported out of* Spain *or other Countries of* Europe, *were not ſent into* Egypt; *or what entertainment they find there.* * *They came out of* Egypt *without Ships, for the Sea gave them paſſage,* * Deut. 28. 68. *The report of their perſecutions about this time in* Spain, *made them more ready to redeem their peace.* Vide Matth. Pariſ.

pay * *ten thouſand marks*, for refuſal of which that poor *Jew* of *Briſtol* was ſo pitifully uſed; But with God it was juſt, to puniſh him by his own greedineſs of gain; for unleſs his money had been as dear to him, as meat to ſuch as make *Their Belly Their God*, he would have let his Gold go, before he had loſt *ſeven Teeth of nine*.

8. King *Henry* the third, firſt demands the *third part* of all their *moveables* for his ſupplies; then puniſh'd them grievouſly by the purſe, for a murther ſecretly committed by them; and thirdly, makes them buy their miſerable peace by the third part of what was left: Finally, he brought them to ſuch extream poverty, that his brother, to whom *he let them out to farm*, could (it ſeems) make nothing of them; and ſo they were freed from this bruitiſh ſervitude (as *Moſes* in the fore-cited place had foretold) for *want of a Buyer*. The King ſurely did not ſo much pity them, as he did himſelf and his poſterity, who ſhould have gotten nothing of them, if the bargain with his brother had gone forward: whereas his Succeſſor, *Edward* the firſt, accounted their goods as his own, and for Non-payment of what he demanded, the whole generation ſcattered throughout this Land, were ſhut up in one night, where they enjoyed no day, until they had fined at the Kings pleaſure; who yet perhaps did recover but as much as he and his Subjects were endamaged, by two hundred and odd of their Country-men, all condemned ſome eight years before for circumciſing, counterfeiting, and waſhing his coyn. This King, albeit their wealth under him was much diminiſhed, had this advantage of his Predeceſſors. The Engliſh, deſirous to have them baniſhed, and they, as willing to ſpite the Engliſh by their ſtaying here, were both forward to purchaſe their contrary deſires by large offers to the King, until the Engliſh at laſt did out-vie them, by a fifteenth, which the Parliament granted for their utter avoidance of this Land; ſo much welcomer was their room than company.

* Vide orationem Pontificis Judeorum, ſuorum calamitates deplorantis apud Mat. Pariſ.

Aaron the Jew paid Hen. 3. 30200 *marks*. Hollinſh. Anno 1250. p. 242.

The French King perſecuted them at the ſame time as miſerably, as Matthew Paris *intimates.*

9. All their immoveable goods, with their Obligations and Bills of debt were confiſcated: Thus (as *Moſes* ſaith) *they had builded houſes, but could not dwell therein, Vineyards they had planted which they could not carry with them*, never to return hither again, they nor their ſeed to eat of their fruit: yea, even the gold and coyn, with other riches which they were permitted to tranſport, were reſerved to many of their owners evil. The *Sea* which gave their forefathers paſſage from *Egypt*, did ſwallow up a great number of thoſe wealthieſt Jews at their departure out of this Land. And, howſoever both *his Fact that expoſed them to danger was moſt Impious*, and *his ſpeeches Scurrilous, in turning them off to pray to* Moſes, *when he might have ſaved them*, yet if we conſider the concurſe of circumſtances, and opportunity tempting him, otherwiſe ill diſpoſed unto this fact, *his prophane jeſting* at their miſerable death was a ſenſible document of the *Amighties reyoycing* to deſtroy them and bring them to nought.

10. During this time of their abode here (which was two hundred and odd years) their general perſecutions throughout *Germany* (that have come unto my reading) were not ſo rife, as in the ages following. † In the year 1286. (in which they had been generally impriſoned throughout this Land) they had *ſtabbed a child, throughout his whole body with needles*, at Munchen *in* Bavere, *taking*

Of theſe Jews Maſſacres in Germany, *after their Baniſhment out of* England, *or about that time*

† Avent. Boior. Annalium, lib. 7. p. 442.

taking his blood in a baſon; to uſe it, as the ſuſpicion was then, *in ſacrifice*, for ſtanching that iſſue of blood, wherewith this people (Chriſtians know why) is continually peſtered. Theſe butchers were detected by the Drover, an old Hag, taken in the very manner, while ſhe was ſtealing a ſecond for the ſame purpoſe. The body of the former being found out by her directions, the freſh print of infinite wounds filled with gore, imploring vengeance, as it were with ſo many watry and blubber'd eyes, did ſo enrage the multitude, that they could not expect the Judges ſentence, but fall immediate upon theſe Jews, notwithſtanding the Princes ſervants, and their chief Magiſtrates earneſt endeavours to appeaſe the tumult, conveying as many Jews as they could into their Synagogue, which the people burning with fury, ſet on fire, and with it burned an hundred and eighty Jews.

Aventinus lib. 7. Boior. Annalium.

11. Yet this was but as a little flaſh in the fire-pan to that geral fury, which the people of this and other Countries of *Germany* did diſcharge upon this curſed ſeed about ten years after. The Alarum to this Bloody Fact was a Rumor, true or falſe, by Gods diſpoſition a means to bring deſtruction upon them whom he rejoyced to deſtroy; as ſoon condemned by the multitude, as accuſed for ſtealing away the conſecrated Hoſt, as they term it, and amongſt other indignities, for braying it in a Mortar, until it bled again. One *Rindeſlaiſh*, of what ſpirit God knows, by profeſſion a *Husband-man* (whether one of the raiſers of this rumour, or only taking opportunity upon it blazed abroad by others) *proclaims that he was ſent from heaven to deſtroy the Jews*, whereſoever ſcattered upon the face of the earth: and with that conjuring acclamation, *As many as bare any love to Chriſt, or wiſhed the ſafety and welfare of Chriſtendom, let them follow him*, gets ſo many followers, that through eight or nine Cities, named by mine Author, and many others omitted, they rob, ſpoil and kill theſe *Jews*, now become as obſtinate and ſtubborn as the others were violent. For after they had gathered their goods and houſhold-ſtuff together, leſt the Chriſtians ſhould be any better by it, or they themſelves by Chriſtians, that would have enforced them to Baptiſm, the men with their Wives and Children caſt themſelves into the fire, and ſo periſh with their ill gotten goods. *The ſigns of the time*, with which in particular we are not acquainted, did fully perſwade both Prieſt and People, that all was done by Gods ſpecial appointment: and *Aventinus* himſelf ſaith, *Iram divinam fuiſſe neceſſe eſt*; becauſe the Emperor, moſt deſirous to revenge their wrongs, was enforced to give place to this perſwaſion, and diſſemble his grief. The Magiſtrates of *Regineburgh* (the ancient Metropolis of *Bevere*) with much ado perſwaded their people to forbear execution of their wrath, and expect more certain warrants from heaven for their proceedings.

* Supereſt ultimus *Philippi* annus: illo, leproſos, Judæóſque in Gallia vexatos conſtat, propter ſuſpicionem veneni in puteos ſparſi—. Autores ſceleris Judæi á morboſis & miſeris hominibus eſſe dicebantur; quare in utróſq; ſævitum, plebe, (nulla expectatâ judicii formâ) igni illos cremante. *Papirius Maſſonus*, l. 3. *Fran. Annal. in Philippo Longo*, p. 380.
† Idem Ibidem.

12. * Not many years after this their general calamity throughout *Bevere*, and *old France*, they and the Lepers conſpire to poyſon the Fountains throughout the French Kingdom, and are both made away on heaps by the people, dying for the moſt part by the contrary element, without any conviction or arraignment, which forty of them † impriſoned at *Vitrie in Campanie*, did wiſely prevent, by killing themſelves all in one Gaol. So cunningly doth the Almighty plot their overthrow, ever ſince he became their

enemy, that it is oft times hard to ſay, Whether mans purpoſes for their good, or evil, bring greater plagues upon them. Not fifteen years before this time, * *Philip* the Fair had apprehended all the Jews throughout his Dominions in one day, robbed them of their goods, and rid his land of them. About ten years after this their baniſhment by publick Edict (not five years before the late mentioned perſecution) † *Lewes* the tenth, ſon to this *Philip*, intending their good, revokes his Fathers Edict for their perpetual baniſhment, and brought them back again into *France*; where theſe Malefactors were, by the appointment of God, to ſuffer juſt puniſhment for their villanies there committed by their Fathers and them, and their bodies ſerving for fuell to the flame, prepared by God to purge the air, which their blaſphemous mouths had polluted.

13. * The like plagues, but far more general, from like provocation, did befal them, about the year 1337. and the times enſuing, till 1348. † They hoped Chriſtian Religion ſhould have died in the Wars between the Emperor and the Pope; the ſtate of Chriſtendom, they ſaw deeply endangered in theſe civil broyls: and they, according to their Jewiſh Policy, ſeek to thruſt it over head and ears in Blood, poyſoning the Fountains throughout *Germany*, offering like violence to the Sacraments as they had done before; and by this juſt provocation were ſo dealt withal by one *Hartmannus* and his complices, as they had been uſed ſome forty years ago by *Rindeflaiſh*. The rehearſal of all particular outrages committed againſt them, during the time of the Pope and Emperors variance, would take up more room in this Diſcourſe, than all the reſt hitherto reckoned. * Moſt memorable is that of the *Jews inhabiting Wormes*; who, perſecuted by the people, implore the *Biſhops* interceſſion for their ſafety: the conditions of their peace, procured by him, were to be *waſhed from their ſins*; and having reſpite given to deliberate upon the point, they *pollute themſelves with their own blood*, without returning any further anſwer to the Biſhop that had interceded for them.

14. This and the like Barbarous impiety, committed by others of this curſed race at *Vitrie*, almoſt forty, at *York*, above an hundred years before, cannot be aſcribed to the Revolutions of the Heavens, or ſucceſſive Reign of ſome unruly Stars; all of them were from *His will*, in whom there is no ſhadow of change. In theſe laſt Maſſacres, as in the former, the Magiſtrates in many places had minds willing enough to ſave them, but durſt not venture their bodily preſence for their reſcue. Albeit the manner of the Chriſtians proceeding againſt them be uſually ſuch, as none but Jews would juſtifie; yet this is an evident Argument, that the Lord of lords, and King of kings hath ordained them to ſuffer wrong, whom the greateſt powers, in ſuch civil States as *Germany*, *France* and *England* are, cannot right. For although the *Palſgrave*, with ſome others inclining unto them, had taken their protection upon them in theſe laſt Perſecutions; yet even this pity, whether true or pretended, did cauſe their further wrongs, by grievous exactions, for maintaining the war begun in their defence. So ſtrangely doth the wiſdom of God bring that to paſs, which his ſervant *Moſes* had foretold, *Deut.* 28. 29. *Thou ſhalt not proſper in thy ways, thou ſhalt never but be oppreſſed with wrong, and be polled evermore,*

* Uno die Judæi tota Francia capti, bonis eorum fiſco addictis, regni finibus excedere juſſi ſunt. *Papirius Maſſon. lib.* 3. *Annalium Francorum*, p. 363.

† Idem Papir. in vita Ludovici. Hutini, *p.* 372.

* Aventinus lib. ſeptimo Annalium Boior.

† *The like plague befel them at Prage: about the year* 1389. *for the like contumely offered by their children to the Hoaſt (as they term it.)* Incenſis domibus, fœminæ cum parvulis ſe ſua ſponte injecerunt incendio, ne probris Chriſtianorum expoſitæ ad extremum necarentur. *Krantzius Wandalorum Hiſt. l.* 9. *c.* 23.

* Vide H. Mutium & Bertoldum Preſbyt. Conſtant.

and no man ſhall ſuccour thee. Even *Succour it ſelf by their diſtempered appetites is turned into Sorrow. Though all Chriſtian Kings and States ſhould conſpire together for their weal; yet (as I ſaid before) they will conceive miſchief, and bring forth their own deſtruction, by burſting out into ſuch ſhameful Acts, as deſerve grievous puniſhment in ſight of God and man.* So in the * year 1410. they go about their wonted practice of *crucifying* a Chriſtian *child* in contumely of our Saviour Chriſt; but their intent being known before they had opportunity of acting it, the *Marqueſs* of *Miſna, and Land-grave* of *Turing* find room enough for their coyn in their coffers, but leave none for them, ſtript naked of all they had within any part of their Dominions. Or if they do ſometimes that which in it ſelf is good, they do it with ſuch malicious minds, that God gives them but the reward of wickedneſs: † So in the year 1421. for furniſhing the poor Chriſtians of *Bohemia* with money and munition againſt their Antichriſtian Perſecutors, they were generally impriſoned throughout *Bevere*, quite bereft of all their money and coyn, and laſtly baniſhed all the dominions belonging to *Frederick* Duke of that Province. Nor doth their in-bred ſpight to Chriſtians, or their plagues due thereunto wear out in that age. For, in the year 1497. they were burnt at * *Stenneberge* in the Province of *Stargardia*, for their wonted violence, and indignities offered to the bleſſed Euchariſt.

15. Thus much of their eſtate in *England*, *France*, and *Germany*, until the year 1500. Of their eſtate in *Germany ſince*, if God permit, elſewhere, becauſe it yields matter of diſtinct obſervation from the former. Now briefly to acquaint the Reader with ſo much of their affairs in *Spain*, as may teſtifie ſome other parts of *Moſes* his Prophecy in the forementioned place. In the year 1482. the meaſure of their iniquity was grown ſo full, that this land could not bear it: and they themſelves become ſo abominable to *Ferdinand* and *Iſabel* his Queen, that none of this ſeed muſt ſtay within their dominions, unleſs they will become Chriſtians, as ſundry of larger poſſeſſions amongſt them in outward Profeſſion did, the reſt were ſcattered thence into other Countries, moſt into *Portugal*, welcome for their money to ſojourn there a certain time: after which as many as were found in *Portugal*, were there to remain as ſlaves unto the King; ſuch as would, were to be tranſported at his coſt and charges. The King himſelf (unleſs *Oſorius* be partial for him) was careful to perform his promiſe, to ſecure them of peace during their abode, and of ſafe paſſage at the time appointed. But the Mariners having once gotten them aboard, did make their ſhips as ſo many priſons, or houſes of torture, to wreſt their wealth out of their hands, lengthning the time by circular and unneceſſary turnings, back and forth, until the *Jews* had quite ſpent all their proviſion, afterwards enforced to buy their food, and other neceſſaries of the Mariners, at what rate they pleaſed. And, not content with ſpoil of their goods, they abuſe the bodies of their wives and daughters to their luſt, not pleaſant enough, unleſs ſauced with other contumelies, and indignities practiſed upon their Fathers and Husbands. Finally, by *theſe Marriners, too much thinking that their paſſengers were Jews, and might be uſed accordingly, they forgot that they themſelves were Chriſtians, and ſtain that ſacred profeſſion with all manner of baſe villany and impiety.* Partly through this delay in ſhipping over the firſt

* Krantzius, lib. 10. Wandal. cap. 18.

† Krantzius, lib. 11. Saxon. cap. 7.

* Krantzius Wand. lib. 14. cap. 17. *The like facts and maſſacres of the Jews, at* Cheracho, *are related by the ſame* Krantzius, l. 8. Wandal cap. 8. anno 1330. *Of theſe Jews eſtate in* Spain *and* Portugal *about the year* 1500. *See* Oſorius, lib. primo de geſtis Emanuelis.

firſt company, partly through the abuſes done unto them, ſo ſhameful, that the fame thereof was brought unto their fellows ears by the wind, which ſerved the Mariners back to *Portugal*: the later ſort remaining in expectation of ſafe paſſage, either could not, or would not be tranſported at the day appointed, and ſo by their ſtaying become captives to *John* then King of *Portugal*. But *Emanuel* his ſucceſſor, not long after ſets them free, uſing all other fair means to bring them unto Chriſt, until *Ferdinand* and *Iſabel* his confederates, ſolicite theſe ill-thriving plants ejection out of *Portugal*, as unfit to ſettle in any Chriſtian ſoil. After long debatement with his Counſellors for their exile or ſtay, the freſh examples of their expulſion by ſo many other Chriſtian Kings and Princes, did move *Emanuel* to their imitation. So that either they muſt avoid his Dominions by a certain day, or elſe remain there either free-men in Chriſt, or ſlaves and captives unto him: as many of them did againſt their wills, not able to provide themſelves of ſhipping, having but one port at laſt allowed them for their paſſage: whereas at the firſt promulgation of the Kings Edict againſt them, they had choice of three. The greatneſs of their number, beſt appearing by their confluence about the day appointed for their paſſage, moved the good King with compaſſion, to ſee ſo many thouſand ſouls ſhould deſperately run the ways of death; and ſeeing no hope of diſeaſoning the old and withered ſtocks, fit fewel for everlaſting flames, he was the more deſirous to recover ſome of their young and tender grafts, by watering them with the water of grace: and for this purpoſe gives ſtrict commandment, that all their children under fourteen years of age ſhould be taken from their Jewiſh Parents, and trained up in the School of Chriſt. This ſudden and unexpected divorce, though intended in compaſſion of the children, brought greater miſery on the Parents, than if their own fleſh had been torn from their bones. There a man (ſo his heart would have ſerved him) might have ſeen ſilly infants haled from their mothers breaſts, more willing to embrace death, then part with them; And yet for pitty, (leſt their hands by holding faſt, might prove their childrens racks) ſuffering them to be drawn out of their tender Embracements, with far more grief and ſorrow of heart, than they had been brought out of the womb; Fathers enclaſping their ſons and daughters, willing to dye in their arms, had theſe beat off (as hoops from veſſels which they inviron) from their childrens bodies, and either broken or benummed with blows. *A voyce was heard through* Portugal, *ſurpaſſing that in* Ramah, *nothing but mourning, and weeping, and lamentation, many a* Leah *blearing her eyes with weeping for her children, and would not be comforted*; Men and women filling the heavens with more hideous outcries than the Egyptians did at their Fore-fathers departure out of *Egypt*: when the Firſt-born of every Family thoughout the land, was ſlain at midnight. But theſe were bereft at once of all their loving children, in the open Sun. Many of them, not able either to reſcue or diſpatch their own bowels, become mad with the ſight that their eyes had ſeen, and killed themſelves: Others, having better opportunity, account it a part of their happineſs, to be able to prevent their childrens waſhing in the ſacred Font, by drowning them in draw-wells and ditches. In both theſe calamities, at the two fore-mentioned tranſportations, we may ſee thoſe

Th Jews ejected out of Portugal, *and their miſerable uſage under* Emanuel, Vide Oſorium lib. 1. de geſtis Emanuelis.

Prophecies of *Moſes* exactly fulfilled, *Deut.* 28. 30. *Thou ſhalt betroth a wife, and another man ſhall lie with her.* And agan, *ver.* 32. *Thy ſons and thy daughters ſhall be given unto another people, and thine eyes ſhall fail at the ſight every day, and there ſhall be no power in thy hand.* Many *Moors*, profeſſing Mahumetiſm, were tranſported from *Portugal* the ſame time, *but had no ſuch violence offered them*: what was the reaſon? God would have a manifeſt diſtinction between this and other people. The Barbarous Moors had ſome power in their hands, and the Portugals abſtain from like uſage of them: leſt the report coming to the African Mahumetans ears, might have moved them to avenge their wrongs upon poor Chriſtians, living amongſt them. But theſe Jews no where had any Nation, none to avenge their grievous wrong, which the Lord God of their Forefathers had ordained they ſhould ſuffer, at all times, in all places whereſoever they have come, without redreſs.

16. Nor do their Fates change with their Name or Profeſſion. For what violence was ever offered to any of this race, like to that which theſe late Converts Chriſtned Hebrews (but ſtill Jews in miſfortunes) ſuffered in * *Lisbon*, in the year 1506. *Two thouſand* maſſacred in three days ſpace; many not ſuffered to die of deadly wounds, were dragged by their mangled limbs into the Market-place, where the bodies of the living and ſlain, *with others half alive, half dead*, were burnt together on heaps. The Spectacle was ſo horrible, that it quite aſtonied the reſt of this miſerable Progeny, at other times as deſperately ſet to ſuffer, as Monks furiouſly to inflict any torture. Parents durſt not mourn for their children, nor children ſigh for their Parents, though each haled in others ſight to the place of torments, leſt theſe ſignifications of their grief and ſorrow might bewray them to be of the tormented kinred, with whom the leaſt ſuſpicion of alliance, was ſufficient to make them inherit like plagues, ere the breath was out of their Predeceſſors bodies. † *Oſorius* deſcription of theſe diſtreſſed ſouls perplexity, ſhewed in their geſture and carriage during this Maſſacre, may ſerve, albeit he meant nothing leſs, as a Paraphraſe upon the laſt words of *Moſes* oftenmentioned Prophecy. *There* (that is, in the utmoſt parts of the earth) *the Lord ſhall give thee a trembling heart, and a ſorrowful mind, and thy life ſhall hang before thee.* The diſpoſition of the Divine Providence in affording opportunity to this licentious outrage was muchwhat like to that, deſcribed before in *Lin.* A great part of theſe Tragical Actors were *German and French Mariners*, which had repaired to *Lisbon* for other traffick, but returned home unpuniſhed, burdened with the ſpoil of theſe Hebrews goods, but more heavily laden with guilt of their blood: albeit their ſouls were not ſo deeply dyed therewith as the *Lisbon Monks*, who had inſtigated them and others to this *Butchery*, inflamed themſelves with this furious zeal, only by an unſeaſonable ſpeech of one poor Hebrew apprehended by the other as derogatory to our Saviour. For whileſt the others, by long gazing upon the picture of his wounded ſide, through a glaſs took the reflex of light, thence caſt upon their dazled eyes, for a Miracle, the ſilly Hebrew, whether openly to contradict, or unawares (uttering to ſome by-ſtanders what he thought) bewrayed his incredulity, *How a piece of dry wood ſhould work Miracles.*

17. Whileſt

* *The lamentable Maſſacre of theſe Jews at* Lisbon: *and the natural Conſequence of Monkiſh devotion towards Chriſts Image therein repreſented.* Oſorius lib. 4. de rebus geſtis Emanuelis.

† Ingens eo die ſtupor adeo miſerrrimæ gentis ſenſus oppreſſerat, ut ne lamentari quidem cladem illam, & deplorare miſeriam ſuam poſſent. Qui ſe occultabant, quamvis filios aut parentes ſuos ad ſupplicium abripi viderent, ne lugubri gemitu proderentur, vocem emittere non audebant. Sic autem eos metus exanimaverat, ut vivi non multum à mortuorum ſimilitudine diſtarent. *Oſorius de rebus geſt. Emanuelis, lib.* 4.

17. Whileſt I read ſo many *Chriſtned ſouls*, thus *Butchered like Beaſts for ones denial of divine Honour to a liveleſs Image*, I could not but pauſe with my ſelf; and now I muſt commend it to the Chriſtian Readers conſideration, whether that part of *Moſes* prophecy, and *there thou ſhalt ſerve other Gods, which thou haſt not known, nor thy Fathers, Wood and Stone*, may not be underſtood of the convert Jews throughout the Popes Dominions, thus oft times urged to commit Idolatry with ſtocks and ſtones, upon more Tyrannical terms, if they gainſay, than their Forefathers were either by the Aſſyrian, Caldæan, Egyptian, Roman, or any whoſoever had led them Captive out of their land. If the *Monkiſh Apologizer* reply, There is great difference between the Heathen Idol, and their Image worſhip: I grant the Idolatry is of a divers kind; and ſo it ſeems *Moſes* meant when he threatned this people, that after their final Tranſplantation by *Adrian*, and their ſcattering through *Spain*, and theſe Weſtern Countries, *They ſhould ſerve ſuch Gods as their Fathers had not known*. For this peoples Forefathers, before *Moſes* time and after, had known the Heathen gods too well. If the Romaniſt yet rejoyn, that in worſhipping Chriſts Image, they worſhip Chriſt, I will not deny, but he may think ſo: for ſo the Jews thought they honored *Moſes*, becauſe they honoured the Letter of his Law. But, to omit other reaſons, this and other like outragious Facts, committed upon as light occaſions, ſhall convince their nice *School-diſtinctions* of foul errour, and turn their lies with ſuch violence into their throat, that (as S. *Auguſtine* interprets the Pſalmiſt of theſe Jews) *I ſhall even break their teeth in their mouths*. For if the zeal theſe *Monks* of *Lisbon* bare unto this Image had been directed unto Chriſt, they had in ſome good meaſure been transformed into the ſimilitude of His *gentle*, *meek*, and *merciful* diſpoſition. It was *Wood-worſhip* doubtleſs which had made them ſo mad and furious: It was their continual adoring of ſtones, which had turned their hearts of fleſh, into hearts more full of fire than the flint, and harder than the hardeſt Adamant. But of the effects of Monkiſh pity towards Chriſt or the Crucifix, as alſo of the Jeſuits doctrine concerning Image-worſhip, elſewhere, if God permit. Thus much of theſe Jews eſtate from time to time, may ſuffice for our intended purpoſe, to be further collected in the Chapter following.

Deut. 28. 36, 64.

Pſal. 58. 6.

Chap. XXX.

General collections out of the particular Hiſtories before mentioned: the ſtrange diſpoſitions of the Jews: and Gods Judgements upon them, all Teſtifying the Truth of Divine Oracles.

1. I Cannot but approve * *Crantzius* his judgement of theſe Jews, That they are a perfidious and wicked people, worthy to be ſpew'd out of the confines of Chriſtendom, as many Princes have expelled them their Dominions. But as the ſame Author obſerveth, howſoever Chriſtian Governors (as the world now counts Chriſtians) are moſt Oppoſite in outward ſhew to the Religion which they profeſs: yet they agree too well with them in their love unto this worlds god; By whoſe means theſe Jews, after they have been expelled one Country, find admiſſion into ſome other, or elſe into the ſame again; as they did into *France* whence they were expelled by the Father, and brought in again by the Son; and into † *Ravenna* whence baniſhed (for their combination with Thieves and Robbers, and ſacrilegious perſons, for Sorceries or Magical charms, in winning women to their own or others luſt) by *Pius Quintus* in the year 1568. they were recalled by *Sixtus Quintus* in the year 1587. As if the former of theſe Kings and Popes had caſt their hooks into another mans liberties, and their ſucceſſors had drawn them, when they had caught the prey. For ſo in truth theſe Jews are like roving Hounds or Spaniels, which catch a prey whereſoever they come, and carry it unto any Prince, or Potentate, that will give them Harbour. They never ſtand upon better terms with any Prince, or people, than notorious or cunning Malefactors do with grave Judges, or great States-men; Who oft-times wink at ſuch villanies as they hate, for ſome further purpoſe. Nor could theſe Jews ever hitherto purchaſe their eaſe and quiet, as they have often done their admiſſion into divers Countries. *Since their rooting out of their own land, they have continued as Hares Hunted from their ſeat*; no ſooner find they any place of habitation in theſe ends of the world, but the cry of Gods Judgements ſtreight purſues them. If for a time they may ſeem to gather ſtrength, or to recover themſelves from that faintneſs of heart: it is but to take their Feeze (or Riſe) with greater force to their Break-neck. In the pits, which they dig for Chriſtians, are their own feet always taken. The beſt advantages which they can eſpy and entertain with greedineſs for their good, are but baits, laid by the Almighties hand to entrap them: and whileſt his Judgements hunt them one way, and they take another to eſcape them, in the very places (whereunto they flie for refuge, as Foxes chaſed do to their holes) is the Fatal Gin ſet for their Souls; as appears out of the Hiſtories here ſet down, which are but ſo many *Experiments* of *Moſes* his rule, Deut. 28. *verſ.* 65, 66, 67. *Alſo among theſe Nations, thou ſhalt find*

* Gens perfida, agens quod ſolet mus in pera, &c. *Crantz. Libro Undecimo, Saxon. cap* 7.

† Abierunt hoc anno ex hac parte Judæi, Pii 5. Pontificis max. juſſu, qui acerrimo diplomate exterminari illos ex eccleſiaſticæ ditionis Civitatibus mandaverat. Quanquam enim illos tolerabat Eccleſia, miſerata illorum vicem, ut Chriſtianis frequenti illorum aſpectu, Chriſti Dei mors verſaretur ob oculos; & Judæi Chriſtianorum exemplis, ac doctrina, ad amplectendam Chriſtianæ fidei veritatem, quam reliquias *Iſrael*, juxta divini vatis oraculum, accepturas conſtat, incitarentur: à qua ſi ablegarentur ad alienos longius multò abeſſent: Tamen, cum, & uſuris gravibus exigendis, & latronibus furibúſq; etiam rerum Eccleſiaſticarum recipiendis, magicis artibus, ac lenociniis mulierum exercendis, illorum impietas jam eo proceſſiſſet, ut pro communi omnium incolumitate expediret, tanti vim morbi celeri remedio coercere, omnino eos rejiciendos ex civitatibus decrevit. *Hieron. Rubeus, lib.* 11. *hiſt. Raven.*

no reſt, neither ſhall the ſole of thy foot have reſt: for the Lord ſhall give thee there a trembling heart, ſinking eyes, and a ſorrowful mind. And thy life ſhall hang before thee, and thou ſhalt fear both day and night, and ſhalt have no aſſurance of thy life. In the morning thou ſhalt ſay, Would God it were evening; and at evening thou ſhalt ſay, Would God it were morning. For the fear of thine heart which thou ſhalt fear, and for the ſight of thine eyes which thou ſhalt ſee.

Of the loathſome Conceit which moſt Nations have of the Jews, foretold by Moſes *and the Prophets.*

2. But as no money could hitherto purchaſe their peace, and ſecurity from calamities: ſo neither could their calamities, though continually moſt grievous, redeem their eſtimation in the world, nor all the blood of their ſlain (though their Maſſacres have been numberleſs) till theſe times, allay, much leſs extinguiſh that hateful and loathſom conceit, which moſt men have entertained of them. To aſcribe all this to their forefathers ſins againſt our Saviour, is true, but too general to give ſatisfaction in all particular doubts which their eſtate might miniſter. For why the children ſhould inherit their fathers curſe, without continuance in like ſins, is a point which admits no reſolution. Again, why This People above all other creatures ſhould continue their deviliſh temper ſtill, having tried ſuch *change of air*, *diverſity of ſoils*, converſing among ſo many *ſeverally-diſpoſed people*, ſeems yet more ſtrange. I have read of *Trees*, leaving their poiſon with their native ſoil, by tranſplantation bringing forth edible and wholſom fruit; *Wolves* in few Generations will become as kind as Dogs. *Lions* and *Bears* by often preſence of men, grow more tame; generally beaſts of moſt wild nature, by often houſing will come near the nature of domeſtick creatures. *Rude Idiots* by frequent entercourſe with men of better faſhion, in time will take ſome tincture of civility and diſcretion. Of all ſenſible creatures, only the *Jew*, in ſo many deſcents, after ſo many grievous corrections, for his own, and his Forefathers ſins, can no more leave his Jewiſh diſpoſition, than the Leopard can his ſpots. It further encreaſed my admiration, why the whole Progeny, being utterly baniſhed this Land above three hundred years ago, their memory ſhould ſtill remain for a patern of miſchievous minds, either apt to do, or fit to ſuffer any violence: The very name of a Jew ſerving this people as a perfect meaſure, either to notifie the Height of Impiety in the Agent, or to ſound the depth and bottom of an abject, worthleſs, forlorn condition in any Patient. Better we cannot expreſs moſt cut-throat dealing than *Thus*; *None but a Jew would have done ſo*: Lower we cannot prize any one of moſt abject Condition, than by comparing him to a Jew. For ſo in common ſpeech we exaggerate Enormous wrongs, done to the moſt odious or deſpiſed amongſt us, *This had been Enough for a Jew to ſuffer*; *or I would not have done ſo to a Jew*. All theſe Plagues are come upon them, for continuing in their Forefathers ſteps; and *To make their Creator the Author of their villanous minds, were Impiety*: His word endures for ever, *Perditio tua ex te, O Iſrael*. Yet, is it poſſible that any people, endued with the light of Reaſon, ſhould continue ſo obſtinate and obdurate, as willingly to deſerve all mens hate they have to deal with? I know not better how to reſolve this doubt, than our Apoſtle did his, of their Forefathers unbelief, after ſo many Miracles wrought amongſt them: *Therefore* (ſaith he) *could they not believe*, *becauſe* Eſayas *ſaith*, *He hath*

Such ſpeeches do not import an Abſolute Cauſe of the thing, but of our inſtruction or perſwaſion concerning it.

blinded their eyes, &c. John 12. *verſe* 39. and 40. Therefore muſt I ſay, they could not but continue hateful and opprobrious amongſt all people with whom they have converſed, becauſe *Moſes* had ſaid, *Deut.* 28. 37. *Thou ſhalt be a Wonder, a Proverb, and a common Talk among all people, whither the Lord ſhall carry thee.* So likewiſe had *Jeremy* 24. *verſe* 9. *I will give them for a Terrible Plague to all the Kingdoms of the earth; for a reproach, and for a Proverb, for a common talk, and for a curſe, in all places where I ſhall caſt them.* If any man then further ask, Why *Iſrael* is cut off from the Land which God had given him, and made a Proverb, and a common talk amongſt all people; God himſelf hath taught us how to anſwer, *Becauſe they have forſaken the Lord their God, which brought their fathers out of the Land of Egypt*, &c. This the Lord himſelf foretold, and gave them warning of, even when he ſpecified the Articles of his Covenant, made with *Solomon* for their peace, 1 *Kings chap.* 9. *verſ.* 6, 7, 8, 9. Theſe Authorities may ſuffice, to ſtay all ſuch doubts as might ariſe from *curious enquiring* after the cauſes of theſe peoples inceſſant miſery; which cannot ſeem *ſtrange*, becauſe *foretold*; nor *unjuſt*, in that they were *born to more extraordinary proſperity*, from which being faln, by following their own ungracious ways, they are now reſerved, as *Pharaoh after many admonitions* was, for Marks or Butts, againſt whom the Arrows of Gods wrath and vengeance muſt be ſhot, to the terrour of others, and manifeſtation of his power.

3. Theſe grounds ſuppoſed, the *Conſideration of* their many and *Cruel Maſſacres*, their often ſpoiling and robbing, and other outrages, which, *according to the fore-cited* Prophecies of them, they continually ſuffer, *would the Atheiſt but lay it to his Heart, would wring thence, what the Divine Oracles have uttered; that this had been a people appointed to deſtruction, never ſuffered to multiply unto a Nation*; as if God had uſed them as men do wild Beaſts, nurſing only ſo many of them, as may make ſport by their deſtruction. So likewiſe their continual wandring up and down in the world, without any reſt, doth abundantly witneſs; that *albeit they bare the ſhape and nature of men, yet are they no natural part of the World; but have the ſame proportion in the Civil Body, or Society of Mankind, that bad humours have in our natural and material bodies*; Which by courſe of nature ſhould be expelled her Confines, but, being retained, run from joint to joint, and laſtly breed ſome grievous ſwellings in the extream parts. And, amongſt other moſt tried and *demonſtrative Experiments of* Moſes *often-mentioned Prophecie*; this is not the leaſt; that *Spain* and *Portugal*, for theſe later years, have been the chief receptacle of theſe Jews: as if *Hercules Pillars*, accounted by the Ancients the utmoſt ends of the World, were not the full period of their peregrination Weſtward, whom the Lord had threatned, *Deuteronomie* 28. *verſe* 64. *to ſcatter amongſt all people, from the one end of the World unto the other.* There they have been in greateſt abundance for many years, as it were expecting a wind for their paſſage to ſome place more diſtant from their Native Country. And who knows whether that Prophecy, *Deuteronomie* 28. *verſe* 41. *Thou ſhalt beget Sons and Daughters, but ſhalt not have them; for they ſhall go*

into captivity: hath not been fulfilled, in the Jews inhabiting that Kingdom? Whether many of their Stock, whom *Emanuel* detained in *Portugal*, have not been tranſported ſince into *America*? or whether many of the *Spaniſh* Colonies, have not a mixture of Jewiſh Progeny in them? Nay, who knows, whether the *Weſt-Indies* were not diſcovered, partly; or eſpecially for this purpoſe, that the *ſound of theſe Preachers*, *unto whom God hath appointed no ſet Dioceſs, might go out into all Lands with the Sun, and their words unto the ends of the world*, until they return unto the place whence they were ſcattered? But theſe conjectures I leave to be confuted or confirmed by future times, deſirous to proſecute briefly ſome obſervations of fore-paſſed miſeries, not yet ended.

4. As Gods Judgments upon this people have had no end, ſo neither have the grounds or motives of *Chriſtian Belief* any limits; every degree of their fall, is a ſtep unto our riſing. *Enough it were to condemn the whole Chriſtian world of Infidelity, if it ſhould not be rapt with Admiration of Gods mercy towards us, as it is manifeſted only in his ſeverity towards them.* But if, unto their perpetual grievous calamities here recounted, we add their like continual ſtubbornneſs of heart, we ſhall prove our ſelves more ſtiff-necked than this people it ſelf, unleſs we take up Chriſts yoke and follow him; under which only we ſhall find that eaſe and reſt unto our ſouls, which they have wanted ever ſince his death, and without repentance, muſt want everlaſtingly. Angels, Men, and Devils, yea all the world may clearly ſee, that the God of their Fathers hath caſt them off; that they have born no Signs or Badges of his Ancient wonted favours, whilſt innumerable grievous marks and skars of his fearful indignation againſt their Fathers ſtill remain unhealed in the children, after more Generations, than their Anceſtors Seat of proſperity had been in the promiſed Land. And yet even theſe later, as all the former, ſince their ſcattering thence, continue their boaſtings of their prerogatives, as if they were his only choſen people. A grievous diſtemper of body and mind hath run in their bloud for almoſt 1600 years; the children ſtill infected with their fathers diſeaſe; all raving and talking, like men in a Phrenzie, *As if they were Wiſdoms Firſt-born, and Heirs of Happineſs.* This their unrelenting ſtubbornneſs is an irrefragable Argument, That they are the degenerate ſeed of faithful *Abraham.* For, *Stubborneſs is but a ſtrong Hope malignified*, or (as we ſay) grown wild and out of kind. If the Scripture had not deſcribed *His Nature* and quality with *His Name*, we might have known by theſe Modern Jews, that their Firſt Progenitour had been a *Man of ſtrong Hopes, againſt all Hopes in the ſight of men*: But theſe go further, continuing ſtiff in their perſwaſions of Gods favour towards them, contrary unto the grounds of Hopes; either in the ſight of God or man, inſolent in confidence, even whilſt they are at the very brink of deepeſt deſpair. *Abraham* looked for a Son, after the chiefeſt ſtrength of his body was decayed, and *Sarah* his wife by courſe of Nature paſt all poſſibility of conceiving: but *his hopes* were aſſuredly grounded upon *His Faithfulneſs* which had promiſed the ſame: *Theſe hope for a Meſſiah, after the Fulneſs of time is paſt* and gone, and their Country, being the Land of his Nativity, covered with Barrenneſs and deſolation; without all grounds of hope, quite contrary to the predictions of GODS Prophets, whom

A compariſon of the Modern Jews ſtubbornneſs with the ſtedfaſtneſs of Abrahams *faith.*

they believe in groſs; after whoſe meaning, *They grope as palpably now in the Sun-ſhine of their Meſſiahs glory, already revealed, as if it were in Egyptian darkneſs.* Yet even the fulneſs of that joy, which moſt of them do look for in the days of their Meſſiah, (were their hopes of his coming as probable as they are impoſſible) could not in reaſon ſupport any other mens nature, to ſuſtain that Perpetual violence, diſgrace, and torture, which they endure throughout ſo many ſucceſſions, in this weariſom time of their Expectation. *Abraham* was approved of God, for his readineſs to ſacrifice his ſon *Iſaac* at his command. Theſe his degenerate Sons have crucified the Son of *Abrahams* God; and for their infidelity and diſobedience, have been caſt out of that good Land, which was given to *Abraham* and his righteous ſeed; and for their ſtubbornneſs in like practices, their poſterity continue Exiles, and Vagabonds from the ſame, not to this day willing to off[illegible] up the ſacrifice of a contrite heart, for their diſobedience paſt, but rather (*adding thirſt to drunkenneſs*) *Bleſs themſelves, when they hear the words of that Curſe, promiſing peace unto themſelves, though they walk on according to the ſtubbornneſs of their Forefathers hearts.* Their own deſires they will not break. But * Chriſtian Children they can be well content to Sacrifice, kill, and mangle throughout all Ages, whereſoever they come, as their often practices in *England*, *France*, and *Germany*, witneſs; and the *Jews* of *Lincoln*, executed at *London* for this crime, did confeſs to be a ſolemn practice, as oft as they could conveniently come by their prey. Thus out of the mouths of Infants and Children, will God have his praiſe erected ſtill: Their Bloud hath ſealed, and their Cries proclaimed the truth of our Saviours words, that theſe Jews *are of their Father the Devil, and the luſts of their Father they will do,* (John 8. 44.) *He was a murtherer from the beginning*, and always delighted much in ſuch Sacrifices, as were moſt diſpleaſing unto God.

Deut. 29.19.

* Vide Socratem lib.7. cap.16. Krantzium lib.10. Wandalorum, c.18. Papirium Maſſon. lib.3. p.335. ex Villaneo. Vide Hollinſhead. An.40. Hen.3. & alibi. *At* Prage *in the year* 1240. (*or thereabout*) *they crucified a Chriſtian.* Die Sacra Paraſceues. Krantzius lib. 7. Wandalorum c.40.

5. If Chriſtian Sobriety did not teach us to acknowledge Gods judgments always juſt, although the manner of his Juſtice cannot be apprehended, much leſs exemplified to ordinary capacities, by the wiſeſt of the Sons of men: the conſideration of theſe Jews perpetual temper would half perſwade us, that the ſouls of ſuch, as had either procured, conſented unto, or approved our Saviours and his Apoſtles death, had been *Sent from Hell by courſe*, into the bodies of theſe Jews here ſcattered in theſe Weſtern parts, as ſo many Meſſengers from the dead, to ſhew the malignant heat of thoſe Everlaſting flames, by their unquenchable thirſt of innocent bloud. But neither doth *Scripture* warrant, nor natural *Reaſon* enforce ſuch ſuppoſitions, either for acquitting Gods *Severity* upon this people from injuſtice, or *His Goodneſs* from ſuſpicion of being the Author of their villanous minds, though he be the ſole *Creator*, as well of theirs as their godly forefathers ſouls. For theſe their wicked Poſterities plagues are juſt, becauſe their ſouls, which he hath made, will not receive correction by their own, or their fathers plagues continually inflicted upon them ſince our Saviours death; but ſtill, as it were, Hunt out Gods judgments, which lie perpetually in wait for them, by treading in their Ungracious Predeceſſours ſteps. In one word, *Though the God of their Fathers have made their ſouls; yet they make Pride of heart, Inveterate cuſtom, Examples of their Progenitors,*

Their God. For us Chriſtians, let us admire the wiſdom of our gracious God, that ſo diſpoſeth our enemies miſchievous minds unto our good; rather than enquire, how their villanies can ſtand with his juſtice. This *their unſatiable deſire of Crucifying them,* unto whom the Kingdom of Heaven belongs, *doth confirm our Faith, in that Main Article of their Fathers crucifying The Lord of Glory.* And no doubt but God, in his All-ſeeing wiſdom, hath permitted the like helliſh temper to remain in all Generations of theſe Jews, that the former moſt Horrible, and otherwiſe almoſt Incredible Act, with the Actors Deviliſh Malice, might be more lively and ſenſibly repreſented to all poſterities, which had not ſeen or known them by Experience. And *Gods Judgments* upon theſe Modern Jews, for their Forefathers ſins, hereby may appear *moſt juſt,* in that *they make them their own by Imitation: plainly teſtifying to the world, that They would do as their Forefathers had done, if the ſame Tragedy of Chriſts Paſſion were to be acted over again;* yea, in as much as they practiſe the like upon his living members, *They are guilty,* as well as their Forefathers, *of his Death.*

6. Generally, the outward carriage, and inward temper of theſe Modern Jews are ſuch, as all that have any Experience of them, may perceive the Excellent qualities of their worthy Progenitours, and the extraordinary Prerogatives whence they are fallen, as ſenſibly and undoubtedly, as we can know by the Lees, or corrupt remainder of any Liquor, what the vertue and ſtrength thereof was in its Prime. The *preſent Depreſſion* of this People, below all others amongſt whom they live, rightly taken, doth give us the true *Exceſs of their Exaltation,* in former times above the Nations, as perfectly as the Elevation of the Pole which we ſee, doth give us the degrees of the others Occultation. Finally, if we compare the Eſtate of ſuch as lived in *Tullies* times, with theſe Modern Jews eſtate lately mentioned; the great proſperity of their Anceſtors under *Joſhuah, Judges, David,* and *Solomon,* may be gathered from theſe differences as exactly, and as clearly, as the third proportionable number out of two others already known. This is that *Golden Rule,* whoſe practice I would commend to all *young Students.* For, from the known differences of their Eſtate from time to time, we may be led unto the perfect knowledge of Gods *Power* and *Providence,* of his *Mercy* and *Bounty* to ſuch as love him, of his *Judgments* upon ſuch as *Hate him,* and tranſgreſs his Laws. Finally, *nothing in Scripture can ſeem Incredible, if men would conſider the wonderful exaltation, and depreſſion of this People.*

7. This admirable difference between the true Iſraelites of old, and theſe Modern perfidious Jews, is moſt lively repreſented unto us in that Parable of divers Figs, which *Jeremiah* ſaw, *Jerem.* 24. 1, 2. *The Lord ſhewed me, and behold two baskets of Figs were ſet before the Temple of the Lord: one basket very good Figs, like the Figs that are firſt ripe, and the other very naughty Figs, which could not be eaten, they were ſo evil.* No man, I hope, will challenge me, for extending this Text beyond its literal ſenſe. One part of which, by the Prophets own expoſition, is to be underſtood of ſuch as were led captive by *Nebuchadnezzar,* ſignified by the good figs: the other of *Zedechiah,* with the reſidue of *Hieruſalem,* and them that dwelt in the Land of *Egypt,* repreſented by the bad figs. My Prophet indeed applies it only unto

Vide *Ezech.* 6.

unto them of his own time; of whom I confeſs it was Literally meant: but not, only of them; but more principally, more fully and directly, of the Jews, about, or ſince our Saviours time, and his Apoſtles, or their followers. The parable, with the conſequence thereof, is true of both; in as much as both are particulars, contained under that general diviſion, which * *Moſes* had made of Bleſſings and Curſings to befal this people in divers meaſures, according to their conſtancy in good, or ſtubbornneſs in evil. Unto this *General Prediction*, the Prophets do ſtill frame their Prophecies, as *Corollaries* or Appendices; and ſo muſt they be applied by us, not only to the preſent times wherein they wrote, but to the times of the *Meſſiah*, in which both *Moſes* his general, and the Prophets particular Prophecies were more fully accompliſhed, than in any Age before. That which *Jeremy* in the third Verſe of that ſame Chapter ſaid of the Figs, was true of this people in all Ages: *The good amongſt them were very good, the naughty always very naughty:* but the difference greater betwixt the better ſort of the Ancient, and the worſe of later, than betwixt the beſt and worſt of ſuch as lived in the middle Age; greateſt of all betwixt the good and bad, in our Saviours time, or immediately after. Theſe words again of the Prophet, *verſe* 6. and 7. are altogether as Literally, more peculiarly meant of Chriſts Apoſtles, and Diſciples, than of *Nehemiah* and *Zerubbabel*, and the reſt which returned from the captivity of *Babylon*: *For I will ſet mine eyes upon them for good, and I will bring them again to this Land, and I will build them, and I will plant them, and not root them out, and I will give them a heart to know me, that I am the Lord, and they ſhall be my people: and I will be their God; for they ſhall return unto me with their whole heart.* So is that curſe, Verſe 9, 10. more fully verified of the Jews, about, or after our Saviour Chriſts time, than of *Zedechiah*, and his complices: *I will even give them for a terrible plague to all the Kingdoms of the Earth, and for a reproach, and for a proverb, for a common talk, and for a curſe in all places, where I ſhall caſt them. And I will ſend the ſword, the famine, and the peſtilence among them, till they be conſumed out of the Land that I gave unto them and to their Fathers.* In like ſort I muſt needs with all Orthodoxal Antiquity, not contradicted for more than a thouſand years, acknowledge the Pſalmiſts prayer, *Pſalm* 59. to have been more directly meant, at leaſt more notably fulfilled, in the Jews of later times, than of his enemies amongſt whom he lived; *Slay them not, O God, leſt my people forget it; but ſcatter them abroad by thy power, and put them down, O Lord our ſhield, for the ſin of their mouth, and the words of their lips; and let them be taken in their pride, even for their perjury and lyes which they ſpeak.* The infallible grounds of thus interpreting theſe two places, and the like, ſhall be fortified, (GOD willing) when I come unto the Prophecies concerning Chriſts Incarnation, Paſſion, or Exaltation; My warrant at this time, for the later here alledged, ſhall be the end of the Pſalmiſts wiſh, *verſe* 13. *Conſume them in thy wrath, conſume them, that they be no more: and let them know that God ruleth in* Jacob *unto the ends of the world.* Their ſtrange Maſſacres in theſe ends of the world, whither they have been ſcattered, do better confirm our Faith of Gods Providence, and Mercy towards us, than *Davids* Enemies exile, and ſcattering, did his people, of Gods favour towards him and them. And it is to be obſerved, that he ſaith not, *Let*

them

* Vide ſupra cap. 22. paragr. 6.

them know in Jacob, *that God ruleth unto the ends of the world.* For we the adopted ſons of *Abraham*, though living in theſe extream parts of the world, which he never knew, are the true *Jacob*; and the natural ſons of *Abraham* according to the fleſh, though living in the Promiſed Land, have no inheritance in *Jacob*; *All are Jews.* So doth he, which ſits upon the Circles of the Heavens, weigh all the Kingdoms of the Earth as in a Balance, debaſing ſome, and advancing others at his pleaſure: and *ſo doth the Light of his gracious Countenance towards any Land or People, change or ſet, in Revolution of Times, as the Aſpect of Stars doth unto ſuch as compaſs the Earth.* And yet, as the ſame obſervation of the Suns motion from contrary Tropicks to the Line, ſerveth our Engliſh in Summer, and the Navigators of oppoſite Climes in Winter: So is the ſame light of Gods countenance, which ſhone upon the Jews, before, turned to the Gentiles, after the fulneſs of time. *Abraham* had the Promiſe of *Canaan* often renewed unto him; but neither he, nor his poſterity poſſeſſed it, until the fulneſs of the Canaanites iniquity were accompliſhed. We Gentiles had the promiſes of being Engrafted into Iſrael, as it were, conveighed unto us in the building of the Second Temple, and afterwards renewed in the Tranſlation of theſe Sacred Writings (the Inſtruments of our inheritance) into the Greek Tongue, but were not partakers of the bleſſings of *Jacob*, until the Iniquity of *Abrahams* Poſterity, according to the fleſh, was full. Again, as the Canaanites were not utterly deſtroyed, albeit the Iſraelites were commanded ſo to do; but ſome reliques were reſerved in the Promiſed Land to a good purpoſe, by the wiſdom of God: ſo neither were theſe Jews utterly extinguiſhed, but a remnant was ſcattered abroad amongſt the Gentiles, that they might know Gods mercy towards them by his judgments upon the other; and though Chriſtian Princes have oft received them, upon as unjuſt reſpects, as the Iſraelites did permit the Canaanites to dwell amongſt them, yet God hath ſtill rectified their Errour, and turned their evil Imaginations to the great good of his Choſen. Gods favours towards them of old, and of us of late, might be thus parallel'd in many points: and, as *Moſes* made nothing about the Ark, but according to the faſhion that was ſhewed him in the Mount: ſo is there no *Event* or Alteration of moment under the Goſpel, but had a patern in the Law and Prophets. The Celeſtial Obſervations which were taken for theſe Iſraelites good, might continually ſerve for the direction of the Gentile, if he would obſerve the ſeveral ſigns of divers Ages, as Mariners uſe divers Conſtellations in divers Latitudes, and gaze not always upon the ſame Pole. The * ignorance in diſcerning *the Signs of Times*, was a Symptom of the Jews Hypocriſie, and cauſe of his continual ſhipwrack in Faith. For ſuffering the Fulneſs of time (where he and the Gentiles ſhould have met as at the Æquator) to paſs away without Correction of his courſe, or due obſervation of the ſuddain change of Heavens aſpect; he loſt the ſight of his wonted Signs, and ſince wanders up and down, as Mariners deſtitute of their Card, deprived of all ſight, either of Sun, Moon, or Stars: or rather, like blind men groping their way without any Ocular direction: yet even this *Their blindneſs*, is, or may be a *Better Light*, and direction unto us, than their wonted ſight and skill in Scriptures could afford us.

Gods Favours to the Ancient Iſraelites Parallel'd by like Bleſſings upon the Gentiles.

Exod. 25.40. *Heb.* 8.5.

* *Matth.* 16.3. *Luke* 12.54.

The Jews Blindneſs *is an eſpecial* Light *unto the Gentiles.*

* Vide ſupra cap.22. paragr. 6.

unto them of his own time; of whom I confeſs it was Literally meant: but not, only of them; but more principally, more fully and directly, of the Jews, about, or ſince our Saviours time, and his Apoſtles, or their followers. The parable, with the conſequence thereof, is true of both; in as much as both are particulars, contained under that general diviſion, which * *Moſes* had made of Bleſſings and Curſings to befal this people in divers meaſures, according to their conſtancy in good, or ſtubbornneſs in evil. Unto this *General Prediction*, the Prophets do ſtill frame their Prophecies, as *Corollaries* or Appendices; and ſo muſt they be applied by us, not only to the preſent times wherein they wrote, but to the times of the *Meſſiah*, in which both *Moſes* his general, and the Prophets particular Prophecies were more fully accompliſhed, than in any Age before. That which *Jeremy* in the third Verſe of that ſame Chapter ſaid of the Figs, was true of this people in all Ages: *The good amongſt them were very good, the naughty always very naughty:* but the difference greater betwixt the better ſort of the Ancient, and the worſe of later, than betwixt the beſt and worſt of ſuch as lived in the middle Age; greateſt of all betwixt the good and bad, in our Saviours time, or immediately after. Theſe words again of the Prophet, *verſe* 6. and 7. are altogether as Literally, more peculiarly meant of Chriſts Apoſtles, and Diſciples, than of *Nehemiah* and *Zerubbabel*, and the reſt which returned from the captivity of *Babylon: For I will ſet mine eyes upon them for good, and I will bring them again to this Land, and I will build them, and I will plant them, and not root them out, and I will give them a heart to know me, that I am the Lord, and they ſhall be my people: and I will be their God; for they ſhall return unto me with their whole heart.* So is that curſe, Verſe 9, 10. more fully verified of the Jews, about, or after our Saviour Chriſts time, than of *Zedechiah*, and his complices: *I will even give them for a terrible plague to all the Kingdoms of the Earth, and for a reproach, and for a proverb, for a common talk, and for a curſe in all places, where I ſhall caſt them. And I will ſend the ſword, the famine, and the peſtilence among them, till they be conſumed out of the Land that I gave unto them and to their Fathers.* In like ſort I muſt needs with all Orthodoxal Antiquity, not contradicted for more than a thouſand years, acknowledge the Pſalmiſts prayer, *Pſalm* 59. to have been more directly meant, at leaſt more notably fulfilled, in the Jews of later times, than of his enemies amongſt whom he lived; *Slay them not, O God, leſt my people forget it; but ſcatter them abroad by thy power, and put them down, O Lord our ſhield, for the ſin of their mouth, and the words of their lips; and let them be taken in their pride, even for their perjury and lyes which they ſpeak.* The infallible grounds of thus interpreting theſe two places, and the like, ſhall be fortified, (GOD willing) when I come unto the Prophecies concerning Chriſts Incarnation, Paſſion, or Exaltation; My warrant at this time, for the later here alledged, ſhall be the end of the Pſalmiſts wiſh, *verſe* 13. *Conſume them in thy wrath, conſume them, that they be no more: and let them know that God ruleth in* Jacob *unto the ends of the world.* Their ſtrange Maſſacres in theſe ends of the world, whither they have been ſcattered, do better confirm our Faith of Gods Providence, and Mercy towards us, than *Davids* Enemies exile, and ſcattering, did his people, of Gods favour towards him and them. And it is to be obſerved, that he ſaith not, *Let* *them know in* Jacob, *that God ruleth unto the ends of the world.* For we the adopted ſons of *Abraham*, though living in theſe extream parts of the world, which he never knew, are the true *Jacob*; and the natural ſons of *Abraham* according to the fleſh, though living in the Promiſed Land, have no inheritance in *Jacob*; *All are Jews.* So doth he, which ſits upon the Circles of the Heavens, weigh all the Kingdoms of the Earth as in a Balance, debaſing ſome, and advancing others at his pleaſure: and *ſo doth the Light of his gracious Countenance towards any Land or People, change or ſet, in Revolution of Times, as the Aſpect of Stars doth unto ſuch as compaſs the Earth.* And yet, as the ſame obſervation of the Suns motion from contrary Tropicks to the Line, ſerveth our Engliſh in Summer, and the Navigators of oppoſite Climes in Winter: So is the ſame light of Gods countenance, which ſhone upon the Jews, before, turned to the Gentiles, after the fulneſs of time. *Abraham* had the Promiſe of *Canaan* often renewed unto him; but neither he, nor his poſterity poſſeſſed it, until the fulneſs of the Canaanites iniquity were accompliſhed. We Gentiles had the promiſes of being Engrafted into Iſrael, as it were, conveighed unto us in the building of the Second Temple, and afterwards renewed in the Tranſlation of theſe Sacred Writings (the Inſtruments of our inheritance) into the Greek Tongue, but were not partakers of the bleſſings of *Jacob*, until the Iniquity of *Abrahams* Poſterity, according to the fleſh, was full. Again, as the Canaanites were not utterly deſtroyed, albeit the Iſraelites were commanded ſo to do; but ſome reliques were reſerved in the Promiſed Land to a good purpoſe, by the wiſdom of God: ſo neither were theſe Jews utterly extinguiſhed, but a remnant was ſcattered abroad amongſt the Gentiles, that they might know Gods mercy towards them by his judgments upon the other; and though Chriſtian Princes have oft received them, upon as unjuſt reſpects, as the Iſraelites did permit the Canaanites to dwell amongſt them, yet God hath ſtill rectified their Errour, and turned their evil Imaginations to the great good of his Choſen. Gods favours towards them of old, and of us of late, might be thus parallel'd in many points: and, as *Moſes* made nothing about the Ark, but according to the faſhion that was ſhewed him in the Mount: ſo is there no *Event* or Alteration of moment under the Goſpel, but had a patern in the Law and Prophets. The Celeſtial Obſervations which were taken for theſe Iſraelites good, might continually ſerve for the direction of the Gentile, if he would obſerve the ſeveral ſigns of divers Ages, as Mariners uſe divers Conſtellations in divers Latitudes, and gaze not always upon the ſame Pole. The * ignorance in diſcerning *the Signs of Times*, was a Symptom of the Jews Hypocriſie, and cauſe of his continual ſhipwrack in Faith. For ſuffering the Fulneſs of time (where he and the Gentiles ſhould have met as at the Æquator) to paſs away without Correction of his courſe, or due obſervation of the ſuddain change of Heavens aſpect; he loſt the ſight of his wonted Signs, and ſince wanders up and down, as Mariners deſtitute of their Card, deprived of all ſight, either of Sun, Moon, or Stars: or rather, like blind men groping their way without any Ocular direction: yet even this *Their blindneſs*, is, or may be a *Better Light*, and direction unto us, than their wonted ſight and skill in Scriptures could afford us.

Gods Favours to the Ancient Iſraelites Parallel'd by like Bleſſings upon the Gentiles.

Exod. 25. 40.
Heb. 8. 5.

* *Matth.* 16. 3.
Luke 12. 54.

The Jews Blindneſs *is an eſpecial* Light *unto the Gentiles.*

us. *Firſt*, this might teach the wiſeſt amongſt us, *not to be High minded, but Fear; ſeeing wiſdom hath periſhed from the wiſeſt of mankind, even from Gods own choſen people. Secondly*, this palpable blind Obſtinacy, which hath befallen *Iſrael*, might perſwade us Chriſtians (were not we blind alſo) to uſe that Method, which God himſelf did think moſt fit, for planting true Faith in tender hearts. ☞ Chriſtian Parents, whether Bodily or Spiritual, ſhould be as careful to inſtruct their children what the Lord had done unto theſe Jews, as the Iſraelites ſhould have been, to tell their ſons, what God had done unto *Pharaoh*. His Hardneſs of heart, was nothing to their Stubbornneſs: Egyptian Darkneſs was as noon-tide to their Blindneſs; all the Plagues and Sores of *Egypt*, were but Flea-bitings to Gods fearful Marks upon theſe Jews: yet is all this come upon them, that the *Fulneſs of the Gentiles might come in.* *Rom.* 11. 25. With a more mighty hand hath God brought us out of the ſhadow of death, and Dominions of Satan, than he brought the Iſraelites out of *Egypt*, out of the houſe Bondage: with a more powerful, and harder ſtretched out Arm, hath he ſcattered theſe Jews among all people, from the one end of the world to the other, than he brought the frogs, flies, and caterpillers into *Egypt*. *Exod.* 13. 9, 14, 16. *And it ſhould be as a token in our hands, and as frontlets between our Childrens eyes, that the Lord hath redeemed us through a mighty hand.* When *Iſrael* departed out of *Egypt*, the Egyptian did not furniſh him with weapons for his defence, or Apologies for his departure. Theſe Jews ſcattered abroad, are made ſuch Meſſengers as *Uriah* was, of their own deſtruction, bearing records againſt themſelves, but ſealed up from their ſight; holding *Moſes* their chief Accuſer, in greateſt Honour; or to follow that faithful follower of Chriſt, S. *Auguſtine*, in his Similitude to this purpoſe: although theſe Jews be deſperately blind themſelves, yet they carry thoſe Looking-glaſſes before them, which long ſince put out their eyes by their too much gazing on them, ſo as now they can hold them only in their hands, or turn their faces towards them, not able to diſcern their miſhapen viſages in them; but we Gentiles which come after them, do herein go before them, that we may clearly ſee their Deformity, and Hideous blindneſs, firſt cauſed by the glorious beams of the Divine Majeſty ſhining in theſe ſacred Fountains, whilſt they uſed them (as *Narciſſus* did his Well, or little Babes do Books with fair Pictures) only to ſolace themſelves with repreſentation of their Godly Forefathers Beauty, ſet out in them in freſheſt colours; not as Looking-glaſſes to diſcover, much leſs to reform what was amiſs in themſelves, whom they in the pride of their hearts ſtill preſumed to be in all points like their worthy Anceſtors.

8. If unto all their miſeries throughout ſo many Ages, we add their *perpetual Stupidity and Deadneſs of Heart* to all works of the Spirit; if to this again we add their *Incomparable Zeal* and Courage, in preſerving the Letter of the Law; and lay all unto our hearts: *Eſay* 5. 4, 6. what is it we can imagine, *the Lord could have done unto his Vineyard, that he hath not done to it? He hath commanded the clouds not to rain upon the natural branches*, that the abundant fatneſs of the root might be wholly communicate to us Gentiles, by nature wild grafts. He hath laid his Vineyard in *Iſrael* waſte, and left the Hill of *Sion* his wonted joy, More deſolate than the Mountains of *Gilboah*, that

the dew of all his heavenly bleſſings might deſcend upon the vallies of the Nations. Let us not therefore tempt the Lord our God, in asking further Signs for confirmation of our Faith: for *no Sign can be given us, Equivalent to this Deſolation of the Jews.* Such as the days of *Jeruſalem* were in her diſtreſs, ſuch we know (but how far more grievous, we cannot conceive) the Day of Judgement ſhall be; even a Day of wrath, and a Day of vengeance; *An end of days, and an end of comfort; a beginning of an endleſs night of ſorrow,* troubles, woe, and miſeries to the wicked. Such as the condition of theſe *Jews* hath been, for more than fifteen hundred years; ſuch ſhall the ſtate of unbelievers be without end, without all reſt or ſecurity from danger, diſgrace, and torture, ten thouſand times more dreadful and inſufferable, than what the other at any times have feared or felt. What elſe hath been verified of them, as in the Type, muſt be fulfilled in unbelievers, as in the Body or ſubſtance. Theſe ſhall fear both night and day, and ſhall have no aſſurance of their life; but in ſtead thereof, an inevitable perpetuity of moſt grievous death. In the morning they ſhall ſay, Would God it were evening; and at evening they ſhall ſay, Would GOD it were morning, and wiſh that time might be no more, or that no days of joy had ever been; that all their mirth had been exchanged for ſorrow, even whilſt it was firſt conceived within their breaſt, that ſo no memory of ſweet delights or pleaſures paſt, might add gall unto the bitterneſs of their preſent grief, nor miniſter oyl unto that unquenchable flame wherein they fry. Thus much of Gods extraordinary mercies and judgements towards theſe Jews, and of the *Experiments* which their Eſtate from time to time hath afforded for the eſtabliſhing of our *Aſſent* to Scriptures.

The Deſolation of the Jews the moſt Effectual Sign for confirming Chriſtian Faith.
Levit. 16.44.

9. Particular Judgements upon any Land or People, as remarkable and perſpicuous to common ſenſe, as heretofore have been, we are not in this Age to expect. The approach of this general and fearful judgement, we may juſtly think, doth ſwallow up the moſt of them, as great plagues uſually drink up all other diſeaſes. *The converſion of theſe Jews we may probably expect, as the chief Sign of later times;* onely this laſt part of *Moſes* Prophecy, *Leviticus, chapter* 26. 44. hath not been as yet fulfilled, but muſt be in due time, for ſo he ſaith, *Yet notwithſtanding this* (even all the plagues and curſes which he had threatned, and we have ſeen fulfilled in theſe Jews) *when they ſhall be in the Land of their enemies, I will not caſt them away, neither will I abhor them, to deſtroy them utterly, and to break my covenant with them:* For I am the Lord their GOD: *But I will remember for them,* the Covenant of old when I brought them out of the land of *Egypt, that I might be their God: I am the Lord.* And *the continuation of their former plagues* ſeemeth much interrupted, the plagues themſelves *much mitigated,* in *this laſt Age* (ſince the Goſpel hath been again revealed) *as if their miſery were almoſt expired, and the day of their redemption drawing nigh.* Yet would I requeſt ſuch as with me hold their General Converſion, before the end of all things, as a truth probably grounded on GODS Word; not to *put that evil day far from them,* as if it could not take them unawares, until GODs promiſe to this people be accompliſhed. For, (were that

the point now in hand) I *could* (methinks) *As probably gather out of Scriptures, that their converſion ſhall be ſudden, As at all*, and ſuch as many parts of the world ſhall not ſo ſoon hear of, by Authentick reports or uncontroulable relation, as ſenſibly ſee at our general meeting before our Judge.

A Parallel of the Iſraelites deliverance from Egyptian, and Ours from Rome *Babyloniſh Thraldom.*

10. Like *Experiments* might be drawn from the *Revolutions* or *Alterations of other ſtates*, oft times wrought by ſuch cauſes as are without the reach of Policy, but moſt conſonant to the Rules of Scriptures; or from the Verification of ſuch rules, in Gods *Judgements* upon private perſons. But theſe obſervations cannot be made ſo evident to ordinary Readers, before the doctrine of Gods providence be unfoled. Wherefore I muſt refer them partly to that place, partly to others of my Labours, which have been moſt plentiful in this Argument. Only that mutation in our deliverance from the *Servitude of the Romiſh Church*, may not be omitted. For, if we compare it with the Iſraelites departure out of *Egypt*: the manner of Gods Providence exemplified at large by *Moſes* in the former, is as a perfect rule to diſcern the ſame power in the later; and the freſh *Experiment* of the later confirms unto our conſciences the truth of the Hiſtory concerning the former. God from the ſpoils of the Egyptians furniſhed the Iſraelites with all things neceſſary for their journey; the ſame had God revived the ſtudy of Tongues, and revealed the Art of Printing, a little before our fore-fathers departed out of *Babylon*, that they ſhould not come away empty, but well furniſhed to wage war with their Enemies, whom they had robbed of their chief Jewels, leaving ſmall ſtore of Polite Literature, or skill in Scriptures amonſt them; though they have increaſed their Faculties that way ſince. If we diligently view the diſpoſition of Gods Providence before thoſe times, we cannot but acknowledge, that it was the ſame power that firſt cauſed light to ſhine out of darkneſs, which then renewed the face of the earth again, and brought the light of ingenious and ſacred *Literature* forth of the *Chaos of Barbarity*, obſcurity, and fruitleſs curioſity, wherein it had been long incloſed. It is (methinks) a pleaſant Contemplation to obſerve how the Worthies of the Age precedent did beſtir themſelves in gathering and dreſſing Armour, not uſed for many hundred years before, no man knowing for what purpoſe, until the great Commander of heaven and earth gives out his Commiſſion to the Captains of his Hoſt, for invading his enemy, the Man of ſin. Little did that noble, religious, and learned King *Alphonſus*, or *Laurentius de Medicis*, with ſuch like, think of *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, *Calvin*, *Bucer*, *Melancthon*, or other Champions departure from the Romiſh Church, when they gave ſuch countenance to Polite learning, and learned men, from whom theſe had their skill: yea, Theſe Men Themſelves, and their Fellows did little think of ſuch Projects, as God by them after effected, when they firſt began to uſe thoſe weapons, by which they finally foiled their mighty adverſaries. Again, we have as it were, a freſh Print of Gods dealing with *Pharaoh*, in his like proceedings againſt the Pope. *Pharaoh* being delivered over to the ſtubbornneſs of his own Heart, had it ſo hardned at laſt, that he deſperately loſeth both life and Kingdom, whilſt he wrangles with the Iſraelites for their Cattel. The Popes heart likewiſe was ſo far hardned for his former pride, and ſo ſtrangely beſotted with the ſweetneſs of his own Cup,

that he cannot forgo the very dregs, but will have all ſwallowed down, even Indulgences themſelves; that ſo the Lords Name might be glorified in his ſhameful overthrow. Unleſs it had been for ſuch a notorious and palpable blindneſs of heart, in retaining that more than Heatheniſh and Idolatrous Abomination; the juſt cauſes of *Luthers* revolt had not been ſo manifeſt to the world, nor others departure from the Romiſh Church ſo general. All this, as it was the Lords doing, ſo ought it to ſeem wonderful in our eyes. For in this our deliverance was manifeſted the ſelf ſame *Power*, *Wiſdom*, and *Providence*, for the ſtedfaſt acknowledgement of which, all the former miracles in *Egypt* had been wrought; then neceſſary to the Iſraelites, but not to our Forefathers, who had believed the truth of *Moſes* Miracles; inſtructed by the rules of Gods providence in them manifeſted, to diſcern the ſame infinite power and wiſdom in their own deliverance: the manner of which was truly miraculous, as * *Chemnitius* well anſwered the Papiſt Jew-like requiring ſigns or miracles for *Luthers* doctrine, which had the ſame ſigns to confirm it, that Chriſtianity it ſelf firſt had.

Vir ſine vi ferri, vi verbi, & inermibus armis;
Vir ſine re, ſine ſpe, contudit orbis opes.

Sans dint of ſword, by ſtrength of word,
And armleſs harmleſs pains;
A wealthleſs wight, hopeleſs in ſight,
Hath craſh'd *Romes* golden veins.

11. *Luthers* ſucceſs was apprehended by the worldly wiſe men of thoſe times as impoſſible, as the Predictions of *Pharaohs* overthrow by *Moſes*, would have been to ſuch in that Age, as knew not the Will or Power of God. And *Albertus* † *Krantzius*, a man, as of an excellent Spirit, ſo of far greater place and authority in *Germany* than *Luther* was, and one, that from as earneſt deteſtation of the Romiſh Churches pride and inſolences, notified as great a deſire of Reformation, as *Luther* had; yet thought he ſhould but have loſt his labour in oppugning that greatneſs whereto it was grown. The ſame Biſhop, a little before his death being made acquainted with *Luthers* purpoſe; after approbation of his good intents to reform the abuſe of Indulgences, burſt out into theſe deſpairing Speeches of his good ſucceſs: *Frater, frater, abi in cellam, & dic; Miſerere mei, Deus.* Brother, Brother, get into thy Cell, and take up a Pſalm of mercy.

12. Would God the Incredulity and careleſs carriage of the Iſraelites after their mighty deliverance, had not been too lively

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* Interim ſi Pontificii omnino cum Judæis ſignum habere velint, accipiant hoc, quod nos ſummi miraculi loco habemus, unicum virum eumque miſerum Monachum, abſq; omni mundana vi, Romanorum Pontificum tyrannidem, quæ tot ſeculis non tantum potentiſſimis Regibus, ſed & Toti Orbi Formidabilis fuit, oppugnaſſe, proſtraviſſe, ſuperaſſe, juxta Elegantiſſimos verſiculos: *Harmon. Evangel. cap.* 5.

† Dolebat ſanctiſſimo viro non ſolum vitam eorum, quibus religionis confeſſio mandata erat, nefariis ſceleribus inquinari, ſed ſerpere etiam in religionem maximos errores. Ideò de illis evertendis plurimum laborabat: Sed quod tandem videret Papæ authoritatem, quouſq; proceſſiſſet, & diffideret, ne unus homo tanto negotio par eſſet, de ſeipſo ſpem abjecit, & optavit, ut omnes docti viri conjunctis ſtudiis Papam in ordinem redigerent. Idem dixit, quum paulo ante mortem, infirmus, Lutheri propoſitiones de indulgentiis vidiſſet, Lutherum in bonam cauſam ingreſſum eſſe, ſed unius homuncionis vires nihil valere ad tantam pontificis potentiam infringendam, quæ nimium invaluiſſet. Et lectis & approbatis propoſitionibus Lutheri, exclamaſſe fertur, Frater, &c. *Johan. Wolf. in præfat. ad Krantzii opera.*

Tome I.

repreſented by the like in moſt reformed Churches. When that generation *was gathered to their fathers, would God another had not riſen after them, which neither knew the Lord, nor the works which he had done for* Iſrael, *Judg.* 2. 10. A generation as much addicted unto *Sacriledge*, *as abhorring Idols*, Rom. 2.22. *diſhonouring* God by polluting that Law of Liberty, wherein they gloried.

Lib. 1. SECT. IV. *Pars* 2.

Of Experiments in our ſelves, and the right framing of Belief, as well unto the ſeveral parts as unto the whole Canon of Scriptures.

THough theſe we now treat of, be the ſureſt Pledges of Divine Truths, without which all Obſervations of former *Experiments*, are but like *Aſſurances* well drawn, but never Sealed: yet are they leaſt of all communicable unto others. He that hath tried them may rejoyce in them, as of *That Good Treaſure* hid in the Field, which he that hath found, can be content to ſell all that he hath, and Buy the Field wherein it is, that is, (to moralize that Parable for good Students uſe) he can be content to addict himſelf wholly or principally unto this ſtudy, ſuffering others to diſcourſe of ſuch matters as they moſt delight and glory in; Sealing his own mouth with that Hebrew Proverb, *Secretum meum mihi.* It ſhall ſuffice then, to ſet down ſome general Admonitions, for the finding of this *Hidden Manna:* albeit thus much cannot be ſo well performed in this place, ſeeing the ſearch hereof is not ſo eaſie or certain without the doctrine of Gods Providence; and the matter or Subject of the moſt or beſt *Experiments* in this kind, belong unto particular Articles of this Creed, to be proſecuted in their proper place, according to the Method uſed in theſe general Introductions, by comparing divine Oracles with the *Experiments* anſwerable unto them.

CHAP

Chap. XXXI.

Shewing the Facility and uſe of the propoſed Method by Inſtance in ſome, whoſe Belief unto Divine Oracles hath been confirmed by Experiments anſwerable unto them.

1. THe Method is ſuch as the Simpleſt Chriſtian may eaſily learn, and the greateſt Profeſſors need not to contemn. For S. *Peter* himſelf, that great Doctor of the Circumciſion, did profit much by this Practice. He had often heard, that God was no Accepter of Perſons. This truth was acknowledged by *Elihu*, who had never heard, nor read the written law of God: *He accepteth not the perſon of Princes, and regardeth not the rich more than the poor: for they be all the work of his hands.* The like hath the Wiſe man from the ſame reaſon: *He that is Lord over all, will ſpare no perſon, neither ſhall he fear any greatneſs: for he hath made the ſmall and great, and careth for all alike.* The ſame in ſubſtance is often repeated in the Book of Life: and no man could deny it, that had heard it but once propoſed, if he did acknowledge God for the Creator of all. Notwithſtanding the freſh *Experiment* of Gods calling *Cornelius* to Chriſtian Faith, confirmed S. *Peter* in the right Belief of Divine Oracles to this effect: and as it ſeems, taught him the true meaning of that place, *Deut.* 10. 16. *Circumciſe therefore the fore-ſkin of your heart* (as if he had ſaid, Glory not in the circumciſion of the fleſh) *and harden your necks no more: for the Lord your God is God of gods, and Lord of lords, a great God, Mighty, and Terrible, which accepteth no perſons.* From this place alone, the proud Jews might have learned, that the Lord was God of the Gentiles as well as of Them: and, from the Abundance of his inward Faith, enlarged by the forementioned *Experiment*, S. *Peter* burſt out into theſe Speeches: *Of a truth, I perceive that God is no accepter of perſons: but in every Nation, he that feareth him, is accepted with him.*

S. Peters *Belief of known Oracles confirmed by* Experiment.

Job 34. 19.

Wiſd. 6. 7.

Act. 10. 34.

2. The ſame Method the Lord himſelf hath commended unto us in many places of Scripture, wondering oft times at the dulneſs of his peoples hearts, that could not from the *Experiments* of His *Power*, *Might*, and *Majeſtie*, ſhewed in them, or for them, acknowledge thoſe Principles of Faith which *Moſes* commended unto them in writing: O (ſaith he) *that they were wiſe, then would they underſtand this; they would conſider their later end: how ſhould one chaſe a thouſand, and two put ten thouſand to flight; except their ſtrong God had ſold them, and the Lord had ſhut them up.* And again, *Behold now, for I am He, and there is no Gods with me.* Why ſhould they Believe this? They were to take none for gods, but ſuch as could do the works of God. What were theſe? Such as God avoucheth of himſelf in the next word: *I kill, and I give life; I wound, and I make whole; neither is there any that can deliver out of my hand.* Theſe, and like Effects, ſpecified in the former place, often manifeſted amongſt this People, might have taught them the truth of the former Oracle, albeit *Moſes* had been ſilent. For ſo the Finger of God, manifeſted in *Naamans*, the Syrian Generals cure (which was but one part of the former effects appropriated unto God) did write this divine Oracle as diſtinctly

Deut. 32. 29, 30, 39.

Naaman *without the written word, by* Experiment, *confirmed in the truth of what was written in the word.*

2 *King.* 5. 15.

ly in his heart, as *Moſes* had done it in the Book of the Law. For after he was cleanſed (from his leproſie) *he turned again to the man of God, he and all his company, and came and ſtood before him; and ſaid, Behold, now I know there is no God in all the world, but in Iſrael*: And again, *thy ſervant will henceforth offer neither burnt ſacrifice, nor offering, unto any other God, ſave unto the Lord.* This was as much, as if he had ſaid: *Behold now, for the Lord is He, and there is no other Gods with Him: He woundeth, and he maketh whole.*

Verſe 17.

3. If the cure of Leproſie, contrary to Humane Expectation, could ſo diſtinctly write this divine Oracle in an uncircumciſed Aramites heart, without any patern or written Copy, whence to take it out: how much more may the Lord expect, that the like *Experiments* in our ſelves ſhould imprint his Oracles already written, by *Moſes* and other his Servants of old, in our hearts and conſciences, that have theſe paterns of *Naaman* and others regiſtred to our hands, admoniſhing us to be obſervant in this kind? But alas, we are all by nature ſick of a more dangerous leproſie, than *Naaman* knew: and yet the *moſt of us far ſicker of* Naamans *Pride, than of his leproſie.* If Gods Miniſters ſhall admoniſh the curious Artiſts, or Athenian wits of our times, as *Eliſha* his Prophet did *Naaman*: they reply with *Naaman* in their hearts, *We looked they ſhould have called upon the name of the Lord, their God, and made us New Men in an Inſtant: and now they bid us waſh our ſelves again and again in the water of life, and be clean.* Are not the Ancient Fountains of *Greece* (that nurſe of Arts, and Mother of Eloquence) and the pleaſant Rivers of *Italy* (the School of delicate modern Wits) better than all the waters of *Iſrael*? Are not *Tully* and *Ariſtotle* as learned as *Moſes* and the Prophets? *Thus they depart from us in diſpleaſure.*

4. But if the Lord ſhould command us greater things for our temporal Preferment, or for the avoidance of corporal Death or torture: would we not do them? How much rather then, when he ſaith unto us, *Waſh your ſelves often in the Holy Fountain, the Well of Life, and ye ſhall be clean,* even from thoſe ſores, which otherwiſe will torment both body and ſoul eternally? Yea, but many read the Scriptures again and again, and daily hear the word preached publickly, and yet prove no purer, in life and action than their Neighbous. The reaſon is, becauſe they hear or read them negligently; not comparing their Rules with *Experiments* daily incident to their *courſe of life*: their preparation and reſolution are not proportionable to the weight and conſequence of this ſacred Buſineſs; their Induſtry and Alacrity in obſerving and practiſing the preſcripts commended to their Meditations by their Paſtors, do in no wiſe ſo far exceed their care and diligence in worldly matters, as the dignity of theſe Heavenly Myſteries ſurpaſſeth the pleaſures or commodities of this brickle earthly life: *and not thus Prepared to Hear, or Read the Scriptures; to Hear is to Contemn, to Read is to Profane them*: even the *often repetition of the words of life, without due reverence and attention, breeds an inſenſibility or deadneſs in mens ſouls.* Yet ſhould not ſuch mens want of Senſe breed Infidelity in others: rather this Experience of ſo much hearing, and little doing Gods will, may confirm the truth of his word, concerning ſuch Teachers and Hearers: Many in our times, not Monks and

Friars only, but of their ſtern Oppoſites, not a Few, *Having a ſhew of godlineſs, but denying the power thereof, crept into houſes, and lead captive ſimple Women, laden with ſins, and lead with divers luſts, ever hearing, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth.* And as the Philoſopher ſaid of his Moral Auditors Indocility, that it skilled not whether he were *Young* or of *Youthful affections*: ſo it is not the difference of Sex but reſolution, that makes a good Scholar or *non proficient* in the School of our Saviour JESUS CHRIST. *Many men have Weak and Womaniſh, and many women, Manly and Heroick reſolutions, towards God and godlineſs.*

2 Tim. 3. 5, 6, 7.

Better effects of Experiments leſs wonderfuls in Anna.

5. The infirmity which vexed the religious *Hanna*, was not ſo grievous as that of *Naamans*: ſhe was in our corrupt language, as many honeſt women at this day are, by nature Barren; or, if we would ſpeak as the Prophet did in the right language of *Canaan*, *the Lord had made her barren*: weary ſhe was of her own; and, according to the ordinary courſe of nature, ſhe ſaw no hope of being the Author of life to others. Yet in this her diſtreſs ſhe prayed unto the Lord her God, and he granted her deſire. From this *Experiment* of Gods Power, though not altogether ſo remarkable in ordinary eſtimation as *Naamans* cure, ſhe fully conceives not only the truth of the former Oracle, acknowledged by *Naaman* (but more Emphatically expreſſed by her, *There is none Holy as the Lord; yea, there is none beſides thee, and there is no God like our God*;) nor that other Attribute only of Wounding, or making whole (ſo lively uttered, *verſ.6. The Lord killeth, and maketh alive; bringeth down to the grave, and raiſeth up*:) but Gods Word, planted in her heart by her freſh *Experience*, grows up like a grain of Muſtard-ſeed, and brancheth it ſelf into a faithful acknowledgement of moſt of his Attributes: *The Lord is a God of knowledge, and by him enterprizes are eſtabliſhed; the Bowe and the mighty men are broken, and the weak have girded themſelves with ſtrength: they that were full, are hired forth for bread, and the hungry are no more hired, ſo that the barren hath born ſeven, and ſhe that hath born many children, is feeble: the Lord maketh poor, and maketh rich; bringeth low, and exalteth: he raiſeth up the poor out of the duſt, and lifeth up the beggar from the dunghil, to ſet them among Princes, and to make them inherit the ſeat of glory: for the Pillars of the earth are the Lords, and he hath ſet the world upon them; He will keep the feet of his Saints, and the wicked ſhall be ſilent in darkneſs; for in his own Might ſhall no man be ſtrong.* Nor doth it contain it ſelf within the bounds of ordinary *Belief*, but works in her heart like new wine, filling it not only with Songs of Joy and Triumph over her envious Enemies, *Mine heart rejoyceth in the Lord, my mouth is enlarged over my enemies, becauſe I rejoyce in thy ſalvation*; but alſo with the Divine Spirit of * Prophecy: *The Lords adverſaries ſhall be deſtroyed, and out of Heaven ſhall he thunder upon them; the Lord ſhall judge the ends of the world, and ſhall give power unto his King, and exalt the horn of his Anointed*, Verſ. 10.

1 Sam. 2. 2.

* De Prophetiâ Hannæ, vide Auguſtinum, *lib.* 17. *de Civ. Dei, c.* 4.

Different Operations of Like Experiments in divers parties, with their cauſes.

6. The like docility was in the bleſſed Virgin, of whom perhaps *Annah* was the Type: both of them verified that ſaying, *Verbum ſapienti ſat eſt*, One *Experiment* taught them more than five hundred would do moſt of us: The reaſon was, becauſe their hearts were ſo much better prepared. For, as heat in ſome bodies, by

reaſon of the indiſpoſition of the matter, cauſeth heat and nothing elſe; in ſome ſcarce that; in others brings forth life, and faſhioneth all the *Organs* and *Inſtruments* thereof: ſo *Experiments* of Gods power, in ſome mens hearts, breed only a perſwaſion of his Might or operation in *that particular*, as in thoſe fooliſh † Aramites, who vanquiſhed in Battel by the Iſraelites whom he favoured, queſtioned whether he were a God as well of the *Vallies* as of the *Mountains*; in others, the ſame or leſs Apprehenſion of his Power or Preſence, begetteth life, and faſhioneth this image in their hearts, which thence will ſhew it ſelf unto others in ſuch ample and entire Confeſſion of his Attributes, as *Hannah* and the bleſſed Virgin uttered. Some again are ſo ill diſpoſed and indocile, that the whole Moral Law of God might ſooner be engraven in hardeſt Marble or Flint, than any one Precept imprinted in their hearts by ſuch wonderful Documents of his Power, as would teach the godly in an inſtant both the Law and Prophets. Imagine ſome men in our days had been cured by like means of ſuch a malady as *Naaman* was; or ſome women bleſſed from above with fruit of their wombs, after ſo long ſterility, as *Hannah* endured. Who could expect, that one of ten in either Sex ſhould return to give like thanks to God in the preſence of his Prieſts or Prophets? Were *Eliſha* now living, he muſt be wary to work his cure by his bare word (and ſo perhaps he ſhould be cenſured for a Sorcerer) in any caſe, he might not uſe the waters of *Jordan*, or other like ſecond cauſes: otherwiſe *curious wits would find out ſome hidden or ſecret vertue cauſed in them* (at leaſt for the time being) *by ſome unuſual, but Benign Aſpect of ſome Planet or Conſtellation*, in whoſe right they ſhould be entitled either ful Owners, or Copartners of that glory, which *Naaman* aſcribed wholly unto God. And poor *Hannah*, in *this Politick Age*, ſhould not be ſo much praiſed for her devotion or good skill in Divine Poeſie, as pitied for a good *Honeſt well-meaning ſilly Soul*, that did attribute more to God than was his due, upon ignorance of *Alterations wrought in her Body by natural cauſes*. For it is not the cuſtom of our Times to mark ſo much the ordering or diſpoſition, as the particular or preſent operation of ſuch Agents. If any thing fall out amiſs, we bid a *Plague upon ill Fortune*, or curſe Miſchance: if ought aright, we applaud our own or others Wits that have been employed in the buſineſs, or perhaps thank God for Faſhion ſake, that we had *Good Luck. He is to us, in our good ſucceſs, as a friend that lives far off; who, we preſume, wiſheth well to ſuch projects as he knows in general we are about*, being unacquainted with the particular means that muſt effect them, or no principal Agent in their contrivance. Hence do I not marvel (though many do) if ſuch men in our times, as reap the fruits of the fields which God hath bleſt, in greateſt Abundance, make no conſcience of returniug the *Tenth part* to him that gave the whole; when as not one of a thouſand, either in heart or deed, or out of any diſtinct or clear apprehenſion of his power or efficacy, or true reſolution of all effects into the Firſt Fountain whence they flow, doth attribute ſo much as the *Tenth*, nay as the *Hundreth part to Gods doing* in any Event, wherein the induſtry of man or operation of ſecond Cauſes are apparent. *We ſpeak like Chriſtians of matters paſt, recorded in Scripture; but in our diſcourſes of modern affairs, our Paganiſms and more than Heatheniſh Soleciſms*,

bewray

† 1 *Kings* 20. *verſ.* 23.

bewray the Infidelity of our thoughts and reſolutions. And albeit we all diſclaim *Manes Hereſie*, that held *one Creator of the matter*, and *another of* more *pure and better ſubſtances*; yet are we infected, for the moſt part, with a Spice of his madneſs, in making *Material Agents* the *Authors of ſome effects*; and the *Divine Power*, *of others.* Nor can I herein excuſe the School-Divines themſelves, ancient or modern, domeſtick or foreign; the beſt of them (in my judgment) either greatly erred in aſſigning the ſubordination of Second Cauſes to the Firſt; or elſe are much defective, in deriving their actions or operations immediately from Him, who is the *Firſt and Laſt in every action that is not evil*, the *Only Cauſe of all good unto men:* as ſhall appear (God willing) in the Article of his Providence, and ſome other Treatiſes pertinent unto it, wherein I ſhall, by his aſſiſtance, make good theſe two *Aſſertions:* The One, *That modern Events, and Diſpoſitions of preſent times, are as apt to confirm mens Faith now living, as the Miracles of former* would be, were they now in uſe, or as they were to inſtruct that Age wherein they were wrought; The Second, that *The Infidelity of ſuch in this Age, as are ſtrongly perſwaded they love Chriſt with their heart, and yet give no more than moſt men do unto his fathers Providence, may be greater than theirs that never heard of either; or equal unto the Jews that did perſecute him.*

General directions for the right making of Experiments in our ſelves.

7. Until the *Article* of the Divine *Providence*, and that other of the God-head be unfolded, theſe General directions for *Experiments* in this kind muſt ſuffice. Firſt, that *every man diligently obſerve his courſe of life, and ſurvey the circumſtances precedent or conſequent to every action of greater importance that he undertakes, or events of moment that befal him.* Secondly, that *he ſearch whether the whole frame or compoſition of occurrents be not ſuch, as cannot be attributed to any natural, but unto ſome ſecret and inviſible Cauſe*; or whether ſome cauſe or occaſions precedent be not ſuch, *as the Scripture hath already allotted the like events unto.* Would men apply their minds unto this ſtudy, *Experience* would teach them, (what from enumeration of particulars may be proved by diſcourſe) “ *That there is no eſtate on earth, nor buſineſs in Chriſtendom this day on foot, but have a ruled cauſe in Scripture for their iſſue and ſucceſs.* Nor is there any preſcript of our Saviour, his Evangeliſts, or Apoſtles, but his people might have a *Probatum* of it, either in themſelves or others; ſo they would refer themſelves wholly into his hands, and relie as fully upon his preſcripts, as becomes ſuch diſtreſſed Patients upon ſo Admirable a Phyſician.

The cauſes why ſo many in our days have little or no Experience of the truth of divine Oracles.

8. But many who like well of Chriſt for their Phyſician, loath his Medicines for the Miniſters his Apothecaries ſake, and ſay of us, as *Nathanael* ſaid of him; *Can there any good thing come from theſe ſilly Galilæans?* They will not with *Nathanael* come near and See, but keep aloof. And *what marvel, if ſpiritual diſeaſes abound, where there be ſpiritual medicines plenty, when the flock, be they never ſo Soulſick, come only in ſuch ſort to their Paſtors, as if a ſick man ſhould go to a Phyſick-Lecture for the recovery of his health, where the Profeſſour, it may be, reads learnedly of the nature of Conſumptions, when the Patient is deſperately ſick of a Pleuriſie; or diſcourſes accurately of the Plethora or Athletical conſtitution, when his Auditor* (poor ſoul) *languiſheth of an Atrophie?* Moſt are aſhamed to conſult us (as good Patients in bodily Maladies always do their Phyſicians) in any particulars, concerning

the nature of their peculiar griefs: ſo as we can apply no Medicine to any but what may as well befit every diſeaſe. Whereas, were we throughly acquainted with their ſeveral maladies, or the diſpoſitions of their minds, the preſcript might be ſuch, or ſo applied, as every man might think the *Medicine had been made of purpoſe for his Soul*; and, finding his ſecret thoughts with the Original cauſes of his Malady diſcovered, the *Criſis* truly Prognoſticated, he could not but acknowledge, that he who gave this Preſcript, and taught this Art, did ſearch the very ſecrets of mens hearts and reins, and knew the inward temper of his Soul, better than *Hippocrates* or *Galen* did the Conſtitution of mens Bodies. Finally, would men learn to be true Patients, that is, would they take up Chriſts yoke, and become humble and meek, and obſerve but for a while ſuch a Gentle and moderate Diet, as from our Saviours Practice and Doctrine might be preſcribed by their ſpiritual Phyſicians upon better notice of their ſeveral diſpoſitions, they would in ſhort time, out of their inward *Experience* of that uncouth reſt and eaſe, which by thus doing their ſouls ſhould find, believe with their hearts, and with their mouths confeſs, that *theſe were Rules of Life*, which could not poſſibly have come from any other, but from that Divine *Æſculapius* himſelf, the only Son, yea the *Wiſdom of the only Wiſe, Inviſible, and Immortal God.* The more unlikely the means of recovering ſpiritual health may ſeem to natural reaſon, before men try them, the more forcible would their good ſucceſs and iſſue be, for eſtabliſhing true and *lively Faith.* But ſuch as can, from theſe or like *Experiments*, ſubſcribe unto main particular Truths contained in Scripture, and acknowledge them as Divine, may be uncertain of their Number, or Extent; doubt they may of the number of Books wherein the like are to be ſought: and again, in thoſe Books which are acknowledged to contain many Divine Revelations and Dictates of the holy Spirit, they may doubt whether many other preſcripts, neither of like uſe, nor authority, have not been inſerted by men.

CHAP.

Chap. XXXII.

Containing a brief Reſolution of Doubts concerning the Extent of the general Canon, or the number of its integral parts.

1. THe full reſolution of the former doubt, or rather Controverſie, concerning the number of Canonical Books, exceeds the limits of this preſent Treatiſe, and depends as much as any Queſtion this day controverſed, upon the Teſtimonies of Antiquity. The order of Jeſuits ſhall be confounded, and *Reynolds* raiſed to life again, ere his Learned Works, lately come forth upon this Argument (albeit unfiniſhed to his mind, whilſt he was living) be confuted by the Romaniſts: Or, if any of the Jeſuitiſh Society, or that other late upſtart Congregation, will be ſo deſperate as to adventure their Honour in *Bellarmine*, or other of their foiled Champions reſcue, they ſhall be expected in the Liſts before they be prepared to entertain the Challenge, by one of that deceaſed Worthies Shield-bearers in his life time: whoſe judgment in all good Learning I know for ſound; his obſervation in this kind, choice; his induſtry great; his reſolution to encounter all Antagoniſts, ſuch as will not relent. For ſatisfaction of the ordinary Reader, I briefly anſwer.

2. Firſt, that *this is no controverſie of Faith*, nor need it to trouble any Chriſtian mans Conſcience, that we and the Papiſts differ about the Authority of ſome Books; it rather ought to confirm his Faith, that men diſagreeing ſo much in many opinions, ſo oppoſite in their affections, ſhould ſo well agree about the number of no fewer than two and twenty Canonical Books of the Old Teſtament. Had their Authority only been Humane, or left to the choice of men, whether they ſhould be allowed or rejected, many that now admit them, would reject them, becauſe oppoſite Religions did embrace them. That all ſorts of Proteſtants, Papiſts, and * Jews, do receive them, is an infallible Argument, that he who is Lord of all, did commend them to all. Nor doth our Church ſo diſclaim all which the Romans above theſe two and twenty admit, as if it were a point of Faith to hold there were no more: it only admits no more into the ſame Rank and Order with the former, becauſe we have no ſuch warrant of Faith, or ſure *Experiments* ſo to do. Many of them diſcover themſelves to be Apocryphal: and albeit ſome of them can very hardly, or not at all, be diſcerned for ſuch by their Stile, Character, or diſſonancy to Canonical Scriptures; yet, that none of them indeed are or can be admitted for Canonical, without manifeſt tempting of God, is evident from what hath been obſerved before, concerning Gods unſpeakable Providence in making the Blinded and Perfidious Jews, (Chriſts and our bittereſt enemies) ſuch *truſty Feoffees* for making over the Aſſurances of Life unto us. For, ſeeing by them he commended unto us, only ſo many Books of the Old Teſtament, as our Church acknowledgeth:

** The teſtimonies of the Ancient Iſraelites and Modern Jews for the Canon of the Old Teſtament, is moſt Authentick. For even thoſe Ancient Fathers which our Adverſaries alledge to acknowledge ſome more Books for Canonical than our Church doth; did it only upon this Errour, that they thought there had been more in the Canon of the Hebrew, upon whoſe Teſtimonies they relied; as will be made clear againſt the Papiſts.*

this is an infallible Argument, that His will was, we ſhould admit no more; Had any more been written, before the re-edifying of the Temple by *Zerubbabel*, no doubt the Jews would have admitted them into their Canon. For all ſuch as ſhould be written after, the Prophet *Malachy*, who is the laſt of their Canon, hath left this caveat in the laſt words of his Prophecy for not admitting them; *Remember the Law of* Moſes *my ſervant, which I commanded to him in* Horeb, *in all Iſrael, with the ſtatutes and judgments:* as if he had ſaid, You muſt content your ſelves with His Writings, and ſuch as you have already, Conſonant to his; for any others of equal Authority you may not expect, until the Expectation of the Gentiles come. For no Prophet ſhall ariſe until that time, as he intimates in the laſt words, *Behold, I will ſend you* Eliah *the Prophet, before the coming of the great and fearful day of the Lord: and he ſhall turn the hearts of the fathers unto the children, and the hearts of the children to their fathers, leſt I come and ſmite the earth with curſing.* The Miniſtery of others for converting ſouls, he ſuppoſed ſhould be but ordinary, by the Expoſition of the Law and Prophets: and the Authority of ſuch (writ they as much as they liſted) could not be Authentick or Canonical.

Conſonant hereto is that, Mat. 11. 13. Lex & Prophetæ ad Johannem, &c. *That is, their writings were the compleat rule of Faith, and infallible means of ſalvation until* John. *Yet can it not be proved, that any Book held by our Church for Apocryphal, is contained either under the Law or Prophets, as the Hiſtorical Books of the Hebrew Canon are. Evident it is, that the Books of* Judith *and* Macchabees *were ſince* Malachies *time: from whom till* John *no Prophet was to be expected, but* Moſes *Law (illuſtrated by events recorded in Hiſtories and Prophetical Commentaries till* Malachies *time* Incluſive) *was to be the immediate* medium *for diſcerning the Great Prophet. See* Lib. 2. c. 17. numb. 3. & 4. & l. 1. c. 17.

3. Some others again of reformed Churches in theſe our times, have from the example of Antiquity, doubted of the Authority of ſome Books in the New Teſtament: as of * *Jude*, of *James*, the ſecond of *Peter*, and ſome others. Which doubt is now diminiſhed by their continuance in the ſacred Canon ſo long time, not without manifeſt documents of GODS Providence in preſerving them, whoſe pleaſure (it may ſeem) was to have theſe Books, of whom the Ancients moſt doubted, fenced and guarded on the one ſide, by S. *Pauls* Epiſtles, and other Canonical Scriptures (never called in queſtion by any, but abſurd and fooliſh Hereticks, whoſe humorous opinions herein died with themſelves) and on the other, by the Book of the *Apocalypſe:* of whoſe Authority though many of the Ancients, for the time being, doubted; yet He that was before all times did fore-ſee, that it ſhould in later times manifeſt it ſelf to be his work, by Events anſwerable to the Prophecies contained in it. And, albeit many Apocryphal Books have been ſtamped with Divine Titles, and obtruded upon the Church as Canonical, whilſt ſhe was in her Infancy, and the ſacred Canon newly conſtitute: yet the Divine Spirit, by which it was written, hath wrought them out, as new Wine doth ſuch filth or groſſneſs as mingle with it whilſt the Grapes are troden. S. *Johns* Adjuration in the concluſion of that Book, hath not only terrified all for adding unto, or diminiſhing it *Self:* but hath been, as it were, a Seal unto the reſt of this Sacred Volume of the New Teſtament, as *Malachies* Prophecy was to the Old; the whole Canon it ſelf, conſiſting both of the Old and New, continues ſtill as the Ark of God; and all other Counterfeits as *Dagon*.

* *The Divine Authority of Some Books in the New Teſtament, eſpecially the* Apocalypſe, *doubted of by the Ancient, brought to light in later times.*

4. Were not our *Roman* adverſaries *Doctrine* concerning the general Principles of Faith, an *Invention* deviſed of purpoſe by Satan to obliterate all print or impreſſion of Gods Providence in governing his Church, out of mens hearts: how were it poſſible for any man endued with Reaſon, to be ſo far overgrown with Phrenſie, as not to conceive their own folly and madneſs, in avouching we cannot know what Books are Canonical, what not, but by the infallible Teſtimony of the preſent Romiſh Church. But of thoſe impieties at large hereafter. I will now only infer part of their Concluſion, which they ſtill labour, but never ſhall be able to prove, from Premiſſes which they never dreamt of. For I profeſs among others, this is not the leaſt reaſon I have to hold the *Apocalypſe* for Canonical Scripture, becauſe the Romiſh Church doth ſo eſteem it. Nor could reformed Churches *Belief* of its Authority be ſo ſtrong, unleſs that Church had not denied, but openly acknowledged it for Canonical Scripture. As the ſame Beams of the Sun reach from Heaven to Earth, and from one end of the World to another; ſo do the ſame Rays of Gods Power extend themſelves from Generation to Generation, always alike conſpicuous to ſuch as are Illuminate by His Spirit: for who, thus Illuminate, can acknowledge his Providence in making the Jews ſo careful to preſerve the Old Teſtament; and not as clearly diſcern the ſame in conſtraining the Romiſh Church to give her ſuppoſed infallible Teſtimony of the *Apocalypſe?* Doubtleſs, if that Book had been the work of man, it had been more violently uſed by that Church of late, than ever the New Teſtament hath been by the Jewiſh Synagogue, or any Heretick by the Romaniſts, ſeeing it hath ſaid far more againſt them, than any whom they account for ſuch, ever did. But God, who made *Pharaohs* Daughter a ſecond Mother unto *Moſes*, whom he had appointed to bring deſtruction afterwards upon her Fathers Houſe and Kingdom, hath made the Romiſh Church of old, a *Dry Nurſe* to preſerve this Book (whoſe meaning ſhe knew not) that it might bring deſolation upon her ſelf and her children, in time to come. For by the breath of the Lord ſhall ſhe be deſtroyed; her doom is already read by S. *John*; and the Lord of late hath intangled her in her own ſnare, whilſt ſhe was drawing it to catch others. Her Childrens Brags of their Mothers Infallibility, wherewith they hale moſt ſilly ſouls to them, were too far ſpread before the *Trent* Council, too commodious to be called in on a ſuddain. Had they then begun to deny the Authority of this Book, (though then pronouncing their Mothers wo more openly than any Prophecies of old had done the enſuing deſolations of the Jews) every Child could have caught hold on this ſtring, that this Church (as they ſuppoſe) always the ſame, never obnoxious to any errour, had in former time acknowledged it for Authentick and Divine: albeit no queſtion but many of them ſince have wiſh'd from their hearts that their forefathers had uſed the ſame, as *Seraiah* did *Jeremiahs* Books which he wrote againſt *Babylon*, Jer. 51. that both it, and all memory of it, had been drowned in the Bottom of the deepeſt Sea, and a milſtone *thrown upon it by Gods Angel; that it never might riſe up again* to interrupt their Whoriſh Mothers beaſtly pleaſures, by diſcovering her filthy nakedneſs daily more and more. For concluſion of this point

Wherein the Teſtimony of the Romiſh Church in diſcerning ſome Canonical Books, is moſt available.

point for this preſent: That this and other Canonical Books had been long preſerved, or rather impriſoned by the Romiſh Church in darkneſs and ignorance, until the Almighty gave his voice, and cauſed them to ſpeak in every tongue, throughout theſe parts of the world; doth no more argue her to have been the true and Catholick Church, than *Moſes* Education in *Pharaohs* Court, during the time of his Infancy or Nonage, doth argue the Egyptian Courtiers to have been Gods choſen People.

Chap. XXXIII.

A brief direction for preventing Scruples and reſolving Doubts, concerning particular Sentences or Paſſages in the Canon of Scripture.

UNto the ſecond demand, [*How we know this or that Sentence in any Book of Canonical Scripture, to have been from God, Not inſerted by man*:] Some perhaps would ſay this muſt be known by the Spirit. Which indeed is the Briefeſt Anſwer that can be given: but ſuch as would require a long Apology for its Truth, or at leaſt a large Explication in what Senſe it were true, if any man durſt be ſo bold as to reply upon it. * Conſequently to our former Principles, we may Anſwer, That our full and undoubted Aſſent unto ſome Principal Parts, doth bind us unto the Whole Frame of Scriptures. But you will ſay, We believe ſuch ſpecial parts, from undoubted *Experience* of their Truth in our hearts, and without *This*, our *Belief* of them could not be ſo ſtedfaſt: how then ſhall we ſtedfaſtly believe thoſe parts, of whoſe Divine Truth we have no ſuch *Experiments*? for of every Sentence in Scripture, we ſuppoſe few or none can have any: Yet even unto thoſe parts whereof we have no *Experiments* in particular, we do adhere by our Former Faith, becauſe our Souls and Conſciences are as it were tied and faſtned unto other Parts wherewith they are conjoined, as the pinning and nailing of two plain bodies in ſome few parts, doth make them ſtick cloſe together in all, ſo as the one cannot be pulled from the other in any part, whilſt their faſtning holds. It will be replied, That this Similitude would hold together, if one part of Canonical Scripture were ſo firmly or naturally united to another, as the divers portions of one and the ſame continuate or Solid Body are: but ſeeing it is evident that ſo they are not, who can warrant the contrary, but that a Sentence or Period, perhaps a whole Page, might have been Foiſted into the Canon by ſome Scribe or other? Here we muſt retire unto our *Firſt Hold* or Principles of Faith. For if we ſtedfaſtly *Believe* from *Experiments* or otherwiſe, that ſome principal parts of Scripture have come from God, and that the ſame are ſure Pledges for mans good, the only means of his Salvation: this Doctrine or Experience of Gods Providence once fully eſtabliſhed, will eſtabliſh our Faith and Aſſent unto other parts of his Word, whereof (ſhould we take them alone) we could have no

**How our firm Aſſent to ſome Principal matters revealed in Scriptures, tieth our Faith unto their whole Canon.*

ſuch Experiments. For he that knoweth God, or his Providence aright; knows this withal, that he will not ſuffer us to be tempted above our ſtrength. And once having had Experience of his Mercies paſt, we cannot, without Injury to his Divine Majeſty, but in Confidence of it, Believe and Hope, that his All-ſeeing Wiſdom and Almighty Power will ſtill (maugre the ſpight of Death, Hell, Satan, and their Agents) preſerve his Sacred Word ſincere without admixture of any profane, falſe, or humane Inventions that might overthrow, or pervert our Faith begun. Hereto we may refer all former Documents of His Care and Providence in preſerving the Canon of our Faith from the *Tyranny* of ſuch, as ſought utterly to deface it; and the *Treachery* of others, who ſought to corrupt it. And it ought to be no little motive unto us, thus to think: when we ſee *Auſtin*, *Gregory*, and other of the Ancient Writers, either maimed, or mangled, or purged of their beſt Bloud, where they make againſt the Romiſh Church; or elſe her untruths fathered upon Them, by her ſhameleſs ſons, in places where they are ſilent for her: and yet this Sacred Volume untouched and uncorrupt, by any violence offered to it by that Church; only it hath loſt its natural Beauty and Complexion, by long durance in that homely and vulgar Priſon; whereunto they have confined it.

2. But as from theſe and like Documents of Gods Care and Providence in preſerving it, and of His Love and Favour towards us, we conceive Faith and ſure Hope, that he will not ſuffer us to be tempted with doubts of this nature, above our ſtrength: ſo muſt we be as far from tempting Him, by theſe or like unneceſſary, unſeaſonable curious Demands. *How ſhould we know This or That Clauſe or Sentence* (if we ſhould find them alone) *to be Gods Word*? Why might not an Heretick of malice have forged, or a Scribe through negligence altered them? It ſhould ſuffice that they have been commended to us not alone, but accompanied with ſuch *Oracles* as we have already Entertained for *Divine*. And if any Doubt ſhall happen to ariſe, we muſt rely upon that Oracle, of whoſe truth every true Chriſtian hath, and all that would be ſuch, may have ſure Trial. *Deus cum tentatione ſimul vires dabit: God with the Temptation will give Iſſue*; yea, Joyful Iſſue to ſuch Temptations as he ſuffers to be ſuggeſted by Others, *Not unto ſuch as we thruſt our ſelves into by our needleſs Curioſity.* When we are called unto the ſearch of Truth by Satan or his Inſtruments Objections againſt it, the Lord will give us better reaſons for our own or others Satisfactions, than yet we know of, or ſhould be able to find, but by the conduct of his untempted Providence.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Concluding the Firſt Book with ſome Brief Admonition to the Reader.

1. TO conclude this Treatiſe, as it was begun. The greater the Reward propoſed to the faithful Practice, or the Puniſhment threatned to the Neglect of theſe Divine Oracles: the greater is the Madneſs of many men in our time, who in contemplative Studies, whoſe Principal end is delight, can undergo long toil, and great pains, never attaining to exact Knowledge but by *Believing* their Inſtructors, and taking many *Theoremes* and *Concluſions* upon Truſt, before they can make Infallible Trial of their Truth: and yet in matters of their Salvation, which cannot be exactly *Known*, but only *Believed* in this life, and whoſe *Belief* muſt be got by Practice, not by Diſcourſe, demand Evidence of Truth, and infallible Demonſtration, before they will vouchſafe to Believe or adventure their pains on their Practice; and finally, ſo Demean themſelves in ſpeech and reſolution, as if God Almighty ſhould think himſelf highly graced, and our Saviour, his Son, much beholden to them, that they ſhould Deign to be his Scholars, ſooner than *Mahomets*, or *Machiavels*. But we that are his Meſſengers muſt not debaſe His Word, nor Diſparage our Calling, by Wooing them upon ſuch Terms, or profeſſing to ſhew them the Truth before they be willing to learn it: One firſt Principle whereof is this, *That ſuch as will ſeek, may find ſtarting holes enough to run out of Chriſts Fold, and eſcape his Mercies profered in his Church.* And as many reaſons are daily brought, ſufficient to perſwade a Right-diſpoſed underſtanding of the Truth of Scriptures: ſo no Argument can be found of force enough to convince a Froward Will, or perſwade perverſe Affections. Theſe are they which make a many altogether uncapable of any Moral; moſt of all, of any Divine Truth; and muſt be laid aſide at the firſt Entrance into the School of Chriſt, and continually kept under by the Rod of his Judgments and Terrours of that Dreadful Day. Unto ſuch as account theſe Conſequents leſs dreadful, or their dread leſs probable, than that they ſhould (for a time at leaſt) lay aſide all Perverſity of Will, or Humour of Contradiction, to make ſure trial of thoſe Divine Oracles for their Good; we can apply no other Medicine, but that of Saint *John*: *He that is Filthy let him be Filthy ſtill*, Rev. 22. 11.

2. Thus much of general Inducements to *Belief*. In the Obſervation and Uſe of all theſe and others of what kind ſoever, we muſt implore the Aſſiſtance of Gods Spirit, who only worketh True and lively Faith, but (ordinarily) by theſe or like means. Theſe *Scriptures* are as the *Rule or Method* preſcribing us our *Diet* and Order of life: theſe *Experiments* joined with it are as *Nutriment*: and the Spirit of God digeſteth all to our Health and Strength. *Without It all other means or matters, of beſt Obſervation, are but as good Meat to weak or corrupt Stomachs: With It, every Experiment of our own or others Eſtate, taken according to the Rules of Scripture, doth nouriſh and ſtrengthen Faith, and preſerve our ſpiritual Health.* Many in our days unceſſantly blame their Brethrens Backwardneſs to Entertain the Spirit, or rely upon it

it only; Being more Blame-worthy themſelves for being too forward in Believing *Every Spirit*, and ſeeking to * diſcern Canonical from Apocraphal *Scriptures* by the *Spirit*, and again to Try True from Falſe *Spirits*, by the *Scriptures*, without ſerious Obſervation and ſetled Examination of *Experiments* anſwerable unto ſacred *Rules*. Such mens fervent Seal unto the Letter of the Goſpel is like an hot Stomach accuſtomed to light meats, which increaſe Appetite more than Strength, and fill the body rather with bad Humors than good Blood.

3. The Spirit no doubt ſpeaks often unto us when we attend not; but we muſt not preſume to underſtand His Suggeſtions by His immediate Voyce or Preſence; only *by His Fruits, and the inward Teſtimony of an appeaſed Conſcience* (which he alone can work) *muſt we know him.* He that ſeeks (as † *Ignatius Loyola* taught his ſons) to diſcern Him without more ado, by his manner of breathing, may inſtead of him be troubled with an unwelcome Gueſt, always ready to invite himſelf where he ſees preparation made for his *Better*, and one (I am perſwaded) that hath learned more kinds of Salutations than *Loyola* knew of, able to fill empty Breaſts or ſhallow Heads unſettled in Truth, with ſuch pleaſant, mild and gentle Blaſts, as are apt to breed ſtrong perſwaſions of more than Angelical Inſpirations.

* *This is that* Circle *which the Adverſary oppoſeth as a Countermine to us, whileſt we ſeek to overthrow their* Circular Belief. *The Objection may juſtly be retorted upon the Enthuſiaſt, but not on* Our Church, *as ſhall appear in the fourth Section of the Second Book.*

† Proficientibus (ut admonet P. noſter *Ignatius* L. Exercit. de dignoſc. ſpirit.) Spiritus malus ſe dure, implacide & violenter, quaſi cum ſtrepitu quodam, ut imber in ſaxa decidens, infundit. Bonus vero iiſdem leniter, placide & ſuaviter, ſicut aqua irrorat ſpongiam. Illis vero qui in deterius proficiunt, experientia docet, contra evenire. *Delrius diſquiſit. Magic. lib.* 4. *cap.* 1. *q.* 3. *ſect.* 6.

4. *God grant the carriage of enſuing Times may argue theſe Admonitions needleſs*: which further to proſecute, in reſpect of times late paſt and now preſent, could not be unſeaſonable; but thus much by the way muſt now ſuffice me, purpoſed hereafter (if God permit) to Treat of the *Trial of Spirits*, and certain apprehenſion of inherent Faith: about the general means of whoſe production, and eſtabliſhment, the Queſtion (moſt controverſed in theſe days) is; *Whether beſide the Teſtification of Gods Spirit, which* (as all agree) *muſt* (by theſe late mentioned or other means) *work Faith in our hearts*: the *Teſtimony or Authority of others beſides our ſelves, be neceſſary, either for aſcertaining our Apprehenſion of the Spirit thus working, or for aſſuring the truth of Experiments wrought by it in our Souls*? or if no other beſides the teſtimony of Gods Spirit and our own Conſcience, be neceſſary, either after their Sentence given, or whileſt they give it, How far the Authority or Miniſtery of men is neceſſary or behoveful, either for bringing us acquainted with the Spirit of God, or for the aſſiſtance and direction of our Conſcience in giving right Sentence of the Truth or true meaning of Gods Word? Of theſe queſtions and others ſubordinate to them, we are to diſpute at large in the Books following.

How far the

MINISTRY of MEN

Is Neceſſary for

PLANTING

TRUE

Chriſtian Faith;

AND

Retaining the UNITY of it PLANTED.

BOOK II.

NOSCE TE IPSUM
NE QUID NIMIS
LOVE AND LIVE

LONDON:

Printed in the YEAR, 1672.

How far the
MINISTRY of MEN
Is Neceſſary for Planting
True Chriſtian Faith;
And retaining the Unity of it PLANTED.

The Second Book of Comments upon the CREED.

A*S in the firſt* Intention, *ſo after ſome* Proſecution *of this long work; my purpoſe was, to refer the full Examination of the Romiſh Churches pretended Authority in matters Spiritual, unto the Article of the Catholick Church: which (with thoſe three others of the* Holy Ghoſt, Communion of Saints, and forgiveneſs of Sins, *for more exact Methods ſake, and continuation of matters, in Nature, and Sacred Writ, moſt united) I have reſerved for the laſt place, in this Frame of Chriſtian* Belief: *annexing the Articles of the* Bodies Reſurrection, *and* Everlaſting Life, *unto that of* Final Judgement, *whereon theſe Two have moſt Immediate and moſt direct Dependance.*

2. *But, after the Platform was caſt, and matter for Structure prepared; upon evident diſcovery of the* Jeſuits Treachery, *in ſetting up the* Pope *as a ſecret* Competitor with the Bleſſed Trinity, *for* Abſolute Sovereignty *over mens Souls; (and for this purpoſe continually plotting, to have the Doctrine of their Churches Infallibility planted as low and deep, as the very firſt and Fundamental Principles of* Belief:) *albeit in laying the former Foundations, I had come to ground firm enough (if free from undermining) to bear all I meant to build upon it: I was notwithſtanding, in this place conſtrained to Bare the whole Foundation, and all about it, unto the very Rock, on whoſe ſtrength it ſtands; leſt this late diſmal Invention (concerning the Popes Infallibility) might prove as a Powder-plot to blow up the whole Edifice of Chriſtian Faith; as it certainly will, if men ſuffer it to be once planted in their Hearts and Conſciences. The Jeſuits ſpeculative Poſitions of their Churches tranſcendent Authority, are as the* Train, *the Popes Thunder-bolts as the* Match, ~~*to ſet the whole World on*~~ Combuſtion, *unleſs his Lordly Deſigns (though in matters of Faith, and greateſt moment) be put in execution, without Queſtion or demur: as ſhall (God proſpering theſe proceedings) moſt clearly appear in the ſequel of this Diſcourſe:*

1. *Wherein*

Wherein are to be diſcuſſed

1. Their Objections againſt us; the Points of Difference betwixt us; with the Poſitive Grounds of Truth maintained by us.
2. The Inconveniences of their Poſitions: Erection of triple Blaſphemy by the overthrow of Chriſtianity.
3. The Original Cauſes of their Errour in this; and ſuch erroneous Perſwaſions, as held by them in other Points, not deſcried by us, prove ſecret Temptations for others to follow them, or ſerve as previal Diſpoſitions, for their Agents to work upon.
4. The poſſible Means and particular Manner, how Orthodoxal may be diſtinguiſhed from Heretical Doctrine, or the Life-working Senſe of Scriptures from Artificial Gloſſes.

Theſe Points diſcuſſed, and the Poſitive Grounds of Chriſtian Faith cleared, as well againſt the open Aſſaults of the profeſſed Atheiſts, as the ſecret Attempts of undermining Papiſts: we may with better ſecurity proceed to raiſe the Foundation, (*laid in the* Firſt General Part *of the* Firſt Book) *to the heighth intended.*

I SECT.

Sect. I.

What Obedience is due to Gods Word, what to his Meſſengers.

THe whole *Scripture* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *is given by inſpiration of God, and is profitable to Teach, to Reprove, to Correct, and to Inſtruct in Righteouſneſs, that the Man of God may be abſolute, being made perfect unto all good works.* What or whom, he means by *The Man of God*, is not agreed upon by all that acknowledge his words in the ſenſe he meant them, moſt *Infallible and Authentick.* Some hereby underſtand only ſuch men as *Timothy* was, Miniſters of Gods Word, or Prophets of the New Teſtament; and ſo briefly elude all Arguments hence drawn to prove the ſufficiency of Scriptures, for being *the Abſolute rule of Faith*, at leaſt to *All*, as well *unlearned as learned.* Yet ſhould they in all reaſon (might Gods Word rule their Reaſon) grant them to be ſuch, unto all ſuch as *Timothy* was, publick Teachers, men converſant in, or conſecrated unto, Sacred Studies; but even *This* they deny as well as *the Former*, though the former in their opinion be more abſurd for us to affirm, eſpecially holding the Hebrew Text only Authentick. Briefly, they charge us with debaſing *Peter*, for advancing *Paul*; or rather for colouring or adorning our pretended ſenſe of *Pauls* Words, that is, for giving too little to *Peters Succeſſors*, or the *Church*; too much to *Scriptures*; too little to *Spirituals*, too much to *Lay-men*. 2 Tim. 3. 16.

2. Theſe are plauſible Pretences, and ſweet Baits to ſtop the mouths, and muffle the pens of Clergy-men in Reformed Churches; unto moſt of whom, (as they object) beſides the Spiritual Sword, little or nothing is left for their juſt defence againſt the Inſolenlencies of rude, illiterate, profane Laicks. And yet, who more earneſt than they in this Cauſe, againſt the Church, againſt themſelves? yet certain it is, that no man can be truly for himſelf, unleſs he be firſt of all for Truth it ſelf, of which he that gains the greateſt ſhare, (what other detriment or diſparagement ſoever in the mean time he ſuſtain) in the end ſpeeds always beſt. And ſeeing *To Lie* or teach amiſs, is a matter altogether *impoſſible to Omnipotency it ſelf: to be able and willing withal to defend a Falſhood, or ſet fair colours on foul Cauſes, is rather Impotency then Ability*: Hence was that, *quicquid poſſumus pro veritate poſſumus.* Seeing *by Truth we live our Spiritual Life*: to weaken it for ſtrengthning our Temporal Hopes, can never rightly be accounted any true effect of Power, but an infallible Argument of great and deſperate Imbecillity.

3. For theſe Reaſons, ſince I conſecrated my labours to the ſearch of Divine Truth, my mind hath been moſt ſet to find it out in this preſent Controverſie, whereon, moſt others of Moment chiefly depend. And, as unto the Romaniſt it is (though falſly) termed,

the Catholick, ſo ſhould it be unto us, to all that love the Name of Chriſt, *The very Chriſtian Cauſe: a Cauſe, with which the Adverſaries Fortunes, our Faith: Their Temporal, our Spiritual Eſtate and Hopes muſt ſtand or fall: a Cauſe whoſe Truth and Strength on our part, will evidently appear, if we firſt examine what the Antichriſtian Adverſary can oppoſe againſt it.*

CHAP. I.

The Sum of the Romaniſts Exceptions againſt the Scriptures.

1. THeir Objections againſt Scriptures ſpring from this double Root: The one, *That They are no ſufficient Rule of Faith, but Many Things are to be Believed, which are not taught in Them.* The ſecond, *That albeit they were the compleat Rule of Faith; yet could they not be known of us, but by the Authority of the Church*, ſo that all the former Directions for eſtabliſhing our *Aſſent* unto the Scriptures, as unto the Words of God Himſelf, were vain, ſeeing this cannot be attained unto, but by relying upon Chriſts viſible Church.

The former of theſe two Fountains, or Roots of Errour, I am not here to meddle with: elſewhere we ſhall. That the Scriptures teach All Points of Faith ſet down in this Creed, they cannot deny, or if they would, it ſhall appear in their ſeveral Explications: So that the *Scripture, rightly underſtood, is a competent Rule for the Articles herein contained.* Let us then ſee whether the Senſe or Meaning of theſe Scriptures, which both They and We hold for Canonical, may not be Known, Underſtood, and fully Aſſented unto, Immediately and in themſelves, without relying upon any viſible Church or Congregation of men, from whoſe Doctrine we muſt frame our *Belief* without diſtruſt of Error, or Examination of their Decrees, with any intention to reform them, or ſwerve from them.

The Romaniſts firſt Objection ſet down here, is anſwered in the next Chapter, &c.

2. That the Scripture is not the Rule whereon Private Men, eſpecially Unlearned, ought to rely in matters of Faith; from theſe general Reaſons, or Topicks, they ſeek to perſwade us. Firſt, admitting the Scriptures to be Infallible in themſelves, and ſo conſequently to all ſuch as can perfectly underſtand them in the Language wherein they were written: yet to ſuch as underſtand not that Language, they can be no Infallible Rule, becauſe they are to them a Rule only as they are Tranſlated: but no Unlearned man can be ſure that they are tranſlated aright, according to the true intent and meaning of the Holy Ghoſt: for if any man do infallibly Believe this, and build his Faith hereupon, then is his Faith grounded upon the Infallibility of *This* or *That mans Skill* in Tranſlating; whereof he that is Unlearned, can have no ſufficient Argument, neither out of Scripture, nor from Reaſon. Nay, Reaſon teacheth us that in matters of ordinary capacity moſt men are obnoxious to Errour: and the moſt Skilful may have his eſcapes in a long Work, For, —— *Opere in longo fas eſt obrepere ſomnum* —— *Aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus*: A man may ſometimes take *Homer* napping,

even in that Art whereof he was Maſter: much more may the greateſt Linguiſt living (in a Work of ſo great Difficulty *as the Tranſlation of the Bible,* not another *Mans* (though that more eaſie to err in, than a mans Own) but the Work or Dictates of the Holy Ghoſt) prove an *Homer*, but a blind Guide unto the blind. Many things he cannot See, and many things he may Overſee; And how then can any man Aſſure himſelf, that in thoſe Places whereon we ſhould build our Faith, he hath not gone beſides the Line; unleſs we will admit an Infallible Authority in the Church, to aſſure us that ſuch a Tranſlation doth not err?

3. Again, [a] in thoſe very Tranſlations wherein they agree; *Luther gathers one Senſe,* Calvin *another; every Heretick may pretend a ſecret Meaning of his Private Spirit.* Who ſhall either ſecure the People diſtracted by Diſſentions amongſt the Learned, or the Learned thus diſſenting, unleſs the Infallible Authority of the Church? [b] Finally, *without ſuch an Infallible Authority, Controverſies will daily grow:* and unleſs It be eſtabliſhed, they can never be compoſed, ſeeing every man will draw in the Scriptures as a Party, to countenance or abett his Opinion, how bad ſoever. [c] *The Ground of all which Inconveniences* (though the Sectaries cannot ſee it) *is the natural Obſcurity and Difficulty of Scriptures.* Theſe are the main Springs, or firſt Fountains, whence the Adverſaries Eloquence in this Argument flows. And it will be but one labour to ſtop up Theſe, and his Mouth. Or granting them paſſage, we may draw his invention againſt us dry, by turning their courſe upon himſelf.

[a] *This objection is anſwered Chap. 19, &c. Lib. 2.*

[b] *This is Retorted and anſwered Chap. 26, &c.*

[c] *Anſwered Chap. 12.*

CHAP. II.

The former Objection (as far as it concerns illiterate and Laymen) retorted and anſwered.

1. IF to ſuppoſe ſuch *an Authority,* were ſufficient to confirm any Tranſlation, or ſecure the World of ſincere Tranſlations, or to allay all Controverſies ariſing about the true Senſe and Meaning of Scriptures: we were very Impious to deny it. But, if we have Juſt Cauſe to ſuſpect, that ſuch as contend for it, have but *Put* this *Infallible Authority*, as the Aſtronomers have *Suppoſed*; Some, *Epicycles and Eccentricks*; Some, the motion of the Earth; to ſalve their *Phænomena*, which otherwiſe might ſeem Irregular: We may, I truſt, Examine: Firſt, *whether the Suppoſal of this Infallible Authority, in the Church, do ſalve the former Inconveniences:* Secondly, *Whether greater Inconveniences will not follow upon the putting of it*, than are the ſuppoſed Miſchiefs, for the Avoidance of which this Infallible Principle was invented, and is by the Favourites of this Art, ſought to be eſtabliſhed and perſwaded.

2. * That this ſuppoſed Infallible Authority of the Church viſible doth no way ſalve the Inconveniences objected againſt our Poſitions, is hence evident. As the Scriptures themſelves were written in a Tongue not common, nor underſtood of all Nations, but of ſome few: ſo likewiſe the Decrees of this viſible Church, concerning the Authority of Tranſlations, are written in a Tongue

* *That the Illiterate may as well know the true Senſe of Scriptures, as the right Meaning of the Popes Decrees.*

neither common to all, nor proper at this day to any unlearned Multitude, but to the Learned only. Sometime they were written in *Greek*: but, in later years, all in *Latin*, or ſome other Tongue (at the leaſt) not common to all Chriſtians: for no ſuch can this day be found. Nor is the Pope, (or his Cardinals) able to ſpeak properly and truly every Language in the Chriſtian world, of which he challengeth the Supremacy. He *would* be the *Univerſal Head* indeed: but he hath not, nor dare he profeſs he hath, an *Univerſal Tongue*, whereby he may fully inſtruct every Perſon throughout the Chriſtian world, in his own natural, known mother Tongue. For *Bellarmine* brings this as an Argument why the Bible ſhould not be tranſlated into modern Tongues, becauſe if into one, why not into another: and the Pope (as he confeſſeth) cannot underſtand all.

Tot verò tranſlationes, mutationes, ſine graviſſimo periculo & incommodo non fierent. Nam non ſemper inveveniuntur idonei interpretes: atque ita multi errores committerentur qui non poſſint poſtea facilè tolli. Cum *neque Pontifices, neque Concilia de tot linguis judicare poſſint*. Bellarm. lib. 2. de verbo Dei, cap. 15. in Fin.

3. Tell me then, you that ſeek to bring the unlearned Lay-ſort of men to ſeek ſhelter under the Infallible Authority of the Romiſh Church: how can you aſſure them what is the very true Meaning of that Church? They underſtand not the Language wherein her Deciſions were written. What then? muſt they infallibly, and under pain of Damnation, Believe that you do not Err in your Tranſlations of them? or muſt they ſtedfaſtly Believe, that you Interpret Her Decrees aright? Nay even thoſe Decrees, which you hold Infallible, condemn all private Interpretation of them: and your greateſt Clerks daily diſſent about the Meaning of the Trent-Council in ſundry Points. Yet, unleſs the Lay people can ſtedfaſtly Believe, that you Interpret the Churches Sentence aright: your ſuppoſed Rule of the Churches Infallibility in confirming Tranſlations or Senſes of Scripture, can neither be a Rule Infallible, nor any way Profitable unto them. For it hath no other Effect upon their ſouls, ſave only *Belief*: * and they have no other Means to know that this which they muſt Believe is the Churches Sentence, but your Report: then can they not be any more certain of the Churches Mind in this or that point, than they are of your Skill or Fidelity; neither of which can be to them the Infallible Rule of Faith. For, if they ſhould be thus Infallibly perſwaded of your Skill or Fidelity: then were their good Perſwaſion of you, the Ground and Rule of their Faith; and ſo they muſt Believe that you neither did, nor could Err in this Relation; Whereas your own Doctrine is, That even the Learnedſt among you may Err: and you cannot deny, but that it is poſſible for the Honeſteſt Jeſuite either to Lye, or Equivocate. Otherwiſe, your Infallibility in not Erring, were greater than your Popes or Churches: for they both may Err unleſs they ſpeak *ex Cathedra*. Now, whether the Pope ſpeak this or that *ex Cathedra*, or whether he ſpeak or write to all or no, is not known to any of the common People in theſe Northern Countries, but only by your Report: which if it be not Infallible, and as free from Errour as the Pope himſelf, the People muſt ſtill ſtagger in Faith. Nor do I ſee any poſſible Remedy: unleſs every man ſhould take a Pilgrimage to *Rome*, or unleſs you would bring the Pope throughout theſe Countries, as men uſe Monſters or ſtrange Sights. Yet, how ſhould they be certain that this is the Pope, rather than ſome Counterfeit? or how ſhould they know *Rome*, but by others? Or can you hope to ſalve this Inconvenience by an Implicite or Hypothetical

* *Were their Objections againſt us pertinent: not the Popes Infallibility, but the Prieſts and Jeſuites Honeſty or Fidelity, ſhould be the Rule of moſt Lay-Papiſts Faith.*

pothetical Faith: as, that it were enough for the Lay people to Believe abſolutely and ſtedfaſtly, that the Pope, or Church cannot Err: but to believe your Report or Informations of his Sentence in doubtful Caſes, only Conditionally; if it be the Popes Mind: if otherwiſe we will be free to recal our preſent *Belief*. This is all which I can imagine any of you can ſay for your ſelves. And may not we, I pray you, ſay as much, if thus much would ſerve for us? Might not we by the ſelf ſame Reaſon teach the People to admit of Tranſlations, but only Conditionally, as far forth as they ſhall be perſwaded that this was the Meaning of the Scripture or the Word of God? For Queſtionleſs, it is more certain that God cannot Err, than that the Pope cannot. And it is more neceſſary unto Chriſtian *Belief* to hold, that God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, neither can, nor will ſpeak a Lye: than that the Pope cannot, or will not teach us amiſs. That the Pope and his Cardinals do arrogate thus much unto themſelves, is more than the Lay and unlearned People can tell, but only by yours and others Relation: But that the God of Heaven neither can, nor will Teach amiſs, is a Principle not controverſed by any that thinks there is a God.

4. Let it then firſt be granted, That God is freer from Errour, from Deceiving, or being Deceived in Points of Faith, or matters of Mans Salvation, than the Pope is, although he ſpeak *ex Cathedra*. From this Poſition it follows moſt directly and moſt immediately, that if the Lay unlearned People of this Land have as good Means and better, to know that theſe Books of Scripture are Gods own Words, than they can have to know that this or that Canon in any Council was confirmed by the Popes teaching *ex Cathedra*: then muſt the ſame People Believe the One more ſtedfaſtly than the Other; to wit, Gods Word, as it is read unto them in our Church, more ſtedfaſtly than the Popes Interpretations, Injunctions, or Decrees. Let us compare the Means of knowing Both. Firſt, if the Popes Decrees be a certain Means of knowing any Truth: they are as certain a Means of knowing thoſe Scriptures which our Church admits to be Gods Word, as of any thing elſe; for the Pope and his Council * have avoucht Them for Such, although they add ſome more than we acknowledge.

5. If the worſt then ſhould fall out that can be imagined; as if we had Reaſon to deſpair of all other Tranſlations ſave only of the Vulgar, yet that it were the Word of God we might know, if by no other Means, yet by Conſent of the Romiſh Church; and all the People of this Land might be as certain of this Decree, as of any the Pope can give. But take the ſame Scripture as it is Tranſlated into our Engliſh, the People may be as certain that it is the Word of God, as they can be that the Trent-Council was Lawfully called, or by the Pope confirmed, yea much more certain. The Jeſuites may tell them, that theſe very words (being firſt Engliſhed) were ſpoken in the Trent-Council, and confirmed by the Pope. Why ſhould they believe it? Becauſe they avouch it ſeriouſly, whom they think able to underſtand Latin? Suppoſe not only one, or two, or three, but the whole Aſſembly of our Clergy tells the ſame People, that theſe (reciting the Points of our Salvation) are the very Words of God Himſelf; and are for Subſtance all one in the *Hebrew*, *Greek*, *Latine*, and *Engliſh*. What Difference can you here imagine?

* Concil. Trident. Seſſione quarta.

That the Trent-Council decreed thus, the modern Jeſuites have it but from Tradition of this Age: That God ſpake thus, we have the Conſent of all Ages. Yea, but it is eaſier to render the Trent-Councils Meaning out of Latin, than the Meaning of Gods Word out of Hebrew or Greek. Whether it be ſo or no, the unlearned People cannot tell, but by hearſay: yet, if we would take the Vulgar Latin, this fooliſh Objection were none: for It is as eaſie to be Rendred, as the Trent-Council; and if the Trent-Council be true, It is the Word of Good. All then is equal concerning the Difficulties, that may ariſe from the Skill, or Ignorance of the Tranſlators of the one or other; the Popes Decrees, or Scripture. Our Miniſters know to Render the Meaning of Scripture, as well as yours do the Meaning of the Councils. Let us now ſee whether it be as likely, that our Miniſters Fidelity in telling them as they are perſwaded, and as they Believe themſelves, be not to be preſumed as Great. To call this in Queſtion, were extream Impudencie and Uncivility, eſpecially ſeeing we Teach, that the people ſhould be throughly inſtructed in the Truth: whereas you hold it for good Chriſtian Policy, to hold them in Ignorance. Our permitting the free Uſe of Scriptures to all, doth free us from all ſuſpicion of Impoſture or Guile: of which in the Jeſuite or learned Papiſt the denial of like Liberty, is a foul Preſumption. Further, let us examine, whether from the Matter or Manner of the Popes Decrees, there can be any Argument drawn to perſwade the People that theſe are his Decrees, and no other Mans: more than can be gathered from the Matter and Manner of Scripture Phraſe, to perſwade a man that theſe are Gods, and can be no Mans Words: And Here certainly we have infinite Advantage of you. For no man of Senſe or Reaſon, but muſt needs ſuffer himſelf to be perſwaded, that it is a far eaſier matter to Counterfeit the Decrees of the Lateran or Trent-Council, or the Popes Writs, Interpretations, or Determinations: than Artificially to imitate the Invincible and Majeſtical Word of God, either for the Matter or the Manner.

Granting the Pope to be as infallible as God himſelf: yet were not his Decrees related by his meſſengers to be ſo much believed, as Gods written Word, received by us and them, becauſe it is more free from ſuſpicion of Forgery, than they can be; harder to be Counterfeited, than they are.

6. The Sequel is this, that if the Scriptures received by us, be obnoxious to any the leaſt Suſpicion of being Forged: then from the ſame Reaſons, much more liable to the ſame Suſpicion are thoſe which we account the Popes Decrees, and therefore in reſpect of us, much leſs to be Believed; although otherwiſe we ſhould grant the Popes Decrees (which without controverſie were his Decrees indeed) to be as Infallible as the Eternal and Immutable Decrees of the Almighty. Gods Word oft-times unto Atheiſts hath diſcovered it ſelf by the Majeſty of Stile and Sublimity of Matter, to be more than Humane, and therefore Divine, not able to be imitated by any lying Spirit. If any Jeſuite will deny this: let him make trial of Imitation in the Prophecy of *Iſaias*, the Beginning of S. *Johns* Goſpel, the Relation of *Joſeph* and his Brethrens Dialogues, the Book of *Job*, *&c.* The Majeſty of Speech and other Excellencies which appears in them, (eſpecially if we conſider the Time, wherein moſt of them were written) doth argue a Divine Spirit: in whoſe Imitation the moſt accurate Writers of later Ages, (albeit no man writes excellently but from ſome Beam of Divine Illumination in the Faculty) are but Apiſh, if we read the ſame Scriptures in the Tongue wherein they were written, or in

ſundry modern Tongues capable of the Divine Splendor which ſhines in the Original; with which the Latin (eſpecially in Proſe) hath greateſt Diſproportion of all Learned or copious Tongues. As for the Popes Decrees, they bewray themſelves both for the Matter and Manner, to be only Humane, and therefore eaſie to be imitated by the Spirit of Man, ſubject to many Errours. Nor doth the Pope challenge to himſelf the gift of Prophecy, but only of legal Deciſions: which are no otherwiſe written, than many write, and contain no deeper nor more Supernatural Matter, than many may invent: moſt of them uſually penned in a baſe and barbarous Logick Phraſe: his Stile at the beſt is not peculiar, his Character eaſie to be counterfeited by any man that can pen a Proclamation, or frame an Inſtrument in Civil Courts.

7. To recollect what hath been ſaid. Firſt, ſeeing God is more to be Believed than Men; ſecondly, ſeeing we have better Arguments to perſwade the People that theſe Scriptures daily read in our Churches, are Gods own Words, than the Prieſts and Jeſuites have, that the Tidings which they bring from beyond Sea are the Popes or Churches Decrees or Sentence: we may and ought Teach them to relie immediately upon Gods Word preached or read unto them, as the ſureſt and moſt Infallible Rule of Faith, the moſt lively, moſt effectual, and moſt forcible Means of their Salvation. Or if the Jeſuites will teach them to Believe the Popes Decrees given *ex Cathedra,* or the Churches Opinion indefinitely taken *Fide divina,* by Infallible Faith; but the Jeſuites or Prieſts Expoſitions or Tranſlations of them, only Conditionally, and with this Limitation, [*If ſo they be the Pope or Churches Decrees:*] we may in like ſort with far greater Reaſon, teach the People to Believe the Scriptures or the Word of God abſolutely, and our Tranſlations or Expoſitions of it but Conditionally or with Limitation, ſo far as they are Conſonant to the Word of God. Seeing it is as probable, that we may expound Gods Word as rightly and ſincerely, as the other can the Church or Popes Edicts; we have better Reaſon to exact this conditional Obedience and Aſſent, in the Vertue and Authority of Gods Word, which we make the Rule of Faith; than they can have to exact the like Obedience by Vertue of the Pope or Churches Edict, which is to them the Miſtreſs of Faith. For it is more certain to any man living, that Gods Word is moſt Infallibly True, than that the Pope cannot Err. Wherefore if the Abſolute *Belief* of the Popes Infallibility, and conditional *Belief* of the Jeſuites or Prieſts his Meſſengers Fidelity or Skill, be ſufficient to Salvation: much more may the Abſolute *Belief* or *Aſſent* unto the Infallibility of Gods Word, and ſuch conditional and limited *Belief* of his Miniſters Fidelity, be ſufficient for the Salvation of his People: who, as hath been proved, cannot be more certain that the Romiſh Church ſaith This or That, than we can be of Gods Word. For they never hear the Church or Pope ſpeak, but in Jeſuites or Prieſts Mouths. And although they knew he ſaid juſt ſo as thoſe ſay; yet may a man doubt in Modeſty, whether the Popes Words be always Infallible; but of the Infallibility of Gods Word, can no man doubt.

8. And Here I cannot but much wonder at the prepoſterous courſes of theſe Romaniſts, who holding an Implicite Faith of

Believing as the Church Believes, (in many Points) to be ſufficient unto Salvation: will yet faſten this implicite Faith upon the preſent Church of *Rome*, and not refer it rather unto that Church as it was under S. *Peters* Juriſdiction and Government. For if Univerſality be (as they contend) a ſure Note of undoubted Truth: then muſt it needs be more undoubtedly True, that S. *Peter* could not Err in Matters of Faith, than that this preſent Romiſh Pope and his Cardinals cannot ſo Err. For all Papiſts hold this as True of S. *Peter*, as of this preſent Pope: and all Proteſtants hold it True of S. *Peter*, not in the preſent Pope: and ſo did all the Fathers without controverſie hold it moſt True, that S. *Peter* did not teach amiſs in his Apoſtolical Writings. So that Univerſality is much greater for S. *Peter*, than for this Pope that now is, or the next that ſhall be.

9. For theſe Reaſons (fully conſonant to their own Poſitions) all Papiſts me-thinks, in Reaſon, ſhould make the ſame Difference in their Eſtimate of S. *Peter* and later Popes, which a *French Cardinal (as the Tradition is at Durham) once made betwixt S.* Cuthbert *and Venerable* Bede. Albeit S. *Cuthbert* was accounted the greater Saint amongſt them, whoſe greater Benefactour he had been, (in which reſpect they brought the *Cardinal* firſt unto S. *Cuthberts* Tomb:) yet, becauſe he knew him not ſo well, but only by their Report, he prays very warily; *Sancte Cuthberte, ſi Sanctus es, ora pro me.* But, afterwards brought unto *Bedes* Tomb then in the *Conſiſtory*; becauſe he had been Famous in Foreign Nations, from the Commendations of leſs partial Antiquity: he fell to his prayers without *Ifs* and *Ands*; *Venerabilis Beda, quia tu Sanctus es, ora pro me.*

10. Proportional to this *Caution* in this *French-mans* Prayer, ſhould every modern Papiſt limit his *Belief* of the preſent Popes Infallibility in reſpect of S. *Peters*; And ſay thus in his heart: As for S. *Peter*, I know he Believed and Taught aright: And I beſeech God I may Believe as he Believed, and that my Soul may come whither his is gone: as for this preſent Pope, if he believe as S. *Peter* did, and be likely to follow him in Life and Death, I pray God I may Believe as he Believes, and do as he Teacheth; but otherwiſe (believe me) I would be very loath to pin my Belief upon his Sleeve, leſt happily he run Headlong to Hell with that which ſhould have drawn me up to Heaven: For in this Life I walk by Faith, and by Faith I muſt aſcend Thither, if I ever come There; and therefore I dare not faſten my Belief upon any Man, whom I would be loath to follow in his Courſe of Life. But moſt ſurely might this Implicite Faith be faſtned upon Gods written Word, contained in the Writings of *Moſes*, the Prophets, Apoſtles and Evangeliſts. We know, O Lord, that Thou haſt Taught them All Truth that is Neceſſary for thy Church to know. And our Adverſaries confeſs, that thy Word uttered by Them, (rightly underſtood) is the moſt ſure Rule of Faith: for by This they ſeek to eſtabliſh the Infallibility of the Church and Pope. They themſelves ſpeak aright, by their own Confeſſion, where they ſpeak conſonantly unto it. Wherefore the ſafeſt Courſe for us muſt be, to ſearch out the True Senſe and Meaning of it: which is as eaſie for us, as them to find, as in the Proceſs of theſe Meditations, God willing, ſhall appear.

11. [a] Unto the main Objection, concerning the Means of knowing Scripture to be Scripture, we have partly anſwered (or rather prevented it) in the firſt Treatiſe: and throughout this whole intended diſcourſe we ſhall (God willing) explicate the former general Means or Motives, as alſo bring other peculiar Inducements for the eſtabliſhing of True Faith, unto the particular Articles in this Creed contained. For the preſent Difficulty, concerning the Rule of Illiterate Lay-mens Faith, or ſuch as underſtand not thoſe Languages in which the Holy Ghoſt did write: we anſwer briefly, That the Language, Tongue, or Dialect, is but the Veſture of Truth; the Truth it ſelf for ſubſtance, is one and the ſame in all Languages. ~~And the~~ Holy [b] Spirit, who inſtructed the firſt Meſſengers of the Goſpel with the true ſenſe and knowledge of the Truths therein revealed, and furniſhed them with Diverſity of Tongues to utter them to the capacity of divers Nations: can, and doth, throughout all ſucceeding Ages, continue his gifts, whether of Tongues or others, whatſoever are neceſſary, for conveying the true ſenſe and meaning of ſaving Truth already taught, immediately to the Hearts of all ſuch, in every Nation, as are not, [c] for their ſin judged unworthy of his ſociety: of all ſuch, as reſiſt not His Motions, to follow the Luſts of the Fleſh. And as for men altogether Illiterate, that cannot read the Scriptures in any Tongue, we do not hold them bound (nor indeed are any) to Believe abſolutely or expreſly every Clauſe or ſentence in the ſacred Canon, to be the Infallible Oracle of Gods Spirit, otherwiſe than [d] is before expreſſed: but unto the ſeveral Matters or ſubſtance of Truth, contained in the principal Parts thereof, their ſouls and ſpirits are ſo ſurely tied and faſtned, that they can ſay to their own Conſciences; Whereſoever theſe men that teach us theſe good Leſſons, learned the ſame themſelves, moſt certain it is, that Originally they came from God, and by the gracious Providence of that God (whoſe Goodneſs they ſo often mention) are they now come to us.

[a] *A brief Anſwer to the Objection concerning the Illiterate.*

In what Senſe the Scripture or written Word may be ſaid to be the Rule of their Faith. See chap.11.parag. 2. and 4.

How far ſuch are to relie upon their Inſtructors Authority, ſee chap. 8.

[b] *See chap.16.*

[c] *The want of skill in ſacred Tongues in former Ages, was for their ingratitude towards God, and loving of Darkneſs more than Light. For the like reaſons were the Scriptures to the Jews (as to our Forefathers they had for a long time been) as a ſealed Book. See chap.13 parag. 3,4,5.*

[d] *Lib.1. cap. 34.*

Such are, the Rules or Teſtimonies of Gods Providence, the Doctrines or real Truths of Original Sin, of our Miſery by Nature; and Freedom by Grace: Such are, the Articles of Chriſts Paſſion, and the Effects thereof; of the Reſurrection, and Life everlaſting. Unto Theſe, and other Points of like Nature and Conſequence, every true Chriſtian Soul, indued with Reaſon and Diſcourſe, gives a full, a firm, and abſolute Aſſent, directly and immediately faſtned upon theſe Truths themſelves, not tied or held unto them by any Authority of Man. For albeit true and ſtedfaſt *Belief* of theſe Fundamental Points might be as ſcant, as the true Worſhip of God ſeemed to be unto *Elias* in his days: yet every Faithful Soul muſt thus reſolve: * Though all the World beſides my ſelf ſhould worſhip *Baal*, and follow after other Gods: yet will I follow the God of Heaven, in whom our Fathers truſted; and on whoſe Providence who ſo relies ſhall never fall. So likewiſe muſt every Chriſtian, both in Heart reſolve, and Outwardly profeſs with *Peter*, (but with unfeigned prayers for better Succeſs, and diligent Indeavours by his

* *Thus much* Canus *granteth* de loc. Theol. lib.2. cap.8. reſp.ad 4. Ad hæc, ſi omnes hi, qui me docuerunt, imò adeò angeli cœlorum mihi aſtruent oppoſitum ejus, quod fide teneo, non ex eo fides mea labefactaretur. Juxta Pauli Apoſtoli præſcriptum illud, Licet nos aut Angelus, &c. Gal. 1. v. 8. *Conſequently hereunto he proveth the laſt Reſolution of Faith not to be into the Veracity or Infallibility of the Church, taxing* Scotus, Gabriel, *and* Durand, *(as the margin telleth us:) But his Reaſon holdeth good againſt all ſuch as make the Churches Infallibility the Rule of Faith: as ſhall be ſhewed God willing in Lib. 3. Sect. 3. See l. 2. cap.10.*

Example to beware of all Preſumption:) Though all the World beſide my ſelf ſhould abjure Chriſt, and admit of *Mahomet* for their Mediator: yet would not I follow ſo great a Multitude to ſo great an Evil, but always cleave unto the crucified *Chriſt*, my only Saviour and Redeemer, who, I know, is both Able and Willing to ſave all ſuch as follow him, both in Life and Death. So again, though all the ſubtilty and wiſdom of Hell, the World, and Fleſh, ſhould jointly bend their Force, and ſtretch Invention to overthrow the glorious Hope of our Reſurrection from the dead: yet every Faithful Chriſtian muſt here reſolve with *Job*, and out of his Believing Heart profeſs, *I am ſure that my Redeemer liveth, and he ſhall ſtand the laſt on the earth: and though after my skin this Body be deſtroyed, yet ſhall I ſee God in my Fleſh, whom I my ſelf ſhall ſee, and mine eyes ſhall behold, and none other for me,* Job 19. 25. As we hope to ſee Chriſt with our own eyes immediately and directly in his Perſon, not by any other mens eyes: ſo muſt we in this life ſtedfaſtly believe, and faſten our Faith upon thoſe Points and Articles, which are Neceſſary for the attaining of this ſight of Chriſt, In and For Themſelves, not from any Authority or Teſtimony of Men, upon which we muſt relie; for this were to ſee with the eyes of others Faith, not with our own.

12. Many other Points there be, not of like Neceſſity or Conſequence, which unto men, ſpecially altogether unlearned, or otherwiſe of leſs capacity, may be propoſed as the Infallible Oracles of God: unto ſome of which it is not lawful for them to give ſo abſolute, and firm irrevocable Aſſent, as they muſt do unto the former, becauſe they cannot diſcern the Truth of them in it ſelf, or for it ſelf, or with their own eyes, as (it is ſuppoſed) they did the Truth of the former.

CHAP. III.

The general Heads of Agreements, or Differences, betwixt us and the Papiſts in this Argument.

1. ALl the Difficulties in this Argument may be reduced to theſe *Three Heads*. Firſt, *How we can know, whether God hath ſpoken any thing or no unto his Church*. Secondly, *What the Extent of his Word or Speech is*; as *whether All he hath ſpoken be Written, or ſome Unwritten*; *or how we may know amongſt Books written, which are written by Him, which not*. *Likewiſe of Unwritten Verities, which are Divine, which Counterfeit*. Thirdly, *How we know the Senſe and Meaning of Gods Word, whether written or Unwritten*.

2. Theſe Difficulties are common to the Jews, Turks, Chriſtians, and all Hereticks whatſoever: All which agree in this main Principle, That whatſoever God hath ſaid or ſhall ſay at any time, is moſt undoubtedly and infallibly True.

3. But for this preſent, we muſt diſmiſs all Queſtions about the Number or Sufficiency of Canonical Books, or Neceſſity of Traditions. For theſe are without the liſts of our propoſed Method. All the Profeſſours, either of reformed, or Romiſh Religion, agree in this Principle: That certain Books, (which both acknowledge) do contain in them, the undoubted, and infallible Word of God.

The firſt Breach betwixt us.

4. *The firſt Point of Breach* or Difference betwixt us and the Papiſt, is, *concerning the Means* how a Chriſtian man may be in Conſcience perſwaded (as ſtedfaſtly and infallibly as is neceſſary unto Salvation) That theſe Books (whoſe Authority none of them deny, but both outwardly acknowledge) are indeed Gods Words.

The ſecond.

5. The ſecond *Point of Difference* (admitting the ſtedfaſt and infallible Belief of the former) is, *concerning the Means*, how every Chriſtian man may be in Conſcience perſwaded, as infallibly as is neceſſary to his Salvation, *of the true Senſe and Meaning of theſe Books* joyntly acknowledged, and ſtedfaſtly believed of both.

* *Our Agreement concerning the Neceſſity of Miniſterial Function, for the planting of Faith.*

6. * In the *Means* or Manner, how we come to Believe both theſe Points ſtedfaſtly and infallibly, *we agree again in this Principle*: That neither of the former Points, can (ordinarily) be fully and ſtedfaſtly Believed, without the Miniſtery, Aſſeveration, Propoſal, or Inſtructions of men appointed by God, for the begetting of Faith and *Belief* in others hearts; both of us agree, that this Faith muſt come by Hearing of the Divine Word.

7. Concerning the *Authority of Preachers*, or men thus appointed for the begetting of Faith, the *Queſtion* again is *Twofold*.

The Points of Difference betwixt us, about the Prerogative of Paſtors, and the manner of their begetting Faith in others.

8. Firſt, Whether this *Authority be primarily*, or in ſome peculiar ſort, *annexed to any peculiar Man or Company of Men diſtinct from others by Prerogative of Place*, Preheminence of ſucceſſion, and from him or them to be derived unto all others ſet apart for this Miniſtry; or whether the Miniſtry of any men, of what Place or Society ſoever, whom God hath called to this Function, and enabled for the ſame, be ſufficient for the begetting of true Faith, without any others Confirmation, or Appobation of their Doctrine.

9. Secondly, it is queſtioned, how this *Miniſtry of man*, which is neceſſarily ſuppoſed (ordinarily) both for knowing the Word of God, and the true Meaning of it, *becomes available* for the begetting of true *Belief* in either point. In whomſoever the Authority of this *Miniſterial Function* be, the *Queſtion* is; Whether it perform thus much, only by *Propoſing* or *Expounding* the *Word*, which is Infallible, or by their *Infallible Propoſal or Expoſition of it*; that is, *whether* for the attaining of true *Belief* in both Points mentioned, *we muſt rely infallibly upon the Infallible Word of God only; or partly upon it, and partly upon the Infallibility of ſuch as expound it unto us.* Or in other words thus, Whether the Authority or Infallibility of any Mans Doctrine or Aſſeveration concerning theſe Scriptures, or their true Senſe, be as infallibly to be Believed as thoſe Scriptures themſelves are, or that Senſe of them, which the Spirit of God hath wrought in our Hearts, by ſure and undoubted Experience.

Other Branches of the former Differences.

10. Theſe are the principal Roots and Fountains of Difference between us, concerning our preſent Controverſie, whence iſſue and ſpring theſe following. Firſt, *whether Chriſt* (whoſe Authority both acknowledge for Infallible) *hath left any Publick Judge* of theſe Scriptures which both receive, or of their right Senſe and Meaning, from whoſe Sentence we may not appeal; or whether all, to

whom this Miniſtry of Faith is committed, be but Expoſitors of Divine Scriptures, ſo as their Expoſitions may by all faithful Chriſtians be examined. Hence ariſeth that other *Queſtion*, whether the *Scriptures be the Infallible Rule of Faith. If Scripture admit any Judge, then is it no Rule of Faith: If all Doctrines are to be examined by Scripture, then is it a perfect Rule.*

The Romaniſts Aſſertions.

11. Our Adverſaries, eſpecially later Jeſuits, Poſitions are theſe. *The Infallible Authority of the preſent Church*, that is, of ſome viſible Company of living Men, *muſt be as abſolutely Believed of all Chriſtians as any Oracle of God*: and hence would they bind all ſuch as profeſs the Catholick Faith, in all Cauſes concerning the Oracles or Word of God, to yield the ſame Obedience unto Decrees and Conſtitutions of the Church, which is due unto theſe Oracles themſelves, even to ſuch of them as all Faithful Hearts do undoubtedly know to be Gods written Word.

12. The Reaſons pretended for this abſolute Obedience, to be performed unto the Church or viſible Company of Men, are drawn from the *Inſufficiency of Scripture*; either for notifying it ſelf to be the Word of God, or the true Senſe and Meaning of it ſelf. Conſequently to theſe Objections, they ſtifly maintain, *That the Infallible Authority of the preſent Church, is the moſt ſure, moſt ſafe undoubted Rule in all Doubts or Controverſies of Faith,* or in all Points concerning theſe Oracles of God: by which we may certainly know Both; without which we cannot poſſibly know either, *which are the Oracles of God, which not,* or *what is the true Senſe and Meaning of ſuch as are received for his Oracles*: one of the eſpecial Conſequents of theſe Aſſertions is, *That this Churches Deciſions or Decrees may not be examined by Scriptures.*

Our Churches Aſſertions contradictory to the former.

13. Our Churches Aſſertions concerning the knowledge of Gods Word in general is thus, *As Gods Word is in it ſelf Infallible, ſo it may be infallibly apprehended, and Believed by every Chriſtian, unto whom he vouchſafeth to ſpeak, after what manner ſoever he ſpeak unto him.* Yea whatſoever is neceſſary for any man to Believe, the ſame muſt be infallibly written in his heart: and on it once written there he muſt immediately relie, not upon any other Authority concerning it.

14. Or if we ſpeak of Gods written Word, our former general Aſſertion may be reſtrained thus,

15. *We are not bound to Believe the Authority of the Church*, or viſible Company of any living men, either concerning the Truth or true Senſe of Divine Oracles written, *ſo ſtedfaſtly and abſolutely, as we are bound to Believe the Divine written Oracles themſelves.* Conſequently to this Aſſertion we affirm,

16. That the *Infallible Rule whereupon every Chriſtian*, in matters of written Verities abſolutely and (finally without all appeal, condition or reſervation) *is to relie, muſt be the Divine written Oracles themſelves*; ſome of which every Chriſtian hath written in his Heart by the finger of Gods Spirit, and Believes immediately In and For themſelves, not for any authority of Men; and theſe to him muſt be the Rule, for examining all other Doctrines, and trying any Matters of Faith.

But becauſe moſt in our days, in Matters of Faith, and Chriſtian Obedience, miſs the Celeſtial Mean, and fall into one of the two extreams: It ſhall not be amiſs, while we ſeek to divert their courſe from *Scylla*, to admoniſh leſt they make ſhipwrack in *Charybdis*.

CHAP. IV.

Shewing the Mean betwixt the two Extremities; the one in Exceſs, proper to the Papiſts; the other in Defect, proper to the Anti-papiſt.

1. IT is a Rule in Logick, that *Two contrary Prrpoſitions* (*for their form*) *may be both Falſe*; And hence it is, that many Controverſers of our times (either in love to the Cauſe they defend, or heat of contention) not content only to Contradict, but deſirous to be moſt Contrary to their Adverſaries, fall into Error with them. No Controverſie (almoſt) of greater moment this day extant, but yields Experiments of this Obſervation, though none more plentiful then this in hand, concerning the viſible Churches Authority, or Obedience due to Spiritual Paſtors.

2. * The Papiſts on the one ſide demand *Infallible Aſſent*, and illimited Obedience unto whatſoever the Church ſhall propoſe, without examination of her Doctrine, or appeal; which is indeed (as we ſhall afterwards prove) to take away all the Authority of Gods Word, and to erect the preſent Churches Conſiſtory above *Moſes*, and S. *Peters* Chair. † On the other ſide, ſundry by profeſſion Proteſtants, in eagerneſs of oppoſition to the Papiſts, affirm, that the Church, or Spiritual Paſtors muſt then only be Believed, then only be Obeyed, when they give Sentence according to the Evident, and Expreſs Law of God, made evident to the Hearts, and Conſciences of ſuch, as muſt Believe and Obey them. And this, in one word, is to take away all Authority of Spiritual Paſtors, and to deprive them of all Obedience, unto whom (doubtleſs) God, by his written Word, hath given ſome ſpecial Authority and Right, to exact ſome peculiar Obedience of their Flock.

* *The firſt Extremity held by the Papiſts.*

† *The ſecond held by the Anti-papiſts.*

Now if the Paſtor be then only to be Obeyed, when he brings evident Commiſſion out of Scripture, for thoſe particulars, unto which he demands *Belief* or Obedience; what Obedience do men perform unto Him, more than to any other man whomſoever? For whoſoever he be that can ſhew us the expreſs undoubted command of God, it muſt be Obeyed of all: but whileſt it is thus Obeyed, It only, not He that ſheweth it unto us, is Obeyed. *And if this were all the Obedience which I owe unto others, I were no more bound to Believe, or Obey any other man, than he is bound to Obey or Believe me*: the Flock no more bound to Obey their Paſtors, than the Paſtors them. Yet certainly God, who hath ſet Kingdoms in order, is not the Author of ſuch Confuſion in the Spiritual Regiment of his Church.

3. Seeing then, it is moſt certain that the Romaniſts do foully Erre, let us ſee how their Errour may be fully Contradicted, not ſtrive to be moſt Contrary unto them, but rather to ſeek out the Mean between theſe two Erroneous Extreams.

4. Infallible *Aſſent*, and illimited, *unreſerved Obedience we may not perform to the preſent Church*, or any viſible Company of Men: but to the Scripture only, made known, and evident to our Conſciences. This Aſſertion is directly, and fully Contradictory unto the Papiſts.

The third or middle Aſſertion, Contradictory to the two former Extreams, and only Conſonant to the Truth.

5. Conditional *Aſſent, and cautionary Obedience we may and muſt perform to our Spiritual Paſtors*, Overſeers, and Governors, albeit we ſee not expreſs Commiſſion out of Scripture, to warrant theſe Particulars, whereunto they demand Aſſent or Obedience. It is ſufficient that they have their general Commiſſion for Obedience, expreſly contained in Scripture. This Aſſertion directly Contradicts the other Extream, or contrary Aſſertion, and of all the three only doth not Contradict the Word of God, which expreſly teacheth, that *Some peculiar Obedience is due unto Spiritual Governors.* Unleſs we hold, that when Chriſt aſcended on High, and led Captivity captive, his Donation of Spiritual Authority, was but a Donation of bare Titles, without Realities anſwering unto them. *To ſome He gave to be Apoſtles, to ſome Prophets, ſome Evangeliſts, ſome Paſtors and Teachers*, Epheſ. 4. 11. Though Prophecying in ſome degree hath ceaſt, and the Eminency of Apoſtleſhip be dead with the Apoſtles; yet Paſtors remain, and Teachers muſt continue in Chriſts Church unto the Worlds end. If Paſtors we be, then muſt we have our Shepherds Staff; if Teachers, a Rod to keep our Scholars in aw. The ſame Apoſtle from theſe grounds thus exhorteth the flock, *Obey them that have the overſight of you, and Submit your ſelves: for they watch for your Souls, as they that muſt give account, that they may do it with joy, and not with grief, for that is unprofitable for you*, Heb. 13. 17. What manner of Submiſſion, or what kind of Obedience doth he here exact? Only Spiritual will the carnal Goſpeller reply. But what manner of Obedience is this Spiritual? *the leaſt of all others?* It is *doubtleſs in their eſteem, which fear no loſs, but what is ſenſible for the preſent, nor know not the Vertue of any thing, but what is palpable: unto all ſuch, to be Spiritual, is all one as to be Inviſible, and to be Inviſible, is all one as not to Be at all.* This is the laſt Reſolution of moſt mens Conceit of all Spiritual Authority in our times. But ſuch as dread the Majeſtie of that Inviſible God, and fear to grieve his Holy Spirit, will be moſt afraid of contemning Spiritual Authority. Diſobedience to it, though in a Prince, is as hateful to the King of kings as the ſin of Witchcraft: for no Subject is more bound to Obey his Prince in Civil Actions, than his Paſtors in Spiritual. He that ſaid, *Touch not mine Anointed*, ſaid alſo, *do my Prophets no harm.* Of Princes it is ſaid by the Apoſtle, * *He that reſiſteth them, reſiſteth God.* To Paſtors it was ſaid (by the Wiſdom of God by whom Princes reign) † *He that heareth you, heareth me; he that deſpiſeth you, deſpiſeth me, and he that deſpiſeth me, deſpiſeth him that ſent me:* and elſewhere, * *Whoſe ſins ye remit, they are remitted; whoſe ſins ye retain, they are retained.* Theſe are Prerogatives of Prieſts, and were not eſteemed as words of Courſe, or Formality, in the Ancient and

That ſome peculiar Obedience, though not ſo great as the Romiſh Church doth challenge, is due to ſpiritual Governors.

* *Rom.* 13.

† *Luke* 10. 16.

* *John* 20. 23.

Vid. l. 1. cap. 12.

and Primitive Church. It was the juſt fear of Diſobedience in the Flock, which firſt gave occaſion to Paſtors, to uſurp this Tyranny over them, which now they practiſe. For as Idolatry and Superſtition could not have increaſed ſo much in the old World, unleſs there had been evident Documents of a Divine Power in Ages Precedent: So neither could this extreme Tyranny over Chriſts flock have been either uſurped in the middle, or continued to the later Ages of the Chriſtian world, unleſs the Flock had made it a main matter of Conſcience to Diſobey their Paſtors, and Overſeess, whoſe Authority they knew from thoſe places of Scripture, then well expounded by the Practiſe of Holy Men, to be exceeding great.

6. S. *Peter* foreſaw, that this Antichriſtian Authority was likely to ſpring from the Peoples Reverend Conceit of their Paſtors Authority: and becauſe the Flock was bound moſt ſtrictly to Obey them, he willeth the Paſtors not to be too Lordly in their Commands. † *Feed the flock of God, which dependeth upon you, caring for it, not by conſtraint, but willingly: not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind: Not as though ye were Lords over Gods Heritage, but that ye may be Enſamples to the flock.* So doth S. *Paul*, * *Take heed therefore unto your ſelves, and to all the flock, whereof the Holy Ghoſt hath made you Overſeers to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchaſed with his own blood: for I know this, that after my departing, ſhall grievous Wolves enter in among you, not ſparing the flock.* Unleſs the Flock, for their parts, had been bound to ſtrict Obedience, Uſurpation of Lordſhip over them had not been ſo eaſie, eſpecially when there was no Power beſide the Paſtoral Staff to keep them under: nor could their Paſtors have had any ſuch opportunity to attempt it, as might juſtly occaſion theſe *Caveats* from theſe two Apoſtles, which by their moderate Carriage had preſcribed a contrary Example to their Succeſſors. Eaſie it had been for the Flock to have *ſpared themſelves*, or kept aloof from ſuch mercileſs Overſeers: whoſe Deſigns, though they could not with ſafe Conſciences contemn, Avoid they might, by circumſpect and careful attending to other true Shepherds voyces, who by their skill in Scriptures, and true knowledge of the the Apoſtles Rules, knew how to limit the former large Commiſſion, directed to Paſtors, after they begun degenerate into Wolves. For this cauſe, neither of theſe Apoſtles direct theſe Admonitions to their flock, as if it were permitted them to limit their Obedience at their pleaſure, but unto their Paſtors. And S. *Peter* in the words immediately following this Admonition unto Paſtors, exhorts the Flock unto Obedience, * *Likewiſe ye younger, Submit your ſelves unto the Elders*; without any the leaſt intimation, that they might Diſobey, as ſoon as the other began to *Domineer*. Not that the flock may not refuſe to Obey their Overſeers in ſome Caſes; but our Apoſtles did foreſee, that the People would be always moſt prone to diſobedience, upon leſs Occaſions than was requiſite: and yet *Diſobedience*, unleſs upon evident and juſt Occaſions, he knew to *be as dangerous, as blind Obedience* in matters Unlawful; *the one uſually is the fore-runner of Superſtition and Idolatry; the other the Mother of carnal Security, Schiſm, and Infidelity.* And, according to our Apoſtles fear, did it fall out in the Church of God. The firſt Miſchief which befel her

† 1 *Pet.* 5. 2, 3.

* *Acts* 20, 28, 29.

* 1 *Pet.* 5 5.

her in her Prime, was from the want of due Reverence, and awful regard of Eccleſiaſtick Injunctions, and Conſtitutions. Hence did Hereſies ſpring in ſuch abundance; Satan had ſown their ſeeds in proud hearts; and the Civil Magiſtrates facility to countenance every *prating Diſcontent*, or *Forth-putting Vocaliſt*, *in preaching what he liſt*, though contrary to his Governors Conſtitutions, was as the *Spring-Sun* to cheriſh and bring them forth. And as the Romiſh Church, upon the depreſſion of ſuch rebellious Spirits, did raiſe her ſelf above all that is called GOD: So in truth it cannot be denied, but that many in Reformed Congregations, by ſeeking to cure her Diſeas, have caſt the Church of God into a Relapſe of her of former Sickneſs; which was the Uſurpation of too much Liberty in her children. For the Avoidance whereof, we are now, as God hath enabled us, to Adviſe.

CHAP. V.

Of the Diverſity of Humane Actions: The Original of their Lawfulneſs, Unlawfulneſs, or Indifferency: Which without queſtion, belong to the proper Subject of Obedience, Which not.

1. OF the Subordination of Spiritual Governors amongſt themſelves, we ſhall have fitter occaſion elſwhere to treat: Now we are to enquire the limits and *Bounds of Spiritual Authority* in general, only ſo far forth as it concerns the rectifying of their *Belief*, who are bound to *Obey*.

2. Out of the places before alledged, theſe Truths neceſſarily and immediately flow. *There is ſome peculiar Authority in the Prieſthood, or Miniſtry, which is not to be found in other men.* This Authority in them, is as eſſentially Subordinate to Chriſt, as the Authority of any other Magiſtrates is, unto the Principality, or Soveraignty, of that Nation wherein they live. Diſobedience unto Spiritual Governors, doth redound as directly and fully unto Chriſts, as diſobedience to inferior Magiſtrates doth unto the Princes or Supreme Governors diſhonor: *For he that heareth Chriſts Meſſengers, heareth Him; he that deſpiſeth Them deſpiſeth Him*: and yet it is as *Evident again in ſome Caſes they may be Diſobeyed.* The difficulty is, *in which they are to be Obeyed, in which not*; or in one word, *What is the proper Subject of Obedience* due unto them.

† The general or remote Subject of Obedience.

3. † All *Obedience is ſeen, either in doing What is Commanded, or abſtaining from what is forbidden; all Diſobedience in refuſing to do what it Commanded, and doing that which is forbidden by Superiors*, or Men in Authority. Things commanded or forbidden are of *three ſorts*, either *Good in themſelves*, and required; or elſe *ſimply Bad*, and prohibited by the Law of God or Nature; or finally *Indifferent, neither Commanded, nor forbidden* by either of the former *Laws.* Again, of *Good things, ſome are better, ſome leſs Good.* And ſo of *Evil, ſome are more, ſome leſs Evil. Things Indifferent only admit no degrees*; but our Perſwaſion of their Indifferency, as alſo of the two other kinds, may be ſtronger or weaker. * Our *Perſwaſion* in all three kinds may be *Pure* or *Mixt.* Our Perſwaſion of any kind, is then *Pure*, when there is no ſurmiſe or Perſwaſion of any contrary

** Perſwaſions Pure or Mixt.*

contrary *Quality* in the *Action* to be undertaken; then *Mixt*, when we are partly Perſwaded, that it is of this or that Nature, but not without ſome *Surmiſe* or *Probability*, that it may be of *another Quality*. * The *Mixture of our Perſwaſion likewiſe may be divers*. Sometimes we may be *ſtrongly perſwaded, that the Matter enjoyned is Good, and yet have ſome weak Perſwaſions or Surmiſe, that it is Evil, or contrariwiſe.* Sometime we may have an *equal perſwaſion both ways*, and think it as probably Good as Evil. Sometimes we may have a *ſtrong Perſwaſion, that it is indifferent*; and *a weak, that it is Good or Evil*, or contrariwiſe. Sometimes we may have a *weak Perſwaſion*, or Conjecture, that it may be a *great good*, and a *ſtrong Perſwaſion* that it is but a *little Evil*, or contrariwiſe. Sometimes a *ſtrong Perſwaſion* that it is a thing *Indifferent*, and yet *ſome ſurmiſe*, that it is a *great Evil, or great Good*. Finally, as the Good or Evil apprehended by us; ſo our apprehenſion or *Perſwaſion of their Truth*, or the Truth of that Indifferency, which is found in ſome Actions, *may be divided into as many Degrees as we pleaſe*: from the Multiplicity of whoſe different Combination, the *Variety of Humane Actions* (if we would deſcend to Mathematical Menſurations of our Conceits, or calculate every ſcruple, which Curioſity of Speculation might breed in matters of Practice) may be in a manner *Infinite*. But becauſe moſt men meaſure matters of Conſcience, as they do Commodities of little worth, only *Groſſo modo*; for our preſent purpoſe, it will ſuffice to ſuppoſe *three degrees of Good*, and *three of Evil*, and as many of our *Perſwaſions* concerning the *Lawfulneſs*, *Vnlawfulneſs*, or *Indifferency* of our Actions.

** Of the various Mixture of Perſwaſions, whence the variety of Actions or of Doubts concerning their Lawfulneſs or Unlawfulneſs doth ariſe.*

4. Of Things *Good in Themſelves*, or ſo Apprehended by us, without any Suſpicion or Scruple of *Evil* in them, *there is no queſtion*. Every mans Conſcience hath Authority ſufficient to enjoyn their Practice, and other Authority is ſcarce ſeen in the Subſtance of ſuch Actions. For ſeeing the Good it ſelf is to be done, one time or other, in ſome Meaſure, only the Alacrity of doing it being enjoyned; in what Time or Meaſure it is to be done, or like other Circumſtances, do properly come within the Subject of Obedience.

5. Concerning *pure perſwaſion of things Indifferent* likewiſe, there is *no Difficulty* of moment. For no man that underſtands what he ſaith, will once deny, that every lawful Governor is to be Obeyed, in things acknowledged for meerly indifferent. Only this Queſtion may be made, Whether things Indifferent in the general, or unto many, or moſt men at ordinary times, be indifferent in the individual, to this or that particular man, at ſome peculiar Seaſons? *Either he makes no Conſcience of his ways, or elſe he is Beſides himſelf, that denies Obedience unto any Lawful Magiſtrate: ſave only in ſuch matters as at that time ſeem Vnlawful for him to do*, though Indifferent in the general, or at other Seaſons, or to other men. Hence ariſeth the firſt degree of Difference betwixt Governors and private perſons, That *in things acknowledged for Indifferent unto us, at this very inſtant; we are not bound to follow private mens Advice; But a Magiſtrates or Governors Command we are in Conſcience to Obey*, and to make choice of whether part He ſhall appoint.

The Rule of private Reſolutions in matters apprehended as meerly Evil

6. If we ſpeak of private Reſolutions concerning things evil: This Rule in general is moſt certain, *whileſt we are perſwaded; that any Action is Evil, without any Conceit or Perſwaſion of Good in the ſame, the*

adventuring

In what Caſe ſome matters apprehended as meerly evil, may be undertaken with leſs danger, than others which are partly apprehended as Evil, partly as Good.

adventuring upon it is Deſperate, and the performance of it Unlawful. And yet, as he that exchangeth a Commodity worth eleven ſhillings, for another not worth five, ſuſtains greater loſs, than he that hath a Crown taken from him, without any thing in lieu thereof: ſo may a man oft-times wrong his own Soul and Conſcience more, by undertaking actions which have ſome ſhew or Probability of Goodneſs in them, than in undertaking others, which have none, but are only apprehended as evil. This falls out only and always then, when the Difference between the Greatneſs or Probabilities of the evil feared in the one, and the Goodneſs hoped in the other action, is greater than the Quantity or Probability of the former evil, which admitted no mixt apprehenſion of Good. The Reaſon is plain, becauſe the Mixture of good doth only recompence ſo many degrees of evil as it ſelf contains of good. Now if in the actions of *equally mixt Perſwaſions*, the proportion between the evil and good be ſuch, as is between eleven and five; the overplus of the evil will be as ſix; and ſo ſhall it make that action, wherein it is, worſe, than that which hath but five degrees or parts of evil, albeit without all Mixture of any contrary Perſwaſion, or Conceit of good. But always where the evils feared are equal, and the probabilities of their enſuing likewiſe equal: any *mixt Apprehenſion* of ſome good probably incident to the one, not to the other, doth make the action whereto it is incident, leſs evil, according to the degrees, either of the good apprehended, or of our probabilities that it may be accompliſh'd: and yet ſhall the Action ſtill be evil, as long as the evil which we Fear is greater than the good which we can Hope for; or, (theſe being equal) the Probabilities greater, that the evil ſhould fall out, than the good. For if to prefer a leſs good before a greater, be evil, much more to adventure upon a great evil, in hope of a leſſer good; moſt of all to adventure upon any great or probable evil, without Probability of any good to countervail it in the choice.

The Rule of private Reſolutions in matters, as probably Good as Evil.

7. Concerning *mixt Perſwaſions* of good and evil, this Rule is general for private Reſolutions. *Whereſoever the Probabilities or Perſwaſions of the Goodneſs of any Action, are as great, as the Perſwaſions and Probabilities of the Evil that may enſue, and the Meaſure of the Goodneſs apprehended, as great as the Quantity of the Evil feared: a man of his own private accord may as ſafely adventure upon the Action, as the Omiſſion of it,* referring the Event to *Gods Providence*, which *favoureth poſitive Actions, more than Privations; Works rather than Idleneſs; and the following of that which is Good, more than abſtinence from Evil.* A Lawful Governors Command, whether Spiritual or Temporal, muſt in this Caſe rule all private Choice, either for doing or omitting it: the Caſe is all one, as in things meerly Indifferent; for here is an Indifferency of Perſwaſions. Theſe Rules are evident in private Reſolutions.

The chief points of Difficulty concerning the Subject of Obedience.

8. All the Difficulty concerning the Subject of Obedience unto Governors, is, either in *pure Perſwaſions* of the evil, that may be in Matters Commanded, without any Probability of Good, or elſe where the *mixture of Perſwaſions* is unequal, in reſpect of the evil feared, or laſtly, where (ſuppoſing the Probabilities of good and evil are equal) the Quantity of the evil which men Fear, is greater

then

than the Quantity of the good which they Hope: *The Points of Difficulty are eſpecially Two.*

9. *Firſt*, whether Injunction of Publick Authority may overſway any degree of our private Perſwaſions, concerning the Unlawfulneſs of any Opinion or Action; as, whether we may ſafely adventure upon ſuch Actions, or embrace ſuch Opinions, as we our ſelves judge Evil, without any ſhew or conceit of Good: or ſuch as we are more ſtrongly perſwaded, that they are evil, than good: or ſuch, wherein the evil which we Fear, ſeems greater, than it can be recompenced with the good, which we can Hope for; though it were as likely to enſue.

10. *Secondly*, if Publick Authority may overſway any at all, what kind of private Perſwaſions theſe Be, or how far they may be overſwayed by it.

Chap. VI.

That ſincere Obedience unto lawful Authority makes ſundry Actions Lawful and Good, which, without it, would be altogether Unlawful and Evil.

1. Many in our days are perſwaded, that no Injunction of Authority ought to move us to any thing, which privately we deem *Evil*, either *Abſolutely*, or *Unto us*. Obedience, in *matters Lawful*, they acknowledge to be good, and acceptable in the ſight of God: but the goodneſs of it not ſo great as may warrant our undertaking Actions, either ſuſpected for unlawful, or already condemned for ſuch, in the Conſiſtory of our private Conſcience: for this, in their opinion, were *to do Evil that Good might enſue.*

2. But here men ſhould conſider, that *many Actions may be Evil, whilſt undertaken by private Men, upon private Motions, which are not Evil, once allowed or enjoyned by Authority*; not that any Authority can make that which is Evil, Good: but that it may add ſome Circumſtance or Motive, whereby the ſame Action, which barely conſidered, was Evil before, may now by this Addition or Alteration, become not Evil, becauſe not altogether the ſame. For *Abraham, upon private Inſtigation or ſecular Motives, to have killed his Son, had been hideous and monſtrous Cruelty*, one of the greateſt Breaches imaginable of the Law of Nature: but *being appointed by God ſo to do*, to have killed his Son had been *no Man-ſlaughter.* Not that God in this particular did (as ſome ſpeak) Diſpenſe with the Law of Nature: for diſpenſation had made his Action or purpoſe, only not Unlawful: whereas *Gods* * *Commandment did, not only exempt his Reſolution from that Precept, Thou ſhalt not Kill, but placed it in the higheſt rank of Goodneſs.* For he had done better in killing his Son, upon this Motive, than in ſaving of his enemies Life, out of his private Reſolution, or Goodneſs of Nature. Moſt true it is (for a Prophet ſaid it) of the general, † *Obedience is better than Sacrifice:*

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* Abraham non ſolum non eſt culpatus crudelitatis crimine, verum etiam laudatus eſt nomine pietatis, quod voluit filium nequaquam ſceleratè, ſed obedienter occidere. *Aug. de civit. Dei. lib* 1. *cap.* 21. Spontaneus motus execrabilis Deo jubente Laudabilis. *Aug. contra Fauſt. Man. l.* 22. *c.* 73.

† Abrahams *Obedience made that* Action, *which without it had been* worſe than Murther, *to be* better than Sacrifice.

the truth whereof was moſt undoubtedly moſt perſpicuous, in this particular, by which that very Action, which otherwiſe had been moſt cruel Murther, became more acceptable in the ſight of God, than any Sacrifice that ever was offered, ſave only *That*, wherein greater Obedience, than *Abraham* here intended, was actually performed.

How far the former Inſtance ſerveth to infer the Concluſion propoſed.

3. But ſome (perhaps) will here demand, what Argument can be drawn from Obedience unto Divine Supreme Authority, for juſtifying Obedience unto Subordinate Powers, in Matters, which, in our private eſtimation, we deem Unlawful? Shall we equalize Man with God, or Humane Authority with Divine? No, but we ſhould know, that *all Lawful Powers are from God*, and he that reſiſteth them, reſiſteth the Authority of Divine Power. *Abrahams* Warrant for killing his Son, was more Authentick and expreſs, than we can have for any particular Action, which we privately conceive as evil: but not more Authentick and expreſs, than many Divine Precepts for obedience unto lawful Governours are. As his *warrant* was better, ſo had his *Action* without it been more deſperate, than ſuch as ſuperiour Powers uſually impoſe upon inferiours. The former Inſtance then was brought, principally, to mitigate the Rigour of their Preciſeneſs, who ſtifly maintain, That no Obedience can legitimate ſuch Actions, as, without it, would be evil; but all muſt be performed only in matters preſuppoſed Good and Lawful, or, at leaſt acknowledged for Indifferent unto Private Men, before injoyned by Publick Authority. The Contradictory to which univerſal Negative appears moſt true, in this particular Affirmative of *Abrahams* Reſolution and Obedience: from which we may further Argue thus. *As the immediate interpoſition of Divine Authority made that Action Holy and Religious, which otherwiſe had been barbarouſly Impious: ſo may the interpoſition of Authority, derived from God, make ſome Actions, which, barely conſidered, would be apparently Evil, Deſperate, or Doubtful,* to be Honeſt, Good, and Lawful. To beat one that is *Sui Juris*, *at his own diſpoſition*, *and in his right mind*, againſt; or one that is not *ſuch*, with his Conſent; were inſolent Wrong: Becauſe, we have no Power over the one; the other none over himſelf, to Authorize ſuch uſage of his Body. What would it be then, in private Men, to beat ſuch as they know for Gods Embaſſadours, though requeſted by them ſo to do; whenas the very Requeſt might ſeem to argue ſome preſent Diſtemper, or Diſtraction of Mind? No doubt, but he that refuſed to ſmite his Neighbour Prophet, (whether *Eliſha* or ſome other: the ſtory is in the firſt of Kings) [*] did not only pretend, but truly had ſome ſcruple of Conſcience, leſt he ſhould offend, either that general Law of not doing Wrong unto his Neighbour, or that peculiar Precept, *Do my Prophets no harm:* and yet for his Diſobedience to the Prophets command, became a Sacrifice to the Lion. But he that took the Prophets Authority for his Warrant, though he ſmote, and in ſmiting wounded him, yet did he not hurt his own Conſcience a whit, but rather by thus doing, preſerved it whole, notwithſtanding the former Precept of *doing Gods Prophets no harm.* [†] To rifle a Spaniſh

[*] 1 *King.* 20. 35, 36, 37.

[†] Miles, cum obediens poteſtati ſub qua legitime conſtitutus eſt, hominem occidit, nulla civitatis ſuæ lege reus eſt homicidii: imo niſi fecerit, reus eſt imperii deſerti atque contempti. Quod ſi ſua ſponte atque authoritate feciſſet, in crimen effuſi humani ſanguinis incidiſſet. Itaque unde punitur ſi fecerit injuſſus, inde punietur niſi fecerit juſſus. *Aug. de civ. Dei. lib.* 1. *c.* 16.

Ship, upon private Quarrels, were Piracy in an Engliſh Navigator; to kill a Spaniard, Murther; but ſuppoſe the Kings Majeſty, upon Wrong done by that Nation to our State, not ſatisfied, ſhould grant his Letters of Mart: to rob them of their Goods were no Piracy, to take away their Lives no Murther: yet were the outward Action in both Caſes the ſame, but the circumſtances diverſe, and the party that now undertakes it, hath better Motives than before he had.

4. Many Inſtances might be brought unto this purpoſe, all evidently evincing thus much in general, That *ſundry Actions, which undertaken out of private Choice, would be Wicked,* (becauſe we conceive in them ſome Evil, without any conceit of poſſible good to ſet againſt it) *may by Injunction of Publick Authority become Lawful* to us; becauſe we have new Motives and better Warrants for to do them; nor can our adventure upon ſuch Actions be cenſured for Deſperate, as before it might well have been. For firſt, whilſt Men of skill and judgment, appointed by God to Adviſe in ſuch Matters, are otherwiſe perſwaded than we in private are: the Rule of Chriſtian Modeſty binds us to ſuſpect our own Perſwaſion, and conſequently, to think there may be ſome Good even in that Action wherein heretofore we thought was not; wherein as yet we our ſelves ſee none, yet may ſafely perſwade our ſelves that others ſee, either more Good, or leſs Evil. And unto this Perſwaſion we muſt add this Conſideration alſo: That Performance of Obedience it ſelf is a good and acceptable Action in the ſight of God. Or to come nearer the Point,

5. The goodneſs of our ſincere Obedience alone is not a Conſequent only of the Action, but either an eſſential part, or ſuch a Circumſtance, or Motive precedent, as brings a new Eſſence for its concomitant; whereby the Evil (which we, out of private Perſwaſions, fear) may be countervailed, as well as if we did conceive ſome good probably included in the very Object of the Action it ſelf, which might be equivalent to the Evil feared. At the leaſt then, *ſome Actions, which privately we would avoid as altogether Evil, may upon the former Motives be as lawfully undertaken, as thoſe which we hold, as probably Good, as Evil.*

He that doth that which in his private Opinion he ſuſpecteth for Evil becauſe injoined by lawful Authority, in this reſpect, doth not evil that good may enſue, ſeeing the goodneſs of Obedience is no conſequent of the Action, but a Motive precedent. The ſame Reaſon holds in avoidance of Scandal or bad Example.

6. But, as every Conceit of any Good is not ſufficient to countervail all Conceit of Evil, which may appear in the ſame matter: ſo neither may all Authority countervail every private Perſwaſion, in any man; but the greater, or more publick, the Authority is, the more ſhould it prevail with all private Perſons, for the undertaking of ſuch Actions, as otherwiſe would ſeem Unlawful. The like may be ſaid of the danger, or ſcandal, which might ariſe from the Example of our Diſobedience, or *non performance* of Obedience. The greater the Harm is, likely to enſue ſuch Neglect of Obedience, the more we are bound to be leſs ſcrupulous in Obeying, for theſe are not meer Conſequents of the Action. The Reaſon why men often miſtake them for ſuch, is, becauſe they diſtinguiſh not between the real Harms themſelves, or ſcandalous Events, which follow the Action, and the ſerious Forecaſt of their Danger. For as the Means are precedent to the real Aſſecution of the End, and yet the Intention of the End doth always go before the right Choice of Means, and, as it were, ſeaſons them for the Production

of what we intend: ſo albeit the real Events or Harms be meer Conſequents, yet the mature and prudent forecaſt of Danger, likely to follow any Action or Reſolution, muſt be admitted into the Conſultation precedent, and ought to ſway our Conſciences, according to every degree of their Probabilities unpartially conceived, as well as if we were as probably perſwaded of ſo many degrees of inherent goodneſs in the Action it ſelf, or its eſſential Object. For the Avoidance of any Evil equally probable, is as good as the Attaining of an equal good. If the danger which we juſtly fear may follow our Neglect of Obedience, whether in things Forbidden or Commanded, be as great as the Evil, which (upon like Probability) we conceive in the very Action it ſelf; it ſhould make us as willing to do what we are Commanded, as to refuſe: albeit we ſet apart the goodneſs, which may ariſe from the meer Act of Obedience it ſelf.

Some Obedience *may alter that* evil *which appears in ſome* Actions: *becauſe any* Obedience *(though in the loweſt degree) doth make* Actions *which without it were* indifferent, *to be* truly good.

7. That both goodneſs of meer Obedience, as Obedience, and alſo the danger of Evil likely to enſue our denial thereof, are either Eſſential Parts of the Object, or ſuch Internal Motives precedent, as may raiſe a new Form in the Action: may be gathered from what hath been ſaid afore, of things Indifferent. For the Injunction of Authority, as none (I think) will deny, makes things which to have done, or not to have done, was before Indifferent, now not to be ſuch, but Neceſſary and good. So as, not only the Obedience is to be thought good, but the very Action wherein Obedience is ſeen, though before Indifferent, is now inherently good, and the Omiſſion of it would be *in it ſelf Evil*, and not by *Conſequent* only. For Obedience either is, or cauſeth a new Form or Eſſential Difference, which doth as it were ſublimate the outward Action, to an higher Nature and Quality than it was capable of before. For the ſame Reaſon may this goodneſs of Obedience, and the due Conſideration of Harms, which may follow its Refuſal, make ſuch Actions, as before had been Evil for us out of private Reſolutions to have undertaken, not to be any more Evil, but Good. The Difficulty only is, what private Doubts or Diſlikes may be countervailed by publick Authority, or what certain Rule may be given when they may, and when they may not.

To give preciſe Rules what Actions may of evil become good by Obedience, is very difficult.

8. General *Rules* in this Caſe are very hard to be given, becauſe the *Circumſtances* may be many and divers. The *Authority* may be greater or leſs: ſo may their *Diſlike* that are to perform Obedience be of the things enjoined. The *Injunction* likewiſe may be more or leſs Peremptory. Sometimes it may ſeem to reſemble rather an *Advice*, than abſolute *Command:* ſometimes rather to *Adjure*, than *Command:* Sometimes the *Parties in Authority* may be of leſs, and the *Parties of whom Obedience is exacted*, of greater Reach, and deeper Inſight in thoſe matters, whereunto Obedience is enjoined, according to the Diverſity of the Subject of Obedience, which ſometime may be ſuch, wherein *men of Experience or Practice* are to be moſt Believed, wherein *Concurrence of Judgments and Multitude of Voices* may argue more Truth: Sometimes the Subject of Obedience, may be matters of *abſtruſe Speculation*, wherein one man of profound Judgment is more to be Believed, than five hundred but of ordinary Capacity. For *as things Viſible*, but far Diſtant, *ſo matters of abſtruſe Speculation*, cannot be diſcerned by multitude of Eyes, but

by clearneſs of Sight; and as he that could diſcern Ships in the Carthaginian, from the Lilibæan Haven, ſaw more than all *Xerxes* Army could in like Diſtance: ſo doth it oft fall out, that ſome one profound Judicious Contemplator ſees clearly that Truth, which all the Wits of the ſame Age had not been able without him to diſcover. *Such men may ſin in obeying Authority, whereunto others in yielding Obedience, ſin not*; becauſe they can diſcern the Unlawfulneſs of the Command it ſelf better than others. But unleſs a man can juſtly plead this, or ſome other like peculiar Reaſon or Priviledge, *it is a very ſuſpicious and dangerous Caſe to Diſobey lawful Authority,* (whether Spiritual or Temporal) in ſuch matters as he thinks others of his own Rank may with ſafe Conſcience Obey, or in ſuch matters, whereunto he ſees many men, by his own Confeſſion of great Judgment and Integrity of Life, yielding Obedience with alacrity. For if thus he think of them, he cannot but ſuſpect himſelf and his Perſwaſions of Errour; nay he cannot be otherwiſe perſwaded, but that the Commandment, or publick Injunction of Authority, is not abſolutely againſt Gods Commandment; for ſo it could not be Obeyed, with ſafe Conſcience, by men of Skill and Integrity. * And this I take to be the ſafeſt general Rule that can be given in this Caſe: *Not to conſider the particular Matters enjoined, with ſuch of their Circumſtances, or Conſequents as we out of our private Imaginations conceive, or fear; ſo much, as the general Form of publick Injunction, as it indiſtinctly concerns All.* If we can truly diſcern the Law or publick Act it ſelf to be againſt Gods Law, and ſuch as will lay a Neceſſity upon us of tranſgreſſing Gods Commandments, if we yield Obedience to particulars enjoined by it: Our Apoſtles have already anſwered for us, *It is better to Obey God than Men.* Chriſt had commanded them to preach the Goſpel: The Prieſts and other Governours forbid them to preach Chriſt. Here was a Contradiction in the Laws themſelves. But GOD Commands us to Obey the Powers ordained by him; and their Commandments are particular Branches of Gods General Commandments for this purpoſe: and he that Diſobeyeth them, Diſobeyeth God, unleſs their Commandments be contrary to ſome other of Gods Commandments. And it is a Courſe as prepoſterous as dangerous, to Diſobey Authority, becauſe we diſlike the things Commanded by it, in reſpect of our ſelves, or upon ſome Perſwaſion peculiar to us, not common to All. For ſeeing Obedience is Gods expreſs Commandment; yea ſeeing *we can no more Obey, than Love God, whom we have not ſeen, but by obeying our Superiours whom we have ſeen: True Spiritual Obedience, were it rightly planted in our hearts, would bind us, rather to like well of the things Commanded for Authorities ſake, than to Diſobey Authority for the private diſlike of them.* Both our Diſobedience to the one, and Diſlike of the other, are unwarrantable, unleſs we can truly derive them from ſome formal Contradiction or Oppoſition, betwixt the publick or general Injunction of Superiours, and expreſs Law of the moſt High.

** A certain Rule when Authority may be diſobeyed, without whoſe obſervation Diſobedience is always more Suſpicious than Safe.*

Acts 4. 19.

Such as diſobey publick Injunctions, upon ſuſpicion, or fear leſt their Practice might occaſion evil, are uſually taken in their own fear, and fall into that very ſin which they ſeek to avoid.

9. It will be replied, That albeit the general Form of publick Injunction be not abſolutely Unlawful, nor the things enjoined (for this reaſon) eſſentially or neceſſarily Evil: yet are theſe moſt Unexpedient, and may be grand Occaſions of great Evil.

He that is thus Perſwaded, might as far as became his Place, diſſwade any Publick Act concerning ſuch Matters; and yet withal was bound to conſider, whether the Want of ſuch an Act might not Occaſion as great Evils, as he fears may follow the Practice of ſuch Obedience as it commands: or whether other might not as probably foreſee ſome equivalent Good, which he ſees not. But after ſuch Acts are publickly made, and Obedience duly demanded, * he that denies it upon fear only of ſome Evil that may follow, doth give great Occaſion to others of Committing that Evil, which he himſelf by this Refuſal certainly Commits, he opens the gap to that *Capital Miſchief of Publick Societies*, *Anarchy and Diſobedience.* In Doubts of this Nature, it will abundantly ſuffice to make ſincere Proteſtation in the ſight of God, or if need require, before Men, that we undertake not ſuch Actions upon any private liking of the things enjoined, but only upon ſincere reſpect of performing Obedience to Superiours, whom God hath appointed to make Laws for Us, but not Us to appoint them what Laws they ſhould make, nor to Judge of their Equity being made, ſave only where the Form of the Commandment is contrary to ſome of Gods Commandments, ſo as the particulars enjoined become thereby eſſentially and neceſſarily Evil. In ſuch Caſe, the Laws of Superiours are already Judged and Condemned by Gods Law, by which whilſt they ſtand Uncondemned, they ſhall condemn us for Diſobedience both to Gods Laws and Them, albeit we ſtand in Doubt, whether that which they enjoin, would not be moſt unlawful for us to do, if we were left unto our Private Choice. For ſeeing the Caſe ſtands in Controverſie betwixt Us and our Superiours: we ſhould do as we are Commanded by them, and refer the final Deciſion to the Supreme Judge, whether they do well or ill in making ſuch Laws, as to us may ſeem to be Occaſions of Evil, but whether they ſhall prove ſo or no, he beſt Knows, that only can prevent the Danger. We, as I ſaid before, might Adviſe if we were thereunto called, for the Mitigation or Abrogating of ſuch Laws, but Judge or condemn them, by the Probabilities or Fears of their Conſequents, we may not, but only where they are already judged by the Law of God. What private man is there, that knows the ſecret Intents or Purpoſes of the State, in moſt Actions of publick Service? Can any man doubt but that a great many oft fear ſome dangerous Conſequents of thoſe Services wherein they are employed? Why then do moſt men think themſelves bound to Obey the State, againſt their private Doubts or Fears? * *It is enough that we know ſuch Buſineſſes* (as for example, Wars with Foreigners) *not to be Unlawful in the general*, and the Determinations of Wars, or like Buſineſs, to be referred to the King and his Council: but whether this or that War be juſtly undertaken by them or no; common Souldiers, nay Captains are not to judge, nor to detract Obedience, albeit they ſuſpect the Lawfulneſs of the Quarrel, or could wiſh for peace if they were in place to determine of ſuch matters. But if the whole State ſhould command promiſcuous uſe of Women, Adultery, Murther of our Brethren uncondemned by Law, Blaſphemy, or the like:

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Unto what a man ſtands bound being ſtrongly perſwaded that the Laws of Superiours are againſt Gods Laws, and wherein his Sin conſiſteth, if he diſobey upon ſuch ſtrong, but ill grounded Perſwaſions.

11. But many *men are oft-times ſtrongly perſwaded, that the very form of the Law or their Superiours Injunctions, are Oppoſite unto Gods Laws, when in Truth they are not.* And hence they think they deny Obedience upon *Sincerity and Conſcience*, when indeed they do not, but in both Caſes are meerly blinded by *Affection.* The *Queſtion is, whether denying Obedience upon ſuch Perſwaſions, they do well or ill?* That the Perſwaſion is Evil, is without controverſie. The Difficulty is, *whether* (the Perſwaſion remaining in full ſtrength, without any mixture of Suſpicion, or Apprehenſion of their Errour) *they add a new ſin of Diſobedience, beſides the ſinfulneſs of their Erroneous perſwaſion, or that Habitual Affection whence it ſprings:* that is, *whether they ſhould do better in Obeying againſt the full ſtrength of their Perſwaſion, or in Diſobeying, whilſt it remains? If they Obey, they ſin againſt their Conſciences,* and prefer the Laws of Man before Gods: *If they do better in Diſobeying, it may ſeem an unhappy Errour, which exempts them from the Yoke of Obedience,* whereunto the Orthodox are ſubject.

The anſwer is eaſie; *whoſoever ſhall deny Obedience upon ſuch Perſwaſions, doth commit Diſobedience actually:* Not that it were better for him to Obey, (ſuppoſing the ſtrength of his Perſwaſion to the contrary) but *he actually Sins in that he ſuffers not the ſtrength of his Perſwaſion to be broken by the ſtroke of Authority*, but rather ſuffers it to confront Authority: So that his Sin (if we will ſpeak preciſely) conſiſts only in the exerciſe of his former Perſwaſion, or in the Motion of his Habitual Affection: not in any proper Act of that peculiar * Habit or Vice, which we call Diſobedience. That whereunto *he ſtands bound* by Authority, is *to abjure his former Perſwaſion*, that he may with ſafe conſcience Obey: or (to ſpeak more diſtinctly) he is not bound immediately to Obey in the particulars now enjoined, nor to renounce his Perſwaſion without more ado, but to enter into his own Soul and Conſcience, to examine the Grounds or Motives of his Perſwaſion, to rate his own Wit and Judgment at its due Worth and no higher, to renounce all Self-conceit, or Jealouſies of Diſparagement, in yielding to that he had formerly impugned, that ſo he may ſincerely and uncorruptedly Judge of the Truth propoſed, and eſteem aright of Authority, and others Worth that yield unto it. If we would ſincerely Obey in theſe Points, which are the immediate and firſt Principles of true Chriſtian Obedience, the Grounds of erroneous Perſwaſions would quickly fail: ſo as we ſhould be always ready to Obey in the particulars, whereunto Obedience was juſtly demanded. But of the Grounds, Occaſions of erroneous Perſwaſions, and their Remedies, by Gods Aſſiſtance, more at large in the Article of the God-head, and ſome other Treatiſes of Chriſtian Faith.

** It may be queſtioned whether there be any ſuch peculiar Vice diſtinct from all untoward Affection, or whether all Diſobedience conſiſt only in the formal Oppoſition between ſome one or other Affection, and the Law, ſeeking to reſtrain it.*

CHAP. VII.

What Actions are properly ſaid to be not of Faith, *in the Apoſtles Senſe: What manner of Doubt it is which makes them ſuch.*

1. AGainſt all that hath been hitherto delivered concerning this Point, That happily may be yet *Objected*, which hath always bred greateſt *Scruple* for yielding *Obedience in doubtful Caſes.* For our Apoſtle ſaith: * *Whatſoever is not of Faith, is ſin:* But whilſt men Obey Spiritual Governours, in thoſe particulars, for which they ſhew no Scripture, *This Obedience is not of Faith*, (for Faith is always Ruled by the Word:) *Ergo*, this Obedience is ſinful, even in this reſpect alone, that *it hath not the Word for its Warrant*, but much more *if we doubt* whether the things enjoined be Good or Bad: for Doubting breeds Condemnation, as our Apoſtle in the ſame place gathereth. *He that Doubteth is condemned if he eat, becauſe he eateth not of Faith.*

** Rom. 14. 23.*

2. Unto the *former part of this Objection*, the Anſwer is eaſie and brief: *Seeing Gods Word Commands Obedience in general unto Spiritual Paſtors, and that in moſt expreſs terms; It doth warrant our Obedience*

in particulars, which are not forbidden by the ſame Word. But for clearing of the *later Objection*, becauſe this place of S. *Paul* is as often urged to as little purpoſe, as any other in the whole Book of God beſides, it ſhall not be amiſs to conſider: Firſt, in *what Senſe* it is true; *whatſoever is not of faith is ſin.* Secondly, *what manner of Doubt* it is, that makes a thing to be *not of Faith,* in that ſenſe which our Apoſtle means.

* Three divers Meanings of this phraſe, not of Faith.

The firſt Meaning.

3. * A thing may be ſaid to be of Faith three ways: Firſt, ſtrictly and properly, *That is ſaid to be* ex Fide, *of Faith, which is an Act or exerciſe of the Habit or Vertue of Faith,* as to believe in God, in Chriſt, or to *Aſſent* unto any Article in the Creed. In this Senſe, no man I think doth urge this place of our Apoſtle, *whatſoever is not of faith is ſin.* For then all Deeds of Charity ſhould be ſinful, ſeeing they are no acts or exerciſes of the Habit of Faith, but of Charity, which is a diſtinct Habit from Faith, according to beſt Divines: nor can we properly ſay, that ſuch works flow from Faith, as the fruit doth from the root, ſeeing *Charity is no branch of faith, but a Coeval ſtem of infuſed ſanctifying Grace,* the common Root to both. Such acts then may be ſaid to be of Faith, only becauſe the Doctrine of Faith enjoyns them, and the Habit or Vertue of Faith inclines the Soul unto them, and moves Charity unto the exerciſe of them. And this is the *ſecond ſenſe* or Meaning of the ſpeech, ex fide, *of faith*; that is, *thoſe things are ſaid to be of faith, or to proceed from faith, which are commanded by the Doctrine of faith,* or unto which we are inclined or moved by the Habit or Vertue of Faith. But neither is it always true, *whatſoever is not of faith* in this ſenſe, *is ſin.* For ſo no Recreation, no Merriment, not Eating and Drinking, with many other Works both of Reaſon and Nature, generally nothing meerly Indifferent could be truly *of faith*: at the leaſt at this or that Time. How then are not all theſe ſinful, ſeeing they are not of faith, in none of the former Senſes, being neither acts of Faith, nor enjoyned by the Doctrine of Faith? This neceſſarily enforceth us to ſeek *a third Signification* of the former words.

The ſecond Meaning.

The third Meaning only meant by our Apoſtle.

4. Thirdly then, that is ſaid to be *not of Faith, whatſoever is not warrantable by the Doctrine of faith, whatſoever Conſcience, or the Vertue of faith, being conſulted, cannot countenance or allow, but rather diſſwade.* And in this Senſe, all that may be ſaid to be *ex fide, of faith*; whatſoever is warrantable by the Doctrine of Faith, whatſoever Faith, Conſcience, or the Law of Reaſon and Nature can approve or allow of, either abſolutely, or at that Preſent whileſt they are undertaken, albeit they do not enjoyn them, or impel us unto them (at the leaſt) for that Seaſon. As for example, If a man, free from neceſſary Imployments of his Calling, ſhould ride half a ſcore of miles to be merry with his honeſt friend: this were neither an *act of faith,* nor an *exerciſe enjoyned by faith,* and *yet truly of faith,* in in our Apoſtles Senſe, and no way ſinful, becauſe *warrantable by the Doctrine of faith*: Neither Faith, nor Conſcience, nor Law of Nature would condemn him for ſo doing. But if his deareſt Friend lay on his Death-bed, and did expect ſome comfort by his Preſence: his abſence upon ſuch light Occaſions would be ſinful, becauſe it could not be *of Faith.* Neither the Doctrine of Faith, nor the Law of Reaſon, could countenance ſuch an action. Such reſolutions may

properly be ſaid, *Not of Faith*, becauſe they cannot proceed but from ſome Inclination, or Diſpoſition, oppoſite to the Habit of true Faith, and the dictates of Natural well diſpoſed, much more of ſanctified Conſcience. Suppoſe ſome mans Conſcience were ſo ſcrupulous, as to doubt whether he might ride ſo far to be merry with his friend, when he had no urgent Occaſions to withdraw him; and another ſo confident, and fully perſwaded in his mind, as to make no queſtion whether he ſhould meet his friend in a Plague houſe, or when his own Father lay a dying. The Queſtion is, whether of theſe two doth ſin the more; or if both do not ſin, whether of them is freed from ſin, and by what means? The former, as is ſuppoſed, doubts of the Action, and yet doth it: the other doth the like, but worſe, and doubteth not. If that Journey which in it ſelf is Lawful (ſuppoſing the former Caſe) becomes unlawful to the one, becauſe he doubts it is Unlawful: then may the others confident Perſwaſion make his expedition Lawful unto him, although in it ſelf (ſuppoſing the Caſe above mentioned) it were Unlawful. For who can give any Reaſon, why Confidence of Perſwaſion may not as well legitimate what otherwiſe is Unlawful; as Doubt or Scruple illegitimate that which otherwiſe were Lawful and Warrantable. So that, according to theſe Grounds, the *Former party* above mentioned ſhould Sin, not the *Later*. And our Apoſtles Speeches (unleſs they admit ſome reſtaint,) will infer thus much. * *I Know and am Perſwaded through the Lord Jeſus, that there is nothing Unclean of it ſelf: but unto him that Judgeth* † *any thing to be unclean, to him it is unclean.* And again, *This man eſteemeth one day above another day, another man counteth every day alike: let every man be fully perſwaded in his Mind*; as if he added, *and then there is no danger.* And yet if we ſhould but conſult natural reaſon; who could deny, that he that made an idle Journey, whereby he might endanger his own, or neglect his Fathers life, did ſin moſt grievouſly; albeit he were moſt fully Perſwaded to the contrary; yea the ſtronger his Perſwaſion were, the greater his Sin. On the contrary, he that ſhould undertake the like Journey, having no ſerious Occaſions to withdraw him, if the Truth be rightly ſcanned, did not Sin at all, unleſs perhaps in Doubting whether he Sinned or no. For every Doubt of what we do, doth not make our Action ſinful, or *not of Faith*: which is now to be diſcuſſed.

* *Rom.* 14.14.
† *Our Apoſtles words, unleſs the univerſality of their form be reſtrained by the Matter or Subject, infer as forcibly, that confident Perſwaſion might acquit us, as Doubting condemn us in any Action. Yet Confidence of Perſwaſion doth never acquit us: But in Matters preſuppoſed indifferent; no more can Doubting condemn us without ſome inequality in the Matter.*

5. If that Speech of our Apoſtle, *He that doubteth is condemned if he eat*, were to be *univerſally underſtood* of all Doubts, or all Actions: we ſhould never have an *End* of Doubting, nor any *Beginning* of many good and moſt neceſſary Works. * *This very Perſwaſion, were it throughly and generally planted in all mens Hearts, were enough to bring all States to utter Anarchy, and to ſet the whole World in combuſtion.* For what Enterpize is there of greater moment, but divers Men will be of divers Minds, concerning the Lawfulneſs or Unlawfulneſs of it? Who could not by this Exception excuſe himſelf from performance of neceſſary Allegeance or Service? If the Kings Majeſtie ſhould wage War againſt the Spaniard, he that were addicted to their Religion might reply, *I ſhould be as willing as another to do my King and Countrey any Service, but I Doubt whether I may afford him my goods to the hurt and damage of Roman Catholicks: the Cauſe I am afraid is moſt Unlawful, and will*

* *The effects of ſuch Scrupuloſities as our Apoſtles Rule univerſally underſtood, would neceſſarily breed, are contrary to the Analogie of Faith.*

bring Gods Plague upon this Land, therefore I may not hazard my Life in it, nor adventure to ſhed the innocent blood of our Holy Mother the Churches Children. The like might a Lutheran ſay, if War ſhould fall out betwixt our State and the Saxons; or if with ſome other Reformed Churches, the like might be ſaid by moſt in our Land: Finally, there would be continual Diſtraction in the managing of all publick Affairs. But ſuch ſcrupulous demurs in Civil Matters, are either ſeldom made, or quickly anſwered by the Temporal Sword. And are they leſs dangerous in Caſes as little doubtful, (wherein the Conſequents feared are of no leſs moment) when they are given to the chief Mannagers of our ſpiritual Warfare, in times wherein Diſobedience threatens diſſolution of Chriſts Army, that muſt fight his Battels againſt Satan and the Man of Sin? Is the Authority of Binding and Looſing, Opening and Shutting the Kingdom of Heaven, leſs than the Authority of Life and Death, or the diſpoſing Powers of Temporal Goods? What ſhould be the Reaſon then, that every Scruple ſhould be held ſufficient to deny Obedience (in matters of greateſt Conſequence) unto Spiritual, more than Temporal Authority? † Out of doubt, that Rule of S. *Paul* doth no more warrant the one than the other. The true Reaſon is, moſt men fear Temporal Cenſures, more than either Gods or His; an ordinary Gaol, more than Hell; and had rather be Door-keepers in great Mens Houſes, than glorified Saints in Heaven: But of this hereafter. To proceed then with our Apoſtles Rule. Were it univerſally to be underſtood, it would bring all Chriſtian Souls into ſuch perpetual, miſerable, inextricable Perplexities, as they ſhould always live in ſuſpence, and ſcarce Reſolve upon any thing. For his Rule holds as true in the Omiſſion of what ſhould be done, as in the Commiſſion of what we think ſhould not be done. Suppoſe then thy Paſtor Commands thee to Obey in this or that Particular, which he verily thinks, either neceſſary to be undertaken by all Chriſtians, at all or moſt times; or elſe moſt Expedient for thy Souls health, the ſetting forth of Gods Glory, or the Good of others, at this preſent. But thou art contrary minded, and doubteſt whether thou mayeſt do it Lawfully or no. Why? becauſe thou haſt no Warrant for it out of Scripture, or becauſe he brings no neceſſary Reaſons why thou ſhouldſt do it, but bare Probabilities, which cannot overſway that Doubt, which thou haſt framed unto thy Conſcience. But he can ſhew thee expreſs Commandment out of Scripture, that thou ſhouldſt Obey Him. Thou wilt ſay, In things Lawful only. This he avoucheth to be ſuch; Thou denieſt it. He can ſhew thee again expreſs words of Scripture, that thou ſhouldſt not be wiſe in thine own conceit, but be willing to learn of thy Paſtor, *who is the Meſſenger of the Lord of hoſts, at whoſe mouth thou ſhouldſt ſeek the Law, and on whom,* as our Apoſtle ſaith, *thou doſt depend.* Tell me then, firſt, by what Place of Scripture thy Diſobedience in this particular can be Warranted? How canſt thou chuſe but Doubt, whether thy denial of Obedience be *of Faith* or no, ſeeing Gods Word Commands thee, in general terms, to Obey, and no where wills thee to Diſobey in this particular. Or if thou thinkeſt thou haſt ſome general Warrant for Diſobedience, becauſe thou ſuppoſeſt this particular to be Unlawful: yet how canſt thou but doubt,

† *Denial of Obedience upon Scruple, yea even the ſcruple or doubt it ſelf, may be* not of Faith, *as well as the poſitive Action, of whoſe Lawfulneſs they doubt: whence the Objection, which many draw from the Apoſtles Rule, is moſt forcible againſt themſelves.*

whether thou haſt learned the Precepts of Chriſtian Modeſty as thou ſhouldſt? Whether thou haſt learned to deny thy Self, and thy Affections? whether thou haſt learned to reverence thy Paſtor as Gods Meſſenger, not taking any offence at his Perſon? Finally, whether thou haſt abandoned all ſuch delights and deſires, as uſually are the Grounds of falſe Perſwaſions, and Impediments of ſincere obedience? If thou canſt not be fully and truly reſolved in theſe, then muſt thou doubt, (whether thou wilt or no) whether thy doubt or ſcruple it ſelf be *of Faith* or Conſcience, or of *Humour* only. And if thou canſt not but doubt herein, then mayeſt thou aſſure thy ſelf, that thy denial of Obedience is not *of Faith*, and therefore ſinful: if the Apoſtles Rule (as thou ſuppoſeſt) were univerſally true, that whoſoever doth any thing, of whoſe Lawfulneſs he doubts, doth ſin, becauſe he doth it not *of Faith*. * But I dare not deny, but that ſundry of Chriſts Flock may ſometimes either deny, or perform Obedience unto their Paſtors, not without doubt or ſcruple whether they ſhould do ſo or no, and yet not ſin in either. In performing Obedience they Sin not, unleſs the doubt be very great or probable, and the Evil which they conceive in the action Extraordinary. Again, in denying obedience they ſin not, albeit they doubt whether they ſhould do ſo or no: if the Evil, which upon mature deliberation and ſerious forecaſt they much ſuſpect, be Extraordinary, ſuch as cannot be recompenced by the Goodneſs, which appears in the Act of Obedience, nor in the Fruits of the Action it ſelf, which their Paſtor propoſeth, as a Motive to undertake it. According to thoſe Grounds muſt our Apoſtles ſpeech be limited, *He that Doubteth is Condemned if he eat, becauſe he eateth not of Faith.*

* *A man in ſome caſes may either obey or diſobey Authority, not without Doubt, and yet without Sin.*

6. What then? Is every man that eateth any thing, which he Doubts, whether it were better for him not to eat, ſtraight Condemned? God forbid. He that hath ſuch a tender Infants ſqueamiſh Conſcience, as to think thus, had need to have a very ancient, grave, wiſe, and moderate Stomach: and it were fit he never came at any Feaſt, or Table, furniſhed with variety of diſhes.

7. But for a direct Anſwer to our Apoſtles Speech. It muſt be granted, † that they of whom he ſpeaks, did Sin in eating when they *Doubted.* For if they had been as fully perſwaded in their Minds, as the Apoſtle himſelf, and ſundry others of their Brethren were, they had not Sinned in eating the ſelf ſame meat: yet for all this they ſinned not in eating (ſimply) when they *Doubted*, but in eating *Such Meats* when they *doubted*: *Other meats* they might have eaten with little or no Offence; albeit with more Uncertainty, whether it had been better for them to eat or no. Nor was it ſo much a poſitive *Doubt*, as rather a Raſhneſs, or want of ſettled Reſolution, in many of them, which made them Sin; as may appear from the Circumſtance of the Place: yet was this eating not only a Sin, but a moſt Grievous Sin, in all that did eat ſuch Meats, without a conſtant and well grounded Reſolution. Both the Sin, and the extraordinary Grievouſneſs of it, did hence ariſe: they had eaten of things ſacrificed to Idols, or other Meats, (in their Judgement) accurſed by the Law, which they ſuſpected not only to be Unlawful to be eaten, but Doubted whether in eating them they ſhould not be partakers of the Table of Devils, initiated to the Sacraments of Idolatry, or ſeparated

† *It was not the Doubt or Scruple, but the Quality of the things doubted of, which made their Actions, of whom our Apoſtle ſpeaketh, ſo grievouſly Sinful. For the Evil which upon great Probabilities they feared, was incomparably greater, than any Good poſſible to enſue upon their eating.*

ſeparated from the *Iſrael* of God, or finally become Apoſtata's from Faith, and the Holy Doctrine. As on the one ſide, the evil which they feared was extraordinarily grievous, and the Reaſons of their fear ſuch as could not eaſily be caſt off, but would be always likely to breed Deſpair after the Action were paſt, albeit many of them did ſhake off all doubt for the preſent: ſo on the other part, there was not *quid pro quo*, not the leaſt poſſible Surmiſe of performing any degree of any good or acceptable Service in the ſight of God, by their eating. For, as S. *Paul* in the ſame place notes, *The Kingdom of God is not Meat or Drink, but Righteouſneſs and Peace, whoſoever in theſe* (as if he had ſaid, not in eating and drinking) *Serveth Chriſt, is Acceptable unto God, and is Approved of Men.* Thoſe then of whom he there ſpake, accounting it a chief part of their Righteouſneſs to abſtain from all Unclean things, their danger in eating was in Quantity exceeding Great, and for the Quality Spiritual: their Loſs in abſtaining from ſuch meats (being provided of others) was in Quantity as Nothing, and for the Quality meerly Corporal. Wherefore *thus to have eaten, with the leaſt Scruple of ſuch grievous Danger, was worſe than* Eſau*'s alienating of his Birth-right for a Meſs of Pottage.* And albeit they had *Doubted* to day, and grown reſolute to morrow, upon no better Motives than the bare examples of others; or in an Humour or Bravery, becauſe they would not *Doubt* any longer, but uſe their Liberty as others did: yet had ſuch Reſolutions been deadly. For Opinions of this nature may not be caſt off in a Moment, nor may a man adventure upon a *Doubt* of ſuch fearful Conſequence, but upon great Motives of ſome Spiritual good; the Probabilities of attaining which may countervail the evil feared: or upon ſerious deliberation, and perſpicuous diſcovery of their former Errour, and cauſleſs Scruple. From theſe grounds *Verſ. 5.* did our Apoſtle infer that Exhortation, *Let every man be fully perſwaded in his Mind.* He exacteth not this *Fulneſs of Perſwaſion* in Matters of ordinary Conſequence; *Too much Curioſity in them always occaſioneth leſs Diligence or Circumſpection, than were requiſite for eſtabliſhing our minds with true Faith, in Points of greateſt Moment:* nor did he mean ſuch *Fulneſs of Perſwaſion*, hot Spirits uſually enforce upon themſelves, without mature and ſober deliberation. For ſuch Reſolutions, albeit they may ſeem moſt ſtrong, as indeed they are for the time exceeding ſtiff: yet are they eaſily to be undermined by Satan, the inward Temptations of the Fleſh, or other Occurrents, and after once they begin to fail, ſuch as lean moſt unto them, fall ſo much the more Headlong into deepeſt Deſpair, by how much they have been ſtronger or higher Pitcht; as it ſeems ſome of theſe, to whom he writes, had been too bold in eating, and were afterwards tortured by the Sting of Conſcience. The end of our Apoſtles Exhortation was This, Seeing their *Perſwaſions*, concerning the Unlawfulneſs of ſuch Meats, had been (as it were) bred up with the parties *Doubting*, they ſhould in no Caſe adventure upon the contrary Practice, but upon long and well-ſettled Reſolution, grounded upon a ſincere and clear Manifeſtation of their former Errour. For as the Phyſicians of our Bodies do not always apply ſuch Medicines, as they know moſt forcible to expel the preſent Diſeaſe, if the ſame be contrary to our former long accuſtomed Diet, (for *vitioſæ Conſuetudini indulgendum eſt*, there muſt a care be had that a Cuſtom, though depraved, be not too violently thwarted, or too ſuddenly broken off:) ſo likewiſe muſt skilful Phyſicians of the Soul, not ſeek ſo much to expel inveterate Opinions, (though Erroneous) by preſent force of ſtrongeſt Arguments, or eager Exhortations; but rather ſuffer them to wear out their ſtrength by little and little, never infuſing contrary Perſwaſions, but mitigated and qualified, and that ſparingly, as Opportunity ſhall ſerve. Otherwiſe, what one ſaith of Nature her ſelf,

Expellas furcâ licet, uſque recurret:

Though with ſtrong hand ſhe be out-thrown,
She ſtill repairs unto her own:

will prove true of that *altera natura*, inveterate Cuſtom. It, ſuddenly expulſed, will one time or other retire as violently: and ſo ſhall the Relapſe be much worſe than the Diſeaſe it ſelf.

8. For theſe Reaſons did they alſo offend moſt grievouſly, who by their Example or Inſtigation, did cauſe their weak Brethren to eat ſuch Meats as they made this Conſcience of: for ſo *they cauſed them, for whom Chriſt Jeſus died, to periſh for their Meats ſake*, as it is, *verſ.* 15. Whereas the loſs of Meat, or Life it ſelf, ſhould, by the Rule of Charity, be accounted Gain, in reſpect of our Brethrens ineſtimable Danger, which may enſue upon ſuch Actions. Better it were we ſhould ſuffer our ſelves to ſtarve for Meat, and ſo procure our own Corporal, than occaſion their Eternal Death by our Example: ſo ſaith our Apoſtle, *If Meat offend my Brother, I will eat no meat while the world ſtandeth, that I may not offend my Brother. It were better for me to die, then that any man ſhould make my rejoycing vain.* Nor did our Apoſtle in this place, ſpeak Hyperbolically, or more than he meant to have performed, if he had been called to ſuch a tryal of his Reſolution, as ſome of his Forefathers had been. So we read, when *Antiochus*'s Officers, out of great love (as they eſteemed it) unto the good old man, had permitted *Eleazar* one of the principal Scribes to make choice of ſuch fleſh as he would, and might ſafely eat by his Country Laws; only requeſting him to diſſemble by his ſilence, * *As though he had eaten the things appointed by the King, even the fleſh of his Idols Sacrifices*: Albeit he might have had Life upon this condition, yet he confidently anſwered, and willed them *ſtreightways to ſend him to the grave. For it becometh not our Age* (ſaid he) *to diſſemble, whereby many young perſons might think, that* Eleazar *being fourſcore years old and ten, were now gone to another Religion: and ſo through mine Hypocriſie (for a little time of a tranſitory Life) they might be deceived by me, and I ſhould procure malediction, and reproach to mine old Age.* This eating, which he refuſed, could never have been of Faith, that is, no way Warrantable, by the Doctrine or Principles of Faith, which had taught him the contrary; as he well expreſt in the next words following, *For though I were now delivered from the Torments of Men, yet could I not eſcape the Hand of the Almighty, neither alive nor dead. Wherefore I will now change this Life manfully, and will ſhew my ſelf ſuch as mine Age requireth.*

See 1 *Cor.* 8. 11.
Rom. 14. 15.

1 *Cor.* 8. 13.
1 *Cor.* 9. 15.

* 2 *Mach.* 6. 21, 22, 23, 24, &c.

9. And it ſhould be conſidered, that the Parties of whom our † Apoſtle ſpeaks in the forementioned place, were never enjoyned by any Lawful Superiors, either Civil or Eccleſiaſtick, to eat ſuch Meats as they made ſcruple of: yea the very original or fountain of their Scruple, was from the expreſs Law of God, denouncing fearful Judgements againſt all ſuch, as polluted themſelves with Unclean Meats: ſo that their eating, albeit ſolemnly enjoyned by the greateſt Powers on earth, could not fall within the Subject of true Obedience, becauſe the Laws enjoyning it (as they conceived) ſtood actually condemned, by the expreſs Law of God to the contrary, in defence whereof, many of their Anceſtors had expoſed their Bodies to moſt grievous Tortures; and the refuſal of ſuch Meats, as they made Scruple of, had been always accounted the juſteſt Title of glorious Martyrdom amongſt the Jews. And albeit theſe Laws concerning Unclean Meats were indeed Antiquated at the Alteration of the Prieſthood; yet ſhould we not marvel, if at the firſt planting of the Goſpel, many good Chriſtians did make great Conſcience of eating ſuch Meats as were forbidden by them, when S. *Peter* himſelf, long after our Saviours Aſcenſion, durſt ſcarce take Gods own word againſt his written Law, then not Abrogated (as he ſuppoſed) in this Caſe. For when *there came a voyce unto him*, * ſaying, *Ariſe Peter, kill and eat, Peter ſaid, Not ſo Lord, for I have never eaten any thing that is Polluted, or Unclean. And the voyce came unto him again the ſecond time*, ſaying, *the things that God hath purified do not thou account Polluted.* Nor was *Peter*, as it ſeems, yet fully ſatisfied; for it is added in the next words, *This was ſo done thrice, and the veſſel was drawn up again into Heaven.* All theſe Circumſtances abundantly evince, that it was not the bare Doubt or Scruple, but the Quality of the things doubted of, and the inveterate Opinion, or abominable Conceit, which the Jews, or other of their Inſtruction, had of the Meats themſelves, that made their eating to be † οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως, ſo far from being of Faith, that it rather ſeemed to overthrow it. Had the exceſs of the Danger they feared been leſs, or had there been any ordinary Poſſibility of any proportionable Good to ſet againſt it: their Sin in eating had been leſs, albeit the Grounds of their Scruple had been greater, or their Perſwaſions one way or other leſs ſettled.

† *Two principal Circumſtances to be conſidered, peculiar to thoſe of whom our Apoſtle ſpeaketh.*

* *Acts* 10. 13.

† *This Phraſe includeth a Contrariety or Oppoſition unto Faith as* אי לא כביר עמי *and many like Phraſes, as uſual in the Hebrew Dialect, as the Latin compounds* immitis, immiſericors, &c.

10. Albeit this Expoſition of our Apoſtle, may ſeem ſtrange and new to many honeſt and well diſpoſed Minds in our Church: yet in truth, the manner of the deduction only is new, the Doctrine it ſelf is generally held by all Divines, though not expreſly in Concluſion, yet in the Premiſes, wherein it is eſſentially contained, and may be moſt evidently deduced; Thus,

11. * *All Sin conſiſts, either in preferring none before ſome, the leſs before a greater; or a Coporal before a Spiritual Good*: the Hainouſneſs of Sin, in the exceſs of difference, betwixt the true good neglected, and the ſeeming good embraced, which is either abſolutely evil, or elſe a far leſs good, which in competition with the greater good, is likewiſe to be accounted evil. Now, if whatſoever be *not of Faith* be a Sin; then by the former Rules it is a Sin, becauſe a leſs good is preferred before a greater, or ſome evil choſen without any proportionable good, that might ſerve as a ſufficient Recompence. But if the nature of Actual Sin conſiſt in one of theſe two: It

* *The former Interpretation neceſſarily followeth from Grounds of Divinity acknowledged by all.*

It is queſtionable, how or in what caſe, *Doubting* or *Scruple* of what we do, doth make our Actions Sinful. * Briefly, it is *an External Cauſe, or Circumſtance, concurring to the making of a Sinful Action, not any eſſential part, or internal Circumſtance of the Sin it ſelf once cauſed.* And it thus concurs only, when that which in it ſelf is Evil, or proves ſo in the event, would not be Evil unto us, unleſs we had ſome doubt or ſcruple; that is, ſome Notice or Apprehenſion of it as Evil: In ſuch Caſes indeed we ſhould not ſin, unleſs we had formerly doubted: but to ſpeak exactly, we do not Sin, becauſe we do what we doubt of, but becauſe in doing † ſome Actions, when we Doubt, we exactly prefer Evil before Good; which otherwiſe we ſhould not, albeit we did the ſelf ſame Action. For it could not be Evil to us, without the Apprehenſion of its Nature, ſo as the Apprehenſion of it concurs to the making of it Evil. And becauſe in all *Doubts* or *Scruples*, there is ſome Apprehenſion of Evil; therefore when we Doubt, in Caſes above mentioned, our Actions are *not of Faith*, but Sinful. But if either we could be fully perſwaded to the contrary; that is, if we could out of ſincerity of Conſcience, and ſettled Judgement, diſcern that very thing which either we our ſelves ſometime did, or others yet, Apprehend as Evil, not to be truly Evil: the ſame Action, which before had been, ſhall not be now ſinful unto us; becauſe we now prefer not Evil before Good. Or again, albeit the thing were in it ſelf Evil, (being prohibited by ſome poſitive Law) but we upon invincible or unculpable Ignorance, did not Apprehend it for ſuch: we ſhould not actually ſin in doing it, becauſe in this Caſe, we could not truly be cenſured for preferring Evil before Good (ſeeing the Apprehenſion maketh it evil to us) albeit we did prefer that which was evil, before that which is good. As for example, If a Proſelyte ſhould have eaten Swines Fleſh, being altogether ignorant (not by his own, but the Prieſts Negligence) of the Iſraelites Law to the contrary: he had done that which was evil, becauſe forbidden by the Law; but not * ill, becauſe he had no Apprehenſion of it as evil, but did eat it without all ſcruple, as well as the ſtrong in Faith did in S. *Pauls* time. As doubting, in thoſe Caſes wherein we have an Apprehenſion of ſome exceſs of evil, makes mens Actions *not to be of Faith*; and want of doubt, (ſo all other Circumſtances be obſerved) makes them to be *according unto Faith*: † ſo it oft times falls out, that *ſuch as nothing Doubt whether they do ill or no, do Sin far more than ſuch, as not without great Scruple of Conſcience make the ſame ſiniſter Choice.* For, oft times the Cauſes why men make no ſcruple, or why they Apprehend not the evil which they do, are ſuch, as will neceſſarily make their Actions worſe, than if they had doubted, and yet had done the ſame. This Rule holds always true, when the Cauſe, why men doubt not of their Actions, is ſome inordinate deſire of Gain, Pleaſure, or other like corrupt Affection, or ſome ſtrong Humor of Contradiction: not ſtedfaſt or well-grounded Reſolution, not pure Simplicity, or invincible Ignorance, not occaſioned by default or Negligence in our Vocation. If ſcruple either hath not been conceived, or elſe expelled upon theſe later Motives, our Actions are thereby Juſtifiable or excuſable: but where ſtrength of inordinate Affection or deſire, either expels or impairs a ſcruple (of ſome exceſſive evil) which hath been conceived

* *How Scruples, or Doubt of what we do, concur to make our Actions Sinful.*

† *As when the Evil feared, is greater than any good that can be hoped.*

* Malum non malè.

* *The ſame Action, though ſimply Evil in both, may be leſs* of Faith *in him that doth it Confidently, then in another that doth it not without Scruple.*

(though amiſs) or hinders the conceiving of ſome ſuch doubt or ſcruple; in matters whoſe Unlawfulneſs might well be doubted of; or rather might clearly be diſcerned, and ought with reſolution to be avoided: There the Action is ſo much the more ſinful; as the ſcruple is leſs, or their confidence or boldneſs that undertake it greater. The difference betwixt him that in this caſe doubteth, and him that doubteth not, is altogether ſuch as Moraliſts acknowledge betwixt the Actions of Intemperate and Incontinent men.

CHAP. VIII.

Who moſt tranſgreſs our Apoſtles former Rule: with Directions for ſquaring our Actions unto it or other Rules of Faith.

1. FRom what hath been ſaid in this Point we may ſafely gather; that none in our days ſo much tranſgreſs, as thoſe that perſwade themſelves, they moſt preciſely keep this Rule of our Apoſtle, which indeed was the Rule of Conſcience; and of Nature. They of all others tranſgreſs it moſt, that make no ſcruple of denying Obedience, but confidently adventure upon any courſe of life, againſt their Paſtors ſerious Admonitions, for their Spiritual Good. For *whoſoever doth any thing for his own private Commodity, or bodily Good, which (though he donbt not) might upon due Examination, and Attention to his Paſtor, ſeem doubtful whether it may not endanger his ſoul, or impair his Spiritual Eſtate, doth in ſo doing, ſin againſt his own Soul*; and wound his Conſcience: becauſe there is no Proportion between the Good which he ſeeks, and the Evil which he might juſtly fear. Such Actions too well reſemble our firſt Parents ſin, who preferred the momentary Pleaſures of their licoriſh Taſte, before the Perpetuity of their Eſtate in Paradiſe, wherein did grow much better Fruit than that they ſo greedily longed for. And we may as truly ſay, that our firſt Parents were condemned for eating, as thoſe that doubted of the Lawfulneſs of what they eat. They did not eat *of Faith* more than the others, but leſs: although they were perſwaded, that God rather had dealt hardly with them in Forbidding them to eat, than that they ſhould give juſt Offence to God in Eating. But the bolder they were, the greater was their ſin, and leſs *of Faith*, nay moſt againſt Faith; becauſe their incontinent deſires had expelled all fear, and made them confident.

Hoc itaq; de uno Cibi genere non edendo, ubi aliorum tanta copia ſubjacebat; tam leve præceptum ad obſervandum, tam breve ad memoria retinendum, (ubi præſertim nondum voluntati cupiditas reſiſtebat, quod de pœna tranſgreſſionis poſtea ſubſecutum eſt) tanto majore injuſtitia violatum eſt, quanto faciliore poſſit obſervantia cuſtodiri. *Aug. de Civ. Dei. lib.* 14. *cap.* 12.

2. The beſt *Method* to ſquare our Actions to the Rule of Faith, would be *This*. Firſt, *To be rightly inſtructed and perſwaded in what order, or rank of Goodneſs; Obedience to Spiritual Governors ought to be placed.* Secondly, (having found out the true Nature and Quality; and due Eſtimation of Obedience in general) *to account the degrees of Goodneſs, which appear in this or that particular Act of Obedience.* And theſe are to be taken, according to the Generality; or Soveraignty of the Authority commanding, or according to the Manner, and Tenour of the Command or Charge it ſelf; as, thoſe commands are to be obeyed with more alacrity, (although they proceed from the ſame, or equal authority) in which obedience is demanded

upon ſtricter, or more adjuring terms, or wherein the zealous deſires of men in Authority, are either more fully and ſignificantly expreſſed to all, or more lively intimated unto us in particular.

3. Thirdly, *To calculate the Inconvenience, or Scandals, that may ariſe from our Diſobedience.* For albeit we might deny Obedience in ſundry particulars, with far ſafer Conſciences than others could, yea, although it were indifferent for us (as perhaps in divers caſes it is to ſome men) to perform or deny Obedience: * Yet we ſhould always have an eſpecial care, that we embolden not others, (who have not the like Motives, or cannot be ſo well perſwaded) to do the like, by our Example. For ſo we may commit the ſelf ſame ſin, which they that were ſtrong in Faith did, by cauſing others to eat ſuch Meats, as they either made ſcruple of before they eat, or elſe were upbraided by their conſciences after they had eaten: And (as I intimated before) unleſs Diſobedience be upon evident, and well grounded reſolutions, it is as dangerous a ſin as a man can practiſe, and of all ſins that are, it is moſt properly ſaid to be οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως, *not of Faith*, ſeeing Faith and Obedience (amongſt all other Vertues) are of moſt ſtrict Alliance: Neither is there any breach or defect of Faith, but in ſome Diſobedience or other; no ſin, but in Diſobedience to the Rule of Faith. Which later (God willing) ſhall afterwards more plainly appear.

** This is a point, which I am perſwaded, many have leſs regarded than had been requiſite, as not conſidering that our Apoſtles Rule might be violated, as well by the Omiſſion of ſome Actions, as by the Commiſſion of others, or that this ſame offence might be given to weak and tender Conſciences, by emboldning them to deny Obedience, as was given in our Apoſtles time, by emboldning them to eat of things ſuſpected for unlawful Nor can we doubt but many in our time have made ſcruple of matters enjoyned by lawful Authority, only from the Example of others whom they reverenced.*

4. Laſtly, *we are diligently to conſider the hopes, or probabilities of Goodneſs either inherent, or conſequent to the actions themſelves,* which are to be undertaken.

5. All theſe conſiderations muſt be put in oppoſite ballance to our doubts, or fears of evil, whether inherent or conſequent to the ſame actions, or matters enjoyned, if we were left to our own choice; or to the probabilities, or jealouſies, which we may have, that the Form of a publick command is contrary to Gods Law. Although for doubts or ſcruples conceived out of private diſlike to the things enjoyned, only becauſe we ſee no expreſs Warrant for them out of Scripture, or becauſe they go againſt our Conſciences: we need not ſo much to oppoſe former conſiderations, to overſway them, as ſeek to extirpate them. For after the interpoſition of Authority, we may rather ſuſpect that theſe doubts are *not of Faith, but of Humor,* unleſs we can derive them from ſome oppoſition, betwixt the publick Edicts injoyning Obedience, and the Law of God, which muſt be preſumed to countenance, as long as it doth not contradict, Superiors Injunctions, becauſe it gives Authority and Commiſſion to make them. *Every doubt, or ſcruple, that ſuch Edicts are formally or directly contrary to Gods Law, is not ſufficient to deny Obedience unto them:* Nor do Spiritual Governors, in demanding Obedience to ſuch as their Inferiors ſuſpect to be againſt Gods Law, oppoſe Humane Authority to Divine, or deſire men to Obey Them rather than God, as ſome frivolouſly have Objected. Indeed the leaſt probability or ſuſpicion of diſobeying God, ſhould make us refuſe to obey Man, in caſe our Diſobedience unto man redounded

only to Man, and not to God. But in as much as Chriſt hath ſaid, *He that heareth you, heareth me*: Diſobedience unto Spiritual Governors, is Diſobedience unto Chriſt, yea unto God. And therefore Obedience may not be denied unto ſuch, but upon great and weighty Motives, and ſerious examination of ſuch Reaſons, as move us to think, that their Edicts are contrary, or oppoſite to Gods Laws. Otherwiſe we ſhould prefer a conjectural conceit, or ſurmiſe of obeying God rather than man, before a greater probability of obeying God, by obeying man. For it is certain in general, that men in Spiritual Authority ſhould be obeyed, and that in obeying them we obey God: but uncertain and conjectural, (according to our Suppoſition) whether in this particular they ſhould be diſobeyed, and therefore uncertain, whether God, by our denial of Obedience, ſhould be diſobeyed or obeyed.

** By obeying Humane Authority derived from Divine (in the general) we may in ſome particulars injoyned by it, diſobey Divine Authority it ſelf directly and immediately.*

6. * Albeit I muſt confeſs, there muſt a difference be put betwixt the immediate and direct diſobeying of Gods expreſs Laws, reſulting from Obedience unto mans Laws that are oppoſite unto them; and the diſobeying of Gods Laws *mediately* or by conſequence; that is, by diſobeying mens Laws, whoſe Authority is derived from them. As if a private man ſhould obey a publick Magiſtate commanding him, or his Paſtor perſwading him, under ſome fair pretence to tell a lye, or prejudice his neighbour by falſe reports, he doth immediately and directly diſobey the ninth Commandment by thus obeying man. And this ſin may juſtly ſeem greater, than his that ſhould deny Obedience to publick Authority in ſuch matters, as are by it commended unto him for good, and as much tending unto Gods glory as the former did to his diſhonor; but yet ſuch as the party denying Obedience is not ſo perſwaded of, nor hath any ſuch particular expreſs, or immediate Law of God for doing this, as the other had for not doing the former, This later then diſobeys Gods Law, which commands Obedience to Authority in lawful matters; but not ſo directly, and immediately, as the former did the ninth Commandment. Wherefore the former ſins are worſe in their kind; the worſt of them is worſe than the worſt of the later; the leaſt of the former, worſe than the leaſt of the later kind: * but in what degree or proportion they are worſe is hard to define, and therefore a very difficult point to determine, what degrees of probabilities, or what meaſure of fear, leſt we ſhould diſobey Gods Laws immediately, and directly, by obeying mans that ſeem oppoſite unto them, ſhould overſway our general certainty, that Gods Deputies on earth are to be obeyed, or our habitual inclination to Chriſtian Obedience grounded hereon. Moſt certain we are, that they muſt be obeyed in all lawful caſes, or where their Laws are not oppoſite unto Gods: and if we were certain, that theirs were contrary to Gods Laws, we are as certain by the Doctrine of Faith, that they ſhould be diſobeyed. But when we doubt whether their Decrees be againſt Gods Laws, we cannot but doubt, and doubting fear, leſt we ſhould diſobey God directly in Obeying them. And by the former reaſons, it is evident, that if the doubt were equal on both ſides, that is, were it as probable that their Commands are againſt Gods as not: we were bound in conſcience not to obey them; becauſe we ſhould commit a greater ſin in obeying them, if they were indeed oppoſite, than we ſhould in diſobeying them, ſuppoſing they

** Hard to determine what degrees of fear, leſt we ſhould, by obeying mans Laws, diſobey Gods Laws immediately, ought to expel all fear of diſobeying mans Laws, whoſe Authority in general is from Gods.*

were not oppoſite or contrary to Gods Laws. For in the one Caſe we ſhould Diſobey Gods Laws directly and immediately: in the other only mediately, and by conſequence. Now of two evils equally probable, the leſs muſt be adventured upon, and the greater more eſchewed.

† *Sometimes by diſobeying Mans Injunctions we may diſobey Gods Laws, both mediately and immediately.*

7. Yet † oft-times again it may fall out, that the things commanded by publick Authority, may be in themſelves very Good, and commanded, at leaſt in their univerſal, by ſome particular Law of God. As if a Spiritual Governor, ſhould in the name of Chriſt command, or adjure a man (otherwiſe backward, and fearing the face of great men) to witneſs the truth for his poor Neighbours Good: If Obedience in this caſe were denied, both Gods particular Commandment ſhould be immediately and directly tranſgreſſed, and that general Law alſo be tranſgreſſed by conſequence, which commands Obedience to Gods Miniſters, or Embaſſadors. And it is all one, whether the matter enjoyned be actually known for ſuch as I have ſaid, unto the party denying Obedience: or might have been known upon due examination, and ſuppoſal of his former Obedience to his Paſtor in other points. The further proſecution of theſe matters I leave unto the Learned, that purpoſely write of Juriſdiction: Whereof by Gods aſſiſtance, according to the talent which God hath given us, in the Article of the Catholick Church. It may ſuffice, for our preſent purpoſe, to have ſhewed, that it is not every doubt, or ſcruple of the Unlawfulneſs of Superiors Commands, that can warrant denial of Obedience to them: and that all Inferiors are bound to a ſober, diligent, and unpartial Examination of their own Hearts, and Conſciences: to a reſolute denial, or abandoning of their own Affections, or Deſires, that they may be more fit to diſcern the Truth it ſelf, and more ſincerely weigh the conſequence of their Superiors Admonitions, before they can plead the Liberty of Conſcience, for rejecting them, or appealing from them.

8. Whether any ſuch Oppoſition, as I have ſpoken of, can probably be found between any expreſs Law of God, and our Churches publick Injunctions of ſuch Rites and Ceremonies, as many painful Labourers in Gods Harveſt have made ſcruple of, or whether ſuch ſcruples have been firſt conceived upon probable diſcovery of ſuch Oppoſition, after ſuch ſerious and due Examination, I leave it to their Conſciences that have made, or do make them: beſeeching God for the good of his Church, and his glory ſake, to inſpire many of their hearts but with this Cogitation; Whether were more likely, That they themſelves ſhould commit any Act of Infidelity or Popery, by continuance in their Paſtoral charge, upon ſuch terms as many of their religious and learned Brethren do: or, Whether Atheiſm and Infidelity ſhould increaſe abundantly throughout this Land by their ſilence. Many of them I know have held the things enjoyned not abſolutely evil, but ſuſpitions or occaſions of evil. And could we in ſuch caſes uſually take but half that pains, in ſeeking to prevent the particular evils, which publick Acts (we fear) may occaſion, as we do in cenſuring them for inconſiderate, or occaſions of evil, or finally, as we do in breeding *Jealouſies* of their unlawfulneſs: the evils which we fear would not

fall out half ſo faſt, as by this means they do; beſides that, the Unity of Faith ſhould always be faſter kept, in the ſtricter Bond of Love; and true Obedience in things eſſentially Good, and neceſſary for the preſervation of Gods Church, would be more plentiful and cheerful.

That the Goodneſs of Obedience, by our Apoſtles Rule, (whatſoever is not of Faith is ſin) *ought to move men unto ſuch conditional* Aſſent *and* Obedience *unto their Paſtors as hath been mentioned.*

9. But my Purpoſe in this place was, only to ſearch out the limits of true Obedience unto Spiritual Authority in general, ſo far as it concerns the rectifying of their Faith, or edification in manners, who are to be governed and inſtructed by it. None of them can juſtly pretend, (ordinarily) any ſcruple of ſuch conſequence, as inferior Miniſters may. If they could but duly conſider, and unpartially eſteem the goodneſs which accompanies Obedience (*which is better then ſacrifice*) and the evil of Diſobedience, (*which is as the ſin of witchcraft*) theſe two laid together would be more than equivalent to any evil that Lay-men, or Inferiors, uſually conceive in ſuch Actions, as they deny Obedience in unto their Paſtors. *Nay, in this unbelieving Age, wherein it is more to be Complemental than Religious,* it is thought an anſwer good enough, ſo it be complementally performed unto their Paſtors: We would do as you adviſe, or enjoyn us, in Chriſts Name, if we certainly knew that it were Chriſts Will, or agreeable to Gods Word. Whereas in truth, in giving ſuch Anſwers, when neither they certainly know, nor are careful to learn, whether their advice be contrary to Gods Word or no, they ſin directly againſt Chriſtian Faith, advancing their own humors above Gods Word, which commands Obedience unto Paſtors, preferring the Liberty of their unruly wills before the ſafety of their Conſciences. And it is prepoſterous to plead Ignorance of Gods will before them, whoſe inſtructions therein they are bound duly to hear, and hearing to obey, until they can light on better, or find them falſe, upon ſerious and due examination: that is, They muſt obey them not abſolutely and irrevocably, but with *Limitation and Caution.* And queſtionleſs if men did infallibly believe, or abſolutely from their hearts obey, that which they undoubtedly know to be Gods will; they would never make queſtion, but that, for which they have Preſumptions that it is part of Gods will, or that, which is commended unto them for his will, by ſuch as he hath appointed to be Meſſengers of the ſame, ſhould be *conditionally believed,* and *without caution obeyed,* eſpecially when it is delivered ſolemnly upon deliberation, and premeditation, or out of that place whence he hath appointed them to learn his will. *Did not Prieſts* (as the Proverb is) *forget that ever they were Clerks,* or ſuch as take themſelves for great proficients, that they were ſometimes Novices in the School of Chriſt; they might remember how they came unto that abſolute and infallible belief of thoſe Chriſtian Principles, by which they hope for Salvation, by entertaining this conditional belief, which we ſpeak of, and by yielding like Obedience unto Divine Truths, now fully, but at the firſt imperfectly, known for ſuch. And albeit ſuch general Articles of Chriſtian Faith, as are neceſſary for all to believe, neither increaſe, nor diminiſh their number: yet if we deſcend unto the diverſity of mens eſtates and callings, and difference of time and place: Chriſtian Faith receiveth perpetual increaſe, not only in its proper ſtrength, or as we ſay by way of Intention, but in extent alſo unto many particulars,

lars, either directly contained (though not ſo eaſie to be diſcerned) as eſſential parts under the former general Principles, or elſe annexed unto them collaterally as limbs or borders. Beſides, all Chriſtian Duties, or matters of Practiſe, are not promiſcuouſly fit for every time or place, but muſt be ſeverally proportioned to their diverſity. Again, the ſame duties, (I mean of the ſame kind) muſt be performed in different meaſure, according to the different exigence of Time, Place, Perſons, or other Occurrents. In all theſe and many more reſpects, is this conditional Aſſent, and Obedience unto Paſtors moſt neceſſary. And ere men can retain ſtedfaſtly that which is beſt, they muſt make tryal of all, or many things of different kinds: and yet trial of Spiritual Medicines without Spiritual Phyſicians preſcripts, is ſo much more dangerous to ordinary mens ſouls, than like tryal of Phyſick-concluſions is to their Bodies, by how much ſuch men are more ignorant of the ſtate of their ſouls, than of their bodies. The neceſſity and uſe of what hath been delivered concerning Obedience in general, will appear in ſundry points to be diſcuſt hereafter. In reſpect of which (eſpecially of that point concerning the manner, *how we may know the Senſe of Scriptures*, and that concerning the *nature of Chriſtian Faith*) ſome further unfolding of this *Conditional Aſſent* and *Obedience* will be likewiſe neceſſary.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Nature, Uſe, Conditions, or Properties of Conditional Aſſent *or* Obedience.

1. THe firſt ſtep in the way to Life, is from this *Infallible ground of Nature*; *Whatſoever God hath revealed concerning Matters of mans Salvation, is moſt true, and by all means to be Obeyed.* This Principle all men abſolutely capable of Reaſon, acknowledging a God, do believe: and from their abſolute belief hereof, they yield a conditional Obedience and Reverence, unto thoſe Books which we call Scripture. From the tryal of whoſe Truth, we riſe a ſtep or degree higher, and undoubtedly acknowledge *Certain general Principles contained in Scripture*, (without whoſe belief no man ordinarily can be ſaved) *for the Oracles of God*, or Divine Revelations: and unto them we yield abſolute Obedience. This ſecond ſtep brings men within the Liſts, or Borders of Chriſtianity, where no Chriſtian man is to ſet up his Reſt. Even the meaneſt that bears that name, once come to years of diſcretion, or capable of Inſtruction, muſt hold on his Progreſs ſtill, thus reſolving with himſelf, *Though I muſt be as a Child for Innocence, yet not in knowledge of Gods will. A ſhame it were I ſhould always be a Babe in that Profeſſion, which of All is only neceſſary; a ſhame I ſhould accuſtom my ſelf to Milk, for this were to nouriſh unexpert Babiſhneſs in the Word of Righteouſneſs. A Chriſtian I was from my Cradle, and now as old a Chriſtian as a Man: but † ſtrong Meat is fit for them that are of Age, which have* (or ſhould have) *their Wits exerciſed through long cuſtom, to diſcern good from evil:* * *Not the fundamental Principles of Chriſtian Religion only, without which*

† *Heb.* 5. 14.
* *Phil.* 3. 10. 14, 15. *Let therefore as many as be perfect (or would be) be thus minded.*

*none can be ſaved: not he that hath profeſſed Chriſtianity but an hour. Theſe are grounds, which once ſurely laid, muſt (as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh) be * left, that we may be led on to perfection, not always hammering upon the foundation of Repentance from dead works, of Faith towards God, or of Baptiſm, of Laying on of hands, of the Reſurrection from the dead, and of eternal Judgement, but ſeeking to build upon theſe, whatſoever is befitting preſent times or ſeaſons, whatſoever may make our Election ſure. And they, who laid the former foundations in my heart, ſeek yet my further Edification in many points, of whoſe Truth my Conſcience as yet hath no ſuch firm perſwaſion or lively taſte as it now hath of the former: but is ſo affected towards theſe later, as it was to the other before better acquaintance with them. Should I for this reaſon, forthwith deny Obedience to my Inſtructors? or withdraw Aſſent from matters propoſed by them? God forbid: For he hath commanded all, not excepting me, to obey their Overſeers in the Lord. Muſt we obey them whilſt they plant, and may we diſobey them whilſt they water? how then can I expect, that God ſhould give increaſe unto that faith which they have planted in my heart? heretofore I truſted them, and I found their ſayings true, even the Oracles of the living God: All which I ſo eſteem, as I had rather abjure this preſent world, than utterly diſclaim any, which upon like tryal, might prove ſuch. What if I know not this Particular to be ſuch? I may in good time, be as well perſwaded of it, as of the former; if ſo I will vouchſafe to make like tryal of it, by ſincere religious Obedience.*

* Heb. 6. 1, 2.

2. Nor doth the greater ſtedfaſtneſs, or infallibility of the point believed, neceſſarily exact either Obedience of an higher Nature, or more Intention, or Alacrity in the Act, than may without offence be performed, unto ſome other points of Doctrine leſs infallible, or leſs evident to their Conſciences, who muſt obey. Infallibility of it ſelf exacts only a more full and abſolute title over our Obedience, than probabilities or preſumptions can expect. For that which is infallibly, and abſolutely believed for a Divine truth, exacts ſuch Obedience, (both for quality and degree,) as is conformable to the nature of the thing propoſed, without all Limitation, Condition, or Reſervation: that is, perpetual and abſolute Allegiance. That which is but probably, or conditionally aſſented unto as Divine truth, (whatſoever the nature of the thing propoſed, the end and conſequence pretended, or exigences of other circumſtances be,) can exact only conditional, or cautionary Obedience: yet Obedience, for the quality, ſuitable to the nature of the thing propoſed, and for the Alacrity, or Intention of the Act, proportionable to the End or Conſequence pretended, and avouched by Gods Embaſſadors. So that if they commend it unto us, as fit to be entertained in ſome higher rank of goodneſs, or as moſt neceſſary for the preſent time, albeit we our ſelves do not apprehend the ſame as expreſly commanded by God: yet may we perform Obedience, both as ſincere for the quality, and entire for degree, as we do unto ſome other things, which we ſtedfaſtly believe to be commanded in Gods Word. But we muſt not tender our Obedience under the ſame ſtile or title. Abſolute Obedience, of what kind ſoever, we may not yield unto it, until it be abſolutely known for Gods will. When it is once known for ſuch, we muſt abſolutely yield up the ſame

Obedience, which before was but conditionally yielded: as a man may pay the ſame ſum upon caution, before he be throughly perſwaded of the Demanders right unto it; which after his right be fully known, he pays abſolutely. In this caſe, theſe *four things* muſt be conſidered.

Four Points to be conſidered for the rectifying or right framing of our Aſſent unto Truths propoſed.

3. Firſt, the *Aſſurance or Probability which we can have, that the thing propoſed is Gods Word.* Which ſometimes may be grounded upon Reaſons, (either communicated unto us by our Paſtor or others, or conceived by our ſelves,) as well as upon Authority: Sometimes all the aſſurance, which men of leſs capacity can have, is only from the Paſtors Authority. Secondly, *The Title, or pretended Nature of the Truth propoſed.* Thirdly, *The Act or Quality of Obedience.* Fourthly, *The Manner or Limitation of our Obedience.*

4. The *Act or quality of our Obedience,* (ſo we be more probably perſwaded that it is Gods Word, than otherwiſe, or know nothing to the contrary) *muſt be proportioned to the Title or Nature of the thing propoſed,* which is commended unto us as a ſpiritual good. So that our Obedience muſt be Religious and Spiritual, not meerly Civil: although our beſt Motive, why we hold it to be a Divine Oracle, or Spiritual Good, be the Authority of our Teacher, which is but Humane; But now he exacts not Obedience to his own Authority, but unto Gods Word, (as he affirms:) which becauſe we know is Divine, therefore we muſt yield religious Obedience to it; and therefore religious, albeit conditional Obedience unto this Precept, which we probably know to be Divine, and aſſent unto conditionally as ſuch. The *Act* of our Obedience in this particular, muſt proceed from the ſame habit, from which our Acts of Obedience unto ſuch Truths, as we infallibly believe for Divine, do: for even this very *Act* is performed primarily and abſolutely to Gods Word in general, unto which we owe Religious and Spiritual Obedience: and unto this particular (enjoyned by our Paſtor) only ſecondarily, and upon ſuppoſition that it is part of Gods Word. So as if the particular by him enjoyned, ſhould in the event prove no part of Gods Word: yet obeying it only upon the former Motives, it might be truly ſaid, we had obeyed Gods Word, not it; as he that ſhews kindneſs to a ſtranger, upon preſumption that he is a Brother or Alliance of his dear and familiar Friend, albeit he were miſtaken herein, may be ſaid to have done a friendly Office, rather to his known Acquaintance, for whoſe ſake he uſed the ſtranger kindly, then unto the ſtranger himſelf thus kindly uſed upon a miſtake. But albeit *the Quality* be ſuch, as Gods Word abſolutely known requires: yet the *Manner* of our Obedience muſt be limited by the degrees of Probability, or Moral Certainty, which we have of this particular, that it is Gods Oracle. *Where the probabilities are leſs,* and the inducements for belief of this particular weaker, *there the condition of our Aſſent, and reſervation of our Obedience muſt be more expreſs*: that is, we muſt ſtand further off from yielding abſolute, and be more enclined to renounce this preſent conditional Obedience (which we yet perform) upon leſſer Motives to the contrary, than we would, if our Probabilities for Believing it were greater. *Where the Probabilities, or Inducements for Belief of this Particular*

ticular, are greater and ſtronger, there we muſt the more encline unto abſolute and irrevocable Obedience, or Aſſent unto the ſame particular: and be more unready, or unwilling to recal our Aſſent, or renounce our Obedience, but upon greater and more evident Reaſons. Only there we are to fix our belief abſolutely; *Only there we may ſafely, undoubtedly, and fully paſs over our full and abſolute Obedience unto it, without all condition, limitation of time, or reſervation: when the Truth of it ſhall be as fully confirmed, and manifeſted to our Conſciences, as the others are, unto which we have formerly yielded abſolute Obedience*, without appeal or reſervation: or when we can as clearly diſcern, and as ſtedfaſtly believe, the Conſonancy of this particular with the formers, as we can the formers with Gods Word.

5. And whereas we ſaid before, that the only Motives which ſome men have to believe the ſenſe and meaning of ſundry Doctrines, (neceſſary perhaps unto them in particular at ſome ſeaſons, when God ſhall call them to ſome extraordinary point of Obedience) might be the Authority of their Teachers: this Authority may be greater or leſs, according to the Quality of the Miniſter or Spiritual Governor. As the World goes now adays, this Function is committed to ſome, in whoſe mouth the Word of God, or any good Doctrine, may rather ſeem to loſe its Vertue and Power, than his any way bind men to Obedience, unleſs beſides his Commendation of what he propoſeth, they have other Motives to perſwade them, that it is Gods Word, or wholeſome Doctrine. If the Miniſter, who ſhould carry Gods Meſſage, be ſuch a one as Sir *Thomas More* jeſted upon, *that he would not for any good hear him ſay the Creed, leſt he ſhould take it for a Lye coming out of his Mouth*: It is doubtful what the people ſhould do in ſuch a caſe, albeit he exact Obedience upon their Vow in Baptiſm, if they have no other Motive but his Authority. Yet for all this, it is not beſt to be too bold in contemning his Admonitions, or Adjurations, unleſs they be apparently falſe. In this caſe, others more ſincere and skilful, or ſuch as have Authority to examine his Doctrine, ſhould be conſulted, his may not be neglected in all particulars, upon a general prejudice of his lewdneſs or ſimplicity. For though his life be bad, yet may his Meditations for that preſent, wherein he publickly ſpeaks, be good and fruitful unto them, ſo they will yield due Obedience to his Doctrine. And although a man ſhould know a Conſtable, or ſome greater Officer, that pretends Commiſſion from the King, to be a notorious lying Knave, or treacherous Companion: yet were it not the ſafeſt way to tell him he lied, when he charged him to obey him in the Kings Name, nor to make a ſcoff of his Authority, or reply he would not believe he had any, becauſe he might abuſe himſelf, and it, at other times: If ſo he do at this time, he may anſwer it before his betters hereafter: but in the mean while, it were beſt for the party commanded to obey him, until he be certain, that he did either feign Authority, where he had none, or elſe abuſe it in this particular. He that ſhould yield Obedience, being thus (perhaps wrongfully) charged in the Kings Name, (ſo he yield it for this Reaſon, and upon this Condition:) ſhall not be thought guilty of diſloyalty, albeit he be hereby brought to commit ſome fact, di-

ſtaſteful to His Majeſtity, or publick Peace. For the fault in this caſe, muſt be returned upon the Author: if ſo the party obeying did not know it to be ſimply unlawful, and againſt the Kings Peace, or had no opportunity of conſulting other publick Officers, but hath been abuſed, by the craft and cunning of the other, who hath concealed his end, intention, or other circumſtance which made the Fact unlawful. It is enough to diſclaim his former Obedience when he knows the Truth. And if Officers ſhould not be obeyed in the Kings name, until men ſought the Truth, whether they had a lawful Commiſſion, or but a counterfeit, or whether they did not go beyond their Commiſſion: the Kings Majeſty ſhould want a great deal of neceſſary ſervice, and the Commonweal be at an ill paſs for continuance of publick Peace. Did moſt men fear God, as much as men; or the Son of man, the Judge of quick and dead, as much as earthly Judges: they would not ſo often withdraw their neck from the yoke of Chriſtian Obedience, (being charged to undertake it in Chriſts Name, and as they would anſwer it at that dreadful Day,) upon ſuch ſilly Exceptions againſt the Meanneſs, Baſeneſs, or Lewdneſs of the Miniſters perſon. Be he as they liſt to make him for his Life, it hath pleaſed God to make him his Meſſenger, his Officer to demand Obedience of them. And ſhall it ſerve their turn to ſay, We will not believe that God ſent him with this Meſſage, or ſure he goes beyond his Commiſſion: when they know nothing to the contrary; but only will take occaſion from his Perſon, to diſcredit his Doctrine, if it control them in the purſuit of worldly affairs? And God knows for whoſe ſake it is: we all may fear, it is eſpecially for the Infidelity and Diſloyalty of this people towards him, and their diſobedience to his Meſſengers, that he ſends them ſuch idle, fooliſh, or lewd Paſtors, as they have in many places. Becauſe the Laity of this Land are ſo prone and head-ſtrong to caſt off Chriſts yoke, and to deny due Obedience to his Faithful Miniſters: he therefore ſets ſuch Watchmen over them in many places, as they ſhall have no luſt to obey in any thing that they ſhall propoſe unto them, but harden their hearts in Infidelity and Diſobedience. Albeit I ſhould proſecute this point a great deal further, I ſhould not much digreſs from my main purpoſe and drift, which God he knows is no other, but to bring home ſilly ſouls from yielding this blind Obedience to the Roman Foreign Yoke. For the diverting of which from this Lands and Peoples necks, I know no better Means, than to take up Chriſts yoke upon us. For queſtionleſs, *this open malapart ſcoffing Diſobedience to all Eccleſiaſtick Power now openly profeſſed by the meaneſt, and countenanced by many great ones of the Laity, is the ſin, which to all that know Gods Judgements, or have been obſervant to look into the days of our Viſitation, cries loudeſt in the Almighties ears,* (more loud by much than Friars, Monks, and Jeſuites Prayers do,) *for Gods Vengeance upon this Land*: For vengeance to be executed by no other than our ſworn, inveterate, malicious Enemies; by no other Grievances, than by the doubled grievances of the long enraged Romaniſts Iron-yoke, which is now prepared for us ten times more heavy and irkſome, than was that which our Fore-Fathers have born. *It were hard to determine, whether Atheiſm and Infidelity amongſt profeſſed Proteſtants, or Superſtition and Idolatry amongſt* *the Papiſts, have more increaſed throughout this Land in later years*: or, whether the Romiſh Prieſts and Jeſuites have been more induſtrious, and earneſt to ſow the ſeeds of the one, than ſundry which oppoſe themſelves moſt eagerly againſt them, have been to foſter and cheriſh the other: both perhaps, (unto their ſeeming) for a good intent: neither intending either Miſchief expreſly and directly: For ſo the reluctation of Conſcience would have abated their endeavours: nor could Idolatry, or Infidelity have grown ſo faſt, had their Foſter-fathers ſeen them in their proper ſhape. But both have *masked in ſheeps cloathing*, both had their *faces covered with zeal.*

6. Sure, if there be degrees of Malignancy in Helliſh Ghoſts, the moſt potent Factions of moſt Malignant Spirits, throughout the Infernal Anarchy, (the one upon emulation of the others Might or Abilities in doing Evil) ſtrive for Glory by doing greateſt Miſchief in this Land. The one part hath made choice of their faireſt Means, by ſolliciting, partly deſperate Diſcontents, partly ſilly ſouls (under pretence of Ancient Catholick Religion) to Superſtition, and Idolatry: the other, by driving proud and diſobedient Minds, upon their deadly diſlike of Popiſh Tyrannie, to caſt off the Yoke of Chriſtian Obedience, and under pretence of Chriſtian Liberty, to ruſh headlong into Hypocriſie, Atheiſm, or Infidelity. For even where the beſt and moſt induſtrious Miniſters are, throughout this Land, how ſcarce is this Chriſtian Obedience to be found? Let the Paſtors skill and ſincerity be never ſo great, let him tell his flock, for whoſe ſouls he muſt anſwer, that they muſt do *Thus and Thus*, if they will be ſaved: they can be diligent perhaps to hear him, and ſay he ſpake exceeding well: [*i.e.*] Very ill of others (as they conjecture) but not of them or their Adherents. If for his good Leſſons in the Pulpit he have good words returned at Table, he ſeeth the beſt fruits of his labour. For if one of his Flock ſhall have an advantage againſt his Neighbour, or have picked a Quarrel with his Leaſe; or let a Gentleman be diſpoſed to put off his Tenants, or inhance their Rents to their utter undoing; let any gentle or mean, have but good hope to make his own great gain by ſome others loſs: Here if we try him, and charge him upon his Allegiance unto Chriſt to remit his hold, to let go all advantage, and be good unto his Fellow-ſervant, or poor Brother, theſe are matters the Miniſter muſt meddle no more with than another man, the Law can determine whether he do right or wrong, and this caſe belongs properly unto the Lawyer. As if the power of Gods Spirit, or authority of his Miniſters, did conſiſt only in Words, and required no other Obedience, than a formal ſpeculative Aſſent unto their general Doctrine, not a full reſignation of mens wills, or hearty ſubmiſſion of affections, unto ſuch Rules as they ſhall preſcribe, for the preſervation of a good and upright Conſcience in particular Actions, or entercourſe of Humane Affairs. Or if one of a thouſand will be ſo good as to grant that he is to Obey the Precepts of Chriſt, before the cuſtoms of our Common-Law, or other Civil Courts: yet even the beſt of ſuch, when it comes to Points of private Commodity, will diſpence with his Paſtor, and reply: *I would do as you admoniſh me, if I ſaw any expreſs Command for it in Gods Word, or any evident*

Neceſſity that ſhould bind me to renounce that right, which Law doth give me: but for ought I can perceive, I may proſecute my right in this preſent caſe, with a ſafe Conſcience, and you do not know all particular Circumſtances, which belong unto this matter; if you did, or were in my caſe, I am perſwaded you would be of my mind. This, although it be the only ſhelter, under which the Infidelity of later Ages takes its reſt, the only Dormitory wherein Hypocriſie ſleeps profoundly, and never dreams of further Danger: yet is it a moſt ſilly Excuſe, and ſhameleſs Apologie, in the judgement of any that knows, or knowing rightly eſteems, the Principles of Chriſtianity. For, ſuppoſe thou ſeeſt no Evidence, that Chriſt hath commanded thee to confeſs his Name in this particular, doth the Law lay any nececeſſity upon thee, to make thee proſecute thy ſuppoſed right? If it did charge thee upon pain of death ſo to do, thou hadſt ſome pretence to obey it; albeit thou ſhouldſt fear him more, that could condemn thee, and the Interpreters of it, to everlaſting Death: but the Law doth leave it to thy choice, whether thou wilt uſe the Benefit of it, or no: and thy Paſtor upon penalty of incurring Chriſts diſpleaſure, commands thee, that thou uſe it not. Thou replieſt, *Thou ſeeſt no Evidence that Chriſt Commands thee.* But doſt thou abſolutely and infallibly know, that he doth not call thee at this time, to try thy Obedience in this particular? If thou canſt out of ſincerity of heart, and evidence of truth, fully inform thy Conſcience in this Negative (ſo the end of thy proceedings be good,) thou mayeſt be the bolder to diſclaim thy Paſtors Summons. If thou canſt not, how wilt thou anſwer thy Judge, when thou ſhalt appear before him, why thou out of the ſtubbornneſs of thy heart, didſt more reſpect thy private gain, than his heavieſt diſpleaſure? For ſuppoſe thy hope of gain were great, (as it is uſually to ſuch as thou art, more great than certain) yet cannot the greatneſs, and certainty of it, countervail the leaſt danger of incurring his wrath, nor could the certainty o worldly gain counterpoiſe, much leſs overſway, the leaſt ſurmiſe or probability of incurring thy Souls deſtruction, unleſs thy Mind had been ſet more on Gold, than upon thy God; more enclined to private Commodity and Self-love, than unto Chriſt thy Redeemer. Or ſhall thy anſwer ſtand for good in his ſight, when thou ſhalt ſay unto his Meſſenger: *It is more than I know, that Chriſt Commands me?* Then ſhould the damned be juſtified at the Day of Judgement, when they ſhall truly reply, they knew not that ever Chriſt did ſupplicate unto them *ſub forma pauperis.* Moſt of them, we may ſafely ſwear, had leſs Probabilities to Believe this in their life time, than thou haſt now to perſwade thee of this particular: although thy Paſtors Authority, and frequent Admonitions were ſet aſide; which make thee ſo much the more Inexcuſable. For thou mighteſt have known by him, that God had Commanded thee as much, unleſs thy bad deſires had made thee Blind. But neither ſhall theirs, or thy Ignorance herein help. *For Ignorance which is bred of bad Deſires, corrupt Affections, or greedy Appetites, brings forth hardneſs of Heart, and Infidelity:* ſo that ſeeing, thou ſhalt not ſee; and hearing, thou ſhalt not hear, nor underſtand the Warnings for thy Peace, becauſe thou haſt formerly ſhut thine ears at thy Paſtors Admonition, or raged at his juſt Reproof. And the Law of God binds thy ſoul, upon greater penalty, and better hopes, than all Laws in the World beſides could bind thy body, even upon hope of everlaſting Life, and penalty of everlaſting Death, to lay aſide all Self-love, all worldly Deſire, for the finding out of the true ſenſe and meaning of it, as well as to obey it, when thou knoweſt it. And when any point of Doctrine or Practiſe, either in general or particular, is commended to thee by thy Paſtor, Gods Word doth bind thee to ſearch, with all Sobriety and Modeſty, the truth and force of all Motives, Inducements, or Probabilities which he ſhall ſuggeſt unto thee; all private reſpect laid aſide, leſt thou become *a partial Judge of evil thoughts*: and if thou canſt not find better reſolution, it binds thee to rely upon his Authority. And even in this again, Gods Word (ſo perfect a Rule is it) doth rule thy thoughts, to diſcern the Fidelity, Sincerity, or Authority of thy Teacher.

Unto ſuch as *approve themſelves*, as S. *Paul* did † *to every mans Conſcience in the ſight of God*, or to ſuch as *make not a Merchandize of the Word of God, but ſpeak in Chriſt as of ſincerity, and as of God in the ſight of God*: * Chriſtian people are bound to yield greater Obedience. Generally, unto ſuch as, in their lives, expreſs thoſe Characters of faithful Diſpenſers, ſet down by S. *Paul*, and other Pen-men of Gods Word, every Auditor is bound to yield greater Obedience, than unto others, in points wherein he hath no other Motives to Believe, beſide his Paſtors Authority. For this is a dictate of common reaſon, and cannot but command the Aſſent of every ſanctified mind; That ſuch men are moſt likely to have the meaning of Gods Spirit, which walk according to Gods Spirit, and ſeek not their own Gain, Glory, or Pleaſure, but Chriſts Glory, his Will, and peoples Good: and ſuch again are moſt likely to uſe greateſt ſincerity in delivering the Truth, which they know, without partiality or reſpect of perſons. Again, men are bound (*cæteris paribus*) to believe them beſt, and obey them moſt, of whoſe skill, and ſincerity in diſpenſing the Myſteries of faith, they have had moſt comfortable, and ſpiritual Experience. For the Article of Gods Providence binds us hereto, and wills us to reverence our Fathers in Chriſt, either ſuch as (by his Word) firſt begot faith, or nouriſhed it in us, more than others.

† 2 *Cor.* 4. 2.

* 2 *Cor.* 2. 17.

Thus much concerning this point, I have thought good to inſert in this place, becauſe the true and ſincere practice of Obedience, according to that meaſure of Truth, or Belief which men have, though but imperfect, is the excellenteſt Means, for attaining the clear ſight of Divine Truth, and that perfect Meaſure of ſanctifying Belief, which in this life can be looked for, as ſhall (God willing) afterwards appear.

Chap. X.

Wherein this Conditional Belief differeth from the Romans implicite Faith. That the one is, the other not, ſubordinate to Gods Word, or Rule of Faith.

What implicite Faith is.

1. AS this Opinion of Conditional *Aſſent* unto Divine Truths, not abſolutely known for ſuch, holds the Mean betwixt the two Extreams, or contrary Errors above mentioned: So is this Conditional *Aſſent* it ſelf a Mean, betwixt that abſolute Belief, which all acknowledge to be neceſſary in ſome principal Points of Chriſtian Faith, and that implicite Belief, which the Romiſh Church exacts in all points whatſoever. Our *Aſſent* unto many Articles of Faith, is actually and expreſly abſolute. The *implicite Belief of the Romaniſts is but potentially, or rather vertually, and implicitely abſolute*: This Conditional Belief, hitherto mentioned, not ſo much as potentially, much leſs implicitely, or vertually abſolute. That properly is Believed by an implicite Faith, which is not actually, and expreſly aſſented unto in the particular: but yet is ſo eſſentially and immediately contained in ſome general Article, or Point of Faith abſolutely or expreſly believed, that this particular likewiſe is Aſſented unto in groſs, whileſt we Aſſent unto it, and may be as abſolutely, as expreſly, and diſtinctly Aſſented unto, as the General, when it is once explicated and unfolded. In this ſenſe we ſay, the Concluſion is implicitely contained in the Premiſes, the Corollary in the Theorem, or the immediate Conſequent in his neceſſary Antecedent. For he that grants one of theſe abſolutely, muſt upon the ſame terms grant the other, at the firſt propoſal of it unto him. But this conditional, or reſervative Belief may be of ſuch Points, as are not certainly, and infallibly contained in any Principle of Faith, abſolutely, expreſly, actually, or infalliby acknowledged; much leſs ſo eſſentially, and immediately contained in any, that a man cannot abſolutely grant it, but he muſt abſolutely believe them. And albeit oft-times, they may be infallibly deduced from known undoubted Principles of Faith, yet is not the deduction ſo immediate, as can be made clear, and evident to all capacities, at leaſt not at the firſt ſight, without any further increaſe of knowledge in ſpiritual Matters. And before the deduction be made as evident, and apprehended as infallible, as are the general Articles whence they are deduced, the particulars deduced from them may not be ſo infallibly and abſolutely believed, as the Generals are. The Papiſts, beſides their *Explicite Belief* of ſom few main points, demand an *Implicite Belief* of as many particulars as the Church ſhall propoſe: ſo as whatſoever the Church ſhall propoſe, with them once propoſed, admits no conditional Belief: all muſt be abſolute, albeit the parties believing cannot diſcern any neceſſary, or probable deduction of the particulars, from general points abſolutely and expreſly believed. It is enough that they know them to be propoſed by the Church. For once believing, *whatſoever the Church ſaith is moſt Infallible,* (which is the main Article of the Roman Faith) no man

can deny any particular propoſed by it to be infallible, more than he can deny the Concluſion for certain, after he hath granted the premiſes for ſuch. Conſequently to theſe Poſitions, they make the Viſible Church the Rule and * *Miſtreſs of mens Faith,* as they ſpeak. For albeit a man at this preſent think otherwiſe of many Points of greateſt moment, than the Church or Pope doth, or though he think not at all of many things, which they in time may propoſe unto him; yet after they have propoſed, either a contrary Opinion to that which his Conſcience tells him is Gods Word, or a new and ſtrange Poſition, which he never thought of, he muſt without more ado, believe both abſolutely and expreſly, and ſo finally, retract, extend, enlarge, abridge, direct and frame his Faith, according to that Rule and Standard, which they ſhall ſet him. Hence (God willing) ſhall appear the madneſs of ſome great Scholars amongſt them, who holding the Church to be ſuch a Rule of Faith, would perſwade us, (if we would be ſo ſimple) that their laſt Reſolution of Faith is, not into the Churches Authority, but into the Scripture. For nothing can be reſoved beyond its rule, and to make the Churches authority ſuch an abſolute, authentick, unqueſtionable rule of faith, as the Papiſts do, and withal to ſeek the reſolution of any point of faith further than it, or to derive it from Scripture, doth argue ſuch a medley of Folly and Impiety, as if ſome gulliſh Gentleman, deſirous to prove the Antiquity of his Houſe, ſhould draw his Pedigree from *Adams* great Grandfather, and yet hold the Records of *Moſes* for moſt undoubted and true, which affirm *Adam* to have been the firſt Progenitor of all Mankind. Whether they ſeek to reſolve their Faith into the Scriptures acknowledged by us and them, or into other unwritten Revelations, pretended for Divine Truths, their Folly will ſtill appear the ſame, ſo long as they hold that impious and blaſphemous Opinion, making the Churches authority ſuch a Rule of Faith, as hath been ſaid. Their Injuries and Contumelies unto Gods written Oracles (as hath heretofore been intimated) are eſpecially *Two.* Firſt, *They deny them to be any intire Rule, for the number of Precepts.* Secondly, *They make thoſe very Precepts, which are acknowledged for Divine, inſufficient for the eſtabliſhment of true Faith unto themſelves, without the Churches Authority.* We acknowledge them, every way ſufficient for the Edification of Chriſts Church in Faith and Manners: and conſequently both to our Poſitions, and the truth, we teach, that all Matters of Faith, muſt be finally reſolved into theſe Divine written Verities, which for this reaſon we acknowledge the only Infallible Rule of Faith: The meaning of which Aſſertion is here to be further explicated, that ſo the truth may be maintained againſt their Objections.

* *A Speech well beſeeming the ſervants of the great Whore.*

That the Faith of modern Papiſts cannot be reſolved into the Scriptures or the firſt Truth.

Tome I.

Chap. XI.

In what Senſe we hold the Scriptures to be the Rule of Faith.

1. WHen we affirm, that the Scriptures are the only infallible Rule in matters of Faith and Chriſtian Obedience, we underſtand ſuch a Rule in thoſe matters, as *Ariſtotles Organon* may be ſaid of Logick: ſuppoſing it were ſound, and free from all ſuſpicion of Errour in every point, and contained in it all the general and undoubted Principles, from which all true Forms of Argumentation muſt be deduced, and into which all muſt be finally reſolved. To illuſtrate this truth by a known practice. Our younger Students are bound to yield their abſolute Aſſent unto *Ariſtotles* authority in matters of Logick: but not unto any Interpreter, that ſhall pretend it, ſave only when he ſhall make evident unto them, that this was *Ariſtotles* meaning. And while they ſo only, and no otherwiſe yield their Aſſent, they yield it wholly and immediately unto *Ariſtotle*, not to the Interpreter, although by his means they came to know *Ariſtotles* meaning; which once known, without any further confirmation of other Teſtimonies or Authority, commands their Obedience and Aſſent. But ere they can fully Aſſent unto this great Maſter, or throughly perceive his meaning, they muſt conditionally Aſſent unto their private Tutors, or other Expoſitors, and take his ſenſe and meaning upon their Truſt and Credit. In like manner (ſay we) in all Matters, Doctrines, or Controverſies of Faith, and Chriſtian Obedience, we are bound to yield our Aſſent, directly, abſolutely, and finally unto the Authority of Scriptures only: not unto any Doctor, Expoſitor, or other whoſoever he be, that ſhall pretend Authority out of Scripture over our Faith, ſave only when he ſhall make it clear, and evident unto us, that his Opinion is the true meaning of the Scripture. And thus yielding our abſolute Aſſent unto the Truth explained by him, we yield it not to him, but unto the Author of Truth, whoſe Words we hold to be Infallible in whoſe mouths ſoever; and once known to be His words, they need not the Teſtimony or Authority of him, that did bring us to the true knowledge of them. And before we be brought to ſee their Truth with our own eyes, and feel it by our ſenſe, (by the effects or experiments of it upon our own ſouls) we are to limit our Aſſent and Obedience (as it is ſet down before) according to the probabilities, or unpartial Inducements, which we have of the Expoſitors skill, and ſincerity, in diſpenſing Divine Myſteries. And theſe Motives or Inducements, which we have of his skill and ſincerity, muſt be framed according to the Rules or Precepts of Scripture, not according to our Affections, or Humors: we may not think him moſt to be believed, that is in higheſt place, or hath the greateſt ſtroke in other Affairs. For as the Faith of Chriſt, ſo muſt our perſwaſion of the faithful Diſpenſers, or skilful Seedſ-men of Faith, be had without reſpect of perſons.

2. If we yield *Aſſent* or *Obedience* unto any Expoſitor, or other, otherwiſe than upon theſe *Conditions* and *Limitations*, then, as we ſaid before, whileſt we yielded abſolute Obedience unto his doctrine that perſwaded us to true Belief, becauſe we perceived that which he ſpake to be the Word of God, we did not yield it unto him, but unto Gods Word, delivered and made known unto us by him: ſo here again by the ſame Reaſon (only inverted) it will evidently follow, that if we Believe any mans Doctrines or Deciſions, to be the Word of God, becauſe he ſpeaks it, or becauſe we hold his Words to be infallible, we do not truly and properly Believe the Word of God (ſuppoſe his doctrine were the Word of God) but his Words and Infallibility only. Hence again it follows, that if we yield the ſame abſolute and undoubted *Aſſent* unto his Authority, which we would do unto Gods Word immediately known in it ſelf, and for it ſelf; or rely upon his Infallibility in expounding Gods Word, as fully as he doth upon the Word, (which it is ſuppoſed he knows immediately in it ſelf, and for it ſelf:) by doing thus we rob God of his Honour, giving that unto Man, which is only due to Him. For the Infallibility of this Teacher hath the ſame proportion to all that thus abſolutely Believe him, as the Infallibility of the Godhead hath unto him; and his Words the ſame proportion, to all other mens Faith, that Gods Word hath unto his. Gods Word is the Rule of his, and his Words muſt be the Rule of all other mens Faith. Or, to ſpeak more properly, *God muſt be a God only to him, and he a God to all other men.*

3. Here it will be demanded, how men, altogether Illiterate, can examine any Doctrine by Scriptures? * If they cannot Read them, how ſhall they Examine any thing by them? not examining the Points of Faith by them, how can they be ſaid to be the Rule of their Faith? In ſuch a Senſe as *Ariſtotles* Works (ſuppoſing them only Authentick, and all his Oppoſites counterfeits or new-fangles) may be ſaid to be the Rule of Blind-mens Logick; for albeit they cannot read his Works, yet are they capable of his general and undoubted rules, ſeeing they have (as well as other men) a natural faculty of diſcerning Truth from Falſhood, and can diſtinguiſh betwixt Rules derived from the pure Fountain of Truth in that kind; and Precepts drawn from conjectural, erroneous, and corrupt ſurmiſes of ſhallow Brains; if both be diſtinctly propoſed unto them. And the Rules of Truth once fully apprehended and embraced, ſerve as a Touchſtone to diſcern all Conſequences and Concluſions, which ſhall be ſuggeſted unto them by others: ſo as they will admit of nothing for ſound and true Logick, but what may be reſolved into the former, or ſome other Principles, which they can perſpicuouſly and immediately diſcern, to have been drawn from the Fountain of Truth, by the ſame natural Faculty or Ability, by which they did diſcern the former: for the faculty will ſtill be like affected with all Principles, of like Nature, Uſe and Perſpicuity. In like ſort muſt the firſt and general Principles of Faith be derived from Scriptures, (the only pure Fountain of Supernatural Truths) unto all illiterate hearts, by the Miniſtery of the learned. For, hearts, though illiterate, once illuminated by Gods Spirit, are as apt to diſcern Spiritual Principles, from falſhood or carnal conjectures, as the natural Man is to diſcern natural Truths, from Errours

* *In what ſenſe the Scriptures may be ſaid the Rule of mens Faith altogether illiterate.*

of the ſame kind. And theſe general and fundamental Principles of Faith, engrafted in their hearts, ſerve as infallible rules, for diſcerning the Conſonancy or Diſſonancy of ſuch Particulars, as ſhall be ſuggeſted unto them ; as ſhall (God willing) hereafter be declared: nor may they without Injury to Gods Spirit or inward Grace, admit any other Precepts into the ſame rank or ſociety with theſe, but either upon evident and diſtinct deduction from them, or ſure Experiments of their like Spiritual fruit and uſe, for the amendment of Life, and procuring that peace of Conſcience, which no Natural Man can conceive, much leſs can it be cauſed by meer Natural Precepts. For we ſuppoſe (what afterwards will manifeſt it ſelf) that all Truths neceſſary for men to Believe, have a diſtinct reliſh from all falſhood, or other unneceſſary or ſuperfluous Truths: and may be known by their fruit, ſo men will be careful to preſerve the Sincerity of their Spiritual Taſte.

Quà ſcriptum

4. *Gods written Word then, is the only pure Fountain and Rule of Faith*: yet not ſuch immediately unto all as it is written, but the Learned, or Spiritual Inſtructors only, whoſe Hearts and Conſciences muſt be ruled by it, as in all other ſpiritual duties, ſo eſpecially (as they are Inſtructors) in this, That they may not commend any Truths, or principles of faith, unto the illiterate, but ſuch as are expreſly contained in Gods written Word, or (at leaſt) are in ſubſtance the ſelf ſame with theſe written Truths. If the Unlearned, through Gods juſt Judgement, abſolutely admit of other principles, and equalize them with theſe: ſuch ſhall lead them into Errour, and pervert their faith. If they doubt of any mans Doctrine, whether it be truly Spiritual, or conſonant to the foundation of faith, they may appeal to Scriptures, as they ſhall be expounded to them by others. Finally, they are tied to no viſible Company of men, whom they muſt under pain of damnation follow: but for their Souls health, they may try every Spiritual Phyſician. If they will be Humorous, they may, but at their own peril, both for Temporal Puniſhment in this life, and for Eternal in the life to come.

5. For concluſion: The Scripture according to our doctrine, and the general Conſent of Reformed Churches, is the only infallible rule of faith, in both reſpects or conditions of a Perfect Rule. *Firſt*, in that it contains all the principles of faith, and points of ſalvation: ſo that no Viſible Church on earth may commend any doctrine to others, as a doctrine of Faith, unleſs it be commended to them for ſuch by the Scriptures, by which every ones doctrine, that acknowledgeth God for his Lord, muſt be examined, as by a Law uncontrollable. *Secondly*, in that theſe principles of faith, are plainly, perſpicuouſly and diſtinctly ſet down to the Capacities of all that faithfully follow their practical rules moſt plain, moſt perſpicuous, and eaſie, to all capable of any rule or reaſon: ſo that this ſacred Canon needs no Aſſociate, no Addition of any Authority as equally infallible, nor more perſpicuous than it ſelf, to ſupply what it wants; only the Miniſtery of men ſkilful, and induſtrious in the ſearch, or Expoſition of it, is to be ſuppoſed. And all theſe (be they never ſo excellent and well converſant in them) are unto Scriptures but as the ordinary Expoſitors of Claſſick and Authentick Books are unto the chief Authors or Inventors of

the ſcience contained in them: Suppoſing that the firſt Authors were men of extraordinary and infallible skill, and their Expoſitors (as they uſually are) but of ordinary Capacity, or Experience in thoſe faculties.

The Prerogative of Scriptures, in reſpect of Faith, above all other Rules, in reſpect of Arts or Sciences.

6. Finally, the Books of Scriptures are to be reputed a more abſolute Rule for all Matters of Faith and Divine Myſteries, than any Books or Writings of men are, for natural Sciences or ſecular Profeſſions, as in ſundry other Reſpects, ſo in This, that they give as more facile, ſo more infallible directions, for finding out their true ſenſe and Meaning, than any other Writings do, or Writers could have done, who, though preſent, could not be ſo fully aſſiſtant, but cannot ſo much as afford their preſence, to their Expoſitors in the ſearch of Truths, rather profeſſed than fully conceived, much leſs infallibly taught by them: whereas the Spirit of Truth which firſt did dictate, is every where preſent, always aſſiſtant to ſuch as ſeriouſly and ſincerely ſeek the Truth contained in theſe Divine Oracles, conducting them from Knowledge to Knowledge, both by all ſuch Means as Artiſts have for encreaſing their skill, and by other Means extraordinary, ſuch as none in any other Faculty can have, nor any may hope for in the ſearch of Scriptures, but only ſuch as Delight in, and Meditate upon them Day and Night.

SECT. II.

That the pretended Obſcurity of Scriptures is no juſt Exception, why they ſhould not be acknowledged the abſolute Rule of Faith; which is the Mother-Objection of the Romaniſt.

CHAP. XII.

How far it may be granted the Scriptures are Obſcure; with ſome Premonitions for the right ſtate of the Queſtion.

1. IT is firſt to be ſuppoſed, that theſe Scriptures, for whoſe Soveraignty over our Souls we plead againſt the pretended Authority of the Romiſh Church, were given by God, for the Inſtruction of all ſucceeding Ages, for all ſorts of Men in every Age, for all Degrees, or divers Meaſures of his other Gifts in all ſeveral ſorts or Conditions of Men. This diverſity of Ages, and Conditions, of Men in ſeveral Callings, who ſo well conſiders, may at the firſt ſight eaſily diſcover our Adverſaries Willingneſs to wrangle in this point: whoſe uſual practiſe, (as if they meant to caſt a Miſt before the weak-ſighted Readers eyes) is to pick out here and there ſome places of Scriptures, more Hard and difficult, than Neceſſary or requiſite to be underſtood of Every man, perhaps, of any man in this Age. The Knowledge of all, or any of which, notwithſtanding, thoſe that live after us, (though otherwiſe, peradventure, men of far meaner gifts, than many in this preſent Age) ſhall not therefore need to give for loſt or deſperate, when they ſhall be called unto this ſearch. For God hath appointed, as for every thing elſe, ſo for the Revelation of his Word, certain and peculiar Times and Seaſons. *Daniel*, though full of the Spirit of Prophecie, and one that during the Reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and *Balthaſar* his ſon, had (as it were) continually travelled of Revelations concerning the Eſtate of Gods Church, and the affairs of foreign Kingdoms for many generations to come: yet knew not the approaching Time of his peoples deliverance from Captivity, until the firſt year of *Darius*, ſon of *Ahaſhueroſh*. And this he learned by Books. * Even in the firſt year of his Reign, *I Daniel underſtood by Books the number of the years, whereof the Lord had ſpoken unto* Jeremiah *the Prophet, that he would accompliſh ſeventy years in the deſolation of Jeruſalem.* And of his own Revelation he ſaith, † *And Daniel was commanded to ſhut up his words, and ſeal up his Book unto the end of the Time,* or as ſome read (*unto the appointed Time*:) *and then many ſhall run to and fro, and Knowledge ſhall be encreaſed.* For at the time appointed, as he intimates in the words following, others, though no Prophets, were to know more of this Prophecy than the Prophet did himſelf. *Then I heard it, but I underſtood it not: then ſaid I, O my Lord, what ſhall be the end of*

* *Dan.* 9. 2.

† *Dan.* 12. 4.

of theſe things? And he ſaid, Go thy way Daniel: for the words are cloſed up and ſealed till the end of the Time.

2. The Prophets of later Ages did ſee Revelations of matters, which had been hid from the Ancient Seers. And as it fared with them in the Succeſſion of Viſions, immediately inſpired from God, not framed in imitation of any precedent written Word, but to be then firſt written for Poſterities inſtruction: ſome ſaw one Viſion, ſome another, always ſuch were ſeen by the preſent Prophet, as moſt concerned the preſent Times. So fares it ſtill with the Miniſters of Gods Church, and Chriſtian people throughout all ſucceeding Ages, wherein Viſions have failed, and only the written ſtories of former Viſions are reſerved for perpetual Direction: Some part of Gods Will contained in Scripture is revealed in one Age, ſome in another; always that which is moſt neceſſary for the preſent Time, is moſt eaſie to be underſtood by the Faithful then living, ſo they ſeek the Meaning of it as they ſhould, not upon Curioſity of knowing Myſteries for the Rarity of that skill, but for the Edifying of Chriſts Church, which is ſometimes out of Reparations in one Point, ſometimes in another: for which cauſe God ſuffereth the Knowledge of ſundry places to grow and increaſe, according to the neceſſity of the preſent Times, nouriſhing (as it were) a continual Spring, for repairing or beautifying of his Temple.

All Scriptures not alike perſpicuous to all Ages.

3. For this reaſon, thoſe places which ſeem moſt plain and eaſie unto us, might be more Hard and difficult to ſuch in former Times, as ſhould have ſought their Meaning too Curiouſly; yea it might have been Curioſity in that Age, to have ſought half ſo much Knowledge in them as we now ſee at the firſt Sight, becauſe the Time of their Revelation, now is, was not then come.

Later Ages more to be Believed in the Expoſition of the Apocalyps than former.

4. It is but a ſilly Shift for our Adverſaries to ſay, that ſome of the Ancient Fathers did otherwiſe interpret the Apocalyps, than our men do: the perfect Interpretation and Knowledge of which Book, more peculiarly concerns this later, than that flouriſhing Age of Ancient Fathers, moſt of all theſe days wherein we live, in which the true and perfect Meaning of it, were moſt likely to be revealed, as (God be praiſed) in good meaſure it hath been, and daily ſhall be more and more, unleſs the daily encreaſe of our Sins deſerve the contrary. Many godly men, yea Diſciples in our Saviours time, were ignorant of ſundry Myſteries, which ſince his Glorification have been communicated to the meaneſt of his Flock by the Holy Spirit, who never fails to Reveal Gods Will, either by extraordinary or ordinary Means, ſo men be not negligent to enquire after it by lawful Means. For God is as far from partial reſpect of Ages as of perſons; ſo the perſons of ſeveral Ages reſpect his Word alike, and as they ſhould.

All Scriptures not alike perſpicuous, becauſe not alike neceſſary to all Nations in the ſame Age.

5. The like Obſervation we may take, from the diverſity of Place or Nations. As the Knowledge of *Jeremies* Prophecies did more concern the State of *Judah*, under *Jehoiachim* and *Zedekiah*, than the Prophecie of *Iſaias*, or ſome more ancient Prophet did: ſo *in this our Age, the knowledge of ſome one Part of either their Prophecies, and the manner of* Judah *his progreſs (in their times) to her Overthrow, may more concern this our Land, than the knowledge of ſome other Parts of the ſame or other Prophets.* And yet thoſe other whoſe Knowledge concerns us leſs, may at this inſtant concern ſome other Land or People more. Always, *the*

gracious Providence of our God, directs the ſtudy and induſtry of all that love him, to the ſearch of thoſe Points, which moſt concern them; but ſuffers the endeavours of ſuch, as by their Tranſgreſſions have procured his Wrath, to run at random, never ſeeking after thoſe things which belong unto their Peace, until his Judgements overtake them.

6. Theſe Collections are no Paradoxes, but Truths, probable enough of themſelves to win the *Aſſent* of ſober and unpatial minds, ſo capable of external Fortification, as they may eaſily be made evident and ſtrong enough to convince the froward minds of ſuch as delight moſt in Contradiction. From their Truth ſuppoſed (which we are ready to make good againſt all Gain-ſayers) it neceſſarily follows, that this Queſtion about the Scriptures Obſcurity, or Perſpicuity, cannot be univerſally meant of all, and every Part of Scripture in reſpect of all Perſons and Ages: as whether no Part be obſcure or difficult to all, or any this day living. For, from this diverſity of Ages, we may eaſily diſcern ſome things kept ſecret from the Ancient Patriarchs, by the Wiſdom of God made manifeſt unto us: and ſome things again, by the diſpoſition of the ~~Divine Providence~~, become obſcure and difficult unto us, which were more manifeſt unto them; as the particulars concerning the Myſtery of Mans Redemption, were more obſcure to them then us; although the Myſtery it ſelf was, in ſome ſort, Revealed to them, in the Prophetical and Moſaical Writings. So likewiſe all the Prophetical Predictions or Preluſions unto the time of Grace, are better and more diſtinctly known of us then them; becauſe the expreſs Knowledge of theſe particulars more concerns us that have lived ſince, than thoſe that lived before the fulneſs of Time. So the Iſraelites Judaical Conſtitutions, their Types and Ceremonies, were much more plain and eaſie unto them, than us: becauſe the knowledge of theſe Matters, if we ſpeak of their Judicial Law, more concerned theirs than any other State, as their Types and Ceremonies did their Perſons, unto whom the Meſſias was to be pourtraied or ſhadowed out, more than any in this preſent or other precedent Age, ſince he was manifeſted in our Fleſh and ſubſtance. The knowledge of the Moral Law, the End and Scope thereof (the Obſervation of Gods Commandments, and Doctrine of Repentance after their Tranſgreſſion) was equally Perſpicuous to both, becauſe equally Neceſſary, moſt neceſſary to both for their Salvation.

The Queſtion concerning the Obſcurity or Difficulty of Scriptures, cannot be meant of all Scriptures, in reſpect of all Ages, or all Men.

7. Again, from the divers Conditions of men living in the ſame Age, this Reſolution is moſt evident, and moſt certain. The ſame Portion of Scripture may be difficult unto ſome ſort of men, and eaſie unto others, without any prejudice to their ſufficiency, for being the perfect and infallible Rule of Faith to all. For, what we ſaid before of divers Ages, we may conclude again of divers ſorts or Conditions of Men. Sundry places are more Neceſſary, and requiſite to be underſtood of this or that ſort, and other places of others: nor are all places neceſſary for the one to know, requiſite for men of another Condition or Calling to ſearch into. Thus the Knowledge of many places is neceſſary for him that is a publick Reader, Teacher, Inſtructer, or general Overſeer of Gods Flock: which to ſearch into, or laborioſly to examine, would be Curioſity in him that had no ſuch Calling, eſpecially if engaged to any other, which might juſtly challenge the greateſt portion in his beſt endeavours, or take up the moſt part of his choicer hours for ſtudy.

Divers degrees of Scriptures Perſpicuity, ariſing from the Diverſity of mens Conditions or Callings.

8. In this Aſſertion we avouch no more than our Adverſaries muſt of Neceſſity grant, and expreſſy do acknowledge in their ſuppoſed infallible Rule: which they do not ſuppoſe ſhould be alike plain and eaſie, to all ſorts or Conditions of men, in all points. They would judge it damnable preſumption for the moſt learned amongſt their Laity, to profeſs as great skill in the Canons of their Church, as their Cardinals, Biſhops, Abbats, or other principal Members of it, either have, or make ſhew of; a great preſumption of Hereſie in any of their Flock, to diſcuſs the meaning of their Decretals, as accurately as their Canoniſts, or ſift other Myſteries of their Religion, as narrowly as the Caſuiſts do. Should one of their greateſt Philoſophers, that were no Clergy-man, or profeſt Divine, profeſs he knew the Meaning of that Canon in the *Trent*-Council: * *Sacramenta conferunt gratiam ex opere operato*, as well as *Soto*, *Valentian*, or *Vaſques* did, *Suarez* or other their greateſt School-men in *Spain* or *Italy* now living do: it would breed as dangerous a Quarrel in their Inquiſition, as if he had entred compariſon with a Rabbin in a Jewiſh Synagogue, for skill in expounding *Moſes* Law.

* Seſſione 7. Canone 8.

9. That the Scriptures therefore may be ſaid a ſufficient Rule of Faith, and Chriſtian Carriage, to all ſorts or Conditions of Men; it is ſufficient that every Chriſtian man, of what ſort or Condition ſoever, may have the general and neceſſary Points of Catholick Faith, and ſuch Particulars as belong unto a Chriſtian and Religious Carriage in his own Vocation, perſpicuouſly and plainly ſet down in them. And no doubt but it was Gods will, to have them in matters concerning one calling not ſo facile unto ſuch as were of another Profeſſion: that every man might hence learn Sobriety, and be occaſioned to ſeek, if not only, yet principally, after the true ſenſe and meaning of thoſe Scriptures, which either neceſſarily concern all, or muſt direct him in that Chriſtian Courſe of life whereunto his God hath called him. But ſhall this Difficulty of ſome Parts (which ariſeth from the Diverſity of Vocations) be thought any hindrance, why the whole Canon of Scripture ſhould not be a perfect Rule to all in their ſeveral Vocations? Suppoſe ſome univerſal Artiſt, or compleat Cyclopedian, ſhould ſet out an abſolute Syſtem, or Rule, for all ſecular ſciences: it would be a ridiculous exception to ſay, his Works could be no perfect Rule for young Grammarians, Rhetoricians, Logicians, or Moraliſts, becauſe he had ſome difficult Mathematical Queſtions, or abſtruſe Metaphyſical diſcourſes, which would require a grounded ſchollars ſerious Pains, and long ſearch, to underſtand them throughly: and if he ſhould admoniſh young ſtudents, to begin firſt with thoſe common and eaſie Arts, and not to meddle with the other, until they had made good tryal of their Wit and Induſtry in the former: this would be a good token of a perfect Teacher, and one fit to rule our Courſe in all thoſe ſtudies which he profeſſeth. And yet the Scriptures (which the Jeſuites would not have acknowledged for the rule of Chriſtian Life) beſides all the infallible rules of Life, and ſalvation (common to all) admoniſh every man to ſeek after the Knowledge of ſuch things as are moſt for Edyfying, or moſt befitting his particular Calling.

Of the pretended difficulties in S. Pauls *Epiſtles.*

10. And even in S. *Pauls* Epiſtles, (which are the Common Places of our Adverſaries invention in this Argument) after he comes to

direct his ſpeeches (as in the later end of them uſually he doth) unto Maſters of Families, ſervants or the like, or generally where he ſpeaks of any Chriſtian duty, (either private or publick) his Rules are as plain and eaſie to all men in this Age, as they were to thoſe Houſholders, or ſervants, or the like, unto whom they were firſt directed. So plain and eaſie they are unto all Ages, and ſo familiar, eſpecially to men of meaner place, that I much doubt whether the Pope himſelf, and all his Cardinals, were able in this preſent Age to ſpeak ſo plainly unto the Capacity, or ſo familiarly to the Experience of men of their Quality unto whom he wrote. For, ſetting aſide the abſolute Truth and Infallibity of his *Doctrines*; his manner of delivering them is ſo familiar, ſo lowly, ſo heartily humble, ſo natural and ſo well befitting ſuch mens diſpoſition in their ſober thoughts, as were impoſſible for the Pope to attain unto or imitate, unleſs he would abjure his triple Crown, and abſtract himſelf from all Court ſtate or * ſolace; unleſs he would for ſeven years, addict himſelf unto Familiarity with ſuch men in a Paſtoral Charge. It was an excellent Admonition of one of their *Cardinals* (if I miſtake not, and would to God our Church would herein be admoniſhed by him) *to begin always with the later end of* S. Pauls *Epiſtles*. For once well experienced in them, we ſhould eaſily attain unto the true ſenſe and meaning of the former parts, which uſually are doctrinal, and therefore more difficult than the later. Yet the true reaſon of thoſe difficulties in the former parts containing doctrine, is, becauſe he wrote them againſt the Diſputers of that Age, eſpecially the Jews. Even in this Age they are only ſeen in matters that concern learned Expoſitors of Scriptures, not neceſſary for private and unlearned perſons to know. And the eſpecial reaſon, why his doctrine in ſome Epiſtles (as in the Epiſtle to the Romans) ſeems obſcure, difficult, and intricate, is, becauſe learned men of later Times have too much followed the Authorities of men in former Ages, who had examined S. *Pauls* doctrine, according to the rule or Phraſe of thoſe Arts or Faculties, with which they were beſt acquainted, or elſe had meaſured his Controverſie with the Jews, by the Oppoſitions or Contentions of the Age wherein they lived. Were this Partiality unto ſome famous mens Authority (which indeed is made a chief rule in expounding Scriptures, even by many ſuch, as in words, are moſt earneſt to have Scriptures the only rule of Faith) once laid aſide, and the rules of Faith, elſwhere moſt perſpicuouſly and plainly ſet down by S. *Paul*, unpartially ſcanned: his Doctrine in that Epiſtle would be ſo perſpicuous and eaſie unto the Learned, as it might by them be made plain enough and unoffenſive to the Unlearned. For the light of Truth, elſwhere delivered by this Lamp of the Gentiles (might it be admitted as a Rule, againſt ſome Expoſitions of that Epiſtle) would direct mens ſteps to avoid thoſe ſtumbling Blocks, which many have fallen upon. But to conclude this Aſſertion; their Difficulty (take them as they are) is no juſt Exception againſt this part of Scripture: becauſe it remains difficult ſtill, even for this reaſon, that it is held generally for difficult, and is not made a rule, indeed for our directions; but *other mens Opinions or Conjectures* concerning it are *taken for an Authentick Rubrick*, by whoſe level only we muſt aim at our Apoſtles Meaning, from which we may not,

* *The former Edition in the Errata, appointed to put* Solæciſms *for* Solace.

not; without imputations of Irregularity, ſwerve in the deciſion of Points (to ſay no worſe) as now they are made hard and knotty.

Scripture more or leſs difficult, to men of the ſame Profeſſion, from the different Meaſure of their natural Capacities or Gods Gifts beſtowed upon them.

11. Thirdly, from the diverſity of Capacities, or different Meaſure of Gods Gifts, in men of the ſame Profeſſion, we may ſafely conclude, that the difficulty of the ſame Portion of Scriptures unto ſome, and Facility and Perſpicuity unto others of like Profeſſion, cannot juſtly impeach them of greater Obſcurity than befits the infallible rule as well of theirs as of all other mens Faith, in their ſeveral Vocations. For as mens Callings are divers, and Gods Gifts to men in their divers Callings in nature and quality different, ſo likewiſe is the Meaſure of his like gifts, to men in the ſame calling not one and the ſame. To ſome he gives more Knowledge, to others leſs: yet all he commands, not to preſume above that which is Written, and every man to limit his deſires of knowing that which is Written, by the diſtinct Meaſure of Gods Gifts in himſelf, not to affect or preſume of ſuch skill as they have, unto whom God hath given a greater Talent. And beſides this, that the Scripture is the inexhauſtible ſtore houſe, whence all men have their ſeveral Meaſures of Divine Knowledge, as well he that hath moſt as he that hath leaſt: even in this again it is a perfect rule, that it commands all *ſapere, idque ad ſobrietatem,* to be wiſe according to that Meaſure of Knowledge which God hath given them, and not to ſeek to know, at leaſt, not to ſay, why ſhould I not know as much as any other of any Profeſſion? For this were Pride and Arrogancie (the fatal enemies of all true Chriſtian Knowledge) if ſo his Gifts be leſs than others. And for the avoidance of theſe main Obſtacles of Chriſtian Knowledge, or true Interpretation of Scriptures, the Scripture hath commanded *every man to think better of others, than of himſelf, and not to be wiſe in his own conceit.*

* *All Scriptures not alike perſpicuous to all Miniſters of the Goſpel, or Men of God.*

12. * From the former General will follow this Particular: Albeit ſome Parts of Scripture be very obſcure unto ſome; the ſame perſpicuous unto other Miniſters, or Preachers of the Word: yet may the whole Canon be the infallible Rule of Faith unto both, according to the diverſe Meaſure of their Gifts, rightly and unpartially taken. If the one either fail in the Expoſition of ſundry Places, which the other rightly expounds, or cannot apprehend ſo much in them, as the other doth: he is in Sobriety of Spirit bound to acknowledge his own Infirmity, and content himſelf with that knowledge, which is contained within the Meaſure of Gods Gifts beſtowed upon himſelf: and this again he is to take by the ſame Rule. So that the Scriptures are a perfect Rule to both, to all; for Direction in the ſearch of Divine Knowledge, for limitation of mens deſires whiles they ſeek it, or Conceit of what they have gotten. That they do not ſo thorowly inſtruct or furniſh ſome, as others, (though all men of God) for exact performance of their Miniſterial Function; can be no argument of their Inſufficiencie, to make all ſuch in their Place and Order competently Wiſe unto Salvation, more than it would be to prove *Euclide*'s Elements (or other more abſolute Mathematical Work) an inſufficient and imperfect Rule for inſtructing Surveyours or other Practical Mathematicians, (whoſe skill lies only in meaſuring Triangles, Circles, or other

plain or ſolid Bodies) becauſe containing many Queſtions of higher Nature, and greater Difficulty, (as of the Circles Quadrature, of Lines or Numbers Surd, or Aſymmetral) well befitting the exerciſe of ſpeculatory, learned Mathematical Wits.

CHAP. XIII.

The true ſtate of the Queſtion about the Scriptures Obſcurity, or Perſpicuity: unto what Men, and for what Cauſes they are Obſcure.

1. THe Queſtion then muſt be; Whether the Scriptures be an abſolute Rule of Chriſtian Faith and Manners to every Man in his Vocation and Order, according to the Meaſure of Gods Gifts beſtowed upon him? We affirm, *It is ſuch to all.* None are ſo cunning, none ſo excellent, or expert in Divine Myſteries, but muſt take it for a Rule, beyond whoſe Bounds they may not paſs, from which they daily may learn more; none ſo ſilly, but may thence learn enough for their Salvation, ſo they will be Ruled by it. And yet even of thoſe Points which are perſpicuouſly ſet down to the diverſe Capacities of Men in the ſame or ſeveral Profeſſions, the Queſtion is not; Whether any can fully comprehend their intire Meaning? Certain it is, *In this life they cannot.* But neither will our Adverſaries (I hope) avouch, that the infallible Authority of their Church can make us ſo comprehend the full meaning of Myſteries contained, either in Scriptures, or her pretended unwritten Traditions. Of Scriptures the beſt learned Chriſtian may ſay with the Heathen *Socrates: Hoc unum ſcio, me nihil ſcire, I know this one thing, that I know nothing*; Nothing as I ſhould, or as fully as I then ſhall, when I ſhall know as I am known: for in this life, *we know but in part, and we prophecy in part.* 1 Cor. 13. 12.

2. Laſtly, even in reſpect of Places (though containing Points of Salvation) only thus imperfectly known, (though as perſpicuous and clear as can be required the Rule of Faith ſhould be) the Queſtion is not, whether they be very Obſcure, and Difficult unto ſome, or unto the Major part of Mankind: if we conſider them as they are, or may be, not as they ſhould or might be, that is, if we conſider them as diſobedient to the Truth known, or careleſs to amend their lives by this light of Scripture. For unto all ſuch as hate it, this very light it ſelf proves an occaſion of falling. Nor could any thing be more plainly or perſpicuouſly ſet down in any other Rule of Faith imaginable, than this very Point we now handle, is in Scriptures, to wit, that *ſuch Parts of them, as contain matters neceſſary to Salvation, are moſt eaſie to ſome, moſt hard to others.* And albeit they might, through the Iniquity of Mankind, prove difficult to all, or impoſſible to be underſtood of moſt now living, (living as for the moſt part we do) yet were this Difficulty or Impoſſibility of underſtanding them aright, (upon theſe Suppoſitions) no hindrance at all, why they ſhould not be a compleat Rule of Faith, to all no juſt reaſon for admitting any infallible Authority beſides theirs.

3. For of ſuch as admit any Authority equivalent to theirs, it muſt be further demanded; whether the Infallibility of it, can take away that Blindneſs of heart, which by Gods juſt Judgments, lights upon all ſuch as detain the knowledge of God or his ſacred Word in Unrighteouſneſs? If, for their ſins, God puniſh them with this ſpiritual darkneſs, in diſcerning his Will revealed in his written Word: no other infallible Authority (as we ſuppoſe) can take away thoſe ſcales from their eyes, which hinder their ſight in the means of their Salvation. If men have been called to this Light, and prefer Darkneſs before it: either they muſt receive ſight and direction from it again, or continue ſtill in ignorance and the ſhadow of death; but doth God lock up all or moſt mens eyes in ſuch darkneſs? No, for this blindneſs (by our Doctrine) befals only ſuch, as have deſerved it by the forementioned ſins, which once removed by Repentance, the Rule of Life ſhall enlighten them; unrepented of, no other Rule or Authority ſhall teach them the way to Life.

This is a point to be obſerved, becauſe the Weakneſs and Impertinencies of all our Adverſaries Arguments will beſt appear, if they be hereto reduced, as ſhall appear by the particulars in this and the next Section.

4. Since we thus grant, that the Scriptures may be Obſcure to moſt men by their own default, but perſpicuous to others free from like fault or Demerit: it remains, we further enquire whether the ſame Scriptures do not moſt plainly ſet down: *Firſt, the Cauſes why they are ſo Obſcure to ſome, and Perſpicuous to others: Secondly, the Remedy or means how their Obſcurity or difficulty may be prevented.* If they plainly teach theſe two Points, this is a ſure Argument that they are, if not, that they cannot be, ſo excellent a Rule of Faith as we acknowledge them. For this very Point, [*That the Scriptures, in reſpect of divers Perſons, are Obſcure and Perſpicuous, though Obſcure to none but through their own Default*] is a Principle of Chriſtian Faith, and therefore muſt be plainly ſet down in the abſolute compleat Rule of Faith. And (to omit others in their due place to be inſerted) what can be more perſpicuouſly taught, either by Scriptures or other Writings than this Truth, *God* * *giveth grace to the Humble, and reſiſteth the proud*? or this, † *He will confound the wiſdom of the wiſe, or ſuch as Glory in their wiſdom*? Theſe and like Rules of Gods Juſtice in puniſhing the proud and diſobedient, hold as true in the ſearch of Scripture, as in any other matter, yea eſpecially herein. Thus were the Scribes and Phariſees (men of extraordinary skill in Scriptures) blinded in the moſt neceſſary Points of their Salvation, though moſt plainly ſet down in Scriptures. For what could be more plainly ſet down then many Teſtimonies of their *Meſsias*? Many places of far greater Difficulty they could with Dexterity unfold: how chanced it then they are ſo Blinded in the other? *They were ſcattered in the proud Imagination of their hearts*, and glorious conceits of their Prerogatives in being *Moſes* Succeſſours: and in their ſtead, ſimple and illiterate, but humble and meek ſpirited Men, raiſed up, to be infallible Teachers of the Gentiles, to unfold thoſe Myſteries of Mans Redemption, (which the Scribes and Phariſees could not ſee) with evidence of Truth to enlighten the ſilly and ignorant, and convince the Conſciences of their learned proud Oppugners. By their Miniſtery, Prophetical and Moſaical Myſteries became a Light unto the Gentile, whoſe life had been in the ſhadow of death: whilſt a Veil was laid before the hearts of the moſt learned Jews, ſo that even whilſt the Sun of Righteouſ-

* *Prov.* 3. 34. *James* 4. 6. 1 *Pet.* 5. 5.

† *Eſay* 29. 14. 1 *Cor.* 1. 19. & 1 *Cor.* 3. 19.

neſs, which enlightens every man that comes into the World, did ariſe in their coaſt, and aſcend unto their Zenith, they groap their way, as men that walk in dangerous Paths by dark-night.

5. Was the Scripture therefore no Rule of Faith unto theſe Jews, to whom it was ſo Difficult and Obſcure? Or is it not moſt evident, that this Blindneſs did therefore come upon *Iſrael*, becauſe they hated this Light, being carried away with Lowd cries of ***Templum Domini, Templum Domini***, as the Papiſts now are with *The Church*, ***The Church:*** And for words of ſuppoſed Diſgrace offered to It, (only upon a Surmiſe that Chriſt had ſaid, he would deſtroy and build It up again) brought to ſeek the deſtruction of the Glory of It, even of the Lord of Glory. *Thou that wouldſt make others believe the Pope is ſuch, doſt thou believe the Scriptures to be Infallible?* How is it then, whilſt thou readeſt Gods Judgments upon thy Brother Jew, thou doſt not tremble and quake, leſt the Lord ſmite thee alſo, (thou painted Wall) with like Blindneſs? ſeeing thou haſt juſtified thy Brother Phariſees ſtubborn Pride, wilful Arrogancy, and witting Blaſphemy in oppugning Scriptures. And as for all ſuch, whoſe hearts can be touched with the terrour of Gods Judgments upon others, in fear and reverence I requeſt them to conſider well, whether one of the greateſt Roman Doctors, † were not taken with more than Jewiſh madneſs in miſtaking Scripture in it ſelf moſt plain and eaſie, who to prove the Scriptures Obſcurity to be ſuch as in this reſpect it could not be the Rule of Faith, alledgeth for his proof that place of the * Prophet. ***And the viſion of them all is become unto you, as the word of a Book that is ſealed up, which they deliver to one that can read, ſaying, Read this, I pray thee, then ſhall he ſay, I cannot, for it is ſealed.***

† Diſce ex uno omnes. *Gather how mad* Baals *other Prieſts are in this Argument from* Valentians *Jewiſh Phrenſie in urging Scriptures againſt us which make moſt plainly for us.*
* *Iſai.*29.11.

6. The Prophet relates it as a wonder, that they ſhould not be able to diſcern the Truth. What Truth? an obſcure or hidden Truth, Impoſſible to be underſtood? This had been a wonderful Wonder indeed, that men ſhould not be able to underſtand that, which was Impoſſible to be underſtood. Wherein then was the true Wonder ſeen? *In this*, that they, whoſe eyes had formerly been illuminated, by the evidence and clearneſs of the Divine Truth, revealed by Gods Meſſenger, ſhould not be able to diſcern the ſame, ſtill alike clear and perſpicuous; but now to be ſhut up from their eyes, as appeareth by the ſimilitude of the ſealed Book, whoſe Character was legible enough, but yet not able to be read whilſt ſealed? A man might as well prove the Sun to be dark, becauſe *Polyphemus*, after *Ulyſſes* had put out his eye, could not ſee it; as the Scriptures by this place to be Obſcure. The Prophets words entire are theſe: ***Stay your ſelves and wonder, they are blind, and make you blind; they are drunken, but not with wine; they ſtagger, but not with drink. For the Lord hath covered you with a ſpirit of ſlumber, and hath ſhut up your eyes: The Prophets and your chief Seers hath he covered. And the viſion of them all is become unto you,*** &c. And more plainly. ***Therefore the Lord ſaid, Becauſe this people come near me with their mouth, and honour me with their lips, but have removed their heart from me: and their fear towards me was taught by the precepts of men,*** (doth he not mean the Blind Obedience of Modern Papiſts, as well as ancient Jews?) ***Therefore behold, I will do a marvellous work in this People, even a marvellous work and a wonder. For the Wiſdom of the wiſe***

Eſay 29.9, 10, *&c. ver.*13.

wiſe men ſhall periſh, and the underſtanding of the prudent man ſhall be hid. The *Lord himſelf foretels it as a wonder, that this People ſhould be ſo ignorant* in the Word of God: and yet will the Jeſuite make us believe, the Word of God is ſo Obſcure that it cannot be unto us the Rule of Faith, when as without the knowledge and light of it, (not which it hath in it ſelf, but which it communicates to us) there is no Viſion, no Knowledge in the Viſible Church, but ſuch wonderful Darkneſs as the Prophet here deſcribes.

7. Let the Reader here give ſentence with me, whether it were not wonderful Jewiſh Blindneſs, or wilful Blaſphemy in * *Valentian*, ſo confidently to avouch, *that the Veil which Saint* Paul *ſaith is laid before the Jews hearts, was woven* (a great part) *out of the Difficulty of Scriptures,* ſuch Scriptures, as the Sectaries (ſo he terms us) contend about: and for proof of this *Blaſphemous Aſſertion* to bring the forecited place. Ere their Allegations of this or like places, brought to prove the Scriptures Difficulty or Obſcurity, can be pertinent, they muſt (according to the ſtate of the Queſtion already propoſed) firſt prove this Obſcurity or Difficulty to be perpetual and ordinary, not inflicted as a puniſhment upon Hypocrites, or ſuch as love Darkneſs more than Light. And this they never ſhall be able; this one place alledged by *Valentian* moſt evidently proves the contrary. For this was an extraordinary and miraculous Judgment upon theſe Jews, for their Hypocriſie, as appears, Verſes the thirteenth and fourteenth. And unto ſuch as they were, we acknowledge the Scriptures, by the juſt Judgment of God, to be moſt Difficult ſtill; but deny ſuch Difficulties to be any Bar, why they ſhould not be the compleat Rule of Faith. If the Jeſuites will avouch the contrary, let them tell us whether any other Rule could in this caſe ſupply their defect, be it unwritten Tradition, or *viva vox infallibilis authoritatis, the infallible teaching or preaching of the viſible Church or Pope.* This (I preſume) they will be aſhamed to affirm. † For this Prophecie was fulfilled of the Phariſees which lived in our Saviours time, and heard him preach the Doctrine of Salvation, as plainly as the Pope can do: yet neither could his Doctrine, nor Miracles win them to his Father. Why could they not? Becauſe they had, as the Papiſts now have (though not ſo openly) diſclaimed the Scriptures for the Rule of their Faith, and did follow the Precepts or Traditions of Men; and *God* (as we ſaid before) *hath ſo decreed, that ſuch as neglect the Truth known, or love Darkneſs more than Light, ſhould be given over to this reprobate ſenſe; that the more evident the Truth is, the more hateful it ſhould be to them:* as the hate of theſe Scribes and Phariſees to our Saviour was greater than their fore-elders had been to the Prophets, becauſe the light of his

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* Velamen quod ipſe Paulus (2 *Cor.* 3. 15.) affirmat uſque in hodiernum diem, cum legitur *Moſes*, eſſe poſitum ſupra cor Judæorum: profecto textum (ut ita dicam) bona ex parte eſt ex difficultate Scripturarum illarum. *Valent. tom.* 3. *in Aquin. diſp.* 1. *quæſt.* 1. *punct.* 7. *parag.* 4. *He addeth immediately.* Hoc enim (ut antea monuimus) eſt, ſcripturam eſſe difficilem, ejuſmodi eam eſſe, & tam multa, ut illa intelligatur, requiri, ut proclive fuerit Judæis, & ſit aliis omnibus, non percipere veram ejus ſententiam: quod quia dare nobis coguntur, velint, nolint, ſectarii, rectè ac neceſſariò inde concludimus, communem illam regulam & magiſtram fidei, quam neceſſe eſt, eſſe propoſitam fidelibus omnibus, non eſſe ſcripturam; cum non ſit cognitu facilis ipſis hominibus. Huc & illud *Iſaiæ.* 29. pertinet.

† *So our Saviour expoundeth it,* Matth. 15. verſe 8, 9. O Hypocrites, *Eſaias* propheſied well of you, ſaying, This People, *&c.* *uſing the words before-cited out of the* 13. verſe of Eſay, cap. 29. *Out of both places it appears that their Hypocriſie and diſobedience to the Truth known, cauſed this Blindneſs: and what the Prophet threatned* ver. 14. *our Saviour ratifieth,* Mat. 15. ver. 12, 13, 14. *For* when his Diſciples ſaid unto him, Perceiveſt thou not that the Phariſees are offended in hearing this ſaying? He anſwered, Every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted, ſhall be rooted up; let them alone, they be blind leaders of the blind, and if the blind lead the blind, both ſhall fall into the ditch. *So the Prophet had ſaid in the* 14. ver. The wiſdom of their wiſe men (to wit, the Phariſees) ſhall periſh, and the underſtanding of the prudent ſhall be hid, *and in the* 9. verſe, *They are blind, and make you blind. For this cauſe our Saviour in the fore-mentioned place calleth not them as he did the multitude,* to hear and underſtand, *verſe* 10. *Nor expounds the Parable unto them, as he did to his Diſciples,* verſe 15.

Doctrine was greater, his Reprehenſions more ſharp, and their deeds and Hypocriſie worſe than their Fathers. No marvel then, if it be ſo hard a matter to recover a learned Papiſt, or make a Jeſuite recant his errour in this Point, ſeeing they are farther gone in this Jewiſh diſeaſe of contemning Gods Word, following Traditions, and Precepts of Men, for the Rule of their Faith, than theſe Jews themſelves were; not likely therefore they would have yielded to our Saviour himſelf, if they had lived in his time. Nor ſhould the ingenious Reader think we *Hyperbolize* or over-laſh, when we charge them with deeper Blaſphemy in this Point, than theſe Jews were guilty of: as if this were ſtrange, ſeeing they are ſuch great Scholars, and profeſs that they love Chriſt as well as we: for ſo would theſe Jews boaſt of their Antiquity and skill in Scriptures, and thought that they loved God, and his Servant *Moſes*, as well as Chriſt and his Apoſtles did. But it was Gods purpoſe to confound the Wiſdom of the worldly-wiſe: of the Scribes and Phariſees then, and of the learned Prieſts and Jeſuites now.

CHAP. XIV.

How men muſt be Qualified, ere they can underſtand Scriptures aright: That the Pope is not ſo Qualified.

1. OUt of the forementioned places it is evident, that Gods Word (otherwiſe plain and perſpicuous) was hidden from this Peoples eyes for their Hypocriſie; and the ſame Blindneſs continues ſtill in their Poſterity for continuing in like ſin. But can it be proved as evidently, by any other place of Scripture, that unto ſuch as do the Will of God, and Practiſe according to his Precepts, the ſame Word ſhall be plain and eaſie, ſo far as is neceſſary for their Salvation? *Yes, Infinite places may be brought to this Purpoſe.* And leſt any man ſhould except againſt the Extent of ſuch bountiful promiſes, as if they included ſome condition of Learning, great dexterity of Wit, or the like, whereof many men are not capable: Our Saviour Chriſt adds the univerſal Note; * *If any man will do his will, he ſhall know of the Doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I ſpeak of my ſelf. If Any Man will do his Will:* Not if any man will learn the learned Tongues, or ſtudy the Scribes and Phariſees Comments, which this people ſuppoſed to have been the only (as they were good) Means, for underſtanding Scriptures aright, whilſt ſubordinate to this principal Condition here mentioned by our Saviour. The occaſion of the Multitudes admiring his Doctrine, was that He, who had never been Scholar to their Rabbins, ſhould be ſo expert in Scriptures, [as it is Verſe the fifteenth.] Our Saviours reply to this their Doubt conceived by way of admiration, [in the ſixteenth Verſe] is, that he had his Learning from God, and not from Man: *My Doctrine is not mine, but his that ſent me.* And as he was taught by his Father, to deliver and teach the heavenly Doctrine, ſo might the ſimpleſt, and moſt unlearned amongſt them, be likewiſe taught of God to diſcern whether the Doctrine were of God, or whether he ſpake of himſelf: If they would do the Will of

* *John* 7. 17.

of God, and ſeek his Glory, not their own; as Chriſt did not ſeek his own Glory, but his that ſent him. Yet might theſe Jews have brought the ſame Exceptions againſt our Saviours Rule for diſcerning Doctrines, which the Papiſts now bring againſt the Scriptures, why they ſhould not be the infallible Rule of Faith; as ſhall appear hereafter. In the mean time whom ſhall we believe, the Modern Jeſuite, who will ſwear one thing ſitting, and the contrary ſtanding; or Chriſt Jeſus, whoſe Word (as he himſelf) *remains, yeſterday, to day, the ſame for ever?* * Even at this day, (as well as at that time, when he ſpake this Oracle) if any man will do the Will of God, (which ſent him:) he, amidſt the Variety of mens Opinions concerning matters of Faith, ſhall know of the Doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether Men ſpeak of themſelves, without recourſe unto the infallible Authority of ſuch as ſit in *Peters* Chair: who are to *Peter*, but as unto *Moſes* the Scribes and Phariſees were, unto whom Gods Church in *Jewry*, about our Saviours time, was not much beholden for Doctrines of Faith, or Deciſions of Doubts, concerning the Truth of Scriptures, or principal Myſteries taught by *Moſes*.

* *Our Saviour fully confirmeth this Truth unto us, which the Pſalmiſt had before in effect delivered,* Pſal. 25. ver. 14. *The ſecret of the Lord is revealed unto them that fear him: and his Covenant to give them underſtanding, and* verſ. 9. *Them that be Meek will he guide in judgment, and teach the Humble his way*, vide etiam verſ. 10. & 12. *This evidently confuteth their folly, who think, or rather ſay, our Saviour ſpake in this place of his own peculiar Doctrine and Authority. Albeit* Canus *(amongſt others) might be excuſed (by ſuch as would ſalve his credit) by the common Anſwer,* Non locutus eſt ex ſua ſententia, *as appeareth by the manner of his reply,* Lib. 2. de Loc. Theol. cap. 8.

2. Will you hear what *Bellarmine* (the only Champion that ever *Rome* had, for eluding evident Authorities of Scripture) could anſwer unto this place? † *Our Lord and Saviour did not intend in this ſpeech to ſhew us that all honeſt-minded men might underſtand every place of Scripture by themſelves: but to teach us that good men are free from divers ſuch Impediments, as diſ-enable others for underſtanding the true Doctrine of Faith, either by themſelves, or by others help. For ſome became uncapable of true Faith by pride and deſire of worldly honour, others by covetouſneſs. All theſe things heard the Phariſees alſo which were covetous, and they mocked him.*

† Non hoc dicit Dominus ut oſtendat omnes viros bonos per ſe intelligere poſſe omnia loca Scripturarum: ſed ut doceat viros probos carere quibuſdam impedimentis, propter quæ alii quidem nec per ſe, nec per alios, fidei veritatem intelligere poſſunt, ut *Johan.* 5. 44, *Luke* 16. 14. *Bellarm. Tom.* 1. *Lib.* 3. *cap.* 10. Canus *in his firſt Anſwer to this place ſeems willing to aſſent unto the Truth.* Concedimus, inquit, liberaliter doctrinam cuique in ſua vita & ſtatu neceſſariam, illi fore perſpectam & cognitam, qui fecerit voluntatem Dei. Sicut enim guſtus bene affectus differentias ſaporum facilè diſcernit, ſic animi optima affectio facit, ut homo doctrinam Dei ad ſalutem neceſſariam diſcernat, ab errore contrario qui ex Deo non eſt. Quæ vero Eccleſiæ ſunt communia, nec ad judicium, nec ad fidem ſpectant ſingulorum, ea non à quovis diſcerni & judicari poſſunt, quantumcunque is Dei faciat voluntatem. *In his ſecond Anſwer he bewrays a willingneſs to diſſent from us, or perhaps a fear, not to ſay ſomewhat againſt us: and therefore, to ſuch as will not be ſatisfied with the former, he gives a ſecond Anſwer, in effect the ſame with* Bellarmines. *We may admit both their Concluſions, without harm to our Cauſe. From that which* Canus *granteth of private men, (both in his Anſwer to the ſecond and third Argument) we may conclude againſt him thus. As God giveth them the Spirit of diſcerning true from falſe Doctrine, in Points neceſſary to Salvation, without all reſpect of perſons: ſo likewiſe will he, by his Providence, direct the learned or ſpiritual Overſeers in every Nation, (without reſpecting Perſon, Place, or other Prerogative) for diſcerning Apocryphal from Canonical Books. Nor is there any more Reaſon to appropriate their Diſcretion to the Pope, or Clergy of* Rome, *more than to appropriate the gift of diſcerning Truth from Falſhood in Points neceſſary to Salvation, to their Servants.* Vid. Can. Lib. 2. de Loc. Theol. Cap. 6. Reſponſione ad ſecundum & tertium.

3. That all honeſt-minded men ſhould be able to underſtand all Places of Scriptures, we never affirmed; that without the Miniſtery or help of others they ſhould (ordinarily) underſtand any aright, we never taught. This notwithſtanding we conſtantly avouch: *Without this Condition of doing Gods Will, not men, otherwiſe furniſhed*

furniſhed with the beſt Gifts of Art and Nature, can ever be competently qualified for ſpiritual Inſtructors: By performing it, the ſimple and illiterate ſhall be made capable of good Inſtructions, and enabled to diſcern true Doctrine from falſe. By our Saviours Rule in the very next words, (more infallible than any other pretended Infallibility can be) we may diſcern the Pope, of all others to be no true, much leſs any infallible Teacher, unleſs of Lyes and Antichriſtian deceit. For *he that ſeeketh his own glory*, (as what Pope is there doth not ſo? many ſeek the Popedom by their Predeceſſors bloud) *he ſpeaks of himſelf*; not the Word of him, whoſe Vicar he boaſts himſelf to be.

4. To place the Apoſtle St. *Pauls* Authority next in file unto our Saviours. * *Faſhion not your ſelves* (ſaith he unto his beloved Romans) *like unto this preſent world: but be ye changed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is the good Will of God, and acceptable and perfect.* Being faſhioned like unto the preſent World, they were altogether diſproportionable unto the Kingdom of Heaven, uncapable of Heavenly Myſteries; but being renewed in their minds, they might prove, taſte, and reliſh aright the Meaning of Gods Word revealed. Of ſuch as diſanul the Scriptures for being the Rule of Faith, and transfer this Canonical Dignity upon the Pope, I would gladly be reſolved, whether this his Holineſs Infallibility, can take away the Veil, which is laid before the Jews hearts, or this Deſire which reigns in moſt men, of faſhioning themſelves unto this preſent world; whether he can in all ſuch, as profeſs Chriſtianity, root out thoſe Luſts and Concupiſcences, thoſe (*corneæ fibræ*) ſtiff and ſtubborn heart-ſtrings, as are the very threds whereof this Veil is made, which makes the Scriptures ſo Difficult, and ſo eclipſeth their Light in reſpect of men. If he cannot, well may he make them underſtand or believe his own Decrees; but never rightly apprehend, or ſtedfaſtly embrace the Spiritual Myſteries of their Salvation. That Rule of St. *Pauls* is ſtill moſt infallible: *The Natural or Carnal Man is altogether uncapable of the things of Gods Spirit*; of thoſe things, which are *in themſelves* moſt evident: *Neither can he know them.* If you will not believe his Authority as infallible, he gives you a Reaſon for the truth of the Concluſion, *for they are ſpiritually diſcerned.* Is it then the Popes Infallibility, or the framing of our lives *according to Gods holy Word*, that muſt purge the Errours of our young and wanton days, and make us ceaſe to be *homines* ψυχικοὶ Natural or Carnal men, and become Spiritual? If the Popes Infallibility cannot perform this, to what uſe doth it ſerve? The Scriptures will be difficult ſtill, and their ſenſe inſipid to ſuch as have not their hearts thus cleanſed. If without his Infallibility, (by the Induſtry of faithful Paſtours, attentive Hearing, and ſerious Meditation of his ſacred Word) our lives may be amended, and we of Carnal men become Spiritual: we ſhall diſcern the things of God, what is his Will and Mercy towards us in Chriſt: we ſhall know of every Doctrine neceſſary unto our Salvation, whether it be of God or no: much better than the Pope and his Cardinals can do, if they be Carnals. For our Apoſtle adds, † *The Spiritual man judgeth and diſcerneth all things, and is judged of none.*

* *Rom.* 12. 2. *Upon which place He whom* Bellarmin *commends as one of the moſt excellent Interpreters of later years* (*next to* Janſenius) *ſaith thus:* Per renovationem mentis quam jam per fidem in Chriſtum accepiſtis, transformemini in novos affectus, ut ſic reddamini apti ad intelligendum, quid à vobis juſtificatis per totam vitam requirat Deus. Quid gratum ſit beneplacitum & acceptum Deo. Simile quiddam docet Apoſt. Eph. 5. Probantes quid ſit beneplacitum Deo. Niſi enim mactaverimus cupiditates carnis noſtræ, non poſſumus eſſe idonei, ut in actionibus noſtris intelligamus, quæ ſit voluntas Dei: ſed quod noſtro ſenſui vehementer arridet, interpretamur id eſſe voluntatem Dei. *Sasbout in hunc locum. Vide annotat. ex Beda ad paragraph.* 5.

† Apoſtolus. 1 Cor. 2. 15. comparando temporalem facultatem ad ſpiritualem, ait, quod animalis homo non percipit ea quæ ſunt ſpiritus Dei, ſed ſpiritualis dijudicat omnia, & ipſe à nemine judicatur. *Soto in 4 Sentent. diſt.* 25. *Q.* 2. *Art.* 1. *Concluſ.* 5. *No marvel if* Valentian *groſly miſtake this place, wherein this grave Divine, as* Bellarmine *in-ſtiles him, is ſo ſottiſh*

The ſenſe of which words ſome of your School-men much miſtake, when they hence gather, that the Pope may judge Princes: but the Spirituality (ſo in common talk we call the Clergy) may not be judged by any Temporal or Lay Power. Our Apoſtle means, (nor will a learned Interpreter though a Papiſt deny it) that in matters of Faith, and in the Truth of Divine Myſteries, the truly ſpiritual (that is, ſuch as are renewed in the inner man, not ſuch as bear the Name or Title of Spiritual men in their corrupt Language) ſee and underſtand thoſe things, which the Wiſdom of God hath hidden from the wiſeſt, and moſt glorious Teachers of the World, from all Carnal men, of what Gifts ſoever they may be in other matters; as appears by our Apoſtles Diſcourſe in that place. Which Doctrine of our Apoſtle, how truly it is verified in the wiſe men of *Rome*, the Jeſuits I mean, (to give them what by our Proverb we are bound to give their Maſter, their due) men of famous induſtry and excellent reach, in all ſubtile and profound Arts: but how ignorant and beſotted in matters of Faith, and Myſteries of mans Salvation, their Doctrine in this preſent Controverſie, being compared with this Axiom of our Apoſtle, may abundantly witneſs, to the aſtoniſhment of all ſober-minded Chriſtian Readers.

5. They cannot deny, That matters of Faith and Chriſtian Life, the Myſteries of mans Salvation, are matters belonging to the Spirit of God; and that a lewd, naughty, ambitious, luxurious man, an Heretick, is *homo* ψυχικὸς, a Carnal Man, they will not offer to call in queſtion. Again, that many of their Popes be ſuch, as I have ſaid (naughty, wicked, luxurious men) they openly confeſs. Some of them grant that * *Honorius* was an Heretick. † *Valentian* will not diſpute this particular *de facto*, whether he were one or no, but that the Pope or Popes may hold Heretical Opinions he granteth: albeit thus tainted with Hereſie, they cannot propoſe their Hereſies *ex Cathedra*, to be Believed by others; (believe *Valentian* herein who liſt) for God by his Providence would prevent this Miſchief. But howſoever, the Pope and his Cardinals may (by their own Confeſſion) be * *Carnal men with a witneſs.* Now S. *Paul* ſaith plainly, *Homo animalis non poteſt cognoſcere ea quæ ſunt Spiritus Dei.* † *No Carnal*

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* Denique quòd Honorius & nonnulli alii Pontifices in errorem lapſi fuiſſe dicuntur (quanquam de nullo prorſus ſatis compertũ eſt, pertinaciter erraviſſe) id quidem utcunq; res habeat, non niſi ad privatum attinet perſonarum vitium: atq; adeo nihil nobis obſtare poteſt, ut qui non tam ipſas perſonas, quàm authoritatem illam Apoſtolicæ ſedis in definiendo defendimus, ſicut ſupra, Auguſtini etiam exemplo, reſpondebamus, *Valent. Tom.* 3. *Diſp.* 1. *Quæſt.* 1. *Punct.* 7. *Paragr.* 41. *Caſu.* 11.

† Valentianus loco citato. Ad fidelitatem Dei erga Eccleſiam ſpectat, ut impediret in eo caſu, quo minus per Pontificem illum controverſia falſò definiretur. Id quod facere Deus poſſit aut Pontificem de medio tollendo, ne ipſe, ſed ſucceſſor potius rem decerneret; aut interna mentis illuſtratione, vel alio aliquo modo Pontificem ab errore revocando. Neq; vero hujuſmodi providentia Dei in ſimilibus caſibus miraculoſa eſſet cenſenda, ſed eſſet potius quidam effectus ejus legis ordinariæ, qua Deus per promiſſiones de veritate factas, ſeſe obſtrinxit Eccleſiæ. Ac ſanè hujus rei exemplum illud proferri poteſt, quòd cùm Joannes 22. exiſtimaret, ſanctorum animas ante diem Judicii divinam eſſentiam non videre, idque eo tempore, quo in Eccleſia (ſicut Canus etiam *lib.* 6. de locis Theologicis, *cap. ult ad* 1. agument. notavit.) nondum erat ſatis explicata hæc controverſia, & ad rem definiendam ſeſe compararet, priuſquam id faceret, è vita exceſſit, & Benedictus ſucceſſor contrariam ſententiam definivit.

* Homines Animales cum additamento.

† Quis autem carnalis & animalis homo non per phantaſmata ſui cordis evagetur, & conſtituat ſibi Deum, qualis ei pro ſuo carnali ſenſu placuerit, atq; ita credit tantum longè aliter quam Deus eſt, quantum à veritate vanitas differt. Veriſſimam quippe ſententiam dixit Apoſtolus, plenus lumine veritatis. *Animalis*, inquit, *homo, non percipit quæ ſunt ſpiritus Dei.* Et tamen de iis hæc dicebat quos jam fuiſſe baptizatos ipſe manifeſtat. *Beda in hunc locum ex Auguſtino. l.* 3. *de Baptiſmo. This oppoſition betwixt the Spirit and the Fleſh, is (as we ſay in Schools) Formal, or directly contrary: ſo as this Rule and that other late mentioned* (Rom. 12.) *hold as true in the Pope as in any. If he faſhion himſelf as much to this, he is as diſproportioned to the world to come, as any other: If he be as Carnal as other men, he is altogether as incompetent a Judge of things belonging to the Spirit of God, as others are, whoſoever. Beda in the ſame place addeth,* Ad animales pertinet vetus Teſtamentum, ad ſpirituales novum—. Veteris autem Sacramenta ceſſaverunt, ſed concupiſcentiæ tales non ceſſaverunt. In illis enim ſunt, quos Apoſtolus jam per Sacramentum novi Teſtamenti natos, adhuc tamen dicit animales, non poſſe percipere quæ ſunt Spiritus Dei.

or Natural man can conceive the things of the Spirit of God, 1 Cor. 2. 14. (for this indefinite Propoſition *in materia neceſſaria* may have this Univerſal Note, *Homo animalis non poteſt cognoſcere, no Carnal Man can perceive.*) The Jeſuites affirm the contradictory unto S. *Pauls* Doctrine, as an undoubted Article of Faith. The Pope (ſay they) albeit *homo animalis*, though a moſt wicked man, though otherwiſe an Heretick, (the worſt of Carnal Men) cannot but diſcern the things that belong unto the Spirit, all the Myſteries of Mans Redemption, all points whatſoever neceſſary to Mans Salvation. For he cannot erre in deciding ſuch Matters if he ſpeak *ex Cathedra*. More unhappy man *Honorius*, more Fools have the whole generation been, that ever would ſhut their mouths, or ceaſe to ſpeak *ex Cathedra* even to the laſt gaſp.

6. That ſundry lewd and wicked men may learnedly diſcourſe of ſpiritual matters, and deduce neceſſary Conſequents out of Truths ſuppoſed, or commonly received for Divine, in ſuch Points *as contradict not their affections, or tempt them not to become partial Judges of evil thoughts: that we are to reverence and obey Gods Word, manifeſted to our Conſciences, though by their Miniſtery, we deny not. But that ſuch wicked Monſters of Mankind as many of their Popes have been, and may be, ſhould ſo conceive and diſcern all the Principles and Grounds of Faith, be ſo familiarly intimate with the Holy Spirit, that their Decrees, (in matters which concern their own Pomp and Glory, in matters whoſe loſs would breed their Temporal Ruine) ſhould be held for the infallible Oracles of God, the only Rule of Faith, for all other Chriſtians to rely upon continually: Thus to deny the infallible preſence, or illumination of Gods Spirit, to all faithful and godly men throughout the world, and to appropriate it to a ſucceſſion of ſuch ſons of *Belial* as their own Writers picture out unto us in their Legends of Popes lives, is a Blaſphemy againſt the Godhead, (I pray God it prove not ſo againſt the Holy † Ghoſt) of ſuch huge and ugly ſhape, that I much marvel, how it could poſſibly creep into any Jeſuits pen, being ſcarce able (I think) to get out of the wide, vaſt, gaping mouth of Hell it ſelf, in whoſe intrals it was conceived. Was it more in heat of Paſſion (perhaps) to ſay, that the Devil was a Familiar of the Son of God, than to teach it as an Article of Faith, that the Holy and Eternal Spirit is a perpetual Aſſociate, an infallible Aſſiſtant, or familiar Companion of Satans Firſt-born, of Conjurers, Inchanters, or incarnate Devils? was it ſo horrible and infamous a Crime in *Simon Magus*, to offer to buy the Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt? and is it leſs ſin in ſuch as he was, Conjurers, Sorcerers, to ſeek after as great, or greater ſpiritual Prerogatives, (as great as S. *Peter* had) by the ſame means that he did? Is it no ſin for the Jeſuits, to beg this as a *Poſtulatum*, or main Axiom of Faith, that whatſoever the Pope (ſuch a Pope as hath gotten his triple Crown, and ſpiritual Power by Simony) ſhall decree *ex Cathedra*, ſhould be

** No Carnal Affection, or Deſire habituate, but harbor ſome one or other Hereſie, if the Soul be well ſearched, or the predominant deſire or affection directly croſſed; as ſhall (God willing) hereafter appear; ſo that men of lewd life or vicious, only conceive well, either of ſuch ſpiritual matters as are not directly oppoſite to their peculiar Vices, or elſe of ſuch Generalities, as may be proſecuted without prejudice to their Affections.*

† The matter of the Jews Blaſphemy againſt the Holy Ghoſt, was their charging Chriſt, in whom he reſted, with an unclean Spirit, as appeareth in Mark cha. 3. verſ. 22. & 30. *The Form or Soul (if I may ſo ſpeak) of that Sin in them was their entertainment of that conceit, againſt the Evidence of their own Conſciences; Chriſts Life and Actions bearing witneſs of his Sanctification by the bleſſed Spirit. The Matter of this Sin in the Jew, and modern Jeſuite, is all one, for it is the ſelf ſame impiety, only inverted, to ſay or think the Devil is Author of Goodneſs, or the Holy Ghoſt of Miſchief; to make the Devil a Familiar of the Son of God, and the ſon of Satan an Aſſociate of the Holy Spirit. Whether the Popes Works do not oft-times as truly teſtifie his Impurity, as Chriſts did his Sanctity. The Adverſary will ſcarce queſtion I will not conclude, but God grant the Jeſuits Paraſitical* Encomions *of their Popes ſacred Authority, be not wilful, as were the Jews detractings of our Saviour.*

eſteemed and reverenced as the Dictates of the Holy Ghoſt? Did that old *Magus* want wit to inſert this Condition to his requeſt, that whomſoever he ſhould lay his hands upon [*ex Cathedra*] he might receive the Holy Ghoſt? Might not S. *Peter* have conferred this * extraordinary gift as well upon him, as he did his Infallibility upon the Pope? *Simon* did not deſire the Monopoly of beſtowing the Holy Ghoſt, but could have been content to have ſhared with others in this Prerogative; † *Give me alſo this power.* But his Brother in wickedneſs, the Romiſh *Levi*, of what ſpirit ſoever he be, muſt have this Prerogative alone, that whatſoever he ſhall ſpeak, muſt be the Oracle of the Holy Spirit. Is it more to have the Holy Ghoſt attend on *Simon Magus* hands, but not on them alone, than to have him tied only unto the Popes Tongue or Pen? The ſpiritual Prerogative which he ſought, and that which the Pope uſups, are (on the Popes part at leaſt) equal. The manner or means of ſeeking them, in both alike the ſame. For we hear in the corner of the world, wherein we live, that your Elections of men into *Peters* Chair, do not go *gratis*. I confeſs I do not believe the Corruption of your Clergy ſo firmly, as I do the Articles of my Creed, becauſe I have not expreſs Warrant for it out of this Sacred Canon, which I make the Rule of my Faith: but ere you can make us Believe the Popes Infallibility, as an Article of Faith, you muſt make evident proof to the contrary: you muſt make it clear by Teſtimony from above, that neither any State of *Italy*, or Foreign Prince, doth make requeſt or ſuit unto your Cardinals, that his Kinſman, his Country-man, or Favourite may be elected Pope before another. We have far greater reaſon to believe, that ſuch offers are both made and taken, than to think that, if a foreign Prince or domeſtick Potentate ſhould offer a Cardinal ſome thouſands of Ducates for his voyce, he would anſwer, (like one that would be *Peters* Succeſſor in ſincerity) * *Thy money periſh with thee, that thinkeſt the Gift of the Holy Ghoſt can be bought with money.*

* *That the Pope hath no ſuch abſolute Authority as he pretends from* S. Peter, *proved by* S. Peters *peremptory denial of the like to* Simon Magus.

† *Acts* 8. 19.

* *Acts* 8. 20.

7. Yet if the Cardinal take any gift upon this Condition, or reſpect any Princes favour in ſuch Election; his and the parties ſin ſoliciting him hereto, is altogether as great as *Simons* was. For the requeſt is in effect thus much: Let ſuch a man have this Prerogative, that on whomſoever he ſhall lay his Curſe, to whomſoever he ſhall impart his Bleſſing, the one ſhall be accurſed, the other bleſſed from above; whatſoever he ſhall determine in any Controverſie ſhall be the dictate of the Holy Ghoſt. And he that yields his voyce upon ſuch conditions, doth take upon him, to beſtow that upon the Pope, which S. *Peter* denied to *Simon Magus*: The Pope thus choſen, doth uſurp that, as beſtowed upon him, which *Simon Magus* did ſeek; his Practice and Profeſſion is continually as villainous as *Simons* deſires were, when he ſought after this; his Bleſſings are no better than *Simons* Charms.

8. It is no marvel if the Jeſuits be ſo eager in this Argument; or the Politick Papiſts ſo forward to diſclaim the Scriptures, for the Rule of Chriſtian Faith. For if men ſhould ſo eſteem of them in heart and deed, thoſe few Rules out of them already alledged, would quickly deſcry the Pope and the Clergy of *Rome*, (I mean their Cardinals and States men) to be of all others the

Comel.

moſt incompetent Judges, either of Scripture-ſenſe, or Controverſies in Religion thence depending: Or were the uſe of Scriptures freely permitted to their Laicks, without the Gloſſes and falſe repreſentations of the Jeſuits, Prieſts or Fryers, they might quickly ſee, that the ſillieſt Soul among them, might ſooner be partaker of the Life-working ſenſe, than their great States-men can be, if ſo they would frame their lives, according to the known Rules thereof, better than ſuch great ones do. For *Sillineſs, or Simplicity of Wit or Underſtanding, doth not ſo much hinder, as Singleneſs of Heart, or Sincerity of Conſcience further men, in the ſearch of Truth neceſſary to their own Salvation.* That Promiſe of our Saviour, (*Habenti dabitur*) * hath its proper place, and peculiar force in this point. Whoſoever he be that yields Sincere Obedience unto the leaſt part of Gods Word known, to him ſhall be given greater knowledge. And of ſuch is the Prophets Speech moſt true, † *They ſhall be all Taught of God, from the greateſt to the leaſt.* As well the mean Scholars and ſillieſt ſouls, as the greateſt and wiſeſt Doctors. * For with great worldly Wiſdom there is always great Pride, the greateſt Adverſary to true and ſanctified Chriſtian Knowledge: and the beſt ſort of Secular Learning puffeth up. All the skill which men ſo minded can attain unto in Heavenly matters, is but like Leſſons got by rote. It muſt be quite forgotten, at leaſt utterly renounced and laid aſide, before we can be admitted into the School of Chriſt, in which all in this life are but *parvuli*, petties, or children, for their ſimplicity and harmleſs minds, for lowlineſs and Nullity of ſelf-conceit. Hence ſaith our Apoſtle, † *If any man think himſelf wiſe, let him become a fool, that he may learn wiſdom aright*: And our Saviour Chriſt ſaith unto his Diſciples, * *Except ye be converted and become like little children, ye ſhall not enter into the Kingdom of heaven,* that is, they cannot be capable of this Heavenly Doctrine. For true and ſanctifying Grace muſt be ingrafted in this harmleſs ſimplicity, and child-like Diſpoſition.

* Mark 4. 24, 25. *And he ſaid unto them, take heed what ye hear, with what meaſure you mete, it ſhall be meaſured unto you,* and unto you that have more ſhall be given. *For unto him that hath ſhall be given, and from him that hath not ſhall be taken away, even that he hath.*

† *Jer.* 31. 34.

* Apoſtolus autem ſpiritu ſancto locutus ait, Scientia inflat, charitas vero ædificat. Quod rectè aliter non intelligitur, niſi ſcientiam tunc prodeſſe, cum charitas ineſt: ſine hac autem inflare, id eſt, in ſuperbiam inaniſſimæ quaſi ventoſitatis extollere. *Auguſtin. lib.* 9. *de Civit. Dei cap.* 20. *The like Affection in the Pope or Clergy of* Rome *maketh them arrogate ſo much unto themſelves in this buſineſs of eſtabliſhing Belief. That which S.* Auſtin *addeth in the ſame place, ſeemeth in proportion true of them.* Eſt ergo in dæmonibus ſcientia ſine charitate: & ideo tam inflati, id eſt, tam ſuperbi ſunt, ut honores divinos, & religionis ſervitutem, quam vero Deo deberi ſciunt, ſibi ſategerint exhiberi, & quantum poſſunt, & apud quos poſſunt, adhuc agunt. *And again.* Contra ſuperbiam porro Dæmonum, qua pro meritis poſſidebatur genus humanum, Dei humilitas quæ in forma ſervi apparuit, quantam virtutem habeat, animæ hominum neſciunt, immunditia elationis inflatæ, dæmonibus ſimiles ſuperbia non ſcientia. * *The firſt of the Corinth.* 3. *Chapt. verſ.* 18. Vid. *Job* 37. *verſ.* 24. † *Mat.* 18. 3.

9. It is the nature and property of Gods Word to be plain and facile unto ſuch as are of Diſpoſition ſemblable to it; as to the ſincere of heart, ſingle in life, and plain in dealing: but obſcure and difficult unto the worldly-wiſe. The ſimplicity of it, and the ſubtilty of the Politician, or ſecular Artiſt, parallel as ill, as a ſtrait Rule or Square with a diſtorted crooked ſtick: *The teſtimony of the Lord* (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) *is ſure, and giveth wiſdom to the Simple.* The word * in the Original *ſilly* or *credulous*, ſuch as in worldly affairs are more eaſie to be deceived, than apt to deceive: and is rendred by the Septuagint νήπια, *parvuli,* which word it pleaſed our Saviour to uſe, when he intimates this Perſpicuity of Gods Word unto ſuch little ones, *I thank thee, O father, Lord of heaven and earth, becauſe*

Ingenuous Simplicity (ſuch as the Orator meant when he ſaid, Omne officium ſimplex eſt) *and plain dealing are Qualities beſt Symbolizing with the internal Propriety of Scritures.*

Pſal 19.7.

* פתי

Mat. 11. 25.

thou haſt hid theſe things from the wiſe, and men of underſtanding, and haſt opened them unto Babes. It is ſo, O father, becauſe thy good pleaſure was ſuch. Such as in this whole diſcourſe we have ſuppoſed, (and this place doth prove:) that is, *Such* as had decreed that the Doctrine of Life ſhould be moſt difficult and hard to proud, diſobedient, or craftily-minded men, but moſt perſpicuous (becauſe to be revealed by God) unto ſuch little ones. And again, (leſt any man ſhould preſume upon his Wiſdom, or dexterity of Wit) he tells us expreſly, *no man knoweth the Father, but the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal him.* And his Will is, to reveal himſelf, and his Word unto all, and only ſuch as we have ſaid, to little Ones, or ſuch as become little Children, caſting off the burthen of Age, which hath brought ſuch faintneſs and wearineſs upon their Souls, that they cannot hope for any good ſucceſs in the Courſe which tends to everlaſting life, until they be diſburthened of all former Cares, And hence in the next verſe his words are general, [*Come unto me all ye that are weary and heavy laden.*] So they will take up his yoke, which is eaſie, and his Burthen which is light, he will free them from all the grievances and diſcommodities of their former yoke, learning but this one Leſſon of Humility and Meekneſs of him, it will teach them all the reſt; for by it they ſhall *find reſt unto their ſouls*: which, Chriſt will refreſh, not as the Pope doth with Anathema's, binding unto Negatives, but with the true taſte of this Water of Life.

Verſ. 27.

10. Nor will * any of our Adverſaries (I hope) be ſo perverſe, as to ſay, our Saviours Doctrine in this place did hold true only for that time, wherein the Knowledge of Chriſt, and Doctrine of his Goſpel was to be firſt publiſhed. For ſuch perverſity would bewray ſo great ignorance in Scriptures, and little experience in the courſe of Chriſtianity, as they would be aſhamed to be ſuſpected of. For who ſees not this Oppoſition between worldly wiſdom, and heavenly knowledge, to continue ſtill in their ſeveral Profeſſors throughout all Ages. Nor can any man be ſure, his Faith is not humorous or hypocritical, unleſs he be transformed into ſuch a little One, as Chriſt here ſpeaks of, and have true Humility ſurely planted in his heart. *This is the Fundamental or firſt Principle, whereinto Faith muſt be reſolved*: even all thoſe Graces or Pledges of Gods favour whereon moſt rely in trial of their Spiritual eſtate, muſt be apparantly ſeated in *this Lowlineſs and Simplicity*, or elſe every man through the Multiplicity, and Subtilty of his own heart, ſhall be overſeen in his perſwaſions.

** Or if they will, we ſhall meet with their Exceptions in the Article of the Godhead, and other Treatiſes hereafter.*

11. A lively Experiment of our Saviours Doctrine, and our Aſſertion in this point, we have in * S. *Auſtin*, as himſelf witneſſeth: *I purpoſed to look into the ſacred Sariptures, that I might ſee what manner of Writings they were. And lo I light on a matter altogether hid from the proud, and yet not laid open unto children, in progreſs lowly, in proceſs or iſſue ſtately, and wrapped in myſteries: Finally, ſuch as my quality made me uncapable of entrance unto it. For the property of it was to grow up with little ones, but I diſdained to be a little one, and ſwoln with faſtuous conceit, in mine own eyes I ſeemed a great one.* Here

* Inſtitui (inquit) animum intendere in ſcripturas ſacras, ut viderem quales eſſent. Et ecce video rem non compertam ſuperbis, neque nudatam pueris, ſed inceſſu humilem, ſucceſſu excelſam & velatam myſteriis: & non eram ego talis ut intrare ad eam poſſem. Nam illa erat quæ creſcebat cum parvulis; ſed ego dedignabar eſſe parvulus, & faſtu turgidus mihi grandis eſſe videbar. *Aug. lib. 3. Confeſſ. cap. 5.*

† *Valentian* (ſucking poyſon out of this Reverend Fathers Hony) demands importunately, whether it be a matter of no difficulty, *to procure our freedom from this tumor of viciouſneſs. To have our hearts purged from that Soot which is as the Jewiſh veil unto them.* And finally, *whether it be ſo eaſie a matter*, (as we, to his ſeeming, make it) *to become humble and meek, without which vertues* the Scriptures *were obſcure and difficult unto* * Auſtin *himſelf*, otherwiſe *a man of excellent wit.*

* An vero nullius difficultatis res eſt, ab hoc tumore vitiorum vacuum eſſe, eorumq; fuligine velatum cor, inſtar Judæorum, non habere, ſed humilem fieri ac docilem diſcipulum ad hujuſmodi Spiritus ſancti diſciplinam capeſſendam; *Valentian Tom.* 3. *diſp.* 1. *quæſt.*1.*Punct.*7.*Sect.*4. * *S.* Auſtin *ſuppoſeth the Scriptures to contain in them the Words of Life, but intimateth no other Means by which either the Scripture ſhould become more plain, or the ſaving Truth which they taught be otherwiſe manifeſted to his ſoul, than only by practiſing ſuch Rules as the Scriptures preſcribe, for their right underſtanidng, whnce the Madneſs of this Romiſh Doctor may again appear. See the ſecond part of this laſt Folly, in the annotations unto the third Paragraph of the Sixteenth Chapter.*

12. Methinks this cumberſom Jeſuits cholerick ſtrain, and Foolhardy paſſionate carriage in this whole Controverſie, doth lively reſemble a Strong Sturdy Lubber, that had thruſt himſelf unawares into a Quarrel, which he is no way able to make good; yet ſo ſtubborn, that he will not give over, *but fights, and winks, and cries,* (and hit he miſs he) lays about him. For can any man think, he ſees where theſe fierce Blows will light? As much as we have ſaid, is moſt clear out of this very place of *Auſtin*, which he would throw upon us. Moſt clear it is, that unto ſuch as follow our Saviours Method, ſet down before, that is, unto ſuch as will become like little Children, and begin (as it were) anew again; the Scripture (which for the preſent ſeems hard to all far entred into the Worlds School) is perſpicuous, clear, and eaſie to be learned. But whether it be hard to become ſuch a One, or whether it be a a difficult matter to lay aſide all Pride, and Self-conceit, is no part of the Point now in queſtion, nothing at all to this intended purpoſe. To man, no doubt, it is moſt hard, or rather altogether impoſſible. But what it is to man once made partaker of the Grace of God, and Power of his Spirit, let Chriſt Jeſus the Fountain of Grace be Judge. He hath told us that * *his yoke is eaſie, and his burthen light.* Or will they reply, that his yoke is eaſie indeed to bear, when it is taken up, but hard to take up. Our Saviours next words imply the contrary: but of this Queſtion we ſhall take occaſion hereafter. Only now I ſay the Jeſuites of all other are moſt uncapable of this Plea. For they hold Free-Will in men, whereby they may Aſſent unto Grace offered: and if men have Free-Will, and Chriſt offer his Grace unto ſuch, as uſe it well, the learning of Humility, and taking up his yoke will be eaſie through Grace, though impoſſible to Nature. But let this Queſtion concerning Grace and Free-will, ſtand ſtill, as it doth, in Controverſie, betwixt us and them, and the Lutherans. This is granted by all; that if Chriſt grant his Grace to all that will endeavour to follow his Precepts, then it is eaſie to all, to learn this firſt Leſſon of Chriſtianity, *Lowlineſs and Meekneſs*, the Rudiments of true Knowledge in Scripture, without which all other Learning in them is but Verbal. As this is confeſſed by all, ſo would I I be reſolved by any Jeſuite, whether, if it be Chriſts pleaſure to deny his Grace to any, it be not altogeter impoſſible for him to learn this Leſſon perfectly, or to become a good Proficient in the School of Chriſt, although the Pope, their ſuppoſed infallible Teacher

Mat. 11. 30.
* *His yoke and burthen is the practice of patience and humility which* Valentian *ſaith is ſo hard.*

Teacher, ſhould vouchſafe to Catechize him *ex Cathedra.* What hath this Jeſuit got then, by his fierce objecting this difficulty of learning Humility, for to make the Scriptures ſeem Obſcure? If the ſame Obſcurity, the ſame Impoſſibility of underſtanding them aright, ſtill remain, albeit the Pope himſelf, ſhould ſtretch his plenary power, to illuſtrate them with his infallible Authority.

13. Or will it not be more hard for the Pope (being ſo highly placed in Secular Honour and Dignity as he is) to ſtoop ſo low as a little Child for Lowlineſs of mind, than it will be for us poor and ſilly men. If it be more hard for him, than us ſo to do, we are more likely to become better Scholars in Chriſts School, than his infallible Holineſs, more likely to be more certain of the true ſenſe or meaning of Scriptures than he can be, much more certain (in all neceſſary points) hereof, than he can be of his *Infallibility.* For this Leſſon of true Humility muſt of neceſſity be learned, ere we can proceed in the true knowledge of theſe Myſteries. Suppoſe this be a very hard Leſſon to learn, yet (*cæteris paribus*) it will be harder as mens places are higher, or their dignities greater: hardeſt of all to men of higheſt place and greateſt dignities, eſpecially if their advancements to ſuch pre-eminences be (as many Popes and Cardinals have been) *per ſaltum,* or *ab extremo in extremum ſine medio,* like lazy Beggars ſuddenly mounted on ſtately ſteeds: ſhall then this Difficulty late objected deprive theſe Scriptures of this dignity, which we plead for? Shall this debar them from being the infallible Rule of Faith? or rather do they not, in giving this very Rule of learning Humility, and thus forewarning of their Impoſſibility to be underſtood without it, approve themſelves to be an excellent Rule of Faith; a more excellent Rule for theſe ſuper-excellent Divine Myſteries, than any other Rules are for ordinary, petty, or trivial Arts? for ſuppoſe *Bellarmine,* or any other more exquiſite, though he an excellent Teacher of the Hebrew Tongue, ſhould in his Grammar *have given* this Caveat (eaſie to be confirmed by ſound Reaſon and Experience) that whoſoever would become perfect in that Language, ſhould begin his ſtudy in his younger days, before he were engaged to ſubtile or profounder Studies, or given to deep meditations of Realties, otherwiſe it would be very hard for him, to deſcend again unto Grammar Rules, and begin like a School-boy to conn Declenſions, Conjugations, without which, and many other petty Rules about altering of Vowels, he conld never hope to be an abſolute Hebrician: Had *Bellarmin* ſet down theſe or like *Caveats* more at large, ſhould this Admonition be accounted any juſt Exception, why his Grammar (otherwiſe ſuppoſed Authentick) ſhould not be a perfect Rule for learning Hebrew? or muſt we for this reaſon have ſtretched our wits to invent ſome infallible Teacher of Hebrew for ſuch men? I am ſure he that ſhould have found the truth of his Admonitions by Experience in himſelf, or Obſervation in others, would commend his Judgement herein, and think ſo much better of his Grammar, or wiſh that he himſelf had known, or others would obſerve theſe Admonitions, whiles they were young, and rather uſe *Bellarmin* than Experience, for their School-maſter in this point.

14. Doubtleſs it is for want of acquainting Youth, and Childhood with the former Rules of Scripture, which make the Scripture

generally either ſeem Obſcure or Difficult, or cauſeth men miſtake them ſeeming evident. For when they are grown to mans eſtate, or be embarked in worldly Affairs, or inveſted in ſecular dignities, before they have ſtudied Scriptures, or practiſed the former Precepts: This ſeeming difficulty, either moveth them to ſeek for other Rules, more eaſie to their Capacity, or not to care for any Rule of Faith at all, or elſe to transform this which God hath given for reforming his Image in them, into the nature of their corrupt affections. Were this Leſſon of becoming like little children, throughly planted in our hearts, when we were children: true Knowledge in other parts of Scriptures would grow with us, and Faith (once planted in Humility, while our hearts were tender, and eaſie to be wrought upon by this plain and eaſie Precept) albeit at the firſt but like a grain of muſtard-ſeed, yet having got the ſtart of Pride, and deſire of ſecular glory in the Spring, ſhould afterwards flouriſh in all heavenly Knowledge, and fructifie in every good and acceptable Work, without the husbandry, lopping, or pruning of an infallible Teacher. But if we, either through our own Wilfulneſs, or Parents Negligence, have perverted the ways of our Youth, that they will not parallel this ſtrait and eaſie Rule, ſhall Gods Righteouſneſs be prejudiced by our Iniquity? ſhall not his Ways (this Way of Life) be equal, becauſe our Ways be unequal? Muſt we become like *Seneca*'s blind Woman, who accuſed every place, wherein ſhe could not ſee, for being too dark: muſt the Scriptures for our blindneſs of heart, be thought obſcure? not in themſelves (ſaith the Jeſuite) but unto us: how unto us? or unto which of us? only to ſuch as are therefore become blind, becauſe they have not in time, been made acquainted with this Light. For otherwiſe the Scriptures were written to Enlighten us, not themſelves, or ſuch as wrote them. And unto ſuch, as are blinded in their own deſires, difficult they are and obſcure, without any reſpect of perſons: to the Pope, as well as to any meaner man, not more proud, or carnal than he. Thus we ſee our Adverſaries cannot offer one blow againſt us in this point, but we can make it fall more heavy upon themſelves. And well were it, if their Objections did light heavy only upon the Objecters themſelves, for they have deſerved it. *But here I muſt intreat the Chriſtian Reader to conſider well upon whom their uſual Objections of Scriptures obſcurity are moſt likely to fall*: Upon us, for whoſe good they were given; Or upon God the Father who gave them; his Son that partly ſpake them; his Holy Spirit who only taught them; his Prophets, Apoſtles, Evangeliſts, or other his bleſſed Miniſters which wrote them.

Chap. XV.

The Romaniſts Objections againſt the Scriptures for being Obſcure, do more directly impeach their firſt Author and his Meſſengers their Pen-men, than us, or the Cauſe in hand.

1. That theſe Scriptures (which our Church holds Canonical, and we now maintain to be the Rule of Faith) were given for the good of Chriſts Church, or Multitude of faithful men throughout the World, our Adverſaries will not deny: or if they would, the Scriptures, which expreſly to deny they dare not, bear evident Teſtimony hereof. Infinite places are brought to this purpoſe, by ſuch as handle that Queſtion, Whether the written Word contain all Points neceſſary to Salvation.

2. Saint *John* ſaith he wrote his Goſpel *that we might Believe*. By what Authority did he undertake, by whoſe Aſſiſtance did he perform this Work? Undertaken it was by Gods appointment, effected by the aſſiſtance of his Eternal Spirit, to the end we might Believe the Truth: what Truth? That which he wrote concerning the Myſteries of mans Salvation. But how far did he intend, this our Belief of ſuch Myſteries ſhould be ſet forward by his Pen: Unto the firſt Rudiments only, or unto the midway of our Courſe to Heaven? Queſtionleſs unto the utmoſt Period of all our Hopes: for he wrote theſe things *that we might Believe*; * yea ſo believe in Chriſt, as by *Believing we might have Life through his Name*. Was he aſſiſted by the Eternal Spirit, who then perfectly knew the ſeveral tempers, and capacities of every Age? And did he by his direction aim at the perfect Belief of ſucceeding Ages, as the end and ſcope of all his Writings? And yet did he write ſo obſcurely, that he could not be underſtood of them, for whoſe good he wrote? Out of Controverſie his deſire was to be underſtood of all, for he envied no man Knowledge, nor taught he the Faith *of our glorious Lord Jeſus Chriſt with reſpect of perſons*. He wiſhed that not the great *Agrippaes*, or ſome few choice ones only, *but all that ſhould hear* or read his Writings to the Worlds end, might be, *not almoſt, but altogether ſuch as he was*, Faithful Believers. From his fervent deſire of ſo happy an end as the Salvation of all, he ſo earneſtly ſought the only correſpondent Means, to wit, Poſterities full inſtruction in the Myſteries thereto belonging. And for better Symbolizing with the ignorant, or men (as moſt of us are) of duller capacity in ſuch profound Myſteries: his Paraphraſe upon our Saviours ſpeeches, is oft-times ſo copious, as would be cenſured for prolixity or Tautology in an Artiſt. But ſeeing the common ſalvation of others, not his own Applauſe, was the thing he ſought, he diſdains not to repeat the ſame thing, ſometimes in the ſame, otherwhiles in different words, becoming in ſpeech as his fellow * Apoſtle was in Carriage, All unto all, that he might at leaſtwiſe, of every ſort gain ſome: oft-times † ſollicitous to prevent all occaſion of miſtaking our Saviours Meaning, though in matters wherein Ignorance could not be deadly, nor Errour ſo eaſie or dangerous, as in thoſe other Profundities of greateſt moment, which he ſo dilates and works

The Perſpicuity of Scriptures (to ſuch as obſerve the former Rules) proved from the End why they were written, and the Evangeliſts careful endeavours to make them plain.

* *John* 20. 31.

James 2. 1.

* 1 *Cor.* 9. 22.

† *John* 21. 23. & *cap.* 2. 21.

upon, as if he would have them tranſparent to all Chriſtian eyes.

3. Do not all the Evangeliſts aim at the ſame end? do they not in as plain terms as they could deviſe, or we would wiſh, divulge to all the world the true Senſe and Meaning of our Saviours Parables, which neither the promiſcuous Multitude, to whom he ſpake, nor his ſelect Diſciples or Apoſtles themſelves (until they were privately inſtructed) underſtood aright, as they themſelves teſtifie: ſo little aſhamed are they to confeſs their own, ſo they may hereby expel or prevent like, ignorance, in others. *Tell me:* Were not our Saviours Parables expounded by his bleſſed mouth, as plain Rules of Life as may (without prejudice to his All-ſufficiency) be expected from any other mans? Are not his ſimilitudes (wherein notwithſtanding are wrapt the greateſt Myſteries of the Kingdom) drawn from ſuch matters of common Uſe, as cannot change whilſt Nature remains the ſame? for the moſt part ſo plain and eaſie, as will apply themſelves to the attentive, or well-exerciſed in Moralities? Strange it ſeemed unto our Saviour, that his Diſciples ſhould not at the firſt propoſal underſtand them: * *Perceive ye not this Parable? how ſhould you then underſtand all other Parables?* Yet happy were they, that they were not aſhamed to bewray their Ignorance, by asking when they doubted, though in a point of little Difficulty. This good deſire of progreſs in their courſe begun, brought them within the Hemiſphere of that glorious light, whereby they were enabled afterward to diſcern the greateſt Myſteries of the Kingdom. And unto their Queſtion concerning the meaning of that great Parable of the Sower, which is one of the Fundamental Rules of Life; Our Saviour immediately replies, † *To you it is given to know the Myſteries of the Kingdom of God: but unto them that are without, all things are done in Parables, that they hearing may hear, and not underſtand, leſt at any time they ſhould turn, and their ſins ſhould be forgiven them.*

* *Mark* 4. 13. *Mat.* 15. 16.

† *Mark* 4. 11. *Theſe words confirm the Truth of the ſtate of the Queſtion propoſed by us.*

4. Had our Evangeliſts only ſet out the Text, and concealed the Comment, it might have miniſtred matter of ſuſpicion, whether all Chriſtians throughout all Generations, whilſt this Goſpel ſhall endure, ſhould *be taught of God from the greateſt to the leaſt of them*; or, whether Chriſt had not appointed ſome great infallible Teacher as his Vicar-general to ſupply the ſame place ſucceſſively in the Church, that he himſelf had born amongſt his Diſciples; One, on whoſe living Voice all the Flock, beſides, were in all Doubts or Difficulties to relie as the Apoſtles did on Chriſts in the unfolding of this Parable. But ſeeing they have plainly revealed to us in writing, what was revealed to them (concerning the Meaning of this and other Parables of greateſt Uſe) from our bleſſed Saviours Mouth; Their written Relations of theſe Myſteries with their Expoſitions muſt be of the ſame Uſe and Authority unto us, as Chriſts living Words were unto them. And as they were not to repair unto any other but their Maſter alone * *for the Word of Eternal Life*; not to admit any other infallible Teacher for declaration of his Meaning: ſo may not any Chriſtian to this day infallibly relie upon any mans Expoſitions of his Words, already expounded by himſelf, and related by his Apoſtles; theſe laid up like precious ſeed in our hearts, the diligent labours of Gods ordinary Miniſters only ſuppoſed, would bring forth the true and perfect Knowledge

* *John* 6. 68.

of other Precepts of life, in abundance, competent to every man in his rank and order.

5. For ſeeing what our Saviour imparted to his Diſciples in private, is now by Gods Providence plainly communicate unto us. This is an Argument beyond exception, that we are not in their Caſe, who in that Parable are ſaid to be *without*, but of their Number *to whom it is given to know the Myſteries of the Kingdom of God*; unleſs we will in Life and Manners imitate Hypocrites rather than Chriſts Diſciples. And leſt we ſhould prove like theſe Jews, which *having ears to hear would not hear*, though * invited thereto by our Saviour: our Evangeliſts inculcate again and again the Cauſes of this Dulneſs in hearing, or conceiving what is heard, or Averſneſs from the Truth in ſome ſort conceived. They tell us, the Jews, ſometimes for [a] Ambition, ſometimes for [b] Covetouſneſs, [c] generally for Preſumption, Pride, and Hypocriſie, in ſaying they had *Abraham* for their Father, did make themſelves uncapable of ſaving Knowledge. To what purpoſe do men, guided by the Spirit of God, inculcate theſe or like Admonitions ſo oft? That the growth of ſuch carnal Affections might in all ſucceeding Ages be prevented: *That Chriſtian Parents, fore-warned by the lamentable Iſſue of this ſtubbornneſs in* Abrahams *Seed, might teach their Children theſe heavenly Leſſons, which had been ſo diſtaſtful to the Jews, before theſe or other inveterate Humours had brought them to the ſame or like Diſtemper.* For, (as I obſerved before, and this Parable directly proves) might celeſtial Seed take root in Childrens hearts before theſe Secular Weeds ſprung up: their Souls ſhould continually receive Bleſſing from God, and daily drink in theſe Streams of Life, which found no entrance into ſuch Jewiſh barren Soyl, as *did bear nothing but Thorns and Brambles, whoſe end was to be burned*, as altogether unworthy of more watering.

* *Mark* 4. 9.

[a] *John* 5. 44. & 12. 42.
[b] *Luke* 16. 14.
[c] *John* 8. 39. *Matth.* 3. 9.

Hebr. 6. 8.

6. Shall either the World, Devil, or Fleſh, be able to breed the leaſt ſuſpicion in any Chriſtian Heart; whether God who enabled the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts to ſpeak ſo plainly to the Capacity of all ſorts of men, in every Nation, cannot either by increaſing internal Docility in ſucceeding Ages, or ſublevating their dull Capacity by facility and plenty of external Means, repair whatſoever the Injuries of time might detract from the Perſpicuity of Writings Apoſtolical, or Evangelical. So that although the decay of Dialects, abſoluteneſs of Phraſe, or Alterations of Cuſtoms, (whereunto they allude as well known then, becauſe in uſe) might breed ſome difficulty unto Poſterity: yet (unleſs true Faith be decayed with them, or all Characters of Gods Providence worn out of our hearts) how can we diſtruſt, whether, He, by whoſe Wiſdom, as well Divine Myſteries unheard before, as skill to utter them in every Language, were extraordinarily and immediately infuſed into illiterate Souls, without the help or Miniſtery of Man; cannot or will not, by his good Bleſſing upon our endeavours in the ordinary Courſe of attaining skill in Sacred Tongues, continue the uſe of Tongues and all other good Means whatſoever, neceſſary or expedient, either for our right underſtanding, or communicating, the infallible Truth already taught, without any others infallible Aſſiſtance beſides his, who can teach us as infallibly by Means in themſelves not infallible, as he hath done others without any Means at

all. To doubt of Gods Providence in this Point, were to doubt whether he were the ſame God ſtill: and if the ſame, he will (albeit by other Means) perform the ſame Effects ſtill; unleſs the ſins of the Chriſtian World deſerve the contrary, and pull that Blindneſs, which (in our Saviours time) reigned in thoſe Jews, upon themſelves, by like Hardneſs of heart, Pride, or Hypocriſie. And if ſo they do, what ſhall this ſuppoſed Infallibility of the Pope avail? Is his Teaching more infallible than Chriſts was? ſhall he Looſe, where God hath Bound? ſhall he diſanul what the Almighty hath ratified? ſhall he make the Scriptures clear to them, before whoſe hearts the Lord hath laid a Veil? Or ſhall he give Sight, where he that made the eye hath called for Blindneſs? Oh that they could remember this who have forgotten their God and cannot ſee, that whoſoever accuſeth the Scriptures of Difficulty or Obſcurity, doth indict the Omnipotent of Impotency, in not being able to perform what by his Apoſtles he intended.

Chap. XVI.

That all the Pretences of Scriptures Obſcurity are but Miſts and Vapours riſing from the Corruption of the Fleſh, and may by the pure Light of Scriptures rightly applied, eaſily be diſpelled.

1. Unto this and all Demands of like nature, [*If the Scriptures be not Obſcure, how chanceth it, that ſo many find ſuch Difficulties in them, even in thoſe places, which ſeem to contain in them matters of Faith?*] The Anſwer is already given: *It was the Almighties good pleaſure to Decree, that the Scriptures ſhould be plain and eaſie to ſuch as faithfully practiſe their moſt plain and eaſie Precepts, but hard and difficult to be underſtood aright of ſuch as wilfully tranſgreſs them, or knowing them to be Gods Word, do not glorifie them as his Word:* Moſt difficult, moſt impoſſible to be underſtood of ſuch as acknowledging by what Spirit they were written, yet renounce their Authority, or diſclaim them for the Rule of their Faith. All ſuch, though for the clearneſs of their underſtanding in other Speculations they may ſeem to have *Angelical Heads*, yet for Divine Myſteries, have but *Jewiſh* or obſcure *Hearts:* and *being Blinded in their Minds, they imagine the Scripture whereon they look to be Obſcure.* This Anſwer notwithſtanding, though moſt true, will not ſatisfie all. For ſeeing this Blindneſs in moſt men is not Voluntary, at the leaſt, not Wilful or affected, the Captious will yet demand, *How ſhall they help it? The Scriptures plainly teach, how, they may be holpen.* What can be more plain than that Rule: * *If any man want Wiſdom, let him ask of God:* Yea, many do ſo, and yet go without it. So they muſt as the Scripture telleth us, if they ask amiſs. Doth the Scripture then ſerve as a ſtreight Rule to direct them, how they ſhould ask aright? *Yes.* For what Rule can be more plain than that of Saint *John,* † *Whatſoever we ask, we receive of him, becauſe we keep his Commandments, and do thoſe things which are pleaſing in his ſight.* The Promiſe indeed is plain, but the Condition hard: for the firſt thing we would ask of God, is Grace to keep his Commandments. But what hope have ſinners to receive

* *James* 1. 5.

† 1 *Joh.* 3. 22.

ceive this, ſeeing he heareth only ſuch as keep his Commandments? Will this, or any other Rule of Scripture help us out of this Labyrinth? It will not fail us, nor forſake us. For if we have but a deſire to amend our lives, Chriſts words are as plain, as forcible, † *He quencheth not ſmoaking flax, a bruiſed reed he will not break.* And this is his Commandment, that we try the Truth of this and other like ſayings of Comfort by relying upon his mercy; or, if we do but ſeek after Repentance, we do that which is pleaſing in his ſight; for he is not pleaſed in the death of a ſinner, but rejoyceth at his Repentance. If we be wanting to our ſelves in the Practiſe of theſe Rules, the Popes infallible Authority ſhall never be able to ſupply our Negligence; his Bleſſing, where God hath laid his Curſe, ſhall do as little good, as *Balaams* endeavour to Curſe the *Iſraelites* did them harm, whom God had Bleſſed. Obſerving the former Precepts well, the Word of God, which theſe men (belike out of their own Experience) challenge of Obſcurity, ſhould be * *a Lantern unto our feet, and a Light unto our paths*, as it was unto *Davids*.

2. For the Readers further Satisfaction, may it pleaſe him but unpartially to conſider what two of the moſt learned Jeſuites, in matters of modern Controverſies, could anſwer unto this laſt place of the Pſalmiſt, *Bellarmine* would have two ſtrings to his deceitful and broken Bow. *Firſt*, ſaith he, *it may be anſwered, that the Pſalmiſt ſpeaks not of all Scriptures, but of the Commandments only.* If this anſwer of his could ſtand for good, it would ſerve as a new Supporter to our former Aſſertion grounded on our Saviours words in the ſeventh of *John*. For thus the Commandments ſhall not be Obſcure, but *a Lantern unto our feet*, and if we follow them, they will be (as I have ſhewed before) a perfect Light unto us, to diſcern true Doctrine from falſe. And in this reſpect, all good Commandments (not the Decalogue, or theſe Ten only) are properly a Light, whereby we may clearly know as to avoid Evil, ſo to diſcern that which is Good. And by this Light was *David* conducted unto that true Wiſdom which his enemies wanted. [a] *By thy Commandments thou haſt made me wiſer than mine enemies.* But what reaſon had *Bellarmine* to think, that *David* in the forementioned *verſe* ſhould mean the Commandments only? For there he ſaith plainly, *Thy word* דברך, which is much more general than מצותיך עדותיך Commandments or Teſtimonies: yet *David* ſaith, That he had more underſtanding than all his Teachers, not the infallible Teacher that ſate (if any ſuch there were) in *Moſes* Chair excepted. So that his Commandments are a Light, his Teſtimonies a Light, and his Word a Light. And the beſt Interpreters, as well [b] Theirs, as [c] Ours, take theſe words, *Teſtimonies*, *Precepts*, *Commandments*, *Words*, promiſcuouſly throughout this whole Pſalm. Any one of

† *Matt.* 12. 20.

* *Pſal.* 119. 105.

[a] *Pſal.* 119. 98.

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[b] Synonymως autem uſurpat, (etſi *Hilarius* neget) pro divina lege & ſapientia, hæc, utroque numero, Legem, Mandata, Statuta, Viam, Judicia, Teſtimonium, Præcepta, Juſtitiam, Æquitatem, Juſtificationes, Sermones, Verbum, Eloquium, Veritatem. Nam vel non differunt, vel cum re idem ſint, eandémque Dei Legem doctrinámque ſignificent, ratione & notatione duntaxat diſtinguuntur, quatenus legis divinæ qualitates, notæ, perfectiones, proprietates variæ ſunt ac multiplices. *Genebrard.* com. in primam partem Pſal. ſecundum nos, 119.

[c] Vide *Mollerum* in eundem Pſalmum. Verbum Propheticum Lucernæ comparans Apoſtolus Petrus, habemus, inquit, certiorem Propheticum ſermonem, cui bene facitis, intendentes veluti lucernæ lucenti in obſcuro loco. Quod itaque hic ait, lucerna pedibus meis verbum tuum & lumen ſemitis meis: verbum eſt quod ſcripturis ſanctis omnibus continetur. Aug. in verſum Pſalmi citatum, Lucerna pedibus, &c.

theſe (moſt of all the moſt general of all *Words*) ſignifie at leaſt all Scripture which ſerves for mans Direction, in the way of Life.

3. None can be reſtrained to the Decalogue only. This *Bellarmine* ſaw well enough. Wherefore his ſecond Anſwer is; It may (it muſt) be granted, that he ſpeaks of all, or rather of the whole Scripture. But the Scriptures, ſaith he, are called a Lantern and a Light, *non quia facilè intelligantur*, not becauſe they are perſpicuous and eaſie to be underſtood, *ſed quia intellectæ cum fuerint illuſtrant mentem*, but becauſe when they are underſtood, they Illuminate the Mind or Underſtanding. *Thus much we have ſaid before, and ſtill do grant, that the Scriptures are not plain and eaſie unto All, live they as they liſt: nor do they ſhine unto Such, as are Blinded in the Pride, Vanity, or Corruption of their Hearts: yet a Light in themſelves, and a Light to all that Love not Darkneſs more than Light.* A Light, not after they are underſtood, for [a] *David* got true underſtanding by their Light: whoſe Property is, as well to ſhew the way how to avoid that Blindneſs, which cauſeth them to ſeem obſcure, as to illuminate the clear-ſighted. For as by the Sun we ſee what Bodies are not tranſparent or penetrable by its light: ſo by Scriptures we diſcern what be the Obſtacles that hinder the intromiſſion of their Splendour, (in it ſelf, and for it ſelf moſt apparent) into our Hearts. And the Glimpſe of their ſcattered Beams, appearing thorow the Chinks and Ruptures of that Veil of Corruption, which Nature hath woven about the eye-ſight of our Souls, doth enlighten us ſo far as we begin to deſire the Veils removal, that we may have a full fruition of their marvellous and comfortable Light: as men in the Morning after long and irkſom Darkneſs (unleſs *deſirous with the ſluggard in the Proverbs to have a little more ſleep*) are occaſioned to open their Windows, when they ſee the Sun-beams appear in at the Chinks. My meaning is, thoſe Precepts whereof I ſpake before, [*To learn Humility and Meekneſs, Gods Threatnings to ſinners, his ſweet Promiſes to the Penitent, to pray for Wiſdom from above, and infinite other like*] are ſo perſpicuous and clear, that they cannot but find entrance into Enveiled, if not withal maliciouſly Wilful or ſluggiſh Hearts: and finding entrance, cannot but ſuggeſt Conſiderations [b] what their former Life hath been, and whereunto their now profeſſed Hopes do call them, that *now it is time they ſhould ariſe from ſleep, ſeeing Salvation draweth nearer then when they firſt Believed; that the Night is paſt, and the Day at hand, therefore time to caſt away the works of Darkneſs, and put on the armour of Light, to walk honeſtly as in the Day, not in Gluttony and Drunkenneſs, neither in Chambering and Wantonneſs, nor in Strife and Envy.* Unto Hearts thus prepared, the Scriptures need no other Commendation than their own, no infallible Propoſers Authority to illuſtrate or confirm their Truth, more than the Sun doth a more glorious Star to manifeſt his Brightneſs unto men endued with perfect ſight. For unto ſuch as walk like Children of

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[a] *The entrance into thy words ſheweth light, and giveth nderſtanding unto the ſimple,* Pſal. 119. verſe 130. & verſe 104. *By thy Precepts I have gotten underſtanding: therefore I hate all the ways of falſhood. From which words Saint* Auguſtine *gathers this Doctrine:* A mandatis tuis intellexi. Aliud eſt mandata tua intellexi, aliud eſt à mandatis tuis intellexi. Neſcio ergo quid aliud ſe ſignificet intellexiſſe à mandatis Dei; quod eſt, quantum mihi videtur, faciendo mandata Dei, perveniſſe ſe dicit ad earum rerum intelligentiam quas concupiverit ſcire. Propter quod ſcriptum eſt, concupiſti ſapientiam, ſerva mandata, & Dominus præbet eam tibi, ne quiſquam præpoſterus antequam habeat humilitatem obedientiæ, velit ad altitudinem ſapientiæ pervenire, quam capere non poteſt, niſi ordine venerit. Audiat ergo altiora te ne quæſieris, & fortiora te ne ſcrutatus fueris, ſed quæ præcepit tibi Dominus, illa cogita ſemper. Sic homo ad occultorum ſapientiam pervenit per obedientiam mandatorum. Cum autem dixiſſet, quæ tibi præcepit dominus illa cogita: ideo addidit *Semper*, quia & cuſtodienda eſt obedientia, ut percipiatur ſapientia, & perceptâ ſapientiâ, non eſt deſerenda obedientia. *Aug. in Pſal.* 118.

[b] *Rom.* 13. 11, 12, 13.

the Goſpels Light, nothing neceſſary to their Souls health can be hid in Darkneſs; *not the Day of Deſtruction, which ſhall come as a ſnare upon other Inhabitants of the earth, can* [a] *ſteal upon them as a thief in the night.*

4. But unto *Infidels*, *Haughty*, and *Proud-minded men*, unto ſuch as delight in Sin, and love to ſleep in ſinful *Pleaſures*, unto ſuch as ſcorn to be controlled in their Courſes, the Light of Gods Word, if it once ſhine, or ſend ſome ſcattered Raies into their hearts, it ſhines not ſo again, for they draw a Curtain, and ſpread the Veil, leſt further intromiſſion of ſuch Beams might interrupt their pleaſant ſleep. This did *Luther* well teach, (had he been as well underſtood) that the Scripture was only *Obſcure* or difficult *unto Infidels or proud minds*. But *Bellarmine* [b] replies, *At certè* David *non erat ſuperbus aut Infidelis: Sure* David *was neither a proud man, nor an Infidel*, and yet the Scripture was Obſcure and difficult to him. Let him be accounted both, that thinks *David* was either a proud man, or an Infidel. But the Queſtion is not, whether he were, but what was the Cauſe he was not ſuch: was it not [c] *the Perfection of Gods Law which did convert his Soul*? was it not *the Certainty of Gods Teſtimonies that gave Wiſdom unto his Simplicity*? *Yes, by theſe Precepts he had gotten underſtanding, to hate all the ways of Falſhood.* [d] *And except that Law had been his delight, he had periſhed in his Affliction.* [e] How then doth *Bellarmine* prove that Law was Obſcure to him, which as he himſelf confeſſeth [f] *had given Light unto his eyes*? If it were not, why did he pray to God to underſtand it? Then I perceive the Jeſuites drift in this preſent Controverſie is to eſtabliſh a Rule of Faith, ſo eaſie and infallible as might direct in all the ways of Truth without Prayer to God, or any help from Heaven. Such a one it ſeems they deſire, as all might underſtand at the firſt ſight, though living as luxuriouſly as their Popes, or minding worldly matters as much as their Cardinals: *Niſi velint nimium eſſe cæci*, unleſs they would, as *Valentian* ſpeaks, deſire to be Blind.

[a] 1 *Theſ.* 5. 2.

[b] *Bell. lib.* 3. *de verbo Dei, c.* 1.

[c] *Pſal.* 19. 7. *Pſal.* 119. 104.

[d] *Verſe* 92.

[e] *Pſal.* 19. 8.

[f] Videbat *Lutherus* poſſe objici, unde ſint tot controverſiæ, ſi ſcriptura eſt tam clara: duo effugia excogitavit; unum, quod Scriptura, etiamſi alicubi ſit obſcura, tamen illud idem alibi clarè proponit. Alterum, quod Scriptura, licet per ſe clariſſima, tamen ſuperbis & infidelibus ſit obſcura ob eorum cæcitatem, & pravum affectum. Addit Brentius in proleg: Contra Petrum à Soto, tertium effugium, quod etiam interdum ſit obſcura, propter phraſes alienæ linguæ, id eſt, Hebraicæ & Græcæ, tamen ſenſus ejus clariſſimus ſit. Quæ ſententia manifeſtò falſa eſt: nam ſcriptura ipſa de ſua difficultate atque obſcuritate teſtimonium perhibet. Pſal. 119. Da mihi intellectum, & ſcrutabor legem tuam. Ibid. Revela oculos meos, & conſiderabo mirabilia de lege tua. Ibid. Faciem tuam illumina ſuper ſervum tuum, & doce me juſtificationes tuas. Et certè David noverat totam ſcripturam, quæ tunc erat, & noverat phraſes linguæ Hebraicæ, nec erat ſuperbus aut infidelis. Bellarm. lib. 3. de verbo Dei, cap. 1. Bellarmine *would prove the Scriptures to be obſcure, becauſe* David *prays to God for the right underſtanding of them. And* Valentian *would perſwade us to relie upon the Churches infallible Authority, becauſe it is a hard matter to pray unto God* (*as S.* Auguſtine *did*) *for the gift of Interpretation. His words are theſe:* Quid autem precatio ad Deum pro ſapientiæ interpretationiſque ſcripturæ dono? An exigua difficultas eſt & piè & perſeveranter illud cum eodem Auguſtino lib. 11. Confeſſ. cap 2. orare: Domine attende, &c. Valent. tom. 3. diſp. 1. Quæſt. 1. punct. 7. paragr. 4. Theſe words of *Valentian* immediately follow his former obſervation upon S. *Auſtin*, noted *Paragr.* 11. *chap.* 14.

5. Surely more blind than Beetles muſt they be, that can ſuffer themſelves to be perſwaded, that ever God or Chriſt would have a Rule for mans direction, in the Myſteries of Salvation, ſo plain and eaſie, as he ſhould not need to be beholden to his Maker and Redeemer, for the true and perfect underſtanding of it. *This is a Wiſdom and Gift, which cometh only from above*, and muſt be daily and earneſtly ſought for at the hands of God: who (we may reſt aſſured) will be always more ready to grant our Petitions herein with leſs charges, than the Pope to give his Deciſions in a doubtful Caſe. *Had* David *asked this Wiſdom of him that ſate in* Moſes *Chair*, we might

ſuſpect the Pope might be ſued unto. But *Davids* God is our God, his Lord our Chriſt, our Redeemer, and hath ſpoken more plainly unto us than unto *David*, who yet by his Meditations on Gods written Laws, added Light to *Moſes* Writings, as later Prophets have done to his. All which in reſpect of the Goſpels Brightneſs, are but as Lights ſhining in dark places: yet even the leaſt conſpicuous amongſt them, Such, as will give manifeſt evidence againſt us to our eternal Condemnation, if we ſeek this Wiſdom from any others than Chriſts, his Prophets and Apoſtles Doctrine, by any other Means or Mediatourſhip, than *David* did his, from Gods Law written by *Moſes*.

6. Let us now ſee what *Valentian* can ſay unto the fore-cited [b] Teſtimonies, and to that [c] other like unto it. [*We have alſo a moſt ſure Word of the Prophets, to which ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a* [d] *Light that ſhineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-Star ariſeth in your hearts.*] [e] *It is true,* (ſaith the Doctor) *the Word of God is a Light, and this Light is clear and illuminates the eyes. But it muſt be conſidered, how it comes to enlighten our eyes: Do you ſuppoſe that it effects this, in as much as every man doth comprehend it, within the bounds of his private wit, or induſtry, as it were in a little Buſhel? Nothing leſs. But it effects it, as it is placed in the Authority of the Catholick Church, as in a Candleſtick, where it may give Light to all that are in the houſe. For we ſhall ſhew* (ſaith he) *in due place, that this Authority of the Church is the living Judge and Miſtreſs of Faith. And therefore it is neceſſary, that ſhe ſhould carry this Light, which is contained in Holy Writ, and ſhew it unto all, that aſſociate themſelves to her, and remain in her boſom; although they be unlearned men, and ſuch as are not able by themſelves to behold this Light, as it is contained in the Scriptures as in a Lanthorn.*

[b] *Pſalm* 119. *verſe* 105.

[c] 2 *Pet.* 1. *verſe* 19.

[d] *Yet might the Prophets Writings, if any place of Scripture, ſeem obſcure.*

[d] Concedimus igitur pari modo, ſacras literas, quæ divinæ doctrinæ continent lumen, tanquam lucernam eſſe per ſe ipſam ſplendidiſſimam ſemper, atque fulgentiſſimam. Sed nobis tamen conſiderandum eſt, quomodo ſit hoc lumen non in ſe modo lucidum, verum etiam (ut regius Propheta, *Pſal.* 18. dicit) illuminans oculos. Nunquid qua ratione unuſquiſque ingenii proprii atque induſtriæ ſuæ finibus illud tanquam modio quodam exiguo comprehendit? Minime verò, ſed quatenus eſt divinitus in Eccleſiæ Catholicæ Authoritate tanquam in candelabro poſitum, ut luceat omnibus qui in domo ſunt, *Matth.* 5. Hanc enim Eccleſiæ Authoritatem docebimus poſtea ſuo loco, eſſe in univerſum judicem atque magiſtram fidei vivam; idcirco neceſſe eſt, ut lumen illud fidei, quod in divinis literis ſplendet, præferat ipſa atque oſtendat omnibus, qui ad eam aggregantur, in eaque manent, licet ineruditi ſint alioqui, nec valeant ipſi per ſe aſpicere lumen illud, ut in ipſis literis ſanctis tanquam in lucerna continetur, *Valent.* Tom. 3. diſp. 1, quæſt, 1. punct. 7. paragraph. 4,

7. He that could find in his heart to ſpend his Groat, or go a Mile to ſee a Camel dance a Jigge; let him but lay his finger on his mouth, that he ſpoil not the Pageant with immoderate laughing, and he may (without any further coſt, or pains) be partaker of as pretty a Sport, to ſee a grand demure School-Divine, laying aſide his wonted habit of Metaphyſical Proof, turned *Doctour Similitude* on a ſuddain, and ſwaggering it in the Metaphorical Cut. For what one joint or ſtrain is there, in this long laborious vaſt Similitude, that doth any way encline unto the leaſt ſemblance of Truth; or can be drawn, to illuſtrate any ſuch Meaning, as this man intended; or any way to break the force of our Writers Arguments, drawn from the fore-cited places? For, firſt, what Semblance is there between a private mans Interpretation, or Comprehenſion of Scripture-ſence, and the putting of a Light or Candle under a Buſhel? For what though ſome one, ſome few, or more ſuch men, will apprehend this or that to be the full Meaning of ſome controverſed place in Scripture? I am (by our Churches Doctrine)

ctrine) no more bound to believe them, than I am to believe the Pope of *Rome*, whom I never ſaw, nor knew. I am bound to believe neither of them more, than if they ſhould tell me, that the whole Light of that candle which ſhines alike to all, were only comprehended in their eyes. For by our Doctrine I may behold the ſame Light of Scriptures, which they do, as freely as they; Judge of it by by mine own eyes and ſenſe as well as they; not only ſubmit my ſenſe and judgement unto theirs. But if we ſhould (as this Jeſuit would have us) permit the judgement of all Scripture-ſenſe, wholly and irrevocably unto the Pope and his Cardinals; as if their Conſiſtory were the compleat Hemiſphere, or rather the ὅλο *ſphere*, *the whole ſphere* wherein this heavenly Lamp doth ſhine: then indeed we ſhould ſee no more of its Light, than we could of a candle put under a buſhel, or locked up in ſome cloſe room; in which caſe we might believe others, that it did ſhine there ſtill, but whether it did ſo or no, we could not judge by our own eyes. And in like manner would this Doctor perſwade us, that we ſhould judge of this Light of Scriptures, only by the Teſtimony or Authority of ſuch, as ſee it ſhine in the Conſiſtory at *Rome*, not with our own eyes. Had the Lord permitted but one grain of good wit to have remained in this Buſhel of Bran; not Impudence in grain could without bluſhing, have offered to accuſe our Church for hiding the Light of Scriptures under a Buſhel; when as we contend, the free uſe of it ſhould be permitted to the whole Congregation. But he diſputeth of the Light, as blind men may of colours. He lived at *Ingolſtade*, and the Light of Gods Word was at *Rome* lockt up within the compaſs of the Conſiſtory, ſo that he could not ſee to make his compariſon of it. Secondly, what Proportion is there between the Churches Authority, (ſuch Authority as he claims for his Church) and a Candleſtick? Let the Conſiſtory be ſuppoſed the Candleſtick, wherein the Word of God doth ſhine as a light or candle. Doth it indeed ſhine there? unto whom? *To all that will aſſociate themſelves to that Church?* Come then, let every man exhort his neighbour to repair to the Mountain of the Lord. Shall we there immediately ſee the Truth of Scriptures, clearly and diſtinctly with our own eyes, becauſe the Pope, or *Trent*-Council holds out unto us the Book of Canonical Scripture? May private Spirits diſcern their true ſenſe in matters of Faith, as clearly as if they were a Light indeed to thee? Oh no, you quite miſtake his meaning, in making ſuch collections; Let *Valentian* explicate himſelf in the end of this fourth Paragraph.

8. * *After the Church hath once gathered any Opinion out of Scriptures, and thereupon oppoſeth the Scripture (thus underſtood by it, according to the Apoſtolical Tradition) unto contrary Errours: It is extream Impiety and wickedneſs to deſire any more, (either concerning the Authority or Interpretation of that parcel of Scripture) under what Pretence ſoever, of Difficulty, Obſcurity, or the like. For that Scripture*

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* Poſteaquam Eccleſia ſententiam aliquam ex Scriptura colligit, ſcripturamque proinde, ut eſt à ſe ſecundum Apoſtolicam traditionem intellecta, contrariis erroribus opponit: ſumma improbitas eſt, aliquid præterea deſiderare in ejuſmodi ſcripturæ vel authoritate, vel interpretatione, quocunque id fiat ſive difficultatis ſive obſcuritatis prætextu. Quæ enim ſcriptura per authoritatem Eccleſiæ commendatur, explicaturque, ea jam hoc ipſo & maxime eſt authentica, & ſplendidiſſimè clariſſimeque lucet, tanquam lucerna, videlicet (ut ſupra exponebamus) poſita ſuper candelabrum. *Tom.* 3. *diſp.* 1. *quæſt.* 1. *punct.* 7. *paragraph.* 4.

(I pray mark his words well) *which is commended and expounded unto us by the Authority of the Church, that Scripture now* (ea jam) *even for this Reaſon* (hoc ipſo) *is moſt Authentick, and ſhines moſt ſplendently, moſt clearly, like a Light,* videlicet, *as we have formerly expounded, put upon a Candleſtick*: Nay in good ſooth, juſt like a Candleſtick put upon a Light or Candle. For in this Country wherein we live, we ſee the Candleſtick by vertue of the Light, not the Light by means or vertue of the Candleſtick. And yet if your Church be the Candleſtick, as you ſuppoſe, and the Scripture the Light (as you expreſly acknowledge:) we muſt by your Doctrine diſcern the Light of Scriptures, only by the Commendation, Explication, or Illumination of your Church, the Candleſtick. And this Illumination is only her bare Aſſeveration; for Scripture ſhe ſeldom expounds, but only by Negatives or Anathema's. The beſt correction that can be made of this untoward, crooked, unwieldy Similitude, would be this: whereas this Doctor ſuppoſeth the Pope to be the Church, and ſaith further, *neceſſe eſt ut lumen illud fidei quod in divinis literis ſplendet præferat Eccleſia:* Let him put *lucem* for *lumen*, and ſo the Pope (being by his Aſſertion the Church) may be truly called *Lucifer*. And then, as, when cloth ſhrinks in the wetting, men ſhape their Garments accordingly, making ſometimes a Jerkin of that which was intended for a Jacket: ſo out of this unhandſome ill-ſpun Similitude, which was marred in the making, we may frame a ſhorter, which will hold exceeding well, on this faſhion: Even as Satan, being the Prince of Darkneſs, doth to mens ſeeming transform himſelf into an Angel of Light: Juſt ſo doth the Roman *Lucifer*, being (by *Valentians* confeſſion) but the Candleſtick, labour to transform himſelf into the Light it ſelf; and would be taken for ſuch a Light or Candle, as ſhould make the very Light of Heaven it ſelf (Gods Word) to ſhine moſt ſplendently and clearly by the glorious Beams of his Majeſtical Infallibility once caſt upon it. For otherwiſe, unleſs the Supernatural Glory of his Infallibility do infuſe Light, or adde freſh Luſtre to this Light or Lanthorn of Truth, the Candleſtick naturally gives no encreaſe of perſpicuity to the Light or Candle, which will ſhine as clear in a private mans hands, (ſo he will take the pains to hold it) as in a Publick Candleſtick. But that which I would have the ſerious Reader to obſerve eſpecially, is this Speech of his; Scripture, as once commended unto us, or expounded by the Churches Authority, becomes thereby moſt Authentick, and ſhines moſt clearly, and moſt ſplendently. For this ſame Doctor, (if a Doctor may be ſaid the ſame; affirming and denying the ſame) in the beginning of that Diſpute would gladly ſhuffle ſo, as he ſhould not be taken with that Trick, which will diſcredit their cauſe for ever, and deſcry their Villainous Blaſphemy in this Doctrine of their Churches Authority. There he would perſwade us, that he doth not allow of this Speech, [*I believe thus or that to be a Divine Revelation, becauſe the Church doth tell me ſo*:] or of this; [*the Church is the cauſe, why I believe the Divine Revelations*:] whereas this Speech of his, (*Quæ Scriptura per Authoritatem*) doth infer the Authority of the Church to be the very principal, and immediate cauſe of our Aſſent unto Scriptures.

Quæ ſcriptura per authoritatem Eccleſiæ commendatur explicaturq; ea jam hoc ipſo, & maxime authentica eſt, & ſplendidiſſimè clariſſiméq; lucet.

9. Secondly, I would have the ſober Chriſtian Reader to obſerve, what an unhallowed and unchriſtian conceit it is, to admit the Scriptures for a Lanthorn, and yet to affirm that Chriſtians cannot behold the Light therein contained, but only as the Church of *Rome* doth hold it out; what is this elſe, but to call the people from the marvellous Light * of the Goſpel, unto the fearful Lightnings of the Law? And to make the Pope that Mediator, which the people implicitely did requeſt † when they deſired that *Moſes* might ſpeak to them, not God. If we be in Chriſt, then are were not called into Mount *Sinai*, to burning Fire, Blindneſs, Darkneſs, and Tempeſts; this Light of the Goſpel is not environed with a fearful Cloud, or Smoak, threatning Deſtruction if we ſhould go up into the Mount to hear the Lord himſelf ſpeak: We have an Advocate with the Father, and need not look for a *Moſes* to go up for us, while we ſtand trembling afar off. For as our Apoſtle tells us, *Heb.* 12. 22. *We are come unto the Mount Sion, and to the City of the living God, the celeſtial Jeruſalem, and to the company of innumerable Angels, and to the Congregation of the firſt-born, which are written in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the Spirits of juſt and perfect men, and to Jeſus the Mediator of the New Teſtament, and to the blood of ſprinkling, that ſpeaketh better things than that of Abel.* What is the conſequence or effect of this our Calling? Our Apoſtle makes this Inference, *Verſe* 25. *See therefore that ye deſpiſe not him that ſpeaketh.* Whom did he mean? The Pope, or Cardinals? But they would be but of like Authority as *Moſes* was; but he that ſpeaketh unto us, is of far greater. For ſo our Apoſtle collects, *See that ye deſpiſe not him that ſpeaketh: for if they eſcaped not, which refuſed him that ſpake on earth, much more ſhall we not eſcape, if we turn away from him which ſpeaketh from Heaven.* The Iſraelites I ſuppoſe had deſpiſed *Moſes*, if they had admitted any other Infallible Teacher beſides him, whileſt he was alive, or believed any other as well as his Writings, after his death, but only ſo far forth, as they could diſcern their Words to be conſonant unto his. *If* Moſes *Writings were to theſe Jews a plain Rule of faith, then much more muſt Chriſts Word, regiſtred by his Apoſtles and Evangeliſts, be the Rule of faith unto us.* That *Moſes* Doctrine was their Rule of Faith, a Rule moſt plain and eaſie, theſe places following abundantly teſtifie.

* *Yet have the Papiſts in times of Darkneſs, born the people in hand that the Bible was the Holy Mount which no man might approach but the Prieſt.*

† *Exod.* 20. 18.

Chap. XVII.

That the Moſaical Writings were a moſt perfect Rule, plain and eaſie to the Ancient Iſraelites.

1. SO perfect Directions had *Moſes* left for Poſterities perpetual inſtruction, that a great * Prophet in later Ages, deſirous to bring Gods people into the right paths which their Fathers had forſaken, and for this purpoſe profeſſing to impart to them whatſoever he had heard or learned, from his godly Anceſtors; doth but trace out the print of *Moſes* footſteps, almoſt obliterate and overgrown by the ſloth and negligence of former times, wherein every man had trod what way he liked beſt. And though the ſame Prophet deſcend to later Ages, as low as *Davids*; yet he proceeds ſtill by the ſame Rule, relating nothing but ſuch Hiſtorical Events or Experiments as confirm the truth of *Moſes* Divine Predictions, ſuch as are yet extant in Canonical Scriptures. So perfect and abſolute in his judgement, was that part of the Old Teſtament which then was written, to inſtruct, not only the men, ſuch as he was, but every child of God; that he preſumes not to know or teach more then in it was written. And thus much this people ſhould have done by *Moſes* Precept, without a Prophet for their Remembrancer. * *And theſe Words which I command thee this day, ſhall be in thine heart. And thou ſhalt rehearſe them continually unto thy children, and ſhalt talk of them when thou tarrieſt in thine houſe, and as thou walkeſt by the way, and when thou lieſt down, and when thou riſeſt up. And thou ſhalt bind them for a ſign upon thine hand, and they ſhall be as frontlets between thine eyes. Alſo thou ſhalt write them upon the poſts of thine houſe, and upon thy gates.* And again, *Set your hearts unto all the Words, which I command you this day, that you may command them unto your children, that they may obſerve, and do all the Words of this Law. For it is no vain Word concerning you, but it is your Life: and by this Word you ſhall prolong your days.*

* *The Author of the 78 Pſal. v. 3. & 4.*

* *Deut. 6. 6. See* Sasbout *on the words of S.* Paul, *2 Tim. 3. Thou haſt known the Holy Scripture of a childe. Deut,* 32. 46.

2. Queſtionleſs they that were bound to obſerve, and do this Law, were bound to know it; and yet *Moſes* refers them not to his Succeſſor, as if it were ſo obſcure, that it could not poſſibly be known without his Infallibility; but on the contrary, he ſuppoſeth it ſo plain and eaſie, that every Father might inſtruct his Son in it, and every Mother her Daughter. It was their own daily Experience of the fruits and benefits in Obeying, of their harms and plagues in diſobeying his Precepts, which was to ſeal their Truth unto their Conſciences. For without ſuch Obſervation, without ſquaring their Lives, and comparing their thoughts and actions unto this ſtrait and plain Rule, all other Teſtimonies of men, or authorities of their moſt infallible Teachers were in vain. The Miracles which they had ſeen to day, were quite forgotten ere nine days after. Nor could their perſwaſions, or conceit of *Moſes* Infallibility, ſerve them for any Rule, when they had ſhaken off theſe inward cogitations, and meaſured not the truth of his Predictions by experiments. In their temptations they were as ready to diſclaim *Moſes*, as always they were to diſtruſt God whoſe mighty wonders

they had ſeen. To what uſe then did the ſight of all Gods Wonders, or of Miracles wrought by *Moſes* ſerve? Motives they were neceſſary and excellent to incline their ſtubborn hearts to uſe this Law of God for their *Rule*, in all their actions and proceedings: and to cauſe them ſet their hearts unto it, as *Moſes* in his † laſt Words commands them. For this Law, as he had told them * before, was in their hearts.

3. Would any man that doth fear the Lord, or reverence his Word, but ſet his heart to read over this Book of *Deuteronomy*, or the one hundred and nineteenth, with ſundry other *Pſalms*, but with ordinary obſervation or attention, (that ſo the Character of Gods Spirit, ſo lively imprinted in them, might be as an Amulet to prevent the Jeſuits Inchantments:) it would be impoſſible for all the wit of Men or Angels, ever to faſten the leaſt ſuſpicion on his thoughts, whether the Ancient Faithful Iſraelites did take this Law of *Moſes* for their *Infallible Rule* in all their proceedings. For nothing can be made more evident, than this Truth is in it ſelf; That the Iſraelites ſwerving from this Rule, was the cauſe of their departure from their God; and the occaſion, or cauſe of their ſwerving from it, was this deviliſh perſwaſion, which Satan ſuggeſted to them then, (as the Jeſuites do unto the Chriſtian People now) *That this Law was too obſcure, too hard, to difficult to be underſtood*: no compleat Rule for their actions, without Traditions, or † relying upon their Prieſts, or men in chief Authority. This Hypocriſie *Moſes* did well foreſee would be the beginning of all their Miſeries, the very Watch-word to Apoſtaſie. For which cauſe he labours ſo ſeriouſly to prevent it. Deut. 30. 14. *For this Commandment which I ſet before thee this day, is not hid from thee, neither far off, but the Word is very near unto thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart, to do it.* How was it in their Mouths, and in their Hearts, when it was ſo obſcure and difficult unto them, after *Moſes* death? It was in their Hearts, and in their Poſterity too, had they ſet their hearts to it. But as it is true, *Pars ſanitatis eſt velle ſanari, It is a part of health to be willing to be healed*; ſo was it here *Pars morbi, nolle ſanari*, more than *a part of* this their grievous *Diſeaſe*, (their Blindneſs of heart) was their proneneſs to be perſwaded, that this Word or Doctrine, which *Moſes* here taught *was too obſcure and difficult for them to follow.* They firſt began (as the Jeſuits do) to pick Quarrels with God; for which their Stubbornneſs he gave them over to their hearts deſire: And this his Sacred Word, which ſhould have been a Lanthorn unto their feet, and a Light unto their paths, as it was to *Davids*; became a *ſtumbling block, and a ſtone of offence* 1 Cor. 1. 23. What was the reaſon? By their ſwerving from this plain and ſtrait Rule, their ways became crooked, and their actions unjuſt. And it is the Obſervation of the wiſe ſon of *Sirach*: † *As Gods ways are right, and plain unto the juſt, ſo are they ſtumbling Blocks unto the wicked.* Not *Moſes* himſelf, had he been then alive, could have made this, or any other true Rule of Faith, plain unto theſe Jews, whilſt they remained perverſe and ſtubborn. And had they (without *Moſes*, or any infallible Teachers help) caſt off this Crookedneſs of heart, *Moſes* Infallible Doctrine had ſtill remained eaſie, ſtrait and plain unto them. For it was in their Hearts, though hid and ſmothered in the Wrinkles of

their

† *Deut.* 32. 46.

* *Deut.* 30. 24.

* *Their Prieſts Authority was never more ſtood upon, then in theſe times wherein* Moſes *was in leaſt requeſt, and their skill in his Writings as little. So in* Jehoiakims *days they oppoſe their Prieſts and other ſtate-Prophets unto* Jeremy. *Jer.* 18. *verſ.* 18. Then ſaid they, Come, and let us imagine ſome device againſt *Jeremiah*: for the Law ſhall not periſh from the Prieſt, nor counſel from the Wiſe, nor the Word from the Prophet: come let us ſmite him with the tongue, and let us not give heed to any of his Words.

† *Eccle.* 39. 24.

their crooked Hearts. In our Saviours time, they will not aſſent uuto the Word written, nor unto the *Eternal Word*, unto which all the Writings of the Prophets gave Teſtimony, unleſs they may ſee a † Sign; What was the cauſe? They had not laid *Moſes* Commandments to their hearts. For * *had they* (from their hearts) † *Believed* Moſes, *they had believed Chriſt*. For all whoſe Miracles, wrought for their good, in their ſight and preſence, they cannot or will not ſee, that his Words were *The words of Eternal Life*, as *Peter* confeſſeth, *John* 6. 68. Nor would any Jeſuit have acknowledged as much had he been in their place. For why ſhould he? Any other might ſay, he had the Spirit of God, and that he was the Meſſias; and what if *Peter* one of his Fellows, late a Fiſher-man, did confeſs him? The Scribes and Phariſees, principal Members of the viſible Church, deny him to be their Meſſias. And how ſhould they know his Words to be the Word of God, unleſs the Church had confirmed them? If Chriſt himſelf ſhould have ſaid in their hearing as he did to the Jews, *John* 5, 46. Moſes *wrote of me, conſider his Doctrine, and lay it to your hearts*: A Jeſuit would have replied, You ſay *Moſes* wrote of you; But how ſhall we know that he meant you? *Moſes* is dead and ſays nothing, and they that ſit in his Chair ſay otherwiſe. And verily the Scribes and Phariſees had far greater Probabilities to plead for the Infallibility of that Chair, than the Jeſuits can have for their Popes: who, had they been in the others place, could have coyned more matter out of that one ſaying of our Saviour, *Mat.* 23. 2. *Sedent in Cathedra Moſis*, for the Scribes and Phariſees infallible Authority, than all the Papiſts in the world have been able to extract out of all the Scriptures that are or can be urged, for the Pope, or Church of *Romes* Infallibility.

† *John* 6. 30.
1 *Cor.* 1. 22.
* *John* 5, 46.

† Quod vero ſubjungit Malachias, Mementote legis Moiſi ſervi mei quam mandavi ei in Choreb ad omnem Iſrael: præcepta & judicia opportune commemorat, poſt declaratum magnum futurum inter obſervatores legis contemptoréſq; diſcrimen: ſimul etiam ut diſcant legem ſpiritualiter intelligere, & inveniant in ea Chriſtum per quem judicem facienda eſt inter bonos & malos ipſa diſcretio. Non enim fruſtra idem Dominus ait Judæis, ſi crederetis Moiſi, crederetis & mihi, de me enim ille ſcripſit: Carnaliter quippe accipiendo legem, & ejus promiſſa terrena rerum cæleſtium figuras eſſe neſcientes in illa murmura corruerunt, ut dicere auderent: Vanus eſt qui ſervit Deo. Et quid amplius quia cuſtodivimus mandata ejus, & quia ambulavimus ſimplices ante faciem Domini omnipotentis. *Auguſt. de civitate Dei lib.* 20. *cap* 28.

4. The Scribes and Phariſees (though no way comparable to the Jeſuits, for cunning in painting rotten, or ſubtilty in oppugning cauſes true and ſound) could urge for themſelves, againſt ſuch as confeſſed Chriſt, that *none of the Rulers, nor of the Phariſees did Believe him*; *but only a Curſed Crew of ſuch as knew not the Law*, John 7. 48. They could Object the Law was obſcure, and the Interpretation of it did belong to them. But could theſe pretences excuſe the people for not obeying Chriſts Doctrine? You will ſay (perhaps) they could not be excuſed, becauſe Chriſts Miracles were ſo many and manifeſt. Theſe were ſomewhat indeed, if Chriſt had been their Accuſer. But our * Saviour ſaith plainly, *that he would not accuſe them to his Father*. And for this cauſe he would not work many Miracles amongſt ſuch as were not moved with the like already wrought, leſt he ſhould encreaſe their ſins. If Chriſt did

* *Our Saviours Miracles and manner of life, ſo fully ſuitable the to Moſaical Types and Predictions of him, condemned the Jews of wilful Malice and affected Blindneſs, for not laying* Moſes *Law unto their hearts, whoſe Spiritual ſenſe would have brought forth the light of the Goſpel therein contained, as the Branch in the Root. So that* Moſes *condemns them immediately, becauſe he was their School-Maſter, and would have taught them Chriſt, ſo they would have practiſed his Rules which they acknowledged. Chriſts Miracles condemn them mediately, and leaves them without excuſe for not looking more narrowly into the Spiritual ſenſe of* Moſes *Writings, which would have enlightned them to have diſcerned the Glory of Chriſt and his Goſpel in his works. So as there is no contradiction, but ſubordination betwixt thoſe places which tell us Chriſts Words did condemn them, and others wherein* Moſes *or the Prophets are ſaid to condemn or leave them without excuſe.*

not, who then had reaſon to accuſe them? *Moſes*, as it is in the ſame place, did: *Moſes*, *in whom they truſted*, and on whom they faſtened their *Implicite Faith*: *Moſes*, of whom they thought and ſaid, *We will believe, as he believed*: *Moſes*, whoſe Doctrine they (to their ſeeming) ſtood as ſtifly for, againſt Chriſts new Doctrine, (as they ſuppoſed) as the Jeſuits do for the Catholick Church (as they think) againſt Hereticks and Sectaries, as they term us. Why then is *Moſes*, whom thus they honoured, become their chief Accuſer? becauſe while they did Believe on him, only for Tradition, or from pretence of Succeſſion, or for the dignity of their Temple, Church, or Nation, they did not indeed Believe him, nor his Doctrine. For had they believed his Doctrine, *they had believed Chriſt*; *For he wrote of Chriſt*. So he might (thinks the Jeſuit) and yet write ſo obſcurely of him, as his Writings could be no Rule of Faith to the Jews without the *Viſible Churches Authority*. Yea rather they ſhould and might have been a Rule unto them for their good, *againſt the Viſible Churches Authority*, and now remain a Rule or Law againſt both, to their juſt condemnation, becauſe the Doctrine of Chriſt was ſo plainly and clearly ſet down in theſe Writings, had they ſet their hearts unto them. Even the knowledge of Chriſt, the Word of life it ſelf, *was in their mouths, and in their hearts*. For that Commandment which *Moſes* there gave them, was *That Word of Faith*, which S. *Paul* the Infallible Teacher of the Gentiles did preach, as he himſelf teſtifies, *Rom.* 10. 8. If any man ask how this place was ſo eaſie to be underſtood of Chriſt; or how by the Doctrine of *Moſes* Law, the doctrine of the Goſpel might have been manifeſted to their Conſciences: my Anſwer is already ſet down in our Saviours words; ***Had they done Gods will (revealed unto them in that Law) they ſhould have known Chriſts Doctrine to have been of God.***

5. Had they, according to the Preſcript of *Moſes* Law, repented them of their ſins from the bottom of their hearts, the Lord had blotted all their wickedneſs out of his remembrance. And their hearts once purged of Wickedneſs, would have exulted in his preſence that had made them whole; Faith would have faſtened upon his Perſon, though never ſeen before. † Not the Moon more apt to receive the Sun-beams caſt upon it, than theſe Jews hearts to have ſhined with the glory of Chriſt, had they caſt away all Pride, and Self conceit, or the Glory of their Nation: but unto them (as now they are, and long time have been) ſwollen with Pride, and full of Hypocriſie, Chriſts Glory is but as clear Light to ſore or dim ſighted eyes: They wink with their eyes, leſt they ſhould be offended with the Splendor of it. This Doctrine of Chriſt, and Knowledge of Scriptures in points of Faith, ſhall be moſt obſcure to us, if we follow them in their fooliſh pretences of their Viſible Church: moſt clear, perſpicuous, and eaſie, if we lay *Moſes* Commandments to our hearts. For *Truth Inherent muſt be as the eye-ſight*, to diſcern all other things of like nature.

† Malach. *Chap.* 4. *verſ.* 2, 3, 4. 2. *But unto you that fear my name ſhall the Son of Righteouſneſs ariſe, and health ſhall be under his wings, and ye ſhall go forth and grow up as fat calves.* 3. *And ye ſhall tread down the wicked: for they ſhall be duſt under the ſoles of your feet in the day that I ſhall do this, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts.* 4. *Remember the Law of* Moſes *my ſervant, which I commanded unto him in Horeb for all Iſrael, with the ſtatutes and judgements.*

Chap. XVIII.

Concluding this Controverſie according to the ſtate propoſed, with the teſtimony of S. Paul.

* 2 Cor. 4.3,4.

1. We may conclude this Point with our * Apoſtle; *Si Evangelium noſtrum tectum eſt, iis qui pereunt tectum eſt: in quibus Deus hujus ſæculi excæcavit mentes, id eſt, infidelibus, ne irradiet eos lumen Evangelii gloriæ Chriſti, qui eſt imago Dei. If the Goſpel be Obſcure*, or rather hid, (For it is a Light, obſcure it cannot be, God forgive me if I uſed that ſpeech, ſave only in our Adverſaries perſons) *It is hid only to ſuch as have the eyes of their mind Blinded by Satan, the God of this World.* Of which Number, may we not (without breach of Charity) think he was one, who ſeeing the light and evidence of this place, would not ſee it; but thought it a ſufficient Anſwer to ſay, † *Apoſtolus non loquitur de intelligentia Scripturarum, ſed de cognitione & fide in Chriſtum; The Apoſtle ſpeaks not of underſtanding Scriptures, but of Knowing and Believing in Chriſt.* It is well the Jeſuit had ſo much Modeſty in him as to grant this later, that he ſpake at the leaſt of Knowing Chriſt. For if the knowledge of Chriſt be ſo clear to the godly and elect, then are the Scriptures clear too, ſo far as concerns their Faith. For S. *Paul* wrote this, and all his Epiſtles, only to this end, that men might truly come to the knowledge of Chriſt. But he meant of a perfect and true Knowledge, not ſuch as *Bellarmine* (when he gave this Anſwer) dreamed of; *ut neque ſit puer, neque anus Chriſtiana, quæ non ſciat Chriſtum natum, & incarnatum fuiſſe.* S. *Pauls* Goſpel was ſufficiently known (in this mans ſenſe of his words) becauſe there is *neither Chriſtian child, nor old wife, but knows that Chriſt was incarnate and born.* Too many I fear of his, and his fellows catechizing, know Chriſt no otherwiſe, than old Wives, or little Children know ordinary matters or Stories paſt, that is, only by old Wives Tales, lying Legends, or Tradition. And on this faſhion, and better, did the Jews *Know Moſes*, and *Believed* on him; yet did they neither *Know* him, nor his Doctrine, as they ſhould have done, nor in ſuch a ſenſe, as the Scripture uſeth this word *Knowledge.* Such as he would have us content our ſelves withal is rather Blindneſs than Knowledge, and makes a man never awhit the better Chriſtian, but a greater Hypocrite.

† Bellarm. lib. 3. de verb. Dei. cap. 2. Reſp. ad. 5. arg. *The reaſon why* Bellarmin *with his fellows and many other great Scholars beſides, make ſuch Hypocritical Gloſſes of Scriptures plainly teaching what they deny, is their not conſidering that the ſame inordinate Affections which made the Jews to reject the very Hiſtorical Truth or Letter of the Goſpel, makes ſuch as admit it, content themſelves with it only, never looking into the meaning of the Spirit, if it once contradict their Deſires. Of this Fallacy in the* 3. *Sect. of the* 4. *Book.*

2. Let *Bellarmins* anſwer ſtand thus far for true, that the knowing of Chriſt, and belief of the Goſpel, are manifeſt to all, that are not given over to Jewiſh blindneſs. And what it is to know Chriſt, or believe the Goſpel in S. *Pauls* Phraſe, (by Gods aſſiſtance) we ſhall further explicate in the Articles following. *To know Chriſt was all S.* Paul *deſired*, becauſe it contained all knowledge of Scriptures: and whether S. *Paul* did not deſire to know Scriptures, or whether he had not his deſire herein, *let Chriſtian conſciences judge.*

3. And becauſe I muſt conclude this Point, (as I promiſed) with this Teſtimony of S. *Paul*: *Beloved Chriſtian* whoſoever thou art, that ſhalt read theſe Meditations, *ask Counſel of thine own heart, conſult with thy Conſcience, conſider well, and give Sentence betwixt*

me and this Romiſh Doctor, what kind of Knowledge Saint *Paul* here meant: whether an *Implicite or Hear-ſay Knowledge of Chriſt* and his Kingdom in groſs, *or an expreſs, diſtinct, true Knowledge* (raiſed from *Moſes* and the Prophets conſonancy with the Goſpel) *of Scriptures neceſſary to Mens Salvation in their ſeveral Courſes of life. I will* not wrong thy Judgment ſo much, as to ſeek Arguments, or Authorities of Expoſitors, for thy information in this plain undoubted caſe. It ſhall ſuffice to rehearſe the Words of that Law, about whoſe Senſe we now contend, and by which we muſt be tried: from the twelfth verſe of the third, to the ſixth verſe of the fourth Chapter of the ſecond to the *Corinthians*.

4. *Seeing then we have ſuch truſt, we uſe great Boldneſs of Speech, and we are not as* Moſes, *which put a Veil upon his face, that the Children of Iſrael ſhould not look unto the end of that which ſhould be aboliſhed. Therefore their minds are hardened. For until this day remaineth the ſame Covering untaken away in the reading of the Old Teſtament.* Yet was the Old Teſtament the only Scripture in thoſe times eaſie to be underſtood, but for this *Veil. And this Veil* (as the Apoſtle adds, verſe the fourteenth) put away, theſe Scriptures then which were ſo difficult to the Jew, are Eaſie to all that are in Chriſt, by whoſe death *the Veil* was rent, and that Light which ſhone on *Moſes* face as the Sun upon the Eaſtern Sky in the dawning, was fully manifeſted to the Inhabitants of the earth ſince the Sun of Righteouſneſs did appear. For the publiſhing of the Goſpel is the putting away of the former *Veil*. But for the Jews *even until this day*, (ſaith the Apoſtle) *when* Moſes is *read, the Veil is laid over their hearts. Nevertheleſs when their hearts ſhall be turned unto the Lord, the Veil ſhall be taken away.* For this Doctrine of Saint *Paul* (as often hath been ſaid) was *in their Hearts, and in their Mouths*, Deut. 30. 14. 2 *Cor.* 3. 15, 16.

The Apoſtle concludes, *Now the Lord is the Spirit, and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is Liberty*; Liberty indeed in reſpect of that Servitude which was under the Law; then they were Servants *becauſe they knew not their Maſters will*, John 15. 15. but ſince the Miniſtry of the New Teſtament, *we all behold as in a Mirrour, the Glory of the Lord with open face*, *Verſe* 18. Out of our Apoſtles diſcourſe, this is moſt evident, that it was the Glory of his Miniſtry, and Evidence of Doctrine which made him ſo confident in the execution of this Function. God (ſaith he) *hath made us able Miniſters of the New Teſtament, not of the Letter, but of the Spirit*, 2 Cor. 3. 6. And this, compared with the Miniſtry of the Old, did far exceed it in Glory and Perſpicuity, as he proves from the ſixth verſe to the eighteenth. 17.

5. The judicious Reader, though not admoniſhed, would of his own accord obſerve how the Apoſtle takes Clearneſs and Perſpicuity as an Adjunct of the New Teſtaments Glory; the * Jeſuites quite contrary would make the Scriptures Dignity and Majeſty Mother of Difficulty and Obſcurity. But becauſe it was ſo much more glorious and perſpicuous than the Miniſtery of the Old Teſtament was, the Apoſtle infers, 2 *Cor.* 4. 1, 2. *Therefore, ſeeing we have this Miniſtery of the New Teſtament,* (*ſo glorious and perſpicuous*) *as we have received mercy, we faint not; but have caſt off the cloak of ſhame,*

* Cum enim ſcripturam obſcuram eſſe dicimus, non vitium aliquod in doctrinâ ipsâ divinitus tradita ineſſe ſentimus, ſed majeſtatem atque altitudinem potius ejuſmodi ſapientiæ & ſcientiæ Dei, & imbecillitatem ingenii noſtri profitemur. *Valent. tom.* 3. *diſp.* 1. *quæſt.* 1. *punct.* 7. *ſect.* 4.

and walk not in craftineſs, neither handle we the Word of God deceitfully, (for why ſhould any when it will approve it ſelf?) *but in declaration of the Truth approve our ſelves to every mans Conſcience in the ſight of God.* What Proof could he make to their Conſciences, but only from the *Evidence of that Truth which he taught*, and *his Sincerity in teaching it?* *Theſe two* would bind all ſuch as made any conſcience of their ways to admit his Doctrine. Whence he infers in the very next words, *verſe* 3. *If then our Goſpel be hid*, &c. Briefly refuting all the Romaniſts Objections in this Argument, before they were conceived, *punctim*, even to an hairs breadth: For this would have been their common place, had they lived in Saint *Pauls* time. You may boaſt and ſay, your Doctrine of the New Teſtament is evident and manifeſt; but what wiſe man will believe you, when a great many, as good Scholars as your ſelf, think the contrary moſt true. Unto this *Objection of the Jews then, of the Jeſuites now, of Satan both now and then, and always frequent in the mouth of Hell*, our Apoſtle anſwers directly, (as from his Doctrine we have done all the Jeſuites Arguments.) *If the Goſpel be hid*, (as indeed to ſome (too many) it is) *yet it is hid only to them that periſh, whoſe Minds the God of this World hath blinded, that the glorious Goſpel of Chriſt, which is the Image of God, ſhould not ſhine unto them.*

The Goſpel then did ſhine, yet not to Blinded eyes; to whom then? Only to ſuch as were indued with the Spirit of Liberty: ſeeing the New Teſtament, as he ſaid, was the Miniſtry of the Spirit, of which theſe Jews were not partakers; becauſe they followed the Letter or Outſide of the Law, and had *Moſes* Writings, (as children, Leſſons they underſtand not) *at their Tongues end, not in their Hearts.*

Sect. III.

That the continual practice of Hereticks in urging Scriptures to eſtabliſh Hereſie; and the diverſity of Opinions amongſt the Learned about the Senſe of Them, is no juſt Exception, why They ſhould not be acknowledged as the Sole, Entire, and Compleat Rule of Faith.

OUt of the former Diſcourſe, their other *Objections* are almoſt anſwered already; and they be eſpecially *Two*. *The firſt*, If the Scriptures be plain and eaſie, how comes it to paſs, that there ſhould be ſuch Contentions amongſt the Learned about them? Or whence is it, that every Heretick is ſo forward to urge Scriptures for his Opinion even to the Death? *The Second* lies (as it were) in the womb of this, (as this did in the former's) and drawn out in its proper ſhape, is thus. There can be no certain Means of taking up Controverſies or Contentions in the Church, but only by admitting an *Infallible Authority* for deciding all Controverſies *viva voce*, ſeeing the Scripture is always made a party on all ſides, in ſuch Contentions.

2. *In the former Objection they indict the Scriptures as the Principal: in the later, our Church, as an Abetter of ſuch Quarrels* and Contentions as it breeds. For *our Church*, we ſhall anſwer in the next; for *Gods Word*, in this preſent Section.

Chap. XIX.

Containing the true State of the Queſtion, with the Adverſaries General Objections againſt the Truth.

1. IT cannot be denied, that always there have been, and always will continue, Contentions amongſt learned men in Points of Faith or Doctrine, or about the true Senſe or Meaning of Scriptures, in theſe and other Caſes. For thus much theſe Scriptures themſelves do plainly witneſs, *Oportet eſſe Hæreſes. For there muſt be Hereſies, even among you, that they which are approved among you, might be known.* But the Queſtion is not whether there have been, now are, or always ſhall continue many Contentions about the Senſe of Scripture: but *Firſt*, Whether the Scriptures have not plainly ſet down the Original Cauſes and Nurſes of ſuch Contentions, and the Means how to avoid them, (ſo men will be ruled by them) moſt plain for this purpoſe: or, *Secondly*, Whether, not ſubmitting their wills, deſires and affections unto theſe plain and perſpicuous Rules

1 *Cor.* 11. 19.
2 *Pet.* 2. 1.

of life, this ſuppoſed *Infallible Rule* of the Romiſh Church can prevent, remove, or compoſe all ſuch Contentions, according to the Truth, and cauſe men ſtedfaſtly hold the Unity of Faith in the Bond of Peace.

3. The Cauſes of *Contentions* about the Senſe of Scriptures, are *the very ſame with the fore-mentioned, which made the Scriptures unto ſundry ſeem *Obſcure*; or the ſame, which make men to miſtake their true Senſe and Meaning. For even theſe Wars and Contentions whereof we ſpeak (ſpecially theſe) ariſe from Luſts, which fight in our members: † *We luſt and have not, we envy and have indignation, and cannot obtain: we fight and war, and get nothing,* (not the Truth which we ſeek) *becauſe we ask it not.* Do not ſuch as contend moſt about the true Senſe, ask it moſt? Doth not every Heretick, the earneſter he is, profeſs that he prays for the Truth ſo much the more fervently? Yea, but ſuch men *receive not that which they ſo* earneſtly *ask, becauſe they ask it amiſs.* They deſire skill in Scripture to advance their own Conceits, and maintain their fooliſh and carnal Affections, otherwiſe *asking they ſhould have, and ſeeking they ſhould find,* eſpecially the true Senſe and Meaning of Gods Word, which muſt inſtruct us, how to frame all our other Petitions unto God aright.

* *So* Beda *gathers out of* Auſtin. Ex ipſo animali ſenſu (quia homo animalis non percipit quæ ſunt ſpiritus Dei) omnes diſſenſiones & ſchiſmata generantur. *Beda in* 1 *Cor*. 2. 14.

† *James* 4. 3.

Mat. 7. 7.

4. Theſe, and infinite like places we acknowledge, plainly declaring the Cauſes of Contentions, and as many more, (ſome of which ſhall be here and there inſerted) directing us how to avoid all occaſions of ſtrife and debate. Both which if we obſerve, Contentions will quickly ceaſe; which, thoſe not obſerved, muſt increaſe, as a juſt puniſhment of Truth neglected, contradicted or low eſteemed, notwithſtanding the beſt endeavours of any Authority upon earth imaginable to the contrary.

5. But ſome perhaps will demand, Is there no uſe of Humane Authority in this Caſe? Yes; *As for the begetting of true and lively Faith, we ſuppoſe the live-voice of an Ordinary Miniſtry as the Organ, whereby the written Word muſt be conveyed to our Spirits: ſo for retaining the Unity of this Faith in the Bond of Peace, for ſuppreſſing or preventing all Occaſions of Schiſms, Hereſies, or Contentions; we acknowledge the neceſſary Uſe of a Lawful Magiſtracy, yet no infallibility in either.* The proper end and uſe of *Both*, is to eſpouſe mens Souls with an indiſſoluble knot of Love and Loyalty unto the written Word, the only *Infallible Rule* of that Faith whereby they live: *The One*, by unfolding the general Points or *Maxims* of Chriſtian Faith: *The Other*, by conſtraining them, at leaſt, to a civil Practice of undoubted Principles acknowledged by all; and inhibiting ſuch Courſes as the Moral Precepts of this Canon have detected for Cauſes and Nurſes of Contention. Our Adverſaries, whether out of wilful malice, or overſight, or out of both, (according to the diverſities of their tempers) have taken occaſion to traduce our Churches Doctrine, as if it admitted no Means for preventing or compoſing Contentions, but only the bare Letter of Scripture: *Whereas we all teach, that the written Word is the only Means Infallible, not the only Means Simply, for effecting Both.* Nor doth it skill how neceſſary either Miniſterial Expoſitions, or Juridical Deciſions be, for bringing us unto, or retaining us in, the Unity of the Truth profeſſed: for *not Neceſſity of Means, but Infallibility of Direction is the proper, unſeparable*

The true Uſe of the Magiſtracy and Miniſtery for avoiding Schiſms and Contentions.

parable Condition of the Rule of Faith. And ſeeing Gods Word only endures for ever, and therefore only is *Infallible*: it muſt be the *Sole Rule of Faith*, how many or how neceſſary ſoever the Means be, that muſt bring us to the true Knowledge of it.

The Groſneſs of our Adverſaries Exceptions being a branch of their general Extremity mentioned cap. 4. ſect. 1. *further to be proſecuted*, lib. 3. ſect. 3. cap. 11.

6. *Valentian* and *Sacro-boſcus* think it all One, *to acknowledge no Eccleſiaſtical Authority or uſe of Miniſtery, and not to acknowledge an Infallibility in Both.* But this is a Poſition devoid both of Senſe and Reaſon. For, *As* our Senſes, though of themſelves only capable of particular and Material Objects, ſubject to change and contingency, are the neceſſary and only ordinary Means whereby our Intellective Faculty is brought to apprehend Univerſal and immaterial Principles, whoſe Truth is neceſſary, everlaſting and immutable. *So* may the *Miniſtery* and *Magiſtracy*, though both in themſelves fallible and obnoxious to Errours, be the neceſſary and only ordinary Means, whereby we are brought (as it were by a ſenſible Induction) to the infallible Acknowledgment of the ſupernatural, divine, eternal Truths, which are the proper Object of the illuminated or ſpiritual, as immaterial and univerſal Principles are of the natural underſtanding; which ſhall (God willing) be declared hereafter. In this place I only thought good to forewarn the Reader of this *Hiatus* in our Adverſaries Collections: whereunto the blind and ignorant Engliſh Papiſt, led by ſuch blinded foreign Guides as *Valentian* and *Sacro-boſcus*, (who either did not, or would not know, what our Church in this Point doth hold) fall headlong in the very firſt entrance of this diſpute.

7. But in this, as in the former Queſtion, it ſhall not be amiſs to propoſe our Adverſaries principal Arguments and Exceptions againſt our Churches Doctrine, in admitting the Scripture for the Rule of Faith. And I would requeſt any man, that is able to judge of the force and ſtrength of an Argument, to read the beſt learned, and moſt eſteemed of our Adverſaries, for the further confirmation of this Truth which we teach. Againſt which, ſome (who have not ſought into their Writings) may happily imagine, that much more hath or might be ſaid by any of them, then can be found in all their Writings. Whereas *Bellarmine* and *Valentian*, two excellent Scholars, and moſt judicious Divines, (where their wits were their own) and all other good Writers of their ſide, whom I could hitherto meet with, by reaſon of the Barrenneſs of their matter, and ſhallow unſetled Foundation of their Infallible Church, have performed as good ſervice to our Cauſe in this preſent Controverſie, as that Roman Orator, famous for his Unſkilfulneſs in *Auguſtus* his time, did to the Parties whom he accuſed; *I would to God* (ſaid the Emperour) *this fooliſh Fellow had accuſed my Gallery*, (which had been long in building) *for then it had been abſolved*, that is, according to the uſe of this word in Latin, *finiſhed ere this.* In this Caſe we have his wiſh. And for the edification of mine own Faith in this Point, I muſt (out of the ſincerity of a good Conſcience) profeſs, I would not for any good on earth, but *Bellarmine*, *Valentian*, and other grand Patrons, or plauſible Advocates of the Popes Cauſe, (eſpecially *Valentian*) had taken ſuch earneſt pains in accuſing our Churches Doctrine; for they have moſt clearly acquitted it, in that we may juſtly preſume there can be no more ſaid againſt it. And whether all they have ſaid or can ſay, be ought, I leave it to the judi-

cious Readers judgment: I will ſet down ſome of their Objections, and then proſecute their general Topick, or forms of their Arguments, whence all particulars, which in this Caſe they can bring, muſt receive their whole ſtrength.

8. [a] *All Hereticks* (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*) *which admit the Authority of Scriptures* (for ſome rejected all or moſt parts of the Sacred Canon) *ſeem to themſelves to follow the Scriptures, when as indeed they follow their own Errours.* [b] *Nor do Hereſies* (ſaith the ſame Father in another place) *and other naughty Opinions, which enſnare mens ſouls, ſpring from any other Root than this, That the right ſenſe of Scripture conceived amiſs, and yet ſo conceived, is boldly and raſhly avouched.*

[a] Omnes Hæretici qui ſcripturas in authoritate recipiunt, ipſas ſibi videntur ſectari, cum ſuos potius ſectentur errores. *Aug. epiſt.* 222. ad Conſentium. [b] Neque enim natæ ſunt hæreſes & quædam dogmata perverſitatis illaqueantia animas, niſi dum ſcripturæ bonæ intelligantur non bene; & quod in iis non bene intelligitur, etiam temere & audacter aſſeritur. *Tract.* 18. *in Johan.*

9. And in another Book of *Auguſtine*, it is ſaid, (*Valentian* would have the ſaying well obſerved, as it ſhall be to his ſhame) [c] *That Hereticks do not corrupt only the obſcure and difficult, but even the plain and eaſie places of Scriptures;* and [d] *our Saviour Chriſt* (as this Writer addeth) *did intimate how obnoxious the Evangelical Doctrine was to this corruption by Hereticks, when he forewarned us, to beware of falſe Prophets. Hereticks, ſaith he, ſeem to be Prophets, becauſe they make a fair ſhew of Scripture-phraſes, which are as the Character or external ſhape of heavenly Doctrine. But Prophets they are not, becauſe under the outward ſhew of heavenly words, they manifeſt not the native ſenſe and meaning of the Holy Ghoſt, but their own adulterate, corrupt Opinions, ſacrilegiouſly inveſted by them in ſacred phraſe, as it were the abomination of deſolation ſtanding in the Holy place*, as Origen *elegantly notes*, *Hom.* 29. *in Matt. By the ſame Analogy are they called ravening Wolves, being arrayed in ſheeps cloathing*, &c.

[c] Non modo locos ſcripturæ obſcuros, ſed etiam alios qui ſunt aperti & clari corrumpi ab hæreticis, lib. 2. de nuptiis & con. cap. 31. [d] Chriſtus etiam facillimè ab hæreticis doctrinam corrumpi ſubindicavit, cum admonuit ut ab iis tanquam à falſis prophetis caveremus.—— Videntur prophetæ, quoniam ſcripturæ verba proferunt, quæ divinæ doctrinæ ſunt character & quaſi externa ſpecies, ſed prophetæ non ſunt, quoniam ſub ea verborum divinorum externa ſpecie non oſtendunt nobis genuinam S. S. ſententiam, ſed adulterinas ſuas perverſaſque opiniones ſacrilegè in verbis ſacris à ſe collocatas, tanquam abominationem (ut eleganter Origines Homil. 29. in Matt. notavit) ſtantem in loco ſancto. Eadem de cauſa vocantur lupi rapaces, qui veſtimentis induti ſunt ovium. Valent. tom. 3. in Aquinatem. Diſputat. 1. quæſt. 1. punct. 7. paragr. 6.

10. Theſe and like places are brought by *Valentian* (as the title and concluſion of that Paragraph ſhew) to this purpoſe: *That* [e] *ſeeing all Hereticks may and do eaſily pervert the Scriptures, as Saint* Peter *ſaith, to their own deſtruction: We ſhould hence be inſtructed, that this univerſal Auuhority, and moſt behooveful for the Salvation of all, which we ſeek as the common Judge in all Points of Faith, cannot be ſeated in the Scripture alone.*

[e] Hæc ideo recitavi, ut quoniam univerſi hæretici facillime ſcripturas omnes in ſuam perditionem ſicut D. Petrus inquit depravant. (2 Pet. 3.) Intelligamus certe non in ſcripturis ſolis conſtitutam eſſe univerſalem illam, & ad ſalutem hominum accommodiſſimam authoritatem, totius fidei judicem, quam inquirimus. Valent. loc. citat.

11. Another Mark whereat theſe fiery Darts do uſually aim, is; to faſten the conceit of Hereſie upon our Church, ſeeing it hath always been the practice of Hereticks, to cover their wicked imaginations with ſacred phraſe, and, as *Lyrinenſis* ſaith, *to inter-ſperſe or ſtraw their depraved Opinions with the ſweet and fragrant Sentences of Scripture as with ſome precious ſpice, leſt the exhalation of their native ſmell might bewray their corruption to the Reader.* This is a Common place

trodden almoſt bare by the Engliſh pamphleting Papiſt, who learns the Articles of his Roman Creed, and general heads of Controverſies betwixt us, with their uſual Arguments or Exceptions againſt our Doctrine, no otherwiſe than the Fidler doth his Song; holding it ſufficient for his part, to afford a Mimicks face, ſcurrilous ſtile, or Apiſh geſture, unto the inventions of *Bellarmine, Valentian*, or ſome foreign Jeſuites Brain. And as it is hard for us to ſpeak, though in general terms, againſt any Sin in a Countrey-Pariſh, but one or other will perſwade himſelf that we aim at his overthwart-Neighbour, unto whom, perhaps, our reproofs are leſs appliable, than unto him that thus applies them: ſo is it very eaſie for this Mimical crue to perſwade the ignorant or diſcontented People, that every Miniſter, whoſe perſon or behaviour, upon what reſpect ſoever, they diſlike, is the very man meant by the Ancient Father and our Saviour in the former general Allegations; if he uſe but the phraſe of Scripture, not the Character of that foreign Beaſt; Whereas their Objections duly examined can hurt none but the Objectors.

Chap. XX.

That the former Objections (and all of like kind, drawn from the Cunning Practice of Hereticks, in colouring falſe Opinions by Scripture) are moſt forcible to confirm ours, and confound the Adverſaries Doctrine.

1. Muſter they as many Authorities or Experiments of this Rank, as they liſt, we know the ſtrength and nature of their weapons. They are dangerous indeed to ſuch as have not put on the Breſt-plate of Righteouſneſs, or Shield of Faith: but yet (God be praiſed) as ſharp at the one end as at the other, and they had need to be wary, how, and againſt whom they uſe them. For beaten back directly by the Defendants, they may be as fair to kill the Thrower, at the rebound, as Them againſt whom they were firſt intended. For proof hereof, look how eaſily we can retort all they have thrown at us, upon themſelves. It hath been the practice of Hereticks (ſay they) to miſinterpret Scriptures, and pretend their Authority for countenancing errours. This wounds not us, except we were naked of all Syllogiſtical Armour of proof. For they ſhould prove (if they will conclude ought to our prejudice) that none but Hereticks have uſed Scriptures Authority to confirm their Opinions. For if Orthodox and truly Religious Writers, in the beſt and flouriſhing Ages of the Church, have been as Copious and Induſtrious in citing Authorities of Scriptures for their Opinions, as Hereticks: this Argument proves nothing againſt us, why we may not be Orthodoxes and true Catholicks, as well as Hereticks. That this hath been the practice of Hereticks, we acknowledge; and having received this their Blow, we can return their own Weapons upon them, with greater probability of better ſpeed.

** Our appealing to Scriptures alone, is no ſuch Preſumption of Hereſie in us, as the refuſal of trial by them, is of Antichriſtianiſm in the Adverſary.*

2. * It hath been the practice of ſundry Hereticks, never of any Orthodox, to refuſe their trial by Scripture, and flee unto Traditions. It hath been the continual practice of moſt monſtrous and blaſphemous Impoſtors, of falſe Meſſiahs, and ſuch as oppoſe themſelves againſt *Chriſt*; of *Mahomet*, and ſuch like, to plead the infallible Aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt, and a Supreme Authority over others, without ſubjection to any trial, either by Scripture or other Means. If moſt of them have failed in getting ſo many ſtedfaſt followers, as the Pope now hath, and for many years hath had; it is moſt likely this was either becauſe their Hereſies were more open, and more eaſie to be deſcried; or they leſs cunning in countenancing them by Scriptures, Antiquity, or other plauſible ſhows of Cuſtom, Tradition, or the like. For we all know, that *Antichriſts* greatneſs muſt grow by the multitude of his reſolute followers, that *God ſhall ſend them* (be they never ſo many) *ſtrong deluſions, that they ſhould believe lyes*; that his coming *is by the working of Satan* (who can urge Scripture as cunningly to maintain Falſhood as any Heretick) *and by all power, and ſigns, and lying wonders.* So that it will be hard to diſcover or prevent his coming, unleſs men be very cunning and expert in theſe Scriptures, the Rule of Truth, the only Light, whereby all Falſhood muſt be diſcovered.

2 *Theſ.* 2. 11.

3. That they may once for all know, how little we fear their force, we will ſet our Bodies ſo as they ſhall not miſs them, and prepare our ſelves to take the full ſtrength and Dint of all their ſtrokes. The Hereticks of old time (ſay they) have urged Scriptures for their Doctrine vehemently and copiouſly: we will give them better hold, and help them to preſs this Point a little harder; They did urge Scriptures moſt cunningly, moſt ſubtilly, and hereby deceived many, yea almoſt ſtaggered the very Elect. What if they did? ſo would *Pharaohs* Enchanters have obſtupified moſt of the Iſraelites beſide *Moſes* and *Aaron*: but did their cunning jugling prejudice the truth of *Moſes* Miracles? or did he neglect to manifeſt the Power of God, for fear leſt he ſhould be cenſured for ſuch an one as they were, only more cunning in his Craft? Their wicked cunning ſerved as a foil ſo to ſet forth his heavenly ſkill, as the Enchanters themſelves could not but ſee the *Finger of God* in his working: herein more ingenuous than the modern Jeſuites; who in ſo clear a Point as this, we now diſpute, after ſo many foils as they have taken, will not acknowledge the force of that Scripture in themſelves; *Magna eſt veritas & prævalet.* The Reaſon is, becauſe they will not come into the open Court, to try their Skill before unpartial Judges.

4. The Devil, we all know, did urge the Scripture to our Saviour, with great skill and dexterity. Had he been the only follower or firſt founder of this practice, or the firſt of all we had read of, we ſhould have been (until we had found ſome better example and warrant for it) as much afraid to have imitated him herein, as that ſcrupulous Monk was to wear his Hood; becauſe he thought the Devil had been the firſt that ever had worn one, being uſually painted in that habit, when he came to tempt our Saviour Chriſt, and that Story he thought in all likely-hood to be as Ancient as the firſt Hood. But with what Weapon did our Saviour vanquiſh Satan, that had ſet upon him with Scripture? Did he charge him

ſub pœna anathematis to be ſilent? or did he crave the Churches peace under pain of greater penalties? or did he appeal unto the infallible Authority, or Supreme Tribunal of the Jewiſh Church? did he except againſt him for uſing an unlawful, Heretical Weapon? can you deny that he foiled him with theſe very weapons, wherewith we now contend, that all Hereticks (Satans followers) are to be aſſaulted and repulſed, ere they can be lawfully foiled, and quite overthrown? And here *I would beſeech all ſober-minded Chriſtians, even as they love our Saviour Chriſt*, (the chief Captain of the Lords Hoſt, the Author and Finiſher of our Faith) and as they hate Satan himſelf, (the Head and Prince of all Gods, Chriſts, and our enemies) *to conſider theſe ſubſequent Reaſons well*, and weigh this Inſtance in the quiet, calm, and ſetled motions of their hearts.

5. *If Satan can thus teach Hereticks, and other his like wicked Inſtruments, ſuch great skill and cunning in Scriptures*, as they can thereby countenance Errours, and deceive others with a ſhew of Godlineſs: *why ſhould we not hold it as a principal Article of our Faith, that Chriſt Jeſus is able to inſtruct his choſen Immediately*, *in the true Senſe and Meaning of the ſame Scriptures*, ſo as they may hereby grow skilful enough, to retain ſuch as love the Truth in the knowledge of Truth, and defend themſelves and others againſt the oppoſitions of Hereticks, although they bring their Arguments out of Scripture. For, *Firſt*, we know, and believe that Chriſt is ſtronger than Satan; for *he hath bound that ſtrong man*: *Secondly*, that he is better skilled in Scripture: for after his firſt entrance into his Prophetical or Sacerdotal Function, he [a] put him hereby to flight, and at his Paſſion [b] threw him out of his hold. Satans ſtrength ſince that time hath been leſs, and Chriſts Power greater; ſo that in his ſtrength we may be ſtronger than all Satans followers. *Thirdly*, we know that the Scripture is in it ſelf much more favourable unto Truth, than unto Falſhood; and (*cæteris paribus*) far more apt to confirm true Religion, and inſtruct in Points of Faith, than to eſtabliſh Hereſie, or fill the World with Errours; only the Sons of Darkneſs have been wiſer in their Generation, than ſuch as ſhould be, or (in ſome meaſure) are the Sons of Light. And if Hereticks may ſeem to have had the better ſometimes of the Orthodox, in trying Controverſies by Scripture; this doubtleſs was for no other reaſon but only this: Their alacrity and induſtry in ſearching Sciptures for maintenance of Errours, was greater than the others for eſtabliſhment and confirmation of the Truth; otherwiſe, as we ſaid before, the Truth is more conſonant to the purity and integrity of Sacred Writ, than any Falſhood (though never ſo fair in ſhew) can be: And Chriſt Jeſus is more powerful, and more skilful, more able and more willing to aſſiſt and ſtrengthen ſuch as follow him, than Satan is to enable his wicked Inſtruments. Seeing then by theſe Scriptures he hath cruſhed Satans head, and put him to flight; why ſhould his faithful followers deſpair, by the ſame Weapons, to foil and ſlay Satans ſervants, ſo they will be as induſtrious to uſe them, as the others are to abuſe them. Nor will you (I hope) deny that Chriſt is preſent perpetually to his true Church, as well as Satan is to Hereticks. Say then what you can or dare, why ye ſhould think it ſtrange or impoſſible, that he ſhould teach all faithful Souls the true Senſe and Meaning of his Word, immediately by

What advantage the Orthodoxes have of Hereticks in trial of Controverſies by Scriptures.

The Arguments propoſed in the laſt Chapter, can have no Ground, to prove ought againſt us, but this: Satan is more powerful or skilful in Scriptures than Chriſt; or more ready to help his Inſtruments than Chriſt to aſſiſt his Choſen.

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[a] *Matth.* 4.

[b] *Joh.*22.13. *Now ſhall the Prince of this world be caſt out.*

his Bleſſed Spirit, working with the Miniſtery of Saints, (without a Vicar-general on earth ;) as well as Satan doth Hereticks the counterfeit ſenſe, or falſe, but fair ſeeming Meaning of it immediately by himſelf, or his wicked ſpirits. For we never heard that Satan had any Vicar-general, by whom he teacheth Hereticks all their cunning, unleſs this be the Pope: which if he be, then is he not Vicar-general unto Chriſt.

6. Seeing (beloved Chriſtians) we are compaſſed about with ſuch a cloud of Witneſſes, whereof not one, without open Infidelity, can be impeached: Let us not diſdain to take the practice of Chriſt Jeſus, the Author and Finiſher of our Faith, as a Patern well befitting our imitation. Not to be as induſtrious in ſearching the inward Senſe and ſecret Meaning, as Hereticks in urging the outward letter of the Law; were not to follow the footſteps of a victorious Lord, moſt good and gracious to his followers, with as great alacrity, as vanquiſhed Satans wicked Inſtruments do his: both (if not deteſted by us, as the fouleſt ſhame, that in this life can befal us) will breed our everlaſting Confuſion, in the life to come.

7. That I may diſpute with ſuch as make a jeſt of Scriptures, according to their childiſh folly; if by this means I might poſſibly cure their Impiety: Tell us, I pray, ye Doctors of *Rome*, many of whom I know to be men of learning, wit, and ſpirit, and for this reaſon (as I ſhould think) more unwilling to make your ſelves palpably ridiculous, to every Child or Novice in Arts, (howſoever, unto all ſorts you ſtrive to make Chriſts Practice ſuch:) Tell us, what is your Counſel in this choice? *Shall we forſake Chriſt, Our, yea Saint* Peters *beſt Maſter, to become Scholars unto your* Staphilus, *or* Hoſius *Coalier?* who (if their reports be true) did ſooner put the Devil to ſilence with this Doctrine of your *Churches Infallibility*, than Chriſt did, for all his Scripture; for the Devil, as the * Evangeliſt tells us, departed not from our Saviour before the *Third* Blow, *Avoid Satan*, able to abide the Coalier but *Two*, or rather one a little doubled, *I believe as the Church believes, and the Church believes as I believe.* So much by your Doctrine doth the Devil fear the very Name of your Church, though in a *Coaliers mouth*, more than the Word of God, albeit uttered by the Son of God himſelf.

* *Matth.* 4. 4, 7, 10.

8. But we know the Proverb too well, *Like to like*, Children and ignorant people are not ignorant, that the Devil will be commanded, by ſuch as ſtudy the black-Art: no marvail if he ſuffer himſelf upon good terms to be put down by a Coalier. And as I will not peremptorily deny, but the Story might be true: ſo queſtionleſs ſuch as moſt believe it, mightily miſtake the true cauſe of Satans ſudden ſilence; for the truer the Story were, the likelier were it, he ſhould hold his peace, as ſoon as he heard the Coalier believe as he would have him. This is a Catechiſm in its kind ſo perfect and abſolute, ſo well ſuiting to the old Serpents purpoſe; that if Hell might have a general vacancy from all other employments, for time as long as hath been ſince *Lucifers* fall; not all the Powers therein could deviſe what one word might be added, what detracted; unleſs perhaps they would expreſs what the Coalier happily underſtood, [*I believe as the Church Romiſh believes,*

and the Church Romiſh as I believe] whoſe Conſequence is, Both ſhall believe whatſoever Hell would have them. *The uſe of ſuch ruſtick weapons, as theſe, was perhaps on your part not unneceſſary in that rude World: wherein* Lindan's Panoplie *went for approved harneſs, or* Ecchius *Bolts for good Artillery*; but ſhould you uſe the like now, every Puny in our Schools that knows but how to manage an Argument, (of which God be praiſed we have enough for a whole Army) ſhall match your great *Goliath*, whilſt they thus keep aloof, and lay your ſtouteſt Champions in the duſt, by returning their own or like ſhot upon them.

Chap. XXI.

The pretended Excellencie of the ſuppoſed Roman Rule, for compoſing Controverſies, impeached by the frequencie of Hereſies in the Primitive Church, and the imperfection of that Union, whereof ſince that time they ſo much boaſt.

1. But let us leave off skirmiſhing afar off, and come a little nearer to the Point. You are content to join with us in This, That it hath been the Practice of Hereticks from time to time, to ſtand much upon the Authority of Scriptures; Then were not *Luther* and *Calvin* the firſt, that ever made this Odious Compariſon betwixt Gods Word and the Popes. Nay, you will not deny but this Practice of urging Scripture was moſt frequent, and the Truth moſt troubled hereby in the Primitive Church. If a man might ask you, Where was this your ſuppoſed Infallibility then? in the ſwadling-clouts or unborn? If then unborn, it is too young to make younger Brethren of all Congregations elſe: too young to cauſe Chriſtian Kings and Emperours ſubject their Crowns unto your upſtart Mitre: If then born, albeit but in its Infancy, yet ſuch an *Herculean* Power, as you profeſs yours to be, which puts an οὐδὲν πέραν to all Chriſtian mens thoughts in Points of Faith, (for to this purpoſe your Controverſors cite that place of Scripture, as your Vulgar reads it, *Verba Sapientum ſunt tanquam clavi in altum fixi per Magiſtrorum conſilium, conſcripta & à Paſtore Uno data*; *viz.* the Pope, *iſtis amplius Fili mi ne requiras*) might in all congruity have taken *Hercules Motto* for its *Word*, *Cunarum labor eſt angues ſuperaſſe mearum*: though it had lain then ſleeping in the Cradle, yet might it, (were it ſuch as you would make it) eaſily have cruſht this Seed of Serpents in the very neſt, wherein they bred, and not have ſuffered them to grow up to flying Dragons, to peſter the World far and near with their deadly poiſon.

2. I would have you here to conſider this Incongruity well, which I muſt farther proſecute in the next Diſpute. You plead the neceſſity of your Churches Infallibility for compoſing all Contentions and variety of Opinions about Scripture-ſenſe, and yet we evidently ſee (which you cannot deny) that ſuch bitter Contentions, and dangerous varieties of Opinions about Scripture-ſenſe, were moſt rife, moſt eagerly proſecuted, and maintained, when

this Title of your Churches Infallibility (if it were juſt) might have been beſt known, and ſooneſt aſſented unto. For * ſure, the Ancient Fathers who had learned Chriſtian Obedience, always ready to give honour, where honour was due, would moſt willingly have acknowledged ſo abſolute a Sovereignty, and could have been glad to have uſed the Benefits of it, to have ſpared themſelves a great deal of trouble and pains, if it could have been proved then to have been ſuch an excellent Mean, for allaying all Contentions amongſt the Learned. The Pope was much too blame, to let *Athanaſius* ſuffer ſuch pains, exile, and abuſe by the *Arian* faction, in the defence of the Truth, if his Infallibility could have compoſed the Quarrel. *Auſtin* hath been famous throughout all Generations ſince, for his learned Labours againſt the *Pelagian* Hereſie; *Cyril* for his accurate Confutation of *Neſtorius*, and yet the Scripture was the beſt Weapon they knew. Neither of them did ever appeal to the Popes Infallibility, not the Popes themſelves which then lived would have uſed any other Rule but Scripture, for their own defence.

* *That the Fathers, if we take the literal plain Grammatical Senſe of their words, attribute as much to Scriptures as we do, our Adverſaries cannot deny. May we not then ſafely think, they meant what their words naturally import? No,* Valentian *hath found out a Myſtical Interpretation of them.* Tom. 3. diſp. 1. queſt. 1. punct. 7. paragr. 5. Quemadmodum quando uni Perſonæ divinæ aliqua perfectio divinitatis abſoluta tribuitur, intelligunt Theologi, ab ejus perfectionis communione creaturas tantum excludi, non autem Perſonas alias divinas quæ ſunt ejuſdem naturæ: Ita Sancti Patres ſicubi Scripturæ authoritatem ſolam ad fidei quæſtiones finiendas valere ſignificant: Eccleſiæ certè authoritatem, quam item pro divina habent, & quam ipſa nobis commendat Scriptura, minimè excludunt, ſed alia ſive teſtimonia, ſive argumenta, quæ ſint tantum humana. Nam ſi non ita intelligerent, profecto nunquam illi in controverſiis fidei, ipſa per ſe authoritate Eccleſiaſticæ traditionis ad probandum uterentur. At utuntur ea ipſi frequentiſſimè & utendum eſſe docent. *As the non-conſequence of this Collection, ſo how far the Fathers did urge the Churches Authority, how the moſt pregnant Speeches that can be found in any of their Writings muſt be limited, will eaſily appear, if we conſider the Two former diſtinctions: The one between the* Infallible Rule of Faith, *and the* Means or Motives inducing us to Believe: *The other between that* Conditional Aſſent, *which in Caſes doubtful we muſt give to the Viſible Church, and that* Abſolute Belief, *which is only due unto Scriptures: The Fathers uſed the Churches Authority againſt Hereticks, as we do theirs againſt Noveliſts, not as a Rule whereby finally to examine or determine Divine Truths, but as a curb to bridle preſumptuous gainſaying Opinions generally received or ſuppoſed for true, by men of ſincerity and skill in Divine Myſteries.*

3. Your uſual Argument is, that *unleſs God had left ſuch an infallible Authority as might take up all Controverſies; he had not ſufficiently provided for his Church.* Then, by your conſent, he left ſuch an Authority, as was ſufficient to perform this good ſervice to it. To whom then did he commit it? To the See of *Rome*, ſay you. How chanceth it your Fore-elders did not put it in practiſe, and make the Power of it better known? This Blame you cannot lay upon the Almighty; for he, for his part, (by your confeſſion) provided abundantly for the Peace and Quiet of his Church. And yet it ſeems the Church was ill provided for, when Schiſms and Hereſies ſprung ſo faſt. This therefore was your Churches fault, that bore this Spiritual Sword in vain, and would not uſe it; when the Chriſtian World ſtood moſt in need of it, for the final Deciſion of Controverſies. So then although we ſhould grant you, that your Church had ſometimes the Birth-right, amongſt all the Iſrael of God: yet might we juſtly ſay of it, as old *Iſrael* ſaid of *Reuben* his eldeſt ſon, Thy *Dignity is gone*; and we were to ſeek this Supreme Authority (if God had given any ſuch Supremacy to any) in ſome other Tribe which were likely to uſe it better.

4. * If you reply, Your Churches Authority in compoſing Controverſies amongſt the Learned, hath been better known ſince that

* *The more excellent Prerogatives the Jeſuites beſtow upon their Church, the greater they make her diſgrace for not uſing her Authority better, when the Chriſtian World ſtood moſt in need of it.*

flouriſhing Age of learned and religious Fathers; and ſince it hath been ſo well known and acknowledged, Hereſies have been more thin ſown, than before; (few or none till *Luther* aroſe daring to confront the Church or Popes Authority, with Scripture:) You give us hereby juſt cauſe to ſuſpect, that Hereſie had got the upper hand of Truth, for the Multitude of followers; that there had been a general Combination in Falſhood till *Luther* brake it. *For if ſundry of the Ancient Hereticks, with whoſe Doctrine the Primitive Church was peſtered, could under pretence of Scripture, have got into Supreme Authority; or have eſtabliſhed their Propoſitions, framed (as they thought out of Gods Word) with ſtrength of Temporal Sword, as* Mahomet *did his: It were great ſimplicity to think, that they could not have been content, to have let the Scriptures ſleep, or have threatned all with Death and Deſtruction; that ſhould have urged them to the prejudice of their Opinions, eſpecially of ſuch Opinions as did concern their Dignity.* For all Falſhood and Spiritual Blindneſs hates this Light, and could either wiſh it put out, or them utterly extinct that Object it to them. As he that hath wound himſelf into anothers Inheritance by ſome quirk in Law, or captious clauſe not well underſtood, would not be much offended to have all Evidences of primary Copies either burnt or buried, even that by which he got it, if it, upon better Conſideration, or more indifferent hearing, were likely to overthrow his Title.

5. And if we may gueſs at the courſe of Satans policy, in watching his opportunities to effect his purpoſe, by the cuſtomary faſhion of ſecular Politicians (his Scholars) in like caſes; moſt probable it is, that after theſe Broils of Diſſention about the Goſpel of Peace, ſo frequent in the Primitive Church, the great Calamities, and bodily Affliction which followed thereon; moſt men grew weary of their Spiritual Warfare, and became ſlothful in the ſearch of Scriptures, the only Armory for all Munition, in this kind of War. Every man afterwards, in the freſh memory of the Church their Mothers bleeding Wounds, and the Deſolation which had enſued theſe furious Broils, became more tractable to entertain Conditions of Peace: and Satan himſelf, who had ſown the ſeeds of all the former Diſſention, after he ſaw all or moſt weary of War, was content to turn Peace-maker for his own advantage. Theſe were as the firſt Preparations for laying the Foundations of the myſtical * *Babel*, in whoſe erection, the Manner, Method, and Circumſtances of the formers diſſolution are all inverted. The Building of the firſt was hindered by the Confuſion of Tongues, or the Diviſion of one Language into many; whence iſſued the ſcattering of the People † throughout the earth: the ſecond was finiſhed by the concourſe of divers People, and the Compoſition or Confuſion of different Languages. For (as [a] *Goropius* acutely obſerves) the preſent temper of modern *Italian*, *Spaniſh*, *French*, (we may add of our *Engliſh*) Dialects, was from the mixture of the Roman and Barbarous Tongues, whilſt the natural Inhabitants of theſe Countries,

* Roma Babel rediviva, *the myſtical* Babel *raiſed by compounding thoſe Elements whereinto old* Babel *was reſolved. The Diſſolution of the one, and the Erection of the other differing but as the reſolution of Quick ſilver into Fume, and the converſion of it again into Quick-ſilver. The City of* Babylon *likewiſe (as ſhall God willing elſewhere appear)* was the true Type of Rome; *the one as S.* Auſtin *compareth them, being the mother, the other the daughter, each evidently paralleling the other in moſt Abominations: which is the reaſon (as I take it) why the Holy Ghoſt inſtiles* Rome *with the name of* Babylon, *whoſe Abominations were well known to the faithful, and might ſerve as a Light, to diſcover Romiſh filthineſs.*

† *Gen.* 11. 7.

[a] *In the beginning of his* Hermathena.

(before accuſtomed to the Roman Language) and the Barbarians which at that time over-ran them, were inforced to imitate each other in their words and manner of ſpeech, that they might be the better underſtood in matters of [a] neceſſary Commerce or ordinary Contracts. And this is the true reaſon why our Ancient Engliſh Latiniſms are not as the Latin Græciſms, which were derived by Art and Imitation from clear *Helicon* extracted from the pureſt Roman; but from Latin of the baſe and vulgar ſtamp. This Confuſion of the Latin and other barbarous Tongues, was but a Type or Picture of confounding the Ancient true Roman Religion with barbarous Hereſies, Heatheniſh Rites, and ſeveral kinds of Paganiſms; whilſt the [b] Romans, who had already begun to diſtaſte the Truth, [c] ſought by lying Legends and falſe Wonders, to pleaſe the groſs Palate of the *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Hunns*, *Alans*, *Franks* and *Saxons*: and they again herewith delighted were content to imitate the other in ſundry ſacred and religious Rites, ſo as neither kept their Ancient Religion, but all imbraced this mixture or new confuſed Maſs. And, to ſpeak properly, that Unity whereof the Adverſary ſo much boaſts, ſince that flouriſhing Age of Fathers, wherein Contentions were ſo rife, and the Roman Church no better eſteemed than ſome of her ſiſters, was not a Poſitive Conſent in the ſincere Truth, wrought by the Spirit of God, (as a perfect Homogeneal mixture by true and lively heat) but rather a bare Negation of actual Diſſention, cauſed by a dull Confuſion of the dregs of Errour, coagulate and congealed together by Ignorance, Careleſneſs, Sloth, Negligence, and want of Zeal to the Truth.

[a] *The reaſon why our old Engliſh participates moſt of Buttery-hatch-Latin.*

[b] *That ſuch was the diſpoſition of the Romans at that time, as would eaſily condeſcended to admit a mixture of Paganiſm, may appear out of St.* Auſtins *firſt Books* de Civitate Dei, *and* Salvianus de providentia.

[c] *As may appear out of ſome works going under the name of* Gregory *the great, and* Gregory *of* Towers *Hiſtory.*

6. And after this Compoſal was once ſo wrought, that men had felt ſome intermiſſion of publick Diſſention which they feared moſt: ſuch as were induſtrious in the ſearch, or would have been expert in the Knowledge of Scriptures, were eſteemed of but as Souldiers in the time of Peace and Eaſe, always ſuſpected leſt they ſhould raiſe new Broils; and for this reaſon, debarred of free acceſs unto this Armory. But howſoever the practiſe of examining the Churches Authority by Scripture, was for many Generations rare, till *Luther* aroſe; yet during all this time, that of our Apoſtle (*Acts* 14. 17.) was in this caſe moſt true, οὐκ ἀμάρτυρον ἑαυτὸν ἀφῆκε, *GOD did not leave himſelf without a Witneſs.* In all theſe Ages he had his Martyrs who in the fervency of their Zeal earneſtly ſought the diſſolution of the coagulated Maſs and extraction of Cœleſtial Quinteſſences therein buried; offering their Bodies as fuel to the flames of perſecutions that were to effect it.

Our Church was in the Romiſh Synagogue as a little portion of fine Gold in a great maſs of Droſs, until the flames of Perſecution ſevered it and made it conſpicuous.

7. Nor can you in reaſon demand we ſhould give particular Inſtances of ſuch Martyrs in every Age. For no man of ſenſe but will eaſily conceive that your Church would ſeek by all means poſſible to obliterate their Fame and Memory upon whoſe Bodies ſhe had exerciſed ſuch extream Tyranny, leſt their Example might encourage Poſterity to like Reſolutions. Unleſs *DRIEDO* had (unawares I think) acquainted me with the Provoſt of *STENELDA*'s Epiſtle to S. *BERNARD*, I had not known either your cruelty againſt the *Albigenſes* (or *Picards*, as I ſuppoſe) or their conſtancy, in ſuffering Tortures in themſelves moſt grievous, yet attended with Uſages as diſgraceful; both for the manner or form or Proceeding, as injuriouſly inflicted, as the ground or matter of Accuſations brought

The miſerable and ſhameful Perſecution of ſundry, for profeſſing moſt Points of our Religion in S. Bernards *time.*

brought againſt them were unjuſt and impious. The Provoſts Epiſtle was to this effect.

8. *I would gladly be reſolved (Holy Father) might I enjoy your preſence, whence it is that in Hereticks, the Devils members, there ſhould be ſo great Reſolution for defence of their Hereſies, as the like can ſcarce be found in very religious and faithful Chriſtians.* There are (ſaith he) *amongſt us, Hereticks which put no confidence in the Suffrages of men deceaſed, or Prayers of Saints: Faſtings and other afflictions of the Body uſually undertaken for Sin, are not in their Opinion neceſſary to the righteous: Purgatory after death they acknowledge none, Denying the making of our Lords Body in the Sacrament of the Altar; the Church they affirm to be amongſt them, having neither Fields nor Poſſeſſions. Of ſuch we have known divers, by the multitude, miſled with too much Zeal, violently haled againſt our will unto the flame; whoſe Torments they not only indured with patience, but entertained with joy. I would therefore be reſolved by you, (Holy Father) whence ſo great Reſolution, in the Devils members, ſhould ſpring.*

Jam olim ante annos 400. Præpoſitus quidam venerandus *Steneldenſis* interrogabat Beatum *Bernardum*; vellem inquit, ſcire, Sancte pater, ſi præſens eſſem, unde in hæreticis diaboli membris tanta fortitudo in ſua hæreſi, quanta vix reperitur etiam in valdè religioſis Chriſti fidelibus. Sunt, inquit, apud nos Hæretici, qui in ſuffragiis mortuorum & orationibus ſanctorum non confidunt: (*mark the word, non confidunt*) jejunia cæteraſque afflictiones quæ pro peccatis fiunt, ajunt juſtis non eſſe neceſſaria: purgatorium ignem poſt mortem non concedunt: altari Corpus Chriſti fieri negant: Eccleſiam apud ſe eſſe dicunt, non habentes agros neque poſſeſſiones. Novimus etiam ex iſtis nonnullos eſſe raptos à populis nimio zelo permotis, & nobis invitis in ignem poſitos & crematos; qui tormentum ignis non ſolum in patientia, ſed & cum lætitia introierunt. Vellem igitur ſcire, Sancte pater, unde in Diaboli membris tanta fortitudo. *Driedo Lib. 4. de Eccleſ. dog. & ſcrip. cap. 5.*

9. No queſtion but this Provoſt which eſteemed no better of them, than as of Hereticks or Satans members, did relate the worſt Opinions then known to be held by them: and yet, He (as I would have the Reader note) living in their time, laies no ſuch odious *Tenents* to their charge, as thoſe that lived long after, or were imployed by the Romiſh State, to write againſt *Wickliff*, *Huſſe*, or *Jerome* of *Prage*, have charged them and their followers with. *Driedo* tells us, he finds no direct Anſwer by way of Epiſtle or Writing unto this venerable mans demand in particular. But out of S. *Bernards* Doctrine elſewhere delivered concerning like Hereticks, he finds this Reſolution, * *The Conſtancy of Martyrs hath no affinity with the ſtubbornneſs of Hereticks; Piety breeds contempt of Death in the one, Hardneſs of heart in the other.* Such good-minded men as S. *Bernard*, I think had leaſt to do in the Examination of ſuch men, moſt obnoxious to miſinformation in the particulars of their carriage: with which the Civil Magiſtrates of *France*, though Romiſh Catholicks, better acquainted, have given them laudable Teſtimonies for their honeſt and religious Lives: and whether theſe mentioned by that Provoſt were ſuch, as S. *Bernard* ſpake againſt, in the place laſt cited, is more than *Driedo* knew. Howſoever, in matters of this nature it is moſt true, *Bernardus non vidit omnia*, being as eaſie in his life-time to be abuſed by crafty Politicians, as his Authority is now by modern Jeſuites. He, that will believe theſe men were ſuch Hereticks as *Driedo* would make them, only becauſe *Driedo* ſays ſo, may eaſily be perſwaded that their Reſolution did not ſpring ſo much from true and lively Faith, as from Humorous Obſtinacy or ſtubborn Pride. But while we conſider all Circumſtances well, (though many we take from your Relation, who in this caſe relate nothing

* Nihil ſimile habet conſtantia Martyrum, & pertinacia hæreticorum, quia in illis pietas, in iſtis duritia cordis contemptum mortis operatur. *Bernardus Hom. 66. in Canticum Canticorum.*

nothing ſo well, and truly as you ſhould) we have juſt cauſe to think they were not Hereticks, but men rightly Religious, fearing God more than men, and more obſervant of his Laws than of Humane Traditions. For at this time, as the Glory, the temporal Power and Authority of your Church was exceeding great, ſo were the Hopes of theſe poor ſouls, leſs, either of purchaſing Glory by contradicting, or private Gains by diſobeying your Decrees. To attempt the one, was the readieſt way to procure their utter Diſgrace; the other, an infallible provocation of greateſt Danger. Your Church had the whole multitude of Nations as ready at her beck to applaud your cruel deſigns againſt them, as the High Prieſts and Elders had the Jewiſh People to approve our Saviours Condemnation. The manner of their Tortures, accompanied with ſuch certainty of Ignominy and Diſgrace, were dreadful to the ſetled and deliberate cogitations of Fleſh and Bloud; their Memory (for ought they could in humane probability foreſee) was either to ſleep with their Bodies, and lie buried in their aſhes, or (if ſurviving them) to be perpetually ſcourged by the ſcurrilous Pens and Tongues of their bitter Adverſaries. No hope they had of being Canonized for Saints: in the vehement deſire whereof ſome in your Church have ſollicited the procurement of their own violent death, by others hands.

10. All theſe, and many other like circumſtances, whiles we conſider, ye may brag of the Multitude and Univerſality as a Note of the true Church, and we will eaſily grant you to have been at that time far more in number, than theſe ſilly Sheep; whoſe admirable conſtancy nevertheleſs in the heat of ſuch extream Tyranny, and always matcht with ſuch harmleſs ſimplicity, doth make us think, that albeit you were the greater, yet theſe were that little Flock unto whoſe hearts, our Saviour, by his holy Spirit of comfort had ſaid, Fear not, for it is your Fathers will to give you a Kingdom, *Lands and Poſſeſſions* (as your Adverſaries truly object) *here on earth*, ye have had none. But the Loſs is little, or rather your Gain exceeding great. For theſe, *becauſe theſe you have forſaken for the Goſpels ſake and mine, you ſhall receive Lands and Poſſeſſions an hundred fold with life everlaſting in the world to come.* Theſe Hereticks, ſome of you (I imagine) would ſay, albeit they might pretend Scriptures for the Rule of Faith, yet would not be ruled by Scriptures when they were evidently brought againſt them. For your evidence of Scripture, to prove theſe Points there mentioned, we know them well enough; for ſome of them you profeſs Tradition only.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

That our Adverſaries Objections do not ſo much infringe, as their Practiſe confirms the Sufficiency of Scriptures for compoſing the greateſt Controverſies in Religion.

1. BUt ſuppoſe many Hereticks (your ſelves for example) will not ſubmit their minds unto the Evidence of Scripture? what Remedy? who can help it? Their Condemnation is juſt, and Vengeance is Gods, he will repay. Man it behooveth to ſee evidently, that they contemn or abuſe Scripture, before he adventure to inflict puniſhment upon them for it, leſt otherwiſe he become an Intruder into the Almighties Tribunal. But if the Evidence of Scripture will not, what elſe ſhall recal ſuch from Error.

2. Beſides the former general Allegations, let us ſee what more can be ſaid, why the Scriptures may not be the moſt effectual, and infallible Rule, that can be imagined to guide men in the way of Truth. * *The Authority* (ſaith *Valentian*) *ordained by God for determining all Queſtions of Faith, is without all queſtion moſt apt to diſcern and prevent all* † *Errours contrary to Faith. Why may not the Authority of Scripture be accounted ſuch? The Scripture, ſaith he, is ſo framed,* (*yet was it God that framed it*) *as Experience may alſo teach us;* * *that of it ſelf alone it is ſo far from being a fit Rule for avoiding all Errours, that by the ſecret judgement of God it is a ſtumbling Block, and as a Snare to the feet of the unwiſe, ſo that ſuch as will rely upon it alone, may ſoon trip or tread awry.*

* Authoritas quæ ad judicandas omnes fidei quæſtiones divinitùs eſt inſtitura, proculdubio eſt accomodatiſſima ad cognoſcendos & cavendos errores omnes fidei contrarios. Scriptura ſacra ſic compoſita eſt, ut experientia etiam doceat, eam per ſe ſolam, non tam regulam accommodatam eſſe ad declinandos omnes errores, quam arcano Dei judicio eſſe velut lapidem offenſionis, & in tentationem pedibus inſipientium, ut qui velint ea ſola niti facillime impingant & errent, *Valent. Tom.* 3. *diſp.* 1. *quæſt.* 1. *punct.* 7. *Sect.* 6. † *The like blaſphemous Speeches he iterates, in the very next Paragraph.* * *It ſeems his meaning is, that the Scripture by Gods juſt judgement, is a ſnare to all ſuch as rely infallibly upon it alone, even becauſe they rely upon it alone.*

3. The Reader muſt lay the blame where it is due, if theſe indefatigable mouths of blaſphemies reiterating the like abſurd Impieties ſo oft, enforce me often to oppoſe the ſame or like Anſwers to them. Such an occaſion as Gods Creatures were of Idolatry, the Scriptures we grant may be of Hereſie. For of Gods good Creatures, wherewith the Idolatrous Heathen polluted themſelves, the wiſe man ſpeaks in that place whereto *Valentian* alludes. And ſuch an occaſion ſhould this infallible way of the Romiſh Church pretended for avoiding, be of breeding Hereſies, were it any of Gods Ways, of which the wiſe ſon of *Syrach* ſaith indefinitely, *They are ſtumbling blocks to the wicked*; ſo was the Way of Life, the Goſpel it ſelf, even whilſt propoſed and avouched by S. *Peter* and S. *Paul.* The Queſtion then muſt be, *For what cauſe the Scriptures are a ſnare to ſome mens feet*: becauſe they admit and embrace them, for their Rule of Life? If thus either *Valentians* Ghoſt, or any Jeſuit now alive, dare avouch, I ſay no more than the Archangel ſaid to Satan, *The Lord rebuke thee.* Only unto the unwiſe, and wilfully wicked becauſe *ſuch*, the Mediator and Saviour of the world, *Salus ipſa,*

The place cited by him is Wiſd. 14. 10, 11.

Salvation it ſelf, was a Stone of offence: and unto all ſuch, not Scripture, nor any of Gods Ways ſerve as a Rule to ſave, but to condemn them.

4. This is the Article then, upon which the Jeſuit muſt once again be examined; whether unto ſuch, as are by Gods juſt Judgements decreed to Deſtruction, and given over by his Holy Spirit to believe Lies, and follow lying Traditions, or Fables of mans invention, the Popes infallible Authority can be a Rule of Life, or ſaving Faith? If it can, then we will grant it, to be a more infallible Rule than Scripture; becauſe able to controul Gods immutable Decree: if it cannot (as none without open and preſumptuous Blaſphemy will ſay, it can) then is it no more effectual for to reclaim men from Errours, than the Scriptures are, nor doth it any ways ſupply their want. *If they will not believe Moſes and the Prophets*, ſaith our Saviour, *neither will they be perſwaded though one were raiſed from the dead*: Why ſo? Becauſe God hath decreed this Word, as the only means of Salvation to ſuch, as have been partakers of it: and ſuch as refuſe this, are given over by his Spirit, to the ſtubbornneſs of their own hearts: ſhall then the Popes Infallibility make ſuch believe? By what means? Are his words more effectual than the words of Life? Are his Bulls able to withſtand the Decrees of the Almighty? Or are his Curſes to the diſobedient more terrible, than the everlaſting Woes pronounced by our Saviour Chriſt and his Prophets? more piercing than the relation of Hell-pains by a Meſſenger from the dead? By your Churches continual practice, I ſhould gueſs this would be your reply, (for there is no other left) that the Pope can conſtrain men to ſubſcribe to his Decrees, by Fire and Sword. This might command their Hands or Tongues, but not their Minds. For the Jeſuits would teach ſuch as feared the ſmart of their fleſhly members, to cozen their Conſcience for ſaving their Bodies, with this diſtinction, *Juravi linguâ, mentem injuratam gero.* And if fire and ſword be the beſt Weapons of Spiritual Warfare; or unrelenting Perſecutions the Enſigns of Infallible Authority, then the greater Tyrants may be always the more infallible Teachers: But theſe Weapons by your beſt Writers conſent, ye may not uſe againſt any but ſuch as are already admitted into Chriſts Fold: *Quæ foris ſunt, judicabit Deus: Such as are without, God will judge*: The Pope may ſuch as are within, in what manner, for what cauſe, he pleaſe, not liable to any account, whether in ſo doing he do right or wrong. Let the fruits of our Practice then witneſs, whether, what is by you objected to us for uſing our Saviours Language, may not by fit Analogy be verified of your ſelves in this point, whether *we* or *Ye* be the men of whom our Saviour gave the world warning, when he told, *Of falſe Prophets outwardly appearing in ſheeps clothing, being inwardly ravening Wolves.* Unto ſuch as are by us won to the Goſpel we grant that Chriſtian Liberty after, which before their Converſion we promiſed. Your Factors abroad, (as in the *Indies* or *Japan*) appear to men in ſheeps cloathing, making fair promiſes of the glorious Goſpel of Chriſt, and the Liberty of the Son of God, but inwardly (as in *Italy*, *Spain*, or generally within your own Folds) are ravening Wolves. Or to fit you with an Emblem eſſentially parallel to your nature and cuſtom, ye are λυκάνθρωποι *inverſi*, Men abroad, and Wolves at your own

Luke 16. 31.

So the Council of Trent it ſelf declares Seſſ. 24. *cap* 2.

own home. For whiles you ſeek to convert an Alien, you magnifie the Doctrine of the Goſpel, your ſpeech is fair, your whiſtle pleaſant, and your feeding ſweet and good; if ye mention the Popes Authority, it is moderately, and urged in that ſtile, *βόσκε τὰ ἀρνία μȣ*, *Peter feed my lambs*: but when ye have once drawn theſe lambs within your hurdles, ye change your note, and turn into your proper ſhape, then you cry with ravenous mouths, *ποίμαινε τὰ προβάτά μȣ*: That is as you interpret, *Rule my ſheep*, or *Petre macta, manduca, kill and eat*. Now all the pretended glorious promiſes of the Goſpel, or large hopes of Liberty, which you had given them before, are ſuddenly contracted in theſe two main Commandments, the chief Supporters of your Religion, on which your Law and Goſpel hang: If any thing be propoſed to be Believed, *Believe or be burnt*: If to be Acted, *Do or die*.

John 21. 16.

Baronius.

5. But as I was ſaying, ſuch kind of Weapons muſt be uſed only towards ſuch, as are admitted unto Chriſts Fold: unto them the Popes Authority muſt be a Rule, for they muſt be ruled by his iron Rod. But let us ſuppoſe, a Chriſtian (either well minded Proteſtant or Papiſt) a Jew, or Mahumetan, all zealous in their kind, and of carriage moderate, ſhould meet together: In ſome Principles of Belief they all agree, all acknowledge the old Teſtament to be the Word of God, but differ in the true ſenſe and meaning of it. What means would you preſcribe to win either of theſe two Unbelievers to the Truth? I am ſure ye would not begin with the Popes Authority. Were it not the readieſt way to win a Mahumetan, to ſhew him, that the greatneſs of that Kingdom in which he glorieth, was ordained by God to puniſh the Chriſtian world, as *Nebuchadnezzars* was to plague the Jews, and ſhould decay, would Chriſtians amend? and (the ſtrength of his affection to the proſperity of that Empire abated) to propoſe the carnal Affection of *Mahumet*, and his Religion, moſt of which is loathſome to the ears of ſuch as have any notion of any Religion; whereas the Purity of Chriſts Goſpel is ſuch, as a ſober mind once therewith acquainted would reverence, albeit he could not obey.

6. This or the like Method is uſed by ſundry learned Papiſts to diſſwade Mahumetiſm. If they reply, that they firſt ſeek to make them acknowledge the Scriptures, that they may thence learn to rely upon the Popes Infallibility: they utterly deface their own pretended Glory, in converting * ſo many Aliens unto the Faith. For all this pains in ſuch as follow this ſuppoſed Method, is but to purchaſe a double portion in the Phariſees Wo, *For compaſſing Sea and Land, to make others of their profeſſion*. The Phariſees, in ſuch Converſions, did as it were *Quadrate* the meaſure of Proſelytes ſin: multiplying Gentiliſm by Phariſaim: The Jeſuits make up the full *Cubick*, whilſt they produce Mahumetiſm, which is but a medley of Gentiliſm and Judaiſm, into Jeſuitiſm, which is the ſublimation of Phariſaiſm, mixed with malignant Atheiſm.

* *To convert Pagans to the Romaniſh Faith as it is now taught by the Jeſuits, is but to palliate Infidelity with Hypocriſie: As the Myſteries of that Religions iniquity are but a Medly or untoward Confuſion of Gentiliſm and Chriſtianity which cannot ſymbolize, or rather their imperfect mixture depraveth both, ſo as the Compound is worſe than either of the Ingredients taken apart; Thus* Lodovicus Vives *complaineth upon theſe words of S.* Auguſtin. (lib. 14. De Civitate Dei. cap. 18. (Uſum ſcortorum terrena civitas licitam turpitudinem fecit.) Concubinæ & pellices (*ſaith* Vives) non ſunt prohibitæ: quemadmodum ex legibus de concubinariis oſtenditur, lib. Digeſt. 25. Satis apertè Auguſtinus teſtatur eſſe jure civili vetere Romano multa permiſſa, quæ ſunt contraria legibus divinis. Hoc iſti nolunt, qui dum gentilitatem conjungere & coaptare Chriſtianiſmo laborant, corrupto utroq; & alterius impatiente nec gentilitatem nec Chriſtianiſmum retinent.

For it is impoſſible that this converſion ſhould aboliſh the form or eſſential Quality of the Mahumetans former carnal corrupt Religion: but rather intend the bad temper of it, by ſuperaddition of this ſecond in quality more malignant. And yet for the effecting of this Change, they make Chriſt Jeſus, their crucified Lord and God, but a Stale for the advancement of his Kingdom, that (by their own confeſſion) may be for life and manners, far worſe than *Mahumet*. Suppoſe then a convert-Mahumetan ſhould know what manner of men moſt of their Popes be: how could he chuſe but either repent of his Converſion, or turn treacherous Atheiſt, to out-vie the Jeſuit in ſuch villanous Gulleries, as this; † wherein he uſeth *Mahumets* beaſtly life as an Argument to diſſwade his followers from his Religion: and yet uſeth the Word of God, whoſe Sanctity both acknowledge, but as a bait to bring men on to faſten their Faith upon a more deteſtable Son of Perdition. This were indeed the beſt way to harden the Mahumetan in his prepoſterous Belief: That *Mahumet*, (though as we object a notorious Impoſtor) might be ſent from God to win the world unto that Truth by the ſword, whereunto Chriſt could not bring it by his godly Life, and moſt effectual kind of Preaching. And I do not ſee, what elſe, but this or the like Concluſion, can with any probability be gathered from any Arguments brought by the Papiſts, to prove the neceſſity of the Popes or their corrupt Churches *infallible Authority*, for ſupplying the defect of Chriſt and his Apoſtles Writings. Finally, to bring either Mahumetan or Pagan to acknowledge the Truth of the New Teſtament, or Chriſt for their Saviour, that they might afterwards relie upon ſuch men, is but to lead them into the entry of the Kingdom of Heaven, that they may finally ſhut the door on them, when they have one foot within it: which is indeed the ſole, entire, formal effect of this ſuppoſed *Infallible Key*. But my good liking of induſtry, (though of our greateſt Adverſary) in this ſlothful Age, makes me hope, (God grant I fail not in my hopes) that in remote Countries, whoſe air is not peſtered with the noiſom and loathſom ſcent of *Rome* their Mothers whoredom, even Jeſuits are inſpired with more pure and hallowed cogitations; and that they uſe not *Valentian*, *Bellarmin*, or others of their Italianated fellows * Methods in catechiſing Converts: or if they do, yet God, I truſt, will be merciful unto ſuch poor ſouls as thus adore the Pope, not knowing what manner of creature he is, but rather in charity preſume him for ſuch in the Concrete as the Jeſuits make him in the Abſtract, even a ſecond-Chriſt in Holineſs it ſelf.

† *So* R. B. *in his ſecond book of Reſolution,* arg. 6. p. 249. *objects ſuch matters to* Mahumet *and his Succeſſors, as a man might juſtly ſuſpect he had raked out of* Platina de vitis Pontificum. *It is a pretty ſtrain of Impudency in him and his Fellows to draw ſuch Arguments from* Mahumet, *and his Succeſſors lewd life againſt Mahumetans, and not admit the ſame as good againſt themſelves, many of whoſe Popes, (by their own Confeſſion) are as bad as bad may be. Albeit even unto the moſt abominable of them, that have been, or may be, they attribute as much in matters of Religion, as the Turks can to* Mahumet. Sed illis æs triplex circa frontem fuit, *their foreheads are fenced doubtleſs with a triple ſhield of Braſs, that can without bluſhing object intemperancy to* Luther, *or Infamy to* Calvin, (*both in reſpect of moſt of their great Prelates, Saints for good life and converſation*) *and urge their forged blemiſhes to the prejudice of reformed Religion: which no way dependeth upon* Luthers *Life, Death, or Doctrine, as their Catholick Religion doth continually upon their Popes. If* Luthers *Life (though we ſhould grant it bad) might any way prejudice ours: the Impiety of their Popes (from whom their Faith is Eſſentially derived) muſt of neceſſity utterly diſgrace their Religion.*

* *By Gods good Providence for the poor Indians good, it was, no doubt that the Spaniſh Catechiſts did not uſe this which we call the Apoſtles Creed, leſt they might have been thence occaſioned to overlaſh in their blaſphemous Encomions of the Catholick Church, which is ſcarce mentioned in that Creed or Confeſſion which they following* Aquinas *have uſed, as* Joſephus Acoſta *complains, l. 5. de Procuranda Ind. Salute cap. 7.* De ſancta vero Eccleſia articulus à vulgaribus catechiſtis ferè omittitur, cauſam eam opinor, quòd in myſteriis Fidei explicandis, non tam Symboli Apoſtolici ſeriem ſequantur, quàm uſitatam iſtam diſtributionem articulorum fidei in ſeptem ad divinitatem pertinentes, & totidem ad humanitatem, &c.

7. Were not the beſt Method to win the Jew, to compare the Prophecies of the Old Teſtament with the Hiſtory of the New, and Experiments of Gods judgements upon that nation? Some † Jews have been brought unto the Truth by theſe means, who have done the Church of Chriſt excellent ſervice in the Expoſition of Prophecies concerning Chriſt, labouring to win their Countreymen unto him by comparing the Old Teſtament with the New. If the Scripture may be a Rule, to compoſe the diverſity of theſe Opinions, moſt repugnant amongſt themſelves, may it not much more be a Rule to compoſe all Controverſies amongſt profeſſed Chriſtians, who agree in far more Principles of Faith, and Rules of Scripture, than the former did, if Chriſtians would be as ſoberly affected, and not ſtand upon the Authorities and Cuſtoms of men, the ſpecial Obſtacle that keeps the Jews from Chriſtianity?

† Johannes Baptiſta *was converted by this Method, as he himſelf expreſly witneſſeth in his Epiſtle to his Countrey-men, whom he well hoped to win by his labours in this kind: the beſt uſe he knew of the Popes Authority, was ſuch as is incident to ordinary Magiſtracy (whether Civil or Eccleſiaſtick) only to conſtrain the Jews to read his Book (as our Laws bind Papiſts to hear Sermons) and for this purpoſe he intreats the Cardinal, unto whom he dedicates his labours to ſolicite thus much at the Popes hands.*

8. It is uſual with your Writers to argue thus, * *We cannot know Scriptures to be* the Scriptures, *but by the Authority of the Church; therefore we cannot know the true ſenſe and meaning of them, but by the infallible Authority of the ſame.* The Antecedent of which Argument, as we have partly ſhewed, and hereafter (God willing) ſhall ſhew to be moſt falſe: So for the Argument it ſelf I only now ſay, that it may be far more probably inverted upon you, thus. The Jews may come to acknowledge the New Teſtament for the very Goſpel of their Meſſias, and to believe in heart, and profeſs with their mouths the Myſteries therein contained, by ſober and diligent comparing them with the Prophecies of the Old, without the infallible Authority of your Church: therefore they may know the true ſenſe and meaning of the Goſpel, in all Points neceſſary to ſalvation, without any ſuch infallible Authority. For it is a matter of far leſs difficulty, for any man of ſenſe and reaſon, to deduce particular Concluſions from general and evident Principles, than to find out the general and fundamental Principles, by natural Notions, or other Principles: And therefore more eaſie for any ſuch man to reſolve his Conſcience in particular Points of Faith or Chriſtian Obedience, after he hath found out the Foundation of Chriſtian Faith, (to wit, *Chriſt Jeſus crucified, raiſed from the dead*, and other general Dictates of Faith in the Apoſtolical Writings) then to come unto the acknowledgement, and belief of theſe fundamental Points themſelves, from the broken knowledge (ſuch as the Jews have) of the Old Teſtament. And thus it evidently follows, that if the Old Teſtament be a Rule unto the Jews, for finding out the Truth of the New, much more may the New, once acknowledged by them, and admitted of equal Authority with the Old, be a perfect Rule for them in matters of Salvation. And if theſe Scriptures are, or may be a Rule to the Jews, (if they will believe them) then muſt they be a Rule to all Chriſtians that believe them. No Chriſtian I hope will deny, but that the Old Teſtament is the Rule of the Jews: For the unbelieving Jews ſhall be condemned in what part of the world ſoever, for not following

* Abſurdum eſt ſane ut Eccleſia authoritatem habeat diſcernendi verba Dei à verbis hominum, ſenſum Dei ab humano ſenſu non habeat *Canus, lib. 5. cap. 5. poſt medium.* Quod ſi aliam authoritatem præter ſcripturam neceſſe eſt eſſe infallibilem, Quæ doceat id quod in fide eſt maximum, nempe ſcripturæ ipſius doctrinam eſſe in univerſum divinam: profecto eſt inſania (*ſome editions have,* infamia, *but falſly as I think*) non credere illam ipſam authoritatem infallibiliter item docere, quæ ſit ſententia ejuſmodi divinæ doctrinæ. *Valentianus loco ſæpius citato, paragrapho. 5.*

lowing this Rule, which God hath commended and made known unto them, not for not acknowledging the Popes Infallibility, of which many of them never heard. And if the Old Teſtament be ſuch to them, much more muſt the whole Canon be unto us ſuch a Rule: and if we die in miſbelief or infidelity, we ſhall be judged by this Rule of Gods Law and Goſpel, which we tranſgreſſed, not by the Popes Decrees or Expoſitions of it. That many, Chriſtians by profeſſion, erre in Points of Faith, or miſtake the true ſenſe and meaning of it, or pervert it to their deſtruction, proceeds from their Ingratitude towards God that gave it, and for their delight in Falſhood. Which is the reaſon why theſe Jews miſtake the true meaning of the Old Teſtament.

9. If any of our Adverſaries here demand, how chanceth it ſo many Jews erre in the Foundation of Faith, if the Scripture be ſuch an infallible Rule? he muſt be content to reſolve me in the like Queſtion: How chanceth it, ſo many Jews live unconverted in *Spain* and *Italy*, and other places, either in the Popes Dominions, or where his Authority is eſtabliſhed, if the Infallibility of his Authority, or their Church, be ſuch an excellent Rule? If they reply, the Jews might believe all Points of Roman-Catholick Faith aright, ſo they would admit their Church as Judge or Miſtreſs of Faith: the Jews might with as good reaſon rejoyn; ſo might the Romans believe all points of Judaiſm, would they acknowledge this ſuppoſed Infallibility of Doctrine to be in their Rabbinical Expoſitions, not in the Popes Determinations. But the Romaniſt, I ſuppoſe, would deſire a Sign ere he believed them herein: and are we leſs bound by the Rule of Faith, to deſire ſome tolerable ſatisfaction to theſe reaſons following, ere we believe them in this Point, as prejudicial in our judgement to Religion in general, as Subſcription to Rabbinical Doctrine is unto Chriſtian Verity.

10. The Jews admit the Old Teſtaments Authority as undoubtedly as the Jeſuits do the Popes: yet it enlightens not their hearts. What is the reaſon? Becauſe that part of Scripture is ſo obſcure? So *Valentian* (and ſuch as follow him) in all congruity muſt ſay; yea he hath ſaid it, * *That Veil which S.* Paul *ſaith is put before the hearts of Jews, that they cannot behold the Glory of the Goſpel* (as the Apoſtle there argues) *is woven for the moſt part of the Difficulties of Scriptures.* Nor do the Jews only deny the New Teſtament to be infallible, but bitterly inveigh againſt it as erroneous and contradictory to the Old. What is the cauſe? Is it not that which *Valentian* elſwhere aſſigns? *The Scripture alone* (that is, in his Languge, without the infallible Avouchment of their Church) *is ſo far from ending all Controverſies of Faith, that it rather occaſions Controverſies and Diſſentions in Doctrines of Faith.* If to the Jew, through his default, the Writings of *Moſes* and the Prophets be ſo obſcure: adde your infallible Key to open his heart to them, or them to it. If by this obſcurity they miniſter matter of Contention, or their ſenſe miſtaken exaſperate Jewiſh malice againſt Chriſtians: Interpoſe *your Humane Authority inſpired from above*, to allay the fervency of their diſtempered zeal.

** Before cited, lib.2. cap.13. part.7.*

11. You acknowledge this Obſcurity and other objected Inſufficiencies (diſinabling the Scripture for ruling or judging mens Faith) to ariſe from the frailty or viciouſneſs of Humane Nature, and

hence you plead your Churches Infallibility as neceſſary and all-ſufficient to ſupply theſe defects incident unto Scripture, not *in it ſelf*, but *in reſpect of us*. Your Churches Authority then (at the leaſt adjoyned to Scripture) ſhould make men (otherwiſe ſubject to the former Infirmities or vicious Diſpoſitions) capable of Heavenly Doctrine. Tell us then diſtinctly: Can it, or can it not make all, or moſt, or ſuch as the Scriptures do not, Believe aright? If this it cannot do adjoyned to Scriptures: it is by your own Objections againſt them, a Rule as unſufficient, as you would make them without it. If it can make all, or moſt, or ſuch as Scripture alone doth not, Believe aright; this it muſt effect, either by removing, or not removing thoſe Diſeaſes or infirmities of Humane Nature, which Scriptures without it cannot cure.

12. *Firſt*, If it could remove that Temper which makes the Jew a more unprofitable hearer of Scripture, than young Gallants are of Stoical moral diſcipline, your Church is guilty of wilful malice and murther of ſouls, that will not apply this infallible Key, able of it ſelf to open that Veil of Adamant, wherewith the Jews hearts are ſo masked, that neither the light of Moſaical, Prophetical, Apoſtolical, or Evangelical Writings can find entrance unto them. *Secondly*, Albeit this ſuppoſed infallible Authority could remove the former Veil, yet were it not in this reſpect to be acknowledged an infallible Rule of Faith, but rather an ordinary and neceſſary means, (ſuch as we acknowledge the lawful Magiſtracy or Miniſtry to be) for ſquaring or proportioning mens frail or exorbitant Affections, the better to parallel with Gods Word, the moſt exact, inerrable, and all-ſufficient Rule of Faith, even by your conſent: were it not for this Infirmity or vicious Diſpoſition of Mans Nature, which (as you likewiſe acknowledge) is the ſole cauſe why the Scriptures are Obſcure, and miniſter matter of Contention.

13. But our Adverſaries attribute not any ſuch vertue to their infallible Rule, as to make a fool wiſe, the laſcivious chaſte, the drunkard ſober, a knave honeſt, the impudent modeſt, or ambitious lowly: for even the Pope himſelf, in whoſe boſom this Rule lodgeth, may harbour theſe and like vices in his breſt: *He may* (by his own followers Confeſſion) *be as incorrigible for bad Life and Manners, as infallible for matters of Doctrine.* Seeing then their ſuppoſed Rule cannot remove thoſe Impediments which detain the Jews with other Infidels and Hereticks from the Truth: can it make men believe aright whilſt *They* remain? If it can: it is of greater force than either our Saviours Authority or skill in Scriptures. Neither of which, not all his travels and beſt endeavours here on earth, though infinitely ſurpaſſing any pains the Pope is willing to take, could inſtruct the Jews in the Doctrine of Faith, whilſt their carnal affections remained in ſtrength. *How can ye believe* (ſaith he, who ſpake as never man ſpake, and had wrought thoſe Works none other could) *which receive honour one of another, and ſeek not the honour that cometh of God alone?*

John 5. 44.

14. To conclude then, If the Infidelity of the Jews be any juſt exception, why Scriptures cannot be the perfect Rule of Faith: this Exception will diſinable the Roman Churches infallible Authority, for being ſuch a Rule. But if the general Errour of the

Jews, in the very main Foundation of Religion, be no juſt Exception, why either the Scripture according to us, or the Churches Authority according to them, ſhould not be the Rule of Faith: then cannot the Errors of Hereticks, or variety of Opinions about the ſenſe and meaning of particular places of leſs moment, impeach the ſufficiency of Scripture, for performing all that is required by either party in their ſuppoſed abſolute Rule. For it ſhall, God willing, be made evident in due place, that the ſelf ſame Affections (only different in degree, ſometimes not ſo much) which cauſed the Jews infidelity in our Saviours time, are the only roots and fountains of Hereſies and Diſſenſions throughout all Ages.

15. And as elſwhere is already proved, whereſoever the habitual Affection for degree and quality is, the Hereſie or infidelity is likewiſe the ſame, even in ſuch as hold contrary Opinions, and would perhaps maintain their contrariety unto death: for, as, many, ſtrongly perſwaded of their Belief in Chriſt, ſhall go for Infidels in that laſt day: ſo may ſuch, as think themſelves Orthodoxes, be tainted with the contrary Hereſie which they impugn, if ſubject to the ſame Affections which did breed it. But for us to account ſuch as make profeſſion of Chriſtianity, Infidels, or ſuch as ſubſcribe to Orthodoxal Doctrine, Hereticks, would be injurious and unlawful: not becauſe the former Aſſertion indefinitely taken is not warrantable; but becauſe no man can preciſely diſcern the Indentity of inward Affection ſave he alone that knoweth the ſecrets of all hearts. *Thus all the Blaſts of vain Doctrine they can oppoſe unto the Truth we maintain, do in the iſſue faſten the roots of Faith once rightly planted, howſoever they may ſhake the timerous or faint-hearted Chriſtian, or cauſe the weak in Faith, not cleaving to Scripture as their only infallible Rule, and ſure Supporter, dangerouſly to reel and ſtagger.* But though they fall, yet Gods Word ſhall never fail to approve it ſelf a moſt perfect Rule; beſides others, in theſe *Two reſpects:* Firſt, *in that none can fail in that courſe which it preſcribes, or fall away from Faith, but by ſuch means as the Jew hath done,* the true Cauſes of whoſe Apoſtacy, and incredulity it hath expreſly foretold, and fully regiſtred to Poſterity. Secondly, *becauſe ſuch as it doth not, no other Rule, Means, or Authority poſſible either in the earth, or in the Region below the earth, ſhall ever win to true Chriſtian Faith.*

Chap.

Tome I.

Chap. XXIII.

The Sufficiency of Scriptures for Final Determination of Controverſies in Religion, proved by our Saviours and his Apoſtles Authority and Practice.

1. NOr will *They* be ruled by an Angel from Heaven, *That* will not obey the live Voyce of the Son of God; whoſe Miracles, whilſt he lived here on earth, joyned with his Doctrine, we will ſuppoſe, were of as much force (if the Jeſuit will grant no more) as the Popes Propoſal of Scriptures to beget Faith, or convince gain-ſayers of Truth. The Jews were of divers Opinions about his Doctrine: *Some ſaid he was a good man, Others ſaid, No but he deceiveth the People,* he gives them a Rule (as you heard before) how to diſcern it. *If any man will do his will, he ſhall know of the Doctrine,* &c. This contents them not, albeit he had done many and good works amongſt them ſufficient to have manifeſted his Divine Authority unto ſuch as had never heard of *Moſes* or a Meſſias to come: Nay, they go about to kill him for thoſe works, which bare Teſtimony of his Worth, and as they thought, had Warrant of Scripture for ſo doing, becauſe he did them on the Sabbath day. Here Chriſt is of one Opinion, the Jews of another concerning the ſenſe of Scripture: Who ſhall judge? or by what Rule muſt their contrary Doctrine be tried? By Chriſts Infallible Authority? they admit it not: By extraordinary and miraculous Works? they perſecute him for his Miracles already wrought for their peoples good. Doth Chriſt here leave them, becauſe deſtitute of a Rule to recal them? If he had none, how ſhall the Pope (by his own challenge but his Vicar) have any to convince his Adverſaris? *If Chriſt ſubmit his Divine Doctrine to any other Rule, how dare the Pope deny ſubmiſſion of his to the ſame?* What Rule then was left? *Only the Scripture, which both did acknowledge.* They pretend *Moſes* Law concerning Sabbath-breach why he ſhould dye: unto their falſe Interpretation of this, our Saviour oppoſed the true meaning of another Moſaical Scripture. *Moſes* forbad Murther as well as Sabbath-day-breaking: and yet they ſeek to kill Chriſt, only for healing a man upon the Sabbath-day, ſo forgetful are they of the one, and ſo partially addicted to the other. But how ſhall they know, that to make a man whole upon the Sabbath, was not to break it, and violate *Moſes* Law? This our Saviour makes evident unto them, by Expoſition of that Law; and their own Cuſtom, which, continued from the firſt Promulgation, was a good Interpretation of it. *Moſes,* ſaith our Saviour, *gave unto you Circumciſion (not becauſe it is of Moſes, but of the Fathers) and ye on the Sabbath-day circumciſe a man. If a man on the Sabbath-day receive Circumciſion, that the Law of Moſes ſhould not be broken, be ye angry with me, becauſe I have made a man every whit whole upon the Sabbath-day? Judge not according to the appearance, but judge righteous judgement.* Thus was Scripture applied to their Conſcience, the laſt and final Rule by which they ſtand or fall: and is always a Light either bringing men to ſee their own ſalvation, or putting out

John 7. 12, & verſe 17.

John 7. 22.

Deut. 1. v 16, & 17.

their wonted ſight, in token of their Condemnation to utter darkneſs. And Chriſts laſt words in that Controverſie, *Judge not according to the appearance*; are likewiſe a written Rule of Scripture; ſo abſolute a Rule is this Sacred Word of God, (by our Saviours conſent and practice) both to inform the Underſtanding, and to moderate Affection which makes us blind.

2. The ſame Method our Saviour uſeth in a like diſpute, with the laſt Clauſe whereof if we compare the Romaniſts Doctrine in this Controverſie, it may appear in ſome ſort the ſame: Theirs is our Saviours indeed, but quite inverted, truly Antichriſtian. They teach we cannot know Moſaical or other Scriptures, but by the Popes infallible Propoſal: The great infallible Teacher tells the Jews, they could not believe him, or know his Doctrine though Propoſed by him mouth to mouth, becauſe they had not believed *Moſes* Writings, *If ye believe not his writings, how ſhall ye believe my words?* yet Chriſts Words regiſtred by his Apoſtles and Evangeliſts muſt be at the leaſt of like force and uſe to us, as Moſaical Writings were then to the Jews. Our Concluſion therefore is invincible: If *Moſes* Doctrine alone were a Rule to try Chriſts Controverſies with the Jews, then muſt it and Chriſt conjoyned, be the Rule whereby all Chriſtians Controverſies muſt be tried. From the opportunity of this place, the judicious Reader, though not admoniſhed, would obſerve, that our Adverſaries, unleſs poſſeſſed with Jewiſh phrenſie, or phantaſtick madneſs (diſeaſes cauſing men uſually miſdeem other for ſuch as they moſt are, but leaſt think themſelves) could not poſſibly account it a part of folly in us, * to make the WRITTEN WORD *ſole Umpire* in all Controverſies of Religion, though not impoſſible to be thus perverted by theſe Jews, or others of Jewiſh diſpoſition, as are all Hereticks more or leſs. For we will give their imaginations a years reſpite to rove about, upon condition they will then return an anſwer, what Rule, either written or unwritten, can poſſibly be imagined, which would not be perverted: what Authority, either living or dead, which would not be either diſclaimed, abuſed, or contemned by men ſo minded as theſe Jews, who in the live preſence of the Son of God, *the heir of all things, by whom the world was made, and muſt be judged, thus ſought to Patronage the Murther of his Royal Perſon, by the Authority of his Fathers Word*, unto whoſe ſenſe they thought themſelves as ſtrictly tied as any Papiſt to the Council of *Trent*. The Hereticks with whom † S. *Auguſtine* had to deal, ſtrangely wreſted his words againſt a plain and natural meaning. Though ſo they had done the Biſhops of *Rome*, or any others then living, not diſdaining to call God his Lord, their practice had not ſeemed ſtrange to this reverend Father; for he knew the Servant was not above his Maſter, and therefore could not expect his or any mans ſhould be free from any ſuch wrong or violence which he ſaw offered to Gods Word.

John 5.v. 41.

* Qui fieri poteſt, ut quæ doctrina tam facilè ab hominibus adulteratur ut in patrocinium omnium errorum advocetur, eadem ſit accommodatiſſima, appoſitiſſimáq; regula ad rejiciendum omnes omnino errores: Non magis hoc certe ſtare poteſt quam ſi quis diceret, illud eſſe accommodatiſſimum remedium ad rectè videndum, ex quo accideret omnes cæcutire quicunq; fierent cæci. *Valentian* loco ſæpius citat. paragr. 6.

† Non eſt mirum ſi Pelagiani dicta noſtra in ſenſus quos volunt detorquere conantur: quando de Scripturis ſanctis, non ubi obſcure aliquid dictum eſt, ſed ubi clara & aperta ſunt teſtimonia, id facere conſueverunt, more quidem hæreticorum etiam cæterorum, *Auguſtin.* li. 2. de Nupt. & concupiſc. cap. 31. *This was the place which* Valentian (*as was noted in the* 19. *Chapter of this Book*) *to prove the Inſufficiency of Scriptures for compoſing Controverſies, would have obſerved. The Reader, I doubt not, will note his ſhame or folly, or both, that either could not, or would not ſee how eaſily theſe men would have wreſted the* Trent-*Council, or any other Rule they can imagine. For reſtraining ſuch evident perverſneſs we acknowledge the neceſſity of a lawful Magiſtracy, whoſe Uſefulneſs in this or like doth no way argue an abſolute Infallibility in determining all Caſes of Controverſies.*

3. Our Saviour in the fore-cited Controverſies ſaw well how earneſtly the Jews were ſet to pervert Scriptures for their purpoſe, how glad to find any pretence out of them either to juſtifie their diſlike of his Doctrine, or wreak their malice upon his Perſon. Reaſon he had as great to diſtaſte their practice herein, as the Pope himſelf can have to inveigh againſt Hereticks for the like. Neither is there any perſon now living, againſt whom any intention of harm can be more hainous than the intention of Murther againſt him, nor any ſort of men (unleſs the Jeſuits, Spaniſh Inquiſitors, or ſuch as they ſuborn) ſo cruelly bent as theſe Jews were, to ſeek blood under a ſhew of love to pure immaculate Religion. Yet doth not our Saviour accuſe the Scriptures (though capable of ſo grievous and dangerous miſ-conſtruction) of Obſcurity or Difficulty, or of being any way the Occaſion of Jewiſh Hereſie, or his perſecution thence cauſed: nor doth he diſſwade thoſe very men, which had thence ſucked this poyſonous Doctrine, much leſs others from reading, but exhorts them in truth and deed, not in word and fancy only, to rely on Scriptures as the Rule of Salvation. *Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think* (*and that rightly*) *to have Eternal Life*, John 5. 9. Not intimating the leaſt neceſſity of any external Authority infallibly to direct them, he plainly teacheth it was the internal diſtorture of their proud affections, which had diſproportioned their minds to this ſtrait Rule, and diſinabled them for attaining true Belief, which never can be rightly raiſed but by this ſquare and line.

4. *It was not then the reading of Scriptures which cauſed them miſtake their meaning and perſecute him, but the not reading of them as they ſhould.* Err they did, not knowing the Scriptures; and know them they did not, becauſe they did not read them thorowly, ſincerely, ſearching out their inward Meaning. And thus to read them afreſh, as our Saviour preſcribed them, (laying aſide ambitious deſires) was the only Remedy for to cure that diſtemper which they had incurred by reading them amiſs. It were a mad kind of counſel (better befitting a Witch or cunning woman, than a wiſe man) to diſſwade one from uſing Medicines preſcribed him by men of skill, becauſe he had incurred ſome dangerous diſeaſe, by taking the like out of his own humour, or in a fancy either without or contrary to the preſcript of profeſſed Phyſicians: yet ſuch and no better our Adverſaries advice heretofore hath been: and the ſtrength of all their Arguments in the Point now in hand to this day continues this: *We muſt not make Scriptures the Rule of Faith, becauſe many Hereſies have ſprung thence, and great Diſſenſions grown in the Church, whiles one follows one Senſe, and another the contrary.* Whereas in truth, the only Antidote againſt Contentions, Schiſms, and Hereſies, is to read them attentively, and with ſuch preparation as they preſcribe; as * not to be *deſirous of vain glory, not to provoke or envy one another*: † *To lay aſide all maliciouſneſs, guile, diſſimulation, and evil ſpeaking, like new born babes deſiring the ſincere milk of the Word, whereby we muſt grow*, * *not faſhioning our ſelves according to this preſent world, &c.*

5. Theſe were delivered as ſoveraign Remedies againſt all Epidemical diſeaſes of the ſoul, by Phyſicians, as both acknowledge, moſt *Infallible*. For better unfolding, and more ſeaſonable applying of

* *Gal.* 5. 26.

† 1 *Pet.* 2. 1, 2.

* *Rom.* 12. 2.

theſe and infinite other like Aphoriſms of life, we admit variety of Commentators: but are as far from ſuffering any, of whoſe ſpirit we have no proof, (eſpecially any not ready to ſubmit the trial of his Receits, unto theſe ſacred Principles and Experiments anſwerable to them,) † to try what Concluſions he liſt upon our ſouls, as the Pope would be from taking what Potions ſoever any Engliſh Emperick ſhould preſcribe, though diſclaiming all examinations of his preſcripts by *Galen*, *Hippocrates*, *Paracelſus*, or any other Ancient or Modern well eſteemed Phyſicians Rules.

6. If ſince this late invention of the Popes *Infallibility*, our Adverſaries do not now, as heretofore, condemn all Reading Scriptures ſimply: what marvel? * For as Satan after once God had ſpoken to the world by his Son, began to change his old note, and ſought to imitate tho Goſpel ſtile, by writing his Hereſies as God did his new Covenants in mens hearts: So in later Ages, ſince the the Almighty gave his Word in every language, and the number of Preachers hath been greatly multiplied, the old Serpent permits the Jeſuits and his other Inſtruments to tranſlate, Expound and Preach the Goſpel to the ignorant. And in oppoſition to the practice of Reformed Churches, the Lay Roman Catholick may now behold, yea read the words of Life. What difference then can any make betwixt theirs and our Doctrine in this Point? ſuch as in times paſt was betwixt true Miracles wrought by the finger of God, and Diabolical Wonderments, all which later were uſually wrought to idle purpoſes, and by ſome Apiſh trick or other bewrayed their Authors ſiniſter intendments: † So doth the cunning reſtraint of this Liberty late granted to the Roman Laicks great in ſhew, bewray who was the Author of this Plot, and what his purpoſe. Some merry Devil ſure is minded to make Hell ſport, by putting this gull upon the learned Papiſt, his Inſtrument to put the like upon the ignorant; who now at length may read the Scriptures, but with abſolute ſubmiſſion of their Interpretation to his Inſtructors, who may not take any Receipt thence, but according to their ſupreme *Infallible* Phyſicians preſcripts, which may not be examined by any Rule of Gods written or unwritten Word: nor may any man call his skill in queſtion, much leſs condem him of Impoſture, by the lamentable iſſue and diſmal ſucceſs of his Practices. Should men upon like terms be admitted to read *Galen* or *Hippocrates*, and yet the Monopoly of Medicines permitted to ſome one Emperick or Apothecary, not liable to any account, whether his confections were made according to the Rules of Phyſick-Art or no: They might be in greater danger of poyſoning, than if theſe grand Phyſicians had never written: for that might be preſcribed them, by ſuch an Authentick Mountebank, as a Cordial, which the other had detected for Poyſon. So ſhould the Chriſtian World, might the Jeſuits Plea prevail, be continually at the Popes courteſie, whether they ſhould embrace that ſenſe of Scriptures which Chriſt and his Apoſtles have condemned for the Doctrine of Devils, as the Oracles of the living God, and food for their ſouls.

† *And good reaſon the pooreſt Creature living ſhould tender the eternal welfare of his ſoul, as much as the Pope doth the tranſitory health of his Body.*

* Vide lib. 1. cap. 10. par. 2.

† *The Popes drift in permitting his Laity to look into the holy Scriptures and behold the Majeſtie of God ſpeaking in them (a matter heretofore held as dangerous for them as for the Iſraelites in times paſt to have approached to the Holy Mount) is juſt like the Devils in carrying our Saviour into a high Mountain to ſhew him all the Kingdoms of the earth, and the glory of them. The condition annexed to the Popes Donative is the ſelf ſame with that the Devil added to his proffer,* All theſe will I give unto thee if thou wilt fall down and worſhip me. *For none may enjoy Scriptures but with humble acknowledgement of abſolute Homage unto the Pope as the ſole and ſupreme Judge of all Controverſies concerning them: from whom all Right unto the Means of their Salvation muſt be derived. Which kind of Worſhip is altogether as derogatory to Gods glory, as that which Satan demanded of our Saviour, or any other Idolatry that is or hath been, as ſhall (God willing) hereafter appear.*

7. But ſome man more indifferent would here perhaps interpoſe; Though theirs be bad, do you preſcribe us any better Method of Health? Your former counſel to practice the Apoſtles Rules, is as if a man ſhould ſay to one ſick of a dangerous diſeaſe, Expel the bad humour, and you ſhall be well. Yet as we ſaid before, *Eſt pars ſanitatis velle ſanari, To deſire the extirpation of ſuch Affections as hinder our proficiency in the School of Chriſt, or knowledge of his Precepts, is a good ſtep to health.* The Scriptures are the words of life containing Medicines as well as Meat, and muſt purge our Souls of carnal Affections, as Phyſick doth the body of bad Humours: They teach withal what Abſtinence muſt be uſed ere we can be capable of that ſpiritual Welfare, which they promiſe to the Soul of ſuch as follow their Preſcriptions. And becauſe our natural Corruption cannot be aſſwaged, much leſs expelled, but by their force or vertue, which is not always manifeſted upon the firſt Receipt; we are to come unto them with ſuch reverence, as the Moraliſt did to Meditations of Vertue, *Vacua & ſobria mente:* in ſobriety of Spirit, not in the heat, abundance, or actual motion of ſuch Affections as hinder their operation upon our Souls; as men uſually take Phyſick upon a faſting and quiet ſtomach, although Peſtered with bad humours, which yet cannot be extirpate but by Phyſick; nor by Phyſick, if miniſtred in the actual motion, heat, or raging of ſuch humours. If a man have but this deſire, to be rid of ſuch Affections as breed this diſtemper in his Soul, or work a diſtaſte of the Word of Life, he is capable of that Promiſe, *Habenti dabitur*, and ſhall in good time ſee his deſire augmented, whoſe encreaſe will bring forth greater fervency in prayer; and prayers, if fervent, though in men ſubject to ſuch infirmities, avail much, *and ſhall in the end be heard to the full.* And, as well in thankful duty to the Redeemer of Mankind for his gracious Promiſes, as in hope of being further partakers of the Bleſſings promiſed; Every one that heareth Gods Word, ought, and ſuch as hear it aright, will, as oft as they ſeek recovery of their ſpiritual Health by it, or ſuch Means as it preſcribes, abſtain from all occaſions and occurrents that may encreaſe, provoke, or ſtrengthen ſuch Affections as hinder the operations of it upon their ſouls. For even † Nature taught the Cynick to account ſurfeiting and intemperate diet madneſs in the Heathen, whiles they ſacrificed for health. If any have erred in hearing Gods Word amiſs, or in the unſeaſonable applying of Sacred Preſcripts: theſe Errours muſt be recalled by further conſultation with their Diſpenſors, by more diligent ſearch and better inſtruction in other parts of this method of life.

8. S. *Peter* knew *many ignorant and unſtable Souls had perverted ſome hard places of S.* Pauls *Epiſtles, as they had other Scriptures, to their own deſtruction.* Did he therefore adviſe them to whom he thus wrote, not to ſeek their Salvation out of S. *Pauls* Epiſtles, but with abſolute ſubmiſſion of their judgement, to his, and his Succeſſors Preſcripts? Or doth he not ſeek to eſtabliſh them in that Doctrine which S. *Paul* had taught, *according to the wiſdom given him, in all his Epiſtles.* Or can any endued with reaſon doubt, whether S. *Paul* himſelf did not expect his Writings ſhould be a Rule of Faith to all that read them, without continuance either of his own or others actual *Infallible Propoſal* of them? He had proteſted once for all,

† Poſcis opem nervis corpuſque fidele ſenectæ. Eſto age: ſed grandes patinæ, tucetaq; craſſa Annuere his ſuperos vetuere Jovemq; morantur. *Perſius Sat. 2.*

all, * *Though we, or an Angel from Heaven, preach unto you otherwiſe than that we have preached unto you, let him be accurſed. He had ſaid before, and yet ſaith he now again, If any man preach unto you otherwiſe than ye have received, let him be accurſed.* For he had taught them, as their own Conſcience might witneſs, the Doctrine of God and not man, as he intimateth in the next words.

* *Gal.* 1. *v.* 8.

From this place Valentian *after his wonted manner, would force an Argument to prove the neceſſity of a perpetual infallible Authority to denounce* viva voce *the like* Anathema's *againſt Hereticks. Whereas* S. Pauls *words, if we conſider all Circumſtances, do exclude any ſuch infallible Authority or Judge of his Meaning or other Scripture by which he ſuppoſed all other Doctrines ſhould be examined And as a Learned Papiſt well obſerves upon theſe words of S.* Paul *to* Timothy, The Scriptures are able to make thee wiſe unto ſalvation, (2 Tim.3.15.) *The Scriptures which he had learned (to wit, the Old Teſtament) might perform the ſame to him in his abſence which S.* Paul *had done in his preſence; as he ſaith,* ſine ſchola Simonis, *as we may add,* ſine ſchola Papæ, *without the Popes curſing or bleſſing.* Vide Sasbout in 2. ad Timoth. cap.3.

9. Either S. *Paul* is not Authentick in this Proteſtation, or elſe all ſtand accurſed by it, that dare abſolutely admit any Doctrine, though from an Angels mouth, but upon due examination and ſure tryal, whether conſonant or contrary to what S. *Paul* hath left in writing. His meaning notwithſtanding in many places, as his fellow-Apoſtle witneſſeth, was much perverted. And ſeeing what was paſt could not be amended, it ſeemed neceſſary to S. *Peter* to admoniſh others, leſt they ſhould be intangled in like Errour. But what means had he left to prevent this perverting of Scriptures in them? Either none beſides, or none ſo good, as diligent Reading or Hearing the written Word: For ſuch was this Epiſtle, which for their Admonition he now wrote, and was deſirous, queſtionleſs, all of them ſhould with attention hear or read, leſt they alſo might be *plucked away with the errour of the wicked, and fall from their wonted ſtedfaſtneſs*, from which others had already fallen; For what reaſon? Becauſe they were unlearned: Unlearned? In what faculty? In the Scriptures no doubt. For S. *Peter* himſelf was learned only in them, and would not vouchſafe the Secular Arts of that time (ſtanding in oppoſition unto the Goſpel) this glorious Title of Learning. And is want of learning and knowledge in Scriptures, the cauſe of falling from Faith, and former ſtedfaſtneſs? And yet muſt men abſtain from reading them, becauſe they are obſcure to ſuch blinded Guides, or may miniſter matter of Contention to contentious ſpirits, or occaſion of Errour to the *perverſe*? Muſt we be ignorant in *Them*, and expert in *Other* means of Faith; Becauſe Ignorance and want of Learning in them cauſeth Errours in Faith, and what other Means ſoever of mens ſalvation? *Quis fuor hic* (ſhall I ſay) *ne moriare, mori*; or rather, *ne poſſis ægrotare, perire*? Muſt we abſtain from ſpiritual food, and ſo inevitably ſtarve, becauſe ſome others by unreaſonable or intemperate taking of it have incurred, what? Diſeaſes indeed very grievous; yet ſuch as might eaſily have been cured or prevented, had the diſeaſed been more accuſtomed to feed upon thoſe plain and eaſie Preſcripts uſual in the later parts of S. *Pauls* Epiſtles, as (for example) amongſt others upon that moſt General: * *Through the grace of God, that is given unto me (I ſay) to every one that is among you, that no man preſume to underſtand above that which is meet to underſtand, but that he underſtand according to Sobriety, as God hath dealt to every man the Meaſure of Faith.*

That there is no danger can come by reading Scriptuoes for which the Scriptures have not preſent remedy.

* *Rom.* 12. 3.

10. From careful and aſſiduous Attention unto this and other like Elementary Precepts, thoſe unlearned but preſumptuous Readers of S. *Pauls* Epiſtles might quickly have grown ſo wiſe and well learned in Scriptures, as not to have medled with theſe δυσνόητα ſo ſoon, at leaſt not ſo much; rather contenting themſelves while ſuch they were, *like new-born Babes with his Milk*, as much better for their weak digeſtion, than his *ſtrong Meat.*; ſo the ſame Apoſtle had elſwhere expreſly written for their inſtruction, *had they not preſumed to know above that which was written. Erred they had then from the Truth, and fallen away from their former ſtedfaſtneſs, not ſo much by following the hard and difficult, as by not following the plain and eaſie places of* S. Paul, *able to have conducted them from Knowledge to Knowledge, whoſe mature fulneſs* (could they with patience have expected it,) *might in good time have overgrown the former Difficulties.*

Inſtances enough have been, more might be brought, to evince the general Concluſion intimated in the ſtate of the Queſtion before propoſed. *There is no Occaſion or Temptation which may move men to obſtinate miſtaking or perverting Scriptures to abet Contentions, but the Scriptures one where or other have a Remedy as eaſie as ſovereign preſcribed againſt it, ſo men would be diligent to ſeek, or reſolute to apply it found, in their practice or courſe of life.* If ſome Spiders from the forementioned, or like difficult places, have ſuckt poyſon; yet other parts of the ſame Canon teach us to lay aſide the Spiders temperature, even * *all Maliciousneſs*, † *all Envy*, * *all Indignation or Contention.* Though ſundry as *ſubtil as Serpents* have been miſtaken in the Interpretation of ſome, or have inverted others, yet ſome third Place teacheth us to joyn the *Doves Innocency* to the *Serpents ſubtilty*; and unto both adding the *Bees Induſtry*, theſe very places, whence others ſuch Poyſon, ſhall afford us Honey. For the Word of God is in it ſelf, and unto us (if we be not Spiders to our ſelves) † *ſweeter than Honey, and the Honey comb.*

* 1 Pet. 2. 1.
† *Gal.* 5. 26.
* *James* 3. 16. & 4. 5.

* *Pſal.* 19. 10.

Chap.

Chap. XXIV.

That all their Objections, drawn from Diſſenſions amongſt the learned, or the uncertainty of private Spirits, either conclude nothing of what they intend againſt us, or elſe more than they mean, or (at the leaſt) dare avouch againſt Gods Prophets and Faithful People of old.

1. IT is a ſure Argument, the Truth on our part is exceeding great, in that all Objections, hitherto brought by our Adverſaries (as it uſually falleth out in men more eagerly ſet to offend others than defend themſelves, though otherwiſe unequally matched) conclude, *Aut nihil, Aut nimium, Either nothing, or too much,* or all for us againſt the Objectors. But *eſpecially whilſt they ſeek to diſſwade the Sufficiency of our ſuppoſed Rule, by Diſſenſions thence occaſioned amongſt the learned,* or ſuch as ſhould be Guides of others; as their Proofs are curtailed, and will not touch the Points they aim at, ſo the Concluſion which they would ſhuffle in, not inferred from the Premiſes, is above meaſure over-laſhing. *Firſt, they fail, in avouching that indefinitely of all, which is true only of ſome parts of Scriptures. For many are ſo perſpicuous and plain, as they miniſter no matter of Contention, no, not to the moſt contentious Spirits profeſſing our or their Religion.* Theſe, well learned and laid up in mens hearts, engaged in other particular Controverſies, would be an excellent *Light to many other places,* which for want of this Method to moſt of both ſides either ſeem Obſcure, or of the ſame ſuit their ſeveral Diſpoſitions are. But to omit particular cauſes of Hereſies or Hereticks perverting Scriptures (elſe where to be proſecuted) the moſt general and primary is the quite contrary to that which our Adverſaries aſſign.

Wherein our Adverſaries Proofs come ſhort of what they aim at.

2. They except againſt Scripture, and ſay it cannot be the Rule of Faith, nor ought to be ſo taken of all Chriſtians, becauſe it is ſo Obſcure, and apt to breed Contentions among ſuch as rely upon it. We have ſufficiently proved that all *Obſcurities, all Contentions, about the ſenſe of Scriptures in points of Moment, ariſe hence; Becauſe we do not admit of it for our only Rule;* * *all Affection to mens perſons, ſtate or dignity, all private quarrels laid apart.* If the Jeſuit could prove it ſhould either continue Obſcure in points of Faith, or miniſter matter of Contention to ſuch as conform their lives to the Elementary Rules or eaſie Precepts therein contained: their Arguments were to ſome purppoſe. But while this they neither can, nor go about to prove; they ſhall only prove themſelves ridiculous Atheiſts, albeit we grant them all they deſire, about the Variety of Opinions (even in places of greateſt Moment) among the learned. For, whatſoever they can object to us, either concerning the Variety of Opinions amongſt the learned, or ſuch Diſtraction

** Partiality either unto our own or others Opinion is the only cauſe of Contention amongſt men, and Diſſention from the Truth, even amongſt ſuch as acknowledge the Scriptures for their Rule of Faith: for it is one thing to ſay they make it, another indeed to make it or uſe it as the Rule of Faith, in their Practice or Courſe of Life. Whence our Adverſaries Objections drawn from Contentions amongſt reformed Churches are eaſily anſwered. For theſe are not occaſioned by relying upon the Scripture, but becauſe ſundry in reformed Churches do in deed, as the Papiſts both in deed and word, diſclaim it for the Rule of Faith.*

as might follow thereon in the ſimple and illiterate, will conclude as much, both againſt that certainty the ancient Prophets themſelves had of their own Viſions, and the ſtedfaſtneſs of that Belief which the faithful amongſt Gods People gave unto their Predictions or Prophecies. Firſt, it is evident from the Story of *Ahab*, that lying Spirits did counterfeit Viſions then, as the Spirit of Errour doth now the Spirit of Truth; ſo as the falſe Prophets had ſtrange Deluſions and Appearances, as well as the true their Divine Illuminations; whence the contention amongſt the profeſſed Prophets themſelves was as great as any now amongſt the learned Interpreters of Prophecies or other Scriptures. And from this contention amongſt the Prophets, the unlearned, or rather all in that people not Prophets, were, by the Romaniſt Objections againſt us, (were they pertinent) to waver and halt between the contrariety of Illuminations and Viſions, profeſſed as well by the falſe Prophets, as the true. * Nor will any Jeſuite (I think) be ſo bold as to deny (leſt every man might perceive him to deny more than poſſibly he could know) that thoſe lying Spirits in the mouths of *Ahabs* Prophets, were then as cunning in imitating true Revelations, as now in counterfeiting Orthodoxal Interpretations of Truth revealed. Or if this they call in queſtion, let them reſolve us why Idolatry in thoſe Ages, wherein true Prophets flouriſhed moſt, ſhould be as frequent and various, as Hereſies in later times, wherein the Preaching of the Goſpel is moſt plentiful. The true reaſon whereof as we ſuppoſe is this: Theſe lying Spirits were alike apt to imitate Gods ſeveral manner of ſpeaking (whether by means ordinary or extraordinary) in divers Ages. At all times, if we compare either their native capacity or acquired skill with our own, though in matters wherein we have been moſt converſant: if to their ſagacity we add their malicious temper and eager deſires of doing ill, which always add an edge unto Wit in miſchievous Invention: In all theſe they ſo far exceed the ſons of ſeduced *Adam*, that unleſs the Almighty did either aſſiſt us by his Holy Spirit, or reſtrain them in the exerciſe of their skill, (eſpecially in Spiritual matters, wherewith the natural man hath no acquaintance) who could, in any Age, be able to diſcern their Jugling, much leſs to avoid their ſnares, always ſuited to the preſent ſeaſon? Notwithſtanding moſt evident it is, that in *Ahabs*, as in all other times, tainted with the like or equivalent ſins, the Almighty gives them leave to do their worſt; to practiſe with ſuch cunning in every kind, as leaves men, ſo diſpoſed as theſe falſe Prophets were, (until they amend) no more poſſibility of diſtinguiſhing Deviliſh Suggeſtions from Divine Oracles; than *Ahab* had (without repentance) to eſcape his doom read by *Elias* and *Michaiah*. For he had not fallen, unleſs his Prophets had been firſt ſeduced; their Errour therefore was by Gods juſt judgment, as Fatal as his Fall; both abſolutely inevitable upon ſuppoſition of their obſtinate Diſobedience to the undoubted Mandates of Gods written Law. Thus no one tittle of our Adverſaries Objections (*how the learned ſhould be ſure of their interpretations, when others as learned as they are as ſtrongly perſwaded to the contrary*) but is as directly oppoſite unto the certainty of true Prophets Revelations; ſeeing many, yea moſt of that Profeſſion, and (in the judgment of man) men of better gifts and places than ſuch as proved true Prophets, were otherwiſe perſwaded; uſually ſuch as the people eſteemed beſt, ſtrangelieſt deluded.

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* *Theſe Seducing Spirits hopes were not ſo deſperate as to make them leave their wonted trade, even in Saint* Cyprians *time.* Spiritus inſinceri & vagi, qui poſtea quam terrenis vitiis immerſi ſunt, & à vigore cœleſti terreno contagio receſſerunt, non deſinunt perditi perdere, & depravati errorem pravitatis infundere. Hos & poetæ dæmonas vocant, & *Socrates* inſtrui ſe & regi ad arbitrium dæmonis prædicabat--. Hi ergo ſpiritus ſub ſtatuis atque imaginibus conſecratis deliteſcunt. Hi adflatu ſuo vatum pectora inſpirant, extorum fibras animant, avium volatus gubernant, ſortes regunt, oracula efficiunt, falſa veris ſemper involvunt: nam & falluntur & fallunt, vitam turbant, ſomnos inquietant. *Cyprian.* quod Idola Dii non ſunt. *Thus he ſpake of his own experience, as he adds:* Nec aliud his ſtudium eſt, quam à Deo homines avocare, & ad ſuperſtitionem ſui ab intellectu veræ religionis avertere: & cum ſint ipſi pœnales, quærere ſibi ad pœnam comites, quos ad crimen ſuum fecerint errore participes. Hi tamen adjurati per Deum verum à nobis, ſtatim cedunt, & fatentur, & de obſeſſis corporibus exire coguntur. *Theſe were the effects of Chriſts triumph over Satan, ſure pledges* that the ſtrong man was now caſt out. *And the like power had not been ſo manifeſt before among the ſons of men.*

3. That from this variety of Opinions amongſt the Prophets about their Illuminations, others not endued with the gift of Propheſie were in the ſelf ſame caſe, the unlearned people throughout the Chriſtian World are in, whereſoever or whenſoever Diſſentions ariſe amongſt the learned, admits no queſtion but amongſt Wranglers. For albeit the excellent Brightneſs of Divine Truth did neceſſarily imprint an infallible Evidence in their apprehenſion, to whom it was immediately by Means extraordinary revealed; yet could they not communicate this Evidence or Certainty unto the people, but by preaching the Word revealed, after the ſelf ſame manner we do. Yea, ſometime it was only communicated unto them by the * Miniſtery of others, *no Prophets*. Here let any Jeſuite, or other Patron of the Romiſh Churches Cauſe, anſwer me to theſe Demands. *Firſt*, Whether the People were not bound to believe the true Propheſies (either delivered by the Prophets own mouths, or read by others, or directed to them in writing) to be the Word of GOD; and to reject the contrary Doctrine of falſe Prophets, as Deluſions? *Secondly*, Whether, if the ordinary People of thoſe times could by any Chriſtians, though private men in later, may not by the ſame Means, diſtinguiſh the Word of God (being in like ſort read, or expounded or preached unto them) from rhe Word of Man? The Word remains ſtill the ſame; the Truth of it better confirmed unto the World, by the continuance of it in power and ſtrength throughout all Ages intermediate, wherein Gods Spirit (by which it was firſt manifeſted to the Prophets, and written in the Peoples hearts) hath been more plentiful than before, eſpecially ſince the Revelation of the Goſpel; moſt plentiful in this preſent (if I may ſo ſpeak) the ſecond time of Grace. Our Argument then ſtands good, (*à fortiori*) If every private man amongſt GODS People of Old might and ought Believe, and believing Obey, his Word revealed to others, only read or expounded unto him, rejecting all contrary or erroneous Doctrines; the People of this Age muſt do the like: and all Objections poſſible againſt the judgment of modern private Spirits, conclude as much againſt all private perſons of Ancient times: For, their Means of knowing the Prophets Illuminations or Viſions were ordinary; ſuch as we have now; liable to all exceptions that can be made againſt our knowledge or perſwaſion of the true Senſe of Scripture; But neither theirs nor our Imbecillity in knowing, or Facility of erring, was or is any juſt Exception why the Scripture ſhould not be a Rule to both. Albeit all the Papiſts Arguments might be urged with far greater probability againſt them who were to Believe Prophetical Writings firſt. For more eaſie it is to *Aſſent* unto Particulars contained in a general Canon already eſtabliſhed by the approbation of former Ages, and confirmed by

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* Jer. 36. 5, 6. *And* Jeremiah *commanded* Baruch, *ſaying, I am ſhut up and cannot go unto the Houſe of the Lord; Therefore go thou, and read the roul, wherein thou haſt written at my mouth the Words of the Lord, in the audience of the People in the Lords Houſe upon the faſting day: alſo thou ſhalt read them in the hearing of all* Judah *that come out of their Cities.*

joint conſent of Parties moſt adverſe and contrary in the interpretation of ſeveral parcels; than to admit the general Canon it ſelf for the undoubted Word of GOD, or yield obedience to the Particulars therein contained. Yet were the Ancient people bound to admit the Propheſie of *Iſaias*, *Jeremiah*, as the undoubted Word of God; albeit unknown to their Anceſtors, but only in the generality of *Moſes* Doctrine: much more (as we conclude) may Chriſtians, now living, aſſent unto the true Expoſitions or particular Contents of theſe Propheſies, or other Scriptures; of whoſe abſolute Truth in general they do not doubt, and of whoſe Particulars they may now behold the ſundry Opinions and Expoſitions of divers Ages.

4. To preſs the former Arguments more fully parallel'd to our preſent Controverſie, a little farther: I would demand of any Jeſuite, whether the Word of God taught by the Prophets, (who were to win credit by their skill, not preſumed skilful for their Authority in the Church, or Credit in Common weal) or the definitive ſentence of the High-Prieſts, or others in eminent place, were to be the Rule of *Iſraels* Faith? Whether the Peoples diſtraction in following ſome one falſe Prophet, ſome another, feweſt of all the true Prophets, moſt their High-Prieſts and men in Authority; might exempt any from acknowledgment of ſuch Propheſies, as in the iſſue proved Divine, for the Rule of their Belief? If that People, either upon the variety of Opinions, or the Authority of the Prieſts or others, might reject the Word of God, either preached unto them by the Prophets, or read by others; or appeal from It to any viſible company of men, on whoſe decrees they might ſafely relie: then may the Romaniſts with ſome probability teach men to relie upon the decrees of their Church, for their infallible Rule, not upon Scriptures only. But if the people of thoſe times were bound to relie upon *MOSES* Law and the Prophets Writings, againſt all the World beſides, albeit jointly conſpiring to teach them otherwiſe, though with gloſſes and pretences of *Moſes* Authority: then much more muſt theſe Writings be of like Authority unto us. And all the Mimical Objections which the Jeſuites can frame to this or like purpoſe, [*If the Scripture be the Rule of Faith, and muſt be diſcerned by private Spirits, how comes it to paſs that* Calvin *expounds it one way,* Luther *another,* Zuinglius *a third, and yet all think they have the Spirit ?*) are the very ſame in effect, with the falſe Prophet *Zedekiah*'s Exception againſt *Michaiah*, * *When went the Spirit of the Lord from me to ſpeak unto thee?*

5. *Zedekiah* had four hundred more of his opinion; and this people had been very dull, if conſcious of their own factious greatneſs, they could not have pleaded *all* the Papiſts Arguments againſt *Michaiah*; *all* that can be drawn from the Univerſality or Authority of the Church: *All* which have meer ignorance or incogitancy of a Divine Providence for their Root, but branch themſelves in their after-growth into poſitive Atheiſm, and contradictious Infidelity. Firſt, their Authors (the Prieſts and Jeſuites) erre, not knowing the Scriptures nor the Power of God, able to lead men unto Life, by this written Way, though narrow and private, yet ſtraight and plain: Afterwards (as if they were Satans ſworn Takers, or authorized Purveyors to furniſh Hell with gueſts) obſerving ſome, who

* 1 *Kings* 22. 24.

rather idly wiſh, or looſly proffer, than ſeriouſly purpoſe, or earneſtly ſtrive, to enter in at the ſtreight Gate, either fail in their firſt Adventures, or finally miſcarry; they watch hence all opportunities of haling Paſſengers to their broad beaten Catholick Way, which almoſt all heretofore have gone, as they brag, wherein a blind man, ſo he will follow his Guide, cannot eaſily trip; ſo I think, until both come at the very Pit-brink of Deſtruction, whereunto it tends directly and infallibly. But is this your Catholick Way more plain or better beaten than rebellious *Iſraels* or *Judahs* was? Could not theſe alſo (whilſt backed by their blinded Guides) have mockt at private Spirits, and beſtowed Titles upon Gods true Servants, (becauſe in number feweſt and moſt oppoſite to their Prelates) as foul and odious, as Sectaries, Schiſmaticks, or Hereticks? Or did theſe willingly and wittingly go aſtray, as knowing their ways to be the ways of death? [a] *Therefore my people is gone into captivity*, (ſaith the Lord) *becauſe they had no knowledge*. Ignorance, the Nurſe of your Devotion, was the true Mother of their Superſtition and Idolatry: yet was this want of Knowledge, which thus proved the fertile Seed of all their enſuing Miſery, the native Fruit of their former Negligence in not practiſing the known Precepts of *Moſes* Law. And becauſe increaſe of Ignorance in Gods Word did breed in them a greater delight of hearing Lyes, and pleaſant things, than the Truth, he gave them their Luſt, as he had done their Forefathers Quails in his diſpleaſure. [b] *Son of man*, (ſaith the Lord unto his Prophet) *theſe men have ſet up their Idols in their heart, and put the ſtumbling-block of their Iniquity before their face: ſhould I, being required, anſwer them? Therefore ſay unto them, Thus ſaith the Lord God, Every man of the Houſe of Iſrael, that ſetteth up his Idols in his heart, and putteth the ſtumbling-block of his Iniquity before his face, and cometh to the Prophet, I the Lord will anſwer him that cometh, according to the multitude of his Idols: That I may take the Houſe of Iſrael in their own heart, becauſe they are all departed from me through their Idols.*

6. This evidently proves, that unleſs the Moral Law be duly practiſed, and thoſe-ſtumbling-blocks which the wicked ſet before their faces removed: to ſeek after ſuch a facile, inerrable Rule, as the Papiſts have framed for direction in points of Faith, is, to ſolicite a ſnare for their own Souls, as no doubt God gave the Romans, for their diſtaſt of his Word, and that longing after Gentiliſm [c] before mentioned, this broken Reed, whereon to this day they relie, as he had done the *Iſraelites* a King in his wrath. And though in every Age, ſince the *Goths* and *Vandals* over-ran the Empire, God hath raiſed up ſome poor *Michaiah* to withſtand their ſtate-Prelates: Yet thoſe lying Spirits, which poſſeſſed *Ahabs* Prophets, have ever born greateſt ſway in that Church, ſeducing Princes and People, as they had done *Ahab*, by multitude of Voices, to their own Deſtruction. That the Romaniſts can produce men of great fame and note through many Generations for their defence in ſome one point or other, it skills not much, For as God, in [d] times paſt,

ſuffered

[a] *Eſay* 5. 15.

[b] *Ezek.* 14. 3, 4, 5.

[c] *Cap.* 19.

[d] This Law of *Deuteronomy* holds true in proportion throughout all Ages. *If there ariſe among you a Prophet, or a Dreamer of Dreams, and give thee a ſign or wonder, (And the ſign and the wonder which he hath told thee, come to paſs) ſaying, Let us go after other Gods which thou haſt not known, and let us ſerve them, Thou ſhalt not hearken to the words of that Prophet, or unto that Dreamer of Dreams: for the Lord your God proveth you, to know whether ye love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your ſoul,* Deut. 13. 1.

ſuffered Prophets or Dreamers to take opportunity, from their ſtrange Predictions, of inticing his people to Idolatry, forbidden by his written Law: ſo *in every Age, his Providence permits men of excellent Gifts, and great skill in Scriptures, to have, yea to ſeek to eſtabliſh their plauſible Errours under pretences of Revelations, ſecret Aſſiſtances, or abundant meaſure of his Spirit; that by this means he may try our Fidelity in ſearching Scriptures, and Diligence in trying Spirits, as he did the Iſraelites by ſuch preſumptions of Divine Propheſies, or Viſions.* And if amongſt this great Variety of Opinions I might deliver mine, as freely as I willingly ſubmit it to each ſober Prophets Cenſure, (much more to the Correction of my lawful Superiours) I ſhould (for ought I yet ſee to the contrary) avouch; *firſt, that no Chriſtian in any Age, but is oft put upon his Trial, whether he love God or the great Ones of this world more? whether he will Confeſs or Deny Chriſt before men? Secondly, That, during theſe days of Peace and Security which we now enjoy, our Acquittal or Condemnation in both the Two former main Interrogatories, ſtands eſpecially, upon our abandoning or abetting their Errours, in ſome points of Danger, whoſe Worth in others we juſtly admire.* So much addicted are we, for the moſt part, to ſuch mens perſons, as have been Gods Inſtruments for our good, that upon often experience of thoſe wholſom Medicines wherewith their Shops are plentifully furniſhed, we ſwallow down whatſoever there we find: when as perhaps the diſeaſe they had to deal with, or ſome other circumſtances of the time, were ſuch, as required an extraordinary Medicine, which whilſt we adminiſter without mixture of like Ingredients, or not upon the ſame occaſions, we may chance to poiſon both our ſelves and our Patients. Others of us again are ſo much accuſtomed to Politick Obſervation, that we commonly make no other trial of Divine Truths, than by ſome ſuch forinſecal form of proceeding, as is uſed in ſecular Inquiſitions; wherein Determinations go by Calculation of moſt Voices. But unleſs the Lord did ſuffer us to have plauſible ſhews and goodly inducements in the Worlds ſight, for Believing that which is contrary unto Truth; our Faith ſhould not be ſincere, nor as an Armour of proof to reſiſt all Temptations; ſeeing there is no man almoſt but is apt by Nature to follow a multitude, to do that which publick Laws have judged evil, much more to think or Believe as moſt men, or men moſt eſteemed, do. On the contrary, if we look into our Calling, [*] *Not many wiſe men after the fleſh, not many noble are choſen of God.* Such as are His, ought to be like Him in this, that they ſee not as men (not as Natural men, be they never ſo many) ſee, nor judge not as they judge.

[*] 1 Cor. 1. 26.

7. The ſtay whereupon they, as in all other Difficulties, ſo eſpecially in this *Trial of Spirits*, muſt relie, is his Providence; which in time will bring the Truth to light, and daily diffuſeth the odour of life, able (were not our ſenſes dull or prepoſſeſſed with the fragrant ſmell of earthly pleaſures) to lead us to that inviſible Truth which in this life we muſt follow not by view, but by Faith. Yet not by Faith, if we take the Jeſuites for our Guides, who in this preſent Controverſie play falſe Huntſmen, always ſeeking to bring us from the prints of Gods Providence, unto the paths and footſteps of men, that have corrupted their ways; caſting the form of ſecular proceeding before our eyes, ſo to withdraw us from following him

who hath ſweetned the Air wherein we breathe, with the words of Eternal Life. *If men would be ſo mad, as to frame their lives according to their Doctrine, Hell it ſelf could not wiſh a more Deviliſh Means to make men Chriſtians in conceit, and Atheiſts or Infidels in heart.* And yet beſides the Impiety of all other kinds of Hereſies or Infidelities that are or have been, this of theirs is the moſt palpably abſurd, and moſt contradictory to the Rules of Reaſon and Principles of Arts received by all. For *if the Arguments they bring againſt us conclude any thing at all, they conclude as much againſt all Certainty of ſecular or natural Sciences.*

8. And becauſe (whether purpoſely, or as meer Inſtruments managed by Satan, to what uſe they know not) they ſtill labour to make civil Modeſty but a mask for Infidelity; rightly judging (though to a wrong end) ingenuous Humility and mens lowly conceits of their own worth the fitteſt diſpoſition, whence utter diſtruſt of Gods Favour towards ſuch poor Creatures, as men ſo minded deem themſelves, can be wrought; and if once wrought and deeply planted in ſoft minds or humble hearts, the only ſure Foundation, whence they can hope to raiſe their blind implicite Faith: It ſhall not be amiſs, whilſt we proſecute the ſecond Branch of their immoderate Folly, laſt mentioned, to diſcover withal, and partly diſſolve, *The Snares which they have ſet for the Simple and Ingenuous.*

Chap. XXV.

How far, upon what terms and grounds, we may with modeſty diſſent from the Ancient, or others of more excellent Gifts than our ſelves: That our Adverſaries Arguments impeach as much the Certainty of Humane Sciences as of private Spirits.

1. LEt it be granted, that many places of great moment are diverſely expounded by learned men: what will hence follow? That not the greateſt Scholars in reformed Churches can be as ſure of their true Senſe and Meaning, as the Pope? Not, unleſs you firſt can make it evident, that Learning or Subtility of wit is the only Means, whereby the true ſenſe of Scriptures can be found out. And this being proved, you muſt aſſure us that the Pope is always better learned than others, otherwiſe he may fail as well as they. Or if you admit not Learning for the only Means of diſtinguiſhing Doctrines, as indeed it is not; yet muſt you ſecure the World, that the Pope hath all thoſe other good Qualifications, whoſe want cauſed the learned to erre. Or if you require neither one nor other of theſe, you muſt prove that the beſt Gifts of God, (the peculiar Attribute of whoſe Glory, is, *to be no reſpecter of perſons*) are infallibly entailed to a certain ſucceſſion of men, without all reſpect of Learning, Wit, or Honeſty. Laſtly, you muſt prove that the Holy Ghoſt was a private Spirit, and might err, when he ſaid, *The Lord giveth grace to the humble*, Or, *the Law of the Lord, wiſdom unto the ſimple*: And that our Saviours words, *Ventus ~~ſpirat ubi~~ vult*, did not import, (as he meant) that his Spirit might enlighten whom he pleaſed:

For if all theſe, and that *Deus cujus vult miſeretur*, be true; who can hinder Him or His Spirit to open the eyes of ſome leſs learned, to behold clearly the true Senſe and Meaning of that Scripture, wherein many excellent Writers have either erred or been overſeen? Or who can hinder God (if theſe places be true) to reveal his Will to little ones, and keep it ſecret from the wiſe, and mighty, becauſe it is his pleaſure ſo to do? and that for this end, that men ſhould learn to relie upon his Mercy and Providence, not upon the Authority or Skill of Men. Or who can hinder his Omnipotency even in this Age to make his Power ſeen in our Weakneſs? If this his Power be not limited now, then may he ſtill both reveal the true Senſe and Meaning of his Word in ſome points, unto men of leſs capacity in others; and furniſh them with ability too, for demonſtrating by Evidence of Argument, and ſureſt Grounds of Reaſon unto others, that this ſenſe muſt needs be the true ſenſe, and that all other Interpretations given of the ſame places, by men otherwiſe excellent for their Learning and Skill in Scripture, cannot ſtand with thoſe Principles of Chriſtian Faith, which all ſorts of Believers ſtedfaſtly believe. Muſt ſuch a man, or thoſe to whom God reveals the Truth by his Miniſtry, doubt of the Evidence of the Truth revealed, and miſtruſt Gods Word; becauſe others as learned, or more learned than either he that hath the Truth revealed unto him firſt, or they that take it from him, are of another mind? He muſt verily by this Objection. For a Jeſuite would ſay, Why ſhould he not think others as likely to have the Spirit, as himſelf? Let him eſteem of them, as far better Scholars, and men indued with as great, or greater Meaſure of Gods Spirit than himſelf: for ſo the Scripture teacheth us not to be wiſe in our own conceit, * *but to think better of others than of our ſelves.* And again, † *the Spirits of the Prophets are ſubject to the Prophets.*

* *Phil.* 2. 3.
† 1 *Cor.* 14. 32.

2. And yet both theſe Rules concern the greateſt Scholars, and moſt skilful Interpreters in ſome degree, as well as the meaneſt. For none is ſo abſolutely good, none ſo far exceeds another, but in part may be exceeded by him. Nor doth this Chriſtian Modeſty, which the Scripture thus teacheth, bind any Chriſtian ſoul, or ingenuous mind, to ſuch abſolute ſervility, as the Objection muſt inforce upon all, if it prove ought: For there is no ingenuous man, eſpecially of meaner gifts, but will in Heart and Conſcience acknowledge many, both Ancient and Modern, for far more excellent Scholars than himſelf: and yet be fully perſwaded in Conſcience, that in ſundry particulars he hath the Truth on his ſide which they oppugn; and the true ſenſe of Gods Spirit in ſome points wherein they have erred, or were ignorant. For neither will an indefinite Propoſition, in matters whoſe revelation depends upon the free Will and Liberty of Gods Spirit, and are in reſpect of us contingent, infer every particular: nor will one or few particulars in any point infer an Univerſal Propoſition, or ſuch as we call *vera ut plurimum* true for the moſt part. Now to ſay and believe, that ſuch a man is a better Scholar and of far more excellent gifts, is but indefinite, not infinite, for the extent of his Scholarſhip, or gifts beyond mine: Wherefore it will not hence follow, that he is a better Scholar, or Interpreter in this, albeit he be ſo in many, or in moſt other particulars; much leſs will it follow, that I am a

better Scholar or Interpreter than he, becauſe I am better ſeen in this one, or few particulars. The Conſequence, or Corollary of which two Aſſertions, is again as evident: [*I may without breach of Modeſty think I have the Truth on my ſide in ſundry particulars, againſt him that is far better ſeen in Scriptures, and other Sciences, than my ſelf.*] For albeit he were much better ſeen in both than he is: yet are his gifts meaſured as well as mine; although God hath given him a greater meaſure of ſuch gifts, than me. Wherefore, as I would willingly yield unto him in infinite others; ſo may I ſafely diſſent from him in this or other particulars, that are contained in the ſmall meaſure of Gods gifts upon me; without any juſt cenſure of Arrogancy, or breach of Modeſty, for entring the Liſts of Compariſon with him abſolutely. For now we are to be compared but in this one, or few caſes; not according to the whole meaſure of Gods gifts in us; which I acknowledge far greater in him, and reverence him as my Superiour for them. And as I acknowledge him abſolutely for my better, ſo is he, in theſe particulars, in ſome ſort, to yield Superiority unto me. Chriſtian Modeſty teacheth every man not to be haſty, or raſh, in gain-ſaying the Doctrine of the Ancient or other men of Worth; but rather binds him to diligence in examination of the Truth, to uſe deliberation in gain-ſaying the Opinions of men better learned than himſelf. But Chriſtianity it ſelf binds all Chriſtians, not to believe mens Authority againſt their own Conſciences; nor to admit of their Doctrines for Rules of Faith, be they never ſo excellent, unleſs they can diſcern them to be the Doctrine of that great Prophet, *Cui DEUS non admetitur Spiritum*: *He* cannot fail in any thing, and whatſoever He ſaith, or what his SPIRIT ſhall witneſs to my Spirit to have proceeded from *Him*, I am bound to believe. Bur for men, to whom God gives his Spirit but in meaſure, albeit in great meaſure, becauſe I cannot know the particulars unto which it extends, I neither may abſolutely refuſe, nor abſolutely admit their Doctrines for true, until I ſee perfectly how they agree with, or diſagree from his Doctrine, of whoſe Fulneſs we have all received. And even the Truth of their Writings, to whom he hath given his gifts in great meaſure, I am to examine, by their conſonancy unto that ſmall meaſure of his undoubted gifts in my ſelf, ſo far as they concern my ſelf or others committed to my charge. And in the confidence of Gods Promiſes, for the increaſe of Faith and Grace, to all ſuch as uſe them aright, every Chriſtian in ſobriety of ſpirit may by the Principles of Faith, planted by Gods Finger in his heart, examine the Sentences, and Decrees of the wiſeſt men on earth: to approve them, if he can diſcern them for true; to confute them, if falſe; to ſpend his judgment, and limit the terms of his diſobedience unto them, if doubtful; and finally to admit or reject them, according to the degrees of their Probability or Improbability, which he upon ſober, diligent, and unpartial ſearch directed and continued in reverence of Gods Word, and ſincere love of Truth, ſhall find in them.

3. All the Arguments which they can heap up from the Variety of Opinions amongſt the learned (albeit they could make a Catalogue of Confuſion in this kind, as long as the Tower of *Babel* was high) can only prove thus much; That no man (eſpecially

That this Diſſention amongſt the learned ſhould rather move all ſober Christians to diſclaim all infallible Authority of men than to rely upon any.

no man indued with the gift of interpreting) may rely upon any other mans Opinons, Expoſitions, or Decrees, without further examination of them: but only upon the Scripture it ſelf, which never varieth from it ſelf, nor from the Truth; for this cauſe to be admitted as *the only Infallible Rule of all Divine Truths*, whereunto every man muſt conform his Belief and Perſwaſions. For even this Variety of Opinions, about the particular Senſe or Meaning of this Canon of Truth, amongſt ſuch as joyntly acknowledge the Infallibility of it in general, is a ſufficient Reaſon to diſclaim any mans Authority for the Rule of Faith: ſeeing Experience ſhews ſuch Variety, and Partiality in them; and the general Foundation of Faith, (held by all thus diſſenting) binds every man to believe, that the Scripture is not ſubject to any of theſe Inconveniences. This undoubted certainty of it, when it is rightly underſtood and perceived, ſhould encourage all to ſeek out the right Senſe and Meaning of it, (which once found, is by all mens conſent the ſureſt foundation of Faith, for by our Adverſaries conſent it is the Ground of the Churches Faith) and where they cannot preſently attain unto it, to ſuſpend their judgements, and not to follow mens Authorities (but only in particulars, whoſe Generals are contained in Scripture) leſt they may lead them againſt the true Senſe and Meaning of it. And if men generally ſhould have no other Ground but mans Authority, or believe this or that to be the Meaning of Scripture, becuſe ſuch a man or company of men doth tell him ſo: beſides his wronging of Gods Spirit herein, he ſhould alſo wrong many other men, ofttimes far better learned, and skilful in Scriptures, more dear in the ſight of God, and better acquainted with his Spirit, than are they, on whoſe Authority he relies. Every one to whom God hath given a wiſe heart, and power in Scripture, might juſtly challenge him of partiality and Diſobedience, in not giving as much to his Authority, as to the former. But as the truth revealed unto him by the meaneſt of Gods Servants, binds his conſcience to believe it: ſo the Variety of other mens Opinions, (be it never ſo great, the Authors and Favourers of them never ſo well learned, never ſo ſtiff and confident in maintaining them,) ought to be no Motive, either to diſſwade him from aſſenting unto the Truth known, or to diſcourage him in the induſtrious and ſober ſearch of it, by ſuch good means as God hath appointed for his Calling. For there hath been as great Variety of Opinions in other Sciences and Faculties, as in Divinity: yet no later Jeſuit, nor other learned Papiſts, that I have read or heard of, for theſe divers hundred years, have ſought to prove, that no man can be certain he knows any thing, becauſe many think they know that which they do not. Or if any Jeſuit will renounce *Ariſtotle*, and revive the old Academicks Opinion [*That there can be no certainty of any thing, but only an Opinion*:] our Univerſities ſhall be ready to anſwer him, albeit hereby they ſhould diſinable their ſuppoſed infallible Rule as much as ours. In the mean time, holding *Ariſtotles* Doctrine, about the certainty of Sciences for true, they anſwer themſelves in all they can object againſt us in this Point. For they neither deny a certainty in ſecular Arts, becauſe many erre: nor do they perſwade young Students in their Schools, to give over their ſtudious and induſtrious ſearching into ſpeculative Sciences, becauſe many have taken much pains in them to little purpoſe: Nor do they hold it ſufficient for good Scholars in ſuch matters, to relie wholly on other mens judgements, without any tryal of Concluſions, or examination of Arguments, according to the Principles of thoſe Sciences which they have profeſſed. In a word, the Variety of Opinions hath not yet occaſioned them to create a *Pope of Arts*, and ſecular Sciences, albeit ſuch a Creature were (by their Arguments) much more neceſſary, or (at leaſt) leſs harmful in thoſe Faculties, than in matters of Religion. For in them we have no promiſe for the aſſiſtance of a ſecret Teacher, the true Illuminator of our ſouls, whoſe Authority is as infallible, as the Spirit of Truth. *Ariſtotle* takes it for an infallible token that there is a certainty to be had in Sciences, becauſe all men think themſelves certain in their perſwaſions of things that may be known: as well thoſe that know not the Truth, but only think they know it, as thoſe that know it inded. If *Ariſtotles* Argument (which the Jeſuits ſo acknowledg) be good: then is their Argument in this Cauſe moſt abſurd. Many men (ſay they) perſwade themſelves they know the right ſenſe of ſundry places in Scripture, when they do not, therefore no man, no private man, no man but the Pope, (*qui neque Deus eſt neque homo*,) by any Search or induſtry, can be ſure that he hath it. Whereas by *Ariſtotles* reaſon, (which indeed is a Rule of Reaſon) the contrary rather follows, That there is a Certainty to be had concerning the Truth and true ſenſe of Scripture by all ſuch as ſeek it aright, becauſe even ſuch as err, and ſeek it amiſs, are ſtrongly perſwaded of their Certainty in it. From the ſame *Topick* do the Schoolmen and other judicious Contemplators prove a Certainty of true and perfect Bliſs, able alone to ſatiate the greedy Appetite, and ſtay the unconſtant longing of mans Soul, becauſe even miſcreants and ſuch as indefatigably hold on like Dromedaries in thoſe ungracious courſes, which in wiſer Heathens ſight lead directly unto Infelicity and true Miſery, cannot caſt away all conceit of Happineſs from which they wander, but rather ſuppoſe it to be ſeated in thoſe ſenſual Pleaſures which they follow. Yet would our Adverſaries Arguments diſprove all certainty in apprehenſion of true Happineſs with greater probability, than they can impeach the aſſurance of private Spirits in any other points of Faith, as might (to omit other reaſons) be proved by this one; *Becauſe ſome of their Popes* (none of which as they ſuppoſe can err in *Ordinary matters of Faith*) *never have any taſte or apprehenſion of true Happineſs.*

4. Of the manner of knowing the true Senſe of Scripture, occaſion will be given us in the laſt part of this Diſcourſe: of the Impediments which trouble moſt men in this ſearch, and of the Original of all Errors in Divine Matters, and the means to avoid them, we ſhall ſpeak by Gods aſſiſtance, in the Article of the Godhead. Thus much may now ſuffice, that no man ought to be diſmaid in ſeeking, or deſpair to find the true Senſe and Meaning of Scriptures, in all points neceſſary for him in his Calling, becauſe other men, much more expert in all kind of Learning than himſelf, have foully erred in this ſearch, and finally miſſed of that they ſought. For out of the rules of Scripture already ſet down, when ſuch

Temptations ſhall ariſe in our breaſts, we may quell them thus. They who have gone aſtray, were much better learned than I in all kind of Knowledge: It may be they were hence more confident of their Gifts; for *ſcientia inflat*, their excellent Knowledge might puff them up with ſelf-conceit; and he that is wiſeſt of all hath ſaid, *I will deſtroy the Wiſdom of the Wiſe, and the underſtanding of* *Iſa.* 29. 14. *the Prudent ſhall be hid*: it may be, as they were exceeding Wiſe, ſo they much gloried in their Wiſdom: but I will ſeek to glory only in the Lord, of whom I have received every good Gift I have, and will always eſteem this beſt, which ſhall teach me not to rejoyce above that which is meet in any other: As they were Prudent, ſo it may be they were Proud, and the Scripture ſaith, *Deus reſiſtit ſuperbis, God reſiſteth the Proud*, and ſuch as truſt too much to their own conceit. As for me, I will not be high-minded, but fear, for the ſame Scripture tells me, *Deus dat gratiam humilibus*, yea grace to underſtand the true ſenſe and meaning of his gracious Promiſes made in Chriſt. And in confidence of them, I will continue theſe my daily Prayers: *Lord grant me true, unfeigned, Chriſtian Humility, and with it, grace, to know the wonderful things of thy Law.* Others have erred, of far more excellent natural parts, even men of deepeſt reach and ſureſt Obſervation. It may be, as their Wits were ſtronger, and their Underſtanding riper: ſo their Wills were unrulier, and their Deſires or Affections greener. But *O Lord break the ſtubbornneſs of my* *Pſal.* 19. 7. *will, purifie my heart, and renew a right Spirit within me: ſo ſhall I ſee thee, and thy goodneſs in thy Word, which ſhall enlighten me to teach thy ways unto the wicked, and convert ſinners unto thee*: ſo ſhall thy Law, thy perfect Law, convert my Soul, *for thy Teſtimonies are ſure, and give Wiſdome to the Simple.* Yea but they who firſt inſtructed me in thy Word, do diſſent from me in the Interpretation of it. It may be they have not followed thoſe Rules which thou taughteſt them, *Lord give me grace to meditate aright upon thy Teſtimonies, ſo ſhall I* *Pſal.* 119. 99. *have more underſtanding than my Teachers.* But what if the moſt reverend *Heb.* 3. 5. and Ancient Fathers of former times were of a contrary mind? *Pſal.* 119. 100. *O Lord they were faithful ſervants in thy Houſe, and yet faithful but as Servants, not as thy Son: and it may be thou didſt ſuffer thoſe thy worthy Servants to go awry, to try whether I thy moſt unworthy Servant would forſake the footſteps of thine anointed Son to follow them*: but *Lord teach me thy Statutes, ſo ſhall I* (in this point wherein I differ from them) *have more underſtanding than the Ancient.* Thy Name hath been already glorified in their many excellent Gifts, all which they received of thy bounteous hand: and it may be that now it is thy pleaſure, in this preſent Difficulty, to ordain thy praiſe out of ſuch Infants mouths as mine. They out of this thy fertile and goodly field have gathered many years Proviſion for thy great Houſhold thy Church, but yet either let ſomewhat fall, or left much behind, which may be ſufficient for us thy poor Servants to glean after them, either for our own private uſe, or for that ſmall flock which thou haſt ſet us to feed. And *let all ſober-hearted Chriſtians judge, yea let God that ſearcheth the very heart and reins, and Chriſt Jeſus the Judge of all mankind, give judgement out of his Throne, whether in reaſoning thus, we are more injurious to the Ancient Fathers deceaſed, than they unto the Ancient of days, and Father of the World to come, in denying the free Gifts and Graces of his Holy Spirit, unto ſuc-*

ceeding, as well as former Ages. We reverence the Fathers as men endued with an eſpecial meaſure of his Grace, as men that have left many excellent Writings behind them, fit for the inſtructions of later Ages as well as former: *They* will not honour God as much. For their Arguments conclude, if any thing, Him to have been a gracious God, and his Spirit a Guide only of ſome few Generations of old: but in this preſent, and all late paſt, *They make him a God, his Spirit a Guide, and his Word a Rule, only of the Pope,* who muſt be the only God, the only Guide, and his Deciſions about Scripture the only Rule of all other mens Faith, yea a Rule of Scripture it ſelf, as ſhall afterwards appear.

SECT. IV.

The laſt of the Three main Objections, before propoſed, which was concerning our ſuppoſed defective Means for compoſing Controverſies, or retaining the unity of Faith, fully anſwered and retorted: That the Roman Faith hath no Foundation.

THE laſt Objection is: *Our Church hath no Means of taking up Controverſies, ſeeing we permit the Uſe of Scriptures unto all, and every man to follow that ſenſe of them which he liketh beſt.* We do indeed permit every man to ſatisfie his own Conſcience in matters of Salvation, and God forbid (for by his Apoſtles he hath forbidden) we ſhould uſurp any Supreme Lordſhip or abſolute Dominion over their Faith. Yet a Chriſtian Obedience unto Paſtors we require in the Flock: unpoſſible in our judgement, to be performed aright, unleſs undertaken more for Conſcience than for fear of Puniſhment. And, as *Obedience, if not framed by Conſcience, can never be ſincere;* ſo *Conſcience, unleſs regulated by the Sacred Canon, muſt needs be erroneous, and always reliſh more of Superſtition than Religion.* The Goſpel we ever eſteemed as a gladſome Meſſage of Peace and Salvation: and do we, by ſeeking to ſquare mens thoughts and affections unto it, prepare their hearts to deadly War? It is, we know, and you deny not, the Fountain of Life, apt to ſeaſon the waters of *Marah* and *Meribah*, a Medicine able to allay all bitterneſs of Contention, and qualifie the poyſonous roots of Strife; and do we, by ſetting it open for fainting Souls to quench their thirſt, dig pits of Deſtruction for them to fall into? The Scriptures in general we have proved to be a plain and facile Rule, *a Light unto mens feet, and a Lanthorn unto their paths*: and do we, by permitting the free Uſe of it to all, firſt explicated and unfolded by the Diſpenſers of Divine Myſteries, lay ſtumbling Blocks in their way not poſſible to be deſcryed or avoided, or ſpread a ſnare to catch their Souls in Darkneſs? we permit every man to follow that ſenſe or meaning of it which his Conſcience liketh beſt: but we permit no man to frame the liking of his Conſcience to his Luſt; we teach the contrary as a Principle of Faith and Chriſtian Obedience. If any diſobedient Spirits liſt to contend, where they ſhould perform Obedience, we know the Church of God hath no ſuch Cuſtom: all ſuch Contentions we deteſt, and labour, as much as you, by all Means lawful, to quell: The ſame internal Means [Gods Word] are alike free to both, but more uſed by us which relie more upon them: all the Difficulty is about Means External.

CHAP. XXVI.

Containing the true State of the Queſtion, or a Compariſon between the Romiſh Church and ours, for their Means of preventing or compoſing Controverſies.

1. THe Queſtion then muſt be, firſt, whether we can as well diſcern ſuch as read Scriptures, as you, ſuch as read your Church Decrees, with Contentious minds. Secondly, whether we have Means as forcible and effectual as you have any to reform them, or ſtay the ſpreading Contagion of their Hereſie. To begin with the later.

Our manner of proceeding againſt contentious Spirits, as effectual for the End propoſed as the Romiſh Church hath any.

2. Such as you diſcern to be contentious, or to diſſent from that Doctrine which you conceive or teach for true, you threaten, with what? The Pope or Churches Curſe. Such as we diſcern to breed Contentions amongſt us, or Diſſentions from that Truth, which we in Conſcience think all ought to profeſs, we threaten with Death and Damnation, and the terror of that Dreadful-Day which ſhall accompliſh that we denounced * *againſt all ſuch by whom Offences come.* Will not the continual preaching of this Doctrine be as forcible to deter a man from ſowing Sedition, as the Anniverſary Solemnity of the Popes Curſe? Will men believe a Jeſuit from the Pope, when they will not believe *Moſes*, and the Prophets, nor Chriſt Jeſus himſelf? But you will ſay, although men will not be kept in Order with *Peters* Keys, yet will they dread *Pauls* Sword: or rather if they will not dread the fire of Hell, which muſt but long hence torment their ſouls, yet will they ſtand in awe of the fagot always ready in your Church for plaguing Hereticks. If this were the beſt Means to ſtop mens mouths, from profeſſing what they are in Conſcience perſwaded the Scripture tells them: The Fundamental Points of Chriſtianity had never been known either to you or us; *Chriſtian Religion it ſelf had been martyred with Chriſts Martyrs.* But as their Aſhes was the fertileſt Soil, wherein the ſeed of the Goſpel could be ſown: ſo was the long and cruel Oppreſſion of ſuch as diſſented from your Church, as a lopping or pruning to cauſe ours flouriſh, and hath at length ſet the Iſrael of God at liberty from Egyptian Slavery.

* *Matth.* 18.

3. But ſuppoſing this violent Courſe, upon great exigence of circumſtances either in the Matter, Manner, or Times of Contentions, to be both lawful and expedient: yet could not the ordinary Practice of it be more effectual to reſtrain men from contradicting, than it might be to enforce them to oppugn the Truth. It might, according to the divers diſpoſitions of ſuch as manage it, be a Means, one way or other alike forcible, either to retain men in Hereſie, Idolatry, and Infidelity, or in the Unity of true and lively Faith: Albeit Fear alone may make men perfect Hereticks or Infidels, but not inwardly or ſincerely Faithful.

4. And as for our Church, albeit ſhe ſearch not ſo narrowly into the ſecrets of every mans Conſcience, nor be ſo tyrannically jealous of every Word that might be ill interpreted, nor ſo outragiouſly cruel in puniſhing known diſſention from her, or diſcovered Errour: yet (God be praiſed) ſhe hath *Pauls* ſword as well as yours, which our Magiſtrate bears not in vain, but can unſheath it, when need requires, againſt ſuch as are open and evident abetters of Contentions, unleſs perhaps you will except, that it hath not been ſo much exerciſed in cutting you off from amongſt us, (who are the Ringleaders of all diviſion, debate, and trouble in our Church,) as it might be according to your Doctrine. If in the Practice of this coactive Authority over contentious Spirits, there be any fault, God amend it, for in our Churches Doctrine concerning this Point there is none: and God grant our Magiſtrates may practiſe as our faithful Paſtors teach: whoſe Doctrine is, that this External as well as the Internal Power is given for Edification, not for deſtruction, and muſt be directed by the ſame Rule; that the uſe and practice of it muſt be limited by the end, that the end of it is by Injunction of things good, and prohibition of evil, to proportion mens Actions and Converſations to the Rule of Faith, and Law of God, that ſo every member of the Commonwealth, thus wrought and faſhioned by the coactive Power, may be more eaſily transformed into a member of Chriſt, as being more apt and pliable for the Word of Life to work upon. Nor are we ſo preciſely wedded to any determinate courſe for quelling or preventing contentious Schiſms or Hereſies, but we may admit what other ſoever time ſhall detect more effectual for attaining the former End; unto which our love is ſuch, as will not ſuffer us diſlike any means allied to it, though having affinity with your Church: Part of whoſe external diſcipline we are not aſhamed to uſe unto good, becauſe by you abuſed to bad and wicked purpoſes. But for your Churches practice in the uſe of your beſt Means for avoiding all Contentions, you plead no Infallibility: therein you may fail as well as we, and the Queſtion now is about our Doctrine.

5. Out of that which hath been ſaid, our Means for puniſhing ſuch as we know to be contentious appears as good as yours, whoſe uſe ſo far as we like it, is as free for us as for your ſelves; let us now ſee whether we have Means as good, or as infallible as yours, to diſcern who are contentious.

6. For the Popes Infallibility, whether it be any or no, we are anon to enquire; and we may not in this place give you leave to prejudice our Church with the ſuppoſal of it. Nor do your ſelves make this diſcretion of contentious Spirits any eſſential part thereof.

7. None of you (that I have read) doth attribute any Prophetical Spirit to the Pope in this caſe, as if he could deſcry the ſtorms of Contentions which might cauſe ſhipwrack of Faith, before they ariſe, as far off as *Elias* did the Rain, when it firſt began to gather into a cloud like a mans hand. The excellency of his Infallibility, by your own Poſitions (if I miſtake not) conſiſts in the deciſions of Controverſies brought unto him, not in the diſcovery or finding out of ſuch, as breed Contention. But doth he vouchſafe to decide all Controverſies that ariſe in his Dominions, albeit brought unto him?

That our means for diſcerning the original Cauſes or Occaſions of Contentions are fully equivalent to the Romiſh Churches.

Vix vacat exiguis rebus adeſſe Jovi.

The exerciſe of this *Dominus Deus veſter* plenary power, is much like the uſe of the Heathen Gods upon the old Roman Stage.

Nec Deus interſit, niſi nodus vindice dignus
Inciderit ——

Unleſs it be to looſe ſome Gordian knot,
The Popes deciſion is not eas'ly got.

And where it is got, it goes no farther than to the juſt and infallible cenſure of the Opinion it ſelf, in puniſhing the Authors or Abetters of adjudged Hereſies or Schiſms: He may err as well as we, becauſe herein he goes but by the Information of private men, who neither are ſo abſolutely Holy, but they may prove partial; nor ſo wiſe and skilful always, but they may err in their Information, eſpecially where it goes ſucceſſively from ear to ear, and from one Countrey Dialect to another, (as drink from veſſel to veſſel) always loſing ſome part of its proper and native Sapor, ſo that it may reliſh otherwiſe to his Holineſs mouth, than it did at the firſt ſetting abroach by the Author.

8. And ſeeing the beſt Means to avoid Contentions, is the juſt puniſhment of them that cauſeleſly cauſe them: your Churches Authority, being herein ſo much more obnoxious to Errour and Miſinformation, as her Dioceſs is larger, leſs uniform or more remote; is liable to many Exceptions, from which ſuch little ones, as ſhe out of her greatneſs contemns, are free. Nor is the Queſtion (as you bear the ſimple in hand) betwixt publick and private Spirits, but between your private men and ours; as whether yours can better diſcern who are contentious thorowout your vaſt Precincts, than ours, who are ſuch amongſt us at home. That no man ſhould diſſent from the Doctrine of the Catholick Church you all agree. Some of you diſſent from it, (as moſt of their fellows think) who yet will not profeſs; but rather ſeek to cloak their diſſent, either with colours of Conſonance or pretended reaſons of no Repugnance unto Catholick Tenents. † *Catharinus* will defend the Council of *Trent*, and yet hold Certainty of Salvation. *Soto* and *Bellarmin* reprove him: but

† Bellarmin. lib. 3. de juſtif. cap. 3, 4, &c. *diſputes ſo eagerly againſt this Biſhop as might have procured a Cenſure of Irregularity had he lived in his Dioceſs.*

but how could either of them diſcern whether *Catharinus* had the true Meaning of the *Trent*-Council or not? *Catharinus* (I take it) had a Suffrage in making thoſe Decrees, whereof neither *Soto* nor *Bellarmin* were allowed, much leſs, Authentick Interpreters: for the Popes Bull † confirming that Council, prohibits all private Interpretations of it, yet hath not the Pope or any Publick Authority ſince that time condemned *Catharinus* for this diſſention. How knew * *Maldonate*, that *Janſenius*, *Heſſelius*, and others which deny that Chriſts Words in the ſixth of *John* are to be underſtood of Sacramental eating, did vary from the received Doctrine of your Church, and jump with Hereticks? Difference between your ſelves and us in this Point you ſhall never be able to aſſign any. Tell us by what means you can diſcern who diſſent from your Canons; and our Anſwer is ready: we can diſcern who diſſent from ours by the ſame, if no other were left us. This briefly may ſuffice for removal of Prejudices eaſie to be wrought in ſuch as compare not Particulars with Particulars, or conſider not the uſe of external Magiſtracy acknowledged by us, for puniſhing Contentious Spirits, or our Means of diſcerning who are ſuch: In both which reſpects we are at leaſt equal to the Romans.

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† Apoſtolica authoritate inhibemus omnibus, tam Eccleſiaſticis perſonis, cujuſcunq; ſint dinis, conditionis, & gradus, quam laicis, quocunque honore, ac poteſtate prædītis, Prælatis quidem ſub interdicti ingreſſus Eccleſiæ, aliis vero quicunq; fuerint ſub excommunicationis latæ ſententiæ pœnis, ne quis ſine authoritate noſtra audeat ullos commentarios, gloſſas, annotationes, ſcholia, ullumve omnino interpretationis genus ſuper ipſius concilii decretis quocunque modo edere, aut quidquam quocunq; nomine, etiam ſub prætextu majoris decretorum corrobationis, aut executionis, aliove quæſito colore, ſtatuere. Bullæ Pii quarti ſuper confirmatione œcum. gener. Concil. Trident.

* Maldonatus *cenſure of theſe men, for diſſenting (as he thinks) from their Church, is ſo ſharp and peremptory, as might well have cauſed Contention, ſhould his writings have come into their hands.* Impediunt nos quo minus acriter & vehementer invehamur in hæreticos, Catholici quidam, qui, neſcio qua imprudentia hereticis ſe junxerunt. Neminem nomino, neminem violatæ accuſo religionis: ſcio Catholicos, ſcio doctos, ſcio religioſos ac probos viros eſſe, ſed minimè profecto utilem atq; fidelem in hac re operam Eccleſiæ navaverunt. Quod contra Scripturæ ſenſum, contra Patrum omnium interpretationem, contra tacitum, imo minime tacitum, ſed ſatis ſuperque explicatum conſenſum Eccleſiæ dixerint atque contenderint hoc loco de Sacramento non agi, quod ut Benigniſſimè dicam eſt Temerarium, gravioribus condemnarem verbis, niſi crederem viros bene Catholicos Errore magis animi quam vitio, in Hæreticorum ſententiam impegiſſe. *Maldonat. Comment. in ſext Johan.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

That the Romiſh Church hath moſt need of ſome excellent Means, for taking up Contentions, becauſe it neceſſarily breeds ſo many and ſo grievous.

1. FOr the main Point, as well about the Original of Contentions, and Schiſms, as incorrigible continuance in them, only this Difference I find, That we permitting a ſober ſearch of Scriptures unto all, not binding any mans Faith to the Judgment of man, leave a poſſibility to the learned of finding out a liberty unto all of profeſſing the Truth found, for the health and life of their Souls, without dread or danger to their Bodies. And ſeeing we bind no man upon pain of Damnation, to Believe any point of Doctrine, which is not plainly and expreſly ſet down in Scriptures: we miniſter no occaſion of deadly diſſention unto any. For Contentions amongſt our ſelves, they are rather Diſtempers than dangerous Diſeaſes, nor do they affect thoſe parts of Religion in which our ſpiritual Life is properly ſeated. Yet even theſe in latter years had been, and always would be fewer, and their danger leſs, were it not for thoſe Foxes which your Church ſuborns to bring firebrands into the Lords Harveſt. And even theſe your Foxes in this our Land, howſoever, for this publick Miſchief againſt us, and the intended Combuſtion of our Church, their Tails were tied together by your Churches knot; have yet whet their cankred Teeth as eagerly, and opened their venemous Mouths as bitterly one againſt another, as any (but they) could have done either againſt us or any Creatures living. But to leave private Diſſentions amongſt your ſelves; your Church prohibiting men the ingenuous ſearch of Scriptures, and free profeſſion of their Conſcience, tying them to ſubmit their Judgments at all adventure unto the corrupt Doctrine of your Clergy: hath ſet open a wide gap to ſuch groſs Opinions, and monſtrous Hereſies, as no man, unleſs his Judgment had been ſurpriſed by your pretended Authority, or his Spiritual ſenſes lockt up in ſuperſtition, ſleep, and midnight darkneſs, would ever have aſſented unto, much leſs have tolerated, when men were taught to hold them for Points of Faith, as infallibly true as the Scripture it ſelf, only becauſe your Church hath propoſed and practiſed them.

2. Thus did your Doctrine and filthy practice of Indulgences, (to omit many moe) from ſome ſurmiſes of the Ancient, concerning a third place after this life; as it were, from a ſmall ſeed or kernel, by little and little come up to ſuch a mighty growth, that it violently rent, and tore aſunder the main Walls of Chriſts Temple, and cauſed that irreparable breach and rupture, betwixt the Southern and Northern parts of Chriſts Church, eſtabliſhed in this Weſtern part of the World. And albeit *Caſſander* with divers other learned men in your Church, both before, and about the time of Trent-Council, wiſhed a Reformation of many Points maintained by you; hoping the Lutheran, and other Reformed Churches, would thereby be drawn to Unity with you again: yet what one

ſuſpicious Opinion hath that Council cleared, what bad amended, what harſh or odious one hath it mitigated? Nay, what poſſibility hath it left for the amendment of any in Ages to come, amongſt ſuch as ſhall acknowledge that Authority infallible, which hath thundred out ſo many Anathema's to all Gainſayers? Before it was lawful for *Caſſander* and *Cajetan*, *Eſpenceus* and others, to ſhew their diſlike of your Doctrine, and ſignifie their deſires of amendment; retaining ſome Reliques or faſhion of men that had been Free-born, not Slaves or Vaſſals to corrupt and diſſolute Tyrants. They uſed their Liberty of Speech even in thoſe caſes, wherein it is not now lawful for any in your Church to mutter, no not ſo much as to ſigh, or groan under that heavy Yoke, which their Forefathers grudged to bear, whoſe weight and hardneſs notwithſtanding you ſtill increaſe, whilſt your upſtart Stateſmen the Jeſuites (like *Rehoboams* green-headed Counſellers) daily ſeek to make your Eccleſiaſtick Monarch's little Finger, greater than his Predeceſſors Loins.

3. Some Jeſuite or other happily would reply: Had *Luther* been quiet, the Church had been ſtill at ſuch Peace and Unity, as it enjoyed for many years before. What manner of Peace and Unity was that? Any other than ſuch, as uſually is found in any political *Argus*-eyed Tyranny, before the ſinews of it ſhrunk, or the ligaments be diſſolved? where no man may move but he is ſeen, nor mutter but he is heard; where the leaſt ſecret ſignification of any deſire of Freedom in Speech, or Liberty in Action, is interpreted for open Mutiny, and the leaſt Motion unto Mutiny held matter ſufficient for a cruel Death. Theſe were the Bonds of your Peace and Unity, in this point of your Eccleſiaſtick Monarchy. As for your Peace in other ſpeculative Points of leſs uſe or commodity to your ſtate, it was like the Revellings, or drunken Conſorts of Servants in their Night-ſportings, when the Maſter of the Houſe is aſleep in a retired Room. Any School-man might broach what Opinion he liſt, and make his Auditors drunk with it, others might quarrel with him and them, in as uncivil ſort as they liſt, ſo no Weapon were drawn againſt the Popes Peace. Albeit in the mean time the Scripture ſuffered as open violence and abuſe, as *Priſcian* doth, when drunken or dunſtical Grammarians brawl in extemporary Latin. As for your Cardinals and Stateſmen, they were at League indeed; but it was *fœdiſſimum fœdus*, a League ſolemnized with more than barbarous and heatheniſh ſacrifice, with the bloud of many thouſand ſilly Lambs, for whom the Lamb of God had ſacrificed his precious Body and Bloud. What number of Huſſites, Bohemians, Picardes, poor ſouls of *Lions* were made a prey unto your Wooliſh (I may not ſay Lions) teeth, ſeeing as the Italian Poet argues, this Title ſo ill befits your Popes:

Nec cadit in turpes nobilis ira feras:

No Lions they: for noble wrath
No place in ſuch baſe Creatures hath.

But what Troops of ſuch harmleſs Souls were ſlain, burnt, and tormented, for their longing after the Liberty of the Sons of God, nor we, nor you that live this day, can know, nor ſhall be known until the Regiſter of the Book of Life be opened. And howſoever they went (as their Lord and Maſter, the great Shepherd of their Souls, had done before them) like ſheep unto the ſlaughter, whilſt their Friends and Kinsfolks Cries were drowned with your Jewiſh Melody, and joy at their Deſtructions; yet we aſſure our ſelves, (and ye might dread Gods further Judgment by the event) it was the Cry of their innocent Bloud which fill'd the Court of Heaven, and in a juſt revenge of their Oppreſſion procured *Luthers* Commiſſion for *Germanies* Revolt. And yet ſay you, *Luther* was the Cauſe of Diſſention in Chriſts Church: Why ſo? Becauſe he burſt your former Unity, whoſe only Bond was Helliſh Tyranny. Of ſuch a Diſſention, and of the breach of ſuch an Unity, we grant he was the Cauſe; and you have no juſt cauſe to accuſe him of Diſſention or Diſobedience for it. For all kind of Unity is not to be preferred before all kind of Diſſention or Revolt. He that will not diſſent from any man, or ſociety of men, upon any Occaſion whatſoever, muſt live at perpetual Enmity with his God, and War continually againſt his own Soul. For there is *an Unity in Rebellion, a Brotherhood in Miſchief, a Society in Murther both of Body and Soul.* Wherefore unleſs you can prove your Cauſe or Title, for exacting ſuch abſolute ſubmiſſion of mens ſouls and ſpirits unto your Church, or Popes Decrees, to be moſt juſt and warrantable by Commiſſion from the Higheſt Power in Heaven: *Luther*, and all that followed him, did well, in preferring a moſt juſt, moſt neceſſary, and ſacred War, before a moſt unjuſt, and ſhamefully-execrable Peace: A Peace, no Peace, but a banding in open Rebellion againſt the Supreme Lord of Heaven and Earth, and his Sacred Laws, given for the perpetual Government of Mankind throughout their Generations.

In this ſenſe Chriſt is ſaid to have come, not to ſend Peace, but a Sword unto the World.

4. To preſs you a little with your Objections againſt us and our Doctrine, for nouriſhing Diſſention: Our Church (ſay you) hath no Means of taking up Controverſies aright. If this were true, yet (God be praiſed) it miniſtreth no juſt occaſion of any dangerous Quarrel. But be ours, as it may be: hath your Church any better Means for compoſing Controverſies of greateſt moment, that reign this day throughout the Chriſtian World? Or doth it not by this inſolent, proud, tyrannical claim of Sovereignty, and Imperial Umpireſhip over all other Churches in all Controverſies, give juſt cauſe of the greateſt diſſention, and extreameſt oppoſition, that can be imagined could be given in the Church of Chriſt? The whole world beſides cannot miniſter any like it. Nature and common Reaſon teach us, that a man may with far ſafer Conſcience take Arms in defence of his Life and Liberty, than in hope to avoid ſome petty loſs or grievance, or to revenge ſome ordinary cauſe of private diſcontent: the Quarrel in the one (though with reſiſtance unto our Adverſaries bloud) may be juſtifiable, which in the other (albeit within the compaſs of leſs danger) were deteſtable. But Grace doth teach us this Equity, *Skin for Skin*, all that ever a man hath, the whole world (and more if he had it) is to be ſpent in the defence of Faith, the only ſeat of our Spiritual Life, or for the Liberty of our Conſcience. You alone teach, that all men ſhould ſubmit their Faith to your Decrees without examination of them, or appeal from them: We uſurp no ſuch Authority, either over yours, or any

That this very challenge of this infallible Authority of the Romiſh Church for ending all Controverſies, doth neceſſarily occaſion the greateſt Diſſention from it that can be in all religious minds.

mens Conſciences. You challenge our Sovereign Lord, and all his People, to be your *ghoſtly Slaves*: we only ſtand in our own defence: we exact no ſuch abſolute Service, or Allegiance, either of you, or any other the meaneſt Chriſtian Church, no nor our Prince and Clergy of the natural members of our own. They only ſeek (would God they ſought aright in time) to keep them ſhort at home, whoſe long reach might hale over Sea your long-ſought Tyranny over this People of *Brittany*, happily now divided (Lord, ever continue this happy Diviſion) from the Romiſh World. Unleſs your Means of taking up ſo great Contentions (as hence in equity ought to ariſe) be ſo ſuperexcellent, that it can make amends where all is marred, (for which I cannot ſee what Means can be ſufficient, unleſs you either let your Suit fall, or prove your Title to be moſt juſt by Arguments moſt Authentick and ſtrong) you evidently impoſe a neceſſity of the greateſt Contentions, and extreameſt Oppoſition that any abuſe or wrong, loſs or danger, poſſibly to befal a Chriſtian man, (either as a Man or Chriſtian, either in things of this life, or that other to come, either concerning his very Life, and Liberty, whether Temporal or Spiritual, or whatſoever elſe is more dear unto him) can occaſion or breed.

5. *That which ye* uſually premiſe to work ſuch a prejudice in credulous and unſetled minds, as may make your ſleight pretences of Reaſon or Scripture (to be ſifted anon) ſeem moſt firm and ſolid to *ground your Infallibility upon, is, the ſuppoſed Excellency of it, for taking up all Controverſies in Religion*, and ſo of retaining Unity of Holy Catholick Faith in the Bond of Love. If indeed it were ſo excellent for this purpoſe, you might reſt contented with it, and heartily thank God for it. Yea, but becauſe you have this excellent Means, which we have not, nor any like unto it, yours is the true Catholick Church, and ours a Congregation of Schiſmaticks. What if we would invent the like? would that ſerve to make ours a true Church? Or tell us, what Warrant have you for inventing or eſtabliſhing your ſuppoſed moſt excellent Order for taking up Controverſies? Was it from Heaven? or was it from Men? If from Heaven, we will obey it; if from Men, we will imitate you in it, if we like it. But firſt let us a little farther examine it.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVIII.

That of two Senſes, in which the Excellency of the Romiſh Churches pretended Means for retaining the Unity of Faith, can only poſsibly be defended, The one *(from the former diſcourſe) proved apparently Falſe;* The other, *in it ſelf, as palpably Ridiculous.*

1. WHen you affirm the *Infallibility* of your Church to be ſo excellent a Means for taking up all Controverſies in Religion: you have * no choice of any other, but one of theſe two Meanings; Either you mean, *It is ſo excellent a means* de facto, *and doth take up all Controverſies:* or elſe, *it would be ſuch as might take up all, if all men would ſubſcribe unto It.*

** This Diviſion is moſt immediate in our preſent Subject. Wherein, we only examine whether from the known or poſſible fruits of the Romiſh Churches Means (ſo excellent as is pretended) for compoſing Controverſies, any Argument can be drawn to work a prejudicial conceit in mens minds, (That it were likely Chriſt had bequeathed ſuch Authority to their Church) before they come to direct examination of the main point, (what right ſhe hath to the challenged Supremacy by Scriptures.)*

2. If you take the former Senſe or Meaning, we can evidently take you (as we ſay) with the very manner of Falſhood. For this claim of ſuch Authority (as we partly ſhewed before) is the greateſt eye-ſore to all faithful eyes that can be imagined, and makes your Religion more irreconcilable to the Truth. And for this Church of *England*, as in it ſome diſſent from you in many Points, others in fewer, ſome more in one, ſome more in another; ſo in this, of your Churches *Infallibility*, all of us diſſent from you moſt evidently, moſt eagerly, without all hope of Reconcilement or agreement, unleſs you utterly diſclaim the Title in as plain terms as hitherto you have challenged it. Your dealing herein is as abſurdly impious and impiouſly inſolent, as if any Chriſtian Prince or State ſhould challenge another, as free and abſolute as himſelf, for his Tributary or Vaſſal, and traduce him for a ſeditious member of *Chriſtendom*; becauſe he would not compoſe the Quarrel thus injuriouſly ſought, with the ſurrender of his Crown and Dignity.

3. Princes may conclude a Peace, for Civil and free Commerce of their People, though profeſſing ſundry Religions; and they and their Clergy might perhaps procure a mitigation of ſome other Points, now much in Controverſie: but *Though all others might, yet This admits no terms of parly for any poſſible Reconcilement.* The natural Separation of this Iſland from thoſe Countries wherein this Doctrine is profeſſed, ſhall ſerve as an everlaſting Emblem of the Inhabitants divided hearts at leaſt in this Point of Religion: *And let them, O Lord, be cut off ſpeedily from amongſt us, and their Poſterity tranſported hence, never to enjoy again the leaſt good thing this Land affords: Let no print of their Memory be extant ſo much as in a tree or ſtone within our Coaſt: Or let their Names by ſuch as remain here after them be never mentioned, or always to their endleſs ſhame; who living here amongſt us, will not imprint theſe or like Wiſhes in their hearts, and daily mention them in their Prayers,*

Littora littoribus contraria, fluctibus undas,
Imprecor arma armis, pugnent ipſique nepotes.

Which words, though uttered in another caſe, applied to this, ſound thus much to all well-affected Engliſh or Britiſh ears,

Let our and foreign Coaſts join Battel in the Main,
Ere this foul Blaſphemy Great Britain *ever ſtain:*
Where never let it come, but floating in a floud
Of ours, our Nephews, and their Childrens Childrens bloud.

4. The Leaven of the Phariſees, whereof our Saviour willed his Diſciples to beware, was ſweet Bread in reſpect of this peſtiferous Dough, whoſe poiſon is ſo diffuſed throughout the whole Body and Maſs of Romiſh Religion, as it hath polluted every parcel therein, and makes even thoſe particular Points to be damnable in modern Papiſts, which in the Ancient holding them from other Grounds, were pardonable. Such as held a kind of Purgatory, or third place after this life, Evangelical Counſels, Invocation of Saints, or the like, becauſe they thought the Scripture taught them, were deceived in theſe particular Scriptures, but yet reſerved their faithful Allegiance to Gods Word in general. Nay, even thoſe particular Errours and Miſtakings of the ſenſe of Scriptures, were witneſſes and pledges of their Obedience unto the Scripture, or Word of God; when they therefore Believed them, becauſe they were immediately perſwaded in Conſcience that the Scriptures (the Rule of their Conſcience) did teach them. But while you hold the ſame Opinions, not becauſe you are perſwaded in Conſcience (immediately ruled by Scripture) that they are contained in Scripture, but becauſe the Church, which as ye ſuppoſe cannot err, doth teach them; or to ſpeak more plainly, whiles you your ſelves either Believe, or teach others to Believe them or the Scriptures concerning them; becauſe the Church, whoſe Authority in this and all other Caſes you acknowledge for the infallible Rule of your Faith, commands you ſo to do: you hereby openly renounce your own, and ſollicite the people to alienate their Allegiance from God and his Word: and the paſſing over, or yielding up of ſtedfaſt and abſolute Aſſent unto any particular Point in your Religion, upon theſe Grounds, is as evident a witneſs of high Treaſon, committed againſt GOD by the party thus believing; as ſwearing of that Fealty, or Allegiance to a pretended Vicegerent, or Deputy, which is only due to the Prince himſelf, would be in a natural and ſworn Subject. Wherefore the ſuppoſed *Infallibility* of your Church is no ſuch excellent Means of taking up all Controverſies, if your meaning be in the former ſenſe propoſed. For *it is ſo far from taking up all, that it puts an Impoſſibility of having any betwixt you and us taken up,* unleſs you abjure *it* quite; for it makes all the reſt of your Opinions deadly, to ſuch as ſtedfaſtly Believe it, or for it, them.

5. Your meaning then muſt be; *That this Infallibility of your Church would be an excellent Means for taking up all Controverſies, if all men would ſubſcribe* unto it. Indeed I muſt confeſs, there would ſoon be

an end of all, or rather, no Controverſies ſhould ever be begun; if every man would reſolve with himſelf, not to diſſent from others, but let them hold what they liſt, he would hold the very ſame: or if all men would bind themſelves to abide ſome one Mans, or a *Major* part of ſome few or more determinate perſons Determinations without more ado. In this caſe one might ſay of his Judge, *He ſhall determine for me*; and *another might reply, Nay, but for my Opinion*; *the third might ſay, He ſhall judge as I will have him*; *and the fourth reply, or rather as I will*: and yet never a one diſſent from other, but all agree. All of them might have the Judges Sentence at as abſolute command, *as the Shepherd had the Weather*. For *every one might have him determine as he pleaſed, becauſe all of them were fully reſolved to be pleaſed with whatſoever he ſhould determine.* If you dream of ſuch an Unity in Faith, or ſuch a manner of compoſing Contentions; it muſt be further diſputed, whether this were not an open Diſſention or ſolemn Compact for moving a general Apoſtaſie from the true Faith. And they that labour for ſuch an Union in points of Faith and Salvation, do in effect ſollicite the whole Chriſtian World to run hand in hand, but head-long, into open Infidelity, leſt perhaps by breaking Companies, ſome might ſlide into Schiſms and Hereſies. Should the *Ramiſts* and *Ariſtotelians*, or generally all the Profeſſors of Secular Arts and Sciences in our Univerſities, bind themſelves under penalty of Expulſion, or by ſolemn Vow, never to ſwerve from the Beadle of beggers or *John-a-dogs* his Determinations, and Reſolutions in any point of Logick, Philoſophy, or Metaphyſicks; would this be a ſweet match to take up all Controverſies, or Contentions between Colledge and Colledge, in our Schools? were this ſo excellent a way, to retain the Unity of the Truth, and skill in thoſe Faculties? or rather the only ready way to make all bond-ſlaves to Errour, Ignorance, and Falſhood? And yet might we, with more ſafety, delegate greater Authority in theſe caſes to every one, than we may to any living in matters of Faith and Religion; over which, or over our ſelves in reſpect of which we have no lawful Power or Authority. For this, and other Reaſons, ſhould we be more afraid to ſubſcribe unto any mortal mans Authority, as unto a Judge moſt abſolute and infallible, whoſe Decrees we may not reſiſt, from whoſe Sentence we may not appeal in matters of Faith: then to refer our ſelves wholly unto the ſole Judgment of the meereſt natural Fool living, in matters of ſecular Learning and natural Knowledge. For, (beſides the danger hence accrewing to our ſelves) GOD our Creator, Chriſt our Redeemer, and the Holy Spirit our Comforter and Inſtructer, have far greater intereſt in our Souls and Conſciences, than either *Ariſtotle* or *Plato*, or any other Philoſopher, or Philoſophy it ſelf hath in our Opinions, or Perſwaſions.

6. But though Gratitude to our God could not move us; are thoſe bleſſed hopes of Immortality ſo little worth, as upon every light or no occaſion we ſhould adventure their eternal loſs? And yet idly, deſperately, and frantickly, adventure it we do, unleſs ſuch as urge us with ſolemn ſubſcription to this more than Monarchical Supremacy over our ſouls, (enſtamped not with any Roman *Cæſars*, but Gods own Image and Superſcription) can ſhew us ſufficient Warrant, that thus to offer up not only the calves of our lips, but even

our Faith (the beſt Tribute our hearts can yield) wholly into Chriſts *pretended Vicars hands*, be not a witneſs of our Rebellion againſt Chriſt himſelf, the Supreme Lord as well of them that challenge this Authority, as of us, of whom this ſervile ſubjection is exacted. All the Warrant or Evidence which in this caſe they can pretend, muſt either be drawn from the Rules of Reaſon, or from the Scriptures, the Rule (as we contend) of Faith: which for this reaſon may juſtly controul all pretended Rules of Natural Reaſon. And (as we have ſaid before) if the Pope be (as uſually he is) but * *homo* Ψύχικος or Ψύχικος with a witneſs: then both Scripture and Reaſon teach us, that he cannot perceive the things of God, nor the Meaning of his Spirit; for, as our Apoſtle ſaith, *they are fooliſh unto him.* And if they be fooliſh to him, then is he as fooliſh a Judge of them, and of all things that muſt be Spiritually diſcerned, as the meereſt natural Idiot would be of natural Philoſophy, or other ſecular Arts or Sciences. Even to this one place of Scripture, uttered by the Spirit of God, and the Miniſtry of that Apoſtle, no ſufficient Anſwer can be given, without the evident Teſtimony of the ſame Spirit, (under ſome Prophets, Apoſtles, or Evangeliſts hand) either mitigating or reſtraining that ſenſe which the words naturally import, and we collect: whoſe Probability in it ſelf, and Conſonancy with others Scriptures, are ſo great, that we ſtand bound by our general Allegiance, which we owe unto GODS Spirit, to ſuſpect all men for Incompetent Judges, or Witneſſes in matters concerning GOD; unleſs we know certainly of what Spirit they are, or have great Inducements to preſume them of a better Spirit, and in more favour with the Spirit of God, than they themſelves report their Popes to be.

CHAP. XXIX.

That their Arguments, drawn from conveniency of Reaſon or pretended Correſpondency between Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Regiment, do prejudice themſelves, not us.

1. THat this is no general Dictate of common Reaſon, or any part of the Law of Nature, Reaſon and common Senſe make evident: And we may reſt aſſured hereof, in that no Jeſuite, nor other Stickler for the Popes Authority, hath been ſo impudent hitherto, as to avouch thus much. That there are ſome Probabilities, or Conveniencies, which in Reaſon might perſwade any indifferent man, that there muſt be ſome one Umpire, or Tribunal Seat, by whoſe Authority all Controverſies of Religion muſt be determined, * *BELLARMINE* thus goes about to prove: *GOD was not ignorant that many Difficulties about Faith would ariſe in the Church,* What then? *In Reaſon then he was to provide his Church of a Judge;*

ſuppſoe

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* *See Chapt. 14. paragr. 4, 5, &c.*

* Non ignorabat deus multas in Eccleſia exorituras difficultates circa fidem; debuit igitur judicem aliquem Eccleſiæ providere: at iſte judex non poteſt eſſe Scriptura, neque Spiritus revelans privatus, neque princeps ſecularis; igitur princeps Eccleſiaſticus, aut ſolus aut certe cum conſilio & conſenſu Coepiſcoporum. Neque enim fingitur neque fingi poteſt aliquid aliud ad quod hoc judicium pertinere poſſe videatur. *Bellarm. lib, 3. de verbo Dei, cap.* 1.

ſuppoſe he were. *But this Judge cannot be the Scripture, nor any private revealing Spirit, nor any Secular: therefore an Eccleſiaſtical Prince which may determine ſuch matters either of himſelf alone, or at leaſt, with the advice and conſent of Biſhops his Aſſociates. Nor hath any as yet, nor can any indeed imagine any other to whom the Judgement of theſe things can poſſible appertain.*

2. That neither the Scripture, nor any private man, nor ſecular Prince is this Judge, he labours to prove by Arguments, whoſe ſtrength hath been broken in the former Diſcourſes, concerning the Obſcurity of Scriptures and the Varieties of Interpretations. But how cunningly ſoever his ſagacity may ſeem to have caſt about, he is at the ſame default *Valentian* and *Sacroboſcus* were: all of them over-ran the Sent by leaping from one extream to another, without ſearch of the mean betwixt them: for they take it as granted, that we deny all living Judges of Controverſies; becauſe we acknowledge no abſolute Infallibility in any. Our Aſſertion is; *The Scripture is a Law or Rule moſt infallible, whereby every man muſt judge himſelf; whereby ſuch as are in lawful Authority may judge others for not judging themſelves by it; but not always infallibly.* Nor can it ſtand with the ſobriety of Chriſtian Wiſdom to expect ſuch a preciſe determination of all Points diſputed, much leſs diſputable among the learned, as might bind all men to an abſolute Belief (whether explicite or implicite) of this or that determinate ſenſe, all others excluded. Notwithſtanding the more conſcious any ordinary Judge is of his own or others Fallibility or Facility of erring dangerouſly, if they ſhould take upon them ſtrictly to determine all Religious doubts (much more all doubts) in matters of Religion, that might be moved: the more infallibly may he reſt aſſured that many caſes of that quality are very doubtful; that in ſundry, of many Opinions all to his knowledge poſſible, as much may be as probably alledged for any one as for other. Now the true and proper Uſe of an Eccleſiaſtick Judge or Magiſtracy, is, not only to puniſh Oppugners of Truths, either evident in themſelves, and infallibly believed of all Chriſtians, or generally received by the beſt and moſt unpartial Writers in every Age; but, as well, to moderate mens carriage in Controverſies of the former nature; ſometimes by reſtraining all peremptory Aſſertions one way or other, all exaſperating cenſures or contumelious contradictions (as in difficulties equipendent betwixt an equality of contrary Probabilities:) ſometimes (as in matters not ſo uſeful, or unto whoſe ſearch the ſigns of times preſent do not ſolicite us) by enjoyning a general ſilence, that all may hearken with better attention to GOD always ſpeaking by the ordinary courſe of his Providence, albeit ſoftly and leiſurely, yet diſtinctly and audibly, to quiet minds already inſtructed in that heavenly knowledge, though not ſimply unto all: for many of us can perfectly diſtinguiſh mens voyces whiles they repeat what in part we know, though not whiles they pronounce matters unheard before, or altogether unknown to us.

3. By this it may appear, would our Adverſaries make an equal compariſon, that God hath better provided for his * Churches Regiment in matters Spiritual, than Common-weals in Temporal.

* *Chriſts Church having by our Doctrine a moſt infallible written Law, and living, though but fallible Eccleſiaſtick Judges, is much better provided for in all matters Spiritual than Political Societies, whoſe Laws as well as Judges are fallible, in matters Civil.*

Firſt, the Scripture is a Rule, as All-ſufficient for all ſuch Buſineſſes, as any Temporal Laws could be for effecting their proper End, albeit we ſhould ſuppoſe the Lord had dictated them immediately, as he did the Scriptures. This our Adverſaries cannot deny, unleſs they doubt whether the Eternal Spirit have as great skill in Heavenly matters, as in Secular. For (as we ſhewed before) he moved Holy men to write the Scriptures, that we by them might attain Eternal life. *Secondly*, beſides this moſt infallible Rule or Law, we admit an equal Neceſſity of Eccleſiaſtical, and Temporal Judges, an equal Authority in both to give Sentence *viva voce*. And albeit we deny any abſolute *Infallibility* in either, yet the poſſibility of not erring we acknowledge ſo much greater in the Judge Eccleſiaſtick, as his Directory Rule is more certain, and Authentical. But here I muſt requeſt theſe great Diſputers of *Rome* (if their Frenzy come but by fits, and admit *Lucida intervalla*) one time or other, upon their good days, or in their ſober hours, (if God ſend them any) to bethink themſelves well, what manner of Judge they require in matters Civil, or meerly Secular: ſuch an one as cannot poſſibly erre in judgement? one whom neither Ignorance, lewd Deſires, nor exorbitant Affections can cauſe to ſwerve, either from the undoubted Rules of Natural or Civil Equity, the Fundamental Laws of his Country, or the chief Law-givers true intent and meaning? If they willingly grant that our Civil Magiſtracy, which they acknowledge lawful and neceſſary in its kind, may ſometimes judge wrongfully, in cauſes by nature moſt determinable, by ordinary courſe of Civil Juſtice; as for example, in condemning Prieſts and Jeſuits: or generally in matters of Life and Death: †With what foreheads can they demand we ſhould Believe the Pope or other Eccleſiaſtick Judges cannot poſſibly give erroneous ſentence in any matters of Religion, many of which are of that nature as can admit no other uſe of external or coactive Power, ſave only ſevere reſtraint of all preciſe Determinations, or curious ſearch one way or other? And to admit, though in caſes meerly Civil, ſuch an abſolute inerrable Tribunal, from whoſe cenſure no man (though ready with patience to brook the execution of heavieſt bodily doom it could inflict) may ſo much as in the ſecrets of his Heart or Conſcience ſo far appeal, as to examine whether the determination be right or wrong; were either ſecretly to deny, or openly to preoccupate or prevent Chriſts Final Judgement: wherein even Supream Judges ſhall be judged, and all forepaſt deciſions examined by the written Word, (which theſe men diſclaim for any Authentick Rule of Faith;) the right approved, the Wrong reverſed by Him, whoſe peculiar Prerogative it is (though now uſurped by the Pope) to put a Final End to all Controverſies *viva voce*.

† *The utmoſt Bounds of all Chriſtian obedience unto any Authority on earth is only to abide a peaceable trial before the lawful Judges, patiently to imbrace the Penalty inflicted: but not to think what Penalties ſoever they ſhall inflict, or the cauſe for which it is inflicted to be juſt, or ſuch as ſhall ſtand for good in the day of final Judgement; for ſo earthly Powers ſhould have abſolute Authority over our Souls, which is Gods Peculiar.*

4. Notwithſtanding, be it ſuppoſed for Diſputations ſake, that God had appointed ſuch an Authentick Tribunal (as theſe Drunkards dream of) for deciding matters of Religion: yet were it moſt groſs to think (might Reaſon alone without Scripture be admitted Judge) there ſhould be but one Supream Tribunal for the

whole Chriſtian World. Even common Senſe (were Reaſon ſilenced) might inſtruct us, that it were much more convenient for every ſeveral Kingdom, every free State or Society of men, to have ſuch a Conſiſtory, or Supreme Tribunal amongſt themſelves. For by this means, might all differences in Opinions be far ſooner known, more narrowly ſifted, and preſent notice taken of every Circumſtance, concerning their Occaſions, Progreſs, or Favourers; the controverſie it ſelf quicklier decided; the Offenders more ſpeedily puniſhed; and the like occaſions better avoided. Whereas, for every Nation to reſort to *Rome*, or for the Pope to ſend his Legates into every corner of the Chriſtian World, would procure great toil, and long labour, with little ſucceſs. The cauſers of contentions, or maintainers of Hereſies, might often dye in their Sins, before the controverſie were examined, or the Truth ſo manifeſted, as might move them to Repentance, or Recantation of their Errours: the Information might be impertinent, partial, imperfect or falſe: the Opinion, or ſuppoſed Hereſie, being (happily) firſt ſet abroach in the preſumed Hereticks Country Dialect, would be worſe underſtood of the Pope, whoſe Inſtruction in many principal circumſtances muſt oft-times depend upon diſagreeing hear-ſays; for his Holineſs ſees no better; his *Infallibleſhip* hears no farther in matters *de facto*, than meaner men; his plenary Power, even while he gives Sentence *ex cathedra*, is not able to underſtand more Tongues, than many Linguiſts may in a meaner ſeat; his Fatherhood underſtands none beſides his Mother-Tongue, ſo well as the natural Inhabitants of every Country do their own proper native Language. Many ſuch Inconveniences might be alledged, for which, (might we chuſe what manner of Eccleſiaſtick Government God ſhould appoint us) we ſhould make choice of a Supreme Judge in all cauſes Eccleſiaſtical at home, rather than go to *Rome* to have them heard. If the Controverſers were to go from *Norway*, the Seas might be frozen, and enemies poſſeſs the Land. The paſſages from ſundry other places might all be ſo ſtopt, as we ſhould have greater controverſie in going to *Rome*, than that for which we were to go. Or if the Election of men (for by man is the Pope elected) could give ſuch *Infallibility* to any: the manner of ſuch Elections would be much more agreeable to the Rules of Gods Providence, and the example of Chriſts Apoſtles, if all the Congregation, which was to rely upon his *Infallibility*, ſhould firſt make choice of ſome few moſt excellent and famous men, renowned for Learning and Integrity; afterwards all with one mind and one heart, pray unto the Lord to ſhew by lot which was the man, to whom he would undoubtedly vouchſafe this infallible Aſſiſtance of his Holy Spirit. Thus (might Reaſon or common Senſe without Scripture be Judge what manner of Government were fitteſt for Chriſts Church) we could bring far greater Reaſons for a multitude of Popes or Eccleſiaſtical Monarchs, (for one at leaſt in every Nation) than either our Adverſaries bring, or can be brought for one general Monarch over the Univerſal Church Militant.

Our Adverſaries grant that a Provincial Councel confirmed by the Pope, is as authentick as a General, wherein he were preſent, though abſent in the other, and not acquainted with particular circumſtances or carriage of the Controverſie. Much more available ſhould a Popes Confirmation of ſuch Councels be, who were preſent and well acquainted with all Occaſions or other Circumſtances of the Controverſie, or the Diviſion. Wherefore if Reaſon without Scripture might decide this Controverſie, it were more convenient to have as many Popes as ſeveral Free States or Monarchies.

5. And albeit this challenged large extent of the Romiſh Churches Authority over others, (were the Authority it ſelf otherwiſe for the Quality moderate) had been in former times not altogether ſo unreaſonable: yet were it at this day to be abandoned, as a turbulent device, apt for nothing ſo much as perpetual diſturbation of publick Peace throughout Chriſtendom, now divided into ſo many ſeveral Soveraignties, and governed by ſo many abſolute Princes, or States, no way dependent one of another. And *Bellarmins* Reaſons, brought for to prove the Monarchical Government of the Church, would with far greater Probabilities infer a conveniency for a ſeveral Monarchical Government in every particular State, than for one general Monarch over all. While the Chriſtian World was governed by one abſolute Monarch or Emperour, and all the peculiar cuſtoms or priviledges of ſeveral Nations (like divers members of the ſame Body) conformable one to another, by their common ſubordination to one Supreme Imperial Law, the Vertue of a like Eccleſiaſtical Authority might have been equally diffuſed throughout the whole Body thereof, as the ſplendor of the Sun throughout the whole Hemiſphere of the Air, and other ætherial and cœleſtial Bodies, all, though different in their particular Natures and peculiar Properties, uniform for the tranſmiſſion of Light. But after the diſſolution of the Chriſtian Empire, and the conſtitution of ſeveral States and Soveraignties, throughout *Europe*, all compleat within themſelves, and different one from another in Laws and Cuſtoms: The transfuſion of ſuch an abſolute Eccleſiaſtick Authority through all, would be unequal, and make Chriſtendom like a Monſter, compact of many ſeveral entire Bodies made up in one, or like ſome ugly living creature, that had many heads, and but one heart or Soul.

CHAP. XXX.

That the final Tryal of this Controverſie muſt be by Scriptures: That the Jeſuits and Modern Papiſts fierce oppugning all certainty of private Spirits in diſcerning the Divine Truth of Scriptures, or their true Senſe, hath made the Church their Mother utterly uncapable of any plea by Scriptures, for eſtabliſhing her pretended Infallibility.

1. BUT what Chriſtian heart could have ſuſpected, that any man acknowleding the infinite Majeſty of an Omnipotent God, filling every place with his Preſence, ruling all things by his Power, and having every leaſt Creature of the World a world of Witneſſes of his inconceivable Wiſdom, and unſpeakable Providence over the Works of his own Hand; durſt once have preſumed to think, much leſs have opened his mouth to utter, leaſt of all have imployed his pen to proclaim, ſuch foul Impiety to the world; as that a Power ſo infinite could not ſufficiently provide for his Church in deciding matters of Faith, (ſurpaſſing all reach of Reaſon) unleſs he had ordained ſome one Supream Tribunal Seat on earth; the Judges whereof ſhould be but mortal men, whoſe Bodies can be but in one place at once, whoſe Voyces cannot reach without the precincts of their Conſiſtories; whereas the Law of this our God, (unto whoſe ſentence in matters of Faith we appeal) is, or might be (but for theſe our Antiſcripturian Adverſaries importunity) every where throughout the Chriſtian World diſperſed: and, beſides the external helps of an ordinary Miniſtry or Magiſtracy, (alike common to all Nations) the Holy Spirit is every where aſſiſtant to all ſuch as ſeek him in the written Word by him revealed; whoſe live-characters are as the prints or footſteps of his wonted Motions in Gods Prophets, or Apoſtles hearts, by which the faithful may diſcern his approach or preſence in their own. Nor will the Jeſuits be ſo wilful (I hope) as to deny that this Holy Spirit, who did dictate the Word to ſuch as wrote it in theſe material Tables, (having firſt written it in the fleſhly Tables of their Hearts) is able now alſo to write the ſame immediately in the Hearts of all ſuch as with fear and reverence prepare themſelves for his fit and decent entertainment. That this was poſſible to be performed by the Almighty Wiſdom of God, they would not (I know) deny, were this, in direct and plain terms, made the main Controverſie betwixt us. Albeit as much as we have charged them withal, will moſt neceſſarily follow from their abſurd, and laviſhly blaſphemous ſpeeches, which in the heat of contention have diſtilled from their pens in this preſent Controverſie. But of the poſſibility of Gods immediate teaching every Chriſtian Heart, or rather of the probabilities, which may induce all to rely immediately hereupon, we ſhall have occaſion to diſcourſe hereafter. Let us now m Sobriety of Spirit, rather diſpute of Gods will than his Power: As whether there be any ſure Argument to perſwade us, that it was his intent or purpoſe,

either to inſtruct men in the true Senſe of Scriptures, or to take up all Controverſies in matters of Faith, by this ſuppoſed *Infallibility* of ſome viſible Church. All this, and ſomewhat more our Adverſaries in this Point ſeriouſly avouch, and earneſtly contend for. Let us therefore briefly ſee, whether or no Gods Spirit hath taught thus much. That the ſenſe of Scriptures cannot be had without the Aſſiſtance or working of Gods Spirit, both jonytly acknowledge, *They muſt be underſtood and interpreted*, ſaith * *Bellarmin*, *by the ſame Spirit which wrote them*; as he very well gathers out of † S. *Peter*. * Whence likewiſe he well collects, that the whole difficulty in this Queſtion about taking up Controverſies, and finding out the true Senſe of Scriptures, conſiſts in this; *where this Spirit is*, *and where the diſtreſſed Soul and doubtful Conſcience ought to ſeek it.* In the Viſible and Catholick Church, ſaith *Bellarmin*, and all the Modern Roman Catholicks; that is (as they interpret it,) in the Conſiſtory of the Pope and Cardinals, or in the Aſſembly of Biſhops, or (as the Modern Jeſuits will have it) in the Pope alone ſpeaking *ex Cathedra*.

3. *Every man* (ſay we) *ought to ſeek the Spirit of God in his own Soul and Conſcience, being directed and ruled by the Sacred Word, which was revealed and uttered by the ſame Spirit.* This Word directs them in this ſearch, and the Spirit once found out, or rather finding them thus ſeeking him, eſtabliſheth their Aſſent unto the Word already revealed and written, by imprinting the ſame inviſible Word, or the true ſenſe and meaning of it in their hearts.

4. Why this Spirit ſhould be infallibly preſent to the Viſible Church, all our Adverſaries inceſſantly urge Scripture. I will not abuſe the Readers patience with allegation of the Places, which have been very fully anſwered by many of our Church. That which I intend at this time, is, *Firſt*, to debar them by their own Grounds of this Plea of Scriptures, by ſhewing their Abſurdity, and folly, in urging any Scripture at all for the proof of their Aſſertion: And *ſecondly*, to overthrow the Aſſertion it ſelf by manifeſt proofs, that either their Churches tranſcendent Authority (as it is now taught) muſt fall, or Chriſtianity cannot ſtand. To make way for our clearer paſſage in the former.

* *The Papiſts Aſſertions whence the propoſed Concluſion is gathered.*

5. They generally hold, *That this Infallibility of the Viſible Church conſiſts directly in this; That the Holy Ghoſt is infallibly preſent to it, and gives it the true Senſe and Meaning of Scriptures, which he doth not give to private perſons; whom in their judgements, he will not vouchſafe immediately to inſtruct*; ſo that his Dictates already revealed cannot be a Rule unto them, because they want want his infallible

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* Convenit etiam inter nos & adverſarios Scripturas intelligi debere eo Spiritu quo factæ ſunt, id eſt, Spiritu ſancto. Quod Apoſtolus *Petrus* Epiſt.2.cap.1. docet cum ait: *Hoc primum intelligentes, quod omnis Prophetia Scripturæ propria interpretatione non ſit. Non enim humana voluntate allata eſt aliquando Prophetia, ſed Spiritu Sancto inſpirati loquuti ſunt Sancti Dei homines.* Ubi *B. Petrus* probat non debere exponi Scripturas ex proprio ingenio, ſed ſecundum dictamen Spiritus Sancti, quia non ſunt ſcriptæ humano ingenio ſed ex inſpiratione Spiritus Sancti. *Bel. lib.3. de verb. Dei cap.3.* † *2 Pet. cap. 1. verſ. 20. & 21.* * Tota igitur quæſtio in eo poſita eſt, ubi ſit iſte Spiritus. Nos enim exiſtimamus hunc Spiritum, etſi multis privatis hominibus ſæpe conceditur, tamen certò inveniri in Eccleſia, id eſt in Concilio Epiſcoporum confirmato à ſummo Eccleſiæ totius Paſtore cum Concilio aliorum Paſtorum. *Bellarmin* Ibid. *In this place, as he profeſſeth, he will not diſpute, whether the Pope alone, ſpeaking* ex Cathedra, *be the Church; for that he was to diſpute of afterwards, and he and all his fellows do and muſt acknowledge it, as ſhall in due place be ſhewed. That in this place he grants the communication of that Spirit (by which the Scriptures were written) unto private men, doth not argue any agreement with us, but rather his diſagreement from ſome of his own profeſſion, who urge the neceſſity of the Churches Propoſal ſo much and ſo far, that not Gods Prophets or other, to whom his Word was extraordinarily revealed, could without it be certain.* Vide Bellar. lib. 3. de juſtif. cap. 3.

Aſſiſtance for their Expoſition; and for the ſame reaſon, Certain they cannot be without the Churches Authority that they underſtand the Scripture aright.

6. This their Aſſertion being twofold, (for their Churches infallible Expoſitions, and againſt all private Interpretations,) is grounded upon theſe two Principles be: *They are to be Believed in Expoſition of Scriptures* fide divina, *whom the Holy Ghoſt infallibly aſſiſts. They are not ſo to be believed, whom the Holy Ghoſt doth not ſo aſſiſt.* Whence what he ſaid before will follow, that no man, beſides the Pope, may believe his own Interpretations of Scriptures: His, or the Churches, all muſt, nay all men muſt believe *fide divina*, that the Church or Pope is in all Determinations infallibly aſſiſted by the Holy Ghoſt. For if we were not bound to believe their Infallibility moſt infallibly, it could be no Rule of Faith, but might be rejected till we ſee it evidently proved; whereas they contend it ſhould be the Rule of Faith unto all, and by their own confeſſion *a main Article of their Creed*: but (according to their Poſitions as we ſhall hereafter prove) *the only Article of Chriſtian Faith.* How deſtitute theſe their Aſſertions are of all grounds of Reaſon, or Rules of Nature, hath been made evident. There remain only *Two Pillars* poſſibly imaginable for ſupporting this pretended *Infallibility*, *Tradition* and *Scripture*. Againſt *Tradition*, all the Arguments they can heap againſt the Certainty of Scriptures ſtand good; as ſhall hereafter (God willing) be ſhewed. That no Argument can be drawn from *Scripture* to their ſuccour, albeit the later Jeſuits have earneſtly ſought to ſcrape a many (for better than ſcrapings are not the very beſt they bring) we are now to prove.

7. That our Belief of Scriptures Truth, and their true Senſe (by what Means ſoever we attain thereto) muſt be infallible, Both agree: The means that muſt infallibly aſcertain or prove their dvine Truth and true Meaning unto us (ſay our Adverſaries) is the Churches Infallibility, which likewiſe muſt be infallibly believed; otherwiſe it could not be the Rule of Faith, or Belief infallible. It ſhall ſuffice here (once for all) to admoniſh the Reader, That as often as we mention *Belief of Scriptures*, or *the Churches infallibility*, in this Diſpute, we mean not any kind of Belief, but that only which is *infallible*: ſo likewiſe, whiles we mention the Means or Proofs of either, we underſtand only Means or Proofs *infallible*, whereon Faith may immediately relie, as upon a Rule moſt ſure and certain. In all theſe we demand nothing but what our Adverſaries moſt willingly grant. From their grant we argue thus:

The general Points of Difficulty, how either the Church can aſcertain the Divine Truth of Scripture unto us, or the Scripture the Churches infallible Authority.

8. If either the Sriptures can thus aſcertain or prove the Churches *Infallibility*, or it the infallible truth of Scriptures to our ſouls: we muſt of neceſſity, either Believe the one of theſe before the other, [*The Churches Infallibility before Scriptures*, *or Scriptures before it*] or both together without all priority of Belief, or præexiſtent knowledge of the one, whence the Belief or knowledge of the other muſt ſpring. The members of the Diviſion are in the Propoſal actually two, but in the Diſquiſition will prove there: To begin with the firſt.

What Inconveniences will follow if they admit the firſt member of the Diviſion propoſed, that is, if they believe the Scriptures infallibly before they can believe the Churches Infallibility ſo.

9. If they ſay, *we muſt believe the Scriptures to be the Word of God, before we can believe the Infallibility of their Church: they overthrow their own, and eſtabliſh our Poſitions.* For thus they make the Scripture a Rule of our Faith, at the leaſt in this one Article of the Catholick Churches Infallibility; which, by this Aſſertion, we may and ought infallibly to believe, becauſe the Scriptures, which we firſt infallibly believe, do teach and prove it. Hence private men ſhould be taught by the Holy Ghoſt, firſt to believe the Truth of Scriptures, and for it the Churches Infallibility. Wherefore the Scripture muſt be the immediate Rule of their Belief in the Article of the Churches Infallibility, which to them is the general Rule of Faith; and ſo *by conſequence, the Scriptures which to us are only the Rule of Faith, muſt be more than ſo to them, even the Rule of their Rule of Faith.* But if the Scriptures may be the immediate and infallible Rule of their Belief in the Article of the Churches Infallibility; what reaſon poſſibly can be imagined, why they ſhould not be the infallible and immediate Rule of their Faith, in all other parts or Articles of their Creed? For *I call Heaven and Earth, Men and Angels, to witneſs betwixt ours and the Romiſh Church,* whether the Articles of Chriſts Incarnation, his Death, his Paſſion, his Burial, his Reſurrection, his Aſcenſion, his Interceſſion for us, the Reſurrection of the dead, and Life everlaſting, *&c.* be not to any mans Capacity in the World, much more plainly ſet down in ſundry places of Scripture, than the Infallibility of the preſent Romiſh Church, in theſe words, *Peter feed my ſheep. Peter to thee I give the Keys of Heaven. Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church. It ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt and us*: or in any place her ſons can challenge for it. Wherefore if the Holy Ghoſt teach us this Article of the Churches *Infallibility* immediately, without the Churches infallible Authority, (which as we now ſuppoſe muſt be proved from the Scriptures firſt infallibly Believed:) then queſtionleſs he may and will immediately teach us the other Articles of our Creed, and whatſoever neceſſary to Salvation, (which are more plainly and perſpicuouſly ſet down in Scriptures,) without the help or aſſiſtance of the Churches infallible Authority, which it is ſuppoſed to teach by places more doubtful.

10. Or if our Adverſaries will hold it no Abſurdity to ſay, that the Holy Ghoſt may teach us the true ſenſe and meaning of the forementioned places of Scripture, which ſeem to make for the *Infallibility* of the Romiſh Church, as *Petre paſce oves, &c.* immediately without the help or aſſiſtance of the Churches *Infallibility*, (which is here the leſſon ſuppoſed to be taught) and refers all other Points of Faith or matters of Doctrine unto the Churches teaching immediately: they are bound in Reaſon to ſhew a Scripture for this Aſſertion. And beſides, they muſt (perforce) make the ſame compariſon betwixt the Holy Ghoſts immediate teaching, and the Church or Popes immediate teaching, which our Saviour † Chriſt made between the Holy Ghoſts extraordinary teaching, which was to enſue his Glorification, and his own immediate teaching before his Paſſion: and as ſoon as the Holy Ghoſt hath once taught us the meaning of theſe places, which make for the Churches *Infallibility*, that may be applied unto him in reſpect of the Popes Supereminency in teaching, which our Saviour Chriſt ſpake of himſelf,

† *John* 16. 7.

ſelf, and his own perſonal Inſtructions in the days of his Humility, in reſpect of that bleſſed Comforters Illuminations to be beſtowed in abundant meaſure upon his Apoſtles, immediately upon his Aſcenſion. For thus (by their Aſſertions) that Holy Comforter, after that Leſſon once taught, *Tu es Petrus*, ſhould take his leave of faithful hearts in the ſame terms our Saviour there did of his Diſciples: *I tell you the Truth, it is expedient for you that I go away. For if I go not away, the Comforter* (that Infallible Teacher, on whoſe Authority your Souls muſt reſt) *will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will ſend him* * *unto you:* and again, † *I have many things to ſay unto you, but ye cannot bear them now: howbeit when He is come that hath the Spirit of Truth,* (your infallible Teacher, whoſe Tongue while he ſpeaks *ex Cathedra,* I muſt attend) *he will lead you into all Truth; for he ſhall not ſpeak of himſelf, but whatſoever he ſhall hear he ſhall ſpeak; he ſhall glorifie me, for he ſhall receive of me and ſhew it unto you.* Theſe words (I ſay) might be taken as a typical Propheſie of the Popes *Infallible* Authority, (ſuch a Propheſie of it I mean, as the Hiſtory of the Paſchal Lamb was of Chriſts Paſſion:) if they will hold the firſt member of the former diviſion; That the Holy Ghoſt doth firſt teach us Infallibly to Believe theſe Scriptures, which they urge for the Infallibility of their Church, and having once made us infallibly to Believe them, refers us to the Churches Infallibility, (taught and Believed by them) for the Rule of Faith in all other Articles.

* *John* 16. 17.
† *Verſe* 12.

11. *Sed quia hac non ſucceſſit, alia aggrediendum eſt via;* Let us now ſee, whether they be like to find any better ſucceſs, by following the ſecond member of the forementioned Diviſion. (1.) If they ſhould ſay, *We muſt infallibly Believe the Churches Infallibility in expounding Scriptures, or Points of Faith, before we can infallibly Believe them to be the Word of God, or to contain in them Doctrines of Faith.* This indeed they muſt ſay, if they hold their Churches Authority to be the Rule of Faith, or whereby infallibly to diſtinguiſh Divine Truth from Apocryphal.

The Inconveniences of the ſecond member. If they ſhould ſay they muſt infallibly Believe the Churches Infallibility, before they can ſo Believe the Divine Truth of Scriptures.

12. Let us firſt take the Propoſition ſuppoſed for Diſputations ſake; *viz.* [*We muſt believe the Churches Infallible Authority, before we can believe the Scripture to be the Infallible Oracles of God.*] Secondly, let us conſider but this one part of the Churches infallible Authority, which all the Modern Papiſts acknowledge, [*That the Scriptures cannot be known infallibly to be the Word of God, but by the confirmation of the preſent Church.*] And let us ſee how theſe two Aſſertions can ſtand together. By the firſt, the Churches infallible Authority muſt be infallibly Believed before Scriptures: By the ſecond, (which contains the chief part of the Churches Infallibility) the Scriptures cannot be infallibly acknowledged, or believed to be the Word of God, but upon former ſuppoſal of Believing the Churches *Infallibility* confirming this Truth unto us.

13. Here let all, whoſe Brains are not intoxicate with the Wine of Fornication, pauſe a while, and contemplate what Babyloniſh giddineſs hath poſſeſt their Brains, that have run round about ſo long, (though always ſtaggering) in urging Scriptures for to prove that, as an Article of Belief, which muſt be infallibly Believed, before thoſe places of Scriptures which they urge for it; or elſe, nor they, nor any other Scriptures can ever be ſtedfaſtly Believed to be

the Word of GOD, or to have ſufficient Authority in them to cauſe ſtedfaſt Belief unto that which they teach. For this is the Iſſue of all our Adverſaries Arguments in this Point, That ſuch matters as are contained in Scriptures, cannot be ſtedfaſtly acknowledged, or Believed, for Supernatural or Divine Truths, until they be confirmed by this *Infallible Authority* of the preſent Church. Where again I would have the Reader call to mind, what was before obſerved out of *Bellarmines* Poſitions; That this *Infallibility of the Church conſiſts directly in this, that it is perpetually aſſiſted by the Holy Ghoſt:* and it is all one with them, to ſay, *we believe the Churches infallible Authority in matters of Faith, and to ſay, we believe the Church is perpetually aſſiſted by the Holy Ghoſt:* Again, (by all the latter Jeſuites Poſitions) it is all one to ſay, *we believe the Church is perpetually aſſiſted by the Holy Ghoſt in determining matters of Faith,* and to ſay, *we believe that the Pope, ſpeaking* ex Cathedra, *is aſſiſted perpetually by the Holy Ghoſt in determining matters of Faith.*

14. Out of theſe Aſſertions compared with the Propoſition ſuppoſed, [*The Churches infallibility muſt be believed before Scripture, or other Articles of Faith,*] this will immediately and directly follow: *We muſt believe that the Holy Ghoſt, the Supreme Judge of Scriptures and matters of Faith,* doth infallibly aſſiſt the Church, or Pope ſpeaking *ex Cathedra,* before we can believe that there is *an Holy Ghoſt.* For this is one Article of Faith, taught in Scriptures, which Scriptures (ſay our Adverſaries) cannot be believed, but by the confirmation of the Churches *Infallible Authority,* and this infallible Authority conſiſts (as we ſaid before) in this, that it is infallibly aſſiſted by the Holy Ghoſt: wherefore the Concluſion of this abſurd Poſition is: That we muſt firſt Believe the Holy Ghoſt is perpetually reſident in the Popes breaſt, or Conſiſtory of *Rome,* before it can be belived that there is an Holy Ghoſt, or Divine Trinity in Heaven. If we conſider the Practice of our Adverſaries in urging Scripture, to prove their Churches *Infallibility* to be the Rule of Faith: they ſhould in Reaſon admit the firſt member of the forementioned Diviſion, and hold that the Scriptures muſt be infallibly believed for the Word of God, before the *Infallibility* of the Church (which they ſeek to prove by Scriptures) can be infallibly Believed. But again, if we conſider their Aſſertions concerning the Churches *Infallibility,* [*That the Scriptures cannot be known to be the Scriptures but by It, and that It is the Rule of Faith,*] they muſt of neceſſity admit the ſecond member of the fore-cited Diviſion, and maintain, that the Churches Infallibility muſt infallibly be Believed, before we can Believe the Scriptures to be the infallible Oracles of God: For *Regula ſemper eſt prior regulato*; but the Churches Infallibility is the Rule of Faith by their Poſitions, and to Believe the Scripture to be the infallible Oracles of God, is a main Point of Faith, and neceſſary to Salvation: * for, This is the Jeſuites principal Topick, to diſprove the Scriptures Sufficiency for being the Rule of Faith in all Points, becauſe it containeth not this one Point, *viz.* that the Scriptures are the infallible Oracles of God. *It is hence evidently proved, that neither of the two firſt members of the former Diviſion can ſtand either with Reaſon, the Allegators Practice, or Poſitions.* For the firſt

quite

* *See* Valentian *cited, cap.* 22.

quite overthrows their Poſitions concerning their Churches *Infallible Authority*. The *ſecond* proves their Practice to be moſt abſurd, in urging Scriptures for to prove it. And yet the *third* member is of all the three the moſt abſurd, albeit not ſo diſſonant to their Poſitions, or Practice in this Point, becauſe as are they, ſo is it, Senſeleſs both; which will evidently appear by the bare propoſal of it.

The groſs Abſurdities of the third member, as well in Reaſon as in reſpect of their Aſſertions. If they ſhould ſay they neither infallibly Believe the Scriptures before the Churches Infallibility, nor it before them.

15. The third member was, *That we muſt infallibly Believe the Scriptures to be the Oracles of God, and the Churches Infallibility both together, without any Priority of Time, Order, or Nature.* Firſt, If this Aſſertion be true: then cannot the Churches *Infallibility* ſerve as a Rule to know the Scriptures to be the Word of GOD infallibly, becauſe *regula prior eſt regulato.* But by this Aſſertion there is no Priority in the Churches *Infallibility*, (their ſuppoſed Rule) in reſpect of our knowing, or Believing the Scriptures to be the Oracles of GOD. Secondly, If the former Aſſertion be true: then neither can the Scriptures prove the Churches *Infallibility*, nor the Churches *Infallibility* prove the Scriptures to be the Word of God unto any Believer. For all Means or Arguments of Proof, ſuppoſe a Priority in reſpect of the Parties unto whom proof is to be made. And to ſay, that of two things, both Believed and known together without any Priority, the one might prove the other, were as much, as if we ſhould ſay, that a thing might prove it ſelf, and as we ſay in Schools to prove *idem per idem.* For *the very Reaſon why we cannot prove* idem per idem, *is, becauſe there is no Priority of knowledge in ſuch Identity*: for otherwiſe, *where the thing proving, and the thing proved, are indeed the ſelf ſame, yet if there be a Priority of Conceits or Notions in the ſame thing, one of them will ſufficiently prove the other*; as is evident in the Divine Attributes, none of which are indeed really diſtinct from others, and yet may one of them prove another, becauſe in reſpect of us, one of them is better known than another, and conſequently being known may prove the other. But of ſuch Attributes as are neither better known than other, or where the terms are only diverſe, without Priority of Conceit or Knowledge, there can be no proving of the one by the other. For all diſcurſive Knowledge, (ſuch as is all Knowledge by way of Proof or Syllogiſm) muſt be *ex praeexiſtente cognitione*: And where one thing is proved by another, that which proveth muſt firſt be Believed; for the Belief of the other muſt ſpring or ariſe from the Belief of it. If a man ſhould go about to prove that the Prince was ſumptuouſly arrayed, becauſe he was ſumptuouſly apparalled or attired, the Proof would be ridiculous: ſeeing ſumptuous apparel, and ſumptuous array in common ſpeech, are all one, and he that knows the one, knows or believes the other. But if a man ſhould ſay, the Prince was ſumptuouſly apparalled, becauſe he wore a Suit of Tiſſue, or beſet with Pearl, the Proof were good, ſo it could be proved that he wore ſuch a Suit. For it is ſufficiently known to all, that ſuch Attire is ſumptuous; and therefore he that can make proof that he was ſo attired, hath ſufficiently proved that he was ſumptuouſly arrayed. And thus, would our Adverſaries admit, that either the Scriptures were better known than the *Infallibility* of the *Church*; or the Churches *Infallibility* better known than they; the one of them might be brought to prove the other, without any fault in the

manner or form of Proof: howſoever their Aſſertions in the Proof of either would overthrow either their own Poſitions, or the Principles of Faith, as appeareth in the two former parts of our Diviſion. But according to our Suppoſition in the third member, to wit, [*That the Churches Infallibility, and the Infallibility of Scripture, are both alike known unto us, and neither Believed before other,*] the very manner, or form of proving one by the other, would be as ridiculous and abſurd, as if a man ſhould prove coſtly apparel by ſumptuous array; or that one was coſtly apparelled, becauſe he wore coſtly raiment.

16. The moſt of our Adverſaries loving (in this Point) Darkneſs more than Light, (like deſperate Debters, that keep ſtrict reckoning what others owe them, but are afraid to take an account of the Debts they owe) never ſeek to examine the particular Difficulties of their own Opinions, but think it ſufficient to caſt ſtumbling-blocks before their feet, that will not hoodwink themſelves, that they may ſtand in need of leading by ſuch blind Guides as themſelves. Yet *Valentian*, who had gone ſo far in ſearching the difficulties and dangers of this darkſom inchanted Way, until he had come to ſee ſome Lightnings of theſe Objections here ſet down, at the firſt repreſentation of them is ſo affrighted, as if he had ſeen a Night-walker or Hobgoblin, that had put him ſo far out of his right mind, as he neither dare go forwards, nor can he pray to God to bleſs him, or ſend him his Spirit to conduct him ſafely back; but runs round with the Colliars Catechiſm in his mouth, in ſtead of a better Charm. His reſolution is thus: * *That we may briefly collect the former large Diſputes concerning the reſolution of Faith, it ſhall not be amiſs to ſet down a form of anſwering to ſuch as demand a Reaſon of our Faith. If you be demanded (for example ſake) why you Believe a Trinity of Perſons in one Godhead: Firſt, diſtinguiſh whether the Queſtion be of your firm and and infallible Belief of this Truth it ſelf, or of the cauſe which moved you to imbrace this Belief. In the former Caſe the Anſwer muſt be, Becauſe God hath revealed it: If it be demanded again, How you know that God hath revealed it? the Anſwer muſt be, You know it not evidently, but yet Believe ſo, by the ſame infallible Faith by which you Believed the Truth revealed: and this not by another Revelation, but by the Churches infallible Propoſal of it, which is a Condition neceſſary to ſuch Belief. If yet it be further queſtioned, How you know the Churches Propoſal, or avouching of this Revelation to be infallible? your Anſwer muſt be again, That diſtinctly and clearly you know not thus much, but yet Believe it as infallibly as the former, and that for the Revelation of the Scripture, bearing Teſtimony of the Churches Infallibility, which Revelation you Believe not by any other Revelation, but for it ſelf, although unto this very Belief the Churches Propoſal be required as a neceſſary Condition.*

Valentians *attempted Evaſion out of the inchanted Circle of Roman Faith, refuted.*

17. It cannot chuſe but be a great Motive to perſwade any man (that doth not affect Blindneſs in this point) of the ſhallow and unſtable

* Ut breviter quæ fuſius diſputata ſunt de reſolutione fidei, colligamus, placet modum tradere quo quis de fide interrogatus debeat reſpondere. Igitur ſi quis rogetur, v. g. Quare credat Deum eſſe trinum & unum? diſtinguat utrum viz. firmiter & infallibiliter id credat; vel de cauſa ob quam acceptaverat eam fidem. Si primum; reſpondeat, quia Deus revelavit: Si rurſus interrogetur, unde cognoſcat Deum revelaſſe? reſpondeat, ſe quidem non noſſe id clarè, credere tamen eadem fide infallibiliter, & id quidem non ob aliam revelationem: benè tamen ob infallibilem propoſitionem Eccleſiæ, tanquam ob conditionem ad id credendum requiſitam. Si rurſus, unde cognoſcat propoſitionem Eccleſiæ eſſe infallibilem? ſimiliter dicat; ſe clarè non noſſe, credere tamen fide infallibili ob revelationem Scripturæ, teſtimonium perhibentis Eccleſiæ: cui revelationi non credit ob aliam revelationem, ſed ob ſeipſam, quamvis ad hoc ipſum opus ſit Eccleſiæ propoſitione ut conditione requiſitâ. *Valent. tom. 3. in Aquinat. Diſp. 1. quæſt. 1. punct. 1. Sect. 10.*

ſtable Foundation of the Romiſh Church: when he ſhall thus behold ſo skilful an Artificer as *Valentian*, in laying the very Ground-work thereof, ſo gravelled in his own Objections, that he fares like one that had fallen into a deep pit of looſe ſand, heaving and offering with might and main to get out and go forwards, but being deſtitute of all firm Ground, whereon to reſt one part till the reſt be raiſed, beats himſelf blind with too much ſtrugling in ſuch a ſandy ſoil. For ſurely, from more than Egyptian or Sodomitiſh Blindneſs did that attempted Evaſion of his in the fore-mentioned place proceed. * *Nor do we commit any circular Fallacy in this form of anſwering: Partly, becauſe the Revelation, for which the Churches infallible Propoſal is Believed, and the Propoſal for which the Revelation is Believed, have not one and the ſame, but each its ſeveral Object. For the Object of the Churches Propoſal is the Revelation, but the Object of the Revelation is the Truth it ſelf Believed, as that there is one God and three Perſons, or that the Churches Propoſal is infallible: Partly, becauſe, when we aſſign the Revelation as a Reaſon why we Believe the Churches Propoſal, we give the Reaſon by the Cauſe, (for the Revelation is the Cauſe of our aſſent or actual Belief) but when we aſſign the Churches Propoſal as a Reaſon why we Believe the Revelation, the Reaſon is not aſſigned by the true Cauſe of our Belief, but by a Condition requiſite thereunto. And ſo this Juglers ring, or circular Fallacy is avoided, and only a Reaſon is given of things connexed mutually from the things themſelves connexed under a divers Reaſon or reſpect, which is no Legerdemain, but fair play.*

* Neque in ſic reſpondendo erit aliquis vitioſus circulus. Tum quia revelatio propter quam dicitur credi infallibilitas propoſitionis; & propoſitio ob quam dicitur credi revelatio, non habent unum & idem objectum, ſed aliud & aliud. Objectum n. propoſitionis eſt ipſa revelatio; objectum autem revelationis eſt ipſa veritas credita; ut Deum eſſe trinum & unum, aut propoſitionem Eccleſiæ eſſe infallibilem. Tum quia, cum ex revelatione redditur ratio credendi propoſitionem, redditur per cauſam (revelatio enim eſt cauſa aſſenſûs fidei;) cum autem ex propoſitione Eccleſiæ redditur ratio credendi revelationem, ratio redditur non per cauſam credendi, ſed per conditionem ad id requiſitam; & ita vitatur vitioſus circulus & ſolum redditur ratio connexorum viciſſim ex ipſiſmet connexis ſub diverſa ratione, id quod omnino licet. *Valent. ibid.*

17. If the divers Objects of the Divine Revelation, and the Churches Infallibility, were the only Cauſe or Reaſon why we take this Reſolution for circular Proof, then this Exception of the diverſity of their Objects, were to ſome purpoſe. But we impeach this his Reſolution of naughtineſs, for the very form or manner, becauſe the Proof is *idem per idem*. And being ſo, albeit the Object of the Divine Revelation and the Churches Propoſal be divers; yet is this no ſufficient Teſtimony to acquit it, unleſs they will affirm, that there can be no circular Proof where the Object of the things mutually proved are divers, which if they univerſally affirm, (as without an Univerſal Affirmation in this kind, there can be no Proof:) we ſhall as eaſily impeach this Affirmation of open Falſhood, as their form of Argument of circular Fallacy. For whereſoever any thing uncertain to us, is inferred by another thing alike uncertain, and that other only proved by the former: there is a circular Proof, albeit we ſhould by this form of Argument ſeek to prove one thing by another, whoſe Object was quite contrary to the former. Nay, although we ſhould prove the very diverſity, or contrariety of the Objects in two ſeveral terms propoſed, by this or the like circular Form: yet were our Proof naught, albeit this ſame diverſity of Objects might be proved by ſome other lawful Form of Argument. For the diverſity or Identity of Objects in ſyllogiſtical terms, is meerly accidental to the nature of circular Proof, or inference of *idem per idem*.

18. To fit our Adverſaries with a familiar Example, every way parallel to their own Reſolution in this point, (if they will acknowledge their own *Valentians* Reſolution for their own) but more plain and eaſie to the Capacity of the unlearned Reader. Suppoſe ſome ambitious Captain, or Courtier, (for whoſe Integrity no man of place would promiſe much) ſhould bring unto our King, or ſome States-man in this Land, ſome Foreign Princes (as the renowned King of *Denmarks*) Letters Commendatory, for his great ſufficiency in good place in War or State: I would requeſt but any ordinary Reader well to conſider, what matter of reſolution it would be, if with reverence I may ſuppoſe that either his Majeſty, or any States-man in this Land, in the beſtowing of any ſuch place of worth, as this ſuppoſed meſſenger would ſue for, might thus reſolve: Surely the King of *Denmark* is a renowned religious Prince, and one that wiſheth exceeding well unto our King and State, and whatſoever he ſhould write in any mans Commendations, for his advancement to ſuch a place as this party makes ſuit for, I dare not once call in queſtion, leſt I ſhould ſeem to diſparage his Princely word: but how ſhall I know that theſe are his Letters, and no counterfeit? If thus he ſhould doubt, and yet finally reſt content with this or like ſuggeſtion; Why? doth not he ſay they are his true Letters, whoſe Fidelity and Integrity the King in his Letters commends? No man in the World (I think) of any ordinary experience, although he had never traverſt the Schools to know the meaning of a circular Proof, but could perceive this reſolution to be but *dolus circulatorius*: and he that would be cozened with this or the like, by any Traveller of what faſhion ſoever, may eaſily be circumvented by any domeſtick Pedlar, or circumforaneal Copesmate. Yet is this reſolution in every point the ſelf ſame with *Valentians* reſolution, concerning the Roman Churches Infallibility; and the Exception which here he brings, why this reſolution of his is none, may altogether as directly and fitly be brought to ſhew, that this ſuppoſed reſolution is no circular reſolution. Firſt, let us parallel the ſeveral parts of both reſolutions. In that reſolution of Faith which *Valentian* brings, all Chriſtians Believe, that whatſoever God ſaith is true; and ſo in this other reſolution it is ſuppoſed that his Majeſty, or any of his States men firmly Believes, that whatſoever the King of *Denmark* writes or avoucheth in matters of this nature, (as of civil Integrity, and Sufficiency for the diſcharge of ſuch an Office) is altogether true, and may not be ſuſpected: yet may they ſuſpect whether he wrote thus much in this mans Commendations, as theſe Letters import, or no. And ſo ſaith *Valentian*, and other Papiſts, all Chriſtians may ſuſpect, (certain they cannot be) whether God wrote thoſe Books which we call Scripture or no. The Aſſurance which Chriſtians in matters concerning Faith, and States men in this preſent caſe could have for their ſecurity, is altogether the ſame. For the States-man hath no other reaſon to perſwade himſelf, that theſe are the King of *Denmarks* Letters, but only the Report, Aſſeveration, or Teſtimony of this Meſſenger, whoſe preferment they concern. And ſo likewiſe by the Papiſts Poſitions, no private Chriſtian can have any other certain Aſſurance, that theſe Scriptures are the Word of God, but only the Teſtimony or Confirmation of the preſent Romiſh Church,

whoſe ſtate and dignity they likewiſe ſeek to maintain by countenance of the Scriptures, whoſe miſ-interpretation did either firſt occaſion, or not hinder, her riſing to that heighth of temporal Dignity which ſhe now enjoys. Thus finally it appears that all the reaſon or ground of Belief, which any Papiſt following the Jeſuites for their Inſtructors can have, muſt be the *Infallibility* of the Romiſh Church, whoſe *Infallibility* therefore cannot be proved out of Scripture, becauſe the Scriptures by their Poſitions cannot be infallibly proved to be Scriptures, or that authentick Word which only can afford ſure Proof in matters of Faith, but by this their Churches ſuppoſed Authority. As for *Valentians* Exception, concerning the diverſe Object of the Churches Propoſal, and the Divine Revelations by it propoſed, the ſelf ſame Diverſity of Object may be obſerved in the former inſtance of the counterfeit Meſſenger, whoſe reſolution in effect is thus: You muſt Believe theſe Letters, becauſe I commend them unto you in the King of *Denmarks* Name, and you muſt Believe me in commending them unto you, becauſe the King of *Denmark*, whoſe words you truſt in them, commends my truſt and fidelity. To apply *Valentians* Exception to this reſolution: As the Object of that the Church propoſeth, or rather of the Churches Propoſal, is the Divine Revelation: ſo likewiſe is the Object of this counterfeits Propoſal the often mentioned Kings ſuppoſed Commendation of him. Again, as the Object of the Divine Revelation is the Truth Believed, [*Veritas credita, ut Deum eſſe trinum & unum, aut propoſitionem Eccleſiæ eſſe infallibilem*; *as that there is a Trinity in the Godhead, or, the Churches Propoſal is infallible*:] So likewiſe the Object of the Kings Commendation in the other inſtance, is the Truth Believed, or that at leaſt which this Counterfeit exacts to be Believed as true, to wit, that he himſelf is a man of excellent parts, and one that will uſe Fidelity as well in his Doings as Sayings, and in a word, one, whoſe propoſal in matters of State or War, is as infallible as the Popes in matters of Faith. Yet notwithſtanding that this Counterfeits Propoſal or Aſſeveration, which muſt be Believed from the Princes Commendation of him, which muſt be Believed again from his Propoſal, *Non habent unum & idem objectum*, *ſed aliud & aliud*, *have not one and the ſame Object*: yet is the former reſolution ſtill ridiculous; and ſo is *Valentians* reſolution of his Catholick Faith moſt ridiculouſly impious: For what other iſſue of ſuch diſſolute reſolutions can be expected, but that men who know no better, ſhould hereby be driven to ſuſpect the Scriptures for Counterfeit, and the Catholick Church (if the Roman were only the Catholick Church) of villanous Forgery, at the leaſt in thoſe places of Scripture which ſhe pretends for Proof of her own Infallibility.

19. As for *Valentians* later Exception, why his Reſolution ſhould not be Circular: it is more ridiculous than the former, moſt ridiculouſly falſe (to omit other points) in this one, that he dare deny the Churches propoſal by their Doctrine to be the Cauſe, why we Believe the Divine Revelation, or rather that theſe Scriptures which we have are Divine Revelations. For by their Poſitions we cannot aſſure our ſelves, that the Scriptures are the Word of God, by any other cauſe or reaſon, beſides the Churches Authority: and therefore by their Doctrine, the infallible Authority of their

Church is the only Cauſe, why we Believe this Sacred Canon of Scriptures, which we enjoy, to be Divine Revelations, although it be no Cauſe by their Doctrine, why we Believe that in general Divine Revelations are true. For this is a dictate of Nature, not controverſed betwixt us and them, or betwixt any who acknowledge a Divine Power. And *Valentian* himſelf directly implies, that which he impudently denies in the ſelf ſame period. For he granteth, that *Propoſitio Eccleſiæ eſt ratio credendi divinam revelationem*; *and* * *ratio credendi*, the Reaſon or Rule of Believing, muſt needs include in it a precedent Cauſe of Belief, it cannot be only a Condition annexed thereto: but of this point (God willing) hereafter.

* *In matters of Knowledge, or Belief,* Reaſon *and* Cauſe *are Synonymal, and every Cauſe in Nature goes before the Effect. And even when we demonſtrate the Cauſe by its proper Effect, the Effect muſt needs be firſt known to us, ſeeing it is the Reaſon or Cauſe of our knowing the Cauſe, though no Cauſe of the real Cauſe it ſelf.*

† Sacroboſcus *intangled in the former circle, and caught in his own ſnare.*

20. † *Sacroboſcus*, (who hath followed *Bellarmines* and *Valentians* footſteps, as faithfully as any Iriſh Foot man could his Maſter, though ſometimes taking a more compendious and ſmoother way, likely to entice *pedeſtria ingenia*, *wits either by Nature dull*, or Novices in Arts, and Smatterers in School-Learning, to follow him, ſooner than thoſe great ones) hath taken upon him to anſwer to this Circle, in effect as *Valentian* doth, ſave only that he hath put more Tricks of Art upon it, either to confound the judicious, or deceive the ſimple Reader. Which here we ſhall not need to examine, becauſe we purpoſe to unriddle his myſtical Evaſions in the next Diſpute. In the end of his Tract in defence of *Bellarmine*, he frames his Objection, againſt both *Valentian* and his own Reſolution: * [*Whether, in Believing the Church by Scriptures, and Scriptures by the Church, the Belief of the one muſt in nature, (if not in time) go before the other.*] He thinks it not neceſſary that the one ſhould be before the other, *Nam actus fidei fertur in ſuum objectum modo ſimplici, ut viſus in ſuum.* And therefore as we ſee colours *per ſpecies viſibiles*, by the viſible ſhapes, or reſemblances which flow from them, not by ſeeing the viſible ſhape before the colours: ſo do we Believe the Scriptures by the Church, albeit we do not expreſly and formally Believe the Church before we Believe the Scriptures. *Quo teneam vultus mutantem Protea nodo?* In the former part of this his diſcourſe, the Viſible Church was unto Scriptures, as the † Light was unto Colours; now it is unto Scriptures, as viſible Shapes are unto

Colours.

* Sed quæris num quando quis credit aliquid propter authoritatem Eccleſiæ, neceſſarium ſit prius tempore vel ſaltem natura, formaliter, & explicite credat ipſam Eccleſiam eſſe infallibilis authoritatis, quemadmodum quando aſſentimur concluſioni propter præmiſſas, neceſſe eſt ut prius aſſentiamur ipſis præmiſſis. Reſpondeo, id minime eſſe neceſſarium: nam actus fidei fertur in ſuum objectum, modo ſimplici, ut viſus in ſuum: itaque ſicut viſus per ſpeciem albi, (v. g.) videt album, non videndo ipſam ſpeciem, ſic poteſt quis per Eccleſiæ authoritatem credere, ita ut non prius formaliter & explicite credat Eccleſiæ Authoritatem. *Chriſtophorus à Sacroboſco Dublinienſis è Societ. Jeſu, pag.* 138, 139. *A good Examiner may know this Fellow to be a Jeſuite by his Anſwer, ſo full ſtuft with mental Reſervations, ſecret Evaſions, and Ambiguities. Firſt, he will not reſolve us whether men ordinarily muſt Believe the Church before Scriptures: but a man may Believe the Scriptures, although he do not firſt Believe the Church* explicitè *or* formally. *And in the very next words he impertinently adds, that Believing the Scriptures, we cannot but* implicitè *and* vertually *Believe the Church. Which argues that the Scriptures muſt be Believed before the Church. But ſay, we could not Believe the one, but we muſt upon equal terms Believe the other, this proves that neither could be any infallible or effectual Means of Believing the other. For there is no man that knows twice 4 make 8, but knows as well twice 2 make 4, yet is neither a Means of knowing the other, for both are immediately known of themſelves. This ſhews the impertinency of their Anſwer, that mutter they know not what, as if the knowledge of points of Faith did reſemble* habitum principiorum, *rather than* habitum concluſionis. *If ſo they do, then cannot the Churches Infallibility being by their Poſitions a point of Faith, be any Means of knowing the Scriptures to be Divine, which is a main point of Faith.* † *This Compariſon indeed is moſt conſonant to their Poſitions: but as we ſhall afterwards prove, doth as clearly bewray the Myſtery of their Iniquity, as the Sun doth Colours.*

Colours. What then? Do we not ſee viſible ſhapes before Colours, nor Colours before them? No. For we ſee no viſible ſhapes at all, but by them Colours only are brought into our ſight: and we cannot ſee one before the other, if the one we ſee not at all. And in like ſenſe it were true, that we ſhould not Believe the Church before Scriptures, nor Scriptures before we Believe the Church, if we were not bound to Believe the one at all. But if we ſee one thing by another which we likewiſe ſee, we muſt needs ſee that firſt by which we ſee the other: and ſo if either we Believe the Scriptures by Believing the Church, or Believe the Church by Believing Scriptures, we muſt of neceſſity Believe the one before the other. For that by which we Believe a thing, is the Means of Belief, and the Means of Belief muſt needs in Nature and Order go before Belief it ſelf. And if the Church be the Means of Believing only in as much as we Believe it; or to ſpeak more diſtinctly, if the Believing the Church be the very Means of Believing the Scriptures: then muſt we needs Believe the Church before we Believe the Scriptures. If our Adverſaries affirm, That their Church is the only infallible Means of Believing Scriptures, in any other ſort than by Believing it: let them in the Name of God aſſign by what Means they will ſhe can make us Believe the Scriptures, we ſhall not much contend; ſo they will not bind us to Believe this their Churches Deciſions. *Sacroboſcus* his compariſon of the Viſible Church and Viſible Shapes, we admit thus far for good; that as unleſs there were ſuch Viſible Shapes, no Colours could be ſeen: ſo likewiſe, unleſs God had ſome Viſible Church on Earth, Men ordinarily could not ſee the Light of the Goſpel. For it is not ordinarily communicated to any, but by the Miniſtry of others, but being communicated, we Believe it in it ſelf, and for it ſelf, not by Believing others; as we ſee Colours in themſelves and for themſelves, not by ſeeing the viſible Shapes, by which they are preſented or communicated unto our eyes. But whether there be any Propriety between the Belief of theſe two, [*Church* and *Scriptures*] according to our Adverſaries Doctrine, or whether the Belief of the one be the cauſe of the Belief of the other, or in what ſort the cauſe, and what Inconveniences will follow thereon, we ſhall diſpute hereafter.

This Inſtance of his doth very well illuſtrate our former Aſſertion,(Chapt. 12.) concerning the Uſe of an ordinary Magiſtracy or Miniſtery. And the Viſible Church may be ſaid in ſuch Senſe infallible as the ſhapes and reſemblances of Colours are called viſible, being indeed by nature inviſible, and are viſible only by external demonſtration, in as much as they preſent Colours to our ſight, which only are truly viſible. Were they really viſible, themſelves being received into our eyes, they would hinder our ſight of all Colours: ſo doth this admiſſion of a real Infallibility in the Church, exclude all infallible Belief of other points of Faith.

21. Let them in the mean time illuſtrate the Manner, how we Believe Scriptures by the Church, as they pleaſe. Let it have the ſame proportion to Scriptures, which the Light, or viſible Shapes have unto Colours: they themſelves make the Belief of Scriptures moſt uncertain, and for this reaſon ſeek to eſtabliſh the *Infallibility* of their Church for to aſſure us of the Truth of Scriptures. We demand how this certainty of their Churches *Infallibility* can poſſibly be proved? By Reaſon? that is impoſſible, as you heard before. By Tradition? of whom? of ſuch as

may erre? that is * uncertain. Of the infallible Church? But her *Infallibility* is called in queſtion, and any Church may challenge this Prerogative, as well as theirs, unleſs they can ſhew a better Title. Without Revelation from above, it is ſtill uncertain, *fide divina*, whether we are to Believe any Churches *Infallibility* concerning Scripture: Or if any, which of all. Revelations from above we acknowledge none but the written Word: they acknowledge Traditions as well as It, yet ſo as the Scriptures (by their Confeſſion) are as certain as Tradition, which they make equal only with the written Word acknowledged by us, not above it. Wherefore, if the Scriptures be in themſelves (by their Objections) uncertain, then is Tradition as uncertain. What ſhall aſſure us of the Truth of either? The infallible Church? But this can aſſure no man, unleſs he firſt Believe it for certain and infallibly. What ſhall make it certain to us? The Scriptures? But they are uncertain, ſay our Adverſaries, and the Church muſt confirm their certainty unto us. Though this Circle (wherein *Valentian* and *Sacroboſcus* have run giddy) were of force to raiſe up all the Spirits in Hell, and though they raiſed ſhould ſift all the Jeſuites Brains in the World: yet ſhould not all the invention of Man, with the help of Devils, be able to find out the leaſt Probability of avoiding the former Inconvenience. Nay, they ſhould far ſooner make Ropes of the Sand in the Adriatick Sea, ſo ſtrong as would hale *Italy* unto the Iſlands of Devils, before they could teach all the Jeſuites in the World ſo much Geometry, as to make one of theſe Uncertainties ſupport another.

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* Iiſdem ferè argumentis efficitur, neque ſolam traditionem vivæ vocis eorum qui olim vita defuncti ſunt, eſſe judicem ſufficientem fidei, quæ valeat per ſe ſine alia aliqua infallibili ac præſente authoritate omnes omnino definire fidei quæſtiones. Nam primum, ſicut de authoritate ipſius Scripturæ neceſſe eſt per aliquam aliam certam authoritatem conſtare; ita etiam de authoritate traditionis, ſi ea quoque revocetur in dubium. Non enim traditio loquitur etiam ipſa clarè & perſpicuè de ſeſe; ut neque ipſa ſcriptura. Deinde, cum traditio ſcriptis fere doctorum orthodoxorum in Eccleſia conſervetur, quæſtiones ac dubia moveri poſſunt de ſenſu illius, ſicut dubitatur ſæpe de ſenſu & mente doctorum. *Valentianus Tom.* 3. *Diſp.* 1. *quæſt.* 1. *de objecto fidei. punct.* 7. *Sect.* 12.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXI.

The Unſufficiency of the Roman Rule of Faith, for effecting what it aims at, albeit we grant all they demand: the ridiculous uſe thereof amongſt ſuch as do acknowledge it.

1. WHen I was a Child, (as our Apoſtle ſaith) and ſpake as a Child, underſtood as a Child; I thought ſome great matters might be contained under thoſe Hyperbolical and ſwelling Titles of the Romiſh Church, wherewith mine ears were often filled. And although I had been inſtructed to the contrary, yet could I have wiſhed her Doctrine true, ſuch was my Affection to her ſhape, as it was falſly repreſented to my Childiſh Fantaſie. But after the Day-ſtar had ſhined in mine heart, the former Humour wherewith the eye-ſight of my infant-mind had been corrupted, was quickly diſpelled. Once able to look more narrowly into the ſubtileſt of her School-mens Diſputes, and examine her learned Clerks Apologies for her, by the Goſpels Light; I ſaw clearly, how by preſenting meer ſhews or ſhadows of Truth, they led weak-ſighted Souls into Errour, as it were in a miſt: in the beginning of their works uſually inſerting pretended Grounds (here and there as they eſpy occaſion) of their intended Concluſions, ſupported with ſome ſleight Reaſons for the preſent; feeding us with expectation of better Proofs, either in ſome other work, or (a great way after) in the ſame, which may ſtay our minds till we come at them, where they return us back again to what is paſt, and that being now far off, and moſt particulars out of mind, may ſeem not altogether nothing to ſuch as will not take pains to review it. And thus in fine, as the miſt, ſo their Proofs ſeem every where ſomewhat, till a man come near them, but then ſo vaniſh as he ſhall ſee nothing of that he looked for.

2. *Bellarmines* Books *de verbo Dei*, compared with thoſe others of his *de Romano Pontifice*, *&c.* and *Valentians Analyſis fidei*, will eaſily approve this obſervation to him that will read them through with Attention. Both of them in the beginning of their works promiſing great matters, made me expect ſome extraordinary proof in the proceſs; but finding them beſt at the firſt, always ambitious in producing multitude of Allegations to little purpoſe, copious in beſtowing glorious Titles and Prerogatives upon their Holy Church, and yet finally contracting her Univerſality and ſacred Catholickſhip into one mans breaſt, (who by their own Confeſſion may be ſo carnally groſs, that he cannot draw any ſpiritual breath) their former goodly Encomions ending thus, made me call to mind how crafty Companions cozen Children of what they love, or ſtay their crying at what they diſlike, by promiſing them ſome *Gallant*, *Fine*, *Gaudy*, *Trim*, *Goodly*, *Brave*, *Golden*, *New*, *Nothing*. Such brave Epithets ſo raviſh a Childs thoughts, as at the firſt hearing he parts with any thing he hath, or forbears to ſeek what otherwiſe he would have, in hope of ſuch a gay reward, never looking into the ſubſtance of what is promiſed, which was indeed juſt nothing.

With like bombaſt outſides do modern Prieſts and Jeſuites terrifie ſilly ſouls, (men or women, meer Children in underſtanding) from all Communion with our Church, leading them through ſuch painted Forefronts, or feigned, but ſightly Entrances, into their vaſt imaginary empty Paradiſe, wherein grows nothing but forbidden Fruit. Though Volumes they write huge and large, and in the ſublimity of their ſpeculative imaginations, fetch Arguments from beyond the Moon: yet unto him that hath but the eye of ordinary Reaſon in his head, (not blinded by their juglings) their beſt Collections prove in the end but like the drawing of a Net ſpread far and wide in the open Air, able to retain nothing of what it had compaſſed; only ſuch as looked afar off, or had brains ſo weak, or ſight ſo ill diſpoſed, as could not diſtinguiſh betwixt the Element of Air and Water, making more than an ordinary ſtir in fetching ſo huge a Draught, might happily ſuſpect ſome goodly Catch.

Though we did not doubt of what the Pope ſpeaks ex Cathedra; *yet is it doubtful what he ſpeaketh* ex Cathedra, *and when he ſpeaketh ſo.*

3. Suppoſe we ſhould grant that the Pope whiles he ſpeaks *ex Cathedra* cannot err; who ſhall (I am ſure no Jeſuite or private Spirit can) without all ambiguity and pretence of gainſaying determine directly and abſolutely, what it is to ſpeak *ex Cathedra*? And *it is not to be expected, that the Pope will* ex Cathedra *define what it is to define a thing* ex Cathedra, *in ſuch ſort as ſhall leave no Evaſion to excuſe his Errour, if he ſhould be urged with a Sentence* ex Cathedra; *which to the* Major *part of profeſſed Chriſtians might ſeem doubtful whether it were palpably erroneous or no.* But ſuppoſe we knew directly and authentically what it were to ſpeak *ex Cathedra*, and when the Pope did indeed ſo ſpeak, when not; (which no man can know * but only by hear-ſay, unleſs ſuch as hear him give Sentence) yet what Aſſurance can the Jeſuites give unto the Chriſtian World, that his Holineſs ſhall ſo determine or ſpeak, as often as the Peace of Chriſts Church or Weal of Chriſtendom ſhall require? That he ſhall ſpeak *de facto ex Cathedra*, whenſoever the Church ſtands in need of a Deciſion, the Papiſts themſelves do not hold as any part of his *Infallibility*, but only that he is able ſo to ſpeak, when his *Infallibility* will. And *à poſſe ad eſſe non ſequitur argumentum.* No man, in their judgment, can or ought conſtrain him to a Deciſion, except he liſt. And ſeeing they affirm, he may be an Heretick, or a Son of Satan; although it were true, he could not propoſe an Hereſie to be Believed, yet is there no ſhew of Truth why he may not be ſo maliciouſly bent, as he will not vouchſafe actually to determine that for Hereſie in others, which in his Judgement, as he is a Doctor or private man, is very Orthodoxal; thus doing he ſhould go againſt his own Conſcience to give Sentence. Gods Spirit as they ſay will guide his Tongue when or whilſt he ſpeaks *ex Cathedra.* But an evil Spirit may ſo work upon his Affections, that he ſhall not come in good time ſo to ſpeak, eſpecially againſt that Opinion, which in his private Conſcience he holds for true. This I think none of them can deny.

* *Albeit we knew what it were to ſpeak* ex Cathedra, *and that when the Pope ſpeaks ſo, he ſpeaketh infallibly, yet would it not follow that we ſhould be infallibly reſolved in Controverſies of greateſt moment.*

4. Now whilſt theſe doubts ſtand unſatisfied, and ye without further aſſurance of his Infallibility in deciding Controverſies, then only this Hypothetical or conditional, [*if he ſpeaks ex Cathedra*] all the comfort, which the Chriſtian World (perplexed with the variety of Opinions, and diverſities of Sects) can reap from theſe

fair promiſes of the Jeſuites concerning their Church or Popes infallible Authority, is, but as if a man ſhould ſay unto a Husbandman, (doubtful upon the uncertainty of the Weather, when to ſow or reap) Tuſh, be of good cheer, you ſhall certainly know what ſeaſon is good, what not, for Seed time and Harveſt, when the Man in the Moon ſets forth an Almanack. *Veritas hypothetica propoſitionis* (ſaith old *Javel*) *nihil ponit in crumena.* Many die with fewer Pounds in their Purſes, than Arguments in their Heads, ſufficient to prove the Truth of this conditional Propoſition, *If I had five thouſand Pounds, I ſhould be a wealthy man.* In like manner if this be all the aſſurance their infallible Rule can afford us. [*That a general Council, if lawfully aſſembled, or the Pope if he ſpeak* ex Cathedra, *cannot poſſibly erre.*] The moſt peſtiferous and noiſom Hereſies that now infect the Church, may (perhaps) be quelled, ſome hundred years after all, now alive, be dead. When the Pope will call a Council, or conſult his Chair, GOD knows: what manner of Reſolutions were to be expected, if either ſhould happen, we may conjecture by their wonted practice; which is thus.

The Politick ſophiſms of the Papiſts in their Councils.

5. After a Council is called, the *Major* part being made to ſerve their Makers turn, (for of Biſhops the moſt muſt be the Popes new creatures) the reſt muſt ſubſcribe to their Decrees; uſually ſet forth in the weather Wizards Language, and their ſceptick School-men appointed to riddle out ſome good meaning that may ſalve their Prelates credit. In the mean time, the Pope and his Cardinals may follow their pleaſures, take their eaſe, and with it the dreaming Captains Motto, *Tot urbes capio dormiens ac vigilans. We take up as many Controverſies, we edifie the Church as much, ſleeping as waking.* If no tolerable Interpretation of their doubtful Deciſions can be found, yet a good ſenſe muſt be believed; and private Spirits may not peremptorily avouch, that the Council meant this or that, but only it meant the beſt, and this we take to be the beſt, and therefore we think it meant thus, but with humble ſubmiſſion to their infallible Authority. All this while the Sectaries (ſo they term us) muſt be ſet to prove Negatives, as that there can be no true Meaning, in thoſe ſpeeches, which may have twenty. But if out of their School-mens Wranglings (who can better ſeek out than follow the Truth found) any interpretation or manner of Tenet can be found which may yield advantage to them, or prejudice to their Adverſaries; about ſome hundred years after, perhaps, (when they have light on a Pope and Cardinals, whoſe wits and they once in their life-times meet) a Deciſion may be had, upon this Opportunity of ſeeming advantage. And yet the Catholick Church, during this hundred, or perhaps two hundred years of her ſilence, muſt be ſuppoſed to have held perpetually the ſelf-ſame Tenet, which this private man hath bolted out of late; albeit neither he, nor any particular member thereof, did know as much, yea though five heads of the Church, (and as many principal members) five ſucceſſions of Popes, Cardinals, and Biſhops, have died in the mean time, no one of which in all their lives did trouble their thoughts with any ſuch matter: and whilſt both their Schoolmens private ſpeculations, and their publick practice have witneſſed the contrary, Was the Doctrine of Juſtification and Merits held by any of their Doctors heretofore, as the latter Jeſuites have refined

them? Did any of their Popes and Councils determine of their manner of Worſhipping Images, as *Vaſquez* hath of late? And yet (I think) if the Pope ſhould be driven to a Deciſion of this Queſtion, he would define as *Vaſquez* hath done; ſo *extraordinary is the Approbation of his Apology for Imagery, as if it likewiſe were worthy of Adoration.* And if this Pope ſhould ſo determine it, you muſt think that all his Predeceſſours were of the ſame Opinion, if they had been asked; *eundem ſenſum tenuit ſemper Eccleſia.*

6, But, what is moſt ſtrange, That Church may for five, ſix, or twelve hundred years and more, uſe a Tranſlation juſtly ſuſpicious, as for many other Reaſons, ſo for this, That of the divers Authors thereof, ſome we know not, others we know too well: and yet when a Council after ſo long time ſhall meet, every mans work found very authentick. * Some learned Papiſts have been perſwaded, that their vulgar Tranſlators were *docti à Deo omnes*, all aſſiſted by the Holy Ghoſt in their Tranſlations. But *Bellarmine* thinks this Opinion too charitable, for ſo they muſt grant that *Theodotion* the Heretick, (the undoubted Author of ſome parts of that Edition) was infallibly aſſiſted by the Holy Ghoſt. If he were not, how is that part of their Vulgar, which they have from him, authentick and true? Though erre he might, as being a private man, or rather a publick Heretick. *Dicimus tamen eum non erraſſe in ea tranſlatione quam approbavit Eccleſia, yet we ſay* (ſaith *Bellarmine*, but I hope no wiſe man will ſo think) *that he did not erre in that Tranſlation which the Church hath approved.* I ſee then it is all one, whether the Holy Ghoſt do aſſiſt the Tranſlator, whilſt he is about his work, or the Pope his Tranſlation, after it be finiſhed, and He dead: nor doth it skill how he were Qualified whilſt he lived, either for Integrity, Wit or Learning: the cauſe is all one as in the Pope himſelf, who may as freely beſtow this particular gift, of not erring in Tranſlations, upon whom he pleaſe without all reſpect of good Qualities, as Saint *Peter* did that tranſcendent Donative of abſolute Infallibility upon him and his Succeſſors. Saint *Jeroms* Tranſlation had laudable Teſtimonies of Antiquity, yet not generally received in his time, only prejudiced by the Newneſs of it, and Antiquity of the *Italick.* But whoſe is the Vulgar, or how firſt came it in requeſt? *It is* (ſaith *Bellarmine*) *partly* Lucians, *partly* Jeroms, *partly* Theodotions *the Heretick*, *partly anothers he knows not* † *whoſe.* Do we think the Trent Council did examine every part of that Tranſlation? or did they know as much as *Bellarmine* hath confeſſed, that it ſhould call ſo many Fathers, and one Heretick amongſt the reſt? Doubtleſs this is a miraculous Power of their Holy Church; that the Holy Ghoſt doth but keep men from errour whilſt they are living, but the Pope and his Councils Infallibility can keep an Heretick (whom they knew not living) from having erred

* Ad illud autem quod objiciebatur, interpretes interdum labi potuiſſe, non deſunt qui reſpondeant, veterem interpretem novi teſtamenti & etiam beatum Hieronymum interpretem veteris teſtamenti, peculiari ſpiritus ſancti lumine illuſtratos, errare non potuiſſe; ſed non eſt opus eo confugere. Admittimus enim interpretem non eſſe Prophetam, & errare potuiſſe, tamen dicimus, eum non erraſſe in illa verſione quam Eccleſia approbavit. *Bell. lib. 2. de verbo Dei, cap. 11. paragr. Ad illud &c.*

† Nam vulgata editio non eſt unius authoris, ſed quædam habeat ex Hieronymo, quædam ex Luciano, quædam ex Theodotione, quædam ex alio quodam interprete innominato: ſtultum autem videtur dicere, Theodotionem Hæreticum nou potuiſſe errare, & etiam Hieronymum nuſquam erraſſe, cum ipſe in cap. 19. Iſaiæ dicat ſe erraſſe, & Eccleſia correctionem ejus receperit. Non igitur authores illos canonizavit Eccleſia, ſed tantum hanc verſionem approbavit, nec ita tamen approbavit ut aſſeruerit nullos in ea librariorum errores reperiri, ſed certos nos reddere voluit in iis præſertim, quæ ad fidem & mores pertinent, nulla eſſe in hac verſione interpretum errata. *Bel. ibid. Why the Romiſh Church from* Gregories *time until the Trent Council, ſhould uſe the Tranſlations of ſo many ſundry Authors, no Cauſe can be given ſave only the negligence or miſhap of former Ages that had loſt all choice of better, or the neceſſity of the middle Ages or times of midnight Darkneſs, wherein the skill of Interpretation was extinct.*

after he is dead. And whereas the Almighty Creator of Heaven and Earth did but make Light ſhine out of Darkneſs, the incomprehenſible Omnipotence of the Popes Infallibility can make Darkneſs Light, and Light Darkneſs. For otherwiſe, why might not the Pope, and the Council, have yielded the aſſurance of their Omnipotent Spirit unto ſome then living, for authentick Tranſlation? Or why did they not admit * *Franc. Forerius* Correction of the Vulgar for authentick, ſeeing his skill in the Hebrew, and good will to the old Vulgar, was ſo great? The Reaſon ſure, why they would admit of this hodgepodge Tranſlation before any better, was, (as I have ſaid) to ſhew hereby the Popes Infallibility to be more than moſt Omnipotent and Incomprehenſible. They contend for the Vulgar, under the Title of *Hierom*; and yet where it is evident that *Hierom* did not Tranſlate the Pſalms, which they uſe, they will not admit that Tranſlation of them which is every where extant, and without controverſie is *Hieroms* own.

* *This Commentator having ſaid as much as poſſibly could be ſaid in defence of the Vulgar Tranſlation, altering the Hebrew Vowels for this purpoſe at his pleaſure, yet it ſeemeth the Errours diſcovered in it by him in his Comment upon* Eſay, *hath hindred the ſitting forth of his other Commentaries upon the Prophets, which for his part he had finiſhed (as appears by the later part of his Epiſtle to the Trent Fathers) ſo the Church would have approved them..* Quamobrem, ſi noſtram operam Vobis ſanctiſſimi patres probari intellexero, reliquos libros quos habeo jam abſolutos, propediem foras dabo: ſin minus, veſtro judicio admonitus recondam: mihique ſatis erit, meum ſtudium erga Chriſti Eccleſiam atque hoc ſanctiſſimum concilium ſemel eſſe teſtatum.

7. Yet thus much I perceive by *Bellarmines* Anſwer, That as an Heretick or unknown Author may erre in a Tranſlation, becauſe he is not infallibly aſſiſted by the Holy Ghoſt; but yet it muſt be Believed, that an Heretick did not erre in that Tranſlation, which the Pope and Council hath approved: So a Jeſuite may perhaps commit a Murder, becauſe his order is not ſo holy as can warrant him from falling into mortal Sin; but if it ſhould pleaſe the Pope or Clergy of *Rome* to interpret the ſixth Commandment otherwiſe; we muſt Believe that no Jeſuite doth commit any Murder in that man-ſlaughter, or bloud-ſhed, which the Church approves, albeit he treacherouſly ſtab his Sovereign Lord the Lords Anointed. If it pleaſe the Pope, he may antedate his Pardon, or legitimate ſuch helliſh brood, ere it come to light, as well as authenticate an Hereticks Tranſlation a thouſand years after his bones be rotten. Theſe are the ſweet fruits of this ſuppoſed infallible Rule of Faith and Manners; but of the Villanies included in this Poſition, hereafter. I now only give the Reader notice of the ridiculous Uſe of the ſame amongſt themſelves: for what a ſweet Deciſion was that concerning Grace and Free-Will, but lately ſo eagerly controverſed in *Spain*, to the * publick ſcandal of that Church. Firſt, Silence was enjoyned all for four years, and afterwards *Vaſquez* ſet (as a brach) to hunt a prey for the Romiſh Lion to take, if he could have rouzed any to his liking. Is this the Uſe of your infallible Rule? Should Chriſtians trouble the Turk with their Contentions, he could decide as well on this faſhion, as the Pope. The †*Moſcovite* already hath far ſurpaſſed him, in this kind of compoſing,

* Vide Vaſquez præfatione in primum Tomum comment. in D. Th.

† Sacrum ſive miſſa Slavonica lingua apud illos peragitur, intermixtis etiam aliquando cantionibus Græcis. Epiſtolæ, & Evangelium, quo magis à populo percipiantur, extra chorum in medio Eccleſiæ aſtanti populo clara voce recitantur. Concionatoribus carent, ſatis enim eſſe putant ſacris interfuiſſe, ac Evangelii Epiſtolarumque verba, quæ vernacula lingua recitat ſacrificulus, audiviſſe. Concionarique in ſuis Eccleſiis obſtinatiſſime prohibent, dicunt enim ſe hoc modo varias hæreſes, & diverſas de fide opiniones effugere quæ ex concionibus & ſubtilibus argumentis ſophiſticiſque quæſtionibus oriuntur. *Alex Gwagninus Veronenſis in Muſcoviæ deſcriptione*, c. 2.

or rather avoiding Controverſies. For he not many years ago (how affected now, I cannot tell) would have no Preaching in his Dominions, leſt Schiſms and Hereſies might thereby be occaſioned.

8. Were not the Conſequences of this Opinion ſo commodious to the Roman Clergy for matters of this life, and ſo prejudicial to all other good Chriſtians Hopes of attaining that other far better life: I ſhould have thought that *Valentian*, *Bellarmine*, and other ſuch as have been moſt copious in this Argument, had but ſought to ſet out *Commentum aliquod artificioſe ridiculum*, ſome artificial Foolery, to make the World ſport. For what better merriment could an ingenious Student wiſh, than in his Hours of Recreation to deſcant upon their ſerious pains in ſetting a ſhew of Gravity upon idle fooliſh Arguments, as uncapable of Theological, as an Ape of Tragick, attire? But why ſhould we conſort with Hell, which, no doubt, makes it ſelf merry at theſe great Diſputers Folly, thus unwittingly employed to purchaſe the miſerable ſolace of Infernal Powers by their own eternal Sorrow, without Repentance? As the Opinion it ſelf is moſt ridiculous to any unpartial Judgment: ſo even for this reaſon is the Conſequence moſt lamentable, to any indued with Humane Affection. For what greater or more juſt Occaſion of moſt grievous Sorrow, could be preſented to a religious true Engliſh Heart, than to ſee ſo great a part of the Chriſtian World, eſpecially ſo many of his Native Country-men, (for ſuch ridiculous Apiſh Impoſtures and falſe pretences of bringing Gods People under ſuch a Government in matters of Faith, as is uſually in Secular States) increaſe old Iſraels Rebellion, and incur their grievous Curſe not yet expired, by caſting off their Redeemer, the Wiſdom of God, and Judge of quick and dead, from being their King, or Supreme Judge of Controverſies in Religion? For why ſhould it ſeem uncouth unto any Chriſtian, that Chriſt Himſelf, though ſitting in his Throne of Majeſty in Heaven, ſhould be the only Supreme infallible Judge in all Controverſies, concerning his own or his Apoſtles Precepts, or Gods Laws in general? * For who could juſtly except againſt us, if we ſhould ſay, That to moſt Phyſicians thorow *Europe*, *Hippocrates*, or *Galen*, to Lawyers *Juſtinian*, were the ſole Authentick Judge? No Phyſician in any other Country exacts Subſcription to his Opinions of any living in this, further than upon examination they ſhall prove conſonant either to *Galen*, or *Hippocrates*, or be evidently grounded on Reaſon. Or do we exclude all uſe or certainty of Juridical Deciſions in matters of Right and Wrong, though the Judges be but ordinary, becauſe Lawyers have no Authentick living Judge to determine, infallibly, of ſuch Controverſies as may ariſe amongſt themſelves in ſpeculative points of their Profeſſion?

** In what Senſe the Scriptures may be truly ſaid the Supreme Judge of all Controverſies in Divinity.*

9. It is ſuppoſed that good Students in any Faculty have Wit and Art, with other good means for finding out their Claſſick Authors Sentence already given, *whoſe Writings in this reſpect may be truly ſaid to be their followers Judges*, though every one of them be a private Judge in matters of practice: Yet is it a Paradox in us to ſay, *Gods Written Word is the Judge of ſuch Controverſies as ariſe amongſt profeſſed Divines, or Eccleſiaſtick Judges themſelves*? What if all of them do not agree about the true Senſe and Meaning of that Word

whereto all appeal? No more do Phyſicians always in their Interpretations of *Hippocrates* or *Galen*, yet have not their diſagreements (for ought I have read) bred Civil Wars in the Countries wherein they live, nor doth their variance bring any danger to wiſe mens bodies, but rather all dangers are by this means diſcovered, and ſafer choice left others what Opinions or Preſcripts to follow, or refuſe, or in what Caſes it is moſt ſafe or dangerous to adventure. Thus might Divines Diſpute without any danger to mens Souls, if the Romaniſts had not been ſo laviſh in coyning matter for contention, rather than in ſearching Scriptures for Edification of Chriſts Church: Or if the Laity would be as careful of their Spiritual as Bodily Health, and not take their Phyſick blindfold at ſuch Mountebanks hands as Jeſuites, Prieſts, and Seminaries be; who miniſter none but ſuch as either ſhall intoxicate the Brain, or inflame the Heart with prepoſterous Zeal. Nor ſhould variance in Points of Doctrine amongſt Divines, breed any danger or diſturbance to Commonweals, if they would not be Statiſts or Underminers of States, as the Jeſuites be. If their Contentions were for the manner uncivil, or bitter, as are all Contentions which the Jeſuites breed; the Supreme Magiſtrate, whether Eccleſiaſtick or Civil, might bind their Tongues and Pens to good abearance; were it not for theſe Romiſh Wolves, which in Sheepscloathing convey themſelves into the Fold of Chriſt; and, once crept in, will admit of no trial, but in the Lions Den; unto which they are ſworn Purveyors; for whoſe maintenance (like their Maſter, that great Accuſer of Gods Children) they compaſs Sea and Land, and fetch their range about the World.

10. Who can imagine any other cauſe (beſides this their inſolent challenge of Sovereignty over all others Faith) why the Scripture might not be admitted Judge over all Controverſies of Divinity, much better than *Hippocrates* or *Galen* of all Controverſies in Phyſick, without any infallible Phyſician perpetually reſident in the World, to give ſentence *viva voce*. It is no Paradox to hold, that God, which made us theſe Souls, and gave the Scripture for their Health, did much better know what was neceſſary for them, than either *Hippocrates* or *Galen* did what was good and wholſom for mens Bodies, one hair of which they neither made black or white. Even what they beſt knew, they knew not otherwiſe to communicate unto Poſterity than by theſe dumb Characters, or Atramentary Inſtructers. Whatſoever our Adverſaries can urge to the prejudice of Scriptures Sufficiency, or Ability of Gods Spirit; is true of theſe great Authors and their Writings: all other Means of teaching, though their deareſt Scholars died with them, now not able either to ſtrengthen or conſolidate the weak or ſhallow Brain, or illuminate darkned Underſtandings; they cannot ſo much as take notice of their Followers towardly Pains and Induſtry, or reward ſuch as are moſt devoted to their Memory, and uſe their Aphoriſms as infallible Rules of bodily Life and Health, with any bleſſing of Art or Nature. But our God lives for ever, and knows beſt who are his, always ready to Reward *ſuch as love him*. And as there is none living but hath received ſome Gift or other from him; ſo hath he promiſed to give more and more unto all ſuch as well Uſe what he hath already given. If Nature be dulled, ſo it

be not ſlothful withal in good courſes, he can ſharpen it by Art: though both be defective, yet can he ſo inflame the Heart with Zeal, as it ſhall pierce more deeply into the Myſteries of mans Salvation, than the acuteſt unregenerate Wit, that Nature yields, or Art can faſhion. His Spirit cannot be bound, but bloweth where he liſteth, and giveth life to whom he pleaſeth, and can enlighten our Minds to ſee that Truth now written, which he taught others to Write for our good.

11. Phyſicians look not *Hippocrates* or *Galen* ſhould ſtand on Earth again, (*Veſſalius* like) to read Anatomy-Lectures upon their Followers live-tongues, or other inſtruments of breath and ſpeech abuſed to debate and ſtrife, or blowing the coals of bitter Diſſention about their Meaning. But we all look (if we Believe aright) that Chriſt Jeſus, who hath left us theſe his Sacred Laws, and Legend of his moſt bleſſed Life, as a Patern whereby to frame our own, free from contention, peaceable, humble, and meek, will one day (after which ſhall be no more) exact a ſtrict accompt of every idle Word; much more will he puniſh ſuch *Tongues* or Pens, as have been continually *ſet on fire by Hell* with the everlaſting flames of that Brimſtone-Lake.

12. Were our exorbitant Affections brought within compaſs, by hope and fear anſwerable to the Conſequences of the former ſweet Promiſes, made to ſuch as rightly uſe, and terrible Threats againſt all ſuch as abuſe the good Means ordained by God, for knowing his Will: his *infallible word*, from whoſe Mouth ſoever uttered, yea though but privately read with attentive ſilence, would inſtruct us, how to demean our ſelves in the ſearch of Truth; inform us how to direct, faſten, or inhibit; finally, how (in all Myſteries of our Salvation) to moderate our Aſſent, much better than this ſuppoſed *infallible Authority*, reſiding uſually in men moſt like to Heathen Idols. Though Mouths they have (as they pretend) infallible; yet ſcarce ſpeak they once in two Ages; *whoſe words when they are uttered, portend more danger to the Chriſtian World, than if brute beaſts ſhould ſpeak like men.*

13. No Chriſtian Commonwealth but either hath or might have good Laws for compoſing Contentions, or eſtabliſhing Unity in the ſtudy of Truth: To ſee what ſhould be done is never hard; would ſtrength of Authority be as willing to enforce men unto a Civil and orderly Obſervation of Means known and preſcribed. Our Statutes are much more abſolute and compleat than * Iſraels were, when it was a ſin to enquire after other Means either more eaſie or effectual for their conduction unto that true Happineſs, whereat all States aim, but only ſuch ſhall light on, as put theſe Sacred Laws in execution. It is the common Errour of all corrupted minds, to ſeek that far off, which (as the Lord told his people) is within them, even in their Hearts, and in their Mouths, ſo they would be Doers not Hearers only of the Law. “Many Heathens “have uſed ſuch diligent care and unrelenting Reſolution for juſt “execution of their defective and erroneous Laws, as would the “coactive Power, every where reſident where Chriſtianity is pro“feſſed, uſe the like for eſtabliſhing an uniform and unpartial, “though but an external and civil Practice of the Ten Command“ments, and other Sacred Moral Precepts, of whoſe Truth no “Chriſtian

* *Deut.* 30. *ver.* 11. *&c.*

"Chriſtian doubts, about whoſe Meaning, nor Proteſtant, nor "Papiſt, nor any Sect this day living, do, or can contend: fallible Judges might effect, what the Papiſts pretend, as infallibly, as if every particular Congregation had ſuch a true infallible Teacher as they falſly deem or feign their Pope, to "Catechiſe them *ex Cathedra* thrice a week. For who could better reſolve us in all Points of Moment, or retain our Hearts in Unity of Faith, than Truth it ſelf, once clearly ſeen or made known unto us: yet is it in it ſelf much brighter than the Sun we daily ſee; which it likewiſe herein exceeds, That whilſt Gods Word endures amongſt us, it ſtill remains above our Horizon, and cannot ſet: only groſs and foggy Interpoſitions, (raiſed from exhalation of ſuch foul Luſts, and reeking Sins, as ſevere unpartial execution of known Laws might eaſily reſtrain) uſually eclipſe or hide it from us. Such as are not ſo Eagle-ſighted as to behold the brightneſs of every Divine Truth in its proper Sphere, might yet ſafely behold the reflexion of it in one part or other of the ſacred Fountain, were it not troubled with the muddy conceits of unſetled and unquiet Brains; or were not ſuch men oftentimes in great places, as minding nothing but earthly things, always mingle filth and clay with the Chryſtal-ſtreams of the Water of Life. *Happy is that man of God, that in this turbulent Age can, in points of greateſt moment, ſee the Divine Truth himſelf*; ſmall hope have any of cauſing others to ſee it, whilſt carnal minds may every where without fear of Puniſhment, but not without terrour of ſuch Eccleſiaſtick Power as ſhall controul them, foam out their own ſhame, and overcaſt the face of Heaven, (whence Light ſhould come unto their Souls) with blaſphemous unhallowed Breath: whilſt Dunghil-Sinks may be ſuffered to evaporate the abundance of that inward Filth, (which is lodged in their hearts) as it were of purpoſe to choak the good Spirit of God, whilſt it ſeeks to breathe in others Mouths whoſe Breaſts it hath inſpired with Grace.

14. In brief, (leſt my Adverſary ſhould challenge me of Partiality) "As the Means which our Church from Gods Word preſcribes for eſtabliſhing mens Hearts in the Unity of true Faith, "(were the execution of known Laws any way correſpondent) "might (as is ſaid) infallibly effect what the Papiſts falſly pretend: ſo in truth it cannot without Hypocriſie be diſſembled; "that whiles our Practiſe is ſo diſſonant to our Doctrine, and "our Publick Diſcipline ſo looſe, though in deteſtation of their "Errours, we have turned our backs upon them, with Proteſtation to follow a contrary Rule, yet for the moſt part we jump "with them at the journeys end. To omit more final Agreements of our Contrarieties, elſewhere ſhewed. They wholly permit the Keys of the Well of Life to one mans hands; who, for his own advantage, we may be ſure, will lock it up ſo cloſe, as none ſhall look upon it but with Spectacles of his making. For as the Head is, ſuch we muſt expect the Eyes will be, if the one, the other muſt be univerſal too, ſuch as will leave nothing to be ſeen by private or particular eyes, but what they have ſeen before; or in one word, if we admit one abſolute viſible Head, his muſt be the only Eyes of the Church. We, not through default of Publick Con-

ſtitutions, nor ſo much by connivence of Eccleſiaſtick Magiſtrates, as by preſumptuous diſobedience of Inferiours, are ſo far from committing the cuſtody of this Sacred Fountain into one or few mens hands; that the Flock for the moſt part never expect the Paſtors marſhalling, but ruſhing into it without order, trample in it with unclean feet. If any Beam of Truth have found entrance into one of their Souls, though quickly eclipſed or ſmothered by earthly Cogitations, he ſtraight-way preſumes, Gods Word more plentifully dwells in him, than in all his Teachers: whence if his Purſe be ſtrong, it is with him as with an Horſe when Provender pricks him, he kicks againſt all Eccleſiaſtick Authority, and ſpurns at his poor Overſeer that ſhould feed him; like the wanton Aſs in the Fable, that ſeeing the Moon lately ſhining where ſhe was drinking ſuddenly covered with a Cloud; upon imagination ſhe had drunk it up, ran winſing out ere her thirſt was quenched, and threw her Rider.

15. *Thrice happy is that Land and State where Civil Policy and Spiritual Wiſdom, grave Experience and profound Learning*, (in whoſe right Commixture conſiſts the perfect Temperature of every Chriſtian State) *do rightly ſymbolize.* Theſe, where they mutually claſp in their Extreams, (without intermedling in the Eſſence of each others Profeſſion) are like the Side-poſts or Arches in the Lords Houſe: and the awful reſpect of Chriſt Jeſus the Judge of both, and that dreadful Day continually ſounding in their ears, by the voice of Gods faithful and ſincere Miniſters, would be as the Binding-ſtone, or Coupling, to faſten them ſurely in the joining. *But whilſt theſe (each jealous of other) ſtart aſunder, that Breach is made, whereat the Enemies of the Church and State hope for ſpeedy entrance, to the utter ruine of both.*

CHAP. XXXII.

Briefly Collecting the Sum of this ſecond Book.

1. TO draw a brief Map of theſe large Diſputes. As the Occaſions that breed, ſo the right Means to avoid all Contentions and Schiſms, are moſt perſpicuouſly ſet down in Scriptures. Amongſt others moſt neceſſary for this purpoſe, (for the Plantation, increaſe, and ſtrength of true and lively Faith) ſincere Obedience to Spiritual Authority is the chief. For more willing and chearful performance hereof, choice ſhould be made of Paſtors or Overſeers,qualified as Scripture requires men of ſo high a calling ſhould be; men not given to Quarrels or ſtriſe, men of mild and lowly Spirits, fearing God, and hating Covetouſneſs; men eſteeming the hidden treaſure of a good Conſcience at ſo high a rate, as neither Fear of man, nor Hopes of any Worldly favour can move them to hazard or adventure it. Were theſe Rules, by ſuch as have the overſight of Gods Flock, as faithfully practiſed, as they are by Scripture plainly taught, the knowledge of Gods Word ſhould daily encreaſe; Piety, Devotion, and Chriſtian Charity, continually flouriſh; all Strife and Diſſention quickly fade.

2. But if through the default of Princes or Potentates, no fit choice be made of ſpiritual Governours, if by their negligence, worſe be made of inferiour Miniſters: the cauſe comes not by devolution, to be reformed by the Congregation: What then? muſt they be altogether ſilent at ſuch abuſe? No, the Scripture hath given as plain a Rule for their Imployment as for the others. The more or more often Higher Powers offend, the more fervently frequent ſhould the lower Sort be in pouring out * *ſupplications, prayers, and interceſſions for Kings, and for all that are in Authority,* that they may Rule according to Gods Word. In the mean time albeit they Rule otherwiſe, Inferiours ſhould conſider, that GOD gives them ſuch Superiours for their proneneſs to diſobedience, ſcurrility, ſcoffing at lawful Authority, or other like ſins, expreſly forbidden by his Word. To every People as well as Iſrael he gives ſuch Rulers in his wrath, as ſhall not ſeek them but theirs, not his Glory in their Salvation, but their own Glory by their harm.

* *1 Tim. 2. verſ. 1, 2.*

3. But as the Tongues of Inferiours muſt be tied from ſcoffing or jeſting at men in Authorities bad proceedings: ſo muſt not the Word of God be bound. If their Conſciences (rightly and unpartially examined) direct them otherwiſe than their Governours command, they muſt (notwithſtanding their Superiours checks) ſpeak as they think until Death command them ſilence; if for the freedom of their Speech (upon good warrant of Conſcience) they be puniſhed, Vengeance is Gods, he will repay Superiours for it: unto whoſe lawful Authority whilſt Obedience is denied, upon ſiniſter Pretences, or humorous though ſtrong Perſwaſions of Conſcience, counſelling us to the contrary: our Puniſhment in this life is juſt, whoſe preſent ſmart ſhould teach us to beware of far more grievous in the life to come. But whether offend or ſwerve more

from the Rules of Scripture preſcribed for their ſeveral Chriſtian Carriage; Superiours in commanding wrongfully; or Inferiours in diſobeying juſt commands, cannot oft times (if we ſpeak of particular Actions) be infallibly known in this life; but muſt be referred unto that day of Final Judgment. The dread of which ſhould in the mean time inforce every Superiour daily to conſult his own Heart, and ſtrictly to examine his Conſcience, whether it be not likely then to give Evidence againſt him, for impoſing too heavy burthens upon his Inferiours. And ſo muſt every Inferiour again uſe the like diligence in the daily examination of his Conſcience, whether it be likely or no to convince him before the Judge of quick and dead, of Diſobedience to ſuch as he had ſet in Authority over him, or of ſuch ſiniſter Pretences for uſing the Liberty of Conſcience, as Conſcience it ſelf never ſought after, but were ſuggeſted only by Humour, Popularity or other Deſires, whoſe maintenance have either inforced him to obey Man againſt God, or not to obey Man commanding for God.

4. Our Partiality it is towards our ſelves, or rather to our ſenſual delights or pleaſures, that makes us ſo ignorant in all things which concern our Weal. For would we truly and unpartially * *Judge our ſelves, we ſhould not be judged.* Not the beſt experienced Juſtice in this Land, can, by examining ordinary Malefactors, diſcern what iſſue their Cauſe ſhall have before an unpartial Judge, better than we, by this ſtrict pre-examination, might foreſee what final Sentence were prepared for us, good or bad, according to the diverſity of our Actions and Courſe of Life. To this end hath Chriſt left every mans Conſcience in full Authority, during his abſence, to examine, reprove, convince, and ſentence the deſires of his own heart: of which would we daily in ſobriety of Spirit, and fear of his laſt Judgment, ask counſel, and patiently expect Gods Providence; we ſhould by this ordinary Means diſcern, who commanded aright, who otherwiſe, as clearly as others heretofore have done by Means moſt extraordinary. For even the moſt extraordinary Miracles did aſcertain the Ancient of Divine Truth, and confirm them in the practiſe of Chriſtian Obedience, not immediately, as part of their Rule of Faith, whereon finally to relie, but by enforcing them to look into their own Souls and Conſciences, in which Truth was already written, if they had urged it to confeſſion. If our examination without Miracles were as ſtrict, our Belief would be as firm; Spiritual Governours commands as Chriſtian-like, and Inferiours Obedience in all points as ſincere as was theirs.

* 1 Cor. 11. 31.

5. For Concluſion, I would give the Chriſtian Reader a preſent *Antidote*, againſt all the poiſonous inchantments of Romiſh Sorcerers. *The Medicine is very brief and eaſie; only to think every morning next his heart, or at other ſeaſonable hours, That there is a Divine Providence in this life to guide us, and after this life ended, a fearful Judgment to paſs upon all ſuch, as here abjuring the Guidance of it, follow either the Ways of fleſh and blood in breeding, or of carnal Wiſdom in compoſing, ſtrife and diſſention about matters Spiritual.* He that will ſeriouſly ruminate on theſe matters in his vacant well-compoſed thoughts, calling the Adverſaries Arguments home to the Point, which they muſt touch ere they can wound us: *Let me have only his dying curſe in recompence of all my pains, if any difficulty, any Jeſuite or other learned Papiſt, either hitherto hath, or ever*

ſhall be able to bring ; do trouble his mind. Whatſoever can be brought either to countenance their unchriſtian Doctrine, or diſparage our Orthodoxal Aſſertions, either preſuppoſe a ſecret denial of Gods peculiar Providence, and inward calling of men, or elſe proceed from want of Conſideration, that there is a final Judgment, wherein all Controverſies muſt be taken up, all Contentious and Rebellious Spirits puniſht according to their deſerts : Indeed if the Authors or Abetters of Schiſm and Hereſie might eſcape for ever unpuniſhed, or Chriſtian Modeſty and Humility be perpetually overborn by Impudency, Scurrility, and violent Inſolency, the Inconveniences objected by the Romaniſts, might as much trouble us, as the wickeds thriving did the Heathen, that knew not God nor his Providence. But whilſt we acknowledge him and It, the beſt Argnments our Antagoniſts bring, will appear as improbable as they are impious.

BLASPHE-

BLASPHEMOUS

POSITIONS

OF

JESUITES

And other later

ROMANISTS,

Concerning the Authority of their

CHURCH.

BOOK III.

Printed in the YEAR, 1672.

TO THE
Right Reverend Father in God,
And my Honourable Lord,
WILLIAM
By Divine Providence Lord Biſhop of DURHAM,
GRACE and PEACE be Multiplied.

Right Reverend Father,

The ſweet refreſhing your Honourable Favours did yield to ſuch of my Labours as hitherto enjoy the light, when a ſudden uncomfortable blaſt had ſorely nipt them in the very ſetting, makes theſe laſt gatherings of that Spring ſeek that comfortable warmth under your benign Protection, which the unconſtant frowning ſeaſon would hardly afford them in their growth. Beſides theſe and other my perſonal Obligements, that Famous and worthy Founder of this Attick Bee-Hive *(of whoſe ſweetneſs would God I had been as capable as I have been long partaker) had never allotted any Cell therein for me, or other Countryman of mine, but with particular relation to that ſeat of Dignity, which he ſometimes did, your Lordſhip now doth, and, to the encreaſe of Gods glory and good of his Church, long may enjoy. Seeing this our great Foſter-Father is now ignorant of his childrens demeanor, and knows not me; it ſhall be my comfort, to have his honourable Succeſſors witneſſes of my care and induſtry to fulfil his godly deſire, whoſe religious ſoul in his life time (as his written Laws do teſtifie) did deteſt nothing more than idleneſs in the Miniſtry, ſpecially in his adopted Sons. The matters I here preſent unto your Lordſhips and the worlds view, are ſometimes in themſelves ſo harſh and hard to be concocted, as he that would ſtrive to make them tooth-ſome unto nice taſtes, ſhould put himſelf to exceſſive pains; unleſs his judgement be much riper, his wit readier, his invention pleaſanter, his opportunities better, and his leiſure greater than mine are. But it is one and the ſame point of judgement, not to require exact Mathematical proofs in diſcourſes* *of Morality, or a ſmooth facile Rhetorical ſtile in Logical or Scholaſtick conflicts. And, as by the Statutes of that Society wherein I live, I am bound to avoid Barbariſm: So my particular inclination moves me, in Controverſies eſpecially, to approve his choice that ſaid,* Fortia mallem quam formoſa. *If any profeſſed enemy to the truth we teach, will anſwer me from point to point, or attempt (not as their cuſtom now is, only in ſcoffing ſort, but ſeriouſly) to avert thoſe unſupportable, but deſerved imputations, I lay upon the foundation of his Religion, I ſhall (I truſt) be able to anſwer him; the better by continuance of your Lordſhips wonted favours, whom I ſtill requeſt the Chriſtian Readers, as many as reap any profit from my pains, on my behalf to remember with ſuch reſpect as is due to Honourable Patrons of Religious ſtudies, or cheriſhers of painful endeavours in good cauſes.*

From *Corpus Chriſti* Colledge,
March 25. 1614.

Your Lordſhips
in all obſervance,
THOMAS JACKSON.

TO

To the Indifferent
READER,
Specially to the
Learned Artiſts
Of the two Famous
UNIVERSITIES.

Chriſtian and Beloved Reader,

I Have been detained in this *Entry*, though not longer than the Structure of it required, yet then I my ſelf, or thou perhaps, could have wiſhed, for ſpeedier diſpatch of the main *Edifice* intended. Somewhat notwithſtanding, to my apprehenſion, I had obſerved, whereby Artiſts more accurate, but younger Divines then my ſelf (whoſe furtherance in the like, throughout all my Meditations I ſtill reſpect) might be directed, for taking ſure hold of their ſlippery *Antagoniſts* in this conflict: and finding my ſelf every day than other more unapt, more unwilling at leaſt, to be any Actor in quarrels of this nature, becauſe moſt deſirous to ſpend my mortal ſpirits in opening the pleaſant Fountains of Immortality; I thought it not altogether unlawful to diſpence with theſe labours for a while, in hope to proſecute them more ſafely and with better ſucceſs hereafter, by ſeconding ſuch as had gone before me with my ſmall ſtrength, for intercepting theſe deſpiteful *Philiſtims*, which continually labour to dam up theſe ſacred Wells of Life. Many excellent Wits and grave Divines, as well in our Engliſh as other Reformed Churches, I knew, had accurately deciphered the ſpecial characters of the *Beaſt*, and demonſtrated moſt properties of great *Antichriſt* upon the *Pope*. But that the fundamental *Charter*

ter of the Romiſh Church, or the Commiſſion pretended by *Jeſuits* for the erection of it, ſhould (as the manner was to demoliſh leſſer Religious Houſes for building others more magnificent) extend to raze the very firſt foundations of Religion as common to Chriſtians, Jews, and Turks; *that the acknowledgement of ſuch infallibility as they Deifie her with, ſhould be more incompatible with Chriſtianity than any Idolatry of the Heathen*; that ſuch as abſolutely believe all her decrees without examination, truly believe no article of this *Creed*; with the like principal branches of Antichriſtianiſm; were points, for ought I knew, rather touched by the way, or propoſed as clear in themſelves to the indifferent and ingenuous, that judge of the Romiſh Church by the known picture of her miſs-ſhapen limbs, than proſecuted at large, or with purpoſe to pull off that artificial painting, wherewith late Jeſuits have ſo beautified this ugly Monſters face, that the World bewitched with gazing too much on it, cannot but love her other deformities, though in themſelves moſt loathſome. For though the practiſes enjoyned by her be ſo vile, as would have cauſed *Rome* Heathen to have bluſhed at their mention, or her other Doctrines ſo palpably groſs, that her own Sons heretofore have derided them, and as yet ſpare to ſpeak ought in particular for their defence: yet to ſalve all this it muſt ſuffice, that the Church, which cannot erre, hath now authorized them.

If any think I prejudice the truth of moderate accuſations, by laying ſuch heavy imputations upon this doctrine, as make it incomparably more deteſtable than any other, he ſpeaks not inconſequently to his Poſitions, if he hold the *Trent*-Council was infallibly aſſiſted by the Holy Ghoſt, or that the Pope in *Cathedral* reſolutions cannot erre. But he which thinks foul impieties may bring Romiſh Prelates out of favour with the Spirit of Truth, and make them as obnoxious to errours as others are, or can perſwade himſelf, that many practiſes and opinions, by that Church already authorized, are in their nature abominable and impious, muſt either accord to me or diſſent from Reaſon, Conſcience and Religion. For, theſe, ſo he will but vouchſafe his ſilence or attention, joyntly proclaim aloud, that nothing amiſs, either in matter of doctrine or manners, can be ſo deteſtable without this preſumptuous groundleſs warrant of abſolute infallibility, as with it;

that albeit a man would ſet himſelf to practice all particulars directly contrary to what God hath commanded, or to contradict God and his goodneſs, yet his iniquity without this abſolute belief of full authority derived from *him* ſo to do, would be but as a body without a ſoul, in reſpect of the Romiſh Churches impieties, which makes the *Holy Ghoſt*, the principal Author of Gods written Word, the abettor of all her fraud, untruths, or villanies. Briefly, as it is not the doing of thoſe materials God commands us to do, but faithful ſubmiſſion of our wills to his in doing them, which (as S. *James* inſtructs us) makes us true Chriſtians: ſo is it not the doing or maintaining of what God forbids or hates, but the doing of it upon abſolute ſubmiſſion of our ſouls and conſciences to other Laws than he hath left, which makes men live members of Antichriſt, as being animated, informed and moved by the ſpirit of errour. Now this perſwaſion of abſolute infallibility and univerſal warrant from the Holy Spirit, without condition or reſtraint, being peculiar to the Romiſh Church, admitting it to be as faulty in practiſes, and as obnoxius to errours as any other, none can be reputed ſo truly Antichriſtian as it. For albeit *Mahomet* pretended divine Revelations, yet his *Prieſts* challenge no ſuch abſolute infallibility, as doth the Pope; they make no ſecond *Rocks*, or foundations, no ordinary Paſtor equivalent to their great *Phophet*. Whence although the Turks hold opinions in themſelves, or materially conſidered, more groſs, and maintain ſome practices not much leſs villainous than Jeſuits do: yet the grounds or motives of their Belief, (which are as the ſoul or ſpirit of Religion) are nothing ſo peſtiferous, nothing ſo directly oppoſite to the Holy Spirit, as is this Jeſuitical rule of faith. Nor do they either profeſs ſuch belief in Chriſt, or acknowledge him for a foundation ſo elect and precious, as brings them within the Temple of God, within which unleſs Antichriſt ſit, his contrariety unto Chriſt could not be ſo eſſential, ſo immediate or direct, as by the rules of ſacred Philoſophy we are taught it muſt be. Yet I know not, whether the indignity of this doctrine is more apt to affect Divines and Men rightly religious and fearing God, than the ſottiſhneſs of their arguments to perſwade it, to provoke the juſt indignation of ingenuous Artiſts, which cannot endure, though in matters of indifferency, to captivate their underſtandings to Poſitions devoid of ſenſe. To require ſome probability of reaſon, civil or natural, is on their part no inſolent demand, for exchange of Chriſtian faith or adventuring their inaſſurance of life eternal in the ſervice of meer Foreigners whom they never ſaw. Yet unto peremptory reſolutions no leſs dangerous, do Jeſuits ſolicite us, not only without any tolerable ſhew of probability, but quite contrary to Gods principal Laws, and our natural notions of good and evil; as by theſe labours every Academick may in part perceive, but more fully, if he would vouchſafe to ſift more of their arguments, than in theſe ſhort tranſcurſive diſputes I could. Nor would I diſſwade any Artiſt well grounded in *Ariſtotle* from peruſing the moſt Learned Works any Romaniſt hath written in this argument. In moſt other Controverſies betwixt us and them it is dangerous, I muſt confeſs, even for well grounded Artiſts to begin with their Writings, not ſo in this: *For I proteſt in the ſight of God and his Holy Angels, that as far as I can remember the inclinations of my youth, or by them prognoſticate how afterwards I might have been affected, I never was, I never ſhould have been ſo throughly poſſeſſed with ſuch great diſlike of Romiſh Antichriſtianiſm in this point, by hearing the moſt famous Preachers in this Land, or reading all the Learned Writers in Reformed Churches, as I was by examining the Labours of* Bellarmin, Valentian, *and others of beſt note amongſt them ſeriouſly addreſſed to this purpoſe*; comparing them only with the known Principles of Chriſtianity; and ſuch paſſages of ſacred Writ, as every Chriſtian Artiſt ſhould be acquainted with. For the principles whereon I proceed, I have been only beholden to the Canon of Scriptures, for deducing of ſuch blaſphemous conſequences from them, as I charge the Adverſary with, only to that ſmall meaſure of knowledge in Ariſtotelian Philoſophy wherewith my God hath bleſſed me, whiles I was bound by local ſtatutes to the ſtudy of Arts, purpoſely abſtaining from other Writings, which with their informations of my underſtanding might have bred prejudice in my affection. Since that time, although the years of my Miniſtry hardly exceed the ſpace of ordinary Apprentiſhips, yet have I often wiſhed the diſcuſſion of theſe points had been then impoſed upon me by ſome experienced Divine, that would only have given me right hold of their aſſertions. Upon this conſideration, *I would beſeech our flouriſhing Artiſts of*

theſe

famous Academies, *whom God hath furniſhed with all ſtore of Munition neceſſary for this ſervice, not to neglect Opportunities preſent.* Let them defer (if ſo they pleaſe) the fruits of their Labours in other points, (though this be the fault of our Engliſh) until the *Autumn* of their Age. But the mark I now propoſe unto them, being the evident reſolution of Jeſuitical Poſitions into thoſe groſs and palpable Blaſphemies whereto they tend, which they only ſeek to hide by Sophiſms and artificial tricks of wit, Academical wits might diſplume them of theſe Figtree-leaves, and manifeſt their nakedneſs to the World, much better in the Spring whiles their skill in Arts were freſh and flouriſhing, whiles the ſtrength and vigour of their invention would more eaſily bend this way, then in the *Autumn*, when their leaves begin to fade, and their ſap retire to the root, as their pleaſant Grapes grow ripe. Many towardly Plants in this Nurſery, now able to match the ſtouteſt Jeſuite living, at his own Weapon, whilſt in his mature Age, (*multo jam fractus membra labore*, more fit to be a Leader, than a Combatant in theſe encounters) he ſhall look back on his former Labours, or calls to mind his wonted dexterity in School-diſputes, may take up old *Neſtors* complaint,

> *Tunc ego debueram capienda ad Pergama mitti;*
> *Tunc poteram magni, ſi non ſuperare, morari*
> *Hectoris arma meis: ſed in illo tempore nullus,*
> *Aut puer Hector erat; nunc me mea deficit ætas.*

The School-Jeſuite in theſe Studies is like the Ivy, always green, becauſe not ſet to bring forth fruit unto Salvation, but rather to choak and ſtrangle the Plants of Life. And for ſuch Inſtruments of the Romiſh Church, as this Land uſually yields, this wrangling faculty is all the skill they care for, or for the moſt part make profeſſion of. Yet ſuch is the brittleneſs of the matter they are to work upon in this Controverſie, that were all the Prieſts and Jeſuites harboured within the Confines of great *Britain* at this preſent day, but enjoyned to write all they could to any purpoſe in defence of their Mother; ſome few Artiſts of thoſe Univerſities, which out of their pride they ſeem to vilifie amongſt the ignorant, would, I dare not ſay make them bluſh, (for ſooner might they make a Blackmoors face of the ſame colour with his teeth) but as many of their Favourers of this Kingdom, as have not ſworn Allegiance to the Church of *Rome*, and are able to examine an Argument, to be aſhamed on their behalf, even to acknowledge, that for ought theſe Mountebanks could ſay or write in their defence, the Poſitions maintained by their *Maſters*, foreign Jeſuites, were indeed Idolatrous and Blaſphemous, howbeit the Church it ſelf, we muſt believe, could never be vanquiſhed, becauſe no man can tell where or in what ſhape to find it.

Nor need young Artiſts fear the countenance of Antiquity in this point, from which their Enemies ſupplies are ſo ſlender, that would they come to open tryal, and bring only ſuch of the Fathers for the ſeconds, as lived within five hundred years of Chriſt, or before the mixture of Romiſh Religion with Heatheniſm, not fully effected till a little after that time: the paucity of thoſe whoſe aid they durſt ſolicite, in reſpect of that great Army, which is as reſolute as we againſt them, would make them inſtantly either yield themſelves, or forſake the Field. Nor have they been hitherto able to addreſs any anſwer, but to their ſhame, to the *Worthies* of the Engliſh Church, whoſe Labours have made the Conqueſt in this Quarrel eaſie to any of their Succeſſors, that will adventure to follow their ſteps. Nothing remains but what beſt becomes the exerciſe of young Wits; to exceed the Sophiſtical Diſputes of Jeſuites againſt the Truth, in copiouſneſs of irrefragable Demonſtrations, *That the Allegiance they ſeek to eſtabliſh unto the* Romiſh *Church is ſolemn Apoſtaſie from Chriſt; that the belief of it, is the very Abſtract of Sorcery, the utmoſt degree of Antichriſtianiſm that can be expected.* Theſe and like points, being fortified by ſtrength of Argument, in the time of your Regency or farewel to the ſtudy of Arts, might be poliſhed at your better leiſure, afterwards to be reviſed and publiſhed at the appointment of Authority. Or if the Zeal of Gods Glory thus mightily eclipſed by this foul Idol of the Romiſh Church, do not as yet ſo fully move you; yet that indignation which firſt wrought a deſire in me of giving this onſet, ſhould work (me thinks) in every Heart, that bears any ſparkle of love unto his Native Country. For what indignity is it to think, that whilſt our Gracious Sovereign is a moſt Zealous Profeſſor and Defendor of the Truth we teach, ſo many of his Natural Subjects our Countrymen and Brethren, ſhould be won unto the Romiſh Faction, eſpecially by importunate inculcating *two Hereſies*, of all maintained by that Church, in themſelves moſt ſottiſhly improbable; and yet apparently moſt damnably idolatrous in their conſequences, if erroneous: I mean *This concerning their Churches abſolute priviledge from all errour, and That other of Chriſts real Preſence in the Sacrament, by Tranſubſtantiation.* It cannot again but add much to our grief and indignation, if we call to mind, how, when the chief *Governour* and publick Authority of this Land were for them, Subſcription was not urged upon ſuch violent and bloody terms unto any Articles of their Religion, as unto that of Real Preſence. The myſtery of which iniquity cannot better be reſolved than into the powerful and deceitful working of Satan, thus delighting to deſpight our Lord and Saviour by ſeducing his profeſſed Subjects unto the higheſt and moſt deſperate kind of Rebellion he could imagine, upon the leaſt occaſions and ſhalloweſt reaſons. For ſuch is their madneſs in that other point, as hath been ſhew in this: Not one inconvenience they can object to our opinion but may be demonſtrated againſt theirs; not any fruits of Godlineſs they can pretend, but our Doctrine more directly brings forth than theirs could, though we did admit it for true. For to what other purpoſe ſuch a Pretence as they imagine ſhould ſerve them, ſave only to countenance thoſe deſperate Practices and Litourgies of Satan, touched by the way in ſome parts of theſe Diſcourſes, is inexplicable; as ſhall be ſhewed more at large (without depriving that Heavenly Myſtery of any Solemnity or Devotion due unto it) in the unfolding of that Controverſie.

Yours in Chriſt Jeſus,

THOMAS JACKSON.

BLASPHEMOUS POSITIONS OF JESUITES And other Later ROMANISTS, Concerning the Authority of their CHURCH.

The third Book of Comments upon the CREED.

SECT. I.

Containing the Aſſertions of the Romiſh Church, whence her threefold Blaſphemy ſprings.

HAving in the former Diſpute clearly acquitted, as well *Gods Word* for breeding, as our *Church* from nurſing Contentions, Schiſms and Hereſies, we may in this, by courſe of common equity, more freely accuſe their injurious calumniators. And becauſe our purpoſe is not, to charge them with forgery of any particular, though groſſeſt Hereſies, or Blaſphemies, though moſt hideous, but for erecting an Intire frame, capacious of all Villanies imaginable, far ſurpaſſing the hugeſt Mathematical Form, humane fancy could have conceived of ſuch matters, but only from inſpection of this real and material patern, which by degrees inſenſible hath grown up with the *Myſtery of Iniquity*, as the Bark doth with the Tree. Such inconſiderate paſſionate ſpeeches, as heat of contention in perſonal quarrels hath extracted from ſome one, or few of their private Writers, ſhall not be produced to give evidence againſt the Church their Mother, whoſe tryal ſhall be (as far as may be) by her Peers; either by her own publick Determinations, in this Controverſie, or joynt conſent of her authorized beſt approved Advocates, in opening the Title, or unfolding the contents of that Prerogative, which they challenge for her.

Tome I.
Lib. 2. c. 3.

2. Our Accuſations are grounded upon their Poſitions, before ſet down, when we explicated the differences betwixt us. The Poſition in brief, is this; *That the infallible authority of the preſent Church, is the moſt ſure, moſt ſafe, undoubted rule in all doubts, or controverſies of faith, or in all points concerning the Oracles of God: by which we may certainly know both; without which we cannot poſſibly know either, which are the Oracles of God, which not, or what is the true ſenſe and meaning of ſuch as are received for his Oracles, whether written or unwritten.*

They acknowledg S. Jerome *as the Oracle of Antiquity, and yet directly contradict him in this decree concerning the number of Canonical Books.*

3. The extent of divine Oracles, or number of Canonical Books hath been (as our Adverſaries pretend) very queſtionable amongſt the Ancient: though ſuch of the Fathers, as, for their skill in antiquity, were in all unpartial judgements moſt competent Judges in this cauſe, were altogether for us againſt the Romaniſts, and ſuch as were for their opinion, were but for it upon an errour, as thinking the Jews had acknowledged all thoſe books of the old Teſtament for Canonical Scripture, which the Churches wherein they lived, received for ſuch, or that the Chriſtian Church did acknowledge all for Canonical, which they allowed to be publickly read. Safe it was (our Adverſaries cannot deny) for the Ancient, to diſſent one from another, in this queſtion, or to ſuſpend their aſſent, till new probabilities might ſway them one way or other. No reaſons have been produced ſince, ſufficient to move any ingenious mind unto more peremptory reſolutions, yet doth the Council of *Trent* bind all to an abſolute acknowledgement of thoſe Books for Canonical, which, by their own confeſſion were rejected by S. *Jerome* and other Fathers. * *If any ſhall not receive the whole Books with all their parts (uſually read in the Church, and as they are extant in the old vulgar) for ſacred and Canonical; Let him be accurſed.* So are all, by the ſame decree, that will not acknowledge ſuch unwritten traditions, as the Romiſh Church pretends to have come from Chriſt and his Apoſtles for divine, and of Authority equal with the written Word.

* Si quis autem libros ipſos integros cum omnibus ſuis partibus (prout in Eccleſia Catholica legi conſueverunt, & in veteri vulgata Latina Editione habentur) pro ſacris, & Canonicis non ſuſceperit; & traditiones prædictas, ſciens & prudens contempſerit, *Anathema ſit. Conc. Trid. Seſs.* 4. *decret. de Canonicis Scripturis.*

4. So generally is this opinion received, ſo fully believed, in that Church; that many of her Sons, even whileſt they write againſt us, forgetting with whom they have to deal, take it as granted: That the Scriptures cannot be known to be Gods Word, but by the *Infallible Authority* of the preſent Church. And from this ſuppoſition, as from a truth ſufficiently known, (though never proved) they labour, in the next place, to infer: That, without ſubmiſſion of our faith to the Churches publick ſpirit, we cannot infallibly diſtinguiſh the Orthodoxal, or Divine ſenſe of Gods Oracles, (whether written or unwritten) from heretical or humane.

5. Should we admit written Traditions, and the Church withal as abſolute Judge to determine which are Apoſtolical, which not: little would it boot us to queſtion with them about their meaning. For when the point ſhould come to tryal, we might be ſure to have the very words framed to whatſoever ſenſe ſhould be moſt favourable for juſtifying Romiſh practiſes. And even of Gods written Oracles, whoſe words or characters, (as he in his

wiſdom hath provided) cannot now be altered by an *Index Expurgatorius*, at their pleaſure: That ſuch a ſenſe as ſhall be moſt ſerviceable for their turn, may (as time ſhall miniſter occaſion) be more commodiouſly gathered; the *Trent* Fathers, immediately after the former decree for eſtabliſhing unwritten Traditions, and amplifying the extent of divine written Oracles, have in great wiſdom authorized * *the old and vulgar Tranſlation of the whole Canon. Which though it were not purpoſely framed to maintain Popery* (as ſome of our Writers, ſay they, have as frivolouſly as maliciouſly objected) *yet certainly, as well the eſcapes and errours of thoſe unskilful, or ill-furniſhed Interpreters, as the negligence of Tranſcribers, or other defects, incident to that work, from the ſimplicity of moſt ancient, the injuries or calamities of enſuing times, were, amongſt others, as the firſt heads or petty ſprings of that raging floud of impiety, which had well nigh drowned the whole Chriſtian world in perdition, by continually receiving into its channel (once thus wrought) the dregs and filth of every other errour under heaven, with the corrupt remainder of former Hereſies, for theſe thouſand years and more.* And *unto many groſs errours in Romiſh Religion* (which this imperfect Tranſlation did not firſt occaſion.) *It yet affords that countenance, which the pure Fountains of the Greek and Hebrew do not; but rather would ſcour and wipe away, were they current in that Church.* Finally, *though it yield not nutriment to enlarge or feed, yet it ſerves as a cloak to hide or cover, moſt parts of the great Myſtery of Iniquity.*

The decree of the Trent *Council authorizing the Latin vulgar edition.*

* Inſuper eadem Sacroſancta Synodus conſiderans non parum utilitatis accedere poſſe Eccleſiæ Dei, ſi ex omnibus Latinis Editionibus, quæ circumferuntur, ſacrorum librorum, quænam pro Authentica habenda ſit, innoteſcat: Statuit, & declarat, *ut hæc ipſa Vetus & vulgata Editio*, quæ longo tot ſæculorum uſu in ipſa Eccleſia probata eſt, in publicis lectionibus, diſputationibus, prædicationibus, & expoſitionibus, pro *Authentica* habeatur, & ut nemo illam rejicere quovis petextu audeat, vel præſumat. *Conc. Trident. Seſs.* 4. *Decret. de editione & uſu ſacrorum librorum.*

6. Yet, beſides the favourable conſtruction, that may be made for that Religion, out of the plain and literal ſenſe of this erroneous Tranſlation: the Church will be abſolute Judge of all controverſies concerning the right interpretation thereof. So as not what our conſciences, upon diligent ſearch and juſt examination, ſhall witneſs to us, but what the Church ſhall declare to them, muſt be abſolutely acknowledged for the true intent and meaning of Gods Word, as it is rendred by the Vulgar Interpreter: To this purpoſe is the very next decree.

7. † *Moreover, for bridling petulant diſpoſitions, it is decred; That no man in confidence of his own wiſdom or skill, in matters of Faith and manners, making for the edification of Chriſtian doctrine, ſhall dare to interpret Scriptures, wreſting them to his own conceit or ſenſe, againſt that ſenſe or meaning, which the holy Church our Mother, to whom it belongs to judge of the true ſenſe and interpretation of ſacred Writ, heretofore hath held, or now doth hold, albeit he never purpoſe to publiſh ſuch interpretations.*

The Trent *Councils decree for interpretation of Scriptures*

† Præterea ad coercenda petulantia ingenia, decernit, ut nemo, ſuæ prudentiæ innixus, in rebus fidei, & morum, ad edificationem Doctrinæ Chriſtianæ pertinentium, ſacram Scripturam ad ſuos ſenſus contorquens, contra eum ſenſum quem tenuit, & tenet ſancta Mater Eccleſia, cujus eſt judicare de vero ſenſu, & interpretatione Scripturarum ſanctarum, aut etiam contra unanimem conſenſum Patrum, ipſam Scripturam ſacram interpretari audeat, etiamſi hujuſmodi interpretationes nullo unquam tempore in lucem edendæ forent. Qui contravenerint, per ordinarios declarentur, & pœnis à jure ſtatutis puniantur. *Concil. Trident. Ibidem.*

8. It is further added in the ſame place, (becauſe I take it had been ſpecified in a Synod before) that *no man ſhall dare to interpret Scriptures againſt the unanimous conſent of Fathers.* Which I think were impoſſible for any man to do; though were it poſſible, few or none would attempt, beſides the Papiſts. For, neither can it be known what all of them hold in moſt places, whereupon are grounded controverſies of greateſt moment; and in ſuch as we have beſt plenty of their interpretations, albeit they do not contentiouſly diſſent, yet abſolutely agree each with other they do not. Even one and the ſame Father oft-times thinks of many interpretations, ſundry alike probable: moſt of them unwilling, by their peremptory determinations, one way or other, to prejudice the induſtrious ſearch of others (though their far inferiors) for finding out ſome more commodious, then any they bring; oftentimes intimating their doubts or imperfect conjectures in ſuch manner; as if they would purpoſely encourage their ſucceſſors to ſeek out ſome better reſolution than they could find. Whence it is evident, *That we ſhould not always interpret Scriptures againſt the joynt conſent of Fathers,* albeit *we went againſt all the particular interpretations which they have brought;* becauſe they were more deſirous to have the truth fully ſifted, than their conjectural probabilities infallibly believed: Nor were it poſſible more to contradict moſt of them, than by following their interpretations, upon ſuch ſtrict terms, as the Romaniſts would bind all men to do, when they ſeem to make for their advantage. Not the leaſt ſurmiſe or conjecture of any one Father, but, if it pleaſe them, muſt ſuffice againſt the joynt authority of all the reſt. For, in all the three points above mentioned, they admit the Church (as may appear from the decrees cited) for a Judge, ſo abſolute, That no man may imbrace any opinion, upon what grounds or probabilities ſoever, but with humble ſubmiſſion to her cenſure: Whatſoever ſhe ſhall enjoyn, in all, or any of theſe points, (albeit we have reaſons, many and ſtrong, not to hold it, to hold, not one beſides her bare authority;) yet muſt all believe it alone as abſolutely, as if we had the apparent unanimous conſent of Fathers; yea of Prophets, Apoſtles, or Evangeliſts, and all good Writers in every age.

9. Hence * *Bellarmin* rejects (as diſſonant to the former decree) this reſolution of † *Luther, That albeit the Pope and Council conclude points of Faith; yet have private men a free arbitrement* (ſo far as it concerns themſelves) *whether they may ſafely believe their concluſions or no.* Luther gives two reaſons for his aſſertion, both moſt forcible. The one, becauſe the *Pope ſhall not anſwer for private men, at the hour of their death:* The other, becauſe none are competent Judges of falſe Doctrines, but men ſpiritually minded; when as it often falls out, that, in their Councils, there cannot be found one man, (much leſs a major part of men, without without which how many ſoever there were, all were as none) that hath any the leaſt reliſh of the Divine Spirit. The like aſſertion doth the Jeſuit condemn in *Brentius.*

* Bellarmins *aſſertion concerning the Churches authority grounded upon the former decree.*

† In articulis 115 ex illis 500 quos Cochlæus collegit ex libris *Lutheri,* ſic ait: Capite hoc Evangelium, quia neque Papæ, neque conciliis, neque ulli hominum commiſſum eſt, ut conſtituat, & concludat, quid ſit fides. Ideo debeo dicere: Papa, tu concluſiſti cum conciliis, nunc habeo ego judicium, an acceptare queam necne. Quare? quia non ſtabis pro me, & reſpondebis pro me, quando debeo mori. Et falſam doctrinam nemo judicare poteſt, niſi ſpiritualis homo. Ideo res eſt inſana, quod Concilia concludere & ſtatuere volunt, quid credendum ſit: cum ſæpe nullus vir ſit ibi, qui divinum ſpiritum vel modicum olfecerit. Idem confirmat in aſſertionibus articul. 27, 28, & 29. *Bellarm. de verb. Dei Lib. 3. Cap. 3.*

10. It is not lawful (ſaith [a] *Brentius*) *for any man, in a point of Salvation, ſo to relie upon anothers ſentence, as to imbrace it without interpoſition of his own judgment.* The reaſon is there intimated; becauſe, *every man is to be immediately judged by his own conſcience; and may for avoiding the juſt cenſure of condemnation by it, ſafely diſclaim their opinions, the execution of whoſe ſentence or bodily puniſhment, he may not decline;* ſeeing they are (as was obſerved before) publick and lawful, yet Fallible Judges of Controverſies in Religion. And *Bellarmine* bewrays, either groſs ignorance, or great skill in wrangling, when he exclaims againſt this poſition of *Brentius*, as abſurd and repugnant to it ſelf. [That the Supreme Magiſtrate, or publick Judge, may be bound to command, where the Subject or Inferiour is not bound to obey.] For, [b] as well the Prince in commanding, as the People in obeying, muſt follow whither their conſciences lead them. Both may, and in caſe they diſagree, the one, or other, cannot but err in the precedent information of their conſciences; and [c] herein properly doth their ſin conſiſt, not in doing what erroneous conſcience, upon ſo strict terms as penalty of eternal death, doth unneceſſarily urge them to.

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[a] Similiter *Brentius* docet in Confeſſione Wirtembergica, cap. de ſacra ſcriptura: & copioſiùs in Prolegomenis contra Petrum à Soto, ubi duo dicit. Primò, non licet, inquit, in cauſa æternæ ſalutis alienæ ſententiæ ita inhærere, ut eam ſine noſtro ipſorum judicio amplectamur. Secundò addit, Ad unumquemque hominem privatum pertinet, de doctrina religionis judicare, & verum à falſa internoſcere. Sed hoc intereſt inter privatum & principem, quòd ut privatus privatam, ita princeps publicam habet de doctrina religionis poteſtatem judicandi & decidendi, &c. Nec illud advertit, ſi hæc ſententia vera ſit, rectè facturum Cæſarem, & alios Catholicos Germaniæ principes, ſi etiam mortis ſupplicio cogunt omnes Lutheranos ad fidem Catholicam. *Bellar. de verb. Dei, lib. 3. cap. 3.*

[b] *So* Bellarmine *grants, that* S. Cyprian *did not commit any mortal ſin, in contradicting Pope* Stephens *decree, whom out of ignorance he oppugned, his reaſon is good, becauſe this perſwaſion remaining in full ſtrength, he had ſinned againſt his conſcience in obeying the Pope. His words are theſe,* Ex una parte non videtur mortaliter peccaſſe, quia non peccavit niſi ex ignorantia; putavit enim Pontificem pernicioſè errare; & ſtante illa opinione, tenebatur ei non obedire, quia non debebat contra conſcientiam agere. Ignorantia autem *Cypriani* non videtur fuiſſe craſſa, neque affectata, ſed probabilis, & proinde excuſans à mortali peccato. *Bellar. Lib. 4. de Romon. Pontif. Cap. 7.*

[c] *Vide Lib. 2. Cap. 6. Paragr. 11. & Cap. 31. Paragr. 2, 3.*

11. The people, ſaith [d] *Canus*, did abſolutely (not upon condition) believe God and his Servant *Moſes*: and unleſs men *So believe the Church*, they make it of no Authority. *Nor is it enough to believe it to be Infallible in points of Moment, or ſuch as might overthrow Faith; unleſs it be acknowledged ſo abſolutely inerrable in all, as it cannot either believe or teach amiſs, in any queſtion of Faith*; for, if in any (ſeeing there is one and the ſame reaſon of all) it might as well fail in receiving ſome Books (indeed not ſuch) for Canonical and Divine. [e] Whereupon, it would follow, that this Argument would not follow, *The Church acknowledgeth S.* Matthews *Goſpel for Canonical, therefore it is Canonical.* The denial of which conſequence is moſt impious and abſurd, in this mans cenſure, fully conſonant to *Valentian* before-cited, *That Scripture which is commended unto us, and expounded by the authority of the Church, is now even in this reſpect* (becauſe the *Church commends* it) *moſt authentick.*

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[d] Canus *Aſſertion concerning the Churches Authority.* Nihil igitur afferunt (*forte aſſerunt*) qui Eccleſiæ authoritatem non abſolutè ſed ex conditione ponunt. Si namque ad eum modum res habet, & mihi quoque fides habenda eſt, quando pronunciavero ſecundum ſcripturas rectè intellectas. Id enim eſt non mihi ſed ſcripturæ credere. At, abſolutè, non ex conditione populus Domino credidit, & *Moiſi* ſervo ejus. Abſolutè etiam Prophetis & Apoſtolis populi crediderunt. Quale vero eſſet Prophetis Apoſtoliſque loquentibus, fidem, ea acceptione, detrahere, quod perperam Dei verba intellexiſſent? *Canus de Eccleſ. Cathol. Lib. 4. Cap. 4.*

[e] In ſumma ſi Eccleſia poſſet in fidei quæſtione falli, librum quoque ut divinum recipere poſſet, qui tamen à Deo non fuiſſet. Cum ſit eadem ratio de uno libro, ac de unoquolibet dogmate. Quare non valeret argumentum, Eccleſia habet Evangelium *Matthæi* pro canonico, ergo canonicum eſt. Quod quoniam impiiſſimè & abſurdiſſimè diceretur; illud nos dicamus potius, rectè fideles Eccleſiam Catholicam credere, non ſolum in eo ſenſu, ut Eccleſiæ Catholicæ fides deficiat nunquam: ſed in eo etiam, ut nihil ipſa credere aut docere poſſit, quod ſit veræ fidei contrarium. *Canus* Ibid. paulo ante, *The Authority aſcribed to the Pope in his Bull of Confirmation.*

12. Unto theſe and far more groſs concluſions, all their modern

Writers, for ought I can find, think themſelves bound by the former Decrees of the *Trent* Council. But what if any ſhould diſſent from theſe great Champions in the interpretation of it? Who ſhould judge betwixt them, or whither were they to repair for reſolution? *To the place which God hath choſen*, to wit, to the Sea Apoſtolical, or, in other terms, to *Rome*. So ſaith the * Pope that confirmed this Council. As if there were only a Tranſlation of the Sea, none of the Prieſthood, ſometimes eſtabliſhed in *Jeruſalem*; where all were to worſhip. And *if* Rome *have that place in* Chriſtendom, *which* Jeruſalem *had in* Jewry: *the Pope muſt be ſuch a Lord to all Chriſtians, as he that dwelt betwixt the Cherubims was to the Iſraelites*; both their Anſwers of like Authority.

13. But when we repair to *Rome*, who ſhall there determine what the Council meant? the Pope alone, or with his Cardinals? with his Cardinals, if he pleaſe; himſelf alone, without them, or any other, if he liſt; all after, as he ſhall find himſelf diſpoſed to uſe his ordinary or * plenary power: by the former of which, (anſwerable to Gods working with natural agents) he determines of matters by the uſual courſe of Laws provided for that purpoſe, uſing the advice or counſel of his Aſſiſtants; by the other, (correſpondent to Gods working in Miracles effected by his own immediate peculiar power) without the coagency of any inferiour or created cauſe he may reſolve of himſelf alone, not conſulting his Cardinals, Biſhops, or others. † This power and liberty, the *Trent* Council it ſelf ſeems to give unto the Pope, as it were for an upſhot to all the fools thunder-bolts they had let flee before. And leſt any man ſhould think this abſolute acknowledgment of the Popes plenary power, to be a Counſel, rather than a neceſſary Precept; The ᶠ Catechiſm publiſhed by the *Trent* Councils Authority,

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* Si cui in eis aliquid obſcurius dictum, & ſtatutum fuiſſe, eamque ob cauſam interpretatione aut deciſione aliqua egere viſum fuerit; aſcendat ad locum, quem Dominus elegit, ad Sedem videlicet Apoſtolicam, omnium fidelium magiſtrum, cujus authoritatem etiam ipſa Sancta Synodus tam reverenter agnovit. Nos enim difficultates & controverſias, ſi quæ ex eis decretis ortæ fuerint, nobis declarandas & decidendas, quemadmodum ipſa quoque ſancta Synodus decrevit, reſervamus, parati, ſicut ea nobis meritò confiſa eſt, omnium Provinciarum neceſſitatibus ea ratione quæ commodior nobis viſa fuerit providere. *Bull. Pii.* 4. *Sup. Confirm. Concil. Trid.*

* Plenitudinem, quæ fuit Beato Petro communicata, dicunt Doctores ad Papam pertinere, non ſolum quia quod omnibus & ſingulis Prælatis in Eccleſia Dei conceſſum eſt, id ſolus Papa poteſt, ſed etiam quia amplius quam illi omnes, & ſinguli poſſunt, ipſe unus poteſt; eo exemplo utentes, quòd quemadmodum Deus potuerit ſtatuere leges naturalibus rebus, ut juxta eas operarentur: poteſt tamen idem Deus præter leges naturæ ex propria virtute ſua agere, quod miraculum vocari ſolet: ſic in Eccleſia, ſpectat, ad ſummum Pontificem condere leges morales, & preſcribere jus omnibus perſonis Eccleſiaſticis, & toti Eccleſiæ, idem tamen non ſemper tenetur ſervare hujuſmodi leges, ſed poteſt agere præter illas. Quando igitur Papa ea vult obſervare, quæ ſuis legibus continentur, tunc dicitur uti poteſtate ordinaria. Quando vero, aliquid vult exequi ſupra id, quod legibus conſtitutum eſt, tunc dicitur plenitudinem poteſtatis exercere. *Paleot. de ſacr. Conſiſt. Conſult. part.* 1. *Quæſt.* 3. *Art.* 1.

† *The Authority given to the Pope by the Trent Council.* Supereſt nunc, ut principes omnes, quod facit, in Domino moneat, ad operam ſuam ita præſtandam, ut, quæ ab ea decreta ſunt, ab Hæreticis depravari aut violari non permittant; ſed ab his & omnibus devotè recipiantur & fideliter obſerventur. Quod ſi in his recipiendis aliqua difficultas oriatur; aut aliqua inciderint quæ declarationem, (quod non credit) aut definitionem poſtulant, præter alia remedia, in hoc Concilio inſtituta, confidit Sancta Synodus Beatiſſimum Romanum Pontificem curaturum, ut, vel evocatis ex illis præſertim Provinciis, unde difficultas orta fuerit, iis, quos eidem negotio tractando viderit expedire, vel etiam Concilii generalis celebratione, ſi neceſſarium judicaverit, vel commodiore quacunque ratione ei viſum fuerit, provinciarum neceſſitatibus pro Dei gloria, & Eccleſiæ tranquillitate conſulatur. *Concil. Trid. Seſſion.* 25. *De recipiendis & obſervandis decretis Concilii.*

ᶠ *The Authority given to the Pope by the Roman Catechiſm.* Eccleſia vocatur una, tanta hominum multitudo, quæ tam longè latéque diffuſa eſt, ob eas cauſas, quæ ab Apoſtolo ad Epheſios ſcriptæ ſunt. Unum enim Dominum, unam fidem, unum Baptiſma tantum eſſe prædicat. Unus eſt etiam ejus rector & gubernator, inviſibilis quidem Chriſtus, quem æternus Pater dedit caput ſuper omnem Eccleſiam, quæ eſt corpus ejus: viſibilis autem is, qui Romanam Cathedram Petri Apoſtolorum principis legitimus ſucceſſor tenet. *And immediately after propoſing this Queſtion*, Quid de Romano Pontifice, viſibili Eccleſiæ Chriſti capite, ſentiendum eſt? *confirms the former blaſphemous Doctrine with this ſhameleſs lye*; De eo fuit illa omnium patrum ratio & ſententia conſentiens, hoc viſibile caput ad unitatem Eccleſiæ conſtituendam & conſervandam neceſſarium fuiſſe. *Catech. Roman. part.* 1. *cap.* 10. *de nono Art. de Eccleſ. Cathol. quæſt.* 10. & 11.

hath inſerted amongſt the Articles of Faith, *That the preſent Pope, is the ſole viſible Head of the whole Chriſtian Church, though Chriſt the inviſible.* The meaning of which, (if I miſtake not) is this, *That the Pope* * *concerning the points above mentioned hath as abſolute power, in Chriſts abſence, as Chriſt himſelf ſhould have, were he preſent, or ſhall have in that day of final judgment*; wherein if theſe mens Poſitions be true, he ſhall have nothing to do in matters of Faith, but only to ratifie what the Pope hath defined, who muſt not be called to any account of his Spiritual, as Kings and Monarchs muſt be for their Temporal Stewardſhips. Nor ſhall it be ſaid to him, as it muſt be to ſome of them, *Well done, thou good and faithful Servant*: For ſuch men only (by our Adverſaries Doctrine) do well, as might have done ill; but the Pope (live as he liſt) cannot poſſibly do amiſs, in determining matters of Faith, which are, of all that are, of greateſt difficulty and conſequence.

* *The inſtitution of Sacraments and certain other* Excellencies *as they call them, are by their confeſſion peculiar unto Chriſt, not communicable unto his Vicar-general.*

14. When firſt I read *Joſephus Acoſta*, I much wondred, to ſee a man, otherwiſe of an ingenuous ſpirit, and of parts ſo excellent, ſo zealous withal for the Popes Supremacy: But now, I perceive, the reaſon was; all private Catechiſms were to be conformed unto that publick one, authorized by the Council and Pope. Amongſt other Contents of that Article of the Catholick Church, (almoſt quite omitted in the former Indian Catechiſms) * *Acoſta*'s adviſe is, to have this inſerted, as an eſſential part, *That the Pope is Head of the Catholick Church; Chriſts Vicar on earth, endued with his plenary power; to whom all other Chriſtians (Kings and Princes not excepted) owe obedience.*

* Doceantur ergo Indi de Eccleſia, tria præcipuè. Primum, quid illa ſit, congregatio certè hominum Chriſtum, doctrinamque Chriſti profitentium; non Hiſpanorum aut barbarorum, aut nationis & gentis cujuſdam numero & ſorte definita, omnia terrarum ſpatia, omnes temporum ſucceſſiones complectens.—— Hujus vero caput eſſe Romanæ urbis Pontificem, Petri ſucceſſorem, Chriſti Vicarium, pleniſſima ipſius in terris authoritate pollentem, cui cæteri omnes Chriſtiani, etiam Reges & Principes pareant. Hoc eſt, Eccleſiam Catholicam credere, & univerſalem. *Joſ. Acoſta lib. 5 cap 7. de procuranda Indorum ſalute.*

Theſe Allegations may teſtifie our ſincerity in propoſing the ſtate of the Queſtion, and points of difference betwixt us, gathered not out of one or two, but the general agreement of beſt Romiſh Writers: and whereunto *Valentian*, were he alive, would willingly ſubſcribe. For he, as ſince I have obſerved, † propoſeth the title of his main Controverſie concerning the Churches Authority, in terms equivalent to thoſe I uſed, *Lib. 2. Sect. 1. Cap. 3.* and *Lib. 1. Paragr. ult.*

† An ut fidei objectum per Chriſtianam Fidem infallibiliter credatur, ſatis ſit, illud eſſe revelatum divinitùs, & explicatum à quovis legitimo verbi Dei miniſtro: An verò præterea neceſſe ſit, illud tanquam à Deo revelatum, & ideo credendum proponi & oſtendi fidelibus per infallibilem aliquam & præeminentem authoritatem, ad quam proinde ſpectat editio Symboli, ſeu articulorum fidei, & judicium atque definitio omnium fidei controverſiarum, quæ unquam oriri poſſunt. *Valent. Tom. 3. in Aquin. Diſp. 1. Quæſt. 1. Punct. 7. in Tit. Puncti.*

Sect. II.

The firſt Branch of Romiſh Blaſphemy, in preferring Humane Authority before Divine.

The general Objection of Reformed Churches againſt the former Aſſertions.

AGainſt theſe late recited, and infinite other equivalent Aſſertions frequent in their Publick Determinations, and beſt private Writers; our Writers uſually object, *If the Church be Judge of Scriptures, her Authority muſt be above the Scriptures; If the ſenſe of Scripture, without the Church or Popes Aſſeveration or Propoſal be not Authentick, nor apt to beget moſt firm Belief:* then the Word of God muſt receive ſtrength and Authority from the word of man.

Some Romiſh Writers grant the Inference, with this reſtraint, [*In reſpect of us,*] and yet wipe their mouths with the Whore in the *Proverbs*, as if they had neither committed Idolatry, nor ſpoken Blaſphemy. But *Bellarmine was too cunning a Baud, to expoſe his Mothers foul face to publick view, without more artificial painting.*

CHAP. II.

Bellarmine's *Reply to the main Objection, jointly urged by all Reformed Churches againſt the Romiſh: the Equivocation, which he ſought in the Objection, apparently found in his Reply.*

1. THe former Argument, howſoever much eſteemed by ſuch as bring it; yet in *Bellarmine*'s judgment is very weak, and as he ſuſpects, *ſick of his own diſeaſe. Totum in æquivocatione verſatur.* The Equivocation he ſeeketh to unfold with this diſtinction; *The former ſpeeches may admit a double ſenſe.* Firſt, their meaning may be, *That the Church doth judge, whether that, which the Scriptures teach, be true or falſe:* Or, Secondly, [This ſure Foundation of Faith being firſt laid, *The words of Scripture are moſt infallible and true*] The Church doth Judge, *which is the true Interpretation*, or meaning of them. This diſtinction he applieth thus; *The former Objections were pertinent, if we held the Pope or Council to determine of Scriptures in the former ſenſe; but, taking our right meaning, they are meer Calumnies. For we affirm the Church to judge Scriptures only in the latter: and ſo to judge them, doth not ſet the Church or Pope above Scriptures, but above the judgment of private men. Nor doth the Church* (by this Aſſertion) *become a Judge of Scriptures truth, but of private mens underſtanding. Neither will it hence follow, that the Word of God receiveth ſtrength from the word of man; but private mens knowledge, may and doth receive ſtrength and infallibility from the Church.* Finally, *the Scripture or Word of God* (as *Bellarmine* thinks) *is neither more true or certain, becauſe it is expounded by the Church; but every mans Opinion is more true and ſtable, when it is confirmed by the Churches Expoſition or Deciſion.*

Reſpondeo, hoc argumentum, quod ab hæreticis plurimi fit, totum in æquivocatione verſari: nam duobus modis poteſt intelligi Eccleſiam judicare de Scripturis. Uno modo, quod judicet, verúmne ſit an falſum quod Scripturæ docent: Altero modo, quod poſito ut fundamento certiſſimo, Scripturæ verba eſſe veriſſima, judicet quæ ſit vera eorum interpretatio. Et quidem ſi primo modo Eccleſia judicaret, verè eſſet ſupra Scripturam, ſed hoc non dicimus, quamvis Hæretici calumnientur id nos dicere, qui paſſim vociferantur nos ſubjicere Scripturam pedibus Papæ. At ſecundo modo judicare Eccleſiam, vel Pontificem de Scripturis, quod nos aſſerimus, non eſt Eccleſiam eſſe ſupra Scripturam, ſed ſupra judicia privatorum hominum. Non enim judicat Eccleſia de veritate Scripturæ, ſed de intelligentia tua, & mea, & aliorum. Neque hinc ſumit verbum Dei aliquod robur, ſed intelligentia noſtra. Non enim Scriptura eſt verior aut certior, quia ſic ab Eccleſia exponitur, ſed mea ſententia eſt verior, quando ab Eccleſia confirmatur. *Bellar. de verb. interpret. lib. 3. cap. 10. reſp. ad. 14. Arg.*

He hath ſaid as much as the whole Council of *Trent* could have ſaid for themſelves. But let us ſee if this be enough.

2. *A private mans Opinion* (ſaith *Bellarmine*) *is truer, when it is confirmed by the Church.* If we had only an opinion of the truth or ſence of Scriptures; the conſent of others, eſpecially men skilful in ſuch matters, would indeed much confirm us; for all opinions, or uncertain perſwaſions, receive increaſe of ſtrength, from addition of probabilities. But his words are more general, and concern not only uncertain, but all perſwaſions, that a faithful man in this life, can have of Gods Word; at leaſt of thoſe Writings, which we and they acknowledge for ſuch: and the mark he aims at, is, That *no perſwaſion, in Divine matters, can be certain, without the Churches confirmation*; as he expreſly addeth in his * anſwer to the next Argument.

* See the next Chapter.

3. If the Reader will be attentive, he ſhall eaſily perceive, that, not our Writers Objections, but *Bellarmines* Anſwer, is tainted with Equivocation. For this ſpeech of his, *The Church doth judge whether that which the Scriptures teach, be true or falſe,* hath a double and doubtful ſence.

In what ſence (as impertinent as true) Gods Word by Romaniſts is acknowledged of greater authority than the Church.

It may be meant, either
- Of Scriptures taken indefinitely or indeterminately, for that which God hath ſpoken, whatſoever that be. Or,
- Of thoſe particular Scriptures, which we and they acknowledge, or any determinate (written or unwritten) precepts queſtionable, whether they were from God or no.

4. If we ſpeak of Scriptures in the former ſence, *Bellarmines* anſwer is true. For the Romiſh Church doth not take upon her to judge; whether that which is ſuppoſed, or acknowledged by all, for Gods Word, be moſt true in it proper and native, but indeterminate ſence, ſeeing this is a Maxim unqueſtionable, (amongſt all ſuch as have any notion of a Deity) *Whatſoever God hath ſpoken is moſt true, in that ſenſe wherein he meant it.* But, if we deſcend to any terminate ſpeeches; written or unwritten, either acknowledged or ſuppoſed for Gods Word, or ſuch as can but ground any poſſible queſtion, whether they are Gods Words or no; the preſent Romiſh Church doth take upon her, abſolutely to judge of all and every part of them. For this is the very Abſtract, or Abridgement of that infinite Prerogative, which ſhe challengeth; *All men muſt infallibly believe, That to be Gods Word which ſhe commends; That not to be His Word which ſhe diſclaims for ſuch.* So as only, the former tranſcendent, and indeterminate truth, [*Whatſoever God ſaith is true*] is exempt from the Popes unlimited, tranſcendent, royal ſentence; no other word, or ſyllable of truth, which we can imagine, God hath or might have ſpoken ſince the World began, either by his own or his Sons mouth, by the Miniſtry of his Angels, Prophets, Apoſtles, or Evangeliſts; but is every way abſolutely ſubject to the Popes Monarchical cenſure.

5. And here, let not the Reader miſtake it, as any Argument of our Adverſaries ingenuity, that they will for their own advantage vouchſafe to grant, (what no Heathen Idolater did ever deny) *Whatſoever God ſaith is true.* For, unleſs this were granted by all, the Pope could have no poſſible grounds of pretence, or claim, to his abſolute *Infallibility*, or infinite Supremacy over all. And that which his Hirelings ſeek to build upon the former Foundation, is, *Whatſoever the Pope hath ſaid, or ſhall ſay, ex Cathedra, is moſt true*; becauſe, if we deſcend to any determinate truths, we muſt believe that God hath ſpoken all, and only that, which the Pope hath already teſtified, or, (when any queſtion ariſeth) ſhall teſtifie he hath ſpoken. In fine, the preſent Pope (by their Poſitions) is Gods only living Mouth, only alſufficient to juſtifie, or authentically witneſs all his words paſt: all which, without him, are unto as Dead. Whence they muſt of neceſſity admit the ſame

proportion, betwixt the preſent Popes and Gods acknowledged written Word, or ſuppoſed unwritten Verity, which in civil matters we make betwixt a credible mans perſonal avouchment, or living teſtimony of what he hath ſeen, heard or known by undoubted experience, and another mans hearſay report, either of the matters he ſpake of, his ſpeeches *themſelves*, or their true ſence and meaning, after his death. For the Prophets, Apoſtles, and Evangeliſts, (to uſe * their own words), are dead, and Chriſt is abſent; ſo as we can neither be certain, what they have ſpoken, or what they meant in their ſuppoſed ſpeeches, but *per vivam vocem Eccleſiæ*, by the living voice of the preſent viſible Church; whoſe words are altogether as unfallible, as Gods own words were. And for this reaſon, muſt be acknowledged a moſt abſolute Judge of Gods written and unwritten words, as well of their Spiritual Sence and Meaning as of their outward frame or viſible Character. This is the heighth of their iniquity, and will infer more than our purpoſed concluſion in this Section, *That even of ſuch places, as are acknowledged by them for Gods Word, we muſt not believe any determinate ſence or meaning, but what the Pope ſhall expreſly give, or may be preſumed to allow of.*

* Sacroboſ. and Valentian. both *uſe the like ſpeeches.*

6. This Doctrine, as I would requeſt the Reader to obſerve, brings the ſecond and third Perſon in Trinity on the one Party, and the Pope on the other, to as plain and evident competition, for Rule or Sovereignty over profeſſed Chriſtians Faith, as God and *Baal* were at in *Elia*'s time. This their Doctrine, (thus in ſhew grounded upon, in deed and iſſue moſt oppoſite to Scriptures) is the true Spiritual Inquiſition-houſe, whereof that material or bodily one, is but a Type: Theſe following, are the joints or limbs of that rack of Conſcience, whereunto all ſuch as are, or would be true members of Chriſt, but willing withal to hold their Union with the Pope as Viſible Head of the Church, are daily and hourly ſubject.

The Romiſh rack of Conſcience.

7. Firſt, their ſouls are tied, by ſureſt bonds of Faith and Nature, unto this Principle, [*whatſoever God hath ſaid, is moſt true:*] the Jeſuites again ſeek to faſten their Faith and Conſcience, as ſtrongly unto this; *God ſpeaks whatſoever the Pope ſpeaks ex Cathedra:* This third likewiſe muſt be believed as an Oracle of God, even by Papiſts, (for the Pope hath ſpoken it *ex Cathedra*) *The Books of* Moſes, *the Prophets, the four Evangeliſts, are Gods Words.* Whatſoever theſe have ſpoken, we contend, all ſhould believe, for Gods own Word, upon ſuch grounds as Saint *Peter* did *from experience of their life-working ſence*, communicate unto them by hearing, reading, meditating, or practice. But the Pope, upon ſome controverſies ariſing, propounds a ſence of theſe Writings, or of ſome part of them, quite contrary to that which brought the former comfort to our ſouls; a ſence to all unpartial ſences, contradictory to the places jointly acknowledged for Gods Word. A ſence, the more we think on in ſobriety, the more we diſlike; a ſence, the more earneſtly we pray to God for his Spirits aſſiſtance, and other good means for the right underſtanding of his Word, and encreaſe of Faith, the more ſtill we diſtaſt and loath. Here, unleſs we let go ſome one, or more of the mentioned holdfaſts of Faith, either the firſt, [*whatſoever God ſaith is true,*] or the ſecond, [*whatſoever the*

Leſt they might in any doubt go againſt their conſcience, they are taught to Believe, That whatſoever the Pope ſhall command, is good, and connot hurt the Conſcience. See the next Annotation out of Bellarmine.

Pope ſaith, God ſaith,] or the third, [*The Moſaical, Evangelical, and Apoſtolical Writings, or thoſe particular places, about whoſe ſence the Controverſie is, were ſpoken by God,*] our ſouls are put to more violent torture, than *Raviliacks* body was. But the true Papiſts are wiſe enough to ſlip the third or laſt, ſo as it ſhall not pinch them; and have a trick withal to make the *Firſt* yield, what way they pleaſe; who are reſolved to follow what way ſoever it ſhall pleaſe the Popes Authority (whereunto their ſouls indeed are only tied) to lead them. But of ſuch as ever had, or hope to have, any taſte or reliſh of Gods Spirit, if any ſhould reſolve abſolutely to believe his interpretation of any place of Scripture, contrary to that life-working ſence, which muſt be in every heart endued with hope of ſeeing God: that mans diſloyalty towards God and his Holy Spirit, is as impudent, as if a poor Subject ſhould reply upon his Prince, commanding him in expreſs terms to do thus, or ſo, I will not believe your words have any ſuch meaning as they naturally import; but a contrary, ſuch as one of my fellow-ſervants hath already acquainted me withal: whatſoever you ſay, I know your meaning is, I ſhould believe him in all things concerning your will and pleaſure: and whatſoever he ſhall enjoin, that will I do.

4. That neither the Church can prove the Scriptures, nor the Scriptures the Churches Authority, was proved in the fourth Section of the former Book; That ſuch as hold this damnable Doctrine, againſt which we diſpute, do not at all believe God ſpeaking in the Scriptures, ſhall be evinced in the third Section of this; The preſent inconvenience, which now (will they, nill they) we are to wreſt from their reſolutions of Faith, is, *That* (in deed and conſcience) *they either acknowledge no Authority in the Church, or Scriptures; or elſe greater in the Church, than in Scriptures.*

CHAP. III.

Inferring the General Concluſion propoſed in the Title of this Section from Bellarmin's *Reſolution of Faith.*

1. AS well to occaſion the learned Readers further conſideration of their ill-grounded and worſe builded faith, as for deducing thence the propoſed inconvenience: it will not be amiſs to propoſe *Bellarmin*'s reſolution of a Roman Catholicks faith. One eſpecial Objection of our Writers, as he frameth it, is, *That, Faith (if depending on the Churches judgement) is grounded but upon the word of man, a weak foundation for ſuch an Edifice; that the Scripture was given by the Spirit of God, and muſt therefore be underſtood by the ſame, not by the Churches Spirit.* Hereunto * *Bellarmin* anſwereth, *The word of the Church,* i. *of the Council, or the Pope ſpeaking* ex Cathedra, *is not the bare word of man. He means no word obnoxious to errour, but in ſome ſort the Word of God: inaſmuch as it is uttered by the aſſiſtance and government of the Holy Ghoſt. I add* (ſaith he) *that Hereticks are they, which indeed do lean upon a broken reed. For we muſt know, that a Propoſition of Faith muſt be concluded in this or the like Syllogiſm;* † *Whatſoever God hath revealed in Scripture is true, but God hath revealed this or that in Scripture:* Ergo, *this or that is true. The firſt Propoſition in this Syllogiſm is certain amongſt all; the ſecond likewiſe amongſt Catholicks is moſt firm, as being ſupported by the teſtimony of the Church, Councel, or Pope: of whoſe immunity from poſſibility of erring we have expreſs promiſes in the Scriptures, as* * It hath ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt and us: † I have prayed for thee thy faith ſhould not fail. *But, amongſt Hereticks, the ſecond or* Minor *Propoſition, is grounded only on conjecture, or judgement of a private ſpirit; which uſually ſeems, but is not good. Whence, ſeeing the concluſion muſt follow the weaker part, it neceſſarily follows, that all the faith of Hereticks* (ſuch in his Languge are all that will not rely upon the Church) *is but conjectural and uncertain.*

* Reſpondeo, verbum Eccleſiæ, id eſt, Concilii, vel Pontificis docentis *ex Cathedra*, non eſſe omnino verbum hominis, id eſt, verbum errori obnoxium, ſed aliquo modo verbum Dei, id eſt, prolatum gubernante & aſſiſtente ſpiritu ſancto, imo dico, Hæreticos eſſe qui revera nitantur baculo arundineo. Sciendum eſt enim, propoſitionem fidei concludi tali Syllogiſmo. Quicquid Deus revelavit in Scripturis, eſt verum: hoc Deus revelavit in Scripturis, ergo hoc eſt verum. Ex propoſitionibus hujus Syllogiſmi prima certa eſt apud omnes, ſecunda apud Catholicos eſt etiam firmiſſima: nititur enim teſtimonio Eccleſiæ, Concilii, vel Pontificis, de quibus habemus in Scripturis apertas promiſſiones quod errare non poſſint. Actorum 15. Viſum eſt Spiritui Sancto & nobis. Et *Luc.* 22. Rogavi pro te, ut non deficiat fides tua. At apud Hæreticos nititur ſolis conjecturis, vel judicio proprii ſpiritus, qui plerumque videtur bonus, & eſt malus. Et cum concluſio ſequatur debiliorem partem, fit neceſſario, ut tota fides Hæreticorum ſit conjecturalis, & incerta. *Bellar. de verb. Dei interpret. lib.* 3. *cap.* 10. *reſp. ad* 15. *arg.* † Bellarmins *Catholick Syllogiſm, wherein all Concluſions of Faith muſt be gathered.* * *Acts* 15. *ver.* 28. † *Luke* 22. *ver.* 31.

2. A dreadful imputation, could it be as ſubſtantially proved, as it is confidently avouched. And the conſequence of his reſolution (generally held by all his fellows,) is of no leſs importance, than this; That *no man can be infallibly aſſured, either of the truth, or true ſenſe of any particular Propoſition, in the whole Canon of Scriptures received by us and them, unleſs he have the Churches Authority for confirmation of both.* For, unto us, that only, which the Church avoucheth, is certain, and unfallible; that ſenſe of it, which the Church gives, only ſound; if we ſpeak of any particular or determinate truths.

3. How certain and unfallible Aſſent unto all, or any Scriptures, may be wrought in mens hearts, without any infallible Teacher, already hath been, and hereafter ſhall be (God willing) in more particular ſort exemplified. In this place, it ſtood the Jeſuit upon, to have given a better ſolution to the doubt objected; which he is ſo far from unlooſing, that he rather knits it faſter; as ſhall appear, if the Reader will firſt call to mind; That for the eſtabliſhing of firm and undoubted aſſent to any truth propoſed, it skills not how infallible the truth in it ſelf or the Propoſer be, unleſs they, whoſe Belief or Aſſent is demanded, be as infallibly perſwaded of this *Infallibility* in the truth, or the Propoſer. In this reſpect, our adverſaries plead their immunity from errour, as an Article neceſſary to be infallibly believed, for confirmation of Gods Word, always moſt infallible (as all grant) in it ſelf, but not ſo (as they affirm) to us, until it be avouched by infallible authority.

4. Herein they concur with us, both with the truth; That if, we believe it only as *probable*, that God ſpake all thoſe words, which we acknowledge to be moſt *infallible*, becauſe his; our belief notwithſtanding is not *infallible*, but *probable*, or conjectural. For as a man may have bad deſires of things eſſentially good; ſo may he have uncertain perſwaſions of truths in themſelves moſt certain. It is not therefore the *ſuppoſed Infallibility* of the Church or Pope, howſoever, but *infallibly apprehended* and believed that muſt ſtrengthen our faith, which otherwiſe (as is pretended) would be but conjectural. And by the former principle, (acknowledged as well by them as us) it neceſſarily follows, that if we be only *probably*, not *infallibly perſwaded*, the Pope or Church cannot erre; our aſſent unto the *Minor Propoſition.* [*i. unto any determinate part of Gods Word,*] *is only probable not infallible.* For, by the Jeſuits Doctrine, *we cannot be certainly perſwaded, that God ſpake this, or that, but by the Churches teſtimony.* The immediate *conſequence* of which two aſſertions, compared together, *is, we cannot be more certain that God hath ſpoken this or that, than we are of the Churches Infallibility. If then we be only probably, not infallibly, perſwaded, that the Church is infallible: our belief of the* Minor *propoſition* (that is of any determinate truth which men ſuppoſe God hath ſpoken) *muſt be only probable, or conjectural, not infallible.* Conſequently to theſe collections, the learned Papiſts generally hold, that the Churches infallibility muſt be abſolutely and infalliby believed; (as you heard before out of † *Canus, Bellarmin,* and *Valentian.*) otherwiſe, as *Bellarmin* would infer, our belief of the *Minor* in any *Syllogiſm*, wherein a *Propoſition* of Faith is *concluded*, can be but conjectural.

† Cap. 1. *The firſt difficulty in their opinion whence our former concluſion may be deduced.*

5. The propoſed inconvenience we may derive from this difficulty; *How the Papiſts themſelves can attain to the infallible belief of the Churches infallible authority?* The Church, they think, hath a publick ſpirit; and publick ſpirits they know are infallible; hence they may perſwade themſelves the Church is infallible, only upon the ſame terms; they believe it hath a publick ſpirit; if their belief of this later be but conjectural; their aſſent unto the former can be no better. Seeing then they muſt of neceſſity grant (for this is the principal mark they aim at) that all muſt infallibly believe the Church hath a publick ſpirit: the difficulty removes to this point, how this infallible perſwaſion is, or may be wrought in them. Either

it muſt be grounded upon Scriptures, or not: avouched unto them and wrought in their hearts it muſt be, either by a publick or private ſpirit. Let us examine all the parts of this diviſion.

6. Firſt, if private mens infallible perſwaſion of the Churches publick, or Authentick ſpirit, be not grounded upon Scriptures acknowledged by us and them: the Churches Authority without all controverſie, is much greater than the authority of Scriptures; if it, by this aſſertion, can be any, and the Churches not all in all. For unto that which men cannot know, whether it be true or falſe, they cannot be bound to yield abſolute or immediate obedience: unto that authority, which they abſolutely believe as infallible, they are bound to yield infallible aſſent, and abſolute obedience directly, in it ſelf and for it ſelf. But by this ſuppoſition men cannot know Scriptures infallibly without the Churches authority, and yet they muſt infallibly believe the Churches authority without Scriptures; The Scriptures authority therefore is either leſs than the Churches, or none at all.

7. But be it ſuppoſed that private mens infallible Belief of the Churches publick ſpirit is grounded upon Scriptures, acknowledged by us and urged by them to this purpoſe, as upon theſe, it *ſeemeth good to the Holy Ghoſt and us; I have prayed for thee thy faith ſhould not fail:* The queſtion whereunto we demand an anſwer, is, whether this infallible Belief of the Churches authority grounded upon theſe places, muſt be wrought in mens hearts by a private or publick ſpirit. If by a private ſpirit only *Bellarmin* believed the Churches publick ſpirit, or thoſe Scriptures truth, or true meaning, whereon he grounds it: He, and all other Papiſts (ſuch as he was when he delivered this Doctrine) neither Biſhops nor Cardinals, are ſubject to the ſame inconveniences, which he hath condemned us for, as Hereticks. For all private ſpirits, by his Poſitions, are obnoxious to errour, unſufficient to plant any infallible perſwaſion in matters of faith; yet ſuch is this article of the Churches authentick ſpirit, of which unleſs men be ſo perſwaded, infallibly perſwaded they cannot be of the *minor* Propoſition in any Syllogiſm; wherein a point of faith is concluded: and uncertain of the minor, they cannot be certain of the concluſion, which, as *Bellarmin* rightly obſerves, always follows the weaker part. The infallible concluſion therefore of *Bellarmins* reſolution, is, unleſs private men may have publick ſpirits to warrant the truth of Scriptures, and the Churches infallibility thereon grounded; they cannot truly believe any concluſion of faith. It remains then we inquire; what inconvenience will follow, if they admit private men to be partakers of publick ſpirits.

8. Diverſity of ſuch ſpirits they acknowledge not. If therefore private mens *Infallible Aſſent* unto the truth, or true ſenſe of thoſe particular Scriptures whence they ſeek to prove their Churches *Infallibity*, muſt be planted by a publick ſpirit, planted it muſt be by the ſame ſpirit, which guides, and guiding makes the Church and Pope authentick and infallible, both in their propoſal of Scriptures, and declaration of Scriptures ſenſe. Seeing this ſpirit is one and the ſame, if it can make the Church or Pope infallible in all; why may it not make all private men (by this ſuppoſition partakers of it) alike infallible, at the leaſt in the right underſtanding of thoſe places,

which warrant the Churches *Infallibility* or publick ſpirit. For our adverſaries, I hope, will eaſily grant, that the Churches publick and Authentick ſpirit muſt be moſt infallibly believed, becauſe ſo expreſly taught in thoſe Scriptures cited by *Bellarmin* to this purpoſe. If this publick or Authentick ſpirit, can work ſuch infallible apprehenſion of thoſe places true meaning in private hearts, why not in all others as neceſſary for them to know; that is, in all neceſſary to ſalvation? And if thus it do, why are we bound to believe the Pope, more than the Pope us, we being partakers of a publick and infallible ſpirit as well as he?

9. Or if they hold it no abſurdity to ſay; we muſt believe two or three places, [*It ſeemeth good to the Holy Ghoſt and us: Peter feed my ſheep*] by a publick and authentick ſpirit, teaching us from theſe to rely upon the Pope in all other parts of Gods Word, becauſe (as it muſt be ſuppoſed) we have but a private ſpirit for their aſſurance: by this ſuppoſition the Popes authority, in reſpect of us, muſt have the ſame exceſs of Superiority unto Scriptures, that a publick ſpirit hath unto a private; or the Pope (who believeth all Scriptures by a publick ſpirit) hath unto a private man. This publick ſpirit, whereof they vaunt, is the ſame which did inſpire the Scriptures to *Moſes*, the Prophets and Apoſtles; and muſt (by this Poſition) be the Pope or Churches immediate Agent for eſtabliſhing this inviolable League of abſolute Allegiance with mens Souls unto them, but of none ſo abſolute to their Creator and Redeemer; and the reſt of whoſe written Laws, and eternal Decrees, muſt be communicated unto them by a private ſpirit, and ſubſcribed unto with this condition, If the Pope ſhall witneſs them to be his Laws, or to have this or that meaning.

10. Nor can our adverſaries deny the truth of this ſubſequent collection, *If it were poſſible for the Pope in matters controverted to teach contrary to Gods Word: we were bound to follow him; For they* * *themſelves argue thus.* If the Pope could erre in matters of Faith; Faith might periſh from the Earth; all Chriſtians bound to erre, becauſe bound to obey him. This proves that our Aſſent to any Scriptures (beſides thoſe which teach the Popes authority) cannot in it ſelf be perfect and abſolute, but ſubject to this condition [if the Pope be infallible.] And even of thoſe places, which (as they pretend) witneſs him to be ſuch, there yet remains a further difficulty. Theſe the Pope believes not, becauſe they are confirmed to him by his Predeceſſor, but directly and immediately, by his publick ſpirit: But may private men believe them ſo too? No. For theſe, eſpecially, and the † Churches infallibility contained in them, are (by all our adverſaries conſent) propoſitions of Faith, in reſpect of us, and need (by their doctrine) the propoſal or teſtimony of the

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* Si volunt, Pontificem, in rebus alioqui omnino controverſis, id eſt, non ſatis expreſsè in Eccleſia compertis, ac determinatis, definire poſſe, ut perſonam publicam, errorem re ipſa contra fidem: errant ipſi in fide graviſſimè. Poſſet enim, imo teneretur tunc Eccleſia univerſa Pontificem de re controverſa docentem, ac nondum hæreſi manifeſtè notatum, pro Paſtore ſuo agnoſcere, atque adeo ipſum omnino audire. Ita fieret ut ſi tunc errare poſſit, Eccleſia etiam univerſa poſſit, imo teneretur errare. *Valentian. Tom.* 3. *de object. Fid. Diſp.* 1. *Quæſt.* 1. *Punct.* 7. *Paragraph.* 41. Bellarmin *from the ſame grounds collects, that the Pope cannot err in matters of Manners.* † *Vide Librum* 2. *Cap.* 30. *Paragraph.* 14. Nam fides Catholica docet, omnem virtutem eſſe bonam, omne vitium eſſe malum, ſi autem Papa erraret præcipiendo vitia vel prohibendo virtutes, *teneretur Eccleſia credere vitia eſſe bona, & virtutes malas*, niſi vellet contra conſcientiam peccare. Tenetur enim in rebus dubiis Eccleſia acquieſcere judicio ſummi Pontificis, & facere quod ille præcipit, non facere quod ille prohibet, ac ne forte contra conſcientiam agat, tenetur credere bonum eſſe, quod ille præcipit, malum, quod ille prohibet, *Bellarm. Lib.* 4. *de Roman. Pont. Cap.* 5.

Church, whereon all private mens faith muſt be immediately grounded: believing this we ſhall from it (at leaſt conjoyned with Scripture) believe all other parts of Gods Word neceſſary to ſalvation, as well as the Pope doth theſe former from the teſtimony of his publick ſpirit. Wherefore his authority muſt be unto us altogether as great, as the authority of the Godhead is unto him; which is far greater unto him, than it is or can be to any others; for even that which is acknowledged for Gods Word, both by him and us, muſt be leſs authentick unto us than the words of this mortal man.

11. For though we pardon our adverſaries their former abſurdities, in ſeeking to prove the Churches authority by the Scripture, and the Scriptures by the Churches; though we grant them all they can deſire (even what ſhall appear in due place to be moſt falſe) That, whiles they believe the Popes particular injunctions, or deciſions, from a preſuppoſal of his univerſal tranſcendent authority, they do not only believe him, or his words, but thoſe parts of Gods Word, upon which they ſeem to ground his infallibility: yet our former argument holds ſtill moſt firm; becauſe that abſolute Aſſent, which private men muſt give unto the ſuppoſed grounds of their Religion, before other portions of Scripture, is not grounded upon any preheminency incident to theſe words as they are Gods, as if they were more his than than the reſt, in ſome ſuch *peculiar ſort*, as the Ten Commandments are in reſpect of other *Moſaical* Laws; nor from any *internal propriety* flowing from the words themſelves, as if their ſecret character did unto faithful minds, bewray them to be more divine than others; nor from any *precedent, conſequent, or comitant circumſtance*, probably arguing that ſenſe, the Romiſh Church gives of them, to be of it ſelf more perſpicuous or credible, than the natural meaning of moſt other Scriptures, all inſpired by one and the ſame ſpirit, all, for their form, of equal authority and perſpicuity. All the prerogative then, which theſe paſſages can have before others, muſt be *from the matter contained in them*; and that, by our adverſaries poſition, is the Churches *Infallibility*. Wherefore, not becauſe they are Gods word, or were given by his Spirit, in more extraordinary ſort than others; but becauſe they have more affinity with the Roman Lord, in late years exalted above all that is called God, Father, Son, or Holy Ghoſt: theſe places above cited, muſt be more authentickly believed, than all the words of God beſides. As I have read of pictures, though not more artificial in themſelves, yet held in greater eſtimation amongſt the Heathen, and freer from contemptuous cenſure than any other of the ſame Painters doing, only becauſe they repreſented their great God *Jupiter*.

12. Another difficulty, whereunto we demand an anſwer, is, whether whiles they aſſent, as they profeſs, not only to the *Infallibility* taught (as they ſuppoſe) in the forcited places, but alſo unto the *Infallibility* of Scriptures which teach it: they acknowledge two diſtinct aſſents, or but one. If but one, let them ſhew us how poſſibly the Church can be ſaid to confirm the Scriptures: if two, let them aſſign the ſeveral properties of either; whether is more ſtrong; whether muſt be to the other as *Peter* to his brethren; or if neither of them can confirm the other, let them

declare how the one can be imagined as a mean or condition of believing the other.

13. An Hereticks *Belief* of the *Minor Propoſition* in the former *Syllogiſm* (ſaith *Bellarmin*) is but weak: A Romaniſts *Belief* of the ſame moſt ſtrong. Let this be the *Minor*, *Peter feed my ſheep*; or, *Peter I have prayed that thy faith ſhould not fail*: what reaſon can be imagined, why a Romaniſts Belief of theſe *Propoſitions* ſhould be ſo ſtrong, and ours ſo weak? The one hath the Churches authority to confirm his Faith, the other hath not. What is it then to have the Churches authority, only to know her Decrees concerning thoſe portions of Scriptures? If this were all, we know the Romiſh Churches Decrees as well as the Romaniſts: but it is nothing to know them, if we do not acknowledge them. To have the Churches Authority then is, to believe it as *infallible*: and for this reaſon is a Roman Catholicks belief of any portion of Scripture, more certain and ſtrong, becauſe he hath the teſtimony of the Church, which he believes to be moſt *infallible*: and believing it moſt infallibly, he muſt of neceſſity believe, that to be Scripture, that in every place, to be the meaning of the Holy Ghoſt, which this Church commends unto him for ſuch. Let the moſt learned of our adverſaries here reſolve the doubt propoſed; Whether there be two diſtinct Aſſents, in the belief of the forementioned Propoſitions: one unto the truth of the *Propoſition it ſelf*, and another unto the *Churches infallibility*. It is evident by *Bellarmins* opinion, that all the certainty a Roman Catholick hath above a Sectary, is, from the Churches *infallibility*. For the Propoſion it ſelf he can believe no better than an Heretick may, unleſs he better believe the Church, *i.e.* believe the Churches Expoſition of it, or the Churches infallibility concerning it, better than the Propoſition it ſelf, in it ſelf, and for it ſelf. And ſo it is evident that the Churches authority is greater, becauſe it muſt be better believed.

14. Suppoſe then one of our Church, which believes theſe Propoſitions to be the Word of God, ſhould turn Roman Catholick, his former belief is by this means become more ſtrong and certain. This granted, the next queſtion is, what ſhould be the Object of this his ſtrong belief; the Propoſition believed, *Peter feed my ſheep, I have prayed for thee*: or any other part of Gods written word; or the the Churches authority: not the Propoſitions themſelves, but only *by accident*, in as much as the Church confirms them to him. For ſuppoſe the ſame man ſhould eftſoons, either altogether revolt from that Church, or doubt of her Authority, his belief of the former Propoſitions becomes hereby as weak as it was before: which plainly evinceth, that his belief of the Church and this Propoſition, were two diſtinct Beliefs, and that this ſtrong Belief was faſtned unto the Churches authority, not unto the Propoſition it ſelf immediately, but only *by accident*, in as much as the Church which he believeth ſo firmly, did teach it; for his Belief, if faſtned upon the Propoſition it ſelf, after doubt moved of the Churches authority, would have continued the ſame, but now (by *Bellarmins* aſſertion) as ſoon as he begins to diſclaim his belief of the Churches infallibility, his former ſtrong belief of the ſuppoſed Propoſition begins to fail, and of this failing no other reaſon, than already is, can be aſſigned. The reaſon was, becauſe the true, direct, and

proper object of his ſtrong belief was the Churches authority, on which the belief of the Propoſition did entirely depend, as the concluſion doth upon the premiſes, or rather as every particular doth on the univerſal, whereunto it is eſſentially ſubordinate.

CHAP. IV.

Containing a further Reſolution of Romiſh faith, neceſſarily inferring the authority of the Romiſh Church, to be of greater authority than Gods Word abſolutely, *not only* in reſpect of us.

1. IF we rack the former Syllogiſm a little farther, and ſtretch it out in every joynt to its full length: we may quickly make it confeſs our propoſed concluſion and ſomewhat more. The Syllogiſm was thus, *Whatſoever God hath ſpoken is moſt true. But God hath ſpoken, and cauſed to be written all thoſe words contained in the Canon of Scriptures, acknowledged by oppoſite Religions of theſe times. Therefore theſe words are moſt true.* The certainty of the *Minor* depends, as our adverſaries will have it, upon the preſent Romiſh Churches *Infallibility*, which hath commended unto us theſe Books for Gods Word. Be it then granted, for diſputations ſake, that we cannot know any part of Gods Word, much leſs the juſt bounds, extent or limits of all his words ſuppoſed to be revealed for our good, but by the Romiſh Church: The Spiritual Senſe or true meaning of all, moſt, or many parts of theſe determinate Volumes, and viſible Characters, as yet is undeterminate, and uncertain; whereas all points of belief muſt be grounded on the determinate and certain ſenſe of ſome part of Gods Word revealed; for our adverſaries acknowledge all points of Faith ſhould be reſolved into the *Firſt Truth*. Hence, if we deſcend to any particular or determinate concluſion of Faith, it muſt be gathered in this Syllogiſm, *Whatſoever the Church teacheth concerning the determinate and true ſenſe of Scriptures, whereon points of Faith are grounded, is moſt true. But the Church teacheth thus and thus,* (for example; That her own authority is infallibly taught by the Holy Ghoſt in theſe words, *Peter feed my ſheep. Peter I have prayed for thee that thy faith ſhould not fail*) ergo, *this ſenſe and meaning of theſe words is moſt true.* And as true as it is, muſt the ſenſe likewiſe of every propoſition, or part of Scripture by this Church expounded or declared, be accounted.

2. The *Major* Propoſition of this Syllogiſm, is as undoubted amongſt the Roman Catholicks, as the *Major* of the former was unto all Chriſtians: but as yet, the *Minor*; *The Church doth give this or that ſenſe of this or that determinate place*, may be as uncertain indeed, as they would make our belief unto the *Minor* Propoſition in the general Syllogiſm, before it be confirmed by the Churches authoty. For how can we be certain that the Church doth teach all thoſe particulars which the Jeſuits propoſe unto us? we have Books indeed, which go under the name of the *Trent* Council, but how ſhall we know that this Council was lawfully aſſembled, that ſome Canons have not been foiſted in by private Spirits, that the Council left not ſome unwritten tradition for explicating their decrees, after

another faſhion than the Jeſuits do? who ſhall aſſure us in theſe or like doubts? The preſent Church? All of us cannot repair to *Rome*: ſuch as can, when they come thither, cannot be ſure to hear the true Church ſpeak *ex Cathedra*. If the Pope ſend his Writs to us aſſure, what Critick ſo cunning as to aſſure us, whether they be authentick or counterfeit? Finally, for all that can be imagined in this caſe, only the *Major* of the Catholick Syllogiſm, indefinitely taken is certain; and conſequently no particular or definite concluſion of Faith, can be certain to a Romaniſt, becauſe there are no poſſible means of aſcertaining the *Minor*, [*What the true Church doth infallible define*] unto his Conſcience.

Wherein the Papiſts make the Popes authority greater than Gods.

3. Or if they will hold ſuch concluſions, as are ordinarily gathered from the *Trent* Council, or the Popes deciſions, as infallible points of faith: they make their authority to be far greater than the infallibility of Gods written word; yea more infallible than the Deity. This collection they would deny, unleſs it followed from their own premiſes; Theſe for example, *That a concluſion of faith cannot be gathered, unleſs the* Minor (*God did ſay this or that determinately*) *be firſt made certain. But from the Pope or Churches infallibility, concluſions of faith may be gathered; albeit the* Minor *be not certain* de Fide. For who can make a Jeſuits report of the Popes Decrees, or an Hiſtorical relation of the *Trent* Council, certain *de fide*, as certain as an Article of faith: And yet the Doctrine of the *Trent* Council, and Popes Decrees, muſt be held *de fide*, upon pain of damnation, albeit men take them only from a Prieſts mouth, or upon a Jeſuits faith and credit.

4. This is the madneſs of that Antichriſtian Synagogue, that acknowledgeth Gods Word for moſt infallible (and the Scriptures, which we have, for his word, if it ſelf be infallible. For it tells us, they are ſuch:) yet will not have collections, or concluſions with equal probability deduced thence, ſo firmly believed by private men, as the collections or concluſions, which are gathered from the Churches infallibility. And implicite faith of particulars, grounded upon the Churches general infallibility, ſo men ſtedfaſtly believe it, may ſuffice. But implicite faith of particulars, grounded only upon our general Belief of Gods Infallibility, Providence, or written Word, ſufficeth not. This proves the authority of the Church, to be above the authority of Scriptures, or the *Deity*, *abſolutely conſidered*, not only *in reſpect of us*, [that is all beſides the Pope and his Cardinals.] For that is of more authority *abſolutely*, not only *in reſpect of us*, which upon equal notice or knowledge is to be better believed, more eſteemed, or obeyed; but ſuch is the authority of the Church in reſpect of the Divine Authority; ſuch is the authority of the Popes Decrees in reſpect of Gods Word. For the *Minor* Propoſition in both the former Syllogiſms being alike uncertain; the *Concluſion* muſt be more certain in that Syllogiſm, whoſe *Major* relies upon the Popes infallibity, than in the other, whoſe *Major* was grounded upon the infallibility of the *Deity*.

6. Briefly, to collect the ſum of all; The authority of the Church is greater than the authority of Scriptures, both in reſpect of Faith, and Chriſtian Obedience. In reſpect of Faith; becauſe we are bound to believe the Churches deciſions, read or explicated unto us, (*by the Popes Meſſenger, though a Sir John Lack-latin*)

without any appeal: but no part of Scripture, acknowledged by us and them, we may believe, without appeal, or ſubmiſſion of our interpretation to the Church, albeit the true ſenſe and meaning of it ſeem never ſo plain, unto private Conſciences in whom Gods Spirit worketh Faith. The ſame argument is moſt firm and evident, in reſpect of Obedience.

6. That authority over us is always greateſt, unto which we are to yield moſt immediate, moſt ſtrict and abſolute obedience: but by the Romiſh Churches Doctrine, we are to yield ſupreme, and moſt abſolute obedience, to the Church; more ſupreme and abſolute than unto Gods word: therefore the authority of the Church is greater over us. The *Major* is out of controverſie, ſeeing greatneſs of authority is always meaſured by the manner of obedience due unto it. The *Minor* is as evident from the former reaſon; Our obedience is more abſolute and ſtrict unto that authority, from which in no caſe we may appeal, than unto that from which we may in many ſafely appeal: but, by the Romiſh Churches doctrine, there lies always an appeal from that ſenſe and meaning of Scripture, which Gods ſpirit and our own conſciences gives us, unto the Churches authority; none, from the Churches authority or meaning unto the Scriptures, or our own conſciences.

7. Our Saviour Chriſt bids us, *Search the Scriptures*; S. Paul, *Try all, retain that which is good*; S. *John*, *Try the Spirits, whether they be of God or no*: Suppoſe a Miniſter of our Church ſhould charge a Romaniſt, upon his allegiance to our Saviour Chriſt, and that obedience which he owes unto Gods Word, to ſearch Scriptures, try Spirits, and examine Doctrines for the ratifying of his faith; he will not acknowledge this to be a Commandment of Scripture, or at leaſt, not to be underſtood in ſuch a ſenſe, as may bind him to this practice. What follows? if our Clergy charge him to admit it, he appeals unto the Church: And as in Schools, *ſimus* and *naſus ſimus* is all one, ſo in their language is the Church and the Church of *Rome*. This Church tells him, he may not take upon him to try of what ſpirit, the Pope is, nor examine his determinations, deciſions, or interpretations of any Scripture; by other known places of Scripture, or the analogy of faith acknowledged by all. Unto this decree or ſentence of the Church, (although he have it but at the ſecond hand, or after it have paſſed through as many Prieſts and Jeſuits mouths, as are Poſt Towns from *London* to *Edinburgh*,) he yields abſolute obedience, without acknowledgement of farther appeal, either unto Scriptures, or other Authority whatſoever; further manifeſtation of Gods will he expects none. Let all the reformed Churches in the World, or all the Chriſtian World beſides, exhort, threaten, or adjure him, as he tenders the good of his own ſoul, as he will anſwer his Redeemer in that dreadful day of final Judgement, to examine the Church or Popes decrees, by Gods written Laws: his anſwer is, he may not, he cannot do it, without open diſobedience to the Church, which to diſobey is damnation of ſoul and body. *But O fools and ſlow of heart to believe, and obey from the heart, that doctrine whereunto ye were delivered. Know ye not, that to whomſoever ye give your ſelves as ſervants to obey, his ſervants ye are te whom ye obey, whether it be the man of ſin unto death, or obedience unto righteouſneſs?* Of all Mankind are only Roman Catholicks,

John 5. 39.
1 *Theſſ.* 5. 21.
1 *John* 4. 1.

not bought with a price, that they may thus alienate their ſouls from Chriſt, and become ſervants of men; that they may conſecrate themſelves by ſolemn vow, to the perpetual ſlavery of moſt wicked and ſinful men, even Monſters of Mankind?

CHAP. V.

That in obeying the Romiſh Churches decrees, we do not obey Gods Word as well as Them, but Them alone *in contempt of Gods principal Laws.*

1. But the ſimple (I know) are born in hand, by the more ſubtile ſort of this generation, *That thus obeying ſinful men they obey Chriſt, who hath enjoyned them this obedience unto ſuch*; That thus believing that ſenſe of Scripture, which the Church their Mother tenders unto them, they do not believe her better than Scriptures, becauſe theſe two *Beliefs* are not *oppoſite*, but *ſubordinate*; that they prefer not her decrees before Chriſts written Laws, but *her interpretation of them*, before all *private Expoſitions*. This is the only City of refuge left them, wherein, proſecuted by the former arguments, they can hope for any ſuccour; but moſt of whoſe gates already have been, all ſhortly ſhall be, ſhut upon them.

The groſs impiety of the Romiſh Church, in binding men to believe negatives; without any tolerable expoſition of thoſe Scriptures, which ſeem to contradict her decrees, in matters damnable to adventure upon, without Evidence of truth, on her part.

2. That they neither believe nor obey Gods Word whilſt they abſolutely believe and obey the Church without appeal, is evident, in that this Church uſually binds men, not unto *Poſitive points* of Religion gathered ſo much as from any pretended ſenſe of Scripture expounded by it, but to believe bare *Negatives*; as, that this or that place of Scripture, either brought by their adverſaries, or conceived by ſuch amongſt themſelves, as deſire the knowledge of truth and right information of conſcience, have no ſuch meaning as the Spirit of God, not fleſh and blood, (as far as they can judge of their own thoughts) hath revealed unto them.

3. But, the Spirit may deceive private men; or, at leaſt, they may deceive themſelves, in their tryal of Spirits. They may indeed; and ſo may men in publick place, more grievouſly erre in peremptory judging private men (becauſe obnoxious to errour in the general) erroneous in this particular, wherein they ground their opinions upon Gods Word, plentiful to evince it (at leaſt) very probable reaſons they bring many and ſtrong, whereunto no reaſonable anſwer is brought by their adverſaries, whoſe uſual courſe is, to preſs them only with the Churches authority; which appears to be of far greater weight than Gods Word, unto all ſuch as yield obedience to her negative decrees, without any evidence or probability, either of Scripture or Natural reaſon, to ſet againſt that ſenſe and meaning of Gods Laws whereunto ſtrength of arguments unrefuted, and probable pledges of Gods Spirit undiſproved have long tied their ſouls. Do we obey God, or believe his Word, whilſt we yield obedience to the Church in ſuch Commandments, as to our conſciences upon unpartial examination ſeem condemned (ere made) by the very fundamental Laws of Religion, and all this oft-times without any ſhew or pretence of Scripture, to warrant us, that we do not diſobey God in obeying them?

4. But doth the Romiſh exact abſolute obedience (in ſuch points, as, if it were poſſible they could be falſe, may endanger the very foundation of true Religion) without evident demonſtration, that their daily practiſe neither doth nor can endanger it? Yes. For what can more concern the main foundation (which Chriſtians, Jews, and Mahumetans moſt firmly hold) then thoſe Precepts in number many, all plainly and peremptorily forbidding us to worſhip any Gods but one, or any thing in the Heaven or Earth but him only. The Romaniſts themſelves grant, that, *cultu latriæ* God alone is to be adored, that ſo to adore any other is Idolatry; and Idolatry (by their confeſſion) a moſt grievous ſin. *O how much better were it for them to hold ii none; or Gods Word forbidding it of no authority, than ſo lightly to adventure the hourly practiſe of it* (in contempt of ſuch fearful threatnings, as they themſelves out of Gods Laws pronounce againſt it) *upon ſuch broken disjoynted ſurmiſes, as are the beſt they can pretend for their warrant.*

The fearful dangers whereunto mens ſouls are expoſed by the Trent Councels decree for worſhipping the Conſecrated Hoaſt; For to adventure on ſuch practiſes with any ſcruple or doubt, is damnable, becauſe contrary to the Doctrine of Faith. And yet to enforce a Belief upon our ſelves, that Chriſt is there preſent, without warrant of Scripture is more damnable; for this were to affect ignorance for cloaking Idolatry. See l. 2. Chapt. 7.

5. To believe Chriſts fleſh and blood ſhould be there preſent, where it cannot be ſeen, or felt, yea where we ſee and feel another body as perfectly as we can do ought, is, to reaſon, without warrant of Scripture, but a ſenſleſs *blind Belief*. But grant his body and blood were in the Sacrament rightly adminiſtred, yet that out of the Sacrament, either ſhould be in the conſecrated Hoaſt, whileſt carried from Town to Town for ſolemn ſhew more than for Sacramental uſe, is to reaſon ruled by Scripture (to ſay no worſe) more improbable. Now to worſhip that as God, which to our unerring ſenſes is a Creature, upon ſuch blind ſuppoſals, that Chriſts body, by one miracle, may be there; by another, unſeen, is worſe than idolatry committed upon deluſion of ſenſe. So to adore a wafer, only a wafer in all appearance; without ſtrict examination, nay without infallible evidence of Scriptures urged for the real preſence; is more abominable, than to worſhip every appearance of an Angel of light, without trial what ſpirit it were, Satan or ſome other, that ſo appeared. And if we conſider the old Serpents uſual ſlight to inſinuate himſelf into every place, wherein inveterate cuſtom or corrupt affection, may ſuggeſt ſome likelehood of a divine preſence unto dreaming fancies, (as he did delude the old World in Oracles and Idols:) the probability is far greater, his inviſible ſubſtance, (by nature not incompatible with any corporeal quantity) ſhould be annexed to the ſuppoſed Hoaſt, than Chriſts real body, uncapable for any thing we know of joynt exiſtence in the ſame place with any other; howſoever, moſt diſproportionable to ſuch baſe effects as muſt proceed from the ſubſtance contain'd under the viſible ſhape of bread, ſuch as no accident could either breed, or ſupport.

6. This is a point (as is elſewhere obſerved) wherein Satan ſeemeth to triumph over the modern Papiſts, more than over all the Heathens of the old World, whoſe ſenſes only he deluded, or bewitched their reaſon, but quite inverts all uſe of theſe mens ſenſe, faith, and reaſon, making them believe Chriſts body to be preſent in the Sacrament, after a ſuppoſed miraculous manner, quite contrary to the known nature of bodies, and yet more

prepoſterouſly contrary to the very end and eſſence of miracles. For what miracles were ever wrought to other purpoſe, than to convince the imperfect collections of Humane Reaſon by evidence of ſenſe, God uſing this inferior or brutiſh part (thus aſtoniſhed by his preſence) to confute the curious folly of the Superior or Divine faculty of the ſoul, as he did ſometimes the dumb Aſs to rebuke the iniquity of the Prophet her Maſter. But ſo prepoſterouſly doth Satan ride the modern Papiſt, that he is brought to believe a multitude of miracles, againſt the evidence of ſenſe, or reaſon, contrary to the rule of faith; all offered up in ſacrifice unto the Prince of darkneſs; that he having put out the eyes of ſenſe, reaſon, and ſpirit at once, may ever after lead them what way he liſt. And as unhappy wags or lewd companions, may perſwade blind men to beg an Alms, as if ſome great perſonage did, when as a troop of more needy Beggars than themſelves, paſs by: ſo is it much to be dreaded, leſt the Devil perſwade the blinded beſotted Papiſt, that Chriſt is preſent where he himſelf lies hid; that he may with heart and ſoul offer up thoſe prayers and duties unto him which belong properly unto God; and worſhip in ſuch manner before the the Boxes whereinto he hath ſecretly conveyed himſelf, as the *Iſraelites* did before the Ark of the Covenant.

7. * Vaſquez *thinks we may without offence adore that Body wherein the Devil lurks, ſo we direct not our worſhip unto him, but to the inanimate Creature, as repreſenting the Creator.* Suppoſe this might be granted upon ſome rare accident, or extraordinary manifeſtation of Gods power in ſome particular place, in caſe, men were ignorant, or had no juſt preſumptions of any malignant ſpirits preſence therein: Yet were it damnable Idolatry daily to practice the like, eſpecially where great probability were of diabolical impoſture, which the ſolemn worſhip of any Creature, without expreſs warrant of Scripture, will invite. Yet ſenſe doth witneſs that Chriſt is not, no Scripture doth warrant us, that he or any other living Creature, unleſs perhaps † worms, or ſuch as ſpring of putrefaction, is preſent in their proceſſions. Notwithſtanding all the expreſs commandments of God brought by us againſt their practiſe: the § *Trent* Council accurſeth all that deny Chriſts real preſence in proceſſion, or condemn the propoſal of that conſecrated ſubſtance to be publickly adored as God; not ſo much as intimating any tolerable Expoſition of that Commandment, which forbids us to have any Gods but one.

* Vaſquez in part. 3. Thomæ Tom. 1. Diſput. 110. Cap. 5. Num. 32. & Tom. 2. diſp. 209. cap. 4. Num. 41.

8. * To omit many more; another inſtance ſuitable to the former and our preſent purpoſe, we have in the Decree of Communicating under one kind. Our Saviour at his inſtitution of this Sacrament, gave the Cup as well as the Bread, and with the Cup alone this expreſs injunction, *Bibite ex hoc omnes*, *Drink all of this*, albeit none of his Diſciples were *Conficients*, or ſuch as did conſecrate. S. *Paul* recites the ſame Inſtitution in like words,

† *The known Experiments of ſuch Creatures ariſing from corruption of their conſecrated Hoaſt: have enforced the Schoolmen to invent new miracles how they ſhould come there. Some think* per creationem novæ materiæ primæ; *others that the quantity of the late deceaſed conſecrated hoaſt,* Supplet locum materiæ primæ, *which as* Pererius *thinks is the greateſt of all the nine miracles about Tranſubſtantiation. See* Pererius diſput. 16. in Cap. 6. Joan. & Suarez Metaphyſ. Diſp. 20. Sect. 5. Num. 13.

§ Si quis dixerit, in ſancto Euchariſtiæ Sacramento Chriſtum unigenitum Dei filium non eſſe cultu Latriæ, etiam externo, adorandum, atque ideo nec Feſtiva peculiari Celebritate venerandum, neque in proceſſionibus, ſecundum laudabilem & univerſalem Eccleſiæ ſanctæ ritum & conſuetudinem, ſolemniter circumgeſtandum; vel non publicè, ut adoretur, populo proponendum, & ejus adoratores eſſe Idololatras; *Anathema ſit. Concil. Trid. Seſſ.* 13. *Can.* 6.

* *The impious decree of the* Trent *Council for communicating in one kind, againſt the expreſs commandment of Chriſt, the practiſe of his Apoſtles, and the Primitive Church.*

and continued the practiſe in ſuch Churches as he planted. The † *Trent* Council acknowledgeth that the uſe of the Cup was not infrequent, or unuſual in the Primitive Church; indeed altogether uſual, and the want of it for many hundred years after Chriſt, unknown. The only inſtance, that can from Antiquity be pretended, to prove it lawful, and which in all likelihood did partly occaſion it, argues the Ancients uſe of it in ſolemn Aſſemblies, to have been held as neceſſary. For even in caſes of greateſt neceſſity, when the Cup could not be carried to parties ſick, or otherwiſe detained from publick Communions; they had the conſecrated Bread dipped in it. And * *Gregory* of *Towres* relates the poyſoning of King *Clouis* his Siſter (Queen to *Theodorick*) by her own daughter, in the Chalice, ſo as he intimates withal, the ordinary uſe of the Cup at that time, as well amongſt French Catholicks as Italian Arrians. Only this was the difference; The Arrians did not, as the Catholicks, drink of the ſame Cup with their Princes.

† Seſſion 21. cap. 2.

*Erant autem ſub *Arriana* ſecta viventes: & quia conſuetudo eorum eſt ut ad Altare venientes, de alio calice Reges communicent & de alio populus minor, venenum in calice illo poſuit, de quo mater communicatura erat. Quo illa hauſto, protinus mortua eſt, non enim dubium eſt tale maleficium eſſe de parte Diaboli. Quid contra hæc miſeri Hæretici reſpondebunt, ut in ſancta eorum locum habeat inimicus? Nos vero Trinitatem in una æqualitate pariter & omnipotentia confitentes, etiamſi mortiferum bibamus, in nomine Patris, & Spiritus Sancti veri & incorruptibilis Dei, nihil nos nocebit. *Greg. Turon. Hiſt. Lib.* 3 *Num.* 31.

9. It may be, fear, conceived upon this or like example, leſt the Prieſts ſhould, in a more proper ſenſe prove *Conficients*, not of Chriſts, but of Lay-Princes bodies; made them, afterwards, more willing to forbear the Cup; and the people, either in manners would not, or otherwiſe could not, be advanced above them at this Heavenly Banquet. *Turonenſis* reaſon againſt theſe Hereticks, I think, did hold no longer than his life; few Princes afterwards durſt have adventured to try the truth of his Concluſion [Whether poyſon drunk in the Sacrament adminiſtred by the ſuppoſed true Church would have wrought.] For, unleſs my memory fail me, Eccleſiaſtick Princes, Popes themſelves, have been as ſurely poyſoned, in Catholick Chalices; as the forementioned Queen was in the Arrian Cup.

10. But what occaſions ſoever, either moved the Laity of themſelves to imbrace, or the Clergy to enjoyn this Communion under one kind; the * *Trent* Council ſpecifies none, and yet accurſeth all that will not believe the Church had juſt cauſes ſo to do. Without any ſure warrant of Scripture to perſwade it, they bind all likewiſe to believe this *Bare Negative*, [*That neither our Saviours words, at his inſtitution of the Sacrament, nor any other place of Scripture, enjoyn the uſe of the Cup as neceſſary, by way of Precept or Commandment:*] *Nor doth Chriſts words, in the ſixth of* John, *howſoever we underſtand*

* Concil. Trid. Seſſ. 21. Cap. 1. Itaque ſancta ipſa Synodus à Spiritu Sancto, qui ſpiritus eſt ſapientiæ, & intellectus, ſpiritus conſilii & pietatis edocta, atque ipſius Eccleſiæ judicium & conſuetudinem ſecuta declarat ac docet; Nullo divino præcepto Laicos, & Clericos non conficientes, obligari ad Euchariſtiæ ſacramentum ſub utraque ſpecie ſumendum; neque ullo pacto, ſalva fide, dubitari poſſe, quin illis alterius ſpeciei communio ad ſalutem ſufficiat. Nam etſi Chriſtus Domins. in ultima cæna venerabile hoc Sacramentum, in panis & vini ſpeciebus inſtituit, & Apoſtolis tradidit: non tamen illa inſtitutio, & traditio eò tendunt, ut omnes Chriſti fideles ſtatuto Domini ad utramque ſpeciem accipiendam aſtringantur. Sed neque ex ſermone illo apud Johan. 6. recte colligitur, utriuſque ſpeciei Communionem à Domino præceptam eſſe, utcunque juxta varias ſanctorum Patrum, & Doctorum interpretationes intelligatur. Namque qui dixit, Niſi manducaveritis carnem filii hominis, & biberitis ejus ſanguinem non habebitis vitam in vobis: dixit quoque; Siquis manducaverit ex hoc pane, vivet in æternum. Et qui dixit, Qui manducat meam carnem, & bibit meum ſanguinem habet vitam æternam; dixit etiam: Panis quem ego dabo, caro mea eſt pro mundi vita. Et denique qui dixit, Qui manducat meam carnem, & bibit meum ſanguinem, in me manet, & ego in illo, dixit nihilominus: Qui manducat hunc panem vivet in æternum.

And in the ſecond Canon of the ſame Seſſion, it is expreſſed, ſub pœna Anathematis. Si quis dixerit, Sanctam Eccleſiam Catholicam non juſtis cauſis & rationibus adductam fuiſſe, ut laicos, atq; etiam clericos non conficientes, ſub panis tantummodo ſpecie communicaret, aut in eo erraſſe; Anathema ſit.

them, according to the diverſe interpretations of Fathers, (either of Sacramental or Spiritual eating) *enforce any ſuch neceſſity.* Will you hear their reaſons for this bold Aſſertion. He that ſaid, *Vnleſs ye eat the fleſh of the Son of man and drink his blood, you have no life in you*; ſaid alſo, *If any man eat of this bread, he ſhall live for ever.* And he that ſaid, *whoſoever eateth my fleſh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life*; ſaid alſo, *The bread which I will give is my fleſh, which I will give for the life of the World*: He that ſaid, *whoſoever eateth my fleſh and drinketh my blood, dwells in me and I in him*; hath ſaid withal, *He that eateth this bread ſhall live for ever.*

11. Gods Precepts muſt be very peremptory, and conceived in formal terms, ere any ſufficient authority to enjoyn obedience, in what ſubject ſoever, will be acknowledged in them by theſe men, that dare thus deny a neceſſity of communicating Chriſt in both kinds, impoſed upon all in theſe words; *Verily, verily I ſay unto you, except ye eat the fleſh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, you have no life in you*; only becauſe it is ſaid in the words going before, *If any man eat of this bread, he ſhall live for ever.* Of how much better inſight in Scriptures, than theſe grand Seers of *Rome*, would blind *Homer*, had he lived in their time, have proved? For he never denied feigned Gods their *Nectar*, becauſe *Ambroſia* was an immortal meat. And would he, or any man not more blind in heart and mind than he was of bodily ſenſe collect, againſt Chriſts expreſs words, that his blood, the true Heavenly *Nectar*, was not neceſſary, becauſe his fleſh doth ſtrengthen to eternal life, eſpecially if he conſidered their captious interpellation, againſt whom in that place he diſputes, which cauſed him not to expreſs his mind ſo fully there, as elſwhere he had done, albeit afterwards he ingeminates the neceſſity of drinking his blood, as well as eating his fleſh in ſuch preciſe and formal terms; as if he had even then bethought himſelf, that ſuch Antichriſtian Spirits as theſe *Trent* Fathers, might happily dare to elude his moſt ſacred Precept, by ſuch Satanical gloſſes, as in that Decree they have done.

12. He had told the Jews (as much as was pertinent to their Objection,) that he was the living bread, which came down from Heaven: much better than *Manna*, which their Fathers had eaten. Bread he called himſelf in oppoſition unto *Manna*, not reſtraining this to his body or fleſh only; albeit what he meant by bread, he expounds partly by his fleſh, *And the bread which I will give is my fleſh, which I will give for the life of the World*; Beſides, that, bread in the Hebrew Dialect contains all ſorts of food, the manner of giving this *Ambroſia* was ſuch, as did afford heavenly viſible Nectar too. For whileſt he gave his fleſh upon the Croſs, he poured out his blood withal. But the Jews catch at this ſpeech, ere he had expounded his full meaning, *How can this man give us fleſh to eat? Then Jeſus ſaid unto them, Verily, verily I ſay unto you, except ye eat the fleſh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.* Which words, conſidered with the former circumſtances, to any mans capacity not infatuate, import thus much; Do ye murmur that I ſhould

Iſta diſtinctio (*ſaith* Bellarmin) tam frequens carnis & ſanguinis, & cibi ac potus apertè indicat Chriſtum loqui de communicatione ſui ſub ſpeciebus panis & vini: alioqui enim quorſum iſta diſtinctio, toties præſertim repetita? Spiritualis enim perceptio Chriſti per fidem, non eget iſta diſtinctione, cum uno modo fiat: idem enim eſt manducare, & bibere in ſumptione per ſolam fidem. *Bellar. Lib.* 1. *de Sacrament. Euch. cap.* 5. *in hæc verba* Johannis 6. *Now if we aſſume. But the Romiſh Church will not ſuffer Chriſtians to receive Chriſts Body and Blood* ſub ſpeciebus panis & vini, *the Concluſion is inevitable, therefore the Romiſh Church directly contradicts Chriſt, and as much as in her lies deprives the Laity of eternal life. Our Saviour in the ſixth of* John *ſpeaks indefinitely both of Sacramental and Spiritual eating, not peculiarly of either.*

proffer you my fleſh? Verily I ſay unto you, and ye may believe me, *Unleſs ye drink my blood, as well as eat my fleſh, ye have no life in you.* For ſo he addes, *my fleſh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed*; that is, both are as neceſſary to eternal, as meat and drink to corporal life.

13. For theſe and many like reaſons, neceſſarily ariſing from the text; ſome, as well of their greateſt Scholars, as beſt Interpreters, deny the former places to be meant of Sacramental eating, otherwiſe, unable to conceive any poſſibility, either of avoiding the inconveniences urged by us, or of defending their infallible Church from errour in this Decree. Yet ſaith the Council, *howſoever they be underſtood, according to the diverſe Interpretations of Fathers, they infer no ſuch neceſſity. No?* not if moſt Fathers, as *Maldonate* contends, did hold them to be directly meant of Sacramental eating? Why then did *Janſenius* and *Heſſelius* renounce the *Fathers* in this? ſurely to defend their Mother, whoſe credit they have much better ſaved, upon ſuppoſition that theſe words are meant only of ſpiritual manducation, then *Maldonate*, otherwiſe acute, but moſt perverſly ſottiſh, in his Apology for this Decree, hath done. And yet to ſpeak the truth, the ſame inconvenience will follow as neceſſarily, though not ſo perſpicuouſly at firſt ſight, albeit we grant them to be meant of ſpiritual Eating primarily. For * in that they are meant primarily of ſpiritual, they cannot but be meant of Sacramental Eating alſo, ſeeing theſe two (as elſewhere I have obſerved) are not oppoſite, but ſubordinate. Whence if we grant that Chriſts Blood, as well as his Fleſh, muſt be communicated to us by Faith, or ſpiritual manducation; the Conſequence will be, [*Therefore the Cup, as well as the Bread, muſt be adminiſtred in the Sacrament*;] becauſe Chriſt ſaith in the inſtitution, that the Cup is his blood, and the bread his body or fleſh: that is, the one is the ſure pledge, or inſtrument, whereby his fleſh; the other whereby his blood, which we muſt ſpiritually eat, (as well in the Sacrament as out of it,) muſt be communicated unto us. For, as the ancient Fathers have obſerved, our Saviour Chriſt did in his Inſtitution exhibit that unto us ſenſibly, which before he had promiſed as inviſible, ſo that the Precept of eating Chriſts body, and drinking his blood ſacramentally, doth bind all capable of this Sacrament as ſtrictly, as that other of eating his body and drinking his blood ſpiritually: ſeeing this latter is the ſeal and aſſurance of the other. And as our Adverſaries acknowledge an abſolute neceſſity of Precept, for eating Chriſt Sacramentally and Spiritually, though that Precept concern not Infants: ſo in all reaſon they ſhould grant an equal neceſſity of Precept, for eating his fleſh and blood diſtinctly in the Sacrament, though this be not neceſſary to all men, at all times, if without negligence or contempt they cannot be partakers of both. For impoſſibility, upon what occaſion ſoever, not cauſed through their own default, exempts them from that general Precept of eating Chriſt under both kinds; as want of years, or diſcretion, doth children from any injunction, divine, or humane of communicating ſo much as in one kind. For notwithſtanding the former Precept, [*Except ye eat the fleſh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, you have no life in you,*] as peremptory as any can be for communicating, as well Sacramentally as Spiritually, in both kinds; it were uncharitable to miſtruſt

* Vide *Bezæ* annotationes in verſ. 63. cap. 6. Johan.

Quoniam res ipſa, id eſt, corporis & ſanguinis Chriſti ſpiritualis manducatio & potus ibi luculenter traditur, ad quam poſtea Evangeliſtæ ad finem hiſtoriæ ſuæ declarant Chriſtum adjunxiſſe ſymbola externa panis & vini, idcirco nos caput illud à Sacramento Euchariſtiæ non putamus eſſe alienum. *Peter Martyr defenſ. ad Gardiner. de Euchariſt. part. 1. Solut. objection 32.*

Gods mercy towards ſuch poor ſouls, as long for the Cup of ſalvation, which no man giveth them; yea which the Romiſh Church hath by Decree, as peremptory as ſhe could make, denied to all the Laity without exception, to all the Clergy except ſuch, as may by a peculiar right challenge his blood as their own, by way of exchange, becauſe they have made him a Body which he had not before.

The ſtrange interpretation of S. Pauls *words whereby the* Trent *Council deluded by Satan ſeeks to delude the Chriſtian World.*

** Epheſ. 5. verſ. 32.*

14. Yet is it a ſmall thing with this great Whore, to deprive the Chriſtian World of the Lords, unleſs ſhe urge it, inſtead thereof, to pledge her in the Cup of Devils, full of the wine of fornication, coloured with her adulterate Scriptures authorized no doubt for ſuch purpoſes. Where our Apoſtle S. *Paul* ſaith, that he and his Miniſters were *Stewards of the myſteries of God*; the vulgar Roman Edition renders the Greek, οἰκονόμους by the Latin *Diſpenſatores*, and μυστηρίων (rightly rendred in this place) elſewhere (upon careleſneſs, rather than any intention of harm, as I am perſwaded) by the Latin * *Sacramentum*. Whether upon ſet purpoſe of ſome more Learned in that Council, preſuming to gull the ſimple and illiterate by their cunning, as *Chemnitius* probably thinks; or whether the myſtery of iniquity (as is more probable) wrought unawares in the brains of the ignorant, which were the major part, and, as ſome have related, did overſway the Learned uncapable of ſuch impudence as ſhould give countenance to this ignominious Decree; partly from the equivocation of the Latin *Diſpenſatores*, partly from the ſynonymical ſignification which the vulgar hath made of *Myſterium*, and *Sacramentum*, the Beetle-heads have hammered out an Interpretation of S. *Pauls* words before cited, ſo ſcurrilouſly contrary to his meaning, that the *Black Dog*, which is ſaid to have appeared unto Cardinal *Creſcentius*, (might he have ſpoken in the Council) could ſcarce have uttered it without bluſhing. For the Apoſtle meant ſuch *Diſpenſatores* or Stewards, as our Saviour ſpeaks of in the four and twentieth of S. *Matthew*; ſuch as ſhould give their Fellow-ſervants their juſt portions without purloining; ſuch as daily expected their Maſters Return, to call them unto a ſtrict Account of their Stewardſhip. For ſo it is expreſly added, *Moreover, (or as much as belongs unto our Office) it is required of Stewards, that they be all found faithful*, 1 Cor. 4. 2.

The improper uſe of which Word in that place, made Matrimony a Sacrament amongſt the Papiſts, yet Bellarmin *defends the Tranſlation.* Idem eſſe Myſterium, Græcis, & Latinis Sacramentum; Græci enim cum de Sacramentis agunt ſemper μυστήρια vocant. *Bellar. Lib. 2. de verbo Dei cap. 14. Parag. Sept. So oftentimes we call an Aſs a Beaſt, but to tranſlate* Beſtia *by the Engliſh Aſs, would argue either rudeneſs or negligence in the Tranſlator, or the Approver, partiality in the Apoligizer.*

15. Not to diſpute of the Churches Authority in diſpoſing of Sacraments, nor to exagitate the impiety of this decree, be the one for the preſent ſuppoſed as great, the other as little as they liſt to make it; only this I would demand of any that is ſo himſelf; whether he can imagine any men, ſober, or in their right minds, would not aſſoon have urged that text, *The fool hath ſaid in his heart there is no God*, for eſtabliſhing Atheiſm, or S. *Peters* check unto *Simon Magus*, to prove Simony lawful; as derive the Churches authority, for detaining the leaſt part of the Word of life, much leſs the Cup of Salvation, from theſe words, *Let a man ſo think of us as of the Miniſters of Chriſt, and diſpoſers of the ſecrets of God*. What ſecrets?

1 Cor. 4. 1.

of the Goſpel, before hid, but now to be publiſhed to all the World; of which the ſame Apoſtle elſwhere had ſaid, *A neceſſity is laid upon me, and wo unto me, if I preach it not.* Of the uſe, or neceſſity of the Lords Cup, not a word in this place, not a ſyllable, for the Lord had ſent him, not to adminiſter this Sacrament, but to preach the Goſpel: of which the Doctrine of the Lords Supper was a part indeed, but where expreſly and directly he delivers that, doth he intimate by any circumſtance, that either it had been, was, or might be otherwiſe adminiſtred, than according to the patern preſcribed by our Saviour at the firſt Inſtitution? Rather his often repetition of theſe Coujunctives, *This bread and this cup, eating and drinking, the body and blood, &c.* argue, he never thought the one ſhould be received without the other; that this prohibition of the Cup was a particular branch of the myſtery of iniquity, not to break out till latter ages, hid from his eyes that had ſeen the myſtery it ſelf begin to work. *As often* † *as ye ſhall eat this bread* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *and drink this cup, ye ſhew the Lords death till he come. Wherefore whoſoever ſhall eat this bread, and drink the cup of the Lord unworthily, ſhall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. Let a man therefore examine himſelf, and ſo let him eat of this bread, and drink of this cup. For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, becauſe he diſcerneth not the Lords Body.* * Yet unto the *Trent* Council S. *Paul* in the former place, where he had no ſuch occaſion, as not ſpeaking one word either of the Doctrine, neceſſity, or uſe of the Sacraments, ſeems to intimate, and that not obſcurely, the Churches Authority in diſpenſing them as the *Trent* Fathers have done. What then might every Miniſter of Chriſt, every diſtributer of Gods ſecrets, have uſed the like Authority, before the Church repreſentative did, at leaſt, by tacit conſent, approve the practice? This place doubtleſs proves, either altogether nothing, or thus much, for the Apoſtles words are indefinite, for their litteral ſenſe, equally appliable to every faithful Miniſter, or private diſpenſer of ſuch ſecrets; not appropriate to the intire publick body Eccleſiaſtick, or the Capital or Cardinal parts thereof. Of the Corinthians, to whom he wrote, one ſaid, I am *Pauls*, another I am *Apollos*, the third I am of *Cephas*; all boaſting in the perſonal excellencies of their firſt Parents in Chriſt, as the Papiſts now do in S. *Peters* and his Succeſſors Catholick Primacy. To aſſwage theſe carnal humours in his children, their Father that great Doctor of the Gentiles, ſeeks more in this, than in any other place of all his Epiſtles, to debaſe himſelf, and diminiſh others high eſteem either of his own worth, or of his calling. † *Who is Paul then? and who is Apollos, but the Miniſters by whom ye have believed, and as the Lord gave to every man? I have planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the increaſe. So then, neither is he that planteth any thing, neither he that watereth, but God that gives the encreaſe; And he that planteth, and he that watereth are one, and every man ſhall receive his wages according to his labour. For we together are Gods labourers: ye are Gods husbandry, and Gods building.* And after a ſerious Incitement of Maſter Builders to fidelity, with the like admonition *to Gods husbandry or building*, *not to rejoyce in men*, he concludes as he had begun, *Let every man eſteem us* (ſuch as I have ſaid) *Miniſters of Chriſt and diſpoſers of the myſteries of God.* Of whom were they ſo to eſteem? Of S. *Paul* himſelf, and every faithful Miniſter. Doth he then intimate here any ſuch Prerogative above the meaneſt of his brethren, as the Romiſh Clergy uſurps over the whole Chriſtian World? any authority to prohibit, either the Diſpenſers of Gods myſteries, from adminiſtring, or men ſo carnally minded as were theſe to whom he wrote, from communicating Chriſts blood as well as his body? So the *Trent* Fathers think; and, as if for their wilful denial of the Lords Cup unto the people, the Lord had given them the cup of giddineſs, to caſt them into a Babyloniſh ſlumber whilſt they conſulted about this decree; and their Scribes through wretchleſneſs had written, what their raving Maſters in their ſickly or drunken dreams, had uttered: we find, in the ſame Decree, another place of S. *Paul* immediately annexed, though as diſproportionable to the former (as it is placed in their diſcourſe) as a mans head to an horſes neck, both as unſuitable to their intended Concluſion, as a ſuper-addition of Fins or Feathers would be, to ſuch a monſtrous Hippocentaurick combination. The place is S. *Pauls* concluſion of that diſcourſe concerning the Sacraments, * *Other things will I ſet in order when I come.*

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† 1 *Cor.* 11. *ver.* 26, 27, 28.

* Præterea declarat, hanc poteſtatem perpetuò in Eccleſia fuiſſe, ut in Sacramentorum diſpenſatione, ſalva illorum ſubſtantia, ea ſtatueret, vel mutaret, quæ ſuſcipientium utilitati ſeu ipſorum Sacramentorum venerationi, pro rerum, temporum, & locorum varietate magis expedire judicaret. Id autem Apoſtolus non obſcure viſus eſt inſinuaſſe, cum ait: Sic nos exiſtimet homo, ut miniſtros Chriſti & diſpenſatores myſteriorum Dei, atque ipſum quidem hac poteſtate uſum eſſe, ſatis conſtat, cum in multis aliis, tum in hoc ipſo Sacramento, cum ordinatis nonnullis circa ejus uſum. 1 Corinth. 11. verſ. 34. *cætera* (inquit) *cum venero, diſponam. Concil. Trident. Seſſ.* 2. *Cap.* 2.

† 1 *Cor.* 3. *ver.* 5, 6, 7. 8, 9.

* *1 Cor.* 11. *verſ.* 34.

16. Granting (what is not neceſſary) he ſpake of ordering matters concerning this Sacrament: to receive the wine as well as the bread, was no part of their preſent diſorder, whoſe misbehaviour at the Lords Table did miniſter more juſt occaſions to S. *Paul*, than *long Beards did to the Council of* Conſtance, *to deny the uſe of the Cup*, might Chriſts blood and body, which he hath joyntly tendered to all, be upon any occaſion juſtly ſevered by man in the adminiſtration of his laſt Will and Teſtament. Whatſoever the number or quality of the gueſts be; the great Lords Table muſt be always ſo furniſhed as it was at the firſt Inſtitution; for he hath no reſpect of perſons. If a rich ſtately Prelate come in with a gold ring in goodly veſtiments, and a poor honeſt Laick in vile raiments, he ſaith not to him in Pontifical Robes, come ſit you here at my meſs, where you may drink of my wine, as well as eat of my bread: nor to the poor Laick, ſtand thou there apart, or ſit down here under my footſtool, where thou mayeſt be partaker of the crums which fall from my Table, though not of my Cup, which muſt be kept for thy betters. High and low, rich and poor, all were redeemed with one price, all at this offering equal, all alike free to taſte of every diſh, ſo they come with Wedding-garments, without which even the beſt muſt be caſt out, as unworthy to taſte of any part, if not of all. That part, which the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Trent*, upon pretences of reverence to the Lords Supper, have detained from Modern Chriſtians, the Corinthians had received unworthily; yet was not the Cup, for this Reaſon, held ſuperfluous by S. *Paul*, who onely ſought to repreſs the abuſe, as knowing the uſe of it to be moſt neceſſary. The matters than he meant to order, when he came, was, to ſet out this Heavenly Banquet with greater decency and ſolemnity, not to abridge them, of any ſubſtantial or material part thereof.

17. Nor do the *Trent* Fathers, if we may truſt them upon their * words. For they (deſirous as it ſeems to make the whole Chriſtian World as ſottiſh, as themſelves were impious) would make men believe, they could juggle away the Cup, and never touch the very ſubſtance of the Sacrament; as if the wine were not as ſubſtantial a part of the Lords Supper, as was his blood of his body, or humanity. An integral or material part they cannot deny it to be; and ſuch if it be, their Apology is as ſhameleſs, as if a man ſhould let out moſt of anothers blood, cut off his arm, or leg, or maim him in ſome principal part, and plead for himſelf, I did not meddle with his ſubſtance, meaning (as the Councel I take it here doth) his Eſſence, ſeeing he is yet as truly a reaſonable Creature, as before.

* *Cited in the Precedent Annotation. Parag.* 15.

That the Cup is an eſſential and ſubſtantial part of the Euchariſt.

18. But to debar them of that refuge, it may be they ſought or their followers may yet hope to find in the equivocation of this word, *ſubſtance*, importing as much ſometimes as a material, or integral, ſometimes as an eſſential part. If the Cup be an eſſential and ſubſtantial part of this Sacrament, the Council by their own confeſſion did foully err, in prohibiting Communion under both kinds: If no ſuch part it be, they might by their own rule have altogether denied the uſe of it ſo much as to the Sacrificer, or Conficient: but ſo the very uſe and end, on which the eſſence of the Sacrament, (as of all other matters of moral practiſe) immediately depends, and by whoſe expiration inſtantly muſt determine, ſhould utterly have periſhed. The end and uſe of this ſacred Inſtitution, as our Saviour expreſly teacheth, and the Council grants, was to repreſent the *Teſtators Death,* yea ſo to repreſent it, as we might be partakers of his body and blood, not ſpiritually onely, but withal, (as the *Trent* Fathers contend) Sacramentally. Admitting then all they can pretend againſt the neceſſity of the Cup [That whole Chriſt were in the Bread alone;] yet this will not preſerve the true and fruitful uſe of the Sacrament, nor ſalve that deadly wound, the eſſence of it muſt perforce receive from fruſtration of the end, neceſſarily enſuing the Cups abſence. For this Sacrament was ordained, as to repreſent, ſo to exhibit Chriſts body, unto all faithful Communicants, not as intire, and whole; his blood, not as it was incloſed in the veins: but the one, as torn and rent, the other, as ſhed and poured out upon the croſs. *This is my blood of the new Teſtament,* (ſaith our Saviour) *which is ſhed for many,* (for all that receive it faithfully) *for the remiſſion of ſins. His Blood then, as ſhed and poured out, is as the loadſtar of penitent and contrite hearts,* whereon the eyes of their faith, that ſeek remiſſion of ſins in this Sacrament, muſt be faſtened: for (as the * Apoſtle ſaith) *without ſhedding of blood is no remiſſion.* This was the complement of that ineſtimable all-ſufficient Sacrifice, that which repreſents his precious blood thus poured out, the principal part of this Sacrament, as well in reſpect of repreſenting his death, as in applying remiſſion of ſins thereby in general purchaſed, and by this Sacramental Type ſealed to every one in particular; eſpecially if the *Trent* Councils Doctrine be true, that Chriſts very blood, which was ſhed upon the Croſs, is really preſent in the Chalice, and might be as immediately ſprinkled at leaſt upon the lips or doors of every faithful receivers heart, as the blood of the Paſchal Lamb was upon the

* *Heb.* 9. 22.

door-poſts of the Iſraelites. Thus as Satan the *Father* of lies, ſo falſe opinions ſuggeſted by him, draw men with pleaſure into thoſe evils, for whoſe practiſe in the end they become their chief Accuſers. That opinion which at firſt brought in neglect of the Chalice, and, as the *Trent* Council preſumed, would have warranted them in making this Decree, doth moſt condemn them: for *the meaſure of their iniquity, could not have been ſo fully accompliſhed, unleſs they had held a Tranſubſtantiation of the Wine into Chriſts Blood.*

19. What part of Scripture can we preſume they will ſpare, that dare thus countermand the moſt principal of all Gods Commandments? what reckoning may we think, they make of our Saviour Chriſt, that adventure thus ſhamefully to diſanul and cancel his laſt will and teſtament, defrauding almoſt the whole Chriſtian World, of half their Lord and Maſters Royal allowance, partly without any ſhew of Scriptures, either to reſtrain, or otherwiſe interpret theſe Soveraign precepts; partly upon ſuch idle and frivolous allegations, as may further witneſs their ſleight eſtimate of Gods Word, ſave only ſo far, as it may be wreſted to ſerve their turns.

That the Trent *Fathers had preferred their own Authority above the Scriptures, albeit the Scriptures they alledge for this Decree were as probable as theſe we bring againſt it.*

20. But grant the places there alledged by the Council, did ſo mitigate either the form of the inſtitution, or the peremptory manner of our Saviours ſpeeches in the ſixth of *John*, as to make it diſputable in unpartial judgements, wether they did plainly injoyn any neceſſity of communicating under both kinds: The former decree notwithſtanding would manifeſtly infer an uſurpation of Soveraignty over Gods Word, quite contrary to the general Analogy of Faith, Reaſon, and Conſcience; by all which, in caſes doubtful, and, for the ſpeculative form of truth, diſputable with equal probability, affirmatively or negatively, we are taught to frame our choice, when we come to practiſe, according to the difference of the matter, or of conſequences, which may enſue, more dreadful one way, than the other, always to prefer either a greater good before a leſs, or a leſs evil before a greater, though both equally probable. Suppoſe then theſe two contradictory Propoſitions, [*The denial of the Cup is a mutilation of Chriſts laſt Will and Teſtament: the denial of the Cup is no mutilation of Chriſts laſt Will and Teſtament,*] were, for their ſpeculative probabilities, in juſt examination, equipendent; yet the doctrine of faith delivered in Scripture, Reaſon and Conſcience, without contradiction, inſtructs us, that to alter, abrogate, or mutilate the Son of Gods laſt Will and Teſtament is a moſt grievous, moſt horrible, moſt dreadful ſin; but to permit the uſe of the Chalice hath no ſuſpicion of any the leaſt evil in it. Had the *Trent* Fathers thus done, they had done no worſe than our Saviour, than his Apoſtles, than the Primitive Church, (by † their own confeſſion) did. This exceſs of evil, without all hope of any the leaſt compenſative good to follow upon the denial, ſhould have ſwayed them to that practiſe, which was infinitely more ſafe, as not accompanied with any poſſibility or ſhew of danger; although the ſpeculative probability of any divine Precept neceſſarily injoyning the uſe of the Cup, had been none. Thus peremptorily to adventure upon conſequences ſo fearful, whereto no contrary fear could in reaſon impel, nor hopes any way comparable allure them; thus

† *Seſſ.* 21. *Cap.* 2.

thus imperiouſly to deprive the whole Chriſtian World of a good, in their valuation, (teſtified by their humble ſupplications and frequent embaſſages to that Council) ſo ineſtimable, without any other good poſſible to redound unto the deniers, ſave only uſurpation of Lordly Dominion over Chriſts heritage, plainly evinceth, that the Church is of far greater authority with them, then GODS Word, either written in the Sacred Canon, or their hearts; than all his Laws, either ingrafted by nature, or poſitive, and Supernatural. For,

21. Admit this Church Repreſentative had been fully perſwaded in Conſcience rightly examined, and immediately ruled by Scripture, that the former decree did not prejudice the inſtitution, uſe, or end of this Sacrament; yet moſt Chriſtians earneſt deſire of the Cup, ſo publickly teſtified, could not ſuffer them to ſleep in ignorance of that great ſcandal, the denial of it needs muſt give to moſt inferiour particular Churches. Wherefore the rule of charity, that moved the *Father* of the Gentiles to that ſerious proteſtation: † *If meat offend my brother, I will eat no fleſh while the world ſtandeth, that I may not offend my brother*: ſhould in all equity, divine, or humane, have wrought theſe Prelates hearts to like profeſſion, *If want of their ſpiritual drink offend ſo many Congregations, and ſuch a multitude of our brethren, we will rather not uſe our lawful authority acknowledged by all, than uſurp any that may be offenſive or ſuſpicious unto others; though apparently juſt unto our ſelves*: for they could not be more fully perſwaded, this Decree was juſt, than S. *Paul* was that all meats were lawful to him.

† 1 *Cor.* 8. 13.

Sacroſancta œcumenica & generalis Tridentina Synodus, in ſpiritu ſancto legitimè congregata, præſidentibus in ea eiſdem Apoſtolicæ ſedis Legatis, cum de tremendo, & Sanctiſſimo Euchariſtiæ ſacramento varia diverſis in locis——errorum monſtra nequiſſimi dæmonis artibus circumferantur, ob quæ in nonnullis provinciis multi à Catholicæ Eccleſiæ fide atque obedientia videantur diſceſſiſſe; Cenſuit, ea quæ ad communionem ſub utraq; ſpecie, & parvulorum pertinent, hoc loco exponenda eſſe: quapropter cunctis Chriſti fidelibus interdicit, ne poſthac de iis aliter vel credere vel docere, vel prædicare audeant quam eſt his decretis explicatum atq; definitum. *Concil Trid. Seſſ.* 21. *in Proœmio.*

22. But may we think theſe Prelates had no ſcruple of conſcience, whether the very form of this Decree were not againſt our Saviours expreſs command, * *Bibite ex hoc omnes, drink ye all of this*: For mine own part, whiles I call to mind, what elſewhere I have obſerved, that the Jews were never ſo peremptory in their deſpightful cenſures of our Saviours doctrine, nor ſo outragiouſly bent againſt his perſon, as when their hearts were touched in part with his miracles, or in ſome degree illuminated with the truth he taught: The Councils extraordinary forwardneſs to terrifie all Contravenaries of this Decree, makes me ſuſpect they were too conſcious of their own ſhallow pretended proofs to elude Gods Word, whoſe light and perſpicuity in this point had exaſperated their hardned hearts, and weak-ſighted faith, to be ſo outragious, in the very beginning of that Seſſion, as if they had meant to ſtifle their conſciences and choak the truth, leſt theſe happily might croſs their proceedings, or controul their purpoſes, if this cauſe ſhould once have come to ſober and deliberate debatement. For, as Thieves oftentimes ſeek to avoid apprehenſion by crying loudeſt, *Turn the Thief*; ſo theſe Wolves hoped well to ſmother their guilt, and prevent all notice taking of their impiety, by their grievous exclamations againſt others monſtrous impious opinions in this point, interdicting,

* *Mat.* 26. 27.

dicting all, upon penalty of the curſes following, ere they had determined ought, to teach, preach, or believe otherwiſe than they meant to determine.

23. Yet, though the Council accurſe all that hold communication under both kinds a as neceſſary doctrine, it doth not abſolutely inhibit all uſe of the Chalice, but leaves it free unto their Lord the Pope to grant it, upon what conditions he pleaſe, either unto private men, or whole Nations. Upon what conditions then, may we preſume, will it pleaſe his Holineſs for to grant it? upon any better than Satan tendred all the Kingdoms of the Earth unto our Saviour? For this feigned ſervant of Chriſt, a true *Gehazi*, repining at his Lord and Maſters ſimplicity, that could refuſe ſo fair a proffer, made after Satan in all haſte, ſaying in his heart, I will ſurely take ſomewhat of him, though my Maſter ſpared him; and, pretending a meſſage in his name, to whom all power was given in Heaven and in Earth, hath got an intereſt in the chief Kingdoms of the World, diſpoſing ſuch as he can beſt ſpare, or worſt manage, to any potent Prince, that will fall down and worſhip him and his copartner the Prince of darkneſs; who, of late years, have almoſt ſhared the whole World betwixt them; the one ruling over Infidels, the other over profeſſed Chriſtiaus. And ſeeing the Pope (becauſe his pomp and dignity muſt be maintained by Worldly wealth and revenues) dares not part with the propriety of ſo many Kingdoms at once, as Satan (who only looks for honour) proffered; he hath found out a trick to ſupply his wants, for purchaſing like honour and worſhip, by his office of keeping S. *Peters* keys; if earthly Provinces or Dominions fail him, Gods Word, his Sons Blood and body, all, ſhall be ſet to ſale, at this price, ***Fall down and worſhip him.*** For no man, we may reſt aſſured, no Nation or Kingdom, whom he can hinder, ſhall ever taſte of the Lords Cup, unleſs they will firſt acknowledge lawful authority in him, to grant, deny, or diſpoſe of it, at his pleaſure; which is an homage wherewith the Devil is more delighted, than if we did acknowledge him Supream Lord of all the Kingdoms of the earth: for that were as much leſs prejudicial to Chriſts prerogative royal, as a damage in poſſeſſion or goods would be to a perſonal diſgrace, or ſome foul maim or deformity wrought upon a Princes body.

Cum ſacroſancta Synodus ſuperiori ſeſſione duos articulos, aliàs propoſitos; & tum nondum diſcuſſos, videlicet; an rationes, quibus S. Catholica Eccleſia adducta fuit, ut communicaret laicos, atque etiam non celebrantes Sacerdotes, ſub una panis ſpecie, ita ſint retinendæ, ut nulla ratione calicis uſus cuiquam ſit permittendus: Et, An, ſi honeſtis & chriſtianæ charitati conſentaneis rationibus concedendus alicui vel natione vel regno calicis uſus videatur, ſub aliquibus conditionibus concedendus ſit, & quænam illæ ſint, in aliud tempus, oblata ſibi occaſione, examinandas, atque definiendas reſervaverit; nunc, eorum, pro quibus petitur, ſaluti optime conſultum volens; decrevit; integrum negotium ad ſanctiſſimum Dominum noſtrum eſſe referendum, prout præſenti decreto refert, qui pro ſua ſingulari prudentia id efficiat, quod utile reipublicæ Chriſtianæ & ſalutare petentibus uſum calicis fore judicaverit. *Concil. Trident. viceſima ſecunda Seſſione, in decreto ſuper petit: de conceſſione Calicis.*

Chap. VI.

Propounding what poſſibly can be ſaid on our Adverſaries behalf for avoiding the force of the former arguments: and ſhewing withal the ſpecial points that lie upon them to prove, as principally, whether their Belief of the Churches authority can be reſolved into any divine Teſtimony.

1. Unto all the difficulties hitherto propoſed, I can rather wiſh ſome learned Prieſt or Jeſuit would, than hope any ſuch ever will directly anſwer point by point. For the Readers better ſatisfaction I will firſt briefly ſet down what poſſibly can be ſaid on their behalf, and after a diſcloſure of their laſt ſecret refuge, draw forth thence the dead and putrified carkaſs of Romiſh faith; which unto the ignorant and ſuperſtitious, that cannot uncover the holes and clefts wherein theſe Impoſtors upon every ſearch are wont to hide it, may yet ſeem to live and breath; as the Fable went of S. *John* the Evangeliſts body, after many years repoſal in the grave; or as the blinded Jews to this day brag, the Scepter of *Judah* yet flouriſheth, beyond *Babylon* in *Media*, or ſome unknown part of *India*, whither no European is likely to reſort for a diſproval of his relation.

2. Unto the Demonſtrative Evidences as well of their errour in expounding Scriptures pretended for, as of other Scriptures rightly alledged by us againſt their former or like Decrees, they will be ready to oppoſe what *Bellarmin* hath † done, *That the Church muſt judge of Scriptures Evidence, and private errours in expounding it, not private men of the Churches Expoſitions.* Unto the objected dreadful conſequences of their decrees, (could theſe poſſibly be erroneous) they would regeſt diſobedience to the Church; that to diſobey it, is to diſobey God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, a ſin as hainous as mangling of Chriſts *Laſt will and Teſtament*, as Idolatry. On the contrary, to obey the Church even in her negative Decrees and naked Deciſions, unguarded with any pretence of Scripture, (much more where this loving Mother, for the education of her children will vouchſafe, what ſhe need not, to alledge ſome clauſe or ſentence of Holy Writ) we obey not the Church only, but Gods Word alſo, though not in thoſe particular places, which in our judgements either contradict the former, or like Decrees, or elſe make nothing at all for them; yet in Texts produced for the Churches tranſcendent general authority. As he that adores the conſecrated Hoſt in proceſſion, becauſe his holy Mother commands him ſo to do, or accounts want of Chriſts blood no loſs, becauſe denied him by her authority; although unto private ſpirits he may ſeem to contradict that Law, * *Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve*: doth yet ſincerely obey the Holy Ghoſt, and rightly obſerve the true ſenſe and meaning of theſe his dictates, *Peter I have prayed for thee, that thy faith ſhould not fail. Peter feed my ſheep. Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church.* From theſe places once firmly believing the Church poſſibly cannot err, he

† L. 3. c. 10.

* Deut. 6. 13.

Luke 4. 8.

he muſt not queſtion, whether the practiſes by it enjoyned contradict the former Laws, both being delivered by the holy ſpirit, who cannot contradict himſelf. This I take it, is the ſum of all the moſt learned of our adverſaries can or would reply unto the former difficulties.

Nor to draw faſter, but rather remitting the * former Bonds, wherein they have inextricably intangled themſelves, by their circular progreſs in their reſolution of faith; admit their late doctrine left any poſſibility of knowing Scriptures, acknowledged by both to be Gods word, or of diſtinguiſhing humane teſtimonies (written or unwritten) from divine: The preſent queſtion we may draw (with their free conſent) unto this iſſue; whether their belief of the *Churches infallible authority*, undoubtedly eſtabliſhed, as they pretend, in the fore-cited places, can be truly reſolved into any branch of the *Firſt Truth*, or into humane teſtimonies only. If into the later only, the caſe is clear, that abſolutely obeying the Romiſh Church, in the former or like decrees, which (her authority ſet aſide) to all or moſt mens conſciences would ſeem to contradict Gods principal Laws: we believe, and in believing obey, men more than God; humane authorities, laws, or teſtimonies, more than divine.

* Vide Lib. 2. Cap 30.

4. The ſtrength or feebleneſs of Roman faith will beſt appear, if we try it in any one of theſe joynts. Whether by Divine teſtimony it can be proved, that S. *Peter* had ſuch an univerſal, infallible, abſolute authority, as theſe men attribute unto the Pope: *whether* by like infallible teſtimony it can be proved, the Popes from time to time, without exception, were *Peters* undoubted ſucceſſors, heirs apparent to all the preheminencies, or prerogatives he enjoyed: *whether* either the ſoveraignty or univerſality of their authority, (ſuppoſed probable in it ſelf, or to themſelves;) or particular injunctions derived from it, can be ſo fully notified to all Chriſtians, as they need not queſtion, whether in yielding obedience to decrees, of like conſequences as were the former, they do not grievouſly diſobey Gods Word. For though the Popes themſelves might know this truth by Divine Revelation, or otherwiſe, their internal aſſurance, unleſs generally communicable by divine teſtimonies, could be no warrant unto others, for undertaking matters of fearful conſequences, whereof they doubt, not only out of ſecret inſtinct or grudging of their conſciences, but from an apprehenſion of oppoſition betwixt the very forms of Laws Papal, and Divine.

5. Firſt, It is improbable, that he to whom our Saviour ſaid; *If thy brother treſpaſs againſt thee, dic Eccleſiæ*, was the * Church unto which all muſt, from which none may appeal: Or, if *Peter*, the Pope if he will be *Peters* ſucceſſor, muſt, in caſes of controverſie, appeal unto the Church. How is he then, as our adverſaries contend, *the Church*, or ſuch a part of it, unto whom all, even *Peter* himſelf (were he alive) muſt appeal? Muſt others appeal to him, as Judge, in his own cauſe? or he unto himſelf alone? Not

Peter *was not the Church*, Mat. 18.17.

* Bell. lib. 2. de Pont. Rom. cap. 11. Quæ dicuntur Petro, ut uni ex fidelibus, certè omnibus fidelibus dicta intelliguntur: ut *Matth.* 18. Si peccaverit in te frater tuus, &c. *By this reaſon then the Pope muſt appeal to the Church; who then are meant by the Church?* Reſpondemus (*ſaith* Bellarmin) illud *Dic Eccleſiæ*, ſignificare, defer ad publicum Eccleſiæ judicium, id eſt, ad eos, qui publicam perſonam in Eccleſia gerunt, *Bellar.* lib. 1. de Pontif. *Rom. cap. 6. So that if any man offend the Pope, the cauſe muſt come to be decided by himſelf; as a publick perſon.*

as alone, but (ſo a late Papiſt, to my remembrance, anſwers *Gerſon*) as accompanied with his fellow Conſul, *his Chair,* which is to him, as *Cæſar* was to *Julius*: and ſo ſhall Gods Word be to both, as *Bibulus* was to *Julius Cæſar*, a meer pretence, or bare name of Authority, nothing elſe. Yet if that Word avouch, that neither S. *Peters* or his Succeſſours Faith could ever fail in determining Controverſies, we contradict it, not the Popes Deciſions only, if we do not in all doubtful Doctrines fully rely upon them.

Chap. VII.

That neither our Saviours Prayers for the not failing of Peter's *Faith,* Luke 22. 32. *nor his commending his ſheep unto his feeding,* John 21. 15. *prove any Supremacy in* Peter *over the Church, from which the Authority of the Pope can, with probability, be derived.*

Our Saviours prayers for S. Peter *did not beſtow upon him any œcumenical Sovereign Authoriſy, abſolutely infallible in ſuch ſence as the Romaniſts would make the Popes.*

1. IS it then probable, our Saviours Prayers for S. *Peter* did collate any Authority upon him, either *œcumenical for extent*, or *ſovereign for others dependence on it*; or *abſolutely, and perpetually infallible for time*, without integrity of life, or other condition: beſides ſuch Cathedral conſultation, as is required in the Pope to ſupport it? Rather the proper effect they aimed at, was an extraordinary aſſiſtance in the practice of ſuch points, as already had been, or afterwards ſhould be revealed unto him. Our Saviour while he uttered them, did clearly foreſee all his followers ſhould be ſifted by Satan; he that profeſſed greateſt love and reſolution, more than all the reſt, in ſuch fearful ſort, that without this promiſed ſupportance, his Faith had utterly failed: which though afterwards it proved much ſtronger, by this ſhaking, yet whether ſtronger than was any of his fellows, is uncertain, moſt unfit to be diſputed: Howſoever, no circumſtance in that place prognoſticates, or aboads ſuch extraordinary future ſtrength, rather all ſuppoſe for the preſent, a peculiar neceſſity of his Maſters Prayers for him, as foreſeeing his tripping (to uſe the mildeſt cenſure) would be ſo dangerous, as the memorial of his recovery, might be a perpetual encouragement to all back-ſliders, againſt diſtruſt of Gods mercies. *No man ſo fit to raiſe up ſuch as are fallen, or wallow in the filth of ſin, as he that hath firmly apprehended Grace from above, (or rather is ſo apprehended by it) and yet can withal, out of a ſincere and humble acknowledgement of his relapſes, ſtoop lower than others in ſpiritual Graces his inferiours, and as it were let himſelf into the pit of deſpair, wherein ſinners lie,* linking their preſent frailty in his own forepaſſed infirmities. It much diſagrees with my temper, ever to exaggerate the ſins of Gods Saints; yea, I think the denial of Chriſt was leſs ſinful in Saint *Peter*, than the like would be in many others, that have received leſs Grace, becauſe the temptation was above meaſure * extraordinary, permitted (no doubt) to this end, that he might be a more

The Admirable Uſe of Peters *Fall foreſeen by the All-ſeeing Wiſdom of God.*

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* *Not in reſpect of danger repreſented (which was but death) but of extraordinary licence at that time granted to the power of darkneſs.*

faithful comforter of his Brethren; whoſe Faith was feeble, crazed, or decayed. *He that hopes with fruit to reprehend, or exhort men much daunted, or aſhamed at the foulneſs of their offences, muſt as far as truth will ſuffer him, acknowledge himſelf to be a ſharer in his own reproofs, to have been ſometimes tainted with the original of their preſent grief: for ſo the parties grieved will be leſs jealous, and conceit the Medicine better.* Thus the Royal Hoſt, in the Poet, cheers up his Princely Gueſt, amated at the mention of his infamous Anceſtors:

Statius, lib. 1. *Theb.* 980.

Ne perge queri, caſuſque priorum
Annumerare tibi: Noſtro quoque ſanguine multum
Erravit pietas, nec culpa nepotibus obſtat.
Tu modo diſſimilis rebus mereare ſecundis
Excuſare tuas.———

Did Parents ſhame their Children ſtain, ſweet Prince thy caſe were mine:
For Piety, ſometimes, her courſe did alter from our Line,
The blemiſh though did not deſcend. Let Vertue be thy guide;
So ſhall thy fame, thy Parents faults, though foul and monſtrous, hide.

2. By theſe, and like circumſtances, may our Saviours words, [*But I have prayed for thee that thy Faith fail not: Therefore when thou art converted ſtrengthen thy Brethren,*] be conſtrued moſt appoſitely to his meaning. What was it then *Peter* was to ſtrengthen in others? That which had been defective in himſelf. Was that his Charity, his Faith, or both? *We read* (ſaith Bellarmine) Peters *Charity did fail; that his Faith did fail, we never read.* In vain then doth *Bellarmine*, in vain do all his fellows labour to prove our Saviour ſhould in theſe words ratifie a perpetual indeficient purity of Roman Faith: for *Peter* was to repair in others what had been impaired in himſelf; to prevent, if it were poſſible, the like fall in ſuch as did, or to themſelves did ſeem to ſtand; to convert, reſtore and ſtrengthen ſuch, as in like, or worſe ſort had denied their Redeemer. With much greater probability might the Romaniſts ſeek to eſtabliſh a perpetual indeficient Chriſtian Charity in *Peters* Succeſſors, had *Peters* Love or Charity only failed. But the bad Lives and Manners of the Roman Clergy, would give too manifeſt evidence againſt them in this attempt: In this reſpect have theſe ſtout Challengers taken upon them the defence of a never-failing Faith, becauſe not ſo eaſily confuted. For it is a matter very hard (I muſt confeſs) to prove, That Faith can never fail, which may deny Chriſt, ſo formally and conſtantly as *Peters* did, without defect. The beſt is, that by their own confeſſion this place can prove, the acts or exerciſes of Roman Faith to be no better, than S. *Peters* was in this denial of Chriſt. His Offence, they grant, was foul, but his Faith without defect. So may Popes be monſtrouſly luxurious

Petrus non erravit circa fidem, ſed tantum aliquid ignoravit, cum audivit, Vade Satana; & à charitate excidit non à fide, quando Chriſtum negavit. Quod in tractatu de Eccleſia, ſuo loco docebimus. *Bellar. lib.* 1. *de Rom. Pontif. cap.* 10. *Fine.*

In thoſe Books of his, de Eccleſia, *the Reader ſhall find the place alledged* totidem verbis. Bellarmine *as moſt of his fellows, deny that* Peter *was the Churches foundation as yet: but their readineſs to defend the indeficiency of his Faith in this denial, argues, they muſt of neceſſity hold, that the Popes Faith doth never fail, albeit he uſually manifeſted as great want of Chriſtian Charity and Reſolution, as* Peter *did in that denial; or, as great ignorance in Divine Myſteries as* Peters *was, when our Saviour ſaid unto him,* Get thee behind me, Satan.

in their Lives, but always infallible in their Doctrine. Reader, conſult with thine own heart, and give ſentence (as in the ſight of God) of the whole frame of their Religion, by the foundation; and of the foundation (ſuch as they willingly acknowledge Faith to be of all true Religion, and every Chriſtian vertue) by *Bellarmines* teſtimony. If *Peter* became (as they pretend) the *Fundamental Rock*, by confeſſing: that Religion doubtleſs, which hath no better ground of infallibility, than *Peters* Faith not ſecured from a threefold denial of Chriſt, was firſt planted by the Spirit of Errour, and of Antichriſt.

3. Not to diſpute any longer what it was, but who they were S. *Peter* was to ſtrengthen: all without exception? This juſtly may ſeem impoſſible, ſeeing the exerciſe of his Miniſtry could not extend to all Nations, much leſs unto all Ages. Yet theſe words bequeath no hereditary Royal Juriſdiction over all perſons, but rather injoin perſonal acts of penitency unto St. *Peter*, for his former perſonal offence. He had found extraordinary mercy at his Lord and Maſters hands; and was to communicate the like unto his fellow ſervants more guilty of his offence. Chriſt, after his Faith had failed, did convert and ſtrengthen him againſt the like temptation; and he, converted, was commanded to convert and ſtrengthen others. Whom? Not ſuch as by converſion might become his Brethren, or rather his Children in Chriſt; but rather ſuch, as were hewn out of the ſame Rock, and could truly call *Abraham* their Father, *Sarah* their Mother, joint Profeſſors with him of *Moſes* Law and the Prophets, more than his Brethren and Aſſociates, in denying him, of whom *Moſes* and all the Prophets bare teſtimony.

4. To ſubtract all matter of calumniation from men, too much diſpoſed to cavil without any probable cauſe, or juſt occaſion: *notwithſtanding his threefold denial of Chriſt, I deny not a triple or quadruple Prerogative in* Peter, *in reſpect of Chriſts other Apoſtles*; yet conſiſting, not in any Authority more infallible in it ſelf, or more ſovereign for ſuperiority, over ſuch as were to depend upon him as a chief Meſſenger of the Lord of Hoſts, but in an extraordinary efficacy of his ordinary Apoſtle-ſhip. In what reſpect then was his ordinary Miniſtry or Apoſtle-ſhip, ſo extraordinarily powerful? In reſpect of the univerſal Church throughout all Ages, or of the Jewiſh Synagogue for the time being only? S. *Paul* confutes the former as evidently as he plainly avoucheth the latter, * *when they ſaw the Goſpel over the uncircumciſion was committed unto me, as the Goſpel over the circumciſion was unto* Peter, (*for he that was mighty by* Peter *in the Apoſtle-ſhip over the circumciſion, was alſo mighty by me towards the Gentiles*) James *and* Cephas *and* John, *which were counted to be Pillars, knew of the Grace that was given unto me, they gave to me and to* Barnabas *the right hands of fellowſhip, that we ſhould preach unto the Gentiles, and they unto the circumciſion.*

*Gal. 2.7,8,9.

S. Peters *extraordinary power and efficacy in converting the circumciſion.*

5. Here the leſs in ſpeech I amplifie, the more in heart and mind I tacitely admire the unſpeakable power and wiſdom of our God, that by the extraordinary offences or infirmities of one or two, can firmly eſtabliſh the Faith of all his Saints. Albeit he uſed the Miniſtry of every other Apoſtle, in reconciling the world unto himſelf: yet *Paul* and *Peter* were as the two principal intermediate

Elements, proportioned and qualified of purpoſe, for the more apt connecting this mixt inferiour Globe with the Heavenly Sphere, the ſons of men with the Son of God; the one by ſymbolizing with the Jew, the other with the Gentile in his ſin, both with Chriſt in true wiſdom, in all good Gifts and Graces of the Spirit. Saint *Pauls* offences againſt God manifeſted in the fleſh, have the ſame proportion to Saint *Peters*, that the ignorance, infidelity or idolatry of the Gentiles had with the Jews delinquency, or Apoſtacy from the God of their Fathers. Saint *Paul* had not known our Saviour in the fleſh, ignorant of his wiſdom in teaching, or power in working, and in his ignorant Zeal unto *Moſes* and the Law, did perſecute his Followers and Diſciples after his Reſurrection; hereby made a fitter Symbole for reconciling the Gentiles unto God, whom they had not known, uſually miſled in a blind devotion to their dumb Idols and Traditions of their Elders, to hate and perſecute the Jews, the only Profeſſors of true Religion, the only Servants till that time of the ever-living God. Saint *Peter* had long converſed with our Saviour, heard him teach as never man taught, ſeen him do what no man elſe could ever do, his eyes had beheld the brightneſs of his excellent Glory, and, out of his apprehenſion of his Deity, he had profeſſed more than ordinary love, * *Lord, I am ready to go with thee into the priſon, and to death:* yet when he comes unto his trial, flatly denies that ever he knew him; hereby more fitly qualified for recovering the backſliding Apoſtatical Jews, who had known the Lord, and all the wonders which he had wrought for *Iſrael:* they had profeſſed ſuch love and loyalty to him, as no people could do more unto their Gods; poſterity ſtill retaining the proteſtations of their religious Fathers; *All this is come upon us, yet do we not forget thee, neither deal we falſly concerning thy Covenant. Our hearts are not turned back, neither our ſteps gone out of thy paths. Surely for thy ſake are we ſlain continually, and are counted as ſheep for the ſlaughter:* Yet when he came in the ſimilitude of man to exact Obedience and Allegiance at their hands, they will not know him; but, as *Samuel* had foretold, caſt him off from reigning over them, and openly proteſt againſt him, *We have no King but Cæſar.*

* *Luke* 22. 33.

6. Anſwerable to this Obſervation is the ſucceſs of their Apoſtleſhip, regiſtred by the Evangeliſt. We never read ſo many Jews at once ſo throughly converted *by our Saviour*, or ſo ſeriouſly affected with his Doctrine in his life time, as with that memorable † Sermon of S. *Peter.* The manner of his reiterated Appellations, [*Ye men of Judea, and ye all that inhabit Jeruſalem. Ye men of Iſrael.* * *Men and Brethren.*] Of mentioning Gods promiſes made to them, and to their children; of his reply; his earneſt beſeeching and exhorting them, that had appealed jointly to him, and the other Apoſtles: argue, theſe were the Brethren he in particular was enjoined to convert, confirm and ſtrengthen. And like a skilful Surgeon, that knew by his own recovery how to prick their conſciences, without giving them a deadly wound, he preſſeth them in the laſt place, with crucifying the Lord of Glory. The mention whereof had been enough in others judgment to have moved them to deſpair: *but this Comforter knew by experience, that to be throughly toucht in heart, as he had been, for ſuch foul offences paſt, was the readieſt way*

† *Acts* 2. 14. *unto the end of the chapter. Acts* 3.12. *to the* 13 *verſe of the* 4 *chapter.*
* *Acts* 2. 29. *Acts* 3. 25.

way to that true repentance, which he found, and ſuch repentance the ſureſt holdfaſt of lively Faith. But he that was thus powerful in the Circumciſion, became a ſtone of offence unto the Gentiles, with whom he had to deal at *Antioch.* For by his tripping in an uncouth way, (as being out of his natural Element) he made them ſtumble, juſtly reproved, for his amphibious converſation with men of tempers ſo contrary, by S. *Paul*; under whoſe hand the edification of the Gentiles did better proſper. Yet he nothing ſo powerful in converting the Jews, though his Zeal towards them was no leſs than S. *Peters* was; his endeavours to ſow the ſeed of life in their hearts, as great, but with ſmall hope of ſeeing any fruit of his labours. But it will be worth the Readers pains, I am perſwaded, to obſerve; that albeit he preſs the Jews at *Antioch* with the very ſame Arguments, (but more forcibly and artificially framed) wherewith S. *Peter* had converted ſo many, yet is enforced to make a contrary concluſion. *Peter* concludes in hope prognoſticating ſucceſs, *Amend your lives, and be baptized every one of you in the Name of Jeſus Chriſt, for the remiſſion of ſins, and ye ſhall receive the gifts of the Holy Ghoſt; For the promiſe is made unto you and to your children. And the ſame day were added to the Church about three thouſand ſouls.* * Saint *Paul*, for concluſion, takes his *Farewel* of them, as no part of his peculiar charge; only tells them it was his, and his fellow *Barnabas* duty, to admoniſh them. *Then* Paul *and* Barnabas *ſpake boldly, and ſaid, It was neceſſary that the Word of God ſhould firſt have been ſpoken unto you: but ſeeing you put it from you, and judge your ſelves unworthy of everlaſting life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles. For ſo hath the Lord commanded us, ſaying, I have made thee a light of the Gentiles, that thou ſhouldſt be the ſalvation unto the end of the World. And when the Gentiles heard it, they were glad, and glorified the Word of the Lord: and as many as were ordained unto eternal life, believed. Thus the Word of the Lord was publiſhed throughout the whole Country: but the Jews ſtirred certain devout and honourable women, and the chief men of the City, and raiſed perſecution againſt* Paul *and* Barnabas, *and expelled them out of their Coaſts*, Acts 13. 46.

S. Pauls *extraordinary power and efficacy in winning the Gentiles unto Chriſt.*

Acts 2. 38.

* *See the like ſucceſs of his preaching. Acts* 4. 4.

7. Thus it is as true of Graces, as Natures Ordination, ὡς πρὸς ἕν: the power and efficacy of Chriſts chief Apoſtles, is reſtrained unto their proper and limited Sphere; God always bleſſing thoſe endeavours beſt, that are imployed within the precincts of that peculiar charge whereto he appoints us. By that which hath been ſaid, it may appear, that Saint *Peters* and Saint *Pauls* Prerogatives, how great ſoever, were both perſonal, to expire with themſelves; although a title of ſupremacy over the Gentiles might be pretended, with much greater probability from Saint *Paul*, than from Saint *Peter*, whoſe peculiar charge was the Jew; as may be yet farther manifeſted by the place moſt urged for his, and his Succeſſors Oecumenical Juriſdiction, bequeathed, as the Romaniſts ſuppoſe, in theſe words, *Peter, feed my Lambs*; *Peter, feed my ſheep.*

8. But the natural circumſtances of that place compared with the late Expoſition of the former, deads all their blows, thence intended againſt us, ere they can rightly frame themſelves to fetch them. A little before theſe words were uttered, *Peter* deſirous to approve his exceſſive love to our Saviour, and manifeſt more than an ordinary deſire of his company, (that had appeared unknown unto him, but from *Johns* notification) girt his coat about him, and

Who were the ſheep Peter *was principally appointed to feed, and what authority he had over them.*

and caſt himſelf into the Sea, whiles the other Diſciples (not above two hundred Cubits from Land) came by ſhip to meet him. After a ſhort Dinner paſſed, as the Text ſeems to inſinuate, in ſilence; * at leaſt not entertained with ſuch variety of diſcourſe, as might either interrupt ſome private intimation made to *Peter* of future conference, or put the former occaſion of this following exhortation out of the other Apoſtles memory: *our Saviour enjoins* Simon *the ſon of* Jona, *to feed his Lambs, and again, and again, to feed his Sheep.* He ſees him then like a loving Souldier, deſirous (by his adventurous approach unto him) to recover his former reputation, much impaired by denying him. Whether our Saviour check or cheriſh this deſire, I queſtion not, much leſs determine. His ſpeeches, with the former circumſtances, import thus much: *Thou haſt made profeſſion of more than ordinary love unto me, of readineſs to lay down thy life for my ſake, though all others, even theſe thy fellows, ſhould forſake me; willing I ſee thee, by thy preſent hazard of it, to make thy former words good. But wouldſt thou have me yet to ſhew thee a more excellent way? I have told thee it long ſince, Thou art converted, ſtrengthen thy Brethren.* Simon *the Son of* Jona, *if thou deſire to prove thy ſelf a* Cephas, *or teſtifie the ſincerity of thy faith and love, which by the powers of darkneſs were of late ſo grievouſly ſhaken,* Feed my Lambs, Feed my Sheep. *Yea, ſeeing thou thrice deniedſt the Shepherd of thy Soul, I ſay unto thee the third time,* Feed my Sheep. *Let the memory of thy fore-paſſed threefold ſin; alſo let this my preſent threefold admonition, excite thee unto triple diligence in thy charge; to ſhew ſuch pity and compaſſion, as I have ſhewed to thee, unto that loſt and ſcattered Flock, which have denied me, or conſented to my crucifying. Let thy faithful performance of what I requeſt thee at my farewel, be the firſt teſtimony of thy love to me, to be laſtly teſtified by the loſs of thy life, which thou didſt promiſe me when I gave mine for my ſheep, but ſhalt not pay until thou haſt fulfilled this my requeſt; Verily, verily I ſay unto thee, when thou waſt young thou girdeſt thy ſelf, and walkedſt whither thou wouldeſt; * but when thou ſhalt be old, thou ſhalt ſtretch forth thine hands, and another ſhall gird thee and lead thee whither thou wouldſt not,* John 21. 18.

* *Jeſus ſaid unto them, Come and dine; and none of the Diſciples durſt ask him who art thou? ſeeing they knew he was the Lord, John* 21. 12.

* *Thus much it ſeems* Peter *did prophecy unaware.* John 13. *verſe* 37. *but failed in application of the time. So our Saviour ſaith,* Thou canſt not follow me now, but thou ſhalt follow me afterward; *as well in death, as in life after death.*

9. But here *Bellarmine*, always exceeding witty, either to elude Scriptures, whoſe natural meaning is evidently againſt him, or to collect a gulling ſence from ſuch, as nothing at all make for him, would infer that the Poſſeſſive, * *My*, neceſſarily refers *Peters* Charge or Juriſdiction unto all the flock that called Chriſt their Lord, *Owner*. For ſeeing after his Reſurrection there was but one Fold; for this great Shepherd to ſay, *My ſheep*, could not diſtinguiſh one ſort from another; and therefore none to be exempted from *Peters* overſight. But, *the Flock, though One in reſpect of the Owner, which had purchaſed all with one price, did conſiſt of ſheep much different in Breeding, and Retaining their ſeveral Marks*; ſome were of the *Circumciſion*, others of the *Uncircumciſion*; the former had been our Saviours peculiar charge in his life time, (*for*

* Deinde aliam rationem, eamque inſignem nobis ſuppeditat pronomen illud, *Meas*. Nam cum abſque ulla reſtrictione addatur ad nomen, *Oves*, pronomen, *Meas*, Manifeſtè ſignificatur, eas omnes Oves Petro commendari, ad quas extenditur pronomen, *Meas*; certum eſt autem illud, *Meas*, extendi ad omnes ſimpliciter. Nec enim ullus eſt in Eccleſia, qui ſe Chriſti ovem eſſe non glorietur: igitur omnes omnino Chriſtianos nullo excepto Petro Dominus commendavit. *Bel. de Rom. Pont. lib.* 1. *cap.* 16.

he was not ſent but unto the loſt ſheep of Iſrael;) theſe he might with note of diſtinction call *My ſheep*. As if a Shephered, raiſed to better fortunes, ſhould purchaſe a great many more ſheep, than he was wont to look to himſelf, and refer both ſorts to ſeveral Keepers, though both to Fold together in the Evening, he might *Signanter*, ſay to the one, Look well to my ſheep, though both Flocks were his by right of poſſeſſion; but only the one his, by a peculiar relation of former charge or overſight. And thus, as we have ſaid before, the Jews were committed peculiarly to Saint *Peters* care. Albeit, conſonantly to the former Expoſition of both places alledged, our Saviour by *My ſheep*, might only intimate his tender care over his Flock, without diſtinction; *that* Peter *might more carefully feed as many as he could perſonally look to, ſeeing the proof of his love to his Lord and Maſter, and of his fidelity which had failed, did conſiſt herein*. As for * *Bellarmines* other Collections, that our Saviour, by mentioning *his ſheep*, ſhould mean Prelates or Superiours; by his *little ſheep*, (ſo their Vulgar diſtinguiſheth) inferiour Paſtors; by *his lambs*, meer Laicks, ſuch as have Fathers, but no Children in Chriſt: they only prove that in this Light of the Goſpel, there is a Generation of men profeſſing Chriſtianity, yet as apt as groſly to transform Chriſts Spiritual Love, as the Heathen did his Fathers Glory, into the ſimilitude of their carnal corrupt affections.

* *Vide Bellar. de Rom. Pont. lib.*1. *cap.*16.

10. If it may ſtand with Chriſtian ſobriety, ſo preciſely to determine of particular Differences implied in theſe words; it is moſt likely our Saviour meant to include all ſorts of people, according to the different care their divers eſtates required: *ſome were to be tenderly handled and cheriſhed like lambs*; *others to be lookt unto like elder ſheep*, and to be fed with ſtronger meat, but with leſs perſonal or aſſiduous attendance. There is no one kind of Argument perſwades me more the Romiſh Church is led by the Spirit of Errour, than whiles I obſerve, how they ſtill approve themſelves to be *Peters* Succeſſors in denying Chriſt, *and going the wrong way unto the Truth of the Goſpel*; always like ungracious Children, ſeeking to enter upon the Inheritance bequeathed, without performance of what the Teſtator principally required. Our Saviour requeſted *Peter* in theſe terms, *Feed my ſheep*, (not *thine*;) intimating, he ſhould approve himſelf a Faithful Shepherd, one that was to give ſtrict account unto the *Owner*, of whatſoever befel the Flock: theſe men by Commiſſion pretended from Saint *Peter*, would make themſelves great Sheep-maſters, *to kill and eat at their pleaſures*. That *to feed*, is all one, as to *Rule* and *Govern*, as they would have it, is a conceit of men only minding their Bellies, or ſeeking to be fed by others ſpoils. That *feeding* or Paſtorſhip is always accompanied with Rule and Authority, none that ever taſted any Spiritual Food will deny. That *Peter* was a Paſtor and a Feeder, an extraordinary Paſtor, a principal Feeder, and therefore of preheminent Rule and Authority over his Flock, we acknowledge: but no preheminence in him above his fellows, which was not grounded upon his eminent care, and more than ordinary fidelity in feeding it; not with Lordly Injunctions ſealed with *Anathema*'s, but with ſincerity of life and ſoundneſs of Doctrine. There was no difference betwixt

the tenure of *His* and *Others* eſtates, as if he had been Lord by inheritance, not obnoxious to any Forfeiture by miſdemeanour; and Others but Leaſe-holders (during term of good Life and Manners) of the Priviledges they enjoyed, to return by eſcheat, or for want of ſucceſſion, unto *Peters* Succeſſors. That *Penitential exerciſe of feeding Chriſts ſheep, in ſuch ſtrict terms ſo often enjoined; rather argues, that ſhould have been interpreted unfaithfulneſs or diſloyalty in him, which would have been accounted only neglect or want of diligence in others.* And the ingenious Reader may, if it pleaſe him, eaſily obſerve, that *of all Apoſtolical Writings now extant, none have either leſs intimation of any Preheminency or Supremacy, or more lively Characters of their Authors unfeigned humility, and lowly ſubmiſſion of himſelf unto the meaneſt of his fellow-Miniſters, than Saint Peters*: as if by them he would have teſtified his perpetual mindfulneſs of that former *Offence*, and ſtrict *charge of fidelity*, in feeding Chriſts Flock thereupon enjoined. *The Elders* (ſaith he) *which are among you, I beſeech, which am,* what? the chief Apoſtle, an Eccleſiaſtick Monarch, Chriſts Vicar-General, an Elder of Elders? no: but *alſo an Elder* συμπρεσβύτερος, *and a witneſs of the ſufferings of Chriſt, and alſo a partaker of the Glory that ſhall be revealed; Feed the flock of God, which dependeth upon you, caring for it, not by conſtraint, but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind; not as though ye were Lords over Gods heritage, but that ye may be examples to the flock.* Yet for any to arrogate ſuch *Infallibility*, or challenge ſuch *Authority*, as he had, without perſeverance in the like *Fidelity and Sincerity*, as *Peter* (requeſted upon the ſtricteſt terms of love unto his Lord and Maſter, in all likelihood would and) did uſe in feeding his Flock; is ſuch a mock of Chriſt and this his bleſſed Saint, as none but *the Brood of Antichriſt* could ever have hatched. Yet inferiour to that, which accompanies the third pretended ground of Romiſh Faith, *Tu es* Petrus *& ſuper hanc Petram, Thou art* Peter, *and upon this* Peter (as they would have it) *will I build my Church.*

1 *Pet.* 5. *verſe* 1, 2, 3.

Chap.

Chap. VIII.

That Chriſt, not S. Peter, *is the Rock ſpoken of* Mat. 16. ver. 18. *That the Jeſuits Expoſition of that place demonſtrateth the Pope to be* The Great Antichriſt.

1. WHy the Latin Interpreter following the Greek, ſhould vary the Gender, reading *Tu es* Petrus *& ſuper hanc Petram*; not *Tu es* Petra; *& ſuper hanc Petram*: although the tongue wherein they ſuppoſe S. *Matthew* wrote, had but one and the ſame word, *Cepha*, *Bellarmin* and * *Maldonate* give theſe two reaſons. Firſt, ſeeing S. *Peter* was a man, his name was to be expreſſed in the Greek and Latin by a Word of the Maſculine gender. Secondly, albeit the Greek Maſculine Πέτρος be ſometimes uſed for a Rock; yet very ſeldom, or in the Attick Dialect only, if at all, when it is taken for a fundamental Rock fit to erect Edifices upon. Thus profeſſed Commentators oft-times find out many witty reaſons of like alterations in words, which the Authors never dreamed of. But granting (what theſe two learned Romaniſts only ſuppoſe, none can prove) S. *Matthew* had written in the Syriack Tongue: neither of the two reaſons alledged for the Greek or Latin Interpreters variation of the Gender, can have any place in S. *John*, who wrote in Greek, but not in the Attick Dialect (and yet purpoſely inſtructing us what the Syriack word *Cepha*, which our Saviour gave as a Surname to S. *Peter* at his firſt calling meant) ſaith, it is by interpretation Πέτρος *Petrus*, not *Petra*; though this Feminine might have been uſed without offence in the interpretation of his name, ſo he had not been uſually called thereby, or being ſo uſually called, it might have grown into a maſculine; for why ſhould *Petra* ſeem a more Effeminate name in S. *Peter*, than *Zabarella*, or *Carafa*, in their Cardinals, or *Aquaviva*, in the General of the Jeſuits? If Jeſus himſelf had given the Governour of the Society, inſtiled by his own name, this Surname in the Abſtract, *Aquaviva*: what would men think it did portend? that he ſhould be *that well of water, which ſpringeth into everlaſting life*? or rather that he had been ſo denominate from ſome relation to ſuch water, that *Claudius Aquiviva* was as much as *Claudius de Aquaviva*? It is moſt likely then, that as well S. *John* when he interprets *Cepha* Πέτρος, as the Greek Tranſlator of S. *Matthew*, in ſaying, *Tu es Petrus*, not *Petra*; did ſeek to prevent that ſiniſter ſenſe, which poſterity might cull out of the ambiguous *Syriack*, *Cepha*, ſometimes ſignifying the *Rock it ſelf*, otherwhiles implying no more, than a *Denomination from it*. Nor was it S. *Auſtins* ignorance of the Hebrew and Syriack, * as *Bellarmin* objects; but rather his perfect knowledge of Chriſt, as, *The only Rock of Salvation*, which made him think that Πέτρος in Greek ſhould imply no more then πέτρινος, *One belonging to that ſure foundation*

* Dubitabit aliquis, cur, ſi non *Matthæus*, *Matthæi* tamen Græcus interpres illam nominum, & generis diſtinctionem adhibuerit. Reſpondeo in promptu rationem eſſe, quia, quamvis Græci, *Petra*, & πέτρος genere maſculino & πέτρα fœminino dicatur, tamen *Petrus*, quia vir erat, non *Petra*, fœminino, ſed *Petrus* maſculino nomine vocandus erat. Secundo autem loco, ubi de ædificii Fundamento agebatur, non *Petrum* ſed *Petram* dixit, quamvis idem utrumque nomen ſignificaret, quia in ejuſmodi edificiis nomen *Petra*, fœmininum magis eſt uſitatum, πέτρος enim & Atticum & rarum eſt. *Maldonat. in* 16. *Matthæi. Vide* Bellar. *de Rom. Pont. Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 10.

What the name of Cephas *doth import in S.* Peter.

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* *John* 4. 14.

* Exiſtimavit Auguſtinus, Petram, ſuper quam ædificatur Eccleſia, non eſſe Petrum; quia credidit, Cepham non ſignificare Petram, ſed aliquid à Petra derivatum; ut ſi diceremus, Petrinum, aut Petreium, quomodo Chriſtianus non ſignificat Chriſtum ſed aliquid à Chriſto derivatum. Quia igitur Eccleſia ſuper Petram non ſuper aliquem Petrinum, vel Petreium ædificanda eſt, ideo exiſtimavit Auguſtinus, per illam Petram intelligi non Petrum, ſed Chriſtum: *de Rom. Pont. Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 10.

whereon the Church is built. Would God *Bellarmin* could plead ignorance in theſe Tongues for his excuſe; even he that hath no acquaintance with the Syriack, but by the affinity of it with the Hebrew, or with neither but from the Common Analogy betwixt them, and Modern Tongues deſtitute of ſuch variety of Formations or Caſes, as are facile and plentiful in the Greek and Latin, cannot be ignorant that Abſtracts or Subſtantives whilſt given as names to men, are uſually equivalent to the Concrete or Adjective, whereby they are oft times expreſſed in Latin, as in our Engliſh we attribute the Subſtantive or Abſtract name of Countries unto Earls, or of Towns unto Barons; whom our Soveraign Lord when he ſpeaks in Latin, would call *Eſſexius*, in Engliſh he calls *Eſſex*: ſo *Roger Mortimer* with us, is *Rogerus de mari Mortuo*, with Latin Writers. Even in the Latin it ſelf, wherein the diſtinction between Abſtracts and Concretes, or Subſtantives and Adjectives, is obvious and apparent; the Fundamental Abſtract or Subſtantive is given oft times by way of cognomination, to expreſs ſome relation between it, and the party denominated from it, in value no more than the Adjective or Denomination in the oblique caſe; ſo *Scipio* taken properly, or in its direct and primary ſignification, is a *Walking ſtaff*, *Baculum*; But attributed to † *Cornelius* (the firſt of that *Honourable Family* called *Scipiones*) implies no more than one that had been *inſtar Baculi*, or *Scipionis*, inſtead of a rod or walking ſtaff to his blind decrepit Father: ſo * *Scropha* (though attributed in the Abſtract unto another Family in *Rome*) imports not that their Anceſtors had been *Swine*, or their Mother a *Sow*, but only ſome particular relation to that Creature. The like we may ſay of * *Aſina* and *Beſtia*, names of other Roman Families. And if I miſtake not, that famous Profeſſor which hight *Victoria* in the Abſtract, was but *Franciſcus à victoria*, *de victoria*, or *victorius*. In like ſort, although it were true that *Cepha* in the Syriack did only ſignifie a Rock or Fundamental ſtone; yet ſeeing all grant that Chriſt was truly and principally ſuch, the ſame name given unto *Simon* the ſon of *Jona*, muſt imply no more than a denominative reference unto the Rock, ſo as if he had been called in Latin, *Simon Petra*, or in Engliſh *Simon Rock*, this could imply no more than *Simon de Petra* or *Petreus*, *Simon* a Rock, or, of the Rock.

† Non aliter dicti Scipiones, niſi quòd Cornelius, qui patrem luminibus carentem pro baculo regebat, Scipio cognominatus, nomen ex cognomine poſteris dedit. *Macrob. Satur. lib.* 1. *cap.* 6.

* Vide Macrobium loco cito.

* Aſinæ cognomentum Corneliis datum eſt, quoniam princeps Corneliæ gentis empto fundo, ſeu filia data marito cum ſponſores ab eo ſolenniter poſcerentur, aſinam cum pecuniæ onere produxit in forum, quaſi pro ſponſoribus præſens pignus. *Macrob. Saturn. l.* 1. *cap.* 6.

Why Peter *was called* Cephas.

2. But whatſoever the Syriack *Cephas*, or the Greek Πέτρος in the place cited do import: it will be demanded, why our Saviour beſtowed this name on *Simon* the ſon of *Jona*, at his firſt coming to him? The particular references betwixt him and the rock it ſelf, or *Chief Stone*, might be ſo many as might convince him of curioſity, perhaps of folly, that would peremptorily or preciſely determine, what one ſhould give occaſion to this denomination: Moſt probable it is, that he who *knew what was in man*, did at the firſt ſight of *Simon*, ſee in him, or mean to beſtow upon him ſome extraordinary aptneſs to apprehend the words of eternal life, or to deſcry the *Gate of the Lord whereby the righteous were to enter*,

or (which is equivalent) Chriſt to be the *Chief corner ſtone* ſpoken of by the Pſalmiſt: Herein I willingly aſſent to *Bellarmin*, that S. *Peter* was the firſt that diſtinctly did apprehend, or at leaſt, by confeſſion, open the great myſterie of Chriſtianity and foundation of true Religion, God *Incarnate in our fleſh.* Thus much the circumſtances of that place ſeem to infer; *For Jeſus when he came unto the coaſts of* Cæſarea, *he asked his Diſciples, whom do men ſay that I (commonly known by the name of the Son of man) am; and they ſaid, ſome ſay John Baptiſt; ſome, Elias, and others Jeremiah*; all to this effect, *that he was ſome one of the Prophets*, (or as *Nathanael* in his confeſſion meant) ſuch a Son of God, as they had been. Theſe were in the way, but came not near the main foundation which *Peter* firſt uncovers, for when our Saviour demands; *But whom ſay ye* (whom I muſt appoint, as chief Builders, and principal parts of that ſpiritual Temple, which is toward) *that I am; Then Simon Peter anſwered and ſaid, Thou art The Chriſt, The Son of the living God.* And from his firſt diſcovery of this Rock, or *Chief corner ſtone*, he might well be denominated a rock or ſtone, as *Maximus* was named *Meſſala* from a Town in *Sicily* ſo called, which he had taken, or, as we might denominate ſome famous Mariner, from ſome notable place which he ſhould firſt diſcover. To this effect doth our Saviour reply unto S. *Peter*, *Bleſſed art thou Simon the Son of Jona*, for not fleſh and blood, not the chief Builders amongſt the people, but he that laid this precious ſtone in *Sion*, hath uncovered the ſame to thee. And ſeeing thou haſt ſaid, what ſhould be ſaid and thought of me, I only ſay of thee, Thou hadſt not thy name for nought, rightly waſt thou called a Rock, or ſtone, that haſt ſo plainly opened the way unto that very rock, whereon I mean to *build my Church.* Had our Saviour meant *Peter* had been *That Rock*; or were his words to be interpreted, as in effect the Papiſts do; He had ſaid, σὺ εἶ ὁ πέτρος, *Tu es Petra Illa ſuper quam*, &c. But ſeeing he adds no Emphaſis to *Peters* name, but unto *petra*, theſe words [καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ] are but an actual expreſſion, or more definite ſpecification, of what had been potentially included in the indeterminate tranſitive ἀπεκάλυψε *revelavit*; for where our Engliſh reads *fleſh and bloud hath not revealed* It *unto thee*; the original is verbatim, *hath not revealed to thee*, to wit, that *rock whereupon I will build my Church.* The direct current then of our Saviours ſpeech is thus; *Bleſſed art thou Simon the ſon of Jonah, for not fleſh and blood, but my Father which is in heaven, hath revealed that Rock to thee, whereupon I will build my Church, againſt which the gates of Hell ſhall never prevail, whereof thou (according to the Omen of thy name long ſince given by me) ſhall be the firſt living ſtone, by whom all others ſhall be ſquared, ere admitted into this ſpiritual edifice.*

Matth. 16. ver 13, 14, 15, &c.

John 1. v. 49.

3. That our Saviour did not expreſly mention any other rock or ſtone before he ſaid to *Simon*, *Thou art Peter*, doth nothing prejudice this expoſition. It ſufficed that *God* and *the Rock of Salvation*: * *Meſſiah*,

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* Pronomen *Hanc* non poteſt referri ad *Chriſtum*, *Petram*, ſed ad *Petrum*, *Petram*; debet enim referri ad aliquod proximum, non ad remotum, proximè ante dictum fuerat non *Chriſto* ſed *Petro*, *Tu es Cephas*, id eſt, *Petra*, deinde licet Chriſtus dici poſſet, *Petra*, tamen hoc in loco non eſt vocatus *Petra* à *Petro* confitente, ſed *Chriſtus* filius Dei vivi; debet autem referri illud, *Hanc*, ad eum qui nominatus eſt *Petra*, non ad eum, qui non eſt appellatus hoc nomine. *Bellar. lib.* 1. *de Rom. Pont. cap.* 10. Vide *Deut.* 32. *Pſal.* 18. *Pſal.* 19. ult. Tu vero conſidera verborum Prophetæ amplitudinem, poterat dicere, Mittam vobis Meſſiam, ſed voluit tam inſigne beneficium verbis inſignibus, & Metaphoricis explicare. Eſt autem tranſlatio ſumpta ab ædificantibus, quæ verborum amplitudine innuit rei magnificentiam & majeſtatem. *Pintus* in 28. *Iſa. ver.* 16. *See other Annotations out of* Bellarmin *in this Chapter.* *See* Maldonat *on Matth.* 21. *cap.* 42. *ver.*

the Chief Corner Stone, *The Christ*, were then known, and yet are held as Equivalent, even amongſt the learned Papiſts; that the Diſciples to whom he then ſpake, did no leſs perfectly know, more ready to acknowledge as much, as our Adverſaries yet do, that not *Peter*, but His and their Maſter only, was to be the *Chief Corner Stone* in that Temple, they had often heard he ſhould, and now he tells them he was to build. The preſent Dialogue would abundantly inſtruct them, that not the Son of man himſelf, howſoever conſidered, but in ſuch ſort as his heavenly Father had revealed him to S. *Peter*, truly apprehended as God and Man, was a Foundation competent for ſo incomparable a ſtructure. Such as before his time had gone the fartheſt; ſuch as thought he had been *Moſes*, (who had no Peer among the Prophets, greater than whom it was ſcarce expected any ſon of mortal man ſhould be) had not come unto ground firm enough to build their own, and all mens Faith upon. To them the gate of the Lord, by which the righteous were to enter, was not fully opened; They came not to a diſtinct, direct, and perfect view of *this Chief Corner Stone*: for this reaſon they could not be accounted πίτεοι, ſtones actually wrought, and ſo well fitting this precious Foundation, as that others might be framed by their Patern, and then joyntly faſtned to it. This was *Peters* Prerogative, unto whom the Keys are firſt given (*as unto the firſt of all the faithful that had paſſed this gate*) and power by them, to admit as many as were, to exclude all that were not faſhionable to this Rock and *Corner-ſtone*.

4. Seeing then neither the Apoſtles then thought, nor can any man yet conceive, that *Peter* could be an extraordinary ſtone, or ſecond Foundation in the Edifice, there ſpoken of, but muſt withal admit Chriſt to be *The Chief Corner Stone*, or Sureſt Fundamental Rock: I would appeal to my Adverſary in his ſober mood; to any not actually drunken with the *Babyloniſh Cup*, unto whether foundation, unto what ſtone, the principal or leſs principal, theſe words [*and upon this Rock will I build my Church*] muſt be referred? We muſt judge of the foundation by the Edifice, and of the Edifice by the attribute. Now, as there is no one Title wherein the ſpirit doth more delight to expreſs the Strength and Praiſes of the living God, than this of *Rock*: ſo was there never any more puiſſant effect attributed to any Rock, than the eternal ſtability of this Edifice. What S. *Paul* ſaith of the foundation, I may truly ſay of the Edifice and the Attribute. Another Edifice more ſtrong than this Church, can no man build; no Attribute can be imagined more glorious than This: *That the gates of Hell ſhall never prevail*, or (as * *Maldonate* more fully expreſſeth the majeſtie of the Hebraiſm) *ſhall not be able to ſtand againſt it*, *or confront it.* To aſcribe the ſupportance of ſuch a ſtructure to the ſtrength of *Peters* Faith, not as it was in him only, but as it is perpetually propagated to his Succeſſors, is, to impeach him of diſloyalty, and rob Chriſt of his greateſt glory. For, † even ſuch as plead

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*Omnes quos legi præter *Hilarium* exiſtimant ſenſum eſſe; fore, ut diaboli potentia Eccleſiam quidem exerceat, Nunquam vero opprimat. Quæ ſententia parva eſt, nec verba Chriſti implet, nec enim ſolent portæ vincere ſed reſiſtere, itaque non potuit offendendi vis ſed defendendi portas ſignificari. Senſus igitur, niſi fallor, eſt, Fore, ut Eccleſia ſuper Petram à Chriſto fundata, omnem diaboli potentiam expugnet; ita ut nulla arte, nullis viribus poſſit reſiſtere. Hoc enim multo majus eſt, & verbis magis conſentaneum · Portas enim Inferi non prævalituras adverſus Eccleſiam, phraſis Hebraica eſt לאיכלי לה non poterunt adverſus illam, id eſt, non poterunt illi reſiſtere. † Vide *Maldonatum* in verſum 18. cap. 16. *Mat.* & *Bellar*, lib. 1. de Pont. Rom. cap. 19.

for this prerogative in *Peters* ſucceſſors, confeſs, that this they give to *Peter* is our Saviours moſt uſual ſtile; we may with the Prophet demand, *Who is the* [*] *Rock beſides our God?* [†] *The Lord is the Rock of our ſalvation*: (of ſuch ſalvation as the gates of Hell cannot oppugn) the ſame He is *the Lord our Rock and our Redeemer*, Pſal. 19. 14.

[*] Pſal. 18. ver. 31.
[†] Pſal. 46.

5. The former Interpretation will yet further approve it ſelf, to be moſt conſonant to the general Analogy of faith, moſt native to the place before alledged, and in reſpect of Romiſh gloſſes, ſuch, as is the Church of Chriſt unto the gates of Hell, or the Ark of old unto *Dagon*; if we obſerve (what is moſt frequently, and perſpicuouſly taught in other Scriptures, pertinent to the main point in Controverſie:) Firſt, that the immediate ſubject of *Peters* Confeſſion [*God incarnate, or dwelling* (as S. *Paul* ſpeaks) *bodily in Chriſt*] is preſuppoſed, by all ſacred Writers, as the great Myſtery of mans Redemption, the Fundamental Rock of Salvation. Secondly, that all, and only they, which in ſincerity of heart conceive, and with ſtedfaſt perſeverance retain this confeſſion which *Peter* made, are true and lively parts of that Edifice, which *the Son of the living God* here promiſed to erect.

6. The Reader, I know, in this fruitful age of Learned Expoſitors may find variety of Comments, but none that can more fully ſatisfie him, than S. *Peters* own Paraphraſe upon our Saviours Promiſe to him, if we compare it with other Scriptures, in ſenſe and meaning equivalent; That Chriſt was the only Rock whereupon this Saint himſelf, as a living member of the Church, was built, is apparent: becauſe, intending to make his flock, *lively parts of the ſame Edifice*; he tells them they come not to himſelf, *as to a ſecond Rock*, but *unto the Lord, as unto a living ſtone, diſallowed of men, yet choſen of God and pretious*: As if he had ſaid; Not fleſh and blood, not the wiſeſt of men, but only our heavenly Father did firſt reveal him unto me for ſuch, and in the words following (as if he had purpoſely intended to certifie us, that the name of *Peter* did deſcend to him from this affinity with this *elect and precious ſtone*, not becauſe he was a Rock or Fundamental ſtone himſelf) he adds, *and ye as lively ſtones be made a ſpiritual houſe, a lively Prieſt-hood (Prieſts as living, and altars as ſtones) to offer up ſpiritul ſacrifices, acceptable to God, by Jeſus Chriſt*, Though they were not all to have the title or name of *Peters* (for ſo there could be no diſtinction) yet ſo they would believe and confeſs as he did, that Chriſt was the *living ſtone*, they were to have the reality or ſubſtance, *to be ſtones of that ſpiritual houſe, againſt which the gates of Hell ſhould not be able to prevail.*

7. And ſeeing he now endeavoured to faſten them unto Chriſt, as unto the only ſure Rock of their redemption; it could not be ſo available to tell them in our Saviours own words, that becoming ſuch a ſpiritual houſe, and continuing in offering up ſacrifices acceptable unto God, *the gates of Hell ſhould not prevail againſt them.* Until this Day-ſtar had more fully ſhined in their hearts, he knew it for the better method to kindle the ſame hope in them, by the Prophets light, which in time would break forth clearer of it ſelf: for that glorious promiſe of our Saviour differed] from the prophetical prediction, which S. *Peter* gives them for their aſſurance,

but as the light which goes before, doth from the brightneſs following the Suns riſing: What Chriſt had told him, was in effect contained before in that * Scripture: *Behold, I lay in Sion a chief corner ſtone, elect and pretious, and he that believeth therein ſhall not be* † *aſhamed*? Why not aſhamed? becauſe his hope ſhould be moſt ſure; and *Hope* (as the Apoſtle ſaith) *maketh not aſhamed*: he meant, It ſupporteth againſt all ſhame or terror, the world, fleſh, or Devil can oppoſe againſt us. They may threaten, but not ſo deject us, as to cauſe us, either through fear of diſgrace, or other danger, skulk, or run from mens preſence, as a Learned Hebrician expreſſeth the Hebrew word rendred by the vulgar, *non feſtinabit*, he ſhall not *haſten*; or to expreſs the full value of both theſe Apoſtles ſpeeches, by the laſt and moſt potent object of ſhame; *Beliving in Chriſt we ſhall not be found naked in that laſt day, nor wiſh the Mountains for a covering to our ſhame*; but enabled by ſure Hope to ſtand before the Son of man: for, not aſhamed of him before men in this life, he will not be aſhamed of us in that day. Then ſhall that victory of this ſpiritual houſe over the impotent aſſaults of Hell gates be manifeſted. Thus by S. *Peters* own Expoſition, *The Son of the living God*, whom he confeſſed, was that living *Stone*, from whoſe ſtrength this ſpiritual houſe, whereof he and his flock were באבנא חיתא *lively ſtones*, becomes ſo ſtrong. To make either S. *Peter* or his Succeſſors joynt, though ſecondary, ſupporters of this glorious work, were to divide our Faith betwixt Chriſt and them: For it only ſtands by faith and confidence immediately faſtened upon the Foundation or ſupporters. If then we may not ſo faſten our faith either upon *Peter*, or his Succeſſors, we can receive no other ſtrength from them, than we do from Chriſts other Apoſtles, and that is only from their Miniſterial Function, in ſquaring and faſtening us unto this *living ſtone*. To this purpoſe ſaith S. *Paul*, *Other foundation can no man lay, than that which is laid, which is Jeſus Chriſt*. Whoſoever was himſelf builded on him, albeit he never heard of S. *Peter*, albeit the doctrines he heaped upon this foundation were but hay and ſtubble, or matter alike apt to take fire; yet the flame wherein theſe idle ſpeculations of his brain were to periſh, ſhould but ſinge his clothes, not devour his ſubſtance; becauſe by faith united unto that *living ſtone*, which without any other intermediate ſconce, or fence, doth quench the flames of hell, and keep them from ſcorching any, even the laſt and uppermoſt that ſhall be built upon him, unto the worlds end. For the ſame Apoſtles rule is univerſal both in reſpect of time and perſons. † *If thou ſhalt confeſs with thy mouth the Lord Jeſus, and ſhalt believe in thine heart, that God raiſed him up from the dead, thou ſhalt be ſaved*.

* *Iſa.* 28. 16. Vide Forerium in hunc locum. † *The word in the Original ſignifieth to* make haſte, *& therefore any kind of haſte according to the differenc of the matter, or object; in this place equivalent to the latin* proripat, *a word ſignifying haſte, but haſte cauſed by ſhame or fear of mens preſence from which the party aſhamed ſeeks with confuſed ſpeed to hide himſelf.* Et cum clamarem quo nunc ſe proripit ille? Tityre coge pecus, tu poſt carecta latebas. *This is true of faith, which the Apoſtle ſaith of love,* 1 John 4. 17. *Herein is love perfect in us, that we ſhould have boldneſs in the day of judgement: for as he is, even ſo are we in this world.* Vid. *Luc.* 21. 25, 26. *of the confuſed ſtate of the wicked.*

† *Rom.* 10. 9.

8. But did S. *Paul* by ſpecial revelation utter this, as a myſtery altogether unknown before unto the faithful? Rather by participation of the ſame ſpirit, which ſpake in the Prophet, he only unfolds the Oracle late expounded, I muſt confeſs without diſtinct apprehenſion of ſo good warrant then, as is now ſuggeſted; For the Apoſtle to prove his former Aſſertion, urgeth that place of the Prophet, * *Whoſoever believes in him ſhall not be aſhamed*; ſo then with S. *Paul* it is all one, *to believe in Chriſt raiſed from the dead*, or *in the corner ſtone, rejected of men, allowed of God*. And it ſeems the declaration made unto S. *Peter*, that Chriſt whom he confeſſed (howſoever a Rock to fall upon to both *the houſes of Iſrael*) was the ſure Foundation

* *Rom.* 10.10.

dation of the faithful, which the Prophet foretold ſhould be laid in *Sion*, made his ignorance, (to ſay no worſe) in diſſwading his Maſter from ſuffering ſuch diſgrace and ignominy *of the Elders*, *high Prieſts and Scribes*, more inexcuſable, becauſe it had been ſo plainly foretold, that the *corner ſtone* was to be baſely eſteemed of them, ere advanced of God. Hence our Saviour reproves him ſo ſharply. † *Then he turned back and ſaid unto Peter, Get thee behind me Satan, thou art an offence unto me, becauſe thou underſtandeſt not the things that are of God, but the things that are of men*: As if he had ſaid, ſhall this Rock become a ſtumbling ſtone unto thee alſo, unto whom it was firſt revealed? What I now told thee, the Prophet long ſince foretold, * *It was the Lords doing, and ſhould have been marvellous (not offenſive) in thy ſight.* Haſt thou never read how the builders muſt firſt refuſe *That Stone* which the Lord will afterwards appoint *Chief in the Corners*? From remembrance of this check S. *Peter* it may be, whiles he paraphraſed upon this place, uſed not the Pſalmiſts, but our Saviours words, *Ye come* (ſaith he) *as unto a living ſtone*, diſallowed not by the builders, but *of men*, *choſen* not of the *Lord*, but of *God*, howſoever elſwhere he more fully parallels theſe two, (as S. *Paul* had done) [*Chriſt crucified and raiſed again*] [*the ſtone caſt aſide, and conſtituted as head of the corner.*] † *Be it known unto you all, and to all the people of Iſrael, that by the name of Jeſus Chriſt of Nazaret, whom ye have crucified, whom God raiſed again from the dead, even by him doth this man ſtand here before you whole: This is the ſtone caſt aſide of you builders, which is become the head of the corner; neither is there ſalvation in any other: for among men there is given none other Name under heaven whereby we muſt be ſaved.* Then is there no other, whoſe name imported as much as a Rock or ſtone, to ſupport men againſt all commotions, the powers of Hell could raiſe againſt them.

† *Mat.* 16.23.

* *Pſal.* 118.23.

† *Acts* 4.10.

9. So our Saviour takes [*the husbandmen killing of the Lord of the Vineyards ſon*] and [*the builders rejecting the head ſtone of the corner*] as equivalent; Firſt, he demands * *When therefore the Lord of the Vineyard ſhall come, what will he do to thoſe husbandmen* (that had ſlain his ſon?) † they reply, *he will cruelly deſtroy theſe wicked men, and will let out his Vineyard unto other husbandmen, which ſhall deliver him the fruits in their ſeaſons*: And this judgement they had given againſt themſelves, he ratifies by the like expreſs ſentence, which the Lord already had paſt upon them; * *Read ye never in the Scriptures, the ſtone which the builders refuſed, the ſame is made the head of the corner? (This was the Lords doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes. Therefore I ſay unto you, the kingdom of God ſhall be taken from you, and ſhall be given to a nation which ſhall bring forth the fruits thereof:) and whoſoever ſhall fall on this ſtone ſhall be broken, but on whomſoever it ſhall fall, it will grind him to powder.*

Mat. 21.

* *Verſe* 40.

† *Verſe* 41.

* *Ver.* 42. &c.

10. This may ſuffice for proof, that S. *Peters* confeſſing the *Son of man* to be *The Chriſt, the Son of the living God*, was all one with our Saviours declaration, *Upon this Rock will I build my Church*, &c. becauſe, Chriſt and the *living ſtone* which God had promiſed to found in *Sion*, are (unto ſacred Writers, and all participants of that ſpirit, by which they wrote) *The ſelf ſame.* Nor is there any thing more uſual with the Holy Ghoſt, than to refer like ſpeeches of our Saviour unto places of Scripture more different in words then

the two former alledged; albeit there be no ſuch identity of perſons, time and place, or continuation of diſcourſe, to manifeſt their mutual coherence, but only equivalency, of their inward meaning; This method the Holy Spirit uſeth the rather, I think, becauſe he would accuſtom us to inveſtigate his ſenſe and meaning, not ſo much by the like form, or character of words, as by the Analogy of Faith. For, as the Apoſtle ſaith, *the letter killeth*, becauſe it uſually leadeth ſuch as rely upon it to ſtrange and unwholſome ſenſes; as the indentity of our Saviours and S. *Peters* name in the Syriack, or their vicinity in the Greek and Latin, made the Rock of ſalvation become a *Rock of Offence* unto the Romaniſt, who by his ſtumbling at the word Πέτρος, *falls upon the ſtone laid in Sion, and ſhall be broken:* yea for this *diſobedience* to this eternal word, and ſeeking to lay another foundation than what was laid already; *that ſtone ſhall fall upon him and grind him* (at leaſt his doctrine) *to powder*, as will more fully appear, if we compare their Expoſition of that Donative, they ſuppoſe he did beſtow upon S. *Peter*, with that Diſciples doctrine whom he loved.

1 *Pet.* 2. 7, 8.

11. As we have ſhewed from S. *Peter* and S. *Paul*, and the general Analogy of Faith, that *Simon* the ſon of *Jonah* had his name of *Cephas* or Πέτρος, from his affinity with the Rock of ſalvation or chief corner ſtone, he being as the firſt wrought ſtone in that Edifice: ſo doth S. *John* (whoſe doctrine pregnantly confirms our former Expoſition of theſe words, *Thou art Peter*, &c.) make that very confeſſion which *Peter* uttered as the ſureſt ſquare or line, the perfect Index whereby to try and examine all other ſtones, whether fitting or rightly proportioned to this everlaſting ſtructure. *Dearly beloved* (ſaith he) *believe not every ſpirit, but try the ſpirits whether they are of God, for many falſe Prophets are gone out into the world.* How ſhould they know true Prophets from falſe, ſuch as were true, were of God, ſuch as were falſe, of Antichriſt? how ſhould they know ſuch as were of God, from ſuch as were of Antichriſt? *Hereby ſhall ye know the ſpirit of God; every ſpirit that confeſſeth that Jeſus Chriſt is come in the fleſh, is of God.*

1 *John* 4. 1. Vide Lyram in hunc locum.

12. But is every ſpirit of God that can frame an Orthodoxal conceit of this great myſtery, and outwardly confeſs what they inwardly aſſent unto, as undoubtedly true? So ſhould the wicked ſpirits be of God: for a ſpirit of an unclean Devil openly ſaid as much in effect, as *Peter* did; what he knew by arguments more ſure than moſt Popes do, *I know who thou art, even The Holy One of God*, yea many came out of the poſſeſſed crying, what *Peter* afterwards confeſſed, *Thou art the Chriſt the Son of God.* The myſtery it ſeems they had conceived aright, becauſe our Saviour gives them the like injunctions his Diſciples had upon *Peters* confeſſion[a], the *one he rebuked, and would not ſuffer to ſay*; the other, *he charged they ſhould tell no man, that he was Jeſus the Chriſt*, becauſe *this Rock was not as yet to be plainly manifeſted to the world.* Although it is moſt probable, he would not have the unclean ſpirits at any time to be Proclaimers of this myſtery: for unto the * wicked ſaid God, *What haſt thou to do to declare mine ordinances, that thou ſhouldſt take my covenant in thy mouth, ſeeing thou hateſt to be reformed, and haſt caſt my words behind thee? &c.* If unclean ſpirits may not be permitted to promulge this or like divine myſteries, by the mouthes of men, whoſe bodily members they

Pſal. 50. 16.

they ſo poſſeſs, as to cauſe them utter they know not what; may we without exception ſafely admit all their *Cathedral Deciſions*, (whoſe ſouls and minds they have wholly transformed into the ſimilitude of their uncleanneſs) for heavenly *Oracles*, for *Embaſſages of Salvation* immediately ſent from God, for *Foundations of Faith* and Manners? Chriſt by the ſame Pſalmiſt hath ſaid, *To him that diſpoſeth his way aright, will I ſhew the ſalvation of God.*

Pſal. 50. 25.

13. But to proceed by our Apoſtles former rule; from which, and others of his fully * parallel thereunto, it is evident, that for a juſt trial of a ſpirit ſpeaking by God, there muſt be both a platform of Doctrine rightly proportioned to the former Foundation, [*Chriſt come in the fleſh,*] and a correſpondent Edification, not of verbal or School-conſequences, but of real and material works, proceeding from lively Faith, and inward Sanctity, ſo teſtifying the habitation of *Chriſt the living ſtone* in the Confeſſors heart, as Chriſts own Works and Doctrine did the Godheads bodily dwelling in him; the Apoſtle adds, † *Every ſpirit which confeſſeth not that Jeſus Chriſt is come in the fleſh, is not of God,* (that is) is oppoſite unto the Spirit of God, *but this is the ſpirit of Antichriſt, of whom ye have heard, how that he ſhould come, and now already he is in the world.* A ſpirit of Antichriſt then is manifeſted, by a contrariety in the form of Doctrine, or by an hoſtility between the very Foundations, which he and the Spirit of God endeavour to lay; ſo as the Edification of the one doth in the iſſue, menace the demolition of the other. And as this oppoſition unto Gods Spirit is greater or leſs, ſo doth it argue the party in whom it, is to participate more or leſs of the ſpirit of Antichriſt. In both theſe reſpects of oppoſition or hoſtility in the Foundation, or in the iſſue or conſequences of all heretical Temples or Congregations, that hitherto have been, or can be imagined as poſſibly future, the ſtructure of the Romiſh Church, doth moſt fully anſwer to the Idea or platform of that Edifice, which the Apoſtle hath foretold great Antichriſt ſhould erect.

* 1 John 4. 12. *No man hath ſeen God at any time. If we love one another, God dwelleth in us, and his love is perfect in us. Hereby know we that we dwell in him, and he in us: becauſe he hath given us of his Spirit. And we have ſeen, and do teſtifie, that the Father ſent the Son to be the Saviour of the world. Whoſoever confeſſeth that Jeſus is the Son of God, in him dwelleth God, and he in God.* See 1 John 2. 15, 16.

† 1 *John* 4. 3.

In what ſenſe the Papiſts deny Chriſt to be come in the fleſh.

14. For demonſtrating which concluſion, we only ſuppoſe, what every one muſt grant, that if the ſpirit of unclean Devils, *he whoſe coming is by the power of Satan, in guile and deceit,* may without prejudice to his grand hoſtility againſt Chriſt, in formal terms confeſs the great myſtery of Salvation, [*Chriſt manifeſted in the fleſh:*] for ſeeing he muſt be ἀντικείμενος, oppoſite unto Chriſt, not by way of negation or contradiction, but by a poſitive contrariety or hoſtility; Chriſtian Religion and Antichriſtianiſm, muſt as all other contraries agree in ſome one kind or matter; and the kind or matter in matters of Religion, muſt be the object. If we here only ſet aſide an agreement with true Profeſſors in that general tranſcendent object, that *Chriſt is the Son of the living God*, the very firſt Principle of Romiſh Religion, even the ſpecifical difference which makes it Romiſh, is as contrary with the firſt Element of true Orthodoxal Chriſtian Religion, as fire to water, heat to cold. For, if to confeſs Chriſt *come in the fleſh*, put to death, and raiſed again, be (as is proved) all one, as to *acknowledge him the chief corner ſtone, rejected of men, but advanced by God*: if this be the main Foundation of Chriſtianity, ſo all ſufficient, that without it no other muſt be laid. How were it poſſible more to deny this truth in

effect or conſequence, more to oppugn the whole Edifice of our Faith, than by planting another Rock, another Foundation, without communication wherewith, none can be ſupported by the former, againſt the Gates of Hell?

15. But perhaps we miſtake, or malign the Romaniſt, in charging him with ſhufling in another Foundation beſides Chriſt, in that ſenſe the Apoſtle denies any other * Foundation can be laid. We rather by too much preſſing them with that Axiom of his, make him contradict himſelf; for elſewhere he ſaith, † *We are built upon the Foundation of the Apoſtles and Prophets.*

* 1 Cor. 3. 11.

† Epheſ. 2. 20.

16. I will not here diſpute whether S. *Paul* in that place mean, we are built upon the *perſons of the Prophets and Apoſtles*, they being placed nearer the Rock, or main Foundation it ſelf, than we, or rather upon the main Foundation, which both the Prophets and the Apoſtles jointly had laid, beſides which no other can be laid, *Chriſt crucified and glorified*: For he is both the Foundation which wholly ſupporteth, and *the corner ſtone which only coupleth the whole building*; in which he is the *Higheſt* and the *Loweſt*, firſt laid in humility for the diſobedient to fall upon, but now exalted unto greateſt glory *to fall upon them.* And as the Apoſtle calls his own ſcars, the *Marks of Chriſt*, becauſe inflicted for Chriſts ſake; ſo may he call Chriſt the Foundation of the Prophets and Apoſtles, becauſe the only end whereto both Prophetical and Apoſtolical Laws were directed, was to lay this ſure Foundation.

Nor doth that place Rev. 21. 14. prove any more than that by the Apoſtles Miniſtry the Church was erected.

17. But granting what they take for granted. The Apoſtle did mean, we were builded upon the Prophets and Apoſtles, as upon a ſecond Foundation, or firſt row of ſtones, next in order unto the Rock; do they make *Peter* a Rock, or Foundation only in this ſenſe? If they do not, he could not be the Rock on which the Church is built. If they do, let them give us the right hand of fellowſhip; for we accuſe them, not for making him *ſuch a Foundation as the other Apoſtles were, but ſuch as, it is evident, they were not*; yea, ſuch in deed and ſubſtance as Chriſt only is, and ſhould be acknowledged by all the faithful. For in what ſenſe is Chriſt ſaid to be the Foundation? Becauſe he is the Head of his Church, both for ſupporting and directing it. Was not *Peter* ſuch in reſpect even of his fellow Apoſtles? * *Bellarmine* can aſſign no difference betwixt them but in theſe very terms. All of them he confeſſeth had œcumenical Juriſdiction, but not in ſuch ſort as *Peter* had; all were infallible, becauſe Apoſtles and Ambaſſadours, but not after the ſame manner he was: yea, *Peter* was their Head, on whom they did depend; ſo did not he on them. This makes *Peter* the corner ſtone that coupleth the building. Which doubtleſs was Chriſts peculiar whilſt he lived on Earth, not communicated unto *Peter* as they acknowledge, until his Reſurrection or Aſcenſion. That they tell us then, they make but one primary Foundation, and therefore none ſuch as Chriſt; is, as if they ſhould ſay, they admit no more ſuch Popes as *Pius primus* was, becauſe there hath never been, nor ever ſhall be any Pope *Pius* the Firſt but he: for to make *Peter* ſuch a Primate, is to make him a Foundation or Head of the ſame rank

* Dicuntur fundamenta omnes Apoſtoli, ratione gubernationis. Omnes enim fuerunt capita, rectores, & paſtores Eccleſiæ univerſæ, ſed non eodem modo quo Petrus. Illi enim habuerunt ſummam, atque ampliſſimam poteſtatem ut Apoſtoli, ſeu Legati, Petrus autem ut Paſtor ordinarius. Deinde ita habuerunt plenitudinem poteſtatis, ut tamen Petrus eſſet caput eorum, & ab illo penderent non è contrario. *Bellar. lib.* 1. *de Rom. Pont. c.* 11.

and order, that Chriſt was, (only his inferiour, as ſucceſſor in time) or (to uſe their words) a Foundation in Chriſts place. So *Bellarmine* † expreſly avoucheth, where proving *Peters* Supremacy or Lordſhip from his Name, he thus infers : *Peter only was known by Chriſts own Name of Cephas or Rock, whereby he is called as often as by any other whatſoever ; yea, this is the peculiar attribute, in which he is ſet out unto us as the Foundation and Head of the Church: therefore Chriſt communicating this unto* Peter, *would have it ſignified unto the World that he meant to make* Peter *the Foundation and Head of the Church in his own place.* Why doth Chriſt ceaſe to be the Foundation in becoming the head-ſtone in the corner ? or do they to avoid open ſuſpicion of Antichriſtianiſm, acknowledge him *come in the fleſh*, but gone again to make room for *Peter* and his Succeſſors ? Certainly, were the Apoſtle to gather the meaning of *Bellarmine*'s ſpeeches, his inference would be thus ; * *In that he ſaith,* a *New Head* is come in his place, *he abrogates the formers Authority,* as he was Ambaſſadour between God and man : nor is it now as the Teſtament given by *Moſes* was in the Prophets time ready to expire, but already expired by actual ſucceſſion of another, unto whom Chriſt the firſt viſible Head (or Foundation) did at his advancement to higher Dignity, ſeal the ſame Commiſſion he had from his Father, for tranſacting all affairs concerning the ſtate of his viſible Church.

† Cephas Syriace ſignificat Petram, ut nos ſupra docuimus, & Hieronymus teſtatur in cap. 2. Epiſtolæ ad Galat. Græcè autem ſignificat caput ut lib. 2. contra Parmenianum annotavit Optatus. Ac demum unum eſt, ex celeberrimis Chriſti nominibus. Nihil enim frequentius in Scripturis Chriſtus appellatur quam Petra. Chriſtus ergo cum ſolo Petro ſuum ipſius nomen communicans, & nomen illud quo ipſe ſignificatur, ut fundamentum, & caput Eccleſiæ univerſæ, quid aliud indicare voluit, quam ſe facere Petrum fundamentum & caput Eccleſiæ loco ſuo? *Ibid. cap.* 17. * *Heb.* 8. 13.

18. † But doth the ſpace between Heaven and Earth more exceed *Romes* diſtance from the utmoſt ends of the World, than he to whom all power was given in Heaven and Earth, doth the preſent Pope in amplitude of ſpiritual Juriſdiction ? Whence is it elſe that Chriſts Regiment cannot ſo fully and immediately extend it ſelf unto his Church militant, whereſoever ſcattered upon the face of the Earth, as the Popes may to the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, from either of which he cannot receive certain information, how his Inſtructions ſent thither ſucceed with his Flock, under a years ſpace at the leaſt. Every Pope in his time is a Rock, a * Foundation, an Head in Chriſts abſence from the Earth. Might not every one of them in like ſort admit a Pope, a Vicar general, an abſolute fellow-Monarch, from whom in theſe remote Countries, there ſhould be no more appeals to *Rome*, than are from *Rome* to Chriſts Throne of Majeſty ? If we ſpeak not of that Majeſty which he there enjoys, but of that Authority which he ſometimes had, or we can imagine he could have in Regiment of his Church, were he now viſibly preſent in the fleſh : it is evident that Saint *Peter*, and his Succeſſours, may by our Adverſaries Doctrine, be more properly inſtiled Compeers to Chriſt, than the beſt man living beſides unto the worſt of them. For it muſt be thought that Chriſt in his abſence ratifies all their Decrees without exception, as we may not queſtion them more than we might Chriſts own, were he viſibly reſident in his Church.

† *The difference between Chriſt and the Pope much leſs (by the Papiſts opinion) then between the Pope and other Biſhops.*

* Nos non negamus, imo defendimus contra negantes, verbum Dei miniſtratum per Apoſtolos & Prophetas eſſe primum fundamentum noſtræ fidei. Ideo enim credimus, quidquid credimus, quia Deus id per Apoſtolos, & Prophetas revelavit ; ſed addimus, præter hoc fundamentum primum, requiri aliud fundamentum ſecundarium, id eſt, Eccleſiæ teſtificationem. Neque enim ſcimus certò quid Deus revelaverit, niſi ex teſtimonio Eccleſiæ, & propterea ſicut legimus, Chriſtum eſſe lapidem fundamentalem, & fundamentum primum Eccleſiæ, ita legimus *Matth.* 16. de Petro, Super hanc Petram ædificabo Eccleſiam meam. Itaque fides noſtra adhæret Chriſto, primæ veritati revelanti myſteria, ut fundamento primario ; adhæret etiam Petro, id eſt, Pontifici proponenti & explicanti hæc myſteria, ut fundamento ſecundario. *Bellar. de Verbi Dei Interpret. lib.* 3. *cap.* 10. *Reſponſ ad* 13.

Yet was the Authority of Chriſts other Apoſtles ſo mightily overtopped by *Peters* Supremacy, that they could not be infallible, or œcumenical, without his approbation? If they were, *Peter* was not ſuch an Head to them, as his Succeſſors are to theirs, even to all Biſhops or inferiour Miniſters throughout the World. If they were not, the Pope, if he will be *Peters* Succeſſor, ſhould make Biſhops or Cardinals, at leaſt Eleven, œcumenical Paſtors of Authority infallible, though with ſuch dependency on his plenary Power, as Chriſts other Apoſtles had on *Peters*. Or let them reſolve us in other fundamental difficulties, which their Doctrine miniſters.

19. [a] Chriſt ſaid, Thou art *Peter*; that is, ſay they, *a Rock, an Head, a Foundation in my place.* Unto whom was this ſaid? to one of the Twelve expreſſed by name, *Simon the ſon of Jona:* To whom likewiſe (ſingulariſed by the ſame expreſs terms of individual difference, and like reſtraint of preſent circumſtances or occurrences) it was ſaid, *Feed my Lambs, feed my Sheep.* If any of Chriſts ſpeeches, (as the [b] Popes Advocates grant many) were perſonally directed to Saint *Peter*, queſtionleſs theſe two. By what Analogy of Faith, or Rule of Grammar, can they then extend theſe, to every Pope in his Generation; or, if any ſuch there have been, or yet may be, unto whom the Fœminine Title of *Petra*, by right of Sex, may better agree than unto *Simon Bar-Jona*? Yet might the *Name* or *Title Infallible* draw the ſupreme Dignity after it, they are much overſeen in not giving the name of *Peter* to every Pope. Chriſt they confeſs, is *come in the fleſh*, and was in perſon made Head, and Foundation of the Church, and at his departure left *Peter* in his ſtead: *Peter*, the Scriptures tell us, *was to follow Chriſt*; but (as they pretend) left Pope *Linus* in his place, ſo hath every Pope his Succeſſor ſince that time. Yet theſe latter mightily fail in not nominating others, whiles they themſelves are living and viſible ſtones; as Chriſt without queſtion did Saint *Peter*, whiles converſant with the faithful in the fleſh, and *Peter Linus* in his life time.

20. But howſoever, they muſt of neceſſity either make *Peter*, *Linus*, and their [c] Succeſſors, but one joint permanent Foundation, (and ſo the Popes ſhould not be builded upon *the Foundation of the Prophets and the Apoſtles*, but rather Chriſts other Apoſtles upon them; upon whom, likewiſe, all the faithful, ſince the Apoſtles time, ſhould be immediately built:) Or, if they do not make *Peter* and the Popes one joint unſeparable Foundation, they muſt admit as many ſeveral Foundations as Popes, ſo as the everlaſting Rock whereon the Church is built, could not be truly ſaid one and the ſame, but by a perpetual Equivalency of alteration or ſucceſſion: as we ſay corruptible Elements, Fire, or Water, or Candles, remain one and the ſame; becauſe as one part conſumes, another, as good, comes in the place. This glorious Edifice (as hath been obſerved) ſtands only by Faith, or firm adherence to the Foundation: and by the Adverſaries own confeſſion, to diſclaim the Authority of the preſent Romiſh Church, or Pope in Points of Faith, is an Hereſie or Apoſtaſie, of the ſame nature, as if a man had renounced *Peter* for his ſupreme Head, and this all one, as if he had cut himſelf off from being a Member of Chriſt. Wherefore, in reſpect of us that are now to be edified, the Authority of this preſent Pope is equivalent to Chriſts: our adherence to the one,

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[a] *Of all* Peters *prerogatives, thoſe moſt urged by the Romaniſts, as alike appertaining to his Succeſſors, are moſt perſonal.*

[b] Vide Bellar. lib. 1. de Romano Pontif. cap. 12. & L. 2. cap. 12. Paragr. 21. Annot. ex Bellarm.

[c] *The Papiſts either admit many Foundations, or build all the Apoſtles, beſide* S. Peter, *upon their modern Popes.*

in points of Faith and Manners muſt be ſuch, as it ſhould have been to the other, had we lived in the days of his viſible converſation in the world.

Finally, Chriſt, S. *Peter*, and his Succeſſors, in Regiment of the Church Militant here on Earth, differ, by the Roman account, no otherwiſe than *Romulus, Numa, Ancus, &c.* *Romulus* was firſt Founder of that Kingdom, but left other Kings of the ſame rank and order he was: only his Dignity after his departure was acknowledged greater in another world; becauſe, as his people were made to believe he aſcended alive into Heaven, as a God. Much better might the Romaniſt derive his Pſeudo-catholick-Roman Faith, from * *Romulus* the firſt Builder of that *great City, that ſometimes ruled over the Kings of the Earth*; than from Chriſt, who did erect a Kingdom indeed, but not of this world; wherein none was to ſucceed him, becauſe he remains, *Yeſterday, to day, The ſame for ever*: Whence the † Prophet ſaith, *This Kingdom ſhall never be deſtroyed or given to another people; but ſhall break and deſtroy all former Kingdoms, and it ſelf ſtand for ever.* For any, eſpecially of that Nation whoſe former Kings had put this Immortal King to death concerning the fleſh, to enſtile themſelves Rocks, and Foundation of this everlaſting Empire, or abſolute ſpiritual Monarchies in this place; doth evidently ſhew, they are the feet of that Image, moſt of which have been, and ſhall be broken to pieces, by that ſtone cut out without hands out of the Mountain, *until it become like the chaff of the Summer flowers*, carried away with the wind, and no place be found for them; or, as the * Apoſtle interprets the Prophet, *the Lord ſhall conſume them with the Spirit of his mouth, and ſhall aboliſh them with the brightneſs of his coming.*

* *The Papiſts conceive of Chriſt but as of another* Romulus.

† *Daniel* 2.44.

* 2 *Theſ.* 2.8.

21. Would the Jeſuite then know, wherein he, and his Latian Lord God muſt take after S. *Peter*? methinks their formal acknowledgment of that general principle; *Chriſt manifeſted in the fleſh, and made the head-ſtone in the corner*, compared with their late mentioned Apoſtacy, in ſeeking to lay another Foundation; was lively reſembled, if not myſtically prefigured, by Saint *Peters* Faith, (immediately after his glorious Confeſſion) eclipſed by interpoſition of ſuch earthly conceits, as perpetually darken their minds. For, upon our Saviours Declaration, what bodily calamity, what ignominy and reproach ſhould at *Jeruſalem*, ſhortly after, befal the Rock it ſelf; whereupon that Church, againſt which he had now ſaid, the Gates of Hell ſhould never prevail, was founded: *Peter* (as Saint *Matthew* ſaith) took his Maſter aſide, and friendly checks him, as if he had forgotten his former promiſe, † *Maſter, be good to your ſelf, this ſhall not be unto you.* As if he had ſaid, If the Gates of Hell ſhall not prevail againſt your Church, or us your poor Diſciples; I hope you are able to priviledge your own perſon from ſuch diſgrace, and ſcorn, as none but they can intend againſt you. So carnally did this great Apoſtle upon ignorance, conceit Chriſts ſpiritual promiſe, as the Papacy, upon habitual or affected errour, doth to this preſent day. For one principal Argument, moſt uſual in the Mouths and Pens of that great Heads chief Diſciples, to prove the Romiſh the only Church, unto which that glorious promiſe was made, or, at leaſt, hath been perpetually performed, is, becauſe no temporal or ſecular power hath ever been able, (though many

The Pope ſucceſſor unto the check, not to the promiſe given by Chriſt to S. Peter.

† *Mat.* 16.22, *&c.*

many wicked Potentates, Kings and Emperours, (ſuch Titles they give to all their Enemies) have attempted) either to deface her external pomp, ſtate, and ſplendor, or ſo to uſe the Popes or Cardinals, or other of her principal and deareſt Children, as the Jews did our Saviour Chriſt and his Diſciples. *They are of the world, and therefore ſpeak they of the world, and the world heareth them.* But could they, unto any Child of God, more plainly prove themſelves heirs to that check, given by our Saviour to S. *Peter,* * *Go behind me, Satans, ye are an offence, becauſe ye underſtand not the things that are of God, but the things that are of men?* Could they more evidently demonſtrate, the Pope to be *That Man of Sin,* that muſt be inducted to the Church of God by Satan ὁ ἀντίδικος, *the chief adverſary or accuſer,* he himſelf bearing the Name of *adverſary*, likewiſe, in his Title, † Ἀντικείμενος κείμενος ἀντὶ τοῦ θεμελίου τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν —— a ſecond Foundation, in ſhew ſubordinate, in deed and conſequence quite contrary to that, which the Prophets and Apoſtles have laid; eternally priviledged, if we may believe his followers, from thoſe ſpurnings of men, from which the precious ſtone of *Sion* was not exempted.

* Bellarmine *applies all that is ſpoken in* Peters *Commendations, unto his Succeſſors, whom he will not have ſharers in his reproofs.* Ea quæ dicuntur *Petro* in triplici ſunt differentia; quædam enim dicuntur ei pro ſe tantum; quædam pro ſe & omnibus Chriſtianis; quædam pro ſe & ſucceſſoribus; id quod evidenter colligitur ex ratione diverſa, qua ei dicuntur. Nam quæ dicuntur ei, ut uni ex fidelibus, certe omnibus fidelibus dicta intelliguntur. Ut *Mat.* 18. Si peccaverit in te frater tuus, &c. Quæ dicuntur ei ratione aliqua propria perſonæ ipſius, ei ſoli dicuntur, ut *vade poſt me Satana.* Et, *Ter me negabis,* iſta enim dicuntur ei ratione propriæ imbecillitatis, & ignorantiæ. Quædam dicuntur ei ratione Officii Paſtoralis quæ proinde dicta intelliguntur omnibus ſucceſſoribus, ut *Paſce oves meas, &c.* Bellar. *lib.* 2. *de Rom. Pont. cap.* 12. *Sect. ultimo.* † *The Romaniſt makes the Pope his God, in that he makes him the Rock on which the Church is built. Compare* Exod. 17. 6. 1 Cor. 10. 4. *The Hebr.* סלע *is taken in the ſame ſenſe,* Pſal. 18. 2. Iſai. 31. 9.

22. To collect the ſum of late Romaniſts Comments, upon their Churches ſuppoſed fundamental Charter; Their Confeſſion of Chriſt *come in the fleſh, and made head-ſtone in the corner,* though conceived in form of words Orthodoxal enough, proves only this, (but this abundantly to all the world) that the Pope, their ſupreme Head, *ſits in the Temple of God*, whoſe circumference in reſpect of men, who cannot ſearch other mens hearts, is defined by this Confeſſion. Their attributing the Title of Rock, or Fundamental ſupportance of that *ſpiritual houſe*, unto this head, proclaims unto all the world, that *he ſits as God in the Temple of God, ſhewing himſelf that he is God.* For the Hebrew צור equivalent to the Syriac כאפא in that ſence they take it, (as affording ſuch impregnable ſupportance, or fortification againſt the Powers of Hell, World, or Fleſh) is oftner by their own * Vulgar Latine, rendred *Deus*, than *Petra* or *Rupes*, which it directly ſignifies; becauſe, conſidered with theſe Circumſtances or Effects, it is rather a glorious Title of the Godhead, or Deity it ſelf, than a particular Attribute, taken from ſome Divine Propriety, communicable to Gods Servants in the Abſtract.

* *This obſervation will eaſily approve it ſelf to any that will read the Book of* Deut. *&* the Pſalms.

How Romiſh Religion denies the vertue and power of Chriſt come in the fleſh.

23. Laſtly, unto me their common Expoſition of Chriſts ſpeeches unto S. *Peter*, ſuggeſt this Argument more than demonſtrative, that the Papacy is lead by the ſpirit of great Antichriſt, in that no Doctrine of Devils can more directly contradict, or more ſhamefully deny the vertue and power of Chriſt come in the fleſh, nor more peremptorily diſanul, or cancel his promiſe there made unto his Church, then Jeſuitical Comments upon it, do. Chriſts promiſe was a promiſe of life and ſaving health, a full aſſurance of eternal

happineſs, to all that ſhould be truly built upon that Rock which *Peter* confeſſed, or which they ſay, *Peter* was. They make the Tenure of this glorious Covenant to be no more but this, that *Peters* Succeſſors, and ſuch as will build their Faith upon them, (ſpeaking *ex Cathedra*) as upon Rocks invincible; ſhall be indefectible in points of Chriſtian Faith and Manners; howſoever even theſe Rocks themſelves may be, for life and converſation, as wicked as *Annas* or *Caiphas*, or other blinded Guides of the Jewiſh Synagogue that crucified our Saviour.

That Romiſh Faith is not that Faith by which S. Peter *confeſſed Chriſt.*

24. Thus by a pretended ſucceſſive perpetuity of *Peters* Faith, they utterly aboliſh that lively Faith, whereby he confeſſed Chriſt, which is alway included as a neceſſary condition, without which none can be capable of that glorious Promiſe, but with it all are made immediate Heirs of Salvation. Or to ſpeak more plainly, *none may expect the leaſt portion of* Peters *bleſſing without* Peters *Faith*; nor can that be in any, but ſuch as are born of God: *Every one*, ſaith S. John, *that is born of God, overcometh the world, and this is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith. And again, who is he that overcometh the world, but he which Believeth* (what *Peter* had confeſſed) *that Jeſus is the Son of God?* And our Saviour himſelf, to whom his Father *had given power over all fleſh, that he ſhould give eternal life to all, given him by his Father*; tells us, that this Life Eternal muſt grow from that root of Faith which firſt did branch in *Peters* mouth; but muſt be ſo planted as it grew in him, in every heart endued with ſure hope; much more in all ſuch as lay challenge to ſuch preheminency, or Prerogative of Faith, or Hope, as *Peter* had; *This is life eternal, that they may know Thee,* (ſaith Chriſt ſpeaking of his Father) *to be the Only Very God, and whom thou haſt ſent Jeſus Chriſt*; ſo then *God manifeſted in the fleſh, was the Rock of Salvation, whereupon the Church is built:* he that rightly knows, and ſo believes this truth, hath life eternal dwelling in him.

That the Romiſh Church is neither that Rock, nor built upon that Rock, againſt which the gates of Hell cannot prevail, becauſe their Faith is unſound.

25. But ſhall ſuch a Faith as may be ſevered from Charity? ſhall ſuch a knowledge of Chriſt as may be in them to whom Chriſt ſhall ſay, *Depart from me, I never knew you*, I ſay not, make any ſo impregnable a Rock, but ſo faſten any to that Rock ſo impregnable, as the Gates of Hell ſhall not be able to diſpoſſeſs him of eternal life? Whiles we produce the late cited, or other teſtimonies alike pregnant to condemn the Pontificians for denying Juſtification only by Faith, they think themſelves fully acquitted with this ſolution, that our aſſurance of ſalvation relies not upon Faith, *as alone*, but *as it is the Foundation of Charity*, and accompanied with other Chriſtian Vertues. *We never taught* (as ſhall be ſhewed in that controverſie) *that Faith, unleſs thus attended, could with true confidence plead our cauſe before God, which yet though thus attended, It only pleads.* But here our adverſaries muſt be contented to take their payment in their own Coin: For, if no man can be juſtified, or made Heir of Salvation, it is unpoſſible any ſhould be a lively ſtone, or living member, much leſs a ſupreme head, or ſure foundation of that ſpiritual houſe, always victorious over death and hell, without a Faith ſo appointed, as in the former caſe they require, without a Faith as clearly teſtifying Chriſt dwelling in men, by works flowing from it, as their edification upon him by an Orthodoxal form of words. Whoſoever is deſtitute of a Faith thus bearing fruit unto

ſalvation, is ſo far from being a Rock or ſure Foundation for others to build upon, that he himſelf (if we may believe our Saviour, *Mat.* 7. 26.) builds all his hopes upon the Sand: *Whoſoever heareth theſe my words, and doth them not, ſhall be likened unto a fooliſh man, which hath builded his houſe upon the ſand, and the rain fell, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that houſe, and it fell, and the fall thereof was great. Not every one therefore that ſaith unto our Saviour, as* Peter *did, Thou art Chriſt the Son of the living God,* but he that expreſſeth his faith, and hope by works, anſwerable to Chriſts converſation in the fleſh, and his Fathers will, *ſhall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven*; becauſe he only is built upon that Rock, which the floud-gates of Hell cannot undermine or overthrow: *For, whoſoever* (ſaith our Saviour) *heareth of me theſe words, and doth the ſame, I will liken him to a wiſe man which builded his houſe on a rock, and the rain fell, and the flouds came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that houſe, and it fell not, for it was grounded upon a Rock.*

26. *Let the Jeſuite either produce any Hereſie, broached ſince our Saviours Incarnation, or frame a conceit of any but Logically poſſible before his coming unto judgment, which in outward profeſſion, not diſclaiming the former main Foundation of Chriſtianity,* [God manifeſted in the fleſh] *can in deed and iſſue more evidently overthrow it, more diſtinctly contradict either thoſe Fundamental precepts of ſalvation laſt cited, or more fully evacuate the often mentioned promiſe made unto Saint* Peter, *than the Foundation of Romiſh Religion, as* Romiſh, *doth; and I will do publick pennance in ſackcloth and aſhes, for laying the imputation of Antichriſtianiſm upon it.* Our Saviour ſaith, Whoſoever heareth theſe words and doth them not, doth build his houſe upon the ſand: They teach the contradictory as an Article of Faith; that the Pope or a Council of Biſhops aſſembled by his appointment, inſtructed by his infallibility, confirmed by his plenary power, do always build upon the ſame Rock as *Peter* did; yea, that the Pope himſelf, how wicked ſoever, is that very Rock whereupon the Church (that is in their Language, the Biſhops thus aſſembled) is built; the œcumenical *Paſtor* that muſt keep them, and by them all Chriſts flock from going aſtray; the ſupreme Head, that by his vertue and influence muſt ſuſtain every member of *Chriſts* body (here on earth) from falling into Hereſie, or approaching the Territories of Hell, through any kind of errour or infidelity.

27. Our Saviour promiſed in ſolemn manner, *ex Cathedra, the Gates of Hell ſhall never prevail againſt his Church.* What Church? the Catholick. What Catholick? Viſible or Inviſible? Triumphant or Militant? Viſible and Militant! What Catholick, Viſible, Militant Church? The Roman: that conſiſts of divers members: In it ſome are Paſtors, ſome are ſheep; whether have better intereſt in that Promiſe? Paſtors. Of Paſtors, ſome are Prelates, ſome inferiours; whether are to be preferred before the

Præterea, Eccleſia congregata, ſive Concilium propriiſſime eſt Eccleſia Chriſti, ut etiam adverſarii concedunt: nam Eccleſia eſt congregatio fidelium, ergo quo magis fideles ſunt congregati, & uniti, eo magis propriè ſunt Eccleſia: ac ſtultum eſt, cum aliquid de alio abſolute pronunciatur, excipere id, quod propriiſſimè per illud ſignificatur; ergo cum Chriſtus dicit, *Super hanc Petram ædificabo Eccleſiam meam,* ſtultè excipitur Eccleſia univerſalis congregata, cum ea propriiſſimè ſit Eccleſia. *Bellar. lib.* 2. *de Con. Aut. cap.* 15. *Of this Church the Pope is the Foundation, as he avoucheth in the words going before.* Quod eſt in domo fundamentum, eſt in corpore caput, & in grege Paſtor. Ut, n. fundamentum non pendet à domo, ſed domus à fundamento; ita etiam caput non pendet à corpore, ſed corpus à capite, & paſtor non pendet à grege, ſed grex à paſtore. *His concluſion is,* Papa præeſt omnibus loco Chriſti quibus Chriſtus ipſe inviſibiliter præeſt, & quibus etiam præeſſet viſibiliter, ſi viſibiliter adeſſet: Chriſtus autem præeſt, & præeſſet viſibiliter, ſi adeſſet viſibiliter, non ſolum Eccleſiis particularibus, ſed etiam toti Eccleſiæ univerſali, & generalibus Conciliis: igitur etiam Papa præeſt Eccleſiæ univerſali. *Either is not the Romiſh Church repreſentative, that Church ſpoken of* Mat. 16. *or elſe Chriſts promiſe hath failed.*

other? Prelates doubtleſs; for of them conſiſts the body of the Church repreſentative, which is moſt properly called the Church, and next in reverſion unto *Peters* prerogative. Did the gates of hell then never prevail againſt the greateſt Romiſh Prelates? I nominate no particular perſon; I ſpeak only of them as the Scripture doth of Drunkards, Whoremongers, Adulterers, Dogs, Enchanters. Many of higheſt place in that Church have for a long time lived, and for ought their followers can, or *care to ſay unto the contrary, died ſuch as the Spirit of God hath excluded from the Kingdom of Heaven; ſuch as Gods Word tells us, Hell muſt ſwallow up with open mouth. Are they the Church, and may Hell gates prevail againſt them, and yet not prevail againſt the Church?

* Caput Eccleſiæ non poteſt quidem errare docendo falſam doctrinam, tamen poteſt errare malè vivendo, & malè etiam ſentiendo, ut privatus homo, atque hoc tantum videmus accidiſſe Adamo: malè enim aliquando vixit, & fortè etiam malè de Deo ſenſit, tamen non malè docuit. *Bellarminus de Eccleſia militante. lib.* III. *cap.* 16. *Reſp. ad prim.* *Some of their Popes by their own Writers confeſſion have been ſtrangely cut off, in the very acts of Adultery, or other ſins by them accounted mortal.* *Chriſts promiſe unto* S. Peter *but a meer mockery by the Jeſuits conſtruction.*

28. But if a woman, an whoriſh woman cannot be taken without an excuſe, may we think thoſe effeminate ſworn creatures of ſervitude to that great Strumpet, can want an anſwer? No, this diſtinction is always at hand. Their Popes and Cardinals may as err, ſo go to Hell. But how? as private Doctors, not as œcumenical Paſtors, not as they ſpeak *ex Cathedra*: ſo to my remembrance I have read of a proud Romiſh Prelate, that being reproved for his ſecular pomp, made anſwer, He followed theſe faſhions as he was Duke, not as an Archbiſhop. But the Reprovers reply hath made the Apology (better than which no Jeſuit can make for the Pope) moſt ridiculous ever ſince. If this be ſo, quoth the ſhepherd (ſuch was the Paſtor God had appointed to rebuke the madneſs of this falſe Prophet) I pray reſolve me what ſhall become of my Lord Duke, if the Archbiſhop go to the Devil. If many, ſometimes Popes, be now in Hell (as no Jeſuit I think, will profeſs any moral hope that all are ſaved:) What is become of the Church Repreſentative, which lodged in their brains? Hath the number of glorified Saints been encreaſed by their departure from earth? Were they ever a whit more happy for being heirs to that glorious Promiſe; *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church?* Or were their Comments upon that place Orthodoxal? What was the comfort S. *Peter* himſelf could ever have reaped thence? Only this, though Satan may ſo ſift thee, that thy ſoul may go to Hell before thy body deſcend to the grave; yet reſt aſſured of this, that thy faith which in Cathedral reſolutions ſhall never fail thee in thy life time, ſhall ſurvive in thy Succeſſors when thou art dead; but to what purpoſe, if notwithſtanding this prerogative, all may deſcend one after another into Hell?

29. Or if their Doctrine were true, to what end did Chriſt come in the fleſh? only to build a Church, which like a lamp or candle may glorioully ſhine, whiles there is an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of Popes to propagate the ſplendor; but whoſe glory when that expires, for ought that glorious promiſe adds unto it, muſt be extinguiſhed, as the light goes out when the oil is ſpent.

Better aſſurance than every Pope for his time hath; S. *Peter* by their doctrine had none from thoſe words of our Saviour. For whatſoever power or prerogative was in them bequeathed to him, doth deſcend by inheritance to his ſucceſſors. And would the meaneſt Jeſuit now living have gloried much in a life, graced with no greater viſible Church dignity than S. *Peter* was, perpetually expoſed to like danger, without any other ſolace to ſupport it, ſave only this, that his poſterity ſhould enjoy the ſame priviledges? But now that the glory and dignity of the Romiſh Church is become ſo great, and the Jeſuits portion thereby grown ſo fat; they can be well content to ſooth up the Pope in this conceit, that howſoever his perſon may go to Hell (a place it ſeems not much dreaded becauſe unknown) yet Hell gates ſhall never prevail againſt his faith; which hath brought ſuch large poſſeſſions to the Church; both which he may infallibly entail to his ſucceſſors until the worlds end. But (as I ſaid before) what then ſhall become of that Cathedral faith? ſhall it augment the Quire of Gods elect, or can they make as many S. *Faiths* as have been Popes?

The Romiſh Church of all Idols that are, or have been, the moſt vain and fooliſh.

30. Herein appears the exceſs of theſe days impiety, in reſpect of former; that this imaginary idea of Romiſh faith ſhould be more ſuperſtitiouſly adored than any other Idol in the World ever was; Although that of the Apoſtle may be more properly ſaid of it than any other, *nihil eſt in mundo*. Other Idols repreſented either men or beaſts, ſome permanent creature, or real quality: *This is a fancy of a Chimara, a ſhape of nothing*; or if by nature and eſſence ought, it is ſuch a conceit or mental quality as may be in Devils. Exiſtence it hath none, but as Eclipſes of the Sun, by fits or courſes when the Pope ſhall ſpeak *ex Cathedra. What ſhall become of it, and the colours in the Rainbow, after the day of Judgement, are two queſtions of like uſe and conſequence:* and of theſe two objects, the one as fit to direct mens courſes by Sea or Land, as the other to conduct us towards Heaven. The dazled imaginations of theſe Idolaters, that can thus conceit this faith to be ſpiritual, and eternal by ſucceſſion, when it cannot ſave them in whom it is, are much worſe than ſome fooliſh Heathens dreams of an immortal fame, that was to accompany their mortal ſouls; (as they eſteemed them) and argue in theſe ſons of Antichriſt, either an incogitancy, or unbelief of Chriſt, (who lives for ever) come in the fleſh, or a ſecure worldly hope, he ſhall never, or not this long time, come to judgement.

2 Pet. 3. 3.

31. S. *Peter* hath foretold, *that there ſhall come in the laſt days, mockers, which will walk after their luſts, and ſay, where is the promiſe of his coming? for ſince the fathers dyed, all things continue alike from the beginning the creation.* Atheiſts and Libertines, I know here are literally meant. But as the Prophets uſually prefigure our future Bliſs by *Jeruſalems* preſent glory, or other known felicity, by which perhaps it was repreſented unto them: So might S. *Peter* ſhadow out unto us the myſtery of iniquity, according to that rude draught which it had in his time. For the ſubſtance, native quality, or proportion of the Atheiſts, and the modern godleſs Romaniſts mockery, they are the ſame, only the one is more rude and rough hewn, the other more ſmoothly varniſhed with Hypocriſie, and overlaid with artificial colours. The blunt Atheiſt like a lewd Debter that ſimply denies his bond, imagines the

A Paralel of Atheiſtical and Papiſtical mockery.

Come I:

Lord will never come to call him to an account. Their ſubtile Romaniſt like a crafty companion that acknowledgeth the debt, but no ſet day of payment ſpecified, ſave only [*to morrow*] hopes to drive off God Almighty from day to day, putting Chriſts coming as far from him the next three years to come, as it was the laſt three paſt; and ſo would hold on theſe hundred thouſand years, if the World ſhould ſtand ſo long, becauſe Antichriſt, who by profeſſed enmity againſt Chriſt, ſhall give the World three years warning (according to the years of an hireling) of its diſſolution, (if we may believe this mocker) is not yet revealed: Nor ever ſhall be to him, unto whom, ſince the *Patriarchs and Apoſtles dyed, all things continue as they did from the beginning of the new creation* (*mans redemption*) without any general Apoſtaſie or decay of *Peters* faith, which remains ſtill as freſh and lively, as when he firſt confeſſed Chriſt. Not the Jew more ſottiſh, in expecting his Meſſias, than this Hypocrite in deferring Antichriſts coming. And no marvel, when that which firſt cauſed the Jew ſo grievouſly to ſtumble, and ſince retains him in his unbelief, is made the only ground of the Roman Catholicks faith. Hell, by an approved Experiment of the ones fall, knew well the ſame charm would enchant the other: *both being equally tainted with a ſuperſtitious heatheniſh conceit, that their Teachers could not erre, becauſe they ſit in the ſeats of ſuch as were Infallible in their life times.* And hence it is they are ſo blind, and ſee it not, bewitched, and bewitching others with continual reiterating that Magick Spell of *Templum Domini, the Church, the Church*, words whoſe meaning they underſtand no more, than ſimple women do waggiſh Scholars medicines, or charms for the toothach. Their ignorance (though) may put us in mind of another mockery, they make of our Saviours words.

The Jew and the Jeſuit, are alike bewitched, the one in expecting Meſſias already come and crucified by his fathers, the other in looking for Antichriſt already revealed, and adored by him as his God.

32. For where *he promiſed Hell gates ſhould never prevail againſt his Church, meaning againſt no true Chriſtian ſoul eſpouſed to him by an indiſſoluble knot of faith and everlaſting love*: Theſe Mockers diſpoſſeſs the Chriſtian world of this glorious hope, by a double deluſion; firſt perſwading it, that the univerſal Church Militant may encamp in one mans breaſt; upon whom, though Hell ſhut her gates, the ſimple, (ſuch as they would make us all) muſt believe the Church is ſafe, becauſe he came not within them *as an Heretick*: For ſo in the ſecond place, though our Saviour promiſeth in terms as ample and Majeſtical as can be deviſed, that not *Hell gates*, that is, no power or force of Hell, ſhall be able to hold play with that Church, whoſe ſafe conduct to his heavenly Kingdom he there undertook; they make the meaning of his aſſurance to be but this: No Hereſie (as if Hell gates were furniſhed with no other munition) ſhall ever make breach upon the Roman Conſiſtory, or approach the Popes Seat of dignity. Thus, to ſupport the Popes Supremacy, they would make Chriſt ſo to ſhuffle; *as if a Prince* (were it poſſible any Prince could be ſo baſe) *ſhould warrant his Confederates ſafe conduct thorow his Territories, upon as high terms, as his Soveraignty or Supremacy would ſtretch unto, and yet challenged upon the others miſcarriage, interpret his meaning to have been but this; I did warrant him he ſhould not dye of poyſon, adminiſtred by any Phyſician of mine in my Dominions*: That no violence ſhould be offered him by Thieves and Robbers, or other unruly ſubjects, I undertook not.

Chap. IX.

That the Romaniſts Belief of the Churches Infallible Authority cannot be reſolved into any teſtimony better than Humane: whence the main concluſion immediately follows; That the Romaniſt in Obeying the Church-decrees, without examination of them by Gods Word, prefers mans Laws before Gods.

1. SEeing it hath been manifeſted as well by *Oſtenſive proof* from Scriptures, as by *Deduction to inconveniences*, moſt contrary to the *Analogy*, and prejudicial to the main *foundation of Faith*, that S. *Peter* was not the Church, nor ſuch an head as the Pope doth make himſelf of all the faithful: The principal Point is clear, that *the Romaniſts Belief* of ſuch a tranſcendent, abſolute, œcumenical Authority in the Church, as might warrant our Obedience to the former Decrees, cannot be reſolved into any Divine teſtimony, or abſolute Promiſe of Chriſt: in neither of which the Pope can have any intereſt, but only by right derived from S. *Peter*.

2. To follow them a little in their School humour, only reckoning the Speculative probabilities that can be brought for them, without computation of their Blaſphemies, or other dangerous Conſequences wherewith their Doctrine heretofore hath been, and muſt be further charged; let us try what ſtrength the other joynts have in themſelves, and ſee in the next place, what proof they can make their Popes are ſucceſſors to ſuch preheminences as *Peter* had. Albeit even this joynt, as all the reſt of their Religion, is quite benummed, and utterly deprived of ſenſe, by the deadly blow lately given to the principal nerve, whence life and motion muſt be derived to the whole body of their Religion. For if we conſider the intenſive perfection of that preheminence, or eſtimation, which *Peter* in reſpect of his fellows had, either with his Lord, or with his flock: this was founded in a correſpondent exceſs of his love, his lively faith, and diligent feeding; unto no one of which good qualities, the Popes profeſs themſelves heirs infallible. Or if we reſpect the extent or amplitude of S. *Peters* extraordinary ſoveraignty, it was the ſame with *Davids* Kingdom, or Chriſts own Paſtoral charge; and reached but from *Dan* to *Beerſheba*. At the utmoſt, it and the circumciſion had the ſame circumference: Within which, how great ſoever his Authority was, the Pope can have no pretence to be his ſucceſſor therein. For the edification of the people committed to him by our Saviour, was to be finiſhed before *Jeruſalems* deſtruction; ſince which time *Iſrael* hath been perpetually ſcattered amongſt the Nations without a ſhepherd, to gather them. And when it ſhall pleaſe the Lord, as it is probable it will, to reduce them to his fold: their Ruler ſhall be of their own people, *ſtrangers ſhall have no more domion over them.*

The Adverſaries folly in deriving œcumenical authority perpetually infallible from S. Peter.

3. Had the Pope derived his right from S. *Thomas*, *Bartholomew*, or other Apoſtle, which have no writings extant, this might have yielded ſome ſurmiſes, not ſo eaſie to be diſproved, that Romiſh traditions did contain the ſum, at leaſt of all theſe Apoſtles unwritten Doctrine: if from S. *Paul* the great Doctor of the Gentiles, and firſt Planter of faith amongſt the Romans, (as much commended by him as any other of his children in Chriſt) the improbability had been much leſs than now it is in *Peters* caſe, that the Biſhop of *Rome*, if any, ſhould have ſucceeded him. But when that people began to grow out of love with the truth, *faſhioning themſelves unto this preſent world*, (the diſeaſe whereof S. *Paul* * forewarned them) it was Satans policy to preſent unto them (longing after ſuch a Monarchical ſtate as their Heatheniſh Predeceſſors had) ſuch ſhews of *Peters* Supremacy, and reſidency at *Rome*, as by the Divine permiſſion had either crept into ſome of the Ancients religious cogitations, or elſe in time of darkneſs have been ſhufled by the Predeceſſors of theſe cheating mates late diſcovered, into their writings, as fit baits to entice them unto this derivation of that abſolute power from *Peter*, to their greater condemnation, and our good. For God no doubt in his providence ordered this their blindneſs to illuminate us, as he did the fall of the Jews to confirm the Gentiles in faith; ſeeing of all the Apoſtles, *Peters* Prerogatives (as hath been ſhewed) were moſt evidently perſonal, all to determine with himſelf; unto which obſervation his own writings alſo give teſtimony. Even a little before he was to leave the world, where he moſt manifeſted his earneſt deſire of preſerving his flock, ſound in faith after his death, he gives no intimation (as ſhall be ſhewed more at large † hereafter) of any Succeſſor, unto whom they were to repair. His preſent Epiſtle he foreſaw would be more available to this purpoſe, than any Tradition from him: * *I will not be negligent to put you always in remembrance of theſe things, though that ye have knowledge, and be eſtabliſhed in the preſent truth. For I think it meet as long as I am in this Tabernacle, to ſtir you up, by putting you in remembrance; ſeeing I know that the time is at hand, that I muſt lay down this my Tabernacle, even as our Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath ſhewed me. I will endeavour therefore always that ye alſo may be able to have remembrance of theſe things after my departing.*

* Rom. 12. 2.

† Chap. 23.

* 2 Pet. 1, 12, &c.

S Peter knew not his Succeſſors ſhould be infallible.

3. As for peculiar direction of later times, whence perpetual infallibility muſt be derived; it cannot be gathered from his writings, that he knew ſo much as his brother *Paul* did. Albeit in this point, theſe two great Pillars of Chriſts Church, more famous than all their fellow Apoſtles beſides for preſent efficacy of their perſonal Miniſtery, come far behind the Diſciple whom Jeſus loved; whoſe written Ambaſſage was in a peculiar ſenſe, to tarry till Chriſts laſt coming unto Judgement, as he himſelf did unto Chriſt firſt coming to deſtroy *Jeruſalem*, and forewarn the Nations. Beſides the Doctrine of common ſalvation, neceſſary for all to know, plentifully ſet down in this Diſciples Epiſtle, his Revelations contain infallible directions, peculiar to every age. And as in ſome one gift or other, every Apoſtle almoſt exceeds his fellows: ſo if amongſt all, any one was to have this Prerogative *of being the ordinary Paſtor*, or to have ordinary Succeſſors as *Aaron* (though inferiour to *Moſes* in perſonal Prerogatives

during his life) had after his death: this doubtleſs was S. *John*; who aſcribes that unto the diligent Expoſitors, Hearers, or Readers of his Books, which the Romaniſt appropriates to ſuch as relie upon the viſible Churches determinations: never queſtioning whether it be that *Babylon* which S. *John* deciphers, or no; *Bleſſed is he* (ſaith S. *John*) *that readeth, and they that hear the words of this propheſie, and keep thoſe things which are written therein, for the time is at hand.* Bleſſed they are that read it with fear and reverence, or ſo affected as this Diſciple was: for unto ſuch the Lord will by means ordinary, by ſober obſervation of the event, reveal his ſecret intent, as he did it unto him by the extraordinary gift of Propheſie, *for the teſtimony of Jeſus is the ſpirit of Propheſie*, Revel. 19. 10.

5. It is evident the Spirit of God intended to ſhew *John*, and *John* to ſhew the faithful, all the Eclipſes that ſhould befal the Church until the worlds end. His propheſies ſince his death, were ſo to inſtruct the world of all principal events preſent or to come, as Hiſtories do of matters forepaſt. Now as he in our times, wherein God inſpires not men with *Moſes* ſpirit, is accounted the beſt Antiquary, that is moſt converſant, and beſt ſeen in the faithful Records of time; not he that can take upon him to divine as *Moſes* did of the worlds ſtate in former Ages: ſo ſince the gift of propheſie ceaſed, he is to be eſteemed the moſt infallible Teacher, the ſafeſt guide to conduct others againſt the forces of Hell; chiefly hereſies or doctrines of Devils, that can beſt interpret him, who firſt deſcried them, and in his life time forewarned the Churches of *Aſia*, (planted by S. *Paul*, and watered by him) of the abominations that threatned ſhortly to overſpread them, and after them the whole viſible Church, until theſe later times. Doth the Pope then profeſs more skill in S. *Johns* Revelatious than any other? If he do, let him make proof of his Profeſſion by the evidence of his Expoſitions. But from this Apoſtle he pretends none at all, and we demand but any tolerable proof of ſucceſſion from S. *Peter*.

6. A Supreme œcumenical Head (ſay the Paraſites to the Sea Apoſtolick) is as neceſſary now, as in S. *Peters* time: therefore he muſt *jure divino* have a Succeſſor. But neither doth Scripture or Reaſon admit any ſuch Head, as they have moulded in their brains, either then or now. † As hath been abundantly proved; and their own inſtances brought to illuſtrate the probability of ſuch a device contradict them. For admit that Chriſt and earthly Princes ſtood in like need of Deputy-Governors in their abſence; would the King of *Spain*, were he to go on Pilgrimage unto his Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, leave but one Deputy over all the Dominions of *Spain* and *Portugal*, the Weſt *Indies*, *Sicily*, *Naples*, and *Millain*? Or leaving but one, would indue him with ſuch abſolute power over all his Subjects in theſe Nations, as they imagine Chriſt doth the Pope over every Chriſtian ſoul throughout the whole world. What ſpirit then (may we think) did poſſeſs * *Bellarmin*,

†Vide lib. 1. cap. 29.

* *RESPONDEO*, non eſſe eandem rationem Politici & Eccleſiaſtici regiminis. Si quidem orbis terrarum non neceſſariò debet eſſe unum regnem, proinde non neceſſario poſtulat unum qui omnibus præſit; at Eccleſia tota unum eſt regnum, una civitas, una domus, & ideo ab uno tota regi debet. Cujus differentiæ, illa eſt ratio, quòd ad conſervationem Politicorum regnorum non neceſſariò requiratur, ut omnes Provinciæ ſervent eaſdem leges civiles, & eoſdem ritus. Poſſunt enim pro locorum, & perſonarum varietate diverſis uti legibus, & inſtitutis, & idcirco non requiritur unus, qui omnes in unitate contineat. Ad conſervationem verò Eccleſiæ neceſſe eſt, ut omnes conveniant in eadem fide, iiſdem Sacramentis, iiſdemque præceptis divinitus traditis, quod ſane fieri non poteſt, niſi ſint unus populus, & ab uno, in unitate contineantur. *Bellarmin. lib. 1. Re Rom. Pont. cap. 9.* ſub finem. *He acknowledgeth it were convenient the whole World ſhould be governed by one Civil Monarch. Were it poſſible to create ſurely one without bloodſhed or wrong, it were requiſite he or any in his behalf ſhould reſolve us why the whole Church might not as truly be one people by communion with Chriſt their head, as the Tartars and Spaniards by ſubordination to one Lord, to wit, the King of* Spain, *ſuppoſe he were Lord of both, and they as far diſtant each from other as they are.*

when he avouched that the Church and Common-weals are different in this caſe? let us hear the difference. *The Church Catholick muſt be one by communion with one head*: ſo muſt the Lieg people of every Monarch be one by ſubordination to one Soveraign, whether reſident amongſt them, or far abſent. Why may not Chriſt then, though abſent, be that only ſupreme head, whence univerſally the Church receiveth unity? or why may not he rule in it, though diſperſed thorow many Nations, as effectually by his Angels, and ordinary Miniſters of the Goſpel, as the Pope doth by his *Nuncio's*, fallible Legates, or other inferiour Prelates?

7. But though Reaſon and Scripture fail them, yet Councils, Hiſtories and Traditions, may be muſtered to their aid. Theſe are the firſt Springs of theſe many Waters, whereon the great Whore ſits. From what Hiſtory therefore do they believe the Pope is *Peters* Succeſſor? from hiſtory Canonical or Divine? no Secular, Monkiſh or Eccleſiaſtical at the beſt, upon which the beſt faith that can be founded is but humane: and their profeſſed villany in putting in and out whatſoever they pleaſe into what writing ſoever, (Gods word only excepted) makes it more than doubtful, whether many ancient Writers did ever intimate any ſuch eſtimate of the Romiſh Church, as is now fathered upon them; or rather this foul iniquity late revealed, whilſt ſome have been taken in the manner, hath been long time concealed as a myſtery of the Romiſh ſtate. But they believe not this ſucceſſion from expreſs written hiſtory, but from Tradition partly. From Tradition of whom? Of men, what men? Men obnoxious to errour, and parties in this preſent controverſie: yet neither partial, nor erroneous while they ſpeak *ex Cathedra*, ſaith the Jeſuit. But who ſhall aſſure us what they have ſpoken *ex Cathedra* concerning this point? The Councils, what Councils? Councils aſſembled by the Pope; Councils of men for the moſt part, as ill qualified as carnally minded, and ſo palpably carried away with faction, that to attribute any divine authority unto them, were to blaſpheme the holy Spirit. Councils which the Papiſts themſelves acknowledge not of ſufficient authority, unleſs they follow the Popes inſtructions; from whom likewiſe they muſt receive their approbation. The Pope muſt aſſure us the Council (which perhaps elected him, rejecting a Competitor every way more ſufficient) doth not err. But that the Pope is lawfully elected; that ſo elected, he cannot err in this aſſertion, who ſhall aſſure us? he himſelf or his Predeceſſors. This than is the laſt reſolution of our faith, if it rely upon the Church.

The uncertainty of Popiſh Councils or Traditions.

8. We muſt abſolutely believe every Pope in his own cauſe: Firſt, that he himſelf is; ſecondly, that all his Predeceſſors up to S. *Peter* were infallible. When as many of them, within theſe few hundred years late paſt (by their own followers confeſſion) were ſuch, as whatſoever muſt derive its pedegree from them, may juſtly be ſuſpected to have firſt deſcended from the father of lies; ſuch as not ſpeaking *ex Cathedra*, were ſo far from the eſteem of abſolute infallibility, that ſuch as knew them beſt did truſt them leaſt in matters of ſecular commodity, and if they were found *unfaithful in the wicked* * *Mammon, who will truſt them in the true*? Not †Papiſts themſelves, unleſs they ſpeak *ex Cathedra*. Then belike our Saviour did not foreſee this exception from his general rule: or *Judas* by this knack might have proved himſelf or any other knave, as faithful a Paſtor as S. *Peter*.

* *Luke* 16. 11.

† *He that is unjuſt in the leaſt, is unjuſt alſo in much, ſaith our Saviour in the ſame place*, v. 10.

A Popes teſtimony of himſelf or his predeceſſors is authentick.

9. But if a Pope ſhall teach *ex Cathedra*, that he is *Peters* lawful Succeſſor, and therefore of divine infallible authority, in expounding all the former places, we muſt notwithſtanding our Saviours Caveat, believe him. Why? Becauſe it muſt be ſuppoſed he hath divine teſtimony for this aſſertion. As what, either divine hiſtory, divine tradition, or divine revelation? Divine hiſtory they diſclaim, nor can impudency it ſelf pretend it. It may be he hath the perpetual traditions of his Predeceſſors. But here again we demand what divine aſſurance they can bring forth, that every Pope from S. *Peter* downwards, did give expreſs Cathedral teſtimony to this perpetual ſucceſſion in like Authority? Suppoſe (what no Jeſuit dare avouch, unleſs he firſt conſult his Superiors, whether he muſt not of neceſſity ſay ſo, for maintenance of the Popes dignity) that this aſſertion had been expreſly conveyed from S. *Peter* to the preſent Pope, without interruption; yet if any one of them did receive it from his Predeceſſor, having it but as a private man, or upon his honeſty, he might err in delivering it to his ſucceſſor, ſo might the third believing in him. For no belief can be more certain than its proper object, or immediate ground. If *That* be fallible, the belief muſt needs be uncertain, obnoxious to errour, and at the beſt humane. No better is the Popes teſtimony, unleſs given *ex Cathedra*: and no better is the ground of his own belief, of what his Predeceſſors told him, unleſs they told it him ſo ſpeaking. Wherefore though this preſent Pope ſhould teach *ex Cathedra*, *viva voce*, that he is *Peters* lawful Succeſſor; yet unleſs he can prove that none of his Predeceſſors did ever neglect ſo to avouch the ſame truth, it is evident that he ſpeaks more than he can poſſibly know by any divine teſtimony, either of hiſtory, or unwritten tradition. It is evident again, he binds us to believe that by divine faith which he cannot poſſibly know himſelf, but only by faith humane. For the only ground of his aſſertion, is this ſuppoſed perpetual tradition: and this is but humane, unleſs it be perpetually delivered *ex Cathedra*. Nor is there any other means poſſibly under the Sun, nay, either in Heaven or Earth, for to know matters of this nature forepaſt, but either the teſtimony of others, that have gone before us, who either were themſelves, or took their relations upon truſt from ſuch as were preſent, when the things related were acted, or elſe by revelation from him who was before all times, and is a preſent Spectator, *an eye witneſs of every action*.

Popes bind us to believe by divine faith their reports of matters forepaſt which they cannot believe by any other faith, but humane and fallible.

10. Our knowledge of matters forepaſt by the former means, (though Popes themſelves be the relators, unleſs their relation be Cathedral) as hath been proved, are but humane and fallible; Things known by immediate revelation from God are moſt certain, becauſe the immediate relator, is moſt infallible. Doth the Pope by this means know, what his Predeceſſors, or S. *Peter* thought concerning this perpetual ſucceſſion, or generally all matters concerning this point long ſince forepaſt? He may as eaſily tell us what any of his ſucceſſors ſhall do or ſay an hundred years hence. And thus much if this preſent Pope will undertake, the Chriſtian people, then living, may ſafely believe, what the Pope then being ſhall ſay of this; or both of their Predeceſſors. But to believe man, as an infallible Prophet of things paſt, which cannot prove himſelf a true

He that will be reputed a Prophet of times forepaſt, muſt ſhew himſelf a Prophet of things to come.

true foreteller of things to come, were to invert Gods Ordinance, and mock his Word. For it hath been a perpetual Law of God, that no man ſhould ever be believed more than man, or by any faith, more than humane, though in matters preſent, whereof he might have been an eye-witneſs: unleſs he ſhewed his participation of the Divine Spirit, by infallible prediction of things to come, or evidency of miracles fully anſwering to the prediction of Gods Word already written, as ſhall be ſhewed at large in the next Section *.

* *See Chap.* 11.

11. If we put together the firſt Elements of Romiſh Faith, as they have been ſounded apart, they make no ſuch compound, as the ſimple and ignorant Papiſts (who in policy are taught to read this Leſſon, as little children untaught, will by gueſſing at the whole in groſs, without ſpelling the parts) believe they do. Firſt, *Their Prerogatives they give to* Peter *are blaſphemous.* Secondly, *Their Allegations, to prove that their Popes ſucceed as full heirs to all* Peters *Prerogatives, are ridiculous. Whence it muſt needs follow, that their Faith is but a compoſt of folly and blaſphemy.* This pretended perpetuity of tradition, or ſuſpicious tale of ſucceſſion from *Peter*, is the beſt warrant they have, that the Church doth not erre in expounding the places alledged for her infallibility; and their belief of their infallibility in ſuch Expoſitions, the only ſecurity their ſouls can have, that obeying the former Decree of worſhipping the conſecrate Hoſt, of communicating under one kind, they do not contemptuouſly diſobey Gods principal Laws, mangle Chriſts laſt Will and Teſtament, vilifie his precious Body and Bloud. Seeing then they themſelves confeſs the places brought by us againſt their Decrees to be Divine; and we have demonſtrated that mens belief of that infallible Authority in making ſuch Decrees, to be meerly humane: the former concluſion is moſt firm, that *whilſt men obey theſe Decrees againſt that Natural Senſe and Meaning, which the former paſſages of Scripture ſuggeſt ſo plainly to every mans Conſcience, that the Churches pretended Authority ſet aſide, none would ever queſtion whether they could admit any reſtraint*, they obey men more than God, *Humane Laws more than Divine; and much better believe the Traditions of Humane Fancy, of whoſe forgery for others Worldly Gain there be ſtrong Preſumptions, than the expreſs Written Teſtimony of the Holy Spirit, in the eſpecial Points of their own Salvation.*

The preſent Popes Authority is greater than Hiſtory, Traditions, or Councils, or ought that can be pretended for it.

12. Or if unto the Teſtimony of Gods Spirit, recorded in Scriptures, we add Hiſtory, Tradition, Councils, or former Popes Decrees, or whatſoever poſſibly may be pretended to prove the preſent Popes Authority, it muſt ſtill be ſuppoſed greater and better known, than all that can be brought for it or againſt it, as will appear, if we apply our Argument uſed before. *That Authority is always greater which may try all others, and muſt be tried by none, but ſuch is the Popes declaration, or determination of all points in controverſie, whether about the Canon or ſenſe of Scriptures*, over thoſe which are brought for it, whether about the truth, true meaning or Authority of unwritten Traditions, whether about the lawfulneſs of Councils, or their Authentick Interpretations: in one word, his determinations are Monarchical, and may not be examined (as S. *Auſtin* or others of the ancient Fathers Writings may) by any

Law written or unwritten. So * *Bellarmine* ſuitable to the Trent Council, expreſly avoucheth: *The Fathers were only Doctors or Expoſitors; the Pope is a Judge; What then is the difference between a Judge and an Expoſitor? To explain as a Judge, there is required Authority; to explain as a Doctor, or Expoſitor, only Learning is requiſite. For a Doctor doth not propoſe his ſentence as neceſſary to be followed, but only ſo far as reaſon ſhall counſel us: but a Judge propoſeth his ſentence to be followed of neceſſity.* Whereof then will the Pope be Judge? Of expounding Scriptures: theſe places of Scripture which make for his pretended Authority. Muſt his ſentence herein of neceſſity be followed? By *Bellarmine* it muſt, albeit we ſee no reaſon for it, either out of Scripture or Nature. It is for Doctors to bring reaſons for their Expoſitions; but the Pope needs not except he will: nor may we exact it of a Judge. So he adds more expreſly, *We admit not of* Bartolus, *or* Baldus *Gloſſes, as we do of Emperours Declarations.* Auſtin *and other Fathers in their Commentaries ſupply the places of Teachers, but the Council and Popes exerciſe the function of Judges, whereunto God hath deſigned them.* But how ſhall we know that God hath committed all judgment unto them, ſeeing we have been taught by his Word, † *That he hath committed all judgment unto his Son, becauſe all men ſhould honour the Son as they honour the Father?* We read not of any other to whom the like Authority is given by God, or his Son; yet of one, whoſe very Name ſhall import the Uſurpation of like Authority, that is, ἀντι-χρίςȣ, Chriſts Vicar-general, unto whom the Son as muſt be ſuppoſed, doth delegate the ſame Judiciary Power the Father delegated unto him.

13. But may a Princes Declaration in no caſe be examined by his Subjects? Yes, though in civil matters, it may, ſo far as it concerns their Conſciences; as whether it be conſonant to Gods Word or no, whether it make more for the health of their ſouls, to ſuffer what it inflicts upon the refuſers, or to act what it commands. To controul, countermand, or hinder the execution of it, by oppoſition of violence or contrary civil power, Subjects may not. But for any, but man, to uſurp ſuch Dominion over his fellow-creatures ſouls, as earthly Princes have over their Subjects goods, lands, or bodies, is more than Monarchical, more than tyrannical, the very *Idea* of *Antichriſtianiſm*. And what I would commend unto the Reader, as a point of *eſpecial conſideration*, This Aſſertion of *Bellarmine*, concerning the Popes abſolute Authority, directly proves him, as was avouched * before, to be a ſupreme Head or Foundation, of the ſelf ſame rank and order with Chriſt, no way inferiour to him in the intenſive perfection, but only in the extent of abſolute Sovereignty. For, greater Sovereignty cannot be conceived than this, That no man may examine the truth, or equity of commands, or conſequences immediately derived from it, though immediately concerning their eternal joy or miſery. No Prince did ever delegate ſuch Sovereign Power to his Vicegerent, or Deputy: nor could he, unleſs for the time being (at leaſt) he did utterly relinquiſh his own ſupreme Authority, or admit a full

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* Aliud eſt interpretari legem more doctoris, aliud more judicis: ad explicationem more doctoris, requiritur eruditio; ad explicationem more judicis requiritur authoritas. Doctor enim non proponit ſententiam ſuam ut neceſſariò ſequendā, ſed ſolum quatenus ratio ſuadet: at judex proponit ut ſequendam neceſſariò. Aliter accipimus gloſſas Bartholi & Baldi, aliter declarationem Principis. Auguſtinus igitur & cæteri Patres in Commentariis fungebantur officio Doctorum: at Concilia, & Pontifices funguntur officio judicis à Deo ſibi commiſſo. *Bellar. de verbi Dei interpret. lib. 3. cap. 10. reſpon. ad 16.*

† *Joh. 5. 22, 23.*

* Cap. 8. §. 17, &c. Bellarmine *to prove the Pope is abſolutely above the univerſal Church, uſeth theſe words,* Omnia nomina, quæ in Scripturis tribuuntur Chriſto, unde conſtat eum eſſe ſupra Eccleſiam, eadem omnia tribuuntur Pontifici. *Bellar.* de Conciliorum auct. Lib. 2. cap. 17. initio.

Compeer in his Kingdom. * *Bellarmines* diſtinctions, *of a primary and ſecondary Foundation, of a Miniſterial and principal Head of the Church, may hence be deſcribed* to be but meer Stales ſet to catch Gulls. Their conceit of the Popes Copartnerſhip with Chriſt, is much better reſembled, and more truly expreſſed, by the Poets imaginations of *Jupiter*, and *Auguſtus Cæſars* Fraternity,

> *Diviſum Imperium cum* Jove, Cæſar *habet*:
>
> *Jove* and *Cæſar* are Kings and Gods:
> But *Jove* of Heaven; that's the only odds.

That Chriſt ſhould retain the Title of the ſupreme Head over the Church Militant, and the reality of Supremacy over the Church Triumphant, our Adverſaries are not offended: Becauſe, there is ſmall hope of raiſing any new Tribute from the Angels, and Saints in Heaven, to the Romiſh Churches uſe; and as little fear that Chriſt ſhould take any ſecular Commodity from it, which anciently it hath enjoyed.

* Chriſtum caput eſſe Eccleſiæ univerſæ libentiſſime confitemur, neque ullum hominem, ac ne angelum quidem illi æquamus; quod eſſet propriè duo capita in Eccleſiæ corpore conſtituere, at quin ſub Chriſto capite ſummo Vicarius ejus in terris caput ut ſic dicam, miniſteriale, non principale rectè nominetur, negari nullo modo poteſt; Siquidem ut in republica temporali caput omnium principale Rex eſt, ſub Rege deinde capita ſunt Provinciarum, ii qui dicuntur Proreges, & ſub Proregibus capita ſunt urbium ſingularum, certi quidam Prætores, & ſub prætoribus quælibet familia ſuum habet caput, ipſum videlicet Patrem familias, &c. Ita quoque in Eccleſia Dei, ſummum caput omnium hominum & Angelorum Chriſtus eſt: ſub Chriſto in terris caput omnium Chriſtianorum eſt *Pontifex* maximus: ſub illo Epiſcopi, ſub Epiſcopis *Parochi* capita ſunt Chriſtianæ multitudinis. *Bellar. in Appendice ad libros de ſummo Pont. cap.* 24. *His ſimilitude fails in this, that they admit of no appeal from the Pope to Chriſt, no examination of his Decrees by Gods Word: Nor is the Pope by their Doctrine ſubordinate in ſuch ſort unto Chriſt, as all other Biſhops are to the Pope.*

14. But though it were true, that we were abſolutely bound to obey an abſolute Monarch, of whoſe right none doubts: yet may we examine whether every Potentate that challengeth Monarchical Juriſdiction over others, or gives forth ſuch inſolent Edicts in civil matters, as the Pope doth in ſpiritual, do not go beyond his Authority in theſe particulars; albeit his lawful Prerogatives in reſpect of others, be without controverſie many and great, yet limited both for number and magnitude. For ſuppoſe King *Henry* the Eighth, after he had done what he could againſt the Pope, ſhould ſtill have profeſſed his good liking of Romiſh Religion, oppoſing only this to all his Popiſh Clergy, that had challenged him of revolt: *Am not I Defender of the Faith? The Pope, whom I trow you take for no falſe Prophet, hath given me this Prerogative amongſt Chriſtian Princes, as expreſly, as ever S.* Peter *bequeathed him his Supremacy above other Biſhops. It is as impoſſible for me to defend, as for his Holineſs to teach, any other beſides the true Catholick Faith. Let the proudeſt amongſt my Prelates examine my Expoſitions of his Decrees, and by S.* George, *he ſhall fry a Fagot for an Heretick.* Would this or the like pretence (though countenanced by Royal Authority) have been accepted for a juſt defence, that this boiſterous King had not contradicted the Pope, but the tatling Monks, or other private Expoſitors of his Decrees? would this have ſatisfied the Popes Agents, until the King and his Holineſs had come to perſonal conference, for final debatement of the caſe? Yet for Chriſts Servants thus to neglect their Maſters cauſe, is no ſin in the Romaniſts judgment, yea an hereſie is it not to deal ſo negligently in it. For a ſin of no lower rank they make it, not to ſubmit our hearts, minds, and

affections, unto the Popes Negative Decrees, though againſt that ſence of Scripture, which Conſcience and Experience gives us. Unto all the doubts, fears, or ſcruples theſe can miniſter, it muſt ſuffice; That the Pope ſaith he Expounds Scripture no otherwiſe than Chriſt would, were he in earth, but only controuls all private Gloſſes or Expoſitors of them. But can any Chriſtian heart content it ſelf with ſuch Deluſions, and defer all Examinations of Doctrine, until that dreadful day come upon him, wherein the great Shepherd ſhall plead his own cauſe, face to face, with this pretended Vicar and his Aſſociates? Do we believe that Chriſt hath given us a written Law, that he ſhall come to be our Judge, and call us to a ſtrict account wherein we have tranſgreſſed or kept it; yet may we not try by examination, whether theſe Romiſh Guides lead us aright or awry? Whether ſome better or clearer Expoſition may not be hoped for, than the Pope or Council, for the preſent, tenders to us? What if the Pope ſhould prohibit all Diſputations about this point in hand, [*whether obeying him againſt the true ſence of Scripture, (as we are perſwaded) we yield greater Obedience unto him, than unto Scriptures*;] may we not examine the equity of this Decree, or his Expoſition of that Scripture which happily he would pretend for this Authority, *his amplius, fili mi, ne requiras*? No: by their general *Tenent*, and * *Valentians* expreſs Aſſertion; *it were extream impiety to traverſe this ſence, or Expoſition, under pretence of obſcurity, &c.* By the ſame reaſon, for ought I can ſee, it would follow, that, if the Queſtion were, [*whether, obeying the Pope more than God, we did obey man more than God*] we might not examine, at leaſt not determine, whether the Pope were *Man* or *God*, or a *middle nature betwixt both*, which came not within the compaſs of that compariſon.

* Lib.2. cap. 16. paragr.8.

Chap. X.

In what ſence the Jeſuites may truly deny they believe the words of man better than the words of God: In what ſence again our Writers truly charge them with this Blaſphemy.

1. If we review the former Diſcourſe, we may find, that Equivocation, which *Bellarmine* ſought (as a knot in a Bulruſh) in our Writers Objections, to be directly contained in their Churches denial of what was objected. Whilſt they deny that, they exalt the Churches Authority above Scriptures, or mans word above Gods; this denial may have a double ſence. *They may deny a plain and open profeſſion, or challenge of greater Authority in their Church than in Scriptures: Or they may deny, that in effect and ſubſtance they overthrow all Authority of Scripture*, ſave only ſo far as it makes for their purpoſe.

Antichriſt muſt not be a profeſſed or open enemy but a ſecret underminer of true Religion.

2. That the Pope ſhould openly profeſs himſelf Competitor with God, or in expreſs terms, challenge greater Authority than Scriptures have: was never objected by any of our Writers. For all of us know, *the Man of Sin* muſt be no open, or outward Enemy

to the Church, but *Judas*-like, a Diſciple by Profeſſion: his Doctrine, indeed, muſt be a Doctrine of Devils, yet counterfeiting the voice of Angels; as he himſelf, though by internal diſpoſition of mind a ſlave to all manner of filthineſs, and impurity, muſt be enſtiled, *Sanctiſſimus Dominus*, the moſt holy Lord. If the poiſon of his iniquity were not wrapt up in the titles of Divine Myſteries, it would forthwith be diſliked by many ſilly ſuperſtitious ſouls, which daily ſuck their bane from it, becauſe perſwaded that the Scriptures (which they never have examined, whoſe true ſence they never taſted, but from ſome reliques of Heatheniſh Zeal, Idolatrouſly Worſhip in groſs) do fully warrant it. When our Writers therefore object, That the Papiſts exalt the Popes Laws above Gods; (had not theſe holy Catholicks an eſpecial grace to grow deaf, as often as we charge their Mother with ſuch notorious and known Whoredoms, as they ſee might evidently be proved unto the World, if they ſhould ſtand to conteſt with us) their meaning is plain; that the Pope, in deed, and iſſue, makes the Scriptures, (which in ſhew he ſeems to reverence) of no Authority, but only with reference to his own. That he, and his followers, ſhould in words much magnifie Gods Word, written or unwritten, we do not marvel; becauſe the higher eſteem men make of it, the higher ſtill he may exalt his Throne, being abſolutely enabled, by this device, to make all that belongs to God, his Word, his Laws, his Sacraments, the precious Body and Bloud of his Son, bleſſed for ever, meer foot-ſtools to his ambition. For, if the Authority of Scriptures, or ſuch Traditions as he pretends, be eſtabliſhed as Divine, and he admitted ſole, abſolute, infallible Judge of their meaning; it would argue either Antichriſtian blindneſs not to ſee, or impudency of no meaner ſtock, not to acknowledge that the Pope by this mean might appropriate unto himſelf the honour due unto God, and play upon his Creator in ſuch ſort, as if a corrupt Lawyer having Evidences committed to his truſt, ſhould by vertue of them take up Rents, and let Leaſes to the Landlords damage, and Tenants overthrow. And (what is moſt villanous) unto whatſoever Prerogatives, though moſt prejudicial to the Divine Majeſty, his Paraſitical Canoniſts ſhall blaſphemouſly entitle this moſt holy Father, The Son of God, and his faithfulleſt Servants (Apoſtles or Prophets) muſt be brought forth to abet the forgery, as if evidence given in Court by infamous Knights of the Poſt, ſhould in the final day of hearing be produced, under the Hands and Seals of free Barons, or other chief Peers of the Land; for, as was intimated before, whatſoever the Pope, though in his own cauſe, ſhall ſay, it muſt by this Doctrine, be ſuppoſed, that Chriſt doth ſay the ſame. Yea, if it ſhould pleaſe his Holineſs to avouch *ex Cathedra*, that theſe words, *Thou art a Prieſt for ever after the order of Melchiſedek*, are truly and literally meant of himſelf as Chriſts Vicar, or of perpetual ſucceſſion in *Peters* Chair: the evidence muſt be taken as upon the Almighties Oath; who in that place hath ſworn as much as theſe words import; but what that is, the Pope muſt judge. That then he permits Chriſt the Title of his Sovereign Lord, and urges others to ſubſcribe unto his Laws as moſt Divine, is juſt as if ſome Politician ſhould ſolicit the whole Body of a Kingdom, ſolemnly to acknowledge one, otherwiſe lawful Heir unto the Crown, for their *Monarch*

The Pope and his followers have good reaſon to magnifie Chriſts Authority in words or outward ſhew, for their own gain and glory could not otherwiſe be ſo great.

moſt Omnipotent and abſolute, (whoſe will once ſignified muſt be a Law for ever inviolable, to all his Subjects) not with intent that he ſhould in perſon retain ſuch perpetual Sovereignty over them, but that he might have abſolute power to diſpoſe of his Kingdom, as he pleaſed unto the worlds end; or to nominate others, as abſolute in his place, whilſt he ſpent his days as a ſojourner in a foreign Land. Finally, not the moſt treacherous and deteſtable plot, the moſt wicked Pope that hath been, is or ſhall be, could deſire to effect, but may by this device be countenanced, with as great and ſacred Authority, as were the beſt actions our Saviour ever undertook: which (as may better appear from what ſhall be ſaid in the next * Section) is to make every Popes Authority as much greater than our Saviours, as their lives and actions are worſe than his was.

* *Chap.20. 21.*

The ſame plea the Jeſuites make for the Popes abſolute infallibility, the Devil himſelf might uſe with as great probability, were he formally elected in his place.

3. Suppoſe ſome Devil ſhould poſſeſs the Popes place in ſimilitude of a man, (as ſome Papiſts think the great Antichriſt, who ſhall challenge as great Authority as the Pope doth, ſhall be a Devil incarnate, or the ſon of a Devil) might he not hold his Dignity by the ſame plea the Jeſuites make for their Lord and Maſter? Could he not be content to pretend Chriſts Name, or ſucceſſion from S. *Peter*, (as *Simon Magus*, might he have obtained what he deſired, would have done) for his own advantage? Could he not urge the Authority of Gods Word to confirm his own over it, and all that is called Gods? If in ſuch a caſe it might not be permitted men to examine his Allegations out of Scriptures, how could the Devil himſelf be convinced by Scriptures, or depoſed from his Supremacy, thence pretended? And can we doubt, whether he which makes no other plea, than the Devil were he in place might, is not that *Filius Diaboli, The great Antichriſt*? Were we not taught that the ſons of this World are wiſe only in their own Generation, we might juſtly wonder that any men indued with natural wit, could be ſo blind, as at the firſt ſight not to deſcry the politick Sophiſms uſed by the Romaniſt to cozen Chriſt of his Kingdom. As their whole Religion is but the Image of the old Roman Policy; ſo their main plot of *Templum Domini, Templum Domini, the Church, the Church*, as if all were Rebels againſt Chriſt, that will not ſwear abſolute Fealty to the Church Romiſh, may be moſt fully paralleled by the like practiſe of ſuch cunning States-men, as having always one eye to the advancement of their own private Fortunes, live under an abſolute Monarch, of himſelf Royally minded, but not much intermedling in the Affairs of greateſt moment. *Opportunity of high place under a King, upon what occaſion ſoever thus ſequeſtred, that poor mens complaints cannot poſſeſs his ears, tempts Politicians to effect their own purpoſes, under pretence of his right, and to condemn all of Treaſon or Diſloyalty, that will not obey their Deſigns directed in their Sovereigns Name, though moſt abhorrent from the diſpoſition of his Royal Heart, were he acquainted with ſuch lamentable grievances of his poor Subjects, as are the uſual conſequents of Princes gracious Favours upon great Ones.* The more abſolute ſuch a Princes lawful Authority, the greater his native Subjects love unto him is, the more may both be abuſed by ſuch unthankful Officers. As it is the Sovereign conceit all men have of Chriſts Kingdom, which keeps the ſilly in ſuch ſervility unto the Pope, his pretended Agent.

4. This is the only difference in theſe two caſes otherwiſe moſt like. An earthly Prince may live and die deluded of his *Machiavillian* States-men, over whom he hath no power, after he himſelf is once ſubject. But Christ lives and reigns a King for ever; and though his Throne be in the higheſt Heavens, beholds the things done on Earth. He ſees, and yet ſuffereth his pretended Officers to detain ſuch as love Darkneſs more than Light, in groſſeſt ignorance and blind ſubjection to the Prince of Darkneſs, and his Aſſociates; he ſees, and yet ſuffers them detain all ſuch as delight in lyes more than in truth, from acquaintance with his Holy Spirit; he ſees, and yet ſuffers their fouleſt villanies to be countenanced by his ſacred Laws; he ſees, and yet ſuffers his Holy Name to be abuſed, to the eſtabliſhing of Antichriſtian Hereſies; he ſees, and yet ſuffers his Glory made a Stale for maintenance of their Secular Pomp. He is the Keeper of *Iſrael*, and cannot ſo ſlumber, as any abuſe ſhould eſcape his notice; his indignation ſhall not ſleep for ever, but in due time he will rowſe himſelf as a Lion awaked, to take vengeance upon all the workers of iniquity, on them above others, who have thus uſurped his Throne on earth, taking that judgment during the time of his ſuppoſed abſence wholly into their hands, which belongs only unto him: *Even ſo come Lord Jeſu, Holy and True,* and with the breath of thy mouth deſtroy him that hath deſtroyed Truth and Sincerity from amongſt the ſons of men.

SECT.

Sect. III.

Containing the ſecond degree of great Antichriſts Exaltation, in making his Authority more abſolutely infallible than any the viſible or repreſentative Church of the Jews, Moſes *or the Prophets ever had: Finally, in making it greater than Chriſts, or his Apoſtles was.*

THat the Church of *Rome* doth advance her Decrees above the Laws and Ordinances of the Almighty, her words (that in this kind is called Gods) above all Divine Oracles, written and unwritten, is apparent out of their own Poſitions hitherto diſcuſſed; yet is this but the firſt degree of great Antichriſts Exaltation.

The ſecond is the exalting the Popes above any perſonal Authority that ever was either practiſed or eſtabliſhed on earth. This in brief is the Aſſertion, which (by Gods aſſiſtance) we are in this preſent Section to make evident; *The Authority which the Jeſuites and Jeſuited Prieſts give, and would bind others upon pain of damnation to give unto the preſent Church or Pope, throughout every Age, is greater than any Authority that ever was challenged* ſince the world began, by any man or viſible company of men, the Man Chriſt Jeſus not excepted.

Romiſh Poſitions whence the inconvenience propoſed muſt be deduced.

This concluſion followeth immediately out of three Poſitions generally held, and ſtifly maintained by that Church.

The firſt, That the Pope (live he as he liſt) cannot erre in matters of Faith and Manners, when he ſpeaketh *ex Cathedra*: that we are bound infallibly to believe whatſoever he ſo ſpeaks, without examination of his Doctrine by Gods Word, or evident external ſign, or internal Experiment of Gods Spirit, ſpeaking in him.

The ſecond, That we cannot aſſure our ſelves the Scriptures are the Oracles of God, but by the infallible teſtimony of the Viſible Church.

The third, That the true ſence and meaning of Scriptures in caſes doubtful, or controverſed, cannot be undoubtedly known without the infallible Declaration of the ſame Church.

Chap. XI.

What reſtraint, precepts for obedience unto the Prieſts of the Law, (though ſeeming moſt univerſal for their Form) did neceſſarily admit: And how univerſal Propoſitions of Scriptures are to be limited.

1. SEing we undertake to prove, that no ſuch authority as the Romiſh Church doth challenge, was ever eſtabliſhed on earth: The anſwering of thoſe arguments drawn from the authority of the Prieſts in the old Teſtament, may to the judicious ſeem (at the firſt ſight) needleſs, yet becauſe ſuch as they ſet the faireſt gloſſes upon, (if we look into the inſide or ſubſtance) are fulleſt fraught with their own diſgrace and ignominy; It will not be ſuperfluous to acquaint the Reader with ſome particulars, prefixing ſome general admonitions to the younger ſort, for more commodious anſwering of all that can be brought of like kind.

2. Their common places of cozening the world, eſpecially ſmatterers of Logick or School learning, with counterfeit proofs of Scripture, is either from ſome univerſal precept of obedience, given to the people, or general promiſes of infallibility made to the Prieſts in the old Teſtament. Such as come unto the Scriptures, having their mind dazled with notions of *univerſale primum*, or other Logick rules true in ſome caſes, think the former precepts, being for their form univerſal, may admit no exception, limitation or reſtraint,) otherwiſe the holy Ghoſt might break the rule of Logick) when as they admit many reſtraints, not always from one, but oft times from divers reaſons; from theſe following eſpecially. God ſometimes enjoyns obedience (as we ſay) *in the Abſtract*, to ſet us a patern of ſuch true accurate obedience, as men ſhould perform unto Authority it ſelf, or unto ſuch Governors, as neither in their lives, nor in the Seat of judgement, would decline either to the right hand or to the left, but ſquare all their proceedings to the exact rule of Gods word. Unto ſuch Governors continual and compleat obedience, was to be performed; becauſe the parties governed upon examination, ſhould always find them jump with the Law of God, unto which abſolute obedience, as hath been ſhewed, is due. Nor doth the Word of God in ſetting out ſuch exact obedience, lie open to that exception, which Politicians take againſt Philoſophers; as if it (as Philoſophers do) did give inſtructions only, for happy men of *Ariſtotles* making, or for the Stoicks wiſe men, who can no where be found but in *Plato*'s Commonwealth, whoſe *Metropolis* is in the Region of *Eutopia*. For the ancient *Iſrael* of God had this prerogative above all the Nations of the earth, that their Prieſts lips whilſt they themſelves were clothed with righteouſneſs and bare holineſs unto the Lord in their breaſts, ſhould ſtill preſerve knowledge, and be able to manifeſt the will of God unto the people, not only by interpreting the general written Law, but by revelations concerning particular facts of principal moment, as may be gathered from that Law, * *Alſo thou ſhalt put in the breaſt-plate of judgement the Urim and the Thummim*,

Obedience may be Compleat, though not Abſolute.

* Exod. 28. 30.

which ſhall be upon Aarons heart, when he goeth in before the Lord; And Aaron ſhall bear the judgement of the children of Iſrael upon his heart before the Lord continually.

3. To omit the various Interpretations, and divers Opinions of this *Breaſt-plates* uſe; why it was called the *Breaſt-plate of Judgement*: † *Joſephus* and *Suidas* in my mind come neareſt the truth. That the Revelation by it was Extraordinary, that Gods preſence, or Juridical approbation of doubts propoſed, was repreſented upon the precious ſtones that were ſet therein, is probable, partly, from the aptneſs of it to allure the Iſraelites unto Idolatry, partly from that formality which the * Egyptians in imitation of the Ephods ancient uſe amongſt the Jews, retained long after in declaration of the truth in Judgement. For *Diodorus* tells us, that the Ἀρχιδικαστής, or chief Judge in that famous and venerable Egyptian high Court, or Parliament, did wear about his neck in a golden chain, *Inſigne*, a Tablet *of precious ſtone*, or (if the Reader be diſpoſed to correct the Tranſlator.) Ζώδιον τῶν πολυτελῶν λίθων, which they called (as the Septuagint did *Aarons* Breaſt-plate) ἀλήθεια, on which he ſtedfaſtly looked while matters were debating, (as *Suidas* ſaith the High Prieſt did on his Breaſt-plate, whilſt they asked counſel of God;) and whilſt he gave Sentence turned it unto the better cauſe (exhibited as the faſhion was in that Court, in writing) in ſign the Truth it ſelf did ſpeak for it. That the *Urim* or *Thummim* were more than an Emblem, yea an Oracle of Juſtice and right Judgement, is apparent out of Scripture: When *Joſhua* was conſecrated to be *Iſraels* chief Governor in *Moſes* ſtead, he was to ſtand before † *Eleazar* the Prieſt, ordained to ask counſel for him *by the Judgement of Urim* before the Lord: So did * *Abiathar* certifie *David* of *Sauls* malicious reſolution againſt him, and the Lords of *Keilahs* treachery, if he ſhould truſt unto them. So again *David* is aſſured of victory, † *by the judgement of Urim and Thummim*, if he would follow the *Amalekites* that had burnt *Ziglag*.

† *Joſeph. lib. 3. cap. 8, or 9.*

* Ἐφόρει δ' οὗτος (ἀρχιδικαστής) περὶ τὸν τράχηλον ἐκ χρυσῆς ἁλύσεως ἠρτημένον ζῴδιον τῶν πολυτελῶν λίθων, ὃ προσηγόρευον ἀλήθειαν· τῶν δ' ἀμφισβητήσεων ἤρχοντο ἐπειδὰν τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας εἰκόνα ὁ ἀρχιδικαστὴς προσθεῖτο Diodorus Siculus, L. 1. c. 3. *And a little after*, ἀμφοτέρων δὲ τῶν ἀντιδίκων τὰ γράμματα δὶς τοῖς δικασταῖς δόντων, τότε ἤδη ἔδει τοὺς μὲν τριάκοντα τὰς γνώμας ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἀποφαίνεσθαι, τὸν ἀρχιδικαστὴν δὲ τὸ ζῴδιον τῆς ἀληθείας προστίθεσθαι τῇ ἑτέρᾳ τῶν ἀμφισβητήσεων Suidas ex incerto quodam authore hæc refert, (*ſaith* Fagius) Ephod, (inquit) nomen eſt Hebræum, quod ſi interpreteris, ſignificat manifeſtationem aut redemptionem (Vides autem eum authorem ex quo Suidas hoc exſcripſit, Hebrææ linguæ ignarum fuiſſe. Ephod enim longè aliud ſignificat. Fortaſſis pro Ephod dicere voluit Hoſchen) Erat autem forma ejus, textura palmaris, vario artificio inſtar pectoralis, ex aureis filis confecta. Ac in medio habebat quaſi ſtellam omnino auream. Ex utraq; autem parte duos Smaragdos, in quorum unoquoque ſculpta erant ſex nomina, videlicet, duodecim nomina Tribuum Iſrael. Porro inter Smaragdos continebat lapidem Adamantem. Cum ergo Sacerdos ſciſcitaturus erat de re quadam oraculum à Deo, ligabat Ephod in ſuperhumerali ad medium pectoris, & ſubjiciebat manus ſuas ſub ipſum, quas cum retraheret, deprehendebat eas quaſi colore quodam infectas. Petebat autem à Deo reſponſum defixis in Ephod oculis. Itaq; ſi Deus annuebat ad id quod petebatur, confeſtim micabat lapis Adamas. Si autem negabat, nihil ad priſtinum & proprium lapidis fulgorem accedebat. Quod ſi Deus voluit populum ſubjicere gladio, lapis reddebatur cruentus. Si autem imminebat mors, lapis fiebat niger. *Fagius in caput 28. Exod. ubi plura Vide de Rationali. vid. & Delrium Diſquiſit. Magic. lib. 4. cap. 1. quæſt. 2. Sect. 1.* † *Num.* 27. 21. * 1 *Sam.* 23. 9. † 1 *Sam.* 30. 7, 8.

4. Such Prieſts as theſe, were to be abſolutely obeyed in anſwers thus given from the mouth of God. And it is moſt probable, that the parties whom theſe anſwers did concern, had perfect notice of the Revelation made to the Prieſts, howſoever the truths of ſuch anſwers being confirmed by Experiment in thoſe days, they were to undertake what the Prieſts appointed, and to obey his advice at leaſt by cautelous obedience, until the event did prove the truth. But neither was this certain manifeſtation of Gods will ſo

abſolutely promiſed unto the Prieſts but not living according unto the direction of Gods Law, he might fail in his Oracles: Nor was this peoples prerogative above others without all limit; that if they lived no better than others did, they ſhould as often as they asked counſel of God, infallibly know, whether the anſwer were from him or no, albeit there were no defect in the Prieſt. For this reaſon the Lord anſwered not * *Saul*, when he asked Counſel of him, neither by dreams, nor by viſions, nor by *Urim*, nor by the Prophets, for *Saul* was now caſt off by God, not willing to vouchſafe an anſwer unto his demands: which argues, that the revelation made to the Prieſts, was alſo manifeſted to the party, ſolemnly and in ſincerity of heart propoſing the queſtions, whereof he deſired to be reſolved.

Gods promiſe unto the Prieſt, or people of Iſrael *for their direction by* Urim *and* Thummim, *or otherwiſe, was not Abſolute but conditional.*

* *1 Sam. 28. 6.*

5. That the Prieſt had no ſuch priviledge, or abſolute promiſe of Gods infallible preſence, as the Pope challengeth, is apparent from the Law of temperance preſcribed. * *And the Lord ſpake unto Aaron, ſaying, thou ſhalt not drink wine, nor ſtrong drink, thou nor thy ſons with thee, when ye come into the Tabernacle of the congregation; leſt ye dye. This is an Ordinance for ever throughout your generations, that ye may put difference between the holy and unholy, and between the clean and unclean, and that ye may teach the children of Iſrael all the ſtatutes the Lord had commanded thee by the hand of Moſes.* If theſe Prieſts themſelves were unholy and unclean, they could not infallibly diſcern between the holy and unholy, between the clean and unclean: if they lived not according to this, they could not teach the children of *Iſrael* the reſt of Gods expreſs Laws, much leſs could they infallibly manifeſt unto them his will in all doubts and controverſies. But the Pope (ſo abſolute is his prerogative, which the Jeſuits attribute unto him) muſt be thought to be infallibly aſſiſted by the Holy Spirit, albeit he lead a moſt unhallowed, unclean, polluted life.

The Prieſts Infallibility did depend upon their Continency and Integrity.

* *Levit.* 10. *v.* 9, 10.

6. But for the promiſe made unto *Levi*, and his ſeed, God himſelf by his Prophet * *Malachy* moſt expreſly interprets the meaning of it; *And now, O ye Prieſts, this commandment is for you, if ye will not hear it, nor conſider it in your heart, to give glory unto my Name, ſaith the Lord of hoſts, I will even ſend a curſe upon you, and will curſe your bleſſings, yea, and I have curſed them already, becauſe ye do not conſider it in your heart, behold I will corrupt your ſeed, and caſt dung upon your faces, even the dung of your ſolemn feaſts, and yon ſhall be like unto it, and ye ſhall know, that I have ſent this commandment unto you, that my covenant which I made unto Levi might ſtand, ſaith the Lord of hoſts. My covenant was with him of life and peace, and I gave him fear, and he feared me, and was afraid before my Name, the Law of truth was in his mouth, and there was no iniquity found in his lips, he walked with me in peace and equity, and did turn many from iniquity; for the Prieſts lips ſhall preſerve knowledge, and they ſhall ſeek the law at his mouth.* As if he had ſaid; Such Prieſts I have had in former times, and ſuch might your praiſes from my mouth, and your eſtimation with men have been, had you framed your lives according to the Rules which my ſervant *Moſes* had ſet you. But were theſe Prieſts, againſt whom he here ſpeaks, infallible in their doctrine ſtill, becauſe Gods promiſe was ſo ample unto *Levi*? If they were not, why doth *Bellarmin* bring this place to prove the Popes

* *Malach.* 2. *v.* 1, 2.

infallible Authority, in teaching divine truths? If they were, why doth the Lord complain in the words immediately following? *But ye are gone out of the way, ye have cauſed many to fall by the law, ye have broken the covenant of Levi, ſaith the Lord of hoſts, Therefore have I made you alſo to be deſpiſed, and vile before all the people, becauſe you keep not my ways, but have been partial in the Law.*

7. *This place alone* (though many others might be brought) *clearly evinceth Gods promiſe unto* Levi *and his poſterity, during the time of their prieſthood, to have been Conditional, not Abſolute. And as Gods promiſe of Infallibility was unto him and his ſeed, ſuch was the Obedience due to them and their Authority, not Abſolute, but Conditional:* and where the Precepts may ſeem univerſal, yet are they to be limited ofttimes by the *Condition* of the Prieſts life.

Univerſal Propoſitions in Scripture are to be limitted by their proper Subject, the End of the Precept, or other Circumſtances.

8. But ſundry Propoſitions there be in Scriptures for their Form Univerſal, which are alſo abſolutely true in their proper ſubject, whoſe full extent or limits notwithſtanding are not always evident. Whence many miſtake in ſtretching them too far; others ſeeing them fail in ſome particulars, which ſeem comprehended under the univerſality of their form, ſuſpect the abſoluteneſs of their truth, and account them rather morally probable, or conditionally true, than neceſſary and certain; yet are they moſt abſolutely neceſſary and certain, only their univerſality is to be limited by their proper ſubjects. This is a common difficulty in all Arts, though leſs apparent in the Mathematicks, or Metaphyſicks, or other like abſtract contemplative Sciences. But in Philoſophy, as well Natural as Moral, many general rules there be moſt true and evident to ſuch as know the nature or quality, either of the ſubject, or matter whereunto they are applied, or of theſe particulars, whence the induction was gathered: and yet are obſcure and doubtful unto others, who mark the univerſality of their form, not ſo well acquainted with the nature of thoſe ſubjects, in which their truth is principally, and moſt evidently ſeen, not ſo able to diſcern the Identity or Diverſity, the proportion or diſproportion which other ſubjects may have with the former; but of the tryal of rules in Arts (if God permit) elſewhere. I will now inſtance in Scripture only; what Propoſition could be for the form more univerſal, what Precept conceived in words more general, than that of ſanctifying the Sabbath? *In it thou ſhalt do no manner of work,* * לא תעשה כל מלאכה *Non facies ullum opus.* The Scribes and Phariſees putting a Religion in the letter of the Law, (as the the Jeſuits now do, when it may make for their advantage) did conclude from the generality of this Precept, that our Saviour brake the Sabbath, when he healed the ſick upon it: Their pretences, if we reſpect the univerſality of the Propoſition only, were far more probable than the Papiſt can pick any for their purpoſe: Yet Jewiſh ſtill, in that they conſidered not the end of the Sabbath which might have limited the univerſal form of the Precept, and reſtrained it unto ſome kind of works only; for not all, but only all thoſe works which were repugnant to the end of this Precept were forbidden. The end of the Sabbath was to ſanctifie themſelves unto the Lord; to ſet forth his praiſe both in words and works. Such works then only are here forbidden as did diſtract the mind, or make men unapt to hear, read, or meditate on heavenly matters;

* Exod 20.10.

The Precept concerning the Sabbath, then which none can be more univerſal, did not extend to all manner of works.

matters; all works of ſecular vocation, or private conſequence, which might hinder mens endeavours for procuring the health, or welfare of others; not works of charity, or preſent neceſſity, not works tending to greater publick good, or to the avoidance of greater harms, which could not be prevented but by preſent working; for men are to read, hear, and meditate upon Gods Word, that by it they may be fruitful in good deeds, by which Gods Name is more immediately glorified, than only by ſpeaking well, and not doing ſo. Wherefore our Saviour Chriſt did better obſerve the Sabbath by working upon it, to ſave mens lives, or recover their health; than the Phariſees did by abſtaining from ſuch works of mercy, as might have glorified Gods Name more immediately, than any ſpeculative, or preciſe Rules, how it ſhould be kept: Yea, by not working theſe good works, when fair occaſion was offered, they did the works of Satan, even murther it ſelf, as our Saviour Chriſt implies in that queſtion propoſed unto the Scribes and Phariſees which ſought an accuſation againſt him: * *I will ask you a queſtion, whether it is lawful on the Sabbath days to do good or to do evil, to ſave life, or to deſtroy it?*

* *Luke* 6. 9.

9. The like limitations this Precept had in caſe of neceſſity, or for the avoidance of ſome great extraordinary calamity, not otherwiſe avoidable than by doing ſuch works, as upon ordinary and daily occaſions were unlawful to be done upon the Sabbath day. It was an opinion received (as it ſeems) amongſt the Jews, that they might not fight, nor build the breaches or places whereby their Enemies did hope for entrance upon the Sabbath. In this perſwaſion * about the number of a thouſand Jews did lay down their lives, But when *Matthias* heard of this his people, and Countrey mens maſſacre (more general than it needed to have been, but for this their ſtrict and preciſe Interpretation of the former general Commandment) he and his friends wiſely reſolved, * *Whoſoever ſhould come to make battel with us upon the Sabbath day, we will fight againſt them, that we dye not all as our brethren that were murthered in the ſecret places.* Which they might have ſtopped, but would not, for fear of violating the Sabbath. The reaſon of this their reſolution (contained in the 40 Verſe) was moſt ſtrong, drawn from the end of the Sabbath; *For they ſaid one to another, If we all do as our brethren have done, and fight not againſt the Heathen for our lives, and for our Laws, then ſhall they incontinently deſtroy us out of the earth.* And if the whole Jewiſh Nation had been at that time utterly rooted out; who ſhould either have ſanctified Gods Sabbaths, or preſerved his Laws from the injury of times, or fury of the Heathen? Nature had taught the Heathen, that it was fooliſh, *propter vitam vivendi perdere cauſas*: much more might religious diſcretion teach all men, how prepoſterous a courſe it were for the preciſe keeping of one, to croſs, or overthrow the end of all Sabbaths.

* 1 *Mac.* 2. 36. &c.

* 1 *Mac.* 2. 41.

10. Yet our Adverſaries I am ſure cannot bring any Precept ſo peremptory or general, for abſolute obedience unto the High Prieſts and Governors, as the former was for not working upon the Sabbath. *And yet this we ſee hath its reſtraint from the End, and holds only abſolutely true in certain kind of works*, not in all. The like reſtraint, either from the End, or from the Circumſtances, may all thoſe places likewiſe ſuffer, which ſeem to be

moſt general for abſolute obedience unto Gods Meſſengers or Spiritual Governors.

Univerſal Precepts for obeying Gods Meſſengers muſt be limited by the End of Obedience.

11. The end of obeying Gods Meſſengers is, that men thereby may obey God himſelf. Suppoſe then God had ſaid [*Thou ſhalt obey the Prieſt in all things whatſoever he ſhall command thee*:] A Wiſe man notwithſtanding all this would thus reſolve; *Suppoſe the Prieſt command me to do that, in doing which I ſhall diſobey God, or to omit that continually, in performing of which I ſhould obey God: am I bound to obey him in all ſuch commands? ſo ſhould I fruſtrate the End of the Law, and commit the ſame offence by this my Blind Obedience, which others do by preſumptuous and wilful diſobedience unto Spiritual Governors.* But it will be replied, who ſhall judge whether the Spiritual Governor command thee ſuch ſervice, as argues diſobedience unto God, or no? If the caſe be *Doubtful*, and I be commanded by my lawful Paſtor, I have anſwered already in what ſenſe obedience muſt be performed. But if the caſe be *Evident*, men muſt openly diſobey their Paſtors, before they certainly diſobey God. But who ſhall judge of the Evidence? *Every mans Conſcience.* Shall that then be Evident which every man ſhall ſay is Evident unto him? No, but what in deed and conſcience is, and ſo ſhall appear in his judgement that ſearcheth the heart and reins. Such as do not fear his cenſure, will make no conſcience of diſobeying men, pretending authority from him: *Such as with fear and trembling expect the Son of mans appearance, will not much eſteem, how they be judged by men further than in reaſon they may be perſwaded, their ſentence ſhall be ratified in the laſt day of judgement.* And becauſe God hath endued ſpiritual Governors with power of retaining and remitting ſins; *every one that fears him which gave, will fear to diſobey them to whom this power is given*; leſt if they retain, he will not remit; and retain they juſtly may, or rather muſt, the ſins of all ſuch, as add thirſt to drunkenneſs, contempt of Gods Meſſengers ſummons to repentance, unto actual breaches of his Law. This is as open Rebellion upon a Riot, perhaps firſt attempted upon ignorance of the Law, inconſiderateneſs or fooliſh paſſion, but continued after Proclamation made in the Kings Name, by a publick Magiſtrate authorized for ſuch purpoſes: The parties admoniſhed upon ſuch high terms, to deſiſt from any ſuſpicious enterprize (though no more) muſt be certain of the Princes, or chief Law-givers future approbation of what they go about, if they perſiſt, otherwiſe diſobedience to a lawful Magiſtrate or inferiour Officers, will be found Rebellion againſt the State or Soveraignty.

Conditional obedience of two ſorts.

12. *Though it be moſt true what hath been before delivered, that unto Paſtors conditional obedience is only due, yet is not the condition precedent to all acts of obedience, but ſubſequent, at leaſt to ſome, and to be inſerted by way of Limitation or Caution, for deſiſting upon diſcovery of farther danger, rather than interpoſed as a ſtop to breed delay, or prohibition of all obedience until evident proof be made*, that it is expreſly due in the particulars enjoyned. The want of this diſtinction between a Condition *Precedent*, and a Condition *Subſequent* or *Annexed* unto actual Obedience, hath been the Original (I am perſwaded) as well of the Papiſts errour in demanding abſolute Obedience without all condition or limitation, as of many Proteſtants granting leſs than is due to Paſtors, that is obedience only upon this condition; If they ſhew

expreſs warrant of Scriptures for the particulars enjoyned. Nor is the condition between the Paſtor and his flock like unto that between man and man in Legal Contracts, or in controverſies of debt, wherein all are equal, and nothing due unto the plaintiff, before the performance of the condition be proved: but ſuch as is between a private man, and a Magiſtrate, (both ſubordinate in their ſeveral places to one Soveraign,) unto whom only abſolute and complete obedience is due, though unto his Officers ſome obedience is abſolutely due, at the leaſt to be *dicto audiens*, to hear him with patience, reverence, and attention, not to contradict, or neglect his commands, but upon ſuch evident reaſons, as the inferiour party dare adventure to try the cauſe inſtantly with him before the ſupreme Judge. *The acts of obedience which are abſolutely due from the flock to ſpiritual Magiſtrates, or Chriſts Meſſengers, and precedent to the condition interpoſed or inſerted, are the unpartial examinations of their own hearts and conſciences, the full renouncing of all worldly deſires, earthly pleaſure, carnal luſts or concupiſcences*, becauſe theſe unrenounced have a command over our ſouls, and detain them from performing ſervice, beſt acceptable unto God, or yielding that ſincere obedience, which is abſolutely due unto his ſacred Word. For this end and purpoſe the flock ſtand abſolutely bound to enter into their own hearts and ſouls, to make diligent ſearch and ſtrict enquiry, what rebellious affection, or unruly deſire is harboured there, as often as their Overſeers ſhall in Chriſts Name charge them ſo to do: otherwiſe their neglect or contempt will be in that dreadful day a witneſs of their rebellion in this life, a bar to keep ſin in, and ſhut grace out.

In what acts abſolute obedience is due to Paſtors.

13. But if any man out of the ſincerity of a good conſcience and ſtedfaſt reſolution of a faithful heart, (which hath habitually renounced the World, Fleſh, and Devil, that it may be always ready to ſerve Chriſt) ſhall refuſe his Paſtors commandment, though threatning Hell pains to his diſobedience in ſome particulars, he doth yet better obſerve the former precept by this his denial, than others do by performance of abſolute blind obedience without ſtrict unpartial examination of their conſciences, for he doth herein obey God, whom to obey with heart and mind thus freed from the dominion of Satan, and the World, is the very end and ſcope, the final ſervice whereunto all performance of obedience unto Spiritual Governors is but as a training of Chriſts faithful Souldiers. And in theſe acts of obedience, is that ſaying of our Saviour moſt generally and abſolutely true; * *He that heareth you, heareth me, he that deſpiſeth you, deſpiſeth me.* That precept of denying our ſelves, and renouncing all, is the foundation of all the reſt, concerning obedience: without performance of this, neither can our undertaking any other acts be ſincere, nor our refuſal (lawfully admoniſhed) ſafe: our beſt obedience, not hereon grounded, is *Non-Chriſtian*, our *diſobedience Unchriſtian*, and rebellious. For which cauſe we are abſolutely bound unto habitual performance of this, ere we can be admitted as lawful Auditors of Chriſts other precepts. All other our reſolutions, or deliberate intendments; whether for performance of any action commended for good and honeſt, or for maintaining any Doctrine propoſed by lawful Paſtors for true and Orthodoxal, muſt be limited by their proportion,

* *Luke* 10. 16.

tion, or diſproportion to the end of obedience enjoyned unto ſpiritual Commanders; which as we ſaid before, was to obey God in all. Thoſe acts then muſt be undertaken, which upon examination appear not prejudicial to that oath of abſolute obedience, which we have taken unto our ſupreme Lord: theſe omitted, which out of this general reſolution of renouncing all and denying our ſelves, and this unpartial examination of our ſouls in particular doubts, may ſeem to derogate from that abſolute Loyalty which we owe to Chriſt. No Miniſter may expect obedience, but upon theſe conditions; and he that ſincerely obeyeth in the forementioned fundamental act of renouncing all, and denying himſelf, and yet diſobeys in other particulars, upon ſuch grounds and motives as we have ſaid, doth perfectly fulfil that precept, (if any ſuch there were) *obey your ſpiritual Overſeers in all things.*

14. Be our bond of duty to ſuch Governors, whether by ordinary ſubjection to their calling, or voluntary ſubmiſſion of our judgements to their perſonal worth, never ſo great; yet ſeeing they command only in Chriſts Name, and for the advancement of his Kingdom, to imagine ſpiritual obedience ſhould be due to ſuch injunctions, as upon ſober and deliberate examination ſeem to croſs the end they propoſe, would argue ſuch ſpiritual madneſs, as if a man ſhould adventure to kill (by all probability of preſent occurrence, his father or mother) becauſe he had formerly vowed (without conſideration of any homicide, much leſs parricide thence likely to follow) to kill the firſt live creature he met. *In ſuch a caſe as* * Philo *acutely obſerves, a man ſhould not forſwear himſelf, or break his vow, yet overthrow the very end and uſe of all vows, which were inſtituted as bridles to make us refrain all occaſions, or provocations to evil, not as halters to lead or draw us to ſuch unnatural villanies.*

* *Philo* de ſpecialibus legibus.

15. Theſe rules hitherto mentioned rightly obſerved, there is no greater difficulty in reſtraining univerſal precepts of obedience to the Church; than in limiting general commandments of Kings to their Deputies or Vice-gerents. Now, if a King ſhould charge his Subjects to obey his Lieutenant in all that he ſhould command: any reaſonable man would take the meaning to be this; *That he ſhould be obeyed in all things that belong unto the Kings ſervice, becauſe this is the end of his appointment, and the proper ſubject of this precept.* No man in this caſe would be ſo mad, as to take the Princes word for his warrant, if by his Lieutenant he ſhould be put upon ſome ſervice, which were more than ſuſpicious to be trayterous, or apparently tending to the Kings deſtruction. If a Jeſuit ſhould ſee the Popes Agent or Nuncio (whom he were bound to obey by the Popes injunction delivered in moſt ample terms) tampering with the Popes open enemies; either conſorting with us in our Liturgy, or communicating with us in our Sacraments, receiving penſion from Foreigners, or ſecretly conferring with ſuch of their Counſellors as had more wit than himſelf; could he diſpence with his oath of abſolute allegeance to the Pope, upon theſe or like evaſions? This is ſuſpicious indeed; but how ſhall I know whether the Popes Agent in doing this, do diſobey his Holineſs? If he ſay no, muſt I not believe him? muſt I not obey him, and do as he doth, whom the Pope commands me to obey in all things? The Jeſuits are not

ſo ſimple in the Popes cauſe, as they would make all other in Gods: they could tell how to limit ſuch commands, though delivered in moſt univerſal and ample terms. This is the matter then which ſo vexeth their devout hearts, and ſets them beſides themſelves with furious zeal in this argument; that any Chriſtian ſhould be as wary and circumſpect, leſt he ſhould prove diſloyal unto the Creator and Redeemer of mankind, as they are, leſt they ſhould diſobey the Advancer and Supporter of their Order.

Precepts of Obedience unto Maſters or Parents, though moſt univerſal for their Form, are limited by their Subject. Vide *Bellar.* l. 2. de Monac. cap. 21.

16. But to come nearer the point, and inſtance in ſome Precepts of Obedience delivered in moſt general form: Might the literal or Logick Note of Univerſality carry away ſuch abſolute Sovereignty as they contend for: far greater reaſon there is, why every Father, or Maſter, ſhould be an abſolute Pope over his own Family, than why the *Pope* of *Rome* ſhould be a Father of all Chriſtian Congregations, an abſolute Judge of Scripture, or Maſter over mens Faith. Saint *Paul*, Col. 3. 20. *Commands children to obey their Fathers in* All things, *for that is well-pleaſing unto the Lord*; which is as much, as if he had ſaid, in obeying them you obey the Lord. Again, he commands *ſervants to be obedient unto them that are their maſters according to the fleſh in* All things, *not with eye-ſervice as men-pleaſers, but with ſingleneſs of heart fearing God.* Both theſe Precepts are conceived in terms, as general, as any Precept for Obedience to ſpiritual Governours. In the Precept concerning Wives Obedience to their Husbands, the note of Univerſality is omitted: for he ſaith, *wives, ſubmit your ſelves unto your Husbands, as it is comely in the Lord*; not in all things. Had the Apoſtle made any mention of Obedience unto ſpiritual Governours, or were there any hope to comprehend Paſtors under the Name of Fathers or Maſters, it would quickly be inferred, the note of Univerſality was purpoſely added by our Apoſtle in theſe latter Precepts, that men might know abſolute Obedience without limitation or examination, was due unto the Pope.

17. But the *Holy Men of God*, (whoſe mouths always ſpake out of the abundance of their hearts, as the Spirit gave them utterance, and were not curious to caſt their words in ſuch exact Scholaſtick moulds, as men addicted to artificial Meditations, having their brains more exerciſed than their hearts in Gods Word, uſually do) *even where they ſeem to ſpeak moſt Univerſally for the Form, are to be Univerſally underſtood only in that ſubject or matter, which for the preſent they mind moſt.* As when our Apoſtle commands Servants and Children to obey, the one their Maſters, the other their Parents in all things; the meaning is, as if he had ſaid, * *Ye that are Chriſtian Servants, be ye moſt willing to yield all Obedience that is due unto Maſters; ye that are Chriſtian Children, to yield all Obedience unto your Parents, which is convenient for any Children to yield to theirs:* So that the univerſal note doth rather enjoin a totality of heartineſs and cheerfulneſs, a perfection of ſincerity, in performing that Obedience which other Children ought to their Fathers, or Servants to their Maſters, than any way extend the object of Chriſtian Childrens or Servants Obedience to more particulars, than others were bound

* *So* Aquinas *expounds it as* Bellarmine *acknowledgeth it:* Quod vero B. Paulus ait Col. 3. Filii obedite parentibus per omnia, vel ita intelligi debet, ut illud (*per omnia*) ſignificat per omnia, ad quæ ſe extendit patria poteſtas, ut recte docet Sanct. Thom. in 2. quæſt. 104. ar. 5. quemadmodum, ſi quis diceret, oportere milites obedire Imperatori *per omnia*, exponendum eſſet per omnia, quæ ad militiam pertinent, vel certe tenentur filii per omnia parentibus obedire, ſed dum parvuli ſunt. *Bellar. l. 2. de Monach. c. 21.*

unto, at the leaſt he doth not extend the object of their Obedience to any particulars which might prejudice the ſincerity of their Obedience due unto other Commanders; whilſt he enjoineth Servants to obey their Maſters in all things, he reſerves their Allegiance intire unto Princes and higher Powers: Such muſt be obeyed both by Maſters and Servants, by Fathers and Sons. Much more doth God when he enjoins Obedience in moſt ample form unto Kings or ſpiritual Governours, reſerve Obedience due to himſelf moſt intire and abſolute.

That, univerſal abſolute Obedience unto men is incompatible with true Loyalty unto Chriſt.

18. Yet intire and abſolute it cannot be, unleſs it depend immediately and abſolutely upon his Laws; unleſs it be exempt from the uncontroulable diſpoſal, or infallible direction of other Authorities. Nor can Chriſt be ſaid our ſupreme Lord, unleſs our Obedience to him and thoſe Laws which he hath left us, do limit and reſtrain all other Obedience due unto any Authority derived from him and his Laws, more than a Prince could be ſaid to be that Servants ſupreme Lord or Sovereign, which were bound abſolutely to obey his Maſter in all points, without examination, whether his Deſignments were not contrary to the publick Laws and Statutes of his Prince and Country. Wherefore, as the Oath of Allegiance unto Princes doth reſtrain the former Precepts; *Servants, obey your Maſters in All things*, that is, *in all things that are not repugnant to publick Laws*, nor prejudicial to the Crown and Dignity of your Sovereign: ſo muſt that ſolemn Vow of Fidelity made unto Chriſt in Baptiſm, and our daily acknowledgment of him for our Sovereign Lord, reſtrain all Precepts injoining performance of Obedience to any Power on earth, and ſet theſe immoveable bounds and limits to them; *Obey thy King and Governour in All things, that is, in All things that are not repugnant to the Laws and Ordinances of the Great King, thy ſupreme Lord and Governour.* Whilſt thou obeyeſt him, thou doſt well, in diſobeying them, as well as that Servant that takes Arms againſt his Maſter in the Kings defence; whilſt thou diſobeyeſt him, all other Obedience is Rebellion; *Ye are bought with a price*, (ſaith our Apoſtle) *be not ye the ſervants of men*; Service according to the fleſh he elſewhere approves, he ſtrictly injoins: for that is freedom in reſpect of this ſervitude of mind and conſcience, in being wholly at any other mans diſpoſition.

19. Nor is it more difficult for Chriſts Servants to diſcern when Governors ſolicit them to Diſloyalty againſt him, than for Servants according to the fleſh, to know when their Maſters ſeduce them unto Rebellion; ſo Chriſtian men would fear God, as much as natural men do earthly Princes. Such as fear God, are ſure of a better Expoſitor of his Laws for Fundamental Points, than Servants can have for their Princes. The tranſgreſſion of both are eaſie to diſcern in the beginning of Revolts or Apoſtaſies; but the later more difficult, when Traitors or Uſurpers are grown ſtrong, and can pretend fair Titles unto Sovereignties, or coin falſe pedegrees; yet it is not impoſſible for ſober and obſervant ſpirits in ſuch a caſe, to foreſee what party to follow; unto ſuch the ſigns of the time, and carriage of the ſeveral cauſes will bewray who have the true Title. But this difficulty is none in our ſpiritual Obedience, challenged by the Church of *Rome:* for that Church in words confeſſeth Chriſt to be the true King, and ſupreme Lord, no Uſurper, which is as

much as to ſay, the Pope is an Uſurper, and a Rebel, that dares in deeds and ſubſtance challenge the Sovereignty from him, (as you heard in the former Diſpute) by making claim to this unlimited, unreſerved Obedience. Upon what grounds eſpecially we are now to examine, by theſe Rules hitherto diſcuſſed.

CHAP. XII.

The Authority of the Sanhedrim *not ſo univerſal or abſolute amongſt the Jews as the Papiſts make it, but was to be limited by the former Rules.*

1. ONe eſpecial place on which they ſtand, is from that Law in * Deuteronomy, *If there ariſe a matter too hard for thee in judgment, between bloud and bloud, between plea and plea, between plague and plague, in the matters of controverſie within thy gates, then ſhalt thou ariſe, and go up unto the place which the Lord thy God ſhall chuſe. And thou ſhalt come unto the Prieſts of the Levites, and to the Judge that ſhall be in thoſe days, and aſk, and they ſhall ſhew thee the ſentence of judgment, and thou ſhalt do according to that thing which they of that place (which the Lord hath choſen) ſhew thee, and thou ſhalt obſerve to do according to all that they inform thee: According to the Law which they ſhall teach thee, and according to the judgment which they ſhall tell thee, ſhalt thou do, thou ſhalt not decline from the thing which they ſhall ſhew thee, neither to the right hand nor to the left: And that man that will do preſumptuouſly, not hearkning unto the Prieſt, (that ſtandeth before the Lord thy God to miniſter there) or unto the Judge, that man ſhall die, and thou ſhalt take away evil from Iſrael, ſo all the people ſhall hear and fear, and do no more preſumptuouſly.*

* *Deut.* 17. 8, *&c.*

2. This Precept admits of many reſtrictions, any one of which doth take away all the force of our Adverſaries Objections; Firſt, it may (without prejudice to our cauſe) be granted, although it cannot out of theſe words be neceſſarily inferred, that God here preſcribes Obedience in the abſtract, ſuch as was to be performed unto thoſe Prieſts and Judges that lived, according to that pattern which he had ſet them. Thus may this Precept of Obedience for the extent be univerſal, and concern all cauſes whatſoever, ſpiritual or temporal; doubts of Conſcience or matters of this life: in all which ſuch Governours were to be obeyed; but conditionally, [if they were ſuch as God in his Law required they ſhould be] unto ſuch (as you heard before) he gave illuminations extraordinary, ſuch as the parties that were to obey, might have perfect notice of. But how great ſoever the extent of this Precept be, not one ſyllable in it makes more for abſolute Obedience unto ſpiritual, than unto civil Governours; for it is ſaid indefinitely, *verſ.* 10. *Thou ſhalt do according to that thing which they* (either ſpiritual or temporal) *of that place which the Lord hath choſen ſhall ſhew thee.* And again, the words are disjunctive, *That man that will do preſumptuouſly, not hearkening unto the Prieſt or unto the Judge, that man ſhall die*; whether the Prieſt were to be ſupreme Judge or no, it is not ſaid,

at the leaſt the High Prieſt was not the chief man always in the Council, for he was not always admitted into the ſupreme Conſiſtory or *Sanhedrim*, which is eſtabliſhed in this place; yet * *Bellarmine* will have the definitive ſentence belong unto the Prieſt, and the execution of it to the Civil Magiſtrate: ſo indeed the preſent Romiſh Church in ſpiritual caſes would be judge, and make Chriſtian Princes her Hang-men, but their practiſe muſt not be taken for an infallible Expoſition of that † Law, whence they ſeek to juſtifie their practice quite contrary to the practice of the Jewiſh Church and Synagogue. Nor doth *Bellarmine* or any other, beſide the baſe paraſitical Canoniſts, or the Popes Trencher-Chaplains, deny, but that in many Civil Cauſes, the Prince or Temporal Magiſtrate hath a definitive ſentence; can he then gather out of any circumſtance of this place, that only ſpiritual Cauſes are here meant? nay, he confeſſeth that the Law is general concerning all doubts that might ariſe out of the Law; yet it is moſt probable, that it only concerns Civil Controverſies; and *Bellarmines* reaſon to prove, that it includeth ſpiritual cauſes, or matters of Religion, is moſt idle. The occaſion of this Law (ſaith he) was for them that did ſerve other Gods, as appears out of the beginning of the Chapter; now the ſervice of other Gods is a point of Religion. But what though *Moſes* in the former part of this Chapter ſpeak of Idolaters, muſt this Law therefore concern Idolaters. In the former part he ſpeaketh only of Idolaters, but this Law is not only for them by *Bellarmines* confeſſion. Yea, the circumſtances of the place, and the expreſs Law againſt Idolaters mentioned before, evince, that in this Chapter, as in the former, he firſt ſets down Laws concerning the true ſervice of God, and in the latter part gives Precepts for the Obſervation of the ſecond Table, the maintaining of love, by the final compoſition of all Controverſies that might ariſe betwixt Neighbours. In the former Law Idolaters are ſentenced to death, and Idolatry (ſaith *Bellarmine*) is a point of Religion; was the Prieſt alone then to give ſentence, and the Civil Magiſtrate only to execute it. There is not the leaſt pretence for it out of this Text. Any ordinary Magiſtrate might execute him that was lawfully convicted of this crime, nor was it ſo hard a matter to judge, who was an Idolater amongſt the Jews, as it is to determine what is an Hereſie amongſt the Romaniſts. This was to be proved by Witneſſes, not by Logical proof or force of ſpeculative Reaſon: Had the cunningeſt Jeſuite in the World been taken amongſt them kneeling down before an Image, and praying to it, all the diſtinctions in the Maſter of Sentences, or *Aquinas*, or both their Commentators could not have redeemed him, againſt two honeſt men that had ſworn he had done thus much; there had been no appeal from any City in *Judah*, unto any higher Court; his doom had been read in the Gates, and without them he ſhould (as *Homer* ſpeaks) have put on a ſtony Coat.

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* Objicit Brentius, hoc loco non ſolùm ad Sacerdotem, ſed ad Judicem etiam remitti eos, qui dubitant, judicem autem fuiſſe politicum principem. *Reſpondeo*, nomine Judicis poſſe hîc intelligi Principem Sacerdotum, nam in Hebræo eſt: *Aſcende ad Sacerdotes, & ad Judicem:* quaſi diceret, ad Concilium Sacerdotum, & eorum principem, ſummum Sacerdotem. Dico ſecundò, ſi intelligamus nomine Judicis politicum principem, tum eſſe diſtincta officia. Nam Sacerdoti tribuitur ſententia definitiva, judici autem exequutio in contumaces: *Qui ſuperbierit*, inquit, *nolens obedire Sacerdotis imperio, ex decreto Judicis moriatur*. Bellar. de verb. Dei interpret. l.3. c.4. *This diſtinction is quite contrary to the words of the Text, for the Hebrews call ſuch as execute ſentence* שוטרים, *in oppoſition of the word* שופטים, *uſed in this place which ſignifieth ſuch a Magiſtrate as giveth definitive ſentence.* Vid. Fagium. in 16. Deut.

† *The Law of God*, Deut. 17. *did concern temporal cauſes, either only, or eſpecially.*

3. That the Kings of *Judah* were only to execute the Prieſts definitive ſentence in all hard Controverſies, is a Poſition well deſerving execution without appeal at Princes hands. And no doubt but it did ſo amongſt the Jews. The former Court, as is moſt probable, was to ceaſe, when they had a King amongſt them. And *Moſes* in the former Chapter, after he had given the other Law for ending Controverſies, gives the Law for the election of their King, if ſo be they would have one: as if the former Court had then ceaſed to be the ſupreme Tribunal; ſeeing all Subjects might appeal unto the King from it, in which this Sovereignty did before reſide, as being the ſupreme Tribunal, whence there could be no appeal.

4. The King in the Law concerning his Qualification, is commanded to have *the Law of his God written out*. * *And it ſhall be with him, and he ſhall read therein all the days of his life, that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep all the words of his Law, and theſe Ordinances for to do them, that his heart be not lifted up above his Brethren, and that he turn not from the Commandment to the right hand, or to the left.* Was he to take all this pains, only that he might learn to execute the Prieſts indefinite ſentence? This any Heathen might have done. But the Kings of *Iſrael*, albeit they were not to meddle in the execution of the Prieſts Office, were notwithſtanding to be ſo well skilled in Scriptures as to be able to judge, whether the Prieſt did according to that Law which God had ſet him to follow, and to controul his definitive ſentence, if it were evidently contrary to Gods Word, which both were abſolutely bound to obey.

* *Deut.*17.18.

5. It may perhaps here be objected, that the King had no ſuch aſſurance of infallibility in judgment as the Prieſt had, and therefore it was requiſite he ſhould relie upon the Prieſts definitive ſentence. What Conſtruction then can any Jeſuite make of theſe words? † *A divine ſentence ſhall be in the lips of the King, his mouth ſhall not tranſgreſs:* he ſaith not, in execution of judgment given by the Prieſts, but *in judgment* given by himſelf, ſeeing it *is an abomination to Kings to commit wickedneſs, for the throne is eſtabliſhed by juſtice.* And again *Righteous lips* (ſuch as the Prieſts ſhould and might have been but uſually were not) *are the delight of Kings, and the King loveth him that ſpeaketh right things.* This place if we reſpect either the abſtract form of precept, or plenitude of Gods promiſe for abiliment to perform it, is more plain and peremptory for the Kings, than any can be brought for the High Prieſts infallibility, in giving definitive ſentence; yet doth it not neceſſarily infer, *Kings ſhall not*; but rather ſhews that they ſhould not, or that they might not at any time err in judgment, ſo they would ſtedfaſtly follow thoſe Rules which God hath preſcribed them. For when God ſaith, *A divine ſentence ſhall be in the lips of Kings*; this ſpeech doth no more argue a perpetual certainty in giving righteous ſentence, than if he had ſaid, *A corrupt or erroneous ſentence ſhall not be in the lips of the King, or his mouth ſhall not tranſgreſs in judgment.* For as that which God ſaith, ſhall not be done, oft-times is done: ſo may that which God ſaith, ſhall be done, be oft-times left undone. Who is he then would make this collection: God ſaith, *Thou ſhalt not ſteal*, that is no man ſhall ſteal, *ergo* there can be no Thieves, no theft committed, yet is our Adverſaries collection as fooliſh, *The Prieſts*

† Prov.16.10. *That the infallibility of Kings may be defended with as great probability of Scriptures as the infallibility of Prieſts,* Prov.16.13.

lips ſhall preſerve knowledge, *Ergo* they cannot err in giving definitive ſentence; as again, *The Spirit ſhall lead you into all truth; they ſhall be all taught of God*; therefore the Church ſhall be infallibly taught by the Spirit, and ſhall as infallibly teach others, live they as they liſt.

6. Theſe places ſhew what ſhould be done, and what God for his part will infallibly perform, (ſo men would be obedient to his Word) but neither do theſe, or any of like nature, include any infallibility of not erring without performance of due obedience in practice of life; nor do they neceſſarily conclude, that men always ſhall perform ſuch obedience. The moſt which they infer, is this, that Governours by duty are bound to perform, that performing ſuch obedience in practice of life, they might be freer from errour, in their Doctrine or definitive ſentence. And it was abſtinence and integrity of life that was to preſerve ſincerity of judgment in Princes as well as Prieſts lips, for which reaſon Princes had their Precepts of temperance, anſwerable to thoſe Rules preſcribed for the Prieſts. So *Solomon* teacheth Kings, *Give not thy ſtrength unto a woman, nor thy ways, this is to deſtroy Kings: it is not for Kings, O Lemuel, it is not for Kings to drink wine, nor for Princes ſtrong drink, leſt he drink and forget the decree, and change the judgment of all the children of affliction.* This place evidently ſhews, that if their Princes were of riotous or intemperate lives, they had no promiſe that they ſhould not pervert the judgment of the children of affliction. The *concluſion* hence ariſing is; *All the places that can be brought either for the King or Prieſts Authority, rather ſhew what manner of men they ſhould be both in life and judgment, than aſſure them of any infallibility of judgment, if they be diſſolute in life.* This was a point never dreamt of by any, before the Popes notoriouſly infamous lives did diſcredit the Titles of ſanctity and infallibility, (which from a conceit of their Predeceſſors integrity they have uſurped) and inforced their Paraſites to frame a diſtinction of *ſanctity in doctrine* ſeparated from *ſanctity in life*.

* Prov. 31. 3, 4, 5.

7. It is queſtionable, whether both Prieſts and Princes of *Judah* had not an extraordinary priviledge above all other Nations, both for being infallible in their definitive ſentences whilſt they lived according to the Laws which God had given them, and alſo for their more than ordinary poſſibility of living according to ſuch Laws. Gods bleſſing (as is moſt probable) in both theſe reſpects, were extraordinary unto their Princes and Prieſts: yet not ſo infinitely extraordinary, that either of them might without preſumptuous blaſphemy hope for ordinary integrity, (ſuch as the more civil ſort of Heathens had) much leſs for any abſolute infallibility, if they were extraordinarily wicked in their lives, or unfaithful in their other dealings. Even the peoples wickedneſs did impair the force and vertue of theſe extraordinary bleſſings promiſed to their Kings and Prieſts, God gave them Prieſts as well as Princes in his anger, ſuch as ſhould be pliable to their humour, not ſuch as ſhould infallibly direct them againſt the ſuggeſtions of the world and fleſh for their ſpiritual good: So that theſe gracious promiſes both for their ſpiritual and temporal Governours ſincerity in judgment, did depend in part upon the condition of this peoples life.

8. The uſual Proverb was moſt true, (though the words thus inverted) *Like People, Like Prieſts.* Thus did the wiſe Son of *Sirach* interpret Gods promiſes both to Prieſt and Princes, † *Becauſe* Phineas *the ſon of* Eleazar *had zeal in the fear of the Lord, and ſtood up with good courage of heart, when the people were turned back, and made reconciliation for Iſrael; therefore was there a covenant of peace made with him, that he ſhould be the chief of the Sanctuary, and of his people, and that he and his poſterity ſhould have the dignity of the Prieſthood for ever. And according unto the covenant made with* David, *that the inheritance of the Kingdom ſhould remain to his ſon of the Tribe of* Judah, *ſo the heritage of* Aaron *ſhould be to the only ſon of his ſon, and to his ſeed. God give us wiſdom in our heart to judge his people in righteouſneſs, that the good things that they have be not aboliſhed, and that their glory may endure for their poſterity.*

† *Eccleſ.* 45. 23, *&c.*

9. From what we have ſaid it is moſt evident, that the Precepts injoining Obedience unto Civil Magiſtrates, are as large and ample as any can be found for Obedience unto Spiritual Governours; and what limitations ſoever the one did, the other might admit, during the time of the Law. The promiſes of Gods extraordinary favour, for directing both in their proceedings, were equal to both, always conditional in both caſes.

This Law of Deut. *doth juſtifie our Engliſh Laws for executing Prieſts and Jeſuites, or all ſuch as acknowledge the Pope ſupreme Judge in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical.*

10. As for this Law, *Deut.* 17. the very nature of the Text and circumſtances annexed thereto, infer no more than this; That God would have a ſupreme Tribunal amongſt the Iſraelites, wherein all controverſies, which could not be ended in inferiour Courts, were to be finally determined, leſt private contentions might grow to publick diſſentions; or wranglings for petty damages, turn to the overthrow of the State by diſturbance of common peace. *It may be admitted then that abſolute Obedience is here injoined, but not univerſally abſolute, nor in all cauſes, but in cauſes of controverſie betwixt man and man, not in cauſes betwixt men and their own conſciences.* And although the ground of Controverſers plea might be from ſome ſpiritual Law, (as concerning ſucceſſion in the Prieſthood, &c.) or have ſome ſpiritual matters annexed as conſequent, the Judges cenſure was to extend only unto mens civil carriage, in ſuch controverſies, and the Plaintiffs were to proſecute their right or title, (were it matter of wrong, of inheritance, ſpiritual or temporal) no farther than the ſentence of his Court did permit. All were bound upon pain of death to ſit down with their private loſs, rather than raiſe tumults, or endanger the publick form of Government eſtabliſhed in *Iſrael.* Even when they knew the Judges ſentence in particular to be erroneous, they were to do or ſuffer as he commanded, to remit their right, to let go that hold and intereſt which they thought they had in matters of temporal conſequence, (though perhaps of ſpiritual title) and undergo what corporal penalty ſoever the Prieſt or Judge (whetherſoever were ſupreme Magiſtrates) did injoin them; but they were not bound to think as the Prieſt or Judge thought, nor to hold their ſentence was always agreeable to the Law of God. Albeit much eaſier it was for the *Sanhedrim*, than for the Modern *Romiſh Conſiſtory*, to reſolve more controverſies brought unto them by this Divine Rule. Becauſe *the ancient Iſraelites did not uſe to trouble their Prieſts or Judges with ſuch quirks and quiddities*, as coined for the moſt part by Schoolmen, have bred greateſt contention in the Chriſtian world, ſuch as never could

have been decided by the judgment of *Urim* or *Thummim*, nor by Prophets, Viſions or Dreams: He that had deſired any ſuch, muſt have gone to *Endor* for reſolution. In *Jeruſalem* or *Shiloh* (whiles they flouriſhed) the propoſers of ſuch controverſies ſhould have been puniſhed for their curioſity, which amongſt the Iſraelites had been as hateful as the ſin of Witchcraft. The want of ſuch a *Tribunal* as this, for puniſhing contentions, and curious ſpirits, hath cauſed ſuch fruitleſs Contentions, and nice Queſtions, as cannot poſſibly be reſolved, once ſet abroach or proſecuted, but might eaſily have been prevented by the religious care and induſtry of ſuch a ſupreme *Conſiſtory* in every Kingdom.

1 *Sam.* 18.

11. What hath been ſaid concerning the meaning of this place, *Deut.* 17. is confirmed by the practice of the Jews and their ancient Records: Firſt, that not only conditional, but abſolute Obedience is here injoined, is not probable out of thoſe words, *v.* 11. * [*according to the Law which they ſhall teach thee:*] not only the written Law of God, (as ſome will have it) but ſuch *Cuſtoms* as were received in this *Court*, though but probably deduced from the written Law, or otherwiſe invented by their Magiſtrates in caſes omitted by the Law-giver. All ſuch Cuſtoms, Decrees, or Ordinances were to be obeyed abſolutely in ſuch matters as did concern mens temporal loſſes or commodities, there was not appeal to any other *Court* on earth, for the reverſing of any ſentence given in this; to have attempted thus much, by this Law, had been preſent death; and by the ſame all Chriſtian Princes juſtly might, yea ought to put to death all ſuch, as in any cauſe ſpiritual or temporal, upon any occaſion whatſoever, ſhall appeal to *Rome* from the chief Tribunal allotted for the hearing of ſuch cauſes in their native Country: for by nature and Chriſtian duty, all are bound to abide the ſentence of that Tribunal; though not to approve it, yet not to reſiſt it, or oppoſe violence unto it, though it offer violence to them: For God only muſt take vengeance of their abuſing of that Anthority, which he had given them for others good, not for their harm. Would God all Chriſtian Princes would put this Law in practice, and fulfil Gods Word in the formentioned place, that all might die which do thus preſumptuouſly: that ſo evil, and (the miſchief of miſchiefs) all appeals to *Rome might be taken away from Iſrael*; that *ſo all Chriſtian people hereafter might hear and fear*, *and do no more preſumptuouſly*.

12. Secondly, that the High Prieſt † was not the infallible Judge, nor above Kings in giving definitive ſentence, is moſt evidently confirmed by conſent of Jewiſh Antiquity; for the High Prieſt was not admitted into their chief *Conſiſtory* but upon this condition, *If he were a wiſe man*; and being admitted, yet was he not to ſway all as he pleaſed, for ſo is it ſaid in the ſame place, that the King was not to be of the *Sanhedrim*, becauſe they were forbidden to contend with him, with the High Prieſt they might. But the Prophets of God did always in their Doctrine withſtand either the Prieſts, Prophets, Kings, or Judges, as often as they went [a] *contra ſtationes Montis Sinai: i. e.* againſt the ſtations (or ſtatutes) of Mount *Sinai.*

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* Tria genera doctrinarum & ſententiarum veteribus fuerunt. Primum receptum credebatur à Moſe ac Prophetis, quod *Cabala* nominatur. Secundum, quod opinatione judicum conſtitit, ut in Scripturæ locis enarrandis, quæ ad Oeconomiam pertinebant. Ex quo intelligitur cauſa, quam ob rem ſub priore templo & prioribus annis poſterioris, tanta concordia Judæorum Eccleſia adminiſtrata ſit; donec enim magnum judicium viguit, omnia certo definita, ſummo conſenſu recipiebantur. Deinde in ſententia ferenda, & reſpondendo de lege ſæpiſſimè conjecturis connixi ſunt, Et tamen quod ſic erat pronunciatum, pro lege recipiebatur. Tertium genus, quod ſtatuunt ultra legem, quo illa defenditur, ſeu objecto ſepimento, ut prius violandum ſit hoc, quàm in legem aliquid foris admittatur. Hoc Chriſti domini ætate inverterunt, Nam propter traditiones reliquerunt legem Dei. Hujuſmodi interim duo genera, alia perpetua eſſe voluerunt, alia temporaria. *Fagius in Deuteron.* 17.

† Sed nec rex in Sanhedrim admittebatur, eo quod prohibitum ſit contendere cum eo. Sacerdos verò magnus recipiebatur modò ſapientia præditus eſſet. *Fagius in cap.* 16. *Deut. ex Hebræis.*

[a] Vide Fagium in cap. 16. Deut. *and the Annotations on the* 10. *Section of the next Chapter.*

CHAP. XIII.

That our Saviours injunction of obedience to the Scribes and Phariſees, though moſt univerſal for the form, is to be limited by the former, Rules. That without open blaſphemy it cannot be extended to countenance the Romiſh cauſe: that by it we may limit other places brought by them for the Popes tranſcendent univerſal Authority.

ANother place there is, which, as it ſeems, hath been too much beaten heretofore, becauſe ſome of the cunningeſt Anglers for *Peters* tribute, begin of late to relinquiſh it. The place is *Matth.* 23. *verſ.* 2, 3. *The Scribes and Phariſees ſit in Moſes ſeat. All therefore whatſoever they bid you obſerve, that obſerve and do, but after their works do not, for they ſay, and do not. Bellarmin* in his firſt attempts, is more forward to fortifie this hold than any other; to what purpoſe, I cannot divine, unleſs to terrifie ſuch as view it only afar off; but it ſeems he felt upon better experience, the maintainance of it once cloſely beſieged, would not quit the coſt; for elſewhere, he yields as much expreſly, as will inforce him to ſurrender up this, if it be inſtantly demanded. Perhaps he hoped his premunitions might work ſome ſecret diſpoſition in moſt mens minds more prejudicial to our cauſe, than we out of our honeſt ſimplicity could at firſt ſight ſuſpect. It will not therefore be amiſs, partly to prevent the poſſible danger of his concealed concluſion, by ſhewing the expreſs folly of his premiſes; partly, to examine the place it ſelf, becauſe the evidence of it failing, will be a preſumption againſt all they pretend of like kind, and may afford ſome farther light how we may reſtrain Propoſitions for their form moſt univerſal, by the matter or circumſtances concomitant.

2. The *Fortreſſes* which he erects for defence, are *Three.* His *Firſt*, That our Saviour in this very Chapter * wherein he reprehends the Scribes and Phariſees moſt ſharply, yet gives this *Caveat* to ſuch as are weak in faith, leſt they ſhould neglect their doctrine for their bad lives and Hypocriſie. The note, conſidered in it ſelf, is not amiſs, but brought to countenance their bad cauſe, or elſe to prejudice the truth of ours, by raiſing a ſuſpition in the ignorant of our bad dealing, as if we taught the contrary.

3. His *Second Fortreſs* is, that *neither our Saviour Chriſt, nor his Apoſtles did ever tax the* Prelates, *or inferiour* Prieſts, *by theſe names directly, but always under the name of Scribes and Phariſees,* leſt they might thereby ſeem to reprehend the *Prieſthood* or *Seat of Authority.* And this they did, that men might know, honour and reverence to be due unto the *Prelacy* or *Prieſthood,* although the *Prieſts* or *Prelates* in their lives and perſons were not ſo Commendable. The conſequence is not amiſs; albeit his reaſon be not ſo firm, and the Corollary, which he hence deduceth, moſt malicious.

* *Matth.* 23.

Hence (ſaith he †) *we are given to underſtand, that the Hereticks of this age, which upon every occaſion inveigh againſt Biſhops, Prieſts, eſpecially the Pope, do but ill conſent in manners with our Saviour and his Apoſtles.* But did neither our Saviour Chriſt, nor his Apoſtles tax the *Prieſts* and *Prelates* by their proper names for that reaſon which *Bellarmin* brings? * We may ſuppoſe I truſt without offence, That Gods Prophets did not go beyond their commiſſion, in taxing the chief offences or offendors of their times; that our Saviour or his Apoſtles might upon the like or greater occaſions, have uſed the ſame Form of Reprehenſion the Prophets did, or other more perſonal. The true reaſon why ſo they did not, was, becauſe *they had no ſuch reſpect of Perſons, or Titles,* as *Bellarmin* dreams of, *but aimed chiefly at the Faireſt, for ſuch uſually gave greateſt countenance to fouleſt ſins.* And who knows not, how in the Synagogues later days, the glorious titles of Scribes and Phariſees had in a ſort drowned the names of Prieſts; as the reputation of Jeſuits hath of late years much eclipſed all other titles of inferiour Miniſters, heretofore more famous in the *Romiſh* Church? It was likewiſe the high eſteem of theſe two Saint-like Sects, which ſeduced moſt ſilly ſouls throughout *Jewry*, to follow Traditions contrary to Gods Laws, as the Jeſuits late Fame hath drawn moſt of the blind Churches children (which go more by ear than eye-ſight) to account villany piety, and falſhood ſubtilty. As our Saviour and his Apoſtles reprehended the *Rabbies* or Prieſts in their times, not under the names of *Prieſts* and *Levites* but under the glorious names of Scribes and Phariſees, then reputed the only guides of godlineſs: ſo would they, were they now on earth (as we in imitation of them) tax the *Romiſh* Clergy, eſpecially under the names of Jeſuits, or other more famous Orders in that Church. But the Sect of Scribes and Phariſees being not known in *Malachies* time, nor any other order ſo glorious then, as the order of Prieſts, he tells them their own in their proper names; † *And now O ye Prieſts this commandment is for you.* So did *Micah* and *Zephaniah*, and every *Prophet*, as their demerits gave occaſion.

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† Nota tria. *Primò*, Toto illo capite Dominum reprehendere vitia Scribarum & Phariſeorum, & quia poterant infirmi ex eo colligere, non eſſe credendum Prælatis qui malè vivunt, ideò, initio capitis apertè docere voluiſſe, non obſtante malâ vitâ Prælatorum ſequendam eſſe eorum doctrinam. *Secundo* nota cum Cypriano lib. 4. Epiſt. 9. Nunquam Dominum, neq; Apoſtolos in tota Scriptura reprehendiſſe Pontifices & Sacerdotes Judæorum, nominando eos Pontifices vel Sacerdotes, ſed ſolùm ſub nomine Scribarum & Phariſeorum; ne viderentur reprehendere Cathedram & Sacerdotium, & ut intelligeremus, ſemper deberi honorem Sacerdotio & Pontificatui, etiamſi fortè perſona quæ in Cathedra ſedet, ſit minus bona. Ex quo intelligimus hæreticos hujus temporis, qui paſſim in Epiſcopos & Sacerdotes & præcipuè in ipſum ſummum Eccleſiæ Pontificem invehuntur, nihil habere commune, cum moribus Domini, & Apoſtolorum. *Tertiò* nota quod Dominus de Cathedra Moſis dicit, intelligi à fortiori de Cathedra Petri. *Bellar. de interp. ver. Dei. l. 3. c. 5.*

* Bellarmins *idle and malicious collections out of our Saviours words refuted.*

† *Mal. 2. 1.*

4. His *third Fortreſs* is, that *whatſoever Chriſt ſaith of* Moſes *chair, muſt be conceived to make more for S.* Peters, *and ſuch as ſate therein.* Why our Saviours admonition ſhould make more for the Popes authority within his own Territories, than it did for the Scribes and Phariſees, or High Prieſts authority in the Land of *Jewry*, I ſee no reaſon. That it may concern the people living under the Pope, and Clergy of *Rome*, as much as it did the people of *Jewry* then ſubject to the High Prieſt, Scribes and Phariſees, I will not deny; for ſuch Judges as they were, the Popes of *Rome* in their ſeveral generations may be, nay, would God they were not. Let us ſee then, what infallibility in giving definitive ſentence, *Bellarmin* can prove out of the forementioned place. The words are plain, *whatſoever they bid you do, that do.* What? All, without any exception? nay, you do the Papiſts wrong, if you collect ſo; *whatſoever they ſpeak* ex Cathedra.

Then the propoſition, though moſt univerſal for the form, is reſtrained by our Adverſaries themſelves, unto ſuch Doctrines only, as they taught *ex Cathedra*. And juſtly, ſeeing this reſtraint hath more apparent ground in the Text than any other. Therefore it is ſaid, *They ſit in Moſes ſeat*, they are infallible, not always, becauſe they ſometimes ſit; *but whiles they ſit in* Moſes *ſeat*, or give ſentence out of it; what is it then to give ſentence out of *Moſes* ſeat? to pronounce ſentence ſolemnly, and upon deliberation? If unto all their doctrines or definitive ſentences ſo pronounced, men had been bound in conſcience to yield obedience, the Pope (as ſhall be ſhewed anon) had never ſate in *Peters Chair*; yea, *Peter* himſelf had been in conſcience bound to be an *Apoſtata* from Chriſt. But what is the meaning of theſe words? *They ſit in* Moſes *ſeat, all therefore whatſoever they bid you obſerve, that obſerve, and do*? That is, *All that* Moſes *firſt ſaid, and they recite*, This is a ſtrange Interpretation indeed, will the ignorant or illiterate Papiſt reply, yet to omit many others of their own, a late* Jeſuits, whoſe skill in expounding Scriptures (ſave only where doting love unto their Church, hath made him blind) none of theirs, few of our *Church* hath ſurpaſſed, [* *when he commands to obſerve, and do all that the Scribes and Phariſees ſay, whilſt they ſit in* Moſes *ſeat, he ſpeak not of theirs, but of* Moſes *his doctrine: the meaning is, as if he had ſaid, whatſoever the Law or* Moſes *(recited by the Scribes and Phariſees) ſhall ſay unto you, that obſerve and do, but do not ye according to their works.*] This he takes to be S. *Hilaries*, and S. *Hieroms* Expoſition of the place. If any man yet further demand, Why our Saviour did not ſpeak more plainly, [*Whatſover* Moſes *ſaith, obſerve and do*] rather than [*Whatſoever the Scribes and Phariſees ſay, obeſerve and do:*] *Maldonat* in the ſame place gives two reaſons: *The firſt, becauſe our Saviour did now purpoſe to tax the Scribes and Phariſees hypocriſie, which he had not taxed, unleſs he had ſhewed, that they taught otherwiſe than they lived. The ſecond, that in this Chapter he intended to reprehend the Scribes and Phariſees ſharply, and therefore it was expedient, he ſhould firſt commend them for ſome things, leſt all his reproofs might ſeem to proceed from paſſion, or want of judgement.* Thus far *Maldonat*, unto whoſe anſwer we may adjoyn, that our Saviour Chriſt (as *Maldonat* alſo well hath noted) did ſpeak theſe words unto ſuch as had ſeen his miracles, and heard his doctrine, and yet could not be his daily Auditors with his other Diſciples: but were to repair to the Scribes and Phariſees, as unto their ordinary Teachers, and Inſtructers in the Law. Here, if we conſider the humour of rude and ignorant people (for ſuch may we ſuppoſe moſt of his Auditors were as yet) it was very likely they would either be ſlow to hear, or ready to diſtaſte any doctrine that ſhould proceed from the Scribes and Phariſees mouths, whom they had heard ſo much diſcommended by that bleſſed mouth, which ſpake as

Maldonates *reſtraint of the former injunction.*

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* Cum jubet ſervare, ac facere quæ Scribæ & Phariſæi (dum in Cathedra *Moyſis* ſedent) dicunt; non de ipſorum, ſed de legis ac *Moyſis* doctrina loquitur; perinde enim eſt, ac ſi dicat, *omnia, quæ lex & Moyſes vobis dixerint, Scribis, & Phariſæis recitantibus, ſervate ac facite*, ſecundum autem opera eorum nolite facere, ut *Hilar.* & *Hieron.* videntur intellexiſſe. Cur ergo, dicet aliquis, non dixit, quæcunq; *Moyſes* dicet, ſervate ac facite, ſed quæcunque Scribæ & Phariſæi dixerint? Duplex reddi cauſa poteſt: altera, quod voluerit Scribarum & Phariſæorum hypocriſin arguere; non autem arguiſſet niſi dixiſſet eos aliter vivere, aliter docere. Altera, quod toto capite acerbe eos eſſet reprehenſurus, & conveniebat aliquantulum eos prius laudare, ne omnia ex affectu, & ſine judicio improbare videretur. *Maldonat.* in *Matth.* cap. 23. v. 3. S. *Auſtins anſwer*, [Non loquitur de Phariſæis, niſi in Cathedra *Moyſes* ſedentibus; tunc autem Cathedra ipſa coegit eos vera dicere] *He thus rejects*; [Quis dubitat illa ipſa falſa, quæ docebant, in Cathedra ipſa, ſi in Cathedra ſedebant, aut in Synagoga & Schola *Moyſis* docuiſſe?] *Seeing the Jeſuit thus rejects the diſtinction of ſpeaking* ex Cathedra, *or as private men, what reaſon have we to acknowledge the Popes publick or infallible ſpirit, whilſt he ſpeaks* ex Cathedra, *when by their own confeſſion he may be worſe than an Heretick or Infidel if we take him as a private man.*

never mans did. For it is a work of great judgement, nay of the ſpirit over-ruling the fleſh, to make men reliſh their doctrine, whoſe lives and converſations they loath. And ſuch as are but Scholars (thoug never ſo mean) to an excellent Maſter, will uſually be puſt up with a conceit of themſelves, from other mens conceit and commendations of him, and in this humour ſcorn to learn of any more meanly qualified, or of leſs eſtimation in the ſame profeſſion. Again, there is a jealouſie in moſt illiterate minds, that their Preacher, if he follow not ſuch leſſons in his life, as he gives them, doth not teach them as they ſhould be taught, nor inſtruct them ſincerely as he thinks, but rather in policy enjoyns them ſtrictneſs of life, that he himſelf may follow his pleaſures without partners.

The original of Jealouſies in the flock, or needleſs exceptions againſt the wholeſome admonitions of Paſtors.

5. Hence uſually are many wholeſome ſpiritual medicines diſproved, ere proved or taſted, becauſe the parties unto whom they are tendred, have no conceit or relliſh of any *Good*, but what is pleaſant to ſenſe, or profitable for ſecular purpoſes; ſuch as none that truly think, or call *Good*, but will ſo entertain it in action and reſolution, never willingly preferring the leſs before the greater, both being of the ſame kinde. If a man ſhould make choice of that bargain, which he would perſwade as leſs commodious unto others; none would believe he ſpake ſincerely as he thought, but rather cunningly to prevent others, or to effect his own gain without a ſharer. But whilſt ſecular good ſtands in competition with ſpiritual, albeit we approve the one as truly good, and condemn the other as evil; yet even the beſt of us is often enforced to take up that complaint; *To will is preſent with me, but I find no means to perform that which is good, for I do not the good things which I would, but the evil which I would not, that do I.* Rude and illiterate minds, ignorant of this difference between ſenſitive and ſpiritual good, (as altogether unacquainted with the one) out of their own cuſtom always to act what they intend, ſuſpect their Paſtors, whilſt they commend wholeſome food unto them, do not *Think*, becauſe they *Do* not, as they *Say*. From this Sourſe iſſue theſe or the like mutterings amongſt themſelves; Tuſh, if our Parſon were of the ſame mind out of the Pulpit, as he makes ſhew for, in it; why ſhould he not frame his life accordingly? Doth he love us (trow we) better than himſelf? nay, I warrant him, he is old enough to know what is good for himſelf: and if he knew that which he bids us do, to be as good for him, as he would make us believe it is for us, what a Gods name, hinders him for doing it? he hath little elſe to do beſides, much leſs I am ſure than any of us.

Rom. 7.18,19.

6. To meet perhaps with all theſe, but eſpecially with this laſt temptation, our Saviour gives his Auditors this preſervative; [*The Scribes and Phariſees ſit in Moſes chair, all therefore whatſoever they bid you obſerve, that obſerve and do, but after their works do not.*] As if he had ſaid, *Though their lives be hypocritical and bad, yet be not too jealous of their Doctrine: They deliver that ordinarily unto you, which* Moſes *did teach your Forefathers. The Doctrine is exceeding good, howſoever theſe curſed hypocrites do not follow it*: But this is Gods judgement upon them, that they ſhould ſee the truth with their eyes, and not underſtand it by laying it to their hearts.

The true reſtraint of the former injunction.

7. This I take it, is the drift of our Saviours ſpeech; whence the univerſal note [*whatſoever*] muſt be reſtrained to ſuch material doctrines, as the Scribes and Phariſees themſelves, either expreſly delivered out of *Moſes*, or whiles they interpreted him, commended to others *as good in the general,* howſoever they ſhrunk back or ſhuffled, when they came to the practice of *ſuch particulars* as croſſed their humours; or unto theſe precepts of good life, whoſe truth and equity their Auditors might eaſily have acknowledged, either from their conſonancy with the principles of nature, or other undoubted mandates of *Moſes* Law, or from the authority of bad, yet lawful Teachers, whoſe adviſe is always to be followed as good, unleſs there be juſt ſuſpicion of evil, or ſiniſter reſpects, of which their bad lives are then only juſt preſumptions, when they handle particulars that concern themſelves, as making for their gain, credit, glory, Apologies in bad courſes, or avertment of deſerved diſgrace.

8. If we take this whole univerſal affirmative, [*whatſoever they bid you, that obſerve and do*] in that ſenſe our Saviour meant it: it is but equivalent to this; or the like univerſal negative [*Leave nothing undone that either* Moſes, *or ſuch as ſit in his ſeat commands as good*] or your conſcience cannot juſtly witneſs to be evil, albeit they which commend it to you for good, are evil, and cannot teach themſelves to do it. Few Preachers in any well ordered Church, are ſo unlearned, or bad of life, but what they ſolemnly one time or other deliver out of *Moſes* and the Prophets, might be a ſufficient rule for their hearers internal thoughts, and outward actions: did not the flock prepoſterouſly make their Paſtors doings, the rule of their thoughts and ſayings; always ſuſpecting that, as not good, which they ſee left undone, and accounting all lawful for themſelves to do, which they ſee done and practiſed by their Leaders. When as not the Paſtors lives or doings, but their ſayings are to be made rules of other mens lives and actions. And our Saviour enjoyns the former obedience unto the very Phariſees, who ſpake as well, and did as ill as any could do; very *Paterns of hypocriſie.* In expounding *Moſes*, They could not but often inculcate the Orthodoxal doctrine of good works, of alms deeds, and liberality; yet retained they the roots of avarice in their hearts, whoſe bitterneſs would bewray it ſelf upon particular occaſions, *All theſe things heard the Phariſees,* ſaith S. *Luke, which were covetous, and they mocked him.* They often exhorted others to circumciſe the heart, to be humble and meek as *Moſes* was, yet remained proud themſelves, ambitious of higheſt places in the Synagoues, *inwardly full of rapine and wickedneſs.* They often taught others as *Moſes* had done, to walk uprightly as in the ſight of the Lord their God; *and yet did all their works to be ſeen of men.* They had often taught their Auditors to honour father and mother, and learnedly diſcourſed upon the equity of this precept in general: yet could upon private reſpects diſpence with it in ſundry particulars. They ſaid well in the former, and did ill in the latter. And albeit they juſtified their practice by Tradition of the Elders (as the Pontificians do theirs, when they abſolve Subjects from the bond of duty to their Civil, or Children to their Natural Parents, that they may

Luke 16. 14.

Luke 11. 39.

may be more ſerviceable to the Church their Mother,) yet their ſayings in theſe Apologies were but acceſſary to their doings; not comprehended under that univerſal affirmative, [*All whatſoever they bid you, obſerve, and do,*] but under the negative [*After their works do not*] for they were more deſirous to be honoured as *Rabbies* and *Fathers* of the Congregation, than to honour the Parents of their fleſh: albeit they uſually taught others ſo to do, ſave only when their Treaſury might be enriched, or their own honour enlarged by Diſpenſations, which the people eaſily might have diſcerned for contrary, as well to the Law of God and Nature, as to theſe Diſpenſators own doctrine, when themſelves were not parties.

9. * From the reſtraint of this univerſal precept, we may eaſily limit that ſpeech of our Saviour unto S. *Peter* which *Bellarmin* labours to make *more than moſt univerſal,* becauſe the ſureſt ground (in their ſuppoſal) of the Popes tranſcendent Authority, [*I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatſoever thou ſhalt bind upon earth, ſhall be bound in heaven, and whatſoever thou ſhalt looſe on earth, ſhall be looſed in heaven,* Matth. 16.19.] *By theſe keys,* ſaith † *Bellarmin, is underſtood a power of looſing, not only ſins, but all other bonds or impediments, without whoſe removal there is no poſſibility of entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven: for the promiſe is general; nor is it ſaid, Whomſoever, but* Whatſoever thou looſeſt, *&c. giving us hereby to underſtand, that* Peter *and his Succeſſors may looſe all knots or difficulties, of what kind ſoever; if of Laws, by diſpenſing with them; if of ſins, by remitting them; if of controverſies, or opinions, by unfolding them.* Thus far would this cunning *Sophiſter* improve the univerſal [*Whatſoever*] above its ordinary and ancient value in Scripture phraſe: further than the condition of the party, to whom the promiſe was made (being *Chriſts* ſervant, not his equal) will ſuffer. For what greater Prerogative could Chriſt himſelf challenge, than ſuch as *Bellarmin* (for the preſent Popes ſake) would make S. *Peters*? The *Univerſal note* in this place, as the like before, *includes only an abundant aſſurance of the power bequeathed*; a full and irrevocable ratification of the Keys right uſe, ſuch a ſhutting as none can open, ſuch an opening as none can ſhut; as often as ſentence is either way given upon ſufficient and juſt occaſions. *The proper ſubject that limits the univerſal form of this more than Princely prerogative, is the denial or confeſſion of Chriſt, either in open ſpeech, in perpetual actions or reſolution*; as ſhall be (by Gods aſſiſtance) made evident againſt Romiſh aſſertions, without derogation from the Royalty of Prieſt-hood, which within theſe Territories is much more dreadful and ſoveraign than worldlings will acknowledge, until they be made feel the full ſtroke of the ſpiritual ſword, in theſe our days, for the moſt part born in vain.

10. Whatſoever reaſons elſe they can from any other places of Scripture pretend for abſolute infallibility in the High Prieſts, or Church Repreſentative under the Law, fall of their own accord, theſe fundamental ones being overthrown. But before I proceed to evince the Jewiſh ſupreme tribunal moſt groſly erroneous *de facto*: I muſt requeſt the ingenious Readers, as many as underſtand Latin, and can have acceſs unto theſe *great Doctors* writings,

* *The Authority of the Keys not univerſal, but to be limited as the former precept or injunction hath been.*

† Per iſtas claves non ſolum intelligitur poteſtas ſolvendi à peccatis, ſed etiam ab omnibus aliis vinculis & impedimentis, quæ niſi tollantur, non poteſt intrari in regnum cœlorum: ſiquidem promiſſio generalis eſt, nec dicitur, *Quemcunque ſolveris*, ſed *quodcunque ſolveris*, ut intelligamus, Nodos omnes, ſeu legum, diſpenſando, ſeu peccatorum & pœnarum, relaxando, ſeu dogmatum, & controverſiarum, explicando, à Petro ejuſque ſucceſſoribus ſolvi poſſe, *Bellar. de verbi Dei interpr. lib. 3. cap. 5. initio.*

Tome I:

writings, to be eye-witneſſes with us, or if it pleaſe them, publick Notaries of their retchleſs impieties. Of which unleſs authentick notice be now taken and propagated to poſterity by evident teſtimonies beyond exception: this impudent generation in future ages, when theſe abominations grow old, and more ſtirred in, begin ſo to ſtink, that for the Churches temporal health, the books of Modern Jeſuits muſt be purged, will ſurely deny that ever any of their grand Divines were ſo mad with inceſtuous love of their whoriſh Mother, as to ſeek her maintenance by ſuch ſhameleſs, groſs, notorious, palpable, written blaſphemies, as ungracious *Judas* would rather have choaked with an halter in their birth, than have granted them entrance into the world through his throat. He in compariſon of theſe Antichriſtian Traytors, ingenuouſly confeſſed his foul offence in betraying innocent blood. But even the flower of *Romiſh* Doctors, Biſhops, and Cardinals, are not aſhamed to juſtifie him, in betraying; and the Scribes and Phariſees, in ſolemnly condemning our Saviour; For, if the one ſort did not err in judgement, the other did not amiſs in executing what they enjoyned: yet by that very Conſiſtory of Prieſts, and Elders, brought in by *Bellarmin*, as chief Supporters of the Churches infallibility, was the Life of the World cenſured to death for an Heretick, or refractarious Schiſmatick; andthe † *Talmudiſts*, taking that Conſiſtories authority but for ſuch as the Jeſuits ſuppoſed, conclude directly from principles common to the Synagogue and the *Roman* Church, that he deſerved no leſs, becauſe he would not ſubſcribe unto their ſentence, nor recant his opinions.

That no argument can be drawn from the former place to prove the Churches infallibility, but will be as forcible to juſtifie the condemnation of our Saviour.

† Tria illa genera traditionum hoc loco Lex dicuntur, Puta, Ordinationes, Edicta, vel Traditiones & conſuetudines legitimæ, quibus in multitudine, publica honeſtas continetur. Hinc, eſt quod Prophetæ conſtantiſſimè refragati ſunt, quoties contra ſtationes montis Sinai, ut vocant, aut reges, aut Judices, aut populus aliquid admiſerat. (*Of which ſee the Annotations to the eleventh paragr. of the former Chapter.*) In Talmud ſcribitur dominum noſtrum illis damnatum. Cæterùm accuſationem falſò intenderunt, quia nunquam voluit Pontificum & Phariſæorum tanquem judicum authoritatem eſſe convulſam, ſed ſtabilitam potius. *Matth.* 23. *v.* 2. Fagius *in Deut.* 17.

11. Again, if we underſtand that other place [*The Scribes and Phariſees ſit in Moſes ſeat, all therefore whatſoever they bid you, that obſerve and do,*] univerſally, as moſt Papiſts do, (and *Hart* out of his *tranſmarinal Catechiſm*, would gladly have maintained it:) any Jew might thus aſſume; *The Scribes and Phariſees ſolemnly bid* Judas *and others to obſerve our Saviour as a Seducer or Traytor, and charged the people to ſeek his blood: therefore they were in conſciences, and upon pain of damnation, bound ſo to do.* Do I amplifie one word, or wrong them a jot in theſe collections? I appeal unto their own Writers. Let *Melchior Canus*, inferior to none in that Church for learning, and for a Papiſt a man of ſingular ingenuity be judge betwixt us. If from his words, as much as I have ſaid, do not moſt directly follow: let me dye the death for this ſuppoſed ſlander. Againſt the abſolute infallibility of Councils, or Synods, maintained by him in his fifth Book; our Writers, as he frames their Arguments, thus object. *The Prieſts and Phariſees called Councils, whoſe ſolemn ſentences were impious, becauſe they condemned the Son of God for ſuch: in like ſort may the Romiſh Prelacy give ſentence contrary unto Chriſt:*

Unto this Objection, ſaith * *Canus*, the anſwer is eaſie; Let us hear it. *The Practices of the Prieſts were indeed againſt our Saviour: but the ſentence of men otherwiſe moſt wicked, was not only moſt true, but withal moſt profitable to the Common-weal. Yea, S.* John *the Evangeliſt tells us, it was a divine Oracle: for after a long and various deliberation uſed by the Council,* Caiaphas *who now ſate as chief, being the High-Prieſt, pronounced that ſentence whereunto almoſt all* (at the leaſt the *major* part) *agreed; [It is expedient, that one dye for the people, and that the whole nation periſh not;] upon which ſpeech the Evangeliſt forthwith adds, This he ſpake not of himſelf, but being High-Prieſt for that year, he propheſied. Whence it follows, ſaith* Canus, *that our Prelates lives and actions may perhaps be contrary to our Lord Jeſus: but their judical Decrees or Sentences, ſuch as are confirmed by the Pope* (who muſt be Preſident in their Councils as *Caiaphas* was) *ſhall prove true and profitable unto Chriſtians, as inſtituted by God for the peoples good, yea, they ſhall proceed from the Holy Ghoſt, for the reaſon which we have learned of the Evangeliſt, to wit, becauſe ſuch as give them, are Prelates of Chriſts Church. And this is all I have to ſay unto the ſecond Argument.*

* Ad id quod deinceps ſequitur, non eſt difficile reſpondere. Nam ſacerdotum veterum acta quidem Chriſto adverſa fuerunt, at ſententia hominum alioqui paſſimorum non ſolum veriſſima, ſed reipub. etiam utiliſſima fuit. Quin divinum oraculum fuiſſe Joan. Evangel. teſtatur. Cum enim poſt longam variamque concilii deliberationem *Caiaphas*, qui ut ſummus Pontifex Concilio præſidebat, ſententiam illam, cui omnes ferè conſenſerunt, dixiſſet: Expedit nobis, ut unus moriatur homo pro populo, & non tota gens pereat: mox Evangeliſta ſubjecit; Hoc autem à ſemetipſo non dixit, ſed cum eſſet Pontifex anni illius prophetavit. Qua ex re fit, ut & noſtrorum Pontificum vita quidem & opera contraria fortè ſint Domino Jeſu; ſed eorum judicia, quæ videlicet à ſummo Pontifice comprobata ſint, & vera erunt, & Chriſtianis utilia, ut quæ ad populi ſalutem ſint divinitùs inſtituta. Imo adeo à Spiritu Sancto erunt ob eam cauſam, quam ab Evangeliſta didicimus, quia ſcilicet Eccleſiæ Chriſti Pontifices ſunt. At de ſecundo argumento ſatis. *Canus, lib. 5. cap. ult initio.*

12. It is eaſie indeed for them thus to anſwer: to whom it is moſt eaſie and moſt uſual to blaſpheme. That the Popes, as well as *Caiaphas*'s prophecies, may in the Event prove true and profitable to Chriſts Church, we do not doubt: becauſe unto ſuch as love God, or are beloved of him, all things, even Satans malice that had ſuborned *Caiaphas* and his brethren againſt Chriſt and his members, turn to the beſt. But he that had taken this *High-Prieſt*, whilſt he uttered this ſentence, for an infallible Prophet of the Lord, had been bound in conſcience to have done ſo to our Saviour at his, as the people did to *Baals* Prieſts, at *Elias*'s inſtigation. If our adverſaries will permit us to interpret the *Trent* Councils Decrees, as the faithful of thoſe times did *Caiaphas* prophecy; we will ſubſcribe unto them without delay. *It is expident, we grant, and profitable withal unto the Church, that there ſhould be ſuch Decrees, whereby the faith of others might be tried.* But as it was not lawful for the people, to imbrue their hands in Chriſts blood, though the greateſt benefit that ever befel the world, was by his death: ſo neither is it ſafe to admit the *Trent* Canons, though a wonderful bleſſing of God they ſhould be ſet forth, becauſe they ſo clearly teſtifie the truth of his word concerning Antichriſt. *Canus* ſaid more in this than was needful, according to his ſuppoſed principles in his anſwer to the next argument. But God who ruled the mouth of *Caiaphas*, and made him ſpeak the truth, when he intended nothing leſs, did alſo direct *Canus*'s pen to vent, what upon better conſideration he would have concealed. Yet herein he wrote, but out of the abundance of his own, and moſt of his fellows hearts, who hold, that the *Prieſts and Phariſees did err only in a † matter of Fact, not in any point of Faith, when*

† *See* Cap. 15.

when they condemned Chriſt. For concluſion of this, conſider with me, Chriſtian Reader, how great cauſe we have to thank our gracious God, that the Sect of Jeſuites, or Rabble of Predicants, were not founded in our Saviours days; for then doubtleſs the Devil had picked a Traitor out of that crue, whoſe impudent, ſophiſtical Apologies for open Blaſphemy, and unrelenting perſeverance in Traiterous Plots, might have outfaced the World, that the delivering of Chriſt into his enemies hands, had been no ſuch ſin as *Judas* teſtified it was, both by his penitent ſpeech, and deſperate end.

CHAP. XIV.

What it would diſadvantage the Romiſh Church to deny the infallibility of the Synagogue.

1. THat any viſible company of men before our Saviour Chriſts time, did challenge ſuch abſolute Authority over mens Faith, as the Pope doth, would be very hard for them to prove; and no queſtion but the High Prieſts and Rulers amongſt the Jews, did oftentimes challenge more than they had. If the Romaniſt ſhould ſay, that they had no ſuch infallible Authority in deciding all Controverſies, as their Church now challengeth; the Aſſertion would be as improbable in it ſelf, as incongruous to their Poſitions. For unto any indifferent man ſuch *Infallibility in the Watch-Tower of* Sion, *muſt needs ſeem more requiſite during the time of the Law, than ſince the promulgation of the Goſpel.* Be it granted, the points to be expreſly believed of the ancient people, were but few: yet even ſuch of them as were moſt neceſſary to ſalvation, were more Enigmatically and myſtically ſet down, than any in the New Teſtament are; and the meaſure of Gods Spirit upon every ſort of men, (the vulgar eſpecially) in thoſe times, much leſs. For this cauſe God raiſed up Prophets to inſtruct them, whoſe Authority though it was not ſuch, as the Roman Church now challengeth, (but given to ſupply the ignorance, and negligence of the Church repreſentative in thoſe days:) yet much greater then is ordinarily required in the Light of the Goſpel, by which as the Doctrine of ſalvation is become moſt conſpicuous in it ſelf, ſo is the illumination of Gods Spirit more plentiful than before it had been. And ſince the Prophets have been ſo clearly expounded by the Apoſtles, and the harmony of the two Teſtaments ſo diſtinctly heard, *the ordinary* * *Teſtimony of Jeſus is become equivalent to the Spirit of Propheſie.* Allowing then theſe infinite odds on our parts, that enjoy the Labours of former Ages, with the ordinary Preaching of the Goſpel, an infallible œcumenical Authority is much leſs needful now, than it was in the Law.

Such Infallible Authority as the Jeſuites plead for, more neceſſary in the time of the Law, than of the Goſpel.

* *Rev.* 19.10.

2. Or if our Adverſaries will be ſo wayward, as to deny the like infallibility to have been requiſite in the ancient Jewiſh Church: they ſhall hereby thwart evidently themſelves, diſanul their chief Title, and utterly diſclaim the main plea hitherto uſed for their own infallibility. For moſt of them do urge Gods Promiſes made

Unleſs the Jewiſh Church were infallible, our Adverſaries principal Arguments, to prove the Romiſh Churches infallibility, are apparantly falſe.

unto that Church, to prove a neceſſity of admitting a like Authority in theirs. And if theſe promiſes made to the Jews, admit any diſtinction, condition, or limitation, whereby this moſt abſolute infallibility (as they ſuppoſe it) may be impaired; then may all the promiſes made or ſuppoſed to be made unto their Church, admit the ſame, or like. But beſides the weakning of their Title, by debarring themſelves of this plea, (drawn from the example of the ancient Jewiſh Church) no man that reads their writings can be ignorant, that all their chief and principal Arguments (wherewith they carry away moſt ſimple ſouls, and importune ſuch, as almoſt neither fear God nor man, to give ſentence for them and their Church againſt us are drawn from theſe, or the like Topicks, unleſs God had ordained one ſupreme Judge, or infallible Authority, that might decide all controverſies in matters of faith *viva voce*, he had not ſufficiently provided for his Church; yea, which were moſt abſurd, he had left it in worſe eſtate than civil Eſtates are for ordinary matters; for they, beſides their written Laws, have Judges to determine all caſes or controverſies ariſing. And ſeeing that Monarchical Government is of all others the beſt; and in any wiſe mans judgment moſt available for avoiding all diſſention, and keeping the unity of Faith; there ſhould be no queſtion, but God hath ordained ſuch an authentical manner of deciding all controverſies. If he have not, it muſt needs be, either becauſe he could not eſtabliſh ſuch an infallible Authority, and uncontroulable power; or elſe, becauſe he would not. To ſay he could not, were to deny his Omnipotency, open blaſphemy: to ſay he would not, were little better, for this were to deny his Goodneſs and Love to his Church, both which the Scriptures teſtifie to be great, nay infinite.

3. But how great ſoever his love to his Church and choſen be, (as we acknowledge it to be infinite and everlaſting:) if theſe or the like Arguments make any thing for the infallibility of the preſent *Romiſh*; they prove as much, and as directly, for the ancient Jewiſh Church. For that was a viſible company of men, (not of Oxen and Aſſes, and of them God had a care alſo.) Nay, they were his own peculiar people, and (without all controverſie) * the only viſible Church, which he had on earth. Wherefore all the former Arguments, if they conclude any infallible Authority in the preſent *Romiſh* Church, they conclude much more for the like infallibility of the *Jewiſh*. And by neceſſary conſequence, if I prove, That Church had no ſuch Authority, my Aſſertion ſtands ſure; That this infallible Authority which the Factors of the *Romiſh Church* do challenge, is greater than any viſible company of men had before our Saviours time. And by the ſame proof, ſhall the *Romiſh* Church be debarred for ever, of both the two former pleas; either drawn from the Authority of the Prieſts, or from the beſt form of Government.

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* *Yet I know not what* Bellarmine *ſhould mean, when he makes it a particular Church, his folly confutes it ſelf, and it ſhall be ſufficient to propoſe it. Bellar. de Eccleſ. milit. lib. 3. cap. 16.* Ad tertium, de tempore Eliæ, negatur conſequentia, & antecedens hujus argumenti. Conſequentia quidem, quia non eſt eadem ratio populi Judæorum, & populi Chriſtianorum: nam populus Judæorum non erat Eccleſia univerſalis, ut eſt populus Chriſtianorum, ſed particularis, & propterea etiam extra illum populum inveniebantur fideles & juſti, ut *Melchiſedech*, *Job*, & poſtea *Cornelius* Centurio, & Eunuchus Candacis Reginæ, & alii nonnulli. Itaque etiam ſi univerſa Synagoga Judæorum defeciſſet, non continuò omnis Eccleſia Dei in terris defeciſſet. Sed antecedens etiam negatur. Non enim oſtendi poteſt, unquam Synagogam Judæorum defeciſſe omnino uſque ad Chriſti adventum, quo tempore etiam non tam defecit, quam mutata eſt in melius. *His compariſon holds right thus. None were ſaved then but Iſraelites, none now but Chriſtians in heart: divers were ſaved then, though not Iſraelites by outward profeſſion, or ſolemn aſſociation to the people of God: ſo are many now, that are not profeſſed members of the true viſible Church, whether that be theirs or ours. They think many amongſt us ignorant of theirs, and we in charity hope many amongſt them ignorant of our Churches Tenents, yet ready to imbrace them when it ſhall pleaſe God to reveal them, are elected to ſalvation. But it was a pretty Sophiſm in ſo great a Clerk to compare not Iſraelites in heart, or in the ſight of God, but the viſible Church of Iſrael with Chriſtians in heart, not with any viſible Chriſtian Church.*

CHAP.

Chap. XV.

That juſtly it may be preſumed the Jewiſh Church never had any abſolute Infallibility in propoſing or determining Articles of Faith, becauſe in our Saviours time it did ſo grievouſly erre in the Fundamental Point of Salvation.

1. For proof of the Concluſion propoſed, [That *Jeruſalem* had no ſuch abſolute Infallibility as *Rome* pleads for,] I took it for a long time as granted by all, that if any ſuch Authority had been eſtabliſhed in the Law, it ſhould not have varied until the alteration of the Prieſthood. For Gods Covenant with *Levi* was in this ſence everlaſting, that it was to endure without interruption, until His Sacrifice was accompliſhed, that was a Prieſt after a more excellent Order. His Oblation of Himſelf, was the common bond to the Law and Goſpel; the end of the one, and the beginning of the other. Nor did the Legal Rites or Ceremonies themſelves (though theſe moſt obnoxious to corruption) vaniſh by little and little, as this Sacrifice did approach nearer and nearer, as darkneſs doth before the riſing of the Sun: rather that conſummation wrought upon the Croſs, did ſwallow them up at once, as virility doth youth, youth childhood, childhood infancy. Seeing then our Adverſaries ſuppoſe this infallibility was annexed as a Prerogative Royal unto the Prieſthood: they cannot imagine any tolerable reaſon, why the one ſhould expire before the other was quite aboliſhed. Hence it is that moſt of them hold the Scribes and Phariſees in our Saviours time, were abſolutely infallible in their Cathedral Conſultations. And I had juſt reaſons to preſume *Bellarmine* had been of the ſame mind. For beſides his urging that place, (without all ſence or reaſon, unleſs grounded on this opinion) [*They ſit in Moſes Chair; All therefore whatſoever they bid you, that obſerve and do,*] theſe other words of his, ſeemed to imply thus much, [* *It cannot be ſhewed that the Synagogue of the Jews did fail* [in Faith] *until Chriſts coming, at what time it did not fail, but rather became better by change.*] By his ſpeeches elſewhere I perceived, by the Synagogue thus changed, he meant the Church planted by Chriſt: not the Conſiſtory of the High Prieſts and Elders, not the Catholick Repreſentative Jewiſh Church. † *For*, ſaith he, *as it is not neceſſary the Popes Vicar ſhould be inerrable, when the Pope*

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* Non oſtendi poteſt, unquam Synagogam Judæorum defeciſſe omnino uſque ad Chriſti adventum, quo tempore etiam non tam defecit, quàm mutata eſt in melius, *Bellar. de Eccleſia militante, l. 3. c. 16.*

† Sunt qui dicunt, Concilium illud (*in quo Chriſtus condemnatus eſt*) erraſſe, quia non proceſſit ſecundum morem legitimi judicii, ſed tumultuaria conſpiratione, ſubornatis falſis teſtibus, Chriſtum damnavit, id quod adeò notum erat omnibus, ut etiam Pilatus ſciret per invidiam eum fuiſſe traditum ſibi à Pontificibus, ut habemus, *Matth. 27.* atque hæc quidem reſponſio probabilis eſt. Quia tamen non eſt inferiorum judicare, an ſuperiores legitimè procedant necne, niſi manifeſtiſſimè conſtet intolerabilem errorem committi; & credibile eſt Deum non permiſſurum, ut Concilia quibus ſummus Pontifex præſidet, non legitimè procedant; Ideo reſpondemus; Pontifices & Concilia Judæorum non potuiſſe errare antequam Chriſtus veniret, ſed eo præſente potuiſſe, imo fuiſſe prædictum erraturos Judæos & Chriſtum negaturos. *Iſaiæ 6. Dan. 9.* & alibi. Sicut enim non eſt neceſſarium, ut Vicarius Papæ non poſſit errare, cum ipſe Papa regat Eccleſiam, & ab errore defendat: Sic etiam non fuit neceſſarium, ut Pontifices Judæorum non poſſent errare, quando Chriſtus, ſummus totius Eccleſiæ Pontifex præſens aderat, & Eccleſiam per ſe adminiſtrabat. *Bellar. lib. 2. de Concil. auct. cap. 8.*

himſelf doth guide the Church, and defend it from errour: ſo neither was it neceſſary that the Jewiſh High Prieſt ſhould not erre, when Chriſt the High Prieſt of the whole Church was preſent, and did govern his Church in perſon.

2. This example were it true, might illuſtrate (though ill-favouredly) his Aſſertion once ſuppoſed, as poſſible; but no way argues it to be probable. Herein his ſimilitude fails, that the High Prieſts in our Saviours time were *Aaron*'s lawful Succeſſors, their Prieſthood as entire then as ever it was; and they Deputies to none in this rank or order. That their Predeceſſors had ſuch infallibility he fain would prove. Can he, or any for him ſhew us when, or by what means it ſhould determine, whiles the Prieſthood laſted? To take away the Popes infallibility, even in this laſt Age of the World, were, in their conſtruction, to deny Chriſts promiſe made unto Saint *Peters* Chair. And was not the former like Prerogative as inſeparably annexed to *Moſes* Seat? Did our Saviour before his Paſſeover, either by Doctrine or Practice, derogate ought from any lawful Authority eſtabliſhed on Earth; much leſs from that which God had expreſly inſtituted? The greateſt Prerogative the Scribes and Phariſees, Prieſts or Rulers ever had, was, that they were *Aaron*'s Succeſſors, and poſſeſſed *Moſes* place; and this Authority was never diſanulled, but rather ratified by our Saviour, after he had undertaken his Miniſterial Function; *They ſit in Moſes Seat, all therefore whatſoever they bid you, that obſerve and do.* And elſewhere, *Go, and ſhew thy ſelf unto the Prieſt*, &c.

3. * Yet this Sophiſter would perſwade us, that *Iſaiah* and *Daniel* had foretold the expiration of this Prerogative in latter times. They both indeed foretel this peoples extraordinary general blindneſs, about the time of our Saviours converſation on earth. But this directly proves what we object, not what *Bellarmine* ſhould have anſwered, at leaſt to us, who contend the Prieſts and Rulers of this people were not infallible in our Saviours time; nor doth *Iſaiah* or *Daniel*, or any Prophet of God ſay, they were at any time ſuch. Let any Jeſuite prove (what eaſily he may) out of † *Iſaiahs* words, cited by *Bellarmine*, that the Jewiſh Church repreſentative was not infallible in our Saviours time; and from the ſame we ſhall as clearly evince it, palpably erroneous in *Iſaiahs* own days, or immediately after. For the ſelf ſame words which the *Evangeliſt* ſaith, were fulfilled in the unbelieving Jews that heard our Saviours Doctrine, were literally and exactly verified of their fore-fathers before the captivity of *Babylon*, as the *Cardinal* himſelf (would he take the pains to read the whole Chapter, and review the place cited by him) I know would not deny: His words are theſe; [a] *And he ſaid, Go, and ſay unto this people, Ye ſhall hear indeed, but ye ſhall not underſtand, ye ſhall plainly ſee, and not perceive. Make the heart of this people fat, make their ears heavy, and ſhut their eyes, leſt they ſee with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and underſtand with their hearts, and convert and he heal them. Then ſaid I, Lord, how long? And he anſwered, Until the Cities be waſted without inhabitant, and the houſes without man, and the land be utterly deſolate, and the Lord have removed men far away, and there be a great deſolation in the midſt of the land.* The truth of our Aſſertion is ſo pregnant,

* Bellarmines *reaſon to prove the Jewiſh Church did fail in Faith in our Saviours time, proves it to have been erroneous in the time of* Iſaiah.

† *For* Daniel *hath nothing which can be wreſted to this purpoſe, for which reaſon this Impoſtor cites only his ninth Chapter at large.*

[a] *Iſai.*6, 9, 10, 11, 12.

pregnant, that [*] *Maldonat* the moſt judicious Expoſitor amongſt the Jeſuites, takes it as granted, the words late cited were literally meant only of that Generation, with whom the *Prophet* lived, and brings this very Text, as one of the apteſt inſtances to illuſtrate *the third kind*, as he makes it, *of fulfilling Propheſies*, to wit, when that which is truly and literally meant of one, is fitly applied unto another matter or ſort of people, for the ſimilitude of their nature or diſpoſition. Although (to ſpeak the truth) he might have referred it more juſtly, at leaſt more artificially, to the *fourth kind* there mentioned by him. For, as ſhall appear hereafter, this Propheſie was alike literally, properly, and directly meant of both, but verified of the former times more immediately, as firſt in order, becauſe that part of its object had precedency in actual exiſtence; of the latter more compleatly, as principally intended by the Holy Ghoſt.

4. The blindneſs there ſpoken of, was even then begun, but did encreaſe from that Age until the captivity, and continued until Chriſts coming, in whoſe days it was augmented, and the propheſie fully accompliſhed; as the deſolation which followed their blindneſs in putting him to death, was greater than that which *Nebuchadnezzar* brought upon the City and Land for the provocations wherewith *Manaſſeh*, *Jehoiachim*, and other wicked Rulers, as well Prieſts, as Laicks, had provoked the Lord, by cruel perſecution of his Meſſengers ſent unto them. This was a diſeaſe in their Prelates and Elders, lineally deſcending to the Scribes and Phariſees, who took [a] themſelves for infallible Teachers, and free from oppugning ſuch Doctrine, as their fore-fathers had perſecuted unto the death. The ſin of theſe latter in crucifying Chriſt, was in degree more grievous, becauſe his perſonal worth was much greater than the Prophets; but the ignorance was of the ſame kind in both; for, as our Saviour ſaith, (*Mat.* 23. 32.) the latter did but *fulfil the meaſure of their fathers iniquity*, in murthering Gods Meſſengers. And, as afterwards ſhall be declared, ſuch as the Romaniſts account the Church repreſentative moſt infallible, did continually cauſe, or countenance theſe perſecutions. [b] The original likewiſe of this cruelty continued from former to latter Generations, was the very ſame in both: the one diſtaſted Gods words, whilſt the Prophet ſpake them; the other underſtood them not, whilſt they were read every Sabbath-day unto them, both [c] fulfilled them in condemning Gods Meſſengers, and ſhedding innocent bloud, upon ſuch groſs and palpable blindneſs, as *Iſaiah* deſcribes.

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[*] Dicitur autem prophetia, quantum obſervare potui, quatuor modis impleri. *Primò*, quum id ipſum fit, de quo proprie & literali ſenſu intelligebatur, ſicut cap. 1. v. 22. Matthæus dixit, Impletam in Maria, Iſaiæ prophetiam fuiſſe. *Ecce virgo concipiet, & pariet filium.* *Secundò*, cum fit, non id, de quo propriè intelligebatur prophetia, ſed id, quod per illud ſignificabatur, ut 2. Regum 7. 14. *Ego ero illi in patrem, & ille erit mihi in filium*, quod propriè de Solomone dictum eſſe perſpicuum eſt. Divus tamen Paulus, de Chriſto, cujus Solomon Figura erat interpretatur, Heb. 1. 6. quaſi in eo impletum eſſet. Et quod Exod. 12. 46. dictum eſt, *Os non comminuetis ex eo*, certum eſt intelligi de agno, tamen Joan. cap. 19. 36. in Chriſto, qui per agnum ſignificabatur, impletum dicit. *Tertiò*, cum nec id fit, de quo propriè intelligitur prophetia, nec id quod per illud ſignificatur, ſed quod illi ſimile erat, & omnino ejuſmodi, ut prophetia non minus aptè de eo, quam de quo dicta eſt, dici potuiſſe videatur. Nam *populus hic labiis me honorat*, de Judæis qui tempore Iſaiæ erant, Deus dixerat Iſai. 29. 13. Chriſtus autem in iis, qui ſuo erant tempore, impletum ſignificat, Matth. 15. 7, 8. Simile eſt exemplum Matthæi, 13. 14. & Act. 28. 26. *Quartò*, cum id ipſum, quod per Prophetiam, aut Scripturam dictum erat, quamvis jam factum fuerit, tamen magis, ac magis fit. Tunc enim Scriptura impleri dicitur, id eſt, quod per eam dictum erat, cumulatiſſimè fieri. *Maldonat. Comment in Matth. cap.* 2. *verſ.* 15. *The place cited Matth.* 13. 14. *Acts* 28. 26. *is that very place out of the ſixth of* Eſay, *which* Bellarmine *urgeth to prove the Jews Church ſhould fail in our Saviours time.*

[a] *See Cap.* 19.

[b] *Ye ſtiff-necked and uncircumciſed hearts and ears, ye have always reſiſted the holy Ghoſt, as your fathers did, ſo do you: which of the Prophets have not your fathers perſecuted? and they have ſlain them, which ſhewed before of the coming of that Juſt One, of whom ye are now the betrayers and murtherers. Acts* 7. 51.

[c] *Acts* 13. 27.

5. It will recreate the attentive Reader to obſerve, how the Lord hath confounded the language of theſe cunning builders, whiles they ſeek to raiſe up new *Babylon* from the foundation of the old Synagogue. *Bellarmine* would ſeem to make a conſcience of *blaſpheming*; and therefore hath rather adventured to be reputed *ridiculous*, in avouching (as you heard before) without all ground or ſhew of reaſon, that the infallible Authority, formerly eſtabliſhed in the Synagogue, did expire upon our Saviours entrance into his Miniſterial Function. Many of his fellows knowing how neceſſary it is for them to defend the publick ſpirit of the Synagogues, and conſcious withal how frivolous it would be, to ſay it ſhould vaniſh by our Saviours preſence, who came rather by doctrine and practice to eſtabliſh, than overthrow any ordinance of the Law, reſolve (though by open blaſphemy) to maintain the Scribes and Phariſees infallibility, until the aboliſhing of *Aarons* Prieſthood. That they condemned our Saviour, was (in theſe mens judgments) an errour only in *matter of Fact*, not *of Faith*, or *Doctrine*; and in ſuch caſe the Pope himſelf may erre, whiles he ſpeaks *ex Cathedra*. That the High Prieſt did not *erre in Faith*, they take it as proved, becauſe the *Evangeliſt* ſaith he propheſied, *It were good one ſhould die for the people*, John 11. 50.

Reſpondeo, quidam aiunt, quæſtionem fuiſſe de Facto, non de Jure, quam concilium illud judicavit, videlicet, *num Jeſus necandus eſſet*; in ejuſmodi autem judiciis Concilia errare poſſe, non dubium eſt. At quæſtio illa, etiamſi de Facto eſſet, tamen involvebat quæſtionem de Fide graviſſimam, nimirum, *An Jeſus eſſet verus Meſſias, & Dei filius, atque adeò Deus verus.* Quocirca erravit in Fide pernicioſiſſimè Caiphas cum univerſo Concilio, cum judicavit Jeſum blaſphemaſſe, qui ſe Dei Filium appellaverat. Alii dicunt, Pontificem & Concilium erraſſe, quantum ad errorem propriæ mentis, non tamen erraſſe in ſententia, quam protulit. Verè enim Jeſus erat reus mortis, quia peccata noſtra in ſeipſo purganda ſuſceperat, & verè expediebat, eum mori pro populo. Quare *Johan. cap.* 11. dicit Caipham prophetaſſe. At licet verba Caiphæ bonum ſenſum recipiant, non tamen omnia, cum enim ait de Chriſto, *Blaſphemavit, quid adhuc egemus teſtibus?* Certè tunc non prophetavit, ſed blaſphemavit. *Bellar. de Conciliorum auct. cap. 8. lib. 2.*

6. Such infallibility as this, I never ſhall envy the Pope; and I deſire no more, than that he would *confirm* this laſt cited *doctrine ex Cathedra*. For no queſtion but all ſuch throughout the *Chriſtian world*, as bear any love to Chriſt at all, (any beſides the *Jeſuites*, who make no *conſcience* of vilifying their *Redeemer* for advancing the *Popes dignity*, by defending his infallibility) would *renounce his decrees*, and take him for *Antichriſt* ever after. For this was no errour *de facto*, upon falſe information, or privy ſuggeſtion. Even the *high Prieſts* themſelves, for the inveterate hate which they had born unto our *Saviours* perſon and doctrine, ſuch as the *Romiſh Church* did unto *Hus*, and *Jerom* of *Prage*) hold a *Council*, how they might put him to death; and ſo far were they from being miſled with falſe information, that they ſuborn falſe witneſſes againſt him, and failing in this, ſeek to inſnare him in his own confeſſion; and finally condemn him with joint conſent, for avouching one of the main points of *Chriſtian Belief*, the Article of his coming to judgment. I think might *Satan* himſelf ſpeak his mind in this caſe, he would condemn *Gretzer* and his *fellows*, if not for their villany, yet for their intolerable folly, in queſtioning, whether it were an errour in Faith or no, to pronounce the *ſentence of death* with ſuch ſolemnity againſt the *Judge* of quick and dead, for profeſſing and teaching the main points and grounds of Faith. This villany is too open and evident to maintain the policy of the Prince of darkneſs. And if neither fear of God, nor ſhame of the world, could bridle the Jeſuites mouths, or ſtop their pens from venting ſuch *doctrine*; yet certainly this *Prince of darkneſs*, (their Lord and Maſter) for fear of ſome greater revolt, will lay his command upon them, and make them in this diſcourſing Age *ſpeak more warily, though they mean ſtill no leſs wickedly*.

7. Becauſe this is a point worth the preſſing, let us overthrow, not only their Anſwers already given, or Arguments hence drawn for their Churches Authority: but in brief prevent all poſſible evaſions. If any Papiſt ſhall here reply, that theſe High Prieſts, and their Aſſiſtants did not ſpeak *ex Cathedra*, when they ſo far miſſed the Cuſhion: this Anſwer as it might perhaps drop from ſome ignorant Jeſuites Mouth or Pen, who is bound by Oath to ſay ſomething (and therefore muſt oftentimes ſay he knows not what) for the defence of the Church: ſo we may well aſſure our ſelves, that the Pope himſelf dare not for his Triple Crown deliver it *ex Cathedra*; nor will the learned Papiſts hold this point, if it be well urged. For, as theſe High Prieſts errour was moſt groſs and grievous: ſo was it received upon long and mature deliberation, their manner of proceeding was publick and ſolemn. *They took Jeſus* (ſaith the [a] *Evangeliſt*) *and led him to* Caiaphas *the High Prieſt, where the Scribes and Elders were gathered together.* And leſt a Jeſuite ſhould have picked a Quarrel at the time of their Aſſembly, as if they had met at ſome unlawful hour. Saint [b] *Luke* ſaith, *As ſoon as it was day, the Elders of the people, and the High Prieſts, and the Scribes came together, and led him into their Council*, and examined him upon the very fundamental point of Faith, *Saying*, *Art thou The Chriſt, tell us*? For affirming this, (which is open infidelity to deny) the High Prieſt himſelf, not miſled by any witneſſes, but from [c] Chriſts own words which he himſelf had heard, pronounceth ſentence againſt him. And if this were not enough, he propoſed the matter to the reſt of his Aſſociates; [d] *What think ye? And they anſwered and ſaid, He is worthy to die.* After all this, they urged the people to approve of this their ſentence, perſwading them to ask *Barabbas*, and to deſtroy Jeſus. And ſo ſtrongly had they conjured the multitude by their pretended Authority, that they apprehend this their choice, as a point of Faith, or good ſervice to God and his Church. For when *Pilate* layeth his bloud unto their charge: *All the people* ([e] as the Text ſaith) (all ſuch as relied upon the Scribes and Phariſees, or their High Prieſt) *anſwered and ſaid, His bloud be upon us and our children.* One of your lay Papiſts could not have been more throughly perſwaded of your Churches Authority, nor more violently bent againſt *John Hus*, or any other of Chriſts Martyrs, for the like reaſons, than this whole multitude was againſt Chriſt, being condemned by the High Prieſt, ſpeaking *ex Cathedra*. Here were more conditions, and more ſolemnities obſerved in this proceeding of theirs, than you require in the Pope ſpeaking *ex Cathedra*. Theirs was a publick aſſembly, and ſentence was given by joint conſent in the Conſiſtory, and in the morning: you hold it ſufficient for the Pope to give his definitive ſentence alone, without evidence of the fact it ſelf, whereunto he ties mens Faith, as ſhall appear by your own confeſſions. Nor do you limit him any time, as well in the afternoon, as in the forenoon; as well (for ought we can gather) when drink is in, and his wits out of his head, as when he is ſober. For you hold it not neceſſary for him to uſe any long deliberation. But, if it be his will to bind all Chriſtians to believe him, the whole Church muſt believe that he was herein directed by the Holy Ghoſt: for the Church is bound to hear their chief Paſtor: And if he bind all men to believe him, then muſt all of neceſſity believe,

That the High Prieſt with his Aſſociates did erre ex Cathedra *in the main Article of Faith.*

[a] *Mat.* 26.57.

[b] *Luk.* 22.66.

[c] *Mat.* 26.65.

[d] *Verſe* 66.

[e] *Mat.* 27.25.

that he was infallibly aſſiſted by the Holy Ghoſt, in ſhewing that which he binds them to believe: for otherwiſe the whole Church might err, nay were bound to err, becauſe it is bound to believe the Pope. Theſe conſequents are your own, not mine, as may in part appear from what hath been already, more fully from what ſhall be ſaid hereafter. Beſides, the whole multitude of the Jewiſh people heard the Prieſts and Elders utter their Opinions concerning Chriſt and his Doctrine *viva voce:* we have the Popes Decrees but by hear-ſay. Either was this ſentence pronounced *ex Cathedra*, or elſe it will be hard for you to prove, that any ſentence in your Church hath been ſo pronounced, or can be, although the Pope himſelf be preſent in the Council, and be an eye-witneſs of all proceedings.

8. Yet if any of you ſhould here ſhufle (as ye uſually do at the laſt pinch) and ſay, [*Howſoever* Valentian, *or ſome others of our learned, but private ſpirits, may define, what it is to ſpeak* ex Cathedra; *yet we know not, whether our Church hath ſo defined it, or no: and therefore although theſe High Prieſts and Elders did obſerve all the circumſtances, which theſe Doctors require in a ſentence given* ex Cathedra; *yet, for ought we know, they might, nay ſure they did fail in ſome circumſtance which we know not, and did not indeed ſpeak* ex Cathedra, *albeit they ſeemed ſo to do: wherefore thus doth not conclude againſt the Popes infallible Authority, when he ſpeaks* ex Cathedra:] if any of you ſhall take this laſt hold, (as I cannot imagine any other left you) we ſhall quickly beat you out of it. * For let it be granted for Diſputations ſake, that the Pope hath (as ye ſuppoſe theſe Jews had) an infallible Authority, when he ſpeaks *ex Cathedra:* yet ſeeing it is a matter ſo hard to be known, even by theſe that hear him, whether he obſerve all circumſtances required to the exerciſe and true uſe of ſuch infallible Authority, and whether he ſpeak *ex Cathedra* or no, when he may ſeem to ſundry ſo to ſpeak; it would be the only ſafe courſe for all Chriſtian Churches utterly to renounce all Obedience to him, but upon examination of his Doctrine, to ſtand continually upon their guard, leſt under pretence of this his infallible Authority, when he ſpeaks *ex Cathedra*, he may work ſome ſuch ineſtimable miſchief unto the Scriptures, or Chriſts choſen here on earth, as theſe High Prieſts did unto Chriſt himſelf, by his ſeeming to ſpeak *ex Cathedra*, when he doth not. If, by abuſing this his infallible Authority, he ſhould either make away theſe Scriptures, or animate the people to imbrue their hands in the bloud of Chriſts deareſt Saints: it is not his ſpeaking *ex Cathedra*, that can redeem their ſouls from Hell, nor reſtore Gods Word again; for theſe are matters of an higher price, than that they ſhould be purchaſed with two or three words of his *Holineſs* unhallowed mouth.

* *Though it were ſufficiently proved that the Pope could not teach falſe Doctrine,* ex Cathedra, *yet were it not ſafe to rely upon his authority,* vide lib.2. cap.31. Parag.3, &c.

9. To conclude, if this Authority of your Church be but ſuch, as the ancient Church of the Jews had; you cannot expect any faithful people ſhould otherwiſe eſteem of your Decrees, than the faithful in our Saviours time were bound to eſteem of the Jewiſh High Prieſts and Elders, whom ſurely they did not take for Chriſts only, nor beſt Friends. If the Popes infallibility be but ſuch, as theſe High Prieſts had, you may be as guilty of the bloud of Chriſts Saints, as they were. If you will challenge (as indeed you do) greater Authority than they had, ye muſt of neceſſity renounce your principal Arguments brought to prove it.

CHAP. XVI.

That Moſes *had no ſuch abſolute Authority as is now aſcribed unto the Pope: That the manner of* Moſes *his attaining to ſuch as he had, excludes all beſides our Saviour from juſt challenge of the like.*

1. WHether *Moſes* were a Magiſtrate (as the Papiſts think) Spiritual, or (as others) meerly Civil, or (whereunto upon grounds in due places to be diſcuſſed, I moſt incline) actually neither, and virtually both; it will ſuffice, for proof of our concluſion, *that the Pope is no ſervant of God, but an adverſary*, in that he exalts himſelf above *Moſes*, whom none, beſides the High Prieſt, and ſole Mediator of the new Covenant, was to equalize in ſoveraignty over Gods people. Nor doth the exceſs of glory aſcribed unto the new Teſtament, in reſpect of the old, argue greater authority in Chriſtian, than was in ordinary legal Governors, whether Temporal or Spiritual, much leſs doth it infer greater authority in any (Chriſt only excepted) than *Moſes* had.

2. If we take Chriſts Church, as conſiſting both of Prieſts and people: it is a Congregation far more royal and glorious, than the Synagogue ſo taken was. If we compare our High Prieſt (or Mediator of the new Covenant) with theirs, the Apoſtles compariſon is fitteſt: * *Conſider the Apoſtle and High Prieſt of our profeſſion, Chriſt Jeſus: who was faithful to him that hath appointed him, even as Moſes was in all his houſe. For this man is counted worthy of more glory than Moſes, in as much as he which hath builded the houſe, hath more honour than the houſe. Now Moſes verily was faithful in all his houſe, as a ſervant, for a witneſs of the things which ſhould be ſpoken after: but Chriſt is as the Son over his own houſe, whoſe houſe we are.* If ſeverally we ſort our people, or Miniſters with theirs, as the Apoſtles Succeſſors with *Aarons*, the preheminence both ways, is ours. Notwithſtanding, this exceſs of our Miniſters glory, whether ordinary or extraordinary, compared with the like of theirs, is not ſo great as the preheminences of Chriſts flock above the people of the Synagogue. Yet muſt all * exceſs in ſpiritual graces, which the ordinary hearers of the Goſpel have of the ordinary hearers of the Law, be ſubducted from that prerogative which we that are Chriſts Meſſengers, have in reſpect of *Aarons* Succeſſors, ere we can take a right account of our own authority over our flock committed to us, in compariſon of theirs over the ancient people. *Computatis computandis*, our Soveraignty will prove leſs, not greater, as our adverſaries confuſedly reckon without their hoſt. Their pretended gloſſes, that all ſuch places of Scripture as make for the authority of *Moſes* chair, conclude *à fortiori* for S. *Peters*, becauſe the new Teſtament is more glorious than the old, are, as if a man ſhould argue thus: The ancient Roman, and modern German, are States far more noble than than the Turkiſh or Moſcovitiſh; therefore the Roman Conſuls had more abſolute authority over the people, or the preſent Emperor, over the Princes and States of *Germany*, than the Turk hath over his Baſhaws, or the Moſcovite over his Vaſſals.

* *Heb.* 3. 1, &c. *That the exceſſive glory of the new Teſtament argues no greater ſoveraignty in ſpiritual Governors ſince Chriſts time than the prieſt had in the Law.*

* i. e. *Advantage, or preheminence.*

3. The glory of a Common-weal, or praiſe of Government, conſiſts in the ingenuity or civil liberty, not in the ſlavery, or ſervile condition of the governed: or in their voluntary obſequiouſneſs to wholeſome Laws, proportioned to common good; not in their abſolute ſubjection to the Omnipotent will of an unruly Tyrant, ſubject to no Law, but the Law of ſin. Our Saviours authority over his Diſciples was more Soveraign, than is befitting any to uſurp or challenge over his fellow ſervants; his Kingdom more glorious after his Reſurrection than before: yet a little before his ſuffering, he ſaith to his Diſciples: † *Ye are my friends, if ye do whatſoever I command you. Henceforth call I you not ſervants, for the ſervant knoweth not what his maſter doth, but I have called you friends, for all things that I have heard of my Father, have I made known to you.* It it the very conceit of the baſe, degenerate, diſſolute, ſottiſh later Heathen Roman, more delighted in ſuch gaudy ſhews as his luxurious Emperors made (happily, once or twice in their whole reign) than in the valour and virtue of his victorious, free-born Anceſtors, that to this day ſwims in the Jeſuits brain, and makes him dream the Royalty of Chriſtian Prieſthood, or glory of the Goſpel, ſhould conſiſt wholly, or chiefly in the magnificent pomp of one viſible High Prieſt or Oecumenical Biſhop; for garniſhing of whoſe Court, the whole Body of Chriſt beſides, muſt become content to ſpend their lives, goods, or ſubſtances, and as his occaſion ſhall require, to pawn their very ſouls, as younglings will be at any coſt or pains they can deviſe, to deck up a Lord of the Pariſh, a Victor in a Grammar School; or as merry fellows will be ready to ſpend more than their incomes will defray, to have a gallant Lord of miſrule of their own making.

† John 15. 14, 15.

Wherein the Popes Soveraignty is made greater than Moſes *had any.*

4. But they demand, Wherein doth the Pope aſpire above the pitch of *Moſes* Throne? He deſires but to be reputed an infallible Teacher, and was not *Moſes* ſuch? yet not ſuch after the ſame manner. He approved himſelf perpetually infallible, becauſe always found moſt faithful in all affairs belonging to God: but had it been poſſible for him to have *worſhipped the golden Calf,* to * *have eaten the offerings of the dead, or to have joyned himſelf to Baal-Peor*: The Levites and ſuch as clave unto the Lord in theſe Apoſtaſies would have ſought Gods will at more ſanctified lips, than his, at leaſt for that time, were. If then we conſider him not as he might have been, but as indeed he proved; the peoples obedience unto him, was *de facto* perpetual and compleat: yet but conditionally perpetual, but conditionally compleat, or perpetually compleat upon their ſight and undoubted experience of his extraordinary familiarity with God, of his intire fidelity in all his ſervice. The Pope would be proclaimed ſo abſolutely infallible by irrevocable Patent or inheritance, as no breach of Gods Commandments, no touch of diſloyalty to Chriſt in actions, might breed a forfeiture of his eſtate, or eſtrange Chriſtian conſciences from yielding obedience to him, every way as compleat and abſolute, as that which the people of God performed unto *Moſes*, or Chriſtians do yet unto their Saviour. Whence though we admit *Moſes* infallibility, and his to be the ſame; yet the difference between the abſoluteneſs of their authority, or the tenor, or holds of the ſame infallibility, would be ſuch, as is between a Tenant at will, or one that enjoys a fair eſtate, perhaps, all

† *Pſal.* 106. 28.

all his life time, yet only by continuance of his Lords good liking of his faithful ſervice; and a Freeholder that cannot by any act of Felony, Murther, Treaſon, or the like, forfeit his intereſt in as large poſſeſſions.

5. Again, albeit the authority gotten, or manner of holding it, were the ſame; yet the manner of getting it in *Moſes* and the Pope is not alike. The one proffers no miracle for the purchaſe, no ſign from Heaven, no admirable skill in expounding Gods Word; his calling he profeſſeth to be but ordinary, and in this reſpect (ſay his followers) he was to ſucceed S. *Peter*. *Moſes* not ſuch, nor ſo affected: his miracles were many and great; the ſigns and tokens of his eſpecial favour with God, almoſt infinite: his calling extraordinarily extraordinary: otherwiſe that obedience the people performed to him, had been no leſs than deſperate Idolatry; as the challenge of the like without like proof and evidence of ſuch favour with God, is no better than Blaſphemy or Apoſtaſie. *Hence* ſaith * S. *Auſtin*, *the people of Iſrael did believe* Moſes *Laws were from God, after another manner, than the Lacedemonians did* Lycurgus *Laws were from* Apollo. *For when the Law which enjoyns the worſhip of one God, was given unto the people, it did appear (as far forth as the divine providence did judge ſufficient) by ſtrange ſigns and motions, whereof the people themſelves were Spectators, that the Creature did perform ſervice to the Creator for the giving of that Law.* But we muſt believe as firmly as this people did *Moſes*, that all the Popes injunctions are given by God himſelf, without any other ſign or teſtimony, than the Lacedemonians had, that *Lycurgus* Laws were from *Apollo*. Yet is it here further to be conſidered, that the Iſraelites might with far leſs danger have admitted *Moſes* Laws then we may the Popes, without any examination, for divine, ſeeing there was no written Law of God extant before his time, whereby his writings were to be tried. No ſuch charge had been given this people, as he gives moſt expreſly, to this purpoſe. † *Now therefore hearken, O Iſrael, unto the ordinances, and to the laws which I teach you to do, that ye may live and go in, and poſſeſs the land which the Lord God of your fathers giveth you. Ye ſhall put nothing unto the word which I command you, neither ſhall ye take ought therefrom, that ye may keep the commandment of the Lord your God which I command you.* But was the motive or argument by which he ſought to eſtabliſh their belief (or aſſent unto theſe Commandments) his own infallible authority? no, but their own experience of their truth, as it followeth, * *Your eyes have ſeen what the Lord did becauſe of Baal-Peor. For all the men that followed Baal-Peor the Lord thy God hath deſtroyed every one from among you: but ye that did cleave unto the Lord your God, are alive, every one of you this day*; ſo gracious and merciful is our God unto mankind, and ſo far from exacting this blind obedience which the Pope doth challenge, that he would have his written word eſtabliſhed in the freſh memory of his mighty wonders wrought upon *Pharaoh* and all his hoſt. The experiment of their deliverance by *Moſes* had been a ſtrong motive to have perſwaded them to admit of his doctrine for infallible, or, at the leaſt, to have believed him in his particular promiſes. When the ſnares of death had compaſſed them about on every ſide, and they ſee no way but one, or rather two inevitable ways to preſent death and deſtruction, the

* Cum igitur oporteret Dei legem in edictis Angelorum terribiliter dari, non uni homini pauciſve ſapientibus, ſed univerſæ genti & populo ingenti, coram eodem populo magna facta ſunt in monte, ubi lex per unum dabatur, conſpiciente multitudine metuenda ac tremenda, quæ fiebant. Non enim populus Iſrael, ſic Moyſi credidit, quemadmodum ſuo Lycurgo Lacedæmonii, quòd à Jove ſeu Apolline leges, quas condidit, accepiſſet. Cum enim lex dabatur populo, qua coli unus jubebatur Deus, in conſpectu ipſius populi, quantum ſufficere divina providentia judicabat, mirabilibus rerũ ſignis ac motibus apparebat, ad eandem legem dandam docentem creatori ſervire creaturam. *Aug de Civit. Dei. lib.* 10. *cap.* 13.

† *Deut.* 4.1,2.

* *Verſ.* 3.

The motive uſed by Moſes, *for eſtabliſhing the Iſralites faith.*

the Red Sea before them, and a mighty hoſt of blood behind them, the one ſerving as a glaſs to repreſent the cruelty of the other: they (as who in their caſe would not?) * *cry out for fear.* He that could have foretold their ſtrange deliverance from this imminent danger, might have gotten the opinion of a God amongſt the Heathen: yet *Moſes* confidently promiſeth them, even in the midſt of this perplexity, the utter deſtruction of the deſtroyer, whom they feared. † *Fear ye not, ſtand ſtill, and behold the ſalvation of the Lord, which he will ſhew to you this day: for the Egyptians whom ye have ſeen this day, you ſhall never ſee again. The Lord ſhall fight for you: therefore hold you your peace.* Notwithſtanding all this, *Moſes* never enacts this abſolute obedience, to be believed in all that ever he ſhall ſay, or ſpeak unto them, without farther examination, or evident experiment of his doctrine. For God requires not this of any man, no not of thoſe to whom he ſpake face to face; always ready to feed ſuch as call upon him, with infallible ſigns and pledges of the truth of his promiſes. For this reaſon, the waters of * *Marah* are ſweetned at *Moſes* prayer. And God upon this new experiment of his power and goodneſs, takes occaſion to re-eſtabliſh his former Covenant, uſing this ſemblable event, as a further earneſt of his ſweet promiſes to them. [† *If thou wilt diligently hearken O Iſrael unto the voyce of the Lord thy God, and wilt do that which is right in his ſight, and wilt give ear unto his commandments, and keep all his ordinances: then will I put none of theſe diſeaſes upon thee, which I brought upon the Egyptians: for I am the Lord that healeth thee.*] As if he had ſaid; This healing of the bitter waters ſhall be a token to thee of my power in healing thee. Yet for all this they diſtruſt Gods promiſes for their food, as it followeth, *cap.* 16. Nor doth *Moſes* ſeek to force their aſſent by fearful Anathema's, or ſudden deſtruction, but of ſome principal offenders herein. For God will not have true faith thunder-blaſted in the tender blade: but rather nouriſhed by continuance of ſuch ſweet experiments: for this reaſon he ſhowres down *Manna* from heaven. * *I have heard the murmuring of the children of Iſrael, tell them therefore, and ſay, At evening ye ſhall eat fleſh, and in the morning you ſhall be filled with bread, and ye ſhall know that I am the Lord your God.* For beſides the miraculous manner of providing both *Quails* and *Manna* for them, the manner of nouriſhment by *Manna* did witneſs the truth of Gods word unto them. They had been uſed to groſs and ſolid meats, ſuch as did fill their ſtomachs, and diſtend their bellies, whereas *Manna* was in ſubſtance ſlender, but gave ſtrength and vigour to their bodies; and ſerved as an emblem of their ſpiritual food, which being inviſible, yet gave life more excellently than theſe groſs and ſolid meats did. So ſaith † *Moſes, Therefore he humbled thee, and made thee hungry, and fed thee with Manna which thou kneweſt not, neither did thy Fathers know it, that he might teach thee, that man liveth not by bread only, but every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord.*

6. Yet in their diſtreſs (ſo frail is our faith, until it be ſtrengthned by continual experiments) they doubt, and tempt the Lord, ſaying: * *Is the Lord amongſt us or no?* Nor doth *Moſes* interpoſe his infallible authority, or charge them to believe him againſt their experience of their preſent thirſt, under pain of eternal damnation,

* *Exod.*14.10.

† *Exod.*14.13, 14. Vid. Pſal.106. ver.10, &c.

* *Exod.*15.23.

† *Ver.* 26. *Faith muſt be confirmed by continual Experiments anſwerable to Gods word.*

* *Exod.*16.12.

* *Deut.*8.3.

* *Exod.* 17.7.

damnation, or ſufferance of greater thirſt in Hell: ſuch threats without better inſtruction in Gods word, and the comfort of his ſpirit, may bring diſtruſts or doubts to utter deſpair, and cauſe faith to wither where it was well nigh ripe, they never ripen and ſtrengthen any true and lively faith. *Moſes* himſelf is feign to cry unto the Lord, ſaying, *what ſhall I do unto this people? for they be almoſt ready to ſtone me.* As the Papiſts would do to the Pope, were he to conduct them thorow the wilderneſs in ſuch extremity of thirſt, able to give them no better aſſurance of his favour with God, than his Anathema's, or feed them only with his Court-holy-water, or bleſſings of wind. But even here again God feeds *Iſraels* faith with waters iſſuing out of the rock, making themſelves eye-witneſſes of all his wonders, that ſo they might believe his words and promiſes, nay himſelf, from their own ſenſe and feeling of his goodneſs, and truth of his word.

7. Though no Law-giver or Governor, whether Temporal or Spiritual, eſpecially, whoſe calling was but ordinary, could poſſibly before or ſince ſo well deſerve of the people committed to his guidance, as this great General already had done of all the hoſt of *Iſrael*; were they upon this conſideration, forthwith to believe whatſoever he ſhould avouch without further examination, ſign, or token of his favour with God; without aſſured experience, or at the leaſt more than probable preſumptions of his continual faithfulneſs in that ſervice, whereunto they knew him appointed? Albeit, after all the mighty works before mentioned, wrought in their preſence, they had been bound thereunto: the meaneſt † *handmaid* in that multitude had infallible pledges plenty of his extraordinary calling, lockt up in her own unerring ſenſes. But from the ſtrange, yet frequent manifeſtation of *Moſes* power and favour with God, ſo great as none beſides the great Prophet whom he prefigured, might challenge the like, the Lord in his all-ſeeing wiſdom, took fit occaſion to allure his people unto ſtrict obſervance of what he * afterwards ſolemnly enacted, as alſo in them to forewarn all future generations, without expreſs warrant of his word, not abſolutely to believe any Governor whomſoever in all, though of tried skill and fidelity in many principal points of his ſervice. That paſſage of Scripture wherein the manner of this peoples ſtipulation is regiſtred, well deſerves an exact ſurvey of all, eſpecially of theſe circumſtances, [*How the Lord by rehearſal of his mighty works forepaſſed, extorts their promiſe to do whatſoever ſhould by* Moſes *be commanded them, and yet will not accept it offered, until he have made them ear-witneſſes of his familiarity and communication with him.*] Firſt, out of the Mount he called *Moſes* unto him to deliver this ſolemn Meſſage unto the houſe of *Jacob*; *Ye have ſeen what I did to the Egyptians, and how I carried you upon Eagles wings, and have brought you unto me. Now therefore, if you will hear my voyce indeed, and keep my covenant, then ye ſhall be my chief treaſure above all people, though all the earth be mine.* After *Moſes* had reported unto God this anſwer, freely uttered with joynt conſent of all the people, ſolemnly † aſſembled before their Elders, [* *All that the Lord commanded, we will do*] was the whole buſineſs betwixt God and them, fully tranſacted by this Agent in their abſence? No, he is ſent back to ſanctifie the people, that they might expect Gods glorious appearance

† *The Hebrews have a common ſaying,* Ancilla plus vidit ad mare rubrum, & montem Sinai quam viderint omnes Prophetæ. *Fagius in* 5 *Deut.*

* *Deut.* 13. 1. &c. *God in the Eſtabliſhing of* Moſes *Authority gave a Caveat to future generations for avoiding* Blind Obedience.

Exod. 19. 4, 5, *and* 6.

† *Verſ.* 7.
* *Verſ.* 8.

appearance in Mount *Sinai*, to ratifie what he had ſaid upon the return of their anſwer * *Lo I come unto thee in a thick cloud, that the people may hear, whilſt I talk with thee, and that they may alſo believe thee for ever.* They did not believe that God had revealed his word to *Moſes* for the wonders he had wrought; but rather that his wonders were from God, becauſe they heard God ſpeak to him, yea, to themſelves. For their principal and fundamental Laws were uttered by God himſelf in their hearing, as *Moſes* expreſſeth, † *Theſe words,* (to wit *the Decalogue*) *the Lord ſpake unto all your multitude, in the Mount, out of the midſt of the fire, the cloud and the darkneſs, with a great voyce, and added no more.* And leſt the words which they had heard might ſoon be ſmothered in fleſhly hearts, or quickly ſlide out of their brittle memories, the Lord wrote them in two Tables of ſtone, and at their Tranſcription, not *Moſes* only, but *Aaron*, *Nadab*, and *Abihu*, with the ſeventy Elders of *Iſrael*, are made Spectators of the Divine glory, raviſhed with the ſweetneſs of his preſence. * *They ſaw*, ſaith the Text, *the God of Iſrael, and under his feet, as it were, a work of a Saphire ſtone, and as the very heaven when it is clear. And upon the Nobles of the children of Iſrael he laid not his hand, alſo they ſaw God, and did eat and drink.* After theſe Tables, through *Moſes* anger at the peoples folly and impiety, were broken, God writes the † ſame words again, and renews his *Covenant* * before all the people, promiſing undoubted experience of his Divine aſſiſtance.

* *Verſ.* 9.
† *Deut.* 5. 22. *Vide Annot. ad* 5. *paragr. of this chapt. ex S. Auguſt.*
* *Exod.* 24. *v.* 1, 9, 10, 11.
† *Exod.* 34. 1.
* *Verſ.* 10, 11.

8. Doth *Moſes* after all this call fire from Heaven upon all ſuch as diſtruſt his words. *Aaron* and *Miriam* openly derogate from his authority, which the Lord confirms again *viva voce*, deſcending in the † *pillar of the cloud, conventing theſe detractors in the door of the Tabernacle; wherefore were you not afraid to ſpeak againſt my ſervant Moſes? Thus the Lord was very angry and departed*, leaving his mark upon *Miriam*, cured of her leproſie by *Moſes* inſtant prayers. No marvel if *Korah*, *Dathan* and *Abirams* judgements were ſo grievous: when their ſin againſt *Moſes*, after ſo many documents of his high calling, could not but be wilful; as their perſeverance in it, after ſo many admonitions to deſiſt, moſt malicious and obſtinate. Yet was *Moſes* further countenanced by the appearance of Gods glory * *unto all the Congregation*, and his authority further ratified by the † ſtrange and fearful end of theſe chief Malefactors, (* foretold by him) and by fire, iſſuing from the Lord to conſume their Confederates, in offering incenſe ungrateful to their God. *Tantæ molis erat Judæam condere gentem! So long and great a work it was to edifie* Iſrael *in true faith.* But without any like miracle or prediction, ſuch as never ſaw him, never heard good of him, muſt believe the Pope as well as *Iſrael* did their Lawgiver, that could make the Sea to grant him paſſage, the clouds ſend bread, the winds bring fleſh, and the hard rock yield drink ſufficient for him and and all his mighty hoſt, that could thus call the heavens as witneſſes to condemn, and appoint the earth as Executioner of his judgements upon the obſtinate and rebellious, yet after this he inflicts no ſuch puniſhments upon the doubtful in faith, as the Romiſh Church doth, but rather (as is evident out of the places * before alledged) confirms them by commemoration of theſe late cited, and like Experiments; making

† Gods

† *Numb.* 12. 5, 6, 8, 9.
* *Num.* 16. 19.
† *Verſ.* 33.
* *Verſ.* 27, 28.
* *Deut.* 4.

Tome I.

† Gods favours paſt the ſureſt pledges of his aſſiſtance in greateſt difficulties that could beſet them. To conclude, this people believed *Moſes*, for Gods teſtimony of him, we may not believe Gods Word without the Popes teſtimony of it. He muſt be to God as *Aaron* was to *Moſes*, his mouth, whereby he only ſpeaks diſtinctly or intelligibly to his people.

† Deut. 7. v. 17, 18, 19. If thou ſay in thine heart, Theſe nations are more than I, how can I caſt them out? Thou ſhalt not fear them, but remember what the Lord thy God did unto Pharaoh, and unto all Egypt, The great tentation which thine eyes ſaw, and the ſigns and wonders, and the mighty hand, and ſtretched out arm, whereby the Lord thy God brought thee out: ſo ſhall the Lord thy God do unto all the people, whoſe face thou feareſt.

CHAP. XVII.

That the Churches Authority was no part of the Rule of Faith unto the people after Moſes *death; That by Experiments anſwerable to his Precepts and Predictions, the faithful without relying upon the Prieſts infallible Propoſals, were as certain, both of the Divine truth, and true meaning of the Law, as their fore-fathers had been that lived with* Moſes, *and ſaw his miracles.*

1. TO proceed unto the ages following *Moſes*; How did they know *Moſes* Law, either indeed to be Gods Word, or the true ſenſe and meaning of it, being indefinitely known for ſuch? By tradition? Yes, By tradition only? No, But how at all by tradition? As by a joynt part of that rule, on which they were finally to relie? Rather it was a mean to bring them unto the due conſideration, or right application of the written rule, which *Moſes* had left them. So hard were their hearts with whom this great Law-giver had firſt to deal, that faith could not take root in them, unleſs firſt wrought and ſubacted by extraordinary ſigns and wonders: but once thus created in them, the incorruptible ſeed thereof might by means ordinary, eaſily be propagated unto poſterity, with whom it was to grow up and ripen, not by bare credence to their Anceſtors traditions, nor by ſuch miraculous ſights as they had ſeen; but by aſſiduous and ſerious obſervation of Gods providence in their own times. For all his ways, to ſuch as mark them, are ever parallel to ſome one or other rule contained in thir book of life. The Iſraelites in every age might have diſcerned the truth of his threats or promiſes, always fulfilled according to the diverſity of their ways, though thus much the beſt amongſt them would ſeldom have obſerved, perhaps not ſo much as once have compared their courſe of life, with either part of Gods covenant of life and death, unleſs thus forewarned by their Anceſtors. The tradition then of former was of like uſe, for begetting true belief in latter generations, as the exhortations of Tutors, who have already taſted the ſweet of *Helicon*, are unto their Pupils for attaining true knowledge in good Arts, of whoſe pleaſantneſs they never conceive aright, until they taſte it in themſelves, though taſte it, but upon the others commendation,

How far the Traditions, Exhortations, or Inſtructions of Parents did ſteed their children for eſtabliſhing of Faith.

commendation, they would not, without their direction, (ordinarily) they could not.

* Deut. 11. 2. 2. This Method *Moſes* himſelf preſcribes; * *Conſider this day, for I ſpeak not unto your children, which neither have known nor ſeen the chaſtiſement of the Lord your God, his greatneſs, his mighty hand, and his ſtretched-out arm, and his ſigns, and his acts which he did in the midſt of Egypt, unto Pharaoh the King of Egypt, and all his land.* Verſ. 7. *For your eyes have ſeen all the great acts of the Lord which he did. Therefore ſhall ye keep all the commandments which I command you this day, that ye may be ſtrong, and go in and poſſeſs the land whither ye go to poſſeſs it.* Gods wonders paſt they were to conſider, to what end? † Verſ. 18. That they might lay up their Law-givers words † *in their hearts, and in their ſouls, bind them as remembrances upon their hands, that they might be as frontlets between their eyes*, or ſights whereby to level their ſteps, leſt they trode awry. Gods Word ſo rooted in the fathers, as thus to fructifie in their carriage, geſture, ſpeech, and action, the ſeed of it was to be ſown in the tender and ſupple hearts of children, * Verſ. 19. as *Moſes* in the next words adds; * *And ye ſhall teach them your children, ſpeaking of them when thou ſitteſt in thine houſe, and when thou walkeſt by the way, and when thou lyeſt down, and when thou riſeſt up. And thou ſhalt write them upon the poſts of thine houſe, and upon thy gates.* Thus was Gods Covenant with his people, firſt, briefly drawn in ſigns and wonders, and uttered by a mighty voyce in Mount *Horeb*, as it had been a *Demiſe Parol*; afterwards, conceived in more ample ſort, and written in more ſpecial terms by *Moſes*, but was to be ſealed to every generation, by their ſure experience of Gods mercy and juſtice; the one, infallibly accompliſhing their proſperity for obeying; the other, their calamities for tranſgreſ- Deut. 11. 22. ſing it, as in the ſame place followeth. † *For if ye keep diligently all theſe commandments which I command you to do* (*that is*) *to love the Lord your God, to walk in all his ways, and to cleave unto him; then will the Lord caſt out all theſe nations before you, and ye ſhall poſſeſs great nations mightier than you. All the places whereon the ſoles of your feet ſhall tread, ſhall be yours; your coaſt ſhall be from the wilderneſs, and from Lebanon, and from the river, even the river Perah, unto the uttermoſt Sea. No man ſhall ſtand againſt you, for the Lord ſhall caſt the fear of you upon all the land that ye ſhall tread upon, as he hath ſaid unto you.*

3. Every light or formal obſervation of this Covenant ſufficeth not to avert Gods threats, or make them capable of thoſe bounteous promiſes, which he never failed to fulfil, as long as in heart and deed they uſed *Moſes* writings for their rule, not weigh- † Pſal. 78. Ver. 34, 35. ing the fooliſh traditions of the Elders; † *When he ſlew them* (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) *they ſought him, and they returned and ſought God early. And they remembred that God was their ſtrength, and the moſt high God their redeemer. Proportionally to their repentance* (but far above, or rather without all proportion of deſerts) did the Lord deal with them. For, as *their hearts* (though in ſome ſort turned unto him) *were not upright with him, neither were they faithful in his covenant: ſo he being merciful, thus far forgave their iniquity, that he deſtroyed them not, but oft-times called back his anger, and ſuffered not his whole diſpleaſure to ariſe.*

4. The whole Hiſtorical part of the Old Teſtament, until *Davids* time, (Epitomized by this Pſalmiſt) witneſſeth what way ſoever this people went, either the bleſſing or the curſe which *Moſes* there ſets before them, did always ſurely meet them: † *Behold, I ſet before you this day a bleſſing and a curſe; the bleſſing, if ye obey the commandments of the Lord your God, which I command you this day; and the curſe, if ye will not obey the commandments of the Lord your God, but turn out of the way which I command you this day, to go after other gods which ye have not known.* In theſe terms of bleſſings and curſings, he enſtiles the former disjunctive Covenant: *If ye ſhall hearken therefore to my commandments which I ſhall command you this day, that you love the Lord your God, and ſerve him with all your heart, and with all your ſoul, I alſo will give rain unto your land in due time, the firſt rain and the latter, that thou mayſt gather in thy wheat, and thy wine, and thine oyl. Alſo I will ſend graſs in thy fields for thy cattel, that thou mayſt eat, and have enough. But beware leſt your heart deceive you, and leſt ye turn aſide and ſerve other gods, and worſhip them, and ſo the anger of the Lord be kindled againſt you, and he ſhut up the heaven, that there be no rain, and that your land yield not her fruit, and ye periſh quickly from the good land which the Lord giveth you.* To ſtir them up to more ſtrict obſervance of the former Covenant, the bleſſings and curſings here mentioned, were to be pronounced with great ſolemnity at their firſt entrance into the Land of *Canaan, When the Lord thy God therefore hath brought thee into the Land whither thou goeſt to poſſeſs it, then ſhalt thou put the bleſſing upon Mount Gerizim, and the curſe upon Mount Ebal.* And elſewhere *Moſes* chargeth the people, ſaying, † *Theſe* (all ſons of the free-woman) *ſhall ſtand upon Mount Gerizim to bleſs the people when ye paſs over Jordan,* Simeon, *and* Levi, *and* Judah, *and* Iſſachar, *and* Joſeph, *and* Benjamin, *and theſe* (ſons of the bond-woman) *ſhall ſtand upon Mount Ebal to curſe,* Reuben, Gad, *and* Aſher, *and* Zebulon, Dan, *and* Nephtali, *and the Levites ſhall anſwer and ſay unto all the men of Iſrael, with a loud voice, Curſed, &c.* Nor was this rehearſal more ſtrictly enjoined by *Moſes*, than faithfully performed by *Joſhuah: And all Iſrael and their Elders, and Officers, and their Judges, ſtood on this ſide of the Ark, and on that ſide, before the Prieſts of the Levites, which bear the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord, as well the ſtranger, as he that is born in the Country, half of them were over againſt Mount Gerizim, and half of them over againſt Mount Ebal, as* Moſes *the ſervant of the Lord had commanded before that they ſhould bleſs the children of Iſrael. Then afterward he read all the words of the Law, the bleſſings and curſings, according to all that is written in the book of the Law. There was not a word of all that* Moſes *had commanded, that* Joſhuah *read not before all the Congregation of Iſrael, as well before the women and children, as the ſtranger that was converſant among them.* The like ſolemnity was to be continued every ſeventh year, as *Moſes* commanded them, ſaying, *Every ſeventh year, when the year of freedom ſhall be in the feaſt of Tabernacles, when all Iſrael ſhall come to appear before the Lord thy God in the place which he ſhall chuſe, thou ſhalt read this Law before all Iſrael, that they may hear it. Gather the people together, men, and women, and children, and thy ſtranger that is within thy gates, that they may hear, and that they may learn, and fear the Lord your God, and keep and obſerve all the words of this Law, and that their children which have not known it may hear it, and learn to fear the Lord your God, as long as ye live in the land whither ye go over Jordan to poſſeſs it.*

† *Deut.*11.26.

*Deut.*11.*v.*13.

*Deut.*11.*v.*29.

† *Deut.*27.*v.* 11,12,13,14.

Joſhuah 8. *v.* 33,34,35.

Deut. 31. 10, 11, 12, 13.

* *The Iſraelites care to inſtruct their Children in the Precepts of the Law, neceſſary unto Chriſtians, ſeeing Faith ſeldom grows without miracles, unleſs planted in tender years.*

5. * Children were to be inſtructed, firſt privately, then publickly; that the ſolemnity of the ſpectacle might work in them a modeſt fear and reverence, without whoſe precedent impreſſion true Faith hardly finds entrance into the heart of man. *And without Miracles it ſeldom takes, but where the ſeeds of it have been ſowen in tender years; nor doth it uſually ſink into younger breaſts, unleſs ſucked in with admiration.* All that *Moſes*, all that *Joſhuah*, all that Prieſts and Levites, all that Parents or other Inſtructers, private or publick, could do to ſuch, all they aimed at, was to propoſe the infallible Word in ſuch ſort, as might ſtir up their hearts to receive it with attention and admiration, and afterwards to make ſure trial of it (always ſufficient to prove it ſelf) by their practice. *No Inſtructer in that people, ever taught his Hearers, either finally or jointly, to relie upon the infallibility of his Propoſals.*

6. But the Jeſuites heart, though his mouth will not utter it, thus indicts: Did all this ſtir theſe *Scripturians* would ſeem to make, or tatling Parents daily invitation of their Children to ſtrict obſervance of this Rule, take ſuch effect as *Moſes* dreamed of in poſterity? No. But the reaſon why it did not, was becauſe they ſought not in time to ſupply the defect or rarity of Miracles in latter, with more frequent and ſolemn memorial of ſuch as had happened in former Ages; or with more abundant meditation upon their written Law, and diligent obſervation of their ordinary ſucceſs, always correſpondent thereunto. *Deut. 4.9. &c.* *Take heed to thy ſelf*, ſaith *Moſes*, *and keep thy ſoul diligently, that thou forget not the things thine eyes have ſeen, and that they depart not out of thine heart all the days of thy life, but teach them thy ſons, and thy ſons ſons. Forget not the day that thou ſtoodeſt before the Lord thy God in Horeb, when the Lord ſaid unto me, Gather me the people together, and I will cauſe them to hear my words, that they may learn to fear me all the days that they ſhall live upon the earth, and that they may teach their children.* The neceſſity of this, and like premonitions, was too well manifeſted by the event. *Judg. 2. v. 7, 8.* *The people* (ſaith another Pen-man of the ſacred Canon) *had ſerved the Lord all the days of* Joſhuah, *and all the days of the Elders that out-lived* Joſhuah, *which had ſeen all the great works of the Lord that he did for Iſrael.* Not the avouchment or preſence of infallible Teachers, but their ſure experience of Gods power and mercy, did more ſurely faſten this peoples aſſent unto the truth of that which *Moſes* had left written, than *Moſes* live-perſonal propoſal could do their Fathers, to his words uttered in their audience. *Judg. 2. ver. 10, 11.* *But after that generation* (with whom *Joſhuah* had converſed) *was gathered unto their fathers, and another generation aroſe after them, which neither knew the Lord, nor yet the works he had done for Iſrael, then the children of Iſrael did wickedly in the ſight of the Lord, and ſerved Baal.* *Verſe 15, 16.* Whence it came to paſs, *that whitherſoever they went out, the hand of the Lord was ſore againſt them, as the Lord had ſaid, and as the Lord had ſworn unto them, ſo he puniſhed them ſore.* Notwithſtanding, *the Lord raiſed up Judges which delivered them out of the hands of their oppreſſors:* *Verſe 19.* *yet when the Judge was dead, they returned, and did worſe than their fathers, in following other gods, to ſerve them, and worſhip them, they ceaſed not from their own inventions, nor from their rebellious way.* What Rule then was left to reclaim them? the infallible propoſals of their Prieſts? Though theſe, or an Angel from Heaven ſhould have propoſed any other Doctrine, than what was con-

ſonant to their written Law, (whoſe true meaning in this reſpect, every one of them ſhould have known) *Moſes* curſe before mentioned had overtaken them following it. So much were they addicted unto *Baals* Prieſts propoſals, that Angels could ſcarcely be heard, though ſuggeſting nothing but what their Law-giver had taught, though aſſuring them by their preſence of ſuch aſſiſtance from their mighty God as he had promiſed. Thus when the General of theſe Heavenly Souldiers ſought to encourage *Gideon*, *The Lord is with thee, thou valiant man:* He replies, *Ah, my Lord, if the Lord be with us, why then is all this come upon us, and where be all his miracles which our fathers told us of, and ſaid, Did not the Lord bring us out of Egypt? But now the Lord hath forſaken us, and delivered us into the hand of the Midianites.* As if he had ſaid, I will not deny but the Lord hath done of old, as our fathers have declared unto us; *Moſes* ſtory I diſtruſt not, but am ſure he hath dealt far otherwiſe with us.

Judg.6.v.13. *Of Gideons diſtruſt, and the means how his Faith was eſtabliſhed.*

7. But doth this defect of faith in him, convince the Law of imperfection? rather the object of his diſtruſt might have taught him to have believed the perfection of *Moſes* Law, which had ſo often forewarned them of ſuch oppreſſion by their enemies, when they forſook the God of their fathers. Theſe forewarnings had *Gideon* believed aright, he had not diſtruſted the Angels Exhortation. What was the reaſon then of his miſ-believing, or rather overſeeing that part of the Law? Not ignorance of Gods Word in general; for the miracles related by *Moſes* he had in perfect memory. What then? want of ſufficient Authority to propoſe unto him theſe particular Revelations, or their true meaning? This is all the Romaniſt can pretend. Yet what greater Authority could he require, than that Angel had which ſpake unto *Gideon*? Our Apoſtle ſuppoſeth any Angels propoſal of Divine Doctrines, to be at the leaſt equivalent to Apoſtolical, *Though we*, ſaith he, (whether *Paul* or *Cephas*) *or* (which he ſuppoſeth to be more) *an Angel from Heaven preach unto you otherwiſe, than we have preached unto you, let him be accurſed.* Or, if we reſpect not only the perſonal Authority of the propoſer, but with it the manner of propoſing Gods Word: What propoſal can we imagine more effectual than this great Angel of the Covenants reply unto *Gideons* diſtruſtful anſwer: [*And the Lord looked upon him, and ſaid, Go in this thy might, and thou ſhalt ſave Iſrael out of the hands of the Midianites: have I not ſent thee?*]

Gal.1.8.

Judg.6.14.

8. Whether *Gideons* diffidence after all this were a ſin, I leave it to be diſputed by the Jeſuites. A defect or dulneſs, no doubt it was, and only in reſpect of the like in us, they hold a neceſſity of the viſible Churches infallibility: unto whoſe ſentence whoſoever fully accords not, is by their poſitions uncapable of all other infallible means of Divine Faith. To pretend doubt or diſtruſt of Gods Word once propoſed by it, yea, to ſeek further ſatisfaction or reſolution of doubts than it ſhall vouchſafe to give, is more than a ſin, extream impiety. Yet had this great Angel ſtood upon his Authority in ſuch peremptory terms, *Gideon* had died in his diſtruſt. For after a ſecond reply made by *Gideon*, [*Ah, my Lord, whereby ſhall I ſave Iſrael? Behold, my family is poor in Manaſſeh, and I am the leaſt in my fathers houſe*;] and a further promiſe of the Angels aſſiſtance

Judg.6. v.15.

not like the former, [*Have I not ſent thee?*] but [*I will therefore be with thee, and thou ſhalt ſmite the Midianites as one man,*] he yet prefers this petition, *I pray thee if I have found favour in thy ſight, then ſhew me a ſign that thou talkeſt with me: Depart not hence, I pray thee, until I come unto thee, and bring mine offering, and lay it before thee.* After he had by more evident Documents fully perceived it was an Angel of the Lord that had parlied with him all this time, erecting his dejected heart with theſe comfortable words, *Peace be with thee, fear not, thou ſhalt not die*; He yet demands two other ſigns before he adventures upon the Angels word. But after it is once confirmed unto him by experience of his power, in keeping his fleece dry in the middle of moiſture, and moiſtning it where was nothing but drineſs about it; he is more confident upon a Souldiers dream, than a Jeſuite in like caſe would be upon the Popes ſentence or bleſſing given *ex Cathedra.* * *When Gideon heard the dream told, and the interpretation of the ſame, he worſhipped and returned to the hoſt of Iſrael, and ſaid, Up, for the Lord hath delivered into your hand the hoſt of* Midian.

* *Judg.*7.15.

9. Nor he, nor his people could at any time have wanted like aſſurance of Gods might and deliverances, had they according to the rule which *Moſes* ſet them, turned unto him with all their heart, and with all their ſoul; but as far were they as the Papiſts from admitting his words for their rule of faith. The unwritten Traditions of *Baal* were (at the leaſt) of equal, or joint Authority with his writings, and in deed, and action, though not in word and profeſſion, preferred before them. Longer than their aſſent was (by ſuch miraculous victories as *Gideon* had now gotten over the *Midianites*) as it were tied and faſtned to the bleſſings and curſings of *Moſes* Law, this ſtiff-necked Generation did neither cleave to it, nor to their God; † *But when Gideon was dead, they turned away and went a whoring after Baalim, and made Baal-Berith their God, and and remembred not the Lord their God, which had delivered them out of the hands of all their enemies on every ſide.* Miracles after the Law given, were uſually either tokens of precedent unbelief, or for ſigns to unbelievers, ſerving eſpecially to put them in mind of what *Moſes* had foretold: the attentive conſideration of whoſe predictions, wrought greater faith and confidencie in ſuch as without Miracles laid this Law in their hearts, than this people conceived upon the freſh memory of *Gideons* extraordinary ſigns and glorious Victory.

† *Judg.*8.33.

10. * The like occaſions of ſuch diſtruſt as were obſerved in *Gideon*, were frequent in thoſe times, wherein the four and fourtieth Pſalm was written, yet the Author of it, is not ſo daunted with the oppreſſion of his people, as *Gideon* was. The manifeſtation of ſuch reproach, contempt, and ſcorn, as *Moſes* ſaid ſhould befal them, did always animate ſuch as indeed had uſed the Law as a perpetual rule to notifie the diverſity of all ſucceſs, good or bad, by the degrees of their declining from it, or approach unto it. *The greater calamities they ſuffered, the more undoubted experience they had of divine truth contained in Moſaical threats, the more undoubted their experience of their truth, upon conſciouſneſs of their own tranſgreſſions; the greater motives they had upon ſincere and hearty repentance, to apprehend the ſtability of his ſweeteſt promiſes for their good.* No depreſſion of this people, but ſerved as a counter-ſway to accelerate, intend, or enlarge

* *The peoples experience of ſuch calamities as* Moſes *threatned, was their ſureſt ground of ſuch joyful hopes as he had promiſed.*

enlarge the meaſure of their wonted exaltation, ſo long as they rightly weighed all their actions and proceedings in *Moſes* balances, equalizing their permanent ſorrow for ſins paſt, unto their wonted delight in tranſient pleaſures.

11. Thus when *Jeremy* more admired than diſtruſted Gods mercies, in tendering the purchaſe of his Kinſmans field to him, cloſe priſoner, for denouncing the whole deſolation of his Countrey, when the Kings and Princes of *Judah* had no aſſurance of ſo much poſſeſſion in the promiſed Land, as to inherit the ſepulchres of their fathers: the Lord expels not his ſuſpenſive rather than diffident admiration, with ſigns and wonders, as he had done *Gideons* doubt, or his ſtiff-necked fore-fathers diſtruſt. By what means then? by the preſent calamities which had ſeized upon the Cities of *Judah*, and that very place wherein his late purchaſed Inheritance lay. When he caſt theſe, and the like doubts in his mind: * *Behold the Mounts, they are come into the City to take it, and the City is given into the hand of the Caldeans that fight againſt it, by means of the ſword, and of the famine, and of the peſtilence, and what thou haſt ſpoken is come to paſs, and behold thou ſeeſt it: And thou haſt ſaid unto me, O Lord God, Buy unto thee the field for ſilver, and take witneſſes: for the City ſhall be given into the hand of the Caldeans. Then came the word of the Lord unto* Jeremiah, *ſaying, Behold, I am the Lord God of all fleſh, is there any thing too hard for me?* The Lord had † ſtricken *Jacob* with the wound of an enemy, and with a ſharp chaſtiſement, for the multitude of his iniquities, wherefore he *cried for his affliction*, and *ſaid, My ſorrow is incurable*, not conſidering who it was had done all this unto him: for, *becauſe the Lord had killed, they muſt believe he would make alive again. Their preſent wounds inflicted contrary to the rules of politick defence, were the beſt pledges of their future health, beyond all hope of State-Chirurgions.* And this is the very Seal of *Jeremiahs* aſſurance, from the Lords own mouth: *Thus ſaith the Lord, Like as I have brought all this great plague upon this people; ſo will I bring upon them all the good I have promiſed them. And the fields ſhall be poſſeſſed in this land, whereof ye ſay, It is deſolate without man or beaſt, and ſhall be given into the hand of the Caldeans. Men ſhall buy fields for ſilver, and make writings, and ſeal them, and take witneſſes in the land of Benjamin, and round about Jeruſalem.* So abſolute and all-ſufficient was *Moſes* his Law in particular actions, much more in general or Doctrinal reſolutions, that God himſelf, for confirmation of his Prophets, and this diſtruſtful peoples faith, in a point by humane eſtimate moſt incredible, thought it ſufficient to be a Remembrancer to the Lawgiver. For the Lord here ſaith to *Jeremiah*, concerning this particular; *Moſes* many Generations before had univerſally foretold: * *Now when all theſe things ſhall come upon thee, either the bleſſing or the curſe which I have ſet before thee, and thou ſhalt turn into thine heart among all the Nations whither the Lord thy God hath driven thee: then the Lord thy God will cauſe thy Captives to return, and have compaſſion upon thee, and will return to gather thee out of all the people where the Lord thy God had ſcattered thee. Though thou waſt caſt unto the uttermoſt part of Heaven; from thence will the Lord thy God gather thee, and from thence will he take thee. And the Lord thy God will bring thee into the land which thy fathers poſſeſſed, and thou ſhalt poſſeſs it, and he will ſhew thee favour, and will multiply thee above thy fathers.* By this rule of

* *Jer.* 32. 24, 25, &c.

† *Jer.* 30. 13, 14

Jer. 32. 42, 43, &c.

* *Deut.* 30. 1.

Nehem. 1. 7.

Moſes, according to the prediction of *Jeremiah*, doth *Nehemiah* afterwards frame his prayers to God, and direct his enterpriſe for reſtauration of *Jeruſalem*: *We have grievouſly ſinned againſt thee, and have not kept the commandments, nor the ſtatutes, nor the judgments which thou commandedſt thy ſervant* Moſes; *I beſeech thee remember the word that thou commandedſt thy ſervant* Moſes, *ſaying, Ye will tranſgreſs, and I will ſcatter you abroad among the people. But if ye turn unto me, and keep my commandments, and do them, though your ſcattering were to the uttermoſt part of the Heaven, yet will I gather you from thence, and will bring you unto the place that I have choſen, to place my Name there. Now theſe are thy ſervants, and thy people,* &c. *O Lord I beſeech thee, let thine ear now hearken to the prayer of thy ſervants, who deſire to fear thy Name; and I pray thee cauſe thy ſervant to proſper this day, and give him favour in the preſence of this man.* He ſaw the truth of *Moſes* divine prediction confirmed by the Kings preſent grant of his petition, and ſpeedy reſtauration of *Jeruſalem*, † albeit a Prophet by profeſſion, had diſſwaded the enterpriſe, as likely to prove dangerous to his perſon.

† Nehem. 6. 10, 11.

CHAP. XVIII.

That the Society or viſible Company of Prophets had no ſuch abſolute Authority as the Romiſh Church uſurps.

That the company of Prophets had as great priviledge as any juſtly can challenge.

1. Did the Records of Antiquity afford us any the leaſt preſumption to think, that abſolute belief or obedience might ſafely be tendered by inferiours, as due to any viſible company of men, without examination of their propoſals by *Moſes* writings, ſince they were extant: the ſociety of Prophets, in all reſpects the Romaniſts can pretend, had the moſt probable title to this prerogative. Their *profeſſion* or calling was *publick* and lawful; their *diſtinction* from all others, *eminent*; their *perſons and places of reſidence, viſible and known*; their *promiſes*, for enjoying the extraordinary preſence or illuminations of Gods Spirit, *peculiar*: *many of them, venerable for their integrity* in civil dealings, and ſanctity of private life; *ſome* of them *endued with the gift of miracles*: In all theſe, and many like conſiderations, that fraternity or collegiate ſociety, might juſtly have pleaded all the priviledges a publick ſpirit can grant to one ſort of men before others. For, if the more or leſs expreſs teſtimony of Gods Word for extraordinary aſſiſtance of his Spirit, or the different meaſure of his illumination, or manner of immediate teaching be that which makes ſome mens ſpirit more publick than their brethrens: this difference was greater between the Prieſts or Prophets, and people of old, than ſince God ſpake unto the world by his Son; yet what Prophet did once intimate the neceſſity of his propoſal for notifying the truth of Scriptures? What one did ever bewray the leaſt deſire to have his interpretations of them, univerſally held authentick? or his particular predictions, abſolutely aſſented unto, without further trial than his bare Aſſertion, without examination of them by *Moſes* Doctrine already eſtabliſhed?

That the people were not bound to believe what a major part of Prophets determined without Examination.

2. Had they been the infallible Church repreſentative, had their Aſſertions; though given by joint conſent *ex Cathedra*, or in the moſt ſolemn manner uſed in thoſe times, been of ſuch Authority as the Romaniſt would perſwade us, a Council of their Prelates, lawfully aſſembled, is, Gods people had ſtood bound to imbrace whatſoever a *major* part of that profeſſion had reſolved upon: but this inference, though neceſſarily following the ſuppoſed premiſes, the Jeſuite, I know, dare not affirm, leſt *Ahabs* bloud, untimely ſhed by confidence in their infallibility, cry out againſt him. Yet [a] *Bellarmine* too well knowing the liquoriſh temper of this preſent Age, (for the moſt part acquainted with none but Table-talk Divinity) to be ſuch as will ſwallow down any Doctrine, be it never ſo idle, profane, or poiſonous, ſo it be ſauced with pleaſant conceit and merriment, would put us off with this jeſt; *That as in* Saxony, *one Catholicks verdict were to be taken before four hundred Lutherans: ſo ſhould one of the Lords Prophets have been followed in thoſe times, before five hundred of* Baals. And *Ahab* no doubt had ſo done, had not the Devil taught his Divines then, as he hath done *Bellarmine* and his fellows ſince, to take Univerſality as a ſure Note of the Church; Traditions, and Cuſtoms of the Elders, for the Rule of Faith, and (which is the undoubted concluſion of ſuch premiſes) to follow a multitude to any miſchief. So mightily did the opinion of a *major* part, being all men of the ſame profeſſion, ſway with the ſuperſtitious people of thoſe times, that [b] *Ahabs* Purſevant conceived hope of ſeducing *Micaiah* whilſt they were on the way together, by intimating ſuch cenſures of Schiſm, of Hereſie, of peeviſhneſs, or privacy of ſpirit, as the falſe Catholick beſtows on us, likely to befal him, if he ſhould vary from the reſt. The beſt anſwer (I think) a Roman Catechiſm could afford, would be to repeat the concluſion which *Bellarmine* would have maintained, [*All the reſt beſides were* Baals *Prophets*.] They were indeed in ſuch a ſence as Jeſuites and all Seducers are: but [c] *not by publick profeſſion or ſolemn ſubſcription to his rites*, as may *partly* appear by *Jehoſaphats* continuing his reſolution to go up to battel againſt *Micaiahs* counſel, which queſtionleſs he would rather have died at home, than done, had he known *Micaiah* only to have belonged unto the Lord, and all his Adverſaries unto *Baal*; *partly*, by that reverent conceit which even the chief of theſe Seducers entertained at that time of *Elias*, whoſe utter diſgrace *Baals* ſervants would by all means have ſought, for his late deſigns acted upon their fellows: Yet as [d] *Joſephus* records, the chief Argument uſed by *Zidkiah* to diminiſh *Micaiahs* credit with both Kings, was an appearance of contradiction betwixt his and *Eliahs* prediction of *Ahabs* death, the accompliſhment of both being apprehended as impoſſible, leſs credit (as he urged) was to be given to *Micaiah*, becauſe ſo impudent as openly to contradict ſo great a Pro-

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[a] *De Eccleſ. milit l. c.* 7. Ad primum dico illos 400 prophetas manifeſte fuiſſe Pſeudo-prophetas, neque id ignoraſſe vel ipſum Achab, qui eos conſulebat. Nam ibidem cum diceret rex Jehoſaphat: non eſt hic aliquis Propheta Domini per quem interrogemus Dominum? Reſpondet Achab; Remanſit unus, ſed ego odi eum, quia non prophetat mihi niſi malum. Certe ſi quis nunc in media Saxonia conſuleret 400 Miniſtros Lutheranos de fide juſtificante, & poſtea unum Catholicum, non eſſet mirum, ſi major pars erraret. Et ſicut nunc non ſequitur, totam Eccleſiam errare, etiam ſi errarent 400 Miniſtri Lutherani, quia præter Saxoniam & vicina quædam loca, ſunt alia multa, ubi vera fides prædicatur, ita non ſequitur, omnes Doctores Judæorum tempore Achab erraſſe, etiamſi erraverint 400 Prophetæ, qui in Samaria erant. Nam præter eos Prophetas erant in Judæa multi alii Prophetæ, & (quod potiſſimum eſt) erant Sacerdotes in Jeruſalem. quibus ex officio incumbebat reſpondere ad conſulta de lege Domini.

[b] 1 *Kings* 22. 13.

[c] Ahabs *falſe Prophets were not profeſſed ſervers of* Baal.

[d] *Antiq. l.* 8. *c.* 10. Interea Sedecias quidam unus è Pſeudo-Prophetis in medium progreditur, negans curandum quid Michæus garriat, nihil enim veri eum prædicere, argumento eſſe prædictionem *Eliæ*, qui ſine dubio melius quam iſte futura cerneret. Illum enim prædixiſſe apud Jezraelem in Nabuthi ſuburbano lambendum à canibus regis ſanguinem, quemadmodum lambuiſſent cruorem Nabuthi opera ipſius lapidati à populo. Perſpicuum igitur eſſe eum mentiri, qui longè præſtantiori Prophetæ non vereatur contrarium dicere, quòd periturus ſit rex abhinc die tertia, &c.

phet of the Lord as *Elias*, at whoſe threatnings *Ahab* King of *Iſrael* trembled, humbling himſelf with faſting, cloathed in ſackcloth. And is it likely he would ſo ſhortly after entertain the profeſſed ſervants of *Baal* for his Councellors? Yet ſeeing the event hath openly condemned them for ſeducers, and none are left to plead their cauſe: it is an eaſie matter for the Jeſuite or others to ſay, they were *Baals* Prophets by profeſſion. But were not moſt Prieſts and Prophets in *Judah* and *Benjamine* uſually ſuch? Yes, and (as afterward ſhall appear) did band as ſtrongly with as joint conſent againſt *Jeremy* and *Ezechiel*, as theſe did againſt *Micaiah*. The point wherein we deſire reſolution, is, by what Rule of Romiſh Catholick Divinity, truth in thoſe times might have been diſcerned from falſhood, before Gods judgments did light upon the City and Temple. He is more blind than the blindeſt Jew that ever breathed, who cannot ſee how ſuch as profeſſed themſelves Prieſts and Prophets of the Lord, as well in *Judah* as in *Iſrael*, did bewitch the people with the ſelf ſame ſpells the Papiſt boaſts of to this day, as the beſt prop of his Catholick Faith. Yet ſuch is the hypocriſie of theſe proud Phariſees, that they can ſay in their hearts, *Oh had we lived in the days of* Jezabel, *we would not have been her inquiſitors againſt ſuch Prophets as* Elias *and* Micaiah *were:* When as in truth *Jezabels impiety towards them, was clemency in reſpect of Romiſh cruelty againſt Gods Saints, her witchcrafts but as venial ſins, if we compare them with Jeſuitical ſorceries.* But of this errour more directly in the Chapter following; of their ſorceries and impieties hereafter.

3. Unto our former demand, [Whether the ſociety of Prophets were the Church repreſentative, whether the people were bound without examination to believe whatſoever was by a *major* part, or ſuch of that profeſſion as were in higheſt or moſt publick place, determined,] what anſwer a learned Papiſt would give, I cannot tell. Than this following, better cannot be imagined on their behalf, [That this ſupreme Authority which they contend for, was in the true Prophets only; that they, albeit inſpired with divine Illuminations, and endued with ſuch Authority as the Jeſuite makes the Popes *humana divinitas inſpirata*, did notwithſtanding permit their Declarations, for the hardneſs of this peoples heart to be tried by the event, or examined by the Law, not that they wanted lawful power (would they have ſtood upon their Authority) to exact belief without delay; ſeeing readineſs to believe the truth propoſed, is always commended in the ſacred Story.] And no doubt, but the people did well in admitting the true Prophets Doctrine, before the falſe, at the firſt propoſal; the ſooner the better. But were they therefore to believe the true Prophets abſolutely without examination? Why ſhould they then believe one of that profeſſion before another, ſeeing Seducers could propoſe their conceits with as great ſpeed and peremptorineſs as the beſt? Nor did Reaſon only diſſwade, but the * Law of God alſo expreſly forbid that people, always, and in all cauſes to truſt ſuch, as upon trial had been found to divine aright of ſtrange events. Yet grant we muſt, that hardneſs of heart made this people more backward than otherwiſe they would have been to believe truths propoſed; that oft-times they required ſigns from their Prophet, when obedience was inſtantly due from them to him; that oft-times they ſinned in

* Deut. 13. 1.

not aſſenting immediately, without interpoſition of time for trial, or reſpite to reſolve upon what terms belief might be tendered. Thus much we may grant with this limitation; [if we conſider them abſolutely, or ſo well diſpoſed as they ſhould, and might have been, not as the Prophets found them.] For in men inwardly ill affected or unqualified for true faith, credulity comes nearer the nature of vice than virtue, a diſpoſition of diſloyalty, a degree of hereſie or infidelity, rather than a preparation to ſincere obedience, or any ſure foundation of true and lively faith. Aſſent perchance men ſo affected may more readily than others would unto ſundry Divine truths; yet not truly, not as they are Divine and conſonant to the rule of goodneſs, but by *accident*, in as much as they in part conſort with ſome one or other of their affections. And the more forward men are upon ſuch grounds, to believe ſome generalities of Chriſtian duties; the more prone they prove, when opportunity temps them, to oppugn others more principal, and more ſpecially concerning their ſalvation. *For credulity, if it ſpring not out of an honeſt diſpoſition uniformly inclining unto goodneſs, as Such: but from ſome unbridled humor, or predominant natural affection: will always ſway more unto ſome miſchief, than unto any thing that is good.* * *Many believed in Jeſus* (ſaith S. *John*) *when they ſaw his miracles.* It pleaſed them well he had turned water into wine. That he had given other proofs of his power, in driving buyers and ſellers out of the Temple, did miniſter hope unto proud hearts, he might prove ſuch a Meſſias as they expected; as elſewhere upon the like occaſion they ſaid, † *This is of a truth the Prophet that ſhould come into the world.* The ground of this their aptneſs to believe thus much, (as is intimated in the words following) was their inordinate deſire of having an earthly King, that might rule the Nation with an iron rod. * *when Jeſus therefore percieved*, by their forwardneſs to profeſs the former truth, that *they would come and take him to make him a King, he departed again into a mountain himſelf alone*; for the ſame cauſe no doubt, which the Evangeliſt ſpecifies in the former place; † *But Jeſus did not commit himſelf unto them, becauſe he knew them all, and had no need that any ſhould teſtifie of man.* He knew ſuch as upon theſe glimpſes of his glory were preſently ſo ſtifly ſet to believe in him, upon hopes of being fed with dainties, or mighty protection againſt the Heathen; would be as violently bent againſt him, even to crucifie him for a Seducer, after they had diſcovered his conſtant endeavours to bring them both by life and doctrine unto conformity with his croſs, mortification, humility, contempt of the world, patience in affliction, with other like qualities deſpiſeable in the worlds eyes, yet main principles in his School, and elementary grounds of ſalvation; ſo his Countreymen of *Nazareth* ſuddenly admiring the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth, after he begun to upbraid them with unthankfulneſs, as ſpeedily attempt to throw him headlong from the top of the hill, whereon their City was built. *By this it may appear, that of the Jewiſh people in ancient times, ſome did ſin in being backward: others, in an immature forwardneſs to believe Prophetical doctrines.* But the fountains or firſt heads whence theſe ſwift motions of life were depraved in the one, was inordinate affection, or intrinſick habitual corruption; the root whence ſuch deadneſs was derived into

In what caſes and perſons proneneſs to believe particular truths is commendable, in what or in whom ſuſpicious.

* *John* 2. 23.

† *John* 6. 14.

* *John* 6. 15.

† *John* 2. 24, 25.

Luke 4. 22, 28, 29.

the

† Bellarmin grants that he which doubts of the Popes abſolute authority, doth not amiſs to examine it, albeit he ſin in doubting of it. See the notes cap. 1. §. 10. & cap. 24. §. 3.

** John 5. 43, 44.*

the actions of the other, was hardneſs of heart, precedent neglect of Gods word, and ignorance of his ways thence enſuing. Which preſuppoſed, the parties ſo affected, did not † amiſs, in not believing the true Prophets without examination; but in not abandoning ſuch diſpoſitions, as diſinabled them for believing all parts of truth propoſed, with conſtancy, and uniformity, making them fit inſtruments to be wrought upon by Seducers. Hence ſaith our Saviour, * *I come in my fathers name, and ye receive me not: if another ſhall come in his own name, him will ye receive. How can ye believe which receive honour one of another, and ſeek not the honour that cometh of God alone*: Nor Prophetical, nor Apoſtolical, nor Meſſiacal, much leſs could Papal Authority make them believe the doctrine of life, intirely and ſincerely, whilſt their hearts were hardned; whoſe hardneſs though, might eaſily have been mollified, by laying *Moſes* Law unto them, while they were young and tender.

A rule for the right ſetling of our perſwaſions in divine matters, or ripening of true faith.

4. It is a rule as profitable for our own information in many points, as for refutation of the adverſary, that *The commendation of neceſſary means, is always included in the commendation of the end*; which how good or excellent ſoever it be, our deſires of it are prepoſterous, all earneſt endeavours to attain it, turbulent, unleſs firſt addreſſed with proportionable alacrity to follow the means that muſt produce it. Sober ſpirits always bound their hopes of accompliſhing the one, by perfect ſurvey of their intereſt in the other; as minds truly liberal, determine future expences, by exact calculation of their preſent revenues. Even in buſineſſes of greateſt importance, though requiring ſpeedieſt expedition, a wiſe man will moderate his pace according to the quality of the ground whereon he goes, otherwiſe the more haſte may cauſe worſe ſpeed. The Jews were, as we are, bound to believe truths propoſed without delay: but, both for this reaſon moſt ſtrictly bound to a continual uniformity of practiſing divine Precepts already known, without diſpenſing with this or that particular, though offenſive to our preſent diſpoſition; without indulgence to this or that ſpecial time, without all priviledge ſought from the pleaſure or diſpleaſure of men; Both bound, ſo to frame our lives and converſations, as to be inſtantly able to diſcern the truth propoſed, not by relying upon their authority that propoſe it, but for it ſelf, or from a full and lively, though a quick and ſpeedy apprehenſion of immediate homogeneal conſonancy between the external and the internal word. For if any part of Gods word truly dwell in us, though ſecret it may be and ſilent of it ſelf, yet will it Eccho in our hearts, whilſt the like reverberates in our ears from the live voyce of the Miniſtery. Thus, had the Jews hearts been truly ſet to *Moſes* Law, had their ſouls delighted in the practice of it as in their food, they had reſounded to the Prophets call, as a ſtring though untouched, and unable to begin motion of it ſelf, will yet raiſe it ſelf to an uniſon voyce, or as the fowls of Heaven, anſwer with like language to others of their own kind, that have better occaſion to begin the cry. In this ſenſe are Chriſts ſheep ſaid to hear his voyce, and follow him; not every one that can counterfeit his or his Prophets Call.

5. The iſſue of all that hath been ſaid, is, that none within the Precincts of theſe times, whereof we now treat, from the Law given, unto the Goſpel, were bound to believe Gods Meſſengers, without examination of their doctrine by the precedent written word. Only this difference there was; ſuch as had rightly framed their hearts to it, did make this trial of Prophetical doctrines, as it were by a preſent taſte, which others could not without interpoſition of time, to work an alteration in their diſtempered affections. For this reaſon do the Prophets always annex Moſaical Precepts of Repentance, to their Predictions of future events, as knowing that if their hearts to whom they ſpake, were turned to God, their ſight ſhould forthwith be reſtored clearly to diſcern the truth. For further manifeſtation of the ſame concluſion, it appears ſufficiently from ſundry diſcourſes in the former Book, that *Iſraels* incredulity unto their Prophets, was finally to be reſolved into their neglect, their imperfect, or partial obſervance of *Moſes* Precepts. Wherefore not the live voyce of them, whoſe words in themſelves were moſt infallible (and are by the approbation of time, with other conſpicuous documents of Gods peculiar Providence preſerving them in Divine eſtimation ſo long, become an undoubted rule of life unto us:) but the written word before, confirmed by ſigns and wonders, ſealed by the events of times preſent and precedent, was the infallible rule, whereby the prophetical admonitions of every age, were to be tried and examined.

Why the Prophets enjoyn repentance whilſt they foretel events to come.

6. The words of the beſt, while they ſpake them, were not of like authority, as now written they are unto us, nor were they admitted into the Canon, but upon juſt proof of their Divine Authority. That one ſpeech which *Eſay* uttered, was an Axiom ſo well known, as might bring all the reſt to be examined, before admiſſion; * *To the Law and to the Teſtimony, if they ſpeak not according to this word, it is becauſe there is no light in them.* For Gods Will already known and manifeſted to the peoples conſciences, was to overſway the contrary propoſals of known Prophets, though never ſo peremptory. Nor was it impoſſible for Prophets to avouch their own conceits under the name of Divine Revelations, more immediately ſent from God, than the Pope pretends: witneſs the † man of God, that went from *Judah* to *Bethel*, ſeduced by his fellow Prophets feigned Revelation from an Angel, counſelling him to divert into his houſe, contrary to the Lords commandment given before. The ones dealing was, I confeſs, moſt unuſual; ſo was the others death, yet a lively document to cauſe all, that ſhould hear of it until the worlds end, take heed of diſpenſing with the word of the Lord once made known unto themſelves, upon belief of more manifeſt Revelations or Inſtructions, by what means ſoever given to others, either for recalling or reſtraining it. Hence may the Reader deſcry, as well the height of our adverſaries folly, as the depth of their impiety, making their Churches Authority (which by their own acknowledgement cannot add more Books to the number of the Canon already finiſhed, but only judge which are Canonical, which not) far greater than theirs was, that did preach and write theſe very Books, which both we and they acknowledge for Canonical. For the Prophets words were no rule of faith, until examined and tried by the written word precedent, or approved by

* *Iſa.* 8. 20.

† 1 *King.* 13. 18.

the event; the Popes muſt be, without tryal, examination, or further approbation than his own bare aſſertion.

Chap. XIX.

That the Church Repreſentative amongſt the Jews was, for the moſt part, the moſt corrupt Judge of matters belonging to God: and the reaſons why it was ſo.

1. But was the neglect of *Moſes* Law, or this peoples inward corruption, abounding for want of reſtraint by it, the ſole cauſe of their dulneſs in perceiving, or of their errour in perverting the things of Gods Spirit? This overflow of wickedneſs ſerved as a tide to carry them: but the continual blaſts of ſuch vain doctrine, *Templum Domini*, *Templum Domini*, *The Church*, *the Church*, was like a boiſterous wind to drive them headlong into thoſe ſands, wherein they always made ſhipwrack of faith and conſcience. The true Prophets never had greater oppoſites than the Prieſts, and ſuch as the Papiſts would have to be the only pillars, yea the only material parts of the *Church repreſentative*. Notwithſtanding, whom the Fathers had traduced for Impoſtors or Sectaries, and oft-times murthered as Blaſphemers of the Deity, or turbulent members of the State; the Children reverenced as men of God, and Meſſengers of Peace unto the Church and Common-weal. What was the reaſon of this diverſity in their judgement? or doth it argue more ſtedfaſt Belief in poſterity? No, but more experience of the events, foretold oft-times, not fulfilled until the Prieſts, and other oppoſites, either coævals or ancients to the Prophets, were covered with confuſion. The childrens motives, to believe particulars oppugned by their Parents, were greater; and the impediments to withdraw their aſſent from them, leſs. That the children ſhould thus brook what their fathers moſt diſliked in the Prophets, is no more than we may obſerve, in other Writers. Few much reverenced in any faculty by poſterity, but had eager detractors in their flouriſhing days, *Vicinity always breeding Envy*. And even of ſuch, as did not æmulate them form their skill, nor would have been moved with envy at their fame or glory, they were not eſteemed as they deſerved, being defrauded of due praiſe by ſuch of the ſame profeſſion, as better pleaſed the *predominant Humour*, always next in election to the *laviſh Magnificats* of preſent times; but uſually rejected by poſterity, when that particular humour, (evermore ſhorter lived than the humorous) began to change. Thus in every Faculty, have thoſe Authors which moſt applied themſelves to ſolidity of truth, (neglecting new-fangle tricks or flaſhes of extemporary wit) endured in greateſt requeſt, and beſt Credit throughout all ages: as meats ſtrongeſt and moſt nouriſhing, not moſt delicate, are fitteſt for continual diet. What the Latin Poet ſaid of his Poems, every Prophet might have more truly applied unto his writings.

Poſterities good affection to the Prophets their fathers had killed, oft-times an argument rather of Hypocriſie than Sincerity.

Statius in fine 12. Thebaid.

Mox, tibi ſi quis adhuc pretendat nubila, livor
Occidet, & meriti poſt me referentur honores.

Though clouds of envy now may ſeem,
Thy ſplendent rays to choak:
Theſe with my aſhes ſhall diſſolve,
And vaniſh as their ſmoak.
What whilſt I breath ſharp cenſures blaſt,
When my leaf falls, ſhall ſpring,
Thy fame muſt flouriſh, as I fade;
Grave honour forth ſhall bring.

It was a method moſt compendious, for attainting ſuch eternity of fame, as the continual ſucceſſion of mortality can afford us, which is given by † another Poet, but in Proſe; *Dum vivas virtutem colas, invenies famam in Sepulchro*; *He that hunts after Vertue in his whole courſe of Life, ſhall be ſure to meet with Fame after Death*; but hardly ſooner: leaſt of all, could theſe Prophets be much honoured in their own Country, whilſt men of their own profeſſion, carnally minded, poſſeſſed the chief ſeats of dignity, ſometimes the beſt ſtay and pillars of faith in Gods Church, moſt capable of that infallibility, which their proud Succeſſors did more boaſt of. Yet were, even theſe Seducers always willing to celebrate the memory of ancient Prophets, becauſe the authority given to their ſayings, or reverence ſhewed unto their memory by the preſent people, over whom they ruled, did no way prejudice their own dignity or eſtimation, which rather encreaſed by thus conſorting with the multitude in their *Laudatoes* of Holy men deceaſed. Thus from one and the ſame inordinate deſire of honour and praiſe from men, did contrary effects uſually ſpring in theſe Maſters of *Iſrael*. The dead they reverenced, becauſe they ſaw that acceptable unto moſt, and likely to make way for their own praiſe amongſt the people: but fear leſt the living Prophets ſhould be their Corrivals in Suits of Glory, (whereunto their ſouls were wholly eſpouſed) did ſtill exaſperate and whet the malice of impatient minds, conſcious of their own infirmities, againſt their doctrine, which could not be embraced, but their eſtimation muſt be impaired, their affections croſſed, and their politick projects daſhed. The higher in dignity the Prieſts and Rulers were, the more it vexed them, ſuch poor men, as the true Prophets, for the moſt part, were, ſhould take upon them to direct the people. Their objections againſt thoſe men of God, their ſcurrilous taunts, and bitter ſcoffs, their odious imputations forged, to make way for bloody perſecutions, are moſt lively repreſented by the like practices of the Romiſh Clergy; continued almoſt as many years againſt the Albigeans, Huſſites, and generally againſt all whom they ſuſpect to have any familiarity with the Spirit (whoſe teſtimony againſt them, is as authentick as evident) only overborn through Gods permiſſion in the worlds ſight, by prejudice of privateneſs. Thus, when poor *Micaiah* would not ſay, as the King would have him, the Politick State-Prophet *Zidkiah*, ſon of *Chenaanah*, gave him a blow on the cheek, to beat an anſwer out to this demand; *When went the*

† Petrarch.

Why the Prieſts or ſpiritual Rulers hated the living Prophets whilſt they loved the memory of the deceaſed.

Spirit of the Lord from me to thee? As many a proud Prelate would in like caſe, reply upon his poor Brother, that ſhould croſs his opinion, ſpecially in a matter belonging, though but afar off, unto the State; *Sirrah, I am your better, know your place, before whom, and in what matter you ſpeak.* Nor did *Zidkiah* only, but four hundred more (no otherwiſe diſcernable for falſe Prophets than by ſuch trial as we contend for) *as if they would have bound the Almighty to have followed moſt voyces in beſtowing victory*, perſwade the King to go up againſt *Ramoth Gilead.* But my former aſſertion is fully ratified by *Micaiahs* reply to the others demand; *When went the*, &c. * Jer. 9. 15. 1 Kings 22. *Thou ſhalt ſee* (ſaith he) *in that day, when thou ſhalt go from chamber to chamber to hide thee.* No queſtion, but ſuch as were neuters before, after they ſee his Propheſie fulfilled in *Ahabs overthrow*, did take *Micaiah* for a Prophet, as true, as *Zidkiah* was falſe.

3. In like manner when *Jeremy* a poor Prophet and Prieſt of *Anathoth* had come unto *Jeruſalem* among the Prelates, and propheſied the truth (but truth offenſive to the State) * *That all the evils which* Jer. 20. 1. *God had pronounced, ſhould be brought upon that City, and her towns*: *Paſhur* the ſon of *Immer* the Prieſt, which was appointed Governor in the houſe of the Lord, intreats him worſe than *Zidkiah* had done *Micaiah.* He could have flouted him with as good applauſe of his Complices, as the Inquiſitors can a Proteſtant now: *You that can read State fortunes afar off, can you tell where you ſhall lodge your ſelf this next night? if you cannot, take him for a better Prophet that can.* And by *Paſhurs* Propheſie, he wasto take up his lodging in his way home, *in the Stocks, that were in the high gate of* Benjamin, *near unto the houſe of the Lord*, whoſe deſolation he had threatned. The like entertainment he found again at the whole multitudes hands, but by the Prieſts and Prophets inſtigation; † Jer. 26. 8, 9. † *Now when Jeremiah had made an end of ſpeaking all that the Lord had commanded him to ſpeak unto all the people, then the Prieſts and the Prophets, and all the people took him and ſaid, Thou ſhalt dye the death. Why haſt thou propheſied in the name of the Lord, ſaying; This houſe ſhall be like Shiloh, and this City ſhall be deſolate without an inhabitant?* As if the Church of God could poſſibly err, or the gates of Hell prevail againſt the ſplendor of it, would the Romiſh Clergy add, ſhould the Lord ſend a Prophet with ſuch tidings unto *Rome.* And did they not learn this Interpretation of Chriſts promiſe unto his Church, from the hypocritical Jews their Predeceſſors, which made the like Comment in *Jeremiahs* time, upon Gods words as * Jer. 18. 18. pregnant for the High Prieſts Succeſſion as S. *Peters*; * *Come and let us imagine ſome device againſt Jeremiah, for the Law ſhall not periſh from the Prieſt, nor counſel from the wiſe, nor the word from the Prophet, come, and let us ſmite him with the tongue, and let us not give heed to any of his words.* Away with the Heretick! The manifeſtation of like affection in the Prelates towards Gods Prophets, did embolden *Shemaiah* the Nehelemite, to write from *Babylon* unto *Zephaniah* † Jer. 29. 26. the high Prieſt and his aſſociates to this effect. † *The Lord hath made thee Prieſt, for Jehoiada the Prieſt, that ye ſhould be officers in the houſe of the Lord, for every man that raveth and maketh himſelf a Prophet, to put him in priſon, and in the ſtocks. Now therefore, why haſt not thou reproved Jeremiah of Anathoth which propheſied unto you. This captivity is*

long: build houſes to dwell in, and plant gardens, and eat the fruits of them.

4. But when *Paſhur* found the *Omen* of that † name which *Jeremiah* gave him, when he and his mates proved indeed *Magor-Miſſabib*, a terror to themſelves and all about them, when they ſaw with their eyes all the miſeries there expreſſed, than was *Jeremiah* held for a true Prophet, eſpecially by ſuch as out-lived the captivity, to ſee the truth of his Propheſie for their good as exactly fulfilled, as this had been for their harm, whilſt according to * his Prediction, *Shemaiah* and his ſeed were rooted out from amongſt Gods people happily replanted in their native ſoil. For from the reaſons ſet down before, poſterity did always better judge of propheſies than the age wherein their Authors lived, at the leaſt, the younger and meaner ſort of that age which out-lived the event, uſually better digeſted their doctrine, than the ancient or men of dignity that envied them Credit amongſt the people, yet were not ſuch as leſs maligned them, greater believers univerſally (as was ſaid before) but only of ſome few particulars. For, if a new Prophet ſhould have riſen amongſt them, he was almoſt as evil entreated by the preſent Clergy, or others whoſe humors he contradicted. This is evident by the Scribes and Phariſees, and the chief Rulers of the Jewiſh Church in our Saviours time; † *They builded the tombs of the Prophets, and garniſhed the ſepulchres of the righteous, and ſaid* (as they verily thought) *If we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the Prophets*: yet made they the people of their own time ſo mad, as to be partakers with them in the blood of that great Prophet, their long deſired *Meſſiah*, the only Saviour of the world. Throughout the whole Story almoſt of the old Teſtament, the truth propoſed may appear, that the viſible Church (if it be taken in ſuch a ſenſe as the Romaniſts take it) was the moſt corrupt Judge either of the truth, or true meaning of Gods word; that the people ſeduced by their goodly ſhews and glorious titles of *Moſes* Succeſſors, were ſtill brought into the combination of blood, until they brought upon themſelves, their poſterity, and the holy City, * *All the righteous blood that was ſhed upon the earth, from the blood of Abel the righteous, until the blood of their Meſſiah.*

† *Jer.* 20. 3, 4.

* *Jer.* 59. 31, 32.

† *Mat.* 23. 29, 30.

* *Mat.* 23. 35.

What means the people had to diſcern true Prophets from falſe.

5. But though their cruelty and hypocriſie be ſo notoriouſly known, as it even ſeems to point out the like in the modern Romaniſt: yet ſome honeſtly minded will perhaps demand, how the people of thoſe ages wherein the Prophets lived, could poſſibly know the truth of their Propheſies, ſeeing for the moſt part they ſaw a *major* part of men in Eccleſiaſtick authority, bent againſt them. This happily may tempt unſettled minds to think the Lord had determined his *Prophets ſhould have* Caſſandra'*s Fates, never to be believed till remedy were paſt.* The peoples miſtaking of their predictions, was in a ſort Fatal, yet not neceſſary, but upon ſuppoſition of former neglect. God ſent them Prophets for their good, but their wickedneſs turned his bleſſing into curſings, their hypocriſie and folly made them ſo blind, that they could not diſcern *The Signs of the Times*, until woful experience (the fools only School-maſter) began to teach them, when their time for lore was ended. † *A prudent man* (ſaith the Wiſeman) *ſeeth the plague, and hideth himſelf: but the fooliſh*

† *Prov.* 22. 3.

go on ſtill, and are puniſhed. But wherein doth that prudence conſiſt, which might have prevented this plague? Surely in reading Gods Law, and continual meditation thereon; for this gives wiſdom to the ſimple. Men in this caſe ſhould have asked * *counſel of their own heart: for there is no man more faithful unto thee than It, for a mans mind is ſometimes more accuſtomed to ſhew more than ſeven Watchmen that ſit above in an high Tower. And above all this, pray to the moſt High, that he will direct thy way in truth.* Had they thus done without partiality to their corrupt affections, or without all reſpect of perſons (in which Chriſtian faith cannot be had:) *Moſes* Law had been a lanthorn unto their feet, for the diſcerning of true Prophets, and thoſe diſcerned, had been a light unto latter Ages, for diſcerning the true Meſſias.

* *Eccleſ.* 37. *v.* 13, 14, 15.

Of later Prophets ſubordinate unto Moſes.

6. The evidence of this truth, not without cauſe ſo often inculcated, will better appear, if we conſider how moſt prophetical Predictions of particular alterations, were but determinations of Moſaical generalities, out of which they grow as branches out of the ſtock. As for example, the Lord told *Moſes* before his death, and he gave it to *Iſrael* for a Song to be copied out by all, † *That when they went a whoring after the Gods of a ſtrange land, forſaking him, he would forſake them, and hide his face from them.* After *Jehoiadahs* death, *Zechariah* his ſon ſeeing the Princes of *Judah* leaving the Houſe of the Lord to ſerve Groves and Idols, albeit he were moved, as the Text ſaith, by the Spirit of God, yet only applies *Moſes* general Prediction to the preſent times, * *Thus ſaith God, why tranſgreſs ye the commandment of the Lord? Surely ye ſhall not proſper, becauſe ye have forſaken the Lord, he alſo will forſake you.* S. *Paul* himſelf uſeth his own adviſe, not the Lords authority in ſuch points, as were not evidently contained in *Moſes* Law; † *Unto the married command not I, but the Lord, Let not the wife depart from her husband,* for ſo *Moſes* had expreſly commanded. *But to the Remnant, I ſpeak, not the Lord, If any brother have a wife that believeth not, if ſhe be content to dwell with him, let him not forſake her. And again, concerning Virgins, I have no commandment of the Lord, but I give mine advice, as one that hath obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful;* This was his judgement, and as *he thought warranted by the Spirit of God,* yet he preſcribes it not as a general rule of faith to all, but rather leaves every man to be ruled by his conſcience, and the Analogy of *Moſes* Law. * So likewiſe, though God uſe an extraordinary revelation to inſtruct S. *Peter* in the free uſe of meats forbidden by *Moſes*; yet he perſwades him it, by manifeſting the true meaning of another clauſe of the ſame Law; for what he uttered upon this inſtruction and the *Experiment* anſwerable thereto, was but a further ſpecification of what *Moſes* had ſaid, *I perceive of a truth* (ſaith S. *Peter*, Acts 10. 34.) *that God is no accepter of perſons. Moſes* had ſaid, *Deut.* 10. 17. *The Lord your God is God of Gods, and Lord of Lords, a great God mighty and terrible, which accepteth no perſons, nor taketh reward, who doth right unto the fatherleſs and widow, and loveth the* † *ſtranger, giving him food and raiment.*

† *Deut.* 31. 16.

* 2 *Chron.* 24. 20.

† 1 *Cor.* 7. 10.

* *See Book* 1. *Cap.* 31. *Sect.* 1. *and Book* 2. *Cap.* 7. *Sect.* 9.

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† *It was a peculiar operation of Gods Spirit (the principal end of this Revelation) to inſtruct S.* Peter *that Gods graces were to be communicated henceforth to the Gentiles. And this was but a branch of that Precept of loving ſtrangers, ſo often ingeminated by their Law-giver. Had the Jews ſincerely practiſed this duty towards Aliens, the communications of Gods graces unto the Gentiles, could not have ſeemed ſo ſtrange unto them.*

7. Theſe paſſages ſufficiently inform us, that the extraordinary ſpirit wherewith the Apoſtles themſelves were above the meaſure of Gods former Meſſengers inſpired oft-times, only made the *Stems*, whether of the *Tree of Life*, or of *Knowledge* planted by *Moſes*, to blow and flouriſh in them by little and little, after the manner of natural growth, it did not always bring forth new ones in an inſtant, as the earth did at the firſt creation. Much more uſually did propheſies during the ſtanding of the firſt Temple, ſpring out of Moſaical predictions. If we compare his Writings with latter propheſies, not long before the Babyloniſh captivity, though he had departed this life before their fathers entred into the Land of Promiſe, yet he ſpeaks unto this laſt Generation as an Intelligencer from a far Country, that great preparation was made againſt them, but who ſhould be the Executioners or Managers of miſchief intended, he leaves that to ſuch Prophets as the Lord ſhould raiſe them up for the preſent. *Jeremy* and *Ezechiel* upon his admonition, following his direction, are ſent by God, as it were, to ſcowre the Coaſt, to deſcry *when the Navy comes*, for what *Coaſt it is bound*, and how near at hand. Here had the people faithfully examined their hearts by *Moſes* Law, whether not guilty of ſuch ſins as deſerved the plagues threatned by him, they had quickly aſſented unto *Moſes* Writings, and the Prophets words. For as conſciouſneſs of their ſins in general, might cauſe them fear ſome plague or other, indefinitely threatned by their Law-giver, whoſe Writings they beſt believed: ſo might the diligent obſervation of their particular tranſgreſſions, and their progreſs in them, have taught them to preſage the determinate manner of their plagues and puniſhments foretold by the preſent Prophet. For *God in his uſual courſe of juſtice, ſo ſuits his puniſhments to the moſt accuſtomary habits or predominant ſins, as unto men religiouſly obſervant of Times and Seaſons, the growth and proceſs of the one, will give a certain Criſis of the other.* Beſides, *Every Age hath peculiar ſigns ſubordinate to the general predictions of good or evil foretold by Gods Meſſengers, whereby the faithful learn to know the day of their viſitation*, and as *Solomon* ſaith, *to hide themſelves (in latibulo altiſſimi) from the plague*; if not by their hearty repentance, godly prayers, and religious endeavours, to prevent it. And becauſe we in this Age are not ſo well acquainted with the *particular Signs of former Times*, wherein true Prophets lived, it is hard for any living now, though eaſie to all the faithful then, to give any certain or particular Rule how the truth of their Propheſies might have been, at leaſt probably known, before the event did finally and abſolutely approve them. ☞ *Would to God we could diſcern the Signs of Times preſent*; and the Lord of his infinite mercy give us grace to know the day of our Viſitation. But of this Argument elſewhere by Gods aſſiſtance. It ſhall ſuffice in the next place to ſhew that our Saviours Doctrine was by the ſame means to be diſcerned.

Chap. XX.

That the Sovereignty given by Jeſuites to the Pope, is greater than our Saviours was.

Though the Popes Infallibility be made by Jeſuites but equal to Chriſts, yet is his Sovereignty much greater in reſpect of Chriſtian people.

I. IT is a Rule in Divinity, [*Whatſoever can rightly be conceived as an abſolute perfection, hath Real Exiſtence in the Almighty.*] From this Notion of the Deity, ſwimming in the brains of ſuch as in heart and deed make the Pope their Lord and God, do the parties thus affected, uſually take whatſoever power might poſſibly be delegated by God to any, as actually granted unto his Holineſs. And thus I imagine ſome Jeſuite or other, when he ſhall bethink himſelf, will except againſt our Diſputes in this preſent caſe: [Deny you cannot that God can, and what if he ſhould expreſly grant ſuch Authority as the Pope now challengeth, would your Arguments conclude him to be Antichriſt, or the Doctrine we teach to be blaſphemous?] On the contrary, ſeeing our Saviour Chriſt did never either practiſe or challenge, ſeeing neither *Moſes* nor the Prophets did ever ſo much as once intimate ſuch abſolute power ſhould be acknowledged in that great Prophet, of whom they wrote, we ſuppoſe the imagination of the like, in whomſoever, cannot be without real blaſphemy. Yet ſuppoſe Chriſts infallibility and the Popes were (in reſpect of the Church Militant) the ſame, the Popes Authority would be greater; or were their Authority but equal, his priviledges with God would be much more magnificent than Chriſts. That which moſt condemned the Jews of infidelity, in not acknowledging Chriſt as ſent with power, full and abſolute from God his Father, were his mighty ſigns and wonders, his admirable skill in Gods Word already eſtabliſhed; but chiefly his ſacred life and converſation, as it were exhibiting unto the world a viſible patern, or conſpicuous model of that incomprehenſible Goodneſs which is infallible. Now, *if we compare Chriſt his powerfulneſs in words and works, with the Popes imperfections in both; or his divine Vertues with the others monſtrous Vices:* to equalize their infallibilities, were to imagine God to be like man, and Chriſt (at the beſt) but as his faithful Servant; the Pope his Minion, his Darling, or Son of his Age. For ſuch is our partiality to our own fleſh, that oft-times (though the Wiſe man adviſe to the contrary) a lewd and naughty ſon (in that he is a ſon) hath greater grace and priviledges than the moſt faithful ſervant in the Fathers houſe. So would the Jeſuites make God dote upon the Pope, whoſe Authority (be his life never ſo ungracious) if they ſhould deny to be leſs than Chriſts in reſpect of us, their practices enjoined *ex Cathedra* would confute them. For much ſooner ſhall any Chriſtian, though otherwiſe of life unſpotted, be cut off from the Congregation of the faithful, for denying the Popes Authority, or diſtruſting his Decrees, than the Jews that ſaw Chriſts Miracle, for contradicting him in the days of his fleſh, or oppugning his Apoſtles after his Glorification. Nor boots it ought to ſay, *They make the Popes Authority leſs than Chriſts, in reſpect they derive it from his;* rather, becauſe *they evidently* *make it greater than Chriſts was*, *it cannot be truly thence derived*: or if it could, this only proves it to be leſs than the other, whilſt only compared with it, not whilſt we conſider Both in reſpect of us: for Chriſts Authority as the *Son of Man*, in reſpect of us, is equal to his Fathers, whence it is derived, *For the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son.*

John 5. 22.

2. But wherein do they make the Popes Authority greater than Chriſts? Firſt, in not exempting it from trial by Chriſts and his Apoſtles Doctrine, neither of which were to be admitted without all examination of their truth, for as you heard before *Gods Word* was firſt uttered in their audience, eſtabliſhed by evident ſigns and wonders in their ſight, and preſence, of whom *Belief* and *Obedience* unto particulars was exacted. And it is a rule moſt evident and unqueſtionable, that *Gods Word once confirmed, and ſealed by experience, was the only rule whereby all other Spirits and Doctrines were to be examined*; that not Prophetical Viſions were to be admitted into the Canon of Faith, but upon their apparent conſonancy with the Word already written. The firſt Prophets were to be tried by *Moſes*, the latter by *Moſes* and their Predeceſſors; Chriſts and his Apoſtles, by *Moſes* and all the Prophets, *for unto him did all the * Prophets give teſtimony.* The manifeſt experiments of his Life and Doctrine ſo fully conſonant to their predictions, did much confirm even his Diſciples Belief unto the former Canon, of whoſe truth they never conceived poſitive doubt.

That our Saviours Doctrine was to be tried by Moſes *and the Prophets Writings: but the Popes (if we believe the Jeſuites) neither by theſe, nor our Saviours Doctrine.*

* *Acts* 10. 43. *Vide Acts* 3. v.18,21,24.

3. Again, there had been no Prophet, no ſigns, no wonders, for a long time in *Judah*, before our Saviours Birth; yet he never made that uſe either of his Miracles, or more than Prophetical Spirit, which the Papiſts make of their imaginary publick ſpirit: he never uſed this or like argument to make the people relie upon him. How know ye the Scriptures are Gods Word? How know ye that God ſpake with *Moſes* in the wilderneſs, or with your Fathers in Mount *Sinai*? *Moſes*, your Fathers, and the Prophets, are dead, and their Writings cannot ſpeak. Your preſent Teachers the Scribes and Phariſees do no wonders. Muſt you not then believe him whom daily you may behold doing ſuch mighty works as *Moſes* is ſaid to have done; that *Moſes* as your fathers have told you was ſent from God; that Gods Word is contained in his Writings: otherwiſe you cannot infallibly believe that there was ſuch a man indeed as you conceive he was, much leſs that he wrote you this Law, leaſt of all can you certainly know the true meaning of what he wrote. He that is the only ſure Foundation of Faith, knew that Faith grounded upon ſuch doubts, was but built upon the ſand, unable to abide the blaſts of ordinary temptations; that thus to erect their hopes, was but to prepare a *Riſe* to a grievous *Downfal*, the ready way to Atheiſm, Preſumption, or Deſpair. For this cauſe he doth not ſo much as once queſtion how they knew the Scriptures to be Gods Word: but ſuppoſing them known and fully acknowledged for ſuch, he exhorts his Hearers to ſearch them, ſeeking to prepare their hearts by ſigns and wonders to embrace his admirable Expoſitions of them. And becauſe the corruption of particular Moral Doctrines brought into the Church by Humane Tradition, would not ſuffer the generality of *Moſes*, and the Prophets already believed to fructifie in his Hearers hearts, and branch

out uniformly into lively working Faith: he laboured moſt to weed out Phariſaiſm from among the Heavenly Seed, as every one may ſee, that compares his Sermon upon the Mount, with the Phariſees Gloſſes upon *Moſes.* If the particular, or principal parts of the Law and Prophets, had been as purely taught, or as clearly diſcerned, as the general and common principles: His Doctrine, that came not to deſtroy, but to fulfil the Law in words and works, had ſhined as brightly in his Hearers hearts at the firſt propoſal, as the Sun did to their eyes at the firſt riſing. For all the Moral Duties required by them, were but as diſperſed rays or ſcattered beams of that Divine Light and Glory, which was incorporate in him, as ſplendour in the body of the Sun. Nor was there any poſſibility the Jews Belief in him ſhould proſper, unleſs it grew out of their general aſſent unto *Moſes* Doctrine, thus pruned and purged at the very root: * *Had all believed Moſes*, (ſaith our Saviour) *ye would have believed me, for he wrote of me: but if ye believe not his writings, how ſhall ye believe my words?* For which cauſe they were in conſcience bound to examine his Doctrine by *Moſes* and the Prophets: otherwiſe they might have believed the ſaving truth but falſly, and upon deceitful grounds. The ſtronger or more abſolute credence they had given unto his words or works without ſuch examination, the more they had enſnared their ſouls, and ſet their conſciences upon the Rack, by admitting a poſſibility of contradiction betwixt two Doctrines both firmly believed, without any evidence of their conſonancy, or both conſpiring to the ſame end. The ſpeedier and higher this edification in Chriſt had been, the ſooner it might have ruinated that foundation which God by *Moſes* and the Prophets had reared in *Iſrael*, unleſs this new work had been orderly ſquared, well proportioned, cloſely layed, and ſtrongly cemented unto the former. In ſecular Schools he is held an unwiſe Anſwerer, that will admit *Socratical Interrogations*; for, albeit there appear no difficulty in any one propoſed apart, yet in the proceſs, a Reſpondent may be eaſily brought to grant Concluſions, from which he knows not what Conſequences may be drawn, becauſe their Conſonancy with the Problem, whoſe defence he undertakes, is not ſo evident nor immediate, as upon a ſuddain may be fully examined. And not examining the Conſonancy of every other Propoſition with the principles of that faculty, whereto the Problem belongs, the beſt Anſwerer living may be made either grant what he ſhould not, or deny what ſhould be granted. *Now Chriſts Doctrine was to Moſaical and Prophetical, as the Concluſion to the Premiſes, or as the Corallary of greateſt uſe unto the Speculative Theorem.* Suppoſe then a Jew well skilled in *Moſes* and the Prophets, ſhould inſtantly upon the firſt hearing of our Saviours Sermons, or ſight of his Miracles, have admitted him for ſuch an infallible Teacher, upon terms as abſolute and irrevocable, as the Jeſuite would have the Pope acknowledged by all Chriſtians, a good Diſputant might eaſily have ſtaggered him by theſe or like Socratical Demands: *Do you ſtedfaſtly believe* Moſes *Writings for Gods Word? God forbid I ſhould doubt of this: Do ye believe this new Doctrine confirmed by Miracles as firmly? What if I do? Do you know as certainly, whether both agree as well as one part of* Moſes *Writings with another? What if I do not? Until you be fully reſolved in this, your belief in both cannot be ſound: for in caſe they ſhould*

diſagree,

* *John* 5.45.

To believe Chriſt without examination of his Doctrine by Moſes, *had been neither to believe Chriſt nor* Moſes.

diſagree, the one muſt needs be falſe; and if choice were given you, whether in ſooth would you diſclaim? Here a wiſe man, that (as the wiſe King ſpeaks) had eyes in his head, and would not be led by a blind faith, would have pauſed a while, and thought with himſelf, *This is a point that ſhould be looked to: for if theſe new Doctrines ſhould prove incompatible, as for any juſt examination hitherto made, they may, I cannot ſee whether deſerves more credence; whiles I conſider* Moſes *writings, and call to mind thoſe mighty wonders our fathers told us, with like continual experiments of their divine truth; nothing can ſeem more certain than they; again, whiles I behold theſe new Miracles, me thinks his Authority that works them, ſhould be as great as* Moſes *was; yet if they ſhould happen to diſagree, the one muſt be better believed than the other, or elſe (for ought I ſee) there can be no certainty of either; for, if this mans poſſibly may be, why might not* Moſes *Doctrine likewiſe be falſe? or if our fathers were deceived by his ſigns and wonders, why may not we be ſo ſerved by this mans Miracles? But if upon juſt trial they ſhall be found fully to agree in every point, (as I truſt they do) then doubtleſs both are from God, and I ſhall ſtedfaſtly believe this new Doctrine to be divine, if ſuch as* Moſes *had foretold; and withal, more evidently acknowledge, than before I could, that* Moſes *ſpake by the Spirit of the all-ſeeing, ever-living God, if this* Jeſus of Nazareth *be in all points like to him, and ſo qualified as he foretold the great Prophet ſhould be. But in the interim till the trial be made, it is beſt to lay ſure hold on* Moſes *and the Prophets. For* prior tempore, potior jure: *their Writings doubtleſs were from God, becauſe hitherto they could not be deſtroyed: Time and they ſhall try whether* Jeſus *and his Doctrine be ſo or no; whether he be that great Prophet that ſhould come, or we are yet to look for ſome other.*

Prophetical teſtimonies did more ſufficiently witneſs our Saviour to be the promiſed Meſſias than any Miracles.
* *Matth.* 11. *v.* 3, *&c.* & *Luk.* 7. *v.* 18, 19, 22.

4. Thus when *John Baptiſt* ſent his Diſciples to our Saviour with this very Queſtion, *Art thou he that ſhould come, or ſhall we look for another?* The anſwer he returned again, (whether for confirmation of *Johns* own faith, or, as the moſt Interpreters think, of his Diſciples) was this and no more; * *Go and ſhew John what things ye have ſeen and heard, that the blind ſee, the halt go, the lepers are cleanſed, the deaf hear, the dead riſe again, and the Goſpel is preached to the poor, and bleſſed is he that ſhall not be offended in me.* Theſe or other of their fellow Diſciples had informed their Maſter *John* before of Chriſts healing the Centurions ſervant by his word or command, though abſent; of his raiſing the widows ſon from death to life; of the rumours ſpread abroad of him thorowout all *Judea*, and the regions round about: and upon this report, as Saint *Luke* tells us, did *John* make the former ſolemn demand. But ſome will yet demand, how could he or his Diſciples be confirmed by the anſwer given them, wherein is little more than formerly both had heard: for the raiſing up of the widows ſon, which eſpecially occaſioned their coming, was the greateſt of all in this Catalogue, and yet as great as this, ſome of the ancient Prophets had done; how could it then prove him to be the Meſſias? Had he told them as much in plain terms, they might have believed him, becauſe this great work did witneſs him to be a Prophet, and therefore one that could not lye: But by this anſwer, how could they gather more, than the people upon the aſtoniſhment of that accident, had ſaid? for *when the dead man ſate up and ſpake, fear*, ſaith the Evangeliſt, *came on them all, and they glorified God, ſaying, A great Prophet is raiſed up among us, and God hath viſited his people,* Luke 7. 16.

See a Treatiſe called Chriſts Anſwer to Johns *Diſciples.*

5. Yet this Objection, at leaſt the Solution, confirms the truth of my former Aſſertion, that by his Miracles alone conſidered, they were not bound abſolutely to believe he was the Meſſias, but by comparing them with other circumſtances, or preſuppoſed truths, eſpecially the Scriptures received and approved Propheſies of the Meſſias: though no one for the greatneſs of power manifeſted in it, could of it ſelf, yet the frequency of them at that time, and the condition of the parties on whom they were wrought, might abſolutely confirm *John* and his Diſciples; becauſe ſuch they were in theſe and every reſpect, as the Evangelical Prophet had foretold Meſſias ſhould work: for this reaſon our Saviour delivers his anſwer in the Prophets own words, as [a] elſewhere he himſelf did read them, then beſt interpreted by *The Signs of the Time*, that *John* might ſee by the Event, he was *The Man* of whom *Iſaiah* ſpeaks, [b] *He whom the Lord had appointed to preach the Goſpel to the poor, whom he had ſent to heal the broken hearted, to preach deliverance to the Captives, and recovering of ſight to the Blind, to ſet at liberty ſuch as were bruiſed, and that he ſhould preach the acceptable year of the Lord.* The multitude of blind men reſtored to ſight in their preſence, was a good preparative to diſſolve that ſuffuſion which had blinded their hearts; the releaſing of ſo many from the poſſeſſion of unclean ſpirits, was an ocular demonſtration he was the Man appointed to preach deliverance to the Captives; plagues and ſickneſſes then cured by him in great abundance, were ſure pledges to the obſervant, that he was the great Phyſician of body and ſoul ſo often ſpoken of by *Iſaiah*. Beſides, *Johns* moving this doubt at that very inſtant, wherein ſuch variety of Miracles (of all, or moſt of which, his Diſciples one or other, were eye-witneſſes) did concur, all, ſo well ſuited to the ſeveral [c] predictions of *Iſaiah*; and theſe, as [d] *John* could inſtruct them, all unqueſtionably meant of the Meſſias, was an infallible argument of Gods unſpeakable Providence in thus diſpoſing times and ſeaſons, for their fuller reſolution. The like diſpoſition of the Divine Providence, might the ingrateful *Nazarites* have obſerved. *Firſt*, that when he [e] ſtood up to read in the Synagogue, they ſhould deliver the Book of the Evangelical Prophet before any other; *afterwards*, that he ſhould at the firſt opening light upon that very place wherein his late Miracles, yet riſe in all mens mouths, (as appeareth by Saint [f] *Mark*) were foretold: eſpecially, if they had diligently marked the meanneſs of their own eſtate, the manner of his coming thither, moved (as the [g] Evangeliſt ſaith) *By the Spirit*, which as the [h] Prophet had foretold, was to be upon him, and did manifeſt it ſelf at that time by his ſtrange eſcaping his turbulent Country-mens deſperate attempts againſt him. This melodious harmony betwixt his Works and Gods Word already eſtabliſhed, and this ſweet diſpoſition of the Divine Providence, in cauſing the one ſound in mens ears, whilſt the other were in their eyes, were in his Heavenly Wiſdom the beſt means to eſtabliſh true and lively Faith: he never exacted blind obedience, which who ſo ſuffers to be impoſed upon him by others, or ſeeks to enforce upon himſelf, ſtrives to put out that Light of Nature or inferiour Grace, whereby he ſhould view and mark the ways of God, always confirming his truth already revealed, by Experiments and *Signs of the Time* proportioned to them.

[a] *Though in that 61 of* Eſay *no expreſs mention be made of reſtoring blind men to ſight, yet the Septuagint (as elſewhere) truly expreſs the meaning of the Hebrew phraſe there uſed. For in the Hebrew Dialect, as ſome judicious Hebricians obſerve, the deaf or blind are called* vincti, *or* ligati.

[b] *Luke* 4. *verſe* 18. 19. *At that time (when* Johns *Diſciples came unto him) he cured many of their ſickneſſes and plagues, and of evil ſpirits, and unto many blind men he gave ſight. And Jeſus anſwered and ſaid unto them, Go your ways, and ſhew* John *what things ye have ſeen and heard, that the blind ſee, the halt go, &c.* Luke 7. verſe 21, 22.

[c] *Iſaiah* 61. *verſe* 1, 2, 3. *and chap.* 35. *verſe* 5. *and chap.* 53. *ver.* 4.

[d] *For* John *himſelf from the words immediately precedent had been taught by God himſelf to diſcern Chriſt for the true Meſſias. Compare* John 1. v. 33. *with* Eſay 61. v. 1. *and* Eſay 42. v. 1. *and* Eſay 11. v. 2.

[e] Luke 4. v. 16, 17. &c.

[f] Mark 6. 2. *and* Luk. 4. 23.

[g] Luk. 4. 14

[h] Eſay 61. 1. Luk. 4. 29, 30.

In what ſenſe Chriſts works are ſaid to bear witneſs of him.

6. From theſe inſtances, to omit others, the Reader may reſolve himſelf, in what ſence *Chriſts works are ſaid to bear witneſs of his Divinity, or condemn the Jews of infidelity.* Both which they manifeſtly did, yet not in themſelves, not as ſeverally conſidered or ſequeſtred from all *Signs of times and ſeaſons*; but as they involved ſuch concurrence of Gods Providence, or preſuppoſed ſuch Prophetical Predictions, as have been intimated. Every Miracle was apt of it ſelf to breed admiration, and beget ſome degree of Faith, as more than probably arguing the aſſiſtance of a power truly divine. But, ſeeing *Moſes* had forewarned, God would ſuffer Seducers to work wonders for the trial of his peoples Faith: who beſides him that gave them this liberty could ſet them bounds, beyond which they ſhould not paſs? who could preciſely define the compaſs of that circle, within which only Satan could exerciſe the power he had by that permiſſion? Be it granted, (which is all men otherwiſe minded concerning this point demand) that *Beelzebub* himſelf with the help of all his Subjects, can effect nothing exceeding the natural paſſive capacity of things created: he muſt be as well ſeen in the ſecrets of Nature, as theſe ſubtile ſpirits are, that can preciſely define in all particulars what may be done by force of Nature, what not. Hardly can we (without ſome admonitions to obſerve their carriage) diſcern the ſlight of ordinary Juglers: much more eaſily might the Prince of darkneſs, ſo blind our natural underſtanding, as to make us believe (were the light of Gods Word taken away) that were effected by his power, which had been wrought by the Finger of God, that ſecret conveyance of materials elſewhere preexiſtent, into our preſence, was a new creation of them.

7. For mine own part, (until I be by ſome others better inſtructed) I reſt perſwaded our Saviour taught the ſame Doctrine I now deliver: thus much at leaſt, [Such ſigns and wonders might be wrought by Seducers, that ſuch as would gaze on them, and truſt their own skill in diſcerning their tricks, ſhould hardly eſcape their ſnares.] * *If any man ſay to you, Lo here is Chriſt, or lo he is there, believe it not. For falſe Chriſts ſhall ariſe, and falſe Prophets, and ſhall ſhew Signs and Wonders to deceive if it were poſſible the very elect.* And poſſible it was to have deceived even theſe, if it had been poſſible for theſe not to have tried their wonders by the written Word. Wherefore neceſſary it was, that which immediately follows ſhould be written for our inſtruction: *But take you heed*, (this he ſpake to his elect Apoſtles) *behold, I have told you all things before.* Much eaſier it was for ſuch Seducers to counterfeit his greateſt wonders with deceitful ſleights, undiſcoverable for the preſent, than in theſe plain diſtinct predictions of matters ſo far above the pitch of ordinary obſervation, ſo to imitate him as time ſhould not detect their impoſtures, nor experience convince them of open folly, or their ſoothſaying of groſſeſt falſhood. And conſequently, this very Oracle compared with the event, was of more force to eſtabliſh true Faith, than any one Miracle he ever wrought, conſidered alone. Yea, this fooliſh expectation the Jews had, their *Meſſias* ſhould work mighty, but pompous and vain-glorious wonders, did make them (not prefaſhioned in mind to thoſe deſcriptions the Prophets had made of his firſt coming in humility) undervalue both his true Miracles and heavenly Doctrine. Even ſuch as are ſaid to have believed

* *Mark* 13. 21, 22.

lieved in him for the works they had ſeen him do, ſeemed doubtful whether to acknowledge him for ſome great Prophet, or for their long looked for Meſſias. [a] *Many of the people* (ſaith S. *John*) *believed in him, and ſaid, When the Chriſt cometh, will he do more miracles than this man hath done?* And as the ſame Evangeliſt elſewhere tells us, ſuch as had taſted of his miraculous goodneſs, and in huge troops followed him for their daily food, that had no where to lay his head by night, [b] *deſire a further ſign that they might ſee and believe the Father had ſent him.* His late ſatisfying five thouſand hungry ſouls with five loaves, they deemed much leſs than *Moſes* ſuſtaining ſix hundred thouſand ſo long with *Manna*, a meat immediately ſent from Heaven, not made by multiplication of ſuch bread as they might have bought of ordinary Bakers. Nor doth our Saviour ſeek to win them by out-vying *Moſes* in multitude or magnificence of his miracles, but by alluring them to taſte and prove his heavenly Doctrine. For, *The Experiments that give us the ſeal and aſſurance of lively Faith, muſt of neceſſity be within us, even in our hearts, and in our ſouls*; and theſe are they. Had this people without miracles been *dicto audiens*, as they were enjoined by *Moſes*, in that they took him for a Prophet, they might in ſhort time have known what *Peter* confeſſed, [c] *Verba vitæ æternæ habes*, *Thou haſt the words of eternal life*, whoſe ſweetneſs once inwardly taſted, was much more than all the miracles that could be wrought without his hearers, or upon them. But of ſuch works theſe proud Jews never dreamed, as not knowing the Scriptures, nor the vertue of their Meſſias, who, as the Prophets had foretold, *was to preach the Goſpel unto the poor, to comfort ſuch as mourned in Sion*, to whom no miracles could be more welcome, than ſuch as he did; for what could be more acceptable to the blind, than reſtitution of ſight? to the lame, than right uſe of his limbs? what more grateful meſſage could be uttered to the deaf, than *Ephata*, to have his ears opened? what to the dumb, than untying of the tongue? what to the poſſeſſed, than to be freed from the tyranny of Satan or his Miniſters. Finally, as the [d] Evangeliſt notes, *He did all things well*, and unto the beſt contentment poſſible of every afflicted ſoul, far above the exigence or ſignifications of their peculiar neceſſities, but further beyond their expectation. In every work he ſhewed his willingneſs, in all his power to eaſe and refreſh all that were weary and heavy laden: but unto ſuch as thought themſelves ſo whole and ſound, as no way to need his Phyſick, rather deſirous to feed their curious fancies with ſuperfluous or unneceſſary wonders, he was not willing to give ſatisfaction by turning Gods graces into wantonneſs, or vain oſtentation of his power or ſkill. Another eſpecial occaſion of this peoples ſtumbling at *this ſtone elect and precious*, was their not conſidering that many of *Moſes* greateſt wonders were types, *partly* of thoſe glorious miracles which *Meſſiah* was to work ſecretly by his Spirit, manifeſted only to the hearts and conſciences, in whom they were wrought; *partly* of that his glory and power, which was outwardly revealed to his Diſciples, and might ſo have been to more, had they not ſtumbled (as the Proverb is) in the very Entry, and ſo departed from him in deſpair, bred from a fooliſh prejudice, that no great good could be expected from a *Nazarite*, of Parentage, Birth and Education ſo mean.

[a] *John* 7. 31.

[b] *John* 6. 30.

Expectation of pompous and vain-glorious Miracles, the original of Jewiſh infidelity.

[c] *John* 6. 68.

No man is ever truly converted without an internal miracle, wrought in his own ſoul, unto this end only outward miracles ſerve.

[d] *Mark* 7. 37.

Chap. XXI.

Confirming the truth delivered in the former Chapter from the very Law given by Moſes *for diſcerning the great Prophet; further exemplifying the uſe and force of miracles for begetting faith: The manner of trying Propheſies: Of the ſimilitude betwixt Chriſt and* Moſes.

1. AS well for farther diſcovery of Romiſh blaſphemy, as ratification of our former aſſertion, let us view with diligence that place of *Moſes*, wherein ſuch ſtrict obedience and attention to the *Meſſias* doctrine is enjoyned, as no where elſe; ſuch, as no other may exact, without incurring the curſe there threatned to the diſobedient, * *The Lord thy God will raiſe thee up a Prophet like unto me from among you, even of thy brethren; unto him ye ſhall hearken. According to all that thou deſiredſt the Lord thy God in Horeb, in the day of the aſſembly, when thou ſaidſt, Let me hear the voyce of my Lord God no more, nor ſee this great fire any more that I dye not. And the Lord ſaid unto me, they have well ſpoken. I will raiſe them up a Prophet from among their Brethren like unto thee, and will put my words in his mouth, and he ſhall ſpeak unto them all that I ſhall command him. And whoſoever will not hearken unto my words which he ſhall ſpeak in my Name, I will require it of him.* This Propheſie by joynt conſent of beſt Interpreters, as well Modern as Ancient, Pontificians as Proteſtants, may be truly and literally applied to other Prophets, whether of the Old or New Teſtament, according to that meaſure of the ſpirit they had from him, of whoſe fulneſs all, as well ſuch as in time went before, as thoſe that came after him, had received grace for grace. True it is, if we rightly value the ſtrict propriety of every word or clauſe in the whole context; what all hiſtorical circumſtances put together import, or the full extent of S. *Peters* † Paraphraſe on the laſt ſentence, it cannot be exactly fitted unto any but Chriſt, unto whom only the whole diſcourſe is as fully commenſurable, as a well made garment to the body that wears it: yet is this no impediment why the ſame rule taken according to ſome literal circumſtances, might not uſually ſerve for certain diſcretion of true Prophets from falſe, as we uſe to notifie leſſer, but indefinite quantities of things, by the known parts of ſome greater meaſure, commenſurable, if we take the whole, to ſubſtances of a larger ſize.

** Deut. 18. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19.*

The Law cited, literally meant both of Chriſt and the Prophets.

** Acts 3. 23. See Parag. 21.*

2. Evident it is out of the literal meaning of this Law acknowledged by all, that *Iſrael* was ſtrictly bound to hearken unto ſuch Prophets as God at any time ſhould raiſe them up, though with moſt attention and greateſt reverence to hear *The Prince of Prophets*. But the queſtion is, upon what terms, or how far they were bound to hear all. Abſolutely, and at firſt propoſal of their doctrines, without examination of them by the written Law? So might he that could have ſet the beſt leg foremoſt, and ſtept up ſooneſt into *Moſes* Chair, have kept the reſt of his profeſſion in aw, by thundering out *Anathema*'s thence, as the Pope doth from S. *Peters*, to

How far, and on what terms Iſrael *was bound by the former Law to hear all Gods Prophets.*

all Gain-ſayers, Prieſt or people. By what rule then were true Prophets to be diſtinguiſhed from falſe? By miracles? Theſe were means oftimes effectual, but (as was intimated) more uſual for enforcing men to an acknowledgement of the truth in general, than for trying particular Controverſies by, amongſt true Profeſſors; in reſpect of whom, they were ſubordinate to that rule given by *Moſes* in the words immediately following: * *But the Prophet that ſhall preſume to ſpeak a word in my Name, which I have not commanded him to ſpeak, or that ſpeaketh in the name of other Gods, even the ſame Prophet ſhall dye. And if thou think in thine heart, How ſhall we know the word which the Lord hath not ſpoken? When a Prophet ſpeaketh in the name of the Lord, if the thing follow not, nor come to paſs, that is the thing which the Lord hath not ſpoken, but the Prophet hath ſpoken it preſumptuouſly: thou ſhalt not therefore be afraid of him.*

* *Deut.*18.20, 21,22.

3. Before this or any other part of the Law was written, ſomewhat in proportion anſwerable to it, did always neceſſarily concur with miracles, for diſtinguiſhing true Profeſſors from Seducers. When the controverſie was betwixt *Moſes* and *Pharaohs* Enchanters, the Lord confutes his adverſaries by an ocular demonſtration of his power, yet further ratified by their confeſſion, whoſe words were the beſt Oracles which that people knew. Theſe fair warnings concurring with the Egyptians conſciouſneſs of their mercileſs practiſes againſt poor *Iſrael*, ſtill thriving in deſpight of policy, could not but witneſs even to the moſt unnatural men amongſt them, that the God of *Jacob* and his ſeed, was a Father to the fatherleſs, an Help to the helpleſs, a God of mercy, and a God of ſtrength, willing and able to right ſuch as ſuffered wrong, to ſuccour all in diſtreſs, that with faith and patience commended their cauſe unto his patronage. The moſt devoutly ſuperſtitious or idolatrous might (at the leaſt, more than probably have gathered, that the God of *Moſes* was greater than any, they or their cunning Magicians worſhipped. But it is a curioſity incident to ſuperſtitious hypocrites, at their firſt entrance into Gods School, ſcrupulouſly to demand full ſatisfaction in all doubts or difficulties that can be ſuggeſted, and (as if they ſought to obtain mercy by way of bargain, not by faith or favour) to have their aſſurance preciſely drawn, and fully ſealed, before they ſurrender up the leaſt part of their intereſt, in any pleaſure, commodity, or cuſtom long enjoyed, though never ſo deſtitute of reaſon. As in this caſe, imagine ſome Romiſh Schoolman or Jeſuit had been in ſuch favour in *Pharaohs* Court, as that crew is now in too many Princes; what other collections could we imagine he would have made, but theſe? [*How do theſe wonders prove the God of* Iſrael *to be ſo great a God, as* Moſes *boaſts of? He hath more ſkill we ſee in theſe particulars, than the Gods adored by us Egyptians: therefore in all? or more, in theſe, than the Gods of any other Nation? Theſe were ſtranger works indeed, than we expected ſuch poor ſilly fellows could have wrought: but may not others by the ſame reaſon work more ſtange hereafter?*] And to ſpeak the truth, more, that victory *Moſes* had over the Egyptians, could not prove unto the natural man (ſo long as he conſidered the wonders only in themſelves, without any concurrence of other circumſtances or truth (preſuppoſed) than that this God of *Iſrael* was greater than any other he yet knew of, not greater than any that might manifeſt himſelf hereafter. Notwithſtanding, *theſe few Documents*

Miracles in themſelves no ſure rule of trying Prophets before the Law was given.

ments or Eſſays of his power, compared with the end and occaſions, for which they were exhibited, were ſo fully conformable to thoſe natural notions, even the Heathen had of the Deity, that no man free from paſſion or prejudice of their mean eſtate, for whoſe good the cunningeſt were thus foiled at their own weapon, and the mightieſt among the Egyptians plagued, but might have ſeen the Finger of a good, a juſt, and merciful God in all their troubles, had he in ſobriety of ſpirit ſeriouſly conſulted his own heart. And whoſo ſincerely had glorified his name, according to this meaſure of knowledge, or apprehenſion of his juſtice, to him no doubt more had been given daily of this bread of life.

4. The Jews I am perſwaded could have given, as many inſtances of Devils caſt out by † *Beelzebub* the Prince of Devils, as might have defeated any Induction gathered from the manifold practiſe of ſuch works (conſidered alone) to prove the divine powers aſſiſtance. Moſt apparently, moſt malicious notwithſtanding was their application of ſuch inſtances to our Saviour, whoſe uſual manner of diſpoſſeſſing wicked ſpirits of thoſe manſions wherein they had revelled moſt, did abundantly witneſs he wrought *by the Finger of God*, who only was greater than *that ſtrong man* whom he vanquiſhed, bound and ſpoiled of his goods, ſervants and poſſeſſions. For though Devils ſometimes ſuffer themſelves to be commanded by men, neither of greateſt wiſdom, beſt place, nor faſhion: yet this they do (as any well inſtructed in Gods Law, or illuminated with the notions of good and, evil will eaſily diſcern) always with purpoſe to bring men unto a perpetual acknowledgement of ſome divine power in them, or to performance of ſome Magical ſervice unto them; no otherwiſe then cheating mates or cunning gameſters can be well content to ſuffer bunglers beat them the firſt or ſecond Set, in hope to entice them to hold play longer, or for greater wagers. On the contrary, the only Fee our Saviour demanded for all his admirable cures in this kind, was, the parties ſhould give ſuch glory unto God alone, as that infernal crew moſt deteſted, but which the Law of *Moſes*, ſo highly eſteemed by his calumniators, did purpoſely require in defiance of *Beelzebub*, and all the powers of darkneſs. The end of every particular diſpoſſeſſion was ſuch, and the multitude of Confeſſions, ſincerely uttered by poor ſouls ſet free, ſo many, as his bittereſt adverſaries own conſciences, could not but witneſs againſt themſelves, that all the chief Titles of Satans wonted triumphs over Gods people, were utterly overthrown, that he could not urge them either unto ſuch blaſphemies againſt God, or outrages againſt themſelves or their neighbours, as he moſt delighted in. Beſides, few or no inſtances could (I think) be brought of Devils caſt out in any Magicians name, in Chriſts they were, and (as it ſeems) by ſuch as had better acquaintance, or more alliance with his accuſers, then with himſelf. Thus much our Saviour in my conjecture, intimates in that ſpeech, * *By whom then do your children caſt them out? therefore they ſhall be your judges.* Which words I neither would refer to Chriſts Diſciples, as ſome good Interpreters do, nor (as others) unto ſuch Exorciſts as thoſe mentioned, *Acts* 19.15. which attempting to throw out this ſtrong man, were overthrown in their own play: but unto ſuch as *John* complained of, † *Maſter, we ſaw one caſting out Devils in thy name, which followed not us, and we forbad him.* This

† *Mat.* 12.24. *The end and manner of our Saviours caſting out Devils, did ſufficiently teſtifie his divine power, albeit others had caſt out Devils by the help of* Beelzebub.

* *Mat.* 12.27.

† *Mark* 9. 38.

man,

man, though no Diſciple, was neither ſo ill diſpoſed in himſelf, nor ſo maliciouſly affected to our Saviour as theſe Jews were, as appears by our Saviours anſwer unto *John*; * *Forbid him not, for there is no man that can do a miracle in my name, that lightly ſpeaks evil of me, for whoſoever is not againſt us, is on our part.* In the ſame words he concludes his Diſputation againſt the Jews in the † forecited place.

* *Verſ.* 39.

† *Mat.* 12. 30.

5. Such as this man was, none of Chriſts followers, but rather a friend (as ſeems) of his Accuſers, yet uſing Chriſts not *Beelzebubs* name to caſt out Devils, were competent witneſſes of his heavenly vertue, and his Adverſaries malicious partiality. Many other circumſtances well known then, not now; eſpecially the long want of miracles more than propheſies, before his coming, did manifeſt their malice to be more impudent and ſhameleſs, than we in ſuch diſtance of time can diſcern. That finger of God (from ſuch Signs of the Time as we in general may ſuppoſe) far more apparent in his victories over Satan himſelf, than in *Moſes* over his Scholars the Enchanters, eſpecially whiles compared with known Propheſies of the *Meſſias*, did point him out to be *The womans Seed*, ordained of old to bruiſe the Serpents head, to be the *Son of Man*, appointed to erect the everlaſting Kingdom, foretold by *Daniel*, unto whoſe and other Propheſies he refers his enemies in that ſpeech, * *But if I by the Spirit* (or as S. *Luke* reads) *by the Finger of God caſt out Devils, then is the Kingdom of God come unto you.* Yet were not all his miracles of this kind thus conſidered, ſo effectual to confirm the faithful, or ſo pregnant to condemn all unbelievers, as the former Rule of *Moſes*. For this cauſe after the former diſpute ended, he gave his Adverſaries ſuch a Sign, as if it did follow would infallibly prove him to be that great Prophet, *Moſes* there ſpeaks of, and conſequently leave them liable to Gods heavy judgement without excuſe, for not hearkening unto him. Of which hereafter.

* *Mat.* 12. 28.
† *Luke* 11. 20.

6. Here I may once for all conclude, that the power of doing miracles was as effectual to aſſure ſuch as did them of ſalvation, as ſight of them done, was to eſtabliſh Spectators in ſaving faith. But the power of caſting Devils out, or doing greateſt miracles, was no infallible pledge of ſalvation to ſuch as did them: much leſs could the acknowledgement of this divine power in them, breed full aſſurance of true faith in others, but only ſerve as a means to cauſe them rely upon the Law and Prophets as their only rule, and to taſte and prove the bread of life proffered to them by our Saviour, which alone could aſcertain them their names were written in the Book of life. But to proceed by the former rule.

Chriſt was to be acknowledged for The great Prophet *by his ſupereminency in thoſe gifts of the Spirit, whereby former Prophets had been approved.*

7. If others by Experiments anſwerable to it, were known to be true Prophets: Chriſt likewiſe by his known Supereminency in that which approved them, was to be acknowledged for *The Prince of Prophets.* Now, if we reviſe the Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament, how few Prophets ſhall we find endowed with the gift of miracles; ſuch as were, did exerciſe their power rather among Idolaters, than true Profeſſors. So, when Gods Meſſengers were brought to as open competition with *Baals* Prieſts, in the King of *Iſraels*, as *Moſes* had been with the Enchanters, in *Pharaohs* Court: † *Elias* makes his Calling as clear as the light, by calling down fire from Heaven, which *Baals* Prieſts attempting in moſt furious manner could not effect: but

† 1 *Kings* 18.

but *Elias* profeſſed thus much before, as *Baals* Prieſts, no queſtion had done: ſo as the event, anſwering to his prediction, not to the others, did, by *Moſes* rule, demonſtrate him to be, them not to be, Prophets of the living God. But when the like controverſie was to be tried between *Zidkiah* and his four hundred Complices, on the one part, and * *Micaiah* on the other, before King *Ahab*, in whom *Elias* late miracles, and later threats, had wrought ſuch a diſtaſte of *Baal*, and ſuch a liking of the truth in general, as he would not conſult either any profeſſed ſervant of the one, or open oppugner of the other, for his future ſucceſs; *Micaiah* (as was obſerved before) appeals to this Law of *Moſes*, as a moſt competent Judge between ſuch as joyntly did embrace it; † *If thou return in peace, the Lord hath not ſpoken by me*, as if he had ſaid, (what *Moſes* there doth) *he hath not put his word in my mouth.* And having brought his Controverſie to this trial, he deſires the people to conteſtate the iſſue thus joyned [*and he ſaid hearken all ye people.*] From this and many like caſes, ruled by the former expreſs and pregnant Law of *Moſes*, *Jeremy* pleads his warrant, being born down by the contradictions of *Hananiah* a profeſſed Prophet of the Lord, as he was, but of greater favour in the Court, becauſe he propheſied peace unto the preſent ſtate, and good ſucceſs to the Projects then on foot; * *Even the Prophet Jeremiah ſaid, So be it: the Lord ſo do! the Lord confirm thy words which thou haſt propheſied, to reſtore the veſſels of the Lords houſe, and all that is carried Captive from Babel into this place. But hear thou now this word that I will ſpeak in thine ears, and in the ears of all the people. The Prophets that have been before me, and before thee, in times paſt propheſied againſt many Countreys, and againſt great kingdoms, of war, and of plague and of peſtilence. And the Prophet which propheſieth of peace, when the word of the Prophet ſhall come to paſs, then ſhall the Prophet be known that the Lord hath truly ſent him.* *Ezekiel* likewiſe refers himſelf to the ſame trial amongſt ſuch as were profeſſed hearers of the Word in general, which they would not obey in particular. † *And lo thou art unto them, as a jeſting ſong of one that hath a pleaſant voyce, and can ſing well: for they hear thy words, and do them not. And when this cometh to paſs (for lo it will come) then ſhall they know that a Prophet hath been among them.*

* 1 *Kings* 22.

† *Verſ.* 28.

* *Jer.* 28. 6, 7, 8, 9.

† *Ezek.* 33. 32, 33.

In what caſe Moſes *rule for diſcerning true Prophets did hold infallibly true.*

8. From theſe debatements, we may gather in what caſes the former rule held for certain. Firſt, *negatively*, it was univerſally true; for he that propheſied any thing which came not to paſs, did ſufficiently prove himſelf to be no true Prophet, but a Counterfeit. So did not every Prediction of what afterwards came to paſs, neceſſarily argue it to have been from God. Yet as the force and virtue of many things, not ſuch of themſelves, became evident from vicinity, or irritation of their contraries: ſo though God permitted ſome to foretel ſtrange events for trial of his peoples faith; yet this power he reſtrained when the controverſie came to a Formal trial; then he cauſed the true Prophets words to ſtand, whiles the predictions of the falſe, and the Princes blood which relied upon them, fell to the ground, like *Dagon* before the Ark. So as the fulfilling of what the one, and fruſtrating of what the other had ſaid, did ſufficiently manifeſt the one had ſpoken of himſelf preſumptuouſly; the other, what the Lord hath put into his mouth.

Hence is the determination eaſie, what means this people had to diſcern, amonſt true Prophets which was *That Great one*, in all things like to *Moſes*. *Firſt*, if events foretold did ſufficiently teſtifie of his divine ſpirit: his own witneſs of himſelf would be authentick, becauſe a true Prophet could hardly lie, or make himſelf greater than he was. This is an argument, which directly confutes ſuch, as acknowledge Chriſt to have been a Prophet, ſincere in doctrine, and mighty in deeds: and yet deny him to be *the Prince of that profeſſion, the great Mediator of the new Covenant*, both which he often avouched. Beſides, the quantity of that ſpirit, whoſe ſincere quality manifeſted him to be a Prophet, would notifie his exceſſive Greatneſs in that rank and order; or, more directly to the queſtion,

Moſes *deſcription of the great Prophet in ſtrict propriety of the words uſed by him, peculiar unto Chriſt.*

9. The great Prophet there ſpoken of was to be known by his ſimilitude with *Moſes*, who was as the *Symbol, or proportional Mean* between him and leſſer Prophets. Other, in theſe few gifts wherein they reſembled their Father, came far ſhort of him: Chriſt in all, far exceeding him. Others, were all of *Jacobs* line, raiſed up by Gods appointment, ſo to inſtruct their brethren in doubtful caſes, as they ſhould not need to conſult Sorcerers, or entertain familiarity with wicked ſpirits. Chriſt (to omit the eminency of his Prophetical Function till hereafter) beſides this common Fraternity with his people was in more eſpecial manner *Abrahams* ſeed, and *in particular ſort raiſed up by* Jehovah *his God*, by intrinſick aſſumption into the unity of his perſon, not by external aſſiſtance or impulſion of his Spirit. *Raiſed* likewiſe he was in a ſtrict and proper ſenſe מקרב אחיהם, from amid this people, being as it were extracted out of the pure Virgin, as the firſt woman was out of the man, by *Jehovahs* own immediate hand; from his Cradle to his Croſs, moſt exactly anſwering to that delineation of the Great Prophet, and Mediator to be revealed, which was exhibited firſt in *Moſes*, when he ſtood before the Lord in *Horeb*. His ſtrange deliverance from Herodian butchery, whiles all the Infant males beſides did periſh, was fully parallel to the others exemption from *Pharaohs* cruelty; like to *Moſes* he was, in the * number of his Diſciples, in † communication of his Spirit unto them, in admitting them to more ſpecial participation of his ſecrets, in the peculiar teſtifications of his familiarity with God, in his faſting, in his transfiguration, in multitude of miracles. But theſe and the like I leave to the Readers obſervation.

See Deut. 18. 18.

* *Num.* 11. 16. vid. S. *Luk.* 10. 1, &c.

† *So* Exodus 24. *God commands* Moſes *to come up to the Lord in the Mount, with* Aaron, Nadab *and* Abihu, *and ſeventy of the Elders of* Iſrael, *which were to worſhip afar off, while* Moſes *himſelf alone went near unto the Lord: ſo ſaith* S. Peter, *God cauſed Chriſt to be ſhewed openly, not to all the people, but to the witneſſes choſen before of God, to ſuch as did eat and drink with him, after he aroſe from the dead. His Diſciples alone were preſent when God called Chriſt into heavenly places.* Exod. 24. 10, 11.

† *The excellency of the great Prophet in reſpect of* Moſes *gathered from the difference betwixt* Moſes *and the leſſer Prophets.*

* *Numb.* 12. 6, 7, 8.

10. † The peculiar and proper undoubted notes of the great Prophet there ſpoken of, will be moſt conſpicuous in our Saviour, if we compare him; firſt, with *Moſes*, then with ordinary Prophets, according to that difference the Lord himſelf made between theſe and *Moſes*; * *If there be a Prophet of the Lord among you, I will be known to him by a viſion, and will ſpeak unto him by dream. My ſervant Moſes is not ſo, who is faithful in all mine houſe. Unto him will I ſpeak mouth to mouth, and by viſion, not in dark words, but he ſhall ſee the ſimilitude of the Lord. Wherefore then were ye not afraid to ſpeak againſt*

my ſervant, even againſt Moſes? It is ſaid *ſignanter*, he ſhould *ſee the ſimilitude of God*, not God; for as the Evangeliſt ſaith † *No man hath ſeen God at any time*; ſo was it told *Moſes* from the Lords own mouth, *that he could not ſee his face and live*. Yet ſaw this great Prophet more of God, than all the Prophets beſides. Herein then was Chriſt like unto him, but far above him, that *He was in the boſom of his Father*, (not admitted to ſee his back parts only) *and hath declared him to the world*. *Moſes* from the abundance of his Prophetical ſpirit, ſo perfectly foretold the perpetual eſtate of his people, from the Law given, to the time of their Meſſias, as the beſt Prophets may ſeem to be but his Scholars. From participation of that fulneſs which was in Chriſt, hath that Diſciple whom he loved, far exceeded *Moſes*, as well in the extent, weight and variety of matters foretold, as in the determinate manner of foretelling them. And I know not whether if it were poſſible to call both Chriſt and *Moſes* from Heaven, their preſence (though more glorious than it was upon Mount *Tabor*) would be more forcible to illuminate the Jew or Atheiſt, than ſerious reading the Books of *Deuteronomy*, and the *Revelation*, comparing the one with the Jews known miſery, the other with Eccleſiaſtical Stories, the late abominations of the Papacy, and Romaniſts more than Jewiſh blindneſs. The one, ſhews *Moſes* to have been the Father of Prophets, the other Chriſt (from whoſe immenſurable fulneſs *John* had that extraordinary meaſure of the Spirit) to be *The Fountain of Propheſies*, whoſe ſupereminencies and inexhauſtible fulneſs may yet be made more apparent by comparing him, not with *Moſes* the *Symbol* or *Mean*; but with the other extream, to wit, the rank of leſſer Prophets.

The gift of propheſie not habitual to ordina y Prophets.

11. It is rightly obſerved by the Schoolmen, *Lumen Propheticum erat aliqualiter ænigmaticum*; theſe ordinary Prophets illuminations were not ſo evident or diſtinct, as certain; they diſcerned rather the proportion than feature of truth, which they ſaw but as it were through the cover, or in the caſe, not in it ſelf. And albeit the event did always prove their anſwers true, oft-times in an unexpected ſenſe: yet could they not always give ſuch anſwers when they pleaſed. Nor did the light of Gods countenance perpetually reſide upon them, as the Suns brightneſs doth by reflexion upon the Stars: they had their viciſſitude of day and night, daily Eclipſes, overcaſtings many; their chief illuminations came but as it were by flaſhes. Thus * *Jeremy* in the late cited controverſie dares not adventure to give the people a ſign for confirmation of his doctrine, or other more diſtinct, or determinate prediction, beſides that of the general event, about which the contention was: That, he knew (becauſe the Lord had put it into his mouth) would in the end condemn his adverſary of preſumption. But after *Hananiah* had outfaced him with a ſenſible ſign of his own making, breaking the yoke which he had taken from *Jeremiahs* neck, on which the Lord had put it, and boldly avouched in the preſence of all the people [*Thus ſaith the Lord, even ſo I will break the yoke of Nebuchadnezzar King of Babel, from the neck of all nations within the ſpace of two years*:] the word of the Lord came unto *Jeremiah* again, and ſends him back with this Meſſage to his adverſary, † *Hear now Hananiah, the Lord hath not ſent thee, but thou makeſt this people to truſt in a lie. Therefore thus ſaith the Lord, Behold, I will caſt thee from*

off

† *John* 1. 18.

* *Jer.* 28.

Jer. 28. 10, 11.

† *Ver.* 12, 15, 16.

off the earth: this year thou ſhalt dye, becauſe thou haſt ſpoken rebelliouſly againſt the Lord. So Hananiah the Prophet died the ſame year, in the ſeventh month. Not long after this event were both Prince and people of *Judah* rooted out of the land the Lord had given them, becauſe contrary to *Moſes* admonition, they reverenced the Prophet that ſpake preſumptuouſly, and would not hearken unto the words which the Lord put in *Jeremiahs* mouth: *Eliſha* likewiſe to whom *Elias* had given a double portion of his ſpirit in reſpect of his fellows, of all the Prophets, (unleſs *Elias* might be excepted) moſt famous for the gift of miracles, a lively type of the Meſſias, in raiſing from death and giving life, had his ſpirit of Divination but by fits, and needed Muſick to tune his ſpirits unto it. He gave the barren Shunamite a ſon, of whoſe death notwithſtanding he knew not as the Lord of life did of *Lazarus*, in his abſence: nor could he by her unuſual geſture or ſtrange ſigns of ſorrow, diſtinctly divine the true cauſe of her coming: only, when *Gehezi* went to thruſt her away, he ſaid as much as he knew: † *Let her alone, for her ſoul is vexed within her, and the Lord hath hid it from me, and hath not told it me.*

† 2 *King*. 4. 27.

John Baptiſt *more than a Prophet, from the vicinity of the great Prophet.*

12. But from the perpetual and internal irradiation of the Deity, bodily or perſonally (ſuch as the Apoſtle ſpeaks) dwelling in Chriſt, and incorporate in his ſubſtance, this ſpirit of Propheſie, (if without prejudice ſo we may call it) did never wain, was never Eclipſed, always moſt ſplendent in him, as light in the Moon in the full. As he never foretold any thing which came not to paſs, ſo could he at all times when he pleaſed, foretel whatſoever at any time ſhould befal his friends or foes, with all the circumſtances and ſigns conſequent, or precedent. From this brightneſs of his glory did *John Baptiſt* (who was ſent from God as the Morning Star to uſher this Sun of Righteouſneſs into his *Kingdom*) become more than a Prophet for diſtinct illuminations, concerning matters to come. A Prophet he was in the womb, and bare witneſs of that light which enlightneth every man that cometh into the world, before he came into it himſelf, or ſaw this bodily Sun; when he could not ſpeak, he danced for joy at his preſence, and at his firſt approach, after Baptiſm, he thus ſalutes him; **Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the ſins of the world.* What Prophet did ever ſo diſtinctly propheſie of his paſſion, and ſo fully inſtruct the people what was foreſignified by the Sacrifice of the *Paſchal Lamb*: yet was *John* himſelf ſecured by the former rule, that he ſpake this by the Spirit of the Lord, not out of fancy, not preſumptuouſly. *For till this Baptiſm,* † *he knew him not, but he that ſent him to baptize with water, he ſaid unto him, Upon whom thou ſhalt ſee the ſpirit come down and tarry ſtill upon him, that is He which baptizeth with the Holy Ghoſt. And he ſaw it ſo come to paſs, and bare record that this was the Son of God.* From this more than Prophetical ſpirit of *John*, manifeſted by this and the like teſtifications of Chriſt, all afterwards approved by the event, did the people gather, Chriſt, not *John*, to be that *Great Prophet*, mighty in word and deed. For after he had eſcaped the violence offered him at *Jeruſalem*, * *and went again beyond Jordan, into the place where John firſt baptized, Many* (ſaith the Evangeliſt) *reſorted unto him and ſaid; John did no miracle, but all things which John ſpake of this man, were true.*

* *John* 1. 29.

† *John* 1. 33. *See cap.* 20. *Parag.* 5.

* *John* 10. 40, 41, 42.

true. And many believed in him there; for his works ſake no doubt, but for theſe as accompanied with the former circumſtances of place, and *Johns* predictions. *John* had witneſſed he was the Son of God, mighty in deed and word: and reaſon they had to think his works were the works of his Father, that his priviledges were the priviledges of the only begotten Son, and Heir of all things; when *John* though a Prophet, and more than a Prophet for his portion of the Divine Spirit, was yet reſtrained (by reaſon of his approach that was before him) from doing ſuch wonders as meaner Prophets had done. To ſuch as rightly obſerved this oppoſition between *Johns* power in words, and his defect in deeds: or Chriſts ſuperabundant power in both, the caſe was plain, *John* was but the [a] *Cryer*, the other (in whoſe preſence his Authority decreaſed) *the Lord, whoſe ways he was ſent to prepare.*

[a] *Iſaiah* 40. 3.

13. If unto the variety of Chriſts miracles, compared with *Johns* Predictions, and other Propheſies, we join his arbitrary uſual manner, either of foretelling future, or knowing preſent matters of every kind, many ſuch as no Prophet durſt ever have profeſſed to belong unto himſelf: our Faith may clearly behold the ſure Foundation whereon it is built, *That he, even he himſelf, who had ſaid by the Prophet*, [[b] *I am the Lord, this is my Name, and my glory will I not give unto another, neither my praiſe to graven Images. Behold the former things are come to paſs, and new things do I declare: before they come forth, I tell you of them,*] did at the *Fulneſs of Time* manifeſt his *Glory* in our fleſh, by the practiſe there mentioned, of foretelling things ſtrange and unheard-of to the world. Propheſies of former times were fulfilled in his perſonal appearance, and made their period at the beginning of his preaching. Whatſoever concerns the ſtate of the world, chiefly the Gentiles, ſince, came from him either as altogether new, or was refined and renewed by him. For what man among the Nations, yea what Maſter in *Iſrael* did from the Law or Prophets conceive aright of [c] *the new birth*, by water and the Spirit, or of that everlaſting Kingdom, whereunto only men ſo born, are heirs predeſtinate? *Theſe were the new things, which he only could diſtinctly declare before they came forth.*

The matter of our Saviours predictions compared with the precedent propheſies of him, declare his Godhead.

[b] *Iſai.* 42. 8, 9.

[c] *John* 3. 5.

14. That their Meſſias was to be this God here ſpoken of by *Iſaiah*, dwelling and converſing with them in their nature and ſubſtance, might have been manifeſted to the Jews (had they not been hood-winked with pride and malice) from that *common notion*, even the moſt vulgar amongſt them had, of his Divine Spirit, in declaring ſecrets, and foretelling things to come. What one miracle done by Chriſt, did ever take ſo good effect with ſo great ſpeed in beſt prepared Spectators, as his diſcovery of *Nathaneels* heart in preſence, and outward carriage, in ſo great diſtance? [d] *Rabbi*, (ſaith *Nathaneel*) *Thou art the Son of God, Thou art the King of Iſrael.* Though Faith be the true gift of God, only wrought by his Spirit; yet, no queſtion but *Nathaneel* was more inclined to this confeſſion from the *general notion* of the *Meſſias* Divine Spirit; even by it, he was capable of that promiſe, *habenti dabitur*. And our Saviour highly approves, and ſo rewards this his docility; [e] *Becauſe I ſaid unto thee, I ſaw thee under the fig-tree, believeſt thou? thou ſhalt ſee greater things than theſe:* What were they? Miracles? Yes, for ſo he ſaith to him, and the reſt of his hearers: *Verily, verily I ſay unto you, hereafter ſhall you ſee*

Our Saviours arbitrary diſcovery of ſecrets and predictions of futures contingent fully conſonant to the received notions of the Meſſias.

[d] *John* 1. 49.

[e] *Joh.* 1. 50, 51.

Heaven open, and the Angels of God aſcending and deſcending upon The Son of Man. Then miracles, it ſeems, were more effectual to confirm Faith, than *this Experience of his Prophetical Spirit.* Not of themſelves, but joined with it, or as thus foretold by him, and foreſignified by [a] *Jacobs* Viſion, which compared with the Event, (whether that were at his Aſcenſion or no, I now diſpute not) did plainly declare him to be *The Way, and The Door, by which all enter into the Houſe of God.*

15. Upon the firſt apprehenſion of like diſcovery made by him, did the poor Samaritan woman acknowledge he was a Prophet, and upon his avouching himſelf to be more than ſo, ſhe takes him indeed for the expected *Meſſias*, of whom ſhe had this conceit before, [b] *That when he came, he ſhould tell them all things.* From this *preconceived notion*, working with her preſent *Experience of his Divine Spirit*, able to deſcry all the ſecrets of her heart, ſhe makes this Proclamation to her Neighbours, [c] *Come, and ſee a man that hath told me all things that ever I did; is not he The Chriſt?* Upon their like experience, fully conſonant to the ſame *common notion, or conceit* of the *Meſſias*, did a many of that City conceive Faith from the womans report; but *moe* [d] *becauſe of his own words; And they ſaid unto the woman, Now we believe, not becauſe of thy ſaying: for we have heard him our ſelves, and know that This is indeed The Chriſt, the Saviour of the World.* From the like, but more lively experience of his diſcovering ſecrets, did his Diſciples make that confeſſion, [e] *Now know we that thou knoweſt all things, and needeſt not that any man ſhould ask thee. By this we believe that thou art come out from God.*

Our Saviours Diſciples and Apoſtles did (according to his inſtructions) more rely upon his predictions than his miracles.

16. The manifeſtation of this Prophetical Spirit, did give life unto his greateſt miracles in working Faith: for his Diſciples believed in him after his Reſurrection, becauſe he had foretold his re-edifying the Temple in three days ſpace. Which ſpeech of his the fooliſh Jews, not knowing *His Body to be the true Temple,* wherein their God did dwell after a more excellent manner than between the Cherubins, take as meant of the material Temple, which had been fourty ſix years in building. But (ſaith Saint [f] *John*) *Aſſoon as he was riſen from the dead, his Diſciples remembred that he thus ſaid unto them: and they believed the Scripture, and the word which Jeſus had ſaid.* Nor did they compare theſe two together by chance: for our Saviour often inculcated this Method, as of purpoſe to imprint the former Oracle of *Iſaiah* in their hearts. To aſſure them of his going to his Father, he expreſly tells them, [g] *Now I have ſpoken unto you before it come, that when it is come to paſs, ye might believe.* Foretelling the perſecution of his Diſciples, he adds, [h] *Theſe things have I told you, that when the hour ſhall come, ye might remember that I told you them.* That Glory likewiſe which God had profeſſed he would not give to any other, he foretels ſhould be given Him, and ſo demands it, as if He that did glorifie, and He that was glorified, were both One: [i] *Father, Glorifie thy Name. Then came there a voice from Heaven, ſaying, I have both glorified it, and will glorifie it again.* How had he glorified it before? By glorifying this great Prophet, who did fully expreſs, but far exceed *Moſes*, in all things wherein

Foretelling the fulfilling of that Scripture, [He that eateth bread with me, hath lift up his heel againſt me,] in Judas; he gave this general Rule, From henceforth tell I you before it come, that when it is come to paſs, ye might believe that I am He. John 13. 19.

[a] *Gen.* 28. 12, 13, 19.

[b] *John* 4. 25.

[c] *Verſe* 29.

[d] *Verſe* 42.

[e] *John* 16. 30.

[f] *John* 2. 22.

[g] *John* 14. 29.

[h] *John* 16. 4.

[i] *John* 12. 28.

former Prophets did reſemble him, but came far ſhort of him. When was he ſo glorified? At his Transfiguration upon Mount *Tabor*, which none without ſacrilegious impiety could have foretold, as likely to befal himſelf, ſave he alone, that had, not as *Moſes*, only ſeen the *Similitude of the Lord*, but being in the Form of God, thought it no robbery to be Equal with him. Yet this Prophet of whom we ſpeak, though like to his Brethren in ſhape and ſubſtance, to aſſure them he ſhould come in the Glory of his Father, foretels his Diſciples, *that ſome of them ſhould not* [a] *die until they had ſeen the Kingdom of God come with Power*: which was accompliſhed in *that* Transfiguration, where, as Saint *Peter* witneſſeth, *He received of God the Father, honour and glory, when there came ſuch a voice unto him from the excellent glory, This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleaſed.* Yea, ſo well pleaſed, as for his ſake the world might henceforth know how ready he was to hear all, that through Faith in his Name ſhould call upon him, even ſuch as had diſpleaſed him moſt. For this cauſe, the Codicil annexed to the Divine Will and Teſtament here ſignified, immediately after to be ſealed with the bloud of this *Beſt Beloved Son*, was that reciprocal duty before intimated in the Law, *Hear Him*: as is ſpecified by [b] three Evangeliſts. For more publick manifeſtation of his Majeſty, (as then revealed but to a few) was that glorious commemoration of it lately mentioned, celebrated again in the audience of the multitude: [c] *This voice*, ſaith our Saviour, *came not becauſe of me, but for your ſakes.* And in that place again, after his wonted predictions of things ſhould after come to paſs, as of his victory over death, he teſtifies aloud to all the people, that he was the great Prophet foretold by *Moſes*, ſweetly paraphraſing upon his words; [d] *And Jeſus cried and ſaid, He that believeth in me, believeth not in me, but in him that ſent me. And if any man hear my words, and believe not, I judge him not: for I came not to judge the world, but to ſave the world.* He did not accurſe ſuch as would not acknowledge his Authority, or derogated from his perſon or miracles; nor needed he ſo to do: [e] for he that refuſeth *him, and receiveth not his words, hath one that judgeth him; the word which he had ſpoken, it ſhall judge him in the laſt day.* This was that which *Moſes* had ſaid, [f] *And whoſoever will not hearken unto my words, which he* [the great *Prophet*] *ſhall ſpeak in my Name,* I will require it of him, to wit, in the laſt day of accompts, [g] *For I have not ſpoken of my ſelf, but the Father which ſent me, he gave me a commandment what I ſhould do, and what I ſhould ſpeak. And I know that his commandment is life everlaſting: the things therefore that I ſpeak, I ſpeak them ſo as the Father ſaid unto me.* What is this, but that ſpeech of *Moſes* improved to its Full Value, according to the circumſtances and ſigns of thoſe times, and as it concerned the Lord and Prince of Prophets? [[h] *I will raiſe them up a Prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee, and will put my words in his mouth, and he ſhall ſpeak unto them all that I ſhall command him.*]

17. This being the laſt conference our Saviour was willing to entertain with the Jews, this his laſt farewel given in *Moſes* words, warrants me to conſtrue that ſpeech of Saint *Johns*, [[i] *Though he had done ſo many miracles before them, yet believed they not on him,*] as I have done the like before: to wit, That, not his miracles conſidered alone, but with Moſaical and Prophetical Writings,

a *Mark* 9. 1. *Matth.* 16.28. *Luke* 9. 27. 2 *Pet.* 1. 17.

b *Mark* 9. 7. *Luke* 9. 35. *Matth.* 17. 5.

c *John* 12.30.

Our Saviour in his laſt conference with the Jews proclaims himſelf to be the great Prophet foretold by Moſes.

d *John* 12. 44.

e *John* 12. 48.

f *Deut.* 18.19.

g *John* 12.49, 50.

h *Deut.* 18,18.

Our Saviours Prophetical ſpirit gave life to his miracles, though his miracles were good preparatives to Belief.

i *John* 12.37.

or *common notions* of the Meſſias thence conceived, or (eſpecially) as they concurred with his own predictions, did immediately condemn the Jews. Under the name of works, his words are comprehended; ſuch at the leaſt, as foretel his admirable works, or in general, all thoſe ſolemn invocations of his Fathers Name, in ſuch predictions, as had he not been the Son of God, would rather have brought ſpeedy vengeance from Heaven upon his head than ſuch glorious teſtimonies of his Divinity. And to me our Saviour ſeems to call his very words *works*, in that ſpeech to *Philip*, * *Believeſt thou not that I am in the Father and the Father in me? the words that I ſpeak unto you, I ſpeak not of my ſelf, but the Father that dwelleth in me, he doth the works.* Howſoever as all the works of God were created by this *Eternal Word*: ſo did his words give life unto his greateſt works; his Divinations were to his Miracles, as his humane ſoul was to his body. And no queſtion, but the conception of their Faith that heard him preach, was as immediately from thoſe *words of eternal life* which iſſued from his mouth, as ours is from the *Word* preached by his Meſſengers. To what other uſe then could Miracles ſerve, ſave only to breed a prævial admiration, and make entrance for them into his hearers hearts? though his bodily preſence at all times was not, yet were his uſual works in themſelves truly glorious, more than apt to diſpel that veil of prejudice, commonly taken againſt the meanneſs of his perſon, birth, or parentage; had it been meerly natural, not occaſioned through wilful neglect of extraordinary means precedent, and ſtubborn oppoſition to preſent grace moſt plentifully offered. His raiſing others from death to life, was more than ſufficient to remove that offence the people took at that ſpeech, † *If I were lift up from the earth, I ſhould draw all men unto me.* To which they anſwered, *We have heard out of the Law, that the Chriſt bideth for ever; and how ſayeſt thou that the Son of Man muſt be lift up? Who is that Son of Man?*

* *John* 14. 10.

† *John* 12. 32.

The peculiar ſimilitude between Chriſt and Moſes *in the office of mediation.*

18. To conclude then, his diſtinct and arbitrary foretelling Events of every ſort any Prophet had mentioned, many of them not producible, but by extraordinary miracles, withal including divine teſtifications of far greater glory aſcribed to him, than *Moſes* or any Prophet ever challenged, was *The demonſtrative Rule* (according to *Moſes* prediction) whereunto all viſible ſigns and ſenſible miracles ſhould have been reſolved by their ſpectators: as known effects lead Contemplators unto the firſt and immediate cauſes, on which their Truth and Being depends. That *Encomium*, [*This is my Beloved Son in whom I am well-pleaſed, Hear him*;] with the like given by *John Baptiſt*, [*Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the ſins of the world*,] unto all ſuch as took him for a true Prophet, did more diſtinctly point out the ſimilitude peculiar to Him with *Moſes*, expreſſed (in the forecited place of *Deuteronomy*) literally: though not ſo plainly, as moſt Readers would without direction obſerve it, ſeeing even Interpreters moſt followed either neglect the words themſelves, in which it is directly contained, or wreſt their meaning. * *Unto him ſhall ye hearken, according to all that thou deſiredſt of the Lord thy God in Horeb, in the day of the aſſembly.* Their requeſt then was; *Talk thou with us, and we will hear, but let not God talk with us leſt we die.* Here the whole multitude bound themſelves to hear the Word of the Lord, not immediately from his mouth, but by *Moſes*.

* *Deut.* 18. 15, 16.

Moſes. For whiles the people ſtood afar off, he only drew near to the darkneſs where God was. This their requeſt and reſolution, elſewhere more fully expreſſed, the Lord highly commended: [a] *I have heard the voice of the words of this people, which they have ſpoken unto thee: they have well ſaid, all that they have ſpoken: Oh that there were ſuch an heart in them, to fear me, and to keep all my commandments alway, that it might go well with them, and with their children for ever.* If we obſerve that increment, the literal ſence of the ſame words may receive by ſucceſſion of time, or as they reſpect the Body, not the Type, both which they jointly ſignifie; the beſt reaſon can be given of Gods approving the former petition and *Iſraels* peculiar diſpoſition at that time above others, will be this: That as poſterity in rejecting [b] *Samuel*, rejected Chriſt, or God the ſecond Perſon in Trinity: ſo here the Fathers in requeſting *Moſes* might be their ſpokeſman unto God, requeſted that great Prophet ordained to be the Author of a better Covenant, even that promiſed Womans Seed, their Brother according to the fleſh, to be Mediator betwixt God and them, to ſecure them from ſuch dreadful flames as they had ſeen, ſo they would hearken (as then they promiſed) unto his words, as unto the words of God himſelf, eſteeming him (as the Apoſtle ſaith) ſo far above *Moſes*, [c] *As he that builds the houſe, is above the houſe.* And in the *Emphaſis* of that ſpeech, [[d] *Whoſoever will not hearken unto my words which he ſhall ſpeak in my Name, I will require it of him:*] purpoſely reſumed by *Moſes* with theſe threats annexed, as if he had not ſufficiently expreſſed his mind in the like precedent, [*Unto him ye ſhall hearken*;] The ſame difference between *Moſes* and the great Prophet then meant, is included, which the Apoſtle in another place expreſſeth, [e] *He that deſpiſeth Moſes Law, dieth without mercy under two or three witneſſes. Of how much ſorer puniſhment ſuppoſe ye he ſhall be worthy, which treadeth under foot the Son of God, and counteth the blood of the Teſtament as an unholy thing ?* Until the Sovereignty of the Law and Prophets did determine, that *Encomium* of *Moſes* did bear date, [[f] *There aroſe not a Prophet ſince in Iſrael like unto Moſes, whom the Lord knew face to face:*] but vaniſhed upon the *Criers* voice, when the *Kingdom of Heaven* began to appear. The *Iſraelites* to whom both promiſes were made, did far exceed all other Nations, in that they had a Law moſt abſolute given by *Moſes*, yet to be bettered by an Everlaſting Covenant; the Former being as an earneſt penny given in hand, to aſſure them of the Latter. In reſpect of Both, the name of a Soothſayer or Sorcerer was not to be heard in *Iſrael*, as in the Nations which knew not God, much leſs expected a Mediator, in whom the Spirit of life ſhould dwell as plentifully, as ſplendor doth in the body of the Sun; from whoſe fulneſs, ere he viſibly came into the world, other Prophets were illuminated (as thoſe lights which rule the night, are by that great light which God hath appointed to rule the day) at whoſe approach the Prince of darkneſs with his followers were to avoid the *Hemiſphere* wherein they had reigned. In the mean time, the teſtimonies of the Law and Propheſies, ſerved as a light or candle to miniſh the terrours of the night. Even *Moſes* himſelf, and all that followed him, were but as Meſſengers ſent from God to ſollicit his people to reſerve their allegiance free from all commerce, or compact with familiar Spirits, until the Prince of Glory came in perſon.

[a] *Deut.* 5. 28, 29.

[b] Vide lib. 1. cap. 28. parag. 8, 9, 10.

[c] *Heb.* 3. 3.

[d] *Deut.* 18. 18.

[e] *Heb.* 10. 18, 20.

[f] *Deut.* 34. 10.

The chief grounds of Moſes *diſſwading* Iſrael *from ſorcery, was their expectation of the great Prophet.*

19. Thus without cenſure of their opinion, that otherwiſe think or teach, albeit the continuance of Prophets amongſt this people, were a mean to prevent all occaſions of conſulting Sorcerers or Witches: yet the chief ground of *Moſes* diſſwaſion from ſuch practices, according to the literal connexion of theſe words; [a] [*The Nations which thou ſhalt poſſeſs, hearken unto thoſe that regard the times, and unto ſorcerers; as for thee, the Lord thy God hath not ſuffered thee ſo,*] with thoſe following hitherto expounded, [*The Lord thy God will raiſe up unto thee a Prophet,*] was the conſideration of their late mighty deliverance by *Moſes*, the excellency of their preſent Law, and their expectation of a greater Law-giver, (when the firſt Covenant ſhould wax old, and Propheſies for a long time fail) unto ſtrict obſervance of whoſe precepts they ſolemnly bound themſelves (as was lately obſerved) ever whilſt the former was eſtabliſhed. That which moves me to embrace this interpretation, is *Balaams* Propheſie uttered of *Iſrael*, conſidered in the abſtract, as he might have been, not as he proved, (as [b] *Malachy* ſpeaks of *Levi*) or according to the excellency of his calling in *Moſes* and in *Chriſt*, or Gods promiſe, which he for his part was ready to perform; [c] *God brought them* (ſaith he) *out of Egypt, their ſtrength is as an Unicorn: For there is no ſorcery in Jacob, nor ſoothſaying in Iſrael, according to this time it ſhall be ſaid of Jacob, What hath God wrought?* And in the [d] Chapter following, he joins *Iſraels* deliverance from *Egypt*, as the foundation or beginning; and his victory in Chriſt, as the accompliſhment or finiſhing of his glory. Of that *Jacob* meant by *Balaam*, even we Gentiles are a part, every way as ſtrictly bound by *Moſes* Law, as *Iſrael* was to abandon ſoothſaying and ſorcery, but eſpecially bound to abhor theſe and like works of darkneſs, from that light the Star of *Jacob* hath afforded us. Theſe two great Prophets then, Chriſt and *Moſes*, appointed ſucceſſively to declare Gods will unto his people, were the main ſupporters of true Religion in *Iſrael*, by whoſe Doctrine all curious and ſuperſtitious Arts were to vaniſh. And, if my Obſervation fail not, *Iſrael* was much leſs given to ſorcery after ordinary Prophets ceaſed, than before: becauſe this great Prophet, the Hope of *Iſrael* was at hand.

[a] *Deut.* 18. 14.

[b] *Chap.* 1.

[c] *Num.* 23. 22.

[d] *God brought him out of Egypt, his ſtrength ſhall be as an Unicorn. He ſhall eat the Nations his enemies, and bruiſe their bones, and ſhoot them thorow with his arrows. He coucheth and lieth down as a young Lion, and as a Lion: who ſhall ſtir him up? Bleſſed is he that bleſſeth thee, and curſed is he that curſeth thee. I ſhall ſee him, but not now: I ſhall behold him, but not near. There ſhall come a ſtar of* Jacob, *and a ſcepter ſhall riſe of* Iſrael, *and ſhall ſmite the coaſts of* Moab, *and deſtroy all the ſons of* Sheth: *And* Edom *ſhall be poſſeſſed, and* Seir *ſhall be a poſſeſſion to their enemies: but* Iſrael *ſhall do valiantly. He alſo that ſhall have dominion ſhall be of* Jacob, *and ſhall deſtroy the remnant of the City,* Numb. 24. 8, 9. & 17. 18, 19.

20. [e] The apprehenſion of what we now by long ſearch hardly find, was more facile to the ancient *Jews*, from the known conceits, or received traditions thereto pertinent. Before the Law was written, one they had heard ſhould be ſent from God, a mighty Deliverer of his people: unto whom *Moſes* thought himſelf much inferiour, as appears by his reply to God, when he was firſt ſent to viſit his Brethren: [f] *Mitte, quæſo, quem miſſurus es; Send, I pray thee, whom thou wilt ſend:* as if he ſaid, *One thou haſt appointed from everlaſting, to declare thy Name unto his brethren, to ſhew mercy to thy people, and thy power upon thine enemies; and I beſeech thee ſend him now, for this is work befitting his ſtrength, not my weakneſs.* From the like notions or

[e] *That our Saviours Authority might have been and was more manifeſtly proved out of* Moſes *and the Prophets to the ancient: than it can be to the modern Jews altogether unacquainted with the right manner of interpreting prophecies, or ſuch common notions or traditions, as the Scribes and Phariſees had in our Saviours time.*

[f] *Exod.* 4. 13.

received opinions, did the Phariſees underſtand this place, as meant of *the Prophet that was to come:* albeit it may be doubted, whether they took him to be the ſame with the Meſſiah. For ſo they demand of *John* ſeverally; [a] *Art thou the Chriſt? Art thou Eliah? Art thou the Prophet? Eliah* was plainly diſtinguiſhed from the Meſſias by *Iſaiah*; or perhaps they knew the Meſſias and *the Prophet* to be the ſame: yet, like ſtrict examiners, propoſed theſe two ſeveral names, to leave *John* no evaſion. It was likewiſe a truth preſuppoſed and known, at leaſt amongſt the [b] Phariſees, that *Eliah*, *Meſſias*, *the Prophet*, one or all, ſhould baptiſe. Hence they further queſtion the Baptiſt; [c] *Why baptizeſt thou then, if thou be not the Chriſt, neither Elias, nor the Prophet?* And of himſelf he ſaith, *Becauſe He* [d] (to wit, the Chriſt) *ſhould be declared to Iſrael, therefore am I come baptizing with water.* This anſwer, with his practice permitted by the Phariſees, and approved by the people, ſo fully concurring with the former notion, but eſpecially his prediction of Chriſts baptizing *with the Holy Ghoſt*, and (as Saint [e] *Matthew* adds) *with fire*; were moſt pregnant teſtimonies againſt unbelievers, after they had notice of the Holy Ghoſts deſcending (upon the ſame day their Law was given) from Heaven: for the plentiful manner of effuſion; and placide illapſe into the ſouls of every ſort, reſembling water poured out, (as the [f] Prophets phraſe imports;) but for outward appearance, and inward effects of ardent zeal, like unto fire. And likely it is, as well the [g] pillar of fire which enlightned *Iſrael* by night, as the Cloud that reſted upon the Tabernacle, under which (Saint [h] *Paul* ſaith) the Fathers *being*, *were baptized in it*, were ſuch præluding Types of Baptiſm by Water and the Holy Ghoſt, as the Rock was of Chriſt, or the waters thence flowing, of thoſe Springs of Life, which iſſue from him, to the refreſhing of every faithful thirſty Soul. The myſtical ſignifications of ſuch ſhadows of good things to come, were ſufficiently known to the Jews living in our Saviours time. Whence (as the two judicious Commentatours, *Bucer* and *Martyr* obſerve) his adverſaries mouths were inſtantly ſtopt, at the firſt allegation of thoſe places the modern Jews bark moſt againſt, as not inferring what the Evangeliſts report their forefathers granted: becauſe theſe had a peculiar manner of interpreting Scriptures not acknowledged by the latter, grown out of uſe for the moſt part amongſt Chriſtians, or rather overgrown with the abuſe of luxuriant Allegories, and myſtical ſenſeleſs ſenſes, framed by Monkiſh or rather Apiſh imitation of Orthodoxal Antiquity. The weeding out of ſuch Tares, as, through theſe bad Husbands ſloth and negligence, have abounded in Gods Harveſt, will not (we truſt) be either difficult, or dangerous to the good ſeed primitive Antiquity hath ſowen: whoſe general method and manner of interpreting Prophecies (though in particulars it often fail; partly, through adventurous imitation of ſome Philoſophers in unfolding Heatheniſh myſteries; partly, through want of skill in the Original Tongues) holds the juſt Mean between barbarous Poſtillers, and ſome late Preachers, worthily famous, yet too nice and ſcrupulous in this ſubject, as ſhall appear when we come to handle it.

21. But to finiſh what we had laſt in hand, the moſt remarkable, moſt publick document our Saviour gave to unbelievers, of his deſignment

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[a] *Joh.* 1. 20, 21.

[b] *Some Interpreters obſerve that S.* John *doth purpoſely inſert theſe words; Now they which were ſent were of the Phariſees,* Joh. 1. 24. *though other Evangeliſts call them only Levites, to notifie unto us that this was a tradition known unto that ſect.*

[c] *John* 1. 25.

[d] *Verſe* 31.

[e] *Matth.* 3. 11.

[f] *Joel* 2. 28.

[g] *Exod.* 13. 21, 22.

[h] 1 *Cor.* 10. 1, 2

Our Saviours prediction of his death and reſurrection, was that which according to Moſes *prophesie, did most condemn the Jews.*

ſignment to that great Office foretold by *Moſes*, was the conſtant avouchment of his Death and Reſurrection, unto ſuch as ſo well obſerved his words, that after they had taken away his life, [a] procured a ſtrong watch to be ſet about his Sepulchre, leſt his Diſciples ſhould take his Body thence, and by emptying It, ſeem to fulfil his Prophecie. Nor did he *once* only, but [b] *twice* foretel, not barely he would riſe again, but that thus much was preſignified by the Prophet *Jonahs* three days impriſonment in the Whales belly; *thus inviting them to obſerve all congruity of circumſtance between the hiſtorical Type already exhibited, and the ſubſtance prophecied: which method*, as hereafter (God willing) will appear, *is, of all the beſt*, for inſinuating Faith into ſuperſtitious, perverſe, and crooked hearts, otherwiſe moſt unapt to receive truths late revealed. *Since Chriſts Glorification, ſundry Impoſtors have done many works, hardly diſtinguiſhable by ſpectators from true miracles: but the end of all their purpoſes, which they ſought thence to perſwade, was always ſo diſſonant to the uncorrupt notions, precedent types, or prophecies of the* Meſſiah; *as, unto hearts well ſetled*, and ſurely grounded upon Scriptures formerly eſtabliſhed and confirmed, *their greateſt wonders ſeemed but Apiſh toys*, howſoever *difficiles nugæ*. And ſome of theſe Juglers, either out of the ſtrength of their own illuſions, or upon the preſumption of their profane skill in deceiving others, have adventured to foretel their Reſurrection; but were not able to diſſolve the bands of death: their everlaſting durance in whoſe priſons, hath openly ſhewed they ſpake preſumptuouſly; that not *Mahomet* himſelf, the greateſt of them, was that *Great Prophet* foretold by *Moſes*. What was the reaſon then the *Jews* would not; the *Turks*, unto this day, will not believe in Chriſt crucified? *For the* [c] *Inhabitants of Jeruſalem*, Saint *Paul* hath anſwered, *Becauſe they knew him not, nor yet the words of the Prophets which are read every Sabbath day, they have fulfilled them in condemning him.* The ſame Apoſtle, though indued with the power of miracles, yet in that place rather uſeth *Davids* words, than his own works, to prove Chriſts Reſurrection. Of which, that ſaying of Chriſt was moſt truly verified in the obſtinate *Jews*, [d] *Not hearing* Moſes *and the Prophets*, (ſo as to be moved by them to true repentance) *neither were they perſwaded, though this great Prophet of whom they wrote, was raiſed from the dead again.*

22. Were we well acquainted either with that manner of interpretation, or thoſe prenotions the Apoſtle ſuppoſed as known, when he uſed that teſtimony of the Pſalmiſt, [e] [*Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee,*] to prove our Saviours Reſurrection: it would not be hard to perſwade us *Moſes* words, hitherto expounded, were as literally meant of Gods raiſing his Son out of his *Maiden*-Grave, as out of his Virgin-Mothers Womb. And I make no queſtion but the concluſion of Saint *Peters* Sermon, [f] *Unto you* (whom a little before he had termed Children of the Prophets) *hath God raiſed up his Son*, were meant by him of his raiſing Chriſt from the dead. And yet are theſe words but an Application of the former principal Text he there inſiſts upon: [g] *Moſes* ſaid unto the Fathers, *The Lord your God ſhall raiſe up unto you a Prophet even of your brethren like unto me, ye ſhall hear him all things whatſoever he ſhall ſay unto you.* And unto this Reſurrection doth the ſtrict propriety of that phraſe, [[h] *from the midſt of thee,*] well agree. [i] *For theſe things*

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[a] *Mat.*27.63.
[b] *Mat.*12.39. *Mat.*16.4.
[c] *Acts* 13.27.
[d] *Luke* 16.31.
[e] *Acts* 13.33. *Pſal.* 2.7.
[f] *Acts* 3.26.
[g] *Verſe* 22.
[h] *Deut.*18.15.
[i] *Acts* 26.26.

were not done in a corner, but in Jeruſalem, *the Metropolis of* Judea, not without expreſs notice given to the Rulers. *Moſes* indeed foretold his own death, and whatſoever Prophets, (raiſed up by God unto this people) did foretel, came ſtill to paſs: yet none ever foretold his own *raiſing up*. But ſeeing Chriſts *Firſt raiſing* from the Virgins womb, though moſt miraculous, was yet more private: he forewarned the world to expect *This Second*, altogether as powerful, but more publick. And in it again he is like to *Moſes* raiſed up by God, to be a Saviour of his people, out of that Ark which without Divine eſpecial Providence had been his Tomb. This ſimilitude amongſt the reſt, betwixt Chriſt and *Moſes*, as well in their later as firſt birth, but eſpecially the notice our Saviour gave unto his enemies of the later; hath made them unwittingly Prophets to their wo. For ſeeing it hath left their unbelief without excuſe, * *their laſt errour concerning his Reſurrection, is become worſe than the firſt concerning his Birth.* Neither could have ſeemed incredible (though both moſt miraculous) to this ungracious ſeed of *Jacob*, *had they looked* (as the Prophet willed them;) † *unto the rock whence they were hewn, and to the hole of the pit whence they were digged.* The mighty increaſe of *Sarahs* womb, no better than dead, and ſtrange multiplication of *Iſaacs* ſeed beyond the poſterity of all the people with whom he ſojourned, did but portend the fruitful offſpring of the Virgins only Son ſhould in number and dignity far ſurmount the ſons and daughters of all the fertile Mothers in *Judea*. *Iſaacs* poſterity had been great, yet able to be numbered, by *David*. * *But his generation who ſhall declare, that was cut out of the land of the living?* † *Therefore ſprang there even of one, and him as dead*: (or deſtinated to death, as *Iſaac* was; *yea of one truly dead, that made his grave with the wicked*) *as many as the Stars in the sky in multitude* (in dignity greater) *and as the ſand by the ſea ſhore innumerable.* Mightier was the encreaſe of that Rock wherein he made his grave, whence we are hewen, than of that *pit*, *whence Iſrael according to the fleſh, was digged.* His exaltation ſince, hath been their fall. For ſeeing they would not believe his Predictions, as their Lawgiver had commanded; the world may clearly ſee the curſe indefinitely there denounced againſt all ſuch as *would not hear*; fulfilled upon that ſtubborn generation, according to the full extent of S. *Peters* Paraphraſe * upon it, *Not one or a few only were deſtroyed out of the people* (as *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, for diſobedience unto *Moſes*:) *but the whole people, or nation, were utterly rooted out of the land.* All which, with all particular circumſtances and ſigns precedent or enſuing, this great Prophet in his life time had ſo diſtinctly foretold; that, if we compare former Prophets with him, they may ſeem to have but dreamed; he alone, that put theſe unknown ditties into their heads, to have had the perfect skill of right interpreting their meaning.

* *Mat.* 27.64.

† *Iſa.* 51.1.

* *Iſa.* 53.8.

† *Heb.* 11.12.

* Acts 3.23. *For it ſhall be that every perſon which ſhall not hear that Prophet, ſhall be deſtroyed out of the people.*

CHAP. XXII.

That the method uſed by the great Prophet himſelf after his Reſurrection for planting faith, was ſuch as we teach: The exceſs of Antichriſts exaltation above Chriſt: The Diametrical oppoſition betwixt the Spirit of God, and the ſpirit of the Papacy.

1. MOſes was to be acknowledged a great Prophet, becauſe the whole hoſt of *Iſrael* infalliby knew the Lord was with him in all he did; every Prophet after him to be known by the Rules which he had given, for their diſcernment; Chriſt Jeſus to be taken for the Great Prophet and Mediator of the everlaſting Covenant, becauſe in words, in works, in all his ways, exactly anſwerable to Moſaical and Prophetical Characters, of the Meſſiah that was to come. This ſweet Harmony of Legal Types or Ancient Prophecies, as well with the whole courſe of his bleſſed life, as with his ignominious and cruel death, or manner of his glorious Reſurrection, I ſhould either have eſteemed or regarded leſs, had not my Saviour himſelf preferred the aſſurance of prophetical teſtimonies before the certainty of their ſenſes that had converſed with him in their life time, admitted to conference with him after his riſing from the dead. For ſo we read of two Diſciples which had ſeen his miracles, heard his doctrine, and acknowledged *him for a Prophet, mighty in word and deed*: but yet diſtruſted the report of his Reſurrection after it had been the ſecond time confirmed by ſuch of their fellows as had doubted with them: yea their Maſter himſelf had told them as much before his death. And had he not good reaſon then to upbraid them with diſtruſt, having now met them as live-like as they themſelves were? Was he to them *a Prophet mighty in word and deed:* and yet not able to perform what he had conſtantly ſpoken? But what was the chief matter of their juſt reproof? That they had not believed his words, nor given due credence to his works? *Dull*, no doubt, they had been, in not eſteeming better of both; *unwiſe*, in not learning more of him, that taught as never man taught: but (as in them he teacheth us) *moſt dull* and *moſt unwiſe*, even * *Fools and ſlow of heart, in not believing all that the Prophets had ſpoken. Ought not Chriſt to have ſuffered theſe things* (as if he had ſaid, Is it poſſible your ignorance in them ſhould be ſo groſs, as not to know that Chriſt was thus to ſuffer) *and ſo to enter into his glory?*

* Luke 24.25.

2. You will ſay perchance they did not well in giving ſo little attention and credit to the Prophets whoſe light ſhould have led them unto Chriſt: but now that they have light on him in perſon, without their help, only by his ſeeking them, ſhall not he who was the end and ſcope of all prophetical writings, teach them all? He will: but not by relying only upon his infallible authority. This *Edifice* of Faith muſt be framed upon the Foundation laid by the Prophets. For this reaſon happily our Saviour would not bewray himſelf to be their infallible Teacher, until he had made them by evidence of Scripture, by true ſenſe and feeling of his Spirit, believe

and know the truth, which he taught, to be infallible. He had opened their hearts, by opening the Scriptures unto them, before their eyes were open to diſcern his perſon: for * *he began at Moſes and at all the Prophets, and interpreted unto them in all the Scriptures the things which were written of him.* Stedfaſt Belief then of any mans authority, muſt ſpring out of the ſolid Experience of his skill, and truth of his doctrine. Theſe two Diſciples might now reſolve their hearts, that this was he who *John* ſaid ſhould baptize with the Holy Ghoſt and with fire; when by the working of his Spirit, † *Their hearts did burn within them, whiles he talked with them, and opened the Scriptures unto them.* Though before they had received *John* Baptiſts witneſs of the truth, as a Tie or Feſt to ſtay their fleeting Faith; * *yet now they would not receive the record of man; there is another that beareth witneſs of him; the Spirit of truth,* which hath imprinted his doctrine in their hearts.

* *Luke* 24.27.

† *Verſ.* 32.

* *Joh.* 5.32,34.

3. Would the Pope who callengeth Chriſts place on earth amongſt his living members, and requires we ſhould believe his words, as well as theſe Diſciples did Chriſts, but expound thoſe Scriptures unto us which Chriſt did to them, with like evidence and efficacy; could he make our hearts thus *burn* within, by opening the ſecret myſteries of our ſalvation: we would take him for Chriſts Vicar, and believe indeed he were infallibly aſſiſted by the Holy Spirit. But ſeeing he and his followers invert our Saviours method, by calling the certainty of both Teſtaments in queſtion, telling us we cannot know them to be Gods word, unleſs it ſhall pleaſe this Roman God to give his word for them, or confirm their truth; ſeeing this his pretended confirmation is not by manifeſting the myſteries of our ſalvation ſo diſtinctly and clearly as Chriſt did unto theſe Diſciples, nor by affording us the true ſenſe and feeling of the ſpirit, in ſuch ardent manner as they enjoyed it, and yet accurſeth us if we believe not his words as well as they did their Redeemers: we may hence take a perfect meaſure of that † *mouth of Blaſphemies* ſpoken of by S. *John*, according to all the *three dimenſions* contained in the three aſſertions prefixed to the beginning of this Section. Nor can the Reader imagine either any other forepaſſed, like unto it; or yet to come, likely to prove more abominable: if it ſhall but pleaſe him to ſurvey the length and breadth of it, but eſpecially the profundity.

† *A brief ſurvey of the* mouth of Blaſphemies *ſpoken of by* S. John.

4. The length of it I make That aſſertion; *The Pope muſt be as well believed, as either Chriſt was whilſt he lived on earth, or his Apoſtles after his glorification.* The breadth; *His abſolute authority muſt be for extent as large and ample as Chriſts ſhould be, were he on earth again;* or as that Commiſſion he gave unto his Diſciples, *Go, Preach the Goſpel to every creature: his directions muſt go forth throughout all the earth, and his words unto the ends of the world.* The depth is much greater than the ſpace between Heaven and Hell. For if you would draw a line from the Zenith to the Nadir through the Centre, it would ſcarce be a gag long enough for this monſtrous mouth; ſo wide as Hell cannot conceive a greater. The depth I gather, partly from the exceſs of Chriſts worth, either ariſing from his perſonal union with the Godhead; his ſanctity of life and converſation; or from his *Hyperprophetical* Spirit and abundant miracles. For look how much he exceeds any but meer man in all theſe: by ſo much

doth the Pope (though ſuppoſed as not obnoxious to any crime) make his Authority and favour with God greater than Chriſts, which is the *Semidiameter of this Mouth of Blaſphemies.* The other part, equal hereunto in quantity, but for the quality more tainted with the dregs of Hell, ariſeth from that oppoſition the Popes ſpirit hath unto Chriſt; or from the luxury and beaſtly manners of the Papacy, erected by Satan as it were of purpoſe to pollute the world with monſtrous ſins, and to derogate as much from mankind, as true Chriſtianity doth advance it: finally to make the Chriſtian world as much more wicked, as Chriſts Diſciples, Apoſtles, and faithful followers are better than the Heathen. Nor doth the Pope exact Belief only without miracles or manifeſtation of a prophetical ſpirit: but contrary to all notions of good and evil, common to Chriſtians and Heathens, and as it were in deſpight of the Propheſies that have deciphered him for Antichriſt. What Heathen Philoſopher could with patience have endured to hear, that a diſſolute luxurious Tyrant could not, though in matters of this life, give wrong ſentence out of the ſeat of Juſtice? The Jeſuits teach it as an Article of faith, that the Pope, albeit a diſſolute and ungracious Tyrant, Mankinds reproach, the diſgrace of Chriſtianity, cannot poſſibly give an erroneous ſentence *ex Cathedra*, no not in myſteries of Religion. But as if it were a ſmall thing thus impudently to contradict Nature, and grieve the ſouls of ingenuous men, unleſs *they alſo grieve their* * *God*, ſeeking as it were to croſs his Spirit by holding opinions not only contradictory, but moſt contrary to his ſacred Rules; they importune the Chriſtian world with tumultuous clamours, to take that, which the Spirit hath given as the demonſtrative Character of great Antichriſt, the old Serpents chief Confederate, for the infallible cognizance of Chriſts Vicar, the very ſignet of his beloved Spouſe. Nor will they (I know) though friendly admoniſhed, ceaſe henceforth to urge their outworn Arguments, drawn from Antiquity, Univerſality; from that Reverence and Allegiance which moſt Kingdoms of *Europe* have for theſe thouſand years and more born to the See of *Rome*; or from the bloody victories over all other inferiour Churches or Private Spirits, that have oppugned her. Theſe or the like Allegations in their judgement abundantly prove their Church to be Chriſts beſt Beloved, the Pope to be his Deputy, or rather his Corrival here on earth, whoſe words ſound as the word of God, and not of Man; albeit the Spirit hath plainly foretold, that † *the beaſt which had his power from the Dragon, and ſhould open his mouth unto blaſphemies againſt God, to blaſpheme his name and his tabernacle, and them that dwell in heaven, ſhould have power given withal to make war with the Saints, and to overcome them,* yea, *over every kindred, tongue and nation, ſo as all that dwell upon the earth ſhould worſhip him, whoſe names were not written in the Book of life of the Lamb, which was ſlain from the beginning of the world.*

The chief arguments brought by Romiſh writers to prove the excellency of their Church directly contrary to the principles of Senſe and Nature.

* *Iſa.* 7.13.

† *Rev.* 13. 4,

5. To the Jeſuits brags, that no viſible Church ſince the world began, did either ſpread it ſelf ſo far, or flouriſh ſo long as theirs hath done; I only oppoſe that of our Saviour, *Ex tuo ipſius ore judicabere ſerve nequam, Thine own confeſſion ſhall condemn thee,*

thee, thou bond-ſlave of Satan. For if the Romiſh Hierarchy be or hath been in the worlds eye, the moſt potent and flouriſhing that ever was: This deſcription of the Beaſts power cannot agree ſo well to any as unto it. Nor doth the Scripture any where intimate the true Church Militant ſhould domineer over all Nations, or be ſo triumphantly victorious, as they boaſt theirs hath been. To think the Antichriſt whom they expect ſhould in three years ſpace ſubdue as many Nations as have been tributary to the See of *Rome*, is a conceit that juſtifies the Jew as well in his credulity of things to come which are impoſſible, as in his hypocritical partiality towards his preſent eſtate, which he never ſuſpects of Apoſtaſie. Unto this obſervation the Reader may add other like deſcriptions of this Scarlet Whore; all ſo fitly agreeing to the Papacy, as he that will not acknowledge it for the Kingdom of great Antichriſt, hath great reaſon to ſuſpect his heart, that if he had lived with our Saviour, he would ſcarce have taken him for his Meſſias; nor can the Jeſuits bring any better reaſons, why the Pope ſhould not be *the Antichriſt*, than the Jews did, why Chriſt ſhould not be the great Prophet. Yet this I ſay, not to diſcourage ſuch as doubt whether the Pope be that Man of ſin; or to bring them out of love with their Belief, which may be ſound without expreſs or actual acknowledgement of this truth, not as yet revealed unto them: as thoſe two Diſciples, no doubt, were neither Hypocrites nor Infidels, albeit they miſtruſted the report of Chriſts Reſurrection; for they were farther from approving the practices of the Jews againſt him, than from actual acknowledgement of it. If any man thus doubt, whether the Pope be Antichriſt, ſo he do not approve his hatred and war againſt Gods Saints, or his other devilliſh practiſes, Gods peace be upon him; and in good time I truſt his eyes ſhall be enlightned to ſee the truth in this particular, as thoſe two Diſciples did in the Article of the Reſurrection.

6. Seeing we have proved the Popes Authority ſo far to exceed Chriſt; it may ſeem needleſs to compare it with the Apoſtles. Yet leſt any Jeſuit ſhould except, that their authority might be greater after their Maſters glorification, than his was before: let us a while examine, what they aſſumed unto themſelves; what they gave unto the Scriptures before extant.

CHAP. XXIII.

That the Authority attributed to the preſent Pope, and the Romiſh rule of faith, were altogether unknown unto S. Peter: *the oppoſition betwixt S.* Peters *and his pretended Succeſſors doctrine.*

1. TO begin with S. *Peter*, the firſt ſuppoſed to be enſtalled in this See of *Rome*. It may be preſumed that this Supremacy over his fellow Apoſtles, were it any, was in his life time, whiles his miracles were freſh, and the extraordinary efficacy of his Miniſtery daily manifeſted, as well known amongſt the faithful, as the Popes now amongſt Roman Catholicks. If neceſſary it had been to acknowledge him, or his Succeſſors, as a ſecond Rock or Foundation, the commendation of this doctrine unto poſterity, had been moſt requiſite at the time he wrote his ſecond Epiſtle, * as *knowing then the time was at hand he ſhould lay down his Tabernacle; when he endeavoured his Auditors might have remembrance of his former doctrine, to make their calling and election ſure.* If ever there had been a fit ſeaſon for notifying the neceſſity of the See Apoſtolicks infallibility, all the circumſtances of this place witneſs this was it. † If any, they to whom he wrote, were moſt bound to obey it: *Their faith had been planted by him*: his preſent intent and purpoſe was, *more and more to confirm them in the truth wherein they were in ſome meaſure eſtabliſhed.* And being thus mindful, will he not make choice of means moſt effectual to prevent Hereſie or Apoſtaſie? What are theſe then? abſolute repoſal in his and his Succeſſors infallibility? Had this been the beſt rule of faith, he knew his fault were inexcuſable for not preſcribing it, to ſuch as moſt willingly would have uſed it. His perſonal teſtimony and authority was, I confeſs, as great as any mortal mans could be: with his own eyes he had beheld * *the Majeſty of our Lord Chriſt*, whom he preached unto them. If any truſt there be in humane ſenſes, this Saint of God could not poſſibly be deceived. If any credence to be given unto miracles, or ſanctity of life; his flock might reſt aſſured he would not deceive; his works ſo witneſs the ſincerity of his doctrine: or if his eye were not, in theſe his Auditors judgements, ſufficient witneſſes of this truth; he further aſſures them, when his Lord received of God the Father, † *honour and glory, there came ſuch a voice unto him from the excellent glory, This is my beloved ſon in whom I am well pleaſed. And this voyce*, ſaith he, *we heard when it came from heaven, (being not afar off) but with him in the mount.* If S. *Peters* Seat or Chair had been as the Pole-ſtar, whereto our Belief, as the Mariners needle, ſhould be directed, leſt we float we know not whither in the Ocean of opinions: were the Boſom of the viſible Church the ſafeſt harbour our ſouls in all ſtorms of temptation could thruſt into: this Apoſtle was either an unſkilful Pilot, or an uncharitable man, that would not before his death inſtruct them in this courſe for the eternal ſafety of their ſouls, whoſe bodily lives he might have commanded to have ſaved his own. Had perpetual ſucceſſion in his See, or Apoſtolical tradition never interrupted,

* 2 *Pet.* 1.14.

† 2 *Pet.* 1.1.

* 2 *Pet.* 1.16.

† 2 *Pet.* 1.17.

rupted, been ſuch an *Ariadne*'s thread, as now it is thought, to guide us through the Labyrinth of errours: Such was S. *Peters* love to truth, that he would have ſo faſtned it to all faithful hearts, as none ſhould ever have failed to follow it, in following which he could not err. Doubtleſs had any ſuch conceit lodged in his breaſt, this diſcourſe had drawn it out, his uſual form of Exhortation had been too mild, his ordinary ſtile too low. This doctrine had been proclaimed to all the world, with *Anathema's*, as loud and terrible, as the Canons of any Papiſtical Council report.

2. But he followed no * ſuch deceitful Fables, *when he opened unto them the power and coming of Chriſt:* whoſe Majeſty as he had ſeen with his own eyes, ſo would he have others to ſee him too. But by what light? By Scriptures. What Scriptures? *Peter feed my ſheep?* Nay, but by the Light of Propheſie. That is a Light indeed, in it ſelf, but unto private ſpirits it is no better, (ſaith † *Valentian*) then a light put under a buſhel, unleſs the viſible Church do hold it out. Where did the viſible Church keep reſidence in thoſe days? In S. *Peter* I trow. How chances it then he ſaith not; *fix your eyes on mine that have ſeen the glory of the Lord*, and the Prophets light ſhall ſhine unto you? If by his commendation and propoſal it were to ſhine, he had ſaid better thus: *Ye do well in that you give heed unto me, as to your only infallible Teacher, that muſt confirm you in the truth of Prophetical Writings, and cauſe them ſhine in your hearts*: but now he ſaith, 2 *Pet.* 1. 19. *Ye do well in that ye take heed unto the Prophets, as unto a light that ſhineth in a dark place, until the day-ſtar ariſe in your hearts.* This light of Prophets illuminated the eyes of *Peters* faith, albeit with his bodily eyes he had ſeen Chriſts glory. For ſpeaking comparatively of that teſtimony which he had heard in the Mount, he adds, *We have alſo a ſurer * word of the Prophets.* That the Lord hath been glorified in the Mount, his Auditors were to take upon his Credit and Authority; nor could he make them to ſee this particular, as he himſelf had done: but that Chriſt Jeſus whom he ſaw glorified in the Mount, was the Lord of Glory; he had βεβαιότερον λόγον, a ſurer teſtimony than his bodily ſenſe: the light of Prophets. This then was the commendations of his flock, that they looked upon it which ſhined as well unto them, as him; to all without reſpect of perſons, that take heed unto it; able to bring them not to acknowledge *Peters* infallibility, but to the Day-ſtar it ſelf, whoſe light would further aſcertain them even of the truth the Prophets and the Apoſtles taught. For Chriſt is in a peculiar manner, the firſt and the laſt in the Edifice of faith, the loweſt and the higheſt ſtone in the corner, refuſed by the Maſter builders or viſible pillars of the Jewiſh Church: their faith was not grounded upon the Prophets, *whoſe words they knew not*; and not knowing them, they knew not him: but unto ſuch as raiſe their faith by this βεβαιότερον λόγον, the true ſquare and line, Chriſt is both the Fundamental Rock, which ſupporteth; and the chief corner ſtone, that binds the whole houſe of God, and preſerves it from clefts and ruptures.

3. But leſt his followers might look amiſs upon this prophetical light, rightly eſteemed in the general, † S. *Peter* thought it neceſſary to advertiſe them, not to content themſelves with every interpretation, or accuſtomary acknowledgement of their truth, grounded

* 2 *Pet.* 1. 16.

† Vide lib. 2. ca. 16. Para. 6.

* *Prophetical predictions of Chriſt ſurer grounds of faith, than the live teſtimonies of the Apoſtles, that had ſeen Chriſt, and converſ'd with him.* Amplectendus eſt Commentarius qui interpretatur in hunc modum, habemus Firmiorem, id eſt, certiorem, & compertiorem—Id enim temporis ſermo Prophetarum ſpectatior erat, & latius receptus quam ſermo Apoſtolorum & Evangeliſtarum. *S. ſbout in* 2 *Pet. cap.* 1.

† 2 *Pet.* 1. 19.

ed on other relations, reports, or skill in expounding them, or multitude of voyces that way ſwaying. This had been as if a man that hath eyes of his own, ſhould believe there was a Moon or Stars, becauſe a great many of his honeſt neigbours had told him ſo. A thouſand witneſſes in ſuch a caſe as this, were but private teſtimonies, in reſpect of that diſtinct knowledge which every one may have that liſt. That the Lord ſhould preſerve light in *Goſhen*, when darkneſs had covered the whole face of *Egypt* beſides, ſeems unto me leſs ſtrange, but more ſenſibly true than before: whilſt I conſider, how in this age wherein the light of his countenance hath ſo clearly ſhined throughout thoſe parts of *Europe* whence the Goſpel came to us, *Ingolſtade* ſhould ſtill ſit in darkneſs, environed with the ſhadow of death. That her great Profeſſor *Valentian*, born, I take it, within theſe fourſcore years, ſhonld grope at noon day, as if he had been brought forth in the very midnight of Popery, or died well nigh three hundred years ago. Scarce *Scotus* himſelf, not *Ockam* (queſtionleſs) though ſhut up in a priſon, where no light of any Expoſitor had ever come, could have made a more dunſtical collection of the Apoſtles words, than he hath done. † S. *Peter meant one of theſe Three.* Firſt, that there can be *no certain or probable way of expounding Scriptures by our proper wit or induſtry*: Or Secondly, *that one or other place of Scripture cannot be rightly expounded by humane wit or induſtry, but ſo compared they rightly may*: Or Thirdly, *that the Scriptures cannot certainly and infallibly be expounded every where without the ſentence of ſome other common infallible Authority, which in this reſpect is to be held as Judge of faith in the Church. The Apoſtle* (he infers) *did not mean the* firſt *or* ſecond: ergo, *the* third. *So as the force and wiſdom of the Apoſtolical admonition, is this*; *No man by his private induſtry or ſtudy, howſoever imployed* (either he thought not of the Holy Ghoſts direction or aſſiſtance, or did not except it) *no not by any ſearch of Scriptures it ſelf, can certainly and infallibly underſtand the doctrine of Scriptures, in Controverſies* (of which S. *Peter* in that place ſpeaks not one word) *but it is neceſſary he learn this of ſome other publick Authority in the Church, by which the Holy Ghoſt ſpeaks publickly, and teacheth all. His reaſon follows more dunſtical than the collections it ſelf: For the Apoſtle ſtraight ſubjoyns: As the holy men of God did ſpeak in Scriptures, not by Humane Authority but divine: ſo likewiſe cannot the Scriptures be*

† Cum tam ſeriò ac graviter admonuit beatus Petrus, *ut hoc inprimis intelligeremus* quod *omnis*, inquit, *Prophetia ſcripturæ, propria interpretatione non ſit*. 2 Pet. 1. aliquid è tribus ſignificare voluit; nempe, 1. aut non poſſe ullo modo, ſcilicet, certo vel probabili, exponi ſcripturam propria induſtria & ingenio: Aut 2. non poſſe certò quidem exponi unum aut alterum ſcripturæ locum ex ingenio proprio, ſine collatione aliorum ſcripturæ locorum, cum ea verò collatione poſſe. Aut 3. non poſſe certò quidem & infallibiliter ubiq; eam exponi ſine ſententia alicujus alterius communis & infallibilis authoritatis, quæ proinde in Eccleſia ſit Fidei Judex. Sed nec *primum* nec *ſecundum* ſignificare voluit, Ergo *tertium*; Non quidem *primum*, Nam conſtat multa paſſim Scripturæ loca eſſe probabiliter expoſita à ſanctis Patribus, propria eorum ingenii ſolertia atq; induſtria. Non etiam *ſecundum*, nempe ut non putet aliquis ſe poſſe unum aut alterum ſcripturæ locum ingenio proprio infallibiliter ac certo exponere, non conſultis & collatis aliis Scripturæ locis. Nam quis omnino hæreticorum hoc putat? Aut quid opus erat hoc tam ſeriò admonere? Item, ſi unum aut alterum Scripturæ locum, ingenio ſenſuq; proprio interpretari certò nemo poteſt: quantò minus locos ſcripturæ plures inter quos collatio inſtituitur? Unde ipſe D. Petrus: *Omnis*, inquit, *Prophetia Scripturæ*, &c. Non dicit, hæc aut illa tantum; ſed abſolutè ac ſine ulla acceptione, omnis Prophetia Scripturæ, propia interpretatione non ſit. Reſtat igitur ut *tertium* illud, quod diximus, ſignificaverit hoc loco D. Petrus: Nempe ut vis atq; ſapientia hujus Apoſtolicæ monitionis ſit, Neminem privato ſuo labore atq; proprio ſtudio, quacunq; demum ratione, atq; adeo etiam ne ex ipſa quidem Scriptura, doctrinam ſcripturæ certò ac infallibiliter in controverſis queſtionibus intellegere poſſe; ſed opus eſſe ut diſcat ex aliqua authoritate in Eccleſia communi, per quam ſpiritus ſanctus communiter loquatur, ac omnes doceat. Nam ut ipſe Apoſtolus ibidem ſubjungit, quemadmodum non authoritate humana, ſed divina, locuti in Scripturis ſunt ſancti Dei homines; ita etiam non humana ac propria induſtria hujus vel illius hominis ullo modo, ne ex ipſa quidem ſcriptura, ſententia ſcripturæ certo cognoſcenda eſt, ſed ex aliqua authoritate, item divina, per quam ipſe ſpiritus ſanctus, qui ſcripturæ author eſt, ſit etiam certiſſimus ſcripturæ interpres. Ita fit, ut ſola ſcriptura non ſufficiat nobis ad certò dijudicandas fidei quæſtiones. *Valen. Tom. 3 in Aquin. diſp. 1. quæſt. 1. de obje. fid. Punct. 7. §. 9.*

poſſibly underſtood by any humane or private induſtry of this or that man, but by ſome other Authority, likewiſe divine, by which the holy Spirit which is the Author of Scriptures, may be likewiſe the moſt certain Interpreter of Scriptures.

4. Had another read thus much unto me, and bid me read the Author or his works wherein it was found; I ſhould preſently have named either *Eraſmus Moriæ Encomium*, *Friſblins Priſcianus Vapulans*, or ſome ſuch like Comœdian, diſpoſed in merriment to pen ſome old Dunces part. Cannot the Sun of Righteouſneſs infuſe his Heavenly Influence, by the immediate Operation of his Spirit? or doth his Influence want force without Conjunction with this blazing Comet, or falling Star? Was it not the Authority of this Spirit which made Saint *Peter* himſelf to be ſo authentick in his Doctrine? Is it not the pretended priviledge of the ſame Spirit which exempts the Pope from privateneſs, and makes his Authority œcumenical and infallible? Whoſoever then by participation of this Spirit underſtands the Propheſies, either immediately, or expounded by others, whomſoever; his conceit of them, or their right interpretation, is not private, but authentick. And * *Canus*, though a Papiſt, expreſly teacheth, *That the immediate ground or formal reaſon of ours and the Apoſtles Belief, muſt be the ſame*; both ſo immediately and infallibly depending upon the teſtimony of the Spirit, as if the whole world beſide ſhould teach the contrary, yet were every Chriſtian bound to ſtick unto that inward teſtimony which the Spirit hath given him. Though the Church or Pope ſhould expound them to us, we could not infallibly believe his Expoſitions; but by that Spirit, by which he is ſuppoſed to teach: ſo believing, we could not infallibly teach others the ſame; for it is the Spirit only that ſo teacheth all. The inference then is as evident, as ſtrong; that *private* in the forecited place, is oppoſed to that which wants Authority, not unto publick or common. The Kings promiſe made to me in private, is no private promiſe: but will warrant me, if I come to plead before his Majeſty, albeit others make queſtion whether I have it or no. In this ſenſe that interpretation of Scriptures which the Spirit affords us that are private men, is not private but authentick, though not for extent or publication of it unto others, yet for the perfection of our warrant in matters of Salvation or concerning God. For where the Spirit is, there is perfect liberty, yea free acceſs of pleading our cauſe, againſt whomſoever before the Tribunal ſeat of Juſtice; eſpecially being wronged in matters of the life to come. To this purpoſe ſaith our Apoſtle, † *But he that is ſpiritual diſcerneth all things: yet he himſelf is judged of no man.* In thoſe things wherein he cannot be judged by any, he is no private man, but a Prince and Monarch, for the freedom of his Conſcience. But if any man falſly pretend this freedom to nurſe Contentions, or to withdraw his neck from that yoak whereto he is ſubject, he muſt anſwer before his ſupreme Judge and his holy Angels, for framing unto himſelf a counterfeit licence without the aſſured warrant of his Spirit. And ſo ſhall they likewiſe that ſeek to command mens Conſciences in thoſe matters, wherein the Spirit hath ſet them free. This is the heighth of iniquity, that hath no temporal puniſhment in this life, but muſt be reſerved as the object of fierceſt wrath in that fearful day; the very Idea of Antichriſtianiſm.

Participation of that Spirit, by which the Scriptures were written, makes private mens interpretations of them not private, but Authentick.

* *It is worth labour to ſee* Canus 2. *lib. Locorum* Theol. *cap.* 8. *where he ſays*, Eccleſiæ authoritas non eſt Formalis ratio fidei, & ultima Reſolutio Fidei non fit in Eccleſiæ Teſtimonium. *See chap.* 26. *Parag.* 3.

† 1 *Cor.* 2. 15.

Chap. XXIV.

That Saint Paul *ſubmitted his Doctrine to Examination by the* Words *before written. That his Doctrine, Diſpoſition and Practice, were quite contrary to the Romaniſts in this Argument.*

1. SAint *Paul*, as well as other Apoſtles, had the gift of miracles, which amongſt Barbarians or diſtreſſed ſouls, deſtitute of other comfort, likely to be won to grace by wonders, he did not neglect to practiſe; but ſought not to enforce belief upon the Jews, by fearful ſigns, or ſudden deſtruction of the obſtinate, albeit he had power to anathematize, not only in word, but in deed, even to deliver men alive unto Satan. When he came to *Theſſalonica*, he went as his manner was into the Synagogue, * *and three Sabbath days* diſputed with his Country-men *by the Scriptures, opening and alledging that Chriſt muſt have ſuffered, and riſen again from the dead: and this is Jeſus Chriſt whom I preach to you.* Theſe Jews had *Moſes and the Prophets, and if they would not hear them*, neither would they believe for any miracles: which to have wrought amongſt ſuch, had been as the caſting of Pearls before Swine. What was the reaſon they did not believe? becauſe the Scriptures which he urged were obſcure? but Saint *Paul* did open them. Rather they ſaw the truth, as Papiſts do, but would not ſee it. They rightly believed whatſoever God had ſaid, was moſt true; that he had ſaid what *Moſes* and the Prophets wrote; and yet Saint *Paul* taught nothing which they had not foretold. But that was all one; theſe Jews had rather believe *Moſes* and the Prophets meant as the Scribes and Phariſees, or other chief Rulers of their Synagogue taught, than as *Paul* expounded them: albeit his Expoſitions would have cleared themſelves to ſuch as without prejudice would have examined them. But the *Beræans* were of a more ingenuous diſpoſition, (ſo the word † εὐγενέστεροι imports) they were not vaſſals to other mens Interpretations or Conceits, but uſed their liberty to examine the truth. *They received the word with all readineſs, and ſearched the Scriptures whether theſe things were ſo or no.* If they believed in part before, their practice confirms the truth of our Aſſertion, That they were not to believe the Infallibility of *Paul*, but of his Doctrine, albeit they were well perſwaded of his perſonal Authority. If they believed neither in part, nor wholly, before they ſaw the truth of his Doctrine confirmed by that Scripture which they had formerly acknowledged; their ingenuity herein likewiſe confirms our Doctrine, and condemns the Papiſts of inſolent blaſphemy, for arrogating that Authority unto the Popes Decrees, which is only due unto Gods Word already eſtabliſhed.

* *Acts* 17. 2.

† *Acts* 17. 11.

2. I would demand of any Papiſts, Whether the *Beræans* did well or ill in examining Saint *Pauls* Doctrine? If ill, why hath the Spirit of God commended them? if well, why is it not lawful and expedient for all true Chriſtians to imitate them? Unleſs the

Reader bite his Lip, I will not promiſe for him he ſhall not laugh at *Bellarmines* anſwer, albeit I knew him for another *Heraclitus*, or *Craſſus Agelaſtus*, who never laughed in all his life ſave once, when he ſaw an Aſſe feed on Thiſtles. Surely he muſt have an Aſſes Lips that can taſte, and a Swines Belly that can digeſt this great Clerks Divinity in this point. [a] *I anſwer*, (ſaith he) *albeit* Paul *were an Apoſtle, and could not preach falſe Doctrine: thus much notwithſtanding was not evident to the* Beræans *at the firſt, nor were they bound forthwith to believe unleſs they had ſeen ſome miracles or other probable inducements to believe. Therefore when* Paul *proved Chriſt unto them out of the Prophetical Oracles, they did well to ſearch the Scriptures, whether thoſe things were ſo.* If Saint *Paul* had thought miracles a more effectual means than Scriptures, for begetting faith in ſuch as acknowledged *Moſes* and the Prophets; no doubt he had uſed miracles rather than their Authority. Or if the Pope cannot expound the Scriptures as effectually and perſpicuouſly as Saint *Paul* did, why doth he not at the leaſt work miracles? Are we bound abſolutely to believe him, and is he bound to do neither of theſe, without which the people of *Beræa* were not bound (as *Bellarmine* acknowledgeth) to believe S. *Paul*? But, if his reaſon be worth belief, [b] *Chriſtians, which know the Church cannot erre in explicating the Doctrine of Faith, are bound to embrace it without queſtioning, whether the places alleadged be to the purpoſe or no.* Let ſuch Chriſtians as believe the Pope cannot erre, in the Name of God believe whatſoever he ſhall teach, without examination; yet remember withal, that thus to believe is to worſhip the *Dragon*, by giving their names unto the Beaſt. But unto what Chriſtians is the Popes infallibility better known, than Saint *Pauls* was to the *Beræans*? Not unto us, whoſe Fathers have forſaken him for his Apoſtaſie from God; and taught us, to eſchew him, as Antichriſt; to hold his Doctrine as the very Doctrine of Devils. Unto us at leaſt, his Holineſs ſhould ſeek to manifeſt his infallibility, by ſuch means as Saint *Paul* did his, even unto ſuch as had ſeen his miracles, and had experience of his power in expounding Scriptures. Beſides, Saint *Pauls* Converſation in all places was continually ſuch as did witneſs him to be a choſen Veſſel full of the Spirit of Grace. He did not make Merchandiſe of the Word of God, as moſt Popes do: [c] *but as of ſincerity, but as of God, in the ſight of God, ſo he ſpake through Chriſt*; he did not walk in craftineſs, (yet who greater Politicians than Popes?) [d] *Nor did he handle the Word of God deceitfully: but in declaration of the truth, he did approve himſelf to every mans conſcience in the ſight of God.* This one amongſt others, he accounts as an eſpecial motive to perſwade men of his heavenly calling, in that he did not preach himſelf, but *Chriſt Jeſus, and himſelf their ſervant for Jeſus ſake.* For ſo our Saviour had ſaid, [e] *He that ſpeaketh of himſelf, ſeeketh his own glory.* The Pope (that we might know him to be Chriſts oppoſite) ſeeks almoſt nothing elſe, nothing ſo much, as to be abſolute Lord over all other mens faith. If this any Jeſuite will deny; let him define what Prince amongſt the Nations, what Tyrant in the World, did ever challenge greater Sovereignty in Affairs of this life, than the Pope doth in all matters whatſoever concerning the life to come?

3. But it may be *Bellarmine* was either afraid or aſhamed of this anſwer: wherefore he adds another (as wiſe) to keep it from bluſhing.

[a] Reſpondeo, etſi Paulus erat Apoſtolus, & non poterat falſam doctrinam prædicare, tamen non conſtabat hoc initio Beroenſibus, nec tenebantur mox credere, niſi prius viderent miracula, aut alias probabiles rationes credendi. Itaque cum Paulus probaret illis Chriſtum ex oraculis Prophetarum, merito illi ſcrutabantur Scripturas, an hæc ita ſe haberent. *Bellar. de verb. Dei, lib.* 3. *cap.* 10. *reſp. ad* 7.

[b] At Chriſtiani quibus conſtat Ecclecleſiam non poſſe errare in explicanda doctrina fidei, tenentur eam recipere, & non dubitare, an hæc ita ſe habeant. *Idem. ibid.*

[c] 2 *Cor.* 2. 17.

[d] 2 *Cor.* 4. 2.

[e] *John* 7. 18.

bluſhing. * *I add*, (ſaith he) *albeit an Heretick ſin in doubting of the Churches Authority, into which he hath been regenerate by Baptiſm*, (*nor is the caſe the ſame in an Heretick, which hath once made profeſſion of Faith, and in a Jew or Ethnick which never was Chriſtian*:) *yet this doubt* (*which is a ſin*) *being ſuppoſed, he doth not amiſs in ſearching and examining, whether the places alleadged by the Trent Council out of Scriptures or Fathers, be true or pertinent*; *ſo he do this with an intent to find the truth, not to calumniate.* A man at the firſt ſight would deem *Bellarmine*, for his own part at leaſt, had given us leave to examine the Popes Doctrine by Scripture: but that, as you heard before, he abſolutely denies: nor will he (I am ſure) pawn his Hat, that he which ſearcheth the Scriptures and Fathers alleadged, and cannot find any ſuch meaning in either, as the Trent Council would thence infer, ſhall be freed by their Church from Hereſie: although he be not ſo uncivil, as to calumniate the Pope, but only (*ſalva reverentia*) ingenuouſly profeſs, that he thinks on his Conſcience the Scripture meant no ſuch matter as the Council intended. This none of their Church dare promiſe: for *dubius in fide* (by their Doctrine) *eſt hæreticus*: *he that doubts after ſuch an authentick determination, is condemned for an Heretick*: and yet without ſuch aſſurance of being freed from Hereſie, this permiſſion of reading Scriptures is not worth *God-a-mercy*, ſeeing he muſt at length be conſtrained to believe the Scripture ſaith juſt ſo as the Pope ſaith, albeit his private Conſcience inform him to the contrary: ſo that by reading them, he muſt either wound his own Conſcience, more than if the uſe of them had been denied him; or elſe uſe them but as a Court-favour or grace beſtowed upon him by the Pope, for which he muſt in good manners yield his full aſſent to his Doctrine, with infinite thanks for his bounty. Howſoever, (if he be doubtful in their Tenents) he may not read the Scriptures with *Calvin*, *Beza*, or any of our Writers Expoſitions, or in any Edition ſave ſuch as they approve, or with the Rhemiſh Animadverſions or Gloſſes, or according to the Analogy of that Faith wherein the Jeſuites have Catechized him. So that the reading of Scriptures, if their Opinions be erroneous, (as we hold the Popes deciſions are) ſerves to as good purpoſe for confirming one of their Catechizing in the right Faith, as the Ringing of Bells doth to bring a melancholy man out of ſome fooliſh conceit, which runs in his mind: both of them will believe their former imaginations (though never ſo bad) the better, becauſe the one thinks the Bells Ring; the other, that the Scriptures ſpeak juſt ſo as he imagines. This *Bellarmine* cannot diſſemble in his next words: *Bound he is to receive the Churches Doctrine without examination*; *but better, he were prepared unto the truth by examining, than by neglecting it to perſiſt ſtill in his blindneſs.* His meaning in plain Engliſh, is this: He and his fellows could wiſh Reformed Churches would all come off at once, and believe as Romaniſts do, without all examination, whether they believe as Chriſtians, or Magicians: but if we will not be ſo forward as they could wiſh we were, they could in the ſecond place be very well content to admit us into that Church again, though after a year or two's deliberation, rather than loſe our company for ever.

4. The learned Doctor *Whitaker*, of famous memory, out of the former place gathered theſe two Corollaries: [*Every Doctrine is to*

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*Addo etiam, quod etſi hæreticus peccat dubitando de authoritate Eccleſiæ, in quam per baptiſmum, regeneratus eſt, neque eſt eadem conditio hæretici, qui ſemel fidem profeſſus eſt, & Judæi aut Ethnici, qui nunquam fuit Chriſtianus: tamen poſito hoc dubio, & hoc peccato, non malè facit ſcrutando, & examinando, an loca ſcripturæ & Patrum, à Concilio Tridentino prolata, ita ſe habeant; modò id faciat intentione inveniendi veritatem, non calumniandi. Deberet quidem ille ſine examine recipere doctrinam Eccleſiæ, tamen melius eſt, ut examinando præparetur ad veritatem, quàm negligendo remaneat in ſuis tenebris. *Idem. ibid.*

be tried by Scripture: The Apoſtle taught nothing but what might have been confirmed out of Moſes *and the Prophets.*] *Sacroboſcus* reply to theſe Orthodoxal Collections, confirms me in that conceit I entertained of Romiſh School-men, when I firſt began to read them. They ſeemed to me then, much more now, to handle matters of greateſt moment in Divinity, after the ſame faſhion (for all the world) nimble Artiſts do Philoſophical Theorems in the Schools, whiles they are courſed by ſuch as would triumph in their diſgrace. Be the Argument brought in it ſelf never ſo good or forcible to evince the contradictory to their Tenents; yet if the Opponent in his Inference of what was laſt denied, chance but to omit ſome petty term or clauſe impertinent to the main Queſtion, or make his Propoſitions more improbable by framing them more univerſal than he needs, occaſion will quickly be taken to interrupt his progreſs, and put him off, eſpecially (if the Anſwerer be ſo well provided) with ſome ſhew of inſtance to the contrary, or abſurdity likely to follow, if all were true his Antagoniſt would ſeem to prove. Nor do I cenſure this as a fault in youth, or whilſt we are in *Ariſtotles* forge, ſo the fire be out of us when we come into the Sanctuary. But juſt in this manner doth the Mimical Jeſuite reply to the former truth: * *I demand* (ſaith he) *whether the Doctor would approve this conſequence*; Paul *preaching to the* Athenians *confirmed his Doctrine with the teſtimony of the Poet* Aratus, *and the* Athenians *had done well if they had ſought whether* Aratus *had ſaid ſo or no: therefore all Doctrines muſt be judged by Poets.* But what if the *Beræans* practice conſidered alone, or as Jeſuites do Scriptures, only Mathematically, do not neceſſarily infer thus much? The Learned Doctors charitable mind would not ſuffer him to ſuſpect any publick Profeſſor of Divinity, as *Sacroboſcus* was, could be ſo ignorant in Scriptures, as not to conſider (beſides the different eſteem of Prophets, and Poets amongſt the Jews) what Saint *Paul* had *Acts* 26.22. expreſly ſaid; *I obtained help of God, and continue unto this day, witneſſing both unto ſmall and great, ſaying none other things than thoſe which the Prophets and* Moſes *did ſay ſhould come.* Unleſs he could have proved Chriſts Reſurrection, and other Articles of Chriſtian Faith, out of *Moſes* and the Prophets, the Jews exceptions againſt him had been juſt. For they were bound to reſiſt all Doctrines diſſonant to their ancient Ordinances, eſpecially the aboliſhment of Rites and Ceremonies which *Paul* laboured moſt, knowing the Law-giver meant they ſhould continue no longer than to the alteration of the Prieſthood: but in whoſe maintenance his Adverſaries ſhould have ſpent their bloud, whiles ignorant they were (without default) of the truth *Paul* taught, as not ſufficiently proved from the ſame Authority, by which their Laws were eſtabliſhed. Nor † was any Apoſtle, either for his Miracles, or other pledges of the Spirit that he could communicate unto others, to be ſo abſolutely believed in all things during his life time, as *Moſes* and the Prophets Writings. For ſeeing the gift of Miracles was beſtowed on Hypocrites, or ſuch as might fall from any gifts or graces of the Spirit they had: though the Spectators might believe the particular concluſions, to whoſe confirmation the Miracles were fitted, yet was it not ſafe, without examination, abſolutely to relie upon him, in all things, that had ſpoken a divine truth once or twice. In that he might be an Hypocrite

* Neque prætermittenda puto duo corollaria, quæ ex hoc malo argumento pejus colligit doctor iſte. Unum eſt: Omnem doctrinam ex ſcripturis eſſe dijudicandam. Alterum, Apoſtolos nihil prædicaſſe, quod non ex ſcripturis propheticis confirmari poſſet. Quæro enim num illi probetur hæc conſecutio? Paulus prædicans Athenienſibus, ſuam doctrinam confirmavit teſtimonio Arati poetæ, rectéque feciſſent Athenienſes, ſi Aratum ſcrutati fuiſſent, an ita ſe haberet: Ergo omnis doctrina ex poetis dijudicanda eſt. *Chriſtoph. Sacroboſcus Dublin. Def Concil. Trid. p.* 122.

† *See Cap.* 18.

pocrite or a Diſſembler, for ought others, without evidence of his upright Converſation, and perpetual conſonance to his former Doctrine, could know, he might abuſe his purchaſed Reputation to abet ſome dangerous errour. Nor do our Adverſaries (though too too credulous in this kind) think themſelves bound to believe Revelations made to another, much leſs to think that he which is once partaker of the Spirit ſhould for ever be infallible. Upon theſe Supporters the forementioned Doctors reaſon (which the Jeſuite abuſeth to eſtabliſh the Churches Authority) ſtands firm and ſound; * *I abſolutely believe all to be true that God ſaith, becauſe he ſaith it, nor do I ſeek any other reaſon: but I dare not aſcribe ſo much unto man, leſt I make him equal to God*; for God alone, and he in whom the Godhead dwelleth bodily, is immutably juſt and holy. Many others have continued holy and righteous, according to their meaſure until the end: but who could be certain of this beſides themſelves? no not they themſelves always. And albeit a man that never was in the ſtate of grace, may oft-times deliver that Doctrine which is infallible: yet were it (to ſay no worſe) a grievous tempting of God to rely upon his Doctrine as abſolutely infallible, unleſs we know him (beſides his skill or Learning) to be always in ſuch a ſtate. Though both his life and death be moſt religious, his Doctrine muſt approve it ſelf to the preſent Age, and Gods Providence muſt commend it to poſterity. Nor did our Saviour, though in life immutably holy, and for Doctrine moſt infallible, aſſume ſo much unto himſelf before his Aſcenſion, as the Jeſuites give to the Pope. For he ſubmitted his Doctrine to *Moſes* and the Prophets Writings. And ſeeing the Jeſuites make leſs account of *Him* than the Jews did of *Moſes*; it is no marvel if they be more violently miſcarried with envious or contemptuous hatred of the divine truth it ſelf, than the Jews were againſt our Saviour or his Doctrine. Theſe even when they could not anſwer his reaſons, drawn from Scriptures received, though moſt offenſive to their diſtemperate humour, were aſhamed to call *Moſes* and the Prophets Authority in queſtion, or to demand, How do you know God ſpake by them? Muſt not the Churches infallibility herein aſſure you? And † if it teach you to diſcern Gods Word from mans, muſt it not likewiſe teach you to diſtinguiſh the divine ſence of it from humane? This is a ſtrain of Atheiſm, which could never find harbour in any profeſſing the knowledge of the true God, before the brood of Antichriſt grew ſo fluſh, as to ſeek the recovery of that battail againſt Gods Saints on Earth, which *Lucifer* their Father and his followers loſt againſt *Michael* and his holy Angels in Heaven.

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* Credo id verum eſſe quod Deus dicit, quia ille dicit, nec aliam ullam quæro rationem; non audeo vero homini tantum tribuere, ne ipſum Deo qualem faciam. *Whitt. q 5.c.8. arg.3. citante Sacrob. p.122.*

† So Canus *argueth. See him cited, li.2. cap.2. parag.* 8.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

A brief taſte of our Adverſaries blaſphemous and Atheiſtical Aſſertions in this Argument from ſome inſtances of two of their greateſt Doctors, Bellarmine *and* Valentian: *That if Faith cannot be perfect without the ſolemn Teſtification of that Church, the rarity of ſuch Teſtifications will cauſe Infidelity.*

1. FOr a further competent teſtimony of blaſphemies in this kind wherewith we charge the Church of *Rome*, let the Reader judge by theſe two inſtances following, whether the Chriſtian World have not ſucked the deadlieſt poiſon that could evaporate from the Infernal Lake, through *Bellarmines* and *Valentians* Pens. *Valentian*, as if he meant to out-flout the Apoſtle for prohibiting all beſides the great Paſtor Chriſt Jeſus, for being Lords over mens Faith, will have *an infallible Authority* which may ſit as *Judge and Miſtreſs of all Controverſies of Faith*, and this to be not *the * Authority of one or two men deceaſed, not peculiar to ſuch as in times paſt have uttered the Divine Truth either by Mouth or Pen, and commended it unto Poſterity; but an Authority continuing in force and ſtrength amongſt the faithful throughout all Ages, able perſpicuouſly and openly to give ſentence in all Controverſies of Faith.* Yet as theſe Embaſſadours of God deceaſed, cannot be Judges: ſhall they therefore have no Say at all in deciding Controverſies of Faith? You may not think a Jeſuite would take *Jeſus* Name in vain: he will never for ſhame exclude his Maſter for having at leaſt a finger in the Government of the Church: Why, what is his Office? or what is the uſe of his Authority, regiſtred by his Apoſtles and Evangeliſts? Not ſo little as you would ween. For, his ſpeeches, amongſt *others that in their life time have infallibly taught divine Truths by Mouth or Pen, may be conſulted as a witneſs or written Law in caſes of Faith, but after a certain ſort and manner, either to ſpeak the truth, or ſomewhat thereto not impertinent, as ſhall be declared in due place.* The place he means, is, where he diſputes whether the Pope be bound to conſult other Authority beſides his own, or uſe any means to ſearch the truth before he paſs ſentence *ex Cathedra*, that is, before he charge the whole Chriſtian World to believe his deciſion. This he thinks expedient, but ſo far forth only, as if it pleaſe his Holineſs to enjoin the belief of ſome particular point upon the whole World, all muſt believe that he hath conſulted Scripture and Antiquity, as far as was requiſite for that point, as you ſhall after hear.

2. That in ſuch Controverſies he includes, The means of knowing Scriptures to be the Word of God; is evident out of his own words in the forecited place. For the knowledge of Scriptures he would have to be an eſpecial point of Faith, yet ſuch as cannot be proved by Scripture, but by this living and ſpeaking Authority, as he expreſly contends in the eleventh *Paragraph* of the ſame Queſtion. His concluſion is: *If it be neceſſary, there ſhould be ſome Authority, though humane, yet by Divine Aſſiſtance infallible, to ſit as Miſtreſs and Judge in all Controverſies of Faith, and not to be appropriated to any deceaſed, as is already proved: it remains that it be always living in the Church,*

*Quod ſi igitur aliquam humanam auctoritatem divina aſſiſtentia infallibilem, magiſtram ac judicem omnibus quæſtionibus fidei, extare neceſſe eſt, ut ſuperiùs, *parag.* 1. probavimus: neque verò ea eſt illorum hominum propria, qui olim divinam doctrinam aut verbo, aut ſcripto tradiderunt, & vita defuncti ſunt ut jam etiam probatum eſt; reſtat, ut vivat hæc auctoritas, ſucceſſione ſemper inter fideles preſens, quemadmodum in aſſertione noſtra poſuimus. *Valent. Tom.*3. *in Aquin. diſ.*1. *q.* 1. *de object. fidei punct.* 7. *parag.*12. *vide annot. lib.* 2. *cap.*30. *parag.* 21.

Church, always preſent amongſt the faithful by ſucceſſion, he means of Popes. Thus you ſee the preſent Pope muſt be Judge, and Chriſt and his Apoſtles muſt be brought in as witneſſes. And yet whether there were ſuch a Chriſt as Saint *Matthew*, *Mark*, *Luke*, and *John* tell us there was; or whether the Goſpels which go under their Names be Apocryphal, and that of *Bartholomews* only Canonical, we cannot know but by the Popes teſtimony: ſo that in the end, he is the only Judge, and only Witneſs, both of Chriſt, the Apoſtles, and their Writings; yea, of all Divine Truths, at leaſt aſſiſted with his Biſhops and Cardinals. Which * *Bellarmine* though otherwiſe a great deal more wary than *Valentian*, hath plainly uttered. *Unleſs* (ſaith he) *it were for Authority of the preſent Church of* Rome, (he means the Trent Council) *the whole Chriſtian Faith might be called in queſtion; ſo might all the Acts and Decrees of former Councils*: his reaſon was, becauſe we cannot know theſe Antiquities but only by Tradition and Hiſtorical Relation, which are not able to produce divine, firm, infallible Faith.

* Tertium teſtimonium eſt Concilii Tridentini ſeſſ. 7. Can. 1. ubi additur anathema negantibus ſeptem eſſe vera & propria Sacramenta: quod teſtimonium etiamſi nullum haberemus aliud, deberet ſufficere. Nam ſi tollamus authoritatem preſentis Eccleſiæ, & præſentis Concilii; in dubium revocari poterunt omnium aliorum Conciliorum decreta, & tota fides Chriſtiana. Semper enim hæc fuit conſuetudo apud Chriſtianos, ut exortas controverſias definirent Epiſcopi, qui tunc vivebant. Et præterea omuium Conciliorum veterum, & omnium dogmatum firmitas pendet ab authoritate præſentis Eccleſiæ. Non enim habemus teſtimonium infallibile, quod Concilia illa fuerint, & legitima fuerint, & hoc aut illud definierint, niſi quia Eccleſia, quæ nunc eſt, & errare non poteſt, ita ſentit & docet: quod enim hiſtorici quidam meminerint eorum Conciliorum, non poteſt parere fidem, niſi humanam, cui poteſt ſubeſſe falſum. *Bellarm. de Eff. Sac. lib. 2. cap. 25.*

3. Thus whilſt this great Clerk would dig a pit for the blind, (for he could not hope (I think) this block ſhould ſtumble any that hath eyes in his head) he is fallen into the midſt of it himſelf: by ſeeking to undermine us, he hath ſmothered himſelf, and buried the cauſe he was to maintain. For if without the Trent Councils Teſtification, we cannot by Divine Faith believe the Scriptures, or former Councils, to be of Divine Authority: How can ſuch as were born within theſe thirty years, believe that Council it ſelf, which ended above forty years ago? Few this day living were Auditors of the Cardinals and Biſhops Deciſions there aſſembled; not hearing them, their Faith muſt needs be grounded upon hear-ſays. Again, if it be true, the Scriptures cannot be known to be Divine, but by the Authority of the preſent Viſible Church: If this Church do not *viva voce* confirm all Chriſtians in this Fundamental Truth, their Faith cannot be Divine, but Humane. What the Pope or his Cardinals think of theſe points, is more than any living knows unleſs they hear them ſpeak, and then it may be a great queſtion whether they ſpeak as they think. Pope *Alexander the Sixths* Deciſions ſhould have been Negative, like the Fools Bolt in the Pſalm, *There is no God*, *No Chriſt*, *No Goſpel*, for ſo his meaning might have been interpreted, as they ſay Dreams are, by contraries, ſeeing he never ſpake as he thought. Laſtly, if the Trent Council were ſo neceſſary for the Confirmation of Scriptures and other Orthodoxal Writings, how deteſtable was your Clergies backwardneſs to afford the Chriſtian World this Spiritual Comfort? For, whether fear it were the Popes Authority ſhould be curbed, or meer ſloth and neglect of matters divine that did detain them; their ſhifts to put the Emperour off, the Reader may ſufficiently

conjecture from * *Sepulveda* at that time Chronicler to the Emperor, in his Epiſtle to Cardinal *Contaren* one of the Popes Legates in that Council; *That my intermiſſion of writing, and ſilence in that queſtion concerning the Correction of the year, hath been ſo long; I wiſh the fault had laid in my ſloth or forgetfulneſs, that I might have been hence occaſioned to acknowledge and deprecate the blame, rather than (as now I freely muſt) impute the true cauſe to the negligence of your Roman Prieſts, whom I perceive to wax cold, and to think of nothing leſs than of calling the Council: with hope whereof as heretofore I was excited, ſo now deſpair hath made me dull. For I ſee well that ſuch as are moſt bound to have a vigilant care of the Churches publick welfare, and not to foreſlow any opportunity of increaſing her dignity; never ſo much as mention the Council, (at this time as neceſſary, as always uſeful) but when Chriſtians either are already, or are likely to be at variance. In one word, never but then, when there is ſure hope it may be hindered by their diſcord. For when peace gets its turn, and all is quiet, not a word of the Council. So as what they aim at by theſe unſeaſonable Edicts, is ſo manifeſt, as will not ſuffer the ſloweſt capacity to live in doubt or ſuſpicion.*

* Quod tam longum fuerit mearum literarum intervallum, & de quæſtione corrigendi anni ſilentium, mallem equidem aliqua mea deſidia vel oblivione commiſſum fuiſſet, & in eo culpam agnoſcere ſolicitéque deprecari, quam ex veſtra, hoc eſt, ſacerdotum Romanorum (ut liberè loquar) negligentia, veram cauſam afferre, quos nimirum frigere & nihil minus quam de cogendo concilio cogitare video, cujus, ut ſpes me prius acuebat & incitabat, ſic deſperatio jampridem hebetat atque retardat: quos enim maximè in publicam Eccleſiæ ſalutem excubare, atque ejus dignitatis augendæ nullam occaſionem prætermittere oportebat, ab iis Concilii rei ſalutaris, & ſi unquam alias, nunc maximè, neceſſariæ, mentionem fieri non alio tempore video, quam cum bellum aut geritur inter Principes Chriſtianos, aut impendet. *Sepulv. Lib.* 2. *Epiſt.* 27.

4. This great Learned Antiquaries Learned advice, † in another Epiſtle ſent to the ſame Cardinal, then imployed by the Pope in the Council, was, not to ſuffer matters Decreed in any former Council lawfully aſſembled together, to be diſputed or called in queſtion. Sufferance hereof was in his judgement no leſs prejudicial to the State Eccleſiaſtick, than unto the Temporal it would be, to permit Malefactors traverſe the equity of publick Laws eſtabliſhed and known, after ſufficient proof or confeſſion made of Capital offences committed againſt them. The marginal quotations of the *Trent* Council, compared with this grave admonition, which had Antiquity-cuſtoms Canonical, as the Author urgeth, to give it countenance, may ſerve as a perfect Index for our inſtruction, with what prejudice the Biſhops there aſſembled came to determine, by whoſe manuduction or ſet rules they drew their ſuppoſed inerrable lines of life. Now it is impoſſible any determination, that takes its force from multitude of voyces, ſhould be either in it ſelf more certain, or more forcible to perſwade others, than are the motives or inducements that ſwayed the ſuffragants ſo to determine; and theſe in this caſe could, by *Bellarmins* reaſon, be but hiſtorical perſwaſions or preſumptions. For no Jeſuit I think, will ſay theſe Biſhops had the Popes ſentence *ex Cathedra*, to aſſure them before-hand what Councils had been lawfully called, and fully confirmed; or whether all the ancient Canons they after-

† In his piis deliberationibus, illud pervetuſtum, & juſtiſſimum decretum imprimis uſurpari renovarique ſolet, ne qua hæreſis in aliquo rite coacto Concilio priorum ſententiis damnata in dubium ac diſputationem revocetur. Cujus ſacroſancti decreti ea vis eſt, ut hoc uno cuncta dogmata Lutheranorum corruant. Quid enim novi excogitârunt ingenioſi artifices? quid vero afferunt quod non hauſerint ex veterum hæreticorum damnata ſententia? Hæc cum ita ſint, religionis morumque ſummam in hujuſmodi controverſia paucorum doctorum hominum diſputationi, & quaſi certamini æquatis utrinque claſſibus, & quidem loco noſtrorum iniquiore Pontificis Maximi voluntate permitti, nonne ſimile eſt, ac ſi quos capitalium, & manifeſtorum ſcelerum reos, quos liceat juſtiſſimis legibus graviſſime, & cum ſumma auctoritate damnare, ſummus Magiſtratus ſic ſuam cauſam agentes audiat, ut crimina plane confeſſi in leges receptas ſacroſanctas, quæ argute diſputent, & cum juſtitia, & innocentia virtutes omnes in diſcrimen vocent; eaſdemque de vetere ſua paternaque poſſeſſione judicibus quoque damnatis, pellere nitantur; *Jo. Geneſ. Sepulveda Cordubenſis Lib.* 2. *Epiſt.* 28.

wards re-eſtabliſhed, were already as authentick and certain as they could be made: For ſo it had been a labour altogether loſt, yea a matter no leſs prophane than Rebaptization, to have confirmed them by ſuffrages of Biſhops, after their Cathedral confirmation by the Pope. Even of his Holineſs himſelf, whoſe verdict (as in this caſe muſt finally be ſuppoſed) adds Divine credence unto teſtifications in their own nature fallible and meerly humane, the queſtion propoſed in the former Section remains ſtill inſoluble. For without the relation of ſome Hiſtorian, or Regiſter, or eſpecial Revelation from above, no Pope can divine how many Councils have been held, much leſs what was finally determined in every ancient Canon confirmed by the Biſhops aſſembled at *Trent*. Special Revelations, ſuch as the Prophets had, they acknowledge none. And yet diſtinctly to tell what hath been done in times paſt, or places afar off, without relying on others relations, is an extraordinary effect of ſpecial Revelation, a work of higher nature and greater difficulty, than Prophetical prediction of things to come. Are then the relations of Hiſtorians, or Regiſters of Ancient Councils divine and authentick? Not without the Popes ratification: with it they are? Yes, or elſe a great part of Roman faith by *Bellarmins* reaſon can be but humane.

5. Hence may we ſafely annex a Corollary, as neceſſary, as ſuitable to the main concluſion propoſed, for the principal ſubject of this Section, [*As the Popes authority is, by Jeſuitical Doctrine made much greater than our Saviours, ſo may the aſſiſtance or countenance of his Omnipotent ſpirit, make the reports of any temporizing Hiſtorian, or mercenary Regiſter, as divine, authentick and certain, as any Prophetical or Apoſtolical teſtimonies of the Meſſiah.*] Yea, if it ſhould pleaſe him to authorize *Baronius* Annals, or relations of former Councils, their credit ſhould be no leſs than the Evangeliſts. Yea hence it follows (as the diſcreet Reader without further repetition of what hath here been ſaid, or new-ſuggeſtion of the reaſons whereon the inference is grounded, will (I hope) of his own accord * hereafter collect) That determinations proceeding upon any knaves or looſe companions teſtimonies, though more looſely examined, ſo examined at all, or taken for examined by the Pope, ſhall, by his approbation, be of force as all-ſufficient, either for producing Divine belief of mens ſpiritual worth we never heard of, or for warranting daily performance of Religious worſhip to their memory, as any declaration he can make upon our Savious promiſes unto his Apoſtles. For we may not more doubt of any Religion he ſhall authorize, or any mans ſalvation canonized by him (whoſoever be the Relators of their life and death) than of S. *Peters*, though our Saviour promiſed he ſhould be ſaved. The reaſon is plain. The Pope is ſole Judge of all divine Oracles: our Saviour (as you have heard out of *Valentian*) is but a witneſs, and ſo may others be, whomſoever he ſhall admit.

* *Chap.* 31. *paragraph.* 5.

Sect.

SECT. IV.

Containing the third Branch of Romiſh Blaſphemy, or the laſt degree of great Antichriſts exaltation, utterly overthrowing the whole Foundation of Chriſtian Religion, prepoſterouſly inverting both Law and Goſpel to Gods diſhonour, and the advancement of Satans Kingdom.

THat the Authority challenged by the Romiſh Church is altogether prejudicial to Gods word, greater than either the viſible Church of *Iſrael* from *Moſes* till Chriſt, or Chriſt himſelf or his Apoſtles, either before or after his Reſurrection, did either practiſe or lay claim too; is evident from the former Treatiſe. It remains we demonſtrate, how the acknowledgement of this moſt abſolute, moſt infallible authority, doth quite alienate our Faith and Allegeance from God and the Trinity, unto the Pope and his triple Crown. The Propoſition then we are to prove is this, *whoſoever ſtedfaſtly believes the abſolute authority of the Romiſh Church, as now it is taught, doth truly and properly believe no Article of Chriſtian faith, no God, no Trinity, no Chriſt, no Redemption, no Reſurrection, no heavenly joys, no Hell.*

CHAP. XXVI.

The Jeſuits unwillingneſs to acknowledge the Churches propoſal for the true cauſe of his faith: of differences and agreements about the final Reſolution of faith, either amongſt the Adverſaries themſelves, or betwixt us and them.

1. THe concluſion propoſed follows out of their principles before * mentioned, and afterwards to be reiterated, that they may be the more throughly ſounded. But ere we come to raze the very foundation of their painted walls, a few weak forts muſt be overthrown, which ſome have erected in hope thereby to ſave their Church from battery. † *Valentian* (as you heard before) ſeeing his Mother would lie more open to our aſſault, if they ſhould admit this manner of ſpeech, [*I believe this or that Propoſition or Article of Faith, because the holy Church doth ſo inſtruct me*;] would mitigate the harſhneſs of it, thus; [*If you ask me, why I believe a Trinity, or God to be one in three perſons, I would anſwer, becauſe God hath revealed this myſtery.*] The Divine Revelation then is the cauſe of

* *In the beginning of the ſecond Section. Chap.* 2. *&* 3.

† Valentian *Tom.* 3. *in Aquin.diſ.* 1 .*q.*1. *de object. fidei puncto.* 1. Vide verba integra *l.*2. *c.*30. *parag* 16, *&* 17.

your Belief in this particular. But how do you know, how can you Believe, that God hath revealed this? by another divine Revelation? No. For ſo we ſhould run from Revelation to Revelation without end. If by Revelation you do not believe it, by what means elſe? *By the infallible propoſal of the Church, as a condition, without which I could not believe it.* Mark the myſticalneſs of this ſpeech, *Ob propoſitionem Eccleſiæ infallibilem, For the Churches infallible propoſal.* Is not this as much as if he had ſaid, becauſe the Church, which is infallible, propoſeth it to me? Why then doth he make it but a condition neceſſary, or requiſite to this aſſent? Belike he meant not ſo, but would have us to ſee the condition, not the true and principal cauſe of his belief. The Churches authority, by his doctrine, may in divers reſpects be truly ſaid both a cauſe and condition; Or, to ſpeak more diſtinctly; the Churches propoſal is a condition without which no man can ordinarily believe propoſitions of faith: the infallibility of her propoſal is the true and only cauſe of every Roman Catholicks belief in all points. This denial of the Churches authority to be (according to their principles) the true cauſe of belief, *Is the Sconſe that muſt firſt be overthrown*; but after a friendly parly of the difference betwixt us.

2. *Valentian*, if we well obſerve his proceſs in the forecited place, proves only that, which none in reformed Churches did ever deny; albeit he proffer more in his premiſes: which whilſt he ſeeks to perform, he hath only proved himſelf a ridiculous Atheiſt; as partly is ſhewed in the former Treatiſes, and ſhall more fully appear in the end of this. To eaſe his fellows hereafter of ſuch unneceſſary, or impertinent pains, as oft times they take, I dare avouch in the behalf of all my brethren in reformed Churches, no Jeſuit ſhall be more forward to demand, then we to grant, That God in theſe later days doth not teach men the Goſpel in ſuch ſort, as he did S. *Paul*, *Without the help or miniſtery of man.* * We maintain as well as they, *God is not a father to ſuch as will not acknowledge the Church for their Mother.* Notwithſtanding, thus we conceive and ſpeak of the Church indefinitely taken, not confined to any determinate place, not appropriated to any individual, or ſingularized perſons. Now to verifie an indefinite ſpeech or propoſition, the truth of any one particular ſufficeth: As he that ſhould ſay, *Socrates* by man was taught his learning, doth not mean the ſpecifical nature, or whole Mankind; but that *Socrates*, as others, had one man or other at the firſt to inſtruct him. The ſame Dialect we uſe, when we ſay, *Every one that truly calls God father, receives inſtructions from the Church his Mother*, that is, from ſome in the Church lawfully ordained for planting faith; unto whom ſuch Filial Obedience, † as elſwhere we have ſpoken of, is due. The difference likewiſe between the Romaniſts and us, hath * partly been diſcuſſed before. In brief, it is thus: We hold this Miniſtery of the Church is a neceſſary condition, or mean precedent, for bringing us to the Infallible Truth, or true ſenſe of Gods word; yet no infallible Rule whereon finally or abſolutely we muſt rely, either for diſcerning divine Revelations, or their true meaning. *But as thoſe reſemblances of colours, which we term* Species viſibiles, *are not ſeen themſelves, though neceſſary for the ſight of real colours: ſo this Miniſtery of the Church, albeit in it ſelf not infallible, is yet neceſſarily required, for our right appre-*

* *In what ſenſe it is true:* He that hath not the Church for his Mother hath not God for his Father.

† *Lib. 2. cap. 4. and 6, &c.*

* *Lib. 2. Sect. 1. and cap. 1. 4. and 19.*

*henſion of the Divine Truth, which in it ſelf alone is moſt infallible; yea as infallible to us as it was * to the Apoſtles or Prophets, after it be rightly apprehended.* The difference is in the manner of apprehending or conceiving it. They conceived it immediately, without the Miniſtery or inſtruction of man; ſo cannot we. This difference elſwhere I have thus reſembled, As trees and Plants, now growing up by the ordinary husbandry of man from ſeeds precedent, are of the ſame kind and quality, with ſuch as were immediately created by the hand of God: ſo is the immediate ground of ours, the Prophets and Apoſtles Faith the ſame. Albeit theirs was immediately planted by the finger of God, ours propagated from their ſeed, ſown and cheriſhed, by the daily induſtry of faithful Miniſters.

** The object of the Apoſtles faith, and ours the ſame, though the manner of our apprehending it differ.*

3. Neither in the ſubſtance of this aſſertion, nor manner of the explication, do we much differ, if ought, from † *Canus* in his ſecond book, where he taxeth *Scotus*, *Durand*, and others for affirming the laſt reſolution of our faith was to be made into the veracity or infallibility of the Church. *The Apoſtles and Prophets* (ſaith he) *reſolved their faith into truth and authority divine: Therefore we muſt not reſolve our faith into the humane authority of the Church: For the faith is the ſame, and muſt have the ſame Formal Reaſon.* For better confirmation of which aſſertion he adds this reaſon; *Things incident to the object of any habit by accident, do not alter the formal reaſon of the object. Now that the Articles of faith ſhould be propoſed by theſe, or theſe men, is meerly accidental: wherefore ſeeing the Apoſtles and Prophets did aſſent unto the Articles of faith, becauſe God revealed them, the reaſon of our aſſent muſt be the ſame.* Laſtly, he concludes, that the Churches authority, miracles, or the like, are only ſuch precedent conditions, or means for begetting faith, as ſenſitive knowledge, exhortations, or advice of Maſters, are for bringing us to certain knowledge in demonſtrative faculties. Had either this great Divine ſpoken conſequently to this doctrine, in his fifth Book, or would the Jeſuits avouch no more than here he doth; we ſhould be glad to give them the right hand of fellowſhip in this point. But they go all a wrong way unto the truth, or would to God any way to the truth, or not directly to overthrow it. *Catharinus*, though in a manner ours, in that queſtion about the certainty of ſalvation, ſaith more, perhaps, than they meant, whom *Canus* late taxed; Avouching (as * *Bellarmin* cites his opinion) that *divine Faith could not be certain*

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† Eorum hic Errorem diſſimulare non poſſum, qui aſſerunt, Fidem noſtram eò tanquam in ultimam credendi cauſam reducendam eſſe, ut credamus Eccleſiam eſſe veracem, cui prius (inquiunt) aſſentimur per fidem acquiſitam, quam per infuſam. Quod ſi verum eſſet, prima ratio formalis infuſæ Fidei non eſſet veritas increata, ſed creata. —Præterea Apoſtoli & Prophetæ reſolvebant ultimò fidem ſuam in divinam & authoritatem & veritatem. Ergo nos in humanam Eccleſiæ Authoritatem fidem noſtram non reſolvimus. Eadem enim Fides eſt, idemq; proinde habet objectum, rationemq; formalem. Confirmat autem hoc, vel maximè, quod ea quæ per accidens contingunt, objecto alicujus habitus, non variant illius objecti formalem rationem: ſed articulos credendos proponi per hos, aut illos homines, per accidens omninò contingit. Cum ergo Prophetæ & Apoſtoli aſſentirentur articulis fidei, quia Deus revelavit: eandem quoq; nos credendi rationem habebimus; Niſi fortè Fides noſtra non eſt virtus Theologica, cujus videlicet prima & formalis ratio, ſi his credimus, non divina, ſed humana veritas eſt *Canus. Lib.* 2. *loc. Theol. Cap.* 8.

* At (*inquit Catharinus*) ſoli fidei Catholicæ convenit, ut ei falſum ſubeſſe nequeat, quoniam eſt de objecto probato ab Eccleſia. Fidei autem divinæ particulari falſum ſubeſſe poteſt, quoniam eſt de objecto non probato ab Eccleſia. Reſpondeo, novam atq; inauditam hanc eſſe doctrinam, ut fidei divinæ poſſit ſubeſſe falſum, antequam ejus objectum probatum fuerit ab Eccleſia. Probatio enim Eccleſiæ facit ut omnibus innoteſcat, objectum illud eſſe revelatum à Deo, & propter hoc certum, & indubitatum; non autem tribuit firmitatem verbo Dei aliquid revelantis. Itaq; implicat contradictionem, ut aliquid ſit revelatum à Deo, & poſſit ei ſubeſſe falſum, ſive illud ab Eccleſia probatum ſit, ſive non ſit. Alioqui quod CHRISTUS, Paralytico & Magdalenæ dicebat, Remittuntur tibi peccata tua, poterat eſſe falſum, quia nondum fuerat ab Eccleſia approbatum; quis ita deſipiat ut verba CHRISTI ab Eccleſiæ approbatione pendere arbitretur? Et ſi quis infantem baptizet, cum intentione verè baptizandi, nonne hæreticus cenſebitur, ſi dubitet an infans ille ſit verè juſtificatus; Et tamen non eſt hoc objectum ab Eccleſia approbatum, &c. *Bell. lib.* 3. *de Juſtific. cap.* 3.

your Belief in this particular. But how do you know, how can you Believe, that God hath revealed this? by another divine Revelation? No. For ſo we ſhould run from Revelation to Revelation without end. If by Revelation you do not believe it, by what means elſe? *By the infallible propoſal of the Church, as a condition, without which I could not believe it.* Mark the myſticalneſs of this ſpeech, *Ob propoſitionem Eccleſiæ infallibilem, For the Churches infallible propoſal.* Is not this as much as if he had ſaid, becauſe the Church, which is infallible, propoſeth it to me? Why then doth he make it but a condition neceſſary, or requiſite to this aſſent? Belike he meant not ſo, but would have us to ſee the condition, not the true and principal cauſe of his belief. The Churches authority, by his doctrine, may in divers reſpects be truly ſaid both a cauſe and condition; Or, to ſpeak more diſtinctly; the Churches propoſal is a condition without which no man can ordinarily believe propoſitions of faith: the infallibility of her propoſal is the true and only cauſe of every Roman Catholicks belief in all points. This denial of the Churches authority to be (according to their principles) the true cauſe of belief, *Is the Sconſe that muſt firſt be overthrown*; but after a friendly parly of the difference betwixt us.

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3. Neither in the ſubſtance of this aſſertion, nor manner of the explication, do we much differ, if ought, from † *Canus* in his ſecond book, where he taxeth *Scotus*, *Durand*, and others for affirming the laſt reſolution of our faith was to be made into the veracity or infallibility of the Church. *The Apoſtles and Prophets* (ſaith he) *reſolved their faith into truth and authority divine: Therefore we muſt not reſolve our faith into the humane authority of the Church: For the faith is the ſame, and muſt have the ſame Formal Reaſon.* For better confirmation of which aſſertion he adds this reaſon; *Things incident to the object of any habit by accident, do not alter the formal reaſon of the object. Now that the Artieles of faith ſhould be propoſed by theſe, or theſe men, is meerly accidental: wherefore ſeeing the Apoſtles and Prophets did aſſent unto the Articles of faith, becauſe God revealed them, the reaſon of our aſſent muſt be the ſame.* Laſtly, he concludes, that the Churches authority, miracles, or the like, are only ſuch precedent conditions, or means for begetting faith, as ſenſitive knowledge, exhortations, or advice of Maſters, are for bringing us to certain knowledge in demonſtrative faculties. Had either this great Divine ſpoken conſequently to this doctrine, in his fifth Book, or would the Jeſuits avouch no more than here he doth; we ſhould be glad to give them the right hand of fellowſhip in this point. But they go all a wrong way unto the truth, or would to God any way to the truth, or not directly to overthrow it. *Catharinus*, though in a manner ours, in that queſtion about the certainty of ſalvation, ſaith more, perhaps, than they meant, whom *Canus* late taxed; Avouching (as * *Bellarmin* cites his opinion) that *divine Faith could not be certain*

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† Eorum hic Errorem diſſimulare non poſſum, qui aſſerunt, Fidem noſtram eò tanquam in ultimam credendi cauſam reducendam eſſe, ut credamus Eccleſiam eſſe veracem, cui prius (inquiunt) aſſentimur per fidem acquiſitam, quam per infuſam. Quod ſi verum eſſet, prima ratio formalis infuſæ Fidei non eſſet veritas increata, ſed creata. —Præterea Apoſtoli & Prophetæ reſolvebant ultimò fidem ſuam in divinam & authoritatem & veritatem. Ergo nos in humanam Eccleſiæ Authoritatem fidem noſtram non reſolvimus. Eadem enim Fides eſt, idemq; proinde habet objectum, rationemq; formalem. Confirmat autem hoc, vel maximè, quod ea quæ per accidens contingunt, objecto alicujus habitus, non variant illius objecti formalem rationem: ſed articulos credendos proponi per hos, aut illos homines, per accidens omninò contingit. Cum ergo Prophetæ & Apoſtoli aſſentirentur articulis fidei, quia Deus revelavit: eandem quoq; nos credendi rationem habebimus; Niſi fortè Fides noſtra non eſt virtus Theologica, cujus videlicet prima & formalis ratio, ſi his credimus, non divina, ſed humana veritas eſt *Canus. Lib. 2. loc. Theol. Cap. 8.*

* At (*inquit Catharinus*) ſoli fidei Catholicæ convenit, ut ei falſum ſubeſſe nequeat, quoniam eſt de objecto probato ab Eccleſia. Fidei autem divinæ particulari falſum ſubeſſe poteſt, quoniam eſt de objecto non probato ab Eccleſia. Reſpondeo, novam atq; inauditam hanc eſſe doctrinam, ut fidei divinæ poſſit ſubeſſe falſum, antequam ejus objectum probatum fuerit ab Eccleſia. Probatio enim Eccleſiæ facit ut omnibus innoteſcat, objectum illud eſſe revelatum à Deo, & propter hoc certum, & indubitatum; non autem tribuit firmitatem verbo Dei aliquid revelantis. Itaq; implicat contradictionem, ut aliquid ſit revelatum à Deo, & poſſit ei ſubeſſe falſum, ſive illud ab Eccleſia probatum ſit, ſive non ſit. Alioqui quod CHRISTUS, Paralytico & Magdalenæ dicebat, Remittuntur tibi peccata tua, poterat eſſe falſum, quia nondum fuerat ab Eccleſia approbatum; quis ita deſipiat ut verba CHRISTI ab Eccleſiæ approbatione pendere arbitretur? Et ſi quis infantem baptizet, cum intentione verè baptizandi, nonne hæreticus cenſebitur, ſi dubitet an infans ille ſit verè juſtificatus; Et tamen non eſt hoc objectum ab Eccleſia approbatum, &c. *Bell. lib. 3. de Juſtific. cap.3.*

and infallible, unleſs it were of an object approved by the Church. Whence would follow, what *Bellarmin* there infers, that the Apoſtles and Prophets ſhould not have been certain of their Revelations, immediately ſent from God, until the Church had approved them; which is a doctrine well deſerving a ſharper cenſure than *Bellarmin* beſtows on *Catharinus*. Albeit, to ſpeak the truth, *Bellarmin* was no fit man to cenſure, though the other moſt worthy to be ſeverely cenſured. *Catharinus* might have replied, that the Prophets and Apoſtles, at leaſt our Saviour, in whom *Bellarmin* inſtanceth, were the true Church, as well as they make the Pope. Nor can † *Valentian*'s with other late Jeſuits opinions, by any pretence or ſhew, hardly *Bellarmins* own, be cleared from the ſame inconveniences he objects to *Catharinus*, as will appear upon better examination to be made hereafter.

† *See the next Chapter.*

Chap. XXVII.

That the Churches Propoſal is the true, immediate, and prime cauſe of all abſolute belief any Romaniſt can have, concerning any determinate Divine Revelation.

1. Whereas *Valentian* and (as he ſays) *Cajetan*, deny the Churches infallible Propoſal to be the cauſe why we believe divine Revelations: This ſpeech of his is Equivocal, and in the Equivocation of it (I think) *Valentian* ſought to hide the truth. The Ambiguity or Fallacy, is the ſame which was * diſcloſed in *Bellarmins* reply unto us objecting, that Pontificians make the Churches authority greater than Scriptures. In this place, as in that, *the word of God, or divine Revelations*, may be taken, either indefinitely, for *whatſoever God ſhall be ſuppoſed to ſpeak*, or, *for thoſe particular Scriptures or Revelations which we ſuppoſe he hath already revealed and ſpoken.* Or, *Valentian* may ſpeak of the object of our belief, not of belief it ſelf. If we take his meaning in the former ſenſe; what he ſaith is moſt true. For the Churches infallibility is no cauſe why we believe that to be true which we ſuppoſe God hath revealed: nor did we ever charge them with this aſſertion. *This is an Axiom of nature preſuppoſed in all Religions*; yet of which none ever knew how to make ſo great Secular uſe as the Romiſh Church doth. But if we ſpeak of that Canon of Scripture which we have, or any things contained in it; (all which we and our adverſaries joyntly ſuppoſe to have come from God) the only cauſe why we do or can rightly believe them, is, by Jeſuitical doctrine, the Churches infallibility that commends them unto us.

* *Chap. 2.*

2. If that Church which *Valentian* holds ſo infallible ſhould have ſaid unto him *totidem verbis*: you muſt believe the books of Maccabees are Canonical, even for this reaſon, that your holy Catholick Mother tells you ſo: he durſt not but have believed as well the reaſon as the matter propoſed; [*To wit, That theſe Books were Canonical, becauſe the Church had enjoyned him ſo to think:*] albeit his private Conſcience, left to Gods grace and it ſelf, would

rather have held the Negative. For if we believe, as the Papiſts generally inſtruct us, that we our ſelves, all private ſpirits, may err in every perſwaſion of faith, but the Church which only is aſſiſted by a publick ſpirit, cannot poſſibly teach amiſs in any: We muſt upon terms as peremptory, and in equall degree, believe every particular point of faith, becauſe the Church ſo teacheth us, not becauſe we certainly apprehend the truth of it in it ſelf. For we may err, but this publick ſpirit cannot. And conſequently we muſt infallibly beleive theſe Propoſitions; * [*Chriſt is the Redeemer of the world, not Mahomet, There is a Trinity of perſons in the Divine nature*] for this reaſon only that the Church commends them unto us for Divine Revelations: ſeeing by their arguments brought to diſprove the ſufficiency of Scriptures, or certainty of private ſpirits, no other means poſſible is left us. Nay, were they true, we ſhould be only certain, that without the Churches propoſal, we ſtill muſt be moſt uncertain, in theſe and all other points; becauſe the ſons are perpetually obnoxious to errour, from which the Mother is everlaſtingly priviledged. The ſame Propoſitions and Concluſions we might conditionally believe to be abſolutely authentick, upon ſuppoſal they were Gods word: but that they are his word, or revelations truely divine, we cannot firmly believe, but only by firm adherence to the Churches infallible authority, as was in the ſecond † Section deduced out of the Adverſaries principles. Hence it follows that every particular Propoſition of Faith, hath ſuch a proper cauſal dependance upon the Churches propoſal, as the concluſion hath upon the premiſes, or any particular upon its univerſal. Thus much * *Sacroboſcus* grants.

3. Suppoſe God ſhould ſpeak unto us face to face, what reaſon had we abſolutely and infallibly to believe him, but becauſe we know his words to be infallible? his infallibility then ſhould be the proper cauſe of our belief. For the ſame reaſon, ſeeing he doth not ſpeak to us face to face, as he did to *Moſes*, but as our Adverſaries ſay, *reveals his will obſcurely, ſo as the Revealer is not manifeſted unto us*; but his meaning is by the viſible Church, († which is to us inſtead of Prophets, Apoſtles, and Chriſt himſelf, and all the ſeveral manners God uſed to ſpeak unto the world, before he ſpake to it by his only Son) this Panthea's infallibility muſt be the true and proper cauſe of our Belief: And * *Valentian* himſelf thinks that *Sarah* and others of the old world, to whom God ſpake in private, either by the mouth of Angels, his Son, or holy Spirit, or by what means ſoever; did not ſin againſt the Doctrine of Faith, or through unbelief, when they did not believe Gods promiſes. *They did herein unadviſedly, not unbelievingly. Why not unbelievingly? becauſe the viſible Church did not propoſe theſe promiſes unto them.*

* Vid. *Cap.* 29. *Parag.* 2.

† *Chap.* 3, *&c.*

* *The place is quoted in the ſecond Annotation, Parag.* 5.

† Vid. *Annot. Cap.* 29. *Parag.* 5.

* Ex quo intelligitur eos qui in Scriptura reprehenduntur, quod privatis revelationibus non crediderint, ut Sara *Gen.* 1. Zacharias *Lucæ* 1. non proter infidelitatem propriè, ut eſt vitium contra fidem Catholicam, reprehendi, ſed propter imprudentiam & duritiem cordis. Pertinet enim ad prudentiam infuſam, & ad donum Conſilii, ejuſmodi revelationibus privatis aſſenſum præbere vel negare, conſideratis circumſtantiis, quæ docent eas eſſe à Deo vel non: Et illæ perſonæ commemoratæ, ex prudentia & dono conſilii credere illis debuiſſent. *Valent. Diſp.* 1. *Quæſt.* 1. *De objecto fidei. Punct.* 1. §. 5. *The ground of this Poſition, is, becauſe,* Sola Divina Revelatio ab Eccleſia propoſita eſt objectum fidei.

4. *If not to believe the viſible Churches propoſals*, be that *which makes diſtruſt or diffidence to Gods promiſes, infidelity: then to believe* them *is the true cauſe of believing Gods promiſes*: or if *Sarah* and others did (as *Valentian* ſaith) unadviſedly or imprudently, in not aſſenting to divine truths propoſed by Angels: ſurely they had done only prudently and adviſedly in aſſenting to them; their aſſent had not been truly and properly belief. So that by this aſſertion, the *Churches propoſal* hath the very *remonſtrative* note and *character* of the immediate and prime cauſe, *whereby* we believe and know matters of faith. For whatſoever elſe can concur, without this, our aſſent to divine truths propoſed is not true Catholick belief; but firmly believing this infallibility, we cannot erre in any other point of faith.

* Vide lib. 2. ca.30.parag. 19.Ratio credendi eſt cauſa credendi.

5. This truth * *Valentian* elſwhere could not diſſemble, howſoever in his profeſſed reſolution of Faith he ſought to cover it by change of apparel; Inveſting the Churches propoſal only with the title of a *Condition requiſite*, and yet withal (ſo diſſonant is falſity to it ſelf) making it the *Reaſon* of believing divine Revelations. If a reaſon it be, why we ſhould believe them, needs muſt it ſway any reaſonable mind to embrace their truth. And whatſoever enclines our minds to the embracement of any truth, is the proper efficient cauſe of belief or aſſent unto the ſame. Yea Efficiency or Cauſality it ſelf doth *Formally* conſiſt in this inclination of the Mind. Nor is it poſſible this propoſal of the Church ſhould move our minds to imbrace divine Revelations by any other means than by believing it: And Belief it ſelf being an inclination or motion of the mind, our minds muſt firſt be moved by the Churches propoſal, ere it can move them at all to aſſent unto other divine truths. Again, † *Valentian* grants that the orthodoxal or catechiſtical anſwer to this interrogation; [*Why do you believe the doctrine of the Trinity to be a Divine Revelation?*] is [*becauſe the Church propoſeth it to me for ſuch.*] He that admits this anſwer for ſound and Catholick, and yet denies the Churches propoſal to be the true and proper cauſe of his *Belief* in the former point, hath ſmothered, doubtleſs, the light of nature, by admitting too much artificial ſubtilty into his brains. For if a man ſhould ask, why do you believe there is a fire in yonder houſe? and anſwer were made, Becauſe I ſee the ſmoak go out of the chimney? ſhould the party thus anſwering in good earneſt, peremptorily deny, the ſight of the ſmoak to be the cauſe of his Belief there was a fire; he deſerved very well to have either his tongue ſcorched with the one, or his eyes put out with the other. Albeit if we ſpeak of the things themſelves, not of his Belief concerning them, the fire was the true cauſe of the ſmoak, not the ſmoak of the fire. But whatſoever it be, [*Cauſe, Condition, Circumſtance*, or *Effect*,] that truly ſatisfieth this demand, [*Why do ye believe this or that*] it is a true and proper cauſe of our belief, though not of the thing believed. If then we admit the Churches propoſal to be but a condition annexed to Divine Revelations: yet if it be an infallible [*medium*] or mean; or as our adverſaries all agree, *The only mean infallible*, whereby we can rightly believe this or that to be a Divine Revelation; it is the true and only infallible cauſe of our *Belief*. That ſpeech of *Valentian*, which

† Valent. Tom.3. in Aqui.Diſp.1. Quæſt.1. De object. fidei. Punct.1. Part. 10. *His words are quoted. lib. 2. cap.30.Parag. 16.*

which to any ordinary mans capacity includes as much as we now ſay, was [a] before alledged, [*That Scripture which is commended and expounded unto us by the Church, is*, eo ipſo, *even for this reaſon moſt authentick and clear.*] He could not, more emphatically, have expreſſed the Churches propoſal to be the true and prime cauſe, why particular or determinate Divine Revelations become ſo credible unto us. *His Second*, [b] *Sacroboſcus* hath many ſpeeches (to be inſerted hereafter) to the ſame effect. Amongſt others, where Doctor *whittaker* objects, that the principal cauſe of Faith, is by Papiſts aſcribed unto the Chuch; he denies it only thus far, [*What we believe for the Churches propoſal, we jointly believe for God ſpeaking either in his written Word, or by Tradition:*] Yet, if a man ſhould have asked him why he did, or how poſſibly he could infallibly believe that God did ſpeak all the words either contained in the Bible, or in their Traditions: he muſt have given either a womans anſwer, [*becauſe God ſpake them,*] or this, [*becauſe our holy Mother the Church doth ſay ſo.*] For elſewhere he plainly [c] avows, the Books of Canonical Scripture need not be believed without the Churches propoſal, whoſe infallible Authority was ſufficiently known before one tittle of the New Teſtament was written, and were to be acknowledged, though it had never been; he plainly confeſſeth withal, that he could not believe the Scriptures taught ſome principal Articles of Faith moſt firmly believed by him, unleſs the Churches Authority did thereto move him, againſt the light of natural reaſon. Now if for the Churches propoſal, he believe that which otherwiſe to believe he had no reaſon at all, but rather ſtrong inducements to the contrary, as ſtedfaſtly as any other truth: the Churches infallibility muſt be the true and only cauſe, both why he believes the myſtery propoſed, and diſtruſts the natural dictates of his Conſcieence to the contrary. *In fine*, he doth not believe there is a Trinity, (for in that Article is his inſtance) becauſe God hath ſaid it, but he believes that God hath ſaid it, becauſe his infallible Mother the Church doth teach it. This is *the miſery of miſeries*, that theſe Apoſtates ſhould ſo bewitch the World, as to make it think they believe the Church, becauſe God ſpeaks by it; when it is evident they do not believe God, but for the Churches Teſtimony: Well content to pretend his Authority, that her own may ſeem more Sovereign. Thus make they their ſuperſtitious groundleſs *Magical Faith*, but as a wrench, to wreſt that principle of Nature, [*Whatſoever God ſaith is true,*] to countenance any villany they can imagine, as will better appear hereafter. But firſt, the Reader muſt be content to be informed, that by ſome of

[a] Lib. 2. cap. 16. Part. 8.

[b] Voluerit igitur de fide ſupernaturali indiſtinctè loqui prout differt à fide naturali & acquiſita: & vim generandi fidem habere, quicquid ad actum ſive ex parte potentiæ, ſive ex parte objecti eſt neceſſarium. Verum tunc, ut Scripturæ vis hæc concedi poteſt; ſic nequaquam debet excludi Eccleſia; quæ reſpectu noſtri eſt cauſa proponens, ut eſt ſupra explicatum. *And a little after:* Authoritas Eccleſiæ proponentis, & loquentis Dei in Scriptura, reſpectu actus fidei, ſe habent ut lumen, & color, reſpectu viſionis, albi; vel quemadmodum potentia, & diſpoſitiones in materia ſe habent, reſpectu actus informationis formæ ſubſtantialis; & quod conſequens eſt, quæ habetur fides à Scriptura Dei mentem continente, eadem habetur ab Eccleſia, & qui libri ſint verbum Dei, & quis ſit verus ſcripturæ ſenſus, indicante. *Sacroboſcus Def. Decr. Trid. & Sentent. Bellarm. Cap.* 6. *Part.* 1. *Pag* 105.

[c] Vide Annot. Cap. 30. Parag. 4. Urget (*Whittakerus*) qui ſenſum aliquem amplectitur propter nullam aliam cauſam, niſi quia ſic Eccleſia ſtatuit, non propter Propheticam & Apoſtolicam Scripturam, tribuit auguſtiorem authoritatem Eccleſiæ quam Scripturæ: ſed cum in fide hæc duo ſint, *quid & propter quid*, Papiſtis, *propter quid*, eſt ſola authoritas Eccleſiæ. Verum reſpondetur, id eſſe falſum: quæ enim credimus propter Eccleſiam proponentem, ſimul etiam credimus propter Deum loquentem, verbo ſuo ſcripto vel tradito; ut eſt aliàs explicatum. *Sacroboſ. pag.* 125.

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their * Tenents the ſame Divine Revelations may be aſſented unto by the *Habit* either of *Theology* or of *Faith*; both which are moſt certain, but herein different; That the former is diſcurſive, and reſembles Science properly ſo called; the latter not ſo, but rather like unto that habit or faculty by which we perceive the truth of general Maxims, or unto our bodily ſight, which ſees divers viſibles all immediately, not one after, or by another. Whilſt ſome of them diſpute againſt the certainty of private Spirits, their Arguments ſuppoſe Divine Revelations muſt be believed by the *Habit* of *Theology*, which is as a Sword to offend us. Whiles we aſſault them, and urge the unſtability of their reſolutions, they flie unto the *non diſcurſive Habit of Faith infuſed*, as their beſt Buckler to ward ſuch blows as the *Habit* of *Theology* cannot bear off.

* At inquies, quando Papiſtæ dicunt ſe certo ſtatuere, id quod Eccleſia definit eſſe verum: propoſitiones ipſas ſtatuunt eſſe veras, vel quia Eccleſia id illis dicit, vel non quia Eccleſia dicit, ſed quia Scriptura dicit. Si primum, nullum diſcrimen inter Deum & Eccleſiam ſtatuetur, nam hoc proprium ſolius Dei eſt, ut id verum eſſe credamus quod ille dicit, nullam aliam quærendo rationem. Sin ſecundum: ſumma authoritas definiendi, non Eccleſiæ, ſed ſcripturæ defertur. Verum ne in aere diſputemus (ut ſæpe ſolet adverſarius) Catholici omnes firma fide credunt Eccleſiam in nulla fidei quæſtione determinanda errare poſſe: ubi igitur Eccleſia definit aliquid eſſe de fide, id illi hoc Theologico diſcurſu concludunt eſſe certum. Eccleſia non poteſt aliquid non verum pro Fidei dogmate credendum proponere: At hoc Eccleſia pro dogmate fidei proponit credendum: eſt hoc ergo certum. In qua ratiocinatione medius terminus eſt determinatio Eccleſiæ, atque ita, quo ſenſu medius terminus dicitur cauſa cognoſcendi concluſionem, dici poteſt definitio Eccleſiæ cauſa, propter quam hæc concluſio, ut eſt terminus prædicti diſcurſus, certo perſuadeatur. Abſit vero ut quicquid per modum medii eſt cauſa certæ cognitionis, eo ipſo æquetur Deo. Secus enim angulus externus foret Deo æqualis, nam per hunc cognoſco omnem triangulum habere tres angulos æquales duobus rectis. Atque hæc ſolutio perſpicua eſt, ſolùm advertat, qui minus exercitatos habet ſenſus, dictam concluſionem, ut pendet ex diſcurſu facto, pertinere ad habitum Theologiæ (qui quidem certus eſt; quemadmodum eſt habitus fidei & ſcientiæ: eſt tamen ab utroque diſtinctus; ut verior tenet Theologorum ſententia) nam alia ratione pertinere poteſt ad habitum fidei, quatenus aſſenſu ſimplici ſine diſcurſu creditur, & tunc Eccleſiæ definitio non ſe habet per modum medii termini, ſed per modum ſufficientis propoſitionis; & authoritas Dei loquentis verbo ſuo ſcripto vel tradito, in loco ex quo petitur definitio, eſt formalis ratio credendi: ita ut iſtæ duæ rationes ſubordinatæ, ſunt cauſæ conjunctæ actus fidei, qui exercetur circa propoſitionem definitam, ſicque, quemadmodum ait Ariſtoteles, non Policletus, nec ſtatuarius, ſed Policletus ſtatuarius eſt cauſa ſtatuæ; dicere poſſumus, non definitio Eccleſiæ per ſe & ſolitariè, nec ſolus locus ex quo petita eſt definitio Eccleſiæ, eſt cauſa aſſenſus fidei: ſed definitio & locus; illa ut cauſa ſine qua non, authoritas Dei loquentis in hoc, ut formalis ratio objecti. *Sacroboſ. def. Decr. & Sent. Bellarm. cap. 6. part. 1. pag.* 113, 114, 115.

6. Not here to diſpute either how truly or pertinently they deny *Faith infuſed* to be a diſcurſive *habit*; the Logical Reader need not (I hope) my admonition to obſerve, that Faith or Belief whether habitual or actual, unleſs diſcurſive, cannot poſſibly be reſolved into any pre-exiſtent Maxim or Principle. From which grant, this Emolument will ariſe unto our cauſe; That the Churches Authority cannot be proved by any Divine Revelation, or portion of Scripture; ſeeing it is an Article of Faith, and muſt be believed *eodem intuitu* with that Scripture or part of Gods Word, whether written or unwritten, that teacheth it, as Light and Colours are perceived by one and the ſame intuition in the ſame inſtant. And by this Aſſertion we could not ſo properly ſay, *We believe the Divine Revelation becauſe we believe the Church*, (nor do we ſee Colours becauſe we ſee the Light;) *but we may truly ſay, that the* objects *of our Faith*, (Divine Revelations) *are therefore actually credible, or worthy of belief, becauſe the infallible Church doth illuſtrate or propoſe them*; *as the Light doth make Colours though inviſible by night, viſible by day.* This ſimilitude of the Light and Colours is not mine, but *Sacroboſcus*'s; whom in the point in hand I moſt mention, becauſe Doctor *Whitakers Objections* againſt their Churches Doctrine, as it hath been delivered by *Bellarmine* and other late Controverſers, hath enforced him clearly to unfold, what *Bellarmine*, *Stapleton*, and *Valentian* left unexpreſſed, but is implicitely included in all their Writings. But ere we come

to examine the full inconveniences of their opinions, I muſt requeſt the Reader to obſerve, that as oft as they mention *Reſolution of Faith*, they mean, *the diſcurſive habit of Theology*. For all reſolution of belief or knowledge, eſſentially includes diſcourſe. And [a] *Bellarmine* directly makes, [b] *Sacroboſcus* expreſly avoucheth, the Churches Authority the *medius terminus*, or true cauſe, whence determinate Concluſions of Faith are gathered. From which and other equivalent Aſſertions, acknowledged by all the Romaniſts this day living, it will appear that *Valentian* was either very ignorant himſelf, or preſumed he had to deal with very ignorant Adverſaries, when he denied that the laſt reſolution of Catholick Faith, was into the Churches Authority, which comes next in place to be examined.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Diſcovering either the groſs ignorance, or notorious craft of the Jeſuite, in denying his Faith is finally reſolved into the Churches veracity or infallibility: That poſsibly it cannot be reſolved into any branch of the Firſt Truth.

1. IT *were a fooliſh queſtion, as* Cajetan (ſaith [c] *Valentian*) *hath well obſerved, if one ſhould ask another, why he believes the Firſt Truth revealing. For the Aſſent of Faith is finally reſolved into the Firſt Truth.* It may be *Cajetan* was better minded towards Truth it ſelf, firſt or ſecondary, than this Jeſuite was, which uſed his Authority to colour his former rotten Poſition, [*That the Churches propoſal by their Doctrine is not the cauſe of Faith :*] but our former diſtinction between belief it ſelf and its object, (often confounded) or between Gods Word indefinitely, and determinately taken, if well obſerved, will evince this laſt Reaſon to be as fooliſh as the former Aſſertion was falſe. No man, ſaith he, can give any reaſon beſides the infallibility of the Revealer, why he believes a Divine Revelation. It is true, no man can give, nor would any ask, why we believe that which we are fully perſwaded is a Divine Revelation. But yet a reaſon by their Poſitions muſt be given why we believe either this or that truth, any particular or determinate portion of Scripture, to be a Divine Revelation. Wherefore ſeeing Chriſtian Faith is always of definite and particular Propoſitions or Concluſions, and, as *Bellarmine* ſaith, (and all the Papiſts muſt ſay) theſe cannot be known but by the Church: As her infallible propoſal is the true and proper cauſe why we believe them to be infallibly true, becauſe the only cauſe whereby we can believe them to be Divine Revelations: ſo muſt it be the eſſential principle into which our Aſſent or Belief of any particular or determinate Propoſition muſt finally be reſolved. Every Concluſion of Faith (as is before obſerved out of [d] *Bellarmine*) muſt be gathered in this or like

[a] *See the Annotations, cap.* 3. *par.* 1.

[b] *His words are quoted in the Annotat. parag.* 5. *of this Chapter.*

[c] Rectè illud quidem à *Cajetano* dictum eſt, *Fatuam eſſe quæſtionem, ſi quis alterum interroget; cur credat primæ veritati revelanti.* Nam in primam veritatem ultimò fit reſolutio aſſenſus fidei, atque adeo propter illam ultimò fides aſſentitur. Itaque non eſt quærenda ulterius ratio, quare fides aſſentiatur. Sed ſolum poteſt quæri ulterius, unde habeat illa prima veritas, ut ſit prima veritas? Et tunc reſpondendum eſt, id habere ſecundum noſtrum intelligendi modum ex divinitate, cujus attributum & quaſi paſſio eſt, & quæ neque falli neque fallere poteſt. *Valent. tom.* 3. *in Aquinat. Diſp.* 1. *quæſt.* 1. *de object. fidei, punct.* 1. *parag.* 5.

[d] Cap. 3. parag. 1.

Syllogiſm, [*whatſoever God or the firſt Truth ſaith, is moſt true: But God ſaid all thoſe words which* Moſes, *the Prophets, and the Evangeliſts wrote: Therefore all theſe are moſt true.*] *The Major* in this Syllogiſm, is an Axiom of Nature, acknowledged by Turks and Infidels; nor can Chriſtian Faith be reſolved into it, as into a Principle proper to it ſelf: *The Minor* ſay * our Adverſaries, muſt be aſcertained unto us by the Churches Authority, and ſo aſcertained, becomes the firſt and main Principle of Faith, as Chriſtian; † whence all other particular or determinate Concluſions are thus gathered: [*whatſoever the Church propoſeth to us for a Divine Revelation, is moſt certainly ſuch:* g *But the Church propoſeth the Books of* Moſes *and the Prophets, finally, the whole Volumes of the Old and New Teſtament, with all their parts, as they are extant in the vulgar Roman Edition, for Divine Revelations; Therefore we muſt infallibly believe they are ſuch.*] So likewiſe muſt we believe, that to be the true and proper meaning of every ſentence in them contained, which the Church, to whom it belongs to judge of their ſence, ſhall tender unto us.

* Bellar. loco citato.

† Vide *Sacrobeſc.* ca. 6. par. 1. pag. 109.

g Chap. 1.

Reſolution twofold: either of objects believed, or of our Belief, or perſwaſions concerning them.

2. For better manifeſtation of the Truth, we now teach, the young Reader muſt here be adviſed of a *Twofold Reſolution*; *One of the things or matters believed, or known, into their firſt parts or Elements; Another of our Belief, or perſwaſions cencerning them, into their firſt Cauſes or Motives.* In the one, the moſt general or remoteſt cauſe; In the other, the moſt immediate or next cauſe always terminates the reſolution. *The one imitates, the other inverts the order of compoſition*; ſo as what is firſt in the one, is laſt in the other, becauſe that which is firſt intended, or reſolved upon by him, that caſteth the plot, is laſt effected by the Executioner or manual Compoſer. In the former ſence, we ſay mixt Bodies are laſtly reſolved into their firſt Elements; Houſes into Stones, Timber, and other Ingredients; particular Truths into general Maxims; Concluſions into their *immediate Premiſſes*; all Abſurdities into ſome breach of the Rule of Contradiction. Conſonantly to this Interpretation of *final Reſolution*; *The Firſt Verity, or Divine Infallibility*, is that into which all Faith is laſtly reſolved. For (as we ſaid before) this is the firſt ſtep in the progreſs of true Belief, the loweſt Foundation whereon any Religion, Chriſtian, Jewiſh, Mahometan, or Ethnick can be built. And it is an undoubted Axiom, *Quod primum eſt in generatione, eſt ultimum in reſolutione*; *When we reſolve any thing into the parts whereof it is compounded, we end, in the undoing or unfolding it, where Nature begun in the compoſition or making of it.* But he that would attempt to compoſe it again, or frame the like aright, would terminate all his thoughts or purpoſes by the end or uſe, which is fartheſt from actual accompliſhment. Thus the Architect frames Stones and Timber, and lays the firſt Foundation according to the platform he carries in his head; and that he caſts proportionably to the moſt commodious or pleaſant Habitation: which though laſt effected, determines all Cogitations or Reſolutions precedent. Hence, if we take this *ultima reſolutio*, as we always take theſe terms, when we reſolve our own perſwaſions, that is, [*for a reſolution of all doubts or demands, concerning the ſubject whereof we treat*;] A Roman Catholicks Faith muſt, according to his Principles, finally be reſolved into the Churches infallibility. For

this is the immediate ground, or firſt cauſe of any particular or determinate point of Chriſtian Faith; and the immediate cauſe is always that, into which our perſwaſions concerning the effect is finally reſolved, ſeeing it only can fully ſatisfie all demands, doubts, or queſtions concerning it. As for example, If you ask why men, or other terreſtrial Creatures, breathe, when fiſhes do not: to ſay they have lungs, and fiſhes none, doth not fully ſatisfie all demands or doubts concerning this Subject. For it may juſtly further be demanded, What neceſſity there was the one ſhould have lungs rather than the other. If here it be anſwered, That men and other perfect terreſtrial Creatures are ſo full of fervent blood, that without a cooler their own heat would quickly choak them; and in this regard, the God of Nature who did not make them ἡμερόβια, or give them life in vain to be preſently extinct, did with it give them lungs, by whoſe reſpiration their natural temper ſhould be continued: This anſwer doth fully ſatisfie all demands concerning the former effect. For no man of ſenſe would further queſtion, why life ſhould be preſerved, whoſe preſervation immediately depends upon reſpiration, or exerciſe of the lungs, and is therefore the immediate cauſe of both, and that whereunto all our perſwaſions, concerning the former ſubject, are laſtly reſolved. Or, if it ſhould be demanded, Why only man of all other Creatures hath power to laugh; to ſay, He were indued with reaſon, doth not reſolve us; for a Philoſophical Wit would further queſtion, [*Why ſhould reaſonable ſubſtances have this fooliſh faculty rather than others?*] A good * Philoſopher would perſwade us, the ſpirits which ſerve for inſtruments to the rational part, are more nimble and ſubtile, and ſo more apt to produce this motion, than the ſpirits of any other Creatures are. But this I muſt profeſs reſolves not me: for how nimble or ſubtle ſoever they be, unleſs man had other Corporeal Organs for this motion, the ſpirits alone could not produce it: and all Organical parts are framed for the operation or exerciſe of the faculty, as their proper end. Whence, he that would finally reſolve the former Problem, muſt aſſign the true final cauſe why reaſonable ſubſtances, more than others, ſhould ſtand in need of this motion. Now ſeeing unto reaſon only it is proper to forecaſt danger, and procure ſorrow and contriſtation of heart by preconceit of what yet is not, but perhaps may be: it was requiſite that our mortality through *reaſon*, obnoxious to this inconvenience, ſhould be able to correct this contriſtant motion by the contrary, and have a faculty to conceive ſuch pleaſant objects as might dilate the heart and ſpirits; that as man hurts his body by conceited ſorrow, whereto no other Creature is ſubject; ſo he might heal it again by a kind of pleaſance, whereof he alone is capable.

* *Antonius Laurentinus Politianus, de Riſu.*

3. Anſwerable to this latter acceptation of *final reſolution*, if you demand a Roman Catholick, [Why he believes there is a Trinity, there ſhall be a reſurrection, a life everlaſting;] his anſwer would be, *becauſe God, or the Firſt Verity hath ſaid ſo:* but this doth not fully ſatisfie; for we might further queſtion him, as he doth us, why

That according to the Jeſuites own Principles, the Churches infallibility doth ſo terminate all doubts or demands in matters of the Romaniſts Faith, as the immediate or prime cauſe, doth all doubts or queſtions concerning any demonſtrable effect.

do you believe that God did ſay ſo? Here it ſufficeth not to ſay, This Truth is expreſly taught in Canonical Scriptures; for the doubt whereby he hopes to ſtagger us moſt, is this, [*Why do you believe, or how can you know thoſe Books which ye call Scriptures were from God?*] The laſt and final anſwer (according to the Jeſuitical Catechiſms) wherein (as you heard before out of † *Bellarmine*) they think they have great advantage of us, would be this: *The Holy Church our Mother doth ſo inſtruct, giving us this expreſs admonition withal,* * *His amplius fili mi ne requiras.* Here (upon God their Father, and the infallible Church their Mothers bleſſing) their ſouls are bound to reſt without further doubt or demand. Whence unleſs they uſe ſome mental reſervation, or ſeek to ſhrowd themſelves in the former equivocation hitherto unfolded, they muſt of neceſſity account themſelves accurſed, if they deny the laſt or final reſolution of their belief to be into the Churches infallibility or veracity. Again, what reaſonable man would demand further reſolution of any doubts incident to his faculty, be it real or verbal, ſpeculative or practick, than into the prime and immediate Rules? He ſhould ſurely be laſht in a Grammar School, that either for quantity of ſyllables, right accent, conſtruction of words, or the like, would ſeek a further reaſon, than a known general Rule which admitteth no exception. So ſhould he with diſgrace be turned over the Bar amongſt the Lawyers, that would demur or ſeek a Devolution of an evident ruled caſe, which by his own confeſſion could never alter. Much more groſs would his abſurdity appear, that in the Mathematicks or other demonſtrative Science, ſhould attempt to reſolve a Problem or Concluſion, further than into an unqueſtionable Theorem or Definition. Finally, might we have a Centumviral Court of all Profeſſions under the Sun, our Adverſaries would be condemned with joint conſent, either of intolerable folly, or impudency, if they ſhould, with *Valentian*, deny the laſt reſolution of their Faith to be into the Churches infallibility; ſeeing they make it ſuch a Catholick, inerrable, perpetual rule of Chriſtian Faith, as admits no exception, no devolution from it, no appeal. It is to them more than he ſaid of Logick, *Ars Artium, & Scientia Scientiarum; a Faculty of Faculties, a Rule of Rules*, able rightly to reſolve all doubts concerning the very Canon of Scripture, or Gods Word, written or unwritten, or the true ſence or meaning of both; briefly able moſt authentically to determine and define all Controverſies in Religion of what kind ſoever.

4. Nor will it boot them ought to ſay, that Gods Word in the Churches mouth is the Rule whereinto Faith is finally reſolved, ſeeing the Church defines nothing but by Gods Word either written or unwritten. For this is more than the party which believes it can know, nor hath he any other motive to believe it, beſides the Churches definition or aſſertion. Suppoſe then we ſhould conceive ſo well of a temporal Judge, as to preſume he did never ſpeak but according to the true meaning either of Statute or cuſtomary Law: yet if we could not know either the one or the other, or their right interpretation, but only by his determinations; the Law were little beholden to him (unleſs for a flout) that ſhould ſay, he were reſolved jointly by the Judge and it. For, ſeeing the

† Cap. 3. par. 1

* *Eccleſiaſtes* 12. *verſe* 11. Hoc loco Solomon docet (*inquit Bellarminus*) non eſſe ulterius inquirendum, ſed acquieſcendum penitus, quando ſententia data eſt à ſummo Paſtore, adjuncto præſertim conſilio ſapientum. Quod ſi hæc dicuntur de Sacerdote veteris Teſtamenti, quanto magis dici poſſunt de Sacerdote Teſtamenti novi, qui longe majores promiſſiones à Deo accepit. *Bellar. de verb. Dei, lib.* 3. *cap.* 4.

the Law is to him altogether uncertain, but by the Judges avouchment or interpretation, his laſt reſolution of any act of Juſtice, muſt be onely into the Judges skill and fidelity. This inference * *Sacroboſcus* would not deny, he himſelf hath made the like, to prove that not the Scripture, but the Church muſt be the infallible Rule of Faith. *You will object* (ſaith he) *when the Church defines, it always defines according to the Word of God, either written or unwritten. New Revelations it receives none: the promiſed aſſiſtance of the Spirit, helps it only to know what is already revealed: Therefore from the firſt to the laſt, that which determines Controverſies, and is the Judge in all Queſtions of Faith, is the Word of God.* To this objection thus he anſwers: *Becauſe we cannot be certain of the true ſence of Gods Word, but by the voice of the Church which hears our Controverſies, and anſwers them; The Church is Judge, although it judge acccording to Gods Word, which upon examination, and by the Spirits aſſiſtance it always underſtands aright. And if every one of us ſhould have the infallible gift of underſtanding Gods Word, we ſhould not need any other Judge.* The Reader, I hope, will remember what was ſaid before; that thoſe flowting Hypocrites would fain believe the Pope ſaith nothing but what God ſaith, that God may be thought to ſay all he ſays; which is the moſt abominable Blaſphemy that ever Hell broacht, worſe than worſhipping of Devils, as ſhall appear hereafter.

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* At dices, quando Eccleſia definit, ex verbo Dei ſcripto, vel tradito, ſemper definit: neque enim amplius accipit novas revelationes, & aſſiſtentia Spiritus ſancti ibi promiſſa, eſt tantum ad ea, quæ jam revelata ſunt, cognoſcenda: ergo à primo ad ultimum, quod terminat controverſias, & quod judex eſt quæſtionum fidei, eſt verbum Dei. Reſpondeo: quoniam nobis non conſtat certò, quis ſit verus Scripturæ ſenſus, niſi per vocem Eccleſiæ, quæ noſtras audit contentiones, & reſpondet, Eccleſia Judex eſt, quamvis judicet ex Dei verbo, quod illa ſcrutando & examinando, propter aſſiſtentiam Spiritus ſancti, ſemper recte intelligit. Si autem quilibet noſtrûm haberet infallibile donum intelligendi verbum Dei, alio judice non indigeremus; Nam hoc, fidei veritates continet; ſed quoniam ita non eſt, verbum Dei reſpectu noſtri, non habet rationem judicis: Non quaſi certam & veram non contineat ſententiam, ſed quia de ejus ſenſu per nos ipſi nequimus infallibiliter eſſe certi, ſicut certi ſumus de mente Eccleſiæ, quæ & audire & referre poteſt voces; unde liquet deeſſe aliquid ſcripturæ comparatione noſtri, quo minus noſter judex eſſe queat, quod non deeſt Eccleſiæ. *Sacroboſ. Def. Decr. Trid. & ſentent. Bellarm. cap. 6. Theſe words immediately follow upon thoſe cited (out of the ſame Author, Part. 1. pag. 115.) in the 27. Chap. parag. 5.*

5. It may be ſome Novice in Arts that hath late read ſome vulgar Logicians upon the Demonſtrations, might here frame this doubt in favour of the Romiſh Churches Doctrine. As the final Cauſe may be demonſtrated by the Efficient, and the Efficient by the Final: ſo may the Church be infallibly proved by Scriptures, and the Scriptures again by the Churches Authority, both infallibly believed each for others ſake, as both the former Demonſtrations are true and certain, and yet mutually depending one upon the other.

6. This Objection, had ſome late Logicians underſtood what they ſaid, would carry ſome ſhew of truth to countenance *Valentians* former *Circular Reſolution*; but they lace their Maſters Rule, uttered by him *Pingui Minerva*, too too ſtraitly. For taking it as they do, we ſhould admit † of Circular Demonſtrations, the conceit whereof can have no place but in a giddy Brain. To demonſtrate the final cauſe in any work of Nature, were to aſſign a Counſellor to the infinite Wiſdom of the God of Nature; in whoſe intention the end is firſt, and is the cauſe of all operation or efficiency. Who could give, or who would demand a natural cauſe why life ſhould be *preſerved*? for this is the will of him that gave it. If queſtion were made of the manner how the life of man and other Creatures is preſerved, when as their heat might ſeem to choak them? A man might truly anſwer, by Reſpiration: and Reſpiration is from

† *A Rule in Logick by ſome much miſconſtrued. Whoſe miſconſtruction not impeached, might in ſome ſort ſhroud the Romaniſts ſottiſhneſs in this Argument.*

from the Lungs. But it is one thing to ask, How or by what Means; another, for what End any effect is produced. The former is an inquiry of the Efficient, within theſe precincts of means or motions always, prime and independent; The latter of the final Cauſe abſolutely, indemonſtrable, becauſe *it implies a contradiction to give a reaſon why that ſhould be, for whoſe ſake all other things of that rank have being.* Nor is the End it ſelf (to ſpeak properly) ever produced, though oft-times in common ſpeech we take the Effect immediately thereto deſtinated, (becauſe moſt ſenſible) for the End it ſelf, as we do the Star next to the Pole, becauſe viſible, for the Pole or Point immoveable. Thus we confound reſpiration or actual preſervation of life, with the *Final cauſe* why men have Lungs; whenas both are effects of the Lungs, both means of accompliſhing Natures, or rather the God of Natures purpoſe, in whoſe will or pleaſure the final Cauſe of any natural Effect always conſiſts. And ſeeing nothing in Nature can preoccupate his will, no cauſe can be precedent to the final. This Conſideration of Natural Effects tending as certainly to their propoſed end, as the Arrow flies to the mark, cauſed the irreligious * Philoſopher to acknowledge the direction of an Intelligent ſupernatual Agent in their working, the accompliſhment of whoſe will and pleaſure (as I ſaid) muſt be the final cauſe of their motions; as his will or pleaſure which beſtows the charges, not the Architect (unleſs he be the owner alſo) is the final cauſe why the Houſe is built. Finally, *every End ſuppoſeth the laſt intention of an intelligent Agent*, whereof to give a reaſon by the Efficient which only produceth works or means thereto proportioned, would be as impertinent, as if to one demanding *why the Bell Rings out*, it ſhould be anſwered, Becauſe *a ſtrong Fellow pulls the Rope.*

* *Averroes.*

Jeſuites faith cannot be reſolved into any definite branch of the Firſt Truth.

7. Now that which in our Adverſaries Doctrine anſwers unto the cauſe indemonſtrable whereinto final reſolution of Natures works or intentions of intelligent Agents muſt be reſolved, is the Churches Authority. Nor can that, if we ſpeak properly, be reſolved into any branch of the firſt Truth; for this reaſon, (beſides others alledged before) that all reſolutions, whether of our perſwaſions or intentions, or of their objects, (works of Art or Nature) ſuppoſe a ſtability or certainty in the firſt links of the Chain which we unfold; the latter always depending on the former, not the former on the latter. As in reſolutions of the latter kind lately mentioned, (imitating the order of compoſition) actual continuation of life depends on breathing, not breathing on it; breathing on the Lungs, not the Lungs mutually on breathing: ſo in reſolutions of the other kind, (which inverts the order of compoſition) the uſe or neceſſity of Lungs depends upon the uſe or neceſſity of breathing; the neceſſity or uſe of breathing upon the neceſſity or uſe of life, or upon his will or pleaſure that created one of theſe for another. Thus again, the ſenſitive faculty depends upon the vital, that upon mixtion, mixtion upon the Elements, not any of theſe mutually upon the ſenſitive faculty; if we reſpect the order of ſupportance, or Natures progreſs in their production. Whence he that queſtions whether ſome kinds of Plants have ſenſe, or ſome Stones or Metals life, ſuppoſeth as unqueſtionable, that the former have life, that the ſecond are mixt Bodies. But if we reſpect

the intent or purpoſe of him that ſets Nature a working; all the former faculties depend on the ſenſitive, the ſenſitive not on any of them. For God would not have his Creatures indued with ſenſe, that they might live; or live, that they might have mixt bodies: but rather to have ſuch bodies that they might live, to live that they might enjoy the benefit of ſenſe, or the more noble faculties.

8. Can the Jeſuit thus aſſign any determinate branch of the *Firſt Truth*, as ſtable and unqueſtionable, before it be ratified by the Churches authority? Evident it is, by his poſitions, that he cannot; and as evident, that belief of the Churches authority cannot depend upon any determinate branch of the *Firſt Truth*, much leſs can it diſtinctly be thereinto reſolved. But contrariwiſe, preſs him with what Divine Precept ſoever, written or unwritten, though in all mens judgements (the Churches authority ſet aſide) moſt contradictory to their approved practiſes: for example, [That the ſecond Commandment forbids worſhipping Images or adoration of the conſecrated Hoſt;] he ſtraight inverts your reaſon thus, Rather the ſecond Commandment forbids neither, becauſe the holy Church, which I believe to be infallible, approveth both. Laſtly, he is fully reſolved to believe nothing for true, which the Church diſproves, nothing for falſe or erroneous, which it allows. Or, if he would anſwer directly to this demand, [*To what end did God cauſe the Scriptures to be written?*] He could not (*conſonant to his Tenents*) ſay, [*That we might infallibly rely upon them,*] but rather [upon the Churches authority * which it eſtabliſheth.] For Gods Word whether written or unwritten, † is by their Doctrine, but as the teſtimony of ſome men deceaſed, indefinitely preſumed for infallible, but whoſe material extent the Church muſt firſt determine, and afterwards judge without all appeal, of their true meaning. Thus are all parts of Divine truths, ſuppoſed to be revealed, more eſſentially ſubordinate to the Churches authority, than ordinary witneſſes are to Royal or Supreme judgement. For they are ſuppoſed able to deliver what they know, *in terms intelligible* to other mens capacities, without the Prince or Judges ratification of their ſayings, or expoſitions of their meanings; and judgement is not ordained for producing witneſſes; but production of witneſſes for eſtabliſhing judgement. Thus *by our Adverſaries Doctrine, Gods Word muſt ſerve to eſtabliſh the Churches authority: not the Churches authority, to confirm the immediate Soveraignty of It over our ſouls.*

* *So in the firſt Edition: ſhould it not be? eſtabliſheth Them.*

† Vide annot. in cap. 25.

9. Much more probably might the Jew or Turk reſolve his faith unto the Firſt Truth, than the modern Jeſuited Papiſt can. For though their deductions from it be much what alike, all equally ſottiſh: yet theſe admit a ſtability or certainty of what the Firſt Truth hath ſaid, no way dependant upon their authority that firſt propoſed or commended it unto them. The Turks would ſtorm to hear any Mufti profeſs, *He were as well to be belived as was Mahomet* in his life time; that *without His propoſal they could not know either the Old Teſtament or the Alcoran to be from God.* So would the Jews if one of their Rabbins ſhould make the like compariſon betwixt himſelf and *Moſes*, as the Jeſuit doth betwixt Chriſt and the Pope: who, beſides that he muſt be as well believed as

his Maſter, leaves the authority of both Teſtaments uncertain to us, unleſs confirmed by his infallibility. But to ſpeak properly, the pretended derivation of all three hereſies from the Firſt Truth, hath a lively reſemblance of falſe Pedegrees, none at all of true Doctrine and reſolutions. Of all the three the Romiſh is moſt ridiculous, as may appear by their ſeveral repreſentations. As, imagine there ſhould be three Competitors for the Roman Empire; all pleading it were to deſcend by inheritance, not by election; all pretending lineal Succeſſion from *Charles* the Great. The firſt, like to the Jew, alledgeth an authentick Pedegree, making him the eldeſt. The ſecond reſembling the Turk, replies, that the other indeed was of the eldeſt line, but long ſince diſinherited, often conquered and enforced to reſign; whence the inheritance deſcended to him as the next in Succeſſion. The third, like the Romaniſt, pleads it was bequeathed to him by the Emperors laſt Will and Teſtament, from whoſe death his Anceſtors have been intitled to it, and produceth a Pedegree to this purpoſe, without any other confirmation than his own authority; adding withal, that unleſs his Competitors and others will believe his Records and Declarations (written or unwritten) to be moſt authentick, they cannot be certain whether ever there had been ſuch an Emperor as they plead Succeſſion from, or at leaſt how far his Dominions extended, or where they lay. This manner of plea in Secular controverſies, would be a mean to defeat him that made it. For albeit the Chriſtian World did acknowledge there had been ſuch an Emperor, and that many parts of *Europe* of right belonged unto his lawful heir: Yet if it were otherwiſe unknown what parts theſe were, or who this heir ſhould be; no Judge would be ſo mad as finally to determine of either upon ſuch motives. Or if the Plaintiff, could, by ſuch courſes as (the World knows) oft prevail in judgement, or other gracious reſpects, effect his purpoſe: he were worſe then mad that could think the final reſolution of his right were into the Emperors laſt Will and Teſtament, which by his own confeſſion, no man knows beſides himſelf; and not rather, into his own preſumed fidelity, or the Judges apparent partiality. So in this Controverſie, whatſoever the Pope may pretend from Chriſt, all in the end comes to his own authority; which we may ſafely believe, herein to be moſt infallible, that it will never prove partial againſt it ſelf, or define ought to his Holineſs diſadvantage.

10. Here again, it ſhall not be amiſs to admoniſh younger Students of another gull, which the * Jeſuit would put upon us, to make their Churches Doctrine ſeem leſs abominable in this point. Leſt you ſhould think they did equalize the authority of the Church with Divine Revelations, *Valentian* would perſwade you, it were no part of the formal object of faith. It is true indeed, that the Churches authority by their Doctrine is not comprehended in the object of Belief, whilſt it only propoſeth other Articles to be believed. No more is the Sun comprehended under the objects of our actual ſight, whilſt we behold Colours, or other viſibles,

* Secundum legem Dei ordinariam, ut quis per habitum fidei Chriſtianæ alicui veritati revelatæ aſſentiatur, præter ipſam revelationem, neceſſe eſt hujuſmodi veritatem ab Eccleſia proponi, tanquam à Deo revelatam, & fide credendam: non quia hæc Eccleſiæ propoſitio ſit de ratione formali objecti fidei, ſed quia eſt conditio quædam requiſita: ſine qua ordinariè aſſenſus fidei Chriſtianæ non elicitur. *Valent Tom. 3. in Aquin. Diſput. 1. Quæſt. 1. de objecto Fidei. Punct. 1. parag. 6.*

by the vertue of it. But yet, as it could not make colours, or other things become more viſible unto us, unleſs it ſelf were the firſt and principle viſible, [that is, unleſs it might be ſeen more clearly than thoſe things which we ſee by it, ſo we would direct our ſight unto it:] ſo would it be impoſſible the Churches infallible propoſal could make a Roman Catholicks belief of Scriptures, or their Orthodoxal ſenſe the ſtronger; unleſs it were the firſt and principal credible, or primary object of his Belief; or *that which muſt be moſt clearly, moſt certainly, and moſt ſtedfaſtly believed; ſo as all other Articles beſides, muſt be believed by the belief or credibility of it.* This is moſt evident out of *Sacroboſcus* and *Bellarmins* reſolution, or explication of that point, how the Churches propoſal confirms a Roman Catholicks belief. To give this Doctrine of their Churhes infallibility, the right title, according to the truth: it is not an Article of Catholick, but *a Catholick Axiom of Antichriſtian unbelief*: which from the neceſſary conſequences of their aſſertions, more ſtrictly to be examined, will eaſily appear.

CHAP. XXIX.

What manner of cauſal dependance Romiſh Belief hath on the Church: that the Romaniſt truly and properly believes the Church only, not God or his Word.

I. THe two main aſſertions of our Adverſaries, whence our intended concluſion muſt be proved, are theſe, often mentioned heretofore. Firſt, that *we cannot be infallibly perſwaded of the truth of Scriptures, but by the Churches propoſal.*

Secondly, that *without the ſame, we cannot be infallibly perſwaded of the true ſenſe or meaning of theſe Scriptures, which that Church and we both believe to be Gods Word.*

How we ſhould know the Scriptures to be Gods Word, is a Probleme in Divinity, which in their judgement cannot be aſſoiled without admiſſion of Traditions or divine unwritten verities, of whoſe extent and meaning the Church muſt be infallible Judge. *It is neceſſary to ſalvation* (ſaith * *Bellarmin*,) *that we know there be ſome books divine, which queſtionleſs cannot by any means be known by Scriptures. For albeit the Scripture ſay, that the Books of the Prophets or Apoſtles are divine: yet this I ſhall not certainly believe, unleſs I firſt believe that Scripture, which ſaith thus, is divine. For ſo we may read every where in Mahomets Alcoran, that the Alcoran it ſelf was ſent from heaven; but we believe it not. Therefore this neceſſary point* [that ſome Scripture is divine,] *cannot ſufficiently be gathered out of Scriptures alone. Conſequently, ſeeing faith muſt rely upon Gods Word; unleſs we have Gods word unwritten, we can have no faith.* His meaning is, we cannot know the Scriptures to be divine, but by Traditions; and what Traditions are divine, what not, we cannot know, but by the preſent viſible Church: as was expreſly taught by the ſame Author before. And the final reſolution of our believing what God hath ſaid, or not ſaid, muſt be the Churches Authority. To this collection, † *Sacroboſcus* thus far accords: Some Catholicks rejected divers Canonical Books without any danger, and if they had wanted the Churches propoſal for others, as well as them, they might without ſin have doubted of the whole Canon. This he thinks conſonant to that of S. *Auſtin*; *I would not believe the Goſpel, unleſs the Churches authority did thereto move me.* He adds, that we of Reformed Churches making the viſible Churches authority in defining points of faith unſufficient, might diſclaim all without any greater ſin or danger to our ſouls; than we incur by diſobeying ſome parts of Scripture, to wit, the Apocryphal books, canonized by the Romiſh Church. The Reader (I hope) obſerves by theſe paſſages, How *Bellarmin aſcribes that to Tradition, which is peculiar to Gods providence*: Sacroboſcus, *that to blind belief, which belongs unto the holy Spirit*, working faith unto the former points, by the ordinary obſervation of Gods Providence, and Experiments anſwerable to the rules of Scriptures.

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* Quarto, neceſſe eſt noſſe, extare libros aliquos verè divinos, quod certè nullo modo ex Scripturis haberi poteſt. Nam etiamſi ſcriptura dicat, libros Prophetarum, & Apoſtolorum eſſe divinos, tamen non certo id credam, niſi prius credidero Scripturam, quæ hoc dicit, eſſe divinam. Nam etiam in Alcorano Mahumeti paſſim legimus, ipſum alcoranum de cœlo à Deo miſſum, & tamen ei non credimus. Itaque hoc dogma tam neceſſarium, quod ſcilicet aliqua ſit Scriptura divina, non poteſt ſufficienter haberi ex ſola Scriptura. Proinde cum fides nitatur verbo Dei, niſi habeamus verbum Dei non ſcriptum, nulla nobis erit fides. *Bellar. lib.* 4. *de verbo Dei, Cap* 4.

2. Conſequently to the † *Trent* Councils Decree, concerning the ſecond aſſertion, * *Bellarmin* thus collects: *It is neceſſary not only to be able to read Scriptures, but to underſtand them: but the Scripture is often ſo ambiguous and intricate, that it cannot be underſtood, without the expoſition of ſome that cannot err: therefore it alone is not ſufficient. Examples there be many: For the equality of the divine Perſons, the Holy Ghoſt proceeding from the Father and the Son, as from one joynt original; Original ſin; Chriſts deſcenſion into Hell, and many like, may indeed be deduced out of Scriptures, but not ſo plainly as to end Controverſies with contentious ſpirits, if we ſhould produce only teſtimonies of Scriptures. And we are to note there be two things in Scripture, the Characters or the written words, and the ſenſe included in them. The Character is as the ſheath, but the ſenſe is the very ſword of the Spirit. Of the firſt of theſe two, all are partakers; for whoſoever knows the Character, may read the Scripture: but of the ſenſe all men are not capable, nor can we in many places be certain of it, unleſs Tradition be aſſiſtant.* It is an offer worth the taking that here he makes, *That the ſenſe of the Scriptures is the ſword of the Spirit.* This is as much as we contend that the ſenſe of the Scripture is the Scripture. Whence the inference is immediately neceſſary; That if the Romiſh Church bind us to believe, or abſolutely practiſe, ought contrary to the true ſenſe and meaning of

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† Dices Catholicos quoſdam rejeciſſe nonnullas Scripturæ veras partes, quas caruiſſe Spiritu ſancto nos inde non affirmamus: Reſpondeo, quod ſi illi caruiſſent propoſitione Eccleſiæ pro aliis libris, ſicut pro illis, potuiſſent quoque de tota Scriptura ſine peccato dubitare, juxta illud Auguſtini: Ego Evangelio non crederem, niſi me Eccleſiæ commoveret authoritas. Et pari modo, vos qui Eccleſiæ authoritatem in præſcribendo, & definiendo, quæ ſunt fidei, facitis inſufficientem; qua ratione aliquas Scripturæ partes ſine ſcelere (ut dicitis) repudiatis; eadem poſſetis & reliquas. *Socroboſc. Def. Decr. Trid. & Sent. Bellar. cap. 6. part. 1. pag. 85. Vide eundem pag. 109.*

† *See Cap. 1. of this Book.*

* Septimò neceſſe eſt, non ſolum Scripturam poſſe legere, ſed etiam intelligere. At ſæpiſſime Scriptura ambigua & perplexa eſt, ut niſi ab aliquo, qui errare non poſſit, explicetur, non poſſit intelligi, igitur ſola non ſufficit. Exempla ſunt plurima: nam æqualitas divinarum perſonarum, proceſſio Spiritus ſancti à Patre & filio, ut ab uno principio, peccatum originis, deſcenſus Chriſti ad inferos, & multa ſimilia deducuntur quidem ex ſacris literis, ſed non adeo facilè, ut ſi ſolis pugnandum ſit Scripturæ teſtimoniis, nunquam lites cum protervis finiri poſſint. Notandum eſt enim, duo eſſe in Scriptura, voces ſcriptas, & ſenſum in eis concluſum; voces ſunt quaſi vagina, ſenſus eſt ipſe gladius ſpiritus. Ex his duobus primum habetur ab omnibus, quicunque enim novit literas, poteſt legere Scripturas: at ſecundum non habent omnes, nec poſſimus in plurimis locis certi eſſe de ſecundo, niſi accedat traditio. Et hoc fortè dicere voluit Baſilius de Spiritu ſancto, cap. 27. Cum ait, ſine traditionibus non ſcriptis Evangelium eſſe purum nomen, id eſt, eſſe tantum voces & verba ſine ſenſu. *Bellar. lib. 4. de verbo Dei, cap. 4.*

Scriptures, with the like devotion we do Gods expreſs, undoubted commandments: ſhe prefers her own authority above Gods Word, and makes us acknowledge that allegiance unto her which we owe unto the Spirit. For ſuppoſe we had as yet no full aſſurance of the Spirit, for the contradictory ſenſe to that given by the Church: we were in Chriſtian duty to expect Gods providence, and invoke the Spirits aſſiſtance for manifeſtation of the truth; from all poſſibility whereof we deſperately exclude our ſelves, if we believe one mans teſtimony of the Spirit, as abſolutely and irrevocably, as we would do the manifeſt immediate teſtimony of the Spirit: yet * *Sacroboſcus acknowledgeth he believes the myſtery of the Trinity, as it is taught by their Church, only for the Churches authority*; and yet this he believes as abſolutely as he doth, yea as he could believe any other divine Revelation, though extraordinarily made unto himſelf.

3. In both parts of Belief above mentioned; the cauſal dependance of our faith upon the Churches propoſals, may be imagined *three ways*; either *whilſt it is in planting*; or *after it is planted*; or *from the firſt beginning of it to its full growth*; or from its firſt entrance into our hearts, until our departure out of this world. How far, and in what ſort the Miniſtery of men in the Church is available, for planting faith; hath been declared heretofore. Either for the planting or ſupporting it, the skill or authority of the Teacher reaches no further, than to quicken or ſtrengthen our internal taſte or apprehenſion of the divine truth revealed in Scriptures; or to raiſe or tune our ſpirits, as *Muſick* did *Eliſhahs*, the better to perceive the efficacy of Gods Spirit, imprinting the ſtamp of thoſe divine Revelations in our Hearts, whoſe Characters are in our Brains. The preſent Churches propoſals, in reſpect of our Belief; is but as the Samaritan womans report was unto the men of *Sichar*: *Many* (ſaith the Evangeliſt) * *believed in him for the ſaying of the woman which teſtified he hath told me all things that ever I did.* But this Belief was as none, in reſpect of that which they conceive immediately from his own words. *For they ſaid unto the woman, Now we believe not becauſe of thy ſaying, for we have heard him our ſelves, and know that this is indeed The Chriſt.* † *The ear* (ſaith *Job*) *trieth the words, as the mouth taſteth meats.* Conſonant hereto is our Churches doctrine, that as our bodily mouths taſte and try meats immediately, without interpoſition of any other mans ſenſe or judgement of them: ſo muſt the ears of our ſouls try and diſcern divine truths, without relying on other mens propoſals or reports of their relliſh. No external means whatſoever, can in either caſe have any uſe: but only either for working a right diſpoſition in the Organ, whereby trial is made; or occaſioning the exercise of the faculty

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* Quod caput religionis majus aut celebrius eſt; quam myſterium ſanctiſſimæ Trinitatis; quo trium perſonarum aſtruitur divinitas? hoc tamen tam parum clare inſinuatur in ſcriptura, ut contrarium è ſacris literis ita probabiliter atque ut videbatur verè docuerint Ariani; ut totos 300. annos vexarint Eccleſiam, orbiſque aliquando univerſus ſe fuerit (Hieronymo teſte) miratus Arianum. Immò hodie docetur in Tranſilvania, & tum ſcriptis libris, tum publicis diſputationibus, defenditur, multo acritùs & meliùs, quam in hoc regno *Parlamentarianiſmus*. Aque ut liberè fatear quod res eſt, niſi me Eccleſiæ authoritas commoveret, quam certiſſimè credo in vero Scripturæ ſenſu aſſignando errare non poſſe, non facile ex Scriptura colligerem eum ſenſum; qui habet Deum eſſe natura unum, & perſonis trinum, ita ut naturæ Unitas, numeroſa ſit, & perſonarum diſtinctio realis: præſertim vero cum pugnare planè cum naturæ lumine videatur, ut perſonæ ſint inter ſe realiter diſtinctæ, & ſimul realiter identificatæ, divinæ eſſentiæ, uni & ſimpliciſſimæ. *Sacroboſcus Def. Decr. Trid. cap. 6. par. 1. pag. 67.*

* *John* 4.

† *Job* 34. 3.

rightly diſpoſed. How eſſentially faith by our Adverſaries doctrine depends upon the Churches authority, is evident out of the former diſcourſes: that this dependance is perpetual, is as manifeſt, in that they make it the judge and rule of faith, ſuch an indefectible rule, and ſo authentick a Judge, as in all points muſt be followed, and may not be ſo far examined, either by Gods written Law, or rules of nature, whether it contradict not it ſelf or them.

The principal difficulties in the Romaniſts opinion, whereto no ſufficient anſwer can be given.

4. It remains we examine the particular manner of this dependance, or what the Churches infallibility doth or can perform, either to him that believes, or to the object of his belief; whence a Roman Catholicks faith ſhould become more firm or certain than another mans. It muſt enlighten either his ſoul, that it may ſee; or divine Revelations, that they may be ſeen more clearly: otherwiſe he can exceed others only in *blind Belief.* The cunningeſt Sophiſter in that School, ſtrictly examined upon theſe points, will bewray that monſtrous Blaſphemy which ſome ſhallow brains have hitherto hoped to cover. We have the ſame Scriptures they have; and peruſe them in all the languages they do. What is it then can hinder, either them, from manifeſting; or us, from diſcerning, their Truth or true meaning manifeſted? Do we want the Churches propoſal? we demand how their preſent Church it ſelf can better diſcern them than ours may? what teſtimony of antiquity have they, which we have not? But it may be, we want ſpectacles to read them; our Church hath but the eyes of private men, which cannot ſee without a publick light: Their Churches eyes are Cat-like, able ſo to illuſtrate the objects of Chriſtian faith, as to make them clear and perſpicuous to it ſelf, though dark and inviſible unto us. Suppoſe they could: Yet Cats-eyes benefit not by-ſtanders a whit for ſeeing colours in darkneſs, albeit able themſelves to ſee them without any other light then their own. The viſible Church (ſaith the Jeſuit) is able to diſcern all divine truth by her infallible publick ſpirit. How knows he this certainly, without an infallible publick ſpirit? perhaps as men ſee Cats-eyes ſhine in the dark, when their own do not. Let him believe ſo. But what doth this belief advantage him, or other private ſpirits, for the clear, diſtinct, or perfect ſight of what the Church propoſeth? Doth the propoſal make divine Truths more perſpicuous in themſelves? Why then are they not alike perſpicuous to all, that hear, read, or know the Churches teſtimony of them? **Sacroboſcus** hath ſaid all that poſſibly can be ſaid on their behalf in this difficulty; † *The Sectaries, albeit they ſhoul uſe the authority of the true Church, yet cannot have any true belief of the truth revealed.* If the uſe of it be as free to them as to Catholicks: what debars them from this benefit? *They do not acknowledge the ſufficiency of the Churches propoſal. And as a neeeſſary proof or* medium *is not ſufficient to the attaining of Science, unleſs a man uſe and acknowledge it formally as neceſſary: ſo for eſtabliſhing true faith, it ſufficeth not that the*

†Adverte Sectarios, ut ſupra inſinuavi, nullius Eccleſiæ authoritate, tanquam ſufficiente proponente uti, ne quidem ſuæ; Sed tanquam proponente nudè: nam ſibi aſſumunt Eccleſiæ ſententiam corrigere quando libet, & tunc opponunt Chriſtum Eccleſiæ, quaſi Eccleſia aliud proponeret, Chriſtus vero aliud doceret; ſi autem illam Eccleſiam pro ſufficiente haberent, oporteret in omnibus ſuam ſententiam cum illa conformare. Unde ſi quando veræ Eccleſiæ authoritate utuntur: ne tunc quidem de veritate revelata fidem habent, ſicut non habet ille ſcientiam, qui medio quidem utitur neceſſario, exiſtimat tamen illud ſolum eſſe probabile. Nam ad fidem non ſolum opus eſt ut Eccleſia ſufficienter credenda proponat infallibili illâ ſuâ authoritate, quam à Chriſto habet nos docendi, & qui libri doctrinam divinam contineant, & quis verus ſit eorum locorum qui in controverſiam vocantur ſenſus: ſed etiam neceſſe eſt ut utatur homo Eccleſiæ propoſitione formaliter, ut ſufficiens eſt, ſcilicet, in illam tendendo ut in infallibilem. *Sacroboſ. Def. Decret. Trid. & Sent. Bell. Cap.6. part.1. pag. 95.*

Church ſufficiently propoſeth the points to be believed, or avoweth them by that infallible authority, wherewith Chriſt hath enabled her to declare both what books contain Doctrines Divine, and what is the true ſenſe of places controverſed in them ; but it is further neceſſary that we formally uſe this propoſal as ſufficient, and embrace it as infallible.

5. The reaſon then, why a Roman Catholick rightly believes the Truth or true meaning of Scriptures, when a Proteſtant that knows the Churches teſtimony as well as he, reſts in both points uncertain, is, becauſe the Catholick infallibly believes the Churches authority to be infallible, whereof the Proteſtant otherwiſe perſwaded, reaps no benefit by it, but continues ſtill in darkneſs, labouring in vain to ſee the Truth of Divine Revelations without it, as much in vain as if a man ſhould ſtrive to ſee colours without light. For this is *Sacroboſcus* inſtance, * *Beſides the habit of faith ſeated in the underſtanding, and the ſupernatural concourſe of the Holy Spirit, due to all endued with the habit of faith, but neceſſary in reſpect of the ſubject or party, two things more are requiſite on the behalf of the object, of which if either be wanting, the faculty can never perform its proper function. Of theſe two, the one is, that the Propoſition to be believed be revealed by God ; the other, that there be a ſufficient propoſal made to us that God hath revealed it. For an unſufficient propoſal of any object is as none, as may appear by the example of light, which propoſeth colours to be ſeen. For when the light is weak or ſcant, we cannot diſcern colours, not that we want a viſible object, but becauſe we want light ſufficient to illuminate the object, or the ſpace betwixt us and it.* † He adds withall, ſuch as diſclaim the Churches Authority, and are content with this [*That Truths of faith are revealed by God in his Word*] *and hence promiſe themſelves the ſupernataral concourſe of the Holy Ghoſt for producing acts of faith, are deſtitute of a ſufficient Propoſer, and their preſumption ſuch, as if a man ſhould perſwade himſelf, becauſe he hath colours before his eyes, and God ready to afford his ordinary concourſe as oft as he is diſpoſed to exerciſe his viſive faculty, he ſhould be able to ſee them without light. For* (ſaith this Jeſuit) *the Prophets are dead, Apoſtles dead, Chriſt gone to heaven, and inſtead of all* (Prophets, Apoſtles, or himſelf) *hath left us his Church. Nor is it to be expected that God will every where, upon all occaſions, ſupply the want of the external Propoſals by the abundance of internal illuminations, as he did to our firſt Parent, or S.* Paul *who had his Goſpel neither from man, nor by man, but by the revelation of Jeſus Chriſt. For thoſe are priviledges.*

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* Ad diſcernendam doctrinam orthodoxam præter habitum fidei in intellectu, & ſupernaturalem ſpiritus ſancti concurſum, habenti habitum fidei debitum, quæ ſe tenent ex parte ſubjecti : requiruntur præterea alia duo ex parte objecti, quorum ſi deſit alterutrum, facultas nunquam obibit proprium actum. Horum unum eſt, ut propoſitio credenda, ſit revelata à Deo ; alterum, ut nobis ſufficienter proponatur, Deum illum revelaſſe: neceſſitas prioris hinc oſtenditur, quoniam illa qualitas ſive habitus, quæ dicitur fides divina, & ſupernaturalis, & inter virtutes theologicas eſt origine prima, ſuapte natura ad hoc eſt determinata, & limitata, ut inclinet tantum ad ea, quæ ſunt à Deo dicta, & quidem obſcurè. Secus enim (ſi evidens nobis foret, myſteria fidei à Deo eſſe revelata, cum lumine naturæ notum ſit illum non poſſe mentiri, aut falſum dicere) de iis haberemus ſcientiam. Sect. Poſterioris verò cauſa eſt, quod cum non videamus fidei myſteria eſſe à Deo teſtificata, neceſſe eſt nobis proponantur tanquam à Deo revelata, idque ſufficienter. Quoniam inſufficiens propoſitio objecti, perinde eſt ac nulla propoſitio, ut patet exemplo luminis, quod oculo proponit videndos colores. Quando enim lumen eſt in gradu valdè remiſſo, colores diſcernere nequimus : non quod deſit objectum ; ſed quoniam deeſt ſufficiens lumen in medio, illuſtrans objectum. *Sacroboſ. Defenſ. Decret. Trident. &c. cap. 6. part. 1. p. 92, 93.*

† Jam igitur qui ab authoritate Eccleſiæ recedunt, & contenti ſunt veritates fidei eſſe in Scripturis à Deo revelatas, ſibi promittentes ſpiritus ſancti concurſum ad actus fidei eliciendos, ſufficiente proponente carent, atque ſimiliter faciunt, ac qui ſine lumine ſibi promitteret conſpectum colorum in area, eo quod habeat colores ante oculos poſitos & præditus ſit facultate videndi ; cum qua Deus paratus eſt quoties volumus concurrere. Nam nunc mortui ſunt Prophetæ, mortui Apoſtoli, Chriſtus in cœlum receſſit, & nobis omnium loco reliquit Eccleſiam ; cujus authoritatem cum adhuc in terris ageret ipſe ſtabilivit, & tum miraculis, tum aliis rationibus confirmavit, & quantum opus eſt etiam nunc confirmat. Sect. Hæc noſtra vult magiſtra ſit, hanc audiamus, ab hac quid à Deo per Prophetas, & Apoſtolos dictum ſit, & quo ſenſu unumquodque intelligendum ſit, accipiamus : neque expectandum eſt, ut Deus temerè, & paſſim per interni luminis copiam nobis ſuppleat vicem propoſitionis externæ, ut fecit primo parenti, & *Paulo*, qui neque ab homine, neque per hominem, ſed per revelationem Jeſu Chriſti accepit Evangelium : hæc enim privilegia ſunt. *Sacrob. p.93, & 94. Def. Decret. Trid. & Sent. Bellarm. c.6. part. 1.*

6. The calumny intended in this laſt inſtance, hath often heretofore been prevented. We never denied either the neceſſity, or ſufficiency of the Churches propoſal, as an external mean: we account no other of that rank and nature is, or could be, either more neceſſary, or more ſufficient. S. *Paul* we grant, had an extraordinary priviledge, and yet for his private information, had the truth propoſed unto him by * *Ananias*, though the gifts of his publick Miniſtery were immediately from God. Both the meaſure of his faith, and manner of attaining it, were unuſual: but his faith it ſelf, once attained, no otherwiſe independent of any external propoſal than ours is, and all Chriſtians muſt be. We ſhould have been more beholden to this Profeſſor, had he diſtinctly told us, what it is in their language, to have a ſufficient Propoſer: albeit this we may gather from his words late cited, and theſe † following; *The Sectaries take upon them to correct the Churches ſentence as oft as they liſt, and then they oppoſe Chriſt to the Church, as if the Church did propoſe one thing, and Chriſt teach another. If they admitted any Church as a ſufficient Propoſer, they were bound to conform their opinions to it, in all things.* As you heard before out of * *Bellarmin*, That the Popes Decrees may not be examined whether conſonant or contrary to Gods Word or the Foundations of Faith, already laid in our hearts: and out of † *Canus*, That we muſt believe the Church abſolutely without *ifs* or *ands*. Thus believing we have Gods Word ſufficiently propoſed; without this Belief or Acknowledgement of ſuch Authority in the Church, we have no ſufficient propoſal of it, but ſtrive as fooliſhly to hear God ſpeak, as if we ſought to ſee Colours without the light.

* *Acts* 9. 17.

† *The Latin are quoted parag.* 4.

* *Cap.*9. *parag.* 12, 13.

* *Cap.*1. *parag.* 11.

7. It appears, I hope, as clearly to the Reader as to me, that the Churches teſtimony or authority (by our Adverſaries Doctrine,) benefits none but ſuch as ſtedfaſtly and abſolutely believe it in all things. But he that ſo believes it, may by it eaſily believe all other points, as he that can perfectly ſee the light, may ſee Colours by it. Want of this radical belief in us, makes our faith (in their opinion) ſo unſtable, or rather blind and dead. Yet can I hardly perſwade my ſelf all of them will grant the Church adds any inherent or participated ſplendor to divine Revelations, whereby they become perſpicuous in themſelves, as Colours are made viſible by irradiation of the Sun. Thus much notwithſtanding all of them, I know, willingly would ſubſcribe unto: A Proteſtant can neither of himſelf be infallibly perſwaded of the Truth of Scriptures, or other concluſions of faith; nor doth he abſolutely believe any others, that are infallible in their determinations: but a Roman Catholick, albeit by his private ſpirit he cannot infallibly believe them, yet he infallibly believes the Church which cannot err in belief. All then that a Papiſt hath more than a Proteſtant is this; *his belief of the Church*: if once he doubt of this, he is where he was: Which in plain terms is as much as to ſay, * *He believes the Church concerning Scriptures; not Scriptures.* That this is the true Interpretation of their Tenent, may eaſily be gathered from their own writings. For † *Bellarmin* expreſly contends, and all of them ſuppoſe that ſaying of S. *Auſtin*,

* *See Cap.*3. *parag.*12,13.

† *Bellar. lib.*3. *de verbo Dei cap.* 8. *Sacrob. pag.* 133.

[† *Non crederem Evangelio, niſi me commoveret Eccleſiæ authoritas*; *I would not believe the Goſpel, unleſs the Churches Authority did thereto move me,*] to be true, as well, after faith is produced, whilſt it continues, as whiles it is in planting. Now if a man ſhould ſay, *Non crederem* Franciſco, *niſi me commoveret* Petri *fidelitas*: *I would not truſt* Frances, *but for* Peters *word*: this ſpeech reſolved into its natural or proper ſence, is equivalent unto this; *I do not truſt* Frances, *but* Peter *that gives his word for him.* And in caſe *Peter* ſhould prove falſe, or be diſtruſted by him that took his word for *Frances*, as yet not believed but for *Peters* ſake; the Creditor could have no hold of either. Thus if *Bellarmine* and his fellows be (as they would ſeem to make S. *Auſtin*) minded, not to believe the Goſpel but for the Churches Authority, or propoſal of it: let them ſpeak plainly and properly, not in Parables or Metaphors; and ſo we ſhall know their meaning to be, That they indeed believe not the Scriptures, but the Church; or the Church truly and really, the Scriptures only by extrinſecal denomination.

† Sacroboſcus *his inſtances to elude Doctor* Whitakers *argument* (*as he propoſed it*) *do plainly confirm our inference.* At urget *Whitakerus*: cum *Auguſtinus* ita erat diſpoſitus ut non crederet, niſi ipſum Eccleſiæ authoritas commoveret; authoritas Eccleſiæ erat ſola cauſa fidei ipſius, ergo fides quam tunc habebat non erat divina: Nam hæc præter authoritatem Eccleſiæ reſpicit etiam authoritatem Dei. Probat antecedens, nam particula (niſi) omnes alias cauſas removet, præter eam cujus fit expreſſa mentio: Hujus autem rei teſtes vocat omnes Grammaticos. Verum meminiſſe debuiſſet regulæ *D. Dioniſii*: *Bonum ex integra cauſa, malum autem ex quolibet defectu.*. Ut ponatur effectus, neceſſe eſt omnes cauſas concurrere; At ut impediatur ſatis eſt unam deeſſe. Itaque omnes iſtæ propoſitiones ſunt veræ. Niſi *Auguſtinus* (quem etiam ipſe fatetur ſanctum, imo ſanctiſſimum) habuiſſet intellectum, non fuiſſet beatus. [Niſi fuiſſet Deus, *Auguſtinus* non fuiſſet beatus] [niſi habuiſſet fidem *Auguſtinus*, non fuiſſet beatus.] pag. 133. *Now as the particle* (niſi) *in his firſt inſtance, excludes all Creatures ſave intelligent*: *in the ſecond all intelligent, ſave ſuch as ſhall enjoy the ſight of God*: *in his third all ſave the faithful, from bleſſedneſs*: *So in this our inſtance, the ſame* particle *excludes all* credence *of the Goſpel, beſide that credence we give unto the Church.*

8. Nor can they reply either conſequently to *Sacroboſcus* inſtance or their general Tenents, that as he which ſees colours by the light, truly ſees colours, not the light only: ſo he that believes Scriptures by the Churches infallible propoſal, believes not the Churches propoſal only, but Scriptures as truly and properly. The diverſity of reaſon in theſe two conſequences, ariſeth from the diverſe manner of ſeeing colours by the Suns light, and believing Scriptures by the Church: which we are now to gather from this ſhort Catechiſm containing the ſum of Roman faith.

Chap. XXX.

Declaring how the firſt main ground *of Romiſh Faith leads directly unto Atheiſm:* the ſecond, *unto prepoſterous Heatheniſm or Idolatry.*

1. IT is a pretty Sophiſm (as a judicious and learned *Divine*, in his publick exerciſe for his firſt degree in Divinity, late well obſerved) wherewith the Jeſuite deludes the ſimple, making them believe their faith, otherwiſe weak and unſetled, is moſt firm and certain, if it have once the viſible or repreſentative Churches confirmation; when as the Church ſo taken, ſeldom or never inſtructs or confirms any, at leaſt not the hundred thouſandth part of them, unto whoſe ſalvation ſuch confirmation is by * Jeſuitical perſwaſions moſt abſolutely neceſſary. But ſuppoſe the viſible Church, or Romiſh *Conſiſtory*, the Pope and his Cardinals, ſhould vouchſafe to catechize any; the Dialogue between them and the *Catechized*, would thus proceed.

Conſiſt. Do ye believe theſe ſacred Volumes to be the Word of God? *Catech.* We do. *Cons.* Are you certain they are? *Catech.* So we hope. *Cons.* How can your hope be ſure? for *Mahomet* ſaith, His Alchoran is; ſundry other Hereticks ſay, their feigned Revelations or falſe Traditions are Gods Word? How can you aſſure us, ye may not be deceived as well as they? Are not many of them as good Scholars as you? *Catech.* Yes indeed, and better. *Cons.* Are not you ſubject unto errour as well as they? *Catech.* Would God we were not. *Cons.* What muſt you do then to be aſcertained theſe are Divine Revelations? *Catech.* Nay, we know not: but this is that which we eſpecially deſire to know, and would bind our ſelves in any bond to ſuch as could teach us. *Cons.* Well ſaid: do you not think it reaſon then to be ruled in this caſe, by ſuch as cannot be deceived? *Catech.* It is meet we ſhould. *Cons.* Lo, we are the men: we are the true viſible Church, placed in authority by Chriſt himſelf for this purpoſe. Theſe Scriptures tell you plainly as much, † *Tu es Petrus, & ſuper hanc Petram, &c.* His Holineſs, whom here you ſee, is *Peters* Succeſſor; ſole Heir of that promiſe, far more glorious than the Jewiſh Church ever had any.

2. This * is the very quinteſſence and extraction of huge and corpulent Volumes written in this Argument, which our Engliſh Mountebanks ſent hither from the Seminaries, venditate as a Pa-

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* Cum dicimus propoſitionem Eccleſiæ eſſe conditionem neceſſariam ad aſſenſum fidei, Nomine *Eccleſiæ* intelligimus ejus Caput, i. Romanum Pontificem per ſe, vel unà cum *Concilio*, ex prædicta authoritate propoſitiones fidei fidelibus declarantem. *Valent. Tom. 3. in Aq. Diſput. 2. Quæſt. 1. De objecto fidei, Punct. 1. Vide Annot. ex Bellarmino Cap. 25. Parag. 2.*

† Ad quintum dico, nos non gloriari in templis, & ſucceſſione Epiſcoporum, & Apoſtolica ſede ſecundum ſe, ſed propter Chriſti promiſſionem, qui ait, *Tu es Petrus, & ſuper hanc Petram, &c. & portæ inferi non prævalebunt, &c.* Qualem promiſſionem Judæi nunquam habuerunt. *Bell. l. 3. de Eccleſ. milit. c. 6.*

* Fides divina (quod omnes nôrunt) licet obſcura ſit, certa tamen eſt & quidem magis quam ſcientia. Iſti vero de ſuis dogmatibus ſint oportet incerti: nam quicquid credunt, hac ſola de cauſa ex parte objecti credunt, quod ita putant Scripturam ſentire; in quo judicio cum ſint obnoxii errori, non poſſunt certo ſtatuere, ſe reipſa non errare. Confirmatur: nam ſibi plus tribuere nequeunt quam Luthero, Calvino, aut ſanctis Patribus; horum autem judicio ſe dicunt non teneri, & hoc ideo quod homo quilibet, quantumvis ſanctus & ſpiritu plenus, errare poſſit. Quare cum generalis ſententia ab illis data, ipſos quoque comprehendit, quippe qui extra hominum numerum non ſunt, ſequitur eos adeo incertos eſſe de ſuis, ac de aliorum interpretationibus. *Sacrob. Def. Dec. Trid. Cap. 6. Part. 1.*

racelſian Medicine, able to make men immortal. The ſum of all that others write, or they alleadge, is this; *Every one may pretend what writings he liſts, to be the Word of God; who ſhall be the infallible Judge, either of written or unwritten Revelations? Muſt not the Church? for ſhe is* Magiſtra & Judex fidei. Theſe are the words, and this is the very Argument, wherein *Valentians* ſoul, it ſeems, did moſt delight, he uſeth them ſo oft. But to proceed: The parties Catechized thus by the viſible Church it ſelf, ſhould any Proteſtant enter Dialogue with them how they know thoſe received Scriptures to be the Word of God, could anſwer, I trow, ſufficiently to this queſtion thus: Marry, Sir, we know better than you: for we heard the viſible Church which cannot err, ſay ſo, with our own ears. *Prot.* You are moſt certain then that theſe are the Oracles of God, becauſe the viſible Church (Gods living Oracle) did bear teſtimony of them? *Catech.* Yea, Sir, and their teſtimony is moſt infallible. *Prot.* But, what if you doubt again of their infallibilities? How will you anſwer this Objection: *Mahomet* ſaith his Alcoran is Scripture; the Turkiſh Prieſts will tell you as much, *viva voce*, and ſhew you, if you be diſpoſed to believe them, evident places therein, for his infallibility? *Manes* could ſay that he had Divine Revelations. The Pope pretends he hath this infallibility, which neither of them had. Who ſhall judge? The Conſiſtory? But why ſhould you think they may not err as well as others? Did they ſhew you any evidence out of Scriptures, or did they bring you to ſuch entire acquaintance with their publick ſpirit, as to approve your ſelves Divine Criticks of all Queſtions concerning the Canon, as oft as any doubt ſhould ariſe? *Catech.* Oh no, theſe audacious Criticiſms of private men they utterly deteſt, and forewarned us upon pain of damnation to beware of. For there is no private perſon but may err, and for ſuch to judge of Scriptures were preſumption juſtly damnable. Relie they muſt for this reaſon upon the Churches infallibility, and that continually. It alone cannot; without it, all others may err, as well as *Manes*, *Mahomet*, *Neſtorius*, or *Eutyches*: undoubtedly believing it, cannot err, we our ſelves are as free from errour, as he that follows ſuch good counſel given by others as he cannot give himſelf, is more ſecure than he that altogether follows his own advice, albeit better able to counſel others than the former. *Prot.* Then I perceive your only holdfaſt in all temptations, your only anchor when any blaſts of vain Doctrine ariſe, is this: *The preſent Romiſh Church cannot err*: for if you doubt of any Doctrine taught to the contrary, ask her, and ſhe will reſolve you; or if you cannot ſee the Truth in it ſelf, yet believe without all wavering as ſhe believes that ſees it, and you ſhall be as ſafe, as if you rode in the harbour in a ſtorm. *Catech.* Ah yes, Gods holy Name be praiſed, who hath ſo well provided for his Church: for otherwiſe Hereticks and Schiſmaticks would ſhake and toſs her, even in this main point or ground of Faith, as evil Spirits do Ships in tempeſts: we muſt either hold this Teſt ſure, or elſe all is gone. God hath left off ſpeaking unto men, and we cannot tell whether ever he ſpake to them or no; but as the preſent Church, which ſpeaks *viva voce*, tells us.

See Cap.29. Sect.5.

3. But the Reader perhaps expects what inconvenience will hence follow. First, hereby it is apparent, that, *Belief of Scriptures Divine*

Truth, and their true ſenſe, abſolutely and immediately depends upon the Churches propoſal, or rather upon their Belief of what it propoſeth, as well after they are confirmed in that general point, [*That they are Gods words,*] as in the inſtant of their confirmation in it. The firſt neceſſary conſequence of which opinion, is; *That the Church muſt be more truly and properly believed, than any part of Scriptures or matter contained in it.* For in this matter of dependance, that tranſcendent Rule of Nature, Ἀεὶ δι' ὃ ὑπάρχει ἕκαστον ἐκεῖνο μᾶλλον ὑπάρχει, hath its proper force: whether we ſpeak of the *Eſſence, Exiſtence*, or *Quality* of things being, or exiſting: that upon which any other thing thus abſolutely and continually depends, doth more properly and really exiſt, and hath much firmer intereſt in its Eſſence and Exiſtence, than ought can have which depends upon it. One there is, and no more, that can truly ſay, *My Eſſence is Mine own, and my Exiſtence neceſſary.* Whatſoever is beſides, is but a ſhadow or picture borrowed from his infinite being. Amongſt created Entities, all eſſentially depending on *Him*, *Accidents* have a kind of exiſtence peculiar to themſelves; yet cannot ſo properly be ſaid to exiſt, as their ſubjects, on whom they have ſuch double dependance. Nor can the Moon ſo truly ſay, *My Beauty is my own,* as may the Sun, which lends light and ſplendor to this his Siſter, as it were upon condition ſhe never uſe it but in his ſight. For the ſame reaſon, *That for which we believe another thing, is always more truly, more really, and more properly believed, than that which is believed for it, if the one belief neceſſarily depend upon the other, Tam in facto eſſe quam in fieri, from the firſt beginning to the latter end.* For of beliefs thus mutually affected, the one is real and radical; the other, nominal, or at the moſt by participation only real. This conſequence is unſound: [*Intellective knowledge depends on ſenſitive: therefore ſenſitive is of theſe two the ſurer.*] The reaſon is, becauſe intellective knowledge depends on ſenſitive, only in the acquiſition, not after it is acquired. But this inference is moſt undoubted; [*We believe the concluſion for the premiſſes: therefore we believe the premiſſes the better,*] becauſe belief of the concluſion abſolutely depends upon the premiſſes, during the whole continuance of it. This is the great Philoſophers Rule, and a branch of the former Axiom. And ſome juſtly queſtion, whether in Scholaſtick propriety of ſpeech, we can truly ſay there is a belief of the concluſion, diſtinct from the belief of the premiſſes; or rather, the belief of the premiſſes, is by extrinſical denomination attributed unto the concluſion. This latter opinion, at leaſt in many Syllogiſms, is the truer: moſt neceſſarily true in all, wherein the concluſion is a particular, eſſentially ſubordinate to an univerſal of truth unqueſtionable. As he that infallibly believes every man is a reaſonable creature, infallibly believes *Socrates* is ſuch: Nor can we ſay, there be two diſtinct beliefs: one of the univerſal; another of this particular: for *he that ſayeth, All, excepteth none.* If *Socrates* then make one in the Catalogue of men, he that formerly knew all, knew him to be a reaſonable Creature: all he had to learn, was what was meant by this name, *Socrates*, a man or a beaſt; After he knows him to be a man, in knowing him to be a reaſonable Creature, he knows no more than he did before, in that univerſal, *Every man is a reaſonable Creature.* The like conſequence holds as firm in our preſent argument; He that believes this univerſal,

Ariſt. l. 1. Poſt. cap. 2.

verſal, [*whatſoever the Church propoſeth concerning Scriptures, is moſt true,*] hath no more to learn but only what particulars the Church propoſeth. Theſe being known, we cannot imagine there ſhould be *two diſtinct Beliefs*: one of the Churches general infallibility; another, of the particular truths or points of faith (contained in the Scripture) propoſed by it. For as in the former caſe, ſo in this, He that from the Churches propoſal believes or knows this particular, *The Book of Revelations was from God*, receives no increaſe of former belief: For before, he believed all the Church did propoſe; and therefore this particular, *Becauſe one of all.*

4. The truth of this Concluſion may again, from a main principle of Romiſh Faith, be thus demonſtrated: * *Whatſoever unwritten Traditions the Church ſhall propoſe, though yet unheard of, or unpoſſible otherwiſe to be known than only by the Churches Aſſeveration, all Romaniſts are bound as certainly to believe, as devoutly to embrace, as any truths contained in the written Word, acknowledged by us, the Jews, and them, for divine.* Now if either from their own experience, the joint conſent of ſincere Antiquity, or teſtimony of Gods Spirit ſpeaking to them in private, or what means ſoever elſe poſſible or imaginable, they gave any abſolute credence unto the written word or matters contained in it, beſides that they give unto the Churches general veracity: the Scriptures by addition of this credence (were it great or little) ariſing from theſe grounds peculiar to them, muſt needs be more firmly believed and embraced, than ſuch unwritten Traditions, as are in themſelves ſuſpicious, uncapable of other Credit than what they borrow from the Church. For *in reſpect of the Churches propoſal, which is one and the ſame, alike peremptory in both; Scriptures, and Traditions (of what kind ſo ever) muſt be equally believed.* And if ſuch Traditions as can have no aſſurance beſides the Churches Teſtimony, muſt be as well believed as Scriptures, or Divine truths contained in them: the former concluſion is evidently neceſſary, *That they neither believe the Scriptures, nor the truths contained in them; but the Churches propoſal of them only.* For the leaſt belief of any Divine Truth, added to belief of the Churches propoſal, which equally concerns written, and unwritten verities, would diſſolve the former equality. But that, by the Trent Council, may not be diſſolved. Therefore our Adverſaries in deed and verity, believe no Scriptures, nor Divine written Truth, but the Churches propoſal only concerning them. And † *Sacroboſcus* bewrays

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* Sacroſancta, Oecumenica, & generalis Tridentina Synodus in Spiritu Sancto legitimè congregata, præſidentibus in ea eiſdem tribus Apoſtolicæ ſedis legatis, hoc ſibi perpetuò ante oculos proponens, ut ſublatis erroribus, puritas ipſa Evangelii in Eccleſia conſervetur: quod promiſſum antè per Prophetas in Scripturis ſanctis, Dominus noſter Jeſus Chriſtus, Dei filius, proprio ore primùm promulgavit; deinde per ſuos Apoſtolos, tanquam fontem omnis, & ſalutaris veritatis, & morum diſciplinæ, omni Creaturæ prædicari juſſit: perſpicienſque hanc veritatem, & diſciplinam contineri in libris ſcriptis, & ſine ſcripto traditionibus, quæ ipſius Chriſti ore ab Apoſtolis acceptæ, aut ab ipſis Apoſtolis, Spiritu Sancto dictante, quaſi per manus traditæ, ad nos uſque pervenerunt, Orthodoxorum Patrum exempla ſecuta, omnes libros tam veteris quam novi Teſtamenti, cum utriuſque unus Deus ſit auctor, nec non traditiones ipſas, tùm ad fidem tùm ad mores pertinentes, tanquam vel ore tenus à Chriſto, Vel à Spiritu Sancto dictatas, & continua ſucceſſione in Eccleſia Catholica conſervatas, pari pietatis affectu, ac reverentia ſuſcipit, & veneratur. *Concil. Trident. Seſſ. 4. Decret. de Canonicis Scripturis. And a little after having reckoned up the Apocryphal Books with the Canonical they thus conclude.* Si quis autem libros ipſos integros cum omnibus ſuis partibus, prout in Eccleſia Catholica legi conſueverunt, & in veteri vulgata Latina editione habentur, pro Sacris & Canonicis non ſuſceperit; & traditiones prædictas ſciens & prudens contempſerit; anathema ſit. Omnes itaque intelligant, quo ordine & via, ipſa Synodus, poſt jactum fidei confeſſionis fundamentum, ſit progreſſura, & quibus potiſſimum teſtimoniis, ac præſidiis in confirmandis dogmatibus, & inſtaurandis in Eccleſia moribus, ſit uſura. *The Council was very wiſe in not expreſſing as well what unwritten Traditions, as written Books, they meant to follow.*

† Reſpondeo: Orthodoxos omnes certos eſſe Eccleſiam circa fidem non poſſe errare, proindeque nec dubitare ejus ſententiæ acquieſcere. Hoc enim inter cætera revelata tanquam à Deo dictum, ab ipſa matre Eccleſia acceperunt: quæ quidem veritas, ante ſcriptam ullam Novi Teſtamenti partem & dicta à Deo, & ab Eccleſia propoſita, & à fidelibus credita fuit: & hodie quoque crederetur, etiamſi Novi Teſtamenti ne unus quidem apex ſcriptus extaret; quemadmodum revelatæ veritates à fidelibus credebantur per annos bis mille in ſtatu legis naturæ ante exaratum à Moſe Pentateuchum. *Sacrob. def. Decr. Trid. & Sent. Bell. C. 6. par. 1. pag. 109.*

his readineſs to believe the Church as abſolutely as any Chriſtian can do God or Chriſt, though no tittle of the *New Teſtament* were extant. For, *That the Church cannot err, was an Oracle revealed by God, propoſed by the Church, and believed by the faithful before any part of the New Teſtament was written.* Now he that without the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, would believe the Doctrines of Faith as firmly as with it, believes not the Goſpel which now he hath, but their Authorities only, upon which, though we had it not, he would as abſolutely rely, for all matters of Doctrine ſuppoſed to be contained in it.

5. Or further to illuſtrate the truth of our concluſion with this Jeſuites former compariſon, which hath beſt illuſtrated the Romiſh Churches Tenent. That *Church*, in reſpect of the Canon of Scriptures or any part thereof, is as the Light is to Colours. As no Colour can be ſeen of us but by the Light: ſo, by his Doctrine, neither the Canon of Scriptures, or any part thereof, can be known without the Churches teſtimony. Again, as removal of Light preſently makes us loſe the ſight of Colours: ſo doubt or denial of the Churches Authority deprives us of all true and ſtedfaſt belief concerning Gods Word, or any matter contained in it: God (as they plead) hath revealed his Will obſcurely; and unto a diſtinct or clear apprehenſion of what is obſcurely revealed, the viſible Churches Declaration is no leſs neceſſary, than Light to diſcernment of Colours. The reaſon is one in both, and is this: As the actual viſibility of Colours wholly depends upon the Light, as well for exiſtence, as duration: ſo (by Jeſuitical Doctrine) *True belief* of Scriptures wholly depends on the viſible Churches Declaration, as well during the whole continuance, as the firſt producing of it. By the ſame reaſon, as we gather that Light in it ſelf is more viſible than Colours, ſeeing by it alone Colours become actually viſible: ſo will it neceſſarily follow, that the Churches Declaration (that is, the Popes priviledge for not erring) is more ſtedfaſtly to be believed, as more credible in it ſelf, than either the Canon of Scriptures, or any thing therein contained: becauſe theſe become actually credible unto us only by the Churches Declaration, which cannot poſſibly ought avail for their belief, unleſs it were better believed.

6. Perhaps the Reader will here challenge me, that this laſt inſtance proves not all that I propoſed in the Title of this Chapter. For it only proves the Popes Supremacy is better to be believed, than that Chriſt is come in the fleſh; that God did ever ſpeak to men in former Ages by his Prophets, and in latter by his Son. But this infers no abſolute alienation of our belief from Chriſt, ſeeing even in this reſpect that we believe the Church or Pope ſo well, we muſt needs believe that Chriſt is come in the fleſh, and that God hath ſpoken to us ſundry ways: for thus much the Pope avoucheth. Yea, but what if the Church teach us that Chriſt is our Lord and Redeemer, and yet urge us to do that which is contumelious to his Majeſty? What if it teach us that theſe Scriptures are Gods Word; and yet bind us by her infallible Decrees to break his Laws, and give his Spirit the lye? Should we make profeſſion of believing as the Pope teacheth, and yet take his meaning to be only ſuch as *Marnixius*, whom we better believe, would make it?

His Holineſs would quickly pronounce us Apoſtates from the Catholick Faith. Or if this ſuffice not the indifferent Reader for ſatisfying my former promiſe, let him have patience but for a while, and I will pay him all.

The two main branches of Romiſh infidelity ſpringing from her former two poſitions.

7. Their firſt main poſition, [*That no private man can certainly know the Canon of Scriptures to be Gods Word, but by relying upon the preſent Church,*] infers as much as hath been ſaid: much more will follow from their ſecond, [*That no man can certainly be perſwaded of the true ſenſe and meaning of particular Propoſitions contained in the general Canon, without the ſame Churches teſtimony, unto whom the authentick interpretation or dijudication of Scriptures wholly belongs.*] Imagine the former parties now fully perſwaded of the Scriptures divine Truth in general, ſhould by the Conſiſtory which late Catechized them, be queſtioned about the meaning of ſome particular places. *Conſiſt.* We hope you adore the conſecrated Hoſt with divine Worſhip, as oft as you meet it in proceſſion. *Cat.* Deſirous we are to do any thing that becomes good Chriſtians, and obedient Sons unto our holy Mother the Church: but we cannot ſatisfie our conſciences how this may ſtand with the principles of Chriſtianity. Your Holineſſes (for which we reſt yours unto death) have aſſured us theſe ſacred Volumes are the very words of God, and his words we know muſt be obeyed. Now ſince we know theſe to be his words, we have found it written in them, *Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve.* It is, we doubt, our ſimplicity that will not ſuffer us to conceive how the conſecrated *Hoſt* can be adored as God without open breach of his commandment. For, to our ſhallow underſtanding, there is no neceſſity to perſwade us Chriſt God and man ſhould be hid in it. Theſe words, *Hoc eſt corpus meum,* may bear many interpretations, no way pregnant to this purpoſe. And it is doubtful, whether Chriſts Body, though really preſent in the Sacrament, ſhould retain the ſame preſence in proceſſion: whereas the former commandment is plain, *We muſt worſhip the Lord our God, and him only muſt we ſerve. Conſiſt.* Ye think this Text is plain to your purpoſe: we think otherwiſe. Whether is more meet? ye to ſubmit your private opinions to our publick ſpirits; or us that are Paſtors, to learn of you ſilly ſheep? *Cat.* Therefore are your ſervants come unto you, that they may learn how to obey you in this decree without Idolatry: well hoping, that as ye enjoin us abſolutely to obey you in it; ſo ye can give us full aſſurance we ſhall not diſobey the Spirit of God, in the former great commandment, whoſe expoſition we moſt deſire.

Matth. 4. v.5.

8. Would theſe or like ſupplications, though conceived in Chriſtian modeſty, though propoſed with religious fear, and awful regard of their perſons, though preſented with tears and ſighs, or other more evident ſigns of inward ſorrow, find any entrance into Romiſh Prelates ears, or move the Maſters of the Inquiſition-houſe to forbear exaction of obedience to the former, or other Decree of the Trent Council; were the Form of the Decree it ſelf, nnto private judgments, never ſo contradictory to Gods expreſs written Laws; or the conſequence of practiſing as it preſcribes, never ſo dreadful to the doubtful conſcience? How much better then were it for ſuch ſilly ſouls, had they never known the Books of *Moſes*, to have been from God? for ſo committing Idolatry with ſtocks

* Luke 12. 48.

and ſtones, or other creatures, they had done what was diſpleaſing to their Maſter, and juſtly puniſhable; * *yet with fewer ſtripes*, becauſe his will was not made known unto them. But now they know it, and acknowledge the truth of this commandment. To what end? That they may be left without all excuſe for not doing it; They ſee the general truth of Gods Oracles, that they may be more deſperately blinded in wilful perverting the particulars. For what glory could the allurement of ſilly ignorant men to ſimple Idolatry be unto great Antichriſt? Let them firſt ſubſcribe to the written Laws of the ever-living God, and afterwards wholly ſubmit themſelves to his determinations for their practice, and ſo the oppoſition betwixt him and the Deity, betwixt his Injunctions and the Decrees of the Almighty, may be more poſitive, more directly contrary. The Heathen or others not acknowledging Gods Word at all, are rightly termed unbelievers: men thus believing the Scriptures in general to be Gods Word, from the teſtimony of the Church, and yet abſolutely relying upon her judgment for the meaning of particular places, are tranſported from unbelief to miſbelief, from groſs ignorance to wilful defiance of God and his Laws. Finally, they are brought to know Gods Word, that they may doubt in this and like fearful practices enjoined; that ſo firſt doubting, and afterwards deſperately reſolving abſolutely to follow the Churches Injunction, againſt that ſence and meaning of the divine Decrees which the holy Spirit doth dictate to their private conſciences, they may without doubt be damned, for not abiding in the truth. Like their firſt parents they hear Gods ſentence, but prefer the interpretations of Satans firſt-born before their own, becauſe it muſt be preſumed he is more ſubtle than they. Or to refer the two main ſtreams of this iniquity to their proper heads: The firſt, [*That we cannot know the Old or New Teſtament to be Gods Word, but by relying upon the Church,*] makes all ſubſcribers to it, real Atheiſts or Infidels, and Chriſtians only in conceit or upon condition; [*If the Church, whoſe Authority they ſo highly eſteem, be as infallible as is pretended.*] Heretofore I have much grieved at the Trent Councils impiety: but now I wonder at theſe grave Fathers folly, that would trouble themſelves with preſcribing ſo many Canons, or overſeeing ſo large a Catechiſm, when as the beginning of *Protagoras* Book, one or two words altered, might have comprehended the entire confeſſion of ſuch mens faith, as rely upon their Fatherhoods; The Atheiſt thus began his Book; *De diis non habeo quod dicam, utrum ſint necne: Concerning the Gods or their being, I can ſay nothing.* A private Roman Catholick might render an entire account of his faith in terms as brief: *De Chriſto & Chriſtiana fide non habeo quod dicam, utrum ſint necne: Whether there be a Chriſt, or Chriſtian Religion be but a Politick Fable, I have nothing to ſay peremptorily, yea, or no, the Church or Councel can determine:* whom in this, and all other points wherein God is a party, I will abſolutely believe, whilſt I live: if at my death I find they teach amiſs, let the Devil and they (if there be a Devil) decide the controverſie. Yet this conceit or conditional Belief of Chriſt and Chriſtianity, conceived from the *former*, ſerves as a ground-colour for diſpoſing mens ſouls to take the ſable dye of Hell, wherewith the *ſecond* main *ſtream* of Romiſh impiety will deeply infect all ſuch as drink of it. For once believing

Gods Word from the Churches teſtimony, this abſolute ſubmiſſion of their conſciences to embrace that ſenſe it ſhall ſuggeſt, ſublimates them from refined Heatheniſm or Gentiliſm to Diaboliſm or ſymbolizing with infernal ſpirits, whoſe chiefeſt ſolace conſiſts in acting greateſt villanies, or wreſting the meaning of Gods written Laws to his diſhonour. For juſt proof of which imputation, we are to prevent what (as we late intimated) might in favour of their opinion be replied to our former inſtance of light and colours.

An objection, which might be made in favour of the Romaniſts, anſwered and retorted.

9. Some perhaps, well affected, would be reſolved, why, as he that ſees colours by the Sun, ſees not only the Sun, but colours with it: ſo he that belives the Scriptures, by relying upon the Church, ſhould not believe the Church only, but the Scriptures too, commended by it. The doubt could hardly be reſolved, if according to our Adverſaries Tenent, the Churches declarations did confirm our faith by illuſtrating the Canon of Scriptures, or making particular truths contained in it, inherently more perſpicuous: as if they were in themſelves but potentially credible, and made actually ſuch by the Churches Teſtimony, which is the firſt and *Principal Credible*; in ſuch ſort as colours become actually viſible, by illumination of the principal and prime viſible. But herein the grounds of Romiſh doctrine, and the inſtance brought by *Sacroboſcus*, to illuſtrate it, are quite contrary. For the light of the Sun, though moſt neceſſary unto ſight, is yet neceſſary only in reſpect of the object, or for making colours actually viſible; which, made ſuch, or ſufficiently illuminated, are inſtantly perceived without further intermediation of any other light than the internal light of the Organ, in diſcerning colours always rather hindered then helped by circumfuſion of light external. For this reaſon it is, that men in a pit or cave may at noon day ſee the ſtars, which are inviſible to ſuch as are in the open air: not, that they are more illuminated to the one, than the other; but becauſe plenty of light doth hinder the Organ or eye-ſight of the one. Generally all objects, either actually viſible in themſelves, or ſufficiently illuminated, are better perceived in darkneſs than in the light. But ſo our Adverſaries will not grant, that after the Church hath ſuffiently propoſed the whole Canon to be Gods Word, the diſtinct meaning of every part is more clear and facile to all private ſpirits, by how much they leſs participate of the viſible Churches further illuſtration. For (quite contrary to the former inſtance) the Churches teſtimony or declaration is only neceſſary, or available to right belief, in reſpect, not of the object to be believed [*Scriptures*;] but of the party believing. For (as hath been obſerved) no man in their judgement can believe Gods Word, or the right meaning of it, but by believing the Church: and all belief is inherent in the Believer. Yea this undoubted Belief of the Churches authority, is that, which in *Bellarmin* and *Sacroboſcus*'s judgement, makes a Roman Catholicks belief of Scriptures, or divine truths taught by them, much better than a Proteſtants. If otherwiſe the Churches declaration, or teſtimony, could without the belief of its infallibility; which is inherent in the ſubject believing, make Scriptures credible, as the light doth colours viſible in themſelves: a Proteſtant that knew their Churches meaning might as truly

See Cap. 2. & Cap. 29.

believe them as a Roman Catholick, albeit he did not abſolutely believe the Church, but only uſe her help, for their Orthodoxal Interpretation, as he doth ordinary Expoſitors, or as many do the benefit of the Sun for ſeeing colours, which never think whether colours may be ſeen without it or no. For though it be certain that they cannot, yet this opinion is meerly accidental to their ſight: and if a man ſhould be ſo wilful as to maintain the contrary, it would argue only bliudneſs of mind, none of his bodily ſight. Nor ſhould diſtruſt of the Romiſh Churches authority, ought diminiſh our Belief of any divine Truth, were her declarations requiſite in reſpect of the object to be believed, not in reſpect of the ſubject believing.

10. Hence ariſeth that difference which plainly reſolves the former doubt. For ſeeing the Sun makes colours actually viſible, by adding vertue or luſtre to them: we may rightly ſay, we ſee colours, as truly as the light, by which we ſee them. For though without the benefit of it, they cannot be ſeen; yet are they not ſeen by ſeeing it, or by relying upon its teſtimony of them. Again, becauſe the uſe of light is only neceſſary in reſpect of the object, or for preſenting colours to the eye; after once they be ſufficiently illuminated or preſented, every creature endued with ſight, can immediately diſcern each from other, without any further help or benefit of external light, than the general, whereby they become all alike actually viſible at the ſame inſtant. The Suns light then is the true cauſe, why colours are ſeen: but no cauſe of our diſtinguiſhing one from another being ſeen, or made actually viſible by it. For of all ſenſible objects ſufficiently propoſed, the ſenſitive faculty, though ſeated in a private perſon, is the ſole immediate ſupreme Judge, and relies not upon any others more publick verdict of them. On the contrary, becauſe the Romaniſts ſuppoſed firm belief of Scriptures, or their true meaning, ariſeth only from his undoubted belief of the Churches veracity which is in the Believer as in its ſubject, not from any increaſe of inherent credibility, or perſpicuity thence propagated to the Scriptures: Hence it is that conſequently to his poſitions, moſt repugnant to all truth, he thinks, after the Church hath ſufficiently avouched the Scriptures divine truth in general, we cannot infallibly diſtinguiſh the true ſenſe and meaning of one place from another, but muſt herein alſo rely upon the Churches teſtimony; and only believe that ſenſe to be repugnant, that conſonant to the analogy of faith, which ſhe ſhall tender, albeit our private conſciences be never ſo well informed by other Scriptures to the contrary. The truth then of our former concluſion is hence eaſily manifeſted. For ſeeing they hold both the Scriptures and their diſtinct ſenſe to be obſcure and unable to aſcertain themſelves, unleſs the Church add perſpicuity or facility of communicating their meaning to private ſpirits: ſuch, after the Churches propoſal, cannot poſſibly diſcern them any better, or more directly in themſelves, than they did before, but muſt wholly rely upon their Prelates, as if theſe were the only Watchmen in the Tower of Gods Church, that could by virtue of their place diſcern all divine truth. Others muſt believe there is an Omnipotent God, which hath given his Law; a Mediator of the New Teſtament: but what the

meaning either of Law or Goſpel is, they may not preſume otherwiſe to determine, than weak ſights do of things they ſee confuſedly afar off, whoſe particular diſtance or difference they muſt take only upon other mens report, that have ſeen them diſtinctly, and at hand.

11. To illuſtrate theſe Deductions with the former ſimilitude of the *prime* and ſecondary *viſibles*. Let us ſuppoſe for diſputations ſake, that the Sun which illuminates colours by its light, were further indued (as we are) with ſenſe and reaſon, able to judge of all the differences between them, which it can manifeſt to us, and hence challenge to be a Pope or infallible Propoſer of colours. This ſuppoſition the Canoniſt hath made leſs improbable. For *Deus fecit duo luminaria, God made two lights*, that is, by his Interpretation, the Pope and the Emperor. Or, if you pleaſe to mitigate the harſhneſs of it, let the *Man in the Moon*, whom we may not imagine ſpeechleſs, be ſuppoſed the Sun, or *Pope of Colours*, his *Mercury* or *Nuncio*. As the Papiſts ſay, we cannot know Scriptures to be Scriptures, but by the infallible propoſal of the Church: ſo it is evident we cannot ſee any colour at all, unleſs illuminated or propoſed by the Suns light. But after by it we ſee them, ſuppoſe we ſhould take upon us to diſcourſe of their nature, or determine of their diſtinct properties as now we do, and the Sun or Pope of colours, by himſelf or his Nuncio ſhould take us up, as Duke *Humphrey* did the *blind man reſtored to ſight, which he never had loſt*; Yea, *who taught you to diſtinguiſh colours? were you not quite blind but now?* as yet you cannot diſcern any colours without my publick light, and yet will you preſume to define their properties, and diſtinguiſh their natures againſt my definitive ſentence known? Muſt not he that enables you to ſee them, enable you to diſtinguiſh them ſeen? Muſt you not wholly rely upon my authority, whether this be white, or that black? If a man upon theſe Motives ſhould abſolutely believe the Suns determinations, renouncing the judgement of his private ſenſes: could he truly ſay, that he either knew this colour to be white, or that black, or another green? Rather were he not bound to ſay, I neither know white from black, nor black from blew, nor blew from green: but I know that to be white which the Sun, the only infallible Judge of colours, ſaith is white; that only to be black, that blew, and that green which he ſhall determine ſo to be. I may think indeed that the ſnow is white, or coals black: but with ſubmiſſion to the Suns determination.

12. And yet, as you have heard at large out of the *Trent* Council, and beſt Apologies can be made for it, the Church muſt be the infallible Judge of all Scripture ſenſe, and muſt abſolutely be believed without all appeal to Scriptures, not conditionally as ſhe ſhall accord with them. The concluſion hence iſſuing, is moſt infallible, and on their parts moſt inevitable; [*Whoſoever abſolutely acknowledgeth this authority in the Church or Conſiſtory, and yields ſuch obedience unto it in all determinations, concerning the Canon of Scriptures, doth not believe, either this or that determinate propoſition of faith, or any definite meaning of Gods Word*] The beſt reſolution he can make of his faith is this; [*I believe that to be the meaning of every place, which the Church ſhall define to be the meaning*:] which is all one, as if he

had ſaid, I do not believe the Scriptures or their meaning, but I believe the Churches deciſion and ſentence concerning them. He that believes not the Church (ſaith * *Canus*) but with this limitation, [*if it give ſentence according unto Scriptures*;] doth not believe the Church but the Scriptures. By the ſame reaſon it follows moſt directly; he that believes not the true ſenſe and meaning of Scriptures; but with this reſervation, (if the Church ſo think or determine:) doth not believe them, but the Church only. For, as the Scholmen ſay, *Ubi unum propter aliud, ibi unum tantum.* He that ſerves God, only becauſe he would be rich, doth not ſerve God, but his riches, albeit he perform the outward acts of obedience. Or if we love a man only for his affinity with another whom we dearly love: we truly and properly love but the one, the other only by way of reflexion or denomination, in ſuch a ſenſe, as we ſay, a man appears by his proxy, that is, his proxy appears, not he. In like ſort, believing the ſenſe of Scriptures only from the ſuppoſed authentick declaration of the Church, or becauſe we believe It: we infallibily believe the Church alone, not the Scriptures, but only by an extrinſecal denomination.

13. Yet as a man may from ſome *reaſons leſs probable*, have *an opinion of what he certainly knows*, by motives more ſound; or as we may love one in ſome competent meaſure for his own ſake, and yet affect him more entirely for anothers, whom we moſt dearly love: ſo may an abſolute Papiſt, in ſome moral ſort believe the Scriptures for themſelves, or hold their authodoxal ſenſe as probable to his private judgement; albeit he believe them moſt for the Churches ſake, and that ſenſe beſt which it commends. But this his belief of the Church, being by their doctrine more than moral or conditional, doth quite overthrow all moral or probable belief, he can poſſibly have from what ground ſoever, of Scriptures themſelves. For as I ſaid before, when the * Church ſhall determine ought contrary to his preconceived opinion, the more probable or ſtrong it was, the more it encreaſeth his doubt, and makes his contrary reſolution more deſperate, yea more damnable if habitual, becauſe κατ' ἐξοχὴν ἒκ ἐκ πίστεως *extreamly contrary to the doctrine of Faith.* *Bellarmins* preſcription in this caſe, is juſt as if a Phyſician or Surgeon ſhould ſeek to eaſe the pain by ending of the Patients days. *Leſt a man ſhould ſin againſt his conſcience, this* † *Doctor adviſeth him to believe the Church cannot teach amiſs.*

14. To conclude then: He that abſolutely believes the Pope, as Chriſts Vicar general in all things, without examination of his Decrees by Evangelical Precepts, neither believes Chriſt nor his Goſpel; no not when this pretended Vicar teacheth no otherwiſe then his Maſters Laws preſcribe. For thus believing a divine truth only from this mans authority, he commits ſuch Idolatry with him (for the kind or eſſence) as the Heathen did with *Mercury*, their falſe Gods ſuppoſed meſſenger, though ſo much more hainous in degree, as his general notion of the true God is better, whoſe infinite goodneſs,

* Nihil igitur afferunt, qui Eccleſiæ authoritatem non abſolutè, ſed ex conditione ponunt. Si namque ad eum modum res haber, & mihi quoque fides habenda eſt, quando pronunciavero ſecundum Scripturas rectè intellectas. Id enim eſt non mihi, ſed Scripturæ credere. *Canus lib.* 4. *ca.* 4. *See cap.* 1. *parag* 11.

The greater Moral or Hiſtorical Belief the Romaniſt hath of the truth or true meaning of Scriptures, the greater his condemnation by ſubſcription to this doctrine of the Churches abſolute infallibility.

* *This argument holds (as we ſay)* à fortiori *of faith infuſed: for no man can be ſo fully perſwaded, that he hath divine* faith infuſed *of any point, but muſt renounce his perſwaſion, when the Church defines the contrary: whoſe definition or aſſeveration. be it a cauſe or condition of believing, will fully perſwade the Romaniſt, that he now hath* divine infuſed faith *of the contrary to that he believed before. For his divine* infuſed faith *and his* habit *of Theology may not diſagree, and yet in this caſe his* habit *of Theology may not yield unto the other, becauſe it hath the Churches teſtimony, which (it is ſuppoſed) the other wanteth.* † *See the notes out of* Bellarmin, *Cap.* 3. *parag.* 9.

goodneſs, cannot entertain an Interpreter no better qualified then moſt Popes are, did his wiſdom ſtand in need of any. But if when the Pope ſhall teach the doctrine of Devils, men abſolutely believe it to be Chriſts, becauſe his pretended Vicar commends it to them: in thus believing, they commit ſuch prepoſterous Idolatry, as thoſe of *Calecut*, which adore the Devil, upon conceit, doubtleſs, of ſome celeſtial or divine power in him; as the abſolute Papiſt doth not adore the Pope, but upon perſwaſion he is Chriſts Vicar, and teaches as Chriſt would do, *viva voce*, were he again on earth. And leſs it were to be lamented, did theſe Pſeudo-Catholicks profeſs their allegiance to Satans incarnate Agent, as to their ſupreme Lord, by ſuch ſolemn ſacrifices only as the inhabitants of *Calecut* perform to wicked ſpirits. But this their blind belief of whatſoever he ſhall determine upon a proud and fooliſh imagination he is Chriſts Vicar, emboldens them to invert the whole Law of God and nature, to glory in villany, and triumph in miſchief, even to ſeek praiſe and honour eternal, from acts ſo foul and hideous, as the light of nature would make the *Calecutians* or other Idolaters bluſh at their very mention. It is a ſure token *he hath not yet learned the Alphabet of their Religion, that doubts whether Jeſuitical doctrine concerning this abſolute belief, extend not to all matters of fact.* And if out of ſimplicity, rather than policy, ſo they ſpeak: I cannot but much pity their folly, that would perſwade us it were not the fault of Romiſh Religion, but of the men that profeſs it, which hath inticed ſo many unto ſuch devilliſh practiſes of late. I would the Jeſuit were but put to inſtance what kind of villany either hath been already acted on earth, or can yet poſſibly be hatched in the region under the earth, ſo hideous and ugly, as would ſeem deformed or odious to ſuch as are wholly led by this blind faith, if it ſhould but pleaſe the Romiſh Clergy to give a mild or favourable cenſure of it. No brat of Hell, but would ſeem as beautiful to their eyes, as young Toads are to their Dams, if their Mother once commend the feature of it, or acknowledge it for her darling. Did not ſome of the Powder-plot, after Gods powerful hand had overtaken them, and ſentence of death had paſſed upon them, even when the Executioner was ready to do his laſt office to them, make a queſtion whether their plot were ſinful or no? So modeſt were ſome of them, and ſo obedient ſons to the Church of *Rome*, that they would not take upon them to ſay either the one or other, but referred the matter to their Mothers determinations; hereby teſtifying unto the world, that if the Church would ſay, they would believe ſo great an offence againſt their Countrey were none againſt God. One of them was ſo obſtinate, as to ſollicite his fellow, whilſt both were drawn upon one hurdle to the Gallows, not to acknowledge it for any ſin. Or if theſe muſt be reputed but private men, not well acquainted with their Churches Tenents, and therefore no fit inſtances to diſapprove her doctrine: let the ingenious Reader but peruſe their beſt Writers anſwers to the objections uſually made againſt the Popes tranſcendent authority, and he ſhall eaſily perceive how *matters of fact are included in the Belief of it; how by it all power is given him in heaven and earth, to pervert the uſe and end of all Laws humane or divine.* I will content my ſelf for this preſent with ſome few inſtances out of *Valentian*.

That this doctrine emboldens ſuch as embrace it, to glory in villany.

Chap. XXXI.

Proving the laſt Aſſertion, or generally the imputations hitherto laid upon the Papacy, by that authority the Jeſuits expreſly give unto the Pope in matters of particular Fact; as in the canonizing of Saints.

1. *How oft ſoever the Pope, in defining queſtions of Faith, ſhall uſe his Authority: that opinion which he ſhall determine to be a point of Faith, muſt be received as a point of Faith by all Chriſtian people.* If you further demand, how ſhall we know when the Pope uſeth this his abſolute authority: this Doctor in the ſame place thus reſolves you;

It muſt be believed, that he uſeth this his authority, as often as in Controverſies of Faith, he ſo determines for the one part, that he will bind the whole Church to receive his deciſion. Leſt ſtubborn ſpirits might take occaſion to calumniate the Pope for taking, or the Jeſuits for attributing tyrannical authority unto him: this * Jeſuit would have you to underſtand that the Pope may avouch ſome things which all men are not bound to hold as Goſpel; nay he may err, though not when he ſpeaks *ex Cathedra*, as *Head* of the Church, yet when he ſpeaks or writes as a private Doctor or Expoſitor, and only ſets down his own opinion without binding others to think as he doth. Thus did *Innocent* the third, and other Popes, write divers books, which are not in every part true and infallible, as if they had proceeded from their Pontificial authority. Yea but what if this preſent Pope, or any of his Succeſſors, ſhould bind all Chriſtians to believe, that Pope *Innocents* Books were in every part infallibly true; Whether muſt we in this caſe believe *Valentian*, or the Pope thus determining, better? If *Valentian* in the words immediately following deſerve any credit, we muſt believe the Pope better than himſelf: yea, he himſelf muſt recant his cenſure of Pope *Innocents* works. For ſo in the other part of his diſtinction he adds; † *Secundo, poteſt Pontifex aſſerere, The Pope again may avouch ſomething, ſo as to bind the whole Church to receive his opinion, and that no man ſhall dare to perſwade himſelf to the contrary: And whatſoever he ſhall thus avouch in any controverſie of Religion, we muſt aſſuredly believe he did avouch it without poſſibility of Error, and therefore by his Pontificial Authority.* His proof is moſt conſonant to his aſſertion. I will not recite it in Engliſh, leſt the mear Engliſh Reader ſhould ſuſpect any, able to underſtand Latin, could be poſſibly ſo ridiculous.

Quotieſcunque Romanus Pontifex in fidei quæſtionibus definiendis, illa qua eſt præditus authoritate utitur, ab omnibus fidelibus tanquam doctrina fidei recipi divino præcepto debet ea ſententia, quam ille decernit eſſe ſententiam fidei. Toties autem eum illa ipſa authoritate uti credendum eſt, quoties in controverſia fidei ſic alterutram ſententiam determinat, ut ad eam recipiendam obligare velit univerſam Eccleſiam. *Valent tom. 3. in Aquin. Diſp. 1. Quæ. 1. De object. fidei, Punct. 7. parag. 40.*

* Diſtinguendi ſunt modi, quibus poteſt contingere Pontificem aliquid aſſerere. Primo enim poteſt ſibi perſuadere aut aſſerere aliquid, ut privata perſona quædam, vel doctor alius quiſpiam, ut ſi nollet Eccleſiam univerſam ad recipiendam ſuam aſſertionem obligare, ſed tantum ſententiam ipſe ſuam reputaret veram. Hoc modo *Innocentius* 3. & nonnulli alii Pontifices opuſcula varia ediderunt. Ac illa quidem quæ ſic Pontifex aſſeverat, communis ſententia omnium Theologorum eſt non oportere eſſe omnia vera & infallibilia, quaſi à Pontificia authoritate profecta. Quin imo à pleriſque authoribus conceditur, fieri poſſe; ut Pontifex tanquam quædam privata perſona in hæreſim labatur. *Idem Ibidem,* † Secundo modo poteſt Pontifex aliquid aſſerere obligando univerſam Eccleſiam ut illud recipiat, nec quiſquam audeat ſibi perſuadere contrarium. Et quæcunq; Pontifex in aliqua de religione controverſia ſic aſſerit, certa fide credendum eſt, illum infallibiliter, ac proinde ex authoritate Pontificia, hoc eſt, ex divina aſſiſtentia, id aſſerere. *Ib.*

2. Theſe laviſh Prerogatives of the Popes authority, the Jeſuits ſee well to be obnoxious to this exception. When the Pope doth Canonize a Saint, he binds all men to take him for a Saint. Can he not herein err? *As for Canonizing of Saints* (ſaith † *Valentian) I abſolutely deny,* (*as the Catholick Doctors upon good reaſons generally do*) *that the Pope can err in ſuch a buſineſs.* The certainty of this his belief he would ground upon thoſe promiſes, by *which we are aſſured it ſhall never come to paſs that the univerſal Church can be deceived in points of Religion. But the whole Church ſhould err very groſly in ſuch matters, ſhould it repute and worſhip him for a Saint which is none.* Here it would be obſerved, how Satan inſtigates theſe men unto Such Tenents, as may occaſion God and his Goſpel to be blaſphemed. Firſt, they would make it an Article of Faith, that all muſt believe as the Pope teacheth: whence it follows, that either he cannot teach amiſs, or elſe faith may periſh from off the earth. Which if it could, God were not true in his promiſes. The ſureſt pledge the Chriſtian world can have of his fidelity in them, muſt be the Popes infallibility, ſo as from the firſt unto the laſt, he muſt be held as true in his dealings, as God in his ſayings. If he fail in Canonizing a Saint, whom he cannot poſſibly know to be ſuch, unleſs he knew his heart, which belongs wholly unto his Maker: God muſt be a lyar, and there is no Truth in him. The final iſſue intended by Satan in theſe reſolutions is this; When men have been a long time led on with fair hopes of gaining Heaven by following the Popes direction, and yet in the end ſee (as who not blind ſees not) his groſs errors and deteſtable villanies, they may be hence tempted to blaſpheme God, as if he had been his copartner in this cozenage. From this root (I take it) hath Atheiſm ſprung ſo faſt in *Italy*. For whilſt faith is in the blade, and their hopes flouriſhing, they imagine God and the Pope to be ſuch friends as their blind guides make them: But afterwards coming to deteſtation of this *man of ſin*, and his treachery, holding his ſpiritual power as ridiculous, they think either as deſpitefully, or contemptuouſly of the Deity; or ſay with *the * fool in their hearts, there is no God.*

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*Itaque quod ad Canonizationem Sanctorum attinet, omnino nego id, quod communiter doctores Catholici jure optimo negant, videlicet, poſſe Pontificem hac in parte errare. Quamvis enim teſtimonia, quæ pro alicujus hominis ſanctitate afferuntur, ſint humana, ideoq; natura ſua fallibilia: tamen poſito quod Pontifex illis inducatur tandem ad pronunciandum quempiam ſanctum atq; beatum jam eſſe; certa fide credendum eſt, teſtimonia illa (quatenus in genere ſaltem probant pie atq; ſancte quenquam ex hac vita exceſſiſſe) vera eſſe, & hominem ejuſmodi ex eorum eſſe numero, quos per revelationes ſcripturæ generales in communi conſtat, divinæ gratiæ beneficio conſequi æternæ vitæ beatudinem. Quæ ſanè certitudo iiſdem illis Dei promiſſionibus nititur, ex quibus compertum habemus, nunquam eſſe futurum, ut univerſa Eccleſia in rebus religionis fallatur. Falleretur autem graviter in negotio religionis ſi ſanctum reputaret, ac pro tali veneraretur eum, qui ſanctus non eſt. Hic autem illud, quod alias ab orthodoxis probatum atque defenſum eſt, tanquam ex fide certum pono, nempe rem eſſe omninoʿ quæ ad Eccleſiæ ædificationem, adeoque ad officium Pontificis pertineat, ut Sancti quidam aliquando Canonizentur: ac proinde univerſam Eccleſiam debere, ut ſanctum, venerari illum, quem ſummus Pontifex, numero Sanctorum adſcribit; ſicut etiam uſus ipſe perpetuus, atque traditio Eccleſiæ confirmat. *Valent. ibid. Parag.* 41. * *Pſal.* 14. *v.* 1.

The fearful manner of Jeſuits tempting God in maintaing this argument.

3. Thus Antichriſts followers ſtill run a courſe quite contrary to Chriſtian Religion. For if it be true (as it is moſt true) that faith cannot utterly periſh from off the earth; what damnable abuſe of Gods mercy and favour toward mankind is this; in ſeeking, as the Jeſuits do, to make all abſolutely rely upon one in matters of Faith? For ſo if he fail, all others muſt of neceſſity fail with him. That is, the whole world muſt be as kind ſupernatural fools to him, as that natural Idiot was to his Maſter, who being demanded, whether he would go to Heaven with him or no, replied he would go to

Hell with ſo good a Maſter, ſeeing any man would be willing to go to Heaven with an ordinary friend, yea, with his enemy. Though we ſhould uſe no other argument but that, *Avoid ye ſons of Satan; for it is written, ye ſhall not tempt the Lord your God*: It ſhould, me thinks, be enough to put all the Jeſuits in the world unto ſilence in this point, did they not as far exceed their father in impudency, as they come ſhort of him in wit. For this manner of tempting God is more ſhameleſs than the Devils ſuggeſtion unto our Saviour, when he was inſtantly ſilenced with this reproof. A preſumption it is more damnable to expect the protection or guidance of Gods Spirit, in ſuch deſperate reſolutions as *Valentian* here brings, than it were for a man to throw himſelf headlong from an high Tower, upon hope of Angelical ſupportance. For ſeeing (as I ſaid) God hath promiſed, that true faith ſhall not periſh from off the earth; for all men to adventure their faith upon one mans infallibility, who may have leſs ſaving faith in him than Turk or Infidel, is but a provoking or daring of God to recal his promiſe. Or what more damnable doctrine can be imagined, than that all men ſhould worſhip him for a Saint, whom the wickedſt man on earth doth commend unto him for ſuch?

4. But to proceed. As the Doctrine is moſt impious, ſo are the grounds of it moſt improbable. For how can the Pope or Papiſts infallibly know this or that man to be a Saint; Seeing there is no particular revelation made of it, either to the Pope or others? *I anſwer* (ſaith *Valentian*) *that the general revelation, whereby it is evident, that whatſoever the Pope ſhall decree, as pertaining to the whole Church, is moſt true, may ſuffice in this caſe. Moreover* (ſaith he) *unto the Canonizing of Saints appertain theſe revelations of Scripture, in which heavenly joys are generally propoſed to all ſuch as lead a godly life. For by the Popes determination, we know the Saint which he hath Canonized, to be contained in the foreſaid univerſal Propoſition. Whence it is eaſie to frame an aſſent of faith; by which we may perſwade our ſelves, that ſuch a Saint hath obtained eternal bliſs.*

5. I would requeſt the Reader by the way to note the Jeſuits injurious partiality, in ſcoffing at ſuch of our Writers, as without expreſs warrant of particular revelation, hold a certainty of their own ſalvation: when as they, only by Gods general promiſes to ſuch as lead a godly life, and the Popes infallibility, in declaring who have ſo lived, can be certain (*de fide*) others are ſaved. But the former doubt is rather removed than quite taken away by this his anſwer, if it ſtand alone. As yet it may be queſtioned, how any can infallibly know the truth of what he cannot poſſibly know at all, but only by other mens teſtimonies, in their nature (the Jeſuit being Judge) not infallible, and in whoſe examination it is not impoſſible his Holineſs may be negligent? For how men live or dye in *England*, *Spain*, or the *Indies*, no Pope can tell but by the information of others no Popes. The Reader perhaps will prognoſticate *Valentians* anſwer, as in truth I did. For when I firſt framed the doubt before I read it in him, me thought it ſtood in need of ſuch a reply, as * *Bellarmin* brought for defence of the vulgar Interpreter. Altogether as fooliſh it were to think any private mans information of anothers uprightneſs in the ſight of God, as to hold *Theodotion* the Heretick could not err in tranſlating of the Bible.

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* Lib. [illegible].c.31. Parag. 6.

But though they may be deceived in teſtification of anothers ſanctity; yet * *Valentian* tells you, ſuppoſing the Pope is *once induced by their teſtimonies, though in nature fallible, to pronounce him a bleſſed Saint, all muſt infallibly believe their teſtimonies (at leaſt ſo far as they prove in general, that he died a godly and religious death) are true, and that the party commended by them is of that number, which (as we may gather from the general Revelations of Scriptures) ſhall be made partakers of everlaſting life.* † Again, *whether the Pope in defining a Controverſie uſe diligence or no, yet without all queſtion he ſhall define infallibly, and conſequently uſe the Authority Chriſt hath given him. Wherefore in his judgment, care and diligence are neceſſary to the Pope, not ſo as if he could not define aright, or rightly uſe his Authority without them, but that he doth not ſin himſelf, whilſt he defines an infallible truth for others to believe. Hereto may be added, That albeit a diligent care were neceſſarily required for the infallibility of the Popes deciſions; yet the ſame faith, which binds us to believe he decides the controverſie infallibly, binds us alſo to believe that he uſed as much diligence as was requiſite. As for example, in like caſe, If God ſhould promiſe that the next year ſhould be a plentiful year of corn, we would conceive he promiſed withal good and ſeaſonable weather, and whatſoever elſe neceſſary for effecting of his promiſe, as* Canus *well notes.* But *Valentians* laſt concluſion is, *That no ſure Argument can be brought, why we ſhould think ſtudy or diligence are neceſſary for the right uſe of the Popes Authority, ſo far as it concerns other mens faith that muſt rely upon it.* Rely upon it they muſt, whether he determine *ex tempore*, or upon deliberation, and (for ought I can ſee) whether he give his ſentence drunk or ſober, raving or in his right mind, ſo he have the wit to charge all upon pain of damnation to believe it. But what if ſome Foreigner ſhould of ſet purpoſe ſend *a dead mans water* to try this grand Phyſicians skill? could he without either care or diligence in examining their Teſtimonies, or ſpecial Revelation from above, (which in ſuch buſineſſes *Valentian* diſclaims) diſcover their knavery? Or would his prognoſtication of life and health, redeem the party deceaſed from the Land of Death, as ſome ſay Pope *Gregory by his prayers, did Trajan?* Theſe and many like Queſtions might here be made, which fall not within the reach of *Valentians* anſwers hitherto recited: and yet theſe muſt abundantly ſuffice for reſolution of all doubts concerning the Canonizing of Saints, or approbation of Religious Orders; * in which buſineſs likewiſe we muſt believe the Pope cannot err. Let the Reader pauſe a while, look on their

** His words be cited Parag. 2.*

† Objici poteſt, quod, ut poſtea dicturi ſumus, ut Pontifex in definiendo authoritate ſua rectè utatur, ſtudio & diligentia in inquirenda veritate opus habet. Nihil autem obſtare videtur, quo minus poſſit interdum ille, ejuſmodi diligentia prætermiſſa, controverſiam definire. Poterit igitur tunc ſaltem errare. Reſpondeo, ſive Pontifex in definiendo ſtudium adhibeat, ſive non adhibeat: modo tamen controverſiam definiat, infallibiliter certè definiet, atque adeo reipſa utetur authoritate ſibi à Chriſto conceſſa. Quod ex promiſſionibus divinis de veritate per magiſterium unius paſtoris Eccleſiæ factis certiſſime colligimus; ut ſæpius argumentati ſumus. Itaque ſtudium ac diligentia Pontifici neceſſaria eſt, non ut omnino definiat, atque infallibili ſua authoritate utatur, ſed ut convenienter ac recte (hoc eſt, ſine peccato) ea utatur: ſicut patebit etiam ex iis, quæ poſt dicemus. Huc accedit, quod ſi maximè diligentia Pontifici neceſſaria eſſet, ut omnino definiat; tamen eadem fide credere deberemus, illum quando rem controverſam definit, ſufficientem adhibuiſſe diligentiam; qua ſupra demonſtratum eſt, debere nos credere, quod tunc ille infallibiliter ac verè definiat.— Cæterum non eſt ratio ulla firma, quam ob rem exiſtimare debeamus, ſtudii diligentiam Pontifici neceſſariam eſſe, non modo ut convenienter, ac ſine culpa, authoritate ſua infallibili utatur, verùm etiam ut omnino illa utatur. Quare quod à nobis ante reſponſum eſt abundè ſufficit ad id explicandum quod objiciebatur. *Val. Tom. 3. in Aquin. Quæſt. 1. de objecto fidei. Punct. 7. Parag. 41.*

** And yet ſome Religious Orders authorized by Popes, have proved naught, but we muſt believe their Rules were good whilſt one Pope approves them; but grew out of date, and unfitting thoſe times wherein ſucceeding Popes did diſanul them.* See Valentian *in the place above cited.*

madneſs, and laugh his fill at their Apiſh drunkenneſs in this Argument, that when his mirth hath found a vent, and his heart is well ſetled, he may with a ſober, unpartial, ſtedfaſt eye, behold the Myſtery of this iniquity.

Chap. XXXII.

What danger by this blaſphemous Doctrine may accrue to Chriſtian States: that of all Hereſies, Blaſphemies or Idolatries, which have been ſince the World began, or can be imagined till Chriſt come to judgment: this Apoſtaſie of the Jeſuites, is the moſt abominable and contumelious againſt the bleſſed Trinity.

1. WHat the conſequences of theſe poſitions may be, none can doubt. No leſs they are than I have ſaid; a reſigning up of mens ſouls and conſciences into the Popes hands, a conſecration of hearts, minds, and bodies, to work any miſchief imaginable at his appointment. For what if the Pope upon the relation of *Ravilliac*'s ſtubbornneſs (they would ſay conſtancy) in his torture, or *Catesbyes* praying to the Virgin *Mary* at his death, ſhould Canonize both for Saints, and enjoin the Chriſtian World ſo to honour them: Every bloody Aſſaſinate would pray unto the one for good ſucceſs in acting his blood-thirſty deſigns on Princes bodies. And if it ſhould pleaſe the Pope ſo to determine, all men ſhould ſtand bound to give ſuch ſolemn Worſhip, as by their Doctrine is due to Sacred Relicks, unto that bloody Knife which hath been ſheathed in *Ravilliac*'s Sovereigns breaſt. Every deep diſſembling Politician, or ambitious cholerick diſcontented ſpirit, would burn Incenſe, Saltpeter, Sulphur, and Brimſtone to the others image, in hope of better ſpeed in undermining States.

2. If any Jeſuite, or other brazen-faced favourer of their Order, or this Doctrine, ſhould here reply: This Dreamer caſts doubts beyond the Moon; for is there any likelihood his Holineſs will ever Canonize ſuch wicked Imps for Saints? I muſt anſwer him as *Tully* did *Rullus*, utterly diſclaiming all purpoſe of doing ſuch wrong unto the Roman State, as his Petition unto it, once granted might enable him to effect; and from my ſoul I wiſh every Chriſtian Prince, every Princes Counſellour would take that grave Senators words for his motto, * *Primum neſcio, deinde timeo, poſtremo non committam ut veſtro beneficio potius quam noſtro conſilio ſalvi eſſe poſſimus.* Firſt, whether the Pope would Canonize ſuch Miſcreants for Saints or no, is more than we know. Secondly, his former practices miniſter ſo juſt cauſe of fear to Chriſtian States, that it ſtands them upon rather in wiſdom to prevent his power of doing, than relie upon his fidelity for not doing them ſome ineſtimable miſchief, by putting this practice in execution, if opportunity ſerve, and ability

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* Tibi nos Rulle, & iſtis tuis, harum omnium rerum machinatoribus, totam Italiam inermem tradituros exiſtimaſti, quam præſidiis confirmaretis? colonis occuparetis? omnibus vinclis devinctam & obſtrictam teneretis? ubi enim cavetur, ne in Janiculo coloniam conſtituatis? ne urbem hanc urbe alia premere, atque urgere poſſitis? non faciemus, *inquit.* Primum neſcio, *&c. De leg. Agrar. Orat.* 15.

be left him thereby to ſtrengthen his faction. Did not his * Legate into *France*, upon notice of the Pariſian Maſſacre, beſtow his Holineſſes beſt bleſſing, *Cum plenitudine poteſtatis*; *with abſolute and plenary power derived from himſelf*, upon the notorious aſſaſinate *Boydon*, chief Ring-leader of that immane and Wolviſh Maſſacre committed at *Lyons*; begun without any warrant of publick Authority, only at this helliſh Miſcreants inſtigation, deſirous to follow, or rather out-go his Superiours in cruelty? Was not that villany it ſelf authorized from *Rome*, where it found ſuch extraordinary approbation? Never did that City rejoice ſo much in memory of Chriſts birth, or Saint *Peters*, as at the hearing of this more than *Herodian* butchery of ſo many thouſands noble-minded Gentlemen, with other Innocents and Saints of God. So full was this Legates heart of joy hence conceived, that after he came into *France*, out of the abundance of it, his mouth did ſound the praiſes of the bloody Actors and Contrivers of this ſhameful Tragedy, *Etiam cum delectu verborum, with ſuch choice and affected words*, as cauſed them bluſh to hear him, that had not been aſhamed to act the villany. And as if this excellent exploit had been effected by vertue of the holy Catholick Church; the † Popes Petition to the French King was, That the Trent Council might, upon that good ſucceſs, begin to be of force in *France*, and be thus ſealed with blood. Yet can any man doubt, whether this Church would authorize murther, or Canonize Aſſaſinates, for her own advantage? Publickly ſuppoſe ſhe would not; yet if the Popes Decrees, when they expreſly bind all, muſt, as *Valentian* contends, be believed by all upon ſuch terms as he annexeth: no queſtion but if he give any ſpecial Injunction to the Order of Jeſuites, or ſuch as they ſhall adjudge fit Aſſociates to whom theſe ſecrets may be imparted, it ſhall be as devoutly entertained by them whom it concerns, as if it were univerſal. If charged they be, under pain of damnation, ſecretly to worſhip this or that damned Villain, it will be held a formal denial of Faith, either not to perform what is enjoined, or to bewray what they perform. We may well ſuppoſe the Jeſuites, and others of their Inſtruction, have more Saints in their private Kalendars than all the

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* *Fabius Urſinus* Cardinalis à Pontifice, poſt acceptum de Pariſienſi tumultu nuncium, Legatus in Galliam venit.—— Igitur ille ubi Lugdunum venit, more ſolemni acceptus, multis laudibus civium fidem extulit, & *Boidono* illo lanienæ immanis anteſignano palam laudato, etiam ei poteſtatis plenitudine gratiæ beneficium impertivit; & quanquam à Regiis miniſtris ex *Johannis Morvillerii* Conſilio monitus, ut ſobriè & parcè de ea re loqueretur, non potuit ſibi temperare, quin Regis in eo negotio prudentiam, patientiam, animi magnitudinem, publice & in privatis colloquiis ubique apud omnes etiam cum delectu verborum commendaret. *Thuan. lib.* 54. *Anno* 1572.

† Poſtea cum Rege colloquutus inter alia multis & enixis precibus ac rationibus ab eo contendit, ut Concilium Tridentinum, cujus publicationem, totum jam novennium in Gallia, magna cum univerſi Chriſtiani Orbis offenſione ſuſpenſam agebat, in regni curiis promulgaretur, & recentis facti omnibus ſæculis deprædicandi, quod ad Dei gloriam, & S. R. E. dignitatem pertineret, memoria Sacro-ſanctæ Synodi approbatione veluti obſignaretur. Sic enim apud omnes tam qui ſunt, quam qui poſtea erunt, conſtitutum, non odio, aut ultione, aut privatæ injuriæ ſenſu Regem in tot capitum perniciem conſenſiſſe, ſed ardenti Dei gloriæ propagandæ ſtudio à Chriſtianiſſimo Principe datum, ut quod ſtante proteſtantium factione ſperari non poterat, iis ſublatis, majorum religio, hoc eſt, Catholica Apoſtolica Romana, quæ per Synodum Tridentinam à ſectario veneno aſſeritur, citra controverſiam ac ſine exceptione per univerſas Franciciæ ditionis provincias conſtitueretur. *Idem, Ibid. Unleſs the French King had been enforced to make a contrary Apology before this Legate came into* France, *this bloody Maſſacre had been authorized by the Sea Apoſtolical; as appears from the ſame Authors words immediately following.* His & aliis rationibus ſæpius apud Regem repetitis, quæ magni in Aula Romana ponderis, pleriſque etiam apud nos ſpecioſæ videbantur, quo minus Rex ac Regina acquieſcerent, obſtabant jam ſumpta ad excuſandum factum conſilia. Nam diplomatis poſtea promulgatis Rex contra conteſtabatur, non odio religionis, ſed ad revincendam Colinii ac ſequacium deteſtandam conjurationem, quæ juſſu ſuo Lutetiæ acta eſſent, accidiſſe; exemplúmque ad cæteras urbes injuſſu ac magno ſuo cum dolore graſſatum eſſe. idque literis, orationibus ac libellis illis, de quibus diximus, ubique inculcabatur.

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4. Rather let all Chriſtian States beware, leſt they give ſuch Authority to either. For if the danger were not always imminent from their traiterous and blood-thirſty minds, that profeſs this Doctrine in any Kingdom: Yet from Divine Juſtice the plagues upon Prince and People, that authorize and permit the profeſſion of it, will be one day publick and grievous. For better might they nurſe all other kinds of enchantments, or Magical practices; better might they give harbour to all other Hereſies broached ſince the World began; than ſuffer this Ocean of all miſchiefs, whether flowing from errours in Manners, or Matters of Doctrine, to encroach upon their coaſts. And here let not the Reader deceive himſelf, by imagining the Holy Ghoſt had uſed a Metaphor, rather than ſtrict propriety of ſpeech, when he called the Whore of *Babylon* a Witch or Inchantreſs. For the Faith whereby the Romaniſt boaſts he believes the Scriptures, (as elſewhere God willing ſhall be ſhewed) is meerly Magical: this Doctrine we now diſpute againſt, the very *Idea* of Infernal Superſtition, or, as they term it, *vana obſervantia*, in reſpect of the eſſence and quality; and for the extent of miſchief whereto it leads, as the main Sea of Sorcery, and all other kinds of Magical Superſtition, as ſo many Brooks or Rivers. For whence ſprings Sorcery properly ſo called? Either from expreſs compact with evil Spirits, or from the ſolemn performance of certain blind Ceremonies, which are but Sacrifices unto Infernal Powers; wherein they gain intereſt in the Sacrificers Souls, in witneſs whereof they ſometimes bear their marks in their Bodies. But if we look into the myſtery of this iniquity, the Jeſuites by ſubſcribing unto this Doctrine of the Churches tranſcendent Authority, and taking the ſolemn Oath of their Order, enter a Covenant, though not ſo expreſs or immediate, yet more firm

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firm and deſperate than other Magicians uſually do. For they ſwear, and teach others to ſwear abſolute Obedience to the Pope: they think themſelves bound, and would bind others not to examine his Decrees: to eſteem of his Pardons, though deſtitute of all warrant from Gods Word, as highly as the Magicians do of Charms, for which they can give no reaſon either in Art or Nature; to offer up their Prayers and other religious Worſhip unto ſuch as he ſhall appoint them, albeit, for ought they know, or as they juſtly may ſuſpect, damned Miſcreants; which is a more helliſh Sacrifice than any other Magicians uſe. And though Witches do, yet all ſorts of Sorcerers enter not expreſs Covenant with the Prince of Darkneſs. And it is all one, whether like Witches they give their ſouls to him immediately, or thus abſolutely betroth them to his Proxy or Principal Agent here on earth. For as the Apoſtle inſtructs us, by thus worſhipping the *Beaſt* they worſhip the *Dragon* his Maſter.

5. Laſtly, in reſpect of this Mouth of Blaſphemy, Mahumetiſm, and Gentiliſm, are as a Toy. The ancient Heathen, out of their inbred ignorance, and want of external means for right information of their underſtanding, changed the Glory of the incorruptible God, into the ſimilitude of corruptible things; often taxed by meer Philoſophers for their groſſneſs. Theſe Blaſphemers, though profeſſing the worſhip of the everliving, true, and only God, though partakers of his written Word, and all the helps his gracious Providence from time to time hath afforded for manifeſtation of its right ſenſe and meaning, abuſe Philoſophy (wherein they excel) with all other gifts of Art and Nature, to transform the moſt eſſential Attributes of the Divine Nature; to turn his truth into lyes, his goodneſs into all abomination. For having this natural notion in their brain, [*Whatſoever God ſaith is true, whatſoever he approves moſt juſt and good.*] Their next preſumptuous aſſumption is, [*But God ſaith whatſoever the Romiſh Church or Pope ſaith* ex Cathedra, *whatſoever he allows, God allows the ſame.*] And *this Aſſertion*, which thus *confounds the limits of Gods Truth and the Popes*, that the Chriſtian World cannot diſcern one from another, once wrought in mens hearts, what untruth or falſhood, what Hereſie can be hatched ſo dangerous? what villany conceived ſo abominable, but may be preſently fathered upon *that Holy One*, from whom proceeds nothing but good? Thus may bloody and prodigious Maſſacres be *inveſted* with the moſt glorious Titles the beſt of Chriſts Saints ever enjoyed for their beſt deeds. Juſt reward for matchleſs impieties that benefit them, may be ſet forth to the World as the Crown of Martyrdom. Finally, their gain is hereby made the meaſure of goodneſs, their pomp and glory, the Rule of piety, and end of every Chriſtians faith, unto which he muſt not ſtick to ſacrifice his ſoul, as an *Holocauſtum* ever burning, never conſuming in that Brimſtone Lake. If it ſhall pleaſe the Pope to authorize Murther, though of the Lords Anointed; God *the Son* muſt be the chief Aſſaſinate to give power and ſtrength, and Heaven for the reward unto the Actor. If pleaſed he be to give way to Inceſt, as for the Uncle to marry the Neece, a fornication not named but with diſtaſte amongſt the ancient Heathens, (I would abhor to ſpeak it, would they be aſhamed to give juſt occaſion) the Holy Ghoſt muſt not diſdain to be his Bawd or Pander.

That this Doctrine inverts the whole frame of Chriſtian Religion.

Pander. If diſpoſed to diſpenſe with Perjury, God the *Father* muſt be as his Vaſſal, to ſuffer diſgrace at his appointment, to recal the ſentence of vengeance, which the party ſwearing by his Name did imprecate upon his own head, if he relented. Though this be the greateſt injury that can be offered to ſo great a Majeſty, (unto whom execution of juſt vengeance properly belongs) yet muſt the Almighty, at the Popes appointment, be content to put it up.

6. It is a quality in Kings, very commendable, ſaith *Paulus Quartus*, [a] Legate and Nephew unto *Henry* of *France*, *Religiouſly to obſerve their Oaths: but, when the Popes Dignity comes into danger, Religion it ſelf is in hazard, and a prepoſterous courſe it were religiouſly to obſerve an Oath, unto the overthrow of Religion.* With theſe and the like ſuggeſtions, impiouſly acute, did this ſweet Cardinal, by Commiſſion from the [b] Pope his Maſter, authorize, and animate this French King to violate the League lately confirmed by ſolemn Oath betwixt him and *Philip* of *Spain*. Might he not as juſtly, though not ſo politickly, in plain terms have told him, Either you muſt diſhonour God, or ſuffer the Pope to be diſgraced: chuſe which you liſt. Doubtleſs in the language of Gods Spirit, which ſearcheth the heart, he that diſpenſeth with an Oath (of this nature eſpecially) ſolemnly taken, is greater than he by whom men ſwear; and is in heart and deed ſo eſteemed, by ſuch as acknowledge his Authority in thus diſpenſing, or ſue unto him for like diſpenſations. But as if wilful and open perjury, without deep and helliſh hypocriſie, were a ſin too plain and ſimple for the *Man of Sin* to countenance; the [c] Legate firſt inveſts this beſotted Prince with the glorious Title of *Defenſor Eccleſiæ Romanæ*; and in witneſs hereof delivers him a Sword, conſecrated by his Holineſſes own hand, ere he make him forſwear himſelf, and forſake his God, *who hath now forſaken him*, and for his ſin (ſcarce expiated unto this day) plagued the Realm of *France*. For as the judicious Hiſtorian (who hath the Articles of this perfidious Confederacy yet in his cuſtody) well obſerves, [d] this was the root of all the miſeries have ſince befallen that flouriſhing Kingdom, and by Gods juſt judgments expoſed it to the inſolencies of the *Spaniard*, through their means eſpecially, that wrought the King to breach of his Oath with *Spain* for entring this new Confederacy with the Pope.

7. Whilſt reading this Story, I called to mind the perfidious and

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[a] Sed multos, ut audio, qui apud te plurimum poſſunt, fidei datæ ac jurisjurandi pactis interpoſiti religio movet, qua ut nihil Principi antiquius eſſe debere minimè inficias ierim, ita eos, qui pietatem ſuæ opinioni prætexunt videre etiam atque etiam oportet, ne dum rigidi religionis auctores haberi volunt, religionem ipſam in diſcrimen adducant, quod proculdubio accidet, ſi Pontificem tam neceſſario tempore deſeras, ad cujus defenſionem & majorum exemplum, & fides nuper data, & tua denique te pietas obligat; quæ omnia prius violes, & divina atque humana jura confundas neceſſe eſt, ſi induciarúm pactis ſtare velis. *Thuanus Hiſt. l.* 17. *ann.* 1556.

[b] Tandem bellum pro Pontificis defenſione decretum; poſtquam Carafa Regem jurisjurandi induciarum pactis interpoſiti religione, poteſtati ſibi à Pontifice tradita, ſolvit, libertatemque ei fecit, in Cæſarem & ejus F. etiam ſine præcedenti belli denunciatione impetum facere. *Ibid. paulo poſt.*

[c] Hac fiducia fretus Carafa Regem aggreditur, & gladio ſacrato Pontificis nomine ei ut Eccleſiæ R. Defenſori magna pompa ac ceremonia porrecto, ad privatum colloquium admiſſus, quo in ſtatu res Romana ac familiæ ſuæ fortuna ſit, demonſtrat. *Ibidem paulo ante locum primo citatum.*

[d] Nunc ingredimur annum 57. ſupra quingenteſimum, & milleſimum, juxta Caroli ſapientiſſimi Principis augurium Galliæ funeſtiſſimum: quo res noſtræ per inducias in tuto collocatæ, improba Carafarum ſuggeſtione, & ambitioſa quorundam levitate in manifeſtum exitium præcipitatæ ſunt, & Regnum hoc hactenus florentiſſimum ab eo tempore bellis civilibus diu jactatum, tandem per illos ipſos belli auctores *Hiſpanorum* prædæ, & ludibrio patuit. *Thuanus lib. Hiſtor.* 18. *in initio, anno* 1557.

cruel uſage of that *Renowned* * *Admiral* in the Pariſian Maſſacre: the treacherous impiety of his politick enemies ſeemed highly to extol the wiſdom and juſtice of his God, calling him to ſuffer his chaſtiſement in this life, that he might not periſh with the wicked, or ſuch as were impenitent for their former grievous ſin; wherein this worthy Counſellor had in ſome ſort (*though with grief, yet for the good of others I muſt utter it*) communicated with the Pope, and his perjured Sovereign. For knowing the *breach of peace* was fully reſolved upon by the State of *France*, he thought it a point of Warlike wiſdom to begin with the enemy in his own Land, rather than expect his onſet upon notice of War proclaimed: and fair opportunity (as he apprehends it) being offered from an inſinuating *Heremites* diſcovering of the ſituation, and readieſt way of expugning *Doway*, he attempts the ſurpriſal of it; but prevented of his purpoſe by an *old woman* that awaked the *Garriſon*, he deemed it a ſhame to return home with empty hands; though fill them he could not, but with *juſt imputation of being the firſt that had actually broken the League, as afterwards his venerable Perſon was the firſt upon whom theſe perfidious Aſſaſinates, and Actors in the Pariſian Maſſacre did practice their intended Butchery, contrary to the Oath and Faith which they had given him.* God grant ſuch, as in *Reformed Churches* do moſt deteſt, be never tempted by like opportunities to imitate the worldly policies of the *Papacy*; that all our conſultations to prevent their malice, may always reliſh more of the *Doves* innocency and integrity, than of the *Serpents* ſubtlety.

* Rex à Caraſis ſollicitatus—— negotium dederat Colinio maris præfecto & Picardiæ Præſidi, ut in hoſtico ex improviſo, aliquid conaretur.—— Is quanquam invitus faceret, ut inducias, quas ſolenni jurejurando ipſe firmaverat, violaret, tamen cum res eo deductas videret, ut bello inter Hiſpanos & Pontificem exardeſcente Reges neceſſario ad arma deſcenſuri eſſent, antevertendum duxit, & inſigni aliquo facinore hoſtem præveniendum. Itaque noctu cum prope oppidum 8 id. Janu. marcentibus vino oppidanis inſidias ſtruxiſſet, à vetula tamen inſomni proditus eſt, quæ vix tandem improbo clamore excitatis vigiliis conatum noſtrorum irritum reddidit, inde Colinius Lentium, (medium inter inſulam & Regiacum Atrebatum municipium, quod Nimetacum olim fuiſſe autumant) vi capit, diripit, & licentioſe habitum poſtremo incendit, ingentique præda abacta cum pluſculos dies in limite excurriſſet, ad ſuos revertitur, hoc ruptarum induciarum initium fuit, &c. *Ibid.*

8. He that would accurately obſerve the weak ſupportance of the Roman See at that time, when the French could not relieve it; how ſince that time the Popes have mufled themſelves into the *Spaniards* favour, to the great prejudice of *France*, who in love to them had brought it ſelf ſo low; may by theſe modern Stories eaſily diſcern, the Papacies advancement in times paſt to have been wrought by ſuch means as our Writers out of ancient records have deciphered. Eſpecially by ſowing enmity betwixt Chriſtian Princes, by ſeeking ſupportance now from one, then from another, as ſeveral Popes, for the moſt part by-ſtanders in ſuch broils, yet skilful to bet always on the faireſt ſide, ſaw fitteſt occaſions; until at length they got both feet on Princes ſhoulders, and being once mounted, learned cunning to ſit faſt, and ride them ſafely. For moſt of that ſucceſſion being ſtill of ſeveral lines, and different parentages, none of them were diſpoſed to continue any ancient or hereditary *Fohood* with the poſterity of their Predeceſſors greateſt enimies, as lineal deſcents of Royal Families, out of their perſonal love unto their Anceſtors, uſually do, unto the great damage of their State and Country. Rev. 17. 12. It is ſignificantly ſpoken by the Evangeliſt, *That the ten Kings ſhould give their Authority unto the Beaſt*; thereby inſtructing us, that Antichriſt ſhould grow great by Princes favours, and gracious priviledges beſtowed upon him, not as the Jeſuite abſurdly imagines,

by taking Authority unto himſelf by ſtrong hand before it was given, as the Turks, or Saracens, or other Barbarians have done.

But to proceed; not the infidelity of Turk, of Jew, or Saracen, not malignant Apoſtacy is to be compared with this kind of Idolatry, and Blaſphemy we now diſpute againſt. The Turk calumniates the Croſs, the Jew accuſeth Chriſt himſelf as an Impoſtor: but neither make him Author, or Approver of ſuch impieties as they commit. The Jeſuit fathers ſuch prodigious villanies, as his ſoul from Satans ſuggeſtion hath conceived, upon his Saviour: all other Hereticks, or Idolaters, Turks, Infidels, or Apoſtates, do then only, or principally offer contumelies unto Chriſt and Chriſtianity, when they open their mouths, and vent their bitterneſs againſt him. But of this Whore and her attendants, that Proverb is moſt truly verified, *Sive ſcortum benedicat ſive maledicat perinde eſt.* The contumelies offered by them to Chriſt are all one, (always moſt grievous) whether they bleſs or curſe; whether they magnifie or blaſpheme his holy Name. Whileſt they profeſs ſuch abſolute Allegeance to the Pope, the Son of Perdition, *Chriſts* greateſt enemy, in taking our Redeemers praiſes in their mouths; they do but add prophane ſcurrility unto blaſphemy, uſing him herein more contemptuouſly than the Souldiers, which bowed their knees unto him, but buffet his face; ſalute him as a King, and yet wound his head by putting a crown of thorns upon it.

9. But ſome out of charity, not to be blamed, will here demand: Do all the maintainers of this ſtrange Doctrine expreſly and wittingly conceive as meanly, or deſpitefully of Chriſt, as theſe diſſolute Roman Souldiers did, though willing (for their own advantage) to cloak their ſecret ſcoffs, and mockery of his ſpiritual Kingdom with outward demeanor, more decent and reverent than the others uſed? Do all the learned of that Religion in heart approve that commonly reported ſaying of *Leo* the Tenth, *Quantum profuit nobis fabula Chriſti?* and yet reſolve (as Cardinal * *Carafa* did, *Quoniam populus iſte vult decipi, decipiatur*) to nuzzle the people in their credulity? For mine own part, as yet, I cannot think ſo; though, I have been friendly cenſured for ſaying the contrary. Many of them, I am perſwaded, think they honour Chriſt as much, as the beſt in the Reformed Churches do. But doth this their conceit, or imaginary love to him, leſſen their wrong, in reſpect of thoſe contumelies offered him by the Heathen? Rather (in the Learned) it is a Symptom of that grievous plague, inflicted upon the Jews, *That ſeeing, they ſhould not ſee, that hearing, they ſhould not hear, nor underſtand*: no ſign at all of better real affection towards Chriſt, but rather a token of greater ſervility unto Satan, or of that ſtrange ſpiritual drunkenneſs ſpoken of by the Evangeliſt. Their hearts and heads are not acquainted; the one indites what Satan ſuggeſts, and moves their outward members to act what he commands; the other interprets all done in honour of Chriſt, as if a man ſhould be ſo deeply intoxicated with ſome pleaſant poyſon, as to enforce it upon his deareſt friend, for an extraordinary dainty. Finally, that theſe great Clerks ſhould thus acknowledge Chriſt for the Redeemer of the world, and yet admit every Pope for his Compeer, and thus devoutly embrace the doctrine of Devils, is an undoubted document, they are the ſworn followers of *Him*, whoſe

* Inde, Carafa Lutetiam regni Metropolim tanquam Pontificis Legatus ſolita pompa ingreditur, ubi cum ſignum crucis, ut fit, ederet, verborum, quæ proferri mos eſt, loco, ferunt eum, ut erat ſecuro de numine animo, & ſummus religionis deriſor, occurſante paſſim populo & ingenua ad ipſius conſpectum procumbente, ſæpius ſecreta murmuratione hæc verba ingeminaſſe. *Quandoquidem populus iſte vult decipi, decipiatur. Thuanus l. Hiſt.* 17. *An.* 1556.

whoſe coming is by the working of Satan, with all power and ſigns, and lying wonders, and in all deceiveableneſs of unrighteouſneſs amongſt them that periſh. That which eſpecially cauſeth many of us to doubt, whether the Jeſuits do not equivocate, when they ſpeak well of Chriſt, is, becauſe their learning and judgement are, on the one ſide ſo great, and this imagination on the other ſo prodigiouſly abſurd and ſottiſh, as one cannot poſſibly better brook the others company in the ſame heart or brain, than the moſt flouriſhing Prince, or Potentate in the World, could the beaſtlieſt ſluttiſh *ſhe-fool* living for the only Conſort of his bed; howſoever theſe cunning Panders, in pride of their nimble wits, may hope to betroth more ſimple ſouls unto this out-caſt of Hell. And though experience in ſome ſort hath proved it true, that no opinion was ever propoſed ſo abſurd, but found ſome Philoſopher for its Patron: yet this imagination of the Popes tranſcendent authority, far exceeds the limits of any experiments or obſervation made in Philoſophers, anſwerable to the former Axiom. Notwithſtanding the more their infatuation (of whom we ſpeak) exceeds the bounds of all folly or vanity meerly natural, the more it aſcertains to us the truth of the Apoſtles prediction in the place late cited. Doubtleſs *becauſe they received not the love of the truth, therefore hath God ſent them ſtrong deluſions, that they ſhould believe lies.* The fulfilling of which prophecy is moſt conſpicuous in the modern Jeſuits, the principal maintainers of this doctrine. For were they not men of rare wit and exquiſit learning; were not this opinion withall, of all that are or can be imagined the moſt ſottiſhly improbable, and prepoſterouſly impious; the print of Gods finger, thus confounding their brain, could not be ſo eminent or diſcernable. The *firſt bait, caſt out by Satan, was but to draw the Romiſh Clergy unto practices, ſo ſuſpicious amongſt the people that they could not be juſtified, but by a conceit of infallibility*: and not checking their pride, being challenged of errour in doctrine, and impiety in their dealings; the Lord gave them over to believe *this monſter of falſhood and untruth*, a bottomleſs pit of hypocritical prepoſterous Blaſphemies.

2 *Theſſ.* 2. 10. 11.

10. Would to God the daily ambitious practices of many, that are or would be in great place amongſt us, the proneneſs of moſt to tranſgreſs the bounds of lawful authority, and their unreadineſs to recal their errours though never ſo groſs, their extream impatience of all impeachment by men, as far their Superiors in ſpiritual graces, as their Inferiors in ſecular dignity; did not plainly ſhew the paſſage from that point, where theſe mens reſolutions anchor, unto this new *Tyre*, the rock of honour, and ſeat of pride, to be but ſhort, and the tranſportation eaſie, if opportunities of Time and Tide did ſerve them. But of the particular temptations, and opportunities that did firſt drive the Romaniſts into this harbour, as alſo of inveterate errours in other points, and reliques of Heatheniſh diſpoſitions, whereby they *tow* others after them, elſwhere, (according to my promiſe) if God permit. At this time it ſhall ſuffice to have waded thus far in theſe unpleaſant paſſages, for diſcovering the enemies weakneſs in his new Fortifications, or Repalliations rather of ſuch breaches, as our ancient Worthies have made in their imaginary Rock of ſtrength. Now, *as my ſoul and conſcience in the ſight of God, and his holy Angels can aſſure me, theſe*

imputations of Blaſphemy, Sorcery, and prepoſterous Idolatry, I have laid upon this Fundamental point of Romiſh Faith, are moſt true, though much leſs exaggerated than it deſerves: ſo again, *I muſt confeſs, it hath in ſome ſort ever gone againſt my conſcience, publickly to decipher or diſplay her abominations.* For my little experience of this preſent ages tempter too well inſtructs me, what *great offence is oftimes hereby given to men, as weak in faith as ſtrong in their perſwaſions of it, to flatter themſelves in their hypocriſie, or make them ſeem unto themſelves, men rightly religious or throughly ſanctified, whilſt they meaſure their love to true Religion, by their hatred unto this doctrine of Devils, or compare themſelves with Prieſts and Jeſuits, as they are painted out in their native colours by eloquent and learned Paſtors.* But his *iniquity be upon his own head, that thus perverts my labours, undertaken for his good, unto his harm.* For unto a quite contrary purpoſe have I ſet forth this ſurvey of Romiſh blaſphemy, in a larger volume than firſt I meant it, even to ſtir up my ſelf, and every Profeſſor of true Religion, unto ſerious amendment of our lives, to hold faſt our faith, by holding up hands pure from bribery and corruption, by lifting up hearts and minds void of all guile and hypocriſie, ardently zealous of every good work, unto the Lord our God continually; *leſt ſuch ſwarms of Caterpillars and Locuſts, as have choſen* Beelzebub *for their God devour this land, Mortis modus morte pejor.* To think ſuch ſhould be the inſtruments of our wo, will unto moſt of us, I know, far ſurpaſs all conceit of any other wo it ſelf; or miſery that in this life can befal us. And yet whilſt I conſider what God hath done of old to Iſrael his firſt-born, and Judah his own inheritance: the overplus of our ingratitude towards him for all his goodneſs, eſpecially our wilful continual abuſing theſe days of peace, more, and more ſweet and gracious, than *Jeruſalem* it ſelf, *the viſion of peace*, did ever ſee ſo long together without interruption; I am, and have been, as my publick meditations can teſtifie, for theſe few years of my Miniſtery, poſſeſſed with continual dread, leſt the Lord in juſtice enlarge his threatnings denounced againſt *Judah* upon this Land. Fearful was that meſſage unto *Jeruſalem*, *I will bring the moſt wicked of the Heathen, and they ſhall poſſeſs their houſes*: but more terrible is our doom, if this ſentence be gone out againſt us, *I will plague you by the wickedſt amongſt the Chriſtians*, by men more cruel, proud, and inſolent, than Babylonian, Turk, or Infidel, or any other enemy of Chriſts Church hath been, or could be, unleſs Chriſtians or Jeſuits in name or ſhew, they were meer Antichriſtian, or *Barjeſus*, in heart and affection. Such titles we readily give, and willingly hear given unto *Loyola's* infamous brood. *But if our ways ſhall continually prove as odious unto our God, as theſe terms import that* Society *is unto us: what have we done? Surely tied our bodies to the ſtake of Juſtice, by the wickedneſs of our hands, and proud imaginations of our polluted hearts; whiles our tongues, in the mean while, have ſet our cruel Executioners hearts on fire more grievouſly to torment, to conſume and devour us.*

Ezek. 7.24.

11. But though likelihood of their prevailing againſt us be, without our repentance, great, and their cruelty, if they ſhould prevail, more than likely to be moſt violent: yet this their hope it cannot be long.

Tu quoque Crudelis Babylon dabis impia pœnas,
Et rerum inſtabiles experiere vices.

The Lord in due time will turn again the captivity of his people, and the now living may live to ſee theſe ſons of *Babel* rewarded, as they have long ſought to ſerve us. Their ſhameleſs Apologies for Equivocation, and this old charm of *Templum Domini*, which like unlucky Birds always flocking, or Frogs croaking againſt ill weather, they have reſumed of late with joynt importunate cries (albeit with theſe they bewitch the ſimple, and choak the worldling or careleſs liver, that accounts all ſerious thoughts of Religion his greateſt trouble) ſound unto hearts ſettled in grace, or minds illuminated with the Spirit of truth, but as the laſt cracklings of *Lucifers* candle, ſometime ſhining in the Roman Lanthorn as the Morning-Star, or an Angel of Light, but now ſo far ſpent and ſunk within the ſocket, that it recovers its wonted brightneſs but by flaſhes; nor can his noſtrils, (that is able with the leaſt breath of his diſpleaſure from Heaven in a moment to blow it out) any long time endure the ſmell. *Even ſo, O Father, for thy Son* Chriſt Jeſus *ſake; even ſo, O Chriſt, for thine Elect and Choſens ſake, impoſe a period to our grievous ſins againſt thee, and our enemies malice againſt us: infatuate their policies, enfeeble their ſtrength, and prevent them in their Deviliſh purpoſes; that ſeek to prevent thee in thy judgements, by ſetting the World in combuſtion before thy coming.* Amen.

The continuation of matters proſecuted in the Firſt Book.

THe Ingenious Reader, I truſt, reſts fully ſatisfied, that for planting * *true and lively Faith in every private Chriſtians heart,* Experiments *anſwerable to the Rules of Scripture, without abſolute dependance upon any external Rule thereto equivalent, are ſufficient; the aſſiſtance of the Holy Spirit (whoſe neceſſity, for the right apprehenſion of divine truths revealed, the Romaniſt nor doth, nor dare deny) being ſuppoſed, That* Valentians *heart did tell him thus much, and ſecretly check him for his ridiculous curioſity to make way unto his Circular reſolution of Faith* * *before refuted, his diffident ſpeeches immediately thereto annexed, (upon conſciouſneſs no doubt of its inſufficiency) will give the Reader (though partial) juſt cauſe of ſuſpicion.* If a man (*ſaith he*) be yet further queſtioned, ſeeing as well the divine Revelations, as the Churches infallible Propoſal, are obſcure and inevident; what ſhould impel him to enter into ſuch a Labyrinth of Obſcurities, as to imbrace the doctrine of Faith by the former Method, [to wit, *Believing the Revelation for the Churches Propoſal, as for a condition unto Belief requiſite; and the Churches Propoſal again for the Revelation, being the cauſe of his Belief*] then let him come unto the ſecond Proceſs (or method) and expound the reaſons and clearer motives, whereby he was, and every diſcreet man may be, induced to imbrace Faith, though of it ſelf inevident and obſcure. *Thus do they traduce the Grace of God, as if there were no difference betwixt mid-day-light, and mid-night-darkneſs; as if the dawning of that Day-ſtar in our hearts, or light of Prophets our Apoſtle ſpeaks of,* 2 Pet. 1. 19. *were not a mean betwixt that more then demonſtrative Evidence of divine Truths, which glorified Saints enjoy, and obſcurity or Jewiſh Blindneſs. The particular manner how Gods Spirit works lively Faith, by ſuch Experiments as partly I did and hereafter muſt acquaint him withall, the Reader I hope will gather, of his own accord, out of the diſcourſes following, concerning the nature of Chriſtian Faith, and the Principal Objects thereof, whereunto my Meditations are now addreſſed, my long durance in this unpleaſant ſubject having bred in my ſoul a more eager thirſt after theſe well-ſprings of life.*

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* *Lib.* [illegible]. *cap.* 30. *parag.* 16, 17, *&c.* Si autem quis demum rogetur cum & revelatio & propoſitio infallibilis obſcuræ & inevidentes ſint, quid ipſum impulerit, ut hunc quaſi Labyrinthum rerum obſcuriſſimarum ingreſſus ſit ad fidem modo dicto acceptandam, hoc eſt, ad credendum revelationem propter Eccleſiæ propoſitionem, tanquam propter conditionem requiſitam, & hanc viciſſim propter revelationem tanquam propter cauſam credendi: veniat tum ad illum alterum ſecundum proceſſum & rationes, atque motiva clariora exponat, quibus & ipſe inductus fuit, & quibus prudens induci poſſit, ad acceptandam ejuſmodi fidem, quantumvis ſecundum ſe inevidentem & obſcuram. Id quod luculenter diſſerere licebit, cognitis communibus motivis noſtræ fidei. *Valent. Tom.* 3. *in Aquin. diſput.* 1. *quæſt.* 1. *de object. fidei punct.* 1. *parag.* 10.

Juſtifying-

JUSTIFYING FAITH:

OR,

The Faith by which the juſt do live.

A TREATISE

Containing a Deſcription of the

NATURE, PROPERTIES & CONDITIONS

OF

CHRISTIAN FAITH.

WITH

A Diſcovery of miſ-perſwaſions, breeding Preſumption or Hypocriſie; and means how FAITH may be planted in Unbelievers.

BOOK IV.

By THOMAS JACKSON D.D.

And late Preſident of *Corpus Chriſti* Colledge in *Oxford*.

Galat. 3. 7. *Know ye therefore that they which are of faith, the ſame are the children of Abraham.*

John 8. 39. *If ye were Abrahams children ye would do the works of Abraham.*

LONDON:

Printed for *John Martyn*, *Richard Chiſwel*, and *Joſeph Clark*. 1673.

To the Right Honourable
Sir Robert Spencer Knight,
Baron *Spencer* of *Wormleighton*:

The Bleſsings of this Life, and of that other to come, be multiplied.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

THe imputations, which from experience of more learned Writers late miſſ-haps, I ſee now ready to befal me, will be eſpecially two: The one, my preſuming to augment the ſuperabundant number of Books written in this Age: The other, my not writing more exactly. I muſt requeſt your *Lordſhip* to ſtand betwixt me and the latter, that I may deal the better with the former; whoſe force, if it come but ſingle, I can eaſily put off, thus: Did I not ſee ſuch men as hold all *additions* to the number of Books formerly extant altogether needleſs and ſuperfluous, continually overlading themſelves with heaps of ſuperfluities harmful to themſelves and others; I ſhould gladly entertain this their diſlike of theſe, or former labours, as a good opportunity to eaſe my ſelf of future pains, and to adviſe my fellow Miniſters hereafter to ſpare their Pens. But whiles theſe Cenſurers, after the example of moſt now living, daily manifeſt their incredulity to our Saviours approbation of *Mary*, by ſollicitous imitation of *Martha*: a *neceſſity* is laid upon us that be his Meſſengers, and a wo will befal us, if we do not, as well by writing as ſpeaking, by all means poſſible, diſſwade this erroneous and ſiniſter choice. I may, in this regard, ſafely affirm, that the argument or drift of this preſent Treatiſe, cannot (juſtly) ſeem either idle or impertinent; becauſe it teacheth (as the Reader in the iſſue will perceive) the extirpation of thoſe impertinencies, or ſuperfluities, wherewith moſt in our days wilfully intangle themſelves, to be altogether neceſſary to the ſure *rooting*, right *taking*, or juſt *growth* of that Faith which only brings forth the fruits of life. And this advantage theſe preſent Comments, otherwiſe weak, have of more accurate labours directed to the ſame end they are: Theſe, as they diſcover the danger of many incumbrances which uſually beſet the way of life, to be much greater than it is ordinarily thought; ſo they give intimations withal of means more immediate and effectual for their avoidance; in as much as they derive, as well our alacrity in all good performances, as all preſervatives againſt wicked practices, (more directly and more neceſſarily than commonly a man ſhall find their derivance) from the *eſſence* or internal conſtitution of ſuch Faith as they deſcribe. That I handle not theſe points ſo accurately, as I my ſelf could wiſh, much leſs ſo exactly as a judicious Reader would require: The beſt Apology I can make muſt be borrowed from that I have already made for the unripeneſs of my firſt fruits, publiſhed, upon the ſame occaſion theſe are, before their time. Others, beſides my ſelf, have taken notice of your Honourable Favours, and kindneſs towards me: and ſecret conſciouſneſs how ſlow I am in private teſtifications of my duty, either by my Pen or preſence, haſtened the conception of this more publick and durable pledge. Which notwithſtanding (as if *haſte* had maimed *ſpeed*, by over-running it in the ſtarting) hath been now twice as long in bringing forth, or rather in coming to publick *light*, as it was in coming to the birth. So long it hath been out of my ſight, that the blindneſs of ſuch affection as Parents uſually bear to their own brood newly brought forth, is quite abated. To ſay it were ill-favoured, or miſhapen, is more than any Parent will conceive of his own off ſpring. Of ſuch defects, or blemiſhes, as the accurate ſpectator will deſcry in it very many, divers, I muſt confeſs, it naturally takes from the Father; but many withal from ill hap not to have a Midwife nearer to ſet it ſooner, or at ſuch time as he that gave it ſuch ſhape and form as it firſt had, might have looked on. But theſe are faults which I muſt ſeek to amend when God ſhall bleſs it with more Brethren. This, as it is, I muſt humbly intreat your *Lordſhip* to accept, as an undoubted pledge, of my endeavours to make my ſelf, and others, ſuch indeed, as we are in Name, altogether *Chriſtians*; of my ſincere and hearty deſire to ſhew my ſelf thankful to your good *Lordſhip* as to an Honourable Favourer, and chief Furtherer of my Studies. Being now to leave it, I would only impart this language to it, always to pray for a Prophets reward to your acceptance of it in the Name of a Prophets Child.

Your Lordſhips

In all Duty and Service,

THOMAS JACKSON.

From my Study in *Corpus Chriſti* Colledge in *Oxford*, *April* 20. 1615.

A
PREFACE
Containing the Sum, the Uſe, and End of the Treatiſe following.

Beloved Reader,

OF that long work I undertook ſome years ago, (whether well or ill) ſo much is after my faſhion done, as were it well done, might juſtly be accounted more than half. In theſe preſent Meditations, conceived in the ſweeteſt calm of mind, and pureſt vacation from any croſs or moleſtation, my God for many years had given me, I have endeavoured ſo to ſet forth the nature, properties, and uſe of Chriſtian Faith, as if thou follow my method in thy practice, thou ſhalt never I truſt have juſt cauſe to fear leſt thy Faith ripen too faſt, or prove unſound at the root. Now the avoidance of theſe inconveniences, (as in the Preface to my firſt labours is ſpecified) was amongſt others, one principal occaſion of my writing, after ſo many learned Writers of this Age. What then I purpoſed concerning this Argument, and ſomewhat more, is at large exhibited in the Treatiſe following. For thy better direction to trace my foot-ſteps throughout the principal paſſages thereof, otherwiſe not ſo much beaten as many of the like Argument are, may it pleaſe thee firſt to view my progreſs in this ſhort Map or Draught.

As well of our own, as foreign Writers, ancient and modern, I found the moſt more forward to urge a certainty of belief, as altogether neceſſary unto ſalvation, than clearly to teach how this certainty could poſſibly faſten upon objects not evident to the believer: ſuch, notwithſtanding the objects of Chriſtian Faith are held by them that hold it more certain, than the principles of any humane ſcience. In the diſcuſſion of this difficulty, (Section 1. Chap. 3. 4. 5.) *I do not much differ from that grand light of the Engliſh Church, whoſe opinion (had I been aware of it, before this Treatiſe was conceived) might happily have faſhioned my conceit unto the form of words wherein he expreſſeth his, from which my phraſe or dialect doth ſomewhat differ. In the main point we well agree, that* Faith is an aſſent as well unto the goodneſs as unto the truth of matters divine. *That which he (with ſome ancient Schoolmen) terms,* certainty of adherence, *is, in my dialect,* ſtability or firmneſs of belief; *which, I derive not ſo much from the* evidence or certainty *of things believed, as from their* worth and goodneſs. *All of us by nature adhere more firmly to things of great and known worth, than we could do unto the very ſame, if their worth, either were in it ſelf, or by us eſteemed, leſs, albeit their certainty were equal. The next leſſon which reaſon will hence learn, is, That* unto ſome truths our adherence may be more firm than unto others of greater evidence and certainty, in caſe the former excel the latter more in goodneſs *than they are exceeded by them in evidence and certainty.*

But ſeeing, with the Romaniſt, we admit the nature of Faith to conſiſt in Aſſent, *we may perhaps be thought to confine it wholly (as he doth to the Underſtanding, (an errour juſtly abandoned by moſt in Reformed Churches, who, in this reſpect, (for the moſt part) either define it not by* Aſſent, *or elſe, to make up one entire and compleat definition, match* Aſſent *with other terms not ſo well conſorting with it as the rules of Art in my occaſions require.) To anſwer this, (rather in defence of mine own, than any way to prejudice other mens methods, which muſt be meaſured by the end at which they aim) the firſt and ſecond Chapters are premiſed. But ſome perhaps would reply, That* Aſſent *being terminated unto truth, can have no greater alliance with goodneſs, than with thoſe differences aſſigned unto it by other Writers, rejected by us, not as falſe, but as not formal. And the Objection (to ſpeak the truth) could not be put off as impertinent, did we follow the Romaniſt in another erroneous principle, not diſcovered, much leſs diſclaimed by ſuch as moſt oppugn them; from which principle notwithſtanding the worſt inconveniences can in this Argument be objected to their Doctrine directly follow, and are not ſo clearly or fully avoided by thoſe that contradict them, as by us that aſſent unto them in defining Chriſtian Faith by* Aſſent. *Not with* the modern Pontifician *only*, *but* generally amongſt the Schoolmen, *Faith* and *Works* are ſo diſſociated, as if they were of linages altogether diſtinct, and had ſmall or no affinity. *Moſt* Proteſtant Writers acknowledge them to be of entire blood, *yet ſomewhat farther removed than in my opinion they are. The principal reaſon whereof as I conjecture is, that they eſteem more of School-Philoſophy than School-Divinity, and with the Schoolmen, ſpecially* Aquinas *and his followers*, imagine the Will and Underſtanding, from which Faith and good works in their heraldry ſeverally deſcend, to be faculties really diſtinct, *like Brother and Siſter, being indeed but two names, or titles of one and the ſame intellectual nature; as* truth *and* goodneſs (*their ſuppoſed really different objects*) *in matters moral differ only in degrees of apprehenſion; as one and the ſame perſon known afar off under the common notion of a man, is oft-times clearly diſcerned by his approach to be an honeſt man, and our loving friend.* Sutably to this true Philoſophy, *learned out of the beſt profeſſors of that faculty, and (to omit other Schoolmen,)* out of the wiſe and learned *Gerſon*, I place Faith *neither in the will nor Underſtanding*, *but* in the intellectual nature, *as ſubject to both theſe titles or appellations. The* inference *hence taken is, that* Faith, although it be formally an *Aſſent*, may be as immediately terminated unto the goodneſs, as unto the truth of revelations divine. *And* theſe *being of all the matters that can be revealed or known, both in themſelves, and in reſpect of us*, far the beſt: *I make that* Faith which primarily diſtinguiſheth a true Chriſtian from an Hypocrite, or fruitleſs Profeſſor of Orthodoxal Religion, to be an *aſſent* or *adherence* unto revelations divine, as much better than any contrary good the World, the Devil, or Fleſh can preſent to pervert our choice of what they preſcribe for our ſaving health, or habitually to interrupt or hinder the proſecution of their deſigns. *By theſe deductions drawn forth at large in the ſixth Chapter, the Reader may eaſily perceive* the link between Faith and Works, *to be moſt immediate and eſſential.*

This main concluſion whereon the moſt of the Treatiſe following depends, is further confirmed (Chap. 7.) *by inſtances of* ſacred Writers, aſcribing all the Victories of Gods Saints over the World, Devil, or Fleſh, unto Faith, or apprehenſion of divine promiſes, better than ought could come in competition with them; all backſliding into evil, or backwardneſs in good courſes, unto want of Faith, or apprehenſion of Gods judgments, or threatnings, as more terrible than any tortures which man can deviſe againſt his fellow Creatures. *Briefly, the whole drift or ſcope of the Apoſtle from the latter part of the tenth Chapter to the* Hebrews, *unto the end of that Epiſtle, jumps fully with the former concluſion. Whereunto likewiſe the uſual dialect of the holy Spirit, when he ſpeaks abſolutely, not with reference to the Soleciſms of Hypocrites, or ſuch as have divorced* truth *from* honeſty, *or ſet* words *and* works *at variance, is exactly conſonant. It is* generally obſerved *by all Interpreters of ſacred Writ, that the terms which it uſeth to expreſs the proper acts or exerciſes of ſenſe and underſtanding, ſtill include thoſe affections or practick faculties, which are moſt homogeneal to them. The true reaſon whereof is not becauſe he who ſees the heart, and inſpires it with Faith, ſpeaks more vulgarly or groſly, but rather more metaphyſically than many Divines or Philoſophers do; as ſuppoſing the truth before ſpecified, concerning the identity of the will and underſtanding, with the eſſential combination of truth and goodneſs in matters practical. The conſequences hence inferred and exemplified at large in the eighth and ninth Chapters, are in brief unto this purpoſe.* As the apprehenſion of divine infallibility breeds an infallibility of perſwaſion, or ſure reliance upon his promiſes: *ſo aſſent unto his goodneſs or imitable Attributes aſſimilates our ſouls to them.* Every object rightly apprehended or underſtood, imprints its ſimilitude upon the apprehenſive faculty. The Divine Nature therefore muſt leave an impreſſion or ſtamp in our ſouls as well of his goodneſs, as of his veracity: *otherwiſe we apprehend him who is eſſentially as good as true without any lively apprehenſion of his goodneſs.* This ſtamp or character of Goodneſs Divine, is as a touch to draw the ſoul, as the Adamant doth the Iron after it ſelf: *and in this adherence of the intellective nature (once touched with grace) unto the Cœleſtial promiſes, the definition of ſaving Faith is accompliſhed,* (Chap. 9.) *whoſe general or chief properties are ſet forth,* (Chap. 10.) *For concluſion of the firſt Section,* (Chap. 11.) *I notifie the principal errours of the Romiſh Church, partly becauſe method ſo required, partly for more commodious ſolution of ſome difficulties objected by them in the point of Juſtification, but principally for expugning their Doctrine of merits by works, which as it is abſolutely falſe, ſo it is more abominable in them than in us it could be, becauſe their works can be but dead being ſeparated from the life of Faith, by which ours (ſo we practiſe as we teach) are truly quickned. The Controverſie it ſelf I muſt refer to the Article of Chriſts coming unto Judgment.*

The ſecond part of this Treatiſe adviſeth for the directing of Faith *aright* unto *its* proper end; *and that we ſuppoſe to be* firm adherence unto Gods mercies in Chriſt, *or* inſeparable union with this our Head. *Of this end many that ſeek ſalvation by Chriſt, uſually fail by theſe means eſpecially: Firſt, by defective or miſgrounded perſwaſions of Faiths inherence before they have it, or of great love and loyalty to their Redeemer, when as they remain in the ſame gall of bitterneſs that the Heathens did, which perſecuted all true Profeſſors of his Goſpel, or the Jews which put him to death. The firſt roots or general originals of theſe dangerous miſperſwaſions are handled,* (Chap. 1.) *The poyſonous ſap or juice of Gentiliſm and Judaiſm thence propagated to moſt Proteſtants, Papiſts, or others profeſſing the Name of Chriſt, and boaſting themſelves to be the only branches of the true and natural Olive, is diſcovered in the ſecond and third Chapters. The Concluſion ariſing from theſe inſtances or inductions is,* that Faith in Chriſt, cannot be truly notified but by ſincere love, nor ſuch love to him otherwiſe known than by doing his Fathers will, or obſerving his commandments:

and in obſerving ſome or many of theſe, we may be ſo zealous as to lay down our lives, and undo our ſelves and our poſterity, rather than leave them undone, or tranſgreſs them, and yet prove but Pſeudo-Martyrs. Ignorance of this Flench hath been the Mother of much blind Devotion (to omit the inſtances ſpecified in the body of our diſcourſe) in ſuch Gallants as went to recover the Holy Land, it being received as an undoubted Maxim in the Divinity of thoſe times, That whoſoever was ſlain by the Turk or Saracen, ſhould aſſuredly wear a Martyrs Crown in Heaven: which all that died in that War I am perſwaded did not; howbeit I do no way diſparage the juſt occaſions of that War; only I wiſh the like whenſoever they fall out again, may be proſecuted with more diſcreet religious Zeal. The iſſue of the fourth Chapter, wherein the qualification required to Martyrdom, with other like points are handled at large; is that the ſincerity of our faith and love muſt be tryed by an unpartial and uniform obſervation of all Gods commandments, *as is proved in the Chapter following; firſt by the authorities of* Siracides, *a man well acquainted with the ſacred dialect,* one from whoſe Writings we may beſt gather the force and extent of belief, *in Saint* Pauls *diſputes, within whoſe limits is included that uniformity of works, which Saint* James *requires unto juſtification or ſalvation; by whoſe Apoſtolical authority the former Concluſion is refortified. In peruſing of the firſt Chapter recal to mind, or have recourſe unto the points ſet down,* (Chap. 8. Sect. 1.) *and unto thoſe paſſages of the eleventh, wherein the different value or divers acceptions of faith in Saint* Paul *and Saint* James *are diſcuſſed.*

Omnium Una mens erat, & eadem ſententia, eos qui ſic in acie procumbebant, vitam mereri perpetuam, & in parte ſortis ſanctorum, prædeſtinato collocari in lumine. Willerm. Tyreſ. Archiepiſc. Hiſt. Lib. 3. Cap. 9. vide & 6.

Others again fail of the former end of faith, (i. e. *union with Chriſt, or reconciliation with God by his mediation) either by inverting the uſe of faith, or by miſtaking the meaſure of ſanctifying graces neceſſary to ſalvation. The former errour is peculiar to the Romaniſt, who labours to miſperſwade himſelf and others, that faith is given him as* a bare foundation of other graces, *or as a talent for free-will to traffick with, until he obtain ſuch a full meaſure of inherent righteouſneſs, as ſhall immediately acquit him of all reckonings between his Creator and him, by expelling all reliques or ſtains of ſin as utterly out of his ſoul, as the water doth the air out of the veſſel which it filleth up to the very brim. The dangerous conſequences of this errour are handled at large,* (Chap. 6. *and* 7.) *And unto the uſe and meaſure of faith and other graces inherent, I reduce the controverſie of Juſtification, here inſerted, contrary to my firſt intent; leſt otherwiſe I might have miniſtred ſome offence unto the Church wherein I live, or left ſome ſcruple in the Readers mind, how faith ſhould juſtifie without works; the link or bond between them being ſo ſtrict and eſſential as I make it, almoſt identical. The ſame doubt naturally offered it ſelf from the diſcuſſion of Saint* James *his meaning, partly in the Chapter precedent, partly in the laſt Chapter of the firſt Section. Out of ſundry other paſſages of this diſcourſe, it likewiſe appears, that the works required to Juſtification by Saint* James, *are virtually included in the faith whereto Saint* Paul *aſcribeth Juſtification: whence it may ſeem to imply a contradiction in the very terms, to ſay we are juſtified by faith alone without works, if in juſtifying faith works neceſſarily be included.*

As the Trent Councils Doctrine which upon penalty of damnation exacts a meaſure of inherent righteouſneſs, whereof Mortality is not capable, nurſeth final doubting or deſpair, ſo others in oppoſition to it, miniſter occaſion of careleſneſs or preſumption either by not urging ſuch a meaſure of perfection as Gods Word requires, or by deeming that ſufficient enough to ſalvation, although it be ſubſequent to Juſtification. Whereas he that can once fully perſwade himſelf he is actually juſtified, will not eaſily be brought to doubt whether he want ought neceſſary to ſalvation. All of us that have forſaken the Romiſh

Church, rightly acknowledge the end and uſe of faith to conſiſt in calling upon the Name of the Lord in the day of evil and temptation, and that all ſuch as call upon him faithfully ſhall be ſaved. *But many of us are either much miſtaken by our hearers, or elſe deceive our ſelves in imagining faithful invocation of Gods Name through Chriſt to be one of the eaſieſt points or operations of faith, being indeed the moſt difficult, becauſe the final ſervice, whereunto all other obedience to his Laws, and daily wreſtlings with fleſh and blood do but inure us, as ſouldiers in the time of peace and truce are trained againſt the day of battel. All perſecutions or exerciſe of our patience are in reſpect of this laſt conflict with Hell and Death, wherein victory is obtained, only through faith in Chriſt, but as playing at foils in a Fence-ſchool, to better skill and courage in trial of maſteries at ſharp. Theſe and like points are handled in the two laſt Chapters of this ſecond Section, not ſo fully as theſe times require, but large enough for* hints *to popular Sermons.*

The third and laſt Section ſhews the neceſſity and uſe of human induſtry for attaining unto the faith, whoſe nature and properties are ſet forth in the firſt; notwithſtanding that ſuch faith is the ſole gift of God, not wrought in part by us, but wholly created by him. The points whereto our endeavours muſt be addreſſed, thou ſhalt eaſily perceive by the titles of the Chapters, only let me requeſt thee to bear in mind Chap. 6. of Section 1. whilſt thou readeſt the fourth of this third; as alſo to compare Chap. 9. of Section 1. with the 8. of this.

Order of Doctrine did require that I ſhould ſet down the nature and properties of that faith by which the juſt do live, before I admoniſh for avoidance of miſperſwaſions concerning the preſent poſſeſſion, right uſe, or regiment of it; and theſe again were to be prevented, before I direct for the right planting of it. Notwithſtanding, he that deſires to be a doer not a hearer only of the truth, muſt begin where I end, and firſt practiſe the rules given in the laſt Section, and ſo proceed to the firſt and ſecond. Thus he ſhall find every Section ſuited to the three branches of his vow made in Baptiſm, as they are ſet down in the Catechiſm authoriſed by our Church. The firſt; To forſake the Devil and all his works, the pomps and vanities of this wicked world, and all the ſinful luſts of the fleſh.] *The third Section expounds the meaning of this reſolution, ſhewing withal that ſerious endeavours to perform it are ordinarily precedent to the infuſion of faith.*

The ſecond, To believe all the Articles of the Chriſtian Faith:] *The nature and properties of this belief, are ſet down in the firſt Section. The third,* [To keep Gods holy will and commandments, and to walk in the ſame all the days of his life. *How belief of the Creed doth enable us to this obſervance, is partly ſhewed in the firſt, but more fully in the ſecond Section; wherein likewiſe is handled at large, how far we are bound to obſerve Gods commandments. How neceſſary prayers are, either for attaining to this perfection, or for abſolution from all our ſins after faith is infuſed; (which is another principal part of that Catechiſm) the Reader may be informed by the latter part of the ſame Section: what it ſhall pleaſe any well-affected to adviſe me of, as either defective or amiſs in this Treatiſe, ſhall by Gods aſſiſtance be amended in my* Expoſition of that Catechiſm, a work upon ſpecial occaſions, lately begun for the benefit of the unlearned.

Beſides theſe generals, every part of this Treatiſe hath a peculiar uſe for more commodious explication of the Articles following. The laſt Section hath ſpecial reference to the Article of everlaſting life. The ſecond to the Articles of Chriſts Death, his Paſſion, and coming unto Judgment; and contains withal an Elench of thoſe vulgar fallacies, which muſt be avoided before we come to ſearch what certainty of Juſtification or Salvation may be had in this life, or of whom it may be expected. The handling of theſe fallacies in my firſt intention

See the Preface to the firſt Book, Fol. 6.

was referred to the Articles concerning Chriſt and remiſſion of ſins. *The firſt Section hath a tranſcendent uſe throughout all the Articles following. What peculiar reference the ſeveral paſſages of it have to particular Articles, will better appear in their ſeveral explications; whereunto my next labours are now conſecrated. God of his infinite mercy aſſiſt me inwardly with his grace, and bleſs me outwardly with that meaſure of health, of vacancy from other buſineſs, and whatſoever means, he knows fitteſt for his ſervice.*

To the Author.

SIR,

ACcording to your requeſt, I have peruſed your Book: I would my occaſions had been ſuch, that I might have overſeen the Preſs alſo. I would have thought no pains too much for this purpoſe; partly for the love I bear to the Author, but ſpecially for the liking I have of the Work. You know my nature, far from flattery; and I know yours, as free from ambition. Yet if I ſhould ſpeak what mine heart thinks, and as the truth would give me leave, perhaps it might be ſubject to miſconſtruction. I will only ſay thus much; I have profited by reading of your Book, and ſo I think will he ſay, whoſoever ſhall read it with deliberation and underſtanding. And ſo I leave you and your labours to Gods bleſſing.

Your ever loving Friend,

HENRY MASON.

Saving

Saving FAITH:

OR,

The Faith whereby the Juſt do Live.

Sect. I.

Of the Nature, Eſſence, and Properties of that Faith *by which the Juſt do Live.*

Chap. I.

Rules of Method for the right differencing of that Aſſent wherein Chriſtian Faith *conſiſts.*

1. That Chriſtian Faith includes an *aſſent* to ſupernatural Objects, or Truths revealed by God; eſpecially concerning Chriſt, the means of mans Salvation, and matters of the life to come, hath been declared before: Nor is there, or can be any *diſſent* among Profeſſors of Chriſtianity about the quality of this Aſſertion; ſeeing the acknowledgment of ſuch Revelations doth primarily diſtinguiſh Chriſtians from Jews or Infidels. About the extent or quantity of the Object aſſented unto, or Revelations thus acknowledged, difference there is betwixt us and the Romaniſt; ſome doubt there may be amongſt our ſelves. The Romaniſt will have the Object of Chriſtian Faith as directly to comprehend unwritten, as written Revelations Divine: we take the actual and ordinary limits of it from the plot drawn by the Pens of Prophets, Apoſtles and Evangeliſts. Two entire Moieties we make of it, and no more; the Old Teſtament delivered unto us by the Jew; and the New acknowledged by the Roman Church. The principal doubt amongſt our ſelves, (the diſcuſſion whereof will naturally fall in the Article *of remiſſion of ſins*) is, Whether our perſonal Election, Predeſtination, Salvation, or Poſſeſſory Right in ſtate of Grace, be directly contained under the formal Object of Chriſtian Faith, as any proper integral or homo-

geneal part thereof, whereunto the former *aſſent* may be immediately terminated. Examination of the difference betwixt us and the Romiſh Churches, comes not at all within the compaſs of this preſent ſurvey.

2. It is agreed on all ſides again, that every *aſſent* unto ſupernatural Truths revealed, of what rank ſoever, ſufficeth not to the attaining of ſupernatural and eternal Bliſs, which is the only end and mark, by approach whereto, or declination from which, the ſufficiency or inſufficiency of Faith, as Chriſtian, muſt be meaſured. Yea, ſome there be ſo far from thinking every *aſſent* ſhould fit the former purpoſe, that they ſeem ſcarce to vouchſafe *aſſent* any room, or place in the definition of ſuch Belief, or Faith as we now treat of: but rather ſuſpect it as a term, though of it ſelf indifferent, yet abuſed by Popery. Leſt I ſhould miſtake them, or their followers me, the point queſtioned I would thus propoſe: Whether they diſlike *aſſent* ſhould be acknowledged as the ſupreme *kind* or *ſtock* whence all particular branches of Faith ſhould lineally deſcend, as divers perſons of the ſame kindred do from one and the ſame firſt Progenitor; or whether they would admit ſome other Compeer with it, from which true Chriſtian Faith ſhould more immediately be derived, as from a joint, but a better or more proper original: or laſtly, whether they hold it an indignity for ſuch Faith to derive its pedigree at all from *aſſent*, as from any part of its firſt Original. If they be for this laſt Opinion, they are too nice to admit any Logical diſpute: If for the ſecond, I requeſt them to permit me my method as charitably as I allow them theirs. Albeit perhaps I could gueſs the original of their diſliking my terms to be only hence, that they obſerving fewer differences betwixt *aſſents* than happily may be found, think when we define Chriſtian Faith by *aſſent*, we mean only a bare *aſſent*.

3. He that would define *Man* to be a *ſubſtance*, or *bodily living Creature*, ſhould come far ſhort of the truth; which notwithſtanding he ſhall never be able to hit, but by following the ſame line. For Man is but the complement or perfection of bodily living Creatures, as theſe are of material ſubſtances. All the differences of either he hath not in him; albeit nothing eſſentially in him, which is not either a true and formal difference of ſubſtance generally taken, or ſome kind of ſoul indued with life. And the only right way to find out the entire nature or compleat eſſence of Man, were to ſeek out as they lie in order all the proper differences, whereby *ſubſtances* from the higheſt to the loweſt are eſſentially and formally divided. In diviſive progreſſes, ſpecially if they be long, often ſhall he be enforced to cut or interfere that will follow his method, which of living Creatures made ſome to have feet, others none; and of ſuch as had feet, ſome to have feathers, ſome none, juſtly taxed by the great * Philoſopher: for what affinity have feet with feathers? Kindred betwixt them there can be none, direct and lineal. He had framed his next ſteps aright, had he thus proceeded: *Of living footed Creatures ſome have two feet, ſome four, ſome more, ſome fewer*; of both ſorts, ſome are ſolid footed, ſome cloven; of cloven footed Creatures, ſome have toes, ſome claws, others talons; and of all theſe ſome more, ſome fewer.

* Perlege Ariſtotelis libros de partibus animalium.

4. But as few take notice of more deſcents in meaner Families than fall out within their own memory: ſo moſt Writers omit this

direct proſecution of Genealogies in matters moral, or not diſtinguiſhable by ordinary ſenſe without accurate or laborious inſpection. Howbeit I have ever been of opinion that the continual adoption of foreign differences for want of proper, (a fault moſt common to curious Dichotomiſts, never allotting more than two branches to one ſtock, whence ſcarce either naturally grows) doth breed as many needleſs intricate difficulties in the ſearch of truth, as frequent alienation of Lands from Name to Name, by often matching with uncouth Families, for want of ſucceſſion in Heir-males, doth in trial of Titles of Honour or Inheritance. Even in the order or rank of material and ſenſible Bodies, which in a ſort marſhal themſelves unto our view, we uſually ſuffer the intermediate links of the chain, by which we ſhould proceed, to lie double and unfolded, coupling things cloſe together which Nature had ſet far aſunder. As what a croſs *double* is it we uſe before we make that long leap, or vaſt ſtride rather as it were with one leg ſhakled, and another looſe; when proceeding from *Vegetables* to Creatures endued with *ſenſe*, we ſay of them, ſome are *rational*, ſome *irrational*? Thus indeed we might caſt about to entangle one that would deny a manifeſt truth, or to be ſure to encompaſs a truth undiſcovered: no fit method it can be for orderly ſuting our conceits to the real natures, whoſe knowledge we ſeek; but rather a trick to caſt off ſuch as would artificially hunt out Natures footſteps in her progreſs, as not loving to range at random in hope to ſtumble upon their game. Firſt, neither is *irrationality* any further degree of *ſenſe*, nor doth *ſenſe* expreſs that general notion, whereto *reaſon* is as directly ſubordinate as meer *ſenſe*. Secondly, betwixt *reaſon* and that general notion of *knowledge*, or *perception*; by ſome branch or other whereof every *ſenſitive* Creature exceeds *Vegetables*, the intermediate degrees of *ſenſe* are many; yet every one almoſt as directly ſhooting out of other, as that part of the Vine-branch which grows this year, doth out of ſuch as grew the former. *Vegetables* have life, but perceive not the defect or competency of that nutriment by which they live, altogether uncapable either of pain or pleaſure. The firſt rank of ſuch as we call *ſenſitive Creatures*, are pained by defect, and pleaſed by competency of neceſſary nutriment, but perhaps with nothing elſe; capable only of contraction and dilatation for leſſening grief, and enlarging content; otherwiſe immoveable. Others evidently enjoy the ſenſe of *touching*, which is the only root of *taſte*, always furniſhed with motion requiſite for ſatisfying appetite, or generally for attaining ſuch pleaſures, or avoiding ſuch grievances as accompany either of theſe *two ſenſes*. From theſe more imperfect *ſenſes* ſpring *ſmelling*, *hearing*, *ſeeing*; and theſe again are perfected by other internal more noble ſenſitive faculties, as *memory*, *fancy*, and the like: all ſubordinate unto *reaſon*, wherein Man exceeds all other ſenſitive Creatures, as being laſt framed according to the image of his Creator.

5. Now as he that deſires the exact knowledge of Man, ſhould firſt know the intermediate parts, differences and junctures of this Chain, which reacheth from the firſt perception of pain or pleaſure unto reaſon: ſo he that hopes to find out the true nature of ſupernatural *belief* or *aſſent*, ſhould firſt ſeek the ſuperiour differences or degrees of *aſſent* in general. And here we ſuppoſe that the *aſſent* of Chriſtian Faith though ſupernatural, is contained as formally under

the moſt common notion of *aſſent*, as reaſon, though ſpringing from an immortal root, is under that general knowledge or perception which is alike communicable to Creatures mortal. Supernatural Faith we likewiſe ſuppoſe to be more neceſſary to the right diſcernment of matters ſpiritual, than an immortal ſoul for the apprehenſion of things eternal, although true it be, that the conceit of Eternity cannot enter into meer Mortality.

CHAP. II.

The uſual diviſion of Faith *or* Aſſent *into Hiſtorical and Salvifical, not ſo formal as rightly to fit the method propoſed.*

1. A Diſtinction there is of *Hiſtorical*, *temporary*, and *ſaving Faith*, often uſed by Learned Divines very fitly to their occaſions, howbeit expreſly rejected by ſome, and (for ought I have read) avouched by none for an artificial or formal diviſion: in which regard, as in many caſes, I muſt approve it, ſo in this buſineſs I may not follow it, intending the ſearch of ſuch differences as formally divide *aſſent*, and are eſſential unto Chriſtian Faith. Of which rank to be *ſalvifical*, doubtleſs is not. For to *ſave*, take it in what ſenſe we liſt, actually or potentially, is either an operation, or a property in order of Nature following true and lively Faith; whereas the eſſential differences muſt go before it. Beſides, two points there be very queſtionable, but in this place not determinable. Firſt, Whether in men never attaining unto ſalvation, there may not be Faith for Eſſence, quality and degrees one and the ſame with that which ſaveth others, only different in want of radication or durability: as many men are not ſo long lived, as others of the ſame complexion or conſtitution of body. The ſecond, Whether any Faith, though ſuppoſed to continue unto the laſt end of life, be ſufficiently qualified for juſtifying by the bare eſſential nature or quality, or rather a competent meaſure or quantity be neceſſarily required with theſe unto ſo weighty a buſineſs. Omitting theſe queſtions for the preſent, it ſhall ſuffice to ſearch the true nature and properties of that Faith which doth juſtifie, or which primarily diſtinguiſheth a true Chriſtian from an Hypocrite.

2. Such Faith queſtionleſs is not oppoſite, but ſubordinate, or rather coincident to hiſtorical aſſent: whoſe latitude, or degrees of intenſive perfection, is commenſurable to the different eſteem of Authority in Hiſtorians. He ſhould much diſparage *Tacitus*, *Livie*, *Dion*, or *Halicarnaſſenſis*, that made no better reckoning of their Hiſtories than of *Dictys Cretenſis*, or *Cteſias*: ſo ſhould he much wrong the memory of Sir *Thomas Moore*, that gave no more credit to his Hiſtory of *Richard* the Third, than to divers paſſages in *Hector Boetius*, or in ſome other Writers of Engliſh or Scottiſh Affairs. But much greater indignity ſhould he offer *Moſes*, or rather the bleſſed Spirit, that would not believe the Book of *Geneſis* much better than the former, or any domeſtick ſtory. Finally, ſeeing Hiſtorical belief is but an aſſent to Hiſtorical narrations, whoſe ſtrength increaſeth according to our better eſteem of the Hiſtorian: I ſhould ſuſpect my

heart of prophaneneſs, if I did not believe the ſacred ſtory by that ſacred Faith by which I hope to find ſalvation. Yet beſides this different eſteem of Hiſtorians, whoſe latitude, as it comprehends as well divine as prophane, is as great as the altitude of the Heavens above the Earth: Many other grounds or motives there be, whereby our aſſent to divers Narrations in the ſame Author may be much ſtrengthned, and yet the title it had, not thereby abrogated it may continue hiſtorical ſtill. As if an unknown Writer of times and Countries, otherwiſe ſufficiently known, ſhould now come to light; a judicious Critick, or well-experienced Antiquary, upon ſerious compariſon of all circumſtances or matters related, or due conſideration of his manner in relating them, would apprehend far more ſure grounds of aſſent to divers paſſages, than a Novice that had never gone further than *Stadius* upon *Florus*, *Sleidans* four Monarchies, or *Bodins* methods.

3. Or, not to ſpeak of critical skil in this kind, ſuch I profeſs is my ſimplicity, that albeit no other Writers but ancient Poets have ever intimated the general Deluge; yet the ſight of ſuch ſtones, as the exquiſite and ingenuous * Antiquary aſſures me have been found in places far from all approach of any Inundation, that hath happened within the times mentioned by any Hiſtorian except ſacred, as much reſembling the Cockle, as others do the Oyſter, from whoſe ſhell it is apparent they have been newly hatched, would have moved me to ſuſpect there had been a time,

Omne cum Proteus pecus egit altos
Viſere montes.

Scarce can I imagine any could be ſo wayward, or incredulous, as not to give *Cæſar* what belongs to *Cæſar*, firm credence to his Commentaries, at the leaſt as far as they only in general relate his Conqueſt of this Iſland, or firſt planting of Romans here; if digging his ground he ſhould (as others have done of late) find by chance ſome ancient Roman Coin, with *Cæſars* image and ſuperſcription upon it, or other monuments in every point anſwerable to Hiſtorical relations of cuſtoms practiſed by the Romans, while they inhabited this Land.

4. Were moſt mens aſſent unto ſundry paſſages in ſacred ſtory, grounded but upon like ſenſible and unqueſtionable inducements, it would draw them nearer to ſalvation than oft they come. And my pains (I hope) ſhall not prove unprofitable, in ſearching out plenty of undoubted experiments, more exactly anſwerable to the exact relation of Prophets and Evangeliſts. For my ſelf I reſt aſſured, that, if we will not lay the blame where it is leaſt deſerved, our Faith is not to be reputed unſound or *non ſalvifical*, becauſe hiſtorical; but rather oft-times therefore unſufficient to ſave, becauſe not ſo fully hiſtorical as it might be, or in that our apprehenſion of divers matters related in ſacred ſtories, is not ſo great, ſo lively and ſound, as to equalize the utmoſt limits of ſome belief, which may yet be fully comprehended under aſſent hiſtorical. For no aſſent

* Camden *in his Deſcription of* Richmondſhire. *Quod in montium autem ſummitatibus, ut etiam alibi lapides nonnunquam fuerint reperti cochleas marinas, & alia aquatilia referentes: ſi non ſint naturæ miracula, refuſi in omnem terram ſub* Noe, *deluvii certa eſſe indicia, cum Oroſio Chriſtiano hiſtorico indicabo* Refuſo (*inquit ille*) ſub *Noe* in omnem terram mari, immiſſoque diluvio, cum toto orbe contecto, unum ſpatium cœli eſſet ac Pelagi, deletum fuiſſe univerſum genus humanum paucis in Arca fidei ſuæ merito ad ſubſtituendam originem reſervatis evidentiſſime veraciſſimi ſcriptores docent. Fuiſſe tamen illi conteſtati ſunt, qui præterita quidem tempora, ipſumque auctorem temporum neſcientes, tamen ex judicio & conjectura lapidum quos in remotis montibus conchis & oſtreis ſcabros, etiam ſæpe cavatos aquis viſere ſolemus, conjiciendo didicerunt.

can exceed the meaſure of that belief or credence, which is due unto ſacred Writers. If that on our parts be but ſuch, as it ſhould be to Gods general promiſes, it will more forcibly, more truly and naturally apply them to us in particular, than we our ſelves poſſibly can do, by beginning our Faith at this particular application where it muſt end. The next thing then to be ſought out is, the nature of *aſſent* in general, and what manner of *aſſent* this is, which we require as due to ſacred Hiſtorians, or matters related by them.

Chap. III.

What Aſſent is, whence the certainty, firmneſs, *and* ſtability *of it properly ariſe.*

1. Creatures of every kind have ſeveral propenſions, or inclinations to ſuch others as ſuite beſt unto their natures, and hardly admit of any reſt, until they get ſome manner of union, or conjunction with them. That which in ſubſtances liveleſs, or meerly natural, we call propenſion; deſcending to ſuch as are endued with knowledge or apprehenſion, is differenced by the title of *deſire*. The propenſion moſt native to the intellective faculty is *deſire* of truth, unto which found out, the *adherence* muſt needs be correſpondent; and this * *adherence* we properly call *aſſent*, which notwithſtanding by a great † Artiſt is defined, *to be a knowledge or apprehenſion of convenience betwixt things compared in any enuntiation.* But this definition he chiefly intended, in oppoſition to ſuch as reſtrain *aſſent* only unto the reflexive, or examinative acts of the underſtanding. Neither I think would have denied this *adherence*, (wherein *aſſent* more properly conſiſts than in knowledge, which it neceſſarily ſuppoſeth) to be an unſeparable concomitant to all acts of knowledge, whether reflexive or direct; eſpecially if their objects be worth the contemplation. For unleſs that proportion, which breeds a mutual liking betwixt the objects apprehended, and the apprehenſive faculty vary: continuance of union is always as much deſired after it is gotten, as the union it ſelf was before. Wherefore as deſire of truth brings forth motion, by impelling our ſouls unto the ſearch of it: ſo the apprehenſion of it neceſſarily infers a ſetling, or faſtening of them to it found. For as reſt terminates the natural motions, or actual propenſions of liveleſs bodies: ſo the deſires of the ſenſitive or intellective nature, attaining their proper objects, are always crowned with joy, pleaſance, and complacency in their purchaſe.

2. That ſuch is the nature of *aſſent*, as we have ſaid, may appear from its contrary, *diſſent:* which, over and above knowledge or apprehenſion, includes an averſion in the intellective faculty, or a bearing off from what it apprehends as falſe. Whence he that bears teſtimony to an untruth, may as truly be ſaid to aſſent unto it; as his action may be accounted voluntary, that caſts his goods overboord in a ſtorm: which kind of action the * Philoſopher makes to be

* *This importance of aſſent, Tully gives us in that ſpeech:* Uberius iſta quæſo: hæc enim ſpinoſiora, prius ut confitear, me cogunt, quam ut aſſentiar. 1. lib. Tuſcul & initio.

† Vide *Vaſquez.* in primam ſecundæ diſputat. 79. cap. 3. num. 12. vide eundem diſput. 62. cap. 3. num. 9.

† Vide Ariſt. Ethic. 3. cap. 1

be mixt, though more inclining unto voluntary, becauſe it takes the denomination, eſpecially from the preſent reſolution. So likewiſe in the former teſtimony there is a mixture of *aſſent*; becauſe albeit the party ſimply knew it for untrue, and therefore diſſonant to his intellective nature, (which can no better brook the apprehenſion of apparent diſconvenience betwixt things compared in *enunciations*, than the ſenſe of *touch* can the impreſſion of heat and cold together:) yet, for the time preſent, he is not averſe from it, but rather adheres unto it, as it lies in his way to honour, gain, promotion, or other ſiniſter ends, upon which his mind is more ſtrongly ſet, than upon truth.

3. Doubt likewiſe (which is the Mean betwixt *Aſſent* and *Diſſent*) if it proceed from want of examination, is but a ſuſpence or inhibition of the ſoul from any determinate inclination one way or other: if from apprehenſion of reaſons diverſe or contrary, drawing near to an equality in ſtrength, it is but a tremulous motion of the *underſtanding*, not finding where to ſettle or fix its approbation.

4. Certainty is but an immunity from change or mutability; and according to this general notion, univocally agrees, as well to the objects known, as unto *aſſent* or *adherence* to their knowledge. Thoſe objects are in themſelves moſt certain, whoſe nature is leaſt obnoxious to alteration. *Aſſents* moſt certain we likewiſe account all, of whoſe mutability or *change* there is no danger, as admitting no poſſibility or prejudice by oppoſitions of contrary opinions: whence we muſt of neceſſity diſtinguiſh between the *Certainty*, the *Stability*, the *Strength* or *vigor* of *aſſent* or adherence unto known truths. *Certainty* ariſeth from clearneſs of apprehenſion: *Stability* from the immutability or ſetledneſs of the exact proportion betwixt the apprehenſive faculty and the object on which the clearneſs of apprehenſion is grounded. The *Strength* or vigour of every *Aſſent* ſprings from the worth, or right valuation of the object. For unto all truths alike clearly apprehended, our *adherence* is not equal, but greater to ſuch as are apprehended of greateſt uſe or worth; albeit the danger or poſſibility of diſlike, or diſproportion between the object and the apprehenſive faculty be more, than is between it and other objects, the clear apprehenſion of whoſe certain truth may much leſs affect the ſoul.

5. That the certainty of *Aſſent* doth accrew, partly from the certainty of the object, but more immediately from our apprehenſion of it, is ſet down at large in the firſt Section of our firſt Book: that the ſtrength of our *Aſſent*, or adherence unto ſupernatural objects, doth naturally ſpring from a right apprehenſion or eſtimate of their worth, was intimated in the ſecond Section of that Book, and will manifeſt its truth throughout this whole diſcourſe: what temper or diſpoſition of the apprehenſive faculty is fitteſt for grounding the ſtability of certain *adherence* unto divine truths, ſhall be generally ſhewed in the laſt Section of this Book; more particularly in the ſeveral Articles, wherein the danger of *diſſent* or diſlike is greateſt. Now ſeeing certainty is the only ſure ground of all ſtability, or ſtrength in perſwaſions, without which ſuppoſed to their beginnings, the greater they are, the worſe they prove in their endings: the ſubject of the next enquiry is, What meaſure of certainty or evidence is required to the nature of that *Aſſent* wherein Chriſtian Faith conſiſts.

Chap. IV.

What correſpondency, evidence, and certainty hold in Aſſent or perſwaſions: What meaſure of either, in reſpect of what objects, is neceſſarily required to the conſtitution of that Aſſent wherein Chriſtian Faith conſiſts.

1. ASſents (as all agree) are moſt properly differenced by the divers meaſures of their Credibility, Certainty, or Perſpicuity, whoſe growth in matters ſecular is always equal. That the objects of our belief are all in themſelves moſt certain, were damnable to doubt. But whether unto the nature of that *Aſſent*, whoſe differences or properties we ſeek, ſuch exact certainty be ſo neceſſarily required, that without it we cannot truly be ſaid to have Chriſtian belief, is ſomewhat doubtful. Or if ſuch certainty be ſo neceſſary, the doubt is greater, whether the evidence muſt, or if it muſt, how poſſibly in this life it can be thereto commenſurable. But by apprehenſion or repreſentation there can be no belief or knowledge of any truth. And if we ſeek all the differences or properties of apprehenſion or repreſentation; what any of them beſides ſuch clearneſs or perſpicuity, as ſatiates the paſſive capacity of the apprehenſive faculty, ſhould confer unto the certainty of knowledge, or aſſent thence reſulting, is inexplicable. Even the moſt * acute amongſt the Schoolmen, whiles they ſeek to clear this doubt, do but faulter or tautologize; or finally confound the ſtrength of *adherence*, which ariſeth from the worth or amiableneſs of the object, with the certainty of perſwaſion or credence, which is the proper conſequent of clearneſs in apprehenſion or repreſentation.

2. If it be replied, that the certainty of our belief depends upon the authorities of the Teacher, the doubt ſtill proſecutes the ſolution. For, either muſt our apprehenſion of his skill and fidelity be clear and evident, or elſe our perſwaſion of it remains uncertain, and our belief at the beſt but conditionally certain: Notwithſtanding it hath been generally held in the Schools, that Faith is no evident aſſent, becauſe of objects not evident or apparent, unto which tenent we did thus far in the beginning of this work ſubſcribe, that it was not directly evident: which opinion, whether it be true of all, or of ſome principal objects of our Faith, or how far of any, we are now further to diſcuſs.

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* Ad probationem cum aſſumitur quod nullus tenetur firmius adhærere concluſioni, quàm ſit certitudo notitiæ propter quam illi adhæreret: iſta poſſet concedi cum aliqua conditione, ſcil. ſi ille teneatur adhærere concluſioni præciſe propter certitudinem notitiæ: ubi autem non ſubeſt dicta conditio, propoſitio eſt ſimpliciter neganda: in propoſito autem non ſubeſt quoniam non præciſe propter certitudinem aliquam notitiæ (propriè loquendo) ſive concluſionis, ſive principiorum, teneatur Catholicus adhærere talibus. Quinimo quicquid ſibi proponatur per Scripturam vel Eccleſiam, fore credendam, nulla alia notitia habita credere tenetur. Ad confirmationem, cum dicitur nullus credidit niſi quia illud ſibi conſtat; ſi loquatur de conſtantia notitiæ, falſum eſt: ſi de conſtantia adhæſionis, tunc etiam poteſt negari: quia æquivalet iſti; Nullus credit aliquod niſi quia credit illud; quæ in ſua proprietate non eſt vera. *Greg. Arim. in* 1. *Sent. diſt.* 1. *quæſt* 1. *Artic.* 4. *The like imperfect ſolution* Valentian *hath, where he diſputeth this queſtion againſt the ſame Author* Fran. de Mar. *and* Petir Abaylard *or* Peripat: *which held Faith to be* aſſenſus evidens.

3. The Romaniſt exacts a certainty of *Aſſent* in the Believer more exact than demonſtrative Sciences afford, and yet makes divine Revelations not only not evident, but inevident and obſcure, the method of Faith even a * Labyrinth of Obſcurities. And for ought I can perceive, this obſcurity in reſpect of every Article is alike all: even whiles the *Aſſent* becomes moſt certain and infallible. Yet queſtionleſs, whether the immediate ground of our *Aſſent* be evidence of truth in the object, or ſome inferior degree of diſtinct apprehenſion approaching thereto: the growth of certainty in the perſwaſion is always turbulent and prepoſterous, unleſs the apprehenſion of truth in the object grow more and more perſpicuous, and ſo come nearer and nearer to the nature of evidence properly ſo called. Every degree of certainty we get in belief not thus grounded, is but a ſtep to Sorcery. For what is the Scorcerers fault, but that he believes thoſe things moſt firmly, of whoſe truth he can have no diſtinct apprehenſions, but ſome pretences of warrant from the authority of Scriptures, or practices of holy men therein recorded? This groſs error in compounding Faith of obſcurity, and exact certainty, is one eſpecial root of Popery in grain, as elſwhere I am to ſhew. And this certainty of perſwaſion which they thus enforce upon themſelves, without proportional encreaſe of evidence or perſpicuity apprehended in the object, hath the ſame proportion to lively faith, that ſtubborn fool-hardineſs unto true valour. Few of Jeſuitical inſtruction but are as adventurous, as moſt of Gods Saints have been, were the cauſes they manage as good, their motives to undertake them as evidently warrantable, or their intentions as ſincerely ſound. But the Jeſuiſt or his Catechiſt, nurſing a conceit of obſcurity in the object of belief to ground a title unto merit, († for what reward were it worth to believe an evident truth?) out of the ſtubbornneſs of his forced perſwaſions, or violent certainty meeting with this vail of darkneſs, wherewith he purpoſely hoodwinks himſelf, runs upon any miſchief his Superiors ſhall deſign him unto, as ſtoutly and boldly as blind Bayard ruſheth into the battel: which way he ſhould go he ſees not, he cares not, ſave only as his Rider ſpurs him, or rather as the Devil drives him; deſtitute of clear aim by the word of God, he deſperately flies like an inſtrument of battery, whither his living rule of faith ſhall level him, though it be to ruinate the ſtate wherein he was born, or overthrow that Church which gave him Chriſtendom.

* So *Valentian* terms it whoſe words are cited in the Appendix to the third Book.

† *To this purpoſe they abuſe a ſaying of Gregory:* Fides non habet meritum, cui humana ratio præbet experimentum: *which notwithſtanding he meant of the incomprehenſibility, not of the perſpicuity of objects believed. His words at full are theſe,* Divina operatio ſi ratione aprehendatur non eſt admirabilis: nec fides habet meritum, &c. Greg. hom. 26. in Evang. *But of his opinion in this point we ſhall have fitter occaſion when we come to ſpeak of merits.*

4. But a great deal more eaſie it is to diſcern the groſſneſs of error come to full growth, than to diſcover the firſt root whence it ſprings, or aſſign the original breach betwixt it and truth, commonly united in the ſame trunk, like the two oppoſite branches of *Pithagoras* Letter. As much as in reaſon can be required of us will be to gueſs or give aim (as our cuſtom is) *groſſo modo*, leaving the exact deſignation of that Mathematical point, or angle, wherein truth and error in this preſent buſineſs are firſt divided, unto more accurate eye-ſights. Seeing *Evidence*, beſides clearneſs or perſpicuity (directly and formally included in its prime and native ſignification) collaterally draws with it a conceit of ſuch plenary comprehenſion of the object

known, as fully ſatiates our deſire of its knowledge: (for evident we hardly account that knowledge which leaves the apprehenſive faculty capable of further or better information than it already hath from the particulars which we deſire to know.) In the firſt place it may be queſtioned, whether that apprehenſion we have in this life of objects ſupernatural, though never coming to ſuch full growth as may deſerve the title of evidence, may not ground a greater certainty than that we have of things leſs certain or credible in themſelves, yet evidently apprehended, or rather exactly comprehended, according to the full meaſure of that certainty or credibility they have. For, if certainty of *Aſſent* amount proportionably to the degrees of credibility inherent in the object, diſtinctly apprehended by us; that *Aſſent*, whoſe evidence is defective or imperfect in reſpect of its proper object (containing as is ſuppoſed almoſt innumerable degrees of Veracity, Certainty, or Credibility) may be more certain, than the moſt exact and evident knowledge that can be had of other matters, the full meaſure of whoſe internal certainty, or veracity, contains fewer degrees than we did apprehend in the former. Of this aſſertion there could be no doubt, were the apprehenſion of ſeveral degrees in both, alike clear and diſtinct: whence, of ſuch as hold the evidence of our *Aſſent* unto Revelations divine, to be leſs than that we give to Humane Sciences, many perhaps mean no more then this, that the apprehenſion we have of them in this life is for evidence very imperfect, in reſpect of that which may be had of them in the life to come: whereas the evidence of ſome ſcientifical principles or concluſions (Mathematical eſpecially) is already as great as it poſſibly can be. Thus ſome opinions ſeeming contrary, may perchance be reconciled with this diſtinction: our aſſent to the truth of Revelations divine is leſs, than that we give to concluſions in Humane Sciences, if we compare either evidence, as it is found in us, with the capacity of its proper object; yet altogether as great, if we compare the ſeveral qualities, or degrees of evidences only betwixt themſelves. As eight while it is compared with ſeven is a greater number, becauſe conſiſting of more unities; and yet the Octonary number applied to nine, is leſs than the Septenary applied to ſeven material numerables. Or, to illuſtrate our purpoſe by a compariſon more familiar and proper; If a man ſhould ſee the Sun at mid-day in a cloud, and the Moon in her ſtrength, or the beams of the one in at his chamber window, and the body of the other directly in its ſphere: his ſight of the Sun would be as evident as of the Moon; although the Moon he could not poſſibly apprehend more evidently or more directly, while his apprehenſion of the Sun, in reſpect of what it might be, is both ways very imperfect. But thus, if we make an equal compariſon, the certainty likewiſe of our *Aſſent* unto ſupernatural objects, ſhould in a correſpondent ſenſe be ſaid leſs or greater than the certainty we have of Humane Sciences, becauſe the objects of the one cannot poſſibly be better known than they are, when as the knowledge of the other is not half ſo great in this life, as it ſhall be; for the Apoſtle (who knew many divine myſteries, more evidently than we do ought) ſaith of himſelf as well as others, *we know but in part*. Yet notwithſtanding, this half knowledge of the one, may be more great and certain than the whole knowledge of the other; if we compare them only betwixt themſelves, not with the internal capacity of their proper objects, conſidered as credible or intelligible. Or if our apprehenſion

prehenſion of as much as we know in the one, be not ſo clear as it is in the other, it may further be queſtioned, whether the exceſſive multitude of parts apprehended in it, though not ſo clearly, or the variety of motives procuring our *Aſſent*, though not ſo evident; may not, all taken together, be as forcible to ſupport as great certainty as ariſeth from evidence in Humane Sciences fully apprehended, more intenſive in it ſelf, yet extenſively not ſo great, as not being grounded upon ſo many motives or degrees of internal certainty or veracity in the object. Thus many pillars, though all ſomewhat declining, may bear as great weight, as fewer exactly perpendicular; or many lights ſeverally taken, not ſplendent in the higheſt degree, may better illuminate a large room, than one or two intenſively much brighter.

5. Laſtly, it were worth a ſacred Criticks pains to obſerve, whether this error that gives certainty the ſtart ſo far of evidence, did not ſpring from a confuſion of that certainty which is in the object, with the certainty that may be in the ſubject. It is true indeed, our *Aſſent* muſt be comfomable to the object; and therefore as is the one, ſo ſhould the other be moſt exactly certain: but, whether ſuch exact certainty as may be had in Humane Sciences, be not only neceſſary by way of duty or precept, or as the mark whereat all muſt aim, though few in this life can hit, but even unto the being of a Chriſtian; or whether an earneſt deſire of encreaſing our knowledge in matters divine, joyned with an unfeigned uniform practice of ſuch duties, as faith preſcribes, be not ſufficient at leaſt to * many, albeit the certainty of their belief be not in it ſelf ſo great as their knowledge in ſome other matters, may in charity, and for the comfort of weak conſciences be doubted. Moſt certainly perſwaded even the weakeſt always muſt be, upon the higheſt terms of abſolute neceſſity, not to relinquiſh the profeſſion of Chriſtianity, not to deſpair of good ſucceſs, not to be daunted in Religious courſes, for all the arguments the Devil, the World and Fleſh can oppoſe againſt them. But hereto we ſtand in our own conſciences moſt ſtrictly bound, albeit the certainty of our *Aſſent* unto divine matters be leſs than demonſtrative or ſcientifical; ſeeing as well the danger that may accrue by renouncing, as the hopes we conceive by continuing our profeſſion are infinitely greater, than any we can poſſibly imagine, ſhould ariſe from embracing contrary ſuggeſtions. It may well ſeem ſo far ſufficient as not to argue any nullity of Chriſtian faith, if our *Aſſent*, upon examination or trial, prove more certain than any concluſions can be brought againſt it, which can never be demonſtrative, nor if well ſifted, probable; and yet retaining firm adherence to the truths contained in the Apoſtles Creed, and an undaunted reſolution, to follow the preſcripts of Gods word, (notwithſtanding all the blaſts of temptations, or ſtorms of perſecutions the wicked ſpirits or their agents can raiſe againſt us) we may be truly ſaid to hold faſt the Faith, albeit our apprehenſion of the particular truths it teacheth, be not ſo evident, nor the grounds of our adherence to them, (to ſpeak properly) ſo certain as they are unto ſome Mathematical concluſions. For what neceſſity is there faith ſhould be more certain than ſuch Sciences, as are more preſt to do her the beſt ſervice they can, than any way to oppugn her?

* Aquinas *and his followers grant that* veritates fidei ſunt evidenter credibiles. *If by credibility they mean no more than probability, as it is oppoſed to certainty, their doctrine is dangerous: for ſo they make articles of faith to be evidently uncertain. But if they take credibility, as it is common or indifferent to* probability *and* certainty: *propoſitions of faith may be (as we maintain) evidently certain unto ſome, though but evidently probable unto others in their particularities.*

6. Or if from the exceſs of certainty, or fertility of conſequences evidently flowing from undoubted principles, theſe hand-maids ſhould plead for equal intereſt with their Miſtris in our ſouls: to quell their inſolencies enough it were, that beſides the infinite reward, which we have reaſons many and great (though none abſolutely evident or demonſtratively certain) to expect in the life to come: the joy and comfort every Chriſtian, in this life, may ſenſibly reap from the conſtant embracements of truths taught, or practiſe of duties enjoyned by the rule of faith, is much greater than all the delight we can imagine ſhould elſwhere grow. Nor doth leſs certainty, or evidence of divine truths in particular, any way prejudice, but rather advantage our firm *Aſſent* or adherence to them, as long as their contemplation or practice evidently affords joy and comfort, more ſincere and ſweet than the moſt exact, moſt certain, and evident knowledge that can be had of other ſubjects; eſpecially if this comfort they yield receive daily increaſe, as every Chriſtian by ſtedfaſt continuance in religious exerciſes may undoubtedly perceive. For, as I ſaid before, the ſtrength of our adherence, or *Aſſent*, ariſeth more properly from the exceſſive worth of the object apprehended, than from the evidence of apprehenſion. Thus by the Divine Providence it comes about, that every Chriſtian may fitly take up the Apoſtles ſpeech, but in another ſenſe than he meant it, *when I am weak* [*in faith*] *then I am ſtrong*. 2 *Cor.* 12. *v.* 10 For though his *Aſſent* unto the Articles of this Creed ſeverally conſidered, be much leſs evident and certain, than unto many other matters; yet if the fruits of it be evidently greater for the quantity, and incomparably more pleaſant for the quality, the greater intereſt will their love and admiration hereby gain in his ſoul. And who knows, whether he that made the heart of man, beſt knowing how prone it is to be puft up with pride, and ready upon ſudden change of its wonted diet, (the beggarly rudiments of this world) to ſurfeit with fulneſs of knowledge, though of heavenly myſteries, doth not, with purpoſe to allay their ſweetneſs, only ſeaſon the ſtream or current of our deſires, whilſt weak and ſickly, with ſome light tincture of his graces; ſeldom infuſing the water of the well of life into the fountain of our corrupt affections, otherwiſe than by drops, whoſe ſoft inſtillations, (during the time of our infancy in CHRIST,) bring forth ſuch tranſient apprehenſions, or imperfect taſtes, as rather breed a longing after the like again, than any ways enable us to diſcern aright the nature and quality of what is paſt; that ſo the love of theſe everlaſting truths, never comprehenſible in this life, thus ſecretly kindling by degrees inſenſible in our ſouls, might at length break forth into a flame, much more ardent and durable, than if our apprehenſion at firſt acquaintance with them, had been as evident, and certain, as our firſt Patents had of them in Paradiſe, or *Lucifer* before his fall.

7. Thus granting evidence and certainty to live and dye together like *Hippocrates* Twins, or rather the latter to follow the former as cloſely as *Jacob* did *Eſau* out of the womb; we may conclude, that as well the evidence, as certainty of that *Aſſent* wherein Chriſtian faith conſiſts, is in ſome reſpects leſs, in others as great as can be found in any Science. Both, in many (at leaſt) rightly enjoying the name of Chriſtians, are directly much

leſs, whiles we compare particulars with particulas; as belief of ſeveral Articles with *Aſſent* to demonſtrative Concluſions. The certainty notwithſtanding, of this general Reſolution [That all divine truths propoſed in Scriptures, are moſt undoubtedly to be embraced, though with oppoſition to all other profeſſions,] is as great as can be found in any ſcientifical Concluſion, becauſe manifeſtly grounded upon evidence, as great as can be required in the undoubted *maxims*, or common principles of exact ſciences. For unto breaſts inſpired with ſuch inward comfort in this life, as may nurſe hope of joys unſpeakable in the life to come; or unto Conſciences ſo wounded with the ſting of ſin, as thence to conceive fearful expectations of horrible torments after death: the wiſdom of this choice [moſt firmly and conſtantly to adhere unto all divine truths whatſoever, ſpeculative or practick, particular or general, (though appehended directly in themſelves neither as evident nor certain, but in ſome high degree of probability) rather than to endanger the hopes of life, or increaſe fears of death everlaſting, either by open renouncing their profeſſion, or unconſtant wavering between the practices they preſcribe, and the conrary which the world follows,] is moſt clear and evident. In the judgement of ſuch as will not be partial for ſenſuality, againſt the evident teſtimony of mear natural reaſon, the rejection of the former choice upon ſuch experience of uncouth joys and terrors, includes more degrees of extream folly and deſperate madneſs, than can be imagined of certainty in any Science, or of prudence in any other moral conſultation. No Heathen Philoſopher, though unwilling, becauſe wanting all ſuch experience, to renounce his profeſſion, but would have condemned him as more brutiſh then any beaſt, that having ſuch, would doubt to continue the former reſolution. Now this firmneſs or conſtancy of adherence unto divine truths in particular, thus grounded upon an evident and certain apprehenſion of true wiſdom in the former general choice, may ſerve as the firſt difference of that *Aſſent*, which is neceſſary to the being, or conſtitution of a true Chriſtian, which primarily diſtinguiſheth him from an Hypocrite or worldling. Whether more be not required to full aſſurance of our actual ſtate in grace, and favour of the ſons of God, is hereafter to be diſcuſſed.

This I take it is no more than what the learned Hooker, *in a Sermon upon the Prophet* Habakuks *doubtful cogitation* (p. 3.) *hath expreſſed: only we make that which he calls* certainty of adherence *to have* evidence *for its ground, not of particulars, but of the general choice here mentioned. Herein we agree, that this certainty of adherence unto particulars ariſeth from their worth or conſequence.*

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The ſeveral kinds of Evidences, whereof ſome are appliable unto Faith in reſpect of certain Articles, others in reſpect of others: That the certainty of Faith in reſpect of divine truths not evident, is grounded upon an evident certainty of others: the property naturally ariſing from this difference of Aſſent, as it is of objects partly known, and partly unknown.

1. THe Concluſion laſt inferred as I maintain not either againſt any lawful Authority that ſhall command, or Learned Divine that will inſtruct me to the contrary; ſo left herein to my Chriſtian liberty, I would adviſe men of mine own Profeſſion not to content themſelves with ſuch general evidence or certainty; albeit perhaps ſufficient to ſome of their flock honeſtly minded, but dull in apprehenſion of particular divine truths. Wherefore, as well to encourage ſuch as are come thus far to go further, as to occaſion the learned to look more narrowly into theſe points; it will not be amiſs to ſet down the ſeveral kinds of evidence, and which of them may in this life be had of points believed.

2. Evidence, according to the Etymology of the Latin word, includes a clear, diſtinct and full apprehenſion of objects preſent, and is moſt properly applied to the objects of ſight. Amongſt them, ſuch are moſt evident, as are moſt viſible, or apt to inforce their apprehenſion upon the eye: whence the *Sun* of all viſibles is held moſt evident: becauſe ſuch as cannot ſee it can ſee nothing, and hardly can any ſight be ſo diſtempered, as to be miſtaken in the apprehenſion of it.

Hence is this appellation tranſlated to objects of the ſpeculative underſtanding, becauſe that faculty hath moſt affinity with ſight. And with reference to it, thoſe things are ſaid to be moſt evident that are of eaſieſt apprehenſion, or moſt apt to imprint their truth upon it. Such for the moſt part are Mathematical principles, common notions, or *maxims*, general to all Sciences. For ſcarcely can any diſtemper of body, or mind, phrenzy excepted, work any diſtruſt, *whether the whole be not bigger than its part, whether all right angles are equal, or whether ademption of equal portions from things equal, leave not ſuch equality betwixt them as it found.* And in this ſenſe it will be impoſſible to aſſign any object of Chriſtian faith ſo univerſally evident as theſe *maxims* are: for unto the mear natural man, moſt divine truths are diſtaſteful, none ſo evident as to enforce their apprehenſion upon his heart, until he be cured of his natural diſtemper.

3. But as light to the eye, ſo to every other ſenſe the proper object within juſt diſtance is moſt evident, albeit diſtemperance in them may more eaſily breed either a dulneſs in the apprehenſion, or

an error in the compoſition: as cold in the head either obſtructs or corrupts our ſmell, albeit odoriferous objects be preſent: bad humors either dead the taſte, or by imprinting an apprehenſion of themſelves, make meats ſweet and pleaſant, ſeem bitter, ſowre, or lothſome, according to the ſeveral, ungrateful, noiſome qualities, which they communicate to the organ. Unto this laſt kind of evidence all *Aſſent* to matters moral is more properly reſembled; and upon this, ſuch as write of myſtical Theology, for the moſt part ground their diſcourſes.

4. Beſides theſe ſorts of evidences, ariſing from exact proportion betwixt the paſſive capacities of particular ſenſes, and the active force of the objects to imprint their ſhapes upon them, an evidence there is of bodily impulſion or motion; whereunto in the mind is anſwerable an evidence of inſtinct, or working, always manifeſt in the effect, though the cauſe oftimes be hidden or doubtful. An evidence likewiſe there is of bodily ſtrength, either paſſive, to ſuſtain contrary force or violence; or active, to repel it by oppoſing the like. Proportional hereunto there is an evidence of conſcience, upon juſt examamination always witneſſing, either our ſtrength, or weakneſs to reſiſt temptations; or our vigour, alacrity or dulneſs in doing of good. But this kind of evidence belongs rather unto the trial of faith inherent, or our perſwaſions of it after we have it, than unto the objects or grounds whence it ariſeth.

5. The Jeſuit having defaced the image of his *Creator*, (as *eſſentially* good as true) in his heart, and out of the reliques of it erecting an Idol in his brain to repreſent the viſible Church or Pope; (both which he adores as Gods for their veracity, though not for ſanctity) imagines no Evidence poſſible in matters divine, but meerly ſpeculative: and hence argues Faith to be an *Aſſent* inevident or obſcure, becauſe not evident after the ſame manner Mathematical Theorems, or *common natural notions* are to the ſpeculative underſtanding, or the *Sun*, *Moon* or *Stars* of the firſt magnitude to ordinary ſights. As if an Engliſhman, Dane or German, ſhould conclude Italians, Frenchmen, Spaniards, or generally all Foreigners to be Black-moors, becauſe not of the ſame complexion they themſelves are. The like looſneſs we find in ſome more ancient School-mens collections, that the objects of faith are neither evident, nor properly intelligible, but only credible; becauſe, neither of ſuch propoſitions, *as every one that hears will approve*, nor of evident deductions from ſuch. But the queſtion is not of the univerſality or extent, but of the intenſive perfection of Evidence: and no man I think will deny, that many Truths altogether unknown to moſt, may be as intenſively evident to ſome particular diſpoſitions, as *general maxims* are to all. Otherwiſe S. *Paul* ſhould have had no exact evidence of ſpecial Revelations made to him; no Prophets of their cleareſt viſions; not CHRIST JESUS himſelf of his Fathers will, in whoſe boſom he was; ſeeing he did not make that evident to the Jews. Every mans thoughts are as manifeſt to himſelf, as the principles of any ſcience, though he cannot ſo certainly manifeſt the one as the other to his Auditors. None of Reformed Churches, I think, did ever avouch that he could make the Articles of faith evident to all endued with natural reaſon: but that the Spirit of God, which firſt revealed and cauſed them to be written in Characters viſible unto all, can as evidently imprint them upon the hearts of all his Children, what

reaſon have we to deny? *Becauſe faith is the argument of things not ſeen?*

6. A work it were worth his pains that is not fit for very great, nor neceſſarily engaged to other good employments, to obſerve how many opinions, which could never have been conceived but from a miſconceit of Scriptures, have been faſtened to the Temple-door, as more certain than Prophetical Oracles. Firſt, by continual hammering of Schoolmen; afterwards by inſtruction given from the *great Paſtor* to the Maſters of Romiſh Aſſemblies, which for the moſt part do but rivet the nails the other had driven, or drive ſuch faſter as they had entered, not without diſturbance of their oppoſites. What a number of ſuch opinions, as the *Trent* Council ties our faith unto, as Articles neceſſary to ſalvation, were in ages laſt paſt meer School-points held *pro & con*, by the followers of divers factions in that profeſſion? And though theſe *Trent* Fathers do not expreſly teach us, that Belief is an *Aſſent* inevident and obſcure: yet do they bind us to believe it to be ſuch as none ever would have conceived, but from a miſtaking of the Apoſtles words lately cited, which notwithſtanding he uttered not any ways to diſparage the evidence, but rather to ſet forth the excellency of that heavenly vertue. He ſuppoſed, as ſhall hereafter be deduced (nor doth that learned * Jeſuit, which long ago had robbed the whole Society of ingenuity, and buried it with him in his grave, in his Commentaries upon that place *diſſent* from us) that faith is an aſſurance, or inſtrument, by which the ſons of God attain unto a kind of *ſight*, or glimmering, but evident view of divine myſteries, altogether as inviſible, but more incredible to the natural man, than *Galilæus* ſuppoſed late diſcoveries to meer Country men, utterly deſtitute of all other helps, or means for diſcovering ſuch appearances, beſides the eyes nature hath given them. He that ſaith, *Faith is the argument of things unſeen*, did never deny it to include an evident knowledge, or apprehenſion of ſome things preſent, which the world ſees not: yet ſuch as he there deſcribes, it is to the regenerate only, or unto them whom God hath given this heavenly treaſure as a pledge of his future favours. But regeneration, renewing of the inner man, or fruits of the Spirit, are terms as unuſual for the moſt part in their Schools, as their School-terms in common talk of the illiterate among us; and yet before our regeneration, or participation of Gods Spirit, we diſpute of the evidence or obſcurity of faith, but as blind men may of the differences betwixt day and night, not able to frame any diſtinct or proper conceit, truly repreſenting the face of either, though daily hearing lively deſcriptions of both, or learned diſcourſes about their natures or eſſential properties. But when God begins to open our hearts, that we may ſee our natural miſery; it is with us as it was with ſuch as being born blind were reſtored to ſight by our Saviour, (as for illuſtrations ſake we may ſuppoſe) in the beginning of ſome diſmal night ſome hours before the Moons ariſal. At the firſt opening of their eyes they might perceive an evident diſtinction betwixt the greateſt darkneſs incident to night, by tempeſts, ſtorms, or overcaſting, and their wonted blindneſs; an evident difference again between ſuch darkneſs, and light ſhortly after enſuing upon the removal of clouds or apparition of ſtars. And albeit they did hereafter expect a clearer diſtinction betwixt this time, and that which they had often heard others call the day; yet eaſie it had been to have perſwaded them

* Ribera.

the Moons appearance had brought the morning with it, until the dawning had cleared the doubt: during which, as the Sun did nearer and nearer approach, the diſtinction betwixt day and night grew clearer and clearer. Evident it was now unto them that the Sun ſhould in time appear, although it ſelf were yet unſeen, whoſe actual apparition could only terminate the former expectation, and leave no place for further errour, the brightneſs of it being able ſo fully to ſatiate the capacity of the viſive faculty, and ſo allſufficient for preſenting other viſibles as diſtinctly and clearly as their hearts could deſire, to their view.

7. Though not of our outward ſenſes, yet of the more excellent internal faculties of our ſouls, all of us have a natural blindneſs from our birth: which he alone can take away, that gave bodily ſight to ſuch as had been ſhut up in darkneſs from the womb. The firſt thing we apprehend directly and evidently upon this change, is the difference betwixt the ſtate of the ſons of darkneſs and the ſons of light, and this appears greater and greater as we become more converſant in the works of light; whence ſprings an eager longing after that marvellous glory, which in the life to come ſhall be revealed, whoſe apprehenſion, though in this preſent life diſtinct and evident it cannot poſſibly be, yet from a clear and certain apprehenſion, firſt of the Prophets light, then of the day-ſtar ſhining in our hearts, it is evident unto us that in due time revealed it ſhall be, as fully as our ſouls could wiſh. *Beloved*, (ſaith Saint * *John*) *now we are the ſons of God; and yet it doth not appear what we ſhall be: but we know that when he ſhall appear, we ſhall be like him; for we ſhall ſee him as he is.*

8. Even unto this great Apoſtle, † *that had ſeen the glory of Chriſt, as of the only begotten Son of God*, the joys which he certainly believed to be prepared for the godly, and of which he ſtedfaſtly hoped to be partaker, were as yet unſeen. But was either his belief, or hope, for this reaſon, leſs evident than certain? Not unleſs we make an unequal compariſon, or meaſure them partially, referring evidence to one part or quality of the object believed or hoped, and certainty to another. As well the manner, or the ſpecifical quality, as the diſtinct meaſure of thoſe joys he believed, were uncertain, becauſe not evident or apprehenſible. But that God had prepared ſuch joys for his Saints, as no eye had ſeen; ſuch, as their conceit could not enter into the heart of man, whilſt invailed with this corruptible fleſh, was moſt certain to him, becauſe moſt evident from their preſent pledge, that peace of Conſcience, which paſſeth all underſtanding, yet *kept his heart and mind in knowledge and love of Chriſt Jeſus*, being an infallible evidence of thoſe joys which were not *evident*, the ſure ground of all his incomprehenſible hopes. This clear apprehenſion of our preſent eſtate, we may call an evidence of ſpiritual welfare; or internal ſenſe, directly anſwering to that natural evidence or certain knowledge men have of their health, or hearty cheerfulneſs, when their ſpirits are lively, and their bodies ſtrong, not diſturbed with bad humours, their minds not cumbred or diſquieted with anxious carking thoughts. Of errours incident to the intermediate ſtate between the ſons of darkneſs, and the ſons of light, (if any ſuch there be) or to our firſt apprehenſions of this change, and of the means to avoid them, the Reader ſhall find ſomewhat in the two next Sections of this Book, but more particularly in the

* *John* 3. 2.

† *John* 1. 14.

Treatiſe *Of the Trial of Faith*, or *Certainty of inherent grace.* In this place we only ſuppoſe, as there is no living Creature indued with thoſe animal ſpirits that quicken the Organs of bodily ſenſe, but evidently feels pain or pleaſure: ſo is there none truly partaker of the Spirit of God, but hath or may have an evident feeling of this joy and grief of conſcience; which is to other objects of knowledge truly ſpiritual, as is the *touch* to the reſt of our ſenſes: yet may we not think this feeling to be alike evident in all. For one living Creature excelleth another in apprehenſion of proper ſenſitive objects, all alike evident in themſelves, but ſo are not the ſenſes, or apprehenſive faculties of ſeveral Creatures, alike nimble, quick or ſtrong.

9. But for mine own part, the opinion generally received amongſt the School-men and other learned Clerks, that *Faith in reſpect of ſpeculation or diſcourſe ſhould be an Aſſent unevident*, hath made me often to ſuſpect my dull capacity in matters of ſecular knowledge. "*Ariſtotles* Philoſophy I had read over, and yet could I hardly call any "concluſion in it to mind, that might with greater evidence be re"ſolved into clear unqueſtionable principles, than moſt effects, or "experiments, revolution of times afford, may be into the diſpo"ſition of a Providence truly Divine. And conſidering with my "ſelf how groſly he ſhould often fail, that would undertake to ſet "forth a Comment of my inward thoughts, by obſervation of my "outward actions, when as no alteration of times, of perſons, or "places, ever ſwerved from the rules of Scripture; I reſt perſwa"ded, that the ſame Divine Providence which guides the World, "and diſpoſeth all the actions of men, did ſet forth theſe everlaſting "Comments (which never change) of his own Conſultations or "Decrees concerning them. Again, acknowledging this Eternal Divine Power, alike able to effect his will and purpoſe by ordering the unruly wills of this preſent Age, though their policies be of a contrary mould, to ſuch as heretofore we have heard he hath defeated: the former inference as it ſeemed more religious, ſo more evident than our Adverſaries make; when, from a ſuppoſition only of ſome infallible Authority in ſome preſent Church, they preſently aſſume, it muſt reſide in the viſible Romiſh Church repreſentative: yet this Collection they hold evident by the habit of Theology, albeit they admit no diſcourſe in *Aſſent* of Faith, which is their ſecond fundamental errour in the Doctrine of Life, another main root of Romiſh witchery. For thus far at leaſt all the Sons of God make Faith to be diſcurſive, that from evident experience of Gods favours paſt, or preſent, they always infer a certainty of the like to enſue. To the moſt of them in their diſtreſs it was evident, deliverance ſhould be ſent them; although the deliverance it ſelf were not ſo, although they diſtinctly apprehended not by what means, or in what manner it ſhould be wrought. The immutability of Gods Decree concerning the ſalvation of his people, whether general or particular, being as well known, as the ſtability of his Covenant for viciſſitude of day and night, or other ſeaſons: the godly even while they were themſelves beſet with ſorrow, and every where environed with calamity, or ſaw the Church almoſt overwhelmed with univerſal Deluges of affliction, might reſolve for the general, *That all in the end ſhould turn unto their good, that continued in Faith and love to the Redeemer*, as undoubtedly, as men at mid-night may gather that the

Sun ſhall ariſe, though they know not in what manner, whether under a Cloud in a miſt, beſet with Vapours, or appearing in his natural brightneſs. Thus (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) * *Heavineſs may lodge with us for a night, but joy cometh in the morning.* Yea, † *Thus ſaith the Lord, which giveth the Sun for a light to the day, and the courſes of the Moon, and of the Stars a light to the night, which breaketh the Sea when the Waves thereof roar, his Name is the Lord of Hoſts. If theſe Ordinances depart out of my ſight, then ſhall the ſeed of Iſrael ceaſe from being a Nation before me for ever.* Doubts again in other points, apprehended and aſſented unto, though but conditionally, or imperfectly, yet by the habit of Chriſtian Faith, are finally reſolved into the Article of the Divine Providence, which is to moſt others, as undoubted Principles to Scientifical Concluſions; whence Faith admits ſuch diſcourſe or reſolution, as hath been mentioned in the former Books.

* *Pſal.* 30. v. 5.

† *Jer.* 31. v. 35, 36.

10. A ſpeculative evidence likewiſe there is, intenſively as perfect as can be expected in moſt demonſtrative Sciences, (but infinitely more pleaſant, though we reſpect only the tranſient delight of actual contemplation:) and extenſively no leſs, though not for facility of its apprehenſion, or number of perſons to whom it ſo appears; yet for the multitude of neceſſary inferences upon one and the ſame ſubject; all which might appear moſt evident to all, were not many of us wilfully blind, ſlothful or careleſs; and yet diſcourſive too, becauſe analytical: the reſolution I mean of Evangelical Teſtimonies into Prophetical Predictions, Legal Types, or Hiſtorical Figures of the *Meſſiah*, as in due place (by Gods aſſiſtance) ſhall be manifeſted. If any object, that this reſolution can be evident only upon ſuppoſition, (if the Scriptures of the Old Teſtament were from God:) I muſt anſwer him, as the Parents of that blind man did the captious Jews, *Search them:* For their Characters, rightly taken, evidently ſignifie their undoubted Antiquity to be greater, than any record he can bring of this diſtinct viciſſitude betwixt day and night, Summer and Winter, Seed-time and Harveſt, or other ſeaſons; the poſſibility of whoſe interruption in times paſt, may from ſome extraordinary changes within our memory, be argued with greater probability, than any can poſſibly be brought, why the Books of holy Scripture ſhould be ſuſpected for new and counterfeit. And the antiquity of the Old Teſtament being evident, the admirable conſonancy of it with the New, and multitude of manifeſt experiments of every kind, fully anſwerable to their rules, better aſcertains the truth of Gods promiſes contained in them, than any Induction natural reaſon can frame, to prove, either the viciſſitude of times or ſeaſons, or revolution of the Heavens, to have been ſince the beginning perpetual. The truth of which concluſion, as of many others in Philoſophy, for which great Artiſts think they have demonſtrative reaſons, I profeſs I much better believe, and more evidently know from Gods Covenant, to this purpoſe recorded in ſacred Writ, than from all the Writings of Philoſophers, or any reaſon they or I can bring, or our Succeſſors ſhall be able to find, although after us they ſtudy this point till the foundations of the earth be ſhaken, the elements melt with heat, and the heavens be gathered like a ſcroll. Yea further, to me it ſeems an evident demonſtration from the effect, that there is ſuch a ſubtil Politician as we call the Devil, which cunningly bewitcheth or blinds the eyes of mens ſouls, or elſe with Golden Balls averts them from looking unto thoſe

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Treatiſe *Of the Trial of Faith*, or *Certainty of inherent grace*. In this place we only ſuppoſe, as there is no living Creature indued with thoſe animal ſpirits that quicken the Organs of bodily ſenſe, but evidently feels pain or pleaſure: ſo is there none truly partaker of the Spirit of God, but hath or may have an evident feeling of this joy and grief of conſcience; which is to other objects of knowledge truly ſpiritual, as is the *touch* to the reſt of our ſenſes: yet may we not think this feeling to be alike evident in all. For one living Creature excelleth another in apprehenſion of proper ſenſitive objects, all alike evident in themſelves, but ſo are not the ſenſes, or apprehenſive faculties of ſeveral Creatures, alike nimble, quick or ſtrong.

9. But for mine own part, the opinion generally received amongſt the School-men and other learned Clerks, that *Faith in reſpect of ſpeculation or diſcourſe ſhould be an Aſſent unevident*, hath made me often to ſuſpect my dull capacity in matters of ſecular knowledge. “*Ariſtotles* Philoſophy I had read over, and yet could I hardly call any concluſion in it to mind, that might with greater evidence be reſolved into clear unqueſtionable principles, than moſt effects, or experiments, revolution of times afford, may be into the diſpoſition of a Providence truly Divine. And conſidering with my ſelf how groſly he ſhould often fail, that would undertake to ſet forth a Comment of my inward thoughts, by obſervation of my outward actions, when as no alteration of times, of perſons, or places, ever ſwerved from the rules of Scripture; I reſt perſwaded, that the ſame Divine Providence which guides the World, and diſpoſeth all the actions of men, did ſet forth theſe everlaſting Comments (which never change) of his own Conſultations or Decrees concerning them. Again, acknowledging this Eternal Divine Power, alike able to effect his will and purpoſe by ordering the unruly wills of this preſent Age, though their policies be of a contrary mould, to ſuch as heretofore we have heard he hath defeated: the former inference as it ſeemed more religious, ſo more evident than our Adverſaries make; when, from a ſuppoſition only of ſome infallible Authority in ſome preſent Church, they preſently aſſume, it muſt reſide in the viſible Romiſh Church repreſentative: yet this Collection they hold evident by the habit of Theology, albeit they admit no diſcourſe in *Aſſent* of Faith, which is their ſecond fundamental errour in the Doctrine of Life, another main root of Romiſh witchery. For thus far at leaſt all the Sons of God make Faith to be diſcurſive, that from evident experience of Gods favours paſt, or preſent, they always infer a certainty of the like to enſue. To the moſt of them in their diſtreſs it was evident, deliverance ſhould be ſent them; although the deliverance it ſelf were not ſo, although they diſtinctly apprehended not by what means, or in what manner it ſhould be wrought. The immutability of Gods Decree concerning the ſalvation of his people, whether general or particular, being as well known, as the ſtability of his Covenant for viciſſitude of day and night, or other ſeaſons: the godly even while they were themſelves beſet with ſorrow, and every where environed with calamity, or ſaw the Church almoſt overwhelmed with univerſal Deluges of affliction, might reſolve for the general, *That all in the end ſhould turn unto their good, that continued in Faith and love to the Redeemer*, as undoubtedly, as men at mid-night may gather that the

Sun ſhall ariſe, though they know not in what manner, whether under a Cloud in a miſt, beſet with Vapours, or appearing in his natural brightneſs. Thus (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) * *Heavineſs may lodge with us for a night, but joy cometh in the morning.* Yea, † *Thus ſaith the Lord, which giveth the Sun for a light to the day, and the courſes of the Moon, and of the Stars a light to the night; which breaketh the Sea when the Waves thereof roar, his Name is the Lord of Hoſts. If theſe Ordinances depart out of my ſight, then ſhall the ſeed of Iſrael ceaſe from being a Nation before me for ever.* Doubts again in other points, apprehended and aſſented unto, though but conditionally, or imperfectly, yet by the habit of Chriſtian Faith, are finally reſolved into the Article of the Divine Providence, which is to moſt others, as undoubted Principles to Scientifical Concluſions; whence Faith admits ſuch diſcourſe or reſolution, as hath been mentioned in the former Books.

* *Pſal.* 30. v. 5.

† *Jer.* 31. v. 35, 36.

10. A ſpeculative evidence likewiſe there is, intenſively as perfect as can be expected in moſt demonſtrative Sciences, (but infinitely more pleaſant, though we reſpect only the tranſient delight of actual contemplation:) and extenſively no leſs, though not for facility of its apprehenſion, or number of perſons to whom it ſo appears; yet for the multitude of neceſſary inferences upon one and the ſame ſubject; all which might appear moſt evident to all, were not many of us wilfully blind, ſlothful or careleſs; and yet diſcourſive too, becauſe analytical: the reſolution I mean of Evangelical Teſtimonies into Prophetical Predictions, Legal Types, or Hiſtorical Figures of the *Meſſiah*, as in due place (by Gods aſſiſtance) ſhall be manifeſted. If any object, that this reſolution can be evident only upon ſuppoſition, (if the Scriptures of the Old Teſtament were from God:) I muſt anſwer him, as the Parents of that blind man did the captious Jews, *Search them*: For their Characters, rightly taken, evidently ſignifie their undoubted Antiquity to be greater, than any record he can bring of this diſtinct viciſſitude betwixt day and night, Summer and Winter, Seed-time and Harveſt, or other ſeaſons; the poſſibility of whoſe interruption in times paſt, may from ſome extraordinary changes within our memory, be argued with greater probability, than any can poſſibly be brought, why the Books of holy Scripture ſhould be ſuſpected for new and counterfeit. And the antiquity of the Old Teſtament being evident, the admirable conſonancy of it with the New, and multitude of manifeſt experiments of every kind, fully anſwerable to their rules, better aſcertains the truth of Gods promiſes contained in them, than any Induction natural reaſon can frame, to prove, either the viciſſitude of times or ſeaſons, or revolution of the Heavens, to have been ſince the beginning perpetual. The truth of which concluſion, as of many others in Philoſophy, for which great Artiſts think they have demonſtrative reaſons, I profeſs I much better believe, and more evidently know from Gods Covenant, to this purpoſe recorded in ſacred Writ, than from all the Writings of Philoſophers, or any reaſon they or I can bring, or our Succeſſors ſhall be able to find, although after us they ſtudy this point till the foundations of the earth be ſhaken, the elements melt with heat, and the heavens be gathered like a ſcroll. Yea further, to me it ſeems an evident demonſtration from the effect, that there is ſuch a ſubtil Politician as we call the Devil, which cunningly bewitcheth or blinds the eyes of mens ſouls, or elſe with Golden Balls averts them from looking unto thoſe

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heavenly Myſteries, in that they ſeem either incredulous, or improbable unto ſuch, as can diſcern the truth of curious and abſtruſe Concluſions in ſecular Arts.

11. Laſtly, of thoſe Articles which ſeem to fleſh and blood (as is their diſtinct apprehenſion even to Gods Children in this life) moſt impoſſible, *the poſſibility* is directly evident: That they ſhall actually be accompliſhed, depends upon reſolution of promiſes made to us in Scripture, into his fidelity that hath promiſed; whereof we have evident and full aſſurance. The one rank of eſpecial marks, whereat theſe preſent Meditations aim, ſhall be, to ſet forth theſe ſeveral evidences in the Articles whereto they properly belong; as the evidence of poſſibility in the Articles of Creation, and the Reſurrection of our mortal bodies; the evidence of Speculation in the Articles of the Godhead, Divine Providence, of Chriſts Incarnation, Life, Death, Paſſion and Reſurrection; the evidence likewiſe of internal ſenſe, anſwering to touch or taſte, in the Doctrine of Original ſin, and life everlaſting. Not that *Aſſent*, in reſpect of this object, can be evident to mortality, but that there may be a clear diſtinct apprehenſion of ſuch a diſpoſition as hath been mentioned, of body and mind more than natural, inclining our ſouls with patience to expect the accompliſhment of thoſe promiſes, concerning joys unſpeakable in the world to come; which though never formally repreſented, may notwithſtanding be fully aſſented unto in this life as certainly future, from ſure experiments of his fidelity and ability that exhibited this preſent pledge or aſſurance. Whether the certainty of future matters, yet unſeen or undiſtinctly apprehended, can poſſibly in this life be as great, as the evident certainty of their preſent aſſurances; or whether delay or long expectation neceſſarily weaken Faith, as exceſs in length makes bodies of equal ſtrength more eaſie to be broken than if they were ſhorter; hath a more fit place to be diſputed in. The evidence of Faith anſwerable to the evidence of bodily motion or impulſion, muſt be reſerved (as Artiſts do difficult Problems) as an Appendix to this Work finiſhed. He that is deſirous of information in this kind, may find rules not altogether impertinent to this effect, in ſuch as write of the *Trial of Spirits*, or Myſtical Theology.

12. Here ſome happily will demand, Whether this *Aſſent* we treat of, being of things paſt, preſent and to come, or of things partly ſeen, and partly unſeen, be properly termed Faith in reſpect of all, or ſome of theſe only? For ought I have obſerved in Scripture, or from the common uſe of ſpeech, the name of Faith is given to it eſpecially in reſpect of things paſt or to come, which are unſeen: but this I diſpute not. It ſufficeth that the habit of inherent Grace, whereby we formally aſſent unto all the objects of Chriſtian Faith, (whether they include a relation unto times preſent, paſt, or to come) is one and the ſame, and may in part be defined, *An Aſſent unto ſupernatural truths revealed in Scriptures, firm in reſpect of all, directly evident only in reſpect of ſome.* Or if any will exclude evidence from the definition, becauſe not incident to thoſe objects, with reference to which this habit originally takes his name, let him ſay it is *A firm infallible Aſſent unto ſupernatural truths already paſt, or hereafter to be manifeſted, grounded upon an experimental evidence of others preſent, or upon a true knowledge of Scriptures divine truth, or ſuch points as they teach, indefinitely conſidered, without peculiar reference to this or that time.*

13. From theſe diſcuſſions about the imperfect evidence or certainty of ſome, the inexhauſtible capacity of all, and the incomprehenſibleneſs of the two final objects of Chriſtian Faith, *life and death everlaſting*, the one diſtinctly apprehended in its pledge or aſſurance, the other in its preſignifications; it may appear, the moſt native property of this *Aſſent* thus far differenced, is admiration and horrour. Admiration is properly of things rare and excellent, known in part, but not comprehended, ſo as the more we know, the more we deſire to know of them. This affection it was which firſt brought forth Philoſophy, according to the Dunſtical Proverb, *Propter admirari cœperunt homines Philoſophari*: and as an excellent Philoſopher tells us, minds naturally diſpoſed to admire things ſtrange, ſecret or uncouth, are the fitteſt for this ſtudy. Belike, want of this diſpoſition in modern Wits, hath been the cauſe we have added ſo little to the invention of the ancient in this noble Science. Nor ſhould I much deplore this defect in us, that have given our names unto Divinity, if the leſs we minded ſuch Problems as Nature propounds, the more earneſtly we ſet our affections upon heavenly things, or more faithfully employed our beſt faculties in diſcovering theſe Celeſtial objects, in themſelves much more worthy of contemplation, as diſtinctly apprehended in part; albeit the latitude, length and profundity of their internal credibility, be infinitely more incomprehenſible. In all which reſpects they are more apt, as to begin, ſo to continue a longing after that which is behind. But I know not how, the Philoſophers Fields look like Gardens, and the Paradiſe which we are ſet to dreſs, like an Heath or Wilderneſs. The Theorical part of Theology becomes loathſom unto many, being for the moſt part wholly attired in ſlovenly terms of trivial Arts, whiles the beauty of the Practick is thought chiefly to conſiſt in the flouriſh of Scripture-phraſes, or embelliſhment of popular diſcourſes, with divine ſentences, moſt admirable (I muſt confeſs) in themſelves, but like *Scanderbegs* Sword in a Weaklings Arm, uſually looſing their edge and ſtrength, whilſt not managed by that affection or diſpoſition from which they ſprung. Nor is it poſſible the Prophets Flowers ſhould retain their native odour of life in our lips, without ſuch influence from our hearts as they had from theirs: Nor can our hearts be fitly qualified for this purpoſe, without a deep and penetrant apprehenſion of what they have diſcovered, or new diſcoveries of our own: without aſſiduous and accurate obſervation of that heavenly order, exact proportion, and ſweet aſpect, which the ſeveral rows of theſe plants of life, growing in this great Nurſery of wonderment and admiration, have each with other. He that thinks as much hath been, as can be ſaid, concerning theſe Divine Myſteries, hath doubtleſs forgotten who is their Author, and ſaith in his heart, *God is grown old*, or the *Spirit* weary of teaching his Children. Let us therefore as many as be or would be perfect, be ſo minded as the Apoſtle was. * *Doubtleſs* (ſaith he) *I think all things but loſs for the excellent knowledge ſake of Chriſt Jeſus my Lord: for whom I have counted all things loſs, and do judge them to be dung, that I might win Chriſt. That I may know him, and the vertue of his reſurrection, and the fellowſhip of his afflictions, and be made conformable unto his death. If by any means I might attain unto the reſurrection of the dead: not as though I had already attained unto it, or were already perfect: but I follow, if that I may comprehend, that for whoſe ſake alſo I am comprehended of*

* *Phil.* 3. *verſe* 8, 10, 11, *&c.*

Chriſt Jeſus. Brethren, I count not my ſelf to have apprehended: but this one thing I do, forgetting thoſe things which are behind, and reaching forth unto thoſe things which are before, I preſs toward the mark for the price of the high calling of God in Chriſt Jeſus. This obſervation in this place I rather touch, becauſe who liſt to examine ſhall upon ſure trial find, that Admiration ſpringing from calm and quiet contemplation of Harmony amongſt theſe heavenly Myſteries, will be as an armour of proof to his moſt firm and beſt *Aſſent*, better enabling it to reſiſt all the fiery darts of Satan, eſpecially to neglect the wanton allurements of the fleſh, or faireſt proffers the world can make, than the ſtrongeſt perſwaſions he can enforce upon himſelf, by perpetual gazing upon that point whereat we all hope to arrive; but from whoſe direct aſpect it would argue no errour ſometimes a little to deflect our courſe, to have our ſails filled with theſe ſweet and gentle blaſts, which may well ſtretch our hearts with joy, but never puff them up with pride.

14. As for the contrary affection of horrour and aſtoniſhment, ariſing from the ſting of Conſcience, imperfectly repreſenting the unknown terrours of that dreadful day, and caſting our ſouls as it were into a ſpice of grudging of that deadly ſcorching Fever, wherewith the wicked and impenitent ſhall everlaſtingly be tormented: the beſt courſe were to ſtop the progreſs of it by ſubſtracting the fewel. Yet ſeeing theſe our mortal bodies can never be free from matter too much of this diſeaſe, it will not be much amiſs for the beſt of us to allot ſelected hours for attentive hearing of ſuch complaints, as our own Conſciences, upon juſt occaſions, will preſent unto us; or otherwiſe, when none are offered, to addreſs our contemplations to take a perfect view of that infernal Region where no goodneſs grows, nor miſery every fades. No danger can accrew from either practice, but rather great advantage to ſinful ſouls, if not poſſeſſed with prejudicial conceits of utter excluſion from that eternal league of grace and peace, or of abſolute damnation to that Lake from which is no redemption. But to what uſe the contemplation of Hell torments may ſerve Gods Children, at the full (by Gods aſſiſtance) in the laſt Aricle of this Creed.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The mutual affinity betwixt truth and goodneſs: the real Identity of the will and underſtanding: that the Aſſent of Faith cannot be ſo appropriated to the one, as to be excluded from the other: that admitting ſuch a difference betwixt them as true Philoſophy may approve; Faith in reſpect of ſome objects muſt be attributed to the will, in reſpect of others to the underſtanding: the original of difficulties in aſſenting to moral objects, or of the natural mans backwardneſs to believe truths divine: what dependance other Chriſtian vertues have on Faith: that to adhere unto divine Revelations as good, not ſimply conſidered only, but comparatively, or with oppoſition to any other good, is altogether as eſſential to Faith rightly Chriſtian, as to believe or acknowledge them for true.

UNto ſome *not ill* affected towards the truth we ſeek, perhaps the manner of the ſearch may ſeem injurious unto Chriſtian Faith, in that reſtraining it to *Aſſent*, we may be thought to confine it wholly to the underſtanding, the greateſt glory of whoſe prerogative conſiſteth in reformation of the will; and this a cure in ſome mens judgments, not diſchargeable, but as it were by perſonal reſidence in that part or faculty of the ſoul. And unto ſome great Divines it ſeems improbable, if not impoſſible, that Faith being no aggregated accident, but one pure, immixt, ſimple quality, ſhould have its ſeat in two divers ſubjects or manſions: for ſuch they account the *will* and *underſtanding*; becauſe, as they ſuppoſe, two ſeveral parts or faculties of the reaſonable ſoul, really diſtinguiſhed one from another. But in the Philoſophy we have learned, out of the beſt Profeſſors of that Science hitherto it hath been our hap to light upon, the objected difficulty can have no place: rather this erroneous imagination of ſuch a diſtinction betwixt theſe faculties, hath plunged the maintainers of it in ſuch foul inextricable errours, and driven them to ſuch miſerable endleſs ſhifts in matters moral, and theological of greateſt conſequence, as every intelligent man would abhor; nor need any be put unto the like, that hath more Philoſophy than only to ſerve, as we ſay, from hand to mouth, or can beſpeed themſelves of as much as they have uſe for elſewhere, and not take all upon truſt from *Aquinas* or his followers.

2. Yet for the defendants of ſuch a real diſtinction betwixt the *will* and *underſtanding*, it may be alledged that the one hath *Truth*, the other *Goodneſs* for its proper object, and divers objects argue diverſity of Faculties: not unleſs the objects be really diſtinct, rather oppoſite than ſubordinate, or mutually included one within the other: Seeing as well colours as ſounds, ſmells as taſtes, are ſenſible; and yet it cannot be truly ſaid that colours are audible, ſounds viſible, taſtes odoriferous, or odours taſtable, we hence

rightly gather, that theſe four ſenſibles are apprehended by ſo many ſeveral ſenſes. But it is quite otherwiſe in *Truth* and *Goodneſs*: for if we grant, as colours are of ſight, or ſounds of hearing, ſo truth to be the proper object of the *underſtanding*; needs muſt that faculty be delighted therewith: and ſeeing delight (as all grant) is an eſſential branch of *goodneſs*, impoſſible it were the underſtanding ſhould delight in truth, ſave only in as much as truth is *good* and *pleaſant*.

3. Again, ſeeing entity and tranſcendent goodneſs are always of equal growth, and not the meaneſt amongſt Creatures altogether inanimate, or meer natural, but hath a peculiar inclination to its proper good, whereof it hath no ſenſe or apprehenſion: needs muſt the intellective and moſt noble faculty of man be inclined to truth, in whoſe contemplation it ſo much joys. * Now what in natures inanimate we call a propenſion, or inclination, in Creatures indued with knowledge is properly called an appetite, or deſire. For (as was obſerved before) it is all one, whether we ſay a ſenſitive Creature hath an inclination, or appetite unto good: whence, if the *underſtanding* either formally be, or include an inclination to truth, it muſt needs either formally be it ſelf, or neceſſarily include an appetite of the ſame: and this appetite or deſire either ſenſitive or rational, if but meer ſenſitive, it is brutiſh, if *rational*, it is eſſentially and formally a *will*. For even ſuch as admit the former diſtinction, cannot better define the *will* than by a *rational* appetite, or inclination of the intellective nature. Thus it appears that goodneſs is eſſentially contained in truth, and the *will* intrinſecally included in the *underſtanding*. But more apparent is the like mutual incloſure of the *underſtanding* in the *will*. For on what good ſoever that nature entity or faculty we would have ſignified by the name of *will*, is or can be bent; needs muſt it know it, or elſe move unto it as earth and ſtones do unto their proper place: and all knowledge is either an act of ſenſe or underſtanding, if by the meer ſenſe the *will* know the good to which it tends, it is but brutiſh, if by *underſtanding*, to *will* either formally is, or eſſentially includes ſuch an act as we call *Intellection*.

4. The iſſue of theſe perſpicuous and demonſtrative Collections is, that this *Aſſent*, whoſe differences we ſeek, cannot without evident contradiction be appropriated to the underſtanding, and excluded from the *will*, or ſo attributed to the *will* as to be excluded from the *underſtanding*. He that grants it to be in the one, and denies it to be in the other, muſt affirm it to be in both, and deny it to be in either: for the acts of both are ſo eſſentially linked and combined, that we cannot expreſs ſo much as any true conceit or notion of the one, but by the other. Every choice eſſentially includes a *will*, every approbation a choice, and every *Aſſent* an approbation. Yet what it is to *underſtand* cannot better be notified, than by ſome of theſe acts, acknowledged by all as eſſential to the *will*; as *by an Aſſent or approbation of what we apprehend as true, or more probable than the contrary.* All truths we underſtand are either ſimply neceſſary, or comparatively more probable than ſuch as may ſtand in competition with them. In our *Aſſent* to truths apprehended as ſimply neceſſary, there is as formal a rejection of all incompatible opinions whatſoever, as there is of a known evil in reſpect of an abſolute good. In every *Aſſent* again to truths more probable

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* Sicut in rebus inanimatis appetitus eſt inclinatio naturæ in aliquid, & dicitur appetitus naturalis, ita in natura intellectuali appetitus eſt Inclinatio naturæ intellectualis in quantum intellectualis eſt, propterea omnis actus voluntatis eſt inclinatio actualis ipſius naturæ intellectualis: & dare inclinationem actualem tali naturæ & inclinare voluntatem, pro eodem accipiuntur. *Ferra in cap.* 88. *lib.* 2. *Aquin. contra gentes.*

than others of the ſame quality, there is as formal a choice of the one part, and as voluntary a refuſal of the other, as there is of greater good before a leſs of the ſame kind: ſo, that every act men would ſeem to appropriate moſt to the underſtanding, is properly, eſſentially, and formally, a *volition* or *willing*. That ſuch acts again as they appropriate to the will, and call *volitions*, are eſſentially and formally *intellections*, is moſt evident. For if a man ſhould ask what it is to *will*, the anſwer could not be more formal and proper, than to ſay it is to *underſtand a thing* as good, at the leaſt as good unto the party underſtanding. This is *Aquinas* own collection; *Deus eſt intelligens bonum, ergo eſt volens: God muſt be ſaid to will in that he underſtands good.* The reaſon of this mutual combination betwixt theſe acts is as clear, as the combination it ſelf. For there is no truth ſo meerly intellective or contemplative, but eſſentially ends in goodneſs, becauſe it delights the Contemplator. And even of Mathematical Theorems, wherein ſeems leaſt appearance of any good; the more certain, more uſeful, or fertile of evident, though meer ſpeculative conſequences is held the better, and more delights the Author or Inventor. Nor is there any moral goodneſs ſo eſſentially practical, or oppoſite to ſpeculation, but eſſentially begins in truth: for to appear good only, and not to be truly ſuch, is evil and not good. Briefly, Goodneſs is the eſſential crown of Truth, and Truth the eſſential ground of Goodneſs: whence, if we will uſe accurate and ſcholaſtick terms, and ground our ſpeech upon the internal nature of the ſubject we ſpeak of, not upon ſuch extrinſecal references it hath to ſeveral objects, or denominations given from them to it: every act of the intellective nature muſt of neceſſity be, formerly and properly both a volition and intellection. Upon juſt reaſons therefore do we make belief an *Aſſent*, or inclination of the intellective nature, not appropriating it either to the will or underſtanding: albeit ſuch as acknowledge a real diſtinction between them or their acts, ſhould in reaſon place it rather in the will, becauſe the objects of it are rather moral than meerly ſpeculative, nor can we ever underſtand them aright, but we muſt underſtand them as good to us. But though ſo to underſtand any object be the cleareſt and beſt notation, or definition, the moſt acute follower *Aquinas* hath, can give of *will* or *volition*: yet unto many not much addicted unto either, it will, I doubt, ſeem a doctrine new and ſtrange, that we ſhould will whatſoever we underſtand to be good to us.

Ex hoc enim quod Deus eſt intelligens, ſequitur quod ſit volens. Cum enim bonum intellectum ſit proprium objectum voluntatis, oportet quod bonum intellectum, in quantum hujuſmodi, ſit volitum: intellectum autem dicitur ad intelligentem, neceſſe eſt igitur quod intelligens bonum, in quantum hujuſmodi, ſit volens. *Aquin. contra Gentes, lib. 1. cap. 72.*

5. But Truth (I hope) ſhall not be worſe entertained by the ingenious and courteous Reader, becauſe a ſtranger. Rather than it ſhould, it ſhall learn the common language after ſome brief Advertiſements for avoiding the errours thence occaſioned, or for diſcovering the original of the former unneceſſary diſtinction; which doubtleſs was for want of another, more needful betwixt our intellection, or approbation of *good*, whilſt ſimply conſidered in it ſelf; and whilſt compared, either with ſome other more familiar *good* we muſt forgo, or ſome evil which would befal us, if we ſhould continue or accompliſh our former choice or approbation. For as a candle, though as truly bright as viſible, remains only viſible, and rather obſcure than bright, while actually compared with the mid-day Sun: ſo our unwillingneſs to purchaſe the good which we late approved, appearing moſt clear and evident from actual refuſal of it, and free choice of the contrary, when we come to examine the terms

or conditions upon which it is proffered, doth quite overſhadow and drown all former acts of our will, or deſire to have it as ſimply conſidered, and leaves only a conceit of it, as true, in the brain. Yet that both are properly acts of the *will* or deſires, is moſt apparent in matters of ſecular uſe or commodity. For every man knows it is one thing to deſire a commodity ſimply. another to accept it at ſuch a rate. A mans unwillingneſs to give five hundred pound for Farm, doth not argue his unwillingneſs to have it *gratis*; or if he perfectly knew another purchaſe to be as well worth a thouſand, his willingneſs would be the ſame to have it for five hundred, as to have the former *gratis*. Thus many divine truths are in our firſt apprehenſions aſſented unto as good, and therefore truly willed whilſt ſimply conſidered: which yet we evidently refuſe, or *nill*, when we come to queſtion about their price. And this later act obliterating all impreſſion of the former, we uſually appropriate *that* unto the underſtanding, though as much belonging unto the will. For I never knew any ſo idle or diſſolute but would divers times wiſh he were like ſome godly men, whom he will not imitate, and yet his wiſh to be like them is as proper an act of the will, as his unwillingneſs to imitate them: this later notwithſtanding we uſually appropriate to the will, though equally appertaining to the underſtanding; would we make an equal compariſon. In the former we cannot but will divine truths ſimply, becauſe ſimply conſidered we underſtand them as good: in the later we do not therefore will them, becauſe we do not at the inſtant of choice apprehend or underſtand them as good, being compared either with ſome enticing ſenſual good, or much feared evil, their proſecution would deprive us of, or procure us. For, as in the Article of everlaſting life, by Gods aſſiſtance, ſhall be ſhewed, it is impoſſible the intellective nature ſhould will, or chuſe a leſs good before a greater, unleſs there be a defect in ſuch acts as are confined unto the underſtanding, even by ſuch as diſtinguiſh it from the will: as, either the repreſentation of the *good*, in groſs acknowledged for greater, is not formal, diſtinct or clear; or becauſe the apprehenſion is dull, or the impreſſion weak. Here it contents me, that in this reſolution I follow our Apoſtles form of ſpeech: * *To will* (ſaith he) *is preſent with me, but I find no means to perform that which is good.* Thus he attributes the firſt act of the intellective nature, whereby he aſſented unto divine truths contained in the Law of God, as good whilſt ſimply conſidered, unto the will: that afterwards he effected not the purchaſe of what he ſo willed or approved, he aſcribes not to any peculiar defect in the will, but to want of ability, ariſing partly from the ſtrength of ſinful affection, partly from weakneſs or inſufficiency of *Aſſent*, or inclination of the mind, as it comprehends both the will and underſtanding.

* *Rom.7.v.18.*

6. But is there no difference between *Truth* and *Goodneſs*? no uſe of any diſtinction betwixt the will and the underſtanding? Yes, we deny not all, but had rather ſeek a true difference between the one couple, and a commodious diſtinction between the other. *Truth* preciſely conſidered includes a right apprehenſion, or repreſentation of the object, whether actual or poſſible. As the repreſentation of a winged horſe, or Hippocentaure, or Chimera is falſe, but of a winged Eagle true; becauſe the Eagle actually is, the horſe poſſibly cannot be ſuch. Although it were all one in reſpect of

our ends, or purpoſes, whether the Eagle had four feet without feathers, or the horſe wings without feet. *Goodneſs*, as in common uſe of ſpeech it is made the peculiar object of the will, beſides the true repreſentation of the object, or conformity of our imagination to it, as having actual or poſſible *being*, includes a conveniency in reſpect of us, or opportunity of furthering our deſires. That properly is good which is agreeable; that bad which is contrary, that indifferent which is alike far from contrary, or agreement to ſuch affection as we have or ſhould have.

7. Notwithſtanding this diſtinction, whilſt we conſider the whole latitude of objects good and true: *Truth* and *Goodneſs* in moral matters fully apprehended, are in a ſort co-incident, altogether as unſeparable as ſound and melody are in a pleaſant conſort to attentive ears within juſt diſtance. And as of ſounds perceived by one and the ſame ear, ſome are diſſonant, ſome conſonant, ſome neither one nor other to the internal harmony or conſtitution of our ſouls; ſo of truths aſſented unto by one and the ſame intellective faculty, ſome are pleaſant, ſome diſtaſteful, ſome indifferent in reſpect of our deſires, or moral purpoſes. Such as are either indifferent in their nature or eſſence, or unto ſome certain point or degree of apprehenſion, we are ſaid to apprehend or conceive, as meerly true. And this apprehenſion or conceit, we uſually appropriate to the underſtanding; not that it abſolutely excludes every degree, or branch of goodneſs, but all beſides that immanent delight which floweth from the bare repreſentation, or is comprized within the impreſſion made upon the apprehenſive faculty, never diffuſing it ſelf into any other part of the ſoul, ſave only that which firſt entertains and embraceth the object, unapt either by internal nature or imperfect apprehenſion to make any further entrance. As the bare quality of light, though not accompanied with any other viſible ornaments, after long darkneſs pleaſeth the eye: ſo doth the mear diſpelling of ignorance (which is as blindneſs to the mind) or clear manifeſtation of truths, how abſtract and ſimple ſoever, if before obſcure and unknown, neceſſarily delight the underſtanding, and therefore contain as many degrees of goodneſs, as they quench of our natural thirſt after knowledge. So true it is what was intimated before, that the moſt ſlender truth we can imagine is a *ſurface* (not meerly Mathematical, but Phyſical) of goodneſs: the greateſt *good* we can deſire but a ſolidity of truth. Whence as truth and goodneſs are one in that incomprehenſible fountain from which they flow: ſo ſhall our apprehenſions of them, when we come to a diſtinct view thereof, be co-incident. For it includes a contradiction that we ſhould apprehend the truth of that object, in whoſe actual contemplation or apprehenſion conſiſts the greateſt felicity our humane nature is capable of, otherwiſe then as the greateſt good conceiveable. Such is the glory of the God-head, bodily dwelling, and perſonally ſhining in the *Man* CHRIST JESUS. This is a truth ſo clear, ſo ſweet and ſolid, as will in the firſt moment of its diſtinct apprehenſion throughly quench our extream thirſt after knowledge, and at once more fully ſatiate all our deſires, whether of *truth* or *goodneſs*, than the light of the Sun in his ſtrength doth the appetite of ſight. So ſtrict is the clear union of his *truth* and *goodneſs*, both infinite in him, as will fill every corner and angle of our apprehenſive faculties, even whiles the ſight thereof enlargeth our capacities to comprehend ten

thouſand times more than before they could. So forcible again is the attractive influence, thence diffuſed throughout our ſouls, as will perfectly unite our moſt diſtracted appetites or inclinations into one main flame of deſire *to continue holy, as he is holy*: we ſhall not then ſay, *This* is profitable, *That* is pleaſant, but *yonder other* truly good and honeſt. For this ſanctity, whereby we are made conformable to that *Holy one*, and capable of his glorious preſence, ſhall become all in all, as it were a perfect unity of the former Trinity.

8. But in this life, from imperfection partly of the objects apprehended, partly of our apprehenſion, we frame unto our ſelves diſtinct conceits, as of *profit*, *pleaſure* and *honeſty*: ſo likewiſe of *truth* and *goodneſs*. That truly is a moral good, and abſolutely honeſt, which qualifies our ſouls for better attaining that bleſſed ſight of our Redeemer. To our nature taken in this life, as it is, all *that* generally is good, and the compleat object of mans corrupted will; which, beſides the delight directly ariſing from the repreſentation of its nature or poſſeſſion of its right ſhape or reſemblance, inflames other parts of the ſoul with a deſire of further union with it, or more real fruition of it; and employs our motive, or practick faculties for bringing the match about. Rightly to apprehend or find out the true conceit, or notion of *Temperance*, or that harmony of affections which is requiſite to this, or other moral virtues, doth as much delight the ſoul, as contemplation of thoſe Mathematical proportions betwixt ſounds, whence melody reſults. But ſo to apprehend this virtue, as to take denomination from its acquaintance, includes further ſuch a love and liking of this *Idea*, or image in the brain, as cauſeth us ſubmit all our affections to it, to addict our beſt abilities to the ſervice of it, and direct our actions to attain familiarity with ſo beautiful and chaſte a miſtris as it repreſents. All moral knowledge, if it be perfect, includes as great a delight in the exerciſe, or practice of duties ſubordinate, or the internal ſenſe of that conſort or concordance the ſenſitive affections have one with another and all with reaſon, as men uſually take in the hearing of melodious ſounds. For practice or right compoſal of affections, being the end (as the Philoſopher teacheth) of all moral diſcipline, knowledge in that ſubject is imperfect, unleſs it bring forth good actions with joy. Whence a meer Contemplator of Moralities, and a Moraliſt differ, as if a Muſician, beſides his skill to ſet a grave or pleaſant Leſſon, ſhould further out of the honeſty of his mind deſire to hear it perpetually ſung, or to have his ſpirits always ſo compoſed as they are whilſt external harmony works upon them. But as a man either by dulneſs of hearing, far diſtance, or intentiveneſs on other ſubjects, may perceive the ſound indiſtinctly, and yet be nothing at all affected with the melody: ſo may he likewiſe, as moſt have an imperfect or confuſed notion of moral doctrines as true, without delight in their practice, never moved with that internal harmony of affections, which is moſt ſweet and pleaſant to all ſuch as have their wits at home, and their minds attentive to ſuch muſick.

9. That this ſufferance of our imaginations to wander abroad, or fixing our deſires on foreign objects, doth either altogether hinder the forcible impreſſions of moral truths upon our ſouls, or works ſuch diſturbance in our conceits, as great noiſes do in men intentive unto contemplations, needs no further confirmation than every mans own experience. The reaſon is as plain as the thing it ſelf

is true; for even our moſt abſtract ſpeculations or apprehenſions ſuppoſe an inclination of the ſoul, though this in ſome be ſcarce ſenſible, becauſe but weak, as the object is but ſlender, in others much weakned, either for want of poſitive attention, or renitency of ſome contrary inclination. The ground of this aſſertion we take as granted by all; becauſe, for ought we know, never denied by any: that whether the vegetative, ſenſitive, and intellective faculties have three diſtinct ſouls or ſubſtances for their ſeveral originals, or all ſpring from one; the inclinations of all three are ſo united in one common centre, that the intention of one doth always hinder the execution of what another intends, and diminiſh the native force of the ſoul in all by diſſipation or diſtraction. Thus intention of mind (as hard ſtudents know) much weakens the digeſtive faculty, by this means coming even with the belly, whoſe ſervice moſt hinders all true devotion or contemplation. But more offenſive are the contrary inclinations of one and the ſame faculty, when they come to band directly one againſt another. From this diviſion of inclinations within us it is, that Mathematical truths are eaſily aſſented unto by youth; which as the * Philoſopher obſerves rather recite moral duties by rote than believe them, becauſe theſe in his phraſe of ſpeech are not known but by experience. And ſeeing experience, as he elſwhere notes, ariſeth from many memories of the ſame object, all preſuppoſing diſtinct apprehenſions of its truth: Impoſſible it is youth ſhould either have experience, or true knowledge of moralities until affection or paſſion be aſſwaged. Nor do theſe whilſt unnurtured, diſenable young men only for action, or practice of what is good (as the ſame Philoſopher, or ſome for him may ſeem to ſay:) Rather even this backwardneſs to practice, they eſpecially effect, by diſenabling their apprehenſions. For knowledge, or perfect apprehenſion applied to theſe ſubjects we ſpeak of; beſides, a repreſentation of their Logical truth, or correſpondency, includes an impreſſion of their eſteem, upon that part wherein the affection is ſeated. The want of diſpoſition to receive ſuch impreſſion, or rather the temper moſt oppoſite to it, is that, which in Scripture is called hardneſs of heart.

* *Ariſt. Ethic lib.6. cap.8.* Longum enim tempus experientiam facit, nam & hoc aliquis conſideraverit cur Mathematicus puer fieri queat; ſapiens vero, ſive phyſicus non queat. An quod illa abſtractione conſtant, horum autem principia ab experientia ſunt? Καὶ τὰ μὲν οὐ πιστεύουσιν οἱ νέοι ἀλλὰ λέγουσι.

10. From theſe grounds of true Philoſophy we may reduce the reaſons, why the natural man ſo hardly aſſents to matters of his own ſalvation, unto theſe two heads. The one, becauſe they are ſo directly oppoſite to the chief object of his corrupt deſires; the other, becauſe theſe are ſo ſtrong and deeply diffuſed throughout the ſubſtance of our ſouls. For all affections ſet on matters contrary to theſe we ſhould affect, according to the degrees of their ſtrength more or leſs, either muffle or ſheath the edge of our wits, that they cannot pierce into truth or goodneſs, or weaken that intention of mind which ſhould (whether actively or paſſively) work the mutual penetration betwixt truths propoſed, and the apprehenſive faculty. Thus we ſee by experience, that men prove moſt expert in thoſe Arts or Sciences, whereto they are moſt inclined by nature; and are, though otherways dull oftimes, very witty in that ſubject whereon their deſires are chiefly ſet, their conceits in others being uſually but foreign and borrowed from their delightful apprenheſions of matters moſt familiar. Our readineſs again to believe whatſoever is pleaſant to our nature, or lies in the way to our eſpecial purpoſes, plainly argues the backwardneſs of our belief in divine myſteries, to be uſually

ally if not wholly, from natural propenſions to ſenſuality or ſecular contentment. And that the former unaptneſs in youth, eſpecially to perceive truths Moral or Theological, doth not ſpring from any inherent dulneſs in the Intellective faculty, were the motions of it towards ſuch points propoſed free, and unfettered, is evident, in that their wits are in that age, for the moſt part ſharpeſt, and able with eaſe to perceive the truth of ſuch Mathematical concluſions, as will hardly enter into riper judgments: much leſs doth this inconveniency ſpring from any faintneſs in their endeavours, for their ſpirits are moſt lively; therefore only from the abundance of affection or heat of paſſion, which ſecretly diſſwade their underſtandings from all acquaintance with ſuch objects as are repugnant to themſelves. * *Of laughter* (ſaith the wiſe King) *thou art mad, and of joy and pleaſance what is this thou doſt?* Now theſe being the chief marks whereunto young men ſtretch their wits, ſeldom have we ſeen any of that rank without extraordinary education, to recover their right mind in matters pertaining to God, until he bind them on their beds of ſorrow, and ſcourge them with the rods of affliction. But then they become more docile Auditors of ſacred lore than men of mature age are; unleſs formerly accuſtomed to penitency, or long trained in the School of Chriſt) becauſe the affections of youth, though more violent in their motion, are not ſo ſtiff or ſtubborn in the habit, and young mens hearts, even becauſe unconſtant or leſs ſettled, are more apt to repent than old mens are, oftimes hardned by affliction, through too much conſtancy in their wonted courſes. No man I think hath either ſo much or little acquaintance with ſudden paſſions as to be ignorant, that their violence for the time being, quite blinds the ſoul, in ſuch matters, as at other times it ſees moſt clearly, and draws it oftimes to a liking of what it otherwiſe hath condemned. From which experience reaſon free from partiallity will collect, that ſtrength of habitual affection makes us uncapable of divine knowledge, partly by hindering the native clearneſs of the apprehenſion, partly by weakning the *Aſſent* or adherence to what we apprehend, partly by breeding an obſtruction in the ſoul, or by reſiſting the impreſſion of ſuch truths as contradict and counterſway them. For ſudden or violent paſſions differ from ſtrong habitual affections or deſires, but as actual motions do from inclinations or propenſions.

*Eccleſ.2.v.2.

11. From theſe conſiderations we may gather, that the uſual diſtinction between the ſpeculative and practick underſtanding and the will, ariſeth not from any diverſity in the faculty, but only in the objects willed or underſtood: For of them ſome have affinity or repugnancy to affections, or propenſions to their objects; and with reference to theſe the intellective nature is denominated practick, and is ſaid to *will* or *nill*: Theſe terms in uſual ſpeech including always a competition betwixt ſeveral goodneſſes propoſed. Other have neither affinity or repugnancy, at leaſt directly, with any ſenſitive affection, or natural inclination, ſave only that contemplation of the truth cauſeth ſuch a tranſcendent delight in the intellective nature, as every convenient object doth in its proper faculty: and in reſpect of theſe, the underſtanding is denominated ſpeculative. A Scholar might make ſhew of curious skill in Metaphyſical contemplations, as many years together, as *Scotus* is ſaid to have ſtudied the *natural motion of bodies*, before any practical wit

or Politician, did either envy or contradict him, unleſs it were to make himſelf ſport: whereas ſhould he but defend ſome paradoxes of the like ſubject in the Schools, or ſeem to know more of ſuch matters than others of his profeſſion do, he ſhould quickly perceive that he had ſtirr'd a Waſps neſt. Now as in the civil converſation abroad, or in publick Societies, a man may profeſs skill, or inſight in divers matters without emulation or corrivalſhip, but ſhall be inſtantly croſſed and thwarted, if he ſeem but deſirous of acquaintance with ſome others, or knowledge of the ſame truths in different companies: ſo may our intellective faculty within this little world, or domeſtick common-weal every one of us carries about with him, affect ſome objects without check of any contrary deſire or inclination; but others he cannot ſo much as ſeriouſly think upon without jealouſies, diſcontents, reluctations or diſtractions. The objects whoſe contemplations exaſperate no oppoſite propenſions, either to obſcure their apprehenſions, retardate their aſſent, or dull their impreſſion, are matters moſt abſtract from uſe of moral, or religious life, eſpecially the Mathematicks, whereunto many Gentlemen are happily therefore moſt addicted, becauſe the moſt courteous ſtudies they could converſe with. Their truth is certain, and their delight reſulting from the apprehenſion of it ſincere, becauſe not prejudiced by oppoſition of other deſires. Knowledge of general Theorems breeds a longing after more particular Corollaries, or Concluſions; which from the higheſt to the loweſt, as little controul any ambitious thought or wanton purpoſe, as the moſt univerſal principle in that faculty: So is it not in moral *Diſcipline*, no not in the moſt uſeful Poets or Hiſtorians: in which many things will often apply themſelves: and ſuch as delight in the general, will be loth to dive too far into particulars, leſt they find the pictures of their own paſſions or reſolutions truly taken, or ſuch Characters of their manners, as ſeem ill-favoured whiles they behold others ſtigmatized or branded with them, All truth notwithſtanding is in it ſelf delightful (even *pabulum animæ, the ſouls food*, as the Heathen obſerved) and the knowledge of particulars rightly derived from the generals in every faculty, in it ſelf moſt pleaſant. But unto diſtempered ſouls the apprehenſions of ſuch ſlender abſtract truths, as exaſperate no internal humors, reliſh beſt: as doth ſmall drink or water to ſick, or aguiſh bodies; although the chief pleaſure or profit either bring, is only mitigation of preſent pain. But whiles we deſcend to particular applications in moralities; *obſequium amicos, adulation* (which is but a branch of falſhood) *finds beſt entertainment*: becauſe corrupt affection would apprehend its own praiſes true, and all true imputation falſe: *veritas odium parit, Truth* is excluded as an unwelcome gueſt; becauſe diſtaſteful unto ſenſual in-bred humours or deſires, which like wanton Strumpets, having gotten poſſeſſion of the marriage bed, bring our ſouls out of love with ſuch objects, as they have been affianced unto by yielding full *Aſſent* unto the generalities, whence they naturally and lineally deſcend. For even in matters practical, or eſſentially moral, the univerſals may be ranked amongſt the objects ſpeculative, and be referred to the *Underſtanding*, though their particulars belong more properly to the *will*.

12. Hence if it be demanded, whether this *Aſſent* of faith do eſpecially belong to the ſpeculative or practick underſtanding, or unto the will (ſuppoſing the uſe of this diſtinction late ſpecified:) the

demand, if general, is captious. For in reſpect of ſome objects it may be referred to the will, in reſpect of others to the underſtanding, or in reſpect of the generals to the one, in reſpect of the particulars to the other. As our *Aſſent* unto the Article of Creation and Reſurrection ſcarce admits any poſitive repugnancy of affection, or inbred deſire; the only cauſe of mens diſtruſt to them is a meer natural imperfection of the underſtanding; or a ſpeculative errour ſpringing from broken and impertinent inductions, as ſhall hereafter be declared. But our *Aſſent* unto the Articles of the laſt judgement and eternal life, with the particulars concerning Chriſts death and paſſion, is uſually aſſaulted by oppoſite affections. *So when S.* Paul *reaſoned of righteouſneſs, temperance, and judgement to come*; *Felix* trembled and anſwered; * *Go thy way for this time, when I have a convenient ſeaſon I will call for thee*: the reaſon of this reſolution is plain: For if the root of this former diſtinction be properly in the object only, not in the faculty; we cannot abſolutely aſcribe faith ſo to the ſpeculative as to exclude it from the practick underſtanding, or ſo to the underſtanding at all, as to bereave the will of its preſence; ſeeing all theſe make but one faculty: But well may one and the ſame habit, or its acts though all ſeated in one and the ſame individual or indiviſible faculty receive divers denominations from references unto objects of different nature. This imagination of plurality in cauſes or faculties occaſioned only from extrinſecal denominations, given unto them from diverſities proper only to their objects or effects (as we often miſtake in thinking bodies to be in the place of their appearance,) is ſuch a tranſcendent perpetual errour, as he that will take warning of it in his younger days, may in contemplations Moral, Natural or Theological, have immediate and free acceſs to truth, into whoſe preſence others ſeldom are admitted, but after long windings and turnings by unneceſſary diſtinctions or diviſions, and yet after all ſcarce ever ſee her but masked in terms of Art.

*Act. 24. v. 25.

13. But even in matters either by nature ſo abſtract, or otherwiſe ſo general, that our apprehenſion of them, or *Aſſent* unto them cannot be directly hindred by any contrary natural inclinations, we may often find great incumbrances from indirect or accidental oppoſitions. Thus deſire of glory, or hope of victory in Scholaſtick encounters, moves men often to diſclaim the truth which others have found out, or well illuſtrated; whereunto notwithſtanding they would quickly yield their firm *Aſſent*, might the glory of the invention be reputed theirs, or were it no prejudice to their high eſteem of their own wits to learn of others. For this reaſon I have known of good Scholars, ſome out of jealouſies leſt their diſcoveries ſhould be publiſhed in anothers name, ſome out of charity refrain diſcourſe amongſt ſuch as too much delight or glory in that faculty, for the moſt part ſo willing to contradict others obſervations, that a man can hardly put forth a truth before them without danger of thruſting them into the oppoſite error. Surely neither was it deſire of gain nor love of pleaſure, nor any other carnal affection beſides this fooliſh hope of vain-glory or delight ariſing from curioſity of ſpeculation, that of late hath tempted ſome to miſ-belief in the Article of the bleſſed Trinity. The admirable unity of perpetual *Aſſent*, to which great myſtery, amongſt ſuch bitter diſſentions as are this day maintained by divers Churches in moſt other points of Chriſtian faith: I have evermore aſcribed to want of direct oppoſi-

tions, unto any carnal affection or reſolution much beneficial to the chief managers of affairs through Chriſtendom; than unto poſitive devotion, or true fear and reverence of that great Majeſty, which all have ſo long profeſſed to be One in Three. For, did this unanimous conſent in that grand myſtery amongſt parties otherwiſe diſcordant, ſpring from theſe lively roots of true Religion; all ſorts would be afraid ſo grievouſly to diſhonour his Name by other Hereſies, and ſuch unchriſtian reſolutions, as to maintain with profeſſion of allegiance unto Chriſt is worſe than once for all to renounce him. Could the abridgment of honour, due either to the Son or Holy Ghoſt, have brought as great Revenues to the Papacy, as toleration of Stews, or filthy practice of Indulgences: the acknowledgment of either perſon as God, had been held long ſince a ſin more grievous than Fornication, Adultery, or Idolatry. Even we of reformed Churches, as many as ſincerely adore *that glorious Unity in the power of Majeſty*, have juſt cauſe to ſing daily praiſes to Him; that the profeſſion of Three Perſons in One Deity was not ſo grievous an eye-ſore to ſome great States-men or Politicians, as three Abbyes or Deaneries in one Shire: otherwiſe the heavenly Doctrine of the bleſſed Trinity had been at this day as offenſive, as that Tythes are due unto the ſons of *Levi*, *jure Divino*, or by right more ſovereign than to be counter-checked by any Decree or Law ſinful man can deviſe. But unto me, (as to our Apoſtle) it ever hath been, and ever ſhall be matter of joy and conſolation, that the Doctrine of Chriſt and of his Goſpel, whether of pretence, or ſincerely, is every way maintained, though by the poverty and affliction of his true Diſciples. For unleſs hope of worldly gain, or other reſpects, had moved Chriſtian Princes, and their States men, to ſhake off the yoke of Romiſh civil Tyranny; never had her blaſphemous Poſitions been publickly held in ſuch deteſtation, as now they are. Whence, hardly could any Doctrine of Devils have been diſtaſtful to our diſtempered ſouls, which had unaware ſucked deadly poiſon with our firſt Nurſes milk. If Princes again or Potentates, had not held the Doctrine of the Trinity as an ancient religious cuſtom, no way prejudicial, but rather advantagious to their States, and therefore religiouſly to be obſerved: either diſcontented Prelates croſſed in their ambitious hopes of honour, or ſuch curious contemplators as hold civil honour in contempt, out of vain-glorious affectation of fame amongſt poſterity, by new inventions had wrought the *major* part of Chriſtendom to their faction, ſo as Arrianiſm, or ſome worſe Hereſie, had long ere this been eſtabliſhed by National Conſtitutions.

14. The neceſſity of theſe Collections depends upon the unqueſtionable truth of this *maxim*, which in the ſequel will manifeſt it ſelf: that carnal deſires, or reſolutions of equal ſtrength, are always alike forcible to weaken, alter or invert our *Aſſent* to any one point of belief, as to another, if the oppoſition be alike direct; and our belief is of it ſelf ſooneſt miſ-led, or infeebled in matters moſt remote from Light of Nature, as is the Article of the Trinity. This obſervation of diverſe Conjunctions, or Oppoſitions betwixt mens carnal affections and ſeveral points of belief, is the chief part of Satans Aſtrology; whereby he forecaſts the fall of moſt in ſundry Ages, by means in ſhew moſt contrary, in iſſue the ſame. * By this ſkill he brings his matters ſo about, that the greater part

* *Read ſect. 2. chap. 2, 3, 4.*

of mankind in latter days, in their own conceit lovingly embrace Chriſtianity upon the ſame grounds or motives, that diſpoſed the Heathen ſo bitterly to oppugn it: elevating the one as high in hypocriſie or Phariſaical perſwaſions of their miſgrounded Faith, as he depreſſed the other in infidelity or malignancy to the Goſpel. It is a rule again as clear and indeficient, that either habitual neglect of particular Duties enjoined, or indulgent practice of evil forbidden by Gods Word, do as evidently evince want of true Faith in profeſſed Chriſtians; as oppugnation of the whole frame of Chriſtianity doth in Infidels, or of ſome principal parts in Arch Hereticks. Difference there is betwixt them, none in the internal conſtitution of the mind, only the Doctrine of Faith by alteration of times, publick Conſtitutions, or references to ſome private ends, gets a Conjunction with the ones predominant carnal affections, retaining oppoſition with the others. The reaſon of both Aſſertions is perſpicuous to the intelligent: for ſeeing ſupernatural objects compared with others, exceed them further in worth than in certainty or credibility; we muſt if rightly, both certainly and firmly *Aſſent* unto them, not only as truer than any Arguments can be brought againſt them, but as much better than any profit, pleaſure, or other good, the World, Fleſh or Devil can proffer unto us. Both parts of this certain and firm *Aſſent* muſt be univerſal in reſpect of the object, and perpetual in reſpect of time: for as he is not to be held an Orthodoxal Profeſſor that acknowledgeth the ſpeculative, or general divine truth of all the Articles in his Creed, or matters propoſed by the Word of God, whiles none gain-ſays, but doubts or recants while the Adverſary oppugns them: ſo is he not to be reputed a ſincere faithful Chriſtian, but rather tainted with hypocriſie that aſſents unto the goodneſs of divine precepts whiles temptations are far off; but diſeſteems them in the choice, whiles they come in competition with ſenſual pleaſure, worldly goods, civil honour, eſtimation, or the like. And if we could perſwade our ſelves to a liking of Scripture phraſe, which doubtleſs hath a more freſh and lively form of wholſom Doctrine than *Aquinas ſummes*, or his followers *diſputes*: this *Aſſent* unto divine matters, (eſpecially ſuch as peculiarly concern mans ſalvation) as perpetually *good*, is a more eſſential part of Chriſtian Faith, than the acknowledgment of their truth, which is a difference proper to an Orthodoxal Profeſſor of Chriſtianity, but remote to a faithful man or true Chriſtian, as he is diſtinct not only from Infidels or Hereticks, but from Libertines or Hypocrites. Thus defect in practice is cenſured by the Spirit of God for unfaithfulneſs, albeit every omiſſion of good, or commiſſion of evil, doth not convince the delinquent of abſolute infidelity; nor is every intemperate, or incontinent act, a juſt imputation of incontinency, or intemperancy. But as every partial defect is a degree or portion of unfaithfulneſs: ſo if the delinquency be habitual without remorſe, or joined with indulgence, it truly denominates the delinquent an Infidel in his ſight that knows his heart. So the Pſalmiſt uſually ſtiles the wicked and obſtinate *Iſraelites*, by the name of *Heathens*; albeit they renounced not the profeſſion of the true God.

15. Our uſual appropriating this delinquency (whether habitual, or by intermiſſion actual) unto a perverſity or untowardneſs of the will; as if it did not neceſſarily argue a correſpondent defect,

or weakneſs of that *Aſſent* which we call Faith, and moſt ſuppoſe to be placed in the underſtanding only: may hence appear to be a ſoleciſm of the Romiſh language, in that to the redreſs of this enormity, no peculiar reformation of the *will*, or other intellective faculty we can imagine diſtinct from the *underſtanding* is required; ſole *fortification* of the former *Aſſent*, in what part of the ſoul ſoever it be ſeated, or abatement of the contrary deſire or inclination, inherent for the moſt part in the ſenſitive faculty, will ſuffice. Yet it may be, ſuch as firſt uſed this dialect, now much abuſed by the Papacy, did take the *will* in ſuch a general or catachreſtical ſenſe as Saint * *Auguſtine* doth; where under this name he comprehendeth not only the inclination rational or intellectual unto good, but every appetite, deſire or motion of the inferiour or ſenſitive part, whoſe reformation is in part preſuppoſed as neceſſary, but principally conſequent to true Chriſtian Faith, whoſe firſt office, ere it ſelf be perfect, is to ſubdue affections, or keep them under from doing evil, afterwards to uſe them as inſtruments in doing any good the Word of God ſhall commend unto us. Whence it may be queſtioned, whether this *Aſſent* ſhould not belong unto the ſenſitive faculty; in which the Philoſopher (for the reaſon late alledged) hath placed moral vertue, not altogether incongruouſly to his ſpeculative poſitions. For, if the efficacy of *Agents*, or term of their actions be in the *Patient*: moral vertue, conſiſting eſpecially in the modulation of ſenſitive deſires, or affections unto reaſon, may well be referred unto that part of the ſoul, wherein affections are placed, which in reſpect of the intellective faculty is *patient*. Or perhaps to ſpeak more properly, and reconcile *Ariſtotle* with his Maſter *Plato*: moral vertue may conſiſt partly of a Directory, or commanding power in the *underſtanding*, partly of a ſubmiſſive obedience, or right nurture of our ſenſitive deſires or affections. Or laſtly, ſeeing in true Philoſophy the faculties ſenſitive, and intellective are but branches of one and the ſame ſoul; or at the moſt, but two parts of that compleat form, which diſtinguiſheth a Man from Creatures inanimate, and takes from him life, ſenſe and reaſon all at once by its departure: this *Aſſent* of Faith being ſuch as we have ſaid, may moſt commodiouſly be placed in the common center, wherein ſenſitive and intellective inclinations concur, whence it may eaſilieſt command the motions of both, and diffuſe its force and vertue throughout the whole ſubſtance, and every faculty of the humane ſoul.

See Sect. 3. Chap. 5.

16. If the Reader be deſirous to have the definition of Faith, or that part of it which naturally ariſeth from this diſcourſe, comprehended as the School-faſhion is in two words; he ſhall not much miſtake if he term it a *ſpiritual prudence*; which includes as much as an *Aſſent* of the intellective faculty, able to overſway and moderate the ſenſitive, or generally all humane affections or inclinations. The Romaniſts conceit that Chriſtian charity ſhould inform true lively Faith, is as prepoſterous, as if we ſhould ſay, the affection doth inform the underſtanding, or vertues moral the intellectual; or if we ſpeak of the love we bear to God, the analogy of ſpeech is no better, than if we ſhould ſay the grateful memory of pleaſant

See Chap. 10. Sect. 1. and Chap. 11. Sect. 7.

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* Intereſt autem qualis ſit voluntas hominis, quia ſi perverſa eſt, perverſos habebit hos motus: ſi autem recta eſt, non ſolum inculpabiles, verum etiam laudabiles erunt. Voluntas eſt, quippe in omnibus: imo omnes nihil aliud quam voluntates ſunt. Nam quid eſt cupiditas & lætitia, niſi voluntas in eorum conſenſionem, quę volumus? Et quid eſt metus atque triſtitia, niſi voluntas in diſſentionem ab his quę nolumus. *Aug. de Civitate Dei, cap. 6. lib. 14.*

objects informs the faculty that perceives them. In what part of the ſoul ſoever this Queen of Vertues lodge, it hath the ſame command over our affections, or practick powers, that ſenſe or appetite hath over the progreſſive faculty, which Nature hath given to ſenſitive Creatures for accompliſhment of their neceſſary deſires. That one Chriſtian Vertue ſhould phyſically inform another, is a conceit altogether dunſtical, and now diſclaimed in the explication of the old School *maxim*, wherein without Jeſuitical Comments, no man but would think it were literally and neceſſarily included. That Faith morally informs, directs and commands Charity as a guide appointed to it by him that is the Author of both; neither of them conſulted by him that hath them, will deny. Albeit, if lawful it be to enſtamp matters ſacred with the exact form of Scholaſtick ſpeech, it is (perhaps) but one and the ſame ſpiritual grace which animates and enables the ſoul, as to diſcern the truth, ſo to embrace the goodneſs of Revelations Divine, and conſtantly to practice all kinds of Chriſtian Duties; bearing divers titles from execution of ſeveral offices, whiles it inſpires divers faculties of the ſame ſoul, as one and the ſame breath hath different ſounds in the ſeveral Pipes of the ſame Organs, or other Wind-inſtruments. As it illuminates the mind, or ſovereign part of the rational ſoul, it is termed Faith; as it moderates every particular affection or deſire, it takes the name of the vertue peculiarly appointed to that charge, making it of meerly moral truly Chriſtian. Unto Parents, Kinſfolk, Acquaintance, Benefactors, or ſuch as well deſerve of them, moſt men naturally are well affected: unto all as men we owe humanity; and this affection being made conformable, and ſubordinate to the directions of lively Faith, becomes Chriſtian Charity. But ere it become ſuch, the ſame grace, which as it illuminates the mind to ſee, and ſtrengthens it to embrace divine truths propoſed, is termed Faith, doth alter the quality of this affection, by purging it from carnal reſpect of perſons, or private purpoſes, by enapting it to be ruled by Faith, which fixeth it only upon ſuch objects as Gods Word commends, and in that degree it preſcribes. Though before we did affect others upon ſuch motives as fleſh and blood ſuggeſted; *yet afterwards we muſt know no man ſo, but all our love is in the Lord.* And though Faith teach us to enlarge our benignity, or good mind towards all, as well foes as friends; yet it fixeth it eſpecially on ſuch as we deem neareſt allied unto our Redeemer, albeit their perſonal deſerts, or references towards us be not ſo great. In like ſort doth one and the ſame grace perhaps (for the manner) phyſically, but Faith morally inform, and moderates every affection, diſpoſition or inclination, that can be matter or rudiment of vertue. It perfects our notions of Equity and Juſtice; it ripens and ſublimates our ſeeds of Temperance, of Valour, of Liberality. For all theſe or other Vertues, are in a higher degree in minds endued with Faith, than in ſuch as are deſtitute of it, and principally ſet upon ſuch objects, as the natural man could not affect. But becauſe love thus informed by grace, and directed or touched by Faith, of all Chriſtian Vertues moſt reſembles the diſpoſition of our Lord and Saviour; and if in this life it could be perfect, would fulfil, at leaſt the ſecond part of the Law, if we compare it and Faith, as they are parts of our imperfect righteouſneſs, Charity within its own proper ſphere is intenſively the greater, or higher in this Edifice, as being ſupported and held up by Faith: but becauſe our righteouſneſs is in it ſelf imperfect, and our charity towards others unable to withſtand Satans malice againſt us, without external muniments, procured not by the merits of it, but by faithful prayers and ſupplications: therefore, as Chriſt is *Alpha* and *Omega*, ſo is Faith the firſt of all Chriſtian Vertues in plantation, and the laſt we muſt in this life relie upon, for retaining union with this Author and Finiſher of Faith, Chriſt Jeſus. Briefly, as he is to all the faithful, ſo is Faith to all other Vertues in this life, a tranſcendent *foundation* and *complement*. It remains we ſhew, firſt the truth of our main concluſion by inſtances of ſacred Writ, or ſuch practices as it aſcribes to Faith: Secondly, the Philoſophical Premiſes, whence we infer it to be moſt conſonant to the phraſe of Gods Spirit, which often teacheth us more true Philoſophy in one word, than Philoſophers do in large Volumes. The concluſion is, [We are then ſaid rightly to believe matters of our own ſalvation, when we *Aſſent* unto them as good, as neceſſary and worthy to be embraced, not only whilſt conſidered in themſelves, or in general, or without ſuch incumbrances or occurrents, as do often interpoſe or hinder their practice: but even whilſt actually compared with preſent loſs of any ſenſual good, or infliction of any tranſitory evil, the World, Devil or Fleſh can oppoſe to raiſe their price.]

17. Such muſt this *Aſſent* be in the habit, or conſtant reſolution, though often defective in the act upon diſadvantages eſpied by Satan. But every ſuch defect we muſt account a dangerous ſin, (eſpecially if we have any diſtinct notice of actual competition between carnal and ſpiritual good:) for this prepoſterous choice is properly *not of Faith*, but rather directly againſt the very nature of it, as it is now defined to be an *Aſſent* unto the means of mans ſalvation, as much better than any temporal good.

CHAP.

Chap. VII.

Illuſtrating and confirming the Concluſion laſt inferred by practices, properly aſcribed to Faith in Scripture, as well Canonical as Apocryphal: of Hypocriſie, and the contrary progreſs obſerved by it and Chriſtian Faith.

Heb.10.36,37.

1. *Ye have need of patience,* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *that after ye have done the will of God, ye might receive the promiſe. For yet a little while and he that ſhall come will come, and will not tarry. Now the Juſt ſhall live by Faith: but if any man draw back, my ſoul ſhall have no pleaſure in him.* The manner how we live by Faith, wherein that great controverſie betwixt us and the Romaniſts conſiſts; Saint *Paul* in this place handles not, as elſewhere he doth, and we from his principles hereafter muſt, according to the meaſure of abilities beſtowed upon us. Here it ſhall ſuffice to trace out his footſteps in unfolding that Faith, by which the Juſt do live; and whereby, he that rightly hopes to live, muſt in ſome meaſure be made juſt. That this withdrawing, whoſe diſtaſte unto our God is here intimated, is a defect in Faith, none (I preſume) upon better examination will deny. Not that it argues a total apoſtaſie from Chriſtianity, or hoſtile revolt unto the Adverſary; but only a diſeſteem, or undervaluation of thoſe gracious promiſes, whoſe accompliſhment muſt with patience be expected, whiles their future goodneſs comes in actual competition with ſuch grievous bodily afflictions, which every Chriſtian did then expoſe, and as it were bind himſelf unto by profeſſion of the truth. Such were the conditions of thoſe times, that if their hopes had been confined to this life, Chriſtians of all the ſons of men had been moſt miſerable. And conceit of extream miſery, without ſure hope of redreſs, can have no fellowſhip with patience: it admits no conſolation. Whiles they looked on things which were ſeen, they might deſcry an Army of Enemies, as many Creatures almoſt as are viſible planted againſt them; and muſt have cried out with the Prophets ſervant unto this great Teacher of the Gentiles, * *Alas, Maſter, what ſhall we do?* by his own practice he inſtructs them, † *not to look on things which are ſeen;* for they are temporal: *but on the things that are not ſeen,* for they are eternal. *Faith* (as he adds) *is the ſubſtance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not ſeen.* This lower Hemiſphere, or viſible part of the world, is but as the Devils Cheſs-board; wherein hardly can our ſouls move back, or forth, but he ſets out one Creature or other to attach them; nor have we any other means to avoid his ſubtilty, but by looking unto the hills whence cometh our help; or into that part of this great Sphere, which is altogether hid from the worlds eyes, * *where we may behold more for us, than thoſe that be againſt us.* And ſeeing we come in danger of Satans check, either by fear, cauſing our ſouls to draw back, or love of ſome worldly

* 2 King 6.15.
† 2 Cor.4.18.
* 2 King.6.16.

Creatures alluring them beyond the liſts they are to combate in: if we view that Hoſt of heavenly Souldiers which are for us, we may always have one of the ſame rank more potent to remove all fear, or diminiſh the love of any viſible Creature, or other incumbrance which Satan can propoſe unto us, and which unleſs we be negligent in our affairs may, as we ſay give our Antagoniſt the check-mate. If he tempt us unto wantonneſs, by preſenting entiſing looks of amiable, but earthly countenances to our ſight: we have ſure hopes of being as the Angels of God, and Conſorts of the glorious unſpotted Lamb, to encourage us unto chaſtity. If with pleaſantneſs or commodiouſneſs of our preſent habitations, he ſeek to detain us from the place of our appointed reſidence, or diſcharge of neceſſary duties: we have the beauty of the New *Jeruſalem*, to raviſh our thoughts with a longing after it, to cauſe us chuſe the readieſt way that leads unto it, rather than take up our reſt in Princely Palaces. If with honour he go about to entrap us, or terrifie us with worldly diſgrace: we may contemn the one by looking upon that ſhame, and confuſion of face, wherewith the wicked, though in this life moſt honourable, ſhall be covered in the day of vengeance, and loath the other, by fixing the eyes of our faith, upon that glorious promiſe made to all the faithful, * *Come ye bleſſed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you.* If Tyrants by his inſtigation threaten us with fear of death, which is the utmoſt of their deſpite: Faith ſets another before our eyes, whom we muſt fear more than ſuch as can only kill the body: If with ſickneſs and languiſhment, we may by Faith feel the inward man daily grow, as the outward man decaies. Finally, let him aſſault us what way he can, the affliction can be but light and for a moment, in compariſon of that excellent and eternal weight of glory, which we hope ſhall be revealed; of which hope, Faith is the only ſubſtance. Theſe are the roots of reformation in life or manners, whoſe ſeveral branches will ſpread themſelves more at large in the Article of everlaſting life. Here it more concerns to confirm, and illuſtrate our former inferences, by ſacred rules and inſtances ſubordinate to the late deſcription of Faith.

* *Mat.* 5. 34.

2. That Faith is appointed as Guide, and General to all Chriſtian Vertues, ordering and marſhalling every affection as is fitteſt for Gods ſervice, is implied in theſe ſpeeches of the Apoſtle: * *By it the Elders obtained a good report*, † *without it, impoſſible it is to pleaſe God.* As the ſucceſs of reſolute Souldiers valour, is the Generals praiſe; ſo is the effect of every other work, or commendable quality here aſcribed to Faith as their Director or chief Commander. Had it been poſſible unto them (or were it ſo yet to us) without Faith to make, or proſecute a choice of true good, or ſettle our deſires aright; no doubt our works, though imperfectly, yet truly conformable unto Chriſts, ſhould for his ſake be acceptable unto his Father, who is ſo well pleaſed in him, that for him he cannot but be pleaſed with all that are, in what degree ſoever truly like him. The fundamental act, or radical qualification of Faith for the formal general ſervice, is the ſtedfaſt acknowledgments of Gods Being and Bounty. *For he that cometh to God, muſt believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently ſeek him.* This is a tranſcendent *maxim*, wherein *truth* and *goodneſs* are ſo apparently coincident, that to *Aſſent* unto it as *true*, and not as *good* to the party aſſenting, implies an evident contradiction. For if the rule of ſtrict Juſtice be obſerved,

* *Heb.* 11. 2.
† *Verſe* 6.

obſerved, the hire muſt be as worthy the labour, as the labourer the hire. But where reward is properly an act of *bounty*, or liberality, it muſt exceed the worth of any pains undertaken for obtaining it. And being ſuch, once propoſed it inſtantly allures the mind to motion, or reſolution to attempt the means, that may procure it: if it be apprehended as ſure, and eaſie to be atchieved as it is great: *Will*, or deſire in this caſe commonly out-ſtarts the *underſtanding*, as as men in thirſt ſwallow their drink, before they perfectly diſcern the taſte. Now as we ſay there is no ſervice to the ſervice of a King, ſo is there no reward to the reward of the Almighty: and therefore no works ſo faithfully to be performed, as his. For, as ſhall hereafter better appear, even that Faith by which we live, muſt be concurrent by an uniform force, or ſtrength in every work that is truly good; for ſuch it is not if not faithfully done. Nor can the truth, force, or vertue of Faith be better diſcerned or tried without leſs danger of errour, than by an uniform or conſtant practice of what it teacheth to be good. In our *Aſſent* unto the truth of the former *maxim*, *That God is a rewarder of them that diligently ſeek him*; this ſecond is neceſſarily included: *It is better to obey God than Man*: Not in this or that particular only, or upon ſome ſpecial days or ſeaſons, peculiarly ſet apart for his ſervice; but at all times, in all places, in every thing that he commands. For ſeeing we are taught by the Article of Creation, that his dominion over every Creature is perpetually moſt abſolute; that of all their *Being*, *Exiſtence*, *Effects* or *Operations*, it is moſt true which *Job* ſaith of Riches: *The Lord giveth, and the Lord taketh away at his pleaſure*; that as he cauſed light to ſhine out of darkneſs, ſo can he turn matter of ſorrow and mourning into joy, and mirth and laughter into wo and lamentations: The concluſions eſſentially anſwering to theſe premiſes are; Nothing can be againſt us if he be for us, nothing for us if he be againſt us: no harm can happen us from any loſs or pain, if *He* be pleaſed: no good from any joy or mirth we reap from any Creature, if *He* take diſpleaſure at us. Not that the condition of the faithful in this life is always ſo ſweet and pleaſant, as they could not be contented to exchange it with others for the preſent; but that the worſt which can befal them, whilſt ſuſtained with hope of joyful deliverance, grounded on Gods promiſes, or allayed with internal ſenſe of his favours and extraordinary ſupportance, is much better than the greateſt joys or pleaſures of the wicked, whoſe iſſue is death. This is our Apoſtles Doctrine: * *For no chaſtening for the preſent ſeemeth to be joyous, but grievous: nevertheleſs afterward it yieldeth the peaceable fruit of righteouſneſs unto them which are exerciſed thereby.*

* Heb. 12. 11.

3. That men acknowledging the evident truth of theſe generalities, ſhould uſually fail moſt grievouſly in the performance of particulars, is not becauſe they knew the general, and are ignorant of particulars directly ſubordinate, (for that is impoſſible) but their aſſent to either being weak, and not well rooted, what they knew and aſſented unto as true, yea willed as good, whiles ſimply conſidered in the abſence of other good, or temptations to the contrary, they neither truly know, nor aſſented unto as good, when they deſcend to actual choice, which is never effected but by comparing particulars with particulars preſent. Then other deſires which before were couched or dormiant begin to rouſe themſelves, and oppugn the *aſſent* of Faith, which at the firſt like a wiſe and lawful, but an impotent

Monarch may exhort, not able to command them, at length rather yielding to their importunate demands than continuing reſolute to controul their outrages, leſt the ſoul in which both are ſeated be rent and torn with civil wars. That which the Apoſtle in the proceſs of the former diſcourſe ſo much commends in the Patriarchs was, not ſo much the quality or heavenly progeny, as the ſtrength and valour of their *Aſſent* unto Gods word and promiſes, able to command all contrary affections of fear, hope, joy and love. *Noah* did not differ from others of the old world in the object of his belief; that there was a God which had created the world, and could at his pleaſure bring it to nothing, was a truth manifeſtly known by light of nature, and tradition of their Anceſtors, which ſucceſſively had not been ſo many but that they might eaſily derive their pedigree from the Almighty; nor had they any Philoſophical hereſies, or ſtrange paradoxes to draw back their *Aſſent* from this part of truth: but that God which had lately made would in ſo ſhort a time deſtroy the earth with all the inhabitants by her neighbour element, would hardly be aſſented unto by drunkards, or gluttons; or if the ears of their ſouls were not cloſed up in the fatneſs of their bellies, yet theſe like their Maſter the Devil fearing leſt they had but a ſhort time to reign, would rage the more and belch out theſe or like unſavoury ſpeeches, * *Come let us eat, drink, make merry and enjoy the pleaſures of the fleſh whiles we may,* for if this ſcrupulous fellows words be true, *we muſt all ſhortly dye.* A preſent good they felt in ſuch practices; and hath the world learned any ſuch wiſdom ſince, as to forgo what they ſee and enjoy, upon uncertain hope of things unſeen? No, but rather this hypocriſie, to ſay: the truth which he preached was more evident to them of his times, than ſuch as Gods Meſſengers would enforce upon us; or that *Noah* was a better Preacher than any we have now adays. Yet even to this Preacher himſelf the Revelation had been as obſcure, as moſt our Meſſages are to this people, had his mind been as much ſet on worldly mirth, wealth or jollities. This then was the commendation of that *Faith*, by which he became heir of the righteouſneſs we ſeek by ours; † *that warned by God of things not ſeen as yet, being wary,* or (as others read) *moved with fear,* (of God no doubt, in fear of whom true religious warineſs conſiſts) *he prepared an Ark for the ſaving of his houſe, by the which he condemned the world,* and yet ſaved it too: *for an everlaſting Covenant was * made with him, that all fleſh ſhould periſh no more by the flood.* A ſhadow he was of that great Redeemer, which hath comforted us concerning our hereditary curſe, and will ſave his people from that fire which ſhall deſtroy the world; wherein the wicked and worldly minded ſhall periſh without redemption.

4. The difficulties which *Abrahams* faith in his firſt trial was to wreſtle with, were much what of the ſame nature: lands and poſſeſſions no doubt he had plenty, in that place which he knew and was well known in. And who would leave his fathers houſe, or loſe aſſurance of his natural inheritance, for fair promiſes of a better in a ſtrange land? None well experienced in the world. Yet ſuch was the ſtrength of *Abrahams Aſſent* unto Gods fidelity and bounty, that no ſooner called but he obeyed † *to go out into a place which he ſhould* (how long or ſhort while after he knows not) *receive for an inheritance, and he went to it not knowing whither.* Yet come to his journeys end he might in wiſdom have requeſted, either better aſſurance, or leave to

* Heb.11.7.

† Heb.11.7.

* Eccle.44.18.

* Heb.11.8.

return whence he came. But the ſame faith, which moved him to go he knew not whither, binds him there to expect Gods leiſure for the time, when he or his ſeed ſhould enjoy the benefit of the bequeſt; content in the mean time with what eſtate the divine Providence ſhould allot him. * *For by faith he ſojourned in the land of promiſe, as in a ſtrange land, dwelling in Tabernacles*: or, as † S. *Stephen* more ſignificantly notes; *God gave him none inheritance therein, no not ſo much as to ſet his foot in, only he promiſed that he would give him a poſſeſſion for his ſeed after him, when as yet he had no child.* Long delay of accompliſhing this promiſe, might well occaſion *Sarahs* diſtruſt to prove the Mother of a mighty Nation. The tentations to withdraw her *Aſſent* from the ſpeculative truth whereon it was ſet, *Gods power*, were not terrible, grievous or painful: yet not ſo eaſie to be foiled, becauſe they had got faſt hold within her. Barren ſhe was by natural conſtitution, and no better than dead, having ſo long out-lived the natural time of bearing children: but he that without her conſent or knowledge made her, gave his promiſe for reviving her dead womb; and ſhe could not continue doubtful of the event, without diſtruſting his fidelity that had promiſed. * *By faith* therefore *ſhe received ſtrength to bear ſeed, and was delivered of a child, when ſhe was paſt age.* The joyful iſſue of her belief may ſerve as an earneſt, to aſſure us of what Chriſt hath promiſed; † *I am the reſurrection and the life, he that believeth in me, though he were dead yet ſhall he live: and whoſoever liveth and believeth in me ſhall never dye.* He that truly judgeth Chriſt faithful in this, as *Sarah* did God in the former promiſe, ſhall ſee life ſpring from death. But faithful herein, he only judgeth Chriſt, that eſteems the faithful execution of his will dearer to him than all the pleaſures of this life, which is never without the check of death. By ſuch a faith only, as arms us with conſtancy in Chriſts cauſe, againſt all the terrors that accompany this laſt enemy we are to deal withal, ſhall we *receive ſtrength* to conceive that immortal ſeed, whoſe fruit is joy, peace and gladneſs everlaſting.

* Verſ. 9.
† Acts 7. v. 5.
* Heb. 11.11.
† John 11.25, 26.

5. Or if we conſider the date of *Abrahams* life, almoſt expired in it ſelf, but extraordinarily renewed in young *Iſaac*: how much more welcome had his own cruel Executioner been unto him, than the execution of this commandment, * *Take now thy ſon, thine only ſon Iſaac, whom thou loveſt, and get thee into the land of Moriah, and offer him there for a burnt-offering upon one of the Mountains which I will tell thee of.* But ſome happily will reply; God never puts any child of *Abraham* to ſuch a deſperate point of ſervice as this; wherein, notwithſtanding, what was required, which ſome Heathens have not performed unto their falſe gods? The manner of training up the father of the faithful, as it were by degrees unto this, gives us all to underſtand, that throughout our whole courſe of life, we ſhould eſteem whatſoever is moſt dear and near unto us, as baſe and vile in reſpect of Gods favour; of whoſe continuance none are capable, but by faithful performance of his will. All his commandments are *Mercy* and *Truth*, *juſt* and *good* unto the party that undertakes them by lively faith: which cannot rate either declination of any evil, or execution of good incident to mortality, at ſo high a price as obedience; of which in caſes wherein it is unqueſtionably due, it is ſo rigid an exacter, as will admit no diſpenſation, no not in caſe of grievous ſickneſs, or extremity of death. So Soveraign and high a hand it likewiſe hath in marſhalling and ranking all our affections for Gods ſervice,

* Gen.22.2.

that for an aged father to kill his only child at Faiths deſignment, becomes an act of mercy in the Slayer, and an exerciſe of pity upon the ſlain: for good it was to young *Iſaac* to yield up his life in obedience to his Father, willing in obedience to his God to take it from him. As CHRIST is the *Way*, the *Truth* and *Life*: ſo in this act of *Abrahams* faith, fore-ſhadowing his future Sacrifice, we ſee an entrance opened unto the path which muſt lead us unto this main way of life; for thither we come by treading the foot-ſteps of our Father *Abraham*. The point of whoſe ſupportance in theſe tentations, whereon all the motions of his will, and other acts of his obedience revolve as the door upon the hinges, or the Heavens upon the poles, was his firm *Aſſent* unto the Article of Gods Omnipotent power. For the Holy Ghoſt aſſigning the cauſe, * *why he that had received the promiſes ſhould offer up his only begotten Son, of whom it is ſaid that in Iſaac ſhall his ſeed be called*: ſaith, *he conſidered that God was able to raiſe him up even from the dead, from whence alſo he received him in a figure*. His belief as hath been declared, was of an object unſeen, perhaps unheard of in the world before; but grounded upon an evidence of the pledge exhibited in *Iſaacs* miraculous birth. We that refer all that befalls us unto natural cauſes, or contrivances of our own or others wit, never ſenſibly feeling the finger of God in the procurement of our good, uſually fail in the performance of ſervices, conditionally annexed to divine Promiſes. And albeit we pitch our faith where *Abraham* did his, yet when ſtorms of tentations ariſe, our ſenſual deſires, draw it, (being deſtitute of firm grounds) after them, as ſhips in great winds do their anchors, caſt in looſe gravel, or ſtony chanels.

* Heb. 11.19.

6. Many of our times could diſcourſe more plauſibly of Gods Omnipotency, more diſtinctly unfold the ſeveral branches thereof, and bring arguments to convince deniers of it more forcible than *Abraham* could; which cannot convince their own diffidence or diſtruſt in eaſier trials, becauſe not accuſtomed to rely upon Gods Providence, or to train their affections to obedience in leſſer matters. Should the practice of ſome duty nothing ſo difficult or diſtaſteful to humane affections, but altogether as ſubordinate to the divine Power, be enjoyned us by expreſs command from Heaven: we would not directly deny that God were able to effect his will, but queſtion rather, whether it were he that called us; or ſo perſwaded with thoſe in the Poet, ſeek a milder Interpretation of the Oracle.

——Aut fallax ait eſt ſolertia nobis:
Aut pia ſunt, nullumq; nefas oracula ſuadent.

Our cunning fails if Oracles ſhould counſel us to ill:
They holy are, and would not we ſhould ſacred Reliques ſpill.

What ſhould they caſt their Mothers bones behind their back? God forbid, ſure the Oracle had ſome other meaning.

Magna parens terra eſt: lapides in corpore terræ
Oſſa reor dici: jacere hos poſt terga jubemur.

The *Earth* no doubt our Mother is, for *Earth* all fleſh doth feed:
She hath her bones, and theſe are ſtones, which in her body breed;
Theſe we are backwards bid to throw, as Sowers do their ſeed.

Or as *Hercules*, deteſting the inhumanity of humane Sacrifices, offered up painted inſtead of living men, unto his falſe gods: ſo ſome ſuch image of young *Iſaac* as *Michal* made of *David* attired in his clothes, or ſome youngling out of the flock purpoſely inveſted with his name; would, to moſt aged Fathers, have been a Sacrifice good enough for their God. This or like conceit being ſuppoſed, a cunning Sophiſter would have found a fallacy *à rebus ad voces*; a Critick would have relieved himſelf from the Etymology of *Iſaacs* name, as ſome Heathens in like caſe have done, from a difference in the accent. For whereas their gods had preſt men unto their ſervice, expecting every year φωτα for a Sacrifice: theſe cunning Muſter-Maſters by alteration of a prick or tittle, ſubſtituted φωτα *candles* in their places, fit burnt-offerings for the powers of darkneſs. Or ſome doting Sire of our days, wherein ardent zeal to true Religion, and exceſſive love unto children conſort together as man and wife; though forward to profeſs as great obedience as *Abraham* made ſhew of, would have communicated this ſecret to the tender hearted Mother, and with her joynt voyce thus have deſcanted upon the Oracle.

Is God almighty ſo unconſtant or unkind, as to give a Jewel and take it again? Nay ſure he meant not *Iſaac* our only ſon; but as *Laughter* is his name, ſo ſince his birth he hath been our only joy. Doubtleſs we have ſurfeited of mirth and jollity in his preſence: and God, it is likely, will ſpeedily take him from us, unleſs we learn to uſe his bleſſings better, and redeem him with ſome other Sacrifice. And what can we offer more acceptable unto our God, than the Sacrifice of a broken and a contrite heart. Let his picture a Gods name burn to aſhes, and all our mirth, laughter and pleaſure periſh with it: let the reſt of our weariſome pilgrimage here on earth conſume with ſorrow and mourning for him as if he were dead indeed. Though a ſon and heir we have, in whom we may take as much joy and comfort as any of our neighbours can in theirs: yet we will be as if we had none.

7. Should God by his own immediate voyce call ſuch as make moſt conſcience of obedience in hearing his Word, to offer a Sacrifice that ſhould not coſt them half ſo dear as *Abraham* did, the examination whether this Spirit were from Heaven would be ſo ſcrupulous, ſo long time would be required for better information of their underſtandings, that opportunity of doing what was commanded would ſlide away, ere their reſolution ſettled. But he whoſe faith hath got the maſtery over his carnal affections in other conflicts, as *Abrahams* ere this temptation had done; ſhall upon the firſt propoſal, know thoſe *warnings* to be from God, which others diſtruſt, and ſo relent in the trial, albeit he that made them their ſouls, exact the exerciſe, or practice only of their faculties. But former negligence in fulfilling his manifeſted will, adds guilt to preſent ignorance, which cannot excuſe ſubſequent diffidence, or diſobedience. Even where divine Precepts are as plain, as peremptory for the general: if we adventure on their practice, it is for the moſt part but upon

ſuch terms, as the late mentioned *Heathen* couple did, upon that Interpretation of the Oracle which themſelves had framed.

Conjugis augurio quamvis Titania mota eſt,
Spes tamen in dubio eſt: adeo cœleſtibus ambo
Diffidunt monitis: ſed quid tentare nocebit?

Though *Pyrrha* ſomewhat moved is,
with loving husbands ſpell;
Yet hope hangs doubtful 'twixt them both,
too weak diſtruſt to quell:
But ſith no ill can come thereof, to try muſt needs do well.

Were it no harm or loſs to try, we could perhaps afford as great pains as they did, and as little hope did the iſſue depend upon our firm *Aſſent* to that divine Oracle, * *God is able of ſtones to raiſe up children unto Abraham.* But true belief of matters ſpiritual, as it preſuppoſeth difficulties in attaining the principal end, whereto it directs us: ſo it includes a forwardneſs in the choice, alacrity in the attempt, conſtance and confidence in proſecuting the means that lead us to it. An act it was of true and lively faith in S. *Peter*, to go upon the water unto his Maſter, in whoſe conſtruction nevertheleſs, to cry out when a great wave came againſt him, did argue a defect in the quantity, as unable to overmatch the extremity, or utmoſt degree of natural fear. *why didſt thou fear, O thou of little faith?* But to prevent, quell, or moderate the fits, or extremities of paſſions or affections in like extraordinary temptations, an extraordinary meaſure of faith, though ſincere and lively, is required: whereas our purpoſe in this place only was to ſhew by inſtances, that the Soveraignty of faith, if it be truly Chriſtian, or ſuch as S. *Paul* commends, and aſcribes juſtification unto, muſt be abſolute and univerſal in reſpect of every habitual deſire, or affection that can oppoſe it, though moſt natural in-bred or dear unto us.

* Matth. 3.9.

8. Though the object of *Abrahams* temptation was more furious, and terrible to reſiſt in the very brunt; yet that which *Moſes* afterwards overcame, was more likely to ſeduce unto diſloyalty: The proſperity he did enjoy, and pleaſures he might have taſted in *Pharaohs* Court, are as apt to bewitch or charm, as death of deareſt friends to terrifie the mind of man from going forward in obedience. The one uſually diſenables us to follow that in practice, which we acknowledge for good in ſpeculation: the other ſo corrupts our judgements, that we cannot diſcern true good from falſe. *Abraham* reſolved to kill his only child, and *Moſes* as it were to ſtangle his loving wife, that born of his fleſh, had been bred in his bones and nurſed in his boſom, when he was not maſter of his own will or affections. † *Yet when he came to age* (ſaith the Text) *he refuſed to be called the ſon of* Pharaohs *daughter; and choſe rather to ſuffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleaſures of ſin for a ſeaſon.* Even to rebuke or reproach for Chriſts cauſe he aſſented as good to him, yea better than all the treaſures of *Egypt*: not that rebuke is ſuch in it ſelf, but as it is the means to attain everlaſting life, or grounded upon the internal pledge of thoſe joys, which he ſaw only afar off, we nearer hand; were not the proverb fulfilled in us, that the nearer Chriſts Church comes to us the farther we go from it. But as the diſtance to this faithful

† Verſ. 24.

faithful ſervant of God was greater, ſo his ſight was the better; he had a cleared view of the recompence of the reward promiſed, which enabled him to endure as well the want of earthly pleaſures and contentments, as the height of that great Kings diſpleaſure, with ſuch conſtancy, as if he had *ſeen him which is inviſible*, and yet was in ſome ſort ſeen by *Moſes*: ſo is faith of things to the natural man unſeen, but in a manner ſeen by it.

9. Scarce now one living would do as *Moſes* did; not one that would, but ſhould be cenſured, not by worldlings only for a fool, but by forward Profeſſors of truth, for betraying Gods peoples cauſe; if having ſuch opportunity as he had of ſoliciting their good in the Court, he ſhould leave his place to expect Gods providence, or the the private contentment of his conſcience elſwhere. But from commendation of his Faith the judicious Reader may reſolve, not to trouble his mind with ſuch ſcrupulous cogitations, as whether the faithful, albeit no ſuch reward were promiſed, were to endure as *Moſes* did; or whether (as the Papiſts falſly lay to our great Worthies charge, though others of leſs worth have ſpoken ſomewhat indiſcreetly) intuition of reward pollute ſuch works, as would be otherwiſe good, if undertaken only becauſe we know them pleaſant to our God. It is a truth moſt Orthodoxal, that the chief end of our beſt works ſhould be the fulfilling of Gods will or pleaſure. But let not any man hence take occaſion by nice diſtinctions or curioſities, to ſeparate what God hath conjoyned; for his good will and pleaſure it is to reward us bountifully for well-doing, and to glorifie his name in our felicity: nor can we intend the accompliſhment of his will or glory aright, but as they are linked with his intention of good to us. For ſurely he wills our life and happineſs more than our good deeds, which, but for the other he willeth not. It was a ſlanderous ſpeech of an ungracious ſervant, to ſay his Maſter reaped where he had not ſowen: for our God looks not for glory, but upon preſuppoſal of good beſtowed; he never puniſheth, but for ingratitude, neglect, or abuſe of his mercy or bounty. The greateſt praiſe we can procure him is, to ſuffer our ſelves to be ſaved by the means he hath thereto ordained: and this hope of reward, even by his ordinance, is that which ſtrengthens the faith of his beſt ſervants. Or if thou thinkeſt that *Moſes* faith was imperfect, thy Saviours belief, or knowledge of his exaltation as man, doubtleſs was not ſo; *Yet he* (as the ſame Apoſtle ſaith) * *for the joy that was ſet before him endured the croſs and deſpiſed the ſhame, and hence is ſet at the right hand of God*; notwithſtanding he did all things for the glory of his Father, and becauſe he knew it was his will ſo to do; of which will likewiſe he knew it an eſpecial part, that he ſhould propoſe heavenly joys as a counterpoiſe to worldly pain, and ſure hope of endleſs glory, as an antidote againſt tranſitory ſhame or diſgrace. Wherefore let us alſo look upon CHRIST JESUS, *the Author and finiſher of our faith, and have reſpect unto the reward, that we may endure with patience the race that is ſet before us.*

* Heb.12.2.

10. That the ſame faith ſo much commended by this Apoſtle was, in reſpect of ſome objects, ſpeculative, or but an *Aſſent*, or foreſight of ſome divine Revelations, as true, according to that difference betwixt *Truth* and *Goodneſs* before handled is apparent from theſe inſtances: [† *By Faith Iſaac bleſſed Jacob and Eſau concerning things to come: By Faith Jacob when he was a dying bleſſed both the ſons of Joſeph, and leaning on the end of his ſtaff worſhipped: By Faith Joſeph when*

† Heb. 11.20.

when he was a dying made mention of the departing of the children of Iſrael, and gave commandment of his bones.] In none of theſe did their *Aſſent* urge them to any difficult, painful, or dangerous practiſe; it was to wreſtle only with the natural imperfection of mans underſtanding, or incredulity ariſing thence, not from any direct oppoſition of ſenſual or corrupt affection. Greater difficulties there were to diſſwade the people from adventuring to paſs through the Red-ſea, but after this accompliſhed without danger, the miraculous fall of *Jerichoes* walls was not ſo hard to be perſwaded to their poſterity, or unto ſuch as had heard what the Lord had done for their fathers. Yet by firm *Aſſent* unto this divine truth, as certainly future, the City was deſtroyed, and *Rahab* ſaved. * *what ſhould we more ſay? for the time would be too ſhort* (and the diſcourſe too long) to inſiſt upon the like in *Gedeon*, in *Baruc*, in *Sampſon*, in *Jephte*, in *David*, in *Samuel*, and in all the *Prophets*. What victory ſoever theſe or other Saints of God obtained over themſelves or their paſſions, over the enemies of God, his Laws or their Country, over men, wild beaſts, or other creatures; our Apoſtle aſcribes to faith. † *For by faith they ſubdued kingdoms*; not by believing they had overcome before they fought, but by becoming valiant in fight from firm belief that all victory *was from the Lord of hoſts, to whom it was alike eaſie to ſave with few or with many. By the ſame faith*, but as fixed upon the Moral Law, or other means of ſalvation, they *wrought righteouſneſs*. By the ſame faith they obtained the promiſes, not by perſwading themſelves they had them already ſealed, but by practiſing the conditions annexed unto them. By the ſame faith * *they ſtopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, eſcaped the edge of the ſword, of weak were made ſtrong, The women received their dead raiſed to life: others alſo were racked, and would not be delivered, that they might receive a better reſurrection. And others have been tried by mockings and ſcourgings; yea, moreover by bonds and impriſonment. They were ſtoned, ſawn aſunder, tempted, and ſlain with the ſword: they wandred about in ſheep-skins, and goat-skins, being deſtitute, afflicted, tormented.*

* Verſ.32.

† Verſ.33.

* Verſ.34, 35.

11. Theſe laſt paſſages of the Apoſtle warrant the Canonical truth of what an Author not Canonical relates, concerning thoſe heroical ſons, and that more heroical mother; whoſe reſolution beſt exemplifies the nature of faith, hitherto deſcribed by S. *Paul*, to be ſuch as we have defined, an *Aſſent* unto every part of Gods ſervice, or every divine promiſe, not only as *true* and *good* ſimply conſidered, but as much better to the party aſſenting, than the faireſt proffers ſupreme earthly powers can make, either for avoidance of pain or torments preſent, or ſpeedieſt advancement to greateſt dignities. The firſt reſolutely profeſſes in the name of all the reſt, † *we are ready to dye rather than to tranſgreſs the laws of our fathers.* Nor did his ſoul draw back, or ſhrink at ſuch ſavage and unmerciful uſage, as would move pity to ſee it practiſed upon a beaſt. Even to behold a flouriſhing tree firſt bereft of bark, then of all the naked branches, yet ſtanding, laſtly the green trunk cut down, and caſt full of ſap into the fire, would be an unpleaſant ſpectacle to ſuch, as delighted in ſetting, pruning, or nouriſhing plants. But that is but a weak reſemblance of this mans torture, firſt ſtript of his skin, having afterwards all the utmoſt parts of his body lopped off; laſtly his raw bulk broiled or carbonadoed quick. Yet the ſecond ſprig of the ſame root, made Spectator of all this miſery, to cauſe him abhor like butchery practices upon himſelf, conſtantly

† 2 Macc.7.2.

ſtantly pitching the fear of God higher than any preſent rack or torture could raiſe or improve his natural fear of Tyrants rage, with his mortal life breaths out that everlaſting truth, which his Redeemer afterwards gave in charge to his Diſciples. * *For when he was at the laſt gaſp he ſaid: Thou like a fury takeſt us out of this preſent life, but the king of the world ſhall raiſe us up, who have dyed for his laws unto everlaſting life.* The third, after like deriſion and torments as his brothers had ſuffered, willingly yields his tongue unto the Tormentor; but firſt conſecrates therewith his other members as an acceptable Sacrifice unto his God, eſteeming their loſs as gain for the keeping of his Law. † *For ſtretching forth his hands with boldneſs he ſpake courageouſly, Theſe have I had from Heaven, but now for the love of God I deſpiſe them, and truſt that I ſhall receive them of him again.* Nor could like torments wreſt any other confeſſion from the fourth: for when he was ready to die he ſaid thus; * *It is better that we ſhould change this which we might hope for of men, and wait for our hope from God, that we may be raiſed up again by him, as for thee thou ſhalt have no reſurrection to life.* The fifth again leſs fears the torments which he ſuffered, than the ſcandal which might redound to Gods Church from relation of their grievouſneſs, unleſs the errour were prevented. † *Thou haſt power, O King, amongſt men, and though thou be a mortal man, thou doſt what thou wilt; but think not that God hath forſaken our Nation.* The ſixth likewiſe at the point of death charitably inſtructs the Tyrant as our * Saviour afterwards did the Jews concerning them whoſe blood *Pilate* had mingled with their own Sacrifice. † *Deceive not thy ſelf fooliſhly, for we ſuffer thoſe things which are worthy to be wondred at for our own ſakes, becauſe we have offended our God: but think not thou, which undertakeſt to fight againſt God, that thou ſhalt be unpuniſhed.* But the Mother (ſaith this Author) was marvellous above all other, and worthy of honourable memory. For if by faith the Elders obtained honour, and good report: the weakneſs of her ſex doth witneſs the admirable ſtrength of her faith, * *that ſeeing her ſeven ſons ſlain within the ſpace of one day, ſuffered it with a good will, becauſe of the hope that ſhe had in the Lord.* That which inſpired her breaſt with this hope, her hopes with wiſdom, and her *womanly affections* with ſuch *manly courage*, was her firm *Aſſent* unto the Articles of the Creation and the Reſurrection: for with theſe arguments ſhe wiſely arms them againſt the terrors of death, or torture; *I cannot tell how you came into my womb, for I neither gave my breath nor life, neither was it I that formed the members of every one of you. But doubtleſs the Creator of the world, who found the generation of man, and found out the beginning of all things, will alſo of his own mercy give you breath and life again, as you now regard not your own ſelves for his laws ſake.* The ſeventh, whom *Antiochus* had tempted to diſloyalty as well by hopes of honour, as threats of tortures, ſhe thus intreats in particular; † *O my ſon have pitty upon me that bare thee nine months in my womb and gave thee ſuck three years, and nouriſhed thee and brought thee up to this age, and endured the troubles of education: I beſeech thee my ſon look upon the heaven and the earth and all that is therein, and conſider that God made them of things that were not, and ſo was mankind made likewiſe. Fear not this tormentor; but being worthy of thy brethren, take thy death that I may receive thee again in mercy with thy brethren.* Nor did her words want effect: for this alſo eſteemed obedience much better than honour or preferment; yea, as much dearer than Sacrifice, though of himſelf:

* *Verſ.* 9.

† *Verſ.* 10, 11.

* *Verſ.* 14.

† *Verſ,* 16.

* *Luke* 14. v. 1.
2 *Macc.* 7. 18, 19.

† *Verſ.* 20.

Verſ. 22, 23.

* *Verſ.* 27, 28, 29.

ſelf: for he ſaid, * *I as my brethren have done, offer my body and life for the Laws of our Fathers, beſeeching God that he will ſoon be merciful unto our Nation; and that thou, O Tyrant, by torment and puniſhment maiſt confeſs that he is the only God: And that in me and my brethren the wrath of the Almighty, which is righteouſly fallen upon our Nation, may ceaſe: ſo he alſo died holily, and put his whole truſt in the Lord.* † That a dumb Creature ſhall gently and quietly lick her young ones, newly ript out of her belly, even while the Anatomiſts knife did lance and diſſecate her living members, ſeemed to me, when firſt I read it in an Author of this profeſſion and practice, a wondrous effect of Natures force, evincing the truth of our Apoſtles ſaying, *That love,* which thus excludes all ſenſe of pain, would *if perfect*, *expel all fear:* but doubtleſs, more than natural was this womans love, or rather great was her faith, that *Gods love* unto her ſons and her *was greater, than the love of mothers to their children*; which could thus out of pity and compaſſion, expoſe them to ſuch ſavage cruelty, and patiently behold their live Anatomy, afterwards content her ſelf to be a ſubject of like practices. *For laſt of all, after the ſons the mother died.*

* *Verſ.* 37.

† Illud inſuper nunquam credidiſſes, quod videns obſtupeſces morientem matrem catulorum quos Anatomicus ab utero ejus abſtraxit majorem curam gerere, quam ſuimet. Nam ſi coram ipſa filium lædis, latrat, vociferatur: ſin illum ori illius admoves, ſilet, atque magna pietate lambit. Quod ſi aliud, non catellus oriejus, quam ſecas, matris accedat, rabie percita mordet, quem naturæ amorem, atque adeo parentum in liberos incredibilem charitatem in publicis theatris maxima ſpectatorum admiratione ſæpius oſtendi. Patavii præſertim, cum adeſſet illuſtriſſimus ac reverendiſſimus *Rainutius Farneſius,* tunc Venetiarum Prior, nunc Cardinalis S. Angeli nuncupatus, &c. *Colum. lib.* 14. *De viva ſect.*

12. So conſonant to the grounds of our Apoſtles diſcourſe, and theſe late mentioned reſolutions, is that excellent exhortation *Mattathias* made unto his ſons before his death; that we may without preſumption preſume, one and the ſame Spirit did ſet the ſeveral parts of this leſſon, and tune their hearts to this conſort, albeit he did not pen theſe latter Ditties. * *Now hath pride and rebuke gotten ſtrength, and the time of deſtruction and the wrath of indignation: now therefore, my ſons, be ye zealous for the Law, and give your lives for the Covenant of your Fathers. Call to remembrance what our Fathers did in their time, ſo ſhall ye receive great honour, and an everlaſting name. Was not* Abraham *found faithful in temptation, and it was imputed unto him for righteouſneſs?* *Joſephs* chaſtity, *Phineas* and *Eliahs* zeal, *Joſhuahs* valour, and *Calebs* fidelity, *Davids* mercy, and *Daniels* innocency, are all aſcribed to faith by him, as well as *Ananias*, *Azarias*, and *Miſaels* ſafety; or *Abrahams* late mentioned acts: for after an enumeration of theſe particulars, he thus concludes: † *And this conſider ye in all ages, that none that put their truſt in him ſhall be overcome.* All that was commendable in theſe ancient Worthies, was from their truſt in the Lord; and that from their firm *Aſſent* unto his power, his bounty, and fidelity: nor can the nature of faith be better notified by the *effect* or *property*, than if we define it to be a fidelity in all the ſervice of God, raiſed from a firm *Aſſent* unto the former tranſcendent truths, [*Of his bountiful rewarding all that diligently ſeek him, that it is always better to obey him than man,*] as ſhall further appear from the diſcourſes following. And it is already partly ſhewed in our meditations upon *Jeremy*, that prayers thus made in faith are ſtill effectual, for obtaining private remiſſion of our ſin, comfort in the day of trouble, or for averting Gods heavy plagues or curſes from any Land or people; if both the ſuppliants thus qualified hold due proportion with notorious delinquents for number, and the frequency or fervency of their ſupplications, with the continuance or ſtub-

* *Macc.* 2. 49, 50.

† *Verſe* 61.

bornneſs of the others ſins. But he alone truly prays in faith, that can with conſtancy proſecute the right choice of means which faith doth make, and faithfully practice ſuch duties as it preſcribes, for attaining the end whereto it directs.

* James 1. 5.

13. *If any of you lack wiſdom,* (ſaith Saint * *James*) *let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not, and it ſhall be given him. But let him ask in faith, nothing wavering: for he that wavereth is like a wave of the ſea, driven with the wind and toſſed. For let not that man think he ſhall receive any thing of the Lord. Why?* Becauſe he prays not in faith, but *is double minded and unſtable in all his ways.* In this doubleneſs of mind, or diſtraction of the ſoul, as the word imports, doth hypocriſie in his language that knows the heart and mind, properly conſiſt. For to pretend or promiſe one thing, and wittingly and expreſly, though in the ſecrets of our own hearts, to intend another, is, in Scripture-phraſe, an act of Atheiſm, or Infidelity. An Hypocrite he is in the ſame dialect, that aſſents unto the means of mans ſalvation as truly good, whiles ſimply conſidered; but diſeſteems them in the actual choice, wherein contrary deſires, or affections unrenounced, uſurp a negative voice, or rather make a *major* part of his own ſoul againſt him, ſo as he cannot make good his former promiſe with his whole *Aſſent*. From this competition between belief of ſpiritual truths, and carnal delights or pleaſure, both challenging full intereſt in one and the ſame ſoul, doth that doubleneſs whereof Saint *James* ſpeaks ariſe. And the unconſtancy or wavering of an Hypocrite, may beſt be reſembled by a Polypragmatical temper, deſirous to hold good correſpondency with contrary factions; hence often enforced to ſhuffle from ſuch promiſes as he meant to perform when he made them, but conſidered not how far he had been engaged by former obligements or proteſtations; from which, being challenged by the adverſe party, he cannot flinch without greater ſhame or grief.

14. Flattery, lying, and diſſimulation, of which hypocriſie is but the breed, in the phraſe of Gods Spirit which ſearcheth the reins, is not to profeſs one thing with the tongue, and purpoſe another in the heart; but rather to proteſt, what for the time preſent we truly think, without due examination of the ſoul or inward parts, or reſolution to renounce all contrary deſires, or really to diſclaim all intereſt any Creature hath in our minds or affections to the prejudice of the Creator; as the Pſalmiſt excellently expreſſeth this point.

† Pſal. 78. ver. 31, 32, 33, &c.

† *The wrath of God came upon them, and ſlew the fatteſt of them, and ſmote down the choſen men of Iſrael. For all this they ſinned ſtill, and believed not his wondrous works. Therefore their days did he conſume in vanity, and their years in trouble. When he ſlew them, then they ſought him: and they returned and enquired early after God. And they remembred that God was their Rock, and the high God their Redeemer.* This converſion queſtionleſs was not in jeſt, or pretended only for the preſent, but in their apprehenſion that made it, ſincere: yet in his judgment that was greater than their hearts or conſciences, falſe and deceitful, becauſe imperfect and irreſolute, as the Pſalmiſt in the next words inſtructs us.

* Verſe 36.

* *Nevertheleſs they did but flatter him with their mouth, and they lyed unto him with their tongues.* The height of their diſſimulation, as followeth, was, *that their heart was not right with him, neither were they ſtedfaſt* (believing, or faithful) *in his covenant: but as their Fathers had been, a reflectary and rebellious generation: a generation that prepared not*

not their hearts, and whoſe ſpirit was not faithful with God. Nor did this want of preparation, or their unfaithfulneſs proceed from want of purpoſe to do God ſervice, whiles tentations did not aſſault them; but herein rather, that like the children of *Ephraim, being armed and bearing bows, they turned back in the day of battail, that they kept not the covenant of God, and refuſed to walk in his law,* (when the law of the fleſh did oppoſe it) *they forgat* (*i.* they did not eſteem) *his works, and his wonders that he had ſhewed them.* Theſe divine characters of hypocriſie, or diſſimulation, approve his opinion, as well befitting the Author that ſaid, it was impoſſible for a Coward to be either an honeſt man, or a true friend. For ſeeing honeſty is but a ſtem of truth, or fidelity, his obſervation differs only in the ſubject, from that of the wiſe ſon of *Sirach:* * *Wo be to fearful hearts, and faint hands, and the ſinner that goeth two ways: wo unto him that is faint hearted, for he believeth not, therefore ſhall he not be defended: wo be unto you that have loſt patience, and what will ye do when the Lord ſhall viſit you?* More exactly paralleled, as well to the occaſion and grounds of our Apoſtles diſcourſe in *Hebrews* chap. 10. and 11. are theſe divine ſentences of the ſame Author immediately following. † *They that fear the Lord will not diſobey his word; and they that love him will keep his laws. They that fear the Lord will ſeek that which is well-pleaſing unto him, and they that love him ſhall be filled with the law. They that fear the Lord will prepare their hearts, and humble their ſouls in his ſight, ſaying, We will fall into the hands of the Lord, and not into the hands of men; for as his Majeſty is, ſo is his mercy.* From our laſt reſolutions in the former Chapter, the Reader will eaſily conceive the reaſon, why the ſame acts, operations, or practices, are ſometimes aſcribed unto faith, as the chief Steward, or Diſpenſer of ſpiritual grace, ſometimes unto the affection or diſpoſition which it moderates. For as faint-heartedneſs argues want of faith: ſo patience in adverſity, fear of God, and conſtant relying upon his mercies, though ſpringing immediately from their proper or peculiar habits, or affections, are enſpired and ſtrengthened by faith, as blood in the veins is by the blood arterial.

* *Eccleſ.* 2. 12, 13, 14.

† *Eccleſ.* 2. 13, 14, *&c.*

15. If we compare the ſeveral growth of ſtedfaſt faith, and hypocriſie, they much reſemble the order of compoſition and reſolution in ſciences or works of Nature, or of addition and ſubſtraction in Arithmetick, or of laying, or reducting ſums in *accompts.* As young *David* firſt encountred Bears and Lions, or other enemies of his flock, and afterwards overcomes the great *Goliah*, that had defied the whole hoſt of *Iſrael:* ſo true and lively faith firſt begins with petty deſires, or ſuch temptations as are incident to our preſent ſtate or calling, always ſo much leſs grievous in themſelves, as our places are meaner; and having gotten maſtery over them, ſtill encreaſeth, as difficulties or oppoſitions multiply, until at length it become victorious over the devil, world and fleſh, by a ſincere diſcharge of particulars contained in the view of Baptiſm. Hypocriſie acknowledgeth the ſame ſum of Chriſtian duties or practices, and ſubſcribes unto it, not only in groſs, but unto moſt particulars therein contained: yet ſtill reducts, or exonerates as much, as well diſpleaſing humours diſallow, until it finally diſſolve what true faith doth build even unto the firſt foundation, if the oppoſition between it and carnal fears, hopes, love or hate, come once to be direct and eager: What proteſtation could any true Profeſſor, either conceive in terms more decent or ſubmiſſive, or tender in more ſerious and ample form, than that ſupplication

Talis eſt natura fidei, quanto magis vetatur tanto magis accenditur. Virtus fidei in periculis ſecura eſt, in ſecuritate periclitatur. Quid enim aliud ita laxat vigorem fidei, ſicut longa tranquillitas. *Chryſoſt. in Matth.* 20.

tion which the remnant of *Judah* and *Jeruſalem* preſented unto the Prophet *Jeremy*, after the captivity of their brethren, * *Then all the Captains of the hoſt, and* Jehonan *the ſon of* Kareah, *and* Jezaniah *the ſon of* Hoſhaiah, *and all the people from the leaſt unto the moſt, came and ſaid unto* Jeremiah *the Prophet: Hear our Prayer we beſeech thee, and pray for us unto the Lord thy God, even for all this remnant, (for we are left but a few of many, as thine eyes do behold) that the Lord thy God may ſhew us the way wherein we may walk, and the thing that we may do.* After he had untaken this ſacred buſineſs, and paſt his word for his integrity in tranſlating it: they more pathetically oblige themſelves to whatſoever obedience God by his mouth ſhall enjoin them. *Then they ſaid to* Jeremiah, † *The Lord be a witneſs of truth and faith between us, if we do not even according to all things, for the which the Lord thy God ſhall ſend thee unto us: whether it be good or evil, we will obey the voice of the Lord God to whom we ſend thee; that it may be well with us, when we obey the voice of the Lord our God.* A man would think the propoſal of Gods commandment, by a Prophet ſo well known unto this people, one whom they had choſen for this purpoſe, ſhould have enforced them to performance of their promiſe. Yet *Jeremiah* foreſeeing the hypocriſie of their hearts, though hidden from their own eyes, returns his meſſage in ſuch a form, as if he had uſed artificial invention to perſwade obedience. Having called ſome of the parties that had late made this ſerious proteſtation, he tells them: * *Thus ſaith the Lord God of Iſrael, unto whom ye ſent me to preſent your prayers before him, If ye will dwell in this land, then I will build you and not deſtroy you, and I will plant you and not root you out: for I repent me of the evil that I have done unto you. Fear not for the King of Babel, of whom ye are afraid, be not afraid of him, ſaith the Lord: For, I am with you, to ſave you, and to deliver you from his hand. And I will grant you mercy that he may have compaſſion upon you; and he ſhall cauſe you to dwell in your land. But if ye ſay, We will not dwell in this land, neither hear the voice of the Lord your God, ſaying, Nay, but we will go into the land of Egypt, where we ſhall ſee no war, nor hear the ſound of the trumpet, nor have hunger of bread, and there we will dwell; and now therefore hear the word of the Lord, ye remnant of* Judah, *thus ſaith the Lord of hoſts, the God of* Iſrael; *If ye ſet your forces to enter into Egypt, and go to dwell there: then the ſword that ye feared ſhall take you there in the land of Egypt, and the famine for which you care ſhall there hang upon you in Egypt, and there ſhall ye die. And all the men that ſet their forces to enter into Egypt to dwell there, ſhall die by the ſword, by the famine and by the peſtilence, and none of them ſhall remain, or eſcape from the plague that I will bring upon them. For thus ſaith the Lord of hoſts, the God of* Iſrael; *As mine anger and my wrath hath been poured out upon the inhabitants of* Jeruſalem: *ſo ſhall my wrath be poured out upon you when you enter into Egypt; and ye ſhall be a deteſtation and an aſtoniſhment, and a curſe, and a reproach, and ye ſhall ſee this place no more. O ye remnant of* Judah, *the Lord hath ſaid concerning you, Go ye not into Egypt, know certainly that I have admoniſhed you this day.* And as † *Joſhuah* at his laſt farewel unto his people, ſuſpecting their proneneſs to Idolatry; did by a ſeeming provocation of them to the practice and profeſſion of it, wiſely wreſt from them more ſerious proteſtation to the contrary, and a ſtricter obligement to the ſervice of the only true God, than otherwiſe they would have conceived: ſo *Jeremiah*, inſtructed by his God that the hypocriſie of this peoples heart now ſecretly began to work, gives them notice of it, moſt deſirous to be diſapproved by them in the event.

* *Jer.* 42. 1, 2, 3.

† *Verſe* 5, 6.

* *Verſe* 9, 10, 11, 12.

† *Joſhuah* 24. 15, 19, 22, 24.

* *Surely ye diſſembled in your hearts when you ſent me unto the Lord your God, ſaying, Pray for us unto the Lord our God, and according unto all that the Lord our God ſhall ſay, ſo declare unto us, and we will do it. And now I have this day declared it to you, but ye have not obeyed the voice of the Lord your God, nor any thing for which he hath ſent me unto you. Now therefore know certainly that ye ſhall die by the ſword, by famine and by the peſtilence, in the place whither ye deſire to go and ſojourn.* *Jeruſalems* ruines, and the Temples aſhes, did witneſs the ſeverity and juſtice of their God, againſt the obſtinate and diſobedient. The *Babylonians* themſelves knew *Jeremiah* for a Prophet; even this people, to whom he brings this meſſage, were well perſwaded of his familiarity with their God; and he himſelf had paſt his word for acquainting them fully with his will. † *Then* Jeremiah *the Prophet ſaid unto them, I have heard you; behold, I will pray unto the Lord your God according unto your words; and it ſhall come to paſs, that whatſoever thing the Lord ſhall anſwer you, I will declare unto you: I will keep nothing back from you.* And was it poſſible the ſame men ſhould be ſo diſlike themſelves, as to forget their late proteſtations, and refuſe to do Gods will ſo fully made known unto them by his Prophet? To do the will of God, if ſo they knew it to be his will directly, they deny not: for this general truth was not as yet directly contradicted by their preſent paſſions. But now ten days had paſt, ſince *Jeremiah* and they had mutually pledged their faith; the one for notifying, the other for executing Gods commandment, concerning this preſent caſe: their former jealous fears of *Nebuchadnezzars* ill affection towards them had increaſed, in the *interim* they had entertained ſome politick hopes of ſhelter in *Egypt* from the ſtorm that threatned *Judah*. Both theſe with the natural ſtubbornneſs of their wills, accuſtomed to long after things forbidden, concur to impair and withdraw their former *Aſſent*; cauſing them, though not abſolutely to diſtruſt Gods power or goodneſs towards them, nor altogether to diſclaim *Jeremiah* for a Prophet, yet to ſuſpect his fidelity in this particular buſineſs. * *For when he had made an end of ſpeaking unto them all the words which the Lord had recorded, for the which the Lord their God had ſent him unto them, even all theſe words: then ſpake* Azariah *the ſon of* Hoſhaiah, *and* Johanan *the ſon of* Kareah, *and all the proud men, ſaying unto* Jeremiah, *Thou ſpeakeſt falſly; the Lord our God hath not ſent thee to ſay, Go not into Egypt to ſojourn there: But* Baruch *the ſon of* Neriah *ſetteth thee on againſt us, for to deliver us into the hands of the* Caldeans, *that they might put us to death, and carry us away captive into* Babylon. *So* Johanan *the ſon of* Kareah, *and all the Captains of the forces, took all the remant of* Judah, *that were returned from all nations whither they had been driven, to dwell in the land of* Judah. After they had thus ſhuffled from their promiſe, diſobeyed Gods Word, abuſed his Prophet, *and provoked him unto wrath with the works of their hands,* polluting their ſouls *by burning incenſe unto other gods in the land of* Egypt, *whither they were gone to dwell:* threatned with conſummation of Gods wrath, which had overtaken their forefathers, and had almoſt devoured their native Country; they begin directly *calcitrare contra ſtimulos*, and utterly recal their former *Aſſent* unto the general truth, ſo fully acknowledged before, *that Gods Commandments ought to be obeyed.* For theſe, we muſt conſider, were moſt peremptory againſt Idolatry, on which their hearts and affections were now fully ſet: ſo as the oppoſition betwixt Gods word and their reſolutions, becomes immediate and diametral. Nor was there any coactive

power

* *Jer.* 42. 20, 21, 22.

† *Jer.* 42. 4.

* *Jerem.* 43. 1.

Jerem. 44. 7, 8

power to bridle the unruly bent of their untamed affections; now at liberty to run riot, and acquaint their hearts with what they had ſecretly wrought before: No face of Civil Government, profeſſing true Religion, to diſcountenance and over-awe their audacious and whoriſh foreheads, from open avowing of what they purpoſed; rather the ſight of like practices authorized in *Egypt*, did tempt their hearts to conceive, and their mouths to profeſs greater abomination, than in their own land they could have thought on. And as that exceſs of inſolency, which moved the Iſraelite to wrong his brother, made him withal more impatient of *Moſes* reproof: So ſuch of this remnant, as were moſt conſcious of former diſobedience to Gods Laws, were moſt forward and petulant to diſclaim his preſent will, expreſly revealed for their ſafety, and like the old Serpent to accuſe his inhibitions in like caſe of falſhood, or envy. For when *Jeremiah* had made an end of all his threatnings; † *then all the men which knew that their wives had burnt incenſe to other gods, and all the women that ſtood by, a great multitude, even all the people that dwelt in the land of Egypt, in* Pathros, *anſwered* Jeremiah, *ſaying: As for the word that thou haſt ſpoken unto us in the name of the Lord, we will not hearken unto thee: but we will certainly do whatſoever thing goeth forth of our own mouth, to burn incenſe to the Queen of Heaven, and to pour out drink-offerings unto her as we have done, we and our Fathers, our Kings and our Princes in the City of* Judah, *and in the ſtreets of* Jeruſalem. *For then had we plenty of victuals, and ſaw no evil: But ſince we left off to burn incenſe to the Queen of Heaven, and to pour out drink-offerings unto her, we have wanted all things, and have been conſumed by the ſword, and by famine. And when we burnt incenſe to the Queen of Heaven, and poured out our drink-offerings unto her, did we make our cakes to worſhip her, and pour out drink-offerings unto her without our men?*

† *Jerem.* 44. 15.

16. This laſt inſtance of theſe hypocrites, will yield ſomewhat to evince a concluſion, hereafter to be inferred: That no affection unrenounced, not ſuch as procure greateſt applauſe and admiration amongſt men, but continually expoſes our ſouls to Satans check: That this cunning Gameſter, by extraordinary skill to play upon like advantages, can drive men into any point of infidelity, hereſie, idolatry, atheiſm, or blaſphemy againſt the Holy Ghoſt, as ſhall be fitteſt for his purpoſe, or as the oppoſition betwixt mens reſolutions and truths revealed ſhall fall out. From the former examples, whereby the Elders obtained good report, we have gained thus much, for confirmation of our laſt aſſertion. That the faith whereby *Abraham* was accounted righteous, and by which the ſons of *Abraham* muſt live, is a ſtedfaſt *Aſſent* to whatſoever God ſhall ſay, as much truer than ought can be ſaid againſt it, to whatſoever he ſhall command, as much better than either the accompliſhment of our own deſires or hopes, or obedience to contrary commandment of earthly powers, whether accompanied with ſevereſt threats of any evil, or ſureſt promiſes of any good, they or their inſtruments can procure us.

Chap. VIII.

That knowledge of moral objects in ſacred dialect includes the affections concomitant: The exact conformity or correſpondency betwixt the Aſſent or adherence (reſulting from ſuch knowledge) and the proper object whereto it is applied.

1. WHether right or no, be it in the judicious Readers power to examine and determine; ſuch choice as is too late for us to recal, is already made of *Aſſent*, as the fitteſt thred to follow, for unwinding thoſe perplexities which ſome late intricate diſputes of adverſe parties have woven unawares in this Argument, which we after them labour to unfold. Now ſeeing every *Aſſent*, eſpecially of the intellective nature, ſo neceſſarily preſuppoſeth *knowledge*, that the certainty (as hath been obſerved) of the one, can hardly ſpring but from the clearneſs, or perſpicuity of the other, it will be a matter altogether impoſſible to give the Reader a diſtinct and full view of the nature and eſſence of that *Aſſent*, whoſe differencies and properties we out of Scripture ſeek, unleſs we firſt acquaint him with the true force and value of *knowledge, underſtanding, or other terms of uſe, equivalent in the dialect of the Sanctuary*.

2. That words expreſſing the *acts* of *ſenſe*, or *underſtanding* in the holy Ghoſt, or his language that had not only the *form* of *wholſom Doctrine,* but the *very words of eternal life*, uſually include affections concomitant, is a rule ſo often inculcated by beſt Expoſitors of Sacred Writ, that to be curious in recapitulation of ſeveral inſtances, would ſeem but truantly pains, to ſuch as are converſant in their Writings: Yet, becauſe we write not ſo much for theirs, as for others uſe, to omit them altogether we may not. And ſeeing *remembrance* is but an *act* of *knowledge* reiterated; or a ſecond agitation of the mind towards that point, whereat it had arrived before: we ſhall more fully conceive what it is to *know*, if we firſt know what it is to *remember.* And that in the language of *Canaan*, is *ſo to be affected with matters called to mind, as the nature of them doth require.* Some things of belief and credence undoubted, becauſe related in Scriptures, are in themſelves of ſuch little uſe, or conſequence to our ſalvation; that barely to remember them ſufficeth, to be in heart affected with them is not required. Thus *Jacobs* making his ſon a party-coloured Coat, will, amongſt other ſtories, preſent it ſelf to their memory, that have read through the Book of *Geneſis.* But whom doth the remembrance hereof ought affect? unleſs perhaps ſuch little Children, as are deſirous their Parents ſhould follow this example. But not to be touched with the affliction of *Joſeph*, or old *Jacobs* ſorrow, when his Dearlings ſpangled Coat was preſented unto his aged eyes, all beſprinkled with blood; would argue hard-heartedneſs in an old Father of ſo young and lovely a Child. For Chriſtian ſouls not to be yet more deeply touched, with ſolemn remembrance of their Saviours

agony, his barbarous uſage at his arraignment, his ignominious and cruel death: were to ſtain themſelves with guilt of that blood, which muſt waſh them from all their other ſins. Nor doth the perfect remembrance of what the head hath ſuffered, affect the members with ſympathy only of his ſorrow: but quell and crucifie all carnal luſt and concupiſcences that fight againſt the ſpirit, as in that Article is to be declared. The Heathen it ſeems ſuſpected Chriſtian Sacraments had been inſtituted, as bonds of dangerous combinations, or conſpiracies in miſchief: but * *Plinies* exemption of them from that imputation, may inſtruct us, what uſe the Ancients made in remembring Chriſts death and paſſion. For thereby they ſolemnly renewed the league of Baptiſm, and ſetled their former reſolutions not to commit Theft or Adultery, not to falſifie their words, or any way defraud their Neighbours.

* Adfirmabant autem hanc fuiſſe ſummam, vel culpæ ſuæ, vel erroris, quod eſſent ſoliti ſtato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Chriſto quaſi Deo dicere ſecum invicem, ſeque ſacramento non in ſcelus aliquod obſtringere; ſed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depoſitum appellati abnegarent: quibus peractis, morem ſibi diſcedendi fuiſſe rurſuſque coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiſcuum tamen & innoxiis, *Plin. lib.* 10. *Epiſt.* 100.

3. The true force of this ſpeech, *To remember*, whilſt applied to matters of morality, the Pſalmiſt excellently expreſſeth in the hundred thirty ſeventh Pſalm. Such as had brought deſolation and wo upon their native Country, exacted mirth of them and his Countrymen in their captivity. To theſe their demands of the pleaſant ſongs of *Sion*, he anſwereth with indignation: † *How ſhall we ſing the Lords ſong in a ſtrange Land? If I forget thee, O Jeruſalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. Jeruſalem* we muſt conſider was, at this time, in her widowhood, forſaken of the Lord her Husband, and deprived of all her deareſt Children: *Sion* her head, ſometimes decked with Majeſty and Honour, was now covered with duſt and aſhes, as with a Mourning-veil; and for her Sons to have conſorted with the idolatrous *Babylonians* in their riotous mirth, had been more than to forget *Her*, whom they could not rightly remember but with ſorrow. Whence, in the next place he adds; *If I remember not thee, O Jeruſalem, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth:* which words imply as much as this imprecation, *Let this be the laſt Song I ever ſhall ſing, the laſt words I ever ſhall ſpeak, if I be jocund, either in heart or ſpeech, whilſt thou art ſad:* Thus to prefer ſorrow and grief for her miſery, before all the joy and pleaſance *Babylon* could afford him, was truly to remember the ruines of *Jeruſalem*. By the ſame dialect, whiles he beſeecheth his God to remember *Edom*, he implicitely wiſhed as ill to it, as he expreſly did to *Babylon*, ſuch deſolations upon the Cities and Inhabitants thereof, as the *Babylonians*, by the *Edomites* inſtigation, had brought upon *Jeruſalem*; that the whole Land might be waſted with miſery, that the Enemy might take the Children from their Mothers breaſts, and daſh their brains againſt the ſtones. So when *Artaxerxes* thought it ſtrange to ſee *Nehemiah*, as who would not to ſee a Courtier, not ſick, and yet ſad, when his Sovereign Lord looked cheerfully upon him? the good man replies, * *Let the King live for ever*; as if he had ſaid, God grant he never know cauſe of ſorrow: but *why ſhould not my countenance be ſad, when the City and place of the ſepulchres of my fathers lieth waſte, and the gates thereof are conſumed with fire?* ſo deeply did the recogitation of what he had not ſeen, but only heard, ſink into this true *Patriots* heart.

† *Pſal.* 137.4.

* *Nehem.* 2.3.

So likewiſe that prayer of his; * *Remember them, O my God, that defile the Prieſthood, and break the covenant of the Prieſthood, and of Levi*: includes a deſire that God ſhould plague them according to their deſerts. And he elſwhere upon like occaſion expreſſeth: † *My God remember thou Tobiah and Sanballat, according unto thoſe their works, and Noadiah the Propheteſs, and the reſt of the Prophets that would have put me in fear.* But when he deſires God to remember himſelf, he ſuppoſeth this remembrance ſhould bring a gracious reward of his good ſervice, as he interprets himſelf: * *Remember me, O my God, concerning this; and wipe not out the good deeds that I have done for the houſe of my God, and for the offices thereof.* The like uſe of this phraſe we have in common ſpeech; for when we promiſe to *remember* a good turn done us: we imply not a bare recognition only of what this or that man hath done for us, upon this or that day: but a like hearty affection toward him, and a readineſs to requite his kindneſs, whenſoever occaſion ſhall be offered.

* *Neh.* 13.29.

† *Nehem.* 6.14.

* *Neh.* 13.14

So when we threaten to remember our enemies, or ſuch as wrong us: every man knows the meaning of this ſpeech to be as much, as if we had promiſd to be even with them, or to do them as ſhrewd a turn, as they have done us. But this is a *remembrance* which amongſt Chriſtians ſhould be forgotten: yet as well the phraſe it ſelf, as the practice of it may ſerve, to notifie the right uſe of the like in Scripture. Then we are truly ſaid to remember Gods Commandments, when our hearts are as firmly ſet on their practice, as the natural, or unregenerate mans is upon requital of injuries offered. In this ſenſe (ſaith God himſelf,) * *Remember thou keep holy the Sabbath day*; as if not to ſanctifie it, were to forget it: and the Apoſtle, † *Remember ſuch as are in bonds*, not as ſcoffers do, to whom their miſery is oft-times matter of mirth, but as if *you were in bonds with them.* So currantly did like ſpeeches go for as much as we have ſet down in *Solomons* reign; that he deemed us ſufficiently charged with thankfulneſs to our Creator, in that we were enjoyned to *remember him*: and upon this conſideration he exhorts us, to take the inventory of what we received from him in our creation, in thoſe days wherein we moſt delight, in which the characters of his bleſſings beſtowed upon us, and their true worth, are moſt freſh and ſenſible in all our faculties; well knowing, that if we deferred this ſurvey till old age come upon us, in which life it ſelf becomes a burthen, our return of thanks for fruition of it, and the unpleaſant appertinencies, would be but wearyiſh. * *Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth, while the evil days come not; nor the years draw nigh, when thou ſhalt ſay, I have no pleaſure in them: while the ſun, or the light, or the moon, or the ſtars be not darkned, nor the clouds return after the rain,* &c.

* *Exod.* 10.8.

† *Heb.* 13.

Eccleſ. 12.1, 2.

4. In like ſort, as well in ſacred as common, though leſs in the School language, (the greater the School-mens folly;) *to know* or *believe*, include, not only a Logical conceit of the things we know, or of their truth conſidered in themſelves, but withal a right eſteem of their worth, or conſequence in reſpect of us. The original of theſe Scholaſtick Soleciſms in Moral or Sacred arguments, if I miſtake not, ariſeth hence; that intentional, or abſtract truths, whereunto in younger days we are moſt accuſtomed, being moſt comprehenſible and beſt known: we uſe our apprehenſion, or conceit of them, becauſe definite and unvariable, as the fitteſt ſcale to meaſure matters of morality; not conſidering, that theſe require more dimenſions, than

objects merely ſpeculative, that their degrees are of another ſize, and oftimes aſymmetral with the former, that our ſouls for the exact diſcernment of their quality, require a more peculiar *touch*, than that light tincture, or impreſſion they have taken from matters logical, mathematical, or merely ſecular: albeit all true knowledge even of theſe muſt be commenſurable to the ſubject we profeſs to know, and rightly proportionate, or rather actually reaching to that end, whereat it levels. Even in matters ſecular, or moſt abſtract, if we well obſerve that conceit or knowledge, which in reſpect of one object, or ſome ſubordinate end thereof, is exact and perfect, applied either to an object altogether different, or to an other end of the ſame, will appear to be meer ignorance, or knowledge either imperfect or impertinent.

5. Know we may the length, or circumference of ſome plot of ground to an hair-breadth; and this abundantly ſufficeth even curioſity it ſelf, in him that hath no other intent than to courſe, or exerciſe in it. In journeying or ſhooting we examine not how wide, but how long the Country is, through which we rove or travel; but the exact knowledge of this dimenſion would little avail a Surveyer, unleſs he have skill withal to gather the juſt quantity of the whole ſurface from the breadth, as accurately known as the length; or he that could from theſe two dimenſions curiouſly calculate thus much, ſhould be accounted merely ignorant in meaſuring timber or other ſolids, unleſs he knew the thickneſs of them, and from the diſtinct knowledge of all three dimenſions, to notifie the juſt quantity of the whole maſs or ſubſtance, the moſt accurate knowledge whereof were little pertinent to him, that ſtands more upon their weight than magnitude, both which only to know (unto a ſcruple) would argue ignorance in him, unto whoſe purpoſe or profeſſion, the notification of their qualities, uſe or operation, were only or principally neceſſary.

6. Such a difference as I have ſpecified between knowledge of lines and plain figures, between them and ſolids, or between the quantity of ſuch bodies, and their weight or quality, we muſt imagine between the knowledge of truths ſpeculative and moral, or between merely moral and divine concerning our own ſalvation. The conceit or knowledge of theſe laſt, how exact ſoever it be, if it be only in the brain, and imprint not the true charactes of it ſelf upon the affection, is no better to a Chriſtian, than it would be for a Carpenter to know the length and breadth of a piece of timber without the thickneſs, or all three dimenſions without any judgement whether it were ſound or faulty, whether rightly ſeaſoned, or unto what uſe it would beſt ſerve in building. It would be all one, as if a Phyſician or Apothecary ſhould know the picture, ſhape, or colour of any herb in *Mathiolus*, or other Herbaliſt, ignorant of its vertue or operation, or how it ſhould be prepared for medicine. Or, as if a Merchant, or Auditor ſhould be able to diſplay all the perfections Nature hath beſtowed on gold above other mettals, not acquainted with the worth of it in payments, or in what Countreys it is moſt currant. Briefly ſeeing all knowledge muſt be meaſured by the uſe or end, and this in the ſubject we treat of, is the ſalvation of our ſouls, whereunto we grow by newneſs of life: our knowledge cannot be perfect, unleſs terminated to a right ſtructure of affections in the heart, anſwerable to the *Idea*, or model of truth in our brains; unleſs it bring forth readineſs or promptitude in every faculty to put ſuch Precepts

as require their ſervice, in execution. Of theſe two parts of Chriſtian knowledge, the one in the head, the other in the heart: much better the former were defective, than the latter. He that knows rightly to husband the ground he enjoys, what part is good for meadow, what for paſture, what for corn, what for this kind of grain, what for that, how every parcel may be employed to the beſt commodity of the owner, may be ignorant in ſurveying, or drawing a right plat-form of it, with leſs loſs, than he that could ſurvey it moſt exactly, but hath no experimental skill at all in tillage, or huſbandry. Now ſeeing our Saviour tells us his Father is an husbandman, and is beſt glorified by ſuch fruits as we ſhall bring forth unto ſalvation, (the true end of Chriſtian knowledge:) he may be truly ſaid to know more, at leaſt better than others do, that can improve whatſoever he hears or reads to the benefit of his own ſoul, and imploy thoſe faculties God hath given him to his ſervice. It ſhall be little or no prejudice to ſuch a man, albeit he cannot draw a map, or perfect ſyſteme of divinity, or deduce one divine attribute from another. Albeit he that can do this, and leave not the other undone, ſhall receive his reward according to the meaſure of his talent rightly imployed. But if his chief knowedge conſiſt in diſtinct conceiving of the Deity, or methodical diſcourſing of divinity; this glorifies God but as the Painter doth the party, whoſe picture he hath exactly taken; whereas our Creators glory muſt ſhine, not in liveleſs and painted words, but in our works paternized to his image, renewed in our minds; as towardly children expreſs their noble Anceſtors worth, by lively reſemblance of their perſonages, and real imitation of their virtues. It is a kind of cunning, I muſt confeſs, to be able accurately to paint God, or his goodneſs; but as little pertinent to true Chriſtian knowledge, as an artificial picture of a great feaſt, is to a poor ſoul almoſt ſtarved for hunger, unleſs it make us not painted images, but true and live ſons of the everlaſting God. For, *our light muſt ſo ſhine before men, that they ſeeing our good works may glorifie our Father which is in heaven.* That ſuch a Father there is, and that we are his ſons, we muſt make known to others by imitating his perfections.

7. * To theſe, or like points, do ſacred Writers uſually extend words importing knowledge, whether they ſpeak of our knowing God, or his knowing us. † *The Lord knoweth the way of the righteous* (ſaith the Pſalmiſt.) And if he know it, will he not reward it? Yes, with life, *for the way of the wicked, becauſe as well known to him, ſhall periſh.* Anſwerable hereto men are ſaid to know Gods ways, when their demeanour is ſuch as if they expected he ſhould preſently take notice of theirs, either to reward or puniſh them. * *It is a people that do err in their hearts* (ſaith the Lord:) *for they have not known my ways.* As they did err in their hearts: ſo did they not know Gods ways in their hearts, for ſuck a knowledge of them, as is confined within the brain, or ſuch as a man that never travelled may have of a ſtrange Country by a Map, no doubt they had. But as beaten ways, and vulgar directions of the inhabitants are better guides in unknown coaſts, than moſt accurate Geographical deſcriptions; ſo is it not

* Maldonat, *ſeeking occaſion to expound thoſe words of* Daniel (Cap. 12. ver. 3.) Qui autem docti fuerint, id eſt, qui bene ſapienterque vitam ſuam gubernarint, hos enim ſcriptura vocare ſolet משכילים habentes intellectum, ſicut Galli, non eos qui docti ſunt, ſed eos qui moderati, ſapientes appellant: Hi ergo (inquit *Daniel*) fulgebunt, quaſi ſplendor firmamenti, & qui ad juſtitiam erudiunt plurimos, quaſi ſtellæ in perpetuas eternitates. *Maldonat in* 13 *Matth. v.* 43.

† *Pſalm* 1. 6. * *Pſalm* 95. *ver.* 10.

this ſuperficial knowledge of Gods ways, that can conduct us to his reſt; whither none come but ſuch as can tread in the ſteps of holy and Religious men, that have gone them, and learn that by experience, which others paint out and decipher. * *This is life eternal* (ſaith our Saviour,) *that they might know thee the only true God, and Jeſus Chriſt whom thou haſt ſent*: Equivalent hereto is that; † *whoſoever believeth in him ſhall not periſh, but have everlaſting life.* Can faith and knowledge then reach to Heaven, unleſs they be lengthened by love and other Chriſtian virtues? He that is warned to receive a Prince or Man of State, will make accompt of his neceſſary train, albeit no mans coming beſides be ſpecified: Nor is it needful Sacred Writers ſhould mention love, or other attendants of thoſe Queens of virtue, *Wiſdom*, *Faith* or *Knowledge*; if theſe be preſent, the reſt will certainly accompany them. *He that ſaith* * *I know Chriſt and keeps not his commandments is a lyar, and the truth is not in him.* Faith or knowledge without love, is not Chriſtian, but hypocritical: for only he *that hath* † *Chriſts commandments, and keepeth them, is he that loveth him.* * *We know that the ſon of God is come, and hath given us an underſtanding, that we may know him that is true; and we are in him that is true, even in his ſon Jeſus Chriſt. This is the true God and eternal life.* Many were the peoples ſins in the wilderneſs: Yet S. *Jude* comprehends all in this one, that they *believed not.* * *This ye know, how that the Lord having ſaved the people out of the land of Egypt, afterwards deſtroyed them that believed not.* So doth the Pſalmiſt attribute all the diſobediences and rebellions of his fore-fathers, unto this: † *That their ſpirit was not tied by faith unto God*; yea, * *the fire was kindled in Jacob, and alſo wrath came upon Iſrael, becauſe they believed not in God*, and the errour of the Iſraelites, that knew not the way unto Gods reſt, was (in the Apoſtles conſtruction) † *unbelief. The word that they heard profited not them, becauſe it was not mixed with faith; for we which have believed do enter into that Reſt.* The greateſt praiſe we read given to the Iſraelites in the wilderneſs was, that *they believed God and his ſervant Moſes.* As long as they thus continued, they were not overcome by temptations of the world or fleſh. And by what means do all ſuch, as *are born of God*, overcome the world? Is not this victory from faith? * *Who is it that overcometh the world, but he which believeth that* JESUS *is the ſon of God?* The ſame dialect was well known in Jewry in his time that ſaid: † *The knowledge of the commandment of the Lord is the doctrine of life: that all wiſdom was contained in the fear of the Lord, performance of the Law, and knowledge of his almighty power*; * *that to believe the Lord was to keep his commandments.* Which laſt teſtimony is very uſeful in the examination of faith, further to be inſiſted upon in † that Treatiſe.

* *John* 17. 3.
† *John* 3. 15.
* 1 *John* 2. 4.
† *John* 14. 21.
* 1 *John* 5. 20.
* *Jude* 5.
† *Pſal.* 78. 8.
* *Verſ.* 21.
† *Heb.* 4. 2, 3.
* 1 *John* 5. 5.
† *Eccleſ.* 19. 19, 20.
* *Eccleſ.* 3. 24.
† *Roc. Sect.* 2. 5.

8. It was but an effect of ſuch mens folly as ſpend the beſt of their days and ſpirits in coining ſecond intentions, or terms of art; and after they have gotten the skill to draw ſolid learning by this device into plain tables, miſtake theſe types or ſhadows for the bodies or ſubſtances; which firſt did ſever belief, and knowledge of divine matters, from practiſe; whereunto they are as naturally linked, as the *nerve* is to the part which it moveth. Nature her ſelf, not ſtretched awry by art, or miſled by paſſion, (from whoſe attraction or impulſion ſhe is moſt free in matters of ordinary and common uſe) always frames her language fully parallel to the former rules of Sacred ſpeech. Into whoſe heart, beſide the hypocrites, would it ſink,

that affection ſhould not increaſe according to the degrees of worth in the object, though no better known than others are? Is not the quantity or perfection of goodneſs as intelligible, as the bare eſſence or quality? Or can we in part be moved with ſome few degrees of goodneſs known, and not as much more moved by equal knowledge of far more? or can we rightly value the conſequence of divine truths in reſpect of our ſelves, and not frame deſires of them proportionally? Doth any man not much affect him, whoſe excellent parts he highly eſteems, albeit he expect no real favour or commodity from him? To ſay we know a man, in ordinary ſpeech imports a demeanor, or reſpect towards him, anſwerable to that quality we know in him. To know him for a ſweet Companion, includes a deſire of his company, or acquaintance, an unwillingneſs to fall out with him, or to be eſtranged from him. To conceive of one as an odd, and unſociable wrangling mate, implies a care to eſchew all occaſions of intercourſe, dealing or familiarity with him. If an inferiour ſhould ſay he knew his lawful Magiſtate to be a moſt unpartial, ſevere Juſticer, he need not ſpecifie his unwillingneſs to be juſtly accuſed before him of any crime. Or if we ſay we know, or believe one to be a marvellous wiſe, honeſt, friendly man, who would not gather, that whilſt this perſwaſſion laſted, we would be readier to commit any matter of moment to his care and truſt, than unto others, whom we know as well or perhaps better, yet not to be ſo wiſe, ſo honeſt or well affected towards us? Speak we of what knowledge we liſt, ſenſitive or intellectual, to know any object, and not to be affected with ſuch attributes, or qualities of it, as are diſſonant or agreeable to our nature, is indeed to know it, and not them. To know that which in it ſelf is terrible, and not to be terrified with it. is not to know the terror of it. The Bear and Lyon know the Wolf by ſight, as well as the ſilly Lamb; which no ſooner ſees him but is affrighted: for of theſe three, this poor ſoul only knows him as terrible, and an enemy to his nature. Rats know that bait which is their bane; but as ſweet, not as poyſonous: for, were it as bitter in their mouth at the firſt taſting, as it afterwares proves in their bellies, they would avoid it. * *The devils* (ſaith S. *James*) *believe that there is a God and tremble*: whether he ſpeak of belief properly ſo called, or of ſome greater knowledge, certain it is, they tremble, becauſe they believe, and know him to be a terrible and powerful Judge. Did they as firmly believe, or know he had mercy for them in ſtore: would they not love him and ſeek to avoid his diſpleaſure? If our knowledge, both of his juſtice to the wicked and diſobedient, and of his mercy to the penitent amongſt the ſons of men, whoſe nature his ſon hath taken upon him, were but ſuch, as theſe infernal ſpirits have of his ſeverity towards them; it would command all our affections, of love, of fear, of thankfulneſs, and bring forth intire fidelity in his ſervice. *Though they ſay the Lord liveth*, (ſaith the †Prophet,) *yet they ſwear falſly.* Yet what truth more undoubted, than that the Lord liveth? But ſwearing this, they profeſſed a belief or knowledge of it, which they had not: otherwiſe, * *they had executed judgement, and ſought the truth; they had ſorrowed when the Lord had ſmitten them, and received correction when he had conſumed them.* † *But this people* (as the Prophet adds) *had an unfaithful, and rebellious heart: they are departed and gone. For they ſay not in their heart, let us now fear the Lord our God, that giveth rain both early and late in due ſeaſon: he reſerveth unto us the appointed weeks of the harveſt.*

* *James* 2.19.

† *Jerem.* 5.2.

* *Verſ* 1.

† *Ver.* 23.

9. Why ſupernatural concourſe, ſeeing it is as neceſſary as divine Revelation to produce the *acts*, ſhould not as properly belong to the object of belief? ſome School-men give this reaſon; *becauſe of theſe two the divine revelation only is the ideal, or exemplary cauſe of our faith,* and this ideal cauſality herein conſiſts: *That as the truth and revelation divine is in it ſelf, ſo muſt our Aſſent* unto it, *be moſt infallible.* That they extend this conformity, betwixt the object believed and our belief of it, no further; is not diſagreeable to their intentional, or ſuperficial conceit of this celeſtial virtue. But conſonantly to our former declarations of that indiſſoluble combination betwixt *truth* and *goodneſs* in moralities, and the intrinſecal identity of the will and underſtanding: we make not only *truth*, but *goodneſs* alſo divine, with the ſeveral branches of it, the exemplary cauſe of our *Aſſent*.

The former conformity between the infallible veracity of the God-head, and our belief of whatſoever it ſhall ſay or teach, we take as tranſcendent, and included in every *Aſſent* we give unto other particular attributes. This mutual infallibility is as the authentick inſtrument, or legal form of our aſſurance; but renewing of Gods image, communication of his goodneſs and mercy in Chriſt, is the patrimony or legacy conveyed unto us. This is as a wreſt or ſcrew, to faſten our ſouls unto his other attributes, all as apt, if cloſely applied, to imprint their figure upon them as the former. Betwixt every object aſſented unto, whether as *good* or *true*, and the faculties of our ſouls which it concerns, there muſt be ſuch a correſpondence, as is between the Character and the Letter enſtamped. Our *Aſſent* unto Gods long ſuffering, and forbearance of obſtinate ſinners, will quell unadviſed anger againſt our brethren: our infallible belief of his mercy towards our ſelves, and his readineſs to forgive our treſpaſſes, though in number infinite againſt his moſt infinite Majeſty, will cauſe us forgive our fellow ſervants their offences againſt us; not until ſeven times only, but unto ſeventy times ſeven times. Our infallible belief that he is good and bountiful as well to the unjuſt as juſt, will imprint a like deſire in us of doing good, though to ungrateful perſons. This is our Saviours inference upon the explication of this attribute. * *But I ſay unto you, love your enemies, bleſs them that curſe you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which deſpitefully uſe you, and perſecute you: that ye may be the † children of your Father which is in heaven, for he maketh his ſun to riſe on the evil and on the good, and ſendeth rain on the juſt and on the unjuſt. For if ye love them which love you, what reward have ye? Do not even the Publicans the ſame? And if ye ſalute your brethren only, what do ye more than others? Do not even the Publicans ſo? Be ye therefore perfect even as your father which is in heaven is perfect:* not in ſome only, but in all parts of his goodneſs, revealed or propoſed to our imitations. His incommunicable attributes of Majeſty, Honour, and Glory, we are with reverence to adore, not to imitate. Albeit, even unto theſe, his infallible veracity is as the *handle* by which firmly apprehended, they have their peculiar weight and force upon our ſouls and affections, imprinting on them a general diſpoſition to receive the ſtamp of his perfections,

* *Matth.* 5. *ver.* 44, 45, 46, &c.

† *So it is ſaid* Luke 6. 35. *Ye ſhall be the children of the moſt high for he is kind unto the unthankful and to the evil. Our Saviour in this place deduceth that precept from the divine nature or attribute, which the ſon of* Sirach *doth from Gods will revealed: for to no other end were his commandments given, ſave only to make us like him in his imitable attributes or perfections. Many have refuſed to lend for other mens ill dealing, fearing to be defrauded. Yet have thou patience with a man in poor eſtate, and delay not to ſhew him mercy. Help the poor for the Commandments ſake, and turn him not away becauſe of his poverty.* Eccleſ. 29. 7, 8, 9.

perfections, imitable or communicable, an univerſal inclination to performance of his will revealed. Thus in the language of *Canaan*, he is ſaid to aſcribe praiſe and glory unto God, that evacuates his heart of pride and vain-boaſting, in ſuch perfections as he hath received from his Immenſity, whence every good gift doth flow, and whither in thankfulneſs it muſt return: he aſcribeth ſtrength and majeſty, that renounceth all confidence in man, or other creature, and humbles himſelf under his mighty hand.

* And ſeeing we muſt not only believe the Eſſence but the Attributes of the *Godhead*, and all belief preſuppoſeth knowledge, conſonant to the language of Nature late mentioned (in matters, wherein ſhe is beſt ſeen, and leaſt corrupt) is the dialect of grace. He is ſaid to believe or know God, as juſt, that fears him as a Judge moſt unpartial and uncorrupt, and is afraid to be unjuſt leaſt he take vengeance. He rightly believes his power, that honors him as a King moſt Omnipotent, he his tender mercy and compaſſion, that reverenceth him as a moſt loving Father: he his providence, that commends his ſoul unto him as to a faithful Creator; he, whoſe chief care is to caſt all his care on him, as on a Guardian moſt tenderly reſpecting the well-fare of all ſuch, as with prayers unfeigned commend themſelves to his tuition. That theſe are the immediate and proper effects of Chriſtian belief, or *Aſſent* unto the Divine Providence our Saviour inſtructs us, where he attributes carking care, or worldly ſolicitude, to Gentiliſm or Infidelity. † *Take no thought, ſaying, what ſhall we eat? or what ſhall we drink? or wherewithal ſhall we be cloathed? (for after all theſe things do the Gentiles ſeek) for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all theſe things: But ſeek ye firſt the kingdom of God, and his righteouſneſs, and all theſe things ſhall be added unto you.* A lively emblem of this correſpondency between the Divine Attributes and our *Aſſent*, or between the characters of Gods will and ours, the Holy Ghoſt hath purpoſely ſet forth unto us in the ſtory of *Abraham*. The prime and fundamental object of Chriſtian belief, was that moſt illuſtrious act of Gods mercy in offering his *only ſon in whom he was well pleaſed*, for the ſins of the world. Now to ſhew what manner of *Aſſent* is on our parts required, for right acceptance of this ineſtimable favour; he will have the like mind in *Abraham*, that was in himſelf: ready he muſt be to ſacrifice *his ſon, his only ſon Iſaac, whom he loved*, ere the Covenant be concluded with him. Finally, seeing the man Christ Jesus (as hath been obſerved) is as the abridgement, or viſible * model of his fathers *goodneſs*, which is incomprehenſible; his heavenly diſpoſition, the idæal patern, after whoſe ſimilitude a Chriſtians life muſt be framed: we are then rightly ſaid to believe his Incarnation, Life, Death and Paſſion, when (as the † Apoſtle ſpeaks) *the ſame mind is in us, that was in him*: when we are not only willing to lay down our lives for the brethren, as he did his for us, but when our lives and converſations entirely expreſs the true proportion of that abſolute perfection, which ſhined in his humane nature, as it did in the Glory of the *Godhead*. His Fathers

* Ethnici putant plures eſſe Deos, & hoc tibi videris perfectus Chriſtianus, quod perſuaſum habes unum eſſe Deum? Quid magni facis? Idem credunt Judæi, qui quotidie blaſphemant filium Dei in Synagogis ſuis; idem credunt Dæmones & contremiſcunt. Si verè credis in Deum, crede juſtum & veracem: juſtum in remunerandis piis, & puniendis impiis, & veracem in promiſſis. Crede non eſſe ſpem ſalutis, niſi per filium ejus, quem pro nobis omnibus tradidit in mortem: crede nihil accidere mali poſſe iis qui ſe totos illius voluntati tradiderunt, & in illo perſeverant. Hoc eſt credere in Deum Patrem, hoc eſt credere in filium ejus, hoc eſt credere in Spiritum Sanctum, unum Deum, & Eccleſiam ſanctam, myſticum Chriſti corpus, extra quam non eſt ſalus, & in quo non eſt pernicies. Quiſquis in tali petra pedes animi fixerit, adverſus omnes tenptationum incurſus ſtabit immobilis. *Cypr. de dupl. Martyr.*

* *Mat. 6. 31, 32, 33.* *Their diſtruſt, or rather want of apprehenſion of Gods care and providence over them, is attributed to defect of faith. Matth. 6. 30. Luke 12. 28.*

* Vide lib. 3. Sect. 3. cap. 10. parag. 1, 2.

† Phil. 2. v. 5.

thers love to him brought forth the like affection in him towards us, and to his Laws; ſo muſt his love to us work love in us to our brethren, and to all his Commandments. * *Herein* (ſaith he) *is my father glorified that ye bear much fruit, and be made my Diſciples. As the father hath loved me, ſo have I loved you; continue ye in my love. If ye ſhall keep my Commandments, ye ſhall abide in my love; as I have kept my fathers Commandments, and abide in his love.* Thus made conformable to him, not in one, or few, but in all points of obedience and Chriſtian virtues, we are rightly ſaid to be edified in faith, and to have him faſhioned in us. Nor is there any Article in this Creed, whoſe ſtedfaſt belief doth not, in one point or other, work this conformity; as in their explications (God willing) ſhall be manifeſted.

* *John* 15. ver. 8, 9, 10.

10. The whole platform of Divinity, or Theology, we may hence gather, cannot better be defined, or limited, than between theſe two lines or borders: *A diſtinct explication, firſt of the objects to be believed, and their certainty: Secondly, of the means whereby their Image or Characters may be engraven upon our ſouls.* This now may ſuffice, that, unto that aſſent of faith, or belief in Chriſt, whereby the juſt muſt live; ſuch a knowledge of him, and his attributes is required, as ſhall enſtamp our wills and affections with the live image of his goodneſs, and imitable perfections, as truly as matters merely ſpeculative imprint their ſhape upon the underſtanding, or objects viſible theirs upon the eye. For ſeeing all knowledge muſt be commenſurable to the objects known; in ſuch an impreſſion of whoſe entire ſimilitude as the ſeal leaves in the wax, the perfection of it conſiſts: Our knowledge of moral objects, divine eſpecially, which are as eſſentially *good* as *true*, is imperfect, unleſs it include a ſolid impreſſion of their goodneſs, as well as a ſuperficial reſemblance of their truth. From this indiviſible union betwixt *truth* and *goodneſs* in matters divine, their names in phraſe of Scripture are oftimes uſed promiſcuouſly. And it is a Maxim undoubted in Divinity, That Chriſt Jeſus muſt dwell in us by the ſame bond and knot we dwell in him. Now it is impoſſible that any part of him, or (which is all one) of his live image, ſhould be faſhioned in us, by any other means, than by knowledge or apprehenſion of his Incarnation, Life, Death and Paſſion, with their conſequences in reſpect of us; impoſſible that he ſhould abide in us, or we in him by any other link or bond, beſides firm and ſtedfaſt aſſent, or adherence unto theſe, and other truths concerning him, revealed and known.

Chap. IX.

What manner of knowledge it is whence the laſt and proper difference of that aſſent wherein Chriſtian faith conſiſts doth reſult: the compleat definition of ſuch faith.

1. Seeing the *word* in a general, the *Lord* of life, in a ſenſe more peculiar, is not only the object of our belief, but the true *food* of our ſouls; and all food eſſentially includes a relation unto taſte: the true nature of that faith, or knowledge by which we live, cannot better be notified, than by ſuch a proportion between our

mind, and the food of life, as is between the Symbole, or Organical faculty of bodily taſte, and the quality of the meat it reliſheth. As our bodily taſte though the ſame in reſpect of all, is not alike affected with all meats, but reliſheth every one according to their ſeveral qualities, or degrees of proportion or diſproportion with it ſelf: ſo though by one and the ſame faith we aſſent unto all matters revealed in Scripture as true and good, yet our ſouls find not the like comfort or refreſhing in all; but ſome, albeit preſented afar off to their ſence, they apprehend with horrour as the dregs of that Cup *which is in the hands of the Lord*, whereof all the ungodly muſt be enforced to drink: Others, though they come but within ſmell, they entertain with admiration, yet feed not on them; as we lightly eſſay ſtrong waters or quinteſcences, but uſe them not as ordinary drink; ſuch are the inſcrutable myſteries of the Trinity, the glory and majeſty of the Godhead: Others are continually longed after as their only food, more or leſs according to the ſeveral degrees of their goodneſs in reſpect of us.

2. *No man that drinketh old wine ſtraightway deſireth new, for he ſaith, the old is better.* And in this caſe it is as eaſie to do as to ſay, becauſe one and the ſame faculty enclines him to like of both; and the apprehenſion of ones relliſh or ſweetneſs being as proper and natural as the others, that which is ſo indeed will be eſteemed better. For where the conſtitution of the faculty is uniformally enclined to all, it is always moſt forcibly moved by ſuch of its proper objects as are moſt potent, or apt to move it; as a juſt balance is always fartheſt caſt by the greateſt weight: But though when temptations are afar off, and our corrupt humours not ſtirred, we ſay with *Peter*, *Verba vitæ æternæ habes: Lord, thou haſt the words of eternal life*, and what pleaſures of this tranſitory life ſhould we affect in compariſon of them; yet we cannot always approve our ſayings by actual choice when both are offered to our taſte. And no marvel, ſeeing our ſence of the one is of all others the moſt quick, our conceit of it diſtinct and proper, of the other moſt men in this life have no ſemblable apprehenſion, no true or lively taſte, but rather a ſmell, ſome hear-ſay conceit, or imaginary repreſentation. Beſides, the pleaſures of that bodily ſence by which we live, and other deſires of the fleſh too deeply incorporated in our corrupt nature, often luſt ſo vehemently againſt the ſpirit, (inclining us to a liking of the food of life) *that we cannot do as we would*, nor continue our aſſent unto it, as better for the time being, then proſecution of ſome ſenſual good coming in actual competition with it, lately adjudged of far better worth, whilſt contrary inclinations were not ſwayed with preſent opportunity of enjoying their proper objects. The immediate cauſe of this backſtarting, with the remedy, comes moſt fitly to be diſcuſſed in the Article of *everlaſting life*. But albeit even the beſt are ſometimes, yea often overtaken with this fault: the habitual conſtitution of every faithful ſoul muſt be much better; and our faith howſoever defective in degrees, muſt be for eſſence or quality a *true taſte*; for as a learned Interpreter of ſacred Writ hath well obſerved out of *Plato*, *Omnis vita guſtu ducitur*, *without taſte there is no life*. The degrees of perfection which our ſpiritual taſte wants, in reſpect of that bodily ſence, whereto it anſwers in proportion, is recompenced, even in this life, by the greatneſs of the good it apprehends, or penury of eternal comfort or refreſhing; wherewith, who ſo will

Luk. 5. ver. 39.

ſeriouſly look into the ſtate of his own ſoul, ſhall find it pinched even in the abundance of worldly contentments.

3. This true taſte of Gods Word, revealed for our good, alone it is, which can ſweeten affliction to us; and make us couragious to adventure upon all difficulties that can be objected to deter us from entring into the land of promiſe. Such ſpeculative conceits of this food of life, as we may find in the ſubtile diſputes of greateſt Schoolmen, are of as little force to enflame our hearts with longing after that heavenly Kingdom, as Poetical Deſcriptions of ſome far Countries pleaſures or commodities are to make us undertake their Conqueſt: yea as much leſs available to this purpoſe, as their ſtile is leſs apt to move affection, than the others. No imperial Law I think did ever prohibit any Province to have Maps of the imperial Seat, or homerical Deſcriptions of the Emperour and his Nobles Banquets: though * ſome (to my remembrance) have ſtrictly reſtrained all tranſportation of Grapes, or other pleaſant Commodities into barbarous Countries, leſt Barbarians having experience of their ſweetneſs, might out of love to the Land wherein they grow, be tempted to work ſome miſchief to the inhabitants: as the Galls are ſaid to have been drawn over the Alps upon the like temptation. Generally every object (*cæteris paribus*) moves the faculty to which it belongs ſo much the more, and breeds an aſſent ſo much the firmer and more ſtedfaſt, as the conceit of it is more proper, diſtinct or homogeneal. Sight of beauty, decent geſtures, or comely motion, more deeply wounds the hearts of lovers, than the moſt hyperbolical ſonnets that can be made in praiſe of feature unſeen. Smell of meats is more forcible than ſight to ſtir the appetite, becauſe this ſence hath greater affinity than the other with taſte, which alone can rightly judge of meats and drinks, becauſe the temper of it only rightly ſymbolizeth with their qualities.

4. Every child of *Adam* is an old man from his birth, juſt of *Barzillahs* temper, without all taſte of ſuch dainties as the *great* King hath provided for him. All of us by nature herein worſe than his decrepit age, that we never had any true reliſh of them: but ſo it is with us, (until regenerated) as if we ſhould imagine one grievouſly diſtempered from his cradle; to whom others may truly commend ſundry meats for ſweet and wholſom, which notwithſtanding prove diſtaſtful and bitter to his palate, albeit, from a good opinion of their love and honeſty, that upon experience commend them to him, ſtill retaining a confuſed aſſent to ſuch goodneſs in them as he cannot perceive, but gueſſes at; as many well diſpoſed natual men do at the ſweetneſs of the bread of life, not diſtruſting the reports of others that ſo much magnifie it, yet erring as much in their conceipt of it, as he, that had never ſeen houſe or town better built than the thatched Cottages of that poor Village wherein he was born, ſhould in his imaginations of *London*, *Venice*, or ſome like famous City: whoſe errour beſt appears when he comes to compare his former fancies with the diſtinct view or ſight of their greatneſs, their ſtately and magnificent buildings. Now as our natural life begins and is maintained by bodily taſte: ſo is the *new man* framed and nouriſhed in us by this taſte ſpiritual; which only rightly apprehends the nature, worth and qualities of heavenly myſteries, it ſelf conſiſting in a temper of mind ſymbolizing with divine goodneſs, or with the heavenly mind of the ſecond *Adam*. Our ſouls and affections thus

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* Ad Barbaricum transferendi vini olei & liquaminis nullam quiſquam habeat facultatem, nec guſtus quidem cauſa, aut uſus commerciorum. l. 1. C. quæ res exportari non debent.

affected, have the ſame proportion to the ſeveral branches of Gods will revealed, that every ſence or faculty hath to its proper object; and this apprehenſion of our ſpiritual food by a proper, diſtinct, ſymbolical conceit of its goodneſs, is the laſt, and moſt eſſential difference wherein the nature of faith, as Chriſtian, conſiſts; which cannot poſſibly be wrought but by the Spirit of God. For as the object is, ſuch muſt the aſſent be, ſupernatural; otherwiſe it cannot have that proportion to food ſpiritual, that bodily taſte hath to natural. The particular manner of the Spirits working this alteration in our ſouls, is a myſtery, at the leaſt to my ſimplicity, inſcrutable. To the capacity of the vulgar, we may reſemble his working in general to a Phyſitian, that reſtores one deſperately ſick, and utterly deſtitute of taſte, to a right relliſh and appetite of his meat; partly by removing the diſtempered humours, wherein that ſence of life lay buried, partly by reviving his dead ſpirits, by infuſing of ſome precious water. Anſwerable to one of theſe means is the infuſion of ſupernatural grace, which quickeneth us unto life, making us *new men* in Chriſt Jeſus; anſwerable to the other is practice of ordinary means, appointed by God for mortification of the *old man*; all which without the operation of the Spirit are nothing available. What is required on our parts that are patients, is handled in the third Section of this Book. Whether ability by nature we have any, or any cooperative with Gods Spirit in this cure, ſhall (by the divine aſſiſtance) be diſputed at large in the ſeventh Book of theſe Commentaries. Here at length we may define, *the faith by which the juſt doth live*, to be a *firm* and *conſtant aſſent* or *adherence*, unto the mercies and loving kindneſs of the Lord, or generally to the *ſpiritual food* exhibited in his ſacred Word, as much better than this life it ſelf, and all the contentments it is capable of, *grounded* upon a *taſte* (or reliſh) of their ſweetneſs, *wrought* in the ſoul or heart of man by the *Spirit of Chriſt*. The terms for the moſt part are the * Prophet *Davids*, not metaphorical, as ſome may fancy, much leſs æquivocal, but proper and homogeneal to the ſubject defined. For whatſoever internal affinity, or real identity of conceit, there is or can be betwixt life temporal and immortal, (which no man I think denies to be univocal) the ſame may be found betwixt food ſpiritual and corporal; if we conſider not ſo much the phyſical matter or corpulency of the latter, as the metaphyſical quinteſſence, which is one and the ſame in both, ſave only that it is pure and extracted in the one, but mixt and incorporated, or in a ſort buried in the other: but of this analogy betwixt food corporal and ſpiritual, in the Treatiſe of Chriſts preſence in the Sacrament.

* *Pſal.*63. 1. &c. *My ſoul thirſteth for thee, becauſe thy loving kindneſs is better than life: my lips ſhall praiſe thee, my ſoul ſhall be ſatiſfied as with marrow and fatneſs*, &c.

5. Whether this *Aſſent* be virtual or habitual, I will not ſo much as queſtion. Be it whether the Reader liſt to make it, queſtion there can be none, but that it admits many interruptions in acts or operations. Nor doth this argue the means or pledges of ſalvation ſhould be leſs evident than matters ſcientifical, ſo long as this habit or conſtitution of mind is not eclipſed by interpoſition of carnal luſts, or earthly thoughts; whereunto our evidence of ſpiritual matters is more obnoxious, than our ſpeculative perſwaſions of abſtract entities: ſo is our bodily taſte oftner corrupted than the ſight, and yet that *Aſſent* we give in perfect health unto the diſtinct quality of wholſom food, no leſs evident or certain, than that we give unto the true differences of things ſeen. The mind once thus illuminated with

grace, and renewed by faith, whiles not darkned by exhalations from our natural corruptions, whiles free from paſſion or motion of bad affection, actually moved and aſſiſted by the Spirit; hath the ſame proportion to truth ſupernatural of this inferiour rank, that the underſtanding without ſupernatural concourſe, or illumination of grace, hath to objects meerly natural; nor can it diſſent from the truth, whiles this temper or conſtitution laſts, as the Jeſuite imagines. Howbeit, ſo great evidence of matters ſpiritual, as others have of humane ſciences, is not required in all. Only this I dare affirm, that although it be in ſome as great, or in ſome greater: this doth not exempt their knowledge from the former definition of faith. For who would queſtion whether Saint *John*, Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul*, had not as great evidence of myſteries, as either *Ariſtotle* had of Philoſophical, or *Euclide* of Mathematical Principles or Concluſions. And yet what they ſo evidently knew, they believed and aſſented unto by the ſupernatural gift or habit of faith: and it was the greater evidence of things believed, which made their belief more firm and ſtrong than ours is, and enflamed their hearts with love of God, and zeal of his glory, more ardent, than our weak faith is capable of.

CHAP. X.

Of the general conſequences or properties of true Faith, Love, Fidelity *and* Confidence, *with the manner of their reſultance from it.*

1. THat the goodneſs of whatſoever we enjoy, is better perceived by viciſſitude of want, than continual fruition, is a *maxim* whereof none can want experience. Hence the Poetical Philoſopher hath wittily feigned *penury* and *indigence*, to be the *Mother* of *Love:* with which conceit the vulgar proverb, *Hunger of all ſauces is the beſt*, hath great affinity. For this firſt affection, or prime ſymptom of ſenſe, being but a perception of want or indigence, cauſeth a more quick taſte or relliſh than full ſtomachs can have of their meat. But Nature, without further alteration or qualification of any other faculty, immediately teacheth us to like that beſt, which beſt we relliſh and find moſt good in. Nor skills it whether this love, or liking of meats beſt reliſhed, reſide in the ſenſe of taſte it ſelf, or from approbation of it immediately reſult in ſome other faculty by way of ſympathy: both ways this internal ſenſe or apprehenſion of want, or indigence of carnal nutriment, is ſtill the only *Mother* of love to bodily meats. Thus hath the folly of man, which wilfully deprived himſelf of celeſtial food, ſet forth the love and wiſdom of God, who hath made this want or indigence of ſpiritual meat, whoſe apprehenſion is the firſt root of our ſpiritual ſenſe, a mean to quicken our taſte or relliſh of his mercies, and loving kindneſs, which is the principal object of that faith, by which we live: But our taſte once ſharpned to relliſh his mercies aright, (without any peculiar reformation of the will, or new infuſion of other grace into any part of the humane ſoul, than what

is either included in faith, or concomitant with it) cannot but pierce our hearts with love of his infinite goodneſs, whence this ſweetneſs diſtils. Even love natural or civil, if unfeigned, between *equals*, brings forth unity and conſent of mind, mutually to will and nill the ſame things; between parties in condition of life, or meaſure of judgment, or diſcretion, unequal, a conformity of the inferiours will to the ſuperiours direction. Much more doth this ſpiritual love of God, thus conceived, from a true and lively taſte of his love and goodneſs towards us, kindle an ardent deſire of doing what he likes beſt: whence unto us, as to our Saviour, it becomes * *meat and drink to do our fathers will, and finiſh his work.* For, ſeeing † *man liveth not by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God:* thus to do muſt needs be part of our ſpiritual food.

* *John* 4. 34.
† *Deut.* 8. 3.

2. From faith thus working through love, ariſeth that moſt general property, whoſe affinity with faith is ſuch as it takes the ſame name, *fidelity*, or *faithfulneſs* in all the ſervice of God, without reſpect to the fulfilling of our own particular reſolutions or deſires. For once aſſenting unto every part of his will known, as good and fit to be done by us, as if to do it were meat and drink unto our ſouls, we forthwith abandon all ſloth and negligence, much more deceit and fraudulency in his imployments. Of this general fidelity practice of charitable offices to our neighbours is but a part or branch, though a principal one, as having more immediate reference to the love and goodneſs we apprehend in God towards us: the taſte whereof is then ſincere and lively, when we feel a preſent benefit redounding to our ſelves from the good we do to others, as if we actually perceived the cooperative concurrence of divine goodneſs in theſe works of charity. As well this love of God, as of our neighbours, are, though in different manner, effects or properties of lively faith, or of that grace whereof faith it ſelf is the principal ſtem, as it illuminates the mind or ſupreme faculty of the ſoul. Our love of God may well ſeem to be an effect immanent, or reſiding in the ſame faculty with faith: Love to our neighbour an effect tranſient, as having a diſtinct * root, or original whence it ſprings, and takes its proper ſubſtance, though quickned and moved to every good work by faith; as the Moon hath a diſtinct body of its own, more capable of light than others are, but illuminated by the Sun. The ſubſtance or body of love to our neighbours, is natural humanity or kindneſs: whoſe illumination, perfection and guidance is from faith apprehending the goodneſs of God, whom we immediately love above all for himſelf, as the only Creator and Preſerver of all, the only procurer of all good to all, others in him, and for him, as our fellow creatures, and joint objects with us of his unrecompenſable love.

* *In this ſenſe only did we mean,* Faith *and* Charity *coeval ſtems of the ſame Grace, lib.* 2. *ſect.* 1. *chap.* 7. *Parag.* 3.

3. The ſame dependance on faith have *truſt* and *confidence*, or that affection which in Latin we call *Fiducia. Confidence*, in their language of whom we borrow the *name*, implies a boldneſs, or hopeful aſſurance of good ſucceſs in the buſineſs we go about; and naturally ſprings from a perſwaſion, either of our own, or others ſufficiency, of whoſe help or furtherance we may preſume. Thus the ſtrong are uſually confident in matters of ſtrength; wiſe men, or well experienced, in matters to be tried by wit or worldly policy; the wealthy, in cauſes that may be ſwayed with bribery; men well allied, in buſineſſes

that

* Jer. 17. v. 5. that may be carried beſt by multitude of friends. But all theſe branches of confidence have the curſed fig-trees hap, * *Curſed be the man that truſteth in man, and maketh fleſh his arm, and withdraweth his heart from the Lord. For he ſhall be like the heath in the wilderneſs, and ſhall not ſee when any good cometh, but ſhall inhabit the parched places in the wilderneſs, in a ſalt land, and not inhabited.* The ſtock notwithſtanding whence they grow, being purified and ſeaſoned by grace, theſe lopt off, and the true knowledge of God ingrafted in their ſtead, beareth fruit unto ſalvation. Verſe 7, 8. *For bleſſed is the man that truſteth in the Lord, and whoſe hope the Lord is. For he ſhall be as a tree that is planted by the water, which ſpreadeth out her roots by the water, and ſhall not feel when the heat cometh, but her leaf ſhall be green, and ſhall not care for the year of drought, neither ſhall ceaſe from yielding fruit.* The points towards which this natural affection, whereof all participate more or leſs, muſt be ſet, ere it grow up into ſuch confidence as ſpreads it ſelf throughout all the ways that God hath appointed us to walk in; are the articles of Gods power and wiſdom over all the works of his hands, and his favour towards us. The manner how faith doth raiſe it, the Reader may more eaſily perceive, if it pleaſe him call to mind, or hereafter obſerve, that as well in the dialect of ſacred Writers, whether Canonical or Apocryphal, as other moral Authors, or common ſpeech, *there is a twofold faith. One* paſſive, or objective, which in Engliſh we uſually call *fidelity*, or *faithfulneſs*, whereunto we may ſafely truſt: *another* active, or apprehenſive, by which we aſſent unto the former, and rely upon it as far as our needful occaſions ſhall require. Of this reliance or repoſal, *confidence* is but a further degree, preſuppoſing a firmer apprehenſion, or experience of more than ordinary ſufficiency, and favour towards us in the party to whoſe truſt we commit our ſelves, or our affairs. *Fidelity*, or *faith paſſive*, he well notified in part, that told us, *Quando fit quod dicitur tunc eſt fides.* Faithful he is in his ſayings, that hath good ground for what he ſpeaks: or, called to an account, is able to make ſuch proof of his aſſertions, as the nature of the buſineſs ſhall require. *Faithful* in his doings he is, that approves the truth of his promiſes by performance; whom we * Pſalm 15. cannot better deſcribe than the Pſalmiſt hath done, * *One that walketh uprightly, worketh righteouſneſs, and ſpeaketh the truth in his heart*; or, as we ſay, one whoſe heart goes with his mouth, and changeth not his oath or promiſe, albeit the performance of it be to his greater hinderance, than he conceived when he made it. Always the better opinion we retain of this paſſive fidelity, or faithfulneſs, the greater is our active faith, truſt, or repoſal in it; but truſt or confidence infallible, or abſolute, we cannot have in any mortal man. For beſides that his heart or intention is unknown to us, ſuch abilities as now he hath are obnoxious to change, ſo is his purpoſe and reſolution. Not the honeſteſt man on earth but is mutably honeſt, at leaſt in reſpect of us; and where all other conditions be equal, we truſt him better, whoſe means are whole and ſound, than one of a broken or craſed eſtate. For few there be, but ſore pinched with poverty, will ſhrink from what they promiſed upon preſuppoſed hopes of better ability. And moſt men perhaps out of a conſciouſneſs of their own mutability, upon like change of fortunes, or new diſcovery of dangers before unknown, ſeem to grant a general pardon or diſpenſation to others in like caſes: at the leaſt, if abilities upon ſuch caſualties be wanting, ingenuous Creditors do not expect

performance of promiſes made, howſoever their debtors minds were affected when they made them; whence (as I ſaid) confidence in ſuch men, if other conditions be equal, are leſs ſafe: yet the more we truſt them, upon leſs probable means of ability, or upon external appearances of danger, or ſuſpitions caſt by others of their likelihood to break; the greater credit and honour we do them. For as love (unleſs it proceed from a party odious and unlovely) is uſually repaid with like affection, according to the old ſaying, *Vis ut ameris? ama:* ſo *ipſa* [a] *fides habita obligat fidem*, Men oft-times become more truſty than otherwiſe they would be, by the truſt or credence we give unto them. God (in whom only this fidelity, or faith objective, according to the moſt abſolute *Idea* or perfection of it, is immutable) is always more favourable to ſuch, as faithfully commend themſelves and their affairs unto his care and truſt. And unto faithful reliance and repoſal on his promiſes, we are tied by a triple bond of faith, which cannot poſſibly break or untwine, once ſurely faſtened. If we fully aſſent to his veracity, we cannot queſtion whether he purpoſe whatſoever he promiſed: if to his Omnipotency, we cannot doubt of his allſufficiency to perform. For this cauſe, when the bleſſed Virgin only demanded concerning Chriſts incarnation, [b] *How ſhall this be, ſeeing I know not a man?* the Angel mildly inſtructs her, ([c] in the ſame terms he checked her Mother *Sarah*) *there is nothing impoſſible with God*; of whoſe veracity or alſufficiency ſhe never conceived poſitive doubt, only her actual conſideration of his fidelity, or other attributes before mentioned, was outſtart by the unuſualneſs of the effect, or ſuddain apprehenſion of her own integrity, never acquainted with the only known means until that time of producing it. Laſtly, of Gods favour towards us we can leſs doubt, ſeeing his mercy is over all his works; and he that gave his only Son for us before we knew him, what can he deny us which we faithfully ask in his Name? Far more be the promiſes of his fatherly love, than are the declarations of his power: fail we cannot in our hopes but only through unbelief; which though it befel the people to whom his promiſes were firſt directed, [d] *Yet cannot the faith of God* (as the Apoſtle terms it) *be without effect*; for they fell by unbelief, that we might be raiſed by faith. Though conſcious we be of our frailty, often aſſaulted with others violence: *yet the Lord is faithful, and will eſtabliſh us, and keep us from evil*; or as the ſame Apoſtle elſewhere ſpeaks, [e] *God is faithful by whom we are called unto the fellowſhip of his Son Chriſt Jeſus our Lord, who will alſo confirm us to the end, that we may be acquitted in the day of his appearance.* Theſe were the ſure feſts of Saint *Bernards* faith, and in theſe Meditations or Articles his hope did ſafely anchor in the midſt of greateſt ſtorms: [f] *Three things* (ſaith he) *I conſider, in which my hope wholly conſiſts: Gods love whereby he adopted me; the truth of his promiſe; his power to perform. Let my fooliſh thoughts murmur as much as they liſt, and ſay, How mean art thou? How great is that glory? by what deſerts doſt thou hope to obtain it? But I will confidently anſwer, I know whom I have truſted, and am certain that he hath adopted me in the abundance of his love, that he is true in his promiſes, and powerful in accompliſhment; for he can do whatſoever he will.*

[a] *Livie.*

[b] *Luk.* 1. *v.* 34.

[c] *Gen.* 18. *v.* 14

[d] *Rom.* 3. *v.* 1.

[e] 1 *Cor.* 1. *v.* 9.

[f] *Tria conſidero in quibus tota ſpes mea conſiſtit, charitatem adoptionis, veritatem promiſſionis poteſtatem redditionis.* Murmuret jam, quantum voluerit inſipiens cogitatio mea, dicens, Quis enim es tu, & quanta eſt illa gloria, quibuſve meritis hanc obtinere ſperas? Et ego fiducialiter reſpondebo, ſcio cui credidi, & certus ſum, quia in charitate nimia adoptavit me, quia verax in promiſſione, quia potens in exhibitione, licet enim ei facere quod voluerit Hic eſt funiculus triplex, qui difficulter rumpitur, quem nobis è patria noſtra, in hunc carcerem uſque demiſſum, firmiter obſecro teneamus, & ipſe nos ſublevet, ipſe nos trahat & pertrahat uſque ad conſpectum gloriæ magni Dei: qui eſt benedictus in ſecula. *Bern. de Evang.* 7. *pan. ſerm.* 3.

This is that triple cord which is not eaſily broken, on which I beſeech you let us hold faſt, being let down to us into this dungeon from that Country which we ſeek, that by it we may be raiſed, that by it we may be drawn within view of the glory of the great God.

4. Seeing repoſal of truſt naturally increaſeth according to the ſeveral degrees of their ability, fidelity and favour towards us, on whom we rely, rightly apprehended; and all theſe in God (as faith aſſures us) are infinite and incomprehenſible: our confidence of good ſucceſs in all the ways he hath appointed us, ſhould be without all mixture of diffidence, ſuſpition or diſtruſt. But as faith it ſelf, though often failing in the exerciſe, muſt in the habit, or for the moſt part be an *Aſſent* unto divine precepts as good and eligible (at the inſtant of propoſal) before either avoidance of ſuch dangers as accompany their execution and profeſſion, or retention of ſuch pleaſures or commodities as muſt be made off, ere we can effect the purchaſe, or be capable of the reward annexed: ſo muſt the confidence hence growing be habitually ſure and firm; albeit the whole world, the Devil, or our own fleſh conſpire to defeat the hopes we have grounded upon faithful proſecution of ſuch means as God hath promiſed to bleſs. Such confidence was in the Pſalmiſt, whilſt aſſaulted with the fury and violence of mighty foreign enemies: * *God is our refuge and ſtrength; a very preſent help in trouble. Therefore will not we fear though the earth be moved; and though the mountains be carried into the midſt of the ſea. Though the waters thereof roar and be troubled, though the mountains ſhake with the ſwelling thereof.* † *Though I walk in the midſt of trouble,* (ſaith another) *yet ſhalt thou refreſh me: thou ſhalt ſtretch forth thine hand upon the furiouſneſs of mine enemies, and thy right hand ſhall ſave me. The Lord ſhall make good his loving kindneſs toward me: yea, thy mercy, O Lord, endureth for ever, deſpiſe not then the works of thine own hands.* The like was in *David*, when the wiſe men of the world, ſuch as had learned the policy to bleſs with their mouths, and curſed inwardly, *had conſulted to caſt him down from his dignity.* * *My ſoul* (ſaith he) *wait thou only upon God: for my expectation is from him. He is only my Rock and my ſalvation, he is my defence, I ſhall not be moved. In God is my ſalvation and my glory: the Rock of my ſtrength and my refuge is in God.* Nor was this any act of ſupererogation, or extraordinary affection ſingular to him; but he exhorteth the people unto the like. † *Truſt in him at all times, ye people, pour out your hearts before him: God is a refuge for us.* This is a point wherewith would God our Preachers would pierce the hearts of their hearers by continual preſſing it. For want of confidence in good courſes is that, which will condemn this whole generation of hypocriſie or infidelity. Nor could we diſtruſt our doom, did we but underſtand the meaning of thoſe words following in the ſame Pſalm: *Truſt not in oppreſſion, nor in robbery; if riches increaſe, ſet not thy heart upon them:* or thoſe in another, * *Put not your truſt in Princes, nor in the ſon of man, for there is no help in them.* In theſe he truſts, and not in God, that uſeth the help of his wealth, or countenance of mighty friends, either to abet himſelf in bad cauſes, or over-bear others in good, as ſhall hereafter be ſhewed. Now I will conclude with the Pſalmiſt laſt cited: *Happy is he that hath the God of Jacob for his help, whoſe hope is in the Lord his God, which made heaven and earth, the ſea and all that therein is, which keepeth his fidelity for ever; which executeth judgment for the oppreſſed, which giveth food to the hungry: the Lord looſeth the priſoners:*

* Pſal.46.1,2.
† Pſal.138.7,8
* Pſal.62.5,6.
† Verſe 8.
Verſe 10.
* Pſal.146.3.

the Lord openeth the eyes of the blind; the Lord raiſeth up them that are bowed down: the Lord loveth the righteous: the Lord preſerveth the ſtrangers, he relieveth the fatherleſs and widow: but the way of the wicked he turneth upſide down.

5. Theſe being the live characters of Divine goodneſs, and beſt motives to breed confident hope of good ſucceſs in imitation of him, in works like to thoſe here expreſſed: no marvel if our Saviour ſo grievouſly tax the Scribes and Phariſees for non-conformity unto them. * *Wo be unto you Scribes and Phariſees hypocrites; for ye tithe the mint, and the rue, and all manner of herbs, and leave the weightier matters of the Law, as judgement, and mercy and fidelity: theſe ought ye to have done, and not to have left the other undone:* Confident perſwaſions they had of Gods extraordinary favour; which notwithſtanding, becauſe it proceeded not from *faith* fructifying in deeds conformable to his goodneſs, made them preſumptuous and open Rebels againſt his Son, the only image of his glory, for doing the works here prophecied by this Pſalmiſt. † They deſpiſed him as a ſinner, once, for raiſing up a poor creature, not bowed down only, but together ſo as ſhe could not raiſe her ſelf: another time for giving * ſight unto the blind upon a Sabbath day: Often for the like works, here aſcribed to that God, whoſe name they were to ſanctifie by hallowing the Sabbath day; all lively documents, that he which viſibly wrought them was the Lord, to whom this Pſalm of Praiſe and Thankſgiving was dedicated. Such confidence as they, whiles thus affected, boaſted in, was *the very way of the wicked, which the Lord turneth upſide down.* His ſentence is already pronounced upon it. † *Every one that exalteth himſelf ſhall be brought low,* which words he ſpake of the proud Phariſee, and ſuch as truſted in themſelves *that they were juſt deſpiſing others.* Notwithſtanding even this Phariſee himſelf, whom he makes the patern of hypocriſie, gave God thanks for his conceited righteouſneſs; acknowledging that whatſoever he had, he had *received*: but in that he gloried in it, as if he had not received it, the holy Ghoſt taxeth him for truſting in it, not in the Lord, whom he intended to glorifie for this gift amongſt others. And were we ſo wiſe, that a word, though from the ſpirits own mouth, might ſuffice for our admoniſhment; this one place alone would inſtruct us, that he truſts not in the Lord, but in his wealth, or dignity, that contemns his brother for his mean gifts, whether of *Art* or *Nature*, or diſparageth his worth only for the lowneſs of his fortunes.

* *Mat.* 23. 23.

† *Luke* 13. 14.

* *John* 9. 24.

† *Luke* 18. 9, 14.

6. Thus much of confidence, *fiducia*, or truſt; ſo nearly allied to faith, that ſome include it in the eſſence, or formal ſignification of the *word* in the Learned Tongues: which opinion may ſeem to have ſome countenance from the Book of Homilies. But what there is ſaid of faith to this purpoſe, is a popular deſcription, not an accurate or artificial definition, like as alſo we may not think the Author of thoſe *Homilies* meant formally and eſſentially to define faith, when he ſaith *that faith is a firm hope*, for ſo in the ſame place doth he deſcribe it. And to ſpeak the truth, he that puts *fiducia* in the eſſential definition of faith, and leaves *hope* out, had need of as much cunning, as he that ſhould undertake to make payment of ten pounds, and ſubſtract ſeven. For confidence, or this truſt, in their form of doctrine whoſe authority for the right uſe of ſuch words is moſt authentick, is the period or complement of *Hope*; *contemnenda eſt*

omnis injuria malorum præſentium, fiducia futurorum bonorum, ſaith S. Cyprian. And again, * *Laus eſt fidei, fiducia futurorum mundi* † *adverſa tolerare: It is the commendation of Faith to ſupport our ſelves under ſuch grievances as the world lays upon us, with ſure hope of future good.* In this godly Fathers Orthodoxal conceit of this chain of Chriſtian Virtues, we may behold patience ſpringing from faith, but preſuppoſing truſt, or confidence, at leaſt if perfect: parallel herein to the Apoſtle, * *Caſt not away your confidence, which hath great recompence of reward, for ye have need of patience,* (whoſe hold-faſt he ſuppoſeth confidence) *that after ye have done the will of God, ye might receive the promiſe.*

* Cypr. De Mortalit.
† Idem de zelo & livore. Tully *to my remembrance defines* confidentia *to be* ſpes perducendi ad exitum rem inchoatam.
* *Heb.* 10. 35.

The ground or ſupporter as well of patience, as confidence and fidelity in doing Gods will, is faith, as is before deduced. Whether ſuch confidence as we have, that there is a reward laid up for the faithful, reach in the ſame ſtrength and tenor unto perſonal ſalvation; or bring forth like aſſurance of our poſſeſſory right in ſtate of grace; or, if ſo, whether it be proper to all, as it is doubtleſs only to ſuch as are endued with ſaving faith; or whether equal in all, or at all times, or rather decreaſing according to the degrees of their Delinquency in ſuch duties, as this confident hope of Gods mercy, and fidelity in rewarding all, without reſpect of perſons, that do his will, doth impel and encourage them to: cannot ſo fitly be diſputed, until the tenor of Gods Covenant with Mankind, and other difficulties concerning freewill and contingency, with the Articles of Chriſts Death and Reſurrection, (from firm *Aſſent* unto which this ſpecial confidence or aſſurance muſt flow,) be unfolded. Here I only would commend that place of our Apoſtle to the Religious Readers private meditation, for rectifying and ſtrengthning his faith in this point. † *Having therefore, Brethren, boldneſs to enter into the Holieſt by the blood of* JESUS *by a new living way, which he hath conſecrated for us, through the vail, that is to ſay, his fleſh. And having an high Prieſt over the houſe of God: Let us draw near with a true heart in full aſſurance of faith, having our hearts ſprinkled from an evil conſcience, and our bodies waſhed with pure water. Let us hold faſt the profeſſion of our faith without wavering; for he is faithful that promiſed. And let us conſider one another to provoke unto love, and to good works.* Many other properties of faith there be, and divers peculiar branches of theſe general ones here touched, to be diſcuſſed after the explication of the Articles, out of which they properly ſpring.

† *Heb.* 10. 19, 20, &c.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Diverſe Acceptions of Faith in Scriptures or Fathers: of the Romaniſts pernicious errour concerning the nature of it, and charity, whereby his imaginary works of merit neceſſarily become either dead, apiſh, or polluted.

1. FRom the ſeveral degrees, or differences of *Aſſent* unto divine truths, before aſſigned, it will be eaſie for the Reader to derive the diverſe acceptions of Belief, whether in writings Canonical, Apocryphal, or of Fathers, from one head. Albeit I hold

it not worth the enquiry, whether the name of *Faith* in the Hebrew, Greek and Latin, were propagated from the object to our apprehenſion, or *Aſſent*; or from theſe unto the object: for in all three Tongues faith is taken as well for that which deſerves credit, as for the credence we give unto it. More pertinent to our preſent occaſions it is, that belief, even in Scriptures, is ſometimes applied to the very firſt, and loweſt degree of *Aſſent* unto truths divine; and, they are ſaid to believe, that acknowledge any article of faith, or part of Chriſts doctrine, as true; albeit the ground of their *Aſſent* were not ſincere or ſound, but rather humorous. So it is ſaid in the ſecond of *John*, *that many when they ſaw his Miracles believed in him: but* JESUS *committed not himſelf unto their hands*; *becauſe he knew them all*: ſo did he their humours to be like theirs, that upon like belief of his power would have made him King. Others again are ſaid to believe, when they *Aſſent*, perhaps, to all Articles of faith as true, and good, whilſt conſidered only in themſelves, without oppoſitions of ſuch matters as they much value. So our Saviour telleth us, that ſome, *when they have heard, receive the word with joy, and for a while believe*; *but in time of tentation depart*: and S. *John*, *that even amongſt the Rulers many believed on him*: By true and lively faith rooted in the heart? So *Bellarmin* woul perſwade us: or otherwiſe we might make the Scriptures as a noſe of wax, or alter the nature of ſacred phraſe, as we do counters in accompts. Yet if they *had in heart believed unto righteouſneſs, they had confeſſed with their mouth unto ſalvation*: *but* (ſaith the Evangeliſt) *becauſe of the Phariſees they did not confeſs him, leaſt they ſhould be put out of the Synagogue.* And was not this *to be aſhamed of him* and of his Goſpel *before men*? And whoſoever is ſo affected, believeth not in that ſenſe the Prophet ſpeaks, *whoſoever believeth on him ſhall not be aſhamed*: for unleſs he acknowledge them in that day, they ſhall not only be aſhamed, but confounded with unbelievers: yea, the very reaſon the Evangeliſt gives, why they did not confeſs him, condemns the Cardinals gloſs, either of great folly, or impiety. *For* (ſaith he) *they loved the praiſe of men more than the praiſe of God*: unto which latter they had aſſented as much better, had they ſo believed as our Saviour means, when he demands of the *Jews*: *How can ye believe, which receive honour one of another, and ſeek not the honour which cometh from God only*? Ere our faith become ſuch as lays ſure hold on life, (for of ſuch in that place he ſpeaks,) we muſt *Aſſent* unto the honour that comes from God alone, as ſo much better than that we receive of men, that the later muſt ſeem as nothing in compariſon of the former. The ſame word, **Belief*, oftimes is taken, not only as it includes theſe laſt degrees, or proper differences of *Aſſent* unto divine truths,

John 2. 24.

Mat. 13. 20.

John 12. 31.

Rom. 10. 10.

John 5. 44.

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* Quoniam iis quibus fidem adhibemus, vel quæ nobis certò perſuademus, vera eſſe, ſi modo bona ſint vel utilia; veluti ſi ſunt promiſſiones, affectum & cor accommodare ſolemus, & eorum ſpem & fiduciam in nobis concipere, tranſlatum eſt vocabulum fidei ad ſignificandam fiduciam erga promittentes: In hac ſignificatione ſæpe obvium eſt in ſacris literis: *Sane* Matthæi *nono ſic accipitur, ubi jubet Chriſtus paralyticum illum confidere.* Tertiò accipitur fidei vocabulum ut hæc omnia complectitur, nempe aſſenſum illum firmum mentis; quo quis certò perſuadeat ſibi veriſſima eſſe, quæ ſacræ litteræ docent ſive promittunt, & fiduciam ex Dei omnipotentis bonitate, quam Scripturæ revelant, conceptam, non ſine ſpe, hoc eſt exſpectatione promiſſorum. Sic accepiſſe videtur Paulus fidem ad Roman. 4. & ad Hebr. 11. Explicans enim illis locis fidei naturam ac vim, paſſim à fiducia ad credulitatem, rurſus à credulitate ad fiduciam delabitur, quo facile ſubindicat ſe nomine fidei utramq; complecti. Certè ſcriptura quam ex Abacuc citat, *Juſtus ex fide vivit*, ſpem & fiduciam complectitur. *Sasbout*, in cap. 1. ad *Rom.*

but as it is accompanied with its eſſential properties, or with ſuch works as impulſively are from it, though proper acts or exerciſes of other virtues, faculties or affections, whence they ſpring as from their natural root, wherein they reſide as in their native ſubject. The places are obvious to every one converſant in Scriptures. The like latitude of perfection, whether from difference of Eſſence, or diverſity only in Degrees: *knowledge*, or *underſtanding*, in the uſe of ſacred Writers, admits. Nor did S. *John* in that ſpeech: [*He that ſaith he knoweth God, and keepeth not his Commandments, is a lyar*] contradict our Saviour, where he ſuppoſeth, *that many know their Maſters will and do it not.* For the Diſciple ſpeaks of true and perfect knowledge: the *Lord* of knowledge external, or imperfect. The ſame Analogy the Fathers retain in the uſe of *Belief* or *Faith*. That the *Pontificians* can alledge their teſtimonies, to prove faith may be ſeparated from works or charity; is as little pertinent to the point in queſtion betwixt us and them, as it would be in the Schools to urge the authority of late Philoſophers, that ſtones and mettals did not grow, or that trees and plants had no local motion, againſt him that out of *Ariſtotle* did maintain, all bodies endued with life were capable of growth and diminution, or all with ſenſe, of local motion. He that holds the former Concluſions, would account ſtones and mettals amongſt bodies inanimate, and trees and plants amongſt unſenſitive. Now our Queſtion is not of every ſort, or degree of faith, but of that by which the juſt do live. That no Father did affirm it ſhould be without fruits, or works of holineſs, is more than my ſmall reading in them can ſecure me to affirm; albeit reaſon I have none to think otherwiſe: but juſt cauſe ſo to preſume, by the places our adverſaries alledge, ſo idle they are and impertinent. Howſoever, I dare undertake for our aſſertion to bring three Fathers for one, or teſtimonies thrice as many out of the beſt approved, as any Jeſuit ſhall do for his. And becauſe ſome of them ſcramble at ſome ſcattered ſentences in S. *Cyprians* works, or others fathered upon him, I will inſtance at this time in him eſpecially; the rather becauſe he ſealed the truth of his profeſſion with his blood, and had leaſt reaſon to be partial for Faith againſt Charity, of whoſe abundance in his heart every letter in his writings almoſt is a character: yea, ſo he eſteemed of it, that he thought it impoſſible for him to prove a true witneſs of Chriſt, though dying in his cauſe, if he had lived without brotherly love. * *How doth he ſay he believes in Chriſt, that doth not what Chriſt hath given him in charge to do? Or how ſhall he attain to the reward of faith, which will not faithfully keep his Commandments?*

And again: † *Seeing to ſee Chriſt is our joy, nor can our joy have being until we ſee him, what blindneſs of heart, what madneſs is this, to love the grievances, the pains and miſeries of this world, and not rather to make haſte unto that joy which never can be taken from us? Yet all this, beloved brethren, comes to paſs, becauſe we have no faith; becauſe none believes the truth of what God hath promiſed, who is true; whoſe word is*

* Credere ſe in Chriſtum quomodo dicit, qui non facit quod Chriſtus facere præcepit? aut unde perveniet ad præmium fidei, qui fidem non vult ſervare mandati? *Cyprian* de *Eccleſ. unit.*

† Cum ergo Chriſtum videre, gaudere ſit, nec poſſit eſſe gaudium noſtrum niſi cum videremus Chriſtum, quæ cæcitas animi, quæve dementia eſt, amare preſſuras & pænas, & lachrymas mundi, & non feſtinare potius ad gaudium, quod nunquam poſſit auferri? Hoc autem fit, fratres dilectiſſimi, quia fides deeſt, quia nemo credit vera eſſe quæ promittit Deus, qui verax eſt, cujus ſermo credentibus æternus & firmus eſt. Si tibi vir gravis & laudabilis aliquid polliceretur, haberes pollicenti fidem: nec te falli aut decipi ab eo crederes, quem ſtare in ſermonibus atq; in actibus ſuis ſcires: Nunc Deus tecum loquitur, & tu mente incredula perfidus fluctuas? Deus tibi de hoc mundo recedenti immortalitatem atque æternitatem pollicetur, & tu dubitas? hoc eſt Deum omnino non noſſe, hoc eſt Chriſtum credentium magiſtrum, peccato incredulitatis offendere: hoc eſt in Eccleſia conſtitutum, fidem in domo fidei non habere. S. *Cyprian* de Mortalitate.

eternally ſure to believers. If a grave man, and of good note, ſhould promiſe thee any thing, thou wouldſt rely upon his promiſe, thou wouldſt not believe thou ſhouldſt be deceived or diſappointed by him, whom thou knoweſt to be conſtant in his words and deeds. Behold, God ſpeaks to thee, and doſt thou perfidiouſly waver through incredulity of mind? God hath promiſed thee at thy departure out of this world, immortality and eternity, and doſt thou doubt? This is to be altogether without the knowledge of God, this is to offend Chriſt the Maſter of the faithful with the ſin of incredulity, this is to have a place in the Church, and to be without faith in the houſe of faith. The like hath *Bernard*; who ſpeaking of the victory that is by Faith, thus reſolves fleſh and blood moving doubts to the contrary, *Perchance it may tempt ſome, in that they ſee ſo many acknowledging Chriſt to be the Son of God, ſtill entangled with the luſts of this world. How ſaith the Apoſtle then,* who is he that overcometh the world, but he which believes that JESUS is the Son of God, *when as the world it ſelf believes this truth? yea do not the very Devils themſelves believe as much and tremble? but I rejoyn; Doſt thou imagine that he reputes* CHRIST *for the Son of God, whoſoever he be, that is not terrified with his threats, that is not allured with his promiſes, which obeys not his commandments, and reſts not ſatiſfied with his advice? doth not ſuch a one, albeit he profeſs he knows God, deny him by his deeds?*

Veruntamen poteſt fortè movere quod tam multos videmus credentes JESUM filium Dei eſſe, adhuc tamen mundi nihilominus cupiditatibus irretitos. Quid ergo ait: quis eſt qui vincit mundum, niſi qui credit, quia Jeſus eſt filius Dei, cum & ipſe jam mundus id credat? An non ipſi quoque Dæmones & credunt & contremiſcunt? Sed dico: Putaſne filium Dei JESUM reputat, quiſquis ille eſt homo, qui ipſius nec terretur comminationibus, nec attrahitur promiſſionibus, nec præceptis obtemperat, nec conſiliis acquieſcit? Nonne is, etiamſi fateatur ſe noſſe, Deum factis tamen neget? *Bernard.* in Oct. Paſ. de tertio Teſtim. in Cælo & ter. ſerm. 1.

* *Valentian* notwithſtanding would perſwade us, *that the Fathers, when they ſay faith without works is dead; would only give us to underſtand, that it is not lively and perfect, ſuch as indeed it ſhould be:* (He means they deny it not to be numerically the ſame without works and with them, as the body (in his conceit) is one and the ſame without the ſoul, and with it.) *And it is a manner of ſpeech* (in his obſervation) *uſual, to account that which is imperfect in any kind, not to be true in the ſame kind. As for example, we uſe to ſay joy or grief imperfect, or little, is no true joy or grief: although it be ſome joy or grief.* Who uſeth to ſay ſo but Dunces? or who but Hereticks, would deny the leaſt degree of ſpiritual joy to be true joy, the leaſt ſting of conſcience to be true grief? Things little in any kind, actually compared with others incomparably greater, we uſe to reckon as none; ſo we might ſay the joy of the godly in this life is as none, in reſpect of that which ſhall be revealed: But yet the leaſt meaſure of our internal joy truly denominates us joyful, if we ſpeak abſolutely, as the Fathers do when they deny Faith without works to be true faith. For they deny withal that it then denominates us truly faithful, or Believers, as is evident from that Obſervation of S. *Gregory*, upon thoſe words of our Saviour, [*He that ſhall believe and be baptized ſhall be ſaved.*] *It is likely every one of you will ſay within himſelf: I have believed, therefore I ſhall be ſaved: He*

* Ad ſextum argumentum reſpondeo, Patres, cum dicunt fidem ſine operibus non eſſe veram fidem, tantum velle ſignificare quod non ſit viva & perfecta, qualis revera deberet eſſe. Nam & hic loquendi modus eſt uſitatus, ut rem, quæ in aliquo genere imperfecta eſt, dicamus non eſſe veram in eo genere, ſicut gaudium aut dolorem (verbi gratia) imperfectum, aut non ita magnum, dicere ſolemus non eſſe verum gaudium aut dolorem, tametſi aliquod gaudium ſit aut dolor.

Mark 16. *verſ.* 16.

He ſpeaks the truth, if he have faith with works. For that is true faith, which in manners or deeds contradicts not what it thus profeſſeth in words. Hence it is that Paul *ſaith of certain falſe Believers,* They confeſs they know God, but deny him by their works: *Hence ſaith* John, He that ſays he believes God, and keeps not his commandments is a lyar. *This ſhould teach us to acknowledge the truth of faith in examination of our life. For then we are truly faithful* (or Believers) *when we fulfil in deed what we promiſed in word. For in the day of Baptiſm we promiſed utterly to forſake all works, and pomps of the old enemy. Therefore let every one of you turn the eyes of his mind unto the former examination: and if after Baptiſm he have kept his promiſe made before, then let him rejoyce, being thus aſſured that he is faithful.* He adds withal, *that he which knows to bewail his offences paſt, ſhall have them covered in the day of judgement.*

Tome I. Fortaſſe unuſquiſq; apud ſemetipſum dicat: Ego jam credidi, ſalvus ero, verum dicit, ſi fidem operibus tenet, vera etenim fides eſt, quæ in hoc quod verbis dicit, moribus non contradicit. Hinc eſt etenim quod de quibuſdam falſis fidelibus Paulus dicit, Qui confitentur ſe noſſe Deum, factis autem negant. Hinc Joannes ait: Qui dicit ſe noſſe Deum & mandata ejus non cuſtodit, mendax eſt. Quod cum ita ſit, fidei noſtræ veritatem in vitæ noſtræ conſiderationem debemus agnoſcere. Tunc enim veracitèr fideles ſumus ſi quod verbis promittimus operibus complemus. In die quippe Baptiſmatis omnibus nos antiqui hoſtis operibus atque omnibus pompis abrenunciare promiſimus. Itaq; unuſquiſq; veſtrum ad conſiderationem ſuam mentis oculos reducat, & ſi ſervat poſt Baptiſmum, quod ante Baptiſmum ſpopondit, certus jam quia fidelis eſt gaudeat. Sed ecce ſi quod promiſit minimè ſervavit, ſi ad excercenda prava opera, ad concupiſcendas mundi pompas dilapſus eſt, videamus ſi jam ſcit plangere quod erravit. Apud miſericordem namq; judicem, nec ille fallax habetur, qui ad veritatem revertitur, etiam poſtquam mentitur; quia omnipotens Deus dum libenter pænitentiam noſtram ſuſcipit, ipſe ſuo judicio hoc quod erravimus abſcondit, *Greg. Hom. 29. in Aſcen. Domini.*

2. This laſt teſtimony will direct the Reader to gather the like in other Fathers, from their Expoſitions of thoſe paſſages wherein mention is made of that Faith, whereunto our Saviour aſcribes eternal life, or his Apoſtles righteouſneſs. The evidence of which places is in it ſelf, to ſuch as weigh the circumſtances conſequent and precedent, or compare one place with another, ſo forcible, that it oftimes extorts confeſſions from Pontifician Expoſitors againſt the moſt received *Tenents* of their Church, firſt hatched by the Schoolmen, which never ſaw the light of Heaven, but through the dark painted glaſſes of the Cells wherein they were impriſoned, and hence imagine our Saviours form of doctrine to be of the ſame hew with midnight Duncery, or groſſeſt ignorance of Sacred Dialects.

* One, upon theſe words of the Prophet [*The work of righteouſneſs ſhall be peace, and the effects of righteouſneſs, quietneſs and aſſurance for ever,*] ſaith that faith whereto S. *Paul* aſcribeth righteouſneſs, includes all theſe branches; *to commit our ſelves and all our ways unto God as to a moſt loving father, to whom we have plight our faith, whom we accept for our God: ſincerely promiſing to obey him, and obſerve his laws.* He thinks withal, that the Apoſtle did borrow this ſpeech, † *Being juſtified by faith we have peace with God through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt,* from the former place of the Prophet. Yet this Commentator ſtifly denies Juſtification by ſuch faith alone; how inconſequently to this obſervation ſhall hereafter be examined. It well fits our preſent purpoſe, that the righteouſneſs here ſpoken of by the Prophet, is included in S. *Pauls* faith.

* Hinc accepiſſe videtur Paulus illud ad Rom: Juſtificati ex fide pacem habemus erga Deum, nam & hic ſequitur, *Cultus Juſtitiæ quies & fiducia,* id eſt, cultus, ſervitium ſeu obſequium ad juſtitiam conſequendam eſt nos, noſtraq; omnia Deo committere tanquam patri amantiſſimo; cui fidem dedimus, quem pro Deo accepimus, cui obtemperare, cujus legem ex animo ſervare promiſimus; quiq; nos in ſuam fidem ſuſcepit: quibus etiam, niſi inobedientes eſſe vellemus; ſe nunquam defuturum viciſſim pollicitus eſt. Hæc omnia includit fides Paulina, cui juſtitiam tribuit ipſe. Forer. in 32. cap. Ieſaiæ verſ. 17. † *Rom. 5. ver. 1.*

3. * Another upon thoſe words of the ſame Apoſtle, *The Goſpel of Chriſt is the power of God unto ſalvation*, counſels us to learn the right ſignification of this term to *Believe*, as it is uſed in S. *Pauls* diſputes, from other places of Scripture, eſpecially from that ſpeech of our Savious, *He that believeth on me; as the Scripture hath ſaid, out of his belly ſhall flow rivers of living water*. The Scripture (ſaith this judicious Pontifician Expoſitor) whereto our Saviour had reſpect, is in the ſixteenth Chapter of the ſecond of *Chronicles*, *The eyes of the Lord behold the whole earth, and give ſtrength to ſuch as believe on him with a perfect heart*. Now they believe with a perfect heart, which do not only give credence to what the Scripture ſaith, or is otherwiſe revealed from above; but further addreſs all the faculties of their ſouls to do what faith requires, or preſcribes. And in this ſenſe doth S. *Paul* uſe this word *Believe*; as if it were to be moved at the hearing of *the word, and to embrace what is ſaid with an entire adherence of the ſoul*. Very fitly to this purpoſe doth our Engliſh Tranſlation, in the Book of Common Prayer, render that place of the Pſalmiſt, † *whoſe ſpirit cleaveth not ſtedfaſtly unto God*. Which the Vulgar Latin, ſeeking to expreſs the Hebrew, word by word, hath rudely expreſſed *non eſt creditus cum Deo ſpiritus ejus*.

4. Two places of Scripture only there be, with whoſe difficulty or obſcurity the Jeſuit, or other of the *Trent* Councils Vaſſals, hope to extinguiſh the light and evidence of all the reſt, ſo pregnant for us. The firſt is that of S. *Paul* [* *Though I ſpeak with the tongues of men and Angels, and have not charity, I am become as ſounding braſs, or as a tinckling cymbal.*] He that ſuppoſeth all faith may be without charity, (ſaith *Valentian*) excepteth none. But our Writers reply; That the faith by which miracles (of what kind ſoever) are wrought, is here only mentioned; and ſuch faith, though never ſo entire and perfect, may be, as in theſe *Corinthians* it was, without true love. The truth of which anſwer, moſt probable from the circumſtances of the place, as it needs perhaps no further confirmation: ſo for the fuller illuſtration of it, impertinent it will not be for the Reader to obſerve, that of all the Churches which S. *Paul* had planted, of all he wrote unto, or vouchſafed any mention, this of *Corinth* did moſt abound in all thoſe extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, which might ſet forth the glory of Chriſt and his Goſpel before Heathen and unregenerate men, eſpecially ſuch as theſe *Corinthians* by nature and education were, earneſtly addicted to Humane Arts and Sciences, wherewith that City at this time flouriſhed moſt, for which reaſon the Lord in his wiſdom would have the Meſſengers of his truth unto that place, † *rich in all kind of ſpeech, and in all kind of knowledge, not deſtitute of any gift* wherewith they might foil their Adverſaries at their own weapons, as *Moſes* had done the *Egyptians* in working ſuch wonders as they moſt admired in their Inchanters. But though all gifts were from one and the ſame Spirit, from which nothing can proceed but good; yet brought they forth ſuch bad effects in theſe mens ſouls, not purified from reliques of Heatheniſm, as excellency of Secular learning uſually doth in the unregenerate. Every

* Quid ſit credere in hac diſputatione, ex aliis locis ſcripturæ diſcendum eſt, præcipue, cap.7. Johannis. *Qui credit in me, ſicut dicit ſcriptura, flumina de ventre ejus fluant aquæ vivæ.* Scriptura quam eo loco reſpicit ſalvator, habetur, 2 Paralip. 16. ubi ſic ſcriptum eſt. *Oculi Domini contemplantur univerſam terram, & prebent fortitudinem iis qui corde perfecto credunt in eum.* Corde autem perfecto credunt, qui non ſolum fidem adhibent illis quæ dicuntur in ſcripturis, vel alias divinitus revelantur, ſed præterea omnes animæ vires accomodant, ut faciant quod habet fides vel quod ea preſcribit. Atq; hoc modo accipitur à Paulo *credere*, videlicet ut ſit ad auditum verbum commoveri, & tota animi adhæſione complecti, id quod dicitur. *Saſbout in verſ.* 17.1. *ad Rom.*

† *Pſal* 78.v.9.

* 1 *Cor.* 13.1.

† 1 *Cor.* 1.v.5.

one was given to magnifie the gifts wherein he excelled, whence (as the Orator ſaith of *Ariſtotle* and *Socrates*) each delighted in his own faculty, deſpiſed, or which was worſe, hated and envied his brother, as appears from the firſt and twelfth Chapters of that Epiſtle. To men thus affected what duty more neceſſary to be inculcated, than love and unity of ſouls and ſpirits? which for this reaſon the Apoſtle ſo forcibly preſſeth upon them, from the unity of that ſpirit, whence they had received their ſeveral graces. Their faith was fruitful enough in wonderous works, in healing, in excellency of ſpeeches, diverſity of tongues, and learned diſplays of divine myſteries. What was the reaſon? Becauſe they were deſirous of fame and glory, by manifeſtation of their skill in theſe; and faith, though of it ſelf but weak, works ſtrongly when it hath conjunction with ſtrong natural affections, or is ſtirred up by vehement deſires.

5. But that their faith was not fitly qualified for the attainment of life and ſaving health, not ſuch as could juſtifie them in the ſight of God, though able to magnifie his name before the Heathen, and declare his wonderful power; is evident, in that it did not command, but rather ſerve their vain-glorious deſires or hopes of praiſe amongſt men. The ſtronger it was the prouder were they, and more ambitious, and the more ſuch, the more diſſentious, ſo as the ſtrength of faith, whiles it ſwayed this way, did overbear the natural inclination to brotherly love and kindneſs: the virtue and praiſe whereof not with men only, but with God, had they known or rightly valued, it would have enflamed their hearts with greater love of it, than of that popular oſtentation they ſought after. But what ſhould have taught them to have valued it aright? Only faith, for by it alone we rightly diſcern good from evil; and amongſt good things which is beſt. But by what faith ſhould theſe *Corinthians* have come to the knowledge of brotherly love? The ſame by which they wrought wonders, or ſome other? If by ſome other, the Apoſtle in all congruity ſhould firſt have exhorted them to embrace it; otherwiſe he had commended the beauty of Chriſtian love but unto blind men. For this was a diſpoſition ſo well reſembling the nature of God, and ſuch a peculiar gift of his Spirit, as the natural man could not poſſibly diſcern the virtue of it. If by the ſame faith that they already had; then the ſame faith which with love doth juſtifie, did really exiſt without love in theſe *Corinthians* until this time; which no Proteſtant muſt grant. This difficulty *Bellarmin* preſſeth out of S. *Auguſtines* words upon the forecited place of *John*; *Ye ſee how the Evangeliſt reproves certain, whom notwithſtanding he terms Believers, who, had they held on as they were well entred, had overcome the love of humane glory by their proficiency.* I had reaſon to think any Pontifician ſhould have been afraid to give us notice of this place, leſt we hence infer, that faith alone overcometh all humane glory, and ſubjects it to the love of God, and of his praiſes: and by this reaſon it was to perfect love, not love it, in theſe *Corinthians*. For it was the love of humane glory, which alienated their love from God, and from their neighbour. But as his manner is, he wreſts this good Fathers meaning to his preſent purpoſe: * *If proficiency in ſuch faith could*

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* Adde ultimò etiam cōmentarium S. Auguſtini, ut alios interim pretermittam. Nam tractat. 53. in Johannem: *Videtis*, inquit Auguſtinus, *quemadmodum notaverit Evangeliſta, & improbaverit quoſdam, quos tamen in eum credidiſſe dixit, qui in hoc ingreſſu fidei, ſi proficerent, amorem quoque humanæ gloriæ proficiendo ſuperarent.* Quod ſi fides iſta proficere poterat & amorem humanæ gloriæ proficiendo ſuperare, certè vera fides erat. Eadem enim eſt fides incipiens, proficiens & perfecta, ſed non ſemper æque magna. Alioqui ſi fides cum proficit non eſt eadem, quæ antea erat, non illa profecit, ſed alia naſcente, ipſa defecit. *Bellar. de Juſtificatione, lib.* 1. *cap.* 15.

thus overcome the love of humane glory; it was certainly true faith even in the Jewiſh rulers. For faith is the ſame in the beginning, in the progreſs, and in the period or perfection, though not always alike ſtrong: otherwiſe, when faith increaſeth it remains not the ſame it was before, but rather vaniſh, and another ſpring up in its place. This objection goes wide of the mark he was to aim at, unleſs we hold (what we need not) that faith doth juſtifie by the bare eſſence or quality, without any competent degree or meaſure. For though we affirm, [That * faith which juſtifies cannot poſſibly be without charity,] we may interpret our ſelves thus; Faith, if it be in ſuch a degree as is required for juſtification, or right apprehenſion of Gods mercies in Chriſt, is always neceſſarily attended upon with a correſpondent meaſure of Chriſtian love, yet ſo attended, not love but it alone lays immediate hold on life eternal. But howſoever the objection it ſelf is idle, and more ſophiſtical than theological. For may not he be ſaid to profit in learning, that brings his opinions to perfect ſcience; albeit the eſſences of opinion and ſciences be diſtinct? Or who would deny him to be a good proficient in moralities, that brings the ſeed of chaſtity unto continency, continency unto the habit of temperance. The matter in all is but one, the progreſs moſt direct, yet not without ſome reſts or ſtations, by which the natural inclination or affection remains neither ſo altogether the ſame, nor ſo quite different: but the old diſtinction of *materially* and *formally* might reſolve the doubt. Every new addition of unities to numbers, or of Angles to figures, alters their forms, but aboliſheth not the unities or Angles præexiſtent. So might the belief, whereof Saint *Auſtin* ſpeaks, be materially the ſame in *beginners* and *proficients*, but formally diverſe, as getting ſome alteration in the quality, or better conſiſtence, than before it had: and become, not only ſtronger, but more lively, and active. In beginners, becauſe not able to overſway ſelf-love, or fooliſh deſires of humane praiſes, it might be without Chriſtian charity towards God, or their neighbours; in proficients, or ſuch as by it had conquered love of the world, or humane glory, it could not be without the love of God and of his children. But moſt conſonantly to the *form of Doctrine* uſed by our Saviour in this argument, we may (in my judgment) anſwer to the queſtion above propounded concerning theſe *Corinthians*, by conſidering *faith*; firſt according to the eſſence, or ſpecifical quality of it, as it was ſown in their ſouls by the ſpirit: ſecondly according to the radication or taking of it in their hearts, or ſeat of affections, which was to be wrought by the ſpirit, but neceſſarily required not any infuſion of new ſpiritual grace numerically, much leſs ſpecifically, diſtinct from that they had. The quality or eſſence of faith (if we conſider it preciſely, as the formal *term* of *creation* taken as the School-men do it for a momentany act, not as † Scriptures do for the whole work of regeneration) may be one and the ſame in ſuch as periſh, and thoſe that are ſaved; ſo cannot the radication or working of it be: ſo the ſeed which fell by the high-way ſide, in ſtony ground, among thorns, and in good ſoil, is ſuppoſed by our Saviour one and the ſame: but the radication of it was in ſome none, in others too ſhallow, in others it failed in the ſetling or taking.

* *If the Reader well obſerve the nature and properties of faith before explicated, he cannot poſſibly be ignorant that every leaſt degree of faith brings forth a correſpondent degree of love; that it is as impoſſible love ſhould increaſe without a correſpondent increaſe of faith precedent, as that inequality betwixt two ſubjects ſhould grow greater without any variation of their quantities.*

† *Creation applied unto this ſubject more properly (in Scripture-phraſe) includes the renovation it ſelf wrought in our hearts, than the grace or quality infuſed by which it is wrought, for whether that be of one and the ſame nature in all, God only knows: bound we are to believe that he is able to create new hearts in divers perſons by means, whether external or internal and infuſed, in nature and quality much different. See Section 3. Chap. 1. &c.*

Thus charity was to be raiſed in theſe *Corinthians* hearts by faith, for eſſence and quality, one and the ſame with that whereby they wrought miracles: but by the ſame faith rightly ſet, firmlier rooted, and better taken in their hearts, or center wherein natural deſires concur; ſo as it might ſpread it ſelf uniformly with them, directing them unto objects ſpiritual and good, and fix them faſteſt upon ſuch as it adjudged beſt, and moſt effectual for edifying themſelves and others. For had theſe Diſciples, by Saint *Pauls* example, * 1 Cor. 3. * *affected no knowledge ſo much, as to know Jeſus Chriſt and him crucified*; †Galat.6.v.14 had they † *gloried in nothing, ſave in the croſs of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, crucifying them unto the world, and the world unto them*: (both which were principal leſſons of faith) or had their aſſent, or adherence unto Gods love and mercies in Chriſt been as firm and ſure, as their perſwaſions of his power to produce effects beyond the courſe of nature: it had wrought as great miracles in themſelves, as it did in others, even the ſame mind which was in Chriſt Jeſus; ſuch love to all his members, (though their corrivals in ſpiritual gifts) as he bare to them when they were his enemies; and that was a love truly wondrous. The arguments brought by Pontificians, to prove the faith which worketh miracles, and juſtifies us to be the ſame, make in my judgment moſt againſt themſelves: if we conſider that theſe miniſterial effects wrought upon others, were but emblems of thoſe internal miracles, which faith once rooted in the heart, and ſet upon its proper and more principal objects, always works in the believers themſelves. To caſt out Devils, was but a ſign of that conqueſt which true faith in Chriſt always obtained over hell and death: to ſpeak with new tongues, but a pledge of that renovation which true faith always works in the heart and conſcience: to take away ſerpents, a document of the vertue of faith in reſiſting, or deading ſuch temptations, as made way for death into the world: the drinking of deadly poiſon without hurt, a ſenſible token of that ſovereign antidote which true faith affords againſt all the infections our ears are often enforced to ſuck from others peſtiferous perſwaſions: health reſtored to others by laying on of hands, an irrevocable earneſt of that eternal ſalvation, which faith, if firm and rightly ſet, never fails to take ſure hold of: as *Gregory* excellently expounds that * Mark 16. 17,18. ſaying of our * Saviour; *And theſe ſigns ſhall follow them that believe: In my Name ſhall they caſt out Devils, they ſhall ſpeak with new tongues, they ſhall take up ſerpents, and if they drink any deadly thing it ſhall not hurt them: they ſhall lay hands on the ſick, and they ſhall recover.*

6. Howſoever, upon theſe reaſons the Apoſtle grounds that exhortation in his very entrance into that diſcourſe, † 1 Cor.12.31. † *Covet ye earneſtly the gifts, and yet ſhew I unto you a more excellent way*: *Love* he meant, wherein they might eagerly ſtrive to excel each other, without any danger of diſſention. Many admirable commendations he beſtows upon it in the words following, to kindle a deſire of it in their hearts; as well knowing their faith to be ſtrong enough in matters they much affected, but not qualified for juſtification becauſe not rightly planted, nor ſet on ſuch objects as would bring forth Chriſtian love, and true humility, but rather pride & contention. Far was it from his *thoughts*, that the ardor of this ſweet *affection* could otherwiſe kindle, than from a firm belief, * 1 John 4.19. and full adherence to the love of God: [* *For we love him becauſe he loved us firſt*; *yea* becauſe *we have known and believed the love that God hath to us, for God is love*:] nor can we faithfully apprehend this attribute in him,

but it will produce the like affection in us. And yet for the right planting and radication, as well of faith, as love ſpiritual thence ſpringing, the exerciſe of brotherly kindneſs, or nouriſhing of good natural affection is always available, and was peculiarly neceſſary unto this people; whoſe contentious ſpirits did hinder the right growth, and pervert the uſe of that faith which God had given them. Generally, the ordinary means appointed by God for the right faſhioning of Chriſt in our hearts, is the precedent practice of thoſe duties which the doctrine of faith enjoins us, as ſhall hereafter be ſhewed.

7. To ſuch as weigh the circumſtances above expreſſed, Saint *Pauls* meaning in the words late cited may beſt be gathered from the like ſpeech of Saint *James*: * *He that keeps the whole law, and yet faileth in one point, is guilty of all*: ſeeing his failing in the one (as ſhall appear) witneſſeth he keeps none aright. The ground of this inference preſuppoſed, theſe words [*If I had all faith, ſo that I could move Mountains, and had not love, I were nothing*,] ſound, as if the Apoſtle had ſaid, *Though I had faith of force enough to produce variety of miracles, and all other effects whatſoever, and yet not effectual to bring forth Chriſtian love, neither I nor it were any thing worth.* For in that it works not love, it is apparently dead in it ſelf, unable to give life to any: but once firmly believing Chriſt loved us, it is impoſſible we ſhould not love him again, and for him our neighbours; not believing this truth aright, we cannot believe any other point as we ſhould, nor by that faith which rooted, as our Saviour ſpeaks, † *in an honeſt heart, brings forth fruit with patience to ſalvation.* Is there any Jeſuite that will, or dare affirm that faith the *Corinthians* had was altogether ſuch as Saint *Paul* aſcribes righteouſneſs unto, ſuch as the Prophet ſpeaks of, when he ſaith, *The juſt ſhall live by his faith*? For of that faith (*Paul* being witneſs) the performance of Gods will, and patient expectation of his promiſes, or as Romiſh Writers confeſs, fear of God, entire ſubmiſſion of our minds unto his will, and ſtedfaſt reliance upon his providence, are infallible conſequences.

* *James* 2.10.

† *Luke* 8.15.

8. The School-mens Collections from the former place of Saint *Paul*, that charity is as it were the ſoul and perfection of faith, are of as little validity; as if from this of Saint *James* late cited, I ſhould infer ſome one Commandment to be the form, or ſoul of all the reſt, becauſe if we tranſgreſs one, (that, for example, *Thou ſhalt do no murther*) our obſervation of all the reſt ſhould profit us nothing to ſalvation. Or if the Reader will remember the definition, or proprieties of faith, laſt ſet * down; this conceit is as prepoſterous, as if we ſhould make love to our meat, the ſoul or form of a † perfect taſte. For meat, wholſom and pleaſant, we cannot perfectly reliſh, but we muſt love it, howbeit we live not by loving it, but by taſting, eating, and digeſting it. No more can we rightly believe Chriſts death and paſſion, but we muſt love him and his members: yet live we not by loving them, but by taſting Gods love and favour to us, or (as I need not be afraid to ſpeak) by eating Chriſts fleſh, and drinking his blood. For though by faith, one and the ſame, we *Aſſent* unto every Article in our Creed: yet, this faith doth not juſtifie, but as it reſpects Chriſts body given for our ſins, or as it cleaves unto Gods *mercies* manifeſted in that eternal ſacrifice, always breathing out life to men, renouncing all truſt and confidence even in ſuch graces as we have received from him. All this notwithſtanding, if we compare

* *Chap.* 6. *Sect.* 10.

† *See Chap.* 6. *Sect.* 16.

love and faith together, as parts of that righteouſneſs which is in us, not conſidering the neceſſary dependance *Love* hath of *Faith* in Nature to love is more than to believe, becauſe it neceſſarily includes belief: ſo is it more to love our meat than to taſte it; becauſe love ſuppoſeth taſte: howbeit in reſpect of life, to taſte our meat is of more uſe than to love it. So is it more to move than to live; for all vital motion includes in it acts of life: yet is not motion ſimply better than life, or the ſenſitive faculty whence it proceeds, becauſe it wholly depends on them, not they on it.

9. The ſecond principal place of Scripture they uſually alledge, doth utterly diſcredit themſelves; but breeds no difficulty to us in this preſent argument: for that the faith whereof Saint *James* ſpeaks, doth differ as much from that whereto Saint *Paul* aſcribeth righteouſneſs, as a live man doth from a dead, or a body endued with life and motion from a *ſtatue*, or painted image; no Heathen Artiſt, that could but underſtand the very terms of their ſeeming contradictory Propoſitions, would deny: albeit ſome Romiſh Writers, of no mean rank, have been given over unto ſuch Jewiſh blindneſs, as to abuſe Saint *James* authority, not only to hold juſtification by works as well as faith, whereto his words incline, (as the thing it ſelf in his ſence, though not in that conſtruction they make of it, is moſt true:) but to perſwade the ignorant, that ſuch faith as Saint *Paul* commends, may be without works, or Chriſtian love. But their folly herein will work ſhame in ſuch of their ſucceſſors, as ſhall comment upon theſe two Apoſtles writings, (as in ſome of their predeceſſors it hath done:) if they conſider that thoſe very works, without which faith in Saint *James* conſtruction ſufficeth not unto ſalvation, are expreſly comprehended in that faith, whereby Saint *Paul* tells us the juſt do live. * *Was not Abraham our father juſtified through works, when he offered his ſon Iſaac upon the altar?* he meant no more (nor was more pertinent to his intended concluſion) than if he had thus ſpoken: *If Abraham had ſaid,* (as they did whoſe empty faith he diſapproves) *I have faith, but had not proved his ſayings true by his deeds, or readineſs to offer up his only Son when God commanded him,* (for actually he did not offer him:) *he had not been juſtified before God.* Why? becauſe he had not believed in ſuch ſort as Saint *Paul* meant, when he ſaith, *By faith Abraham offered up Iſaac when he was tried.* But it may be this faith was informed, perfected, or inſtigated to this act by love: of whom? not of *Iſaac*; for that was the main obſtacle to work diſtruſt, the chief antagoniſt of his faith: Not of *Sarah*, or any other friends or neighbours; all which doubtleſs had diſſwaded him, had he acquainted them with his purpoſe. Was it then the love of God? Him indeed he loved above all, becauſe he firmly believed his mercy and loving kindneſs towards him: but this love ſuppoſed, it was his *Aſſent* unto Gods Omnipotent power, which, as the Apoſtle expreſly tells us, moved him to this act. † *For he conſidered that God was able to raiſe him from the dead, from whence alſo he received him in a figure.*

* *James* 2.21.

† *Heb.* 11.19.

This conſideration or inducement was a work, yet a proper act of faith, no way of love. But love perhaps did make it meritorious? The love indeed wherewith God loved him, made his working faith acceptable in his ſight: but that it was ſtrength of faith, not the quality of love, which God imputed unto him for righteouſneſs; the ſame Apoſtle, (for doubtleſs the ſame hand it was which penned the eleventh to the *Hebrews*, and the fourth unto the *Romans*) puts it out of doubt: * *Being not weak in faith, he conſidered not his body now dead, when he was now a hundred years old; neither yet the deadneſs of* Sarahs *womb. He ſtaggered not at the promiſe of God through unbelief: but was ſtrong in faith, giving glory to God. And being fully perſwaded that what he had promiſed he was alſo able to perform. And therefore it was imputed unto him for righteouſneſs.* One and the ſame faith it was, and ſtanding at the ſame bent, unleſs by continuance of like trial increaſed in ſtrength, which wrought in him a readineſs of mind to ſacrifice his only ſon, in hope of a joyful reſurrection, and to expect his birth from the dead womb of *Sarah*. The object likewiſe whereto his *Aſſent* did adhere, was one and the ſame, (*his fidelity which had promiſed:*) on which faithfully ſtill relying, it was impoſſible his other faculties or affections ſhould not ſubſcribe to whatſoever his *Aſſent* of faith ſhould enjoin them: and *that* remaining in wonted ſtrength, it could not but bring forth perfect love, and good works; which may be ſaid in ſuch a ſenſe to perfect it, as we are ſaid to bleſs God, that is to declare his bleſſedneſs. For as Gods love to us was moſt apparent in offering his only Son: So *Abrahams* love to God was beſt manifeſted by ſacrificing his ſon *Iſaac*, *whom he loved*; yet he ſacrificed him by faith: wherefore his love did reſult from firm *Aſſent* to Gods Covenant, and Mercy, made to mankind in him: in the faithful acceptance whereof, and full acquieſcence therein, his righteouſneſs (as in due place ſhall be ſhewed) did conſiſt.

*Rom. 4.19, 20.

10. This Comment upon the Apoſtles words concerning *Abrahams* works, gives us the true meaning of the like concerning *Rahab*. † *Likewiſe alſo was not* Rahab *the harlot juſtified by works, when ſhe received the meſſengers, and had ſent them out another way?* If ſhe had ſaid unto theſe Meſſengers only thus: I believe the God of heaven and earth hath given you this whole land for a poſſeſſion; yet I dare not ſhew you any kindneſs in this City: her belief had been as dead as a body without breath or motion. But what man or woman living is there of common ſenſe, which once firmly perſwaded, that God in juſtice had given his native Country unto foreign people whom he loved, but would ſeek to merit their favour by grateful offices? It was extraordinary in this woman firmly to believe, as ſhe told the meſſengers: but reſting ſo perſwaded, a work of no perfection to make her peace with the *Iſraelites*. Had ſhe doubted, whether their title unto the land of *Canaan* had been juſt; or ſuſpected Gods donation of it unto *Abraham* to have been forged by his ſucceſſors, as *Conſtantines* is by the baſer *Roman* Clergy: ſhe might without any juſt imputation, for want of love or other good works, have adventured her life amongſt her neighbours in defence of her Country. Or had ſhe upon the *Iſraelites* miſdemeanours, diſtruſted their ſucceſs: ſhe might at leaſt in a worldly policy have rather hazarded their future diſpleaſure, than incurred preſent danger of death, or torture of her Citizens for harbouring Spies. But whiles ſhe firmly believes, both that the *Iſraelites* donation was from God, and that they would certainly prevail againſt her people; though her entertainment and concealment of them were acts of kindneſs, prudence and humanity; yet their omiſſion had been properly not of faith; becauſe impulſively they were from faith, nor could they have been omitted but through unbelief, or diſtruſt unto Gods promiſes. Worldings would

† James 2. 25.

would have condemned her, not for want of charity, but for exceſs of folly rather, had ſhe not done as ſhe was perſwaded. By faith then thoſe works become righteous, which without it had been traiterous. And if we reſpect not the cauſe of our knowledge, but the thing known, faith did perfect the works, the works only made the perfection of faith known to men. In this ſenſe it is moſt true of faith, what ſome miſapply to juſtification of mens perſons: works juſtifie and perfect faith, not in the nature of the thing, but in the ſight of man, to whom they witneſs the livelihood and perfection of faith, not as cauſes, but effects and ſigns of our juſtification; they are not only ſigns, but conditions concomitant or precedent. In the ſame ſenſe are theſe other words of the Apoſtle to be underſtood: *As the body without the ſpirit is dead; ſo faith without works is dead alſo.* For if a humane body want ſpirit, breath or motion, we rightly gather it wants life: yet are breath and motion rather effects than cauſes of life. But the School-men, dreaming the Holy Ghoſt had been Scholar to *Aquinas*, or ſome chief Maſters of their profeſſion, take the *ſpirit* in this place for *actus primus*, as the ſoul by which we live and breathe; and hence they conceived that groſs errour, (which the *Romaniſt* now makes an Article of his belief) to wit, that works animate, or at leaſt caſually perfect faith, as the ſoul of man doth his body. And whereas *Calvin* moſt acutely and Orthodoxally infers, that if faith without works or charity be dead, it is not properly, but equivocally called faith: * They reply, *works* or *charity* do not inform faith intrinſecally, as the reaſonable ſoul doth man; for ſo it would follow, that as he is not a man but a dead trunk which hath no ſoul; ſo it ſhould not be true faith, but an image or dead picture of faith, which wants *works* or *charity*. How then do they perfect faith? Extrinſecally: as the ſoul doth the body, or other half of man, which remains a true body though no true man, after the ſouls departure. For application of this diſtinction they adjoin, when Saint *James* affirms faith to be dead without works, he terms it dead in ſuch a ſenſe, as we ſay a body is dead by the ſouls abſence, and yet remains a true body. Whence ſaith *Valentian*, the Sectaries have furniſhed us with an argument againſt themſelves. Rather this anſwer is contrary to *Valentians* and his fellows aſſertions: for were his illuſtration true and pertinent, works or faith ſhould conſtitute one grace and quality, as the body and ſoul make one man, which no Papiſt dare affirm of the habit of faith and charity, being graces in their judgments ſpecifically diſtinct. And † *Valentian*, who ſtands moſt upon the former illuſtration, expreſly denies that charity (much leſs works) can be any proper form of faith; either intrinſecal, as the reaſonable ſoul is of man; or extrinſecal, as *whiteneſs* is of the body. Some perfection notwithſtanding *Charity* gives to *Faith*; in which reſpect it may, by analogy to true and proper forms, be metaphorically ſaid to *inform faith*. The perfection it gives, he ſo expreſſeth, that the

Latine

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*Ad quartum argumentum reſpondeo Dupliciter aliquod poſſe dici mortuum; uno modo per defectum animæ, quæ eſt forma intrinſeca hominis, Et quod iſto modo mortuum dicitur, non eſt amplius verè tale; ut homo mortuus non eſt vere homo. Altero modo dicitur aliquid mortuum per defectum formæ extrinſecæ, ſicut corpus quod dicitur mortuum per defectum animæ vivæ, quæ eſt quid extrinſecum corpori, ut corpus eſt. Et quod iſto modo dicitur mortuum, vere nihilominus eſt; ut corpus mortuum vere nihilominus eſt corpus, quamvis non vivum corpus. *Valent. Tom.* 3. *diſ.* 1. *quæſt.* 4. *punct.* 4. *The ſame anſwer hath* Bellarmine lib. 1. de juſtificatione, cap. 15.

† Non ſentiunt, quod charitas proprie ſit forma fidei, aut eſſentialis, ut anima dicitur forma hominis, aut accidentalis aut extrinſeca ut albedo corporis. Hoc enim falſum eſſe ex eo perſpicuum eſt, quod charitas & fides ſunt duæ virtutes ſpecie diſtinctæ, quæ duas diverſas potentias perficiunt. Solum igitur volunt Theologi, Charitatem quoniam perfectionem aliquam addit fidei, metaphorice dici poſſe formam ipſius; ſecundum Analogiam videlicet ad formam proprie dictam quæ ſuo modo ſubjectum perficit. *Valent. Tom.* 3. *diſp.* 1. *quæſt.* 4. *puncto* 3.

Latine Reader, by his words * cited at full in the Margine, (for I will not trouble the Text with them) may plainly perceive he was deſirous to ſay ſomewhat, but he knew not what. † *Arias Montanus*, who better underſtood Saint *James* his phraſe, by the analogy of faith, and form of wholſom doctrine, than *Valentian* did himſelf, or this fictitious analogy betwixt *Charity* and natural *forms:* interprets the former place in part to our purpoſe: *To live as Philoſophers ſay, is to operate; and vital operation proceedeth not from the body, but from the ſpirit;* nor doth the Apoſtle ſay, *works are the ſpirit of faith,* where he ſpeaks only of the appellation or name of life. His meaning is, *that faith without works is as truly reputed dead, as the body without the ſpirit is rightly ſaid* (as it truly is) *dead.* But if we will not wreſt the letter againſt the Apoſtles meaning, but rather gently apply his words to his intent: the word πνεῦμα implies only breath, or motion enſpired from the ſoul, for works in their nature are operations, and are more fitly compared to breathings, or motions, than to the ſubſtantial ſpirit or ſoul, or the faculty whence theſe flow; which laſt in proportion beſt anſwers to faith. Now as the readieſt way to ſet breath in one fallen in a ſwound, or raiſe one up out of a dead fit; is to revive the ſpirits, by which vital motions are inſpired and managed; ſo the only way to bring forth living works or fruits of righteouſneſs, is to quicken or ſtrengthen faith, which lively in it ſelf, and able to perform its proper acts, as firmly to apprehend Gods power, juſtice, and mercy; will undoubtedly give life to all other powers and affections, and impel them to their proper functions. The *Romaniſt* as ignorant as the *Jew* of this righteouſneſs which is by faith, prepoſterouſly ſeeks to make us new men in Chriſt, not by reviving faith, which is as the animal ſpirit, by whoſe influence works become vital: but as if one from this principle in Nature, *Man is dead without breath and motion*, ſhould ſeek to bring men out of ſwounds or dead fits, by blowing breath into them with a quill; or making them move by devices; ſo he groſly miſtaking that ſaying of Saint *James*, as *the body without the ſpirit, ſo faith without works is dead alſo*, hence ſeeks to raiſe up ſuch as die in *Adam*, after the ſame manner we have ſeen them raiſed which fall down dead in an antick, firſt by wagging one arm, then another, until the whole body move. The antick tricks of *Monks* and *Friars* to couſen the people, by making images wag or ſeem to ſpeak, may ſerve as an emblem of that impoſture, or gull which Satan by Gods juſt judgment hath put upon their ſubtileſt wits in this argument. Theſe Couſeners made the people oft-times think ſome Saint had moved or ſpoken, when a Knave did ſtir the image, or vent his unhallowed breath through it, or about it: and Satan makes them believe they are moved by the Spirit of God, in ſuch actions as are not inſpired by faith, but thruſt upon them by his wicked Angels. Works of charity they eſteem all ſuch as outwardly reſemble the actions of Chriſt or his Saints, though conceived

* Sed quærat aliquis, quænam ſit illa perfectio, quam charitas tribuit fidei. Reſpondeo duplicem eſſe: una eſt quod per charitatem valet ad beatitudinem conſequendam id eſt ad meritum, ſicut diſputavi Tom. 2. diſp. 8. quæſt. ult. Et quidem quod hanc perfectionem fides ex charitate accipiat, certum eſt ex fide. Altera perfectio eſt quod quatenus fidei actus per imperium charitatis refertur ad ultimum finem, id eſt quatenus credat aliquis propter Deum ut ſummum bonum, pertinet actus fidei ad eandem ſpeciæ rectitudinem ad quam ipſa charitas, atque adeo eſt ejuſdem ſpeciei cujus eſt ipſa charitas. Hoc autem eſt diſcrimen, quod rectitudo hæc eſt eſſentialis ipſi charitati, ut quæ ſecundum ſuam rationem non habet aliam laudem, quam quod reſpicit in ſummum, quod eſt Deus. Fidei vero non eſt hæc rectitudo niſi accidentalis, quatenus fidei accidit, ut ipſius actus voluntarie per charitatem referatur in ſummum bonum. *Valent. ibid. punct.* 3.

† Ipſum vivere eſt ipſum operari, dicunt Philoſophi, operatio autem vitalis non à corpore proficiſcitur, ſed à conjunctione ſpiritus cum idoneo corpore. Nec vero Apoſtolus opera fidei ſpiritum eſſe dicit; ſed de vitæ appellatione ac nomine tantum agit. Tam, inquit, verum eſt fidem ſine operibus mortuam dici; quam verum eſt de corpore ſine ſpiritu, eſſe dicique mortuum. *Ar. Mont. in verſ. 26. cap. 2. Epiſt. D. Jacobi.*

ceived not by faith, but upon other motives; as motion infuſed by Art may to the eye of man exactly counterfeit motion natural. This is a main branch of that great myſtery of iniquity: For by this errour, as their faith is never revived, ſo their works though fair and pompous in outward ſhew, and ſuch as would be moſt pleaſant unto their God, did they ſpring from minds and affections renewed by lively faith, being ſuperadded only to this dead faith, neither can perfect it, nor receive perfection from it, but become like ſweet flowers, uſually put upon dead Corps, the *ſent* of whoſe corruptions, hinder they may for a time, but ſurer at length to participate thereof than communicate their fragrancy to it.

10. It is a contemplation very profitable, to mark what troops of errours may iſſue from one place of Scripture miſtaken, and how private opinions conceived through ignorance, and nurſed by negligence, are oft-times eſtabliſhed by wilfulneſs of publick Authority: for who but a School-man, that conſiders moral Propoſitions in Scriptures, as if they were Mathematical Definitions, or indemonſtrable Principles, no whit dependent of what went before, or comes after, could not at firſt peruſal have obſerved, that Saint * *James* had a purpoſe in that Chapter to tax his Pupils, as well for want of true faith, as of good works? yea the works they did to be nothing worth, becauſe not wrought by faith, had without all reſpect of perſons or partiality in the Law of God. But the *Romaniſt* not obſerving, what is a point moſt clear, that uniform fidelity, or faithfulneſs in all commandments of God, is the very formal effect of that faith which was in *Abraham*, and Saint *Paul* ſo much commends: Firſt takes that dead and vain faith Saint *James* diſproves, to be the ſame with that Saint *Paul* ſo much commends; and conſequently to this errour, denies juſtification by faith, but as it is informed with charity, which is as much as to ſay we are juſtified by charity and not by faith: and unto theſe two errours annexeth a third moſt pernicious, concerning the nature of works; which either not conceived by ſuch unformity of faith as Saint *Paul* requires, or not managed by a parallel unformity, become altogether *Jewiſh*, and their beſt righteouſneſs that practiſe them like the righteouſneſs of the *Scribes* and *Phariſees*. Laſtly, to rear up a roof every way anſwerable to the foundation, they lead us from the Goſpel unto the Law, and make the eternal Covenant made unto mankind in Chriſt, ſubſervient to the Covenant made with our firſt Parents, as ſhall be demonſtrated againſt them in the Article of the laſt judgment: And what other conſequence could one expect of this errour, (whereto no other could be parallel) which makes charity the form, or works the ſpirit of faith? yet that not only their beſt private Writers, but their Church repreſentative is tainted with this ſtupid hereſie, this decree of the *Trent Council* will ſerve as a teſtimony upon record: *If any man ſhall avouch, that as oft as grace is loſt through ſin, faith is always loſt together with it, or that faith which remains after loſs of grace, to be no true faith, although no living faith, or the man that hath faith without charity to be no Chriſtian: Let him be accurſed.*

* *See Sect.* 3. *Chap.* 5.

See Sect. 2. *Chap.* 6. *towards the latter end.* Si quis dixerit, amiſſa per peccatum gratia, ſimul & fidem ſemper amitti, aut fidem, quæ remanet, non eſſe veram fidem, licet non ſit viva, aut eum qui fidem ſine charitate habet, non eſſe Chriſtianum, anathema ſit *Concil. Trident. ſeſſione ſexta de juſtif. Can.* 28.

11. If theſe curſes could hurt any, Saint *Paul* ſhould have the fulleſt meaſure of them, for queſtionleſs he never thought ſuch faith as he commended could remain without grace, or integrity of conſcience. Saint *James* I think ſhould hardly eſcape, unleſs he would ſubſcribe to this concluſion; That the Devil was a Chriſtian. And

were *Scotus*, *Ockain*, or *Swiſſet* now alive, they would find all the Jeſuites in the world play for theſe hundred years, to hold the contrary, and defend the *Trent* Council in this decree. For ſuch faith as the Council requires to make a Chriſtian, may be, yea, is in the worſt kind of Devils: albeit *Valentian* hath laboured to find this difference, [That faith without works, or grace, is in men the gift of God, ſo is not the faith of Devils.] No more was this anſwer of his ſuggeſted by Gods Spirit, or the Spirit of truth. For, not to queſtion whether ſuch dead faith as S. *James* ſpeaks of be the gift of God or no, but rather ſuppoſing it were; this argues a difference only in the cauſe, none in the eſſence, nature, quality. That God created *wants* in the beginning, doth not argue they were of a more excellent nature than ordinary *Lions* not created, but propagated by nature, are now of. And if the quality of faith be the ſame in the *Trent* Councils Chriſtians and in Devils; *Valentian* doth rather wrong the Almighty in making him the Author of it in the one, than prove either it or his own cauſe to be the better, by ſaying it is the gift of God. For though it be his gift, and yet may be without grace or charity, and without theſe of neceſſity as unfruitful as the faith of Devils, (both which *Valentian* grants:) it is no more available to make a Chriſtian, than the faith of Devils is. Nay in that it may be without works, theirs is more fruitful than it: for, as S. *James* tells us, theirs works fear and trembling in them: were that faith, which the *Trent* Council makes the form of a Chriſtian, ſo operative in its nature: it could not be (as is obſerved * before) without works or charity. For if it wrought a trembling fear of his power, it would work a rejoycing love of his mercy: and impel them, as to avoid the ſtroke of the one, ſo to embrace the gentle ſtrokings of the other. † Their own Writers obſerve, that to *fear God*, in the language of *Canaan*, is to *worſhip him*: and is it leſs to believe in him, than to fear him? To conclude, what ancient Father is there which ſhould not be accurſed, if God did not bleſs where theſe *Trent* Fathers curſe? For though their charity would not ſuffer them to deprive any profeſſing true Religion, of that title wherein he joyed, the name of a Chriſtian; becauſe they knew not what faith they had in their hearts: yet few of them but indefinitely avouch thus much; That he falſly uſurps the glorious name of a Chriſtian, or faithful man, which is not faithful in Gods commandment, which doth not in heart approve the works Chriſt commands; though who in particular are ſo, who otherwiſe affected, they leave for him that only knows the hearts of all, to judge.

12. How grievouſly would ſubſcription to this Decree have gone againſt S. *Cyprians* conſcience; who accounted it a Solæciſm, worthy of indignation, to call him a Chriſtian, that was afraid leaſt the fountain of his liberality (his Patrimony) ſhould be exhauſted, by continual refreſhing his naked, hungry and thirſty brethren, unto whom our bowels of compaſſion ſhould never be ſhut, ſeeing in feeding them we feaſt the Lord, who will not take ſo much as a cup of cold water at our hands, but with purpoſe even in this life to requite it, and bleſs the reſidue, as *Elias* did the poor widows meal and oyl; which had ſhewed no leſs hoſpitality in ſuch extream ſcarcity of proviſion, than that other in the Goſpel did her liberality by caſting a mite into the treaſury; with ſuch as doubted whether our Saviours promiſe did aſſure them of like bleſſings, ſo they

* Chap. 8. parag. 3.

† Maldonat *upon theſe words of our Saviour* (Mat. 15. v. 9.) In vain do they worſhip me, well obſerves that Greek (σέβονται) well expreſſeth the original. His reaſon is *Nam apud Hebræos, timere deum eſt deum colere.*

would be as bountifully minded as this poor woman was, the zealous Father thus expoſtulates; * whence *ſhould this incredulous thought proceed? whence is this impious and ſacrilegious meditation? what doth a faithleſs breaſt in the houſe of faith? what, ſhall he that believes not Chriſt be enſtiled a Chriſtian? The name of Phariſee better befits thee, for when the Lord diſputed of alms, and adviſed us to gain friends with charitable expences of earthly treaſures*; the Scripture adds, *All theſe things heard the Phariſees, which were covetous, and they mocked him.* So conſonant were theſe collections to his orthodoxal conceit of faith, that they whoſe works go in his name, conſort with him in like paſſages, as they do in that main ground of Religion, *the nature of faith.* † *A Chriſtian he is not truly called*, (ſaith the Author of the Twelve Abuſes) *that is not conformable to Chriſt in converſation.* And * he that left us the learned and religious Treatiſe of twofold Martyrdom, *univerſally avoucheth, whoſoever ſaith with his mouth, I believe in one God, and ſerves covetouſneſs, luſt or luxury, lies to himſelf, contradicts himſelf in this profeſſion.* And is it poſſible for any without belief in one God, truly to believe in Chriſt, or to be truly called a Chriſtian without belief in Chriſt? That the former bolt was ſhot by blind men, which could not ſee where it would light; it further perſwades me, in that it can hit none more fully than it doth † *Gregory* the great, ſometimes Pope, both in the fall, and at the rebound. For he makes correſpondency between profeſſion and converſation, the true property of faith. And leaſt any Sophiſter ſhould except, this might agree not to all true faith, though to ſuch alone, or to true live faith, not to faith only dead; as to be ſeen in Arts is proper to men, yet not to all, but to the Learned only: he expreſly terms ſuch as deny in deeds, what they confeſs in words, falſe believers: yet as the Believer is, ſuch is his faith; the one being falſe, the other cannot poſſibly be true. Nor would S. *Gregory* have thought it any ſlander, to deny falſe Believers the title of true Chriſtians. Or have we the warrant of Fathers only to ſecure us from the former curſe, albeit we teach indefinitely, that a man without lively faith is no Chriſtian? Doth not the Scripture ſay the ſame? yes, * *All are not Iſrael that are called Iſrael:* † *but ſuch as do the works of Abraham they are the children of Abraham.* * *For he is not a Jew, which is one outwardly in the fleſh: but he is a Jew, which is one inwardly* (a Confeſſor in deeds, not merely in name, one circumciſed in heart:) *for circumciſion is that of the heart in the Spirit, and not in the letter, whoſe praiſe is not of men but of God.* Is the Goſpel more indulgent to hypocriſie, than the Law? Is it ſo much more addicted to the letter which killeth, than to the ſpirit of life; that a faith, as dead as *Jewiſh* Ceremonies, ſhould be more effectual to make a Chriſtian, than outward Circumciſion to make a Jew? Or what doth the Council mean by a Chriſtian; a dead man, or one alive in Chriſt? one in whom Chriſt is not yet fully faſhioned, but ready to conceive life? This had been more tolerable. But one they mean which had life, and hath loſt it: one as improperly termed a member of Chriſt, as the body called a man after the ſpirit is departed from it.

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* Volueces Deus paſcit, & paſſeribus alimenta diurna præſtantur, & quibus nullus divinæ rei ſenſus eſt eis nec cibus, nec potus deeſt: tu Chriſtiano, tu Dei ſervo, tu operibus bonis dedito, tu domino ſuo charo aliquid exiſtimas defuturum? niſi ſi putas, quia qui Chriſtum paſcit, à Chriſto ipſe non paſcitur: aut eis terrena deerunt, quibus cæleſtia & divina tribuuntur, unde hæc incredula cogitatio & unde impia & ſacrilega iſta meditatio? quid facit in domo fidei perfidum pectus? quid qui Chriſto omnino non credit, appellatur & dicitur Chriſtianus? Phariſæi tibi magis congruit nomen. Nam cum dominus in evangelio de eleemoſynis diſputaret, & ut nobis amicos de terreſtribus lucris provida operatione faceremus, qui nos poſtmodum in tabernacula æterna ſuſciperent, fideliter & ſalubriter præmoneret, addidit poſt hæc ſcriptura dicens, *Audiebant autem hæc omnia Phariſæi qui erant cupidiſſimi & irridebant.* Cypr. de opere & eleemoſ. † Chriſtianus nemo recte dicitur, niſi qui Chriſto moribus coæquatur. Ecce Chriſtus non contendit neque clamavit, & tu ſi morum Chriſti ſimilitudinem tenere cupis, ne contendas, ne abuſivus in eccleſia Chriſtianus exiſtas. Cypr. de Abuſ. ſec. * Quiſquis igitur ore dicit, *credo in unum Deum*, & ſervit avaritiæ, aut libidini, aut luxui, ſibi mentitur, ſibique repugnat, aliud lingua ſonans, aliud animo celans, voce tantum teſtimonium perhibens Deo, cum vita ſatanam colat. Cypr. de dupl. Martyr. † *His words are cited* 12.
parag.1. * *Rom. 9.v.6.* † *Gal.3.v.7.* † *Rom.2.v.28,29.*

Of

13. Of theſe, and many like inconveniences, which no man, though of the acuteſt wit, and moſt audacious underſtanding living, durſt in an indifferent Auditory maintain againſt any ordinary Artiſt, that had the leiſure for to ſtretch them: had the *Trent* Fathers been aware, happily they would have been more ſparing in their curſes. But this ſtrange advantage Romiſh Prelates have of ours, and all the world beſides; that be they in matters of Learning and Religion never ſo blind, or out of their blindneſs ſo bold, as to run headlong againſt the Analogy of Faith, all rules of Philoſophy, Moral or Natural, Grammar or whatſoever elſe can be named: yet ſhall they never want ſtore of excellent wits, but mercenary conſciences, whick like ſome people of the old world (Ethiopians or Egyptians I now remember not,) but more devout and apt to ſupererogate, will be content to put out, not the right eye of Nature only, but that other of Art, leſt the rarity of the ſpectacle might make their Superiors ſeem either monſtrous or deformed. What Artiſt is there with us, who to be arrayed in ſcarlet, to have retinue, fair revenues and whatſoever elſe correſpondent, or befittting a Cardinals ſtate, would but for ſome few hours adventure to have his face ſo deeply died with ſhame, as needs it muſt be, though armed with all the furniture of Art and Nature, if in an Audience not kept under by tyrannical and ſervile aw, either for ſpeaking what he thinks, or thinking ought becomes a Freeman in Chriſt, he ſhould maintain ſuch baſe ſhuffling Apologies, as *Valentian* and *Bellarmin* have made for the former illiterate decree, (which ſought to cover one * abſurdity in ſpeech with † two impious overſights in Religion) but as probable. The Apology before alledged was, [That faith might be true though dead, as a body though deprived of life is a true body,] a carkaſs rather; no body organical, or apt to be informed in the ſenſitive ſoul, though really preſent. No more doth this faith whereof they ſpeak contain life, or grace potentially in it, both muſt be created a new, ere the party in whom it is found be a true member of Chriſts myſtical body. For ſuch is the nature of *that faith, which the Roman Catholick makes the ground of his beſt hopes*, that a Friers hood, though unlined, would do his body more good in his ſickneſs, than it can do his ſoul at the hour of death. Thus much of true faith and the errors concerning the Naaure of it. It remains we intreat of miſperſwaſions concerning the poſſeſſion or preſence of it, with the right uſe of it and other ſpiritual graces that attend it.

* *For by the literal and ordinary ſenſe of the words faith ſhould be no part of grace.*

† *The firſt that faith ſhould be dead and yet true: the ſecond that faith truly dead whilſt ſo remaining ſhould give life unto a Chriſtian.*

I think it would be a matter very hard for the Jeſuit to find more groſs abſurdities in ſo few words in the ſimpleſt Writer of this age.

SECT. II.

Of immature perſwaſions concerning mens preſent eſtate in Grace, with the means to rectifie or prevent them.

CHAP. I.

The general heads or ſprings of hypocritical perſwaſions, with brief rules for their prevention.

1 HAppy were we whom God hath appointed to ſow good ſeed in others hearts, becauſe not altogether without hope to ſee ſome fruits of our labours, if this cenſorious age would permit us to ſtrike as freely at the roots of Atheiſm, Infidelity or Hypocriſie, as it is ready to cenſure Atheiſts, Infidels, Hereticks or Hypocrites. To me it hath often ſeemed a queſtion very doubtful, but far above my capacity to determine, whether ſuch as revolt from the orthodoxal Church, upon obſervation of monſtrous diſſonancy between the truths profeſſed in it and the Profeſſors lives or reſolutions, be in caſe better or worſe than ſuch as embrace true Religion upon no better grounds than they or their confederates oppugn it. Thus much the Word of God will warrant, that the portion of hypocrites ſhall be the bittereſt in the life to come. And yet hypocriſie, if it be of that ſtamp which our Saviour ſo much condemns, is always moulded in that deep notice, or ſtrong perſwaſion which men have of their own love, and others oppoſition unto divine truths; of their own diligence, and others negligence in performance of ſundry duties expreſly required by Gods Law. And this is a miſery of miſeries peculiar to the hypocrite; that, whereas the height of others impiety ariſeth from their oppoſing the way of truth and godlineſs; this Monſter the more he deteſts falſhood and error, or the impiety, whether of others practiſes or opinions, the more ſtill he increaſeth his own corruption, and wars unwittingly againſt his own ſoul. For ſeeing love to himſelf, indulgence to his dear affections, or carnal glorying in prerogatives, perhaps ſpiritual, is the common root, as well of his imaginary love unto ſuch points of truth as have ſome kind of conjunction with his humours, as of the deteſtation he bears to others obliquities, that in life or profeſſion ill conſort with him: the oftner he looks, either on their known tranſgreſſions, or his own preciſe obſervance of ſuch duties as by nature he is addicted, or otherwiſe accuſtomed to, by both means he more pampers and nouriſhes that vicious habit, whence the forementioned bad fruits did grow. And thus at length by uſing the help of ſtrong, but impure, unruly affections, to abandon particular errors, he overthrows his own ſoul, as the ancient inhabitants of this land did their ſtate, by uſing the *Saxons* aid to drive out the *Picts*.

2. After this manner the *Jew* by nurſing a loathſome conceit of *Publicans* and open ſinners diſſoluteneſs, not tyed unto ſo much as any ſolemn acknowledgement of their miſdeeds, or ſet form of repentance, took a ſurfeit of thoſe outward ceremonies which God had ordained as ſauces to ſharpen, not as food to ſatiate his appetite of ſaving health. Otherwhiles fiercely bending his indignation againſt the Idolatry of the Heathen, by too much depreſſion or debaſement of their folly, he ſublimated his own natural inclination into pride and haughtineſs, into preſumptuous boaſting in the purity of that Law which God had given him by *Moſes*. Whence in the fulneſs of time ſprung an irreconcileable hatred of the long expected *Meſſias*, deſperate contempt of his Goſpel, and wilful refuſal of ſalvation preached in his name. But howſoever the deadlineſs of this diſeaſe was moſt conſpicuous in the fall of Gods choſen people, whom we may without ſuſpicion of ſlander (ſeeing the Holy Ghoſt hath written the obſervation) ſafely charge with the infection: yet the danger of it, amongſt all Profeſſors of true Religion throughout every Age and Nation, continues the ſame, as having a perpetual cauſe in nature. For whether we ſpeak of contraries Moral or Phyſical, the enmities of the *extreams* is always greater, than betwixt them and the *mean*; from which they always ſo much further decline, as they more eagerly intend their force each againſt other. The greater ſtrength heat and cold from their vicinity gather, (whether by mutual irritation, or a ſecret kind of daring each other to combate, or by a ſtricter union of the material parts wherein their forces lodge) the more both diſagree with the luke-warm temper. The more likewiſe the *prodigal* deteſts the *niggards* manners, or the niggard his, the farther both rove (the one over, the other ſhort) from that mark whereat they aim, but which true liberality only hits. And as the mutual diſcord of *extreams*, grows greater by the increaſe of their ſeveral ſtrengths; ſo the haſty, or violent introduction of the one into a ſubject capable of both, makes way for the others entertainment, and excludes the mean, which finds no entrance but where it is uſhered by moderation. So water, too much, or too violently heated is more apt to freeze than to retain the middle temper. Young prodigals we often ſee turn old niggards, ſeldom liberal, unleſs their education have been exceeding good, their natural diſcretion extraordinary, or the ſeeds of virtue in them very ſtrong. And what more uſual, than for a niggards feaſt (becauſe not agreeable to his ordinary diſpoſition) to ſmell of waſte and prodigality? Buzzards, by natural conſtitution, through extremity enforced to take heart and turn again, overrunning valour, boiſterouſly ruſh into fury. And deſperate hotſhots, once made to feel the ſmart of their folly, become afterwards baſely timerous. The *Cynick* could ſpurn at his fellow Philoſophers pride, but ſo, as his ſcornful heels did bewray his prepoſterouſly proud ambitious heart.

3. Are theſe obſervations true in works of nature, or moral affections only, and not in perſwaſions of Religion? Yes, even in theſe alſo; for hath not the untimely heat of indiſcreet preciſeneſs, diſpoſed ſundry in our days to freeze the ſooner in the dregs of Popery? Have not others mounted ſo high in groundleſs and preſumptuous confidence, that their ſudden fall hath made them ſink (for any help man could afford) without recovery into the very ſuds of melancholy and deſperation? Others, upon a diſlike of their former

mer hot enforced zeal, have changed their wonted confidence into careleſneſs, and become open profeſſors of licenciouſneſs, like the poſſeſſed child in the * Goſpel, falling ſometimes into the fire, ſometimes into the contrary element. And experience proves it ſo common a thing for *young Saints* (ſuch I mean as affect to be ripe in holineſs, ere well grown in ordinary diſcretion or common honeſty) to prove *old Devils*, that the bent of nature unſeaſonably or too much curbed in the Parents, oftentimes burſts out in the unbridled affections of their children.

* Mat.17.15.

4. The reaſon of the experiments, whether in Nature, Moralities, or Religion, is as perſpicuous, as they are true. For contrary extreams always ſpring from one root, and though the natures, wherein they are, be much different in reſpect of their maſs or ſubſtance; yet the form of contrariety is the ſame, even in material and immaterial entities, conſiſting in an incompetibleneſs between the actual motions of two oppoſite inclinations, both in a ſubject capable of both, ſo faſtened in one centre, that the depreſſion of the one is the elevation of the other. Whence it is, that the violent, or intenſive agitation of the one, once come to the point of reflexion, breeds a like motion in the other, as the ſharper froſt by night makes more ſlippery ways by day; ſofteſt ways in moiſt winters ſurbeat the soreſt in dry ſummers: the farther or ſwifter we move one part of a ballance one way, the farther and ſwifter it moves it ſelf towards the oppoſite point at the rebound. Thus many by an eager depulſion of known errours or impieties, loſing their natural ſtation, are carried about by their violent revolution, ~~and~~ as it were, caſt round *motu raptus* unto the point from which they ſought, and at the firſt ſeemed directly to flie, as the Sun by ſpeedy courſe unto the Weſt, comes quicklier back unto the Eaſt, from which it diverted. Inſtances to this purpoſe, in other meditations, were taken from ſuch in our times, as from a paſſionate, humorous, *Cynical* ſpurning at *Monkiſh* practices, and Popiſh cuſtoms, have thrown themſelves off the ſhore into the whirlpool, which finally ſinks them in the very dregs of that errour wherein the others are drowned. The very ſelf ſame Superſtitious or Magical conceit the one hath of his Beads and Croſſes, the other feeds by preciſe hearing Sermons, and loathſome abuſe of the Word of life upon every ſecular or trivial occaſion, as if he were bound to utter a ſet number of ſentences in Scripture phraſe every day. This circular courſe errours continually keep in *moralities*, unleſs our deſires be kept under by reaſon; in *divinity*, unleſs directed ~~and~~ moderated by faith, not only in the right choice of objects, but alſo in the manner of their proſecution. For where affections, which always either ebb and flow as the Sea, or change as the Moon, are chief managers of either buſineſs, the humane ſoul, which ſhould be compact within it ſelf and exactly ſphærical, becomes exorbitant in its inclinations, and is turned round by alteration of objects, as the wheel is by the ſtream; ſometimes held at it were in a back water by a reciprocal check of unconſtant turbulent paſſions or exeſtuations. Or though the ſame affection ſhould continue ſtill predominant, yet is it apt to be impelled, and impel the ſoul contrary ways, from contrariety of objects preſented, or divers references unto objects in themſelves the ſame.

5. The rules theſe obſervations yield for rectifying our perſwaſions in matters of Religion, or trying the ſincerity or ſtrength

of our faith, are eſpecially *two*. The *firſt*; To be as obſervant upon what motive we diſlike or hate any opinion or practiſe, as what the opinion or practiſe is which we judge worthy of hate; always aſſured that the extremity of hatred to hereſie, impiety, or infidelity can afford us no better aſſurance of our piety, ſoundneſs or true zeal unto the truth, than theſe or like collections do of certainty unto right examiners of arguments, [*This man deteſts niggardneſs, and that cowardize, therefore the one is liberal, the other valourous.*] Our hate to falſhood or impieties may as well ſpring from corrupt affection, as from ſincere love to truth or goodneſs. The *ſecond* rule is, as diligently to examine our conſciences, upon what grounds we imbrace a truth known, as we are deſirous to know it, that we meaſure not our aſſent unto the Goſpel by our affection to ſome one or few points contained in it, or ſome degrees of truth contained in them. For the *mean*, in that it is contrary unto all, muſt needs have ſome affinity with every extream, warmth could not diſagree from cold, but by agreeing in part with heat. The Prodigal is like the liberal in that he is bountiful, ſo is the niggard in that he is not laviſh. Both of them would well agree with him in diſcourſe, ſo long as he added no definite quantity to his rules or propoſitions, but indefinitely commended bounty to the one, and thrift to the other. The truth which in it ſelf is but one, if we apply it to ſeveral parts or divers degrees of the ſame object indefinitely taken; may have partial agreement with any affection. And ſo again may one and the ſame temper or conſtitution of mind include a love or good affection to truth indefinitely conſidered, and an hate unto it as intire, or as it is referred unto the end whereto both it and our deſires ſhould be proportioned. So the *Jews*, ſeeing our Saviour feed five thouſand men with five barley loaves and two fiſhes, * ſaid, *of a truth this is the Prophet that ſhould come into the world*. The confeſſion it ſelf was orthodoxal and good, but conceived from a falſe and dangerous motive; they expected that great Prophet ſhould be a glorious King, able to wreak their malice upon the Nations. And from this preſent document they rightly gathered, our Saviour was able to maintain an Army with leſs coſt, than any earthly Prince or Monarch could. For he that of late with five barley loaves and two fiſhes, had fully ſatisfied five thouſand men, might as eaſily feed five hundred thouſand, if every one that had taſted of theſe ſhould but bring his loaf with him. Their next illation, wherein they overſhot the truth, unto which indefinitely conſidered they had ſubſcribed, was to elect him for their King, which he perceiving, † *departed again into a mountain himſelf alone*. Though in a ſort they believed in his name, yet he thought it not ſafe to commit himſelf into their hands, whoſe forwardneſs once croſt in this project, he knew would prove the ſame his Countreymens of *Nazareth* had been, to attempt ſome miſchief againſt his perſon. The more gloriouſly they conceived of him whilſt apprehended as a furtherer of theſe proud hopes, the more deſpitefully they had entreated him after manifeſtation of his diſlike unto their purpoſe. And this very temper, which was the only ground of their aſſent unto the former truth, was in his ſight the main obſtacle to all true belief; becauſe in this, they ſought but to honour him, and be honoured by him with that honour which one man may beſtow upon another, not with that which cometh of God alone. He that would have puſh'd theſe ambitious propenſions forward, or under-

* *John* 6. See lib. 3. ſect. 3. chap. 8. parag. 3.

† *John* 6. ver. 14, 15.

undertaken their conduct againſt the Nations, might have commanded them to have thrown themſelves headlong from the top of that ſteep hill from which the *Nazarites* would have caſt him; for unto * ſuch practiſes, falſe Prophets, that come in their own name, giving and taking honour one of another, did after his death perſwade this people. Even whiles the act of their imaginary love unto the great Prophet ſeemed moſt fervent, their temper was as hateful to him as theirs that wiſhed his blood might be upon them: for it was but one and the ſame in both, only with theſe mens affections mentioned in the ſixth of *John*, the apprehenſion of his miracles had conjunction for a time, but oppoſition with all at his paſſion, when they ſaw all his works and doctrine tend to an end quite contrary unto that whereupon their deſires were ſet, even to the utter debaſement of their lofty proud imaginations.

* Vide Socratem De Judeis Cretam in colentibus. *Lib.6. cap.* 37.

6. As well thoſe *Jews* that crucified our Lord and Saviour as the Heathens that perſecuted his followers unto death, we often accuſe of deadly malice and endict of murther more than wilful; unto which crimes every Chriſtian muſt by his faith acknowledge them guilty in the higheſt degree. But our hate to ſuch as hated our Redeemer may (as the Pſalmiſt ſpeaks) be perfect and unfeigned, and yet not prove our love towards him to be ſuch; albeit the only meaſure moſt men uſe for notifying the fulneſs of their belief, is this ſuppoſed love they bear unto their Saviour, which if in many it be but imaginary, or ſwim only in the brain, whilſt real hatred of his will revealed, no leſs offenſive to him than the deſpite of *Jews* or Heathens, lodge in their hearts or bear rule in their affections, their faith muſt needs be but a fancy, only ſerving to leaven their natural infidelity with Phariſaical hypocriſie. To begin with the Gentile.

Chap. II.

That our Aſſent unto the firſt principles of Chriſtianity, by profeſſion of which the Faith of ancient Chriſtians was uſually tried, may be, to our own apprehenſion, exceeding ſtrong, and yet our belief in Chriſt no better than the Heathens that oppugned them: that it is a matter of more difficulty to be a true Chriſtian now, than in the Primitive Church; did we rightly examine the ſtrength of our faith not by ſuch points as theirs was tried, but by reſiſting popular cuſtoms or reſolutions of our times, as fully oppoſite to the moſt eſſential and utmoſt, as Idolatry is to the remote or general differences of Chriſtian faith.

Mat.5.31,32.

1. TAke no thought (ſaith our Saviour) *ſaying, what ſhall we eat? or what ſhall we drink? or wherewith ſhall we be cloathed? (for after all theſe things ſeek the Gentiles) for your heavenly father knoweth that ye have need of all theſe things.* To think the *wiſdom* of God ſhould in theſe words Orator-like make uſe of his Auditors deteſtable hatred towards the uncircumciſed, as an argument to diſſwade them from ſuch Heatheniſh reſolutions as were diſagreeble to their calling,

ling, would be a gloſs plauſible perhaps to fleſh and blood eaſie in this caſe to be thus far perſwaded. But whoſo is better acquainted with his Maſters uſual method, will quickly obſerve his further purpoſe to give us in this ſhort inſtance theſe or the like *maxims* of life: That profeſſion of truth without conformable practice, though in matters moſt difficult, makes circumciſion become uncircumciſion: That to put on the name or title of his Diſciples, not ſhaking off ſuch reſolutions which had ſurpriſed the heathen as heathen, that is men without knowledge of the true God, or reliance on his Providence, is but to cloath our ſelves with the leaves and bark of the true Vine, being full within of ſuch ſap as at the beſt can bring forth but wild grapes. And if moſt of them which had been continual Auditors of *Moſes* Law, trained up in *Jewiſh* diſcipline, were, until they learned to live according to this rule, altogether as bad as the Gentiles: what reaſon have we to hope the careleſs education of modern Chriſtians ſhould make them better? Beſides outward appearance, (which without internal integrity correſpondent is meer hypocriſie) odds we ſhall find none at all between our ſelves and the *Gentiles* of whom our Saviour ſpeaks, if we unpartially conſider [The uſual grounds and motives whereupon we embrace his Goſpel,] or [The unconſonant practices or reſolutions wherewith we continually match the profeſſion of it;] or laſtly, which is the very life and ſpirit of *Gentiliſm*, [Our diffidence unto Gods Providence for redreſſing the diſorders of his Church.]

2. What were the reaſons, may we think, which ſo long withheld the ancient heathen from profeſſion of Chriſtianity? Was the doctrine of the Goſpel leſs probable in their time than in ours? No, as God, ſo his Word is ſtill the ſame, always alike true, becauſe always moſt true. Were the people of thoſe Countries, wherein it was firſt preached, leſs docile by nature than we are? Rather generally more witty and capable of any other lore; ſuch eſpecially, as were moſt averſe from the truth we now profeſs. The conſonancy of their moral precepts with the ſacred rules of the Law, the Prophets, and Evangeliſts, was ſuch, that had they converſed with our Saviour, and ſeen his doctrine ſo truly acted in his life, they could not, without contradiction of their own principles, but have admired his wiſdom, and magnified his conſtant unaffected contempt of all applauſe from men, or of ſuch vain faſhions or cuſtoms, as the Gentry of that world highly eſteemed, but theſe Philoſophers uſually derided; not without juſt ſuſpicion of ſiniſter or prepoſterous deſires of catching that glory at the rebound, which they ſeemed to neglect whiles it naturally fell into their hands, or moved it ſelf directly towards them; as if they had held the ſtealth or underhand receipt of it more lawful or pleaſant, than the purchaſe of it in the open Market. Was his Goſpel leſs powerfully preached in their days than now it is? No, his Apoſtles and their aſſociates were indued with far more excellent gifts (of tongues, of miracles, of prophecying, *&c.*) for manifeſting the power of it to natural men, than any Preacher this day living is. And what then could prejudice either them or their doctrine? *Firſt*, and principally, their low eſtate, whoſe poverty, according to the faſhion then moſt followed, did ill beſeem any attempt of innovation, or alteration; eſpecially of ſuch rites and practices as had been firſt authorized by men of gravity, place, and great judgment, countenanced by anti-

quity, confirmed by joint conſent of all, and cuſtom never interrupted. Philoſophers thought it a diſparagement to their wit, States-men and Magiſtrates to their wiſdom and experience, inferiour profeſſors, loſs of their ſtudies, Corporations diſadvantageable to their trades or private labours; to receive new Laws from foreigners of preſence and eſtate ſo mean. And albeit the integrity of Chriſtians lives and converſation was ſuch, that no penalties inflicted, or Statutes enacted againſt offendors for publick good, could take hold of them; yet becauſe their ſacred rites and profeſſion were incompatible with authorized idolatrous practices, and held as caſes omitted by their Law-givers; the great *Pharaohs* of thoſe times invented new exactions and oppreſſions to ſtint the increaſe of Gods children, and make the profeſſion of Chriſtianity ignominious and odious even to babes and ſucklings; who nuzzeled up in this prejudice, conceived hatred againſt Chriſt ere they knew what manner of man he had been, and deteſted the very name of his Goſpel, altogether ignorant what it meant. That the cauſe of Chriſtians had never come to indifferent hearing, that their perſons were condemned for their profeſſion, ere their lives were examined, is too apparent, in that, ſuch of the heathen as had juſt reaſon to have noted a manifeſt difference or oppoſition, had obſerved none between them and the Jews, but adjudged the one liable to the others faults, (if faults they were, they ſo much diſliked in the Jew:) as honeſt and religious men, eſpecially if poor, even all that make a conſcience of their ways, have in theſe days much ado to be abſolved from diſgraceful cenſures of *Puritaniſm*, or *Anabaptiſm*, as if becauſe they ſhare with the favourers or authors of theſe ſects in zealous profeſſion of the truth, they ſhould therefore with loſs of their eſtimation help to pay ſuch arrerages as the Chriſtian world may juſtly exact of the other for their hypocriſie,

But ſince Kings and Queens have vouchſafed to be nurſing Fathers and nurſing Mothers, to the Church: ſince the titles of *Cuſtos utriuſque tabulæ*, *Defenſor Fidei*, *Rex Chriſtianiſſimus* or *Catholicus* have been accounted as faireſt imbelliſhments in the Inſcriptions of greateſt *Cæſars*, like precious Pearls in their Crowns, or coſtly Jewels in their Diadems; Gods Meſſengers have, by publick Authority, been not only permitted, but enjoined to preach, and the people with reverence to hear the glad tidings of the Goſpel, as the Royal Embaſſage of the King of Kings; Paſtors ſtrictly commanded to exhibit, the flock to receive Chriſtian Sacraments in honourable memory of Chriſt their Inſtitutor, and ſign of loyal ſubmiſſion to his Royal Heſts. So have the Laws of every Chriſtian Nation, ſince this change, inflicted diſgraceful puniſhments, on ſuch as ſhall vilifie and contemn theſe or other ſacred rites. Whence the very name of an *Atheiſt* or *Infidel* is become as odious unto Chriſtian Children, as the name of a *Chriſtian* was amongſt the Heathen, or a Coward at this day amongſt Souldiers. Hence, as every one almoſt is willing to perſwade himſelf he is as good a man as the beſt, becauſe it is a foul diſgrace to be reputed a Daſtard; ſo moſt believe they love Chriſt, and rightly believe in his Name, becauſe it is ſo great a ſhame and ignominy amongſt men, at leaſt of better ſort in Chriſtian States, to be ranked amongſt Atheiſts, Infidels or Apoſtates. Thus, from one and the ſame ſecret working of corrupted Nature, ſeeking to expel the poiſon of ſecular diſgrace at contrary or oppoſite emunctories, the ancient Heathens were brought to hate, we to love Chriſt and his Goſpel before we knew them: and yet it is certain, that he, which either hates or loves any mans perſon, manners, or doctrine, before he know them, doth love or hate he knows not whom, nor upon what occaſions.

4. Many reſolute ſpirits there be in this Kingdom, who if they ſhould in places of indifferency hear a *Turk* prefer *Mahomet* and the *Muſſelman* before Chriſt and the Chriſtian Religion, would ſwagger with him as ſternly, as if he had ſpoken againſt *Tobacco,* given him the lye, or called him *Coward*; and yet perhaps more offend Chriſt in maintaining, than the other in occaſioning the quarrel. To ſuch as look upon the profeſſors themſelves, or meaſure their goodneſs by their local vicinity unto truth, there is great difference in ſhew, none in ſubſtance to ſuch as obſerve the identity of their motives to embrace oppoſite Religions. He that ſhould afar off ſee three men of equal ſtature walking together, the firſt in the ordinary path, the ſecond on a bench twelve inches higher, the third in an alley as much below it, not acquainted with the advantage or diſadvantage of ground which one had of another, would think there were great difference in their height, which notwithſtanding would be the ſame if they changed walks, or none at all if they ſtood all upon one level. If we thus compare the *Turk* and the *Newtraliſt*, and ſuch as profeſs great zeal to Chriſtian Religion, conſidered only in the general, negligent in performance of particular neceſſary duties, one ſeems to come much nearer Chriſt than the other: yet, the *Turk*, though deſtitute of any inherent grace, without any renovation of mind, only brought up according to our Country Laws, altogether ignorant of his fathers houſe or profeſſion, would ſhew as great love to Chriſtian Religion as the former profeſſor did: and he, though Chriſtened in our Church, brought up in *Turky*, knowing nor ſuſpecting nothing to the contrary, but that he was by deſcent and progeny a *Turk*, would be as peremptory for the defence of *Mahomet*, or both brought up in places permitting *Neutrality*, or free choice of Religion, would be as indifferent for the one as for the other. All the differences betwixt them, is in the Laws or Cuſtoms of their Countries, none in the internal conſtitution or qualification of their ſouls, which, though one and the ſame, may incline the heart of the *Jew*, the *Turk*, the *Papiſt* and the *Proteſtant*, alike firmly to embrace the Religion wherein each hath been brought up, and proſecute contrary objects with equal ſtrength of the ſame corrupt deſires. Nor doth the truth or excellency of the object juſtifie, but rather condemn ſuch as profeſs it of hypocriſie, unleſs it imprint a lively character of its goodneſs upon his heart, unleſs the force and vertue of it be diffuſed through his beſt faculties, and manifeſt its ſelf in his life and converſation. To be brought up in a Princes Court, daily converſing with men of excellent behaviour, ſpeech and complement, and ſtill to retain a Clowniſh language, rude affections, and ſervile conditions, doth argue a nature more agreſt, than the ſame qualities would in ſuch as had all their life time followed the plough. But for a profeſſed Chriſtian to fix ſuch baſe or ſlothful deſires on theſe objects of life as the *Turk* doth on *Mahomet*, or worldlings on their commodities, is juſt as if a husband-man ſhould offer a Jeweller as many grains of Barley as his Jewel weighed. This rule is general without exception, That whoſoever loves Chriſt, either

for fear of diſgrace, love of honour, neighbourhood, or deſire of conformity with others, would revolt from him, if his Country Laws or Cuſtom ſhould change; for he loves *theſe* commodities, or contentments, not *him*. From theſe deductions we may gather, the *hate* which moſt Heathens, Turks and Infidels, and the *love* which vulgar Chriſtians bear to Chriſt, to be of value equal, were both unpartially weighed. For which of us will give a pin to chuſe betwixt his enmity, that hates to day, as ready to love to morrow; and his friendſhip that loves to day, but would be as forward to hate to morrow, if any new occaſions or provocations ſhould be preſented. Seeing then, general or confuſed notions of great affection unto Chriſt, can be no argument of true faith, but rather uſual introductions to hypocriſie; it remains we ſeek ſome better trial.

5. And for our better ſpeed, let us begin this ſearch with ſerious deprecation of ſuch bewitching thoughts as are apt to ſurpriſe ſouls much addicted to their eaſe, and make them dream the firſt profeſſors of Chriſtianity were ſo long to wreſtle with fleſh and blood, and to indure a war ſo lingring and terrible with powers and principalities; that we, their ſucceſſors, might enjoy ſuch peace and eaſe as their perſecutors did, or to be able to hold ſuch a hard hand over Chriſts enemies, as theſe have done over his friends, as if the former contention had been only for earthly ſovereignty, ſecurity from danger, or immunity from vexation. Chriſt came not to ſend ſuch peace into the world, but rather to continue the war, then kindled, to the worlds end. And every faithful ſoul muſt in one kind of ſervice or other, make accompt to abide her fiery trial, and approve her ſelf a true conſort to the Bridegroom her head, in the afflictions he ſuſtained on earth, ere her nuptial triumphs be celebrated in heaven. The exiled Poets words unto his truſty wife, (*commutatis commutandis*) may be a fit poeſie for the *Spouſes* Wedding-ring:

* Ovidius lib. 5. Triſtium Eleg.14.

* *Eſſe bonum facile eſt, ubi quod vetat eſſe remotum eſt,*
  Et nihil officiis, nupta *quod obſtat habet.*
Cum Deus intonuit, non ſe ſubducere nimbo,
  Hoc demùm'eſt probitas, hoc ſocialis amor.

An eaſie matter to be good,
  whiles will thereto is not withſtood;
Whilſt no temptation doth befal,
  which from her charge my *Spouſe* might call;
But Souldier-like to bide the ſhower,
  while *Cæſars* frown and heavens do loure;
Lo this is that true ſocial love,
  which beſt becomes my faireſt *Dove.*

The perpetuity of theſe truths, [That the world, as it is uſually taken for the greater part of men, or for the wealthier, or more potent, is continually ſet on wickedneſs, growing rather worſe than better by long continuance: that the reward prepared for the faithful now living, and ſuch as have been perſecuted in former times, is one and the ſame: That God is no acceptor of perſons, times, or nations] might give us the reaſon of that concluſion, whoſe truth experience will eaſily teach the obſervant, [That it is a matter at all times much what alike hard, to be a Chriſtian in ſincerity of heart;

although by alterations of laws and cuſtoms, change of earthly powers, aſpects, and other innovations, which the revolutions of time bring forth; ſuch points of Chriſtianity as unto the ancient have been moſt hard and dangerous, become to others moſt ſafe and eaſie, and contrariwiſe ſuch as were to them moſt eaſie, become moſt hard and dangerous unto us.]

To be a *Chriſtian in heart* and conſcience, was more ſafe and eaſie in the primitive Church, than to be one in name or profeſſion. The ſame ſtrength of faith which armed them with reſolution to break through the very firſt ranks, did fully enable them to paſs through all the pikes the devil, the world or fleſh could pitch againſt them. The very name of a *Chriſtian* was charged with all the odious imputations or diſgraces others could invent, as moſt diſtaſtful to fleſh and blood: it expoſed the good name of true profeſſors to reproach and infamy, it marked their bodies unto butchery, and ſigned their lands and poſſeſſions to confiſcation and ſpoil: and what is it beſides the fear of theſe inconveniences, or love of contrary contentments, that unto this day hinders any man from being entirely ſuch in all his deeds and actions, as he makes ſhew of in profeſſion? But now the front of that main battail which only was terrible unto them, is wholly turned in ſhow for us. To be a *Chriſtian outwardly* is not only a matter of no difficulty, but not to be one, ſo far at leaſt, is both dangerous and diſgraceful. Yet ſuch is the cunning of the worlds great General, that even in this reſpect to be entire Chriſtians inwardly and in ſincerity of heart, becomes oft-times altogether as hard for us as it was for our predeceſſors to make profeſſion of Chriſtianity, they were placed before the pikes, and we betwixt them. For the title becoming once generally glorious and common to all; the wiſe men after the fleſh, the mighty and noble, which before oppugned our calling, will now be principal ſharers in the glory of it, and think it no ſmall diſparagement to their dignities, not to be arbitrators of others demeanures or reſolutions in particular buſineſſes or duties ſubordinate to the general fundamental principles of *this royal profeſſion*. Hence many of us, that ſeek to be Chriſtians in truth and deed, become obnoxious to that diſtraction of mind, from which the primitive profeſſors were free. They ſuſpected the cuſtoms or faſhions of the world, were not tempted with them to do ought that might ſeem prejudicial to practiſe of duties enjoined by Gods Law, or unto any particular rule or precept of their Saviour. If any doubt did ariſe about matters of opinion in Religion, they uſed the judgments of ſuch as were moſt ſpiritually minded, and of known skill in ſuch buſineſſes. * Even matters of civil wrong they might not try before the wicked and ungodly. But now to repute any profeſſing the name of Chriſt, enjoying great place in Church or Commonwealth for ſuch, is a ſlander, and may bring even Gods meſſengers themſelves within the compaſs of *Scandalum Magnatum*: to diſſent from them in opinions, or diſallow their practice by profeſſion of contrary reſolution, is, though in a lower degree, very dangerous. Whence with moſt modern Chriſtians it is oft ſo in caſes of conſcience, as it would be with thoſe Artiſts, that having learned Philoſophical rudiments, or ſome natural experiments of others, ſhould ſtill be ſubject to their authority for deduction of particular concluſions or Corollaries, whereto perhaps their skill in Logical Argumentations doth better enable themſelves. The examples of

* 1 Cor. 6. 1, 2, &c.

of great men often allure and embolden us, their exhortations or injunctions often impel us to go, though not expreſly againſt our conſcience, (for theſe uſually yield unwittingly to temptations) yet directly againſt ſuch ſacred rules as ſhould command our conſciences, and would eaſily have won our *Aſſent* unto them, before any authority or power of man, had we lived in thoſe times wherein * *the rich did blaſpheme the worthy name after which we were named, and drew the profeſſors of it before the ſeats of judgment.* It is always more eaſie for a reſolute ſpirit, to reſiſt the deſpiteful oppoſitions of open though potent enemies; than for an ingenuous mind to avoid the ſnares of ſeeming friends, eſpecially if ſet by his betters in the ſame profeſſion: and yet ingenuous reſolution in all cauſes good and honeſt, is the true edge and temper of a faithful Chriſtian. None thus qualified but will more fear the cenſure of ſuch as are by his Country-Laws and Chriſtian Conſtitutions his lawful ſuperiours, than the curſes or *Anathemaes* of an Alien, though a Monarch, and able to do him greater bodily miſchief. To give others warning of the particular ſnares wherein they are moſt likely to fall, is above my capacity, without my experience, and ill beſeeming my place: God grant I may avoid ſuch as are moſt incident to my calling: it muſt ſuffice to touch the moſt general or tranſcendent.

* *James* 2. 5.

6. The original of moſt temptations in this kind, is a ſecret preſumption, which in ſome breeds an expreſs opinion, in others only practices thereto conſequent, that the received Laws or Cuſtoms of Commonweals anciently Chriſtian, are rather grounded upon the Law of God, than contradictory to any part thereof, or apt to undermine it. This preſumption indefinitely taken, is moſt true, but univerſally, falſe and dangerous; howbeit many upon this implicit perſwaſion, that as their Country-Laws and Ordinances, ſo their obedience unto them are warranted by Gods Word, think it ſufficient to examine their lives and actions by the conſequent, not neceſſary to compare them immediately with particular rules of life, and thus by taking an univerſal liberty from an indefinite warrant become often *Nonconformitants* to Chriſt by faſhioning themſelves continually to the Chriſtian world. He that will obſervantly peruſe ancient records concerning the manner how profeſſion of Chriſtianity was firſt authorized, or the Goſpel publickly planted in theſe Nations, in which it now eſpecially flouriſheth, will quickly inform himſelf, that the ſtrength of ſecular powers before predominant, was always readier to root out † hereſies, or quell errours in ſpeculative points of Religion, than to infringe any popular cuſtom, or repeal Laws beneficial to publick treaſurers or private coffers, albeit they ſuckt the blood of the poor, or to abandon rites or faſhions much applauded by brave ſpirits, or in themſelves pleaſant to fleſh and blood, though deadly as poiſon to new men in Chriſt, though apt to blaſt the fruits of faith, and obſtupefie all ſence or motion of the ſpirit: the religious and learned *Vives* out of Saint *Auſtin* hath obſerved that cuſtoms permitted or authorized by the Papacy, did argue that Religion to be but an imperfect mixture of Gentiliſm and Chriſtianity. His words are; * *Auſtins verdict is plain enough, that many*

† See Chap 6. Sect. 1.

* Nam concubinæ & pellices non ſunt prohibitæ quemadmodum ex legibus de Concubinariis oſtenditur, libro Digeſtorum 25. Satis aperte Auguſtinus teſtatur eſſe jure civili vetere Romano multa permiſſa quæ ſunt contraria legibus divinis. Hoc iſti nolunt, qui dum gentilitatem conjungere & coaptare Chriſtianiſmo laborant, corrupto utroque & alterius impatiente nec gentilitatem nec Chriſtianiſmum retinent. L. Vives in hæc verba Auguſt. de Civitate Dei ad Marcel. lib. 14. ca. 18. uſum ſcortorum terrena civitas licitam turpitudinem fecit.

things are permitted by the ancient Civil Roman Law, which are contrary to the Laws of God: This notwithſtanding they admit not, who whilſt they labour to wed Gentiliſm with Chriſtianity, both being corrupted, neither able to brook the other as conſort, retain neither Gentiliſm nor Chriſtianiſm.

7. No Commonwealth almoſt in *Europe*, but more or leſs participates of this fault. No Kingdom wherein either Laws or Cuſtoms, received by tacite conſent equivalent to Laws, do not either allow or not diſcountenance ſuch practices and reſolutions as fleſh and blood are apt to follow, yea to glory in, though as directly oppoſite to the nature and compleat eſſence of Chriſtian faith, as it hath been out of Scripture explicated, as heatheniſh rites or Laws enacted by Roman Emperours againſt Chriſtians, were to the general heads or articles of belief, or to the profeſſion of Chriſtianity; though to abandon fellowſhip with theſe unfruitful works of darkneſs, much more to reprove the offendors, or men in authority, through whoſe negligence or connivence theſe ſnares lie open to catch the ſimple, would certainly procure diſgrace from the one, if not danger from the other, as great as the firſt propagators of the Goſpel amongſt the Gentiles were expoſed unto, by diſſwading from Idolatry. Notwithſtanding if we would not content our ſelves with the bare name or title of Chriſtianity, either not regarding the principal duties thereto belonging, or not conſidering how *faith* by revolution of times, alteration of publick conſtitutions and cuſtoms (like epidemical diſeaſes) prevalent by courſe or turns, doth change its aſpect from ſuch points as it was ſometimes moſt immediately and directly ſet upon, unto others of greater uſe for keeping our hearts upright in the midſt of the crooked generation wherein we live; a little obſervation would ſerve to rectifie our irregular thoughts, and fully inſtruct us, that our trial whether we be aſhamed of Chriſt and his Goſpel before men doth as immediately lie upon our approbation or reproving ſuch popular faſhions or practices of our times, (whether by ſpeech or other ſignifications of our affection publick or private, according as our calling is) as the ancient profeſſors did upon their conſenting or denying to burn incenſe to heathen Idols, to adore *Cæſars* image, to revile Chriſt, or revoke their calling. I ſpeak not of cuſtoms or preſcriptions in caſes of lands, goods, or worldly commodities. For though theſe and the like unwritten traditions be like nets which may be opened or drawn at ſome mens pleaſures to others great loſs and grievances; yet theſe, if born with patience, make a man never a whit the poorer, but rather richer in faith. Albeit he that reſolves to uſe all advantage of humane Law he can take in ſuch matters againſt his Brother, might as well forſwear the Goſpel. But my purpoſe is briefly to touch ſome few reſolutions, either approved by joint conſent of men (as the world enſtiles them, becauſe her Children) of beſt faſhion, for noble and heroical, or practices patronized by the multitude of practitioners, or example of ſome men famous in civil eſtimation.

8. To begin with *Gentility* taken according to the vulgar and moſt plauſible notion, it retains the ſubſtance of *Gentiliſm* with a light tincture of *Chriſtianity*, (to omit unneceſſary coſt in apparel whereby foreigners are enriched, our native Country impoveriſhed, and the poor in it oppreſſed:) To ſpend more in one Feaſt or Banquet, than would relieve the neceſſities of many miſerable, pined, impotent Creatures (daily preſented to their eyes) for more months than the

parties entertained are in number, is an ordinary practice of this profeſſion, much affected by many ſuch as have lived ſometimes of alms, but are deſirous to transform themſelves into another ſhape by following faſhions moſt applauded of their betters: yet what reſolution could be more flatly contradictory than this is to that precept of our Saviour, * *When thou makeſt a dinner, or a ſupper, call not thy friends, nor thy brethren, neither thy kinſmen, nor thy rich neighbours, leſt they alſo bid thee again, and a recompence be made thee. But when thou makeſt a feaſt, call the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind. And thou ſhalt be bleſſed, for they cannot recompence thee: for thou ſhalt be recompenced at the reſurrection of the juſt.* Here then is one eſpecial point of trying their faith whom God hath bleſſed with ſtore and plenty, if they can aſſent to this commandment as true and good, and delight in the practice of it, whiles it comes in competition with the contrary cuſtom ſo much followed and applauded by men of beſt place and reckoning in the worlds judgment. For ſeeing the good we have done or left undone to ſuch ſilly ones, as Chriſt here commends unto our care, muſt be the meaſure of our faith or infidelity, of our love or neglect of him in that day of final accompts, indulgent or remorceleſs continuance of contrary practices will then argue as formal denial of him, and as damnable ſhame of his Goſpel, as if with *Peter* we had ſaid we *know not the man*, or we like the Alcoran better than his Teſtament, becauſe Mahomet was a Good Fellow, and loved feaſting.

* Luke 14. ver. 12, 13, 14.

9. Not to be ſenſible of every wrong, or not forward to wipe off the leaſt aſperſion of diſgrace, though with their own or others blood, is held the only badge of a brave and reſolute mind. On the contrary, to ſeek or tender Chriſtian ſubmiſſion for wrongs done privately or publickly, before the Prieſt, or in the Church or Congregation, is held as baſe and odious, as if a Souldier ſhould ſeek the peace of an old impotent woman, or as if a married man ſhould proclaim himſelf *Cuckold* at the Market-croſs. Yet what reſolution could any Heathen maintain worſe conſorting with theſe precepts of our Saviour, without whoſe obſervance his death and paſſion nothing profit us, even our prayers for mercy become provocative of his Fathers vengeance, † *for he that turneth away his ears from hearing the Law, even his prayer ſhall be abominable.* Now it is a Law for ever to be obſerved by every Chriſtian. * *If thy brother treſpaſs againſt thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone; if he hear thee, thou haſt won thy brother. But if he hear thee not, take yet with thee one or two, that by the mouth of two or three witneſſes every word may be confirmed. And if he will not vouchſafe to hear them, tell it unto the Church; and if he refuſe to hear the Church alſo, let him be unto thee as an Heathen man, and a Publican.* So is that alſo elſewhere delivered, even where our aſſurance for obtaining what we pray for, ſeems moſt ample; *what things ſoever ye deſire when ye pray, believe that ye receive them, and ye ſhall have them. And when ye ſtand praying, forgive, if ye have ought againſt any, that your father alſo which is in heaven may forgive you your treſpaſſes.*

† Prov. 28. v. 9.

* Matth. 18. ver. 15, 16, 17.

The conſideration of theſe and like Injunctions of our Saviour, hath often made me wonder in what form their prayers, which preſent themſelves in open field with purpoſe to revenge, or be the objects of revenge by killing or being killed, are conceived, or through whoſe mediation preſented to their heavenly Father. But bleſſed be the Lord our God, whoſe hand hath led our Sovereigns pen to daſh the bloody lines of deſperate challenges, for which even *Dracoes* Laws had been to mild, and *Rhadamanthus* too meek a Judge. Lord let thy Spirit always enſpire the heart of thine anointed with like wiſdom to diſcern, thy Angels aſſiſt him with power and courage to execute thy righteous judgements upon the proud and ſcornful ſinner, that meaſures the greatneſs of his ſpirit by his ſtrength to breath out blaſphemies, or ſeeks by clamorous noiſe of his audacious aſſociates, in unhallowed Ethnick reſolutions, to drown the ſoft and pleaſant voyce of thy beloved Son, to out-countenance or over-aw his placid and gentle invitations to peace, humility, and meekneſs of ſpirit, by haughty, fierce, diſdainful looks, or any ways to cruſh and choak the virtue and efficacy of his Goſpel by multitude of riches, friends or whatſoever other ſinews of earthly potency.

10. The beſt apology moſt can make, either for indulgence to unſatiable vaſt deſires of gain or honor, or diſpenſing with themſelves for the uſe of ſiniſter means for their accompliſhment, is it not ſome branch of theſe generals? Others have ſo done ſo before us, and will do after us, more are for us than againſt us, and theſe of better place and judgement: Why ſhould we be preciſe or ſingular to the prejudice of our betters? Yet if a man, without reference to this their preſent reſolution, or further notification whereto his ſpeeches tended, ſhould directly ask them what way they thought thoſe many wiſe, mighty, or noble men after the fleſh did make choice of, or finally took: I am perſwaded it would not be replied they ſtrove to enter in at the ſtrait gate, being thus laden with ſollicitous thoughts, or incumbred with vain deſires of earthly dignities, but rather held on the broad beaten way; and did not all the Gentiles run the ſame race? * Wherein then do they glorifie God more than theſe Heathen did? By taking his Sons names upon them? Rather God herein glorifies them more than the other, and they muſt have their portion with the incredulous Jew, unleſs in works, in lives and converſation they render praiſe, glory, and honour to their God, according to theſe prerogatives of their calling. What Law or Statute, though either ſo good and commendable in it ſelf, as to win voluntary obſervance of the well diſpoſed, or exacting obedience of all ſubject to it upon the moſt ſtrict and forcible terms the Law-giver could deviſe, as under penalty of perjury, ſupplications in the bowels of Chriſt, adjurations by his body and blood, or by our plea of mercy through them at his fathers hands, but may be foully prejudiced, if not inverted, by the overſight of Predeceſſors, or long cuſtom; firſt uſually in theſe caſes begun either upon mere negligence in ſearching the truth, or connivance upon extraordinary and ſpecial occaſions at ſome particulars) perhaps conceived as caſes more than half omitted) afterwards continued through ignorance of Succeſſors, but finally maintained for private advantages by wicked cunning, or worldly policy, always vigilant to defeat all ſolicitations for rectifying what hath been long amiſs, or re-examining late practices by the Law-givers principal intent or meaning. The advice would either ſeem too bitter or too light, if I ſhould counſel the Authors or chief Abettors of theſe abuſes, whether committed in Church or Commonweal, to prefer a ſupplication with joynt conſent unto the Almighty, that he would grant them his grace or continuance of his

* Hoc ad crimina noſtra addimus, ut cum in omnibus rei ſimus, etiam bonos nos & ſanctos eſſe credamus, ac ſi in nobis cumulentur iniquitatis offenſæ, etiam præſumptione juſtitiæ. Salvianus, lib. 3.

his wonted favours *non obſtante præcepto de votis Deo perſolvendis*, or conceive ſuch a formal *Palinodie* of their proteſtation made in Baptiſm, as *Steſicorus* did of his diſpraiſe of *Helen*, turning every affirmative promiſe into a negative. And yet I dare not avouch ought to the contrary, but that it were much better finally to renounce the profeſſion of Chriſtianity, than to retain it without abſolute renouncing ſuch reſolutions. It is therefore our Saviours advice, not mine; *either make the tree good, and his fruit good, or elſe make the tree evil, and the fruit evil.* Mat. 12.33. Thus to profeſs CHRIST, entertaining ſtrong conceits, and making proffers of great love and loyal affection towards him, bent in the mean time to do as moſt do, and follow the faſhions of the world, is to walk with a heart and a heart, even that crookedneſs of heart, which cannot be ſquared unto the ſtreight rule of life. Many enormities like to theſe mentioned there be, ſometimes ſecretly or unwittingly practiſed only, otherwhiles openly avowed and maintained as lawful, whoſe diſcovery or proſecution with ſuch indignity as befits them, I leave to the better experienced and more eloquent Paſtors; only of this I would admoniſh them, that ſeeing the diſeaſes are grievous, and the Patients ſtrong, it is not a mild and gentle Medicine can work their cure. Much better they endured the ſmart of our reproofs, though unpleaſant for the preſent, than that they themſelves when it ſhall come into their minds to compare their reſolutions and practiſes with their profeſſions, either made in Baptiſm, or renewed upon receiving the Sacrament of Chriſts body and blood, ſhould out of the anguiſh of their ſoul, and grief of conſcience, take up more bitter complaints than *Job* or *Jeremy* ever uttered, even to deteſt the memory of that day wherein it was ſaid, *a ſoul is added to the Church,* to curſe the hands that brought them to this ſacred Laver, or lips which there did promiſe or vow on their behalf; to wiſh hot ſcalding oyl had been poured upon their heads, inſtead of the water wherewith they were beſprinkled, or that their foreheads had been branded with ſome ſtigmatical mark when ſigned they were with the Croſs, in token they ſhould never be aſhamed to fight under Chriſts banner, from whoſe tents notwithſtanding, their conſciences witneſs they have been continual Fugitives. Doubtleſs the water which putteth away the filth of the fleſh, and is poured on us as a pledge of Gods ſpecial favour, unleſs by it the conſcience, which makes requeſt to God, be purified from theſe and the like dead works of Heatheniſm, will be a ſore witneſs againſt us Chriſtians and ſolicite our deliverance over to the everlaſting flame, wherein the hypocrite and the perjured ſhall above others be always melted, never purified.

† 2 Tim. 2.21. 11. † *But if any man ſhall in this life purge himſelf from theſe, he ſhall be a veſſel unto honor fit for every good work.* And God forbid we ſhould take either any of theſe laſt mentioned, or fouller practices for ſure marks or ſigns of Reprobation, into which eſtate men are not drawn ſo much by multitude of ſins paſt, as by reſolution to continue in them ſtill; which oftimes might be broken off, and ſaving Faith ingraffed in its place, did not the Phyſicians of mens ſouls or others in charity bound to attend their brethren in their ſickneſs, give them for dead or paſt recovery before their time. In many appointed Overſeers of others, well reformed in life and converſation themſelves, there is a branch of Ethnick incredulity or diſtruſt of Gods providence under whoſe ſhelter the former weeds grow and proſper in Inferiors.

feriors. For whether from a poſitive error in opinion, that whatſoever comes not to paſs, it was Gods will it ſhould not come to paſs, we gather, it is not his pleaſure, things long amiſs ſhould be amended, or that the Chriſtian world ſhould grow better than it hath been, but rather worſe and worſe; or whether from a want of conſideration, or apprehenſion of his peculiar aſſiſtance promiſed to ſuch as are gathered together in his Sons name; or perhaps by both means, ſo it uſually comes to paſs, that good motions, for reformation of whatſoever is amiſs, are no ſooner propoſed, but the wiſer or better experienced in the world men are, or would be thought, the readier they are to except, that the ſame or like hath been before attempted by men of far greater place, wiſdom, and experience; and for us to ſeek the eſtabliſhment of what they upon better opportunity have given for loſt and deſperate, were to diſparage their ſufficiency, and arrogate too much to our own. Duties very acceptable unto God, and moſt neceſſary for time and place, I have known altogether neglected upon like ſuggeſtions, when as the voyces of ſuch as out of this politick humour did daſh the motion without any trouble, loſs, and danger in the world, unto themſelves, without any contradiction or diſturbance of other ſuffragants, might with the general applauſe of all indifferently affected and the beſt contentment of the greater part to be reformed, have fully ratified what was propoſed.

Thus partly from a willingneſs to conform our ſelves unto the world, partly from a perſwaſion that it is ſufficient to reform our ſelves, not neceſſary to ſeek the Reformation of others, we canvaſe ſecretly for the Prince of darkneſs, and ſtrengthen the faction of the world and fleſh, ſeeking, as it were, a *major* part to diſanul the Apoſtles Canon as out of date in our days, * *Greater is he that is in us, than he that is in the world.* But had our Predeceſſors been daunted with ſuch politick ſurmiſes or ſuſpicions, Chriſtianity had never prevailed againſt Heatheniſm, whoſe objections againſt it were the ſelf ſame our worldly wiſe men now bring againſt all attempts of Reformation; *and becauſe they are of the world, the world heareth them*; and being Profeſſors in ſhew deceive many honeſtly minded.

1 *John* 4. v. 3.

12. Finally let the Chriſtian Magiſtrates and Miniſters pretend what other cauſe they liſt, from their ignorance of Gods mercy and goodneſs, and want of faith it is (for the moſt part,) that the people are ſo bad; Neither have that confidence in their God they ought, but from an opinion in it ſelf moſt true, that God in theſe days uſually works by ordinary means or ſecond cauſes, we come to relie more on the appearances we ſee in them than on his fidelity and truth that is inviſible. Were we but as well acquainted with the fundamental points of our profeſſion, as other Profeſſors are with theirs, we might deſcry, it was the Politician that fooliſhly dreams he can mould States in his brain, and *Paracelſus*-like give life immortal to humane Bodies Politick, which ſtill ſpoils the faſhion of the Chriſtian world by taking upon him to be a grand Phyſician where he ſhould be but Gods Apothecary, or to be Architect or chief Plotter of thoſe Edifices, wherein he ſhould be but a labourer or handworker, continually expecting the direction and inſtruction of that Maſter Builder, which laid the foundation in *Sion*. We our ſelves often know the matter or ſtuff whereon, as alſo the tools wherewith

wee ſee Artificers work; yet cannot learn their skill or cunning, but ſhould be ill favouredly ſerved if we took upon us to make thoſe utenſiles our ſelves, which they do for us. Thus albeit the inſtruments or inferior agents God uſeth to effect his will be conſpicuous and apparent; his wiſdom notwithſtanding in their diſpoſal or contrivance is incomprehenſible to fleſh and blood, and it is a madneſs to think the like ſecondary means ſhould always produce the ſame effects. But did the preſent dreſſers of Chriſts Vineyard, firſt ſincerely renouncing their own, as firmly aſſent to the wiſdom of God, as the firſt Planters did unto his power in producing miracles, they might ſee, though not ſo quickly, yet as certainly, fruits of their faith, not properly miraculous, but to the wiſdom of the world, until the event did work the truth, altogether as ſtrange and incredulous, as the others did. This part of the world wherein we live with others adjoyning, ſhould in good time as much wonder at it ſelf made Chriſtian in heart and ſincerity, not in name or title only, as it did at the ſudden change of long rooted Gentiliſm into profeſſion of Chriſtianity. But it is not every aſſent unto the wiſdom of God, not every acknowledgement of his providence, or reliance thereon, which can draw down theſe bleſſings from above upon our labours or conſultations. Nor is it (as ſome have either erroneouſly taught, or others conceived from their writings) the goodneſs of the end whereon our intentions or deſires are ſet, but the ſemblable grounds or like proportion thereunto, which rightly diſtinguiſheth them from Heathen, natural or merely moral, and denominates them truly good and religious. * All wiſdom or policy imployed in Chriſts cauſe or with intention of good unto his Church, is not truly Chriſtian, but that only which begins in the unfeigned fear of God, and is virtually moved in the ſtrength and fervency of faithful prayers for his direction and aſſiſtance, who thus ſued unto, never fails to proſper the endeavours of men otherwiſe weak and ſimple; not at all or negligently conſulted, always delights to confound the wiſdom of the wiſe, and bring to nought the counſel of the crafty Politician, or mighty States-man. And theſe following are firſt principles or maxims of that faith, which primarily diſtinſtuiſheth Chriſtians inwardly from Chriſtians outwardly, the children of faithful *Abraham* from the ſons of the *Gentiles* amongſt whom they live; “That God oftimes ſuffers not matters of greateſt uſe “and publick conſequence to be eſtabliſhed by men of greateſt place, “wiſdom, or authority, leſt the glory ſhould be reputed theirs, “not his; That he oftimes hears not the fervent publick prayers “of his ſervants at the firſt, ſecond, third, or fourth time, to train “them unto conſtancy in praying, to teach them (as our Saviour “intimates in the † Parable of the unrighteous Judge) to be importunate and conſtantly to expect the accompliſhment of their deſires, when means to effect it ſeem moſt weak, the manner moſt “ſtrange, or incredulous to the world. Theſe likewiſe are rules of “everlaſting truth, not proper to times primitive only, that God “chooſeth the fooliſh things of the world to confound the wiſe, and “the weak to overthrow the mighty; that he will not fail to make “his name known amongſt the Gentiles that put their whole truſt “in him, unto the worlds end, by ſuch extraordinary manifeſtation of his hand-working in their enterpizes, as he uſeth not “amongſt Jews, Turks, or Infidels, unleſs to their harm for Chriſti-

* Vide Sect.3. ca.2.parag.2. & ca.8.parag. 40.

† *Luke* 18.*ver.* 2,3.

“ans good. The former of theſe rules I urge not, as any way deſirous men of little experience or mean natural parts ſhould be managers of publick buſineſſes; or Agents in Reformation of Church or Commonwealth: for the wiſer ſuch are, the more every way ſhall they glorifie God, as well in the iſſue as the act, if they ſincerely renounce their own, and faithfully rely upon his wiſdom, or as S. *Paul* ſays, *if they become fools that they may attain wiſdom*, or as our Saviour, *if they firſt become little children*, and afterwards ſeek the Kingdom of Heaven, or propagation of the Goſpel; or finally, if they uſe their natural wiſdom, learning, or experience, or other worldly means whatſoever, as if they uſed them not, or to no other end, than by making-off all glory or truſt in them, to make themſelves fitter for the purchaſe of Gods favour. This is the true fruit of that faith which alters and ſublimates the natural temper of our hearts, and fully aſſures us that Chriſtianity is rightly engraffed, and well taken in the ſtock of *Gentiliſm*.

13. But to be either as ſolicitous in forecaſting, or as much devoted to proſecute any ſecondary means of mans invention for procurement of publick or private good, or as apt or peremptory to prognoſticate of the event, one way or other, out of the ſurvey of them ſo forecaſt or working, as the Heathen were, is in heart and reſolution to deny the power and wiſdom of the only wiſe inviſible Omnipotent God, which with our lips we acknowledge; even to be as much without God in this preſent world, as thoſe that were led with dumb Idols. Nor is it reaſon but fancy only which perſwades us we have renounced the worſhip or ſervice our fore-fathers performed to *Bacchus*, *Mars*, or *Venus*, if we be as much addicted to luxury, wantonneſs or quarrelling as they were; theſe were the real ſervices which thoſe infernal powers, miſtaken for Gods, required: the outward Rites or Ceremonies were but badges or formality; if the ſubſtance of theſe miſorders remain the ſame, it is a ſign we have learned to practiſe that Idolatry by heart which the Heathen do by rule or patern. The truth of both collections will better appear in their proper places; of the one in the Article of the Godhead, of the other in the Treatiſe of Divine Providence.

CHAP. III.

That we modern Chriſtians may hate Chriſt as much as we do the memory of ſuch Jews as crucified him, albeit ready, if we were called to formal trial, rather to die, than openly to deny him or his Goſpel. What means are ſureſt for juſt tryal, whether we be better affected towards him than theſe Jews were.

1. PErhaps our indignation againſt the *Jews*, whoſe perſonal hatred to our Saviour was more malicious, more direct and inexcuſable, will more provoke us to amend our manners wherein they are too like theirs, and bring forth greater carefulneſs hereafter to avoid that fearful judgment we often pronounce againſt them, whereunto notwithſtanding the moſt of us might well be accounted as liable, would we either charge our ſelves aright, or

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make them ſuch allowances, as we take. Do we from our hearts deteſt the memory of *Annas*,*Caiaphas*,or ſuch others,as conſpired to take the Lord of life from out the *land of the living* ? ſo did they the mention of *Core*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, of all that had rebelled againſt *Moſes*. Not the name of *Judas* more odious and deſpicable in our ſight, than *Jehoas*, *Ahab*, *Jehoiakim*, or others, though their Princes, which did kill the Prophets, were to them. Which of us either hath made greater ſhew, or thereto called, could make better proof of our love and loyalty to the Mediator of the new Covenant, then they did to the Tranſactors, Meſſengers, or Interpreters of the old: much ſooner would moſt of them have denied the Supremacy of any earthly power, or ſuſtained the height of humane diſpleaſure, than not have continued profeſſion of loyal affection unto *Abraham*, more ready always to triumph in torture, and glory in extream diſgrace, than to be aſhamed of *Moſes* and the *Prophets*. And though they have been a generation long time hateful to God and man, yet he that will rightly weigh the grievous miſpence of ſo great love and zeal as they bare toward ſuch as proved their chief accuſers, ſhall find more matter of pity in this people than of deſpight. For who would not eſteem the loſs of his affection towards Chriſt (were it but half as great as theirs was to *Moſes*, or to his apprehenſion as likely to be as far miſguided) more lamentable than all the grievances and afflictions they ſuſtain? What then was the original of their miſcarriage? Their zeal was like the rude modern Papiſts, miſhapen from the womb, becauſe not conceived by knowledge. Their love polluted in the root, becauſe it was no fruit of faith, nor ſprang it from hearts ſo qualified as theirs had been on whom, or rather on whoſe true praiſes and deſerved fame it was ſtubbornly ſet. Creatures foul and moſt deformed are oftimes deeplieſt ſtriken with love of external beauty, as if the more imperfect nature were in them, the more greedily ſhe ſought to ſatisfie or cover her wants by linking them with the abundance of that perfection ſhe eſpies in others. Thus the ſorer this viperous brood was tainted with hypocriſie, the more they magnified the integrity and ſanctity of their forefathers; as if to have deſcended from them, and thus to admire theſe graces in them, which themſelves wanted, had ſet them above all degrees of compariſon, in reſpect of any others that lived in the ſame age with them. Now this fooliſh pride and inbred deſire of pre-eminence. was the only ground as of their love to Gods Saints deceaſed ſo of their malice againſt his *Son* manifeſted in their fleſh and ſubſtance.

2. The memory of *Abraham* they could not chuſe but naturally reverence, he being the firſt Author of that glorious covenant God made with mankind, wherein they had the priviledges of the firſt born, and in their own opinion ſole intire intereſt. And this firſt *Donor* being now dead, did not either by ſpeech or action exaſperate their envious, fretful, impatient minds, whereby the ſtrength of their imaginary love might have been abated. *Moſes* likewiſe they could not but have in greateſt honour, as one that had talked face to face with God, and had given them ſuch a Law from his mouth, as the like was never heard of before, or after; * *for he had not ſo gloriouſly dealt with any nations, neither had the beſt amongſt the heathen any knowledge of his laws.* The Religious reſpect they had of it, made them abhor all Idols, yet (as S. *Paul* intimates) none more prone

* *Pſal.*147.20.

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make them ſuch allowances, as we take. Do we from our hearts deteſt the memory of *Annas*, *Caiaphas*, or ſuch others, as conſpired to take the Lord of life from out the *land of the living*? ſo did they the mention of *Core*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, of all that had rebelled againſt *Moſes*. Not the name of *Judas* more odious and deſpicable in our ſight, than *Jehoas*, *Ahab*, *Jehoiakim*, or others, though their Princes, which did kill the Prophets, were to them. Which of us either hath made greater ſhew, or thereto called, could make better proof of our love and loyalty to the Mediator of the new Covenant, then they did to the Tranſactors, Meſſengers, or Interpreters of the old: much ſooner would moſt of them have denied the Supremacy of any earthly power, or ſuſtained the height of humane diſpleaſure, than not have continued profeſſion of loyal affection unto *Abraham*, more ready always to triumph in torture, and glory in extream diſgrace, than to be aſhamed of *Moſes* and the *Prophets*. And though they have been a generation long time hateful to God and man, yet he that will rightly weigh the grievous miſpence of ſo great love and zeal as they bare toward ſuch as proved their chief accuſers, ſhall find more matter of pity in this people than of deſpight. For who would not eſteem the loſs of his affection towards Chriſt (were it but half as great as theirs was to *Moſes*, or to his apprehenſion as likely to be as far miſguided) more lamentable than all the grievances and afflictions they ſuſtain? What then was the original of their miſcarriage? Their zeal was like the rude modern Papiſts, miſhapen from the womb, becauſe not conceived by knowledge. Their love polluted in the root, becauſe it was no fruit of faith, nor ſprang it from hearts ſo qualified as theirs had been on whom, or rather on whoſe true praiſes and deſerved fame it was ſtubbornly ſet. Creatures foul and moſt deformed are oftimes deeplieſt ſtriken with love of external beauty, as if the more imperfect nature were in them, the more greedily ſhe ſought to ſatisfie or cover her wants by linking them with the abundance of that perfection ſhe eſpies in others. Thus the ſorer this viperous brood was tainted with hypocriſie, the more they magnified the integrity and ſanctity of their forefathers; as if to have deſcended from them, and thus to admire theſe graces in them, which themſelves wanted, had ſet them above all degrees of compariſon, in reſpect of any others that lived in the ſame age with them. Now this fooliſh pride and inbred deſire of pre-eminence. was the only ground as of their love to Gods Saints deceaſed ſo of their malice againſt his *Son* manifeſted in their fleſh and ſubſtance.

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Thus

* *Judg.* 8. 18.

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Thus S. * *Stephen* makes but one chain of all iniquities continued from *Moſes* unto Chriſt; *ye ſtiff-necked, and of uncircumciſed hearts, and ears, ye have always reſiſted the holy Goſt, as your fathers did, ſo do you; which of the Prophets have not your fathers perſecuted? and they have ſlain them which ſhewed before, the coming of that juſt one, of whom ye are now the betrayers, and murtherers; which have received the Law by the ordinance of Angels, and have not kept it.* For had they kept it, or faithfully believed *Moſes* which wrote it, they had neither diſtruſted our Saviours doctrine, nor deſpiſed his perſon; but their natural diſpoſition was moſt contrary to *Moſes* meekneſs, and therefore could not be agreeable to that juſt ones, and yet their imaginary love to this their Lawgiver, or rather their over weening conceit of their own worth, in that they were his Diſciples, imboldens them to deſpiſe his Maſter, for they reviled the blind man which asked them, if they would be his Diſciples, † *thou art his Diſciple, but we are Moſes Diſciples, we know that God ſpake unto Moſes, as for this fellow, we know not whence he is.* Their cruelty againſt him was conceived and proſecuted upon the ſame ground, *Cains* was againſt his brother *Abel*: for they ſlew him becauſe their own works were evil and his good, as their fathers had done the Prophets, to whom this ungracious ſeed did ſeek to teſtifie their love, as being now out of ſight and no eye-ſore to their purpoſes, no way offenſive to their ears, becauſe their ſpeeches were not perſonally directed to them, and what might be as fitly applied to others, they had the wit not to apply to themſelves. But whiles virtue and piety breath in the preſence of the ungodly, they are ſtill deſirous to break the veſſel wherein this treaſure lies; yet what was the reaſon or what doth the event portend to us, that the children ſhould ſtill delight to build ſtately manſions for their dead bones, whoſe glorious ſouls the fathers envied impriſonment in theſe brittle Cabbins of clay, until the time of Meſſiahs death, unto whoſe memory the reliques of that ungracious ſeed performs no like ſolemnity, gives no ſignification either of love to him, or ſorrow for their fathers ſin, but rather openly profeſs, *Oh, had we lived in the days of our fathers, we would have been partakers with them in that prayer, His blood be upon us and upon our children.* This doubtleſs bears record, that Gods wrath according to their wiſh, is *come upon them* * *to the utmoſt*, that the † meaſure of the fathers iniquity and theirs was then fulfilled: that until Chriſts death there were means left to know thoſe things † *which were for their peace*, time for repentance: but ſince they have reſembled the ſtate of the damned in Hell, continually blaſpheming that holy name which brought ſalvation to the world. Now ſeeing their conceited ſwelling love unto his forerunners deceaſed, did in the fulneſs of time wherein it ſhould have brought forth life, prove but dead and abortive; this ſhould ſtir us up to a more exquiſite examination of our faith, to make ſure trial, whether our love to Chriſt, whom they ſlew, be not conceived from the ſame grounds theirs was unto the Prophets, whom their fathers had ſlain; leaſt ours alſo become as fruitleſs, or rather bring forth death, in that day wherein Chriſt ſhall be manifeſted again, after which ſhall be no time for repentance, no means to amend what is then found amiſs.

* *Acts* 7 51,52.

† *John* 9. ver. 28,29.

* 1 *Theſ.* 2. ver. 16.

† *Mat.* 23. v. 32.

* *Luke* 19. v. 42.

3. Admit our affection to CHRIST JESUS the Son of *Mary*, born in *Bethlehem*, and crucified at *Jeruſalem* by the Jew, were more fervent than the Scribes and Phariſees love to *Abraham*, to *Moſes*, and

the Prophets; our zeal to his Goſpel more ardent than theirs to the Law: ſuch provocations or allurements as fleſh and blood may ſuggeſt, either to begin or continue theſe embracements or our imaginations of them, are on our part more in number and more potent. Firſt by Nature, faſhions of the time, and education, we are more prone, becauſe more ingenuous than they were, to conceive well of men deceaſed, eſpecially of men whoſe good fame hath been propagated to us with applauſe, though not of all, but of ſome great or better part of our predeceſſors. The praiſes given to *Pompey* and *Cæſar* by their followers, oft-times draw young Scholars into faction, as the ſeveral characters of thoſe two great *peers* lives and diſpoſitions ſuit with the different Idæal notions they have framed unto themſelves of brave minds, of noble *Generals*, or good *Patriots*. Amongſt *Criticks* ſome canvaſe for one Poet or Claſſick Author, ſome for another, as they find them moſt commended by Writers whoſe judgments they beſt approve, or are moſt beholden to, or as they apprehend their skill in that kind of learning they moſt affect. To make compariſon of any living with the dead, eſpecially in whoſe works thoſe men have much laboured, would ſeem odious: and this great affection they bear unto their writings they would have apprehended as no mean argument of their own like skill and judgment, though not bleſſed with like invention. Many ſcarce honeſtly minded themſelves, will eſteem of their great Benefactors as of Saints, ready to apologize (as is fit) for ſuch actions, as men in their own times unto whom the cenſure of ſuch matters belonged, might juſtly have taxed.

All theſe motives of love unto men deceaſed, may in their nature and ſubſtance be but carnal, and yet all concur as the uſual grounds of moſt mens affection or love to Chriſt. For whilſt we read the *legend* of his life, we cannot but approve the peoples verdict of him, * *He hath done all things well*, nothing idly, nothing vainly, nothing raſhly, much leſs maliciouſly to the hurt or prejudice of any; his deſerts towards us we cannot apprehend, by the loweſt kind of hiſtorical belief as true, but we muſt conceive them withal, as infinitely greater than *Abrahams* were to the Jews. *Abraham* did but ſee the promiſe afar off, and gave a Copy of the aſſurance to poſterity: *Chriſt* ſealeth it with his blood, and inſtates us in the inheritance bequeathed. *Moſes* delivered *Abrahams* ſeed out of *Egypt*, *Chriſt* us from the land of darkneſs. *Moſes* freed them from the tyranny of *Pharaoh*, and from working in the fornace; *Chriſt* us from the fury of thoſe everlaſting flames, for which our ſouls and bodies had ſerved for ſuch matter as the brick was to the other. *Joſhuah* placed them in the land of *Canaan*, *Chriſt* us in the heavenly places; the benefits already beſtowed by him upon his people are much greater than all theirs that have gone before. *Abraham* was ignorant of theſe Jews, *Iſaac* knew them not, nor could *Moſes* hear their prayers. † *who is like unto the Lord our God, who dwelleth on high, who humbleth himſelf to behold the things that are in heaven, and in the earth, he that raiſeth up the poor out of the duſt, and lifteth the needy out of the dunghil, that he may ſet him with Princes, even with the Princes of his people.* But ſo ill doth the natural crookedneſs of mans corrupted heart, and prepoſterouſneſs of his deſires parallel with the righteouſneſs of his Saviour, that even the humility, wherein he firſt appeared, which chiefly exaſperated the proud Jew to contemn and deſpiſe

* *Mark* 7. v. 37

† *Pſal.* 113. 5, 6.

deſpiſe him, doth elevate the minds of many ſilly and impotent dejected creatures amongſt Chriſtians unto a kind of carnal glory, whereunto otherwiſe they could hardly aſpire. For many ſuch, as defect of Nature, want of Art, good education or fortunes have made altogether uncapable of compariſon with others for wit, ſtrength of body, wealth or other endowments in the cuſtom of the preſent world uſed for meaſures of mens worth, or ſerving to notifie the degrees of betterhood in any kind, will oft-times glory in this compariſon, that they owe as good ſouls to God as the beſt, and think themſelves as great men in our Saviours books as greateſt Kings, becauſe their eſtate is, as his was on earth, low and baſe in the ſight of men. This their rejoycing were not in vain, did they uſe the low eſteem that others make of them as an advantage for more eaſie deſcent to true humility, and lowly conceit of themſelves, not as a ſtep to pride or ſtubbornneſs, contrary to their Saviours diſpoſition, who being in glory equal with God, did abaſe himſelf lower than *Moſes*, through his whole life and converſation, framing his ſpeech more familiar to the meaneſt, his exhortations to all that would come unto him more courteous, more kind, more loving and comfortable than any other of his meſſengers ever uſed. And what heart ſo dull, ſo ſtupid, or hard, as not to be pierced with love of ſuch humility, not to be ſtricken with awful reverence of that Majeſty, whereto it is now exalted? who would not here charge his perſecutors with a greater blindneſs, hatred, malice and uncharitableneſs towards him, than is incident to any profeſſing Chriſtian Religion, to any as firmly aſſenting to the truth of his Goſpel, as the Jews did unto the writings of *Moſes* and the Prophets?

See Sect. 3. cap. 4. parag.

4. The allowance we are to make the Jews for righting the ſeeming odds betwixt us and them, muſt be taken from the perſonal offences or provocations mans nature corrupted, as in them, ſo in us, took at our Saviours life, his carriage, converſation and manner of preaching. Imagine he were now preſent in our Land in the form of a ſervant in which he appeared to them, what entertainment could we expect moſt of our Nobility or Gentry would give him, ſhould he openly diſallow the accompt they make of their antiquity or deſcents, drawing them ſuch a pedegree of their minds as he did of the Jews, * *You are of your father the Devil, and the luſt of your father you will fulfil*? or would his miracles move any Potentate more? It was not his Fathers pleaſure he ſhould work wonders in *Herods* ſight, or ſuch great ones as were not qualified for the Kingdom of God, rather more like to have hardned their hearts with *Pharaoh* than become like little children. The report or fame of ſuch miracles as he hath wrought amongſt the common people, would have moved many Rulers in this our Iſrael to have ſaid as the Jews did, that he was a Conjurer, or one of *Cornelius Agrippa*'s conſorts, had he in earneſt or ſolemn ſort avouched as *Cornelius* doth in his ſatyrical ſurvey of vanities, that *Cain* was the firſt author of Nobility, or ſuch generoſity as the world now magnifies, which makes but a ſport or recreation of ſhedding blood. Nor would honourable perſons be more like to charge him with theſe or the like imputations, than Lawyers to accuſe him or plead againſt him, or to indite him over and above as a ſeditious fellow, as a diſturber of peace; or Divines of all ſorts to cenſure him for an Heretick, an author of Sects and Factions, a peſtilent Schiſmatick, ſhould he in an open aſſembly ſay

* *John* 8. 44.

Tome I.

to the one ſort as ſometimes he did to men of their own profeſſion amongſt the Jews, * *Wo be unto you the Interpreters of the Law, for yo lade men with burthens grievous to be born, and ye your ſelves touch not the burthen with one of your fingers,* or proclaim as many woes againſt the other, with the ſuperſcription of hypocrites, comparing their green affection and grave weeds to † *painted tombs which appear beautiful outward, but within are full of dead mens bones, and all filthineſs.* What paſſions would it ſtir up in all profeſſions, in Chriſtians of all degrees, ſhould he accuſe them of ſuch villanies and impieties, as in their own perſwaſions they are leaſt obnoxious unto, yea whoſe practiſe they bitterly lament even in their Anceſtors, or threaten us as he did the † *Jews,* that the plagues of our forefathers ſins ſhould fall upon this preſent generation, as more wicked than any that went before it? And yet God knows how mild theſe or like ſpeeches, as they are related by our Evangeliſts, are in reſpect of his intire reproofs of the Jews, were they extant as he ſpake them, or of ſuch as he would now uſe, did he converſe with us, and daily behold the cruel oppreſſion of many great ones, the fraud and cozenage of inferiors, the diſſoluteneſs of others, and the hypocriſie of ſuch as ſeem leaſt culpable in the ſight of men.

* *Luke* 11. 46.

† *Mat.* 23. 27.

* *Mat.* 23. 35.

5. Theſe are points which every man may dilate upon, or exemplifie proportionably to his ſeveral occaſions; mine in this Treatiſe it ſufficeth to have ſet down the bare terms of that golden rule of reciprocal proportions, by which moſt men may take an account in what ſtate they ſtand. The *firſt* term is the extraordinary zeal the Jews bare to *Moſes*, the Prophets, and their Writings: the *ſecond*, our parallel affection towards Chriſt and his Goſpel; the *third*, the vain iſſue or empty product of Jewiſh imaginary zeal manifeſted in their deſtruction and miſerable eſtate, ſince our Saviours firſt coming in the fleſh; the *fourth* muſt needs be a like fruitleſs iſſue of our zeal to Chriſt at his laſt coming unto judgement, unleſs we build our faith and love upon better grounds than they did, and frame our lives and manners to the mean from which they ſwerved. One moſt general, yet an eſpecial rule to try our faith, muſt be from experience of good affections contrary to thoſe which made the Jews to diſtaſte our Saviour. What theſe were, the Reader may find noted by the Evangeliſt, and ſome of them come to be diſcuſſed in the ordinary means we muſt uſe for the planting of faith. The ſureſt meaſure we can take from any particular duty of our love to Chriſt, or belief in his word, muſt be from our patient ſufferance of his meſſengers to reprove ſuch enormities in us as he ſharply taxed in his hearers, to beat down open and out-crying ſins with ſuch fearful threatnings and denunciations of grievous woes as he uſed againſt hypocriſie, and other predominant vices in his time, as alſo to launce and rip their auditors conſciences, that they may be touched with a ſenſe of ſuch corruptions as they feel not, and ſcarce know to be hurtful; as our not ſorrowing at others miſeries with whom we live, our inſulting and rejoycing at others falls, as if we did more joy to grieve them, than ſorrow they have offended God, as if we could be content to purchaſe our mirth by crucifying Chriſt afreſh, or by perſecuting them for whoſe ſake he died. But if we repine, ſtomach or malign his Embaſſadors taxing this or like crimes, though in ſharpeſt terms, or neglect to examine our hearts and conſciences at their requeſt or inſtance, it is a ſure token our

perſwaſions of faith and love unto him are but fancies, that we are ſtill in the gall of bitterneſs, enemies as cruel to him as theſe Jews were, and would have done to him as they did, had our occaſions or opportunities been the like. To what extraordinary ſervice he would appoint us were he on earth again, we cannot divine, but the duties he hath enjoined all, without exception, as obedience to the word known, and reverent attention to the meſſengers of his will, we certainly know. Let not then hypocriſie deceive us by ſuggeſting theſe or the like ſuppoſitions: [If we ſhould be urged by the *Turk* or *Jew* to deny him, we would ſooner die the death he did, than do it, or were he preſent in perſon to exhort us to ſuch duties as his meſſengers enjoin us, we ſhould ſure be as forward as any man living to do them:] theſe or the like imaginations do but foretoken our need of that apology, and argueth our inclination to uſe it, though alas it cannot ſtead any in that day of trial, * *Lord, when ſaw we thee naked or an hungred, in the Pulpit or preaching in our ſtreets*, deterring us from evil, and exhorting us unto good? If not to relieve our brothers wants, be to ſuffer him to ſtarve, then queſtionleſs to deſpiſe his meſſengers is to deſpiſe him, to revile them is to revile him, and he that will not believe them, neither would he have believed him more than the Jews did.

* Matth. 25. 44.

6. For concluſion, (becauſe this point may come elſewhere to be handled at large) if *reſpective*, or according to our ſeveral vocations, we be generally either as proud or as covetous, as ambitious or vain glorious in our prerogatives, as mercileſs or jealous of diſparagement in our places, or as impatient of juſt though ſharp reproof, as theſe Jews were: we would have been altogether both as prone to take, and as earneſt in proſecuting any offence taken at our Saviours doctrine, perſon, life or manner of preaching, as his moſt malicious enemies were, and are as liable to their plagues, for God judgeth not as man judgeth, by the actual event, but by the internal habit or conſtitution of the heart: Nor did our Saviours preſence, his converſation, or other circumſtances, make, but only manifeſt the malicious enmity of the Jew againſt all goodneſs, to the world, and their odiouſneſs in the ſight of God and man, ſhould teach us to be more careful to avoid the inward diſeaſe than the event or outburſting, which cannot be ſo apparent in us until Chriſt appear again in perſon. Or if we be as backward in performance of thoſe poſitive duties exacted by him of his Diſciples, as were the ordinary, or leſs harmful ſort of unbelieving Jews; we may not expect any better hire or reward than they had, but rather a greater portion with the hypocrite for our profeſſion of love and loyalty to him. For as we may give perfect proof to God of our malice or ſpite againſt Chriſt only by our internal corrupt deſires, without any poſitive outward act: ſo can we make no proof of true love towards him, either unto God or our ſelves, but by our deeds: albeit even in doing his commandments we are apt to deceive our ſelves, and without due examination to admit falſe witneſſes of our own ſincerity; a miſchief in the next place to be prevented.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

That the fruits of righteouſneſs, if but of one or few kinds, argue the ſtock whence they ſpring to be either imperfect or unſound: of the danger that may come by partiality in the practice of precepts alike divine, or from deformity of zeal: that our Aſſent *to generalities oft-times appears greater to our ſelves than indeed it is, from our proneneſs or eager deſires to tranſgreſs in ſome particulars.*

1. Nothing more natural to our affections, when they abound or ſwell, than to ſeek objects whereon to beſtow themſelves, and after the faſhion of the world to make choice of the faireſt from whoſe beauty they uſually receive ſtrength and vigour. For this cauſe, as in the laſt diſcourſe was obſerved, that good affection which men of diſpoſition candid and ingenuous always bear unto the memorable virtues of men deceaſed or far abſent, well deſerving of the world or them, adminiſtring no occaſion of diſlike, doth preſently ſeek upon the firſt ſight of his legend to faſten it ſelf upon our Saviour, in whom nothing truly admirable or praiſe-worthy, but is ideally abſolute and perfect. And ſtrange it is not, if in practical perſwaſions that errour ſteal on moſt, which hath overtaked many in retired ſpeculations, *that the object qualifies the deſire*; as indeed it doth, but not always; not when the will out-ſtarts the underſtanding or reaſon. For where the affection or paſſion is violent and unrelenting, we preſently believe what we eagerly deſire. From the concurrence of theſe three declivities or facile deſcents into errour, we often miſtake carnal love for ſpiritual, and belief meerly natural, or ſcarce worth the title of hiſtorical, for ſupernatural, becauſe ſet perhaps ſtrongly on objects ſpiritual or ſupernatural. The remedy is to let reaſon work firſt, and take the true portraicture of that ſpiritual beauty whereto it directs our deſires or affections. Nor do faith and love truly Chriſtian ariſe from every reference or *extromiſſion* of our faculties or apprehenſions unto Chriſt, but from an *intromiſſion* of his image or ſhape into our ſouls.

The right eſteem or ponderation of his vertues and perfections, muſt inſpire our hearts with reſolution and zeal to imitate him in his goodneſs, to be faithful doers, not hearers only of his precepts, and that not of ſome one or few, but of all. Seeing love, as hath been obſerved, is the neceſſary conſequent of lively faith, and faith it ſelf a firm and conſtant *Aſſent* unto Divine Revelations, without indulgence or diſpenſation: it is a ſure argument, the one never kindly takes, unleſs it equally ſpread it ſelf (as the Sun doth his beams, or centers their lines) to every object within the ſphere of divine truth; that the other never kindles aright unleſs it uniformly enflame every faculty of our ſouls with deſire of executing that part of Gods ſervice whereto it is ordained, or with a delight of ſuch practices as the Scripture propoſeth to our imitation in the Law, the Prophets, or Evangelical Hiſtory of our Saviours life and death.

2. Not obſerving this uniformity, the partial practice of duties in themſelves very neceſſary, help to thruſt us headlong into the former errour. For the earneſt proſecution of our natural deſires lighting in with our feeble *Aſſent* unto ſome particular divine truths, or ſlender liking of ſome duties commanded ſuitable to them, makes us attribute the delight or love we bear to the internal object of our corrupt deſires, unto the truth or precept divine; as by the like errour

many looking upon the Sun in a foggy morning imagine that redneſs to be in the body of this glorious ſtar, which is in the vapour directly lying betwixt their eyes and it. Howbeit this groundleſs conceit we hence entertain of our *Aſſent*, or love unto any object of Faith, increaſeth the ſtrength of our carnal deſires or delights natural, and that inordinately increaſed in reſpect of ſome one or few points, utterly diſenables us for proſecuting others oft-times more neceſſary and much better. And, as elſewhere I have obſerved, that which caſts men into the forementioned Jewiſh diſeaſe of over-reckoning themſelves in their accompts of faith and loyalty towards God and his Anointed, is the ſufference of their imaginations to run too much, or too long on ſome one or few good qualities or practices of ſuch duties as our natural affections out of particular affinity or alliance impel us unto, not counterpoiſing theſe perſwaſions with propoſal of contrary difficulties, or trying their ſtrength by performance of ſuch other Chriſtian exerciſes as are moſt contrary to their natural inclinations. As what man is there by nature free and bountiful, but will throughly *Aſſent* unto our Saviours ſaying as true and good, * *Beatius eſt dare quàm accipere: it is more bleſſed to give than to receive.* Yet many by too much applauding their obedience in this particular, come at length to give more than is their own, or ſo much of their own, as others cannot get from them what is theirs, and ſo exceſſive diligence in this breeds extream negligence, or rather manifeſt breach of that other rule altogether as neceſſary, † *Owe nothing unto any man but love:* and yet whiles they compare themſelves and their good deeds, with the miſerable and hard-hearted, theſe ſeem as Jews unto them, and they again unto theſe as worſe than Infidels, * *being not more careful to provide for their wife, children, and other committed by nature to their charge.* Many again by wedding their thoughts unto this, perpetually divorce themſelves from the former of our Saviour, utterly abandoning all deeds of charity as the baſtard-brood of Popery and Superſtition.

* *Acts* 20. 35.

† *Rom.*13. 10.

* 1 *Tim.*5. 8.

3. Not one almoſt by nature fair-conditioned, or of a plauſible behaviour by education, deſirous to gain the love of all, without giving juſt offence to any, but will admire the humility, the meekneſs, the placide and ſweet affection of our Saviour; his gentle tolerance of his Diſciples long ignorance, the mild intreaty and kind invitations of grievous and open ſinners. And yet many, I have obſerved, and ſome far above the uſual pitch of vulgar Chriſtians, many times from too much congratulating this affinity betwixt their natural diſpoſition and our Saviours, degenerate into old *Elies* facility, or the contrary *Stoical apathy*, demeaning themſelves as if all ſins were alike; as little moved with foul and grievous offences againſt Chriſt, contempt of his Sacraments, wilful and affected breach of ſacred Laws, flouting at profeſſed obſervance of fundamental Precepts of Chriſtianity, open avowing wretchleſs neglect of Oaths, as if they were but matters of ordinary paſs, ſome light jerk or gibe, or handſome exchange of words in Table-talk, not worthy to be ſtood upon amongſt friends or mutual well-willers. This is a defect of faith ſo common to ſuch, as, for their eſteem and experience in the world, are held to be fitteſt cenſurers of Chriſtian manners; that if one ſhould be put to give a Phyſical definition of *diſcretion*, according to the uſe or application of the word in ſuch mens language, he could not better expreſs the nature of it, than by a *temper apt to be much moved with nothing*, but what directly croſſeth their

main purpoſes, or may defeat them of their principal ends, as gain, preferment, honour, applauſe of the multitude, or favour with men, whoſe perſons they hold in admiration for ſome advantage.

But were our hearts inſpired with true and lively faith, it would teach our affections, as to hold one ſtrain or tenor in matters of courſe, indifference, or worldly conſequence, ſo to riſe and fall, to ſwell and aſſwage, whether in admiration or deteſtation, according to the different worth or indignity of objects preſented to them. Not thus qualified we cannot hold conſort with the ſweet harmony of our Lord and Saviours affections, whoſe indignation at indulgence to ſuch open ſins, as directly diſhonoured his father, did raiſe it ſelf above the ſtrain of Princely wrath and diſpleaſure: witneſs his whipping the buyers and ſellers, without reſpect of perſons, out of the Temple; yet buying and ſelling of Temples with the appurtenances, is the readieſt means with us to compaſs greateſt places in the Church, and oft-times becauſe we ſee no means of prevailing againſt the wolves, we hope to have ſome ſhare or offals of the prey, or for our ſilence to be at length admitted into the aſſociation: but, *O my ſoul, come not thou into their ſecrets, unto their aſſembly mine honour* (though honour ſhould be thy reward) *be not thou united: In their ambition they ſlay and murther ſouls, and in their ſelf-will they ruinate the walls of Chriſts Church.* Here were a fit place to admoniſh ſome moſt deteſting Idols or Images in Churches, that the ſacriledge they commit continually, is a ſin no leſs deteſted of their God. But it would require a larger Comment than in this place I may inſert to perſwade that truth unto the belly, which every true Divine comparing the * Prophets word with the † Evangeliſts will conceive, that the abuſes committed by theſe merchandizing Jews in the Temple were more offenſive to the pure eyes of the Lord, *than their forefathers walking after other gods, and burning incenſe unto Baal.*

* *Jer.* 7. *v.* 11.
† *Matth.* 21. 13.

4. The holy Ghoſt I am perſwaded would not ſo pathetically have deciphered the ſweet amity of *David* and *Jonathan*, but with purpoſe to commend it as an eſpecial ornament of heroical minds, or as a vertue to be imitated by every faithful profeſſor of the truth. And yet in men far otherwiſe qualified than theſe worthies were, and aiming at contrary ends, firſt linked in friendſhip upon diſlike occaſions, for the moſt part upon mutual conſciouſneſs of foul crimes or combination in evils, and continuing the bond upon worldly or carnal conſiderations; the imitation of like love is adulterous. It may be *Achitophel* was as firm and conſtant unto *Abſalom* againſt *David*, as *Jonathan* was to *David* againſt the commandment of his father *Saul*. Notwithſtanding that *Jonathans* reference unto *Saul* was nearer, than *Achitophels* unto *David*; the ſame affection in the one was like the love of the Bridegroom and the Spouſe, chaſte and loyal; in the other prepoſterous and abominable, like the unclean luſts of *Sodom*. This is a wild plant of barbarous *Gentiliſm*, ſo deeply rooted in moſt profeſſed Chriſtians hearts, that the extirpation of it requires a peculiar Volume; for ſcarce can we find any love amongſt men which is not deadly enmity againſt Chriſt. So mightily is the poiſon of it diffuſed throughout all our faculties and affections, that cloſe ſticking to a friend though in matters neither juſtifiable by the Law of God or man, is held ſuch an extraordinary act of charity, as may ſerve to cover a million of other unchriſtian practices. Moſt out of conſciouſneſs of ſuch performances, will not ſpare to cenſure others

moſt maliciouſly, if they will not accord with them to forſwear themſelves for their friend, forſake their God, and deny their Redeemer; for ſo he doth that reſolves to patronage or bear his brother out in wrongs or foul offences, and rather ſeeks not firſt to work him unto true repentance, to ſue for mercy at Gods hands and Chriſtian reconcilement with his brother whom he offends. * *whoſoever loves father or mother, brother or ſiſter,* (much more a friend) *more than Chriſt, is not worthy of him.* Yea, he forſakes him in not diſclaiming them in unjuſt courſes. Even amongſt men to profeſs greateſt love to one, and take part with another, in cauſes which equally concern both, and both alike affect, is (in the mildeſt cenſure it can admit) a breach of friendſhip, or forſaking of his friend. Yet who can be ſo near a friend to us as our Redeemer is to truth? what can they whom we love beſt on earth ſo much affect, as he doth equity and righteous dealing? Is it then hyperbolical to affirm, or rather hypocriſie either in heart or word to deny, that he which for love to his friend perverts equity, tranſgreſſeth the common rule of charity, and overthrows judgment, eſpecially of the ſons of affliction, openly denies Chriſt, who is always the principal in every controverſie of right or wrong, always more offended with unjuſt grievances than the parties grieved are; ever better pleaſed with doing right, than he to whom right is done.

* *Matth.* 10. *verſe* 37.

5. Others again through heat of blood, or greatneſs of ſpirit adventurous, or otherwiſe prodigal of life for purchaſe of fame, can with joy embrace ſuch dangers in Chriſts cauſe, as would much daunt many good profeſſors. In perſwaſions of zeal hence grounded they might perhaps die in battel againſt the Infidels, or in the Romiſh Inquiſition, and yet do no more for the Saviour of their ſouls than they would for a Strumpet, or ſome Conſort of bodily luſt, or than Malefactors have done one for another. And it is a miſerable kind of Martyrdom to ſacrifice a ſtout body to a ſtubborn mind; yet beſides the vanity of the conceit or over eſteem of their own faith or uncharitable cenſures of others frailties in like difficulties, the very nurſing of this reſolution upon theſe motives diſenables them either for the right fruition, or reſignation of life upon others more acceptable to the Lord and Giver of life. Few thus bravely minded but are more impatient of life or death attended on with diſgrace of the moſt, or ſuch as they expect ſhould be propagators of their fame, more impotent than others, to reſiſt contempt, or ſet light of publick ſcorn. Howbeit the ſtrength of faith rightly Chriſtian is better tried by *valour paſſive*, ſuch as appeared in our Saviour when he willingly ſubmitted himſelf to the taunts, mocks and abuſes of his enemies, than by *valour active*, ſuch as *Peter* ſhewed when he ſmote off the high Prieſts ſervants ear; the cauſe in general was moſt juſt, and the reſolution bold, having not one for three to maintain the quarrel; but *Peter* at this time was more fit to make a Souldier than a Martyr; for which ſervice ſecular Souldiers are for the moſt part meanlieſt qualified. All the circumſtances of the ſtory notwithſtanding, perſwade me it was reſolution truly noble and Chriſtianly valorous, as proceeding from *lively faith* in that * *French Souldier*, who for his

* Cum ad ſupplicium ducerentur, una quoque Lud. Marſacus homo militaris, ſed qui in ſacris libris legendis multum temporis contriverat, productus eſt, minime revincto collo, uti fieri aſſolet, ſic enim judex, quod ille regi militaſſet, juſſerat: cunque videret ſociis indutum collo à carnifice laqueum quæſivit à Prætore eorum potior quam ſua cauſa exiſteret? cur enim, inquit, non me ſimili torque donas, & tam illuſtris ac præſtantis ordinis me quoque equitem creas? *Thuanus, lib.* 11. *anno* 1553.

zealous profeſſion of Reformed Religion adjudged with others to the fire, and in lieu of all his good ſervice to the King and State, having this grace beſtowed upon him that he ſhould go to the ſtake Gentleman-like, without a *withe*, demands the reaſon why he might not be permitted to wear ſuch a chain as his fellows did, eſteeming this rebuke of Chriſt more glorious than the Enſigns of S. *Michaels* Order.

Such uncorrupt witneſſes of Chriſt were thoſe *Alvigeans*, mentioned in the † Second Book, which neither out of ſtubborn humour of contradiction, nor hope of celebrity amongſt men, but out of ſincere love unto the truth, gave evidence for the recovery of Chriſts Goſpel concealed and preſcribed againſt by the iniquity of former times. But in S. *Cyprians* time the ſolemn memorial of former *Martyrs*, and that high account which Chriſtians made of *Confeſſors* that had eſcaped, did bribe others to give teſtimony unto Chriſts name, deſirous to dye the death of the righteous, out of love indeed, but not of that juſt one, but of fame and vain-glory. Againſt this poyſon that Religious Father, and holy Martyr, prepared this Antidote following, which I eſteem ſo much the more, becauſe of the good effect it wrought in himſelf. * *Chriſt bequeathed peace unto us, enjoyning us to be of one heart, and one mind; the league of love and charity he commanded ſhould be inviolately kept. He cannot approve himſelf a Martyr, that holds not the bond of brotherly love.* And again,

He is a Confeſſor, but after confeſſion the danger is greater, becauſe the adverſary is more provoked, He is a Confeſſor; in this reſpect, he is more ſtrictly bound to ſtand for the Goſpel, as having through the Goſpel obtained greater glory of the Lord. For the Lord hath ſaid it, to whom much is given, of him much ſhall be required, and more ſervice ſhall be exacted of him on whom more dignity hath been beſtowed. Let no man periſh through the Confeſſors example, let no man learn injuſtice, inſolence, or perfidiouſneſs from his manners. He is a Confeſſor, let him be humble and meek, let him be modeſt in his carriage, that as he is entitled a Confeſſor of Chriſt, ſo he may imitate Chriſt whom he confeſſeth; for he hath ſaid, He that exalts himſelf ſhall be brought low, *and his Father hath exalted him becauſe he humbled himſelf here on earth, albeit he were the Word, the Power and Wiſdom of his Father.; and how can he love arrogancy which hath enjoyned humility by his Law, and hath obtained a name above all names of his Father, as a reward of his humility.*

6. *Non ſanguis ſed cauſa facit Martyrem. It is not the blood but the cauſe that makes a Martyr*, was a ſaying ſubſcribed unto by orthodoxal Antiquity, and ſince aprroved by the joynt confeſſion of all truly Religious. I may add, it is not the cauſe or profeſſion of whoſe

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† Sect. 3. cha 3. parag. 8, 9, 10.

* Pacem nobis Chriſtus dedit: concordes atque unanimes eſſe præcepit: dilectionis & charitatis fœdera incorrupta atque inviolata ſervari mandavit: exhibere ſe non poſſe martynem qui fraternam non tenet charitatem. Docet hoc & conteſtatur Paulus Apoſtolus dicens, Et ſi habuero fidem, &c. Cyprianus de Unitate Eccleſia.

Confeſſor eſt, ſed poſt confeſſionem periculum majus eſt, quia plus adverſarius provocatus eſt. Confeſſor eſt, hoc magis ſtare debet cum domini evangelio, per evangelium gloriam conſequutus à domino. Ait enim dominus *cui multum datur, multum quæretur ab eo*, & cui plus dignitatis ad ſcribitur, plus de illo exigitur ſervitutis. Nemo per confeſſoris exemplum pereat, nemo injuſtitiam nemo inſolentiam nemo perfidiam de confeſſoris moribus diſcat. Confeſſor eſt, ſit humilis & quietus, ſit in actu ſuo cum diſciplina modeſtus: ut qui Chriſti confeſſor dicitur, Chriſtum quem confitetur imitetur. Nam cum dicat ille, *qui ſe extollit, humiliabitur, & qui ſe humiliat exaltabitur*: & ipſe à patre exaltatus ſit, quia ſe in terris ſermo & virtus & ſapientia Dei patris humiliavit, quomodo poteſt extollentiam diligere, qui & nobis humilitatem ſua lege mandavit & ipſe à patre ampliſſimum nomen præmio humilitatis accepit. Cyprianus Ibid.

truth and goodneſs men reſt ſtrongly perſwaded, but the grounds whereupon they imbrace it, or motives inducing them to give teſtimony to it, which makes their death acceptable unto God. Chriſt requires we keep our bodies without blemiſh, or purifie them by repentance, if they have been ſpotted with the world, ere we offer them up in Sacrifice unto him. * He that truly *Aſſents* to the greater and more terrible of worldly evils as good and fit to be ſuſtained in his cauſe, will queſtionleſs ſuffer and ſuſtain grievances of leſs weight at his requeſt. Now he that commands us to deny our ſelves rather than him, before men, exacts of us that we confeſs him by integrity and fidelity in his ſervice, by abſtinence from unlawful pleaſures of what kind ſoever, none of which can be ſo dear to us as is life, which he that for his ſake renounceth by faith, would by the ſame, renounce all pleaſures incident to it. For he that faithfully obeys in the greater and more difficult, will doubtleſs perform like obedience in the leſs. *We know* * (ſaith S. *John*) *that we have paſſed from death to life, becauſe we love the brethren; he that loveth not his brother abideth in death*: unleſs out of this love, as joyntly reſpecting our brethren, we lay down our lives in love or teſtimony of the truth, we do not rightly confeſs CHRIST, nor dye in faith; † *for whoſoever hateth his brother, is a murtherer.* And as he addeth, * *hereby perceive we the love of God, becauſe he laid down his life for us.* But whereby ſhall we perceive our love to him? If we do as we ought, *and we ought* (as it followeth) *to lay down our lives for the brethren.* Not only to redeem many of them (if that were poſſible) from a bodily death by dying for them, but rather to encourage every one by our examples to embrace the truth and confeſs CHRIST before men, whether by life or death; whether by profeſſion of truth, or practiſe of works commanded, as occaſion ſhall be offered. He that requires us to lay down our lives for their ſouls, will look we ſhould diſtribute our goods to relieve their bodies; otherwiſe to die for them is no true teſtimony of our love to CHRIST; † *for who ſo hath this worlds goods and ſeeth his brother hath need, and ſhutteth up his bowels of compaſſion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him.* Again, * *though we feed the poor with all our goods, and yet have not this love* [*to lay down our lives for the brethren,*] *it profiteth nothing, and though we give our bodies to be burned for them,* and have not this other part of love to *feed them*, or thoſe attributes of it in the ſame place expreſſed by the Apoſtle, as *long ſufferance*, kindneſs, *without envy, without boaſting, without pride, without diſdain, without exaction of our own, with placide affections, neither provoking, nor eaſie to be provoked,* but *rejoycing in truth, and deteſting iniquity,* with uniformity of faith, hope and conſcience, it *profiteth nothing.* For as hath been obſerved before, conſideration of what CHRIST hath done for us muſt bring forth in us the ſame mind that was in him, a mind to do his Fathers will in every point alike ſincerely, but with greater intentions or alacrity, as the occaſions or exigence of ſeaſons ſhall require. Somtimes we may more faithfully confeſs his name by ſtanding for ſome branch of truth (no general point of ſalvation) in oppoſition to men of contrary minds with whom we live, (whoſe projects tending

* Contentus Deus noſter eſt, ut ei pax noſtra ſerviat, ut ſolâ ei immaculatorum actuum puritate & vitæ incontaminabilis ſanctitate placeamus. Quo plus ei Fides & devotio noſtra debet, quia minora à nobis exigit & majora conceſſit. Et ideo cum & principes Chriſtiani ſint & perſecutio nulla ſit, & religio non inquinetur, qui ad probandum fidem experimentis durioribus non compellimur inferioribus ſaltèm officiis domino plus placere debemus. Probat enim etiam in majoribus, ſi res exigat, executurem ſe idoneum fore, à quo minora complentur. Salvianus, lib. 3.

* 1 *John* 3. *ver.* 14.

† *Ibid. v.* 15.
* *Ver.* 16.

Ver. 16.

† 1 *John* 3. *ver.* 17.

* 1 *Cor.* 13. *v.* 3, 4, 5.

tending to the diſhonor of Gods name, and prejudice of his deareſt children we may hinder) than by profeſſing all the Articles of true Religion upon the enemies Rack, or witneſſing ſome principal truth before the fagot.

7. Beſides the abomination of the cauſes they maintain, great preſumptions, or rather ſtrong evidences there be many of their corrupt minds, whom the Romiſh Church in latter years ſets forth for Martyrs to the world. *Firſt*, the *Divifications* aſcribed unto them as their Enrolments in the Catalogue of former Saints, invocations, *adorations* of their *reliques* and the like, would have moved moſt Heathen *Romans* or *Egyptians* to have adventured on greater dangers or indignities than they are put to for one of their fooliſh Gods, an *Ape*, a *Serpent*, or a *Crocodile*. Yet theſe men not inconſequently, I muſt confeſs, unto their Magical conceit of faith and holineſs, imagined by them in dead works, think, their bloodſhed in the Catholick cauſe, ſhall wipe away their *actual* ſins, as clearly as the water of Baptiſm by their doctrine doth *original*. And as that ſweet Relator of his fruitful obſervations in matters of Religion, hath aſcertained us, that Italians are uſually imboldned to ſin, becauſe they muſt have matter to confeſs; ſo men of great place and authority in this Land would not ſuffer us retired ſtudents to be ignorant, that ſome ſeminary Prieſts have purpoſely given the reins to fleſhly luſts upon confidence the Executioners knife ſhould work a perfect Circumciſion, or the fire purifie their polluted members at the day of execution. Or in caſe they never felt the ſevere ſtroke of Juſtice, yet their conſtant reſolution to ſuffer, and daily expectation of being called unto this fiery tryal, ſhould ſerve as a cloak to cover thoſe impurities, which the purity of Chriſts blood ſhed upon the Croſs (ſuch is the abomination of their hypocriſie) without perfect inherent righteouſneſs, cannot hide. So far too many of them are from ſobriety, meekneſs and humility, and thoſe other qualifications required by S. *Cyprian* in true Martyrs, that the gift of impudence, ſcurrility and diſdain, ſerves no home-bred Malefactos half ſo well in the time of their durance, or whilſt they are brought before the face of authority, or arraigned at the bar of Juſtice, as it doth them; as if they would give us to underſtand that the mark of the Beaſt, ſpoken of by S. *John*, had ſome ſuch eſpecial virtue, as theſe characters trayterous *Gowry* brought out of *Italy*, which ſtopped his blood from running out, after his body was run through, as this doth theirs from appearing in their foreheads (for only to bluſh they are aſhamed) even whilſt they pierce through their own ſouls, and pollute their Country air with hideous forreign blaſphemies; but *in re mala, animo ſi ntare bono juvat*: a good face put upon a bad matter, oftimes availeth much; yet with *men*, not with *God*, unto whoſe mercy I leave ſuch, as affect to be *Pſeudo-Martyrs*, beſeeching him of his infinite goodneſs to alighten their hearts, that they may ſee at length the abominable filth of that Idol to which ſo many Parents in this Land are deſirous to ſacrifice their deareſt children, and theſe men their very ſouls. But, O Lord, ſtop the infection, that it ſpread not from the dead unto the living.

8. But leaving this huge lake: two, no ſmall ſinks of hypocriſie, I have eſpied, from whoſe noyſomeneſs many, otherwiſe well affected, ſcarce are free, but into which Lord let not my ſoul deſcend, for their evacuation is into the bottomleſs pit: The *one*, an

“ opinion, there can be no fit matter of Martyrdom in a State authorizing the free profeſſion of that Religion which amongſt many we like beſt, and left to our ſelves would make choice of. The *other*, which in part feeds this, is a perſwaſion, that mere errors in doctrine or opinion, are more pernicious, than affected indulgence to lewd practiſes, or continuance in ſinful courſes, or open breaches of Gods Commandments. Theſe are reliques of Romiſh ſorcery, which puts an abſtract ſanctity in the Mathematical form or ſuperficial draught of orthodoxal doctrine, as it is in the brain, though devoid of true holineſs in life and converſation, or good affection in the heart, and hence accounteth *hereſie* (that is every opinion different from the Tenents, or contrary to the practiſes of their Church) a ſin more deadly than any other, and which in their judgment doth utterly deprive us of ſuch faith as they maintain, though that no better, if not worſe than is in Devils.

But if we recal what hath been hitherto diſcuſſed: *Firſt*, “[That Chriſtian faith is an *Aſſent* unto divine Revelations, not only as true in themſelves, but as good to us in the practice, as much better than avoiding the diſpleaſure or gaining the favours of any earthly Powers.] *Secondly*, [That this *Aſſent* muſt be uniform, and alike ſincere to every truth, alike ſtrong to every practiſe, always increaſing according to the ſeveral degrees of truth or goodneſs apprehended in the object, or different exigence of times and place wherein we live:] theſe points are moſt clear; That Chriſtian faith is more directly oppugned by wilful neglect, or avowed violations of Moral, or Evangelical Precepts, than by bare errours in opinion, or ſuch hereſies as directly include not blaſphemy againſt the bleſſed Trinity; for the chief evil of all others conſiſts in reference to wicked practiſes whereunto they lead or incline men: That the Miniſters of the Goſpel may deny CRHIST, or manifeſt their aſhamedneſs of his Goſpel as directly by not laying his Law as cloſely to the great *Herods* of the world, as *John Baptiſt* did (ſuppoſe the caſe be as notorious and as well known unto them) as if they had been afraid to confeſs him for fear of being put out of the Synagogue, or ſaid with thoſe other Jews, we know that God ſpake with *Moſes*, and gave authority unto Magiſtrates, but *this man we know not whence he is, nor do we care for his counſels.* Yet, were *John Baptiſts* kind of preaching uſed in many Kingdoms, though by ſuch as profeſs the ſame Religion with the Potentates, they ſhould offend with their boldneſs, I think it would prove matter of Martyrdom in the end. That any age, ſince Chriſtian Religion was firſt propagated, hath wanted ſtore of Martyrs, is more to be attributed unto the negligence, ignorance, and hypocriſie, or want of courage in Chriſts Embaſſadors, or appointed Paſtors, than unto the ſincerity, mildneſs, or fidelity of the flock; eſpecially of the Bell-weathers or chief Ring-leaders. Of if Satan had not abated the edge of primitive zeal and reſolution by that diſhonorable peace concluded between *Chriſtianity* and *Gentiliſm*, after the ſetling of *Gothes* and *Vandals* in theſe parts of Chriſtendom; had he not utterly benummed mankind by locking up their ſpiritual ſenſes in mid-night darkneſs, and fettering their ſouls in ſuperſtition, ſince the time he himſelf was let looſe; *Rome Chriſtian* had ſeen more Martyrs, even of ſuch as did not much diſſent from her in moſt opinions held within ſix hundred years of Chriſt, in one year, than

Rome Heathen at any time had known in ten. Even in Churches beſt reformed it would be much eaſier, I think, to find ſtore of juſt matter for Martyrdom, than of men fit to make Martyrs. And he that hath lived any long time in theſe quiet manſions and ſeats of Muſes, ſecure from *Mars* his broils, or external violence, hath great cauſe either to magnifie the tender mercies of his gracious God, or ſuſpect himſelf for an hypocrite, if he have not ſuffered ſome degrees of Martyrdom: * *But unto ſuch as have been exerciſed therein, it bringeth the quiet fruit of righteouſneſs*; and ought to encourage rather than daunt them whilſt they live in theſe Paradiſes free (God be praiſed) from ſuch boyſterous blaſts, as taint other plants of the ſame nurſery removed abroad, to uſe this calm and happy ſeaſon they enjoy for ſetting their faith and love aright, that they may ſpread themſelves equally to every point of that compaſs by which they are to direct their courſe in this troubleſome ſea of uncertainties: that their ſtrength in practiſe and profeſſion may joyntly increaſe, without all reſpect to perſons or particular duties, ſave what ariſeth from the exceſs of worth in the things themſelves believed or loved; or of neceſſity, or ſpecial occaſions of performances, that they may further, as much as in them lies, by word and deed the unpartial execution of their bleſſed Founders ſtatutes, of whoſe beneficence they daily taſte, albeit oftimes with oppoſition to them or offence taken by them, in whoſe arbitrement their eſtimation in the world or a great part of the maintenance provided for them, depends. If by framing our reſolutions and affections by little and little to march on conſtantly, though but ſlowly, in this uniformity and proportion, we can come at length to repel proffers of Honour, whereunto we cannot aſcend but by winding and crooked ſteps, or of gain not eaſily gotten but by unlawful means, or to hold fleſhly pleaſures as deadly poiſons to our ſouls, then ſhall our deaths be acceptable in the ſight of our God, and if it be his heavenly will hereafter to call us to *reſiſtance of iniquity, even unto blood*, we have theſe ſure grounds of hope, that we ſhall offer up our mortal bodies in ſacrifice unto *Him* the only true and everliving GOD, not to the factious humours of theſe corrupt times, or vain Idols of our fooliſh fancies.

* *Heb.*12.11.

9. This uniformity of growth in faith and want of partiality in our zeal, I have ever affected, ſince I knew what belonged unto either; the rather becauſe, (as I ſincerely profeſs in the ſight of God) the firſt ground of my diſlike unto the chief Sollicitors of Reformation in our Church, men whoſe excellent parts and good labours I then did and ever ſhall reverence, was the deformity of their zeal: for had it been uniform, no queſtion but it had moved them to lay down their lives for redreſſing known enormities in the Common-weal, as much more material and more nearly concerning the advancement of the Goſpel than thoſe doubtful controverſies (for ſo I apprehended them) of formalities about which they ſtrove, as death it ſelf is more terrible than deprivation. The principal authors or abettors of which enormities, notwithſtanding were imboldened by theſe Encomiaſts, in whoſe language every Cormorant that would countenance their cauſe was a ſanctified perſon, a ſon of God. Their partiality herein towards others, may occaſion us to obſerve a blaſt of like temptation naturally riſing from like humours, which oftentimes overthrows faith where it is well-nigh rightly ſet and ready to take. By nature, if not prevented by grace and a watchful

eye over our perſwaſions, we ſeek to make amends for our delinquency in points, whoſe practiſe our affections cannot well brook, by a Supererogation in ſome other duties, wherein we either naturally delight, or can inflict upon our ſelves as an eaſie penance, becauſe not much diſtaſteful to our ſweet deſires, nor contrary to our principal reſolutions. Many gallants of diſſolute and debatched behaviour, and ſometimes Miniſters, of life ſcandalous and obnoxious (though neither of theſe I uſe as inſtances for proof of my aſſertion) will in their diſcourſes bewray an affected deſire of declaiming againſt errours in general opinions abſtract from uſe or reformation of life, or ſome ancient Hereticks, whoſe hereſies might oftimes ſleep with their bodies were they not wakened by loud out-crys againſt them. What is the reaſon that ſuch men as are moſt unfurniſhed in theſe ſubtilities are uſually moſt forward to entertain conflicts with the dead or men far abſent? They are afraid to look upon themſelves without a *foil*, and ſeeing they can hardly find others of life and converſation much fouller they propoſe unto themſelves this deformity or diſproportion in ſuch opinions as are indifferent in reſpect of their delights, and therefore eaſie to be embraced with joy, as a ſalve unto their ſore conſciences, apt for to breed ſuch a perſwaſion of faith or grace inherent as the Phariſee had, with whom upon this conceit they ſay, * *Lord we thank thee that we are not as other men are*, not as theſe peeviſh Schiſmaticks, or monſtrous, and miſhapen Hereticks. Others, out of the like humour again, will bitterly inveigh againſt uncharitableneſs, from which indeed they are free, in reſpect of their own criminous conſorts, but yet think it no ſmall point of zeal to cenſure religious Preachers moſt uncharitably for reproving the unfruitful works of darkneſs. But, as was intimated, the form of this temptation is in divers well minded, the ſame. Many, if we reſpect that great aboundance God hath either bleſſed them with, or permitted them to ſcrape together, very defective in works of charity or devotion, albeit *Levies* revenues pay them tribute for this purpoſe, will be more forward in frequenting religious aſſemblies or holy exerciſes, than ſuch as fructifie more by one hours conference with a true divine, or reading a religious Treatiſe, than they do by noting twenty Sermons. The true reaſon of this deformity is not always, perhaps not uſually, as ſome, not ſo obſervant of their own temptations as they might be, deem, from actual diſſimulation with the world and themſelves, or expreſs purpoſe to uſe Religion only in policy for a garment to cover their miſhapenneſs; but rather from a ſecret working of the ſoul, conſcious of her internal want and penury of works beſt pleaſing God, which ſhe thus ſeeks to recompence by extraordinary diligence in ſuch duties as ſhall not much diſpleaſe her ſelf, or prejudice her ſweet delights, or alter her moſt familiar purpoſes. Thus did the *Jews*, from whom this diſeaſe deſcends, hope to repair their want of mercy with multitude of Sacrifices, no leſs neceſſarily required by the Law than Sermons are by the Goſpel. And the ſtomach, when it either hath no ſolid food, or is unable to digeſt it, will naturally deſire to fill it ſelf though with water or ſuch light meats as breed nought but wind. The like advantage hypocriſie oft gains to ſtrengthen it ſelf by antedating indulgences to unlawful acts or delights upon preſumption of increaſing faith by repentance.

* *Luke* 18. 11.

10. Who is he which now truly feareth God, but calling his for-

mer thoughts to ſtrict account, will profeſs he hath ſometimes been indulgent to natural deſires, or ſuch pleaſures as have accompanied him from the cradle, upon hope his alacrity in doing good ſhould by this relaxation be augmented or repaired? Or would we be as obſervant of our demeanour toward God, as we are of it towards men, or their deportment towards us, we could not long remain in ignorance, that our *Aſſent* unto general principles of faith, or future practiſes of duties enjoyned, do oftimes appear greater, than indeed they are, from our proneneſs inſtantly to tranſgreſs in ſome particulars, which to proſecute without check or incumbrance we hardly could without making our ſelves fair promiſes of reformation in time to come. For apprehenſion, or fear of defection, either final or total, cannot but curb the unruly appetites of fleſh and blood in ſuch as have any touch of Conſcience or Religion. In theſe allurements we intreat our Conſciences, as men intentive upon weighty buſineſs do cumberſome gueſts or importunate ſollicitors (if ſuch as in civility they muſt reſpect) making fair proffers they will be for them againſt another time, to be quit of them for the preſent. Nor do they always make ſhew of more than they mean, albeit when the heat of buſineſs is allayed, they be more loath to be urged with performance of what they promiſed, than they were to promiſe. The reaſon in this and the former caſe is the ſame: eager deſire of proſecuting what they had in hand without interruption or delay, made them more hearty than otherwiſe they would have been in their proffers; becauſe the unkindneſs which might be taken, or uncivil terms that might grow upon an uncourteous diſmiſſion, might breed vexation of mind, or unaptneſs to diſpatch their inſtant affairs. In like ſort, many put off their Creditors with earneſt proteſtations and ſerious purpoſes to give them contentment ere long; but if contrary occaſions in the mean time meet them, they take up with their promiſes, and recal their purpoſes: both now are condional. They would be as willing as any man living if they had it, and can heartily wiſh they had wherewith to give every man full ſatisfaction. The ſame proteſtations we uſually make unto our God, and relent from them upon like occaſions: when new temptations do aſſault us; we requeſt him, as *Naaman* did, to be merciful unto us in ſome one or all, or if not ſimply for the ſin, yet for the act at the preſent, and perhaps vow double diligence in his Laws for times enſuing, yea oftentimes apprehend this experience of our tranſgreſſion, and the ſting of ſin thence ariſing, as a motive to make us more earneſt Solicitors for grace. When as (God knows) by ſpending the time, allotted us for repentance, in ſuch trifling pleaſures, we caſt our ſelves more and more behind hand, entring further into Satan that cruel Extortioners bands, always diſenabling our ſelves as much to reſiſt the next temptation, as our delight hath been in yielding to this. At length we come to deſperate debtors laſt proteſtations: If we could abaſe our ſelves in ſtooping unto a vulgar life, or abſtain from ſuch pleaſures as nature and education hath made us more capable of than others are, we could be as willing to perform any Chriſtian duty, as the beſt: that now we are more backward than moſt are, muſt not be thought to proceed from any leſs eſteem of CHRIST and his Kingdom, but from multitude of great and weighty occaſions to withdraw us. Some again perſwade themſelves they bear great inward affection towards God; but yet whiles they outwardly tranſgreſs his Laws, or, at leaſt, ſhew not their love unto him in the practiſe, the blame muſt be laid upon others, which indiſcreetly croſs them: let them have their wills, and it ſhall be made manifeſt unto the world, they are both as willing and able to do God any ſervice, as the moſt forward Profeſſor living. This is a temptation incident to brave minds, (ſo every proud man thinks his own) parallel to *Cæſars* proteſtations of love and loyalty to *Rome*, when he came in Arms againſt it, for thus he deifies it amongſt the other Gods:

———Summiq; O Numinis inſtar
Roma, fave cœptis, non te furialibus armis
Perſequor: en adſum victor terraq; mariq;
Cæſar, ubiq; tuus, liceat modo nunc quoq; miles: *Lucan lib.* 1.
Ille erit ille nocens, qui me tibi fecerat hoſtem.

Thine aid, O *Rome*, 'mongſt greateſt gods,
I crave my foe to foil:
Nor follow I theſe furious broils,
with purpoſe thee to ſpoil;
Vouchſafe t'accept my ſervice now,
I now before thee ſtand;
Victorious *Cæſar* hitherto, as well by ſea as land.
So now I may, thy Souldier true, for ever will I be;
His be the guilt, this bloody breach
that caus'd twixt Thee and Me.

Such allegeance will every *Jeſuit* profeſs unto his native Soveraign, and yet diſpenſe with his Oath, if he ſhall in any ſort offend the Romiſh Church. But the Lord our God is no mean Lord, he accepts not of fealty tendred with ſuch reſervations as *Jeſuits* uſe in their Oaths of Allegeance: ſerved he will be with the whole heart and affection, and will not be ſharer with the Devil, the world or fleſh, as in the next place from Apoſtolical Authority, confirming the reaſons hitherto alledged, is to be ſhewed.

CHAP. V.

That true Faith is the ſoul of good works: That it equally reſpects all the Commandments of God, and can admit no diſpenſation for non-performance of neceſſary duties.

1. THat *no man without Faith can pleaſe God*, two reaſons there be very pregnant: the *one*, becauſe the wrath of God remains on all perſons without it, as being not contained within his Covenant: the *other* more immediate, becauſe, albeit the party deſtitute of it, were not prejudiced by his firſt Parents ſin, or his own thence derived, his actions nevertheleſs could not be acceptable in Gods ſight, not truly good, becauſe not undertaken and managed by that Faith which intereſts us in Gods Covenant, and engrafteth us in his Son. Whether ſuch Faith can be wrought in any without expreſs and actual knowledge of *Chriſt*, were perhaps curioſity to examine, and preſumption to determine; yet thus much ſuppoſed, the concluſion is undoubted, that their works ſhould for Chriſts ſake be accepted of his Father, who better knows the hearts of ſuch than they do his *Son*, or we the extent of his decree of mercy in this caſe; of this we may be ſure, albeit the beſt deeds of his deareſt Children are acceptable only for his Sons ſake, yet for his ſake he never accepts the impure or evil deeds (the practice I mean of things forbidden) of ſuch as actually know his Son, and are expreſly contained within his Covenant, but thoſe only wherein they truly reſemble him. Now every action, whereto that Faith, by which we are engrafted in Chriſt, is concurrent, is in it ſelf ſincerely and truly, though imperfectly good. Every action without concourſe of ſuch Faith, is in its nature bad, though of an object truly good; or, at the beſt, but indifferent, if the object be uncapable of moral good or evil, and fall not within the Precincts of any divine Commandment or prohibition. As the works of nature deprived of influence from their proper and principal cauſes become defective, or, if the material or paſſive be not ſubordinate or faſhionable to the formative or active cauſes, monſtrous: ſo are our moral actions either altogether deficient from the rule of goodneſs, or prepoſterous and contrary to it, unleſs the faculties, affections, or inclinations, whence they flow, be inſpired, directed, and moderated by a true and lively Faith.

To make our actions acceptable in the ſight of God, true and lively Faith is neceſſary, not only to the perſons working, but as concurrent to the work it ſelf; nor are all the actions of the Faithful, but ſuch only as are conceived and managed by faith, truly faithful.

2. It is a Canonical ſaying which the Son of *Sirach* hath to this purpoſe; [b] *In every work* (or as ſome read, *In every good work*) *be of a faithful heart*; or as *Druſius*, *truſt thy ſoul*, but moſt directly to the Authors meaning, *believe with thy ſoul for this is the keeping of the Commandments.* But what is it he wills us to believe with the Soul? that the thing is good which we intend to work? But unleſs ſuch it be in it ſelf, before intended by us, it will ſooner make our belief bad, than become any whit the better by our believing it is good. For to belive or truſt our own Soul; that that ſhould be good which in its nature is either bad or but indifferent, or not good in ſuch a degree as we deem, is to believe an untruth. [c] To do that, which in its own nature is good, with doubt or ſcruple that it is evil, is to ſin againſt our Conſcience; from which guilt, our full reſolution to

(b) *Eccleſ.* 32. 23. *Read Sect.* 1. *chap.* 7. *Parag.* 1. 2.

(c) *Vide lib.* 2. *ſect.* 1. *chap.* 7. *parag.* 7.

outwardly tranſgreſs his Laws, or, at leaſt, ſhew not their love unto him in the practiſe, the blame muſt be laid upon others, which indiſcreetly croſs them: let them have their wills, and it ſhall be made manifeſt unto the world, they are both as willing and able to do God any ſervice, as the moſt forward Profeſſor living. This is a temptation incident to brave minds, (ſo every proud man thinks his own) parallel to *Cæſars* proteſtations of love and loyalty to *Rome*, when he came in Arms againſt it, for thus he deifies it amongſt the other Gods:

——————Summiq; O Numinis inſtar
Roma, fave cœptis, non te furialibus armis
Perſequor: en adſum victor terraq; mariq;
Cæſar, ubiq; tuus, liceat modo nunc quoq; miles:
Ille erit ille nocens, qui me tibi fecerat hoſtem.

Lucan lib. 1.

Thine aid, O *Rome*, 'mongſt greateſt gods,
I crave my foe to foil:
Nor follow I theſe furious broils,
with purpoſe thee to ſpoil;
Vouchſafe t'accept my ſervice now,
I now before thee ſtand;
Victorious *Cæſar* hitherto, as well by ſea as land.
So now I may, thy Souldier true, for ever will I be;
His be the guilt, this bloody breach
that cauſ'd twixt Thee and Me.

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the contrary, or ſure truſt to our own Soul (rightly examined) doth acquit us and warrant our actions. And in caſe our doubt or ſcruple of ſpiritual evil, be not accompanied with equal probability of as great good that may follow: Saint [d] *Paul* adviſeth every man to be fully perſwaded in his mind ere he adventure on that which his Soul had diſtruſted as evil. But the recalling of ſuch diſtruſts, or raiſing confidence in our Souls, doth only warrant us, that therein we do not ſin, it doth not make our action good, albeit the object were ſuch before. Now the Son of *Syrach* preſuppoſeth the works, he ſpeaks of, ſhould be good in themſelves, and undoubtedly acknowledged for ſuch by all, as being expreſly commanded in the Law. But with the firſt Rudiments of Philoſophy moral, we have learned, that it is one thing to do that which is unqueſtionably right and good; another to do it rightly or well; that it is not every performance of what vertue enjoins or commends to us, but the performing of it conſtantly, and diſcreetly, as knowing it to be good and honeſt, and delighting in the practice of it becauſe ſuch, whereby a man becomes, *virtutis veræ cuſtos, rigiduſq; ſatelles:* ſo true a friend and faithful obſerver of vertue, as he may be inſtiled truly good and honeſt. Now ſeeing to *keep the Commandments*, doth dignifie a man with titles of an higher rank, and denominates him *godly*, *holy*, *or religious*; it is not the bare doing of what is commanded, or a firm perſwaſion that it is lawful, but the faithful and conſtant doing of it, as perfectly knowing it to be good, becauſe a branch of his will who is goodneſs it ſelf, the Fountain of whatſoever is called good in others, in whoſe ſervice we ought to fix our whole delight, which makes us keepers or obſervers of the Commandments. The Commandments, in that ſenſe he takes them, are the total object or compleat rule of Righteouſneſs, and *Faith* being a firm *Aſſent* unto the divine nature and Attributes (whoſe ſhadow and picture the Law and the Prophets exhibite) hath the ſame place and extent in divinity that *Prudence* or *univerſal juſtice* hath in moral Philoſophy. It includes the compleat and practical knowledge of good and evil, inclining the faculties of our Souls to avoid all commerce with the one, and embrace every branch of the other. Whence he that adviſeth us, *In every good work to believe with our ſoul*, ſuppoſeth the ſame object of this belief, Saint *Paul* doth in that ſpeech, [e] *with the heart man believeth unto righteouſneſs*, not by believing or truſting his own heart, but by hearty believing Gods mercy in *Chriſt*, and unfeignedly relying upon them, as is ſufficiently expreſſed by our Apoſtle, and was implicitly contained in that ſpeech of *Syracides*, who, perhaps, did not expreſly or actually conceive of *Chriſt*, as we do, but terminated his belief unto the general mercy and providence of God, whereof the great myſtery of the Incarnation was the principal branch: and *Chriſt Jeſus* in the fullneſs of time exhibited in our fleſh, the viſible fruit of life, which that other *Jeſus* did but hope for as yet in the root, not diſtinctly knowing it nor the vertue of it, but ready actually to embrace it and feed upon it whenſoever it ſhould be brought forth. For, as much as I have obſerved out of this ſpeech, is implied in the exegetical repetition of it. *He that believeth the Lord taketh heed to the Commandments, and he that truſteth in him ſhall not be hurt, there ſhall no evil happen unto him that feareth the Lord, but in temptation, even again he will deliver him.*

3. That

(d) *Rom.* 14. 5.

(e) *Rom.* 10. 10. So St. *John* takes belief in Chriſt, and the keeping of Gods Commandments as terms reciprocal or mutually inferring, and the other either capable of others properties. This is then his Commandment, That we believe in the name of his Son *Jeſus Chriſt*, and love one another, as he gave Commandment. For he that keepeth his Commandments, dwelleth in him, and he in him; and hereby we know that he abideth in us, even by the ſpirit which he hath given us. 1. *Joh.* 4. 23, 24.

3. That we may practiſe what is commanded, and yet not keep the Commandment, Saint *James* hath put out of all queſtion, [f] *If ye fulfill the royal Law according to the Scripture, thou ſhalt love thy Neighbour as thy ſelf, ye do well. But if ye have reſpect to perſons, ye commit ſin, and are convinced of the Law as trangreſſors. For whoſoever ſhall keep the whole Law, and yet offend in one point, is guilty of all.* This fulfilling of the Law or keeping of the Commandments, which, as [g] *Solomon* ſaith, is the whole man, or the whole duty whereunto man was ordained, the compleat and perfect Chriſtian vertue, conſiſts of two parts, a *Body*, and a *Soul.* The *Body* is the doing of what the written Law commands, whether by acts poſitive or inhibitive; the *Soul*, is the reaſon or internal Law of the mind, which impells ſeveral faculties to ſuch acts or works. For to ſpeak properly and ſcholaſtickly, all performance of good works commanded, or forbearance of things forbidden, ſpring not immediately out of Faith, as the trunk out of the root, the branches out of the trunk, or the fruit of the branches; but as the fruits of righteouſneſs are of ſeveral kinds and qualities, ſo have they ſeveral faculties or affections, for their proper ſtocks, out of which they grow. The avoidance of Adultery, Fornication, or whatſoever pollutions of the fleſh, with the fruits of Holineſs contrary to theſe vices, ſpring immediately from the vertues of Temperance and Chaſtity. Abſtinence from Murder, with the acts of mercy oppoſite to the ſeveral branches thereof, flouriſh out of the affection or vertue of humanity, courteſie, gentleneſs, or the like. So have the acts of the *affirmative precept* contained in that *negative, thou ſhalt not ſteal*, as of every other Commandment, whether poſitive or inhibitive, a peculiar habit or inclination, out of which they bud: yet as all motion is inſpired from the head, albeit we go upon our feet, or move our hands or other member to defend our ſelves, or ſerve the neceſſities of nature; So, although we are truly ſaid to walk in Gods ways, to fight his Battels, or do him ſervice; when we uſe any faculty or affection to his glory, yet is our firm aſſent unto his good will and pleaſure, revealed unto us by the doctrine of Faith, as the *animal faculty*, which impels us to theſe exerciſes. Hence, as we gather, the body is dead if it want ſpirit or motion, ſo, as Saint *James* implies, the image of God and his goodneſs (or to uſe another Apoſtles words) the form or faſhion of *Chriſt Jeſus* in us, is without life, unleſs our Faith and aſſent unto them have this ſoveraign command to impel and move every faculty to execute that part of Gods will whereto by the doctrine of Faith it is deſigned. [h] And yet as the exerciſe of outward members increaſeth internal vigour and ſtrength, and refreſheth the ſpirits by which we move; ſo do the acts of every faculty, vertue, or affection, rightly imployed perfect Faith, not by communication or imputation of their perfection to it, as the *Romaniſt* out of his doting love to his faithleſs Charity, dreams; but by ſtirring up, exerciſing, or intending its own natural vigour or perfection. Unleſs every practick faculty receive this influence from lively Faith, or from the image of God or Chriſt, which it frameth in our minds, and propoſeth as a viſible pattern for our imitation in all our works, thoughts, and reſolutions, *ducimur ut nervis alienis mobile lignum:* we may be operative, as puppets are nimble, in outward ſhew; but our ſeeming works of Charity or beſt other we can pretend, will be as apiſh and counterfeit as their motions; neither in their kind truly vital. But as Puppets are moved wholly at his direction

[f] James 2. 8, 9, 10.

[g] Eccleſ. 12. 13.

Read Sect. 1. Chap. laſt.

[h] *In what ſenſe good deeds may be ſaid to perfect Faith.*

and bent, that extends or ſlacks the ſtrings whereon they dance; ſo are our Souls carried hither and thither, as the Devil, the World, and fleſh, or our own fooliſh affections toſs them; uſually exceſſive, where they ſhould be ſparing, and there moſt ſparing where they ſhould exceed. This deformity was moſt apparent in their works whoſe reformation Saint *James* ſeeks; for deſtitute of all good works moſt of them were not, but only of uniformity in working. They had learned to give honour, not verbal but real, where honour was due, duty and good reſpect to whom ſuch offices belonged. The rich, and men of better place and faſhion, they did friendly and lovingly entertain, which was a work in its nature good and commendable, but their abundant kindneſs towards equals or ſuperiours, became as a *wen* to intercept that nutriment which ſhould have deſcended to other inferiour Members of *Chriſts* Body, and by theſe outward exerciſes of magnificence, their internal bowels of compaſſion become cold towards their poor brethren, whom principally they ſhould have warmed and refreſhed. Yet ſuch defects or deformities in their actions theſe half Chriſtians, half Gentiles, true Hypocrites, hoped to cover with the Mantle of Faith, whoſe nature, uſe, and properties, they quite miſtook. That they were not without works the World might witneſs; and no queſtion, but theſe entertainments were intended as Feaſts of Charity, and with purpoſe to win the favour of the great ones with whom they lived to their profeſſion; in which reſpect, their kindneſſes might well ſeem unto themſelves exerciſes of Religion, as the like do to many of the beſt ſort amongſt us, when there is any ground of hope for gaining furtherance and countenance to good purpoſes, as indeed with ſuch references they are, if done in Faith: [i] but that this deformity in theſe mens works did proceed from a precedent defect in Faith, is manifeſtly implied in that the Apoſtle ſeeks their reformation by reducing them to ſuch an uniformity in working as can proceed only from ſuch true and lively Faith, as hath been deſcribed. For the rectifying of Faith it ſelf, he expreſſeth unto them the exemplary form or pattern, firſt of the imitable perfection of the Godhead, then of that which is in *Chriſt*, of both which, as hath been obſerved, true Faith in the mind, is the live-operative Image, and muſt imprint the like character upon inferiour faculties or affections, ere their operation become ſpiritually vital. [k] *Lay apart all filthineſs, and ſuperfluity of naughtineſs, and receive with meekneſs the ingrafted word which is able to ſave your Souls.* This was the word of Faith which was to fructifie in their deeds; wherefore he ſaith, [l] *Be ye doers of the word, not hearers only, deceiving your own ſelves.* And doers of it many of them were in part, whence they grounded a conceit of holineſs, bringeth forth (as it ſeems) either contemptuous, or uncharitable cenſures of others. To this diſeaſe he applies that Medicine, [m] *If any man among you ſeem to be religious, and bridleth not his tongue, but deceiveth his own heart, this mans Religion is vain.* And ſeeing they held ſuch entertainments, as we ſpeak of before, becauſe glorious in the Worlds eye, good and acceptable in the ſight of God; of whoſe glory and good liking they conceived according to the Cuſtoms beſt approved amongſt men, he further giveth them theſe imitable characters of his goodneſs: [n] *Pure Religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, to viſit the Fatherleſs and the Widows in their afflictions, and to keep himſelf unſpotted from the World. My brethren have not the Faith of our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt, *the Lord of Glory,*

(i) *That their defect of works whom St.* James *reproves, did ſpring from a defect of Faith.*

(k) *James* 1. *v.* 21.

(l) *V.* 22.

(m) *V.* 26.

(n) *V.* 27.

with reſpect of perſons. This pattern *Moſes* long before had drawn from Gods own preſence, for his people to work by; [o] *circumciſe therefore the foreskin of your hearts* (that was to be unſpotted of the World,) *For the Lord your God is God of Gods and Lord of Lords* (*the Lord of glory*) *a great God, and a mighty, and a terrible, which accepteth no perſon, nor taketh reward, which doth right unto the Fatherleſs and Widow, and loveth the ſtranger in giving him food and raiment; love ye therefore the ſtranger, for ye were all ſtrangers in the land of* Egypt.

4. Want of conformity to this rule abundantly argues the levity of their belief unto ſuch general truths as they acknowledged. The old *Roman* Proverb of *Faith paſſive,* or fidelity, [p] *fidem nemo perdit niſi qui non habet,* is more appliable to Faith *active,* or truly Chriſtian. *No man can have the Faith of* Jeſus, *the Lord of glory, with reſpect of perſons, but he that hath not the Faith of Chriſt Jeſus.* For he that ſaith he believes *Chriſt* and keeps not his Commandments, or rather altogether inverts them by coſtly invitations of the rich and mighty, without due reſpect of the poor and needy, is by Saint [q] *Johns* rule a *liar.* Yet this prepoſterous reſpect of perſons which is ſo incompatible with true Faith in *Chriſt,* as formally contrary to its pattern, it was, as our Apoſtle tells us, that made them tranſgreſſors of the Law, even whilſt they did things commanded by the Law. [r] *But if ye have reſpect of perſons ye commit ſin, and are convinced by the Law as tranſgreſſors,* The head or firſt Fountain, as well of theſe erroneous perſwaſions, as of deformities in their works, was want of firm aſſent unto the Divine Attributes, or unto the Soveraign will and pleaſure of the Law-giver. For the Apoſtle to prove that aſſertion which containeth the reaſon of the former. [[ſ] *Whoſoever ſhall keep the whole Law, and yet offends in one point, he is guilty of all,*] giveth us that Golden and metaphyſical rule, by which this whole diſcourſe hath been framed, [t] *He that ſaid, thou ſhalt not commit Adultery, ſaid alſo, thou ſhalt not kill; now if thou commit no adultery, yet if thou kill, thou art become a tranſgreſſor of the Law;* a *poſitive* or actual tranſgreſſor by this act of murther; [u] a *negative* tranſgreſſor or non-obſerver of the Law in his abſtinence from Adultery. Nor could his ſuppoſed chaſtity or reſtraint of luſt, be a Chriſtian action or truly vital; becauſe not inſpired by Faith or firm aſſent unto Gods will or Commandment; whoſe ſoveraignty once faithfully acknowledged and eſtabliſhed in his thoughts, would have been a like potent to have reſtrained natural inclination to murther or bloodſhed, acts altogether as diſpleaſing and contrary to the will of God. [w] *Quando ſervus ex domini ſui juſſu ea facit tantummodo quæ vult facere, non dominicam voluntatem implet, ſed ſuam,* ſaith, *Salvianus.* That a ſervant goes cheerfully to the Fair when he is bid, or to ſupply his Maſters Room at a Feaſt, is no good Argument of his fidelity, truſt, or diligence to do his Maſters Will. Many forward enough upon theſe or like occaſions, commanded to go a ſhorter errand, upon more weighty buſineſs, when they had as good a deſire or opportunity to ſport or Feaſt themſelves at home, would by their backwardneſs or grumbling bewray, they had not learned to ſubmit their wills unto their Maſters, or to prefer his buſineſs before their ſport; without which the doing of what is enjoined, is but an impotent and lame obedience. [x] *If a ſervant ſay unto his Maſter, I will not do as it pleaſeth thee, though afterwards he do it, he ſhall diſpleaſe him that nouriſheth him.* Knaves, and Catchpoles,

(o) *Deut.* 10. *v.* 16.

(p) *Seneca.*

(q) 1. *John* 2. *v.* 4.

(r) *James* 2. *v.* 9.

(ſ) *V.* 10.

(t) *V.* 11.

(*u*) Si pro arbitrio ſuo ſervi Dominis obtemperant, ne in iis quidem in quibus obtemperaverint obſequuntur, Salvianus loco inferins citato.

(*w*) Salvianus lib. 3. de Gubern. Dei.

(x) Eccleſiaſtici 19. v. 21.

poles, oft do what the Law requires ſhould be done, yet are no true obſervers of the Law, becauſe this ſervice they perform, not out of Faith and Loyalty to the Prince or Lawgiver, but in deſire of gain or ſome private reſpect, always as powerful to make ſome obſerve, as others to tranſgreſs penal ſtatutes. If an Ambaſſadour ſhould tranſact ſuch points of his inſtructions as make jointly for his own advancement, neglecting others as neceſſary for the ſtate; his neligence in the latter would impeach his fidelity in the former; albeit he did that which his Prince would have done. For he did it not becauſe it was the Princes will it ſhould be done, but becauſe his own will was to have ſome good done to him. And perhaps one and the ſame humour of ambition, fear, or the like, might cauſe his diligence in the one, and negligence in the other: and ſo may one and the ſame affection cauſe a man to obſerve one Commandment and trangreſs another. But he alone obeys Gods Commandments that wholly ſubmits his will to Gods will; that doth what God commands, becauſe he believes he did command it, that avoids what God forbids out of belief that God forbids it, or becauſe he knows it to be diſpleaſant to his goodneſs. God commands all without exception to *glorifie his name both in body and ſpirit*, as well as to honour Father and Mother, or to abſtain from ſtealth. Many can ſtand at open defiance with the World for any touch of diſobedience in theſe latter, which yet if out of Faith they did obſerve, they would be as chaſt of their bodies, as honeſt of their hands, and equalize their diligence in duties towards their Parents, with devotion towards Gods, unto whom zealous and Religious Prayers, from out a chaſt and pure mind, are more pleaſant than honour of Father and Mother, than abſtinence from Theft and Cozenage. Faultineſs or negligence in the former, argues a faulty diligence in the latter; that honour ſo given to Parents, though in abundance, was but the fruit either of ſuch goodneſs of nature as hath been in many Heathen, which neither knew God nor his Laws, or of ſome carnal hopes to get a better Portion by pleaſing them: that ſuch abſtinence from Theft or performance of honeſt actions were but the Off-ſpring, either of ſecular fear to be diſgraced, or of a deſire to be well reputed in the World. And whoſoever is either kept back from evil, or drawn to good upon no better motives than theſe, will when opportunity ſerves, be as much emboldened by them to tranſgreſs divine Precepts of greater conſequence. As what Son is there which much reverenceth his Father out of any affection or inclination not ſerviceable to Faith, but at his inſtance would adventure upon ſuch actions as much diſhonour God, and are moſt diſpleaſant to his Saviour? Or who is he that refrains to defile his fingers with Theft or Cozenage only becauſe they are uncleanly ſins, and moſt obnoxious to ſhame and diſgrace by humane Laws, but would pollute his heart with legitimated ſacriledge for maintenance of his credit, or hope of eſtimation with them whoſe applauſe or favour he much glories in?

5. As there is no ſurer Argument of lively Faith than this uniformity whereof we ſpeak, ſo can there be no token of Hypocriſie, or crookedneſs of heart more conſpicuous or infallible, than to be ſcrupulouſly timorous in ſome points, and preſumptuous or confident in others, upon faithful examination as doubtful, and upon like doubt evidently as dangerous: or to be zealous and forward in ſome duties, and negligent, dull or backwards in others as neceſſary.

ſary. [y] It is a matter (as the Author of the two-fold Martyrdom tells us) *that muſt be conſidered : How mightily do ſome Chriſtians abhor things ſacrificed unto Idols, going into prophane Temples, or the Idols themſelves, when as St.* Paul *proclaims, that neither is the Idol, nor things ſacrificed unto Idols ought, much leſs is the Temples built of ſtone ought : and yet the minds of many are ſo poſſeſſed with a Religion of theſe matters, that ſooner would they die than taſt of things ſacrificed to Idols, and they deem their offence cannot be expiated; If they go into the Temple of* Jupiter, Apollo, *or* Diana, *or if they do but touch an Idol they think themſelves grievouſly polluted. The Religion of ſuch men, for mine own part, (I cannot but approve) if it be like it ſelf in all points. But now adays with grief alas we may behold, ſome in thoſe points (if I might ſpeak home) ſuperſtitiouſly fearful, and yet in others which miniſter juſter cauſe of fear, too too ſecure. The touching of Idols going into a Temple, or eating of things ſacrificed to Idols, do not in themſelves pollute the Soul, but love of money, ravin, hypocriſie,* and ſuch like monſters *pollute the ſoul immediately.* His concluſion is, *Therefore let no man flatter himſelf, God is not mocked : let our Religion be uniformly conſtant, let us not deteſt others, being our ſelves obnoxious to crimes more grievous; let us not be religiouſly timorous in this or that point, and in ſome others impudently impious. But having taken the profeſſion of* Chriſt *upon us : let our whole life give teſtimony of him, let us every way glorifie his Name by obeying his Precepts, that men may hereby know we truſt in him, in that we love him from our Souls, and that we did not diſſemblingly conſecrate our ſelves unto his ſervice at our Baptiſm.* Many like paſſages of this Author I leave to the Readers Meditations, partly ſorry I had not peruſed him before this Treatiſe was conceived and otherwiſe finiſhed, and yet partly glad in that the Lord had put the like Meditations into my heart. To interſert more proofs of Antiquity, would be troubleſom unto me, aiming eſpecially, out of Gods word, to ſet the warp with what ſpeed I can, and afterwards, if God permit, to weave ſuch authority of Fathers into it, as his providence ſhall direct me to.

6. To gather all into a brief ſum; True Faith, firſt acquaints us with the nature of God and his Attributes, it teacheth his will to be the rule of goodneſs, and enjoins us nothing but what is good to us: that he loves all good, and hates all evil, without any reſpect to

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[y] Oportet autem & illud conſiderare quantopere Chriſtiani abhorrent ab idolothytis, & ab ingreſſu fanorum, atq; ab ipſis etiam ſimulachris, cum beatus Paulus clamet, neq; idolum eſſe aliquid, neq; idolothytum : multò minùs fanum ex lapidibus conſtructum, eſt aliquid : & tamen plurimorum animus ea religione tenetur, ut mortem oppetant citius, quam guſtent idolis immolatum, & inexpiabile piaculum eſſe ducant, ſi ingrediantur fanum Jovis, aut Apollinis, aut Dianæ, ſeq, putent contactu ſimulachri vehementer contaminari. Equidem probo talium religionem ſi ſibi conſtet in omnibus. Nunc proh dolor videre eſt, quoſdam in his pene ſuperſtitiosè trepidos, in aliis ubi gravior erat metuendi cauſa, nimium eſſe ſecuros: Per ſe non inquinat animam contactus idoli, nec ingreſſus fani, nec eſus idolothyti : ſed per ſe polluit conſcientiam amor pecuniæ, inceſtus, rapina, hypocriſis, & his ſimilia monſtra, Quam vero congruit, horrere fani ingreſſum, nec horrere in templo ſancto ſpiritui conſecrato victimas immolare dæmoniis, Clamat ſanctus Paulus ſcribens Corinthiis, Neſcitis quia templum Dei eſtis & ſpiritus Dei habitat in vobis ? Si quis autem templum Dei violaverit, diſperdet illum Deus. Rurſus in eadem Epiſtola, An neſcitis quoniam membra veſtra templum ſun tSancti Spiritus qui in vobis eſt, quem habetis à Deo & non eſtis veſtri ? Quod ſi Chriſtianorum pectora ſibi conſecravit Deus, ut in illis inhabitet per Spiritum ſuum, illic deliciatur & inambulat, illic amat ſibi offerri victimam puram in omni loco. Et qui in hoc templum Deo ſacrum, ejecto Sancto Spiritu, indiucit abominationes quas in myſtica viſione conſpexit Ezechiel, qui illic ſedem facit Mammonæ, Veneri, Como, Baccho, aliiſq; portentis : qui ibi dæmonibus immolat ſpurciſſimas hoſtias, veretur ingredi fanum gentium ne contaminetur ? Proinde nemo ſibi fruſtra blandiatur, Deus non irridetur: conſtet ſibi noſtra religio, nec alios deteſtemur, ipſi gravioribus obnoxii criminibus, nec alibi ſimus religiosè timidi, alibi impudenter impii. Sed Chriſtum ſemel profeſſi, tota vita reddamus illi teſtimonium, & undiq; glorificemus illum, obedientes illius præceptis ut in hoc cognoſcant homines quod verè fidimus illi, quod ex animo diligimus illum, & quod non ſimulatè ad ſacrum lavacrum addiximus nos illius militiæ. Author de duplici Martyrio, *Whether this Treatiſe were written (as* Eſpenſeus *tells us moſt in his time thought) by* Eraſmus *deſirous to try whether he could equalize* Cyprian, *or by ſome other the opinion of antiquity concerning the nature of true Chriſtian faith is ſo well and pithily expreſſed by him, as no Treatiſe of like quantity, ancient or modern, will give better ſatisfaction to the judicious unpartial Reader.*

their perſons, in whom they are found; the greater of either kind the more, and the leſſer the leſs. Here then is the tryal of our Faith, if it have taught us wholly to ſubmit our wills unto his will, to like whatſoever he likes, to hate whatſoever he hates, to love that beſt which his Word tells us he loves moſt; and likewiſe to hate that moſt which he moſt hates, though otherwiſe either pleaſant to our natural diſpoſition, or not ſo diſpleaſant or diſtaſtful as many other matters would be, did we follow the faſhions of the world. Firm *Aſſent* to theſe and other Attributes, will uniformly extend that univerſal precept, *It is better to obey God than man*, to our own Souls and affection. Nay, it is the very principal or grand ſtem of Faith, to be in heart perſwaded and reſolved, that it is much better at all times to obey the Law of God, than our own affections, the luſts of the fleſh, or the law of ſin. And then only we pray in Faith, when we ſay not with our lips alone, but with our hearts and ſouls, *Not our will, but thy will be fulfilled.* By retaining any branch of our own wills or deſires unrenounced, or not reſigned up into Gods hands, we give him hold of us who will never let hold go, unleſs we cut off the member which offendeth us. For, as one very well obſerves, ſo the ſnare be ſtrong, and the hold ſure, a Bird though caught but by one claw, ſhall as certainly be the Fowlers portion, as if ſhe had been taken by both the wings. The Soul which altogether delights in its own will, not doing any part of what God would have it do, is like a Bird caught in a net, or ſo entangled in lime-twigs, that it cannot take wing, or make any ſhew of eſcape. But the Soul which obſerves moſt, and diſpenſeth with ſome one or few branches of Gods will, although for a time ſhe may ſoar aloft in Phariſaical perſwaſions, and build her neſt above the Moon, is but deluded by *Lucifer* (who as he lured her thither, can at his pleaſure call her down) as Birds are by little children, which ſuffer them oft times to make ſome handſom flight, but with a long ſtring about their feet. This is a ſnare which men of better place, means, and ſufficiency, or of more ſtayed judgment, had need with watchful care to avoid: for ſuch commonly therefore abſtain from moſt other actual ſins, becauſe they ſecretly delight in ſome one or few, which out of experience, perhaps of many, they have made choice of, as moſt pleaſant, either becauſe they are naturally inclined, or have been long accuſtomed to them, or becauſe they expoſe them not to preſent danger or diſgrace, as not odious in the worlds ſight. And many ſcattered delights, meeting in one, like a multitude of broad ſhallow ſtreams falling into one deep narrow chanel, carry the Soul with leaſt interruption of ſpeedy paſſage, into the bottomleſs gulf. United force is always ſtrongeſt, and for this reaſon, it is oft harder to renounce one ſin, wherein we delight much, than a great many we equally affect. Freedom from many uſually breeds ſecret preſumption, or indulgence to our delight in ſome one or few, and indulgence bringeth forth hardneſs of heart. Or if the worldly wiſe man can curb all his deſires from burſting out into known evils, this abundantly contents him, but ſo doth it not his God, unto whom this permanent lukewarm civil temper, ſymbolizing only with true Religion in abſtinence from actual evil, not in fervency of devotion, is more abominable than the diſtemperature of Publicans and open Sinners, accompanied uſually with moſt vices, yet not ſo firmly wedded unto any, but diſcovery of their filthineſs, may induce them to be divorced from all. It is much worſe to be at the very entry into the Kings Banquet and retire, or not go in, than to ſtay at home and pretend excuſes. [z] *A chaſte Infidel* (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*) *is not only leſs praiſe-worthy* (*than an incontinent Believer*) *in that he is continent without belief, but rather liable to greater reproof, in that being continent he doth not believe.*

(z) Continens infidelis homo non ſolum minus laudandus eſt, quia ſe continet dum non credat, verum etiam multo magis vituperandus quia non credit, cum ſe contineat. Auguſt. de civit. dei lib. 16. cap. 36. Hinc apparet quam parum momenti ſit in rivulis externorum operum, niſi ex puero interiore fonte manent. *L. Vives* in illum locum.

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7. Of ſuch uniformity in practiſing duties expreſly taught by the rule of Faith, as hitherto hath been proſecuted, is that moſt true which the modern *Romaniſt* (in no point deſtitute of one Ape trick or other to mock God and man with a counterfeit ſhape of true Religion) miſapplies to curious points of ſpeculation: bearing men in hand, that if they believe not every point of Faith alike, they believe none aright. Whence, many things they teach as neceſſary to Salvation, being intricate and impoſſible to be conceived, with ſuch evidence or probability as may ground certainty of Faith; ſilly Souls are brought to diſtruſt the perſpicuity of Scriptures, and to repoſe that confidence in their Inſtructers, which they ſhould do in Gods Word, and ſo for fear leſt they ſhould have no Faith, but by believing as the Church doth, they believe the Church only, not God, nor any Article of Faith, as was delivered in the former Book. Nor can their works, if conceived or begotten by the book or Jeſuitical rules of life, be ever acceptable in Gods ſight, becauſe not inſpired by true and lively Faith, uniformly ſpreading it ſelf throughout all their faculties, cheriſhing and ſtrengthning them, as the Sun doth Plants to bring forth fruit. Two Speculative points, or our *Aſſent* unto Divine revelations as true, the former rule is only then appliable, when wilful contempt or indulgence to our own affections, doth blind our underſtanding. He that upon ſuch Motives doubts of any principal Article, or diſſents from it, rightly believeth none: but, if for want either of natural capacity, or particular illumination of Gods Spirit, he cannot ſo firmly *Aſſent* unto ſome principal truth as others do, to whom they are more fully revealed, ſo he demean himſelf, during the time of his diſſent or doubt, according to that meaſure of knowledge God hath given him; his Faith may be ſincere and ſound, though not ſo far ſpread as it is in other men.

8. But ſome better minded, perhaps, will here demand, how far this uniformity in practice is to be extended? as, whether a man may not be more prone to one ſin than another, or more apt to conform his will and deſires unto Gods will in ſome points of his ſervice, than in others, without prejudice to the ſincerity or lively-hood of his Faith? If this proneneſs to evil and negligence in good, proceed from ſtrength of natural inclination, or long cuſtom: his relapſe into the one, or holding off from the other, doth not diſprove his obedience in thoſe points wherein Faith hath gotten full conqueſt over his deſires; if his inclinations to his beloved or bewitching ſins proportionably decreaſe or wane, as his zeal or devotion in the points of duty are augmented. But every member of the old man muſt be mortified, ere our Faith be every way ſuch, as that whereby the juſt do live.

The manner of whoſe life by Faith is now neceſſarily to be diſcuſſed more fully than in theſe preſent meditations was intended, leſt from ſome paſſages in the former diſcourſes, the unobſervant Reader happily ſuſpect the difference betwixt us and the Romiſh Church, in this controverſie, to be but ſmall, or to conſiſt rather in words than in ſubſtance; eſpecially if works be ſo neceſſarily included, as we ſuppoſe, in that Faith which juſtifies. Nor ſeems it eaſie to reject our adverſaries form of doctrine without ſome prejudice to Saint *James*, in whoſe terms their aſſertions for the moſt part are conceived. This laſt prejudice notwithſtanding firſt removed, we are to manifeſt their diſſent from us, and from the form of wholſom doctrine which Gods Word preſcribes to be as great in this queſtion as in any. For admitting their Faith were ſound and their Works (which is before refuted) lively; they utterly invert the right uſe of both, and by artificial ſlights, or tricks of wit not diſcoverable by every eye, draw poor Souls from Chriſt, the only end of the Law, as well moral as ceremonial, the ſole load-ſtar of Faith, and all other ſanctifying Graces.

CHAP. VI.

Of difficulties ariſing from the former diſcourſes in the Proteſtants Doctrine of Juſtification by Faith without Works. That Faith is as immediately apt to do good Works of every kind as to juſtifie. Of the divers acceptions of juſtification. That the Juſtification by Works mentioned by Saint James, *is preſuppoſed as ſubordinate to Saint* Pauls *Juſtification by Faith without Works. The true reconcilement of theſe two Apoſtles contrary ſpeeches in appearance from the contrariety of their ſeveral ends or intentions.*

1. SAint *Paul* (as is declared at large before) includes works in Faith, which S. *James* takes as he found it in unfruitful hearers deſtitute of good works. This difference notwithſtanding alone conſidered, doth no way ſalve, but rather remove the ſeeming contradiction between the one avouching, and the other diſclaiming juſtification by Faith without works, and cauſe it wholly to ſettle in Saint *Paul*'s aſſertion, or in the doctrine of Proteſtants thence derived. For whether juſtified we be by Works and Faith, as Saint *James* expreſly ſpeaks, or by a working Faith as Saint *Paul* implies, this Faith works ſuch Righteouſneſs, as Saint *James* requires not in others but in our ſelves. Seeing then both Faith and the Righteouſneſs it works are inherent in us, how are we not juſtified by inherent Righteouſneſs, if juſtified by ſuch a working Faith, as Saint *Paul* commends, and we have hitherto deſcribed? This which we conceive by way of doubt, our Saviours doctrine ſeems to put out of all Controverſie, [a] *Except your righteouſneſs exceed the righteouſneſs of the Scribes and Phariſees, ye ſhall in no caſe enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.* What Righteouſneſs doth he here mean? Inherent queſtionleſs, for he preſſeth

(a) Mat. 5.20.

preſſeth ſuch an uniform obſervation of all the Commandments, as S. *James* doth. The Scribes and Phariſees did as it ſeems even them calumniate him, as they afterwards did S. *Paul* (and the Pontificians do us ſtill) as a deſtroyer of the Law, becauſe he reproved their confidence in works, and ſought to eſtabliſh the Doctrine of Faith which we now teach. Needful in this reſpect was that caveat: [b] *Think not that I am come to deſtroy the Law or the Prophets: I am not come to deſtroy but to fulfil them. Whoſoever therefore ſhall break one of theſe leaſt Commandments, and ſhall teach men ſo, he ſhall be called the leaſt in the Kingdom of Heaven:* [c] *but whoſoever ſhall do and teach them, the ſame ſhall be called the greateſt.*

If by the Kingdom of Heaven he meant the Kingdom of Grace, the Argument is more ſtrong than otherwiſe it would be, howſoever ſtrong it is, and not impeached by this reply: That ſuch obſervance of the Commandments, as is here required, is neceſſary to Sanctification or Salvation, not to Juſtification. That it ſhould be more neceſſary to one of theſe, than to another, implies a contradiction in the terms well expreſſed, and equally compared; as it doth unto our Saviours purpoſe, to ſay that Works are leſs neceſſary before Juſtification than after it. A man in that he is juſtified, is the immediate heir of Salvation, at the leaſt acquitted from the ſentence of death: now if we affirm ſuch Righteouſneſs more neceſſary after he is juſtified, than before, we ſhould in congruity grant that works win Heaven, and Faith only delivers from Hell: or granting Juſtification to be the paſſage from death to life eternal, the addition of ſuch works ſubſequent, as were not precedent, could be available only to ſupererogate ſome exceſs of glory; for though we ſtood ſtill at the ſame point where Juſtification found us, we ſhould be infallible heirs of Glory. Or if Faith without Works obtain Juſtification, having juſtified us, ſhall it not much more without them lay ſure hold on Salvation, and all the degrees of joy that do accompany it? Suppoſe a man ſhould dye in the very inſtant wherein he is juſtified: none would doubt either of his Abſolution or Salvation. Is he then ſaved with Works or without them? If without them, our Saviours rule doth fail us, for this man enters into the Kingdom of Heaven without more ſtrict obſervance of the Commandments, than the Scribes and Phariſees uſed, without any part of that Righteouſneſs, whereof they in ſome meaſure were partakers: If with them, their preſence is neceſſary to Juſtification, and in order of nature before it, becauſe neceſſary ere he can be capable of entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven; as performance of every condition is in nature precedent to the accompliſhmeet of what is not promiſed without it. Again, no man denies but Faith inherent in order of nature, goes before juſtification in that ſenſe we take it; yet juſtifying Faith neceſſarily includes ſuch works in it as S. *James* requires, at the leaſt a preparation or immediate promptneſs of mind to do them, and more than ſo, was not in the work of *Abraham* which he commends, ſeeing *Iſaac* was not actually ſacrificed, but offered up by Faith unfeigned to be ſacrificed, and this work, or rather thus much of it did go before Juſtification, [d] either as the cauſe doth before the effect, or as the means before the end; for (as Saint *James* ſaith) he was juſtified by it. But that perhaps in his language and intent was no more than to be declared juſt. So would I anſwer were I *Aquinas* his Scholar, and held Juſtification to conſiſt in Habitual Righteouſneſs or Grace infuſed. Thus

(b) Mat. 15. 17.

(c) Ver. 19.

(d) *What manner of caſualty this ſpeech includes, ſee Sect.* 7.

Bellarmine very well expounds the like ſpeech of Saint [e] *John, He that doth righteouſneſs is righteous,* Becauſe of his deeds or his works? No, but by them he is known to be righteous. [f] *For he is ſaid to be righteous that doth righteouſneſs, as he that moves is ſaid to be living, or the tree good that bears good fruit; yet is not the tree therefore good, becauſe it bears good fruit, nor doth a man live becauſe he moves: but contrariwiſe the one moves becauſe he lives, the other brings forth good fruit becauſe good; ſo in like manner he that doth righteouſneſs is righteous, yet not righteous becauſe he doth righteouſneſs, but he doth righteouſneſs becauſe he is righteous.*

This anſwer ſhaped by him for Saint *John*, would have better befitted Saint *James*, as the gloſs which they put upon Saint *James*, would not altogether ſo ill beſeem Saint *John*. That he had meant the *ſecond juſtification*, whereby a man receives increaſe of Grace and is more juſt, had been harder for us to diſprove, though moſt improbable for them to affirm. But that Saint *James* ſhould mean this ſecond juſtification, as the *Trent Council*, without any ſhew of probability boldly avoucheth, is manifeſtly diſproved by his inſtance in *Rahab*, for the firſt righteouſneſs ſhe ever wrought, was the receiving of the meſſengers and *ſending them out another way*; and yet by this work was ſhe juſtified in that ſenſe Saint *James* meant, not in the ſight of men but of God. For the drift of his diſpute is to ſhew, that without works no man can be approved in Gods ſight, howſoever he may perſwade himſelf and others; *Abraham*'s and *Rahab*'s works are but branches of that Religion whoſe practices he had commended to thoſe his Diſciples as pure and undefiled; before whom? Man only? No, before *God even the Father*. The Religion it ſelf he exemplifies by obſervance of the affirmative and negative precepts, as *in viſiting the Fatherleſs and Widows in their diſtreſs, and by keeping themſelves unſpotted of the world* [g]. *Bellarmines* inſtance in *Abraham*'s works evidently refutes their opinion, that think works only declare us juſt; his allegation of *Rahabs* kindneſs, or hoſpitality, more forcibly overthrows the [h] *Trent Counſel*, and his own imagination, that Saint *James* ſhould mean the *ſecond Juſtification*, whereby a man of juſt becomes more juſt, than which nothing can be imagined more contradictory to the Apoſtles meaning. For who can think he reputed them for juſt, whom he called vain men, in that they had Faith without works; the ſame Faith notwithſtanding ſeconded with works had (as our adverſaries contend) made them juſt, not more juſt than before, for now they were firſt to become juſt, being before unjuſt and tranſgreſſors of the Law, as the Apoſtle proves in that they had reſpect unto perſons. The Juſtification therefore he ſought by *Rahabs* example to bring them unto, was (if ſo we diſtinguiſh) the *firſt Juſtification*, whereby of tranſgreſſors they were to become new men in *Chriſt*, and inwardly righteous, not in the ſight of man, but of God: for whatſoever this Apoſtle denies of Faith without Works, he attributes to Faith with Works. Now it is granted by all, that he held Faith without Works to be altogether vain and unable to juſtifie in the ſight of God; if with them it were in his judgment not ſufficient, he had denied all Juſtification in Gods ſight either by Faith alone, or by Works and Faith; ſo as no means of Salvation could be left us.

(e) 1 *John* 3. 7.

(f) Tertium teſtimonium (*Qui facit juſtitiam juſtus eſt*) non docet quod facit hominem formaliter juſtum, ſed unde poſſit cognoſci, an aliquis ſit juſtus. Ille enim juſtus eſt, qui juſtitiam facit, ſicut ille vivens eſt, qui movetur: & illa eſt arbor bona, quia facit fructus bonos, nec tamen ideo eſt arbor bona, quia facit fructus bonos, nec ideo vivit aliquis, quia movetur, ſed contra ideo movetur, quia vivit, & ideo facit fructus bonos, quia eſt arbor bona; Sic igitur qui facit juſtitiam, juſtus eſt; ſed non ideo juſtus, quia facit juſtitiam, ſed ideo juſtitiam facit quia juſtus eſt. *Bellar. lib de juſtif. cap.* 16.

(g) Jam. 1. 27.

(h) Seſſ. 6. c. 10.

us. More Arguments I need not uſe; for every obſervant Reader may furniſh himſelf with plenty, all demonſtrative, that works, taken as Saint *James* meant, (not for the act or operation only, but either for the act or promptitude to it) are neceſſary to Juſtification ([i] not before men but before God) and in order of nature precedent.

2. But the Readers mind, as for a while mine was, may be held in ſuſpence, that albeit we muſt be operative ere we can be juſtified, yet the firſt operation of that Faith which juſtifies, is always ſeen in the buſineſs of Juſtification, as that of Saint *Auſtin* may neceſſarily ſeem to imply; *Bona opera ſequuntur juſtificatum, non præcedunt juſtificandum.* If we be not juſtified (as all agreed) without ſome operation or work of Faith, and all other good works (as this Father affirms) are not precedent, but ſubſequent to Juſtification; thoſe operations of Faith, which belong to the work of Juſtification, muſt of neceſſity in order of nature, if not of time, be of all others the firſt. This golden ſentence, notwithſtanding, will not abide the *touch*, unleſs we take Juſtification (as Saint [k] *Auſtin* doth) for the firſt infuſion of that Grace whereby we are juſtified and enabled to bring forth works truly Good. That the habit of Grace (whereof Faith is the principal part or foundation) ſhould in order of nature be precedent to works done in Faith (for unleſs ſo done, they are not truly good) is a caſe excluded by its clearneſs from all controverſie. But the works by which, as Saint *James* affirms, we are juſtified, muſt needs go before the juſtification which he ſpeaks of, yet not before the firſt infuſion of Faith, unleſs we affirm (which no Proteſtant muſt, or any intelligent Papiſt doth) that we may bring forth good works ere Faith be planted in our Souls. The infallible conſequence of theſe deductions is, that between Saint *Pauls* Faith, and Saint *James* his Juſtification, there muſt be works intermediate of what kind it skills not, ſo they be done in Faith. Of works ſo done, to queſtion which are in time and nature, firſt, were as if you ſhould demand what meats, ſuch as after a long ſickneſs have well recovered their taſte and appetite, uſe firſt to feed upon: Curioſity of method or nice preſcriptions would in this caſe be offenſive to good ſtomachs, which ſhould not do much amiſs in falling to ſuch wholſom food as firſt comes to hand. Thus much in general is not unfitting to our preſent purpoſe; That the internal, elicitive, or formal acts, are in order of nature and time precedent to the impulſive acts of Faith; to wit, ſuch operations or exerciſes of other vertues, faculties, or affections as are inſpired by it, as we moſt firmly aſſent to Gods mercy, wiſdom, truth, and juſtice, before we can be faithfully merciful, juſt, or true, or do the works of righteouſneſs, mercy or truth in Faith. Of the internal or proper acts, or exerciſes of Faith, ſuch as flow directly from it, are before ſuch as are conceived by way of reflection. Such as flow immediately from the eſſence, are (at leaſt) in order of nature, before ſuch as proceed from the properties of it. In both ranks theſe are before others of the ſame kind, which are of more general or abſtract points; as we actually aſſent unto Divine revelations, firſt as true, then as good, laſtly as good to us: and yet we muſt ſo aſſent unto them, ere we can firmly or confidently relie upon them, nor can our reliance or truſt, whether on Gods providence in general, or upon his mercies in

(i) *In what ſenſe works are ſaid to juſtifie us in reſpect of men, not in reſpect of God, See Parag. 6.*

(k) *So likewiſe is it taken in the Twelfth Article of our Church. Albeit that good works, which are the fruits of Faith, and follow after Juſtification, cannot put away our ſins, and endure the ſeverity of Gods judgment, yet are they pleaſing and acceptable to God in Chriſt, and do ſpring out neceſſarily of a true and lively Faith: inſomuch that by them, a lively Faith may be as evidently known, as a tree diſcerned by the fruit.*

in *Chriſt*, be more firm and faithful, than is our precedent denial of our ſelves and renunciation of all truſt in worldly means: which property, as was before [l] obſerved, immediately reſults from our direct aſſent unto Gods wiſdom, power, and mercy, and unto our own miſery, ignorance, and imbecility. From aſſent to both theſe and unfeigned denial of our ſelves thence reſulting, as from joint roots, ſprings true confidence in Gods providence always in order of nature precedent to ſtedfaſt and inſeparable adherence unto *Chriſt*, which is the end of all our working, and as it muſt for this reaſon be firſt intended, ſo can it hardly be accompliſhed without ſome intermediate acts or exerciſes of God's graces in us, unto all which, Faith neceſſarily is concurrent. If we ſhall then compare the acts or operations of Faith amongſt themſelves, according to the ſame ſtrength or equal degrees of fidelity in doing Gods will; the effectual application of *Chriſts* merits is but a branch of the former uniformity in working required by Saint *James*, neither neceſſarily, nor ordinarily the firſt, either in order of nature, or time, whether we ſpeak of application actual and expreſs, or of implicit and potential; that Faith which is of ſtrength ſufficient for firm and faithful application of Chriſts righteouſneſs, or conceiving ſure truſt in Gods mercy offered in him, is as immediately operative of other works; as powerful to bring forth deeds of mercy, always uniformly prompt to do any part of Gods will: that firſt whereunto it is firſt called. It was an act of that Faith by which *Abraham* lived, an act commendable in the ſight of God, to forſake his Country when *God* called him; yet an act in time long precedent to that which was imputed unto him for righteouſneſs: and in this legend the Holy Ghoſt would inſtruct us, that the ſafeſt way to get full aſſurance of our Heavenly Inheritance, is to execute Gods will without delay; * firſt to renounce the World, Father and Mother, Native Country, *&c.* that we may be ready when he ſhall call, and on theſe foundations ſurely laid, to raiſe our confidence in *Chriſt*, [m] *Know* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *they which are of Faith, the ſame are the Children of Abraham*; but every one is not the ſon of Faith that ſays or thinks he believes as his Father *Abraham* did, unleſs he have ſuch an operative Faith as *Abraham* had, well trained to every point of ſervice that ſhall be enjoyned.

Works done in Faith are acceptable to God for the merits of Chriſt unfeignedly apprehended as the only author of Salvation and ſole end of Faith, with whom our Souls ſeek perfect union, not from our perſwaſion of our own Salvation on ſuch union already accompliſhed.

This ſpeech of Saint *Paul* is but equivalent to that of our Saviours; [n] *If ye were* Abrahams *Children, ye would do the works of* Abraham, what were theſe? faithfully to aſſent unto the truth revealed by God, and lovingly to entertain his meſſengers: but now (ſaith our Saviour) *You go about to kill me, a man that hath told you the truth which I have heard of God; this did not* Abraham. The nature and uniformity of Faith ſuppoſed ſuch, as hath been often inculcated; Saint *Cyprians* [o] collections in this point, are as ſtrong and ſound as the point it ſelf is Orthodoxal. *Chriſt calls them* Abrahams *Children, whom he ſees operative in helping and nouriſhing the poor*; For when *Zacheus* ſaid. *Loe the one half of my goods I give to the poor, and if I have defrauded any man, I reſtore it fourfold.* Jeſus anſwered and ſaid. *This day is Salvation come to this houſe, inaſmuch as this man*

(l) Sect. 1. c. 10.

* See Sect. 3. Chap. 3. & 4.

(m) Galat. 3. ver. 7.

(n) John 8. 39. & 40.

(o) Eos deniq; filios Abrahæ dicit, quos in juvandis, alendiſq; pauperibus operarios cernit. Nam cum *Zachæus* dixiſſet, *Ecce dimidium ex ſubſtantiâ meâ doegenis, & ſi cui quid fraudavi, quadruplum reddo: reſpondit Jeſus, & dixit, quia ſalus hodie huic domui facta eſt, quoniam & hic filius eſt Abrahæ Nam ſi* Abraham credidit Deo, & reputatum eſt ei ad juſtitiam: Utiq; qui ſecundum præceptum Dei eleemoſynas facit, Deo credit: & qui habet fidei veritatem, ſervat Dei timorem: qui autem Dei timorem ſervat, in miſerationibus

man alſo is the Son of Abraham. For if *Abraham's* believing God were reputed unto him for righteouſneſs, he likewiſe that gives Alms according to Gods commandment, believes God: and he that hath the truth of Faith, retains the fear of God, and he that retains the fear of God, hath God in his thoughts whiles he ſhews compaſſion to the Poor. Therefore he works becauſe he believes, becauſe he knows all the word of God fore-tells is true, that the Sacred Scripture cannot lie, that unfruitful trees, men barren of good works, muſt be cut down and caſt into the fire, but the merciful ſhall be called unto the Heavenly Kingdom. And in another place he calls ſuch as are fruitful in works, faithful, denying this title to the unfruitful and barren. *If ye have not been faithful in the unrighteous Mammon*, who will commit the true riches to your truſt? And if ye have not been faithful in that which is another mans, who will give you that which is your own. *Salvianus* * words here inſerted in the margin imports no leſs.

pauperum Deum cogitat. Operatur enim ideo quia credit, quia ſcit vera eſſe quæ prædicta ſunt verbis Dei, nec ſcripturam ſanctam poſſe mentiri: arbores infructuoſas, id eſt, ſteriles homines excidi, & in ignem mitti, miſerecordes autem ad regnum vocari. Quia & in alio loco operarius, & fructuoſos fideles appellat, infructuoſis verò, & ſterilibus fidem derogat, dicens, *Si in injuſto Mamona fideles non fuiſtis; quod eſt verum quis credet vobis? & ſi in alieno fideles non fuiſtis, quod eſt veſtrum quis dabit vobis?* Si vereris & metuis, ne ſi operari plurimum cæperis, patrimonio tuo largâ operatione finito, ad penuriam forte redigaris, eſto in hac parte intrepidus, eſto ſecurus. Finiri non poteſt unde in uſus Chriſti impenditur, unde opus cœleſte celebratur. *Cyprianus de opere, & eleemoſynâ.*

* Quid eſt igitur credulitas, aut fides? opinor hominem fideliter Chriſto credere eſt fidelem deo eſſe, hoc eſt fideliter Dei mandata ſervare ſicut enim ſervi hominum divitum aut procuratores, quibus vel ſupellectibus copioſa, vel cellaria opulenta creduntur, fideles abſque dubio dici non queunt, ſi res traditas devorarent: ſic profecto etiam Chriſtiani homines fideles non ſunt, ſi bona ſibi à Deo aſſignata corrumperent. *Salvianus lib.* 30.

3. If the works required by Saint *James* be not truly good without preſuppoſal of Faith, nor juſtification poſſible without preſuppoſal of ſuch works; the more operative we make Saint *Pauls* Faith, the more we rather draw than looſe this former knot, whoſe ſolution in this reſpect muſt be ſought by unfolding the divers acceptions of juſtification. Sometimes then it imports the Decree or purpoſe of God to juſtifie ſinful men, as [p] *whom he predeſtinated, them alſo he called, and whom he called, them alſo he juſtified, and whom he juſtified, them alſo he glorified.* About juſtification in this ſenſe, there either is, or need to be no controverſie, at leaſt none pertinent to the preſent purpoſe. But as God decreed before all times to create Man, yet did not create him until time had numbred ſix days: ſo although his purpoſe was from Eternity to juſtifie or abſolve us from our ſins, yet actually he doth not juſtifie or abſolve us before we have actual being, nor doth he juſtifie all that have ſuch being, but thoſe only which have the ſeals or pledges of his calling, of which, whoſoever are partakers, are in a ſecondary ſenſe accompted juſtified. How ſhall we (ſaith the Apoſtle) *that are dead to ſin, live yet therein? Know ye not that all we which have been baptized into Jeſus Chriſt, have been baptized into his death? we are buried then with him by baptiſm into his death.* All perſons baptized may be accounted juſtified in the ſame ſenſe they are dead to ſin: and dead all ſuch are to ſin, not really or actually, but by profeſſion, in as much as by receiving this outward ſeal of Gods Covenant, or other like pledges of his favour, they bind themſelves to abrogate the ſoveraignty of ſin in their mortal bodies, and to give their members Weapons of Righteouſneſs unto God. Thus when the Apoſtle ſpeaks indefinitely of all their ſalvation or juſtification, to whom he writes, his meaning can be no other than this, that all of them have received undoubted pledges of Gods mercy, and need not doubt of juſtification actual, or final abſolution, ſo they walk worthy of their calling. Their errour whoſe rectification Saint *James* ſought, did

(p) *Rom.* 8.

(q) *Rom.* 6. 2, 3, 4.

Non obſervance of this diſtinction between juſtification preſumed and accompliſhed, or on Gods part proclaimed & ſealed to us, hath made many Expoſitors (otherwiſe men of admirable judgment and ſagacity) run counter in ſome paſſages of S. Pauls *Epiſtles.*

did conſiſt in holding theſe outward ſeals, or conſpicuous tokens of Gods favour, whereby their *Aſſent* unto his promiſes as true was confirmed, ſufficient to final approbation or admiſſion into the inheritance of *Saints*, albeit they did not conſent unto every part of the Law as good in the practice. Concerning juſtification thus taken, there is at this day little or no controverſie, unleſs between the ſpirit and the fleſh, or between our own Conſcience and Satan, who ſtill labours to perſwade us this kind of juſtification might ſuffice. Thirdly, in as much as God decreed to juſtifie Man by Faith, which even in ſuch as are ſaved by it, is not ordinarily perfected in a moment, we are ſaid ſometimes to be juſtified, when the firſt Seeds of that Faith, which by taking firm root by fructification or perfection, added by the immediate hand of God becomes ſalvifical, are firſt ſown in our hearts. He that hath but a reſolution, for the preſent, ſincere, though variable, to walk in all the ways of his God, is in Scripture often inſtiled juſt or righteous, and may by this reſolution or purpoſe be truly ſaid, juſtified in the ſight of God, not abſolutely, but in reſpect of oppoſite prophaneneſs, or expreſs diſſimulation. [r] *If the righteous* (ſaith the Lord unto his Prophet) *turn away from his righteouſneſs and commit iniquities; in his tranſgreſſion that he committed, and in his ſin that he hath ſinned, in them he ſhall die.* And again, *The righteouſneſs of the righteous ſhall not deliver him in the day of tranſgreſſion, &c. when I ſhall ſay unto the righteous that he ſhall ſurely live, if he truſt to his own righteouſneſs, and commit iniquity, all his righteouſneſs ſhall be no more remembred, but for his iniquity that he hath committed, he ſhall die for the ſame.* And unto ſuch as are here ſpecified, though not unto ſuch alone that ſpeech of Saint *John* is literally appliable. [ſ] *Qui juſtus eſt juſtificetur adhuc: he that is righteous let him be righteous ſtill,* or more juſtified. Nor can that other of St. *Paul* be reſtrained to thoſe that have attained ſaving Faith or final abſolution, [t] *The hearers of the Law are not righteous before God, but the doers of the Law ſhall be juſtified.* That is, God doth approve their deeds ſo far as they are conſonant to his law, and accounts the ſincere practice of moral duties, whereunto light of nature did lead the *Gentiles* much better than the outward obſervance of legal Ceremonies, or *ſabbatarian* delight in hearing. *Thou art not far from the Kingdom of God* (ſaith our [u] Saviour to him that had diſcreetly acknowledged this truth) *to love the Lord with all the heart, and with all the underſtanding, and with all the ſoul, and with all the ſtrength, and to love his neighbour as himſelf, is more than all burnt Offerings and Sacrifices.* Now if by ſuch works as the Heathen or Auditors of the Law not yet ſanctified, often practiſed, much more by thoſe works which accompany true and lively Faith, we may in a higher degree of the ſame ſence be accounted, juſtified; that is approveable in the ſight of God, or paſſively capable of a final abſolution, or effectual juſtification. And this was all Saint *James* meant in that aſſertion. [w] *Ye ſee then how that a man of works is juſtified and not of Faith only,* which words are but equivalent to the like precedent: [x] *what availeth it my brethren, though a man ſay he hath Faith when he hath no works? can the faith ſave him?* The concluſion intended in both places, as in that whole diſcourſe, was no more but thus. No man may preſume he is already in the ſtate of juſtification or Salvation, unleſs he find himſelf unpartially devoted unto good works of every kind. Or albeit his Faith have once or twice ſhewed it ſelf by his works, or readineſs to do Gods will, he muſt not here

(r) *Ezech.* 18. 24.

(ſ) *Revel.* 22. 2.

(t) *Rom.* 2. 13.

(u) *Mark* 12. 33, 34.

(w) *James* 2. 24.

(x) *Ver.* 14.

ſet up his reſt, or rely on what is paſt: *Abraham* had obeyed Gods will once in [y] leaving his Fathers Houſe, and again in cancelling his own reſolution for making his [z] ſervant his Heir, upon Gods promiſe to make his Seed like the Stars of Heaven: his belief hereof was accounted to him for righteouſneſs: But did he thus juſtified by Faith ceaſe to work? No, his Faith by working became more perfect, and improved his former approbation, of being reputed righteous, ſo far as to be thenceforth called the friend of God. And this was written for our inſtruction, *ut qui juſtus eſt juſtificetur adhuc*, that every one which hath attained to moral hope of Salvation, ſhould make his election ſure by practice of ſuch works as perfect Faith, and enapt it for ſure reliance on Gods promiſes. Did Saint *Paul* then ever affirm, that a man could be ſaved or juſtified without ſuch works? No, he always ſuppoſed them as a qualification moſt neceſſary in the party which expected final abſolution or benefit of Gods general pardon. In what ſenſe then doth he ſay we are juſtified by Faith, not by works? Not by works Ceremonial? Not by ſuch as were the beſt that *Abraham* or *David* ever did. The form of *Solomons* interrogation, [[b] *who can ſay I have made mine heart clean, I am clean from my ſin,*] ſuppoſeth his Father could never have truly avouched thus much; yea *David* himſelf even in his beſt days and pureſt thoughts, unfeignedly diſclaims all ſuch purity or perfection as this brief demand (to reſerve others and the full handling of this to their proper place) is for the preſent proof ſufficient; *Who can underſtand his faults? cleanſe me from my ſecret ſins.* This aſſures us there is another acception of juſtification yet behind, moſt frequent with Saint [c] *Paul*, to wit, the actual ſentence of the judge acquitting or abſolving us, or for final abſolution or actual acquittance of the parties ſo qualified, as Saint *James* requires. And as we are not capable of Gods promiſes of eternal life, or happineſs without works, (and yet we apprehend them not by works but by Faith) ſo this final ſentence of joy and Comfort, is apprehended by Faith alone; although ſo truly apprehended it cannot be by parties deſtitute of works, nor do we only by Faith alone apprehend the truth or derive the benefit of divine promiſes to our ſelves, but by it alone (though accompanied with all other ſanctifying graces, and attended with the whole train of works, moral or Ceremonial) we expect and pray the promiſes may be fulfilled, not for our ſakes or for any righteouſneſs we have in us, or can hope for in this life, but only for the merits of *Chriſt*, by his ſole mediation and interceſſion.

4. The ſeeming contradiction between theſe two great Apoſtles, is hence eaſily and cleerly thus diſſolved; Saint *James*, affirming we are juſtified by works and not by Faith alone, ſpeaks of the paſſive qualification in the ſubject or party to be juſtified or made capable of abſolute approbation, or final abſolution; this qualification ſuppoſed, Saint *Paul* ſpeaks of the application of the ſentence, or of the ground of our plea for abſolution; the one (by his doctrine) muſt be conceived, and the other ſought for only by Faith; the immediate and only cauſe of both he ſtill contends not to be in us, but without us, and for this reaſon, when he affirms that we are juſtified by Faith alone, he conſiders not Faith as it is part of our qualification inherent, or the foundation of other graces, but as it includes the correlative term or immediate cauſe of juſtification whereunto it alone hath peculiar reference, or continual aſpect. This is that which in other

(y) Gen. 12. ver. 1, 2, &c.

(z) Gen. 15. v.3,4,5,6.

(a) Gen. 22. ver. 12. Jam.2.v.23.

(b) Pro. 20.9.

Pſal. 19. v.9.

(c) *In this ſenſe is it taken by S.* Paul, Rom. 8. v. 33, 34. *Who ſhall lay any thing to the charge of Gods choſen: it is God that juſtifieth. Who ſhall condemn? It is Chriſt which is dead, yea, or rather which is riſen again, who is alſo at the right hand of God, and maketh requeſt alſo for us.*

terms ſome have delivered: *fides juſtificat relativè, non effectivè aut formaliter: faith juſtifies relatively, not formally or by way of merit or efficiency.* To this purpoſe he alledgeth the Prophets teſtimony; [d] *the juſt ſhall live by his Faith.* Faith then makes him juſt, and juſtifies him in that ſenſe Saint *James* meant, as it is operative; but he lives by it as it unites him to the Lord of life; yea by it alone, in as much as by it alone, not by it and other parts of grace as joint ſupporters, he truſts in Gods mercies offered in *Chriſt* wholly relying on them, not partly on them, and partly on righteouſneſs inherent. That the Prophet in Faith included this confidence and reliance upon Gods mercies in *Chriſt*, was a point unto the judicious [e] *Saſbout* ſo clear, that if the Apoſtle in the firſt to the *Romans* had otherwiſe taken it, he knew not how they could be reconciled. That ſo much it imports in the tenth and eleventh to the Hebrews, is evident, and will ſo appear from the very propoſal of his ſpeeches. [f] *Caſt not away therefore your confidence; which hath great recompence of reward. For ye have need of patience, that after ye have done the will of God, ye might receive the promiſe. For yet a little while, and he that ſhall come, will come, and will not tarry. Now the juſt ſhall live by Faith: but if any man draw back, my ſoul ſhall have no pleaſure in him. But we are not of them who draw back unto perdition; but of them that believe to the ſaving of the ſoul.* That *Paul*, whereſoever he attributes juſtification to Faith alone, always includes the principal object of true Faith, as the ſole immediate cauſe, whereby of men juſtifiable, becauſe actually partakers of Gods graces, we become actually juſtified or abſolved, his Comment upon theſe words of *Moſes*, [g] *Abraham believed God, and it was counted unto him for righteouſneſs*, doth put it out of controverſie. Was it therefore ſuch righteouſneſs as deſerved abſolution or reward? Rather rewarded as ſuch, by gracious acceptance, as is there implied. *Now to him that worketh, is the reward not reckoned of grace but of debt, but to him that worketh not:* to the loyterer or idle perſon? No, to him that faithfully works, as *Abraham* did, and yet ſeeks ſalvation only by firm belief in him which juſtifies the ungodly, his Faith or rather his Faith thus ſet upon its proper objects is imputed to him for righteouſneſſes. But the Jeſuit demands when is it thus imputed. After grace infuſed, or while it remains inherent, or at the firſt infuſion only? Not after grace infuſed, by which (in his divinity) he ceaſeth to be impious. Was *Abraham* then deſtitute of inherent grace, before he believed the promiſe concerning *Iſaac*? So ſome [h] *Romaniſts* conſequently to their Churches erroneous interpretation of Scripture, have avouched, whom *Bellarmine* dares not follow. Of *Bellarmine* therefore we demand, why Saint *Paul* ſhould inſtance in *Abraham*, his purpoſe being, as he and all his fellows agree, only to ſhew that the *firſt juſtification* is not attained by works, but by Faith? For inferring this concluſion, the juſtification of *Rahab* had been more fit: for in Saint *Pauls* dialect, ſhe received the Meſſengers by Faith; being, as *Bellarmine* grants, deſtitute of all grace before. But thus he anſwers.

(d) *Rom.* 1. *v.* 17. *Galat.* 3. 11.

(e) Cum hoc loco propheta nomine fidei & perſuaſionem ſive aſſenſum firmum mentis, & fiduciam ſive ſpem comprehenderit, certum eſt Apoſtolum quoq; dum ait: *Juſtitia Dei in eo revelatur ex fide in fidem,* ſic accepiſſe fidem, ut utrumq; complectatur. Nec detorſit Apoſtolus, ſed proprie uſus eſt vaticinio prophetæ, ad ſuæ ſententiæ confirmationem. Nam licet cortex literæ proponat captivitatem populi Judaici ſub rege Babyloniorum, & liberationem quæ facta eſt per Cyrum, non tamen ille precipuus ſenſus eſt, ſed alius qui latet ſub cortice literæ, qui eſt de captivitate humani generis ſub tyrannide Diaboli & liberationem quæ facta eſt per Chriſtum Sasbout in 1. ad verſum. 17.

(f) *Heb.* 10. *v.* 35.

(g) *Rom.* 4. *v.* 3, 4, 5, 6.

(*h*) De verbis Pauli major eſt difficultas, non deſunt, qui exiſtiment, Abrahamum tunc primum juſtificatum eſſe à peccatis, cum credidit Deo, promittenti filium & cum de eo dictum eſt: *Credidit Abraham Deo, & reputatum eſt ei ad juſtitiam.* Ita docet Anſelmus in Comment ad ca. 4. ad Roman. & eandem ſententiam indicare videtur S. Auguſtinus præfat. in Pſal. 31. cum ait exponens hunc locum: Ergo ex fide juſtificatus eſt Abraham, & ſi opera non præceſſerunt tamen ſequuta ſunt. Et ſiquidem hæc opinio vera eſſet, nulla eſſet in Paulo difficultas,

anſwers. *As* Paul *when he ſpake of the firſt juſtification brought the example of* Abraham, *which belonged to the ſecond to prove* (à majori) *that no unjuſt man is juſtified by works without Faith, ſeeing juſt* Abraham *was not made more juſt by works without Faith: ſo Saint* James *when he ſpake of the ſecond juſtification* (whereby a juſt man becomes more juſt) *brought in the example of* Rahab *which was pertinent to the firſt juſtification* (whereby an impious or unregenerate man becomes juſt) *to ſhew* à majori, *that a juſt man is made more juſt by works, and not of Faith only; ſeeing* Rahab *of an Harlot was made juſt by works, not by Faith only. For it is very probable ſhe was not only an Harlot, but an Infidel, before ſuch time as ſhe received the Meſſengers; but from that time to have believed in God, as being prepared to juſtification by that work of mercy, yet ſo as that good work done by Faith was not ſimply meritorious of juſtification, but imperfectly and by way of congruity.*

cæterum non auderem dicere, Abrahamum non fuiſſe multo ante juſtificatum, quam de eo dictum ſit: *Credidit Abraham Deo, &c.*

Dico igitur Paulum uſum eſſe ex Abrahæ, non ut ſignificaret, Abraha tunc primum juſtificatum fuiſſe à peccatis, ſed oſtenderet, non juſtificari impium ex operibus ſine fide & gratia Dei. Nam ſi Abraham juſtus, non eſt factus juſtior, ex operibus ſine fide.

Igitur Apoſtolus ad Rom. 4. loquitur de prima juſtificatione qua quis ex impio fit juſtus: tametſi ad probandum eam non fieri ex operibus, ſed ex fide, exemplum petat à ſecunda juſtificatione, qua quis ex juſto fit juſtior. Quare Paulus & Jacobus conſentiunt omnino in exemplo Abrahæ, & verbis Moſis intelligendis, quamvis ad varias concluſiones probandas illis utantur.

Porro ſicut Paulus cum loqueretur de prima juſtificatione, attulit exemplum Abrahæ, quod erat ſecundæ, ut probaret, à majori, non poſſe impium juſtificari ex operibus ſine fide: ſi Abraham juſtus non eſt factus juſtior ex operibus ſine fide: ſic Jacobus cum loqueretur de ſecunda juſtificatione, attulit exemplum *Rahab*, quod eſt primæ juſtificationis, ut probaret, à majori, juſtum fieri juſtiorem ex operibus, & non ex fide tantum; ſi *Rahab* ex meretrice facta eſt juſta ex operibus & non ex fide tantum. Nam probabile eſt valde. *Rahab* uſq; ad illud tempus, quo ſuſcepit nuncios *Joſue*, fuiſſe non ſolum meretricem, ſed etiam infidelem: ſed ab eo tempore credidiſſe in Deum & opere illo miſericordiæ præparatam fuiſſe ad juſtificationem, ita ut bonum illud opus ex fide factum non fuerit meritorium ſimpliciter juſtificationis, ſed imperfectè & de congruo, ut ſupra diximus de diſpoſitionibus ad gratiam. *Bellar. lib. 4. de Juſt. cap.* 18.

5. Surely this Authors ill will unto us was greater, than either the love or reverence he bare unto Saint *Paul*, upon whoſe words, leſt they ſhould ſeem to favour our *cauſe* too much, he labours to faſten a meaning, as ridiculous, as thwart and contradictory to his purpoſe, as the Devil himſelf could have deviſed: howbeit to acquit himſelf from ſuſpicion of partiality, or particular ſpleen againſt Saint *Paul*, he ſpares not to father a ſenſe and meaning altogether as fooliſh upon Saint *James*, as if the like palpable abuſe offered to him had been a ſatisfaction ſufficient for the wrong done to his fellow Apoſtle. The Reader in the mean time cannot but hence take notice, unto what miſerable plunges our adverſaries in this point are put, when the Sons are thus inforced violently to ſtumble againſt their Mother fallen, by daſhing againſt the ſtone of offence to men Jewiſhly minded, but the only ſure foundation of life to ſuch as ſeek ſalvation aright; as alſo how one abſurdity ſuffered to paſs by publick authority, imboldens inferiours to forge licences for a thouſand. The [i] *Trent* Council, ignorant of any better, hath given fair hints unto her Children, for reconciling the former ſeeming contradiction betwixt St. *Paul* and St. *James* as they expreſly do: [That St. *Paul* when he affirms we are juſtified freely by Faith without works muſt be underſtood of the firſt juſtification whereby we receive grace without any worth or merit precedent: St. *James* when he affirms we are juſtified by works and not by Faith alone implies the increment of grace or righteouſneſs in the godly.] But what had Saint *James* to do with this ſecond juſtification when as the parties whom he propoſed to refute had altogether erred from the firſt? Did he intend they ſhould accumulate juſtifications as we do degrees in Schools, and be twice juſtified at once? Suppoſe he did, yet muſt the ſecond juſtification go (in order) before the firſt! Or admitting he ſpake ambiguouſly or indeterminately

(i) *Seſſ. 6. ca.* 8. & 10.

terminately of both, and authorized the Church when any controverſie ſhould ariſe to diſpoſe of his voice, for either as ſhe pleaſed, yet what inſtance could worſe befit the ſecond juſtification, whereto the [k] Romiſh Church applies his meaning, then *Rahab*, who till that time, as *Bellarmine* grants, was not only an Infidel but an Harlot, and therefore an impious perſon deſtitute of grace, and if ſhe were juſtified or obtained the grace of juſtification by this work done in Faith without Grace, as the ſame Writer gloſſes upon this Text, how ſhall we reconcile him to the Romiſh Church which hath peremptorily determined, that the grace of juſtification is not obtained by works, and to this purpoſe cites that of *Paul*; *If it be grace, then is it not of works, otherwiſe grace ſhould be no grace.*

(k) Gratis autem juſtificari dicamur, quia nihil eorum, quæ juſtificationem præcedunt, ſive fides, ſive opera, ipſam juſtificationis gratiam promeretur. Si enim gratia eſt, jam non ex operibus: alioquin ut idem Apoſtolus inquit, gratia jam non eſt gratia. Concil. Trident Seſs. 6. cap. 8.

Unto this difficulty which thus divides the tongues of *Babel*, our anſwer is eaſie and conſonant to the perpetual voice of Gods ſpirit. [*Rahab* was juſtified according to Saint *James* his mind (this is preſumed as juſt or juſtifiable) as well by works as by Faith, becauſe her works were a neceſſary part of that Inherent Righteouſneſs, which muſt be in every one that lives by Faith] for though we live by Faith only, yet only the juſt ſo live. This no way contradicts Saint *Paul*, becauſe ſhe did not ſeek Salvation by works, but did therefore work, that ſhe might lay ſure hold on Gods Promiſes only by Faith; which is always as unable or unapt to juſtifie, to ſue for Grace, or apprehend Gods mercies aright, as it is to work when occaſion is offered. More repugnant is this diſtinction of *Juſtification firſt and ſecond* to Saint *Pauls* mind or purpoſe: or ſuppoſe, though he did not intend or acknowledge it, his diſcourſe notwithſtanding might admit of it: there is leſs reaſon why his words ſhould be retracted, as *Bellarmine* doth, to the firſt Juſtification, than why thoſe words of Saint *James*, [*Of works a man is juſtified, and not of Faith only*] ſhould be extended to the ſecond; or if *Pauls* might in part be applyable to it; *David* and *Abraham*, which he makes the main ground of his diſpute, are the moſt unfit inſtances that could have been choſen in all the Scriptures: *Abraham*, our adverſaries grant, was juſt before his belief of that promiſe, which was imputed to him for righteouſneſs: yet then rejuſtified, *Not by Works, though not without Faith*, as *Bellarmine* minceth, but by Faith without Works, as the Apoſtle ſtrongly and peremptorily infers. For to believe Gods promiſes concerning the Birth of *Iſaac*, was the ſole act of Faith; yet by this act was *Abraham* juſtified, not the firſt time, as *Bellarmine* grants: Wherefore Faith without Works did juſtifie him the ſecond time, unleſs he take Juſtification otherwiſe than Saint *Paul* there doth. And if this [l] very ſame Scripture which ſaith *Abraham believed God concerning* Iſaacs *birth, and it was imputed unto him for righteouſneſs*, were as Saint *James* avoucheth, again fulfilled in the offering of *Iſaac*; he was juſtified the third time only by believing God, not by his work never accompliſhed, if we take *belief* and *juſtification* in the ſame ſenſe the Holy Spirit by the mouth of *Paul* doth in the Epiſtles to the *Hebrews* and the *Romans*. Though to offer up *Iſaac* in Sacrifice were a work, yet did *Abraham* offer him only by Faith, (becauſe Faith only impelled him to this work;) yea by the very ſame act of Faith which had been imputed to him for righteouſneſs. * *He conſidered* (ſaith Saint *Paul*) *that God was able to raiſe him up even*

(l) *James* 2. 23.

* *Heb.* 11. 19.

even from the dead, from whence alſo he received him in a figure. And as he ſtaggered not at the firſt promiſe concerning his birth through unbelief; ſo neither did he now diſpute with God about the lawfulneſs of his act, nor reaſon how he ſhould be raiſed again. [m] Juſtified he was at both inſtants by his belief, not as terminated to his work, or to the poſſibility of *Iſaacs* birth and reſurrection, but as through them it found acceſs to his birth, death, and reſurrection, whom *Iſaac* prefigured. Having performed Gods will in obeying his command to Sacrifice his only Son, he patiently expected the promiſe concerning his Redeemer, whoſe Incarnation, whoſe Sufferings and Exaltation are objects of Faith, not of works, effected by God, and not by Man, although to the like application of their benefits, the like works as were in *Abraham* be moſt neceſſary, ſeeing true belief of this promiſe, as in the firſt [n] Section was declared, virtually includes the ſame mind in us that was in Chriſt, a readineſs to do works of every kind, which notwithſtanding are no aſſocitaes of Faith in the buſineſs of Juſtification. [o] *Not to be weak in Faith, not to doubt of the Promiſe through unbelief, to be ſtrengthned in Faith, to be fully perſwaded that he which had promiſed was able alſo to perform*; were pure acts of Faith (though virtually including works) as proper thereto, as forcibly excluding all other vertues from ſharing with it in this buſineſs, as can poſſibly be conceived: yet (ſaith the Apoſtle) even for theſe acts late mentioned, *it was imputed to him for righteouſneſs.* How prepoſterous then and baſely ſhuffling are the gloſſes put by ***Bellarmine*** upon the Apoſtle in this place, as if his purpoſe had been to ſhew, that the impious and unjuſt could not be juſtified by works only, becauſe *Abraham*, though juſt before, was not made more juſt by meer works without Faith, when as he levels his whole diſcourſe to the clean contrary point maintained by us: That ſeeing righteouſneſs was imputed to *Abraham* by Faith and not through Works, none after him ſhould in this life at any time, whether before or after the infuſion of Grace, or Inherent Righteouſneſs, preſume to ſeek or hope for like approbation from God, otherwiſe than only by Faith. Thus much the Apoſtle hath as fully and plainly expreſſed, as any Ingenuous Reader can deſire. * *Now it was not written for his ſake alone that it* (to wit the ſtrength and full aſſurance of his Faith) *was imputed to him for righteouſneſs, but alſo for us, to whom it* (the like Faith) *ſhall be imputed for righteouſneſs, if we believe in him that raiſed up* Jeſus *our Lord from the dead.* The ground of the Apoſtles reaſon or ſimilitude here mentioned (wherein the force and ſtrength of our Argument is included) ſuppoſeth all our Righteouſneſs, whether actual or habitual, ſhould be as unapt to attain everlaſting life or Salvation (which is the end of all Graces beſtowed upon us) as *Abraham*'s decrepit body was to produce ſo many Nations: yet as he only by believing God, who was able to effect thus much and more, obtained the Promiſe, and was bleſſed with more Children from *Sarahs* dead womb, than the moſt fruitful Parents that lived before, or ſhould come after them; ſo we only by like firm belief

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(m) Videtur etiam promiſſio, quæ ſcribitur, Cap. 15. intelligenda de poſteritate multiplicanda ſecundum numerum ſtellarum, per ſemen, in quo benedicendæ eſſent omnes nationes terræ. Quod ſi contendas, (cum illo capite non fiat mentio illius ſemina quod eſt Chriſtus) textum tantum loqui ad literam de carnali poſteritate; præſertim cum Apoſtolus in ſequentibus tantùm urgeat, fidem de corporali poſteritate, qui contra ſpem (inquiens) in ſpem credidit, &c. Reſpondere licet ad propoſitam difficultatem, fidem de qua loquitur Geneſis, tametſi non eſſet de Chriſto ut de objecto innixam tamen fuiſſe fidei vel fiduciæ de Chriſto: vel ſi de eo nondum acceperat expreſſam revelationem, certè innixam fuiſſe miſericordiæ Dei paratæ hominibus. Et ſimiliter ſentiendum eſt de aliis quibuſvis promiſſionibus corporalibus: quod fides quæ circa illas verſabatur Deo placuit, ſed in illis in quibus erat fides ſine fiducia miſericordiæ divinæ. *Sasbout* in cap. 4. ad Rom.

(n) Chap. 8.

(o) Rom. 14. 19, 20.

* Rom. 4. 23.

lief in the ſame God, *which raiſed up our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt *from the dead*, ſhall be partakers of the Promiſe made in him, Heirs of eternal life; whereto ſeeing our Inherent Righteouſneſs hath no proportion, it muſt for this reaſon ſtill be ſued for, as a meer gift of God, farther exceeding all deſert of any ſupernatural Grace in us, than the mighty increaſe of *Abrahams* Seed did the ſtrength of his decayed nature.

6. The firſt ſpring of all Romiſh Errors in this Argument, iſſues out of their general ignorance of Saint *Pauls* phraſe, amongſt many of whoſe ſayings, ſeeming hard and incompatible with their School-conceits, that [p] *Rom.* 4. *of Gods juſtifying the impious and ungodly*, miniſters greateſt offence, and cauſeth them to invert the courſe of their Divinity quite contrary to the Apoſtles method. To pronounce him juſt, that is, internally impious and unjuſt, cannot in their School-learning ſtand with Gods truth: but to make him, which ere while was by nature unjuſt and impious, inherently and perfectly juſt, by plentiful infuſion of Grace, is an Argument (as they deem) of his goodneſs, no diſparagement to his juſtice, as perchance it were not, might we judge of his purpoſe to ſave ſinners by the rules of Humane reaſon, never conſulting the Canons of life. But if we conceive of Gods Grace by his Comments, in whom it dwelt in great abundance; this very conceit of being juſtified by its inherence, includes extream antipathy to the nature, and utterly perverts the right uſe of it; as to reſtrain the ſame Apoſtles ſpeeches to the firſt Juſtification or prime infuſion of Inherent Righteouſneſs (which is the neceſſary conſequent of the former error) is contradictiouſly to conteſt with the Spirit by which he uttered theſe Divine Oracles. For, *If believing him which juſtifies the impious, were imputed for righteouſneſs unto Abraham*, after he had been, for a long time, more righteous than the ordinary ſort of Gods Saints or Elect; *Abraham* all this while unfeignedly believed himſelf to be a ſinner, no way juſtified in himſelf, but ſeeking to be juſtified by him, who if he ſhew not mercy unto ſinners, whiles they are ſinners, all mankind ſhould utterly periſh. Againſt this poiſonous leaven wherewith the Phariſee firſt, and the Romaniſt his Succeſſor ſince hath infected the bread of life, and tainted the firſt fruits of Gods Spirit. Saint *Paul* preſcribes that Catholick Antidote. [q] *There is no difference, all have ſinned, and are deprived of the glory of God, and are juſtified freely by his Grace, through the Redemption which is in Chriſt Jeſus.* *Abraham* was all his life time comprehended in this Catalogue, and is made by the Apoſtle, as a perpetual, ſo a principal inſtance of that final reſolution: [r] *Therefore we conclude, that a man is Juſtified by Faith without the works of the Law.* Was he then in no ſort juſtified by works? Yes he might boldly conteſt, as *Job* did, and every godly man yet ſafely may, with others for integrity of life and plenty of works in which he might juſtly rejoyce or glory [s] ***yet with men not with God.*** In this ſenſe their reſolution, which ſay we are juſtified by works before men, not before God, is moſt true, and warranted by that place of [t] S. *Paul*; only let

them

(p) *This ſpeech of Saint* Paul *is but paralleld to that of Saint* John, 1 John 1. 8. *If we ſay that we have no ſin, we deceive our ſelves, and the truth is not in us. As the juſtification whereof Saint* Paul *ſpeaks, conſiſts in the acknowledgment of our ſins required by this Apoſtle in the words following. If we acknowledge our ſins, he is faithful and juſt to forgive us our ſins, and to cleanſe us from all unrighteouſneſs.*

(q) Rom. 3. 23

(r) Rom. 3. 28

(s) Rom. 4. 2.

(t) *Works proceeding from Grace Inherent, juſtifie only in reſpect of men, yet thus far they juſtifie us, not before men only, but before God: Nor is it poſſible for any man not thus far juſtified by working Grace, to make the right plea of Faith, whereby juſtification properly taken, that is, final abſolution is attained.*

them not hence deny, or occaſion others to forget, that ſuch integrity or comparative righteouſneſs inherent, is neceſſarily preſuppoſed to Juſtification in the ſight of God, and doth not only declare our Faith or Juſtification to men; ſeeing it implies a contradiction in the unanimous tenet of all Reformed Churches, to admit Faith precedent and works only ſubſequent, to the Juſtification whereof *Paul* here ſpeaks. His drift and ſcope in that *third* and *fourth* to the *Romans*, is only this: That although men may be truly juſt and holy in reſpect of others, and rich in all manner of works that are good, as *Abraham* was thus far known and approved, not by men only but by God: yet when they appear before his Tribunal, who beſt knows as well the imperfection, as the truth of their integrity; they muſt ſtill frame their ſupplications, *ſub forma pauperis*, yea, *ſub forma impii*, always acknowledging themſelves to be *unprofitable ſervants*, always praying; Lord forgive us our ſins, and be merciful to us miſerable ſinners. The only complement of all Inherent Righteouſneſs poſſible in this life, is this perpetual unfeigned acknowledgment of our unrighteouſneſs, whereby we are made immediately capable of his righteouſneſs, which alone can cover our ſins, as being alone without all ſtain or mixture of impiety. The like unfeigned acknowledgment of their ſins or faithful plea for mercy, the Hypocrites or men devoid of Faith or Grace inherent, cannot poſſibly make, as ſhall anon be declared. This abſolute neceſſity, and utter inſufficiency of Works or Righteouſneſs Inherent to Juſtification in the ſight of God, is as perſpicuous from the Apoſtles inſtance in *David*, who had reſolved this doubt, [[u] *Lord who ſhall dwell in thy Tabernacle? who ſhall reſt in thine holy Mountain*] with S. *James*: (*He that walketh uprightly, and worketh Righteouſneſs, and ſpeaketh the truth in his heart.*) He had pronounced a bleſſing [w] *to the man that walketh not in the counſel of the wicked, but ſetteth his delight in the Law of the Lord*; ſhall we imagine ſuch a man to be without works? *The Lord* (as he adds) *knoweth the way of the righteous*, which is as much as Saint *James* meant by Juſtification, as much as was ſaid to [x] *Abraham* upon that fact, by which, as the Apoſtle ſaith, he was juſtified. For that God ſhould *know their ways*, implies his approbation of their perſons for men upright and intire in reſpect of hypocrites and fruitleſs hearers; of their works, for ſuch as he requires in the parties to be juſtified by him. Were they therefore juſtified, or finally acquitted, by or for their works? If finally acquitted, then bleſſed likewiſe for them. Now in oppoſition to this Phariſaical conceit, S. *Paul* directed by the *Spirit*, who beſt knew the Pſalmiſts full meaning in every paſſage, upon what occaſions, and unto what point he ſpake directly, brings in *David* himſelf, deriving the bleſſedneſs uſually pronounced in Scriptures, to the entire and upright in heart from Gods mercies, as from its only true and immediate cauſe, not from their uprightneſs or integrity, with which it hath connexion only final (as being applyed only to parties thus qualified) none original. [y] *To him that worketh not, but believeth in him that juſtifieth the ungodly, his Faith is counted for Righteouſneſs; even as* David *declareth the bleſſedneſs of the man unto whom God imputeth righteouſneſs without works, ſaying.* [z] *Bleſſed are they whoſe iniquities are forgiven, and whoſe ſins are covered. Bleſſed is the man to whom the Lord imputeth no ſin.* The man then *in whoſe ſpirit is no guile* (for of ſuch the Pſalmiſt ſpeaketh) is juſtified not becauſe of his ſincerity, but becauſe the Lord imputeth not that ſin unto him

(u) Pſal. 15. 1, 2.

(w) Pſal. 1. 1. Pſal. 1. 6.

(x) Gen. 22. 12.

(y) Rom. 4. 5, 6, 7, 8.

(z) Pſal. 32. 1, 2.

him, which he ſtill unfeignedly acknowledgeth to be in him, continually praying, [a] *Lord enter not into judgment with thy ſervant*, always confeſſing, *Lord in thy ſight no fleſh living ſhall be juſtified*, to wit, otherwiſe than by not entring into judgment, or by *non-imputation* of his ſins. Thus you ſee even the beſt of Gods Saints ſeek juſtification only by Faith with Saint *Paul*, and yet require thereto with Saint *James*, *Pure Religion and undefiled in the ſight of God even the Father*.

(a) Pſa. 143. 2.

7. This reconcilement of the ſeeming contradiction between theſe two Apoſtles hitherto proſecuted, doth voluntarily preſent it ſelf to ſuch as conſider the ſeveral occaſions of their writings, and take not their ſpeeches as they now lye moſt commodiouſly for application unto modern oppoſitions: For one and the ſame Phyſician to preſcribe medicines much different to diſeaſes altogether diverſe or quite contrary, would neither impeach him of unskilfulneſs or unconſtancy. The very contrariety of their errors, with whom theſe two Apoſtles had to deal, would draw ſpeeches from any one of us that ſhould ſeverally intend their refutation, in form as contradictory as theirs be, yet both fully conſonant to the truth, becauſe rightly proportioned to their oppoſite ends.

The Jew, whoſe Hereſie S. *Paul* labours to avert from the *Romans*, and to root out of the *Galathians*, looked for a Meſſias immediately to crown the conceited perfection of their works with honour on Earth, and glory in Heaven, not one that ſhould be the end and perfection of the Law, to free them from the curſe it had brought upon them, or to reconcile them unto God by his Righteouſneſs. To beat down this pride, there was no remedy poſſible beſides Faith in *Chriſt*, no method ſo available as that he uſeth; firſt ſetting forth the haniouſneſs of ſin, and neceſſity of its inherence, whoſe conſideration might deject them; afterwards preſſing Gods mercies in *Chriſt* offered to all that would deny themſelves, confeſs their ſins, and by Faith unfeigned relie on their Redeemers ſatisfaction. Saint *James* diſputes againſt the oppoſite error of the Libertines, who preſumed the merits and perpetual mediation of *Chriſt* to be not only moſt neceſſary, but in themſelves ſufficient to ſave all that did apprehend them as true, although deſtitute of ſuch works, as their calling required, and as Gods decree exacted for the effectual application of Chriſts all-ſufficient merits; which for this reaſon are ſcarce metioned by this Apoſtle, becauſe magnified they were, though not too much, yet amiſs by the parties whom he refutes. Their contempt or wanton inverting of Gods Graces offered, or in part received, was no leſs hainous or prepoſterous, than if *Bartimeus*, or others in his caſe called by our Saviour, in hope to recover their ſight, ſhould have deſired him rather to have made ſuch a new *Sun* as might make blind men ſee, without any internal light in the eye, or alteration in the organ of ſight. Not by any neceſſity of nature, but by the will and purpoſe of the Almighty; grace and righteouſneſs inherent, though imperfect, are as neceſſary for effectual adherence or union to *Chriſt*, as the Chriſtal humour of the eye, or right conſtitution of the whole organ is for perception of colours or light external. Hence is the ſeeming inconvenience ariſing from Saint *James* his caſual form of ſpeech (ἐξ ἔργων δικαιοῦται ἄνθρωπος) eaſily anſwered. For the immediate and principal cauſe preſuppoſed, it is uſual to attribute a kind of caſuality to the qualification of the ſubject, though requiſite only as a meer paſſive diſpoſition, without which the principal or ſole agent ſhould want his efficacy. To one demanding why the Moon ſhould be Eclipſed, when the Earth is directly interpoſed between it and the body of the Sun, this form of ſpeech would neither be improper nor impertinent, (*becauſe the Moon hath no light, but what ſhe borrows from the Sun.*) Yet if the queſtion were abſolutely propoſed, *why the Moon were eclipſed*, as no other anſwer would ſerve, ſo this alone were ſufficient, *becauſe the body of the earth, (which is not tranſpenetrable by any light) is directly interpoſed between the Sun and the Moon.* Or if it be queſtioned how the *Iſraelites* being ſtung with Serpents were ſaved, the reply is good and formal, *by the ſign of Salvation, which God had erected.* But ſome we may ſuppoſe died after it was erected; what was the reaſon? they did not ſtedfaſtly look upon it, ſhall we then abſolutely ſay the *Iſraelites* were ſaved not only by this ſign of Salvation, which God hath given them, but by their eye-ſight, as it was a faculty or quality inherent? This was a qualification indeed ſo requiſite in the ſubject to be healed, that ſuch as were without it, were deprived of ordinary means of preſervation, yet none, to ſpeak properly and abſolutely, were ſaved by their eye-ſight, but only by the object of their ſight, or rather by both, as they had relation to him, whoſe victory over the great Serpent and grand enemy of mankind, the manner of the Brazen Serpents erection repreſented. This laſt inſtance will apply it ſelf unto the point in hand. Works or Righteouſneſs Inherent, include no other caſualty of Juſtification or Salvation, than the *Iſraelites* eye-ſight did of their ſafety, their preſence, notwithſtanding, and precedence is in the ſame rank or order neceſſary. Chriſt only is the true and immediate cauſe of healing us from the ſting of death, as the Brazen Serpent was of the *Iſraelites* temporal recovery from the ſting of deadly Serpents. Thus much of the agreement between Saint *Paul* and Saint *James*: now of the Agreements and Differences betwixt the Romiſh Church and ours.

CHAP. VII.

Of the differences betwixt us and the Romiſh Church concerning juſtification, or the right uſe or meaſure of grace or righteouſneſs inherent.

1. BOth grant Gods Decree or purpoſe to juſtifie ſinful man to be an act of meer mercy. Final abſolution or approbation they make no act of mercy, but rather of juſtice in God, becauſe it preſuppoſeth abſolute righteouſneſs in us. Both grant Chriſt to be the ſole meritorious and proper efficient cauſe of that grace which is firſt infuſed: whoſe reparation or increaſe is by their doctrine, partly of grace (becauſe the foundation of it was meer grace precedent) partly of [b] debt, becauſe they merit theſe additions by right uſe of their free will. Whence they cannot without contradiction hold Chriſt to be the ſole meritorious efficient cauſe of their ſecond juſtification, or that grace whereby they become more juſt, or better approved in the ſight of God. But about the uſe or importance of this tearm *juſtification* in Saint *Pauls* Writings, we diſſent. They contend it implies as much as to be inherently juſt or righteous. Many learned Proteſtants have copiouſly ſhewed it to be a Law phraſe equivalent to abſolution from the ſentence of juſtice, acquital, or the like. To their allegations notwithſtanding a wayward Papiſt will not yield; becauſe it is ſometimes taken in that ſenſe their Writers alledge, as may appear by our late inſtances; or albeit we could by evidence of circumſtance or otherwiſe convince their underſtandings, that it hath the ſame value with Saint *Paul*, as with modern Proteſtants: yet ſubtil wits (whereof the Romiſh Church hath plenty) would redeem the diſadvantage, and recover their former footing, by producing more inſtances of men abſolved through the uprightneſs of their cauſe, than we bring places wherein the word juſtification is taken for abſolution, or free pardon of men, otherwiſe obnoxious to condemnation. [c] *Phinehas* reſolute and zealous fact was imputed to him for righteouſneſs, and did juſtifie or abſolve both himſelf and the Hoſt of *Iſrael*, from the abhomination committed by one of his Brethren with the *Midianitiſh* Woman, not by non-imputation, but by poſitive depulſion of the crime or guilt, whoſe infection would otherwiſe have ſeized on him through connivence or neutrality. Let the Romaniſt therefore be as wayward as he liſt, or take juſtification in what ſenſe he pleaſeth, that every Son of *Adam* is by nature the Son of wrath, deſtitute of the glory of God, and liable to the ſentence of condemnation, he neither doth nor can deny; that every Son of wrath muſt by his Almighty Judge, be abſolved from the ſentence of death, before he can be admitted unto life eternal, he muſt upon the ſame neceſſity grant. The point then in which will he, nill he, we muſt join iſſue, is, (What ſhould be the true immediate and next cauſe of this final abſolution,) ought within us or ſomewhat without us? By the immediate and next cauſe we underſtand ſuch a cauſe as is neceſſarily accompanied by this effect, and without whoſe participation, this effect neither doth nor can befal any; ſuch a cauſe, as whoſoever is partaker of, is by participation of it, forthwith abſolved; ſuch a cauſe as who ſo

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(b) Si quis dixerit, hominis juſtificati bona opera ita eſſe dona Dei, ut non ſint etiam bona ipſius juſtificati merita; aut ipſum juſtificatum bonis operibus, quæ ab eo per Dei gratiam, & Jeſu Chriſti meritum, cujus vivum membrum eſt, fiunt, non vere mereri augmentum gratiæ, vitam æternam, & ipſius vitæ æternæ, ſi tamen in gratia deceſſerit, conſecutionem, atq; etiam gloriæ augmentum; Anathema ſit Concil. Trident. ſeſſ. 6. Canone 32.

(c) *Num.* 25. 8.

can probably hope to be partaker of, may upon the ſame degrees of probability hope for final abſolution. Such a cauſe as who ſo doubts or fears leſt he ſhall never be partaker of in this life, muſt upon the ſame tearms doubt or diſpair of his abſolution or ſalvation. We deny, he affirms righteouſneſs inherent to be ſuch an abſolute cauſe (as hath been notified) of abſolution or remiſſion of ſins, of juſtification howſoever taken. Here it will not be amiſs to adviſe the Reader of a School-trick, which one that comes freſh from the arts would eaſily refuſe, though put upon ſome grave Divines by the Romaniſt. The queſtion (ſaith *Bellarmine*) ſhould be propoſed, not as *Chenitius* doth of the cauſe for which, ſeeing that implies the efficient, but of the cauſe by which we are juſtified or abſolved, that is, of the formal cauſe of juſtification or abſolution. *Chriſts* righteouſneſs they grant to be the efficient or meritorious cauſe for which, not the formal by which our ſins are remitted or we juſtified. They are indeed bound to aſſign a *formal cauſe by which* we are truly juſt, becauſe they hold us formally juſt in the ſight of God; and ſeeing they teach remiſſion of ſins to conſiſt in the extirpation or expulſion of them, they may in congruity affirm that ſin is formally, at leaſt immediately, remitted by habitual grace or righteouſneſs inherent, and remitted by *Chriſt* only as the efficient cauſe which meriteth this meaſure of grace, in the ſame form of ſpeech that the Schools tell us, that *cold* is expelled out of the *water* by the *fire*, as by the efficient, but formally or immediately by the heat which the fire produceth in the water. Although perhaps it may be a queſtion, whether the expulſion of cold out of the water, or of ſin out of our bodies (conſonantly to their doctrine) can have any proper formal cauſe, or only an efficient by reſultance; but to demand of us what is the formal cauſe of juſtification by which our ſins are formally remitted, is, as if we ſhould aſk one of their young Pupils what were Latine for *manus*. Juſtification taken, (as we do it) for remiſſion of ſins, not by inherent righteouſneſs, or ought within us immediately incompetible with them, but by the external merits of Chriſt, is a form or entity as ſimple as any formal cauſe can be, and ſimple or uncompounded entities can neither have formal cauſes, or ought in proportion anſwering to them. Wherefore as I ſaid, it is either the folly or knavery of our Adverſaries to demand a formal cauſe of their juſtification, that deny themſelves to be formally juſt in the ſight of God. For ſo to be juſt, and to be juſt only by acceptance or non-imputation of unjuſtice, are terms as oppoſite as can be imagined. He alone is formally juſt which hath that form inherent in himſelf, by which he is denominated juſt and ſo accepted with God; as Philoſophers deny the Sun to be formally hot, becauſe it hath no form of heat inherent in it, but only produceth heat in other bodies. To be formally juſt we for theſe reaſons attribute only unto Chriſt, who alone hath ſuch righteouſneſs inherent in himſelf, as by the interpoſition of it between Gods Juſtice and ſinful fleſh, doth ſtop the proceeding of his judgments, as *Phinehas* zeal did ſtay the Plague, otherwiſe ready to devour the Hoſt of *Iſrael*. Our Adverſaries in that they acknowledge inherent righteouſneſs to be the ſole formal cauſe of juſtification, do by the ſame aſſertion neceſſarily grant it to be the ſole true immediate cauſe of remiſſion of ſins, of abſolution from death, and admiſſion to life. This is the only point from which they cannot ſtart, at which nevertheleſs whiles they ſtand, they may acknowledge Chriſt come in the fleſh, Crucified, Dead, and Buried, or perhaps aſcended into Heaven, but deny they do the power of his ſitting at the right hand of God, the vertue of his mediation or interceſſion, and more than half evacuate the Eternity of his Prieſthood, as ſhall be ſhewed after this brief explication of our aſſertion.

2. When we teach juſtification by Faith and not by works, our meaning is, by the doctrine of Faith we are bound to acknowledge and confeſs that *Chriſt Jeſus* by his Eternal Prieſthood (whoſe offices in their ſeveral places ſhall be expreſſed) is not only the ſole meritorious cauſe of all graces or righteouſneſs inherent, requiſite to final abſolution, but theſe ſuppoſed in the party to be abſolved he is likewiſe the ſole immediate cauſe of final abſolution or juſtification. The latter part of this aſſertion may admit this illuſtration. Suppoſe a man not deſtitute of other ſenſes yet ready every moment to droup or fall into ſome deadly fit, unleſs his ſpirits were refreſhed by pleaſant Muſick, we might truly ſay, one in this caſe did live by the ſenſe of hearing (for deaf he ſhould quickly die) yet were muſick the ſole immediate cauſe of his preſervation, without actual application of whoſe ſound, even this ſenſe it ſelf, by whoſe means his ſpirits refreſhed better enable his other ſenſes to their proper functions, would forthwith fail him. In this ſort do ſinful men draw life from *Chriſt* by Faith alone, by which likewiſe and not by works, we are ſaid to abide in him as being united in ſpirit to him, albeit by abiding ſo united, our other faculties are ſtrengthened and vivificated to bring forth the fruits of righteouſneſs. The former inſtance, notwithſtanding, doth not exemplifie the firſt part of our Aſſertion, for muſick only continues life natural, which is ſuppoſed to have another original. But if we ſpeak of life ſpiritual maintained by Faith (and of which Faith it ſelf is a part) it was originally and wholly derived from *Chriſt*, on whom Faith and all other graces whatſoever, *tam in fieri quàm in facto*, as well in the firſt production as during the time of their continuance and preſervation, depend as eſſentially and perpetually as the light of the Moon, or other participated or reflected ſplendor, doth on the brightneſs of the Sun. Nor may we imagine that this borrowed and variable righteouſneſs, in us, though thus depending on the Son of righteouſneſs, is or can be, even whiles it remains without Eclipſe, or in ſuch fulneſs as in this life the beſt men at any time are capable of, ſufficient for the time being to acquit or abſolve us, if God ſhould enter into judgment with us. This ſtrict dependence of ſuch righteouſneſs as we have on *Chriſts* righteouſneſs preſuppoſed, Faith is ſaid to juſtifie us not by any effects in us derived from him, but by its tranſeunt acts reciprocally lifting up our hearts to the Fountain whence grace and ſpiritual life doth flow, and reflecting the beams or rayes of our minds thus illuminated unto our myſtical head, ſtill deriving vertue from his Crucified body to ſtint the deadly iſſues of ſin not utterly to expel all reliques of unrighteouſneſs. For when we take the eyes of Faith of him, albeit the habit of Faith and other graces remain as intire in us as ever they were, the very memory of tranſgreſſions paſt, or the ſight of ſins inherent, whilſt we look on them deject us. According to this different aſpect, even the beſt men living whilſt this brittle glaſs of mortality and mutability is in running, may be ſubject to the like ſubalternation of hopes and fear the exiled Poet hath expreſſed:

Spes mihi magna ſubeſt dum te, mitiſſime Cæſar,
Spes mihi, reſpicio dum mea facta, cadit. Ovid.

Strength to my hopes doth ſtill accrue,
whilſt Cæſars *mildneſs I do view:*
But mine own facts whilſt I behold,
my heart doth fail, my hopes grow cold.

But though ſin may often ſting us by fits, and bring us almoſt to deaths door by viciſſitude of deſpair or diſmay, yet we recover as preſently by faithful looking on the glorious Author, as the *Iſraelites* did by beholding the viſible ſign of ſalvation.

3. The controverſie hitherto propoſed and declared, in as ſcholaſtick form as our Engliſh tongue well can bear, may be reduced in feweſt terms and fitteſt for popular inſtruction, *unto the right uſe and immediate end of Faith,* and *other ſanctifying graces.* We of reformed Churches, with unanimous conſent of heart and mind, believe and teach (and thou O *Chriſt,* our Lord, our life, and ſtrength, give judgment out of thy Throne of Majeſty, whether not more agreeable to thy mind than ſhe which ſits as Queen of Heaven, and brags as if ſhe were thy beſt beloved Spouſe or her Children do.) That our *Faith,* our *Hope,* and *Charity,* or whatſoever pledges of thy Fathers love, and favour towards us, we through thy merits have obtained, were given us not to alter, but to better that plea we made before we had them. Being by nature the Sons of wrath, and groaning under the heavy burden of our ſins, with tears and ſighs, by thy precious blood, by thy death and paſſion, we daily beſought him for them: and ſhall his goodneſs in giving them, ſlake the fervency of our wonted deſires or ſupplications, when as we ſeek grace, only to the end we may find and truly taſt his mercy? Thou haſt taught us. [d] *Not every one that ſaith, Lord, Lord, ſhall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, but ſuch as do the will of thy Father which is in Heaven,* and his will as the Apoſtle witneſſeth, they only do, which obey it in all things, omitting no Commandment when occaſion is given, taking no occaſion to break or violate any. Shall we then enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, becauſe we thus far do thy Fathers will, and in ſome meaſure obſerve his Commandments? Rather without ſuch obſervance we ſhall not, we cannot enter therein; yet when we have done all this, we are ſtill unprofitable ſervants. To what uſe then doth our inherent righteouſneſs, or obſervance of Gods Commandments ſerve us? If ſincere, that have been and unfeigned, though imperfect, yet the Faith which brought it forth will make a ſincere and faithful plea for mercy in the day of trial, in which he that hath been an hearer only and no doer of the law, or hath done in part what God would have done, but not ſincerely nor faithfully, becauſe it was his will and pleaſure, but out of humour natural affection or Hypocriſie, ſhall cry, *Lord, Lord,* and ſhew many tokens of Gods love and favour towards him in hope to better this preſent ſute for mercy, yet ſhall not be heard. Why? Either becauſe he never had any true pledge of Gods favour, or did not uſe ſuch as he had aright; becauſe as his works have been, ſuch now are his Prayers, preſumptuous, unfaithful, or hypocritical; ſuch as cannot obtain any other anſwer of God than that, *depart from me I never knew thee.* It ſhall

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(d) *Mat.* 7.21.

not boot him to make proof that he hath given his goods to the Poor, or his Body to the fire; that he hath healed the ſick, caſt out Devils, and wrought other wonders in *Chriſts* name, unleſs his Faith have quelled all truſt, all pride or glory in theſe gracings, wholly ſet on Gods mercies in *Chriſt*; from whoſe apprehenſion, unleſs theſe other acts or exerciſes (though of mercy) ſprung, they are not truly done in Faith; but ſpringing thence, we cannot be ſo ready to do them as having done them to renounce all truſt or confidence in them. For whiles we compare theſe ſlender, yet ſincere effects of our love and thankfulneſs to him, with his infinite love and mercy towards us, (whereon true Faith always looks whiles it conceives them) the ſight of them cauſeth greater humility for the preſent, and more hearty ſorrow for ſins paſt, than we could have conceived, if we had not done them; as the ſight of *Zerobabels* Temple finiſhed, did make the ancients of *Iſrael* weep, becauſe the perfection and glory of the former was more lively repreſented to their ſenſes by this viſible and ſemblable model, than by the ruins, meer abſence, or imperfect reparations of it. To be able to ſound the depth of many concluſions better than others can, gives ſtayed and ſetled judgments a more diſtinct and compleat meaſure of the knowledge they wanted, than fantaſtick or ſhallow wits can have. For this cauſe ſolid learning always contracts verbal knowledge, and ſuperficial ſkill in any faculty, dilates mens eſtimates of themſelves, and puffs them up with pædantical conceits of their own worth. And ſeeing all our knowledge in this life, though of matters natural and near at hand, is every way imperfect; the increaſe of it is always unnatural and monſtrous, unleſs the more we know the better we know our imperfections, and be humbled with a more ſenſible feeling of our wants. Now in as much as the fruits of life do never take ſo kindly, as the fruits of knowledge in any Son of *Adam*, ſince he made that impious and erroneous choice, and every mans own experience can teach him, that his practick faculties or performances come ſtill ſhort of his ſpeculative notions or apprehenſions of what is good and fit to be done: we are by this twofold reaſon enforced to take the unfeigned acknowledgment of our imperfection in working, and ſerious diſtruſt, both to our works and our ſelves as no way juſtifiable or approveable in the ſight of God, but for the perfect and compleat righteouſneſs of *Chriſt Jeſus*, for an eſſential branch of that uniformity before required in true and ſaving Faith. The growth of theſe particulars is like the growth of Twins: the more firm and lively Faith we have, the better and more ſincerely we work: the more unfeignedly and faithfully we renounce all confidence in our works and our ſelves: the more faithfully we renounce all confidence in theſe, the more earneſtly we ſeek after Salvation only by *Chriſt*; of whoſe allſufficient Sacrifice, and righteouſneſs fully ſatisfactory of Gods law and meritorious of mercy, our righteouſneſs inherent though imperfect, gives us a truer taſt than unbelievers can have. Thus the weaker we are in our ſelves the ſtronger we are in Him.

4. The former queſtion about the uſe of grace, depends upon another betwixt the Romaniſt and us, about the meaſure of inherent righteouſneſs. They make the encreaſe and growth of grace not to perfect but utterly to aboliſh the nature of it, by converting it into righteouſneſs inherent, as well for quantity as quality, acceptable of it ſelf to God without his favour or indulgence. We (as the name imports)

make it always ſubordinate unto gracious acceptance, and ſeeing we take it only as a pledge of divine favour, whereof we ſtand perpetually in need as it is firſt given, ſo we deſire it may be increaſed, only to the end we may more conſtantly and faithfully ſue for mercy, and ſeek divine approbation aright. Of our edification in *Chriſt*, Faith is not the foundation only but the roof, unto which all other Graces have the ſame reference that *Hur* and *Aaron* had unto *Moſes*. The beſt ſervice, even *Charity* it ſelf can perform, is to underprop the hands of Faith lifted up unto the Throne of Grace, from which the ſentence of Abſolution muſt proceed. Directly contradictory to this declaration (ſaith the Romaniſt) Faith juſtifies only as it diſpoſeth us to the attainment of *Charity*, which is the formal cauſe of Juſtification, the compleat form of ſuch perfect Righteouſneſs Inherent, as is the only immediate cauſe of Salvation. Charity, though given for *Chriſt*, is to him the Crown of Faith reaching Heaven by its own perfection, to us not Charity only, but Faith it ſelf, as it is part of our imperfect Righteouſneſs Inherent, is footſtool to it ſelf in the act of Juſtification, or whiles it pleads for mercy. Nor was any Son of *Adam* for the leaſt moment of time ever ſo righteous, but the actual mediation of Chriſt, or interpoſition of his Sacrifice ſecluded from his tryal at the Tribunal of Gods Juſtice; he might beſides all his other ſins, juſtly have been condemned for not ſtirring up the gifts and graces of the Spirit, or not right uſing them to his glory that gave them. Thus much every Conſcience that hath taſted of Gods mercy and goodneſs in Chriſt will be ready to confeſs; and this truth now delivered by us, was in effect the doctrine of the Learned and Religious *Bucer*, [e] in his Conference at *Ratiſbone* with our adverſaries. *Although he that is juſtified hath righteouſneſs through Chriſt Inherent; the faithful Soul notwithſtanding doth not relie on it, but only on the righteouſneſs of Chriſt wherewith we are endowed; without which there neither is, nor can be any righteouſneſs.*

A more full declaration of his opinion in controverſie, *Vaſquez* * out of the ſame Conference hath ready gathered to our hands. *When certain Propoſitions which the Author of that Conference calls ambiguous, were brought unto him, amongſt which this was the firſt,* [*Faith is the beginning of Juſtification*] his anſwer was, if this ſpeech be meant of Inchoated Righteouſneſs (renovation of the mind) *which conſiſts in Faith, Hope, and Charity, with other vertues, we admit: for ſuch Righteouſneſs we grant to be a gift, yea a new creature in Chriſt, of which we participate by Faith: yea Faith is the firſt part of it, ſeeing we can neither love God, nor conceive true hope in him, unleſs we firſt know him by Faith. This Righteouſneſs of renovation notwithſtanding, is not that by which we become ſo righteous in the ſight of God, as life eternal ſhould be due unto us for it, ſeeing it is imperfect, and cannot ſatisfie the Law of God during the time of this mortal life; another*

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(e) Et ſi is qui juſtificatur juſtitiam accipit & habet per Chriſtum etiam inhærentem, tamen anima fidelis huic non inniritur, ſed ſoli juſtitiæ Chriſti nobis donatæ, ſine qua nulla omnino eſt, nec eſſe poteſt Juſtitia. *Bucerus* (& ſi qui alii) in libello ablato Carolo quinto Imp. Ratisbonæ, & in colloquio Actisbon: *Bucerus* ergo (ut conſtat ex ultimo colloquio Ratiſponenſi) cum oblatæ eſſent ei propoſitiones quædam, quas author Colloquii appellat ambiguas, & inter quas prima propoſitio erat, fidem juſtificationis initium eſſe, ſic reſpondit: Hoc ſi intelligatur, de juſtitia inchoata, quæ fide, ſpe, & charitate, cæteriſq; virtutibus hic comprehenſis conſtat, recipimus: hanc enim juſtitiam dicimus donum eſſe, & novam in Chriſto creaturam, quam fide ſanâ percipimus, primamque ejus partem eſſe fidem ipſam, cum neq; amare Deum, neque benè de eo ſperare poſſimus, niſi fide eundem cognoverimus. Hanc tamen inchoatam juſtitiam non eſſe eam qua juſti ſumus apud Deum, ita ut propter illam vita æterna nobis debeatur; cum ex parte tantum, & imperfecta ſit, nec legi dei ſatisfaciat, dum hic vivimus, ideò aliam in nobis, nempe Dei juſtitiam eſſe, qua Chriſto Domino confidamus, & fiducia ſalutis confirmemur. *Vaſquez in* 1. 2. *Tom.* 2. *diſput.* 204. *cap.* 2. * Et in colloquio ultimo Ratiſponenſi poſt propoſitiones *Catholicas, quas ipſe Bucerus adverſas vocabat, fol.* 31. *pagina* 2. *in colloquio, quod habuit cum Maluenda ſecretario Imperatoris Caroli V: ponuntur hæc verba ipſius.* Idcirco non poſſunt fateri jnſtitia inhærente, quamvis fide, ſpe, & charitate conſtet, nos juſtificari juſtoſque eſſe: quia imperfecta eſt; nec legi Dei ſatisfacit *Vaſquez in.*

righteouſneſs is required, to wit, the righteouſneſs of God, through which we have confidence in our Lord Chriſt, *and are eſtabliſhed in the aſſurance of Salvation.*

The like reſolution or ſtate rather of this Controverſie, he gathers out of *Chemnitius* words, as they are related by his adverſary *Tiletan.* [f] *We teach not that Believers are juſtified without righteouſneſs, for ſuch juſtification God himſelf hath pronounced to be an abomination in his ſight,* (Prov. 17. ver. 15. Iſa. 5. ver. 23.) *but we think it neceſſary that in Juſtification Righteouſneſs ſhould intercede or interpoſe, and that not every ſort of Righteouſneſs, but ſuch as is ſufficient in the judgment of God, ſuch as is worthy of eternal liſe. Now ſeeing that Righteouſneſs which conſiſts in the internal renovation of our minds, by reaſon of carnal imperfection and uncleanneſs adherent is not ſuch, neceſſary it is there ſhould be another Righteouſneſs, through whoſe intervention or interceſſion we are juſtified in the ſight of God.*

5. From this learned Writer, the Divines of [g] *Colen,* and many Schoolmen, acknowledged by the Romiſh Church for her Children in other points, did but a little diſſent, as the Jeſuite grants, and their words are ſo plain, that every one may ſee, might theſe men have been chief delegates in this cauſe, the controverſie had been quickly ended. The only difference can be picked by this curious Inquiſitor is but this; *Chemnitius* and *Bucer* made our Inherent Righteouſneſs (as he wrongfully charges them) a ſin, the Divines of *Colen* made it only imperfect, or no Righteouſneſs without the merits of *Chriſt,* to which it ſerved but as an inſtrument; by their confeſſion, Chriſts Righteouſneſs was not only the efficient or meritorious cauſe, for whoſe ſake this Righteouſneſs inherent was beſtowed upon us; but the *form* which did ſo conſummate it, that is, our Juſtification, was accompliſhed by addition of his Righteouſneſs unto ours. Unto this opinion amongſt the reſt even [h] *Pighius* himſelf who made ſo light accompt of original ſin, did ſubſcribe, not induced thereto (as is pretended) with the ſweet diſcourſes of his adverſaries, but with the evidence of the truth they taught. Indeed *Pighius* conſequently to his error concerning the nature of Original ſin, did hold our Righteouſneſs inherent imperfect only for the quantity;

whereas

(f) Excipio etiam Kemnitium ut eſt apud Tiletan in apologia pro Concil. Trid. c. de juſtitia, qua juſtificamur, ubi refert hæc verba illius. Non docemus credentes ſine juſtitia juſtificari, quia talem juſtificationem Deus pronunciat eſſe abominationem, *Proverb* 17. & *Iſaia* 5. ſed dicimus neceſſe eſſe ut in juſtificatione intercedat, & interveniat juſtitia, non quidem qualiſcunque ſed talis, quæ in judicio Dei ſufficiens, & digna ſit, ut juſta pronuntientur ad vitam æternam. Quia igitur noſtra interioris renovationis juſtitia propter adherentem carnis imperfectionem, & immunditiem non eſt talis, oportet aliam eſſe juſtitiam, qua interveniente, & intercedente juſtificemur coram Deo. Ubi hic Hæreticus fatetur juſtitiam noſtram immundam eſſe; atq; ideo docet eſſe minus ſufficientem, ut per ſe poſſet immunditiem peccati tollere, & purgare. Quæ ſane ſententia Hæretici hujus valde notanda eſt, pro his, quæ diſp. 204. contra aliquos viros Catholicos dicemus, qui admiſſa juſtitia inhærente remiſſionem peccati, & offenſæ Dei in favorem ipſius Dei, tanquam in proximam cauſam formalem revocant. Conabimur enim oſtendere hanc opinionem à ſententia Kemnitii parum videri diverſam. *Vaſquez eodem Tomo. diſp.* 102. *cap.* 101.

(g) Juſtificamur à Deo juſtitia duplici, tanquam per cauſas formales, & eſſentiales. Quarum una & prior eſt conſummata Chriſti juſtitia: non quidem quomodo extra nos in ipſo eſt, ſed ſicut & quando eadem nobis (dum tamen fide apprehenditur) ad juſtitiam imputatur. Hæc ipſa ita nobis imputata juſtitia Chriſti, præcipua eſt & ſumma juſtificationis noſtræ cauſa cui principaliter initi & fidere debeamus. Aliter vero juſtificamur formaliter, per juſtitiam inhærentem: quæ remiſſione peccatorum ſimul cum renovatione Spiritus Sancti, & diffuſione charitatis in corda noſtra, ſecundum menſuram fidei uniuſcujuſque nobis donatur, infunditur, & fit propria; atque ita per fructus ſpiritus exercitur, efficiturque nobis propria quadam juſtitia, qua afficiamur. Cui tamen inhærenti juſtitiæ (quod ſit imperfecta) non innitimur principaliter: ſed ea tanquam interiori quodam experimento certificamur, nobis (qui talem renovationem ſpiritus noſtri in nobis ſentimus, & expiremur) remiſſionem peccatorum factam, & Chriſti conſummatam juſtitiam nobis imputari, atque ita Chriſtum per fidem in nobis habitare. *Antididagma* Colon: de juſtifioatione hominis cap. per quas cauſas juſtificemur. *Hereunto they adjoyn another declaration ſo well conſorting with our Churches Doctrine, as no man not deſirous of contention can diſſent, either for the matter or manner of it.* Nihilominus hoc loquendi modo, non adſcribimus, neq; fidei, neque charitati, efficientiam juſtificationis quæ competit ſoli Deo: non etiam meritum ejus, quod ſoli debetur Chriſto, non fidei aut charitati, aut ulli aliarum virtutum, tametſi omnes gratuita quædam Dei dona ſunt. Sed confitemur hæc eſſe media quædam, quibus operetur Deus in nobis ſuam juſtificationem. Colon ibidem.

(h) Vide *Vaſquez* Tom. 2. in 1. 2. Quæſt. 113 Art. 2. Diſput. 204 p.2.

whereas *Chemnitius* and *Bucer* did hold it ſufficient, beſides for the *quality*, not that it was a ſin, but that it had ſin ſo adherent, as it could not make us clean and pure, though but in imperfect meaſure in Gods ſight. We will be content to take theſe Divines mentioned with that Troop of moſt famous Schoolmen, as well Ancient as Modern, expreſly yielded us by *Vaſquez*, as more than fully ſufficient, either for worth or number, to over-ſway the authority of ſuch latter Pontificians, as in the conference at *Ratisbone*, or *Auſpurge*, or in that book exhibited unto *Charles* the Fifth before the *Trent Council*, maintained the contrary opinion now eſtabliſhed. Unto the *Trent Councils* authority, becauſe it hath determined for theſe latter and obſcurer againſt the former Schoolmen and us; we will oppoſe the authority of Scripture, and principles of Faith directly acknowledged by all, but indirectly overthrown by the Councils decree. In examining of which it may excuſe our boldneſs, that ſo many of their Writers ſhould, without cenſure, before, and ſome (I take it) ſince the promulgation of it teach the contrary. [i] *The ſole formal cauſe of Juſtification is the righteouſneſs of God, not by which he is righteous, but whereby he makes us righteous, to wit, that wherewith once endued, we are renewed in the ſpirit of our mind, and are not only reputed juſt, but truly denominated juſt, as indeed we are by receiving righteouſneſs every one, according to that meaſure which the holy Spirit imparts unto us as he pleaſeth, and according to our ſeveral proper diſpoſitions or cooperations.*

The *formal cauſe*, or if that be not enough, the *ſole formal cauſe* of our Juſtification is Righteouſneſs Inherent, which as the Roman [k] *Catechiſm*, ſet out by the authority of the ſame *Council*, in plain terms avoucheth, muſt be ſo perfect, as to leave no ſtain or blot of ſin inherent in us, able to preſent our Souls (if I miſtake not the meaning of it) truly glorious, at leaſt ſplendent and beautiful in the ſight of God. Whatſoever elſe I have charged their Doctrine with, they willingly grant to be neceſſary conſequences of the *Councils* determination, and condemn us as Hereticks for contradicting them. And leaſt we ſhould ſuſpect it might be a matter not altogether unpoſſible for the *Trent Fathers* to erre in that peremptory decree; late *Jeſuites* would perſwade us it were a matter altogether impoſſible for God Almighty, although he ſhould uſe his *abſolute power* to juſtifie us by any other means than the Council hath defined.

Some in their Church of no meaner note than the famous *Victoria* and *Melchior Canus*, with other of *Aquinas* followers (publick Profeſſors too) were not aſhamed or afraid to teach, that Grace Inherent did not make us juſt or acceptable in the ſight of God by its meer entity or quality; that the value or eſtimate of it did depend upon the will and pleaſure of him that gave it, content to accept or pronounce us once partakers of it as juſt and holy, though not ſuch in our ſelves, or through the inherent vertue of it, as money is valuable, not

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(i) Demum unica-formalis cauſa eſt juſtitia Dei non qua ipſe juſtus eſt, ſed qua nos juſtos facit, qua videlicet ab eo donati, renovamur ſpiritu mentis noſtræ, & non modo reputamur, ſed verè juſti nominamur; & ſumus, juſtitiam in nobis recipientes, unuſquiſq; ſuam ſecundum menſuram, quam ſpiritus ſanctus partitur ſingulis prout vult, & ſecundum propriam cujuſque diſpoſitionem, & cooperationem. Quanquam enim nemo poſſit eſſe juſtus, niſi cui merita paſſionis Domini noſtri *Ieſu Chriſti* communicantur: id tamen in hac impii juſtificatione fit, dum ejuſdem ſanctiſſimæ paſſionis merito per ſpiritum ſanctum charitas Dei diffunditur in cordibus eorum, qui juſtificantur, atq; ipſis inhæret, unde in ipſa juſtificatione cum remiſſione peccatorum hæc omnia ſimul infuſa accipit homo per *Ieſum Chriſtum*, cui inſeritur, Fidem, Spem, & Charitatem. Nam fides, niſi ad eam ſpes accedat & charitas, neq; unit perfecte cum Chriſto, neque corporis ejus vivum membrum efficit. *Conc Trid. Seſſ. 6. cap.7.*

(k) Eſt autem gratia, quemadmodum Tridentina ſynodus ab omnibus credendum pœna Anathematis propoſita, decrevit, non ſolum per quam peccatorum ſit remiſſio, ſed divina qualitas in anima inhærens, ac veluti ſplendor quidam, & lux, quæ animarum noſtrarum maculas omnes delet ipſaſque animas pulchriores ſplendidiores reddit. *Catech.* Trid part 2. de Baptiſ. cap. 2. Sect. 38. vide Conc. Trid. cap. 7. Seſſ. 6. ſub finem.

not for the nature, phyſical properties, or the quantity of the metal, but for the Princes eſtimate, whoſe image and ſuperſcription it bears. One corollary of this concluſion, gathered by theſe Authors themſelves, was, that the entity, or quality of Grace, might increaſe without any neceſſary increaſe of the value or eſtimate of it with God, as the Kings Majeſty if it ſhould pleaſe him, might make the ſame portion of ſilver which now goes for a ſhilling, to be currant but for nine pence, or rather make that piece as large as the ſhilling, though retaining the ſame value and inſcription it now bears. We ſhall perchance no way croſs theſe Profeſſors Tenet, but only better illuſtrate our own, if we ſay: As it is not the legal inſtrument (though bearing the Seal or inſcription Royal) but the Princes will and pleaſure thereby authentickly teſtified, which frees the Malefactor from ſentence of Condemnation: ſo neither is it grace or righteouſneſs inherent, (though theſe be the Image and Character of our Righteous Judge) but the mercy and free pardon of our God proclaimed indefinitely to all the penitent, but ſealed to every faithful Soul in particular by thoſe pledges of the Spirit, which finally abſolves us from the Curſe laid upon us by the Law, and enſtates us in the promiſes of the Goſpel. In both Pleas the ſanctified Soul uſeth Faith and all other graces, or parts of righteouſneſs inherent, no otherwiſe than a penitent malefactor would do the inſtrument wherein the Princes pleaſure is contained, if he were to plead his cauſe before the Prince himſelf, in whoſe preſence (though with ordinary Judges they will ſometimes be too bold) I preſume no malefactor would ſtand upon terms of integrity or preſent innocency, becauſe he had his pardon under Seal, ſeeing that was given him to plead for mercy not for juſtice. Not altogether different from theſe exemplifications of our aſſertion ſome Schoolmen, though ſeeking to come as near the Romiſh Church preſent Tenets as they could, thought it no inconvenience to hold, that the grace whereby men become truly and inherently juſt, was not of its own nature abſolutely incompatible with all degrees, or reliques of ſin; in reſpect of which we might ſtand in need of Gods favour and mercy after Communication of Grace. But this and the like opinions are utterly deſtroyed root and branch, by the Thunderbolt of the former Decree, and their Authors and followers cenſured by *Vaſquez* [l] for holding it but as poſſible to the abſolute power of the Almighty, to repleniſh our Souls with Grace, and not take away all ſtain of ſin; for that any reliques of the one ſhould lodge in the ſame breaſt with the other, implies a contradiction in his Divinity; which vain ſurmiſe ſhall be refuted when we come to handle the nature of ſin, and the neceſſity of Grace. How frivolouſly he alledgeth that of Saint *John* [*whoſoever is born of God, ſinneth not*] to this purpoſe, the Reader may perceive by the true interpretation of that place in the Chapter following.

(*l*) Hoc præmiſſo, contra prædictam ſententiam rationibus agendum eſt: prima autem ratio ſit. Si gratia & juſtitia nobis inhærens poſſent eſſe ſimul cum peccato, etiam per potentiam Dei abſolutam, ſequeretur quicquid ejuſmodi nobis inhæret, non eſſe veram juſtitiam, nec tale nomen mereri. Nam ſi quicquid nobis inhæret ſecum ſinit eſſe juſtitiam, & ſordes peccati, efficitur illud ex ſe non eſſe munditiam, & innocentiam animi: nam munditia, & immunditia nec per potentiam abſolutam Dei ſimul eſſe poſſunt: vera etenim juſtitia talis eſſe debet, ut ipſa ſit animi munditia, & innocentia vitæ, eo quod ſuapte natura reddere debet immaculatos, & innocentes eos, qui antea maculati, & nocentes erant; quumq; ut prædicta opinio fert, noſtra juſtitia id non efficiat ſine extrinſeco favore, & acceptatione Dei; conſequitur ex ſeipſa ſublato omni favore, & acceptatione Dei non eſſe veram juſtitiam, & ſanctitatem. Quæ enim juſtitia, & ſanctitas excogitari poteſt, quæ non ſit ipſa animæ munditics, & innocentia? aut quis juſtus, & ſanctus, qui hoc ipſo non ſit innocens, & immaculatus? hanc autem repugnantiam juſtitiæ inhærentis cum peccato, & macula illius videtur oſtendiſſe Joan. 1. canonica cap. 3. illis verbis. Omnis, qui in eo manet, non peccat & infra, omnis, qui natus eſt ex Deo, non peccat, quia ſemen Dei manet in illo (nempe juſtitia) & non poteſt peccare, quoniam ex Deo natus eſt, videlicet quamdiu gratia Dei manet in illo. *Vaſquez. in Primam Secundæ, Tom. 2. diſp. 204. cap. 4.*

6. For the time I would requeſt as many as fear the Shipwrack of Faith and Conſcience, to reſt contented with this ſhort diſcovery of two Rocks, againſt which all that follow the *Trent* Councils direction inevitably daſh. The firſt, an evacuation of Chriſts Prieſthood: for, by their doctrine, after Grace is infuſed and remains inherent, a man may be juſtified, ſaved, and glorified, without any more reference to Him, than *Adam* in the ſtate of integrity had. Chriſt (ſay[m] they) hath reſtored unto us what we loſt in *Adam*. What was that? Inherent righteouſneſs, ſo we grant with the Antient. But in what meaſure? In as full and perfect as *Adam* had it before his fall, or without admixture of corruption drawn from his Loins? So far the Romaniſts ſeek to extend the Authority of ſome Fathers. The beſt uſe and end then of grace in his conſtruction, is, to paſs over the Everlaſting Covenant of Grace in Chriſt, that we may recover the ſtate which our firſt Parents forfeited. This is the moſt immediate and neceſſary conſequence of the *Trent* Fathers determination: for if habitual grace be (as they decree) the ſole formal cauſe of juſtification that once gotten will exclude all neceſſity or uſe of any other cauſe or means of reconciliation or acceptance with God. Agreeable hereto as [n] *Vaſquez* diſputes at large, they admit no application of Chriſts merits, but only in the collation of gifts inherent, or infuſion of Charity. Admitting then one of their Church ſhould remain in the ſtate of habitual Grace, a Week or two before his Death: let us ſuppoſe (as for diſputation ſake, or ſure tryal of a true formal cauſe, it is lawful, by their rules given to this purpoſe, to ſuppoſe any impoſſibility) that Chriſt had never been incarnate, Crucified, raiſed from the Dead, or ſet at the right hand of God; the former party notwithſtanding ſhould be as certainly ſaved, as he can be by belief of all theſe Articles, and become Heir infallible of as great glory and felicity as we hope for, by incorporation into Chriſts Body. Nor doth Chriſt (if their opinion may ſtand) ſit at the right hand of his Father to make interceſſion for us after Grace is infuſed, or whiles we retain it, but that it may be infuſed and recovered if it ſhould chance to be loſt. Now what Hereſie was there ever broached more blaſphemous againſt Chriſt than this, which aboliſheth the principal part of his Mediation? what could more directly evacuate that great myſtery of the true and real Union betwixt the head of the Church and the Members?

By this doctrine neither are our perſons in this life reconciled to God, nor our nature exalted to dignity in the life to come, by being united to Chriſt, but immediately by our inherent righteouſneſs, without any intermediation of his perſon, his Sacrifice, merits, or other benefit of his Paſſion, as any cauſe at all or bond of our Union, or

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[m] Itaq; veram, & Chriſtianam juſtitiam accipientes, eam, ſcilicet primam ſtolam pro illa, quàm *Adam* ſua inobedientia ſibi & nobis perdidit; per Chriſtum Jeſum illis donatam, candidam, & immaculatam jubentur ſtatim renati conſervare, ut eam perferant ante tribunal Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti & habeant vitam æternam. *Concil. Trident. ſeſſ. 6. cap. 7.*

[n] Si dicant adverſarii ideo peccatum non remitti ſola juſtitia inhærente ſine favore, & condonatione, quia ſine illa non habet veram, & completam rationem juſtitiæ, præter abſurda, quæ capite præcedente contra illorum opinionem intulimus, alia etiam non minora ſequuntur. Primum eſt imputationem ſeu applicationem meritorum Chriſti ad noſtram juſtificationem, & remiſſionem peccatorum non ſolum fieri in ipſa donorum infuſione, & auxiliorum communicatione, ſed etiam poſt ipſam infuſionem juſtitiæ ad hoc ut peccata remittantur. Hoc autem abſurdum eſſe probari poteſt primo ex Concil. Trid. Seſ. 6. cap. 7. Ubi cum dixiſſet unicam formalem Cauſam noſtræ juſtificationis eſſe juſtitiam nobis inhærentem ſecundum propriam cujuſq; diſpoſitionem & cauſam meritoriam eſſe ipſum Chriſtum, ne videretur excludere à noſtra juſtificatione applicationem meritorum ejus, ſed debitum ei locum aſſignaret; cum paſſim dici ſoleat, nos juſtificari meritis Chriſti, inquit, Quanquam enim nemo poſſit eſſe juſtus: niſi cui merita paſſionis Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti communicantur, id tamen (nempe quod applicentur merita Chriſti) in hac impii juſtificatione fit, dum ejus ſanctiſſimæ paſſionis merito per ſpiritum ſanctum charitas Dei diffunditur in cordibus eorum, qui juſtificantur, atq; ipſis inhæret. Docet igitur Concil. applicationem meritorum Chriſti, fieri eo ipſo, quod ex meritis ejus nobis donæ tribuuntur, quæ infuſione recipimus, & cum non dicat alio modo, & memento, nempe poſt infuſionem fieri hanc applicationem; plane oſtendit, tunc ſolum, & eo ſolo modo fieri. *Vaſquez. Tom. 2. in 1, 2. quæſt. 113. Art. 2. diſput. 204. cap. 3. 10.*

acceptance with God after the infuſion of Grace, which is the only formal link betwixt the Divine Nature and ours: whence it neceſſarily follows, that our humane nature muſt (though by another kind of union, and leſs meaſure of an inferiour grace) be as immediately united to God, as immediately approved for juſt, as immediately meritorious of glory, as immediately capable of Gods preſence, as Chriſt was. Might not that great [o] Schoolman (for ſuch I have ever accounted *Vaſquez*) with leſs danger to his Soul, or repugnancy to this great myſtery (whoſe truth directly to deny he durſt not) or other tenets maintained by him, have granted, that as Chriſt is truly reputed Holy, not only from the Holineſs formally inherent in his humane nature, but from the unction of the Deity or uncreated Holineſs, whereto he is hypoſtatically united; ſo might all partakers of ſuch Faith as S. *Paul* aſcribes Righteouſneſs unto, be truly and properly called and reputed righteous in the ſight of God, from the abſolute Righteouſneſs of Chriſt as man; to whom they are by the ſame Faith, though not hypoſtatically, yet truly united by ſuch a myſtical, but real union, as may without ſolœciſm ground as well this denomination, as our title or intereſt in Gods favour. More conſequently, by much to his own poſitions might *Bellarmine* likewiſe have granted, that as we are truly the Sons of wrath by nature, albeit every lineament of Gods image in us be not quite razed, but rather all or moſt, much defaced by *Adams* ſin, made ours partly by real propagation, but more principally (in his doctrine) by imputation, ſo we become the Sons of God, by the Spirit of Adoption, though not ſo powerful in us, as utterly to extirpate all relicks of ſin, yet able ſo to dead the force or operation of it, as it did the remainder of Gods Image in us, before we were renewed by Chriſt. Thus walking not after the fleſh, though in the fleſh, nor working ſin, though ſin work in us, we may through Grace or this earneſt of the Spirit, but only for the righteouſneſs of Chriſt, whereto we are by it united, have a more real title to be enſtiled his Brethren, Sons of our Heavenly Father, than he can have (as [p] *Bellarmine* objects by our Doctrine he hath) to be called the Son of him that is the Father of lies and Jeſuitical equivocation. Albeit there was no guile in him, yet he bare the puniſhment due to our rebellions; and was not this commutation of puniſhment, whereby the ſervants of ſin are acquitted, and the Lord of Righteouſneſs condemned, ſufficient to make ſuch as are in part willing to do for others as he hath done for them; immediatly capable of Abſolution by his innocency, of reward by his Righteouſneſs? The * Apoſtle doubtleſs meant no leſs, when he ſaid, *He hath made him to be ſin for us which knew no ſin, that we ſhould be made the Righteouſneſs of God in him.*

(o) Ingenue fateor denominationem juſti fieri poſſe à juſtitia extrinſeca ipſius Dei quamvis denominatio omnipotentis non poſſit fieri, niſi ab intrinſeca forma, qualis eſt potentia ipſius, qui omnipotens vocatur: utor autem ratione propoſita, nempe quia denominatio juſti, & quælibet alia denominatio extrinſeca non poteſt fieri ab extrinſeca forma ſine affinitate aliqua, & connexione, id quod ſupra probatum eſt: hanc autem eſſe non poſſe inter juſtitiam Dei, & omnes homines, niſi per unionem hypoſtaticam, facile inductione monſtrabo. *Vaſq. Tom. 2 in Primam ſecund. diſp. 2. cap. 3.*

Many Arguments he brings, which conclude very probable againſt Oſianders *opinion, or ſuch as deny any meaſure of Inherent Righteouſneſs requiſite to Juſtification, whoſe error ſufficiently refutes it ſelf, unleſs the favourers of it will affirm that we are juſtified before we receive any fruits of the ſpirit, for they will not (I am ſure) deny,* quod ex ſpiritu natum eſt ſpiritus eſt, *whatſoever the ſpirit worketh in us is righteouſneſs, though not able to make us perfectly righteous in the ſight of God, ſo long as we are in the fleſh, which is never altogether barren, albeit the beſt fruits thereof be ſin.*

(p) Si per juſtitiam Chriſti nobis imputatam, vere dici poſſumus juſti & filii Dei, ergo poterit etiam Chriſtus, per injuſtitiam noſtram ſibi imputatam, dici vere peccator & quod horret animus cogitare filius Diaboli. Nam adverſarii concedunt, ita Chriſto imputatum fuiſſe peccatam ut nobis juſtitia imputatur. *Bellar. de Juſtif lib. 2 c 7.*

The Argument is frivolous againſt the Doctrine we maintain, becauſe Chriſt took no ſymbole of our ſin as we do of his righteouſneſs, though not therefore righteous (nor our ſelves, but as we are united to him) of force enough againſt ſuch as think we are formally juſt by Chriſts imputed righteouſneſs, without righteouſneſs inherent.

* 2 Cor. 5. ver. 21.

7. The ſecond Point againſt which our Adverſaries daſh, doth ſo evidently bewray their greateſt Pilots unskilfulneſs in this Haven of Salvation, as every Child that can repeat his *Pater noſter*, may eaſily perceive the *Trent Fathers* themſelves did not underſtand it. Nor can the ſubſcribers to this decree, uſe that Cœleſtial Prayer without plain mocking of God and Chriſt. This imputation needs no other proof than the clear propoſal of ſuch poſitions as they now all hold *de fide*. Take we than one of their Catechumenies (whether deſtitute of Faith or no it skills not) that hath not as yet attained to the firſt juſtification (as they diſtinguiſh) that is, one deſtitute of Habitual Grace or Inherent Righteouſneſs; ſuch a man by their Churches diſcipline, is permitted, or rather commanded to uſe this petition amongſt the reſt: *Forgive us our treſpaſſes as we forgive them that treſpaſs againſt us.* What ſins or treſpaſſes doth he requeſt ſhould be forgiven him? Mortal eſpecially, for their remiſſion only is neceſſary to the firſt Juſtification. But how muſt God remit them? Immediately by pardoning or forgiving them? No, they are immediately remitted by actual introduction of the contrary former *grace inherent*, which formerly expels them out of the Soul as *light* (to uſe *Bellarmines* own illuſtration of their poſitions in this point) doth *darkneſs* out of the Air. Nor is there any poſſibility of remitting ſins by other means left to Omnipotence it ſelf, ſince the publication of Jeſuitical Comments upon the *Trent* Councils decree. What then is the full meaning or final reſolution of this petition, whilſt uttered by men, as yet not juſtified? *Lord forgive us our treſpaſſes*, or *mortal ſins?* This verily and no other, *Lord by infuſion of thy Grace, make us ſuch as ſhall not need of thy pardon or forgiveneſs.* For to hold, that over and above the infuſion of that Grace, by which the ſtain of ſin being clearly wiped out, we are made juſt; God's favour or condonation [q] (to uſe their Latine word with addition of one Engliſh letter) is any way requiſite for our acceptance or approbation with him, is, in formal terms, the very opinion which *Vaſquez* ſo peremptorily condemns in *Canus*, *Nedina*, *Victoria*, *Gabriel*, *Richardus*, *Ariminenſis*, *Scotus*, and others, as contradictory to the Trent Councils oft mentioned decree; and ſo indeed it is: for by that Decree being made formally juſt by Grace alone, we become the immediate or formal objects of Gods juſtice or fidelity (now ſtrictly bound to render us *quid pro quo*, *eternal life* for *Grace Inherent*) utterly exempted from all dependance on his mercy and favour. And whereas ſome of their late Writers, deſirous to give the Church all poſſible ſatisfaction; yet partly fearing openly to wrong God, or flatly to contradict his word, had granted that Grace infuſed did quite extirpate all ſin, and make us abſolutely juſt in our ſelves, but yet could not, by its nature or ſole entity, obliterate all relation of treſpaſs, or offence committed againſt God before we had it, as being unable to make full recompence or ſatisfaction for them; even this opinion is now rejected as heretical, and contrary to the Councils meaning. It remains therefore that the true and full meaning of that petition in the Lords Prayer, *forgive us our treſpaſſes*, according to our adverſaries conſtruction is, *Lord grant that we ſtand not in need of thy forgiveneſs:* If we ſuppoſe this Petition to be

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(q) Non poſſum non mirari antiquos ſcholaſticos quos hactenus memorani, quod de juſtitia nobis inhærente ita abjectè ſenſerint, ut veram ei adſcribere formidaverint rationem juſtitiæ & ſanctitatis inhærentis, quæ ſuapte naturâ Deo neceſſario placeat. Recentiores verò Thedogos multò magis miratus ſum, quod poſt præclaram *Concilii Tridentini* definitionem, quam inferius explicabo, tam exilem juſtitiam inhærentem, juſtis conceſſerint, ut ex ſe non habeat virtutem tergendi maculas peccatorum, nec eas purgare valeat, niſi favore, & condonatione Dei relaxenter. *Vaſq Tom* 2. *in primam ſecunda quæſt*. 113. *Art*. 2. *Diſp*. 204. *cap*. 2.

be conceived either by men deſtitute of perfect Inherent Righteouſneſs, or ſuch as diſtruſt or doubt whether they have it or no. But imagine a man could be (as I think few Papiſts are) more than morally certain he were in the ſtate of perfect Grace; his uſe of the ſame requeſt would be ſuperfluous, or requiſite only in reſpect of Venial ſins; albeit even theſe, if they imprint any uncomly mark, or aſperſion never ſo light on their Souls, muſt be taken away by introduction of the contrary form, as by acts of penitency, or the like, whereunto Gods concourſe or aid of Grace is neceſſary: ſo that his deſiring God to forgive him them, is but to requeſt his help, that he may not need his favour. And though in their eſteem but a light one, yet a prety mockery of God it is, that after infuſion of Grace, they ſhould not ſtand in need of his mercy, or imputation of their Redeemers Righteouſneſs, either for remitting or taking away of the ſtain of mortal ſins, or the puniſhment due unto them, and yet after God hath done all, and Chriſts mediation, as far as concerns them, fully accompliſhed: moſt of them be muſt highly beholden to the Pope, not only in this life, but after death, for releaſing the puniſhment due to venial and petty ſins.

8. Some part of the firſt difficulty [r] *Bellarmine* (from what place of *Calvin*, *Melancthon*, and *Chemnitius* I remember not, he expreſſeth not) hath thus propoſed; *Chriſt is our Mediator, not only in our firſt reconciliation, but during the whole time of our life, in which regard we always ſtand in need of his interceſſion, and conſequently always ſin and tranſgreſs the Law, otherwiſe Chriſt after our firſt reconciliation ſhould be idle, but ſo he is not* (ſaith *Bellarmine*) Firſt, *Becauſe he always miniſters ſtrength and grace by which we do good works.* Secondly, *He purgeth our daily and lighter ſins, and his blood cleanſeth us from all ſins. Or if through tranſgreſſion of the Law, we fall away from our ſtate of Righteouſneſs; he nevertheleſs is ſtill the propitiation for our ſins, and reconciles us not only ſeven times, but ſeventy times ſeven times to his Father, if converted by his Grace, we addreſs our ſelves to ſerious repentance. Therefore we make not Chriſt an idle Mediator, in ſaying the Law may be fulfilled; but our adverſaries truly make his benefits uneffectual, when they teach that the excellency of his obedience, could not effect that the Juſtification which is by the Law ſhould be fulfilled in us.* Whatſoever he thought it was ſafeſt for him to profeſs as he hath written, becauſe the [s] Trent Fathers for concluſion of that Seſſion, accurſe all that ſhould ſay their reſolutions in this point, did rather diſparage, than ſet forth the excellency of *Chriſts* Sacrifice, or the worth of his merits. But the more merciful *Bellarmine* makes his God, the readier to forgive our frequent treſpaſſes, the greater ſtill is their former mockery; ſeeing every time they repeat

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(r) Quinta objectio, Chriſtus Mediator eſt non ſolum in prima reconciliatione, ſed etiam poſtea in toto vitæ noſtræ tempore, ergo ſemper egemus interceſſione Chriſti, ac per hoc ſemper peccamus, legemq; tranſgredimur, alioqui poſt primam reconciliationem Chriſtus otioſus eſſet. Hoc argumentum commune eſt Calvino, Philippo, Kemnitio, & aliis, qui inde concludunt ſi qua eſt in nobis legis impletio, illam non tam eſſe operum, qua reſpondeant perfectione legis, quam fidei, quæ perpetuo apprehendit remiſſionem. *Bellar. lib.4. de Juſtif. cap.* 14 Reſpondeo, Chriſtus ſemper nobis mediator eſt, nec unquam eſt otioſus idque duplici ratione, Primo, quoniam ſemper nobis vires & gratiam ſubminiſtrat, per quam bona opera faciamus Ideo ſiquidem recte comparavit ſe ipſe viti & nos palmitibus. Ut enim palmes non poteſt ferre fructum, niſi manſerit in vite, & ſuccum traxerit à vite, ſic nec nos niſi manſerimus in Chriſto, & ſpiritum hauſerimus ex ipſo.

Secundo, quoniam peccata noſtra, quamvis levia & quotidiana, ipſa purgat, & ſanguis ejus emundat nos ab omni peccato. Et ſi forte legem prævaricando à juſtitia excidamus, ipſe nihilominus propitiatio eſt pro peccatis noſtris, & non ſepties, ſed ſuptuagies ſepties nos patri reconcileat, ſi per ejus gratiam converſi ſerio pœnitentiam agere incipiamus. Itaq; non facimus nos, qui legem impleri poſſe diximus, Chriſtum Mediatorum otioſum, ſed vere faciciunt Adverſarii Chriſti merita inefficacia, cum docent Chriſtum tam inſigni obedientia id efficere non potuiſſe, ut juſtificatio legis impleretur in nobis. *Bellarminus ibidem.*

(s) Si quis dixerit per hanc doctrinam Catholicam de juſtificatione à ſancta ſynodo hoc præſenti decreto expreſſam, aliqua ex parte gloriæ Dei vel meritis Jeſu Chriſti Domini noſtri, derogariet non potius veritatem fidei noſtræ, Dei denique ac Chriſti Jeſu gloriam illuſtrari Anathema ſit. *Concil. Trident. Seſſ. 6. Can. ult. Such peremptorineſs is uſual with them, when partiality or proud affection, over-bears the ſecret working of their Conſcience, laboruing to reclaim their error.* Vide lib.3. ſect. 2. c.4. parag.22.

that Petition, they implicitely, yet neceſſarily include theſe appurtenances, *Lord, make us ſuch as we ſhall not need of thy forgiveneſs.* The exceſs of divine Majeſty, in reſpect of Princely dignity preſuppoſed, their mockery of God in ſuing for reſtauration of Grace, after relapſes into mortal ſin, may for the quality be reſembled by imagination of ſome great favourite in the Court, after many bountiful rewards for little or no ſervice falling to rob or ſteal, and laſtly craving pardon in theſe or like terms: *I have grievouſly offended againſt your Crown and Dignity, but by your wonted grace I beſeech you, beſtow as good preferment on me, as before I had, and amends ſhall quickly be made, for all the wrongs I have done unto my fellow ſubjects: you ſhall not find matter of death in me again, ſo long as your bounty towards me laſts; that I ſhall not commit ſome petty ſins of wantonneſs, quarrelling, drinking, ſwearing, I hope your Highneſs will not expect, for theſe are not againſt your Law but beſides it.* The inſolency of this imagination in a Malefactor, (could an Earthly Prince know the heart whence it iſſued) would make his former offence, in it ſelf and courſe of common juſtice, meritorious of Death, altogether uncapable of mercy, otherwiſe eaſie to have been obtained. And is it either leſs excluſive from Gods favour, or more, provocative of his ſeverity to beg ſuch grace at his hands, as ſhall wipe out all former reckonings wherewith he could charge us, or having promiſed ſincere obedience to the Law, to elude the Lawgiver with that diſtinction, without which [t] *Bellarmine* thinks our Writers Arguments to prove the fulfilling of the Law impoſſible, can hardly be anſwered. *They* (ſaith he) *which grant* (as *Vega* doth) *venial ſins to be againſt the Law, are inforced to hold that to keep the Law is only poſſible, in as much as only the greater part of it may be kept, whence the denomination is indefinitely attributed to the whole; But what can they ſay to that of* James. *He that keepeth the whole Law, and offendeth in one point, is guilty of all. The ſolid anſwer therefore* (in his judgment) *is, that venial ſins without which we do not live, are not ſins ſimply, but imperfectly, and in a ſort; neither are they againſt the Law, but beſides the Law.* Such as firſt did apply this diſtinction, to that purpoſe for which the modern Romaniſt now miſuſeth it, might perhaps be in part excuſed by the barbarouſneſs of the times wherein they lived, and their ignorance in Scriptures. But we have cauſe to fear, that *Bellarmines* general skill and knowledge in them, was puniſhed by God with particular groſs, and palpable ignorance, or blindneſs rather, in thinking this quirk of wit ſhould glue together ſuch Oracles of the Apoſtles, as without it would mightily jar and ſtart aſunder. As that of *James* late cited [*He that offends in one* (mortally) *is guilty of all*, and this other, *In many things we all offend* (1.) venially.] or theſe two of St. *John* [*He that is born of God ſinneth not: If we ſay we have no ſin we deceive our ſelves.*] So doubtleſs they do, and mightily miſtake both theſe great Apoſtles meaning, that think any in this life ſhould be ſo righteous, as not to ſtand

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(*t*) Quarta objectio. Nemo poteſt vitare omnia peccata, cum ſcriptum ſit Jacobi 2. *In multis offendimus omnes. Et* 1. *Joan.* 1. *Si dixerimus quia peccatum non habemus, nos ipſos ſeducimus.* At qui legem omnem impleret, nullum haberet omnino peccatum: igitur fieri non poteſt, ut lex omnis à nobis, etiam cum fide & gratia, impleatur. *Reſpondeo,* Ab hoc argumento, quod valde Kemnitius urget, non tam facile ſe expediunt qui concedunt peccatum veniale eſſe proprie contra legem, ut Vega lib. 11. in Concilium cap. 20. coguntur enim dicere, legem non eſſe impoſſibilem, non quod tota ſimul ſervari poſſit, ſed quod ſerveri poſſit major ejus pars, & à meliori parte fiat denominatio. Sed videndum eſt illis quid reſpondeant Apoſtolo Jacobo dicenti. *Quicunq; totam legem ſervaverit, offendat autem in uno, factus eſt omnium reus.*

Solida igitur reſponſio eſt, peccata venalia, ſine quibus non vivimus, non eſſe peccata ſimpliciter, ſed imperfectè, & ſecundum quid, neq; eſſe contra legem ſed præter legem ut S. Thomas recte docet in 1. 2. quæſt. 88. art. 1. hinc enim omnia cohærent. Nam qui offendit in uno, prevaricans videlicet unum præceptum, factus eſt omnium reus & injuſtus ſimpliciter conſtituitur, & tamen in multis offendimus omnes, quia tametſi nihil facimus contra legem, tamen multa facimus præter legem Et qui natus eſt ex Deo non peccat, tranſgrediendo legem, & tamen ſi dixerimus, quia peccatum non habemus, nihil videlicet præter legem faciendo, nos ipſos ſeducimus, & veritas in nobis non eſt. *Bellar. lib.* 4. *de Juſtif. cap.* 14.

in need of Gods favour for abſolution from ſins committed againſt his Law; but of their meaning in the Chapter following.

9. Theſe diſcuſſions may inform the Reader that *Bellarmines* concluſion of this controverſie, wherein he may ſeem unto the unobſervant to attribute ſomewhat to Gods mercies, in the buſineſs of juſtification after grace infuſed, was but like the firſt invitation of an *Italian*, only for faſhion ſake. For if his authority could have moved any of his profeſſion, after fulneſs of grace, to have taſted the loving kindneſs of the Lord, he could not be ignorant that the *Trent* Council had ſhut the door upon them. *It is the ſafeſt way* (ſaith he[u]) *to put our whole truſt in Gods mercies.* Why ſo? becauſe there is no truſt or confidence to be put in our own good works or fruits of Grace? No, rather becauſe it is more eaſie to grow proud of our deeds, than to be aſſured of our ſincerity in doing them. But if neither ſafe it be to truſt in them; nor, by his doctrine, to any purpoſe without them to truſt in Gods mercies; he hath left his Roman Catholicks in a miſerable caſe, What is it then they can hope or deſire Gods mercies ſhould do for them; To remit their ſins? How? By not imputing them? this is all they can condemn in us. What then? to ſet Heaven open unto them without remiſſion of ſins or juſtification? This is more than can be laid to any Hereticks charge: none ever lived but granted juſtification to be a neceſſary Gate, through which all that have ſinned muſt enter into Heaven. It remains then the only ground of all hope, or truſt a Romaniſt can have of any good from Gods mercies, muſt be his precedent perſwaſion or belief of abſolute and perfect righteouſneſs, either now inhabiting his Soul, or hereafter to be obtained: That is, he muſt truſt God one time or other, will be ſo merciful to him, as he ſhall not ſtand in need of his mercy at the hour of Death.

10. He that would clearly convince the Romiſh Church, or her Children of a capital crime uſually objected by our Writers, ſhould begin with the vertual intention of the Prieſt, by rigid poſitions of their late Writers, moſt neceſſarily required to the effectual working of the Sacraments: for that evidently breedeth doubt; whereunto if we adjoin, this abſolute neceſſity of compleat habitual Grace, inherent for remiſſion of ſins, it openly condemns the *Trent* Council it ſelf for nurſing deſpair of ſalvation. In that they make ſuch Grace the ſole formal cauſe of juſtification, without which, as all grant, there is no entrance into Gods reſt, a Romaniſts truſt, hope, or belief of life Eternal, as poſſible to him muſt firſt be terminated in the ſame degrees, unto ſo full a meaſure of grace or righteouſneſs as they require, either as preſent, or poſſibly future. He that doubts (as *Bellarmine* confeſſeth, moſt have juſt cauſe to doubt) whether he be perfectly righteous or no, muſt of neceſſity conceive equal doubt of his eſtate in grace. He that knows (as who throughly examining his own heart for any ſpace together but may know) he is not able to plead

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(u) Sit tertia propoſitio: propter incertitudinem propriæ juſtitiæ, & periculum inanis gloriæ tutiſſimum eſt, fiduciam totam in ſola Dei miſericordia, & benignitate reponere. Explico propoſitionem, non enim ita accipienda eſt quaſi non ſit homini totis viribus ſtudendum, operibus bonis, aut non ſit in eis confidendum quaſi non ſint vera juſtitia, aut judicium Dei ſuſtinere non poſſint, ſed hoc ſolum dicimus tutius eſſe, meritorum jam partorum, quodammodo oblviſci, & in ſolam miſericordiam Dei reſpicere, Tum quia nemo abſq; revelatione certo ſcire poteſt, ſe habere vera merita, aut in eis in finem uſq; perſeveraturum; Tum quia nihil eſt facilius in hoc loco tentationis, quam ſuperbiam ex conſideratione bonorum operum gigni. Probatur igitur propoſitio teſtimoniis illis, quæ adverſarii contra merita operum afferre ſolent. Nam quod ait Daniel cap. 9. Non in juſtificationibus noſtris proſternimus preces noſtras, ante faciem tuam, ſed in miſerationibus tuis multis. Et quod ipſe Dominus admonet Lucæ. 17. Cum feceritis hæc omnia quæ præcepta ſunt vobis dicite, ſervi inutiles ſumus, hoc ſolum probant, quod nos dicimus, tutum eſſe in ſola miſericordia Dei eſt non in operibus noſtris fiduciam collocare. Quod etiam teſtantur publicæ preces, quas Eccleſia Catholica ad altare fundere ſolet. Nam in collecta Dominicæ quæ Sexageſſima dicitur, ſic orat Eccleſia: Deus qui conſpicis quia ex nulla noſtra actione confidimus, &c. *Bellar. lib. 3. de juſtificatione. Cap. 7.*

plead for his cauſe with God in Juſtice, is bound to believe his preſent want of ſaving Grace. He that cannot raiſe his heart (through conſciouſneſs of his often tranſgreſſions much dejected) to theſe magnanimous hopes of ever being able to fulfill the Law of God, is, (this diſtruſt remaining) by his blind belief of the Churches infallibility in this Decree bound finally to deſpair of Salvation, or any good, Gods mercies, or his Redeemers blood can do him. We are content to take *Bellarmines* teſtimony as authentick againſt his fellows, that our arguments prove his former concluſion [*It is ſafeſt to put our whole truſt and confidence in Gods mercies*] the undoubted conſequence whereof is, that the *Trent* Council did err pernicioſly in ſo reſolveing this principal point of Salvation, as hath been declared. But it is a wonder to behold what miraculous reconciliations, the imaginary Unity of the Roman Church, can work in Jeſuitical brains. *Bellarmine*, whether out of fear of ſharper cenſure, enforced to uſe this miſerable ſhelter, or ſo dazled with the myſtical unity of the inerrable Church, that he could diſcern no difference betwixt the *Trent* Councils Decree and his own concluſion, takes it as approved by the Roman Church, becauſe that Church allows the ſame *Collect* we do upon *Sexageſſima Sunday*. As if becauſe he now had captivated, his underſtanding to think the Church is always the ſame and cannot err, therefore the Author of that *Collect* muſt needs be the ſame mind the *Trent* Council was; when as a greater part of their beſt Scholars, about the time it was celebrated, did in this point better accord with the *Auſpurge* Confeſſion, than with it. Had the Doctrine contained in that *Collect*, been exhibited to the Council by reformed Churches, it had been as peremptorily condemned as any Article of *Wikliffe* or *Luthers* Doctrine, but now ſeeing it hath ſlept ſo long in their Liturgy, that the ſufferance of it may ſeem to argue a tacite conſent or approbation of that Church, into whoſe thoughts it never came, the Author of it though for ought they know, a man as obnoxious to errour as we are, and out of all queſtion of our opinion in the point of Juſtification, muſt be thought not to have erred, in conceiving that Prayer which the Church allows; his meaning rather ſhall be quite contradictory to his words. More than miraculous muſt the compoſition of that body have been, which but one in it ſelf, ſhould exactly have ſymbolized with every ingredient in old *Chaos*: yet no leſs ſtrange may the Jeſuits temper ſeem (were he not *homo* δίψυχος or πολύψυχος) which can infallibly believe every opinion, held for this thouſand years by that Church, which in reſpect of Faith and Doctrine, is but one, after the ſame manner *Chaos* was; one huge Maſs of contrarieties and confuſions, in this reſpect better conſorting with Jeſuitical Faith, which is but a *prime matter* or indeficient ſeminary of various treachery, as the whole body of his Religion, is but a meer hogepoge of diſtinctions.

Tome I.

CHAP. VIII.

How far the Law muſt be fulfilled in this life: of the Regiment of Grace: of the permanency of Juſtification, *what interruptions it may admit, how theſe muſt be repaired, or in what ſenſe it may be ſaid to be reiterated:* That every *ſin is againſt Gods Law, though not incompatible with the ſtate of Grace.*

1. SEeing that Juſtification, which is by Faith in Chriſt, ſo much preſſed by St. *Paul*, preſuppoſeth that ſtate of integrity or qualification for acceptance with God, whereunto St. *James* requireth works; or (to uſe his words) *the fulfilling of the royal Law of liberty*, without reſpect of perſons, or reſerved indulgence to our deſire; it will be neceſſary, briefly to examine, how far the Law may be fulfilled by us in this life, or (which is all one) with what meaſure of inherent righteouſneſs, or ſanctifying grace, that Faith which only juſtifies muſt be accompanied. Now ſeeing the Law is but the image of Gods Will, or of that internal Law of righteouſneſs which was in Chriſt, whereunto Faith, as hath been ſaid includes a Conformity: ſuch a fulfilling of the Law in this life, as may witneſs our true imitation of divine goodneſs, not in good will or mind only, but in good works, is in this life not only poſſible but requiſite. [w] *We muſt be perfect as our Heavenly Father is perfect*, which ſpeech of our Saviour cannot be underſtood according to the meaſure of perfection, (nor was he himſelf as man ſo holy and perfect as God his Father) but according to the truth of the propoſition: for *vero nihil verius*, we muſt be as truly perfect and holy according to that imperfect meaſure which our polluted nature is capable of, as God is, according to the infinite or abſolute perfection of holineſs: yet are we not holy after the ſame manner Chriſt was holy, or *Adam* in the ſtate of his integrity: It is a very fit diſtinction uſed by Divines in this argument, that there is a *twofold perfection*, one of *parts*, another of *degrees*, whereof the former is as neceſſary as the other impoſſible to all in this life. The *perfection of parts* may in general be illuſtrated by a Child or Infant, which though wanting the ſtrength and agility, hath the true life and right proportion of man in every part, and able in ſome ſort to move every member it hath, though not by perfect motion. Strong and ſound men in Chriſt Jeſus we cannot be in this life, yet altogether dead, monſtrous or miſhapen we may not be. Howbeit if we apply this reſemblance to the point in queſtion, it better fits that opinion of the Divines of *Colen*, which held mens righteouſneſs inherent to be imperfect only in reſpect of the quantity, than the Doctrine of reformed Churches, which with our beſt righteouſneſs admit a mixture of ſin inherent: ſo as this perfection of parts, according to their Tenets, may more aptly be compared unto a Child indued with life, and rightly proportioned, yet ſubject to ſome Diſeaſe or Infirmity; able to walk, but depraved in all his motions, always prone to ſtumble or fall. The manner as well of ſins inherence in our nature after infuſion of grace, as of its concurrence in our actions, ſhall be declared

(w) *Math.* 5. 48.

red (by Gods aſſiſtance) in the ſeventh Book; here we ſuppoſe (what there ſhall be proved) that while we are in the fleſh, we have ſin in us more or leſs, but deprived of rule or ſoveraignty, where Faith, or Grace hath gotten poſſeſſion in the Heart.

2. Man as he is rightly called a little World, ſo hath he a true regiment in himſelf. His form of Government in the ſtate of integrity may be parallelled by the imaginary model of *Platoes* Weal-publick, or the *Vtopia*; his diſordered ſtate of nature before grace infuſed by an *Anarchy*, or ſome out-Country infeſted by Out-laws, wherein the beſt are moſt expoſed to ſpoil his ſtate of grace by a civil or well governed Kingdom or *Ariſtocracy*. The beſt and worſt Bodies Politick, Anarchies, and right ordered ſtates, do not differ in that the one hath Thieves and Malefactors, and the other none, but rather (as ſome Dialects in this land diſtinguiſh) in that the one hath *reavers*, the other only plain Thieves, or briefly in that Malefactors cannot ſo bear themſelves out in miſchief, over-ſway the Laws, or over-run honeſt men in the one, as in the other they may. The times have been, not long ſince, wherein, if any poor man in ſome quarters of this land, ſhould have followed ſuch ravinous Creatures, as lived by night ſpoils, to their Dens: he ſhould have had more to take part againſt him, than join with him: others knowing where their goods were, and who ſtole them durſt not own them, leſt they ſhould ſeem to challenge the Fellon of Theft, which would ſooner have indangered their lives than his, or procured the burning of their Houſes over their heads, or ſome like miſchief. The honeſter man and more obſervant of his Princes Laws, the harder in thoſe days was his caſe; the ordinary courſe which the more crafty or politick could take for their ſafety, was when they ſaw a Thief to conſent unto him, either out-putting their Neighbours goods for him to drive, or harbouring ſuch as they could not but know to be Boot-hailers. But theſe miſ-orders (God be praiſed) are much amended; their memory though yet freſh, fitly ſerves to ſet forth the ſtate of the unregenerate, or meer natural man, in whom ſin is always inſolent and audacious, even openly to wound the Soul and waſte the Conſcience, and perſecuted by the Law of God or nature, rageth the more, and raiſeth Rebellion in the affections; ſeeking as it were to ſet all the faculties of the Soul in combuſtion, rather than it ſhould be reſtrained of its wonted courſe. The only Peace and ſecurity the carnally minded thus aſſaulted, finds, is to offer ſuch his Conſcience to ſleep, and the eye of reaſon (which I may term Faith natural) to wink at theſe diſorders of inferiour faculties, or tacitely conſent unto them. But ſo it is not in the ſtate of Grace, which notwithſtanding never wants ſinful adherents; not only in habit or affection, but oft-times burſting out into action, to hurt both Soul and Conſcience; as there always have been and ever will be Thefts and Robberies, with other outrages, committed even in the moſt civil and beſt governed parts in the land. But as in them, the meaneſt ſubject that can make proof of his wrongs, or who did them, may have enow to take his part for proſecuting or attaching, and ſafely uſe the benefit of known Laws, for repreſſing or cutting of the ſtouteſt or proudeſt Malefactors; ſo the faithful heart and Conſcience is always reſolute and bold to challenge his deareſt affections, of every leaſt tranſgreſſion, to repreſs, arraign, and condemn them. And as *Carthages* often provocation of *Rome*, coſt it dearer in the ſetting on, than other Cities vanquiſhed by

the Romans; ſo ſuch delights or pleaſures as have moſt wronged our Souls, or done greateſt deſpight unto the ſpirit of Grace, are kept under with greateſt care, and in the end throughlieſt mortified by the Law of Faith. Even in the Regiment of this little World, that Axiom hath its due force, *Ex malis moribus bonæ leges naſcuntur.* Every man invents peculiar Laws, ſecret Vows, or the like, againſt ſuch practices or affections as have moſt ſeduced him to tranſgreſs the Laws of his God.

3. Now as the State or publick Government is not to be ſcandalized with the infamy of Thieves and Robbers, which harbour in it, ſo long as the Magiſtracy is vigilant to enact and execute ſevere Laws for their repreſſion: ſo neither are we accounted by our gracious God amongſt the unjuſt, for theſe ſins which often make head againſt us, ſo long as Faith thus fights againſt them, and keeps them under able to hold ſuch a hand over them manifeſted and known, as Governors in a well ordered body politick, do over notorious and open Malefactors: Not that ſuch ſins are not in their nature meritorious of eternal Death, or not ſufficient, if God ſhould deal in juſtice to condemn us, but that in mercy he doth not impute them, whiles thus qualified in the habit, we ſue for pardon in the name and mediation of our Saviour. Thus I dare boldly ſay, that not the leaſt ſin againſt the Law of God, committed after Regeneration, but (were it poſſible for the regenerate to give indulgence to it) would (at the leaſt) exclude them from life eternal. Nor doth this argue, as ſome captious Reader will perhaps imagine, that a man may fall either finally or totally from the ſtate of *Grace*; but rather that all impoſſibility he hath of not ſo falling, eſſentially depends upon a like impoſſibility of not continuing his indulgence to known offences, or negligence in repenting or bewailing his ſecret ſins. Even after the infuſion of Faith moſt perfect; faithful repentance for ſins committed, is as abſolutely neceſſary to Salvation, as the firſt infuſion was. Nor is this Heavenly pledge, while dormant, though truly dwelling in our Souls, immediatly apt to juſtifie: their conceit of theſe great myſteries is too jeiune and trivial, which make Juſtification but one indiviſible tranſitory act, or *mutatum eſſe*, from the ſtate of Nature to the ſtate of Grace, in Saint *Paul's* Divinity ſure I am, it hath a *permanent duration*, and it is but the next ſtep unto Hypocriſie, a meer perverting of the uſe of Grace, thus to infer (*I have true Faith, therefore I ſhall always uſe it aright*) A wiſe man would rather argue thus (*I have the right uſe and exerciſe of Grace, therefore my Faith is true, and ſuch as will juſtifie*) As the firſt infuſion of it fully remits our ſins paſt, and is to us a ſure pledge of Gods perpetual favour, ſo in no caſe may we take it as an abſolute antedated pardon for ſins to come, as if they were forgiven of God before committed by us; for they are forgiven by the right uſe or exerciſe, not by the bare habit or inhabitation of Faith in our Souls. Into the contrary errors men are often led, by a jealouſie of coming too near the Papiſts, if they ſhould admit of more juſtifications than one. And it is true, that juſtification, in ſome ſenſe, excludes plurality or reiteration; but we are not to deny that of all, which is compatible only with ſome.

We are therefore to conſider there is a *threefold Juſtification*, one *radical* or *fundamental*, which is the infuſion of habitual *Grace* or *Faith*; and this is never but one another *actual*, which I account *actual ſupplications* made in Faith, for the remiſſion of ſins committed, either before the infuſion of Faith or after. What is it to pray in Faith, is partly intimated * before, party in the end of this Chapter, elſewhere more fully and purpoſely handled.

The third is, *Juſtification vertual*, which conſiſts in the performance of that and the like precepts, ***watch and pray continually***, which cannot be meant of actual Prayers, for he that ſo prays continually, ſhall continually uſe much babling. In this perpetuity of *vertual Prayer*, conſiſts the permanent duration of Juſtification, which yet hath many interruptions. A man may have the habit of Faith, and yet not always pray in Faith, either actually or virtually; as he may be out of charity with his Brother, or unlawfully detain goods wrongfully gotten, without preſent forfeiture of his eſtate in Grace, though to pray in Faith, it is impoſſible in the one caſe, until he be reconciled to his brother, or have freely forgiven him; in the other, until he hath made reſtitution of thoſe things this Conſcience condemned him for keeping. The perpetuity of his vertual Prayer or Juſtification therein conſiſting, depends upon the continuance of ſome former reſolution or intention made in Faith, which is not always prejudiced by minding other matters, but only by doing things forbidden by the Law of God; or (as Saint *Paul* ſpeaks) *not of Faith*. A man intending to go a journey, vertually continues his former intent, ſo he keep on his way without digreſſion; albeit he actually mind not the buſineſs he goes about, but entertain ſuch other thoughts or diſcourſe as way or company ſhall afford. But if through too much minding company or other matters, he ſhould chance to wander, or fore-ſlow opportunities of diſpatching his intended buſineſſes; his vertual intention is interrupted, and time loſt muſt be redeemed with double diligence: So muſt ſuch ruptures as actual ſins, or omiſſion of neceſſary duties, make in the perpetuity of vertual praying or permanency of Juſtification thence depending, be repaired with actual Prayers made in Faith. But here we may deſcry the idle curioſity of ſome wits more acute than ſubtle, at leaſt than ſound, and rather apt through multiplying entities without neceſſity to obſcure matters in themſelves diſtinct and clear, than to clear difficulties or obſcurities. For ſome there be which ſpeak of *Faith* and *Repentance*, as of two ſpiritual habits or graces *really*, or at leaſt *eſſentially diſtinct*. It is one thing indeed to riſe, another to walk, yet both immediate and proper acts of one and the ſame motive faculty: ſo is it one thing to *believe*, and another to *repent*, yet both formal acts of one and the ſame habit; only the latter includes a peculiar reference to a ſlip or fall, whence it receiveth a diſtinct name from the former, which ſpecially imports a direct progreſs in the way of godlineſs without interruption. Better we cannot notifie the nature of true *Repentance*, than by reſtauration of Faith to its wonted throne, out of which it had for a time been juſtled by ſinful affections, though not depoſed from its ſoveraignty; as *David* was prejudiced by his Sons Rebellion; and for a time enforced to forſake the Hill of *Sion*, though not deprived of his Kingdom. Even ſuch *Repentance* as uſually goes before Regeneration, hath a correſpondent Faith annexed; the difference betwixt them only ſuch, as is between *heat* and *caleſaction*, which as ſome good Philoſophers

Of the diſtinction between Faith and Repentance.

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* Sect. Chap. 5.

We then pray in Faith, when we faithfully ſubmit our will unto Gods will, unfeignedly renouncing all our former ſins, or evil cuſtoms, truly denying our ſelves, the world, &c. *Thus affected we may be in the actual ſtate of Grace, albeit through natural conſtitution, ſome diſeaſe of body or diſtemper of the brain, not without fear of death or doubt of Salvation. If ſuch ſubmiſſion of our will to Gods will, have been prejudiced or interrupted by entertaining ſome unlawful deſires, or by grievous actual offences; our former temper or reſolution muſt be re-aſſumed or reiterated, and by reiterations we may be truly ſaid to be actually rejuſtified.*

Philoſophers reſolve us,is *heat*, not acquired or conſiſtent, but only in the *motion* or *acquiſition*. Or briefly to ſpeak more fully, *Faith* always moves unto Repentance, which generally taken, may in few words, not unfitly be defined to be a *ſorrow for ſin, conceived and moderated by Faith*, and as the *Faith* is, ſuch is the *ſorrow*, either meerly moral or truly ſpiritual.

4. The ſum of all we have delivered in theſe two Chapters is briefly, but moſt divinely ſet down by Saint *John*, who though he uſe not .the formal terms of Juſtification, yet expreſſeth the nature of it; howſoever taken by words equivalent, or rather more Theological or ſignificant, as [x] *by fellowſhip with God the Father his Son* Chriſt, *and his members*, and by the fruits of it, *fullneſs of joy. For being juſtified by Faith* (as St. [y] *Paul* ſaith) *we have peace with God through our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt, *and rejoyce in hope of his glory.* [z] *This then is the meſſage* (ſaith Saint *John*) *which we have heard of him, and declare unto you, that God is light, and in him is no darkneſs at all. If we ſay we have fellowſhip with him, and walk in darkneſs, we lye and do not the truth. But if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowſhip one with another.* This walking in the light, *as God is in the light*, is that juſtification or qualification whereof Saint *James* ſpeaks, whereby we become immediately capable of Chriſts Righteouſneſs, or actual participants of his propitiation, which is the ſole immediate cauſe of our Juſtification taken, as Saint *Paul* doth it, for remiſſion of ſins, or actual approbation with God. The truth of which doctrine Saint *John* likewiſe ratifies in terms equivalent, in the words immediately following: *And the blood of Chriſt cleanſeth us* (walking in the light as God is in the light) *from all ſin:* not from ſuch only as were committed before the infuſion of that Grace, which is the ground of our fellowſhip with God, and amongſt our ſelves, the very lamp by whoſe light we walk, but from all ſubſequent tranſgreſſions of what kind ſoever. Now *if we ſay that we* (ſuch as Saint *John* then was, regenerate and in the ſtate of Grace) *have no ſin, we deceive our ſelves, and the truth is not in us.* Even ſuch then as walk in the light are ſinners, and not juſt in themſelves, but only as they are beſprinkled with Chriſts righteous blood. Nevertheleſs, *if we confeſs our ſins* (faithfully) *he is faithful and juſt to forgive us our ſins, and to cleanſe us from all unrighteouſneſs*, not from ſins *Venial* only. And is there any circumſtance either in the matter or manner of his diſcourſe, which may occaſion us to ſuſpect the ſame word (*ſin*) ſhould not be of equal importance in both theſe places laſt cited, and that third following; *Theſe things write I unto you that ye ſin not.* What, *venially* only? No queſtionleſs, he was more deſirous that they ſhould not ſin mortally; nor do the Authors of this diſtinction deny that men regenerate may ſin ſo grievouſly, as to fall both totally and finally from Grace: yet ſaith Saint *John*, *If any man ſin* (as there is no man that ſinneth not both mortally and venially by our adverſaries grant) [a] *we have an Advocate with the Father*, Jeſus Chriſt *the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our ſins.* In what manner? only as he is the meritorious cauſe or fountain of Grace whereby we are immediately and throughly cleanſed? No, rather as he is [b] *righteous*, and by interpoſition of his eternal Sacrifice even till this day, as immediate a cauſe of our pardon from all ſins whether paſt or preſent, as it was of our general reconcilement while it was offered. Nor did he die to procure us Grace, whereby

(x) John 1. 3, 6, 7.

(y) Rom. 5. 1.

(z) 1 John 1. 3.

(a) 1 John 2.

(b) *This is his title as he is our Advocate.* 1 John 2. 1.

whereby we might become righteous and pure in his Fathers ſight, but gave us grace that we might be purified by his death and paſſion: yet if ſins *mortal*, as well as *venial* (to uſe our adverſaries language) be comprehended in the ſaying laſt cited;[c] *Bellarmines* reconciliation of the former words [[d] *if we ſay that we have no ſin*] with this other [[e] *whoſoever is born of God ſinneth not*] is palpably falſe.

5. But if his be amiſs, it will be expected we reconcile them aright, and ſo we may with as great eaſe as perſpicuity. In the latter then he ſpeaks of habitual ſin, or ſuch indulgence to tranſgreſſions, as St. *James* makes liable to the breach of the whole Law: for by ſin it is evident he includes as much as he had ſaid in the beginning of that diſcourſe, * *whoſoever committeth ſin, tranſgreſſeth alſo the Law.* Why, is there any ſin which in the *Proteſtants* Doctrine is not a tranſgreſſion of the Law? or is it poſſible a man ſhould go againſt the commandment and not tranſgreſs it? But if ſome ſins there be, as Roman Catholicks teach, only *beſides the Law*, in doing them, we do not tranſgreſs the Law, but rather *pretergreſs*, or go beſides it. Yet ſeeing the Law-givers will was, that we ſhould do the Law, not only hear it, much leſs go beſides it, there is no *pretergreſſion* of it, but is directly againſt the Law-givers will, otherwiſe a ſervants negligence ſhould not be againſt his maſters will, but beſides it. For tell me, *O ye fools and blind*, whether is more? only to omit the good deeds of the Law, or to commit ſuch as your ſelves acknowledge to be beſides it? Though the matter of omiſſion may be far greater, yet for the form of the action, whence the denomination of oppoſition muſt be taken, no ſin of omiſſion can be ſo properly ſaid to be againſt the Law, as the leaſt poſitive ſin or tranſgreſſion we can imagine. He that commits any thing diſagreeable to the Law, doth omit what is commanded by the Law, and ſomewhat more, and therefore doth more properly go againſt the Law, than he which only omits what is commanded.

(*) *The diſtinction of mortal and venial ſins, or of ſins beſides the law and againſt the law, hath no ground either in Saint* John *or Saint* James, *but was conceived by meer ignorance of Sacred dialect.*

But it is uſually the nature of Hypocriſie to place either ſanctity, or impiety rather in the matter, or outward act, than in the heart or affection. Far otherwiſe are we taught by the ſpirit of truth, that it is the heart which God requireth. No matter of ſin can be ſo light, but is, if the heart be ſet upon it, in the iſſue, deadly, and excludes from mercy: ſcarce any object ſo bad, as that the bare aſſent unto it, without delight or cuſtom, is utterly incompatible with the habit of Grace. Nor doth Saint *John* in the former places ſeeming contrary, ſuppoſe any difference in the act or matter of ſin, but only in the heart or habit of the ſinner. Every one tranſgreſſeth the Law in what ſin ſoever, but every tranſgreſſion makes not a man a *Law breaker* or *tranſgreſſor*: this denomination is not abſolutely given, but from a greater inclination or delight in doing evil than doing good. And it is clear that Saint *John*, when he ſaith [f] *he that is born of God ſinneth not*, uſeth the ſelf-ſame Syllogiſtical term he had done before in that phraſe, ὁ ποιῶν ἁμαρτίαν, *he that committeth* [g] *ſin.* Now the word ποιῶν, according to the *Hebraiſm* which he follows, imports not the *act* or operation only, but the *habit*, or rather more than habit: and the whole phraſe, ἁμαρτίαν ποιῶν, is as much as the Latine, *operarius iniquitatis*, one that maketh a trade of ſin, or profeſſeth iniquity, whoſe ſervice is altogether incompatible with the profeſſion or hope of a Chriſtian. And this was the concluſion our Apoſtle was in both places to infer, as having taught immediately before, [h] *every one that hath*

(c) Cap. 6. Parag. 15.

(d) 1 Joh. 3. 9.

(e) 1 Joh. 3. 4.

(f) 1 John 3. 9.

(g) Ver. 4.

(h) Ver. 3.

hath this hope (of being the Son of God) *doth purge himſelf as he is pure*, and in habit becomes like unto him; as on the contrary (which is the Apoſtles inference likewiſe) *he that* [i] *commits ſin*, ὁ ποιῶν ἁμαρτίαν, reſembles his father the Devil, whoſe chief delight is in doing miſchief. It may be a Roman Catholick will ſooner believe, if we ſend him to *Maldonat*; who commenting upon the like [k] ſpeech, ποιοῦντας τὴν ἀνομίαν, thus far bears witneſs unto the truth we teach, that the Hebrew phraſe aims rather at the *habit* than the *act*; *that to work, or do iniquity*, is as much as to be an Artificer or Craftſmaſter of iniquity.

(i) Ver. 8.

(k) Mittet filius hominis Angelos ſuos, & colligent de regno hujus omnia ſcandala & eos qui faciunt iniquitatem, *Matth.* 13. *ver.* 41. *Maladon.* in hæc verba omnes qui iniquitatem exercent, & ut ita dicam iniquitatis artem factitant, magis enim habitus quam actus, Hebraica phraiſi ſignificatur.

2. *But we receive not the record of man, there is another that beareth witneſs of it, even our Saviour*, from whoſe mouth Saint *John* learned both the matter and phraſe of that diſcourſe. [l] *Verily* (ſaith he to the Jews) *whoſoever commiteth ſin is the ſervant of ſin: and the ſervant abideth not in the Houſe for ever; but the Son abideth for ever. If the Son therefore ſhall make you free, ye ſhall be free indeed*, from the raign of ſin, not from all acts of ſin. Hence did Saint *John* take that leſſon, [m] *You know that he was maniſeſted to take away our ſins, and in him is no ſin.* To be altogether without ſin, then was his peculiar; but, [n] *Whoſoever abideth in him, ſinneth not.* Not at all? So he ſhould not need any advocation: but he is no worker of iniquity, nor doth he ſin as Devils do, for whoſe ſins *Chriſt* was no propitiation. That ſo the Apoſtle meant is apparent from the parallel uſe of the ſame words immediately after reciprocally changed; *He that committeth ſin is of the Devil:* [o] *for the Devil ſinneth from the beginning*, (that is, hath continued his Apoſtacy or trade of ſin ever ſince his fall.) *For this purpoſe the Son of God was maniſeſted, that he might deſtroy the works of the Devil.* What were theſe? Delight in ſin, willful indulgence to tranſgreſſions and ſuch unrelenting oppoſition to the truth propoſed as did convince the Jews, by our Saviours verdict in the place laſt cited, to be the Sons of the Devil: [p] *ye are of your Father the Devil, and the luſts of your Father ye will do: he was a murtherer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, becauſe there is no truth in him. When he ſpeaketh a lie he ſpeaketh of his own: for he is a lier, and the father of lies. And becauſe I tell you the truth ye believe me not, yet which of you can rebuke me of ſin.* His Diſciples they might, becauſe the Sons of men: but in that there was no ſin in him, had they been of God they might have known him to be his Son. [q] *For he that is of God heareth Gods word, but they therefore heard them not becauſe they were not of God.* [r] *In this* (ſaith Saint *John*) *the Children of God are maniſeſt, and the Children of the Devil: whoſoever doth not* [ſ] *righteouſneſs is not of God, neither he that loveth not his Brother.* As this phraſe *to do righteouſneſs* ποιεῖν δικαιοσύνην evidently imports not the bare *acts* but *habitual* practice of righteouſneſs: ſo needs muſt the like phraſe ἁμαρτίαν ποιῶν *to commit ſin*, include an *habitual* practice or trade of ſin; and yet *to commit ſin*, and *to ſin*, are uſed promiſcuouſly, as terms altogether equivalent in this Chapter by Saint *John*. Our former concluſion therefore is moſt firm, that the difference ſuppoſed by the ſame Apoſtle in theſe two places. [t] [*If we ſay that we have no ſin we deceive our ſelves*] and [*whoſoever abideth in him ſinneth not*] conſiſts not in the *act* or *object* of *ſin*, but in the *habit* or *affection* of him that ſinneth. The ſame

(l) *John* 8.34.

(m) 1 *John* 3.5.

(n) *Ver.* 6.

(o) *V.* 8.

(p) *John* 8.44, 45.

(q) *Ver.* 47.

(r) 1 *John* 3. 10.

(ſ) πᾶς ὁ μὴ ποιῶν δικαιοσύνην.

(t) 1 *John* 1.8.

ſame anſwer fully reconciles the like ſpeeches of Saint [u] *James. He that offends in one* (to wit *habitually* or indulgently) *is guilty of all*, and yet [*in many things we all offend*] *actually* not *habitually*, or out of *infirmity*, not with *delight*. But every offence, whether *actual* or *habitual*, whether of *infirmity*, or of *purpoſe*, is directly againſt the Law or will of the Lawgiver, (for never was Woman, I think, ſo willful or pettiſh as to be offended, unleſs her will were thwarted or contradicted;) only caſes altogether omitted (which can have no place in God) or matters in their nature meerly indifferent, can truly be ſaid to be beſides the Law, or his mind that made it.

7. But perhaps that paſſage of Scripture which firſt inſtructed, and ſince confirmed me in the truth hitherto delivered, will give beſt ſatisfaction to the Reader. Concerning that exclamation of Saint *Paul.* [x] *O wretched man that I am: who ſhall deliver me from the body of this death*, ſome make queſtion: but no learned Divine, I think, will demand whether *David* uttered that complaint of himſelf, or of ſome other; [y] *Who can underſtand his errours? clearſe me from my ſecret ſins*, yet was he then born of God: for unto him the *ſtatutes of the Lord were* [z] *right, even the joy of his heart; the Commandments pure, and delightful unto his eyes, his fear able to cleanſe the heart, his judgments true and righteous altogether, all more to be deſired than gold, yea then much fine gold*; ſo lively and quick was the apprehenſion of his Faith, and yet uniformly enclined to practice. [a] *For by the Commandments he was warned to* [b] *beware of ſin, and in keeping them he found great reward.* But was he enabled exactly to fulfil the perfection of the Law, which had converted his Soul? or did he ever hope to attain to ſuch perfection as the Romaniſt muſt, ere he can have any hope of life? to be altogether without any ſin deſerving death? No, this is the height of his deſire: * *Keep back thy ſervant from preſumptuous ſins, let them not have dominion over me: then ſhall I be upright, and I ſhall be innocent from much tranſgreſſion*, or (as the Goſpel expounds his meaning) *from the raign of ſin.* But freed there from, did he not ſtand in need of Gods favour or mercy for remitting the ſcattered Forces, or vanquiſhed relicks of the Hoſt of ſin? Rather thus qualified he had ſure hope, his Prayers for mercy ſhould be heard, yet through the mediation of the *Meſſiah* that was to come. For ſo he concludes, *Let the words of my mouth*, or as the *interlineary* well expreſſeth the Prophetical Dialect, *Then ſhall the words of my mouth* (*being thus freed from the raign of ſin*) *and the meditation of my heart be acceptable in thy ſight, O Lord, my Rock, and my Redeemer.* Thus did he of whom *Chriſt* according to the fleſh was to come, after his converſion unto God, and long continuance in the ſtate of habitual Grace, expect redemption, not by infuſion of inherent righteouſneſs, in ſo full meaſure as ſhould make him immediately and formally juſt in the ſight of God, but by favourable acceptance of his Prayers, directed, not to the Throne of Juſtice, but to the Lord his Rock and Redeemer. That ſuch qualification as here he ſpeaks of, is a neceſſary condition of Prayers made in Faith; that Prayers ſo made, whether for private or publick good, are never rejected by God, is elſewhere partly, and ſhall (God willing) more at large be ſhewed. The like qualification for effectual Prayers another Pſalmiſt hath expreſſed, [c] *If I regard iniquity in my heart; the Lord will not hear me; But verily God hath heard me, he hath attended to the voice of my Prayer.* In the perpetuity of Prayers or Meditations, thus conceived or uttered by

(u) *James* 2. 10.

(w) *James* 3. 2.

(x) *Rom.* 7. 24.

(y) *Pſalm* 19. 12.

(z) *V.* 9, 10.

(a) *V.* 11.

(b) *This is that which S.* John *ſaith* 1 5. v 18. *He that is begotten of God* τηρεῖ ἑαυτὸν *doth as it were keepe a watch over his ways, and the wicked toucheth him not; that is, he comes not within him to endanger or overthrow him, as he doth the world, which as the Apoſtle ſaith* ἐν τῷ πονηρῷ κεῖται *lieth in wickedneſs, or is, as it were ſurrounded with evil.*

(*) *V.* 13.

(c) *Pſal.* 66. 18, 19. 1 John 3. 22. *Whatſoever we ask we receive of him, because we keep his commandments, and do theſe things which are pleaſing in his ſight.*

hearts free from the raign of ſin, or guilt of indulgence to ſecret unlawful deſires, have we, without diſſention doubtleſs from theſe Prophets and holy men of God, placed the permanency of juſtification, *actual* or *vertual*, which are the fruits or Crown of juſtification, *radical* or *fundamental*, the only right uſe and end of all Grace inherent. For though Faith or Grace at their firſt infuſion may aſſure us our ſins are remitted; yet may we not take theſe or other pledges of Gods love and favour as a full diſcharge or final acquittance of all reckonings betwixt him and us, but rather as a ſtock beſtowed upon us to begin the new World with, for which with the increaſe we muſt ſtill think our ſelves accomptable. Though it be a truth (not unqueſtionable) that a man once actually juſtified, or truly ſanctified, cannot finally uſe Gods graces amiſs; yet is it very doubtful, whether one may not either abuſe, or not uſe, ſuch gifts of God as rightly uſed, or imployed to his glory, might have been means infallible of juſtification. But this is a rule as unqueſtionable as true, that were it poſſible for a man to uſe any extraordinary meaſure of inherent grace amiſs; he were to be called to a ſtrict accompt, as well for all his former ſins, as this abuſe of his talent. The irrefragable conſequence of which unqueſtionable truth is this doctrine we now maintain. [*The immediate qualification for remiſſion of ſins*, is not the habit or inherence, but the right uſe of grace or perſeverance in Prayers conceived by that Faith which unites us unto *Chriſt*,] If this vertual intention or reſolution, either by contrary acts or meer negligence be remitted, our ſins paſt, whether committed before the infuſion of grace or after, recover their wonted ſtrength according to the degrees of this remiſſion, and their ſeveral weight, until we repair our ſlackneſs, by fervent zeal and intenſive devotion, jointly incline the mind to diſtruſt of Gods preſent favour or our ſure eſtate in Grace.

8. [d] What we have ſet down more at large, was exactly figured in the Sacrifices of the Law, daily offered, even for ſuch as by the Law were clean, and obſerved Gods Commandments with as great conſtancy and devotion as any now living do. This might inſtruct us, that our perſons become not immediately capable of divine preſence or approbation by infuſion of habitual Grace, or freedom from the tyranny of ſin; theſe are the internal Characters of our Royal Prieſthood, whoſe Function is continually to offer up the ſweet incenſe of Prayers from hearts in part thus purified by Faith: For by ſuch Sacrifices are we made actual partakers of that Eternal Sacrifice, whoſe vertue and efficacy remains yeſterday, to day, the ſame for ever. [e] It being ſo perfect and all-ſufficient, could not be offered more than once, but through the vertue of it, the Offrings of our Prieſthood muſt be continually preſented unto our God. [f] Nor can we ſo often lift up our hearts towards Heaven, but the voice of *Chriſts* blood, never ceaſing to ſpeak better things than that of *Abels*, ſtill joins with our Prayers, and diſtinctly articulates our imperfect ſighs or mutterings, always crying: *Father forgive them, Father receive them to thy mercy*, ſeeing they are content to be partakers of my ſufferings, and ſeek to be finally healed only by my wounds. As the Apoſtle

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(d) *Pertinent to this obſervation is that place.* Revel. 8. v. 3 *If by the Angel their offering odours with the Prayers of all Saints upon the golden Altar, we underſtand Chriſt, as moſt interpreters do, but (upon what grounds I know not)* Ribera *and* Brightman *differ from the reſt, in the interpretation of that place.*

(e) Per omnia ſibi pater in filio cum placuit, nec ulla in eo ſerpentis ſunt reperta veſtigia, nec ſacerdotis ejus pœnituit Deum, quoniam ſacrificium quod in cruce obtulit, ſic in bene placito Dei conſtat acceptabile, & perpetua virtute conſiſtit, ut non minus hodie in conſpectu patris oblatio illa ſit efficax, quam ea die qua de ſaucio lateris ſanguis & aqua exivit, & ſemper reſervatæ in corpore plagæ ſalutis humanæ exigant pretium, & obedientiæ donativum requirant. *Cypr. ſive Author De Baptiſ & S. Trinit.*

(f) *This man becauſe he endureth ever, hath an Everlaſting Prieſthood, wherefore, he is able alſo perfectly to ſave them that come unto God by him, ſeeing he ever liveth, to make interceſſion for them.* Heb. 7. v. 11.

Apoſtle teacheth us, [g] *that there is given no other name under Heaven beſides* Chriſt, *whereby we may be ſaved*, ſo was it foretold by the Prophet, that [h] *this ſalvation muſt be by calling upon his name*; not by mediation of grace, or other fruits of the ſpirit obtained by invocation, but by invocation of it in truth and ſpirit, ſeeing his ſpirit was poured out upon all fleſh to this end, that all ſhould call upon his name, and by ſo calling be ſaved. This though uſually expreſſed in other terms, is the opinion of Orthodoxal Antiquity in this point; and if my conjecture fail me not, the dreaming fancies of a *daily propitiatory Sacrifice* in the *Maſs*, was firſt occaſioned from dunſtical or drowſy apprehenſions of the primitive Dialect, wherein (as all the ſpeeches of the ancient are full of life) Chriſts body and blood are ſaid to be often offered, not in Scholaſtick propriety of ſpeech, but in a Rhetorical figurative, or exhortatory ſenſe, becauſe our daily Sacrifices become acceptable to God through it, becauſe the benefits of it are as effectually applied unto us by our faithful repreſentations of it, as if it were daily offered in our ſight.

The error of modern Romaniſts hence occaſioned, is the ſame with that of the old Heathens, which dreamed of as many Gods; as they had ſeveral bleſſings from the Author of all goodneſs, who is but one.

[i] The Prebends of *Colen* notwithſtanding have made a Declaration of the third Sacrifice in their Maſs, much what to our purpoſe: ſo much of it as I have here ſet down, needs little correction in favourable conſtruction: Howſoever it ſutes very well with their forecited opinion concerning juſtification: How far diſſonant or conſonant that is unto the truth, I leave it to the Readers cenſure. As for the Jeſuits reſolution of the ſame controverſie by the *Trent* Councils determination, it is but a further document of his *Magical Faith*, and that he finally uſeth the grace of God but as a charm or *Amulet*, able to expel death by the full meaſure of it only worn or carried about, not by actual operation or right uſe. But what marvel if he openly renounce *Chriſt* for his *Mediator* in the principal act of redemption, when as he hath choſen the Pope for the Lord, his Rock, and Redeemer, even for that Rock whereon that Church againſt which the Gates of Hell ſhall never prevail, muſt be founded.

(g) *Acts* 4. v. 12.

(h) *Joel* 2. v. 32.

(i) Quanquam enim ſacrificium illud in ea forma qua in cruce offerabatur, ſemel tantum oblatum ſit, & ſemel tantum ſanguis effuſus, ut ita repeti iterumq; offerri non poſſit: nihilominus tamen conſiſtit & manet tale ſacrificium coram Deo perpetuo in ſua virtute & efficacia acceptum, ita ut ſacrificium illud ſemel in cruce oblatum, non minus hodierno die in conſpectu patris ſit efficax ac vigens, quam eo die quo de ſaucio latere ſanguis exivit & aqua. Sic beatus Cyprianus in ſermone de Baptiſmo & manifeſt. Trinitat. teſtatur. Quapropter cum vulnerati corporis noſtri plagæ pretio redemptionis ſemper opus habeat; Eccleſia proponit Deo Patri pretium illud, in vera fide & devotione iterum, (ſed figurative & ſpiritualiter) ad conſequendam remiſſionem peccatorum. Non quod huic operi ſuo (quo videlicet commemorat & repræſentat ſacrificium illius) meritum adſcribat remiſſionis peccatorum, ut quam ſolus Chriſtus cruenta ſua oblatione in cruce nobis promeruit. Verum tali ſuo commemorativo & myſtico fidei ſacrificio, in quo repræſentat Eccleſia, & ſiſtit in conſpectum patris verum corpus & ſanguinem ejus unigeniti applicat ſibi & accommodat magnum & inæſtimabile illud donativum remiſſionis peccatorum quod Chriſtus impetravit: Cum accipiat remiſſionem peccatorum, per nomen ejus qui credit in eum Actuum 10. *Antididagma Colon.* de Sacrif. Miſſ. de *Conſecratione* Euchariſtiæ, & tertio Miſſæ Sacrificio.

CHAP. IX.

That firmly to believe Gods mercies in Chriſt, *is the hardeſt point of ſervice in Chriſtian warfare: That our confidence in them can be no greater than our fidelity in practice of his Commandments: That mediation upon* Chriſts *laſt appearance is the ſureſt method for grounding true confidence in him.*

LEſt the end of this diſcourſe ſhould miſs the end and ſcope whereto the whole was purpoſely directed; I muſt entreat the Chriſtian Reader, to pardon my fear and jealouſie (which from the reaſons mentioned in the firſt Chapter of this Section, too well experienced in the temper of this preſent Age, is always great) leſt diſputation againſt Romiſh Hereſie, caſt us into a relapſe of that natural careleſneſs or hypocriſie, whereof all, more or leſs, have participated. But for whoſe avoidance hereafter, if thine heart be affected as mine now is, and I wiſh it always may continue, let this meditation never ſlip out of thy memory: *That* ſeeing the laſt and principal end of all Graces beſtowed upon us in this life, is rightly to believe in *Chriſt*, this cannot be, as the drowſie wordling dreams, the eaſieſt, but rather the moſt difficult point of Chriſtianity. The true reaſon why unto many not otherwiſe miſaffected, it ſeems not ſuch, is, becauſe in this time of his abſence from earth, our imaginary love of his goodneſs, wanting direct oppoſition [k] of any ſtrong deſire or reſolution to manifeſt the levity or vanity of it, fancieth a like affection in him towards us. And ſeeing love is not ſuſpicious, but where it is perfect [l] excludes all fear, the very conceit of great mutual love betwixt Chriſt and us not interrupted, expels all conceit of fear or diffidence. Hence we uſually reſt perſwaded, our aſſent unto Gods mercies in him, is more ſtrong than unto moſt other objects of Faith, when as indeed theſe being the higheſt it would appear to be, in reſpect of them the weakeſt, had it as many daily temptations to encounter it, as we find in practices of other duties, whoſe habitual performance is the neceſſary ſubordinate mean to ſupport it. All the difficulties we daily ſtruggle with, are but ſtraglers of that main Army, with whoſe entire joynt force, we are to have the laſt conflict about this very point, which until the hour of death, or other extraordinary time of tryal, is ſeldom directly or earneſtly aſſaulted. But then, whatſoever breach of Gods commandments, love either to the world, or fleſh hath wrought in our Souls, will afford Satan advantage and opportunity for more facile oppugnation of our confidence. For as every leaſt ſin in its own nature deſerveth death, ſo doth the conſciouſneſs of it, more or leſs, impel the mind to diſtruſt of life. Yet even the greateſt will be content in theſe days of peace and ſecurity to ſleep with us, and lye quiet in hope to prevent us in the waking, and with the joint force of leſſer to ſurpriſe the Soul, or gain the ſtart or firſt ſway of the Spirit, an advantage much prejudicial to ſtrength, otherwiſe more than equal.

Much harder it is to retract a body after actual motion begun, than to reſtrain propenſions or inclinations from burſting out into actual motions. Our often yielding upon fore-warning of their aſſaults in many petty temptations, or ſtrong ones which come ſingle, might inſtruct

(k) Read Chap. 3.

(l) 1 John 4. 18.

ſtruct us how dangerous the conflict will be withal, which our memories, once throughly ſtirred, can muſter to affright our Conſciences. Yet if we did duly conſider the uniformity of ſtrength between the ſeveral branches of Faith, or as it reſpects divers objects; the very conſciouſneſs of any one ſin whereunto we have been indulgent, will be of like force to withdraw our aſſent from Gods mercies, as the delight or pleaſure we took in the object of it, was to cauſe us to tranſgreſs any part of his will revealed. The ſame ſtrength beauty had to allure unto adultery, will that foul ſin unrepented of have to divorce our Souls from Chriſt. Nor could we fail in practice of this or other commandment, without a precedent defect of that Faith which only can firmly unite us unto Chriſt, whereby likewiſe, were it firm it ſelf, we would aſſent unto every precept of God, as much better than any incompatible good. And ſeeing our preſent Faith, or truſt in God, is but commenſurable to our fidelity in his commandments, (than which, through ſcrupuloſity of Conſcience, or Chriſtian mdoeſty, it may be leſs, but cannot be greater without hypocriſie or preſumption) it muſt needs want ſtrength to to lay ſure hold on Chriſts merits, until it be able to ſubdue thoſe deſires of the fleſh to which it yielded in the former temptations. To ſay, *Lord, Lord,* cannot ſuffice, ere we can truly reſume our wonted confidence, if any we had, or make a faithful plea for mercy; Gods will neglected muſt be executed either in the act, if the object be preſent, and may be proſecuted, or in ſincere and conſtant reſolution, if abilities or opportunities, required to execution of what we reſolve upon, be altogether wanting, or our endeavours upon inevitable occaſions hindred.

2. For our better preparation againſt this laſt and terrible conflict with the world, the devil and fleſh; let us imagine the next Thunder-clap, or uncouth ſound we hear did ſummon us to final judgment; or if our imaginations be ſo quick and lively as to awake themſelves without external noiſe or clamour, or able as of matters ſecular, ſo of divine that certainly ſhall be, to frame repreſentations as if they were already preſent: let us contemplate Chriſt; not as far abſent or ſoliciting our cauſe before his Father, but now appearing in majeſty and great glory, accompanied with infinite Legions of Holy Angels for his Aſſeſſors, or attended by Satan, and in his Infernal Troops deſirous to be employed in the execution of his ſentence. Were the eyes of all our Faith as firmly ſet upon this ſight, as ſome mens are upon his merits and perſonal love to them, ſo as the objects of terrors yet unſeen, but which we ſtedfaſtly believe ſhall be manifeſted, might have as full a ſtroke upon our inclinations unto dread of that laſt day (which in this life no man can want: unleſs his righteouſneſs be angelically perfect) as daily cogitations of Gods mercies and favour to us in particular, have upon our hopeful apprehenſions or deſires of glory: all viciſſitude of fear and trembling in our Souls thus equally poiſed, by contrary impulſions, would not be taken for ſigns of infidelity or hypocriſie. Nay, my Conſcience aſſures me, (but herein I prejudice no mans perſwaſions in particular) that a multitude of ſuch as condemn all without exception, which cannot apprehend the truth of their own Salvation (though alas who is he that deſires not ſo to do?) as ſurely as any other Article believed, would bewray tokens of fear and dread more evident to others, than their former apprehenſions were unto themſelves.

3. Or were we in Chriſts preſence, though not ſo terrible as in that day it ſhall be, but rather as amiable and familiar as his Apoſtles did enjoy it, ſet to compare either his precepts general to all Chriſtians, or peculiar to our ſeveral vocations, with our daily practices or performances: who is he that would not more ſhame at his own nakedneſs, than joy in his Redeemers Righteouſneſs? who is he that would not be more ready to convey himſelf out of his ſight, than with confidence to approach his preſence? who is he would not wiſh his former ſervice might paſs without account, or any certain hope of reward eternal, rather than adventure to take his final ſentence without ſome reſpite for amendment? Yet thou, O Chriſt, my Redeemer and Judge moſt Righteous, beſt knows, I propoſe not theſe ſcruples to diminiſh, but rather with purpoſe to increaſe and fortifie all true confidence in thy merits, and thy Fathers mercies: but that (I know, and thou much better knoweſt) it oft-times weakens it ſelf by ſhooting up before its time, or too faſt, and in this forward age had much need to be lopped, that it may grow as well in bredth and thickneſs, as in length; ſeeing growth in heighth without ſolidity correſpondent, is but a mounting in preſumption, the period of whoſe aſſent is proneneſs to fall headlong in deſpair.

4. Or if any man can draw the inference here intended from other premiſes more commodious, I ſhall be willing to relinquiſh mine. But the beſt method, as yet I know, for eſtabliſhing true confidence, will be this: As often as we think upon that fundamental Oracle of life, (m) *Whoſoever believes in him ſhall not be aſhamed*, to (n) conſider withal that the true *criſis* of ſuch a conſtitution as the Prophet there ſpeaks of, will not be till the day of Chriſts appearance. Whence leſt we ſhould over-reach our ſelves in confident perſwaſions, by ſuffering our minds to run too much upon the former promiſe without a counterpoiſe to try their ſtrength, let us ballance our apprehenſions of it with meditation upon this truth; *He only believes aright in* Chriſt, *that will not be aſhamed at his appearance.* The inference hence naturally iſſuing, is, our Saviours and not mine; (o) *Watch therefore and pray always, that ye may be accounted worthy to eſcape all theſe things, that ſhall come to paſs, and to ſtand before the Son of man.* From this concluſion we may reſume our former aſſertion as a neceſſary corolary; That beſides Juſtification habitual, there is a Juſtification vertual, which hath a permanent duration, and conſiſts in the perpetuity of watchfulneſs and prayer, that the foundation of it, as of our confidence, is union with Chriſt, by a Faith fructifying in (p) converſation and works conformable to him; as the Diſciple whom he loved moſt divinely hath inſtructed us: (q) *And now little Children, abide in him, that when he ſhall appear, we may have confidence, and not be aſhamed before him at his coming. If ye know that he is righteous, know ye that whoſoever doth righouſnes is born of him.*

5. Beloved Reader, I am the bolder to put thee in mind of ſuch ſtrictneſs as the profeſſion of Chriſtianity binds thee unto; the rather becauſe I purpoſe not otherwiſe to afright thee with any marks of reprobation. Few I know ſo well affected but without repentance and greater conſtancy in performing theſe duties, than hitherto they have given proof of, may juſtly fear as not altogether without the reach of poſſible danger; for even the righteous hardly ſhall be ſaved.

Altogether

(m) Rom. 10. 11. Iſay 28. 16.

(n) *Read Cha. 7. Sect. 7. lib. 3. with the marginal notes.*

(o) Luke 21. 36.

(p) *Herein is the love perfect in us, that we ſhould have boldneſs in the day of judgment: for as he is, even ſo are we in this world,* 1 John 4. 17.

(q) 1 John 2. 8, 29.

Altogether ſo bad I know none, but may have hope to eſcape, ſo they will not wilfully neglect repentance, or ſomnolently put off the evil day. • The gate of life as it is ſtrait, ſo is it continually open and wide enough to receive all, ſo every one would watch his ſpecial opportunities, or attend Gods particular callings, and all of us caſt off that burden of ſin and ſuperfluous cares wherewith we are laden and encumbred: fewer I am certain paſs through it than it is capable of, ſome becauſe they ſtrive not at all to enter in, but careleſly expect God, without any endeavours of their own, ſhould draw them through it: others becauſe they ſtrive amiſs, preſuming they are able to preſs in by their own ſtrength, with a little help of divine attraction, or ſome ſmall courteſie of the ſpirit to ſtir them up, or give ſome notice when the dore were open, or God at beſt leaſure to admit them. Betwixt theſe two erroneous extreams, there is a golden mean, for whoſe invention we are in the next place briefly to admoniſh.

SECT.

SECTION III.

Of the right Plantation of Faith.

WEre it abſolutely true without reſtraint, that conſultation is only of matters which are in our power, or may by our care and induſtry be procured: the very title of this diſcourſe might juſtly ſeem to proclaim our inconſiderateneſs in undertaking theſe pains altogether bootleſs, in reſpect of men, ſeeing Faith is a gift altogether free, no way procurable by their endeavours, if not preſumptuous, in as much as it is planted by the Holy Ghoſt; and what need hath he of our methodical diſcourſe or direction? Theſe and the like objections may well be thought to have grounds inexpugnable in the Proteſtants Doctrine, which wholly aſcribes as well the *Will* as the *Deed* to the operation of Gods Spirit. Unto what purpoſe then can it be to direct men how to work in matters wherein they do not work at all? Some countenance the ſame ſuggeſtions may have from a diſtinction, common to the Romiſh and Reformed Churches, of *Faith infuſed and acquired.* For unleſs the Faith, for whoſe right Plantation we rather ſeek than give direction, may by method be acquired, to what uſe can methodical direction ſerve?

Thoſe reaſons notwithſtanding perſwade us rather to ſay little, than nothing at all in this Argument, until the difficulties about Free-will, or Mans Ability wherewith it is linked be diſcuſſed. The main objection, if it could juſtly prejudice any mans labours addreſſed to the ſame end, to which theſe preſent are, might have hindred his moſt, that gave us the rule of life whereon it is grounded: [a] *It is God that worketh in us both the will and the deed.* But why ſhould this deter us from working in matters of our Salvation? rather it ought to encourage all to work, ſome as Artificers and Directors, others as labourers: but both (as the Apoſtle wills them) with *fear and trembling.* (a) Phil.2.13. verſe 12. Even of Faith infuſed, *Paul* was a planter, and *Apollos* was a waterer, though God alone did give increaſe.

CHAP. I.

That Chriſtian Faith, although immediately infuſed by God without any cooperation of man, doth not exclude, but rather more neceſſary require precedent humane endeavours for the attaining of it.

1. THat Faith is the ſole gift of God, wholly infuſed, not partly acquired by us, ſhould rather excite, than any way abate our endeavours for attaining it, would we conceive or ſpeak of thoſe Heavenly myſteries according to the language of the Holy Ghoſt which wrote them, not out of the School phraſe of *Ariſtotle* or *Aquinas*, both oft-times alike full of ſoleciſms in Divinity. [b] It is a perſwaſion will eaſily intrude it ſelf into minds apt to entertain Philoſophical Rules, that the power of God ſeeing it is infinite, and (if we may ſo ſpeak) uncapable of reſiſtance, ſhould introduce forms or qualities into ſubjects in an inſtant, without previal alteration or diſpoſition: which indeed would be moſt true, did God work after the manner of natural Agents, always according to the utmoſt of his power. But as the Apoſtle tells us, *He doth all things according to the counſel of his own will*, which is fully commenſurable to his power, and doth modifie it in working. Some things then he createth in an inſtant, not becauſe his power is infinite and admits no impediment, but becauſe his will is it ſhould ſo work: others though as immediately created by him, are accompliſhed by little and little after many interpoſitions or delays; not that either his will or power can be croſſed, but that his pleaſure is to have them ſo wrought. Such is the creation of true and lively Faith in our Souls. For who is he living that can aſſign me the very inſtant, yea the ſet hour, day, week, or month, wherein his regeneration was fully wrought? As life ſpiritual is better than temporal, ſo for the moſt part it is longer in conceiving. Nor doth regeneration conſiſt only in the firſt infuſion of grace or ſeed immortal; but alſo in the rooting or taking of it: both are the immediate works of God, both in Scripture phraſe eſſential branches of creation.

2. Notwithſtanding, if wholly both be his ſole works, the former difficulty ſtill remains, and may be increaſed by a poſition of Proteſtants in it ſelf moſt true, but too much, unleſs more warily preſſed, or more skilfully applyed than a man ſhall uſually find it. For what is more often inculcated in popular Sermons, or in that Controverſie about Free-will, than that man is altogether as dead to Spiritual life, as *Lazarus* was to live natural, till the ſame power of God raiſe him up? But what hence follows? that God before the infuſion of Grace requires no actions or operations at our hands, more than Chriſt did of *Lazarus* before he reſtored his Soul unto him? then let ſuch as are deſtitute of the robes of righteouſneſs cloath themſelves with the

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(b) *Such is* Zabarels *collection againſt* Scotus, *to prove that the matter could not be created before the* form, *but only concreated with perfect creatures.*

Alio quoq; argumento idem confirmari poteſt agens enim potens totum aliquem effectum producere, niſi impediatur, producit perfectiſſimum quantum producere poteſt; hanc majorem propoſitionem negare *Scotus* non poteſt, quum ſæpe ea utatur: at Deus à nullo poteſt impediri, ne quamlibet rem perfectiſſimam in genere ſuo producat; quamlibet igitur perfectam produxit, ergo non materiam nudam quia materia eſt imperfecte res omnes quare materiam primo nudam creare, & illi poſtea formam imponere, repugnat perfectioni divinæ, quæ immanueretur, ſi Deus prius imperfectè res creaſſet poſtea vero formas imponendo perfectionem indidiſſet: res igitur primùm abſolutiſſimas ac perfectiſſimas produxit, proinde materiam non informem, ſed ſub formis. *Zabarella* de prima rerum materia, *Lib.* 2. *cap.* 2.

Epheſ. 1. 11.

image of death, and ſpend their lives in a perpetual ſlumber, or get themſelves down into the Grave, until God cry unto them by his powerful voice, as *Chriſt* did to *Lazarus, come forth, or, awake thou that ſleepeſt, for* Chriſt *is now made thine everlaſting light.* I marvel not if vulgar Auditors make ſuch inferences to countenance their ſloath and negligences, when as many unpartial Scholars can hardly conceive what other can be made of many zealous Paſtors Doctrine, wreſting the meaning of the Spirit by too much wringing the letter, or miſapplying the former proportion betwixt ſuch as are naturally and ſpiritually dead; whoſe terms, if ſet aright, ſtand thus. As God required no vital motion or operation, of ſuch as his Son did raiſe from natural death: ſo doth he require no operation or aſſent ſpiritual, before he infuſe the life of Grace. But in as much as we enjoy the benefit of life natural, or meerly moral, ſome paſſive capacities are required in us, wherewith they whom *Chriſt* raiſed were not qualified, whiles naturally dead: nor were they capable of renovation in life ſpiritual, but by reaſſuming life natural with its properties. Nor doth it imply any ſhew of contradiction, that the actual endeavours of life natural, or meerly moral in us, or the qualification reſulting from them, ſhould be as meerly paſſive in reſpect of life truly ſpiritual, as the ſtate of death, or utter deprivation of all ſenſe or motion in ſuch as *Chriſt* raiſed up, was in regard of life natural: The proportion then will hold beſt thus. As *Chriſt* infuſed not humane life into Trees, Stocks, and Stones, but into bodies paſſively organized and figured for the fit habitation of the humane Soul: ſo neither doth he ordinarily beſtow ſupernatural Grace on every one that hath a reaſonable Soul, but on ſuch only as are paſſively prepared for it. Wherein this preparation conſiſts, or what our endeavours can add unto it, is the point now in queſtion; partly to be diſputed in this preſent, more fully in diſcourſes following. To the aſſertion laſt mentioned, this obſervation well ſutes, that in the firſt works of Creation the Omnipotent Power did obſerve the orderly progreſs afterwards appointed unto nature, and proceeded not *per ſaltum*, but firſt created a common Maſs, out of which he made the Heaven and Earth, not Trees, Plants, or living Creatures immediately. For though theſe received life from their Maker, after another manner than individuals of the ſame kind now do, yet the Earth and Sea afforded their matter and ſubſtance meerly paſſive. Man he made of the Earth, but firſt, as is probable, externally figured or proportioned: the Woman likewiſe was his immediate Workmanſhip, but had her bodily or paſſive beginning from the Man. Thus even the moſt immediate works of God preſuppoſe (ordinarily) ſuch a ſub-ordination of paſſive capacities as is uſually ſeen in matters producible by humane labour, wit, or induſtry.

3. That grace then is not generated, or educed out of the Soul, but properly created in it, ought not in any congruity of reaſon to exclude all active, though but humane endeavours precedent, for the better attainment of it. Nor have I ever read of any Proteſtant or Papiſt, which held marriage, as either unneceſſary, or ſuperfluous for the propagation of Mankind, albeit the moſt and beſt Divines in both Religions be of opinion, that the reaſonable Soul is not generated, but immediately created by God.

And notwithſtanding the ſuppoſed truth of this opinion, unleſs the Parents of our bodies had been as careful for our bringing forth, as bruit Beaſts are over their brood, few of us this day living had ever enjoyed the light. Now for the avoiding of *Pelagianiſm*, or juſt imputation of Popery in this point, it is enough to diſclaim all ſuch diſpoſitions, preparations, or endeavours, as actually cooperate or concur to the production of Faith, as temperate carriage or behaviour do for producing the habit of temperance, or natural qualities of moiſture, heat and cold, do in the eduction of forms meerly natural, or conſtitution of bodies totally generable. So ſhall he never be able to acquit himſelf from the error of the Stoicks or Manichees, that accounts it indifferent what works we do, or how we demean our ſelves before Regeneration. For as God creates not the reaſonable Soul in every matter, ſo doth he not create Grace in every Soul. And, as this inference is good [unleſs the Fathers of our bodies had been before us, God had not created us theſe Souls; in whoſe Creation our Fathers had no finger:] ſo likewiſe in this [unleſs before our Regeneration we ſo demean our ſelves as God in his word preſcribes, he ordinarily creates not Grace in us,] to whoſe Creation nevertheleſs our beſt endeavours confer no more, than our Parents do to the Creation of our Souls, or the red earth did to the making of *Adam*. This fully removes the former difficulty, which ſeemed to dull our endeavours; and from this inſtance of the reaſonable Souls Creation, I would rather commend this Meditation to the Reader. As greater care is to be had of Women with Children, of Queens and Princely Mothers eſpecially; than of bruit Beaſts great with young, albeit the fruit of their Wombs be the more immediate work or bleſſing of God: ſo ſhould our care and induſtry for conceiving Faith, even in that it is the ſole gift of God, be much greater, than we uſe for the attainment of whatſoever can by means natural or ordinary be immediately atchieved.

CHAP. II.

That circumſpect following the rules of Scripture is more available for attaining of true Faith, than the practice of moral Precepts for producing moral habits: That there may be natural perſwaſions of ſpiritual truths and moral deſires, of ſpiritual good, both right in their kind, though nothing worth in themſelves, but only capable of better, becauſe not hypocritical.

1. IN that it hath pleaſed the ſpirit to write ſo much for mens directions in the way of life, (yet not ſo much to inſtruct the faithful what they ſhould do after their Regeneration fully wrought, as the unregenerate what he ſhould do that it might be wrought in him:) to conceive it but as doubtful, whether his ſacred rules were not more ſufficient, effectual, and compleat, for attaining true and lively Faith, than any Philoſophical methods for planting moral vertues, were to derogate as much from Gods Wiſdom, as he ſhould do from his power that maintained man without direction or aſſiſtance ſupernatural, might work out his own ſalvation. Yet ſhall he much

wrong both himſelf and me that ſtretcheth this ſimilitude further then thus, As he that duly obſerves Philoſophical Precepts of morality, ſhall certainly produce moral habits, and become truly juſt and honeſt by often practiſing acts of Juſtice, Temperance, and Sobriety: ſo he that circumſpectly follows rules given by the Spirit of God for attaining Faith, ſhall have it more aſſuredly produced in him, even becauſe it is not produced by him, but by his God, who is more able to create new hearts in us, than the natural or unregenerate man, to work any moral reformation in himſelf or others. All that is required of us, is only to ſubmit our knowledge to our Creators Wiſdom, our natural deſires to his moſt holy Will, our weak abilities to his Omnipotent Power. But is it not a work of the ſpirit to be thus perſwaded or reſolved?

2. That the natural man ſhould rightly perceive the things of the Spirit of God, implies as evident a contradiction, as to ſay a blind man ſhould be able to ſee things viſible. For as things in themſelves moſt viſible cannot be ſeen without the viſive faculty; ſo is it impoſſible matters ſpiritual ſhould otherwiſe than ſpiritually be diſcerned. Notwithſtanding I ſcarce have known any man ſo blind but might eaſily have been perſwaded that he could not ſee, or induced heartily to wiſh he were as other men are, though in what ſtate they were, or what pleaſures there were in ſight, he were altogether blind and ignorant. And I think it would be hard for any man to prove, that all ſuch as our Saviour reſtored to ſight, had ſaving Faith before he opened their eyes; or that *Naamans* condeſcending to his Servants Counſel [^c *my Father, if the Prophet had bid thee do ſome great thing, wouldſt thou not have done it? how much more when he ſaith to thee waſh and be clean,*] was an aſſent of juſtifying Faith: yet were all theſe cures as immediate works of Gods Power as is the illumination of the mind by Faith. What God hath wrought in them we know, but if *Naaman* had been ſo wilful as not to have waſhed himſelf ſeven times in *Jordan*, or thoſe blind men ſo wayward, as upon the conſtant fame of former miracles not to have beſought *Chriſt*, to work the like in them: all of them, for ought we know or can imagine to the contrary, had remained ſtill in their former miſery. Thus if we grant that a man altogether unregenerate, upon the hearing of Gods Word, or the report that others, whom he hath no reaſon to diſtruſt, do make of the vertue thereof; may have a natural apprehenſion of his natural miſery, and a deſire (meerly natural) to be like them whoſe eſtate he knoweth no better than he that is born blind doth the light; or, that as well his apprehenſion as deſire is but a qualification meerly paſſive, tending only to this purpoſe, that aſcribing the work of Faith to Gods power alone, he may be a ſubject not uncapable of this Creation; we ſhall avouch nothing contrary to reaſon natural or ſupernatural. For knowledge natural and ſpiritual differ not in reſpect of the material objects known, but in the manner of apprehending their truth and properties. What ſubject is there whereof we may not logically diſpute? albeit demonſtration, or ſcientifical concluſions, we can have none but from the proper principles of that Science whereto it belongeth, firſt diſtinctly and infallibly apprehended. And what doth hinder us to conceive a natural or moral aſſent unto truths divine, as not impoſſible, though to have a true taſt or homogenial apprehenſion of them be the ſole and proper effect of Faith infuſed or ſupernatural? Of the ſame Divine truths or rather of the goodneſs annexed

(c) 2. *Kings* 5. 12.

annexed to them, there may be a natural or moral deſire right in its kind, though not ſuch as Gods law requires, or can immediately pleaſe the Law-giver, yet ſuch as he requires, that we may be capable of better. None, I think, but would perſwade a man whom he knew to be as yet unregenerate, to confeſs his ſins, to cry for mercy? how, ſpiritually? ſo to perſwade him were a mockery: but rather to ſue for grace, that hereafter he might ſpiritually deſire what now he naturally doth. Nor doth he amiſs in praying thus, albeit his Prayers in reſpect of the Fountain whence they Spring, be meerly natural, polluted with the poiſon of ſin. Abſolutely he prays not aright, but in his kind; in as much as his deſires are ſet upon right objects, though not ſo ſymbolized or proportioned to them as they ſhould be. This rectitude of natural deſires or endeavours which ariſeth from the rectitude of the objects whereon they are imperfectly ſet, not in reſpect of degrees or circumſtances only, but for the very eſſence or ſubſtance of the act, is the point whereunto this diſcourſe is directed. Whether this right uſe of faculties as yet unſanctified, be, in ſome degree poſſible to all that hear the word: or whether, if poſſible to all, any are abſolutely excluded from ſalvation without preſuppoſal of ſome neglect or abuſe of natural faculties, is to be diſputed in the ſeventh Book. From our aſſertion thus explicated, we may infer the true mean between Pelagianiſm and Stoiciſm to be this; [Albeit Man before Regeneration hath no ability of doing any thing in it ſelf not deſerving Hell; yet is there a true and real poſſibility left him of doing that, which being done, maketh him capable of Grace to be created in him, but which not done by him, he ſhall remain uncapable of ſuch Creation.]

3. Upon theſe plain grounds we hope now to proceed without offence to God or Man: It was the meer good will and pleaſure of God to ordain, his meer Wiſdom to reveal thoſe means of Mans Salvation, unto which now revealed, the natural man may ſo far aſſent, as to make ſome trial of their truth, as *Naaman* did of the Prophets words. The deeper apprehenſion, though but natural, man hath of his natural miſery, or want of ability to raiſe himſelf, the more apt he is, not to lay but to have the ſure foundation of Faith laid in his heart by *Chriſt Jeſus* (who is the foundation and chief corner Stone in the ſpiritual Temple,) ſo he will but frame his life by his Maſters Precepts and Example.

CHAP. III.

Of the fundamental rule of Chriſtianity, to forſake all and deny our ſelves: *That the ſincere practice thereof is a method more admirable and compendious for the attainment of faith than any Artiſt could preſcribe, the principles of Chriſtianity being ſuppoſed: That the want partly of inſtruction in the duties contained in it, partly of ſolemn and publick perſonal proteſtation for their performance, is the principal cauſe of hypocriſie and infidelity.*

1. THat *Chriſt* the Son of God ſhould ſuffer ſo many indignities of the Elders, and be killed, ſeemed a Doctrine ſo ſtrange to his Apoſtles, that one of them begins to check him for abooding ſo ill of himſelf; [d] *Be it far from thee,* Lord: *this ſhall not come unto thee.* What was the reaſon? touching this particular they were not as yet ſpiritual. Thus much at the leaſt our Saviours reply to *Peter* imports; *Get thee behind me Satan, thou art an offence unto me: for thou ſavoureſt not the things that be of God, but thoſe that be of men.* This truth the Prophets long before had delivered, though not ſo plainly as it could eaſily be apprehended without any Expoſitor. Our Saviour therefore upon this Dialogue between him and *Peter* ſhews, not only his own willingneſs to undergo all the calamities the Prophet had foretold, but withal, that unleſs his followers, which had confeſſed him for the *Meſſiah*, were made conformable to him in this point, they could not be his Diſciples, not capable of any other leſſon of ſaving health. *If any man will follow me let him forſake himſelf, and take up his Croſs and follow me.* Neceſſary it was, the wiſdom of God ſhould thus plainly reveal this fundamental principle of Chriſtianity, unto whoſe neceſſity notwithſtanding, men in ſome ſort may aſſent without the ſpirit of ſanctification, or any branch of ſupernatural inherent Grace, Ordinarily it is as true of the firſt as of the ſecond reſurrection; [e] *Firſt is that which is natural, than that which is ſpiritual.* Many have aſſented unto this rule as true, which did never ſpiritually aſſent unto it as good in the choice, albeit they have deſired ſo to do. Now that they obtained not what they deſired, was becauſe they ſought it amiſs, yet not ſpiritually amiſs (for ſpiritually they could not ſeek it), but amiſs in their kind. For it is a point to be conſidered, that as there is a natural deſire of ſpiritual good, ſo there may be, and uſually is, a reſolution natural, or only moral, to undertake the courſe preſcribed for attaining that qualification which is ordinarily required ere Faith be infuſed, or Grace created. This reſolution without tranſgreſſing the limits of its own kind may admit many degrees, as well in the fervency of the attempt, as in the conſtancy of the purſuit. As the ſpiritual good we aſſent unto is apprehended, though but morally or confuſedly, as infinitely greater than any temporary pleaſure or commodity: ſo the reſolution to ſuffer all the grievances wherewith the expectance of it can be charged, though but moral, muſt every way far exceed all purpoſes of like nature (all ſpringing from the ſame unſanctified root) that are ſet on

(d) *Mat.* 16. 22.

V. 14.

(e) 1 *Cor.* 15. 46.

on objects of another rank: otherwiſe all that profeſs they ſeek, make, or as the Apoſtle [f] ſaith of the Jews, judge themſelves unworthy of eternal life.

2. Unto what tolerance would not that flagrant ſpeech of *Cato*, when he was to conduct the relicks of *Pompeius* Forces through the ſcorched Sands of *Libya*, have almoſt impelled any reſolute Souldier, that ſhould have ſeen ſo grave a Senator act ſo hard and mean a part as he profeſſed to make choice of? Unto far greater certainly than we Chriſtians in theſe dayes either conceive as neceſſary, or would reſolve to adventure upon, for attaining unto Gods reſt.

[g] *O quibus una ſalus placuit mea caſtra ſecatis*
Indemita cervice mori; componite mentes
Ad magnum virtutis opus, ſummoſq; labores.
Vadimus in campos ſteriles, exuſtaq; mundi,
Qua nimius Titan, *& raræ in fontibus undæ,*
Siccaq; letiferis ſqualent ſerpentibus arva;
Durum iter, ad leges, patriæq; ruentis amorem,
Per mediam Libyen veniant, atq; invia tentent,
Si quibus in nullo poſitum eſt evadere voto,
Si quibus ire ſat eſt, neq; enim mihi fallere quenquam
Eſt animus, tectoq; metu perducere vulgus.
Ii mihi ſunt comites, quos ipſa pericula ducent,
Qui me teſte, pati, vel que triſtiſſima pulchrum,
Romanumq; putant, at qui ſponſore ſalutis
Miles eget, capiturq; animæ dulcedine, vadat
Ad dominum meliore via, dum primus arenas
Ingrediar, primuſq; gradus in pulvere ponam,
Me calor ætherius feriat, mihi plena veneno
Occurrat ſerpens, fatoq; pericula veſtra
Prætentate meo: ſitiat, quicunq; bibentem
Viderit: aut umbras nemorum quicunq; petentem,
Aſtuet: aut equitem peditum præcedere turmas,
Deficiat, ſi quo fuerit diſcrimine notum
Dux, an miles eam, ſerpens, ſitis, ardor, arenæ,
Dulcia virtuti: gaudet patientia duris.
Lætius eſt quoties magno ſibi conſtat honeſtum.
Sola poteſt Libye turbam præſtare malorum,
Ut deceat fugiſſe viros. ———

Sweet mates, whoſe wiſhed end of life is death devoid of thrall,
Addreſs your minds to ſervice heard; but valour doth you call.
We enter now on ſteril plains, where Titans *rayes do ſting,*
Where too much heat makes water ſcant,
even in the very Spring:
On Coaſts where Bacchus *nere was ſet, nor* Ceres *ever ſown;*
On dry fields deſtitute of graſs, with Serpents over-grown.
A woful way; but to their laws and ruined Countries love
Through mids of Libya *let them march,*
and way-leſs wandring prove.
As many as have no mind to ſcape, but ſafety ſet at nought
Content for pay to take their pains,
nor came't ere in my thought.

With

[f] *Acts* 13.46.

[g] Lucan. lib. 9.

With guile to train the ſimple on, by covering preſent dread.
The fitteſt mates for me they are whom dangers ſeen ſhall lead:
Who, to have me Spectator, parts moſt tragick will affect,
As Souldier-like and Roman worth;
my camp he muſt reject
That hoſtage for his ſafety craves, or life accounteth ſweet,
Let ſuch go chuſe ſome ſafer way his maſter for to meet,
Whilſt I firſt foot it in the duſt and tread you paths in ſand,
Let heat from Heaven me firſt aſſail,
let Serpents 'gainſt me band,
Full charg'd with venom: 'tis all one, reſolv'd I am to dye,
That ye your danger by my fates more ſafely may fore-try.
Let him cry out I am athirſt, that me ſhall ſpie to drink,
Or him complain of ſultring heat to ſhade,
that ſees me ſhrink:
Let him lie down and reſt himſelf, that firſt ſhall ſee me ride,
Or take my place, by any odds, if ere it be deſcryed:
Whether I as vulgar Souldier march, or General to the reſt,
This Serpent, Sands, and Scorching heat
content true valour beſt.
From hardneſs Patience *reapeth joy: that honour is moſt worth*
Which deareſt coſts, and breeds moſt pain,
whilſt 'tis in bringing forth.
No land but Libya *could afford ſuch ſtore of toyl and pain,*
That even your flight through it,
may th' fame of hardy Souldiers gain.

3. The reſolution although unto the wordly wiſe, or ſecular gallant, it may ſeem truly noble, yet rightly examined, will prove but turbulent or humourous; becauſe his patience to endure ſuch hardneſs, were it as great as he himſelf, or perhaps the Poet for him makes profeſſion of, was but equal to his impatience of civil ſervitude: his light regard of venemous Serpents, but anſwerable to his fear of being beholden to *Cæſars* courteſie. And what marvel if one or more impotent deſires having gotten abſolute command over the Soul, do impel it to ſuch difficulties, as none free from the like tyranny of affections would adventure on. To have eſteemed captivity of body where was no remedy, a lighter burden than ſuch miſery as he now voluntarily expoſed himſelf and others unto, had been a better document of true liberty. Thus enabled to brook every condition of life which deſtiny could lay upon him, had been entirely to poſſeſs his Soul with patience, which is the beſt inheritance whereunto mortality can be entitled; whereas now he did but ſtrive to caſt out one potent enemy, by arming a band of inſolent incorrigible ſlaves againſt him. More heroical, yea moſt Divine was the generoſity of our Saviours mind, that being heir of all things, Lord and maker of all mankind, could entertain ſervitude, contempt and ſcorn of baſer enemies, with greater peace and quietneſs than *Cato* did his free cenſorſhip: that he could ſuffer grievances not of our own or few kinds, whereunto peculiar deſires of pleaſing himſelf in the avoidance of ſome much abhorred evils, or in the aſſequution of any higher prized good, might impel or ſway his mind: but that he could with ſuch conſtancy determine in no kind to pleaſe himſelf, reſolving to fulfil what the Prophet had ſaid, [h] *The reproaches*

(h)Rom.15.3. Pſal.69.3.

reproaches of them that reproached thee fell on me. Nothing diſtaſtful to fleſh and bloud, whereof the meaneſt of Gods ſervants had taſted, which he ſwallowed not. Now he being our pattern and guide, to be found in him, or like him, is the end which firſt and principally muſt be intended. The next point whereto his endeavours, that deſires to be a Chriſtian inwardly, ſhould be addreſſed, is ſeriouſly to caſt up his reckonings what will be required at his hands: unpartially and throughly to examine his heart, whether willing to forgo all ſuch hopes or contentments natural, as are incompatible with the life he ſeeks, or to endure ſuch worldly croſſes or calamities, as the hope of it at any time hath been, or may be charged with.

The ſum of this reckoning is, that the ſufferance, whereto every true follower of Chriſt muſt be trained, is more entire and compleat than that which *Cato* exacted of his Souldiers; and herein harder, ſpecially to brave minds, that it muſt proceed not from ſpleen or hate to any mans perſon, not from greatneſs of ſtomach or haughty indignation, but from a mild and placide diſ-eſteem of mortal life, and whatſoever one way or other may affect it, whilſt theſe are weighed with that eternal weight of glory, or the doubtful conſequences of our eſtate after death. For this reaſon happily it is, that the fervency of Prophetical Spirit is ſo much allayed in Evangelical relators of our Saviours ſpeeches, men otherwiſe inſpired with a greater meaſure of Divine knowledge in Heavenly myſteries than the Prophets were: which knowledge, notwithſtanding, they were to expreſs in a more languiſhing ſtile, that ſo the characters of their diſcourſes might be an emblem of ſuch calm reſolution, long-ſuffering, and mortification, as the Goſpel of Chriſt requires. As our qualification is more hard, or rather requires greater time, more ſerious meditations and ſetled judgment than is neceſſary for framing the former temper of *Catonian* Souldiers, or a brave Roman Reſolution: ſo is the example of our Leader, as more eminent and conſpicuous, ſo more efficacious to work the like in his followers; partly becauſe his dignity in reſpect of us is infinitely greater, than was *Catoes*, in reſpect of thoſe that betook themſelves to his conduct, partly in that [i] *greater is he which is in us, than he that is in the world*, ſo we ſhew our ſelves not unworthy the participation of his ſpirit. (i) 1 Joh. 4.3.

4. Of the former qualification one branch moſt diſtaſtful to fleſh and blood, or to natures moſt ingenuous, is conſtancy to endure the hate and oppoſition though of deareſt friends, the reproaches and revilings of men, who for any endowments either of Art or Nature, are moſt abject in reſpect of them whom they revile; did not theſe willingly count all ſuch prerogatives well loſt for gaining Chriſt. But to this yoke we are to ſubmit our necks, before we take upon us to be accounted ſervants of Chriſt; of whom in every age it is true, [k] *ye ſhall be hated of all men for my Names ſake:* of all that ſeek not to be his ſervants: or, whatſoever the event may be, the conſtancy to undergo this heavy task is abſolutely neceſſary; [l] *For the Diſciple is not above his Maſter, nor the ſervant above his Lord: It is enough for the Diſciple that he be as his Maſter is, and the ſervant as his Lord; if they have called the Maſter of the houſe* Beelzebub, *how much more ſhall they call them of his houſhold?* And again, *He that loveth Father and Mother more than me, is not worthy of me: and he that loveth Son or Daughter more than me, is not worthy of me: He that taketh not his croſs,* even the whole body of afflictions, *is not* (k) Mar. 13.13 (l) Mat. 10.24. Ver. 27.

worthy of me. [m] His miſtake was exceeding groſs, that took theſe or the * like paſſages for evangelical counſels, or admonitions uſeful for ſome few, aiming at more perfection than moſt are capable of; not precepts neceſſary to all that ſeek after glory and immortality, or that *holineſs* without which none ſhall ſee God. For elſewhere our Saviour directs the ſame leſſon to the great multitudes that followed him, leſt any man ſhould deceive himſelf in thinking it an eaſier matter than indeed it was to be his follower; [n] *And there went great multitudes with him: and he turned and ſaid unto them,* [o] *If any man come to me, and hate not his father and mother, and wife and children, and brethren, and ſiſters, yea, and his own ſelf alſo, he cannot be my Diſciple. And whoſoever doth not bear his croſs and come after me, cannot be my Diſciple.*

(m) *Fitzherbert, Part. 2. chap.31.*
(*) Mat. 16. 24. *If any man will follow me.*
(n) Luke 14. 25, 26, 27. Maldonates *own expoſition of this place is Orthodoxal, albeit he propoſe it ſomewhat timorouſly and warily as fearing leſt it might be cenſured.*
(o) *Vide* Luk 9. 23. 24. Mark 8. 34.

5. The neceſſity of this reſolution he there more fully ſets out unto us in two Parables; he that will build, muſt firſt be able to calculate the charges and his means to defray them. Otherwiſe to begin, being unable to make an end, were but to lay the foundation of his diſgrace, and ſcorn, in the loſs of his coſt and pains. A Prince likewiſe that will undertake a War, muſt have ſure tryal of his own, and skill to diſcover his enemies ſtrength; otherwiſe to bid him Battel, were but to incenſe him the more, and thruſt a title into his hands to defeat him of all he hath. The concluſion of theſe inductions our Saviour repeats again, [p] *So likewiſe whoſoever denyeth not himſelf, and forſaketh all, he cannot be my Diſciple.* In which ſhort ſpeech we have this account made to our hands, that, ere we can hope to be edified in Faith, or ſafely proclaim war unto Satan, we muſt make over all our intereſt in our lives, or whatſoever is dear unto us. Not thus prepared, we ſhall but lay foundations which cannot hold ſiege, ſure to be ſurpriſed in the day of battel, after we have exaſperated the venom and rancor of the old Serpent, our ſworn enemy, by profeſſing our ſelves to be Chriſts Souldiers, and proffering to fight under his banners. For as [q] *Solomon* ſaith, *He that hath no rule over his own Spirit* (or as others read) *he that refraineth not his appetite, is like a City broken down, and without walls.* In this regard he that ſets his hand unto this Sacred Plough, ſhould firſt begin to ſound the depth of the former rule; *what it is to deny our ſelves, and forſake all we have*; for in this furrow muſt the Seed of life be ſown. And of this, as of moſt other Divine precepts, there may be perſwaſions either natural, yet right in their kind, or hypocritical and erroneous, or truly ſpiritual. Here Novices in Religion commonly begin to balk; and no wonder; ſeeing few are called to any ſtrict perſonal account, of that which others have undertaken for them at their firſt admiſſion into the bedrole of Chriſtians. But if the contents of that triple vow were diſtinctly and fully unfolded unto us, as ſoon as we had any knowledge of good and evil; and all the ſeveral branches of Gods Covenant, with as great care and ſolemnity as often inculcated, as *Moſes* commanded the Law ſhould be to the [r] *Iſraelites* Children; and laſtly the vow it ſelf confirmed and ratified by our perſonal proteſtation in the ſight of the Congregation; the fear as well of God as of ſhame before men, in whoſe preſence we made this good profeſſion, would bind many of us to more Chriſtian behaviour than the beſt of us, as the world goes, dare make ſhew of; as alſo reſtrain us from many deadly enormities, which now admoniſhed of, we will not account any ſins. Thus prepared

pared to receive it, it would be overmuch infidelity to diſtruſt the plentiful infuſion of inherent ſanctifying Grace, at our ſolemnities of Confirmations, were theſe firſt ſanctifyed with publick Prayers, or performed with ſuch Chriſtian care and diligence as they ought. A Religious duty in the Chriſtian Church, which it were to be wiſhed, might be performed more often, more ſolemnly, and more religiouſly than it uſeth to be. But this negligence is uſually ſeconded by a poſitive over-ſight of many Religious, and otherwiſe Learned Preachers, which I take it, enter young Scholars in Chriſtianity amiſs, labouring in the firſt place to encreaſe or fortifie their perſwaſions of belief in Chriſt, and actual remiſſion of their ſins in particular; which indeed is the end and beſt fruit of Faith, not uſually growing, unleſs our hearts be thus ploughed up, and the ſtrength of every carnal deſire broken. Impoſſible it is our perſwaſions in theſe points ſhould be more ſincere or ſound, than our precedent denial of our ſelves, and forſaking of all that we have.

6. He (ſaith the Roman Philoſopher) that will be rich, muſt not ſo much ſeek to fill his Coffers with Coin, as to empty his breaſt of ſuperfluous or greedy thoughts. More certain it is (becauſe the precept of a wiſer teacher) that the readieſt way to be rich in Faith is, not directly to increaſe, or intend our perſwaſions, or aſſent unto the former, or like points, but firſt to diminiſh or weaken inbred deſires of what contentments ſoever the Devil, the world, or fleſh can preſent unto us. This is the true meaning of the former advice which our Saviour delivered plainly, and as his manner is to the capacity of the vulgar, yet not vulgarly: for in that, as in all the reſt, he ſpake more metaphyſically than ever man ſpake. And though the ſpirit alone work Faith in our hearts, yet the rules given for our direction how to demean our ſelves as true Patients in this cure, are more methodical and compendious than any Art under the Sun, the Principles of Chriſtianity ſuppoſed, could invent; but ſuch as every true Artiſt muſt of neceſſity admire, the more he meditates upon them. The fundamental and moſt neceſſary Principles of Arts, are commonly far diſtant from the utmoſt end whereto they direct, though that in compariſon but at hand, and within the reach of reaſon. But the roof of this edifice, though higher than the higheſt Heavens, riſeth not, as material buildings do, by degrees, or laying one ſtone upon another, but ſprings immediately out of this foundation once rightly laid. That the ſtrength, or exceſſive eagerneſs of our inbred appetites, or groſs deſires, make thoſe tranſitory contentments whereon they are ſet, ſeem much greater, and better than in their own nature they are; is a concluſion whereto reaſon and experience, not over-born or perverted by ſenſual inclinations, will ſubſcribe. Meats in themſelves but lothſom or coorſe, by extream hunger become more pleaſant than choice of delicates; ſo doth grievouſneſs of thirſt make ordinary water reliſh much better than beſt wines after ſweet meats, or a banquet; and unto men of meaner fortunes, but ambitious, a little court Holy-water is more acceptable than a real favour to a contented mind. Many Philoſophers have been copious in this Argument, unto whoſe labours I remit the Reader. Now ſeeing Chriſtian Faith (as from the main current of Scriptures, the nature of it heretofore hath been derived) is a firm aſſent unto Divine revelations, eſpecially Gods mercies in Chriſt, as much better than life it ſelf, or all the contentments that can attend it: im-

poſſible it is ſuch Faith ſhould ever be rightly planted, much leſs finally proſper in our hearts, until the ſtrength of thoſe intoxicating deſires, which make molehills ſeem like mountains, be either broken, or they extirpated; or to uſe our Saviours words, *until we learn to deny our ſelves*, and prize this brittle life as not worth the anxious or ſolicitous care of keeping, much leſs of pampering. If true it be which [ſ] *Seneca* ſaith: He that holds his body dear muſt count honeſty little worth: it is impoſſible a man ſhould rightly value Divine Truths, or conſtantly fix his thoughts on things which are above, unleſs he firſt wain them from the world, and ſet all below the Heavens at naught. This leſſon once truly learned, the former unpartial aſſent unto the truth and goodneſs of revelations ſupernatural, will without further artificial direction uniformly reſult; and this reſultance fitly qualifies for following Chriſt, and makes us paſſively apt for every good work, as having no head-ſtrong deſire or affection to reſiſt the impulſions of Faith, [t] whoſe property moſt natural is to encline the Soul unto every kind of true goodneſs.

7. But here the Hypocrite always perverting the Practical, as the Heretick doth the Theorical rules of Scripture to his deſtruction, from the common error before intimated, never ſounds this main depth of Chriſtianity, but paſſeth it over as if it were ſome Philoſophical ſhallow: holding ſuch reſolute and exact contempt of the world and all vanities or ſuperfluities of life, as many Philoſophers diſcovered for the only ground of moral quietneſs or content of mind, to be more ſuperſtitious than neceſſary for obtaining that peace of conſcience which paſſeth all underſtanding natural, but is the ſure fruit of ſupernatural Faith. And after he hath once thus loſt the right way, and wandred a while in uncertain blind perſwaſions of his private favour with God, takes a courſe quite contrary to all godlineſs. For where our Saviour lays it down as one of the firſt and moſt neceſſary Rudiments of Chriſtianity, that we muſt forſake all and deny our ſelves, otherwiſe we cannot truly follow him: the Hypocrite perſwades himſelf he hath forſaken Father and Mother, Siſter and Brother, even all he hath any ſecular reference unto, becauſe he ſo devoutly follows Chriſt. As in what? In worſhipping Images, in adoring or kiſſing the Crucifix, in faſting, in whipping himſelf, or the like bodily exerciſes, if his Hypocriſie be Papiſtical: or if an Hypocritical Proteſtant he be in hearing Sermons, potting places of Scripture upon every occaſion in common talk, or in preciſe obſervance of ſome precepts whoſe practice is very compatible with his principal deſires, apt to ſupport his reputation otherwiſe defective and lame, or perhaps conſort as well with his ſower affections, his nigardly or ſcraping diſpoſition, as vanity or prodigality with the humour of youth or gallantry. Zeal in reading and hearing Gods Word, I ever admire when it is accompanied with practice conformable: but to be more preciſe in perſwaſions, than in actions, more ſtrict in ſanctifying the Sabbath, than open handed towards the Poor, or more zealous in performance of duties towards God no way chargeable, than lowly, courteous, and really loving towards their Neighbours, is a fearful ſign that worldly affection hath got the ſtart of Faith in the ſpring, and will hardly be over-topped in the growth; [u] that the mind thus affected is ſickly and faint, yet willing to ſtay the working of Conſcience with theſe repaſts. And were it not the nature

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(ſ) Neceſſe eſt Honeſtum ſit ei vile, cui corpus charum eſt. *Seneca.*

(t) Read ſect. 2. ch. 4. & 5.

(u) Vide ſect. 2. chap. 4. parag. 9.

ture of this diſeaſe to put out the eye of reaſon, and rely wholly upon forced perſwaſions, it were impoſſible ſuch palpable contradictions betwixt moſt mens ordinary reſolutions, and fundamental Principles of Faith, (as any Heathen that could but underſtand what the words of Scripture meant, would upon the firſt view of both, clearly deſcry) ſhould go ſo long, oft-times for ought we can perceive the whole courſe of their lives, without controul or check, and without notice of their danger. He is in worſe caſe queſtionleſs than the meer natural or reaſonable man, even blinded by Gods juſt judgment for his Hypocriſie, that can ſuffer himſelf to be perſwaded *he hath truly denied himſelf, taken up his Croſs, forſaken all, and made fit to follow Chriſt*, when as the World ſees, and his practice proclaims he minds nothing either ſo intenſively, or continually, as the increaſing of his wealth, or raiſing his own, or his Childrens Fortunes already greater, than they are Chriſtianly capable of.

8. For this again is a fundamental rule, whereof there may be perſwaſions, either right only in their kind, and but natural; or truly ſpiritual; That great eſtates, worldly dignities, or plentiful matter of carnal contentments, can never be rightly managed or morally well uſed without great moral wiſdom, good education, ſobriety of life and diſcretion. Much more neceſſary, (as natural reaſon rightly perſwaded of Scriptures truth will acknowledge) is an abundant meaſure of Faith to uſe abundance in any kind, or ſuch prerogatives as fleſh and blood are prone to delight in, to the glory of God, the good of his Church, and Salvation of our own Souls. Hence as we rightly reckon mens wealth, or competence of eſtate, by the overplus of their certain incomes, compared with their neceſſary out-layings, than by the largeneſs of annual revenues without ſuch allocations, or deductions: ſo muſt we meaſure the ſtrength or efficacy of true Faith, not by the multitude of degrees, or the intenſive perfection of the perſwaſion, or aſſent in it ſelf conſidered, or with reference to its poſitive object, but by the exceſs which it hath in reſpect of contrary deſires, or temptations incident to our courſe of life. If the aſſent of Faith be as twelve, and any natural delight in Prerogatives though ſpiritual, ſuch as the *Corinthians* had, be as thirteen; that mans Faith is worſe than nothing: whereas if ſix degrees of the ſame aſſent, ſhould in ſome other match, with three or four of the like natural delight, or affection, the ſoveraignty of his Faith is much greater than the formers, becauſe better able to quell all contrary motions, or rebellions of the fleſh. Though Faith we had of force ſufficient to move Mountains, yet were it poſſible *Achans* vaſt deſires might harbour with it in the ſame breaſt, a wedge of gold would over-ſway it, or wreſt it out of its place, and hale the Soul wherein it lodged, maugre all its force and ſtrength, to Hell. But he that had no mind of earth, nor longed not after this bright clay, might eaſily be advanced to Heaven by Faith; not able to work any external effects half ſo wondrous. *Lucifer* and his wicked Confederates have perſwaſions of ſome divine truths ſo firm and ſtrong as would almoſt enforce any man living unto goodneſs, which notwithſtanding no way benefit but rather exaſperate them to miſchief, becauſe over-matched with malicious helliſh inclinations. That excellent knowledge which was the ground of their firſt ſtation, though more firm by much than the Faith whereby we ſtand, was over-turned by delight or pride in this their proper excellency. The name of Grace or Faith in Scriptures in-

cludes, beſides the quality infuſed, this relation of exceſs, or ſoveraignty over the deſires of the fleſh. But whether it be poſſible that Grace ſhould be the ſame, as well for quality as degrees, in the carnally minded, and truly ſanctified, I diſpute not. Howſoever, let the nature or entitative perfection of it be never ſo great, unleſs it can thus conquer affection, and bring the body in ſubjection to the Spirit, it is not the Grace we are finally to pray for, nor hath it that Faith, whoſe right plantation we ſeek, for its aſſociate. In this ſenſe we may ſafely admit the [w] opinion of *Canus* and *Victoria*, [*That the entity or quality of grace may encreaſe without any encreaſe of Gods favour or good acceptance*] not only as approveable and free from *Vaſquez* cenſure, but as neceſſary and unqueſtionable, unleſs our love unto the World and fleſh, or eſtimate of all delights and proffers they can preſent, uniformly decay as the entity of this infuſed quality, or our habitual aſſent unto divine truth, encreaſeth. This decreaſe of carnal affection, may (as we ſaid of other perſwaſions and reſolutions,) be either natural or truly ſpiritual; the latter kind only pleaſeth God, and is the immediate object of divine approbation, but through the righteouſneſs of *Chriſt*, of which, becauſe it is wrought in Faith, it is capable, ſo is not our natural reſolution to abandon ſuch delights and pleaſures as others follow, though morally ſincere, and purpoſely intended, to the end we may be fitly qualified for Chriſts ſervice.

(w) *Cited Sect. 2. chap. 6. parag.*

CHAP. IV.

That the obſervance of the former rule is moſt eaſie unto men of meaner gifts, unto whom in this reſpect Gods mercy is greater than if their gifts were better, and yet his mercy juſtly to be eſteemed greater of ſuch as have moſt excellent gifts by nature.

1. GOds unſpeakable Wiſdom, in recovering the Sons of *Adam* his forlorn Patients, by bringing them low, manifeſted in the abſolute neceſſity of the former Precepts, being duly weighed; the Eunuch can have no reaſon to ſay, [x] *I am a dry Tree*, nor the ſillieſt Caitif that creeps on Earth, any juſt cauſe to complain of his wretched eſtate. Indeed were good natural parts, (whether of body or mind) with ſuch Ornaments as art can put upon them, or other external Graces of Wealth, Authority, or Birth, beſtowed on Man for his own ſake, or that he might rely or truſt in them: he that excels in any or many of theſe might have whereof to rejoice amongſt his Brethren; ſo had they juſt cauſe to be dejected that were conſcious of their wants. But if we conſider the proneneſs of mans heart to wax proud of good qualities, and the direct oppoſition betwixt all Pride, and the fundamental qualification before-expreſſed, for the receiving of Faith and Grace, that the renouncing all delight in theſe or other natural dignities, is but an appertenance of

(x) *Therefore the barren is bleſſed which is undefiled, and knoweth not the ſinful bed: ſhe ſhall have fruit in the viſitation of the Souls. And the Eunuch, which with his hands hath not wrought iniquity, nor imagined wicked things againſt God: for unto him ſhall be given the ſpecial gift of Faith, and an acceptable Portion in the Temple of the Lord. Wiſ. 3. v. 13, 14. Eſay 56. 3, 4.*

of that Precept to *deny our ſelves*, and *forſake all we have:* we would quickly ſubſcribe unto our [y] Apoſtles reſolution, that if we muſt needs boaſt or glory, we would boaſt in that wherein we have moſt reaſon to rejoice, in our defects or infirmities; ſeeing the leſs temptations we have to glory, in wealth, ſtrength, or wit, or whatſoever men call their own: the better opportunities we have to glory in him who is the Lord of life and ſtrength, the Author of wealth, and only giver of theſe and every good gift. To keep mirth though actual and externally occaſioned within the bounds of wiſdom, or mingle much laughter with diſcretion, is a ſkill whereof many natures are not capable: much harder it is to retain ſuch ſtrong natural inclination as are the Fountains of our internal and habitual delight, the chief Pillars of our Glory, and principal roots of our rejoicing, within the compaſs of natures pollitick Laws. Hence, as the Philoſopher obſerves, *excellency of beauty of bodily ſtrength, of birth, or abundant wealth, will hardly be ſubdued unto reaſon.* With what difficulty then will ſuch glorious Prerogatives of fleſh and blood be drawn to yield loyal obedience unto the humility and ſimplicity of Faith; when as that ſubjection which [z] *Ariſtotle* requires in his moral Patriot, is but a formality in reſpect of that abſolute dejection, or proſtration which true Faith requires, ere our Souls be capable of its preſence: the beſt ſervice which our inferiour faculties owe to reaſon moral, or meerly natural, being but as dead and liveleſs in regard of that alacrity in performances, wherewith Grace expects to be entertained.

2. The [a] Epigramatiſt acutely imputes the ſtoicks contempt of death unto the ſlender appertenances of his poor life, in whoſe loſs there could be no great harm. For who would much deſire to ſee himſelf, without change of apparel, baſely clad, to lodge in a ſordid Cabin, or go to a hard Bedſtead hungry and cold? but had he been a while accuſtomed to thoſe pleaſures of which *Rome* till that time had never ſcarcity, and *Domitians* preſent Court greateſt variety; he would have wiſhed (unleſs the Epigrammatiſt raſhly or uncharitably cenſure his diſpoſition) that his life had been lengthened as far beyond the ordinary courſe of nature, as *Philoxenus* did his weſand might be above the uſual ſize of other mens. Yet howſoever it be for the particular, the indefinite truth of his conjecture is confirmed by the known experiment of *Antigonus* Souldier, who, after the perfect recovery of his health, became as tenderly reſpectful as any of his fellow Souldiers were of life, whereof whilſt his body was troubled with ſuch a loathſom diſeaſe as made his Soul deſire to be divorced from it, he had been ſo prodigal, as made his general admire his valour. It may be both of theſe were willing to make a vertue of neceſſity; or if the *Stoicks* reſolution were rather out of choice, yet it comes ſhort of that true valour, which the *cenſurer* by light of nature ſaw to be truly commendable, and Divinity teaches to be abſolutely neceſſary to a Chriſtian Souldier.

Rebus in anguſtis facile eſt contemnere vitam,
Fortiter ille facit qui miſer eſſe poteſt.

A

(y) 2. *Cor.* 12. 5.

(z) Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ὁμολογεῖται τὸ μέλειον ἄειςον, καὶ τὸ μέσον φανερὸν ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἀτυχεμάτων ἡ κλήσις ἡ μέση, βελτίστη πάντων ῥάστη γὰρ τῷ λόγῳ πειθαρχεῖν, ὑπέρκαλον δὲ ἢ ὑπερίσχυρον, ἢ ὑπερευγενῆ, ἢ ὑπερπούσιον ἢ τἀναντία τούτοις. ὑπέρπτωχον, ἢ ὑπερασθενῆ, καὶ σφόδρα ἄτιμον καλετὸν τῷ λόγῳ ἀκολουθεῖν. *Ariſtot. politic. lib.* 4. *cap* 11.

(a) Lib. 11. Epigram. 57. Hanc tibi virtutem fracta facit urſeus anſa Et triſtis nullo qui tepet igne focus. Et teges & Cimex, & nudi ſponda grabati, & brevis atq; eadem nocte dieq; toga.

A ſorry life's ſoon ſet at naught; to leave want is no loſs:
His Soul hath marched valiantly that ſinks not *under's Croſs.*

What the Souldier did out of humour, or conſtraint, a wiſe man may do out of deliberation or choice: and without controverſie great is the liberty they gain of others in good cauſes, that from a ſerious forecaſt and view of a better end than theſe men did apprehend, can prize both the preſent poſſeſſion and all future hopes of life, as low as theſe did their bodies in their calamities.

3. Some Criticks willing to ſhew they were able to eſpy a fault where there were one indeed; have taxed it as an *indecorum* in *Homer*, which was none, to bring old *Chryſes* into *Agamemnons* preſence, never daunted with ſight of the Grecian Army, when as men of his Age are uſually timerous. And it is no marvel if that courage which ſprings from heat of blood, and makes men adventurous in boiſterous encounters, do cool, as the roots of their bodily ſtrength and agility decay. Notwithſtanding, the ſhort remnant of a feeble life is eaſily overſwayed with calm and quiet apprehenſions of an honourable death, wherewith the ſtrong hopes, which freſh ſpirits miniſter unto young men of long life, are ſeldom ſtirred. For unto them the ſight of death is always gaſtly, unleſs it be preſented in troubled blood; nor can they, uſually, be drawn to meet it but upon confidence of Victory, or at leaſt of making others die before them. Thus unleſs there be ſome other defect, the leſs way old men have to run, the further ſtart they have of youth for freedom of ſpeech, or reſolution, before ſuch as can put them to death without reſiſtance. Hence another [b] Poet, bringing in an aged ſire more ſharply expoſtulating his Countries cauſe with a Prince of fiercer diſpoſition than *Agamemnon*, as if he had purpoſely ſought to preoccupate all captious or critical cenſures, expreſſeth the reaſon of his boldneſs.

Unde ea libertas? juxta illi finis & ætas
Tota retro, ſæræq; velit decus addere morti.

What freedom's this? A private Man to take a Tyrant down?
His race being run? 'twas now fit time
the end with praiſe to Crown?

Could we out of mature deliberation reſt perſwaded, of what the doctrine of Faith delivers as a truth undoubted, that promotion comes neither from the Eaſt nor from the Weſt, that length or ſhortneſs of life depend not on the courſe of nature, but on his will and pleaſure, who hath every Member of our bodies written in his Book, able to deface all inſtantly with one daſh of his pen; that if we ſpare to ſpeak before others in his cauſe, we may want breath to plead our own before him: How eaſie would it be for us to confeſs Chriſt, by profeſſing the truth before the mightieſt amongſt the Sons of Men: when as now our ſervile dependance on ſuch as our Chriſtian freedom and reſolution might bring in ſubjection to the truths they ſcorn; on ſuch as have not power to hurt our bodies, or deprive us of food and raiment, or other neceſſaries of private life; but only to repel us perhaps from aſcending higher than any opportunity of doing good ſervice to our Lord and Maſter calls us; makes us daily and hourly
aſhamed

(*b*) Statius Thebaid lib. 3. Hæc ſenior: multumq; nefas Etheodis acervat crudelem, infandumq; vocans pœnaſq; daturum unde ea libertas, *&c.*

aſhamed of him and his Goſpel, which the great ones of this preſent World confeſs in words, mightily oppugn in deeds, as we do ſcandalize the power and vertue of it by our ſilence. Great were the materials of the contentments, which *Heſter* enjoyed in *Ahaſhuerus* Court ſo were her hopes of having them continued or enlarged: * *Mordecays* admonition notwithſtanding, grounded upon the conſideration before-mentioned, moved her to hazard all, and to adventure on her gracious Kings extream diſpleaſure, rather than prejudice the cauſe of Gods people by forbearance of petitioning on their behalf. Many of undaunted courage in the open field would hardly have preſſed into the Kings preſence againſt the Law, for though the danger could not be greater than they often expoſed themſelves unto againſt the Enemy; yet fear of diſgrace which might enſue, would in this caſe aſſwage that boldneſs whereunto hope of honour, uſually animates greater Spirits. *Cato* then, and other ſuch reſolute Romans, as gave *Cæſar* to underſtand they had leſs dread of death than of his pardon, would have proved but daſtards in the Camp of *Chriſt*, for many principal points of whoſe ſervice, he that is more afraid of a miſerable or diſgraced life, than of a violent or bloody death, is very unfit. Now Faith if it be uniformly ſet, equally enclines us to make choice of either ſtation, as the diſpoſition of our lot ſhall fall. The beſt ground of our qualification for undergoing either, will be with deliberate unpartiality to rate, as well the calamities or incumbrances, as the proſperities or pleaſures incident to this mortal life, no higher than in nature they are, for quality vain, and for durance momentary; ſtill weakning our natural deſires of the one, and fortifying our feebleneſs or peculiar indiſpoſitions to ſuſtain the other. Some are more eaſily dejected with fear of ignominy, others of want or poverty, moſt are apt to be much moved with bodily pain, but all moſt with that which is moſt contrary to the inclinations or accuſtomances, in whoſe exerciſe or practice they moſt delight. And ſeeing the abundance of our deſires, or affections, uſually brings forth a conceited greatneſs of the ſenſual objects whereon they are ſet; the enfeebling or pining of internal appetites will be the readieſt way to erect our Spirits, and ruinate all drowſie imaginations of greater terror, than can really be preſented to reſolute and vigilant thoughts. The beſt means again to enfeeble inbred appetites, or impair the ſtrength of natural or cuſtomary inclinations, is ſubſtraction of their fuel, as much familiarity with their proper objects, or affectation of what we ſee moſt followed by others, which uſually have wit enough to accompliſh their chief deſires, but want Grace to account the inconveniencies, that without great circumſpection always attend on their accompliſhment. What though our means be ſo ſhort as will not permit us to fare deliciouſly, our preſence not ſo gracious as to win their favour that behold us, our countenances not ſo armed with authority as to imprint awe in our inferiours, our wits not ſo nimble as may enable us to lead a faction, our experience not ſo great as to compaſs preferment, or winde our ſelves out of intricate perplexed buſineſſes: yet all theſe defects have this comfort annexed, That although we had *Dives* fare, and *Creſſus* wealth, *Tullies* eloquence, and *Cæſars* fortune, *Ariſtotles* ſubtilty, and *Achitophels* policy, *Sampſons* ſtrength, and *Abſolons* beauty, *Solomons* wiſdom, with all his Royalty; yet were we bound to uſe all theſe bleſſings as if we uſed them not, to employ them not to our own, but to his praiſe that gave them, in whom

* Mordecay *ſaid that they ſhould anſwer Eſter thus, Think not with thy ſelf, that thou ſhalt eſcape in the Kings houſe, more than all the Jews, for if thou holdeſt thy peace at this time, comfort & deliverance ſhall appear to the Jews out of another place, but thou and thy Fathers houſe ſhall periſh: and who knoweth whether thou art come to the Kingdom, for ſuch a time. Eſter* 4.14,15.

Tome I.

(c) *Luke* 12. *v.* 48.

without theſe we may more truly delight than any can do in their abundance. [c] *For to whom much is given of him much ſhall be required.* This in the firſt place, not to rejoice though in miraculous effects of graces beſtowed upon him, but rather in that his name is written in the Book of Life, in whoſe golden lines none are enfranchiſed but ſuch as in poverty of Spirit have ſerved an Apprentiſhip to humility. Thus may the Brother of loweſt degree, ſo he will not be wilfully proud, nor ſtretch his deſires beyond *the meaſure God hath diſtributed to him*, ſtoop without ſtraining to that pitch, whereto even ſuch as are of gifts moſt eminent, or in higheſt dignity, muſt of neceſſity deſcend, but by many degrees and with great difficulty, ſeldom without ſome grievous fall, or imminent danger of precipitation.

4. But is not this to calumniate our Creators goodneſs, as if he did bait his hooks with ſeeming bleſſings, or ſet golden ſnares to entangle the Souls of his ſervants? No, reaſon taught the Heathen to think more charitably of their ſuppoſed Goddeſs *Nature*, on whom they fathered that *truth*, which Faith inſtructs us to aſcribe unto our Heavenly Father.

Claudian *who notwithſtanding was in part a Chriſtian, but uttered this rather as a dictate of nature than as an Oracle of Faith.*

Natura beatis
Omnibus eſſe dedit: ſi quis cognoverit uti.

If from true bliſs thou chance to ſtray, do not the
blame on nature lay:
Enough ſhe gave thereto t'attain: but gifts
without good uſe are vain.

The gifts mean or great, beſtowed on every man by his Maker, are beſt for him; ſo he would faithfully implore the aſſiſtance of his ſpirit wholly ſubmitting himſelf to his direction for their uſage. His mercy is many times greateſt to ſuch as he endows with leaſt bleſſings of art or nature, in that as their ſpirits are uſually ſlow, their capacities ſhallow and abilities weak, ſo their conqueſt over delight or pride in their own good parts, in which the ſtrength and vertue of Faith conſiſts eſpecially, is the eaſieſt, their aptitude to delight in ſpiritual goodneſs the greateſt, and their alliance to true humility moſt immediate. His mercies again many ways appear moſt towards ſuch as excel in gifts of nature. Firſt, if they ſeriouſly addreſs their beſt faculties to contemplate the Fountain whence they flow, or to eſteem of their Creators goodneſs by his good bleſſings beſtowed on themſelves; they have a perpetual ſpur to ſtir up their alacrity in good courſes, a curb to reſtrain them from falling into ordinary and vulgar ſins, whereinto others uſually ſlide through dejection of mind, or opportunity of their obſcure place, and low eſteem with others. The beſt leſſon I remember in old *Chaucer*, and for ought I can perceive, the only right uſe can be made of a mans notice of his own worth is, to think every offence of like nature more grievous in himſelf, than in others whom he accounts his inferiours. Again, as eminency of natural or acquired worth, expoſeth men to more than ordinary ſpiritual danger, ſo, no queſtion, rightly imployed, it makes them capable of great reward; and few of this temper if free choice were left unto themſelves, but would rather deſire to get honour, though with adventure of an avoidable danger, than to be aſſured of ordinary recompence for ſafe employments. Briefly as their ſtock or talent is greater, and through indiſcreet or unthrifty courſes may bring them into great arrerages at their final accounts: ſo warily and faithfully imployed, it always yields greater encreaſe to Gods glory, who will not ſuffer the leaſt exceſs of good ſervice done, to paſs without an overplus of reward. That which turns all his bleſſings into curſes, is an over-weaning conceipt of our own worth, and a perſwaſion thence ariſing, that we are fit for any fortunes whereunto induſtrious practices authoriſed by humane Law can raiſe us; and inwardly furniſhed for ſuſtaining any place, for which the diſpenſers of civil honour can be wrought outwardly to Grace, or qualifie us. As the diſeaſe it ſelf is deadly, ſo is it uſually accompanied with a Phrenetical ſymptom: for like wandring Knights that ſeek adventures in unknown Countries, we apprehend no danger in thoſe courſes of life wherewith we are altogether unacquainted, but rather wiſh to meet with temptations new and uncouth, becauſe it is more glorious to conquer them, than not to be aſſaulted by them. But how can this reſolution ſtand with that daily Petition, *Lord lead us not into temptation?* much eaſier it is to avoid their danger, by refraining all trial of ſuch deceitful contentments as make way for them, than not to yield unto them after accuſtomed experience of their pleaſant inſinuations. To be able not to affect their pleaſures, is a point of Chriſtian valour, highly commendable amongſt the wiſer ſort of men, and immediately approveable with God: nor is there any that much deſires to taſte them, but is obnoxious with all to be ſo bewitched by them, that he ſhall think himſelf free enough from their enticements, when his Heart and Soul are indiſſolubly betroathed to them.

CHAP. V.

Our Saviours Parables eſpecially thoſe (Matth. 13. Mark 4. Luke 8.) *moſt ſoveraign rules for the plantation and growth of Faith: Of unfruitful hearers reſembled by the high way ſide and ſtony ground, with brief caveats for altering their diſpoſition.*

1. LET others eſteem of them as they liſt, our Saviours Parables, in that they contain the ſecret myſteries of the Heavenly Kingdom, ſhall ever, as they always have done, ſeem to me the moſt ſoveraign rules for planting Faith, and the matters contained in them the moſt pretious objects for a Chriſtians choicer thoughts to work upon in his ſelected hours. In that it hath further pleaſed my gracious God to make known unto me, not only the Parables themſelves which were communicated to the multitudes, but our Saviours Divine Expoſitions of them, privatly imparted to his Diſciples; I cannot think either my ſelf or others, who are partakers of this favour, and not wilfully indulgent to ſuch deſires as brought blindneſs upon the Jew; to be of their number that are without, but rather of theirs to whom it is given *to know the ſecrets of the Kingdom of Heaven.* Yet

Read Matth. 13. ver. 10. Mark 4. 11.

even

(d) Mat. 13. 13.
(e) Iſa. 6. 9.
Mat. 13. 12.
(f) *What is it that is taken away from him that hath not.*
(g) Mat. 13. 19
(h) Ecclef. 4. 17.

even his moſt perſpicuous expoſitions ſhall become Parables unto us, *if ſeeing we do not*, or will not *ſee*, [d] *if hearing we do not or will not hear, neither underſtand*; for in all ſuch, unto the worlds end, the Propheſie of [e] *Iſaias* muſt be fulfilled, *By hearing ye ſhall hear and ſhall not underſtand, and ſeeing ye ſhall ſee and ſhall not perceive.* This blindneſs or dullneſs in hearing, which God layeth upon us as well as them, ſuppoſeth a winking or cloſing of eyes, a ſhutting of ears unto the word manifeſted or revealed. *For whoſoever hath* (eyes or ears, though but natural, open) *to him ſhall be given*, clearer ſight, and quickneſs of hearing, more of every kind in abundance. *But whoſoever hath not, from him ſhall be taken away, even that which he hath*; [f] Rather what he ſeemed to have, for how can ought be taken from him that hath not? yes, even he that underſtandeth not the word which he hears, hath ſomewhat, until it be taken from him. So our Saviour inſtructs us, [g] *When one heareth the word of the Kingdom, and underſtandeth that it, then cometh the wicked one, and catcheth away that which was ſown in his heart.* Becauſe he had not the heart or courage to ſet his mind unto it, when opportunity was offered; for this actual and wilful neglect of ſuch a talent as he had, he ſhall be deprived as well of internal abilities, as external occaſions ſerving to that paſſive capacity or qualification which we ſeek. *Wherefore let him that hears, take heed how he hears*; leſt by admiſſion of every vain and idle thought, he bring ſuch a brawn or callum upon his heart, as ſhall make it like the high way ſide, or a beaten path, into which the Seed ſown finds no entrance, but lies expoſed to thoſe infernal Harpies; which as the lamentable experience of our times hath taught us, are ſtill ready to ſnatch it out of mens mouths, as faſt as it enters in at their ears, cauſing them as it were to belch up the word received in unſavoury talk, to vent it in unſeemly jeſts or ſecular meriments. This ill retention of what is heard, argues the heart was not well prepared to hear: for which malady the wiſe Kings preſcription is the beſt. [h] *Take heed to thy foot, when thou goeſt to the houſe of God; and be more ready to hear, than to give the Sacrifice of Fools: for they conſider not that they do evil. Even the beſt wiſdom of the world is fooliſhneſs with God*; unto whom he ſacrificeth folly, whoſoever empties not his Soul thereof, when he comes to ſtand before the Lord, who accepts of no Sacrifice to the contrite and broken heart, full only of ſorrow for ſins committed, or Thankſgiving for their remiſſion. To bring earthly thoughts into his Sanctuary, is to tread on holy ground with unhallowed feet, which *Moſes* the man of God, was forbidden to do; and we are commanded to have ours ſhod with the preparation of the Goſpel. How great ſoever our other cares or buſineſſes be, we ſhould at our entrance into the Church wind up our thoughts, as men do their Watches, that they beat not on any worldly matter, till the time allotted for hearing and ruminating upon the word received be paſt. The Bell which calls us thither, ſhould warn all ſecular cogitations to abſent themſelves from our hearts; otherwiſe, by often hearing we do but encreaſe our dullneſs in hearing, for the confuſed ſound of the letter, without diſtinct articulation or impreſſion made by the ſpirit, cauſeth deafneſs in the ſenſe of ſacred diſcipline.

2. But of ordinary hearers, whom theſe admonitions moſt concern, a great part do not mingle Seeds, but receive the pure word with gladneſs, minding no earthly matters whiles it is in ſetting; who

notwithſtanding mightily overſee in prognoſticating of a joyful Harveſt, by this gladſom or forward Spring. Such hearts our Saviour compares to ſtony ground, wherein Seed caſt ſhoots up apace, but withers as faſt for want of root. Roots, though of Trees, can go no deeper than the rock or ſtone; nor can the word of life ſink deeper into the heart of man, than unto the roots of his natural deſires or affections; theſe unrenounced either ſtifle it in the growth, or prohibite the ſpreading of it any farther, than where it can be no annoyance unto their propagations. Such as apprehend the tidings of peace with joy whilſt they are uttered, but forthwith relent when the profeſſion of their truth expoſeth them to bodily grief or ſorrow, are ſo affected to it, as rich men, or good houſe-keepers to pleaſant companions, whom they lovingly entertain at their Tables, not willing to enter bonds for bettering their fortunes, or any way to endanger the diminiſhing of their own eſtates, for releaſing theſe men from hard durance. And ſuch warineſs is a point of wiſdom, whilſt practiſed towards ſuch as we are tied unto only in the common bond of ordinary courteſie, or humanity, or of whom we expect no greater good than uſual delight: but it ſhould be odious and deteſtable, if it were ſhewed towards ſuch as have engaged their lives, lands, or goods for us, or unto them in whoſe defence or maintenance our very lives and ſubſtance are due; as to our Prince, our Parents or Country. But for the everlaſting Kingdom what can be too dear? Not the whole world if we had it, and all the holdfaſts it can lay upon us. The paſſive incapacity or bad quality of the unregenerate, which in proportion anſwers to ſtony ground, is in general impatiency of adverſity, and that but a vein or ſeam of mans hard and ſtony heart, before it be rightly enſtamped with that fundamental precept *of denying himſelf, and looſing life for Chriſts ſake*; which in effect contains as much as *Moſes* tables and the Prophets. The branches of this general adverſity, which, though in the purchaſe of ſo glorious a Kingdom, doth offend us, are of divers kinds, not all alike apt to endanger every nature or diſpoſition. To be croſt in ſuits of honour or preferment, is unto ſome as bitter as death: but many there be who have wained their thoughts from great matters, and yet can hardly brook a broken eſtate, or places far below their Education, or merits in mens eſteem that be indifferent. Others not greedy of glory, or far ſpreading fame, are jealous of their reputation within its precincts, and very impatient of diſgrace amongſt their equals or acquaintance; whereof, notwithſtanding, we ſhould be ſorry only to give juſt occaſion, but glad to ſuffer it unjuſtly laid upon us for truths ſake. All of us have ſome or other tender parts of our Souls, which we cannot endure ſhould be ungently touched: every man muſt be his own methodiſt to find them out, and to accuſtom them by little and little to more familiarity with thoſe grievances, whoſe aſſaults if ſudden, were like to daunt them, when they ſhould fight the good fight of Faith. All of us have many ſecret concomitants of life, from which we cannot willingly part: our ſafeſt courſe would be gently to cut the ſtrings, or loſe the ligaments one after another, which tie us unto this preſent world, that we may be drawn out of it (as our teeth by this method are out of our jaws) with leſs difficulty when God ſhall call us. [i] *O death how bitter is the remembrance of thee, to a man that liveth at reſt in his poſſeſſions, unto the man that hath nothing to vex him, and that hath proſperity in all things:* yea

(i) Eccleſ. 41. 1.

yea unto him that is yet able to receive meat? To like purpoſe, if I miſtake not the circumſtances, was his meaning.

Illi mors gravis incubat,
Qui notus nimis omnibus,
Ignotus moritur ſibi.

Seneca in Thyeſt.

That knowledge only count thine own,
Which to thy ſelf thy ſelf makes known:
The life men live by fame is light:
Death always ſad without fore-ſight.

CHAP. VI.

Of that temper of heart which in proportion anſwers to thorny ground: of the deceitfulneſs of riches: how difficult a matter it is to have them, and not to truſt in them. The reaſon why moſt rich men of our times never miſtruſt themſelves of putting this truſt in Mammon.

1. BUT many as was intimated in the former Parable, that can hold the armour of Faith cloſe about them in ſtorms of adverſity, are often enticed to put it off by fair countenance of the world, or ſmiling graces of blind fortune, wooing them to follow the unlawful faſhions of her Court. Many Confeſſors in time of Perſecutions, have proved Apoſtates and Factious Schiſmaticks after long peace and proſperity. Now it would be, I think, leſs grievous for a Traveller to die in a far Country in his ſetting forth, than to be drowned within ken of ſhore at his return; a miſ-fortune more full of miſery than can be expreſſed, to have eſcaped *Sylla* and *Charybdis* rage, or ſafely to have paſſed the ſtreights of *Magellan*, and afterwards, through careleſneſs, to caſt away both Ship and Paſſenger upon the golden ſands of *Tagus*, *Orinoque*, or *Riodel Plato*. Much harder notwithſtanding is their miſhap, which begin in the ſpirit and end in the fleſh; not that they were at any time actual participants of the ſanctifying ſpirit, but that they had a reſolution in its kind truly anſwerable to his preſcriptions, until ſome adventitious contagion of the fleſh did pollute and corrupt it. The imperfection of theſe mens conſtitution, our Saviour exemplifies by ground in it ſelf not bad, but wherein good ſeed well ſown comes to no proof, by reaſon of thorns, brakes or ſuch other weeds, or traſh as uſually grow up in the fields of ſluggards, or men ſo detained with other buſineſſes, that they cannot intend their husbandry. The means whereby weeds hurt the Corn, are eſpecially two; either by ſtealing away the ſtrength and vigour of the ſoil, which ſhould nouriſh it, (for which reaſon Trees too cloſely ſet cannot thrive) or by a kind of antipathy, or ſecret enmity, which may be either in the eſſential properties of the very ſeeds or roots, or in the cumberſom vicinity of the blades or ſtalks, each according to their ſtrength apt to ſtifle other. That which in reſpect of our ſpiritual growth in

Faith, anſwers in proportion to thorns or tares amongſt Corn, is in general worldly care, or ſollicitude, eſpecially the deceitfulneſs of riches, or voluptuous life. It is hard to handle pitch and not to be defiled with it; it is harder for the Soul of man to be much converſant in any matter, and not take ſome touch or tincture from it; whence all acquired inclinations, good or bad, uſually ſpring according to the different qualities of the objects whereto we are much accuſtomed. From this aptitude of the Soul to receive impreſſion from externals, it falls out, that as men ſet to woo or deal for others, take often opportunity to beſpeed themſelves: ſo theſe things which are firſt ſought for only as ordinary means for attaining ſome good end, uſually intercept the deſire or love we bear unto the goodneſs of it; which is ſucceſſively infinite. For things in themſelves good, admit no ſtint of deſire, but the more we poſſeſs of them, the more we ſeek, which deſire or inclination, once alienated from the end unto the means, makes us exorbitant in all our courſes. This miſcarriage of our intentions is the ſourſe of all Idolatry of Superſtition, of Hypocriſie, of all inordinateneſs in moralities: and is hardeſt to be prevented in the moſt ordinary or neceſſary means of life, as in meats and drinks, in gathering riches and wordly ſubſtance. The reaſon is obvious, in as much as our Souls are as apt to receive impreſſion from theſe objects, as from others, and yet muſt of neceſſity be moſt converſant in theſe.

2. Sport or bodily exerciſe is meat and drink to youth of better mettle; of which, who is careful for the belly, ſave only to ſatisfie preſent appetite, or to enable their bodies to activity? yet by eating well upon ſuch occaſions, or provocations, the ſtomach will come in time to preſcribe, or plead a cuſtom; and plenty of food, though firſt ſought for neceſſity or increaſing of ability, is afterwards neceſſarily deſired, though to the over-charging or diſenabling of nature. To be enamoured with the ſight of money, is more natural to young Choughs and Children; unto whom, notwithſtanding, once coming to years of diſcretion, and left to their own care or proviſion, the uſe of this metal, as the world hath now decreed, is very neceſſary for ſupplies of life in every kind: and mens deſires to have it for this end, often multiplyed or reiterated, ſet over the Soul to love it ſelf for it ſelf; as too much familiarity, or frequent converſation with creatures not ſo amiable, entice men, otherwiſe fit matches for more comely perſonages, to folly and unlawful luſt. And this is the miſchief of miſchiefs, that the fruition of money, or coin being permanent, the inordinate inclination to it ſtill increaſeth with the acquiſition of it, though lawful. This the Heathen had obſerved as an axiom almoſt without exception amongſt thoſe that knew not God.

Creſcit amor nummi quantum ipſa pecunia creſcit.

Our love to pelf doth always grow, as faſt as pelf
it ſelf doth flow.

And from notice of the danger whereto increaſe of wealth expoſe mens Souls, the Pſalmiſt thought that admonition neceſſary,[k] *If riches increaſe ſet not thy heart upon them.* Every vice is a kind of madneſs, in reſpect of that uniformity which accompanies Faith and Chriſtian Sobriety: yet many vices there be; very foul in the act, which leave a ſting

(k) Pſal. 62. 10.

ſting behind them, and by ſcourging the mind procure *dilucida intervalla*, wherein the doctrine of life may be clearly repreſented, and make ſome impreſſion upon their Soul. But ſuch is not the nature of Avarice or Ambition: of men polluted, with which diſeaſes, what one in another caſe hath ſaid, is moſt true, *Qui nunquam delirat ſemper erit fatuus:* as they bewray no ſpice of franticknes in the actual proſecution of what they intend, ſo they remain perpetual idiots in continuing their ſiniſter choice.

3. It would be a matter very difficult to find a man in this Age, in whom the Word of God, as far as the eye of mans obſervation can pierce, had taken better root, or more uniformly branched it ſelf into every commandment of the Law, than in that rich man (or
(l) Luke 18. 18. as Saint [l] *Luke* entitles him, *that Ruler*) [m] which came running, yet
(m) Mark 10. 17. not forgetful of good reſpect unto our Saviour: for kneeling he tenders this Petition, *Good Maſter what ſhall I do that I may poſſeſs eternal life?* That as well the appellation as his deſire was ſincere, and not pretended, is manifeſted by our Saviours love, which was never ſet on outward feature or external complement, but on internal integrity and ingenuity. His profeſſion of obſerving all the commandments from his youth, had his own heart been a competent judge of his demeanor, was not hypocritical but true; for ſuch had his care and reſolution been. But he that was greater than his heart, perceived ſome thorns or weeds already taken, which would over-top the good ſeed ſown in it, and keep down his thoughts from growing up to Heaven, whereunto our Saviour would have exalted him;
(n) Mark 10. ver. 21. could he have ſuffered the extirpation of theſe weeds. [n] *One thing is yet lacking to thee, go and ſell all that thou haſt, and give to the Poor, and thou ſhalt have Treaſures in Heaven, and come follow me, taking up thy Croſs. But he was ſad at this ſaying, and went away ſorrowful.* What was the reaſon? his heart was with his treaſure; and care of keeping it, or ſecret delight in enjoying it, being crept into the ſame room, did ſuck away that vertue and influence, whereby the word ſown ſhould have received ſtrength and increaſe, alienating part of his Soul from God, whom he was to love with all his Soul, with all his heart, and all his ſtrength. The reaſon of his
(o) Mark 10. 22. Luke 18. 23. heavy and ſorrowful departure, as it is expreſſed by [o] two Evangeliſts, was not any unſatiable deſire of riches, or unconſcionable means to get them: his chief fault was, that he was marvellous rich; or as Saint *Mark* ſaith, that he had great poſſeſſions. For to have theſe but in competent meaſure, and not to truſt in them, is a more extraordinary bleſſing of God than their greateſt abundance, though gotten without extortion, fraud, or cooſenage. Nor is it the deceitful and fraudulent means commonly uſed in gathering wealth, but the deceitfulneſs of it howſoever gathered, which choaks the word, and makes the heart wherein it is ſown unfruitful. If we rightly obſerve the bounds or limits whereby the ſeveral parts of this Parable are diſtinguiſhed, and their peculiar diſpoſition whom our Saviour repreſents unto us by thorny ground; his phraſe doth intimate, that the very preſence of riches and large poſſeſſions, though never ſought for, though ſcarce expected, will inchant minds, otherwiſe free and liberal, with a ſecret delight in their fruition, and a deſire to retain, if not to encreaſe them, and ſo by degrees unobſerveable, breed ſuch diſtempers in the Soul, as will be ready to bring forth death ere they can be diſcovered; as bad humours oft times gather

gather in ſtrong bodies, never deſcryed but by ſome ſtrain, cauſing them to ſettle or make head againſt nature on a ſudden, without due obſervance of our temperature, whether natural, cuſtomary, or accidental, right choice of ſeaſonable exerciſe, and moderation of cares in our ſtudies or buſineſſes, ſuch grievous maladies as were now mentioned, may grow ripe when we leaſt think; albeit we had Phyſicians more skilful than *Hippocrates*, *Galen*, or *Celſus*, to appoint the ſet times of all our repaſts, to approve as well the quality, as quantity of what we eat or drink, or to over-ſee us ſleeping or waking, perpetually directing us in the right uſe of other means ordained for preſervation of life and health. More ſecret by much, and more inſenſible is the gathering of this ſpiritual diſeaſe, for whoſe avoidance we now adviſe, even in men that make great conſcience by what means they increaſe their wealth, and will not adventure on any bargain though never ſo good, without particular warrant from the word of life, or ſome peculiar preſcriptions from the learned Phyſicians of their Souls. Nor is there any means to prevent the danger ſave only by the continual exerciſe of good works, alms, and other deeds of charity, by prudent carefulneſs to improve their ſubſtance gotten as far as may be to Gods glory; and oft times by voluntary abſtinence from lawful gain, which by their forbearance might beſal the poor brethren. For a rich man to know how well he loves his riches, that is, to diſcover the inſtant danger of his diſeaſe, is otherwiſe impoſſible, unleſs he were put to ſuch a plunge as this young man was, urged to forſake them utterly all at once: which he doubtleſs that uſeth not ſuch charitable exerciſes as are here mentioned, would not have done, though our Saviour in perſon ſhould have charged him ſo to do: Eaſier it is by this aſſiduous carefulneſs and religious practice to weed all roots of love, or truſt in riches by little and little out of the heart, than to be plucked from them upon a ſudden: albeit utterly to extirpate all truſt in them, where they abound, is only poſſible to the Omnipotent power, and a rare document of Divine mercy, as that dialogue betwixt our Saviour and his Diſciples, begun upon the former young mans ſorrowful departure at the mention of ſuch qualification as he exacted of his followers, doth neceſſarily imply. *Jeſus* (ſaith the [p] Evangeliſt) *looked round about and ſaid unto his Diſciples, how hardly do they that have riches enter into the Kingdom of God?* His manner of uttering it, or other circumſtances not expreſſed, did intimate greater difficulty to his Diſciples at the firſt hearing, than this ſhort ſpeech doth unto us. *For* [q] *they were aſtoniſhed at his words.* Did they then miſtake him? or was he willing to make the difficulty leſs than they conceived it? No, he anſwered again; *Children how hard it is for them that truſt in riches to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven?* [r] *It is eaſier for a Camel to go through the eye of a Needle, than for*, whom? *he that truſts in riches?* No, *for a rich man*, to enter into the Kingdom of God. Well might this re-aſſumption of the former difficulty increaſe their aſtoniſhment, and extort that demand, *who then* (what rich man at leaſt) *can be ſaved?* with men it is impoſſible any ſhould, but not with God. Howbeit to make entrance into the Kingdom of God for him that truſts in riches, while he truſts in them, is no act of his Omnipotent Power; ſeeing no man can truſt in him and in riches too: for this were to ſerve him and Mammon: nor is it poſſible by the Divine decree, that any ſhould enter into that Kingdom without truſt in God. The matter

[p] Mark 10. ver. 23.

[q] Ver. 24.

[r] Ver. 25.

therefore which ſeemed altogether unpoſſible to the conceit of *Chriſts* Diſciples, was for a rich man not to truſt in riches, as much as this young man did: this is an extraordinary gift of God to be ſought with greater care, with greater diligence and frequency of Prayers, of faſtings, and practices of Charity, than either wealth, preferment, health, life, or whatſoever may befall it; [ſ] *Bleſſed is the rich which is found without blemiſh, and hath not gone after Gold, nor hoped in money and treaſure. Who is he, and we will commend him? for wonderful things hath he done among his people. Who hath been tryed thereby, and found perfect, let him be an example of glory, who might offend, and hath not offended, or do evil, and hath not done it. Therefore ſhall his goods be eſtabliſhed, and the Congregation ſhall declare his Alms.*

4. But as in moſt other points, ſo in this, we uſually fill up the meaſure of our iniquity unto the brim, ere we think Gods judgments can approach us, by a general over-ſight (elſewhere diſcovered) in uſing the ſecular phraſe of our corrupt times, rather than the *gage* of the Sanctuary for notifying the capacity of that body of ſin, which we bear about us, or the greatneſs of our actual tranſgreſſions. Who will not confeſs that it is very hard to have riches and not to truſt in them, and impoſſible for him that truſts in them to enter into the Kingdom of God: But who is he will thus aſſume, [It is very likely that I truſt in riches:] what is it blinds us, but the groſs language whereto we are accuſtomed? as if to truſt in them, were to ſay unto them, *ye ſhall deliver me*, to pray or offer ſacrifice unto them? yet ſo our hearts ſay though we perceive it not, unleſs we be more careful and vigilant to make us friends of the unrighteous Mammon, than either to get or keep treaſures though lawful, unleſs more delighted in employing them to charitable uſes, than in watching or entertaining opportunities for encreaſing them. In them we truſt, not in our God, unleſs the inclinations of our hearts to get, or forgo them, be ſo juſtly poiſed, that any occaſion of doing good do caſt our reſolution as readily one way as the other; that their loſs, if by God's appointment they take wing, do not ſo depreſs our Souls, but that they may inſtantly return as *Jobs* did, unto their wonted ſtation; [t] *The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away, bleſſed be the name of the Lord.* So prepared we ſhould be, that our joy ſhould flow as well when our earthly ſtore doth ebb, as when it ſwelleth, [u] *Let the brother of low degree* (ſaith Saint *James*) *rejoice in that he is exalted, but the rich in that he is made low, for as the flower of the graſs he paſſeth away.* Thus whiles wealth increaſes, it ſhould occaſion us to truſt in God, becauſe he gives it: but more whiles it falls, becauſe it is then more manifeſt there is no truſt to be repoſed in it.

(ſ) Eccleſ. 31. 8, &c.

(t) Job 1.

(u) James 1. 9, & 10.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of the antipathy between true Faith and ambition, or ſelf-exaltation: That the one reſembles our Saviours, the other Satans diſpoſition: Brief admonitions for avoiding ſuch dangers as grow from other branches of voluptuous life.

1. Seeing deſire of riches draws us into ſo many ſnares, and intangles us with ſo many noiſom luſts: the Reader haply will condemn the covetous as the man whom God abhorreth moſt. Howbeit beſides covetouſneſs, or love of riches, another root of evil there is, whoſe antipathy with the ſeed of life is like the enmity betwixt the Womans and the Serpents Seed. And no marvel ſeeing true and lively Faith is the expreſs Image of that humble, meek, and lowly mind which was in Chriſt, as this wild tare, whoſe extirpation we ſeek, is but the off-ſpring of the great Serpents venemous pride. Riches choke or ſtifle the word of life in the growth, and make the paſſage into the Kingdom of God ſo hard and narrow for the rich man, as is declared: but aſpiring thoughts periſh the very firſt Seeds and roots of Faith, and caſt down the ambitious man headlong from approaching the Gate whereat the righteous enter; *for* [w] *every one that exalts himſelf ſhall be brought low.* Could we rightly meaſure the nature of ambition, or exaltation of mans ſelf, by the true rule of the ſanctuary, and not by the popular notions or conceits that men this way very faulty have of this infernal ſin, we might find a more compendious aſcent unto the holy Mount, than moſt do take or care to enquire after. The root whence this miſchief ſprings as all agree, is a deſire of civil power or greatneſs; which then only (in vulgar eſteem) brancheth it ſelf into ambition, when this greatneſs is ſought for by unlawful means: but this is a miſt of error, or hypocriſie in the mind, which riſeth from foggy deſires of this groſs humour in the heart. For we may, as often we do, uſe lawful means for compaſſing moſt unlawful ends; ſo may the end which we earneſtly intend be exceeding good, and yet the intention of it very naught. Though Atheiſm be the uſual fruit of ambition come to full growth, or throughly ripe, yet many in a lower degree ambitiouſly minded, often ſeek after good places in Churches or Common-weal, with earneſt deſire to do more good in them than others would; howbeit the very accompliſhment of theſe ſeeming good deſires, or intentions, makes them worſe men than they were before; and their Country can never gain much by ſuch exchanges; as that Emperour intimated to his Souldiers, *bonum militem perdidiſtis, imperatorem peſſimum creaſtis, by loſeing a good Paſtor for a corrupt Prelate*, or a tolerable private man, for a naughty Magiſtrate. Admit the party thus advanced might empty the Common-weal of many enormities wherewith it had been, and without him might be continually peſtered: yet the uſual conſequences of high advancements upon ſo bad Foundations, which like Eclipſes have not their far-ſpreading effects till many years after, add much to the fulfilling of their iniquity with whom they live, and cauſe Gods ſecret judgments to haſten their pace. Did we not look

[w] *Luke* 14. *v.* 11.

more on the viſible means whereby good or evil ſeems to be wrought, than on his inviſible power that can contrive our final happineſs by miſfortunes, and diſpoſe advantages to our utter undoing: his will revealed againſt ſelf-exaltation and ambition would warrant the orthodoxal truth of this Paradox, that how ſincere ſoever mens purpoſes may ſeem unto themſelves, or how ſucceſsful ſoever their projects may be held in politick gueſs, yet whoſoever he be that ſhall affect higher dignities in Church or Common-weal, before he have fully conquered all temptations whereto theſe lower manſions are expoſed, doth ſeek a certain miſchief to himſelf and others. But for a poſitive rule to ſecure our hearts from all contagion of this helliſh weed, it ſufficeth, not that our Conſciences can give us full aſſurance we have been moſt vigilant, truſty, and careful in our former callings, ere we look after greater matters: for though this rule hold negatively true [none can be faſhioned for greater honour, but by faithful diſcharge of leſſer offices,] many notwithſtanding may be fitly qualified for the one, and yet very unapt for the other; as divers plants well taken, and likely to thrive every day better than other in the ſoil wherein they have been firſt ſet, would hardly proſper in another more commodious for better purpoſes. Beſides this perfection of ſincerity, or hopes of it encreaſe in our accuſtomed calling: unto ſuch a qualification for an higher as ſhall not endanger the growth of Faith, to compare as well the quality as the ſtrength of our preſent inclinations, with the ſeveral impulſions or allurements of that promotion we deſire, is very requiſite. Even after we be ſecured, upon calculation moſt exact, of our force and ſkill to reſiſt or prevent theſe, the very deſire of riſing higher, unleſs ſuggeſted by the concurrence of Gods providence, or ſome peculiar inſtinct free from all ſuſpicious attendants, or rather accompanied with good thoughts, or other pledges of internal comfort, is very dangerous. To follow the natural or uſual working of our will, forecaſting means of our advancement, is to exalt our ſelves, and that in the iſſue is to deſire to be brought low. The Jews preſſing for the higheſt places at Feaſts was but a ſymptom or manifeſtation of this inward diſtemper of heart, unto which our Saviour applies this Medicine, [x] *When thou art bidden of any man to a wedding, ſit not down in the higheſt room, leſt a more honourable man than thou, be bidden of him. And he that bade thee and him come, and ſay unto thee, Give this man place, and thou begin with ſhame to take the loweſt room. But when thou art bidden go and ſit down in the loweſt room, that when he that bade thee cometh, he may ſay unto thee, friend go up higher: then ſhalt thou have worſhip in the preſence of them that ſit at meat with thee. For whoſoever exalteth himſelf ſhall be abaſed, and he that humbleth himſelf, ſhall be exalted.* It was not his purpoſe at this or other time to give any rules for civil complement, or faſhionable behaviour amongſt ſtrangers at the Table, but ſuch as were parabolical, and had eſpecial reference to the internal frame or compoſal of mens reſolutions. The true meaning of the former parable is this, that ſeeing here we have no abiding City, but continue as Pilgrimes, Gods Hoſpitals or Almeſmen; the meaneſt eſtate furniſhed with a tolerable ſupply of neceſſaries, ſhould beſt content our private choice; always referring our advancement to the ſweet diſpoſition or invitation of the divine Providence. Our Saviour himſelf, though exactly accompliſhed for the right governance of more Worlds than this World hath Provinces, did not take unto himſelf

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(x) *Luke* 14. 8, 9. &c. *vide prob.* 25. 7.

the honour to be made High Prieſt, but he [y] *that ſaid unto him, this day have I begotten thee*, did thereto call him. And ſeeing to ſymbolize with the imitable perfections of his humane nature in the days of his humiliation, is the moſt immediate and formal effect of Faith; he that deſires to have it proſper in his heart, ſhould firſt ſeek to frame the like mind in himſelf that was in *Chriſt*, even to evacuate his breaſt, though not of all hopes, yet of all preſent deſires or actual addreſsments to raiſe his eſtate or fortunes, grounding his expectation of future glory in true humility and contentedneſs, with the loweſt place amongſt Gods people, *not taking honour to himſelf until he be called of God* as was *Aaron*.

(y) *Heb.* 5. 5.

2. But to ſpeak of an inward or particular calling to any courſe of life, ſeems but as a relation of ſome dream, or fancy in theſe wretched times, wherein of ſuch as would be thought religious, and bear the names of Divines, the moſt are more ready to impeach their own loyalty towards *Chriſt*, and make wilful forfeiture of Faith and honeſty, by open profeſſion of ambitious, and unconſcionable aſpiring reſolutions, than to diſparage their wit or ſufficiency (as they conceipt it) in the Worlds Judgment, by renouncing their ſlender uncertain hopes, or remote intereſt in promotion, which cannot be ſought for without exceſſive pains and trouble, and theſe always great, with pining care how to maintain or keep it gotten, before they can be ſure to get it. [z] *Ye are of your Father the Devil*, ſaith our Saviour to the Jews, and *his works you fulfil, for he was a murtherer from the beginning*; yet was his rebellious pride and ambition the Mother of his murtherous mind. The loweſt rank of his fellow Angels, never affecting to climb higher than the places firſt appointed them, remain to this day loyal towards God, loving one towards another, and kind to Man their Neighbour though inferiour Creature. But for *Lucifer* to ſhine as the Morning Star amongſt his Brethren did not ſuffice, unleſs he far exceed the *Moon*, and become like the midday *Sun* in Glory. According to the exorbitancy of this deſire, and height of his fall thereby procured, hath the maliciouſneſs of his dejected pride, and deep diſſimulation for bringing his murtherous Plots about, continued ſince. Whoſe Sons then may we ſuppoſe they are, who never contented with their natural ſtation, much bettered by many caſual acceſſions, and daily additions of Gods temporal bleſſings, ſcarce give themſelves reſpite to think how well God hath done by them already; ſo eagerly are they ſet to ſoar higher and higher, without fixing any period to their towering thoughts; as if they had ſaid in their hearts, [a] *We will aſcend above the height of the Clouds, and we will be like the moſt high.* Beſides their participation of this hereditary quality, or firſt ſin of Satan, the prepoſterous devices of men ambitious to effect their wills, rightly blazoned, proclaim their Pedigree. For as *Lucifer* ſince his fall, albeit ſtill like himſelf, not the Son but the Father or Prince of darkneſs, doth outwardly transform himſelf into an Angel of light: So this painted *Helen*, the Miſtreſs of modern thoughts, ambition, though always in travel with raven, murther, and cruelty, is notwithſtanding for outward reſemblance (as one well obſerves) the moſt exquiſite Ape of that Angelical vertue, Chriſtian Charity; [b] *It ſuffereth all things, it endureth all things, it believeth all things, it doth not behave it ſelf unſeemly, it is kind*, not with reſpect to Gods glory, or any ſpiritual end, but to the recompence of preſent reward, or in hope of gaining their favour

(z) *John* 8.44.

(a) *Eſay* 14.

(b) 1.*Cor.* 13. 7.

favour which may advantage it. Not late experience of our own miſery can make us poor men more compaſſionate to our miſerable Brethren, than one ambitious man is courteous or kind unto another, or ready to further him in cauſes that do not croſs his own preferment. And happy were they in their mutual kindneſſes, were not theſe full of cruelty towards the poor, and needy. From a general conſideration how mightily that golden rule, [c] [*Whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do unto you, even ſo do unto them,*] is violated by the mighty of our times, I was moved ſome years ago to utter publickly, what no experiments which I could ſince obſerve, as yet occaſion me to recall; that if all the calamities either immediately laid upon men of meaner rank by God, or procured by their own folly and overſight, were laid together in one ballance; all would not equalize the grievances which befall them by the mutual gratifications of great ones, who either ſpare not to Sacrifice the life and ſubſtance of the needy, (with whoſe miſeries the huge diſtance of their places will not ſuffer them to be affected,) unto others luxury or ſuperfluous pleaſures, with whoſe unneceſſary wants through the vicinity of their eſtates, and like conditions they eaſily and exactly ſympathize; or elſe to eaſe themſelves of ſome light care in prefering their dependants, reſpect not what heavy burthens fall upon inferiours by theſe unneceſſary advancements of their favourites. Again, unto what mean ſervices, and baſe employments for ſatisfying bodily luſt, or deſires of revenge will theſe infernal Sons of pride proſtitute themſelves, to gain ſome preſent intereſt with hope of future ſoveraignty in ſeely impotent and diſcontented Souls? And did he not well characterize the ambitious man, that ſaid, *ut dominetur aliis prius ſervit: curvatur obſequio ut honore donetur?* How many in our times would be willing, ſo God would grant it, to take *Chams* Curſe upon them for their preſent bleſſing, even to be *ſervi ſervorum*, ſlaves to great mens ſervants, ſo they might hope at length to domineer in the Tents of *Sem*, or bear rule over the Tribe of *Levi?* Laſtly, there is a property wherein the helliſh fiend, the bewitched lover, and the ambitious mind, are univocal Communicants. For though all of them daily complain of their vexations, as being hourly tortured with thoſe things which they moſt affect: yet can no inducement draw them to deſiſt, ſtill as it were ſtriving to entangle themſelves faſter in the cords or bonds of their cruel racks.

3. Or if the troubles of mind wherewith the ambitious mans ſuits are ſtill ſollicited, and their accompliſhment perpetually attended, did want that ſting whereby even his ſweeteſt delights become too dear: he were to be thought very unwiſe, or wiſe in his Generation only, that would forgo the pleaſant opportunities of a private life for the right ſetting of his Faith, for the encreaſe of his devotion, or gaining greater frequency of more familiar and ſecret Conference with the ſpirit of truth; albeit he were ſure to gain a Kingdom by employing his wits another way. *For* [d] *what doth it advantage a man to gain the whole World,* with danger *of loſing his own ſoul:* yet is he very likely to loſe it that hath but ſmall time to ſeek it; and as [e] one ſaith, *nemo occupatus bonam mentem invenit,* he that is much buſied in other matters, whereunto God particularly hath not called him, can hardly be at leiſure to ſearch much leſs to find, in what terms his own Soul ſtands with her Creator, or faithfully to make up thoſe accounts our Saviour exacts at our hands ere we can be worthy of his ſervice. Yet of

(c) *Mat.* 7.12.

(d) *Mark* 8. 3, 6,

(e) *Seneca.*

of all buſineſſes, ambitious employments moſt hinder the true knowledge of our ſelves, whoſe firſt Elements are, *Duſt thou art and unto duſt ſhalt thou return.* Duſt then being our native ſoil, and laſt home, to which we muſt by a decree moſt certain one time or other, but uncertain whether ſooner or later, repair, by ſoaring aloft we do but make our weariſom way the longer and crookeder, and our fall eſpecially if ſudden more grievous. And ſeeing ſuch aſpiring thoughts as we harbour, did overturn the great tempter himſelf; that which a religious Father obſerved of pride in general, is moſt proper to this branch at whoſe roots we ſtrike, untimely deſire of promotion, ſuch as are overgrown herewith need no tempter: the Devil cannot wiſh them more harm than they are ready to do themſelves by zealous following that courſe, which brought him to his fall. Ceaſe I ſhall to wonder hereafter what ſpirits ſhould move ſuch young and tender Olive Plants, as ſcarce thrive under the Walls of Gods Houſe, or ſuch Vines as hardly bear fruit in the warm and welfenced vale, to affect removal to the cold and open Mountains, expoſed to blaſts of noiſom winds. Is it their glory to be above others of their own rank and education? This might be purchaſed with leſs danger to themſelves, and more good to Gods Church if they ſought to overtop them more by their own proper height, or ſeaſonable well-furniſhed growth, than by meer advantage of ground. For [f] when every valley ſhall be exalted, and every Hill and Mountain made low, until the crooked become ſtraight and the uneven places plain: the fruit which hath grown in the vale will appear, both higher and better than the ordinary Off-ſpring of the Mountains. O that men were ſo wiſe as in heart to conſider, that the lower their place, ſo not expoſed to flouds of violence, the apter it is to ſuck in the dew of Gods bleſſing in greateſt plenty.

4. The poor *Galilean*, or vulgar Jew, had liberty to follow *Chriſt* every hour, not aſhamed to be ſeen at midday in his Company. But the conſpicuous eminency of [g] *Nicodemus* place compels him to repair unto his Lord, like a Thief by night, an ill abodance, that thoſe Heavenly myſteries wherewith he ſought to enlighten his mind, ſhould ſeem obſcure. This man was grown ſo great in *Iſrael*, that he could hardly be taken down to the pitch of Childhood, or infancy, into which mould of neceſſity he muſt be caſt, ere he can be born anew, or receive the Kingdom of Heaven aright. Men in our times of far greater place than *Nicodemus* was, may ſafely profeſs themſelves *Chriſts* Diſciples; for not to be ſuch in profeſſion, or not to ſhew themſelves ſometimes openly in the Aſſembly of his Saints, is their greateſt ſhame and ignominy: but ſo to ſtrip themſelves of the fleſh of the World, of all Prerogatives of birth or ſecular eminency, as they muſt ere they can be regenerated by the Spirit, or become new men in *Chriſt Jeſus*, would utterly ſpoil their goodly faſhion in the Worlds eye; in which, if we might examine their hearts by their practice, or avowed reſolutions, they only glory: Confeſs *Chriſt* then in ſpeech they may, but how is it poſſible they ſhould truly believe in him when they love the praiſe of men more than rebuke for his ſake, and receive honour one of another, not ſeeking that honour which cometh of God alone. To believe *Chriſt* in ordinary phraſe, is leſs than to believe him; yet he that ſeeks but in the loweſt degree to believe in him, muſt abandon that humour which he hath diſcovered, as the principal root of Jewiſh unbelief, or denial of him.

(f) *Iſai.* 40.5.

(g) *John* 3. 1, 2. &c.

him. Was that then ſuch groſs ambition as our corrupt language only takes notice of? was it immoderate deſire of greater places than they enjoyed? or rather only fear leſt they ſhould no longer enjoy theſe? The [h] ſight of his miracles, and evidence of his divine predictions had won the aſſent of ſome, even amongſt the Rulers, unto his doctrine as true, whilſt ſimply conſidered, or compared only with the ſpeculative arguments brought againſt it by his adverſaries. But what they believed in part as true, they did not aſſent unto as good, or not as better than the praiſe of men; For (ſaith the Evangeliſt) *they loved the praiſe of men more than the praiſe of God.* Did they then expect to have their praiſes ſounded out by ſome panegyrical Encomiaſt in ſolemn Aſſemblies, or unworthily to gain an honourable report amongſt poſterity? No, theſe are rewards of reſolution in ſpeech, and action, not of ſilence. Juſt ſuſpicion we can gather none of any ſuch haughty conceit, or deſire ſo far exorbitant, ſeeing all they could expect for not confeſſing *Chriſt*, was, not to have their good names or fame called in queſtion, or to ſpeak as it is written, *becauſe of the Phariſees they did not confeſs him, leſt they ſhould be caſt out of the Synagogue.* Liable they were unto the former verdict of *loving the praiſe of men more than the praiſe of God*, in as much as they feared the loſs of their places or reputation which they enjoyed, more than *Chriſts* cenſure of ſuch as are aſhamed of *him, or his words before men.* Aſhamed of him moſt of us in our own judgment are not: for, in that groſs conſtruction which Hypocriſie ſuggeſts of this ſpeech, indeed we cannot, as being brought up in a ſtate, which as it acknowledgeth him for the Redeemer and Judge of the World, ſo is it able to diſgrace us and our acquaintance enduring life, and both our Poſterities after death, if we ſhould deny him openly before the Jew or Turk. But the [i] words which he ſpake, and muſt judge the Jew for refuſing him, will in that laſt day condemn us alſo, if we receive not them. Such as receive not him, receive not God that ſent him, and he that receiveth not his words, receiveth not him. He that is aſhamed of the one, is upon the ſame terms aſhamed of the other; whilſt we have his Goſpel and other Apoſtolical Writings, not believeing them better than theſe Jews late mentioned did him, it were Hypocritical, even Jewiſh credulity to think we ſhould have believed him, though we had been eye-witneſſes of his miracles, or reſurrection from the dead. How many then, of higher fortunes eſpecially, can we without breach of charity towards our Saviour, and the truth of his Goſpel, ſuppoſe this day living, that can juſtly ſay their hearts are free from ſuch roots, or ſeeds of ambition, as have been diſcovered in theſe Jewiſh Rulers, yet theſe ſuch as admit no compoſſibility with the Seed of Faith. What cauſe ſo good, what truth ſo manifeſt, or ſo highly concerning the honour of God, what perſons ſo dear unto his Son, in whoſe furtherance or juſt defence, either fear of ſharp cenſure in a civil, or of excommunication in an Eccleſiaſtick Court, loſs of their places, or dejection from ſuch rule or dignity as in Church or Common-weal they bear, will not make moſt men either afraid or aſhamed to ſpeak, (at leaſt) openly to oppoſe their ſuperiours in honour only, not in knowledge of *Chriſts* Laws or Precepts? Is not this to love the praiſe of men more than the praiſe of God, to have the [k] *Faith of our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt, *the Lord of glory, with reſpect of perſons?* Or if the objects of our uſual fear be in themſelves of leſs force to withdraw us from confeſſing Chriſt before men, than the

(h) *John* 12. 42.

(i) *John* 12. 47, & 48.

(k) *James* 2. 1.

the temptations which theſe *Jews* had (for what to them more terrible than to be caſt out of the Synagogue?) our Faith muſt needs be leſs than theirs was, though theirs no better than none, becauſe it vaniſheth as faſt upon the firſt approach, or rather conceit of perſecution, as the morning dew doth at the Suns appearance. But if the Phariſees, whoſe cenſure they feared, would have countenanced our Saviours Doctrine, they had been as forward Confeſſors as the beſt of us, and Chriſtians altogether as good as any that love the applauſe, or fear the check of men in authority, when truth diſgraced or deſtitute of aſſiſtance requires their teſtimony.

5. If the leaſt ſpice of this diſeaſe be ſo dangerous, what miſchief may the heat of it procure unto the Soul of man? It may, as it often doth enflame the heart in which it kindles, with ardent deſires of falſe martyrdom, but ſears the Conſcience that it can never become truly Chriſtian, until every ſparkle of this ſtrange fire be extinguiſhed, and the ſore it bred moiſtened with tears, or mollified with true Humility. Minds tainted with other corruptions, ſeldom ſhrink in defence of the truth whereto they aſſent, until aſſaulted by violence, or pinched with ſome real perſecution. Ambition only though in the loweſt degree, or but kindling, in tickling love of applauſe, or jealouſies of ill report, is danted with ſhadows, and made to flye the field for fear of being laſhed with abſent tongues. And no marvel, when as the reproachful cenſure of the multitude, or of men on whoſe voice and ſentence it moſt depends (though bequeathed by our Saviour as an eſpecial bleſſing, deſcending by inheritance to his choſen from their Fathers the true Prophets) is apprehended by the ambitious, or popular minded, as the moſt grievous curſe that can befall them. [l] *Bleſſed are ye* (ſaith our Saviour) *when men hate you, and when they ſeparate you, and revile you, and put out your name as evil, for the Son of mans ſake. Rejoyce ye in that day and be glad, for behold, your reward is great in Heaven: for after this manner their Fathers did to the Prophets.* On the contrary, what he denounced as a woe, is made chief matter of their joy, that affect an univerſal eſteem of honeſt diſcreet men. [m] *Wo be to you when all men ſpeak well of you, for ſo did their Fathers to the falſe Prophets.* Thus much of this poiſonous weed, whoſe fertile growth in the Clergy ſeems to be provoked by covetouſneſs in the Laity. For the more unconſcionable Patrons be, and the more worldly or troubleſom Pariſhioners be; the more unſatiable are many Miniſters deſires of dignities or pluralities, as if they ſought to beat their adverſaries at their own weapons, to out-weary the minor ſort in ſuits of law, to out-vie the greater in ſecular pomp or bravery. Many other branches there be of voluptuous life, through whoſe deceitfulneſs the word of life is ſecretly choakt, or ſtifled in minds otherwiſe well-affected, and by good husbandry apt to fructifie: but their particular diſcuſſion I muſt refer to the Readers private meditations; contenting my ſelf only to touch the generality.

6. The courſe of a Chriſtians life may moſt fitly be compared to a navigation, his body is as the bark, the humane ſoul the owner, and the ſpirit of God the *Pilot.* As there is no ſea-faring man that can be ſecured of continual calm; but muſt reſolve, as to meet with ſtorms and with rough and grown Seas, ſo to redeem himſelf, and his Paſſengers from their rage, ſometimes with loſs of fraughtage, ſometimes of tackling or (in deſperate extremities) of the veſſel with

(l) Luke 6. 22, 23.

(m) Ver. 17.

her burthen: ſo is there no Chriſtian that can expect, or may deſire a general exemption from temptations; but muſt be content to prevent the ſhipwrack of Faith and Conſcience, one while with loſs of goods, or other appertinences of mortal life, otherwhiles with loſs of ſome bodily part, (for if either hand or foot ſhall offend us, it muſt be cut off, rather than Chriſt ſhould be forſaken) ſometimes with loſing all feaſts of friendſhip or dependance, for (he that loves Father or Mother, Brother or Siſter, kith or kin, ſuperiour or inferiour, more than Chriſt, is not worthy of him) ſometimes with diſſolution of body and ſoul; for [n] *whoſoever will ſave his life* (when Chriſts cauſe ſhall demand the adventure of it) *ſhall loſe it, and he that will loſe it ſhall ſave it.* Now where the fraughtage or furniture of life is pretious, as if our fare be delicate, our other pleaſures or contentments in their kind, rare and delectable; our alliance or acquaintance choice and amiable, our revenues ample, or authority great; the fleſh once tempted to forſake theſe for preſerving Conſcience upright, and confeſſing Chriſt, is ready to wrangle with the ſpirit; as a greedy or jealous *owner* would do with a skilful *Pilot*, adviſing in a Tempeſt to leſſon the danger by lightning the ſhip. If the commodities be groſs or baſe, the owner perhaps can be well content to have ſome part caſt over-board, but if coſtly and dear, or ſuch as his heart is much ſet upon, he had rather adventure to periſh with them under hatches, than to ſee them caſt into the Sea: for to part with them is death. Some Chriſtians, when blaſts of temptation ariſe, rather than they will break with their friends and acquaintance, do finally ſink with them, as Ships are ſometimes caſt away, through the owners unwillingneſs to cut the Cables, or loſe the Anchors: ſome, when ſtorms of perſecution begin to rage, rather than they will hazard loſs of body, lands, or goods in Truths defence, drown both body and ſoul in perdition. Seeing the wiſeſt of us as we are by nature, or left to our own directions, are more cunning Merchants than Mariners, and for the moſt part as ignorant of the Voyages we undertake, as skilful in the commodities we traffick for: the beſt reſolution for our ſafety would be to load our ſelves with no greater quantity of riches, honour, or other nutriment of voluptuous life, than ſhall be appointed us by the peculiar inſtruction of Gods Spirit, which beſt knows the true burthen of thoſe brittle barks, how well or ill they are able to abide rough Seas, or ſuch ſtorms as he alone fore-ſees are likely to aſſault as. And ſeeing, we are all, by profeſſion, laſtly *bound* for a City which is above, whoſe commodities cannot be purchaſed with gold, or ſilver, or pretious ſtones, much leſs may we truck for them, with our unclean worldly pleaſures or delights, which may not be ſo much as admitted within the walls or gates: our wiſeſt reſolution in the ſecond place is, to account even the choiceſt commodities that Sea or Land, or this inferiour world can [o] afford, but as traſh or luggage, ſerving only for ballance in the paſſage: ſo ſhall we be ready to part with it, when any Tempeſt ſhall ariſe, and if extremity urge us, like Saint [p] *Paul*, and his company, to ſave our Souls with loſs of the bark that bears us, and of all the whole burthen beſides.

7. But this advice may ſeem like their Philoſophical fancy, who would perſwade us that ſplendant metal, which is enſtamped with *Cæſars* image and ſuperſcription, and furniſheth us with all things neceſſary, were but a piece of purified clay, or earth and water cloſe com-

(n) Mat. 10. 39

(o) See Chap. 4. parag. 3.

(p) Act. 27. 38. &c.

compacted. Shall we, whom none makes reckoning of, bring down the price of theſe things, which men in authority, and the common conſent of Nations, would have raiſed unto the Skies? Shall we believe our ſelves, before our betters, that bodily pleaſures, great preferment, or other contentments, which almoſt all account worthy of their daily and beſt employment are nothing worth? Sure the Heathen thought this very argument no better.

[q] *Nugæ, non ſi quid turbida Roma*
Elevet, accedas, examenve improbum in illa
Caſtiges trutina: nec te quæſiveris extra.

Perſius Sat. 1.

Deem not all naught unſteady Rome *accounteth light;*
Her ſcales are falſe and cannot weigh mens worth aright;
But nought without can him that's well within affraight.

Let us take counſel of our own hearts, and they will better inform us, than ten thouſand by-ſtanders, that live but by hear-ſay, and ſee only others out-ſides, not what is within themſelves. Though we have riches and all other materials of worldly ſolace in greateſt abundance; yet our lives conſiſt not in them, much leſs doth our felicity. Now as in all mens judgments he lives much better that is able to live of his own, than he which hath the ſame ſupplies of life in more competent meaſure from his friends benevolence: ſo much happier is that Soul, which hath delight and contentment competent within it ſelf, than that which hath them heaped upon it from without; ſeeing all the delights or pleaſures theſe can beget, ſuppoſe a precedent pain or ſorrow, bred from deſires unneceſſary in themſelves, but ſuch as lay a neceſſity upon us to ſatisfie them whiles we have them. It is pleaſant no doubt to a woman with child, to have what ſhe longs for, but much more pleaſant to a manlike mind, never to be troubled with ſuch longings. Not to need honour, wealth, bodily pleaſures, or other branches of voluptuous life, is a better ground of true peace and joy, than full ſatisfaction of our eager deſires, whilſt they are fixed on theſe or other Tranſitories. The ſtrength of our ſpirits, (by whoſe united force our union, with the ſpirit of truth, muſt be ratified) is much diſſipated by the diſtractions which their very preſence or entertainment neceſſarily require; ſo doth the life and reliſh of all true delight internal (into which the true peace of conſcience muſt be engrafted) exhale, by continual thinking on things without us. Finally, whiles we trouble our ſelves about many things, it is impoſſible we ſhould ever entirely poſſeſs our own Souls with patience, or make the beſt of them for purchaſing, that *unum neceſſarium, that one thing which is only neceſſary.* But theſe are points which require more full peculiar Treatiſes, to which many Philoſophers, eſpecially *Plato, Ariſtotle, Seneca, Plutarch,* and *Epictetus* have ſpoken much very pertinent to true Divinity; as ſhall (by Gods grace) appear in the Article of *everlaſting life*; As in ſome other particular diſcourſes framed ſome years ago for mine own private reſolution. The counſel I here commend unto the Reader, is no way diſſonant unto Saint *Pauls* advice unto his deareſt Son; [r] *Godlineſs with contentment is great gain, for we brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out: and having food and raiment, let us therewith be content. But they that will be rich fall into temptation and a ſnare, and into many*

(r) 2 Tim. 6. 6, &c.

fooliſh and hurtful luſts, which drown men in deſtruction and perdition. For the love of money is the root of all evil, which while ſome coveted after, they have erred from the Faith, and pierced themſelves through with many ſorrows. But thou, O man of God, flie theſe things; and follow after righteouſneſs; Godlineſs, Faith, Love, Patience, Meekneſs. Fight the good fight of Faith.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the goodneſs or honeſty of heart required by our Saviour in fruitful hearers: of the ordinary progreſs from Faith natural to ſpiritual, and the different eſteem of Divine Truths or Precepts in the regenerate man, and him that is not, but ſincerely deſires to be ſuch: vacancy to attend all intimations of the ſpirit to be ſought after by all means poſſible. That alienation of our chief deſires from their corrupt objects is much available for purchaſe of the ineſtimable pearl.

1. If riches, love of honour, or voluptuous life, make the Soul ſo unfruitful: that temper which in proportion anſwers to good ſoil well huſbanded, preſuppoſeth a vacuity of theſe deſires. The poſitive qualification whereto theſe negative properties are annexed, is more particularly deſcribed by our Saviour (as Saint *Luke* relates) in his expoſition of this Parable, [ſ] *But that which fell in good ground are they, which with an honeſt and good heart hear the Word, and keep it, and bring forth fruit with patience.* Unto ſuch *honeſty* or *goodneſs of heart,* apt thus to receive and retain the word of Faith heard, is required; firſt a ſincerity of intention or choice, which preſuppoſeth a diſtinct and uncorrupt notion of good and evil; ſecondly, A conſtant reſolution of proſecuting the right choice made, which preſuppoſeth a greater freedom or liberty of practick faculties than can be found in the covetous, ambitious, or voluptuous. For their deſires, as all concupiſcences of the fleſh, prejudice the ſincerity of the intention or choice, by corrupting the notions of good and evil, and maim our reſolutions withal, to follow what is evidently beſt, by counterſwaying or reſiſting our inclinations unto goodneſs. The point moſt likely to trouble a curious inquiſitor in this Argument is, whether unto the bearing of fruit with patience there be required a *goodneſs* or *honeſty of heart,* precedent to the infuſion of ſanctifying grace, or that Faith by which the juſt doth live; as unto a fair crop there is a goodneſs of ſoil requiſite, beſides the goodneſs of the ſeed ſown in it. To my capacity he ſhould much wreſt our Saviours words, and offer violence to his ſpirit, that ſhould deny the truth or proportion of this ſimilitude. Nor can I perceive any inconvenience not eaſily avoidable by application, of the former diſtinction of a twofold goodneſs or honeſty; one commendable only in its kind, or by way of meer paſſive qualification in it ſelf, of no more worth than a field ploughed, but unſown, another acceptable in the ſight of God, as the crop or fruit is to the Huſbandman. The former is ordinarily precedent, the latter alike ſubſequent to true and lively Faith. All ſoils (at leaſt in this our land) are, though ploughed and manured alike, unapt to bring forth good

(ſ)Luke 8.15.

good wheat, ſweet grapes, or other precious fruit, without ſeeds precedent, yet not all alike apt to bring forth fruit ſown or planted in them, ſuppoſing their tillage or husbandry were equal. It is alike true of all the Sons of *Adam*, that all by nature are the Sons of wrath, all deſtitute of the grace of God, all alike unapt to do any thing truly good: yet the degrees or meaſure of their averſion from God and goodneſs not perhaps alike in all, albeit we conſider them as they are by birth, without difference of education, or as they are by meer civil education, without any natural knowledge of Gods written Law. That ſuch as hear the word, and are partakers of outward Chriſtian diſcipline, though not inwardly ſanctified, are not equally indiſpoſed to bring forth fruit, is neceſſarily included in the difference of unfruitful hearers reſembled by the high way ſide, and by ſtony and thorny grounds. The framing notwithſtanding of this diſpoſition ſuppoſed, precedent to the infuſion of lively Faith, may not be aſcribed to our abilities, but to the Spirit of God, directing our thoughts, and enabling us for conceiving a kind of previal Faith more than natural, by ſome external or inferiour grace, ſo proportioned to theſe effects, as ſanctifying grace is to the fruits of true holineſs. Probable it is, might we ſpeak out of experience, that as Bees firſt make their Cells, then fill them with honey; or as the formative vertue firſt like an Artificer frames the Organs or inſtruments of life and ſenſe, and makes the body a fit ſhop or receptacle for the humane Soul (which comes afterwards) to exerciſe all her functions and operations in: ſo doth the Spirit uſually pre-organize the heart for lively and Divine Faith to work the works of God in it aright. But as theſe works are wrought immediately by Faith, though principally by the ſpirit which infuſeth it: ſo likewiſe is the heart organized by ſuch moral or imperfect Faith, as they ſometimes had that afterwards ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, but by it as the Spirits inſtrument, uſually pre-exiſtent to the Faith which never fails, or unto the life of grace. Whatſoever may be rightly aſcribed unto the man already regenerate in production of true fruits of the Spirit, as much I think we may give without offence to our endeavours in framing this paſſive capacity or diſpoſition. In the former (after our regeneration) we are by conſent of moſt Divines co-workers with the Spirit of God, albeit the works be of a ſupernatural quality; and ſo whatſoever we are, we may without inconvenience be thought in the other, it being of a nature as far inferior to the former works, as the grace whereby it is wrought, is to the Spirit of Sanctification. But in what ſenſe we are ſaid to co-operate with God, by Gods aſſiſtance in its proper place; where, notwithſtanding, any captious or prejudicate ſurmiſe of this aſſertion, it ſhall be made clear, that I give as little to mans abilities in either work, as he that in Reformed Churches gives the leaſt. But to our preſent purpoſe.

2. The meer natural man, whether Infidel, or careleſs liver (the exceſs of his indocility ſuppoſed) is ſo affected to the word of Faith; as a *Barbarian* that neither knows letter of Book, nor other nurture, is to ingenuous Arts or liberal Sciences. Such as ſubmit themſelves to ſacred Diſcipline, and hear the Word preached with intention, though but morally ſincere, to profit by it: are in this like little Children, or novices in good literature; that, as theſe abſtain from ſport or play for fear of chiding, or whipping, and follow their Books, ſometimes only for like motives, ſometimes for ſhame leſt their equals

ſhould outſtrip them, ſometimes in hope of commendation or other childiſh reward: ſo he that is not yet, but deſires to be regenerated, eſchews what Gods Law forbids, but with difficulty and reluctance, oft-times for fear of Eccleſiaſtick or humane cenſure, ſometimes upon ſuſpicion, rather than religious dread of Plagues from Heaven: he addreſſeth himſelf likewiſe to the practice of affirmative Precepts, but uncheerfully and with diſtraction, moved thereto, either becauſe he would not be unlike thoſe men whoſe uprightneſs his Conſcience cannot but commend, or from ſome ſurmiſe rather than ſure hope of divine reward for ſo doing; never from uniform and ſincere delight in the good it ſelf enjoined, or in the Fountain of goodneſs, whence the injunction was derived. Yet thus to be held in compaſs, and as it were bound to good outward appearance, much avails for bringing us to our right minds, or for our recovery from hereditary madneſs; from which our Souls in ſome meaſure freed, ſtill take ſome tincture from the goodneſs of the objects whereunto they are applyed: and this reſtraint of deſires, or interpoſed abſtinence from luſts of the fleſh, yield opportunities or fit ſeaſons for Heavenly Medicines to work upon us; which otherwiſe would prove but as good Phyſick to full Stomachs, leaving no more impreſſion of their ſweetneſs in our minds, than wholſom food doth in diſtempered or infected palates. The temper of the heart once ſeaſoned with habitual Grace, is in reſpect of the word of Faith, like to a mind come to maturity in choicer learning, and reaping fruits more ſweet than hony or the pleaſanteſt Grape, from ſeeds as bitter as the birch or willow: ſo as now no bodily pain or grief, not Gout, or Stone, or other diſeaſe, can withdraw him from thoſe ſtudies, unto which ſmart of the rod in his younger days, could hardly drive him. To enforce or allure him to them upon any other reſpects, than only for their native ſweetneſs, were as ſuperfluous and impertinent, as to threaten an ambitious man with honour, or hiring a miſer to fill his bags with gold. The fruits precedent and ſubſequent to true Faith, are in ſhape or outward form (as often heretofore hath been implyed) the ſame, but different in their taſte or reliſh, as alſo in their manner of production. To abſtain from wrongs perſonal or real, from all pollution of the fleſh, to abjure ambitious projects, to miſlike revengeful, wanton, or covetous thoughts, are fruits that may uniformly ſpring from that honeſty and goodneſs of heart, uſually precedent, as we ſuppoſe, to the internal renovation of the mind, but muſt be enforced as it were by art or external culture. The contrary poſitive practices which reſemble the works of true ſanctity, notwithſtanding all outward helps or enforcements of Diſcipline, good example, or the like, are ſeldom brought forth without ſuch teſtineſs or moroſity, as we ſee in Children breeding teeth, whereas true Faith always brings forth her fruit with joy. Abſtinence from evil, to the mind once purified by it, is as a perpetual pleaſant Banquet; to mortifie all bodily members more ſweet than life, accompanied with perfect health, or than the livelyhood of youth: the choiceſt pleaſures the World or fleſh can proffer, though lawful or freed from the ſting of Conſcience, ſeem but as dregs, to be able to repreſs them, or intirely to enjoy our Souls without them, is the pure quinteſſence of that delight or joy which others take in them. But this is a Peace which is not uſually gotten without long War, and many Combates. For thus compoſed we are in actual League with God, full Conquerours over ſin and Satan. In the conflicts that procure it, or rather are precedent to the procurement of it the fleſh I take it hath not always the ſanctifying Spirit for its Antagoniſt: theſe are ſorrows which uſually go before the Conception of true Faith; of which likewiſe ſuch as are actual participants do not always fight the good fight of Faith; but even theſe ſometimes, whiles this General ſleeps, as they that have not as yet taken any earneſt or preſt money of him, always, before regeneration, offer Battel to the World, the Devil and fleſh out of ſuch reſolutions to renounce them as have been obſerved to be right in their kind; and ſuggeſted by the ſpirit as only aſſiſtant, not as inhabitant in the heart. But howſoever our final Victory over the fleſh cannot be gotten but by the ſpirit dwelling in us; yet to entertain theſe ſkirmiſhes or conflicts, though out of reſolutions not inherently ſpiritual, is to very good purpoſe. For ſeeing we cannot aſſign the very Mathematical point, how far reaſon directed by Scripture, or Eccleſiaſtick Diſcipline, or externally guided by the Spirit, but not yet quickned by ſanctifying Grace, or Faith apt to juſtifie, can reach; nor know the very inſtant wherein ſuch Grace or Faith is created in our Souls; we are therefore more ſtrictly bound to perpetual vigilancy, to ſtand continually upon our guard, uſing ſuch weapons as we have, always imploring Gods favour to furniſh us with better, and his aſſiſtance in the uſe of theſe, ſtill expecting his leiſure for accompliſhing his work in us, or for notifying the accompliſhment.

3. But before the light of the Heavenly Kingdom be incorporated in our Souls (though after the habituation of greater reſolutions right and good in their kind) we have uſually many tranſient gleams, or illuminations, which inſpire our hearts with ſecret joy, and raviſh our ſpirits, whoſe repreſentations notwithſtanding as quickly vaniſh, as the ſight of our own bodily ſhape in a glaſs: Here then is a point of true wiſdom, accurately to obſerve the circumſtances, or means uſed by the Divine Providence for their introduction, and upon notice of them to eſtrange our ſelves from all other occaſions, for purchaſing the like opportunities as were then afforded us. Some mans heart perhaps hath been thus illuminated, in his retired thoughts or vacancy from ſecular diſturbances: vacancy then is to him the field wherein this treaſure lies hid, which he muſt compaſs though with loſs of gainful Clients, or multiplicity of buſineſſes in humane eſteem very honourable and commodious. Others, it may be have felt like motions upon viſitation of the ſick, or ſome kind office performed to the afflicted: ſuch it behoveth to conſecrate their time, before ſacrificed to ſport and merriment, to purchaſe the continuance of this inward joy, by taking all occaſions to viſit the Houſe of Mourning. The Spirit ſometimes inſtills ſome drops of this gladſom Ointment into our Souls by ſoft inſuſurrations in ſilent night. It well befits ſuch as have been invited to theſe divine Conferences, to alienate ſome hours allotted for quiet reſt, to beg his return with ſighs and grones, to entreat his preſence with fervent Prayers, and entertain his abode with Hymns and ſpiritual Songs. Upon what occaſions ſoever the leaſt earneſt of our inheritance is proffered, it ſtands us upon out of hand to make uſe of that above all other, for better entertaining the like, or ſpeedier going through with offers made. Seeing by grace we can do all things, and without it nothing, or to no purpoſe: our hearts ſhould be always ready, as to watch when the Lord doth knock, or give any ſign of his preſence; ſo to be doing what he commands

upon the firſt ſignification of his will, for then we may be ſure the Lord, who is our ſtrength, is with us, how long to continue, we cannot tell, *Et ſemper nocuit differre paratis:* eſpecially, when as well the preparation or furniture, as the opportunities are not ours, but wholly at an others diſpoſal, who upon juſt contempt or diſlike may retract or with-hold them at his pleaſure. Now to foreſlow the purchaſe of a Pearl ſo ineſtimable as this we ſeek, upon what terms ſoever proffered, is not only niggardly or fooliſh, but ſo demeritorious and meerly ſwiniſh, as makes us uncapable of like proffers, which yet are always irrevocable pledges of more real perpetual favours, if they be reſpectfully accepted in due ſeaſon. [t] *Wiſdom* (ſaith the wiſe man) *is glorious, and never fadeth away: yea ſhe is eaſily ſeen of them that love her, and found of ſuch as ſeek her. She preventeth them that deſire her, in making her ſelf firſt known unto them. Who ſo ſeeketh her early ſhall have no great travel: for he ſhall find her ſitting at his doors. To think therefore upon her is perfection of Wiſdom: and whoſo watcheth for her, ſhall quickly be without care. For ſhe goeth about ſeeking ſuch as are worthy of her, ſheweth her ſelf favourably unto them in the ways, and meeteth them in every thought.*

4. It may be doubted, but not fit in this place to be diſcuſſed, nor is it poſſible (perhaps) to be finally reſolved, in reſpect of all or moſt men, whether theſe precedent repreſentations or excitements be of the ſame nature with the never-fading fruits of the Spirit, differing only in degrees of permanency, or conſiſtence, or rather (to borrow a ſimilitude from the Mineraliſt) reſemble ſome lighter metal lying nearer the day, ſerving to encourage us to go on with the work begun, and withal directing us to the place where the true treaſure lies, until we have ſome ſight or experience of the one or other, *our denial of our ſelves, and forſaking all* (though right in its kind) is very imperfect, and as it were only by way of ſequeſtration, appointed by order of Authority, which in ſecular matters, ſuch as have poſſeſſion are afraid to diſobey though very willing it might not interpoſe. Thus we before our regeneration, renounce the uſe or fruition of ſuch contentments, as nature, civil merit, or cuſtom, have entitled us unto, becauſe we fear their actual uſurpation, at leaſt in ſuch meaſure as we are capable of, might defeat us of greater hopes, or cauſe us incur dangerous contempts: but we retain our right or intereſt in them ſtill, often deſirous we might ſafely reap ſuch fruits of them as others do, always prone either to be tempted with opportunities of enjoying them, or ſecretly or warily to encroach upon the bounds of prohibition, prefixed by the interpreters of Gods Law, whom out of this longing humour we ſuſpect to be more ſcrupulous than they needed. But after we come once to view the ſeam or vein, wherein this hidden treaſure lies, if we be merchantly minded, and not of pedling diſpoſitions, we accompt all we poſſeſs beſides as droſs, or (as the Apoſtle ſpeaks) [u] *dung, in reſpect* of our proffered title to it; for whoſe further aſſurance we alienate all our intereſt in the world, the fleſh, with all their appertinences, with as great willingneſs as good husbands do baſe Tenements, or hard rented leaſes to compaſs ſome goodly royalty, offered them more than half for nothing. Of wiſdom ſaith the wiſe man in the perſon of *Solomon,* [x] *I preferred her before Scepters and Thrones, and eſteemed riches nothing in compariſon of her, neither compared I unto her any pretious ſtone, becauſe all gold in reſpect of her is as a little ſand, and ſilver ſhall be counted as clay before her. I loved*

(t) *Wiſd.* 6. 12, 13. &c.

(u) *Philip* 3. 8.

(x) *Wiſd.* 7, 8, 9, 10.

loved her above health and beauty, and choſe to have her inſtead of light: for the light that cometh from her never goeth out.

5. Now as [y] wiſdom, ſo much more grace (whereof wiſdom is but a branch) *being but one, can do all things*, or rather contains all goodneſs in it, (and for this reaſon is ſet forth unto us in ſundry names of things moſt pretious; ſometimes of treaſure, pearl, hidden manna, of the food of life; moſt uſually under the title of the Kingdom of Heaven:) ſo is there ſcarce an inclination or affection to any tranſitory good or contentment, but ſymbolizeth in ſome part with the right deſire of this ineſtimable goodneſs, and the induſtry uſed for procuring the one (the deſire or affection it ſelf being ſublimated or refined as the tranſmutation between ſymbolizing natures, is eaſie) may well be aſſumed into the ſearch of the other. To inſtance firſt in ſuch as our Saviour propoſeth to our imitation.

(y) Ver. 27.

Impiger extremos currit mercator ad Indos,
Per mare pauperiem fugiens, per ſaxa, per ignes.

In hopes of gain to utmoſt *Indies* the Merchant hies,
And from hard *need*, through Seas, through fire
and flint he flies.

Could he conceive of grace as of a jewel invaluable, converting his toilſom cares for tranſitory wealth, into induſtrious deſires of everlaſting treaſure: none more fitly qualified for the purchaſe of it than he. *If thou crieſt after knowledge, and liſteſt up thy voice for underſtanding: if thou ſeekeſt her as ſilver, and ſearcheſt for her as for hid treaſures: then ſhalt thou underſtand the fear of the Lord, and find the knowledge of God. For the Lord giveth wiſdom: out of his mouth cometh knowledge and underſtanding.* But he ſhall ſhew himſelf as unfit to traffick for this and other ſpiritual gifts, as *Æſops* Cock to be a Jeweller, that will wrangle for them as for ordinary ware, indenting before hand what he ſhall pay, ſeeking to beat down their price; or ſo hover when God ſhall call him, as *Pharaoh* did with *Moſes*, [a] *Go and ſerve the Lord your God; but who are they that ſhall go? will ye go with your young and old, with your Sons and your Danghters, with your Sheep and your Cattel?* Nay, *let the Lord be ſo with you, as I will let you go and your Children*; yet this is too much, *it ſhall not be ſo*; *go now ye that are men and ſerve the Lord, for that was your deſire*; yet after two more plagues ſent, his mind was a little altered. *Go ye* [b] *ſerve the Lord, only let your flocks and your herds be ſtaid: but let your little ones alſo go with go.* But *Moſes* his reſolute anſwer ſhews what God requires of us. [c] *Thou muſt give us alſo Sacrifices, and Burnt-offerings, that we may do ſacrifice unto the Lord our God. Therefore our Cattel alſo ſhall go with us, there ſhall not an hoof be left, for thereof muſt we take to ſerve the Lord our God: neither do we know how we ſhall ſerve the Lord until we come thither.* Nor do we know when God calls us firſt out of this world, what peculiar ſervices may afterwards be enjoyned us; as whether to ſacrifice our lands, our goods, our bodies, our honour or reputation in teſtimony of Chriſt and his Goſpel. For this reaſon once called we muſt reſolve to forſake *Egypt*, wherein we have been brought up, and ſeek after the promiſed land with all our heart, with all our ſoul, as well the brutiſh part, as the reaſonable, with all our faculties and affections, intellectual as well as ſenſual; otherwiſe by ſecret reſerva-

(z) Prov. 2. 3, 4, 5, 6.

(a) Ex. 10. 8.

(b) Verſe 24.

(c) Verſe 25.

tion of ſpecial deſires for other purpoſes, we make our ſelves liable to *Pharaohs* plagues, or to the judgments wherewith *Ananias* and *Saphira* were overtaken. Now although to abjure our accuſtomed delights, or wain our deſires from choiceſt matter of wonted contentments, may ſeem very diſtaſtful to fleſh and blood before tryal made: yet did we conſider that the deſires or affections themſelves were not to be utterly extirpated, but only tranſplanted, and that ſuch as yielded greateſt ſtore of choiceſt ſecular, were by this tranſmutation apt to bring forth moſt pleaſant ſpiritual fruit in greateſt plenty; it would much animate us to take the ſame pains in a better ſoil. The ambitious man will patiently watch his opportunities to bow and crouch, and give all ſignifications poſſible of good reſpect, towards ſuch as may further his ſuits which he graceth with ſeemly complement, and decent behaviour for the preſent, with deep proteſtation of future endeavours to deſerve any favour that ſhall be ſhewed him. Could he but inwardly fit his Soul to theſe outward characters of Humility, and bow his Spirit unto the Almighty, pouring forth Prayers and Supplications with vows of fidelity in his ſervice, no man more fit than he to ſue for grace, the leaſt drop whereof, ſuffered to ſink into his heart, to make repreſentation of theſe joys, whereof it is the earneſt, in that form, in which the Scripture ſets them forth, as under the title of a moſt glorious Kingdom; would ſublimate his aſpiring thoughts (once alienated from their wonted object) into indefatigable devotion: whoſe gracious reſpect with God would much better content his Soul, than any reflexed ſplendour from the favourable aſpect of earthly Majeſty. Our firſt inclinations unto love (which is but a diſtillation or liquefaction of the Soul, before they become polluted with the dregs of unclean luſts, or other Sacraments of unhallowed combinations, or extracted from theſe with penitent tears and true contrition, are very tranſmutable into Chriſtian Charity, by the infuſion of Chriſts blood, once ſhed in love to us, but continually able to ſeaſon the bitter fountain of this and other corrupt affections; ſo entrance were made for it thereinto, by aſſiudous and ſober meditation of the ſorrows that pierced his heart for our redemption, and no man [d] more apt to delight more in his love, than he to whom much miſpence of love hath been forgiven. If that inbred delight, or mirth, whoſe abundance impels all ſociable and good natures eſpecially, to hunt after objects or occaſions that may ſtir up exhilerant motions, if this delight or mirth were but drawn from thoſe corrupt iſſues, which exceſs of wine or ſtrong drink uſually provoke (as prophane or wanton ditties, exchange of unſeemly and offenſive jeſts) it might yield matter for more ſacred melody, and vent it ſelf with greater joy in Pſalms, and Hymns, and Spiritual Songs. Thus much in my underſtanding our [e] Apoſtle ſuppoſeth in that exhortation, *Be not drunk with wine, wherein is exceſs: but be fulfilled with the ſpirit, ſpeaking unto your ſelves in Pſalms and Hymns, and Spiritual Songs, ſinging and making melody unto the Lord in your hearts.* And none, in my conceit, more likely to bear his part better in the quire of Saints, whether in hearty rejoycing with ſuch as have juſt cauſe to joy, or unfeigned ſorrowing with ſuch as mourn, than a ſweet nature, prone to company, but prevented by grace, before he fall into the ſink of good fellowſhip, or elſe throughly cleanſed from the filth he hath caught by wallowing therein, before the ſtain incorporate in his Soul. Of this alteration of inclinations natural into ſpiritual, hereafter or elſe-where

(d) Vide Luke 7. 47.

(e) Epheſ. 5. 18, 19.

where more particularly, by the aſſiſtance of that grace, woſe infuſion alone muſt work the ſublimation. Here I thought good to ſignifie to the penitent ſinner by the way, that there is no plant which hath given good proof or ſign of fertility in *Ægypt*, but removed in time, is apt to fructifie accordingly in *Canaan*. Now ſeeing in this firſt reſurrection to newneſs of life, our corruptible affections do not die, but only put on incorruption: why ſhould it ſeem grievous unto our Souls to forſake the world and fleſh, with all their pleaſures or preferments, our friends, our kindred or acquaintance, when as the reality of the contentment we took in theſe, or whatſoever is naturally moſt dear unto us, is even in this life more than fully recompenced, yea, many times doubled in the ſublimation of the deſires or inclinations, which for ſubſtance remain numerically the ſame, but with gain of reference to more excellent objects, beſides the encreaſe of their native ſtrength and vigour thus inwardly purified and adorned with inherent beautifications? That in renounceing all wherewith nature, cuſtom, or our own induſtry had inveſted us, there can be no loſs, but happy change (ſeeing our internal faculties ſtill remain intire, much bettered for the preſent in themſelves, as alſo in their dependance for future hopes) our Saviour moſt Divinely implies in that promiſe of comfort; [f] *Verily I ſay unto you, there is no man that hath left houſe, or brethren, or ſiſters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my ſake and the Goſpels, but he ſhall receive an hundred fold now in this time, houſes and brethren, and ſiſters, and mothers, and children, and lands, with perſecutions, and in the world to come eternal life.* To ſpeak Philoſophically, as health or right habit of body, ſo much more the welfare of Soul and Mind, even all the delight or joy we can truly ſay is our own, muſt be from within us; externals may only help to raiſe or ripen it. Now as there can be no want of fire, unleſs to Cripples or Chimney-corner ſluggards, whilſt the ſame heat or warmth which it yields, may be as good cheap borrowed from the Sun, or better procured from proper motion or agitation of our blood and ſpirits: ſo can it be no loſs to be deprived of friends, wealth, or honour, ſo long as the flour and quinteſſence of all the contentments which theſe could occaſion, may be more plentifully reaped from the peaceable fruition and free exerciſes of our own Souls, or right employments of their beſt faculties, eſpecially from the excitation of Gods gifts in us, whereby we are united to Chriſt, who is more to every faithful Soul than was *Elkanah* unto *Hannah*, not only much better than many Sons, but one in whom, though we had nothing beſides, we may by juſt title of dominion poſſeſs all things.

6. But if we muſt affect the former change with all our hearts, with all our ſouls, with our whole intention and reſolution; no man, it ſeems, may intend any other matters, ſecular eſpecially. Yes, even ſuch ſecular buſineſſes as we are ſaid wholly or ſolely to intend or mind, abſolutely exclude not all, but only incompatible cogitations of others matters, though of like kind. The mutual compoſſibility of actual particular cogitations, with vertual continuance of ſome main purpoſe or intention, was [g] before exemplified in a man holding on a journey upon ſome weighty buſineſs, yet not always thinking whither, or about what he was going, but often occaſioning, or entertaining ordinary wayfaring confabulations. Our whole delight then, not every particular delectation; our habitual, final, or principal intention

(f) Mark 10. 29, 30.

(g) Sect. 2. Ch. 7 parag. 3.

tention or reſolution, not every particular purpoſe muſt be ſet upon the former purchaſe. Our deſires of it ſhould be as the main bulk or trunk, out of which well grown, and deeplier ſet, other intentions or reſolutions may ſpring as twigs or branches, or be ingraſted in it without annoyance. Such a principality or integrity of intention our Saviour enjoyns in that precept; [h] *Firſt ſeek the Kingdom of God, and his Righteouſneſs, and all theſe things* (which the world principally cares for) *ſhall accrew unto you.* An experiment of this gratious promiſe we have in *Solomon,* into whoſe ſincere and hearty Prayers for true wiſdom, no intentions, or deſires of wealth or honour did inſinuate or intrude themſelves: howbeit both wealth and honour, though unaskt, did in great abundance attend wiſdom once obtained. *All good things* (ſaith the wiſe man, [i] paraphraſing upon this grant, [k] elſewhere ſpecified in Canonical Scripture) *together came to me with her, and innumerable riches in her hands. And I rejoiced in them all, becauſe wiſdom goeth before them: and I knew not that ſhe was the mother of them.* Her growth in him, though ſudden, was very great, and able to bear the extraordinary fortunes: notwithſtanding when grievous blaſts of temptations aroſe, the exceeding height of theſe acceſſory branches, had almoſt overthrown the ſtock wherein they were ingrafted. This ſhould teach us always to increaſe our deſires of grace, and moderate our delight in tranſitories: howſoever, continuing ſo affected as *Solomon* in his firſt choice was, we may poſſeſs all things in the Lord, and the abundance of riches, honour or other worldly bleſſings ſhall be truly ſanctified unto us. For not the poſſeſſion of them, or delight in them, but their poſſeſſion or delight with prejudice or interruption of our main intention or reſolution, is unlawful. Ordinary Vintners have more wine than moſt Noble men in their cellars; ſo have Apothecaries greater choice of delicates in their ſhops, than can be found in Princes Palaces: yet are neither uſually more peſtered, than other men of their rank or means, with ſuch diſeaſes, as exceſs of wine or ſweet meats engender, becauſe to fare deliciouſly every day was no part of their intention at their aſſignment to theſe trades, but rather to increaſe their ſtock, and gain ſome perpetuity of Lands or Leaſe for themſelves and their Poſterity, by abſtinence and wary dealing with theſe commodities, whereof others either ſurfeit or are too licoriſh. Were the kingdom of grace thus primarily and wholly intended, and the practice of means ordained for our Salvation conſtantly and fully reſolved upon, the increaſe of riches, honour, or other materials of voluptuous life, would breed ſmall prejudice to our Faith or calling; rather their abundance cauſed more by Gods meer Bleſſing, or diſpoſition of his Providence, than by our ſollicitous care or affectation, would bring forth a more heroical contempt of them, than their want can nouriſh, and as it uſually comes to paſs in like caſes, quite take away all delight or pleaſure in them: Uſe them with their excreſcence men thus affected might, yet not as Uſurers do their money for their own increaſe, but rather as a ſtock to traffick with, for the final purchaſe of an inheritance not ſubject to ſuch change or chance, as the greateſt and ſureſt worldly poſſeſſions are. So our Saviour adviſeth; [l] *Sell that ye have, and give Alms, provide your ſelves bags which wax not old, a treaſure in the Heavens that faileth not, where no Thief approacheth, neither moth corrupteth. For where your treaſure is, there will your heart be alſo.* This laſt caveat may inform us, that God requires

(h) Mat. 6. 32.

(i) Wiſd. 7. 11, 12.

(k) 1 Kings 3. 13.

(l) Luke 12. 33, 34.

quires not always an actual alienation of our right or intereſt in his temporal bleſſings, but rather an appropriation of our hearts, (alienated from them) unto him, who [m] *is able to make all grace to abound towards us, that we always having all-ſufficiency in all things, may abound in every good work.* For ſeeing *the miniſtration of this ſervice not only ſupplieth the neceſſities of the Saints, but alſo is abundant by the thanksgiving of many unto God; he that findeth ſeed unto the ſower, will multiply the ſeed which we thus ſowe, and encreaſe the fruits of our benevolence,* that it may redound more and more unto his glory. As it is extream vanity without ſpecial occaſions or peculiar neceſſity of extraordinary times, to give or make away the root whence ſuch fruit doth grow: ſo is it a point of ſpiritual folly or infidelity, to imagine the ſtock ſhould periſh or not proſper by often lopping, or that we ſhould forfeit our hold of what we enjoy, by due payment of rent or tribute unto the Lord and Owner.

[m] 2. Cor. 8. 12. 9.

CHAP. IX.

That Faith cannot exerciſe its ſoveraignty over our affections or deſires, until it be ſeated in the heart, with brief admonitions for bringing it into this Throne.

1. From the former and like Parables put forth by the Author and finiſher of our Faith, we are taught that Faith, if perfect, muſt be ſeated in the heart or Fountain of mans vain imaginations, whence evil thoughts ſtill iſſue in great abundance, until it be cleanſed by infuſion of this purifying Grace. Moſt fitly doth that Parable of the leaven exemplifie, as well the uſe of Faith, as the truth of this obſervation. Thus much at leaſt it directly and neceſſarily implies, That our aſſent unto the Goſpel of the Kingdom muſt be in ſuch a part as the vertue of it may be diffuſed thence unto the whole Maſs, which it is ordained to ſanctifie: For it muſt ſeaſon our inbred affections, alter the taſt of every Appetite, qualifie and ſtrengthen our natural inclinations unto good. Now if we conſult true Philoſophy, no other member in the body beſides the heart, can be a fit ſeat for ſuch abſolute command. But whether it be poſſible for Aſſent, every way the ſame with that which thus renews the mind, and hath ſuch ſoveraignty over all our faculties, to lodge elſe where than in this Palace or chief Manſion of the Soul, were curioſity to diſpute. Yet admit the ſame Faith ſhould elſewhere reſide, it could not exerciſe the like ſoveraignty as there it doth: for every deſire or concupiſcence deeply rooted, would in temptations overbear it. Nor is it the greatneſs of the good propoſed, if our conceit of it be but ſuperficial, or our deſires of it admitted only into the Confines of our Souls, that can overſway ſuch natural propenſions to a far leſs, as ſpring from the heart or Center. The reaſon whereof as of many other aſſertions in this ſhort Treatiſe, ſhall (God willing) at large appear in the Article of Everlaſting Life, where juſt occaſion likewiſe will be offered to reſcue the heartleſs imaginations of ſome late Divines more than half yielded to the Authority of *Galen* (though forſaken in that point by the moſt exquiſite modern Profeſ-

ſors of the noble Science he taught) that the head is the principal member; as if *Solomon* or our Saviour had ſpoken more vulgarly than accurately or philoſophically, when they aſcribe this principality to the heart: Howbeit the very ground of their arguments ſuppoſe this vulgar opinion (if ſo men will have it) to be an undoubted truth in nature. But referring Philoſophical or Scholaſtick diſputes of this point or the like, to their proper place, the Gymnoſophiſts device to repreſent the peace and quiet ſtate of a temporal Monarchy by the Monarchs preſence in the Metropolis, and the diſturbance likely to enſue his abſence, may ſerve as a vulgar or popular illuſtration of that ſoveraignty, which Faith once ſeated as hath been ſaid, may exerciſe over every affection at its pleaſure, but not ſo ſeated ſhall ever want; whilſt he trod the corners or utmoſt parts of his Bulls Hide, the depreſſion of one did raiſe another, but, ſtanding once ſtill in the middle, all lay quiet. Thus while our aſſent unto Precepts Divine floats only in the brain, or keeps reſidence in the borders or Suburbs of the Soul, it may perhaps ſuppreſs ſome one or few exorbitant paſſions, but the expulſive or expugnative force which in this caſe it uſeth, being unweldy, neither uniform, nor well planted, will occaſion others as bad to ſtir or mutiny. Uſually whiles men ſtrive to beat folly or vanity of youth by the ſtrength of Gods Word (not well rooted) out of the fancy, they let in covetouſneſs into the heart; oft-times ſeeking to keep out covetouſneſs, popularity, ambition, or other affection, whoſe help Faith weak and unſetled, commonly uſeth in ſuch expugnations, will find occaſion to inſinuate themſelves, or though Faith not yet well ſeated, were able it ſelf alone to root out covetouſneſs, reſtrain laviſhneſs or prodigallity, or lop off luxuriant branches of ambition: yet there is a ſecret pride which uſually ſprings out of theſe ſtocks; for many grow inwardly ambitious of their Conqueſt over ambition, or rather of reſtraining the outbreakings of this or other unfruitful plant. Now theſe inward ſwellings though in themſelves leſs, are yet commonly moſt dangerous, becauſe they come near the heart, and will never be aſſwaged until true Faith be enthronized there, as in the Fort or Caſtle of the Soul, where it hath every affection or deſire as it were underſhot, or at ſuch command as they dare not ſtir to its prejudice, but by ſtealth, or ſome ſecret advantage, eſpyed by the fleſh unable to ſtand out againſt it. For as motion beginning at the Center, diffuſeth it ſelf equally throughout the whole Sphere, ſhaking every part unto the Circumference, and from this advantage of its original deads the force of contrary impreſſions, whoſe impulſive cauſes are but equally ſtrong: ſo Faith poſſeſſed once of the heart, having its force united by cloſe repoſal therein, commands every affection, delight or pleaſure of our Souls, and breaks the impetuouſneſs of every inclination or propenſion contrary to ſuch motion as it ſuggeſts; ſeeing no hopes can be equal to the reward which it propoſeth to the conſtant and reſolute; no fears comparable to the terrors which it repreſents to the negligent or ſloathful followers of ſuch courſes as it preſcribes. And the equality of hopes and fears even of the ſame rank (though ſet upon like objects) equally intereſted in the principal manſion of the Soul, do equally ſway or move us either to undertake any good, or eſchew any of more evils, in themſelves equivalent, being propoſed to our choice. Now though God alone give the Victory, only able to make entrance for his Graces into the heart, we may not in this reſpect foreſlow the ſiege until he ſet the Gates open. He, and none but he did place *David* in the Hill *Sion*, and gave *Gedeon* Victory over the *Midianites*, as they both well knew and firmly believed (but their belief hereof did not (as *Machiavel* calumniates Chriſtian Religion) emaſculate their minds, or tye their hands from uſing ſuch natural ſtrength and valour as they had; their perſonal endeavours in fight, were anſwerable to their devotion in Prayer for divine aſſiſtance. Others after God had given them full aſſurance of moſt extraordinary Victories, did uſe the ordinary ſtratagems of War. In imitation of them, we ſhould remember, that albeit our affections will never be loyal until Faith and ſanctifying Grace by the ſole operation of his Spirit be ſeated amongſt them: yet even ſuch of theſe as moſt reſiſt their admiſſion, may be much enfeebled or pined, and ſo made more willing to yield when God ſhall call the Soul to parly, if we uſe ſuch means as have been [n] preſcribed for cutting off that relief or proviſion they have from without. Nor can the verieſt freſhwater Souldier in Chriſts Camp, be altogether ignorant how the external object nouriſheth inbred deſires or affections, which, by ſufferance to range abroad, increaſe their ſtrength and confederacy. But in all theſe indeavours, we muſt include Prayer as a chief Aſſociate, for God ordinarily lets in ſanctifying Grace at the ſame Gate, at which honeſt hearty Prayers go out.

2. More particulars concerning ſubordinate means to be uſed for bringing Faith into its Throne, muſt be referred to the place often mentioned: only one admonition remains for ſuch as would be fit Auditors of theſe Divine Oracles, often intimated by our Saviour, but too ſeldom urged by his meſſengers in theſe days eſpecially, *To hide or lay up Gods word in our hearts*, which to my capacity implies our ſecret meditation ſhould far exceed our Table talk diſcourſes of theſe great myſteries, at leaſt while we are but Scholars no Profeſſors of Divinity. And if I erre, it is rather charitable fear leſt others wrong their own Souls, than any jealouſie leſt they ſhould diſparage our profeſſion by proving Prophets, that makes me think one principal reaſon why the word of Faith doth not fructifie, or take better root in the hearts of many indefatigable hearers, is becauſe it ſhoots out too faſt in their mouths: *they are commonly as ſwift to ſpeak as to hear*: which kind of humour [o] Saint *James* in his time much diſliked, as knowing perhaps this luxuriant flouriſh of words did partly hinder the fructification of his hearers Faith in deeds and works. But to conclude, ſeeing Faith comes by hearing, and muſt be hidden in the heart, the ſureſt and moſt compendious method for ſetling it therein, would be (beſides due preparation for ordinary hearing the general form of Chriſtian Doctrine publickly and ſolemnly delivered) to watch all opportunities when our hearts are throughly affected with unexpected matter of ſorrow, joy, grief, [p] fear, admiration, or the like, and forthwith to apply ſuch paſſages of Scriptures, as ſuit beſt to the preſent affection. The words, though of God, whilſt uttered by man, uſually want weight to make entrance for themſelves into hearts not well wrought in tender years by good Diſcipline: but yet might eaſily ſink even into ſuch, being firſt thus pierced and as it were ploughed up by real accidents, eſpecially by ſtrange and ſad occaſions, as ſickneſs of body, or other grievous croſs or calamity, without which neither the threats of the Law, nor ſweet promiſes of the Goſpel, make any great impreſſion upon many in our days. A faithful

(n) *See Chap.* 3. *Parag.* 3.

(o) *James* 1. 19.

(p) *Vide Luke* 1. 65, 66. *Luke* 2. 51.

ful Paſtor ſhould have his wits vacant to attend theſe or ſuch like extraordinary occurrences, that happen to his flock, always ready in matter of ſorrow to pour in Salve whiles the wound is open, or in occaſion of godly mirth or moderate joy to clap on the Seal while the wax is warm and well wrought. One ſhort leſſon well applyed in ſuch ſeaſon, will work more upon the Conſcience and practick faculties of the Soul, than a ſolemn diſcourſe of ſome hours length, though containing much ſound doctrine, and many very profitable uſes, without the concurrence of ſome ſuch internal diſpoſition to receive them. And as the very naming of *London*, *Paris*, or ſome other great City, doth ſtir up a more lively repreſentation of them in his fantaſie that hath been in them, than a Geographical Lecture could do in his, that never looked upon them but in a Map: ſo the leaſt after-touch, or remembrance of the ſame or like points as have been thus ſeaſonably inſtilled, will imprint a more live-working ſence of Gods word in the experienced heart, than a long elaborate, and well preſſed exhortation will do in others.

Thus much at this time of that Faith whereby the juſt doth live, and of the qualification required in all fit Auditors of the myſteries contained in the Apoſtles Creed, for whoſe right explication the Lord of his mercy ſo qualifie my heart and Soul, that I may be able as to diſcern ſo to deliver the truth without all reſpect to mine own or other perſons, and ſo guide every Chriſtian Readers affections that he neither be unwilling to embrace any truth, nor willing to entertain any error for my ſake.

A
TREATISE
Containing the
ORIGINAL
OF
Vnbelief, *Miſ-belief*, or *Miſ-perſwaſions*
CONCERNING
The *Verity*, *Vnity*, and *Attributes* of the *Deity*:
With Directions for rectifying our Belief or Knowledge in the fore-mentioned Points.

Book V.

By *THOMAS JACKSON* Dr. in Divinity,
Vicar of St. *Nicholas* Church in the Famous
Town of *New-caſtle* upon *Tyne*, and late Fellow
of *Corpus Chriſti* Colledge in *OXFORD*.

JOHN XVII. 3.
This is life eternal to know thee the only true God, and Jeſus Chriſt whom thou haſt ſent.

LONDON,
Printed by *T. R.* for *John Martyn*, *Richard Chiſwel*,
and *Joſeph Clark*. CIↃ DC LXXII.

TO THE
Right Honorable
Sir *HENRY DANVERS* Kt.
Baron of *Danteſey*, his Honourable
and ſingular good Lord.

RIGHT HONORABLE,

A*S· in drawing theſe and former lines, I have had no other aſpect or aim, ſave only to diſcover the by-paths which lead unto Error, and to preſs forwards by a clear way towards the truth: ſo in publiſhing of them I have taught them to look backwards, not forwards, as being more deſirous to teſtifie my thankful reſpect, either to the known Honourable Patrons of good Acts, or furtherers of my private Studies, than to feed ambitious Fancies with the Humours of the Time, by obtruding my ſelf upon the Diſpenſers of great Dignities or Preferments. My reſolution being thus ſet, I ſave a labour in dedicating theſe Papers to your* Lordſhip, *whoſe Honourable Favours and Munificence towards that famous Univerſity (whereof I have long continued an unworthy* Member, *but to which I ſhall ever continue the Love and Obedience of a faithful* Son) *do challenge a better teſtimony of* *my obſervance than I can now expreſs, or hope hereafter to preſent your* Lordſhip *withall. But God be thanked, our famous Mother hath many Sons a great deal more able than my ſelf to undergo this ſervice. Leaving it therefore unto them, I ſhall give my ſelf abundant ſatisfaction and contentment for my Labours paſt, and take incouragement to continue the like, if it ſhall pleaſe your* Lordſhip *to accept theſe preſent, as an undoubted pledge of that thankful reſpect and obſervance which I owe unto your* Lordſhip *for your favours and bounty towards my ſelf in particular, the memory of which hath been more grateful unto me, in that I was made to feel them, before I was ſo much as known by ſight unto your* Honour. *Thus with my beſt Prayers for continuance of your* Lordſhips *increaſe of Honour and true Happineſs, I humbly take my leave, and reſt*

Your *Lordſhips* in all

From *Penly* in *Hartfordſhire,*
March 2. 1624.

duty and obſervance,

Thomas Jackſon.

A TREATISE

Containing the

ORIGINAL

OF

Unbelief, *Miſ-belief*, or *Miſ-perſwaſions*,

CONCERNING

The *Verity*, *Unity*, and *Attributes* of the *Deity*:
With Directions for rectifying our Belief or Knowledge in the fore-mentioned Points.

SECTION I.

Of the ingraffed Notion of a Deity; *and the originals of Atheiſm.*

ATheiſm and Irreligion are diſeaſes ſo much more dangerous than Infidelity or Idolatry, as Infidelity is than Hereſie. Every Heretick is in part an Infidel, but every Infidel is not in whole or part an Heretick. Every Atheiſt is an Infidel: ſo is not every Infidel an Atheiſt. The name of Heretick is common to all, and proper only to ſuch as either deny or miſbelieve any one Article in the Apoſtles Creed. Infidels all are to be accounted, which either deny or believe not the Articles concerning Chriſt. Such are the Jews, Turks, Mahumetans in general, *&c.* whom no man calls Atheiſts. An

Atheiſt he is, *Qui titubat in Limine*, which either denies or believes not the very firſt Article in the Creed, *God or the Divine Providence*. Now ſeeing belief, as it is terminated to the firſt words of the Creed, is as the Diametral line or *Axis* which ſevers Atheiſm or Irreligion from Religion, whether true or falſe, and doth as it were conſtitute two diſtinct Hemiſpheres of men; it will be neceſſary in the firſt place to examine the original meaning of the firſt words in the Creed; *I believe in God*.

CHAP. I.

To believe in God is originally no more than to believe there is a God, who is in all things to be believed. Of this belief, truſt or confidence in God is the neceſſary conſequent in collapſed men; Deſpair the neceſſary conſequent of the ſame or like belief in collapſed Angels.

1. TO *believe in God* hath gone currant ſo long, for as much as to *put truſt or confidence in Him*, that now to call it in, or make it go for leſs, will perhaps be thought an uſurpation of authority, more then critical, and much greater then befits us. Notwithſtanding if on Gods behalf we may plead what Lawyers do in Caſes of the Crown, *Nullum tempus occurrit regi*, that the ancient of dayes (unto whoſe ſoveraignty all truth is from eternity eſſentially annexed) may not be prejudiced by antiquity of Cuſtom, or preſcription, eſpecially whoſe original is erroneous: the caſe is clear, That *to believe in God*, is in their intention which firſt compoſed this Creed, no more then to believe there is a *God*, or to give credence to his *Word*. For juſtifying this aſſertion, I muſt appeal from the *Engliſh Dialect*, in which the manner of ſpeech is proper and natural, were it conſonant to the meaning of the original, as alſo from the *Latin*, in which the phraſe being forrein and uncouth, muſt be valued by the *Greek*, whoſe Stamp and Character it evidently bears. Now the Greek πιςεύειν εἰς τὸν θεὸν, as alſo the *Hebrew* phraſe, whereunto by ſacred Writers it was framed, is no more then hath been ſaid, *To believe there is a God*; otherwiſe we muſt believe not only in God the Father, in Chriſt the Son, and in the Holy Ghoſt, but in the Catholick Church, in the Communion of Saints, in the forgiveneſs of ſins, and in the reſurrection of the body, and in life everlaſting, ſeeing the *Greek particle* (uſually expreſſed by the *Latin* In) is annexed after the ſame manner to all theſe objects of our belief, as is apparent in the *ancient Greek Creeds*. And he that diligently reads the tranſlation of the *Septuagint*, ſhall find the Greek phraſe which is verbatim rendred by the *Latin, in Deum credere, to believe in God*, promiſcuouſly uſed for the other *credere Deo, to believe God*.

2. Or if beſides the evident records of the ancient Copies, perſonal witneſſes be required; amongſt the ancient I know few, amongſt modern Writers none, more competent then thoſe which are expreſly for us, as *Beza*, * *Mercer*, || *Druſius*, unto whom we may add † *Ribera*, and *Lorinus*. Now as to uſe the benefit of a truth known and teſtified is alwayes lawful, ſo in this caſe it is to us moſt expedient, almoſt neceſſary. For either I did not rightly apprehend whiles I read it, or at leaſt now remember not, how the Schoolman removes the ſtumbling blook which he had placed in the very entry to this Creed, [If *to believe in God* be as much as *to put truſt or confidence in Him*; by exacting a profeſſion of

* *Com. in Gen. 15. v. 6. vide 2 Reg. 17.14.*

|| *Obſervationum, lib.3.c.1.* The poſition prefixed by way of title to his Chapter is *Recte dici ex Hebraiſmo, [credo in Moſem, & in reſurrectionem mortuorum.]*

† *Ribera in cap. 3. Jonæ. numb.29. Vide Coppen in Pſal. 106. verſ. 12.*

this Creed at all mens mouths, we ſhall inforce a great many to profeſs a lie.] For of ſuch as not only out of ordinary charity, but upon particular probabilities, we may ſafely acquit from actual Atheiſm or contradicting Infidelity, a great number do not put their truſt or confidence in God; this being the mark whereat the belief of novices muſt aim, not the firſt ſtep they are to make in this progreſs. And for my ſelf, (until I be better inſtructed) if a poor dejected ſoul ſhould come unto me with a complaint of his diſtruſt or diffidence, I would not inſtantly urge him to make proclamation of his truſt in God againſt his conſcience; for this were to *quench ſmoaking flax*, by violent blowing thoſe weak and ſmothered ſparkles, which ſhould be charily revived by mild and gentle breathing. The contrary advice on my part, or practiſe on his, ſhould not want an approved pattern; To confeſs his preſent unbelief, whiles he prays for future increaſe of ſuch weak belief, as he may ſafely make profeſſion of. And, as the fire once throughly kindled, burſts out of its own accord into a laſting flame: ſo belief, once inwardly planted, will naturally bring forth ſtedfaſt confidence, without farther plantation or ſuperaddition of any new belief or perſwaſion. Many beginning their faith the other way, may for a long time be ſtifly perſwaded, that *they believe in God*, when indeed they do not truly believe him, his Word, or his mercies. Theſe no man firmly can believe, but he ſhall aſſuredly believe in *him*, yea put his whole truſt and confidence in his *goodneſs*. Howbeit, as much as now I write, would hardly be permitted me, in moſt mens hearing, to ſpeak, without this or the like interpellation, [Shall we then believe in Saints or good Angels, becauſe we aſſuredly believe there be ſuch natures? Or ſhall we ſay the wicked Angels believe in God, becauſe they believe his being more firmly then we can do, and know his word as clearly?]

3. That inferior ſubjects ſalute not every Officer in the Court after the ſame manner they do the Prince, is not becauſe they ſee not the one as perfectly as the other: rather the more fully they diſcern them by one and the ſame inerring ſight, the better they conceive the different reſpect which is due to their ſeveral preſences. Angels we believe are miniſtring ſpirits, appointed to execute Gods will, whoſe Majeſty they adore, as fervently as we do; putting greater confidence in his mercy then we can do; even becauſe their knowledge of it is more clear, their experience of it more undoubted. But the better we believe this their ſubordination unto God, the leſs ſhall we be inclined to believe in them, the more to put our confidence in *God*, in whom even the Angels truſt. Again, admitting truſt or affiance in God to receive continual increaſe, according to the growth of our belief of his *word* or *being*; That Devils albeit they believe or know both more clearly then the beſt of us, ſhould notwithſtanding perpetually remain without any truſt or affiance in Him or his mercies; no man upon juſt examination of the difference between their collapſed eſtate and ours, can deem ſtrange or doubtful, much leſs a doubt, as ſome in their writings ſuppoſe, inſoluble, unleſs we make truſt or affiance in God, eſſentially to difference our belief of *his being*, from theirs. If the Kings Majeſty ſhould proclaim a general pardon to a number of known rebells, and vow execution of judgment without mercy upon ſome principal offenders, which had maliciouſly and cunningly ſeduced their ſimplicity: I ſuppoſe his will and pleaſure equally manifeſted to both, and ſo believed, would as much diſhearten the one, as encourage the

other to rely upon his clemency. Such altogether notwithſtanding, is the caſe of men and wicked Angels: the one believes Chriſt took the womans ſeed, and therefore cannot, without ſuch wilful miſtruſt of the promiſe of life as was in his firſt parents unto Gods threats of death; deſpair of redemption by the eternal ſacrifice: The other as firmly believe, or rather evidently know, that Chriſt in no wiſe took the Angelical nature, and without this ground, the better they believe his incarnation, the leſs are their hopes of their own redemption.

4. Briefly the bringing of ſouls to God being the end, as of our preaching, ſo of our writing; the firſt point, as I conceive, we are to teach ſuch as deſire to come unto him, is, to *believe that he is:* The ſecond, *that he is a rewarder of all them that diligently ſeek Him.* Not all the eloquence of Men or Angels, not the moſt pathetical exhortations the one can frame, or the moſt forcible impulſions the other can uſe; are half ſo powerful to draw our hearts after our God, as the diſtinct orthodoxal explication of his Eſſence and Attributes, of his Power, his Wiſdom, and Goodneſs, either general in reſpect of all the works of his hands, or peculiar to Mankind, viſibly ſet forth unto us in the life, the actions, and paſſions of our Saviour. What belief ſoever is not conceived from ſober and frequent meditations of theſe truths, what confidence ſoever is not brought forth by belief ſo conceived, will by Sathan one time or other eaſily be impeached of baſtardy. Even when this *Faith* by which we now walk ſhall be converted into perfect *ſight*, everlaſting confidence ſhall not outſtart, but rather follow it. Much leſs ſhould we in this vale of darkneſs begin our edification in faith, at the open profeſſion of aſſured or conſummate confidence, or ſeek to frame it by imitation of ſuch outward practiſes, as ſtrength of *faith*, and full aſſurance of Gods favours, have emboldened hearts, thoroughly enflamed with ſincere zeal of truth, to undertake. The truth then ſuppoſed as chief ſupporter to the diſcourſe following, is, That without ſome precedent defect of our apprehenſions, there can be no want of true confidence: and fail we may, as moſt do, in apprehenſions either of the *Verity*, *Unity*, or of the *Nature* and *Attributes* of the *Godhead*. The internal original or manner of our defects or errours in theſe three Points we are to ſet down in this Book; the right explication of the Article propoſed in the next.

CHAP. II.

Diſputation is not the readieſt way to cure or reclaim an Atheiſt.

TO diſpute with ſuch as deny manifeſt and received *Principles*, were to violate a fundamental law of the Schools; which in matters of faith and ſacred morality, is to be religiouſly kept, as in other reſpects, ſo chiefly in this: That general Maximes, whence particular truths and concluſions of beſt uſe muſt be derived, can hardly be proved by arguments more clear and evident then themſelves. Now to interpoſe proofs of leſs truth or perſpicuity then is the matter to be proved, is but to eclipſe the evidence of it, (which, of it ſelf, would in due ſeaſon ſhine to calm and purified meditations) or to provoke ſuch as delight in trying maſteries of ſtrength or ſkill in arguing, to aſſault truths otherwiſe ſafe enough from all attempts, did they not ſee them ſo weakly guarded upon preparation. Thus the diſcovery of timerous looks, or mean proviſion, often incourageth baſe and cowardly thieves to encounter paſſengers, whoſe number or preſence, they durſt not behold, if they did not betray themſelves. For this reaſon, amongſt others, I will not in the firſt place uſe the benefit of divers Schoolmens labours, to prove, by ſtrength of ſpeculative reaſon, there is a God; although they bring abundance of reaſons, all irrefragable to an ingenuous well diſpoſed contemplator: but, unto ſuch, this principle is of all others moſt clear and evident in it ſelf, as being moſt deeply implanted in the *reaſonable nature*; not acquired by uſe of ſenſe or obſervation. The beſt method, in my opinion, to prevent Atheiſm, or cure an Atheiſt, would be to hold the *Mean* betwixt the contemplative Philoſopher, and the practical Phiſitian. I have heard of ſome ſo far over-grown with melancholy, that they would eat no meat; conceiting, either they had no mouths, or that their teeth were as ſoft as Butter. For a Phyſitian, to have attempted removal of ſuch fancies, by force of reaſon, or importunate ſuggeſtion of contrary perſwaſions, had been *cum ratione inſanire*, to have proved himſelf as mad, as his patients were melancholy. The readieſt way (as not long ago hath been experienced) to relieve parties thus affected, is, for a time rather to aſſent unto, then contradict them; that ſo, by promiſing a remedy to the ſuppoſed malady, an entrance may be made to purge the humour which breeds the falſe imagination. And he that would cure an ordinary Atheiſt, ſhould, as not ſooth him in his impiety, ſo not directly or fiercely encounter him with ſyllogiſtical proofs, or diſcourſes metaphyſical; for ſo (*ægreſcit medendo*) he will grow ſicker by ſeeing the medicine: but labour, rather, ſecretly to undermine the internal diſpoſition whence ſuch unhallowed imaginations ſpring. Atheiſm in grain is but a ſpiritual madneſs, ariſing from the abundance of ſuch diſtemper in the ſoul, as in proportion anſwers to melancholy in the body. Would men look into their own hearts in time, before they be over-ſhadowed with ſuch grieſly qualities; they might behold the Image of God engraven in them, and, as it were by an ocular demonſtration, be better enformed in this point, then by the diſputes of Philoſophers.

CHAP. III.

The Notion of the Deity or Divine power is moſt natural unto all men. How this Notion being moſt natural unto all, is eclipſed and defaced in many.

1. THat the internal ***notion*** of powers divine which guide this viſible work of nature, is moſt natural to mankind, needs no further proof then its own extent and univerſality. * ***This ſure ground we have*** (ſaith *Tully*) ***to believe there be Gods, in that there is no Nation ſo brutiſh or inhumane, but is ſeaſon'd with ſome opinion of the Gods. Many conceive amiſs of them (for ſo much, bad cuſtome in all like caſes, will effect) yet all ſuppoſe a virtue or power divine; not drawn hereto by voyces of others or debatements: This is an opinion eſtabliſhed not by civil laws or inſtitutions. Now the free or unſolicited conſent of all Nations concerning any matter, is to be eſteemed as the Law of Nature.***

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* *Ut porro firmiſſimum hoc afferri videtur, cur Deos eſſe credamus, quod nulla gens tam fera, nemo omnium tam ſit immanis, cujus mentem non imbuerit Deorum opinio. Multi de diis prava ſentiunt (id enim vitioſo more effici ſolet) omnes tamen eſſe vim, & naturam divinam arbitrantur. Nec vero id collocutio hominum, aut conſenſus efficit: non inſtitutis opinio eſt confirmata, non legibus. Omni autem in re conſenſio omnium gentium lex naturæ putanda eſt.* Tuſcul. Quæſt. Lib. 1.

Com. I.

2. This obſervation of times more ancient, is fully acquitted from the exception of modern Atheiſts by the plentiful experiments of the age late paſt; wherein divers Countries, peopled with inhabitants of different manners and education, have been diſcovered, the very beſt being more rude and barbarous then any Nation known but by hearſay to the *Romans*. And yet, even in this *refuſe* of *Barbarians*, the very worſt, (ſuch as for their rudeneſs and incivility could hardly be diſcerned from brute beaſts) approve themſelves to be of better linage (*γένος ὑπάρχοντες τοῦ θεοῦ*) in that they acknowledg Gods or ſuperior powers, whom they honour with ſacrifices and other rites, in teſtimony of their gratitude for benefits received from them. As if the ſignification of Mans obligements to an inviſible power for his life, his health, his food, and other neceſſaries; or, at leaſt for priviledges from diſaſters, or miſchances, * were as natural to him, as fawnings, or like dumb ſigns of love unto their foſterers or cheriſhers, are to dogs, or other domeſtick and tame creatures. The civil wiſdom which appears in *Lycurgus* Laws, *Numaes* Inſtitutions, with other like amongſt the more civil ſort of ancient Heathens, may probably argue ability in them of framing many particular rites of Religion, as politick *Sophiſms* to retain the ſimple in aw and blind devotion to their Hoſts. Albeit, the invention of ſuch falſe worſhips without imitation of ſome true pattern formerly known, would have been very hard, if not impoſſible, even unto theſe wiſe and prudent Lawgivers. Nor could their artificial inventions have wrought ſo ſuccesfully upon their minds that were ſeduced by them; unleſs they had been naturally inclined unto the ingrafted truth of the generals: under pretence of whoſe ſoveraign right theſe particulars were commended. But who would father the firſt *Notion* of a *Deity* and Religion, upon policy, rather than nature, when it appears not univerſal only, but perpetual to the ſeveral generations of ſundry people in whom no print of any policy, ſave meerly natural, is now extant?

Act. 17. 29.

3. Some ſcruple notwithſtanding may here be miniſtred to young Students, from theſe or the like vagrant Axioms, whoſe ſeat or proper ſubject is not ſo well known as they are frequent. [1. *That the decrees or injunctions of Nature cannot be prejudiced by Cuſtome or education.* 2. *That ſuch general principles as by her light are clear, can hardly be denied by any of her children.*] When as the experience, of later times eſpecially, preſents unto us a great many, (unto whom Nature in diſtribution of her other gifts hath ſhewed her ſelf no ſtepmother, but rather ingulgent, as to her darlings,) all mightily oppugning this truth, which we that are (as they deem) of duller capacity in matters ſecular, devoutly obey as her undoubted Law. But here we may well doubt whether bad education, or evil cuſtoms, have not better enabled theſe men to ſtrive againſt ſuch practiſes as this Dictate of *Nature* preſcribes, than utterly to diſclaim all ſenſe of her ſuggeſtions, or ſhake off all ſecret *notions* of her ſummons. How ever that be; (for we know our own hearts not theirs, nor can we believe them, that will not believe there is a God, albeit they would interpoſe an oath for our aſſurance one way or other) this we know, that nothing can be more natural to man than rea-

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* *Affluebat intereà quotidiè ex omnibus locis nova ejus gentis, & copioſa multitudo, ut inuſitatas noſtrorum hominum barbam geſtantium formas cultumq; viſerent: fructus, piſces, aurum, panem, & alia alimenta, undiq; afferentes: ac ſimiarum more veſtigia ritusq; Chriſtianorum imitantes: quoties hi genua flexerant, flectebant & illi: Chriſtiani reverenter oculos in Cœlum ſuſtulerant, Indi pariter & ipſi tollebant. Deniq; quicquid ab Hiſpanis ad recitandum* Ave Maria *mane, & veſperi convenientibus fieri ſoleret, itidem ab iſtis fiebat.* Benzonus in Deſcrip. Americæ. lib. 4. cap. 8. pag. 35.

ſon. And yet, how many have we ſeen, in whom *nature* and *art* have done their parts, by too much ſtudy or intemperance become ſo utterly deſtitute of all uſe of reaſon or diſcretion, that ſuch actions, or demeanure as nature preſcribes to all men as they are reaſonable, have been more neglected by them, than by brute beaſts; yea oftimes furiouſly inverted.

4. This inſtance amongſt others may be our warrant for reſtraining the former Axiome [*that nature cannot be prejudiced by Cuſtome*] to *nature*, either altogether inanimate or meerly ſenſitive; whoſe inclination is ſingle and but one way ſet: or if appliable to the reaſonable or intellectual nature, whoſe propenſions as they are many, ſo are they freely faſhionable to divers means, and apt to be directed to contrary ends; it is true only of the general faculty or remote propenſions, not of their actual promptneſs, uſe, or exerciſe. Many there be ſo extreamly vicious, that their minds ſeem now, *de facto*, wholly bent to do others miſchief: This notwithſtanding proves not that *nature* hath ſown no ſeeds of virtue in their ſouls, but rather their wilful ſuffering theſe to be choaked and ſtifled, by cheriſhing contrary deſires, or imbracing pleaſant allurements unto evil. If ſuch blindneſs have by bad cuſtome crept on ſome, that they cannot now diſcern any lineaments of Gods image in their hearts: it will not hence follow that this light of *nature* whereby they might have ſeen *Him*, did never ſhine unto them, but rather that they have ſmoothered it, becauſe they loved the works of darkneſs better than the deeds of light, purpoſely obliterating all reſemblances of *Him* who is the *avenger* of evil, whoſe pourtaiture their firſt parents had blurred by imprinting his enemies picture upon it. Nothing more eaſie than for others (ſo they will be obſervant) clearly to diſcern the live image, not of the old man, but of the old ſerpent, in ſuch as cannot, or will not ſee the image of God in themſelves.

5. Beſides this difference between the inclinations of *nature* in man and in creatures inanimate or irrational; a difference there is, not much obſerved, but worthy of diligent obſervation, between common principles meerly ſpeculative or abſtract, and others practical or moral. The later may be in many intenſively more clear than the former, as indeed they are more natural in reſpect they are more deeply implanted in the very ſoul, not let into the brain by external ſenſes, albeit even for this reaſon they are by many leſs regarded, as being more familiar then ſuch ſpeculative *notions* as theſe [*every whole is greater than its part: twice two make four*, or ſuch like,] of whoſe certainty no man at any time can doubt, not that our nature as reaſonable, is of it ſelf more inclined to abſtract ſpeculations, than to moralities, but that ſpeculative *notions* are ſeated in the head or utmoſt confines of the ſouls regiment, as in an Academy or Cloyſter, priviledged from ſuch tumultuous broils as might divert our intentions from beholding them, or retract our inclinations from adherence to their truth. On the contrary ſuch diſturbances are moſt frequent in the Court or Pallace of this little Kingdom, wherein moral *notions* of God and goodneſs have their neceſſary abode, and theſe *notions* are, upon this occaſion, uſually either tainted with the contagion of ſuch noyſome luſts, or much weakned by the reluctation of ſuch contrary deſires as lodg in the ſame room or cloſet with them.

6. Our readineſs, in heat of paſſion, or interpoſition of cauſes concerning our own commodities, to recal religious motions, whoſe undoubted truth and equity, we could, in calm and ſober thoughts, be

well contented to ſeal (if need were) with our bloud, will eaſily induce minds capable of any viciſſitude of quiet and retired cogitations, after turbulent and working fancies, to admit the former difference between dictates of nature ſeated in the Brain, and others ingrafted in the heart, to be, for the manner of their ſeveral evidences or perſpicuities, much what like the lightſomneſs of the inferiour and ſupream region of the ayre. The Sun-beam are ſometimes more bright in this loweſt part than in the uppermoſt, wherein they ſuffer no reflexion: yet are they in this lower often ſo eclipſed which clouds, with miſts, or ſtorms, as he that did never look out of doors but in ſuch diſmal weather, might well imagine his day to be but night, in reſpect of that clearneſs he might prepetually behold, were his habitation above the clouds. The continual ſmoak of noyſome luſt, the ſteames of bloudy and revengeful thoughts, the unceſſant exhalations of other unclean and vaſt deſires, which raign in the Atheiſts heart, can never obſcure the Mathematical or Logical *notions* of abſtract truths in his brain: The principles of morality or religion, which *Nature* hath planted in his heart and conſcience, they quickly may, they alwayes do, more or leſs eclipſe according to the ſtrength and permanency of their infectious and incompatible qualities. Happy it is, that he can acknowledge, and ſomtimes magnifie, the light of *nature* in matters ſpeculative, or concerning the body only, and now and then bragg, as if he were her ſon elect and others but reprobates, in compariſon of that heroical ſpirit ſhe hath enabled him with in buſineſſes of State or policy. For, who is this his Goddeſs *Nature*? Can he tell us? or what is her light that he ſhould ſo much glory in it? Doth ſhe not borrow it from the Father of lights, whoſe habitation is in that radiant brightneſs which is inacceſſable? Thus I ſuppoſe, ſuch as dwell under the poles would commend the lightſomneſs of the ayre which they dayly behold and hourly breath in, but deny that there were any ſuch glorious body as the Sun that did enlighten it; did it never come further Northward than within three or four degrees of *Aries*, or never move farther Southward than within as many of *Libra*. Now as the only way utterly to diſſwade men from an opinion ſo palpably groſs, as, by the former ſuppoſition, might be conceived, would be to remove them out of their native clime into ours: ſo the beſt means an Atheiſt can uſe to refute his impious errors in denying there is a God, is, to relinquiſh his wonted courſes in the wayes of darkneſs, and to have his converſation, for a time at leaſt, or upon trial, with the ſons of light. And to make this trial, he may perchance be ſooner induced by diſcovering the ſeveral heads or firſt originals of his ſacrilegious miſperſwaſions, more particularly.

CHAP. IIII.

Atheiſm, Idolatry, Hereſie, Hypocriſie. &c. have one common root. What eſtate or condition of life is freeſt from, or moſt obnoxius unto Atheiſm, or temptations thereto tending. Of Atheiſm in paſſion only, not habituated.

1. ALL of thoſe almoſt numberleſs inclinations, which are united in the indiviſible humane ſoul, as lines ſpherical in their center being apt to be impelled or poyſed by their proper objects: it is impoſſible

poſſible their ſeveral bents ſhould admit an equality of ſtrength, ſeeing as well their internal growth or *eminencies*, as the *potencies* of their objects, are unequal. Much more, muſt many of their actual *motions* needs be incompatible, in as much as the points whereon they are ſet, and whereto them *move*, are oft times extreamly oppoſite and directly contrary. Hence, as in the former * Book is obſerved, our aſſent unto ſuch branches of ſupernatural truth or goodneſs, as are ſtifly counterſwayed by natural deſires or affections, either for quality or intention, moſt repugnant, is alwayes wrought with greateſt difficulties. For even this *aſſent* which we term Chriſtian belief, is but an inclination or bent of the human ſoul unto matters revealed by the ſpirit; whoſe divine attractions or impulſions are alwayes oppugned by contrary luſtings of the fleſh: more or leſs, according to the diverſity of their ſtrength or impetuouſneſs, whether in their acts or habits. Now ſeeing Atheiſm is but a compleat or total † eclipſe, whether of celeſtial irraditions, as yet external not illuminating the ſoul, or of that natural and internal light which men have of heavenly powers and providence divine; we are not to ſeek an original of it altogether new or diverſe from the original of ignorance or unbelief of particular revelations, but only a more direct and fuller oppoſition of thoſe earthly parts of the human ſoul, whence theſe leſſer defects are cauſed. After thoſe *Jews* (whoſe hypocritical ſhufflings with the Prophet *Jeremy* was in the former * Book at large deciphered) had fully experienced all hopes of *good* from their late elected Goddeſs *The Queen of Heaven*, to be as vain as their Princes *truſt in Egypt*: the next *point* whereat their floating imaginations could have arrived, had been to deny there were any God or Gods, at leaſt any that cared for them or could do them good. The truth of what we here ſuppoſe as neceſſarily conſequent to our former diſcuſſions, will better clear it ſelf in the iſſue of theſe; to wit, that atheiſm, Idolatry, Hereſie, Hypocriſie, &c. ſpring all from one common root, (*i.*) *Indulgence* to corrupt affection: only the manner of their growth is different.

* Of Juſtifiing faith.

† *Vide Coppen in* Pſal. 10. v. 11. Col. 164.

* Juſtifying faith Section 1. cap. 11.

2. Some deſires of the natural man, though tainted with the deceivable luſts of corruption, yet have no repugnancy with *natural notions* of *divine goodneſs* indefinitely conſidered; only they ſway too much unto ſecondary cauſes, beſt ſuiting with themſelves or apteſt to ſatisfie their untemperate longings, and as it were by popular factions, ſet up theſe ſecondary cauſes or means as Gods, without conſulting the Laws of *Nature*; never demanding *reaſons voice* or approbation. Some parts of the *old man* again there be, which include only a diſſonancy to ſome particular paſſages of the rule of life, or partial oppoſition to our natural *notion* of God or his *attributes*, and theſe ſway only unto hypocriſie, hereſie, or transfiguration of the *divine will*, or *word* into the ſimilitude of our corrupt imaginations. Other luſts of the fleſh there be either for quality, multitude, ſtrength, or abundance, ſo mainly oppoſite to the moſt eſſential and general *notions* of the Godhead, that ſometimes, by being directly croſſed, other whiles by being fully ſatisfied, they introduce, either oblivion, or flat denial of any divine power, or providence.

3. The *Attribute* moſt inſeperable from the *divine nature*, and moſt *ſoveraign title* of the Godhead is his *goodneſs*. The very names or literal elements of *God* and *good*, are not in our Country dialect ſo near allied, as the conceipts which their mention or nomination ſuggeſts, are in nature. So neceſſarily doth *goodneſs* preſuppoſe a *God* or *Deity*, from

which, as from a fountain, it flows; and ſo eſſential is it to this fountain to ſend forth ſweet ſtreams of joy and comfort, that the Heathen Philoſopher, upon the interview of *good* and *evil*, ſeems to ſuffer torture between the contrariety of his unſetled conceipts concerning the truth or vanity of the Godhead, *Si deus non ſit unde bona?* Can there be any good without a God? *Si Deus ſit unde mala?* If there be a God, how chanceth it of things that are, all are not good, many evil? Others, not altogether heatheniſh, from curioſity of like contemplation, not guided by the rule of faith, imagine two eternal indefectible *creative powers*; the one *good* and ſole fountain of all *goodneſs*: the other *evil*, and main *ſourſe* of all evil and miſchief in the world. Of both theſe errours and the ignorance that occaſioned them we ſhall have fitter occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. Both of them ſuppoſe a true *notion* of divine *goodneſs* indefinitely conſidered, whereunto a conceipt or apprehenſion of divine providence, in moſt Heathen, was ſubordinate. *Many great and famous Philoſophers there be* (ſayth *Tully*) *which aſcribe the government of the world unto the wiſdom of the Gods: not herewith content they further acknowledge all neceſſary ſupplies of health and welfare to be procured by their providence. For corn and other increaſe of the earth, variety of times and ſeaſons with thoſe changes of the weather whereby ſuch fruits as the earth brings forth do grow and ripen, are, in the ſame mens opinions, effects of divine goodneſs to mankind.* From the perpetuity of ſuch viſible bleſſings, as theſe Heathen Philoſophers derive from the bounty of their imaginary Gods, doth the Doctor of the Gentiles and his fellow Apoſtle ſeek to win the Inhabitants of *Lyſtra* unto the worſhip of the only true inviſible God. How readily, experience of uncouth goodneſs, brings forth an expreſs conceipt of a Godhead, and cauſeth the often mentioned *ingraffed notion* to bud or flouriſh; theſe Heathen had openly teſtified by their forwardneſs to ſacrifice unto theſe meſſengers of our Lord and Saviour, as unto great *Gods*, becauſe ſtrange Authors or rather inſtruments of unexpected good to one of their neighbours. This confuſed branch of piety though miſgrown and ſet awry, was notwithſtanding flexible and pliant to theſe points of life propoſed by the Apoſtle; * *Sirs, why do ye theſe things? we alſo are men of like paſſions with you, and preach unto you that you ſhould turn from theſe vanities, unto the living God, which made heaven and earth and the ſea, and all things that are therein, who in times paſt, ſuffered all nations to walk in their own wayes. Nevertheleſs, he left not himſelf without witneſs, in that he did good and gave us rain from heaven, and fruitful ſeaſons, filling our hearts with food and gladneſs.* From this one ſtream of divine goodneſs experienced in giving grain, did the Heathens *Chriſten* their God *Jupiter* with a Name importing his procurement of this effect: the Greeks calling him ὄμβριος, the Latins *Pluvius*. So effectual a witneſs of the Godhead is the accompliſhment of any much deſired good, that ſuch, as doubt whether the good we enjoy on earth be derived from heaven, are often unwittingly enforced to think and ſpeak of whatſoever doth them any extraordinary good or ſatiſfie the vehemency of their deſires, as of their God.

* Acts 14. v. 15, 16, 17.

4. The more indiſſoluble the mutual conceipts of *God* and *goodneſs* are, the ſooner we looſe the one, whiles we remain without experience or apprehenſion of the other. Two conditions of life there be alike hurtful to this engraffed *notion* of the *Deity*: 1. Affluence or abundance of things deſired without interpoſal of indigence: 2. Perpetual indigence or ſordid want without viciſſitude of ordinary competency

or contentment. The latter uſually ſtarves the natural ***notions*** or conceipts of God, which muſt be fed with ſenſe or taſt of ſome goodneſs, the former [*affluence* or *abundance*] chokes it amongſt all the ***Barbarians*** which * ***Tacitus*** mentioned in his deſcription of ***Germany***, he blemiſheth one ſort only with a glauncing touch of irreligion; as being ſo intirely and familiarly acquainted with beggarly need, that they needed not the help of God or man, more than the beaſts of the field. Yet that they were altogether ***Atheiſts*** or abettors of infidelity, is ſcarce credible: but very likely that they gave leſs ſigns of any Religion than others did, which had oftner and better occaſions to ſupplicate the divine powers, either for protection from ſuch evils or for collation of ſuch benefits, as theſe ***Fenni*** had little cauſe greatly either to fear or hope. Houſhould Gods they had none, becauſe they cared not for houſes, Gods or Goddeſſes of Corn, of Wine, of Oyl, or the like, they never ſought to, becauſe never accuſtomed to ſow, to plant, or reap. But whether they uſed not to pray for good ſucceſs in their huntings, or in ſkirmiſhing with their rude neighbours, or amongſt themſelves, is more then can be determined from *Tacitus* cenſure, interſerted as it ſeems rather to pleaſe the Reader, than ſeriouſly to empeach them of any greater crime or more loathſome diſeaſe, than uſually haunts men of their conſtitution or condition. As of the ***mighty*** and ***noble***; ſo of thoſe vile and deſpiſed creatures, which continue their circular and ſloathful range from houſe to houſe (liking beſt to live (as theſe late mentioned ***Barbarians*** did) from hand to mouth) not many there be which give any juſt proof of their ***calling***. The ***ſenſe*** of ***God*** and his ***Goodneſs*** is in moſt of them ſtupid and dull, ſave only when hunger and thirſt, or hope of an almes inſtantly craved by them in his name, and uſually granted by others for his ſake, ſhall whet or quicken it. But as well in life ſpiritual as in corporal, fewer by much (though too many) looſe their ſtomacks through extream penury or long faſting, then there be of ſuch as ſpoil or dead their taſte by continual fulneſs. As, long or hard want doth ſometimes ſterve; ſo the perennial current of wealth, of peace, or eaſe, with other outward bleſſings, doth uſually drown all ſenſe or ***notion*** of that goodneſs, whence theſe and all other good things flow. Did that part of the Moon which is next us alwayes ſhine, we ſhould have leſs occaſion to enquire and greater difficulty to determine, whether the light it hath, were derived from the Sun. Generally, ſuch effects as admit interruption in their exiſtence ſooner lead us unto the true knowledge of their firſt and immediate cauſes, then if they enjoyed permanent duration. A * body ſubject to ſome viciſſitude of ſickneſs, better diſcerns what cauſeth health, then he whoſe health hath been perpetual. And this advantage he hath again that though a diſeaſe, in it ſelf equally grievous, do aſſault him, yet is it leſs aſſiſted by impatience: From former experience he is better enabled to ſee what did him hurt, and what is likely to do him good, and as it were nurtured to expect a ***change***.

5. The beſt dyet then to avoid this ***morbus fatuus***, whoſe fits come upon us as well by ***fulneſs*** as by ***vacuity***, is that which ***Salomon*** hath preſcribed. * ***Give me not poverty, nor riches: feed me with food convenient for me, leſt I be full and deny thee and ſay, Who is the Lord? or leaſt I be poor and***

* *Fennis mira feritas, fœda paupertas, non arma, non equi, non penates: victui herba, veſtitui pelles, cubile humus. Sola in ſagittis ſpes, quas inopiâ ferri oſſibus aſperant. Idemq; venatus viros pariter ac fœminas alit. Paſſim enim comitantur partemq; prædæ petunt. Nec aliud infantibus ferarum, imbriumq; ſuffugium, quam ut in aliquo ramorum nexu contegantur. Huc redeunt juvenes, hoc ſenum receptaculum. Id beatius arbitrantur, quam ingemere agris, illaborare domibus, ſuas alienaſque fortunas ſpe metuque verſare. Securi adverſus homines, ſecuri adverſos Deos, rem difficillimam aſſecuti ſunt, ut illis ne voto quidem opus ſit.* Tacit. lib. de moribus German.

* *Iſtæ vices magis in nobis excitant ſenſum divinæ bonitatis, quam continuus tenor fælicitatis, qui nos inebriat: tum enim bona cognoſcimus poſtquam amiſimus. Præſentium oritur tædium, abſentium excitatur deſiderium.* Coppen. in Pſal. 136. 23, 24.

and ſteal, and take the name of my God in vain. Yet neither can mediocrity of fortunes without moderate deſires, nor viciſſitude of want, unleſs the ſoul be inwardly purged, much avail. Our minds may be much ſet on little matters, and our deſires of others proſperity (eſpecially the flouriſhing eſtate of the Weal-publick, wherein we live a poor contented private life) may be too ſtiffe and peremptory. Now ſuch is the blindneſs of our corrupted nature, ſuch is our partiality towards our own deſires (though of others welfare) as will hardly ſuffer us to diſtinguiſh that which is abſolutely good, from that which ſeems beſt to us, as for the preſent we ſtand affected. From theſe originals, minds by nature or education in their kind devout, but ſubject withall to ſtiff and ſetled deſires of mutable and tranſitory good, being either divorced from delights, whereon they have long doted, or fruſtrated of thoſe hopes, for whoſe accompliſhment they have ſollicited divine powers with great earneſtneſs and importunity, are moſt obnoxious to ſuch impulſions as throw men into Atheiſm and irreligion. Theſe diſeaſes were ſcarce known or heard of amongſt the *Romans*, ſo long as their ſtate after recovery from many crazes and ſore wounds received daily increaſe, by means (which in their obſervation might have challenged greateſt praiſe for their prudent care of publick good) more then humane, but after it once (contrary to all politick expectation) began to reel and totter, and threaten ruin to the beſt pillars it had left to ſupport it: theſe and the like querulous mutterings began to aſſay her moſt ingenuous and devouteſt children;

Lucanus. *Heu faciles dare ſumma Deos, eademq; tueri*
Difficiles! ——
Ah facil Gods to rear up ſtates to greateſt height,
But moſt averſe to keep them ſo uprear'd, upright!

But much worſe then theſe (it ſeems by *Cottaes* complaint) were more frequent in corrupt minds a little before. *If the Gods* (ſaith he) *have a care of mankind, they ſhould in reaſon make all men good; or if not ſo: at leaſt, tender the hap and welfare of ſuch as are good indeed. Why then were the two noble valourous and victorious* Scipioes *oppreſſed in* Spain *by the perfidious Carthaginians? A great number of worthy Patriots he there reckons beſides; all, either exiled or ſlain by their turbulent and factious enemies, or (which was worſe then death to a* Roman *ſpirit) beholden to Tyrants for their lives and fortunes. Another Poet not long after the uttering of this complaint, (perhaps moved thereto by the indignity of* Tullies *untimely death,) ingenuouſly acknowledgeth the like diſtruſt of divine providence in himſelf, as* Tully *had vented under the perſon of* Cotta:

* Ovid. * *Dum rapiunt mala fata bonos, ignoſcite faſſo,*
Sollicitor nullos eſſe putare Deos.
What oft I think, once let me ſay,
Whil'ſt bad Fates take beſt men away;
I am provok'd Gods to diſclaim,
For Gods ſhould give death better aim.

The like cogitations did work more deſperately in ſuch as had been more deeply intereſſed in *Pompey's faction*, after they ſaw ſo many noble Senators (worthy in their judgment, to have been honoured like Gods, after death) deprived of all funeral rites and exequies; whilſt the dead reliques of meer *carcaſſes*, whilſt they lived, of paraſitical mecanicks, or devoted inſtruments of tyrannical luſt, were graved with Princely Monuments. The very ſight of theſe, did by a kind of *Antiperiſtaſis* revive and ſublimate the former offences taken againſt their Gods, for the indignities done unto their Nobles:

Marmoreo Licinus tumulo jacet, & Cato parvo,
Pompeius nullo : Quis putet eſſe Deos ?
Baſe Licinus hath a pompous Tombe,
of gaudy marble ſtone :
Wiſe Cato but a fooliſh one,
the mighty Pompey none.
Yet all this while we dream of Gods,
and dream we do I wis :
For Gods are none ; or if there be,
how can they ſuffer this ?

6. That vengeance belonged unto God was another branch of the general *notion* ingraft by nature in the hearts of Heathen. And if he did not ſhew himſelf an awful judge and avenger of prodigious cruelties, which ordinary laws could not redreſs, this neglect of duty (as they took it) made them bolder with *Jupiter* himſelf, than the poor woman was with the Emperour, that aſkt him, * *Why then doſt thou raign if thou be not at leaſure to hear my cauſe.* They queſtioned whether *Jupiter* reigned indeed or were but a name without authority, unleſs he gave inſtant proof of his powerful wrath or diſpleaſure, againſt ſuch as diſpleaſed them moſt. *Idem erat non eſſe & non apparere.* A perfect Character of this paſſion hath the ſweet *Tragedian* expreſt in *Ulyſſes*, led into the *Cyclops* den as a ſheep unto the ſhambles. After his oriſons to his ſoveraign Lady *Pallas*, he thus concludes with *Jupiter Hoſpitalies* himſelf:

* *Mentimur regnare Jovem.* Lucan.

Ζεῦ, ξένι' ὅρα τάδ', εἰ γὰρ αὐτὰ μὴ βλέπεις,
Ἄλλως νομίζῃ ζεὺ, τὸ μηδὲν ὢν θεός, &c.

Eurip. Cyclops.

O Jove : no Jove nor ſtrangers God in true eſteem :
Unleſs my woful caſe thou ſee, and me redeem.

7. The *Pſalmiſts* complaint is much more moderate, yet ſuch as argues his faith to have been aſſaulted, though not quaild with like diſtruſt ; || *For thy ſake are we killed all the day long ; we are counted as ſheep for the ſlaughter. Awake, why ſleepeſt thou O Lord, ariſe caſt us not off for ever. Wherefore hideſt thou thy face, and forgetteſt our affliction and our oppreſſion. For our ſoul is bowed down to the duſt, our belly cleaveth unto the earth. Ariſe for our help, and redeem us for thy mercies ſake.* * *O Lord God, to whom vengeance belongeth, O God to whom vengeance belongeth, ſhew thy ſelf.* Pettiſh deſires of private hopes contrived with greateſt policy, and ſollicited with all poſſible care and induſtry, finally croſt, brought many Heathens (as yet they do ſundry Chriſtians) unto a point of Atheiſm ſomewhat ſhort of the former, yet as dangerous for any profeſſed Diſciple of Chriſt to harbour at ; uſually diſcovered in bitter exclamations againſt fates, ill luck, or fortune. But many diſcontented ſpeeches in both kinds proceed oft-times from the heat and impulſion of preſent paſſion ; whoſe frequent interpoſition often cauſed all former apprehenſions of the divine Providence or Goodneſs, to vaniſh, as unevenneſs of ground makes travellers looſe the ſight of ſteeples or turrets, which they lately beheld. But as theſe preſent themſelves again unto their view, as ſoon as they aſcend, unto the former level ; ſo is it likely many of theſe querulous *Romans*, did reſume their wonted perſwaſions of Divine powers, and their favour towards mankind ; after their turbulent thoughts begun to ſettle, and their diſquieted minds recover their natural ſeat or ſtation. Others more blinded by obſtinacy, did finally miſtruſt all former apprehenſions (being neither clear nor perfectly obſerved) for meer fancies ; as weak

|| Pſal. 44.22. &c.

* Pſal. 94. 1.

or dimm ſights, uſually ſuſpect, whether they truly did ſee ſuch things as in far diſtances appeared by ſhort and ſudden glympſes, or their eyes did but dazle.

8. But all in this place we intended, was to ſearch out the original, if not of all, yet of ſome more principal branches of habituate, and obdurate Atheiſm: unto which ſearch, this obſervation of indulgence to violent paſſions, or pettiſhneſs of hopeful deſires not ſatisfied, was thus far pertinent; that theſe do ſettle men, otherwiſe by nature, and education not irreligious, in the very dregs of theſe impieties. Nor is man, as was lately intimated, like unto inanimate creatures, whoſe natural diſpoſition, or inclination cannot be prejudiced by cuſtom. Stones though they be moved a thouſand times one way, their aptitude notwithſtanding unto ſuch motion is no way greater in the laſt courſe, then in the firſt. Far otherwiſe it is with man, who as he hath natural apprehenſions of goodneſs, ſo hath he inclinations unto evil no leſs imbred, or natural; the ſtrength of whoſe bent to burſt out into all ungodlineſs is alwayes increaſed by their actual motions, unleſs reaſon exerciſe her authority over them, either by ſubtracting their internal nutriment, or by preventing outward occaſions which provoke them, or by taking them at beſt advantage (when they have ſpent themſelves) in the retire. Not thus prevented or controuled in time, the habits which naturally reſult from frequencie of their outrage, may come to be no leſs ſtiff than they are violent. The manner how theſe fits of paſſion grow into ſuch grievous rooted diſeaſes, is, as if we ſhould imagine a ſtone by often moving downwards, every time to retain ſome one, or few, until it had at length *incorporated* all thoſe *degrees* of *gravitation*, which naturally accrew in the motion, into its permanent weight: ſo as laid in a juſt ballance the ſetled ſway of it ſhould be as great, as the actual force of its wonted deſcent; perpetually able to counterpoiſe as heavy, and maſſie a body, as the fall of it from an high tower (ſuppoſing it had fallen into the oppoſit ſcale) could have ſtirred or elevated. Of all paſſions, ſuch as work inwardly are moſt dangerous; becauſe their growth is inſenſible, and unobſervable. Such are fretting jealouſies, ambitious diſcontents, eagerneſs of revenge, or other deſires overmatched with *impotencie* of effecting them. Generally all grievances, which have no vent; without which human affections, like to liquors kept in cloſe veſſels, or nipt glaſſes ſecretly multiply their natural ſtrength.

> *Strangulat incluſus dolor, atque exæſtuat intus:*
> *Cogitur & vires multiplicare ſuas.*

As all paſſions obſcure the underſtanding for the preſent: ſo the ſetling of them into habits brings a perpetual blindneſs upon the ſoul, alwayes breeding either obdurate Atheiſm, pernicious Hereſie, or Idolatry.

CHAP. V.

Of habituated or ſetled Atheiſm. Why this diſeaſe was not ſo Epidemical in ancient as in later times. Of the diſpoſition or temper from which irreligion or incogitancie of Divine powers (which is the firſt and loweſt branch of Atheiſm) uſually ſprings.

1. THE *Phariſee*, though for his converſation and civil carriage preciſe and ſtrict in reſpect of moſt his anceſtors, did yet exceed them farther in hardneſs of heart, than he came ſhort of them in outragiouſneſs of paſſion. The ſight of our Saviours miracles, and experience of his good life, would (I am perſwaded) ſooner have won the moſt Idolatrous, or boiſterous of his Forefathers; than him or his ſober aſſociates unto true belief. From conſideration of this his temper, beſides other inducements, I have elſewhere obſerved, people ancient (whether in reſpect of the general courſe of the world, or of ſucceſſion in ſeveral Kingdoms) to have been uſually more raſh, and impetuous in their attempts, but not ſo ſetled in reſolutions, which were impious, as their ſucceſſors in time are, and have been. The bent of their nature did ſway a larger compaſs, and (to uſe the Mathematicians dialect) deſcribed a greater circle by its actual motions. Hence were they more eaſily drawn by the peculiar inticements of thoſe times to greater outrages, then men of their rank commonly by ordinary temptations now are. Howbeit for the ſame reaſon they were more quickly reclaimed by ſuch corrections, as move not our minds once ſet amiſs.

2. And this in part may be the reaſon why Atheiſm was not ſo habituated, nor the denial, or doubt of Divine providence ſo ſtiff in them, as in the irreligious of our dayes. Conſonant hereto are the cauſes before aſſigned of poſterities miſtruſting the reports of antiquity; unto which we may add this obſervation, not altogether the ſame with them, nor quite different: The viſible characters of this great Book of nature were of old more legible; the external ſignifications of Divine power more ſenſible, and apter to imprint their meaning: both purpoſely ſuited to the diſpoſition of the worlds non-age, which for ſecular cunning, or artificial obſervation was for the moſt part rude and childiſh in reſpect of thoſe times, and Countries, wherein Atheiſm through mans curioſity came to full height and growth.

3. Thoſe Mariners with whom *Jonas* ſayled, in calling every man unto his God, and rouſing their ſleepy paſſenger to joyn in prayer with them; did no more, then many of their profeſſion in this age upon like exegencies do. A raging ſea will cauſe the natural *notions* of God and goodneſs to work in ſuch as have taken little or no notice of them by land; as one upon this experiment wittily deſcants: *Qui neſcit orare, diſcat navigare.* But few of our time would trouble themſelves in ſuch perplexity, with ſearching out the cauſes of ſudden ſtorms, or if they did, the cauſes ordinarily aſſigned by the experimental Weather-wizard, or natural Philoſopher, would content them. Fewer I think would make enquiry for whoſe ſpecial ſin their common prayers for deliverance were not heard; ſeeing God daily accuſtometh us to like repulſes in particular dangers: the oftner no doubt, becauſe we examine not our hearts with like diligence in like extremities, nor *powre* forth our ſouls with ſuch fervency, as theſe Mariners did. Their

reſolution to find out the author of their ill ſucceſs, as *Joſuah* did *Achans* by lot, perſwades me the obſervations of grace, and nature did not then jar ſo much, as now they do; *They,* ſaith the Pſalmiſt, *that go down to the Sea in ſhips; that do buſineſs in great waters; Theſe ſee the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep: for he commandeth and raiſeth the ſtormy wind: which lifteth up the waves thereof: They mount up to the heaven: and they go down again to the depths: their ſoul is melted becauſe of trouble. They reel to and fro, and ſtagger like a drunken man; and are at their wits end. Then they cry unto the Lord in their trouble, and he bringeth them out of their diſtreſſes. He maketh the ſtorm a calm: ſo that the waves thereof are ſtill.* The like good leſſons had been communicated, at leaſt to the wiſer and more ſober ſort of Heathens (ſuch as theſe Marriners were) by the remarkable experiments of thoſe times. And their arrival at their deſired haven was attributed not to their Pilots ſkill, or good ſtructure of their ſhips, but to the mercy of their gods, as the *Pſalmiſt* having ſo good matter to work upon as theſe, and the like known experiments in that *Pſalm* above others, reiterates his pathetical invitations to joy and ſacred thankſgiving. *Oh that men would praiſe the Lord for his goodneſs: and for his wonderful works to the children of men. Let them exalt him alſo in the congregation of the people, and praiſe him in the aſſembly of the Elders.*

4. Or if the parties, whoſe reformation I ſeek, diſtruſt this ſtory of theſe Heathen Marriners devotion, and the iſſue; becauſe not related by any Heatheniſh writers; *Xenophons* obſervation ſhall juſtifie mine, he thought it no diſparagement to the valour, but rather an argument of that noble Generals wiſdom, whom he had choſen as a real pattern for poſterities imitation, that he had fruitfully improved thoſe experiments of religious navigators *favour* with God, and good ſucceſs unto the diſcipline of War. *Cyrus* (ſaith this * *Hiſtorian*) *made account the religion, and piety of his ſouldiers would be profitable unto him, herein following their reſolution, who upon good reaſon chooſe rather to ſayl with men known to be religious, than with ſuch as are ſuſpected to have committed ſome impiety* ||. The manifold deliverances of ſea-faring men (more devout than ſkilfull in approach of danger) publickly teſtified by their ſolemn thankſgiving, and pictures conſecrated to the memory of ſuch *mercy* as they had found, did furniſh another Heathen with arguments to evince the providence of Divine powers, and their flexible ears unto unfeigned prayers; The quick reply of his adverſary, *More have periſhed that have not been painted*, whether uttered by way of diſputation, in jeſt, or out of former reſolution or good earneſt, was not ſo witty, as ſophiſtical. For that the ſupplications of as many, which had periſhed and were no where painted, were not heard; this rather proves their demerits had made them uncapable of that favour which others found, then any way diſproveth the former concluſion, that theſe were favoured by Divine providence. Nor can the miſcarriage of ten thouſands prejudice the truth of ones confeſſion, whoſe eſcape could not be attributed to his ſkill, or the working of ſecond cauſes, but unto ſome latent diſpoſer of their combinations; which did appoint the limits, times, and opportunities of their working or ceaſing. And this divine diſpoſal was more conſpicuous when the interpoſition of mans induſtry, or inventions for his own good, was leſs; *God* then ſupplied the defect of artificial cunning in every kind by ſuch eminent and outſtretched branches of his providence, as we ſee yet overſhadow children and men ſcarce maſters of themſelves, whom danger often

approacheth

Pſal. 107.23, 24, &c.

Ver. 31, 32.

* So under correction I have good reaſon to eſteem him, albeit *Tully* as meer a child in Eaſtern antiquities as mature in Roman Oratory, otherwiſe cenſure him.

|| *Cyrus ipſe religioſam ſuorum pietatem ſibi quoque utilem ducebat eſſe, quum rationem eandem ſequeretur, quam illi, qui certo judicio cum religioſis potius, quam cum iis, qui deſignaſſe aliquid impiè videntur navigare malunt.* Zenoph. de Inſtit. Cyri. hiſt. lib 8. *Vide Copen in Pſal.* 10. v.14. *Col.* 169.

approacheth but ceazeth not on them, though moſt enable to make reſiſtance.

5. But after the world was grown ripe in judgment and experimental inventions, the Lord did alter thoſe legible and conſpicuous characters of the common book of nature fitted for the uſe of children, or *elementary* ſcholars, and ſet forth a newer and perfecter edition of his ſacred will, but in letters leſs legible to beginners. Now, as his written word revealed (in the Goſpel eſpecially) contains a far more exquiſite model of his incomprehenſible wiſdome, than in former ages had been maniſeſted; ſo doth it require more mature, more diligent, and obſervant readers: otherwiſe as many weak brains, by light or confuſed tempering with artificial terms, which they are not able to maſter or digeſt, utterly poyſon common *ſenſe*; ſo we by negligent, irreverent or careleſs hearing, reading, or meditating on theſe great myſteries of the Spirit, ſhall quite extinguiſh that general light of nature which did ſhine unto the heathen; and by diſuſe forget to read the book of Gods viſible creatures. Such notwithſtanding is the prepoſterouſneſs of human choice, whereto the old ſerpent ſtill enticeth us, that although it be the firſt rudiment of Chriſtian Religion to renounce that worldly carefulneſs wherewith the minds of beſt Heathens were overgrown: yet no age or people ſince the world began, did wilfully trouble themſelves with more matters or more impertinent to the main point whereat all aim, then we Chriſtians of theſe times do. What would the Heathens ſay that ſhould compare our practiſe with our principles? *Surely thoſe Chriſtians ſeek to impriſon their ſouls in thoſe thickets*, wherein man as their writings *teach, firſt loſt all ſight of heaven, of God, and goodneſs.* Or if Gods word did not; the different faces of times, and characters of men that lived in them, ſet forth unto us by Heathen writers, may enform us that Atheiſm and Irreligion had never grown to ſuch maturity as to propagate their ſeed unto poſterity, but from thoſe two principal roots. Firſt, the intricate perplexities and unceſſant cares wherewith the managing of moſt human affairs was daily more and more involv'd, through multiplicity of inventions and ſolicitous inquiſition after worldly means ſuppoſed as neceſſary for every man to make himſelf by, or in one kind or other to outſtrip his neighbour: the ſecond, an intemperate affection of perfection in Arts or Sciences, unto which once invented or inlarged men attribute more then was befitting and more to themſelves than was their due for inventing and inlarging them. In both they rob God of much honour, willingly aſcribed unto him by the ancient, who ſtill acknowledged the firſt principles of thoſe Arts (in whoſe propagation poſterity gloried, as if themſelves had been petty gods) to have proceeded from the Divine powers. Ἡ τύχη τέχνη, *Fortune befrindeth Art*, was but the ſoleciſme of degenerate ages; ſuch rules as the ancients light upon by chance, they knew not how, did ſo naturally imprint a feeling of the finger of God thus guiding their thoughts, that they inſtantly ſacrificed, not to their own wits, but to the unknown ſuggeſtors of theſe inventions, which in the firſt teachers of Arts or Experiments were indeed true revelations; what later ages called fortune or blind chance, primary antiquity inſtiled *God*; and ages much declining from ancient innocency and devotion took blind *chance* or *fortune* for a Goddeſs.

6. The branch which iſſues from the former root, is in reſpect of true belief of the Godhead rather defective than contradictory, and reſembles that defect or want which in Arts we term *Ignorantiam puræ negationis*;

gationis; as the other poſitive contradicting, or malignant Atheiſme doth, *Ignorantiam pravæ diſpoſitionis*. Unto the imputations of this Atheiſm, which conſiſts in meer careleſneſs, and incogitancy, many are juſtly lyable, which never perhaps ſo much as in their ſecret thoughts expreſly deny the God-head, or Divine providence; but rather have ſome ſurmiſe of their *exiſtence*. But this bloſſom comes to no proof, becauſe it ſprings not from the internal *notion* ingraffed by nature in their hearts (whoſe growth the cares of life do quickly choak) but is acquir'd by cuſtom, unwitting aſſent, or conſonancy to others aſſeverations with whom they converſe. This cuſtomary believer, or careful worldlings careleſs temper in matters ſpiritual, is like to a man in a dead ſleep, or ſo drowſie that he apprehends no impreſſion of any phantaſms, yet can anſwer yes or no to any that urges him with a queſtion. Briefly the utmoſt degree of belief that men thus buried in cares of this world have of the Deity, is no better than ſuch idle perſwaſions of love to Chriſt and Chriſtianity, as have been obſerved in the former Book. The only ground of it in many, did they well obſerve it, is their unwillingneſs to be accounted what indeed they are, meer Atheiſts, a title diſpleaſing to ſuch as live amongſt profeſſed Chriſtians. To charge a man, though on a ſuddain with matters diſtaſtfull, will extort a peremptory denial of that whereto he had formerly been altogether indifferent, as knowing nothing either for it or againſt it. As what ſouldier is there of better ſpirit which hearing his Countrey-men upbraided with cowardize, or his Country blemiſhed with trecherous baſe infamous dealing, would not undertake to make good the contrary with his body againſt the objecter; albeit altogether ignorant, what domeſtick and forraign unpartial Chronicles had teſtified to his prejudice concerning the carriage of the impeached proceedings. The more peremptory the one were in avouching, the more confident the other would be in diſclaiming the crime objected. But ſhould a practical head ſkilfull in humoring ſuch an hot brain ſtrike in with them aright, and by way of ſociable and friendly conference, inſinuate plauſible reaſons to miſperſwade him of his Country-mens deſerved praiſe; (which in general, to believe he had better poſitive reaſons than to deny the former particular imputations) a leſſer matter than loſs of good fellowſhip would make him willing to let all controverſie fall, or put it off with a jeſt. Should we thus reſolutely charge the moſt *groveling minded earth-worm* this day breathing, with open ſhame for never looking up to heaven, for living without a God in this preſent world; we might perhaps provoke him to pollute his firſt poſitive and ſerious thoughts of his Creator with falſe and fearful oaths in his name, that he had thought on him, that he feared and loved him ever before, as much as others. But with greater cunning than can be matched with any ſkill of man can the old ſerpent inſinuate himſelf into our moſt ſecret thoughts, and covertly fortifie our inclinations toward ſuch baits as he hath laid, alwayes watching opportunities of puſhing them, whether he ſees them moſt inclined for his advantage. Finally, by this ſleight he works the wiſeſt of worldly men to confeſs that to him, ere they be aware, with their hearts; which with their lips they would deny before men, even unto death, whiles urged with it under the ſtyle of diſgrace. Or if he cannot thus far work them; he puts fair colours of diſcretion upon indifferency for poſitive reſolutions, whether there be a God or no, or whether it goeth better with him that ſerveth, or with him that ſerves him not.

7. And albeit either the ſtrength of intended argument, or caſual

occurrents of ſome ſtrange miſhaps befalling others by means more than humane, may often rowſe ſome actual and expreſs acknowledgement of a Divine providence in this worldling: yet theſe imaginations coming once to oppoſition with his ſtiff deſires, or being counterpoiſed with freſh propoſals of Satans riddles, or inſtantly diſpelled as utterly as if they had never been conceived. His belief then of this firſt Article in the Creed is at the beſt no better than his was of the ſouls immortality, which held it as true ſo long as *Platoes* Book of this argument was in his hand, but let the truth ſlip out of his mind as ſoon as he laid the Book aſide, or had not the Philoſophers reaſons in his eye; what ſhall we think of him then as of an Atheiſt, or as a true believer? No man holdeth it any point of wiſdome to attribute much unto a miſers oath in matters of gain, yet he that is ready to ſwear falſly by his God, doth in this taking looſe his former belief of him, if any he had. For perjury is the natural brood of Atheiſm, ſometime beſt known by the parents name, though now it hath changed his coat, and covered it ſelf with proteſtations of Chriſtianity, renouncing nature with the tongue, as it doth the Deity in the heart. *Juvenal* condemns a generation of Naturaliſts in his time as more Atheiſtical and perjurous than *Rome* formerly had known:

Juvenal Satyr. 13.

Sunt qui in fortunæ jam caſibus omnia ponunt,
Et mundum nullo credunt rectore moveri;
Naturâ volvente vices & lucis & anni,
Atque ideo intrepidi quæcunque altaria jurant.

Some now there be, that deem the world by ſlippery Chance *doth ſlide,*
That dayes and years do run their round, without or rule or guide,
Save Nature *and dame* Fortunes *Wheel: and hence ſance ſhame or (fear*
Of God *or* Man, *by* Altars all *they deſperately do ſwear.*

8. This careleſs Neutraliſt holdeth the ſame correſpondency between the true Chriſtian and the Heatheniſh Idolater or Infidel, that Mungrels do with the diverſe Countrys between whoſe waſte borders they have been ſo promiſcuouſly brought up, that no man knows to whether people they belong, uſually trafficking with both without profeſſion of abſolute allegiance or perſonal ſervice to either, ſave only as private occaſions or opportunities ſhall induce them. The contradicting Atheiſts are as half Antipodes to the Neutraliſt, and full Antipodes to true Chriſtians. Their ſeat is darkneſs alwayes deſtitute of the Sun, ſeldome partaker of any twilight. To impell the one ſort as far from truth as may be, and the other no farther than the mid way between it and the moſt oppoſit error, is alike behovefull to Satans purpoſe: a great part of whoſe chief cunning is to ſuit his temptations to mens ſeveral diſpoſitions. Now ſome men there be of heavier mettal, who as they have minds perpetually *touched* with hopes of gain; ſo their gain is not gotten by gluts or heaps, but receives a ſlow and conſtant increaſe by continual cares and pains. Theſe if he can but bring to this kind of incogitant Atheiſm, or dull ignorance of God and his goodneſs, he hath as much as he deſires of them. Thoſe whom he labours to malignant or diſputing Atheiſm, have uſually ſuch nimble wits, and reſolutions (until they ſettle upon their lees) ſo tickliſh; that did he ſuffer them to hover a while betwixt light and darkneſs, they would quickly turn upon that level whence the right aſpect of heaven and heavenly powers is taken. But, leſt having this liberty of trying

all, they ſhould come to faſten on that which is beſt; His pollicie is to caſt them ſo far, one wrong way or other in youth, that either they ſhall have no thought or inclination to retire in mature age, or no ſtrength left when they grow old to recover the miſcarriages of freſh and lively motions. To ſway themſelves that way which nature firſt enclined them, or grace doth call them, is not eaſie to be attempted, almoſt impoſſible to be effected by men that have been long fettered in ſome link of ſocial luſt or other filthineſs; by men whoſe minds have been perpetually enwrapt in the curioſities of their proud imaginations. Thoſe are the two ſpecial ſnares whereby Gods enemy detains ſtirring ſpirits in the dregs of contradicting Atheiſm. But the men of whom we now ſpeak, ſuch as have wedded their ſouls to the earth, and count toyling and moyling in gainful buſineſſes greateſt pleaſures, are (as the tempter knows) of a clean contrary conſtitution; apt they are not to move many wayes, either upward or downward, but only to waggle to and fro within a narrow compaſs: without whoſe liſts ſhould he tempt them to outray much in any notorious diſſoluteneſs, outragious villany or open blaſphemy; the uncouthneſs of their diſtemper procured by theſe unnatural motions, might happily admoniſh them in good time to ſeek a medicine. The only means he hath herein to prevent them is continually to feed this their deadly diſeaſe ſo kindly and gently as it ſhall never bewray any danger, until they be paſt all poſſibility of recovery. They go to Hell as in a lethargy or deep ſlumber. Much what to this purpoſe it is in other parts of theſe comments obſerved, that the equable moral temper, which never alters much from it ſelf, is moſt obnoxious to final miſcarriage; becauſe ſeldome ſo fiercely aſſaulted by the enemy, as to occaſion any extraordinary terror of conſcience. And it is the leſs aſſaulted, becauſe it ſeldom or lightly rebels againſt him. Now men never much affrighted with the danger wherein all by nature ſtand, nor enflamed with love of a better Country than they enjoy, cannot addreſs themſelves to any reſolute or ſpeedy departure out of the territories of civil moralities, within which if Satan hold us, he makes full reckoning of us as of his civil or natural ſubjects; and this, as S. * *Gregory* obſerves, is the reaſon why many are not moleſted by him.

* *Hoſtis noſter quanto magis nos ſibi rebellare conſpicit, tanto amplius expugnare contendit; eos enim pulſare negligit, quos quieto jure ſe poſſidere ſentit.* Greg. Homil.

CHAP. VI.

Of Diſputative Atheiſm; denial of the God-head, or Divine Providence; with the ſeveral curioſities which occaſion it.

1. Forraign ſupportance is ſeldom rejected by deſerved fame, and men of no deſerts alwayes ſeek to underprop their ruinous reputation or groundleſs praiſe; ſome by the place which they hold, or by the ſociety wherein they live; others by their anceſtors, birth, or education; many, by the ſubject of their thoughts, or worthineſs of matters which they unworthily handle. To profeſs noble Sciences, or (at the moſt) to have taken degree in any, is ground enough for ſome men to raiſe themſelves far above ſuch, as but yeſterday were their full equals; or to ſtand upon terms of compariſon with the beſt. And few there be of their own Coat, that would not willingly yield to them, what thus they challenge as their due, would they ſhew themſelves either able or willing to repay that credit and eſtimation to the common

profeſſion, which like bankrouts or decayed Merchants, they are enforced either to borrow or beg from it as from the publick ſtock. For all of us are glad to ſee our own profeſſion grac't or exalted; the rather, becauſe we hold it not ſafe to have our heights meaſured only by our perſonal ſtature, unleſs withal we take in, the advantage of the ground whereon we ſtand.

2. A ſecond main ſtem of habituated Atheiſm aroſe (as was lately intimated) from this partial deſire in profeſſors, to eſtabliſh the ſoveraignty of thoſe arts or faculties wherein they were beſt ſeen or moſt delighted. And the beſt means for advancing or eſtabliſhing their ſoveraignty, was, to extend the limits of their wonted authority by reducing all or moſt effects to their principles; as great Lawyers ſtrive to bring moſt cauſes to thoſe Courts, wherein their practiſe or authority is greateſt. Another principal vein, ſerving to feed the diſeaſe whereto this partial and intemperate appetite of curious Artiſts miniſtred firſt matter, we may (if we miſtake not) fitly derive from a general aptitude of the human ſoul, to take impreſſion from thoſe objects with which it is moſt familiar; and to judge of others by their correſpondency with theſe. Hence as Sollicitors ſeeking after means conducible to any end, uſually intercept our deſires or intentions of the end it ſelf, for whoſe ſake only the means in reaſon were to be ſought: ſo doth the curious ſpeculation of creatures viſible divert the minds of many from the inviſible Creator unto whom the ſight of theſe by nature not miſleveled by inordinate or unwildy appetites would direct all. And our general facility to believe with ſpeed what we much affect or ſtrongly deſire, brings forth peculiar proneſſes in the profeſſors of ſeveral arts to frame univerſal rules (whether negative or affirmative) from broken and imperfect inductions. Now the power and wiſdom of God being eſpecially manifeſted in the works of creation, in the diſpoſition of things created, and in matters manageable by human wit or conſultation; Satan by his ſophiſtical ſkill to work upon the pride of mans heart, hath erected three main pillars of Atheiſm or Irreligion, as ſo many counter forts to oppugn our belief or acknowledgment of the Divine providence, in the three ſubjects mentioned. Many natural Philoſophers out of a partial deſire to magnifie their own faculty, obſerving none brought forth without a mother, nothing generated, without præ-exiſtent ſeed or matter, forthwith concludes the courſe of things natural which we daily ſee to have been the ſame from everlaſting; that generation had no beginning, that corruption can have no ending. The imperfection of this induction, and the over-reaching inference which ſome in this kind have fram'd from a Maxime moſt true in a ſenſe moſt impertinent; [*Ex nihilo nihil fit*] falls in our way again in the Article of creation. The Aſtronomer likewiſe finding the influence of ſtars by experience to have great force in this inferior world, ſeeks to extend their dominion over human actions or conſultations; as if all matters of State or private life were by their Conventicles or conjunctions authentickly predetermin'd, without poſſibility of repeal. And thus as the Moon eclipſeth the Sun, or lower Planets ſometimes hide the higher, ſo have the *Sun*, the *Moon*, and Hoaſt of Heaven excluded his ſight from approaching unto the *Father of lights*. Or if through them he can diſcern the truth of his exiſtence, or ſee ſome glimpſes of his general attributes: yet the eyes of his mind are ſo dazeled with contemplation of their effects, that as the Sun-beams put on the hue of coloured glaſſes, through which they ſhine: ſo doth

the ſweet diſpoſition of Divine providence appear to him in the ſimilitude of ſtoical fate or ſtar-gazing conjectures. The politician again noting many which profeſs their ſtedfaſt relying upon Gods providence either often to miſs of what they have ſought, or never attaining to that whereto he thinks they ſhould in reaſon, and by example of the whole world aſpire, ſtraight way collects, The world hath no œconomical guide or over-ſeer, but that every man may be his own carver of good hap or fortunes. And ſeeing all things (as he imagineth) revolve by uncertain chance; to appropriate ſome part of blind Fortunes ſtore unto themſelves, to ſuch as have wit to watch their opportunities, will be as eaſie as for a thief to catch a prey in a tumult, or for ſouldiers to rifle unguarded villages, or houſes which no man looks unto. This kind of Atheiſm often participates with the two former. For ſuch events as manifeſt the power of God, the politick Atheiſt uſually aſcribes to Fortune, Fate, or Nature: ſuch as rightly obſerved ſet forth his wiſdom, he reduceth them to the myſteries of his own act. Theſe errors incident to the Aſtronomer and Politician, with the falſe inductions to perſwade them, ſhall by Gods aſſiſtance be rectified in the Article of *divine providence.*

3. Many not overſwayed by affection to any peculiar faculty whereto they were above others engaged, become moſt fools of all by curious prying into others folly. By no other means were *Protagoras*, ***Diagoras*** (and perchance the crue of Epicures) brought, either to deny there was any Divine power at all, or elſe to think it ſo uncertain, as men ſhould not trouble their wits about it, than by contemplating the multitude of errors concerning the Gods or vanity of heathen men amongſt whom they lived; many holding opinions about the Deity ſo divers, that ſome muſt needs be falſe; and the beſt (to an obſervant ſpeculator) but ridiculous. The great diſſention (ſaith *Tully*) amongſt the learned in ſuch importancies, enforceth ſuch as think they have attained to ſome certainty in this point to reel and ſtagger. From the ſame infirmity of Nature many Chriſtians this day living, are flexible to a branch of Atheiſm very dangerous and much laboured by Jeſuitical diſputes, all addreſſed to evince this univerſal negative [*There can be no certainty of private perſwaſions about the truth or true ſenſe of Scriptures*] by repreſenting the variety of ancient hereſies or differences amongſt modern profeſſors. The Jeſuits propenſion to this perſwaſion is but a relick of the above-mentioned Heathen Romans diſpoſition, more apt perchance to be impelled unto abſolute Atheiſm, by how much the multitude of their falſe Gods had been increaſed. For having long ſought (as it were in policy) to win the gods of every Nation they knew unto their faction; and amongſt all, finding none able to ſupport their reeling ſtate, or prevent the working miſchiefs of civil diſcord; they firſt began generally to ſuſpect there were no gods, or all Religion to be vain. But the manifeſtation of the *Son* of God and daily increaſe of true Religion, quickly revived the dead *notion* of Divine powers in theſe Heathens, and enforced them to adhere to their wonted Gods, in hope the *truth* revealed (which was to evil doers very offenſive) might by their help quickly be extinguiſhed. Nor did they want the broken inductions of Antiquaries or Philoſophers to work a prejudice, or diſ-eſteem of Chriſtian faith. The Chriſtians, ſaith * *Celſus*, which adore a perſon comprehended

Tullie lib. I. de natur. Deorum.

* *Poſthæc Celſus opinatur nos qui comprehenſum damnatumque ſupplicio colimus, idem facere quod Getes qui Zamolxim venerantur, & Cilicas qui Mopſum, & Arcananas qui Anphilochum, & Thebanos qui Amphiaram & Lebadienſis qui Trophonium: quos omnes immerito nobiſcum conferri declarabimus, &c* Orig. contr. Celſum. l. 3.

and put to death, do but as the barbarous *Getes* which worſhip *Zamolxis*, or as the *Cilicians* do *Mopſus*, the *Achernanians Amphilochus*, the *Thebanes Amphiaras*, and the *Lebadii Triphonius*. It was to him no doubt, a point of wiſdom, and matter of glory to be ſo well ſeen in forraign Antiquities, as not to believe the new fangled devices of rude and illiterate *Galileans*.

4. Had not Chronologers noted a greater diſtance of time between them, than any one mans age (ſince the Floud at leaſt) could fill up; I ſhould have thought *Rabſakeh* had ſpit *Celſus* out of his mouth. No ſon can be more like to his father, than the ones irreligious induction againſt the ſon of God is to the others Atheiſtical collections for infringing the omnipotency of God the Father. *Obey not Ezechiah* (ſaith *Rabſakeh* to the beſieged Inhabitants of *Jeruſalem*) *when he deceiveth you, ſaying the Lord will deliver us. Hath any of the gods of the nations delivered at all his land out of the hand of the King of Aſſyria? Where are the gods of Hamath and of Arpad? Where are the gods of Sepharvaim, Hevah and Ivah? have they delivered Samaria out of my hand? Who are they among all the gods of the Countries that have delivered their Country out of mine hand, that the Lord ſhould deliver Jeruſalem out of mine hand?* This was a common place ſo plauſible in thoſe times, that the proud *Aſſyrians* took the univerſality of their proſperous ſucceſs, as a ſure note that the true Church, if any there were, was amongſt them; that *Ezechiah* and his ſubjects were but rebellious Schiſmaticks, and their pretended piety but ſtubborn folly or hypocriſie. And *Zenacharib* himſelf when he ſent the ſecond embaſſage to *Ezechiah*, hath no better argument to impeach the Omnipotent power whereon he truſted, than the former induction ſtuft onely with ſome few more examples of freſh memory. Thus ſhall ye ſpeak to *Ezechiah* King of *Judah*, ſaying; *Let not thy God in whom thou trnſteſt deceive thee, ſaying, Jeruſalem ſhall not be delivered into the hand of the King of Aſſyria, behold thou haſt heard what the Kings of Aſſyria have done to all lands by deſtroying them utterly, and ſhalt thou be delivered? Have the gods of the nations delivered them whom my Father hath deſtroyed, as Gozan, and Haran, and Rezeph, and the children of Eden which were in Thelaſſar? Where is the King of Hamath, &c.* In like manner when the old fornicator in the Comedy had abuſed the *notion* of Gods *providence* in diſpoſing of Lots, to fortifie his hopes of good luck in an evil cauſe: not the *Hypotheſis* only, but the *Theſis* it ſelf or general *Maxime*, which *Salomon* had left regiſtred in fitter terms, [*The lot is caſt into the lap, but the diſpoſition thereof is the Lords*] is diſproved by his officious ſlave from the multitude of experiences of men, whoſe confident reliance on their gods had been defeated:

2 Kings 19. 10, 11, 12.

** Quid ſi ſors aliter, quam voles, evenerit.*
Benedice, dis ſum fretus, deos ſuperabimus.

Abode well, and have well, on the Gods I am bold,
They favour ſuch as truſt them, I Ken them of old:
ſaith the Maſter.

Non ego iſtuc verbum emſitim titi vilitio,
Nam omnes mortales Deis ſunt freti: ſed tamen
Vidi ego dis fretos ſæpe multos decipi.

Tuſh that's a ſaw, which with waſte thrums I would not buy,
Not one there is that cannot thus on th' Gods rely,
Yet ſuch I have known full mightily deceiv'd perdy.

**Plautus in Caſina. Act.* 2. *Scen.* 5.

5. This kind of Argument Satan knows to be moſt forcible in all ages for working Atheiſm or Infidelity in ſuch as deteſt nothing more than to be held ſilly or credulous. To this purpoſe in former ages he hath had his falſe wonders to diſcredit all reports of true miracles: and in theſe latter hath wrought many otherwiſe famous for no good qualities, to counterfeit poſſeſſions by unclean ſpirits, that men out of their obſervation of ſuch gulleries, or diſtaſt of thoſe impoſtors perſons, might begin to ſuſpect the Evangelical ſtory of impoſture. To ſome degree or other of like impious reſolutions, doth the natural pride of heart, or ſtrength of inordinate deſires, ſollicit moſt men of better parts or place. Confident wits joyning with curioſity of diving into ſecrets of what kind ſoever, not able to find what they have long ſought, are eaſily drawn to believe it is no where to be found; for who ſhould ſooner find it then they? In this conjunction of the former *propenſion* to over-reach our ſelves in gathering the product of delightful inductions, and of this *jealouſie*, leſt others by Gods graces might excel our natural parts, fall out many fearful eclipſes; which though they utterly obſcure not the whole glory of the Godhead, yet they often bereave us of the illumination of his providence, or influence of graces; ſuſpected by many in heat of emulation and oppoſition, to be but fancies. As what man almoſt is there that hath overtopped others by height of place, which will acknowledge any of his inferiors (though never liable to the leaſt ſuſpicion of ſuch cunning tricks, as he may be daily taken with, and will not ſtick to maintain as lawful) to be more ſincere than himſelf; not that he alwayes miſtruſts other mens preſent proteſtations, or profeſſed reſolutions for tendring the ſafety of their conſciences, to be but faigned; but theſe he imagines would alter with change of place; from whoſe height every man would learn (as he hath done) either to diſcern wonted ſtrictneſs to be but unexperienced ſcrupuloſity, or in charity to eſteem ſuch blemiſhes as appear great in little ones, to be but little in great ones. And it may be, curious obſervance of bad patterns ſet by others, firſt emboldened him to adventure upon like courſes. Thus finally from experience of their own, and inſpection of others liberty in matters diſputable, or rather in unpartial judgments, damnable: the worldly minded labour to make up this compleat induction; That ſuch ſtrictneſs or ſincerity of life as ſome would profeſs, is, in theſe latter dayes but an affected fancy, a ſhadow or picture taken from the ancient, whereunto no ſubſtance can now be found proportionable. To ſuſpect antiquity of fabuloſity or hypocriſie, is a degree of Atheiſm whereunto ordinary pride or emulation, (unleſs joyned with curioſity) can hardly impell them, becauſe few enter compariſon with the dead without as great danger of diſgrace for the attempt, as can befall them by yielding ſuperiority to the living, with whom they are, or can be compared for Chriſtian integrity or ſincerity. But could the oppoſition be as direct in the one caſe, as in the other; could jealouſie, leſt former Saints might go before them, as much exaſperate their proud thoughts, as preferment of their preſent corrivals doth; they would be more ready to give Gods ſpirit the lye, than to take the foyl: rather ſhould divine goodneſs it ſelf be denied, than any be acknowledged ſimply better than themſelves. Take them as they be, they differ not much from *Epicurus* his temper, who thought the Gods were not of a gracious and benign nature, becauſe men in his opinion, were ſuch from imbecillity only; more ſottiſh was his collection to prove the gods had human

bodies, becauſe he never had ſeen a reaſonable or intelligent mind but in ſuch bodies. For, as *Tully* well replyes, he ſhould by the ſame reaſon have denied them to have either body, ſoul, or being, in as much as they had been unto him alwayes inviſible. Thus to conclude, whilſt men of proud minds and unſincere are ſo backward to believe any better things by others then they know by themſelves, or their conſorts, they prove themſelves to be neither wiſer nor honeſter than he that ſaid in his heart, *There is no God.* Though *Nabals* be not their proper names, yet *fooliſhneſs* is with them: and if all be as they are, *all are corrupt*, *all are abominable*, *all without underſtanding*, *without God*, *whoſe people they eat up as a man would eat bread*, *making a mock of the poor becauſe the Lord is his truſt.* Conſonant to this ſecret language of theſe polypragmatical ambitious politick hearts, were the collections, which their couſin *Nabal* uttered with his lips. Having known perhaps ſome fugitive ſervants in his time, he can hardly perſwade himſelf that *Davids* meſſengers were any better than vagrant perſons, worthy to be laid faſt by the heels for demanding a deed of charity on their maſters behalf at his hands. Or admitting they be his true ſervants, why what is *David?* or who is the ſon of *Iſhai?* what excellency is either in father or ſon? *Would either of them take their bread, their water and fleſh, which they had killed for their ſheerers, and ſend it to him by men whom they know not whence they were?* In every covetous, churliſh, proud and ambitious mind, we may to this day obſerve the like promptneſs to ſuſpect *truth* of *falſehood*, to put *good* for *evil*, and *evil* for *good*, to malign or vilifie the beſt graces of God beſtowed upon his ſervants, rather than their ſubſtance ſhould be diminiſhed by paying them tribute; or their reputation or worth diſparaged by ſuffering others to render them ſuch reſpect as is due to Gods faithful meſſengers. And if by theſe devices they did not hope to ſet themſelves without the reach of their check, whoſe right eſteem ſtanding in direct oppoſition to them, would breed their reproach; the Godhead it ſelf, the rule of goodneſs, ſhould at the next puſh be impugn'd. But this is an accurſed plant, which though it never grow to ſuch height as to deny there is a God, yet may it be much more deadly than the former branches of pertinacious diſputative Atheiſm. What it wants of them in full height or growth is more then fully contained in the deadlineſs of the root. The other often ſprings from curioſity of fancy or artificial tricks of wit, or ſuperfluity of brain, whereas nothing but ſatanized affection deeply rooted in the heart could afford ſuch ſtore of malignant nutriment as this helliſh ſlip muſt be fed with. Nor do Satan and his Angels deny there is a God, whoſe power they often experience to be much greater than their own. But that he is better then they are, or would be, had they his power; that he is more holy, true and juſt, or more favourable to mankind, than they would have prov'd, might they have gotten that place in heaven which they ſought for, is a compariſon which they can in no way digeſt. The chief art they exerciſe to miſlead man from the wayes of truth and life, is to impeach God of falſhood, as if he would lye for his advantage as they do, without any ſuch neceſſity as they have, or finally to caſt ſuch ſuſpitious aſperſions upon his laws and promiſes, as their incarnate inſtruments do upon the lives and reſolutions of his Saints among whom they live. The virulent cenſures which theſe ſlaves of corruption vomit out, give us the true taſte of their Maſters loathſom rancor againſt God.

1 Sam. 25. 10.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of malignant Atheiſm. Of the original of enmity unto Godlineſs. That the exceſs of this ſin doth bear witneſs to the truth which it oppugns.

1. AS there is no paſſion for the preſent more impetuous than the burning fits of incontinency: no corruption that can work ſuch ſtrange ſuffuſions in the eye of reaſon as the ſmoaking of fleſhly luſt: ſo is there no permanent diſpoſition of body or ſoul ſo apt to quench or poyſon all natural *notions* of God, or religion, as diſſolute intemperancy once rooted by long cuſtome. Incontinency, as the * Philoſopher obſerves, draws us to a blindfold choiſe of particulars, whoſe univerſals we condemn and reject; but intemperance corrupts the very root or firſt principles whence all *touch* or conſcience of good or evil ſprings. If temperance according to the inſcription which it bears in Greek, be the nurſing mother of moral prudence, or ſafe gardian of the mind and conſcience; what other brood can be expected from diſſolute intemperance, but that folly of heart which ſo diſordereth all our thoughts and actions as if there were no God to over-ſee them. Civil wiſdom in *Platoes* judgment may ſooner entomb, than enſhrine her ſelf in bodies full ſtuft twice every day, unaccuſtomed to lye without a bed-fellow by night: and we Chriſtians know that *vigilance* and *abſtinence* are as two Uſhers which bring our prayers unto Gods preſence. His ſpirit delights to dwell in breſts thus inwardly cleanſed by abſtinence and outwardly guarded with ſobriety and watchfulneſs. But drunkenneſs and ſurfetting (as a || Father ſpeaks) drives him out of the human ſoul, as ſmoak doth Bees out of their hives; howbeit that which goes into the mouth, doth not ſo much offend him as that which comes out of the heart, as adulterous or unclean thoughts. Yea, the heart may be undefiled with luſt, and yet unqualified either for enterteining Gods ſpirit ſpeaking to us, or for offering up incenſe unto him. That Gods teſtimony of himſelf, *I am the Lord thy God which brought thee out of the land of Egypt*, might be imprinted in the *Iſraelites* ſenſes, they are commanded not to come at their wives, when they came to hear it. And there muſt be a ſeparation for a time between them whom God hath joyned and made one body, that they may by fervency of abſtinent prayers, be united to him in ſpirit. Strange then it is not, nor can it ſo ſeem, that ſocial luſt ſhould have ſuch peculiar antipathy with that holineſs, which makes us capable of Gods preſence, without which we are but Atheiſts, when as matrimonial chaſtity conſorts no better, than hath been ſaid with the purity of Angelical life; when as the children of the reſurrection (as our Saviour tells us) ſhall no more brook the marriage bed. Now as they which in that other world injoy the ſight of God, can have no mind of ſuch bodily pleaſures as may be lawful to mortality: ſo neither will the intemperate appetite of unlawful luſt ſuffer mortality to ſee God in his *Word*, his *threats*, or *promiſes*. *This is the will of God even our ſanctification, that we ſhould abſtain from fornication, that every one ſhould know how to poſſeſs his veſſel in holineſs and honour. Not in the luſt of concupiſcence, as do the Gentiles which know not God.* Ignorance of God brought forth theſe luſts of concupiſcence in the Heathen: and the like luſts as greedily affected by Chriſtians, breed not ignorance only, but a denial of God, or of that holineſs *which he is*, without whoſe *ſymbole* no man ſhall ever ſee him.

* *Ariſtotle in Ethic.*

|| *Baſil.*

Exod. 19. 15.

1 Cor. 7. 5.

1 Theſ. 4. 2, 3, 4

2. To have wrought the wiſe King to ſuch groſs Idolatry as he polluted his ſoul withall, by any other means then by tempting love of ſtrange women, or other conſorts of carnal pleaſures, had been perchance a matter impoſſible to the great tempter himſelf. To have allured him in that age unto Atheiſm, had been bootleſs, when as moſt of the gods which he worſhipped, were held as *countenancers* or abetters of luxury, ryot, and intemperance. But now deſtitute of theſe pretended indulgences, or diſpenſations from ſuppoſed divine powers, by whoſe authority the old world was eaſily enticed to impurity; *he* labours to harden latter ages in this ſin, (whereto moſt of us are naturally as prone as were our Fore-fathers) by perſwading them there is no true God, that will undoubtedly call them unto judgment for giving the rains to headſtrong luſt. Hardly can Atheiſm be ſo abſolute in any, as utterly to free them from all contradiction or check of conſcience whiles they wallow in uncleanneſs, but ſuch contradictions, compared with the ſtrength of oppoſit deſires, ſeem to argue rather light ſurmiſes or jealouſies, then any firm belief (ſo much as moral or natural) that there is a God, or righteous judge eternal. To hold it more probable, there is ſuch a God or Judge, then none, is the loweſt degree imaginable of *belief*, if not rather the one extremity or *ultimum non eſſe* of infidelity or unbelief. But this ſtrong bent of luſt where it raigns, keeps mens conjectures of Divine providence, or final judgment, below this pitch. As men of higheſt place or hautieſt ſpirits, ſo deſires of greateſt ſtrength are alwayes moſt impatient of croſs or oppoſition. Againſt them, conſcience cannot mutter, but ſhall be as quickly put to ſilence, as a preciſe Preacher that will take upon him to reform the diſorders of a diſſolute Court ||. For whiles the delight or ſolace which men take in ſenſual pleaſures, exceeds (without compariſon) all ſenſe or feeling of any ſpiritual joy: they cannot but wiſh to exchange their remote hopes of the one, for quiet fruition of the other, and once poſſeſſed with eager deſires *there might be no King in Iſrael*, but that every man, without any fear of after reckonings might do what ſeemed good in his own eyes: their often longing to have it ſo, eaſily impells them to think it is ſo; for *miſeri facile credunt, quæ volunt:* and this conceipt once entertained ſets looſe the ſenſual appetite to run its courſe without a curb: ſo doth preſumption of uncontroleable liberty ſtill whet the taſte or ſenſe of wonted pleaſures which have been formerly abated by reſtraint. Laſtly, from experience of this change and manifeſt improvement of accuſtomed delights, neceſſarily ariſeth a deteſtation or loathing of all ſcrupuloſity, as chief enemy to their greateſt good. Thus they fall from one miſchief to another, until their conſciences become *cauterized* with the flames of luſt, and being paſt all feeling, *they give themſelves over unto laſciviouſneſs, to work all uncleanneſs with greedineſs.*

|| *Dubium non eſt quia tanto quiſque minus dolet, quod deſint æterna; quanto magis gaudet quod adſint temporalia.* Greg. in cap. 31. Job. cap. 2.

Epheſ. 4. 18, 19.

3. All diſſolute behaviour is dangerous, and ſerves as fewel to this infernal fire, which will excruciate that ſoul after death, whoſe conſcience it *ſears* in this life: but that is much worſe which is matched with haughty vaſtneſs of mind, for the moſt part transfuſed from gluttoniſh appetite, or the Epicurean diſpoſition. As Boars and Bulls, or other Creatures by nature or breeding tame, only through *hugeneſs* of body or fulneſs of plight, grow often wild, fierce, or *mankene:* ſo men from a like diſpoſition of body or indulgence to brutiſh appetites, come to a gyantly temper of mind, ready to proclaim war againſt heaven and heavenly powers. *What ſhall we think the Gyants were*

ſaith

Tom. I.

* *Lib.* 1. *Saturnæ cap.* 20.

(ſaith * *Macrobius*,) *but a wicked generation of men which denied the gods, who for this reaſon were thought to have attempted their depoſition from their heavenly thrones.* He was not pacified (ſaith a better Writer) towards the *old Gyants, who fell away in the ſtrength of their fooliſhneſs.* Hence the ſame Author prayes joyntly againſt theſe *ſiſter ſins* and twins of hell; *O Lord Father and God of my life, leave me not in their imagination, neither give me a proud look, but turn away from thy ſervant a Gyantly mind. Take from me vain hope and concupiſcence, and retain him in obedience that deſireth continually to ſerve thee. Let not the greedineſs of the belly, nor luſt of the fleſh hold me, and give not me thy ſervant over to an impudent or gyantly mind* ||. This he prayes againſt, was the very temper of the *Cyclops*, as *Homer* and *Euripides* have pictured them. After *Ulyſſes* and his mates had beſought the *Gyant* to be good unto them for *Jupiters* ſake, the ſuppoſed protector of the helpleſs ſtranger; He anſwered him in this or like language.

Ecclus. 16.7.

||Ecclus. 23. v. 4, 5, 6.

Hom.Odiſſ.lib. 9. *p.*261, 262.

Ὡς ἐφάμην· ὁ δὲ μ᾽ αὖτις ἀμείβετο νηλέϊ θυμῷ,
Νήπιος εἶς ὦ ξεῖν, ἢ τηλόθεν εἰλήλυθας, &c.

My petty gueſt a fool thou art,
or ſure thou com'ſt from far,
Thou hop'ſt with names of heavenly Gods
the Cyclops *ſtout to ſcare:*
Unto the Gods we owe no fear,
we no obſervance ſhow,
Our ſelves to be as good as they,
or better, well we know.
For Goat-nurſt Jove, *his love or hate,*
I waigh it not a whit,
Nor thee nor thine for him I'le ſpare,
but as I think it fit.

His picture as *Euripides* hath taken it, is more *Gyantly* vaſt. For he paints him proclaiming his belly to be the only or greateſt God, unto whoſe ſacrifice the fruits and increaſe of the earth are due by title ſo ſoveraign, as neither heaven or earth could withdraw or detein them. Speeches altogether as unſavoury will the *belly-ſervers* of our time belch out, though not directly againſt God (becauſe they live not in an Anarchy deſtitute of human laws as the *Cyclops* did) yet againſt the meſſengers of his ſacred will revealed for their ſalvation, whiles we dehort them from theſe ſhameful courſes wherein they glory to their deſtruction. And albeit they uſe no ſuch expreſs form of liturgy, as did the *Cyclops* while they ſacrifice to their bellies: yet St. *Pauls* teſtimony is expreſs, *that their belly is their God.* And of the two Prieſts or grand ſacrificers to this domeſtick Idol; the dry Glutton (methinks) reſembles the Land Serpent, as his brother the beaſtly Drunkard doth the Water-ſnake. This latter is more unſightly and ugly to the eye; the former more noyſom and venomous to religious ſociety. His enmity againſt the Womans ſeed more deadly, but leſs avoidable, becauſe the working of his poyſon is leſs offenſive and more ſecret.

Phil. 3.19.

4. Simple Atheiſm conſiſts in an equilibration of the mind, brought as it were ſo to hang in its own light, as it cannot ſee whether way to encline, but hovers in the middle with *Diagoras, De Diis non habeo quid dicam, &c. Concerning the Gods I have nothing to ſay for them, or againſt them.* Howbeit, to men thus minded it ſeemes the ſafeſt courſe *lite pendente*, to ſacrifice only to their own deſires; and to hold Gods part by ſequeſtration. The curious or diſputing Atheiſt ſtrives to draw him-

ſelf down a little below this level, by matching the attractions of Divine goodneſs with the motions of his own imaginations. But the malignancy of this Atheiſm which ariſeth from combination of the late mentioned diſtempers, may grow ſo great, as to turn the *notions* of good and evil topſie turvy: tranſpoſing theſe inclinations which nature hath ſet on heaven and heavenly things, towards hell. As all inordinate affections, more or leſs, abate or counterſway our propenſions unto goodneſs; ſo the exceſs of ſuch as are moſt malignant, bring the ſoul to an utter diſtaſte or loathing of whatſoever is truly good, and to delight in doing miſchief. Now the very procurers or advancers of miſchief much affected, ſhall be deified with rites and titles due to God alone, as it were in factious oppoſition to the holy Spirit. The ſame unwildy or vaſt deſires of ſenſual pleaſures or contentments, which diſenables men to diſtinguiſh *that* which is truly good, from that which ſeemeth beſt to their diſtempers, will with the ſame facility draw them blindfold to a like ſiniſter or prepoſterous choice of their Patrons. As the truly godly, worſhip the true God, becauſe his greatneſs is ſo good to all; ſo unto theſe wicked or malignant Imps, *That* ſhall be Lord, *That* ſhall be God, whatſoever it be which they eſteem their greateſt good, or under whoſe protection they may quietly poſſeſs what they already enjoy. We ſee it too often experienced, that ſtubborn deſires of lucre, honour, luſt, or revenge, draw men deſtitute of other means for accompliſhing their hopes, unto expreſs and wilfull compacts with Devils, or performances of ſacrifices to infernal powers. The obſervant Poet makes *Juno* ſpeak, as great Perſonages in like remedileſs croſſes, uſually reſolve:

Flectere ſi nequeo ſuperos, Acheronta movebo. Virgil.

nor doth the language of that other, ought vary from the common practiſe of forlorn hopes, ſuggeſted by vaſt deſires:

——— *Vos mihi manes* Idem.
Eſte boni, quoniam ſuperis averſa voluntas.

If theſe and the like prayers or wiſhes of heathen ſupplicants found grateful ſucceſs, their ſecond edition in plain Engliſh was thus:

What heavens have marr'd, whiles Hell amends,
Fiends go for Gods, and Gods for Fiends.

5. With many men otherwiſe of ſober diſpoſition, only too much wedded to the world, or to their own wills, a *Sorcerers* charm will be as acceptable, as a godly prayer, ſo the event enſuing give preſent content or ſatisfaction to their deſires. Yet many Atheiſts (as * *Vaſques* counts it a point of ſpecial obſervation) upon wicked practiſes, ſometimes recoyl, and come to believe there is a God or guide of nature, by evident experience of magick feats, far ſurpaſſing the power of man, or creatures viſible.

* *Vaſquez in primam partem, queſt.* 2. *artic.* 3. *diſp.* 20. *cap.*4. *num.* 10.

6. It ſeems to me an object worthy deeper ſpeculation of the obſervant, that albeit ſome Atheiſts may ſo far *abortivate*, or *dead* the ſeeds of religion ſowen in their ſouls, as that they ſhall never bring forth any expreſs thought, or live apprehenſion of their Creator; yet can they not utterly evacuate nature of their *remainder*. Either in their ſpeeches, actions, or reſolutions, they ſtill bewray ſome corrupt relicks of celeſtial infuſions. And as wine and ſtrong waters, which through ill keeping, have loſt their native force and proper reliſh, become moſt loathſom and unpleaſant; ſo the inbred *notions* of *God* and *godlineſs* after they be themſelvs tainted, do ſublimate the corruptions of nature (with which

they mingle) into a kind of rancor more than naturally irreligious, ſuch as the *Pſalmiſt* calls *the poyſon of Aſps.* In all the contentious quarrels uſually pickt by diſſolute and godleſs perſons againſt men of religious and unſpotted life, there appears a root of bitterneſs ſupernatural or diabolical. The piety that ſhines in the one, the other holds in execration, and perſecuteth with ſuch a kind of zealous hate, as true piety doth execrable villanies. If they be men of better place which be thus badly minded, they exact reſpect and duty in ſuch ſtrains of paſſion, as if it were ſacriledge to deny it them; albeit in other caſes nothing to them is ſacred, or worthy of religious eſteem. The threats likewiſe of revenge breath'd out by them in their braver humors, are uſually beſprinkled with ſome *flowing notions* of a Divine Majeſty, whereof in this humour only they are apprehenſive; becauſe the perſonal offence committed againſt their dignities, cannot ſeem ſo great as they deſire to make them, without deriving Gods right or ſoveraignty upon themſelves, or making him ſharer in their wrongs.

7. Of ſome affinity, or rather of the ſelf ſame Progeny with this obſervation, is that ſweet diſcourſe of St. *Auſtin*, wherein he proves the deſire of peace to be ſo deeply implanted in every mans ſoul, as ſpirits moſt turbulent and unquiet can never utterly ſhake it of, but rather of neceſſity (though prepoſterouſly) follow it, even in ſuch ſeditious and tumultuous broyls as wilfully and cauſleſly they have kindled. * *What Kite is there ſo much addicted to ſolitude in ſoaring after his prey, which hath not his mate, whom he helps in hatching and cheriſhing their common brood, which preſerves not the laws of domeſtick ſociety with his female conſort, with as great peace as he can? How much more is man led by the laws of nature to maintain peace as far as in him lyeth with all men: when as even wicked and naughty men, will fight for the welfare of them and theirs: and would (if it were poſſible) that all men and all things elſe might do them ſervice, unleſs they conſpire together for their peace, either through love or fear? Thus doth pride, though prepoſterouſly, imitate God, it hateth equality with all fellow creatures under God, but ſeeks to exerciſe dominion over them in Gods ſtead. So then it hates that juſt peace which is of God, and loves its own unrighteous peace, but not to love ſome one kind of peace or other it cannot chooſe. For no vice is ſo contrary to nature, as to raze out all print of natures laws. Thoſe* || *(as the ſame Father adds) which diſturb the peace wherein they live, do not ſimply hate peace, but rather covet to change it at their pleaſure. It is not their will then to have no peace, but to have ſuch peace as they will.* In like manner, the *Fool* of *Fools* (the irreligious *Politician*) when he wiſheth in his heart there might be no God, deſires himſelf might be as God. The obſervances which he exacts of his inferiors are many times ſuch, as natural reaſon not infatuated may eaſily diſcover to belong unto a greater power then he is capable of, whoſe authority he abuſeth as ungracious ſervants do their gracious Lords and Maſters.

*Quis milvus quantumlibet ſolitarius rapinis non circumvolat: non conjugium copulat, nidum congerit, ova confovet, pullos alit, & quaſi cum ſua matrefamiliâs ſocietatem domeſticam, quanta poteſt pace conſervat, &c. *Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib.* 19. *cap.* 12. Omnis homo etiam belligerando pacem requirit, nemo autem bellum pacificando. Nam & illi qui pacem in qua ſunt perturbare volunt: non pacem oderunt, ſed eam pro arbitrio ſuo cupiunt commutari. Non ergo ut ſit pax nolunt, ſed ut ea ſit, quam nolunt. *Aug. ibidem.*

CHAP. VIII.

Means for preventing infection of Atheiſm or Irreligion. In what temper or conſtitution of mind, the ingraffed notion *of* God *and* goodneſs *doth beſt proſper. That* affliction *gives* underſtanding *in matters ſacred, with the reaſons why it doth ſo.*

1. THE chief cauſes of Atheiſm being diſcovered, the means to prevent it cannot be difficult, and theſe conſiſt in this triple care: *Firſt,* To preſerve the heart or fountain pure and clean from all mixture of earth or dregs of luſt, in which the image of God either cannot be imprinted, or will quickly be defaced. *Secondly,* To keep it calm and free from agitation of boyſterous or tumultuous paſſions, whereby the repreſentation of impreſſions acquired, or naturally inherent, are alwayes hindred. *Thirdly,* To avoid the intangling love of wrangling arts, whoſe impertinent curious diſquiſitions, woven for the moſt part, with obſcured perplexed terms, are as a *cataract* upon the eye of reaſon, intercepting its rayes from piercing into the heart; *that,* being a deep into whoſe bottom ordinary ſights without theſe helps, as well for right propoſal or repreſentation of the object, as for the right qualification of the faculty, cannot dive. To theſe the Reader may add the qualities before required for the right growth of Faith *. Whatſoever hindreth it, muſt needs hinder all belief of the true God: and whatſoever is available for furthering it, muſt needs be alike available for raiſing belief of Gods *exiſtence,* his goodneſs, or other attributes. But of that purity of heart, wherein the right and perfect repreſentation of the Divine nature is only ſeen, we are to ſpeak more particularly in the laſt part of this Treatiſe.

* Juſtifying faith. Section the laſt.

2. Beſides avoidance of theſe general incumbrances, a peculiar diſpoſition or temper there is, wherein the common *notion* of the Deity or Divine power gives a more ſenſible *Criſis* of its inherence in our ſoul. The nature of which diſpoſition cannot better be expreſſed, than by a temper contrary to the *gyantly* vaſtneſs of mind, or unrelenting ſtubbornneſs of heart. It is well obſerved by the ‖ *Examiner of wits,* that he which is by nature unapprehenſive of danger, it neerer allied unto *fool-hardineſs* than to *fortitude*; ſeeing the truly valourous, will in many caſes be afraid, though not affrighted out of their wits, or farther dejected than occaſions require. Howbeit the valour it ſelf ſo much magnified amongſt the Heathen, or with the world to this day, is no fit conſort for Chriſtian humility, rather to be reckoned amongſt the *mighty* things which God hath purpoſed to confound, than with the *weak* which he hath choſen to *confound them.* The true reaſon why it was ſo much extoll'd above other vertues, was not (the great † Philoſopher being judge) becauſe it was by nature better, or did internally more beautifie the parties minds wherein it reſted, but becauſe it did much benefit others. The diſpoſition which now we ſeek, is ſomewhat lower, more apprehenſive of death, of danger, or other human infirmities: apter to be ſtricken with fear of conſciouſneſs of internal evils, than to be driven upon imminent perils by popular Fame. To the framing of this middle temper between *elation* of mind and *timorous* dejection, was that Counſel of *Cyprian* directed, *Ut cognoſcere Deum poſſis, te ante cognoſce.* Nothing is farther from us (ſaith a learned Writer) than we are from our ſelves, and naughty men (as *Seneca* ſaith) are

‖ *Huartes* in his tryal of Wits.

† *Ariſtotle* in his *Problemes.*

2 Chron. c.6. v.37, 38.

every where, beſides *with themſelves*; yet the farther from our ſelves we are, the farther we are from our God. Therefore ſaith God by the Prophet *Eſay*; *Hear you that are afar off.* And in the language of *Salomon* in his pureſt thoughts, *to turn to our own hearts*, and *to turn to the Lord with our hearts*, are of equivalent ſignification. Now to know our ſelves (as *Tully* obſerves) binds us, as well to a modeſt eſteem of our own *worth*, or (to ſpeak more Chriſtian-like) of our *place* amongſt Gods creatures, as to a notice of our infirmities. Too much dejection (as S. *Cyprian* concludes) diſpoſeth to Idolatry, as Ingenuous fear doth to the knowledge of the true God. Howbeit of ſuch devotion, as the Heathens had, fear (it ſeems) was the mother: hence (perhaps) were they ſo obſervant, firſt to offer placatory ſacrifices to ſuch Gods as might do them harm, and afterward propitiatory ſacrifices to thoſe of whom they expected good. *Obſervabant Antiqui in ſacrificiis, ut antè adverſos placarent, & poſtea propitios invocarent* ||. Thus much, if beſt *Grammarians* are to be believed, is curiouſly characterized unto us by the Roman Poet, who (as this late Writer complains) was much better ſeen in Heathen rites, than Chriſtian Divines are in the myſteries of Sacrifices offered unto the true God. For inſtance to our preſent purpoſe, when *Æneas* and his followers had reſolved to offer ſacrifice for a fair Wind and merry paſſage towards *Candie*, they offer firſt to *Neptune*, then to *Apollo*; to the ſtormy winter, before the ſweet ſpring Winds:

|| *Gyraldus Syntag.* 17.

Virg. Æneid. lib. 3.

Ergo agite, & divum ducunt quâ juſſa, ſequamur:
Placemus ventos, & Gnoſia regna petamus.
Nec longo diſtant curſu (modò Jupiter adſit)
Tertia lux claſſem Cretæis ſiſtet in oris.
Sic fatus, meritos aris mactavit honores,
Taurum Neptuno, taurum tibi pulcher Apollo,
Nigram Hyemi pecudem, Zephyris felicibus albam.

Again, when *Dido* wooed the Gods with Sacrifices to further her intended marriage with *Æneas*: though *Juno* were the firſt in her intention and eſteem, as being finally to *bleſs* the Match; yet ſhe begins with *Ceres* whom ſhe feared would be moſt averſe as deteſting all marriage for the ſtealth of her daughter, married againſt her will; and in the next place with *Apollo*, who never had wife himſelf; and therefore bore no great affection unto marriage.

Virg. Æneid. lib. 4.

Principio delubra adeunt, pacemque per aras
Exquirunt: mactant lectas de more bidentes
Frugiferæ Cereri, Phœboque, patrique Lyæo:
Junoni ante omnes, cui vincla jugalia curæ.

The ſum of theſe, and like inſtances, is, That *fear* was the beginning of ſuch wiſdom, as the Heathens had concerning divine powers. Nor *Ignorance*, but *Fear* was the Mother of their devotion.

3. There is no ſinew of carnal ſtrength, but ſecretly lifts up the *heart*, and ſometimes the hand and voice, againſt the God of our ſtrength and health. Might *Caligula* whenſoever it thundred, have had the opportunity of *ſcouting* into a place, as well fenc't by nature as the *Cyclops* den, he would have thought as little, or lightly, as the vaſt *Gyant* did of the great *God*, whom he never thought of but with fear; whom he never feared, ſave when he ſpake to him in this terrible language, which yet would have ſtricken ſmall terror through thick rocks, into ſuch a brawny heart, as the anatomy of the *Cyclops* repreſenteth, who thought ſo much of the noiſe as came to his ears, might eaſily be counter-

Vide Euripid. Cyclops.

blaſted with the like within. Minds altogether as gyantly, and vaſt, are often lodged in bodies not half ſo huge. What is wanting to the ſupportance of ſuch ſecurity in perſonal ſtrength and greatneſs, is made up by multitude of conſorts; As imagine a garriſon of good fellows, ſo qualified, as *Syracides* prayed he never might be, ſhould meet in a nook or ſconce, as well guarded againſt ſtorm and tempeſt, and as well ſtored with victuals as was the *Cyclops* cave; what other *note* might be expected whiles good liquor laſted, but *let the Welkin roar.* The beſt vent we can give to this natural pride that makes us thus prone to blaſphemy, would be to make our infirmities the chief matter of our glory or boaſting.

4. *As the fear of God is the beginning of wiſdom*, ſo the beginning of this fear, is from a temper apprehenſive of terrors repreſented in his creatures. *Primus in orbe Deos fecit timor*, was a ſpeech uttered by an audacious Hair brain in a furious paſſion; no marvel if it did overlaſh. The preſent advice of the Oracle did contradict his fool-hardy deſire of war, and to perſwade his deſperate companions the ominous ſigns related, were but pretended by the Prophet; He calls the original of Religion in queſtion, as if Divine powers had no true ſubſiſtence, but were repreſented only by glimmering *fear*, or *faint heartedneſs.* And faint-hearted he counted all, that were not ſo furious as himſelf. But unto this ſuſpition, ingenuous *fear* had not been lyable, unleſs common experience had taught him, or the Poet which painted him in this humour, that men in perplexities, unexpected troubles, or fears, (in human cenſure) remedileſs, are uſually moſt mindful of *God.* Extremities, indeed cauſe the natural *notions*, which are ingraffed in our hearts to work: they imprint not the opinion or perſwaſion of Religion. But it is a fallacy too * familiar unto ſober thoughts, even in their accurate diſquiſitions of natures ſecrets, to eſteem *that* as the total cauſe, or firſt producer, which ſets nature only a working, or doth but cheriſh or manifeſt effects truly pre-exiſtent, though latent. Perchance the letting out of a little hot blood, or ſome other more grievous print of divine puniſhment, would have reſtored the Bedlem to his right mind, ſo as others might have taken out that leſſon from him, which *Plinie* the yonger did from his ſick friend, not much unlike to that of our Apoſtle; *When I am weak, then am I ſtrong.* || *The languiſhment of a certain friend* (ſaith this Author) *hath taught me of late, that we are beſt men when we are ſickly; what ſick man is tempted with avarice or luſt? he is not ſubject to love, or greedy of honour, wealth he contemns, how little ſoever he hath, it ſufficeth him, being ſhortly to leave it. Then he remembers there be Gods, that he himſelf is but a man; he envies no man, he admires no man, he deſpiſeth no man; malignant ſpeeches neither win his attention, nor pleaſe his inclination; his imagination runs on baths or fountains: This is the chief of his care, the prime of his deſires, if it pleaſe God he may recover his former health and plight, he purpoſeth an harmleſs and an happy life. What Philoſophers labour to teach us in many words,*

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* See the fifth Section of this Book, the laſt Chapter.

|| Nuper me cujuſdam amici languor admonuit, optimos eſſe nos dum infirmi ſumus. Quem enim infirmum, aut avaritia aut libido ſolicitat? non amoribus ſervit, non appetit, honores, opes negligit, & quantulumcunque ut relicturus, ſatis habet tunc Deos: tunc hominem eſſe ſe meminit invidet nemini, neminem miratur, neminem deſpicit, ac ne ſermonibus quidem malignis aut attendit, aut alitur, balnea imaginatur & fontes: Hæc ſumma curarum, ſumma votorum, molemque in poſterum & pinguem ſi contingat evadere, hoc eſt, innoxiam beatamque deſtinat vitam. Poſſum ergo quod pluribus verbis, pluribus etiam voluminibus Philoſophi docere conantur, ipſe breviter tibi mihique præcipere, ut tales eſſe ſani perſeveremus, quales nos futuros profitemur infirmi. *Plin. Epiſtola* 26. *ad Maximum. lib.* 7.

yea in many volumes, I can comprehend in this ſhort precept; *Let us perſevere ſuch in health, as we promiſe to be in our ſickneſs.* That this Heathen whiles thus well minded otherwiſe, ſhould be ſo mindful of his *God*, is a very pregnant proof from the effect, that the natural ingraffed *notions* of the *Deity* proportionably increaſe or wane with the *notions* of moral good or evil. The cauſe hereof is more apparant, from that eſſential link or combination, which is between the conceipt of vice and vertue, and the conceipt of a Judgment after this life, wherein different eſtates ſhall be awarded to the vertuous and to the vitious; hence the true apprehenſion of the one naturally draws out an undoubted apprehenſion of the other, unleſs the underſtanding be unattentive or perverted. For that any thing ſhould be ſo ſimply good, as a man might not upon ſundry reſpects abjure the practiſe of it; or ought ſo abſolutely *evil*, as upon no terms it might be embraced, unleſs we grant the ſoul to be immortal and capable of miſery and happineſs in another world, is an imagination unfitting the capacity of brutiſh or meer ſenſitive creatures, as ſhall be ſhewed by Gods aſſiſtance in the Article of final Judgment.

5. That ſickneſs and other croſſes or calamities are beſt teachers of ſuch good leſſons, as *Plinies* forementioned friend had learned from them; *Elihu* long before him had obſerved: whoſe obſervation includes thus much withall, That ſuch as will not be taught by theſe inſtructions, are condemned for *trewants* and *non-proficients* in the ſchool of Nature, Vertue, or Religion, that is, for *Hypocrites* and men unſound at the heart. For if the root or ſeed of moral goodneſs remain ſound, the Maxim holds alwayes true, [*maturant aſpera mentem*] Adverſity is like an harveſt Sun, it ripeneth the mind to bring forth fruits of repentance. *He withdraweth not his eyes from the righteous; but with Kings are they on the throne, yea he doth eſtabliſh them for ever, and they are exalted. And if they be bound in fetters, and be holden in cords of affliction, then he ſheweth them their work, and their tranſgreſſions, that they have exceeded. He openeth alſo their ear to diſcipline, and commandeth that they return from iniquity. If they obey and ſerve him, they ſhall ſpend their dayes in proſperity, and their years in pleaſures. But if they obey not, they ſhall periſh by the ſword, and they ſhall dye without knowledge: but the Hypocrites in heart heap up wrath; they cry not when he bindeth them* *. The truth as well of *Plinies*, as of *Elihues* obſervation is preſuppoſed by moſt of Gods Prophets, with whom it is uſual to upbraid his people with brutiſh ſtupidity and hardneſs of heart; to brand them with the note of ungracious children, for not returning unto the Lord in their diſtreſs: as if to continue in wonted ſins or riotous courſes, after ſuch ſenſible and real proclamations to deſiſt, were open rebellion againſt God. Senſleſneſs of pains in extream agonies, doth not more certainly prognoſticate death of body, or decay of bodily life and ſpirits, than impenitency in affliction doth a deſperate eſtate of ſoul. *For the people turneth not unto him that ſmiteth them, neither do they ſeek the Lord of Hoſts. Therefore the Lord will cut off from Iſrael head and tail, branch and ruſh in one day* ||. *And in that day did the Lord God of Hoſts call to weeping, and to mourning, and to baldneſs, and to girding with ſackcloth. And behold joy, and gladneſs, ſlaying oxen, and killing ſheep, eating fleſh, and drinking wine: Let us eat and drink for to morrow we ſhall dye. And it was revealed in mine ears by the Lord of Hoſts; ſurely this iniquity ſhall not be purged from you, till ye dye, ſaith the Lord God of Hoſts* *.

Job 36. ver. 7, &c.

|| Iſaiah 9. ver. 13, 14.

* Iſaiah 22. ver. 12, 13, 14.

6. The reaſon of this truth it ſelf thus teſtified by three ranks of witneſſes, is not obſcure in their Philoſophy, to whom I moſt accord; who teach that the ſeeds of all truth are ſown by Gods hand in the human ſoul, and differ only in reference or denomination from our deſires of knowledge indefinitely taken. As to our firſt parents, ſo unto us, when we firſt come unto the uſe of reaſon, *knowledge it ſelf*, and for its own ſake, ſeemeth ſweet and welcome; whether it be of things good or evil, we much reſpect not. But this deſire of knowledge, which in reſpect of actual apprehenſion is indifferent, neither ſet upon good nor evil, is uſually taken up by actual or experimental knowledge of things evil, or ſo unprofitable, that our inclinations or adherences unto them, either counterſway our inclinations unto *goodneſs*, or choak our apprehenſions of things truly *good*. Now after our hopes of enjoying ſuch ſenſe-pleaſing objects, be by affliction or calamity cut off: the ſoul which hath not been indiſſolubly wedded unto them, or already given over by God unto a reprobate ſenſe, hath more liberty than before it had, to retire into it ſelf, and being freed from the attractive force of allurements, unto the vanities of the World, the Devil, or Fleſh: the natural or implanted ſeeds of goodneſs recover life and ſtrength, and begin to ſprout out into apprehenſions, either in loathing their former courſes, or in ſeeking after better. And every leaſt part or degree of goodneſs truly apprehended, bringeth forth an apprehenſion of the *author* or *fountain*, whence it floweth, that is, of the Divine nature. *In my proſperity I ſaid, I ſhall never be moved. Lord by thy favour thou haſt made my mountain to ſtand ſtrong: thou didſt hide thy face, and I was troubled. I cryed to thee, O Lord: and unto the Lord I made my ſupplication.* It may ſeem ſtrange to our firſt conſiderations, as *Calvin* with ſome || others upon this place obſerve, that God ſhould enlighten *Davids* eyes by hiding his face from him, without the light of whoſe countenance, even knowledge it ſelf is no better than darkneſs. But ſo it is, that proſperity doth often times infatuate the beſt men, and adverſity maketh bad men wiſe. The ſaying is authentick, though the Author be *Apocryphal*, * *Anima in Anguſtiis & ſpiritus anxius clamat ad te. O Lord God Almighty, God of Iſrael, the ſoul in anguiſh, the troubled ſpirit cryeth unto thee.* So is that other, *Caſtigatio tua diſciplina eſt eis*; *Thy chaſtiſement is their inſtruction.* † *Calvin* hath a memorable ſtory of a prophane Companion, that in his jollity abuſed theſe words of the Prophet; *The heaven, even the heavens are the Lords: but the earth hath he given to the children of men, Pſal.* 115. *verſ.* 16. The uſe or application which this wretch hence made, was, that God had as little to do with him here on earth, as he had to do with God in heaven. But preſently being taken with a ſuddain gripe or pang, he cryed out, *O God, O God.* Yet this ſhort affliction did not give him perfect underſtanding; for afterwards he returned again unto his vomit and wallowing in his wonted uncleanneſs. This relation of *Calvines*, ſerveth as a teſtimony to confirm the truth of *Ter-*

Pſal. 30. v. 6, 7, 8.

|| *Sicut enim Ferrum quod diturna quiete rubiginem contraxit accommodari ad nullos uſus poteſt, niſi in ignem conjectum recoquatur & malleo contundatur: ſic poſtquam ſemel prævaluit ſecuritas carnis, nemo alacriter animam ad Deum attollit, niſi cruce maceratus & probè ſubactus.* Mollerus in Pſal. 30. 9.

* Baruc. cap. 3. verſe 1.

† *Cogor hic memorabilem hiſtoriam referre. Accidit nobis in diverſorio quodam cœnantibus, ut profanus Dei contemptor ſermones noſtros de ſpe cæleſtis vitæ deridens, ſubinde ludibrium hoc evomeret,* Cœlum Cœli Domino. *Illic repente correptus diris torminibus cœpit vociferari, O Deus, O Deus: atque ut erat patulo gutture, boatu ſuo replebat totum cænaculum. Ego qui in eum ſeverè excandueram, perrexi meo more, ſtomachoſè denuncians ut tunc ſaltem ſentiret non impunè Deo illudi. Unus ex convivis, qui hodie adhuc ſuperſtes eſt, homo probus & religioſus, ſed tamen facetus, hac opportunitate in alium finem uſus eſt: Tune Deum invocas? an Philoſophiæ tuæ oblitus es? cur non in ſuo cœlo ſinis quieſcere? Et quoties ille tonabat, O Deus, hic alter ſubſannans regerebat, ubi nunc eſt illud tuum,* Cœlum cœli Domino? *At tunc quidem levatus eſt: ſed quod reliquum fuit vitæ, in ſuis impuris ſordibus tranſegit.*

Tertullianus Apolog. adverſus Gentes. cap. 17.

tullians obſervation, which ſerves as a *Document* or ſure experiment of our laſt aſſertion. *Vultis ex operibus ipſius toc ac talibus quibus continemur, quibus ſuſtinemur, quibus oblectamur, etiam quibus exterremur; vultis ex animæ ipſius teſtimonio comprobemus? Quæ licet carcere corporis preſſa, licet inſtitutionibus pravis circumſcripta, licet libidinibus & concupiſcentiis evigorata, licet falſis Diis exancillata, cum tamen reſipiſcit, ut ex crapula, ut ex ſomno, ut ex aliqua valetudine, & ſanitatem ſuam patitur, Deum nominat, hoc ſolo quia proprie, verus hic unus Deus, bonus & magnus, Et quod* Deus dederit, *omnium vox eſt. Judicem quoque conteſtatur illum, Deus videt, & Deo commendo, & Deus mihi reddet. O teſtimonium animæ naturaliter Chriſtianæ. Denique pronuncians hæc, non ad capitolium, ſed ad cœlum reſpicit. Novit enim ſedem Dei vivi; ab illo, & inde deſcendit. Shall I prove unto you (there is but one God) from his manifold works by which we are preſerved and ſuſtained, with which we are refreſhed, yea by which we are aſtoniſhed? Or ſhall I prove the ſame truth by the teſtimony of the Soul it ſelf, which though it be kept under by the priſon of the body, though ſurrounded by naughty and diſſolute education, though infeebled by luſt and evil concupiſcence, though enſlaved to falſe Gods: yet when ſhe returns unto her ſelf out of * diſtempers (ſurfet) ſleep or other infirmity, and enjoyes ſome gleams of health, ſhe calls on God without addition of other titles, becauſe this God which ſhe calls upon, is truly one, truly good, and truly great. What God ſhall award, is a ſpeech riſe in every mans mouth: unto this God, the Soul appeals as unto her Judge. God he ſees, to God I commend my cauſe, Let God determine of me or for me. A worthy teſtimony that the Soul is naturally Chriſtian. Finally, the Soul whiles ſhe acts theſe or the like parts looketh not to the Capitol* (the imagined ſeat of ſuch Gods as the Romans worſhipped) *but up to Heaven as knowing the ſeat of the living God, from whom and whence ſhe is deſcended.* Many other authorities which might here be avouched to the ſame purpoſe, do ſufficiently argue, that the multiplicity of Gods, was a conceipt, or imagination ſeated or hatched only in the brain; that even the very Heathens themſelves, which worſhipped many Gods, and would have maintained their profeſſion of ſuch ſervice in oppoſition to their adverſaries unto death; being throughly pinched with calamity, or occaſioned to look ſeriouſly into their own hearts, did uſually tender their ſupplications unto the Deity, or divine power it ſelf, which filleth all places with his preſence, whoſe tribunal is in heaven. Seeing anguiſh of ſoul, contrition of ſpirit, or (generally) affliction, cauſe natural *notions* of *God* and *goodneſs*, formerly impriſoned in the earthly or fleſhly part of this old man, to ſhoot forth and preſent themſelves to our apprehenſions, in caſe no calamity or affliction doe befall us, we are voluntarily to conſort with others, whom God hath touched with this heavy hand, or as *Salomon* adviſeth us, *to viſit the houſe of mourning, more then the houſe of mirth.* Or in caſe the Lord vouchſafe not to ſend theſe his ſeverer viſitors, either to us, or to our neighbours; yet he alwayes gives us liberty, to invite another gueſt in afflictions room, which expects no coſtly or curious entertainment; faſting I mean; now to faſt according to the preſcript of Gods law, is to afflict our ſouls.

** Vide annotationes Ludovici de La Cerda in hunc locum.*

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

In what reſpects ſupernatural grace or faith infuſed is neceſſary to the right belief of theſe truths, which may in part, be certainly known by diligent ſearch of natural reaſon.

1. But if to nature not blinded by vain curioſity nor polluted with the dregs of luſt, if to men free from paſſion, or chaſtiſed by the hand of God the apprehenſion of the Deity be clear and evident: the habit of ſupernatural aſſent unto the firſt Article of this Creed, may ſeem either altogether ſuperfluous, or not very neceſſary. Unto this difficulty propoſed in terms more general, (*whether faith may be of objects otherwiſe evident and exactly known*) ſome ſchool men acutely thus reply; *He that by reaſons demonſtrative knows this or other like truths believed, that there is one God, and no more, which hath created the world: may*, (notwithſtanding the evidence of motives neceſſitating his will to this aſſent,) *either doubt, or deem it a truth very obſcure and unevident, whether God ever revealed thus much; otherwiſe, then by the common light of nature, or helps of Art.* Conſequently to their divinity, they might reduce the reſolution of the difficulty propoſed to fewer terms and more conſtant, thus, [*the habit of faith or ſupernatural aſſent is not neceſſary to aſcertain us that the matters believ ed by us, are in themſelves true*] ſeeing this much (as is ſuppoſed) may be proved by reaſons more evident than faith which is alwayes of objects *unevident* (at leaſt wiſe as apprehended by us) *but to aſſure us*, , *that their truth was teſtified or avouched by God*, whoſe teſtimony cannot be known but by his expreſs word written or ſpoken.

2. But if our former aſſertion [*that our knowledge of any object cannot be more certain then it is evident*] be orthodoxal: he that could demonſtrate any Article of belief, ſhould be more beholding to the evidence of Art or demonſtration, then to the ſupernatural habit of unevident faith. Wherefore with better conſonancy to former diſcuſſions, and (if we be not in both miſtaken) unto the truth we may thus reſolve the doubt propoſed. The *neceſſary exiſtence of a Godhead or ſupream cauſe with the poſſibility of other things believed, may be indefinitely known by light of Nature or demonſtration*; but ſo much of theſe or any Article in this Creed contain'd; as every Chriſtian muſt believe, or (which is all one) the exact *form* of any one Articles entire truth, can never be known by Art or Nature, but only by Gods word revealed, or the internal teſtimony of his ſpirit *refaſhioning* his decayed image in mens hearts according to the pattern wherein they were firſt created. That the reſurrection (though this truth to corrupt nature ſeems moſt difficult) is not impoſſible, yea that it is impoſſible there ſhould not be a reſurrection or judgment after death may be demonſtrated; but that the wicked ſhall riſe to torments, the righteous to joy and glory everlaſting, is a ſtream of life which naturaly ſprings not within the circuit of the heavens; it muſt be infuſed from above.

3. The natural man left to himſelf, or uſing meer ſpectacles of art, yea though admitted to the glaſs of Gods word, will always in one point or other conceive amiſs of the Deity, and transform the *incorruptible nature* into the ſimilitude of corruption. Yet further, admitting the natural man might attain unto an exact model or right proportion of faith, and aſſent unto the objects themſelves rightly conceived,

as evident and moſt certain, whilſt their truth were oppugn'd only by ſpeculative contradiction: yet theſe perſwaſions would quickly vaniſh, and his aſſent once aſſaulted with grievous tentations of the fleſh, or ſuggeſtions framed by Satan, forthwith recoyl. Unto every Article then in this Creed, *faith* infuſed by the ſpirit of *God*, is neceſſary in two reſpects. *Firſt*, for framing an entire exact form of things believed. *Secondly*, for quickning or fortifying our aſſent unto them as good in the practiſe, againſt all aſſaults of the Devil, world, or fleſh. Or more briefly; it is neceſſary both for refaſhioning and reviving the decayed image of *God* in our ſouls. Or, to notifie the manner of our renovation by the manner of creation: the ingraffed *notion* is the matter or ſubject, out of which Gods ſpirit raiſeth the right and intire frame of faith, as it did the frame and faſhion of this viſible world out of that maſs, which was firſt without form though created by him. The indefinite truth of this *notion*, which is the ſubject, whereon (as the ſpirits inſtrument) we are to work, will better appear from the conſent of the Heathen: the original of whoſe errours or miſconceits about the *eſſence*, *unity* or *nature of the God-head*, will direct us for the right faſhioning of his image in our ſelves.

4. But as it is the ſafeſt courſe for any man, to make tryal of his skill at *foils*, before he adventure to give proof of his valour at *ſharp*: ſo it will be behooveful for us in the next place to obſerve the original of miſapprehenſions or miſleadings of the Imagination in matters ordinary and ſecular, wherein errour is uſually greater than the loſs, that we may be the better provided for preventing the like in matters ſacred, wherein errour is always accompanied with danger; wherein finally to looſe the way is utterly to looſe our ſelves.

SECTION II.

Conteining the original manner of right apprehenſions, and errours in matters natural or moral.

See Section the firſt, cap. the 3.

THough light of Nature and conſent of Nations moved *Tully* to that undoubted acknowledgment of divine powers, which we mentioned before: yet when he came to diſcuſs the nature of the Gods or God-head in particular, the very multiplicity of opinions in this argument cauſed him to reel and ſtagger. And had we no better guide then Nature to direct us in this ſearch, the beſt of us perhaps would quickly ſubſcribe to his opinion in his Preface to that Treatiſe; *Non ſumus ij, quibus nihil verum eſſe videatur: ſed ij, qui omnibus veris falſa quædam adjuncta eſſe dicamus, tanta ſimilitudine, ut in iis nulla inſit certa judicandi, & aſſentiendi nota*, &c. *We are not of their opinion which think nothing is true, but rather of theirs who think all truths have ſome falſhoods, annexed unto them, in ſuch cunning and ſuteable diſguiſe, as there is ſcarce any certain rule left for diſcerning the one from the other*, &c. *Cicero ad M. Brutum de natura Deorum, lib.* 1. To a meer natural man or Philoſopher, it might well in the firſt place be queſtioned, how he can poſſibly attain by light of nature to any knowledge of things ſpiritual or imperceptible by ſenſe.

CHAP. X.

The ſeveral opinions of Philoſophers concerning the manner how Intellection is wrought or produced: what is to be thought of intelligible forms.

1. TWo *Maximes* there be in our vulgar Philoſophy, which were they fully ſtretched according to that propriety of ſpeech, wherein *Maximes* ſhould be conceived, would ſound too harſh to ordinary experience to conſort well with Philoſophical truth; The one, *that our underſtanding is* Similis raſæ tabulæ, *like to a plain Table, wherein nothing is, but what you liſt, may be written.* The other conſonant enough to this; *Nihil eſt intellectu, quod non prius erat in ſenſu,* that the Intellective ſoul is like an empty room, into which nothing can be admitted, but what paſſeth firſt through the gates of ſenſe. *The neceſſary conſequences of theſe Axioms, were they true, would be theſe. We can underſtand nothing, but what we hear, ſee, ſmell, touch, or taſte, nothing otherwiſe than it appears to theſe ſenſes. Doth ſenſe then bring us in love with virtue? doth it make us hate vice? or is the ſhape of good and evil imprinted upon our ſight, our hearing, or other organ? or how do we gather the Sun to be alwayes ſplendent, though it appear red, or waniſh in a foggy or duskie morning, or in the night appear not at all?* To ſay the *Active* underſtanding doth refine the Phantaſms, or repreſentations made by the Senſe from all material conditions annexed to them, as droſs to metal; as it no way meets the former, ſo neither can it fully put off the latter objected inconvenience. The reply it ſelf, were it tryed by the touch as accurately as ſome have done it, hath no fundamental ſolidity of pure Philoſophical truth, to commend it unto forraigners, but a bare ſtamp of artificial language, current only by compact in the Latin Schools, as braſs or leather Tokens are in ſome particular places. The very inſcription it ſelf would be miſliked in *Greece* or *Athens*, which never admitted any intelligible forms repreſentative. Let ſuch as have coyned them, tell us how they ſhould be inſtampt upon our underſtandings by the *Phantaſms* after the ſame manner, that the *Phantaſms* are imprinted upon the ſenſes by ſenſible objects? ſo ſhould the underſtanding be a faculty as meerly *paſſive* and brutiſh as *ſenſe*, and the object of *ſenſe* ſhould be the principal *agent* in this work. It is true (at leaſt in our firſt contemplations) (though denied by *Ariſtotelian* Interpreters of beſt note to be neceſſary in perfect *Contemplators*) that as there is no actual ſight or viſion but by beholding colours, ſo *non intelligimus niſi ſpeculando phantaſmata*, we actually underſtand not, but whiles we ſpeculate the *Phantaſms.* Yet hence it followeth not, that as viſion, ſo intellection ſhould be accompliſhed by *intromiſſion* of the refined *phantaſms* into the underſtanding, but rather by *extromiſſion* of the intellective raies or beams into the *phantaſie.* Not altogether averſe from this opinion is an acute *Schoolmans* Interpretation of the former Axiom; *Intellectum converti ad phantaſmata nihil aliud eſt, quam movere imaginationem ad formationem Phantaſmatum. Ferrarienſis in cap.*65.*Aq.contra Gentes.* Admitting then the *active* underſtanding do irradiate, agitate, divide, and compoſe the *phantaſms*, I would demand whether it know the things repreſented before it behold their repreſentations in the *phantaſie?* If it knew them before, it had ſomwhat in it ſelf which was not commended to it by *ſenſe.* Or if no

Vide Hieronymum provenzalem de ſenſu & ſenſibilibus.

Acearomboni- us, &c.

as evident and moſt certain, whilſt their truth were oppugn'd only by ſpeculative contradiction: yet theſe perſwaſions would quickly vaniſh, and his aſſent once aſſaulted with grievous tentations of the fleſh, or ſuggeſtions framed by Satan, forthwith recoyl. Unto every Article then in this Creed, *faith* infuſed by the ſpirit of *God*, is neceſſary in two reſpects. *Firſt*, for framing an entire exact form of things believed. *Secondly*, for quickning or fortifying our aſſent unto them as good in the practiſe, againſt all aſſaults of the Devil, world, or fleſh. Or more briefly; it is neceſſary both for refaſhioning and reviving the decayed image of *God* in our ſouls. Or, to notifie the manner of our renovation by the manner of creation: the ingraffed *notion* is the matter or ſubject, out of which Gods ſpirit raiſeth the right and intire frame of faith, as it did the frame and faſhion of this viſible world out of that maſs, which was firſt without form though created by him. The indefinite truth of this *notion*, which is the ſubject, whereon (as the ſpirits inſtrument) we are to work, will better appear from the conſent of the Heathen: the original of whoſe errours or miſconceits about the *eſſence*, *unity* or *nature of the God-head*, will direct us for the right faſhioning of his image in our ſelves.

4. But as it is the ſafeſt courſe for any man, to make tryal of his skill at *foils*, before he adventure to give proof of his valour at *ſharp*: ſo it will be behooveful for us in the next place to obſerve the original of miſapprehenſions or miſleadings of the Imagination in matters ordinary and ſecular, wherein errour is uſually greater than the loſs, that we may be the better provided for preventing the like in matters ſacred, wherein errour is always accompanied with danger; wherein finally to looſe the way is utterly to looſe our ſelves.

SECTION II.

Conteining the original manner of right apprehenſions, and errours in matters natural or moral.

See Section the firſt, cap. the 3.

THough light of Nature and conſent of Nations moved *Tully* to that undoubted acknowledgment of divine powers, which we mentioned before: yet when he came to diſcuſs the nature of the Gods or God-head in particular, the very multiplicity of opinions in this argument cauſed him to reel and ſtagger. And had we no better guide then Nature to direct us in this ſearch, the beſt of us perhaps would quickly ſubſcribe to his opinion in his Preface to that Treatiſe; *Non ſumus ij, quibus nihil verum eſſe videatur: ſed ij, qui omnibus veris falſa quædam adjuncta eſſe dicamus, tanta ſimilitudine, ut in iis nulla inſit certa judicandi, & aſſentiendi nota*, &c. *We are not of their opinion which think nothing is true, but rather of theirs who think all truths have ſome falſhoods, annexed unto them, in ſuch cunning and ſuteable diſguiſe, as there is ſcarce any certain rule left for diſcerning the one from the other*, &c. *Cicero ad M. Brutum de natura Deorum, lib.* 1. To a meer natural man or Philoſopher, it might well in the firſt place be queſtioned, how he can poſſibly attain by light of nature to any knowledge of things ſpiritual or imperceptible by ſenſe.

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Accarombonius, &c.

no underſtanding begotten but by impreſſion of extracted *phantaſms* or *intelligible forms* upon the *paſſive underſtanding:* ſeeing this extraction is wrought in the phantaſie, the underſtanding ſhould know no more than the Phantaſie doth, becauſe it hath nothing in it which was not firſt in the Phantaſie illuminated by the *active* underſtanding: nor could it ever reject any information given in by the *phantaſie* thus inlightned (as is ſuppoſed) by the nobleſt faculty of the reaſonable Soul.

Vide Philippum Contarenum de perfectione rerum.

2. Others there be who have well refuted all *intelligible forms,* or *impreſſions* of *abſtract Phantaſms* upon the underſtanding. Which nevertheleſs by going too far againſt *Platonical Idæas,* or *notions* imprinted by nature, have made their own opinion (otherwiſe allowable) obnoxious to the former inconveniences. Actual *Intellection* or *underſtanding* (to their apprehenſions) conſiſts wholly in the true imitation of things preſented, and then we are ſaid to underſtand, when the reaſonable ſoul, *Proteus* like tranſformes her ſelf into new ſimilitudes; not when it puts on their form, as it were already made fit for her, by the *active* underſtanding and the *phantaſie.* All this being granted, the former difficulties ſtill remain: *firſt,* how we ſhould rightly underſtand the material entities never preſented by ſenſe: *ſecondly,* how the reaſonable ſoul ſhould make undoubted trial, whether her own imitations of what *ſenſe* preſents unto her, be exact and true. The great Philoſopher himſelf, from whoſe diſcourſes the former broken Axioms are borrowed, graunts that brute beaſts have no ſenſe or apprehenſions of their ſenſitive functions, although they have oft-times a more lively ſenſe of external objects than man hath; it is then mans peculiar to have a true ſenſe and judgement of all his own functions, whether ſenſitive or intellective. This reflexed apprehenſion or *reviſe* whether of ſenſitive impreſſions or intellectual functions excited by them, neceſſarily ſuppoſeth ſome rule or copy pre-exiſtent, by which their examination ſhould be tryed. Impoſſible it is, this rule or copy ſhould be taken from ſenſe, or any actual intellection by ſenſe occaſioned; both theſe being to be ruled or examined by it. *Regula autem eſt prior regulata.*

CHAP. XI.

How far Platoes *opinion may be admitted, that all* Knowledge *is but a kind of* reminiſcence, *or calling that to mind which was in ſome ſort known before.*

1. PLATOES opinion (that all acquired *ſcience* is but a kind of *reminiſcence*) though it ſuppoſe a groſs error, is not altogether ſo erroneous, but that it may lead us unto that truth, from whoſe miſapprehenſion happily it firſt ſprung. That our ſouls whiles they lived (as he ſuppoſed long time they did) a ſingle celeſtial life, ſhould be plentifully furniſh with all manner of knowledge, but inſtantly looſe all by matching with theſe harlotry bodies; was a conceit more witty in him, than warrantable in us, unto whom God hath revealed the true reaſon of that *Probleme;* the deſire of whoſe reſolution enforced him to this ſuppoſal of the Souls exiſtence before the body. More divine we know by much then *plato* could imagine any, was that knowledge wherewith our firſt Parents ſoul though concreated with his body, was inſtamped. Not *Ariſtotle* himſelf, with the help of all the Phi-

loſophers which had gone before him, not after his laborious works *de Hiſt.animal.*could ſo readily have invented names for living creatures, ſo well expreſſing their ſeveral natures, as *Adam* (not a full day old) gave them at their firſt appearance. Such notwithſtanding as his was, might our knowledge of all things have been, unleſs his fall, by Gods juſt judgment had been our ruin. That oblivion then or obſtupefaction wherein our ſouls as *Plato* dreams, are miſerably drencht by their delapſe into theſe bodily ſinks of corruption, we may more truly derive from that pollution which we naturally draw from our firſt Parents; wherewith our ſouls at firſt commixture with our bodies are no leſs ſolid, the characters of truth imprinted in them, no leſs obliterated, then if they had been perpetually ſoakt in them, ſince the firſt creation. All of us by nature ſeek after knowledge, as an inheritance whereto we think we have juſt title, and ancient copies (could we read them) of the original evidences which our anceſtors ſometimes had.

2. For what ſhould impel us to this ſolicitous ſearch, no humane wit can divine, unleſs we grant ſome ſuch reliques or fragments of univerſal truth, once had but now loſt, to reſide yet in our collapſed natures, as oft-times run in our thoughts, whiles ſurprized with oblivion of ſome particulars which we much deſire to call to mind. As we cannot call ought to mind which we have not actually and expreſly known before: ſo is it impoſſible we ſhould certainly know any things actually or expreſly whoſe *notion* or *character* was not in ſome ſort formerly imprinted in our *intellective* faculty. *Remembrance*, *knowledge*, (expreſs or actual) and theſe *ingraffed notions*, differ only as *Adam*, *Seth*, and *Enoch* did, not by nature but in manner of deſcent. *Seth* had a father as well as *Enoch*, yet a father not begotten by a former father, but created. In like manner, *knowledge* expreſs or acquired, cannot but proceed from knowledge pre-exiſtent, not acquired or expreſs,but implanted and unapprehended.And as remembrance is but a reiteration of actual knowledge: ſo is actual knowledge but an apprehenſion of imprinted *notions* pre-exiſtent,though latent. Theſe two parts of *Platoes* aſſertion we muſt admit as abſolutely true. *Firſt*, We can underſtand nothing without us but by recourſe unto theſe Ideal *notions* which are within us, not abſtracted, or ſevered from us, as he is wrongfully charged to have taught. *Secondly*,As for a Maſter to ſeek his fugitive ſervant amongſt a multitude were vain, unleſs he had ſome pre-notions, marks, or notice of his ſhape or favour, or carried ſome picture drawn by others to compare with his face never ſeen by him before: ſo for us to ſeek the knowledge of any matters before unknown, unleſs we had ſome model or character of them framed by nature, would be altogether as bootleſs. Thoſe Ideal *notions* whereof this Philoſopher and his followers ſo much ſpeak, are in true Divinity the prints or characters of truth ingraven upon our ſouls by the finger of our *Creator*. And ſo many of theſe prints or reliques of divine impreſſions, as we can diſtinctly hunt out, or diſcover, ſo much of Gods image is renued in us.

CHAP. XII.

After what manner the Ideal or ingraffed Notions *are in the ſoul.*

1. THe difficulties whoſe accurate diſcuſſion would clear this whole buſineſs, are eſpecially two : *firſt*, the manner of theſe *notions* inherence or implantations in our ſouls. *Secondly*, by what means their diſtinct notice or apprehenſions are ſuggeſted. Their opinion which think theſe characters (though latent) ſhould be in our ſouls after the ſame manner as Letters written with the juice of Onions, are in paper (though not legible) admitteth ſome difficulty. For were they ſo diſtinct and well ſevered in the ſoul, though not apparant; error would not be ſo rife when they appear, nor ſhould the ſenſe delude the underſtanding with ſuch falſe ſhews or reſemblances as it often obtrudes unto it: the fleſh could not intice the ſpirit to embrace *that* for an undoubted and ineſtimable good which hath leſs ſimilitude with true felicity, then a Cloud with *Juno*. The favourers of the former opinion would perhaps reply, that the manner of the inherence of intellectual characters in the ſoul might in ſome ſort be ſuch as hath been ſaid, though they be often mutually diffuſed one through another, as if two ſhould write with the juice of Onions upon the ſame paper, the one not knowing what or where the other had written; or that their faſhion by the ſouls too deep immerſion in this fluxible matter might be ſo ſoiled, that they could not be read, but by confuſed conjectures, as letters written in moiſt paper, or it may be a *Platonick* would require ſome chimical purification of the ſoul unto the extraction of the diſtinct and proper idea of truth: however it is an errour common to him and ſome Divines, but very inconſequent to other points of both their doctrines, that the ſoul of Man though truly immortal ſhould be of the ſame nature with angelical ſubſtances, which are neither apt phyſically to inform bodies, nor to participate of their infirmities, or to looſe their firſt natural light, although they were impriſoned or confined within them.

2. More pertinently to the point propoſed it may be queſtioned whether every ſpecifical nature, which we underſtand or know, have a diſtinct and ſeveral character anſwering to it in the ſoul. Or whether the *fabrick* or compoſiture of the underſtanding it ſelf includes only ſuch a virtual ſimilitude to the *forms* or *eſſences* of all things, as the organ of every ſenſitive faculty do to all the proper objects thereto belonging. The perception or repreſentation of green colours is not (I take it) made upon any one part of the eye whoſe conſtitution hath more particular affinity with green then with blew or red: but the whole humour wherein viſion is made, being homogeneal, hath not colour in it actually: is not more inclined to one then to another; framed of purpoſe as an Æquilibrium or indifferent receptacle of all impreſſions in that kind; as apt, according to every part as any, to receive the ſhape or image of any one colour as another. Nor doth the *common ſenſe* perceive ſounds and colours by two *Heterogeneal* parts, whereof the one doth better ſymbolize with *hearing*, the other with *ſight*: rather the internal conſtitution of this *faculty* includes an Homogeneal æquability of affinity unto both theſe ſenſes.

3. The ſoul of man being created after the image of God (in Whom are all things) though of an indiviſible and immortal nature, hath

notwithſtanding ſuch a virtual ſimilitude of all things as the *eye* hath of colours, the *ear* of ſounds, or the *common ſenſe* of theſe and other ſenſibles, wooven by the finger of God in its eſſential conſtitution, or internal indiſſoluble temper. Out of mixt bodies are drawn by art *Quinteſſences*, whoſe ſubſtances (though ſubtile and homogeneal) virtually contain the force or efficacy of many ingredients. The ſame proportions which theſe *Quinteſſences* have to their materials, hath the ſoul of man to all ſenſible creatures, of which it is the pure *extract* or perfection, in nature and eſſential qualities more reſembling celeſtial then ſubluminary ſubſtances, albeit virtually including as great affinity to ſublunaries as ſpirits or *Quinteſſences* do to their compounds out of which they were extracted. From this virtual ſimilitude which our ſouls have with all things, ſprings our eager thirſt after knowledge, which is but a deſire of intimate and intire acquaintance with their nature and properties; beſides which means, there is in truth no other poſſible for them to come acquainted with themſelves. The more they underſtand of other things, the better they underſtand themſelves. Hence ſaith the Philoſopher, *Intellectus cum factus fuerit omnia, intelligit ſeipſum, When the underſtanding is made all things, it underſtands it ſelf.* Nor could we take delight in the knowledg of any thing, unleſs in knowing it the ſoul did know it ſelf, and become more intimate with it ſelf. It is as truly ſaid *optimus*, as *proximus quiſq; ſibi,* nothing could deſire its own preſervation moſt, unleſs its own *entity* were to it ſelf the beſt, and moſt to be deſired, if it knew rightly how to enjoy it ſelf. The reaſon why *Simile gaudet ſimili,* is becauſe the actual ſympathy which mutually ariſeth from preſence of like natures in creatures ſenſible or reaſonable, cauſeth their ſeveral *identities* to reflect upon themſelves, and each as it were to perfuſe it ſelf with its own goodneſs, which it liketh beſt, but whereof, without ſuch mutual provocations it was unapprehenſive or uncapable; nothing can rightly joy but in the right fruition or enjoyment of it ſelf. Senſe which is the fountain of pleaſure, is but a redoubling of the ſenſitive quality or temper upon it ſelf. Touch is but an apprehenſion or feeling of its own tactike qualities being actually moved by other of the ſame kind. If this motion be according to nature, it is pleaſant, and this pleaſure is but a reflection of the motive faculty upon it ſelf, or *motions* fruition of it ſelf. The delight in like manner which we reap, from contemplation, is but a reflection of theſe virtual *Idæas* or internal characters, which are inſtampt upon the very ſubſtance of the ſoul, as the colour of fire is in *blades* newly come out of the forge. The divine nature hath fulneſs of joy in himſelf and of himſelf, being all-ſufficient to contemplate and intirely to enjoy his own infinite goodneſs, without any externals to cauſe or occaſion ſuch reflection as we need. The Angelical natures can thus likewiſe reflect upon themſelves and enjoy as much felicity as they contemplate of their own *entity* both which they have from and in their Creator. The ſoul of man in as much as it hath ſome reliques of Gods image in it, muſt needs have ſome ſeeds of moral, beſides tranſcendental goodneſs, neither of which it can of it ſelf injoy, becauſe not able to reflect upon it ſelf, or contemplate the ſeeds of truth and goodneſs imprinted in it, without the help of ſome externals ſympathizing with them and provoking them to make ſome *Criſis* of their own inherence. All the felicity any nature is capable of, is the entire uncumbred fruition of its total *entity*: the only means of mans fruition of himſelf or of his own ſoul, is his knowledge ledg. The full meaſure then of mans felicity muſt conſiſt in the mutual penetrations and embracements of *entity* and *knowledge*; when theſe be thus intimately and exactly commenſurable according to every degree of diviſibility which either of them hath, there can be no more addition of delight to the humane nature, than of water to a veſſel full to the brim. And ſeeing as well our *entity* as *knowledge* doth eſſentially and intirely depend on God, it is impoſſible our joyes ſhould be full, until we ſee him, and our ſelves in him. In this life as we know, ſo are we happy but in part, or rather *in ſpe* not *in re*, when we ſhall know as we are known, we ſhall be wholly and fully happy. In the mean time to bring our ſouls acquainted with other of Gods works, or themſelves wherein they ſee him darkly as in a glaſs, the help or miniſtery of ſenſitive informations is alway or to moſt men neceſſary. For as a cunning *architect* may contrive the exact frame of a pallace, or a Geographer the proportion or faſhion of a Country in his phantaſie, and yet cannot expreſs the true conceit of either unto others but by ſome viſible Map or Model: ſo although the intellective ſoul bear the exact ſimilitude of all things imprinted in its ſubſtance, yet is it not able to expreſs or repreſent it to it ſelf, but by ſenſitive forms or phantaſms, whoſe repreſentation ſometimes pleaſe, ſometimes diſlike this ſupream faculty, as the apprentice his workmanſhip oftimes doth his Maſter, becauſe not conformable to that artificial *idæa* which he hath in his phantaſie. Nor can it any way diſparage this ſimilitude that the *architect*, and he to whom the *repreſentation* is made, are two divers parties; for ſo the intellectual ſoul, though but one in the work of underſtanding, undergoes two *parts*; *one* to repreſent, *another* to judge of the repreſentation; the latter is wholly its own. In performing the former it alwayes uſeth the help and miniſtery of ſenſe. We may conclude then as we began; *It is impoſſible the underſtanding ſhould be diſpleaſed with any ſenſitive repreſentation, or cenſure of their ſuggeſtions, either as falſe or unperfect, unleſs it had ſome idæal rule or copy preexiſtent, from which the diſproved repreſentations do vary.* Although it cannot apprehend this copy diſtinctly, or diſcern the true figure of its own *idæa*, until it light upon ſome *phantaſme*, or ſenſible model, that may exactly fit or cauſe it reflect upon it ſelf. Thus by touching the former difficulty as neerly and cloſely as we could, and this Treatiſe would permit, we have been enforced in a manner to *grate* upon the ſecond which now preſents it ſelf to more particular and full diſcuſſion.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the office or ſervice which the Phantaſie performs unto the active underſtanding or contemplative faculty, for the right apprehenſion or diſcernment of truths ſpecially unſenſible.

1. THe *Ariſtotelian Maxime, Non intelligimus niſi ſpeculando phantaſmata, We do not actually and diſtinctly underſtand, but by ſpecution of Phantaſms*; no *Platonick*, I take it, would deny, but whether the Phantaſmes *rowſe* or *ſtart* the latent *notions*, or rather be ſtirred or rowſed themſelves by the neceſſary connexion which the *phantaſie* hath with the underſtanding, thus ſeeking to expreſs or *figure* its own *indefinite* conceits, is queſtioned by ſome which deny all effluxions from objects ſenſible, or at leaſt all permanent impreſſions of their *forms*, or *images* upon the or-

gans of ſenſe. Whiles ſenſible objects (for example, *colours*) are preſent, they grant a reſultance of ſuch a form or ſtamp of them in the eye, as the ſeal imprinteth in the wax, which notwithſtanding ſtraightway vaniſheth with the removal of the object, only the ſenſitive faculty (in their Philoſophy) being thus far acquainted with them, can transform it ſelf at its pleaſure into the ſame likeneſs again, as a cunning Actor can imitate any mans motions, ſpeech, or geſture, whom he hath heard or ſeen, and the more he converſeth with him, the better will his imitation be. This manner of producing *phantaſms* I muſt confeſs is moſt agreeable to the uſual manner of producing effects more real, which have no ſenſible form or ſhape. Thus when one *yeawns*, another *yeawns*, and many motions begun in one, excite the like in others, not by impreſſions of their forms, but by meer imitation. The blood of many beaſts will riſe at the ſight of red colours, whoſe forms or images cannot be imprinted upon it, becauſe more red than they. But blood, being like them, it is excited by their preſence or repreſentation made in the eye; and ſo may this *form*, or repreſentation it ſelf be only excited by the preſence of the real object. In like manner may the actual motion or repreſentation of the *phantaſm*, excite the intellectual *notion* anſwering to it. For, the intellectual faculty, being more active then ſenſe, may from the vertual ſimilitude which it hath with all things, put on the actual ſhape of any which ſhall be repreſented, or ſuggeſted to it. The manner we may conceive to be ſuch as if the eye could repreſent any colour being once named, without the preſence of a real object. By this declaration we may conceive how the *phantaſms* do raiſe a conceit of an higher or different nature, then they formally repreſent. As red colours do not only produce their own reſemblance in the eye, but withall ſtir or move the blood; ſo attentive inſpection of ſenſible effects moſt exactly repreſented in the *phantaſie*, may ingender a conceit of an inviſible and latent cauſe, which we cannot diſtinctly figure or expreſs, and yet be more raviſhed with the conſideration of it, then with the exacteſt repreſentations poſſible of that which cauſed it. The manner of our delight in this caſe is wrought as it were by a ſecret ſympathy or *contract* not apprehended, as ſhall hereafter be declared. The like *ſymptomatical* conceits oft-times accompany the *formal* repreſentations of meer ſenſe; as ſight of the Wolf imprints with his bodily ſhape a terror in the ſilly Lamb, whereof there can be no diſtinct or formal repreſentation. So with the ſhape or phyſiognomy of ſome men, a ſecret diſlike doth often inſinuate it ſelf into our phantaſies, of which we can give no better reaſon than the *Epigrammatiſt* doth, though that no better than the Lamb perhaps could give why he flies the Wolf, could this ſilly creature ſpeak:

Non amo te (Sabidi) *nec poſſum dicere quare,*
Hoc tantum poſſum dicere, non amo te.

I love thee nought, Sabidius, *ne can I tell thee why.*
'Tis all I wote, I love thee not, ne can I love thee, I.

2. It is queſtionable whether motion make any diſtinct impreſſion, or repreſentation upon the ſenſes, or affect them only by concomitancy with objects properly ſenſible, eſpecially with the ſenſes of *ſight* and *touch*. Howſoever it be, apprehenſion of time we have ſmall

or none, ſave only by *motion*; nor can we limit or bound the parts of the one but by deſigning ſome definite and conſtant parts of the other. He that neither dreams nor ſtirs whiles he ſleeps by night, thinks he is but newly lain down when he awakes; whereas he that lies waking the ſame time, would think a ſhort night longer then a ſummers day. How the year goes about we could not tell, but by the motions of the heavens; what a year is we cannot better expreſs, than by the Suns revolution from ſome point of the *Zodiack* to the ſame; nor what a day is but by its circumvolution in a part of the *Æquinoctial*, or other parallel circle. An hour likewiſe we define by the elevation of the *Zodiack* fifteen degrees above the *Horizon*. Thus the Philoſopher defineth time by motion numbred or diſtinguiſhed into parts, which definition notwithſtanding is not *eſſential* but *cauſal* or *connotative*. For as place ſurmounts all magnitude or ſurface phyſical (ſeeing the higheſt ſphere is as properly in its place as any lower) ſo time is tranſcendent to all kind of motion, and hath a conceit more abſtract and metaphyſical, though not eaſie to be expreſſed without motion: *Joſhua* in purſuing the *Amorites*, loſt no time by the Suns ſtanding ſtill; nor ſhould we Students gain any, albeit the Heavens ſhould double their wonted pace, or the Stars elevate themſelves thirty degrees in the ſpace a common-hour-glaſs is in running. Or though both clocks and hour-glaſſes moved twice as ſwiftly; as now they do, time would be the ſame, but ſo could not the diſtinction or apprehenſion of it be to us, unleſs we knew in what proportion their ſwiftneſs increaſed; certain withall that they had an equal and conſtant courſe. If upon their variation or unconſtancy we ſhould have recourſe unto the motions of our own ſouls or bodies, or keep a perpetual account of time (as for a ſpace Muſicians do) with our hands; theſe would deceive us. The ſame motions or bodily agitations ſeem much longer to men well nigh wearied, than to ſuch as are luſty or freſh. Solitarineſs without corporal imployment ſeems long and tedious to illiterate ſouls, ſo doth vain jangling or toyings real or verbal to minds bent for contemplation, becauſe in this later caſe, men are enforced to take too deep notice of external motions; in the former, of their own unſetled cogitations or working phantaſies. All ſickneſſes, pains, or eager expectations, whether of releaſe from evils, or of accompliſhing vehement deſires or hopes, do double or treble the length of time in our conceit according to the exceſs of pains or pleaſure felt or expected. The reaſon is becauſe the notice of every ſeveral motion is more deep and piercing, and the motions are in a manner multiplied. In ſickneſs there is a conflict betwixt nature and the offenſive humour, both which have their ſeveral ſwayes or motions. In expectation likewiſe the ſoul is moved two wayes, and being thus affected the difference betwixt our conceit of times length, and theirs that paſs the time in ſport and merriment, is much what ſuch as is between their progreſſes or menſurations which run the ſame race for length, the one directly and by a ſtreight plain way in ſummer, the other by way of indenture, or in winter, or in a deep ſoyl. All theſe argue time to have a nature of its own diſtinct from motion more abſtract and immaterial. And if we conſider it only indefinitly or under the general conceit of *ſpace* contradiſtinct to *diſtance local*, the conceit of it is as familiar and obvious as of any thing ſenſible, but very hard to define what it is diſtinctly, as S. *Auguſtine*, who hath ſifted this point as accurately as any Philoſopher could do, well obſerves.

3. || *What is there either more familiar or better known in ordinary diſcourſe than time? And ſurely we underſtand our ſelves when we mention it, we do not miſtake others when we hear them talk of it. What then is time? If no man ask me this Queſtion, I can tell. But if any man ſhall urge me to expreſs the nature of it, I am at a ſtand.* He finally concludes, *That time future or to come, cannot properly be ſaid long, becauſe it is not. But our expectation of it* (who have ſouls, whoſe ſouls likewiſe have their true and proper duration) *is long. Time paſt likewiſe is not properly long, but our memory of that which is paſt, and now is not, continues ſtill and is long* *. As we could not meaſure or account motions, unleſs our ſouls had ſome internal motions, or *numerable deſignments*, nor conceive of time without an imbred ſenſe of our own duration or extenſion of our exiſtence: So neither could we underſtand any thing without us, unleſs we had ſome vertual ſimilitude of them within us, as homogeneal and commenſurable to their forms or eſſences, as our internal duration is to the duration of externals. As much as in this whole diſcourſe we do, he did ſuppoſe which ſaid, *Homo eſt menſura rerum omnium, Man is the meaſure of all things.* Howbeit to the diſtinct expreſſion of theſe internal ſimilitudes, or latent *meaſures* of all things the correſpondency of *Phantaſms* either borrowed from ſenſe, or framed by imitation of ſenſibles, wherewith our ſouls have been acquainted, is alway neceſſary. For this reaſon in this life we cannot apprehend, at leaſt not comprehend, things unſenſible and immaterial in ſuch manner as we do matters ſenſible, eſpecially viſible. But to recompence this defect, the reaſonable ſoul is more affected with the tacite indefinite ſuggeſtions, or internal *notions* of ſome things unſenſible indiſtinctly notified, than with any ſenſitive repreſentations. And no marvail, ſeeing the ſimilitude betwixt her and them, is more immediate and exact, their ſympathy (though ſecret) more internal, their kindred proper and intire. With ſenſitive objects ſhe hath only alliance or affinity by matching with corporal organs, without whoſe mediation no bodily or material natures find any acceſs unto her, nor can ſhe be delighted with their preſence, unleſs ſhe ſee them, or diſtinctly view their proper ſhapes or figures. Diſcourſes of colours do little delight a blind man, although his other ſenſes be exact; he that is deaf is as incompetent a judge of ſounds, albeit indued with perfect ſight and accurate knowledge of all colours. In reſpect only of theſe or other proper objects of ſenſe, that common *Maxim* in the propriety of ſpeech, is true; *Nihil eſt in intellectu, quod non prius erat in ſenſu*; that is, *There can be no proper intellectual conceit of things ſenſible, unleſs they be firſt formally repreſented to ſenſe and diſtinctly perceived by it.* Fully equivalent to this *Maxim* thus limited (whether for uſe or extent) is that other *Maxim*; *Deficiente ſenſu deficit ejuſdem ſenſus ſcientia*; *For him that is blind or deaf from his nativity, to be either a skilfull Painter or Muſician, it is impoſſible.* Howſoever, as well for attaining ſuch knowledge of things immaterial as in this life we have, or for rightly conceiving of things ſenſible, the *phantaſie*

|| *Quid autem familiarius, & notius in loquendo commemoramus, quàm tempus? Et intelligimus utique cum id loquimur, intelligimus etiam cum alio loquente id audimus. Quid ergo eſt tempus? Si nemo ex me quærat, ſcio, ſi quærenti explicare velim, neſcio. Lib. confeſs.* 11. *cap.* 14. *Sed quomodo minuitur, aut conſumitur futurum, quod nondum eſt? aut quomodo creſcit præteritum, quod jam non eſt? niſi quia in animo, qui illud agit, tria ſunt. Nam expectat, & attendit, & meminit; ut id quod expectat, per id quod attendit, tranſeat in id quod meminerit. Quis igitur negat futura nondum eſſe? ſed tamen jam eſt in animo expectatio futurorum. Et quis negat præterita jam non eſſe? ſed tamen adhuc eſt in animo memoria præteritorum. Et quis negat præſens tempus carere ſpatio, quia in puncto præterit? ſed tamen perdurat attentio, per quam pergat abeſſe quod aderit. Non igitur longum tempus futurum quod non eſt; ſed longum futurum, longa expectatio futuri eſt. Neque longum tempus præteritum, quod non eſt, ſed longum præteritum, longa memoria præteriti eſt.*

* *Vide Plotinum Ennead.* 3. *lib.* 7.

ſerves as a glaſs to the underſtanding, and the motion or agitation of *phantaſms*, as a *Nomenclator* to the inherent *notions*, whoſe notice or expreſſion we ſeek, whoſe apprehenſion till we light on *phantaſms* fitting, is but ſuch as we have of matters which we well know we have forgotten, but cannot diſtinctly call to mind. Yet, if other ſhall gueſs or name divers perſons or places (ſuppoſe the names of men or Cities, were the matters we had forgotten and would call to mind) we can eaſily diſcern whether they miſs or hit, when they go neer, or wide of that we ſeek, becauſe in hitting or comming neer they *ſtart* either the former diſtinct repreſentation we had of it, or ſome eſpecial circumſtance that draws it nearer to the ſecond birth, or new apprehenſion. After the ſame manner doth the intellectual ingraffed *notion*, before it be diſtinctly apprehended, either miſlike the ſuggeſtion of ſundry *phantaſms*, as apt rather to ſmother or obſcure, than to manifeſt or expreſs it, or like of others as coming near it, or being ſome neceſſary adjunct of it: but finally approves only ſuch as have exact correſpondency with it, or cleerly repreſent it to it ſelf or the intellective faculty wherein it reſides or moves. Hence perhaps may that main queſtion of queſtions be aſſoyled, *How we become certainly perſwaded of any truth:* this certainty can never be wrought but by a *repercuſſion* of the ingraffed *notion* upon it ſelf. Thus in all contemplations fully evident and certain, we feel a grateful penetration between the object known, and the faculty knowing, and as it were a faſtning of the truth found, unto that *part* of the ſoul, whence the deſire of it ſprung. The ſoul it ſelf by this penetration becomes ſo fully ſatisfied, that the inclination which before wrought outwardly, ſeeking where to reſt, delights now rather to retire inwardly and enjoy it ſelf. Our manner of examining the certainty of truth ſuppoſed to be found out is by a kind of *Arietation*, a tryal which floating conceits or *phantaſms* not perpendicularly ſetled upon the intellectual *notion* cannot abide. And without convenient and ſetled *phantaſms* the intellectual intentions glaunce away without reflection or repercuſſion, and conſequently without all ſenſe or notice of the *Idæal* rules or *notions* whence they flow as lines from their *center*. Some glimerings they may leave of their indefinite truth, none of their goodneſs, as the Sun-beams leave ſome light or impreſſion of light in the middle or upper region of the air, none of heat until it meet with ſome ſolid body to reflect them.

CHAP. XIV.

What qualifications are required in the Phantaſie *or* paſſive underſtanding *for performing its duty to the* active underſtanding, *ſpecially for the right repreſentation of matters moral or ſpiritual.*

1. FOR avoiding of erroneous conceits as well in matters ſenſible as immaterial, it would be requiſite to know ſomewhat more particularly, what qualification is required of the *phantaſie*, what of the whole human ſoul, what peculiarly of the intellectual, and ſupream faculty which ſets all the reſt a working, and calls all their ſeveral operations to preciſe examination and ſtrict account. Seeing every thing almoſt that is, hath ſome affinity with others, and nothing can be known without ſpeculation of *phantaſms*, it will be hard to underſtand either more excellent and tranſcendent natures truly, or ordina-

ry matters fully, without variety of *phantaſms.* The next thing that can be required in the *phantaſie* thus furniſhed with ſtore of models or repreſentations, is, that it be ſtayed or ſetled.

Non ſum adeo informis nuper me in littore vidi,
Cum placidum ventis ſtaret mare;
I am not ſo ill favoured, I ſaw my ſelf ere while,
In calmer ſea, a glaſs moſt true, which can no man beguile;

ſaith the *Shepheard* in the * *Poet.* But who hath ſeen his bodily ſhape at any time in a raging Sea, or ſwelling ſtream, although that concourſe or efficiency, which our faces or bodies afford to the production of their own images or ſimilitudes, be in all places, and all times the ſame. So is the irradiation or agency of the active underſtanding in the Philoſophers opinion perpetual, nor works it by fits or glimering. So we were alwayes alike apt to learn or apprehend, it is alwayes alike ready to make us underſtand. For as nothing can be weary of its eſſence, ſo neither can the intellective faculty be of this its proper operation, which as the Philoſopher thinks, is the ſelf ſame with its eſſence. The proper eſſence and operation of it, is to diffuſe theſe intellectual rayes or ingraffed *notions* of truth: but theſe we alwayes apprehend not, we remember not their apprehenſions, becauſe the *paſſive* or *faſhionable* underſtanding (which ſome take to be all one with the *phantaſie*) is ſubject to change and corruption, often ſo ill diſpoſed, that either no repreſentations are made in it, or elſe ſuch as are falſe and unperfect. This I take to be the Philoſophers meaning in theſe words, Οὐ μνημονεύομεν δ' ὅτι τοῦτο μὲν ἀπαθὲς, ὁ δ' παθητικὸς νοῦς φθαρτὸς, καὶ ἄνευ τούτου οὐδὲν νοεῖ. To think he ſhould here give a reaſon, why our ſouls after ſeparations from their bodies, remember not what they knew in them, would make his ſoul, I am perſwaded, yet to ſmile, could it but read the Interpreters gloſſes upon theſe words to this purpoſe. Not to inſiſt upon his authority, nor to wrangle about his particular meaning in this place, which perhaps he purpoſely left obſcure and doubtful, all that can be gathered from his reaſon or from experience is this, that the human *ſoul* hath a perpetual operation independent of the body, which ſufficiently proves it to be immortal; but ſo is not human knowledge, becauſe in the production of it the ſoul muſt be patient as well as agent, and doth not work upon it ſelf directly, but by repercuſſion or reflection. And ſeeing theſe are not wrought without ſome concurſe of the *phantaſie,* whoſe operations as it ſelf is, are ſubject to corruption and change, our *Intellection,* whether it be made by imitation or impreſſion of *phantaſms* refined, cannot be perpetual or immortal.

2. That potentiality or aptitude which the ſoul hath to be linckt, and made one ſubſtance with the body, muſt needs abate ſome part of that perfection which is in Angels. They are pure *acts* and perpetually apprehend their own perpetual operations: the ſoul of man hath an immortal deſire to do the like, but is held down by the earthly and mortal body, whoſe motions and unruly appetites do ſtill counter-ſway theſe inbred deſires, which the ſoul hath to contemplate her ſelf, as containing the ingraffed *notions,* or ſimilitude of all things. Hence is that which the ſame Philoſopher elſewhere excellently obſerves, that *ſenſe* and *prudence* do in a manner voluntarily reſult from the ſtay or ſetled eſtate of the ſoul without variation. Now theſe diſturbances, or turbulent motions of the ſoul which hinder knowledge, ariſe for the moſt part from alliance with the body, or from the

allurements of external ſenſes. For this reaſon,as we ſaid before,when bodily calamity or affliction cut off the hopes of temporary or ſenſual pleaſure, and untie or burſt the ſtrings which held us faſt unto the pomps or vanities of the world: the ingraffed *notions* of Gods power or providence, the natural dictates of conſcience, have liberty and opportunity to *notifie* and expreſs themſelves. Then as *Pliny* ſaith, we know our ſelves to be but men, and our ſouls begin to underſtand themſelves, and their former errors; they now ſee what precious ſeed was ſown in them, ſo they had not ſuffered it to be ſmoothered, and choaked with wordly cares, nor ſuffered it to ſtarve by nouriſhing vain hopes of reaping forraign pleaſures. And yet even whiles the reaſonable ſoul condemns the ſenſes for hiding this ineſtimable treaſure of *ingraffed knowledge*, ſhe cannot diſcover it without their help; the repreſentation is alwayes effected by ſome concourſe of the *phantaſie*, in which it is firſt begun, as bodily pain or malady oft-times manifeſts it ſelf not in the part which is principally affected,but in ſome other which hath ſome neer bond of nature, or peculiar ſympathy with it. And the former fault, to ſpeak the truth, is not in ſenſe or *phantaſie*, but in the reaſonable ſoul which ſuffers her ſelf to be miſled by theſe her ſervants, whoſe right nurture or *making* for hunting out latent truth, is in her power. But as the *French* by often uſing the *Switzers* ſervice upon ſome eſpecial occaſions, were ſometime * ſaid to have brought themſelves to ſuch a paſs,that they could not manage any war without them: ſo the reaſonable ſoul being upon neceſſity beholding to external ſenſes for perceiving objects ſenſible, by too much relying upon their informations, diſenables her ſelf for more noble imployments. The ſtrict *uxorius* confederacy which is too oft, enters with theſe two groſs ſenſes *touch* and *taſte*, and her too much familiarity with their adherents, utterly diſſolves her native correſpondency or acquaintance with intellectual or more noble eſſences, which are of the ſame deſcent and progeny with her. Thus abuſed or miſinformed, as great men are uſually by their ſervants, ſhe neither can deſire, conceive, nor entertain truth ſpiritual, but after a faſhion meerly carnal. The original or manner of theſe prejudices wherewith this image God is by the ſuggeſtions of ſenſe ſurpriſed, are but ſuch as common experience witneſſeth to be moſt rife in every particular ſenſe: the right frame or conſtitution of whoſe organs, alwayes ſuppoſe a vacuity of thoſe real qualities, whereof they are ſole competent, and ſhould be indifferent judges, For if any one of theſe qualities have once gotten poſſeſſion, and planted it ſelf in the organ, it excludes all the reſt, or makes what compoſition it liſts, often charging the external ſenſe with that, whereof it ſelf is ſole cauſe. As if any groſs or malignant humor have incorporated it ſelf into the tongue or palat, it either quite takes away all taſte of meats or drinks, or makes ſuch as are indeed ſweet and pleaſant, ſeem juſt ſuch as it ſelf is. Or if any tincture of brighter colours, whereon we have long gazed, ſtick in our eyes, it either dazels our ſight, or makes us think other objects to be of the ſame hew with that whence it was taken. In like manner doth the contagion of every ſenſe, or ſtudies unto whoſe pleaſures we are partially or too much addicted, diſſolve that æquilibrium or vertual proportion, which our ſouls have with all things,and whereby they are qualified for underſtanding their natures, eſſences, or properties. Bewitching delight in Mathematical ſpeculations (though of all ſenſibles theſe be moſt abſtract and immaterial) hath been as a falſe glaſs to pervert the ſight of ſome in matters Philoſophical,

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loſophical, and cauſe them transform material natural bodies into imaginary or motionleſs figures. From this root ſpring all transformations of the Divine nature, or attributes, whether in the Heathen, the Romaniſts, or true Profeſſors. Of the particular branches, with the two remedies to prevent their growth (*Purification* of the *heart*, and *Sublimation* of our *ſpirit*) ſomewhat ſhall be ſaid by Gods aſſiſtance in ſome Treatiſes following. Thus much only was here to be premiſed, That our ingraffed *notions* of *Gods goodneſs* or inclinations either naturally are, or by evil cuſtom become indefinite and indiſtinct, more flexible to goodneſs ſenſible, than to intellectual; to carnal, than to ſpiritual; alwayes apt to ſettle, or continue their courſe, where they find firſt iſſue or vent, and to be moſt addicted to their old acquaintance.

CHAP. XV.

In what ſenſe it is commonly ſaid that Senſe *is of* particulars, *and the* underſtanding *of* univerſals. *Of the manner how ſenſe miſ-informs the underſtanding, with ſome general advertiſements how to prevent its miſinformations.*

1. THat pit wherein *Democritus* imagined Truth to be buried, was queſtionleſs the heart of man. Not much unlike unto his riddle, was the ſaying of the wiſe King; *Counſel in the heart of man is like deep water, but a man of underſtanding will draw it out.* But he muſt be a man of underſtanding indeed, that can draw any conſultations God-ward out of his own heart. The relicks of Gods image in us, are ſo buryed in ſenſe, that no intellectual conceit of his goodneſs can be faſhioned without his eſpecial providence, and the beſt that can be faſhioned by his providence, muſt be revived by his ſpirit.

Prov. 25. v. 5.

2. *Senſe*, ſaith the Philoſopher, is of Particulars; and every Particular in his language, though preſented to ſenſe, but as one, includes an heap, or cluſter of ingredients, or circumſtances; every one in nature much different from other. We ſee the quantity, the colour, ſhape, and proportion of *Socrates*, with other adherents not meer *Socrates*, or the Individual human *eſſence*. Senſe then is of concretes or congeſts, not of abſtracts, or eſſences, whether apprehended as univerſal, indefinite, or ſingularized. Thoſe things we are properly ſaid to *underſtand*, whoſe natures, or entities are repreſented unto us as pure, and immixt, and as it were diſſolved from the bundle, wherein they were apprehended only in groſs by ſenſe. Whatſoever we diſcern can be truly avouched, or denied of any thing thus conſidered apart, and limited by its own proper bounds, muſt needs be avouched, or denied of every like nature ſo conſidered. And ſeeing things are thus conſidered by the underſtanding only, to whom this power of ventilating, and ſifting *Phantaſms*, or of diſſolving, or ſevering thoſe combinations which delude ſenſe, properly belongs; Intellection, or underſtanding is ſaid to be of Univerſals, not of Particulars. Every nature thus abſtracted, or conceived only by it ſelf, without any forraign adherents, or admixture, ſerves as a common meaſure for comprehending all of the ſame kind, and is apt to *found* an univerſal Rule, or definition. The falſhood, or imperfection of all Rules ſuppoſe ſome precedent defect in the abſtracting, or diſſolving the parts, or ingredients of ſenſitive repreſentations. Many things we cannot rightly, or perfectly

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tectly conceive but by compoſition of *phantaſms*, which can never be rightly compounded, unleſs they be firſt rightly diſſevered, or abſtracted. Sometimes we may attribute that to one nature, or ingredient, which is proper to ſome other, linked with it in the ſame ſubject, but not diſcerned; and then the obſervation is falſe, or true onely *ex Accidente*; *ut Muſicus ædificat*; as if a man ſhould think a Metropolitane ſhould do that as privy Counſellor, which belongs unto his ſpiritual place, becauſe the actions of both kinds proceed from one and the ſame party, who notwithſtanding is indued with a twofold authority. Sometimes again we may attribute that to one circumſtance, or ingredient, which joyntly iſſues from two, or more. And in this caſe the Rule fails, when the Conjunction is diſſolved. As if we ſhould think the Moon ſhould alwayes be Eclips't when it is in the full, or when after exact calculation it is found to have the ſame diſtance from the Sun, which had been noted by us in two or three former Eclipſes. For equality of the Moons diſtance from the Sun, unleſs it fall out in the *Ecliptick line*, is not ſufficient to infer this effect, if an Eclipſe, or deficiency may properly be tearmed an effect. This is a rule moſt univerſal, and tranſcendent [*That every Rule which holds true in ſome caſes, and fails in others, is taken from ſenſitive obſervations, or preſentments not perfectly ſifted, or abſtracted, whoſe ingredients notwithſtanding diſſociate themſelves in thoſe particulars, wherein they fail.*] Thus *Hippocrates* Rules of Winds, and Waters held true in thoſe Regions, wherein he made his obſervations, but not in ours: becauſe the ſoyl, which lay Eaſt, Weſt, North, or South of his habitation was of a different temper from thoſe Countries, which have the like ſituation (in reſpect of the Heavens) from us. Many rules again are oft-times not acknowledged ſo general as they are; becauſe we take ſome concurrence of circumſtances, or accidents, or ſomewhat annexed unto the latent nature, whence the effect is derived, as a concauſe, or neceſſary condition, when as it was only preſent, not acceſſary to the event. Thus many people in this Land are afraid to begin a good work upon the ſame day, that *Innocents* day fell on the year before: becauſe they held the circumſtance of time as a neceſſary concurrent to proſperous proceedings. And unleſs experience did teach the contrary, a meer diſputant would hardly grant hot water could quench fire; becauſe it wants that quality, which may well ſeem to be as a neceſſary concurrent to the deſtruction of the contrary form. The evidence of this event hath occaſioned Philoſophers to obſerve a property in the fire diſtinct from heat, and another in the water diſtinct from cold, perhaps in part from moiſture. Which properties, ſenſe, without the help of underſtanding, could never have diſtinguiſhed from heat or cold. Thus are heat and cold for want of like abſtraction taken for thoſe qualities, wherein the Medicinal vertue of hearbs or other phiſical ſimples properly conſiſts. He that never had ſeen any creatures indued with ſenſe, and motion, but ſuch as with theſe have reaſon; no reaſonable creatures but *Ethiopians*, nor blackneſs in any ſubject, but in this kind of men, would imagine all thoſe to be one, or each to infer others preſence. And if the underſtanding ſhould not upon new obſervations correct ſenſe, theſe collections would preſently offer themſelves. [*Whatſoever hath ſenſe, or motion, or is black, is indued with reaſon, and diſcourſe*; [*Whatſoever is not capable of theſe latter adjuncts is uncapable of the former.*] But once obſerving motion, or ſenſe in many creatures wanting the uſe of ſpeech, or obſerving many men whoſe complexion is far from

back,

black, or blackneſs in diverſe ſubjects, which neither have life, motion, ſenſe, or reaſon; the abſtraction of each from other offering it ſelf, would manifeſt the folly of former inferences. Generally, the more in number, and more different in nature the ſubjects be, wherein we obſerve any accident, or property: the more eaſie and evident is the abſtraction of it from others, with which it often hath conjunction. The true reaſon why * Mathematical rules are ſo perſpicuous and evident, is becauſe lines and figures are found in every matter, that is ſubject to ſenſe, as *numbers* and *unities* accompany all things we can underſtand. Quantity we may find in many bodies without any ſuch concomitance, as it had in others. For ſundry ſubſtances much differing in all things elſe, agree only in ſhape, or figure. But where one attribute, or quality is linked with another in all, or moſt ſubjects, wherein either can be found, the diſtinction between them is more difficult, unleſs they belong to ſeveral ſenſes, or ſo belonging we uſually confound their cauſes, or obſerve ſmall diverſity betwixt them. Seeing permanent colours are not uſually ſeen but in mixt bodies, and all mixture is wrought by heat and cold, moiſture and drineſs; we often imagin the diverſity of colours ſhould ariſe from the diverſe mixture of theſe prime qualities (as they are reputed) when as the diverſity indeed is from the mixture of two more ſimple, more immaterial, and more general and prime. As light and darkneſs were firſt created; ſo their of-ſprings, or propagations (*Opacitie* and *Perſpicuity*) have firſt place in all bodies, alike communicable, to ſingle, or compounded, to corruptible, or incorruptible ſubſtances. There is no mixt body without their mixture, and oft-times where the one is really, the other there will be by participation, whether in the elements, or in bodies perfectly, or imperfectly mixt. || From the different proportions of their mixtures, or combinations, ariſeth all diverſity of colours. It ſkilleth not whether the fire were hot or cold, or whether the coals were dry or moiſt, ſo the one be bright, and the other ſooty or duſty; the flame at firſt kindling will ſeem black, afterward reddiſh, or blewiſh, laſtly yellow, and ſplendent. The original of real colours (as they call them) is no other, only the perſpicuity, and opacity, whence they ſpring are more permanent, as being deeper incorporated into the matter, and the bond of their mixture more firm.

* *Algazel* in his Logick.

|| *Vide Antonium Scarmilion de Coloribus.*

3. Moſt objects (as they are preſented to us by ſenſe) reſemble the firſt *Chaos*, or confuſed Maſs. The underſtanding by ſifting, and ventilating the ſeveral ingredients, and aſſigning ſuch as are of like natures (ſorted together) to their ſeveral, and proper places, imitates the great Creator of the world in extracting light out of darkneſs, and diſtinct bodies out of confuſed heaps, and pure celeſtial ſubſtances out of earthly droſs. The right conſtitution of every Art or Science, is a kind of Creation, and their Inventors come neareſt to God in wiſdom; yet not herein to glory, or rejoyce, ſave only that by this clear reſolution of every effect, or object, into its ſimple and prime Elements, the beams of the Creators wiſdom, and diſtillations of his goodneſs, which lay buried in the confuſed Congeſts, which ſenſe preſents, become clear and ſenſible, if the wind be once touched with grace, which ſhould never be excluded, but ſtill implored in the ſearch of what truth ſoever. For no truth can be ſo mean, or ſlender, but being made clear, and evident, it may elevate the mind, to which it ſo appears, to contemplation of the firſt truth, and is as a ſtep or approach to that light, which is inacceſſible. Nor was it

the ſearch, not to the curious ſearch of Sciences natural, Aſtrological, or Politick, but the profeſſors ſlothſul readineſs to rely upon the repreſentations of ſenſe not accurately ſifted, from which theſe three main ſtreams of Atheiſm before mentioned did firſt iſſue. All three (with the *ſource* of Superſtition, or Idolatry to be proſecuted in the next * Diſcourſe,) we may derive from a further head, then there we did, and ſomewhat more particular and proper, then was now intimated.

* Cap. 18. Sect. 3.

4. It is a dictate of nature engraffed in all [*That every thing, which before was not, muſt have a cauſe of its now being.*] And if the cauſe manifeſted not it ſelf in the production, we are ready by nature to father the effect upon that, which is repreſented by ſenſe as neareſt unto it. Thus the Philoſopher took the matter, the Aſtrologer the ſtars for ſole or chief cauſes of all things: the Politician his own plots for principal accompliſhers of all thoſe projects, whereto they concur as the dropping of a petty Conduit to the overflow of a mighty river, out of which the whole ſtream, which feeds it, and many other, was firſt cut. And if the event be ſuch, as hath no permanent duration, or fixt ſeat, but falls out now and then without any certain obſervation; the time, and place, wherein it was brought forth, are uſually ſuppoſed to be ſole compartners in the begetting, or conceiving of it; and ſhall according to the goodneſs, or badneſs of this their ſuppoſed brood, reap the ſame praiſe or diſpraiſe, the ſame thanks or imprecations, which Parents, or Tutors have for furniſhing the Common-weal with towardly, or ungracious plants.

5. Nor doth ſenſe entiſe unto Atheiſm, or Idolatry, only by putting that uſual fallacie of *non cauſa pro cauſa* upon the unobſervant. But this error ſuppoſed, ſeeing the link betwixt cauſes, and their effects is moſt ſtrict, the multiplicity of the one ſuggeſts a multiplicity of the other. So doth every tearm of Relation multiplyed in the Individual, occaſion us to conceive a like number of correlatives. The ſame error often inſinuates it ſelf into the proper acts of underſtanding. For no things in Nature truly diverſe can be ſo indiviſibly, or eſſentially continued in repreſentations made by ſenſe, as the object, or nature conceived by us, and our intellective conceit of it: no things really different more apt, than theſe to preſent themſelves as one. Now ſeeing our underſtandings cannot comprehend the entire entity of many natures in themſelves moſt intelligible by one conceipt, but muſt view them peace-meal, as we do many ſided bodies, or meaſure them by reiteration of the ſame or like acts, as we do large quantities by often application of the ſame palm or ſpan. We ſlide by this means into a common error of imagining as many diſtinct natures conceived, as we frame conceipts of it, being indeed but one, and the ſame. Thus doth error become circular; for by conceiving things by nature diverſe whilſt repreſented in one heap or cluſter, or mutually linked together, to be but one; we come to imagine that, which is but one, to be many. Sometimes we imagine a diverſity in the cauſe, which is ſtill one, and the ſame, from * diverſitie of *Place* and *Time*, which intrude themſelves into our conceipt of it: And ſometimes again an unity, or identity of cauſes, where there is great diverſity, from the unity of time, of place, of temporary or local adherents, or other correlations alwaies united in our conceit. The manner of the Heathens error mentioned by S. *Auſtin*, was the ſame, only different in the matter. *Aliquando unum Deum res plures: aliquando unam rem Deos plures faciunt* ||. If theſe errors uſually obtrude themſelves in matters ſenſible,

*See Cap. 18. Sect. 3.

|| Aug. de Civ. Dei. lib. 7. c. 16.

where

whereof we have diſtinct, and formal repreſentations, their inſinuations muſt needs be more frequent in matters meerly intellectual, of which we can have no ſpecifical reſemblance, but muſt be enforced to mould them in ſome ſenſible conceipt. Things rare and admirable, though in their own nature viſible, yet not ſeen by us, but known only by report or fame, we cannot better apprehend, then by comparing them with the beſt we know of the ſame kind.

Urbem quam Romam dicunt, Melibæe, putavi,
Stultus ego huic noſtræ ſimilem.
Fool that I was. great Empreſs Rome becrown'd with lofty Towers,
I ween'd t'have been ſome Market Town, not much unlike to ours.

Though *Mantua* had been a meaner Town, then it was; yet being the faireſt, and beſt he knew, his diſtinct conceit of *Rome* unſeen could not have ſurpaſſed the *Idea* of it, ſave only by addition of ſome ſtreets, or greater ſtore of ſuch ornaments, as he had obſerved in building. But his error upon the view of *Rome* was eaſily rectified, albeit the manner of his miſ-conceipt, the party in whoſe perſon he ſpeaks, could not better expreſs unto his fellow, then by miſtaking the dam for the ſuckling:

Sic canibus catulos ſimiles, ſic matribus hædos
Nôram.———

nor the meaſure of it better than by comparing the Cypreſs with lower ſhrubs.

Verum hæc tantum alias inter caput extulit urbes,
Quantum lenta ſolent inter viburna Cupreſſi.
But ſure this City other Towns, in ſtate no leſs exceeds,
Then Cypreſs tall wild limber vines, then pleaſant vines do weeds.

More groſs by much will our preſent conceipts of the divine nature appear, when our faith ſhall be changed into ſight: The beſt remedy not to erre much is to hold our minds in ſuſpenſive admiration, not preſuming to be peremptory in particular repreſentations: not to content our ſelves with any reſemblance as ſufficient, though ſome be more apt, then others for bringing forth a more lively conceit of his unconceivable glory, or a more diſtinct appehenſion of his incomprehenſible wiſdome, or majeſty, or more determinate notice of his immenſity, or infinity: but of theſe hereafter.

6. The ſum of this Diſcourſe is to admoniſh every one, that meditates on God, or his attributes, to take heed to his imaginations. For beſides the aforementioned purity of heart, the intention of mind, or underſtanding to ventilate, ſift, or illuminate *phantaſms* borrowed from ſenſe, there is required a vigilant attention in the judicative faculty: otherwiſe the ſame errors, which happen in recalling things long forgotten to mind, or dreams will ſurprize our waking Imaginations of God, or matters divine. He that would remember *Timotheus*, *Theodorus*, or *Oroſius*, unleſs his apprehenſion of their names have been formerly very diſtinct, and his preſent examination attentive, would eaſily entertain in ſtead of them *Theotimus*, *Dorotheus*, or *Oſorius*. In men ignorant of Latin Etymologies, *conference* will ſometimes be taken for *confidence*, *offence* for *defence*, &c. Now our knowledge of matters unſenſible, (being as I ſaid before) like unto *reminiſcence*, in that we have but an indefinite or undeterminate *notion* of their natures, and qualities; and herein ſhort of them, that we never had an expreſs, or actual *notion*, whereby to examine their reſemblances: the ſubſtitution of any thing, which hath ordinary ſimilitude with them, will hardly be

avoided without great attention. The manner of many errors in this kind differs only in degree from ſuch deluſions as fall out in dreams; wherein our apprehenſions of proper ſenſibles are moſt quick, and lively, but their compoſitions, or ſuggeſtions oft-times ridiculous, and abſur'd. Such was the temper of the Heathen in reſpect of this Polypragmatical age. Many effects, which move not us, made deep impreſſion of a Deity, which they ſtrangely multiplied, or transformed.

SECTION III.

Of the Original of Heatheniſh Idolatry, and multiplicity of Gods.

CHAP. XVI.

The general fallacie by which Sathan ſeduced the World to acknowledge falſe Gods.

1. THE manner how indefinite *notions* of the *Deity* did branch themſelves into Idolatry, though many have attempted to handle at large, none in my judgment have ſo directly hit, as the * Philoſopher doth in a touch, or glance. The fallacie was in converting that *Maxim*, or general *notion* ſimply, which was convertible only by Accident. All conceived of God, as the beſt object they could conceive; whence, many finding contentment to their deſires beyond all meaſure of good diſtinctly known before, forthwith collected that to be God, which had given them *ſuch* contentment. Others more deſirous to gratulate their extraordinary benefactors with more then uſual reſpect, then able to diſtinguiſh between the ſeveral degrees or ſorts of honor, made bold to borrow ſuch, as was due unto the Divine power (therewith to gratifie men) and ſo by cuſtom or bad example brought poſterity to pay that as an ordinary debt, which in heat of affection, or unwildy exultation of mind, had been miſ-tendered by way of complement, or laviſh gratuity. In minds not well acquainted with the ſeveral kinds of things deſirable, nor with the degrees of their goodneſs, it is alwayes eaſie for any good of higher degree, or rank, then hath been formerly taſted, to intercept that reſpect, or affection, which by rule of juſtice belongeth only to the beſt. And the affection thus alienated, or miſguided, diſenables our inclinations for aſpiring any higher. For although the capacity of the human ſoul be in a manner infinite, and all of us infinitely deſire to be happy, yet our apprehenſions of goodneſs, or happineſs it ſelf are confuſed, and indiſtinct. The beſt of us until Gods Spirit become our guide, are no better then blind men, in the choice of things good. From this native blindneſs of our appetites, and apprehenſions, we infinitely deſire that which firſt or moſt frequently poſſeſſeth our ſouls with delight, though in its nature but a finite *good*, and our deſires being infinitely ſet on that which is but finitely good, do dull our ſight, dead our appetite, abate our ca-

* *Ariſtotle* in his *Politicks*.

pacities of that infinite goodneſs, which we naturally long after. Thus, as heretofore is obſerved *, our deſires of good ends, which admit no bound, or limit, are often taken up by the means, whoſe acquaintance was only ſought, for better compaſſing the end. And many young wits finding unuſual refreſhing in extemporary exchange of jeſts, of pleaſant diſcourſe, or in opening ſome vein of Poetry, are in ſhort time brought to confine themſelves wholly to this kind of dyet; contented to be continually fed with froth, otherwiſe framed for contemplation of ſuch myſteries, as might perpetually diſtill *Nectar* and *Ambroſia*.

2. By a witty reſemblance directly ſubordinate to this general occaſion of error here intimated, doth the noble *Mornay* expreſs the manner of ſome Heathens ſeducements to worſhip the Hoaſt of Heaven. ***This*** (ſaith he) *ſo fell out, as if ſome Ruſtick, that thinks a great deal better of himſelf, when he hath on his holy-daies ſuit, permitted to come within the Court, ſhould miſtake the firſt gaudy coat he met with for his Prince, or Soveraign.* Heaven they conceived to be the ſeat, or court of Divine powers, and the Sun, Moon, and Stars, being bodies glorious in themſelves, and ſenſible procurers of common benefits to men; partly by reaſon of their place, partly by that high rank of excellency, or goodneſs, which they enjoy amongſt the parts of this viſible world, might eaſily be adored for gods, by ſuch as had ſmall, or no reliſh of any other *good*, than what was ſenſible. Some *Barbarians*, as is ſaid, to this day think us *Chriſtians* but a kind of ſenſleſs creatures, for worſhipping a God, whom we neither ſee, hear, nor feel, neglecting the Sun to whoſe comfortable beams more ſenſes, then one, are beholding. This report, though not avouched by any authentick Relator, whiles related in my hearing by ſome, who avouched themſelves ear-witneſſes of ſuch expoſtulations with *Barbarians*, I could not reject as incredible, becauſe not unconſonant to *Cæſars* Narration of the ancient *Germanes*: * *The Germanes*, ſaith he, *which worſhipped no Gods beſides the Sun, the Moon, &c. of whoſe beneficence they were ſenſible.* Their manner of life, as is well known, was but ſimple, without variety of trades for ſupplying of neceſſities, much more deſtitute of good arts, or curious inventions for ornament of publick State, otherwiſe their gods had been more. || Had the myſtery of *Printing* (to omit other profitable inventions of modern *Germanes*) been invented in thoſe ancient times, whereof *Cæſar* writes, *Gutenberg* of *Ments*, to whom the Chriſtian world is under God moſt beholding for this ſacred Art, might have been a God of higher eſteem throughout *Germany*, than *Mercury*, or *Jupiter* himſelf, or any other God of the *Germanes* by *Cæſar* mentioned. For with moſt people of thoſe times (as † *Zenoes* ſcholar had obſerved) any profitable Invention was title ſufficient to challenge the eſteem, or honor of a God; even the things themſelves ſo invented, if rare, or extraordinarily beneficial, were enſtiled with the attributes of Divine powers. Thus as the wiſe man had obſerved, the Heathens multiplied their gods according to the variety of the matters, which they principally deſired, or feared. And * *Cotta* deriding the *Somnolent* and ſluggiſh gods of the *Epicures*, doth in compariſon acquit the *Ægyptians* from their groſs foppery, in that they conſecrated no beaſts, but for ſome publick benefit in their opinion received from them.

3. Of publick benefits, freedom from danger was held a part; whence thoſe beaſts, how loathſome ſoever, unto whoſe annoyance they were moſt *obnoxious*, were reverenced and feared as gods. Not the Crocodile, but had his peculiar rites, or pacifical ceremonies: how-

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* Lib. 4. ſect. 3. cap. 6.

* Germani de Deorum numero eos ſolos ducunt, quos cernunt, & quorum apertè operibus adjuvantur; Solem ſcilicet, Vulcanum, Lunam, reliquos nec fama acceperunt. *Cæſar Comment. lib.* 1.

|| *Vide Forcatulum. lib.* 5. *pag.* 617.

† *Cic. lib.* 1. *de natura Deorum & Petrarch. de vita Solitar. l.* 1. *c.* 6. *Vide Forcatulum lib.* 6. *pag.* 883. *ex Strabone lib.* 7.

* *Cicero lib.* 1. *de natura Deorum.*

beit his worſhippers held it a point of religious policy to hold like correſpondency with *Ichneumon*, a kind of water Rat; which devoured this gods young ones. To attribute divine honour unto beaſts, how beneficial ſoever, may ſeem to us very groſs, and without ſome other collateral impulſive cauſes ſcarce derivable from the former original of this error. But whatſoever the cauſes might be, experience hath proved the effect not unuſual amongſt barbarous people in this age. * *There be at this day in Samogithia many Idolaters which nouriſh a kind of Serpents that go or creep upon four ſhort feet like Lizzards, their bodies blackiſh and fat, about ſome three handfulls in length, and theſe they nouriſh as their houſhold Gods. And whilſt they come or creep upon ſet daies by ceremonial invitation unto their meat, the Maſter of the houſe with his family attends them with fear and reverence to their repaſt, at their repaſt, untill they return unto their place.* It is a ſtrange Narration which this Author in the ſame place commends unto us upon the credit of his Hoaſt. Which how far it is to be taken, I refer it to ſuch as will take pains to read the Author himſelf, or his words here quoted in the margine †. But leaving theſe barbarous worſhippers of venomous or noyſome beaſts: to adore men well deſerving of them with divine honour, moſt Nations have been by nature more prone, and many have had peculiar impulſions to puſh forward their proneneſs unto this ſin.

* *Sunt etiamnum in Samogithia Idololatræ quamplures, qui ſerpentes quoſdam quatuor brevibus, lacertarum inſtar, pedibus, nigro, obæſoque corpore trium palmarum longitudinem non excedentes, Givuoites dictos, tanquam penates domi ſuæ nutriunt: eoſque luſtrata domo ſtatis diebus ad appoſitum cibum prorepentes, cum tota familia, quoad ſaturati in locum ſuum revertantur, timore quodam venerantur.* Sigiſmund. Baro de Rebus Moſcou. pag. 113.

† *Cum priori ex Moſcovia itinere rediens, in Troki veniſſem, referebat hoſpes meus, ad quem fortè diverteram, ſe eodem, quo ibi eram anno, ab ejuſmodi quodam ſerpentis cultore aliquot alvearia apum emiſſe: quem cum oratione ſua ad verum Chriſti cultum adduxiſſet, utque ſerpentem, quem colebat, occideret, perſuaſiſſet; aliquanto poſt eum ad viſendas apes ſuas eo reverſus fuiſſet, hominem facie deformatum, ore aurium tenus miſerabilem in modum diducto offendit. Tanti mali cauſam interrogatus, reſpondit, ſe, quòd ſerpenti deo ſuo manus nefarias injeciſſet, ad piaculum expiandum, luendamque pœnam, hac calamitate puniri: multaque graviora ſi ad priores ritus ſuos non rediret, eum pati oportere.* Vide Sigiſmund. Baronem de Rebus Muſcoviticis. Pag. 113, 114.

4. That God in the ſimilitude and ſubſtance of man ſhould communicate ineſtimable bleſſings to mortality, was a tradition undoubted from the propagation of mankind. This *notion* ſuppoſed; That the ſeveral authors of benefits as hard by means ordinary or obſervable to be accompliſhed, as they were highly eſteemed, ſhould be taken by ſilly Heathens for gods in mens likeneſs *; is an eſſential branch of the former promptneſs to inveſt every unexperienced good thing, with that conceit they had of the very *beſt* imaginable. Amongſt the gods of the Heathen, *Jupiter* was commonly eſteemed ſupream; becauſe the imagined author of greateſt benefits; yet greater than *Paul* beſtowed upon that poor ſoul of *Lyſtra*, which had been a creeple from his mothers womb, no fabulous Poet had reported as done by him, in all his ſuppoſed transfigurations on earth. The excellency of the good turn, whereof their eyes were witneſſes, did exactly fit the beſt *notion* they had of any divine power. Hence was that exclamation; † *The gods are come down unto us in the likeneſs of men.* And becauſe Princes, or men of greateſt places on earth, for reſervation of ſtate, deliver their minds by Orators or Interpreters: *Barnabas* for his ſilence is taken for *Jupiter*, and *Paul* for his dexterity of ſpeech is named *Mercury*: both, if ſo they would, might have robbed *Jupiter* of his honour by the conſent and furtherance of his own Prieſts. From this peoples proneneſs to adore them, as the greateſt gods, which they had heard of, we may gather how eaſily the title of petty gods might have been purchaſed by any impoſtor, that could obſtupifie rude people, as *Simon Magus* did,

* *Parum abfuit, quin tot provocati beneficiis, & præclarè inventis rebus Gallica gens Saronem ipſum in deorum numerum referret, qui vetuſtiſſimus fuit mos gratiam bene merentibus referendi, eouſque licentiæ progrediens, ut barbari quidam, quales Ægyptii bovem agrorum culturæ aptiſſimum adorarent, præterea feras aliquot numinum loco habuerunt, quarum operâ ſibi ſubventum intelligerent.* Forcat. de Gallorum Imp. &c. l. 1. p 73.

† Acts 14. 11.

did, with appearances far ſurpaſſing their obſervation or capacities. How natural the apprehenſion of Divine power is upon unuſual events; how apt, and flexible apprehenſions ſo occaſioned are to be miſplaced upon wrong objects, cannot better be exemplified by any inſtance, then by the *Barbarians* various cenſure upon S. *Paul.* The manner of the Vipers creeping out of the fire, and hanging upon his hand (after a dangerous eſcape by Sea) they apprehend as a document of divine Juſtice, making inquiſition for blood. * *When the Barbarians ſaw the venomous beaſt hang on his hand, they ſaid among themſelves; no doubt this man is a murtherer, whom, though he hath eſcaped the ſea, yet vengeance ſuffereth not to live. But after they had looked a great while, and ſaw no harm come to him, they changed their minds, and ſaid, that he was a God.* Had he himſelf ſaid, Amen, to their motions, he might have received divine honour from them by publick decree. Much better was the indiſtinct, or confuſed *notion*, which this kind-hearted people had of the godhead, or of divine powers, then the ſpeculative acquired knowledge of the true and only God, which the malicious hard-hearted *Jews* had tranſlated out of Gods Book into their own brains.

* Acts 28. ver. 4, 5, 6.

5. The *Jews* in that they had entwined their own vain-glorious hopes of honour and earthly dignity, with that *preconceit* or *notion*, which they had of their *Meſſia's* glory, were often enraged againſt him for chalenging, or accepting divine honour for bleſſings more miraculous, then that laſt mentioned wrought by *Paul*; uſually beſtowed by him upon their poor. For theſe bleſſings, although far ſurmounting all conceit of any good before experienced, or expected by the poor ſouls relieved, were (*not good, but rather*) offenſive to ſuch ſpectators, as had fed their fancies with confident hopes of a Monarch, to crown them with external ſoveraignty over others, not a Phyſician to cure their inward wounds, or to ſet them free from Satanical ſlavery. Howbeit his handy-works, ſeconded with his words of life, uſually left a true print of his divinity in the parties, whom he cured; becauſe the good they felt, was greater then could be expected from any but him, whom God had ſent. And I am perſwaded; the poor creeple of *Liſtra*, not otherwiſe inſtructed by his mouth, which had made him ſound, would have taken him either for *Jupiter*, or ſome greater god: albeit *Jupiters* Prieſts, or other Citizens of beſt reſpect had maligned, or vilified the cure wrought in him, in ſuch manner, as the *Scribes*, *Phariſees*, and *Jews* did our Saviours reſtoration of the blind man to ſight, the deaf, the lame, the dumb, and ſuch as he had raiſed from death, or diſpoſſeſſed of Devils, were alwaies ready to worſhip him as a God, becauſe extraordinarily good to them. The *Prieſts*, the *Scribes*, and *Phariſees*, would not acknowledge him for a good man, becauſe not willing to feed them with hopes of ſuch *good*, as they moſt deſired.

6. It is an error moſt incident to drudging minds, not to diſtinguiſh betwixt goodneſs it ſelf, and what is good to their affections. Once I heard a poor creature complain of her deceaſed neighbour, that he was an hard man towards the poor. Being asked what reaſon ſhe had ſo to cenſure him; the reply was, that he had given ſomewhat to every poor in the Pariſh, beſides her ſelf; though ſhe, as far as I could learn, was only forgotten, not excepted againſt upon any ſpleen. From ſome ſpice of this drowſie error the beſt of us are not free, alwayes by nature not rectified or over-ruled by grace, prone to love

that beſt, which ſeems beſt unto us, not what abſolutely, and in it ſelf is ſuch. From this partial inclination were many obſcure imaginary powers, ſcarce known to neighbour Countries, more honoured in ſome private Cities to which they had been principal benefactors, than *Jupiter*, or other famous gods. * *The Alabandenſes* (ſaith *Tully*) *do more religiouſly worſhip one Alabandus, the Founder of their City, then they do any of their greater or more famous Gods.* *Cominæus* † hath acquainted us with the like humor in certain profeſſed Romiſh Catholick Chriſtians, which made no ſcruple of worſhipping ſuch men for Saints after death, as in their lives and actions had more reſembled Satan, and his wicked Angels. From the common *notion*; [*That Saints are the beſt of men*;] They did by the uſual fallacie miſconceive, and, upon their miſconceit, admit all ſuch for Saints, as had dealt beſt with them, though perhaps much better, then in conſcience they ought, and to the great prejudice of many others much better deſerving favour, and beneficence.

* *Alabandenſes, ſanctius colunt Alabandum, à quo eſt condita urbs illa, quam quenquam nobilium Deorum.* Cicero. lib. 3. de natura Deorum. Et Gyraldus. pag. 65.

† *Crudeliter iſte & ſuperbe imperaverat, ſed largitionibus plurimum poterat. Vide ſepulchrum ejus in Carthuſianorum templo Papiæ, cumque exiis quidam inter ſpectandum mihi virtutem ejus prædicaret, ac ſanctimoniam tribueret: cur inquam ego, ſanctam appellas? vides ibi multorum populorum inſignia depicta, quos ille ſibi nullo jure ſubegit. Tum iſte: Nos inquit, conſuetudine quadam ſanctos vocamus eos, qui nobis benefecerint.* Philip. Cominæus de Bello Neap. lib. 1.

7. Unto a more deteſtable kind of Idolatry many Heathens were, many Chriſtians yet are brought by meer exceſs of the like ſelf-love, or partial and corrupt affection; even to Deifie any kind of delightſome filthineſs, or beneficial villany, or to imagine ſome one or other divine power, patron of ſuch practiſes, as they fear might otherwiſe be controlled by mans authority. Whatſoever it be, whereon our affections are moſt ſet, *that* is indeed and truth our onely god, and would be ſolemnly adored with divine worſhip, did not our natural fear of civil ſhame, or publick infamy, likely to redound, for revolting from the rule of life generally acknowledged, reſtrain our motive faculties from acting thoſe parts, which have been deſigned unto them by the vain imaginations of our wicked hearts. In as much as the heart of man is Gods peculiar inheritance, with whoſe entire faculties he requires to be adored, and ſerved, this inheritance being once alienated from him, doth naturally draw the appurtenances after it, even all ſuch homage and ſervices, as are due unto his ſacred Majeſty, beſtowing them upon thoſe matters, whatſoever they be, upon which it hath once beſtowed it ſelf. Thus might the wanton Strumpet have been inveſted with the moſt glorious attributes of divine goodneſs, that the laſcivious Poet in heat of luſt could have invented.

* *Ilia & Egeria eſt: do nomen quodlibet illi.*

* *Horace.*

8. *Covetouſneſs* (in S. *Pauls* Divinity) *is Idolatry* ||. With this written verity moſt agreeable was the natural *notion* of thoſe poor barbarous *Indians*, which imagined the *Spaniards* had no other God beſides gold, or none ſo dear unto them as this metal was, becauſe they ſaw them hunt ſo greedily after it, both by ſea and land. Their inordinate and exceſſive coveting after it made the *Barbarians* to commit Idolatry with it.

|| Epheſ. 5. 5.

Vide Caſaum.

CHAP. XVII.

The more ſpecial Fallacies by which Sathan ſeduced the Heathen to multiply their gods in exceſſive manner.

1. ALthough it be true, which hath been ſaid; That nothing was by nature, or condition ſo vile, as not to be capable of high place amongſt the Heatheniſh gods; yet unto that extremity of multiplying their gods according to the number of their conceipts, the Heathens did not ſlide but by ſucceſſion and degrees. The *Perſians* (as S. *Auſtine* tells us) worſhipped no more gods then two, one good, and another evil, whom they likewiſe accounted good, ſo long as he did no ill to them. How *evil* ſhould be without a cauſe, or how *good* and *evil* ſhould both proceed from one cauſe, or finally how *evil* (being no part of nothing) ſhould come into the world, (ſeeing the worlds creation was but an effect of the almighty Creators goodneſs in communicating his being unto all things) are points ſo ill expreſſed by moſt Chriſtians, that the groſſeſt errors of the Heathens concerning them, may ſeem very pardonable. From theſe *Perſian Magies* the *Manichees* (it ſeems) derive their hereſies, both of them, as moſt other Heathens, had a true apprehenſion, (though both failed in their judgement, or compoſition) of thoſe divine Oracles;

Aug. *lib.5. de Civit. Dei, cap.* 21.

1. *Is there any evil done in the City, which I have not cauſed?*
2. *Every good gift is from above.*

Amos 3. 6.

James 1. 17.

Before multiplicity of buſineſſes, or artificial curioſities benummed the ſenſe of nature, every extraordinary, or remarkable effect was unto men a ſenſible ſign and witneſs of an inviſible power, bringing things that were not, to light. *Rom.*1.*verſ.*20.

2. The firſt roots of that unrighteouſneſs, wherein they held the truth thus, in a manner, deſirous to manifeſt it ſelf, were;

1. [*Careleſneſs in obſerving the notifications of divine power.*]
2. [*Neglect to tender ſuch dutiful ſervice, as the more evident manifeſtations of his goodneſs did in a ſort demand.*] The prime ſeed of both theſe roots was the imbecillity of corrupted nature, whoſe chief and ſupreme faculties, though well inſtructed, are alwayes apt to be over-born with the imbred and accuſtomed deſires of ſenſe. Of the forementioned apprehenſion, or acknowledgement of ſome inviſible power, as chief author of *good and evil*, one immediate conſequence was this; *That the ſame power: whether one, or moe, was the rewarder of ſuch as ſought to pleaſe him, and a revenger of thoſe that neglected, or offended it.* Whence, in minds miſled by their corrupt appetites, the beſt and final conſequence of the former apprehenſions or *notions*, was to woo the ſuppoſed divine powers by all means poſſible to patronize themſelves, and their actions, though unjuſt, diſhoneſt, or ſuſpitious rather than to ſubmit thier wills, and affections wholly to their diſpoſals or ſo to frame their lives, as they might be capable of their juſt favours. And as unſkilful *Empyricks* ſeek remedy from every medicine they have read or heard of, becauſe they know not the diſtinct virtue of any, or how it is proportioned to the effect they aym at: So theſe poor-blind Heathen, daily more and more ignorant in the grounds of true Religion, did as it were grope after a new inviſible power in every viſible effect, until at length they came to ſubdivide, and break the

general *notion* according to the diſtinction, or number of the ſenſibles, which they beſt or worſt affected. That every viſible effect had an inviſible cauſe, was rightly propoſed; but from this principle they ſlipt into an erroneous aſſumption; That there ſhould be as many inviſible cauſes, as there be diſtinct or viſible events. The fallacy is eaſily put upon vulgar, or *Somnolent* wits; as if one ſhould ſay, he had ten brethren, and every of them a ſiſter; ſome mens minds would forthwith run upon two and twenty brothers and ſiſters. Whether there be as many paternities, or fatherhoods in the father, as he hath ſons, is ſometimes queſtioned in the Schools, and hard univerſally to determine, whether in this ſenſe [*Quot modis dicitur unum Relatorum, tot modis dicitur & alterum*] *Whether tearms formally relative always multiply according to the number of their proper correlatives?* Now to diſtinguiſh aright between the formal Relation, and its immediate ground, will in many ſubjects trouble greateſt Artiſts. Well then might the Heathen (though ill they did in ſo doing) imagine as many inviſible powers, as they obſerved effects produced by cauſes inviſible; or (as the learned *Hooker* ſaith) *dream of as many guides of nature, as they ſaw guides of things natural.*

3. After once their ſcattered imaginations had given admiſſion to this erroneous repreſentation, or conjecture of many inviſible powers; diſtinct names, or titles were ſought for them from the effects, which they had cauſed. As in this Land before ſurnames continued in ſucceſſion, men commonly took their names from the places of their birth, or dwelling, or from events peculiar to them; as ſtrangers in ſome places yet (if their names be hard to be pronounced or remembred) are uſually called by the places from whence they came, if theſe be famous, or have ſent forth few, or none beſides to the coaſts where they remain. So the image, which *Titus Tatius*, found, becauſe the party, whom it repreſented was altogether unknown, was named *Cloacina, from a very homely place, if it ſhould be expreſt in Engliſh.* Or as they framed ſeveral gods according to the variety of their intemperate deſires: ſo they uſually derived their titles from the matters, whoſe avoidance or fruition they moſt deſired: As we give extrinſecal denominations to objects from the reference they have to our internal faculties; As ſome we ſay are intelligible, others amiable; Goddeſſes of this rank were *Volupia* and *Libentina*, &c.

4. Not a joint almoſt in a mans body, but had a peculiar god among the *Romans*, whereby they witneſſed ſome ſcattered reliques, or imperfect Characters of what the *Pſalmiſt* ſaith (in other terms) to have
Pſal. 139. 16. been written in their hearts; *In thy book were all my members written, when as not one of them was yet made.* All at leaſt in their opinion were under the tuition of ſome divine powers, by whoſe means they hoped they might be preſerved ſound, or to have them healed if they were amiſs. And not knowing unto what peculiar God or Goddeſs to tender their ſervice, or direct their prayers, for this purpoſe they gave names
See *Blondus*: to the ſuppoſed latin powers from the place affected; *In ipſa terrâ aliud Terram, aliud Tellurem, aliud Tellumonem putant, Aug. de civit. Dei, lib.* 4. *cap.* 10. The variety of tranſmutations conſpicuous in the growth of corn brought forth a multiplicity of gods, diſtinguiſhed only by names proportionate to the effects. They could not find (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) *one Segetia*, or Goddeſs of corn, unto whoſe care and

truſt, they might ſafely commend it from the ſowing till the reaping. Corn ſown whilſt under the ground was under the protection of *Seia*, after it came up, *vt ſegetem faceret*, it changed the former Guardian for *Segetia*. Not the very knots of the ſtraw or reed, but had a protector from his office entitled *Nodotus*. Becauſe they feared ruſt or canker rightly imagining that both theſe uſually came (as ſome Northern men ſpeak) by the *Seand* of God: they dreamed of a god of ruſt, or canker; doubtleſs a ruſty god, yet in their opinion to be pacified with ſolemn rites, and ceremonies. Every houſe-keeper (ſaith the ſame father) ſets but one to keep the door, and being a man but one ſufficeth: unto this office notwithſtanding were three gods deputed by the *Romans*; *Forculus foribus*, *Cardea cardini*, *Limentina limini*: One *Forculus* to the fore door, another to the hinges, or turnings, and a third to the threſholds, all taking their titles from the petty places; whereof they were reputed Preſidents. *Aug. de civitate Dei, lib.* 4. *cap.* 8.

5. But many other events fell out beſides, or above mens expectations, wanting permanency of being, or ſuch peculiar references, or determinations of circumſtances, as might derive a perpetual name to their ſuppoſed authors. Howbeit rather than theſe ſhould be ſeiſed upon, as excheats falling to men without the knowledge, or direction of divine powers, unto whom *they* were to be accountable for them; even theſe were aſcribed to ſome God, though they knew not to whom. So moſt learned Expoſitors probably think *that* Altar, which S. *Paul* found at *Athens*, had been erected upon occaſion of ſome famous victory, whoſe procurement the *Athenians* not knowing by any circumſtance unto what known God it might be aſcribed, and hence fearing leſt by attributing it to any of thoſe gods, whom they worſhipped, the true author of it might be wronged, or neglected; they aſcribed it *Ignoto Deo, to the unknown God*; well hoping he would make himſelf known by graunting more victories, being thus honoured for the former. With like gratifications did the *Romans* ſtrive to win the gods of all the nations they had conquered, to favour their conqueſts. Some good perhaps they had heard done by them unto their followers (as God (in oppoſition to Atheiſm and Irreligion) did reward the blind devotion of the Heathen with extraordinary temporal bleſſings:) and that any Nation ſhould be in greater favour, though with their own gods, then themſelves, this proud people did brook as ill, as great corporations do to be out-vied by leſſer in meriting the favour of great perſonages by rich preſents, ſolemn invitations, or coſtly intertainments. Nor is it ſtrange the ignorant Heathen ſhould be overtaken with this humor, wherewith an untoward branch of *Davids* ſtock was deſperately tainted. *In the time of his tribulation did he yet treſpaſs more againſt the Lord* (*this is* King *Ahaz*, ſo unwilling is the ſpirit his name ſhould be concealed :) *For he ſacrificed unto the gods of Damaſcus, which plagued him, and he ſaid; Becauſe the gods of the King of Aram helped him, I will ſacrifice unto them, and they will help me.* Theſe were gods, which his fathers had not known, perhaps not heard of; he only knew them from the place.

2 Chron.28. 22, 23.

6. From the former Principle, [*That every viſible effect muſt have a cauſe;*] did the ancient *Romans* as religiouſly, as wiſely collect, That ſuch events as fell out beſides the intention of man, or any ordinary or obſervable courſe appointed by nature, were even for this reaſon in ſome peculiar ſort to be referred unto the providence of ſome divine power. And rather than the viſible author ſhould looſe his right for

Cicero lib. 1. de natura Deorum

Aug. de civit. Dei, lib. 4. cap. 23.

want of a diſtinct name, the manner of the event was made a godfather or godmother. Hence had *Fortune* more Temples in *Rome* than any god or goddeſs beſides. And ſeeing of ſuch events as have no obſervable cauſe in nature, or humane intention, but fall out (as we ſay) by *chance*, ſome were very good, others diſaſterous; bad *Fortune* had her rites, and honours as well as good *Fortune*. The one propitiatory ſacrifices, leſt ſhe might do more harm; the other gratulatory, that ſhe might continue her wonted favours. The ſuperſtitious diviſion of Fortune into good and bad, was but a ſubdiviſion of the *Perſian*, or *Manichees* miſconception of one *God* as author of *good*, of *another* as the author of *evil*. Theſe latter fooleries of the *Romans* are excellently refuted by S. *Auſtin* in his fourth book *de civitate Dei*, cap. 23. *Si cultorem ſuum decernit, ut proſit, Fortuna non eſt. If ſhe can know her worſhippers, or deſervedly reſpect them, ſhe is not Fortune, becauſe not blind; If ſhe cannot reſpect them, nor take notice of their ſervice, it is in vain to worſhip her.* Howſoever, the coſt they were at in her ſervice had been much better beſtowed on that other female *Fœlicitas*, (who if ſhe had been a living Goddeſs) had all good things mans heart could deſire at her diſpoſal. But as the ſame Father acutely concludes; *Hic enim carere non poteſt infœlicitate, qui tanquam deam fœlicitatem colit, & Deum datorem fœlicitatis relinquit; ſicut carere non poteſt fame, qui panem pictum lingit, & ab homine, qui verum habet non petit. He that adoreth the goddeſs Felicity, balking that God who is the donor of Felicity, ſhall be as faithfully attended by miſery, as he whoſoever he be, ſhall be by hunger which ſolaceth himſelf by licking or kiſſing painted bread, diſdaining to beg or ask ſubſtantial bread of men that have it.*

7. Howbeit by this fooliſh ſervice of *Fortune*, whether *good* or *bad*, the *Romans* ſhewed themſelves more wiſe, and more religious, than moſt ſuch amongſt us as would be eſteemed Prophets of ſtate. As they want not wit, nor other means to do good to the houſe of God, ſo they would ceaſe to ſacrifice to their own brains, or diſclaim all title to Gods honour offered to them, by their Paraſites. But as the Heathen fathered unobſervable, or ſtrange events upon new fained gods, or Lady-*Fortune*; ſo the trencher-mates of our times, reſolve all good ſucceſs of ſtate into ſome great mens wit, or valour, whom they admire, or love to flatter for their own gain. Not the diſcovery of the *Powder-Treaſon* it ſelf, but hath been in our hearing aſcribed to the Oracle of Intelligence, as if the plot had been known to ſome Demi-gods of ſtate before the plotters fell a digging. He ſhould not much wrong this Table-tatling crew, in word, or thought, that thinks, and ſpeaks of them, as of Idolaters more deteſtable, than the moſt ſuperſtitious Heathen *Romans*; or if they come ſhort of them in the proper nature of this particular *ſum*, we are to take the abatement, not ſo much from any leſs meaſure of falſe religion, as from exceſs of Atheiſm and irreligion. But from what School they take theſe leſſons I know, & muſt hereafter have *Machievil* their Maſter in examination for his impudent animadverſions, and hypocritical corrupt gloſſes, quite contrary as well to the profeſſed meaning of that very Text he took upon him to expound; as to the unanimous tenent of beſt *Roman* Writers, even Senators themſelves, concerning the cauſes of their States advancement.

8. But queſtionleſs ſuch of the *Romans*, as adored *Felicity* for a goddeſs, were not of thoſe *Philoſophers* mind, which denied *felicity* to be the *gift of God:* for what could have nurſt in them this deſire to pleaſe her, ſave only hope, that ſhe could reward with happineſs ſuch as diligently ſought her, and could proſper induſtrious and careful in-

indeavours, for private or publique weal, in which caſes only they did ſollicite her furtherance. Such good ſucceſſes as grew rather from meer hap, than good husbandry, were taken as favours of Mrs. *Fortune*, not graces of the great Queen *Felicity*, or Lady *Vertue*. The worſhippers likewiſe of this inferior goddeſs did by their ſervice acknowledge, that ſome divine power muſt give increaſe, and maturity to ſuch ſeeds of moral honeſty, as by nature had been planted, or watered by civil education, or good diſcipline. *That the bleſſings of this ſuppoſed goddeſs were as neceſſary and beneficial to the labour, or culture of the mind, as the bleſſings of* Ceres *or* Segetia *were to tillage, or works of husbandry.* Hence we may gather *Cotta's* mouth to have been a great deal too wide, when it uttered that unſavoury obſervation, which *Tully* (as I conceive) obſerving the decorum of the parties diſpoſition, or the part which he was to act, brings him in rather belching than ſpeaking: his tautologies are ſo abrupt and tedious; part of which are to this effect: * *No man did ever acknowledge God for the Author or donor of virtue. And this ſtands with reaſon, for we are juſtly commended by others for virtues, and we our ſelves rightly glory in our virtues, which could not be ſo, if virtue were the gift of God, not a quality of our providing. But for the increaſe of honour, or revenues, for the attaining any good which might have miſt us, for eſchewing any evil which might have befallen us, we thank the Gods, diſclaiming our own praiſe or deſervings.* Doubtleſs he had never asked the conſent of his honeſt Neighbours to this peremptory determination, which alike concerned them all; but uſed his own proud irreligious ſpirit, as an allowed meaſure of others thoughts. † *Did any man ever thank the Gods for making him a good man? For what then? For his riches, honour, or ſafety.* Jupiter *had his titles of* greatneſs *and* goodneſs *from theſe effects, not for making us juſt, and temperate, or wiſe men; nor did ever any man vow tithes to* Hercules *for being made wiſe by him.* From theſe unſavory ejaculations of *Cotta*, and alſo from the *Roman Poet* who acknowledged himſelf to have been of *Epicures* brood, we may infer; That this Sect amongſt the ancient *Romans* did not abſolutely deny the divine providence, but only as it reſpected the ſoul of man. A ſpecial providence over mens bodies and temporal eſtates they did with reverence acknowledge, herein much better than the *Libertines* of our times, than careleſs profeſſors of Chriſtianity, or thoſe Heathen *Epicuræans* * before mentioned in *Juvenals* time.

Sit mihi, quod nunc eſt, etiam minus; ut mihi vivam,
Quod intereſt ævi: ſi quid ſupereſſe volunt dii:
Sit bona librorum, & proviſæ frugis in annum
Copia: neu fluitem dubiæ ſpe pendulus horæ.
Sed ſatis eſt orare Jovem, *qui donat & aufert:*
Det vitam, det opes; æquum mi animum ipſe parabo.
With what I have or if't be leſs; unto my ſelf to live
I am content: if longer life the Gods ſhall pleaſe to give.
Of books I chiefly plenty wiſh, of other things ſuch ſtore,
As may my mind from floating thoughts to ſetled ſtate reſtore.

Horat. Epiſt. lib. 1. p. 275.

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* *Virtutem nemo unquam acceptam Deo retulit nimirum rectè: atq; hoc quidem omnes mortales ſic habent, externas commoditates, vineta, ſegites, oliveta, ubertatem frugum, & fructuum, omnem deniq; commoditatem, proſperitatemq; vitæ à Diis ſe habere; Virtutem autem nemo unquam acceptam Deo retulit: nimirum rectè: Propter virtutem enim jure laudamur, & in virtute rectè gloriamur; quod non contingeret, ſi id donum à Deo, non à nobis haberemus. At vero aut honoribus aucti, aut re familiari, aut ſi aliud quidquam nacti ſumus fortuitò boni, aut depulimus mali, cum Diis gratias agimus, tum nihil noſtræ laudi aſſumptum arbitramur.* Cic. de natura Deorum. lib. 3.

† *Num quis, quod bonus vir eſſet, gratias Diis egit unquam? At quod dives, quod honoratus, quod incolumis,* Jovemq; *optimum maximum ob eas res appellant; non quod nos juſtos, temperatos, ſapientes efficiat, ſed quod ſalvos, incolumes, opulentos, copioſos. Neq;* Herculi *quiſquam decimas vovit unquam, ſi ſapiens factus eſſet.*

* Section 1. Chap. 5.

Of Jove *who gives and takes away, all that I mean to crave,*
Is life and means: an upright mind, I of my ſelf can have.

9. Not to cloy the Reader with multitude of inſtances without variety of obſervation: ſcarce was there a bleſſing, or good gift, any manner of puniſhment, or reward, which we Chriſtians derive from God, whoſe form or abſtract, the *Romans* and *Grecians* did not conceit as God or goddeſs, according to the Grammatical gender of the noun or word, whereby the nature was ſignified. *Pavor* [*Dread*] was a god; *Pæna* [*Puniſhment*] a goddeſs; *Præmium* [*reward*] I know not whether a god or goddeſs, but to them a *deified power*. Though in no caſe we may legitimate this miſconceit of theſe Heathens; yet muſt we acknowledge it to be but one degree removed from that truth, whereof it is the degenerate off-ſpring. He that wills us, *to be perfect, as our heavenly Father is perfect*, ſuppoſeth the ideal perfection, or exemplary form of all goodneſs required in us to be originally, eſſentially, and ſupereminently in him. Of which truth this is the immediate conſequence; [*That the exact definition of virtues* (*eſpecially intellectual, or of any eſſential branch of goodneſs*) *is more proper to the divine pattern, or Idea, than to the participated impreſſion, which it leaves in us.* That definition which did either breed, or abet ſome needleſs controverſies amongſt Schoolmen and moraliſts; [*Whether Juſtice be a moral or intellectual virtue,*] was intended by *Ulpian* the author of it, for a deſcription of the heathen goddeſs *Juſtice*, as the learned *Hottoman*, with ſome other good Lawyers avouched by *Salmuth*, to my remembrance, have rightly collected from the words annexed: *Juſtitia eſt perpetua, & conſtans voluntas ſuum cuiq; tribuendi, cujus nos* [Juriſconſulti] *ſacerdotes ſumus*; *Juſtice is a perpetual and conſtant will of rendring to every man his due, whoſe Prieſts we are that profeſs the Law.*

In his Preface to his *Comments* upon *Pancirola.*

10. There is no attribute of God as conceived by us, or rather no conceipt we have of his attributes, but hath its diſtinct bounds or limits. We cannot ſay; that his juſtice is formally his mercy, or that his love is altogether the ſame with his jealouſy or indignation, nor are theſe terms, whilſt applied to God by us, of ſynonymal ſignification. Every one hath a proper, and ſeveral *notion*, capable of a diſtinct definition or notation. Now if with ſome Schoolmen, or Logicians we ſhould argue a multitude of really diſtinct natures anſwerable to the number of definitions really diſtinct, or ſuch a difference in the matter conceived, as there is in our *conceits* of it; the argument would conclude as well in the divine attributes, as in any other ſubject. And as the evident apprehenſion of real diſtinction between our expreſs conceipts of any matter, is alwayes apt to ſuggeſt a conceit of real diverſity in the matter ſo conceived: ſo this diverſity betwixt the divine attributes once admitted into the underſtanding (or the contrary not excluded) would cauſe us to hunt after a proper *phantaſm*, or repreſentation of every attribute: and (laſtly) internal repreſentations of them as really diſtinct, would be delivered of ſo many external Images or Idols anſwerable unto them. *Juſtice* would be apprehended as one goddeſs, *Clemency* an other, *Indignation*, as a third: each ſhould have a tribunal, or form of ſupplication diſtinct from others as the parties that had occaſion to implore divine aſſiſtance, were affected. Malefactors or diſſolute livers would be delighted with the picture of *clemency*, affrighted to look upon the viſage of *Juſtice*. Such as ſuffer grievous wrongs without all hope of being righted, or men naturally thirſty of revenge, would feed their fantaſies with Emblematical repreſentations of * *Nemeſis*:

* Μαραθῶνος δὲ ϛαδίους μάλιϛα ἑξήκοντα ἀπέχει, Ραμνοῦς τ̃ παρὰ θάλασσαν ἰοῦσιν ἐς Ὠρωπόν, καὶ αἱ μὲν οἰκήσεις ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰσὶ μικρὸν, δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω, Νεμέσεώς ἐϛιν ἱερόν, ἣ θεῶν μάλιϛα ἀνθρώποις ὑβρισταῖς ἐϛιν ἀπαραίτητος. *Pauſanias. l.* 1. *p.*62.

Η῾ Νέμεσις προλέγω τῷ πήχεϊ, τῷ τε χαλινῷ,
Μήτ᾽ ἄμετρόν τι ποιεῖν, μήτ᾽ ἀχάλινα λέγειν.

With bridle and ſquare I act at large, my Prologue though's not long;
By unruly hand, by unbridled tongue, ſee no Man man do wrong.

Giraldus Hiſt. Deorum, Syntag. 17. pag. 447.

This *Nemeſis* was in their opinion a goddeſs of *Juſtice*, unto whoſe cognizance belonged not every unjuſt ſpeech or action, but only ſuch as were outragious. For this reaſon was ſhe pictured with a bridle in one hand, and a ſquare or ruler in the other, to teach moderation in ſpeech or action.

11. In the obſervation of beſt Chriſtian Writers, the wiſer ſort of Heathen did acknowledge but one ſupreme power or deity, the ſeveral branches of whoſe efficacy, or operations while they ſought to ſet forth in (*a*) Emblems, Hieroglyphicks, or Poetical reſemblances, theſe ſluces late mentioned were opened to augment the former deluge of ſuperſtition and Idolatry. And I know not whether in our forefathers times theological virtues, as *faith*, and *charity* came to be worſhipped as Saints from ſuch emblematical deviſes or repreſentations, as are yet to be ſeen in the picture of S. *Sunday* (b); which without the Sextons commentaries, that ſhewed it me, or ſight of tradſmens tools, that had wronged this Saint, (or rather violated the Sabbath) I ſhould have taken for a character of the Jewiſh Synagogue in *Iſaiahs* dayes; ſo miſerably was this Saint wounded from head to foot. Theſe two occaſions of heatheniſh errour in multiplying gods, are to my ſeeming at leaſt ſince I made this obſervation, briefly toucht by * *Tully*; unto whom I refer the latin Reader. *Multæ autem aliæ naturæ Deorum ex magnis beneficiis eorum non ſine cauſa, & à Græciæ ſapientibus & à majoribus noſtris conſtitutæ nominatæq; ſunt. Quicquid enim magnam utilitatem generi afferret humano, id non ſine divina bonitate erga homines fieri arbitrabantur. Itaq; tum illud, quod erat à Deo natum, nomine ipſius Dei nuncupabant: ut cum fruges Cererem appellamus, vinum vero Liberum: ex quo illud Terentii Sine Cerere, et Libero friget venus. Tum vero res ipſa in qua vis ineſt major aliqua ſic appellatur, ut ea ipſa vis nominetur Deus; ut Fides, ut Mens, quas in Capitolio dedicatas videmus proximè à M. Æmilio Scauro, antè autem ab Attilio Calatino erat fides conſecrata. Vides virtutis templum, vides honoris à M. Marcello renovatum, quod multis ante annis erat bello Liguſtico à Qu. Maximo dedicatum. Quid opis? quid ſalutis? quid concordiæ? Libertatis? Victoriæ? quarum omnium rerum quia vis erat tanta, ut ſine deo regi non poſſet, ipſa res Deorum nomen obtinuit. Quo ex genere Cupidinis & voluntatis & Lubentinæ veneris vocabulo conſecrata ſunt vitioſarum rerum, neq; naturalium; quanquam Velleius aliter exiſtimat; ſed tamen ea ipſa vitia naturam vehementius ſæpe pulſant: Utilitatum igitur magnitudine conſtituti ſunt ii dii qui utilitates quaſq; gignebant; atq; his quidem nominibus, quæ paulò ante nominata ſunt à me, quæ vis ſit in quoq; declaratur Deo.* This † author elſewhere thought the ancient Philoſophers, which held, *omnia eſſe unum*, had ſoared much higher, than the *Pygmey*-wits of his time could reach and multiplicity of Rules concerning one and the ſame ſubject, doth alwayes argue imbecillity of underſtanding, either natural or for want of

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(a) *In altero vero arcæ latere, quod eſt à læva, ordinem operis in orbem oculis perſequenti, fœmina expreſſa eſt puerum conſopitum dextrâ album ſuſtinens nigrum ſiniſtrâ, & hunc dormientis effigie, diſtortis utrinq; pedibus. Indicant inſcriptiones, quod facile tamen, ut nihil ſcriptum ſit, conjicere poſſis, eorum puerorum unum Mortem eſſe, alterum Somnum, mulierem illam Noctem, utriuſq; nutricem. At formoſa illa mulier, quæ fœda facie alteram, ſiniſtra obſtricto collo trahit, dextera fuſte cædit, Juſtitiam ſignificat, quæ injuriam malè mulctat,* Pauſ. l. 5. p. 321. (*b*) In the Pariſh Church of *Eaſt-Wickham* in *Buckinghamſhire*. The picture ſeems to repreſent our Saviour Chriſt. And the importance of the Embleme in charitable conſtruction may be this, that he hath received more wounds by prophane Sabbath-breakers, than he did by the *Jews*.

* *Lib. 2. de natura Deorum*

† *Libro 3. de Oratore in Initio.*

of art. On the contrary, ſuch as by profundity, or ſtrength of wit are able to dive into the depth of ſciences, alwayes reduce multiplicity to paucity, and draw moſt particular concluſions from one, or few common principles. Some maximes there be, which in every ſcience hold the ſame, into which all truths muſt finally be reſolved, without whoſe breach, or violation, nothing can juſtly be impeached of falſhood. With greater facility and perſpicuity may the cauſes of all viſible or known effects be reſolved into one cauſe of cauſes, or into that unity, whence all multiplicity floweth. But of this herafter.

CHAP. XVIII.

The original of Superſtition, properly ſo called, and the preſervatives preſcribed by God himſelf againſt this branch of Idolatry.

1. AS contrarieties in opinions oft-times agree too well in falſhood, ſo one and the ſame falſhood may ſometimes ſpring from contrary cauſes. The ſame Idolatrous error of the Heathens, which principally deſcended from too nice abſtractions, or conceiving of that *unity* (or incomprehenſible eſſence) as many whoſe attributes *they* could not apprehend, but under more conceits, was much increaſed by confounding the abſtract with the concrete, or by conceiving of thoſe things as one which indeed were many. Were wooll or paper of all the ſubjects or bodies which we had ſeen only white, every white thing which we ſee a far off would be taken for wooll or paper. Our anſwer to this Queſtion, *Quid eſt albedo? What is whiteneſs?* would perhaps be no better, than (a) *Hippias* made to the like; *Quid eſt pulchritudo? What is beauty? Mulier formoſa, aut equus pulcher; A fair woman, or a comely horſe.* No ſenſible, as was (b) obſerved before, is ever repreſented without a train of circumſtances, or concomitants. Of all circumſtances, *time* and *place* are neceſſary adherents to every paſſenger, that approacheth the gates of ſenſe. And were not one and the ſame *ſenſible* often manifeſted at ſundry places, at diverſe times, or with other different circumſtances: or contrariwiſe, did not diverſe effects oftentimes appear in one and the ſame *time* and *place*, or accompanied after one and the ſame faſhion, we ſhould hardly ſo far diſtinguiſh them, as that the preſence of the one ſhould not repreſent the other, or the remembrance of the one, not ſuggeſt a ſeveral *notice* of the other. The coexiſtence of the one, would alwayes be taken as a cauſe of whatſoever event had before accompanied both. In events, which have no permanent exiſtence, nor obſerve any certain courſe, to ſever or abſtract each circumſtance from other, is a matter not ſo eaſie to be effected by ſuch as intend it, as to be altogether forgotten, or not intended. The want notwithſtanding of ſuch abſtraction, or winnowing of circumſtances, is the eſſential root of ſuperſtition, whoſe nature cannot be more fully notified, *than by a miſdeeming of ſuch circumſtances, or adjuncts; as accompany extraordinary, or unuſual events befalling us, either for the true cauſes, or procurers of them, or for practical aſſociates, or co-workers fit to ſhare with them in our love or hate.* For this reaſon is groſs ſuperſtition moſt incident to minds either great in themſelves, or puff't up with externals, but withall illiterate, and rude: Thus * *Clowis* King of the then heathen *Franks*, attributed the death of this firſt born unto the Chriſtian Religion, which his Queen profeſſed, or unto Chriſt, in whoſe

(a) *Plato* in his *Hippias.*

(b) Chap. 15.

* *Aimonius. lib.* 1. *cap.* 15.

name the Infant had been baptized. *Quia puer in Dei veſtri baptizatus eſt nomine, Dii noſtri illum præſenti luce fraudaverunt: Becauſe the poor child was baptized in the name of your God; therefore have our Gods bereft him of his life.* And albeit the admirable patience, and chearfull thankſgiving of his Queen unto her God, for taking her child into a better kingdom, might have been an undoubted teſtimony of greater comfort in calamity, than *Clowis* his wonted Religion could afford him; yet he gives his ſecond ſon for dead, upon his firſt attachment by ſickneſs; only becauſe baptized, as the former had been in Chriſts name; *Et hic propter ſuperſtitionem veſtram incurrit offenſam: This child alſo through your ſuperſtition hath incurred the diſpleaſure of our Gods.* As if he had heard old *Jacob* from remembrance of *Joſephs* miſcarriage, bitterly complaining of *Benjamins* loſs; *I ſhall be rob'd of my child as I have been.* But this childs recovery of his bodily health did ſo far rectifie the King his fathers mind, as to take Chriſtian baptiſm for no neceſſary ſign, or forerunner of death to *French* Children. It did not (though) enlighten him to ſee the groſsneſs of wonted heatheniſh, or his national ſuperſtition, ſtill apprehended by him as a true cauſe, becauſe a perpetual concomitant of his former good ſucceſs in battail. But when he ſaw this begin to fail him in time of need, and victory ſo far gone unto the *Almanes* his enemies, as there was ſmall hope his gods could call her back: out of the memory of his believing conſorts, reverend mention of Chriſt, and declaration of his goodneſs, he burſt out into this prayer; * *O thou moſt powerful God Chriſt, whom my wife Crotilda worſhippeth with a pure heart, behold I vow the Trophies of my faith unto thee, ſo thou wilt give me victory over theſe mine enemies. This being ſaid (ſaith mine Author) fear came upon the Almanes, the French were Conquerers, the Almanes conquered, and made tributaries.* This preſent help from God at the very point of peril, and extream danger, was a ſure document, That ſincere profeſſion of Chriſtian Religion was no bare adjunct, or concomitant, but an authorized meſſenger of health, of peace, and victory.

Gen. 43. 14.

* Chriſte, potentiſſime Deus, quem Crotildes conjux mea colit pura mente, Trophæa meæ tibi voveo fidei, tribuas ſi his ab hoſtibus triumphum victoriæ. His peractis *(ſaith mine Author)* Alemannos invaſit timor, victores Franci, victi, & Tributarii facti Alemanni. *Annonius lib.* 1. *cap.* 15.

2. The like ſuperſtition did more deſperately poſſeſs *Maximinus*, the chief matter of whoſe accuſtomed glory was, That his raign had neither been peſtered with famine, war, or peſtilence: the eſpecial cauſe of freedom, from which annoyances was by him imputed to his careful worſhip of other gods, and zealous impugning of Chriſtians. As if the temporaneal coexiſtence of theſe two effects had ſufficiently argued the ones cauſal dependance upon the other. But God ſhortly after falſifies theſe fooliſh collections by fulfilling our Saviours prophecie; [*Cum dicunt pax & tuta omnia, tunc repentinum eis imminet exitium: Whilſt they proclaim peace and ſecurity, ſudden deſtruction comes upon them*;] very remarkable in this boaſter. For all theſe three Purſevants of Gods wrath came upon him, and his people, like *Jobs* meſſengers, each treading on others heels for haſte. *Euſebius lib.* 9. *cap.* 7.

3. More groſly did ſome late *Mahumetan* * *Moors* aſcribe their publick calamities unto their lately deceaſed Kings, bringing in of Lyons,

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* *Thuanus lib.* 7. *anno* 1550. *Cum paternæ cladis cauſſas ſuperſtitioſi Mauri aſſignarent, quod rex captivus à Chriſtianis vinum Feſſam comportari paſſus eſſet, & Leones aleret, ille reipub. emendationem præ ſe ferens, protinus quicquid erat vini in cellis per urbem effundi, & Leonis ſagittis configi juſſit. Terram non ferro, ſed ligno proſcindunt, quod eò magis mirandum, cum terra eorum tenax, & non arenoſa ſit, quaque Pinus nunquam creſcit. Araturi ligna complura, quibus terram ſubigunt, locóq; vomeris utuntur, ſecum portare ſolent: ſcilicet, ut uno fracto, aliud, atque aliud, ne quid in mora ſit in promptu habeant. Quidam ex Provinciæ Præfectis, quo Provinciales graviore labore levaret, multos ferreos vomeres adferri fecerat. Cum autem eò, ſequentibuſque aliquot annis ſegetes aliqua cœli intemperie, expectationi Agricolarum non reſponderent, vulguſque agrorum ſuorum ſterilitatem ferreo vomeri adſcriberet, nec aliud quicquam in cauſa eſſe putaret, Præfectus veritus ſeditionem, amoto ferro, ſuo eos more agros colere permiſit.* Vide Sigiſmundum Baronem de Rebus Moſcoviticis, pag. 113.

and ſufferance of Wine to be brought in by Chriſtians. And whether in hope of ſucceſsful reformation, intended by him, or to ſatisfie his ignorant peoples expectation of it: the Lyons were killed by his newly elected ſucceſſors appointment; and the Wine brought in by Chriſtians powred out in their open ſtreets. This ſuperſtitious jealouſie of theſe barbarous *Africans*, though in theſe later times more groſs than credible, may be exactly parallel'd by the like diſpoſition of modern *Ruſſians*. It ſhall ſuffice to quote the Author, the matter related by him hath ſuch ſemblance with the former, that the addition of diſcourſe, would rather obſcure, than add luſter to their mutual repreſentations.

4. All are alike apt to ſearch, though all not alike able to find the true, or diſcover the colourable cauſes of every effect, which much concern them. And as Land, for want of direct heirs, falls oft to collaterals of the ſame progeny; ſo *time* and *place*, becauſe of kin unto every effect, are by the ignorant, or miſ-affected reputed Lords, or diſpoſers of ſucceſs, *good* or *bad*, to which no cauſe apparant makes evident claim. A lively character of this diſpoſition, thus apt to take the impreſſion of error, we have in that Poetical deſcription of *Æacus* and his people, which wrongfully indited their beds and houſes of the diſaſters which befell them.

Ovid. Met. lib. 7. fabula 26.

——Fugiuntque penates
Quiſque ſuos, ſua cuique domus funeſta videtur,
Et quia cauſa latet, locus eſt in crimine notus.

The houſes deem'd to breed their bane,
the owners quite diſclaim;
And ſince the cauſe they do not know,
the known place bears the blame.

Idem lib. 4. fab. 14.

And in that other of *Cadmus* ——*Serieque malorum*
Victus, & oſtentis, quæ plurima viderat, exit
Conditor urbe ſuâ, tanquam fortuna locorum,
Non ſua ſe premeret:

Affright with many a direfull ſight,
the Founder leaves the Town;
As if th' ill luck which hunted him,
had been its, not his own.

It was a blaſt of the ſame ſuperſtitious doctrine, or blind perſwaſion which impelled the *Philiſtines* to carry the *Ark* from place to place. 1 *Sam.* 5. *verſ.* 7. *uſque ad cap.* 6. *v.* 8.

5. The confidence of a good cauſe would ſcarce ſo much have animated the Princes of *Germany*; as the very name of the places *, wherein ſome of their rank have been foyled, would have deterred them from adventuring battle upon tearms otherwiſe equal. And the Scottiſh nation, unleſs our Writers have wronged them, would ſomtimes have fought with the Engliſh upon any feſtival day in the year ſooner than upon *Magdalene* day, as fearing leſt the ill hap, which it brought them, had not been expiated with the reiterated penitential Sacrifices of many widows tears. Howbeit I may not condemn

* *Hic exitus pugnæ ad Mulbergum commiſſæ fuit; cujus loci nomen viris principibus male ominoſum ſemper fuiſſe à curioſis rerum Germanicarum obſervatum eſt. Siquidem ad Mulbergum Baioaria Ludovicus IV. Fridericum ducem Auſtriæ & Henricum fratrem anno S. CIↃ CCC XXIII Rupertus item Imperator, centeſimo circiter anno poſt, Bernardum Badenſem Marchionem ad Mulbergum ſupra Nemetes Cepit.* Jac. Aug. Thuan. Hiſtor. lib. 4. pag. 77.

all warineſs, or ſerious obſervation of ominous ſignifications, which time or place, with their circumſtances may afford. There is a mean, though not eaſie to find, and harder to hold, between ſuperſtitious fear and preſumptuous boldneſs in this kind. That natural inclination, which in many degenerates into impious *devotion*, requires as well a ſkilfull moderator, as a boiſterous corrector. But this is an argument, wherein I had rather be taught, than teach, though ſomewhat hereafter * muſt be ſaid for mine own, or others information. Of much heatheniſh ſuperſtition in this kind, the Monaſteries of our Land have been fertile nurſeries; as the *Grecian* Clergy is this day tainted with curioſities of this rank, as unjuſtifiable, as the ſcrupuloſities of many old women to begin any work of their vocation, upon the ſame day of the week on which the feaſt of ***Innocents***, or ***Childermas***, (as they tearm it) did fall the year before.

*In the Treatiſe of *Prodigies*, or the third Section of *divine providence*.

6. But neither can ancient Story, Poetical deſcription, or known experience of any modern diſpoſition ſo well ſet out the manner how theſe natural ſeeds of ſuperſtition are ſet on working by intemperate deſires, or jealous fears, as doth that ſacred relation of ***Balaak*** and ***Balaams*** conſpiracy to curſe the ***Iſraelites***. Whatſoever ***Balaam*** thought of this buſineſs; ***Balaak*** out of his inbred ſuperſtition was perſwaded, that the very place or proſpect had been a cauſe concurrent to produce the effect, for which he ſupplicated unto his god. ***Balaak took Balaam, and brought him up into the high places of Baal, that thence he might ſee the utmoſt part of the people.*** But ***Balaak*** feared (as by the words following it ſeems) that ***Balaam*** ſaw too many at once, that this place was too high, a fitter level for a bleſſing then for a curſe. ***And Balaak ſaid unto Balaam; what haſt thou done unto me? I took thee to curſe mine enemies, and behold thou haſt bleſſed them altogether. And he anſwered, and ſaid; Muſt I not take heed to ſpeak that which the Lord hath put in my mouth?*** Yet this proteſtation perſwades ***Balaak*** only to alter his ſtation, not his mind. ***And Balaak ſaid unto him; Come I pray thee with me unto another place, from whence thou maiſt ſee them; thou ſhalt ſee but the utmoſt part of them, and ſhalt not ſee them all, and curſe me them from thence. And he brought him unto Sede-ſophim*** (a place by the very name apt to enchant a ſuperſtitious mind with expectation of ſucceſs) ***to the top of Piſgah, and built ſeven Altars, and offered a bullock, and a ram on every Altar.*** As before trial made, he hoped the change of place would have altered his luck; ſo after return of the like anſwer, he ſuſpects the Prophets words as cauſes of his miſhap, and would hire him to be ſilent. ***And Balaak ſaid unto Balaam; neither curſe them at all, nor bleſs them at all. But Balaam anſwered, and ſaid unto Balaak; Told not I thee ſaying; All that the Lord ſpeaketh, that I muſt do?*** So ſtrong is the conflict between the ingraffed ***notion*** of Gods power to bleſs or curſe whom he pleaſed, and the unrighteouſneſs, wherein it is detained, that after a ſentence paſſed againſt him, he will yet remove his ſuit to another Court. ***Again Balaak ſaid unto Balaam; Come I pray thee; I will bring thee unto another place, if ſo it may pleaſe God that thou maiſt thence curſe them for my ſake.*** And laſtly perceiving his triple attempt to curſe had procured a Trinity of bleſſings (perhaps a bleſſing from the Trinity given by each perſon in courſe) the laſt more effectual than the former; he abandons the Prophets company as an unluckie gueſt. Of ***Iſrael*** ſaith ***Balaam: He coucheth, and lyeth down as a young Lyon, and as a Lyon: who ſhall ſtir him up? Bleſſed is he that bleſſeth thee, and curſed is he that curſeth thee. Then Balaak was very angry with Balaam, and ſmote his hands***

Num. 22. 41.

Num. 23. ver. 11, 12, 13, 14.

Ver. 25, 26.

Ver. 27.

together. So Balaak ſaid unto Balaam ; I ſent for thee to curſe mine enemies, and behold thou haſt bleſſed them now three times : Therefore now flee thou to thy place †. Had God upon ſome extraordinary provocation of this peoples unexpiated ſins, permitted the hireling Prophets curſe to have hit them ; the place, whence it was directed, ſhould have been either joynt ſharer with old *Baal* in Sacrifices, and other divine honours, or elſe have brought forth ſome other like new God. Or if the ſecond arrow had ſped, *Baal Piſgah*, or *Sede-ſophim*, had been more famous amongſt the *Moabites*, and their affrighted neighbours, than *Baalzebub*, or *Baal Peor* ; until the memory of this ſucceſs had been Eclips't by events more glorious, elſewhere manifeſted.

† Chap.24. v.9,10,11.

7. The multiplicity of Topick gods amongſt the heathen could hardly have been hatcht without a *conjunction* of the afore obſerved imbecillity of mans underſtanding, or confuſed apprehenſions of *time*, and *place*, as cogenitors of effects begotten in them, and of ſuch affections or diſpoſitions, as the holy Ghoſt deciphers in *Balaam*. The inviſible power, which filleth every place with his preſence, comprehended by none, was confined within the circumference of that peculiar room, wherein it had been ſenſibly manifeſted. From his dominion over the fields, teſtified ſometimes by abundance, ſometimes by ſcarcity rare and unuſual, they imagined a god of the field diſtinct from gods of the woods or waters. From declaration of his power, or ſecret touches of his preſence in their houſes or bodies (whether by participation of his goodneſs, or permiſſion of evil Angels to torment them, *Dii Tutelares*, *Penates*, or *Lares* ; *Gods Protectors of their houſes, or families, or Guardians of their perſons had their original.* And ſeeing there was no corner of the world, wherein the inviſible and hidden power of God was not ſometimes remarkably manifeſted in his effects: the former gap once opened ; there could be no reſtraint of this ſuperſtitious vanity. Idolatry from this one root might ſpread as broad, as the world was wide. The viſible and known Elements, having one common matter for their mother, each ſymbolizing with other in ſome homogeneal quality, were allotted to three brother gods ; The earth to *Pluto*, the water to *Neptune*, the ayr to *Jupiter*, from whoſe Tribunal, lightnings were ſent out, as proclamations, to affright theſe inferior rebellious regions, and *thunderbolts* as arrows of vengeance, or executioners of his denounced wrath. The ſeveral Quarters of every regiment (of the earth eſpecially) were aſſigned to Deputy Gods, or Preſidents, yet ſo, as variety of *time* had ſometime joynt ſuffrage with diſtinction of *place* for erecting theſe leſſer gods, which were as Tenants or Cottagers to the three great Lords, or ſuppoſed heirs of this viſible Sphere. Night lightnings by the ancient *Romans* were entertained as meſſengers of *Sammanus*. Such only as came by day were accounted as ſent by *Jupiter*.

8. Theſe experiments, which are as ſo many *probats* of the Philoſophical rules premiſed, ſhould hardly merit ſo much credit with me, unleſs the holy Ghoſt, in regiſtring the idolatrous errors of ſome heathens, had warranted as well the truth of the inſtances, as the cauſes aſſigned by us of the error. The *Aramites* had felt the power of *Iſraels God* in the mountains to their ſmart, and yet are confident to find ſuccour from other gods as powerful to plague the *Iſraelites* in the plain. * *And the ſervants of the King of Syria ſaid unto him ; Their gods are gods of the hills, therefore they were ſtronger then we ; but let us fight againſt them in the plain, and ſurely we ſhall be ſtronger then they. And do theſe things ;*

* 1 Kings 20. ver.23,24,25

Take the Kings away, every man out of their place, and put Captains in their rooms: And number thee an Army like the Army that thou haſt loſt, horſe for horſe, and Charet for Charet: and we will fight againſt them in the plain, and ſurely we ſhall be ſtronger then they. And he hearkened unto their voice, and did ſo. The *Romans* ſuperſtitious confidence in the vanquiſhed *Trojane* gods, was happily nurſt by the ſame ignorance, a ſpice whereof we may obſerve in ruſtick unthrifty gameſters, which hope to avoid ill luck by changing *place.* That querulous complaint, which the *Iſraelites* vented in the wilderneſs, had been ſetled upon the lees of *Arams* and *Moabs* Idolatry. Theſe heathens were not ſo credulous of ſucceſs againſt evident ſigns of Gods diſpleaſure; as the *Iſraelites* after experience of his miraculous refections in their thirſt, were incredulous of his power to provide meat in their hunger. † *Can God* (ſaid they) *furniſh a table in the wilderneſs? Behold, he ſmote the rock, that the waters guſhed out, and the ſtreams overflowed; Can he give bread alſo? Can he provide fleſh for his people?* It was but an eaſie ſtep in heatheniſh times to tranſlate the divine powers *à loco ad locatum, from the place, wherein the effects wrought by them were incompaſſed, to ſuch inanimate creatures, as were their inſtruments in producing them.* So *Auguſtus* lying weatherbound, and ſuſpecting leſt his ſuit to *Jupiter* his brother, the ſupream Lord of the ayr; might find as unſpeedy admiſſion or diſpatch as poor mens petitions did with ſuch great Kings as *Auguſtus* was, forthwith ſacrificed to the wind, that lay fitteſt for bringing him to the haven of his deſires. *They that go down into the deep* (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) *ſee the wonders of the Lord.* The like documents of Gods immediate hand in raiſing and aſſwaging ſtorms by ſea, as inſpired this ſacred breaſt with prophetical hymns of his praiſes, inticed the *Romans* to ſacrifice to the *flouds* or *waves* for the ſafety of their Navies; ‖ *Noſtri Duces mare ingredientes immolare hoſtiam fluctibus conſueverunt; Our Generals when they go to Sea, uſe to offer Sacrifices unto the flouds.* And upon ſpecial deliverance from a dangerous ſtorm, they inveſted the latent power of the unknown God with the known name of the much feared effect, prevented, as they ſuppoſed, by their Idolatrous devotions:

Te quoque tempeſtas meritam delubra fatentur,
Cum penè eſt corſis obruta puppis aquis.

When ſhips on raging Cor-ſick Seas,
by ſtorms were well nigh loſt;
To garniſh Lady Tempeſts Shrine,
our Fathers ſpar'd not coſt.

Their folly was leſs in ſeeking to appeaſe the *tempeſt* which ſtirred the waves, than in ſupplicating to the waves, which could not ceaſe ſo long as the tempeſt laſted.

9. Theſe fooliſh practiſes of ſuch as the world accounted her wiſeſt ſons, though they cannot juſtifie the like foolery in illiterate, or meaner perſons; yet may they juſtifie the learned Criticks correction of the poor Fiſhermans ſpeech in * *Athenæus*; albeit by amending his words, he hath made his meaning a great deal worſe, then it was formerly conceived to be. For he brings him in ſacrificing to the North wind, as the moſt of his profeſſion in ancient times uſually did. ‖ *Alexanders* ſacrificing in the midſt of *Helleſpont* unto *Neptune*, and the ſea-Nympths, was no leſs Idolatrous, but neither ſo properly, nor groſly ſuperſtitious. Howbeit even the moſt groſs, and ſuperſtitious miſtakings

† Pſal. 78. v. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20

‖ Cic. lib. 3. de natura Deorum circa medium.

* *Antiquè ſic.* Ἐπιθυμήσας τῷ Βορέα ἴδιον ὀψάριον οὐδὲ ἓν ἔλαβον ἰχθύων φακῆν. Vide Cauſab. in c. 8. l. 9. Athenæi.

‖ *Alexandrum ex Eluente in Achæorum portum navigaſſe plures ſcribunt naviſque prætoriæ gubernatorem fuiſſe: quumque jam in mediis Helleſponti fluctibus verſaretur, taurum Neptuno ac Nereidibus mactaſſe, aureaq; Phiala in mare profuſa Libaſſe.* Arrianus de expedit. Alexandri l. 1.

miſtakings of theſe Heathens laſt mentioned, differ rather in ſubject, and matter, than in form, from an error common and uſual, and in a manner the fatal conſequent of a neceſſary practiſe in modern Schools, to wit, of *Denominating* or *notifying* things indiſtinctly apprehended by their references, or vicinity unto certain and known circumſtances. Thus becauſe we know not the determinate diſtance of the Moon from the Center, or ſupream Sphear, we define the place of it (as of every other body) by the *convex ſurface* of the ſphere, which environs it. And by this *concretion*, or confuſion of the external reference, or notification, with the thing we ſeek to notifie; the higheſt Orb, or ſupream Sphear hath in the conceit of many, loſt all right to any diſtinct proper place, becauſe it is deſtitute of a *ſurface*, or ſuperior covering; ſo again by notifying the differences, or ſet parts of time by the numerable, and known parts of motion, which accompany it; the proper and eſſential *notion* of time is utterly drowned in our conceit of motion. And as we imagin thoſe bodies, which are not contained under ſome other, to be in no place: ſo we miſconceive there ſhould be no time, unleſs it were enſheathed in motion. Whereas the || Philoſopher did not intend, that the definitions either of *time* or *place* by him aſſigned ſhould be eſſential; But as all Phyſical definitions (by his precepts are, and ought to be) cauſal, or connotative, ſuch as is that; *Ira eſt ebullities ſanguinis circa cor: Anger is the boyling of the bloud about the heart.*

|| *Ariſt. 2. Phyſic.*

10. This proneneſs of mans imagination to be miſled by circumſtance of *time* or *place*, by other adjuncts, or inſtruments of his manifeſted power, the Lord *foreſaw* in his choſen people, and ſought in ſolicitous manner to inhibit by his Law and Prophets. To this purpoſe is the unity of his infinite, and incomprehenſible Majeſty, ſo often and uſually emblazened by variety of glorious attributes framed from the multiplicity of ſubjects, or variety of effects, wherein the efficacy of his *power*, *juſtice*, or *goodneſs* are, or have been moſt remarkably manifeſted. Men by this means, (ſo they would by any) might be occaſioned to abſtract, and purifie their conceits of *him* from thoſe *concrete*, and unpurified apprehenſions, wherein the Heathen did either bury, or impriſon ſuch *notions* as either nature had engraffed in them, or traditions communicated unto them. From diſcovery of his powerful hand in managing wars he is enſtyled *the Lord of Hoſts*, or *the Lord ſtrong and mighty in Battel*: and yet withall, *a God of peace*, and *one that maketh wars to ceaſe*; *A God of wiſdome, and a God of glory*, and yet, *a God that hath compaſſion on the poor, and deſpiſeth not the weak, and ſilly ones*. And as if he had feared, leſt *Iſrael* upon ſuch occaſions as ſeduced the *Romans*, might miſ-deliver devotions, confuſedly intended to him, unto ſtormy waves, or tempeſts, or with the *Aramites*, confine his power to vallies, or mountains, or with others, make him a God of the ſea only, not of the land; He hath ſounded a counterblaſt to thoſe impulſions, wherewith the heathens were driven headlong into Idolatry, in that excellent ſong of Jubile; *The Lord is a great God, and a great King above all Gods. In his hand are the deep places of the earth, the ſtrength of the hills is his alſo. The ſea is his, and he made it; and his hands formed the dry land. O come let us worſhip, and fall down; let us kneel before the Lord our maker. For he is our God, and we are the people of his paſture, and the ſheep of his hand* *. It was his pleaſure to try them || *with penury of water* after he had tried them † *with ſcarcity of bread*, that by his miraculous ſatisfaction of their intemperate deſires of both, as alſo of *their*

* Pſal.95.v.3, 4.5,6,7.
|| Exod.17. ver.2,3, &c.
† Exod. 16. ver. 3,4, &c.

their luſting after fleſh, he might bring them to acknowledge him for a God, as powerful over the fouls of the air, as over the fiſh in the ſea, as able to draw water out of the hard rock, as to rain bread from heaven. And having indoctrinated them by their experience of his power in theſe, and like particulars, he commends this general precept, or moral induction to their ſerious conſideration: *Hath God aſſayed to go, and take him a nation from the midſt of another nation, by temptations, by ſigns, and by wonders, and by war, and by a mighty hand, and by a ſtretched out arm, and by great terrors, according to all that the Lord your God did for you in Egypt before your eyes: Out of heaven he made thee to hear his voice, that he might inſtruct thee, and upon earth he ſhewed thee his great fire, and thou heardeſt his words out of the midſt of the fire. Know therefore this day, and conſider it in thine heart, that the Lord he is God in heaven above, and upon the earth beneath, there is none elſe* *. And laſtly; That no ſenſleſs, or living creature, through the faulty ignorance of man, might unawares purloin any part of his honour, the *Pſalmiſt* hath invited all to bear conſort with his people in that ſong of praiſe, and acknowledgment of his power: *Praiſe ye the Lord from the heavens; praiſe him in the heights. Praiſe ye him all his Angels; praiſe ye him all his hoſts. Praiſe ye him Sun, and Moon: praiſe him all ye Stars of light. Praiſe him ye heavens of heavens: and ye waters, that be above the heavens. Let them praiſe the name of the Lord: For he commanded, and they were created. He hath alſo ſtabliſhed them for ever, and ever: he hath made a decree, which ſhall not paſs. Praiſe the Lord from the earth ye dragons, and all deeps, &c. Let them praiſe the name of the Lord, for his name alone is excellent: his glory is above the earth and heaven* †.

* Deut. 4. 34, 36, 39.

† Pſal. 148. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 13.

CHAP. XIX.

Of divers errors in Philoſophy, which in practiſe proved ſeminaries of Idolatry and Sorcery.

1. THE beſt Apology, which the greateſt heathen clerks could make for themſelves (for the groſſer fopperies of the vulgar, they would not undertake to defend) was borrowed from a plauſible Philoſophical opinion, thus expreſſed by the Poet:

His quidam ſignis, atque hæc exempla ſecuti,
Eſſe apibus partem divinæ mentis, & hauſtus
Æthereos dixere: Deum namque ire per omnes
Terráſque, tractúſque maris, cœlúmque profundum:
Hinc pecudes, armenta, viros, genus omne ferarum,
Quemque ſibi tenues naſcentem arceſſere vitas,
** Scilicet huc reddi deinde, ac reſoluta referri*
Omnia: nec morti eſſe locum, ſed viva volare
Syderis in numerum, atque alto ſuccedere cœlo.

Virg. 4. Georg. pag. 94.

Some by theſe ſigns and theſe examples thereto drawn have taught,
The ſouls of Bees to be divine, of heavenly ſpirits a draught;
For God ſay they, as find they may, who natures work peruſe,
Through earth, through ſeas, through heavens profound live goodneſs
(doth diffuſe.

* Hence perhaps did that Paradox maintained by ſome Philoſophers take his beginning [*Deus eſt materia prima.*] The propoſition in it ſelf conſidered may be ſalved from hereſie with a diſtinction of *formaliter* and *eminenter*. But the ſame propoſition ſimply converted [*Materia prima eſt Deus*] includeth hereſie, if not Idolatry. The truth is [*Deus eſt materia prima eminenter non formaliter.* [*Materia prima non eſt Deus aut eminenter aut formaliter.*]

From his live preſence, cattle, men, birds, ſuck the ſpirit of life,
From him all ſprings, in him all ends: though death be ne're ſo riſe,
Yet nothing dies: what earth forſakes finds place in ſtarry skie,
What we think into nothing flits, above the Heavens doth flie.

This opinion was worſe conſtrued by ſome, than either the Author, or Commentator meant: many, the moſt ancient eſpecially, agree in this; That *Deus* was *Anima mundi, That the world was animated by God, as our bodies are by our ſouls.* Whence they concluded, as ſome later *Romaniſts* do; That all or moſt viſible bodies might be religiouſly worſhipped, or adored, with reference to Gods reſidence in them. The Antecedent notwithſtanding being granted, the practiſes which they hence ſought to juſtifie, are excellently refuted by S. *Auſtin* *, who hath drawn them withall a fair and ſtreight line to that mark, whereat they roved at random or blind gueſs, by wayes ſucceſſively infinite. For anſwering any objection the Heathen Divines could make againſt us, or refuting any Apology made for themſelves, I alwaies refer the Reader to this good Fathers learned labours, of excellent uſe in his time. But my purpoſe is not to make men believe theſe hereſies are yet alive by hot ſkirmiſhing with them. The lines of my method rather lead me to unrip their original, ſo far only as not diſcovered, they might breed danger to our times. Now in very truth the opinion pretended by them to colour the filth of their Religion, did miniſter plenty of fuel and nutriment, (as learned || *Mirandula* hath obſerved) to thoſe monſters, whoſe limbs, and members had been framed from the ſeeds of errors hitherto mentioned; and the illiterate in all probability took much infection at *eyes* and *ears*, from Poetical deſcriptions, or Emblematical repreſentations of Gods immenſity; ſuch as *Orpheus* (if we may believe *Clemens Alexandrinus*) did take out of the Prophet *Eſay, cap. 66. vide Clem. Alexand. lib. 6. Strom.*

* Lib. 4. de Civ. Dei, cap. 11, 12.

|| *Recolligamus quæ diximus, videbimuſq; in primo nos gradu diſcere Deum non eſſe corpus, ut Epicurei; neque formam corporis, ut illi volunt, qui Deum aſſerunt animam eſſe cœli vel univerſi, quod & Ægyptii ut ſcribit Plutarch. exiſtimarunt, & Varro theologus Romanus, unde utriſque magnum fomentum Idololatriæ, ut alibi declarabimus.* Mirandula de ente & uno. pag. 249.

Ipſe autem in magno conſtans, & firmus Olympo eſt,
Aureus huic Thronus eſt, pedibus ſubjectaque Terra,
Oceani ad fines illi protenditur ingens
Dextera, montanas atque intus concutit illi
Ira baſes, motus nec poſſunt ferre valentes.
Ipſe eſt in cælis, terram complectitur omnem,
Oceani ad ſinus expanſa eſt, & manus illi
Undique dextera———

Not held by them He heavens doth firmly hold,
Whole earth's but footſtool to his throne of Gold;
In's mighty Palm the Ocean vaſt doth role;
The roots of mountains ſhake at his controle.
Or'e Heavens, through earth his right hand doth extend,
It all inclaſps, all it, not comprehend.

2. *Jupiter* (though acknowledged by many to be the onely God) from the former opinion became anſwerable to as many names as the world had principal parts, and upon diverſity of relations to effects, or motions preſumed to iſſue from his amiable, or live preſence, ſubdivided into both ſexes; tearmed † *Neptune* in the ſea; *Liber* in the vineyard; *Vulcan* in the Smiths forge, and *Vigitanus* in the Infants mouth; in the air *Juno*; in the earth *Tellus*; *Venilia* in the ſea-wave whilſt current to the land: *Salatia* in the ſame wave reciprocating. The meer variety of names, or alteration of the ſex, or gender, would naturally ſuggeſt a multiplicity of gods and goddeſſes unto the ignorant: ſo would the

† Vide Aug. de Civit. Dei. lib. 4. cap. 11.

diverſe forms or ſhapes of thoſe bodies, wherof they imagined him to be the ſoul and ſpirit, unto the learned; ſpecially ſeeing the motions, or operations of the elements, or other inferiour bodies have no ſuch vital dependance upon any one, or few principal parts of the world; as in man, all other members with their functions have on the heart, the head, and liver, or perhaps all originally on the heart. And yet the evident prerogative of theſe three parts hath perſwaded great Philoſophers to allot three ſeveral ſouls really and locally diſtinct, to each principal part *one.* From which opinion it would with probability follow; that in one man there ſhould be three living creatures: A *plant*, a *ſenſitive*, and a *rational ſubſtance.* And *Varro* the moſt learned amongſt the *Romans*, grants that the ancient *Romans* did worſhip mother *Tellus*, *Ops*, *Proſerpina*, and *Veſta*, for diſtinct goddeſſes. Though theſe titles in his refined Theologie rather imported ſo many ſeveral vertues of the earth, whoſe ſoul or ſpirit was but one: And not abſurdly (as he thought) might other goddeſſes be reduced to this old Grandame *Tellus.* But S. *Auſtin* demands how this can ſtand with the doctrine of his anceſtors, which had ordained ſeveral rites to all theſe, as unto goddeſſes in nature different, and conſecrated peculiar votaries unto *Veſta*; *It is not all one for one goddeſs to have many names, and to be many goddeſſes, or ſhall multiplicity and unity be avouched of one and the ſame? It may be* (ſaith *Varro*) *that in one, many may be contained*; but this avoids not the intended check. Saint * *Auſtin* replies; *That as in one, and the ſame man there may be many entities, not many men: ſo in one and the ſame goddeſs there might be ſeveral vertues, not ſeveral goddeſſes. Varroes* attempt to juſtifie his fore-fathers folly, and reconcile their groſs ignorance with his learned errors, evidently bewrayes whoſe ſucceſſors the Jeſuits or other quaint modern refiners of School Paganiſms are, which hope to ſalve the contradictions of their doating fore-fathers, and erring councels, and patch up the unity of their broken and divided Church by School glue or Philſophical querks.

3. But concerning the animation of the world, and its ſeveral parts, the opinions of Philoſophers varied, and their variation cauſed variety of Idolatry: Every body had a peculiar ſpirit, or genious beſides *Jupiter*, to whom the moderation of all was aſſigned; whence we may without breach of charity ſuppoſe the worſhipping of dumb and ſenſleſs creatures to have been a practiſe, though wicked in all, yet not altogether ſo brutiſh and ſenſleſs in ſome heathen as it is often generally cenſured without diſtinction. For even the elements or inanimate creatures, which they adored, had, in the opinion of ſome Philoſophers, their proper ſpirits, though not to inform them, as our ſouls do our bodies, yet to aſſiſt, or guard them; each of which ſpirits was held divine, and indued with ſome peculiar power or vertue, for producing or averting certain effects proportionable to the bodies. * Authors for ſkill as well practick as ſpeculative, not eaſie to be deceived, and for their gravity and moral honeſty exempt from all ſuſpicion of purpoſed deluding others, have related ſtrange apparitions about *Mines.* The like might ſeduce ſome heathen to adore gold and ſilver, not as mettals, but rather as viſible pledges of an inviſible Mammons preſence, conceived by them as a ſpirit, or guardian of treaſure, by whoſe favour (ſollicited in peculiar rites or ſervices) wealth might either be gotten or increaſed. The like conceit, no queſtion, moved the † *Indians* to preſent a Caſket of gold and jewels, with ſuch a ſolemn maſk, or ſuperſtitious dance, as they held moſt acceptable to their country-gods, in hope Gold,

* Lib. 7. de Civ. Dei. c. 24

* *Vide Georg. Agricol. de animalibus ſubterraneis*, &c.

† See the Biſhop of *Caſa* in his *Indian* Relations.

the *Spaniſh* God, as they deemed it, being pleaſed with their devotions would appeaſe the *Spanyards* cruelty. Why thoſe ſemi-Chriſtians ſhould ſo hunger and thirſt after gold, and mettals, which could neither allay their hunger, nor quench their thirſt, could not enter into theſe ſilly caitiffs hearts; unleſs it were to ſacrifice it unto ſome Mammon, or ſpirit of Gold.

4. *Julian* the Apoſtata, albeit he ſpared no coſt to make *Jupiter* his friend, whom he adored as King of gods, and chief moderator of the world, yet thought it no point of thrift or wiſdom to neglect the Elemental ſpirits: becauſe theſe in the heatheniſh divinity, which he followed, were powers truly divine, able to qualifie their worſhippers with the ſpirit of divination. Neither was this opinion of their Deity in the cenſure of thoſe times or ſects, any Paradox, nor the offering of placatory ſacrifices, any unlawful or ſuperfluous practiſe. Otherwiſe *Amianus* his plea to acquit his Maſter from ſuſpition of ſorcery, or Magical Exorciſms had been as ridiculous in the ſight of Heathens, as it was impious in the judgment of Chriſtians; * *Becauſe this Prince a profeſſed lover of all ſciences, is by ſome maligned to have gained the foreknowledge of things future by naughty Arts: we are briefly to advertiſe by what means a wiſe man (as this Prince was) may attain unto this kind of learning, or skill more than vulgar. The ſpirit of all the elements (ſaith this Author) being enquickned by the unceſſant motion of the celeſtial bodies, participate with us the gift or faculty of divination: and the favour of the ſubſtantial powers (or immortal ſubſtances) being purchaſed by reſpective ritual obſervance; the prædiction of Fates or deſtiny is conveyed unto mortality from them, as from ſo many perpetual ſprings or fountains. Over theſe ſubſtantial powers the goddeſs* Themis *ſits as Preſident, ſo called by the Grecians, becauſe the irrevocable fatal decrees by her mediation become cognoſcible. This* Themis *the ancient* Theologi *have therefore placed in the bed chamber and throne of Jupiter, fountain of life and livelyhood.*

5. Yet this conceipt of † *Themis* ſoveraignty was not the opinion of all, or moſt ancient heathen Doctors. For ſome have taught, that * *Tellus* (or the ſpirit of the Earth) did give Oracles before *Themis* medled in theſe buſineſſes. During the time of both their regencies; *Nox* by others was eſteemed at leaſt as midwife of Revelations, whereof ſometime ſhe had been reputed Queen-mother, becauſe theſe ſecret prædictions of *deſtiny*, or *fatal dooms* were uſually brought to light in ſilent darkneſſes. Not much different from *Ammians* Philoſophy are many of *Plutarchs* conjectures of the *inſpiration* and *expiration* of Oracles. *Julian* (it ſeems) from *Plutarchs* Principles hoped to encourage theſe divining ſpirits to follow their former ſtudies, and recal them to their wonted ſeats, by reviving their ancient rites, and reeſtabliſhing their priviledges; as if *Honos alit artes* had place amongſt theſe petty gods.

6. This Philoſophical opinion did fit the forementioned temptation to ſuperſtition, as the *claſpe* doth the *keeper*. And with their impulſive help were able to draw the preſent Chriſtian world not well catechized, into the bottomleſs ſink of fouleſt Idolatry. And though from conſciouſneſs of our ignorance in the works of Nature, we allow the iſſue of many practiſes, whereof we can aſſign no probable ſpecial cauſe, but onely

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* *Et quoniam erudito, & ſtudioſo cognitionum omnium Principi malevoli prænoſcendi futura pravas artes aſſignant, advertendũ eſt breviter; unde ſapienti viro hoc quoque accidere poterit doctrinæ genus haud leve. Elementorum omnium ſpiritus, utpote perennium corporum præſenti motu ſemper & ubique vigens, ex his, quæ per diſciplinas varias affectamus, participat nobiſcum munera divinandi; Et ſubſtantiales poteſtates ritu diverſo placatæ velut ex perpetuis fontium venis vaticina mortalitati ſuppeditant verba. Quibus numen præeſſe dicitur Themidis; Quam ex eo, quod fixa fatali lege decreta præſcire fas ſit in poſterum (quæ Tithemena ſermo Græcus appellat) ita cognominatam, in cubili ſolioque Jovis vigoris vivifici Theologi veteres collocarunt. Ammiam Marcellin lib. 21.*

† *Vide Staphanum Pighium de Dea Themide.*

* *Vide Gyraldum de Tellure & nocte.*

only in charity to our ſelves and others, ſuppoſe they have ſome right unto their being by the ordinary courſe of nature: yet ſome diſorderly over-grown ſtems there be of this charitable credulity, which bring forth little better fruit, than that which the Chriſtian world condemned in *Julian*. As for example, ſuch as from uncertain traditions can conceive hope, and attempt the practiſe of curing diſeaſes by *Amulets*, or by application of ſuppoſed Medicines apparantly deſtitute of any natural active force, will quickly be ſet over to acknowledge ſome hidden vertue, or ſupernatural efficacy concomitant, or aſſiſtant, which in plain terms they will not call their God or Creator, yet will think of it, as of a good ſpirit, ready to help in time of need, ſo it be ſought unto by ſuch means, as the *Cabaliſts* of theſe ſecret myſteries ſhall preſcribe. Whatſoever the matter of the medicine may be (though oftimes it be rather verbal, than material) the manner of applying it, is for the moſt part meerly magical, and ſerves (though not in the intention of the Patient or Phyſician) as a ſolemn ſacrifice to the founders of theſe Arts. Or if the manner of applying or wearing medicines be not ſuperſtitiouſly ceremonious, the ſolemn profeſſing (though alwaies not verbally expreſſed) of credence, or belief prerequired unto their efficacy, is Idolatrous. Of practiſes in this kind (though the practitioners will or can aſſign no reaſon, ſave only traditions of luck *good* or *bad* to follow; yet may we ſafely preſume the moſt part to be naught; becauſe we may evidently derive the original of many from conceits meerly heatheniſh and Idolatrous. Such is the uſe of *Vervine*, of our *Ladies gloves*, and S. *Johns graſs* at this day in no leſs requeſt amongſt ſome rude and ignorant Chriſtians, than ſometimes they were amongſt the ancient *Grecians* or *Romans*, to whoſe manners *Theocritus* and *Virgil* in their Poems do allude:

——— Bacchare frontem
Cingite, ne vati noceat mala lingua futuro.
Leſt naughty tongue whil'ſt Poet's young,
his brain do blaſt;
Let luckie graſs 'bout his Temple paſs,
to bind them faſt.

That other piece of the ſame Poet concerning the uſe of *Vervine*, ſmels too rankly of magical ſacrifice or incenſe:

Verbenas adole pingues, & maſcula thura.

It may be queſtioned, whether the *Roman* * Legates did wear *Vervine* upon ſuperſtitious confidence of ſome hidden vertue in it, or as an emblematical alluſion to the ſuperſtitious conceit of the vulgar. But wonted they were to uſe bunches of it in their ſolemn embaſſages, whether in token that their perſons ought not, or out of vain hope, that their perſons could not be violated ſo long as they were under the protection of this herb, accounted ſacred. The moſt ſuperſtitious hopes, implied in theſe, or the like practiſes of the Heathen, may be more then paralleld by the vain confidence which ſome ignorant Chriſtians put in the ſecret virtue of theſe, and like herbs for curing ſtrange diſeaſes, or for their ſafegard againſt thunder, fiends, or wicked ſpirits. To this purpoſe I well remember a tradition, that was old, when I was young, better believed by ſuch as told it, then if it had been Canonical Scripture. It was of a maid that liked well of the devil making love to her in the habit of a gallant young man, but could not enjoy his company, nor he hers, ſo long as ſhe had *Vervine* and S. *Johns graſs* about her: for to this effect he brake his mind unto her at laſt in rime:

Eglog. 8.

* *Eò magis obtinuit, ut Legati publici ſancti habeantur: adeo ut, ſiquid Juriſconſulto Martiano credimus, ſanctum vocari cœperit à ſagminibus, id eſt, verbenis, quas herbas Romanorum Legati ferebant, ne ab ullo violarentur adverſus jus gentium. Quod ſi quis ipſos pulſaſſet, hoſtibus dedebatur ex ſententia.* Q. Mutii. Forcat. Juriſconſul. de Gallorum Imperio & Philoſoph. lib. 5. pag. 685. Greg. Turonenſis *tradit Legatos Francorum mitti ſolitos cum Virgis conſecratis, ne à quoquam offenderentur.* Forcat. Ibidem.

If thou hope to be Lemman mine;
Lay aſide the St. Johns graſs, and the Vervine.

To rob a Swallows neſt built in a *fire-houſe*, is from ſome old bell-dames Catechiſms, held a more fearful ſacrilege, than to ſteal a chalice out of a Church. Beſides tradition they have no reaſon ſo to think. The prime cauſe of this ſuperſtitious fear, or hope of good luck by their kind uſage, was that theſe birds were accounted ſacred amongſt the *Romans*, * *Diis penatibus*, to their houſhold gods, of which number *Venus* the eſpecial *patroneſs* of ſwallows was one.

* *Vide Gyraldum, &c. de diis penatibus.*

7. Such a preſidency as *Ammianus* aſſigned to *Themis* and the ſubſtantial vertues of the Elements, is to this day given by theſe magick *Cabaliſts* unto ſpirits over *mettals*, *ſtones*, and *herbs*; each have their ſeveral *Patrons*. And if the practiſe be for the practitioners conceived *good*; the ſpirit which *proſpers* it ſhall not be reputed *evil*. Thus are the *Fayries*, from difference of events aſcribed to them, divided into *good* and *bad*, whenas it is but one and the ſame malignant fiend, that meddles in both, ſeeking ſometimes to be feared, otherwhiles to be loved as God, for the bodily harms, or good-turns ſuppoſed to be in his power. And permitted (no queſtion) he is to do both in juſt puniſhment of their heatheniſh ſuperſtition or ſervility, that can eſteem him worthy either of religious love or fear.

8. It was my hap ſince I undertook the Miniſtery, to queſtion an ignorant ſoul, (whom by undoubted report I had known to have been ſeduced by a teacher of unhallowed arts, to make a dangerous experiment) what he ſaw, or heard, when he watcht the falling of the *Fern-ſeed* at an unſeaſonable and ſuſpicious hour. Why (quoth he) (fearing (as his brief reply occaſioned me to conjecture) leſt I ſhould preſs him to tell before company, what he had voluntarily confeſſed unto a friend in ſecret about ſome fourteen years before) do you think that the devil hath ought to do with that good ſeed? No; it is in the keeping of the *King of Fayries*, and *he* I know will do me no harm, although I ſhould watch it again; yet had he utterly forgotten this Kings name, upon whoſe kindneſs he ſo preſumed, until I remembred it unto him out of my reading in *Huon* of *Burdeaux*. And having made this anſwer, he began to poſe me thus; Sr. you are a ſcholar, and I am none: Tell me what ſaid the Angel to our Lady? or what conference had our Lady with her couſin *Elizabeth* concerning the birth of St. *John* the *Baptiſt*? As if his intention had been to make by-ſtanders believe, that he knew ſomewhat more in this point, than was written in ſuch books, as I uſe to read. Howbeit the meaning of his riddle I quickly conceived, and he confeſſed to be this; That the Angel did foretell *John Baptiſt* ſhould be born at that very inſtant, in which the *Fern-ſeed*, at other times inviſible, did fall: intimating further (as far as I could then perceive) That this Saint of God had ſome extraordinary vertue from the *time* or *circumſtance* of his birth. So fair a colour had his Inſtructor, by profeſſion a Mathematician, by practiſe a Conjurer, caſt upon this ſuperſtitious, and ungodly *experiment*; as the moſt part of Magical ceremonies or obſervances, pretend their warrant from ſome reſemblances of ſacred actions, or from circumſtances of miraculous cures wrought by our Saviour, his Prophets, or Apoſtles. Many inſtances to this purpoſe are to my remembrance gathered by *Delrius*. This upon mine own knowledge, and obſervation I can relate; of two, ſent more than a mile, after the Sun-ſetting, to fetch *South-running water*, with a ſtrict Injunction not to ſalute any either going

ing or comming, no not their deareſt friends, if they ſhould chance to meet them (as by chance they did.) Such ſilence had well beſeemed them in Gods Temple; but in this caſe was the ſacrifice of fools, an offering up of their tongues and lips unto the ſervice of Devils; yet colourable amongſt the credulous by *Eliſhaes* inſtructions given to *Gehazie*, when he ſent him to cure the *Shunamites* child; albeit theſe literally import rather haſte, than hope of good ſpeed by their obſervance. All the hidden vertues of the forementioned ſeed, inviſible, ſave only to the ſuperſtitious, I now remember not, nor were ſome of them fit to be related. But the rarer, or ſtranger efficacy it or other *herb* or *ſeed* may be conceived to have, the more eagerly are they ſought after by the needy or diſtreſſed; in body eſpecially. * Extream miſery, or diſtreſsful penury, occaſioned by courſe of nature, not by violence, is by nature credulous, and apt to breed a good conceipt in the ſimple of any thing, that is publickly diſliked or diſallowed by the learned. And credulity matching with eagerneſs of deſire brings forth vain hope, or ſtubborn confidence, without any juſt external occaſion to beget it; as ſome females are fruitleſly fertile without the male. And hopes enlarged or augmented are forthwith in travel of action, and long after practiſes for their accompliſhment; although it be to offer ſolemn ſacrifice to infernal powers: whoſe ſacraments are the oftner, and more zealouſly frequented; becauſe ſuch grace, or good luck, as by divine permiſſion enſues upon their celebration, is alwaies conferred *ex opere operato*. No ſtrict examination of the communicants conſcience; no patient expectation of Gods providence (from which as from a yoak burthenſome to fleſh and bloud, they exempt all that put confidence in them) is required unto their efficacy. If they fail in operation, the preſent damage or bodily danger is not great, only ſo much labour loſt: and ſpeedineſs of reſolution, or quick manifeſtation of fatal doom, be it good or bad, naturally excites men beſet with fear, or hope, to attempt the trial of ſuch experiments, as are preſcribed them. The Heathen * *Pliny*, well obſerves *Magical vanities or obſervances to have drawn their firſt lineaments from Phyſick, creeping into mens opinions under fair ſhews*, and ſweet promiſes of health, much deſired by all, but proffered by *Magicians* in extraordinary meaſure, and by means more ſacred, than medicines ſenſible; and thus laſtly to have faſtned their throne throughout all ages by a triple bond, by weaving Religion and Mathematical Arts into their warp, which was firſt ſpun from Phyſick. This opportunity of aſſociating Mathematical ſciences was eaſily gained from that inbred deſire, which all men have of foreknowing things concerning themſelves, and from a prenotion, that the foreknowledge of them is from heaven.

* *Miſeri facile credunt quæ volunt.*

* *Magicas vanitates ſæpius quidem antecedentis operis parte, ubicunq; cauſa locuſq; poſcebant, coarguimus, detegemuſque etiamnum: in paucis tamen digna res eſt de qua plura dicantur, vel eo ipſo, quod fraudulentiſſima artium plurimum in toto terrarum orbe plurimiſq; ſæculis valuit. Autoritatem ei maximam fuiſſe nemo miretur; quandoquidem ſola artium tres alias imperioſiſſimas humanæ mentis complexa in unam ſe redegit Natam primum è Medicina nemo dubitat ac ſpecie ſalutari irrepſiſſe velut altiorem ſanctioremq; quam Medicinam: ita blandiſſimis deſideratiſſimiſq; promiſſis addidiſſe vires Religionis, ad quas maximè etiamnum caligat humanum genus. Atq; ut hoc quoq; ſuggeſſerit miſcuiſſe artes Mathematicas, nullo non avido futura de ſeſe ſciendi, atq; ea dè cœlo veriſſimè peti credente. Ita poſſeſſis hominum ſenſibus triplici vinculo, in tantum faſtigii adolevit, ut hodieq; etiam in magna parte gentium prævaleat, & in oriente regum regibus imperet.* Vide Plin. nat. hiſt. lib. 30. *in principio.*

8. The greater ſoveraignty theſe curious Arts had gotten in the Eaſtern Nations, the more they commend the majeſty of Chriſts new erected kingdome, which could ſo ſuddenly put them down, and cauſe the * contemplators of ſuch grand myſteries to ſacrifice their books and labours to the ſimplicity of the Goſpel. It may be want either of leiſure well to examine, or of capacity to conceive, or perhaps of preſent

* *Vide* Acts 19. verſ. 19.

ſent memory to recall exactly what I conceived of ſome Paracelſian writings, when I read them, makes me yet ſtrongly jealous, leaſt as one Devil more then the Players had dreſſed is ſaid to have appeared upon the Stage: ſo ſome ſpirit more than natural doth ſometimes inſinuate himſelf into their curious extractions of ſpirits, and pretended ſearch of medicines metaphyſical. In *Paracelſus* himſelf though I underſtood not all, yet ſome paſſages, I am certain, are ſo plainly impious, that no man, which underſtands the principles of Chriſtian Religion, will undertake to make any orthodoxal conſtruction of them. Beſides the ſuſpiciouſneſs of their matter, the character of many of their writings miniſtred more juſt occaſion for us to think, that one and the ſame ſpirit did breath in their Riddles, and in heathen Oracles; than the congruity of *Averroes* and *Mahomets* ſtile did unto *Ludovicus Vives*, to avouch that he which liked well the writings of the one, could not much miſlike the others *Alkaran*. As their pretended myſteries are uſually covered with the ſame veil of ambiguity and obſcurity, wherein ſeducing heatheniſh Oracles were enwrapt: ſo the evaſions to ſalve their Authors credit, when ſucceſs no way anſwers the expectation, are as obvious. Either the right meaning of the Rule was miſ-taken, or elſe there was ſome defect in the practiſe. That *Paracelſus* and his followers, are ſchiſmatical Phyſicians, is too well known, unleſs *Galene* and *Hippocrates* be not ſo orthodoxal, as the world accounts them. But how juſtly * *Paracelſus*, and his followers || are charged by *Eraſtus* with the *Arrian* hereſie, and with other doctrines of devils, with ſuperſtitious charms, and magick ſpels, either unknown unto the ancient Heathen, or deteſted by the more ingenious ſort of them; I leave it to their cenſure, which have better leiſure and opportunity to examine; greater experience and deeper judgment to debate the controverſie betwixt them: only this perhaps I might in charity wiſh, that as no man may miniſter ordinary Phyſick unto others without licence; ſo none might be admitted to read their ſpeculations, or try the truth of their profeſſed myſteries, without publick approbation, not only of their ſufficiency in learning; but of their ſincerity in Religion. For certainly great are the temptations, whereunto this new, or late revived Philoſophy expoſeth wits (young eſpecially) or addicted to curioſity; ſo great, as they cannot be prevented, or reſiſted, but only by minds throughly grounded in the orthodoxal faith. Hyperbolical force, or pretended vertue, aſſigned by them to their medicines, and the magnificence of the end propoſed naturally inſpires indefatigable alacrity in ſeeking or trying means poſſible to effect it. And curioſity of long and eager ſearch, not ſatisfied, will at length be ready to claſp with practices ſuperſtitiouſly curious, rather than fail. Such of their principles, as are approvable, perhaps more to be eſteemed, than the received maxims of common Philoſophy, or Phyſick; are ſo interlaced with other ſtuff, or intimation of more hidden ſecreſies, that they may ſeem laid but as baits to draw youths to an implicit belief of their high myſteries, alwaies cloathed with a colour of Religion, as if they were the only men, which underſtood the grand myſterie of the creation, and the preciſe manner of the reſurrection. I ſhould not much digreſs, though I ſhould enlarge this caveat, intended only for young Students, leſt

* *Omnem porrò Mahometanorum audaciam ſuperat, quod homo, non dicam impius (nimis enim leve eſt hoc verbum) ſed planè Tartareus audet affirmare, ſpiritum mundi (qui idem ſit ſpiritus cum ſpiritu corporis noſtri) filium Dei eſſe conſpicuum, minus purum et perfectum calore illo ſuo ſolari.* Eraſti Diſputat. pars tertia. pag. 43.

|| *His accedit, quod ſe Paracelſi diſcipulum eſſe non negat: quem Arianum fuiſſe nimis conſtat, &c. Satis quos paulo notiores habeo Paracelſicos (de illis loquor præcipuè, qui magiſtrum ſuum omnibus claſſicis ſcriptoribus non exæquare tantùm, verum etiam præponere audent) vel ex certis argumentis, vel ex eorum ſcriptis, vel ex amicorum & familiarium ipſorum narratione, perſpexi magiæ per quam ſtudioſos eſſe, Cabalam & adeptam Philoſophiam Paracelſi in os nobis palàm laudare non erubeſcunt: quas tam certum eſt ſceleſtæ magiæ partes quaſdam eſſe, quam eſt certum me vivere dum iſta ſcribo.* Eraſtus ibidem.

they ſhould be deceived through vain Philoſophy. Even in * *Dorney* (though he write more Chriſtian-like than his Maſter) there appears ſome ſpice of that ſpirit of Pride, which firſt ſublimated Phyſick into Magick. It contents him not, that the matter of his Medicines ſhould be reputed truly celeſtial; but his doctrine muſt be enſtyled heavenly; he and his followers muſt be wiſdoms children; their controvenaries ſons of folly, the brood of darkneſs.

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* *Quicunq; talem negat medicinā dari poſſe, quæ valeat incorruptibilitate ſua quamvis corruptionē indifferenter corrigere, cœli inferiora ſuſtentare vel gubernare negat. Sed ne videamur naturæ ſecreta Lenocinio proſtituere velle, pauca de his ſapientiæ filiis ſufficiant: hi facilè quid per hæc velimus intelligunt. Qui vero noſtram ignorant artem et rident, fugiant hinc procul, quoniam illis in ruinam eſt poſita: ut quærentes non inveniant, & audientes non intelligant. Non eſt projiciendum roſas & margaritas ante porcos, ne pedibus eas, tanquam betas labiis eorum inſuetas, conculcent. Sapientiæ filii ſpiritu, non ore hauriunt alimentum, ut mente magis quam corpore vivant. Interim tamen, ut ſit mens ſana in corpore ſano, cupiunt, donec à naturæ vinculo ſoluta, tria hæc in unum rurſus unita, vivant in æternum.* Dornæus in Clave Philoſoph. Chymiſticæ. lib. 3.

CHAP. XX.

Of the ſpecial nutriment which the Poetry of ancient times did afford to the forementioned ſeeds of Idolatry, with ſome other particular allurements to delightful Superſtition. That the ſame nutriment which feeds ſuperſtition, being rightly prepared, may nouriſh devotion.

1. HE that is a Poet by nature, or an habitual practitioner in the Art of Poetry, hath his wits alwaies tuned to ſuch an high key or ſtrain, as ordinary wits cannot reach, unleſs they be thereto intended or ſtretched by the actual impulſions of externals much affected, or ſome occaſioned fervency of deſires. Fervency of deſires though lodged in muddy breaſts, not ſeaſoned with a drop of *Helicon*, will intertain bruit or inanimate creatures with ſuch ſpeech, and geſtures, as if the one had reaſon, or the other ſence. Oft doth extremity of heat impell day-labourers, or fear of rain the huſbandman to intreat the wind, as if it could hear as well as it is heard; *Blow wind, Gentle wind blow, &c.* Many out of deep and inveterate diſcontent, will vent their curſes in Poetical fury, though in ruſtique phraſe, againſt the place, wherein deſerved miſchief hath befallen them. Others out of the fulneſs of love, courteous *nature*, or affectionate complement, will kiſs the ground, from which they have received extraordinary good. As *Charles* the fift after he had reſigned the Empire, and bid the wars farewell, beſtowed his *oſculum Pacis* upon the Spaniſh earth, whereto in liew of all benefits thence received, he ſolemnly bequeathed the reſidue of his retired life, and his wearied limbs, when death ſhould take them. And Mariners after a tedious and dangerous voyage, will ſalute the ſhore with complement very ſuſpicious to be daily practiſed by inhabitants. True imitation of affection, whilſt it vents its fulneſs, is the beſt artificial motive to breed or ſtir affection in our auditors, or ſpectators. From imitation of mens ſpeeches, and geſtures in like exigences of affection, or plunges of vehement deſires came Proſopopeia's firſt in requeſt amongſt Rhetoricians; a form of ſpeech very effectual, and approvable in its right ſubject, the circumſtance of *time* and *place* duly obſerved. But the frequent uſe of it in Panegyrical Orations about Martyrs graves, did firſt occaſion that groſs Idolatry of invocation of Saints; although it came not till long after by degrees inſenſible (as it were an huge ceſtern filling by continual droppings) to that height, wherewith it ſo ſwelled

in the *Romiſh* Church, as it had almoſt overflown the whole world beſides. Yet as theſe Panegyricks were very ancient: ſo the firſt beginning of Proſopopeia's might as eaſily occaſion the Heathen to miſtake Chriſtian devotions as the unſeaſonable imitation of their firſt uſe, did ſeduce Chriſtians afterwards to an heatheniſh conceit of deceaſed Martyrs. So ſhort had the uſual paſſage from theſe figurative and affectionate exclamations to idolatrous invocation of men departed been: That the heathen either out of their own experience, that ſuch Proſopopeia's were introductions to Deifications of men deceaſed, or from ſome relicks of their firſt leaders diſpoſitions propagated unto them, did dig the bodies of noble Martyrs out of their graves, throwing others after torture into the ſea, as fearing leſt their Encomiaſts ſhould adore and worſhip them after the ſame manner they themſelves did their grand Patrons, great Benefactors, or Heroicks, whom breath of flattery, (as the next diſcourſe ſheweth) ſought of dead men to make living gods.

2. Theſe exclamations were more riſely, more dangerous in Poets than in Orators, or ſuch as uſed them not but upon external impulſion, and in a manner againſt their wills. As are the Poets names, ſo is their nature: *Makers* they are, and herein they imitate the *maker* of all things, that they call things that are not, as if they were, and ſtrive to infuſe the ſpirit of life and motion into every ſubject they take in hand; as they feign *Pygmalion* did into his Image. So womaniſh are we all, that are born of women; that our delightful and choice conceits deſire alwayes to have their pictures drawn in ſeemly luſter and proportion, and we ſolace our internal fancies with looking on theſe outward Images; as Gentlewomen do themſelves by gazing on their own faces repreſented unto them in a favourable glaſs. Of thoughts or fancies, the Poet is the only picturer. Such amongſt the Heathen as had the right trick of this art, would alwayes either inveſt their *matter* with the ſhape, or grace it with the preſence of ſome goddeſs; nor matter nor manner of ſpeech ordinary, or meerly humane could content them. From this ſtrong bent of affection, joyning with the high ſtrain of ſpeech, or invention peculiar to Poets, did their fervent wiſhes or ejaculations hit that point in a moment, whereto others affectionate exclamations or Rhetorical Proſopopeia's did rather ſlide than fly. The wind, whiles it is apprehended as a meſſenger of love, is placed above his rank:

Virgil. *Daphni ferat tibi ventus ad aures!*

So is the *Air* made by another Poet in a manner joynt ſharer with God in invocations for revenge:

Ovid. *Audiat hæc Æther, quiq; eſt Deus ultor in illo.*

O Heavens, O God hear this,
Who in the Heavens Avenger is.

Theſe artificial forms of ſpeech, by proceſs of time and opportunity, became patterns of practiſe in earneſt unto others; and liveleſs creatures, to whom ſuch prayers or wiſhes were thus by way of Poetical complement tendered, did ſometimes encroach upon the expreſs titles of God, to whom invocation is only due.

Somne quies rerum, placidiſſime ſomne Deorum,
Pax animi, quem cura fugit, tu pectora duris
Feſſa miniſteriis mulces, reparaſq; labori.

O ſleep the ſweeteſt of all Gods,
that giveſt all things reſt;

The peace of mind, that ſcares all cares,
with labour hard oppreſt;
Our bodies thou doſt recreate,
and with new ſtrength inveſt.

Another Heroical Poet makes the Princeſs (which had expoſed her husband to the ſword by inſtigating him to recover his right by it) preſent her ſupplications to dumb creatures, whilſt ſhe ſought her husbands corps by night amongſt the ſlain in ſuch a ſtile, as were enough to caſt a muſing Reader into a waking dream or imagination, that the walls, the houſes, the very ſoil whereon ſhe trod, had been animated with ſome peculiar Genius, capable of friendſhip and foehood:

Horruit Argia, dextraſq; ad mœnia tendens,
Vrbs optata prius: nunc tecta hoſtilia Thebe:
Si tamen illæſas reddis mihi conjugis umbras
Nunc quoq; dulce ſolum.

Statius.

With grief o'regrown to Theban-*walls her ſuppliant hands ſhe bends,*
Oh City late too dearly lov'd (ſince love in ſorrow ends)
Now hoſtile Thebes: *yet ſo thou will'ſt my* Conſorts *Corps reſtore,*
Still ſhalt thou be, a Soil *to me, as dear as heretofore.*

Theſe, or the like ſpeeches of heathen Poets, if by Chriſtians they may not be uttered without reproof; *Lactantius* his cenſure of *Tully* for his too laviſh Rhetorical Proſopopeia made unto *Philoſophy* ſhall ſave me a labour. * *O Philoſophy, the guide of life, the ſearcher out of virtue, the baniſher of vice, without thee not only we thy followers ſhould be no bodies: but even the life of mankind could be nothing worth, for thou haſt been the Foundreſs of Laws, the Miſtreſs of manners and diſcipline. As if forſooth (ſaith this Author) Philoſophy it ſelf could take any notice of his words, or as if He rather were not to be praiſed which did beſtow her. He might with as good reaſon have rendered the like Rhetorical thanks to his meat and drink; for without theſe, the life of man cannot conſiſt, howbeit theſe are things without ſenſe. Benefits they are, but they can be no Benefactors. As they are the nouriſhment of the body, ſo is wiſedome or true philoſophy of the ſoul.*

* *O vitæ Philoſophia dux (inquit) ô virtutis indagatrix, expultrixq; vitiorum, quòd non modo nos, ſed omnino vita hominum ſine te eſſe non potuiſſet! Tu Inventrix legum, Tu magiſtra morum, ac diſciplinæ fuiſti: Quaſi verò aliquid per ſe ipſa ſentiret, ac non potius ille laudandus eſſet, qui eam tribuit? Potuit eodem modo gratias agere cibo, & potui; quia ſine his rebus vita conſtare non poſſit, in quibus ut ſenſus, ita beneficii nihil eſt. Atqui illa corporis alimenta ſunt, ſic animæ ſapientia.* Lactan. de falſa ſapientia, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 13.

3. That the ſeminaries of Poetry ſhould be the chief nurſes of Idolatry, argues how apt the one is to bring forth the other; or rather how both lay like twins in the womb of the ſame unpurified affection, uſually begotten by one ſpirit. Woods and fountains, as every School-boy knoweth, were held chief manſions of the Muſes, to whoſe Courts the Poets reſorted to do their homage, invoking their aid, as the goddeſſes whom they moſt renowned, hereto allured by the opportunity of the place. The pleaſant ſpectacle and ſweet reſounds which woods and ſhady fountains afford, will ſublimate illiterate ſpirits, and tune or temper minds, otherwiſe ſcarce apt for any, to retired contemplations. They are to every noiſe as an organized body to the ſoul or ſpirit, which moves it: Gentle blaſts diffuſed through them, do ſo well ſymbolize with the internal agitations of our minds and ſpirits, that when we hear them, we ſeem deſirous to underſtand their language, and learn ſome good leſſon from them. And albeit they utter not expreſly what we conceive; yet to attentive and compoſed thoughts, they inſpire a ſecret ſeed or fertility of invention, eſpecially ſacred.

4. But is, or was the ***notion*** of the Deity naturally more freſh and lively in theſe ſeminaries of heatheniſh Poetry, than in other places? Yes, every unuſual place, or ſpectacle, whether remarkably beautiful, or gaſtly, imprints a touch or apprehenſion of ſome latent inviſible power, as preſident of what we ſee. *Seneca's* obſervation to this purpoſe will open unto us one main head or ſource of heatheniſh Idolatry, which well cleanſed might add fertility to Chriſtian devotion. *In unoquoq; virorum bonorum (quis deus incertum eſt) habitat deus.* To prove this concluſion, that God is near us, even within us, thus he leads us. † *If thou light on a grove thickſet with trees of ſuch unuſual antiquity and height, as that they take away the ſight of Heaven by the thickneſs of their branches overſpreading one another: the height of the wood, the ſolitarineſs of the place, and the uncouthneſs of the cloſe and continued ſhade in the open air, do joyntly repreſent a kind of Heaven on earth, and exhibit a proof unto thee of ſome divine power preſent. Or if thou chance to ſee a den whoſe ſpatious concavity hath not been wrought by the hand-labour of men, but by cauſes natural, which have ſo deeply eaten out, and conſumed the ſtones, that they have left a hanging mountain to overſpread it like a Canopy, the ſight likewiſe will affect the mind with ſome touch or apprehenſion of Religion. We adore the heads of great Rivers, &c. Vide Parag,* 8. & 9. of this Chapter.

5. And becauſe ſuperſtition can hardly ſprout, but from the degenerate and corrupt ſeeds of devotion, wicked ſpirits did haunt theſe places moſt, which they perceived fitteſt for devout affections. As ſight of ſuch groves and fountains, as *Senca* deſcribes, would nouriſh affection: ſo the affection naturally deſirous to enlarge it ſelf, would, with the help of the Spirits ſleights and inſtigations, incite the ſuperſtitious to make their groves more retired, and ſightly. Thus like cunning anglers they firſt bait the places, and then fiſh them: and their appearance being moſt uſual, when mens minds were thus tuned to devotion: the eye would eaſily ſeduce the heart to faſten his affections to the place wherein they appeared, as more ſacred than any other. And to the ſpirits thus appearing, as to the ſole Lords and owners of the delightful ſoil, and chief Patrons of theſe bewitching rites and cuſtomes, they thought their beſt devotions were not too good.

6. Throughout the ſtory of the *Judges* and *Kings* of *Iſrael*, we may obſerve how groves were as the banquetting houſes of falſe gods; the traps and gins of ſacrilegious ſuperſtition. For this cauſe in all ſuppreſſions of Idolatry, the commiſſion runs joyntly for cutting down groves, and demoliſhing Altars. So God, *Deuteronomy* 5. after commandement given to deſtroy the *Amorites*, addeth this injunction withall; *Ye ſhall overthrow their Altars, and break down their pillars; and ye ſhall cut down their groves, and burn their graven Images with fire* And unto *Gideon* the firſt (in my remembrance) to whom this warrant was in particular directed; *Throw down the Altar of Baal that thy Father hath made; and cut down the grove that is by it*, Judg. *6.v.*25. And *Ezekiah*, whiles he removed the high places, and brake the Idols, cut down the groves, 2 *King*. 18.*v.* 4. The like did *Joſias* after him, 2 *King*.23.*v*.14. How available either this deſtruction of groves was to the extirpation, or the cheriſhing of them to the growth and increaſe of Idolatry, the good

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† *Si tibi occurrit vetuſtis arboribus, & ſolitam altitudinem egreſſis frequens lucus, & conſpectum cœli denſitate ramorum aliorum alios protegentium ſubmovens: Illa proceritas ſylvæ, & ſecretum loci, & admiratio umbræ in aperto tam denſæ, atq; continuæ, fidem tibi numinis facit. Et ſiquis ſpecus ſaxis penitus exeſis montem ſuſpenderit, non manufactis ſed naturalibus cauſis in tantam duritatem excavatus, animum tuum quadam Religionis ſuſpicione percutiet. Magnorum fluminum capita veneramur: ſubita, & ex abdito vaſti amnis eruptio aras habet: Coluntur aquarum calentium fontes, & ſtagna quædam velopacitas, vel immenſa altitudo ſacravit.* Seneca, Epiſtola 41.

ſucceſs of *Jagello* his like religious policy in winning the *Lithuanians* (his ſtifly Idolatrous, and ſtrangely ſuperſtitious Countrymen) unto Chriſtian Religion, may enform us. I relate the Story at large as I finde it; becauſe it conteins freſh and lively experiments as well of this preſent, as of diverſe other obſervations in this Treatiſe. And no man will eaſily diſtruſt ancient reports, when he ſees them paralleld by modern and neighbour examples. * *The common ſort* (ſaith mine Author ſpeaking of the *Lithuanians* about two hundered years agoe) *was very ſtiff, and would hardly indure to be intreated to relinquiſh their Religion, being formerly accuſtomed to worſhip the fire for God, and to adore the thunder and lightning with divine honor; ſet groves or trees in common woods of unuſual height, had ſuch authority from antiquity for their ſacred eſteem: that to cut or burn them or offer them any violence, was reputed a ſacrilege ſo fearful, as would inſtantly provoke vengeance divine.* But the woods and groves being at length cut down and waſted, without the deſtruction or harm of any imployed in this buſineſs they grew more tractable, and (as if the woods had taught them obedience) began to believe the Kings authority and command, becoming at length forward profeſſors of Chriſtian Religion.

7. The like ſuperſtitions fear had *Conſtantines* reſolution in reformation expelled out of the *Ægyptian*, who would have perſwaded him, that if he took their ſacred *ell* or *fathom* out of *Serapes* Temple, the River *Nilus*, which was under this conceited Gods patronage, would ceaſe to flow.

——— *At ille*
Labitur, & labetur in omne volubilis ævum.

But whether Angels had not graced theſe nurſeries of devotion by their appearance unto Gods ſervants in them (eſpecially before the Law was given) is eaſilier queſtioned, than determined. The general obſervation of errors ſpringing from ancient truths imperfectly related, makes me ſuſpect, that the apparition of Angels, or manifeſtation of Gods preſence in like places unto holy men, and their demeanour upon ſuch manifeſtations, was, by prepoſterous imitation, drawn to authorize the Idololatrical worſhip of ſuch ſpirits, as the heathen had ſeen in viſible ſhape; as alſo of the ſuperſtitious eſteem, or reverence of the places themſelves. For, in *Conſtantines* time, as *Euſebius* tells us, the Heathens had erected their Altars in the oaken grove of *Mambree*, in which the three Angels appeared to *Abraham*.

8. But whether *Conſtantine* though much offended with the Altar, did with it deſtroy the grove, is uncertain. For albeit the title of the Chapter containing this ſtory in our Engliſh *Euſebius*, takes it as granted, that he did; the text notwithſtanding leaves it doubtful, if not more probable, that he did not. Nor was it neceſſary he ſhould in this caſe follow the example of *Joſias* or *Ezekias*, having that liberty, which they had not, to build a Temple in the ſame place to the Lord; unto zealous devotion in whoſe ſervice the grove might afford no leſs plenty of fuel, then it had done to heatheniſh ſuperſtition and Idolatry. For

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* *Actum autemineo conventu, Vladiſlao Rege auctore, de plantanda Catholica in* Lithuania *fide, & Idolorum cultu penitus abolendo memoratur: ubi Rex non modo boni principis, ſed & Apoſtoli munus ſuſcepit. Nam non ſolum proponendis vulgo præmiis; ſed docendis etiam, & voce, ac oratione movendis, erudiendiſq; populis tanta ejus occaluerat patientia, ut nemo hac in parte rege ſuperior, vix ſimilis aliquis ſpectaretur. Dura porro, & inexorabilis admodum veteri cultu relinquendo extiterat multitudo, utpote qua ignem pro deo colere, fulmini divinos honores deferre, lucos, & excelſas arbores in ſylvis ſacroſanctas habere antiquitùs conſueverat, quas vi, ferro, aut flamma, aut deniq; ulla alia violare ratione nec fas, neq, tutum rebatur. Verum enimvero cum juſſu, & autoritate Regia illa partim oppreſſa, partim exſciſſa, devaſtatáq; eſſent, nec cujuſquam aut interitus, aut læſio exinde ſequeretur: tum verò ſenſim effecti* Lithuani *molliores, Regio mandato, & autoritati cedere cæperunt, & tandem etiam Chriſto nomen dare, & Catholicam religiomm certatim ſuſcipere minimè dubitarunt.* Varſevitius in Parall.

that which feedeth ſuperſtition through want of inſtruction only, or through licenſed opportunities, not naturally, not of it ſelf, would prove beſt nutriment of true devotion to ſuch as have the ſpirit of grace or wiſdome to diſgeſt it; eſpecially if the practiſes which nouriſh ſuperſtition, be controlled by plauſible cuſtome or authority. No affection more fertile of either than the Poetical temper, according as it is *well* or *ill* imployed. No place yields ſuch opportunities for growth either of root or branch, as woods or groves, or like ſhrowds, or receptacles of retired life: nor could the ſight, or ſolitary frequenting any of theſe, have nurſed ſuch ſtrange ſuperſtition in the heathen, but only by ſuggeſting a livelier *notion* of the God-head, than uſual objects could occaſion. And if other mens minds be of the ſame conſtitution with mine, our apprehenſions of the true *God* as Creator, have a kind of ſpring, when he renews the face of the earth. *Preſentemque refert quælibet herba Deum.* The ſuddain growth of every graſs points out the place of his preſence; the variety of flowers and herbs, ſuggeſts a ſecret admiration of his inexpreſſible beauty. In this reſpect, the frequency of Sermons ſeems moſt neceſſary in Cities and great Towns, that their Inhabitants, who (as one wittily obſerveth) ſee for the moſt part but the works of men, may daily hear God ſpeaking unto them: whereas ſuch as are converſant in the fields and woods; continually contemplate the works of God. And nothing naturally more apt to awaken our minds, and make them feel or ſee his operations, then the growth of vegetables, or the ſtrange motions, or inſtincts of creatures meerly ſenſitive. The ſecret increaſe or fructification of vegetables, without any inhærent motion, or motive faculty, and the experience of *ſenſitives*, accompliſhing their ends more certainly without any ſparkle of reaſon, then *man* doth his by reaſonable contrivance, or artificial policy moved ſome heathens to adore groves, woods, birds, and ſenſitive creatures almoſt of every kind for gods; who yet neither worſhipped dead elements, or living men. Dead elements they neglected, becauſe their qualities leſs reſemble the operations of the living God, with ſome *notions* of whoſe nature they were inſpired. Living men they much admired, not in that the cauſe of every action which they effect, and the manner of bringing their ends about, was too well known. They ſaw little (it ſeemeth) in their neighbours, but what they knew to be in themſelves, whom they had no reaſon to take for gods: and if one ſhould have worſhipped another, perhaps the reſt would have called them fools, as birds, or other creatures would have done, ſo they had known what worſhip meant: howbeit ſuch men in every age as could either reveal ſecrets to come, or bring things to paſs beyond the obſervation or experience of former human wits, were even in their life accounted as gods, or near friends unto ſome god.

9. Others again, that would have ſcorned to worſhip men, or almoſt any other *live creature*, otherwiſe then upon theſe tearms, did adore the heads or firſt ſprings of || Rivers, whoſe continual motion to feed the ſtreams that flow from them without any viſible original, whence their own ſtore ſhould be ſupplied, is by nature (not ſtifled by art) a ſufficient motive to call the inviſible Creator, and fountain of all things to mans remembrance. And ſome again, whom ſight of ordinary fountains did leſs affect, were put in mind of ſome divine inviſible cauſe, or prime mover, by the annual overflow of * *Nilus*, or the like experiments inſcrutable by courſe of nature. The admirable effects of *Nilus* overflow, were the cauſe of that irreligious and brutiſh diſpoſition, which † *Seneca* noteth in the *Ægyptian* husbandmen.

|| *Vide Annotationem ex* Seneca *parag.* 4. *hujus capitis.*

* *Adeò autem natura hunc amnem ſuprà reliquos omnes extulit, ut eo tempore increſcat, quo maximè ulta fervoribus terra aquam deſiderat, expletura annuam ſitim: cùm in ea parte, quâ* Ægyptus *in* Ethiopiam *vergit, nullis aut raris imbribus adverſus ſiccitatem adjuvetur. Cujus incrementi fæcundiſſimi ratio ſoli divinitati accepta ferenda eſt: fruſtra enim alias quiſquam rationes ſcrutabitur. Et fortè hoc præmio à mundi origine Deus Ægyptum remunerari voluit, præſciens fore ut Chriſtus ſecurus in ea lateret,* & Herodem *cruentum evaderet.* Forcat. lib. 2. pag. 229.

† *Gymnoſophiſtæ Nilum venerantur magno cultu, ipſumq aquam, terramq; ſimul eſſe prædicant,* Ibid. pag. 230.

* *Nemo Aratorum in Ægypto Cœlum aſpicit.*
No Plowman in Ægypt looks towards Heaven.

The like hath a *Roman* Poet:

† *Te propter nullos Tellus tua poſtulat imbres,*
Arida nec pluvio ſupplicat herba Jove.
Ægyptian earth ſave Nilus ſtreams no water knows;
No parched graſs, or Jove, *or moiſtned ayre there woes.*

The ſoil being mellowed with this River, ſeemed leſs beholden to heaven, than *Athens* was; where (as ſome collect) the art of tilling the ground was firſt invented amongſt the *Græcians.* Albeit I rather think it was the drineſs of the ſoil, wherein that famous City ſtood, which occaſioned that Idololatrical emblem, whence ſome have taken occaſion to conjecture, that the art of tillage was firſt manifeſted there: *Athenis ubi ratio colendi agrum primum oſtenſa eſſe Græcis dicitur, ſimulachrum terræ extitiſſe ſuppliciter à Jove pluviam comprecantis ſcribit Pauſanias. Cornar. de Re vinitoria. lib.* 1. *cap.*8 *page*.56. Some whether half Chriſtians or meer Pagans, ranked by the ancient in the bed-roll of hereticks, have held the Marigold, and like flowers, not uncapable of divine honour by reaſon of their *live ſympathy* with the Sun. The ancient *Galls* did offer ſacrifice unto the * *Miſtleto,* becauſe the manner of its original is without example in vegetables, being cauſed (as they conceived) rather by ſecret celeſtial influences, than by any earthly or material propagation. So eaſily are minds, apt to admire things ſtrange and uncouth, drawn through curioſity of obſervation, unto ſuperſtition and idololatrical performance. That in ſtrange predictions we ſhould apprehend the working of a divine wiſdome, which we apprehend not in our ordinary cogitations, though in them he alwayes work, falls out no otherwiſe, than the like error in the common ſort of heathen, in whom trees of unuſual height, or like ſpectacles, did raiſe an imagination of Gods preſence, which ſight of graſs, of ordinary herbs or lower ſhrubs (though in the loweſt of them he be continually preſent) could not prompt unto their drowſie fantaſies. As ſeldome are our imaginations ſo throughly awaked, as to take expreſs notice of Gods preſence without ſtrong puſhes of unuſual accidents, or violent incurſion of unacquainted objects. *Much familiarity breeds contempt* of their perſons, whoſe preſence, were it rare and uncouth, would beget admiration, awe, and reverence. This experiment ſo certain in civil converſation, that it is now grown into a Proverb, is rooted in that undoubted Maxime in matters natural: *A conſuetis nulla fit paſſio,* and it bears no better fruit in matters Theological. For albeit Gods preſence be moſt intimate in our ſouls, and his working in other creatures manifeſted unto our eyes; yet becauſe this *contact* of his preſence is perpetual, and the manifeſtation of his power continually obvious, we uſually have no ſenſe, or feeling of the one or other, until it touch us after ſome unuſual manner; or open our eyes by preſenting them with wonders. Howbeit whilſt theſe are abſent, to ſhake of the ſlumber, and to inapt us, that are Chriſts miniſters, to be affected with Gods preſence; ſuch abſtraction of our ſelves from ſecular turbulencies, as the Poets uſed would be much avilable.

* Why the *Ægyptians* neglecting heaven, did overeſteem the River *Nilus*; See Section 1. chap. 4. par. 4. of this Book.

† *Vide* Plin. *in Panegyr.*

* *Non eſt omittenda in ea re & Galliarum admiratio. Nihil habent Druidæ (ita ſuos appellant magos) viſco, & arbore, in qua gignantur (ſi modo ſit robur) ſacratius. Jam per ſe roborum eligunt lucos; nec ulla ſacra ſine ea fronde conficiunt, ut inde appellati quoque interpretatione Græcâ poſſint Druidæ videri. Enimvero quicquid adnaſcatur illis è cœlo miſſum putant, ſignumq; eſſe electæ ab ipſo Deo arboris. Eſt autem id rarum admodum inventu, & repertum magna religione petitur: & ante omnia ſexta Luna, quæ principia menſium annorumq; his facit, & ſeculi poſt triceſimum annum, quia jam virium abundè habeat, nec ſit ſui dimidia. Omnia ſanantem appellantes ſuo vocabulo, ſacrificiis, epuliſq; ritè ſub arbore preparatis, duos admovent candidi coloris tauros, quorum cornua tunc primum vinciantur. Sacerdos candida veſte cultus, arborem ſcandit, falce aurea demetit: Candido id excipitur ſago. Tum deinde victimas immolant, precantes ut ſuum donum Deus proſperum faciat his, quibus dederit. Fœcunditatem eo poto dari cuicunq; animali ſterili arbitrantur, contraq; venena omnia eſſe remedio. Tanta gentium in rebus frivolis plerumq; religio eſt.* Plin. nat. hiſt. l. 16. p. 409.

Carmina

Ovid. *Carmina ſeceſſum ſcribentis, & otia quærunt.*
Good verſes alwayes do require,
A vacant mind and ſweet retire.

Another thought he alwaies loſt himſelf in the great preſs at *Rome*, without hope of finding himſelf, till he and his wits met again at his rural home; [*Mihi me reddentis agelli.*] And is it poſſible we ſhould not perceive a great loſs of Gods preſence, ſo long as we continue in places filled only with the ſound of ſecular contentions or debatements? wherein the world and devil find opportunity to inſtamp their image upon our ſouls, preventing all impreſſion of matters heavenly. But when we come into ſolitary or uncouth places, either deckt with native comelineſs and unborrowed beauty, or never ſoyled by ſecular commerce or frequency: the conceipt of God and his goodneſs gains firſt poſſeſſion of our vacant thoughts, and raviſheth our minds with the fragrancy of his preſence. To have ſome place of retire, which hath been witneſs of no thoughts but ſacred, is a great help unto devotion; the renewed ſight, or remembrance of every circumſtance, or local adjunct, occaſions us to reſume our former cogitations without any curb or impediment; which in places, wherein our minds have much run on other matters, we can hardly proſecute without interruption or mixture of worldly toyes. Horace.

10. Would God it were free to make that harmleſs uſe or application of theſe obſervations unto others, which I have often made, and hope to make each day more than other unto my ſelf. And though I expect not the concurrence of many men, no not of my brethren and companions to ſecond me in my deſire of that reformation, which I have no great cauſe to hope I ſhall ever ſee in this Land, yet can I not deem it a fruitleſs labour, to pour forth my wiſhes in the worlds ſight, before *Him*, who alone can do all things. *And what is thy ſervant, O Lord, could moſt deſire to ſee, or hear, before he go hence, and be no more ſeen or heard amongſt the ſon of mortal men? That thy Temples throughout this Land might be more ſecluſe, and the lives of thy Miniſters more retired: That no action, ſpeech, or geſture, which bear the character of converſation ſecular, or meerly civil, ſhould once ſo much as preſent it ſelf to our ſences, whiles we approach thy dwellings: That in theſe ſhort paſſages from our private lodgings to thy ſecluſe and ſilent Courts we might perceive as great an alteration in our behaviour, and affections, as if we had gone out of an old world into a new, or travelled from one kingdom to another people.*

11. Had not thoſe priviledges of retired life, wherewith ſuperſtition had bleſt her children, been held too glorious by reformers of Religion, for reformed devotion to enjoy; the ingenuous poverty of the Engliſh Clergy, might have made the whole world rich in all manner of ſpiritual knowledge. The loſs of Monaſterial poſſeſſions had been light, if as in temporal States, the *honour* (with ſome competent portion of ancient inheritance) remains entire unto the next heir male, while the greateſt part of the Lands poſſeſſed by the father, goes for dowry unto his daughters; ſo that liberty of enjoying themſelves which had been peculiar to them before all priviledges of ſecular Nobility, which impaired them, might have been reſerved to the ſons of *Levi*, though but with ſome corners of their ancient retired manſions, whoſe magnificence had brought them unto nothing. Retired life it ſelf, is ſuch an hidden treaſury, as were it within ken of poſſibilitie to be regained in theſe our dayes, Eccleſiaſtical dignities, though offered *gratis*

would without equivocation be freely refuſed, even by ſuch, as beſt deſerve them. He that now brings iron would bring braſs, in ſtead of braſs we ſhould have ſilver, in ſtead of ſilver gold, towards the rebuilding of Gods Temple; or he that now ſcarce brings any quantity of better mettal well refined to this good work, would bring Pearl, Topas, the Onyx, and every precious ſtone in great abundance. But now, through want of theſe ſacred gardens, which might have been ſtored with ſpiritual ſimples, the infectious diſeaſe of theſe Atheiſtical and ſacrilegious times, is become incurable in the Phyſicians themſelves. Ambition, even in Gods meſſengers overgroweth age, and makes us more undiſcreet and childiſh in the period of maturity, than we were in any part of our infancy. For few, if any of us, or ſeldome, if at any time of our childhood, have *longed* to put on our beſt apparel towards bed-time. And yet what tricks and deviſes, over and above all that *Machiavil* hath meditated, do we put in practiſe, rather to over-burden, than inveſt our ſouls with titles of dignity and honour; whilſt our winding ſheets do expect us, as having one foot in the grave; within whoſe territories, Plowmen are full compeers to Kings; where the ſpade may challenge precedence of the ſcepter; where the miter may not conteſt with the mathook.

CHAP. XXI.

Of Idolatry occaſioned from inordinate affection towards Friends deceaſed, or ceremonious ſolemnities at Funerals.

1. THe implanted *notion* of the Godhead, which with diverſity of affections, hath its *ſpring* and *fall*, was in ſome Heathens ſo buried; that nothing but ſorrow for friends departed, or affection towards publick benefactors, could revive it. Such were the * *Augilæ* a people of *Africk*, which had no gods beſides the ghoſts of men deceaſed. Their error, though groſs, was linked in a double chain of truth: the one, that ſouls of men deceaſed, did not altogether ceaſe to be: the other: that the things which are ſeen were ordered and governed by unſeen powers; yet loath they were to believe any thing, which in ſome ſort they had not ſeen, or perceived by ſome ſenſe. Hence did their general *notion* miſcarry in the deſcent unto particulars, proſtrating it ſelf before ſepulchres filled with dead bones, and conſulting ſouls departed. Though not in the negative, yet in the affirmative part of theſe mens verdict concerning the gods, moſt Heathens upon occaſions did concur. The ſuperſtition might eaſily be either bred or fed from an opinion ſo probable to moſt in ſpeculation, as opportunity would eaſily draw all to the practice. The † grand Cenſurer, while he denies; *Deceaſed anceſtors to be any whit affected with the weal, or miſery of poſterity,* implies this to have been a received opinion before his time, for ſuch, for the moſt part, he either refutes, or refines. This *principle* being once ſetled in mens minds; ſtrong impulſions either of hope or fear, would extort ſuch prayers and ſupplications to friends, or anceſtors departed, as upon like occaſions ſhould have been tendered to them living. And the ſupplicants, not knowing any ſet means of procuring audience before patrons now abſent and out of ſight, would try all they had known in like caſes practiſed by others, or could invent themſelves. Sacrifices amongſt other means, were as the com

* *Augilæ, & ipſa Africæ populi, nullo Deos putarunt præter defunctorum manes, à quibus reſponſa petere ſolebant, ſepulchris incubantes, ut Mela aliiq; prodiderunt.* Gyraldus hiſtor. Deorum Syntagma 1. pag. 6.

† *Ariſtotle* 1. *Ethicorum.*

mon lure to woo ghoſts or ſpirits unto familiar conference, or (at leaſt) take notice of ſuits exhibited, and to manifeſt their anſwers by the effect. Thus * *Alexander*, though a Prince of *Ariſtotles* inſtructing, being now bound for *Aſia*, offered ſacrifice to *Proteſilaus* upon his Tomb, with ſupplication for better ſucceſs, then he, to whom he offered ſacrifice had there found; being ſlain in the *Trojan* war. Did the great Monarch (as we may conjecture) think that the ſoul of this *Græcian worthy*, not pacified with ſuch offerings, would envy better ſucceſs unto his ſucceſſors of *Greece*? or did he rather hope, that *Proteſilaus*, by reſolute adventure, and untimely death, had merited a warrant from the gods to grant ſafe conduct unto *Græcian* Nobles, that upon juſt quarrels invaded *Aſia*? For the reaſon, why *Alexander* ſhould ſacrifice to him before any other, was in *that* he of all the *Grecian* Captains, had ſet firſt *foot* in *Aſia*; as if by death he had taken poſſeſſion of Protectorſhip over his Country-men in like expeditions. But whatſoever motive *Alexander* had to this Idolatry, from that general improvement of mens eſteem of others worth, and virtue abſent, in reſpect of them preſent, many nations were prone to adore them as gods after death, whom they honoured and reverenced above others, yet with human honour only, whiles they lived. From this obſervance amongſt the *Grecians* † *Calliſthenes* ingenuouſly and wittily refutes *Anaxarchus*, perſwading the *Macedonians* to give divine honour to *Alexander*, ready enough to receive it before his death. *Whatſoever the Barbarians may practiſe* (ſaith this *Grecian* Philoſopher) *Greece (I know) hath no ſuch cuſtome, nor did our Anceſtors worſhip* Hercules *as a god, ſo long as he converſed among them in human ſhape, nor after his death until the* Delphick *Oracle had ſo appointed. Anaxarchus* on the contrary, thought it a great *Indecorum* not to give that honor to the Emperour whiles he lived, which he doubted not, would by publique conſent be deſigned unto him after death. The like Paraſitical humor of the *Thaſians*, a people of *Greece*, had travailed before of like Idolatry, but brought forth only a memorable jeſt in that wiſe King || *Ageſilaus*, unto whom ſuch proffered ſervice ſmelled too rankly of baſe flattery. *My maſters* (quoth he) *hath your City the authority, or art of making gods? If it have I pray let us ſee what manner of gods you can make your ſelves; and then perhaps I ſhall be content to be a god of your making.*

2. The Platonical opinion of the ſouls inlargement in her principal faculties after delivery from this walking priſon, which ſhe carries about with her, did ſecretly water and cheriſh the former ſeeds of error. For conſequently unto this doctrin, men might think, that they who by their wit (eſpecially) had done much good whiles they lived in the body, would be able to do much more after their diſſolution. So * *Herod* thought *John Baptiſt* had brought more skill out of that world, whereunto he had ſent his ſoul before the natural time of her departure, then in his firſt life he had been capable of; for *John* in his life time wrought no miracles. Not only the commonly conceived dignity of the ſoul ſeparated from the body, but the time or manner of its ſeparation, did much inſtigate minds, otherwiſe *that* way bent, to groſs ſuperſtition and Idolatry. The *Magicians* that lived at *Athens* when † *Plato* died, offered ſacrifice to his ſoul, ſuppoſing him to have been more than man, becauſe he died on his birth-day, having *fulfilled*

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* *Vigeſimo poſtquam domo diſceſſerat die, Seſto pervenit. Inde in Eleunta profectus, Proteſilao ſuper ipſius tumulum ſacrificat quod Proteſilaus creditur Græcorum, qui cum Agamemnone ad Ilium militarunt, primus in Aſiam pede intuliſſe. Sacrificii vero ſcopus hic erat, ut felicior ipſi quam Proteſilao deſcenſus in Aſiam eſſet.* Arrianus de expedit. Alex. l. 1. p. 12.

† Arrian. l 4. pag. 85.

|| *Vide* Plutarchum.

* Then King *Herod* heard of him (for his name was ſpread abroad) and ſaid; *John Baptiſt* is riſen again from the dead, and therefore great works are wrought by him. *Mark* 6. verſ. 14. *Vide Matth.* 24. v. 1, 2.

† *Plato ipſe ad ſenectutem ſe diligentia pertulit. Erat quidem corpus validum ac forte ſortitus, & illi nomen latitudo pectoris fecerat: ſed navigationes ac pericula multum detraxerunt viribus: parſimonia tamen & eorum quæ aviditatem evocant modus & diligens ſui tutela, perduxit illum ad ſenectutem, multis prohibentibus cauſis. Nam hoc ſcis, puto platoni diligentiæ ſuæ beneficio contigiſſe, quod natali ſuo deceſſit, & annum unum atq; octogeſſimum implevit, ſine ulla deductione. Ideo Magi, qui forte Athenis erant, immolaverunt defuncto, amplioris fuiſſe ſortis quam humanæ rati, quia conſummaſſet perfectiſſimum numerum, quem novem novies multiplicata componunt.* Seneca Epiſtola 58.

the moſt perfect number in his courſe of life, whoſe length was juſt fourſcore years and one. But to this particular ſuperſtition, the cauſes mentioned in the eighteenth Chapter, had their joynt concurrence. *Quirinus* and || *Romulus* (whether two or one) were in *Tullies* judgement rightly reputed Gods after death, becauſe good men whilſt they lived, and (as it ſeems he thought) no way diſſenabled for doing good ſtill, in as much as they enjoyed eternity in their ſouls. And * *Triſmigiſt* catechizing his ſon in the Ægyptian Art of making gods, tells him his grand-father, (who was the firſt inventor of Phyſick) being gone to heaven in ſoul, or (to uſe his phraſe) according to his *better man*, did ſtill work all thoſe cures by his ſecret power, which before he wrought by art; the only place where this divine ſoul would be ſpoken with, was the *Temple*, wherein his *mundane man*, or *body* lay entombed; wherein likewiſe he had an Idol or Image, as every other Egyptian Temple had, unto which by Exorciſms or Invocation, they wedded either ſpirits or ſouls of men, after they had relinquiſhed their own bodies. By this art were moſt Egyptian gods procreated, until error by Gods juſt judgement did reciprocrate; and idolatry aſcend from beaſts to men, from whom it firſt deſcended. For in proceſs of time, the *hurtful* or *profitable* beaſts, which Princes had conſecrated, were adored as *Triſmegiſts* father had been, and the Princes likewiſe, which had conſecrated them, were co-adored in their images. The manner of this laſt errors intruſion, as † *Vives* hath well obſerved out of *Diodorus*, deſcended (in part at leaſt) from the deviſes or emblems, which Princes bare in their *Shields* or *Creſts*. Some beſt liking *Dogs*, others, *Lyons*, *Wolves*, or *Cats*; every one as ſympathy of nature, fancy, or chance miſled them. The ſolemnity uſed at their conſecration (that is whilſt they were taken for arms) being great, did taint the ſpectators minds with ſuperſtitious fancies. And unto minds thus tainted, their liveleſs pictures, being born as creſts or enſigns, were reputed for no by-ſtanders, but for authors or coadjutors, whether of victorious ſucceſs in wars, or of proſperous events in peace. The Princes afterwards fell in love with the *names* of the beaſts, and propagated the inceſtuous *title* unto Cities. This ſpeedy tranſportation of affectionate minds from curious ceremony or ſolemnity unto groſs and formal Idolatry, the eternal Lawgiver did beſt know to be too natural unto man; and therefore ſought to prevent the diſeaſe by evacuating the antecedent cauſe. To this purpoſe are thoſe prohibitions of curious ceremony in mourning for friends deceaſed. *Ye ſhall not cut your fleſh for the dead, nor make any print or mark upon you; I am the Lord* ||. This remembrance [*I am the Lord*] intimates unto us, that theſe prints or marks were the badges of another Maſter, who by thoſe curious expreſſions of mournful ſorrow for their dead, ſought to bring them unto a never dying ſorrow of body and ſoul. The ſame prohibition is more particularly directed to the houſe of *Aaron*, with ſpecial reſtraint from uſing ſuch ceremonies, as in other families of *Iſrael* were not unlawful, unleſs for parents, brother or ſiſter before marriage deceaſed, no ſon of *Aaron* might mourn. For want of ſuch laws to moderate and bridle this natural affection of lamenting the dead, both Prieſt and people among the heathens ran headlong into this Idolatry of invoking men deceaſed. For (as the wiſe-man obſerves) *when a father mourned grievouſly for his ſon, that was taken away*

|| *Hinc etiam Romulus, quem quidem eundem eſſe Quirinum putant: quorum remanerent animi, atq. æternitate fruerentur dii rite ſunt habiti cum & optimi eſſent & æterni* Cicero lib. 2 de natura Deorum.

* *Avus enim tuus, ô Aſclepi, medicinæ primus inventor, cui templum conſecratum eſt in monte Libyæ circa Littus Crocodilorum, in quo ejus jacet mundanus homo, id eſt, corpus: reliquus enim, vel potius totus, ſi eſt homo totus in ſenſu vitæ, melior remeavit in cœlum, omnia etiam nunc hominibus adjumenta præſtans infirmis numine nunc ſuo, quæ antè ſolebat medicina arte præbere. Ecce dixit mortuum coli pro Deo in eo loco ubi habebat ſepulchrum: falſus ac fallens dicendo quod remeavit in cœlum, omnia etiam nunc hominibus adjumenta præſtans infirmis.* Aug. de Civit. Dei ad Marcellinum, l. 7. c. 26. *Terrenis enim diis atq; mundanis facile eſt iraſci: utpote qui ſunt ab hominibus ex utraq; natura facti atq; compoſiti. Ex utraq; natura dicit, ex anima & corpore: ut pro anima ſit dæmon, pro corpore ſimulachrum. Unde contingit, inquit, ab Ægyptiis hæc ſancta animalia nuncupari, coliq; per ſingulas civitates eorum animas, qui eas conſecravere viventes, ita ut eorum legibus incolantur, & eorum nominibus nuncupentur.* Auguſtinus ibidem.

† In his *commentaries* upon the forecited place of S *Auguſtine Litera q.*

|| Livit. 19. 28.

ſuddainly, he made an Image for him that was once dead. This at the firſt was but to ſolace grief by an imaginary or repreſentative preſence of him, that was truly abſent. * But that tender reſpect which parents bear unto their ſick children (for whoſe relief or eaſe no coſt can ſeem too great, no attendance, ſo it pleaſe, too curious) doth naturally enlarge it ſelf after their death; and having a picture, whereon to gaze, will hardly refrain to preſent it, in more ceremonious and ſolemn ſort, with all thoſe reſpects and ſervices, which were due to the party living, or like to die. So the ſame wiſe-man couples ſolemn Idolatry, as the immediate effect, to ſuch curioſity or ceremony. *Now he worſhippeth him as a God, and ordained to his ſervants ceremonies and ſacrifices.* Thus by proceſs of time *this wicked cuſtome prevailed, and was kept as a law, and Idols were worſhipped by the commandement of Tyrants, Wiſdom* 14. *verſ.* 14, *and* 15. The firſt degree of this temptation obſerved by him, every man (I am perſwaded) may in ſome ſort experience in himſelf. The multiplication of the practiſe by imitation and flattery, is plentifully experienced in moſt heathen ſtories. But the original of the temptation was thus.

* *Cum Mamertini freti accolæ ad feſtos ludorum dies, quos Rhegini ſolenni ritu agitabant, pueros triginta quinq; cumq; his Chori magiſtrum, & tibicinem miſiſſent, nave fracta ad unum omnes periere. Mamertini iſtum puerorum interitum luxere, & cum alios illis honores habuere, tum ſtatuam ex are ſuam ſingulis poſuere, cumq; iis unam chori magiſtro, & tibicini. Vetus inſcriptio donum eſſe Mamertinorum indicat freti accolarum. Interjecto dein tempore, Hippias, qui inter Græcos ſapientiæ laude claruit, elegis titulos earum ſtatuarum fecit.* Pauſan. lib. 5. pag. 337. If not the fathers, certainly the mothers of theſe children would ſolace themſelves with ſuch ejaculations, whilſt they beheld their ſtatues, as *Andromache* did. *O mea ſola mihi ſuper Aſtyanactis Imago; Sic oculos, ſic ille manus, ſic ora ferebat, Et nunc æquali tecum pubeſceret ævo.* Virgil Æneid. 3. Marc. Tullius, *qui non tantum perfectus Orator, ſed etiam Philoſophus fuit (ſiquidem ſolus extitit Plotonis imitator) in eo libro, quo ſe ipſe de morte filiæ conſolatus eſt, non dubitavit dicere Deos, qui publicè colerentur, homines fuiſſe. Quod ipſius teſtimonium, eo debet graviſſimum judicari, quod & augurale habet ſacerdotium, & eoſdem ſe colere venerariq; teſtatur. Itaq; intra paucos verſiculos duas res nobis dedit. Nam dum imaginem filiæ eodem ſe modo conſecraturum eſſe profiteretur, quo illi à veteribus ſunt conſecrati: & illos mortuos eſſe docuit, & origiuem vanæ ſuperſtitionis oſtendit. Cum vero (inquit) & mares & fæminas complures ex hominibus in deorum numero eſſe videamus, & eorum in urbibus atq; agris auguſtiſſima delubra veneremur; aſſentiamur eorum ſapientiæ quorum ingeniis & inventis omnem vitam legibus & inſtitutis excultam, conſtitutámq; habemus. Quod ſi ullum unquam animal conſecrandum fuit, illud profecto fuit. Si Cadmi, aut Amphionis progenies, aut Tyndari in cælum tollenda fama fuit; huic idem honos certè dicandus eſt, quod quidem faciam, teq; omnium optimam, doctiſſimamq; approbantibus Diis immortalibus ipſis in eorum cætu locatam, ad opinionem omnium mortalium conſecrabo. Fortaſſe dicat aliquis præ nimio luctu deliraſſe Ciceronem. Atqui omnis illa oratio, & doctrina, & exemplis, & ipſo loquendi genere perfecta, non ægri ſed conſtantis animi ac judicii fuit, & hæc ipſa ſententia nullum præfert indicium doloris. Neq; enim puto illum tam variè, tam copioſè, tam ornatè, ſcribere potuiſſe, niſi luctum ejus, & ratio ipſa, & conſolatio amicorum, & temporis longitudo mitigaſſet.* Lactantius lib. 1. cap. 15. pag 49.

3. Impotent deſires of ſtill enjoying their companies to whom we have faſtned our deareſt affections, will hardly take a denial by death. But as ſome longing to be delivered of a well conceited argument, have ſet up their caps for Reſpondents, and diſputed with them as with *live Antagoniſts*: ſo we go on ſtill (as in a waking dream) to frame a † capacity in the dead of acceping our reſpect and love in greater meaſure, then without euvy of others, or offence to them, it could have been tendered, whileſt they were living. Did not the ſpirit of God awake us, the Idolatry iſſuing from this ſpring, would ſteal upon us like a deluge in a ſlumber. Many, who by their preeminency amongſt men, have affected to be reputed gods, have of other mens Lords become ſuch ſlaves to their own affection, as to worſhip their dead favorites with divine honour. So || *Alexander* having teſtified is love to *Hepheſtions* corps with ſuch curious ſigns and ceremonies of mourning, as *God* in his Law had forbidden, ſeeks afterward to ſolace his grief by procuring *Mortmain* from the Oracle for his dead friend to hold greater honours, then this great Conqueror of the world could have beſtowed upon him though he had lived to have been his heir. To qualifie him by diſpenſation from *Jupiter Ammon* for an heroick, or half-god, and thereby to make him capable of ſacrifice, could not ſuffice without a Temple,

† *Vide Lactantium, l. 1. de falſa religione, c. 15.*

|| *Arrianus de expedit. Alexan. lib. 7. pag 165. Vide Diodorum lib. 17.*

Temple, whoſe curioſity and ſtate would (as the wiſe-man obſerves) *thruſt forward the multitude* to increaſe their ſuperſtition. The more beautiful the Temples were, the better god would he ſeem to the multitude, eaſily allured, through the beauty of the work, *to take him now for a god, who a little before was honoured but as man* *. And good encouragement *Cleomenes* the Deputy, or over-ſeer of theſe edifices, had to ſee them moſt accurately finiſhed, † having a pardon for all his faults, diſloyal practiſes, or publick wrongs done by him to the Egyptian Nation, upon condition there were no fault in the Temples erected for *Hepheſtions* honour. If all did follow the pattern, which *Cleomenes* in the firſt ſacrifice would ſet them, few of the ancient gods were like to go before this new half-god, or heroick. The iſſue of *Adrians* immoderate love unto his minion || *Antinous* whiles he lived, was after his death, ſuperſtitious foppery, altogether as groſs unleſs perhaps it were tempered (as ſome think) with Necromantical impiety. An Oracle was erected to ſpeak for him, who could not now ſpeak for himſelf, albeit Oracles I take it, at this time were dumb, but ſo much the fitter for a dead dog, as the name of God ſpeld backward, would beſt befit him and others of his profeſſion; his ſepulcher was according to the Egyptian faſhion; he had a whole City called by his name. And to eſtabliſh an opinion of the * Emperours authority to create gods, a new ſtar was either ſeen or faigned, as if the heavens by this apparition had ratified this earthy Monarchs grant, or charter. Perhaps ſome Comet might at the ſame time, be preſented by the Prince of the air to delude the inhabitants of the earth.

4. But leaving theſe groſs fooleries; That general fallacy, which opened the firſt gap to heatheniſh Idolatry, had a peculiar efficacy in men honourably addicted to their deceaſed worthies. From converſion of the common *notion, that divine nature was beneficial and good*, every great benefactor was by the rude and ignorant adored as god. Now the warlike and valourous, were by every Nation held beſt deſervers of the weal publick; and fortitude, though (as the Philoſopher excepts againſt it) not the moſt laudable virtue in it ſelf, was moſt honoured among the people, becauſe moſt profitable to them. Hence the valourous, in lieu of their readineſs to ſacrifice their bodies for their native Country, had † ſacrifices and other acknowledgments of honour divine publiquely aſſigned to them after death. The moſt curious and ſuperſtitious ſolemnity in this kind, that comes to my preſent remembrance, was that Feſtivity || annually celebrated every September by the Citizens of *Platea*, in honourable memory of thoſe Worthies, which there had laid down their lives for the liberty of *Greece* *. Amongſt other conditions, upon which the Oracle promiſed the *Grecians* victory over the *Perſians* in that famous battel, a principal one was offering of ſacrifice to the ancient Heroicks of *Greece*; one of whom, by name *Adrocrates*, had his Temple (near to that place) environed which a thick and ſhady grove; a fit neſt for hatching that ſuperſtition, which had been conceived from other circumſtances †. As they had vanquiſhed the *Perſians* in fight: ſo they ſcorned to be overcome by them in laviſh ceremony towards their well deſerving *dead*. The pomp and magnificence of this feſtivity, continuated from *Ariſtides* to *Plutarchs*

* Wiſd. 14. 17, 19.

† *Arrianus loco citato.*

|| *Hic Antinous quum in deliciis ejus fuiſſet, in Ægypto mortuus eſt, ſive quod in Nilum reciderit, ut Hadrianus ſcribit; ſive quod immolatus, id quod verum eſt, fuerit. Nam quum Hadrianus maximè curioſus, eſſet, ut ſupra dixi, tum vero divinationibus, utebatur & magicis artibus cujuſvis gen. Itaq; Antinoum, qui vel ob amorem ipſius, vel ob aleam cauſam voluntariam mortem obierat (nam Hadriano ad ea, quæ parabat, opus erat anima voluntaria) tanto honore affecit; ut vrbem in eo loco, in quo ille obiiſſet, reſtitutam ex eo nominari voluerit; ſtatuaſq; ei, vel potius ſimulachra in omni ferè orbe terrarum collocaverit. Sidus etiam Antinoi ipſe ſe videre dicebat, libenterq; auſcultabat eos qui dicerent vere ex Antinoi animo ſtellam quæ tum primum adparuiſſet, extitiſſe*, Diodor. in hiſt. Rom. lib. 69. Hadrianus 15. pag. 757.

* Of this Emperours folly in this kind ſee *Spartian, in Adrian. canibus*

ſepulchra ſtatuit. † *Elei Heroibus etiam, & eorum uxoribus libant, tam iis qui paſſim in Elea terra, ſunt & illis, qui apud Ætolos in honore ſunt*, Pauſan. l. 5. p. 317. || *Vide Plutarchum in Ariſtide.* * The like vanity of *Græcians* and other people is recorded by *Strabo*, lib. 5. by *Lucius Florus*, lib. 4. cap. 12. *Deomedi equum candidum veneto, ut Numini, mactaſſe accepimus, & id honorificum duxiſſe: ſicut Myſii, qui cum Marco Craſſo conflixere ſtatim ante aciem immoloto equo concepere votum ſanè quam Barbarum, ut cæſorum ducum extis litarent.* Forcatulus lib. 1. † Plutarch. ibidem.

time, did much exceed the ſooner decayed ſolemnities decreed to * *Cyrus* by the *Perſians*; the gardians of whoſe ſepulcher notwithſtanding had every day a ſheep, every moneth an horſe allowed them to ſacrifice unto the ſoul of this chief founder of their great Monarchy; the pattern of valour and royal government.

5. Thus this ſuperſtitious adoration of the dead, at the firſt † extorted from the fulneſs of reſpective affection, wanting right vent, did afterwards mightily overſpread the world by imitation. In the later and more diſſolute times of the *Roman* Empire, it was annexed by flattery as an eſſential part of civil ceremony or ſolemnity due to greatneſs without any reſpect of goodnes. And whereas the old worlds cuſtome had been only to deifie the inventors of uſeful trades, or authors of publick good; later Epicures, or worthleſs favourites did adore beaſtly Tyrants as great Gods, becauſe they fed them with ſome offalls of publick ſpoils, or authorized them to ſuck the blood of the needy ||. *Tully* urgeth it as an argument of *Romulus* praiſe, that he ſhould merit the reputation of a god, in that civil and diſcreet age wherein he died: for ſo he accounts it in reſpect of former times, wherein rifeneſs of error and ignorance mingled with rude affection, had brought down the price of the *gods*, by too great plenty. But from *Romulus* (the fabulous occaſion of whoſe conſecration was an illuſtrious type of modern Romiſh forgery for canonizing Saints) until the *Emperours*, the *Romans* I take it conſecrated no King or Governour as gods, though great benefactors to their ſtates. They only adored ſuch gods, as tradition had commended unto them, committing Idolatry, (to uſe S *Auſtines* ⁞ words) *Errando potius, quam adulando*; *through error rather then out of flattery.* And as the ſame father obſerves, the uſe of images, unknown unto their anceſtors, did much increaſe this impious ſuperſtition in poſterity, and according to the wiſemans obſervation) concurred as a concauſe, or coadjutor to baſe flattery. The ſame obſervation is wittily expreſt by *Minutius Felix*; * *As for thoſe that were ſo far of, that men might not worſhip them preſently, they did counterfeit the* [illegible] *that was far of, and made a gorgious image of a King, whom they would* [illegible]; *that they might by all means flatter him that was abſent, as though he had been preſent* †. And partly by this device, and partly by that other of deceiptful Oracles, many fabulous crimes, which more civil and ſober times had never charged their gods with, were by poſterity (thus polluted) ſet forth in ſolemn *ſhews* or *plays*, in honour of theſe counterfeit or painted powers. Not the Poet only, but the picture-maker alſo did help to ſet forward the ſuperſtition. The relations and repreſentations of their *gods* vicious lives, might well embolden the moſt diſſolute amongſt the race of *Cæſars* to look for ſuch divine honour after death, as flattery had proffered to them living. Much worſe they could not be than their || forefathers, or Poets did make their gods: nor did they perhaps conceit any fitter cloak to cover their ſhame, than the publick and ſolemn repreſentation of their lewdneſs, who had already purchaſed the fame and reputation of celeſtial inhabitants. And hath not the tacite conſent of our times almoſt eſtabliſhed it as a Law; That greatneſs may give authority unto villany, and exempt filthineſs from *cenſure* of impiety? What hath been committed by any whilſt private men, ceaſeth (in their own opinion) to be theirs, by their becoming publick Magiſtrates. For then they think not themſelves to be the ſame men they were, and what is another mans ſins to them? This is a root of Idolatry, which did not determine with

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Com. I.

* Zenophon.

† *Achilli non ara, ſed inane monimentum eſt ex oraculo dedicatum. Ad illud Eleæ matronæ, primis ludorum initiis, die ſtato, inclinante jam in veſperum ſolo, inter cæteros, quos Achilli habent, honores, ſolenni ritu pectus plangunt.* Pauſan. l. 6. pag. 389.

|| Vide Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 18. c. 24.

⁞ Vide Aug. lib. 4. de civitate Dei, c. 31. Vide Vivem in Comment.

* *Similiter verò erga Deos quoq; Majores noſtri improvidi, creduli, rudi ſimplicitate crediderunt: dum Reges ſuos colunt religioſè, dum defunctos eos deſiderant in Imaginibus videre: dum geſtiunt eorum memorias in ſtatuis detinere: ſacra facta ſunt, quæ fuerant aſſumpta ſolatia. Minutius Fælix*, pag. 375.

† Wiſd. 14. verſ. 16.

|| *Stultus Marcus Tullius qui Caio Verri adulterium objecit: eadem enim Jupiter, quem colebat, admiſit: qui Publio Claudio inceſtum Sororis: at illi optimo Maxi: eadem fuit & Soror & conjunx.* Lactan. l. 1. c. 10. vide Aug. lib. 2. de civit. Dei, cap. 9. & 10. Forcat. lib. 4. pag. 538.

with the deſtruction of heatheniſh groves or Idols, nor with the diſſolution of Romiſh Abbies; the very dregs of their impiety are yet incorporated in mens hearts, of whatſoever Religion they be, that ſeek to be great before they be good. But of this and of other branches of *tranſcendent* Idolatry, that is, of Idolatry alike frequent and dangerous, throughout all ages, all Nations, amongſt the profeſſors of all *Religions* elſewhere, by *Gods* aſſiſtance. The next Inquiry; is Whether the Idolatry, of *Rome* Chriſtian (by profeſſion) be fully æquivalent to the Idolatry of *Rome*-Heathen.

SECTION IV.

Of the Identity or æquivalency of ſuperſtiton in Rome-Heathen and Rome-Chriſtian.

CHAP. XXII.

The Rome-Chriſtian in latter years ſought rather to allay *than to abrogate the Idolatry of Rome-Heathen: that this* allay *was the moſt commodious policy, which Sathan could deviſe for venting his detected poyſons, utterly condemned by primitive Profeſſors of Chriſtianity.*

II. HAd either the Romiſh Church no Orators at all, or Heathen Temples as many, as skilful and ſubtil, as it hath, to plead the lawfulneſs of their ſervice; ſuch as devoutly ſerve God in ſpirit and truth, would in the one caſe make no queſtion, in the other admit no diſpute, whether were worſe. The *forms* of their Liturgies repreſented to unpartial eyes without varniſh or painting, would appear ſo like; that if the one were adjudged nought, the other could not be approved as good; or both equally ſet forth by art, if the one ſeemed good and currant, the other could not juſtly be ſuſpected for naught or counterfeit. That the *Romaniſt* generally make better profeſſion of the unity, the nature, and attributes of the true and only God, than moſt Heathens did, argueth not their daily and ſolemn ſervice of him to be better, but rather refers the iſſue of the controverſie between them, to the determination of another like caſe, [*Whether the ſetled and habitual carriage of a drunkard be worſe in him that is daily drunk indeed, and hath his ſenſes continually ſtupified, or in one that hath wit at will to conceive and ſpeak well in matters ſpeculative or remote from uſe, but wants will or grace to temper his carnal affections with ſobriety of ſpirit, or ſeaſon his converſation with civility.*] Were ratſbane as ſimply and groſly miniſtred to men as it is to rats, few would take harm by it. And of Popes and Cardinals, more have uſed the helps of ratſbane than of ratcatchers to poyſon their enemies. It were a brutiſh ſimplicity *to think* the devil could not, and a prepoſterous charity to think he would not, miniſter his receipts in a cunninger faſhion, ſince the promulgation of the Goſpel, than he did before; although the poyſon be ſtill the ſame. To eat figgs, or other more cordial food, with the infuſion of ſubtil and deadly poyſon, exempts not mens bodies from danger. Much leſs can ſpeculative orthodoxal opinions of the God-head free mens ſouls from the poyſon of Idolatrous practiſes, wherewith they are mingled.

2. Taking it then as granted, (what without paradox we may maintain) that the devil had as great a longing ſince Chriſt triumphed over him, as he had before, to work the bane of mens ſouls throughout *Europe:* He had been the arranteſt fool, that ever either undertook to contrive a dangerous and cunning plott, or adventured to act any notorious miſchief or difficult villany, if he had ſolicited men to groſs Heatheniſm, or open profeſſion of allegiance to thoſe gods, in whoſe ſervice they had known their fathers periſh, the ſodain downfal of whoſe Idols they had ſeen miraculouſly accompliſhed. To have perſwaded them hereto, had been a more palpable importunity, then if a man in kindneſs ſhould profer a cup, wherein he had ſqueized the Poyſon of Spiders, to one which had ſeen his mate fall down dead by taking the ſame potion. Now admitting a reſolution in the great profeſſor of deſtructive Arts, ſo to refine or ſublimate his wonted poyſons, as they might the more ſecretly mingle with the food of life: where can we ſuſpect this policy to have been practiſed, if not in the Romiſh Church; whoſe idolatrous rites and ſervice of Satan in former ages have been ſo groſs, that if we had ſeen the temptation, unacquainted with the ſucceſs, we ſhould certainly have thought the great Tempter had mightily forgotten himſelf, or loſt his wonted ſkill in going ſo palpably about his buſineſs; Nor could any policy have ſo prevailed againſt Gods Church, unleſs it had firſt been ſurpriſed with a lethargy or brought into a relaps of heatheniſh ignorance. To entiſe men unto Heatheniſm ſince Romiſh rites and cuſtomes have been authorized or juſtified in ſolemn diſputes, he had leſs reaſon than to have tempted the old world unto Atheiſm, whiles there was no delight or pleaſure, which the fleſh can long for, but had ſome feigned god for it's patrone. And what branch of implanted ſuperſtition can we imagine in any ſon of *Adam*, which may not ſufficiently feed it ſelf with ſome part or other of the Romiſh Liturgy, or with ſome cuſtoms, by that Church allowed, concerning the *invocation of Saints*, the *adoration of reliques*, or *worſhip of images.* By entertaining either more orthodoxal conceipts of the God-head, than the Heathens had, or better perſwaſions of one Mediator between God and man than the mordern *Jews* or *Mahumetans* do, they give contentment to many carnal deſires, eſpecially covetouſneſs, prepoſterous pride, and hypocriſie, which would be ready to mutinier, if ſimple Idolatry ſhould be reſtored to it's wonted ſoveraignty.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the general infirmities of fleſh and blood, which did diſpoſe divers ancient profeſſors of Chriſtianity to take the infection of Superſtition. Of the particular humors which did ſharpen the appetite of the modern Romiſh Church to hunger and thirſt after the poyſonous dregs of Rome-Heathens Idolatry.

1. IN Churches of *Pauls* planting and *Apollo* his watering, the ſeeds of ſound and wholſome doctrine took root with greater facility, than ſundry heatheniſh rites whereto they had been ſo long accuſtomed,

could be extirpated. That caveat [*But I would not have you to be ignorant brethren, concerning them that ſleepe, &c.*] given to the *Theſſalonians* *(otherwiſe moſt chearful imbracers & zealous profeſſors of the Goſpel) argueth ſome reliques of ſuch ſuperſtitious demeanor towards the dead, as they had practiſed, whiles they lived without hope of a reſurrection to a better life; unto which practiſes (perhaps) they were ſo much more prone than others, as they were naturally more kind and loving. Now if the firſt receipts of life miniſtered by a Phyſitian ſo wiſe and well experienced as S. *Paul*, did not forthwith purifie this good natured peoples affections from the corrupt humors of Gentiliſm; it was no wonder, if other leſs ſkilful doctors, by ſeeking the ſpeedy cure of this diſeaſe, did caſt more untoward patients then theſe *Theſſalonians* were, into a relapſe of a contrary, more hereditary and natural to moſt Heathen. Whether for preventing unſeemly and immoderate mourning for the dead, or for encouraging the living to conſtancy in perſecution; the ſolemn celebration of their Funerals, and publique blazoning of their bliſful and glorious ſtate after death, which had lived Saints and died Martyrs, was a method very effectual and compendious. Howbeit in hearts not throughly purified and ſetled by grace, theſe panegyrical *encomiaſms* did revive the ſeeds of ſuperſtitious reſpect to famous men deceaſed, as faſt as they quelled the reliques of hopeleſs fear, or abated natural inclinations unto immoderate mourning. And happily that point of truth, wherewith the Romaniſt ſeeks to *condite* or ſweeten the poyſonous fruit of his idolatrous and ſuperſtitious ſpeculations, might in part occaſion or embolden the ancients to ſcatter ſome ſeeds of them, before they had experience unto what degree of malignancy they might grow, when they grew ripe. When the firſt Reformers of Religion demanded a difference between Heatheniſh adoration of inferior gods, and Popiſh worſhipping of Saints; the uſual and almoſt only anſwer was, that the Heathens adored naughty and wicked men, either altogether unworthy of any, or worthy of diſgraceful memory after death; whereas the Church did worſhip ſuch as deſerved as much reſpect as men are capable of; *men*, to whom who ſo omitted performance of ſacred reſpect or religious worſhip, did thereby commit moſt grievous ſacrilege.

* 1 Theſ. cap. 4. ver. 13.

2. To outſtrip our adverſaries in their own policies, or to uſe means abuſed by others to a better end, is a reſolution ſo plauſible to worldly wiſdom (which of all other fruits of the fleſh, is for the moſt part the hardlieſt and laſt renounced) that almoſt no ſect or profeſſion in any age but in the iſſue mightily over-reached or intangled themſelves by too much ſeeking to circumvent or go beyond others. The known ſucceſs of worldly policy in nurſing Martial valour, and reſolute contempt of life, by decreeing divine honor to their heroicks after death, did quickly ſet over the Chriſtian world, being almoſt out-wearied with continual oppoſition of Gentiliſm, to foſter and cheriſh ſpiritual courage, by the like means. The practiſe whereof notwithſtanding (as do all like attempts by common courſe of nature) did continually, though inſenſibly grow more dangerous in the proceſs. This original of ſuperſtitious performances towards the dead hath been ſet down * before, and is particularly proſecuted by † *Chemnitius*, to whoſe labours I refer the Reader.

* Chap 20, 21. Sect. 3.
† *Chemnit. in Exam. Concil. Trident. ſeſſion. 9. & ult. de Invo. Sanct.*

3. Again the ſweet comfort which ſome ancients of bleſſed memory, took in the conſort of mutual prayers whiles they lived together, made them deſirous that the like offices might be continued after

their deceaſe. Hence ſome in their life times (if my memory fayl me not) did thus contract, that ſuch of them as were firſt called into the preſence of God ſhould ſolicite the others deliverance from the world and fleſh, and proſecute thoſe ſuits by perſonal appearance in the Court of heaven, which they had joyntly given up in prayers and ſecret wiſhes of heart, whiles they were abſent each from other here on earth. To be perſwaded, that ſuch as had known our minds, and been acquainted with our hours of devotion, whiles we had civil commerce together, might out of this memory after their diſſolution, take notice of our ſupplications, and ſolicite our cauſe with greater fervency than we can, is not ſo groſs in the ſpeculative aſſertion, as dangerous in the practical conſequent. But if magical feats can put on colourable pretences, and || Magitians make fair ſhews unto the ſimple of imitating Gods Saints in their actions; what marvail, if *Romiſh* Idolatry having in latter years found more learned patrons than any unlawful profeſſion ever did, doe plead its warrant from ſpeculations very plauſible to fleſh and blood, or from the example of ſome ancients; the prejudicial opinions of whoſe venerable authority and deſerved eſteem in other points, may, with many, prevent the examination of any reaſons which latter ages can bring to impeach their imperfections in this. Yet experiments in other caſes aproved by all, manifeſt the indefinite truth of this obſervation, * That ſuch practiſes, as can no way blemiſh the otherwiſe deſerved fame of their firſt practitioners, uſually bring forth reproach and ſhame to their unſeaſonable or ill qualified Imitators. Now the pardonable overſight, or doubtful ſpeculations of ſome Ancients, have been two waies much malignified by latter *Romaniſts*: firſt by incorporating the ſuperfluity of their Rhetorical inventions or ejaculations of ſwelling affections in panegyrical paſſages, into the body of their divine ſervice: ſecondly by making ſuch fair garlands as Antiquity had woven for holy Saints and true Martyrs, Collars (as a † French Knight, in a caſe not much unlike ſaid) for ever beaſt; or chains for every || *dead dogs neck* which had brought gain unto their Sanctuary. Touching the former abuſe [the incorporating of rhetorical expreſſions of the Ancients affection towards deceaſed Worthies, into the body of their divine ſervice] * *Bellarmine* is not aſhamed to Apologize for the ſolemn form of their publick authorized Liturgy, by the paſſionate ejaculation of *Nazianzen* his poetical wit in his panegyrical Oration for S. *Cyprian*, and for his kind *acquaintance* whiles he lived with *Baſil* the great. It is enough, as this Apologizing Oratour thinks, to acquit their ſervice from ſuperſtition, and themſelves from irreligion, that this Father, who ſpake as they do, was one of the wiſeſt Biſhops Antiquity could boaſt of. As in granting him to be as wiſe as any other, we ſhould perhaps wrong but a few, or none of the ancient Biſhops or learned Fathers; ſo we ſhould much wrong *Nazianzen* himſelf if we took theſe paſſages, on which *Bellarmine* groundeth his Apology, for any ſpecial arguments of his wiſdome and gravity. Howbeit *Nazianzen* might (without prejudice to his deſerved, eſteem for wiſdome and gravity) ſay much, and for the manner not unfitly of *Cyprian* and *Baſil*, which was no way fitting for latter Roman Biſhops to ſay of their deceaſed Popes, or for the Popes whilſt they lived to ſpeak of their deceaſed Biſhops. But ſuch a ſway hath corrupt cuſtome got over the whole Chriſtian world, that look what honour hath been voluntarily done to men in office, as due unto their perſonal worth, their ſucceſſors will take denial of

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|| See Chap. 19.

* *Vide Vincent. Lirinen. Magiſtri laudantur, Diſcipuli damnantur.*

† *Carolus Tiercellinus Rupimanius antiqui moris eques mordaci dicterio indignabundus ſæpius dixit, torquem Conchyliatum, poſtquam indignis promiſcuè communicari cepiſſet, noniam eſſe fortium virorum inſigne ſed omnium Beſtiarum collare,* Thuan. l. 23.

|| *Hinc confictio prophetiarum, hinc miraculorum admonitio, hinc etiam adoratio damnatorum hominum in populis. Teſtis eſt mihi Legenda: immo de adoratione canis mortui viſum eſt in Vienna,* Gerſon tractat. 8 partitio. 3. de cuſtodia Angelorum.

* Bellarmin. de Sanct. beatitud. lib. 1. cap. 19.

the like or greater, as a diſparagement to their places; albeit their perſonal unworthineſs be able to diſgrace the places wherein they have lived, and all the dignities that can be heaped upon them. Upon this carnal humor did the myſtery of iniquity begin firſt to work. The choiſeſt reſpect or reverence which had been manifeſted towards the beſt of Gods Saints or Martyrs, either privately out of the uſual ſolecìſms of affectionate acquaintance (alwayes ready to entertain men lately deceaſed with ſuch loving remembrances as they had tendred them in preſence) or in publick and anniverſary ſolemnities for others encouragement unto conſtancy in the faith; were afterwards taken up as a civil complement of their Funeral rites, or injoyned as a perpetual honor to their birth-dayes, whom the Pope either of his own free motion, or at the requeſt of ſecular Princes, or ſome ſavorites, would have graced with famous memory. * *Rome-Chriſtian* hath been in this kind more laviſh than *Rome-Heathen.* And as in great Cities it is a diſparagement to any Corporation or Company to have had few or no Majors or chief Magiſtrates of their Trade: ſo in proceſs of time it became matter of imputation unto ſome religious orders, that they had not ſo many Canonized Saints as their oppoſits (leſs obſervant of their Founders leſs ſtrict rules) could brag of. For want of ſuch ſtars to adorn their ſphere, the order of the † *Carthuſians*, otherwiſe famous for auſterity of life, was ſuſpected not to be celeſtial. The fault notwithſtanding was not in the *Carthuſians*, or their Religion unleſs a fault it were not to ſeek this honor at the Popes hands, who did grant it againſt their wills to one of their order and our Country-man, at the King of *Englands* ſuit. And leſt any part of Heatheniſh Superſtition, that had been practiſed in the Roman Monarchy, might be left unparalleld by like practiſes of the Romiſh Hierarchy; as the Deification of || *Antinous* was countenanced with feigned relations of a new ſtars appearance and other like Ethniciſms uſually graced by Oracles: ſo were * Revelations pretended in the Papacy to credit their ſanctifications, which ſtood in need of ſome divine teſtimony to acquit their ſanctity from ſuſpition.

4. To give the bleſſed Virgin a title unto far greater honour then any Saint or other creature by their doctrin is capable of, it hath been maintained, that ſhe was conceived without original ſin. And wanting all warrant of Scripture, or primitive Antiquity for this conceit, they ſupport it by revelations, which muſt be believed as well as any Scripture, if the Pope allow them. By whoſe approbation likewiſe every private mans relation of miracles wrought by any ſuiter for a Saintſhip, becomes more authentick than *Apollo's* Oracles; by whoſe authority *Hercules* and other Heroicks were enjoyned to be adored as gods amongſts the Heathen.

5. It was an † ingenuous and wiſe obſervation of reverend *Gerſon*,

* The true reaſon why the order of the *Carthuſians* have had ſo few Saints: whereas the order of St. *Bennet* (as may appear by a begging Brief ſent ſome few years ago out of *Spain* here into *England* by the Provincial or General of that order) doth brag of fifty thouſand Saints, all *Bennets* Diſciples: the number is more by ten thouſand than we read ſealed of any Tribe of *Iſrael.*

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† *Hæc ſub brevitate contra eos qui impugnant ordinem Carthuſienſium quia non fiant in eis miracula, immo nec vellent, potius vero facientes occultarent, ſicut ſæpius repertum eſt. Quod autem ſimiliter dicitur, quod ne habeant canonizatum, niſi unum ſcilicet S. Hugonem, Lincolnienſem Epiſcopum; Reſpondeo quod nec idem ex eorum voluntate, ſed regis Angliæ & ſuorum inſtantia eſt canonizatus, quanquam ſanctiſſimæ fuit vitæ, magnis miraculis claruerit & procurator Carthuſiæ magnæ profeſſuſq; extiterit. Gerſon de abſtinentia Carthuſianorum, ſive contra impugnantes ordinem Carthuſienſium,* Pag. 514.

|| See Chap. 21. parag. 3.

* *Quâ horâ B Virgo (Catharina) animam reddidit, Thomas Penna Protonotarius Apoſtolicus vidit cælos apertos, eamq; ſublimè aſcendentem inter choros angelorum. Eandem pia vidua Semia triplici corona inſignitam, vidit a Chriſto ſponſo in throno ſedente ſuſcipi. D. Catharinæ Senenſis Selectiora miracula formis Æneis expreſſa Antverpiæ apud Philippum Gallæum,* 1603. To prepare the credulous Readers heart the better to believe this viſion of Saint *Catharines* aſcenſion into Heaven, opening it ſelf to receive her, and her coronation with a triple Crown, another relation perhaps was premiſed by the ſame Author, the effect whereof is, that having overthrown the Devil after a grievous conflict, ſhe reſigned her ſoul unto God in the ſame year of her age wherein our Saviour Chriſt (unto whom the bleſſed Virgin, as this Legend relates, had eſpouſed her with a ring) did reſign his ſoul into his Fathers hands, *See Section, fift, Chap.* 41.

† *Probatio autem ſanctitatis per miracula tamen plurimum eſt ſuſpecta, quia (ut ſuprà dictum eſt) malis ſunt communia, & multa non Chriſtianæ, ſed magicæ artis oſtentamenta ſunt, quæ a ſimplicibus quaſi ſanctitatis miracula acceptantur.* Gerſon ibidem. *Deinde notandum quod in Legis tempore per Moyſen fiebant ſigna ingentia, quibus magi quidam per incantationes fecerunt ſimilia,* &c. ibidem. *Hæc autem antiqua miracula (per deum ſcilicet facta) quotidiè in myſterio renovantur in Eccleſia, quæ etiam tanto majora ſunt, quanto non corporalia ſed ſpiritualia,* ibidem.

That famous miracles were to be ſuſpected for lying wonders, unleſs they had ſome ſpecial uſe or extraordinary end. Now the only uſe or juſt occaſion, we can obſerve of Popiſh miracles in later times, hath been either to purchaſe the reputations of Saints to ſuch as wrought them whiles they lived, or to gain a currant title to canonization after their deaths. And the true reaſon in my opinion, why the *Carthuſians* of all other religious orders, wrought not many miracles, was becauſe they had no deſire to be Saints of the Popes making. If they had ſought to be graced by his *Holineſs* with publick ſanctity, they muſt have graced themſelves and their order with a fame of wonders: otherwiſe that exception which was brought againſt *Thomas* of *Aquine*, would have taken place againſt them. For even this Angelical Doctors title to canonization, was impeached by ſome, becauſe * he had wrought no miracles: until his *Holineſs* cleared the doubt by a more benign interpretation then *Apollo's* Oracle could have given: *Tot fecit miracula, quot quæſtiones determinavit; Look how many doubts he hath determined, and he hath wrought ſo many miracles.* But by this reaſon he ſhould have placed him above moſt Saints, amongſt the Angels. For it is ſcarce credible, that any Saint hath wrought half ſo many miracles, as are the doubts which this Doctor after his faſhion hath determined; appoſitely enough for the Romiſh Hierarchy. And hath not the Pope good reaſon to make the Church militant adore their ſouls as gods in heaven, which have made his *Holineſs* more than a Saint, a very god on earth? But becauſe they deny, that the Church makes gods of ſuch as the Pope makes Saints, we are in the next place to diſcuſs whether invocation of Saints, as it is publickly maintained by them, be not an aſcription of that honour to the creature, which is only due to the Creator.

* *unde quum in canonizatione ſancti Thomæ de Aquino opponeretur, quod non fecerat miracula in vita, vel non multa, dictum fuit per Papam, non eſſe curandum.* Gerſon ibidem. p.512. *Vide Plura Gerſon. tractat. octavo ſuper Magnificat, partitione tertia de cuſtodia Angelica.*

CHAP. XXIV.

In what ſenſe the Romaniſts deny or grant that Saints are to be invocated. Whether the Saints by their doctrin be mediate or immediate Interceſſors between God and man. That they neither can conceal, or will they expreſs the full meaning of their practiſe.

1. BEllarmine *lib.* 1. *de Sanctorum beatitudine, cap.* 16. † accounts the former imputation for one of *Calvins* malitious ſlanders. *Quis enim deo dicere auderet, Sancte Deus, ora pro nobis? we muſt not think they are ſo fooliſhly impious, as to ſay, Holy God pray for us.* Nor did *Calvin* charge them with pulling down God as low in every reſpect, as the Saints; but for exalting the Saints in ſundry caſes into the throne of God; howſoever they ſalute them by an inferior ſtyle. Nor will it follow that the Heathens did not worſhip many gods, becauſe they did not equalize all with *Jupiter*, or uſe the ſame form of appellation unto him and to their demi-gods or Heroicks. Or admitting the *Romaniſts* make no Saints equal to God the Father, or to any perſon in the Trinity conſidered according to his Deity alone; is it no ſacrilege to inveſt them with Chriſts royal titles or prerogatives, as he is our high Prieſt and Mediator? It will upon examination prove no ſlander, but a juſt accuſation, to ſay they make the Saints both ſharers with Chriſt in his office of mediation, and with the glorious Trinity in acts eſſential to the Deity. But let us firſt hear in what ſenſe they themſelves grant or deny Saints may be prayed unto or otherwiſe adored, and then examine whether

† See Chap. 29. parag. 1.

whether their anſwers to our arguments can ſtand with the form of their Liturgy, or fit the main point in queſtion betwixt us.

2. Some more ancient then *Epiphanius* (for he refuteth their hereſie) held the Virgin *Mary* was to be prayed unto after the ſame manner we pray to God. Between this exceſſive honour thus aſcribed unto the chief of Saints, and the other extream (as they make it) conſiſting in defect or denial of invocation of any Saints, *Bellarmine* labours to find out a mean, which he comprehends in theſe propoſitions following. *Non licet à Sanctis petere ut nobis tanquam authores divinorum beneficiorum gloriam vel gratiam aliaq; ad beatitudinem media concedant. Bellarmin. de Sanctorum beatitud. lib. 1. cap. 17. It is not lawful to requeſt the Saints, that they as Authors of divine benefits, would grant unto us Grace or Glory, or other means availeable to the attainment of Felicity.* His ſecond propoſition is; *Sancti non ſunt immediati interceſſores noſtri apud Deum; ſed quicquid a Deo nobis impetrant, per Chriſtum impetrant. Ibidem: The Saints are not our immediate Interceſſors with God: but whatſoever they obtain of God for us, they obtain it through Chriſt.* I know not whether out of cunning or incogitancy, he hath expreſſed himſelf, (or rather left their full meaning unexpreſſed) † in theſe terms, *per Chriſtum,* not adding withall *propter Chriſtum.* In the declaration he commends three parties to our conſideration when we pray to God. 1. The *perſon of whom we crave every good gift. 2. Him through whoſe merits we requeſt they may be given us. 3. The party which craves them.* Saints by his doctrin cannot ſupply the firſt, or ſecond, but the third and laſt place. The only meaning, whereto upon better examination he will ſtand, is this, that Saints cannot be ſubſtituted in the ſtead of God the Father, or of Chriſt as he is the principal Mediator or primary Interceſſor. But to ſay that we may not requeſt favour *of God the Father, propter merita Sanctorum, for merits of Saints*; or requeſt Saints to interpoſe their merits with Chriſts, for more ſure or ſpeedy expedition, can neither ſtand with the profeſſion or practiſe of the *Romiſh* Church. *Bellarmine* well urged, will quickly be enforſt to deny the concluſion, which he thus gathers from the premiſed propoſitions. ‖ *We pray* (ſaith he) *to the Saints only to this end, that they would vouchſafe to do what we do, becauſe they can do it better and more effectually than we can; at leaſt they and we together may do it better then we alone.* And again; *we may requeſt nothing of the Saints beſides their interceſſion with God, that Chriſts merits may be applyed to us, and that through Chriſt we may attain grace and glory.* For praying thus far to Saints, that ſpeech of S. *Bernard* warranteth them; *Opus eſt mediatore ad mediatorem, nec alter nobis utilior quam Maria; we have need of a mediator to our mediator, and none more fit than Mary.* Hence they learn that Chriſt only is the immediate interceſſor, who is heard for his own ſake; the Saints are only mediate interceſſors, and can obtain nothing which they ask without Chriſts mediation. Thus much is included in the form of their prayers upon Saints dayes; which are all conceived in this tenor; * *Grant us theſe or theſe benefits at the interceſſion of ſuch or ſuch Saints.*

3. The firſt part of his ſecond propoſition [That Saints are not immediate Interceſſors for us with God] he proves by places of Scripture ſo pregnant, that ſome of them directly diſprove all mediate or ſecondary Interceſſors or Mediators, as *Coloſſ.* 1. *It pleaſed God that in him ſhould all fulneſs dwell.* If all fulneſs, the fulneſs of mediation or interceſſion: and abſolute fulneſs excludes all conſort. † *As there is but one God, ſo there is but one Mediator between God and man,* no ſecon-

† *Nota, tres perſonas poſſe conſiderari, quando nos Deum oramus; unam ipſius Dei, a quo petimus beneficia; alteram Chriſti, per cujus meritum ea cupimus nobis dari: tertiam ejus, qui petit beneficia per Chriſtum. Ex his tribus perſonis non poteſt prima Sanctis tribui, ut jam probavimus: ſed ſolum tertia.* Bellar. cap. 17. de Beat. Sancto.

‖ *Itaq; Sanctos invocamus ad hoc ſolum, ut faciant id, quod nos facimus, qui meliùs & efficaciùs ipſi facere poſſunt, quàm nos, meliùs illi & nos ſimul quàm nos ſoli. Probatur jam concluſio; ſolus Chriſtus eſt, qui mundum reconciliavit Deo, & qui meruit nobis gloriam & gratiam, & omnia neceſſaria ad ſalutem.* Bellar. ibidem.

* Bellarminus ibidem.

† 1 Tim. 2, 5.

dary God, no ſecondary Mediator. 1. *Joh.* 2, *He is the propitiation for our ſins*: the abſolute fulneſs of propitiation. And *Joh.* 10. he enſtileth himſelf the *Door* and *Way*, ſuch a door, and ſuch a way, *as no man may come unto the Father, but by Him.* This reſtriction in our divinity, makes him the only *door*, and the only *way*; not ſo in theirs: For we muſt paſs through other doors, that we may come to this only immediate door; that is, he is the only door, whereby the Saints are admitted into Gods preſence, but Saints are neceſſary doors for our admiſſion unto him; *Opus eſt Mediatore ad mediatorem.* Were this Divinity, which they borrow from S. *Bernard*, true, they muſt wrong *Ariſtotle* and *Priſcian* in calling him, *Immediatus Interceſſor aut Mediator*, and are bound to right them, by this or the like alteration of his title; *He is unicus ultimus, aut finalis Mediator*, He is the *only final* or *laſt mediator*. For a Mediator is not of one; whence to be an immediate Mediator, eſſentially includes an immediate reference to two parties. Chriſt is no Mediator but between God and Man, and between them he is no immediate Mediator, unleſs men have as immediate acceſs to him, as *he* hath to God the Father. As *God*, he beſt knows the nature and quality of every offence againſt the Deity, unto what ſentence every offender is by juſtice liable, and how far capable of mercy; as *man*, he knows the infirmities of men, not by hear-ſay or information, but by experience; and is ready to ſollicite their abſolution from that doom, whoſe bitterneſs is beſt known unto him not at others requeſt or inſtigation, but out of that exact ſympathy, which he had with all that truly mourned, or felt the heavineſs of their burden. Whilſts he was only the ſon of God, the execution of deſerved vengeance was deferred by his interceſſion. Nor did he aſſume our nature and ſubſtance, that his perſon might be more favourable, or that his acceſs to God the Father might be more free and immediate, but that we might approach unto him with greater boldneſs and firmer aſſurance of immediate audience, than before we could. He expoſed our fleſh made his own, to greater ſorrows and indignities, than any man in this life can have experience of; to the end he might be a more compaſſionate Interceſſor for us to his Father, than any man or Angel can be unto him. We need the conſort of their ſighes and groans, which are oppreſſed with the ſame burden of mortality here on earth, that our joynt prayers may pierce the heavens: but theſe once preſented to his ears need no ſollicitors to beat them into his heart. Surely if the interceſſion of Saints had been needful at any time, moſt needful it was before Chriſts incarnation or paſſion; when by the *Romaniſts* confeſſion it was not in uſe. The ſon of God was ſole Mediator then.

4. As the impiety of their practiſes doth grieve my ſpirit, ſo the diſſonancy of their doctrine, doth as it were grate and torture my underſtanding, while I contemplate their Apologies. Sometimes they bear us in hand that God is a great King, whoſe preſence poor wretched ſinners may not approach, without means firſt made to his domeſtique ſervants. The conceipt it ſelf is groſly Heatheniſh, and comes to be ſo cenſured in the next * Diſcourſe. Now, ſeeing they pretend the faſhion of preferring petitions to earthly Princes, to warrant the form of their ſupplications to the Lord of heaven and earth, let us ſee how well the pattern doth fit their practiſe. Admitting the imitation were lawful, how could it juſtifie their going to God immediately with theſe or the like petitions; *Lord I beſeech thee hear the interceſſion of this or that Saint for me through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.* What fitter inter rogatories can I propoſe

* Sect. 5. Chap. 42. Parag. 4.

propoſe unto theſe ſacrilegious ſupplicants then *Malachi* hath unto the like delinquents in his time? *If I be your Lord and King* (as you enſtyle me) *where is my fear? where is my honor ſaith the Lord of Hoaſts, to you Prieſts that deſpiſe my name?* and yet (being challenged of diſloyalty) they ſcornfully demand, *wherein have we deſpiſed thy name?* Ye bring polluted offerings into my Sanctuary: *& yet ye ſay wherin have we polluted thy Sanctuary? If ye offer ſuch blind devotions, as theſe, is it not evil? Offer them now to thy Governor*, to thy Prince, or Soveraign; *Will he be pleaſed with thee or accept thy perſon ſaith the Lord of Hoaſts?* He would either be thought to mock the King, and come within juſt cenſure of diſloyalty; or els be mocked out of his ſkin by Courtiers, that durſt exhibite a petition in this form unto his Majeſty; *Vouchſafe, I beſeech you, to pardon my offences againſt your Highneſs, and admit me into good place at the interceſſion of your Chancelor Treaſurer, Chamberlain or Controller, in honour of this his birthday, for the Princes ſake your ſon my good Lord and Maſter*: yet if we change only the perſons names, this petition (which could become none but the Princes fool to utter) differs no more from the form of Popiſh prayers upon Saints dayes, then the words of Matrimony uttered by *John* and *Mary* do from themſelves, whilſt uttered by *Nicolas* and *Margaret*. The former reſpectleſs *abſurdity*, would be much aggravated, if the Courtiers birth day, whom the petitioner would have graced with the grant of his petition, ſhould fall upon the Kings Coronation day, *or when the Prince were married*. Of no leſs ſolemnity with the *Romaniſt* is the feaſt of the Croſſes invention, it is Chriſts coronation or eſpouſals and yet withall the birth-day of two or three obſcure Saints, whom they requeſt God to glorifie, with their own deliverance from all perils and dangers that can betide them, *through Chriſt their Lord*. This laſt clauſe muſt come in at the end of every prayer, to no more uſe than the mention of a certain ſum of mony doth in feoffements or deeds of truſt, only *pro formâ*. *Præſta quæſumus omnipotens deus, ut qui ſanctorum tuorum Alexandri, Eventii, Theodoli atq; Juvenalis natalitia colimus, a cunctis malis imminentibus, eorum interceſſionibus liberemur per Dominum, &c.* †*Grant we beſeech the Almighty God, that we which adore the nativity of the Saints, of Alexander, Event, Theod. and Juvenal, may by their interceſſion be delivered from all evills that hang over us, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.* To be delivered from evils at or by the interceſſion of ſuch Saints, is as much in ordinary conſtruction, as to be delivered from them for their merits. And this is to ſhare or divide the mediation of Chriſt betwixt him and ſuch Saints, by even portions. For of the two principal parts of Chriſts Mediatorſhip, which the Ancient and Orthodoxal Church did exactly diſtinguiſh in the *form* of their prayers, the *firſt* is, our hope or belief to be heard *propter Chriſtum, for Chriſts ſake*, for whoſe ſake alone God grants whatſoever He grants unto mankind: the *ſecond* is, our belief or acknowledgment, that thoſe bleſſings which God doth grant for Chriſts ſake, are not conveyed or imparted unto us, but through Chriſt, or by Chriſt He is not only our Orator to God, but Gods hand to us. Now the Romiſh Church in their ſolemn Liturgy expreſly gives the firſt part of this mediation unto Saints, and leaves the latter only unto Chriſt. Thy hymn ſung or ſaid unto the Croſs upon the ſame day, conceived in the character of magick ſpells falls under the ſame cenſure, that worſhipping of Saints Images or worſhipping God in every viſible creature doth. Of which Chap. 35, 36. The Hymn is thus; *O crux ſplendidior cunctis aſtris, mundo celebris, hominibus multùm amabilis. ſanctior univerſis: quæ*

† *In feſto inventionis Sanctæ Crucis.*

quæ ſola fuiſti digna portare talentum mundi, dulcia ferens pondera: ſalva præſentem catervam in tuis hodie laudibus congregatam, halleluia, ibidem. O Croſs more ſplendent than all the ſtars, famous throughout the world, moſt amiable amongſt men, more holy than the Univerſe (or all things beſides) *which alone waſt worthy to carry the Talent (or price) of the world, ſave this preſent congregation this day aſſembled to ſet forth thy praiſes. Praiſe the Lord, praiſe the Lord.* They that can be thus familiar with God, as to indent with him, at whoſe interceſſion their requeſts ſhould be granted, do they in modeſty need Mediators unto Chriſt?

5. Were there any hope of full or direct ſatisfaction, I would preſs this demand to any learned Papiſt; What order thoſe three parties whom *Bellarmine* makes joynt Commiſſioners in the audience of prayers, obſerve in prayers of this form: Whether they expect that God the Father ſhould firſt take their petitions and acquaint Chriſt with them, and Chriſt the Saints; or that the Saints ſhould take them immediately and deliver them unto Chriſt, that he may acquaint his Father with them. They grant the Saints can hear no prayers immediately from our mouths, much leſs diſcern their conception in our hearts: they underſtand them only by ſeeing God; and for this reaſon happily prayers of this form, are in the firſt place directed to God the Father, or to the Trinity. Is God then, as the book wherein they are written, altogether ſenſleſs of their meaning, until the Saints, whoſe interceſſion they crave, read them unto him? or hearing them, is he unwilling to grant them, until the Saints have expounded them? But what is Chriſts office in the mean time? to requeſt his Father that he would hear the Saints for his ſake? or contrariwiſe, doth he and the Saints mediate for ſinful men both together, as joynt advocates? or doth he firſt open the caſe, and leave the Saints to proſecute it? or do the Saints only ſue in his name, that God would communicate his merits unto them; as ſometimes in earthly Courts one of principal note bears the name, whilſt another manageth the buſineſs? The ſupplicant ſhould, methinks, in good manners frame ſome petition to Chriſt, or ask his leave, to uſe his name in ſuch ſuits as they would have managed by this or that particular Saint, in honor of his birth-day.

6. Perhaps this form of prayer was firſt invented by ſuch (for ſuch in the * *Romiſh* Church there are, and anciently have been) as deny Chriſt any kind of interceſſion with his Father, beſides the repreſentation of his *Humanity*. And mens hearts once wrought to this perſwaſion, would forthwith take the *impreſſion* of artificial begging, as the beſt form of tendring their devout ſupplications unto God. Now amongſt beggers commonly one ſhews his maimed limbs, or other ruful ſpectacle, to move pity; and others read the lecture upon them. And thus do theſe ſacrilegious ſupplicants upon great Feſtivals make Chriſt and their peculiar Saints, ſuch ſharers in the office of interceſſion, as the Creeple and the Gabler are in mens benevolences at Fairs or Markets. The one muſt move Gods eyes, and the other fill his ears.

* *Vide Riberam in 7. ad Hebræ, num. 72.*

7. If it ſhall pleaſe the Reader to compare *Bellarmines* pretended detection of fraudulent dealing in our Writers (Chap. 16.) with the declaration of his ſecond propoſition hitherto diſcuſſed; He will eaſily aſſent unto me, that the only trick this cunning Sophiſter had to ſave his mothers credit and her ſons, was to call Reformed Churches whores firſt, and their children lyars. For who but the impudent ſon of an adulterous Mother, or one accuſtomed to ſhuffle beyond the compaſs of a profeſſed lyars art memorative; could have avouched, what in the declaration of

this ſecond propoſition he doth; *Sanctos invocamus ad hoc ſolum, We pray to Saints only to the end, they may do what we do,* that is, as he expounds himſelf afterwards, *that Chriſts merits might by interceſſion of Saints be applyed unto us.* This (were this the only end of praying to them) were in effect to requeſt them, to ſtoop a little below their rank, and become joynt ſupplicants with us for relief of our neceſſities, and advancement of Gods glory. Is it then all one to requeſt them to joyn with us in the honor and ſervice of God for our good, and to intend their honor and ſervice in the prayers and requeſts which we make; either to them, or to God, that he would accept their interceſſion for us? Now it is but one part of the queſtion between the Churches *Romiſh* and *Reformed,* [*Whether it be lawful to requeſt Saints deceaſed to joyn in prayer with us, as they did, or might have been lawfully requeſted to have done, whilſt they lived;*] The other part (whereto *Bellarmine* ſhould have framed his anſwer) is; [*Whether it be not formal Idolatry to offer up our devotions to Saints by way of honor, or to intend a religious worſhip or ſervice of them, in thoſe prayers, which we offer up to God in his Sanctuary.*] It is ſo conſtantly agreed upon by all profeſſed members of the Romiſh Church, (and was ſo expreſly ſet down by *Bellarmine* himſelf, as nothing but extream neceſſity of playing tricks, could have ſhuffled it out of his memory,) *that* of the ſeven parts of Religious Worſhip due to canonized Saints, the ſecond is *Invocation in Publick Liturgies,* the fourth, *ſacrifices of prayer and thankſgiving,* which they offer up to God in honor of ſuch Saints: and of this latter kind are the prayers before mentioned, uſual upon every Saints day. And * *Bellarmine* thus begun the chapter next ſave one before that wherein his former declaration is conteined; *Demonſtravimus ſanctos eſſe colendos, ſed quia peculiaris difficultas eſt de cultu Invocationis, &c. We have already demonſtrated that the Saints are to be worſhipped: but becauſe the peculiar difficulty is concerning the worſhip of Invocation, &c.*

8. This indeed, is the principal point in queſtion, upon whoſe denial they endite us of ſacrilege againſt the Saints, as we do them of flat Idolatry, or robbing God of his honor, for avouching the affirmative by their practiſe. *Cultus Invocationis, the worſhip of Invocation,* we know well, is ſomewhat more then Invocation; and to invocate Saints in ordinary language, is more then only to requeſt their prayers: albeit to requeſt theſe after their death, is but a relick of *Ethnick* foolery; a ſuperſtitious impiety in profeſſed Chriſtians. What then? Doth that glory wherewith God arayes his Saints, utterly ſtrip them of all honor and reſpect from men? Is the felicity which they have gotten, *Bonum magis laudabile, quam honorabile? Are they worthy of praiſe and not of honor?* Their memory is honorable, but their perſons not to be honored by us. Their abſence makes them uncapable of ſuch petitions, as we may (without danger) make unto others leſs holy, with whom we have not only myſtical communion, but civil commerce. And *civil* worſhip without the ſupport of civil commercement, is but a phantaſtick groundleſs ceremony, and an Apiſh obſervance. From theſe conſiderations did *Calvin* juſtly deny all civil worſhip or ſignification of ſuch reſpect to Saints deceaſed, as was due unto them whilſt they lived; and utterly diſclaimed all religious worſhip either of them or of other creatures dead or living. And becauſe the *Jeſuits* delude the ignorant or unobſervant by tricks of that art, wherein they are beſt ſeen; to unfold theſe terms, with whoſe equivocal uſe they play faſt and looſe, will be no loſs of time, nor interruption of diſcourſe.

* *Bellarm. de beatitud. Sanct.* l. 1. cap. 15.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

What Worſhip is. How it is divided into civil and Religious. In what ſenſe it is to be granted or denied, that Religious Worſhip is due to Saints. That the Romiſh Church doth in her practiſe exhibit another ſort of Religious Worſhip unto Saints, than her Advocates pretend in their Diſputations.

1. That ſome worſhip or honour more then civil is due to Saints, whether living with us or departed, is the chief hold whereat our Adverſaries in this controverſie aym; whoſe cunning ſurpriſal, as they preſume, would make them entire Conquerors without farther conflict. Worſhip or adoration of what kind ſoever, hath, (as both acknowledge) two degrees or parts.

Bellarm. l. 1. de Beatitud. Sanct. c. 12. 1. The internal affection or ſerviceable ſubmiſſion which is as the ſoul or life.

2. The external *note* or *ſign* of ſuch ſubmiſſion (as bowing, kneeling ſupplication) theſe are the body or material part of Worſhip or Honour.

The internal ſubmiſſive affection (without which the external ſign or geſture would be interpreted but a mockery) is due only unto Intellectual Natures; and muſt be differenced by the diverſity of their excellencies. Now intellectual excellency is either *Communicative* and finite, or infinite and *incommunicative*. Such only is the excellency of the divine Majeſty, whereunto they appropriate a correſpondent Worſhip or ſervice, which they enſtamp *Cultus latria*: Nor do we diſprove it as counterfeit, though lately coyned, if we reſpect the *expreſs difference* it bears for its *diſtinction* from all other kinds of worſhip. Thus much only might be added for explication; [*we are bound not only* λατρεύειν θεῷ, *to Honour God, infinitely more than man for his infinite excellency; but* δουλεύειν, *to do him ſervice and bear allegiance to him infinitely more abſolute, then we owe to Princes, in that he is our Lord, Creator and Redeemer.*] Though both be alike due, yet ſervice is more peculiar to him, than Honour. For in as much as we bear his image, we are in ſome ſort partakers of his intellectual excellency, but altogether uncapable of its Infinity: but the glorious prerogative of Creation or Redemption is altogether incommunicable. In theſe works he admits no inſtrumental ſervice; much leſs can he brook a partner in the glory redounding from them.

2. Intellectual excellency communicated to his creatures, conſiſts:

1. *In Natural, Moral or Civil endowments, as in wiſdome, Valour, Magnanimity, Nobility of birth, eminency of places, or authority.*
2. *In gifts and graces of the Spirit, as ſanctity of life, heavenly wiſdome, and favour with God.*

Unto the former, which we may tearm *temporal excellency*, they aſſign civil reſpect or moral worſhip; unto *ſpiritual excellency*, a peculiar reſpect or reverence of a middle rank, inferior to *latria*, or the *worſhip* which they give to God, ſuperior to that wherewith they honour Kings or Princes, ſecular Nobles or men in authority. And this for diſtinction ſake they call *cultus duliæ*, a Worſhip of ſervice. Howbeit* one of their principal Advocates for cuſtomary Traditions, will not in this caſe allow the pretended cuſtome of the Schools, to preſcribe againſt the

** Pereſius part. 3. de Tradit. conſiderat. 7.*

the evidence of the natural and Grammatical uſe of this word in all good Writers: Δουλεύειν, ſaith *Pereſius*, *is to ſerve, and we are not the Saints ſervants, but their fellow ſervants.* And † *Bellarmine* ſhould either have ſpared to cenſure this his good friend for ſcrupuloſity, or els have given a better reſolution of his doubt, than he hath done; by alledging only one place in Scripture, wherein δουλεία is taken not for ſlavery or ſervitude, but for honorary ſubjection. As when the Apoſtle ſaith, *Galat.* 5. 13. *Uſe not your liberty as an occaſion to the fleſh, but by love ſerve one another.* [διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης δουλεύετε ἀλλήλοις.] Indeed, to ſerve one another by courſe, is no act of ſervility; but a twiſting of brotherly love or chain of good Fellowſhip: but if the bond of ſervice be legal and not mutual; he that is bound to ſerve, is properly a ſervant, and he that hath right to demand ſervice of another, is truly a Maſter: ſuch is the caſe between the Saints and us, by our adverſaries doctrine. We are bound in conſcience to ſerve and worſhip them, *cultu* δουλείας: ſo are not they (I hope) bound to *ſerve* us. *Bellarmines* inſtance makes more for *Pereſius* than againſt him. But ſeeing their tongues are their own, and no man may control them in the uſe of words: let them enjoy their dialect; we will take their meaning and follow the matter. The *nature* and *quality* of this *cultus* δουλείας they expreſs (in oppoſition to us) by *Religious Worſhip.*

3. Partly under the multiplicity of importances which theſe terms involve; partly, under a colour of real diſtinction between the habits or fountains whence theſe ſeveral kinds of Worſhip muſt be derived, their *ſleighty conveyance* is not eaſily diſcerned, unleſs they be well eyed. To admit no greater multiplicity of habites or graces, than we have need of, is a point of good uſe in every part of Divinity. And ſetting aſide || *Aquinus* his authority (which we may overſway with S. *Auſtines*) what neceſſity is there of cloathing our ſouls with two diſtinct habits of Religion; one of *latria*, wherewith we ſerve God; another of *dulia*, whereby we tender ſuch reſpect and ſervice as is fit for Saints and Angels? For every abſtract number, without addition or ſubtraction of any unity, without any the leaſt variation in it ſelf, neceſſarily includes a different proportion to every number that can be compared with it: and ſo doth every ſanctified or religious ſoul, without any internal alteration, or infuſion of more habits or graces, than that by which it is ſanctified, naturally bring forth three ſeveral ſorts of religious and reſpectful demeanour, 1. *towards God*, 2. *towards Saint or Angels*, 3. *towards Princes*, *men in authority*, or *of moral worth.* As it is but one leſſon, *Give honour to whom honour, love to whom love, tribute to whom tribute* *: ſo it is but one *religious habit* or *rule* of conſcience that teacheth the practiſe of it. And in ſome ſenſe it may be granted that men in authority or of moral worth, muſt be worſhipped with religious worſhip; in another ſenſe again, it muſt be denyed, that Saints are to be worſhipped with religions worſhip, though worthy of ſome peculiar religious reſpect, whereto Kings and Princes (unleſs Saints withall) have no title.

4. The *reſpect* or *ſervice* which we owe to others may take this denomination of *Religious* from three ſeveral References: Firſt, from *the internal habit or religious* rule of conſcience, which dictateth the acts of ſervice or ſubmiſſion: ſecondly, from *the intellectual excellency* or perſonal worth of the party to whom they are tendered: thirdly, from the *nature* and *quality* of the acts or offices themſelves, which are tendered to them, with the manner or circumſtances of their ten-

† *Bellarm. de Sanct. beatitud. l.* 1. *cap.* 12

† *Vide Bellar. de Beatitud. Sanct. lib.* 1. *cap.* 12. *parag.* 5

* Rom. 13. 7.

dring. According to the firſt denomination, we muſt worſhip ungodly Magiſtrates, and irreligious Princes with religious Worſhip. For if we muſt do all things for conſcience ſake, and as in the ſight of God, our ſervice whereſoever it is due, muſt be no eye ſervice, no faigned reſpect, All our actions and demeanours muſt be religious, as religion is oppoſed to hypocriſie, diſſimulation, or time-ſerving. And in this ſenſe *religious* and *civil* Worſhip, are not oppoſite but co-ordinate. Men truly religious, muſt be religiouſly civil in their demeanor towards others. If our *reſpect* or *ſervice* take the denomination of *Religious* from the *perſonal worth* or internal *excellency* of the party whom we worſhip; it is moſt true, *we are to worſhip Saints with more than meer civil worſhip.* None of our Church (I dare be bound) will deny that godly and religious men, muſt be reverenced not only for their virtues meerly moral or politick, but for their ſanctity and devotion. Yet is this all that the modern *Papiſt* ſeeks to prove againſt us. And from this Antecedent (which needs no proof) he preſently takes that for granted, which he ſhall never be able to prove, either from theſe or other premiſes, to wit, That Saints are to be worſhipped with religious Worſhip, as it is oppoſed to civil Worſhip. His meaning, if it reach the point in queſtion muſt be this; We are bound to offer up the proper acts of Religion as prayers, with other devotions, by way of perſonal honor or ſervice to the Saints. This we ſay is formal Idolatry.

5. It is one thing to tender our ſervice in lowlineſs of ſpirit for conſcience ſake unto the Prince; another to tender him the ſervice of our ſpirit or ſubjection of our conſciences. Religion binds me to bow my knee, or uſe other accuſtomed ſigns of obeyſance, in unfaigned teſtimony that I acknowledg him Lord of my body; armed with Authority from the *Maker* of it to take vengeance upon it, for denial of its ſervice. Or in caſe he puniſh me without cauſe, the bond of conſcience and Religion tyes me to ſubmit this outward man in humility of ſpirit, to the unlawful exerciſe of his lawful power, rather than I ſhould grant him the command or diſpoſal of my Religion; or honour him with the acts or exerciſes of it. In like ſort the ſight and preſence of any, whom God hath graced with extraordinary bleſſings of his Spirit, will voluntarily extort ſigns of ſubmiſſive reſpect from every ſanctified and religious ſpirit, in undoubted token that they reverence Gods gifts beſtowed upon him, and heartily deſire their ſouls might take ſome tincture or impreſſion from his gratious carriage or inſtructions, which they can hardly do without ſome nearer link of familiarity and acquaintance: or at leaſt, would do ſo much better, by how much the link were cloſer, or their vicinity greater. Their right end and ſcope whereto the inſtinct of grace inherent in our ſouls doth direct theſe external ſigns of ſubmiſſion, is to *woe* their ſouls and ſpirits whom we thus reverence, to ſome more intimate conjunction. This ſubmiſſive reverence, though not required by them, is on our parts neceſſary, for holding ſuch conſort or juſt proportion with the abundant meaſure of Gods graces in them, as we may dray comfort and perfection from them. Contemplation of others excellency without this ſubmiſſive temper in our ſelves, either ſtirs up envy, or occaſioneth deſpair: and yet all that theſe outward and unfaigned ſigns of ſubmiſſion can lawfully plight unto them, is the ſervice of our bodies or inferior faculties. Theſe we could be content to ſacrifice not to them, but for their ſakes: alwayes provided that we do not prejudice the right or dominion, which our own ſpirits and conſciences have over our bodies,

immediately under God. But to offer up the internal and proper fruits of the Spirit unto them by way of tribute and honour, is to diſhonor, to deny that God which made them. The ſeeds of grace and true Religion are ſown immediately by his ſole powerful hand; and their native of-ſpring (acts of faith eſpecially) muſt be reſerved entire and untouched for him. Prayers *intrinſecally religious*, or *devotions* truly ſacred, are oblations, which may not, which cannot without open ſacriledge be ſolemnly conſecrated to any others honor, but only to his who infuſeth the Spirit of prayer and thankſgiving into mens hearts. The principal crime whereof we accuſe the *Romiſh* Church, and whereof ſuch as purpoſely examine the inditement put up by Reformed Churches againſt her and her children, are to take ſpecial notice; is her open profeſſed direct intendment to honour them which are no gods, with thoſe prayers or devotions, with theſe elevations of minds and ſpirits, wherewith they preſent the only wiſe, immortal King, in *Temples* dedicated to his ſervice. He that prayed in old times to an Idol in a Grove deſtinated to his worſhip, did wrong the true God, after the ſame manner that he doth, which robs him of his Tyths, before they be ſet apart for his houſe. But to come into his houſe of prayer, with ſerious purpoſe to honor him with the ſacrifice of a contrite or broken ſpirit, and in the time of oblation to divert our beſt intentions to the honor of our fellow creatures, is worſe than *Ananias* and *Saphirahs* ſin: *a lying to the holy Ghoſt*, or a mockery of him; a ſacrilegious purloyning of that which was brought unto the Sanctuary, and ſolemnly conſecrated to the Lord of the Temple.

CHAP. XXVI.

That the Worſhip which Sathan demanded of our Saviour, was the very ſame wherewith the Romiſh Church worſhippeth Saints, that is, Dulia, *not* Latria *according to their diſtinction. That our Saviours anſwer doth abſolutely prohibite the offering of this worſhip not only to Sathan, but to any perſon whatſoever, beſides God. The truth of this aſſertion proved by S.* Johns *authority and S.* Peters.

1. THe doctrine delivered in the former Chapter, was a truth in old times ſo clear, and ſo well approved by the conſtant practiſe of living Saints, that the very quotation of that Law whereon we ground it, did put the Devil himſelf, for the preſent, to a *non plus*. But he hath bethought himſelf of new anſwers ſince, and found opportunity to diſtil his intoxicating diſtinctions into modern brains through Jeſuitical quills. Howſoever, to eyes not darkned with the ſmoak of hell, it will never take the leaſt tincture of probability, much leſs any permanent colour of ſolid truth, that the Tempter ſhould demand *cultum latriæ* (as now it is taken by the *Jeſuits*) of our Saviour. Or, although he had ſet ſo high a price at the firſt word upon ſo fair commodities as he proffered; there could be no doubt of his readineſs to fall lower at the ſecond, rather than to hazzard the loſs of his Market. For he loves to play at ſmall games, rather than altogether to ſit out. And if the *Jeſuits* anſwers to our arguments were cur-

rant: their Maſter with half of one of their skill in *Sophiſtry*, might have put ours to a new reply, as he did him twice, to a *ſcriptum eſt*. *It is written* (ſayth our Saviour) *Thou ſhalt worſhip thy Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve* *. True, ſaith the Jeſuit, *cultu latriæ:* for it is written, ἀυτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις, but not ἀυτὸν μόνον προσκυνήσεις. For this kind of worſhip (expreſt by the Greek προσκύνησις) by our † Adverſaries doctrin is due to Saints. What was it then which the Devil did expreſly, demand of our Saviour, *Latria* or *Dulia*? neither expreſly but προσκύνησις, *Adoration*. But this Worſhip may be demanded upon ſome higher ſtyle than befits Saints to accept or uſe. It may be demanded in teſtification of homage royal, or in acknowledgment of the party to whom it is tendred for Lord and Soveraign of the parties which tender it. To him that would thus reply, the rejoynder is ready out of the text: for the Devil did not exact any external ſign of ſubmiſſion unto himſelf, as unto the ſupream diſpoſer or prime fountain of the temporal bleſſings, which he promiſed. The tenor of his promiſe was thus; || *All this power will I give thee, and the glory of the kingdoms: for that is delivered unto me.* By whom? queſtionleſs by ſome Superior and more ſoveraign Lord, from whoſe right he ſought to derive his warrant to beſtow them; *To whomſoever I will, I give it.* The warrant pretended in reſpect of the parties capable of the donation of it, is very large, but not without conditions to be performed by them: *If thou therefore wilt fall down before me, and worſhip me, all ſhall be thine.* Προσκύνησις, *or falling down before him*, being all the *Tempter* did demand; our Saviours reply had neither been direct nor pertinent, unleſs the *excluſive* particle *only* be referred as well to προσκύνησις *worſhip* or *proſtration*, as to λατρεία or *ſupream ſervice*. Is it then but a meer trick of wit, or point of Sophiſtry without ſin thus palpably to divide that ſenſe of Scripture which God had ſo cloſely joyned? Is it a petty preſumption only, for a *Jeſuit* to think he could have caught the Devil more cunningly in his own play, or have gone beyond him with a mental reſervation, or evaſion; if the like proffer had been made to him, as was to our Saviour? For this in effect is the *Jeſuits* anſwer. The Law forbids λατρείαν only, the Devil required only προσκύνησιν: therefore he demanded nothing forbidden by the Law. To be able thus to play faſt and looſe with the ſacred bond of Gods Law at his pleaſure; or to looſe the link of abſolute allegiance to ſupream Majeſty with frivolous diſtinctions pretended from ſome ſlips of the Ancients, is that wherein the *Jeſuit* glories. Such of this ſublimated Sect as ſtifly maintain, that not only all Image-worſhip, but all civil uſe of Pictures was forbidden the *Jews*, are not aſhamed to ſtand upon the former gloſs, as the beſt rock of their defence for maintaining the diſtinction between *Dulia* and *Latria*. But the words of the Law are ſtill the ſame, and therefore can admit no diſtinction now, which they might not then have born. Howbeit, were that Law abrogated ſo far as it concerns the uſe of Images, it could not diſanul this new diſtinction, were this grounded upon any other pregnant Scripture, but ſo grounded it is not, it cannot be.

2. Such as would bluſh at the former Gloſs, will perhaps reply, that the loweſt degree of any worſhip was more than the Devil had right to challenge, and more than might be tendred to him by any In-

* St. *Auſtine* (whoſe authority they wreſt to this effect) was miſtaken in the uſe or ſignification of the word *Latria*. His error was, in that he thought it did always ſignifie religious worſhip or adoration of ſpirit: and this kind of worſhip he knew only to be due to God; wheras he had obſerved the Latine word *adorare* to be common both to civil and religious worſhip. The ſame Father in 61. Queſtion upon *Geneſis*, acknowledgeth no *medium* or mean between Civil adoration and *Latria*, that is, between civil worſhip and the worſhip which is due only unto God. The occaſion of S. *Auſtines* diſtinction may be beſt gathered from his words; *Quæritur quomodo ſcriptum ſit, Dominum, deum tuum adorabis, & illi ſoli ſervies, cum Abraham ſic honoraverit populum quendam gentium, ut etiam adoraret. Sed animadvertendum eſt in eodem præcepto, non dictum, Dominum deum tuum ſolum adorabis, ſicut dictum eſt, & illi ſoli ſervies, quod eſt Græcè* Λατρεύσεις. *Talis enim ſervitus non niſi Deo debetur.* Aug. quæſt. 61. ſuper Gen.

† Vide Vaſques lib. 2. de adoratione diſp. 8. cap. 12. num. 366.

|| Luk. verſ. 6, 7. Matth. 4. verſ. 9.

telligent creature. The exception I grant were good, if our Saviour had only refuſed to worſhip him, becauſe he was Gods enemy; but it no way toucheth the reaſon of his refuſal, which is univerſally perpetual. For he took no notice of the Devils ill deſerts, but frames ſuch an anſwer to the demand it ſelf, as was to ſtand for an unalterable expoſition of that indiſpenſable Law in reſpect of every creature either tempting or tempted in like ſort, to the worlds end. None may worſhip or ſerve any Creature with *religious Worſhip*; all of us muſt ſo worſhip and ſerve God alone. The words of the Text it ſelf, as well in the Septuagint as in the Hebrew; are no more than theſe: *Thou ſhalt fear thy Lord thy God, and him ſhalt thou ſerve.* The ſuper-eminent dignity of the party whoſe fear and ſervice are enjoyned, doth (in our Saviours Logick) make the indefinite Form of the Commandement, fully æquivalent to this univerſal Negative: [*No man may tender any act of religious fear, worſhip, or ſervice, to any man or Angel, to any thing in heaven or earth, or in the regions under the earth, but only to him who made all, who is Lord of all; whom all are bound to fear and worſhip, with all their hearts, with all their ſouls, and all their might*]. And of all kinds of religious fear or ſervice *Cultus duliæ* is either moſt improperly or moſt impiouſly tendred to Saints and Angels. For though as in Gods houſe there be many Manſions, ſo no doubt there be ſeveral degrees or ranks of Attendants, yet the higheſt and the loweſt members of Chriſts myſticall body are brethren; the greateſt Angel, and the leaſt amongſt the ſons of men, are fellow-ſervants. Do we ſpeak this as men unwilling to bow their knees unto their betters without hope of gain, or loath to ſpend their breath without a fee? or doth not the Scripture ſay the ſame? Do not ſuch of our Lord and Maſters ſervants as are cloathed with glory and immortality, and daily behold his preſence in perfect joy, inhibite the firſt proffers of ſuch obeyſance to them preſent, as the Romiſh liturgy ſolemnly conſecrates to the ſhrines and ſtatues of others much meaner, in their abſence? How beautiful were the feet of that heavenly Embaſſador, how glorious and joyful were the tydings he then brought unto the Inhabitants of the earth; *Bleſſed are they which are called unto the marriage ſupper of the Lamb: theſe are the true ſayings of God.* Such was the *ſtate* of the meſſenger, and ſuch his meſſage, as did well deſerve to have an Apoſtle for his Scribe; for He bid him write. And yet when this his Secretary fell at his feet, *verſe.* 10. to worſhip, he ſaid unto him; *See thou do it not: I am thy fellow ſervant and of thy brethren that have the teſtimony of Jeſus: worſhip God.* Did S. *John* want wit to reply; So I will, *cultu latriæ*; but *Thee* my Lord (his Embaſſador,) alſo *cultu duliæ*? This is a diſtinction of ſuch ſubtilty, that it ſurpaſſeth all ſkill or ſpirit of prophecies. Otherwiſe, S. *John* might have known the uſe of it, when he had better opportunity to uſe it than any had ſince. Yet if he had been ſo diſpoſed, the Angel prevented him, *I am thy fellow-ſervant*, and it is the duty of ſervants, not to ſeek honor one of another, but to be yoke-fellows in their Maſters ſervice; conſorts in ſetting forth his honor. *Bellarmine* was conſcious that his firſt anſwer to this place, (though borrowed, from Antiquity) was erroneous or impertinent; *Corrigendus fuit adorator non propter errorem adorationis ſed propter errorem perſonæ: Saint John was not to be reformed for offering to worſhip Him whom he took to be Chriſt, but in that he miſtook the Angel for Chriſt.* Saint *Auſtines* words upon which *Bellarmine* was too wiſe to rely too much, are theſe; *Talis apparuerat Angelus ut pro Deo poſſet adorari, & ideo fuerat corrigendus adorator; The Angel did ſo appear as*

Rev. 19. 9.

Bellar. l. 1. *de Sanctor. beatitudine. cap.* 14.

Aug queſtione. 61. *in Gen.*

as he might ſeem to be God, or to be worſhiped as God, and therefore the worſhiper was to be rectified.

† *Bellarmin. ibid. de Sanct. beatitud.*

3. But let us try whether his ſecond cogitations be any ſounder. *Saint John did well in proffering to worſhip the Angel; as Abraham, Lot, and other of his godly anceſtors had done: but the Angel did prohibit him in reverence to Chriſts † humanity.* For ſince the Angels themſelves have done homage to Chriſts humanity, they will not receive that homage from men which before Chriſts incarnation they did. Let him pretend what authority he liſt for the truth of this reply, it is impertinent to the point in queſtion; and we may drive him to another ſhift by preſſing this evaſion. For if the Angels ſince Chriſts incarnation have releaſed men of their wonted homage; or rather wholly reſigned it into Chriſts hand, abandoning the leaſt acknowledgment of religious worſhip when they come as gods Embaſſadors in perſon: we demand whether the Romiſh Church did well or ill in commanding her ſons and daughters to worſhip them ſtill in this latter age, wherein we expect Chriſts coming in glory to Judgment? The form of *Bellarmines* ſecond anſwer is very ſtrange, and ſuch, as he derides *Brentius*, for uſing in a matter far more capable of it. *We rightly worſhip Angels, and the Angels rightly refuſe to be worſhiped by us.* For after the Angel had given out his prohibition, *Vide ne feceris, cap. 19. ver. 10. See thou do it not: the Apoſtle offers to do the like again, cap. 22. ver. 9. as well knowing that he did well in worſhipping, and the Angel as well in refuſing to be worſhiped. Nor may we ſuſpect, that Sain John was either indocile or forgetful.* Much leſs may we ſuſpect that God Almighty would have his children of the Church militant and triumphant to complement it all the year long, in ſuch manner as ſtrangers will for a turn or two at their firſt meeting: the one in good manners offering, and the other better refuſing the chief place or precedence; leaſt of all may we think, that one of Gods glorious Embaſſadors, could out of maidenly modeſty be driven to maintain falſe doctrin. To have avoided the firſt proffer of worſhip ſo peremptorily forbidden, [*See thou do it not*] had been enough to diſprove the ſolemn Practiſe of it in whomſoever. But not herewith content, he gives a general reaſon of his prohibition; *See thou do it not: for I am thy fellow-ſervant, worſhip God.* May we not ſupply his meaning by Analogy of our Saviours Comment upon the Text of the Law, [*Worſhip him alone, whom, the Angels can never worſhip too much, nor any man on earth enough*].

4. It is a warrant to our Churches, fully ſufficient, not to do homage unto Angels abſent, becauſe in preſence they refuſe and forbid it. By what warrant the *Romiſh* Church can obtrude it upon them againſt their wills, let her ſons look to it. We have cauſe to ſuſpect, and they to fear, that the Devil and his ſwift meſſengers have played *Gehazies* with their *Naamans*; run to their Rulers in theſe heavenly Prophets names, to demand ſuch gratifications, upon falſe pretences, in their abſence, as they reſolutely refuſed, when in all reaſon they beſt deſerved them, if at any time they might have taken them. The Diſciple is not above his Maſter; much leſs is the pupils practiſe to be imitated before the Tutors doctrine. S. *John* in this Dialogue was the pupil: do they then grace him by taking his proffer to worſhip this Angel for their warrant, or rather wrong the Angel in not admitting his two-fold inhibition (at both times obeyed by this his ſcholar) for a ſufficient caveat to deter them from making the worſhiping of Saints and Angels a ſpecial part of their ſolemn ſervice? But this is the

curſe which by Gods juſt judgment is fallen upon them for detaining the truth in unrighteouſneſs; That as the Horſe-leach ſucketh only the melancholy humor out of mens blood, ſo theſe *Locuſts* having relinquiſhed the pure fountain of truth, muſt long after the dregs of Antiquity in their doctrin, and in their practiſe feed principally upon ſuch infirmities of the fleſh, as ſometimes mingle themſelves with the ſpiritual behaviour of Gods Saints. For even the ſouls of Gods deareſt Saints have their habitation,during this life, with fleſh and blood. And albeit we ſinful men may not paſs our cenſures upon S. *John*, nor meaſure his carriage in the Angels preſence, by any the leaſt overſight in our ſelves,who are never taught beyond our ſelves, in ſuch admiration of ſpirit, as he then was: yet the holy Angel with whoſe glorious appearance he was aſtoniſhed, might diſcover the miſplaced motions of his ſpirit or affection by ſome ſuch outraying or miſ-faſhioned lines in his bodily geſture or outward behaviour; as an expert Courtier would quickly eſpie in a meer contemplative Scholar, called into ſome Court-like audience. This carriage was for the preſent more pardonable in him,than the continual imitation of it can be in any. A gratious Prince would take litle or no diſpleaſure, if a man in a dream or trance, or in ſome extraordinary paſſion of fear ariſing from apprehenſion of imminent danger, or of joy for unexpected ſafety; ſhould beſtow royal titles on his ſpecial benefactor, or prefer extemporary petitions or gratulations *ore tenus* in ſuch ſubmiſſive ſtyle or geſture, as might impeach as well the greateſt ſubject in the Kingdom that ſhould accept them, as the meaneſt that could offer them, of diſloyalty, if they were drawn into legal form or daily practiſe. Admitting the Angel had not twice diſallowed the worſhip proffered by the Apoſtle: yet if we conſider the extaſie or ſtrange exultation of ſpirit,whence it was wreſted; the delinquency of the Romiſh Church (uſing his example for a pattern of their behaviour in publick and ſolemn ſervice, when no occaſion of like paſſion is offred either by Angelical preſence or joyful Embaſſage) argueth more wilful and contemptuous diſloyalty towards God, then the former ſuppoſition implieth towards earthly Princes. And as it is a point of indiſcretion to ſhew ſuch peculiar obſervance to great Perſonages in the Princes preſence, as good manners elſe-where would exact; ſo to tender ſuch ſolemn worſhip to Saints and Angels in the Church or houſe of God, is a circumſtance which much aggravateth the haynouſneſs, or rather induceth an alteration of the quality of the Worſhip it ſelf; enough to make it ſuperſtitiouſly Religious,though otherwiſe decently civil, or offenſive only in exceſs.

5. But to what end did the Apoſtle ſo carefully regiſter the Angels two-fold prohibition, or his own reiterated check; To blazon his own dignity and high reſpect with Angels; or to embolden others of meaner place in the Church Militant, to faſten that kindneſs upon them abſent, which would not be accepted from him whiles he ſpake with them face to face? * Some *Romaniſts* think ſuch lowly obeyſance did not ſo well become S. *John*, becauſe he was a Prieſt, others, becauſe he was a Virgine: and the office of Prieſthood, is, in their doctrin, as great; Virginity, in a man of his age, a greater dignity than Angelical excellency. Virginity, (I think) is more ſcarce and rare in *Romiſh* Prieſts, than the gift of Prophecy or familiarity with Angels,is in other men;and this is the reaſon that they ſet ſo high a price upon it. Others conjecture the ſpirit of Prophecy did priviledge this great Apoſtle from the common ſervice of Angels. But the greater ſkill he had in

** Vide Bellarmin. loco citato.*

heavenly myſteries, the greater were his motives to worſhip this Angel (under God) his principal Inſtructor. And Saint *Peters* refuſal of like obeyſance from *Cornelius*, doth ſo cruſh all theſe, and whatſoever pretences can be brought, that they can never ſeem whole or ſound again to ſuch as firſt made them.

6. *Cornelius* was neither Prophet, Prieſt, nor Virgin, a *Gentile* by birth, and a novice in faith; committed by the Angel of God to S. *Peters* inſtruction. He was in conſcience and Religion bound to reverence this great Apoſtle; not only for his religious and ſanctified life, but as his Father in God, his chief Gardian under Chriſt. But might he therefore worſhip him with *religious worſhip*, as his intermediate advocate or interceſſor with God, as his peculiar patron? No: when he offred no other ſign of ſubmiſſion to S. *Peters* perſon, than every Romiſh Prieſt and Prelate doth unto his Image; he took him up, and warns him not to fall down before him, or any Saint ſo again: *I my ſelf alſo am a man.* But may not this ſpeech imply that *Cornelius* took him at firſt ſight for a god, and ſo polluted his external worſhip with this internal miſconceit? Sure he that was ſo well acquainted with the Jewiſh Religion, and ſo * ſo well ſpoken of by the *Jews*, did not acknowledge more Gods than one. And he could not be ignorant, *that one Simon Peter, which lodged with one Simon the Tanner*, was neither this one God whom he before had worſhiped, nor any God. For would the Angel have willed him to ſend to *Joppa* for God to come unto him? But albeit *Cornelius* from the firſt to the laſt did perfectly know *Simon Peter* to be a man, yet he knew him to be a man ſent from God to inſtruct him in the way of life. And out of that natural infirmity of fleſh and blood, which (wanting ſuch as S. *Peter* was, to check or control it,) brought forth Idolatry in the Heathens and the *Romaniſts*, he ſought to entertain Gods Embaſſador in moſt lowly and ſubmiſſive faſhion. To ſet their hearts too much upon ſuch creatures as are Gods inſtruments for their extraordinary good, is a temptation wherewith good natured men, (ſuch as *Cornelius* was) without ſpiritual inſtruction are ſooneſt overtaken. And out of the abundance of affectionate deſire to teſtifie his thankfulneſs in the beſt ſort that he could; he renders that to the Embaſſador which was due only to his Maſter. † *Hic eſt vetuſtiſſimus referendi bene merentibus gratiam mos, ut tales numinibus aſcribant; The moſt ancient manner of expreſſing thankfulneſs to ſpecial benefactors, is to inrol them in the Kalender of Gods or divine powers.* After the holy Ghoſt to the aſtoniſhment of the circumciſion had fallen upon all that heard *Peters* words, in teſtimony that they were the words of God; did either *Cornelius* himſelf, or the meaneſt *Gentile* preſent, fall down and worſhip S. *Peter*, though not as the author and fountain of that ineſtimable bleſſing, whereof all were made partakers, yet as the immediate Interceſſor which had procured it? No: S. *Peter* had ſo well inſtructed *Cornelius* before, that as the * Text reſolves us, the firſt fruits of their new *tongues*, were offred up immediately in ſacrifice *unto God which had given ſuch gifts to men.* The ſpirit whereof they were partakers, taught them to glorifie the giver only; not man, which had nothing, which he had not received.

* Acts 10. v. 5, 7.

† *Plinius in Hiſtoria. Similia habet Lactantius.*

* Acts 10. 46.

7. Never had any man juſter occaſion to worſhip an Angel than S. *John*, or a Saint than *Cornelius* and his company had? The reaſon why the Lord in wiſdom would have, aſwel their willingneſs to worſhip, as the Angels and S. *Peters* unwillingneſs to accept their proffered ſubmiſſion, ſo expreſly regiſtred, was to imprint the true meaning of

that Law in the hearts of all that ſhould read thoſe Stories: *Thou ſhalt worſhip thy Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve*; as alſo the neceſſity of that caveat which another Apoſtle had given to poſterity: *Let no man beguile you of your reward, in a voluntary humility and worſhiping of Angels, intruding himſelf into things which he hath not ſeen, vainly puffed up in his fleſhly mind.* If ſo main a pillar of Chriſts Church, as S. *John* (who foreſaw the general Apoſtaſie from the ſincere worſhip of God to Antichriſtian Idolatry) were thus ſhaken with this temptation, it was not to be expected, that any (after that Sathan who can transform himſelf into an Angel of light was let looſe) ſhould be able *to ſtand* without vigilant attention unto *Johns* admonitions, and theſe fair warnings which God had given the world in him and *Cornelius*. A ſenſeleſs and reprobate ſtupidity more than *Jewiſh*, hath befallen moſt of the modern *Romaniſts* for their wilful relapſe into Heatheniſh Idolatry. What heatheniſh Prieſt did ever frame an anſwer to the objections of the *Orthodox*, either ſo ridiculous in it ſelf, or which might argue ſuch a reſpectleſs eſteem of the divine Majeſty, whom they were challenged to wrong, as * *Vaſquez* and *Salmeron*, with others, have made to this inſtance of S. *Peter* and *Cornelius*. S. *Peter*, ſay theſe *Jeſuits* (in part approved by † *Bellarmine*, who loves to have two ſtrings to his deceitful Bow) diſclaimed *the worſhip offred him*, not as if it *were not due unto him*. How then? In modeſty. Doth this make for them or againſt them? If it were his modeſty to refuſe it from *Cornelius*, it would be good manners in them not to offer it till they know more of his mind, or meet him face to face as *Cornelius* did; who yet did not preſs him to take it, as in good manners he ſhould, if out of modeſty only he had refuſed it. But they have made S. *Peters* Image of ſuch a mettal, as it will not eaſily bluſh, and charm'd it with ſuch new diſtinctions, as it ſhall not tremble, whiles they do ſuch homage to it as would have moved S. *Peter* himſelf, no leſs than the peoples dancing before the golden Calf did *Moſes*. The Image they think doth well approve of their *ſervice*, in that it doth not diſallow it nor bid them ſtand up, ſaying, (what it could not truly ſay, albeit theſe *Impoſtors* could teach it to ſpeak) *for I alſo am a man*. Yet if S. *Peter* himſelf hear their prayers, and ſee their geſtures to it, as well as if he were among them, will he not be as modeſt in Gods preſence, who is alwayes an undoubted ſpectator of this their ſervice, as he was before *Cornelius*? Will he not diſavow their practiſe as quite contrary to his example; and their doctrin, as directly contradictory to his inſtructions? And do they truly honour, or rather fouly vilifie S. *Peter* and the reſt of Gods glorious Saints, in obtruding greater honour to their Images of liveleſs wood and ſtone; than any Chriſtians offred to them whilſt they lived, or, were they preſent, yet are capable of?

Coloſſ. 2. v. 18

* *Vaſques. l.* 1. *de Adorat. diſput.* 5. *cap* 3.
† *Bellar. de Sanctor. beatitudine. lib.* 1. *cap.* 4.

CHAP. XXVII.

That the reſpect which we owe to Saints decaſed, (ſuppoſing they were really preſent with us) doth differ only in degree, not in nature or quality from the reſpect which we owe unto true living Saints. That the ſame expreſſion of our reſpect or obſervance towards Saints or Angels locally preſent, cannot without ſuperſtition or Idolatry be made unto them in their abſence.

1. Suppoſe S. *Peter*, or the Angel whom S. *John* proffered to adore, ſhould undoubtedly appear unto us, and vouchſafe us liberty of propoſing our deſires unto them: we might and would tender them reſpect and reverence (not for their civil dignity, or hopes of promotion from them, but for their perſonal ſanctity) which ſhould exceed all reverence we owe to ordinary godly men, as much as the civil *Honour* we give to *Kings* doth our civil reſpect of any ſubject that is our *better*. But, as our ſoveraign obſervance of Kings or ſupream earthly Majeſty, may not tranſcend the latitude of civil honour; ſo neither might we tender ſuch honour, reverence, or worſhip to S. *Peter* or the Angel, (were they preſent) as would tranſgreſs the utmoſt bounds of that reſpect or reverence, which is, in ſome meaſure, due to every godly man. The difference between our reſpect to Angels, the bleſſed Virgin, or to Saints of the higheſt rank, and the loweſt, may be greater in degree, than the *latitude* of civil honour, (in reſpect of Monarchs and their meaneſt officers) can afford; becauſe the amplitude of ſanctifying grace doth (for ought we know) far exceed the meaſure of moral virtues or latitude of civil dignity. But the ſeveral obſervances which we owe to Kings and to others that are our betters in the rank of ſubjects, differ more in ſpecifical *quality* and *eſſence*; than the ſeveral reſpects which are due to Angels or Saints of the higheſt order, and to religious *Lazarus*, were both equally preſent. For Kings, in matters concerning our goods or bodies, have a ſoveraignty communicated to them from God, not communicate by them to their greateſt ſubjects: ſo have no Saints or Angels in matters ſpiritual any Lordſhip or dominion over us; we owe no allegiance of our ſpirit, ſave only to one Lord. Chriſt in theſe caſes is our ſole King (whoſe felicity is communicated to all his followers, his ſoveraignty to none:) in reſpect of him, the greateſt Saints and Angels be our fellow-ſubjects. What reſpect or reverence then do we owe them in reſpect of prayers or invocations, ſuppoſe we might ſpeak with them face to face? As our neceſſities would compel us to requeſt their prayers to God for us; ſo good manners would teach us to fit the *manner* of our obſervance or ſubmiſſive entreaty, to the meaſure of their ſanctity, or of that favour which they have with God, in reſpect of ordinary godly men; whoſe prayers we crave with due obſervance of their perſons. The rule of religious diſcretion would ſo proportion our obedience to their inſtructions, as their inſtructions are proportioned to the directions of uſual Paſtors: we would be ready to do them any bodily ſervice with ſo much greater fidelity and better affection than we do to others, as we conceive them to be more faithful and fervent in Gods ſervice than others are. But Religion it ſelf, and the rule of Gods word, which they moſt exactly obey, would reſtrain us from falling down before them with our

bodies, with purpoſe to lift up our minds unto them, as to our patrons or ſecundary Mediators. To offer up the fruits of the ſpirit, or conſecrate the ſpirit of prayer and thankſgiving to the honour of any, ſave only of him that made, redeemed and ſanctified our ſouls and ſpirits, is, (we maintain it unto death) ſacrilegious heatheniſh impiety. Yet muſt *dulia* which theſe men conſecrate wholly to the honour of Saints, be of neceſſity an eſſential part of the ſpirit of prayer, if the prayers themſelves, which it brings forth be as they contend, *Cultus verè religioſus, true or intrinſecally religious worſhip.* Religion is the bond or link between the *Creator* and the *creature*: the *eſſence* of religious prayers conſiſts in the *elevation* of the ſpirit: the uſe and end of the ſpirits elevation, is that we may be joyned in ſpirit with Chriſt. To fixe our hearts on any thing beſides God, is a ſpiritual fornication or adultery; but thus to elevate our ſpirits which Chriſt hath eſpouſed unto himſelf by grace, unto Saints and Angels (as they do, that direct religious prayers unto them (in the houſe and Temple of God, is like an inceſtuous pollution of the marriage bed; as if a woman betrothed unto the eldeſt brother and heir apparant unto the Crown, ſhould proſtitute her body upon her marriage-day to his kinſman or younger brother.

2. But admit S. *Peter* or ſome Angel ſhould by Gods appointment vouchſafe their local reſidence again amongſt the Inhabitants of the earth, work miracles, heal diſeaſes, and inſtruct *vivâ voce*, in the remote deſerts of *Africk* or in the *Indies*, where we could neither have perſonal acceſs unto them, nor commend our ſuits unto thom by letter, or interpoſed meſſenger; might we here in *England* kneel down, and turning our faces towards the place of their reſidence, pour forth the requeſts of our hearts unto them as *Daniel* being in exile did his towards *Jeruſalem*, wherein God had promiſed to dwell? This were to outſtrip the Heathen as well in the *eſſential form* of Idolatry, as in the degrees of ſuperſtitious or magical folly? What heathen did ever exibit ſolemn worſhip, or pour forth their petitions for ayd or ſuccour unto *Apollo*, *Mercury*, or *Æſculapius*, much leſs unto their *Demi-gods* or *Heroicks*, ſave only in places where they ſuppoſed them reſident, as in their Temples, about their Oracles, or before ſhrines or Idols, which (according to Ethnick Divinity) were in a ſort animated with their preſence; Or admitting any heathen living in *Aſia*, ſhould have directed his prayers towards *Hercules* his Temple in *Greece*, might not his folly have been juſtified by the ſame Apology, which the *Romaniſt* brings for his, if that were juſt and othordoxal; *Jupiter eſt quodcunq; vides*, The ſupream power adored by him under the name of *Jupiter* he might (with good approbation of the Learned,) have avouched to be every where able and willing to acquaint the leſſer Gods (his more intimate friends, with whom he might be bolder) with his petitions in ſo great diſtance. To be perſwaded that any *Saints* ſhould be able at all hours of day and night, to take notice of all the petitions, that are or can be made unto *him* in *Italy*, *Germanie*, *France*, and *Spain*, or throughout the whole world, is to aſcribe greater divinity unto him, than any Heathens did to their ordinary Gods, whom notwithſtanding they conceived worthy of divine *Honour*. The fruition of his preſence who knows all things at all times, cannot make Saints or Angels ſo capable of this perpetual ubiquitary knowledge, as perſonal union with him, who is every where *eſſentially preſent*, might make Chriſts body of ubiquitary local preſence: yet to maintain it to be ſo preſent every where, is in our Adverſaries judgment, an hereſie;

but a far greater to aſcribe this ubiquitary knowledge unto Saints. And out of this conceipt to direct prayers to them in heaven from every part of the earth, is formal Idolatry, as well in practiſe as in opinion; *For God even God only knows the hearts of all the Children of men.* 1. *King.* 8. *ver.* 31.

3. To conclude; with what manner of reſpect or obſervance (in particular) glorified Saints or Angels are to be entertained by us mortal men, is a point impoſſible to be determined, untill we have juſt occaſion to diſpute it. And other occaſion we can have none, ſave what their preſence or commerce with us ſhall adminiſter. Or, admitting their undoubted apparitions were at this day as riſe, as herefore they have been pretended, it would be the firſt part of our duty to faſhion our ſelves unto ſuch obſervance as they would preſcribe us, not to preſcribe them what manner of honour they were to receive from us. Gods word concerning their worſhip is ſilent, ſave only that Saint *Paul* hath adviſed us to content our ſelves with ignorance in theſe ſecrets, unto whoſe ſearch we are not called; to affect whoſe knowledg, we can have no provocation or impulſion beſides the *vain ſwelling of our fleſhly minds.* But whatſoever reſpect or obſervance might lawfully be tendred to their infallible appearance, cannot without impious folly be ſeriouſly proffered to them whilſt they appear not: and ſolemnly to conſecrate it to their Images whoſe perſons we never ſaw, is the height of impiety. Civility and common ſenſe may enform us that to tender ſuch reſpect or ſigns of ſubmiſſion to Princes or great Perſonages, whom we ſee afar off, as would become us being admitted to conference with them, would argue either diſtraction of mind, or clowniſh ſimplicity. Though it were lawful to expreſs our neceſſities with bended knees to Saints or Angels vouchſafing their preſence, and to implore their interceſſion for us with ſighs and tears; yet may not ſuch as have eyes, pray to them or any whom they cannot ſee, ſave only to him who is *inviſible.* None that have ſenſe, may pray to any of whoſe virtual preſence or acquaintance with our affairs, we have no ſenſible undoubted pledge; ſave only to him whom we know not by ſenſe, but by the ſpirit of grace and faith, every where to hear and know all things that are done or ſaid any where. Howbeit for every man at all times, in every place, upon all occaſions to worſhip *him* in ſuch manner, as they without offence, with true devotion, have done unto whom his extraordinary preſence hath been manifeſted, would be but a ſuperſtitious obſervance. For although we be fully aſſured, that he ſees our geſtures, knows our hearts, and hears our petitions, at all times and every where alike: yet he ſees that we have not alwayes the like occaſions, which they had, to pray or worſhip as they did. And any extraordinary manner of worſhip without extraordinary impulſion, is will-worſhip. More particularly; Religious prayers being proper acts of faith, unleſs they be made in faith, are moſt properly ὀυκ ἐκ πίστεως *not of faith*, quite contrary to the rule of faith, which in any point to croſs, is a preſumptuous ſin; but to contradict it in matters of religious worſhip, is the ſin of Idolatry. *Now religious prayers cannot be conceived or exhibited to any in faith, without certainty of faith, that they to whom they are exhibited, do hear us. Seriouſly to tender requeſts to the ſouls of Saints deceaſed, farther diſtant from us than any one part of the earth is from another, after the ſame manner we might do, upon certain notice of their preſence, or mutual pledges of commerce with us, is but to offer the ſacrifice of fools unto the wind, or to ſow the element wherein we breath.*

breath, with the poyſonous ſeeds of Ethnick ſuperſtition. And ſo in fine the Romaniſt *doth not enrich the Saints, but ſtocks and ſtones (the works of his own hands) with that honour whereof he hath robbed his God. His adoring, his kiſſing and his worſhiping of Saints and Images with bended knees and other ſigns of ſubmiſſion, is but a ſolemn invitation of infernal* ghoſts *to keep reſidence about them. Theſe are the* Harpies *which defile Gods ſervice, and devour the peoples offerings, which their inchanted Prieſts would perſwade them were preſented to and accepted by Gods Saints.* To think the Saints ſhould be permitted to receive our particular petitions, and not be permitted to return their particular anſwers; or not be enabled as freely to communicate their minds to us, as we to impart our deſires to them, is an imagination ſo groſs, that it can have no ground either of faith or common reaſon. We may retort *Bellarmines* and his Conſorts arguments for invocation of Saints upon themſelves. That the Saints, whom they invocate, do not impart their minds unto their ſupplicants in ſuch particular manner as their ſupplicants impart their deſires to them, it is either becauſe they will not, or they cannot. To ſay they will not if they can, is to impeach them of pride or want of charity: to ſay they cannot, is to ſlander them with impotency or with want of favour with God. For He that enables them as they ſuppoſe He doth to hear us ſpeak from earth to heaven, can queſtionleſs enable them ſo to ſpeak or expreſs themſelves, that we might hear them from heaven to earth. It is but one and the ſame branch of his infinite power and goodneſs to give Saints deceaſed the like uſe and exerciſe of *ſpiritual tongues*, as He grants them, by the *Romaniſts* doctrine, of *ſpiritual ears.*

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Romiſh Church in her publick Liturgies expreſſely gives thoſe glorious titles unto Saints, unto which no other real worſhip beſides the worſhip *of* Latria *is anſwerable.*

1. SEing as well prayers in the firſt place directed unto Saints, as theſe which they tender immediately unto God upon Saints dayes, are offered up in honour of the Saints, in the ſame place wherein, and with the ſame external ſigns of obſervance wherewith they ſolemnly worſhip God: what note of difference have they left to diſtinguiſh themſelves from groſs Idolaters? Only the internal conceipt which they have of divine excellency, as much greater then Angelical dignity. But how ſhall we know this different eſteem of God, of Chriſt and of his Saints to be truly ſeated in their hearts, without open confeſſion of the mouth, making ſome diſtinction in the ſolemn and publick profeſſion of allegiance to both? Is the *form* then of their devotion to God and Chriſt, as accurately diſtinguiſhed by any ſoveraign title from their ſupplications unto Saints, as petitions to Kings and Princes are from petitions made unto their officers? One of the moſt peculiar titles of Chriſt as Mediator, (by *Bellarmines* confeſſion) is *that* in the tenth of *John, Ego ſum oſtium, I am the door*; for from this attribute he proves him to be the only *immediate Mediator.* If *He* who is the door be the only immediate Mediator, what manner of Mediatrix muſt *ſhe* be which is the gate, the bleſſed gate by which *the righteous enter.* Did he conceive his ſecond propoſition before mentioned in

terms more wary then we were aware of; *Sancti non ſunt immediati interceſſores*, *Saints are not our immediate interceſſors*, but ſome Saintesſs may make immediate interceſſion? For ſo they pray unto the bleſſed Virgin;

* *Ave maris ſtella.*
Dei mater alma,
Atq; ſemper virgo,
Fœlix cœli porta;
Hail, ſtar of the Sea,
Gods ſweet Mother (and Mate,)
Everlaſting Virgin,
Heavens happy gate.

And yet it ſeems they make her withall the foundation or foundreſs of our faith: for ſo it followeth in the ſame hymn;

Funda nos in pace.

Yea the fountain of ſanctification, from whoſe fulneſs we receive grace for grace:

Virgo ſingularis,
Intra omnes mitis,
Nos culpis ſolutos,
Mites fac & caſtos.
Vitam præſta puram,
Iter para tutum.
Of Virgins the very prime and flour;
Whoſe breſt of meekneſs is the bower:
From guilt us free, which ſoul doth waſte;
And make, oh make us meek and chaſte.
Our lives vouchſafe firſt *to make pure;*
Next that our Journey prove ſecure.

And becauſe God is called the King of heaven and Father of mercy, who hath the iſſues of death in his hands, ſhe muſt be entitled the Mother of mercy, &c.

† || *Maria mater gratiarum,*
Mater miſericordiæ;
Tu nos ab hoſte protege,
Et horâ Mortis ſuſcipe.
Mary of grace, Mother mild,
Who haſt mercy for thy child;
Hide and ſave us from our foe,
When from bodies ſouls ſhall goe.

From this her mild and merciful temper, they hope (it ſeems) that ſhe is able to let ſome into heaven by the window, which may not be allowed to come in by the ordinary door or foregate:

Cœli fœneſtra facta es. Officium B. Mariæ, &c.

The attributes of Wiſdome, *Ecclus.* the 24. are ſung or ſaid as part of her honor; *Ab initio & ante ſecula creata ſum, & uſq; ad futurum ſeculum non deſinam, & in habitatione ſancta coram ipſo miniſtravi.* Of this ſtamp is that Hymn to the *Apoſtles*, cited by *Bellarmine* without bluſhing. *Lib. de Beatitud. Sanct. cap.* 17.

* *Quorum præcepto ſubditur,*
Salus & languor omnium;
Sanate ægros moribus,
Nos reddentes virtutibus.

* *Vide Roſarium Mariæ.*

† *Vid. Delri. l.* 4. *c.* 1. *q.* 2. *ſ.* 2. *Bellar. lib.* 1. *de Sanctor. beatit. c.* 17.

|| *Concipitur & Deiparam Virginem ut ſponſam, evaſuram fuiſſe ſummi patris, cum illi ediderit unigenitum: nec non matrem futuram veræ vitæ, & per hoc longè melioris quàm Heva: quandoquidem ſicut Adamus ita & Heva, in animam eſt ficta viventem: at Maria ſicut & Chriſtus, in ſpiritum eſt electa vivificantem. Unde & mater, nedum dicitur, vitæ, ſed gratiæ & dilectionis pulchræ: ſicut & de illâ ſacra canit Eccleſia. Jacobus Naclantus Epiſcopus Clugienſis in ſcripturæ medulla fol.* 37. *pag* 1. *b.*

* Compare theſe and the like ejaculatory hymns with the ejaculations of heathen Orators and Poets, ch. 20.

By whoſe decree all like or pine;
To ſoul-ſick Patients health reſign;
And unto Virtue us incline.

But more ſacrilegious by much is that Hymn unto S. *John*, ſo well known and ſo common, that the notes for Plain-ſong were taken out of it, (*ut, re, mi, fa, ſol, la*) which we might have juſt cauſe to miſlike did not the ſyllables ſound otherwiſe *extra dictionem* than *in dictione* they did.

Ut *queant laxis* Reſonare *fibris*,
Mira *geſtorum* Famuli *tuorum*;
Solve *peccantis* Labii *reatum*,
Sancte Johannes.
That with free hearts thy ſervants may,
Thy wondrous Acts and praiſe diſplay;
From ſinful lips guilt take away,
O Holy Saint John.

Vid. Putean. in Mod. Pallade.

Did not ſuch as firſt conceived or commonly uſed this ſong, intend to honor S. *John* with the beſt kind of worſhip that was in their breaſts, when they deſire their hearts and ſouls may be purified, to the end they might more clearly ſound forth his praiſe? Could the ſweet Singer of *Iſrael* have conſecrated his beſt devotions in more ſolemn ſort unto God, then theſe words imply? In as much as we never read that S. *John* did either ſend down fire from Heaven, or cauſe the mouths of theſe Prieſts of *Bell* to be ſtopt with hair and pitch; this is to me, and will be unto the unpartial Reader, a better argument that this bleſſed Saint did never hear thoſe or like prayers directed unto him; than the *Romiſh* Church ſhall be able to bring, *That Saints deceaſed are* (ordinarily) *acquainted with mens petitions or deſires in particular.* Yet unto all theſe and many like we muſt expect no anſwer but one: but that we may well expect ſhould be a ſound *one* and worthy the noting: *Eſt ergò notandum cum dicimus non deberepeti à ſanctis, niſi ut orent pro nobis, nos non agere de verbis ſed de ſenſu verborum. It is to be noted* (ſaith * *Bellermine*) *that when we affirm, it is not lawful to requeſt any more of the Saints, than that they would pray for us, our meaning is not to be tryed by the words which we uſe; but by the ſenſe and meaning of them.*

* Bellar. l. 1. de Sanctor. beat. cap. 17.

2. They think they may ſafely uſe theſe forms of words; *Saint Peter have mercy on me, ſave me, open me the gate of heaven, give me health of body, patience, virtue, &c:* ſo they make this mental or tacite conſtruction, *ſave me, or give me this or that by thy prayers, by thy merits.* Are theſe the bleſſings then which they crave by *his* merits? If ſo, what need is there to pray to God for them? For, if they be his by right of purchaſe, he may diſpoſe of his own at his pleaſure. But what warrant have they for this form of prayer? † *Nazianzene* ſo ſpeaks in his funeral Oration for S. *Cyprian*; and ſo doth the univerſal Church in the hymns to the bleſſed *Virgin*. The more univerſal the practiſe hath been, the more univerſal ſhould the reformation be. For albeit every *Romaniſt* which uſeth the fore-mentioned prayers, ſhould uſe withall that *mental expreſſion* or tacite reſervation of his own meaning (which *Bellarmine* commends unto him as an Antidote) to the Saints and himſelf: yet for all this, he ſhould truly and really diſhonor God by verbally honoring the Saints with His glorious Attributes. Yea the denial of real honor to the Saints fully anſwerable to the *titles*, which he gives them, muſt needs be as true and real a mockery of them, as it would be to a Baron or Gentleman, if their Inferiors ſhould thus petition the one; *I beſeech your Majeſty or Excellency*, that is, *your Lordſhip or*

† Bellar. ibid.

or Honour to hear me; or thus ſalute the other, *God bleſs your Honour, meaning your Worſhip.*

3. But is it credible that either *Nazianzene*, or the *Romiſh* Church took that ſpeech of S. *Paul* for their pattern, which *Jeſuits* now uſe (*poſt factum*) for their defence. *Paul* ſaith of himſelf that *he ſaved ſome*, not as God, but by his miniſtry of preaching and praying. Where ſaith *Paul* ſo? *Rom.* 11. *verſe.* 13, 14. *I ſpeak to you Gentiles in as much as I am the Apoſtle of the Gentiles; I magnifie my office, if by any means I may provoke to emulation them which are my fleſh, and might ſave ſome of them:* and 1 *Cor.* 9. *I am made all things to all men, that I might at leaſt ſave ſome.* Durſt *Bellarmine* or any of the *Romiſh* Church have ſung the former hymn in ſolemn ſervice unto S. *Paul*, or have enſtiled him *Saviour* in theſe devotions and religious prayers; upon this warrant of his own words? To have entitled him *Saviour*, much more to have prayed unto him for ſaving-health, had been a great deal more in ordinary conſtruction, than to have ſaid *I am Pauls*, though that in his doctrin were to divide Chriſt. The firſt ſound of ſuch ſacrilegious congratulations in his ears, would have rent his heart, and made him tear his clothes with greater indignation, that he did at the *Lycaonians* idolatrous behaviour towards him when they took him for *Jupiter*. He had ſeen as plentiful fruits of his Apoſtolical function, as any other had done. Yet all he aſcribed or would permit to be aſcribed unto himſelf, was pain and travail; he was σύνεργος τῷ θεῷ, *a co-worker with God*, who in the efficacy or encreaſe (to whoſe *doner* the worſhip of invocation is only due) could have no ſharer. In reſpect of theſe neither was the external work, nor the viſible workman any thing.

1 Cor. 9. v. 12.

4. But be it granted, for diſputations ſake, that the title of miniſterial or ſecondary *Saviour*, might well have become S. *Paul*, whilſt be travailed in the Goſpel: yet ſeeing the chief means he uſed for others ſafety, was ſubmiſſion of his high calling to their frailty, and ſymbolizing with their weakneſs; the excellency of his miniſterial function or Apoſtolical power, did not enlarge it ſelf but rather expire by his diſſolution. The ground of this our Aſſertion is ſo firmly laid by our Apoſtle himſelf, that, whiles the world ſtands, it ſhall never be ſhaken by any aſſault the *Romiſh* Church can make againſt it: nor ſhall any diſtinction which the *Jeſuits* can frame, be ever able to undermine the Concluſion which we ground upon it. Thus we argue: Had S. *Pauls* favour with God been ſo mightily improved by death, as they contend, and his affectionate notice of his followers neceſſities continued the ſame or greater; His ſpeedy diſſolution or departure to Chriſt had been as expedient for the Churches which he planted, as for himſelf. For ſo (to uſe the *Romiſh* language) they might have had a patron in the Court of Heaven, the unceſſant interceſſion of whoſe effectual prayers might have procured pardon for their ſins, and plenty of teachers to *water* what *he* had *planted*. But S. *Paul* hath expreſly ſaid it, and we muſt undoubtedly believe it, that *to live for ever to make interceſſion for us*, is the eſſential prerogative of the unchangeable Prieſthood, the peculiar title of the everlaſting Prieſt. *It was expedient for his diſciples that he ſhould leave them and go to his Father, otherwiſe that Comforter would not have come unto them.* But it never was expedient for any Church or Congregation, to be deprived of their godly and faithful Paſtors bodily preſence. The only reaſon of this diverſity is, becauſe Chriſt lives for ever, and hath an everlaſting Prieſthood; whereas Saints and godly men which are departed this life, although they ſtill live

Heb. 7. v. 25.

Joh. 16. v. 7.

live unto God, are, (touching interceſſion or other acts of their miniſterial function) dead to us. Upon theſe advantages we may here conſtrain Cardinal *Bellarmine* either to call in his unanſwerable argument (as he enſtiles it) or to admit of that anſwer to it, which our Writers have given: *Why the invocation of Saints ſhould be unlawful or unprofitable, no other reaſon can be alledged but either becauſe they cannot hear the prayers which we make unto them, or will not pray as heartily to God for us, as they did when they lived, or are not in ſuch favour with God to obtain what they ask. Bellar. l. 1. de Sanctorum beatitud. cap. 19.* I only reply; if Saints deceaſed can both hear our prayers, and be ſooner heard of God for our good, which (as our Adverſaries ſuppoſe) they ſtill tender in particular ſo much the more then living here they did, as their charity is encreaſed: it is expedient for the Church militant that the godlieſt and beſt Miniſters dy the ſooneſt, and the faſteſt. For ſo of ordinary Paſtors they may become more than Apoſtles, able to hear the prayers and undertake the patronage of many thouſands, with whom they could neither have commerce or conference while they lived in the fleſh.

5. How utterly theſe men evacuate the eternity of Chriſts Prieſt-hood as well by continuing a ſucceſſive multiplcity of ſacrificers to reiterate his everlaſting ſacrifice here on earth, as by joyning other everlaſting interceſſors with him, as his aſſiſtants in heaven, is an argument more directly pertinent to ſome Articles following in the Creed. My preſent obſervations muſt be limited by the references to the main concluſion intended. [*That the Romiſh Church in her publick Liturgy, doth often give the realty of Chriſts ſoveraign titles, ſometimes the very titles themſelves unto Saints, ſometimes leaving not ſo great difference between the divine Majeſty or glorious Trinity and other cœleſtial inhabitants, as the Heathens did betwixt their greater and leſſer Gods, or as we do between ordinary Princes and their ſubjects.*] *Tyburn* or *Bedlam* would quickly take order with him, that would *ſeek*, or ſuffer an act of the prerogative royal (as granting of pardons, creation of Barons, calling of Parliaments) to paſs joyntly in the name of the Kings Majeſty, of the Queens or Princes, and in the name of all the officers of the Court and Commonwealth, deſcending as low as Bayliffs, Conſtables, Church-wardens, and Tythingmen. And the Pope would take it as an heretical diminution of his plenary power, if every Biſhop ſhould receive his Pall, every *ſinner* his *indulgence*, every ſoul in Purgatory her diſmiſſion, in his *Holines* name, and in the name of all his *Cardinals*, *Biſhops*, *Prieſts*, and *Deacons*. Yet in the tranſlation of a Chriſtian ſoul from this life to a better; after they have directed their ſupplications to all the ſeveral orders of Saints for their interceſſion with God; in the very agony of death they draw their ſafe conducts in this form; "*Depart out of this* "*world in the name of God the Father Almighty, who hath created thee;* "*in the name of Jeſus Chriſt the ſon of God, who ſuffered for thee; in the* "*name of the holy Ghoſt, who was powred forth upon thee; in the name of* "*Angels and Archangels; in the name of thrones and dominations; in the* "*name of principalities & powers; in the name of Cherubims and Seraphims;* "*in the name of Patriarcks and Prophets; in the name of holy Apoſtles and* "*Evangeliſts; in the name of holy Martyrs and Confeſſors; in the name* "*of holy Monks and Eremites; in the name of Virgins, and of all Gods* "*Saints and Sainteſſes. This day let thy ſoul be in peace and thy habitation* "*in holy Sion.* If thus they pray with their lips only, they mock God as well as the Saints. If thus they pray with internal affection of heart and ſpirit, they really worſhip Saints with the ſelf ſame honour, where-

Breviarium Roman. de ordine commendationis animæ Deo.

with they honour God. Nor is it credible, they do intend, or poſſible (though intended) they ſhould in one and the ſame prayer or continued ſupplication, produce the like change in the affections of their heart and ſpirit, as an Organiſt doth in Muſick by changing the *ſtops*. Or though they could produce the like change in every ſeveral ejaculation, yet the *honour* wherewith they *honour* God and the Saints, ſhould continue ſtill of the ſame kind, and differ only in degree or modulation. Or might they not with leſs impiety admit a Chriſtian ſoul into the Church militant, than tranſlate it into the Church triumphant in other names beſides the Trinity? They might better baptize them, only in the name of God the Father, and of S. *Francis*, S. *Bennet*, and S. *Dominick*, *&c.* without any mention of *God the Son and holy Ghoſt*, rather than joyn theſe as commiſoners with them, in diſmiſſing ſouls out of their bodies. To cenſure this part of their Liturgy as it deſerves, it is no prayer but a charm, conceived out of the dregs and reliques of Heatheniſh Idolatry, which cannot be brought forth but in blaſphemy, nor be applyed to any ſick ſoul without ſorcery.

CHAP. XXIX.

Proving by manifeſt inſtances and confeſſed matters of fact, that the Romiſh Church doth really exhibit divers parts of that honour or worſhip unto Saints, which by her confeſſion is only due unto God. That her nice diſtinctions of Dulia *and* Latria, *or the like, argue no difference at all in the reallity or ſubſtance of the Worſhip, but (at the moſt) divers reſpects of one and the ſame Worſhip.*

1. THe more upon theſe occaſions I look into the *Roman Liturgy*, the more I am enforſt to commend the Heathen Philoſophers ingenuous reply to *Anaxarchus* ſophiſtical allegations, for honouring *Alexander* as a God.* *I for my part* (ſaith *Calliſthenes*) *do not think* Alexander *unworthy of any honor which is convenient to be given to men. But the differences betwixt Honor human and divine are determined, as by many other things, ſo by the building of Temples, by the erection of Statues. We conſecrate ſhrines and offer ſacrifice and incenſe to the Gods: unto the ſame Gods Hymns are due, as praiſes are to men. But the honor due to the Gods is ſpecially differenced by the manner of adoration. Men are greeted with kiſſes; but the Gods are ſaluted with adoration, being placed ſo high that we may not touch them. Unto the Gods likewiſe we expreſs our joyful thanksgiving in ſolemn dances and ſongs. And no marvel, if the honor which we give to Gods be diſtinguiſhed from the honor which we give to men: ſeeing divers kinds of honors are allotted to divers Gods. The honor given to Heroicks deceaſed differeth from honour truly divine. It is therefore unfitting to confound theſe; unfitting to extol men by laviſh honor above human ſtate, or to coarctate the Gods unto a ſtate unfitting their dignity, or to worſhip them after the ſame manner as we do men. Nor could* Alexander *himſelf be well pleaſed, if a private man ſhould uſurpe royal titles by election, or unlawful ſuffrages. Much more juſtly will the Gods be moved with indignation, if any mortal man ſhall either arrogantly affect, or willingly accept divine honors, though proffered by others.*

* *Equidem Anaxarche, Alexandrum nullo plane honore, qui quidem hominibus conveniat, indignum eſſe cenſeo. Cæterum ſtatuta ſunt inter homines divini & humani honoris diſcrimina; cùm multis aliis rebus tùm Templorum ex ædificatione, & ſtatuarum erectione. Diis enim delubra conſecramus, iiſq; ſacra facimus & libamus. Rurſus hymni deorum ſunt, laudes hominum ſed non cum adoratione conjunctæ,* The Greek is, *(ſed præcipue adorationis ritu.) Hominibus ſiquidem à ſalutantibus oſcula dantur; eos verò edito loco poſitos ne contingi quidem fas eſt, ideo adoratione coluntur. Tripudia etiam ſalutationeſq; diis fiunt & pæanes cantantur. Neq; vero mirum id eſt, quum ex diis alii aliis honores tribuantur, & quidem heroibus alii etiam ipſi à divinis honoribus diverſi. Non eſt igitur conſentaneum hæc omnia inter ſe confundere, neq; hominem nimiis honoribus ſupra humanum modum extollere, & deos ad ſtatum ab illorum dignitate alienum redigere, ut nimirum eodem quo homines cultu colantur. Neque enim pateretur Alexander privatum aliquem regios honores electione ſuffragiiſq; illegitimis uſurpare. Multo itaq; juſtius deos indignaturos, ſi quis mortalium divinos honores ſibi arroget, aut ab aliis delatos ſuſtineat.* Arrianus de Expedit. Alexandri, l. 4. pag. 86.

2. Yet thinks the *Romaniſt* either God will not be angry, or elſe his anger may be quickly appeaſed with the mental conception of former diſtinctions never uttered. Albeit they make the Virgin *Mary Queen of Heaven and mother of mercy*, and beſtow his other beſt titles (in hymnes or ſolemne ſervice) upon the Saints: it muſt ſuffice him that ſome few other parts of divine honour mentioned by this Heathen, as offering of ſacrifice, erection of Temples and Altars, are reſerved only to his Majeſty. Theſe by their own confeſſion, are proper acts of that religious worſhip, which may not be communicated to any Saint or Angel; and ſo are vowes conceived in ſolemn and legal form. Let us ſee then how well their practiſes ſuite with their ſpeculations in theſe points, and what need the devotions of vulgar beaſts have of ſublimated brains to preſerve them from the poyſon of damnable and more than Heatheniſh Idolatry. If I ſhould ask one of them, What ſervice is this you celebrate to day? Whoſe Church is this wherein you celebrate it? they would make no ſcruple to ſay the one was S. *Peters* Church, the other his Maſs. If both Church and *Maſs* do bear his *name*, and be conſecrated to his *honour*, may they not offer that unto S. *Peter* which is S. *Peters*; and preſent him with a ſacrifice upon that Alter which bears his Image and ſuperſcription? No they may not offer a ſacrifice, ſave only to God. But they may offer it unto God in honour of S *Peter*; or in teſtimony that S. *Peter* is the Patron of that place, or of ſuch as in it ſupplicate unto him, or in token of their deſire that his interceſſion for them might be accepted.

3. Or to gather the reſolutions into ſuch diſtinct tearms, as yonger or weaker capacities may ſtrike at their *errors* without injury to the truth which they would make us believe doth underprop them: *Deus eſt unicus terminus, non unicus finis ſacrificii oblati*; *God is the only party to whom the ſacrifice is offered or ſolemnly preſented, not the only party whoſe honour is by the offering or ſolemnity intended.* They have as true an intention to honour S. *Peter* as to honour God, though in a lower degree; and (for any conſtruction I can make of their aſſertions) S. *Peters* honour though in it ſelf leſs, is notwithſtanding more ſpecially and principally intended. So that by offering ſacrifice unto God only, we may in ſome reſpects grant they honour God more than S. *Peter*, in *others* we muſt accuſe them for honouring S. *Peter* more than God. For illuſtrating this collection, I will alter only the matter and perſons, not a whit of the form of the Action or order of intention. The caſe is the ſame, as if ſome great Family or Corporation ſhould tender the King a royal preſent in moſt ſubmiſſive and loyal manner, but petition withall to have ſome favorite, whom they moſt affect made Baron or Governor and Fee-farmer of the City or Territories which under his Majeſty they inhabite, reſerving all rents and ſervices, anciently due out of the lands, unto the Crown; or ready, if need were, a little to raiſe them. A wiſe King in this caſe would need no ſpectacles to diſcern the true reaſon of their profeſſing more than ordinary loyalty to his Highneſs, at this time and place, to have been their extraordinary affection unto the party whoſe *honour* they ſought for their own patronage; unto whoſe coffers more gain were likely to accrew for the *propriety* of the revenews granted, than could come to the Chequer from the Fee-farm or *Royalty*. And the *Romaniſts* (I am perſwaded) would be more ready to deride our ſimplicity than to commend our charity, if we could not ſuſpect that S. *Peter* in *Rome*, S. *Dennis* in *Paris*, S. *James* in *Compoſtella*, the Lady *Mary* in *Loretto*, or other worſe deſerving Saints in the

places whereof they are Patrons, in the Churches and Temples dedicated to their memorie, did not gain a greater portion of the peoples hearts, and a truer propriety in their devotions,under the title of *Dulia*, then is reſerved forthe great King, under the title of *Latria*. If then we conſider not the phyſical *form* of the ſacrafice only, but the end and circumſtances of the whole ſervice, they honour God with greater titles of Religion, but with leſs *realty* of Religious Reſpect or affection, then they do thoſe Saints, whom they conceive as their immediate Lords, their peculiar Patrons or eſpecial Benefactors. As for the *Son* of God, ſeeing they make him the matter of the offering wherewith they hope to induce his Father to grace the Saints,(by granting immunity unto themſelves under their patronage and protection) they no way honour, but (as much as in them lies) diſdignifie him in ſuch ſolemnities.The indignity offered by them unto Chriſt,though for its meaſure much leſs, is in proportion much what the ſame, as if a ſawcie petitioner or diſhoneſt ſupplicant, ſhould ſeek to work the King to grant his petition for his own gain and his friends honour, by preſenting his Majeſty with rareſt jewels of the Prince his only Son, without his expreſs conſent, or upon preſumptuous hopes of his preſumed approbation.

4. But let us take their confeſſion concerning the other points propoſed in their own language. We demand, whether S. *Peter* have no better intereſt in the Churches and Alters that bear his name, of which his image hath taken poſſeſſion, than he hath in the ſervice that is celebrated in the one, or in the ſacrifice that is offered up on the other? Here ſuch as joyn hands and hearts in the repairing of the new *Babel*, are ſomewhat divided in their language. Some grant the tenor of his intereſt to be one and the ſame in both, and therefore make the ſame plea they did before, [That one Church is called *S. Peters*, another S. *Maries*, admits (in their doctrine) this expoſition; *Both are dedicated unto God, but the one in the name and memory of S.* Peter, *the other of S.* Mary: or they are dedicated unto God, *to the end that they may uſe the interceſſion of S.* Peter *or S.* Mary *in that place*]. *As the Maſs is called S.* Peters *maſs, not that the ſacrifice is offered unto him, but unto God, by way of thankſgiving for the grace beſtowed on S.* Peter, *and* Peter *withall may be there prayed unto as their Patron and Advocate with God* *. This ſaith *Bellarmine*, is a godly expoſition and conformable to the rites which the Church obſerves in the conſecration of Temples. For ſometimes the Biſhop, amongſt the prayers belonging to ſuch ſolemnities, profeſſeth that he conſecrateth the Temple *in honorem Dei, & nomen talis, vel talis Sancti*; *to the honor of God and name of ſuch a Saint*: but directly to God *under the title of Latria, to the memory of the Saint under the title of Dulia.* But *Bellarmine* foreſaw,that their practiſe and form of conſecration,well examined might be enforc'd to confeſs more then this expoſition implies; and upon this foreſight hath framed another more wary plea to our inditement: for whoſe better ſucceſs he had conceived his fourth propoſition concerning the right uſe or end of building Temples in theſe tearms; *Sacræ domus non ſolum Deo ſed etiam Sanctis, &c. Sacred palaces or religious houſes may be lawfnlly built and dedicated not only to God but unto Saints.* To bring in this concluſion in due place and order,not Fathers and Councells only but holy Scriptures alſo muſt be wreſted to countenance blaſphemy; and blaſphemy (having put on an impudent face upon preſumption of their warrant) muſt *man* in ſuch heatheniſh Idolatry,as not ſo guarded would bluſh or be affraid to appear amongſt

Chriſtian

* *Bellar. l.3. de beatitud. Sanct. cap. 4.*

Chriſtian ſpectators. *Solomons* Temple (ſaith he) was erected not only to be an houſe of prayer or of ſacrifices, but to be withall an habitation for the Ark, as *Davids* intendment (1 *Chron.* 17. *Pſal.* 132.) and *Solomons* accompliſhing of it (2 *Chron.* 5. *cap:*) *bare manifeſt record.* This being proved which no man denyeth, he thus aſſumes: *The ſame or greater honour is due to the ſacred reliques of Chriſt and his Saints, than unto the Moſaical Ark. Ergo, it is as lawful to erect a Temple over the ſepulcher of Chriſt, as over the Ark: and if over the ſepulcher of Chriſt, then over the ſepulcher of the Saints: for there is one and the ſame reaſon in all*: they differ only *ſecundum magis & minus. He adds withall, (leſt the people ſhould be too ſcrupelous) that under the name of ſacred reliques he comprehends not only the bones or garments of Saints, but the places where they ſuffered, where they dwelt, or did any famous act; as S.* Cyprian *had two ſacred* houſes *erected to him, one where he ſuffered, another where his body lay. Nay ſuch houſes may be erected to Saints in any place; only to preſerve or inlarge their fame or memory, by retaining their Images or names, to the intent that ſuch as enter into them being put in mind of their duty by the image, or known name of the Temple, may remember Saint* Peter,&c. *and worſhip him in that place as their patron, and pray to him.*

5. He hath brought the point to this iſſue for us; Temples may not be erected to any beſides God *formaliter*, they may be erected to Saints *materialiter*; that is, one and the ſelf ſame *ſacred houſe*, which is a true Temple, and wherein ſacrifices are offered up to God; may be erected in honour of this or that Saint, but not as it is a Temple. How then? As it is a *ſacred ſeat* or *receptacle* of the Saints body, or as a monument of his fame: as (that he may juſtifie one impiety by another) one and the ſame ſtone is both an Altar and a Tomb ſtone, or Sepulcher; an Altar in as much as they offer ſacrifice upon it unto God, a *Tomb-ſtone* or *Sepulcher* in as much as it covers the body of ſome Martyr. For (as he tells us for our learning) all Altars are Sepulchers or Tomb-ſtones of Saints. His final reſolution is, [*As the ſame ſtone is rightly dedicated to this or that Saint, not in conſideration that it is an Altar, but in conſideration that it is a Sepulcher: ſo the ſame houſe, which is a Temple, is truly dedicated to the Saint;* non ſub ratione Templi, ſed ſub ratione Baſilicæ (*not as a Temple but as a ſacred Palace, for the Saint to reſt or to be worſhipped in*). *Now, as it would be plain Idolatry to erect Altars to Saints, but no Idolatry to erect the ſame* ſtones *unto them which are Altars: ſo it would be Idolatry to erect Temples to Saints, under this reſpect, that they are Temples; but no Idolatry to erect the ſame* houſes *unto them, which are Temples, not as they are Temples, but as they are* ſacred palaces]. Did the Maſons or Carpenters, or ſuch as ſet them a-work about a thouſand year agoe, either lay the foundation, raiſe the Walls, or put on the roofs of Temples, which they built to Saints, by the rule of this diſtinction? if they did not, they committed groſs Idolatry. And, for ought I can gather from *Bellarmines* Apology, he makes no ſcruple to confeſs that Roman Catholiques do ſtill commit Idolatry; all his care is to avert the imputation of committing this foul ſin *quatenus ipſum*, or *formally*, as it is Idolatry, that is, of polluting their ſoules with it by art and method, or of begetting it by expreſs conceit of it's eſſential difference; with which none but the School men have eſpecial acquaintance. Nor will I (for mine own part) charge them thus deeply, for dedicating Temples unto Saints: it ſufficeth me to prove, that they are in this point

plain down-right Idolaters. But I would gladly in the next place, be reſolved how they can acquit themſelves from the imputation of committing Idolatry *quatenus Idolatry*, in *ſolemnizing Vows* to Saints.

CHAP. XXX.

Solemn Vows are by confeſſion of the Romiſh Church, parts of that worſhip, which her Advocates call Latria. *The Romiſh Church doth worſhip Saints with ſolemn vows, not by accident only, but by direct intendment.*

1. IT was a received doctrine in *Aquinas* his time, that Vowes were part of divine Worſhip, or *cultus latriæ.* And whereas their cuſtom of vowing obedience unto Governors, might ſeem to impeach them of giving that to men which belonged only to God: He divides vowes into their *matter* and *form*; bequeathing the *former* part to glorified Saints and living men, the *latter* only to God. This arbitrement *betwixt God and living men* (though ſuch as the Harlot, before *Solomon*, did plead for) likes * *Bellarmin* very well, becauſe in vowing obedience to Prelates or Governors, men intend not to honour them but God. *On the contrary, he that vows a* faſt *or* pilgrimage *unto Saints; intends directly to honour them with religious worſhip. Unto this part of* Aquinas *his abitrement*, Bellarmine *will not ſubſcribe. Becauſe* Caietan *before him had condemned* Aquinas *his reſolution out of the mouthes of preaching Fryars.* For they, whilſt they profeſs or promiſe the material part of their vow to men, tender the formal parts as directly to Saints as unto God. *I vow to God, to S.* Mary, *and all the Saints, that I will faithfully obey my Governour. Caietans* anſwer to the difficulty propoſed, is ſo ſlight that it ſeemeth he cared not much, if there had been no practitioners in this kind, or that their practiſe might want Patrons. Somewhat notwithſtanding he was to ſay for faſhion ſake. But his diſtinction is ſo acute, that indeed he denies any vowes or promiſes to be truly made unto Saints; as they are reaſonable creatures, or for their internal excellency.

* *Lib. 3. cap. 9. de cultu Sanctorum.*

2. *Bellarmine* to avoid this ſcandal; avoucheth it as a general agreement amongſt all *Catholiques*, that they make promiſes as directly and truly unto Saints as unto God. For if it be lawful to build ſacred Palaces, to erect Sepulchers, and burn Lamps before them, why ſhould it not be as lawful to make ſolemn promiſes unto them? Thus one impiety being allowed and admitted into their Church, muſt in charity approve another. Now every promiſe that is made to God or Saints deceaſed, is a formal vow, as he very well declares; nor can the Church, by his acknowledgment, make the ſame plea in this caſe as in the former, that their vowes are directed only unto God, though in memory and honour of the Saints; for they are terminated jointly and directly unto God, and to the Saints. Here (methinks) they ſhould invoke the aid of ſome Saint or other, to untie this knot, which he vainly thinks will untie it ſelf, by the former diſtinction. *The promiſe (ſaith he) is indeed one and the ſame, but is not made after one and the ſame manner: They bind themſelves unto God, in token of their thankfulneſs towards him as the fountain of all good, and in recognition of bleſſings received from him, as from the firſt author of all things. And, by this apprehenſion or recognition, ſolemn promiſes made to him become* cultus latriæ, *proper acts of* divine worſhip. *But they bind themſelves unto Saints only in ſign of their thank-*

fulneſs towards them, as Mediators or Interceſſors by whoſe favour they receive bleſſings from God; and this acknowledgment of their ſubordination unto God, *makes the ſame vow or ſolemn promiſe unto them, to be but* cultus duliæ. But the queſtion was, whether ſolemn vows be not eſſential parts of *latriæ*, and if ſuch they be (as moſt of their Church do hold them to be:) no mental reſpect or conſideration of ſuch as make, allow, or authorize them, can transform them into *Cultus duliæ*. Beſides; the diſtinction is naught: this great Champion did either evidently miſapply it to this difficulty, or elſe did much amiſs, in not applying it to the former. For might he not as well have ſaid; *They erected Temples or offered ſacrifice to Saints in ſign of thankfulneſs to them*, as Mediators or Interceſſors; but unto God only as to the firſt fountain of bleſſings received.

3. *It is confeſſed by our adverſaries that the name of* Vow *in ſacred writ or dialect, alwayes imports a promiſe made to God, and yet they think it no Idolatry to perform that religious ſervice unto Saints which the holy Spirit hath appropriated unto God; becauſe the Canon of* Scripture *was accompliſhed before the Cuſtome of vowing unto Saints begun*, (or rather the authority of it was abandoned by introduction of this cuſtome, if not before.) This reply ſeems to inſinuate, that if Gods Spirit had committed ought to writing ſince vows were enacted, as parts of religious worſhip due unto Saints deceaſed, *He* would have fitted his language to their cuſtome. However, this anſwer takes but a part of our objection, though more by much than this *Goliah* was able to deal with. For we argue not only from the uſe of the *word* in Scripture, but from the reaſon, why it is ſo uſed. Now the reaſon why vows in Scripture are appropriated unto God, is becauſe they are a more immediate and eſpecial part of his worſhip than ſacrifices are. He that offered legal ſacrifices of his Cattel or of the fruits of the earth, did thereby teſtifie his gratitude unto God, as unto the ſupream Owner of theſe, and ſole author of all other bleſſings: and as unto him *which gave man power to gather ſubſtance.* But he that vowed unto the Lord, did acknowledg him to be the ſearcher of the heart, the juſt avenger of perfidious negligence; the bountiful rewarder of fidelity, and diligence in his ſervice. Hence it was, that legal ſacrifices, were ofttimes the matter of religious vows. The form of religious worſhip or ſervice and the immediate end of ſuch ſacrifices, was performance of the vows; whoſe neglect plenty of ſacrifices could not recompence. But fidelity in performance of what was lawfully vowed, did pleaſe God without the offering of ſacrifice. And whether the vow were conceived out of gratitude unto God for benefits paſt, or out of ſorrow for ſin, or former ingratitude: the religious obſervance of it was a true part of that *living ſacrifice* or *reaſonable ſervice*, which our Apoſtle requires at our hands, as the pattern or prototypon of Levitical offerings. May we then offer any part of our reaſonable ſervice to any other beſides God, unto whom only his people were to offer legal ſacrifices? The apprehenſion of greater excellency in God than in the Saints, can no more alter the *nature* of the *ſervice*, than the different titles of the King and his Nobles do alter the nature of the debt or tenor of the obligation, wherein we ſtand bound to *him* and *them* joyntly. Now *Romiſh Votaries* bind themſelves by one and the ſame ſolemn act to God & the Saints *joyntly*. And is it poſſible that the performance of one and the ſame act, ſhould be *Dulia* in reſpect of the one, and *Latria* in reſpect of the other? Rather, as ſometimes it falls out, that one of meaneſt place may

See Pſal. 50. v. 7. &c. and the 14.

Rom. 12. v. 1.

may be principal creditor in bonds *joyntly* made to him and others, ſo in ſome caſes, as in vows of Virginity ſolemnly made to God, and to the bleſſed Virgin joyntly; of pilgrimage to Saints (whom they conceive as ſpecial patrons of thoſe places) the Saints ſhall have the principal intereſt in the *Votaries* affections.

4. The * Fathers in the ſecond *Nicene* Councel, and others more ancient whoſe authority they pretended for eſtabliſhing that abominable decree (as one of our Hiſtorians many years before *Luther* was born, doth cenſure it;) concerning Image-worſhip, did divide Adoration into two parts, external and internal.

1. The external (as they deſcribe it by note of ſubmiſſion or emphatical expreſſion of affection) they did aſſign unto Images.

2. The internal adoration or adoration in ſpirit, which they call *Latria*, they appropriated unto God. And of this internal adoration or *Latria*, they make interceſſion or nuncupation of vows eſſential parts. But *Bellarmine* after he had proved by authority and reaſon, that ſolemn vows are parts of *Latria*, and after he had given it us for granted by their whole Church, that the worſhip of *Latria* is proper only unto God; finally attempts to ſhare this worſhip of *Latria* (which is a great deal more indiviſible than was our Saviours garment) between God and his Saints. But ſooner ſhall the *Jeſuits* be able to teach an Art of dividing indiviſibilities, or of ſetting unity at variance with it ſelf, than to juſtifie this *diviſion*, or *ſharing* of vows betwixt God and his Saints. We ſhall be ready to juſtifie and maintain theſe inferences againſt them (if need ſhall require, or occaſion be offered) by logical remonſtrance. If the worſhip of *Latria*, and in particular the nuncupation of vows be proper only unto God, than he or they, or whoſoever they be, every perſon to whom *Latria* or nuncupation of vows is ſolemnly tendred (either alone or joyntly unto God) is a God in their eſteem that ſo tender or make them. But the *Roman Catholick* doth directly and ſolemnly offer his vows to S. *Dominick*, S. *Francis*, and S. *Bennet*, &c. Therefore S. *Dominick* in his divinity is a God, S. *Francis* a God, S. *Bennet* a God; ſo is every Saint to whom he makes his vows joyntly with God. To ſay they acknowledge the three perſons in the bleſſed Trinity to be a greater God than all or any of theſe perſons mentioned, as it cannot excuſe them from Idolatry, though it were true: ſo neither can it in their divinity be abſolutely true, but only in part. It is true in reſpect of the apprehenſion or eſteem of divine powers, which is ſeated only in the brain, untrue in reſpect of the eſteem or religious reſpect of divine powers, which is ſeated in the heart or affection.

* *Subdit ſtatim Tharaſius ex Anaſtaſio rationem.* Quid enim aliud eſt, quam honoris alicui exhibiti veluti emphaſis, adoratio? Latria vero nequaquam. *ac ſi dicat, ideò Adorare licet, quia adoratio eſt emphaſis, hoc eſt ſymbolum & ſignum interioris cultus, & ſubmiſſionis; & tale ſignum imaginibus præberi poteſt: Latriam vero tribuere nequaquam licet. Nam cum hæc ſit ſervitus in ſpiritu, & non in ſolo ſigno conſiſtat, imagini ſoli quæ non ſentit, non poteſt exhiberi. Subjungit;* Neq; etiam licebit προσεύχεσθαι *(nempe imagines) quod eſt propriè Deum adorare. Verbum enim* προσεύχω *deprecari, vota nuncupare, vel peragere ſignificat: quod ſoli Deo fieri poteſt.* Vaſquez lib. 2. de Adoratione. Diſput. 8. c. 12. num. 368.

CHAP. XXXI.

That the apprehenſion of different excellencies in God and the Saints deceaſed, cannot prevent the contagion which mens ſouls are naturally apt to take, by making ſolemn prayers and vows joyntly to God and to the Saints.

1. Religion, as *Bellarmine* well obſerveth, conſiſteth not in the apprehenſion or ſpeculative acknowledgment of *excellency* in the party worſhiped, but in the inclination of the will or affection. The former is, as the *warrant*, the latter as the *execution*. And as ſentence may be often given, but not executed; ſo may this apprehenſion be in the underſtanding without the inclination of the will or affection; as greateſt

ſchool-men have not been always devouteſt Saints. Or again, as many things are *acted* upon preſumption of ſome cuſtome, without juſt or expreſs warrant of law; ſo the inclination of the will (in which the nature of religious worſhip in their divinity conſiſts) doth often prevent the diſtinct or right apprehenſion of the underſtanding; as many things are often moſt affected, ſometime or other by all of us, which the underſtanding ſeaſonably conſulted, would not eſteem the worthieſt of our beſt affection. And is there any likelihood that he, which conceives a vow in one and the ſame thought, and profeſſeth it with one and the ſame breath, *joyntly* to God, to the bleſſed Virgin, and to other Saints, ſhould ſcholaſtically diſtinguiſh their ſeveral excellencies or proper titles, and proportion the degrees of ſeveral worſhips to them? The very terms whereby they expreſs them as *Latria, Dulia, Hyperdulia*, argue only difference in the apprehenſion of the object; no diverſity of internal habits or graces in the heart; much leſs diverſe inclinations of the will, or elevations of the mind and ſpirit, wherein religious worſhip doth conſiſt. Or admit the apprehenſion of Gods excellencies and the Saints were always expreſs and diſtinct, and had ſeveral degrees or ranks of internal affection, exactly proportioned unto them, and expreſly intended in the *conception* or firſt profeſſion of the Vow; it is no way credible, that our ſpeculative conceits or apprehenſions of the underſtanding ſhould carry their correſpondent affections ſo level and parallel in the practiſe or performance, as they ſhould not intermingle, or one *croſs* another. We ſee in other caſes of common life, wherein the danger in all likelihood is much leſs, how quickly our affections flag in purſuit of thoſe marks, whereto our ſoaring contemplations did firſt direct them. No mans heart in his firſt aym is ſet on money for it ſelf, but as it is the *viaticum* to ſome better end. And yet how rare a thing is it, to ſee a man much acquainted with this mettal, not to affect it as his God, to whoſe ſervice he conſecrates his beſt intentions? True felicity is the center whereto all our thoughts do naturally ſway, but moſt mens cogitations, are uſually drencht in the dregs of miſery and baſeneſs, being drawn awry or pulled down by the contagious filth which their ſenſes have ſucked in from too much familiarity with their natural objects.

2. And ſhall not the affectionate apprehenſion of ſuch excellency as theſe men aſcribe unto Saints whom they conceit as live ſpectators of their inward thoughts and outward carriage, get much greater attractive force, than gold or pearl can have over their ſouls; theſe being daily powred out unto them in prayers, in vows, and other inticing iſſues of devotion; Eſpecially, ſeeing their worſhip of what kind ſoever, is not intended only as a mean or paſſage to the worſhip of God, but as the mark or ſcope of that religious affection, which they call *Dulia*. Or admitting there were a twofold affection or inclination of the will (as they imagine) it were impoſſible that this inferior one which they call *Dulia* ſeizing ſo heartily upon the Saints, ſhould not interrupt the others flight towards God, and miſperſwade men that his worſhip did conſiſt in devotion towards them; as men are drawn as it were in a dream to think felicity is ſeated in thoſe means which are ſubordinate and ſubſervient to it. Finally it would ſo fall out in this caſe eſpecially, as by corruption of nature it generally doth in others: *Communia negliguntur, The common good though moſt magnified is moſt neglected:* and, *Qui multis benefacit, à nemine gratiam reportat, Publick benefactors, though their bounty extend in large meaſure to each*

particular, are leſs remembred or reſpected, than ſuch as gratifie us in our private ſuperfluous deſires, though perhaps to the prejudice of others neceſſities. Thus, howſoever the divine excellency, as well in reſpect of it ſelf, as of the benefits flowing from it to all mankind, might ſtill be moſt admired in every mans ſpeculative apprehenſion or conceit; yet in as much as he is good to all without reſpect of perſons, few or none will reſpect him ſo much in their affections, as otherwiſe they would, if ever one may have his ſuppoſed private benefactors, or the inhabitants of ſeveral places their peculiar patrons in heaven. The diſtinction of *Dulia* and *Latria*, though miniſtred faſting to ſuch as vow faſts or pilgrimages unto Saints, will not purge their hearts (eſpecially if they be rude and illiterate) from that groſs humor which *Tullie* obſerved in the *Alabandenſes*, or *Cominæus* in the Inhabitants of *Pavia*. If ſuch as builded them Cities or endowed their Churches with lands, may have their Images curiouſly wrought and adorned to be daily ſaluted with the ſame outward ſigns of ſubmiſſion which they tender unto God or Chriſt: the * Wiſemans obſervation is not out of date in reſpect of theſe latter dayes. And S. † *Auguſtine* tells us, that the erection of a ſtately Temple unto *Jupiter* eclipſed the honour of *Summanus*, who had been held the more honourable God before.

See Section. 3 cap. 16.

* Wiſd. 14.

† *Sic apud ipſos legitur: Romani veteres neſcio quem Summanum, cui nocturna fulmina tribuebant, coluerunt magis quàm Jovem, ad quem diurna fulmina pertinebant. Sed poſtquam Jovi templum inſigne ac ſublime conſtructum eſt, propter ædis dignitatem ſic ad eum multitudo confluxit, ut vix inveniatur, qui Summani nomen, quod audire jam non poteſt, ſe ſaltem legiſſe meminerit. Aug. lib. 4. de Civitate Dei. cap. 23.*

CHAP. XXXII.

A paralel between the affectionate zeal which the Jews did bear unto Moſes and his writings, and the like zeal which the Romaniſts bear unto Saints deceaſed, and their Legends. That the Romaniſts zeal is obnoxious to greater hazard of miſcarriage, and the miſcarriage of his affection more dangerous by his daily practiſe of worſhiping Images.

1. WHether Images of the Godhead, of the Trinity, or of the ſeveral perſons, of Angels or other inviſible ſubſtances may be lawfully made, whether of theſe or other Images any lawful, profitable or pious uſe be granted to Chriſtians, which was denyed unto the *Jews*; are parcels of that main *Queſtion*, Whether the ſecond Commandement according to our diviſion were moral or ceremonial; of which (if God permit) in the expoſition of the Decalogue. In the mean time it is to us, it ought to be to the whole Catholick Church, a great preſumption that the Commandment is one and the ſame to both *Jew* and *Gentile*, of as great authority now as ever, in that the primitive Church did not reenter upon this ancient liberty, if at any time it had been free to bow down to graven Images to adore the pictures of Gods appearances or of men deceaſed. The uſe of Images in Churches or ſacred Liturgies was held ſo incompatible with Chriſtian worſhip of God in ſpirit and truth; that when *Adrian* intended to honour Chriſt as a God, he commanded Temples to be erected without Images. But his good purpoſe wanting effect, The Temples ſo erected did bear his name not Chriſts, or any other Gods as wanting Images to take poſſeſſion of them. And not their names only, but their revenews might quickly Eſcheat unto the Emperour, without ſome viſible patron to lay ſome claim unto them. *Varroes* teſtimony ratifies the Wiſe mans obſervation in *Rome-heathen*, and *Lampridius* in *Rome-Chriſtian*. Whether we begin our accompt from the Law of Nature amongſt the Nations, or from the promulgation of the

Goſpel, *Images were not from the beginning. Wiſedome* 14. *ver.* 12. But after the Church which during the time of her infancy had kept her virginity unſpotted, began in her full age to play the harlot in vowing, in praying, in erecting Altars and Temples to Saints; the inſtinct of her impurity did lead her to uſe *Images*, as ſecular wantons do laſcivious pictures for provoking luſt. They were rather the fewel, than the beginning or firſt kindling of *Rome-Chriſtians* ſpiritual whoredom. Her down-fall into theſe dregs of Idolatry or foul acts of more than brutiſh beſtiality, was the juſt reward of her wantonneſs with the Saints, after ſhe had been betrothed to Chriſt. That which ſhe falſely pretends for her excuſe, is uſually true of ſecular adulterers or adultereſſes. Theſe for the moſt part delight in pictures for their prototypons ſake, with whoſe live beauty they have been taken. And yet many deprived of their Minions real preſence by death or other ſeparation, have been ſo beſotted with doting love of their reſemblances, as to loath the company of their lawful Conſorts. Howbeit no unchaſt doting lover did ever tye his fancy with ſo many love-knotts unto his Miſtris picture, as the *Romaniſt* doth his ſoul and ſpirit unto the Images which he adores. The main bond, is Religion it ſelf, the leſſer cordes are kiſſing, bowing, kneeling, imbracements, and powring forth his very heart before them. Beſides all theſe, he ſuffers this peculiar diſadvantage in reſpect of ſecular dotards; theſe commonly have ſeen their feature whoſe true reſemblances they joy in; the *Romaniſt* never had any acquaintance by ſight or other ſenſe, with the perſons of thoſe Saints, unto whoſe Images he makes all this love; but frames theſe material and viſible repreſentations of them out of his own brain or fancie. Theſe and the like circumſtances, were they duly examined by the rules of true Philoſophy or known experiment, how quickly the purſuit of ordinary means doth in moſt caſes alienate our deſires from the end unto which we ſeek to be directed by them; it would appear to be without the compaſs of any moral poſſibility, that the Images which theſe men make their viſible ſpokeſmen unto the Saints, ſhould not play falſe with both parties, and betroath the ſouls of doating ſuiters unto themſelves, or rather unto the Devil, whoſe *Stales* indeed they are.

2. *But what if ſome honeſtly minded underſtanding* Papiſt *ſhould ſolemnly ſwear unto me, that he loves S.* Peter, *not his Image; or S.* Peter *himſelf much better than the Image which he loves only for his ſake: ſhall not his religious oath be taken before any mans conjecture, concerning his own affections? Can any ſearch his heart better than his own ſpirit can?* I will in charity believe that he ſpeaks and ſwears as he verily thinks and is perſwaded. But if out of like Chriſtian charity, (though not towards me, yet towards himſelf) he will give me leave to unfould ſome practick fallacies, with which his ſceptick Catechizers ſeldome meddle; I ſhall give him juſt reaſon to miſtruſt his own thoughts or perſwaſions, as altogether groundleſs, and uncapable of any ſolid truth. Can the moſt devout *Franciſcan* or *Benedictine*, conceipt either the truth or fervency of his love unto S. *Francis* or S. *Bennet*, more ſtrongly than the latter *Jews* did the integrity of their zeal to *Moſes*? For that *Moſes* ſake which they had made unto themſelves, they would have died with greater patience, than a Fryer could ſuffer impriſonment for S. *Francis*. But from the true *Moſes* and his doctrine no Heathen under the *Sun* were ſo farr alienated in affection as were his ſucceſſors in place, and kinſmen according to the fleſh, the ſonns of *Aaron* and *Levi*. To have enſtamped their ſouls and affections with his true and

lively Image (whereto alone ſo great love might be ſafely tendered,) the only way had been to have layd his ſacred rules unto their hearts; to have worſhipped God in ſpirit and in truth as he did. Quite contrary, they faſtned their proud affections unto that falſe *picture* or *Image* of *Moſes* which had ſurpriſed their humorous fancies, before they had ſeriouſly conſulted their hearts, or examined their imaginations by the rules of his doctrine.

3. And whether we ſpeak of Adultery carnal or ſpiritual, the firſt acts of both are alwayes committed within us; between the fancy or imagination and the corrupt humor which ſets it a working: every predominant humor or corruption of the heart, delights to have its picture drawn in the brain. The fancy is a ſhop of deviſes, to adorn it; and ſo adorned, it growes mad with love of its own repreſentation; as *Narciſſus* did with his ſhadow. Thus corruption of heart and humorous fancy pollute each other, before they can be polluted by any external conſort: whoſe uſe is only to accompliſh the delight conceived, or to confirm this internal combination, between the *heart* and the *brain*; and this ſervice every viſible or ſenſible object well ſuited to delightful fancies, ſucceſsfully performs. As imagine the *Jewes* might have had ſome gaudy picture of *Moſes* in the Temple, whereunto they might have made daily profeſſion of their love, by *kiſſing*, *kneeling*, and other like tokens, which the *Romaniſts* uſe unto the reliques and Images of every ſuppoſed Saint: how would this practiſe have fortified their fooliſh imaginations? every kiſs beſtowed upon his picture would have been as a wedding ring or viſible ſacrament, for confirming the internal league between their corrupt affections and humorous fancies. But Image-worſhip was a brood of impiety ſo baſe and ugly, that the devil durſt not ſo much as mention the match between it and the latter Synagogue; though he have eſpouſed the modern *Romiſh* Church unto it. Howbeit (ſo inevitable are his entiſements, unleſs we abandon all familiarity with his viſible baits, when we come to do our homage to God) he hath ſtollen away the *Jewes* hearts from God and his ſervant *Moſes*, by drawing them to ſuch dalliance with the book of the Law, as the *Papiſts* uſe with the pictures of Saints. Kiſſing and ſolemn adoration of *Moſes* his writings, upon no other occaſion than for teſtification of their allegiance to God by reverencing them; are held no acts of wantonneſs, no whoriſh tricks, by the faithleſs Synagogue. And to ſpeak the truth, her proteſtations of chaſt and loyall love to God and his ſervant *Moſes*, will ſway more with every indifferent arbitrator, than any oath or other aſſurance which the *Romiſh* Church can make of her fidelity to Chriſt, or ſincere reſpect of thoſe Saints, whoſe liveleſs Images ſhe adores with no leſs devotion, than the *Jew* doth the dead letter of the Law. For, though no proteſtation may be taken againſt a fact; yet the fact is more apparently idolatrous in the *Romaniſt*, in as much as bowing down to carved Images, kiſſing or worſhipping them, are expreſly forbidden by *Moſes* his Law, as acts of open and palpable adultery. The laſt and moſt miſerable *ſanctuary*, whereto theſe malefactors cloſely purſued are glad to betake themſelves, is, That this commandement, *Thou ſhalt not bow down to them*, was meerly ceremonial, and concerned the *Jews* only, not Chriſtians. Our Saviours manifeſtation in the fleſh hath manifeſted the Synagogues pretended love to God and his Law, to have been but carnal, falſe and idolatrous, being indeed a love only of their own humorous

ſuperſtitious fancies. Now the ſymtoms and ſigns, ſubſequent as well as antecedent, being the ſame in the *Romiſh* Church, ſufficiently teſtifie her diſeaſe to be the ſame, but more dangerous, becauſe it is *morbus complicatus*. Her whole Religion, we may without offence to God, or wrong to it, though not without ſome diſtaſt to her Children, fitly define *to be a mixture or complication of Iewiſh vain glorious delight in worthy Anceſtors, and of Heatheniſh groſs and palpable ſuperſtitious worſhip of their Images, in whoſe memorie ſhe ſo delights.* The brazen Legendaries by how much more they are in other caſes uncapable of any truſt, yield us ſo much greater plenty of canonical proof for evincing the truth of this *definition* or obſervation concerning the original matter of *Rome-Chriſtians* diſeaſe. So great is the multitude of her Saints, ſo prodigious are the manifold miracles wherewith ſhe graceth every Saint in particular whilſt he lived, or his Image after his death, and all avouched with ſuch confidence; that if the old *Roman* which cut a whetſtone in pieces with his penknife, were to arbitrate between the Legendaries, the latter Iewiſh Rabbines, and the Poetical Encomiaſts of heathen Gods ar Heroicks, and were bound to reward every one according to his deſerts, he could not beſtow leſs then nine parts of ten upon the Legendaries. The ſymtoms notwithſtanding of this vanity, hath been perpetual *cruelty*, as well in the *Romaniſt* as in the *Jew*. The diſtempered zeal which the one bare unto a *Moſes* of his own making and *magnification*, did empoyſon his ſoul with deadly hate of the true *prototypon* exhibited in preſence of life, and of his Diſciples, which were the live-Images of *Moſes* and *Abraham*, *Abrahams* ſons as truly by real kindneſs of holy life, as by deſcent of body. The flames of the others wild and ill-kindled love to ſuch dead Images of Chriſt and his Saints, as he hath faſhioned to pleaſe his fancy, hath cauſed his ſtony heart to *boyle* over with unſtaunchable bloudy malice againſt the live-images of Chriſt, and true ſucceſſors of his Saints; againſt all within theſe thouſand years that would not run a whoaring with them after their imaginations. As *Antiochus Epiphanes* was an illuſtrious type of the *Roman Antichriſt*, ſo his ſhort and furious perſecution of the Orthodoxal *Jewes*, was but a Map (though an exquiſite one) of the Papacies continual jealous rage againſt all that will not bow their knees unto the Idols, or offer ſacrifices upon the Altars, which they have erected to unknown Gods in holy Temples.

4. This carnal vain-glorious love whether unto imaginary Patriarcks in the *Jew*, or to *fancied* Saints in the *Romaniſt*, did never ſwell ſo much in either, as when themſelves were moſt unlovely in the ſight of God and his Saints. Both begun to be moſt affected with their worthy Anceſtors prayſes, when themſelves were leaſt prayſe-worthy. As it commonly falls out in other caſes, from a ſecret inſtinct or working of hypocriſie, they ſought to ſtuff their fancies with imaginations of their holineſs, from whom they carnally deſcended: that as freſh colours bring ſome comfort to ſore eyes, or gentle plaiſters *eaſe* to feſtered wounds; ſo the reflex of their Anceſtors integrity upon their hearts, might in ſome ſort allay the ſmart of their galled conſciences. And their conſciences by this means finding eaſe, afterwards being lulled aſleep with the continual ſweet ſound of others prayſes; they dreamed the ſubſtance of that holineſs to be rooted in their hearts, whoſe ſhadow or repreſentation floated in their brains: * as the Phyloſopher obſerves that a drop of ſweet Phlegme tickling the taſt in ſlumber or light

* *Libro de Somno & vigilia.*

light ſleep, makes men think they ſwallow honey, or that they are glutted with ſweet meats. For wedging in this ſelf-deceiving fancie, and perpetuating the pleaſant phrenſie whereinto the *Jews* and *Romaniſts* had caſt themſelves; the viſible monuments of Prophets and Saints did the old Serpent very great ſervice. To embolden the *Jew* in cruel practiſes againſt our Saviour and his diſciples, he could deviſe no fitter ſophiſm, than to employ them in adorning the tombes or other like teſtifications of love unto the Prophets reliques, whom their Fathers had ſlain; being by this means perſwaded that they loved the Prophets themſelves and their doctrine much better than their Fathers had don; they could not eaſily miſtruſt their hate of our Saviour for unjuſt. For if he had been a true Prophet, would not they which loved all other Prophets, and juſtified them before their Fathers, have loved him and maintained his Doctrine? The concluſion of theſe Fallacious collections was, that from this vain confidence or preſumed freedom from guilt of their Fathers ſins, they came by degrees to make up the full meaſure of them, in crucifying the *hope* of *Iſrael*. The like ſucceſs hath the ſame fallacie had over *Rome-Chriſtian*; *ſhee* by adoring the Images and Reliques, by laviſh garniſhing the monuments of thoſe Saints, which *Rome-heathen* had perſecuted with fire and ſword, hath been ſet over by the great Tempter to accompliſh and conſolidate that myſtery of iniquity, whoſe ſhape or ſurface the irreligious tyranny of *Rome-heathen*, had drawn in bloudy lines. For miſtaking this ſtrong internal affection which ſhe bare unto her own fancy (and by conſequent to Saints of her own imagination, and to their reliques) for an undoubted pledge of great zeal unto that truth which they profeſſed, her conſcience became ſo ſeared with this wild-fire, that ſhe perſecuted all that did controll her without remorſe or ſcruple, as greater enemies to Religion, than Hereticks or Infidels. And thus the *Romaniſt*, as well as the *Jew*, by rejecting the written word for the rule of life, have kindled the Almighties wrath and indignation by thoſe very ſacrifices, which without his warrant, they inſtituted to appeaſe it. Both of them preſumed their zealous coſts upon Saints monuments, ſhould either ſupererogate for their predeceſſors ſins, or clear all reckonings between God and themſelves, for any wrong done to his Servants. This triumphant confidence in exerciſing remorſeleſs cruelty upon all (without exception) that contradict her Idolatrous doctrine, upon preſumption that they are ſacrilegious contemners of Gods Saints, in that which the Prophetical Apoſtle tearms *drunkenneſs with the bloud of Saints: ſhe hath drunk ſo deep of the cup of abominations, that ſhee takes bloud for milk, and feeds on it, as on the food of life.* Thus much of the original, the effect and Symptomes of *Romiſh* Phrenetical zeal to Images.

CHAP. XXXIII.

By what means the publick worſhip of Images was finally ratified in the Romiſh Church, Of the unadviſed inſtructions which Gregory *the Great gave unto* Auſtine *the Monk for winning the Pagan-Engliſh to the profeſſion of Chriſtianity.*

1. IT is a very obſervable obſervation of ſome * reverend and learned writers of this age, that the Pope ſhould make the firſt ſtep

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* See the ſecond tome of Homilies, pag. 32. 34.

or entry to his œcumenical Supremacy by ſtickling for Images againſt the Emperour. God (methinks) by the circumſtances of the Story, and this brief * Comment upon it, would give us to underſtand; that to ſerve graven Images was to fall down and worſhip Sathan; ſeeing the admiſſion of their worſhip into the Church, gave the Pope livery *de ſeaſin* of that heritage which Sathan proffered to our Saviour, upon condition he would fall down and do him homage for it. The devil had too much wit, either to tempt our Saviour to adore Images in that age, wherein this ſervice was ſo deteſted by the whole ſeed of *Abraham*, or to ſollicit profeſſed Chriſtians to adore his perſon immediately; ſeeing our Saviour had ſo foyled him in this attempt. His beſt policy to bring the viſible Church to acknowledge this allegiance to him, was to appoint dumb Images (with which he had been ſo well acquainted in time of Gentiliſm) his Feoffees in truſt. If any inquire more particularly of the opportunities which he took for bringing this match about, they were in part theſe.

2. As in ſecular States we ſee thoſe factions which have been expelled the Court with indignation at one gate, to winde themſelves in again by gratious favour of new alliance at another; eſpecially after the impreſſion of their vile practiſes in moſt mens memories be abated; or after Courtiers begin (as within the compaſs of one age they often do) to change the old faſhion of contention: ſo, that *Image ſervice* which the *primitive* Church had abandoned as the Liturgy of Hell, did, out of an affected deſire in Chriſtians to hold correſpondency or to ſymbolize with the Heathen Barbarians which had ſeated themſelves throughout *Europe*, find opportunity to gain readmiſſion into Temples, to bear the ſame place and ſway in the Courts of God, that they had done in the Synagogue of Satan. The execution of ſuch inſtructions as *Gregory* the Great gave unto *Auſtine* the Monk for winning the Pagan-Engliſh unto Chriſtianity, would in any indifferent Polititians judgment (that duly conſiders the eſtate wherein theſe weſtern Kingdoms then ſtood) bring over Chriſtians unto Paganiſm, or occaſion theſe Converts to propagate a medly of both religions to their poſterity, whoſe religion being conquerors was likely to continue longeſt. *Greg.* l. 9. Ep. 71. *Cum vero vos Deus omnipotens ad reverendiſſimum virum fratrem noſtrum Auguſtinum Epiſcopum produxerit; dicite ei quod diu mecum de cauſa Anglorum cogitans tractavi:* viz. *quia fana idolorum deſtrui in eadem Gente minime debeant; ſed ipſa quæ in eis ſunt idola deſtruantur.* * *Aqua benedicta fiat, in eiſdem fanis aſpergatur, altaria conſtruantur, reliquiæ ponantur: quia ſi fana eadem bene conſtructa ſunt, neceſſe eſt ut à cultu dæmonum, in obſequium veri Dei debeant commutari; ut dum gens ipſa eadem fana ſua non videt deſtrui, de corde errorem deponat, & Deum verum cognoſcens & adorans, ad loca quæ conſuevit familiariùs concurrat. Et quia boves ſolent in ſacrificio Dæmonum multos occidere, debet etiam his hâc de re aliqua ſolennitas immutari: ut die dedicationis vel natalitio ſanctorum Martyrum quorum*

* *Phocas igitur, ut præmiſſum eſt, extincto Mauritio ejuſq; filiis, Romanorum regnum invadit. Per octo annorum curricula principatus eſt. Hic, rogante Papa Bonifacio, ſtatuit ſedem Romanæ Eccleſiæ, ut caput eſſet omnium Eccleſiarum: quia Eccleſia Conſtantinopolitana primam ſe omnium Eccleſiarum ſcribebat. Idem, alio Papa Bonifacio petente, juſſit in veteri fano, quod Pantheon vocabatur, ablatis Idololatriæ ſordibus, Eccleſiam beatæ ſemper virginis Mariæ, & omnium ſanctorum martyrum fieri: ut ubi quondam omnium non Deorum, ſed Dæmoniorum cultus agebatur, ibi deinceps omnium fieret memoria Sanctorum. Paulus Diacon. l. 18. circa medium Vide Forcat. lib. 1 p. 33.* It is likely *Phocas* did conſecrate his Temple upon the ſame motives, that *Domitian* did his to the Heathen Gods. *Veriſimile eſt Domitianum nefandis criminibus ſpurcatum elui curaſſe fanorum molitionibus. Nam calidæ fuit crudelitatis, ita ut lenitatem tum maximè ſimularet, cùm erat cruciaturus aliquos. Fratris quoq; Titi Imperatoris mortem accelleraſſe traditur, quo uno nihil clementius fuit; nihil generoſius, Forcatulus, lib. 3. pag* 120.

† The uſe of holy waters as it ſeems was firſt borrowed from the Heathens, and in proceſs of time perverted from a civil to a magical Ceremony. *Ferunt vulgo Toloſates Exuperium pro muris concionantem, luſtrali aqua ſparſos Vandalos terruiſſe ac fugaſſe, quod præterire non potui, & ſi ſeveriores fabulis adnumerent. Planè conſtat veteres genere quodam cæremoniæ aquam & ignem adhibuiſſe, cum aliquos extrudere aut arcere volebant a ſuo conſortio; unde exulibus aquâ & igni interdicebatur jurè civili: & hodie uſurpatur in iis, quibus ſacrorum communium uſu ritè verbis conceptum interdicitur. Idq; adnotavit Servius alii fontemq; ignemq ferebant velatilino, & verbena tempora vincti. Itaq; Antiſtes inter commilitones non omnino Chriſti religione imbutos veterem ritum minimè noxium ad arcendos hoſtes pro tempore retinuit. Forcatulus lib.* 6. *fol.* 856.

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Tom. I.

illîc reliquiæ ponuntur, tabernacula ſibi circa eaſdem Eccleſias, quæ ex fanis commutata ſunt, de Ramis arborum faciant, & religioſis conviviis ſolennitatem celebrent. Nec Diabolo jam animalia immolent, ſed ad laudem Dei in uſu ſuo animalia occidant, & Donatori omnium de ſatietate ſuâ gratias referant; ut dum eis aliqua exteriùs gaudia reſervantur, ad interiora gaudia conſentire faciliùs valeant. Nam duris mentibus ſimul omnia abſcindere impoſſibile eſſe non dubium eſt: quia is qui locum ſummum aſcendere nititur, gradibus vel paſſibus non autem ſaltibus elevatur. Sic Iſraëlitico populo in Ægypto Dominus ſe quidem innotuit: ſed tamen ei ſacrificiorum uſus quos Diabolo ſolebat exhibere, in cultu proprio reſervavit; ut eis in ſacrificio ſuo animalia immolare præciperet: quatenus cor mutantes aliud de ſacrificio amitterent, aliud retinerent: ut et ſi ipſa eſſent animalia quæ offerre conſueverant, veruntamen Deo hæc & non Idolis immolantes, jam ſacrificia ipſa non eſſent. Hæc igitur dilectionem tuam prædicto fratri neceſſe eſt dicere, ut ipſe in præſenti illic poſitus perpendat qualitèr omnia debeat diſpenſare.

3. A great part (I dare avouch) of his advice had no pattern either in the Apoſtles doctrin or practiſe of the primitive Church. The warrant it ſelf which he pretends from Gods example in the old Teſtament (though what was *Gregory* the Great if we compare him with the Almighty, that he ſhould uſurp the ſame authority) is meerly counterfeit. God did not only permit the *Jews* to offer ſacrifice for the hardneſs of their hearts, but commanded oblations as part of his ſervice. He required them of *Abraham*, yea of *Abel* before the devil ſought them of any heathens. Nor had he ever ſought them unleſs God had required them firſt: for the devil is Gods ape, and alwayes ſollicites men either to inſtitute ſuch rites unto him as he knows God requires, or (which is an equivalent ſin) to obtrude ſuch unto God, as for the time preſent he hath abandoned. To have offered ſuch ſacrifices (then) unto that holy one, as *Gregory* there commands, had been the ſame ſin (only inverted) as to have offered ſacrifice, before Chriſts coming unto Idols. And yet we may preſume that *Gregory* the Great, was not the moſt indiſcreet reformer of Paganiſm amongſt all the Roman Biſhops or Prelates throughout *Europe*, that lived during the time that thoſe *Barbarians* invaded Chriſtendom or ſetled themſelves amongſt ancient Chriſtians. Nor did the peculiar diſpoſition of the Engliſh draw him to permit greater liberty unto them, than *he*, his predeceſſors, or ſucceſſors either were enforced, or thought fit to grant unto other Pagans, whoſe ſpiritual ſalvations they ſought, or whoſe temporal Arms they feared. And ſomewhat, in both reſpects (I grant) might lawfully be tolerated, which to continue after ſuch extraordinary occaſions ceaſed, was hereſie in doctrin, and Idolatry in practiſe. For the retaining of thoſe laws as neceſſary injunctions for all ages, which the Apoſtles had commended as expedient only for late converted Gentiles, was by orthodoxal antiquity adjudged no leſs than an hereſie in the ſect of *Nazarens*. To have ſuffered an hiſtorical uſe of Saints images in Temples, might, upon peculiar circumſtances of times have argued religious diſcretion in Church-governours: but to permit their daily worſhip, upon theſe mentioned or like occaſions, was from the beginning moſt unexpedient and unlawful. To continue or authorize it ſo begun is Idololatrical. And yet as well the very arguments which ſome pretend for their religious uſe, as the circumſtances of the time wherin their broken *title* prevail'd, perſwades me they could never have gotten readmiſſion into the Church, but from ſuch indul-

gence to Heathen Converts, as *Gregory* granted to our Forefathers. *Gregory* himſelf as well blames their ſuperſtition for worſhiping images in the Church, as *Serenus* for breaking the images, becauſe they had been worſhiped. He aggravates his fault (nor doth that miſtaken example of *Ezekia's* cruſhing the braſen ſerpent any way warrant the exerciſe of *Serenus* zeal) that he had his habitation amongſt the Gentiles, *quibus pro lectione pictura eſt, Lib. 9. Epiſt.* 11. & *lib. 7. epiſt.* 110. But now that cuſtome, by the analogy of laws politick hath confirmed their ancient dignities unto them; the lawfulneſs of their religious ſervice is by their worſhipers juſtified partly from reaſon, partly from inſtances of like practiſes, in the Patriarchs and other godly men.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Of the diſagreements betwixt the Jeſuits themſelves in what manner Images may be worſhiped.

1. B*ellarmine*, and his ſecond, *Sacroboſcus*, with moſt others of *Aquinas* his latter followers, will have the *worſhip* or *adoration* to be terminated immediately to the Image, and accompliſhed in this termination; although ſo terminated, it redound unto the honour of the party whoſe image it is. ‘That is, (as they expreſs themſelves) *although* ‘*they worſhip the image of God or a Saint only with reference unto God or* ‘*the Saint; yet they neither worſhip the image of God with the ſame worſhip,* ‘*wherewith they worſhip God immediately in ſpirit, nor the image of any* ‘*Saint, with the ſame worſhip which they would exhibit to the Saint himſelf* ‘*were he preſent.* This explication they further illuſtrate by this ſimilitude; As to be ſent in Embaſſage by a King puts greater honor upon ‘the Embaſſadour for the time being, then would fit his meer perſonal ‘worth, and yet inveſts him not with honor royal: ſo the Image of ‘God, for the reference it hath unto his Majeſty, is worthy of greater honor, than the ſtuff or workmanſhip is capable of, yet uncapable of that honor which is due to God. Some of them add withall that *albeit the actual worſhip which they perform unto the Image may perhaps proceed from the ſame habit of* Latria *wherewith they worſhip God: yet it doth not follow in their opinion that they ſhou'd worſhip the Image* cultu Latriæ. *The acts, whatſoever the habit be, are much different and muſt be expreſt in diverſe terms; eſpecially ſeeing in this ſubject not only errour it ſelf but every leaſt ſhew of errour ought with carefulneſs to be avoided. At in vitium ducit culpæ fuga, ſi caret arte.* Their unſcholaſtick warineſs to avoid offence in the words, wherewith they expreſs their doctrin, draws theſe factions and their followers to commit real Idolatry in the practiſe, as *Vaſques* copiouſly and very acutely proves againſt *Bellarmine. Vaſques lib.* 2. *Diſp.* 8. *cap.* 8. *&c.* His arguments we ſhall by Gods aſſiſtance be able to make good againſt any ſolution or evaſion that can be brought by the Cardinals favorites. *Sacroboſcus* would fain have ſaid ſomewhat to them, but he had ſo accuſtomed himſelf to play the ſcoffing mimick with the reverend Doctor *Whitaker*, that he could not leave his wonted lightneſs when he met with his fellow Jeſuit. *Hate and love* (ſaith he) *of divers objects as of good and evil are from one and the ſame habit, and yet hate is not love, nor love hate.* No more (in his opinion) would it follow, that we ſhould worſhip Gods image *cultu latriæ,* albeit the act of worſhip proceed

Sacroboſcus in defe ſ Decret. Triden. Concil. & ſentent. Bellar. par. 1. *pag.* 102.

from the ſame habit, wherewith we worſhip God himſelf. The grounds of his illuſtration have no coherence with the point which he intended to illuſtrate. We may rather thus retort; Though neither *love* be *hate* nor *hate love*; yet if the love of any ſpiritual good be truly religious, the hate of the contrary evil muſt needs be religious likewiſe, becauſe they proceed from one and the ſame habit of religion. So if the acts wherewith we worſhip Gods image, for the reference which it hath to him, proceed from the ſame habit of *Latria* wherewith we worſhip God: men muſt of neceſſity worſhip the Image as well as God *cultu Latriæ*. The rules which *Bellarmine* and others ſet for worſhiping Images, do by *Vaſques* his verdict teach the people to act Idolatry. And the method which *Vaſques* preſcribes for ratification of this error, is by * *Sacroboſcus* his teſtimony ſo ſcholaſtick and hard, that ordinary capacities cannot follow it. Were it not the part of a wiſe religious moderator (ſuch as the Pope profeſſeth himſelf to be) to cut of all occaſion of ſubtile diſputes about the manner of worſhiping Images, by utter abandoning the matter it ſelf or ſubſtance about which they contend: or at the leaſt to inhibite the people from all practiſe in this kind, till their School-men could agree about the *rules* or *pattern* which they were to follow? None of them I think hold the worſhiping of Images to be in it ſelf any neceſſary part of religion, but neceſſary only from the Churches injunction. All the general that can be pretended for the conveniency of it, can no way countervail the danger that will neceſſarily enſue upon the practical miſtakings of their School-mens preſcripts: yet the one party muſt of neceſſity erre in preſcribing the manner how Images muſt be worſhiped. The manner as *Vaſques* and ſome other more ancient think, is thus.

† *It is rightly ſaid, that even the Image is worſhiped, and yet not worſhiped after what manner we liſt, but in as much as the prototype is repreſented in it. Whence albeit the Image be worſhiped, yet is not the Image it ſelf the cauſe why it is worſhiped, but the thing repreſented by it; and contained in it, is the cauſe or warrant of the adoration. And in as much as one of theſe is not altogether divided from the other, (for albeit the prototype be in it ſelf one thing, and the image another, yet in as much as the prototype is conſpicuous in the image, it is not ſegregated from it:) ſo the worſhip of them both is not divided, but is one and the ſame, as is apparant from the ſentence of the* || *Philoſophers. For they teach, that one and the ſame motion is terminated to the image, and to the object whoſe image it is, by reaſon the ſubordination betwixt them is ſuch as to make but one intire Term of the motion, and the motion takes its unity or identity from the unity or identity of its Term. Therefore it muſt be granted, that faithful people in the Church do not only worſhip before the image, as ſome, deſirous perhaps to ſpeak cautelouſly, affirm, but that they worſhip the very image without further ſcrupuloſity: and worſhip it they do with the ſelf ſame worſhip wherewith they worſhip the prototype. Wherefore if the prototype be to be worſhiped with Latria* (as God is to be worſhiped) *the image muſt be worſhiped with Latria. If the prototype be to be worſhiped with Hyperdulia* (as the bleſſed Virgin by their doctrin ought to be worſhiped) *the image likewiſe is to be worſhiped with Hyperdulia. If the prototype be to be worſhiped with* Dulia (*ſo ordinary Saints by their doctrin ought to be worſhiped*) *the Image likewiſe muſt be worſhiped with* Dulia.

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* *Verum modus iſte valdè difficilis eſt, meoq; judicio minimè ordinarius.* Sacroboſ. loc. citat.

† *Quare & ſcitè dicitur, quòd utiq adoratur imago. & non ſecundùm quam volueris rationem, ſed ſecundùm eam, qua prototypon relucet in illa; unde etſi imago colitur, ratio tamen abſolutè ipſa non eſt, quòd colatur; ſed res repræſentata, ac in ea contenta, ratio adorationis eſt. Et quoniam ſicut unum de facto non eſt diviſum ab alio, quonian etſi prototypon abſolutè aliud ab imagine eſt, ut tamen in ea emicat, ab illa ſegregatum non eſt: ita nec amborum diviſus eſt cultus aut adoratio, ſed unus idemq; utriuſq; eſt, ſicut ex Philoſophorum placitis liquet. Si quidem tradunt unum eundemq motum ad imaginem, & rem cujus imago eſt, terminari: eo quòd & unum ratio eſt alteri, ut unus integerq; conſtituatur terminus a quo & unus denominatur motus. Ergo non ſolum fatendum eſt, fideles in Eccleſia adorare coram imagine, ut nonnulli ad cautelam fortè loquuntur, ſed & adorare imaginem, ſine quo volueris ſcrupulo: quin & eo illam venerantur cultu, quo & prototypon ejus; propter quod, ſi illud habet adorari latriâ, & illa latriâ; ſi dulia, vel hyperdulia, & illa pariter ejuſmodi cultu adoranda eſt.* Jacob. Naclantus Epiſcopus Clugienſis in cap. 1. Ep Pauli ad Rom. folio 41, 42.

|| Surely *Aquinas* and *Naclantus* with their followers read *Ariſtotles* book *de Somno & vigilia*, when themſelves were in a dream. For he ſpeaks only of the Phantaſms, and the objects repreſented by them. *Vide Mirandulam.*

I have made his declaration ſomewhat more plain in Engliſh then it is in Latin, and yet I think, if any Engliſh Roman Catholick ſhould adventure to practice *Image-worſhip* by this Authors *rule*, he ſhould find *Sacroboſcus* his words before cited, true, *Modus iſte valde difficilis eſt, This manner of worſhipping Images is very hard to be obſerved by the ſimple and ruder ſort eſpecially*. But leaving this Biſhop *Naclantus* and his declaration, to the cenſure of that * worthy and learned Author of the *Homilies* concerning the peril of Idolatry, (who I take it was a reverend Biſhop;) the manner of worſhipping Images which he took upon him to declare, as *Vaſquez* (who hath moſt diligently read the divers Authors, and moſt accurately ſifted their ſeveral opinions) telleth us, was both very well known and very ancient, according to the antiquity of *Image-worſhip* and School Divinity. His words with the Authors names avouched by him I have here ſet down at large.

* But *Naclantus* bloweth forth his blaſphemous Idolatry, willing Images to be worſhipped with the higheſt kind of adoration and worſhip: and leſt ſuch wholſome doctrine ſhould lack authority, he groundeth it upon *Ariſtotle* in his book *de ſomno & vigilia*, that is, of ſleeping and waking, as by his printed book noted ſo in the margin is to be ſeen: whoſe impudent wickedneſs and Idolatrous judgment, I have therefore more largely ſet forth, that ye may (as *Virgil* ſpeaketh of *Sinon*) of one, know all theſe Image-worſhippers and Idolaters, and underſtand to what point in concluſion, the publick having of Images in Temples and Churches hath brought us: comparing the times and writings of *Gregory* the firſt, with our dayes, and the blaſphemies of ſuch Idolators, as this beaſt of Belial *Naclantus* is. The 2. Tome of Homilies, folio 59.

Pervulgata et antiqua Theologorum ſententia, quam ego veram exiſtimo, eſt motum adorationis in imaginem, ita in ejus prototypon, et exemplar tranſire, et utrumq; ſub eandem venerationem cadere; ut nec ſola cogitatione, imago per ſe ſinè illo, vel ab eo ſeparata adorari poſſit: non ſolum quia neceſſe eſt propter exemplar, tanquam propter rationem remotam, ſicut Legatum propter Regem, imaginem coli, ſed quia qui imaginem adorat, in ea quoq, et per eam exemplar, ut terminum et materiam proximam adorationis, neceſſario venerari debet. Hanc ſententiam, ex Theologis ſcholaſticis tradiderunt Alex. 3. p. q. 30. m. 3. ar. 3 ſect. 1. S. Thom. 3. p. q. 25. ar. 3, 4, 5. Cajetanus et recentiores aliqui ibidem. Albr. in 3. d. 9. art. 4. Bonavent. eadem d. art. 1 q. 2. & q. 4. S. Thom. eadem d. q. 1. ar. 2. Richard. ar. q. 2. & 3. Palud. q. 1. ſect. Inquirendo tam de his. Capreol. q. 1. art. 1. concluſ. 2. 3. art. 3. ad argumenta contra eaſdem concluſiones. Almain. q. 1. concluſ. 5. Major. 1. qui de cruce Chriſti dicit, non eſſe terminum adorationis ſecundum ſe, ſed ratione exemplaris: idemq; de imagine dicere debet. Eandem ſententiam ſeculi ſunt Marſil. in 3. q. 8. art. 2. dub. 2. concluſ. 3. Thom. Vuald. tomo 3. c. 156. num, 6, 7. Ferrarienſ. 3. contra Gentes cap. 120. ſect. Circa latriæ adorationem. Sotus L. 2. de Juſt. q. 4. art. 2. in fine, Turre cremata in cap. Venerabiles de conſecrat. dict. 3. Antonius. 3. p. titulo 12. cap. 9. ſect 4. Hieronimus Angeſtus contra Lutherum cenſ. 10. ad. 3. objectionem Hæreticorum verſiculo, Hinc enim eſt colendi modus, & inter Compendiaria dogmata. Clichtoveus in propugnaculo eccleſiæ l. 1. cap. 10. Jacobus Paiva. l. 9. Orthodoxarum explicationum. ſect. At Kemnitius. Franciſcus Turrianus l. 1. pro canonibus Apoſtolorum. cap. 25. & l. 3. de dogmaticis Characteribus ſatis ante medium; Alphonſus de Caſtro adverſùs hæreſes, verbo, Adoratio. De cujus modo loquendi, atq; Almaini, qui fuit etiam Gregorii Magni, diximus diſput. 6. hujus lib. cap. 1. & in hac diſputatione cap. 12. nonnihil dicemus. Vaſquez. lib. 2. de Adoratione, diſput. 8. cap. 3

2. This opinion concerning the manner of worſhipping *Images*, he ſtrongly proves, firſt by ſuch councels; ſecondly by ſuch of the Fathers as favoured the worſhipping of *Images*; thirdly, by reaſons effectual in his judgement amongſt all ſuch as himſelf was, that is, *Roman Catholicks*.

For to worſhip them any other way is by his collections ſuperſtitious and idololatrical. His arguments are all reducible to this common principle; That albeit every act of juſtice be not an act of Religion, yet every act of Religion and adoration in particular, is an act of juſtice. For adoration is but a ſerious rendring of religious honour unto whom ſuch honour is due. Now we cannot do juſtice to any liveleſs or reaſonleſs creature, although we conſider it as the goods or poſſeſſion of this or that man. A man may be wronged or diſgraced in his goods or reaſonleſs creatures, but they are altogether uncapable of right or wrong, of diſgrace or reſpect. Nor was *Tiberius* his horſe though conſidered as *Tiberius* his horſe, more capable of a Conſulſhip or of the honour due unto a Conſul, than any other reaſonleſs creature in *Rome* was. For the ſame reaſon no reaſonleſs or liveleſs creature can in it ſelf, though conſidered with its references, be capable of adoration. Whence *Vaſques* acutely thus infers; *Every Image however it be conſidered as an Image (whether it be of S.* Peter, *or of S.* Paul*) is ſtill a liveleſs creature, and therefore uncapable of any Adoration (of kneeling or bowing) ſave only as it is coadored with the Saint, whoſe Image it is.* The major propoſition, to wit, [*No liveleſs or reaſonleſs creature is capable of adoration, but only of coadoration with ſome reaſonable creature*] he demonſtrates from the nature and definition of that act of Religion wherein adoration conſiſts: and this act of Religion *is a will or deſire of exhibiting ſuch note and ſigne of ſubmiſſion to any excellent nature, as is due unto the excellency of it. Adoration it ſelf conſiſts and is accompliſhed in theſe two.* Firſt, *in the external ſigne* (as bowing or inclination of the body) Secondly, *in the internal affection anſwering to the ſigne.* Now as the outward ſign doth notifie an affection of ſubmiſſion and ſervice: ſo the mind whence it proceeds ought to be ſo qualified that the Adoration be ſincere, not faigned. *And this ſincere mind or unfaigned deſire of notifying ſubmiſſion or ſervice, can only be placed upon him whom we apprehend as our ſuperiour, indued with ſome excellency which we want. For no man ſubmits himſelf to any ſo far his inferior, that he cannot be apprehended as his better: much leſs can any man ſubject himſelf to a reaſonleſs or liveleſs creature. He that ſhould exhibit any note or ſigne of ſubmiſſion to ſuch a creature out of any true affection or intention of ſubmitting himſelf or doing ſervice unto it in it ſelf conſidered, ſhould not only declare himſelf to be of a perverſe and abject mind, but ſhould withall incurr the crime of ſuperſtition and Idolatry.*

Nulla res inanima aut irrationalis ſine rationali capax eſt ſecundùm ſe honoris, cultus, & reverentiæ, ſeu adorationis; ſed imago re. irrationalis & inanima, quantùvis ut imago, ſine exemplari tamen conſideretur: ergo ſecundum ſe, ſine exemplari non eſt capax adorationis & reverentiæ. In hac autem ratione, ſola major propoſitio explicatione indiget et confirmatione; ex qua, evidentèr ſequitur id, quod contendimus: ea vero ex natura et definitione actûs religionis, qui eſt adoratio, tradita in primo libro diſputat. 1. cap. 4. demonſtrari poteſt. Eſt enim voluntas exhibendi alicui excellenti notam & ſignum ſubmiſſionis, excellentiæ ipſius debitum: Sic enim ex Damaſc: ibidem oſtendimus, adorationem in nota ſubmiſſionis conſiſtere. Quarè hic adorationis actus duobus conſtat & completur: ſigno videlicet externo, ut inclinatione corporis; et affectu illi reſpondente. Sicut autem ſignum externum indicat ſubmiſſionis & ſervitutis affectum, ſic animus, ex quo procedit, talis eſſe debet ut vera et non ficta ſit adoratio. Animus vero ſubmiſſionis et ſervitutis erga illum ſolum verſatur, quem quis apprehendit ſibi ſuperiorem et excellentiâ præditum. Nam minori qui nulla ratione, ut major, poteſt apprehendi, nemo ſe ſubjicit; multo ergò minus creaturæ irrationali et inanimæ. Qui enim ei notam exhiberet ſubmiſſionis ex affectu illo veræ ſervitutis erga illam ſecundum ſe, perverſe ageret; eſſetq; abjecto animo: imo vero crimen, et genus quoddam ſuperſtitionis & Idolatriæ committeret. Diceretur enim ex animo creaturæ irrationali ſecundum ſe ſervire, græcè λατρεύειν aut δουλεύειν, ac proinde eam, ut excellentem ſibiq; ſuperiorem, agnoſceret. Vaſquez lib. 2. Diſput. 8. cap. 8.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXV.

The principal arguments which the Romaniſts uſe to prove the worſhipping of Images to be lawful. What difference there is between kiſſing of the book in ſolemn oaths, and the Romaniſts ſalutations of Images. That Image-worſhip cannot be warranted by Jacobs *anointing the ſtone, or other ceremonies by him uſed.*

1. REferring the diſcuſſion of Authorities alleaged in favour or diſlike of Image-worſhip, to the explication of that commandement wherein this controverſie hath his proper ſeat: the only reaſon either worth their pains to fortifie or ours to oppugn, is that general one whereon *Vaſques* grounds his Apologie for adoration of Images and reliques. And it is this; Every creature of God (ſeeing none are deſtitute of his preſence, none without ſome print of his power,) may be adored in ſuch a manner as he preſcribes; * *Nulla eſt res mundi ex ſententia Leontii, quem ſæpius citavimus, quam ſincere adorare non poſſumus; & in ipſa Deum. & lib. 3. diſp. 1. cap. 2. Cum quælibet res mundi ſit opus Dei, et in ea Deus continuò ſit et operetur: faciliùs in ea ipſum cogitare poſſumus, quàm virum ſanctum in veſte &c. There is nothing in the univerſal world which (by the opinion of* Leontius *often cited) we may not ſincerely adore, and God in it.* And again, *Seeing every thing in the world is Gods handy work, in which he continually reſides and worketh, we may with better facility conſider God in it, than an holy man in his weed or garment.* the ſame reaſon he further fortifies by this inſtance: * *Si enim* Jacob Geneſ. 28. *erexit lapidem in titulum unxitq; oleo, & per illum & in illo Deum adoravit, poſt quam eo loco mirabilem viſionem inſomniis vidit, et expergefactus dixit; vere locus iſte ſanctus eſt; non quòd in eo loco aliquid ſanctitatis eſſe putaret, ſed quod in eo loco ſanctus Deus apparere dignatus eſt: cur quæſo non poterit quiſq; rectâ & ſyncerâ fide Deum in qualibet re intimè præſentem conſiderans, in ipſa & cum ipſâ adorare, & hoc animo ſibi in titulum & recordationem erigere, &c. If* Jacob *did erect a ſtone for a monument, and anoint it with oyle; if in this monument ſo erected he adored God after he had ſeen a miraculous viſion in that place; if upon his awaking he ſayd; This place is truly holy, not that he thought there was any holineſs inherent in it, but becauſe the holy Lord had there vouchſafed to appeare: why, I pray you, may not every man by faith ſound and ſincere conſider God as intimately preſent in every thing that is, and adore God with it and in it, and with this intention make choice of what creature he liſt for a monument or remembrancer of* Gods *preſence?* * *Præterea creatura irrationalis et inanimata poteſt eſſe materia juramenti, qui eſt actus religionis: ita ut dum per illam juramus, nullam aliam in ipſa veritatem agnoſcamus quàm divinam, nec ipſam ut ſuperiorem nobis, in teſtem vocemus ſed Deum cujus veritas in ipſa relucet. Idemq; dixit Dominus* Math. 5. *Nolite jurare per cœlum, quia Dei thronus eſt, neq; per terram quia &c. quævis ergò creatura poterit eſſe materia adorationis, quæ non ad ipſam ſecundum ſe ſed ad Deum in illa terminetur. The reaſonleſs and liveleſs creature may be the matter of an oath which is an act of Religion; ſo that whilſt we ſwear by it, we acknowledge no other truth in it beſides the divine truth: nor do we call the creature (by which we ſwear,) to witneſs, as if it were our ſuperior, but God only whoſe truth ſhines in it. And ſeeing our Saviour hath ſaid as much in theſe words,* Math. 5. *Swear not by the heavens, becauſe it is the throne of God; nor by the earth, becauſe it is his footſtool: therefore every creature may be the matter of adoration which nevertheleſs is not directed or terminated*

* *Vaſques. lib. 2. diſp. 6. cap. 3.*

* *Vaſques de ador lib. 3. diſp. 1. c. 2 n. 8.*

* *Vaſques 1. lib. n. 10.*

to

Tom. 1.

to the creature as it is a creature, but unto God in the creature. From theſe ſuppoſitions he elſewhere infers, that as we may worſhip God in every creature wherein he is preſent, and coadore the creature with him, that is in his language exhibite ſignes of ſubmiſſion or reverence to it out of that internal adoration in ſpirit which we owe only unto God: ſo men may worſhip S. *Peter* or S. *Paul* in their Images with *Dulia*, and coadore their Images with them with ſuch external ſignes of ſubmiſſion, as the internal worſhip of *Dulia* would outwardly expreſs unto them were they preſent. Many learned expoſitors are ſo far from granting every creature to be the object of a lawful oath, that they hold it unlawful, upon what occaſion ſoever, to ſwear by any. Yet beſides the ſlipperineſs or queſtionable ſolidity of his ſuppoſed ground; the frame of his inference from it is ſo conciſe and imperfect, that in ſtead of an anſwer we might without wrong diſmiſs it with this Item; *Go and learn your meſſage better and you ſhall have audience.* But becauſe it is a ſtranger in our coaſts, and ſeems to conceive more than it well expreſſeth, we will allow it the benefit of an *Interpreter* to acquaint it with our cuſtomes. Now, might it be admitted into our courts of *Juſtice*, I ſuppoſe it would plead that the *Romiſh* Church doth no otherwiſe divide her devotions between God or his Saints and their Images, than we Proteſtants do ſolemn oaths (which many of us grant, as *Vaſques* preſumes, to be acts of religious worſhip) betwixt *God* and the ſacred *book* which we kiſs. For if we truly reverence it, for the relation which it hath to God, but with an inferiour kind of reverence and ſubmiſſion, than we owe to God; This will make ſtrongly for that manner of *Image-worſhip* which *Bellarmine* and *Sacroboſcus* commend to us. Or, if out of that internal reverence and ſubmiſſion of mind which we bear only towards God, we derive this outward ſigne of reverence to the book, not that we acknowledge it in it ſelf (though not of it ſelf) capable of any reſpect or ſubmiſſion of mind, but only reverencing God in it as in a viſible and lively pledge of his preſence; we ſhall hardly be able to make any better plea for this ſolemn cuſtome againſt the accuſations of the *Anabaptiſts*, than *Vaſques* hath done for kiſſing and ſaluting Images.

Ipſa igitur natura rerum et adorationis perſpicuè docet honorem exhibitum imagini neceſſariò ad ipſum primum fontem, ſcilicet exemplar, tranſire: quare et adorationem imaginis, ſicut etiam juramentum per res creatas, et inanimas, eſſe actum veræ religionis, non quatenus ad ipſas refertur ſecundum ſe, ſed quatenus ex affectu per illas ad Deum tranſit Vaſquez lib. 2. *De adoratione. Diſput.* 8. *cap.* 8. *n.* 366.

2. Few things are in colour more like to honey than ſope or gall, though none more unlike in taſt. And theſe inſtances, though they may ſeem to have ſome ſimilitude at firſt appearance, will upon a more particular tryal eaſily appear moſt diſlike. Firſt, if we ſpeak of particular oaths given only for ſatisfaction of men, they include or preſuppoſe a religious profeſſion of our allegiance unto God; as to our ſupream Judge: they are not ſuch proper acts of his *ſervice*, as ſupplications, thankſgivings, and ſolemn vows are. The true end and uſe of their inſtitutions is to give ſatisfaction unto men in caſes wherein no aſſeveration will be taken for ſufficient, ſuch as is ſolemnly and deliberately conceived and uttered, as it were in the ſight and preſence of him, whom we acknowledge to be the ſearcher of all hearts, the ſupreme judge of all controverſies, and the avenger of all falſhood and wrong. And, for this reaſon, ſolemn oaths are not to be adminiſtred by any but by thoſe whom he termes gods. Theſe juſt occaſions or neceſſity of taking oaths preſuppoſed; the general reſolution or publick injunction to ſwear only by the name of the true and everliving God, is an honour to him, becauſe we hereby profeſs our ſelves to be only his ſervants, and him to be the clear fountain of truth, the ſevere avenger of all falſhood in deed, word or thought. But his honour would be no whit leſs, if the

uſe or neceſſity of oaths amongſt men were none; as in caſe every mans *yea* or *nay* were as good as his *affirmative* or *negative* oath; much better than his bond. But taking men as they are; to confirm every word uttered or promiſe made by them, with a ſolemn oath; would be a prophanation of his name, by whom they ſwear; although they ſwear or promiſe nothing but the truth. For it is one thing to ſwear the truth, another to ſwear in truth and judgment. This can never be performed without due obſervance of the end and occaſion why oaths were inſtituted.

3. Far otherwiſe it is in ſupplications and thankſgivings; the more often and ſolemnly we praiſe God or pray unto him, the more we honor him; becauſe theſe are direct and immediate acts of his ſervice, not inſtituted to give ſatisfaction unto men but only to glorifie his name, and to better our own ſouls. Beſides this difference in the *ſubjects* wherein they are uſed; the uſe and end of Images in *Romiſh* devotions, is altogether different from the uſe or end of the *book* in adminiſtration of oaths. The image is uſed by them as the *mean* or meſſenger for tranſporting devotions or religious affections unto God or the Saints, whoſe honor is principally and expreſly aimed at, in their unwildy ejaculations before ſtocks and ſtones; yet ſo, as the image is, in their intentions, a true ſharer with the prototypon in ſuch honor. We uſe the *book* only as a complement of the civil act whereby we give ſatisfaction unto men, or as a viſible remembrancer partly to by-ſtanders or ſpectators, whoſe eyes by this means may become as true witneſſes as their ears, that ſuch proteſtations have been made; partly, unto him that makes them, who will be more wary and circumſpect what he avoucheth and proteſteth; when he perceives his ſpeeches muſt be ſealed with ſuch remarkable circumſtances, as they cannot but be often recalled to his own and others memory. To the ſame end men of honorable place or calling, uſe to lay their hands upon their hearts, when they take a ſolemn oath: yet no man will think that they intend hereby to honor themſelves, or to ſhare with *him* by whoſe name they ſwear; although we grant oaths ſo taken to be true and proper acts of Religion or Gods ſervice.

4. Nor do ſuch as ſwear, or (at leaſt) are thought to ſwear by ordinary or obvious creatures, as, *by this bread*, *by this light*, intend the tranſmiſſion of any peculiar honor by them to the creator. Nor can ſuch atteſtations though in ſome caſes, (for ought I conceive) not unlawful, be in any caſe or upon any occaſions, more proper acts of divine worſhip or ſervice than other aſſeverations of truth are; from which they differ not in nature but only in degree of ſeriouſneſs or vehemency. There is in all men by nature a proneneſs or deſire to make them, upon provocation or miſtruſt: which natural proneneſs may (perhaps) by religious diſcretion, be ſevered from that corruption of nature, wherewith even oaths expreſly conceived in Gods name, are often polluted. Though the form be not always ſo expreſs, the intent and meaning of ſuch atteſtations may, for the moſt part, be the ſame with that which *Joſuah* uſed, *cap.* 24. *ver.* 27. *And* Joſhuah *wrote theſe words in the book of the Law of God; and took a great ſtone, and pitched it there under an Oak that was in the Sanctuary of the Lord. And* Joſuah *ſaid unto the people, Behold this ſtone ſhall be a witneſs unto us; for it hath heard all the words of the Lord which he hath ſpoken with us; it ſhall be therefore a witneſs againſt you, leſt you deny your God.*

5. Again, it will be granted but by a few of our writers (though

Vaſques

Vide Naclantum Epiſt. ad Rom. cap. 1. loco citato.

Vaſques take it for unqueſtionable) that *Jacob* did truly worſhip the ſtone, but God alone *preſente lapide*, as ſome of his ſect perſwade themſelves they honor God *in the Images preſence, not the Image.* Of many expoſitions, to this purpoſe, I might make better uſe againſt *Bellarmine* and *Sacroboſcus* than I can againſt *Vaſques*, who hath drawn the controverſie about *Image-worſhip* to ſuch a ſtraight and narrow iſſue, that by pinching him too hard or too haſtily in theſe paſſages, we may give him opportunity to *bruſh* us off, or occaſion him to ſtand at *bay*. Whereas if we give him leave to take his own courſe through them, he will quickly run himſelf ſo far out of breath, that we may eaſily overtake him on plain ground, or drive him into that net, out of which there is no poſſibility of evaſion. Be it granted then (to this end, and no farther) that *Jacob* did not only adore God *preſente lapide*, but *ſalute* or *adore* the ſtone withall, in ſuch a manner as *Vaſques* would have Images worſhiped, together with their prototypons: will it hence follow that ſuch as frame their devotions by *Vaſques* his rule, do not tranſgreſs the law of God, do not remove the bounds of the ancient, or commit no more Idolatry than *Jacob* did? Their pretended warrant from this inſtance rather proves, that the devil wrought the *Romiſh* Church unto Idolatry by the ſame fallacy which ſeduced the Heathens, rude Pagans, or uncatechized Chriſtians, unto ſorcery. For what profeſſor of magical ſecrets at this day is there, which cannot, which doth not pretend the like examples of Patriarcks or Prophets for their ſuperſtitious practiſes? As Satan is Gods ape; ſo Idolatry and ſorcery, (the two principal parts of his ſervice) have their original for the moſt part, from an apiſh imitation of ſome ſacred actions, rites or ceremonies uſed by Gods ſervants. He is a counterfeit Lord, and his profeſſed or domeſtick ſervants muſt be cloathed in ſuch liveries, as may bear ſome counterfeit colour of Saints garments. The reaſon why moſt men ſlide more eaſily and farther into theſe two ſins, than into any other (without all ſuſpition of any danger, oft-times with preſumption of doing well) may be gathered; partly from the property of mans nature aſſigned by the Philoſopher; partly from the Apoſtles character of the natural man: *Qui non percipit quæ ſunt ſpiritûs Dei; who cannot perceive matters of the ſpirit.* Man by nature is of all creatures moſt apt to imitate, and the natural man moſt unapt rightly to imitate or expreſs the ſuggeſtions or motions of the Spirit, which cannot be otherwiſe than ſpiritually diſcerned; much leſs managed. Now he that hath no touch or ſenſe of the ſpirit, muſt needs remain altogether ſenſleſs of his miſtakings in imitating the ſpirit, wherein he glories no leſs; than apes do in counterfeiting man.

6. In matters of ſecular civility or morality, many things well beſeem one man, which are very uncomely in another. Even in one and the ſame mans behaviour or deportment, many things are decent and lawful whiles they are drawn from him by ſpecial or rare occaſions; whoſe uſual practiſe, upon diſlike or no occaſions, becomes (according to the nature of the ſubject) ridiculous or diſhoneſt. Now in *ſubjects* of higheſt nature, as in the ſervice of God or matters ſpiritual; the leaſt digreſſion or declination from propoſed patterns (though it be not ſo obſervable to common ſenſe) is far more dangerous, than a greater error in morality; the precipitation once continued is irrecoverable. The beſt and moſt *Catholick* remedy againſt the two fore-mentioned *Catholick* miſchiefs, would be the ſerious obſervation of this general rule: *Such actions as have been managed by Gods ſpirit, ſuggeſted by ſecret inſtinct, or extracted by extraordinary and ſpecial occaſions,*

are then only lawful in others, when they are begotten by like occaſions or brought forth by like impulſions.] Their purpoſed or affected imitation is alwayes unſeaſonable and prepoſterous, and, by continual uſe or cuſtome, becomes magical or Idololatrical. *Jonathan* did not ſin in taking an *Omen* (whether by the ſpirit of propheſying or by ſome inferior kind of inſtinct) from his enimies *invitations.* For another to attempt the like enterpriſe by warrant of his example, upon like ſpeeches, would be a ſuperſtitious tempting of God; no better than a magical ſacrifice. The ſame obſervation will fit the prognoſtication of *Abrahams* ſervant, ſent to beſpeak his young Maſter *Iſaac* a wife, *Gen.* 25. An *Italian* in latter times of greater ſpirit than means, going out to his *work* with his ax, whilſt a great Army was paſſing by, comparing the hopeleſs poſſibilities of his preſent profeſſion with the poſſible hopes of a martial life; out of this doubtful diſtaſte of his preſent eſtate, whoſe beſt ſolace was ſecurity from bodily dangers, frames a preſage unto himſelf not much unlike unto that of *Jonathans*, and it was *to throw up his ax into an high tree having conditioned with himſelf, that if it came down again, he would take it up and follow his wonted trade; but if it ſhould chance to hang in the boughs, he would ſeek to raiſe himſelf and his family by the wars*; as afterward he ſtrangely did: for he himſelf became ſo great a Commander, that *Sforza* his ſon, upon the foundations which he had laid, did advance himſelf to the Dukedome of *Millain.* For every repining diſcontented peaſant to put the forſaking or following of his wonted calling unto the like caſual devolution, would be a tempting of God: to prognoſticate the ſame ſucceſs, from experience of the like event; albeit he had opportunity to try the concluſion, with the ſame ax, upon the ſame tree, would be ſuperſtitious: to reſt confident in ſuch perſwaſions, would be to ſettle upon the dregs of ſorcery. *Charles* the fift did once ſalute the *Spaniſh* ſhore, whereof he was, (under God,) the ſupream Lord, in ſuch an affectionate and proſtrate manner, as his meaneſt vaſſal could not ordinarily have ſaluted either him, or it, without juſt imputation of groſs Idolatry. And yet I ſhould ſuſpect him to be waywardly ſuperſtitious or ſuperſtitiouſly peeviſh, that would peremptorily condemn this his ſtrange behaviour, of ſuperſtition, or cenſure it as ill beſeeming ſo heroical a ſpirit, for the preſent; though at other times it might have ſeemed, not vain or fooliſh only, but *Apiſhly impious.* His late farewel to the wars and reſignation of the Empire, his longing deſire to give ſolemn teſtimony of his love to the *Spaniſh* Nation, his ſafe arrival (after long abſence and eſcapes of many dangers) in that ſoyl, many of whoſe ſons had ſpent their lives in his ſervice, and wherein he purpoſed to ſpend the reſt of his life in the ſervice of his God, in that ſoyl, unto whoſe cuſtody he then publickly bequeathed his bones, did extract theſe ſignificant and extraordinary expreſſions of his extraordinary and ſwelling affection from him. And ſuch expreſſions as are ridiculous or rather impious when they are affected or faſhioned by forced affection, are always pardonable, for the moſt part commendable, when they proceed from an unexpected inſtinct or *unmaſterable* impulſion. All extraordinary diſpoſitions, as *love, joy, ſorrow,* or *fear,* whether natural or ſacred, naturally deſire a ſpeedy vent, and that vent is fitteſt, which firſt preſents it ſelf without ſeeking. The ſuddain motions wherewith ſuch full paſſions ſeek to expreſs themſelves, are uncapable of rule or method. To put the characters of ordinary complement or behaviour upon them; breeds greater violence or incumbrance, than gyves or fetters to a man diſpoſed to dance, or manicles

Vide Aug. quæſt. 62. in Geneſ.

Cottoniola. vid. inter alios Varceviceum in Farall.

to one provoked to boyſterous fight. And as the Sun in his ſtrength cannot directly ejaculate his beams upon any body capable of heat and illumination, but others adjoyning will be ſecondary participants of theſe qualities by reflection; ſo cannot our affections be ſtrongly and intenſively ſet upon any object extraordinarily amiable or lovely, but ſome rayes or branches of them will redouble upon thoſe ſenſible creatures which have ſpecial affinity with it, though of themſelves uncapable of any love. Tender and endeared reſpects to mens perſons, will always leave ſome touch of grateful affection towards the place wherein we have enjoyed any memorable fruit of their preſence. Thus *Andromache* bereft of her young ſons company, deſires his garments to reſt her unwildy affections upon them. Nor dare I cenſure this her deſire as unlawful, leſt I ſhould condemn the generation of the juſt. For did not old *Jacob* expreſs the tender affection which he bare to the ſon of his age whom he now never lookt to ſee again, by kiſſing his coat? yet to have hanged it up about his bed or table, that it might receive ſuch ſalutations evening and morning, or at every meal-time, might have countenanced many branches of ſuperſtition. *Once and uſe it not*, in moſt like caſes is the true rule of diſcretion; continual uſe of that, which upon all occaſions is not unlawful, degenerates (no man knows how) into abuſe. God in his Law permits a kind of ceremonious mourning for the dead, but preſcribes a mean withall. So then to mourn is natural; but to mourn continually, or to feed our grief by artificial repreſentations, is ſuperſtitious.

7. To the inſtance of *Jacobs* worſhiping the ſtone: the internal ſenſe or touch of Gods extraordinary preſence, inſpired his breaſt with extraordinary paſſion. And to reflect or exonerate themſelves upon ſenſible circumſtances, is altogether as natural to the fulneſs of thoſe affections which proceed from ſupernatural cauſes, as to their fulneſs, whoſe cauſes are meerly natural. The meer imitation of natural motions is always artificial, never natural. The imitation of ſuch motions or external actions, as naturally flow from ſupernatural inſpiration, is hypocritical; artificially Sathanical. Howbeit the *Romaniſt* cannot ſo properly be ſaid to imitate, as to invert *Jacobs* behaviour, whiles he ſeeks to raiſe his affections by ſaluting or adoring Images, or to tranſmit the affection which he ſo raiſeth, to God or the Saints by Images of his own erection. This is in truth not to invocate but to conjure God or the Saints. The imitation (if ſo we call it) is as prepoſterous, as if a man ſhould ſtrive to propheſie or counterfeit viſions by affecting to ſpeak non-ſence, becauſe ſome Prophets in their viſions have been raught beyond their ſenſes. In fine, the ſcholaſtick ape, while he exactly imitates his maſter Satan that ſets him a work, and his manner of worſhiping God by Images, hath the ſame proportion to *Jacobs* worſhiping (which he pretends for his warrant) that the voices or motions, of bodies aſſumed by wicked ſpirits, have to the vital motions or ſpeeches of living men. The one move themſelves as the ſpirit which God hath implanted in them directs; the other ſuffer ſuch motions as malignant ſpirits put upon them. The old *Saracens* adoration of a ſtone, may with better probability be juſtified by *Jacobs* example, than the uſual worſhip of Images in the *Romiſh Church*.

8. Many paſſages in the Fathers though cruelly rackt by the *Romiſh Church*, will reach no further than the former inſtance in *Jacob*. *Adoration*, in many of their languages, is no more than decent ſalutation. The phraſes (as *Vaſques* obſerves) are with them indifferent, nor were

they ſollicitous in what terms they expreſſed theſe expreſſions of their love or reverence unto thoſe viſible objects, which had affinity with their extraordinary paſſions, or peculiar reference unto God or Chriſt; as knowing the reſpect, which they tendred, to be void of ſuperſtition when it flowed only from abundance of internal affection, or was drawn from them upon ſpecial impulſions. They did not affect ſubmiſſive ſalutation, or that emphatical expreſſion of their affections which they often uſed, as a part of religious duty or daily worſhip, but as a point of decent behaviour. And decent behaviour doth change the ſubject only, not alter its own *nature* or *form*, whiles it is uſed in matters ſacred. Nor is the habit of civil complement or good manners ſuch an unhallowed weed, as muſt be laid aſide when we come into the *Sanctuary*, or into places ſometimes graced with their extraordinary preſence, whom we reverence for their Religion and Piety. The uſe or frequency of it notwithſtanding muſt be limitted by juſt analogy to the known or approved uſe of it in matters civil.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The Arguments drawn from Jacobs *fact, and the like examples anſwered by* Vaſques *himſelf in another caſe, and by the Analogy of civil diſcretion.*

1. WIth what ſecret joy or exultation, the undoubted ſight of our Saviours Sepulcher, of mount *Tabor*, or like ſacred Monuments would feed my ſoul and ſpirit; or in what external teſtifications the abundance of theſe internal diſpoſitions would vent themſelves, I cannot tell, until I have juſt occaſion to try them. But my heart (I am perſwaded) ſhould not afterward ſmite me much, if, upon our firſt meeting, I ſaluted them in ſuch a manner as did I daily repair unto them, with purpoſe to tender them the like ſalutations, or to invite the former affections or exultations by kiſſing or bowing to them, would convince my conſcience of transferring the honor of God, to ſtocks and ſtones. The moſt learned amongſt our Adverſaries whiles they ſeek to give ſatisfaction to our objections, are enforced, to acknowledge not only the equity of this liberty, which we grant, but the neceſſity of the reſtraint (which to their prejudice) we make; from the authority of a ſtory more canonical with them then with us. For *Mordecai* to have bowed his knees to a mortal man was not (even in *Romiſh* gloſſes upon Gods Laws given to the *Jews*) altogether unlawful. Nor did *Haman* deſire to be adored *Cultu latriæ*, though ſome * *Romaniſts* for want of a better anſwer have been put upon this ſhift. But their dreams † *Vaſques* hath very well refuted. Firſt, becauſe *Aſſuerus* himſelf never affected this kind of honor, and *Haman* could not be ſo fooliſh, though ſo impious, as to exact a greater honor than had been done unto his ſoveraign. Secondly, becauſe *Mordecai* proteſted his readineſs to do *Haman* greater honor than was exacted, ſo his people might have been preſerved or advanced by his dejection. Yet to have honored *Aſſuerus* himſelf, or any mortal man, with divine honor, had been ſuch an open wrong unto the God of his Fathers, as *Mordecai* would not have done for prevention of any miſchief that could have befallen his people. However; if the proteſtation of his readineſs, to kiſs the ſoles of *Hamans* feet, upon condition the ſtate of his people might be thereby bettered: what truth is there in his pretence that being

* *Alanus Copus, Thomas Aquinas, Lyra, &c.*

† *Vaſques lib. 1. de adorat. diſp. 5. cap. 3. numb. 156. &c.*

ing a *Jew* he durſt not bow his knee to *Haman*, leſt by ſo doing he ſhould transfer the honor of his God to a mortal man, ſpecially ſeeing the ſafety of his nation was at that time ſo deeply indangered by refuſal of worſhip which had been tendered by his religious anceſtors not only to Kings and Prophets of *Judah*, but even to heathen Princes. To this ſcruple *Vaſques* out of *Cajetane* hath made anſwer very appoſitely for *Mordecai* and for us; *Noluit illud ſignum honoris præbere, quia indignum ei videbatur, ut ſolum reverentiæ civilis gratiâ, niſi magnâ aliqua cauſa exigente, homini quotidie ſignum illud exhiberetur, non quòd lege Judaicâ id prohibitum eſſet, ſed quia ex communi conſuetudine non niſi magnâ aliqua ex cauſâ regibus & principibus illud ſignum exhibebatur: ſed ſoli Deo tanquam ſupremum communiter erat reſervatum. Atque hac ratione dixit Mardochæus. Timui ne honorem Dei, id eſt ſignum quod conſuetudine populi noſtri, dei cultui applicatum eſt, in hominem transferrem.* The brief or abſtract of his reply is this: The ſign of ſubmiſſion which *Haman* exacted, was uſually tendered only unto God; to Kings or Prophets or others in preeminence very ſeldom, and upon ſpecial occaſions; as in teſtification either of unuſual ſorrow, or of thankfulneſs more than ordinary. The truth of his obſervation is apparant out of *Ruths* behaviour to *Boaz*, of *Judeths* to *Holofernes*, of *Abigails* and *Mephiboſheths* to *David*, and of the *Captains* to *Eliah*, 4 *King.* 1. And albeit *Haman* was bent to do the *Jews* an extraordinary miſchief for *Mordecais* ſake; yet *Mordecai* had no opportunity offered him by divine providence to prevent it by ſubmiſſion of himſelf to *Haman*, but rather by ſtanding out againſt him. In this general then, *Vaſques* and we well agree, that ſuch external worſhip as upon ſpecial and rare occaſions may be lawfully exhibited to ſome creatures, becomes Idololatrical by uſe or continuance, without concurrence of like occaſions. The iſſue which we deſire to joyn with him and his fellows, from theſe grounds, ſhall be this. *Firſt, whether the homage, which they do to Images be not in it ſelf much greater, and, in reſpect of many circumſtances, far more ſolemn than* Haman *required of* Mordecai? *Secondly, whether the exhibition of it in Gods Temples be not more frequent and uſual, than* Mordecais *occaſions and neceſſities of ſaluting* Haman *could have been in* Aſſuerus *Court?* Herein only they truly follow *Mordecais* example, that they ſeldome or never communicate Gods honor to ſecular Princes; but on ſtocks or ſtones they uſually beſtow all the ſigns of ſubmiſſion or other ſolemnities that can be appropriated to Gods ſervice.

Vaſques ibid. n. 158.

2. The ſtrict tenor of Gods commandement, and that ſignificant character, whereby he expreſſeth his ſpecial obſervance of mens demeanor in this point, evidently condemn the *Romiſh Church* of abominable Idolatry; yet in my judgement it doth no way prejudice the performance of ſuch external reſpect, or ſuch teſtification of reverence unto true reliques of Saints, or uncouth places (ſometimes extraordinarily graced with Gods preſence) as *Jacob* tendered unto the ſtone. We ought in theſe caſes to moderate the impulſions which their ſight would procure, by the analogy of that liberty, which diſcretion and good manners grants us in other points, wherewith the occaſions of Idolatry have moſt affinity. For Idolatry is but a ſpiritual fornication or adultery. Now there is no man of diſcretion, though otherwiſe more jealous than he hath juſt cauſe, but will permit his wife to ſalute his friends upon ſpecial occaſions, or at firſt meetings after long abſence. But ſuppoſe a wanton, upon this liberty, ſhould preſume to continue the ſame ſalutations evening and morning, or moſt hours of the day,

for a moneth together, and plead her excuſe from the analogy of *Romiſh Catechiſms* in caſes of conſcience concerning ſpiritual adultery, thus; Sir, I thought I might as freely kiſs my friends and yours, at one time, as at another; at all times, as well as any, ſo long as I kiſs them only with kiſſes of love and kindneſs, not of luſt and wantonneſs. Would this diſtinction give juſt ſatisfaction to any husband, no farther jealous than he hath occaſion? I think no *Jeſuit* would rely upon it, if he ſhould be detected to be thus over familiar with another mans wife of better ſpirit. And yet in expreſs denying the equity of this apology, they implicitly grant that their mother doth preſume farther upon the patience of the Almighty (who in this caſe hath proteſted his eſpecial jealouſie) than any ſecular Strumpet dare, upon the patience of her loving or doting husband. *She hath done all the works of a preſumptuous whoriſh woman, building her high places in the corner of every way, and making her high places in every ſtreet, and hath not been as an harlot, that deſpiſeth a reward, but as a wife that playeth the harlot, and taketh others for her husband. She is contrary, Other harlots receive rewards of their lovers, which for the moſt part repair unto them. She compaſſeth ſea and land and rangeth through all the Courts of the great Kings dominion, with gifts in her hand to entice, with the ſacrifice of praiſe and hymns in her mouth to enchant the chaſt and loyal ſervants of her Lord unto her luſt.* And being deprived of their company proſtrates her ſelf, evening and morning, all the hours of the day and night, unto carved Images of both ſexes; with whom her Lord and husband hath ſo ſtrictly forbidden her all familiarity. And yet, in pride of her whoriſh cunning, preſumes ſhe is able to blear that all-ſeeing *eye*, unto whoſe brightneſs light it ſelf is in compariſon but as darkneſs; to whom the moſt ſecret corners of darkneſs ſhine more clearly than the noon-light doth unto us; if ſhe have but leiſure to wipe her lips with this diſtinction, I did kiſs thy ſervants, unto whom I proſtrated my body, only with kiſſes of *dulia*, not of *latria*. The *ſent* of dead corps cannot draw the Vultures half ſo far, with ſuch greedineſs, as every unſavory *tale* or ridiculous *wonder* doth her children, to feed their ſouls with the ſight of counterfeit and putrified reliques. The wiſeſt of her ſons are now become ſo fooliſh, as to publiſh with their mouths, what ſhe had long ſince ſaid in the pride of her heart: *Tuſh, God was a jealous God in the dayes of the Synagogue his former wife, which wanted diſcretion and proved unfaithful: but this his new Spouſe, our holy mother the Catholick Church, is more wiſe and gratious in his eyes, able to warrant whatſoever is done by her appointment, ſhe knows how to humor and pleaſe her loving husband, who is not like man that he ſhould be jealous of her carriage, that means no harm and cannot behave her ſelf amiſs, though, to unfaithful eyes, ſhe may ſeem outwardly to do as wantons do.*

Ezek. 16. v.31,32.

3. God indeed is never jealous as men are, without grounds of juſt occaſion, yet more tenderly obſervant of his *ſpouſes* demeanour in this kind, than any husband is of his wifes; becauſe he knows (as by his law he would give us to underſtand) that familiarity or dalliance with ſtrange and wanton lovers, is not ſo powerful to corrupt the weaker ſex, as kiſſing or ſolemn ſalutations of graven Images, is to pollute the wiſeſt ſouls, or to enveigle the ſtrongeſt faith. And unleſs we knew he had determined to confound the wiſdome of the wiſe, it would ſeem more than miraculouſly ſtrange, how ſuch great ſchollers as are the *Jeſuits*, ſhould be ignorant, that the viſible exhibition of Chriſt in the fleſh, makes all ſervice of graven Images more abominable in the Chri-

ſtians, than it could have been in the *Jew*. It is a truth ſealed by the new Teſtament as well as by the Law, We heard a voyce, we ſaw no ſimilitude beſides the engraven Image of Gods ſubſtance, by whom, though he ſpeak moſt plentifully to the world, yet ſpake he nothing concerning Images. Neither is there any inſtance or matter of fact in all the new Teſtament, that can be pretended for worſhiping Images or other viſible creatures, with ſuch *ſhew* of probability, as the former inſtance of *Jacob* may be. But whether *Jacob* did only worſhip God, *præſente lapide*, or whether he did in ſome ſort externally worſhip or coadore the ſtone with God ; or whether he did make unto himſelf ſuch ſenſible atteſtation of his ſolemn vow, by anointing the ſtone, and erecting it into a pillar, as we do of our ſolemn oaths by kiſſing of the book : I leave it to the Reader ; though for mine own part I like this laſt *form* of *ſpeech* the beſt. But however mens opinions may vary concerning the *form* of *ſpeech*, the matter moſt to be conſidered by all (which ſeems to me a truth unqueſtionable,) is this : *If the wiſeſt or moſt circumſpect man on earth ſhould worſhip God in every place, after the ſame manner (for every circumſtance that* Jacob *did God in* Bethel ; *or, if the moſt accurate Anatomiſt of his own thoughts or affections, ſhould take every ſtone into ſuch conſideration, whilſt he worſhipeth God, as* Jacob *did that ſtone :* He *ſhould become a groſs Idolater without all help from any diſtinction, wherewith the* Romiſh Church *can furniſh him. The truth is, that* Jacob *did ſo worſhip God in the preſence of the ſtone, as his poſterity were bound to worſhip him before the Ark of the Covenant. Both worſhiped him* in *or* by *thoſe creatures, after ſuch a manner, as we may not worſhip him in any created viſible ſubſtance, ſave only in that* created ſubſtance *wherein he dwelleth bodily.* The manner of his preſence (then) at *Luz* or *Bethel*, and in the Ark, were ſhadows or pledges of his inhabitation in the man Chriſt Jeſus ; in whom, were he preſent on earth, we might and ought to adore God in ſuch a manner, as would be ſacrilegious to adore him in any other man or body.

4. But it is the property of whoredome as well ſpiritual as carnal, to lead ſuch as taſte her baits with delight, like Oxen, to the ſlaughter, without any apprehenſion of dangers approach, until death ſurpriſe them. *Lots* miſchance is become the *Romiſh Churches* perpetual heritage ; ſhe is ſo beſotted with the grapes of her own planting, that ſhe knows not what abomination ſhe commits, nor with whom. Like an harlot drunk in a common Inn, or a frantick whore in an open market ſhe proſtrates her ſelf to every paſſenger, and ſets open all the temples of God, whoſe keys have been committed to her cuſtody, that they may ſerve as common ſtews for ſatiating the foul luſts of infernal ſpirits ; whom ſhe thither invites by ſolemn inchantments, as by ſacrificing and offering incenſe unto Images. And finding pleaſure in the practice, dreams ſhe imbraceth her Lord and husband, whilſt theſe unclean birds, encage themſelves in hers and her childrens breaſts.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Whether granting that it were lawful to worſhip ſuch Saints, as we undoubtedly believe to be true Saints; we might lawfully worſhip ſuch as we ſuſpect to be no true Saints.

1. IF to honor true Saints and heirs of bliſs with prayers, temples, ſacrifices, and vows, be Idolatry; we ſhall want terms to expreſs the abomination of their ſacriledge, in performing theſe points of ſervice unto ſuch as the world hath either no warrant to account members of Chriſts myſtical body, or juſt reaſon to ſuſpect for ſons of darkneſs. In doubtful caſes of this nature, ſome honeſtly minded *Romaniſts* uſed to conceive their prayers with ſuch conditions as the *French man* did his to S. *Cuthbert*, *Si ſanctus ſis, ora pro me, If you be a Saint, pray for me.* It was a deſperate reſolution, better befitting an impudent Monk, than Sir *Thomas More*, to cenſure this caution of ſcrupuloſity, or to reject it as no leſs ſuperfluous or unmannerly, than this form of requeſt unto one of our living neighbours; *If you be an honeſt man, I would requeſt you to remember me in your prayers; if not, I will not trouble you.* The good Gentleman was out of his element, when he wrote controverſies in Divinity; for he would have ſooner taken an Apple in ſtead of an Nut at a Banquet, than have judged two caſes of civil juſtice, ſo diſlike, as theſe which he here brings, by one and the ſame rule of law. There is no man honeſtly wiſe, but would ſooner requeſt his prayers whom he knows to be diſhoneſt or of irreligious life, then bear a ſolemn teſtimony of his honeſty or religion. Mutual prayer, is a duty enjoyned us while we live together: the practiſe of it, is the beſt *mean* to make bad men good, and good men better. But men deceaſed, whether elect or reprobates, are uncapable of amendment, either by our prayers for them, or theirs for us. Nor do the *Romaniſts* enjoyn us to pray to ſuppoſed Saints, with purpoſe to encreaſe their happineſs, or, as if they ſtood in need of our devotions. To pray for any whom it is lawful publickly to pray unto, is by their doctrin a foul diſgrace unto the Saint; a point of infidelity in the ſupplicant. Praying to Saints is by their opinion on our part a duty or tribute wherewith we are bound to honor them: their prayers or interceſſions for us, are Princely favours or graces which muſt be ſought, not as acts of debt or mutual duty, but by religious ſervice and ſupplication. Now, admitting it were lawful to ſupplicate thus unto S. *Peter*, or unto others whom we believe and know to be true Saints; yet, in publick liturgies, to offer up our prayers and vows upon our knees, either in honor of thoſe with whoſe lives and deaths we are altogether unacquainted, or of thoſe whom we ſuſpect to have lived and dyed not ſo well, as we could wiſh to do our ſelves, is a ſin, ſo much more grievous to good conſciences, than bearing teſtimony upon oath for mens poſitive honeſty whom we know not; as ſtealing of treaſure out of the Church is in reſpect of ſimple theft or burglary. Teſtimonies given upon oath require certainty of ſence or experiment; and tendering of prayers as a tribute or honor, or in teſtification of our religious reſpect, requires certainty of faith, that the party to whom they are tendred, is worthy of them.

Sir *Thomas More* in his Treatiſe of Invocation of Saints.

2. *The ground of this difference between praying to living men and praying to deceaſed Saints, (which the ſuperſtitious Doctors ſeek to conceal from the ſimple) may very well be gathered by* analogy *of* Bellarmines *reſolution in another*

Bellar. l. 3. de Sanctor. beatitud. cap 9.

another point of their ſervice. Promiſes (*ſaith he*) religiouſly made to living members of the Church militant, are but promiſes: but ſo made unto Saints or members of the Church triumphant, they are truly and properly vows. *His firſt reaſon is, becauſe a vow is but a promiſe unto God, and our promiſes unto Saints are liker our promiſes unto God than unto the promiſes, which we make to mortal men. For, as that which we promiſe unto God, is unprofitable unto him, but profitable unto us, and is tendred only by us in ſign of honor and thankfulneſs; ſo whatſoever we promiſe unto Saints, it cannot profit them but our ſelves. Their happy eſtate ſtands in need of nothing that is ours; all that we offer and promiſe them, is in teſtimony of the honor which we owe them, or in ſign of our thankfulneſs to them. But performance of our promiſes, either is or may be profitable to living men, becauſe mortality ſtands in need of* many things. *Secondly, the Saints can have no title to our vows,* Niſi quatenus ſunt Dii per participationem; but in as much as they are Gods by participation. *Now we know the Saints which raign with Chriſt to be ſuch: but that ſuch as live with us, are partakers of the divine nature, we may hope well, certain we cannot be. Thirdly, the Saints in heaven are* happy, glorious, *the ſons of* God, *Gods by participation, becauſe they are confirmed in their eſtate, are not ſubject to change or Apoſtaſie; to both which all in this life having their bliſs and glory rather in* ſpe *than in* re, *are (in his judgment)* ſtill obnoxious. From theſe reſolutions we thus infer. If promiſes, then the prayers which we make to Saints, have greater affinity with the prayers which we make to God, than with our requeſt to living men, that they would pray for us. To ſpeak properly, we pray men, we do not uſe to pray unto them. But as unto God, ſo unto Saints, men of the *Roman Churches* catechizing uſe to pray, and that ſolemnly, becauſe they hold them *Gods* by *participation.* Now as we might not worſhip our redeemer *Cultu latriæ, with divine worſhip,* unleſs we were by faith aſſured that he were truly God: ſo admitting the invocation or worſhiping of true Saints *Cultu Duliæ,* were warranted by the word of God; yet might we not worſhip any with this kind of worſhip, without like certainty of faith, that they are *Gods* by *participation,* or *heirs* of glory. Had this great Clerk been mindful, in his third book concerning the worſhiping of Saints, of what he had ſaid before in the firſt, he would in wiſdome have concealed theſe concluſions. Or if he had in the firſt book foreſeen the neceſſity of this reſolution concerning vows, *ſhame* would have made him diſclaim the practiſe of praying though privately unto uncanonized Saints, whoſe lawfulneſs, he there maintains by the ſame plea, that Sir *Thomas More* uſed; *Oramus viventes etiamſi neſciamus eſſe Sanctos, cur non defunctos quando majori ratione confidimus eſſe ſanctos, We pray living men to pray for us, albeit we know them not to be Saints; and why not men deceaſed, whom we may on better reaſons hope to be Saints; though this we may not do in publick Letanies and ſacred Service?* Now; they may not invocate ſuch Saints in publick Liturgies, becauſe the Church hath forbidden it, otherwiſe *Nazianzens Proſopopæia,* in his *Panegyrick* to *Baſil* or *Athanaſius* might have been a ſufficient warrant to have conceived a publick hymn in the ſame form. But (as I ſaid) we pray living men to pray for us, as we are ready to do for them; we pray not unto them; we give no ſolemn teſtimony of their ſanctity, whoſe ſincerity we miſtruſt; though this were leſs ſacrilegious and diſhonorable unto God, then praying unto them whom we know not to be Saints, albeit to pray unto known Saints, were no ſacriledge. For what prepoſterous partiality is this? that God muſt manifeſt

feſt his right to ſupreme honor by his works of creation and providence; that our Saviour which died for us, muſt plead his title to the like, by miracles, whileſt he lived; by his reſurrection from the dead, and glorious aſcenſion into heaven: and yet men that were ſubject to the ſame paſſions as we our ſelves are, muſt be worſhiped after death, with ſuch worſhip as is more like to the honor which we owe to God, than any reſpect or reverence, which is due to the beſt man living; and all this without any evidence of their ſanctity, or juſt proof of their right unto ſuch obſequies.

3. The infinite extent of this Idolatry with ſuſpicious Saints in times paſt, is ſo well proſecuted by many, that it needs no long declaration. No *Jeſuit* will take the defence of the Churches practiſe upon him. For reformation of ſuch palpable abuſes as no diſtinction can ſalve, all of them plead a neceſſity of having Saints canonized, that is, of having their ſuppoſed incorporation into the Church triumphant authentickly publiſhed, and their worſhip authoriſed by the Church, whoſe teſtimony may ground certainty of faith. *Bellarmine* tells us a ſtory, out of *Sulpitius*, of one that was worſhiped for a Martyr, whoſe ſoul notwithſtanding made his appearance before St *Martin*, (who ſuſpected the ſervice as unlawful, becauſe not warranted by tradition of antiquity,) and ingenouſly confeſſed that it was the damned ghoſt of a certain robber, which had been ſentenced to violent death by courſe of law. And Pope *Alexander* the third checkt ſome of his time, (nor were they altogether without blame) for adoring one as an holy Martyr, which had been ſlain in a drunken fray. But granting this ſtory of St *Martin* to be true, unleſs there be ſome authentick judges to determine, which are true revelations, which not; the doctrine of praying to Saints, being indefinitely allowed, it is altogether as likely, that many thieves might be worſhiped upon falſe or pretended revelations, as that the worſhip of one thief ſhould be recald by revelation made to St *Martin*. Hath the Pope then paſſed this infallible cenſure upon all the revelations that have been in this caſe pretended? or taken other order to ſecure the world from all poſſibility of impoſture? If he have, we would deſire to be acquainted with his determinations. In the mean time, we will enquire firſt whether the diſeaſe without ſome ſoveraign medicine be not alike dangerous in *Rome-Chriſtian*, as it was in *Rome-Heathen*? Secondly, whether the medicine pretended by *Rome-Chriſtian* be applyed according to her own preſcriptions? Thirdly, whether ſo applied it be not more deadly than the diſeaſe?

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Rome-Chriſtian as vain and fooliſh in making imaginary Saints, as Rome-Heathen in making falſe Gods.

1. THe ſolemn worſhip of local Saints, did either firſt begin or multiply its firſt beginnings throughout theſe parts of the world with the inundation of *Barbarians*, as the Reader may gather out of *Gregory* of *Towers*, and *Beda*, &c. Nor would I deny, that many of theſe late converted Paynims prayers to God, though conceived out of an opinion of the Saints mediations, were often heard; as the ancient *Romans*, though their devotion were clad with Idolatry, as bones with fleſh, were often rewarded with ſuch temporal bleſſings, as

See Section 3 cap. 18. par. 7. &c. and cap. 21. in the two laſt Parag.

God in juſtice denyed to other Idolaters, leſs devout in their kind. The *Charthaginians* might have ſacrificed unto *Fortune* for victory, or unto ſtorms and tempeſts in their diſtreſs, with worſe ſucceſs, than ſome *Roman* Generals did, becauſe their reſpect or eſteem of divine power & providence indefinitely conſidered, was not ſo good. So might thoſe prayers of the *French* Kings tendred unto S. *Martin*, be ſometimes better heard than the prayers which their enemies made unto their Gods. All this notwithſtanding being granted, the decrees of ſolemn honor to their Images might be as Idolatrous as *Rome-Heathens* erection of Temples unto *fortune* or *Storms*. In oppoſition to Atheiſm or irreligion God uſually accepts devotion though tainted with ſuperſtition. And unto this *caſe*, I will reduce thoſe prayers which that devout Virgin (whoſe chaſtity *Cyprian*, before he was a Saint ſought to expugn by help of magick) preſented to the Virgin *Mary* in extremity of conflict with foul luſts. That prayers thus made, out of ignorance, whether to Saints or falſe Gods, have ſometimes found ſucceſs, is to be aſcribed to the abundant mercy of the true God: to continue the like practiſes, upon theſe experiments, is the fruit of mans ſuperſtitious impiety, and hath been the mother or nurſe of much Idolatry.

Nazianz. in orat. pro Cypriano.

Compare this practiſe in *Rome-Chriſtian* with the practiſes of *Rome-Heathen.* Sect. 3. cap. 17. par. 2, 3, 4, 5, &c.

2. As *Fortune* upon experiments of good ſucceſs in doing her ſervice had more Temples in *Rome* than any other God or Goddeſs: ſo the bleſſed Virgin upon ſuch relations as this of *Nazianzene*, concerning the forementioned *maid*, hath been preſented with more *Ave Maries* by *maids* and *women* (and that with better devotion) than *God* with *Pater noſters*. Though the lawful honor which was given to her redounded to Gods glory: yet in honouring her more than him, they diſhonor him more, then if they adored *fortune* whom they cannot diſhonor, becauſe ſhe is not: but the bleſſed Virgin they much diſhonor in honoring her as a Goddeſs, or a *compeer* of God; and her diſhonor is by their own confeſſion Gods diſhonor. But as to pray to her, ſuits beſt with womens deſires; ſo other perplexities or conditions of life had peculiar Saints, to ſymbolize with them; whoſe reſpect upon particular occaſions or exigences, will (from the temptation before mentioned) be much greater than Gods, if their invocations may be permitted. From this opportunity did the multitude of *Rome-Chriſtians* local Saints exceed the number of *Rome-Heathens* topick Gods. Thus as *Rome-Heathen* had a Goddeſs for corn before it was ſprouted, another for it after it was come up, a third for the ſtraw, a fourth for the knot, and a fifth for the ear; ſo hath *Rome-Chriſtian* one Saint for this part of mans body, another for that; one for the *peſtilence*, another for *fevers*, one for *toothach*, another for pain in the ſide, &c. And would not men, women or children, deeply affected with theſe bodily grievances, pray as heartily and vow as devoutly to their ſuppoſed patrons as unto Chriſt; It is uſual with merry companions, when they hear gameſters pray for good luck, to ſay; God was never good player at cards and dice. Every man in ſence of extream pain, would be as ready to ſay; Chriſt I know is a good man, and hath experience of all infirmities, but we never read that he was ſo much troubled with the tooth-ach, as S. *Apollonia* hath been, or with the ſide-ach, as S. *Roccha*. Hath not S. *Sebaſtian* upon theſe motives bereft him of his titles for his cure of peſtilence? An heathen that ſhould read Gods attributes of *wounding* and *making whole*, or Chriſts miraculous cures of all *diſeaſes*, albeit he neither believed one or other, would undoubtedly believe, that the hymns which have been ſung unto S. *Sebaſtian*, had been conſecrated to the Chriſti-

ans God and Redeemer; or they might well think that to avoyd the cenſure of Paganiſm, the *Papiſts* did honor their *Æſculapius* under another name; or that out of envy to his univerſal ſkill in curing diſeaſes, this Empyrick had been ſet up to eclipſe his fame and rob him of patients in cure of the peſtilence.

Tu qui Deo es tam charus,
Et in luce valde clarus,
Sana tuos populos,
Et à peſte nos defende:
Opem nobis hanc impende
Contra morbi ſtimulos.
Thou who art a God ſo dear,
And in light exceeding clear,
Health unto thy people bring
Us from peſtilence defend:
Ayde unto they people ſend,
'Gainſt diſeaſes that them ſting.

3. Experiments regiſtred in the Records of Antiquity pretended againſt us, will confirm our obſervation, that as Conquerors uſually change the names of Towns and titles of Regiments, with whoſe emoluments or real titles they grace their followers: ſo the * profeſſors of Chriſtianity having expelled the profeſſion of Paganiſm, before their hearts were throughly cleanſed from the reliques of it, ſhared the dignities or ſigniories of the old Heathen Gods, amongſt the Saints or Martyrs, which they beſt affected. Thus was the Temple of *Pantheon*, that is, of all the Gods, with the rites or honors due unto it, alienated by *Rome Chriſtian* to all Saints, whoſe ſervice (by æquivalency) is celebrated as ſuperſtitiouſly by *Rome-Chriſtian* upon the day which we ſolemnize in the memory of all true Saints deceaſed. The *lake* in *Cyrene*, which had been *Pallas* her joynture and bare her name, was in S. *Auguſtines* time bequeathed to S. *Mary* and inſtead of *Tritonidis Palus*, named *Mariæ Palus*, that is, of *Pallas* her *lake*, made our Ladies *lake*. Civil modeſty would not ſuffer latter ages to make the bleſſed Virgin Patroneſs of Wantons; therefore was this part of *Venus* honorable office, beſtowed on *Mary Magdalene*, and on one *Afra*; but *Venus* regency over the Sea fell to S. *Maries* lot upon as little ground, I ſuppoſe, as the Heathens had to entitle *Venus* to it.

† *Venus orta mari mare præſtat eunti*
——*Tranquillum.*

Venus (as thought the heathens) took nature and ſubſtance from the froth of the Sea, and the bleſſed Virgins *name* imports as much as a *Sea* or *multitude of waters*; and is enſtyled in their Liturgies || *Stella maris*. This will worſhip begun upon theſe motives, did multiply *Gods* by ſubdiviſions (occaſioned from the diverſity of ſexes or other references) in as prodigious ſort as the Heathens had done. If the good man pray to *Pelagius* for the welfare of his Oxen, the good-wife would pray to S. *Bride* for the welfare of her Kine. *S. Anthonies* extraordinary and tender care over ſwine, could not content them without another peculiar and more immediate preſident of Sows. Their ſhameleſs and ſottiſh vanity in this kind, is proſecuted at large by others; the Reader, if it be worth his contemplation, may view it with leſs pains than I can draw the Map or ſurvey of it. Amongſt others it is wittily ſet down by the famous Knight of the Mount or Lyon King at Arms, who for concluſion challengeth the *Heralds* of will-worſhip to *blazon* the difference, if any

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* *Quare cum primum illuxit, & invaluit ſplendor Chriſtianæ pietatis, Toloſani proceres tectorio inaurato ſpecioſum fanum, antea Palladi dedicatum, Mariæ Virgini conſultiſſimè tranſcripſerunt: tum quia Pallas virgo ex Jovis parentis cerebro nata fingatur, tum quia conſilio & opibus abundè fortunet mortales, & Maria virginitatem naturæ obſtupendam retinuit, & in Dei Opt. Max. mente ante ſolem & tempora verſabatur, & auream nobis ætatem prorſus reduxit, ac partu mirifico miſeros agroſq; proſperavit, &c. Forcat. lib. 1. pag. 32.*

See Chap. 28. par. 1.

Ave maris ſtella.

† *Apollinis delubrum Clodoveus quintus Francorum Rex, ejecto numine amoribus illicitis infamato, Virgini Mariæ veri ſolis genetrici conſecravit. Forcat. lib. 5. pag. 669.*

|| *Officium Beatæ Mariæ.*

Sir *David Linſey.*

there were, between *Heatheniſh* and *Romiſh* Idolatry. He though as well skill'd as any of his time in titles of honor, could diſcry no difference between their ſervices.

4. *Rome-Heathen* in the ἀκμὴ or full growth of ſuperſtition made *he Gods* of the *maſculine*, and *ſhe Gods* of the feminine *names* of affections, as *Pavor, Clementia*, *&c.* *Rome-Chriſtian* clothed imaginary Saints with formed names, fitted of purpoſe to their humors which were to worſhip them, leſt their merchandiſe ſhould want chapmen. For humorous affection is always charitable to believe that hath real exiſtence, whoſe imagination is pleaſant. It would be hard for any Legendary to produce the warrant of any Writer ſacred or eccleſiaſtick, why *Urbanus* ſhould be reputed a Saint. *Horace*, I think, is the moſt canonical Author he can alledge, *Fœcundi calices quem non fecere diſertum?* Pleaſant companions were to have a patron as well as others, and none ſo fit for them as *Urbanus*. As a coat given by the *Herald* makes a clown a Gentleman: ſo this *name* deviſed by a writer of Legends, was matter enough for men ſo diſpoſed to create a Saint out of it. Or perhaps ſome ſuch, as they name in ſports, had been killed in a drunken fray, and taken for a Martyr of his followers. But out of queſtion ſome good *fellows* in meer merriment ſet up *Gutmannus* for the Warden of *pudding-makers*. The pedigree of many other ſolemnly worſhiped in times paſt, and in ſome places (perhaps) at this day, cannot be derived from any real anceſtors, but had names from the matters, whereof they are ſuppoſed preſidents, as *mammon* in the Syriack and *Plutus* in Greek. In minds once wrought to this effeminate levity and credulity, the very ſight of emblematical or hierogliphical devices would make impreſſion of real Saintſhips. Unto this topick we may refer the *raiſing* of S. *Chriſtopher* or *mounting* of S. *George*. Both in ſome Countries had been adored as Gods, though but *men* of the Painters or Heralds making. That moſt natural branch of ſuperſtition which had ſpread it ſelf, like the Vine amongſt the Heathens (exemplified heretofore in *Balack*) did recover ſap and leaf again in greater quantity in the *Roman Church.* The prayers which the bleſſed Virgin either could not hear, or would not grant at *Wincheſter*, were ſo effectually heard at *Walſingham* or *Loretto*, that the Lady of *Wincheſter*, *Walſingham* and *Loretto* did in vulgar eſteem, differ as much in perſon as theſe Towns did in place, and were conceited to emulate each other no leſs, than as if they had been Ladies of diverſe families in the Princes Court.

5. This leaven of Gentiliſm, which had thus diffuſed it ſelf through the *Romiſh Maſs*, or the *Romiſh Churches* pretended ſervice of God, and thus ſhared his heavenly regiment amongſt the Saints; (as Conquerors do the Lands which they conquer, among their followers) making them not proprietaries only, but in a ſort abſolute Princes within their Territories, and God only a titulary Monarch of the whole or proprietary in ſome principal parts; after it had thus wrought downward did in the iſſue reflect upward. The intellectual conceit of Gods proper attributes, their prayers immediately directed to the Trinity, to the Godhead or Chriſt, were tainted with a ſpice of that ſorcery or vain obſervance, which was before obſerved in the Heathens. Some of their Liturgies argue as great a confidence in altering Gods attributes in their ſupplications, as *Balaam* did in the change of places for his ſacrifice. Of four or five Letanies, which the Church of *Ravenna* had in S. *Gregories* time (but more corrupted ſince) all now abrogated, not for any ſuperſtition but for conformity to the *Roman Church*, this here

following

Tom. I.

Hieronymus Rubeus in his Hiſtory of *Ravenna.*

following was doubtleſs the beſt; becauſe the writer of that Hiſtory would not have the pattern loſt, and the beginning is good, but all the reſt naught.

Creator mundi Deus, miſerere noſtri.
Pater de Cœlis Deus, miſerere noſtri.
Fili Redemptor mundi Deus, miſ. no.
Spiritus ſancte Deus, miſ. no.
Trinus & unus Deus, miſ. no.
Rex regum, miſ. no.
Rex exercituum, miſ. no.
Archangelorum æternitas, miſ. no.
Bonitas Patriarcharum miſ. no.
Charitas ſacerdotum miſ. no.
Divitiæ Prophetarum miſ. no.
Electio Apoſtolorum miſ. no.
Fides Martyrum miſ. no.
Gloria confeſſorum miſ. no.
Hæreditas Levitarum miſ. no.
Juſte Judex miſ. no.
Charitas Poteſtatum miſ. no.
Lux Gentium miſ. no.
Miſericordia captivorum miſ. no.
Navigantium gubernator miſ. no.
Orphanorum paſtor miſ. no.
Pacis conditor miſ. no.
Qui es indultor miſ. no.
Remiſſio peccatorum miſ. no.
Sanitas infirmantium miſ. no.
Tutela virginum miſ. no.
Conſolatio viduarum miſ. no.
Excitatio mortuorum miſ. no.
Initium ſæculorum miſ. no.
Zelus & corona Martyrum miſ. no.
Salvator totius mundi miſ. no.
Pacem & concordiam da nobis Domine.
Sancta Maria miſ. no.

After a Catalogue of particular Saints and Saintеſſes firſt invocated by their proper names, and afterward by way of an univerſal concluſion made up out of the induction of particulars,

Omnes Sanctæ virgines Dei interced.
Omnes ſancti & ſanctæ deæ interced.

They return again to Chriſt and rank his attributes in a ſhort time:

Chriſte fili dei vivi miſ. no.
Tu es Deus omnipotens miſ. no.
Qui in hunc mundum veniſti miſ. no.
Qui pro nobis flagellatus fuiſti miſ. no.
Qui in cruce pependiſti miſ. no.
Qui mortem propter nos accepiſti miſ. no.
Qui in ſepulchro jacuiſti miſ. no.
Qui ad inferos deſcendiſti miſ. no.
Qui tertia die reſurrexiſti miſ. no.
Qui in Cœlos aſcendiſti miſ. no.
Qui Spiritum paracletum in Apoſtolos miſiſti miſ. no.
Qui ſedes ad dexteram Patris miſ. no.

Qui venturus es judicare vivos & mortuos & ſeculum
per ignem, miſ. no.
Miſerere nobis Domine, miſerere nobis:
Kyrie eleiſon.

6. Whiles I read theſe and other Letanies uſed by the *Romiſh Church*, I cannot but congratulate the wiſdome and moderation of the Church wherein I was born and baptized; which hath ſo well extracted the ſpirit of primitive devotion from the groſneſs of later and declining ages ſuperſtition. Theſe admitted new Mediators into their Liturgies, with as great facility, as our corporations do ſtrangers, (whom they would have graced) into their fraternities, or as Univerſities do Students into their Regiſters. *Gregory* the Great had crept into this Letany of *Ravenna*, (as mine Author thinks) after his death, but it ſeems they had allotted him his place whilſt he lived; otherwiſe they might, without offence unto poſterity, have ſet him below S. *Hierom* and S. *Auguſtin*. Our Letany, as it admits no compeers with Chriſt, no ſecundary Mediators or Interceſſors; ſo it uſeth no interpellations of him or any perſon in the Trinity, but ſuch as well becomes the ſincerity and gravity of orthodoxal devotion. Howbeit, the next point I am to proſecute, is the ill ſucceſs, which the *Romiſh Churches* intended reformation of abuſes in praying to Saints hath found, not the good ſucceſs of our own: of which in this place I have no more to ſay, ſave only; The Lord of his mercy grant, that we may be as well inwardly as outwardly conformable to the good orders which our religious Anceſtors have preſcribed.

CHAP. XXXIX.

That the medicine pretended by Rome-Chriſtian for curing the former diſeaſe, did rather increaſe than aſſwage it.

1. AS ordinary Biſhops have their diſtinct dioceſs without which their paſtoral ſtaves cannot reach: ſo ſome Saints were particularly honored in this or that Province, not in others. Every Biſhop, by cuſtome more ancient than the *Romiſh* Religion which now is, might have enjoyned his flock to do homage unto Saints of his own erection; though to bind the whole Church unto the ſervice of any, hath been an act of œcumenical juriſdiction, ever ſince this cuſtome came up. But to permit the ſame liberty to every Biſhop within his Dioceſs, which the Pope challengeth over the whole world, ſeemed too much unto later Popes. For *Alexander* the third and *Innocent* the third, ſeeing the abuſes which grew by this licentiouſneſs, made a reſtraint that none after their times, ſhould be enrolled in the Catalogue of Saints or worſhiped, though in ſome particular Countrey or Province only, without the approbation of their ſucceſſors. So approved, it was a point of ſacriledge to deny them ſolemn worſhip, or doubt of their admiſſion into the Church triumphant. To inveſt the ſouls of men deceaſed with robes of glory, is by this reckoning but an exerciſe of the ſame authority, which gives Biſhops their Palls: we will ſuppoſe ſo. But did *Baſil*, *Ambroſe*, *Hirom*, *Auſtin*, *Gregory* the Great, or others adored for Saints by the Catholick Church *Roman*, attain to this dignity by any Popes donation? Were they as ſolemnly canonized as S. *Bernard*, S. *Thomas Becket*, S. *Francis*, S. *Dominick*, S. *Thomas* of *Aquine*, or ſome others

that died ſince *Innocent* the ſecond? If there were not; either the Popes approbation is nothing worth, or S. *Francis* and S. *Dominick*, are ſo much better Saints, than *Hierom*, *Ambroſe*, or *Auſtin*, as it is worth. Or were theſe men of ſuch extraordinary worth that they needed no Papal teſtimony? Rather to affirm this were to deny the Popes Supremacy: a point of greater danger in *Rome*, than to ſay in *England* any could be made Dukes or Earls without the Kings Majeſties conſent or approbation. How then came theſe reverend Fathers by ſuch honor, as hath been done unto them for many hundred years by the univerſal Church? More by cuſtome than by expreſs law or ſolemn warrant. *Bellarmine* out of *Aquinas, prima ſecundæ quæſt.* 97. *Articulo* 3. gives us to underſtand, that as cuſtomes in other caſes have the force of laws, from the tacit conſent of the Prince (without which they have no force at all; but rather antiquity of error and continuance of corruption:) ſo the worſhip of Saints though brought in by the general cuſtome of particular Churches, *hath juſt force and authority either from the expreſs or tacit approbation of the Pope.* He is the ſole ſpiritual Monarch. I have often read it (though I never believed it,) that the viſible head of the Church ſpeaking *ex cathedrâ*, cannot err in matters of faith: but I never ſuſpected it had been any where written what now I read in *Bellarmine*, that the body of the Church cannot erre in matters of fact, made publick only by example and cuſtome, (whoſe original is more hard to be found out than the head of *Nilus*) if it ſhall pleaſe the Pope to be ſilent or not to pronounce againſt them *ex cathedrâ*. But we muſt ceaſe to be men, before we can believe his *Holineſs* to be ſuch an omnipotent God, as can make all them Saints whom the people throughout moſt Churches have made choice of for their Patrons. Such abuſes as bad cuſtome had brought into ſome places about the time of *Alexander* the third, might, for ought we know, have overſpread many Churches in times before.

Bellar. de Sanct. beat. lib. 1. *cap.* 8.

Bellar. ibid.

2. But if the Popes approbation be ſufficient to warrant the publick adoration of Saints, *Alexander* the third was two wayes too blame. *Firſt, in ſeeking to reform the abuſes or bad cuſtomes of moſt particular Churches; ſeeing theſe by his connivence would have been no abuſes, or by his approbation lawful ſervices.* Secondly, *in ſo applying his medicine as there was no likelihood but it ſhould rather exaſperate, than aſſwage the preſent diſeaſe or prevent future contagion.* For how far did he reſtrain the people from wonted ſuperſtition? Did he prohibit all men to preſent their devotions upon their knees, or to vow pilgrimages to any that were not canonized by him or his Succeſſors? No, in that the words of the Decree expreſly forbid all publick worſhip of Saints not canonized; the Interpreters gather, it was his purpoſe to allow them private worſhip. They may yet have houſhold Saints of their own chooſing, to whom they may tender all the points of religious obſequies hitherto mentioned, not in ſecret only, but as many looking on as liſt, ſo it be not in the open Church or in ſolemn ſervice. For publick worſhip, (ſuch as in that Decree is only forbidden) is not oppoſed to ſecret or private worſhip, where none beſides God and good friends be preſent. The prohibition of it, unleſs the penalty be great, and the enquiry ſtrict, licenceth any worſhip, that is not tendred in the *name*, and as the inſtitution of the whole Church. Now, as *Printers* ſometimes gain more by forbidden books, then by ſuch as are authorized for publick ſale: ſo hath the devil found opportunity to enlarge his ſervice, by this unſeaſonable reſtraint of it. The univerſal prohibition to worſhip any

for Saints in publick Liturgies that were not canonized, hath, by a kind of Antiperiſtaſis, intended the peoples ſuperſtitious bent to worſhip more private Saints than otherwiſe would have been thought on, with greater devotion in their chambers or private chappels, than if their open ſervice had been authorized in Churches. A man may take a deadly ſurfeit as well at home as at a publick feaſt; and ſpiritual ſurfeiting or drunkenneſs being the diſeaſe which Pope *Alexander* ſought to cure, his preſcript was no better, than if a Phyſician ſhould ſtrictly charge an intemperate glutton or drunkard to be abſtemious at great feaſts abroad, leaving him to his bellies diſcretion, at his own Table or amongſt his companions in private meetings.

3. This our judgment (by theſe Analogies) upon Pope *Alexanders* ſucceſleſs medicine, wants not approved experiments. For the intollerable abuſe of ſubmiſſive ſervitude to a numberleſs rout of baſe and obſcure private Saints, was never greater, never more riſe than in the ages between the reformation pretended by Pope *Alexander*, and *Luther*. And (it ſeems) the *Trent Councel* was partly of this mind, in that to Biſhops within their Dioceſſes, it leaves more authority in judging of miracles, in admiſſion of new reliques, in ſetting up new faſhioned images, than the former decree (by *Bellarmines* interpretation) did. Yet if any doubtful caſe, or queſtionable abuſe of greater moment, ſhould any where happen: the conſent and adviſe of the Metropolitan and other neighbor Biſhops muſt be demanded in a provincial Synod, before the Biſhop of the Dioceſs take upon him preciſely to determine one way or other; always provided that no novelties or rites, before unuſual in the Church be eſtabliſhed before they know his *Holineſs* pleaſure.

Seſſ.25. de Invocatione.

CHAP. XL.

That the medicine on which the preſent Romiſh Church doth now rely is worſe than the diſeaſe it ſelfe. That they make the Pope a greater God than the Heathen did any other God beſides Jupiter.

1. FRom this poſitive decree we may infer, that not all their private doctors only, as *Valentian* and *Bellarmine* in the name of the reſt avouch, but their whole Church repreſentative, the Councel and Pope joyntly agree in this concluſion, *Whatſoever religious rite or form of worſhip is once approved by the Pope (thus conſulted) may not be ſuſpected of ſuperſtition, &c.* And when the Councel profeſſeth their deſire, that all ſuperſtition may be abandoned in the *invocation* of Saints, the *adoration* of reliques, or *worſhiping of images*; their meaning was, as if they had prayed that the Pope would approve of whatſoever the people ſhould publickly practiſe; for it is but another part of the former concluſion, that all whom he ſhall vouchſafe to canonize, may be lawfully adored by the univerſal Church in publick and ſolemn Liturgies; ſo that to worſhip ſuch, is now more neceſſary than it was before.

2. Never had the infernal powers, ſince their fall, ſo juſt occaſion given them by any creatures, of inſultation and triumph at the wonderful ſucceſs of their policies, as by theſe latter *Romaniſts*; who as well by Apologizing for their ſuperſtition towards the dead (whereof others have challenged them) as by ſeeking to reform ſome groſs abuſes whereof themſelves were aſhamed, have been fetcht over to commit

more deteſtable and more blaſphemous idolatry with living men, than any Heathen ever did with their deceaſed Heroicks, with their falſe Gods, or true devils. Such as worſhiped thoſe beaſtly *Roman* Emperors, whom their Succeſſors *conſecrated*, were not bound to believe, nor could their ſucceſſors perſwade themſelves, that the *S*enate could not erre,or do amiſs in decreeing divine honor to them. That people not knowing what faith meant, did only as their chief Magiſtrates commanded them, nor did theſe command all throughout the Empire to be partakers with them in their idolatrous worſhip. But now to diſpute whether the Pope do well or amiſs in canonizing men after death, whom he knew not living; is held a point of hereſie or infidelity. His abſolute infallibility as well in declaring who are *S*aints, as in determining what honor is due unto them, is preſt upon us as a Maxime of faith. And is not this to worſhip him with divine honor? That conceit which the old *Romans* had of their conſecrated Emperors, came as far ſhort of this divine excellency, which *Papiſts* imagine in the Pope, as the *Jews* opinion of their *Meſſias* whom they expected ſhould be a King, doth of that eſteem which true Chriſtians make of Chriſt, whom they adore as God. The ſuperſtitious *knowledge*,or rather the practical *ignorance* of the true God differeth no otherwiſe in *Rome-Heathen* and *Rome-Chriſtian*, than the ordinary knowledge of Chriſt in the old Teſtament and in the New. The idolatry of *Rome-Heathen* agrees with the idolatry of *Rome-Chriſtian*, as the type or ſhadow with the body or ſubſtance.

3. *Bellermine* giveth *Melancthon* the lye for ſaying the *Romiſh Church* aſcribes a divine power to Saints in knowing mens thoughts. I ask them, not knowing our thoughts, how can they know our petitions? No Catholique (ſaith he) did ever teach, that they know our prayers as they are conceived in our minds, but as they are in God, who reveals them to this *S*aints and Angels. He would not thus fiercely avert the imputation of the Antecedent, unleſs he knew the inference to be legal and unavoydable. To pray then to *S*aints, out of preſumed belief that they know the ſecrets of our hearts, were by his confeſſion to aſcribe a divinity unto them; and to worſhip them with divine honor,plain idolatry. Therefore they pray unto them out of aſſurance that God who ſees our hearts, acquaints them with our hearts deſires. Yet that one *S*aint, that every *S*aint ſhould by this means know every mans prayers, that is enjoyned to pray unto them, neceſſarily ſuppoſeth a participation of that infinite knowledge, which is incommunicable.To ſee the ſecrets of mans heart is one of Gods peculiar titles. If *S*aints by enjoying his preſence, enjoy this ſight; no reaſon can be conceived why in ſeeing him they may not ſee all things that are of him, all that he ſees. And ſo they ſhall not be only Gods, but (as was obſerved before) Gods Almighty by participation. But admitting that all ſuch as enjoy Gods preſence do hear our prayers; I demand what ground of belief *Roman Catholiques* can have that many whom they muſt pray unto, are partakers of Gods preſence? Only this; *The Pope hath canonized them.* But ſeeing the world is full of diſſimulation and hypocriſie; ſeeing men are partial to give better teſtimony of ſuch as they ſeek to prefer, than they can deſerve: how can his holineſs know them to be true *S*aints unleſs he know their hearts by better teſtimony than humane? As a Chriſtian,he knows that *only the pure in heart enjoy the bleſſed ſight of God.* But how can he ſo infallibly know, as becomes a Pope, whether ſuch as lived in *England*, in *Spain*, in *Aſia*, *America*,

or other remote parts of the world, were pure in heart or but hypocrites? If he may erre in this knowledge, the people muſt erre in practiſe.

4. Their reſolution of this point comes to this final iſſue. Saints celeſtial ſee our hearts in ſeeing God. *Roman Catholiques* ſee the integrity and purity of their hearts, whoſe faces they never ſaw, in the Pope or by reading his decrees. He ſtands as God to them on earth, as the true God is to the Saints in heaven. He knows as certainly who goes to heaven, and what they do there, as God knows what is done in earth. And out of this confident belief of his infallible all-ſeeing ſpirit, his creatures pray to *S. Frances, Dominick, Aquinas,* as unto ſecondary or intermediate Interceſſors, with the ſame aſſurance of faith, that they do to Chriſt as to their principal Mediatour. And reaſon they have ſo to do. God Almighty hath ſaid that Chriſt is in heaven; and the Pope hath ſayd of *Aquinas, Dominick,* or ſome other, they are in heaven. Thus like fooliſh Mariners, or Freſh water Souldiers, after they had been long carried up and down with the blaſts of vain doctrin, fearing ſhip-wrack in the open Ocean of former ages idolatry, (and yet aſhamed to return to the Haven whence they *looſed*, leſt wiſe men ſhould laugh at them) they put in at the jaws of hell for Harbour.

SECTION V.

Of the transformation of the Deity or divine power in his nature, attributes, word, or will revealed.

CHAP. XLI.

Transformation of the divine nature doth iſſue from the ſame original or general fallacy, from which Idolatry and multiplicity of Gods was obſerved to iſſue, Chapter 17.

1. AMongſt the Heathen, many, who did not altogether ſo vainly multiply their gods, did moſt groſly miſfigure the divine nature or God-head. The common root to both theſe branches of error, but from which the latter doth more directly ſpring and take more kindly, was proneneſs to conceive of matters heavenly and inviſible according to the beſt form and pattern, which they had of matters viſible or earthly. Now to be ſole Lord of the whole earth, without conſorts of like nature, would be a life (to the wiſeſt and healthieſt of men) moſt irkſome. And the Philoſopher out of a popular opinion, either of his own or times more ancient, makes competent ſtore of friends or alliances, neceſſary ſupporters of *felicity*. Now as that happineſs which in this life they hoped for, ſuppoſed friends or other contentments; ſo the common *notion* of the God-head included in it a conceit of happieſt life. *Jupiter* himſelf, by whoſe provident care and magnificence, the ſecurity and good eſtate of all the

reſt was procured, and their neceſſities abundantly furniſhed could not in their opinions ſufficiently enjoy himſelf, or be αὐταρκὴς without aſſociates. Hence they imagined ſuch a correſpondency between him and other gods and goddeſſes of meaner rank, as is between the father of every family, his wife and children and other domeſticks: or as is between the chief of every Tribe or Clan, and his alliance or dependants; or at the beſt ſuch as is between Princes and the ſeveral orders of their Nobility. All the difference for the moſt part apprehended by them, conſiſted rather in the diverſity of degree or order, than in any difference of nature. Parallel to their ſeveral *notions* of *felicity* (whether private or publick) were as well the nature and attributes of the greateſt God, as his manner of government proportioned. The form of celeſtial regiment was by moſt voyces held Monarchical or Royal, becauſe *that* by conſent of Nations was eſteemed beſt. Howbeit in as much as Tyrannical abuſe of Kingly authority had made it odious, it ſeemed good to have it tempered in heaven, as it uſually was on earth, by admixture of Ariſtocratical Subpeers, by Tribunitial inhibitions of fates, or interceſſion of other imaginary powers ſuppoſed as abſolute for ſome particular purpoſes, as *Jove* himſelf was for right diſpoſing the univerſal. Such as held external feature no ſmall part of their felicity, imagined the Gods and Goddeſſes to be of moſt rare and admirable feature. But the belly had neither eyes nor ears, nor can it be pleaſed with pleaſant ſonnets though of feaſtings, or with faireſt pictures of daintieſt meats. Men pinched with hunger or ready to periſh for want of looking to, having ſmall deſire of wealth or greatneſs, ſave only for bettering their fare or attendance. Such ſmell-feaſts, as *Homer* was, or rather ſuch as he ſought to pleaſe, or ſet forth unto us, conceived the *life* of their Gods to be ſuch, as themſelves would have led, had they been in their place. The greateſt part of heavenly joy ſeemed to conſiſt in the quinteſſence of ſuch delicates as they had ſeen or taſted, or in the magnificent variety of royal ſervice. Not much better was the degenerate *Jews* conceit of the ſacrifice appointed by their God. For that reproof; [*Thinkeſt thou that I will eat the fleſh of Bulls, or drink the blood of Goats?*] ſeems to argue a like faultineſs in them of meaſuring the Almighties delight by their own appetite.

2. Others out of a Philoſophical deriſion of high prized vanities or ſuperfluities, transformed the nature of the Gods into that diſpoſition, which liked them beſt. Vacancy from care was the body, innoxious merriment or recreation the ſoul of that happineſs, which they affected as their portion in this life: the whole world was to them but a ſtage, wherein Princes and Stateſmen ſerved as Actors, the alteration of States and Kingdoms, but matter of Comœdy to feed their phantaſies and paſs the time. Agreeable to this humor their opinion was that the chief uſe or care the Gods had of men of beſt wit, place, or faſhion was no other, than men had of Apes and Munkeys, or then great ones have of fools and jeſters, or Lords of miſrules, which kind of ridiculous creatures are oft-times better kept and attended, then befits their quality, meerly for their ſport that maintain them.

3. Such as had rightly valued the ſecret joy of contemplation in regard of all other contentments or ſolaces of mortality, reſted ſecure they had done the divine nature no wrong, but grace rather, in admittinh it to be chief ſharer in this kind of pure delight *Ariſtotle* thinks, that if the ſweetneſs of that joy, which ſometimes had raught his

ſpirits, could be continued freſh and lively without interruption of contrary diſturbances, defatigation, or ſatiety, it might make up ſo full a meaſure of *felicity*, as might well befit the principal mover, or ſupreme diſpoſer of the heavenly Orbs, that is the ſupreme power, which he knew or did acknowledge.

4. Out of the groſſeſt ſpeculations of heathen concerning God, much matter of no vulgar conſequence might be extracted. Howbeit the beſt of their wiſdome was alwaies mingled with folly, and the pureſt truth that can be found in their writings, ſtill detained in unrighteouſneſs. As in that book *De Mundo ad Alexandrum* (aſcribed to *Ariſtotle* by greater authorities of the ancient, then will eaſily be overſwayed by *neoterical Criticiſms*, or modern conjectures) how many paſſages be there conſonant to Chriſtian truth about the unity, the wiſdome, and glory of the God-head: and yet while he ſeeks to ſurpaſs himſelf in exemplifying the excellency of divine Majeſty, he finally transforms it into the corrupt likeneſs of the *Perſian* Monarchy. To reſerve cauſes of principal importance to the Prince, referring others of ordinary moment to the inferior Judges, was a point of wiſdome apprehended by the ancient heathen, yet quickly aſſented unto by *Moſes*, the man of God and chief govenor of his people. This adviſe, which he followed upon neceſſity, was afterwards entertained by ſecular Princes as the mother of eaſe or nurſe of pleaſure; by many improved to the maintenance of their Majeſty. The author of the former book could meaſure the *Perſian* Monarchs greatneſs by multitude of ſubjects and amplitude of dominions. But to match theſe with an equal extent of provident care for the good of moſt particulars, was to diminiſh his pomp or glory; a great impeachment to his happineſs. Glorious and happy he rather ſeemed in this, that having the abſolute command of ſo many, he needed to trouble himſelf with the governance only of ſome few Provinces, by nature more choiſe and delicate, much beautified by art, as ſo many pleaſant gardens to entertain his royal preſence with variety of delight. The charge and overſight of others, affording leſs ſolace and more toyl, was aſſigned to Vicegerents; whoſe accompts (if called they were at any time to account) were as ſpeedily diſpatched, as the brief inſtructions for their proceedings were given. This over-prizing the contentments of Monarchical life, whoſe practiſe could plead no warrant beſides the limited perfection of humane excellency, occaſioned a like transfiguration of the divine Majeſty as well in the Latins, as in the Græcians: *Magna Dii curant, parva negligunt, Cic. 2. de natura Deorum, prope finem. The Gods have a care of great matters, but neglect the ſmaller.*

Non vacat exiguis rebus adeſſe Jovi.

He who had made the earth and all therein, muſt leave the charge and government of it and all the reſt of this inferior tumultuous Globe (as little beſeeming ſo great a Majeſty) unto his Angels or Deputy gods. The ſuper cœleſtial region muſt be to him as was *Suſa* or *Ecbatana* to the *Perſian* Kings, not only the ſole garden of his delight or total ſphere of his reſidence, but the compleat horizon of his glorious ſight: the immortal inhabitants thereof, the only pupils, of whom, without diſparagement to his dignity, or impairment of his joy or happineſs, he might vouchſafe to take immediate and perſonal charge.

5. Some reliques of this Gentiles error, which had been abandoned upon the promulgation of the Goſpel, have been broacht again in School-diſputes, which uſually ſmell too much of thoſe Heatheniſh

Casks, whence much of them is drawn. *Vorſtius* his denial of the *ubiquity* or abſolute *immenſity* of the divine nature, or his eſſential coexiſtence to every place, whether real or imaginable, hath been diſtilled out of the very dreggs of the former transformation. Nor doth theſe School-mens doctrin reliſh better, which after a formal diſcuſſion of an unqueſtionable truth; (Whether Gods providence extended in particular to flies ro gnats or ſuch like diminutive creatures, as may rather ſeem fractions, or ſcattered offals of Gods working, than any entire or directly intended ſubſtances) have finally determined for the negative. But were the whole hoſt of flies or gnatts or baſer creatures in perſwaſion of the vulgar once exempted from Gods peculiar juriſdiction parties much moleſted with them would eaſily be tempted to elect a new Preſident for them, and ſo *Beelzebub* or *Jupiter muſcarum abactor* might in time recover his wonted rites by uſurpation.

CHAP. XLII.

A parallel between the Heathen Poets and modern Roman Legendaries; between Heathen Philoſophers and Roman School men in their transformations, or miſperſwaſions of the divine nature, ſpecially of his goodneſs.

1. TO proſecute all the transformations of the Deity made or occaſioned by heathen Poets or Painters, would be an endleſs work. Nothing more common, though nothing in them more abominable than the repreſentation of ſuch factious contentions or of ſuch ſiding and banding betwixt the Gods, betwixt *Jupiter* himſelf and *Juno* his ſuppoſed Conſort; as they had obſerved in ſecular States or Societies. *Premente uno, fert Deus alter opem, One God protects the party which another perſecutes. Vulcan* is againſt *Troy*, and *Apollo* ſtands for it. *Juno* with the help of *Æolus* perſecutes the *Trojans* by Sea, after the *Græcians* had driven them out of their own Land. And whilſt ſhe expoſtulates with *Jupiter* like a ſmart Huſwife that takes her ſelf for quarter Maſter over her own family,* *Venus* pleads *Æneas* cauſe whom *Juno* perſecutes, with ſuch importunity that *Jupiter* himſelf is enforced to humour her with ſuch curteous language and fair promiſes, as a tender hearted father would uſe unto his darling Daughter much offended or caſt down with diſcontent.

2. It will be no paradox I hope to affirm or ſuppoſe, that the preeminence of the only ſon of God over the Saints whether in heaven or on earth, is or ought to be in Chriſtian Divinity much greater than *Jupiters* preeminence in Heatheniſh Theology was in reſpect of other Gods. Notwithſtanding the fabulous *Roman* Legendary makes inferior Sainteſſes ſuch Conſorts to our Saviour, as *Juno* in the Heathen Poets Divinity was to *Jupiter*. In reſpect of the bleſſed Virgin, whom they make Queen-mother and Regent of Heaven, he is but as the young Prince or pupil, whom this his ſuppoſed Guardianeſs may and doth give in marriage, to her hand-maids. The whole ſolemnity of the marriage betwixt him and S. *Catharine*, beſides the hiſtorical narration as authentique to them as the Goſpel, is ſo lively repreſented in moſt exquiſite cutts, as every credulous *Roman Catholick* might if need were be ready to make affidavit, that he ſaw the bleſſed Virgin give † S. *Catharine* in

* See *Virgil* in that paſſage: *Triſtior, & lachrymis oculos ſuffuſa nitentes, &c. Virgil Æneid. l.* 1.

† *Ipſis bacchanalibus mundo in vitia effuſo, oranti apparet Chriſtus cum S. S. matre virgine, D. Paulo, S. Johanne Evang. B. Dominico & Davide Rege pſalterium pulſante, Deipara virginis dextram Chriſto porrigit, qui eam ſibi in ſponſam ſuſcipit & dextram annulo pretioſo exornat. D. Catherinæ Senenſis Selectiora miracula formis Æneis expreſſa Antverpiæ apud Philippum Gallæum,* 1603.

in marriage to her ſon, that he ſaw Chriſt putting the ring upon her finger, and that S. *Paul*, S. *John* the Evangeliſt, S. *Dominick* and King *David* were preſent at the marriage, King *David* playing upon the Harp or Pſaltery. Had this ſtory been extant only in ſome ancient Legend before *Luthers* time, I ſhould have ſpared the mentioning of it, but finding it in a book dedicated by a *Dominican* Fryer to the Provincial of that order throughout the lower *Germany*, and licenced to the Preſs at Antwerp within theſe two and twenty years, I leave it to the Readers conſideration, whether *Romiſh* Monaſteries be not priviledged from the reformation of ſuperſtition pretended by Pope *Innocent* the ſecond, by *Alexander* the third, or by the *Trent Councel*. And leſt *Rome-Chriſtian* ſhould be out-vied by *Rome-Heathen* or other Heathens fooliſh conceits concerning their Gods or Goddeſſes, the moſt fabulous or moſt hideous metamorphoſis of *Jupiter* into divers ſhapes mentioned by any Heathen Poet, is more than reciprocally paralleld by the transformation of *S. Catharine* into our Saviour Chriſt. And leſt the Reader might ſuſpect that the eyes of *Raymund* her Confeſſor did but dazle, or that the viſion which he ſaw was but *deceptio viſûs*, the Legendary hath painted her ſpeaking unto him with the voyce and mouth of God || himſelf.

3. The *Roman Catholick* that would take upon him to juſtifie the truth of this Metamorphoſis, might alledg for himſelf and in favour of this Legendary, that the new heart which our Saviour upon her earneſt and often entreaty put into this his Spouſe, *S. Catharine*, was ſuch a heart as the voice was, *non hominis ſed Dei, not the heart of a woman but of God.* That our Saviour did pull out her old heart, and put in a new one in very deed, the * Legendary avoucheth in good earneſt. And if any man had been as hard of belief in this point as *S: Thomas* was in the article of our Saviours reſurrection, the ſcar of the ſacred wound which our Saviour made when he pulled out her old heart and put in a new one, did perpetually remain in the Virgins breaſt, as an ocular demonſtration to convince the incredulous. Though both be without excuſe, yet heathen Poets are leſs inexcuſable in that many of their fabulous metamorphoſis may admit an allegorical meaning or emblematical importance, whereas the *Roman* Legendaries for the moſt party themſelves and the Readers that can believe their miraculous narrations, to a plain literal hiſtorical ſenſe.

4. Altogether as groſs and leſs excuſable than any heathen Philoſopher, is the *Romaniſt* in ſeeking to perſwade, or juſtifie the daily implored interceſſion of Saints by the vulgarly approved practiſe of Court-petitions, which on poor mens parts ſeldome well ſucceed without the intermediation of ſome great favorite or domeſtical attendant of the Prince. This courſe, though by neceſſity made lawful to all, few ſubjects to our preſent Soveraign would follow, were they fully perſwaded his Highneſs could without declarations *ore tenus* or written petitions, either perfectly underſtand their unjuſt grievances or hear their hearty prayers, though far diſtant, or afford time ſufficient to take notice of their miſerable eſtate, without moleſtation or diſturbance to his health, contentment, or more weighty conſultations. Now leſt the people ſhould think too meanly of the *Romiſh Church* or her children, if they ſhould openly confeſs ſuch erronious practiſes, as could have found no entrance into any Chriſtians heart but through ignorance of Scriptures and incogitancy of divine providence; they ſecretly nurſe in their auditors an Heatheniſh miſconceit of Gods power

|| *Multis preſſa morbis decumbens, dum B. Raymundo Confeſſario quædam Divinitus revelata communicat; ipſo in quibuſdam ſubdubitante, ſubitò facies virginis fronte ac oculis ſolis inſtar micantibus, in Chriſti faciem commutatur. Territo autem atq; inclamanti Confeſſario; Quis eſt qui mecum loquitur? reſpondit*, eſt qui eſt. The ſame Author. *ibidem.*

* *Diu ſponſum precata ut cor mundum & novum traderet, apparet ei Chriſtus, divellitque ab ejus pectore cor vetus, noviumq; reſtituit. Quod ſanè uſq; adeò re ipſa factum eſt, ut ſacri vulneris cicatrix in virgineo pectore perpetuo manſerit.* The fore-mentioned Author, to wit, *Michael Ophovius*, a licentiate in Divinity and Dominican Fryar of Antwerp in his fore-mentioned book didicated to the right reverend Father *Andrew Heynſius* Provincial of lower *Germany.*

and goodneſs, as if either he cannot or will not take immediate notice of all petitions faithfully exhibited. To ſay he cannot hear all that ſue unto him, is to deny the infinity of his wiſdome; to ſay he cannot redreſs their wrongs or effect their prayers heard, is to gainſay his omnipotency : to ſay he will not both wayes do, what is beſt for all faithful petitioners, is to make his mercy and loving kindneſſes to his people, leſs than moſt Princes bear unto their meaneſt ſubjects, and to debaſe his fidelity and veracity below the *rate* of common honeſty. For ſhould (I ſay not, any royal hearted Prince or nobly minded Potentate, but) any honeſtly diſpoſed, able to ſuccour us, ſolemnly invite us to open our grievances unto themſelves ingaging their credit to hear us, as readily as any for us; we ſhould much diſparage their fidelity by bribing or ſoliciting their followers to be our ſpokeſmen. Yet ſaith the wiſdome, the ſon of God, God bleſſed for ever: *Come unto me all ye that are weary, and heavy laden; and I will refreſh you.* And muſt we with yong *Samuel* run from the Lord thus ſolemnly by his own mouth inviting us, unto old *Elies*, which never call us? No: it is a way as more compendious, ſo far more ſafe, to ſay as often as this or the like everlaſting invitation ſounds in our ears, *Speak Lord; for thy ſervant heareth:* or *Hear Lord; for thy ſervant asketh.* Thou haſt commended continual prayer, directed not to others but to thy ſelf or thy Father for thy ſake, as a duty neceſſary to all. Thou haſt aſſured us we can never be too importunate with him, though we never ceaſe to implore his favour; yea that for our importunity we ſhall be heard. *O remember this ye that have forgotten God and his Goodneſs, leſt he tear you in peices, and there be none that can deliver you:* leſt of that infinite number of Saints, whom in worſhipping you have not honored but diſgraced and ſlandered as Jewiſh receptors of your ſacrilegious devotions, not one appear to make interceſſion for you but all againſt you. For why? ye have robbed God of his honor as deſpitefully and ſhamefully, as did thoſe idolatrous *Iſraelites*, for whoſe plagues that *great Prophet* and Saint of God became ſolicitor.

5. Every inclination unto evil is apprehenſive of opportunities; the greater alwayes readier to take occaſion, where none is given, of doing amiſs; and oft-times apt to be moſt provoked by ſuch motives, as in reaſon ſhould reſtrain it. As for the Son of God begotten of his Father before all worlds, to vouchſafe to be conceived and born of a woman in the fulneſs of time and in this decrepit age of the world, was a wonderful document not only of Gods unſpeakable love towards mankind, but alſo of his unconceivable wiſdome in contriving the Redemption of the weaker ſex, the manner of whoſe tranſgreſſion had made their eſtate more deſperate, and the means of their recovery more difficult. Yet how hath the conceit of Chriſts humiliation here on earth, of his dependance on his *mother* during the time of his formation and birth, and of his ſubjection to *her* in his infancy, brought forth prepoſterous and more than heatheniſh transformations of his glory in the ſuperſtitious daughters of the idolatrous Church? They cannot conceive Chriſt as King, unleſs they acknowledge her as Queen Dowager of heaven: her title of Lady is æquiparant to his title of Lord; her authority for ſome purpoſes held as great, her bowels of compaſſion (towards the weaker ſex eſpecially) more tender. And as the Heathens frame Gods ſuitable to their own deſire, ſoliciting them moſt (though otherwiſe leſs potent) whom they conceive to be moſt favourable to their preſent ſuits: ſo hath the bleſſed Vir-

gin throughout the *Romiſh Church* obtained (what ſhe never ſought) the intire monopoly of womens prayers in their travails; as if her preſence at others diſtreſsful labours (for ſhe her ſelf by their doctrin brought forth her firſt born and only *Son* without pain) had wrought in her a truer feeling or tenderer touch, than the high Prieſt of their ſouls can have of their infirmities; or as if ſhe would uſe more faithful and effectual interceſſion with her ſon, than he can or will do with his Father. Some in our times, out of the weakneſs of their ſex matching with the impetuouſneſs of their adulterous and diſloyal zeal, have in this kind been ſo impotently outragious, as to intercept others ſupplications directed to Chriſt, and *ſuperſcribe* them in this form unto his mother; *Bleſſed Lady*, command thy ſon to hear this womans prayers, and ſend her deliverance. Theſe, and the like ſpeeches have moved ſome good women, in other points tainted rather with ſuperſtition than preciſeneſs, to diſpenſe with the law of ſecrecy ſeldome violated in their parliaments: and I know not whether I ſhould attribute it to their courage or ſtupidity, not to be more affrighted at ſuch blaſphemies, than at ſome monſtrous and prodigious birth. This and the like inbred inclinations unto ſuperſtition in the rude and uninſtructed people, are more artificially ſet forward by the fabulous *Roman Legendary* and his *Limmer*; than the like were in the Heathen by Heathen Poets and Painters. Witneſs that Page in the Legend of S. *Dominick* written by a Dominican Fryer of Antwerp and dedicated to the General of that order in the year 1611. The device is, our Saviour Chriſt ready to dart his three arrows of *famine*, *war* and *peſtilence* upon the inhabitants of the earth for their wickedneſs, and the bleſſed *Virgin* his mother ſtaying his hand upon her undertakings for a ſpeedy reformation to be wrought to his contentment, by S. *Francis* and S. *Dominick*.

Vita & miracula S. P. Dominici prædicatorii ordinis primi Inſtitutoris Antverpiæ apud Theod. Gallæum, 1611. *Author. Fr. Joan. Nys Dominican.* See the ſame ſtory in Proſe in the feſtival for the Sunday called *Sexageſima*, printed in the ſecond year of *Henry* 8. Anno, 1511.

* *Vindicibus ſcelerum telis Deus impetit orbem.*
At virgo; Iratam comprime, Nate, manum.
Spondeo, ait, meliora, homines qui corrigat, ille
Eſt mihi Franciſcus, *quin mihi* Dominicus.
The world with ſin-revenging darts to ſmite,
the Lord He threats:
Her Son to ſtay his wrathful hand,
our Lady thus intreats;
All ſhall be well, men will amend,
I promiſe, do not fear:
Saint Francis *He this cure ſhall work,*
with Dominick *my dear.*

6. But that, which ſurpaſſeth all miſconceits of ancient Heathens, of Turks, Mahumetans, or other modern infidels, is conteined in their implicite belief of the Catholick Church, ſince it was contracted into the boſome of the Pope. In the former point of Interceſſion; amongſt many falſe *ones* ſundry *true Saints* were intituled to ſome part of that honor, of which they have ſpoyled God: in this they diſrobe *him* of his fundamental and moſt glorious attributes, to adorn and beautifie, wicked monſters; faſhioning the infallibility of his promiſes and immutable counſel of his moſt ſacred will, to the inconſtancy of tyrannical luſt or fluctuant reſolutions of treacherous and perfidious miſcreants. In the former point, Saints and Angels were but abetters of their idolatry. In this latter God himſelf is made the ſworn patron of murther, inceſt, and all manner of *cruelty*; the hea-

venly regiment of his Church on earth is transformed into a Machievillian tyranny, not contented to have ſtained the beauty of the ſpouſe, leſt her deformities being openly deſcried, ſhould publickly be deteſted; they ſeek in latter dayes to disfigure the bridegroom, and, with the wicked one in the *Pſalmiſt*, miſdeem their Redeemer to be like unto them, becauſe he holds his peace at theſe abominations; impiouſly preſuming, that in the day of final judgment Chriſt ſhall ratifie, whatſoever the Pope *ex cathedrâ* hath determined: as if your judgment for this infidelity or their credulity, that herein believe you, were not already paſt; as if Gods vengeance did ſleep, while he were ſilent. This point though proſecuted upon other occaſions more at large before, I could not in this place ſo quickly leave, were it not that I ſhall have cauſe to meet with it with fuller indignation hereafter. For I will yet pray againſt this their wickedneſs, from which this Land can never be ſufficiently purged, until the whole ſeduced flock be conſtrained by ſevere execution of wholſome laws to do publique penance in their Apoſtatical Paſtors, and blaſphemous ſeducers aſhes.

CHAP. XLIII.

Of particular transformations or miſperſwaſions of divine goodneſs alike common to the corrupt profeſſors of true Religion, as to the zealous profeſſors of corrupt Religion.

1. GRoſneſs in opinions ſolemnly avouched, reduced to method or inſtamped with the publique ſeal of authority, is eaſily diſcovered by all, to whom long accuſtomance hath not made their poyſon in a ſort familiar, or as part of daily food. Every puny rightly catechized in the points of doctrin publickly eſtabliſhed in our Church, can clearly diſcern the late mentioned or other like transformations of the Deity, whether Heatheniſh or Romaniſh. But did each of us privately uſe the orthodoxal form of wholſome doctrin publiquely profeſſed as a true glaſs for diſcovering as well the obliquity of our own practical reſolutions, as the errors of others known opinions; moſt of us might ſee juſt cauſe to think, that we did ſecretly wrong the divine eſſence no leſs, than they do whom we condemn of open ſacriledge and idolatry. No mans paſſions in this life can be ſo moderate (if happily immoderate love of his moderateneſs make him not ſo partial, as not to obſerve them) but many afford him experimental grounds of this concluſion. *There is no habitual exorbitance of deſire or affection, but ſecretly works a Parallel transfiguration of the Deity; no ſtain or foul deformity in life or manners, whereto we give indulgence and diſpenſation, but will caſt the like aſperſion upon the immaculate Majeſty.* To imagine him, that is the beſt of all, to be like us in thoſe things, which we beſt like or moſt approve, is an error almoſt inſeparable from the corruption of our nature, oft-times rather lopped than utterly extirpated by infuſion of grace.

2. Diſpoſitions by nature auſtere and rigid, or otherwiſe by height of place emboldned to practiſe ſeverity, as the ſupporter of awe and reverence, or as an Antidote againſt contempt, conceit no ſacrifice

ſo acceptable unto God, as ſtrict execution of laws for the moſt part prepoſterouſly partial and ſevere. And if the great Moderator of heaven and earth permit the accompliſhment of their deſigns, he is apprehended as a favourer of their deſires. What ſeems good to them, the ſame once effected is entertained as an effect of divine goodneſs. So *Saul* would make God the author and approver of the *Ziphits* kindneſs towards himſelf, and beſtow a bleſſing upon them, as preſuming of the Lords conſent: *Bleſſed be ye of the Lord; for ye have compaſſion on me*: when as not the leaſt degree of compaſſion or kindneſs towards him, but was extreme cruelty againſt poor *David*, a man after Gods own heart. And it is a point very queſtionable; Whether the deformedly zealous or hard-hearted Magiſtrate (I mean no Atheiſt,) or the *Jews* that offered their children unto *Molech*, do God more wrong? The one miſtook the father of murther and cruelty for a God; the other make the only and true God, which hath no pleaſure in ſacrifice or burnt offerings, to be delighted in blood; not of Bulls and Goats, but of poor and miſerable men. Every rigid exactor of his own, whether by uſing the permitted benefit of human law, or miſconſtrued warrant of laws divine, disfigures his Creator and makes him a God of juſtice only. On the other ſide, ſuch as are ready to kill themſelves and their friends with kindneſs, frame a God of mercy and bounty; utterly diſmembred of juſtice, of indignation, and ſeverity. The diſſolute and wanton condemn even neceſſary auſterity of diſcipline or any ſet rules of life, of Phariſaiſm or enmity againſt Chriſt; whom by the ſame error, they miſconceive to be much what like themſelves, though no conſort of their riotous or diſſolute courſes, yet one, that will ſave them ſooner, than moſt of ſuch as ſeem more holy. For did he not open heaven gates to *Publicans* and open *ſinners*, when they were ſhut to *Scribes* and *Phariſees*? But alas poor ſouls, they conſider not, that *Publicans* and notorious ſinners found mercy unſought for, to the end that ſucceeding ages, how great ſoever their offences were, ſhould not deſpair to find it, when they diligently ſought it. Though God have mercy in as great ſtore for us, as for theſe firſt Converts of the Gentiles, yet may we not deſire it by ſuch extraordinary means, as they had it. We in the ſearch of it muſt frame our lives to the pattern which they had ſet us, after it had found them. They meeting with it, took a ſolemn farewel of their former ſinful courſes: ſo then mercy ſhewed to them, when they were alients from faith, and blaſphemers of the truth, did bring forth true repentance. And all our hopes of mercy or perſwaſions of actual being in the ſtate of grace, unleſs they be mingled with a correſpondent meaſure of true repentance, are but the painted fruits of Phariſaical and Jewiſh blaſphemy. To the former ſort of theſe delinquents, to the rigid, and heard-hearted offender, he will declare himſelf to be ſuch, as they ſecretly imagine him to be, a God of judgment without mercy, becauſe they have ſhewed no mercy to their brethren. To the latter (to the diſſolute and preſumptuous,) he will approve himſelf ſuch, as they expect not; his juſtice, which they leaſt fear, will ſodainly overtake them, while his mercy, with which they have dallied, ſhall flie from them.

1 Sam. 23.21.

3. It is hard for any man ſeaſoned with the rudiments of Chriſtian faith to have his heart ſo full ſtuft with malice, as ſhall leave no confuſed *notion* of Chriſtian charity in his head, with whoſe abſtract beauty or amiable aſpect ſimply conſidered, the moſt wicked are enamoured.

But as the natural knowledg of God was by the Heathen; ſo the *notions* of his graces are ſtill detained in unrighteouſneſs by Chriſtians,in whom any kind of iniquity reigns. Nor is it ſtrange, if ſelf-love,which is the common nurſery of all miſconceits in moralities, bring forth deluſorious imaginations of brotherly loves *inherence* in hearts, wherein outragious malice keeps cloſe reſidence, ſeeing to be charitably minded towards others, is a quality that makes us moſt commendable. No man, that thinks too charitably of himſelf, but will eaſily be perſwaded,that he is as charitable, as any man living towards others; towards ſuch eſpecially to whom charity is moſt due. To ſpeak well of Chriſt and their King, no man more forward, than ſome kind of drunkards. What they have heard concerning Chriſts loving kindneſs towards men, they never apprehend ſo affectionately, as when their hearts are dilated with pleaſant liquor. Of other love and benignity, than what the cup doth miniſter, they have no diſtinct *notion* or experience. And if at any time they be ſweetly merry without quarrelling or offence; or if each tickle other with exchange of mutual-applauſe or delightful toyes; they miſtake their meetings for feaſts of charity. Some of this ſect, will not ſtick to profeſs how highly they ſcorn, that any dull ſowre *S*toicks devotion, at Gods board, ſhould be ſo well ſeaſoned with love, as are their friendly paſtimes at *Bacchus* table. But if Gods Embaſſadour, as time and place require, ſhall open his mouth againſt them, it is in their conſtruction but to give a vent unto malice, with whoſe abundance his heart would otherwiſe burſt. To think thus maliciouſly of others,is held by them in this humour eſpecially, rather an effect than breach of charity. For not being able to diſtinguiſh that true and abſolute good, which they ought at all times moſt to affect, from that, which ſeems good to them thus affected, they kindly well-come their eager deſires of enjoying the wonted pleaſures of good fellowſhip without moleſtation, for the fruits of peace. There is no foul of the ayr nor beaſt of the field, either by kind or breeding ſo wild or brutiſh, as to abandon all tearms of love, or deſire of peace with ſome others; but that exceſſive love,which ravenous beaſts bear to their young ones or conſorts, doth ſtill animate them with rage and fury againſt man, their lawful Soveraign, and whets their appetite to devour and prey with more than wonted greedineſs, upon ſilly and harmleſs creatures. In like ſort that love, which bad minded men mutually foſter among themſelves, alwayes proves the mother of deadly hatred and uncharitableneſs towards all ſuch, as love God and his laws; for theſe are greateſt enemies to that kind of peace, which they only know, and moſt deſire. Thus by a worſe error, than can rightly be emblematized by *Ixions* fabulous imaginations, the fumes of wine are often miſtaken for the motions of the ſpirit, factious amity goes currant for true Chriſtian ſociety, riotous mirth or other unhollowed ſolace is entertained as the comfort or peace of conſcience: and (which is worſt of all) Chriſt is worſe ſlandered by ſuch conſorts, than he was by the *Scribes* and *Phariſees*; not for a companion only of *Publicans* and *ſinners*, but for a Patron of riot, a friend of diſſoluteneſs.

4. Yet are not theſe the principal offenders in this kind, becauſe their offences, though oftentimes fowleſt in the ſight of men, are not ſo odious unto the Searcher of all hearts, as the enormities of others, who preſume more of his ſpecial favour and approbation. Many biting uſurers or oppreſſors will be ready to interpret the extraordinary increaſe of their eſtate; Merchants or great dealers, their ſucceſs in

cheating or unconſcionable bargainings ; ambitious mindes, the atcheiving of their bad ſuits or unlawful promotions, as undoubted bleſſings of their *God*, and ſure pledges of his peculiar providence: when as in truth they are but baits, laid by Sathan to make them ſacrifice in heart to their own deviſes, or to his luſts, while with their lips they offer praiſes unto the Lord. All the miſperſwaſions hitherto mentioned, are but ſo many reciprocations of that deception, which was obſerved before to be the main Conduit or common ſpring of Idolatry in the Heathen. As they admitted all for gods, which had done them any extraordinary good ; ſo the carnal minded Chriſtian derives every notable branch of ſenſe-pleaſing good, from the only true inviſible God. The transfiguration of divine eſſence is in both caſes, for quality, the ſame ; albeit the Heathen Delinquent in aſcribing wealth to *Mercury*, luxury to *Bacchus*, (the one conceived as a god of cunning, the other of riot, both flexible to mens deſires, that would worſhip them) did leſs offend, than Chriſtians, equally exorbitant, do in making the pure immaculate *Eſſence*, author, abettor, or approver of their exorbitances. Any furtherance of naughty deſires or approbation of unrighteous dealing, ſuite worſe with the known nature of the true God, than the imagination of falſe gods (fitted to ſuch deſires) did with thoſe broken *notions*, which the vulgar Heathen had of the Deity. The worſt that can be objected to any Heathen, was their adoration of monſtrous, of vile or ugly creatures for gods. The Chriſtian in what kind ſoever alike exorbitant (if we compare his ſecret perſwaſions, or preſumptions either of Gods favourable affections, or indulgence towards his perſon, or approbation of his enormous actions, with his profeſſed belief of the ſame Gods abſolute purity, juſtice, holineſs, and unpartiality) makes the Almighty Creator, which made him man (that is the comelieſt of all viſible creatures) an hideous deformed monſter. The faſhioning of this inviſible Creator in viſible ſhape ; the multiplication of ſuppoſed divine powers ſo faſhioned, were rather acceſſaries than principals in the nature of this ſin which we now reprove. At the leaſt, to diſtract or divide the divine power into ſeveral formes or portions not much diſagreeable to ſome particular diſtinct attributes of the true God, is leſs abominable than to frame a multiplicity of contrary wills, or commixture of diſſonant affections or reſolutions in one indiviſible, eternal, immutable Eſſence. The divine nature (ſaith * *Nyſſen*) whatſoever it be beſides, (for who can comprehend it?) is *goodneſs, holineſs, power, glory, purity, eternity.* Who is he then, may ſafely ſay to him, *My Father*? He whoſe nature is goodneſs, can be no favourer of bad deſires, no patron of wicked purpoſes. He whoſe truth ſhines in whatſoever is good, can be no countenancer of the oppreſſor or malefactor. If one, whoſe conſcience is branded with foul ſins, ſhall before repentance claim kindred of God ; and being unjuſt and filthy ſay to that *juſt and holy one* ; *My Father* ! his mouth (whiles he repeats his *Pater Noſter*) vents no prayers but contumelious ſlanders againſt God. For by calling him *Father* (whiles he nouriſheth any known ſins in his heart,) he makes him author, and countenancer of his miſchievous imaginations. Theſe and the like declarations of this ancient and learned writer upon the Lords prayer, may ſerve as an orthodoxal Paraphraſe or juſt Comment upon theſe ſacred Texts of Scriptures: *Unto the wicked ſaith God, What haſt thou to do to declare my ſtatutes, or that thou ſhouldeſt take my covenant in thy mouth; ſeeing thou hateſt inſtruction, and caſteſt my words behind thee? When thou ſaweſt a*

thief,

* *Nyſſen. in orat Dominicam.*

thief, then thou conſentedſt with him, and haſt been partaker with Adulterers. Thou giveſt thy mouth to evil, and thy tongue frameth deceit. Thou ſitteſt, and ſpeakeſt againſt thy brother; thou ſlandereſt thine own mothers ſon. Theſe things haſt thou done, and I kept ſilence: thou thoughteſt, that I was altogether ſuch a one as thy ſelf; but I will reprove thee, and ſet them in order before thine eyes * *And if ye call him Father* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *which without reſpect of perſons judgeth according to every mans work paſs the time of your dwelling here in fear* *.

* Pſal. 50. verſ.16,17, 18,19,20,21.
* 1 Pet. 1. verſ. 17.

5. Many excellent ſayings, much what to the ſame effect with the former, hath *Nyſſene* in the Treatiſe alledged; none more homogeneal to my laſt obſervation, then his cenſure of ſuch, as deſire God to avenge their quarrels or plague their enemies. This, as was late ſaid, is to make him a monſter, or (as much as in us lies) to torture him; whilſt we labour to *work* him to be of a quite contrary diſpoſition towards others, than we deſire he ſhould bear towards our ſelves. Doth a fountain (at the ſame *eye* or out burſting) *ſend forth ſweet water and bitter*? But they, which thus prey, ſtrive by one and the ſame breath to quench and kindle the wrath of God. The iſſue of their prayers is; That he, who is Lord and maker of all, to whom the deſtruction of many cannot be more commodious, than the weal and ſafety of all, ſhould be as a conſuming fire or malignant *ſtarr* to ſome, but as a ſweet gleaming Spring-Sun to warm and cheriſh others. And yet much happier were this age, than any before it hath been, were not the incomprehenſible goodneſs of Omnipotent power, more prejudiced by ſome modern Catechiſmes or Theological explications of his *nature* and *attributes*, than by the uncharitable prayer of the Heathen, or of rude and uncatechized Chriſtians. Their errors, or unwarrantable gloſſes, ſhall by Gods aſſiſtance elſwhere be ſevered as well from the auncient orthodoxal truth, as from the ſacred Texts, whereon they ſeek to ground their doctrine: both being uſually corrupted, or their purity not diſcerned by reaſon of their commixture with mans corruption or the aſperſions which it caſts upon them. At this time we only take opportunity to draw the poyſon of their opinions rather than their opinions themſelves, unto the ſame head, whereto the former corrupt humors have been gathered.

CHAP. XLIV.

Of miſperſwaſions concerning Juſtice, and Mercy divine.

1. There is in all of us by nature (and it is the remedileſs remainder of our firſt Parents pride) a greater deſire to be great than to be good: by the ſtrength of this exorbitancy or ſiniſter ſway of inbred appetite, men of higher place or eſtimation, for the moſt part, become more willing to do that, whence their inferiors may receive wrong, than to have the caſe diſputed or their credit called in queſtion, whether the harm redounding to others from their peremptory reſolutions be in its nature a wrong, or rather a neceſſary effect of juſt authority. The aſperſion, which this corruption of nature ſecretly caſts upon the Almighty, is that he may, yea doth predeſtinate moſt ſouls created by him to an endleſs life more miſerable than this mortal life, whereof ſome through ſickneſs, others through age, moſt through

one or other miſeries, are often weary: that he did preordain *Adams* fall as an unavoydable means for accompliſhing this his irreſiſtible will; and that all this may be done without any impeachment to his infinite juſtice, goodneſs, or mercy ſo ſolemnly avouched and much magnified in Scriptures. Peremptory poſitions or determinations to this purpoſe, are in theſe mens judgements, farr more ſafe, than to queſtion (though but for private ſatisfaction or reſolution) whether Gods abſolute dominion over all creatures, may fully acquit him from all ſuſpition of wrongful or hard uſing theſe ſuppoſed ſons of reprobation? The rigor of this opinion, in part occaſioned by this means, findes opportunity of enlarging it ſelf in men, either more inclined or better able to effect what they purpoſe by ſtrong hand; than to forecaſt the certain atchievements of their purpoſes by multiplicity of means ſeverally ſufficient, and all in their kind moderate and juſt. For from this prejudicial approbation of thoſe courſes as beſt, which breed them leaſt trouble in diſpatch of private buſineſſes, they paſs over their aſſent, without further examination, to a miſgrown branch of the former doctrine, [That Gods abſolute decree for manifeſting his glory is like their peremptory *reſolutions* for accompliſhing what they intemperately affect.] And *theſe* know no tenor, but one; [*Thus it ſhall be, and no otherwiſe.*] Such they are as leave no variety of means, no poſſibility of choyce, or indifferency for their inſtruments or actors. Yet were the courſe of every ſecondary agent ſo infallibly levelled by the firſt cauſe to thoſe determinate effects which they produce, as that they could not, without violation of the law, whereto his abſolute will hath tyed them, be inclined to any other; the perpetual operation of an infinite wiſdome would be ſuperfluous to the continual government of heaven and earth. Wiſdome more than ordinary, (perhaps greater than *Ariſtotle* required in his principal Mover) might ſeem requiſite for the firſt ordering or fixing the ſeveral branches of the unreſiſtible power, upon their determined and appointed ends; unto which notwithſtanding being once indiſſolubly chained (the number of effects poſſible being in this opinion no more then are determinately and inevitably future;) the ſame wit or skill, which ſerves to keep a clock, would without further improvement abundantly ſuffice to order the whole courſe of nature, to guide and moderate the everlaſting revolutions of time.

2. Some offend, as lately hath been debated, in ſeeking to inlarge Gods *Juſtice* by ſubtracting from his *mercy,* or contrariwiſe, every one ſemblably to the ſuggeſtions of his peculiar diſpoſition. The fault properly iſſuing from the confluence of theſe humours laſt touched, is an extenſion of his power beyond the circuit of his wiſdome, and other attributes of like infinite extent; which in undoubted conſequence is to reſtrain and bridle that power, which they would ſeem above others to enlarge, from extending ſo far as reaſon without Scripture may rightly conceive the force and efficacy of the *firſt cauſe* may reach. As we may not give his honour to men or graven Images; ſo may we not robb one of his attributes to enrich another. Although to ſpeak, as the truth in this caſe requires; he that miniſheth any one attribute, doth in concluſion maim the reſt.

3. The ſeveral places or inſtances of Scriptures, whereon the diverſity of opinions concerning Gods love or hate to his creatures is grounded; I muſt hereafter warily touch and examine with that humility

which becomes every true Chriſtian, eſpecially ſuch a mean member of the Engliſh Church as my ſelf. In the *Interim* (not intending to prejudice the concluſions uſually received, or well approved by learned Reformers of Religion) I may preſume of every charitable and unpartial Readers leave, here and there to untwiſt ſo much or ſo many of their *premiſſes*, as were they granted, have not ſo much force to draw forth the concluſions, whereto their authors tye them; as to maim or mangle the Omnipotent power, or rather to diſarm their Maker of omnipotency. Yet is not this the worſt: for unto me it hath ever been a continual eye-ſore of mind or hearts grief, to ſee modern ſpirits (in the pride of their preſumed wits) take upon them to grace or countenance concluſions moſt ancient and orthodoxal, by ſuch new and quaint flouriſhing proofs, as had they true life or ſolid ſtrength in themſelves were able to *dead* the principal ſtems of divine goodneſs, or at leaſt to break off the far-ſpreading branches of it, and to engraff partial favour and uncouth auſterity in their places. And I know not whether (beſides the motives mentioned) a niggardly contraction of our kindneſs to ſome few friends or acquaintance (occaſioned from too much experience or conſideration, how quickly the fountain of mans benignity dries up, by deriving it unto many;) do not ſecretly and unwittingly move diſpoſitions, otherwiſe miſ-inclined, to cut the wings of Gods mercy towards others ſhorter, that their growth, ſo far as they ſhelter themſelves and ſome few more, may be the fuller, and their protection under them more ſafe and comfortable.

4. This ſtream of error (ariſing from the former heads, with whoſe ſwift and violent courſe many are carried away without their expreſs conſent, and in a manner againſt their minds,) receives oft-times an unpleaſant reliſh from an humour, wherewith all are in ſome meaſure tainted, though the *criſis* be moſt evident in great ones. With exaltation to high place or fortunes, there uſually ſhoots up a plauſible delight to adorn and beautifie their own creatures (as they tearm them) though it be with the diſgrace and ſpoyls of men, whom God hath made by birth, education, and other ornaments of nature, far more noble. Secret conſciouſneſs of proneneſs to imitate the Mighty in this partial humor, covertly ſuggeſts an imagination, that the Almighty is herein like them, whom we would be like, were our means the ſame; *one*, to whom nothing, not the death and everlaſting torments of infinite millions, all created by him, can be diſpleaſant, whilſt their dejection ſerves as means for advancing his mercy towards ſome few predeſtinate unto glory and happineſs.

5. Only in this I can commend this rigid opinion for its kindneſs, that it is ſo forward ἀντιπελαργεῖν, and might well bear this inſcription; *Mater me genuit, eadem mox gignitur ex me*, Mens natural inclination to partiality firſt begets this perſwaſion of Gods *ſpecial* favour towards ſome, and extraordinary ſeverity towards others, as they are his creatures: and this perſwaſion being once ſetled in the brain, doth animate augment, and ſublimate the inbred partial humor, which reſideth in the heart. Towards ſome ſort of men, no men living are more kind and loving; towards others, not the wildeſt creatures breathing are more mercileſs and cruel, than many favourers of abſolute Reprobation are. But in the points of Reprobation and Election, as in divers others; the beſt and ſafeſt method is to begin with the practiſe of known precepts concerning men, and to end in contemplation of the divine decree. Now the ſincere practiſe of the Apoſtolique Rule of

doing good to all, though ſpecial good to ſuch, as are viſible members of Gods family or Chriſts Church on earth, will beſt organize our hearts for the right conceiving, and qualifie our brains for the commodious expreſſing of our heavenly Fathers goodneſs. For ſeeing his mercy and loving kindneſs are abſolutely infinite in themſelves, why ſhould we deny them to be truly and ſincerely extended unto all men? Though in the iſſue intenſively infinite to his choſen only; on whom notwithſtanding his ſweeteſt bounties are never multiplied without ſome proportioned increaſe of bounty towards others. So often as the Ocean of his loving kindneſs towards them doth over-flow, many drops are diſtilled, many ſhowers diffuſed, yea whole ſtreams of his good bleſſings derived to ſuch, as take no permanent reliſh or durable tincture of his goodneſs: not that it is his will, his bleſſings at any time ſhould be fruitleſs, but that men would not bring forth fruit, where fruit juſtly was expected.

CHAP. XLV.

Of transforming the word of God into the ſimilitude of our private or corrupt ſenſes.

1. SUch are the mutual imbracements or intertexture of truth and goodneſs: that rightly neither can we judge ought for good, which is not true; nor deny any known truth to be in its own nature good. Goodneſs it ſelf, were it to be defined by me, ſhould be no more then *a ſolidity of truth:* and to faſten our inclinations upon any object as good without an apprehenſion or preſumption of it as true, is leſs poſſible, than to pierce into the ſubſtance of maſſy bodies without paſſage through their ſurfaces. And becauſe our appetite or affection cannot faſten upon any conceited good without a ſetled perſwaſion, that our preconceit of it for ſuch is true: it hence comes to paſs, that when our eager appetites have ſo far gotten the ſtart of deliberation, that we cannot curb or recal them; they draw our minds to be of their opinion, or bring the ſoul by this colluctance into a kind of waking dream, [that all ſuch particulars are true and warrantable which either the underſtanding for the preſent cannot be perſwaded peremptorily to condemn for evil, or that part or faculty, wherein affections are ſeated, not be diſſwaded from approving as good.] *Even ſuch as deny there is a God, or unchangeable Rule of truth or goodneſs, by whoſe pattern our perſwaſions and affections ſhould be framed, ſtrive to apprehend this their wicked imagination as true:* becauſe not ſo apprehended it could give no ſhadow of preſent eaſe or contentment to their galled conſciences, alwayes as apt to be grieved with every repreſentation of infinite goodneſs accompanied with infinite juſtice, or of infinite truth though wedded with infinite mercy, utterly devoid of partiality, as ſore eyes are to be offended with every glimpſe of ſplendent light, albeit ſeconded with cheriſhing heat or warmth comfortable to the whole body. Nor can the mind diſſwade the affection, or ſenſual part from any miſaffected good, but by ſuggeſting theſe

or the like contrary conceits; [*That it is a true evil, and only a ſeeming good. That this deſire to have it countenanced with the authority of truth is unlawful. Now whiles theſe oppoſite inclinations ſtand in equal ballance, there can be no ſetled reſolution or actual choice.* Nor is it poſſible the affection ſhould, after ſuch debatements, ſway the ſoul to any unlawful practiſe, unleſs the underſtanding (or if any other middle faculty there be, which holds the ſcales or hath as it were, the ſwaying voice betwixt them) relent or decline from the point whereat it ſtood, and either aſſent unto the ſuggeſtions of ſence for the time being, as true and good, or at leaſt not expreſly condemn them for falſe, nor couragiouſly withſtand them.

2. Truths or mandates divine conſidered in general or without incombrances annexed to their practiſe, many there be, which affect more vehemently, than their more honeſtly minded brethren. But this fervent imbracement ariſing not from a clear intellectual apprehenſion of their abſtract truth, or live touch of their goodneſs, but rather from a general affectionate temper *Volendi valdè quicquid volunt, of willing eagerly whatſoever they will at all*; becometh the ſhop of tranſforming or miſpicturing Gods will revealed in his word, whiles they deſcend to actual choice of particulars proffered in their courſe of life. Men of this temper (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) *Ita veritatem amant, ut velint vera eſſe quæcunque amant: Such lovers they are of truth, that they wiſh all might be true which they love.* And vehement deſires often reiterated, multiply themſelves into perſwaſions. Sometimes it may be they eagerly affect unoppoſed *truth* for its own ſake, but withall more eagerly affect thoſe ſenſual pleaſures, which moſt oppoſe it. Oft-times again ſomething in its nature truly good is mixed with or included in thoſe particulars, which they ſtrongly affect: and whiles this combination laſts; goodneſs it ſelf is imbraced with them *ex accidente*. But being imbraced only upon theſe tearms, when the ſame particulars, (after the combination is diſſolved,) come accompanied with other diſtaſtful adherents, it is loathed by them according to the degrees of former liking. *Socrates* (ſaith a witty Writer) when he defined love to be a deſire of that which was beautiful or comely, ſhould have given this Caveat withall; That nothing almoſt is in its *nature* ſo unbeautiful or uncomely, but will ſeem fair and lovely, ſo it might have a *lovers* eye for *its looking glaſs.* But *Socrates* his meaning was perhaps better than this witty Writers apprehenſion, and was (if I miſtake not his Dialect) this; That not every deſire of any ſeeming good or comely appearances, but only that deſire, which is ſet on goodneſs, beauty, or comelineſs it ſelf, is to be graced with the title of *love.* Howbeit love or deſire thus ſet, cannot ſecure affectionate tempers from being toſſed or ſhaken with ſenſe-pleaſing opportunities or temptations.

Cum Socrates apud Platonem cenſet amorem eſſe pulchri deſiderium, adjicere debuerat, niſi fallor; Amanti nihil non pulchrum eſſe, quod Theocritus expreſſit, ἔρωτι τὰ μὴ καλὰ καλὰ πέφανται.

3. That our Saviours adviſe is to be followed before any contrary counſel, is a point ſo clear, as no Chriſtian can deny the obedience of ſpeculative aſſent unto it: yet many men, almoſt every man, in matters of practiſe, prejudicial to their private intereſts, will traverſe the meaning, whether of his cleareſt Maxims or moſt peremptory Mandates. His reply to *Martha* complaining of her ſiſter for not helping her to entertain him. [*Martha, Martha, Thou art careful and troubled about many things; but one thing is needful. And Mary hath choſen that good part, which ſhall not be taken away from her,* Luk. chap. 10. verſ. 41, 42.] includes a Maxime of ſacred uſe, and will warrant this Aphoriſm; [That a life priviledged with vacancy from ſecular imployments for bet-

ter meditation on heavenly matters, is the moſt compendious courſe to that endleſs life, which every Chriſtian propoſeth as the ſole end of this weariſome pilgrimage.] Were our hearts conſtant in themſelves, and ſtedfaſtly ſetled upon the former general truth; it were impoſſible our inclination or aſſent to it, ſhould not be ſwayed as ſtrongly to the practiſes ſubordinate. Doth then our inclination or aſſent remove from the former general, whiles it bears of from theſe or like particular practiſes? Yes; and would draw our ſouls to contradictous Atheiſm did they not by a nimble trick of ſophiſtical inverſion, retire backwards by a contrary way unto the points, from which they ſhrink. Their recovered aſſent or adherence to former generalities, may in ſome ſence be rather accounted the ſame, then altogether diverſe. So might the Marriners needle be more truly ſaid to be fixed upon the ſame points, rather then diverted from them, albeit that end, which was ſet upon the South-pole, were inſtantly turned unto the North. The natural ſituation of the former general aſſent was thus; [*The true ſence and meaning of our Saviours adviſe is always beſt, and to be followed before any contrary counſel.*] But when free choice of oppoſite particulars is preſented, it turns thus; [*That which is the beſt courſe and moſt to be followed, is certainly ſuch, as our Saviours words, truly underſtood, do adviſe unto.*] The aſſent in effect is the ſame, only inverted. But from this inverſion we uſually draw Juſtifications or Apologies for our moſt ſiniſter choices. The Ambitious mind from the inverted general aſſent, thus aſſumes; [Practical imployments for preferment (my opportunities and qualifications conſidered) are the beſt courſe I can take, either for mine own or others good: wherefore our Saviours adviſe to *Martha*, rightly limited or interpreted, is no way adverſant to my intended choice. And if he can light of other ſacred paſſages, which mention the advancement of Gods Saints to civil dignities; as *Daniels* wearing a purple robe, and furtherance of the Churches cauſe by his high place in the Court; theſe he takes as ſealed warrants to authorize his ambitious deſires or ſelf-exalting projects.

4. How many unbeneficed men in our times have with great zeal and preſumed fervency of that ſpirit, by which holy Scriptures were written, preached damnation againſt pluralities of benefices; afterwards allured by the ſweet of one to ſwallow more, and not ſo content, to condemn their former opinion as conceived from ſciſmatical expoſitions of Scriptures worthy of excommunication? What was the reaſon? In want or diſcontent, they were perſwaded, that if no Clergy-man ſhould have more livings than one, they might hope to have one at leaſt amongſt their neighbours. And the neceſſity of this doctrin being to them, as they were now affected, the better, was apprehended by equal ſtrength of the ſame affection, as the more true and warrantable by Gods word. But their appetite, firſt ſharpned by want, being once fed with the fat of one, did inflame their deſires with undoubted hope of more good, likely to redound from two or more. And becauſe their firſt opinions or reſolutions included leſs hopeful means or matter of contentment to their preſent deſires, it was to be condemned as untrue, or leſs probable, than this, which they now embrace; eſpecially in that the former had been conceived by them, when they were ſcarce men, or men of mean place, or little experience in the world; worſe by three hundred pound a year, than now they are.

5. To maintain their opinions with cracking flaſhes of burning zeal, or to overlaſh in commendations of mens perſons, is a temper in

young men eſpeciall, very ſuſpitious, and more truly argues abundance of ambitious humour or unpurified affection, than any degree of ſincere love to truth or goodneſs. For this reaſon, when either their purpoſes or affections change, they are ſo ready to ſing *Canticum novum*, ditties ſo ſtrangely contrary to their late paſſionate ſongs, that no deviſe can better emblazen the inconſtancy of their boyſterouſly blind perſwaſions, than *Polyphæmus*, as the Poet pictures him in his wooing fit;

Candidior folio nivei Galatæa liguſtri,
Floridior prato, longa procerior alno,
Spendidior vitro, tenero laſcivior hædo,
Lævior aſſiduo detritis æquore chonchis,
Solibus hybernis, æſtiva gratior umbra,
Nobilior pomis, Platano conſpectior alta,
Lucidior glacie, maturâ dulcior uva,
Mollior & cygni plumis, et lacte coacto;
Et ſi non fugias, regno formoſior horto:

This was his note, whiles his love did kindle in hope: much changed with alteration of his poſſibilities;

Sævior indomitis eadem Galatæa juvencis,
Durior annoſa quercu, fallacior undis,
Lentior & ſalicis virgis, & vitibus albis,
His immobilior ſcopulis, violentior amne,
Laudato Pavone ſuperbior, acrior igne,
Aſperior tribulis, fœta truculentior urſa,
Surdior æquoribus, calcato immitior hydro.
Et, quod præcipuè (ſi poſſem) demere vellem,
Non tantùm cervo claris latratibus acto,
Verùm etiam ventis volucriq; fugacior aura.

6. Is it not a miſerable condition, whereunto the unconſtancy of humane paſſions ſeeks to bring the inflexible rule of truth, uſually wreſted to hold as exact conſort with our Palinodies or recantations, as with our firſt approved leſſons; although the one be more diſſonant to the other, than the latter part of *Polyphæmus* his ſong was to the former. For without ſome apprehenſion of conſort with Gods word, no dogmatical aſſertion can be conceived or maintained as true, by any Chriſtian, though a Chriſtian only in his conceipt. So true it is which was before generally obſerved and often intimated, that even the worſt of Heatheniſh humours for the moſt part alter only their courſe, not their nature, in thoſe parts of the world, which of heathens have turned Chriſtians. As the Sea-water is no leſs ſalt in the reciprocation or ſtanch, than while it boyles or over-flowes the banks. And, if it be not tedious to reſume the burden of this diſcourſe; *As the common notion of Gods goodneſs occaſioned the heathen to conceit every procurer of any good much affected for a God: ſo this affectionate love of divine truths in general, faſtens our unpurified perſwaſions unto whatſoever we vehemently love or much affect, as to a truth divine, or practice either warranted or commended to us by the word of God.* Love or hatred towards any object divine or humane, if it be unpurified, affectionate, or exceſſive, is alwayes prone either to ſlander divine juſtice, where men are faulty, or to miſcenſure mens actions in caſes overruled by divine juſtice.* *Priamus* doting affection towards his unlawful daughter-in-law miſſwayed his mind to accuſe the gods as authors or direct cauſes rather than to ſuſpect her as any occaſion of the evils, which he feared or ſuffered. And that unpurified affection, which many bear unto truths or goodneſſes divine

* Πρίαμος δ' Ἐλένην ἐκαλέσσατο φωνῆ, Δεῦρο πάροιθ' ἐλθοῦσα, φίλον τέκος, ἵζευ ἐμεῖο, ὄφρα ἴδῃς πρότερόν τε πόσιν πηούς τε, φίλους τε; οὔτι μοὶ αἰτίη ἐστὶ, θεοὶ νύ μοι αἴτιοί εἰσὶν, οἵ μοι ἐφώρμησαν πόλεμον πολύδακρυν Ἀχαιῶν. *Hom. Il. Par.* 1. *Pag.* 112.

divine confuſedly apprehended, will not ſuffer them to ſee or acknowledg Gods ſpecial providence in their puniſhments. Ready they are at all aſſayes to inveigh againſt, or meditate revenge upon their brethren for chaſtiſements appointed to them by the finger of God though executed by the hand of man. God is too good to be the author of evil unto them, though of evil only temporal. That is, in the true reſolution of their ſecret thoughts, they are ſo well perſwaded of themſelves, that nothing to their apprehenſion is born or bent to do them harm, beſides the envy or malice of other men. Every portion of Scripture, which reproves or forbids malice, doth by their interpretation in this taking, condemn all ſuch of malice or envy, as any way vex or diſpleaſe them.

7. What poyſonous humor can we condemn in any Heathen, whoſe very dregs are not incorporated in the grand tyrannous monſter of our times, *faction* I mean with its members. To ears animated with the ſpirit of this blind beaſt, the leaſt jarr in opinion, though concerning matters of greater difficulty then conſequence, and better able to abide long ſearch than ſpeedy determination, ſounds as a deadly hereſie, already condemned by Gods own mouth. Not to conſort with theſe men in their occaſionleſs vociferations againſt others preſumed errors, is in their verdit, to be backward in religion, to renounce the unity of faith, to give our hearts to the enemy. As he that in ſinging obſerves due time or a conſtant tone, amongſt ſuch as regard neither, but following the eare, riſe and fall with moſt or ſweeteſt voyces, ſhall by immuſical hearers be cenſured as the author of diſcord. No ſect or profeſſion almoſt throughout any age, but hath been haunted with one or other violent humor, with whoſe tincture if a man can cunningly temper or colour his diſcourſes, he may vent whatſoever he pleaſeth, albeit compounded of the very lees and refuſe of that hereſie, which he ſeemeth moſt to oppugn. Blaſphemy breathed from ſome mens mouths, ſo it be ſpiced or interſperſed with holy phraſe, is ſuckt in as greedily by their followers as if it were the Spirit of life: the very poyſon of Aſpes diſtilling from others lippes, ſo it be tempered with the infuſion or expreſſion of prophetical fervencie in reproving ſin, doth reliſh to their factious conſorts as the quinteſſence of zeal. Finally whilſt one factious mind inveighs againſt his oppoſites, bitterneſs it ſelf becommeth ſweet to his aſſociates: but if an indifferent man, ſhall ſift the doctrine, refute the error, or reprove the paſſions of the one or other; his diſcourſes, though ſeaſoned with the ſpirit of meekneſs, of ſincerity, and judgment, breeds a grievous diſguſt in both.

8. The true original or root of this accuſed partiality, in putting good for evil, and evil for good, hony for gall, and gall for hony, will better appear from a more particular inquiry or Philoſophical ſearch of the means by which it comes to paſs; That the ſelf ſame ſence, or expoſition of Scriptures, which ere whiles did moſt offend, ſhould forthwith beſt pleaſe the very ſame parties. And leſt I ſhould give offence to any Chriſtian Reader, the inſtance ſhall be chiefly in thoſe, with whom all Chriſtians are juſtly offended.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLVI.

Shewing by inſtances of ſacred Writ, that the ſame ſenſe of Gods word which ſometimes moſt diſpleaſed, may ſhortly after moſt affect or pleaſe the ſelf ſame parties: with the manner how this alteration is wrought.

1. Actual fruition of exceſſive pleaſure either hinders the working, or dulls the apprehenſion of inherent grief. So doth ſatisfaction of vehement deſires (becauſe moſt pleaſant) drown all taſte of petty annoyances, and *dead* the impreſſion of ſuch ungrateful qualities, as accompany the quality eagerly affected. Extremity of thirſt will make a man to be in charity almoſt with any kind of moyſture, and cover a multitude of faults in drink, of which no one but would be very offenſive to a taſte not miſaffected. For thirſt is but an appetite of cooling moyſture, and this appetite being intended by a violent heat or drineſs; the organ, wherein it reſideth, takes no notice of any other quality, beſides that which beſt contents it for the preſent. All others that accompany it, are well-come or paſs unqueſtioned for its ſake, ſo the ſenſe of cooling moyſture be not abated by their preſence. From a cauſe, in true Philoſophy, much what the ſame, it is, that if one ſtring be ſtiffely bent and another ſlack, onely one doth ſound, though both be touched. For the ſame reaſon violent paſſions, intenſive deſires, or ſtrong affections, either ſtrain out or ſuck in only ſo much of the ſence of Scriptures, as ſymbolizeth with themſelves. Such circumſtances, as in ſober examination would make moſt againſt us, leave no impreſſion in our minds much bent upon any private purpoſe. What could have been more offenſive to the *Phariſees* (not moved with bitter oppoſition to the *Sadduces*) then S. *Pauls* doctrine of Chriſts appearance to him after his reſurrection. The very mention of his appearence to him once in the way to *Damaſcus*, afterwards in the Temple, perſwading him the ſecond time to preach his reſurrection to the *Gentiles*, had made them ere while cry out; *Away with ſuch a fellow from the earth, for it is not fit that he ſhould live* *. But as Act. 22. 22.
the Philoſopher ſayth; καὶ ἐχθίστους συνάγει ὁ κοινὸς φόβος, *Common dread will unite moſt diſagreeing hearts.* For this reaſon profeſſors of contrary opinions (ſo both ſtedfaſtly hold the general,) will joyn forces againſt the third, that contradicts or undermines the common foundation. All inclination to exerciſe enmity, is rooted in a hope or poſſibility of preſerving proper entity ſafe and entire. What could it then boot the *Phariſees* to brangle with S. *Paul* about Chriſts reſurrection or appearance, whilſt the *Sadduces* by denying all apparition of ſpirit or Angel, or hope of reſurrection from the dead, did not ſo much oppugn him as the very foundation of their Religion? Unto this paſſionate and vehement diſtaſt of the *Sadduces* doctrine, *Pauls* conformity with the *Phariſees* in birth, education, and generality of belief, doth reliſh ſo well, that his particular differences or diſſentions from them no way diſaffect them. He avouched expreſly, that Chriſt whom they had crucified, did appear unto him; but they apprehended it to be after ſuch a manner as Gods Angels did in times paſt to their fathers. Now this kind of appearance witneſſed the truth of the *Phariſees* opinions, that there be ſpirits or Angels: and

Φιλοῦσιν τοὺς μισουμένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἑαυτοῖς μισουμένων. *Ariſt. Rhetoricorum 2. cap.* 4.

and *Pauls* ſeaſonable proffering of this teſtimony, doth ſo pleaſe their humour, that the *Scribes*, which were on the *Phariſees* part, acquitted him by Proclamation, [*We find no evil in this man; but if a ſpirit, or Angel hath ſpoken unto him, let us not fight againſt God. Act.* 2. 3.*verſ* 9. That thus farr they favoured him, was not out of true love either to his perſon or any part of the truth he taught, but from love of themſelves and their opinions, from jealous impatiency of contradiction in publick place by an inferior ſect. So likewiſe we read in the Goſpel, when our Saviour from Gods word to *Moſes* had moſt divinely proved the Reſurrection; [*I am the God of Abraham &c.*] and fully ſatisfied a curious queſtion ſo captiouſly propoſed by the *Sadduces*, as would have puzled the greateſt Rabbi amongſt the *Phariſees*; certain of them anſwered; [*Maſter thou haſt well ſaid. Luk*. 20. *verſ*. 39.] They like well he ſhould be a witneſs of the Reſurrection, *that* being one ſpecial point, which their credit lay upon to make good unto the multitude againſt the *Sadduces*: but as ready they are to adjudge him to death, for avouching himſelf to be the great Judge of ſuch, as were raiſed from the dead; how be it his raiſing of himſelf from the dead, did prove his words to be moſt true; and ſo would the manner of his appearance unto S. *Paul* (which now they grant) have clearly evinced both his Reſurrection and comming in glory unto Judgement, (whereof it was a tranſient, but real repreſentation) ſo their aſſent unto S. *Paul* in that aſſembly had been ſincere and free, not forced by factious oppoſition to the *Sadduces*. The inconſequent iſſues of this general truth acknowledged by them, teſtifie that their approbation of our Saviour, for being a witneſs of the reſurrection, and their condemnation of him, for avouching himſelf judge of ſuch as were raiſed from death, did iſſue from one and the ſame corrupt fountain: from love of authority over the people and applauſe of men; from a ſtubborn and envious deſire to excell their oppoſites, and not to be excelled by any. With their affections thus ſet, our Saviours doctrine indefinitely conſidered ſometimes had conjunction, and then they mightily applaud him; but oftner oppoſition, and then *Polyphæmus*-like they more maligned him.

2. Admit we coud juſtly acquit our ſelves from other points of Phariſaiſme; that ſpirit of contention and waiward emulation, which this day raigns throughout Chriſtendome, and rageth oft-times no leſs in defence of good cauſes, then in maintaining or abetting bad, will as eaſily ſet over ſuch as retain the general or publick form of ſound doctrine, to concurr with heretiques or godleſs men in transforming particular places of Scripture, which make for private deſires; as factious oppoſition to the *Sadduces* did the *Phariſees* to conſent unto our Saviour and to S. *Paul* in the points late mentioned; albeit they did deteſt the principal Articles, the very pattern of that belief, which they propagated to the world. That admonition to the *Philippians* as it concerns theſe times, as much as former; ſo doth it the maintainers of true Religion moſt of any. The admonition was; *Let nothing be done through contention or vain-glory, but that in meekneſs of mind every man eſteem other better than himſelf*. Phil. 2. 3.

CHAP. XLVII.

Of dreaming fancies concerning the ſenſe of Scripture in the Romaniſt, in the Jew, in the Separatiſt or Enthuſiaſt.

1. IT were eaſie to inſtance in many controverſie Writers, which in hot purſuit of their adverſaries have ſwallowed down paſſages of Scripture or other authorities, whoſe true ſenſe, if ſo ſifted, as every circumſtance might make full impreſſion upon their compoſed and ſetled apprehenſions, would be more againſt them, then for them; as their authors (no queſtion) agreed no better with the allegators doctrin, than *Paul* did with the *Phariſees*. The impertinent collections of Monks and Fryars to prove Purgatory from ſuch places of Scripture, as have no other ſemblance with it, ſave only that they mention metaphorical fire, would make an unpartial Reader call to mind (if ſo he had read it) the fable of the Apes, which eſpying a Glow-worm in a winters night, gathered ſticks and blowed themſelves breathleſs, to make them burn. Did not this imaginary *flame* produce ſuch a real warmth to the malignant crue, as is able to hatch an extraordinary deſire of having the fire by what means ſoever ſtill maintained: impudency it ſelf would bluſh, and ſtupidity tremble at their ſenſleſs petulancy in this argument. As the learned *Papiſt* hath no parallel (the *Jew* excepted) in this kind; ſo in the main points of their Religion, as in the doctrins concerning the authority of the Church, and the ſacrifice of the Maſs, they do not go ſo much beyond others, as beſides themſelves. The weight or conſequence of the matters contained in the mentioned controverſies, breeds an extream deſire to have their profitable tenents countenanced by ſacred authority; and extremity of deſire, an unſatiable thirſt or greedineſs of ſucking and wringing thoſe Texts of Scripture, which in colour of words or literal ſhew do ſeem at firſt ſight to make ſomewhat for them, but in truth and ſubſtance manifeſt the poyſon of their doctrin, and argue their eager appetite in maintaining it to be a ſpice or ſymptom of ſpiritual madneſs. To prove the ſacrifice of the Maſs, ſome not content to urge that of the Prophet, [*And they ſhall offer a pure oblation to me in all places*;] or *Melchiſedecks* offering conſecrated bread and wine, (which being once granted would everlaſtingly overthrow it;) would perſwade us the latine *Miſſa* was coyned in the Hebrew mint from מסס *Maſas*, which in the firſt ſignification imports as much as to blow; whence the *Verbal* מססה *Miſſah* in a ſecondary ſenſe ſignifieth tribute or Pole-money. The implication is, the very name of the *Maſs* imports that this oblation or ſacrifice is Gods tribute, to be paid unto him as duly, as *Peter*-pence is to the Pope. Their own acknowledgment of this doting fancy in ſome of their writers leaves a ſuſpition, whether it were a true relation, rather then a meer jeſt put upon that ignorant Prieſt, who being put to find the word *Maſs* in the Scriptures, after a long and weariſome ſearch, when he was ready to give over or fall aſleep, lighting upon thoſe words in the firſt of *John*, [*Invenimus Meſſiam*] cryed out; *We have found the Maſs*; *we have found the Maſs* to the confuſion of the Hereticks.

2. I know not whether the Prophets interpretations of dreams and viſions were of greater force to perſwade the Heathen, that the ſpirit of the immortal Gods did dwell in them, than ſuch drea-

ming interpretations as latter *Jews* do make of Prophecies or other divine Oracles, are or might be of for confirming Chriſtians belief, that the Lord hath ſent a ſpirit of ſlumber upon them; ſo like they are in their comments or meditations upon Scriptures concerning Chriſt, unto ſuch as dream. The ſame phantaſms which by floating in our brains breed dreams by night, preſent themſelves to our waking thoughts by day; but want opportunity to deceive; ſo long as our eyes and ears are open to receive forraign information. But whiles the external ſenſes, which ſerve as witneſſes, and that principal internal ſenſe which ſits as chief Magiſtrate in the inferior part of the ſoul are ſurprized by ſleep; the vaineſt fancies the brain can repreſent, paſs for currant without examination or check. The phantaſie or common ſenſe is as credulous of their ſuggeſtions or obtruſions, as illiterate, ignorant, or unexperienced people are of counterfeit commiſſions or pretended warrants. As at this inſtant, though I think of my good friends in *London*, yet the ſight of *Oxford* and other undoubted pledges of my preſence in this place, wherein I am, will not ſuffer my ſoul to be miſcarried with falſe imaginations of being elſwhere; whereas whiles the gates of theſe outward ſenſes are ſhut, and the paſſages from the principal ſenſe internal or examinative faculty ſtopped; the model of that famous Citty rouling in my fantaſie would forthwith breed an imagination that I were in it in their preſence, whoſe image or repreſentation only is preſent with me. Upon appearances altogether as light and frivolous, are the *Jews* tranſported from Chriſt, now fully manifeſted and preſented to them, to imbrace ſuch ſhadows or prefigurations of him, as had fallen out in the dayes of their Patriarks or ancient Kings. No man that reads their writings, but will perceive many phantaſms or models of Evangelical truth ſwimming in their heads: but the vail being laid before their hearts diſenables their Judgments for diſtinguiſhing figures from ſubſtances, or apparitions from realities.

3. The reliques of orthodoxal truths, which unto this day work in this heartleſs peoples brains, would be ſufficient to form Chriſt crucified in the hearts of Heathens, not given up to a reprobate ſenſe. For example, that practical pre-notion, *Gebher hath ſinned and Gebher muſt be puniſhed*, whereon they ground their ceremonies in the feaſt of atonement; being conſtrued according to its literal and natural ſenſe, is in effect the ſame with that divine Oracle, *As by man came death, ſo by man came the reſurrection of the dead*, or with that fundamental Article of our belief, *that man was to ſatisfie for the ſins of men.* But the paſſages of theſe latter *Jews* internal ſenſes, being lockt up in a deeper ſlumber in the day of their ſolemn feaſts, then our external ſenſes are in the dead of the night, the clear repreſentation of the former Chriſtian truth, makes no impreſſion in their heart, but vaniſheth into a heatheniſh dream. Like ſo many men that uſe to walk and rave in their ſleep they unwittingly act our Saviours ſufferings after the manner of an Interlude, putting *Gebher*, which in their Rabbinical language ſignifieth a Cock, for meer affinity of name (for *Gebher* in Hebrew ſignifieth a man) unto all the tortures they can deviſe; adding withall, that every *Gebher*, every man amongſt them, deſerves to be ſo dealt withall, as they deal with this poor creature. Nor is any creature of this kind ſo fit for this purpoſe in their fantaſie, as a white one. Their ſeveral phantaſms

Vide Buxtorf. Synagoga Judaic. cap. 20.

Their ſeveral phantaſms or pre-notions concerning this miſtery, rightly put together and examined by vigilant thoughts, ſignifie thus much, That the matter of the ſacrifice by which the attonement for mans ſin was to be wrought, was to be a *Gebher*, a man without blemiſh or ſpot of ſin.

4. If any propheſie include the leaſt hiſtorical reference or alluſion to *Abraham*, to *Moſes*, *David*, or *Solomon* (as the firſt draught almoſt of every Propheſie is ſome former Hiſtory) this is a motive ſufficient to theſe blind guides to interpret the place as wholly meant of theſe types alone: Chriſt who is the body therein preſented (God bleſſed for ever, which upholdeth all things by the power of his word, the very Center, (though they perceive it not,) whereon their ſouls do reſt,) hath no more place in our thoughts, than the bed wherein we lye, hath in our night imaginations of walking or talking with our friends either deceaſed or far abſent. Every metaphor or reſemblance borrowed from things viſible, as moulds for faſhioning our conceits of matters ſpiritual or inviſible to be accompliſhed in the life to come, make theſe miſerable wretches quite forget the eſtate as well wherein they are, as whence they are fallen, and caſt them into pleaſant dreams of glorious Monarchies or Kingdoms here on earth; ſtill bragging as if they expected every next morning ſhould be their coronation day; as if they would make the world believe the Sun did daily riſe to grace or attend their re-eſpouſals to their glorious God.

Theſe are the off-ſpring of thoſe, ſometimes virgins, but fooliſh ones, who having out-ſlept the time of the Bridegrooms coming, have not till this day been able to repair their lamps; but ſince his departure have ſate in perpetual darkneſs, bringing forth children even in ſuch deep mid-night ſleep, that the ſlumber cannot to this day be ſhaken out of their eyes, nor their brains delivered of this hereditary drowſineſs.

5. Many partakers they have in this phrenſie from originals much what the ſame or very like. For from a reaſon not much unlike unto the cauſe of dreams it is, that external noyſes oftimes conſort ſo well with internal muſings, as if the one were but the tune and the other the ditty, or one the baſe and the other the treble. Perhaps the ſound either ſtarts ſome notion a freſh, or cauſeth us in this temper to reſume our former thoughts, whence we imagine it tells us, as it were, by word of mouth, what it only ſuggeſts by natural motion. And ſometimes as if we meant to ſave our ſelves a labour or ſpare our breath, which would be ſpent in ſpeaking, we tacitely articulate the ſound of bells, or other tunable bodies, as if they did audibly ſpeak what we inwardly muſe. Muſing and dreaming are of near alliance; the fancy in both is apt to weave in every circumſtance or occurrent, that hath the leaſt ſemblance or connexion with the principal matter repreſented or thought upon. In dreams the principal or judicative ſenſe is ſo bound with ſleep, that it cannot examine intimations given by the phantaſie. In muſing the phantaſie is ſo contracted within it ſelf, that it can neither receive inſtructions from the underſtanding, nor give it perfect information from repreſentations made by external ſenſes. But from what original ſoever theſe erroneous imaginations or fallacies proceed, they inſinuate themſelves after the ſame manner into ſuch as dream, and ſuch as rather muſe than meditate upon Scripture. Nor is there any other means to prevent their inſinuations, beſides vigilant and attentive

alacrity, to ſift and examine every circumſtance, by ſetting our imaginations awork to counterſway our extemporary conceits or apprehenſions with all contrary inducements poſſible. He that thinks on nothing, but on confirming his own concluſions or apprehenſions, will quickly perſwade himſelf, the word of God (ſpecially if he hear it alledged, or ſee it quoted by others,) ſpeaks juſt ſo, as he thinks, and proffers it ſelf as a witneſs to give teſtimony *viva voce* to the truth of his preſent cogitations. To the ſuperſtitious Palmeſter or Chyromancer that ſaying of *Moſes*, Exod. 13. [*And it ſhall be a ſign unto thee upon thine hand, &c.*] and that in *Job*, *cap.* 37. *verſe* 7. [*Qui in manu omnium hominum ſignat, ut norint omnes opera ſua,*] ſound as fundamental Theorems of the Art which he profeſſeth, that is, of making ſuch Prognoſtications of all the changes and chances incident to this mortal life by inſpection of the lines or wrinckles in the palms of mens hands, as the Aſtrologer doth change of weather, or of mens fates or fortunes, by obſerving the poſitions or aſpects of Stars. Generally brains apt to buſie themſelves with curious thoughts or ſcrupuloſities, frame ſuch compoſitions of ſacred lines, as men in phrenſie or other like grievous diſtemper, do out of ſcrabled walls or painted cloaths. The one makes fooliſh or monſtrous pictures of true colours; the other draws ſenſleſs and ridiculous inferences out of Divine and Supernatural Antecedents. Unleſs I had compared the marginal quotations of ſome Anabaptiſtical and Schiſmatical diſcourſes with the Text, and both with the concluſions intended by their Authors; I ſhould hardly have conceived it as poſſible for a man to ſpeak nothing but Goſpel, and yet to ſpeak ſcarce a true or wiſe *word*.

6. This kind of dreaming temper in many, hinders the breaking out of the former general ſeeds of errour, unto whoſe workings inwardly it uſually affords advantage and opportunity. Deſire of proper excellency is a diſeaſe hardly cured in any, and oft-times works moſt indefatigably, where it works moſt ſecretly. In many it ſeems altogether mortified, when it is only ſtifned by being cut ſhorter, or gathers ſtrength by contraction to a ſmaller room. To excell others in many points, men of this diſpoſition will not ſtrive; to be excelled in moſt, they can ſuffer with patience. Gods gifts of Wit, of Learning, and Judgment, they will admire and magnifie as much as any, in others, whoſe induſtry and opportunities of increaſing their Talent in ſacred negotiations, they cannot but acknowledge greater then their own: yet will they not in concluſion be perſwaded, that any man not of their own ſect or diſpoſition, knows ſo much of Gods eternal will and purpoſe, as they do. Others general ſkill in Scriptures, if it be great, is for this reaſon alone, ſuſpected to be unſanctified. The ſtronger the Reaſons brought againſt them be, the forwarder are they to appeal from Reaſon unto Scripture, as if Grace did aboliſh as well the life or remnant of natures integrity, as her corruptions; as if Gods Law or written Word did rather obliterate, than refine and quicken the imperfect characters or liveleſs lineaments of natures Law written in our hearts. Thus to abandon the help of Arts and natural Reaſon, in this ſearch they have good reaſon, if we reſpect the end, whereat their deſires covertly aim. For Arts and Reaſon being once included from examination or tryal of ſacred myſteries, their irrational and ſurd conceits of Scriptures ſenſe in particulars, which they ſtand upon, may be as well eſteemed, as the moſt forcible deductions, that can be drawn from the fundamental *Maxims* of Religion, or concluſions exactly and remon-

ſtratively paralleld to the rule of faith. If allegations of ſacred authority might once by multitude of mens voices thus affected, be taken by number rather, then by weight; to refute the Anabaptiſt, the Separatiſt, or maintainers of other modern errours, would be a matter ſo much the harder, as the refuter is more judicious. For the better his judgment is, the more accurately will he ſearch, or ſift ſuch circumſtances, as at firſt ſight wedd theſe mens perſwaſions to their own dreams or fancies. To avoid their fallacies, the Reader is to remember that their modeſty in ſome caſes no way acquits them from imputation of extreme pride and inſolency in many points of Chriſtianity. Few there be ſo tranſcendently conceited of themſelves, but will yield to known profeſſors of thoſe faculties, wherein they are not converſant. So on the other ſide not many there are, that will not ſtand upon their skill in thoſe particulars, whereto they have been wholly addicted, or long imployed in. It is no marvail then, if ſuch, as for expounding greateſt myſteries have wholly betaken themſelves to the ſpirit, or to mens labours whom they preſume to be throughly ſanctified, do as lightly eſteem the opinion of greateſt ſcholars, auncient or modern, in divine myſteries, as they highly magnifie their wit, and judgment in artificial learning or ſacred generalities. For matters of ſanctification, of election and ſalvation, are as the only trade or faculty, which theſe men profeſs, and of which they deem their own corporation only free; others not fit to be conſulted, or at leaſt their voices not to be taken, until they have ſerved the like compleat apprenticeſhip to their ſuppoſed ſpirit, or been as long profeſſors of the pure Word alone, renouncing all commerce with natural reaſon. They are more offended with their followers for having recourſe to it, than ordinary tradeſmen are with their ſervants or apprentices for haunting Alehouſes, Taverns, or worſe places.

7. Their firſt intention, I am verily perſwaded, is to magnifie Gods grace, more then others (to their thinking) do. Now it is a Maxim as plauſible as true, that Gods graces can never be magnified too much by any. But it is a fault common almoſt to all, to do many things much amiſs before we have done them half enough. The wiſeſt oft miſcarry in their projects; theſe men err in their very firſt attempts, their very intentions are misleveled, in that they think there is no direct way to grace but by declining helps of art or gifts of nature. The firſt and immediate iſſue of this perſwaſion, (thus ſeeking to nurſe a perpetual irreconcilable faction betwixt Scripture and reaſon, to magnifie grace by nullifying nature and art) is that every action which is not warranted by ſome expreſs rule of Scripture, apprehended by grace, is *non ex fide, not of faith,* (whoſe only compleat rule is Scripture;) and being not of faith, it muſt be a ſin; ſo that theſe two propoſitions; [1. *all actions warranted by the expreſs word of God muſt needs be lawful*] 2. *all lawful actions muſt needs be warranted by the expreſs word of God.*] differ no more in their Logick, then this verſe read forward, doth from it ſelf read backward, for Grammatical ſenſe;

Odo tenet mulum madidam mappam tenet Anna.

And after once (out of a ſcrupulous fear to ſin in any action by following reaſon without expreſs warrant of Scripture for the particular) they have for a while accuſtomed themſelves to level every action or ſaying, and to ſquare each thought by ſome expreſs ſuitable rule of Scripture: the Scripture and their thoughts or apprehenſions become ſo intwined, that in fine they are perſwaded whatſoever they have done, thought, or ſpoken, in matters concerning God or Chriſtian's duties, is warranted by ſome expreſs rule or other of ſacred Writ. Whoſe teſtimonies for the moſt part, they uſe no otherwiſe then men in high place and authority, often uſe the *placets* or ſuffrages of their inferiors, to countenance their peremptory deſigns by way of ceremony or formality: which if they do not voluntarily, they ſhall do at length againſt their wills. Concerning the true meaning of that Maxim, *Whatſoever is not of faith is ſin*, we have * elſewhere delivered our opinion. The Scripture we grant to be the compleat and perfect rule of faith, to be the only rule likewiſe of planting the root or habit, whence all good actions or reſolutions muſt grow. It is not the only rule for rectifying every particular branch in the growth. Theſe muſt be rectified by neceſſary or probable deductions which reaſon or rules of art ſanctified by the habit of faith frame out of Scriptures or ſacred Maxims.

* In the ſecond book upon the Creed, firſt Section.

CHAP. XLVIII.

Of the more particular and immediate cauſes of all the forementioned errors, or miſ-perſwaſions.

1. TO give one prime Philoſophical cauſe of all or moſt moral miſperſwaſions or transfigurations of ſacred Oracles, is perhaps only poſſible to the cauſe of cauſes. Two Maxims nevertheleſs there be undoubtedly experienced in matters natural, from which, as from two principal heads, the main ſtream of errors doth moſt directly ſpring, though much increaſed by confluence of ſuch fallacies, as have been deciphred. The Maxims are; one [*Intus apparens prohibet alienum*] common in Philoſophical Schools; the other [*Mota faciliùs moventur*] as well known, and of as great uſe amongſt the Mathematicks, or ſuch as write Mathematically of Mechanical inſtruments. The efficacy of every agent reſults from the fit diſpoſition of the patient; whence it is, that the internal diſtemper or indiſpoſition of the organ will not admit the proper ſtamp or impreſſion of any external, though its proper object. Not that any diſtemper can ſo prevent the force or any indiſpoſition ſo dead the agency of the object, as it ſhall not move and agitate the organor, that it is poſſible for the organ being moved or agitated by external objects, to be altogether barren. For the very motion of it is a kind of conception. But the organ being prepoſſeſſed by abundance of heterogeneal matter mingled with it, the impreſſion or conception proves like the monſtrous brood of males and females of diverſe kinds. And the more vehemently the organ is agitated, the more ſenſible is the repreſentation or apprehenſion of the inherent humors; and in as much as the object is rightly apprehended as the cauſe of this actual motion or repreſentation, it is likewiſe judged (but amiſs) to be ſuch it ſelf, as the motion or repreſentation, which it worketh. Thus we ſometimes miſgather thoſe things (the Sun for example) to be hot themſelves, which produce heat in others; thoſe to be cold, which cauſe ſenſe of cold; thoſe moiſt, which leave an impreſſion of moiſture where none was or was unfelt before their operation. Yet is the Moon neither cold nor moiſt in it ſelf, although the true cauſe of coldneſs or moiſtning in ſubjects, aptly diſpoſed to either quality. Brains ſtuffed with *cold* will eaſily ſuſpect fragrant or unknown odoriferous perfumes of the loathſome ſmell which indeed they cauſe by provoking the putrified phlegm to imprint its ſelf upon the organ. As the Sun ſhining through a red glaſs tranſports

Diſtemper is a kind of motion, and the greater the diſtemper of the organ is, the more apt it is to be agitated by the object.

tranſports the redneſs upon the eye, and being the immediate cauſe of the actual repreſentation now made, is judged to be of the ſame hue. So external colours preſented to eyes ſubject to ſuffuſion, or poſſeſſed with real effluxions of other viſibles, cauſe a repreſentation of thoſe internal humors in the organ, whence colours external, being the true cauſe of our preſent actual ſight, we deem them to be like unto the internal humors, which are ſeen. Many like irritations of the fleſh are uſually cauſed by the ſpirit, ſeeking to imprint the right ſence or Character of Gods word, could the polluted heart or mind infected with prejudicate opinions, admit the impreſſion. But carnal luſts, or implanted phantaſies, being by this means ſet on working, conceive a depraved ſenſe, or a ſenſe quite contrary to the ſpirits meaning, and yet imagine it to be ſuggeſted by the word of God; only becauſe it concurs to the actual producing of ſuch humors or phantaſies.

2. There is no error, but hath its nutriment from truth, in whoſe root it is engraffed like a wild plant in a natural ſtock: no vice, but hath ſimilitude in part with one or other vertue. Now where vice or bad habits do abound, no character of any moral vertue, or precept divine can leave any true ſtamp or compleat impreſſion of it ſelf: well may it move, or tickle the predominant humour, with which it ſymbolizeth in part. The covetous and niggardly diſpoſition will ſolace it ſelf with precepts of frugality, and this ſolace taken in a conceited conformity to the rule of life, doth ſtiffen him in his wonted ſin. The commendations of ingenuity or freedom of ſpirit ſympathize well with brave reſolute minds, as they do in part with ſtubbornneſs or ſelf-will, and the applauſe which the ſtubborn or ſelf-willed take in this their partial ſympathie with the temper of Saints or holy men, works a delight in them to glory in their ſhame. So the praiſe of valour or courage in good cauſes is as a watch-word to fool-hardineſs, which once ſtarted will admit no curb or reſtraint from any ſacred precept commending warineſs or ingenuous fear. The approbation given by Gods word to exceſſive zeal or indignation ſwelling upon juſt occaſions, oftimes provokes malitious diſpoſitions to vent their bitterneſs in a kind of affected imitation of Saints. Now not only all imitation of counterfeit goodneſs, but all counterfeit imitation of true goodneſs, will in the end bring forth true and real naughtineſs. Generally as the word of life and grace where it fructifies, doth tranſlate our natural diſpoſitions into goodneſs ſupernutural: ſo the opinion or preſumption of having our actions warranted, or our diſpoſitions countenanced from Gods word or will revealed, doth ſublimate all corruptions by nature inherent, or acquired by cuſtom, into a degree of evil more then natural.

3. Theſe groſs prepoſterous miſconſtructions admit no ſet bounds or limits of increaſe or waning beſides the different degrees or qualities of the humour, whence they ſpring. As exceſſive intemperance breeds an hate or loathing of divine goodneſs, and diſpoſeth to an amity with hell: ſo in others rightly perſwaded as well of the truth of the Deity, as of the veracity of his written word indefinitely conceived, ſome particular roots of bitterneſs may be ſo venomous and malignant, as will cauſe them to caſt aſperſions of blaſphemy upon the ſalvifical ſenſe of theſe ſacred oracles, and to deifie contrary miſconſtructions prompted only by the luſts and corruptions of the fleſh. Choler in ſome men, though abundant, is forthwith pacified with placid behaviour or gentle language; but in others is ſo peeviſh and fretful, as maketh them interpret all addreſments to pacifications to be but mockery. That, which at other

times to them, or at all times to other men, would be reputed *affabilitie*, is, in the heat of preſent diſtemper, *flatterie*: what others would take for true ſubmiſſion, or be glad to entertain as a ſerious proffer of reconcilement, whiles this humor is ſtirred, is diſſimulation or ſubtilty to entrap them. The reaſon of ſuch uncharitable miſconſtructions is the ſame which was given before. Whatſoever is obvious to thoughts inwardly perplexed or grieved, is apprehended as evil, becauſe it revives or exaſperates the cauſe of grief; and being apprehended as irkſome to their preſent diſpoſitions, the underſtanding or fancy muſt play the Paraſite, and make good ſuch imputations, as the predominate humor layes upon the object. Others words or geſtures alwaies provoke ſome motion in us, and with the motion, ſome humor or other is ſet on working. Now if the humor be tart or bitter, the motion of it will be unpleaſant to the party, in whom it reſides. For this reaſon men fickly or cholerick proſecute all, that ſpeak to them, or whatſoever moves the fretting humor, with the ſame diſlike they have of it, or their internal grievances *thus* occaſioned. All is one whether the ſpeech or behaviour be fair or foul, ſo the irkſome diſpoſition be exaſperated, which ſometimes is more offended with the antipathy of affability or proffered courteſie, than with churliſh or boyſterous oppoſition of the like temper in others. For being boyſterouſly oppoſed it either relents or finds opportunity to exonerate it ſelf, and ſpend its venome by vehemency of provoked motion; but gathers ſtrength by fretting inwardly at their ſpeech or geſtures which unſeaſonably endeavour to allay it: as the Spring-ſun by ſtirring humors being not able to draw them out or digeſt them, produceth agues. Some tempers of mind in like ſort there be, very apt to be offended with divine truth either bluntly, obſcurely, doubtfully, or unſeaſonably propounded, and yet as ready to be friends with it diſtinctly and placidly repreſented. Others are ſo tainted with the ſower leaven of Phariſaiſm, that the more evident the truth is made, or more plauſibly delivered unto them, the more bitterly they malign it and the propoſers of it; for the inward grief of a worm-bitten conſcience doth more diſquiet the ſoul and ſpirit, than any choler can do the body or animal faculty. Thus the high Prieſt rent his cloaths at our Saviours interpretation of that place in *Daniel*; [*Hereafter ſhall ye ſee the ſon of man,*] as if he had ſpoken blaſphemy. Albeit his manner of delivering this divine truth, manifeſt enough to ſober examinours, were moſt placid, and in tearms mitigated below the tenour of a direct anſwer to the queſtion propoſed. Had he propheſied to have made them Kings, or upon opportunity of his late triumphant entertainment, interpreted the Prophets words of himſelf then coming, as their General to outbrave the *Romans* with golden ſhields or glittering armour, he might have gained that applauſe, which they afterward gave to *Herod*; *Non vox hominis, ſed Dei.*

SECTION VI.

Of qualifications requiſite for conceiving aright of the Divine Nature and his Attributes.

CHAP. XLIX.

The general qualifications or firſt ground for preventing miſconceits of the Divine Nature or Attributes, is purification of heart.

THE Heathens groſly either multiply or miſ-figure the Divine Nature; we varniſh their unſightly Pictures, or conjoyn their diſtracted repreſentations: both miſ-proportion or deface him in his Attributes. Now as it is the corruption of nature, wherein we communicate too deeply with the Heathen, which maketh us partakers of their ſins: ſo ſhall we prove our ſelves more unexcuſable by much, then they were, unleſs their example excite in us religious care and alacrity to uſe thoſe means, which many of them by light of nature, (queſtionleſs without the internal light of grace) ſaw to be neceſſary for attaining the true knowledge of the Deity. To the better ſort of them it was a clear truth and a received Maxim; *That as the Sun cannot be ſeen without its own light, ſo God could not be known without his illuminations:* That by theſe illuminations profered to all the moſt part were not in any degree enlightned for want of internal preparation. The preparation or diſpoſition by them required, was purification of the ſoul. Of excellent paſſages to this purpoſe *Triſmegiſt*, *Plato* with his followers, *Plotinus* ſpecially, and amongſt the Romans *Seneca*, are very fertile. Their conſonancies to Chriſtian Truth are gathered by many, briefly by *Panſa*, and ſome other late Writers, whom I commend unto the Reader for no other end, but that he may be commended or directed by them to theſe Authors themſelves, worthy to be lookt into by the moſt Eagle-ſighted Divines of our times. Admit they cannot communicate to us the light of ſaving Truth, with whoſe comfortable rayes their ſouls were never refreſhed, nor their minds enlightened: yet ſhould I take him either for more then a man, even a cœleſtial Saint on earth, or for a lazy Droan, that will not condemn himſelf for ſloth or dulneſs in apprehenſion of God or his goodneſs; ſo he will but unpartially compare his own conceits or affections with theſe mens, allowing the odds as well of the more excellent means which he hath to find, as of the encouragements incomparably more glorious given him to ſearch out the hidden *Manna*, that ſecret joy of heart or exultation of ſpirit, which alwayes reſulteth from true contemplation of the firſt Truth, or from the deaw of this fountain of goodneſs. And if whiles we ſeek a rule or ſtay to our underſtandings, leſt they ſlide into error, we deſire withal a ſpur unto devotion; the uſual profeſſors of School-divinity, come as far ſhort of theſe Heathen Theologiſts, and their Chriſtian Expoſitors in this later ſervice, as they go beyond them in the former.

2. *Plotins* frequent interſperſion of much Divine matter throughout moſt his Philoſophical diſcourſes, often makes me doubt, whether familiarity with *Origen*, did not draw him to ſome acquaintance with Chriſtian myſteries; howſoever he ſought to form them in Philoſophical moulds, and ſet forth ſtollen fragments of the food of life with Platonical ſawce. By what means then may the ſoul in this mans judgment *be elevated to contemplate the unpriſable beauty, which hath her dwellings in the ſacred Cloſets, and gadds not abroad, leſt profane eyes might gloat upon her?* Not to queſtion how well he ſpake them, or how far he did aſſent unto them; theſe, and the like ſpeeches of his (very pertinent to our preſent Argument) infer a Divine truth out of Philoſophical principles. *If the eye be either infected with bad humors, dull or weakned for want of ſpirits, the brightneſs of the objects preſented, breeds a dimneſs, and diſenables it for ſeeing, what otherwiſe might eaſily be ſeen. The ſpectator muſt be made like the ſpectacle; nor could any eye ſee the Sun, were it not by natural conſtitution Sun-like: No more can the mind unleſs purified, behold the fountain of purity: whence he muſt be divine or deiformed, that means to ſee God, or the pattern of beauty. Plot. lib. 6. Ennead.* 1. Whether to his ſoul morally or philoſophically purified, thus much was repreſented by the light of Nature; or whether admitted to look into the fountain of truth or law of liberty, he thus far approved it while he looked upon it: the ſum of his collections was delivered by him, who alone had ſeen God, and Matth. 5. 8. declared him unto the world. *Bleſſed are the pure in heart; for they ſhall ſee God.* In the perfection of this viſion conſiſts the fulneſs of our felicity in the life to come, of which felicity notwithſtanding all in this life may in ſome meaſure be partakers, by ſeeing him in his Word, and in John 14. 9. his only Son: *He that hath ſeen me hath ſeen my Father. How then ſayſt thou* Philip; *Shew us the Father?* But did all ſee the Son, that lookt upon him? If they did not, how was he the true *Light, that enlighteneth every man that commeth into the world*; In as much as the world was made by him, his light was ſpread throughout it; *He ſhineth ſtill in darkneſs, though the darkneſs comprehendeth him not,* John 1. verſe 5. This darkneſs in *Plotins* language is the adventitious filth or ruſt, which before purification be wrought, adheres to the humane ſoul, and makes it uncapable of any illumination from the fountain of light.

CHAP.

CHAP. L.

What purification of heart may be expected and ſought after, before the live image of God be renewed in us. Of the directions given by Heathen Philoſophers for attaining to this purification, or to perfect knowledge by it. Wherein their directions are defective.

1. BUt admitting the purified heart hath the promiſe of bleſſing, as well in this life, as in the other to come; who ſhall have intereſt in the promiſe? for who can ſay; My heart is clean? As juſtification; ſo the purification, whereof we treat, is two-fold;

1. From the raign or dominion of ſin.
2. From all reliques or commixture of ſin.

Of the latter purification, in this life none can be; of the former all the faithful muſt be partakers. But even faith it ſelf, before it can be lively and ſound, muſt in order of *nature* (perhaps, of *time*) be ſincere and true: and unto the meer truth of it, the right knowledge or apprehenſion of the object is always precedent. Whence it becomes queſtionable, what degree or manner of purification is requiſite to the right knowledge of God or his attributes: theſe, in the method propoſed to us by the authors of this Creed, being the firſt articles or objects of our belief.

2. May we in this caſe, as in the like before, admit of a two-fold cleanſing or purification; one moral, or right only in its kind, but far ſhort of acceptation in it ſelf, only acceptable, as it is deſtinated to a ſecond which is ſpiritual, and pleaſing to God through Jeſus Chriſt, as being the ſymbole or participated form, whereby Chriſts righteouſneſs becomes actually ours. The truth of this diſtinction was ſuppoſed by S. *James*, otherwiſe he had ſet thoſe ſouls, which he ſought to cleanſe, in a perpetual *backwater*. Unto men as then not juſtified nor ſpiritually purified; unto all (notorious ſinners not excepted) for to them by eſpecial title was that exhortation directed; *Draw near to God, and he will draw near to you*, Jam. 4. 8. Suppoſe the parties, to whom he ſpake, ſhould have replyed thus; *Unleſs God draw near to us by his ſanctifying grace, how ſhould we draw nearer to him then we are?* Had their reply been pertinent, and juſt? If juſt, his exhortations following had been altogether fruitleſs and impertinent; *Cleanſe your hands ye ſinners, and purge your hearts ye wavering minded*, Jam. 4. ver. 8. No modern Catechiſt knows better then he did; That God alone muſt ſpiritually cleanſe and purifie, becauſe he alone creates that grace in their hearts, whereby this their ſanctification is wrought. Yet that they might be finally ſo cleanſed, and purged by his meer grace, they were firſt morally to be cleanſed, by abſtinence from unrighteous actions, by denying of indulgence to internal luſts. This wavering of mind, though it ſpring from impurity of heart or corrupt affection; (as one obſerves) is no ill ſign in youth, but rather the working of the ſoul, ſeeking to purge it ſelf from corruption; although a wavering and floating imagination is for the preſent moſt uncapable of the impreſſion of Gods image.

3. As corruption of nature doth ſway us both to conceive, and

bring forth evil of every kind : ſo our acquired proneneſs to practiſe it, being outwardly curb'd, or our natural propenſions by Gods providence diverted from ſuch objects, as might entice or inlarge them, the light of nature as yet not ſanctified will manifeſt the folly of our former ways, and oft-times cauſe notorious malefactors to water their cheeks with tears, in ſign they would (as perhaps for the preſent in part they do) waſh their conſciences from wonted uncleanneſs, if it ſhould pleaſe God to grant them opportunity of teſtifying their reſolutions by reformation of life prolonged. And what they thus proteſt may be either meerly pretended, or unfainedly purpoſed. So may purpoſes, for the time being unfained, be either temporary and weak (eaſie to be defeated) by future opportunities ; or firm, and conſtant, able to reſiſt all ordinary or wonted incitements to commit external miſchiefs. Such they may be, and yet never approach the confines of true ſpiritual renovation.

4. That hearts thus far cleanſed and mollified are more apt to admit the true ſtamp or character of any moral truth, and may be more eaſily and farther poized with any wholſome admonition or reproof, needs no further proof, than that, which is above all proofs, which can be brought to the contrary, common experience. And although in the heat of paſſion, or by renitency of contrary impulſions, our apprehenſions of truths formerly imprinted or then firſt repreſented, be not ſo clear, or though our judgments be corrupt and partial ; yet ſuch as have laid up theſe ſacred principles in their hearts, giving them little or no vent, except in practiſe, will in theſe caſes ſuſpect their judgment, and appeal from paſſion to calm and ſober meditations. Many pleaſant and grateful fancies, which ſecretly intrude themſelves by night, are often miſtruſted by ſome, even whiles they dream ; though the like dreams in others, which have leſs occaſion to believe them, are exempt from all ſuſpition. The cauſe of difference, as an exquiſite Philoſopher tells us, is this. In the one, the paſſages betwixt the brain, and the heart are in ſome ſort open : in the other ſo ſtopt, that the head, which ſerves as an illiterate meſſenger or news-carrier to the heart, can have no direction or reſolution thence, but takes every thing for true, that hath any appearance of truths formerly experienced in waking thoughts. This falls out ſo, as if, whiles grand Counſellors ſleep, Poſt-boys ſhould take upon them to determine of matters of ſtate by vulgar rumors concerning the ſecrecies incloſed in their Packets. The vigilant thoughts of men attentive to worldly buſineſs or bent to vice, can be no better in ſacred matters, than dreaming fancies in matters ſecular. No moral knowledg not implanted in a purified heart, but upon intercourſe of paſſion or new occurrence, either vaniſheth or varieth as ſtrangely and quickly, as nocturnal repreſentations. Nor is it poſſible any ſacred knowledg ſhould enter into our hearts, until they be in ſome meaſure cleanſed of their native ruſt or adventitious foulneſs.

Philip Mocenicus.

5. Not unconſonant to as much of S. *James* divinity, as hitherto hath been diſcuſſed, is that reſolution of *Seneca* in the beginning of his natural or theological queſtions (for God and nature were to him as one) *Multum intereſt inter valetudinem, & bonam valetudinem*, &c. *There is a great difference between health and ſtrength : Thou carrieſt about no counterfeit face, nor frameſt thy ſpeech unto anothers mind : Thy heart is not invailed, thou art free from avarice, which deprives it ſelf of what it hath purloined from others ; from luxury, which repairs the waſted ſtock more filthily,*

then it was waſted. Thou art not ſubject to ambition, which ſeldome brings men unto dignity, but by baſe and indign practiſes? Thou art as yet a non-proficient, and rid of all other ill gueſts, not of thy ſelf. The vertue we ayme at, is magnificent: not that it is in it ſelf a happy thing to be without vice, but that want of evil doth free the mind, and prepare it for the knowledg of heavenly matters, and qualifie it for acquaintance with God. Plotin likewiſe (avouching the conſent of the auncient) makes every vertue a beam or ray of the former purification, in his opinion requiſite for attaining union with the prime light or fountain of beauty. What is temperance but abſtinence from bodily pleaſures, as being neither pure in themſelves, nor fit for any effecting purity of life to follow? Wiſdome and prudence erect the mind to things ſupernal, and keep it aloofe from this inferiour and baſe part of the world, which pollutes it. Wherefore it was truly ſaid; That the goodneſs, and beauty of the humane ſoul conſiſts in being like to God. But by what means in his divinity muſt our ſouls put on his likeneſs? *By putting off, whiles they aſcend to him, the vitious habits, which they put on in their deſcent to worldly ſpectacles; as thoſe that enter into the ſanctuaries of the Temples, put off their garments, and approach not the preſence of the gods till they be purified.* And again, *Our ſouls muſt be divorced from all corporal beauty, before we come acquainted with the prime light or fountain of beauty, of whom all bodily perfections are but Images, on which who ſo doates, or eſteems as objects worthy of his love, ſhall be partaker of his folly, that drowned himſelf by aſſaying to embrace fair ſhadows in the water. For thus enclaſpt with love of bodily decency, that he cannot acquit himſelf from it, he muſt needs ſuffer a precipitation* (not ſo much of body as of ſoul) *into a pit dark and gaſtly to the mind of man; blinded both amongſt the infernal ghoſts, and even whiles they live here, haunted ſtill with ghoſts or ſhadowes. That is our Countrey whence we came, and there is our ſetled place of dwelling.* But what is the means or manner of our retire? *We need neither ſhipp nor chariot, nor horſe, not ſo much as the uſe of our own feet: all theſe we muſt forſake, not vouchſafing once to look back upon them after we be ſet on in this journey. Our bodily lights being ſhut we muſt provide us another eye. But what muſt this internal eye behold? Upon the firſt opening or awakening, it cannot eaſily fix it ſelf upon exceſſive brightneſs. What remedy then? The ſoul muſt be inured by degrees, firſt to look into honeſt and ingenuous ſtudies; afterwards to contemplate ſuch actions of famous men, as are fit patterns for others to follow; laſtly to take the true characters of theſe good actors minds.* But they ſhall by this means be enabled to take a true draught of their own form? *If thou canſt not ſee thine own latent beauty, propoſe the* ſtatuary *for thy imitation, pare of ſuperfluities and exorbitances, rectifie obliquities, and give luſtre to parts obſcure or duskie, and never give over poliſhing and trimming thy* ſtatue, *until vertue diſplay her radiant beams, untill thou ſeeſt temperance eſtabliſht in her immaculate throne. Thou needeſt no* Mercury *for thy direction; intend thy ſight: for ſuch alone, as now thou art, can truly behold that excellent beauty.* Plot. Ennead. 1. lib. 6.

6. Out of this Heathens Philoſophy, that Charity which ſhould be in Chriſtian Divines, would extract much matter, well ſymbolizing with the words of life. Howbeit, leſt either young Readers ſhould wrong themſelves by doating too much upon theſe or like paſſages, or Divines ſhould deprive him of his due; let us ſee a little farther wherein they decline from Chriſtian truth. It was an heavenly Doctrine of *Plotine* and other Heathens; *That gold being ſevered from droſs*

or gleebs of earth often intermingled with it, and the ſoul of man once purified from vice or external impreſſions, both recover their native beauty: that the ſoul thus recovering her native ſplendor, becomes a true glaſs for right repreſentation of Gods Image or his attributes. But the beſt of the Heathen wanting this perſpective glaſs, whereby things of heavenly nature muſt be diſcovered, could not diſcern many internal ſpotts or blemiſhes, which no leſs pollute the humane ſoul, then thoſe running ſores, wherewith moſt others beſide themſelves were in their judgement fouly infected. Beſides theſe mentioned, much of their ſeed we cannot deny to be moſt pretious, as being either borrowed from the Hebrews, ſince the law was written, or propagated from *Noah* the Preacher of righteouſneſs. Yet even the beſt, that they did ſow, compared with *Pauls* or *Apolloes* labours, proved in the growth but like graſs or green blades upon the houſe-topp, withering before they be ripe. And thus ill it proved, becauſe not ſown in contrite hearts, becauſe not rooted in true humility, never watered with penitent tears, without whoſe moyſture the ſeed of Gods word ordinarily receiveth no juſt increaſe. If we may judge of other Heathens by *Plotine*, and of *Plotine* by thoſe inſtances wherein he ſought to be moſt wiſe, their pureſt doctrine was infected with a double error: the one, that it was but a kind of hand-labour to put off bad habits, or cleanſe our ſouls from ſuch filth, as had befallen them, from contagion of externals; the other, that perfect ſplendor, beauty of mind, or fulneſs of felicity, did immediately reſult from theſe moral abſtractions or reſecations of ſuperfluities. Hence were he and all his fellow Philoſophers often occaſioned to triumph before victory; to boaſt of liberty, when they had but laid aſide ſome external badges of ſlavery; to rejoyce when they ſhould have ſorrowed. For of that true purification, which is but as the ground or matter of ſpiritual reformation, penitent tears and ſecret mournings are parts eſſential: *Suffer afflictions, and ſorrow ye, and weep. Let your laughter be turned into mourning, and your joy into heavineſs. Caſt down your ſelves before the Lord, and he will lift you up.*[a]

7. Howbeit as in compariſon of our Apoſtle I muſt condemn them: ſo for other contemplations and good directions I cannot but juſtifie them in reſpect of * many profeſſed Divines, which intrude themſelves into the *holy* of *holyes*, and pry into Gods ſecret counſels, without any manifeſt change of mind or affection, ſcarce of rayment, except perhapps to make a colour of change unto the world, by alteration of the hew, oft-times more then wontedly pampering their wonted green deſires, under the ſhelter of a ſable ſuite or candid robe. And I have often obſerved it to my grief; that as none declaim more paſſionately againſt dead hereſies, then diſſolute and licentious livers: ſo in queſtions of greateſt moment, and on their part of fearful conſequences, if they ſhould happen to prove falſe, none reſolve more peremptorily for their own, or more uncharitably againſt others opinions, then ſuch as have leaſt ſounded the fundamental principles of true divinity, moſt unable to judge of conſequences. None, more impatient of contradiction by others, then ſuch, as being let alone, will in few lines often contradict themſelves. *To bequeath titles of auncient hereticks to their live brethren: to ſhoot out their bitter arrowes, at all adventures, againſt as many of their fellow Souldiers, as do not ſhoot by their compaſs, none are more forward then ſuch, as never ſought to know God, but by heare-ſay; having made a ſecret covenant with their ſluggiſh*

ſelves

[a] James. 5.

* *Fingunt illa litera, vegetantq; puerile ingenium, atq; ad divinarum ſcripturarum cognitionem mirè præparant, ad quas ilico pedibus manibuſq; illotis irrumpere, pene ſacrilegi genus eſt. Hieoronymus eorum impudentiam taxat, qui modo a ſecularibus literis profecti, audent divinas tractare ſcripturas. At quanto faciunt impudentius qui ne guſtatis quidem illis, iſtuc ipſum audent? Eraſmi. Enchirid cap. 2.*

ſelves to take that to be the true ſenſe and meaning of his word, that to be the right tenour of his will, which ſome worthy Divines (more commendable for general pains, then for exact diſcuſſion of theſe particulars,) but in whoſe writings they have been moſt converſant, ſhall avouch. If they can put a new faſhion on vulgar, old worn, or home-ſpun ſtuffe, nothing forraign, though of the ſame thread better woven, and more durable, muſt be admitted. What is the reaſon? Like neat artificers they rate their hand-labours in materials of others providing too high. Not to utter their old notes or gatherings of youth, is a loſs no leſs to them, then for Merchants not to vent ſuch wares as have layn long upon their hands. And whatſoever they have uttered to the world by word or pen, they deem it no ſmall part of their credit to warrant (if need require) by ſolemn oath for good ſtuffe. By this confidence they gain credit with the multitude, and having this, verily they have their full reward. But ſeeing the moſt exact knowledg, that can be had of God or of his attributes in this life, muſt ſtill end in admiration; the firſt and ſureſt ground of true knowledg in this ſubject, muſt be avoydance of peremptory and preciſe determinations in particulars of confeſſed difficulty. To hold negatives, directly contrary to many particular reſolutions commonly received; is alwayes more eaſie, oftimes more uſeful, and for the moſt part more neceſſary, then to determine of affirmatives. Nor is it neceſſary we ſhould abate the ſtrength and vigour of our aſſent to general principles for want of ſure footing in ſpecial difficulties; but rather hold it by a hank or reyn from violent courſes in ruggy or ſlippery paſſages. This kind of ſuſpenſe, which proceedeth from *reſtraint* of judgement, not from *deadneſs* of *devotion*, is the mother of admiration, and admiration the nurſe of all true knowledg concerning God.

8. One of the beſt means of knowing, what may be known of him in this life, is by knowing our ſelves; and the beſt way to know our ſelves is to learn the meaning of that precept of *denying our ſelves*. This is a depth never dived into by any Heathen, nor well ſounded by moſt Chriſtians, though the true and perfect Image of God be no where ſo conſpicuous, as in the bottom of it. The hidden treaſures of his *mercy* and *goodneſs* (attributes moſt eſſentially annexed to the common *notion* of his nature) were clearlieſt opened to the world in the humiliation of our Saviour: and that glory of the God-head, which ſhined in him cannot be repreſented unto us, unleſs the like mind be in us, which was in him. But the particular branches of this duty ſpring more directly out of the Articles concerning Chriſt, unto ſuch knowledg (of whom ſo much as may bring forth the true ſimilitude of his mind, the true knowledg of the divine nature, and general attributes, is by way of method neceſſary, and unto this knowledg the generalities of the former principle preſuppoſed, and practiſed,) there is yet a more excellent way.

CHAP. LI.

The beſt means to rectifie and perfect our knowledg of God, is to love him ſincerely. Of the mutual ayde or furtherance, which the love of God and the knowledg of God reciprocally and in a manner circularly afford each to other in their ſetting and growth.

1. TO make love the mother, and knowledg the daughter will ſeem an ὕστερον πρότερον or meer inverſion of natures progreſs, from whoſe footſteps the common Maxime, [*unſeen unſought after*; or (as the Latines expreſs it,) *Ignoti nulla cupido*; *unknown undeſired*;] hath been gathered by the inveſtigators of truth. The very eſſences of deſire and love (eſpecially of things not actually enjoyed) are ſo cloſely enterwrapt and linkt together, that for knowledg, or whatſoever is no eſſential part of themſelves to interpoſe or come between them, is impoſſible. If then knowledg (according to the former ſaying) be alwayes preſuppoſed to deſire, how ſhould it be the off-ſpring of love?

2. The former Maxime notwithſtanding (if I much miſtake not) though within its limits without controul, yet rightly examined hath no juſt authority, ſave only in ſuch expreſs and actual deſires, as are faſhioned to determinate *particulars* deſired. It no way ſtretcheth to that *mother* deſire, which all men naturally have of knowledg indefinitely taken. This alwayes works before we are aware, and all of us deſire to know, before we know what knowledg or deſire meaneth. This native deſire of knowledg, no man I think (were he to ſpeak directly and *bona fide* to this point (would avouch to be different from the deſire of happineſs alike naturally and inſeparably rooted in all. One, and the ſame inclination of the reaſonable nature ſwayes to happineſs, as to the end or mark, through knowledg, as the entry or paſſage; but often miſcarries, not ſo much through faint intention or remiſs endevours, as from too haſty level, unſteady looſe, or immature delivery, before it be furniſhed with internal weight to ballance it ſelf againſt external impulſions or attractions. Goodneſs divine, in whoſe fruition this happineſs conſiſteth, was the *port* for which the Philoſophers in their intricate diſputes were bound: the *point*, whereon the former deſire is by nature directly ſet; but from which the alacrious endeavours or vigorous intentions of men moſt greedy of knowledg, uſually divert as far, as an headleſs unfeathered flight, ſhot out of a ſtrong bow in a mighty wind, doth from the mark whereto the Archer would have ſent it. Not the moſt exquiſite knowledg of natures ſecrecies, of every creature in the world, can add ought unto our happineſs, otherwiſe than by rectifying or right levelling that inbred deſire, which impells or ſwayes us to this anxious ſearch of knowledg. For knowledg it ſelf we deſire only as it is good, whereas no goodneſs, ſave divine, can give ſatisfaction to this deſire. Unto this point or center of the ſouls reſt and contentment, which Philoſophers ſought up and down by as many Archlines, as there be ſpheres or circles in the ſeveral works of nature, the *Pſalmiſt* directs us by a ſhort cord or ſtring: *Delight thou in the Lord, and he ſhall give thee thy hearts deſire.* Pſal. 37. 4. And our hearts deſire includes (at leaſt) ſuch a meaſure of knowledg and true happineſs, as in this life is fitteſt for us. But as we may in ſome ſort deſire his goodneſs, may we ſo truly delight in him, whom we have not known? Is it

true of our hearts, what *Jacob* ſaid of *Bethel*? *Are they indeed the houſes of God? is he in them, and we are not aware of his preſence.* Gen. 28.

3. Of things in their nature ſenſible, but never apprehended by any particular ſenſe, there may be an implanted hate or loathing. As whatſoever the mother near childbirth hath been affrighted or miſ-affected with, will be miſliked by the child brought forth. Hence do theſe ſecret enmities, which ſome reaſonable creatures bear to dumb beaſts, which never offended them, uſually grow. The Paroxyſms or fits of this diſlike, are never occaſioned but by ſight or feeling, or ſome other ſenſitive actual apprehenſions of matters thus offenſive: howbeit, ſome grudgings of the ſame diſeaſe may be procured by meer vicinity or the unknown preſence of the adverſary; as I have known ſome men, reſtleſs after hard labour, and ever and anon to refuſe the ſeat of their wonted reſt, not knowing any reaſon, why ſo they did, till ſearch being made, the ſight of their adverſary, (that was a Cat) did bring their fit upon them. And yet I make no queſtion but either delightful imployments, exerciſe of the ſpirit and ſenſes, or the company of lovely creatures might eaſily have either *prevented* the working of the Antipathy, or *deaded* all impreſſion of irkſomneſs or diſlike; although their bad neighbour had ſtill been preſent. As diſlike and hate from antipathy; ſo love or delight may be raiſed from ſecret contact or vicinity of ſympathizing natures. And whether we hold our ſouls to be immediately created of nothing, or to ſpring as branches from our parents; both wayes they may be capable of impreſſions from Gods preſence, which (though for the moſt part unapprehended) is always intimate and immediate to them as well in their operations, as productions; and would undoubtedly fill them with ſecret joy did we not either give prepoſterous iſſue to ſuch gladneſs, as by the ſympathy is often unwittingly raiſed in our hearts; or ſtifle the firſt workings or intimations of it by contrary motions of unhallowed mirth. Were thoſe ſecret rayes of warmth and comfort, which dayly iſſue from his brightneſs, not caſt (as they uſually are) upon ſecondary cauſes or by-ſtanding creatures, but reflected upon their fountain; the light of his countenance would more clearly ſhine upon us, and inſtamp our minds with the right *portraicture* of his perfections imitable. The ſum of the *Pſalmiſts* late mentioned adviſe is, to nurſe the ſympathizing inſtincts or ſeeds of ſecret joy, but by abandoning all delight, ſave in thoſe practiſes, which preſerve the health and peace of conſcience. For to delight in the Lord and in his law, are with him tearms ſynonymal. Unto this point the laſt paſſages of the fourth book, as of *laying up Gods word in our hearts*, of giving mature and right vent to internal motions or ſuggeſtions, have (as the Reader will eaſily perceive) peculiar and immediate reference. The imperfect light of ſpeculative or artificial knowledg may well beget ſome heat of love: but the perfection or ſplendor of knowledg divine cannot ſpring but from love throughly kindled and burſting out into a flame, which it ſeldom doth, if thoſe inward touches of unknown joy, find too much, too ſpeedy, or ſiniſter vent. It is an excellent obſervation, which ſome have miſquoted out of *Plato*, to this purpoſe. *Sacred myſteries can hardly be taught with words: but if a man long inures himſelf to divine matters, and fits his life to his meditations, the light of truth will ſuddainly burſt out, as from a ſparkling fire.* Vide Panſam. pag. 9.

4. The

Gerſon and *Vaſques.*

4. The doctrin propoſed we may maintain without intermedling in that quarrel between ſome late Schoolmen and myſtical Divines more ancient, concerning the precedency of love and knowledg, in the unition of our ſouls with God. In the opinion of the ancients, the acts of love or affection outſtart actual knowledg or apprehenſion. We only give this precedency to the indefinite deſire or apprehenſion of manifeſt joy from a cauſe unknown and latent. And perhaps the reaſon why ſome ſo ſtifly deny all poſſibility, *etiam de potentia dei abſoluta*, for love to kindle in the rational ſoul, without ſome preſent elicit act of knowledge or apprehenſion, may be their averſneſs from *Plato* in holding ſcience to be but a kind of reminiſcence. And though upon theſe terms we may not ſecond him; yet can we as little brook their opinions, which either expreſly maintain or tacitly ſuppoſe the manner, how love or knowledg rational are firſt planted or receive increaſe, to reſemble the compoſitions of art, rather then the natural growth of vegetables. The firſt ſeeds of both, are not from without, but within us; and the manner how our knowledg comes to perfection, may (I take it) be beſt illuſtrated by the manner how we our ſelves become capable of this chief ornament of our nature. The firſt and prime ſubſtance of all bodies organical is homogeneal or of one form. The mould, whence man (far the moſt excellent in this rank) is by degrees (ſcarce ſenſible) extracted, ought to be reckoned rather amongſt the creatures liveleſs and inanimate, than vital. At the beſt, it is but as the *mean* between them, not more like to the one in *poſſibility*, then it is to the other in *act*; yet duly cheriſhed, it quickeneth and brancheth it ſelf into ſeveral parts, firſt exerciſing only the operations of *life*, then of *ſenſe*, laſtly of *reaſon*. For although the rational ſoul be immediately created by God; yet the operations of it, as naturally preſuppoſe the operations of ſenſe, as theſe do operations vegetable. Parallel hereto, our natural deſire of knowledge or true happineſs (conſidered in its firſt root or element) is but (as the Schools ſpeak) *Quoddam naturæ pondus*, A *ſway* or *bent* or *ſecret working of nature*, ſeeking to be delivered of this her burthen. Afterwards it aims or levels at ſome particular objects, rather drawn unto them by ſympathy or impeld by inſtinct, then directed by expreſs rule of reaſon or actual choiſe. And perhaps, the firſt thing apprehended by it, is its own attractions or impulſions; the apprehenſion of them being but as it were a reflex or doubling of former inclinations or propenſions; and once come to this perfection, it moves it ſelf, and loves as well the exerciſe of its own acts or choice, as the objects, to which it was otherwiſe drawn or impeld; now uſing ſenſe as a ſervant, which before did lead it as a guide, but did not give it life or beginning.

5. As food received by the mother doth only nouriſh, not give life to the fruit conceived in her womb; ſo the moſt pregnant ſuggeſtions of ſenſe do only feed, not beget the internal deſire of knowledg or happineſs. The beſt inſtructions or precepts of Tutors, of Parents, or the experiments we get our ſelves, are but as ſo many *offices* or *rules* of *Midwifery*, for bringing forth what was before conceived. Meditation it ſelf, (which is, in common reputation, the mother of ſcience) or whatſoever intention of mind we can uſe, ſerve no otherwiſe to the former purpoſe, then the influence of the Sun or Stars doth to the productions of flowers or plants; or (were the ſtory true) as the eyes of Oſtriches, or the warmth of other birds to the formation of their youngs ones. And thus we ſee natural inclinations or deſires al-

wayes come to beſt proof, when they are cheriſhed with aſſiduous, calm and quiet meditations: whereas the nimble motions of unſetled brains uſually ſuffer the beſt ſeeds, which man was permitted to bring with him out of Paradiſe, to periſh, as ſome birds do their young ones, by often running off their neſts. Not that their inventions are not oft-times moſt pleaſant, or delightful to ſpectators: for ſo curious pictures obſervantly taken from the ſeveral perfections of many liveleſs ſtatues, do far ſurpaſs any one live-ſubſtance in freſhneſs of colour or exact proportion; howbeit, the meaneſt creature endued with life, and motion, ſimply conſidered, is much better then the moſt glorious works of *Polycletus* or *Apelles*. And herein the nimble or pleaſant wit, and the ſetled contemplator properly differ: The one proceeds by addition, or quaint compoſition of external or borrowed forms; the other, by multiplication of his own internal capacities; or by a kind of ſilent incubation, doth as it were hatch his brood, and finds every limb or branch drawn out of his proper root, before he mark the frame or compoſture. And though the conception be ſometimes ſlow, and the proportion long in ſetting; yet the fruit of his *mind* once throughly *ſet*, overgrows the other in height, in ſtrength, and vigor. But unto this facility in bringing forth, few attain without extraordinary midwifry or much experience. The difficulties of their firſt travels make many proſtitute their wills to fruitleſs popular commercements, never reſolving to conceive more deeply of any matters, then may occaſion extemporary pleaſure or delight, or procure ſome anniverſary or ſolemn flaſhes of general applauſe. But much more painful, then any contemplation beſides, whereof the reaſonable ſoul ſeeketh to be delivered, is our own new birth, which, in the Apoſtles language, is but the faſhioning of Chriſt Jeſus or Gods image in us. In this our *tranſlation* from *darkneſs to light* how often are we enforc'd to cry out with *Ezechiah*; *The Children are come unto the birth, and there is no ſtrength to bring forth.* Sometimes we ſeek with ſighs and groans to give vent to the inward working of the implanted inclination, ſtirred and quickened by the ſpirit of God. Otherwhiles, we ſtrive to ſtrengthen the expulſive force, or to make an eruption by knocking our breaſts; oft-times enforced to reſt contented with a ſtream of tears, ſtrained out by this ſtrugling agony between the infuſions of ſpiritual life, and the fleſh reſiſting this our birth, as the Dragon did the bringing forth of the Womans child. Howbeit theſe ſorrowful tears ſerve to this end, as a ſpring or ſummer ſhower to a joyful harveſt. And the greater our pain in the travel, or the longer our expectation hath been maſked with carnal blindneſs; the greater always is our joy in the delivery; when our minds are enlightened to ſee the beauty of that, which heretofore we ſo fervently expected, only by ſecret inſtinct or ſympathy. Then fearing leſt theſe tranſient gleams might fade or vaniſh; either we crave with old *Simeon* our *Nunc dimittis, Lord now letteſt thou thy ſervants depart in peace, while our eyes behold thy ſalvation*, or complain with the Prophet, *How long wilt thou be as a paſſenger, or as one that ſojourneth but for a night? Return ô Lord, return unto thy reſting place, thou, and the ark of thy ſtrength.* And with *Peter*, *We proffer to build him a laſting tabernacle, to allot him our hearts for a perpetual habitation.*

6. What joy of heart doth uſually accompany thoſe internal illuminations, which break forth from ſuch ardent deſire of acquaintance with the divine nature, as hath been ſecretly kindled and nouriſhed by a touch or ſympathy of his former unapprehended preſence; and how incomparably they exceed the moſt lively repreſentations which others

can frame of his eſſence or attributes, whether for ſolid information of the underſtanding, for *affecting* the will, or for uniting our ſouls and affections to him, may in part, be gathered from that exceſſive delight, which men naturally take in their own labors in reſpect of others more exquiſitely adorned: partly from the *meaſure* of our exceeding our ſelves either in the right apprehenſion or exquiſite adorning of ſubjects much affected, in compariſon of theſe which we naturally fancy not or lightly eſteem. The fruits of other mens labours, being as it were, gathered to our hands, we like no farther, then as they fit thoſe *moulds* of our ſpeculative reflective conceits, which have their ſeat in the ſuperior part of the ſoul, and ſcarce communicate with affection. And our judgments are alwayes moſt ſincere in reſpect of thoſe mens works, whoſe perſons or converſation have given us leaſt occaſion of any affectionate ſympathy or antipathy. But in the approbation of our own inventions, *affection* and that natural *inclination*, whence they ſpring, have ſwaying voyces: and unleſs theſe ſtubborn ſuffragants be firſt ſquared to the rules of reaſon taught by others, they enforce our judgments to bow unto their bent. But albeit too much affection leadeth many into folly, yet no man underſtands or handles any ſubject well, which he doth not much affect. Hence Poets, as their inventions are moſt delicate, ſo are they uſually moſt in love with them; becauſe the ſame *bent* of affection, which animates and ſtrengthens their fancies to bring forth, doth alſo *enamor* them with the beauty of their own brood. Howbeit though indignation may give the faculty of making verſes, where nature hath denyed it: yet to make a Poet, nature it ſelf is not able, but by giving an extraordinary affection of like or diſlike, of ſuch objects as fall within the conſideration of the Poetical faculty. Generally as blunt Irons throughly heated pierce further into hard bodies, then cold edg-tools; ſo wits in themſelves not the acuteſt, whilſt accompanied with ardor of affection, conceive moſt acutely and deeply of matters much affected, and will go through ſuch difficulties, as would turn the edges of the beſt wits living not thus backed or fortified. Nor is it the nimbleneſs of conceit or apprehenſion, but the unrelenting temper of inbred deſire and unceſſant ſway or working of ſecret inſtinct, which brings the ſeeds of knowledg to juſt growth and maturity; as thoſe plants proſper beſt, not which ſhoot out faſteſt or flouriſh ſooneſt, but ſuch as have the ſoundeſt roots, and ſappieſt ſtems.

Hoc amet, hoc ſpernet promiſſi carminis Author.

7. As *reaſon* requires affection to back it: ſo much more doth affection need the eye of reaſon (domeſtick or forrain) to direct and level it; nor is it only directed, but withall refined and purified by being as it were new caſt in the *models* of our rational or reflex conceits; each act of ſetled contemplation diminiſheth ſomewhat of its natural ſowrneſs, as crabs or wild apples by often tranſplanting or engraffing grow more mild and pleaſant. As there is a circular progreſs of ſeed from trees, and trees from ſeed: ſo is their a reciprocal production of deſire or love by knowledg, and of knowledg by deſire or love in one and the ſame man. For mans actions of this kind are immanent, and multiply within himſelf. And as the ſeed ſince the firſt creation doth ſtill in order of nature go before the tree; ſo doth knowledg always preſuppoſe inſtinct or deſire. And yet knowledg of things amiable being come unto maturity is always laden with love, as with its natural fruit. Nor ſhould we ſo much deſire to know any ſubject, unleſs love to it known were moſt natural. So that knowledg properly is but our natural deſire, or implanted blind love reſtored to ſight: and nature doth as it were firſt,

grope after that, which at length ſhe comes to ſee, and having ſeen deſires to embrace or kiſs. The apparant inconſtancy of young deſires never ſatisfied manifeſts their natural blindneſs in that they ſecretly ſollicite a guide or inſtuctor: and the original of this inconſtancy, (as was intimated before) is but the working of the ſoul ſeeking to unſheath the implanted notion or deſire of knowledg and of true happineſs from thoſe fleſhly invorapments, wherewith it was blindfolded as a child in the womb; or to deduce the original of the error from a principal more properly Philoſophical. *As unto knowledg truly ſpeculative there is required a perfect abſtraction of the object known, or of the form by which we know it, from all material conditions, or ſenſitive adjuncts, which accompany it: ſo on the behalf of the intellective faculty it ſelf (eſpecially for the right contemplation of matters moral or practical) a correſpondent extraction of the engraffed notion or deſire of good is as requiſite. For as thoſe ſpeculative or general rules, which have been taken from ſenſitive experiments not rightly ſevered or abſtracted, though they hold in ſome, yet fail in moſt particulars, when we come to practiſe: ſo likewiſe all love of goodneſs whatſoever, is unſincere and unconſtant, unleſs the ingraffed deſire of happineſs, whence it ſprings, be firſt ſtript of thoſe ſenſitive deſires or propenſions, which, by the corruption of nature are either linked with it or incloſe it, as the Ivy doth the Oak.* And yet the more we enure our ſelves to any ſenſual or external good, the greater advantage thoſe ſenſual appetites or propenſions gain, as well for ſtrengthening, as for faſt linking or mingling themſelves with the intellectual inclination or deſire, which by long cuſtome they either quite blind, or make it willing to admit them for its leader.

8. This then is the Aphoriſm, for whoſe proof thus much hath been premiſed; *The moſt compendious and ſafeſt way to conceive or ſpeak aright of God or his goodneſs, is to have our inbred deſire of happineſs right ſet in youth, and continually held as in a bay unto thoſe practiſes; whereto God hath promiſed the communication of his gracious preſence.* So ſhall the ſincere knowledg of his goodneſs and other attributes break forth (in a meaſure fitteſt for every man in his vocation) in beſt ſeaſon, and bring forth the moſt laſting, conſtant, and pleaſant fruits of love. And knowledg again *relying* upon the internal deſire of happineſs, which is the ſtem or branch, whence theſe fruits of love proceed, doth ſeaſon and ſweeten the very nature or property of it, and in a ſort transform from a wild plant to a tree of life; as cunning gardiners by often tranſplanting and good dreſſing, much *better* the ſtock, and in proceſs of time, in a manner, alter the very ſpecifical nature of the fruit. And after our cogitations come once to revolve upon the fore-mentioned ſympathy or ſetled peace of conſcience (which cannot ariſe, but from Gods preſence) as upon a firm and conſtant Center, our ſouls become like a Surveyors Table rightly ſet, for taking the true Model of the incomprehenſible Nature.

FINIS.

[illegible] that, which [illegible] the greateſt [illegible] us to embrace it. The [illegible] never ſatisfied [illegible] there a guide or [illegible] mentioned before [illegible]

[illegible] the more we ſtrive our ſelves to apply [illegible] that external good, the greater advantage theſe ſenſual appetites [illegible] as well for [illegible] as for that [illegible] ourſelves with the intellectual inclination or deſire, which by [illegible] they either quite blind, or make it willing to admit them [illegible]der.

[illegible] This then is the [illegible], for whoſe proof thus much hath been [illegible] the moſt compendious and juſteſt way to conceive of God aright [illegible] God or his goodneſs, is to have an inward deſire of happineſs [illegible] and continually held as in a meaſure to [illegible] goodneſs [illegible] practiſed the communication of his gracious perfections. [illegible] true knowledge of his goodneſs or other attributes [illegible] a meaſure ſufficient for every man in his vocation) as [illegible] with the moſt laſting, conſtant, and pleaſant fruits of love. [illegible] again reflect upon the internal deſire of happineſs, [illegible] is the [illegible] or branch, whence theſe fruits of love proceed, doth [illegible] on the very nature or property of it, and [illegible] from a wild plant to a tree of life: as cunning gardiners by often tranſplanting [illegible] good grafting, much better the ſtock, and in proceſs of time, in a manner alter the very ſpecifical nature of the fruit. And [illegible] once come once to reſolve upon the fore-mentioned [illegible] or [illegible] peace of conſcience (which cannot ariſe, but from God's pre[illegible]) as from a firm and conſtant Center, our ſouls become like a Sur[illegible] rightly ſet, for taking the true Model of the incomprehen[illegible] Nature.

Index Sphalmatum.

Be pleaſed Chriſtian Reader to amend the ſmaller Faults, in *Points*, *Figures*, *Parentheſes*, or known paſſages out of thine own *Judgment* and Charity, and thoſe in *Hebrew* or *Greek*, out of *Hebrew Text*, and the *Greek Authors*. The groſſer Faults (yea the leſſer) of ſeveral Copies and Preſſes are here ſhewed. The firſt number ſhews the page. The ſecond the line. *m.* The margin or notes. *d.* Dele, or blot out.

Vir bonus & prudens erratis allinet atrum
Tranſverſo calamo ſignum, mutanda notabit;
Fiet Ariſtarchus.

Quintilio ſi quid recitares, corrige ſodes
Hoc, aiebat, & hoc: illud delere jubebat.
Horat. de Arte Poet.

I. Tome. Errata.

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All theſe *Errata*'s are not to be laid to the Printer; many of them were in the former Copies.

G.8.17

THE
WORKS
OF THE
REVEREND and *LEARNED DIVINE*
THOMAS JACKSON, D.D.

Sometime Preſident of *Corpus Chriſti* Colledge in *Oxon*.

The *SECOND VOLUME.*

In which is Contained.

I. *A Treatiſe of the Divine Eſſence and Attributes, to which is added a Treatiſe with ſeveral Sermons concerning the Signs of the Times.*

II. *Chriſts Anſwer to* S^t^ Johns *Queſtions, being an Introduction to a following Treatiſe of the Knowledge of Chriſt, and him Crucified.*

III. *The Humiliation of the Son of God, ſhewing he ſuffered under* Pontius Pilate *was Crucified, &c.*

IV. *The Conſecration of the Son of God in his Everlaſting Prieſthood.*

LONDON,
Printed by *J. Macock*, for *John Martyn*, *Richard Chiſwell*, and
Joſeph Clarke, and to be ſold at the *Bell*, and at the *Roſe*
and *Crown* in S^{t} *Paul's Church-Yard*, and at the
Star in *Little-Britain*, 1673.

A
TREATISE
OF THE
Divine Eſſence
AND
ATTRIBUTES.

BOOK VI. PART I.

BY

THOMAS JACKSON Doctor in Divinity, Chaplain to his Majeſty in Ordinary, and Vicar of S^t^. *Nicholas* Church in the Town of *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine*.

LONDON,
Printed by *J. Macock*, for *John Martyn*, *Richard Chiſwell*, and
Joſeph Clarke, 1672.

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE
AND
TRULY NOBLE
WILLIAM
EARL OF
PENBROKE.

Lord High Steward of his Majeſties Houſhold,
Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter, and
Chancellour of the Univerſity of *OXON*.

The Bleſſings of this life, and of the life to come be multiplied.

HAD the conſciouſneſs of my weakneſs left any place for expectation that my poor Labours ſhould have found ſuch benign acceptance with men of higher place and judgment, as by the report of Honourable Perſonages, and mine own late experience of your noble favours, ſome of them I now perceive have found with your Honour, theſe preſent papers had come to crave your Patronage in a better dreſs than now they do. Beſides the conſciouſneſs of my inabilities to pleaſe the acurate judgments of this Age, want of opportunities for theſe many years to give my ſelf that contentment, which I was once bold to promiſe unto my ſelf, had almoſt deterred me from publiſhing any part of my former Labours, which were not popular, and for the Pulpit, of which rank this preſent Treatiſe is not. The ſubject or matter of it is Academical, and was conceived in that famous Nurſery of all good Literature, which for theſe many years had flouriſhed, and many more may it flouriſh under your Honourable Patronage. If either theſe, or other of my Labours of the like Argument, which took their firſt being from the benignity of that ſoil, may find acceptance with your Lordſhip, I ſhall need no other Apology for publiſhing them beſide my unfeigned deſire to leave the Chriſtian World a teſtimony of that high eſteem which I have ever made of your Honourable favours to that Re-

nowned Univerſity, and of my thankfullneſs for my particular intereſt in your general goodneſs. If this manifeſtation of my weakneſs may occaſion other Academicks to ſhew their ſtrength in this and like Arguments, it ſhall be a great part of my joy and comfort to ſee better fruits of your Lordſhips favour brought forth by others, than I can preſent unto you. But if theſe may find that acceptance which I moſt deſire, your Lordſhip will haply be deemed by ſome, to patronize not my weakneſs only, but mine errours. It is not ſo unuſual, nor ſo much for me to be cenſured for an Arminian, *as it will be for your Lordſhip to be thought to Patronize* Arminianiſm. *To give your Lordſhip that ſatisfaction therefore in this point, which I am not bound to give unto others; If the man which moſt miſlikes the* Arminian *or* Lutheran *Doctrine in the points moſt controverted through Reformed Churches, will but agree with me in theſe two,* That the Almighty Creator hath a true freedom in doing good; and Adams Off-ſpring, a true freedom of doing evil; *I ſhall not diſſent from him in any other points controverted, unleſs it be in this one, that there needs to be no other controverſy at all between the* Arminians *and their oppoſites in point of Gods Providence and Predeſtination. In all other particulars, ſave only ſo far as they are reducible to theſe two, I have not yet the learning or underſtanding to conceive, what contradiction there is or can be, between men not willing to contend about words. But if any in oppoſition to* Arminius, *will maintain that all things were ſo decreed by God before the Creation of the World; that nothing ſince the Creation could have fallen out otherwiſe than it hath done, or that nothing can be amended what is amiſs, I muſt crave pardon of every good Chriſtian to oppugn his opinion, not as an errour only in Divinity, but as an ignorance which involveth enmity to the ſweet diſpoſition of the All-ſeeing and unerring Providence, as a forerunner of ruin to moſt flouriſhing States and Kingdoms where it grows common, or comes to full height. For ſupplanting or preventing the growth of ſuch opinions, I make bold to crave your Lordſhips Patronage. Thus with my continual Prayers for your Lordſhips health, with all increaſe of Honour and Happineſs, I humbly take my leave.*

From my Study in *New-caſtle* upon *Tine*, *Novemb.* 20. 1627.

Your Lordſhips in all

Duty and obſervance,

THO. JACKSON.

A TREATISE OF THE Divine Eſſence AND ATTRIBUTES.

BOOK VI. PART I.

SECTION I.

Of the one abſolutely infinite, and incomprehenſible Eſſence in general.

THE Original of Atheiſm, of errours, or miſperſwaſions, concerning the Being, or Attributes of the Divine Nature, being in a former Treatiſe at large diſcuſſed; the next enquiries, which exact Method would in this Argument make, are, Firſt, how this truth of *Gods being*, moſt certainly known, by internal experience unto ſome, may by force of ſpeculative Argument be made manifeſt unto others. Secondly, How his nature and *Attributes* may be fitlieſt reſembled.

My firſt reſolution profeſſed in the beginning of the diſcuſſing of the *Original* of *Atheiſm*, as yet reſtrains me for adventuring too far in the former. For whilſt I view the Progreſs which I have purpoſed; to debate this point, upon my firſt entry into that Paradiſe of contemplation, (within whoſe territories I now encamp) by ſyllogiſtical force of argument, ſeemeth to me as great an overſight, as to entertain an Enemy, more deſperate then potent, with a pitched Battel, when as all his Forts might, by conſtant proſecution of advantages gotten, be orderly taken, each after other, without poſſibility of any great loſs, or apparent danger. Now the Atheiſts chief ſtrength lying in a preconceived impoſſibility of a *Creation* and *Reſurrection*, the conqueſt of the whole truth will eaſily be compaſſed, after thoſe weak holds be (as in due time they ſhall be) utterly demoliſhed. Or in caſe, after their overthrow, he be of force to bid us Battel, we ſhall be moſt willing to try our intended quarrel with him by dint of Argument, in the Article of the laſt Judgment. In the mean time, we may, without danger of his check, proceed upon thoſe advantages, which the grounds of nature give us.

CHAP. I.

How far we may ſeek to expreſs what by light of Nature, *or otherways, may be conceived concerning the incomprehenſible Eſſence, or his Attributes.*

FIrſt, If every particular man, or body generable, have precedent cauſes of their beings; their whole generations muſt of neceſſity have ſome cauſe: otherwiſe all ſhould not be of one kind or nature. Now this progreſs from effects unto their cauſes, or betwixt cauſes ſubordinate, cannot be infinite: but as all progreſſive motion ſuppoſeth ſome reſt or ſtay, whence it proceedeth, ſo muſt this progreſs, whereof I ſpeak, take beginning from ſome cauſe, which hath no cauſe of its being. And this is that incomprehenſible Eſſence, which we ſeek.

2. But whereunto ſhall we liken him? Things compared always agree in ſome one kind, or have (at leaſt) a common meaſure. Is then this cauſe of cauſes contained in any predicamental *ranck* of being? Or can our conceit of any thing therein contained, be truly fitted unto him? Or may his infinite and incomprehenſible nature be rightly moulded within the circumference of mans ſhallow brain? One thing it is to repreſent the infinite Eſſence, another to illuſtrate this truth, that *he* cannot be repreſented. Though nothing can exactly reſemble *him*, yet ſome things there be which better notifie how far *he* is beyond all reſemblance or compariſon, then others can do. By variety of ſuch reſemblances as his works afford, may our admiration of his incomprehenſibleneſs be raiſed higher and higher, and with our admiration thus raiſed, will our longing after his preſence ſtill be enlarged. The nature of things finite and limited, no Philoſopher can ſo exactly expreſs, as Painters may their outward lineaments. But as ſome ſenſible objects, beſides their proper ſhape or character, imprint a kind of diſlike or pleaſance in creatures ſenſitive: ſo have our pureſt and moſt exact conceits intellectual, certain ſymptomatical impreſſions annexed, which inwardly affect us; though we

cannot outwardly ſo expreſs them, as they may imprint the like affection in others. Hence it is that the more right reſemblances we make to our ſelves of any thing the greater will be the ſymptomatical impreſſion of the latent truth; ſome part or ſhadow whereof appeareth in every thing, whereto it can truly be compared. And though we cannot in this life come to a clear view of that *nature*, which we moſt deſire to ſee; yet is it a work worthy our pains, to erect our thoughts, by variety of reſemblances (made with due obſervance of *decorum*) unto an Horizon more ample then ordinary; in whoſe ſkirts or edges, we may behold ſome ſcattered rays of that glorious light, which is utterly ſet unto men, whoſe thoughts ſoar not without the circumference of this viſible World; for all we ſee with our bodily eyes, is but an Hemiſphere of midnight darkneſs, to the habitation of Saints, and ſeat of bliſs.

3. The rule of *decorum* in all reſemblances of things amiable or glorious is, that as well the *ſimple* terms of compariſon be ſightly and handſome, as the proportion between them exact. Suppoſing the ods of valorous ſtrength between *Aiax* and ordinary *Trojanes*, to have been as great, as *Homer* would have us believe it was; the manner of this Champions retreat, being overcharged with the multitude of his Enemies, could not more exquiſitely be reſembled, than by a a Company of Children, driving an hungry hard-ſkinned Aſs with bats or ſtaves out of a Corn-field or Meadow. The Aſs cannot, by ſuch weaklings, be driven ſo hard, but he will feed as he goes; nor could *Aiax* be charged ſo fiercely by his impotent foes, but that he fought ſtill as he fled. The proportion is approved, as moſt exact, by a * Teacher of Poetry that was his Arts Maſter, who notwithſtanding, with the ſame breath diſallows the invention, as no way applyable unto *Turnus*, at leaſt in the courtly cenſure of thoſe times wherein *Virgil* wrote. Be the congruity between the *terms* never ſo exquiſite or pleaſant; the Aſs notwithſtanding is no amiable creature, nor can wiſdom or valour, for his many baſe properties willingly brook compariſon with him in any. More fitly (as this Author thinketh) might *Turnus* his heroical ſpirit have been paralleld by a Lion, which though unable to ſuſtain the fierce purſuit of many Hunters, yet cannot be enforced to any other march, then *Paſſant gardent.*

4. But we muſt allow the Poet (whoſe chief art is to pleaſe his Readers appetite with pleaſant ſauces, more than with ſolid meats,) to be more dainty and curious in this kind, than it is requiſite the School-divine or Philoſopher ſhould be: albeit neither of them need much to fear, leſt their diſcourſes be too comely, ſo ſolidity of truth be the ground of their comelineſs. No Courtly Poet is more obſervant of the former rule of *decorum* in their compariſons, than the holy Prophets are. *Thus hath the Lord ſpoken unto me* (ſaith *Eſaias, cap.* 31. *verſ.* 4.) *Like as the Lion, and the young Lyon roaring on his prey, when a multitude of ſhepherds is called forth againſt him, he will not be afraid of their voice, nor abaſe himſelf for the noiſe of them: ſo ſhall the Lord*

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* *Nec dictis erit ullus honos, ſi cum actus ab urbe*
Dannius hoſtili Teucris urgentibus heros,
Vix pugna abſiſtit, ſimilis dicetur Aſello,
Quem pueri læto paſcentem pinguia in agro
Ordea ſtipitibus duris detrudere tendunt,
Inſtantes, quatiuntq; ſudes per terga, per armos.
Ille autem campo vix cedere, & inter eundem
Sæpe hic atque illic avidis inſiſtere malis:
Omnia conveniunt, rerumq; ſimillima imago eſt.
Credo equidem, ſed turpe pecus, nec Turnus Aſellum,
Turnus avis atavisq; potens dignabitur heros.
Aptius hanc ſpeciem referat Leo, quem neque terga
Ira dare, aut virtus patitur, neque ſufficit unus
Tendere tot contra, telisq; obſtare ſequentum.
Hieron. Vida Poet. lib. 2.

of Hoſts come down to fight for Mount Sion, and for the Hill thereof. Saint * *Auſtin* hath noted three ſorts of errors in ſetting forth the Divine Nature: of which, two go upon falſe grounds, the other is altogether groundleſs. Some (ſaith he) there be that ſeek to meaſure things ſpiritual by the beſt knowledge which they have gotten (by ſence or art) of things bodily. Others do fit the Deity with the nature and properties of the humane Soul, and from this falſe ground frame many deceitful and crooked rules, whilſt they endeavour to draw the Picture or Image of the immutable Eſſence. A third ſort there be, which by too much ſtraining to tranſcend every mutable creature, patch up ſuch conceits, as cannot poſſibly hang together, either upon created or increated natures, and theſe rove further from the truth then do the former. As (to uſe his inſtance) He which thinks God to be bright or yellow, is much deceived; yet his errour wants not a *Cloak*, in as much as theſe colours have ſome being (from God) in bodies. His errour again is as great, that thinks God ſometimes forgets, and ſometimes calls things forgotten to mind; yet this viciſſitude of memory and oblivion, hath place in the humane Soul, which in many things is like the Creator. But he which makes the Divine nature ſo powerful, as to produce or beget it ſelf, quite miſſeth not the mark only, but the Butt, and ſhoots (as it were) out of the field: for nothing poſſible can poſſibly give it ſelf being or exiſtence.

5. But though in no wiſe we may avouch ſuch groſs impoſſibilities of *him*, to whom nothing is impoſſible; yet muſt we often uſe fictions or ſuppoſitions of things ſcarce poſſible, to laſt ſo long till we have moulded *conceits* of the Eſſence and Attributes incomprehenſible, more lively and ſemblable, then can be taken either from the humane Soul alone, or from bodies natural. To maintain it as a Philoſophical truth, that *God is the ſoul of this univerſe*, is an impious errour * before condemned, as a grand ſeminary of Idolatry. Yet by imagining the human Soul to be as really exiſtent in every place, whereto the cogitations of it can reach, as it is in our bodies, or rather to exerciſe the ſame motive power over the greateſt bodily ſubſtance in this World, that it doth over our fingers, able to weild the Heavens or Elements with as great facility and ſpeed, as we do our thoughts or breath: We may, by this fiction, gain a more true model or ſhadow of Gods infinite efficacy, then any one created ſubſtance can furniſh us withal. But whilſt we thus, by imagination, transfuſe our conceits of the beſt life and motion, which we know, into this great Sphere, which we ſee, or (which ſute better to the immutable and infinite Eſſence) into bodies abſtract or mathematical: we muſt make ſuch a compound as *Tacitus* would have made of two noble Romans: *Demptis utriuſque vitiis ſolæ virtutes miſceantur: The imperfections of both being ſifted from them, their perfections only muſt be ingredients in this compound.* Yet may we not think, that the divine nature, which we ſeek to expreſs by them, conſiſts of perfections infinite, ſo united or compounded. We muſt yet uſe a further extraction of our conceits, ere we apply them to his incomprehenſible nature.

CHAP.

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* Et hic quidem omnium morbus eſt trium generum quæ propoſui: & eorum ſcilicet qui ſecundum corpus de Deo ſapiunt, & eorum qui ſecundum ſpiritualem creaturam ſicuti eſt anima; & eorum qui neq; ſecundùm corpus, neq; ſecundùm ſpiritualem creaturam, & tamen de Deo falſa exiſtimant: eo remotiores à vero, quo id quod ſapiunt, nec in corpore reperitur, nec in facto & condito ſpiritu, nec in ipſo creatore. Qui enim opinatur Deum (verbi gratia) candidum vel rutilum; fallitur; ſed tamen hæc inveniantur in corpore. Rurſum, qui opinatur Deum nunc obliviſcentem, nunc recordantem, vel ſi quid hujuſmodi eſt; nihilominus in errore eſt: ſed tamen hæc inveniuntur in animo. Qui autem putant ejus eſſe potentiæ Deum, ut ſeipſum ipſe genuerit: eo plus errant, quòd non ſolum Deus ita non eſt, ſed nec ſpiritualis nec corporalis creatura. Nulla enim res omnino eſt, quæ ſeipſum gignat ut ſit. *Aug. de Trinit. lib.* 1. *cap.* 1.

CHAP. II.

Containing two Philoſophical Maxims which lead us to the acknowledgement of one infinite and incomprehenſible Eſſence.

UNto every Student that with obſervance ordinary will ſurvey any Philoſophical tract of cauſes, two main Springs or Fountains do in a manner diſcover themſelves: which were they as well opened and drawn, as ſome others of leſs conſequence are, we might baptize moſt Atheiſts in the one, and confirm good Chriſtians in the other. The Natural Current of the one directly caries us to an Independant cauſe; from whoſe illimited *Eſſence* and *Nature*, the latter affords us an ocular or viſible derivation of thoſe general Attributes, whereof Faith infuſed giveth us the true taſte and reliſh. The former we may draw to this head, [*Whatſoever hath limits or bounds of being, hath ſome diſtinct cauſe or author of being.*] As impoſſible it is, any thing ſhould take limits of being, as beginning of being from it ſelf. For beginning of being is one *eſpecial limit* of being.

2. This Maxim is ſimply convertible, [*Whatſoever hath cauſe of being hath alſo limits of being.*] becauſe it hath beginning of being: for [*Omnis cauſa eſt principium, & omne cauſatum eſt principiatum,*] Every cauſe is the active beginning or beginner of being, and an *active beginning* eſſentially includes a beginning paſſive, as faſhionable to it, as the mark or impreſſion is to the ſtamp. Or in plainer Engliſh, thus; *Where there is a beginning or beginner, there is ſomwhat begun:* Where the cauſe is pre-exiſtent in time, the diſtinction or limits of things cauſed or begun, are as eaſily ſeen as the divers ſurfaces of Bodies ſevered in place. But where the cauſe hath only precedence of Nature and not of time, (as it falleth out in things cauſed by concomitance or reſultance,) the limits or confines of their being ſeem confounded, or as hardly diſtinguiſhable as the divers Surfaces of two Bodies glued together. Yet as we rightly gather that if the Bodies be of ſeveral kinds, each hath its proper Surface, though the point of diſtinction be inviſible to our Eyes: ſo whatſoever we conceive to have dependance upon another, we neceſſarily conceive it to have proper limits of being, or at leaſt a diſtinct beginning of being from the other, though as it were ingrafted in it. But whether we conceive effects and cauſes diſtinctly as they are in Nature, or in groſs, ſo long as we ackowledge them (this or that way conceived) to be finite and limited, we muſt acknowledge ſome cauſe of their limitation, which (as we ſuppoſe) cannot be diſtinct from the cauſe of their being.

3. Why men in theſe days are not Gyants, why Gyants, in former, were but men, are two Problems which the meer naturaliſt could eaſily aſſoil by this reaſon, for ſubſtance one and the ſame. The vigour of cauſes productive or conſervative of vegetables, of man eſpecialy, from which he receiveth nutrition and augmentation, is leſs now then it hath been at leaſt before the Flood; though but finite and limited, when it was greateſt. Why vegetables of greateſt vigour, ingroſs not the properties of others leſs vigorous, but reſt contented with a great numerical meaſure of their own ſpecifical vertues; is, by the former

reaſon as plain. For in that they have not their being from themſelves, they can take no more then is given; nor can the Natures whence they are propagated, convey them a better title of *Being*, then themſelves have. This as the ſeale communicates his faſhion to the wax, ſo doth the limited force or vertue of cauſes, always imprint bounds and limits upon their effects. If further it be demanded, why the Elements having the opportunity of mutual vicinity, to wreak their natural enmities or hoſtilities, do not each treſpaſs more grievouſly upon other; as why the reſtleſs or raging Water ſwallowes not up the dull Earth, which cannot fly from any wrong or violence offered; or why the Heavens, having ſo great a prerogative by height of place, largeneſs of compaſs, and indefatigable motion, do not diſpoſſeſs the higher Elements of their ſeat? The naturaliſt would plead the warrant of Natures Charter, which had ſet them their diſtinct bounds and limits by an everlaſting undiſpenſable Law. Yet is Nature in his language always an internal or eſſential part of ſome Bodies, within which it is neceſſarily confined. As the *Nature* of the Heavens hath not ſo much as liberty of egreſs into Neighbour Elements, nor the proper *forms* of theſe, (upon what exigence or aſſaults ſoever made againſt them in their territories,) ſo much as right of removal or *flitting* into lower Elements. Or, in caſe it be pretended that theſe particular Natures, have a *Nature* more *general* for their *preſident*; yet this, whether one above the reſt, or an aggregation only of all the reſt, is ſtill confined to this viſible World, and both ſo *hidebound* with the utmoſt Sphere, that they cannot grow greater or enlarge their ſtrength. So that Nature taken in what ſence the Naturaliſt liſts, cannot be ſaid ſo properly to ſet bounds or limits to Bodies Natural, as to be bounded or limited in them. Or to ſpeak more properly, Nature her ſelf did not make, but is that very domeſtique Law, by which they are bounded, and therefore, in no caſe, can diſpenſe with it. And in that ſhe is a Law, (for the moſt part, but not abſolutely indiſpenſable) ſhe neceſſarily ſuppoſeth a *Lawgiver*; who, if he have no Law ſet him by any Superiour (as we muſt of neceſſity come in *fine* to ſome one in this kind Supream) *he* can have no ſuch limits or bounds, as he hath ſet to Nature, and things Natural. *He* neither is any part of this viſible Frame, which we ſee, nor can he be incloſed within the utmoſt Sphere. And thus by following the iſſue of the former Fountain, we are arived in the latter, which fully diſcovered, opens it ſelf into a boundleſs Ocean. *Whatſoever hath no cauſe of being can have no limits or bounds of being.*

4. And Being, may be *limited* or *illimited* two ways: Either for number of kinds and natures contained in it, or for quantity and intenſive perfection of every ſeveral kind. Of things viſible, we ſee the moſt perfect are but perfect in ſome one kind, they poſſeſs not the entire perfection of others; and that perfection, whereof they have the juſt propriety, is not actually infinite, but finite and limited. Whatſoever thus is, it was as poſſible for it not to have been, and is as poſſible for it not to be, as to be but of this or that kind, not all *that is*, or hath *being*. Even thoſe ſubſtances which we call immortal, as the Heaven of Heavens, with all their inhabitants, be they Angels or Arch-Angels, Principalities or Thrones, enjoy the perpetual Tenour of their actual exiſtence, not from their *Eſſence*, but from the decree of their Maker. *Manent cuncta non quia æterna ſunt, ſed quia defenduntur*

curâ regentis. Immortalia tutore non egent, hæc conſervat artifex, fragilitatem materiæ vi ſua vincens. Seneca Epiſt. 58. *All things continue in being, not becauſe they are Eternal, but becauſe they are defended by the providence of their Governour. Things Immortal need no Guardian or Protector. But the Maker of all things preſerveth theſe things* (which we ſee continue in being) *overmatching the frailty of the matter by his power.* In this mans philoſophy nothing which is made, can be by Nature Immortal, though many things be perpetually preſerved from periſhing. Nothing which is Immortal, can be made. He groſly erred, if he were of the ſame opinion with ſome others of the * Ancient, that God had a deſire to make things Immortal, but could not by reaſon of the frailty or untowardlineſs of the matter. But that things made out of the matter, or made at all, could be Immortal by Nature, he rightly affirmed. For to be Immortal in his Language, is to be without beginning, without dependance. And what ſo is, hath an Eternal neceſſity of exiſtence. Abſolute neceſſity of exiſtence, or *impoſſibility* of non-exiſtence, or of not being always what it is, and as it is, implies an abſolute neceſſity of *being* or of *exiſtence* infinite; which cannot reſide ſave only in the totality or abſolute fulneſs of all *being* poſſible. The greateſt fulneſs of finite exiſtence conceiveable, cannot reach beyond all poſſibility of non-exiſtence, nor can poſſibility of non-exiſtence, and perpetual actual exiſtence, be indiſſolubly wedded in any finite Nature, ſave only by his infinite power, who eſſentially is, or whoſe *Eſſence* is to exiſt, or to be the inexhauſtible Fountain of all *being*. The neceſſary ſuppoſal, or acknowledgment of ſuch an *infinite* or *Eſſentially exiſtant Power*, cannot more ſtrongly or more perſpicuouſly be inferred, than by the reduction of known effects unto their cauſes, and of theſe cauſative entites (whoſe number and ranks are finite) into one prime Eſſence, whence all of them are dirived; it ſelf being underivable from any cauſe, or Eſſence conceivable. In that *this prime Eſſence* hath no cauſe of being, it can have no beginning of being. And yet is *beginning* of *being*, the firſt and prime limit of being, without whoſe precedence, other *bounds* or *limits* of *being*, cannot follow.

* Mittamus animum ad illa quæ æterna ſunt. Miremur in ſublimi volitantes rerum omnium formas, Deumq; inter illa verſantem, & providentem, quemadmodum quæ immortalia facere non potuit, quia materia prohibebat, defendat à morte, ac ratione vitium corporis vincat. Senec. ib. *Whether for thus ſaying he fall under the cenſure of* Muretus *in his annotations upon this place, I refer it to the judicous Reader.* Impie ſtulta veterum opinio, Deum voluiſſe quidem à primo omnia immortalia facere, ſed non potuiſſe, propter materiæ vitium. Quaſi non, ut cætera omnia, ita materiam condiderit, ac procrearit Deus. Recte Lactantius, Idem materiæ fictor eſt, qui & rerum materia conſtantium.

5. If that which Philoſophers ſuppoſe to be the root of incorruption in the Heavens, can brook no limits of duration, but muſt be imagined without end or beginning; why ſhould it content it ſelf with limits of extenſion? ſeeing duration is but a kind of extenſion, ſeeing motion, magnitude, and time, by their rules in other caſes, hold exact proportion. Things cauſed (as induction manifeſteth) are always limited and moulded in their proper cauſes. Nor are there two cauſes (much leſs two cauſalities,) one of their being, another of their limitation or reſtraint to this or that ſet kind of *being*. For whatſoever gives being to any thing, gives it the *beginning* of being. As *Sophroniſcus* was the true cauſe why *Socrat*[illegible] was in that age wherein he lived, not before or after; why he was a man not a beaſt, an Athenian, not a Barbarian. *Quicquid dat formam, dat omnia conſequentia formam: Whatſoever gives form of being to any thing, gives all the appurtenances to the form:* is a Phyſical Maxim which ſuppoſeth another Metaphyſical, *Quicquid dat eſſe, dat proprietates eſſe:* That which gives being unto any thing, gives likewiſe the properties of

ſuch being as it hath. Now limits of being, are eſſential properties of that eſſence or being, wherein they are found. And deſtinct bounds or limits are included in the diſtinct *form* of *being*, which every thing hath from its cauſe. Actual Eſſence or exiſtence it ſelf, is diſtributed to every thing that hath cauſe of being, as it were ſealed up in its proper *form* or *kind* of being. It is as poſſible to put a new faſhion upon *nothing*, as for any thing that is, to take limits or ſet form of being from *nothing*. That which hath nothing to give it *being*, can have nothing to give it limits or bounds of being. And as no entity can take its *being*, or beginning of *being* from it ſelf; ſo neither can it take bounds or limits from it ſelf, but muſt have them from ſome other. The prime Eſſence or firſt cauſe of all things that are, as it hath no precedent cauſe of *exiſtence*, nor can it be cauſe of *exiſtence* to it ſelf; ſo neither can it have any cauſe of limits without it ſelf, nor can it be any cauſe of limits to it ſelf. It remains then, that it muſt be an *Eſſence* illimited, and thus to be without bounds or limits, is the *formal* effect or conſequence of *being* it *ſelf*, or of *that* which *truly is*, without any cauſe precedent to give it *being*, or make it what *it is*.

6. So Eſſentially is the *conceipt* of *being without bounds or limits*, included in our *conceipt* of being without cauſe precedent, that if we ſhould, by way of ſuppoſition, give any imaginary entity leave to take beginning or poſſeſſion of being from it ſelf, without the warrant of any cauſe precedent to appoint or meaſure it out ſome diſtinct portion or *form* of *being*: thus much being once by imagination granted, we could not (by any imagination poſſible) debar this entity from abſolute neceſſity of being for ever after whatſoever it liſted to be, or from being all things, rather than any one thing.

Of the Heathens, many did hold an uncreated *Chaos* pre-exiſtent to the *frame* of this Vniverſe: and Philoſophers to this day, maintain an ingenerable matter, which actually is not any body, but indifferent to be made every Body. Let us but ſuppoſe; Firſt the one, or other of them to be as *Homogeneal* in it ſelf, as the Air or Water: Secondly, to be able to *Actuate*, or *Proteus-like* to transform it ſelf into a better ſtate than now it hath, without the help of any agent or efficient; and then as it could have no cauſe, ſo can there be no reaſon given, to reſtrain it from taking all Bodily perfection *poſſible* to it ſelf. And if it be true, which ſome teach, that this prime *matter* hath neither proper quantity nor quality, what ſhould hinder it to take both without meaſure, ſuppoſing it might be its own *carver* of thoſe endowments? Or imagine there were ſuch a vacuity, where the World now is, as we Chriſtians believe there was before it was made, and only one of *Democritus* caſual *Atoms*, or ſome meer *poſſibility* or *appetite* of the *matter*, left free, *venire in vacuum*, to give it ſelf full and perfect *act* without curb or reſtraint of any ſuperiour power or ſharer to cry *half mine* with it, or make claim to the Nature of any actual entity loſt; *it* being ſuppoſed to be able to take any one Nature upon it, what ſhould either hinder or further it, to aſſume the nature of Earth rather than of Water, or of theſe two, rather than of any other Element, or of any ſimple Bodies, rather than of mixt or compounded ſubſtance, or of Bodily ſubſtances, rather then Spiritual, or of all theſe, rather than of their metaphyſical *eminences*, and *perfections*? Or whilſt we imagine *it*, without cauſe of exiſtence or beginning, no reaſon imaginable could confine *it* to any ſet place of reſidence or extenſion: no cauſe could be alledged why it ſhould take poſſeſſion of the *Center*, rather than of the circumference of this Vniverſe, as now it ſtands, or of both theſe rather than of the whole Sphere, or of the whole Sphere rather than of all extenſive ſpace imaginable. Only the very ſuppoſition of taking beginning though without cauſe, doth put a limit to its duration; becauſe this kind of beginning, being but imaginary, depends upon our imagination, as upon its true cauſe. And yet even thus conſidered, me thinks it ſhould extend its exiſtence both ways, and draw a circular duration to the inſtant where it begins. Or (not imagining the beginning) let us imagine it only to have true preſent being without any cauſe precedent to puſh it forward, or ſuperior guide to appoint it a ſet courſe; and it is not within the compaſs of imagination, why the duration of it ſhould not reach as far the one way as the other. As far beyond all imagination of time paſt, as of time to come, why it ſhould not comprehend all duration imaginable by way of preſent poſſeſſion, or ſupereminent permanency, without admiſſion, of any deflux, diviſion, or ſucceſſion, for continuation of its exiſtence.

7. If it be objected, that any thing may follow from ſuppoſition or imagination of impoſibilities, the reply is eaſie. The objection is either falſe or true in a ſenſe, which no way impeacheth, but rather approves that kind of arguing. True it is, there is almoſt nothing in Nature ſo impoſſible, as it may not be the poſſible conſequent of ſome impoſſibility ſuppoſed or granted: but of every particular impoſſibility ſuppoſed or imagined, the poſſible * conſequences are not infinite; neither ſuch nor ſo many as we liſt to make them; they are determinate by Nature. Now we cannot conceive it to be in Nature more impoſſible for a meer logical poſſibility, really and truly to take beginning of actual being only from it ſelf, then it is for that which is ſuppoſed and imagined thus to take beginning to be reſtrained either to any determinate kind or part of being, or to be confined to any ſet place or reſidence. Or if any miſlike theſe imaginary models, let him (now he hath given us leave to make them, and vouchſafed to look upon them) utterly cancel or deface them. The everlaſting edifice to whoſe erection they are deſtinated, is this; “Such as we cannot conceive that not to be, “which we conceive to take beginning of *being* from it ſelf without “any cauſe precedent; ſuch of neceſſity muſt we conceive and be“lieve *him* to be indeed, who neither took beginning from himſelf; “nor had it given by any, but is the *beginning* of being, the ſole “maker of all things that be, being himſelf without beginning, with“out dependance of any cauſe, without ſubordination to any guide, “to appoint his kind, to limit his place, or preſcribe his time of “*being*. He is in all theſe, and whatſoever branch or portion of *being* imaginable, truly and really infinite, the quinteſſence or excellency of all perfections (whether numerical or ſpecifical) incident to all ſorts or degrees of *Beings* numerable.

* Qui ſcholas regunt, jam id nobis exploratum reliquerunt: talem eſſe conditionalis propoſitionis naturam ſive conditionem, ut exiſtente falſo quod antecedit, & etiam quod ſubſequitur, poſſit remanere vera conditionalis. Paſq.c. 1. ad Rom. fol. 65. *Though it were impoſſible for an Angel from Heaven to Preach any other Goſpel than* Paul *had preached, and impoſſible likewiſe for any Angel of Heaven to be accurſed, yet S.*Pauls *conditional propoſition was true; If an Angel from Heaven ſhould preach any other Goſpel, he ſhould be accurſed. In like manner this ſuppoſition or conditional [If any thing could take beginning from it ſelf, it ſhould be infinite] is true: although both theſe poſitions be falſe; Firſt, that any thing can take beginning from it ſelf: Secondly, that any thing which hath beginning can be infinite. And this only is abſolutely true, That which truly is without all beginning, is abſolutely infinite.*

CHAP. III.

Of Infinity in Being, or of abſolute Infinity: and the right definition of it by the ancient Philoſophers.

1. WEre the queſtion propoſed in formal tearms [*An inter nihil & aliquid detur medium,*] *Whether ſome thing or nothing may admit a mean or middle Nature:* Few anſwerers in the Schools would make choice of the affirmitive: If any did, he might eaſily be thus oppoſed: Every mean betwixt two is either by participation of both extreams, (as *lukewarm* is neither hot nor cold, but a mixture of both;) or a mean by abnegation, as being capable of neither. So a Stone, though it be not blind, yet cannot ſee; and is therefore ſuch a mean as we now ſpeak of, (i) *medium abnegationis*, betwixt ſight and blindneſs. That which is not (ſo is nothing) can communicate no kind of being (for it hath none,) unto any thing; therefore it is impoſſible there ſhould be any mean of participation betwixt *nothing* and *ſomething*. And to find a mean betwixt them, by *abnegation*, that is, any thing which is neither ſomething nor nothing, is as hard, as to aſſign a ſpace or *vacancy* between a Line and the Point that *terminates* it. What name ſoever we propoſe, unleſs it have ſome degree or portion of entity anſwering to it, we may juſtly ſay, it is *juſt* nothing. Theſe reaſons notwithſtanding though they firmly hold in ſecular diſputes of predicamental or numerable Entities, yet the Infinite Eſſence comes not within the liſts of this diviſion. Is he then a *mean* between *ſomething* and *nothing*, rather an *excellency* too tranſcendent, to be comprehended under the *name* of *ſomething*, or any *any thing* for this were to make *him* a * *numerable* part of *being*. On the other ſide, we ſhould avouch as much under our hand, as the Fool ſaid in in his heart, if we did comprehend him under the other extream. To ſay there is no God, or that *God* is *nothing*, are ſpeeches altogether equivolent, both equally falſe, and alike blaſphemous. Fully contradictory to their falſhood, and in direct oppoſition to their blaſphemy, we may more ſafely ſay and think, that God is *one*, yet no one thing. And if we avouch him to be *all*, our meaning is, he is a great deal more then all things. The Latine *ens*, which univerſally taken, directly anſwers to our Engliſh *every thing*, or *any thing*; (as * *Mirandula* well obſerves) *faciem concreti habet*, it bears the face or Image of a concrete. And every *concrete* takes its name from that *Nature*, whereof it participates; which *Nature*, notwithſtanding by reaſon of its *ſimple*, *pure*, and perfect *Eſſence*, cannot brook the ſame *name* which it beſtows on others. Nothing is truly tearmed *hot*, or *white*, but from participation of heat or whiteneſs; yet to ſay heat is *hot*, or whiteneſs *white*, is a ſpeech as improper and unnatural, as it would be to ſtile the Kings Majeſty, Lord Preſident, chief Juſtice of ſome Court, or with ſome other inferiour title, meerly dependent on ſupream Majeſty. *Heat* then is that from which things are called as by participation of it, they truly are *hot*: *Whiteneſs*, that, from whoſe participation, things are termed *white*. This ſhall we ſpeak of God, ſo we ſpeak of him as beſt befits his ſupream Majeſty, that he is no *one* thing, but rather *one*, from whoſe moſt pure and perfect *being*, all things are ſaid to be, what they are. That man is one thing, and the

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* Idem abſolutum, quod & Deum dicimus, non cadit in numero cum omni alio, ut quod Deus & cœlum, ſint plura, aut duo, aut alia, & diverſa; ſicut nec cœlum eſt idem abſolutum, ut cœlum quod eſt aliud à terra. Et quia idem abſolutum eſt actu omnis formæ formabilis forma, non poteſt forma eſſe extra idem. Quo enim res eſt eadem ſibiipſi, forma agit, quòd autem eſt alteri alias eſt, quia non eſt idem abſolutum, hoc eſt omnis formæ forma. Eſt igitur idem abſolutum, principium, medium, & finis, omnis formæ & actus abſolutus omnis potentiæ. Cuſan. de Geneſ. dialog. pag. 128

* Lib. de ente & uno.

Earth another, that any thing is ſaid to be, what it is, includes a participation of *his* Being, whoſe proper name is * *I Am:* whoſe Eſſence is the very quinteſſence, the Incomprehenſible and Indiminiſhable fulneſs of *that*, without which, we can neither affirm or deny ought of that which *is* τὸ ὤν the only *Foundation* of every thing, that can be named alone, the only bond of all things that can be combined or linckt together. Say * we then not only, that *He is* one, but that *he* only *is:* And that in *him* the eminent totality or perfection of every thing, to whom this *title*, *Is*, can be imparted, is contained. Angels and Immortal Spirits are, but they are not *Being* it ſelf, that is, they are what they are, by participation of his Eſſence, who only *is*, who alone comprehends all things.

2. Of the greateſt Angel which he hath created, or of the moſt noble intelligent Spirit which the Philoſophers imagined, were he preſent, or did we know the place of his reſidence, we might without wrong ſay, *This* Angel, or *yonder Intelligence*; or ſpeak of either, as of a numerable part, though a principal one of this Vniverſe. For though his *Nature* be much more perfect then ours is, and *he* according to the perfection of his Nature, much more excellent then his fellow Angels are: his perfections nevertheleſs have their bounds and limits, not uncapable of theſe demonſtrative ſigns, *This*, *Here*, or *Yonder*, *&c.* He neither contains the ſpecifical perfection of our Nature, nor the *numerical*, of his Fellows, within the meaſure of his perfection. In his kind then *he* is moſt perfect, yet is he not that *perfection* which he hath in him, but the receptacle of it; And if he have perfection only in him, without being himſelf perfection, *Quid habet quod non accepit? All* he hath muſt be *participated or borrowed* from perfection it ſelf. And of his borrowed perfections, *one* neither properly is *another*, nor are all or any of them; what he is. His power is not the ſame that his wiſdom is; his wiſdom is not his goodneſs, not his goodneſs his life. Sathan and his Angels have life, though they have loſt their goodneſs; and their power to practiſe, is leſs than their Wit to plot miſchief and villany. The beſt, the wiſeſt, or mightieſt of thoſe Immortal Spirits, which kept their ſtations, is not able, either by his meer power to give Being to things that are not, or life to liveleſs Creatures; his wiſdom cannot inſpire wiſdom into Creatures indued with life; his goodneſs is no Fountain whence grace may be derived into the heart of man. But when we ſay *God is one*, or *God only is*, in this indiviſible unity, we include all multiplicity. Nor can we ſay more of him in fewer words than *Seneca* hath done; *Eſt totum quod vides, & totum quod non vides: He is the abſolute totality of all and every part of being or perfection, which we ſee in things viſible, or conceive in ſubſtances inviſible.*

3. By the ſame analogy of ſpeech that we ſay a *Statute*, or *Picture*, though made after life, is, no true man; we are bound to ſay, and think, that no Creature (the beſt of which is but the image of God; his being, at the beſt, but participated) truly is. It is their chief grace to be true ſhadows of true *Being*. Or as it is uſual with Divines to enſtyle Chriſt, the *true Samuel*, *David himſelf*, the *right Salomon*, the *only Sampſon:* not they think the ſtories of thoſe mens lives, were only faigned legends for that good example, (or that no ſuch Perſons had ever truly been,) but becauſe they did foreſhadow one far more excellent, than themſelves, in whom that was really and fully exhibited, which was only prefigured in them. So we ſay God *alone* Is, becauſe

* Ex. 3. 14.

* Cum primum ingreſſus Academiam fueris, occurret tibi Parmenides, qui unincum demonſtrabit Deum eſſe rerum omnium ideas, id eſt, exemplaria rationeſq; eminentiſſimè continentem vel producentem. Occurret Meliſſus et Zeno, qui ſolum Deum revera eſſe demonſtrent, cætera verò videri. Marcil. Ficin. Epiſt. 8. pag. 866.

becauſe the totality and fulneſs of that being is in him, whoſe repreſentation is in his Creatures. Thus much is included in all thoſe ſacred paſſages, wherein he ſaith of himſelf, *I am He, I am God, and there is none beſides.* Thus much many Comments yet extant in the Ancient Philoſophy of the Heathens, being compared with theſe Texts, would fully inform us.

4. The Stoicks appropriate the name of *Eſſence* unto God, and unto the *matter*, which they fooliſhly conceive to be coeternal with him, able to over-match the benignity of his active power, by its paſſive untowardlineſs. However, they held nothing worthy the title of Eſſence, which was not ἀυτογενῶς *independently everlaſtingly.* *Plotines* Philoſophy was more divine, unleſs perhaps he gave too much to his *Demoniacal* or Angelical ſpirits, as many others, not conceiving any creation but out of the matter præ-exiſtent, ſeem to allot a kind of independent *Being* to immaterial ſubſtances. An error eaſie to have been checkt, had the favourers of it been put in mind, that theſe their *Demi-gods* by neceſſary conſequence of this opinion, muſt have been acknowledged infinite in Being. Whereas the true notion of ſuch infinity, by the apparent grounds of true Philoſophy, is only proper, only poſſible unto One; becauſe it entirely includeth *all* that can be; and, All, abſolutely excludes all plurality. From this principle rightly founded, did *Plato* deny things ſenſible truly to be, or (as *Seneca* paraphraſes upon his Text) they make a *ſhew* only, or put on a countenance of being for a time, being uncapable of the ſtability or ſolidity of true *being*. So far was this divine Philoſopher from their hereſie, which acknowledged an independent *being* in immaterial ſubſtances, that (to the Ariſtotelical Chriſtian his ſhame) * he derives their immortality, not from the *immateriality* or excellency of their nature, but from the ſpecial grant or Charter of their Maker; as if diſſolution or final expiration were due to them as they are cretures; albeit the execution of it were everlaſtingly differed from their firſt creation. Theſe terms of *being, is,* or *are,* &c. which are ſo common to all things, that without them, we can neither make enquiry after any thing, nor diſtinguiſh it from nothing, are attributed by the ſame Philoſopher to this eternal Maker of all things, after ſuch an eminent and ſoveraign manner, as may not be communicated to any other. So the name of Poet (to uſe * *Seneca* his comment upon *Plato* his dialect) *abſolutely* or demonſtratively taken, was *Homers* peculiar title throughout *Greece*, albeit the name of Poet was common in that time to all verſifiers. The Poet *Homer* was a tautology amongſt the *Græcians*, but Poet *Æſchylus*, or Poet *Euripides* none. A greater tautology or ſolæciſm it had been in *Platoes* Divinity, to have ſaid

Vide Senecam Ep. 58. & Muretum in annot.

* i Diis à ſe factis promiſit Deus non factus immortalitatem; quod impoſſibile eſt, ſe dixit eſſe facturum. Sic enim eum locutum narrat Plato, &c. vide Aug. lib. 22. de Civit. Dei. Cap. 26. Et Sotum in 4. ſenten. diſtin. 43. q. 1. art. 2. Et Platonem ipſum in Timeo. p. 41.

* Secundum ex his quæ ſunt, ponit *Plato*, quod eminet & exuperat omnia. Hoc ait per excellentiam eſſe, ut Poeta communiter dicitur: omnibus enim verſus facientibus hoc nomen eſt: Sed jam apud Græcos in unius notam ceſſit. Homerum intelligas cum audieris *Poetam.* Quid ergo hoc eſt? Deus ſcilicet major ac potentior cunctis. *Seneca Ep.* 58. Quid per Ideas intelligat. *Plato vide ibid.* Et apud Muretum in Annotat. [* *Jehovah*] This is the chiefeſt name of the eternal and moſt bleſſed God, ſo called of his Eſſence, being, or exiſtence, which is, ſimply *one*, *Deut.* 6. 4. The force of this name, the Holy Ghoſt openeth, *He that is, that was, and that will be, or is to come*, *Rev.* 1. 48. & 4. 8. & 11. 17. & 16. 5. And the form of the Hebrew name implyeth ſo much, *Je* being a ſign of the time to come, *Jeheveh*, he will be; *Ho*, of the time preſent, *Hoveh*, he that is; and *Vah* of the time paſt, *Havah*, he was. It importeth that God is, and hath his being of himſelf from before all worlds: [*Iſaiah* 44. 6.] that he giveth being or exiſtence unto all things, and in him all are and do conſiſt, [*Acts* 17. 25.] That he giveth being unto his word, effecting whatſoever he hath ſpoken, whether promiſes, [*Exod.* 6. 3. *Eſay.* 45. 2,3.] or threatnings, [*Ezek.* 5. 17. and 7. 27.] It is in effect the ſame that *Ehieh, I will be, or I am,* as God calleth himſelf, *Exod.* 3. 14. Of this the Gentiles named the greateſt God *Jove* and *Jupiter*, that is, *Jah*-Father, of the ſhorter name *Jah*, mentioned *Pſalm* 68. 5. And *Varro* the learnedſt of the Romans, thought *Jove* to be the God of the *Jews*. *Auguſt. lib.* 1. *de conſen. Evan. Cap.* 22.

of God, as we do of our ſelves or of Angels, he *is* ſomething, every thing, or the moſt excellent thing. Enough it was to have ſaid he is *One*, or He is *All*, although he ſhould have hit his or the Ancient Philoſophers meaning beſt, that had ſaid, he is, ὁ ὢν, *He that is.* Or as the Apoſtle Comments upon Gods name revealed to *Moſes*, *He which was is, and which is to come*, ὁ παντο-κράτος.

Hereof alſo in Greek writers he is called *Jao Diodor. Sicul. lib.* 2. *Cap.* 5. *Clem. Alexand. Strom. lib.* 5. *Macrob. lib.* 1. *Saturnal. Cap.* 18. But in the Greek tongue the name *Jehovah* cannot rightly be pronounced, and for it the Greek Bibles have *Lord*, which the New Teſtament followeth, as *Mark* 12. 29. from *Deut.* 6. 4. and elſewhere uſually; and the Hebrew Text ſometime putteth *Adonai* Lord, or *Elohim* God, for *Jehovah*, as *Pſalm* 57. 10. compared with *Pſalm.* 108. 4. 2 *Chron.* 25. 24. with 2 *Kings* 14. 14. *Ainſworth* upon *Pſalm.* 83. 19.

5. *Parmenides* much more ancient then *Plato*, did not deny (unleſs *Simplicius* one of *Ariſtotles* followers double with us) all diſtinction, either numerical or ſpecifical, or more general, between the viſible or intelligible parts of this Univerſe. Any member of which diviſion, being granted, multitude and diviſion would neceſſarily follow. But how many or great ſoever, the parts of multitude were, in his opinion, they *truly were not*, in reſpect of that unity, whence they had their original. That ſpeech of this ſage Philoſopher, *Omnia unum ſunt*, which *Ariſtotle*, in the firſt entry into his new Philoſophy, ſtumbles at as a Paradox, was an Orthodoxal Principle of true Divinity. *Parmenides* meant the ſame that *Plato* did, (perhaps better) although he expreſt his meaning in a Poetical manner, more apt to be miſtaken, though rightly taken, more magnificent and much apter to occaſion admiration. The ſpeech it ſelf will naturally bear this conſtruction, Multitude of things viſible, is but the multiplyed ſhadow of inviſible independent unity: things ſenſible, or by imagination numerable, are but ſo many ſeveral repreſentations of his incomprehenſible being, who *is one*; not as one is part of multitude, yet moſt truly One, becauſe indiviſible and unmultipliable, as wanting nothing, as moſt entirely poſſeſſing *all* that can accrue by multiplication: moſt truly One, becauſe He only is, and unto his being nought can be added, nought detracted from it, by the increaſe or diminution of other beings. Or in *Parmenides* meaning, He ſo *is*, that if all things numerable ſhould loſe that being which they have, or be annihilated, all might be found again in *him*, and be reſtored with *Jobs* reſtitution, to their wonted eſtate, without diminution of his ſoveraign *being*. For whatſoever now is, heretofore hath been, or can be extant, beſides *Him*, hath a more excellent manner of being treaſured up in his eternal and infinite Eſſence, than may with ſafety be committed to its own charge or cuſtody.

6. Happy had it been for *Ariſtotle* himſelf, and not amiſs for us, if *he* had employed his extraordinary talent of wit, in ſetting forth that infinite treaſure of wiſdom, whence he received it; or ſpent his days in contemplation of that unity, whence all things whereof he wrote, had their beginning, rather than in decyphering their ſeveral natures and perfections, altogether omitting the eſſential references, or dependencies, which they had from him; unleſs this mirrour of nature had been of their number, who infatuated (as the Apoſtle ſpeaks) by divine wiſdom, became vain in their imaginations; he might have perceived his own definition of ſuch infinity as he imagined in the diviſibility of Magnitude or ſucceſſion of time, to have been (as *Plato* ſpeaks of Time it ſelf) but a moveable image of that true and ſolid *infinity*, whoſe definition, being well aſſigned by others, was cenſori-

ouſly rejected by him; or ſuch a floating ſhadow of it ſwimming in his brain, as the Sun or Stars imprint in a ſwift running ſtream. A perfect definition ſhould be ſo fitted to the entire nature of the thing defined, or to the thing it ſelf abſolutely conſidered, as the bark is to the tree, or other viſible ſurfaces to the bodies which they environ: To expreſs ſome particular properties or branches, much leſs ſome references or conſiderations of it, is it not enough. The queſtion then being abſolutely propoſed, *Quid infinitum eſt?* What is infinity? or what is it to be infinite? The difinitive and ſatisfactory anſwer muſt be ſuch, as ſhall expreſs not the nature of infinity in ſucceſſion only, or in diviſion, not in this or that reſpect only, or according to ſome particular abſtraction or conſideration; but the nature of infinity ſimply and abſolutely conſidered. That only is abſolutely and properly *infinite*, which is *infinite* not according to one conceit or kind of *infinity*, but that which is *infinite* in *Being*. This was that *infinity* which the Ancients well defined, when they ſaid, *Infinitum eſt extra quod nihil eſt:* Infinity is that without which nothing is, or can be. For as infinity in longitude, includes all length conceivable, and infinity in ſolid magnitudes, all dimenſions imaginable; ſo muſt *infinite being* include all Being poſſible; and it is impoſſible for any thing to be *without* or beſides that, wherein all *being* poſſible is contained. Thus did theſe ancient Heathens *feel after and ſeek*, and in a manner find, *that Lord* under the notion of *unum* and *infinitum*, *in whom*, as Saint *Paul* ſaith, (*Act.* 17. 28.) *we live, and move, and have our being.* His words will bear or rather pre-ſuppoſe that improvement, which is neceſſarily included in the *Ancients* definition of abſolute infinity, *It is impoſſible that any thing living ſhould have life, that any thing moveable ſhould move, that life or motion ſhould have the leaſt degree of being, ſave only in Him, who only is.* For as the ſame Apoſtle there ſaith, verſ. 25. *He giveth to all life and breath, and all things.* The very firſt beginnings, the firſt and laſt degrees of ſuch being as they have. *Ariſtotle* then came far ſhort of the truth in ſaying, *Infinitum eſt extra quod ſemper aliquid eſt,* That is infinite, which never hath ſo much, but it is always getting more. The truth is, *Ariſtotle* did not, could not deny the definition aſſigned by the Ancients, to be a true and perfect definition of abſolute infinity, or of infinity in being. Wherein then, or upon what grounds did he diſſent from them? Either in that he did not acknowledge any ſuch abſolute infinity, or infinite being, as the Ancients believed; or elſe did ſuppoſe, that they held this viſible world or ſome bodily magnitude to be ſo actually and abſolutely infinite, as the former definition doth import. Concerning this latter ſort of infinity, whatſoever the Ancient Philoſopers did, we Chriſtians do not diſſent from *Ariſtotle:* for we deny any bodily magnitude actually infinite. But that there is an abſolute infinity, or an Eſſence actually and abſolutely infinite, may be neceſſarily inferred from thoſe branches of that *infinity* which conſiſts not in *act*, but in poſſibility, or ſucceſſion, which *Ariſtotle* rightly acknowledged, and well defined. For, whence ſhould all the parts of this viſible world poſſibly get any new portion of time, any ſucceſſion or addition to their preſent being or duration, which now they have not; ſave only from his infinite and inexhauſtible ſtore, who, before all times, had ſo much of being in every kind, as he could not poſſibly either get any more, or loſe a dram of what he had; albeit through every moment of duration diviſible, he furniſhed all things, that are (as he could do no more) with as much perfection,

fection, as they are capable of, that is, all of them with perfection or being in it ſelf finite, but in ſome of them without limit of duration. But are all things in *him?* or ſuch only as include perfection? or ſhall we ſay perfections are in him, rather than in the things themſelves? And if ſo, whether ſhall we ſay he is one perfection, or all perfections?

CHAP. IV.

There is no plurality of perfections in the Infinite Eſſence, albeit the perfection of all things be in Him. Of the abſolute identity of the Divine Eſſence and Attributes.

1. HE argued like himſelf that ſaid, We muſt either allow the Gods to have bodies, or deny them ſenſe; becauſe ſenſe is never found without a body. What was it then in his Philoſophy, which framed the organs of bodily ſenſe? a body already organized and indued with ſenſe? or a *ſpirit (virtus formatrix)* which rather is in the body, than is a body it ſelf? And if this ſpirit frame the organs by its own skill, *Epicurus* ſhould in reaſon have afforded it both ſenſe and reaſon in greater meaſure than he had himſelf; who, out of the ſame matter, could not make ſo much as one hair white or black; much leſs the moſt exquiſite inſtruments of ſenſe. But if this *ſpirit*, by which, in Philoſophers opinions, our bodies are produced, work not by Art, but is only ſet on work by the Supreme Artificer; ſeeing *he* can make it to do more without ſenſe and reaſon, than *Epicurus* could do by all his Art or Philoſophical Skill: we muſt needs grant ſenſe (and reaſon) to be in *Him*, yet ſuch, or in ſuch a ſort, as befits his Majeſty, not ſuch as * *Epicurus* took delight in. Our Argument is grounded on the Pſalmiſts Philoſophy. *Vnderſtand ye bruitiſh among the people, and ye fools when will ye be wiſe? He that planted the Ear, ſhall he not hear? He that formed the Eyes, ſhall he not ſee? He that chaſtiſeth the Heathen, ſhall not he correct? He that teacheth man knowledge, ſhall not he know? Pſalm* 94. 8, 9, 10. Yet as we ſay that *He* only *is*, and all things numerable are but meer ſhadows of *His being*; ſo we muſt hold, that *hearing*, *ſight*, and *reaſon* are in him, according to their Idæal patterns or perfections, not according to thoſe imperfect Pictures, which communicated to men and beaſts, diſtinguiſh them from vegetables or liveleſs Creatures; whoſe perfections likewiſe are in him. But ſome things perhaps there be, which have no portion of perfection, as the prime *matter*, or ſome like dead or dull maſs. For how ſhall that, which is but a body, be in him that hath no body? That Maxim, *Idem eſt non eſſe, & non apparere*, is not ſo true in matters of civil proof or allegation, as the other ſtem of the ſame root, *Idem eſt non eſſe, & non operari*, is in nature. To be without efficacy or operation, or to ſerve unto no uſe, is all one, as not to be at all. Or, rather, ſo to be, hath the ſame proportion to ſimple *non-being*, as *nihil agere*, to *otioſum eſſe*. To *be* without uſe or operation is more remote from true *being*, and worſe in nature, than ſimply not to be. If any ſuch things there be, how ſhould we ſay they are in God, in whom is nothing but perfection? Yet of things without proper uſe or operation, there might be ſome peculiar end beſt known to their Maker;

* Vide Lactant. Lib. 1. de ira Dei. Et Betuleum in com.

if it were but to commend the perfection which other creatures borrow from him, and to ſtir up our thankfulneſs, that we neither are ſuch dull Maſſes our ſelves, nor are troubled with harbouring or ſupporting them. But even theſe, if any ſuch there were, could not be exiſtent or *extra cauſas*, unleſs they truly were in Him. What is it then for all things that are, or their perfections to be in Him?

2. For all things to be in Him, is no more then that He alone can produce them without ſeed or matter precedent. All things, not extant only, but *poſſible*, are in his Wiſdom, as the Edifice is in the Artificers head: all things again are in his power, as ſtrength or force to move our limbs, is in our ſinews or motive faculty. The perfections of all things are truly ſaid to be in Him, in as much as whatſoever is, or can be done by their efficacy or vertue, He alone can do without them. He could feed all the Beaſts of the field without Graſs, heal every Diſeaſe without Herb, Mettal, or other matter of Medicine, by his ſole word, not uttered by breathing, or any other kind of motion; not diſtinct from his life or Eſſence. He is life it ſelf; yet is not his life ſupported by any corporeal Maſs, or præ-exiſtent Nature, nor cloathed with ſuch ſenſe as ours is: for ſenſe, in as much as it cannot be without a corporeal Organ, is an imperfect kind of knowledge. Pain he cannot feel as we do, becauſe that tendeth to deſtruction, which is the period of imperfection: yet whatſoever pain any ſenſible or material object can inflict upon us, He alone can inflict the ſame in an higher degree. The meaſure of pain, likewiſe, which we feel by ſenſe, he knows much better without ſenſe or feeling of it. But when we ſay all things are in *Him*, after a more excellent manner, then they are or can be in themſelves: We muſt not conceit a multitude or diverſity of excellencies in his *Eſſence*, anſwering to the ſeveral natures of things created: We muſt not imagine one excellency ſutable to *elementary bodies*, another to *mixt*, a third to *vegetables*, a fourth to *ſenſe*, &c. one to the Humane Nature, another to the Angelical. And if * *Plato* meant there were as many ſeveral *Idæa*'s eternally extant, whether in the firſt cauſe of things, or without *Him*, as there were ſubſtances ſpecifically diſtinct one from another; his opinion may neither be followed, nor approved by any Chriſtian. In all theſe, Divine Excellency, as one face in many glaſſes of different frame, is diverſly repreſented, being in it ſelf more truly one then any other entity, that is termed one, or then any bond of union between things united. Of Natures extant, ſome to our capacity, repreſent Him better, ſome worſe; not the meaneſt or baſeſt, but is in ſome ſort like Him; not the moſt excellent Creature that is, not all the excellencies of all, can ſo fully repreſent his nature as an Apes ſhadow doth a Mans Body. But what in other caſes would ſeem moſt ſtrange, infinite variety beſt ſets forth the admirable excellency of his indiviſible unity.

3. Touching the queſtion propoſed, Whether he were one *excellency* or all *excellencies?* whether he were one *perfection*, or all *perfections*, *Reſpondent ultima primis*. The anſwer is in a manner given in the beginning of this diſcourſe. Though he that ſaith *God is all perfections*, excepts none, yet he includes only perfections numerable

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* Tertium genus eſt eorum quæ propriè ſunt: innumerabilia hæc ſunt, ſed extra noſtrum poſita conſpectum. Quæ ſunt, interrogas? Propria *Platonis* ſuppellex eſt. Ideas vocat, ex quibus quæcunq; videmus omnia fiunt, & ad quas cuncta formantur. Hæ immortales, immutabiles, inviolabiles ſunt. Quid ſit Idea, id eſt, quid *Platoni* eſſe videatur, audi. Idea eſt eorum quæ naturâ fiunt exemplar æternum. *Sen. Ep.* 58. *Plato* in *Timæo* ait Idæas nunquam fieri, ſemper eſſe: corporea autem omnia nunquam eſſe, ſemper fieri. Vide Cuſan. Dialog. de Geneſi, quomodo *idem*, *identificando*, pluralitatem producit.

and participated: And to ſay *He* were only *one perfection*, implies only *perfection* limited, and therefore *perfection* borrowed, not independent. Or admitting there be a *mean* between *all*, or ſome *perfections*, and one *perfection*, which may fitly be expreſſed by all *perfection:* yet he that ſhould thus ſay [God is the *univerſal* unity or *totality* of perfection] had need to diſtinguiſh acurately of *univerſality* and totality, and define, *Univerſale ante rem*, more exquiſitely than the Platonicks do; that he may acquit his meaning from ſuſpition of ſuch *totality*, or *univerſality*, as ariſes not only by aggregation of parts, but whoſe extent is no more than equal to all it parts. For every other *univerſal* or *whole*, is fully equalized by all the parts taken together; whereas the Divine Nature infinitely exceeds all particular natures or perfections poſſible, though in number they could be infinite. It is then (if any man liſt ſo to ſpeak) ſuch a *totality* or *univerſality*, as cannot be augmented, much leſs made up by multiplication of any other perfection, though proſecuted *in infinitum*; neither diminiſhable or exhauſtible by multiplicity or diviſion of particulars derived from it. But whether we conſider this *His* infinite Eſſence in it ſelf, or, as it eminently contains all things poſſible; the incomprehenſibility of it is in both reſpects more fully intimated (expreſt it cannot be) by indefinite forms of ſpeech, then by addition of any definite terms, whether of *ſingularity*, *univerſality*, or *totality*. He ſpeaks more fully and more ſafely, that ſaith, *God is being it ſelf, or perfection it ſelf*, then he that ſaith, he is the only *being*, or all *being*, the only *perfection*, or all *perfection*, the totality of *being* and of *perfection*. So all *plurality* be excluded, we expreſs his *being* and *perfection* beſt, by leaving them, as they truly are, without all quantity.

4. That all *plurality*, not only of Idæal perfections anſwering to the natures of things numerable or created, but of *internal* perfections, whoſe different titles neceſſarily breed plurality of conceits in us, muſt be excluded from the true Orthodoxal intellectual apprehenſion of the illimited Eſſence, may from the former main principle be thus evinced. In that he is without beginning, without end, without all cauſe of being, without dependance; we cannot imagine, or at leaſt our underſtanding muſt correct our imaginations, if they ſhall ſuggeſt his *power* to be as the ſtem, *wiſdom*, *goodneſs*, and other like Attributes, as branches growing from his Being ~~or~~ Eſſence, as from the Root. For if his Being or Eſſence be abſolutely independent, it is abſolutely illimited; and being ſuch, what could limit or reſtrain it from being Life, from being Power, from being Wiſdom, from being Goodneſs, from being Infinitely, whatſoever any thing that hath being is? * He that affirms any of theſe Attributes to be what another is not, or Divine Eſſence not to be Identically what all thoſe are, muſt grant as well the Attributes, as the Eſſence to be finite and limited. If *power* in God have a *being* diſtinct from Wiſdom, and wiſdom another *being* diſtinct from Goodneſs, one muſt needs want ſo much of infinite *being*, as another hath of proper *being* diſtinct from it; and, at the beſt, they can be but infinite, *ſecundùm quid*, or in their rank. Again, if any of them be, what Eſſence Identically is not; Eſſence cannot be infi-

* Deus verò multipliciter dicitur, magnus, bonus, ſapiens, beatus, verus, & quicquid aliud non indignè Dei videtur. Sed eadem magnitudo ejus eſt, quæ ſapientia: non enim mole magnus eſt, ſed virtute. Et eadem bonitas quæ ſapientia, & magnitudo, & eadem veritas, quæ illa omnia. Et non eſt ibi aliud beatum eſſe, & aliud magnum, aut ſapientem, aut verum, aut bonum eſſe, aut omnino ipſum eſſe. Nec quoniam Trinitas eſt, ideo triplex putandus eſt: alioqui minor erit, Pater ſolus, aut Filius ſolus, quam ſimul Pater & Filius. *Auguſt. de Trinitate, lib. 6. cap. 7.*

nite,

finite, becauſe *wiſdom*, *power*, and *being* have their ſeveral beings diſtinct from it. And the nearer theſe come (whether ſeverally or joyntly conſidered) to the nature of true Infinity, the more naked and impotent they leave their Mother-Eſſence, if we once grant Eſſence and them to be diſtinct; as Parents and Children, or as root and branch, or to what uſe ſhould powerleſs Eſſence ſerve? to ſupport theſe branches of Infinity; this it could not do without infinite power. And thoſe branches, if they need a root or ſupportance, their Being muſt needs be dependent, and therefore limited.

5. From the former definition of abſolute Infinity, [*Infinitum eſt extra quod nihil eſt*] We may conclude, that unleſs all *power*, unleſs all *wiſdom*, unleſs all *goodneſs*, unleſs *all* that truly is, or can poſſibly be ſuppoſed to have true being, be Identically contained in Gods Eſſence; He could not be abſolutely infinite or illimited in Being. Whatſoever is uncapable of limit, is uncapable of Diviſion or Numerical difference: For whereſoever it can be truly ſaid, This is one, and that another, or *This* is, and *is* not *That*, each hath diſtinct limits. But ſeeing our imagination or phantaſie is diviſible, and our pureſt intellectual conceipts of Infinity, but finite; we cannot think of God as *infinite* in *power*, *infinite* in *wiſdom* and in *Eſſence*; but we muſt frame a conceit of *power* diſtinct from our conceit of Eſſence, and a *conceit* of wiſdom diſtinct from both. And this plurality of conceipts in us, uſually brings forth a conceit of plurality betwixt his Eſſence, and his Attributes, unleſs our underſtandings be vigilant and attentive to correct our phantaſies, by this following, and the like known Philoſophical truth. As we cannot contemplate Incorporeal ſubſtances without imagination of ſome Corporeal form; and yet the underſtanding conſtantly denies them to be like their Pictures preſented to it by the Phantaſie, or to have any ſuch Corporeal form as it doth paint them in: ſo in this caſe, notwithſtanding the plurality of our imperfect conceipts, or multiplicity of *perfections* imagined by us, in our contemplations of the God-head; we muſt ſtedfaſtly believe and acknowledge, that *He infinitely is*, what all theſe ſeveral repreſentations intimate: not by compoſition, or mixture of *perfections* ſeverally infinite, but by indiviſible unity of independent and illimited *Being*. And as it is a maxim moſt infalliable in Natural Philoſophy [*Vis unita fortior*] Force, otherwiſe the ſame, is always greater united, than being ſcattered or diffuſed: ſo is the Metaphyſical extract of it more eminently true in Divinity. The indiviſible unity of illimited *being* or *perfection*, is, in every reſpect imaginable, more excellent and ſoveraign than all infinite *perfections*, by imagination poſſibly could be, ſo they were, though never ſo ſtrictly, but united. From this fundamental truth of Gods abſolute Infinity by indiviſible unity, we may infer, He is *powerful* above all conceit of Infinite Power, rooted in the ſame Eſſence with Infinite Wiſdom; and partaker of all her Fruits, but not Identically the ſame with her. *Wiſe He is*, beyond all conceit of Infinite Wiſdom, though ſworn confederate with Infinite Power, or linked with it; or with other perfections in any other bond, but not in abſolute Identity. *Good* likewiſe *He is* above all poſſible conceit of Infinite Goodneſs, though indiſſolubly matched with all other perfections that can be conceived, unleſs they be conceived (as we muſt believe in him they are) different only in name or mans conceit, but indiviſibly agreeing with it in the internal Unity and Identity of Nature and Eſſence. Laſtly, The Immenſity of his Majeſty, and Infinity

of duration, common to his Eſſence and all his Attributes, infinitely exceed all conceit of *infinite* ſucceſſion or extenſion, whoſe parts cannot be actually and indiviſibly the ſame one with another, or with the whole.

This is the bottomleſs and boundleſs Ocean of admiration, wherein contemplative Wits may bathe themſelves with great delight, but whereinto they cannot dive, without great danger; That the totality of every conceiveable Excellency and Perfection, ſhould be contained, after a manner far more excellent in unity indiviſible, then if their Natures, which they hold thus in common, were laid out in ſeveral, without any bounds preſcribed, beſides Infinities proper to each kind.

6. But ſeeing our imaginations have a more ſenſible apprehenſion of greatneſs, expreſt under the notion of totality or diviſible *infinity*, then under the conceit of indiviſible *unity*; and ſeeing every whole ſeems much greater, when it is reſolved into parts (as a mile by land, whoſe ſeveral quarters or leſs portions, are diſtinctly repreſented to our eyes, ſeems much longer then two miles by water, whoſe level Surface affords no diſtinct repreſentation of parts, or diverſity of aſpect) it will be very behooveful to unfold ſome principal branches of *being* or *perfection*, whoſe *infinity* or *totality* is eminently contained in the unity of Infinite Being. For being thus ſorted by imagination into their ſeveral ranks, like ſo many numbers in a Table ready for Addition, the underſtanding may with admiration gueſs at the Product; like an Arithmetician, which had gone ſo far in Geometrical Progreſſion, that he could not number the laſt and compleat ſum; yet acknowledgeth that the progreſs in Nature, can admit no end or limit. Or though we could thus proceed by Addition or Multiplication of Perfections *in infinitum*, we were ſtill to allow the underſtanding to uſe the improvement of the former rule, *Vis unita fortior*: Or to admit the Platonicks conceipt, concerning the *maſculine* force of unity in reſpect of *pluralities* effeminate weakneſs, to be in this point more Orthodoxal than in any.

SECT.

SECTION II.

Of the ſeveral branches of abſolute Infinity; or of the Infinity of the Divine Attributes, as they are ſeverally apprehended by us.

CHAP. V.

Of Divine Immenſity, or of that Branch of abſolute Infinity, whereof Infinity in magnitude, or ſpace imaginary is the ſhadow.

ORder of Nature leads us firſt to explicate two branches of *Perfection infinite*, that anſwer unto a kind of *Infinity*, ſo frequent and obvious to our thoughts, that our imaginations will hardly ſuffer it to be ſevered from thoſe ſubjects, which our underſtandings by light of reaſon may, and by the to wit, faith, muſt confeſs to be finite, eye of time and place. The cauſe of this difficulty in abſtraction, was ſignified * before to be this. No event there is obſerved by ſenſe, but is husked in the circumſtance of *Place* and *Time*, whence it is, that theſe two accompany many Phantaſms, after they be winnowed from all the reſt, into the cloſet of the underſtanding. The conceit of Mathematical or Metaphyſical ſpace, is ſo naturally annexed to our imagination of *Time* and *Place* Phyſical; that albeit reaſon, aſwel as Scripture demonſtrate the World to be, for Phyſical Magnitude, finite; yet our Phantaſies cannot be curbed from running into imaginary local diſtance, beyond the utmoſt Surface of this goodly viſible work of God, yea beyond the Heaven of Heavens. The Philoſopher, which thought all place or local diſtance to be contained within the utmoſt Sphere, it being contained in nothing elſe (for *extra cœlum nihil eſt*, was his ſaying) might in congruity have granted, a like termination, or circumſcription of ſucceſſion or time; unto which notwithſtanding our imaginations will not eaſily ſubſcribe. For though our underſtanding oft refute their errour, which deny the beginning of Time; yet our ſenſes ſtill nurſe an imaginary ſucceſſive duration much longer before the creation of this viſible World, than the continuation of it hath been. And (which is much to be admired) ſome School-brains have been ſo puzled in paſſing this unſoundable

* In the 5. Book. Section. 2.

ſoundable Gulf, as to ſuſpect that God, which is now in every place of the World created by *Him*, was as truly in theſe imaginary *diſtances* of place and Time, before the creation was attempted. Thus have they made *Place* commenſurable to his *Immenſity*, and ſucceſſion, or time coequal to his *Eternity*. But what could they anſwer us, if we ſhould demand, whether this duration, or local diſtance, wherein they imagine God to have been before the Creation, were created by *Him*, or not? whether they were truly ſomething, or meerly nothing? If they held them to be meerly *nothing*, they ſhould have told us, that they had a real imagination of an infinite ſpace, which really was not: and therefore could not be truly termed imaginary ſpace before the World was created. For it is one thing to imagine an *infinite* ſpace, and another to avouch there was an *infinite* imaginary ſpace before they could have any imagination of it. He that made the World and all that is in it, is not much beholding to thoſe men, for building him an infinite Caſtle, not in the Aire (which had no being before the Creation) but in *that* which neither then was, nor ſince hath had any Being, ſave only in the vaniſhing imaginations of men which have periſhed. For if this imaginary ſpace were any more than a meer imagination, it was ſurely created by God. Had then this imaginary ſpace another ſpace or diſtance local, or this imaginary *time* or ſucceſſive *duration*, another *duration*, wherein to be produced? or do they make this imaginary time or place fully commenſurable to Eternity or immenſity? If God from Eternity had been in any other *infinity* beſides himſelf, he could not be ſaid to be incomprehenſible. By this imaginary ſpace no realty can be truly meant beſides God himſelf, whom the * Hebrews enſtile by the name of *place*, to wit, *infinite*.

2. But what ſhall we anſwer unto theſe or the like captious demands of the Atheiſt: If the World, if time, if place, which now are, had not been from everlaſting? where was your God when theſe were not, ſome where, or no where? If no where *He* and *Nothing* might be fellow reſidents. In reſpect of Eternity or immenſity, no creature, no poſitive Eſſence, no numerable part of this Vniverſe is ſo like unto *Him*, as this negation of all things which we deſcribe by the name of *Nothing*. It hath no begnning or end of days. Nothing or the negation of all things, as it is the object of our poſitive conceit, is more like unto *Him* than any *one thing*, in that no diſtinct or proper place of reſidence can be aſſigned to nothing or to the negation of all things: Yet moſt *unlike* him, in that it is truly and abſolutely no where, not in it ſelf. *Non entis, non eſt actio, non eſt qualitas, non conditio*, That which is not can have no capacity to accept any condition of *being*, it can have no right or title to be termed it ſelf. We may truly ſay ſome objective conceipts are nothing: but we cannot righly conceive, that *nothing* ſhould have any degree of kind of *Being*; and want of *Being* is the worſt kind of barrenneſs that can be imagined. We cannot imagine it ſhould bring forth any degree or rank

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* Axioma hic proponit R. David. Tu reples omnem locum, & comprehendis, & nullo loco comprehenderis, nec ullus te locus complecti, & contineri poteſt. Hinc Hæbræi etiam Deum indigitant vocabulo מקום locum, quum dicunt, Benedictus locus חמקום בווך Cujus appellationis R: Elias in Tisbite adfert duplicem rationem. Quia Deus inſtar loci omnia complectitur, ipſe autem à nullo comprehenditur. Qui autem hodie contendunt Deum eſſe corpus cœlo incluſum, minùs rectè ſentiunt, quam Iudæorum Rabbini. Dolendum eſt iſta contraria errata hodie defendi. Quidam diſputant & aſſerunt corpus Chriſti eſſe utiq;: Et tamen negant eſſe ſpiritum præſertim immenſum & infinitum. Alij negantes Deum eſſe ſpiritum ſimplicem, faciunt corporeum, & loco circumſcribunt. Coppen in Pſal. 139, ver. 7. Quo ibo à ſpiritu tuo.

of Being. It cannot be mother to that which poſſibly may be; it cannot be nurſe to that which is. But of God we cannot abſolutely ſay, He was no where, before the World was made; we muſt uſe this limitation [*He was no where ſave in Himſelf:*] But ſuch and ſo in Himſelf, that He was more than all things, longer than *Time*, greater than *Place*, more *infinite* than *capacity* it ſelf, uncapable of circumſcription or commenſurability, able to limit *Time* and *Place*, (or whatſoever we conceive to be by ſucceſſion or addition infinite,) by his Eſſential preſence, or coexiſtence more than *penetrative*; being ſo in both, in all things that are, as nothing poſſibly could have beginning, or continuance of Being, unleſs He were in them, as the Center of their Supportance; yet ſo as they cannot environ or encompaſs him. The abſolute infinity of his *Being* includes an abſolute impoſſibility of his *Being* only in things, that are, or may be, though by his power thoſe may be in number, by ſucceſſion, infinite.

3. Had the evaporations of proud phantaſtick melancholy, eclipſed the luſtre of his glorious preſence, in that late prodigious Queſtioniſts Brain, which would bring us out of the Sun-ſhine of the Goſpel into old Egyptian darkneſs: For as ſome well conjecture, this error of incloſing God in the Heavens, and excluding his Eſſential preſence from this inferiour World, was firſt brought forth in *Egypt*, but ſo ill *taken*, as it could not be propagated to many Nations; entertained by few Philoſophers of better ſort, *Ariſtotle* or the Author of the Book *de mundo ad Alexandrum*, excepted; from whoſe opinion *Vorſtius* did herein diſſent, that he held God to be everywhere by his power, and immediate providence: His error notwithſtanding, is exceeding groſs and unſufferable, in that he makes his infinite *power*, *wiſdom*, and *goodneſs*, in whoſe ſweet harmony Divine Providence eſpecially conſiſts, but as Agents or Ambaſſadors to his infinite Majeſty: as if his infinite Majeſty only were full *compere* to his Eſſence, unfitting to be imployed abroad, or to keep reſidence any where, ſave in the Court of Heaven. Or if his power and wiſdom be joynt aſſeſſors with his Eſſence in the Heavens, and yet reach withal unto the Earth, unto every thing within this *Canopy*, which is ſpread betwixt us and his glorious Preſence: His *Power*, his *Wiſdom*, &c. may in ſome ſort be held more infinite than his Eſſence, as being in many places were it is not. But for God to be everywhere here on Earth, or in the Region under the Earth, by his wiſdom, by his power, or by his goodneſs, is perhaps in his language no more, than that the effects of theſe Attributes are everywhere, that all things as well in Earth as in Heaven, are eſſentially ſubject to that eternal Law, which he hath appointed them; that every Creature doth as conſtantly fulfil his will, and obey his power, in his abſence, as if it were penetrated by his preſence; that the eye of his knowledge pierceth every corner of the World, and ſeeth the ſecrets of mens hearts, as clearly, as if it were reſident in their Centers. And in part, unto this purpoſe, ſome great School-men diſtinguiſh the manner of Gods being in all things, by his *Eſſence*, by his *Power*, by his *Preſence*. Let us take it as poſſible to ſuppoſition or imagination, (what by the habit of Chriſtian Faith, we are fully perſwaded to be in it ſelf impoſſible) what by light of reaſon might be demonſtrated to imply a manifeſt contradiction to any well-ſetled underſtanding, *viz.* [*That infinite Eſſence or Being it ſelf ſhould not be everywhere eſſentially preſent, or that infinite power ſhould not be able to reach every poſſible effect:*] yet

ſhould all things that are, be preſent to him, whoſe mame, whoſe beſt deſcription is [*I am.*] Nothing could be done or ſaid without his preſence, that is, without his perfect notice. And in this ſenſe perhaps it hath been rightly avouched by ſome good Authors, whoſe meaning hath been much miſtaken, or wilfully perverted by others, *That all things as well future as paſt, are alike preſent to Him, who was every where* (before there was any diſtinction of times;) becauſe nothing can be ſaid or done, without his perfect knowledge or juſt notice. Nothing can be begun, continued, or finiſhed, without his expreſs Warrant or intuitive permiſſion. He hath a vigilant eye over all things that are, or poſſibly can be. Or taking it again as not impoſſible to imagination, that Divine knowledge were not ſo truly infinite as we believe it is; yet admitting his power to be truly *infinite*, nothing could be done, ſaid, or intended, without its concourſe, operation, or *aſſiſtance.* So that he might be everywhere by his infinite power, albeit his knowledge were not *infinite*; or everywhere by his infinite knowledge, albeit his power were but finite. But by the infallible conſequence of theſe indemonſtrable principles, it will neceſſarily follow, That his Eſſence, being as was ſhewed before, truly *infinite*, nor World, nor Time, nor Place, nor Power, nor Wiſdom, nor any thing poſſible can be where it is not, it muſt needs be, where any thing is, or poſſibly may be. He is in every Center of Bodily or material ſubſtances, in every point imaginable of this viſible Vniverſe, as an Eſſential Root, whence all and every part of what is beſides him ſpring, without waſt or diffuſion of his ſubſtance, without nutriment or ſuſtentation from any other Root or Element. The conſervation of immaterial or *illocal* ſubſtances, is from the benefit of his Eſſential preſence. Materials are daily made and renewed by the tranſient efficacy of his creative power.

4. Do we make theſe collections only, or doth not the Scripture teach this Philoſophy alſo? *Am I a God at hand, ſaith the Lord, and not a God far off?* Jer. 23. 23. Nothing is, nothing can be without the reach of his power, his omnipotency cannot be confined within the places that are: For his hand hath made them all, not as Priſons to incloſe his Eſſence, not as manicles to hinder the exerciſe of his mighty Arm, *Can any hide himſelf in ſecret places, that I ſhall not ſee him?* ſaith the Lord, *Ibid. verſ.* 24. This is a formal demand of our aſſent unto the *infinity* of his knowledge. Theſe are two ſpecial, but not the only ways of his being everywhere, which the Scripture teacheth: for there follows a third, which after the manner of our underſtanding, is the Root or Foundation of all the reſt: *that* indeed, from which the two former branches are moſt neceſſarily inferred, *Do not I fill Heaven and Earth? ſaith the Lord.* Doth He fill Heaven and Earth by his power, or by his knowledge only? Nay, but moſt properly and in the firſt place by his Eſſential preſence. For his *Eſſence* is infinitely powerful, infinitly wiſe.

His filling the Earth as well as Heaven by his Eſſential Preſence, cannot be denyed but from one of theſe two Reaſons following.

Either, That his *Eſſence* is altogether uncapable of intimate coexiſtence, with ſuch groſs and baſe Creatures, as the parts of this inferiour world:

Or elſe, Becauſe it is his will, to abſtract or with-hold his Eſſential preſence from them.

To affirm the former part, to wit, That his Nature is uncapable of

intimate

intimate co-exiſtence with any Nature created by Him, is to deny his *omnipotency*; as all, by neceſſary conſequence, do, which grant not the Immenſity of his Eſſence. For what can withſtand or withdraw his Eſſence from piercing the Earth, as well as Heaven? Not the hardneſs of it, not the loathſomneſs of the vile bodies contained in it. If either of theſe qualities, or ought beſides, could deny the admiſſion of his Eſſential Preſence, he were not Omnipotent, becauſe not able to place his Eſſence in that local ſpace, in which, were it filled with more ſubtle or more glorious Bodies, it might as well recide, as in the Heavens. Suppoſe he ſhould (as no doubt he is able) annihilate the Earth, and create a new Heaven in the ſpace wherein it now is, or demoliſh his preſent Heavenly Seat, or turn it into a baſer Maſs then this Earth is; were it not poſſible for him to be in this new Heaven by his Eſſential Preſence, or ſhould he be neither in it, nor in the new Earth? If he could not be here, he were in this reſpect more impotent than the Angels, who can change their Manſions when they miſlike them.

5. Shall we then take the latter part of the former Diviſion, and ſay, It is his will and pleaſure to withdraw his Eſſence from this lower room of his own Edifice, whiles it remains ſo ill garniſhed as now it is? If he have made Heaven his Habitation by choice, not by neceſſity of his Immenſity, with which all places, as we contend, muſt neceſſarily be filled; he might relinquiſh it by the like free choice of ſome other Manſion, which he could make for himſelf as pleaſant and beautiful: yea, he might by the like freedom of will, come and dwell with us here on Earth. So that in the concluſion, he which admiteth Gods will to be free, but denies the abſolute Immenſity of his Eſſence, makes him capable of local motion or migration from place to place. And ſuch motion neceſſarily includeth mutability, which is altogether incompatible with Infinity. Reaſon grounded on Scripture, will warrant us to conclude from the former Principle, that he which hath no cauſe of Being, can have no limits of Being, no bounds beyond which it cannot be. Eſſence or *being* illimited cannot poſſibly be diſtinguiſhed by ſeveralties of internal Perfections, though united: much leſs can it be diſtinguiſhed or limited by any place, whether real or imaginary. In that he is the Authorleſs Author of all *being*, it is altogether as impoſſible for him not to be in every thing that is, as it is for any thing to be without Him. The indiviſible unity of his infinite *Eſſence* is the center and ſupporter of all things, the conſervation of place, and that which holdeth things diviſible from reſolving into nothing.

6. *Dominus ipſe eſt Deus in cœlo ſurſum & in terra deorſum: The Lord* (ſaith *Moſes*) *he is God in Heaven above, and in the Earth below*, Deut. 4. 39. yet ſaith *Solomon*, 1 Kings 8. 27. *Behold the Heavens, and the Heavens of Heavens are not able to contain thee.* May we ſay then, He is as truly without the Heavens, as he is in them? or that he is where nothing is with him? ſurely, he was when nothing was, and then he was where nothing was beſides himſelf. Or peradventure before the Creation of all things numerable, there neither was *when* nor *where*, but only an incomprehenſible perfection of indiviſible Immenſity and Eternity; which would ſtill be the ſame, though neither Heaven nor Earth, nor any thing in them ſhould any more *be*. We may not ſo place him without the Heavens, as to cloath him with any imaginary ſpace, or give the check to his Immenſity by any parallel

diſtance local. But he is ſaid to be without the Heavens, in as much as his infinite *Eſſence* cannot be contained in them, but neceſſarily contain's them. He is ſo without them, or if you will, beyond them, that albeit a thouſand more Worlds were ſtowed by his powerful hand each above other, and all above this; He ſhould by vertue of his infinite *Eſſence*, not by free choice of will, or mutation of place, be as intimately co-exiſtent to every part of them, as he now is to any part of this Heaven and Earth which we ſee. This Attribute of Divine *Immenſity* was acknowledged, and excellently expreſſed by many of the Ancient Philoſophers, but moſt pithily by ſome of the Ancient Fathers. Before all things, ſaith * *Tertullian*, God was alone, and he was to himſelf, *world*, *place*, and all things. The manner of his coexiſtence with the world, * *Philo* the Jew well expreſſed: God filleth all things, yet is contained in none, containing all. The Vicinity of his Eſſence preſerveth their Eſſences more truly than the ſymbolizing qualities of their natural places do. And even this efficacy of ſymbolizing or preſerving qualities, flows as immediately from his Eſſential Preſence, as the paſſive aptitude of bodies preſerved by them, doth. The more the places are through which bodies natural ſwiftly move, the leſs properly they are in them. In Analogy to this condition of Natural Bodies, the more capable man is of all knowledge, the more liable his capacity is to diſtraction, as conſiſting rather in united Perfections, than in firm and indiviſible unity of *Perfection*. And therefore it is often ſaid of moſt pregnant Wits, *qui ubiq; eſt, nuſquam eſt*, He that is every where, is no where. Or he that engageth himſelf to all courſes of life, goeth through with none. But of God, who is perfection it ſelf, not by aggregation, but by abſolute unity of Eſſence; that of Saint *Bernard* is moſt admirably verified, *Nuſquam eſt, & ubiq; eſt*; He is no where, becauſe no place whether real or imaginary can comprehend or contain him: He is every where, becauſe no body, no ſpace, or ſpiritual ſubſtance can exclude his preſence, or avoid the penetration of his Eſſence. But Saint *Gregories* Character of Gods Ubiquitary preſence aud Immenſity, is more lively and full. *Deus eſt intra omnia non incluſus, extra omnia non excluſus, ſupra omnia non elatus*; God is within all things, yet not ſhut up, or incloſed in them; he is without all things, yet not excluded from them; he is above all things, yet not elevated or exalted by them; he is below all things, yet not burdened or depreſſed by them. *Greg. in Pſalm* 139.

* Ante omnia enim Deus erat ſolus, ipſe ſibi & mundus & locus & omnia. Solus autem, quia nihil aliud extrinſecus præter illum. Cæterum ne tunc quidem ſolus: habebat enim ſecum quam habebat in ſemetipſo, rationem ſuam ſcilicet. Tertul. adverſus Praxean. cap 5.

* De confuſione linguarum.

7. *Anſelmus* notwithſtanding (had not long cuſtom or general conſent preſcribed too ſtrongly againſt him) would have reformed this kind of ſpeech, *Deus eſt in omni loco*, God is in every place, by changing one Particle, *Deus eſt cum omni loco*, God is with every place. This Criticiſm of his, though well approved by ſome good Writers; whilſt they diſpute againſt ſuch as ſay God was every where, before any place was, yet (in my opinion) the uſe of it, were it as common as the other, which he ſought by this to correct, would conceal much matter of admiration, (which the deſcription of Immenſity uſed by Saint *Bernard* and others promptly ſuggeſts) if not occaſion or ſuggeſt an erroneous imagination of co-extenſion in the Divine Eſſence. The bodies which are contained in places, are truly ſaid to be with the places which contain them, and the places with them; and we may diſtributively aver, that every body is with every place, and every bodily ſubſtance is with its Mathematical Dimenſions, in the ſame

place with it. But ſo to be in every place, in every leaſt part of every body, as not to be contained in any or all of them, though we ſhould multiply them *in infinitum*, doth exclude all conceipt or co-extenſion with them, and much better notifie the indiviſible Unity of Gods Immenſity, and the incomprehenſibleneſs of his Eſſential Preſence, than if we ſhould ſay he were with every place. But as no Characters of the incomprehenſible Eſſences Ubiquitary preſence do ſo well befit it, as theſe that intimate more to our cogitations than we can in words expreſs: So of this kind I have found none, from which I have received ſo full Inſtruction, or reaped the like fruits of Admiration, as from that of *Triſmigiſt*, *Deus eſt ſphæra, cujus Centrum eſt ubique, cujus peripheria nuſquam*, God is a Sphear, whoſe Center is every where, whoſe circumference is no where. Not the leaſt particle of this Univerſal Globe or Sphear, but is ſupported by the indiviſible unity of his Eſſence, as by an internal Center. And yet neither the utmoſt circumference of this viſible World, nor any circumference conceivable, can ſo circumſcribe or comprehend his Eſſential Preſence, that it might be ſaid, thus far it reacheth and no further. For albeit he would crown the convexity of theſe Heavens with others, ſo much higher and more ſpacious, than theſe Heavens, as theſe are than the Earth, and continue this courſe unto the worlds end: yet all ſhould be comprehended in his Eſſence; it could not be comprehended in any. Their circumference ſhould ſtill be ſomewhere, whereas his Eſſence, though ſtill enlarging (by this ſuppoſed daily exerciſe of his power) the bounds of its actual co-exiſtence with theſe new Creatures, is in it ſelf altogether boundleſs. Omnipotency it ſelf, cannot pitch a circumferance to it, becauſe nothing can be, but it muſt be in it, which only *truly* is, and cannot be contained in any thing imaginable. In that all things are contained in him, he is rightly reſembled by a Sphear, which is of all Figures the moſt capacious. In that all things cannot comprehend him, He is rightly reſembled by a Sphear whoſe circumference is no where.

8. Two points notwithſtanding in the former reſemblance ſeem difficult to mens conceipts; but more difficult it is fully to expreſs what may rightly be conceived concerning them. The former difficulty is, how a Center ſhould be conceived to be every where: The ſecond, how the indiviſibility of Gods preſence in every place, ſhould be compared unto a Center. To the former it may be ſaid, That as the Divine Eſſence by reaſon of its abſolute *infinity*, hath an abſolute neceſſity of co-exiſtence with ſpace or magnitude infinite; ſo were it poſſible there ſhould be (as ſome Divines hold it poſſible there may be) a magnitude or matterial Sphear actually infinite; this magnitude could have no ſet point for its Center, but of every point deſignable in it, we might avouch this is the Center as well as that. Every point ſhould have the negative properties of a Spherical Center; there could be no inequality between the diſtances of ſeveral points from the circumference of that which is infinite, and hath no bounds of magnitude. To the ſecond difficulty it may be ſaid, the manner of Divine preſence or coexiſtance to every place or parcel of Bodies viſible, is rightly compared unto a Center, in that it hath no diverſity of parts, but is indiviſibly preſent to all and every part of things diviſible. His *preſence*, again is herein like to magnitude actually *infinite* in that it can have no circumference. But whether the Divine Eſſence may have as perfect actual coexiſtence to every point

or Center, as it hath to every leaſt portion of magnitudes diviſible, cannot ſo clearly be inferred from the indiviſibility of Divine Immenſity, becauſe the indiviſibility of Centers or Points, and of Spiritual Subſtances are Heterogeneal, and Heterogeneals are oft times *Aſſymmetral*, that is, not exactly commenſurable. Hence the moſt ſubtle School-men or Metaphyſical Divines, as well Ancient as Modern, reſolve it as a Point irreſoluble by Humane wit; whether a Mathematical Point or Center can be the compleat and *definitive* place of an Angel, albeit they hold the Angelical Natures to be as truly indiviſible, as Points or Centers are. But it is one thing for an Immaterial or Spiritual Eſſence to have true co-exiſtence with every Center, another to be confined to a Center, or to have a definitive place or co-exiſtence in it. And whatſoever may be thought of Angels; of the Divine Eſſence we may ſay, that he is as properly in every Center as in every place, ſeeing we acknowledge *Him* to be alike incomprehenſible and indiviſibly in both. The manner of his indiviſibility we conceive by his co-exiſtence to a Center. His incomprehenſibleneſs, by his co-exiſtence to all ſpaces or places imaginable, without co-extenſion to any, without comprehenſion in all. We may in no caſe imagine, that there is more of God, or that God is more fully in a great ſpace than in a little; in the whole world, than in a man or little world. For this once granted, an Aſſes head ſhould participate the Eſſential Preſence of the Deity in greater meaſure than a mans heart doth. But in what reſpects God is ſaid to be more ſpecially preſent in one place than in another, or to be preſent with ſome, and abſent from others: hereafter.

9. The abſolute perfection of this Attribute, in whoſe right apprehenſion or conceit many other Divine perfections, according to our manner of conceiving them, are as it were couched or lodged, may beſt be gathered by oppoſition to the imperfections of bodies or material magnitudes. A body though of Homogeneal Nature, ſuppoſe a Pole or ſtone fixed in the Earth, environed *above* with water and the air, can have no co-exiſtence with theſe divers bodies, otherwiſe than according to the diverſity of its own parts: that part of it which hath co-exiſtence with the air, can have no co-exiſtence with the earth or water. Far otherwiſe it is in God, whoſe abſolute infinity in that it is not compoſed of parts, but conſiſts in perfect unity, cannot be co-exiſtent to any place after any other manner than *He* is co-exiſtent to all, that is, by indiviſible unity or identity. Whereſoever *He* is (and *He* is every where) *He* is *unity* it ſelf, *infinity* it ſelf, *immenſity* it ſelf, *perfection* it ſelf, *power* it ſelf. All theſe branches of quantity, in which we ſeek to ingraff ſo many ſorts of Infinities, thereby to expreſs or reſemble *His* incomprehenſible Nature, do flow from participation of his infinite preſence. Unleſs *he* were *infinity* or *immenſity* it ſelf, there could be no magnitude, no meaſure quantative, by whoſe multiplication we could in any ſort gather or gueſs what *immenſity* or *infinity* meant. That imaginary *infinity* which we conceive by ſucceſſion or compoſition of parts (for their ſeveral extenſions finite, though in number infinite) is but a tranſient ray or beam of that actual and ſtable infiniteneſs, which *he* poſſeſſeth in perfect unity, without any imaginary diverſity of parts united. Had his *immenſity* any diverſity of parts, there ſhould be more power in many parts, than in one, or few: unto the full exerciſe of his whole power or force, there ſhould be a concurrence of all parts required: and this concurrence of parts in

number *infinite*, would perhaps be impoſſible. *Infinitum tranſire non poteſt.* At the leaſt, were Divine Power ſo lodged in Divine Immenſity, as ſtrength or power is in our bodily faculties, it could not be ſo omnipotent, as we believe it is. Our ſtrength or force is always increaſed by unition or contraction of ſeveral parts; his power can receive no increaſe ſeeing his immenſity excludes all diviſion, and doth not ſo properly include, but rather properly is, Unity it ſelf.

10. The Prophets and other Holy men in their pathetical expreſſions ſometime ſpeak of God as far abſent, becauſe his powerful preſence is not manifeſted in ſuch ſort as they could wiſh. *Oh that thou wouldſt rend the Heavens* (ſaith the Prophet, *Iſa.* c. 64. 1.) *That thou wouldſt come down, that the Mountains might flow down at thy preſence: As when the melting fire burneth, the fire cauſeth the waters to boil: to make thy name known to thine adverſaries, that the Nations may tremble at thy preſence. When thou diddeſt terrible things which we looked not for, thou cameſt down, the Mountains flowed down at thy preſence.* But to indoctrinate us, that this deſcription of his powerful preſence did include no Dogmatical aſſertion of his local deſcent, no denyal of his being every where, or filling every place by his eſſential preſence: the ſame Prophet elſewhere pictures out his *immenſity* to us under the ſhape of a Gyant able to ſqueez the whole Globe of Heaven, Earth, and Waters; *Who hath meaſured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and meted out Heaven with his ſpan, and comprehended the duſt of the earth in his three fingers* (after ſuch a manner as men take up duſt or ſand) *and weighed the Mountains in Scales, and the Hills in a Ballance?* Iſa. 40. 12. *Behold the Nations are as the drop of a Bucket, and are counted as the ſmall duſt of the Ballance. Behold, he taketh up the Iſles as a very little thing. All Nations before him are as nothing, and they are accounted to him leſs than nothing and vanity,* ver. 15. 17. Thus he linketh his eſſential preſence with his power and knowledge. *Why ſayeſt thou O Jacob, and ſpeakeſt O Iſrael; My way is hid from the Lord, and my Judgment is paſſed over from my God? Haſt thou not known? haſt thou not heard, that the everlaſting God, the Lord, the Creator of the ends of the Earth fainteth not, neither is weary? there is no ſearching of his underſtanding,* verſ. 27. 28. Yet *Job* in his anguiſh had almoſt ſaid as *Jacob* did; *O that I knew where I might find him! that I might come even to his ſeat! I would know the words which he would anſwer me, and underſtand what he would ſay unto me. Behold, I go forward but he is not there, and backward but I cannot perceive him: On the left hand where he doth work, but I cannot behold him: he hideth himſelf on the right hand, that I cannot ſee him,* Job 23. 3, 5, 8, 9. But though he might hide himſelf from *Job*, yet could not *Job* hide himſelf or his ways from him: for ſo he confeſſeth in the next words; *He knoweth the way which I take,* ver. 10. *Whither ſhall I go* (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) *from thy Spirit? or whither ſhall I flye from thy preſence? if I aſcend up into Heaven, thou art there: if I make my bed in Hell, behold thou art there. If I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermoſt parts of the Sea; even there ſhall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand ſhall hold me, &c.* Pſalm 119. ver. 7. 8, 9, 10. *Thou haſt poſſeſt my reins; thou haſt covered me in my Mothers womb.* Theſe and the laſt ſtrains of other godly men, argue a ſympathy of Gods eſſential preſence, not only environing their bodies, but penetrating their Souls, and diffuſed through their Hearts. His co-exiſtence with all, his eſſential preſence or inhabitation in all, is the ſame, although the worldly minded take no notice of it. And

when it is ſaid, that he *beholdeth* or *knoweth* the ungodly *afar off*, this language fitly expreſſeth their conceit of him, and of his Eſſence. They conſider not, that he is always near unto them, always about them, always within them, but in Heaven only, whither their thoughts ſeldom aſcend. And according to their miſ-conceit of him, ſo it happens to them, they imagine him to be far diſtant from them, and his help and ſuccour in their diſtreſs comes ſlowly to them, as if it had too far to go.

CHAP. VI.

Of Eternity, or of that branch of abſolute Infinity, whereof ſucceſſive duration or the imaginary Infinity of time, is the model.

1. WHatſoever hath been, or rightly may be conceived of Divine Immenſity, will in proportion as well ſuit unto Eternity. And unto this Divine Attribute is that of *Tertullian* as applyable: [*Ante omnia Deus erat ſolus, & erat ſibi tempus, mundus, & omnia:*] *Before all things were, God was, and he was unto himſelf time, the world, and all things elſe.* We cannot properly ſay, He was in time before he made the world. For as Saint *Auguſtine* acutely collects, if he which always is, and was, and is to come, had always been in time; he could not have been before all times, nor could he be, as we believe he is, as truly before all times future, as before all times paſt. His Eternity then, is the inexhauſtible fountain or infinite Ocean, from which time or duration ſucceſſive (in what finite ſubſtances ſoever they be ſeated) with all their ſeveral Branches or Appurtenances, do perpetually flow; and unto Eternity, they have if not the ſame proportion, yet the ſame references, the ſame dependances on it, which finite and created magnitudes have to Divine Immenſity. * As there was from all Eternity a poſſibility for us to be before we were; ſo our actual being or exiſtence, whilſt it laſteth, is compoſed of a *capacity* to be what we are, and of the *actuation* or filling of this capacity. Life (ſenſitive eſpecially) is but the motion or progreſs of this capacity towards that which fills it, or as it were a continual ſucking in of preſent exiſtence, or continuation of actual being, from ſomewhat præ-exiſtent. Unleſs the Vegetables, by which our life is continued, had exiſtence before they become our nutriment, they could not poſſibly nouriſh us, continue us in that eſtate of being which we have. Nor could theſe Vegetables themſelves exiſt, unleſs they did draw their exiſtence or continuation of their being, from that which did every way exiſt before them; and unto which they do by motion or continuation of their being approach. So that future times, and all things contained in time it ſelf, pre-ſuppoſe a fountain of life, as truly præ-exiſtent to their future terminations or motions, as it was to their beginnings. That deſcription of time [*tempus edax rerum*] *as if it were the devourer of all things which are ſubject to alteration,* did relliſh more of Poetical Wit, then of any Metaphyſical Truth. For if time did devour all things which are brought forth in time, what is it that could poſſibly nouriſh them, or continue their *being* from

* Vide Tertul. in Apologet. cap. 48.

their beginning to their end? whilſt the time appointed for them laſts, they cannot poſſibly be conſumed or periſh. Nothing there is that doth or can deſire its own deſtruction, nor long after the preſence or fruition of that, which doth devour or deſtroy it. All things naturally deſire the continuation of ſuch being as they have; which notwithſtanding things temporal cannot have, but from the continuation or fruition of time. Time then it is not, but their own motions or endeavours to enjoy or entertain time approaching, which doth waſte or conſume things temporal. We naturally ſeek to catch time, and it is the nature of time, though continually caught, not to be held by us. This nimbleneſs of time, is ſo like unto the ſwift progreſs of motion, that ſome acknowledge no difference at all between them. Whereas in true Philoſophy, the length of time paſſing by us, is only notified by motion. Motion in true obſervation goes one way, and drives time another, as the ſtream which runs Eaſtward, turns the Wheel Weſtward. Our actual being or exiſtence ſlides from us with time, and our capacity of being, continuing ſtill the ſame, runs on ſtill, being always internally moved with deſire of *actuation* or *repleniſhment*. And this repleniſhment cannot otherwiſe be gotten, than by gaining a new co-exiſtence with time approaching, whoſe office, deſigned by *Eternity*, it is to repair the ruines which motions preſent or paſt have wrought in our corruptible ſubſtances. The beſt of our life, the very being of things generable (as * *Platonus* excellently obſerves) is but as a continual draught or receipt of *being* from the inexhauſtible fountain of life. Nature, ſaith he, (meaning the nature of things generable) haſtens unto that being which is to come, nor can it reſt, ſeeing it draws or ſucks in that being which it hath by doing now this and now that, being moved as it were in a circle with deſire of Eſſence or of Being what it is. Nor are we Men, or any Creatures (ſpecially generable) permitted to draw or ſuck ſo much of our proper Being from the fountain of *Eternity*, at once, or in any one point of time, as we liſt. We have our portions of life or ſelf-fruition diſtributed pieve-meal and ſparingly unto us, leſt too much put into our hands at once, might make us prodigal of the whole ſtock. As many younglings by their Parents too much bounty towards them, whilſt their experience is ſmall, overthrow themſelves and their Poſterity. And nimbleſt Wits, for the moſt part, run through largeſt fortunes in leaſt time; uſually ſhortning their days by taking up pleaſures (due in their ſeaſon) before-hand, ſeeking as it were to enjoy the fruits of many years duration all at once. Whereas fruition of delights and pleaſures ſhould be meaſured by the capacity of our eſtate or condition; as wiſe men fit their expences according to the tenour of their revenues.

2. Albeit the conſtant motion of the *Sun* and *Moon* be appointed by the Creator as a common ſtandard for the meaſuring of all times: yet every thing temporal, or endowed with duration meaſurable by the motions of the Heavens, hath its proper time, which in all of them is no other than a participation of Eternity. And he ſhould de-

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* A rebus generalibus ſi abſtuleris ipſum erit; cum *in* perpetuâ acquiſitione verſentur, ſubitò non *eſſe* contingit. Rebus autem, quæ non ſunt tales ſi ipſum *erit* adjunxeris, accidit à ſede ipſius *eſſe* labi. Manifeſtum enim ex hoc fuerit, ipſum *eſſe* non *eſſe* illis innatum, ſi fiat ex eo quod futurum ſit, & factum fuerit, & ſit in poſterum faciendum. Videtur enim in rebus generabilibus id potiſſimum *eſſentia* eſſe, ſcilicet tractus quidam ab ipſo *eſſe* ex generationis initio, quouſque ad temporis extrema perveniat, quando non ſit ulterius, idque ipſum quod dicitur, eſt in eis *exiſtere*, ac ſi quis quicquam ex hoc ductu circumcidat, vita comminui. Quapropter & *eſſe* diminui, & univerſo quidem *eſſe* ejuſmodi oportet, quouſq; ſic erit. Quamobrem ad ipſum *eſſe futurum* natura feſtinat, neque vult quieſcere, quippe cum *eſſe* ſibi hauriat, dum aliud quiddam atque aliud agit, moveturq; in orbem quodam eſſentiæ deſiderio. *Plot. Emead.* 3. *pag.* 328.

fine the ſeveral branches of time moſt exactly, that could number or decypher the ſeveral *actuations*, *draughts*, or *repleniſhments*, which are derived from the infinite fountain of life and beeing, to fill the capacities, or ſatiate the internal deſires of things temporal. And albeit the motion of the Heavens be conſtant and uniform; yet the duration of things temporal or ſublunary (though meaſured by their conſtant motion) is capable of internal contraction and dilatation. Some things have a kind of double duration, and run a courſe of time as it were indented. Life, albeit in it ſelf moſt ſweet, yet in us is often charged with ſo * great a meaſure of ſowr occurrences, that were it at all or moſt times, as ſome whiles it is, the fruition of it could not quit the pains we are put to in preſerving it. And the worſe our eſtate is, the longer it ſeemeth to be ſuch, becauſe vital exiſtence or duration, through diſtraction of mind, or vehement motion, ſeemeth divided into more parts, then without ſuch impulſions it could take notice of. In grief or pain we ſtrive to thruſt time preſent apace from us, that ſome other may come better attended. In delight or pleaſure we ſeek to arreſt it, and wiſh to have our joyful moments fixed, or to have them ſtill to return and go, ſo that we might prolong our days by living the ſame times over and over again, as men often walk longer in pleaſant gardens, then in vaſt fields, by often reſuming the ſame ſhort walks. Were it poſſible for us to ſtay thoſe grateful parcels of time, till new ones come with like ſupply; the current of pleaſure, thus damnd up, would ſwell; and our fruition of ſuch imperfect exiſtence as we have, would be much more perfect and entire. But ſeeing the pleaſure of borrowed life, is to the Identity of Being, but as water to the pipe through which it runs; all the remedy we have againſt welcom times departing from us, is to regain the like, and make up the unity of our exiſtence of ſelf-fruition by equivalency. The gluts or guſhes of pleaſure, may at one time be much greater than another, yet ſtill tranſient, never conſiſtent. The fruition of them cannot poſſibly be entire: begotten and dying in every moment; they are, and they are not in a manner, both at once; ſo that we loſe them as we gain them.

* *See Eccleſiaſticus* 41. 2.

3. The Angelical Natures, albeit they account not the continuation of their duration, nor number the portions of their participation of Eternity, by the motion of the Heavens, as being not fed with expectance of that time or ſucceſſion, whoſe opportunities we watchfully attend: yet their deſires (more fervent by much then we have any) to continue what they are, witneſs they have not all that in preſent poſſeſſion, which is allotted to their compleat duration. *Nothing*, being the foundation as well of Angelical Excellencies, as of our Mediocrities, makes them uncapable of that entire ſelf-fruition, which is eſſential to him which made them of *nothing*, being made of none. He, as he is of himſelf without beginning, ſo is he entirely in himſelf, and can acquire nothing by ſucceſſion. He deſires not his own duration, which none can give him, nor needs he to deſire it, becauſe it is alway entirely and indiviſibly preſent, without poſſibility of addition. For how ſhould *Eſſence* it ſelf, or Infinity of Being, get ought to morrow, which to day it hath not; or loſe ought to day which yeſterday it had. The firſt branch of impoſſibility which we can conceive as incident to him, that is thus truly *infinite*, is, not at all times to contain within himſelf all fullneſs of joy, however poſſible. He is life it ſelf, and therefore life truly infinite. And

infinite life, being infinitely ſweet, containeth joy truly infinite; altogether uncapable of any addition or diminution. As in a body infinite (could any ſuch be) there could be no middle or extreams; ſo neither can infinite life admit any parts, as being indiviſible into duration ſubſequent and precedent. Natures, capable of theſe differences, have always the one accompliſhed by the other. Time coming (as we ſaid before) repairs the loſſes of time going, and perfects or ſupports things natural by ſucceſſive continuance of preſent Being. But perfection it ſelf can no more be perfected, than *whiteneſs* can be dyed *white*. Life, or Eſſence *infinite*, excludes vacuity, or capacity of reſumed acts to fill up the meaſure of actual exiſtence, or fruition of *Being*. In that he is αὐτάρκης, *All-ſufficient*, he can want nothing; and to him that can want nothing, all muſt be preſent. We muſt then conceive of the Divine Eſſence, as infinite, not only in life, but in the degrees or acts of life: which in the eternal cannot be many, but only take the denomination of plurality, from things decreed. As he is ſaid Everlaſting with reference to the perpetuity of ſucceſſion, which ſtill ſuppoſeth his interminate exiſtence, as preſent to the whole and every part of it. Conſider *him* in himſelf, and He is every way indiviſibly infinite, and interminable; not only becauſe he had no beginning, nor ſhall have ending: For ſo might time or motion be held interminable, could the Heavens have been created from Everlaſting; whoſe revolutions nevertheleſs or ſucceſſive parts of motion, ſhould have been truly numerable, and therefore terminable; whence whatſoever had been contained within their circuit, ſhould ſtill have gotten ſomewhat which before it had not, either addition of duration, or (which is all one) continuance of their firſt exiſtence, or ſome new acts of life, of ſenſe or reaſon. But unto Eſſence infinite, none of theſe can accrue. If they could, as yet he ſhould not be, nor ever could he be actually Eternal, but everlaſtingly only by ſucceſſion. For Eternity, as *Boetius* hath well defined it, *is the entire or total poſſeſſion of interminable life, all at once or together.* Howbeit theſe terms of total fruition or poſſeſſion, may ſeem to include ſome parts, though not in the life poſſeſſed, yet in the poſſeſſion of it; which (I take it) was far from this good Authors meaning. What meant he then to uſe ſuch terms? only to exclude ſucceſſion, which hath a totality of Being, but not altogether, or all at once. As the next hour, and whatſoever ſhall have ſucceſſive duration in it, ſhall be wholly and fully exiſtent; but ſo as one part ſhall go before, another come after. So is not that duration which is interminable. But in what ſenſe *totality* is attributed to *Eſſence* or *duration infinite*, will better appear in the iſſue of theſe explications. This definition of *Boetius*, though conceived in ſuch terms as might miniſter occaſion of wrangling in ſubtle diſputes; doth notwithſtanding imprint a more lively character or notion of the Everlaſting God his infinite happineſs, than *Aquinas* definition doth, though very artificial: [*Æternitas eſt duratio manens, uniformis, ſine principio, & fine, menſurâ carens*] *Eternity, is a duration uniform, and permanent, without beginning or end, uncapable of meaſure.*

4. But * *Plotin* (in mine opinion) gives a more deep and full ap-

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* Ac ſi quis æternitatem ita deſcripſerit, ſcilicet vitam jam infinitam ex eo quod ſit univerſa; nihilq; amittat, cum nihil vel præterierit, vel ſit futurum, alioquin jam tota non eſſet: is profecto proximè ad definitionem ejus accedet. Quod enim deinceps ſubditur, ſcilicet totam eſſe, nihilq; amittere, expoſitio quædam eſt ejus quod dicebatur, ſcilicet (vita jam infinita) *Plotin. Emead.* 3. *lib.* 7. *cap.* 4. *pag.* 329.

prehenſion of it in fewer terms; [*Æternitas eſt vita infinita*] *Eternity is infinity of life.* And ſuch we gather it to be, becauſe it is the univerſity or totality of life, and can loſe nothing, in that nothing of it is paſt, nothing to come. He adds withal, that theſe terms of *Being, All, whole*, or *loſing nothing*, are added only for explication of that, which is ſufficiently contained in theſe words, *Infinite life.* In the ſame Treatiſe he excellently obſerves, when we ſay, *That is Eternal*, which *always is:* (as the Greek *αἰῶν verbatim* ſignifies) this * *alway*, is added for declaration ſake, and yet being aſſumed to expreſs the uncorruptibleneſs, or indeficiency of that which is *Eternal*; it breeds a wandring imagination of plurality or indiviſibility of duration. The beſt medicine, by his preſcription, for purging our brains of this erroneous fancy, were to enſtyle *Eternity* only with the name of *Entity* or *Being*. But as *being* is a name ſufficient to expreſs *Eſſence*, and *Eſſence* it ſelf, or *Eſſence* independent a full expreſſion of *Eternity*: yet becauſe ſome Philoſophers compriſe Generation, or the *being* of things generable under the name of Eſſence, it was behooveful for our better inſtruction, to ſay, *that is Eternal*, which always is, and cannot ceaſe to be. Whereas in true Philoſophical contemplation, it is not one thing, *ruly* to be, and always to *Be*. There is no greater difference betwixt theſe two, than to be a Philoſopher, and to be a true Philoſopher. Now there can be no truth in ſaying, he is a Philoſopher, who is no true Philoſopher, for [*ens & verum convertuntur*] *The Entity of every thing neceſſarily includes the truth of every thing.* Notwithſtanding becauſe ſome do counterfeit Philoſophy, or falſly uſurp the name of Philoſophers; we give the title with an addition to ſuch as well deſerve it, and enſtyle them, by way of *difference* from the others, *true Philoſophers.* And in like manner, when we ſay, *That is eternal*, which always is; we ſeek to notifie no more by this univerſal note, *Always*, then that it hath a true and no counterfeit, no ſecond-hand or dependent *Being*.

* Non aliud quiddam eſt ens, aliud vero ſemper ens, ſicut neq; aliud eſt Philoſophus, aliud vero Philoſophus verus. Veruntamen quia nonnulli Philoſophiam ſimulant adjunctim eſt Philoſophus verus. *Sic* & enti ipſum ſemper & ipſi ſemper adjungitur Ens, adeò ut dicatur *αιον* i. ſemper ens, unde dicitur æon. i. ævum. Quapropter ſic accipiendum eſt ipſum ſemper cum ente, ut vere ens nobis ſignificet. *Plotin. Emead.* 3. *lib.* 7. *cap.* 4. *p.* 329.

Another ſecondary and ſubordinate uſe of the univerſal ſign, *always*, added to *entity*, is, to intimate the interminable, indiſtinguiſhable *and indiviſible power*, which needeth nothing beſides that which it actually and for the preſent hath. Now it hath *All*, that is or can be, in that it truly *Is*: for true *entity* is abſolute *totality*, and unto *totality* nothing is wanting. But that which is in time comprehended, how perfect or total ſoever it may be in its kind, beſides other wants, alway needs ſomewhat to come, never fully beſped of time. On the contrary, that which ſo is, as it needs no after *being*, and cannot be brought within the liſts of time, either determinate, or in ſucceſſion infinite, but now hath whatſoever is expedient to be had: this is that which our notion of Eternity hunteth after. That which thus is, hath not its Eſſence or Being delivered unto it enwrapt in quantity, but is precedent to all quantity or menſuration. Far otherwiſe have things generable their *being*, as it were ſpun out from diviſibility. The very firſt Being which they have ſuppoſeth quantity, and as much as is cut off from the *draught* or extenſion of their duration, ſo much they loſe of their Being or Perfection.

5. Ignorance of this Plotinical Philoſophy hath much perplext ſome Logitians, queſtioning *whether Socrates* in the inſtant of his diſſolution or corruption, be a man or corps, or both. To be both implys a contradiction; theſe two negative propoſitions being ſimply convertible, No Corps can be a Man, no Man can be a Corps.

And yet there is as much reaſon, that he ſhould in this inſtant be both as either. For true reſolution we are to ſay, He was a Man, and ſhall be a Corps, or he ceaſeth to be the one, and begins to be the other. But the Being or exiſtence of both being menſurable by time, muſt needs be diviſible, and for this reaſon, not comprehenſible by an *inſtant* which is indiviſible. But *Plotins* concluſion is, whilſt we ſeek to fit that which truly is, with any portion of meaſure or degree of quantity, the life of it being thus divided by us, loſeth its indiviſible Nature; We muſt then leave it (as it is) *indiviſible*, as well in life or operation, as in Eſſence, and yet infinite in both.

Of time, no part truly is, but the preſent, which is never the ſame: and as one queſtioned (in that age wherein the Art of Navigation was imperfect) whether Navigators were to be reckoned amongſt the dead or the living: So is it more doubtful then determinable, whether time participate more of Being, or of not Being; yet as is time, ſuch is the nature of things brought forth in time. But *Eternity* (being the duration of *Him* who only *Is*, Being made of none, but Maker of all things, and the diſpenſer of Time it ſelf into its portions) as * *Ficinus* deſcribes it, is a fixed inſtant or permanent Center, which needs no ſucceſſion for ſupply; *all-ſufficient* to ſupport it ſelf, and all things elſe. The ſame Writer not unfitly compares *Eternity* to a Center in a Circle; and time to the Points or extremities of the Lines in the Circumference, always ſo moving about the Center, that were it an *eye*, it might view them all at once. Yet muſt we not hold *Eternity* to be indiviſible, after the ſame manner that points or Centers are. Theſe are indiviſible, becauſe they want the perfection of that quantity, whoſe parts they couple. *Eternity* is indiviſible by poſitive *infinity*, as containing all the parts or perfections poſſible of ſucceſſion in a more eminent manner, then they can be contained in Time it ſelf, which (as *Plato* wittily obſerves) is a moveable image of *Eternity*. This difference betwixt the indiviſibility of an inſtant or moment, and Eternity, may perhaps make the ſolution of that ſeeming contradiction leſs difficult then it is to ſome great School-mens apprehenſions: [*Petrus in æternitate ægrotat, Et, Petrus in æternitate non ægrotat.*] *Peter is ſick in Eternity, Peter is not ſick in Eternity.* This affirmation and denial, in one and the ſame indiviſible inſtant or limited portion of time, would infer an indiviſible contradiction, which in eternity they do not. And yet is Eternity more indiviſible than an inſtant, but indiviſible after another manner.

* Ad 7. Plotin. lib. Ennead. 3.

6. But I know not how it comes to paſs, that the true ſhadow of perfection it ſelf, is oft-times more apparant in things moſt imperfect. Natures more perfect (by a borrowed perfection) hold the mean between them; Out of both we may ſpell more than we can put together, for right expeſſing the Nature of perfection it ſelf. The prime matter, though of things created moſt imperfect, is of creatures ſublunary, moſt like unto the Creator, in being ingenerable and incorruptible; in that it is the *Alpha* whence all things generable ſpring, and the *Omega* into which they are reſolved: Yet is the prime matter moſt contrary to its Maker, in that wherein it doth reſemble Him. It is in a ſort or manner, all things generable, but perfectly nothing, as wanting the true unity of Entity, or determinate Being. The Creator or Eſſence it ſelf, is the incomprehenſible perfection of all things, without participation of their imperfections. The Earth again is like the Eternal Founder in permanency and immobility, but this

it hath from its natural dulneſs; whereas the perfection of this ſhadow is in Him from the infinite vigour of his vitality. The ſwift motions of the Heavens, or motion as ſwift as we may imagine, is as a middle tearm of proportion between the Earths immobility, and the ſupermotion, or more then infinite mobility of the Deity, which we tearm the infinite vigour of his vitality. *Inſtants* in this are moſt like *Eternity*, in that an infinite number of them added together, yeilds no increaſe of quantity: Nor doth Eternity receive addition from ſucceſſion infinite, which moſt unlike it in being diviſible, doth yet better expreſs the poſitive infinity of it, than *inſtants* can do. Eternity again, is like a fixed Center, becauſe indiviſibly immutable; yet withal moſt like a circle. And *Triſmegiſts* deſcription of the Deity, *commutatis communtandis*, as well exemplifies the Eternity, as the immenſity of his Nature. Eternity is a circular duration, whoſe *inſtants* are, *always*, whoſe *terminations* or *extremities* never *were*, never *ſhall be*: It is coexiſtent to ever parcel of time, but not circumſcriptible by any: ſucceſſion infinite cannot be coequal to it. For albeit the motion of the Heavens, or other notifications of duration diviſible, ſhould continue the ſame, without interruption or End: yet every period and draught of time, we can imagine, ſhall ſtill fall within Eternity, now totally exiſtent; and which hath been, is, and ever will be unto every minute or ſcruple of time, that hath been, is, or ſhall be, alike everlaſtingly coexiſtent, not by acquiſition of any new ſucceſſive parts, but by indiviſible and interminable unity.

7. We cannot perhaps properly ſay, that God ſhall be after all times or durations to come; for duration muſt flow from *His Everlaſting Being* without end. And what can be after that which hath no end? And here we ſuppoſe, that albeit time or duration ſucceſſive had their actual beginning with the creatures: yet there ſhall be, or may be, if not a time, yet ſome duration ſucceſſively infinite. And that only is after this manner, infinite, unto which ſomewhat of the ſame kind may ſtill be added. Thus, as in the continued and diviſible quantities, [*non datur minimum.*] There is no fraction ſo little, but may be leſs; and as in numbers [*non datur maximum*] there is no number ſo great, but it may be made greater by addition: ſo in ſucceſſive duration [*non datur ultimum.*] It may be truly ſaid to laſt for ever, becauſe it can have no laſt portion. But howſoever we cannot properly, or without expoſing our ſpeech to captious exceptions, ſay, that *Eternity* ſhall be after all time or duration ſucceſſive; (ſeeing this may ſeem to import, that duration or ſucceſſion ſhall finally ceaſe:) yet that *Eternity* (being *duration*, actually, interminably and indiviſibly, not ſucceſſively, *infinite*) now is, and ever was, as infinitely preexiſtent or precedent to all ages, or ſucceſſions comming towards us, one way; as it is and was to the Worlds Nativity, or the firſt outgoings of time, the other way. This is a point which we muſt believe, if we rightly believe God to be Eternal, or know what Eternity is. A point, which would to God they had ſeriouſly and in heart conſidered, which have had Gods Eternal decree and the awards of it, moſt frequently in their mouths and pens. As he is no Chriſtian that would deny whatſoever is by God decreed, was ſo decreed, before all Worlds: So is he no Chriſtian Philoſopher, much leſs a true Chriſtian *Divine*, that ſhall refer or retract the tenor of this ſpeech [*Before all Worlds*] to that only which is paſt, before the World began. Whatſoever can be more properly ſaid or

conceived to be paſt, then to be yet to come, or to be in every moment of time deſignable, can have no property of Eternity. For that only is Eternal, which always is, and ſo always is, that it hath precedence or preexiſtance infinite to all ſucceſſions, which way ſoever we look upon them, or take their beginning, whether backwards or forwards. It was a great overſight (or rather want of inſight into the nature of this great Sphere or viſible world) in *Lactantius*, (otherwiſe a learned Chriſtian) not only to deny there were any Antipodes, but to cenſure the Philoſophers (which had gone before him) of groſs ignorance or infatuation, for avouching this truth, now manifeſted to meaner Scholars, or more illiterate Chriſtians, than any which *Lactantius* taught. A greater ignorance it would be, in us which acknowledge this truth, to ſay theſe Antipodes were under the Earth, and the inhabitants of *Europe* and *Africa* only above it; or that the Heavens were as far under our Antipodes, as they are above us. For whoſoever walks on the Earth, whether in this Region or that, whether at the half or full Antipodes, is above the Earth. And every part of the Heavens unto which the looks of men are erected, as well the *Nadir* as the *Zenith*, as well the *South Pole* as the *North Pole* is above the Earth. And as the Heavens are every way above the Earth, ſo is *Eternity* every way before all Worlds, before all times. As we believe this viſible World and all things in it, had a beginning; ſo we expect it ſhall have an end: Now the eye of Eternal Providence looks through the World, through all the ſeveral ages, ſucceſſions, or durations in the World; as well from the laſt end to their firſt beginning, as from their firſt beginning to their laſt end. There is no period of time to us imaginable, which is not ſo invironed by Eternity, as the Earth or Center is with the Heavens; ſave only that the Heavens are finite, and Eternity infinite. So that the Heavens though far every way, are no way infinitely above the Earth; whereas Eternity or Gods *Eternal* decree, are every way infinitely before all Worlds, before all times. In this ſenſe, were it poſſible, the World might have been Created, or motions continued from everlaſting: the *Eternal*, notwithſtanding, ſhould have been everlaſtingly before them. For that period of motion which muſt terminate the next Million of years, ſhall have coexiſtence with Eternity now exiſtent; whoſe *infinity* doth not grow with ſucceſſion, nor extend it ſelf with motion; but ſtands immovable with times preſent, being Eternally before times future, as well in reſpect of any ſet draught or point, whence we imagine time future to come towards us, as in reſpect of the firſt revolution of the Heavens, whence time took beginning. Or, to ſpeake as we think, it is impoſſible to conceive any duration to be without beginning, and ending, without conceiving it circular, and altogether void of ſucceſſion. Notwithſtanding, if any liſt to imagine time both ways everlaſting; the continuity of it may be beſt conceived by the uninterrupted flux of an *inſtant*; and the ſtability of Eternity, by the retraction of ſuch a perpetual *flux* into one durable or permanent inſtant.

8. Or, not to ſuffer the remembrance of childiſh ſports altogether to paſs without any uſe or obſervation, if not for compoſing ſome greateſt controverſies amongſt Learned Men, yet for facilitating contemplation in one of the greateſt difficulties, that Philoſophy, whether ſacred or humane, affords to the conceit of the moſt curious.

The difficulty is, how Eternity being permanent and indiviſible, ſhould have coexiſtence with ſucceſſion or motion. We have ſeen a Top turn ſo ſwiftly upon the ſame Center, in a manner, that it ſeemed rather to ſleep or reſt, than to move. And whilſt it thus ſwiftly moved, any bright mark or conſpicuous ſpot, how little ſoever, ſeemed to be turned into an entire and permanent Circle. Seeing motion thus ſwift, may be procured by a weak Arm, it will be no hard ſuppoſal to conceit that a *mover* of ſtrength and vigour infinite, ſhould be able to move a body in a moment. Admit then the higheſt viſible Sphere ſhould be moved about in a moment; all the ſeveral parts of ſucceſſive motion, which now it hath, would be contracted into perfect unity: which whether it ſhould be called a ceſſation from motion, or a vigorous reſt, or a *ſupermotion*, actually containing in it parts of motion ſucceſſively infinite, were not ſo eaſy to determine. If thus it were moved about in an inſtant, the nature of it ſuppoſed to be incorruptible, and the *mover* immortal, remaining ſtill in the ſame ſtrength and mind; he would not move it more ſlowly this day or year, than he did the former. This ſuppoſition admitted, there ſhould be not only parts ſucceſſively infinite of one revolution, but revolutions ſucceſſively infinite in one and the ſame inſtant. Or to ſpeak more properly; As theſe revolutions ſhould not properly be termed motion, but rather the product of motions infinitely ſwift, united or made up into a vigorous permanency: ſo ſhould not the duration of one or of all theſe revolutions be accounted as an inſtant or portion of time, but a kind of Eternity or duration indiviſibly permanent. The motion of the eight Sphere ſuppoſed to be ſuch as hath been ſaid, that is motion infinitely ſwift, or not diviſible by ſucceſſion; the Sun moving ſucceſſively as now it doth, ſhould have local coexiſtence to every Star in the eight Sphere, to every point of the Ecliptick Circle wherein it moves, at one and the ſelf ſame inſtant, or in every leaſt parcel of time. Every Star in the eighth Sphere, every point ſhould be converted into a permanent Circle; and ſo in one Circle there ſhould be Circles for number infinite, as many Circles as there be points or diviſibilities in the Ecliptick Circle. Thus in Him that is Eternal, are *Beings* infinite, and in *Eternity* are actually contained durations in ſucceſſion infinite. The former ſuppoſition admitted, we could not ſay that the inferiour Orbs, moving as now they do, did move after the eight Sphere, but that the times of their motion were eminently contained in it. For the eight Sphere being moved in an inſtant, ſhould loſe the diviſibility of time, and the nature of motion, with all the properties that accompany them, not by defect, (as if it no way compriſed them,) but by ſwallowing up time or diviſion ſucceſſively or potentially infinite, into an actual permanency. By this ſuppoſition of paſſive motion made infinitely ſwift, by the ſtrength of the mover, and improved into a kind of actual indiviſible permanency, we may conceive of the firſt Movers Eternity, as Mathematicians conceive the true nature of a Sphere, by imagining it to be produced by the motion of a *Semicircle* upon the Axis. For let the Eternal be but thus imagined to be an intellectual Sphere, capable of momentary motion or revolution throughout this World; and the indiviſible coexiſtence of his infinity, to every part of time and place, will be very conceiveable. Yet as Mathematicians perſwade not themſelves, their figures are produced by motion, but rightly conceive their nature to be ſuch without production, as any if they were ſo produced: ſo let Eternal duration be eſteemed more indiviſible, than the unity of motion conceived as infinitely ſwift, yet not made indiviſible by ſuch ſwiftneſs of motion, but indiviſible only of it ſelf, and by the infinite vigour of his vital Eſſence, wherein all the perfection of motion or reſt, are (if I may ſo ſpeak) indiviſibly tempered, or (leſt I ſhould be miſtaken) eminently contained. The ſame proportion which motion contracted into ſtability hath unto ſucceſſion, hath divine Eſſence to all other Eſſences, *eminently* containing all, no one kind *formally*. This divine Eſſence, whoſe eſſential property we conceive Eternity to be, is truly the *totality* of being; * a totality not *aggregated* of parts, but rather (as *Plotine* intimates) producing all other parts or kinds of *Being*. *Eternity* likewiſe is a totality of duration, not aggregated of parts, nor capable of acceſs or addition; but rather a totality from which all durations or ſucceſſions flow, without reſolution or diminution of its infinite integrity. As if a body ſhould caſt many ſhadows of divers ſhapes in a running ſtream, the ſhadows vaniſh and are repaired in every moment, without any diminution of the body.

CHAP. VII.

Of the infinity of Divine Power.

1. THE circumſtances of time and place are preſuppoſed, the one as ſpectator, the other as ſtage to all things, which wanting place or time, or being it ſelf, preſent themſelves anew in their proper ſhape and form. But of things ſo preſented, operation or power in their kind is the native and immediate property. Nothing that hath any proper ſeat or exiſtence numerable in this ſpacious *Amphitheatre*, but is fitted for acting ſome part or other uſeful for the maintenance of the whole. Now all operation or power, which (according to the variety of things created) is manifold and diverſe, doth give but ſuch a ſhadow of that infinite power, which is eminently contained in the union of infinite Eſſence, as time and place did of his immenſity and Eternity. The force and vertue of ſome things may perhaps more properly be termed ſtrength or power paſſive, then operation. Howbeit even in the Earth and Earthly Bodies, by nature moſt dull, there is a power or ſtrength to ſuſtain weights laid upon them; a power to reſiſt contrary impulſions, which perhaps eſſentially includes an active force or operation; a power of ſwaying to the Center, which is no more paſſive than active, but a mean betwixt both. Even in the dulleſt body that is, there is a ſecret force or ſlow activity to aſſimilate other things to themſelves, or to preſerve ſymbolizing natures. In bodies leſs groſs and more unapt to reſiſt violence offered, as in the winds, vapours, or exhalations, or in the Spirits or influences which guide our bodies, we may perceive an active force or power motive fully anſwerable to the greateſt paſſive ſtrength or reſiſtance. Other Elements or mixt bodies, are indued with an operative power of producing the like, or deſtroying contraries. Celeſtial Bodies, the Sun eſpecially, have a productive force to bring forth plants out of their roots, to nouriſh and continue life in all things. It is perhaps impoſſible, for any

* De hac duplice totalitate, vide Marſil. Ficinum ad 7. Plotin. lib. Enneadis. 3.

any thing, that hath not being of it ſelf, to receive infinity of being in any kind from another, though infinite. Impoſſible for the fire, becauſe the ſubſtance of it is finite, to be infinitely hot; but were it ſuch, it would be infinite in operation.

2. As the Author or firſt ſetter forth of all things operative, who alone truly *is*, ſurpaſſeth all conceit of any diſtinct or numerable branch of *being:* ſo is his power more eminently infinite in every kind, than all the united powers of ſeveral natures, each ſuppoſed infinitely operative in its own kind, and for number likewiſe infinite, can be conceived to be. Now what was generally obſerved before, that things by nature moſt imperfect, do oftentimes beſt ſhadow Divine perfections, hath place again in this particular. Gods infinite power is clearlieſt manifeſted in Creatures which ſeem leaſt powerful. *Where waſt thou* (ſaid God to * *Job*) *when I laid the Foundations of the Earth? declare if thou haſt underſtanding. Who hath laid the meaſures thereof, if thou knoweſt? Or who hath ſtretched the line upon it? Whereupon are the Foundations thereof faſtened? or who laid the Corner Stone thereof?* The excellent Majeſty of this Speech, ſufficiently teſtifies it was uttered by God himſelf, though taken from his mouth, by the Pen of Man. But ſetting aſide the majeſtick phraſe or reſemblance, far ſurmounting all reſemblance, all obſervance of poetical *decorum*; What clearer Fountain of deeper admiration, can the eye of mans underſtanding look into, then this, that not only every corner ſtone in the World with its full burthen, but all the mighty buildings or erections, which are ſeen upon the whole ſurface of the earth; yea the whole Earth it ſelf, with all the Mountains and Rocks upon it, with all the metals or maſſie ſubſtance that are within it, ſhould be born up by that which is leſs than any Corner ſtone, by that which indeed is no body or ſubſtance, not ſo much as a meer Angle or Corner. Yet ſo it hath pleaſed *Him*, by whoſe wiſdom the Foundations of the Earth were laid, to make that little point or indiviſible Center; which is fartheſt removed from our ſight, the moſt conſpicuous place and ſeat of that indiviſible power which is infinite. Let Mathematicians imagine what rules or reaſons of equipendence they liſt, their laſt reſolution of all ſupportance into the Center, muſt ſuppoſe the ſame truth which the Ægyptian Magicians confeſſed, [*Hic digitus Dei eſt*] *The finger of God is here.* Impoſſible it were for *that*, which in it ſelf is matter of nothing, impregnably to ſupport all things ſupportable; unleſs it were ſupported by the finger of God. And yet if we conceive of *Him*, as *Iſaias* deſcribes *Him*, all the ſtrength and power that is manifeſted in the ſupportance of the whole Earth, and all therein, is not the ſtrength of his little finger. Yea though we ſhould imagine, that as the weight of ſolids amounts according to their maſſe or quantity: ſo the ſuſtentative force, which is Chambered up in the Center, ſhould be multiplied according to the ſeveral portions or diviſibilities of magnitude ſucceſſively immenſurable: yet this imagination of force ſo multiplyed, it being diviſible, could not equalize that true and real conceit of force divine, which ariſeth from conſideration, that it is indiviſibly ſeated, throughout immenſity. To uphold Earths innumerable much weightier and maſſier than this is, which born by him, beareth all things; would be no burthen to his power ſuſtentative: (ſo from the effects, his power, though in it ſelf one, muſt receive from us plurality of denominations.) And yet fully commenſurable

* Cap. 38. verſ. 4,5,6.

to this power ſuſtentative, is his active ſtrength or power motive. He that ſpans the Heavens with his fiſt, could toſs this Univerſe with greater eaſe, than a Gyant doth a Tennis Ball, throughout the boundleſs Courts of immenſity. Rocks of Adamant would ſooner diſſolve with the leaſt fillep of his finger, than bubbles of water with the breath of Cannons.

3. Our admiration of this his active power, which we conceive as incomprehenſible, and altogether uncapable of increaſe, may be raiſed by calculating the imaginary degrees of active powers increaſe in Creatures diviſible, as well in quantity, as operation. Though Powder converted into ſmoak, be the common mother of all force, which iſſueth from the terrible mouth of the Gun: yet the Cannon ſends forth his Bullet (though more apt to reſiſt external motion) with greater violence than the *Sachar*: and every *Ordinance* exceeds other in force of battery, according to the quantity of the charge or length of Barrel. But were it poſſible for the ſame quantity of ſteel or iron, to be as ſpeedily converted into ſuch a fiery vapour, as Gunpowder is; the blow would be ten times more irreſiſtible then any, that Gunpowder out of the ſame cloſe concavity, can make. The reaſon is plain; the more ſolid or maſſy the ſubſtance to be diſſolved, is, the greater quantity would it yield of fire, or other other rarer ſubſtance, into which it were diſſolved. And the greater the quantity, the more violent is the contraction of it into the ſame narrow room: and the more violent the contraction is, the more vehement is the eruption, and the ejaculation ſwifter. Thus from vapours rarified or generated in greater quantity, than the concavities of the Earth, wherein they are impriſoned without vent, is naturally capable of; do Earthquakes become ſo terrible: Theſe and the like experiments bring forth this general rule, *The active ſtrength of bodies multiplieth, according to the manner of contraction or cloſe unition of parts concurring to the impulſion or eruption*: So doth the active force or vigour of motion, always increaſe according to the degrees of celerity which it accumulates. Now though the moſt active and powerful Eſſence cannot be encompaſſed with Walls of Braſs, nor Chambred up in Vaults of Steel, albeit much wider than the Heavens; yet doth it every where more ſtrictly gird it ſelf with ſtrength then the leaſt or weakeſt body can be girt. For what bonds can we preſcribe ſo ſtrict, ſo cloſe or firm, as is the bond of indiviſible unity, which cannot poſſibly burſt or admit eruption, wherein notwithſtanding infinite power doth as intirely and totally Encamp it ſelf, as in Immenſity. How incomparably then doth His active ſtrength exceed all conceit or compariſon? The vehemency of his motive power, whoſe infinite Eſſence ſwallows up the infinite degrees of ſucceſſion in a fixed inſtant, and of motion in vigorous reſt; cannot be expreſt by motion ſo ſwift and ſtrong, as would bear level from the Sun ſetting in the Weſt, to the Moon riſing in the Eaſt. To caſt the fixed Stars down to the Center, or hoiſe the Earth up to the Heavens, within the twinkling of an eye, or to ſend both in a moment beyond the extremities of this viſible World, into the womb of vacuity whence they iſſued, would not ſtrain his power motive. For, all this we ſuppoſe to be leſs then to bring nothing unto ſomething, or ſomething to ſuch perfection, as ſome of his Creatures enjoy. Howbeit even ſuch as take the fulleſt meaſure of perfection from his immenſity, muſt derive their pedigree by the mothers ſide, from meer

nothing or vacuity. *Homo*, ſaith St. *Auſtin*, *terræ filius*, *nihili nepos*; Man is the ſon of the earth, and the grandchild of nothing. And when he ſhall come unto the height of his glory, he cannot forget, he muſt remember that the worm was his ſiſter, and the creeping thing the ſon of his mother. To produce as many worlds out of nothing, as the Sun each year doth Herbs or Plants out of the moiſtned Earth, would breed no cumbrance to his power or force productive. To maintain, repair, or continue all theſe in the ſame ſtate, whilſt he makes as many more, would neither exhauſt nor hinder his conſervative vertue. Multiplicity or variety greater than we can imagine of works moſt wonderful, all managed at one and the ſame time, could work no diſtraction in his thoughts, no defatigation in his *Eſſence*. From the unity of theſe and the like branches of power, all in him moſt eminently infinite, doth the *attribute* of Omnipotency take its denomination, whoſe contents, ſo far as they concern the ſtrengthning of our faith, ſhall hereafter be unfolded.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the infinity of the Divine Wiſdom. That it is as impoſſible for any thing to fall out without Gods knowledge, as to have exiſtence without his power or eſſential preſence.

1 BUt power in every kind thus eminently infinite, could not be ſo omnipotent, as we muſt believe it; did it not in this abſolute unity of all variety poſſeſs other branches of being, according to the like eminency or infinity of perfection. Strength or power, if meerly natural or deſtitute of correſpondent wiſdom, to comprehend, manage, and direct it, might bring forth effects in their kind truly infinite, whoſe *ill* forcaſt or untowardly combinations, nevertheleſs, would in the iſſue argue lamentable impotency, rather then *omnipotency*. And hard it would be to give inſtance almoſt in any ſubject, wherein a double portion of wit matched with half the ſtrength, would not effect more, or more to the purpoſe, then a triple portion of ſtrength, with half ſo much wit. *Archimedes* did not come ſo far ſhort of *Polyphemus* in ſtrength or bulk of body, as the wonderful works wrought by his Mathematical ſkill, did exceed any that the Gyant could attempt.

2 Every choice is better or worſe accordingly as it more or leſs participates of true wiſedom: And moſt unwiſe ſhould that choice juſtly be eſteemed, which would not give wiſdom preheminence to power. Knowledge then, might wiſe men chooſe their own endowments, would be deſired in greater meaſure then ſtrength, *Wiſdom*, ſaith the *Wiſeman*, *is the beginning of the ways of God*. And ſhall not that branch of *being*, by which all things were made, by which every created eſſence hath its bounds and limits, be poſſeſt by Him, (who gave them *being* and ſet them bounds,) without all bounds or limits! above all meaſure? Yes, whatſoever branch of *being* we could rightly deſire or make choice of before others: the inexhauſtible fountain of *being* hath not choſen, but is naturally poſſeſt of, as the better. And

therefore if we may ſo ſpeak, though both be abſolutely infinite; his wiſdom is greater then his power, to which it ſerves as guide or guardian. And as the excellency of the Artificers ſkill often recompences the defect of ſtuff or matter: ſo the infinity of wiſdom or knowledge ſeems, in a manner, to evacuate the neceſſity of power or force diſtinct from it. Howbeit I will not in this place, or in our native dialect, enter that nice diſpute, which ſome Schoolmen have done; *Whether Gods Eſſence and Knowledge be formally his Power.* But whilſt we conceive *Power* and *Wiſdom* as two attributes formally diſtinct, (at leaſt, to ordinary conceipts,) we may conceive *Wiſdom* to be the father, and *Power* the mother of all his works of *wonder.* As for *Philo* and other *Platonicks* that make Knowledge the mother of all Gods works, it is probable they dreamed of a created *Knowledge,* or perhaps under theſe termes, they cover ſome transformed *Notion* of the ſecond perſon in Trinity, who is the *Wiſdom* of the Father, by whom alſo he created all things: who as he is the only begotten Son from Eternity, ſo is he likewiſe a joint *Parent* of all things created in time by the Father; as *Eve* was in ſome ſort *Adams* daughter, and yet a true mother of all that call him father. But here we ſpeak not of that wiſdom of God, which is perſonal; but of the wiſdom of the Godhead, as is is eſſentially and indiviſibly infinite in the whole Trinity.

3. Wiſdom, as all agree, is the excellency of Knowledge, from which it differs not, ſave only in the dignity or uſefulneſs of matters known, or in the more perfect manner of knowing them. Though no man be wiſe without much knowledge, yet a man may know many things, and not be very wiſe. But if we ſpeak of Knowledge divine, not as reſtrain'd in our conceipt to this or that particular, but ſimply, as it comprehends all things, the name of Wiſdom in every reſpect beſt befits it: for though many things known by him, whilſt compared with others more notable, ſeem baſe and contemptible; yet not the meaneſt, but may be an object of divine contemplation to a Chriſtian, that conſiders not the meer matter or form, or phyſical properties, but the Creators power, or ſkill manifeſted in it. How much more may the vileſt creatures, whilſt he looks upon his own work in it, and the uſe whereto he appointed it, be rightly reputed excellent? He knows as much of every Creature, as can be known of it, and much more than man poſſibly can know: and thus he knoweth not only all things that are, but all that poſſibly may be. This argues wiſdom truly infinite; whoſe right conceit muſt be framed by thoſe broken conceipts which we have of the model of it.

4. Of *Wiſdom* then or uſeful Knowledge, the parts or offices are two: The one ſtedfaſtly to propoſe a right end: The other, to make and proſecute a right choice of means for effecting it. Humane wiſdom is oft-times blind in both, and uſually lame in the latter. Neither can we clearly diſcern true good from apparent; nor do our conſultions always carry even, to the miſtaken marks whereat we aim; but be the end propoſed good or bad, ſo it be much affected, the leſs choice of means is left, the more eagerly we apply our ſelves unto their uſe, and ſtrive as it were, to ſtrain out ſucceſs by cloſe embracing them. And for this reaſon, ignorance or want of reaſon to forecaſt variety of means for bringing about our much deſired ends, is the mother of ſelf-will and impatience. For what is ſelf-will, if a man ſhould define it, but a ſtiff adherence to ſome one or few parti-

cular means, neither only nor chiefly neceſſary to the main point? And wits conſcious of their own weakneſs, for conquering what they eagerly deſire, preſently call in power, wrath, or violence, as partial or mercenary ſeconds to aſſiſt them. Whereas he that out of fertility of invention, can furniſh himſelf beforehand with ſtore of likely means for accompliſhing his purpoſe, cannot much eſteem the loſs or miſcarriage of ſome one or two. Howbeit, as mans wit in this caſe is but finite, ſo his patience cannot be compleat. Even the wiſeſt will be moved to wrath or violence, or other foul play, if the game whereat he ſhoots be fair and good, and moſt of his ſtrings already broken. Nor can he be abſolutely ſecure of good ſucceſs, ſo long as the iſſue is ſubject to contingency, and may fall without the Horizon of his foreſight and contrivance. But Wiſdom infinite doth compleatly arm the Omnipotent Majeſty (if I may ſo ſpeak) with infinite patience and long-ſuffering, towards ſuch as every minute of their lives violently thwart and croſs ſome or other particular means, which he had ordained for his glory and their good. *He is light,* ſaith the Apoſtle, *and in him is no darkneſs.* He diſtinguiſheth the fruits of *light* from fruits of *darkneſs*, before they are, even before he gave them poſſibility of *being*. As impoſſible it is for his will to decline from that which he diſcerns to be truly good, as for his infinite Eſſence to ſhrink in *being*. Many things may (as every thing that is evil doth) fall out againſt his will, but nothing without his knowledge, or beſides his expectation. That which in its own nature (as being made ſuch by his unalterable decree) is abſolutely contingent, is not caſual in reſpect of his providence or eternal wiſdom. In that he fully comprehends the number of all means poſſible, and can mix the ſeveral poſſibilities of their miſcarriage, in what degree or proportion he liſt: he may, and oft-times doth, inevitably forecaſt the full accompliſhment of his propoſed ends, by multiplicity of means, in themſelves not inevitable, but contingent. So that ſucceſs is only neceſſary to the laſt, yet not abſolutely neceſſary unto it. All the neceſſity it hath is oft-times gotten by caſual miſcarriage of the poſſibilities beſtowed upon the former: as if he ordained the apprehenſion of a Traytor, or of a Malefactor, by an hundred means, all by the immutable decree alike poſſible, and equally probable; if ninety and nine do miſs, the hundreth and laſt, by the rules of Eternal Wiſdom, muſt of neceſſity take. But in that it was poſſible for the former to have *taken*, ſucceſs falls to this laſt, not by abſolute neceſſity, but as it were by lot; for it might have been prevented by the former, by ſuppoſal only of whoſe miſcariage it is now neceſſary. And yet ſucceſs it ſelf, or the accompliſhment of the end propoſed by infinite wiſdom was abſolutely neceſſary and immutable.

5. There is a fallacy, though the ſimpleſt one that ever was ſet to catch any wiſe man, wherein many excellent wits of theſe latter ages, with ſome of the former, have been pitifully intangled. The ſnare, wherein it were not poſſible for any beſides themſelves to catch them, they thus frame or ſet, *Whatſoever God hath decreed, muſt of neceſſity come to paſs: But God hath decreed every thing that is: Therefore every thing that is, comes to paſs of neceſſity. All things are neceſſary at leaſt in reſpect of Gods decree.* The extract or corrallary whereof, in brief is this: *It is impoſſible for ought, that is not, to be: for ought that hath been, not to have been, for ought that is, not to be; impoſſible for ought to be hereafter, that ſhall not be.* But if it be (as

here I ſuppoſe) very conſonant to infinite wiſdom; altogether neceſſary to infinite goodneſs; and no way impoſſible for infinite power, to decree contingency as well as neceſſity; or that ſome effects ſhould be as truly contingent, as others are neceſſary; a concluſion quite contradictory to that late inferred, will be the only lawful iſſue of the former Maxim, or major propoſition matched with a minor of our chuſing. Let the major Propoſition ſtand as did it before, [*Whatſoever God hath decreed muſt of neceſſity come to paſs*] with this additional, *Nothing can come to paſs otherwiſe than God hath decreed it ſhall or may come to paſs.* The minor Propoſition, which (if our choice may ſtand) ſhall be conſort to the major, is this, *But God hath decreed contingency as well as neceſſity*, or, *that ſome effects ſhould be as truly contingent, as others are neceſſary*; *Therefore of neceſſity there muſt be contingency, or effects contingent.* The immediate conſequence whereof is this, *There is an abſolute neceſſity, that ſome things which have not been, might have been*; *That ſome things which have been, might not have been*; *That ſome things which are not, might be*; *That ſome things which are, might not be: That ſome things which ſhall not be hereafter, might be. That ſome things which ſhall be hereafter, might not be.* But as ill weeds grow apace, ſo the late mentioned errour once conceived, was quickly delivered of a ſecond, which derived the infallible certainty of *Gods* foreknowing things future, from an infallible neceſſity (as they conceived it) laid upon them (before they had being) by his immutable decree. But every wiſe decree pre-ſuppoſeth wiſdom, and wiſdom eſſentially includeth knowledge: ſhall we then grant that Gods Knowledg is antecedent, and his fore-knowledge conſequent to his Decrees? or ſhall we ſay that he did inevitably decree the obliquity of Jewiſh blaſphemy againſt his Son, becauſe he did moſt certainly foreknow it? or, that he did therefore certainly foreknow it, becauſe he had irreſiſtibly decreed it? Moſt certain it is, that he did as perfectly foreſee or foreknow all the obliquities of their malice and blaſphemy againſt Chriſt, as he did their very acts or doings: if thoſe could be diſtinguiſhed from their acts or doings. Briefly, to admit the former concluſion; *That the Eternal fore-knows all things, becauſe he decrees them*; *or, that they are abſolutely neceſſary in reſpect of his decree*; were to impriſon his infinite wiſdom, in his ſelf-fettered *power*; to reſtrain the Eternal Majeſty from uſing ſuch liberty in his everlaſting Decrees, as ſome earthly Monarchs uſurp in cauſes temporal or civil: For, *Papa nunquam ligat ſibi manus*; *The Pope* (as they ſay) *never tyeth his own hands, by any Grant or Patents:* which is a fault in him; only becauſe he is otherwiſe very faulty, and unſufficient to ſupport or weild ſo high a prerogative with upright conſtancy. But, in that *Holy* and mighty *One*, the reſervation of ſuch liberty (as anon we intimate) is a point of high perfection.

6. That to be able to decree an abſolute contingency as well as neceſſity, is an eſſential branch of *Omnipotency* or power infinite, ſhall (by the aſſiſtance of this Power) be clearly demonſtrated in the Article of Creation. That God did omnipotently decree a contingency in humane actions, that the execution of this decree is a neceſſary conſequent of his communicative goodneſs, (a conſequent ſo neceſſary, that unleſs this be granted, we cannot acknowledge him to be truly good, much leſs infinitely good) ſhall (by the favour of this his Goodneſs) be fully declared in the Treatiſe of mans fall, and of ſins entrance into the World by it. That which in this place we take as granted, is, *That Gods wiſdom is no leſs infinite than his power*; *that he perfectly fore-*

fore-knows, whatſoever by his omnipotency *can be done; that his power and wiſdom are fully commenſurable to his immenſity and eternity; that all theſe rules following, are exactly parallel in true Divinity.*

Gods preſence is not circumſcriptible by the coexiſtence of his Creatures; he is in every one of them as a Center, and all of them are in him as in a circumference capable not of them only but of all that poſſibly can be; only uncapable of Circumſcription or equality.

His Eternity is more than commenſurable to time or any duration of created Entities: It is in every duration as a permanent inſtant; and all durations are contained in it, as a fluent inſtant in a ſet time, or as noon-tide in the whole day.

His Power likewiſe may not be confined to effects that are, have been, or ſhall be: the production of every thing out of nothing, argues it to be truly infinite; and yet the production of all, is to the infinity of it, not ſo much as a beam of light which is ſtrained through a Needles eye, is to the body of the Sun, or to all the light diffuſed throughout the world.

Leaſt of all may his infinite *wiſdom* be comprehended within thoſe effects which by his power have been produced, or which it now doth or hereafter ſhall produce. But look how far his *immenſity* exceeds all real or compleat ſpace, or his Eternity ſucceſſion, or the duration of things created, or his *Power* all things already reduced from poſſibility to actual exiſtence; ſo far doth his infinite *Wiſdom* ſurmount the moſt exact knowledge, that can be imagined, of all things already created and their actions. Nothing that is, could have born any part in the world, without the light or direction of his Knowledge: and yet that meaſure of his Knowledge which can be gathered from the full harmony of this Univerſe, is leſs in reſpect of it abſolutely conſidered, then skill to number Digits, is to the entire or exact knowledge of all proportions or other Arithmetical rules or affections, that can ariſe from their Multiplications or Diviſions. The cauſes, properties, and hidden vertues of each thing created, are better known to *Him*, than ſo much of them as we ſee or perceive by any other ſenſe, is to us: and yet he knows whatſoever by infinite power poſſibly might have been, but now is not, whatſoever hereafter may be, though it never ſhall be; as perfectly as he doth the things which at this inſtant are, heretofore have been, or hereafter muſt be.

7. The *ſubject* wherein this his incomprehenſible *wiſdom* exhibits the moſt lively and ſureſt apprehenſions, for drawing our hearts after it in admiration; is the harmony or mixture of contingency with neceſſity. And this, moſt conſpicuous in moderating the free thoughts of Men or Angels, and ordaining them to the certain and neceſſary accompliſhment of his glory. The contingent means which by his permiſſion and donation, theſe Creatures may uſe for attaining their ſeveral ends, or private good, may be ſucceſſively infinite. And yet, albeit the utmoſt poſſibilities of their varieties and inconſtancies, were reduced to act, the *ends* notwithſtanding, which his infinite wiſdom hath fore-caſt in their Creation, ſhould by any courſe of many thouſands, which they may take, be as inevitably brought to paſs, as if no choice or freedom had been left them; or as if every ſucceeding thought had been drawn on by the former, and all linked to that which he firſt inſpired, or by his irreſiſtible power produced, with indiſſoluble chains of Adamantine Fate. We would eſteem it great wiſdom or cunning (to uſe Saint *Auſtines* illuſtration) in a *Fowler* to be able to

catch again all the Birds, which he had formerly caught, after he had permitted every one of them to take wings and flye which way they liſted. God hath nets every where ſpred, for catching ſuch as his wiſdom ſuffers to flye fartheſt from him, or moſt to decline the ways which in his goodneſs he had appointed for them: and (which is moſt of all to be admired) the very freedom or variety of mens thoughts, ſo they be permitted to employ them according to their own liking, becomes their moſt inevitable, and moſt inextricable ſnare. For all their thoughts are actually numbred in his infinite wiſdom, and the award of every thought determinately meaſured, or defined by his Eternal Decree. So far is freedom of choice or contingency from being incompatible with the immutability of Gods will, that without this infinite variety of choice or freedom of thought in Man and Angels, we cannot rightly conceive him to be as infinitely wiſe, as his decree is immutable.

8. Free it was for me to have thought or done ſomewhat in every minute of the laſt year, whereby the whole frame of my cogitations or actions for this year following might have been altered: and yet ſhould God have been as true and principal a cauſe of this alteration, and of every thought and deed thus altered; as he is of thoſe that *de facto* are paſt, or of that which I now think or do. Nor ſhould his will or pleaſure (as ſome object) depend on mine, but mine though contingently free, neceſſarily ſubject unto his. For unto every cogitation poſſible to Man or Angel, he hath everlaſtingly decreed a proportionate end: to every antecedent poſſible, a correſpondent conſequent; which needs no other cauſe or means to produce it, but only the reducing of *poſſibility* (granted by his decree) into Act. For what way ſoever (of many equally poſſible) mans will doth encline, Gods Decree is a like neceſſary cauſe of all the good or evil that befalls him for it. Did we that which we do not, but might do; many things would inevitably follow, which now do not. Nor do the things, which at this inſtant befall me, come to paſs, becauſe *he* abſolutely decreed them, and none but them (as we ſay) in the firſt place; But becauſe *he* decreed them as the inevitable conſequents of ſome things, which *he* knew I would do, which notwithſtanding *he* both knew and had decreed, that I might not have done. For whatſoever I ſhould have done and have left undone, there was a real poſſibility to have done it; though not inherent in me, yet *intituled* unto me in particular by Gods Decree; until ſome demerit of mine or my fore-fathers, did cut off the *entail*, and interrupt the ſucceſsful influence. For here I will not diſpute, how far the ſins of Parents may prejudice their Children; but theſe terms *ſhould*, or *might*, being referred to matters of duty; are as infallible ſigns in Divinity, as in Grammar, of a *potential*, what we *ſhould* have done, or *might* have done, was poſſible for us to have done, by that Decree whence all power and poſſibility, not meerly Logical, is derived. So then, both that which might befall me if I did otherwiſe, and that which now befalls me doing as I do, flow alike immediately from the abſolute neceſſity of his Eternal Decree: whoſe incomprehenſible wiſdom herein appears moſt admirable; that though the variety in this kind were infinite, yet ſhould it comprehend all; not one thing could fall without the actual circumference of it.

9. The general reaſon, why moſt Chriſtian Writers are more able and apt both to conceive right, and to ſpeak more conſequently to

what they rightly conceive, concerning other branches of Divine abſolute *infiniteneſs*, than concerning his infinite knowledge, is, becauſe all Creatures without exception, are true participants of Gods other Attributes, beſides his wiſdom or knowledge. For even the meaneſt Creature, the worm or Gnat, hath a portion of that being, of that power, of that duration, which in him are infinite: and that portion of theſe Attributes which they have, or that quantity of being which they have, is a participation of his Immenſity. But of his knowledge or wiſdom, Men and Angels (the manner of whoſe knowledge is to men for the moſt part unknown) are of all his Creatures the only participants. And (as hath been obſerved before) thoſe rules are always the moſt clear and certain, and moſt eaſily gathered; which are gathered from an uniform identity of particulars, in variety of ſubjects. Thoſe Univerſal Rules (on the contrary) are hardly gathered, or (without accurate obſervation) are leſs certain, which can be experienced only in ſome one or fewer ſubjects. Another ſpecial reaſon why we do not conceive ſo Magnificently or ſo Orthodoxally of Gods knowledge as were fitting; is, becauſe we want fit terms to expreſs them in. For ſeeing words are taken as the proper veſture of our thoughts and conceipts; and ſeeing moſt men are apt to conceive or judge rather according to the veſture or outward appearance of things, than according to the inward truth: it is almoſt impoſſible for us not to transform the manner of Gods knowledge or Decrees, into the ſimilitude of our own conceipts, conjectures, or reſolutions; ſo long as we put no other veſture or expreſſions upon Gods Decree or knowledge, than were fitted for our own. To ſalve this inconvenience, or to prevent the occaſion of this errour, * Saint *Gregory* moves this doubt: How we can ſay there is any præſcience or fore-knowledge in God, ſeeing only thoſe things can be properly ſaid to be fore-known, which are to come: whereas we know, that nothing is future unto God, before whoſe eye, no things are paſt; things preſent do not paſs by *Him*, things future do not come upon *Him*. Whatſoever hath been to us, is yet in his view; and whatſoever is preſent, may rather be ſaid to be *known* than *fore-known*. To the ſame purpoſe St. *Auſtine* would have Gods knowledge of things which are to come, to be termed rather *ſcience* than *præſcience* or fore-ſight; ſeeing all things are preſent to God. But theſe two great lights of the Latine Church, with ſome others that follow theſe for their guides, have not in this argument expreſt themſelves ſo clearly or ſo accurately, as that their expreſſions can paſs without queſtion or exception in the Schools. We may not ſay (nor did Saint *Auſtine* or Saint *Gregory*, as I preſume, think) that God doth not ſee or know a diſtinction between times paſt, preſent, or to come, more clearly than we do. If then he diſtinguiſh times preſent from times paſt or future, how is it ſaid by Saint *Gregory*; that nothing to him is future, nothing paſt? If theſe differences of time or of ſucceſſion be real; the *Eternal* knows theſe differences much better than we do. And if he know a difference between things preſent, paſt, and to come; *to be preſent, paſt, or to come*, is not all one in reſpect of his *Eternal knowledge*. If God, as all grant, be before all worlds; his knowledge being coeternal to his being, muſt needs be before all worlds. And Saint *Auſtine* himſelf grants a *ſcientia* a *ſcience*, or knowledge in God moſt infallible, of all things that have been, are, or ſhall be; before they are, were, or could be; for they could not be coeternal to him, who is before all worlds, the *beginning* of the world it ſelf, and of all things in it. Now all knowledge of things not yet preſent, but to come, is fore-knowledge: to determine or decree things future, is to pre-determine or fore-decree them. And ſeeing God from Eternity hath both known and decreed the things that then were not; he is ſaid to have fore-known and fore-decreed them. So then God fore-knows, and man fore-knows; God hath decreed, and Man hath decreed. But the difference between the manner of their fore-knowing and decreeing, being not oft-times well expreſſed by learned Writers or Teachers, and ſeldom duly conſidered by their Readers or Hearers; the identity of words wherewith we expreſs our own fore-knowledge and Gods fore-knowledge, begets a ſimilitude of conceipt, or will hardly ſuffer us rightly to conceive the true difference between the nature and manner of *humane wiſdom*, and *wiſdom divine*. And this hath been the Fertile Nurſery of many errours in this Argument, which now and hereafter we ſhall endeavour to diſplant; imitating the Heralds, who are often enforced to give the ſame Coat to divers parties; but always with ſome difference, remarkable to ſuch as are converſant in the myſteries of their Art.

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* Quomodo eſt præſcius, dum nulla niſi quæ futura ſunt, præſciantur? Et ſcimus quia Deo futurum nihil eſt, ante cujus oculos præterita nulla ſunt, præſentia non tranſeunt, futura non veniunt: quippe quia omne quod nobis fuit & erit, in ejus proſpectu preſto eſt; & omne quod præſens eſt, ſcire poteſt potiùs quam præſcire. *Greg. lib. 10. in Job. cap. 24.* *Et Paulo poſt*, In illo, nec præterita, nec futura reperiri queunt, ſed cuncta mutabilia immutabiliter durant; & quæ in ſeipſis ſimul exiſtere non poſſunt, illi ſimul omnia aſſiſtunt, nihilq; in illo præterit quod tranſit: quia in æternitate ejûs modo quodam incomprehenſibili, cuncta volumina ſæculorum tranſeuntia manent, currentia ſtant. *Vide Petrum Damianum in Ep. 4. de omnipotentia, & Ludovicum Ballaſter Hierologiæ, Cap. 3.*

10. Our knowledge of things to come is many ways imperfect; (and fore-knowledge only) becauſe the duration neither of our knowledge, nor of our ſelves, as yet can reach unto that point of time, wherein things ſo known, get firſt exiſtence. We look on them as on things afar off, which we expected to meet; for as things paſt reſemble moveables going from us, ſo things future ſeem to come upon us. And whiles they get being, which before they had not; we get continuance of being, and of knowledge, which before we had not; that is; we gain a real coexiſtence with them: for if the days, or thred of our life ſhould be cut off before the things fore-known by us come to paſs, or get actual being; we could not poſſibly have coexiſtence with them: Such being or duration as they have, is too ſhort the one way, and our exiſtence too ſhort the other way; to make up this knot or bond of mutual relation, which we call *coexiſtence*: There muſt be on our part, a continuation, or lengthning of that exiſtence which we have; and on their part, a growth into that actual being, which whilſt they are meerly future, they have not; before we and they can be truly ſaid to exiſt together. Now if we ſhall *mold* the manner of Gods fore-knowledge of things future in our own *conceit* or *fore-knowledge* of them, we ſhall erroneouſly collect; that, ſeeing we cannot infallibly fore-know future *Contingents*, ſo neither could they be infallibly fore-known by God; if to him or in reſpect of his decree, they were contingents, and not neceſſarily pre-determined.

And ſome there be, which puſh our proneneſs to this errour forward, by another; not diſtinguiſhing between contingency and uncertainty, they argue thus;

That which is in it ſelf uncertain, cannot certainly be known:
Every future contingent is in it ſelf uncertain:
Ergo, *it is not poſſible, that a future contingent ſhould certainly be known.*

But they conſider not that there is a two-fold uncertainty: one formally relative: another only denominative or fundamental. That which is relatively uncertain, cannot be certainly known; for ſo it ſhould be certain to him, to whom it is uncertain. But a future contingent, as it is contingent, doth not neceſſarily or formally include this relative uncertainty; although it uſually be in part the Foundation or Cofounder of it. For relative uncertainty, or that uncertainty which is ſo termed with relation unto knowledge, reſults partly from the nature of the object, ſuppoſe a future Contingent or Event mutable; partly and more principally, from the imperfection of the knowledge, in reſpect of which it is ſaid uncertain. But the ſame effect or event, which is in part the *foundation of uncertainty*, with reſpect to finite or unperfect knowledge, may be the diſtinct or proper object of knowledge in it ſelf infallible, or of knowledge infinite. Now if we grant, that there is any knowledge in it ſelf infallible, we cannot imagine that any thing poſſible (yet is every future Contingent, though we conſider it as contingently future, poſſible) ſhould be uncertain unto ſuch knowledge. We ſhould again conſider, that the *Eternal Providence*, doth neither know or fore-know Contingents future, by interpoſed or expiring Acts; but by interminable and Eternal Knowledge, in which there is no ſucceſſion, nothing future, nothing paſt. And without the interpoſition of ſome determining or expiring Acts, there can be no errour in men; no man errs while he is in the ſearch of truth, or whilſt he ſuſpends his Judgment. Take then away the imperfection of our knowledge or judgment, whilſt it is in ſuſpence; which is ignorance, rather then errour; and it better reſembles Divine Knowledge, than our actual reſolutions or determinations do.

11. The beſt knowledge which we can have of things contingent, is but conjectural: and of things meerly caſual, we cannot have ſo much as a true conjectural knowledge; for, thoſe things we term caſual, which are without the reach or Sphear of our fore-caſt or conjecture. And hence it is, that the actual exhibition of any event, whether caſual or contingent, doth always *actuate*, *increaſe*, or *perfect* our knowledge. The true reaſon why we cannot certainly foreknow events contingent, is becauſe our *Eſſence* and *Knowledge* are but finite: ſo that things contingent are not ſo contained in us, that if we could perfectly know our ſelves, we might perfectly know them. But in the Divine Eſſence all real effects, all events poſſible, whether neceſſary, caſual, or contingent, are *eminently* contained, the perfect knowledge of his own Eſſence, neceſſarily includes the perfect knowledge not only of all things that have been, are, or ſhall be, but of all things that might have been, or poſſibly may be. For as Gods Eſſence is preſent in every place, as it were an ubiquitary center; ſo is his Eternity or Infinite duration indiviſibly coexiſtent to every part of ſucceſſion; and yet withal is round about it. He it is, that drives things future upon us, being from Eternity as well beyond them, as on this ſide of them. Though he ſhould create other Creatures without the circumference of this world, they ſhould be all within his preſence; without which, it is impoſſible ought beſides him, ſhould have any exiſtence: yet ſhould he not properly gain any new exiſtence in them, but only take a denomination of coexiſtence with them; becauſe they have exiſtence in him, which before they had not. Thus, admitting the branches of Contingency or indifferent poſſibilities never reduced to act, to be in our apprehenſion numberleſs; yet whenſoever any

thing comes to paſs, which might not have been, it cannot fall without the Sphear of Gods actual knowledge, which is fully commenſurable to *Eternity* and *Immenſity*; and therefore is not only coexiſtent to every ſucceſſive act, but doth environ whole ſucceſſion. And whether of ſuch things as poſſibly may be, more or fewer be reduced to act; nothing accrues to Eternal Knowledge, no new act can be produced in it, by the caſual event; but only that which was Eternally known, having now gotten actual coexiſtence with Eternity, beſtows this extrinſical denomination upon the Eternal Creator, *It was foreknown from Eternity*; that is, in plain language, known, when it was not, by him that more properly always indiviſibly *is*, then *was* before it. And being ſuch, his knowledge of things, which, in reſpect of us are only future and foreknown, doth as truly reſemble, or rather contain our knowledge of things paſt or preſent, as of things to come. Now for us to apprehend a thing paſt, under the nature of a thing contingent, is not impoſſible. And though we certainly know it to be already paſt, yet this certainty of our knowledge, doth not perſwade us, that is came to paſs certainly, or inevitably; but is very compatible with our conceipt of its contingency or caſual production, whilſt it was preſent. Our knowledge of ſuch things paſt or preſent, is neceſſary; but the event it ſelf is not therefore neceſſary, nor to be termed neceſſary in reſpect of our knowledge. Much leſs may we ſay, either that contingent effects are neceſſary, or that no effects are not neceſſary, in reſpect of Gods decree or foreknowledge of them. For if we believe that Gods foreknowledge of all events to come, be they of what kind they poſſibly may be, is more clear and more infallible than our beſt knowledge of things paſt or preſent; the neceſſary infallibility of his knowledge, can neither add any degree of neceſſity to the nature of the events foreknown, nor take one jot of contingency from them. God ſhould not be abſolutely infinite either in Eſſence or in Knowledge, if the abſolute *infallibility* of his foreknowledge, or the impoſſibility of his not erring in his predictions, were in it ſelf grounded upon, or to be inferred by us, from the abſolute neceſſity of the event, rather than from the abſolute *infinity* of his wiſdom. For thoſe effects which being otherwiſe in their Nature *contingent*, it is in our power (by Gods permiſſion, by circumſpection and forecaſt) to alter by laying a neceſſity upon them, which before they had not; we are able (after this neceſſity laid upon them by our ſelves) infallibly to foreknow and foretel, albeit our knowledge ſtill remain but finite. Now, that ſome events, which are to day, in themſelves and by Gods decree, truly contingent, may by our induſtry and circumſpection, become to morrow truly neceſſary, no intelligent Chriſtian Divine will (I hope) deny; or if any do deny it, we ſhall be able (by Gods aſſiſtance) poſitively to demonſtrate the truth of this our aſſertion, and withal demonſtrate the dangerous inconveniences of the contradictory opinion, in the Treatiſe of *Divine Providence*. In the mean time, to finiſh this principal ſtem of *Divine Providence*, to wit, his infinite *Wiſdom*, and the dependance which things temporal have upon his eternal knowledge: Succeſſion we imagine as a ſcrole containing ſeveral *columes* of *contingency* or indifferent poſſibilities; of which only ſo many, or ſo much of any, as in revolution of time, take ink, and are unfolded, become viſible to Men and Angels. But the Almighty looketh on all things, as well from that end of time which is to come, as from that which is paſt: his Infinite and Eternal Wiſdom, doth not only encompaſs all things that come to paſs, as the Circumference doth the Center; but penetrates the whole ſcrole of ſucceſſion from end to end, and from corner to corner, more clearly then the Suns brightneſs doth the perſpicuous or purified Air. Thoſe Columes of meer poſſibilities never actuated, which his finger from Eternity hath drawn in Characters ſecret and inviſible to Creatures, are his like diſtinct and legible to his glorious Eye, as thoſe others whoſe firſt draught, being as ſecretly and inviſibly faſhioned by him, man or other ſecond cauſes by his concourſe, fill with actual or ſenſible exiſtence; as the Embroiderer doth the Drawers obſcure pattern, with conſpicuous Branches of Silk, Gold, or Silver.

12. But leſt we may be thought to read the Ancients with no greater reverence, than we do ſome Modern Writers from whom we freely diſſent, without any impulſion of envy or vaing lory, let us for concluſion of this long diſcourſe, a little reflect upon the teſtimonies before avouched out of S. *Auiſtine*, and out of S. *Gregory*. The truth then at which theſe two learned Fathers aimed, and which, in the charitable conſtruction of ſuch as read them with reverence, they did not miſs, may be fully compriſed in theſe obſervations folowing, which are but neceſſary extracts of what hath hitherto been delivered. Whereas S. *Gregory* ſaith, *unto God nothing is paſt, nothing to come*; the true conſtruction of his meaning is, that in Gods knowledge of things paſt, preſent, or to come, there is *nihil futurum, nihil præteritum*, no ſuch difference of time or duration, as we expreſs by theſe words, *future* or *paſt*: for it always is, and ſo perfectly always is, that nothing can be added to it by ſucceſſion or variety of events, be they neceſſary, cauſal, or contingent. But as his Eternal knowledge of all things, doth not make all things, which he knows, to be Eternal (no not in reſpect of his Eternal Decree or Knowledge, for he Eternally Decrees and knows things temporal and mutable:) ſo neither doth the immutable or abſolute certainty of his knowledge, make all things ſo known by him, to be immutable or abſolutely neceſſary, either in themſelves or in reſpect of his Eternal Knowledge. Only this we are bound to believe, and this is all that we may in this argument ſafely ſay: [Gods Knowledge of things mutable and unneceſſary, is abſolutely neceſſary, becauſe abſolutely infinite.] Again, it is moſt true which S. *Gregory* ſaith; that things future do not come upon God as they do upon us; that things preſent do not paſs by him, or from him, as they do from us. Whilſt things *preſent* paſs from us, we likewiſe paſs from them: for we continuolly loſe that portion of duration or coexiſtence which we had with them; always gaining whilſt our glaſs is in runnning, anew *erit* or lnik of coexiſtence with that which is next to come. Nothing, in this ſenſe, can paſs by God or from God, becauſe He always is, and the manner of his duration is indiviſible: He cannot loſe any exiſtence by antiquity, nor gain any new portion of duration, by everlaſting continuance. Times paſſing exonerate themſelves into the Ocean of his infinite duration, without inlarging it; times comming inceſſantly flow from it, without diminution of it. Times *future* again, are ſaid to come upon us, or to meet us; becauſe our duration or exiſtence cannot reach to future things, whilſt they are future: the very Angels are not of ſo long ſtanding or duration to day, as they ſhall be to morrow: unleſs things future did come towards them,

and as it were meet them, they ſhould have no coexiſtence with them. In this ſenſe, times future cannot be ſaid to come upon God, becauſe he always is, and exiſts every way before them. His *duration* is *yeſterday*, *to day*, *to morrow*, the ſame for ever; and every way the ſame without addition of quantity, without alteration of Nature or quality: and in it are all things that are. So much of being as things *future* can be ſaid to have, they have it in *him* and from *him:* ſo much of being as there remains of things *paſt*, remaineth in Him, and things *preſent*, even *Preſence* it ſelf, cannot for a moment ſubſiſt, without Him.

CHAP. IX.

Of Divine Immutability.

1. With theſe ſtems of Divine perfection hitherto expreſt, another preſents it ſelf to our contemplation, which ſome School-men have moulded in the ſame *conceipt* with *Eternity*; of which others conceive it to be the offspring. Us it ſufficeth, that the true explication of the former, confirms the truth of this attribute, whoſe brief explication we now ſeek. And perhaps, if I ſhould ſpeak properly, the Knowledge of it, is the Offſpring of our right Knowledge of the former. The attribute it ſelf, whoſe truth in former diſputes hath been ſuppoſed, is *Divine Immutability*; which may be thus demonſtrated.

2. All mutation ſuppoſeth a defect or imperfection, either in reſpect of the *term*, whence, or into which, the change is made; and therefore can have no place in abſolute or abſtract perfection, or in Eſſence infinite. More particularly, all mutation or change, is either in Eſſence, in quantity, in place, or in quality; under which we comprehend all vital endeavors, all acts of the Will or Underſtanding. In Eſſence or Nature, it is impoſſible the totality and Fountain of Eſſence ſhould admit any change, as impoſſible for him which hath no author of Being, not to be always what he is; as for that which now is not, to take his Being to it ſelf: unto infinite perfection (for ſuch he is) what can accrew? On the other ſide, nothing can fall from it, but muſt fall into him; ſeeing, He is in being infinite. And in that he filleth every place by his Eſſential Preſence, it is impoſſible he ſhould move from place to place, or be carried by any Circular motion, being indiviſibly and totally in every ſpace that can be imagined. And as his *Immenſity* could not be extended or contracted by extenſion of new Magnitudes, or by diminution or annihilation of the *old*; ſo neither can his *Eternity*, be ſhortned or lengthened by continuation of ſucceſſion, or expiration of time or motion. *Power*, in like ſort, truly infinite, can admit no intenſion or remiſſion, in endeavors; but moveth all things without motion, and worketh all things without labour or toyl inherent: For all things are made, and brought to nothing, by his ſole will or word. Nor ſpeaks he ought, which from Eternity he hath not ſpoken; albeit ſucceding ages have ſtill new meſſengers of his Eternal will and Word. *All Fleſh is as Graſs, and all the glory of man as the power of the Graſs; the Graſs withereth, and the Flower thereof falleth away. But the word*

of the Lord endureth for ever. And yet this was that word of the Goſpel, which ſeemed then firſt to be preached unto them.

3. All the difficulty wherewith fleſh and blood in this article are uſually aſſaulted, or ſeem to themſelves to be beſet, is, how his *will* or *counſaile* ſhould be Eternally immutable, and yet everlaſtingly free: but ſuppoſing, what we often promiſe, and once for all (by his aſſiſtance) ſhall undoubtedly prove; that abſolute contingency or *poſſibilities æquipendent* betwixtmany effects may as truly be the object of his Eternal decree, as neceſſity in other works of Nature: I ſee not what appearance of difficulty can preſent it ſelf, to ſuch, as bear the two former principles before mentioned *level* in their minds and thoughts; the one, that God *is abſolute infinite in Being:* the other, that *He is abſolutely perfect*, according to all the branches of *Being* or perfection by us conceivable; or more than all theſe, *Perfection it ſelf.* Now in things that have any better portion of Being, wherein they can truly delight; it is, to our apprehenſion, a degree or portion of perfection to have an immutable ſtate of ſuch *Being*; an imperfection, to be ſubject to alteration or change. But, whether their eſtate be mutable or immutable, it is a greater perfection to be free in their operations, than to be reſtrained to ſome one or few particulars, without any choice or variety of ſubjects, wherein they may exerciſe their operative faculties. Bruitiſh, or meerly ſenſitive Creatures have a delectable kind of *Being*, whoſe continuance they deſire; but without all variety of choice, or deſire of any better being, although the beſt being they have be ſubject to alteration or change. Men are free in their operations; but mutable and ſubject to alterations, as well in their Nature, as in their operations, or in the objects of their freedom; and yet are more excellent than the viſible Heavens, which are not obnoxious to alteration or corruption. So that, if the Heavens, or other incorruptible ſubſtances, had their freedom of choice, which men have; they would be more perfect and excellent Creatures than man is: Or, if man were as immortal as they are, he would be incomparably more perfect than they can be, without the *freedom* of choice or will, which (as we now ſuppoſe) is the inſeparable conſequent, or companion of *reaſon* or *intellectual knowledge*. But, though freedom be in it ſelf a great perfection; yet to be free to do evil, is a branch of imperfection, which ſprings from the mutability of the Creatures freedom. And this their mutability, though in it ſelf an imperfection, yet is an imperfection neceſſarily pre-required, or preſuppoſed to the perfection of the Creature. For no Creature can be truly perfect by Nature, but by the will and pleaſure of the Creator. And it is his will and pleaſure, to make them mutable, before they be immutably happy. But the Creator of all things, in that *He* is abſolutely perfect, even Perfection it ſelf, is Eſſentially immutable, Eſſentially free, and immutably happy; becauſe infinitely good. Yet if we compare theſe attributes amongſt themſelves *immutability* is the ground or ſupporter, not the Crown or perfection of *freedom*, but freedom rather the perfection of immutability. Yet were freedom in it ſelf, how perfect and compleat ſoever it were, no abſolute perfection, unleſs it were immutably wedded unto goodneſs. Abſolute *immutability* and abſolute *freedom*, may verywel ſtand together, even in our conceipts; ſo they be rightly joyned, or ſorted. To be freely immutable, implys a contradiction; if not unto the nature of immutability, yet unto the

Nature of abſolute perfection, or to our true conceipt of infinite Being. To be freely immutable, is a branch of imperfection or impotency; which might put all thoſe perfections, which are contained in that Nature which is no otherwiſe than freely immutable, upon the hazard. If the Divine Eſſence were freely immutable, or free in reſpect of his immutability, whether of Nature or goodneſs; it were poſſible for him to put off theſe two attributes, and to cloath himſelf with mutability, which is always charged with poſſibilty of doing amiſs. But to be immutably free, is no point of imperfection, but rather the period of perfection; and neceſſarily infers this perfection (which we call freedom) to be as unchangeable as the Attributes of power, of wiſdom, of Eternity, or goodneſs are. The excellency of his Nature and Eſſence neceſſarily includes an Eternal liberty or freedom in the exerciſe of his omnipotent power, and in the influence or communication of his goodneſs; Free it is for him, from Everlaſting to Everlaſting, omnipotently to decree as well a mutability in the actions of ſome things created, as a neceſſity or immutability in the courſe or operation of Nature inanimate: That the courſe of mans life, or the final doom awarded to every man (though that muſt be awarded unto all according to the diverſity of their courſes,) ſhould be immutable; becauſe they are foreſet by an immutable omnipotent Decree; hath no more colour of truth, than to ſay the Omnipotent Creator, muſt needs be *black* becauſe he made the Crows and Ebony black; or white, becauſe he made the Snow and Swans white; or green and yellow, becauſe he made the Gold yellow, and the Popinjays green: Or that he ſhould be of all colours, becauſe the Rainbow is his Creature. Let us believe then, that *He* is everlaſtingly and immutably free, to make Creatures of what kind it pleaſeth *Him*, that he hath printed a reſemblance of his freedom in the mutability of this inferiour World, and hath left a model of his immutability in the celeſtial and Immortal ſubſtances. But the more immutable *He* is, the more irreſiſtible we conceive his power to be: or the greater his wiſdom is, the leſs preventable the contrivances of it are: the worſe it would be with ſuch as have to deal with *Him*, were not his goodneſs (which is the rule of his Eternal Decree) immutably as great, as *He* himſelf, or his other Attributes are.

CHAP. X.

Of the Eternal and Immutable Decree.

FRom all, or moſt of the former ſpeculations, concerning the ſeveral branches of the divine Attributes or perfections, ſomewhat may be gathered, not unuſeful for rectifying or bettering our apprehenſions of Gods *abſolute and omnipotent decree.* A point, though in all ages moſt difficult, yet in this age become ſo common, and ſo far extended, that no Divine can adventure upon any other ſervice profitable for the preſent eſtate of Chriſts Militant Church, but he ſhall be enforced either to make his paſſage through it, or come ſo nigh unto it, that he muſt, in good manners, do homage unto it. That this Decree is for its tenour, immutable, (if we take it in the abſtract, or as it is in God) is clear from the attribute laſt handled; that the ſame Decree, is irreſiſtible in its executions, or that the things decreed are inevitable, is evident from the attribute of Gods infinite Power or Omnipotency. That this immutable irreſiſtable Decree, is Eternal, or before all Times, no man queſtions. Yet is it not agreed upon by all, either what a *Decree* is, or what it is to be *Eternal*. At leaſt the moſt part do not perfectly bear in mind, the true importances of an *Eternal Decree*. To this purpoſe have the former ſpeculations concerning *Eternity*, and Gods infinite *Wiſdom* been premiſed; Leſt, by the incogitant uſe of theſe and the like Scripture Phraſes, [*God foreknows* or hath *decreed* all things from *Eternity*;] that ſlumber might creep upon the unvigilant or unattentive Reader; with whoſe dreams many deceived, have thought and ſpoken of Gods Decree or predetermination of things to come, as of Acts already *irrevocably* finiſhed and accompliſhed; And by a conſequent errour, reſolve that it is as impoſſible, for any thing to be otherwiſe than it is, will be, or hath been; as it is to recall that again, which is already paſt. In which conceipt, though they do not expreſly ſpeak or think it, they neceſſarily involve thus much [That God by his Eternal and powerful Decree, did ſet the courſe of Nature a going with an irreſiſtable and unretractable *ſwindge*; and ſince only looks upon it, with an awful eye, as Maſters ſometimes watch their Servants, whether they go the way they are commanded] But it is a rule in Divinity, not contradicted, (for ought I know) by any Chriſtian, that there is altogether as great need and uſe of *Power* and *Wiſdom* infinite, to manage the world, as there was at firſt to make it, *Pater meus operatur adhuc* (ſaith the * Wiſdom of God) *& ego operor. My Father worketh hitherto, and I work.* And as he ceaſeth not to work, ſo doth he never ceaſe to decree. *Omnia* * *operatur ſecundum conſilium voluntatis ſuæ. He worketh all things according to the counſel of his Will.* So that albeit the counſel of his Will, by which he worketh, be Eternal; yet all things are not yet wrought by it. Shall we ſay then, he hath not decreed whatſoever doth or ſhall befal us? Yes, in this ſenſe we may, [He doth not now firſt begin to decree them] but in as much as his Decrees have no end, we ſhould remember withal, that he now decrees them. And it were much ſafer for every man in particular to look on Gods Decree concerning himſelf, as preſent or coexiſtent to his whole courſe of life; rather than on it, as it was before the world, or in *Adam*: for ſo we ſhall think of it, as of an Act paſt and finiſhed, which hath denounced ſentence upon us, more irrevocable than the Laws of the *Medes* and *Perſians*. Howbeit even theſe laws, whiles they were in making, ſuppoſe that Liberty in their Makers, which they uttterly took from them being once enacted.

*John 5. 17.

*Epheſ. 1. 11.

2. Gods Decrees are like theirs, in that they are in themſelves unalterable: but not in that they make ſome evils, which befal others, inevitable; or ſome caſual inconveniences, unamendable. No wiſdom, but that which is infinite, and an Eternal Law in it ſelf, foreſeeing all things that poſſibly can be, hath juſt warrant to make Decrees for men everlaſtingly immutable. Too ſtrict obligement unto Laws poſitive, or Decrees unalterable, deprives both Lawgivers and others of their native Liberty and opportunity of doing good. Were the *Popes* wiſdom and integrity parralel to that ſupereminent dignity, which he challengeth; it were not amiſs for the body whereof he is the lawful head, if he exerciſed the ſame power over his Grants or Acts, that he doth over his breath: always reſerving a liberty to ſend them

forth, or call them in, to enlarge, contract, or invert them, according to exigences or occaſions preſent. To alter his opinion of men, as they do theirs in points of uſeful doctrine, or their demeanours in matters of life; curbing him this year, whom he priviledged the laſt year; now puniſhing where he lately rewarded; and, ſhortly after, rewarding where now he puniſheth; would argue no mutability of mind, or unſettled fickle diſpoſition, but rather immoveable conſtancy; if ſo in all theſe changes he truly obſerved the rule of Juſtice, which becauſe it is always one and the ſame, and never varies, muſt needs afford different meaſures to different deſerts, and fit contrary diſpoſitions with contrary recompences. But ſeeing Princes and Governours, are made of the ſame corrupted mold with thoſe, whom they govern; oft-times expoſed by height of place, to greater blaſts of mutability, and inconſtancy, than their inferiours; Publick Laws have been ſought out by moſt Nations, to run like a ſtraight line, betwixt two diſtorted and crooked ones; and to be as a firm, or bar, between the tumultuous and raging paſſions of Princes and Subjects, which every foot (as we ſay) would fall foul were they not thus *fended* off, one from the other. Upon this conſideration many Conquerours have been content to ſheath up a great part of their illimited power (retaining ſome competent prerogatives to themſelves and their ſucceſſors) in publick Edicts or Laws, not altogether ſo unalterable as the Laws of the *Medes* and *Perſians*: yet leſs ſubject to change, then Lords purpoſes, or Princes pleaſures: and every Act whereto they paſs their conſent, reſtrains them of ſome former liberty, and abates ſomewhat of their preſent greatneſs; to whoſe length or continuance (as *Theopompus* obſerved) much by this means, is added; and it were better to live an hundred years, (as he ſaid) with ingenuous *health* and *ſtrength*, then to ſwagger it for twenty, with gyantly force, or Athletical conſtitution. And albeit the Law (which is a common looking-glaſs to direct the Prince in commanding, and the Subject in obeying) may ſometimes lay out authority, and ſometimes *obedience*, or inflict puniſhment one while, and diſpenſe rewards another while, in meaſure greater or leſs, than a wiſe and juſt Arbitrator, choſen for theſe particular purpoſes, would allow of; yet hath it been thought fitteſt for all parts, rather to brook theſe interpoſed miſchiefs, then to be perpetually ſubject to the former inconveniences of the Papacy; if the Popes (ſuch as they are) or other Princes ſhould practiſe according to the Canoniſts rule, *Papa nunquam ligat ſibi manus*, *The Pope never tyes his own hands*.

3. But the unerrabe rule of everlaſting Juſtice, who from Eternity decrees, whatſoever may be, and foreſees whatſoever will be, (becauſe Heaven and Earth may ſooner paſs than his word or Acts) *paſſeth* no act to the prejudice of his abſolute and Eternal power of Juriſdiction. What grant or promiſe ſoever he make, cannot bind the exerciſe of his everlaſting liberty, for a moment of time: they laſt no longer than *durante beneplacito*: ſeeing gracious *Equity*, and only it, is his everlaſting pleaſure. He ever was, ever is, and ever ſhall be, alike indifferent and free to recompence every man according to his preſent ways. And in that, he always ſearcheth the very heart and ſecret thoughts, and never ceaſeth to *decree*; his one and indiviſibly everlaſting decree, without any variety or ſhadow of change in it ſelf; fits all the changes, ſeveral diſpoſitions, and contingent actions of Men and Angels, as exactly, as if he did conceive, and ſhape a new

Law, for every one of them; and they are conceived and brought forth, as well befitting them as the skin doth the Body, which Nature hath enwrapped in it. No man living (I take it) will avouch any abſolute neceſſity from all Eternity, that God ſhould inevitably decree the depoſition of *Elies* line from the Prieſthood, or his two Sons deſtructions by the *Philiſtins*: For this were to bereave him of his Abſolute and Eternal liberty. I demand then, whether within the compaſs of time, or in Eternity, as pre-exiſtent to *Elies* days, he paſt any Act that could reſtrain his eternal liberty of honouring *Elies* Families, as well as any others in their time? To ſay, He did, were impiety; becauſe it chargeth the Almighty with impotent immutability. What ſhall we ſay then? The depoſition of his race, the ſudden death and deſtruction of his Sons, were not at all abſolutely neceſſary, but neceſſary only upon ſuppoſed miſcarriage of the poſſible means and opportunities, which he had given them for honouring him. And that Eternal Decree, [*They that diſhonour me, them will I diſhonour,*] as co-exiſtent to the full meaſure of this their tranſgreſſion, by it *ſhapes* their puniſhment.

4. To think of Gods Eternal Decree with admiration void of danger; we muſt conceive it, as the immediate *Axis* or Center, upon which every ſucceſſive or contingent act revolves: and yet withal, *that*, wherein the whole *frame* of *ſucceſſion* or *contingency* is fully comprehended, as an unconſtant moveable Sphere in a far greater quieſcent, or rather in ſuch a one (as in the deſcription of Eternity was imagined) which hath drawn all the ſucceſſive parts of motion, into an indiviſible unity of duration permanent. Every part of the larger Sphere (this, ſwallowing up motion, in vigorous reſt) ſhould have coexiſtence local with all and every part of the next moveable Sphere under it, move it as ſlowly and ſwiftly, as the latitude of ſucceſſive motion can admit. Whilſt we thus conceive of Gods Eternal Decree, and of his fore-knowledge, (included in our conceipt of it) according to the Analogy of what we muſt believe, concerning the manner of his *ubiquitary preſence* or *immenſity*: we ſhall have no occaſion to ſuſpect, that his neceſſary fore-knowledge of what we do, ſhould lay a neceſſity upon our actions, or take away all poſſibility of doing otherwiſe. Rather, we may by this ſuppoſal, believe that as probable, and perceive in part the manner how it is ſo, which ſhall by Gods aſſiſtance be demonſtrated to be *de facto* moſt true. As, firſt, that the Omnipotent doth eternally decree an abſolute contingency in moſt humane acts: Secondly, that this eternal Act or Decree (which we thus conceive to be throughout the whole ſucceſſion of time, in every place indiviſibly co-exiſtent to each humane thought or action) doth not only perpetually ſupport our faculties, but withal unceſſantly inſpire them with contingency in their choice: that is, it ſo moves them, as they may without let or incumbrance, move themſelves more ways then one: And yet, even whilſt it ſo moves them, it withal inevitably effects the proportioned conſequents, which from everlaſting were fore-ordained to the choices, which we make, be they good or bad; or according to the ſeveral degrees of good or evil done by us, or of our affections, or deſires to do them.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Of Tranſcendental Goodneſs: and of the Infinity of it in the Divine Nature.

1. IF in aſſigning reaſons of Maxims or Proverbial ſpeeches, we might not be thought to fetch light beyond the *Sun*; we ſhould ſay, Life unto things living is therefore ſweet, becauſe it is a principal ſtem of *being*, as ſweetneſs likewiſe is of *goodneſs*. However, we may reſolve this Phyſical Axiom, into a Metaphyſical: *Omne ens qua ens eſt bonum*; *Unto every thing, its own proper being is good.* Poyſon, though noyſom to man, to the Aſpe is pleaſant, ſo is venom to the Toad, and the Adder delighteth in his ſting. In things inanimate, there ſhould be no reluctance of contrary or hoſtile qualities, unleſs each had a kind of grateful right or intereſt in their own Being, and were taught by nature to fight for it, as men do for their lives or goods. This is that *goodneſs* which we call *entitative* or *tranſcendental.* A goodneſs equally, alike truly communicated to all things that are, from his goodneſs who only is; but not participated equally, or according to equality, by all. For as the leaſt veſſel that is filled to the brim, is as full as the greateſt that can be, and yet the quantity of liquor contained in them equally full, is moſt unequal: So, albeit the entitative being of the Fly, Ant, or Worm, be unto them as good as mans Being is to man: (For even the *Ant or Fly being vext*, or Worms trod upon, will bewray their ſpleen, and labour as it were to right themſelves, for the loſs or prejudice which they ſuffer in their Entitative goodneſs, by doing harms to their Tormentors) yet is mans Being ſimply much better then the Being of Ants or Worms. And much worſe were that Man, than any Beaſt, that with *Gryllus* in the Poet, would like to change his Humane Nature, for a bruitiſh. This exceſs of Entitative goodneſs, by which one Creature excelleth another, accreweth partly from the excellency of the ſpecifical Nature of Entity which it accompanyeth; as there is more Entitative goodneſs in *being* a *Man* than in *being* a *Lion*; and more in being a *Lion*, than in being ſome inferiour ignoble Beaſt: it partly accreweth according to the greater or leſſer meaſure, wherein ſeveral Creatures enjoy their ſpecifical Nature. Men though by nature equal, are not equally happy, either in body or mind. Bodily life in it ſelf is ſweet, and is ſo apprehended by moſt; yet is lothſom to ſome; who (as we ſay) do not enjoy themſelves, as none of us fully do. Senſitive appetites may be in ſome meaſure ſatisfied by courſe, not all at once. The compleat fruition of goodneſs incident to one, defeats another (though capable of greater pleaſure) for the time of what it moſt deſires. *Venter non habet aures*, *The Belly pinched with hunger muſt be ſatisfied with meat*, ſo muſt the thirſty throat be with drink, before the Ears can ſuck in the pleaſant ſound of Muſick, or the Eye feed it ſelf with freſh colours or proportions. Too much pampering bodily ſenſes, ſtarves the mind; and deep contemplation feeds the mind, but pines the body. *Of making many Books* (ſaith * *Solomon*) *there is no end*; *and much ſtudy is a wearineſs of the fleſh.* The more Knowledge we get, the greater capacity we leave unſatisfied; ſo that we can never ſeize upon the intire poſſeſſion of our own ſelves: and contemplation

* Eccleſ. 12. 12.

templation (as the wiſe King ſpeaketh) were vanity, did we uſe the pleaſures of it any otherwiſe, than as pledges or earneſt of a better life to come. And albeit man in this life, could poſſeſs himſelf as intirely as the Angels do their Angelical Natures, yet could not his Entitative goodneſs or felicity, be ſo great as theirs is; becauſe the proper Patrimony which he poſſeſſeth, is neither ſo ample nor ſo fruitful. God alone is *infinite*, in being *infinitely* perfect; and he alone *infinitely* enjoys his entire *being*, or perfection. The tenure of his *infinite* joy or happineſs, is infinitely firm, infinitely ſecured of being alway what it is; never wanting ſo much as a moment of time, to enlarge or perfect it by continuance, uncapable of any enlargement or increaſe for the preſent. But this Entitative or tranſcendental goodneſs, is not that which we now ſeek; whereto notwithſtanding it may lead us. For even amongſt viſible Creatures, the better every one is in its kind, or according to its Entitative perfection, the more good it doth to others. The trueſt meaſure of their internal or proper excellencies, is their beneficial uſe or ſervice in this great Univerſe, whereof they are parts. What Creature is there almoſt in this whole viſible Sphere, but ſpecially in this inferiour part, which is not beholden to the Sun; from whoſe comfortable heat, *Nothing* (as the * Pſalmiſt ſpeaks) *can be hid?* It is, at leaſt of liveleſs or meer bodies in it ſelf, the beſt and faireſt; and far the beſt to others. And God (as it ſeems) for this purpoſe, ſends forth this his moſt conſpicuous and goodly meſſenger, every morning like a Bridegroom bedeckt with light and comelineſs, to invite our Eyes to look up unto the Hills whence cometh our Help: upon whoſe tops he hath pitched his Glorious Throne, at whoſe right hand is fulneſs of pleaſures everlaſting. And from the boundleſs Ocean of his internal or tranſcendent Joy and Happineſs, ſweet ſtreams of perpetual Joy and Comfort, more unceſſantly iſſue, than light from the Sun, to refreſh this vale of miſery. That of men the chief Inhabitants of this great Vale, many are not ſo happy as they might be, the chief cauſes are; That, either they do not firmly believe the internal *Happineſs* of their Creator, to be abſolutely infinite, as his other Attributes are: or elſe conſider not in their hearts, that the abſolute *infinity* of this his internal happineſs, is an eſſential cauſe of goodneſs (in its kind, infinite) unto all others, ſo far as they are capable of it; and capable of all reaſonable Creatures, by Creation, are: none but themſelves can make them uncapable of happineſs, at leaſt, in ſucceſſion or duration, infinite. *Goodneſs* is the *nature of God*; and it is the nature of goodneſs to communicate it ſelf unto others, unto all that are not over-grown with evil: of which goodneſs it ſelf can be no cauſe or author.

* Pſal. 19. 9.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Infinity and immutability of Divine Goodneſs communicative, or as it is the pattern of Moral Goodneſs in the Creature.

1. THE Father of Epicures, will have more than his Sons to conſent with him, that imbecility and indigence, are the uſual Parents of Pity, Bounty, Kindneſs, or other like branches of communicative Humane goodneſs. Whilſt we need not others help, we little think in what need they ſtand of ours. The Prince in his jollity, can hardly compaſſionate the Beggars miſery: nor knows the Beggar how to bemoan decayed Nobles: whoſe condition is more miſerable than his own, though ſo it ſeems not unto him; who would think he had fully conquered want, were he but furniſhed with ſuch ſupplies of meat, drink, and cloathing, as theſe have always ready at hand. That ſympathy, which in liveleſs or reaſonleſs Creatures, naturally flows from ſimilitude of internal qualities, ſeldom breaks forth in men; but either from experimental remembrance of what lately hath, or from apprehenſion of what ſhortly may befall themſelves: ſight of the like Afflictions in others, as we have lately felt, revives the Phantaſms or Affections which were companions of our mourning; and by ſo pitying of our own former plight, we pity them.

2. But albeit *Epicurus* obſervation may ſeem in a manner Univerſal, whilſt applyed to its proper ſubject, *Man in his corrupt ſtate*; yet when he tranſcends, *à genere ad genus*, from our corruptible Nature to the Divine Nature, which is immortal; his inference is of the ſame ſtamp with thoſe fools inductions, that concluded in their hearts, *There was no God.* The Divine Nature (ſaith he) is not penetrable by mercy or pity: Why ſo? Will you hear a Bruit make *Enthymems?* Becauſe theſe find no entrance into the hearts of men, but through ſome breach of defect or indigence. It is well this ſlow-bellied evil beaſt, could grant mans nature not to be altogether ſo bad or cruel, as want might not tame it, and make it gentle and kind. But would not bruit beaſts, ſo they might ſpeak, diſclaim his concluſion; that true felicity, or fulneſs of all contentment poſſible, ſhould make the Divine Nature worſe, than want and miſery doth the Humane? Surely, there is ſomewhat elſe amiſs in that, which is made better by defect. Nor could wealth and honour make the Mighty unmindful of others, but by making them firſt forget themſelves. The externals whereon our deſires faſten, ſo captivate the Humane Soul, that ſhe cannot do as ſhe would, or as Nature teacheth her; but theſe ſtrings being cut, ſhe follows her native ſway. And in a good ſenſe it was moſt true, which a Maſter of a better Sect, than *Epicurus* founded, hath taught; *Nemo ſponte malus.*

3. Luſt in old Age, Pride in Beggars, and ſhifting in Men overflowing with Wealth, ſeem to tranſcend the nature of ſins, and are monſters in corrupted nature; becauſe, not begotten by temptations, they in a manner beget themſelves: yet ſcarce ſhall we find an old man ſo prone to Luſt, a rich man ſo delighted in ſhuffling, an Epicure ſo addicted to his pleaſure, or any at all ſo ill-affected either in

himſelf or towards other; that being askt, would not profeſs his deſire to deſerve well of others, to be liberal, to be upright, compaſſionate, juſt and bountiful. For though continuance in bad cuſtom, induce in a ſort, another nature; yet can it not tranſport any man ſo far beyond himſelf, or miſcarry his thoughts ſo much, but he ſhall feel ſome ſecret impulſions unto goodneſs, and ſome retractions from evil. But as * *Seneca* well obſerves, *It is no marvel that we do not amend what we know to be amiſs in our ſelves; ſeeing errors in every other myſtery or profeſſion, make the Profeſſor aſhamed: Only ſuch as err in matter of life and manners are delighted with their errors. The Marriner takes no delight to ſee his veſſel over-turned, nor the Phyſician in ſending his Patient before his time unto his grave. The Orator rejoyceth not when his Clyent is through his error overthrown. Contrariwiſe, every criminous perſon is delighted with his crime. One ſolaceth himſelf in Adultery, and taketh courage to proſecute his deſires from the very difficulty of accompliſhing them. Another delights in over-reaching others, and in theft; never diſpleaſed with his faultineſs, until it prove unfortunate. All are apt to diſſemble their faults, being content when they fall out fortunately, to reap the fruit of them, whilſt they ſubduct the faults of them; but, a good conſcience delighteth to ſet it ſelf forth and to have notice taken of it, whereas naughtineſs is afraid of darkneſs it ſelf.* And as *Epicurus* elegantly ſaith, *A Malefactor may have the hap, but not the aſſurance to be undiſcovered. But* (as this Author replies) *what avails it him, not to have his naughtineſs diſcovered, without hope or aſſurance that it ſhall not be diſcovered.* His concluſion is, *Naughtineſs may be ſafe, but it can never be ſecure.*

* Quod pleroſque inemendabiles facit, omnium aliarum artium peccata, artificibus pudori ſunt offenduntq; errantem in vita peccata delectant. Non gaudet navigio Gubernator everſo, non gaudet ægro Medicus elato; non gaudet Orator, ſi patronis culpa reus cecidit. At contra, omnibus crimen ſuum voluptati eſt. Lætatur ille Adulterio, in quod irritatus eſt ipſa difficultate: lætatur ille circumſcriptione furtoque nec ante illi culpa, quam culpæ fortuna diſplicuit. Id prava conſuetudine evenit. Alioqui ut ſcias, ſubeſſe animis, etiam in peſſima abductis, boni ſenſum, nec ignorari turpe, ſed negligi, omnes peccata diſſimulant, & quamvis feliciter ceſſerint, fructu illorum utuntur, ipſa ſubducunt. At bona conſcientia prodire vult, & conſpici. Ipſas nequitia tenebras timet. Elegantur itaque ad Epicuro dictum puto, Poteſt nocenti contingere ut lateat, latendi fides non poteſt. Aut ſi hoc modò meliùs hunc explicare poſſe judicas ſenſum: Ideo non prodeſt latere peccantibus, quia latendi etiam ſi facultatem habent, fiduciam non habent. Ita eſt, tuta ſcelera eſſe poſſunt: ſecura non poſſunt. *Seneca Epiſt.* 97.

4. The reaſon why their naughtineſs can never be warranted with ſecurity, is; becauſe conſcience in men moſt vicious, ſtill bears evidence againſt them; that they live not as ſhe would have them. For (as *Seneca* in the ſame place well obſerves) *Though bad cuſtom may work a delight in naughtineſs, yet even in minds drencht in the very dregs of filthineſs, there ſtill remains a ſenſe of goodneſs: nor is it ſo much our want of knowledge, as of our right eſtimate of what we know to be nought, which maketh naughtineſs to be ſo little abhorred.* The mind of man, in that it is indued with reaſon, hath the rules of equity imprinted in it; which it always ſeeks to inſtamp upon the inferiour faculties of the Soul. But this Divine light of reaſon, hath as ſmall force to kindle the love of Vertue in hearts over-grown with ſenſual deſires, as the Sun in a miſt, hath to ſet moiſt ſtuff on fire. The unſetled affections of youth, ſometimes admit the impreſſion of theſe Ideal Characters, in actual retired ſpeculations; ſo will the water take the ſame ſhape from the Seal, which the wax doth, but hold it no longer than the Seal is held upon it. The heart, which maturity of years hath hardned with vaſt deſires, will as hardly be wrought into a new form, as the ſtone, which cannot take any other ſhape, but only by loſing ſome of its maſs or ſubſtance; yet if thoſe vaſt deſires be cut off, or their hopes of ſupplies from externals intercepted; the Soul, thus

freed, becomes more faſhionable unto reaſon. Affability, which is as the ſuperficial draught of reaſon endeavouring to ſtamp the heart with real and ſolid kindneſs; is as natural to the Epicure, as to another man, ſo long as the exerciſe of it is not prejudicial to his belly. And the leſs his deſires were to ſatisfie it, the larger would the extenſion of his bowels of compaſſion be towards his Brethren, or poor Neighbours; ſome drops of *kindneſs* may diſtil from him in the overflow of plenty or ſtore ſufficient to feed both eye and appetite. But in the days of ſcarcity, he ſucks in cruelty as wine, and feeds upon the needy as upon delicates: Were there no more ſweet morſels in the market then would ſerve one man; not one of this crew, but would cut them out of his Fathers throat, rather then ſuffer his own weaſand to be defeated of its intemperate expectations. Indigence then, though *Epicurus* could not ſee ſo much, is, upon different occaſions, the mother as well of cruelty and oppreſſion, as of bounty or pity.

2. From doing to all, as we would be done unto by any, nothing doth hinder us ſo much (if ought beſides do hinder us at all) as our conceited or opinative want of ſomewhat, which either for the preſent we do, or hereafter may ſtand in need off, for ſatisfying the the variety or unconſtant longings of our unknown deſires. How well ſoever they may ſpeak or proteſt, experience ſchools us; not to truſt any that fix their expectations upon great matters, or have one eye always upon their private ends, but with this limitation; if the premiſſes they now make ſhall not croſs their opportunities, when matters come to tryal. But if we know a man of means, more than competent for maintaining that eſtate wherein his conſtant reſolution hath pitcht content, one otherwiſe of temperate deſires, and compoſed affections, able to diſcern what is fitting betwixt man and man; we think him a fit rule for directing others, a pattern whereto would all conform themſelves, nothing ſhould go amiſs in Church or Common-weal. No man that conceives his own cauſe to be juſt and good, but would commend it to his arbitrement before anothers. For internal moderation mixt with outward competency, is the only ſupporter of true conſtancy. Yet cannot this mixture, in any created Eſſence be ſo firm or permanent, but poſſibilities or opportunities of ſatisfying ſome internal latent capacities, by external proffers, may diſſolve it. For finite exiſtence hath poſſibility of non-exiſtence to controul it, and poſſibility of non-exiſtence includes poſſibility of being otherwiſe than it is. And therefore it is never impoſſible to finite being either to loſe it ſelf, or change his properties. A more particular root of this contingency, or unconſtancy in reaſonable Creatures or intelligent, is the infinite capacity of their conceits or deſires; within whoſe compaſs their finite motions may become *excentrick* and *irregular*, as it were a ſtar fixed in too wide a Sphere. The deſires of collapſed *Angels*, were once tuned by their Creator in as perfect harmony as any Creatures could be: They had all competency that could be deſired, whether of internal faculties, or of objects to content them. Howbeit, whilſt the chief Ringleader of this Rebellious Rout, ſought to ſatisfie this *infinite* of his deſire; not by participation of his joyful preſence, who was infinitely good; but by affecting that greatneſs and Majeſty infinite, which he was enabled to conceive, but whereof his nature was more uncapable than a whirry of an *Argoes* Eyes Sail; his capacities did overcope. And his intemperate longings, while he was in travel of this prodigious

birth, hath imprinted that ugly ſhape upon him, which now he bears. He is become the monſtrous brood of his own monſtrous and deformed deſires; his mouth opening too wide to ſwallow that which is incomprehenſible, could never ſince be ſhut; his ravenous appetite cannot be ſatisfied. Like the grave he feeds on rottenneſs, and by continual gnawing and devouring that which cannot ſatiate, he continually encreaſeth his unquenchable hunger. His will is wedded unto miſchief, and affecteth nothing but that which is by nature evil; and amongſt evils that moſt greedily and unceſſantly, which is moſt contrary to *infinite goodneſs*. The firſt man by this monſters impulſion, reaching too high for that which he could not compaſs, did put himſelf from off the appointed Center of his reſt and revolutions; and ſince continueth irregular and unconſtant in all his motions, thoughts, and actions. In him, in our ſelves, in the whole nature (beſides that part which hath firm union with the infinite Eſſence) we find the Maxim infallibly verified, *Mota facilius moventur*. By our firſt Parents needleſs yielding to one temptation, we are not able to reſiſt any; Our reſolutions to follow that which we acknowledge to be good, or our adherence unto that infinite goodneſs, from which he divorced his will; can never in this life be ſo firm and ſtrong, but the allurements to contrary evils, may be ſo great or ſo cunningly propoſed by the great Tempter, that, without eſpecial grace we cannot reſiſt their attractions. Since our internal harmony betwixt Soul and Body, and mutual correſpondency of each faculty with other, was diſſolved, no externals can conſort with us. Juſt competency ſeems too little, all of us being as eaſily led by abundance, as driven by want, to do evil. And, which is worſt of all, our earneſt attempts to do that which is good and right, draws iniquity after them; and whiles we take too haſty, or unweildy aim at our own welfare, others harms fall under our level.

6. That which moſt improveth the force of temptations, whether ſuggeſted by want or indigence, or by other occaſions or opportunities; is the inequality, partly of our natural propenſions, partly of means which miniſter their ſeveral contentments or annoyances. Wealth, in ſome men, gets the ſtart of Wit, and over-ſways them (otherwiſe not much miſ-inclined) unto ſuch vanities, as uſually are neither bred nor nurſed, but by abundance. Others wits over reach their revenues; and imboldens them to ſtretch their projects or inventions beyond the rules of right and equity. Some mens bodies over-grow their Souls; and theſe are eaſily impelled to act any boyſterous miſchief: Others being impotent of body, ſtrive ſo much the more to furniſh their minds with ſubtil inventions or commodious experience: and by making too much uſe of the common Proverb, [*He that is weak had need to be wily*,] are eaſily tempted to practiſe unlawful policy, with delight; as the only preſervative againſt contempt, or as an inſtrument of revenge upon ſuch as they hate or fear. And it would go much againſt the courſe of common experience, if that wilineſs which hath weakneſs for its foundation, ſhould not be often enforced to cover or ſhelter it ſelf with craft and fraud. To love our own wills, is an impotency natural unto all. And we love them the better, at leaſt more ſtrongly, when we perceive them ſet on that which in it ſelf is good. Whence it is that our deſires of doing many things which are good and commendable, often draw us to uſe means not ſo commendable, for their accompliſhment. Many,

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out of an extraordinary good will unto the poor, think it no robbery to cozen the rich; or to diſpenſe with publick Laws, for gratifying ſome private friend, whoſe welfare in Conſcience they are bound to tender. Unto theſe, and many like enormities, the infinite Capacity of finite Exiſtence gave firſt poſſibility of being, and the inequality of our internal propenſions, which can never fitly match or hold juſt proportion with external occurrences, gives life and improvement.

7. But in the incomprehenſible Sphere, which hath Ubiquity for its Center, and Omnipotency for its *Axis*; whoſe numberleſs *lines* are all poſſible perfections, *meaſureleſs*; there is no place for exorbitancy. One branch of *Being*, cannot miſ-ſway or over-top another; all being ſo great and firm, as none can be greater or firmer; being not united, but poſſeſſed in ſuch perfect unity, as prevents all poſſibility of diſtraction or diviſion. Shall we ſay then, he poſſeſſeth all things that poſſibly he can deſire to have? Or rather, he always infinitely is, without all poſſibilities of not being, whatſoever poſſibly can be. And though being infinite, he can do all things; yet can he not deſire to perfect himſelf, or to be greater or better than he is. In that he neither can fear the impairment, nor wiſh the inlargement of his own eſtate; all outward imployments of his power are for the good of his Creatures. His will to have them when they were not, was but the influence or working of his eſſential goodneſs; which is ſo abundantly ſufficient to his infinite *being*, that the overflowing of it is the Fountain of all things beſides, which are good. Nothing beſides him could poſſibly have been, unleſs he were in power and in *being*, infinite. And unleſs his infinite *being* had been infinitely good, nothing beſides him, ſhould actually have been, or been indowed with ſuch *being*, as all things that actually are, have from him. The proper *being* of every thing, which actually is, or at leaſt the continuance or amendment of ſuch *being*, is infinitely deſired by all, as being the ſtamp or impreſſion of his infinite goodneſs, which is alike truly, though not equally, or in the ſame meaſure communicated to all things that are. The Entity of every thing is good to it ſelf, and moſt deſired.

8. And though theſe firſt aſſurances of his goodneſs and loving kindneſs, be uſually requited on mans part with unkindneſs and deſpight; yet the greatneſs of his Majeſty, never ſways him to ſudden revenge. Quite contrary to the corrupt nature of man, (whoſe *goodneſs* uſually is ill thriven by his over-growing *greatneſs*:) the unreſiſtible ſtrength of his Almighty power, is the unmovable Pillar of moderation and merciful forbearance. The greateſt potency of man being but finite, the higher it grows, the apter it is to be over-topt with jealous impotency. The greateſt Monarch that is, may be prevented by others, (of whoſe power he is jealous) in the exerciſe of his power or authority over him; unleſs he carefully watch his time, and fit ſeaſons, or take opportunity when it is offered, for accompliſhing his projects. But of God, ſaith the Wiſeman, *Wiſd.* 12. 18. *Thou muſtring thy power judgeſt with equity, and ordereſt, or governeſt us with great favour; for thou mayſt uſe power when thou wilt. And his will is to uſe it, when men will not believe that he is of full power to do what he will*; as the ſame Wiſeman expreſſeth, *verſ.* 17. But more full unto our preſent purpoſe, are the ſayings of the ſame Wiſeman, *verſ.* 15, 16. *For ſo much then as thou art righteous thy ſelf, thou ordereſt*

dereſt all things righteouſly; thinking it not agreeable with thy power to condemn him that hath not deſerved to be puniſhed. For thy power is the beginning of righteouſneſs, and becauſe thou art the Lord of all, it maketh thee to be gracious to all. Though this Author be not, yet this paſſage in him, is Canonical, and fully conſonant to Gods own words to *Jonah*, Chap. 4. 10, 11. *Then ſaid the Lord, thou haſt had pity on the Gourd, for the which thou haſt not laboured, neither madeſt it to grow, which came up in a night, and periſhed in a night: And ſhould not I ſpare* Nineveh *that great City, wherein are more than ſixſcore thouſand perſons, that cannot diſcern between their right hand and their left hand, and alſo much Cattle?* Amongſt great men, many oppreſs their Tenants: but what Lord would ſpoil his proper Inheritance, whereto no other can be intituled; or eat out the heart of that ground which he cannot alienate or demiſe? What Architect would deface his own work, unleſs the image of his unſkilfulneſs (whereof the Creator cannot be impeached) be ſo apparant in it, as he cannot but bluſh to behold it? Or who would leave a goodly Foundation bare or naked, unleſs he be unable to rear it up without injuſtice? Now ſeeing the Entitative Good of proper *being*, is the *foundation* of that true happineſs which flows from more ſpecial participation of Gods preſence; whereſoever he hath laid the one, it is to all that rightly conſider his *Wiſdom*, *Truth*, and *Goodneſs*, an aſſured pledge of his will and pleaſure to finiſh it with the other. As his nature is immutable, ſo are his gifts without repentance. The current of his joyful beneficence, can admit no intermiſſion, much leſs admixture of any evil. Sorrow, woe, and miſery, muſt ſeek ſome other Original; they have no hidden vent, or ſecret iſſue from the Ocean of Joy and Happineſs.

9. As the fountain of bodily light cannot ſend forth darkneſs, but uniformly diffuſeth light; and light only throughout this viſible Sphere; ſo cannot the infinite Ocean of true felicity, ſend forth any influence, but ſuch as is apt to cheriſh the ſeeds of Joy and Happineſs; wherewith every Creature capable of them, was ſown in its firſt Creation. And, as it is the property of light propagated or diffuſed from the Sun, to make ſuch bodies as are capable of its penetration (as Glaſſes, Chryſtal, Pearl, *&c.*) ſecondary fountains of light to others: ſo doth the influence of Divine goodneſs, inſpire all that are conformable to his will, with deſire of doing to others as he hath done to them; that is, of being ſecondary authors or inſtruments of good to all. But ſuch as wilfully ſtrive againſt the ſtream of his overflowing goodneſs, or boyſterouſly counterblaſt the ſweet and placide ſpirations of celeſtial influence, become creators of their own woe, and raiſe unto themſelves thoſe ſtorms wherein they periſh. Yet ſo eſſential it is unto this infinite Fountain of goodneſs, however provoked, to ſend forth only ſtreams of life; and ſuch is the vertue of the ſtreams which iſſue from him, that as well the evil and miſeries which miſcreants procure unto themſelves, as their miſchievous intentions towards others, infallibly occaſion increaſe of joy and happineſs unto all that give free paſſage unto their current. And this current of life, which iſſueth from this infinite Ocean, never dries up, is never waſted by diffuſion: The more it is dammed or *quarved* by oppoſition of the ſons of darkneſs, the more plentifully it overflows the ſons of light. All the good which one refuſeth or putteth from them, returns in full meaſure to the other.

But if the miſeries which wicked Spirits, or their Conſorts, either ſuffer themſelves, or intend to others, work good to thoſe that receive the influence of infinite goodneſs; might he not without prejudice, or imputation, inſpire theſe caſt-aways with ſuch miſchievous thoughts, or at leaſt intend their woe and miſery, as theſe are occaſions or means of other happineſs, or of his glory? We are indeed forbid to do evil that good may enſue; but if it be his will to have Reprobates do or ſuffer evil for the good of his choſen, ſhall not both be good, as willed by him, whoſe will (in that he hath abſolute dominion over all his Creatures) is the rule of goodneſs?

CHAP. XIII.

In what ſenſe, or how Gods Infinite Will is ſaid to be the rule of Goodneſs.

1. BAD was the Doctrine, and worſe the Application or Uſe, which *Anaxarchus* would have gathered from ſome Hieroglyphical devices of Antiquity; wherein Juſtice was painted as *Jupiters* aſſiſtant in his Regiment. Hereby, ſaith this Sophiſter unto *Alexander*, (then bitterly lamenting the death of his deareſt Friend *Clytus*, whom he had newly ſlain in his temelent *rage*) your Majeſty is given to underſtand, that the decrees of great Monarchs, who are a kind of Gods on Earth, muſt be reputed Oracles of Juſtice, and their practices may not be reputed unjuſt either by themſelves, or by others. But this Sophiſtical inverſion of theſe Ancients meaning, was too palpable to pleaſe either the wiſer or honeſter ſort of Heathen, though living in thoſe corrupt times. For albeit many of them conceived of *Jupiter*, as of a great King, ſubject to rage and paſſion, yet all of them held *Juſtice* for an upright, mild, and vertuous Lady; ready always to mitigate, never to ratifie his rigorous decrees; always tempering his wrath with equity. The true *Jehovah*, as he needs no ſweet-tongued conſort to moderate his anger, as *Abigail* did *Davids*; ſo hath he no uſe of ſuch Sophiſters as *Anaxarchus*, to juſtifie the equity of his decrees, by his Omnipotent Soveraignty or abſolute dominion over all his Creatures.

Sunt qui ſcribunt, *Anaxarchum* Sophiſtam conſolandi ejus cauſa accerſitum, ad eum veniſſe, quumque cubantem atque ſuſpirantem offendiſſet, arridentem dixiſſe, ignorare ipſum cur veteres ſapientes Juſtitiam Jovi aſſidentem fecerint: nimirum quia quicquid à Jove decernitur, id juſte factum eſſe cenſeri debent. Oportere igitur, quæ à magno Rege fierent, juſta exiſtimari; primum quidem ab ipſo Rege, deinde à cæteris mortalibus. Atque hoc quidem dicto non nihil ſolatii *Alexandro* attuliſſe. Ego verò majoris errati quam prioris autorem *Alexandro Anaxarchum* fuiſſe cenſeo, ſi illam viri ſapientis ſententiam eſſe ſtatuit. *Arrian. de expedit. Alex. lib.* 4.

2. To derogate ought from his power, who is able to deſtroy both Soul and Body in Hell fire, I know is dangerous; and to compare the Prerogatives of moſt abſolute earthly Princes with his, would be more odious. Yet this compariſon I may ſafely make: * He doth not more infinitely exceed the moſt impotent wretch on earth in power and greatneſs, than he doth the greateſt Monarch the world hath, or ever had, in Mercy, Juſtice, and Loving-kindneſs; nor is his will the rule of Goodneſs, becauſe the deſigns thereof are backt by infinite power; but becauſe Holineſs doth ſo rule his power, and moderate his will, that the one cannot enjoyn, or the other exact any thing not moſt conſonant to the eternal or abſtract patterns of equity. His will revealed doth ſufficiently warrant all our actions, becauſe we know,

* Quanto ſuperior eſt Deus homine, tam mea malitia eſt inferior bonitate ejus, ut qualitate ita etiam quantitate. *Anſelm. in meditat. Cap.* 8.

know, that he wills nothing but what is juſt and good; but this no way hindereth, but rather ſuppoſeth Juſtice and Goodneſs to be more eſſential objects of his will, than they are of ours. And therefore when it is ſaid [Things are good becauſe God wills them] this *illative* infers only the cauſe of our knowledge, not of the goodneſs which we know: and the Logical reſolution of this vulgar Dialect, would be this, *We know this or that to be good, becauſe Gods will revealed commends it for ſuch.* But his will revealed commends it for ſuch, becauſe it was in it nature good; for unleſs ſuch it had been, he had not willed it. Theſe Principles though unqueſtionable to ſuch as fetch their Divinity from the Fountain, will perhaps, in the judgment of others that never taſte it but in Trenches, be liable to theſe exceptions.

3. If the goodneſs of every thing pre-ſuppoſe its being, and nothing can be without Gods will, what can be good (we ſpeak in order of nature, not of time) before God wills it? Of Being or Goodneſs actually exiſtent in any Creature, it is moſt true, neither can be without ſome precedent Act of Gods will. But as there is a *Logicall poſſibility* pre-ſuppoſed to the working of the Almighty power: ſo is there a goodneſs *Objective* precedent in order of nature, to the Act or exerciſe of his will. And unto ſome things conſidered as *Logically poſſible*; this *goodneſs objective* is ſo eſſentially annexed; that if it be his will to give them actual being, they muſt of neceſſity be actually good; nor can he that can do all things, will their contraries. He might, had it pleaſed him, have taken life and exiſtence from all mankind, when he preſerved *Noah* and his Family. But to reſerve them men, and no reaſonable creatures, was no object of power omnipotent; much leſs doth his omnipotency enable him to work ought contradictory to his own *nature* or eſſential *goodneſs*. As is the man, ſo is his ſtrength, and as is the *nature* of the *willer*, ſuch are the objects of his will. *Simile gaudet ſimili.* To long after ſuch meats as feed diſeaſeful humors, is natural to every diſeaſe. And our Nature being corrupted, whets our Appetites to ſuch things as are agreeable to the prædominate corruption wherewith it is tainted, not to the purity wherein it was created. To will only that which is conſonant to his Nature, is ſo much more eſſential to God, than unto us, by how much his Nature is more ſimple than ours is. And ſeeing it is eſſential purity, altogether uncapable of corruption, his will cannot pitch but on that which is pure and holy. Whence the prime rule of all goodneſs, *without himſelf*, is conſonancy to his Eſſential Purity and Juſtice. *For as much as thou art righteous thy ſelf, thou ordereſt all things righteouſly, thinking it not agreeable to thy power to condemn him that hath not deſerved to be puniſhed*, *Wiſdom* 12.15. He loveth truth and ſincere dealing, becauſe he himſelf is true and juſt. That *veracity* which is co-eternal to his Eſſence, includes an everlaſting enmity unto treachery, fraud, and perjury; his immortality ſpotleſs and unchangeable purity, cannot approve of luſt and intemperancy, or condemn chaſtity in any perſon, at any time. Nor could he have given a Law, as ſome lawleſs Lawgivers have done, for the authorizing of promiſcuous or prepoſterous luſt. To legitimate violence, or entitle oppreſſion unto the inheritance bequeathed to conſcionable and upright dealing, is without the prerogative of omnipotency; it cannot be ratified by any Parliament of the Trinity bleſt for ever. The practice, or countenance of theſe and the like, are evil; not in us only, to whom they are forbidden;

den; but ſo evil in themſelves, that the Almighty could not but forbid and condemn them, as profeſt enemies to his muſt Sacred Majeſty.

4. To ſquare great mens actions to the dictates of reaſon or nature, given in their good days, or to bring their wills within compaſs of any conſtant Law; ſeems greater violence, than if we ſhould ſeek to faſhion their bodies by handſom well proportioned garments, but much too ſtrait. And yet we ſee by daily experience, that ſuch as are moſt impatient of *regulation* or reſtraint, are moſt importunate to have their own unruly wills, the rules of their inferiours minds and conſciences. To do otherwiſe than they would have them, though they alledge the dictates both of reaſon and Gods word, will admit no appeal from the cenſure of *peeviſhneſs* or perverſeneſs. But for for them to ſet conſtant patterns of that morality or good behaviour, whoſe defects in inferiours they either puniſh or make advantage of; is reputed a kind of *Pedantiſm*, or *Mechanical* ſervitude. To requeſt ſuch performances, ſeems as harſh, as if we ſhould intreat them to ſet us Copies, or Songs, or take pains in teaching us ſome honeſt Trade. And ſeeing Inferiours are ſecretly blinded with this pride of heart; which breaks forth more violently in Superiours; moſt of both ranks, meaſure Gods will by their own. But if we will condemn this impatience of reſtraint, as a fault in our ſelves, we muſt of neceſſity acquit the Almighty from the like. The infinite greatneſs of his Majeſty, cannot wreſt his moſt holy will from ſtrict obſervance of ſuch rules of *Righteouſneſs*, as he ſets us to follow. That integrity wherewith our firſt nature was cloathed, was but the Image of his *Holineſs*. And he that requires us *to be holy, as He is Holy, or perfect as our Heavenly Father is perfect*; exacts not of us, that we ſhould be as holy and perfect as *He* is, in any point of his imitable perfections. Every part of that Holineſs which becometh Saints, is in the beſt of them, but as the *material* form in an houſe built of untowardly ſtuff, by unskilful hands: but in *Him*, according to the exacteſt Mathematical or Idæal form, that the cunningeſt Architect hath in his head. The beſt examples of goodneſs, we can conceive, are but as dead pictures of thoſe *ever-living ones*, which *He* expreſſeth in his works. All his decrees concerning man, are not in themſelves only, but to mans eyes that look not on them a ſquint, ſo ſtraight and juſt, that he will refer the tryal unto the deliberate and ſober thoughts of his Enemies. *Is not my way equal? Are not your ways unequal?* Ezek. 18. 25.

5. This may inſtruct us, that thoſe patterns of Holineſs or Perfections, which we are bound to imitate in *Him*, are not to be taken from his bare Commandment, or revelation of his will, but from the objects of his will revealed, or from the eternal practices which he hath exhibited; as ſo many expreſs or manifeſt proofs, that his will is always Holy and Juſt: albeit we cannot always ſo expreſly diſcern the manner, how it is juſt and holy in ſome particular Commandments; but muſt implicitely believe it to be ſuch in them, becauſe it is ſo eminently and apparently holy and juſt in thoſe perfections, whereof our general duties are the imperfect repreſentations. Of all his moral Commandments, not one there is, whoſe ſincere practice doth not in part make us truly like him; and we are bound to be conformable to his will revealed, that we may be conformable to his *nature*; without conformity whereunto, we cannot participate of his Happineſs; for Happineſs is the immediate conſequent of his nature.

The antecedent of *Lactantius* Argument. [*Quia nos iraſci jubet, is utiq; iraſcitur*] .i. [*He that biddeth us be angry, is certainly angry himſelf,*] is not ſo certain or Authentick, and the inference is ſomewhat doubtful. But out of all queſtion, he that bids us unfeignedly bleſs our Perſecutors, doth unfeignedly tender his bleſſings to ſuch as perſecute *Him* in his Members. He that ſeriouſly exhorts us to be merciful and kind to all, ſheweth kindneſs to the moſt unkind. That Charity which he hath enjoyned every man towards all (his greateſt enemies not accepted) though we conſider it in the moſt charitably minded Martyrs, in whoſe death it ſeemed to ſhine, were but as weak ſparkles, or vaniſhing ſmoak, of thoſe infinite and eternal flames of love, which burſt out in him toward ſuch, as have deſerved worſe at his hands, then any Tyrant of his tormented ſervants. That truth and fidelity, which he exacts of us, the faithfulneſs of *Abraham* himſelf; is but a little map, or narrow Surface of that infinite *ſolidity* of *Truth*, whereon his promiſes are *founded*. Between the chaſtity and temperance of pureſt Virgins, and his eternal purity, there is the like true correſpondency; but not ſo great, as there is betwixt the droſs and corpulency, and the refined or ſublimated Spirits of the ſame bodies. Or could that rule which is the fulfilling of the whole Law and the Prophets, *Do unto every man as we would be done unto*; be exactly fulfilled by us; it would be but a ſlender, though a true model or repreſentation of his eternal equity. *He that honoureth me, him will I honour.* For in this, and the like, he expects no more than the inward affection of mortal hearts, or praiſes of man whoſe breath is in his Noſtrils, being ready out of his goodneſs, to recompence theſe ſilly ſervices, with Glory, Love, and Happineſs Everlaſting. But doth he intend thus well to all, or deſtruction unto ſome, as it is a *means* of bliſs to thoſe whom he loves? If ſo he did, we might be exempt from that negative precept, of not doing evil that good might enſue. For the only reaſon why we are bound not to do ſo, is becauſe in ſo doing we ſhould become unlike our Heavenly Father, and *not be perfect* as he *is perfect*. But as he turns the voluntary evils of ſome, to the good of others; ſo may we, and ought to conſecrate ſuch forfeitures, as legally fall into our hands to pious uſes; or better the ſtates of ſuch as tender publick welfare, by others deſerved harms.

6. Be it then granted, (which is the root of all objections againſt theſe reſolutions) that Gods Glory muſt as well appear in the puniſhment of the Reprobate, as in the beatifying of the Elect; the conſequence will be quite contrary to that which their objections would hence infer; For, if the foundation of Gods Glory, be as ſure in the one caſe, as in the other; the manner of his dealing with both muſt be alike perfect, and alike behooveful for us to follow. *Sine bonitate* (ſaith *Seneca*) *nulla majeſtas, Goodneſs is the foundation of Glory.* Now, were it true, that he did intend evil to ſome, before they had committed any (though not as evil to them, but as a means of others good) or abſolutely ordained them to eternal inevitable miſery, for the advancement of his own Glory; we ſhould not ſin, but rather imitate the perfection of our Heavenly Father, in robbing *Judas* to pay *Peter*, or in feeding the hungry, ſuch eſpecially as be of the houſhold of Faith, with the ſpoils of ungodly rich men, or unbelievers. More warrantable it were to gueſs at the perfection of his Juſtice towards the wicked, and of his bounty towards the godly,

by the commendable ſhadow or imitation of it in earthly Gods. To procure the common good without intention of harm to any, and with admiſſion of as few private miſchiefs as may be, is the chief praiſe of great States-men. And it is the glory of Princes, to encourage all men unto vertuous courſes by good example, gracious Exhortations, and unpartial diſtribution of publick honours or commodities: and yet withal to inflict diſgrace upon haughty contemners of thoſe gracious allurements; and to be ſtern in execution of Juſtice (without favour) upon notorious tranſgreſſors of wholeſom Laws. Yet not to uſe ſeverity without ſorrow, nor draw blood but by way of medicine; for preſerving of their Crowns and dignities, for maintenance of publick peace, or for preventing the like diſeaſes in other particular members of the ſame body. Magiſtrates that would mind theſe matters, more than raiſing themſelves, their Friends, or Poſterity, more than life it ſelf, which they owe unto their Country; ſhould exhibit us a true model, though (God wot) but a ſlender one of our Heavenly Fathers Wiſdom and Loving-kindneſs: Firſt, in drawing men to Repentance, by gracious Promiſes, and unfeigned Propoſals of ineſtimable rewards for their ſervice: Secondly, in making the wicked and obſtinate deſpiſers of his infinite goodneſs, ſerve to the manifeſtation of his endleſs glory, and confirmation of thoſe that love him in the immortal ſtate of happineſs. Theſe prints of his Fatherly care and juſtice, are yet freſh to be ſeen in his proceedings with ungracious *Cain*. *And the Lord ſaid unto* Cain, *why art thou wroth? and why is thy countenance fallen? if thou do well, ſhalt thou not be accepted? and if thou doſt not well, ſin lyeth at the door: And unto thee ſhall be his deſire, and thou ſhalt rule over him*, Gen. 4. v. 6. 7. Severe puniſhment for doing evil, without precedent loving inſtructions, or good encouragement to do well, is the natural off-ſpring of unnaturalneſs. It bears no ſhadow of that juſtice or equity, whoſe glorious pattern ſhines moſt brightly in our Heavenly Father.

CHAP. XIV.

Of God's infinite love to mankind.

1. IF the Apoſtles authority could not perſwade us to believe, his reaſons would inforce us to grant, that the *iſſues* of *bleſſing* and *curſing* from one and the ſame mouth, are contrary to the courſe of nature, and argue the nature of man (in whom alone this diſcord is found) to be much out of tune. *Out of the ſame mouth proceedeth bleſſing and curſing, my brethren, theſe things ought not ſo to be*, James 3. 10. For Nature in other things gives you a better example. *Doth a fountain ſend forth at the ſame place, ſweet water and bitter? Can the Figtree, my brethren, bear Olive-berries? either a Vine Figs?* &c. Theſe and the like Fountains of Natural truth, are as open to us, as they were to him, and we ſhould much wrong both this Ambaſſadour of Chriſt, and Gods image in our ſelves, if we did believe them only for his Authority, and not for their own native perſpicuity. The beſt uſe of Apoſtolick Authority, in theſe allegations, is to warrant our uſe of the like, though in matter Divine: not one of his inſtances but holds as truly in God, as in man; not one but receiveth a ne-

ceſſary increaſe of ſtrength, from the indiviſible unity of the Divine Eſſence. For a Figtree to bear Olive Berries, is leſs impoſſible, than for the Tree of Life to bring forth Death. To cauſe the Vine bring forth Figs, were not ſo hard a point of husbandry, as to drive curſedneſs or miſery from the Fountain of Bliſs. For a Spring to ſend forth Water ſweet and bitter, freſh and ſalt, at one and the ſame place, is more compatible with any reaſonable conceipt, than for hate or harmful intentations to have any iſſue from pure Love. *But God is Love: yea, Love is his Eſſence as Creator.* In that he is the Author of Being, he is the Author of goodneſs to all things that are; (*Being, unto every thing in its own proper Being, is good*) and goodneſs in an intelligent *Doner*, is always the fruit of Love. Hence ſaith the Wiſeman, of him that is wiſeſt of all, of him that can neither deceive nor be deceived: *He hateth nothing that he hath made.* For even their being, and that goodneſs which accompanies it, is an undoubted pledge of his Love. If to bleſs God the maker, and to curſe men which are made after his ſimilitude, argue (in the Apoſtles ſuppoſal) a diſſolution of that internal harmony, which ſhould be in the humane Nature: to hate ſome, and Love others of his beſt Creatures, all being made after his own Image; would neceſſarily infer a greater diſtraction in the indiviſible Eſſence, beſides the contradiction which it implies to infinite goodneſs. To Love the works of his own hands, is more Eſſential to him, that made all things out of meer Love, than it is unto the fire to burn matter combuſtible: and if his Love be, as he is, truly infinite, it muſt extend to all, ſeeing all are leſs than infinite.

2. Love, were it perfect in us, would perfectly fulfil Gods Law, and make up a compleat Body or *Syſtem* of moral goodneſs. Now the moſt abſolute perfection of that Love, whereof the humane Nature (though uncorrupted) could be capable, would be but an imperfect ſhadow of our Heavenly Fathers moſt perfect Love; which hath the ſame proportion to his goodneſs, that Love in us (were it as perfect as it poſſibly might be) ſhould have to our moral goodneſs. That is, it is his compleat communicative goodneſs. And though theſe two in him be rather different names, than divers attributes, yet we Love his goodneſs better, whiles it is attired with the name of Love. For, of men that do us equal good turns, we Love them beſt, whom we conceive to Love us moſt: and loving kindneſs ſeems good and Lovely, even in the Eyes of ſuch as reap no profit from it, beſides the ſight of it. The very exerciſe of it in others, excites our weak inclinations to the like: and our inclinations moved, ſtir up a ſpeculative aſſent or ſecret verdict of conſcience, to approve that truth which we cannot follow in the practice: *Beatius eſt dare, quam accipere: It is a more bleſſed thing to give than to receive.* No man meaſureth that which we call a good nature (as of men ſome are better natured than others) either by the means it hath to benefit, or by the benefits beſtowed; but by the fervency of unfeigned good will, and hearty deſires of doing good to all. This is that wherein (eſpecially when it is holpen by grace) we moſt reſemble the Divine Nature, which is infinitely better than the humane Nature (though taken at the beſt) not only in reſpect of his ability to do good, but of his good will to do the beſt that may be. And this his good will exceeds ours, not intenſively only, but extenſively. For we are bound to imitate him, as well in the extenſion of our unfeigned good will towards

all, as in the fervency of our deſires to do the beſt good we can to ſome, becauſe his loving kindneſs to man is both ways infinitely perfect, *Thus ſaith the Lord, Let not the wiſe man glory in his wiſdom, nor the ſtrong man glory in his ſtrength, neither the rich man glory in his riches: But let him that glorieth, glory in this, that he underſtandeth, and knoweth me; that I am the Lord which exerciſe loving kindneſs, judgment, and righteouſneſs in the Earth: for in theſe things I delight, ſaith the Lord.* Jer. 9.23,24. The firſt then and moſt native iſſue of infinite *goodneſs*, is the exerciſe of *bounty* or loving kindneſs, which floweth from it, without matter or motive to incite it. This is that which gave *Being*, and with being, ſome portion of goodneſs unto all things that are; it alters the *name*, but not the *nature* in the current. To prevent others, with good turns before they can expect or deſerve them, is the higheſt point of bounty, whereto the ability of man can reach. But God gave us that we moſt deſire, proper *being* with the appurtenances, before we could deſire it; for it is the Foundation of all deſire. From Bounty or loving kindneſs, or from that Goodneſs whence they ſpring, Mercy and Compaſſion differ only in the extrinſecal denomination taken from different objects. *Compaſſion* is good will towards others, provoked from notice of their miſery: and *Mercy* is but an exceſs of *Bounty*, not eſtranged from ill deſervers, in diſtreſs; ſo long as the exerciſe of it breeds no harm to ſuch as are more capable of bountiful Love and favour. This incompoſſibility between the exerciſe of Mercy and bounty towards particulars ill deſerving, and the preſervation of common good, occaſioneth the interpoſition of Juſtice punitive; whoſe exerciſe is in a ſort, unnatural to the Father of mercy. *For he doth not afflict willingly, nor grieve the children of men*, Lamen. 3. 33. Nothing in good men can provoke it towards offenders, but the good of others deſerving either better or not ſo ill, which might grow worſe by evil doers impunity. To take pleaſure in the pain or torture of notorious Malefactors, is a note of inhumanity: their juſt puniſhment is only ſo far juſtly pleaſant, as it procures either our own, or others welfare; or avoidance of thoſe grievances, which they more juſtly ſuffer, than we or others of the ſame Society, ſhould do. The more kind and loving men by Nature are, the more unwilling they are to puniſh, unleſs it be for theſe reſpects. How greatly then doth it go againſt his Nature, who is loving kindneſs it ſelf, to puniſh the works of his own hands; *Man* eſpecially, who is more dear unto him, than any Child can be unto his Father, for he is the Father of all mankind? *For it is he that made us, and not we our ſelves*; not thoſe whom we call Fathers of our fleſh, for even they likewiſe were made by *Him*. Hence he ſaith, *Call no man Father on Earth, for one is your Father which is in Heaven*, Mat. 23. ver. 9. Is the Title his peculiar, more than the reality anſwering to it? Is he more willing to be called the only Father of all the Sons of men, than to do the kind office of a Father to them? *No, like as a Father pitieth his own Children, ſo the Lord pitieth them that fear him, For he knoweth our frame, he remembreth we are but duſt.* Pſal. 103. 13, 14. It ſeems this Pſalmeſt either was or had a moſt kind and loving Father, and hence illuſtrates the kindneſs of his Heavenly Father, by the beſt Model of kindneſs which he knew. But if God truly be a Father of all mankind, he certainly exceeds all other Fathers as far in Fatherly kindneſs, as he doth men in any branch of goodneſs or perfection. This is the firſt Foundation of our Faith, laid by his only Son:

* *Ask and it ſhall be given unto you, ſeek and ye ſhall find, knock and it ſhall be opened unto you. For every one that asketh, receiveth, and he that ſeeketh, findeth, and to him that knocketh it ſhall be opened. Or what man is there of you, whom if his Son ask Bread, will he give him a Stone? Or if he ask a Fiſh, will he give him a Serpent,* Mat. 7. verſ. 7, 8, 9, 10. Every Father that heard *Him*; would have been ready to have anſwered no; yet none ſo ready or careful as they ſhould be, to give or provide beſt things for their Children, becauſe al beſides him are evil Fathers. *If ye then being evil know how to give good gifts to your Children, how much more ſhall your Father which is in Heaven, give good things to them that ask him* ver. 11. He is then ſo much more willing to give good things to his Children, as he is better or greater than other Parents. His Love to all men, ſeeing all are his Sons, by a more peculiar reference than *Abraham* was *Adams*, or *Iſaac Abrahams*, is infinitely greater than any Parents bear to the fruits of their Bodies. Mortal Fathers Love Children when they have them; but Love to themſelves, or want of means to immortalize their own perſons, makes them deſire to have Children. The only wiſe Immortal God (who is all-ſufficient to all, moſt to himſelf, unacquainted with want of whatſoever can be deſired) out of the abundance of his free bounty and meer loving kindneſs, did firſt deſire our being; and having given it us, doth much more Love us, after we are inſtamped with his Image. For he Sows not Wheat, to reap Tares; nor did he inſpire man with the breath of life, that he might bring forth death.

3. The Heathens conceived this Title of *Father*, as too narrow for fully comprehending all references of loving kindneſs, betwixt their great *Jupiter* and other Demigods or men.

Jupiter omnipotens regum rex ipſe, Deusq;
Progenitor, genitrixq; Deum, Deus unus, & omnis.

And another Poet*,
Jupiter & mas eſt & neſcia fœmina mortis.

And becauſe the affection of Mothers, eſpecially to their young and tender Ones, is moſt tender: the true Almighty hath deſigned to exemplifie his tender mercy and compaſſion towards *Iſrael*, as *David* did *Jonathans* Love towards him; far ſurpaſſing the Love of Women, yea of Mothers to their Children. *Sion had ſaid, the Lord hath forſaken me, and my God hath forgotten me.* But her Lord replies, *Can a Woman forget her ſucking Child, that ſhe ſhould not have compaſſion on the Son of her Womb? yea, they may forget, yet will I not forget thee,* Eſay. 49. ver. 15. And if his Love could ſufficiently be expreſt by theſe deareſt references amongſt men, whoſe natural affection towards their tender brood (in reſpect of meaner Creatures) is much abated by wrong uſe of reaſon (as many Mothers by greatneſs of place, or curioſity of education, are leſs compaſſionate towards their Children, then other ſilly Women are) he hath choſen the moſt affectionate Female amongſt reaſonleſs Creatures, to blazen his tender care and loving protection over ill-deſerving Children: *How often would I have gathered thy Children, together, even as a Hen gathereth her Chickens under her Wings*! Math. 23. ver. 37. Finally, as he gives much more to our Being, than our Earthly Parents, whom we ſuppoſe to give us Being; ſo all the ſweet Fruits or comforts of Love, whether of Fathers

* Ad multiplicandum quippe ſanctorum ſapientiam proficit, quod poſtulata tardè percipiunt, ut ex dilatione creſcat deſiderium, ex deſiderio intellectus augeatur. Intellectus verò cum intenditur, ejus in Deum ardentior affectus aperitur. Affectus autem ad promeranda cœleſtia tanto fit capax quanto fuerit expectando longanimis. *Greg. lib.* 20. *Moral. in Job. ca.* 24.

* Orpheus. Vide Apul. in in lib. de mundo. Et Forcatulli lib. 5. p. 703.

thers and Mothers towards their Children, of Husbands towards their Wives, or of Brethren to Brethren, Siſters to Siſters, or one friend to another (their ſinfulneſs only excepted) are but diſtillations or infuſions of his infinite Love to our Nature. To witneſs this truth unto us, the Son of God was made both Father, and Brother, and Huſband to our Nature, &c. Every reference or kind Office, whereof reaſonable Creatures are mutually capable, every other Creature (though void of reaſon, ſo not void of Love and natural affection) may expreſs ſome part of our Heavenly Fathers loving kindneſs: but the Love of all, though infinitely increaſed in every particular, and afterwards made up in one, could no way equalize his Love towards every perticular Soul created by him. Fear of death or other danger, hath ſuch joynt intereſt with Love, (as well in the heart of man, as in other Creatures) that, albeit they would do more for their young ones than they do, if they could, yet they do not uſually ſo much as they might: not ſo much for their Model of Wit or ſtrength, as God for his part though infinite in wiſdom and power doth for the Sons of men. He that feareth none, but is feared of all, he that needs no Counſellor, but hath the heart of Prince and Councellor in his hand, makes proteſtation in his ſerious grief, that he hath done all for his unfruitful Vineyard that he could, as much as poſſibly could be done for it. Or, if his ſerious proteſtations cannot deſerve credit with deceitful man, his ſolemn Oath is witneſs of greater love than hath been mentioned, of greater than the heart of man is able to conceive, even towards ſuch as all their life time have hated him. *As I live ſaith the Lord, I will not the death of him that dyes.*

If beſides the authority of theſe and infinite more ſacred Texts moſt perſpicuous in themſelves, the interpretation of the Church, be required for eſtabliſhing of the Doctrine delivered; the whole Ancient Church, ſome pieces of Saint *Auſtine* only exempted, which may be counterpoyzed with other parts of the ſame Fathers writings, is ready to give joynt verdict for us. And whether the reſtrictions which ſome reformed Churches have endeavoured to lay upon Gods promiſes, be compatible with the Doctrine of the *Engliſh* Church, comes in the next place to be examined.

CHAP. XV.

What the Church of England *doth teach concerning the extent of Gods love: of the deſtinction of* ſingula generum, *and* genera ſingulorum: *of the diſtinction of* voluntas ſigni *and* voluntas beneplaciti.

1. WHat middle courſe ſoever the *Church of England* doth hold, or may take for compromiſing contentions between ſome other reformed Churches in points of *Election* and *Reprobation*, of free will or mans ability, before the ſtate of Regeneration: She doth not in her publick and authorized Doctrine come ſhort of any Church this day extant, in the extent of Gods unſpeakable love to mankind. No National Council, though aſſembled for that purpoſe, could fit

their Doctrine more expreſly to meet with all the late reſtrictions of Gods love, than the Church our Mother, even from the beginning of reformation, hath done; as if ſhe had then fore-ſeen a neceſſity of declaring her judgment in this point, for preventing Schiſms or Diſtraction in Opinions amongſt her Sons. Firſt, ſhe enjoyns us to beſeech God to *have mercy upon all men.* This was the practice of the Ancient Church, which in her opinion, needed no reformation. A practice injoyned by * Saint *Paul*, *I exhort or deſire firſt of all, that Supplications, Prayers, Interceſſions, and giving thanks be made for all men.* If any man ſhall ſeek to lay that reſtraint upon this place, which Saint *Auſtine* ſomewhere doth, as if the word [*all men*] did import only *genera ſingulorum* [*all ſorts of men*] not *ſingula generum*, [*every particular man:*] the ſcanning of the words following, the ſifting of the matter contained in both, with the reaſon of the Exhortation, and other real circumſtances, will ſhake of this or other like reſtriction, with greater eaſe than it can be laid upon it. We are commanded to pray for no more, than them, whoſe Salvation we are unfeignedly to deſire, otherwiſe our Prayers were Hypocritical. Are we then to deſire the Salvation of ſome men only, as they are diſperſed here and there, throughout all Nations, ſorts, or conditions of men, or for every man of what condition ſoever, of what ſort or Nation ſoever he be? The Apoſtle exhorts us to pray for Kings (not excepting the moſt malignant enemies which the Chriſtians then had) and *for all that be in authority.* And if we muſt pray for all that are in authority, with fervency of deſire, that they may come unto the knowledge of the truth; then queſtionleſs, we are to deſire, we are to pray for the Salvation of all and every one, which are under authority. *God is no accepter of perſons*; nor will the Omnipotent permit us ſo to reſpect the perſons of the mighty in our Prayers, as that we ſhould pray that all and every one of them might become *Peers* of the Heavenly *Jeruſalem*, and but ſome choice or ſelected ones of the meaner ſort might be admitted into the ſame ſociety. We muſt pray then for high and low, rich and poor, without excepting any, either in particular or indefinitely. The reaſon why our Prayers for all men muſt be univerſal, is, becauſe we are bound to deſire the ſpiritual good of all men; not as they fall under our indefinite, but under our univerſal conſideration. The reaſon again, why we are bound to deſire the ſpiritual good of all men univerſally conſidered, is, becauſe we muſt be perfect as our Heavenly Father is perfect. Unto this univerſal deſire, we muſt add our beſt endeavours that ſaving Truth may be imparted unto all; becauſe it is our Heavenly Fathers will, his unfeigned will, that all *ſhould come to the knowledge of truth.*

2. Both parts of this inference [*as firſt, that it is our duty to pray for all ſorts of men, and for every man of what ſort ſoever: And ſecondly, that we are therefore to pray thus univerſally, becauſe it is Gods will, not only that we ſhould thus pray, but that all without exception ſhould come unto the truth and be ſaved*] are expreſly included in the Prayers appointed by the Church of *England* to be uſed upon the moſt ſolemn day of Devotions. The Collects or Prayers are in number three. The firſt, *Almighty God, we beſeech thee, graciouſly to behold this thy Family for the which our Lord Jeſus Chriſt was contented to be betrayed, and given up into the hands of wicked men, and to ſuffer death upon the Croſs*, &c. The tenour of this Petition, if we reſpect only the *form*, is indi-

* 1 Tim. 2. 1.

indifinite not univerſal: but every Logician knows, and every Divine ſhould conſider, that the neceſſity of the matter, whether in Prayers or Propoſitions, will ſtretch the indefinite *form* wherewith it is inſtamped, as far as an abſolute univerſal. That the *form* of this petition is in the intention of the Church of *England*, to be as far extended as we have ſaid (that is) [to all and every one of the Congregation preſent] the Prayer following puts out of queſtion. For in that we are taught to pray for the whole Church, and for every member of it. *Almighty and everlaſting God, by whoſe ſpirit the whole body of the Church is governed and ſanctified: receive our Supplications aud Prayers, which we offer before thee for all eſtates of men in thy holy Congregation; that every member of the ſame, in his vocation and miniſtery, may truly and godly ſerve thee*, &c. If here it be excepted, that albeit this Prayer be conceived in terms *formally* univerſal, yet is the univerſal *form* of it to be no further extended, than its proper matter or ſubject; and that (as will be alledged) is the myſtical live-body of Chriſt, whoſe extent, or the number of whoſe members is to us unknown: the third and laſt Prayer will clearly quit this exception, and free both the former Petitions, from theſe or the like reſtrictions. For in the laſt Prayer we are taught to pray for all and every one which are out of the Church, that they may be brought into the Church, and be made partakers with us of Gods mercy, and the common Salvation. *Merciful God, who haſt made all men, and hateſt nothing that thou haſt made, nor wouldſt the death of a ſinner, but rather that he ſhould be converted and live: have mercy upon all Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Hereticks, and take from them all ignorance, hardneſs of heart, and contempt of thy Word: And ſo fetch them home, bleſſed Lord, to thy flock, that they may be ſaved among the remnant of the true Iſraelites, and be made one fold, under one Shepherd Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.* If God therefore will not the death of any Jew, Turk or Infidel, becauſe of nothing he made them men: we may ſafely conclude that he willeth not the death of any, but the life of all, whom of Men or Infidels, he hath made Chriſtians; to whom he hath vouchſafed the ordinary means of Salvation, and daily invites, by his meſſengers to embrace them. He which made all things without invitation, out of meer love, made nothing hateful; nor is it poſſible that the unerring fountain of truth and love, ſhould caſt his diſlike, much leſs fix his hatred upon any thing that was not firſt in it nature odious. Nothing can make the creature hateful or odious to the Creator, beſides its hatred or enmity of that love, by which it was created, and by which *he* ſought the reſtauration of it when it was loſt. Nor is it every degree of mans hatred or enmity unto God, but a full meaſure of it, which utterly exempts man from his love; as that Reverend * Biſhop and Glorious Martyr, one of the firſt Reformers of the Religion profeſt in this Land, obſerves.

* Hooper in his *Preface to the Ten Commandments. See Parag.* 8. *of this Chapter.*

3. If with theſe authorized devotions we compare the Doctrine of our Church in the publick Catechiſm, what can be more clear, than that as God the Father doth love all mankind, without exception; ſo the Son of God did redeem not ſome only of all ſorts, but all mankind univerſally taken: Firſt we are taught *to believe in God the Father who made us and all the world.* Now, if the Church our mother have in the former Prayers truly taught us, that God hateth nothing which he hath made; this will bring forth another truth: *viz.* That either there be ſome men which are not of Gods making; or

elſe that he hateth no man (not *Eſau*) as he is a man, but as a ſinner, but as an enemy or contemner of his goodneſs. And conſequently to this branch or corollary of this former truth, we are in the ſame Catechiſm, in the very next place taught to believe in God the Son who hath redeemed us and all mankind. And if all mankind were redeemed by him, then all of this kind were unfeignedly loved; none were hated by him. And though in the ſame place, we are taught to believe in the Holy Ghoſt as in the ſanctifier of all that are ſanctified, yet this we are taught with this caveat, that he doth ſanctifie all the Elect people of God, not all mankind. All then are not ſanctified by God the Holy Ghoſt, which are redeemed by God the Son, nor doth God the Father beſtow all his Spiritual Bleſſings upon all whom he doth unfeignedly love, or on whom he hath beſtowed the bleſſing of Baptiſm as the ſeal or pledge of their Redemption. All theſe inferences are ſo clear, that the conſideration of them makes us doubt, whether ſuch amongſt us, as teach the contrary to any of theſe, have at any time ſubſcribed unto the Book of Common Prayers, or whether they had read it before they did ſubſcribe unto it or contradict it. That this Univerſal extent of Gods love, and of the Redemption wrought by Chriſt, is a Fundamental Principle, whereon many ſerious and fruitful Exhortations in the Book of Homilies are immediately grounded, ſhall (by Gods aſſiſtance) appear in the Article concerning *Chriſt*. For a concludent proof that God doth unfeignedly will, not *genera ſingulorum*, all ſorts of men only; but *ſingula generum*, every one of all ſorts to be ſaved; take it briefly thus: All they which are ſaved, and all they which are not ſaved, make up both parts of the former diſtinction or diviſion to the full. But God will have all to be ſaved which are ſaved; he likewiſe willeth the Salvation of all ſuch, as are not ſaved, that is, of ſuch as dye: therefore he willeth the Salvation of every one of all ſorts. That God doth will the Salvation of all that are ſaved, no man ever queſtioned; that God did will not the life, but death of ſuch as dyed, the *Jews* (Gods own people) did ſometimes more then queſtion: and to prevent the like querulous murmurings of miſ-belief in others, he once for all interpoſed his ſolemn Oath; *As I live ſaith the Lord, I will not the death of him that dyeth, but rather that he ſhould repent and life.* None then can be ſaved whom God would not have ſaved; many are not ſaved, whom God would have ſaved.

4. But how, or by what Will doth he will that they ſhould be ſaved are not ſaved? Doth he will their Salvation by his revealed, that not by his ſecret will? Doth he give ſignification only of his good will towards them, whereas his good will and pleaſure, is not finally to do them any real good? This I take to be the meaning of *voluntas ſigni*, and *beneplaciti*. But, it being granted, that God doth will the Salvation of all men, by his revealed will, or *voluntate ſigni*; this alone will ſufficiently infer our intended concluſion [That he truly wills the Salvation of all, without the exemption of any.] Upon ſuch as contradict this Doctrine, it lyes upon them to prove not the negative only, that God doth not will the Salvation of all by his ſecret will, but this poſitive particular, that God doth nill or unwill the Salvation of ſome by his ſecret will, whoſe Salvation he willeth by his revealed will. Now if it be anſwered, that he doth by his ſecret will or good pleaſure, unwill or nill the Salvation of the ſame parties to whom he willeth Salvation by his will revealed or ſignified; they muſt (without remedy) acknowledge the one or the

other member of this diviſion : as either [that there be two wills in God of as different inclinations, *ad extra*, as the reaſonable and ſenſitive appetite are in man :] or [that there is a manifeſt contradiction in the object of one and the ſame Divine Will.] That, *All men ſhould be ſaved*, and *that ſome men ſhould not be ſaved*, implyeth as formal a contradiction, as to ſay, [All men are living creatures, ſome men are no living creatures.] Now that all men ſhould be living creatures, and that ſome men ſhould not be living creatures, fall not within the object of Omnipotency. And if the will of God, be as truly undivided in it ſelf, as the Omnipotent power is: it is no leſs impoſſible that the Salvation of all, and the non-ſalvation of ſome ſhould be the object, or true parts of the object of one and the ſame Divine will undivided in it ſelf, than that the actual Salvation of all, and the actual and final Condemnation of ſome, or the non-ſalvation of all, ſhould be really affected by the Omnipotent Power. Whether this Divine will be clearly revealed, or in part revealed, and in part reſerved or ſecret in reſpect of us, all is one; ſo this will in it ſelf and in its nature, be but one, and undivided. The manifeſtation or reſervation of it, or whatſoever other references it may have to us, can neither increaſe nor abate the former contradiction in the object. Or if *voluntas ſigni*, be not eſſentially the ſame with *voluntas beneplaciti*, there is a manifeſt contradiction or contrariety betwixt them : If the Salvation of all be the object of the one, and the non-ſalvation or reprobation of others, be the object of the other.

5. Yet do we not (like rigorous Criticks) ſo much intend the utter baniſhment of this diſtinction out of the confines of Divinity, as the confinement of it to its proper ſeat and place. Rightly confined or limited, it may bear Faith and Allegiance to the Truth, and open ſome paſſages for clearing ſome branches of it: But permitted to uſe that extent of liberty which hath been given to it by ſome, it will make way for Canonization of Jeſuitical Perjuries, for deification of mental evaſions or reſervations. Let us compare Jeſuitical practices with that *pattern*, which is the neceſſary reſultance of ſome mens interpretation of Gods Oath in this caſe. Were this interrogatory put to any Jeſuitical Aſſaſſinate, imagine a powder-plotter; [*Do you will or intend the ruine of the King or State, or do you know of any ſuch project or intendment?*] There is none of this crue ſo miſchievouſly minded, but would be ready to ſwear unto this negative [As the Lord liveth, and as I hope for Life and Salvation by him, I neither intend the ruine of King or State, nor do I know of any conſpiracy againſt him.] And yet in caſe the event ſhould evidently diſcover his proteſtation to he moſt falſe; yet would he reſt perſwaded, that this or the like mental evaſion or reſervation [*I neither intended the ruine of King or State, ſo they would become Romane Catholicks; nor did I know of any conſpiracy againſt them, with mind or purpoſe to reveal it unto him,*] may be a preſervative more than ſufficient, a ſoveraign Antidote againſt the ſin of Perjury, which he had ſwallowed or harboured in his breaſt; ſpecially if the concealment of his Treaſon, make for the good of the Church. To put the like interrogatory unto the Almighty Judge, concerning the ruine or welfare of Men, no Magiſtrate, no Authority of Earth hath any power. Yet *he*, to free himſelf from that foul aſperſion, which the *Jews* had caſt upon him (as if ſuch as periſhed in their ſins, had therefore periſhed, becauſe it was his will and pleaſure they ſhould

not live but dye) hath interpoſed his often mentioned voluntary Oath; *As I live, I will not the death of him that dyes, but rather that he ſhould live.* Shall it here be enough to make anſwer for him, *interpretando*, by interpreting his meaning to be this? I do not will the death of him that dyes, ſo he will repent, which I know he cannot do: Nor do I will his non-repentance, with purpoſe to make this part of my will known to him; however, according to my ſecret and reſerved will, I have reſolved never to grant him the means, without which he cannot poſſibly repent; whereas without repentance he cannot live but muſt dye. But, did Gods Oath give men no better aſſurance than this interpretation of it doth, I ſee no reaſon (yet heartily wiſh, that others might ſee more) why any man ſhould ſo much blame the Jeſuites, for ſecret evaſions or mental reſervations in matter of Oath. For the performance of our Oaths in the beſt manner that we are capable of, is but an obſervance of a particular branch of that general precept, *Be ye perfect as your Heavenly Father is perfect.* Who then can juſtly challenge the Jeſuite of imperfection or falſhood, much leſs of perjury, for ſecret evaſions or mental reſervations, when his life is called in queſtion; if once it be granted, that the God of truth, in matter of Oath concerning the eternal life or death of more men than the Jeſuites have to deal with, doth uſe the like?

6. In matters then determined by Divine Oath, the diſtinction of *voluntas ſigni & beneplaciti*, can have no place; ſpecially in their Doctrine who make the bare *Entity* or perſonal *being* of men, the immediate object of the immutable decree concerning life and death everlaſting. For the *entity* or perſonal *being* of man, is ſo indiviſible, that an univerſal negation, and a particular affirmation of the ſame thing, [to wit, Salvation] falling upon man, as man, or upon the Perſonal Being men, draws to the ſtricteſt point of contradiction. Far ever be it from us to think, that God ſhould ſwear unto this univerſal negative, *I will not the death of the man that dyeth; and yet believe withal, that he wills the death of ſome men that dye, as they are men, or as they are the Sons of* Adam: *that he ſhould by his ſecret or reſerved will, recall any part of his will declared by Oath; that he ſhould proclaim an univerſal pardon to all the Sons of* Adam *under the ſeal of his Oath, and yet exempt many from all poſſibility of receiving any benefit by it.*

7. Shall we then conclude that the former diſtinction hath no uſe at all in Divinity? Or if this concluſion be too rigorous, let us ſee in what caſes it may have place, or to what particulars it may be confined. Firſt, it hath place in matters of threatning, or of Plagues not denounced by Oath. Thus God by his Prophet *Jonas*, did ſignifie his will to have *Nineveh* deſtroyed at forty days end; this was *voluntas ſigni*; and he truly intended what he ſignified: yet was it his *voluntas beneplaciti*, his good will and pleaſure at the very ſame time, the *Ninivites* ſhould repent and live. And by their repentance, his good will and pleaſure was fulfilled in their ſafety. But in this caſe there was no contrariety between Gods will declared or ſignified .i. [*voluntas ſigni*] and his good will and pleaſure, .i. [*voluntas beneplaciti*] no contradiction in the object of his will however conſidered, for that was not one and the ſame, but much different, in reſpect of Gods will ſignified by *Jonas*; and of his good will and pleaſure, which, not ſignified by him, was fulfilled. One and the ſame immutable will or decree of God did from Eternity award too dooms, much different

unto *Nineveh*; taking it as it ſtood affected when *Jonas* threatned deſtruction unto it, or as it ſhould continue ſo affected; and taking it as it proved, upon the judgment threatned. All the alteration was in *Nineveh*, none in Gods will or decree: and *Nineveh* being altered to the *better*, the ſelf ſame rule of Juſtice, doth not deal with it after the ſelf ſame manner. The doom or ſentence could not be the ſame without ſome alteration in the Judge, who is unalterable. And in that he is unalterably Juſt and Good, his doom or award, was of neceſſity to alter, as the object of it altered. *Deus ſæpe mutat ſententiam, nunquam conſilium.* Gods unchangeable will or counſel doth often change his doom or ſentence. The ſame rule holds thus far true in matter of Bleſſing or Promiſe not confirmed by Oath: upon the parties alteration unto worſe, unto whom the promiſe is made, the Bleſſing promiſed may be revoked, without any alteration of Gods will or counſel. Yet may we not ſay, that the death or deſtruction of any to whom God promiſeth life, is ſo truly the object of his good will and pleaſure, as the Life and Salvation of them is, unto whom he threatneth deſtruction. The ſame diſtinction is of good uſe in ſome extraordinary caſes, or as applyed to men after they have made up the full meaſure of their iniquity, and are cut off from all poſſibility of repentance. Thus God willed *Pharaoh* to let his people go out of *Egypt*, and ſignified this his will unto him by *Moſes* and *Aaron*, in mighty ſigns and wonders. This was *voluntas ſigni*, only, not *voluntas beneplaciti*. For though it were his good will and pleaſure, that his people ſhould depart out of *Egypt*; yet was it no branch of this his good will and pleaſure, that *Pharaoh* ſhould now repent or be willing to let them go. Rather it was his good will and pleaſure (ſpecially after the ſeventh plague) to have the heart of *Pharaoh* hardned. And yet after his heart was ſo hardned, that it could not repent, God ſo puniſhed him, as if it had been free and poſſible for him to repent, and grant a friendly paſs unto his people. But *Pharaohs* caſe was extraordinary; his puniſhment ſo exemplary, as not to be drawn into example. For as our Apoſtle intimates, it was an argument of Gods great mercy and long ſuffering, to permit *Pharaoh* to live any longer on Earth, after he was become a veſſel of wrath deſtinated to everlaſting puniſhment in Hell. The reaſon why God thus plagued *Pharaoh*, for not doing that which now he could not do (all poſſibility of amendment being taken from him) was to teach all Generations following, by his fearful end, to beware of his deſperate beginnings, of ſtruggling with God, or of perſecuting them, whoſe patronage he had in peculiar manner undertaken. And here again, there is no contradiction between theſe two Propoſitions [*God from all Eternity did will the death of* Pharaoh; *God from all Eternity did not will the death, but rather the life of* Pharaoh. For albeit *Pharaoh* continued one and the ſame man, from his birth unto his death, yet did he not all this time continue one and the ſame object of Gods immutable will and Eternal Decree. This object did alter as *Pharaohs* diſpoſitions or affections towards God or his Neighbours altered. There is no contrariety, much leſs any contradiction, between theſe [God unfeignedly loveth all men: God doth not love, but hate the Reprobate, although they be men, yea, the greateſt part of men] For here the object of his love and hate is not the ſame; he loves all men unfeignedly as they are men, or as men which have not made up the full meaſure of iniquity: but having made up that, or having their Souls betroathed unto wickedneſs, he hates them. His hate of them as Reprobates, is no leſs neceſſary or uſual, than his love of them as men. But though he neceſſarily hates them being once become Reprobates; or having made up the full meaſure of iniquity: yet was there no neceſſity laid upon them by his Eternal Decree, to make up ſuch a meaſure of iniquity.

8. How theſe deductions will conſort with ſome modern Catechiſms I do not know: ſure I am, they are conſonant to the opinion of that Learned Biſhop and Bleſſed Martyr in his Preface to his Expoſitions of the Ten Commandments; a fit Catechiſm for a Biſhop to make. Every man is called in the Scripture, wicked, and the enemy of God; for the privation and lack of Faith and Love, that he oweth to *God. Et impii vocantur, qui non omnino ſunt pii*; that is, They are called wicked that in all things honour not God, believe not in God, and obſerve not his Commandments as they ſhould do; which we cannot do by reaſon of this natural infirmity, or hatred of the fleſh, as *Paul* calleth it, againſt God. In this ſenſe taketh *Paul* this word, wicked. So muſt we interpret Saint *Paul* and take his words; or elſe no man ſhould be damned. Now we know that *Paul* himſelf, Saint *John*, and Chriſt damneth the contemners of God, or ſuch as willingly continue in ſin, and will not repent. Thoſe the Scripture excludeth from the general promiſe of Grace. Thou ſeeſt by the places afore-rehearſed, that though we cannot believe in God as undoubtedly as is required, by reaſon of this our natural ſickneſs and diſeaſe, yet for Chriſts ſake in the judgment of God we are accounted as faithful Believers, for whoſe ſake this natural diſeaſe and ſickneſs is pardoned, by what name ſoever Saint *Paul* calleth the Natural infirmity, or Original ſin in man. And this imperfection or natural ſickneſs taken of *Adam*, excludeth not the perſon from the promiſe of God in Chriſt, except we tranſgreſs the limits and bounds of this Original ſin by our own folly and malice; and either of a contempt or hate of Gods Word, we fall into ſin, and transform our ſelves into the image of the Devil. Then we exclude by this means our ſelves from the Promiſes and Merits of Chriſt, who only received our infirmities, and Original diſeaſe, and not the contempt of him, and his Law.

SECTION III.

That Gods good will and pleaſure is never fruſtrated, albeit his unſpeakable love take no effect in many to whom it is unfeignedly tendered.

CHAP. XVI.

In what ſenſe God may be ſaid to have done all that he could for his Vineyard, or for ſuch as periſh.

1 TO *ſound* both parts of a contradiction in truth, falls not within the Sphere of Omnipotency, and we may with conſent of all Divines, maintain it to be impoſſible. The true Original aſwell of our aptneſs to conceive difficulties in the points propoſed, as of our ignorance in aſſoyling them, is becauſe we extend not this Maxime ſo far as it naturally would reach; and the reaſon why we extend it not ſo far, is our proneneſs to extend our own power to the utmoſt, and, for the moſt part farther then juſtice or true goodneſs can accompany it. It is our nature to be humourous, and the nature of humour to be unconſtant. *Fortunes Character* may be every Son of *Adams* Motto: *Tantum conſtans in levitate, Only conſtant in unconſtancy.* And being ſuch, nothing can imply any conſtant contradiction to our nature; nothing that is truly and conſtantly the ſame, but will one time or other contradict our changeable and inconſtant humours. And theſe enraged with contradiction, do, (Tyrant-like) arm Power, without juſt Tryal or Examination, without either reſpect or reverence, againſt whatſoever contradicts them. The right uſe of power in Creatures meerly ſenſitive, is to ſatiate their appetites of ſenſe: for nothing hath power to move it ſelf, but what is ſenſitive: and, all power, whether of body or mind, was beſtowed on man for the execution of his will, or accompliſhing his deſire of good: but, ſince his will, by his fall, became irregular, and his deſires corrupt; his power is become like a Common Officer, or under-Commander to all his unruly appetites, domineering by turn or ſucceſſion; all other inclinations being under the command of it. So the wiſeman hath charactered the reſolution of voluptuous men, *Cap.* 1. 6. *Come on therefore, let us enjoy the good things that are preſent, and let us ſpeedily uſe the Creatures like as in youth.* And *ver.* 11. *Let our ſtrength be the Law of Juſtice; for that which is feeble is found to be nothing worth.* Even in ſuch as are by moſt eſteemed good men and ſober, thoſe notions of truth and equity which are natural and implanted, are ſo

weak and ill taken; that, rather than upſtart carnal appetites or deſires, which cuſtom countenanceth, ſhould be enraged through their reluctance, they preſently yield their conſents to ſuch propoſals, as (were they reſolute, firm, and conſtant) would as offenſively contradict them, as puniſhment or pain doth our ſenſe of pleaſure. Unto ſuch propoſals we often yield, as are impoſſible to be approved by *Equity*; to whom we uſually profeſs our deareſt love and allegiance, with promiſes to frame our lives by her rules. But love in us (whether one ſimple and indiviſible quality, or an aggregation or cluſter of divers inclinations, all rooted in one Center,) is not alike ſet on divers objects. Hence, when it comes to oppoſition between ſenſe and reaſon, between our ſelves, our private friends, and common equity, it divides it ſelf unequally. The particular inconveniencies whereto we are daily expoſed, by the inordinate love of the World, and the fleſh, are infinite; all may be reduced to theſe two Originals: Firſt, it blinds our judgments, and makes our intentions ſeem upright and juſt to our partial deſires, or at leaſt not incompatible with the rules of Equity; when as, to impartial judgments, they are palpably unjuſt. Secondly, having blinded our judgments, it forthwith abuſeth our Power or Authority; to effect whatſoever is not, for the preſent, apprehended for a groſs and evident wrong. So that nothing whereon our love or liking is for the preſent mainly ſet, ſeems any way impoſſible unto us; unleſs it be altogether without the compaſs of our power: And, through the variouſneſs of our humerous diſpoſition, *that*, which we cannot like or admit to day, will be allowed of to morrow. But though there be none that doth good, no not one, yet ſome there be do leſs evil than others. And ſeeing thoſe amongſt us, whoſe love to equity is more ſtrong and conſtant than their neighbours, are always drawn with greater, difficulty to diſpenſe with truth or approve unjuſtice; the conſequence neceſſarily amounting from this experimented truth, is, That [*if any mans judgment in matters of equity and juſtice were infallible, and* his love *to juſtice and known equity altogether conſtant and invincible, it would be impoſſible for him to tranſgreſs in judgment.*] Thus as well the ſtrength of unconſtant humorous deſires, as the faintneſs of love or equity (both which moſt men may experience in themſelves) as the contrary virtues, which they may obſerve in ſome few jointly conſpire to rectifie our conceit of God, in whom the Idæal perfection, of the ones integrity and conſtancy, is without all mixture of the others vice or humorous impotency.

2. The firſt rule for right extending the former Maxime [*To make both parts of a contradiction true, is no part of the object of power Omnipotent*] would be this; Many effects which are very poſſible to power alone conſidered, or as it hath the maſtery over weak inclinations unto equity, neceſſarily imply a direct and manifeſt contradiction unto ſome Divine Attributes, no leſs infinite or immutable than Almighty power. Hence it follows, that many effects or deſigns, which ſeem *poſſible* to the humane nature, may be impoſſible or moſt incongruous to the Divine. It is more ſhameful then impoſſible for rich men to lye and cozen, or for Magiſtrates to oppreſs and wrong their inferiors; albeit the ones riches or others power, were infinitely increaſed, without internal increaſe of their fidelity. But to him that is eternally true and juſt, yea eternal *truth* and *juſtice*, it is as impoſſible to ſpeak an untruth, or do wrong, as for truth to be a lye,

or *juſtice* to be *unjuſt*. Many things then are poſſible to meer power, which are impoſſible to it, as linkt with truth or love; and many things again poſſible to it, as linkt with theſe, which yet directly contradict the eternal pattern of juſtice or goodneſs; and are by conſequent impoſſible to the Almighty, who is no leſs juſt and good, then powerful. Many Pyrats by Sea, or Robbers by Land, might they injoy but half the power and authority for a Month, whereof ordinary Princes by Inheritance are poſſeſt; would do their Companions and Friends more good, and work their Enemies greater ſpoil in this ſhort ſpace, than any Monarch can do in his whole Reign, which holds it a point of Majeſty to moderate his actions by that Princely rule; *Princeps id poteſt quod jure poteſt, Princes can do no more than they can do juſtly.* In this ſenſe, I think we may truly ſay, all before Chriſt were Thieves and Robbers, or in reſpect of him very unjuſt; not *Abraham*, *David*, *Ezekiah*, *Joſias*, not one of the Prophets, might they have but half that power and authority committed to them over Angels for a night, which the Son of God from Everlaſting had, without Robbery; but would have thought it very poſſible to have removed the Roman Army with as great terror, loſs and diſgrace, as the Angel of the Lord ſometimes had done the *Aſſyrians*, from *Jeruſalems* Siege; whoſe fatal deſtruction, God incarnate cleerly foreſeeing, bewailed with tears, but would not, but could not prevent. For to the King of Everlaſting Righteouſneſs, that only was poſſible which was juſtly poſſible. And though he were a Father to *Iſrael*, and the Prince of Peace, yet he approves a moſt bloody and mercileſs War, before an unjuſt peace, and diſgraceful to Eternal Majeſty; for ſo the Prophet had ſaid in his name, before, *There is no peace unto the wicked*; to ſuch as ſtubbornly abandon the ways of peace, and willfully neglect ſaving health, ſo often and lovingly tendred unto them; *Hos ſalus ipſa ſervare non potuit*, and ſhall infinite power ſave them, whom infinite Salvation cannot ſave?

3. To have ſmitten the men of *Sodom* with blindneſs, before luſt had entred in at their eyes; had been a work as eaſie to Almighty power, as blinding them in the attempt or proſecution of luſt conceived. But that contradiction which the prevention of this ſin, did not imply unto Gods power, it did (all circumſtances conſidered) neceſſarily imply unto his Juſtice; by whoſe immutable and eternal rules, they were left unguarded againſt theſe foul temptions, for willful contempt of his goodneſs, for abuſing his long ſuffering and loving kindneſs. But did it imply any contradiction to his goodneſs or loving kindneſs, to have prevented the *Sodomites* former contempt or abuſe of them? Out of queſtion it did, unto his Eternal Equity; *for all his ways are mercy and truth.* And theſe *Sodomites* wilfulneſs preſuppoſed, the eternal rule of his goodneſs and loving kindneſs, had appointed juſtice to debar them, as now they are, from reaping thoſe fruits, whereof his goodneſs, as they were men, had made them capable. The principle whence the juſt proof of theſe ſeeming paradoxes, as alſo the right explication of all difficulties in this Argument, muſt be derived, is a School Maxim borrowed from Orthodoxal Antiquity, now not much uſed, but of much uſe in true Divinity, and for this reaſon to be more fully inſiſted upon, in the *Treatiſe of mans firſt eſtate.* The Maxime it ſelf is briefly thus; *It is impoſſible for man or other ſubſtance, to be abſolutely impeccable from his Creation.* Only *He* that is infinite in being, is infinitely good; and

infinite goodneſs only implys an abſolute impoſſibility of being bad. As God only eſſentially *is*, ſo he only is eſſentially and immutably good; all things beſides him are, or ſometimes were ſubject to mutability, aſwel in *Eſſence* as in their ſtate and condition. Power Omnipotent could not from the firſt Creation, have pared off all mutability from mans moral goodneſs, without *periſhing* the only poſſible root of his eternal and immutable happineſs. To decline to evil, implys no contradiction to *Being ſimply*, but only to *Omnipotent Being*: it is ſo poſſible to all Creatures, that without this poſſibility, it were (as we ſhall afterwards prove) impoſſible for them to be truly like their Creator, for a moment in that Attribute, whoſe participation is the only aſſurance of their Eternal Weal. If God either by his Omnipotent Power, or Infinite Wiſdom, had neceſſarily (though without any violence) reſtrained this poſſibility in man, of declining from good to evil, man had forthwith ceaſed to have been truly and inherently good, and ceaſing to be ſuch, had utterly loſt all poſſibilities of that eſtate, whoſe pledge or earneſt he received in his Creation. Gods goodneſs is his happineſs. And his participative goodneſs is the foundation of mans happineſs. So that not Gods Juſtice only, but that loving kindneſs whereby he Created Man, and appointed him as Heir Apparent of Life Eternal, did remove all neceſſity from his will, becauſe the impoſition of neceſſity (whether laid upon him by Power or Wiſdom Infinite) had utterly extinguiſhed that goodneſs, wherein it was only poſſible for the Creature to expreſs the Creators goodneſs manifeſted in his Creation. Now that was not Gods Eſſential or immutable goodneſs, for that is incommunicable. All the goodneſs Man is capable of, doth but expreſs Gods goodneſs communicative. It is the ſtamp of it communicated. As God then did communicate his goodneſs to his Creatures, not by neceſſity but freely, ſo could not the Creature be truly good (that is like his God) by neceſſity but freely. Nor was it poſſible for him to have been either confirmed in ſuch goodneſs as he had, or tranſlated to Everlaſting Happineſs; but by continuing freely good for ſome ſpace, or leſs evil, than by the liberty which God by his immutable law had given him in his Creation, he poſſibly might have been. Continuing good, though but for a while, without neceſſity, the riches of Gods free bounty, had been continually increaſed towards him, and had finally eſtabliſhed him in Everlaſting Bliſs by confirmation of him in true goodneſs, or by inveſting him with immortality. Since his fall we are not uſually capable of mercy or of the increaſe of his bounty; much leſs of theſe everlaſting fruits whereof bleſſings temporal are the pledges; but by free abſtinence from ſome evils, unto whoſe practices, the poſſibility of our corrupted nature might be improved. And albeit we do not alway that which is in its nature evil, yet we can do nothing well, but even the good which we do we do it naughtily: yet unleſs we do both leſs evil, and the good which we do leſs naughtily than we poſſibly might do, God ſtill diminiſheth the riches of his bounty towards us; and by inhibiting the ſweet influence of his gracious providence, ſuffers us to fall from one wickedneſs to another, being prone to run headlong into all, if once the *reins* of our unruly appetites, be given into our unweildy hands. Far be it from any Son of *Adam* to think he is able, without Gods love and favour to withdraw himſelf from the extremities of miſchief, much leſs to do ſuch good as may make him capable of well-doing. So ſtrong is our love to ſinful pleaſures, ſince our firſt parents gave the reins unto our appetite, that none can recal themſelves or repent, without the attractions of infinite love. And yet many whom this infinite love doth daily imbrace, becauſe they apprehend not it, are never brought by the attractions of it to true repentance. *Deſpiſeſt thou the riches of his goodneſs*, ſaith the Apoſtle, *Rom*, 2. 4. *his forbearance and long ſuffering, not knowing that the goodneſs of God leadeth thee to repentance?* Of whom ſpeaks he thus? of ſuch only as truly repent, and by patient continuance in well-doing, ſeek for glory, honour, and immortality? nay, but, of them who for *hardneſs of heart*, *cannot repent*; *but treaſure up wrath againſt the day of wrath, and the revelation of the righteous judgment of God.*

4. Were the riches of his bounty therefore fained, or did he only profer, but not purpoſe to draw them unto repentance, which repented not? this is no part of our Heavenly Fathers *perfection*, no fruit of that wiſdom which is from above, but a point of earthly policy devoid of honeſty; a meer trick of worldly wit, to whoſe practice nothing but weakneſs and impotence to accompliſh great deſires, can miſ-incline mans corrupted nature. But doth it not argue the like impotency, though no ſuch want of integrity in God, not to effect what he wills more ardently and more unfainedly, than man can do the increaſe or continuance of his welfare, or avoidance of endleſs miſery? No; it being ſuppoſed (as we have ſaid) that man is not capable of endleſs joys, unleſs he will be wrought by meer love, without the impulſions of unreſiſtible power, unfeignedly to love him that hath prepared them for him; the ſame infinite love which continually draws him unto repentance, was in congruity to leave him a poſſibility not to be drawn by it. For coactive penitency, would have fruſtrated the end to which repentance is but a mean ſubordinate. The imployment or exerciſe of Gods Almighty Power to make men repent againſt their wills, or before they were wrought to a willingneſs by the ſweet attractions of his infinite love, or by threatnings of judgments not infinite or irreſiſtible, would be like the indeavours of a loving Father, more ſtrong than circumſpect, who out of pity to his Son, whom he ſees ready to be choaked with water, ſhould ſtrangle him by violent haling him to the ſhore. Moſt men by aſcribing that unto Gods power which is the peculiar and eſſential effect of his love, do finally miſs of that *good*, which both infallibly conſpire to pour, without meaſure, upon all ſuch as take right and orderly hold of them. How ſhall we then faſten our Faith to them aright? we are to believe, that Gods infinite power ſhall effect without controul or check of any thing in Heaven or Earth, all things poſſible for their endleſs good, that truly love him; but conſtrains no mans will to love him, being always armed againſt wilful neglectors of his unfeigned love. No man would argue his love to be leſs than infinite, becauſe not able to produce the effects of infinite power: and as little reaſon we have to think, that power, though infinite, ſhould be the true immediate parent of love, which never ſprings in any reaſonable Creature, but from the ſeeds of love or lovelyneſs ſown in the humane Soul, though they do not always proſper. Conſtraint, becauſe it is the proper and immediate effect of power, is a Companion fit for luſt; whoſe ſatisfaction breeds rather a loathing of the parties conſtrained, than any good will or purpoſe to reward them

for being unwilling, unloving, or impatient paſſives; nothing but true unforced love, can yield contentment unto love. Needy man, to whom benevolences though wreſted are ever grateful, cannot be induced to love the parties from whom they are wreſted. For, *Non tantum ingratum ſed inviſum eſt beneficium ſuperbè datum*: *Good offices whilſt they are preſented by pride, are not only ungrateful but odious.* But God who giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth no man; as he eſteems no gifts (howſoever given) ſo he always deteſts the niggardly backwardneſs, and loves the cheerfulneſs of the giver.

5. From theſe diſcuſſions the truth of the former rule, with the right ſolution of the main probleme propoſed, may be illuſtrated, by examples of divers kinds in ſubjects known and familiar. Be the charge never ſo great, ſo the exonerations be well nigh equal, the incoms are leſs than if their charge were little, and their exonerations none. Or, be a mans revenues never ſo large, ſo his neceſſary expences be no leſs, he ſhall not be able to do as much for his friend in ſome real kindneſs, as he whoſe eſtate is not half ſo great, if ſo his annual expences be ten times leſs. In like caſe, though mans love to his deareſt friend, be (in reſpect of Gods love to us) but faint, and his power but ſmall; yet becauſe his love to juſtice is much leſs, or rather his partiality greater, he oft-times effects that for his temporal good, which God though infinite in power, doth not effect for thoſe whom he infinitely loves. For the bequeſts or grants made unto man by his infinite love, muſt undergo the examination of *juſtice* and *equity*. What are alike infinite, before they paſs the irrevocable ſeal of infinite power, one of theſe cannot attempt, much leſs abſolutely bring ought to paſs, without the others conſent. Infinite love cannot over-ſway, either Gods incomprehenſible wiſdom to deviſe, or his Omnipotency to practiſe means for mans Salvation, which contradict the unchangeable rules of infinite equity. His love is as truly indiviſible, as infinite; and is for this reaſon more indiſſolubly linkt unto the unchangeable rules of his own juſtice or equity, than unto mankind, whoſe goodneſs in his beſt eſtate, was but mutable; nor are any of *Adams* poſterity ſo capable of that infinite mercy, wherewith God embraceth them, as Gods Juſtice and Majeſty are of his infinite Love. Theſe being as He is abſolutely immutable, are throughout Eternity immutably loved of him, who indiviſibly is *Majeſty, Juſtice, Love, immutable.*

CHAP. XVII.

The truth and ardency of Gods love unto ſuch as periſh, teſtified by our Saviour, and by St. Paul.

THeſe are no Paradoxes, but plain truth; without whoſe acknowledgment, we ſhall hardly find any true ſenſe or good meaning in Gods proteſtations of ſorrow for his peoples plagues, or in his expoſtulations of their unthankfulneſs, or in his kind invitations of them to repentance, which never repent, or in his tender proffers of ſalvation to thoſe which periſh. *I have ſpred out my hands all the day long unto a rebellious people, which walketh in a way that was* *not good, after their own thoughts, &c. Iſaiah* 65. 2. His infinite power expects their converſion, as the Mariner doth the turning of the Tyde; but may not tranſport them into the Land of Promiſe, until his Loving-kindneſs have converted them. The unremoveable rules of eternal equity, will not ſuffer him to ſtretch out his hands any farther than he doth, towards the ſons of men; and when the meaſure of their iniquity is accompliſhed, his infinite *Juſtice* will not ſuffer him to ſtretch them out ſo far any longer. Albeit he cannot then without unfeigned ſorrow, withdraw them from thoſe to whom in love unfeigned he hath ſtretcht them out. Thus *Jeruſalems* iniquity being come to the full, did fill our Redeemers heart with wo, and his eyes with tears. *If thou hadſt known, even thou, at leaſt in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace; but now they are hid from thine eyes: Luke* 19. 42. Did he ſpake this as Man, or doth not the Spirit ſay the ſame? He that ſpake this, ſpake nothing but words of Spirit and Life, nothing but the words of God, if we may believe that he meant as he hath ſpoken. *I have not ſpoken* (ſaith * He) *of my ſelf, but the Father which ſent me, he gave me a commandment, what I ſhould ſay, and what I ſhould ſpeak: whatſoever I ſpeak therefore, even as the Father ſaid unto me ſo I ſpeak.* His bowels of compaſſion were freely extended towards them, from that exact conformity which his ſpotleſs and bleſſed ſoul held with Gods infinite love; and yet reſtrained again by that conformity, which it as exactly held with the eternal rules of Gods infinite juſtice or equity: and from theſe different motions or diſtractions, thus occaſioned from that indiſſoluble union of his diviſible ſoul, with theſe two different attributes of the indiviſible nature, were his tears ſqueezed out. He wept then as man, not as God; and yet in this humane paſſion, did viſibly act that part which God before his incarnation had penned, as a ſenſible memorial of his unconceivable love. *O that my people had hearkned unto me: and Iſrael had walked in my ways; I ſhould ſoon have ſubdued their Enemies, and turned my hand againſt their Adverſaries. The haters of the Lord ſhould have ſubmitted themſelves unto him, but their time ſhould have endured for ever. He ſhould have fed them alſo with the fineſt Wheat, and with Honey out of the Rock ſhould I have ſatisfied thee. Pſalm.* 81. *verſe* 13, 14, 15, 16. *Wheat* and *Honey*, here promiſed, were Emblems of better bleſſings purpoſed towards them. And thus avouching this his purpoſe, under no character of courtly complement, but in the form of legal aſſurance; his words are undoubted tokens of unfeigned love and deſire unquenchable of their welfare, that did not proſper. *Iſrael* might have ſaid, as *Jeruſalem* afterwards did of her ſorrow; *Was there ever any love like unto this love wherewith the Lord embraced me in the days of my youth.* Notwithſtanding this exceſſive fervency of his loving-kindneſs (whoſe will is infinite) laid no neceſſity upon their wills to whom he wiſhed all this good. They had a liberty left them by eternal equity, to refuſe it. He out of the wiſhes of his bounty as he proteſteth, was ready to pour out his beſt bleſſings according to the immenſity of his loving kindneſs, ſo *Iſrael* would open his mouth wide to receive them. *But my people* (ſaith he) *would not hearken unto my voice; and Iſrael would none of me; ſo I gave them up unto their own hearts luſt; and they walked in their own counſels. Pſal.* 81. *verſe* 11, 12.

*John 12. 49, 50.

2. Lord, who had ſinned, the heathen people or their fore-fathers in like manner as *Iſrael* did, that *in times paſt thou ſufferedſt them all to*

walk in their own ways? Acts 14. 16. *They that obſerve lying vanities forſake their own mercy*, ſaith the Prophet *Jonah* 2. 8. Never hadſt thou given them up to their own hearts luſt, to treaſure up wrath againſt the day of wrath, had they not deſpiſed the riches of thy bounty; whoſe current, nevertheleſs was not altogether diverted from their poſterity. *To them thou lefteſt not thy ſelf without a Witneſs, in that thou didſt good, and gaveſt them Rain from Heaven in fruitful ſeaſons, filling their hearts with food and gladneſs.* To all nations even in the time of darkneſs, when they were ſtrangers from thee; theſe and the like temporal and ſenſible bleſſings, were unqueſtionable earneſts of thy everlaſting love, ſince more fully manifeſted; *For thou ſo lovedſt the World* (not *Iſrael* only) *that thou gaveſt thine only begotten Son, to the end that whoſo believed in him, ſhould not periſh, but have everlaſting life.* What further argument of Gods infinite love, could fleſh and blood deſire; than the Son of Gods voluntary ſuffering *that*, in our fleſh, by his Fathers appointment, which, unto fleſh and blood ſeems moſt diſtaſtful? That this love was unfeignedly tendred to all, at leaſt, that have heard, or hereafter may hear of it, without exception; what demonſtration from the effect, can be more certain, what conſequence more infallible, than the inference of this truth is from a ſacred truth received by all good Chriſtians, *viz.* [*All ſuch as have heard Gods love in Chriſt proclaimed and not believed in it, ſhall in the day of Judgment appear guilty of greater ſins, than their fore-fathers could be endited of; and undergo more bitter death than any corruption drawn from* Adam, *if Chriſt had never ſuffered, could have bred.*] I ſhall no way wrong the Apoſtle in unfolding his exhortations to the *Athenians* thus far; but they rather offer the ſpirit by which he ſpake, ſome kind of violence, that would contract his meaning ſhorter. *The times of this ignorance* (before Chriſts death) *God winked at, but now commandeth all men every where to repent; Becauſe he hath appointed a day, in the which he will judge the world in righteouſneſs, by that man whom he hath ordained, whereof he hath given aſſurance unto all men, in that he hath raiſed him from the dead. Acts* 17. 30, 31.

3. Why all men in the world have not heard of Gods infinite love thus manifeſted, many cauſes may hereafter be aſſigned, all grounded upon Gods infinite Juſtice or Mercy. Of Chriſts death many which heard not might have heard; many which are not, might have bin partakers; ſave only for their free and voluntary progreſs from evil to worſe, or wilful refuſal of Gods loving kindneſs daily profered to them in ſuch pledges, as they were well content to ſwallow; fooliſhly eſteeming theſe good in themſelves, being good only as they plight the truth of Gods love to them, which he manifeſted in the death of his Son. With this manifeſtation of his love, many again out of meer mercy have not been acquainted; leſt the ſight of the medicine might have cauſed their diſeaſe to rage, and make their caſe more lamentably deſperate.

CHAP. XVIII.

Want of conſideration, or ignorance of Gods unfeigned love to ſuch as periſh, a principal means or occaſion why ſo many periſh.

1. BUt if the moſt part of men, as we cannot deny, do finally periſh, what ſhall it avail to revive this doctrine of Gods infinite love to all; by whoſe fruitleſs iſſue, he rather is made an infinite looſer, than men any gainers? As for God, he hath from eternity infallibly forecaſt the entire redemption, of his infinite love, which unto us may ſeem utterly caſt away. And of men, if many dye, whom he would have live (for his will is, that all ſhould be ſaved, and come to the knowledge of the truth) the fault is their own, or their inſtructers; that ſeek not the prevention of their miſcarriage; by acquainting them with this cœleſtial fountain of ſaving truth; whoſe taſte we labor to exhibit unto all, becauſe the want of it, in obſervation of the heathen, is the firſt ſpring of humane miſery.* Or, in language more plain, or pertinent to the argument propoſed, moſt men reap no benefit from Gods unſpeakable love; becauſe not conſidering it to be his *nature*, they do not believe it to be as he is, truly *infinite*, unfeignedly extended to *all* that call him Maker. But had the doctrines, which thoſe divine Oracles [*God is love, and would have all men to be ſaved*] naturally afford, been for theſe forty years laſt paſt, as generally taught, and their right uſe continually preſt, with as great zeal and fervency, as the doctrine and uſes of Gods abſolute Decree, for electing *ſome*, and reprobating *moſt*, in that ſpace have been, the plentiful increaſe of Gods glory, and his peoples comfort throughout this land, might have wrought ſuch aſtoniſhment to our adverſaries, as would have put their malicious mouths to ſilence. Who would not be willing to be ſaved, if he were fully perſwaded, that God did will his ſalvation in particular; becauſe he proteſts he wills not the death of any, but the repentance of all, that all might live? Or were the particulars of this Doctrine, unto whoſe generality, every loyal member of the Church of *England* hath ſubſcribed, generally taught and believed; all would unfeignedly endeavour with fervent alacrity to be truly happy, becauſe none could ſuſpect himſelf to be excluded from his unfeigned and fervent love, who is true happineſs. Whoſe love and goodneſs is ſo great, that he cannot paſs any act, whereby any of his creatures ſhould be debarred either from being like him in love and goodneſs; or being ſuch, from being like him in true happineſs: But alas, while the world is born in hand, that the Creator oft-times diſpenſeth the bleſſings of this life, not as undoubted pledges of a better, but deals with moſt men, as man doth with beaſts, feeding them fatteſt which are appointed firſt to be ſlain: the magnificent praiſes of his bounty ſecretly nurſeth ſuch a miſperſwaſion in moſt men of his goodneſs; (at leaſt towards them) as the Epigramatiſt had of a profeſſed Benefactor, that ſhewed him (as he thought) little kindneſs in great Benevolence.

Munera magna quidem miſit, ſed miſit in hamo,
Et Piſcatorem piſcis amare poteſt?

* Heu primæ ſcelerum cauſæ mortalibus ægris Naturam neſcire Deûm. Silius Italicus. lib. 4. de bello punico.

Great gifts he ſent, but under his gifts,
there covered lay an Hook,
And by the Fiſh to be belov'd,
can th'cunning Fiſher look.

2. The frequency of ſiniſter reſpects in diſpenſing of ſecular dignities or benevolences, makes ſuch as are truly kind, to be either unregarded, or miſtruſted by ſuch as ſtand in need of their kindneſs. And as Fiſhes in beaten Waters will nibble at the Bait, although they ſuſpect the Hook: ſo the world hath learned the wit to take good turns, and not to be taken by them; as ſuſpecting them to be profered in cunning rather than in true kindneſs: and cunning, where it is diſcovered or ſuſpected, is uſually requited with craft; love only hath juſt title unto love. The moſt part indeed are ſo worldly wiſe, that none but Fools will eaſily truſt them; howbeit our natural miſtruſt of others, makes all of us a great deal worſe than we would be. And as if we thought it a ſin or point of uncharitableneſs, to prove other mens conjectures, that meaſure out diſpoſitions by their own, altogether falſe; we fit our demeanours to their miſdeemings of us, and reſolve rather to do amiſs; than they ſhould think amiſs. Howbeit even in this perfidious and faithleſs age, the old ſaying is not quite out of date: *Ipſa fides habita obligat fidem.* Many would be more truſty than they are; and do much better by us than they do, would we wholly commit our ſelves to their truſt and kindneſs. Now, though by mans goodneſs or badneſs, God can neither become worſe nor better in himſelf; yet the riches of his bounty, or communication of his goodneſs, are ſtill multiplied towards thoſe that ſtedfaſtly believe him to be ſuch as he is: One, whom all are bound to love; becauſe he is ſo kind and loving; one whom all may ſafely truſt, becauſe his loving kindneſs is ſo utterly void of partiality, being armed with power and juſtice infinite. *Thy righteouſneſs is like the great Mountains, thy judgments are like the great deep; O Lord thou preſerveſt man and beaſt; How excellent is thy loving kindneſs, O God! therefore the children of men put their truſt under the ſhadow of thy wings.* Pſal. 36. ver. 6, 7. This eſpecially ſhould move all to admire his loving kindneſs, that he loved all without any other motive than his own meer goodneſs or loving kindneſs, either to incline his will or ſtir up his power to give them a being like his own: *We love him* (ſaith Saint *John*) *becauſe he loved us firſt.* Do all then whom he unfeignedly loves, love him unfeignedly? Would God they did: for ſo (as his will is) all ſhould be ſaved. Did then the Apoſtle mean that his love to us, is no true cauſe of our love to him? yes; yet not ſimply as it is in him, but as being unfeignedly in him it is truly apprehended by us. Ingenuous love is never lawfully begotten, or fully conceived but from an apprehenſion of true lovelineſs in the object; and nothing can be more lovely then love it ſelf, when it is firmly apprehended or undoubtedly known.

3. Though ſecret conſciouſneſs of our own unlovelineſs, in the ſtate of nature, makes us oft-times too miſtruſtful of others love: Yet unto our nature unregenerate and overgrown with corruption, it is almoſt impoſſible, not to love them whoſe love to us we aſſuredly know to be unfained; unleſs their behaviour be very loathſom. Howbeit even ſo we love their perſons, though not their preſence, wherewith

with again we willingly diſpence, if it may gratifie us in other things, which we much deſire. That which makes the worlds condemnation ſo juſt, that infinite mercy may not diſpence with it, is mens dull backwardneſs to love him, of whoſe glorious beauty, the moſt glorious, moſt admired creatures are but fleeting ſhadows, no true Pictures. Him of whoſe infinite love and unfeigned preventions in unrecompenſable benefits, all the pleaſures we take in health, the joy of ſtrength, the ſweetneſs of life it ſelfe; and whatſoever in it is good and lovely, are infallible pledges, and yet his intention in free beſtowing them is to bind himſelf (more ſtrictly than man is bound by receiving the juſt price of what he bargains for) to inſtate us in the incomprehenſible joys of endleſs life.

He requires nothing at our hand, but that we may be more capable of his loving kindneſs, by drawing ſtill nearer and nearer to him, with all our hearts, with all our Souls, and with all our ſtrength; of whoſe leaſt portion he is ſole maker and preſerver; of all whoſe motions he is ſole author and guide. From participation of his favour or preſence, whatſoever is good in them, is undoubtedly capable of increaſe. The ſervices wherein the eternal King requires demonſtration of this our love, are not ſo hard, as thoſe which we willingly perform to corruptible men, not inveſted with any ſhadow of his *lovelineſs*, nor ſeaſoned with any tincture of his loving kindneſs; to men, that cannot be ſo beneficial as loving to their friends, nor half ſo loving as they are lovely, though their lovelineſs come far ſhort of their greatneſs. Far otherwiſe it is with *him*, whoſe Greatneſs and Majeſty are truly infinite: he is as glorious and lovely as great, as loving as lovely, and yet withal no leſs beneficial than loving to thoſe which love him, and do his will.

4. This unfained love of him, raiſed from belief of his loving kindneſs towards us, is as the firſt conception or plantation of true happineſs to which once truly planted, whatſoever in this life can befal us, ſerves as nutriment. *Diligentibus Deum omnia operantur in bonum. We know that all things work together for good, to them that love God, to them who are called according to his purpoſe.*

As this Article of his goodneſs and love is to be preſt before any other, ſo the firſt and moſt natural deduction, that can be made from this or any other ſacred principle; and that which every one when he firſt comes to enjoy the uſe of reaſon, ſhould be taught to make by heart, is this: *He that gave me life indued with ſenſe, and beautified my ſenſe with reaſon, before I could deſire one or other of them, or know what being meant; hath doubtleſs a purpoſe to give me with them, whatſoever good things my heart, my ſenſe or reaſon can deſire; even life or being as far ſurpaſſing all goodneſs, fleſh and blood can conceive or deſire, as this preſent life, I now enjoy, doth my former not being, or my deſireleſs want of being what now I am.* Theſe are principles, which elſewhere (by Gods aſſiſtance) ſhall be more at large extended: yet would I have the Reader ever to remember, that the infinite love, wherewith God ſought us when we were not, by which he found out a *beginning* for mankind, fitted as a Foundation for endleſs life, can never be indiſſolubly betrothed unto the bare *being* which he beſtowed upon us. The final contract betwixt him and us, neceſſarily preſuppoſeth a bond or link of mutal love. There is no means poſſible for us to be made better or happier than we are, but by unfeigned loving him, which out of love hath made us what we are. Nor are we what we are, becauſe *he is*, or from his *Eſſence only*, but becauſe he was loving to us. And after our love to him enclaſped with his unſpeakable and unchangeable love to us, whoſe apprehenſion muſt beget it; the faith by which it is begotten in us, aſſures our ſouls of all the good means the *infinity* of goodneſs may vouchſafe to grant, the *infinity* of wiſdom can contrive, or power omnipotent is able to practiſe; for attaining the end whereto his infinite love from all Eternities doth ordain us. And who could deſire better encouragement or aſſurance more ſtrong then this, for the recompence of all his labours? or if all this cannot ſuffice to allure us, he hath ſet fear behind us to impel us unto goodneſs; or rather before us, to turn us back from evil.

CHAP. XIX.

How God of a moſt loving Father becomes a ſevere inexorable Judge.

1. BUT if God, as we have ſaid, be Love, ſhall not his Love be like his Nature, altogether unchangeable? How then ſhall he puniſh his beloved Creatures, or have *anger*, *hate*, or *jealouſie*, any place or ſeat in the Omnipotent Majeſty? Can theſe conſort with infinite Mercy? Many Philoſophers have freed God from anger, making him Author only of Grace, and favour towards men. And I could wiſh their Hereſies had been better refuted then they are, or at leaſt, that men would be better perſwaded of ſuch refutation, as *Lactantius* hath beſtowed upon them, albeit I will not bind my ſelf to ſtand to his deciſion of this point, but rather illuſtrate by inſtance or experiment, how extream ſeverity may ſtand with the fervency of fatherly unfeigned love.

2. Few mens hearts would have ſerved them to have dealt with their own bowels as *Torquatus* did with his. Howbeit in all that Mighty people amongſt whom he lived, I am perſwaded but a few had taken the like care and pains to train up their Children in the moſt commendable qualities of that Age. Not one would have adventured his own perſon further, to have reſcued his Son from the enemy, or juſtifyed him in any honourable quarrel. In theſe and the like points, he had, and upon juſt occaſion, would further have manifeſted, as much unfeigned love, as any Father could unto his Son; more than the imbecility of Sex would ſuffer a tender hearted Mother, to make proof of. Doth then the adjudging of this his own Son to death, rightly argue he loved him leſs than other Parents

Meroveo certe auget probitatis famam atq; juſtitiæ necatus filius, juſtiſſimas utiq; ob cauſas, ne quis ipſi diritatem in alienos falſo exprobet liberos, vel in ſuos inauditam ſævitiam nullis fultam rationibus: quales nec Poſthumius Tibuttus, nec T. Manlius Torquatus olim habuere. Forcatulus de Gallorum Imperio & Philoſopha. lib. 5. Et Paulo poſt. Poſthumus Dictator, quia Aulus filius injuſtùs præſidiis egreſſus hoſtes fuderat, victorem audacem cædi ſecuri juſſit: at Torquatus itidem Latino bello, Coſ. filium à Metio Tuſculanorum Duce provocatum, & forte detractandæ pugnæ pudore incenſum, ac ſpolia referentem, mactari à lictore mandavit: jure forſitan, cum, teſte Paulo Juriſconſulto, parentibus Romanis antiquior eſſet diſciplina militaris charitate liberorum. At qui Gelaor Merövei filius in patrem contumax, in cives procax, in omnes ſuperbus & injurius, pudicis matronis vim intulerat, patres & maritos terruerat, ciciderat fœderatos ac amicos Franci nominis laceſſierat. Cumq; ex amiciſſimis aulicis quiſpiam objeciſſet Meroveo Lucium Gellium Cenſorem Romanum, qui filio novercam ſolicitanti, & præterea parricidium meditanti, ac propemodum convicto, ignoviſſet, & in reatu conſtitutum abſolvi diligentiſſime curaſſet: Ille inquit, boni patris functus eſt officio, ego boni Ducis: qui debellare hoſtes didici, & ſocios honorificè tractare, corúmq; ulciſci injurias.

did their Children, whoſe worſe-deſerts they would not have ſentenced ſo ſeverely? No: it rather proves love and care of Martial Diſcipline, and hate to partiality in adminiſtration of civil Juſtice, to have been much greater in him, than in other parents of his time. The more juſt and equal the Law he tranſgreſſed was, or might have been (as for illuſtration ſake we will ſuppoſe it to have been a law muſt equal and juſt) the more it commends his impartial ſeverity, that would not ſuffer the violation of it go unpuniſhed in his deareſt Son; whom the more deſirous he was to make like himſelf in Religious obſervance of Martial Diſcipline, and practice of Juſtice towards the enemy; the readier he was to do juſtice upon him for doing the contrary. That exceſſive Love, which he bare unto his perſon, whilſt his hopeful beginnings did ſeem to promiſe an accompliſhment of thoſe Martial Vertues, whoſe firſt draught he himſelf had well expreſſed; turns into extream ſeverity and indignation, after he proves tranſgreſſor of thoſe Fundamental rules, by which he had taken his direction; and unto whoſe obſervance his deſire of Poſterity was deſtinated. So it falls out by the unalterable courſe of nature, or rather by a Law more tranſcendent and immutable than nature it ſelf, that a leſs love being chained (by reference of ſubordination between the objects loved) with a greater, cannot diſlink it ſelf without ſome deeper touch of diſpleaſure, than if the bond or reference had been none. The nearer the reference, or the ſtricter the bond; the more violent will the Rupture be, and the diſſociation more unpleaſant: As there is no enmity to the enmity of Brethren, if the knot of brotherly kindneſs once fully untie: The reaſon is, becauſe our love to our Brethren, is neareſt united with the love of our ſelves, unto which all other love is in ſome ſort ſubordinate. True affection is always moſt diſpleaſed, where it is moſt defeated; where moſt is deſervedly expected and leaſt performed. Now as partiality towards our ſelves, and indulgence to our inordinate deſires, oft-times begets deſire of revenge upon unnatural or unkind Brethren: ſo doth the conſtant and unpartial love of equity and wholſome Laws, naturally bring forth juſt ſeverity towards preſumptuous neglecters of them, whoſe perſons we love no leſs, than they do that would plead with tears for their impunity. Towards them, unto whom we would give real proof of more tender and true affection, than their partial Abetters do, could we win them, by theſe or other warrantable means, to link their love with ours, or to love that beſt which moſt deſerveth love. As *Seleucus* loved his Son, (for ſaving the one of whoſe eyes, (both being forfeit by the Law) he was contented to loſe one of his own) more dearly then moſt Princely Mothers do their Children, for he loved him as himſelf, yet could not diſpence either with himſelf, or his Son, becauſe he loved the Publick Law, and common good, that might accrue by his ſingular example of Juſtice; better than either, better than both.

3. For every man to love himſelf beſt, is in our judgment no breach, but rather a *foundation* of Charity. A Law to whoſe performance every man is bound in matters of neceſſity concerning this life, or in whatſoever may concern the life to come; though not in caſes of ſecular honour or preferment, wherein *Proximus quiſq; ſibi*, muſt (by the Law of Conſcience and Fundamental Rule of Chriſtianity) give place to *Detur digniori*. But nothing can be ſo worthy of love or honour as *God*; who will we, nill we, doth and muſt enjoy this li-

berty or priviledge of loving himſelf beſt. And if he love himſelf better than he doth any creature, he muſt love equity and juſtice better than he doth any man; for he himſelf is *equity* it ſelf, the eternal pattern as well of Juſtice as of Mercy; he cannot be unjuſtly merciful towards thoſe men, whom he loves more dearly than any man doth himſelf. And in as much as goodneſs it ſelf is the eſſential object of his will, he loves nothing abſolutely and irrevocably, but that which is abſolutely and immutably good. So was not Man in his firſt Creation, much leſs is he ſuch in his collapſed eſtate; and yet Gods Love (ſo ſuper-infinite is it) extends it ſelf unto our Nature ſo collapſed and polluted with corruption, which he infinitely hates. This his Love, which knows no limit in it ſelf, is limited in its effects towards men, by the correſpondency which they hold or loſe with that abſolute goodneſs, or with thoſe eternal rules of Equity, Juſtice, or Mercy, in which his will is to have man made like him. Such as have been either in *re* or *ſpe*, though not as they ſhould be, yet ſuch as either infinite loving-kindneſs can vouchſafe to accept, to cheriſh, or encourage to go forward as they have begun; or infinite Mercy to tollerate in expectation of their Repentance, or averſion from their wonted courſes: theſe, if once they finally diſſolve the correſpondency, which they held with *Mercy*, or burſt the link which they had in Gods Love, (with reference to that goodneſs, whereto the riches of his bounty daily inviteth them) his diſpleaſure towards them kindles according to the *meaſure* of his former *mercies* or loving kindneſs. If being illuminated by his Spirit, they finally aſſociate themſelves to the Sons of darkneſs, or having put on Chriſt in Baptiſm, they reſume their Swiniſh habit, and make a ſport of wallowing in the mire; the ſweet Fountains of Joy and Comfort, which were opened to them as they were Gods Creatures, not uncapable of his infinite mercy, prove floods of wo and miſery to them as they are ſworn ſervants of ſin and corruption: For, hate to *filthineſs* and *uncleanneſs*, is eſſentially and formally included in Gods love of *abſolute goodneſs*, righteouſneſs and true holineſs. And the diſpleaſure or indignation which he bears to theſe, muſt needs ſeize on their perſons that have covered themſelves with them, as with a garment; and to whoſe Souls they ſtick more cloſely then their skins do to their bodies, or their fleſh unto their bones.

CHAP. XX.

Whilſt God of a loving Father becomes a ſevere Judge, there is no change or alteration at all in God, but only in men and in their actions. Gods will is always exactly fulfilled even in ſuch as go moſt againſt it. How it may ſtand with the Juſtice of God to puniſh tranſgreſſions temporal, with torments everlaſting.

1. THE ſum of all is this; Love was the Mother of all his works; and (if I may ſo ſpeak) the *fertility* of his Power and Eſſence. And ſeeing it is his Nature as Creator, and cannot change: no part of our nature (ſeeing every part was created by him) can be utterly

excluded from all fruits of his Love ; until the ſiniſter uſe of that *contingency* wherewith he indued it, or the improvement of inclinations naturally bent unto evil, come to that height as to imply a contradiction for infinite juſtice or equity to vouchſafe them any favour. Whether natural inclinations unto evil, may be thus far improved in the Children by their fore-Fathers or no, is diſputable; but in another place. Concerning Infants (ſave only) ſo far as neglect of duties to be performed to them, may concern their Elders, ſeeing the Scripture in this point is ſilent, I have no mind here or elſewhere to diſpute. If Faith they have, or ſuch Holineſs as becometh Saints ; neither are begotten by our Writing or Preaching, nor is the written word the rule of theirs as of all others Faith that are of years. And unto them only that can hear or read, or have the uſe of reaſon, I write and ſpeak this, as well for their comfort and encouragement to follow goodneſs, or for their terrour, leſt they follow evil. *Love, much greater then any Creature owes or performs, or is capable of, either in reſpect of himſelf, or in others, is the eſſential and ſole fruit of Gods* antecedent will, *whether concerning our Nature as it was in the firſt man, or now is in the ſeveral perſons derived from him. And of this love every particular faculty of ſoul or body is a pledge undoubted ; all, are as ſo many ties or* handles *to draw us unto him, from whom we are ſeparated only by diſſimilitude ; our very Natures being otherwiſe linkt to his* being, *with bonds of ſtricteſt reference or dependency.* On the contrary, *Wrath* and *Severity* are the proper effects of his *conſequent will*, that is, they are the infallible conſequents of our neglecting and deſpiſing his will revealed for our good, or ſweet promiſes of ſaving health. The full explication and neceſſary uſe of this diſtinction, hath taken up its place, in the Articles of Creation, or Divine Providence. Thus much of it may ſerve our preſent turn. That Gods abſolute will was to have man capable of *Heaven* and *Hell*, of joys and miſeries immortal. That this abſolute will whoſe poſſible objects are two, is in the firſt place ſet on mans eternal and everlaſting joy, more fervently than man can conceive ; yet not ſo, as to contradict it ſelf by fruſtrating the contrary poſſibility, which unto man it had appointed. That Gods anger never kindles, but out of the aſhes of his flaming love deſpiſed. Nor doth the turning of tender love and compaſſion, into ſeverity and wrath, preſuppoſe or argue any change or turning in the Father of lights and everlaſting Mercy : it is wholly ſeated in mens irregular deviation from that courſe, which by the appointment of his antecedent will they ſhould and might have taken (whereto his Fatherly kindneſs did ſtill invite them) unto whoſe crooked ways, which they do, but ſhould not follow ; from which the ſame infinite goodneſs doth ſtill allure them by every temporal bleſſing, and deter them by every croſs and plague that doth befal them.

2. This bodily Sun, which we ſee, never changeth with the Moon, his light, his heat are ſtill the ſame ; yet one and the ſame heat in the ſpring time, refreſheth our bodies here in this Land ; but ſcortcheth ſuch as brought up in this clime, journey in the ſands of *Affrick*. His beams reflected on bodies ſolid, but of corruptible and changeable nature, often inflame matter capable of combuſtion. But (as ſome Philoſophers think) would not annoy us (unleſs by too much light) were we in that Æthereal or Cœleſtial Region wherein it moves. At leaſt, were our bodies of the like ſubſtance with the

Heavens; the Vicinity of it would rather comfort than torment us. Thus is the Father of Lights a refreſhing flame of unquenchable Love, to ſuch as are drawn by love to be like him in purity of life, but a conſuming fire to ſuch as he beholdeth a far off; to ſuch as run from him by making themſelves moſt unlike unto him. No Sons of *Adam* there be, which in ſome meaſure or other had not ſome taſte or participation of his bounty. And the meaſure of his wrath is but equal to the riches of his bounty deſpiſed. To whom this infinite treaſure of his bounty hath been moſt liberally opened, it proves in the end a ſtorehouſe of wrath and torments, unleſs it finally draw them to Repentance: According to the height of that exaltation whereunto his antecedent will had deſigned them, ſhall the degrees of their depreſſion be in Hell for not being exalted by it. Nor doth any man in that lake of torments, ſuffer pains more againſt his will, than he had done many things againſt the *will* of his righteous Judge daily leading him to Repentance. The flames of Hell take their ſcantling from the flames of Gods Love neglected; they may not, they cannot exceed the meaſure of this neglect. Or to knit up this point with evidence of Sacred Truth; God always proportioneth his plagues or puniſhments in juſt equality to mens ſins. And the only rule for meaſuring ſin or tranſgreſſion right, muſt be taken from the degrees of mans oppoſition to Gods delight or pleaſure in his Salvation. Not ſo much as a dram of his delight or pleaſure can be abated, not a ſcruple of his will, but muſt finally be accompliſhed. The meaſure of his delight in mans Repentance or Salvation, ſhall be exactly ſatisfied and fulfilled. Mans Repentance he loves as he is infinite in mercy and in bounty: Mans puniſhment he doth not love at all in it ſelf, yet doth he puniſh as he is infinitely juſt, or as he infinitely loveth juſtice. This is but the extract of *Wiſdoms* ſpeech, *Prov.* 1. *ver.* 24. *Becauſe I have called and ye refuſed, I have ſtretched out my hand, and no man regarded: But ye have ſet at nought all my counſel, and would none of my reproof: I alſo will laugh at your calamity, I will mock when your fear cometh, When your fear cometh as deſolation, and your deſtruction cometh as a whirlewind; when diſtreſs and anguiſh cometh upon you: Then ſhall they call upon me, but I will not anſwer; they ſhall ſeek me early, but they ſhall not find me: For that they hated knowledge, and did not chuſe the fear of the Lord. They would none of my counſel: they deſpiſed all my reproof. Therefore ſhall they eat of the fruit of their own way, and be filled with their own devices. For the turning away of the ſimple ſhall ſlay them, and the proſperity of Fools ſhall deſtroy them. But who ſo hearkneth unto me, ſhall dwell ſafely and be quiet from fear of evil.*

And it were to be wiſhed, that ſome Modern Divines, would better explicate than they do a School tenet held by many, concerning Gods puniſhing ſinners in the life to come, *citra condignum*, that is, leſs than they deſerve. For by how much their puniſhment is leſs than the rule of Divine Juſtice exacts: ſo much of that delight or good pleaſure which *God* ſhould have reaped from their Salvation, may ſeem by this remiſſion to be diminiſhed. But this Point I leave to the judicious Readers conſideration, who may inform himſelf from the * Expoſitors of that ſacred Maxim, *His mercy is above all his works*, Pſ. 145. 9.

* Quod in fine verſus 9. dicitur, Meſericordia ejus ſuper omnia opera ejus, hoc, inquit. Calv. neq; abſurdum, neq; durum videri debet. Nam cum peccata noſtra totum mundum involvant Dei maledictione, ubiq; locus eſt miſericordiæ Dei ut brutis etiam animalibus ſubveniat. Hunc locum tractat Zanchius de natura Dei. *l.* 4. *c.* 4. *q.* 4. Quam magna ſit Dei miſericordia .i. Deus de juſtitia ſua multum ſemper remittit. It reprobri cum poſtea puniuntur non pro meritis puniuntur [Hæc Zanchii ſententia] An igitur remittit illis propter ſatisfactionem Chriſti, an ſine ulla ſatisfactione? [Verba Coppen.] Notandum hic in Diabolis & reprobis condemnatis, poſt hanc vitam non videri quærenda miſericordiæ divinæ veſtigia. Coppen. in Pſal. 145. 9. videtur Zanchii expoſitio contradicere, Jac. c. 2. v. 13. Damnatio *ἀνίλεως* ei qui non præſtitit miſericordiam.

3. To think God ſhould puniſh ſin unleſs it were truly againſt his will, or any ſin more deeply than it is againſt his will and pleaſure, is one of thoſe three groſs transformations of the Divine Nature, which Saint *Auguſtine* refutes. For thus to do is neither incident to the Divine Nature, nor to any other imaginable. Moſt of us, are by nature Cholerick, and often take offence where none is given, and almoſt always greater than is juſtly given; but to be offended with any thing, that goes not againſt their preſent wills, is a waywardneſs of men, whereof the Humane Nature is uncapable. To puniſh any, which do not contradict their wills, is an injuſtice ſcarce incident to the inhabitants of Hell. It is the mutability of our wills or multiplicity of humors, which makes us ſo hard to be pleaſed. Our minds (at leaſt our affections) are ſet upon one thing faſting, upon another full; on this to day, on that to morrow; on ſweet meats in health, on ſowr in ſickneſs; on kindneſs in mirth, on cruelty in anger; and becauſe each hath his ſeveral inconſtant motions, we cannot hold conſort long together, without croſſing or thwarting. But no man ever offended by merrily conſorting with his Brother diſpoſed to mirth; nor by conſenting to wreak his will, whilſt he was in rage. No man ever puniſhed his ſervant for doing that which for the preſent he would have him do; nor do the Devils themſelves vex the wicked (till Gods juſtice overtake them) but the godly; becauſe the one doth what they would, the other what they would not have him do; neither could diſpleaſe them, were it not their wicked will to have all as bad and miſerable as themſelves. Could the damned by their ſuffering, either eaſe thoſe Tormentors of pain, or abate their malice; they would be leſs diſpleaſed at them, and leſs diſpleaſed, torment them leſs. And, whom then they have made the *ſubject* of their thoughts, or did they rather dream than think on God, that ſometimes writ as if it were not as much againſt Gods will to have men dye, as it is againſt mans will to ſuffer death. For they ſuffer death, not becauſe God delighteth in it, but that Gods will may be fulfilled in their *ſuffering* or *paſſion*, according to the meaſure it hath been neglected or oppoſed, by their actions.

4. But though the rule of juſtice be exactly obſerved in proportioning their pains to the degrees or fervency of his love neglected; yet ſeeing the continuance of their neglect was but temporal, how ſtands it with his juſtice to make their pains Eternal? The doubt were pertinent, if the immortal happineſs, whereunto the riches of Gods bounty, did daily lead them during their Pilgrimage on Earth, whereof they had ſweet promiſes and full aſſurance, had not farther exceeded all the pleaſures of this mortal life, for whoſe purchaſe, they mortgaged their hopes of immortality, than the pains of Hell do theſe grievances or corrections, which cauſed them to murmure againſt their Heavenly Father. In this ſenſe we may maintain what *Mirandula* in another doth: that no man is everlaſtingly puniſhed for temporal offences as committed againſt God. How then? Man wilfully exchanging his Everlaſting Inheritance for momentany and tranſient Pleaſures, becomes the Author of his own wo, and reaps the fruit of his raſh * bargains, and ſo makes up that meaſure of Gods Glory and Pleaſure, by his Eternal Sufferings, which he might and would not do, by eternal participation of his joyful preſence. * And it is more than juſt, (for it is juſtice tempered with abundant mercy) that they ſhould ſuffer everlaſting pains, who not twice, or thrice,

* *For I reckon, that the ſufferings of this preſent time, are not worthy to be compared with the Glory which ſhall be revealed in us.*

* Quod ſi Chriſto ſalus

thrice, or ſeven times only, but more than ſeventy times ſeven times, have wilfully refuſed to accompliſh Gods eternal pleaſure by accepting the ſweet profers of their eternal joy. In every moment of this life, we have a pledge of his bounty to aſſure us of a better inheritance, the very firſt neglect whereof, might in juſtice condemn us to everlaſting bondage. The often and perpetual neglect, turns flames of Eternal Love into an Eternal conſuming Fire. For if Love and Mercy be his property as he is Creator and Preſerver of all mankind: his love (as was ſaid before) muſt needs be more indiſſolubly ſet on thoſe Attributes than on man. The end of his love to man, is to make him happy by being like him in the love of goodneſs: Now the more he loves him with reference to this end, or the oftner he pardons him for neglecting or refuſing the means that draw unto it; the greater is his wrath againſt impenitency, or final contempt of his loving mercy. This is his * moſt dear and tender Attribute, which being fouly wronged will not ſuffer juſtice to ſleep.

nostra tam chara fuit, & tam charò conſtitit, quid eſt quare noſtram ipſe ſalutem tantopere negligamus? Quibus ſuppliciis, & qua ignominia ſempiterna non ſumus digni, modicum laborem pro re obtinenda tam prætioſa recuſantes? Quomodo nos effugiemus (inquit Paulus) ſi tantum neglexerimus ſalutem? Acoſta con. 3. de circumciſione.

* *Iſa.* 42.14. *I have long time holden my peace, I have been ſtill and refrained my ſelf: now will I cry like a travelling woman, I will deſtroy and devour at once.*

Patientia læſa ſit furor. Long reſtraint of anger upon juſt and frequent provocations, makes the out-burſting of it, though unſeemly and violent, ſeem not altogether unjuſt or immoderate. Albeit the form and manner of proceeding, which humane patience much abuſed, uſually obſerves in taking revenge, cannot in exact juſtice be warranted or approved: yet this exceſs of anger, or delinquency in the *form*, is ſo tempered with matter of equity, that it makes thoſe actions of patient men much abuſed, ſeem excuſable, which in others would be intollerable. The Ideal perfection of this rule of equity, thus often corrupted by humane paſſions, is in the Divine Nature, without mixture of ſuch paſſion or perturbation, as is pictured out to the terror of the ungodly in the Prophetical Characters or Deſcriptions of his anger. *Et excitatus eſt tanquam dormiens Dominus*, &c. *Then the Lord awaked as one out of ſleep, and like a mighty man that ſhouteth by reaſon of wine*, Pſal. 78. 65. Although he be a Father to all, and ſeem to wink at his Sons enormities: yet when he awakes, he hath a curſe in ſtore, for ſuch as abuſe his patience, and make a mock of his threatnings; more bitter than that which *Noah* beſtowed on *Cham*. To attribute patience to him, and to deny him wrath and indignation; were, in *Lactantius* his judgment, to inrich his goodneſs, by robbing his Majeſty. *The reaſons of thoſe Philoſophers are apparently vain, which think that God cannot be angry. For even Earthly Empire or Soveraignty, forthwith diſſolves, unleſs it be held together by fear. Take anger from a King, and inſtead of obedience, he ſhall be thrown headlong from the height of dignity. Yea take anger from a man of meaner rank, and he ſhall become a prey to all, a laughing ſtock to all.*

5. I am not ignorant what cenſures paſs upon this Author for his incommodious ſpeeches in this argument of Gods wrath or anger. His words, I muſt confeſs, ſound ſomewhat harſh, to ears accuſtomed to the harmony of refined Scholaſtick Dialect. Yet * *Betuleius*, a man

Ex his apparet vanas eſſe rationes Philoſophorum, qui Deum putant ſine ira: & inter cæteras laudes ejus id ponunt, quod eſt contra ipſam majeſtatem. Regnum hoc imperiumq; terrenum, niſi metus cuſtodit, ſolvituar. Aufer iram Regi, non modò nemo parebit, ſed etiam de faſtigio præcipitabitur. Imò verò cuilibet humuli eripe hunc affectum, quis eum non ſpoliabit? quis non deridebit? Lactantius cap. 23. de ira Dei pag. 477.

* Hactenus mihi magna contentio fuit cum Lactantio, dum humanis rationibus, divinam iram ex humana metiretur fragilitate. Jam autem, quia dicit iram Dei ſicut ipſum etiam Deum, eternam, nihil habeo quod repugnem. Nam ex ſyncriſi divinæ atque humanæ iræ intelligas, ipſum de divina longe aliter quam de humana loqui: neque eſſe accidens quod in Deum non cadit, ſed proprium, quia ira Dei à juſtitia Dei nihil differt. Juſtitia verò Dei ex eterna lege manet, contra quam ſi quis deliquerit, vindictam nimirum illius Dei ſentiet, apud quem nullus vel temporum vel locorum terminus eſt. *Buteleius in Com. in Cap.* 21. *Lactant. de ira Dei.*

too learned, and too well ſeen in *Lactantius*, to let groſs faults paſs without eſpecial, and too ingenious to ſpare his cenſure upon errors eſpyed; after long quærulous debatements, chides himſelf friends with his Author: whoſe meaning in concluſion he acknowledgeth to be Orthodoxal and good; albeit his characters of Divine wrath in the premiſſes, may ſeem better to fit the fragility of humane peeviſhneſs, than the Majeſty of the Almighty Judge. His phraſe (perhaps) might be excuſed in part, by the ſecurity of thoſe times wherein he wrote; his fault (if any fault it were not to ſpeak preciſely in an age more preciſe for maintaining the elegancy or life of ſtyle, than the right uſe or Logical propriety of words) is too common to moſt Writers yet, and conſiſteth only in *appropriating* that to the Divine Nature, which is attributed to it only by Extrinſecal denomination. But leaving his phraſe (about which perhaps he himſelf would not have wrangled) his Argument holds thus far true: God is more deeply diſpleaſed with ſin, than man is, though his diſpleaſure be not cloathed with ſuch paſſions, as mans anger is: and yet the motions of the creatures appointed to execute his wrath, are more furious than any mans paſſions in extreameſt fury can be. What mans voice is like his Thunder? What Tyrants frowns like to a lowring sky, breathing out ſtorms of fire and brimſtone? Yet are the moſt terrible ſounds, which the Creatures can preſent, but as ſo many ecchoes of his angry voice; the moſt dreadful ſpectacles that Heaven or Earth, or the intermediate Elements can afford, but copies of his ireful countenance. Howbeit this change or alteration in the creature proceeds from him without any internal paſſion or alteration. *Immotus movet: He moveth all things, being himſelf immovable.*

6. But as *Lactantius* may be ſo far juſtified, as we have ſaid, ſo perhaps he is inexcuſable in avouching anger to be as natural to GOD, as Mercy, Love, and Favour are. To him that duely conſiders his infinite goodneſs, it may ſeem impoſſible that he ſhould be moved by us, or by any thing in us, to mercy; ſeeing, as * Saint *Bernard* well obſerves, he hath the *ſeminary of mercy in himſelf, and cannot take the ſeeds of it from any other. The fruits of it, we may, by ill deſerving, ſo hinder, that they ſhall never take nor proſper in our ſelves; but to puniſh or condemn us, we in a ſort conſtrain him.* And though he be the Author as well of puniſhment as of compaſſion, yet the manner how theſe two oppoſite Attributes, in reſpect of us proceed from him, is much different; the one is natural to him, and much better than any natural comfort unto us; the other is in a ſort to him unnatural, and moſt unnatural and unpleaſant unto us: for as Saint * *Jerome* ſaith, *God when he puniſheth*, doth in a manner, *relinquiſh his nature, and therefore when he proceeds to puniſhment, he is ſaid to go out of his place*, and to work, *alienum opus*, a ſtrange or uncouth work. The wicked and reprobate, after this life, ſhall always ſee and feel his anger: But though they ſee him thus, immediately, they do not ſee his nature ſo immediately as the Elect ſhall do, to whom he ſhews himſelf in love; this is his proper viſage, the live character of his native countenance. The manifeſtation of his anger in what part of the world ſoever, or in what manner ſoever made, is a veil or *vizard* put between him and the Reprobate, leſt they ſhould ſee the light of his countenance and be made whole. Hence, in the ſentence of condemnation, it ſhall be ſaid, *Depart from me ye curſed into everlaſting fire.* From his Eſſential Preſence they cannot, but from the light of

* Deus ex ſe ſumit ſeminarium miſerendi, quod judicat & condemnat nos, eum quodammodo cogimus ut longe aliter de corde ipſius miſeratio quam animadverſio procedere videatur. *Bernard. Ser.* 5. *in Natal. Dom.*

* *Vide Hierom. in cap.* 1. *Mich. vide Riberem in* 1. *Mich. num.* 5. *Et in* 4. *Mal. num* 4.

of his countenance or joyful preſence, they muſt of neceſſity depart. For were it poſſible for them to behold it, no torments could take hold of them; the reflex of it upon whom ſoever it lighteth, createth joy; the fruition of it, is that happineſs which we ſeek. To conclude: *Lactantius* rightly infers, *It were impoſſible ſin ſhould not be odious to him, to whom goodneſs is pleaſant and delightfull.* Now his diſpeaſure at ſin is the true cauſe of all diſpleaſant motions or alterations in the Creatures. His errour, albeit we take him at the worſt, was not great: and as it may eaſily be committed by others, ſo it may as quickly be rectified, if we ſay, that *Anger* and *Hate* are by conſequent, or upon ſuppoſal of ſin, as neceſſary to the Divine Nature, as Love and Mercy, but not ſo natural. But how either *Love* or *Anger*, both of them being either formally paſſions or indiſſolubly linkt with paſſions, may be rightly conceived to be in God, is a point worth explication.

CHAP. XXI.

How Anger, Love, Compaſſion, Mercy, or other affections are in the Divine Nature.

NO affection or operation that Eſſentially includes imperfection can properly be attributed to perfection it ſelf. But if the imperfection be only accidental, that is, ſuch as may be ſevered from the affection, the affection after ſuch ſeparation made, may without metaphor (in ſome School-mens judgment) be aſcribed to God. Hence the ſame School-men will have diſtributive juſtice to be in him, after a more peculiar manner than commutative juſtice is; becauſe commutative juſtice (as they alledge) eſſentially includes *rationem dati, & accepti*; ſomewhat mutually given and taken. Mercy likewiſe is (in their judgments) more properly in God, than anger or revenge; becauſe it may be abſtracted from compaſſion, which is an imperfection annexed, but not Eſſential to the relief of others miſery, wherein mercy (as they contend) formally conſiſts. It ſufficeth us, that ſuch affections or moral qualities as in us formally and Eſſentially include imperfection, may be contented in the Divine Eſſence; though not formally, yet eminently and moſt truly, as we ſuppoſe anger is. For in this point we rather approve of * *Lactantius* his Divinity, than of * *Seneca*'s Philoſophy. He that bids us be angry and ſin not, ſeeks not the utter extirpation, but the moderation of anger, *Qui ergo iraſci nos jubet, ipſe utiq; iraſcitur*; *He that bids us be angry, is doubtleſs upon juſt occaſion angry himſelf.* Nor ſhould we ſin, if we were angry only as he is angry; or at thoſe things only that diſpleaſe him, ſo far as they are diſpleaſing to him; And were we as much inclined to mercy and loving kindneſs as we are to anger, the motions of the one would argue as great paſſion as the motions of the other. But ſeeing * Gods mercy which is propoſed unto us for a pattern, is (if I may ſo ſpeak) more real and truly affectionate in him than his anger, the difficulty how either ſhould be in him is the ſame, or not much different: How can there be true compaſſion without paſſion, without motion or mutation? In many men it is obſervable: that the better uſe they have of reaſon, the leſs they participate of affection: and to carry thoſe matters with moderation, which

* De Ira Dei, *cap.* 21.

* Quotiens impetu opus eſt non iraſcitur, ſed exurgit, & in quantum putavit opus eſſe concitatur remittiturque non aliter quam quæ tormentis exprimuntur tela, in poteſtate mittentis ſunt, in quantum torqueantur. Sen. *lib.* 1. de ira. *cap.* 9. Ita aut ira non eſt, aut inutilis eſt. ibid.

* Dum ergo ad verba mutabilitatis noſtræ deſcenditur, ex iis quibuſdam gradibus factis aſcendet qui poteſt ad incommunicabilitatem Dei,

others can neither accompliſh nor affect without exceſs of paſſion or perturbation, is a perfection peculiar to good education, much and choice experience or true learning. And thus by proportion they argue, that God who is infinitely wiſe, muſt be as utterly void of paſſion, though he be truly ſaid merciful in reſpect of the event. The concluſion is truer than the reaſon aſſigned. And in moſt men whom the world accounteth wiſe or ſubtile, reaſon doth not ſo much moderate as devour affections of that rank we treat of. The cunningſt heads have commonly moſt deceitful or unmerciful hearts: and want of paſſion often argues want of religion, if not abundance of habituated Atheiſm or irreligion. Every mans paſſions are for the moſt part moderate in matters which he either leaſt affects or minds the moſt. Perpetual minding, eſpecialy of worldly matters, coucheth the affections in in an equal habit or conſtant temper; which is not eaſily moved, unleſs it be directly or ſtrongly thwarted. Deſires once ſtifned with hope of advantage by cloſe ſollicitation, ſecret carriage, or cunning contrivance; take ſmall notice of violent oppoſitions which apparantly either overſhoot, or come ſhort of the game they lye in wait for. But even ſuch moderate politiques, if their nets be once diſcovered and the prey caught from them, fall into *Achitophels* paſſion. Indignation and mercy, becauſe incompatible with ſuch means as ſerve beſt to politique ends, are held the companions of Fools. And unto the world ſo they ſeem, becauſe they are the proper paſſions of reaſon throughly apprehending the true worth of matters Spiritual. For though gravity or good education may decently figure the outward motions; yet is it impoſſible not to be vehemently moved, at the miſcariage of thoſe things, which we moſt eſteem. And the wiſer we are in matters Spiritual, the higher we eſteem the promulgation of religion, the good of Gods Church, and promotion of his glory. The better experience we have of his goodneſs; the more we pity their caſe which as yet never taſted it: the more compaſſionate we are to all that are in that miſery whence we are redeemed. Did we eſteem theſe or other duties of ſpiritual life, as they deſerve: the extreameſt fits of paſſion, which any worldly wiſe man can be caſt into, would ſeem but as light flaſhes to thoſe flames of zeal and indignation which the very ſight of this miſguided world, would forth with kindle in our breſts. It is not then Gods infinite wiſdom which ſwallows up all paſſion, or exempts him from thoſe affections which Eſſentially include perturbation; for ſo the moſt zealous and compaſſionate ſhould be moſt unlike him in Heavenly wiſdom. But as the ſwift motion of the Heaven, better expreſſeth his immobility or vigorous reſt, then the dull ſtability of the Earth: So doth the vehemency of zeal, of indignation, or other paſſions of the godly (ſo the motives be weighty and juſt) exhibite a more lively reſemblance of his immutability or want of paſſion, then the Stoical apathy, or worldings inſenſibility in matters ſpiritual can do.

Tome II

ut rideat ſine zelo zelantem ſine ira iraſcentem, ſine dolore & penitentia, penitentem, ſine miſerocorde, miſericordem, ſine prævisionibus præſcientem. Greg. moral. *lib.* 20. in 30. *cap.* *Job.*

2. How we ſhould in godly paſſions be likeſt GOD in whom is no paſſion; or how thoſe vertues or affections which are formally in us, ſhould be eminently in him; cannot by my barren imagination be better illuſtrated, then by comparing the circle in ſome properties with other figures. A Circle, in ſome mens definitive language, is but a circular line; and to any mans ſenſe (as in ſome reſpects (perhaps) reaſon muſt acknowledge) it is rather one line, then a comprehenſion of different lines, or a multitude of ſides incloſed in Angles. And from the unity of it perhaps it is, that many flexible Bodies, as

Wands or ſmall Rods of Iron, Braſs, *&c.* which preſently break if you preſs them into Angles, or ſeek to frame them into any other figure, will be drawn without danger into a circular form. Notwithſtanding ſome infallible Mathematical rules there be expreſt in terms, which in ſtrict property of ſpeech (or univocally) agree only to figures conſiſting of ſides and Angles; whoſe truth and uſe, reaſon experienceth to be moſt eminently true in the Circle. Take a Quadrangle ten yards in length, and four in bredth, another eight yards in length, and ſix in bredth, a third ſeven yards every way: The circumference of all three is equal 28. yards; ſo is not the ſuperficial quantity, but of the firſt 40. yards, of the ſecond 48. of the third 49. The ſame induction alike ſenſible in other many-ſided figures, affords this general unqueſtionable rule; among figures of the ſame kind, whoſe circumference is equal, that whoſe ſides are moſt equal, are moſt capacious. Yet frame a five-angled figure whoſe whole circumference is but 28. yards, though the ſides be not equal, the ſuperficial quantity of it will be greater, then the ſuperficial quantity of the former ſquare: and yet a ſix-angled figure of the ſame circumference, though the ſides be unequal, will be more capacious then that. And ſtill the more you encreaſe the number of angles, though without any encreaſe of the circumference, the greater will the capacity or ſuperficial quantity of the figure be, ſpecially if the ſides be not unequal. From this evident induction ariſeth a ſecond tried rule in the Mathematique. Amongſt figures of divers kinds, whoſe circumferences are equal, that which hath moſt Angles, is always moſt capacious. The circle which to our ſenſe ſeems neither to have ſides, nor Angles; by a double title grounded on both the former rules, hath the perheminence for capacity of all other figures. It is more uniform than any other, or rather the abſtract or pattern of uniformity in figures, admitting neither difference of ranks, or ſorts, as Triangles, Quadrangles, or other many-ſided figures do: nor of inequality between its own internal parts or lines: neither can one circle be more capacious then another of the ſame circumference: nor can any line in the ſame circle be longer then another that is drawn from one part of the circumference, to another, through the ſame center. It is then in this reſpect more capacious then any other figure, becauſe it is moſt uniform. The ſides of other figures may be exactly equal, but the diſtance of every part of their circumference from the Center, cannot admit ſuch equality, as every part of the circles circumference doth. The circle again is more capacious then any other figure, becauſe more full of angles: for the angles which it no where hath univocally, formally, or conſpicuous to ſenſe; reaſon apprehends it to have every where eminently. For as the Philoſopher tell us, it is ὁλογωνία, a totangle, and ſo hath the prerogative or royalty, though not the propriety of the ſecond Rule. It is more capacious than any other figure, not only becauſe it is more *ordinate* or uniform, but withal: becauſe it hath more angles than any other figures can have; even as many as can be imagined, it being a totangle.

Inret figuras ἰσοπεριμέτρας, ὁμογενέας, ordinatiorum eſt capacior.

Inter figuras Ἰσοπερίμετρας Hererogeneas terminatior eſt capacior.

3. This analogy between ſides and angles as they are found in the circle and in other figures, me thinks well expreſſeth that analogy which School Divines aſſign between wiſdom, ſcience, love, hatred, goodneſs, deſire, *&c.* as they are found in God and in man. For no one name or title of any affection can be univocally attributed to the Creator and to the Creature: and yet the rules of equity, of

mercy, of Juſtice, of patience, of anger, of love, which we are commanded to follow, though not without paſſion or affection, are moſt truly obſerved by him: yea their truth in him is infinitely eminent: ſo far muſt we be from conceiting him to be without ardent love, without true and unfained good will to us, without wrath burning like fire to conſume his adverſaries, becauſe he is without all paſſion. He is moſt loving, yet never moved with love, becauſe he is eternally wholly love; He is moſt compaſſionate, yet never moved with compaſſion, becauſe he is eternally wholly compaſſion; He is moſt jealous of his glory, and a revenger of iniquity moſt ſevere; yet never moved with jealouſie, yet never paſſionate in revenge: becauſe to ſuch as provoke his punitive juſtice, he is eternally ſeverity and revenge it ſelf. Again, how the indiviſible Eſſence ſhould be wholly love, and wholly diſpleaſure, wholly mercy, and wholly ſeverity, I cannot better illuſtrate then by the circle, the true embleme of his Eternity, which is as truly ὁλοπλευρος as ὁλογώνια as well all ſides, as all angles. And being ſuch, the ſides and angles cannot be diſtinguiſhed in it: but the ſides are angles, and the angles ſides; at leaſt they are, if not eſſentially, yet penetratively the ſame. The circle likewiſe is as truly ἰσοπλευρος and ἰσογώνιος, equal ſides and equal angles, as ὁλοπλευρος and ὁλογώνιος a totangle or totilater; and did it not contain multiplicity of ſides, as well as of angles in moſt exact and eminent uniformity; it could not have the full prerogative of the former rules. Nor could the indiviſible Eſſence either be ſo great or excellent in himſelf, or a moderator of all things ſo powerful and juſt, as we believe he is; unleſs he did eminently contain the perfections of all things poſſible as well as of any one.

4. Some Philoſophers have placed the humane nature, as a line diameter or æquilibrium in this viſible Sphere; making man the meaſure of all things, as participating all other natures: much what after the ſame manner that mixt Bodies contain the force and vertues of the Elements. And mans nature, till it was corrupt, did (without doubt) include ſuch an eminent uniformity to all things created, as the eye doth unto colours. As he was then the true image of God for his Eſſence; ſo did he in this *property*, bear a true ſhadow of the divine prerogative, whoſe Eſſence, though, for number or greatneſs of perfections contained in it, altogether meaſureleſs, is the moſt true and exquiſite *meaſure* of all things that are, or poſſibly can be: All the conditions or properties of meaſure aſſigned by the Philoſopher are as truly contained in the incomprehenſible Eſſence, as ſides or angles in the circle, but far more eminently. A meaſure it is, not appliable to meaſurables, for kind or quantity much different, according to diverſitie of parts, which it hath none, for it is immutably, eternally and indiviſibly the ſame: and unto it the nature, Eſſence, quality, and quantity of all things, are actually applyed, in that they have actual being. It is impoſſible the immutable Creator ſhould be fitted to any thing created; but in that he is immutable, and yet eminently containeth all things in his indiviſible Eſſence, he eternally and immutably fits all the poſſible varieties whereof contingency it ſelf is capable. Being all things elſe, he is fitneſs it ſelf in a moſt eminent and excellent manner: the preſent diſpoſition of every thing, either whiles it firſt begins to be, or continues the ſame, or whiles it is in the change or motion (whether from good to evil, or from evil to good, from evil to worſe, or from good

to better) is more exquiſitely fitted in it own kind, by Eternal, Immutable and Incomparable fitneſs; then it could be by any other meaſure, which the Creator himſelf could create with it, or deviſe for it, after the alteration or change were accompliſhed. In that he is indiviſibly *One*, and yet eminently *All*, he is Immutable, contrariety it ſelf unto contraries: Arithmetical equality it ſelf to things equal, Geometrically equal to things unequal according to every degree of their unequal capacities, in what ſort ſoever. And as of his other Attributes one truly and really is another, ſo in reſpect of man, his *meaſure* is his judgment or retribution whether of rewards or puniſhments, not the rule only by which he rewards or puniſheth. Unto man in his firſt creation, and whiles he continued as he created him, he was and would have continued bounty it ſelf; unto man yet as he is his Creature, he is love it ſelf: and unto man made by his own folly an impotent wretched and miſerable Creature, he is ſo entirely mercy and compaſſion it ſelf, that were there a diſtinct god of love, or a goddeſs of mercy, or two infinite living abſtracts of meer love, and meer mercy; they could not be ſo loving and merciful unto man touched with the ſenſe of his own miſeries, nor ſolicite him ſo ſeriouſly and perpetually unto repentance as *he* doth, who is entirely infinite mercy, but not mercy only. Unto the truly penitent he is ſo truly and entirely gratiouſneſs it ſelf, that if there were a Trinity of ſuch abſtract Graces, as the Poets have faigned, they could be but a figure or picture of his ſolid and infinite gratiouſneſs. Unto the elect and throughly ſanctified, he is ſo truly and entirely felicity and ſalvation it ſelf; that if the Heathen goddeſſes, *Felicitas* and *Salus*, or *Plat'os Idea* of true happineſs might be inſpired with life and ſence; they could not communicate half that happineſs to any one man (though they would chooſe his heart for their cloſet, or actuate his reaſonable Soul as it doth the ſenſitive) that is imparted by him to all his choſen, who is entirely infinite happineſs, but not happineſs only. For unto the impenitent and deſpiſers of his bounty, of his love, his mercy, grace, and ſalvation; he is juſtice, indignation, and ſeverity it ſelf. *Nemeſis* her ſelf were ſhe enabled with Spirit, life and power much greater then the Heathens aſcribed unto her, and permitted to rage without controle of any ſuperiour Law; ſhould not be able with all the aſſiſtance the Furies could afford her, to render vengeance unto Satan and his wicked Angels, in ſuch full and exquiſite meaſure as the juſt Judge will do in that laſt dreadful day. Then ſhall he truly appear to be, as our Apoſtle ſpeaks, *All in All :* the infinite abſtract of all thoſe powers which the Heathens adored for gods, as authors either of good or of evil: Then ſhall he fully appear to be mercy, goodneſs, grace and felicity; *Nemeſis*, *pavor*, and terrour it ſelf; the indiviſible, and incomprehenſible *Idea* of all things, which in this life our love did ſeek after, or our fear naturally laboured to avoid: The only Load-ſtone whereto our love, our deſire in our creation were directed, was his goodneſs and loving kindneſs. And fear was implanted in our nature as an Helm or Rudder to divert us from his Immutable juſtice or indignation; which are as Rocks immovable, againſt whom whoſoever ſhall careleſly or preſumptuouſly run, muſt everlaſtingly periſh without redemption.

See Eſay 66. 14, 15, 16. Ezek. 7. 4. Deut. 7. 9, 10.

Qui quotidie contemnit Deum, etiam quotidie judicatur, non manifeſto ſed occulto judicio, non aperto ſed tamen certo : occultiora ſæpe ſunt certiora manifeſtioribus Coppen. in Pſalm. 7. Etiam Dei *μακροθυμία* eſt ipſius *δικαιοκρισία* Coppen. ibid.

FINIS.

A

TREATISE

OF THE

Divine Eſſence

AND

ATTRIBUTES:

CONTAINING

The Attribute of Omnipotency, of Creation and Providence, *&c.*

BOOK VI. PART II.

BY

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A TREATISE OF THE Divine Eſſence AND ATTRIBUTES:

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I believe in God the Father Almighty.

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SECTION I.

Of the Attribute of Omnipotency, and creative Power.

CHAP. I.

The Title of Almighty is not perſonal to the Father, but Eſſential to the Godhead.

IN further explication of this Article, it is added in the *NICENE CREED*, *I believe in one God the Father Almighty.* This Title of *Almighty* or *Omnipotency*, is not given to the *Son*, or to the *Holy Ghoſt*, nor are either of them expreſly *enſtiled* by the name of God, in the Creed. The omiſſion of the Title of God, and of the Attribute *Almighty*, (which is proper to the Godhead) when the perſons of the *Son* and of the *Holy Ghoſt* with their ſeveral offices are deſcribed; may adminiſter this ſcruple

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CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of Omnipotency, and of its object: of poſſibility and of impoſſibility.

Οὐκ ἀδυνατήσει παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ πᾶν ῥῆμα. *Nothing ſhall be unpoſſible unto God*, ſaith the Angel to the Bleſſed Virgin, doubting or moving this queſtion, *How ſhall I* (inſtantly) *conceive and bear a Son, ſeeing I know not a man?* That the accompliſhing of *that*, which the Angel had ſaid, was poſſible to God, the event did prove. But that nothing ſhould be impoſſible unto God, can neither be proved by any event, nor will it neceſſarily follow, at leaſt the neceſſity of its *conſequence* is not ſo clear from the words uttered by the Angel, which admit of ſome reſtriction. For to be God, or to be *equal with God*, is *ſomething*, more then meer nothing. Is it then *poſſible* for God to make a God every way *equal* unto himſelf? The *Son* of God, who was conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, and born of the Bleſſed Virgin, was equal with God, yet not ſo made, but ſo begotten from all Eternity. He is more then ῥῆμα, ὁ λόγος and is not comprehended under the *former* Propoſition. For being God from all Eternity, it was impoſſible he ſhould be made. Muſt then the Angels ſpeech, or the Article of Omnipotency be reſtrained to things poſſible? or is God ſaid to be Omnipotent only in *this reſpect*, that he is able to do all things, that are *poſſible* to be done? In reſpect of whom then ſhall they be counted poſſible? In reſpect of God himſelf, or in reſpect of Men or Angels? Or with reference to Angelical or humane knowledge only? or in reſpect of knowledge Divine? To be able only to do all things, that Man or Angels can do, or can conceive may be done, doth not exequiate or *fill* our conceit of power and wiſdom truly Infinite: it is much leſs than the full *extent*, or *contents* of Omnipotency: which certainly containeth *power* and *wiſdom* much greater than can be comprehended by Man or Angel. Again, to ſay that God can do all things, that are poſſible for *him* to do, or may be effected by his infinite power and wiſdom, is to ſay the ſame thing *twice*, and yet to leave the true *notion* of Omnipotency unexpreſſed.

Were the queſtion propounded, what things can be ſeen or heard; What things cannot be ſeen or heard: a man ſhould be little wiſer by this anſwer, *Things viſible only can be ſeen*; *Things inviſible cannot be ſeen: Things audible only can be heard*; *Things inaudible cannot be heard.* For if one which knows no Latine, nor the derivation of Engliſh words from it, ſhould further aſk what it is to be *viſible*, what it is to be *inviſible*; or what is the meaning or ſignification of *audible* and *inaudible?* the anſwer would be, That is *viſible*, which can be ſeen; that is *inviſible*, which cannot be ſeen: that is *audible*, which may be heard; that *inaudible*, which cannot be heard. So that he which formerly knew the ſignification of theſe words, or their *form* in Latine (whence they are derived,) ſhould learn nothing by this anſwer, which for real ſence is but *idem per idem*, a diverſity of words, without any difference in the thing ſignified by them. Again, though theſe two Propoſitions be convertible, [1. Every object of *ſight* is *viſible*, and whatſoever is *viſible* is the object of *ſight*: 2. Every object of *hearing* is *audible*, and whatſoever is *audible* is the object of *hearing*;] yet is not *viſibility* the true and proper object of *ſight*, nor *audibility* of *hearing*. To be *viſible*, or *inviſible*; to be *audible*, or *inaudible*, are terms *relative*. And every *relation* or *relative term* ſuppoſeth a ground or root, whence it ariſeth or reſults; which in nature hath precedency of it: now it is the *root* or ground from which the relation reſults, which is the proper object of every faculty, whether it be paſſive as our ſenſes are, or active, as our underſtanding is.

2. This relation or relative term, to be *viſible* or *audible*, reſults from the impreſſion, which the proper object of ſight or hearing make upon theſe two ſenſes, or at leaſt from the aptitude which they have to imprint their proper ſhape or *form* upon theſe ſenſes. The object of ſight, which is *colour* or *light*, cannot *found* the *relation* of *audibility*, becauſe neither light nor colour have any aptitude to imprint their *form* upon the ear; nor can the relation of *viſibility* reſult from *ſounds*, which are the proper object of *hearing*, becauſe *ſounds* have no aptneſs or power to make any ſenſitive impreſſion upon the eye. *Sounds* then are the proper object of hearing, and the ground or root, whence bodies take the denomination of being *audible*. *Light* or *colour* is the proper object of ſight, and the ground or root whence bodies in which light or colour is found, receive the relative denomination of being viſible. Unto the queſtion then, [*What things may be ſeen, what things may not be ſeen; what things may be heard, or may not be heard*] the true and only Philoſophical anſwer is, Thoſe things only can be ſeen, which are *endowed* with colours, or participate of light; thoſe things which have no colour or participation of light cannot be ſeen. Thoſe bodies only which are apt to make or give *ſound*, can be heard; thoſe which can yield no *ſound*, cannot be heard. If it ſhould further be demanded, why ſounds only are *audible*, when as neither colours nor other qualities can be *audible*, or become the object of hearing? The only way to aſſoil this queſtion would be to inſtruct him that makes it, in the manner how *ſounds* are produced, how they are carryed by the air unto the ear, how they are there entertained by the air, which the Ear or Organ of Hearing continually harbours within it ſelf for their entertainment. He that ſhould ſee the fabrick of the Ear, and take the uſe of its ſeveral parts (of the *anvil* and the *hammer* eſpecially) into ſerious conſideration, would ceaſe to enquire why ſounds are audible rather then colours, and begin to admire the inexpreſſible ſkill of the Artificer, which framed this live-eccho in all more perfect ſenſitive Creatures. No marvel if the ear perceive ſounds, ſeeing the uſe or exerciſe of this ſenſe is a continual imitation of the production of ſounds. And as no Creature underſtands the expreſſions of our rational internal notions, ſave that only which is endowed with the like internal notions of reaſon; ſo neither could the ear or ſenſe of hearing perceive ſounds, unleſs it had a continual internal *ſound* within it ſelf. He again that ſhould view the ſeveral humours of the eye, the Chryſtalline eſpecially, would never move queſtion, why colours ſhould make that impreſſion upon the eye, which they do not upon the Ear.

3. The point queſtioned in this part of Divinity, or concerning the meaning of this Attribute [Omnipotency] comes to this iſſue. Whether *power infinite* and *omnipotent* have any object whereunto it is, or

may be ſo immediately terminated, as *ſight* or the *viſive faculty* is unto *light* or *colours*, or as the faculty of hearing is to *ſounds*, whence the relation or relative denomination of *poſſibility* doth ſo reſult, as viſibility doth from the ſight or viſive faculty, as it reſpecteth colours. If infinite power preſuppoſe any other object pre-exiſtent to poſſibility, as light and colours are to viſibility, this object muſt needs be either privative or poſitive: Something or meer nothing. If we ſhall ſay this *object* is a poſitive entity, either it was from Eternity without dependance on his Almighty power, and ſo it ſhould be, as that power is, infinite. Or if we ſay this ſuppoſed object were from him, or by him, or had dependance on his power; then certainly it was *poſſible*, and therefore cannot be precedent to all poſſibility. Whence it may ſeem concluded, that Gods infinite power or Omnipotency is the only *foundation* of poſſibility, and by conſequence cannot poſſibly have any *object*, whereto it is or can be terminated, or ſo fitted, as the *viſive faculty* or *ſight* is to light or colours. Howbeit in truth the former reaſons only conclude, that the object of Omnipotency can be no poſitive entity, nor the *privation* or negation of any *determinate* being. But that the ſame *Omnipotent power* may have an object purely *negative*, or including a total negation of all things numerable, though their number were potentially infinite, the former reaſons or the like cannot enforce us to deny. All things are ſaid to be *poſſible* unto God, becauſe by his Omnipotent power, he can make all things not out of poſitive poſſibilities or Entities poſſible, but of meer nothing, that is, without any poſitive Entity pre-exiſtent, to ſerve either as *matter*, agent, or inſtrument. What? ſhall we ſay then, that things not poſſible only, but impoſſible, may be done or made by power Omnipotent? Or may we ſay that impoſſibility is either ſomething, or at leaſt (as ſome have taught) a degree or part of *non eſſe*, or of *nothing?* But how can that which *is not*, have any degrees or parts? Or, admit we might conceive things *impoſſible* or, *impoſſibilities* to be degrees or parts of *nothing*, yet ſo conceived, we muſt needs conceive them to have the ſame *negative* conditions or properties, which are attributed to *non eſſe*, to *ſimple not being* or to *nothing*, that is, they might be ſuch *objects* of infinite power, as *non eſſe*, or *not being* is. Yet he that made all things that are, of nothing, and can reſolve them into nothing again, doth never attempt or profer to reſolve them into *impoſſibilities*, nor did he make any thing of *impoſſibles*. Whether then *impoſſibility* or *impoſſibles* be ſomething or nothing, how is it poſſible they ſhould ſo reſiſt the power Omnipotent, which can do all things, as that nothing can be made of them? Laſtly, if impoſſibilities can be no objects of Gods power, then things *poſſible* or *poſſibilities*, muſt be the only object of it, and ſo we ſhall fall into the former Circle, that God can do thoſe things only that are poſſible, and thoſe things only are poſſible which God can do.

4. Here the Schools acutely diſtinguiſh between *poſſibility relative* and *abſolute*. * *Poſſibility relative* being the firſt draught or capacity of

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* Certe non eſt perfectus & pulcher mundus, niſi omne quod ſit pulchrum, ſit aliqua *bonitas* quæ velit; & omne quod ſcibile, ſit *ſapientia* quæ ſciat; & quod poſſibile, potentia quæ poſſit. Nam qua aliquid poſſibile non potuit, aut *ſcibile* ignoravit, aut pulchrum noluit, vel invidit, mancum & imperfectum exierit opificium: ipſum verò pulchrum, aut ſcibile, nemo definit ad bonitatem volentis, aut ſcientiam ſcientis. Sed pulchrum eſt, quod rei cui accidit ad propriam bonitatem obtinendam, perfectionem adjicit; & ſcibile, quod in ſeſe habet principium, unde ſciri poſſit: igitur neq; poſſibile, quod ſimplicitur dicitur & non ad aliquid, definiri debet ad potentiam: ſed ſimpliciter poſſibile, eſt illud quo facto & poſito, nulla repugnantia ſit, aut contradictio. Tunc enim res per ſeſe fuerit impoſſibilis, cum in ipſa eſt (ut ita dicamus) impoſſibilitas. Externum vero quiddam fuerit, ſi ob id ſolum dicatur impoſſibilis, quod non ſit cauſa quæ poſſit facere. Oportet igitur ſit in rebus cauſa aliquæ, quæ poſſit, quidquid in ſeſe repugnantiam nullam continet. At vero fieri ex nihilo non eſt ſimpliciter impoſſibile, ſed impoſſibile cuidam virtuti finitæ, puta naturali; qua virtute eſſe aliam ſuperiorem, & potentiorem, non eſt impoſſibile. *Valleſius de ſacr. Philoſoph. pag.* 20.

all *being* or *perfection* limited, muſt needs be founded upon Omnipotency: nothing is *relatively* poſſible, but by reference to, or by denomination from this Almighty Power. Abſolute poſſibility they conceive *ad modum objecti*, as it were an object that doth terminate Omnipotent power, not *poſitively* as colours do ſight; but privately as *darkneſs* doth ſight; or as an empty ſphere without which Omnipotency it ſelf doth never work. This abſolute *poſſibility*, or *poſſibility meerly Logical*, which is preſuppoſed to *relative poſſibility*, as *light* or *colour* is to *viſibility*, cannot otherwiſe be notified or expreſſed than by this negative, *of not implying contradiction*. But here the former difficulty concerning *impoſſibilities* meets with us in another ſhape. For it will be again demanded, whether *contradiction* be any thing or nothing? or how it ſhould come to oppoſe Gods Almighty power, more then either *non eſſe*, ſimple not being, or all things that are poſſibly can do? Can it be leſs then nothing? That is impoſſible; rather it is, if not ſo much more, yet ſo much worſe then nothing, as that it cannot poſſibly bear the true form or character of any thing; and for this reaſon can be no object of power Omnipotent. Under that notion which we have of Omnipotency or infinite *Being*, *Truth it ſelf*, and *Vnitie it ſelf* or *Identity*, are as eſſentially included, as *Entity* or *Being* it ſelf. It is no impotency in God, but rather the Prerogative of his Omnipotency, that he cannot weaken his power by diviſion, nor admit any mixture of Imbecility, that he cannot deny or contradict himſelf. In that he is infinitely *true*, or infinite *Truth* it ſelf, the ratification or approbation of contradictions, is more incompatible with his Nature or Eſſence, than falſhood is with truth, than weakneſs with power, than malice with goodneſs. There is no falſhood unleſs it include ſome degrees or ſeeds of contradiction: as all *Truth* is the offspring of *Vnity* or *Identity*. In concluſion, as all things which are or poſſibly may be, can be no more then *participations* of his *Beeing*, who is *Beeing it ſelf*: ſo they muſt by an eternal Law, whenſoever they begin to be, bear a true though an imperfect reſemblance of his *Vnity*, of his *Identity*, of his *Veracity*, as well as of his power which is omnipotently true, omnipotently juſt.

5. In anſwer to the laſt difficulty propoſed, it muſt be ſaid that impoſſibility is neither any poſitive *Entity*, nor is it any part or branch of *non eſſe*, or of nothing. For in reſpect of him who is *All*, more then all things, there can be no abſolute *non eſſe*. *He calleth things that are not as if they were*, that is, he can by his *ſole word* make all things which yet are not, which yet have not been, to have true being. He can make any thing of nothing. That then which we call *impoſſibility*, muſt not be derived from *non eſſe*, nor from falſhood, which is finally reſolved into contradiction. So that the rule of contradiction is the *Teſt*, by which impoſſibilities, as well as falſhood muſt be diſcovered: and it is more to be impoſſible then to be falſe. From what Fountain then doth impoſſibility ſpring? From abſolute and Omnipotent power, or from the infinity of the Divine nature? But ſeeing in him all power and being is contained, ſeeing the very poſſibility of limited being takes its beginning from him, the poſſibility of weakning his power, the poſſibility of contradicting or oppoſing himſelf, muſt by the eternal Law be excluded from the object of Omnipotency. As we ſay, two negatives make an affirmative, ſo to be unable to diſ-enable it ſelf, is no imperfection, no impotency; but the greateſt perfection, the higheſt degree of power whereof any

nature is capable, becauſe the impoſſibility of diſ-enabling or weakning himſelf is a poſitive branch of the prerogative of Omnipotency. 2. It is not ſo true an argument of power in men to be illimited by law, or to be able to do what they liſt, as to be willing to do nothing, but that which is lawful and juſt: unleſs mans will be a law to his power, and goodneſs a law unto his will, how abſolute and illimited ſoever his power may be in reſpect of other men, or of any coactive law which they can make to reſtrain it, it may quickly come to make an end of it ſelf. And the *end* or ceſſation of power abſolute is the worſt kind of limit that can be ſet unto it.

The power of the *Perſian* Kings, was ſometimes ſo abſolute and ſo illimited, that *Cambyſes* having no poſitive law to curb his will, fell in love with his own Siſter. And yet ſo natural is the *notion* of mans ſubjection unto ſome law, even unto men of corrupt minds, that this lawleſs King conſulted his Judges, whether his deſire to enjoy the love of his Siſter, might be countenanced by law. The effect of theſe Sages anſwer, was, that they knew no law in ſpecial, which might warrant the Brother to marry the Siſter, but they had found a tranſcendent law, by which the Kings of *Perſia* might do what they liſt. By the like prerogative of this tranſcendent law; another King, upon her requeſt did delegate his abſolute power unto his Queen for a day. And ſhe by delegation of this power, having liberty to do what ſhe liſt, did uſe it to the deſtruction of him that gave it her: for ſhe cut off his head, before ſhe ſurrendred it. It is then a branch of the Almighties Prerogative, that his Omnipotent Power cannot for a moment be delegated or bequeathed to any other; that as he can do whatſoever he will, ſo nothing can be done or willed by him, which may derogate from the endleſs exerciſe of his infinite Majeſty, power, truth, or goodneſs.

The uſe of this doctrine concerning the prerogative of Omnipotency, and the abſolute *impoſſibility* of doing any thing that may derogate from it, is in general this. As no opinion in the judgment of Philoſophers can be convinced of abſurdity, until it be reſolved into a contradiction either unto it ſelf, or unto ſome principle of nature, from which it pretends ſome Original Title of *Truth*: ſo the only rule for the diſcovering impiety of opinions in *Divinity*, or for convincing their Authors of Hereſie or Infidelity, is by manifeſting their *repugnancy* or contradiction to ſome one or other divine Attribute, or to ſome ſpecial promiſe or aſſeveration made by the Almighty in Scriptures, and whoſoever denies or contradicts any part of Gods word, doth contradict the divine truth or veracity which no man hath any temptation either to deny or contradict, but from ſome doubt or denial of his Omnipotency. Of ſuch opinions as either contradict this Article of Omnipotency, or falſely pretend ſome colourable title of truth from it, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the particular Articles, againſt which theſe Errors are conceived, or whoſe truth they prejudice. Having hitherto declared the object and meaning of this Article, we are in the next place to prove the truth of it againſt the Atheiſt.

CHAP. III.

This viſible world did witneſs the inviſible power and unity of the Godhead unto the Ancient Heathens.

1. LEſt any man ſhould miſ-conceive the *former title* of *Almighty* to be but as a fair promiſing Frontiſpiece to an unreſponſible work, we have the *fabrick* of this Univerſe, the whole world it ſelf and all things in it, produced as witneſſes of the *Almighty* fathers all-ſufficiency for effecting whatſoever either this grand Attribute of *Omnipotency*, or any other Article of this Creed may promiſe or intimate unto us. For when we profeſs our belief, that there is a Father *Almighty*, who made the Heaven and Earth, we muſt believe not only that he made both, but that he which ſo made them both, is both able and willing to effect all things for us, for which we have his promiſe; even things which neither eye hath ſeen, nor ear hath heard; things which cannot poſſibly enter into the heart of man, by any bodily ſenſe. To this purpoſe the Nicene Creed expreſſeth this Article more fully, *I believe in one God the Father Almighty, maker of Heaven and Earth, and of all things viſible and inviſible.* He that hath already made many things to us inviſible, can prepare thoſe things for us, which neither eye hath ſeen nor ear hath heard. The inſpection of this great viſible ſphere, did convince the underſtandings of ſuch as had no other book, beſides this great book of Nature, to inſtruct them; the underſtandings of men altogether unacquainted with *Moſes* writings, that the Author of this great Book, was the only God, the only *inviſible power*, which deſerved this *ſoveraign* title. For though it be probable that *Plato* had read *Moſes* his Hiſtory, and his Law; there is no probability, that either *Orpheus* or *Pythagoras*, both far more ancient then *Plato*, had read or ſeen them, or could underſtand the language wherein they were in their times only extant: Yet *Juſtin Martyr* one of the moſt Ancient Chriſtian Writers, produceth the teſtimony of *Pythagoras*, (an Heathen Philoſoper againſt the Heathen) as a *Second* to *Orpheus* for confirmation of that truth, which we Chriſtians in this Article believe.

Juſtin. Mart. De Monarchia Dei.

Εἴ τις ἐρεῖ Θεὸς εἰμι πάρεξ ἑνὸς οὗτὸς ὀφείλει
Κόσμον ἶσον τότω στήσας εἰπεῖν, ἐμὸς οὗτὸς.

Let him that ſays, I am a God, win homage by his deed,
And lay a world like this to pawn, before I give him Creed.

2. Now albeit neither *Orpheus* nor *Pythagoras* were Canonical Writers, though their joynt authority be not infallible, yet the Holy Ghoſt a Teacher moſt infallible, hath declared the reaſons which they uſed, to be moſt infallible by the teſtimony of two Canonical Writers. The firſt is that of the Pſalmiſt, *Pſal.* 96. 4, 5. *The Lord is great and greatly to be praiſed: he is to be feared above all gods. For all the gods of the Nations are Idols, or gods no gods: but the Lord made the Heavens.* The Prophet *Jeremy* is more expreſs and more peremptory, Chap. 10. ver. 10. 11, 12. *But the Lord is the true God, he is the living God and an everlaſting King: at his wrath the Earth ſhall tremble, and the Nations ſhall not be able to abide his indignation. Thus ſhall ye*

ſay unto them, The gods that have not made the Heavens, and the Earth, even they ſhall periſh from the Earth, and from under thoſe Heavens. He hath made the Earth by his power, he hath eſtabliſhed the world by his wiſdom, and hath ſtretched out the Heavens by his diſcretion.

3. The conſonancy between the live oracles of God and the dictates of reaſon in Heathen men, afford us this *Aphoriſm*, that it is not *nature* her ſelf (which is never otherwiſe than negatively, or at the moſt *Privatively* oppoſed to the goodneſs of God) but the corruption of nature, which is always contrary to the good Spirit of God, whereby men are ſeduced unto Atheiſm. And ſeeing this corruption of nature whereof *Atheiſm* is the ſymptom, is the only diſeaſe of the Soul; the diſeaſe and the ſymptom cannot more kindly be cured then by reviving the ſtrength of nature. The receipt for reviving and ſtrengthning nature muſt be compounded of theſe two *Truths*; both evident by light of reaſon, not eclipſed by *interpoſition* of corrupt affections or malignant habits, or freed from theſe by illumination of the ſpirit. The firſt truth is, *That this viſible world did not make it ſelf, but had a maker which gave it beginning and continuation of being:* the *ſecond*, *that the making of this viſible world doth evince the maker of it to be Omnipotent*, and able to effect whatſoever he hath promiſed. But before the former truth can have its operation upon the Humane Soul which is miſ-affected; the objections of the Atheiſts muſt be removed. All his objections may be reduced to theſe two, *ex nihilo nihil fit*; of nothing nothing can be made: whence ſeeing we acknowledg *Creation*, either to be a making of all things of nothing, or (at leaſt) to ſuppoſe that ſome things are made of meer nothing: the truth which we Chriſtians in this Article believe, may ſeem directly to contradict a Philoſophical truth or principle in *nature*. This firſt objection is ſeconded by another. To create or to make ſomething of nothing is to be active: or thus, *Creation ſuppoſeth an Agent, and every Agent pre-ſuppoſeth a Patient.* Now if there were any patient, or paſſive power præ-exiſtent to the Act of Creation, this paſſive power or patient wherein it lodgeth was not created, but muſt have a being from Eternity. From the difficulty *included* in this laſt Objection, ſome Philoſophers did conceive an *unfaſhioned* or confuſed maſs, coequal to the Eternity of Divine Power, which they acknowledge to be the Artificer or Framer of this great work, into that uniformity or beauty of ſeveral forms which now it bears. The firſt objection admits a double ſenſe or double conſtruction, and hath no truth in reſpect of the Almighty Maker, ſave only in the impertinent ſenſe. The ſecond Objection univerſally taken, is falſe.

The two main Principles contained in the Article of Creation.

CHAP. IV.

The firſt objection of the Atheiſt. Of nothing, nothing can be made. *Of the doubtful ſenſe of this* natural, *how far it is true, and how far it is falſe.*

1. WHen it is ſaid by the Naturaliſt, that *nothing can be made of nothing*, or *that every thing which is made is made of ſomething*: this Particle *ex* or *of*, hath not always the ſame importance: and in the

multiplicity of its ſignifications or importances, the Naturaliſt either hood-winks himſelf, or takes opportunity to hide his errour; or at leaſt makes advantage of the doubtful phraſe againſt ſuch as ſeek to refel him. When we ſpeak of Natural bodies or ſublunary *ſubſtances*, this Particle *of*, uſually denotes the proper and immediate *Matter* whereof every ſuch body is made. Thus we ſay the Elements are mutually made one *of* another, or *of* the *Matter* which is common to them all; mixt bodies are made *of* the *Elements* wrought or compacted into one Maſs; vegetables and living ſubſtances indued with ſenſe, are made *of* mixt bodies, as of their immediate and proper *matter*. Sometimes the ſame Particle *of* or that ſpeech (*this body is made of that*) doth not denote the immediate and proper *matter* whereof it is made, but yet imports that part of the bodily ſubſtance, which was in the one, becomes an ingredient in the other which is made of it. So of water, wine was made by miracle, *John* 2. yet not made of water as of its immediate or proper *matter*, not ſo as vapours are made of moyſture, or diſtilled *waters* of fume or ſmoak: for ſo, that great *work* had been no true miracle, had included no creation, but a *generation* only. Now it is impoſſible unto nature to generate wine of water, without the ingredient of any other Element. It cannot be made by Generation otherwiſe then of the juice or *ſap* of the Vine, which is not a ſimple Element, but the *Expreſſion* of a body perfectly mixt. Howbeit in this miraculous converſion of water into wine, ſome part of the corporeal ſubſtance of water did remain as an ingredient in the wine. There was not an utter annihilation of the water, and a new production of wine in the ſame place, where water had been, but a true and miraculous *Tranſubſtantiation* of water into wine. And * thus we muſt grant that *Trees* and *Vegetables* were on the third day made, not immediately of nothing. That Fiſhes and Beaſts were made, the one of the bodily ſubſtance of the earth, and the other of the bodily ſubſtance of the waters, neither immediately made of nothing, albeit both were made, not by *Generation*, but by Creation, that is, not of any bodily *matter*, naturally diſpoſed to bring forth or receive *that form*, which by the Creators hand, was inſtamped upon them. For in true Philoſophy, That which Philoſophers call the *matter* of all things generable, was not the firſt ſublunary ſubſtance which was produced; nor was it *comproduced* or *concreated* with them, but created in them after they were made. God had gathered the waters into one place, and the dry land into another, before either of them had power to conceive or become the common mothers of Vegetable and living things. Thus were the Heaven and the Earth firſt made, and the waters divided by the Firmament, whereas the Earth did not become the *Matter* or common *mother* of things vegetable, before the third day, wherein God ſaid, *Let the earth bring forth graſs, the herb yielding ſeed, and the fruit tree, yielding fruit after his kind, whoſe ſeed is in it ſelf upon the earth; and it was ſo*, *Gen.* I. II. Nor did the waters become the common *Matter* or *mother* of Fiſhes, before the fifth day, *Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life*, &c. Now this production of herbs or plants out of the earth, of fiſh and fowle out of the ſubſtance of the water, was not a meer conſervation or actuation of that

Of this Argument ſee Eraſtus *in the beginning of his firſt Tome againſt* Paracelſus.

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* De verbo, creare, ego ita cenſeo, creare duplex eſſe, alterum & præcipuum, ex nihilo facere: alterum ſine materiæ diſpoſitione facere. Nam ſubſtantia non videtur aliter fieri poſſe, quam generatione, aut creatione. Generatio vero non eſt niſi in materia diſpoſita: quæ igitur ſine materiæ diſpoſitione eſt, creatio vocari debet. Quapropter ſive ex nihilo omnia, ſive ex nihilo quædam, quadam ex materia non depoſita, ſed jubendo fecit; omnium eſt Deus effector & Creator. Valleſius. c. 2. p. 22.

that power, which the earth and waters had before; but the Creation of a new power in them, the continuation of which power, is part of that, which we call the paſſive power of the *matter*. Nor had the Fiſhes or Whales, which God Created, this paſſive power in themſelves from their firſt Creation, but received it from that bleſſing of God, *ver.* 22. *Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the waters in the Seas, and let Fowl multiply in the Earth.* Nor did the earth become the Common *mother* of Vegetables, as of Herbs, Graſs, Trees, &c. and of more perfect living Creatures at the ſame time. It received power to bring forth the one upon the third day; not enabled to bring forth the other, until the fifth day. God ſaid, *Let the earth bring forth the living Creature after his kind, Cattel, and creeping thing, and Beaſt of the Earth.* So that all theſe and man himſelf were not immediately made of nothing, though immediately made by God himſelf: for they were made by him of the ſubſtance of the Earth, which was viſible and præexiſtent to their making, though not made of it as of the *matter*. But when it is ſaid, in the firſt of *Geneſis*, [*God in the beginning made the Heaven and Earth*] it cannot be ſuppoſed or imported, that he made them of any viſible or inviſible ſubſtance præ-exiſtent: and if he made them or their common *maſs* of no ſubſtance præ-exiſtent, here was ſomething made of nothing: but how of nothing? or what doth this Particle import? not that *nothing* ſhould remain as an ingredient in the firſt maſs, or as if it had the like precedency to it, as the earth had to living things: the Almighty did not ſo turn nothing into ſomething, as our Saviour did water into wine. To ſay any thing could be made of *nothing* in this ſenſe, or according to the former importances of the Particle *of*, doth indeed imply an evident contradiction; for ſo nothing ſhould be ſomething, and ſimple *not being* ſhould have a true being. To make nothing to be ſomething, falls not within the object of power Omnipotent; it can be no part of the Almighty makers work. As *Cyphers* cannot be multiplyed into numbers, by any skill in *Arithmetick*, though ſuppoſed infinite; ſo neither can *nothing* be converted into *ſomething*, nor become an ingredient in bodies created by any power, though infinite. As the Omnipotent Creator is one unity it ſelf, ſo every thing which he makes muſt have its Unity or Identity, it cannot conſiſt of contradictories.

2. When it is ſaid, that all things were made of nothing, or that Creation ſuppoſeth ſome things to be immediately made of *nothing*, this Particle *of*, can only import *terminum à quo*, the term only of the Action, not any *matter* or *ſubject*: and yet the term thus imported, can be no poſitive Entity, but a meer negation of any poſitive Entity precedent. To make the Heavens and Earth of nothing, is in *real value* no more, then to make them not of any *matter* or *Entity* præ-exiſtent, whether *viſible* or *inviſible*, on which their Maker did exerciſe his *efficient power* or *efficacy*; but to give them ſuch Being, as they then firſt began to have, that is, a corporeal Being or exiſtence, by the meer efficacy or vertue of his *word*. As, ſuppoſe the Sun ſhould in a moment be ſuffered to tranſmit his light into a cloſe vault of ſtone; we might truly ſay, this Heavenly body, did make light of darkneſs, *tanquam ex termino*, in that it made light to be there, where was no light at all before, but meer darkneſs. And thus to make light out of darkneſs, doth no way argue that it turned darkneſs into light, or that *darkneſs* did remain as an ingredient in the

Tome II. the *light* made. After this manner, did the Almighty make the Heaven and Earth of nothing, that is, he made the *corporeal* maſs or *ſubſtance*, out of which all things viſible were made, where no limited ſubſtance, whether viſible or inviſible, was before; and by the ſame *efficiency*, by which this maſs was made, he made *place* or *ſpatiouſneſs quantitative*, which had no Being at all before; he did not turn *indiviſibility* into *ſpatiouſneſs*, or meer *vacuity* into *fulneſs*: *fulneſs* and *ſpatiouſneſs* were the *reſultance* of that maſs which was firſt made, without any Entity or ingredient præ-exiſtent. To make ſomething of nothing in this ſenſe, implies no contradiction; there is no impoſſibility that the Heaven and Earth ſhould be thus made, but this will not ſuffice to refute the Atheiſt or Infidel. For many things are poſſible which are not probable, and many things probable which are not neceſſary. The next queſtion then is, what neceſſity there is in the infallible rules of nature and reaſon, that the Heavens and the Earth, ſhould be made of nothing. Againſt the probability only of *Moſes* his Hiſtory of the firſt Creation, the Atheiſt will yet oppoſe this general induction, *That all bodily ſubſtances that begin to be* what before they were not, that all things *which we ſee made*, are always made by ſome *efficient* cauſe, not out of meer nothing, *but of ſome imperfect being præ-exiſtent*. To examine then the general rule pretended to *amount* from this general induction, or what truth there is in that Philoſophical *maxim*, *ex nihilo nihil fit*, is the next point.

CHAP. V.

By what manner of induction or enumeration of particulars, Univerſal Rules or Maxims muſt be framed and ſupported. That no induction can be brought to prove the Naturaliſts Maxim; Of nothing nothing can be made.

1. TO frame a general rule or principle in any *Faculty*, *Art*, or *Science*, there is no other means poſſible beſides induction, or a ſufficient enumeration of particular Experiments to ſupport it. The particulars from which this ſufficiency muſt amount, may be in ſome ſubjects fewer, in others more. How many ſoever the particular Inſtances or alledged Experiments be; the number of them will not ſuffice to ſupport an Univerſal Rule, unleſs they *erect* our underſtandings to a clear view of the ſame reaſon, not only in all the Particulars inſtanced in, but in all that can be brought of the ſame kind. Unleſs there be a clear *reſultance* of the ſame reaſon in all, the induction fails, and the rule which is grounded on it, muſt needs fall. For this cauſe, Univerſal Rules are eaſily framed in the Mathematicks, or in other Arts, whoſe ſubjects are more abſtract, or not charged with multiplicity of conſiderations or *ingredients*; from whoſe leaſt variation, whether by Addition or Subſtraction, whether by further commixture or diſſolution, the cauſe or reaſon of truth ſo varies, that the rule which conſtantly holds in a great many like Particulars, will not hold in all, becauſe they are not abſolutely or every way alike.

He which ſeriouſly obſerves the manner, how *right angles* are framed, will without difficulty yield his aſſent unto this Univerſal

Rule; *That all right angles are equal*, becauſe he ſees there is one and the ſame reaſon of abſolute equality in *all* that can be imagined. And this negative Rule, will by the ſame *inſpection*, win our aſſent without more ado, that if any two angles be unequal, the one of them (at leaſt) can be no right angle. The conſideration likewiſe of a few particulars, will ſuffice to make up theſe univerſal never-failing Rules.

1. Firſt, That the greater any circle is, the greater always will the angle of the ſemicircle be.

2. The ſecond, That the angle of the leaſt ſemicircle which can be imagined, is greater then the moſt capacious *acute-angle* that can be made by the concurrence of two right lines. And yet it will as clearly appear from the inſpection of the ſame particulars, from which the former Rules do amount, that the *angle* of the greateſt *ſemicircle* imaginable, cannot poſſible be ſo capacious, as every right *angle* is. The conſideration of the former Rules, ſpecially of the firſt and third, will clearly manifeſt, that the quantity contained in theſe angles, how little ſoever they be, is *diviſible* into infinite indeterminate parts, or *diviſible* into ſuch parts, without poſſible end or limitation of *diviſion*. But albeit the difference of quantity between a right angle and the angle of a ſemicircle, be *potentially infinite*, or infinitely *diviſible*, according to parts or portions indeterminate; yet will it not hence follow, that the one *angle* is as great again as the *other*, according to the ſcale of any diſtinct or determinate quantity, or *expreſſible* portions. And this obſervation in Mathematical quantity, would quickly check or diſcover the weakneſs of many *Calculatory Arguments*, or inductions oft-times uſed by great Divines in matters moral or civil. As for example, that every *ſin* deſerveth puniſhment *infinite*, becauſe every ſin is an offence committed againſt an Infinite Being or Majeſty. And the greater, or more Soveraign the Majeſty is, which we offend; the greater always will the offence be, and meritorious of greater puniſhment. Yet all this only proves, an infinity of *indeterminate degrees* in every offence againſt the Divine Majeſty, by which it exceeds all offences of the ſame kind committed only againſt man: it no way infers an *infinite* exceſs or odds of *actual* determinate puniſhment, or ill deſerts. For this reaſon, we have derived the juſt *award* of everlaſting ſupernatural pains, unto temporary and tranſient (bodily or natural) pleaſures, from the contempt of Gods Infinite Goodneſs, which deſtinates no Creatures unto everlaſting death, but ſuch as he had made capable of everlaſting joys; nor were any of them infallibly deſtinated unto everlaſting death, until they had by voluntary tranſgreſſion, or continuance in deſpiſing of the Riches of his Goodneſs, made themſelves uncapable of the Bliſs to which he had deſtinated them.

See the firſt part of the Divine Eſſence and Attributes, Chap.20. pag. 219. 220.

2. But to return unto the force or efficacy of Induction: that (we ſay) is neither ſo clear, nor ſo facile in matters Phyſical or Moral, as it is in the Mathematicks. Now, the reaſon, why *perfect* Inductions are ſo difficultly made in matters Natural, is, becauſe the *ſubject* of Natural Philoſophy is not ſo *ſimple* or *compounded*, as Mathematical Bodies or Figures are: and yet are Natural Bodies ſubject to greater *variety* of *circumſtances*, more obnoxious to alteration by occurrences external, than abſtract lines, or *motionleſs* figures, or bodies are. The cunningeſt Alchymiſt (albeit he could exactly temper his furnace to all the ſeveral degrees of heat, that any fewel, of what kind ſoever,

could afford) cannot by any fire, or by any degree of *heat*, which iſſues from it, hatch the moſt imperfect bird that flyes; yet if he ſhould hence infer, that no Birds could be hatched by any kind of heat, daily experience would convince his aſſertion of falſhood, and his induction, although it conſiſted of ten thouſand Inſtances or Experiments taken from the heat of the Forge, or Furnace, to be altogether lame. A man might try the like concluſion of hatching Birds, in all the ſands, that this Iſland affords, upon the *Eggs* of all the *Fowls* that breed in it, or about it, and find their *barrenneſs* and unaptneſs for bringing forth any flying Creature, to be as great, as it is for bringing forth Wheat or other Corn. And I am perſwaded the *Compoſt* of this our ſoyl is as unapt to bring forth the former effects, as our *Sands* are. Yet if any man ſhould hence make this general iuduction, that no *ſand* or * *compoſt* could perform this *midwifery* to the conception of any *Fowls*; his error might be confuted by the Oſtriches, which have been hatched in the ſands of *Arabia*; and by ſome *compoſt* in *Egypt*, which performs that office unto young Chickens, which *Brood-hens* do with us. No man in his time, or ſince he dyed, hath been either more accurate or more induſtrious in obſerving the external cauſes of ſickneſs and health, then *Hippocrates* was. And no queſtion, but he was as careful to take his obſervations, or frame his general Rules, from multitude of Experiences, as any Philoſopher or *Phyſition* hath been. Notwithſtanding * his obſervation concerning the nature and qualities of winds, and the *dependence* of mens health or ſickneſs upon them, are farther out of date in *France*, then an Almanack made the laſt year for the Meridian of *London*, would be this year for the Meridian of *Mexico*. The ſame winds, which in his Country, or in Countries wherein he made his obſervations, were moſt healthful; are moſt noyſom in ſome parts of *France*. The diverſity of the *ſoyl*, whence winds in ſeveral Regions ariſe or paſs through, makes one and the ſame wind (in reſpect of the point or quarter of Heaven from whence it comes) to produce quite contrary effects in ſeveral Regions or Situations. The Eaſt-wind may in ſome Regions, diſpoſe mens bodies to the *Jaundice*, and yet purifie mens blood in other places not far diſtant for latitude. So may the Southwind, in ſome Regions, taint mens bodies with Conſumptions, Coughs, or other Infirmities, and yet be healthful in other Regions not much diſtant for longitude.

Let then the meer Naturaliſt tire himſelf, and his Reader, by long Inductions, or with multitude of Experiments in Agents and Subjects natural, for ſupporting his general Rule, *ex nihilo nihil fit* [*Every thing is made of ſomething*] yet his obſervation will reach no farther then to Agents, or *efficients*, *viſible*, or *limited.* Albeit his Experiments in this kind were infinite; this Inference nevertheleſs [No viſible Agent can make any thing of nothing, therefore nothing can be made of nothing by an inviſible or ſupernatural Agent] would be more disjoynted then this following; *No heat* of fire *or of the Sun in what degree* ſoever, can hatch live creatures, *ergo* the heat of the *Dam* cannot hatch her young ones. The difference between viſible Agents, may be much greater, then the difference between the heat or warmth of divers bodies. No earthly bodies can produce heat in others, but either by heat inherent in themſelves or by motion, yet this will not conclude, that no Celeſtial Body (the Sun for example) can produce heat in Bodies Sublunary, unleſs it ſelf be inherently

* *See* Macrobius *in his relation of* Auguſtus *his Apothegms.*

* Vide Septalium in Hippoc. de aere, aquis & locis.

inherently hot, or at leaſt not without motion. It is more then probable, that the Sun is not *formally* or inherently *hot*, and yet although it ſhould ſtand ſtill, (as once it did) in its ſphere above our horizon, it would heat and warm us no leſs then now it doth, whilſt it moveeth. For concluſion; to make any perfect induction ſufficient to ſupport an Univerſal Rule, from earthly bodies, which ſhall conclude bodies Cœleſtial, or from Agents ſublunary or viſible, which ſhall as uniformly hold true in an Agent inviſible and ſuper-cœleſtial, is more difficult then to twiſt ropes of looſe Sand. That which the Naturaliſt ſhould prove, if he would be an Atheiſt or Infidel in grain, or oppoſe the truth of Scriptures with probability, is, that there is no Inviſible or Spiritual Agent. And this is the point whereat the ſecond Objection aims: there can be no Agent without a Patient, no exerciſe of Art, or Power, without ſome *matter* or *ſubject* to work upon.

CHAP. VI.

The ſecond Objection of the Naturaliſt [Every Agent præſuppoſeth a Patient or Paſſive Subject to work upon] *cannot be proved by any Induction. The contradictory to this Maxim proved by ſufficient Induction.*

1. *Actus agentium ſunt in patiente bene diſpoſito.* The efficacy of every Agent (ſaith the Philoſopher) is in the Patient fitly diſpoſed to receive it. And elſe where he determines it as a poſitive truth, that every action is in the *patient*, not in the Agent. And this his poſition may be ratifyed by perfect Induction or Experiments inpregnable: for every action is an operation, and every operation is ſo neceſſarily annexed unto the *effect* produced, that where the one is, the other needs muſt be; and every effect is in the Patient, or at leaſt is the Patient. The ſoftning of Wax, the hardning of Clay, the *revival* of Vegetables of ſeveral kinds, are all actions proceeding from one and the ſame actual force, or unvariable influence of the Sun. The reaſon why the active force is but one and the ſame, and why the *actions* or *operations* are many and much different, is, becauſe the active force is in the Agent, whereas the *action* or operation is in the *Patient*, and is diverſly multiplyed according to the diverſity and multitude of the *Patients*. We ſhall not need to queſtion the Univerſal Truth of the former *Maxim*, *That every action is in the patient*, as ſome have done. For it holds as true in Divinity as in Philoſophy, and moſt apparent in the ſubject whereof we treat. Creation it ſelf is an *action*, a real *action*, yet not *really* in the Creator, but in the Creature only. For no real *Attribute* can be in the Creator, which was not in him from Eternity; The Creature only begets beginning of Being by Creation, which before it had not. If then there can be no Agency without an action, and every action be in the Patient, the cauſe is concluded, that every Agent though Omnipotent ſuppoſeth a Patient.

2. But it is one thing to ſuppoſe or require, another to præ-ſuppoſe or præ-require a *Patient*; one thing to require or ſuppoſe a Patient, another to require or ſuppoſe a *matter* or ſubject to work upon. We

are then to diſtinguiſh of Patients, and betwixt the works wrought or affected by Agents. A Patient is uſually taken for the *matter* or ſubject on which the Agent doth exerciſe his active force, or out of which it produceth its work. Every finite *Agent*, aſwel natural as artificial doth prerequire and preſuppoſe ſuch a kind of *patient*, that is, ſome real *matter* or ſubject, whereon to work. But this kind of *patient* is no juſt compere, no full *correlative* to an Agent univerſally taken. The relation betwixt an Agent and *Patient* taken in this ſenſe, is neither ſo *formal* or neceſſary, as it is (*inter Agens & actum*) *between the Agent*, *and that which is acted*, between the efficient and the *effect*, or between the *worker* and his work. God we grant could be no *actual Agent*, much leſs an Omnipotent actual Agent, without ſome Act or work produced by him. As there could be no *Creature* without a *Creator*, ſo could there be no *Creator* without a *Creature*. But that which the *Naturaliſt* is to prove, is, that the work of Creation preſuppoſeth ſome *matter* or ſubject for the Creator to work upon. To manifeſt the imperfection of his inductions to this purpoſe, and to clear our contradictory aſſertion, we are to diſtinguiſh or explicate the ſeveral works, which are or can be wrought.

3. Three ſorts of works the meer Naturaliſt grants. 1. *Meerly natural.* 2. *Meerly artificial.* 3. *Partly natural, partly artificial.* Works of the laſt rank, (for inſtance) are *Phyſical* medicines, or all ſuch works as Nature of her own accord, doth not attempt or undertake, but only as ſhe is ſet aworking by Art. Nature makes no Phyſical *Doſes*, but only affords the ſimples, of which they are compounded by the Apothecarie: who notwithſtanding cannot compound them without the miniſtery or operation of *Nature*. The Phyſitian may allot the ſeveral quantity of every ingredient, beſides the proportion betwixt them; but the mixture muſt be immediatly effected by *heat*, or other natural qualities. So likewiſe muſt the *extraction* or *expreſſion* of many ſimples be wrought by Nature, but at the appointment or direction of the Phyſitian. Nature doth not attempt the making of Bell-metal, much leſs of Bells; and yet ſhe affords all the ingredients to the Bell-founder, who cannot mix them by any *art*, or skill, without the *heat* of the Fire, or other operations of *Nature*, ſet on work or directed by him. Works mearly *natural* comprehend all ſorts of Bodies generable, whether the Elements, or Bodies mixt. The generation of every ſuch Body preſuppoſeth a mutation or alteration of qualities in the matter, before it become capable of a new *form* or *Nature*. Every alteration of quality wrought in any ſublunary Body (whether it be a previal diſpoſition or introduction to a new *form* or *nature*; or whether it be accompliſhed without generation of any new ſubſtance) is the proper effect or work of the agent, which cauſeth it. So is every artificial *work* or *form*, the effect or work of the Artificer. So that Art hath its proper effects as well as Nature, and every artificial *effect* or *work* ſuppoſeth an *efficiency* or agency in the Art or Artiſt: yet doth not the exerciſe of this active force or efficiency, either preſuppoſe or require any ſuch paſſive alteration of quality in the matter or *ſubject*, whereon it works, as *Nature* requires in her *patients*. Every *Statue* or Image of *wood*, is the effect of the Statuary, or a work of the *Art* of Imagery ? yet do not theſe works, being meerly artificial, either ſuppoſe, or neceſſarily require any *alteration* of *quality* in Stone and Wood. The Statuary

produceth no natural *effect* or *quality*, which was not in the Stone *before*, but only makes that *viſible* and apparent to the eye, which was formerly hidden or enveyled in the Stone. Every *Letter* of the Decalogue was in the Tables of Stone, before they were *ingraven*, either by the Finger of God or by *Moſes*, and became legible only by their Art or skill of Ingraving; yet not made legible by any *addition* of *ſubſtance*, of *quantity*, or *quality*, but by meer *abſciſion* of quantitative parts. And this abſciſion, from which viſible *Characters*, or *terminate* Figures *reſult*, whether in Wood or Stone, is the proper *effect* of the Carver or Ingraver. Both theſe inductions following, univerſally taken, are falſe, (though both true in their proper ſubject:) [1. No Statuary, or Carver, or other like Artificer can produce his proper work, without ſome abſciſion or variation of quantity in the ſubject, whereon he works: therefore Nature cannot produce her proper effects, without ſome alteration of quantity in the *matter* or ſubject wherein ſhe works. 2. Natural agents or efficients never produce their proper effects, but by working ſome alteration or quality in the Matter: therefore no Artificer can produce the proper works of his Art, without the like alteration of quality in the *ſubject* whereon he works.] Nor will it follow, that becauſe effects meerly artificial may be wrought without any alteration of quality, therefore mixt *effects*, or works partly *natural*, partly *artificial*, as compounded Medicines or Bell-metal, can be ſo wrought. Leaſt of all can it be inferred, that becauſe *Art* as well as *Nature* ſuppoſeth a ſubject pre-exiſtent whereon to work; therefore the *Agent ſupernatural*, or the *Efficient ſuperartificial*, always preſuppoſeth ſome matter or ſubiect pre-exiſtent, out of which, or in which he produceth his proper work. The reaſon why the *former* Inductions fail, is becauſe the *Agents* or *Efficients* are of a different *rank* or *kind*. And the * *prohibition* holds as true in point of *induction* as of *demonſtration*, *Non licet tanſcendere a genere ad genus*. He that will demonſtrate any concluſion, muſt not rove from one kind of ſubject to another. And the reaſon why in thus *roving* he ſhall certainly fail of his intended concluſion, is, becauſe the principles whence the intended concluſion muſt be inferred, cannot be gathered but by induction, and no *induction* can prove any general *Maxim*, unleſs *it conſiſt* of *particulars* of the ſame kind. A Philoſophical *maxim* cannot be gathered from *Inductions* meerly Mathematical, nor Mathematical principals from experiments Philoſophical. Nor can Artificial *Maxims* or concluſions (eſpecially negative) be gathered from experiments natural, nor *Maxims* natural from obſervations in ſubjects meerly *Artificial*. Leaſt of all can any theological Maxims, be ratified from experiments meerly natural, artificial, or Mathematical, but only by inductions, or reaſons abſtract and Metaphyſical, that is, ſuch as hold true in all Arts or Sciences whatſoever. The only certain rule, which all the former inductions can afford, is this: There can be no real *effect*, whether artificial, natural, or ſupernatural, without an efficient: Nothing which now is not, or ſometimes was not, could poſſibly be made without ſome *Agent* or maker: between every natural Agent and its patient, between every Artificer and his work, there always reſults a mutual *relation* of efficient and *effect*. But this rule will not abide the turning: Between every efficient and its proper *effect*, there always reſults a mutual relation of *agent* and *patient*; if by this term *patient* we underſtand a *matter* or *ſubject* pre-exiſtent to the exerciſe of the agents efficiency.

* Vide Ariſt. lib. 1. Poſter. Analyt. cap:

4. The uſual diviſion of Agents into artificial, natural, and ſupernatural, ſuppoſeth a three-fold diverſity in their objects, betwixt which there is this proportion, as *nature* always affordeth *art* a compleat natural ſubject to work upon: ſo the *ſupernatural* agent, or ſupreme *efficient*, exhibits that imperfect ſubſtance or matter unto *nature*, which ſhe brings unto perfection. Nature doth ſo unto Art, as it is done to *her* by a *benefactor ſupernatural.* Unto this obſervation upon the former diviſion, we can add no more, nor can any more be required, beſides a juſt proof that there is an agent ſupernatural, which ſometimes had *no matter* at all to work upon, but made even Nature her ſelf, and the paſſive *capacity* or *ſubject* whereon ſhe works, of no work or *matter* pre-exiſtent. The matter it ſelf, and nature it ſelf, are the immediate *effects* of his active force or *efficiency.* Now to beat the Naturaliſt at his own weapon, we are to make proof of this aſſertion by full induction, and ſtrength of reaſon grounded upon experiments in every ſubject wherein the Naturaliſt can inſtance. Firſt, it is univerſally true of all the works as well of Nature as of Art, which now are perfect, and ſometimes were not ſo, that they did not make themſelves, but had (reſpectively) their ſeveral makers or efficient cauſes, which brought them unto that perfect eſtate and condition which now they have. The moſt perfect works of nature cannot put themſelves into a *perfect* artificial form, without the help of ſome Artificer. Stones do not naturally grow into *Statues*, nor Trees into the *Pictures* or Images of Men or Birds: Braſs and Copper, with other Metals conceived in the Bowels of the Earth, do not either by themſelves, or by the help of *natural* cauſes which produce them, caſt or mould themſelves into *Guns* or *Bullets.* The Earth and Water do not work themſelves into the live-ſubſtance of Plants or Vegetables, but are firſt wrought, and (as it were) kneaded together by the heat of the Sun; firſt altered, and then incorporated into the ſubſtance of ſuch Trees, by the vegetative faculty, which is actually reſident and pre-exiſtent in the Trees or Plants, which are nouriſhed by them. There is no ſublunary ſubſtance which did not take beginning, either entirely and altogether, or *piece-meal* and ſucceſſively. The Elemental Bodies of the Ayr and Water, were not totally the ſame a thouſand years ago, that now they are: Both continue the ſame they were by equivalency of ſucceeding parts, or daily addition by new generation. Now ſucceſſive generation ſuppoſeth an end or deſtruction of that that was, and a beginning of that which ſucceeds in its place; and the beginning of every thing, ſuppoſeth a beginner or cauſe efficient, to give it being. The *race* or continuation of more perfect ſublunary ſubſtances, as of Vegetables and moving Creatures, remains the ſame, not by equivalency of ſucceeding parts, but by a total production of diſtinct individuals. And every diſtinct individual Tree or living Creature, hath its immediate and proper efficient, as well as its material cauſe, nothing can give it ſelf a diſtinct numerical being.

5. What is the reaſon then, why the works of nature, which are perfected in their kind by their proper efficients (as Trees come to full growth) cannot transform themſelves into Bodies artificial without the work of the Artificer? What is the reaſon why the imperfect *maſs*, wherein the ſeeds of nature are contained, cannot grow up into a perfect or compleat Body natural, without the *efficiency* of ſome other in the ſame kind already compleat? *Fortes creantur fortibus. Nature* makes nothing perfect, but by the help of ſome Agent

formerly made *perfect*. Doth the *perfection* of Bodies artificial by an *indiſpenſable* Law of neceſſity, require a perfect work of Nature pre-exiſtent to the operation of Art: and doth this perfect work of Nature, be it Braſs, Wood, or Stone, by a like indiſpenſable Law of neceſſity, require an imperfect maſs or *matter* pre-exiſtent to the natural *Agents* or efficients, which mould or knead it into its perfect or ſpecifical *form*? And ſhall not this imperfect maſs, with all its ſeveral *Elements* or *ingredients* that can be required to the perfection of any Natural Body, more neceſſarily require ſome precedent *efficient* cauſe of its imperfect *being* or *exiſtence*? This cannot be conceived; for if theſe imperfect ſubſtances, whereof any natural Body is made, could either give beginning of being to themſelves, or have it from no cauſe efficient, they ſhould be in this reſpect much more perfect, than the more perfect works of Nature, in that they either make themſelves, or have no maker.

Upon this principle of Nature, or from this *impoſibility* in Nature [That any viſible work whether natural or artificial, ſhould either give it ſelf being or have its being from no cauſe precedent] did * *Tully* rightly argue, that as a man coming into an houſe, wherein were no live Creatures ſave Rats and Mice, could not conceive that either the houſe did make it ſelf, or had no other maker beſides theſe Rats and Mice, which were found in it: So neither can it be imagined, that this viſible Sphere wherein the works of Art and Nature, are daily ſeen, and do daily begin to be and expire; could either make it ſelf, or have *being* of it ſelf, without beginning, without a Maker ſuper-artificial, or an efficient ſupernatural. Every part of this Univerſe conſidered alone, is a work of Nature, but the exquiſite harmony between them, is a work more then Artificial. All that *Nature* can add to *Art* or Art to *Nature*, is but a ſhadow of that great Artificers ſkill, which compoſed the ſeveral works of Nature into ſo excellent a form, and tuneth their diſcording qualities into ſuch exact harmony. The induction of *Tully* is more briefly, but more pithily and expreſly gathered by our Apoſtle *Heb.* 3. *ver.* 4. *Every houſe is builded by ſome man, but he that built all things is God.* But if every houſe be built by ſome man, how is God ſaid to build all things? ſhall every builder of an houſe be a God? No: but whatſoever man doth build, God doth likewiſe build. *For except the Lord doth build the houſe, they labour in vain that are builders of it*, Pſalm. 127. 1. Better it were to be idle or to do nothing, then either to be laborious in building houſes, or watchful in guarding Cities ſtrongly built, unleſs the Lord do afford not only his *concurrence*, but his *bleſſing* to the labours of the one, and to the *watchfulneſs* of the other. But in this argument we may expatiate without impeachment of digreſſion from the matter, or of diverſion from our aim, in the following Treatiſe of *Divine providence*.

6. This preſent Treatiſe requires an induction, ſufficient to prove that every viſible or ſublunary ſubſtance, aſwel the *common matter* whereof all ſuch things are made, as the ſeveral *forms*, which are produced out of it, have an *efficient* cauſe precedent to their *making* or *production*. For the ſeveral forms, or Bodies generable which are conſtituted by them, the Induction is as clear to every mans ſenſe or underſtanding, as any Mathematical Induction can be. The Naturaliſt is neither able nor diſpoſed to except againſt the univerſality of it, or to inſtance in any Sublunary Body, which hath not a true efficient

* *See* Tully Lib. de natura Deorum.

cauſe, or an *agent* precedent; from whoſe efficacy its Phyſical or Eſſential *form*, was either made, or did reſult. The queſtion only remains about the *efficiency* or *production* of the *prime* or common *matter*. Seeing it is the *mother* of Generation, we will not vex the Naturaliſt by demanding a *generative* cauſe *efficient* of its Being, but that it muſt have ſome cauſe *efficient*, we ſhall enforce him to grant from a general Maxim moſt in requeſt with men of his Profeſſion. The Maxim is [That the Philoſophical Progreſs from effects to their cauſes, or from Inferiour to Superiour cauſes, is not like Arithmetical or Geometrical Progreſſions; it cannot be infinite.] We muſt at length come to one ſupreme cauſe *efficient*, which in that it is ſupreme, is a cauſe of cauſes, but no effect, and being no effect, nor cauſe ſubordinate to any other Agent, it can have no limit of Being, it can admit no reſtraint in working. Whatſoever we can conceive as poſſible to have limited Being, or beginning of ſuch Being, muſt have both from it and by it. Now if the perfect works of Nature, Bodies Sublunary of what kind ſoever, ſuppoſe a *poſſibility* Phyſical included in the prime and common matter, before they have actual Being; if it imply no contradiction for them to have *beginning* of *Being*, it will imply no contradiction, that the prime *matter* it ſelf or imperfect *maſs* whereof they are made, ſhould have a beginning of its imperfect *being*; That Phyſical Being which it hath, doth pre-ſuppoſe a Logical *poſſibility* of Being as it is; that is, no contradiction, for it ſometimes to be, and ſometimes not to have been. This ſupreme Cauſe or Agent which (as we ſuppoſe) did reduce the Logical *poſſibility* of the prime matter of Sublunary Bodies into Act, cannot be the Heavens, or any part of the Hoſt of Heaven, neither the Sun, Moon, nor Stars. For, albeit the Sun be the efficient Cauſe, by which moſt works of Nature in this Sublunary part of the World, are brought to perfection: yet it is no cauſe at all of that imperfect maſs or part of Nature on which it works. Unleſs it had ſome matter to work upon, it could produce no real or ſolid effect by its influence, light or motion, however aſſiſted with the influence of other Stars or Planets. Yet muſt this prime mattter have ſome cauſe; otherwiſe it would be more *perfect* than the bodily ſubſtances which are made of it. For they all ſtand in need, both of this prime *matter*, as a cauſe in its kind concurrent to their production, and of the *efficiency* of the Sun or other Cœleſtial Agents to work or faſhion the *materials* or Ingredients, of which they are made. If either this common matter of Sublunary ſubſtances, or the Sun which works upon it, had no Superiour Cauſe to limit their Being, or diſtinguiſh their Offices; both of them ſhould be *infinite* in Being; both *infinite* in Operation. Now if the matter were infinite in Being: the Sun or other Cœleſtial Agents, could have no *being* but in it, or from it. For if the *ſun* were infinite in Operation, the matter it ſelf could be nothing at all; no part of Nature, unleſs it were a work or effect of the Sun. Infinity in Being *excludes* all poſſibility of other Being *ſave in* it and *from* it. And infinity in operation, ſuppoſeth all things that are limited, whether in Being or operation, to be its works, or *reſultances* of its illimited efficacy.

CHAP. VII.

Shewing by Reaſons Philoſophical, that aſwell the Phyſical matter of Bodies Sublunary, as the Cœleſtial Bodies which work upon it, were of neceſſity to have a beginning of their Being and Duration.

1. FOR further demonſtration, that as well the *ſun*, which is the *Efficient general*, as the prime *matter* which is the common *mother* of Bodies Sublunary, had a beginning of Being, there can be no *mean* either more forcible or more plauſible, then another Maxim much imbraced and inſiſted upon by the great *Philoſopher*, to wit, that as well the *efficient* as the *material* cauſe derive the neceſſity of their cauſality from the end or final cauſe, unto which they are deſtinated. The *Sun* doth not run its daily courſe from Eaſt to Weſt, or make its Annual progreſs from North to South, to get it ſelf heat, or for the increaſe of its native force or vigour, by change of Climates; but for the propagation of Vegetables, for the continuance of life and health in more perfect ſublunary ſubſtances. If then we can demonſtrate, that thoſe Vegetables or more perfect Sublunary Bodies, for whoſe continual propagation, for the continuance of whoſe life and welfare the Sun becomes ſo indefatigable in its courſe, had a true beginning of Being, that the propagation is not infinitely circular: the cauſe will be concluded, that as well the common matter, whereof they are made, as the Sun it ſelf which produceth them, had a beginning of *being* and *operation* from the ſame Supreme cauſe, which appointed the *Sun* thus to *diſpence* its heat and *influence*, for the relief and comfort of this inferiour world. To prove that theſe Sublunary more perfect bodies, as Vegetables, *&c.* had a beginning of Being or propagation; no Argument can be more effectual to the Naturaliſt, or others that will take it into ſerious conſideration; than the diſcuſſion of that Probleme, which *Plutarch* hath propounded, *Whether the Egg were before the Hen, or the Hen before the Egg.* The ſtate of the queſtion will be the ſame in all more perfect Vegetables, or living Creatures, which uſually grow from an imperfect or weak eſtate to a more perfect and ſtronger: [*Whether the Acorn were before the Oak, or the Oak before the Acorn. Whether the Lyon had precedency of nature to the Lyons whelp, or the Lyons whelp unto the Lyon.* The Induction may be for either part moſt compleat, in reſpect of all times and of all places, if with the Naturaliſt we imagine the world to have been without beginning, or without ending. No Naturaliſt can ever inſtance in any more perfect *feathered* Fowl, which was not firſt covered with a ſhell, or contained in ſome more imperfect *film*; in any Bull which was not firſt a Calf; in any Lyon, which was not firſt a whelp; in any Oak, which did not firſt ſpring from an Acorn: unleſs he inſtance in Painted Trees, in Brazen Bulls, or Artificial Lyons. Of live natural ſubſtances it is univerſally true, (*Omnia ortus habent, ſuaque certa incrementa*) *All have their beginning, all their certain increaſe or augmentation.* The induction again is for the other party as compleat and perfect. There never was a true Acorn, which did not pre-ſuppoſe an Oak; nor a Lyons whelp which did not pre-ſuppoſe a Lyon to beget it, and a Lyoneſs to bring it forth. Now every pro-

ductive cauſe, every live ſubſtance, which produceth another by proper *cauſality* or efficiency, hath always precedency of nature and of time, in reſpect of that which is produced by it. The Lion is in order of nature and of time, before his whelp, and yet is every Lion wherein the Nauraliſt can inſtance, a whelp before it be a Lion; ſo is the Oak, in order of nature and of time, before the Acorn, and yet cannot the Naturaliſt inſtance in any Oak, which was not an Acorn or Plant before it grew to be an Oak. If then either the race of Lions, or the propagation of Oaks, had no beginning; it would inevitably follow, that Oaks had been perpetually before Acorns, and Acorns perpetually before Oaks; That Lions whelps from Eternity had precedency or priority of time of Lions, and Lions the like precedency or priority of time of their whelps. And if they had been mutually each before other from Eternity, according to priority of time and nature, they muſt have been mutually each after other. How the Naturaliſt will be able to digeſt this circular revolution of priority and poſteriority, in reſpect of the ſame individual natures, or what he will ſay to theſe following inconveniencies, I cannot tell, but deſire to know. Every whole or perfect *Fiſh*, which the Naturaliſt hath heard or read of, had beginning of its individual Being from Spawn. This induction is moſt compleat and perfect in the School of Nature, moſt irrefragable by the ſuppoſition of the Naturaliſt with whom we diſpute. Every Fiſh hath a beginning from Spawn, and that which hath a beginning from Spawn, hath a beginning of its Being. No Fiſh or Spawn is, or hath been immortal, or without beginning. Now if it be univerſally true, that every particular Fiſh hath its beginning, it implies an evident contradiction, to ſay that the race of Fiſhes, which conſiſt only of particular Fiſhes, was without beginning. There muſt in every race of Fiſhes, be ſome firſt Fiſhes, or firſt Spawns, before which there was none of the ſame kind, from which this mutual propagation did take its beginning. And though this propagation be without end, yet could it not be without beginning, unleſs we would grant that Fiſhes are not only of an *incorruptible* nature, but of a nature infinite or eternal. If there were no beginning of this mutual propagation, it would be demanded whether the number of Fiſhes or Lions that ſhall be (granting what the Naturaliſts ſuppoſe, that this propagation ſhall be endleſs) can ever be as great, as the number of thoſe Fiſhes and Lions that have been? Or whether the number of thoſe that have been, may not be conceived to be more infinite, or in another ſort infinite, than the number of thoſe that ſhall be. That the number of Fiſhes, or Lions, which from this time forward may be, (ſuppoſe the world were never to end) can be no otherwiſe infinite then potentially or ſucceſſively only, or by Addition, becauſe there ſhall never be any laſt Lion, or Fiſh, *&c.* after which there ſhall be no more, the Naturaliſt will not deny. For thoſe Lions or Fiſhes, which from this point of time ſhall be, have as yet no actual Being, nor have they before this time had any ſuch Being. Whence it is clear, that their number can never be actually infinite, but infinite only by *addition*, as *continuate* quantity is by diviſion. * But if Fiſhes have been produced from Spawn, and Spawn from Fiſhes, without any beginning of time, we muſt of neceſſity grant, that there have been Fiſhes, Lions, Oaks, *&c.* propagated each from other, for number actually *infinite:* for every Fiſh, which could produce Spawn, had actual Being before it could yield Spawn, and every Spawn whereof any Fiſh is made, hath actual Being before any Fiſh can be made of it. Whence if this propagation had been without beginning, their number muſt needs be actually infinite, ſo infinite that there could have been no more than have been, that there can be no more than now are. *That* only is *actually* infinite, unto which nothing of the ſame kind can be added. If this mutual propagation had been from Eternity, the number of things propagated ſhould have been actually infinite in every point of time imaginable. It is impoſſible that any thing ſhould be actually *infinite* from Eternity, and not be alike actually infinite throughout every part of time; as infinite yeſterday as to day, or as it ſhall be to morrow. It is again impoſſible, that any ſhould be thing actually infinite in any part of time, or by any ſucceſſion of time, which was not infinite from Eternity, and before all times. If we ſhall ſuffer our imaginations of mutual propagations, to *rove* backward without an imagination or acknowledgment of ſome firſt beginning to ſtay or limit them, our Souls ſhall find as little reſt (with leſs ſecurity) as *Noahs* Dove did, whilſt the earth was over-flowed with water, if ſhe had not returned to the Ark. Unleſs we thus pitch upon a firſt beginning of time and all things temporal, we ſhall not only make ſhipwrack of Faith, but drench our immortal Souls in a bottomleſs lake or pool of abſurdities, even in nature.

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* Ego certe hac in re laudo Ariſtotelem, quod cum impoſſibilitatem (ut ita dixerim) æternorum motuum, & corporum, non præviderit, maluit ab Eterno eſſe pulchram hanc mundi faciem, quam aliquando ex æterna deformitate emerſiſſe. Oportuit vero ipſum æternitatem illam temporis meditari; reperiſſet ſi quidem, ut neq; in corpore, neq; in loco (hæc enim ille demonſtravit) ita neq; in tempore infinitatem eſſe potuiſſe: ſi quidem eſt etiam tempus quantum, ut & corpus, & locus. Si igitur omnia quanta finita, tempus quoq; totum finitum eſt, & erit. Quare factus eſt aliquando mundus ex nihilo. *Valleſius de ſacra Philoſoph. p.* 18.

2. The concluſion ariſing from theſe premiſes is, that albeit natural reaſon or diſcourſe could never have found out that which *Moſes* hath written, concerning the particular manner of the Worlds Creation; as that it, and all things in it, all the ſeveral *originals* of propagation, were created in ſix days: yet *Moſes* his narrations can only give ſatiſfaction to ſuch Problems, as men by light of nature may *propoſe* or caſt, but can never, without the light of Gods Word, be able to aſſoyl. By ſo much of this light as *Moſes* in the firſt Chapter of *Geneſis* holds out unto us, we may eaſily free our ſelves from perpetual wandring in that inextricable maze of *mutual* or circular precedency, between things *generable*, and their *generative efficients*, which the Naturaliſt can never avoid, until with us he grant, that which the * Philoſopher by the light of Nature did indefinitely teach (*Actus prior eſt potentia.*) *That which hath perfect Being, is ſimply and abſolutely before that which proceedeth from it, or is brought to perfection by it.* Thus *Moſes* tells us, *Gen.* 1. *ver.* 11. That there was an earth before there was any graſs, that out of this earth was brought forth herb yielding ſeed; and fruit trees yielding fruit with ſeed in them, before there was any propagation by ſeed. So he tells us again, *ver.* 21. That God Created great Whales, and every living Creature that moveth in the waters after their kind, before there was any Spawn of Fiſhes, or Seed of Fowls: For ſo it follows in the 22. *ver.* That God *bleſſed them,*

* *Ariſtot. nono Metaphyſicorum, cap.* 8. Manifeſtum eſt quod actus prior potentia eſt. Dico autem non ſolum illa potentia determinata quæ dicitur principium tranſmutatorium in alio, prout aliud eſt, ſed prorſus omni motivo, & Statorio principio. *Et* 12. *Metaphyſ. cap.* 7. Quare vita, & ævum continuum, & æternum Deo ineſt. Hoc enim eſt Deus Quicunque vero (ut Pythagorici, & Speuſippus putant) optimum & pulcherrimum non eſſe in principio, eo quod plantarum quoq; ac animalium principia, cauſæ quidem ſunt: bonum vero, & perfectum in iis eſſe, quæ ex his ſunt, non recte putant. Sperma namque ex aliis prioribus perfectis eſt, neque Sperma primum eſt, ſed quod perfectum eſt: veluti hominem dicere quiſpiam poſſit priorem ſpermata eſſe, non illum, qui eo generatur, ſed alium, ex quo ipſum Sperma eſt. Quod itaq; eſt quædam æterna, immobiliſq; ſubſtantia, & à ſenſibilibus ſeparata, conſtat ex dictis.

(after he had made them) ſaying, *Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the waters and the Seas, and let Fowl multiply on the Earth:* And it was this bleſſing upon *fiſh* and *fowl* (thus created at *once*, that is, made perfect in their kind, not by growth or ſucceſſion, but by preſent operation of his Omnipotent power) which gave firſt beginning to the natural propagation of Fiſhes and Fowls by Seed or Spawn. Again, in as much as the greateſt *Whales* or other Creatures moſt perfect in their kind, though produced in a moment, did pre-ſuppoſe a poſſibility of their Being, and in their moſt perfect actual Being include more than a poſſibility of not Being, a neceſſary inclination to return unto the matter or maſs out of which they were made. This Being which they have, pre-ſuppoſeth an infinite and pure act, which every way hath precedency of them, as having no cauſe at all of his *Being*, but is *being it ſelf*, without poſſibility of *not being*. The manner or method which *Moſes* obſerved in the Creation, was this; he made the Heaven and Earth and firſt maſs of meer nothing, that is, without any maſs or *ſubject* viſible or inviſible præ-exiſtent, whereon to work. That imperfect maſs of this great Sphere, now diſtinguiſhed into its ſeveral parts, and within ſix days, adorned and beautified in every part beyond all skill of Art, was the firſt *effect* or prime work in order of time or nature of his *all-ſufficient* active power or *efficiency*. Out of this maſs he made all things viſible in their kind, not by means or *efficiency* natural, but by the ſame ſupernatural or Omnipotent Power, by which he made the firſt maſs out of nothing. In the prime and Cardinal works of the ſix days, the Almighty did proceed, though by ſupernatural efficiency in that order or method, which Nature, by his appointment, ſince hath followed. Man which is the moſt perfect viſible Creature, was the laſt made, and next before him, the Beaſts of the Field, which are next in perfection to him: Next before them, the Fowls of the Air and Fiſhes of the Sea; and immediately before them, the *Sun*, the *Moon*, and the *Stars*. But in the ſeveral Fountains or Roots of propagation by ſeed, he began the contrary way. He firſt made man perfect, before he gave him the power of propagation. So did he make every living creature *actually perfect* in his kind, before he gave them power to increaſe and multiply by natural ſeed or inchoation of now being.

3. It is a conceipt groundleſs, either in Philoſophy or Divinity, which ſome late Divines, as well of the Romiſh, as of Reformed Churches, not without fair pretence of Saint *Auguſtines* * Authority, have taught, that all things were Created at once, or in one day, by the Almighty Maker; that the mention of Gods ſix days work is interſerted by *Moſes*, only for diſtinction ſake, or in reſpect of our incapacity to conceive diſtinctly of Gods works. But if all things had been made in *this ſenſe*, at once, that is, upon one day: no reaſon could be given why Gods commendation of ſomething which he made,

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* Divus Auguſtinus cenſet omnia eſſe creata ſimul eodem momento, ſeu in eodem nunc; illam verò partitionem Dierum, non ſignificare partes temporis, ſed diſtinctionem, & gr[illegible]s quoſdam naturæ rerum: atque factum eſſe hominem ex terra, non actu præ-exiſtente, ſed exiſtente potentia in [illegible]ſo, velut quivis dicitur noſtrum, verè factus ex quatuor Elementis, tametſi nulla terra, aut aqua erat actu id ex quo facti ſumus, ſed ſemen & ſanguis. Itaq; ut unico intuitu tota facies, & ejus omnes partes, in ſpeculo exprimuntur, ita unica Juſſione Dei, conſtitiſſe totam hanc corpoream molem, & in ea refulſiſſe illum divinitatis fulgorem, quem vocamus naturam. Cæterum quia non omnes ſancti hoc ita intelligunt, alia reſponſione eſt opus. *Valleſius de Sacra Philoſ. cap.* 1. *pag.* 22. Neque vero hoc ullam arguit primæ cauſæ debilitatem. Non enim eam cauſam naturalem ponimus, quæq; faciat ſemper quantum poteſt, ſed liberam & ſapientiſſimam, quæ facit ut maxime expedit, atque omnia pulcherrima & concinna, in numero, pondere, & menſura. Quapropter verba illa capitis 18. Eccleſiaſtici, Qui vivit in æternum creavit omnia ſimul, ego ita interpretor; Creata eſſe omnia intra illam hebdomadam, perfectumq; eſſe mundum, ita ut nulla ejus pars princeps, quæque a creatione habitura eſſet initium, deeſſet. Nam ut initio capitis ſecundi dicitur, perfecti ſunt cœli & terra, & omnis ornatus eorum, complevitq; Deus die ſexta opus ſuum. *Valleſ cap.* 1. *pag.* 45.

ſhould be *omitted*, and expreſt upon the *making* of others; or why the commendation of his works, ſhould have been oftner expreſt than once, if the production or finiſhing of all things which he made, had been momentary, or in the compaſs of one day. Now in the firſt part of *Moſes* his Hiſtory [*In the beginning God made the Heavens and the Earth*] we do not read, that God ſaw it was good. What is the reaſon? becauſe as yet they were not perfected in their kind; but deſtinated only unto more perfection. Of the light which was created the firſt day (ſaith *Moſes*) *God ſaw that it was good.* But ſo he ſaith not of the ſecond days work, which was the ſeparation or diviſion between the *Waters* which are above the Firmament, and the *Waters* beneath it. What doth this omiſſion of the Divine approbation intimate unto us? thus much, if no more, That the ſecond days work did not bring the Waters to that perfection and uſe whereunto they were deſtinated. But of the third days work, in which the Earth was ſevered from the Waters, under the Firmament, and enabled by his creative power, to bring forth Hearbs and other Vegetables; God (ſaith *Moſes*) *ſaw that it was good.* And ſo it is likewiſe ſaid of the fourth days work, in which the Sun and Moon and the Stars were made; and ſo likewiſe of the fifth, wherein the water was authorized to bring forth Fowls and Fiſhes perfect in their kind: and laſtly of the ſixt day, wherein man was made, it is ſaid, that God ſaw all that he had made, and it was *exceeding good.* To explicate every days work in particular, would require a larger Treatiſe, then we project our intended Commentaries upon the Apoſtles Creed, ſhall be. Of ſuch Evangelical myſteries, as the Hiſtory of the ſixth days work and the *ſeventh days reſt*, did by way of emblem, portend or foreſhadow, we ſhall have occaſion to treat, when we come unto the *Son* of Gods Conſecration unto his everlaſting Prieſthood; or of the Son of mans reſiding *three days and three nights*, in the womb of the Earth: which ſpeech of our Saviour, cannot be verified either of three natural days, or of three artificial days and nights, but hath a peculiar reference to *three* of thoſe *evenings* and *mornings*, which *Moſes* mentioneth in the Hiſtory of the Creation. The taſk for the preſent undertaken, was to ſhew the [*] poſſibility of the Creation, or *making all things of nothing*, and that there is a neceſſity in nature, that things *generable* ſhould have a beginning, that the propagation of living Creatures, could not be from Eternity, not before all times imaginable. And if ſublunary ſubſtances, or vegetables had a beginning: Not the Elements only whereof they are made, but the Heavens themſelves, the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, by whoſe influence they are produced, muſt have their beginning too; becauſe the end of their *being*, of their operation, of *continuance* in their courſe or *order*, is for the continual propagation of vegetables, and living Bodies. I may conclude this firſt point, with that acute collection of *Juſtin Martyr*, Τοῦ ἡλίου μὴ ὄντος, περιττὸς ἦν ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς, καὶ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ μὴ ὄντος, περιττὸς ἦν ὁ ἥλιος· ἀλλ᾽ ἐπειδὴ δι᾽ ἑκάτερον ἀναγκαῖος ἑκάτερος, γεννητὸς ἄρα ἑκάτερος. Τὸ γὰρ ἀγέννητον δι᾽ ἕτερον οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγέννητον, [ἀλλ᾽ δι᾽ αὐτὸ μόνον, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐ δι᾽ αὐτό· ἀναίτιον γὰρ τὸ ἀναίτιον.] *If there were no Sun, there could be no uſe of the eye, and if there were no eye, there ſhould be no uſe of the great eye of this World, at leaſt of its light. But in aſmuch as the the Sun is neceſſary for the eye, and the eye for the Sun, there is a neceſſity that both of them ſhould have a* beginning *of Being. For that which hath no beginning of being cannot have its* being *for any other ſake, beſides it own. Nor can we truly ſay, that it is for its own ſake.* And this Authors reaſon for this aſſertion, is moſt judiciouſly acute. ἀναίτιον γὰρ τὸ ἀναίτιον, *præter cauſam enim eſt cujus cauſa non eſt*, ſo the Latin Tranſlator. The Authors *full meaning* is, *That which hath no efficient cauſe to give it beginning of being, can have no final cauſe of its being, or rather no cauſe at all, whether final, formal, or material.* But is it ſelf the *cauſe of cauſes*, the prime efficient, by which all things are what they are, and the laſt end or final cauſe, for which *they are.*

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[*] Si facta omnino non ſunt (viz. corpora cœleſtia) fit ut ſint per ſeſe ab æterno, & eſſe proprio exiſtentia. Quapropter nullum illorum ab alio pendeat, aut alio poſterius fit, ſed per ſeſe ſint, & operentur ab æterno (cum operatio procedat à cujuſq; rei naturâ, & proprio eſſe:) quare nulla illis prior cauſa ſit, (ſi enim hæc effecta ab alio non ſunt, non ſit ulla eorum cauſa) quapropter mundus hic univerſus, neq; unus erit, neq; totus, neque perfectus, cum non pendeat totus ab unicâ virtute & cauſâ, neque cauſæ omnes in unam omnium primam, referantur: ſed ſint multæ mundi partes, à quibus non procedatur ad ullam aliam ſuperiorem, & priorem, hoc vero fieri non poteſt. Nam aut illæ partes habent aliquam naturam ſive eſſentiam communem, aut omnino habent nihil commnne. Ex adeo diverſis, ut nihil commune dicatur de illis, nullâ ratione poteſt conſtari unum: Nam neque ordo eſſe poteſt inter omnino diverſa. Ordo enim ſecundum aliquid eommune eſt, dicimus enim inter Petrum & Franciſcum ordinem quendam eſſe. Si concedis partes illas mundi habere aliquam eſſentiam communem; conſtat, quandoquidem non ſunt omnino eadem, habere eas aliquid commune & aliquid diverſum. Eſt autem quod commune unum: quæ diverſa multa. Illud ergo commune prius erit illis omnibus diverſis: ſi quidem ex eo conſtant hæc: non ergo erant illæ partes, ſuo quæque ordine primæ cauſæ, ſed pendebant illæ omnes ab aliquâ priori cauſâ, à quâ data erat eis communis illa eſſentia. *Valleſius de ſacra Philoſophia. pag.* 16.

CHAP. VIII.

Diſcuſſing the ſecond general propoſed, Whether the making ſomething of nothing rightly argue a power Omnipotent.

See Chap. 3. Sect. 3.

1. THE diſcuſſion of the ſecond general Principle, might well have had its *admiſſion* into Divinity denied, had not ſome School-Divines, by diſputing whether there can be any inſtrumental cauſe of *Creation*, given it a colourable pretence for intruding it ſelf. Their meaning may in more *civil* language be thus expreſt; [*Whether the power of creating may by omnipotency be delegated to any Agent, not omnipotent.*] That Omnipotency it ſelf cannot be delegated, all agree. Now if the production of *ſpiritual* grace in the heart of man, be a true and proper effect of creative power; they who teach that the Sacraments of the Goſpel do confer grace *ex opere operato*, that is, by their proper efficacy; are ingaged to make proof, that the power of Creation may be delegated, by the Almighty Father, either to the Conſecrated Sacramentary Elements, or to the Prieſt which Conſecrates them. But leaving the diſcuſſion of this Queſtion (in the explication of whoſe terms or meaning, the Favourers or Maintainers of it, do not agree) unto its proper place: our preſent queſtion is, whether *ability* to Create *ſubſtances* viſible or inviſible, doth neceſſarily infer it to be Omnipotent. Spiritual *grace*, all grant, is no ſubſtance. But here again, the School-men have troubled themſelves and their Readers, with a queſtion, if not more curious, yet as *unneceſſary* as the former; as whether this viſible World, or at leaſt ſome part of it, might not have been Created immediately by Angels as by Gods inſtruments. The Queſtion (perhaps) might be more pertinent and more diſtinct, were it framed thus; [*Whether to make any viſible or inviſible ſubſtance of nothing, or without any matter precedent, which ſhould remain, as an ingredient in the ſubſtance made, do rightly infer the immediate maker to be Omnipotent.*] That any cauſe efficient or ſubſtance, which hath been created, or hereafter may be created, could be enabled to Create

or make any other ſubſtance, without any *Entity* præ-exiſtent, whereof it ſhould be made, is an Hypotheſis or Suppoſal, which hath no other ground either in Philoſophy or Divinity; beſides the uncertain Grounds, from which ſome have attempted to prove, that *Creation* is a prerogative of the one Omnipotent, which cannot be delegated to any other. This truth ſome labour to prove from this Maxim, *Inter ens & non ens infinita diſtantia eſt:* [Between ſomething, between any thing which truly is, and meer nothing, there is an infinite diſtance or diſparity.] Now this breach of diſparity or diſtance infinite (which they conceive) between *ſomething and nothing*, cannot be fully made up, ſave only by power truly infinite, whence it may ſeem concluded, that it is impoſſible for any thing to be made of nothing, ſave only by power in it ſelf Omnipotent, or abſolutely infinite. The Concluſion it ſelf, or the laſt Propoſition in the Inference, I verily believe to be moſt true; but the *mean* to infer it, or *manner* of inferring it, is not ſo certain, as the Concluſion is ſound. The Argument is but Calculatory. And this kind of Argument is deceitful, unleſs the degrees of proportion, whether between the diſparity or congruity of terms compared, be determinate and certain. The degrees of diſparity, between ſomething and nothing, cannot be more in number or more infinite, than are the Entitive degrees of any created ſubſtance. And theſe are not actually or abſolutely infinite, nor can the diſparity betwixt ſomething and nothing, betwixt *nothing* and the moſt *excellent Creature* that is, be ſo great or ſo abſolutely infinite, as is the diſparity betwixt the moſt excellent Creature that is or can be, and the *one* Omnipotent Creator, who alone is abſolutely infinite.

2. But be it only ſuppoſed, no way granted that the power of making ſome viſible ſubſtance out of nothing, might be delegated to ſome Creature; the exerciſe of this power thus delegated, would not infer the *Exerciſes* of it, but only the *Author*, to be Omnipotent. For to be Omnipotent, includes as much as to be able to do all things, which imply no contradiction; as much as to make all things that can be conceived as *Logically poſſible*, out of nothing, becauſe all ſorts or kinds of *being*, *numerable* or *comprehenſible*, are *eminently* contained in the incomprehenſible Eſſence; of which the Attribute of Omnipotency is a chief prerogative. It is not then all one, to be enabled to make ſome thing; ſuppoſe a Gnat or Fly, out of nothing; and to be able to make as many things, as now are extant in the World, or much better than theſe are, out of meer nothing. It is a maxim evident by light of Reaſon, that no Doner can really give more than he hath to give: ſuppoſe he were willing, enabled and authorized to give himſelf: to give its whole Nature with the Appurtenances to any other Creature already extant, or in poſſibility to be *Created*. It being then ſuppoſed, that an Angel by ſome ſpecial delegation from the incomprehenſible Eſſence or power Omnipotent, might be enabled to make ſomething of nothing, it were not poſſible that he ſhould make any Nature or Eſſence more excellent than himſelf. Yet is it poſſible, that there might be ſome more excellent created ſubſtance than this Angel: yea, of neceſſity there ſhould be a poſſibility of his Being more excellent in his kind, than now he is. However, for him to give, for him to beſtow a more excellent Being upon that which is not, than for the preſent he himſelf hath, is no way poſſible. Suppoſe then he might entirely *alienate* from himſelf, or bequeath the beſt Being,

ing, which for the preſent he hath, upon ſome poſſibility of Being, or advance ſome numerable not-*being* to his own eſtate by his utter annihilation; this could not argue him to be Omnipotent, becauſe there be many other effects poſſible, which are not in his power to produce; albeit he could reſume that which he had given unto another, and beſtow it again where he pleaſed. Laſtly, ſeeing the prime Eſſence, who alone is abſolutely infinite, did not make all things out of nothing by a neceſſity of Nature, but becauſe it was his will ſo to make them? no Creature by any delegated power imaginable, could poſſibly make any one thing, or more things out of nothing, beſides thoſe which the Omnipotent was willing ſhould be ſo made; nor theſe any better either for ſubſtance or quality, than his will was, they ſhould be. Nor could any Creature be enabled by his will out of nothing to make any thing, which was not *eminently contained* in the nature of that Creature, to whom this power of Creating is ſuppoſed to be, by his will delegated. For albeit ſome efficient or productive cauſes bring forth effects for ſubſtance or quality more excellent then themſelves; yet this they never do, this they cannot do, unleſs they work upon ſome advantage, which the ſubject or matter whereon they work doth afford them. But this advantage cannot be ſuppoſed in the production of any ſubſtance, out of no *ſubject* or *matter* præ-exiſtent. All the excellency which any effect or ſubſtance, ſo produced can have, muſt be entirely derived from its efficient. And that can be no greater excellency or perfection, than the efficient it ſelf hath; not altogether ſo great, becauſe it muſt be *eminently* contained in the perfection of its efficient: if ſo be the efficient have any perfection or Being left, after the production of ſuch an effect. So that every efficient cauſe, which is, or can be ſuppoſed, as an inſtrumental cauſe of Creation, or as enabled to produce ſomething out of nothing, is thus far limited, that it can produce no effect more excellent than it ſelf, and being thus limited in it ſelf, and by dependance on an higher cauſe, as well in its Being, as in its operation, it cannot be conceived to be Omnipotent. For that includes as much as to be *illimited* in operation, or, which is all one, to be the operative power of the incomprehenſible Eſſence, or of Being *infinite.*

3. But though to be able to make ſomething out of nothing be not formally *æquipollent* to the *Attribute* of Omnipotency: yet can it not hence be concluded, that any Agent beſides the one Omnipotent, is either able or can be enabled to produce the leaſt ſubſtance that is, the leaſt portion or matter ingredient to any bodily ſubſtance out of meer nothing. To lay the firſt foundation or beginning of Being of any *finite* ſubſtance, is the ſole effect of *being* it ſelf, and therefore of that which is *truly* infinite in operation. Whatſoever is finite or limited, can have no other kind of Being, than *borrowed* or *participated.* And this kind of *being* muſt be immediately derived, without intervention of any inſtrumental cauſe, from *being* not *participated or borrowed,* but from *increated* and *authentick being.* To Create, is to give actual Being or exiſtence, without the help or furtherance of any Contributer or Confounder. Now if this power of Creating could poſſibly be delegated to any created ſubſtance, it were poſſible for that which is created by it, to have its Being, *extra infinitum eſſe*, that is, it ſhould not be immediately and intirely contained in the infinite and incomprehenſible Eſſence or Being. For in this very *ſuppoſal* [That one Created ſubſtance might by power delegated from Omnipotency,

Create another] it is neceſſarily implyed, that the ſubſtance Created ſhould have its *being* intirely, or *part* of its *being* immediately from the other, which by power delegated, is ſuppoſed to *create* it. And having ſuch Being as it hath, either intirely or in part immediately from the other, it could not be *immediately* and *intirely* contained in the firſt cauſe of all things. And if the leaſt *ſubſtance* poſſible, could have its Being, not immediately and intirely from the firſt cauſe or ſupreme Efficient, he could not be actually and abſolutely infinite in Being, or Omnipotent in working. For that only is *abſolutely* infinite, or *infinite* in *Being*, in which all things poſſible are immediately contained; without whoſe incomprehenſible Being, nothing can have exiſtence; without whoſe immediate operation, nothing can begin to be or exiſt.

Theſe agitations or diſcuſſions may notifie unto us the ſtrength and ſoundneſs of that treble rule or fundamental principle laid by others, and before touched by us. Firſt, It is peculiar unto Art to turn bodies already formed and perfected by Nature, into another faſhion: It is the property of Nature, and of natural and finite Agents, to work the *unfaſhioned* or *confuſed matter* into ſome determinate *form* or ſet kind of Being. It is the prerogative of the Omnipotent *Maker*, to afford Natural Agents the intire *matter* and *ſtuff* whereon they work; and to beſtow on them ſuch Being as they have, whether that be *material* or *immaterial*, Cœleſtial or Sublunary, *ſpiritual* or *bodily*; and to beſtow it *intirely*, without the help of any *Co-efficient*, without the *contribution* of any *ſtuff* or *matter*, of any reality præ-exiſtent.

SECT.

SECTION II.

Of Divine Providence in General: and how contingency, and neceſſity in things Created are ſubject unto it.

CHAP. IX.

Of the perpetual dependance, which all things Created have on the Almighty Creator, both for their Being and their Operations.

1. BUT will it ſuffice us to believe, that as Art hath its proper ſubject made or fitted by Nature; or as more perfect ſubſtances preſuppoſe an imperfect ſtate in *Nature:* ſo this imperfect ſtate of Nature, or the ſubject on which *Natural* Efficients do work, was made of nothing, without any Coagency of Nature or Art, by the ſole Power of the Almighty Father? To believe all this, is but the firſt part of our belief of this *Article of Creation.* For better apprehending the intire object of our belief in this Point, we are to obſerve *the difference* betwixt the *dependance,* which Art hath on *Nature,* or which works *Artificial* have on the *Artificer,* or which more perfect *Natural* ſubſtances have on the *imperfect* ſubſtances, whereof they are made, or on their Natural Efficients; *and the dependance* which both Natural Agents and Patients, and which Efficient *cauſes,* as well *Artificial* as *Natural,* with their ſeveral *matters* or *ſubjects,* have on the *Almighty Creator* and *Maker* of all things. Firſt then *Nature* or cauſes natural, after they have finiſhed their proper Works, and fitted them for Art to work upon, do not co-operate with the Artificer in faſhioning them to his ends or purpoſe. The Artificer again, after he hath finiſhed his work, doth not continually *ſupport, preſerve,* or apply it to thoſe uſes, unto which it ſerves; but leaves this unto their care for whoſe convenience it was made. The Clock-maker doth not tye himſelf to keep all the Clocks which he makes; nor doth he which undertakes to *keep* them, bind himſelf to watch their motions perpetually, or to obſerve them as curiouſly as Phyſitians do their ſick Patients. Again, the moſt perfect works of Nature, as Vegetables and Living things, depend upon their Cauſes, whether Material or Efficient, (for the moſt part) only in *fieri,* not in *facto, whilſt they are in making or in perfecting, not after they be made and perfected.* The Lioneſs doth not perpetually nouriſh her whelps with her own ſubſtance; nor doth the Raven continually provide for her young ones; or any other Creatures more kind than they, perpetually ſupport or direct their *Brood* in their

motions, but leave them to *fend* for themſelves. If the Almighty Creator ſhould do no better by his moſt perfect Creatures, their *return* to nothing, would be as ſpeedy, as their production from it. All of them have a perpetual and undiſpenſable dependance upon his Power, not only whilſt they are in *making*, but as great after they are made. And thus great and perpetual it is, not in reſpect of their ſubſtances only, but as truly in reſpect of their motions or operations. The imperfect *maſs* or *matter* whereof Bodies Natural are made, is not only his *ſole* work, or effect of his Omnipotency; but that it is *workable* or *faſhionable* unto any ſet form, this likewiſe is an effect of his operative power; it could not be perpetually thus faſhionable, but by his perpetual working. That the moſt perfect *Natural Agent*, ſhould work or diſpoſe this *matter* to any ſet form: this likewiſe is his work. He doth not only *ſupport* both *Agent* and *Patient* in that *being* which he gave them, but doth perpetually *co-operate* with them in their motions; doth apply and direct their motions unto thoſe ends and uſes, whereto his wiſdom hath ordained them.

2. Concerning the manner of that perpetual dependance, which all *finite* Agents with their *effects*, have on the one Omnipotent and Supreme illimited *Efficient*, whether in reſpect of their exiſtence or operation; the Diſputes in Schools are intricate, and the queſtions perplexed. But the beſt is, the Ingenuous Reader may *quit* them, if he will be but pleaſed to take unto himſelf, if not an ocular demonſtration, yet a *viſible repreſentation* of this truth, in that *perpetual dependance*, which light diffuſed (whether through the Cœleſtial Bodies, as the Moon or Stars, or through the Air or other inferiour Elementary Bodies capable of enlightning) hath on the *Fountain* of Light, to wit, the *body* of the *Sun*: or which the *light* in rooms, otherwiſe dark, hath on the light of *Fire* or Candles by night. So perpetual, ſo eſſential is this dependance which *light*, in bodies enlightned by others, hath on the bodies which enlighten them; that ſome * good Philoſophers, from obſervation of this dependance, have concluded, that [*Lumen non eſt inhæſive in corpore illuminato, ſed in corpore lucente,*] *The lightſomneſs which appears in theſe inferiour bodies, or in bodies not lucent in themſelves, is not inherently or ſubjectively, in the borrowers, or bodies enlightned, but in the bodies which enlightens them.* To prove this Concluſion, they uſe this Antecedent, that light borrowed or participated, doth follow the motion of the body which beſtows or lends it; and this Antecedent, they think ſufficiently proved by ſenſe. For if we hold a *Looking-glaſs* to a Candle by night, the light which for the preſent appears either in the whole Glaſs or in ſome part of it, will alter its place or ſeat according to the *motion* of the candle. If you move the Candle *higher* or lower than it was, the light in the Glaſs will remove with it, from the higheſt place to the loweſt, and from the loweſt to the higheſt, as it ſhall pleaſe the *mover* to alter the *aſpect* betwixt them, ſo will the light move from one part of the *room* to another, as the Candle is removed. And if you take the Candle quite out of the room, the light will follow it, and leave nothing but darkneſs behind. The ſame obſervation holds as true in a Dial, in which the light or ſhadow conſtantly follows the motion of the Sun. But to hold this concluſion, [That light borrowed from the Sun or a Candle, ſhould be *inherently* or ſubjectively in the Sun or Candle] is more than true Philoſophy will warrant: more than the unqueſtionable truth of the former Experiment can

* Vide Zabarel. de Lumine.

Logically infer. For though *light* in bodies not *lucent* in themſelves, be not their own, but borrowed; yet in that it is *borrowed*, it muſt be truly in the borrower, not in the body which lends it. For every one which *lends*, is preſumed to *transfer* the uſe of what he lends unto him that borrows: the borrower muſt have the *poſſeſſion* of what is lent him, during the time of the loan. As for the former Experiments, they may be retorted upon ſuch as uſe their help for inferring this pretended concluſion, [* That light diffuſed is not inherently in the body enlightned, but in the body lucent, or enlightning.] For the *mutation* of the *ſeat* of *borrowed light*, whether in a Looking-Glaſs held to a Candle, or in a Sun-Dial, will be the very ſame, albeit the Candle or Dial ſtand ſtill in the ſame place; if ſo we move the *Looking-Glaſs* the ſame way from the Candle, or the Dial the ſame way from the Sun, by which the Sun did move from the Dial, or the Candle was moved from the *Looking-Glaſs*. This concluſion is moſt certain, [That the motion of Light, according to the motion of the Body which diffuſeth it, doth no way infer the Light not to be *inherently*, (according to the inherency which it hath) in the Body, through which it is diffuſed; but rather that this Light, however inherent in the Body enlightned, hath a perpetual indiſpenſable dependance upon the Light of the Body which produceth it; a dependance on it, not only in *fieri*, that is, whilſt it is in production, which is in an inſtant; but a dependance in *facto*, ſo long as it continues in the Body enlightned.] And we cannot better conceive the manner, how a *line* ſhould be made by the *continued* Flux of a Point, or a Surface by the *continued* motion of a Line; or how time ſhould receive its continuation from the continued Flux of an inſtant, than by obſerving the manner how *light* being produced in an inſtant in the Body, which borrows it (the extremity of it being terminated to a Mathematical Point or Line) doth vary its place of Reſidence in the ſame Body, moving continually from one part to another, according to the degrees of motion, either of the *body* which gives the light, or of the *body* which is enlightned, one from the other. If either Body could *move* or be moved from the *aſpect* of the other, in an inſtant, the Light would remove from the Body enlightned in the ſame inſtant. But *moving* as it doth, the motion of the light from one part of the ſame body or room into another, is perpetual; there is no interruption in the motion ſo much as momentary, no *interpoſition* of darkneſs ſo long as the motion laſts. And yet it is not the ſame numerical Light, which thus moveth in the body or room enlightned. There is a continual *production* of light fully anſwerable to the continual *ſucceſſion* of the motion. The light, whilſt in motion, continues no longer the ſame than the aſpect between the body *enlightning* and *enlightned* continues the ſame. And it may be queſtioned, whether there be not a perpetual production of *new* light, even whilſt neither the body enlightning nor enlightned *remove* one from the other, whilſt both ſtand or reſt upon their ſeveral Centers.

* Vide Anton. Scarmilion. de coloribus.

3. But whatever Philoſophers may diſpute one way or other concerning the proper *ſubject* of light *diffuſed* or participated, or concerning the Identity or Multiplication of it in *bodies* not *lucent* in themſelves, but enlightned: the dependance of *borrowed* or *participated* light upon the fountain of light, whence it is borrowed, is the moſt perfect Emblem, which the Eye of man can behold, of that *dependance* which all things *numerable* that are, or can be, have on the

incomprehenſible Eſſence, or *inexhauſtible fountain* of Being. Whether light participated or diffuſed, have any true inherence or no in bodies enlightned, or whether it be preſent with them or in them, (*ad modum ſpiritalium*) *after ſuch a manner* as Spirits are in Sublunary Bodies, or with them; this is certain, that light participated, is not deduced or drawn out of any *matter* præ-exiſtent, or out of any *poſitive quality* inherent; it is produced out of darkneſs or want of light. And herein it is the true Emblem of created Entities, which were not made of any Entities præ-exiſtent, but of nothing. As light participated or diffuſed, hath no permanent root in Bodies enlightned: So things created have not their *root* of being in any *matter* præ-exiſtent, nor hath the prime *matter*, of which things generated are made, any root precedent out of which it groweth. Such *being* as it hath, it hath intirely by its perpetual dependance upon *being it ſelf.* The moſt excellent *numerable being* that can be imagined, is more truly participated or borrowed from *being* it ſelf, than the *light* of the Moon or Stars, than the *light* in the *Air*, *Water*, or *Ice*, is from the body of the Sun. And albeit the forms or perfect Bodies, which by operation of Efficients *Natural*, reſpectively reſult or are produced out of the *matter*, have a being diſtinct from the *matter*, out of which they are made or produced: yet even theſe have the ſame immediate dependency upon the *incomprehenſible Eſſence* or inexhauſtible fountain of Being, which the prime *matter* hath. As the reſplendency or irradiation of coloured Glaſſes, be they *Yellow*, *Green*, or *Azure*, have the ſame immediate dependance upon the light of the Sun, which the light diffuſed throughout the Heavens, Water, Air, or pure Glaſſes hath; unleſs the Sun ſend forth his Beams upon them; theſe Colours have no reſplendency, they cannot *affect* the ſenſe of ſight. Nor can any Created Agent (albeit endowed with qualities operative, more forcible and permanent, than any coloured Glaſſes can be) produce any real effect, without the co-operation or coagency of the *incomprehenſible Eſſence*, or *inexhauſtible fountain* of Being. As impoſſible it is, that any *agent* ſhould move, or be moved, otherwiſe than by the vertue of his Almighty *power*, as that it ſhould have *being* or exiſtence (*extra infinitum eſſe*) *without his infinite Being or immenſity*, or that the continuance of it in ſuch *being*, ſhould not be comprehended in his infinite and interminable duration, which we call Eternity. Again, as light borrowed or diffuſed throughout this inferiour world, hath a *being* in its kind diſtinct from that *light*, which is permanently ſeated in the fountain of light, on which, notwithſtanding, all borrowed light abſolutely depends as Being eminently contained in it: ſo every *numerable* Being, or *part* of this *world*, the *Sun*, the *Moon*, the *Stars*, the *Elements*, *mixt Bodies*, *Vegetables*, *Man* and *Beaſt*, have their proper kind of *Being* diſtinct each from other, and diſtinct again from the incomprehenſible *fountain* of *being*; on which notwithſtanding, all of them have more immediate, more Eſſential dependance, than either the *lights*, or different ſhapes in a Glaſs, have on the *Sun* which gives the light, or on the Bodies which they repreſent. And in this incomprehenſible fountain of *being*, all things not only which are, but which poſſibly may be, are more *eminently* contained, than the leaſt ſparkles or portions of borrowed light, which appear in broken Glaſſes, are in the body of the Sun.

4. In this Point only, or in this eſpecially, is the production of light in this inferiour World by the Sun, unlike the Creation of all

things by the Almighty Father of *lights*, in that the Sun produceth *light* or reſplendency, without any free choice or intelligence, but by a neceſſity of Nature, that is, it ſo produceth light, as it hath no power not to produce it. So doth not the Almighty Father either Create the things that are, or preſerve them in their Eſtate of Being, or co-operate with them in the production of ſuch effects, as they in their ſeveral *kinds* and *ranks* are truly ſaid to produce. For albeit the Almighty Father be more immutable than the Sun, yet is he immutably free. For freedom of will, by which Creatures rational exceed all Creatures meerly natural, or capable of no better endowment then ſenſe, being a true and real branch of *being*, a perfection of the moſt perfect Creatures, muſt be as truly and really, though in an *eminent manner*, contained in the *Maker* of all things, as any other branch of *numerable being* is. Now the object of this freedom of will in the Omnipotent Maker, is not only the *Creation* or *not Creation* of things that are or may be; not the preſervation or deſtruction of things *Created*, or of the ſeveral endowments or qualifications: but part of this *object* of Divine Freedom is the enabling or inhibiting of all his Creatures, to exerciſe thoſe qualities or faculties which are to them moſt Natural, and in their kind moſt powerful. Albeit *Nebuchadnezzar* had power to make the flames of intended Perſecution, much hotter than any ordinary fire; though other Tyrants might have power to make the like again, much hotter than he did, or to environ Gods Saints with the fire of Hell; yet if the Almighty Creator withdraw the *influence* of his power from ſuch fire or flames, they can have no more power to burn or ſcorch his Servants, than they have to cool them; although we ſuppoſe their nature and qualities to be preſerved ſtill intire by the ſame power by which they were Created. For as (but now) was ſaid, the *inhibition* or *enabling* of natural qualities or faculties to exerciſe their native force, is as truly the object of Divine Freedom, as the preſervation or deſtruction of the Agents themſelves, with their qualities or endowments is. For the ſame reaſon, the *Sun* was no way wounded in his ſubſtance, nor *hurt*, nor *tainted* in its influence or other quality, when, by the Divine Power, which is immutably and perpetually free, it was inhibited in its courſe or motion.

5. That the Almighty Creator neither in our time, nor in the times long before us, hath laid any ſuch reſtraint upon the Sun, that it ſhould not move, or upon the *fire*, that it ſhould not burn, is not from any reſtraint which he hath laid upon his *Power* by his Eternal *Decree*; but from his *immutable* and *Eternal freedom*. We may not ſay, that he cannot, for the times preſent or which are to come, lay the like inhibition upon the *Sun*, upon the *fire*, or upon other Cœleſtial or Sublunary Bodies, for exerciſing the Functions moſt natural to them. That he will not, at any time, lay the like reſtraint upon them, we are not bound to believe, until thus much be by his word revealed unto us. That God cannot at this time bring ſuch a general Inundation upon the Earth as he did in the days of *Noah*, we may not ſay or think: but that he *will* not deſtroy the world by *Water*, we muſt believe, becauſe we have his ſolemn promiſe to this purpoſe ſealed unto us, by the ſign of the *Bow* in the Cloud. But when the iniquity of this preſent World ſhall come unto the ſame height and meaſure, which the old World had made up, we believe he will deſtroy it by Fire. For other mutations in the courſe of Nature,

the condition or exigence of times enſuing, may be ſuch, as that they may be as *ſtrange* and miraculous, as at any time heretofore they have been. The not interpoſing of Miracles in theſe our days, proceeds not from any Act *paſſed* by the Almighty to the contrary, nor from the *unchangeableneſs* of his Eternal Will; but from the condition or courſe, which his Creatures hold *de facto*, whoſe condition or eſtate is in it ſelf, and by his Almighty Will ſo to have it, ſo changeable and ſo improveable to different purpoſes, that many events, which to our obſervation would be moſt ſtrange, might upon ſpecial occaſions be produced, without any change or alteration in his power, whoſe exerciſe, *ad extra*, that is, *in reſpect of effects producible in the Creature*, is immutably free, until he promiſe to inhibit them, as he hath done the general Inundation. And although he be moſt immutable in all his Promiſes or Inhibitions: yet doth not every Promiſe or Inhibition which he makes, induce an abſolute immutability or neceſſity of the things promiſed or inhibited. Their immutability or neceſſity is the proper effect of his more ſolemn or peculiar Promiſes. Nor are ſuch inhibitions as he hath ſet unto the water abſolutely neceſſary from Eternity, but grow neceſſary in revolution of time, by the *changeable* condition of the Creature. And albeit we can neither preſcribe limits to his Will, nor conceive any reaſon of the mutations which fall out in the Creatures by his inhibition, by his *permiſſion*, or by his poſitive *enabling* them to exerciſe their Native Functions; yet of the leaſt *mutation*, that can fall out in the world, he knows a cauſe or *reaſon*, nor doth he ſuffer any thing to be done, for which his immutable *freedom* in *governing* the world, hath not an *Eternal* rule or reaſon *infinitely* more perfect, than the wiſeſt man living can give any for his beſt Acts or undertakings. But ſuppoſe the Sun to have that freedom of power in the *emiſſion* or not emiſſion of his beams, which men have over their breath, or that dexterity in tempering or moderating its light or influence, which skilful Muſicians have in modulating their *voices*: and the former repreſentation of that power which God hath over all his Creatures, and of their dependance on him in their Beings and Operations by the dependance which light hath on the Sun, would be more lively and full.

6. But the Pſalmiſt hath made choice of that free Power, which man hath over his *Animal Faculties*, as over his *breath* or *operation* of his Senſes; as the faireſt Picture of Gods free Power Creative and Providence over his Creatures. *Theſe wait all upon thee, that thou mighteſt give them their meat in due ſeaſon. That thou giveſt them, they gather: thou openeſt thine hand, they are filled with good. Thou hideſt thy face, they are troubled: thou takeſt away their breath, they dye, and return to their duſt. Thou ſendeſt forth thy Spirit, they are Created; and thou reneweſt the face of the Earth. The Glory of the Lord ſhall endure for ever; the Lord ſhall rejoyce in his Works. He looketh on the Earth, and it trembleth: he toucheth the Hills and they ſmoak*, Pſal. 104. *ver.* 27. *&c.* Yet even in theſe and the like Emblematical expreſſions of the *Creators* free Power over his Creatures, or in the choiceſt that can be taken or gathered out of the Prophetical Deſcriptions, from the exerciſe of mens free and pureſt thoughts, there will ſtill remain this diſparity: We cannot alter the objects of our intellectual or abſtract contemplations, without ſome alteration or change of *Acts*. It is then the prerogative of the *Almighty freely* to will things moſt con-

trary and different, without any diverſity in his Will. And this his free Will not only worketh greater variety or change in the Creature, than the wits of all men in the world can conceive, but withal *irreſiſtibly determines* the iſſue of every poſſible change, without any ſhadow of change or alteration in his thoughts or reſolutions; which in him are not many, but more truly one *Infinity*, than any one thought in us is one. This diſparity between the Identity of his Eternal *Knowledge*, and of his *immutable* freedom, and the manner of our underſtanding or intellectual choice, I cannot yet better repreſent than by the * former *diſparity*, between the circle and many ſided figures. Mans pureſt intellectual thoughts or actual choices, are in the contemplative part of the Soul, as *angles* are in many ſided *figures*, all as different each from other, as one *angle* is from another in a *quadrangle*, and every one is as diſtinct from the *ſubſtance* of the Soul wherein they are, as *angles* in a *quadrangle* are from the ſides or Surface of it. But thoſe which we term, or conceive as ſeveral Acts or Exerciſes of the *Divine Power*, as the *Act* of Creation, the Act of Preſervation, the Act of *Conſervation*, the production of Miracles, *&c.* are in the Almighty, not ſo much diſtinct one from another, or from his incomprehenſible Eſſence, as the *Angles* in a circle are from the ſides or from the *circumference*, which notwithſtanding is a Totangle, in which there is no *ſenſible* diſtinction between *ſides* and *Angles*, albeit both of them be *truly* contained in the circumference, as all power and freedom of power is contained, in the *immutable*, *infinite*, and *incomprehenſible* Eſſence.

* See the firſt part of the Divine Eſſence & Attributes, *Chap.* 21. *Pag.* 229. 230. &c.

CHAP. X.

The uſual and daily Operations of Natural Cauſes with their ſeveral events or ſucceſſes, are as immediately aſcribed to the Creator by the Prophets, as the firſt Creation of all things, with the reaſons why they are ſo aſcribed.

1. FRom the fore-mentioned hundred and fourth *Pſalm*, which is no other than a ſweet Paraphraſe upon the *ſix* days *work* of *Creation*, and from the like Prophetical *emblazoning* of Gods Glory, which amounts from conſideration of his works, the Intelligent Reader will inform himſelf, that the continual riſing and ſetting of the Sun and Moon, their inceſſant diffuſion of light through this viſible World, the perpetual aſcent of ſpringing Waters into the Hills, their continual decurſion from them into the Sea, the limitation of the Seas ebbing and flowing, the daily growth of Plants and Vegetables, the motion of Living things on the Earth and in the Waters, are as immediately and as entirely aſcribed unto the operative power of the Creator, as their firſt Creation out of nothing was. Yet the reaſon of their aſcribing all this unto the immediate and ſole power of God, will no way warrant the truth of their Criticiſm, who teach that neither the Fire doth truly heat or burn, or the Water really cool or moiſten, or that no viſible Creature hath any real operation upon another, but that our aſſigning of their *motions* or operations, as true cauſes (in their kind) of the effects which we ſee daily produced,

duced, is but a Solæciſm of vain Philoſophy, or of Sciences falſly ſo called; whereas the right reſolution of this Solæciſm into diſtinct and Chriſtian phraſe, is but this, *God doth produce Heat, Cold, Moiſture, Vegetables and other Living things*, (ad præſentiam Creaturam) *the Fire, Water, Sun, Earth,* &c. *being but bare witneſſes of the Creators Power*, which is manifeſted in them, or of its *operation* in their preſence, by *which* operation alone, all thoſe effects are produced, which the Philoſophers aſcribe unto the Creatures. And moſt true it is, that the Creator doth daily work all thoſe effects, which we attribute to Natural Agents: yet doth he not work ſuch effects only in them, or where they are preſent, but he truly *worketh* by them and with them. And if the Omnipotent power be truly ſaid to work by and with Natural *means* or *cauſes*, they muſt truly work *with him*, in their kind. When the Apoſtle ſaith, *in him we live, and move, and have our being*, this neceſſarily implies, that we have a life in its kind diſtinct from his life, a motive power different in its kind from his *power*, a kind of *being* likewiſe diſtinct from his infinite Eſſence, or from *being it ſelf.* But in as much as the life of all things living, the motions of every thing that moveth, the Being of every numerable *thing*, that is, hath ſuch an abſolute dependance as hath been declared upon his *Creative* power; hence it is that the Prophets and Divine Philoſophers, aſcribe all the viſible effects or events, which time preſents or place accompanieth, no leſs intirely to the Creator, than the firſt production of their viſible and Natural Cauſes. As for the former Criticks, in whoſe Language God only worketh in his Creatures, or (his Creatures being preſent) they might with as good reaſon, affirm that the Sun did not really *move*, but that God did move, the Sun being preſent; yet could *he* not *move* or Create motion *ad præſentiam Solis*, unleſs the Sun did truly move. The truth is, the Sun doth move, or is moved by Gods *preſence* in it, but he doth not move with it or by it. But with the *Sun* or other Creatures, he truly worketh, as they truly work with *him*. And, by this conceſſion of ſome true power and property of working unto Natural Agents, more is aſcribed to the Creator of all things, than can be aſcribed by the contrary opinion, which utterly denies all power or property of working to the Creatures. For he that denies any effects to be truly wrought by them, cannot aſcribe their abilities or operative force (which, in his opinion, is none) unto their Creator. But * *Moſes* taught the *Iſraelites*, that it was *God* which gave them *power* to gather *ſubſtance.* Nor were they more bound to Praiſe God for the ſubſtance which they gathered, or for the Manna which by Miracle he ſent unto them, than for the power which he gave them to gather the one or other.

* *Who fed thee in the Wilderneſs with Manna, which thy Fathers knew not, that he might humble thee, and that he might prove thee, to do thee good at thy latter end: Leſt thou ſay in thine heart, My power and the might of my hand hath gotten me this wealth. But thou ſhalt remember the Lord thy God, for it is He that giveth thee power to get wealth, that he may eſtabliſh his Covenant, which he ſware unto thy Fathers, as it is this day,* Deut. 8. v. 16. 17, 18.

2. Yet is not this abſolute and immediate dependance, which every Creature, as well for its Being, as for its power or exerciſe of it, hath on the Almighty Creator, the intire ground or reaſon, why the effects which are (in their kind) produced by the Creatures, are by the Prophets wholly aſcribed unto Power Almighty. For this dependance, or the reaſon of aſcribing all things to God which is grounded on it, being for the preſent ſequeſtred; he hath a peculiar

title to all the *works* or *effects*, (eſpecially to all of greater and more publick conſequence) which the Creatures produce, from his *skill* or wiſdom in contriving the combination of ſecond cauſes, with their ſeveral operations, for the aſſequution of their laſt or utmoſt end. Nor was the Entitative goodneſs of every Creature in his kind, albeit conſidered in that perfection wherein God made it, the ground or reaſon of that *approbation* which he beſtowed upon them, as they ſeverally began to be, or after he had accompliſhed them all. God (ſaith *Moſes*) ſaw all that he had made, and lo it was exceeding good. What goodneſs then was this, which he thus commends? the goodneſs of order or of harmony betwixt them, as they were parts of this Univerſe. This *harmony* was the accompliſhment of his ſeveral Works, the ground of his praiſes, and the compleat object of our belief of this Article of Creation. Hence ſaith the Apoſtle, *Heb.* 11. By Faith we believe; What? *Secula facta eſſe*, nay more than ſo κατηρτίσθαι τοὺς αἰῶνας *that the worlds were Harmonically made.* It was a double over-ſight in ſome good Divines, from one or both of theſe two Principles, (*Omne ens qua ens, eſt bonum*) *Whatſoever hath been is good*, whatſoever is, was made by God, and all things which God made were good; to infer, that ſin or mortal evil could have no poſitive Entity. For the greater the Entitative *goodneſs* of any Creature is, the greater meaſure of *moral* evil it always includes, unleſs its Entitative goodneſs hold ſuch harmony or correſpondency with the reſt, as may help to make up or ſupport that goodneſs of order, that is, that goodneſs of co-ordination amongſt themſelves, or of that joynt ſubordination unto their Creator, which he firſt framed and placed in this Univerſe, as it was his work. Unleſs ſin or moral evil had ſome poſitive Entity, or ſome poſitive degrees or meaſure, all ſins ſhould be equal, there could be no different kinds of ſin, no *numerical difference* or *degrees* betwixt particular ſins of the ſame kind. But of the nature of ſin or moral evil, and how *compatible* this evil is with *goodneſs* Entitative, more at large, by Gods aſſiſtance, in the Treatiſe of Original ſin, or the eſtate or condition of the Sons of wrath, which eſtate every Child of *Adam* by participation of this firſt ſin doth inherit. The peculiar Title which the Almighty Creator by right of Creation, or by the combination or contrivance of *natural* and intellectual Agents, hath to all the praiſes, which either the Souldier or * *Stateſman*, the *Landlord*, the Husbandman, or ſuch as live by *Merchandizing* daily rob him of, will come more fitly to be declared in ſome following Treatiſe of Divine ſpecial Providence.

* Vide Salvianum lib. 7. num. 227.

3. If the Reader deſire a brief abſtract or ſum of what hath been ſaid of Gods power in Creating the World, or of the reſervation of this free power unto himſelf to alter, to innovate or amend the eſtate wherein he hath hitherto preſerved it; I cannot exhibite this general *view* more clearly, or more ſuccinctly, than *Juſtin Martyr* hath done in his anſwer to the fourth queſtion of the *Grecians.* The queſtion was thus propoſed, [*An Deus faciat, feceritve, facturuſve ſit: Et ſi facit, ſuaptene voluntate, an præter voluntatem?*] *Whether God do make the things that are, whether he hath made the things that have been, whether he will make other things which yet are not, or the things which are, after a better manner than as yet they have been made? or if he be or hath been a maker, or continue to make things better, whether he do all this out of his own Free Will, or beſides his Will.* His full anſwer

to this queſtion is, *Fecit Deus, & facit, & facturus eſt, ſuapte ſponte & voluntate: nam creaturam ipſe condidit, quæ antehac non fuerat, volens. Eam providentia ſua in eo ut ſit, conſervat: quod quidem eſt, facit. Quam etiam inſtauraturus eſt, & in ſtatum meliorem redacturus per reſtitutionem ſive renovationem: quod eſt facturus eſt: ut repurget eam ab abſurditate omni, ex rationalium ignavia contracta. Non quod per judicii conſiderationem & deliberationem poſterius id quod melius ſit, invenerit; ſed quod longe antea & prius quam mundum condidit, conſtitutum habuerit ut faceret. Neque enim poſſibile eſt ut vel ad notionem vel ad potentiam, Deo poſterius quidquam accedat, quod prius non habuerit. Volentem autem Deum mundum creaſſe, illud eſt documento, quod cum Deus potuerit plures efficere ſoles, non plures, ſed unum duntaxat effecerit. Nam qui plures non poteſt condere ſoles, neque unum condere poteſt: & qui unum ſolem creare potuit, neceſſario quoque plures creare potuit. Quomodo igitur quos facere potuit plures ſoles, Deus non fecit, niſi certe quod plures ſoles facere noluit? Sin quos non fecit ſoles, voluntate non fecit: perſpicuam utique fuerit, eum etiam quem fecit, voluntate feciſſe. Et veluti ſol, ita & reliquæ creaturæ partes omnes, quæ vel obnoxiæ vel non obnoxiæ ſunt corruptibilitati, ex voluntate Dei & id quod ſint, & id quod hujuſmodi ſint, habent.*

CHAP. II.

Containing the ſum of what we are to believe in this Article of Creation, and of the duties whereto it binds us: with an introduction to the Article of His providence.

1. TO believe that God is the maker of Heaven and Earth, and of all things viſible and inviſible, includes in it an acknowledgment not only of the ſix days work, but that he ſtill makes all things that are, and ſhall make all things which hereafter ſhall be. So long as any thing which hath been continues in being, ſo long as any thing which now is not, ſhall begin or not ceaſe to be, ſo long the Almighty continues a Maker. And in as much as ſome things which are made, or which hereafter ſhall be made, ſhall have no end, he continues an everlaſting Maker. This title of Maker is none of his Eternal Attributes, but a denomination aſcribed unto him from his works which all had their beginning in time, or rather with time, or with duration finite or numerable. It is an everlaſting Attribute, for that properly is everlaſting, which though it have beginning yet it hath no end. But albeit the acts or exerciſes of his will or power had a beginning with the World, (for they are always in the Creature or effect) yet his will and purpoſe to make the World are Eternal: So is the power by which he made it, ſo is the combination of all theſe, to wit, his providence, by which he orders and governs all things, Co-eternal to his Eſſence. All Modern Controverſies to my knowledge account it an heatheniſh ſoleciſm to ſay, God only did make or hath made the World and all things in it, he doth not now make them. For this were to deny the neceſſity of his everlaſting work in preſerving, ſupporting, and continuing all things in their proper being. And to deny this, would be more than a ſoleciſm of ſpeech, a real branch of infidelity. Is it then a leſs

ſolecism of ſpeech to ſay, or a ſmaller portion of infidelity to think, that God only hath decreed before all times what ſhall fall out in time, but doth not now decree nor ſhall any thing hereafter be decreed by him? Queſtionleſs, if his decree be Co-eternal to his power, the ſame with his will or purpoſe, if he ceaſe not to work or will, he ceaſeth not to work or decree. He did decree to work when he did not work, or produce any effect *ad extra*, but he never produced any effect or work when he did not decree. For he worketh all things by the Counſel of his will, not by the Counſel of his will as paſt and ended, but by the Counſel of his will, which was, which is, and which is to come. And he decreeth all things for the times preſent after the ſelf ſame manner that he decreed them from Eternity; otherwiſe his decree were not Eternal, could have no reſemblance of Eternity. To infer that Gods decree is an act paſt, or that God doth not now decree, becauſe he hath decreed all things before all Worlds, is a ſolecism or ignorance, to ſay no worſe, of the ſame nature, quality and ſcantling, as if you ſhould ſay, God was before the World was, therefore God is not ſince the World was, nor ſhall be after the end of this World. For the World could neither begin, continue, nor ceaſe to be, but by his Eternal and irreſiſtible decree, which neither hath beginning nor end, nor can admit any interpoſition of change. It is true, that if we conſider the Deity in himſelf, or his decree as it is in him, or the ſame with him, there is neither *præteritum* nor *futurum*, no ſuch difference in them as we Character or Notifie by theſe terms *paſt* or *to come:* yet if we conſider God or his Eternal Decree, as they include a reference of precedency to things temporal, paſt, or to come, or as times current have co-exiſtence with him, we may not deny that God was before all times, and did decree things to come, that he is in all times current, and doth decree the iſſue of times preſent or enſuing. Thus in all times, and in all places, the Almighty Father is preſent with us, preſent in us, as our maker and preſerver, preſent by his Eternal providence to order and govern us. And the government of the World, ſpecially of Men and Angels, is in true Divinity, the proper object of the Eternal Decree. And if God be thus with us, nothing can go amiſs with us, ſave only by our ignorance, by our miſbelief or weak-belief of this firſt Article.

2. The true, that is, the firm and ſound belief of every moral or ſacred truth, ſpecially of ſuch fundamental truths as are contained in this Article, always include a correſpondency in the believer unto the things believed. And this correſpondency muſt have its place, not in the brain or apprehenſive faculty only, but in the affection. The ſympathy of affection unto the thing believed, reſults from the impreſſion which the ſpeculative *form* or repreſentation in the brain makes upon the heart, which is the ſeat of the affection. The *means* ſubordinate to the Spirit of God for making this impreſſion, are two: A right explication or branching of the Article or Object to be believed: and a ſerious and frequent meditation upon the Object rightly branched, or a taking not of the truth only, but the conſequences of it into deep and ſetled conſideration; or as we ſay, a laying of both to heart. The main branches of this Article are three: Firſt, that God is the maker of all men that are, not of *Adam* only. Secondly, that he is the preſerver of all. Thirdly, that he perpetually ordereth and governeth all things, even the thoughts of men, by the irreſiſtible

unceſſant working of his Omnipotent Decree or will. In our belief of the two firſt branches (be it leſs or more, weak or ſtrong) ſo it be uniform, it is *Eſſentially* included, that God is good to all, in that he hath given life and being unto all. Of this his goodneſs no man can want ſtore of witneſſes, ſo long as either he injoys himſelf or the neceſſary ſupplys of life. One ſpecial duty, whereunto the belief of this Article doth immediately bind all men, is expreſly commended to us by our Saviour, *Matth. 6.* The general neglect whereof is more than ſufficient to condemn not the Heathens or Infidels only, but the greateſt part of ſuch as profeſs the Chriſtian Faith, of infidelity: *Take no thought for your life, what ye ſhall eat, or what ye ſhall drink, nor yet for your body what you ſhall put on. Is not the life more than meat? and the body than rayment?* It is a ſin for him which believes that God hath given him that life and being which he hath, not to believe that God did give him both for his greater good, or that he will not increaſe his bleſſings upon him, ſo he do not deſtruſt his Fatherly care and providence: A greater ſin it is to ſuſpect or queſtion, whether God have not a more Fatherly care over all men, than he hath over other Creatures. So our Saviour adds, *Behold the Fowls of the Air: For they ſow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into Barns, yet your Heavenly Father feedeth them. Are ye not much better than they?* In that God hath given man a better kind of life and being than the Fowls of the Air; this is an undoubted pledge unto all, that he hath prepared far better food for them than for Birds and Beaſts, an everlaſting food; ſo they do not diſtruſt his providence. And as he provideth better food for Man than for Beaſt, ſo hath he better rayment for them in ſtore, than he hath for Vegetables; ſo they will ſeek it from him, and not be their own Carvers. *Which of you by taking thought can add one cubit unto his Stature? And why take ye thought for rayment? Conſider the Lillies of the Field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they ſpin. And yet I ſay unto you that even Solomon in all his glory, was not arrayed like one of theſe: wherefore if God ſo cloath the Graſs of the Field, which to day is and to morrow is caſt into the Oven; ſhall he not much more cloath you, O ye of little faith.* That to diſtruſt Gods providence or doubt of his love, of ſuch love as is ready to beſtow better raiment upon them than *Solomon* in all his royalty had, is a point of infidelity, is included in our Saviours inference or concluſion: *Therefore take no thought, ſaying, what ſhall we eat? or what ſhall we drink? or wherewithal ſhall we be clothed? For after all theſe things do the Gentiles ſeek. For your Heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all theſe things.* Is it then unlawful to make any thing which the Gentiles ſought after, any part of our care? No, the Gentiles after their faſhion, ſought after God, who (as the Apoſtle ſaith) *giveth to all life and breath and all things*, even to the Gentiles, *that they ſhould ſeek the Lord: if haply they might feel after him and find him. Acts* 17. 25, 27. The only reaſon why they did not find him, was becauſe they ſought him amiſs. And the reaſon why they ſought him amiſs was their ignorance of this truth which our Saviour and S. *Paul* hath taught, to wit, that God did give the very Gentiles themſelves food and rayment, with other neceſſaries of life, even life it ſelf, with all its contentments, to the end that they might ſeek him and taſt his goodneſs. But they ran counter, and ſought only after thoſe things which were good not in themſelves, but as they were pledges of his goodneſs. And the more eagerly they thus ſought after theſe temporal good things, the further they ran from the Fountain of goodneſs, which alone muſt ſweeten the beſt things we can deſire, and ſeaſon our Souls for the right entertainment or fruition of them.

3. Our Speculative Aſſent unto this Article, or approbation of this Truth, whereof theſe Gentiles were ignorant, will rather aggravate than mitigate our Saviours cenſure of them; if we be as greedy ſeekers after the neceſſities of life, or as ſolicitous hunters after ſuperfluities, as the Gentiles were. The diſtinctions or diviſions of *care*, with Annotations what kind of care, is by our Saviour forbidden, what allowed of, are eaſie to be found, almoſt, in every Writer, eſpecially in the Expoſitors of that Sixth Chapter of *Matthew*. But whether through the default of Hearers or of Teachers, or reſpectively of both: too much liberty is every where taken for employing the greateſt part of mens times and endeavours in providing things of this life. Notwithſtanding all the prohibitions which have been given by our Saviour to the contrary: *Covetouſneſs* and *Ambition*, the two grand enemies of belief in God and his loving Providence, have no where in any Age thriven better, than amongſt Zealous Chriſtian Profeſſors in theſe later times. And which is moſt to be lamented, Scripture is ſecretly oppoſed to Scripture for juſtifying or countenancing Unchriſtian care of worldly matters. The warrant, which many take to themſelves from the miſtaken ſenſe of one place in St. * *Paul*, *He that provideth not for his Family is worſe than an Infidel*, is uſed as a *countermand* to our Saviours prohibition. For the right limitation whereof, the only caveat which I have to commend unto the Reader, is this, as Saint *Paul*, how mightily ſoever he debaſe works, not Ceremonial only, but Moral, doth never deny their uſe or neceſſity, either for attaining to Juſtification, or for making our Election ſure, but only ſeeks to ſtrengthen our relyance upon Gods Mercies in Chriſt by denial of our ſelves, and of the beſt works which we can do, whether before Regeneration or after: So our Saviour, albeit he ſeem univerſally to forbid all care of minding Temporal Contentments, yet indeed and real meaning, forbids us only to place any part of our hopes or confidence in our own endeavours. He doth not ſimply forbid all care of things Temporal, but ſo far only as it is an hindrance to our care and watchfulneſs for trying and taſting the goodneſs of God, or as it weakens our relyance upon his Fatherly Providence. If we be watchful in Prayer, and frequent in Meditations upon Gods goodneſs already experienced, our care of Heavenly things and eſtimate of Gods goodneſs will better teach every one of us in his ſeveral Calling, the right limitation of his Domeſtick cares, than any general rule which can be gathered from the nature, quality, or quantity of cares. For concluſion, he which forbids us to take care for the morrow, commands us this day to pray for to morrows Bread, that is, to pray every day for the good ſucceſs or bleſſings of the days following, with all attention and watchfulneſs.

* 1 *Tim.* 5. 8.

4. Another Fundamental Duty, and one of the moſt formal effects of Faith, as it reſpects this Article, is that of the Preacher, *Eccleſiaſtes* the 12. ver. 1. *Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth.* But why is this duty in particular preſt upon Youth? Becauſe the Prints of Gods Creative power are then moſt freſh in our Nature, and might tranſmit a fairer copy, or truer eſtimate of the Creators goodneſs unto old Age, than old Age can take any: ſo young men by often re-

flecting upon the preſent comforts of health and ſtrength, upon the activity of body, the quickneſs of Senſe and Spirit, would ingroſs them deeply in their Memories. Youth then is the fitteſt ſeaſon for eſtimating the benefits of Creation, and old Age the choiceſt time for ſurveying our unthankfulneſs to our Creator. If the former contentments of Youth, with the comforts which accompany our beſt thoughts and actions, were truly calculated in our freſh and choiceſt days, and rightly weighed upon their proper Center, our thankfulneſs would reciprocate upon the Fountain from which they flow, and be turned to their Donor in a meaſure equiponderent to their weight upon our Souls. And nothing but want of thankfulneſs, in ſuch as have taſted the ordinary benefits of Creation, can hinder the deſcent of Gods choice of Bleſſings in great abundance. Would we but ſequeſter that delight which we take in health and ſtrength from our ſelves, and ſurrender it wholly into his hands that gave it, he is ſtill ready to renew and better our preſent and former eſtate. Did we empty our Hearts of Pride, of Self-delight, or Complacency, by powring forth ſuch joyful Thankſgiving as the Pſalmiſt doth; It is he that hath made us, and not we our ſelves: it is he that gives us all thoſe good things wherein we joy, we did not receive them from our Friends or Parents, we cannot take them to our ſelves: the ſame Lord, as the *Pſalmiſt* elſewhere avoucheth, would give us our Hearts deſire, even fill our Hearts with joy and gladneſs which ſhall never fail or decreaſe. This is his ſole and proper gift, for though we could take unto our ſelves all the Temporary Contentments of Tranſitory Pleaſures, which either our Hearts could wiſh, or our inventions Calculate, yet ſhould we not have our Hearts deſire, ſo long as we fix our delight either in the things enjoyed, or in the enjoying of them, and not in the Lord which gave them unto us, and us power to enjoy them.

From thus delighting in the Lord, or from rendring according to the benefits beſtowed upon us, the general withdrawments are but two. Firſt, An over-prizing of ſuch Externals as procure or increaſe our contentments. Secondly, An over-valuing the fear or dread of mens perſons, or other Externals which ſeem to menace diſgrace, vexation, or torment unto us, if we ſhould do as in our calmeſt thoughts we often deſire to do. The ſiniſter ſway of both Temptations or withdrawments from the Duties commended unto us, cannot be otherwiſe counterpoized than by taking the laſt branch of this Article into deep and ſerious conſideration. The laſt branch was, that God doth not only make and preſerve us, but doth withal perpetually order, direct, and govern both us and all the Externals which we love or fear, by his all-ſeeing, ever-working Decree or Counſel. If our Souls or Senſes have for once or twice been over-joyed with the poſſeſſion of any Externals or inſtrumental cauſes of contentment, let us call to mind, that as the Almighty Creator gives both us and them their Being, ſo he likewiſe ſtints and limits as well their operations, as our capacities to receive their impreſſions at his pleaſure. The ſame Externals which formerly wrought our comfort or contentments, may procure our grief and miſery by too much or unſeaſonable familiarity with them, or fruition of them. If in fear or dread of evil menaced by man, or repreſented to us by Fire, by Sword, or other unruly inſtruments of wrath or vengeance, we cannot hope that the Almighty Creator will by miracle abate their ſtrength, or inhibit the exerciſe of their native qualities or diſpoſitions, as he did in *Daniel* and the three Childrens caſes; yet unleſs our Faith in the laſt branch of this Article fail, it will confirm us in this reſolution, that he can and will ſo contrive the concurrence of hurtful Agents, as they ſhall become inſtruments of greater good to ſuch as love him, and in temptations adhere unto him. The rule or Maxim is univerſally true: No Agent or Inſtrument, whether of temporal harm or comfort, whether of joy or grief, can work any other ways or any further than he by his Eternal Decree or Providence hath appointed it for the preſent to work. And in that promiſe made unto us by our Apoſtle, *That he will not ſuffer us to be tempted above our ſtrength*; it is included that he will ſo reſtrain or abate the force and efficacy of all ſecond cauſes, as they ſhall not conquer our patience, or quell the comfort of our unwounded Conſcience.

CHAP. XII.

Though nothing can fall out otherwiſe than God hath Decreed: yet God hath Decreed that many things may fall out otherwiſe than they do.

1. MEN, otherwiſe of light and vain behaviour, gain oftentimes reſpect amongſt the multitude by pretended deſcent from worthy Families, with whom their names have ſome Alliance: ſo do inconſiderate poſitions or concluſions dangerouſly erroneous, many times get more eſteem among the Learned, than ordinary truths do, as being miſtaken for the true and natural off-ſprings of undoubted Maxims. There is no Chriſtian, but thinks himſelf bound upon his Allegiance to ſubmit his aſſent unto the former Principle, [*It is impoſſible that any thing ſhould be, which God hath Decreed not to be; or any thing which is, ſhould otherwiſe be, than God hath Decreed it ſhould be.*] And many which make a conſcience as well of their words as of their ways, (herein, perhaps, eſpecially faulty, that they are too zealouſly ſollicitous not to ſpeak amiſs) make no ſcruple of entertaining theſe and the like Inferences following, as naturally deſcending from the former Maxim: [*It is impoſſible ought ſhould fall out otherwiſe than it doth: All things in reſpect of God and his Omnipotent Decree, are neceſſary: Contingency is but a Soleciſm of ſecular language, or if any thing may without offence be termed contingent, it muſt be reputed ſuch, only with reference to ſecond cauſes.*

2. Howbeit ſuch good men as do thus write and ſpeak, will give us leave (I know) to take it in the firſt place as granted, that God is wiſer than we are, and knows the Nature of all things and their differences better than they or we do. This being granted, we will in the ſecond place ſuppoſe that Contingency is not a meer fictitious name of that which is not, as *Tragelaphus*; nor altogether Synonimal to Neceſſity. The queſtion about *Contingency*, and of its difference from neceſſity, is not ſuch as one in merriment once propoſed in Schools; *An chimera calcitrans in vacuo terat calceos:* The very names of *Contingency* and *Neceſſity* to ordinary Latiniſts differ more than *Enſis* and *Gladius*, than *Veſtis* and *Indumentum*, betwixt which

perhaps, the Ancient Latine Artificers or *Nomenclators* knew ſome difference. Yet was it impoſſible for them to know any thing which God knew not, who out of all controverſie knows the true difference between *Contingency* and *Neceſſity*, much better than we can do. For both of them are Entities of his making, and ſerve as different Laws to the diverſity of his Creatures, or their different actions. All the reaſons that can be drawn from the immutability of Gods Decree to the contrary, may with greater facility and ſtrength of the ſame Decree be retorted than brought againſt us. For God immutably Decrees mutability. Now who will ſay that things mutable, are in reſpect of Gods Decree or Knowledge immutable? The Heavens and other bodies moveable according to local motion, are truly moveable in themſelves, abſolutely moveable, not immoveable in reſpect of Gods Decree or Knowledge: for he knows them to be moveable, becauſe he Decreed them ſo to be; he doth not know them to be immoveable, becauſe he Decreed them not to be ſuch, unleſs for a time by interpoſition of miracle. It implies leſs contradiction, to ſay, *Deus immutabiliter decernit mutabilia*, than to ſay, (which hath been accounted an ancient Orthodoxal Maxim) *Stabilis dat cuncta movere*. For *Mobility* is a branch of *Mutability*.

In what good ſenſe all things may be ſaid neceſſary in reſpect of Gods Decree. *See* Chap. 22. Parag. 2.

3. Every thing in reſpect of Gods Decree or Knowledge is altogether ſuch as God hath Decreed it ſhould be. If then God hath Decreed there ſhould be *contingency*, as well as *neceſſity*; it is altogether as neceſſary that ſome Events ſhould be contingent as others neceſſary; and as truly contingent as the other is neceſſary in reſpect of Gods Decree. Albeit to ſpeak properly, the natures of contingency and neceſſity conſiſt not in meer *relation* or *reſpect*. For in as much as both are immediate and real effects of Divine Omnipotency; both muſt have abſolute Being, the Being of neither is meerly *relative*. Now if Contingency have a true and abſolute Being, it is neither conſtituted in the nature of Contingency by any reſpect or relation to ſecond cauſes, nor can any reſpect or relation to the firſt cauſe deprive it of that abſolute nature, which the Omnipotent efficacy of the cauſe of cauſes hath irrevocably beſtowed upon it. Briefly, if Contingency be any thing, it is that which it is by the Omnipotent Decree; and being ſuch, it is altogether as impoſſible that ſome effects ſhould not be abſolutely Contingent, as that ſuch effects as the Divine Decree hath appointed to be neceſſary, ſhould not be at all. Or if we would make impartial inquiry into the Original of all things, nothing without the Precincts of the moſt Glorious and ever Bleſſed Trinity, is abſolutely neceſſary.

4. By *Contingency* (leſt haply we might be miſtaken) we underſtand the *poſſible mean* between neceſſity of Being and neceſſity of not Being, or of Being ſuch, or of not Being ſuch; or between neceſſity of doing, and neceſſity of not doing, or neceſſity of being done, or neceſſity of being left undone. This *mean* between neceſſity of doing, and neceſſity of not doing, is that which in Agents Intellectual, as in Men and Angels we call freedom of will or choice. Unto which freedom, neceſſity is as contradictory, as irrationability is to the nature of man, and contingency as neceſſarily preſuppoſed as life and ſenſe are to reaſon. And reaſon to contingency, and we have the compleat definition of Free-will. In thoſe caſes wherein the Creator hath exempted man from reſtraint of neceſſity, his Will is Free. The Divine Will it ſelf is not Free in thoſe operations which are Eſſential,

though moſt delectable. God the Father is more delighted in the Eternal Generation of his Son; ſo is God the Father and the Son in the Eternal Proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt, than in the Creation, Production, or Preſervation of all the Creatures. Yet are not theſe or other internal operations of the Bleſſed Trinity ſo *Free* in reſpect of the Divine Nature, as is the production of the World. Whatſoever God decrees, he decrees it Freely, that is, ſo as he might not decree it. Whatſoever he makes, he makes it freely, that is, he ſo makes it, as that it was not neceſſary for him to make it.

CHAP. XIII.

Contingency is abſolutely poſſible, and part of the object of Omnipotency, as formal a part as neceſſity is.

1. IT is an unqueſtionable rule in the Art of Arts, that Propoſitions for their form not incompatible, may from the neceſſity of their matter or ſubject, become equivolent to Propoſitions directly contradictory; whoſe indiſpenſable Law or Rule it is, that if the one be true, the other muſt needs be falſe; they admit of no mean betwixt them. Now there is no matter or ſubject in the World, which is ſo abſolutely neceſſary, as the exiſtence of the Divine Nature, or the internal operations of the Trinity. Whence it is, that between theſe two Propoſitions [*The Generation of the Son, is neceſſary, the not Generation of the Son is neceſſary,*] there is no poſſible mean which can be capable of Truth. The firſt is ſo abſolutely neceſſary, and ſo neceſſarily true, that the latter is eternally falſe. But ſuch is not the caſe or condition of theſe two Propoſitions following: [*The Creation or Exiſtence of the World is neceſſary: The not Creation or non-exiſtence of the World is neceſſary.*] Theſe are not Contradictories for their form, nor equivolent to Contradictories for their matter or ſubject, and therefore may admit a mean between them. To ſay the Creation or Exiſtence of the World was abſolutely neceſſary, hath no truth in it: for it had a beginning of Exiſtence and Being, and may have an end; and the other extream or contrary [*The not Creation or non-exiſtence of the world is abſolutely neceſſary,*] hath leſs appearance of truth in it. It remains then, that the two contradictory Propoſitions to theſe falſe ones, muſt be true. The contradictory to the former is this: [*The Creation or Exiſtence of the world is not abſolutely neceſſary.*] The contradictory to the latter is this: [*The not Creation or non-exiſtence of the World is not abſolutely neceſſary.*] Now ſeeing the World is Created, and yet it was not neceſſary that it ſhould be Created: both theſe Propoſitions following (ſeeing either of them is a true mean between the two former extreams or falſe ones,) are moſt true: [1. *The Creation of the World was poſſible.* 2. *The not Creation of the World was poſſible.*] And if as well the not Creation, as the Creation of the World was poſſible; we may not deny that God did freely Create it: ſeeing freedom properly taken, includes or is a poſſibility of doing or not doing. It was likewiſe free for the Almighty, to Create or not to Create Man or Angel. But his free purpoſe to Create them after his own Image being ſuppoſed:

poſed: it was not meerly poſſible, but altogether neceſſary that they ſhould be Created good. In as much as he is goodneſs it ſelf, it is not poſſible that evil ſhould be Created by him, that he ſhould be the Author of it. As is his Being, ſo is his goodneſs, perpetually abſolute, eternally neceſſary. But though Men and Angels were neceſſarily Created good, yet their goodneſs in the beginning was mutable, not perpetually neceſſary. The queſtion is, whether continuance in that goodneſs, wherein God Created them, were truly poſſible in reſpect of Gods Decree, unto ſuch as have not ſo continued, or their non-continuance neceſſary: Or whether, neither their continuance, or non-continuance were neceſſary, or both alike poſſible. To ſay that *Adams* continuance in goodneſs was, in reſpect of Gods Decree, neceſſary, is evidently convinced of falſhood by his fall. So that the other part only remains queſtionable, whether *Adams* non-continuance in the ſtate of goodneſs, were ſo abſolutely Decreed by God, that it was not poſſible for him to continue. For reſolution of this Point, we are to enquire; Firſt, whether in reſpect of Gods power it were poſſible. Secondly, Whether in reſpect of his goodneſs it were neceſſary or moſt congruent, to Ordain or Decree neither a neceſſity of continuance, nor a neceſſity of non-continuance in goodneſs; but the mean between them, that is, an abſolute poſſibility of continuance, and an abſolute poſſibility of non-continuance. That it was poſſible to Decree ſuch a mutual poſſibility, may thus be proved.

2. Whatſoever implies no contradiction, is abſolutely poſſible, and falls within the object of Omnipotency. But this mixt poſſibility of *continuing* or *not continuing*, being a mean betwixt the neceſſity of *Adams continuance*, and the neceſſity of *not continuance* in the ſtate of Integrity, implies no contradiction: *Ergo*, it was poſſible for God to Decree it. That it implies no contradiction in reſpect of the *form*, is a point ſo clear from the firſt Principles of *argumentation*, that he which underſtands not this, is neither fit to diſpute, nor to be diſputed with. But the ſame *form* (notwithſtanding) of contrariety applyed to the Divine Nature, the Perſons in Trinity, or their internal operations, admits no *mean*. What is the reaſon? The nature and *Attributes* of the *Deity* are *abſolutely* neceſſary and precedent to all Divine Decrees or Effects of Gods Power. And it implies a contradiction, that any thing which is abſolutely *neceſſary*, ſhould admit any mixture of contingency, or of poſſibility of the contrary. But the *nature*, *ſtate*, *condition*, or *exiſtence* of man, are not proper objects of the Divine Decree, yet proper effects of his power, and being ſuch, they are not abſolutely neceſſary; and not being neceſſary in themſelves, they cannot *incomber* or *involve* Propoſitions for their *form*, not neceſſary with abſolute neceſſity. Whatſoever had a true poſſibility of Being before it was, may be actually ſuch as it was abſolutely poſſible for it to be, or ſuch as it might pleaſe the Almighty Creator (who is free in all his actions *ad extra*) to make it. It was poſſible for him to make mans goodneſs or his continuance in it, not to be neceſſary, but contingent. He that made man of *nothing*, had nothing to reſiſt or hinder him from *ſquaring* or *framing* his Nature, to that *abſtract form* of truth, which was in it ſelf, or (as we ſay) *objectively poſſible*. For abſolute *Omnipotency* includes an ability to *ingroſs* or fill meer Logical poſſibilities, with true and Phyſical ſubſtances or qualities, as truly anſwerable unto them, as Natural *bodies*

are to *bodies* Mathematical. But concerning Gods power to Decree an abſolute contingency in the State, Condition, or Actions of Men, there can be no queſtion among ſuch as grant his *Omnipotency* to be out of queſtion. What could neceſſitate his will to lay a neceſſity of ſinning upon *Adam*, whoſe fall or firſt ſin, if it were neceſſary in reſpect of Gods Decree, the neceſſity muſt needs proceed from Gods Omnipotent Decree, without which nothing can have any real poſſibility or true Title of Being, much leſs a *neceſſity* of Being. For Divine Omnipotency is the firſt and ſole *Foundation* of all *Being*, otherwiſe then by it; and from it nothing can come to paſs either neceſſarily or contingently.

3. Whatſoever is and hath not been, muſt of neceſſity have ſome cauſe of now Being. And as is the event or effect, ſuch muſt the cauſalty be. If the one be neceſſary or inevitable, it is impoſſible the other ſhould be contingent or meerly poſſible. Both, or neither, muſt be neceſſary. Man we ſuppoſe did once ſtand upright, his *firſt ſin* or fall, *That* action whatſoever it were, which brought him down, the evils which thence enſued, are not meer *nothing:* Evil it ſelf got ſome kind of Being by his negligence, which from the beginning it had not. Of all, or any of theſe, the queſtion ſtill *revolves*, whether they were neceſſary or not neceſſary, but *Contingent*. If *Contingent*, we have no more to ſay, but Gods Peace be on them, which ſo ſpeak and think: If any reply, that they were neceſſary, he muſt aſſign a neceſſary cauſe of their Being. For without ſome cauſe they could not be, and without a neceſſitating cauſe, there was no neceſſity that they ſhould be. Was this *ſuppoſed* neceſſity then from Man or from God? from any ſecond cauſe, or from the firſt cauſe of all things? if from Man only or from other ſecond cauſes; then were they neceſſary not in reſpect of the firſt cauſe, but in reſpect of the ſecond: that is, ſome ſecond cauſe did make them neceſſary, when as the firſt cauſe had left them free, or meerly poſſible; which to affirm is contrary to their poſitions, with whom we diſpute, and in it ſelf unconceivable. For who can make that *neceſſary*, which God hath made contingent or ſubject to *change?* What can be ſaid then? that God did *make* mans fall, his firſt ſin or *appetite* of the forbidden Fruit, to be neceſſary, or neceſſitate his will in his ſiniſter choices? This were all one, as to ſay, that God were the immediate and *neceſſary* cauſe of ſin, of death, of all the *evils* that have befallen mankind ſince *Adam*. For he is the *ſole immediate* and neceſſary cauſe of all things which he ſo Decrees, as they cannot poſſibly fall out otherwiſe. For him to err in Decreeing, or for the execution of his Decree to be defeated, is impoſſible. In reſpect of his proper and adæquate object, and peremptorily intended *effect*, his will is a more irreſiſtible, more powerfully *neceſſitating* cauſe, than any other cauſe whatſoever. Now if Gods *will* had been, to leave no poſſibility for *Adams* perſeverance, his *fall* had been the compleat object of Gods Decree concerning our firſt eſtate, and by conſequence Gods *Decree* or *Will* had been the firſt cauſe of *ſins* firſt entrance into the World.

CHAP. XIV.

The former concluſion proved by the conſent of all the Ancients, whether Chriſtians or Heathens which did diſlike the Errour of the Stoicks.

THE incommodious or inconſiderate Speeches, which ſome of better Note and Antiquity, have let fall, were (as I perſwade my ſelf) but ſymptomes of their provoked Zeal, or eager deſire to ſalve thoſe groſs Abſurdities, which they had rightly eſpied in others. But it is always more eaſie to *expugn* an errour or ſalve a particular inconvenience, than to provide, that no more ſhall follow upon the cure or medicine. Had thoſe Famous Lamps of Gods Church, by whoſe light many groſs opinions have been diſcryed and reformed, ſeen the inconveniences which follow upon their own Poſitions, as *clearly*, as many of their Friends ſince have done: it would be a ſoul ſlander in us to ſuſpect, that they would not willingly have altered their *dialect*, or taken adviſe for expreſſing their good meaning in terms more ſafe, more proper, and more Scholaſtick. If otherwiſe we abſtract their *Speeches* from that *reſpect* and reverence, which we owe unto their *memory*, or that good opinion which beſt men have had of their Sincery: I cannot ſee wherein the neceſſary *conſequences* of their opinions, as they are uſually expreſſed, comes ſhort of the *Manichees* errors, or wherein they differ at all from the *Stoicks*. The *Manichees* held all evil, and miſchief in the world to fall out by inevitable neceſſity: but this neceſſity they derived from an evil *Author*, from a prime cauſe or *Creator* of evil only, not of any thing that was good. And better it is (for it is more conſonant to our Saviours advice) to acknowledge the *Tree* for evil, where the *Fruit* is evil, than to juſtifie it for good, when the Fruit is apparently and of neceſſity *naught*. The pertinacy or ſtiffneſs in this common error, [*Evil and miſchief, or wicked actions fall out by neceſſity*] being preſuppoſed equal; they add leſs ſin or error to it, which hence acknowledge a *prime* cauſe of *evil*, or a cauſe *evil* by *fatal* neceſſity; than thoſe which hold *evil* to be *neceſſary* in reſpect of his Omnipotent Decree, who is infinitely good. In fine, the *Manichees* were groſs Hereticks in holding evil and miſchief to fall out by inevitable neceſſity; but by this Hereſie once admitted, it was rather a conſonancy of error, then any addition of new Hereſie, to admit two prime *cauſes* or Creators, the one of good, the other of evil. They durſt not ſlander *goodneſs* with any crime, or for being the Author of any thing that was not *good*: nor were they diſpoſed to flatter greatneſs, as if *evil* were *no evil*, becauſe it proceeded from it.

2. That which the Ancients reproved in the *Stoicks* opinion, as moſt injurious to God and all good men, was, that they held all things (and evil things amongſt the reſt) to fall out by *fate* or unavoidable neceſſity. This foundation being once laid, the roots of Vertue muſt utterly periſh; and that which we call *Vice* ſhould be a meer name, or matter of nothing: there is no place left for juſt *reward* or *puniſhment*. Whether by *fate* the *Stoicks* meant the influence of Stars, the courſe of Nature, or the Decree of God (who to them was all one with Nature;) *all* was one in reſpect of the former inconveniences,

which neceſſarily followed from admiſſion of an inevitable neceſſity in Humane actions, whenſoever *that* be derived. To ſay, it comes from the firſt cauſe, or from the ſecond, is meerly accidental to the error or inconvenience ſo ſharply and juſtly reproved by the Primitive Church. In reſpect of a Tradeſmans commodity, it is all one, whether he be Prohibited for ſetting up or Trafficking, by the Company of his own Profeſſion, or by ſome higher Powers, ſo the prohibition or reſtraint be as large and peremptory, without hope of releaſe: or if he be reſtrained upon his Allegiance by the Prince or Privy-Council, his hopes of thriving will be much leſs, than if he were *tied* only by the local Statutes of ſome petty Corporation. Thus if the Stoick derived the neceſſity of all things from the revolution of the Heavens, or from other ſecond cauſes, as their ſuppoſed Guides; the impoſſibility of doing otherwiſe than we do, was, in every Chriſtians conceit, evidently much leſs, than if we derive this neceſſity from the *Omnipotent Decree*. Now the danger or inconvenience of their opinion, did *formally* conſiſt, in nurſing a conceipt in men, that it was impoſſible for them to do otherwiſe than they do, or to avoid the *Evils* and miſchiefs into which they fall. And theſe dangers or inconveniences, are ſo much greater in Chriſtians than they were in the *Stoicks*; as the God which we acknowledge is more Omnipotent, than Nature or the *Stoicks* god. For the more Omnipotent he is, the more impoſſible is it for any Creature to avoid the neceſſity, which by his Decree is laid upon him.

5. In reſpect of the former inconveniences, or of the opinion it ſelf, it is meerly accidental, whether this neceſſity be laid upon us by coaction, or willingly and chearfully entertained by us; whether it proceed from Gods Power or Impulſion, or from his Wiſdom: ſo our actions and their iſſues be, in reſpect of his Omnipotent Power or Will, alike unavoidable. If Birds and Fiſhes could ſpeak, I ſuppoſe the one would as much complain of thoſe that in hard *Froſt* or *Snow*, allure them with baits to come within the *fall* of the Trap, as the other would do of Fiſhers for driving them violently into their Nets. If the Birds once taken be uſed as hardly; their Expoſtulations would be ſo much more juſt, as their uſage before their taking was more kind. To make a man willing to undo himſelf, upon fair promiſes made, not with purpoſe to do him good, but to circumvent him; is greater cruelty than can accompany open violence. He that wittingly miniſters Poyſon inſtead of Phyſick, is in all Mens judgment, as true a Murderer, as he that kills with the Sword, albeit the party to whom it is miniſtred, having no reaſon to ſuſpect any danger, do willingly drink it. And the leſs ſuſpicious or more charitably affected he is to his profeſſed Phyſician, the greater wrong he hath in being thus uncharitably dealt with. It would little boot the Malefactor in this kind to plead; Albeit *I give it him, he might have choſen* whether he would have drunk it, becauſe I did not enforce him with a drawn Dagger or other weapon to be his own Executioner. In many caſes, one may be the true cauſe of anothers death, and deſerve death himſelf, although he be not any *neceſſary cauſe* of his death, or plot his deſtruction without poſſibility of avoidance. But if our *willing* choice of thoſe ways which lead to death, be neceſſary in reſpect of the Almighties Decree, ſo that there be no poſſibility left to eſcape it; he is a more neceſſary and more immediate cauſe of all their deaths that thus periſh, then any

man can be of his death whom he poiſons. And if the caſe ſtood thus with any, their miſery were greater, by how much they did leſs ſuſpect his goodneſs: However, moſt miſerable, becauſe moſt deſperate. Reaſon and knowledge (the two ornaments of the humane Nature) ſhould be to them a curſe. He that neither knows nor doth his Maſters will, ſhall be beaten; becauſe it was poſſible for him to have known it: but with fewer ſtripes, becauſe not knowing it, there was no poſſibility left for him to do it. But *he that knows it*, and *doth it not, ſhall be beaten with many ſtripes*, becauſe the knowledge of his will to puniſh ſinners, and reward the righteous, did include a poſſibility to avoyd death, and to be made partaker of life. If otherwiſe, there be no poſſibility left for him, that knows Gods diſpleaſure againſt ſin, to avoid the *ways* of ſin (thoſe are death;) his caſe before and after death, is much more miſerable than his, whom God in juſt judgment, hath deprived of knowledge. And the Preſerver of men ſhould be accounted much more favourable to Stocks and Trunks, than unto many Men upon whom he beſtows his beſt gifts in great plenty; if theſe be beſtowed upon the Conditions now mentioned, or be charged with remedileſs miſery.

4. But admitting their miſery to be *fatal* and *inevitable* by Divine Decree; is it not poſſible to acquit this Decree, or the *Author* of it from being the *Author* of evil? did the *Stoick* condemn all Judges of Injuſtice that ſentenced Malefactors unto violent death, whereto by their opinion, all that ſuffered it, were inevitably deſtinated? Perhaps the fear of cenſure in publick Courts, did make them ſilent in this point: But was not this care to keep themſelves harmleſs, or fear not to offend Magiſtrates, altogether *fatal? Galen* (to my remembrance) in his Stoical diſcourſe, *quòd mores animi ſequuntur temperamentum corporis*, hath framed this anſwer to the queſtion propoſed: We do not offend in killing Snakes or Toads or other like venemous Creatures; albeit their natural temper or diſpoſition be unalterably harmful unto men. And if *nature* or temper of Body make ſome of our own ſtamp and rank more noyſom than theſe Creatures are, unto their neighbours; to fit the one ſort with the ſame meaſure of puniſhment, which is due unto the other, is no *injuſtice*, no *inequality*. And * *Lipſius*, a man not too much abhorrent from any opinion, that was faſhionable to his new ſtile, or might ſerve to ſet forth the point, which for the preſent he much affected; gives this brief *placet*, in favour of the *Stoicks* opinion: (*Fatali culpæ fatalis pœna*,) *puniſhment is fatal to fatal crimes.* But this is *principium petere*, to take that for granted which is queſtioned. For, if the *harms* which Malefactors do and ſuffer, be truly *fatal*; the one is no true crime, the other is no juſt puniſhment. To *Galen* I anſwer, that if we could by any ſkill in Phyſick or complexions diſcern ſome men to be as naturally diſpoſed to *miſchief* all that come in their way, or by chance offend them; as are the Snake, the Sloworm, or other Serpent, it would be the wiſeſt way for ſuch as love their lives, to rid the world of theſe *fatally* miſchievous reaſonable Creatures, as faſt as they met with them; or to appoint ſome certain days for hunting them, as we do noyſom Beaſts. But to examine their ſuſpicious *intentions*, to queſtion their actions, to arraign their perſons, or put them upon a *formal* or legal tryal of their life, would be as ridiculous, as to produce *witneſſes* againſt a Snake, to *empannel* a Jury upon a mad Dog, or to take bale for a Wolfs appearance, before a Butcher, in an aſſembly of Maſtives.

* In Dialogiſtam.

5. The common *notions* of good and evil, and the ingraffed opinion of contingency in humane actions, have taught the Lawgivers of every Nation, to put notorious Malefactors unto more exquiſite tortures, than we do harmful Creatures; either to enforce them to utter, what no *deſtiny* nor complexion makes them voluntarily confeſs, or elſe to deter others (that are as naturally diſpoſed to evil, as they were) from doing the like. Scarce any Malefactor (unleſs he be *poyſoned* with this opinion of abſolute neceſſity) but will acknowledge that it was poſſible for him to have done otherwiſe than he hath done; poſſible for him to have avoided the doom, which is paſſed upon him by man: which to have avoided had been abſolutely *impoſſible*, if it were to be awarded upon him by Gods Eternal decree, or (which is all one) if in reſpect of this Decree, it had been neceſſary. As ignorance of the true God, and his ſaving truth, makes the *former* error more excuſable in the *Stociks*, than in ſuch Chriſtians as ſhall maintain it: ſo might impotency exempt that God which the *Stociks* worſhipped, (whether Nature, *Fate*, or ſome other diſtinct Celeſtial *power*) from thoſe imputations, unto which Omnipotency makes the God of Chriſtians liable, if all things were by vertue of his Decree abſolutely neceſſary. It was a received opinion among many Heathens, that the gods themſelves were ſubject unto *Fate*, and for this reaſon, when any thing fell out in their judgment amiſs, *Fates* commonly did either intirely bear the blame, or the greateſt part of it. And their gods (indeed) had deſerved pity rather than blame, if they could do no better than they did, as being *over maſtered* by *Fates*. But for a Chriſtian to inveigh againſt *Fates*, is to accuſe or deny his God. If *Fates* be nothing, he hath no reaſon to complain of them: if any thing they be, they are of the true Gods *making*, who made all things, who cannot poſſibly be ſubject to any thing that he hath made. Nor can it ſtand with our *allegiance* to ſay when any diſaſters befal us, that our God could no otherwiſe chuſe, that our miſchances were the abſolutely neceſſary effects of his Omnipotent Decree. One ſpecial cauſe of this error, and of ſome mens adherence to it, is a jealouſie or zealous needleſs fear, leſt they ſhould grant God to be impotent, or not ſo Omnipotent but that ſome things might take poſſeſſion of *being* without his leave or notice. The original of this fear, is, want of diſtinction, between *chance* or *caſualty*, and ſuch *contingency* as hath been expreſſed.

6. Many reaſons might be alledged ſufficient to demonſtrate the inevitable abſurdities of this ſuppoſed abſolute neceſſity. But it is one labour to convince an error before indifferent hearers; another to make men forſake the errors which have long poſſeſſed them: a third to win them unto a liking of the contrary truth. For effecting the two latter, no means can be ſo effectual in reſpect of their diſpoſition with whom we have to deal, as a plain Declaration, how ill *this opinion of abſolute neceſſity*, how well *this doctrine of mixt poſſibility or contingency conſorts*: firſt with their own reſolution of other difficulties in this very argument whereof we treat: ſecondly, with the perpetual voice of Gods Spirit, and his Meſſengers, ſpecially when they ſeek *ex profeſſo*, to perſwade to good, and to diſſwade from evil.

CHAP. XV.

The principal concluſions, which are held by the favourers of abſolute neceſſity, may be more clearly juſtified, and acquitted from all inconveniences, by admitting a mixt poſſibility or contingency in humane actions

1. THE moſt I have met withal, are *afraid* in plain terms to *maintain*, That God did as *immediately* and as *neceſſarily* Decree *Adams* fall or ſtate of ſin, as his original *juſtice* or ſtate of *integrity*. For this were to make him as true, as proper, and neceſſary a cauſe of *ſin*, and of all *evil*, as he is of *goodneſs*. To allay the harſhneſs of ſome ſpeeches, heretofore uſed, by thoſe men whom they favour, they will grant no more than this: that God did Decree to *permit* his fall. But the ſpeech is improper and very ambiguous: and in what ſenſe ſoever it may be taken, it muſt plead its warrant or right uſe, from our opinion; theirs can afford it none. *Permiſſion*, to ſpeak properly, is a *vertual* part of the Decree it ſelf; not the object whereto the Decree is terminated. But to let this paſs; we will take [*Gods Decree to permit*] to be all one, as if they had ſaid *Gods permiſſive Decree*. Did God then by his Decree, permit *Adam* to ſin? if he did, this Decree was either juſt or unjuſt. Whatſoever is by juſt Decree *permitted*, is by the ſame Decree ſufficiently warranted. At leaſt the puniſhment, otherwiſe due unto it, is diſpenſed with. Such *divorces* as were unlawful from the firſt inſtitution of *Matrimony* in Paradiſe, were permitted to the Iſraelites for the hardneſs of their hearts by *Moſes*, and for this reaſon, they were not puniſhed by the *judicial* Law. If it ſhould pleaſe our Soveraign to permit ſickly Students to eat fleſh in *Lent*, we would take his profeſſed *permiſſion*, for a ſufficient diſpenſation with the penal Statutes in this caſe provided. God queſtionleſs would never have *puniſhed Adam* for eating an Apple, if by his Eternal Decree he had **permitted* him to have eaten it. But their meaning haply is not, that God did allow or approve his eating of it, ſeeing he threatned it with death. But if, by his Decree, he did not allow it, he did *permit* it only in ſuch a *ſenſe*, as we may ſay the Laws of our Land, *permit* men to be hanged becauſe they keep not men cloſe *Priſoners*, nor ſo tye their hands that they cannot ſteal, *rob* or kill, before they be ſuſpected or convicted of *Felony*, Robbery, or *Murther*. But no Tyrant did ever before hand forbid ſuch a fact, under pain of death, without a ſuppoſed natural poſſibility to avoid it. And juſt Laws afford ordinary or civil means for ſatisfying nature in neceſſities, leſt theſe (as they know no law) enforce men to uſe their natural poſſibilities or faculties amiſs. The Laws of this Land and others, which make Theft matter of death, permit men the free imployment of bodily faculties, to *earn* their bread, or (if they be impotent) to crave or accept the *benevolence* of others, leſt they ſhould periſh for hunger, or be enforced to ſteal. If our Laws or Lawgivers, not permitting any of theſe means or the like, ſhould puniſh the taking of a loaf of *Bread* or cup of drink, with death; they might be more truly ſaid to enjoyn, than permit Theft; to be more delighted with the blood of the *needy*, than with preſervation of publike peace; albeit they did not ſet other mens meat before them, when they are hungred,

* Quàm longè quæſo eſt à jubente permittens? Qui enim ſinit nos iſta (mala) perferre, & prohibere poteſt ne perferamus, probat abſq; dubio debere perferre, & quæcunque patimur, ſuſtinere. *Salvian. lib.* 8. *in initio p.* 260.

nor lead their hands to take it. In like manner, he that ſaith, God did permit *Adam* to eat the forbidden Fruit, and by eating to incur death, doth neceſſarily imply, that God permitted him the free uſe of his External and Internal Faculties to ſatisfie his appetite, with ſome other meat. Now the free uſe of any faculty includes the *concourſe* or *co-operation* of God, without which it is impoſſible any Creature ſhould move. And this *concourſe* was a part of his Decree or *will* as it concerned this *Act.* More plainly: he that permitted *Adam* to ſin, did more than permit him to abſtain from ſin, or to perſevere in obedience. If then God in permitting him only to ſin, did afford means neceſſary for reducing this poſſibility of ſinning into a ſinful act not allowed; his *more* than *permiſſion* of him to abſtain from ſin, *his Commandment to perſevere in obedience*, did not only ſuppoſe a true poſſibility for him to abſtain and perſevere, but include withal better means for reducing this poſſibility into act, than were afforded for enabling him actually to ſin. Theſe two contrary poſſibilities, and the ſeveral means for accompliſhing them, muſt bear a proportion anſwerable to a meer permiſſion without approbation, or to a prohibition, and to a peremptory command of civil Authority. Now every juſt Lawgiver affords better means and incouragement for accompliſhing his commands or requeſts, than he doth for breaking or neglecting them.

2. For concluſion, when they ſay God, by his Eternal Decree, did permit *Adams fall*, their meaning rightly expreſſed, is no more than this; God did not Decree that his *perſeverance* ſhould be neceſſary. For *neceſſity* of *perſeverance* excludes all poſſibility of falling. But if his fall had been *neceſſary* in reſpect of the Eternal *Decree*, it had not only been *permitted*, but *allowed* and required. It remains then that both were poſſible, neither neceſſary in reſpect of the Divine Decree. Or to untwiſt the knot a little further; God by his Decree did *permit* and *allow* him a poſſibility to fall; but he did not allow the reduction of this poſſibility into act, that is, he gave it him, not to the end that he ſhould fall, but that his perſeverance might be more beneficial. He did not only permit or allow him a *poſſibility* of perſeverance, but did command and require the reduction of this poſſibility into act.

3. This form of wholſom Doctrine admitted, will clearly *enlighten* the truth of another diſtinction or reſolution much uſed, but mightily obſcured, or rather quite ſtifled, by ſuch as hold all things neceſſary in reſpect of the Eternal Decree. The diſtinction is: *God is the cauſe of every action, but he is not the cauſe of the obliquity which accompanies ſinful actions, nor of ſin as it is ſin.* This is their laſt Apology for avoiding that imputation of making God the author of ſin. Herein we both agree; The coexiſtence of the *all-working* Decree (or Divine co-operation) is neceſſarily required to every action or effect. Every action includes a *motion*, and *in him we move, we live, and have our being.* But he that will grant this *co-operation* or actual coexiſtence of the all-working decree to be the *neceſſary cauſe* of every action, unto which it is moſt neceſſarily required, muſt, upon the ſame terms, grant God to be not the *neceſſary* only, but the only cauſe of all and every *obliquity*, of all and every ſin, of all that hath been, is, or can be *blame-worthy* in Men or *Devils*, from their *Creation* to everlaſting. The demonſtration of this inconvenience or abſurdity, wherewith we charge the Adverſe Opinion (but no maintainer of it)

muſt be referred unto the diſcuſſions of the *ſtate* of *Innocency* and the manner of ſins entring into the world: we are now engaged to extract a better meaning out of their other words, than they themſelves expreſs, or can truly be contained in them, until they abandon the opinion of abſolute neceſſity in humane actions, as they have reference to the Eternal Decree.

Seeing it is agreed upon, that God and Man are joynt Agents in every ſinful action, or in effects *eſſentially* evil (ſuch queſtionleſs was Mans deſire to be like God, or his luſting after the forbidden Fruit:) The Problem remains, why both ſhould not be equal ſharers in the ſin: or how it is poſſible juſtly to condemn men of iniquity, without ſome imputation unto God, who is the principal Agent in all actions. *Shall we be partial for him, or ſeek to excuſe him by his greatneſs? Shall we ſay he cannot do amiſs, becauſe he is Supreme Lord over all, and may do with his Creatures what he liſt?* To ſuch as count the donative of Robbers a true *boon* or real courteſie; to ſuch as can magnifie their own integrity, whereof they give no proof, ſave only as he did by negatives, (*non hominem occidi*) *I am no Murtherer.* The Poet hath ſhaped an anſwer, as fit, as pertinent, (*non paſces in cruce corvos*) *Thou ſhalt not feed Ravens upon a Gibbet.* To ſay God is the Author of ſin were hideous Blaſphemy: yet to ſay he is no *Tempter*, no Seducer of mankind to Evil, is not to offer praiſe unto him. Let my Spirit vaniſh with my Breath, and my Immortal Soul return to nothing, rather than ſuffer her ſelf to be overtaken, with ſuch a dead ſlumber, as can reſt contented to ſet forth *His Glory* by *bare Negatives*, or by not being the Author of ſin, who is moſt highly to be praiſed in all his Works, whoſe goodneſs is infinitely greater in concurring to ſinful actions, than the goodneſs of his beſt Creatures in the accompliſhment of their moſt ſincere intentions.

4. The truth of this concluſion is neceſſarily grounded upon theſe Aſſertions hereafter to be diſcuſſed: *That mans poſſibility or hopes of attaining Everlaſting Happineſs, was of neceſſity to be tempered with a poſſibility of ſinning, or falling into miſery.* To permit or allow man this poſſibility of ſinning, and to beſtow upon him the contrary poſſibility of not ſinning and hope of Happineſs was one and the ſame *branch* of Divine Goodneſs. One and the ſelf ſame branch of Gods goodneſs it was, to allow this poſſibility of ſinning, and to afford his concourſe for reducing of it into Act. For unleſs he had decreed to afford his concourſe thereto, it had been impoſſible for man actually to have ſinned. And if for man to ſin had been made impoſſible by Gods Decree: it had been alike impoſſible for him to have *done well* or ill, or to become truly happy. Briefly, God in that he Decreed a mixture of contrary poſsibilities, Decreed withal a concourſe or co-operation *ſutable* unto, and ſufficient for the actual accompliſhment of both. To the Problem propounded, the anſwer from theſe grounds is eaſie: *Albeit God* and Man be joynt *Agents* in every action or effect Eſſentially *evil*, yet the whole ſin is wholly mans: becauſe the nature of ſin conſiſts either in mans uſing the poſſibility of ſin allowed of *God* for his good, to accompliſh ſuch Acts, as *God* diſallows, or in not uſing the contrary *poſſibility* unto ſuch acts, as he not only alloweth and approveth, but requireth and commandeth, ſuch as he moſt bountifully rewardeth, and unto whoſe accompliſhment, he affordeth, not his ordinary concourſe only, but his ſpecial furtherance and aſſiſtance. In every ſin of commiſſion, we approve and make choice of

thoſe acts which his infinite goodneſs diſalloweth. In every ſin of omiſſion, we do not approve thoſe acts which he approveth: although perhaps it may be queſtioned, whether there can be any ſin of pure omiſſion, or not mixt with commiſſion; that is, any ſin wherein we do not either like what God diſlikes, or reject and contemn what he likes and commends unto us for good.

5. From theſe reſolutions we may find ſome truth in an uſual poſition; which, without this truth preſuppoſed, is palpably falſe. *Every action or effect, as it is an effect or action, or as it proceeds from God, is good.* The beſt meaning whereof it is capable, muſt be this; Gods goodneſs is ſeen in every action, even in thoſe which are moſt ſinful. To vouchſafe his co-operation to *them*, is a branch of his goodneſs, becauſe man could not be happy without a poſſibility of deſerving to be miſerable. But Humane Actions or Effects in their own Nature, indefinitely conſidered, or in the abſtract as they are actions, are neither Morally good, nor Morally bad. When it is ſaid that every action, as an action is good, this muſt be underſtood of Tranſcendental goodneſs only, of which kind of goodneſs Moral evil or ſin it ſelf is partaker. If every action, as it is an action, were morally good, it were impoſſible any action ſhould be morally evil. If we conſider Humane Actions not indefinitely, or with this reduplication, as they are actions, but deſcending unto particulars, ſome *are good*, ſome are *bad*, and ſome (*perhaps*) poſitively indifferent, but of this hereafter.

CHAP. XVI.

The former Contingency in Humane Actions or mutual poſſibility of obtaining reward or incurring puniſhment, proved by the infallible rule of Faith, and by the Tenour of Gods Covenant with his People.

1. Though *manifeſt* deductions of ill ſounding Conſequences from their poſitions, which we refute, and more commodious Explanations of other Tenents common to both, may ſomewhat move the Favourers of univerſal neceſſity to a diſlike of their own Opinions, and in part incline them to the oppoſite truth: yet is it poſitive proof of Scriptures that muſt ſtrike the main ſtroke, and faſten their aſſents unto it. And *God* forbid they ſhould be ſo uncharitable, as to think, that we or any Sons of the true Church, would be unwilling to put our ſelves upon this tryal. Scripture we grant (and are ready upon as high and hard terms as they to maintain) is the only infallible rule of *rectitude* or *obliquity* in Opinions concerning *God*, or Mans Salvation. Yet are we not hereby bound to reject reaſon, and infallible rule of Art, as incompetent Judges, what Propoſitions in Scripture are equipollent, which oppoſite, which ſubordinate: or what Collections from undoubted ſacred Maxims, are neceſſary or probable, or what concluſions are altogether falſe and Sophiſtical. Nor ought they to ſuſpect *reaſon* in others to be *unſanctified*; becauſe it is accompanied with rules of Prophane Sciences. For even theſe are the gifts of *God*, and are ſanctified in every Chriſtian by the rule

of Faith. And in as much as both of us admit *Scripture* to be the only rule of Faith in it ſelf moſt infallible: both of us are tyed by infallible conſequents of truth from this rule derived, to admit of this Maxim following; * *Gods threats and promiſes, his Exhortations Admonitions, or Proteſtations, whether immediately made by himſelf or by his Prophets, contain in them greater truth and ſincerity than this in our Admonitions, Exhortations and Promiſes.* His truth and ſincerity in all his ways are the *rule* or pattern, which we are to imitate; but which we cannot hope to equalize.

* Vide Suffrag. Britannorum in Concil. Dordr. Theſi 3 de Antecedaneis ad Converſionem. Vide etiam D. Wardum Concione de Gratiâ diſcriminante. *Pag.* 5. 6, 7. *Editionis* 2.

2. Put the caſe then a Religious, Wiſe, and Gracious Prince, ſhould exhort a young Gentleman (that in rigour of Law had deſerved Death for ſome emulous quarrel in the Court) to behave himſelf better hereafter, and he ſhould be ſure to find greater favour at his hands than any of his Adverſaries: No man would ſuſpect any determination in the Prince, to take away his life for this offence, or any purpoſe to intrap him in ſome other. A miniſter of Publick Juſtice, in our memory, told a Butcher, (whom he then ſentenced to death for Manſlaughter) that he might kill Calves, Oxen, and Sheep, but Mankind was no Butchery ware; he might not kill his honeſt Neighbours. The Soleciſm was ſo uncouth, and ſo ill beſeeming the ſeat of Gravity and of Juſtice, that it moved laughter (though in a caſe to be lamented) throughout the Aſſembly; and a young Student ſtanding near the Bar, adviſed the poor condemned man to entreat a Licenſe to kill Calves and Sheep that Lent. The wiſeſt of Men may ſometimes err, ſometimes place good words amiſs, or give wholſom counſel (ſuch as this was, had it been uttered in due time and place) out of ſeaſon. But to ſpend good words of comfort and encouragement, upon ſuch as thou haſt certainly appointed to dye; to flout the Children of deſtruction with fair promiſes of preeminence; *That be far from thee O Lord. Shall not the Judge of all the Earth do that which is right and juſt:* a thing well-beſeeming the beſt and wiſeſt Princes of the Earth to imitate? Was then the Sentence of Condemnation for *Cain*'s Exile or utter Deſtruction without poſſibility of revocation, when thou entread'ſt him as a moſt loving Father; *Why art thou wroth? and why is thy countenance fallen? If thou do well, ſhalt not thou be accepted? and if thou doſt not well, ſin lyeth at the door: and unto thee ſhall be his deſire, and thou ſhalt rule over him?* Did that, which the Text ſaith, afterward come to paſs by inevitable neceſſity? *And* Cain *talked with* Abel *his Brother: and it came to paſs when they were in the Field, that* Cain *roſe up againſt* Abel, *his Brother, and ſlew him.* My Adverſaries (for I am not theirs) muſt be entreated to pardon me, if I be as reſolute and peremptory for my Opinion hitherto delivered, as they are for any other. For Reaſon and Conſcience ruled by Scripture, perſwades me, it is as poſſible for the Judge of quick and dead to be unjuſt in his Sentences, or unſincere in his incouragement, as that *Cain*'s deſtruction ſhould be in reſpect of his Decree, altogether neceſſary or impoſſible to have been avoided. When the Lord took firſt notice of his emulation and *envy* at his younger brother; God would not baniſh him from his Brothers preſence, nor ſo tye his hands that he could not ſtrike: But he uſed all the means that equity (in like caſe) requires to move his heart, that way which it was very poſſible for it to be moved. And unto *this* motion *Cain* had both Gods aſſiſtance and incouragement, as ready as his *general* concourſe to conceive anger in his heart, or to lift up his hand againſt his Brother.

Gen. 18. 15.

Gen. 4. 6. 7, 8.

Y 3.

3. The very Tenor of Gods grand Covenant with the Sons of *Abraham*, includes this twofold poſſibility, one of *attaining* his extraordinary gracious favour by doing well, another of *incurring* miſerable calamities by doing ill. *If ye walk in my Statutes, and keep my Commandments, and do them; then will I give you rain in due ſeaſon, and the Land ſhall yield her encreaſe, and the Trees of the field ſhall yield their Fruit. And your threſhing ſhall reach to the Vintage, and the Vintage ſhall reach unto the Sowing time: and ye ſhall eat your bread to the full, and dwell in your Land ſafely,* &c. *I am the Lord your God, which brought you forth out of the Land of* Ægypt, *that ye ſhould not be their Bondmen, and I have broken the bands of your yoke, and made you go upright,* Levit. 26. ver. 3. ad. 14. *But if ye will not hearken unto me, and will not do all theſe Commandments; And if ye ſhall deſpiſe my Statutes, or if your Soul abhor my Judgments, ſo that ye will not do all my Commandments, but that ye break my Covenant: I alſo will do this unto you, I will even appoint over you Terror, Conſumption, and the Burning Ague, &c.* Levit. 20. ver. 14. 15, 16, *&c.*

This Tenor or Condition was to continue one and the ſame throughout all Generations. But ſome Generations, as the event hath proved, were, *de facto*, partakers of the Bleſſings promiſed; others have had their portion in the curſes. Shall we hence infer, that Proſperity, was in reſpect of *Gods* Decree or good pleaſure altogether neceſſary unto ſuch as proſpered, not ſo much as poſſible unto thoſe that periſhed, or that their calamity was abſolutely neceſſary? I would ſay rather, and I have Gods Word, yea, his hearty wiſhes, for my warrant, that the moſt proſperous times, which any of *Abrahams* or *Davids* Poſterity enjoyed, did come far ſhort of that meaſure of Proſperity, which by Gods Eternal Decree, was poſſible to all, even to the whole ſtock of *Jacob* throughout all their Generations. *Oh that my people had hearkned unto me: and* Iſrael *had walked in my ways! I ſhould ſoon have ſubdued their Enemies, and turned my hand againſt their Adverſaries. The haters of the Lord ſhould have ſubmitted themſelves unto him: but their time ſhould have endured for ever,* Pſal. 81. ver. 13. 14, 15. But in what eſtate? *Fed with the fineſt of the Wheat, and ſatisfied with Honey out of the Rock,* ver. 16. Were theſe meer wiſhes of *wind* which vaniſhed with the avouchers breath? did the Pſalmiſt utter them out of tender affection to his People and Country, without commiſſion from his Maker? or was *He* leſs affected towards his People than this his meſſenger, that his meſſage wants the weight of Everlaſting Truth? To theſe and the like demands, of many bad anſwers, this is the beſt and moſt common: *God would undoubtedly have made his promiſe good, and done aſwell by* Iſrael *as here he wiſheth, if* Iſrael *could have turned to him or done what he requires.* But that, ſay the ſame men, was in reſpect of Gods Decree or ſecret will, *impoſſible*. Whence, ſeeing the condition neither was nor could be performed by *Iſrael*, God was not bound to beſtow theſe Bleſſings upon them, but free to reſerve his ſtore unto himſelf, or for ſome other people, which was proffered (but upon conditions impoſſible to be performed) unto *Iſrael*. Might not churliſh *Nabal* have promiſed abundance of Bread, of Wine and Fleſh to *Davids* Servants, upon like terms? May not Cut-throat Uſurers aſſure bags of Gold to bedridden or decrepit limbs, upon condition they will fetch them from the top of high Towers or ſteep Mountains? But what kindneſs, what ſincerity could there be in ſuch laviſh proffers, ſpeciallly if the impotent wretches were by covenant excluded from all uſe of Crutches? Yet it is more poſſible for a *Creeple* to go without his Crutches, than for *Iſrael* to walk in the ways of God, without his aid or aſſiſtance. Neceſſity therefore conſtrains us to confeſs the one of theſe *two*, *Either that there was no more ſincerity in the Almighties Proteſtations, than in* Nabals *or the Uſurers ſuppoſed bounty*, which they never meant to uſe, but upon performance of impoſſibilities. Or elſe his promiſes, if they had any ſincerity in them, did include his furtherance and aſſiſtance unto *Iſrael* for performing the condition required. Now unto whatſoever effect or event the furtherance or ſpecial *aſſiſtance* of Omnipotent Power is, upon the truth and ſincerity of Divine Promiſe, always ready and aſſured, the ſame *effect* cannot truly be deemed *impoſſible* in reſpect of the Eternal Decree. And whatſoever is not in reſpect of this Decree impoſſible, the non-exiſtence of it, or the exiſtence of the contrary effect, cannot in reſpect of the ſame Decree, be neceſſary. So then neither was *Iſraels* well-doing and proſperity, nor their ill-doing and calamity at any time abſolutely *neceſſary*, in reſpect of Gods Decree; both were poſſible, both contingent.

4. The truth of theſe Collections from Gods Word (or rather of theſe infallible conſequences of his Eſſential Goodneſs, Sincerity, and Truth) though neceſſary and evident unto Artiſts, may from other poſitive authorities of the ſame word be ratified, *à fortior*, to common ſenſe. If *Neither* theſe good things which God ſincerely purpoſeth and expreſly promiſeth, nor that evil which he ſeriouſly and expreſly threatens, be *neceſſary* in reſpect of his Decree: much leſs can *that* good which is neither particularly *promiſed* or avouched; or *that evil* which is not expreſly threatned or foretold by his infallible Meſſengers, be held neceſſary in reſpect of his Decree. Now, that the Proſperity which he expreſly promiſeth by ſuch Meſſengers, is not ſo neceſſary, as to exclude all poſſibility of contrary *Evil*; nor the evil which he ſolemnly denounceth ſo neceſſary, as not to leave a true poſſibility for a contrary *bleſſing:* his Prophet hath given ſuch a general and evident aſſurance, not to *Iſrael* only, but to all the Nations of the Earth; as we cannot deny, but that it was deviſed of purpoſe, by the Lord himſelf, as a *Poſt-ſtatute to prevent* this ſtrange *miſ-conſtruction* which his people had then made, and which he then foreſaw would afterwards be *enforced* upon his Decrees or Laws, by this prejudicate opinion of abſolute neceſſity. *At what inſtant I ſhall ſpeak concerning a Nation, and concerning a Kingdom, to pluck up, and to pull down, and to deſtroy it; if that Nation againſt whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them. And at what inſtant I ſhall ſpeak concerning a Nation, and concerning a Kingdom to build and to plant it; If it do evil in my ſight, that it obey not my voice, then I will repent of the good wherewith I ſaid I would benefit them*, Jer. 18. ver. 7, 8, 9, 10. And if we may gueſs at the nature of the diſeaſe, by the medicine, and the manner of applying it; the houſe of *Iſrael* was at this time almoſt deſperately ſick of this error which we refute. Or what need we *frame* conjectures from the quality of the medicine, when as the working of it hath made the *Criſis* palpable and apparent. The Peſtilence is beſt known by the botch, or *out-burſting*. What then was the iſſue of that *Cordial* which the Prophet Miniſtred unto them, being but the *extraction* of the former generals? *Thus ſaith the Lord; Behold, I frame evil againſt you, and deviſe a device againſt*

againſt you; *return ye now every one from his evil way, and make your ways and your doings good.* We have ſeen the application of the medicine, what was the operation? *And they ſaid, there is no hope, but we will walk after our own deviſes, and we will every one do the imagination of his evil heart.* Jer. 18. ver. 11. 12. But did the Prophet take their anſwer *verbatim*, as they uttered it? No, God did not appoint him to keep a *Regiſter* of their words, but to make a Comment upon the ſecret language of their hearts. They are ſufficiently convicted to have ſaid, *we will every one do the imagination of his evil heart*, in that the imaginations of their heart were evil, and they had reſolved to retain their wonted Principles, and not to hearken unto the Prophets Doctrine. The true and literal Paraphraſe of their reply, no Interpreter extant hath ſo fully expreſſed, as the uſual language of ſome in our times briefly doth; *What ſhall be, will be*; *there is no hope the world will amend: if it be Gods will to proſper the courſes which are taken, all will be well: if not, his will however muſt be done.* Thus we delude and put off our *Maker* with *Iſs*, and *Ands*: when as his Will revealed, aſwell for private as publick good, ſo we would addreſs our ſelves to do it, is plain and abſolute. And it is impoſſible we ſhould addreſs our ſelves to do it, unleſs we would hearken better to ſuch as teach it. To expect any other fruit or uſe of this Doctrine of *abſolute neceſſity*, than carnal ſecurity in time of Peace and Proſperity, and than deſperate wilfulneſs in diſtreſs and adverſity, were a madneſs. And ſeeing this Frenzy did ſtill grow greater and greater, in the *Jew*, as the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* (whereof it was both times the principal cauſe and moſt fearful Prognoſtick) grew nearer: the Lord authorized another Prophet (after *Jeremy*) to interpoſe his Oath for the cure of it. They thought that *death and deſtruction*, when they approached, were armed with abſolute *neceſſity*, (derived from Gods Decree) to puniſh them for their Fathers ſins: and in this conceit many yielded unto them, when they might eaſily have conquered them. To diſcover the vanity of this *skale*, and to acquit his Omnipotent Decree from the ſuſpected impoſition of neceſſity. *As I live (ſaith the Lord God) ye ſhall not have occaſion any more to uſe this Proverb in* Iſrael: *The Fathers have eaten ſowr Grapes, and the Childrens teeth are ſet on edge. Behold, all Souls are mine, as the Soul of the Father, ſo alſo the Soul of the Son is mine: the Soul that ſinneth it ſhall dye,* Ezek. 18. ver. 2. 3, 4. *Have I any pleaſure at all that the wicked ſhould dye, ſaith the Lord God? And not that he ſhould return from his ways and live?* ver. 23. *Caſt away from you all your Trangreſſions, whereby ye have tranſgreſſed, and make you a new Heart, and a new Spirit: for why will ye dye, O houſe of* Iſrael? For, *I have no pleaſure in the death of him that dyeth, ſaith the Lord God: wherefore turn your ſelves and live ye,* ver. 31. 32. If the returning of this People, wherein God took pleaſure, were not *neceſſary*, as the event hath proved (for, the moſt part of them did not return) it muſt needs argue a ſpice of their Frenzy, to think their *death*, wherein he took no pleaſure, ſhould be *neceſſary*. The only Orthodoxal reſolution of this point then, muſt be this, [*It was Gods good will and pleaſure*] (the formal dictate, and abſolute injunction of his Eternal and irreſiſtable Decree) that neither the life or death of ſuch as periſhed ſhould be neceſſary; but that both ſhould be poſſible: albeit the choice of life had been more *pleaſant* to God, who had complained with grief, *Perditio tua ex te O Iſrael.*

CHAP. XVII.

That Gods will is always done, albeit many Particulars which God willeth, be not done, and many done which he willeth ſhould not be done.

1. AUT *erit aut non erit*, is a Propheſie which will never be out of date, impoſſible ever to be impeached of falſhood: an anſwer as univerſally true to all, as unſufficient to any queſtion concerning things to come. The truth of every disjunctive Propoſition, as Logicians teach, is fully ſalved, if any one member, though of never ſo many be true. Or if the disjunction or diviſion be artificially *formal*, the actual exiſtence of one part or member, excludes the *actual* exiſtence of the other: ſo doth the abſolute neceſſity of the one, exclude all poſſibility of the others reduction into act. If I ſhould wage any ſum that it would either rain all day to morrow, or be fair all day to morrow; no man of underſtanding would put me to prove, that it did *both rain all the day*, and hold *up* all the day. The proof of either part, would be ſufficient to evince the truth of my disjunctive aſſertion; that both ſhould be actually true is impoſſible. Or if my adverſary could ſubſtantially prove, either any *intermiſſion* of rain or *interruption* of fair weather: His advantage againſt me would be as evident; becauſe the Propoſition, which he was to make good againſt me, was but disjunctive: ſo that of any two minutes in the whole day, if the one were rainy, and the other fair, my univerſal disjunctive muſt needs be falſe, and his apparently true, becauſe directly contradictory unto mine. That it ſhould at one and the ſame time rain and not rain, is impoſſible, and comes not within the compaſs of any contradictory conteſtation, it can be no object of *lay* or *wager*.

2. When we ſay that God in many Humane Actions Decrees a mixture or multiplicity of poſſibilities; our meaning is, that the Tenor of Gods Eternal and Omnipotent Word, from which all things derive aſwell the *law* and manner of their Being, and as their Being it ſelf, is in reſpect of the ſeveral *poſſible* events decreed, not Conjunctive or Categorical, but Disjunctive. And we hold it a ſin to think or ſay, that the only wiſe Almighty *Creator* is not able to conceive or make Propoſitions as truly *disjunctive*, as any of our making are, or not able to make as formal and contradictory *oppoſition* between their ſeveral parts, as any Humane Wit can conceive. Thus much being granted, our intended inference is an everlaſting truth. Gods Decree or determinate *propoſition*, concerning the ſuppoſed multiplicity of poſſibilities or manifold events, all alike poſſible, is always exactly fulfilled, when any one of the events, whoſe *poſſibilities* are decreed, gets actual exiſtence. To reduce more of them than one into *act* at one and the ſame time, is in many caſes altogether impoſſible, and falls not within the *object* of Omnipotency. If the reduction of any one of them, into actual poſſeſſion of its own Being, were in reſpect of his decree, or by any other means, altogether neceſſary, his decree ſhould neceſſarily be broken, and his Omnipotency might be over-born. For the *neceſſity* of ones Being, takes away all *poſſibility* of Being from the contradictory, which Omnipotency (as is ſuppoſed) had beſtowed upon it. Finally, Gods Decree in reſpect of all and

every part of its proper object, is alike Omnipotent: and therfore it is as impoſſible for any *neceſſity* (by vertue or *reſpect* of what cauſe ſoever,) to incroach upon thoſe events, the Law or manner of whoſe production God hath Decreed to be contingent; as for *Contingency* to hinder the production of thoſe events, the Law or manner of whoſe production or exiſtence, he hath Decreed to be *neceſſary*. As impoſſible for neceſſity to mingle with abſolute Contingency, from which God hath ſeparated it; as for contingency to be *wedded* to abſolute neceſſity, whoſe *marriage* God hath forbidden by an everlaſting Decree.

Object. 3. The only difficulty wherewith theſe concluſions can (as I conceive) with probability be charged, may be conceived thus: *Admitting Gods Decree* concerning the *houſe* of Iſraels *life* or *death*, were (as evidently it was) disjunctive, and did Eſſentially include a poſſibility of *life*, and a poſſibility of *death*, in reſpect of all or moſt of their perſons, or of their publick ſtate: Yet no man will deny but that amongſt the ſeveral or oppoſite *members* of this or the like Decree, God wills one, more than another. For ſo he ſaith, *That he willed not the death, but the life of him that dyed.* Now if that which *God* willeth not, may come to paſs; and that which he willeth may not come to paſs; or if, of two poſſible events, that whoſe actual Being he willeth ten thouſand times more ardently, never get actual Being or exiſtence (as being prevented by the actual accompliſhment of the contradictory or incompatible event which he leſs willeth) How can his Will in this caſe be fulfilled? and if his Will be not fulfilled, his Decree muſt needs be broken; and if his Decree may be broken, how is his Will ſaid to be *irreſiſtible*? how do we believe him to be Omnipotent? Some perhaps would hence conclude, that if of two objects, which we ſuppoſe to be alike truly poſſible, there be no neceſſity, that *that* ſhould come to paſs which God willeth moſt, or any probability for that to come to paſs, which he leſs willeth, or willeth not at all, but rather the contrary: Then there is a poſſibility, or rather a neceſſity, that his Will ſhould not be always fulfilled, that he might ſometimes ſit down with a kind of loſs, and ſay with Impotent man, *I have failed of my purpoſe.*

Anſwer. The beſt preparation for fit and peaceable entertainment of the Orthodoxal ſolution to theſe difficulties, will be to declare the evident and neceſſary truth of that Aſſertion, which they object unto us, as a dangerous inconvenience able in their judgment to infer the laſt concluſion.

Truth fully and evidently declared will juſtifie it ſelf againſt all Gain-ſayers. The Aſſertion which we grant will neceſſarily follow from our former diſcurſions, and comes now to juſtifie it ſelf, is this; [*That ſuch things as God no way willeth, oft-times come to paſs, when as their contradictories, which he wills moſt ardently, come not to paſs.*] The principal inſtance for juſtifying this truth, is the *Repentance* and life of a ſinner, which God hath ſworn that he willeth; ſo doth he not his death, if we will believe his Oath. If any mans verdict ſhall ſcatter from mine, or others, which maintain this Doctrine, I muſt call God and his Conſcience to witneſs, whether he hath not left that undone, which God would have had him to do, and ſometimes done, that which God would have had him not to do? Let him that will anſwer negatively to this Interrogative, indite that confeſſion which we daily make in our Liturgy of falſhood or Slander. Let him call for *Jacobs Ladder* down from Heaven, and require a *guard* of Angels to conduct him ſafely into Gods preſence. For if he have as truly and continually done Gods Will here on Earth, as the Angels do it in Heaven; he may juſtly challenge ſpeedy *admiſſion* into their Society. But if he can with ſafe Conſcience Communicate with us ſinful Men, in that Confeſſion; his exceptions againſt our Aſſertion are but needleſs Scrupuloſities, altogether againſt reaſon: whatſoever they be in reſpect of his Conſcience, yet to his exceptions we are to frame a further anſwer.

4. There is an abſolute neceſſity, that Gods Will ſhould always be fulfilled: but there is no ſuch neceſſity that it ſhould always be fulfilled by the parties to whom it is revealed or directed. They are tyed indeed by neceſſity of Precept, and at their Peril always to do it; but the Almighty God, doth not refer the *fulfilling* or *evacuation* of it, to their fidelity, choice, or reſolution: for ſo the certainty or infallibility of executing his Decree, ſhould be but commenſurable to the fragility of our Nature; and that which ſome object unto us would fall directly upon themſelves, to wit, That Gods Will ſhould depend upon Mans will. As he always grants the requeſts of the Faithful, or as the Pſalmiſt ſpeaks, *gives ſuch as delight in him, their hearts deſire,* albeit he always gives them not the particulars or *materials* which they requeſt, or heartily deſire; ſo he knows how to fulfil his own Will, or do his Pleaſure, albeit thoſe particulars or materials, which he ardently *Wills* and takes moſt pleaſure in, be not always done by us. And this anſwer might ſuffice unto a Reader not ſcrupulouſly curious. But Sophiſtical and Captious Objections require artificial and *formal* ſolutions. The former Objection may, perhaps, be framed more captiouſly thus. Of more particulars propoſed to the choice of men, if that be not always done, which God willeth moſt, his Will is not done at all. For as a leſſer good whilſt it ſtands in competition with a greater, is rather evil than good: ſo, that which is leſs willed or deſired, cannot be ſaid to be willed or deſired at all, in reſpect of that which is more deſired, ſpecially in the language of Gods Spirit, which expreſly ſaith, that *God will have Mercy, and not Sacrifice.* Whence it will follow, that when Sacrifice was offered, without performance of duties of Mercy, or Obedience, Gods Will was not done, but broken. It is Gods Will likewiſe, that *we ſhould go unto the houſe of Mourning, rather than unto the houſe of Mirth.* The duties to be performed in the houſe of Mourning are many: *To Mourn, to Faſt, to Pray,* with other branches of Humiliation; all which God truly willeth, in different meaſure according to the diverſity of their Nature, or the more or leſs intenſive manner of their performance. The tranſgreſſions likewiſe uſual and frequent in the *houſe* of unhallowed *mirth,* are many and much different as well in quality as degree; all deteſted of God as contrary to his moſt Holy Will, but more or leſs deteſted according to their *Nature, Quality,* or *Degree,* or other circumſtance. Suppoſe a man, to whom choice of going into the houſe of *Mirth* or *Mourning* is ſolemnly propoſed, the inconveniences of the one, and gracious acceptance of the other in Gods ſight, ſeriouſly preſt by Gods Miniſter, do utterly reject the *Preachers* counſel, and adventure upon the moſt deſperate evil that is practiſed in the houſe of Mirth: ſhall we ſay Gods Will is in this caſe fulfilled? Yes, though the Evils which he willeth not, were ten thouſand, and man did deſperately reſolve to do the very worſt, and moſt contrary to his Will; yet that which he willeth moſt, ſhall ſtill be done: for

it is his abſolute and peremptory Will, that all the particulars offered to mans choice, as well thoſe which his Holineſs moſt abhorreth, as thoſe which he *willeth* moſt, ſhould be truly *poſſible* for a man to chuſe without impediment, that none ſhould be neceſſary. Now this liberty being left to man which way ſoever his will inclineth, Gods *Will* ſhall be moſt *infallibly* fulfilled, in the ſelf ſame meaſure, as if the very beſt had been choſen by man; ſeeing it is his abſolute *will* to grant him freedom (at his Peril) to chuſe the very worſt and refuſe the beſt. And the Peril is, that *Gods will* ſhall be done upon him according to the meaſure it was neglected by him. As this Propoſition [The Sun will either ſhine or not ſhine this day at Twelve of the Clock] will be as true if the Sun ſhine not, as if it ſhine: ſo Gods *will* being (as is ſuppoſed in this caſe) disjunctive, ſhall be as truly fulfilled, albeit man doth that which he willeth not, as if he did that which he willed moſt. For his *will* (as was now ſaid) may (according to the ſame meaſure) be fulfilled two ways, either by us, or upon us; whether it be this way or that way fulfilled, it is all one to God, but much better for us *to do it*, than *to have it done upon us.* And though it be poſſible for us not to do it, yet not doing it there is no poſſibility left, that it ſhall not be done upon us. In as much then as *Gods will* muſt of neceſſity be done, and no man can do it by doing evil, (ſeeing it is ſet only on that which is truly good;) the puniſhment of ſuch as continue to do evil, is abſolutely neceſſary, that is, altogether as unavoidable, as if they had been appointed to it from all Eternities, or created to no other end, than that they might be *puniſhed*. For the puniſhment of evil is good, and is for this reaſon a part of *Gods will*, or rather a part of the *object* of his irreſiſtible *will* or inviolable Decree; yet may we not ſay that God * ſimply willeth evil, or delighteth in Punitive Juſtice, which he never willeth, but upon ſuppoſal of evil deſerts in the Creature. As for the evil it ſelf, which deſerveth puniſhment, *that*, God is not ſaid (in true Divinity) to *will* at all, either *voluntate ſigni*, or *beneplaciti*, either by his *ſecret* or *revealed*, or by his antecedent or conſequent *will*. For nothing is *evil*, but that which ſwarveth from, or is contrary to the rule of goodneſs, and other rule of goodneſs there is none, beſides Gods goodneſs; nor doth he *will* any thing that is not conſonant to his goodneſs; ſo is not any thing that is truly *evil*. They which otherwiſe teach, that God in any ſort can *will* that which is Morally evil, have mightily forgot the rules of Logick: *For if nothing be evil, but that which God would not have done*, then nothing which God would have *done*, can be evil.

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* Et verè clamor & grandis clamor eſt, quando pietas Dei, peccatorum clamoribus vincitur, ut peccantes punire cogatur. Oſtendit ergo Dominus, quàm invitus puniat etiam graviſſimos peccatores, dicens, quod clamor. Sodomorum ad ſe aſcenderit, hoc eſt dicere: Miſericordia quidem mea mihi ſuadet ut parcam, ſed tamen peccatorum clamor cogit ut puniam. *Salvianus lib.* 1.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the diſtinction of Gods Will into Antecedent and Conſequent. Of the Explication and Uſe of it.

1. GOds Will being, as all confeſs, *indiviſible*, ſome there be which hold all diſtinctions concerning it, no leſs unfitting, than the *diviſion* of Chriſts *Seamleſs* Coat. Others miſlike that diſtinction of his *antecedent* and *conſequent* Will, and yet are content to diſtinguiſh his Will into *revealed* and *ſecret*, or into *voluntatem ſigni & beneplaciti*. The Uſe notwithſtanding of the firſt diſtinction [of his Antecedent and Conſequent Will] is moſt ancient; warranted by the authority of *Chryſoſtom*, and well exemplified by *Damaſcene*. And of this diſtinction I have made choice in other Meditations, as moſt commodious (to my apprehenſion) for reſolving many Problems ariſing out of Prophetical and Evangelical paſſages, concerning the fulfilling of Gods *will* in his Threats or Promiſes. The Ingenuous Reader will not be ſo uncharitable or injurious towards *Chryſoſtom* or *Damaſcene*, as to ſuſpect, that either of them imagined two *wills* in God; unto which imputation, they are moſt juſtly liable, which *affect* the diſtinction of Gods *ſecret* and revealed *will*, or of *voluntatis ſigni & beneplaciti*. For every diſtinction of Gods *will* muſt be framed *ex parte volitorum, non ex parte volentis*, in reſpect of the things willed, not in reſpect of him that willeth them. We muſt in charity and good manners permit *Chryſoſtom* and *Damaſcene* that liberty of ſpeech which we take our ſelves. Now it is uſual with all of us, to attribute that *verbo tenus* unto the cauſe, which really and properly belongs only unto the effect, or to denominate the intellectual faculty from the quality of the object to which it hath reference; as when we ſay *the Sun is hot, the underſtanding is Practick*, &c. The meaning of thoſe two good Authors, whom we follow in the uſe of the diſtinction of Gods *antecedent or conſequent will*, was this, or the like: *That God by one and the ſame indiviſible will, might differently affect or approve divers objects, according to the nature, quality, or degrees of goodneſs contained in them.* And certain it is, that the Immenſity or Greatneſs of our God, doth not make his Power or Will to be unweildy. Though he be in *power* truly *infinite*, yet he always worketh not according to the *infinity* of his power, but oft-times more *gently* and placidly, than the weakeſt or ſofteſt ſpirited of his reaſonable Creatures can do. Though his *will* likewiſe be always irreſiſtible, yet is it not always ſo peremptorily ſet on this or that particular object willed by him, as mans will, for the moſt part is. The variety of particular objects which he truly willeth in different meaſure, is much greater than the wit of man can comprehend. So is the liberty or variety of choice, which he alloweth unto his Creature, much greater than we can without grudging, afford to ſuch as have dependance on us. Some things he willeth in the firſt place and directly; though not ſo peremptorily, but that things leſs willed by him, or contrary *evils*, which he willeth not, may get the ſtart, or take place of them in humane choice. Other things he willeth in the ſecond place, or by conſequence, as in caſe, *that* which in the firſt place he willed, be (by abuſe of mans free will) rejected. The *former* he is ſaid to *will* by his *antecedent will*,

becauſe the object willed by him, hath *antecedence* or *pre-eminence* in reſpect of his *beneplacitum* or *acceptance:* the latter he is ſaid to will by his conſequent will, that is not in the firſt place or directly, but by conſequent, as ſuppoſing thoſe *objects*, which he better approved to be neglected. Whatſoever is good in it-ſelf, and good withal for a reaſonable Creature to make choice of, that, God is ſaid to will by his Antecedent Will, as the repentance of a *ſinner*, and the joyful fruits which the *ſinner* ſhall reap by his *penitency*. Whatſoever in it ſelf is not evil, or contrary to the rule of goodneſs, but evil to the reaſonable Creature, which muſt ſuffer it as ſickneſs, death, all kind of torture or calamity, *that God willeth only by his conſequent will.* We may not deny but that he truly willeth the death of obſtinate ſinners, yet this he willeth by his conſequent will. Their obſtinacy in ſin he willeth not at all, for if he did, he would not puniſh it: for puniſhment is the neceſſary conſequent of of his *will* neglected. Both theſe branches of one and the ſame *will* (which from the reference only which they have unto their different *objects*, we conceive to be two or divers) are ſubordinate to his abſolute and peremptory will, which is, that man ſhould have a liberty of doing, and not doing thoſe things which in the firſt place he willed or liked better. But is not this liberty of man an imperfection?

2. *An iſſue* though a blemiſh to youth and livelihood, is oft-times a good mean or principal cauſe of health to an unſound and craſie body. So *poſſibility* of declining to evil, albeit in it ſelf an imperfection, and not poſſibly incident to *Eternal* and *Immutable* goodneſs, is no way contrary to the participated actual goodneſs of the reaſonable Creature, whereof it is an Eſſential or Conſtitutive part, at the leaſt a neceſſary ingredient or condition precedent to the conſtitution of it. And imperfection with reference to this end, may be the object of Gods Antecedent Will, or part of that which in the firſt place he willeth and principally intends. But inaſmuch as *actual* evil is *formally* diſſonant to actual goodneſs, he which is *actually* and *infinitely* good, cannot but hate or diſlike actual evil in whomſoever it is found, as much as he loveth the contrary good. Now *puniſhment* or *malum pœnæ*, being as neceſſary a conſequent of Gods hate or diſlike of ſin, as *reward* or happineſs is of his love to *Vertue* and *Piety:* the reaſonable Creature by declining from vertue to vice, from good to bad, doth *ipſo facto*, and inevitably bring evil [*malum pœnæ & damni*] *tribulation* and anguiſh upon it ſelf. By reward and puniſhment in this place, we underſtand not only life and death everlaſting (of whoſe reference to Gods Eternal Decree, we ſhall in particular diſpute hereafter, if Superiours ſhall ſo think fit:) but every Temporal Bleſſing or Croſs, all Proſperity or Calamity, ſpecially publick and remarkable. Proſperity we always take to be a pledge of Gods Love (though not always of the Perſon, on whom it is beſtowed, yet of ſome good quality in him or in ſome of his, ſerving for publick uſe or private imitation) and is always (in the beginning at leaſt) an effect of Gods Antecedent Will. Calamity we take always for a token of Gods diſlike, though not always of the perſon afflicted, yet either in ſomewhat of him to be amended, or of ſomewhat formerly done by him, to be by others avoided; and is an effect of Gods conſequent Will. For he wills *no evil* at all, not *malum pœnæ*, but as it is either a puniſhment or correction for evil done, or good neglected, or as it is a medicine to prevent the doing of evil, or neglect of goodneſs.

3. From the infinite variety of *poſſibilities* authorized by the Eternal Decree, and their correſpondent conſequences, which one time or other actually follow upon their *reductions* into Act, by the irreſiſtible award of the ſame Decree; we may reſolve many difficulties, and abandon ſundry inconveniences, wherewith the Heathen in their vain ſpeculations, and many Chriſtians in more grievous temptations, *charge*, either the truth or goodneſs of Gods *Providence*. The variety of ſuch poſſibilities, amounts, partly from the ſpecifical nature of the objects, made poſſible by the Divine Decree: partly from the ſeveral degrees of *good* or evil contained in ſuch objects, or in mens actions concerning them. The whole Latitude (if I may ſo ſpeak) of Gods providence, as it concerns Kingdoms, States or *Perſons*, conſiſts in moderating and ordering the poſſible devolutions or alterations of the *reaſonable Creature* from his *antecedent* will to his *conſequent*. The alternations or devolutions themſelves, may be numberleſs, ſave only to God; ſo may the degrees be of mans diſſonancy or conſonancy to Gods *antecedent will*, throughout the courſe of his life.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the divers acceptions or importances of Fate, *eſpecially among the Heathen Writers.*

1. THE very name of *Fate*, will be I know, to many very offenſive, unto whom I am unwilling to give the leaſt offence. The uſe of it (I muſt confeſs) is in ſome caſes prohibited by St. *Auſtin*, a man too modeſt, to uſurp greater authority than he had; and œcumenical authority in this point he had none, or none ſo great as might impoſe ſilence upon all poſterity. Would to God ſuch as are moſt forward to preſs us with this Reverend Fathers *interlocutorie* ſentence, once or twice perhaps uttered for not uſing the *name*; could be perſwaded to ſtand to his *definitive* ſentence often pronounced againſt the *nature* of the Error, which the Heathens, againſt whom he diſputes, covered under this *name*. Upon condition they would be pleaſed not to revive the nature of the error, or bury their opinions that way tending; my heart and mouth ſhould never give breath unto the *name*. The opinion which ſome rigid *Stoicks* had of *Fate*, is an hereſie not to be named among the Heathen; ſo deeply tainted with the very dregs of Heatheniſm, that it is a wonder any Chriſtian Writer ſhould come neer it; that any at leſt ſhould take *infection* from it: eſpecially ſeeing the Reverend and learned Fathers of the Primitive Church, had provided ſo many excellent preſervatives againſt it. But albeit *Fate*, according to that ſenſe or meaning, wherein ſome Heathens took it, was become a wicked Idol: yet ſeeing the word or *name*, whether in the ordinary uſe of Greek or Latine writers, hath greater variety of ſignifications or importances, than almoſt any other word in the World beſides: to abandon all, for one ill ſenſe, or importance, ſeems to me as rude and uncivil a part, as to root out a whole clan or ſurname, becauſe one of the ſame name and ſtock had been at at deadly fohood with our family or had otherwiſe

wiſe deſerved death. Upon diligent peruſal of the beſt Philoſophers, Hiſtorians or Poets amongſt the Heathens, of ſome Hiſtorians and Moraliſts of beſt note amongſt Chriſtians, we may find *realities*, or ſolid matter anſwering to this word *Fate*, which cannot be ſo well expreſſed by any other term or *name*, by any paraphraſe more brief than the true and proper definition of the matter or reality ſignified by it. Now if the *matter* defined, prove to be no *Idol*, the *name* certainly is *indifferent*, and of the definition there may be a good moral or hiſtorical uſe. For finding out the true and proper definition or deſcription of it, we are to explicate the divers acceptions or importances of the *name*.

2. *Fatum à fando dictum*, and ſometimes imports no more than the *dictate* of Nature, or the certain courſe appointed to things natural. Thus natural death, is by ſome accounted fatal. And *Dido* according to this importance, did not dye by Fate, becauſe ſhe prevented *Lacheſis*, by cutting the thred of her own life, before this great Arbitreſs of mortality had paſſed ſentence upon her;

** Sed quia nec fato, merita nec morte peribat.*

* Virgil. 4 Æneid vid. Rodiginum lib. 21 cap. 4. pag. 972.

And according to this importance it is uſed by the Prince of Roman Hiſtorians in the ſixt Book of his Annals; *Per idem tempus Lucius Piſo Pontifex* (*rarum in tanta claritudine*) *fato obiit.* About the ſame time *L. Piſo* High-Prieſt died a natural death (being 80. years of age;) a matter rare in thoſe times, in a man of ſo great birth and place. Sometimes, again Death it ſelf, howſoever it come upon men, is termed *Fate* or Deſtiny; perhaps becauſe the coming of it is by courſe of Nature certain, albeit the time and manner of it, be unknown or incomprehenſible. So another Roman Poet ſaith, The Parthians poyſoned Arrows carryed Fates upon their points, able to let in Death at the leaſt breach of ſkin, *Fatumq; in ſanguine ſummo eſt.* It may be *Virgil* held *natural* death to be *fatal*, becauſe it cannot be avoided, being otherwiſe of our opinion, that *Dido* might have lived longer, or that it was not abſolutely neceſſary from the hour of her birth, that ſhe ſhould live ſo many years and no * more. For ſo ſome of the wiſeſt amongſt the Heathens held death to be fatal, that is, ſimply neceſſary unto all; albeit to dye at this or that ſet hour, were in their opinion contingent, or at leſt ſuppoſed a *Contingency* before it became neceſſary. Of this opinion was (*a*) *Pythagoras* and his followers. And ſo it ſeemes was (*b*) *Juſtine Martyr*. But *Lucan*, we know, was ſomewhat *allyed* unto the Stoicks, and out of his private conceit that the ſet time or manner of every mans death, was no leſs neceſſary than death it ſelf, he might, not inconſequently term violent or ſudden death, *Fatal*. And *Tacitus*, who ſeemes to be doubtful, whether all things fell out by *Fate* or *Neceſſity* or no, aſcribes violent and undeſerved death, as well

* See Chap. 23. Sect. 2.

(a) *That Death it ſelf is fatal*, Pythagoras *ſuppoſeth in thoſe verſes*;

Jura colas non ore tenus; ſed rebus & ipſis:
Nec pravis mentem ſueſcas rationibus uti:
Sed mortem fato ſubituros noveris omnes:
Divitias quandoq; dari; quandoq; perire.

That diſaſterous or untimely death was not fatal but preventable, he ſuppoſeth in the verſes following, for he calleth all Calamities Divina Infortunia. *See* Hierocles *upon both places. See his Annotations upon the latter. Chap.* 21. *of this Book Parag.*2.

(b) *Queſt.* 32. Si Deus mortalem naturam noſtram fecit, cur Deum mortem non feciſſe dicis? *Explicatio.* Non ſi quid eſt mortale naturâ, id omnino mori neceſſe eſt. Argumento ſunt *Enoch* & *Elias*, qui cum naturâ mortales ſint, in immortalitate etiam manent ſuperiores excelſioreſq; effecti quàm ad quos elogium illud pertineat, *Terra es, & in terram revertêris.* Verum eſt igitur, naturam noſtram à Deo factam eſſe mortalem, mortemque invectam eſſe in mundum hominis inobedientiâ Si enim Deus ut naturam fecit mortalem, ſic etiam mortem feciſſet, non inobedientia mortem induxiſſet: ac ſi Deus inobedientiam non fecit, ne mortem quidem fecit.

as natural, unto *Fate*. For, ſpeaking of *Agricola* his untimely death, (as we would term it) he ſaith, *Conſtans & libens fatum accepit*: He conſtantly and willingly entertained his Fate. *Martials* conceeit concerning Death and Fates, is not much different from *Lucans*, or this laſt cited place of *Tacitus*, though not altogether the ſame.

Nullo fata loco poſſis excludere: cum mors
Venerit, in medio Tybure Sardinia eſt.

From Fates no place is priviledg'd:
but when Death is their doom,
The peſtilent Sardinia,
in Tyber findeth room.

And as *Death*, in his opinion, could not be repelled where Fates had granted his admiſſion; ſo neither could it be obtruded, or admitted, without the leave or approbation of *Fates*, if the authority of the Father of Poets be Authentick.

* Δαιμονίη, μή μοι τι λίην ἀκαχίζεο θυμῷ.

Οὐ γάρ τις μ' ὑπὲρ αἶσαν ἀνὴρ ἄϊδι προϊάψει:

Μοῖραν δ' οὔτινά φημὶ πεφυγμένον ἔμμεναι ἀνδρῶν

Οὐ κακὸν, οὐδὲ μὲν ἐσθλὸν;

* Homer. Iliad. 2. non procul à fine.

Vex not thy Soul, for none can ſend
me to my grave, before,
My day be come, ſince all mens lives
run on a fatal ſcore
Which none may paſs, none not make up;
'tis not mans power or will
Can change the period which is ſet,
as well to th' good, as th' ill.

Virgil was ſomewhat of a better mind in this point than *Homer* was, or they are, which can thus liberally diſpoſe of their Friends Bodies or Bones.

Virgil Æneid. lib. 8.

Similis ſi cura fuiſſet,
Tum quoque fas nobis Teucros armare fuiſſet.
Nec pater omnipotens Troiam, nec fata vetabant
Stare, decemq; alios Priamum ſupereſſe per annos.

Had like care been, nor mighty Jove,
nor Fates did fore-ordain
Or Troy *to fall, or* Priamus
not ten yeares more to Raign.

3. That no man can dye before his *Day* come, is an opinion in whoſe truth ſome are ſo confident, as they will not ſtick to bequeath the Bones of their deareſt friends unto the Divel, if they ſhould dye otherwiſe. And it is certain, all things have their appointed time; yet may we not hence collect that no man can live longer or dye ſooner than he doth, or that the number of his days cannot poſſibly

be diminiſhed or encreaſed: But of this argument ſee * *Juſtin Martyr*, or the Author of the queſtions and explications, which have for a long time gone under his name. In all theſe or the like acceptions of *Fate*, and the very common conceipt which this name ſuggeſts, there is an *importance* of neceſſity. And according to the ſeveral degrees of neceſſity, *Fates* good or *bad* (for ſo they divided them for their quality) were ſub-divided into (*Majora & minora*) into *leſſer and greater Fates.* (*Fata minora*) *leſſer Fates*, were held alterable by enchantment or other curious practices, taught by Satan, as *imitations* of thoſe Sacred *Rites* or Solemnities, which God had ordained for averting imminent Plagues. (*Fata Majora*) *chief or Supream Fates were ſo unalterable, ſo inflexible*, that their great god *Jupiter* could not command them, but was to do whatſoever was deſigned by them to be done. Whence as *Lactantius* wittily collects, they could not rightly enſtile him *Maximus*, becauſe he was leſs than this kind of *Fate*. In this Heatheniſh diviſion notwithſtanding, there was a true *glimps* of a Chriſtian truth, hereafter and elſewhere to be diſcuſſed. Subordinate to this diviſion of Fates, were the opinions of the *Caldean* and *Ægyptian* Aſtrologers concerning the power or efficacy of the Heavens, over ſublunary Bodys. The * *Caldeans* were impious not in practice only but in opinion, in that they held the operation of the Heavens to be unalterable and unpreventable by the wit, induſtry or ſkill of man: all which ſuch as follow *Ptolomy* the *Ægyptian*, expreſly deny, and bring good reaſons for their denial. If their practices to foretel things to come, be no worſe than their opinions concerning the *manner* how they come to paſs, it would be no great ſin to be their Scholars.

4. There is no Chriſtian but will grant his God to be greater than Heatheniſh *Fate*, and his Law to be above all control of any other Law or power whatſoever. And yet by the Doctrine of many Divines, the Almighty Lawgiver is made Eternally ſubject to his own Decrees. Their meaning is taken by many to be in effect this: *That albeit God be Omnipotent*, yet it is true of him,

Poſt ſemel emiſſum volat irrevocabile verbum.

That he had paſt his *Omnipotent* word, concerning the ordering and managing of all things to come, before it could be taken or accepted by any Creature: and that by his word thus paſt once for all for ever, ſuch irrevocable doom had *paſſed* upon ſome of his beſt Creatures before their nonage, (in their non-exiſtence;) as they would not have accepted life or being it ſelf, when they firſt *entred upon* poſſeſſion of it, if they had known upon what hard conditions it had been tendred. Or, were it yet left free for them to diſclaim thoſe Covenants or Conditions of life and being, whereunto they never gave their conſent; The greateſt part of Divine *goodneſs* which they could hope to be partakers of, were to be releaſed from the *right* of Creatures, and to return again to nothing. Briefly by making God Supream Lord of ſuch hard *weirds* or ſiniſter *Fates*, as are by theſe men inevitably awarded to abſolute *reprobates*; they do not add ſo much unto his greatneſs, as they derogate from his godneſs, in reſpect of the Heathen gods. For, unto ſuch of the Heathens, as granted Fates a negative, voice in ſome caſes, againſt the good purpoſes of their gods, it was ſome comfort to think, that their gods wiſhed them well, and did entreat them, as great Perſonages or courteous Gentlemen do their Sutors, whom for the preſent they cannot pleaſure, as being overborn by the oppoſite faction. But alas, what can it boot poor impotent man, to believe his Maker was not from Eternity ſubject to Fates, or any other Law, if by his own Laws, or Decrees, he hath bound them before the World had beginning, (without all hope or poſſibility of releaſe) to harder conditions of Life, than the Heathens imagined could be injoyned by *Fates*. For it is probable, that ſuch of the Heathen, as were moſt peremptory for the abſolute neceſſity of *fatal* events, did think bad Fates had ſpit their Poyſon, when this life was ended. They did not ſuſpect the miſeries inflicted by them, to be for time ſo everlaſting, or for their quality ſo unſufferable, as we Chriſtians believe the torments of this life to come ſhall be to all that are *ordained* for the day of wrath. But be the torments for their quality more exquiſite than the Heathens could conceive any; was it abſolutely neceſſary for the Almighty from Eternity to appoint them? If ſo it were, there was a *fatal* neceſſity precedent to the Almighty Decree. But if his Decree hath brought this abſolute neceſſity upon men, the Execution of this Decree by inſtrumental or ſecond cauſes, differs nothing ſave only in exceſs of rigour and ſeverity, from the moſt rigid Stoical *Fate*.

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* *Queſtio* 33. Si hominum natura ut mortalis, proprium ac ſuum finem agnoſcit, tempus autem unuſcujuſq; non eſt certi cujuſdam termini; quod quidem fatum vocant ii qui à religione noſtrâ abhorrent: quomodo Ezechiæ addita ſunt tempora? Quod enim additum eſt, in præfinito determinatoque numero certè ſumitur. Unde igitur in morientibus incertum interminatumq; tempus docetur? *Explicatio.* Non eſſe uniuſcujuſque tempus certum ac definitum, his divinæ ſcripturæ verbis docetur, *Si in campo invenerit homo puellam deſponſatam, eique vi illata dormierit: virum quidem interficite, puellam autem ne interficite.* Mores enim corrupit homo proximi ſui, eumq; pulſans non erat qui juvaret, atque ita hæc res accidit. Et puella clamavit, nec fuit qui ei auxilium ferret. Non autem divina ſcriptura violatum thorum coactæ morti comparaſſet, ſi mors certa definitaq; fuiſſet. Quod enim apud Deum definitum eſt, id nec violari, nec tranſiri poteſt. Quod ſi ita eſt, profecto definitæ Ezechiæ vitæ tempora vitæ non ſunt addita, ſed annis ejus qui indefinite occupaverant, quorum finis morbo lethali eveniebat, niſi Deus morbum ejus curaſſet, eumque ad vitam revocaviſſet. *Juſtin. Martyr. explicat. pag.* 29.

* Vide Bellantium.

CHAP. XX.

Of the affinity or alliance which Fates had to neceſſity, to Fortune, or chance in the opinion of Heathen Writers.

BUT that we may find out, which we moſt deſire, ſome mittigation or tolerable reconciliation of the moſt harſh opinions, whether maintained by Heathens or Chriſtians in this argument: it is a common notion received by all, that every fatal event is neceſſary; but very few of the Heathen, were of opinion, that all neceſſary events were Fatal. Albeit by way of ſuch a Poetical licence *in ſubſtituting* the *ſpecial* for the general, as he uſed that ſaid,

Hunc ego ſi potui tantum ſperare dolorem.

Fate is ſometimes taken for neceſſity without reſtriction. It was not uſual with ancient Heathens, nor is it with ſuch as to this day uſe to aſcribe many events to Fates, to term the riſing, or ſetting of the Sun, the ebbing and flowing of the Sea, or other like effects of hourly obſervation (neceſſary by the common courſe of Nature) fatal. In the literal conſtruction of many good Writers,

At vos, O ſuperi, & divum tu maxime rector
Jupiter, Arcadii quæſo miſereſcite regis:
Et patrias audite preces, ſi numina veſtra
Incolumem Pallanta mihi, ſi fata reſervant:
Si viſurus eam vivo, & venturus in unum,
Vitam oro: patiar quemvis durare laborem.
Sin aliquem infandum caſum Fortuna minaris,
Nunc, ô nunc, liceat crudelem abrúmpere vitam.
Virgil. Æneid. lib. 8.

Fate and *Fortune*, are, if not *Synonimal* in their *formal*, *prime*, or direct ſignifications, yet co-incident in their importences or connotations. Their Titles to the ſelf ſame events or effects, were oft-times undiſtinguiſhable, by ſuch as aſcribe too much to the one or to the other. *Auſonius*, but for verſe ſake, might as well have ſaid, *Dum vult fortuna*, as,

Dum fata volunt, bina venena juvant.

When ſuch ſucceſs the fates ſhall, will,
One Poyſon ſhall another kill.

Or *Juvenal* as well, *Si fata velint*, as,

Si fortuna volet, fies de Rhetore conſul:
Si volet hæc eadem, fies de conſule Rhetor.

Of Rhetorician whom ſhe will,
Dame Fortune Conſul makes:
And when ſhe will, to meaner ſtate,
her Favorite down ſhe takes.

Others held Fortune to be a branch of Fate, or an inſtrument for executing what was by Fates deſigned.

Quid referam Cannas? admotaq; mœnibus arma?
Varronemq; pigrum, magnum quod vivere poſſet
Poſtq; tuos Thraſimnene lacus? Fabiumq; morantem
Accepiſſe jugum victas Carthaginis arces?
Spectatum Hannibalem noſtris cecidiſſe catenis?
Exiliumq; Rogi furtive morte duiſſe?
Adde etiam Italicas vires, Romamq; ſuiſmet
Pugnantem membris, adjice & civilia bella:
Et Cimbrum in Mario, Mariumq; in carcere victum:
Quod conſul totiens exulq; ex exule conſul:
Et jacuit Libicis compar jactura ruinis
Atq; crepidinibus cepit Carthaginis orbem:
Hoc niſi fata darent, nunquam fortuna tuliſſet.

Manil lib. 4. cap. 4.

The reſultance of this long Oration, is no more than this: Fortune was but the meſſenger to bring all thoſe welcom, or unwelcom preſents to the Roman State, which *Fate* did beſtow upon it. Of this argument ſee more in the 27. Chapter of this Book, parag. 2, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.

2. In *Tacitus* his language *Fate* and *Fortune* have ſometimes the ſame reference or importance. *Occulta lege fati, & oſtentis ac reſponſis deſtinatum Veſpaſiano liberiſq; ejus imperium poſt fortunam credidimus: After his good fortune we ſurely believed, that the Empire was by the ſecret courſe of Fate, by ſigns and Oracles deſtinated to* Veſpaſian *and his Son.* Tacit. 1. *hiſtor. cap.* 10. Yet is not this difference betwixt *Fate* and *Fortune* conſtantly obſerved by theſe two Writers themſelves, much leſs obſerved at all by others: with *Cominæus*, *Machiavel*, and other later Hiſtorians or Politicians, *Fortune* and *Fate*, are uſed promiſcuouſly. The *properties* or *Attributes* of *Fate*, are, in ordinary conſtruction the ſame, or

equivalent to thoſe of Fortune. The titles of *Fate* were anciently theſe, or the like, *unavoidable*, *inſuperable*, *inflexible*, *ineluctable*. And it is a conceit or prenotion, that to this day runs in many Chriſtians minds, that nothing can be againſt a chance: *Where Fortune fails, nothing prevails.* This difference notwithſtanding betwixt them, might be obſerved in many Writers (or in their language, which have cauſe, in their own apprehenſions to like well or complain of them,) *That the ordinary ſucceſs of others labours or conſultations, are for the moſt part aſcribed by envy or emulation unto Fortune:* whereas *Fates* are uſually charged with the calamities or diſaſters, which befal themſelves or ſuch as rely upon their counſels. Moſt men are by Nature prone to excuſe themſelves in their worſt actions, *ſi non à toto*, yet *à tanto*, by accuſing Fortune; and can be well content to exonerate their galled conſciences, of inward grief, by venting bitter complaints, or receiving plauſible informations from others, againſt Fates. *Attonitis etiam victoribus, qui vocem preceſq; adhibere non auſi, lacrymis ac ſilentio veniam poſcebant, donec* Cerealis *mulceret animos, fato acta dictitans, quæ militum ducumq; diſcordia, vel fraude hoſtium eveniſſent.* Tacitus lib. 4. Hiſtor. num. 72. *Even the Conquerors were aſtoniſhed at the ſight, who not daring to ſpeak, begged their pardon with ſilence and tears till ſuch time as* Cerealis *with comfortable words revived their Spirits; affirming that thoſe things, which indeed came to paſs through the mutinouſneſs of the Souldiers, or the diſſention of the Leaders, or the malice of the Enemies, were but fatal miſchances which could not be eſcaped.*

3. Some again derive *Fate* and *Fortune* from one and the ſame Fountain, and diſtinguiſh them only by exceſs of ſtrength, as the ſame Stream in Winter differs from it ſelf in drouth of Summer. *Advertendum vero illud, quandocunque illa cœleſtium cauſarum ratio ita digeritur, ut artem exculcatam exſuperet, dici à platonicis fatam: ubi vero ſic, ut vincere inertem deſidioſumq; evaleat rurſum à ſolerti ſtrenuoq; vinci, Fortunam. Vtrobiq; vero divinam ſtatuunt providentiam, quæ ad finem agat ſibi ſoli notum, quæ univerſa modis contemperet occultioribus.* Lection. Antiquar. lib. 10. cap. 20. The Platonicks, which derive moſt humane events or ſucceſs from the order or diſpoſition of Celeſtial cauſes, call this diſpoſition, *Fate*; when it is ſo ſtrong, that no endeavours or ſkill of man can prevail againſt it: but when the ſtrength of it is of ſuch a middle ſize, as may prevail againſt ſlothful and careleſs men, but may be vanquiſhed by the vigilant and induſtrious, they call the ſame diſpoſition *Fortune*. In both caſes they admit a Divine Providence, which worketh to ends known only to it ſelf.

Cælius Rodigin. lection, antiq. lib. 10. c. 20.

4. For this affinity between *Fortune*, *Chance* and *Fate* in beſt Writers, it will be expedient to touch at the ſeat of *Chance* or *Fortune* in our way, and to declare what is meant by theſe terms; and whether ſuch events as we ſay fall out by *Fortune* or *Chance*, have any alliance with neceſſity. In this diſcuſſion, I hope we ſhall arive at that point, whereat the favourers of abſolute neceſſity, and the favourers of other opinions concerning Fate and Fortune, more fluctuant, will be content to caſt Anchor. *Fortune* (ſaith * *Plutarch*) is a part of *Chance*, as

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* Caſus autem latiùs patet quam Fortuna: quando & eam complectitur, & multa alia quæ alias aliter accidere ſuâpte naturâ poſſunt. Ipſum nomen hoc indicat. Eſt enim αὐτοματὸν Græcis quod ultrò & à ſe fit: intelligiturq; caſus, quum quod alterius cauſa fieri ſolet, fit non propter illam cauſam, quale frigus ſub canicule ortum eſſe videtur non enim fruſtra, neq; denique ſicut quod eſt in noſtrâ poteſtate, pars eſt contingentis: ſic fortuna pars eſt caſus. Utque caſus contingenti, ita iis quæ in noſtrâ ſunt poteſtate, fortuna accidit: non omnibus tamen, ſed in quibus conſilium delectuſq; adhibentur, uti diximus. Proinde caſus communis eſt animatorum & animæ expertium: fortuna hominis eſt propria, ejus qui jam agere poſſit. Idque hinc conſtat, quòd fortunatum eſſe & fœlicem eſſe pro eodem habentur, & fœlicitas eſt quæ dam agendi dexteritas: hæc autem ſolius eſt perfecti hominis. Quæ ergo fato comprehenduntur, hæc ſunt: conting ens, poſſibile, delectus, in noſtrâ ſitum poteſtate, fortuna, caſus, iiſq; adjuncta, de quibus eſt etiam * fortaſſis, & perinde: quæ omnia continenter quidem fato, nullum autem eorum fatale eſt. *Plutarch. de fato. pag.* 418, 419. Fatum tamen ſub providentiâ comprehendit.

* τὸ τάχα κ͵ τὸ ἴσως.

free-will or *choice* is of contingency. Every cauſal event is contingent, but every contingent effect is not cauſal or a chance: ἀυτοματὸν, *quaſi* ἀυτὸ μάτην. The very name of *Chance* in Greek (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) implies as much as to be to no *end* or *purpoſe*: yet this etymology (under correction) was no part of the Ancients meaning, which gave the Greek *name* ἀυτοματὸν, to ſuch events as we term *caſual*, unleſs [μάτην *fruſtra*] be referred only (as perhaps *Ariſtotle* intended) to the efficient cauſe. After a manner of ſpeech not much unlike to this the School-men ſay *that* is *gratis dictum* (as we would ſay *freely ſpoken*) not for which a man takes no *fee*, but for which he hath no juſt ground or reaſon. And *that* in phraſe of Scripture is ſaid to be done *gratis* or *fruſtra*, which is done without juſt motives or provocation, not that which is done or attempted to no end or purpoſe. *Oderunt me fruſtra* and *Oderunt me gratis*, *They hated me without a cauſe*, or *They hated me vainly*, are in ſome Tranſlations equivalent. The word in the original anſwers to both. In Analogy to this kind of ſpeech, thoſe events were ſaid to *fall* out by *chance*, or to be ἀυτοματὰ, which in the opinion of ſuch as gave this *name*, had no efficient cauſe, or at leaſt none diſcernable, but were ſuppoſed to move themſelves or to take poſſeſſion of ſuch ſhort *being* as they had, without the aſſignment of any Superior power, or of any conſtant or ſetled cauſe; intruding themſelves into the courſe of Nature, like unbidden Gueſts, ſometimes as unwelcom as *Froſt* in Summer, ſometimes as welcom as warm weather to ſuch as want fire in Winter.

5. *Fortune* hath her authority placed only in reaſonable actions or* deliberations, yet not in all theſe, but only in ſuch events a fall out either ſo far beyond or contrary to mens intentions, that they may be rather wondred at, than expected. If husbandmen ſhould dig their Vineyards with purpoſe to find Gold, the fruitful Vintage thereon following (though no part of their intentions) could not ſo properly be aſcribed to *Fortune*, as if a huſbandman, intending only to dig his Vineyard in hope of a plentiful Vintage, ſhould find ſtore of Gold.

* Plato fortunam cauſam in propoſitis conſtitutiſq; per accidentiam & conſequutionem. Ariſtoteles, cauſam per accidens in iis quæ ex animi appetentia propter quid fiunt, obſcuram illam quidem & inſtabilem. Differre autem à fortunâ ſpontaneum temerariumq; caſum. Quod enim à fortunâ, idem à temertate quoque fieri: hocq; gerendis in rebus eſſe. Quod autem temerarium ſpontaneumq; ſit, non continuo idem à fortuna fieri, idq; citra omnem rerum adminiſtrationem uſu venire. Poriò fortunam rationalium eſſe; ſpontis autem caſam, tum rationalium, tum rationis expertium animantium, tum inanimatorum corporum. Epicurus, cauſam non ſibi conſtantem, perſonis, temporibus, modis: Anaxagoras & Stoici, indeprehenſam humano captui cauſam. Siquidem eventorum quædam è neceſſitate, quædam è fato, quædam ex libero & coſtituto, quædam è fortunâ nonnulla è ſuæ ſpontis caſu. *Plutarch. de placitis & decretis Philoſoqh, lib.* 1. *p.* 213.

6. The meaning of *Plato*, of *Ariſtotle* and *Plutarch* may be better perceived by fit inſtance, than by large ſcholaſtique Commentaries, upon their ſeveral difinitions of Fortune. *Valerius Maximus* (and to my remembrance, *Plutarch*) hath a memorable ſtory of one *Jaſon Phereus*, that was cured of an Impoſtume in a fray or *Duell*. The blow of an Enemy was the cauſe of this mans health, but by a rare and unuſual *accident*, quite contrary to his intention that gave it; and altogether beyond his expectation that received it. His purpoſe was only to maintain his reputation or revenge his wrongs, either to wound or to be wounded, without any hope or thought of curing his diſeaſe, the danger whereof was not fully diſcovered, till it was paſt. But a more perfect Idæa or exemplary form of Fortune good or bad, than any Hiſtorian relates, the Greek Epigrammatiſt hath Pictured for our contemplation. The matter of the Epigram was in Engliſh thus: A ſilly poor wretch being deprived of all means to live, reſolves to deprive himſelf of Breath; but, whilſt he

ſought a place convenient for acting this deſperate purpoſe, finding ſtore of Gold which another had hid; he returned home again leaving his Halter in the place, which was worſe taken by him that hid the Gold, than meant by him that left it: for he Hanged himſelf in it for grief of his loſs.

Χρυσὸν ἀνὴρ εὗρον ἐλιπεβρόχον· αὐτὰρ ὁ χρυσὸν
Ὃν λίπεν ὐκ εὗρων, ἧψεν ὃν εὗρεβρόχον.

A poor wretch finding Gold, for joy,
Left's Halter in its ſteed:
Which he that left the Gold for grief,
Did make his fatal threed.

To find Gold was no part of that poor Mans hopes, whom deſpair of like means to live by, had made deſirous of death: the other had as little mind to diſpatch himſelf, when he came to viſit the ſuppoſed ſtay and *comfort* of his *life*, wherein his Soul had ſolaced her ſelf with the Fool in the Goſpel.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the proper Subject and Nature of Fate.

1 THE moſt uſeful iſſue which theſe or the like caſes afford, is this, whether the event ſpecified in them be meerly caſual, contingent, or (in ſome ſort) neceſſary. One and the ſame determination, will as well befit the like queſtion, concerning ſuch events as are properly termed *Fatal*, whoſe proper *Subject*, *Nature*, and *Definition*, we are more particularly to inquire after. The firſt *quære*, which few meddle withal, would be this: Whether fatal events participate more of *Contingency*, then of *neceſſity*. But ſetting aſide all compariſon, it ſufficeth us that they truly participate of both; but in different degrees or meaſures according to the diverſity of times. Contingency is always as neceſſarily preſuppoſed to the production of events fatal, as *neceſſity* is included in them. And as the proper *Form* or *Eſſence* of *Fates* conſiſts not in every ſort of neceſſity, but in ſome peculiar branch thereof; ſo neither is every Contingent ſubject a fit matter for receiving that *form* or *branch* of neceſſity, wherein the *Nature* of Fate conſiſts, and which gives *denomination* and Being to *events fatal.* I have heard many unthrifts, upon the loſing of a *fair game* at Tables, curſe the *Dice*, or cry vengeance upon ill luck; but I never heard any Gameſter frame ſuch Inditements either in Verſe or Proſe, againſt *Fates*, as were uſual amongſt the Heathens, whoſe language in other caſes, is with our unthrifts moſt familiar. Such petty adventures as Cardes and Dice, are as *metal* too baſe to be *inſtampt* with the inſcription of *Fate*: whoſe proper ſubject in publick affairs, is matter either of *Tragedy* or *Triumph:* in private matter either of extraordinary and unuſual *proſperity* or of calamity.

Moſt of Gods Creatures are the *ſubject* of *Contingency*; mankind only or Humane Society, is the proper Sphere, without whoſe circumference, neither *fortune* or fatal events do wander. Yet is not every part of man ſubject to fate, though man according to every part be ſubject to that Contingency, which is præſuppoſed to Fates. * *Juſtin Martyr*, though a profeſſed enemy to Stoical *Fates*, and a moſt valiant Champion, a chief leader to all the reſt which have defended the Chriſtian Truth againſt that Sect, being moſt potent in the Infancy of Chriſtianity, was not ſo nice, as either to deny us the right uſe of the name *Fate*, or the Nature of the thing thereby ſignified. *This*, ſaith he, *is immutable Fate, that ſuch as do well, ſhall be rewarded, and ſuch as do ill ſhall be puniſhed. Quid aliud eſt fatum*, ſaith *Minucius Felix*, *quàm quod de unoquoque noſtrum Deus Fatus eſt, qui cum poſſit præſcire materiam, pro meritis & qualitatibus ſingulorum, etiam fata determinavit.* Both of them follow their Maſter Saint Paul, *That God will render to every man according to his works: unto them that are contentious, and diſobey the truth, and obey unrighteouſneſs, ſhall be indignation and wrath. Tribulation and anguiſh ſhall be upon the Soul of every man that doth evil, of the* Jew *firſt and alſo of the* Græcian. *But to every man that doth good, ſhall be Glory, and Honour, and Peace, to the* Jew *firſt, and alſo to the* Græcian. *For there is no reſpect of perſons with God*, Rom. 2. ver. 8, 9, 10, 11. It is a point clear from the Authority of *Minucius Fœlix*, and *Juſtin Martyr*, and from the grounds of Chriſtianity it ſelf, that the reaſonable Soul is not ſubject to *Fate*, * taken (in the *Stoical ſenſe*) for abſolute *neceſſity*, whenceſoever ſuch neceſſity be derived. For as *Juſtin Martyr* ſtrongly concludes, if the Soul of man were by the *neceſſity* of the Divine Decree, either *violently* driven or *placidly* drawn to good or *evil*, there could be no vice or vertue, or God ſhould be as truly the only Author of all *vice*, *ſin*, and *wickedneſs*, as he is of vertue and godlineſs; or as Saint *Auſtin* infers, he could not juſtly puniſh any beſides himſelf, who is altogether incapable of puniſhment, but more uncapable of deſerving it, or of *doing* evil. That freedom of *Choice* or *Contingency*, which theſe good Writers, with all the Ancients ſuppoſe as granted, by the Divine Decree, to the Humane Soul, is the proper *ſubject* or immediate *matter* whereto Fate is limited. The Nature or Eſſence of Fate, in their Doctrine conſiſts in the infallible *doom* or *ſentence*, paſt by the Divine Providence upon Mens Actions, according to their Nature or Quality. The actions or *choiſes* themſelves are truly and properly contingent, not *Fatal*; the events or iſſues of them are *Fatal*, not *contingent*. And in this ſenſe did moſt

* Si fato fieret, ut eſſet aut improbus, aut bonus; profectò contraria in eum cadere nunquam poſſent, nec ſæpiſſimè mutaretur; quin nec alii quidem probi eſſent, alii mali: alioqui fatum cauſam malorum eſſe, contrariaq; ſibi facere ſentiremus, aut illud quod ante dictum eſt, videri verum eſſe, nihil eſſe virtutem nec vitium ſed opinione ſolum bona, & mala judicari: quæ, ut vera ratio docet, maxima eſt & impietas & injuſtitia. Verùm fatum hoc immutabile eſſe dicimus, iis qui præclaras bonaſq; res eligunt, ac ſibi proponunt, digna præmia, itemq; iis qui contraria, digna præmia conſtituens. Non enim ut alia, veluti arbores & quadrupedia, quæ nihil voluntate & judicio facere poſſunt, ſic hominem Deus condidit. Neq; enim præmio ac laude dignus eſſet, ſi per ſe, & à ſe, bonum non deligeret, ſed bonus factus eſſet: nec ſi malus eſſet, jure ſupplicio afficeretur, cùm non à ſe talis eſſet, ſed aliud nihil eſſe poſſet, niſi quod factus fuiſſet. *Juſtin. Martyr. Apolog. 2. pro Chriſt. pag.* 32. Itaq; Deus non eſt ſic mundum deleturus & everſurus, ut nulli ſint jam futuri improbi angeli, dæmones, & homines, propter Chriſtianorum ſemen & genus, quod ipſum cauſam rerum eſſe intelligit. Nam niſi hoc eſſet, nè vobis quidem hæc jam à malis geniis fieri ullo modò poſſent, ſed ignis judicii delapſus omnia diſſiparet & incenderet, quemadmodum etiam eluvies ſuperioribus ſeculis nemini pepercit, niſi uni illi qui à nobis Nochus appellatur, à vobis Deucalion, ejuſq; familiæ, ex quo rurſus tam multi nati ſunt quorum partim improbi, partim boni fuerunt. Sic enim conflagrationem fore cenſemus, non, ut Stoicis placet, omnium rerum inter ipſas mutatione, quod turpiſſimum videtur: nec fato homines facere aut pati quicquam eorum quæ fiunt & eveniunt, judicamus, ſed voluntate ac judicio unumquenq; bene agere aut peccare: malorumq; geniorum operâ bonos, veluti Socratem ejuſq; ſimiles exagitari & in vincula conjici: Sardanapalum autem, Epicurum ac ſimiles in rerum abundantiâ & gloriâ beatæ vitæ compotes videri: quod cum non intellexiſſent Stoici, fati neceſſitate fieri omnia cenſuerunt. *Juſtin. Mart. Apol. 1. pro Chriſt. pag.* 8.

* *Rodiginus lection. Antiquar. lib.* 10. *cap.* 20. Cæterum quo planius fati ratio pernoſcatur, ita omnino colligendum, ſicuti animi rationalis ſummus Creator eſt Deus, atque idem gubernator, ita & corporis genitor eſt mundus, ac moderator. Unde conſequitur illud, uti animus velut Dei filius ab Deo, tanquam à patre, providentiæ legibus clementer agatur, & ſuaviter. Corpus verò, ut mundi membrum à mundano corpore fati viribus, velut particula quædam ab mole tota impetu quodam trahatur violento: unde fit, uti in mentem nulla prorſum fati vis queat aſſultare, niſi quatenus corpori ipſa ſe fatalibus obnoxio legibus, addixerit. Propterea ſemper ferè divinus *Plato* ab corporis amore, ac externorum cura ad animi & Dei cultum præcipit defugiendum, quando non alia ratione declinari mala queunt.

of the * Heathens, in their ſober Modes uſe the *name* of Fates. So *Virgil* aſcribes the want of an [b] *Heir* male by the untimely death of the firſt born and the ill [c] *ſucceſs* of War unſeaſonably undertaken, or begun (as a man would ſay) in an ill time, unto the *Fates* or *Weirds* allotted by the gods. The fained complaint or ſpeech which he puts in *Latinus* his mouth diſſwading * *Turnus* and his people from going to War, is a true Picture of *Moſes* his Expoſtulation with the *Iſraelites*, which had gone out to War contrary to Gods commandment, and found that ſucceſs by experience, which *Latinus* fore-warns *Turnus* of, *Ye anſwered, and ſaid unto me, we have ſinned againſt the Lord, we will go up and fight, according to all that the Lord our God commanded us. And when ye had girded on every man his weapons of War, ye were ready to go up every man into the Hill. And the Lord ſaid unto me, ſay unto them Go not up, neither fight, for I am not among you, leſt ye be ſmitten before your Enemies. So I ſpake unto you, and you would not hear, but rebelled againſt the Commandment of the Lord your God, and went preſumptuouſly up into the Hill. And the* Amorites *which dwelt in that Mountain, came out againſt you, and chaſed you as Bees do, and deſtroyed you in* Seir, *even unto* Hormah. *And ye returned and wept before the Lord; but the Lord would not hearken unto your voice, nor give ear unto you.* Deut. 1. ver. 41. 42, 43, 44, 45.

Plagues or Puniſhments are properly then termed fatal, when God will not repent or change the Doom threatned; when his eyes are ſhut unto mens Tears, and his ears unto their Prayers. But of all the *Heathens* which I have read, this Point is moſt Divinely diſcuſſed by * *Hierocles* in his Commentary upon *Pythagoras* golden Verſes. *If calamity* (ſaith he) *be the award of Divine Power,* Pythagoras *might better have called it Divine Will, than Divine misfortune.* If it be not the award of *Divine Power*, it had been enough to have called it *misfortune*; a *Divine misfortune* it cannot be. Out of theſe ſtraights he winds himſelf with this acute diſtinction, *Inaſmuch as Calamity or Vengeance is the award of Divine Power, it is in this reſpect rightly called Divine.* But with reference to this or that particular man, it is a *miſfortune*. His meaning (as he elſewhere illuſtrates himſelf) is this: *The Divine Power (as every juſt Judge) doth only intend to puniſh Evil, ſuppoſe Adultery, Murder, Inceſt,* &c. *But that this or that man ſhould commit theſe or the like evils, which neceſſarily draw calamity upon themſelves, this is Contingent.* Now the neceſſary award of a contingent evil, is by the *Pythagoreans*, ſometimes termed *Fate*, ſometimes *Divine miſfortune*.

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* Neque enim ſi non eſſet, providentia, ordo ille in mundo exiſteret, quod fatum poſſit aliquis appellare: nec ſi iſta deeſſent, ulla eſſet mulcta ullumq; adverſus ſceleratos judicium: immò nec bonorum præmium, nec commendatio. At verò, Providentiâ atq; ordine exiſtentibus, omnes oportebat qui jam naſcuntur eadem bona Sortiri; ſi nihil à ſeipſis ad inæqualitatem contuliſſent. *Hierocles in Carm. Pythag pag.* 127. *And again, pag.* 136. Tot tantaq; adeò ex verſibus iſtis poſſumus haurire præcepta quæ ad virtutis inſtitutionem primam conferunt. Videntur enim & Providentia, & Fati, liberatiſq; animi veriſſimimas rationes complecti; quibus moleſtiam illam, quæ in eorum, quæ cernuntur, diſſimilitudine verſatur, oratio examinavit; inque omnibus malorum cauſam Deum nequaquam exiſtere demonſtravit. *That Fates may ſtand with freedom of Election in man; Tacitus* obſerves out of the Ancient Heathens. Sed mihi hæc, ac talia audienti, in incerto judicium eſt, fatone res mortalium & neceſſitate immutabili, an fortè voluantur. Quippè ſapientiſſimos veterum, quiq; ſectam eorum æmulantur, diverſos reperies: ac multis inſitam opinionem, non initia noſtri, non finem, non denique homines diiſq; curæ. Ideò creberrima & triſtia in bonos, læta apud deteriores eſſe; contra alii, fatum quidem congruere rebus putant, ſed non è vagis ſtellis, verùm apud principia & nexus naturalium cauſarum, ac tamen electionem vitæ nobis relinquunt: quam ubi elegeris, certum imminentium ordinem. Neq; mala vel bona, quæ vulgus putet: multos qui conflictari adverſis videantur, beatos: ac pleroſq; quamquam magnas per opes, miſerrimos: ſi illi gravem fortunam conſtantèr tollerent, hi proſpera inconſultè utantur. Cæterum plurimis mortalium non eximi, quo primo cujuſq; ortu ventura deſtinentur: ſed quædam ſecus quàm dicta ſint cadere, fallaciis ignara dicentium, ita corrumpi fidem artis, cujus clara documenta, & antiqua ætas & noſtra tulerit. Quippe à filio ejuſdem *Traſulli*, prædictum *Neronis* imperium in tempore memorabitur, ne nunc incepto longiùs abierim. *Cornel. Tacit. lib. 6. Annul. num.* 22.

[b] Æneid. 7.

Filius huic fato divum, proléſq; virilis
Nulla fuit; primáque oriens erepta juventa eſt.

[c] Virgil. Æneid. 7.

Undiq; collecti coeunt, Martémq; fatigant.
Illicet infandum cuncti contra omnia bellum,
Contra fata Deum, perverſo numine poſcunt.
Certatim regis circunſtant tecta Latini.
Ille, velut pelagi rupes immota reſiſtit.
Ut pelagi rupes, magno veniente fragore,
Quæ ſeſe, multis circum latrantibus undis,
Mole tenet; ſcopuli nequicquam, & ſpumea circum,
Saxa fremunt, lateriq; illiſa refunditur alga.
**Verum ubi nulla datur cæcum exuperare poteſtas*
Conſilium, & ſævæ nutu Junonis eunt res:
Multa deos auráſq; pater teſtatus inanes,
Frangimur heu fatis, inquit, ferimúrq; procellâ.
Ipſi has Sacrilego pendetis ſanguine pœnas,
O miſeri, te Turne nefas, te triſte manebit
Supplicium: votiſque Deos venerabere ſeris.

* Si quidem per ſe alteri quidem divitias: alteri autem paupertatem, divinum judicium tribuit: *Divinam* voluntatem nomenari iſtud oportuit, non *infortunium.* Sin autem nihil hujuſmodi nominibus imperat; ſed fortuito & temere accidit, ut felix iſte ſit; ſicuti dicunt; ille autem infelix: *Infortuniam* vocare tantummodo iſtud oportuit; non *Divinum Infortunium.* Sin porro Deus arbiter unicuiq; tribuit, quod meritis convenit; neq; incauſa eſt, ut tales ipſi ſimus; ſed eo fine tantum juſtitiam poſſidet, ut ex præſcripto ipſius, geſtis paria referat: non immerito conjunctis nominibus judicii decreta *Divina Infortunia* nuncupat: ſive, (quia Divinum ſit judicium, atque intelligens) præponendum putarit quod *Divinitatem* atque ſcientiam demonſtret: ſive etiam (quod ſponte malitiam idipſum amplectatur, de quo agitur, unde etiam calamitatibus iſtis dignum eſt) *Infortuniorum nomen* adjecerit, tanquam non ex profeſſo certum hominem vel ſupplicio, vel præmio afficere Deus ſtatuat; ſed eum ſemper, qui iſto ſe, atque illo modo geſſerit; cujus rei cauſa non ſit extra nos inveſtiganda. Itaq; voluntatis noſtræ, diviniq; judicii nexum *Infortunium* parere, nihilq; aliud totum hoc *Divinum* exiſtere *Infortunium*, quam Dei adverſus peccata calculum. *Hieroc in aurea Pythag. carmina. pag.* 111.

2. Not to interpoſe ought one way or other præjudicial to the different Opinions concerning *Free-will*, as it hath reference to *merit*, *Election* or *Predeſtination* (for all which Points we have allotted a peculiar place in this long work:) we hold it for the preſent as a part of our *Creed*, or Fundamental *Point* of Chriſtianity, that man in reſpect of ſome Objects, hath a true *Freedom* of choice or *Contingency*, and is enabled by his *Creator* to make variety of Antecedents in *thought*, *word*, or *deed*. But the * *Antecedents* being once made by man, though not without Divine Co-operation; God alone allots the *Conſequents*, without any concurrence or *Suffrage* in man. To repair to Gods houſe or Loyter at home, or in worſe places on the Lords day, is left free unto us by the Divine Decree: but what *good* or *evil*, Spiritual or Temporal, ſhall befall us upon our *better* or worſe *choice*, is intirely and meerly in the hands of God. We have no power or freedom to reſiſt the doom or ſentence which God hath appointed to our reſolutions, be they good or bad. As unto *evil* or *goodneſs* indefinitely taken, ſome meaſure of *reward* or *puniſhment* is, in the language of *Juſtin Martyr* and other of the Ancients, truly *fatal*: ſo every * poſſible degree of good or evil, whether meerly Moral, or Spiritual, hath ſucceſs from *Eternity* fitted to it, *quoad pondus*, in meaſure more exact than the cunningeſt Arithmetician can deviſe. Gods *Juſtice* holds one ſcale, his *mercy* and *bounty* the other; their ſeveral *awards* are moſt exact, moſt infallible and irreſiſtible; yet *alternant*. Puniſhment or chaſtiſement for offences paſt is neceſſary, yet not abſolutely neceſſary to any mans perſon in this or that degree; becauſe the Eternal Decree hath left him a *poſſibility* not to offend in this or that kind, or not to offend in ſuch a Degree; or in caſe he ſo offended, to ſeek for pardon. Nor ſhall we, by this Aſſertion be enforced to imagine any new act or determination in God, either for daily awarding different *ſucceſs*, or the ſame *ſucceſs* in different meaſure, according to the diverſity or contingency of Humane *choice*, which may vary every moment. For the *infinite*, *incomprehenſible* and all *compriſing Eſſence*, as is * before obſerved, is fitneſs it ſelf, an unchangeable rule *Eternally fitting* every alteration poſſible to the Creature, without any *alteration* in it ſelf. A rule it is, which needs no Application to the event, the event by getting exiſtence or actual *being* is actually applyed unto it. The juſt meaſure and quality of that ſucceſs, which is by the *Idea* of *equity*, *bounty*, or *mercy*, allotted to every event, is no leſs eſſentially contained in *goodneſs* it ſelf, than the event it ſelf or its *being*, is in *infinite Eſſence*, or in *Eſſence* it ſelf.

* *See Chap.* 28. *Sect.* 1.

* Nos ita judicandum humanum genus à Chriſto dicimus, ut tamen etiam nunc omnia Deum, prout rationabile putat, regere ac diſpenſare credamus: & ita in futuro judicio judicaturum, affirmemus, ut tamen ſemper etiam in hoc ſeculo judicaſſe doceamus. Dum enim ſemper gubernat Deus, & ſemper judicat: quia gubernatio ipſa eſt judicium. *Salvian. Lib.* 1. *And again*; Ideò etiam ſanctos homines caſtigatos quondam judicio Dei legimus, ut judicandos nos, Deo judice, etiam præſenti ſeculo noſceremus; quia ſicut Deus eſt ſemper, ſic juſtitia Dei ſemper: ſicut omnipotentia Domini indeficiens, ſic cenſura indemutabilis: ſicut Deus jure perpetuus, ſic juſtitia perſeverans. *Salvian. Lib.* 2.

* *In the Treatiſe of the Divine Eſſence. Part.* 1.

3. The immediate and proper ſubject of Fate, is *Freedom* of choice, or *Contingency* in Humane Actions; the *genus proximum*, is the certainty of Divine *Retribution* according to the *Nature* and quality of

the choice we make. Yet are not *Rewards* or *Retributions*, but retributions *extraordinary* and remarkable, aſwell for their manner of execution as for their *matter* or *quality*, properly termed *Fatal.* Of ſiniſter Fates, there is no Contingent ſubject, which can exhibit a more exact Picture or Model, for the manner how they come to paſs, than a game at Cheſs or Tables. Many games at both, which at the beginning, or until the middle of time ſpent, in them, are very fair and more then ten to one; after ſome few *over-ſights*, or ill dice, become deſperate and irrecoverable, by any skill that can be uſed: ſo events properly *fatal*, become at length unpreventable, irreſiſtible; but ſuch they were not from the beginning of time, or from their infancy or firſt attempts, on whom they fall. Such diſaſterous or diſmal *events*, for which the Heathens uſually indited *Fates*, were commonly remarkable *checks* given, they know not by whom, to Humane Policies or cunning contrivances. They were, as the unexpected *winning* of an *after-game*, upon ſome great ſtake or wager. Good or *Dexterous Fates*, were the unexpected iſſues of mens contrivances, for their own or aſſociates good *Fortunes.* The manner of accompliſhing ſuch *Fates* or *Fortunes*, is like a game won by a *bungler*, againſt a skilful player, by extraordinary Dice, or by the ſuggeſtion of ſome by-ſtander, more skilful than both. This kind of *Fate* or ſtrange *Fortune*, of which moſt of the Heathen knew not well what to make, we may define, *To be the incomprehenſible diſpoſition, or irreſiſtible combination of ſecond cauſes, conſpiring for the infallible execution of Gods will*, maugre all Plots or Conſpiracies of men to defeat the events, which he had purpoſed. Siniſter or diſaſterous *Fates* were the infallible execution of his Conſequent *will.* Good Fates or Fortune, were the infallible effects of his Antecedent *will*; both were ſometimes ſtrangely and remarkably accompliſhed againſt cunning and potent oppoſitions, not ſo much for the parties ſake whom they befel, as for others. Many diſaſters have befallen ſome men, though deſervedly for their own ſins, yet withal for the admoniſhing of others, to prevent the like. Hence it is that the Heathen Poets obſervation [*Multi committunt eadem diverſo crimina Fato*] though in many caſes moſt true, is no way prejudicial to the unchangeable rules of the All-ſeeing Providence, which is always full of equity, whoſe Juſtice is ſtill allayed with Mercy.

CHAP. XXII.

The oppoſite Opinions of the Stoicks and Epicures. In what ſenſe it is true, that all things are neceſſary in reſpect of Gods Decree.

1. THE Stoicks did well in contradicting the Epicures, which held *fortune* and *chance* to rule all things, or at leaſt to be in themſelves *ſomethings*, not meer *denominations* of ſuch events as had no certain or conſtant cauſe, apprehenſible by man. The Original of their Error was, their deſire to be *extremely* contrary to the *Epicureans* in a matter contingent, or rather in Contingency it ſelf: for *that* is the common ſubject of *Fortune*, *Chance*, or *Fate.* Fortune and chance they deny to be any thing, with no other purpoſe, it ſeems, than that

they make *Fate* to be all things. They were Orthodoxal in acknowledging an infallible *unerring* Providence, but they erred again as much in not *acknowledging* this infallible Providence, oft-times to hold the mean between Chance or Fortune, and abſolute neceſſity; or not to order and moderate Contingency it ſelf. From the ſame Original, ſome have thought it to be the moſt ſafe and compendious courſe for rooting out Error and Superſtition, to overthrow the *Antecedent*, when their Commiſſion directs them only to deny or refute the *conſequence*. As not a few, no leſs afraid (and the fear it ſelf is juſt) to grant merit of works, than the *Stoicks* were to admit of *Chance*, have taken away all Contingency in Humane actions, ſave only with reference to ſecond cauſes. Wherein they ſeem to invert that rule of Tyrannical Policy: *He is a Fool that kills the Father, and leaves his Brats behind to revenge his blood.* Theſe take away the *harmleſs* Parents for the *faulty* iſſues ſake, ſeeking to deſtroy true and Orthodoxal Antecedents, for the incommodious conſequences which others have falſly fathered upon them. The reclaiming of men from this one Error is my preſent aim and ſcope.

2. For the better effecting whereof, we will ſubſcribe at length unto their general Maxim, [*That all things are neceſſary in reſpect of Gods Decree*] upon condition they will not extend it beyond its *Natural* and proper *ſubject*, or not take *decree* in the *Stoical*, but in a *civil* ſenſe. Now he that ſaith [All things are neceſſary in reſpect of Gods Decree,] cannot in *civil* conſtruction be conceived to mean any more than thus; *All* things which God hath decreed are neceſſary. The queſtion then is, whether every thing that is, may truly be ſaid to be the *object*, or part of the object of Gods Decree. To which queſtion our anſwer muſt be negative. For thoſe things only are properly ſaid to be decreed, which are enacted and appointed for better ordering and moderating ſuch things as either by *Nature*, *Cuſtom*, or ill example, are apt to grow worſe, or may be amended by good Education, wholſom Advice or Diſcipline. Every Decree of man ſuppoſeth the ſubject or party whom it immediately concerns, to be capable of perſwaſion to *good* or *evil*, to be alterable in his inclinations, through fear of puniſhment, or hope of reward. Magiſtrates or *Corporations* take order that Mad-men or Dogs ſhould do no harm; yet are not theſe Creatures the proper ſubject of their Decrees or Sanctions. They do not tye *Maſtiffs* by Penal Laws not to bite; they do not bind *Mad-men* to good behaviour; but they enjoyn men of reaſon and underſtanding to Muzzle Maſtiffs leſt they bite; to keep *Mad-men* or *Franticks* cloſe, leſt they ſhould do miſchief by going abroad. Now the Divine Decree concerning the ordering of man, is the rule or pattern of all Humane Decrees, and therefore ſuppoſeth ſomewhat in man, which makes him more capable of the Divine *Sanction*, than *reaſonleſs* or *inanimate* Creatures are. This capacity of the reaſonable Creature or Man, conſiſts in freedom of choice or Contingency, in his actions or reſolutions. The donation of this freedom upon man, is an act of Gods *free bounty*, and is preſuppoſed as the proper ſubject to the *Divine Decree*, or to all acts or awards of Divine Juſtice or Mercy. The proper and *formal* object of the ſame decree, is, the moderation of this *Contingency* or freedom of man, by awarding the iſſues or conſequences, in *mercy*, *juſtice* or *bounty*, exactly proportioned to the nature and manner of his choice and reſolution. For illuſtrating the truth of our intended concluſion, let us take the Epi-

grammatiſts * relation, or that Idæa of of *Chance* or *Fortune*, which he hath Pictured for a true ſtory. It was not neceſſary in reſpect of the Divine Decree, that the one ſhould be ſo extream *Poor*, or the other ſo miſerably *Rich*, as to come within the compaſs of that *ſnare*, wherein the latter was taken. The means by which the one came to that depth of Poverty or Melancholy paſſions, wherewith he had almoſt been ſtifled, and the other to that height of Covetouſneſs, from which he fell headlong into deſpair, were Contingent. Neither were driven into ſuch exceſs of paſſion or diſtemper by irreſiſtible neceſſity. But taking them as now they have made themſelves; that the one ſhould be led *unto* temptation, the other *into* it; fell not out by chance, but by the eſpecial diſpoſition of the Divine Providence. The great *Tempter* intended miſchief to the one, but failed, God having yet a Bleſſing in ſtore for him. To the other, perhaps he intended not this particular harm, until opportunity did offer it. So that the inriching of the one by a chance rare and unuſual, in reſpect of man, was neceſſary in reſpect of Gods Decree of Mercy and Fatherly Providence; the delivering of the other unto Satan, was likewiſe *neceſſary*, in reſpect of Gods Juſtice.

3. Now if ſuch events, as to the apprehenſion of meer Natural Men *come by chance*, be neceſſary in reſpect of the Divine Decree; diſaſters by common conſent reputed fatal, muſt by efficacy of the ſame decree be divorced from Contingency, with which formerly they had connexion. For though *Fortune*, as well as *Fate*, be a branch or particle of the proper object of the Divine Decree; yet as they have reference to man, this difference may in the laſt place be obſerved betwixt them: Thoſe things fall out by meer *chance* or fortune, whoſe procuration or prevention hath not been thought of at all by man, or but ſleightly before they happen: Thoſe by *Fate*, which have been often and ſeriouſly thought of, but either far exceed all expectation, or fruſtrate ſollicitous care or forecaſt. Oft-times the unexpected accompliſhment of one mans expectation defeats the induſtrious hopes or anxious contrivance of another, and ſuch events are in a twofold ſenſe termed fatal.

Heu ſtirpem inviſam, ac fatis contraria noſtris
Fata Phrygum.

Both Phrygian *Race, and* Phrygian *Fate,*
As contrary to ours, we hate.

4. All events properly fatal include a kind of *Canvas* between Man and Man, Nation and Nation, or between Divine Providence and Humane Policy, or betwixt the Soul of Man and Wicked Spirits licenſed by Divine Providence to ſollicite, tempt, or aſſault her.

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* *See Chap.* 20

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the degrees of neceſſity, and of the Original of inevitable or abſolute neceſſity.

1. WEre the main queſtion hitherto diſputed, thus propoſed, *Whether all things were only ſo far neceſſary, ſo far Contingent, as it pleaſed the Omnipotent to appoint: or whether the ſucceſs or iſſue of humane intentions or contrivances, were ſo far avoidable or unavoidable, as he hath made them by his Decree:* I ſhould have Infidels only for mine Adverſaries: Chriſtians, I am perſwaded, will move no queſtions about his power or ability, but only about his will or pleaſure, for determining all things. And who can deny that Gods Law or Covenant for effecting ſome things, is more ſtrict and peremptory, than for effecting others. The Prophet ſuppoſed his Covenant for day and night to be more certain and invariable, than his Covenant for the *former* and *latter rain.* And yet the Law which he hath appointed for the moſt Glorious Creatures in the Firmament, is not like the Law of the *Medes* and *Perſians.* It was diſpenſed withal at *Joſuahs* ſuit, and may again be diſpenſed with at his pleaſure. The motion of the Sun and Moon, is not perpetually neceſſary in reſpect of his Decree. The ſeaſons of Seed time, Harveſt, and the diſpoſition of theſe lower Regions (in which *Fortune* may ſeem to have placed her wheel, and *Chance* erected his tottering Throne) may become certain and conſtant to ſuch as conſtantly obſerve his holy Covenants: *If you walk in my Statutes, then will I give you rain in due ſeaſon,* Levit. 26. 4. *&c.* Such was the wiſdom of the Laws given unto this people, that by obſerving them, they might have *changed* the diſpoſition of the Air, *altered* the influence of the Heavens, and have had *dominion* over the Stars.

2. Conſtancy of aſſent or adherence unto theſe Fundamental Truths of Religion, would faſten our minds unto a point of ineſtimable uſe (as well for reforming or curing maladies of State, as of private life) often in this Treatiſe intimated, but not fully declared. The Point is this; main events which at this inſtant are meerly Contingent, and may eaſily be prevented by diverſity of practices, not only poſſible, but acceptable by the Divine Appointment, may in ſucceſſion or revolution of time, become more neceſſary, and at length truly *fatal,* altogether unavoidable. Abſolutely neceſſary from all Eternities, nothing can truly be reputed, beſides the Deity, and the internal operations of the ever Bleſſed Trinity. Many things which from the beginning of time had but the firſt degrees of poſſibility, (thei[illegible]ntraries or incompatible oppoſites being in the higheſt degree of probability) have by the continued Siniſter ſway of mans thoughts and practices, been drawn from meer poſſibilities to be more than probable, and unto the firſt degree of neceſſity: yet at the firſt not abſolutely or irreſiſtibly neceſſary. Some means there may be, though but a few left of many, and thoſe not eaſie to be put in practice for preventing them. The events of greater conſequences which ſtood thus, were with the Heathens accounted, *Fata minora:* For Fates (as we ſaid before) admit the ſelf ſame diviſion or degrees that *neceſſity* doth. The ſame events by omiſſion of practices appointed by the

Divine Decree for their prevention, become altogether irreſiſtible and abſolutely neceſſary in reſpect of any means poſſible for averting them: yet not abſolutely neceſſary from Eternity, but abſolutely neceſſary only from that point of time, wherein the Eternal Decree or Providence did cut off all contrary poſſibilities, which before were concurrent with the poſſibility of their being. And events thus utterly beſtript of all Contingency, or all poſſibility of being recalled or avoided, were by the Heathens aſcribed [*Fato majori*] *to greater Fates.* The *ſymptomes* or *characters* of events becoming thus irreſiſtibly and abſolutely neceſſary, come * elſewhere (by Gods aſſiſtance) to be deciphered. Here it ſufficeth to Advertiſe the Reader, that as divers things beſides, ſo neceſſity may be enſtiled *abſolute* many ways, but two eſpecially. Some things are ſaid to be abſolutely neceſſary, that is, altogether inevitable, albeit this neceſſity or inevitableneſs did accrue from ſome occaſions or ſet points of time lately paſt. As many Diſeaſes, in their nature curable, and eaſie to have been cured by ordinary medicines (if they had been adminiſtred in time) do, by ſome few days ill dyet, by careleſs attendance, or caſual relapſe, become altogether incurable, by any after-care or help of Phyſick. Other events there be, which were abſolutely neceſſary in reſpect of all times: their exhibition or production could not by any policy of man have been prevented. So our Saviours death was abſolutely neceſſary from the beginning of the World, but whether abſolutely neceſſary from Eternity, or abſolutely neceſſary without ſuppoſal of *Adams* fall (which was not neceſſary) ſhall not here be diſputed. Certain it is, that nothing decreed by God, can be ſo abſolutely neceſſary as the Divine Nature, or Bleſſed Trinity is. Many errors have found opportunity to mingle themſelves with Divine Truth, for want of a commodious diſtinction or explication of this indiſtinct and confuſed term *Abſolute:* the Anatomy of it were worth the pains of the Learned. Evident it is, that ſome things which are not to day, may to morrow be, in their kind, *abſolute.*

* *In the Treatiſe of Prodigies and of their uſeful obſervation.*

3. We truly ſay, that the ſum of money wherein one man ſtands bound unto another, is abſolutely due from the time of the forfeiture, or non-performance of the condition: that is, there is no plea left in Law, no courſe or means of Juſtice to avoid the payment of it. Yet was not the ſame ſum abſolutely due from the firſt date of the bond; the performance of the condition in due time had prevented the loſs, which negligence or breach of promiſe hath now made *neceſſary* and *irrecoverable.* Monies lent upon no other conſideration, but upon meer good will, to be repaid whenſoever the party lending ſhall demand them, are *abſolutely* due, from the date of the recognizance, and for that which is abſolutely due, there is a neceſſity of payment or ſatisfaction.

4. Some *diſaſtrous* events become, by Divine Providence, *irreſiſtibly neceſſary* long before they be actually accompliſhed, or inflicted: ſuch was the deſtruction of *Pharaoh*, of *Senacherib*, the deſolation of *Judah* and *Jeruſalem* by *Titus.* Others become *fatally* irreſiſtible within ſome few days or hours before they happen, others not till the very moment wherein they are awarded, either for ſome grievous ſin then committed, or for ſome remarkable document of Gods Juſtice. Some again are for a long time totally *irreſiſtible* and unpreventable; others *reſiſtible, quoad * tantum*, though not *quoad totum*, that is, part of the evils might be prevented, though not the whole. All that we have

* *See Chap.* 24. *Parag.* 9. *and* 10.

have ſaid concerning the alteration of Poſſibilities, or Contingencies, or change of *events* contingent into *neceſſary*, may eaſily be conceived without any ſurmiſe of alteration in the Omnipotent, or in his everlaſting Decree. The leaſt degree of *poſſibility* or *contingency*, is as neceſſarily derived from [*] his abſolute *irreſiſtible* will, as *neceſſity* it ſelf in the higheſt degree. It is impoſſible for *poſſibility* to have any right to *actual being* without his ſpecial appointment. To think that *Fate*, *Chance*, or *Fortune*, ſhould *neſtle* in ſome certain periods of time, or be brought forth by *Revolutions* of the Heavens, is altogether Heatheniſh. But neither doth Scripture inſinuate, nor can reaſon juſtly ſuſpect any danger in avouching, that the Almighty ſuffers, that *Contingency* or *Multiplicity* of poſſibilities between good and evil, or the ſeveral degrees of evil, wherewith he hath endued the reaſonable Creature, to *explicate* or *contract* it ſelf in every moment of time. And according to the Nature of the *free* motions of man, the irreſiſtible Decree brings forth ſuch events or *iſſues*, as were truly poſſible from Eternity, but become neceſſary by *Revolutions*, not of the Heavens, but of mans heart and thoughts; publick Plague or Calamities become neceſſary, or inevitable by theſe means only. We muſt ever remember that God hath not ſo Decreed all things before they come, or the manner how they ſhall come, as that he doth not yet decree them. For he continually decrees as well *neceſſity* as *Contingency*, and brings forth effects as well *contingent* as *neceſſary*, from this preſent hour; both being ſometimes meerly poſſible. The truth of this our laſt aſſertion, may be demonſtrated from our former principle: *If one part of a disjunctive propoſition be denyed or fail, the other may be neceſſarily inferred*, though neither be abſolutely and determinately neceſſary, but become ſuch by conſequence, or upon ſuppoſition of the others failing. Many things which in reſpect of our preſent purpoſe or reſolution are free or contingent, may within a ſhort while after become altogether neceſſary and unavoidable, without any alteration or change in us. Suppoſe a Judge ſhould be tyed by Oath to execute juſtice upon a Malefactor within eight days; there is no neceſſity that he ſhould perform his vow the firſt, ſecond, third, or fourth day. The execution or not execution of Juſtice, is during the firſt ſeven days, free and contingent, without any breach or violation of Oath: but omitting the opportunities, which the firſt ſeven days have offered, the execution of Juſtice upon the eighth day, is as neceſſary, as his *honeſty* or *fidelity*; as neceſſary, as if he had been tied by Oath to execute it upon that day alone. The parts of indefinite time, or of the matter promiſed or threatned by man, may be far more than this inſtance implies. So that the performance of thoſe duties or promiſes, which for a long time was free and arbitrary, and might have been performed in different meaſure, becomes at length abſolutely neceſſary, and neceſſary to ſuch a determinate degree. The parts of Gods disjunctive decree, and the degrees as well of every matter decreed by him, as of the *time* allotted for the execution of it, may be *numberleſs* in reſpect of us. And man by not entertaining the opportunities, which by ſeveral times have been allotted him, for reducing his poſſibilities of doing Gods Antecedent

Will

[*] Nos calamitatum noſtrarum authores ſumus. Deus enim pius eſt & miſericors, & qui, ut ſcriptum eſt, neminem velit perire vel lædere. Nos ergo adverſum nos omnia facimus. Nihil itaq;, nihil eſt in nobis crudelius nobis. Nos, inquam, nos etiam Deo nolente cruciamus. Sed videlicet adverſum meipſum dicere arbitror, qui cum ſuperius dixerim, ob peccata noſtra nos puniri à Deo, nunc dicam nos puniri à nobis ipſis. Utrumq; verum eſt; Deo quippè punimur, ſed ipſi facimus ut puniarum. Cùm autem punire nos ipſi facimus, cui dubium eſt quin ipſi nos noſtris criminibus puniamus: quia quicunque dat cauſam qua puniatur, ipſe ſe punit, ſecundum illud; Funibus peccatorum ſuorum unuſquiſque conſtringitur. *Salvianus*, *Lib.* 8.

Will into act, may forfeit the very poſſibilities themſelves for ever, or for a long time. And by continuance of ſuch neglect of many parts or kinds of ſucceſs, all truly poſſible, in reſpect of the Eternal Decree; *that* only ſhall in the end become neceſſary, which he leaſt deſires, which his Soul ſhall moſt deteſt. In reſpect of ſome future events not as yet become neceſſary, the Eternal Decree leaves fewer branches of contrary contingencies or poſſibilites, in reſpect of others more. Their multitude may expire or revive every moment, according to the diverſity of mens ways, on which Gods will is always done by means *infinite*, at leaſt to man incomprehenſible.

4. The Incarnation of our Bleſſed Saviour, was in the opinion of ſome of the Ancients, abſolutely neceſſary before the Creation of mankind, and ſhould in time *infallibly* have been accompliſhed, for confirming or augmenting that happy eſtate wherein *Adam* was Created; if ſo, he had continued ſtedfaſt in it until the time appointed by God for his Change or Tranſlation. But however the Schools may determine or *wave* this queſtion (I muſt confeſs, neither very uſeful, nor in this place much neceſſary) there was no neceſſity queſtionleſs, that the *ſecond Adam* ſhould become a *Bloody Sacrifice* for our ſins, unleſs the firſt *Adam* had ſinned: but after he, by his actual tranſgreſſion, had utterly cut off that *poſſibility* of perſeverance, which the Eternal Decree had beſtowed upon him, the *Humilation* and bitter *Paſſion* of the *Son* of God, became as *neceſſary*, in reſpect of Gods Mercy and bounty towards man, and of his Infinite Juſtice which (notwithſtanding his Infinite Mercy) was to be fully ſatisfied, as his Incarnation. After *Cain* had deſpiſed Gods *Counſel*, and had ſlain his Brother *Abel*, it was neceſſary the *Meſſias* ſhould proceed from *Seth*; yet not then ſo neceſſary, that he ſhould be the Son of *Abraham*, as the Son of *Seth*. Others lineally deſcended from *Seth*, might have forfeited their real poſſibilities, or ordinary hopes of attaining unto this Glory. At the leaſt, when God firſt made his Promiſe to the Woman and her Seed, the birth of *Abraham* was not in reſpect of the Eternal Decree ſo neceſſary, as *Chriſt's* Birth was. It was poſſible to have written *Terah* as Childleſs as *Jechoniah*, after his Marriage with *Abrahams* Mother. But after the ſame God had paſſed that Promiſe unto *Abraham*, and confirmed it by ſolemn Oath, *In thy Seed ſhall all the Nations of the Earth be bleſſed:* It was thenceforth altogether as neceſſary, that our Redeemer ſhould be the Seed of *Abraham*, as of the *Woman:* Yet not then ſo neceſſary, that he ſhould be the Son of *Judah*, or that *Judah* ſhould have a Son called *Jeſſe*, or that *Jeſſe* ſhould have a Son called *David* a man after Gods own Heart. That Glory, which long after Gods Oath to *Abraham*, befel the Tribe of *Judah*, was (for ought we know or can object unto the contrary) a part of that dignity, whoſe poſſibility was once really poſſeſſed by *Reuben*, though utterly forfeited by his miſdemeanour. But after *Jacob* had Propheſied that the Scepter ſhould *not depart from Judah*, till *Shilo* come; or rather after the Lord had *ſworn* not to *fail David* in beſtowing the prerogative promiſed to *Judah* upon his Seed, the neceſſity becomes as great, that our High-Prieſt, after the Order of *Melchiſedeck*, ſhould be the Son of *David* as the Son of Man, or Seed of *Abraham*. Now if we can perſwade our ſelves, that God either ſpeaks or ſwears as he truly intends; or that mortal man may certainly know where to have *him*, or what to truſt to: we muſt believe and acknowledge thoſe events concerning which

he hath *ſworn* not to *repent*, to be far more neceſſary in reſpect of the irreſiſtible Decree, from the firſt interpoſition of ſuch Oath; than thoſe Ordinary Bleſſings or Curſings, which he ſeriouſly threatneth or promiſeth, but disjunctively, and with expreſs reſervation of their Repentance whom he threatneth, or of their defection whom he encourageth by his Promiſes: yet ſuch was his Covenant of life and death with his People, ſuch was his Decree concerning the Proſperity or Calamity of *Davids* Temporal Kingdom; as the * Prophets Comments upon the Promiſe made to * *David* expreſly teſtifie. By theſe and the like Oracles fully exemplified in the *alternation* of *Jeruſalem* and *Judah*'s contrary *fates* or *ſucceſs*; we may diſcern the courſe of that Eternal Providence, by whoſe irreſiſtible *unerring* diſpoſition, all other States or Kingdoms have the certain periods of their Proſperity or Calamity aſſigned, and by which Princes and greateſt Stateſmen ſtand or fall.

* *Jer.* 18. 1. &c.
* 2 *Sam.* 7. 12. &c. *See the next Chapter of this Book. Parag.* 2.

SECT.

SECTON III.

Of the manifeſtation of Divine Providence in the remarkable Erection, Declination, and Periods of Kingdoms: in over-ruling Policy, and diſpoſing the ſucceſs of Humane Undertakings.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of the contrary Fates or Awards whereof Davids *Temporal Kingdom was capable: and of its Devolution from Gods Antecedent, to his Conſequent Will.*

1. HOMER was not ſo blinded with the Heatheniſh miſconceit of Fate, as not to ſee more ways to Death than one. In *Achilles* he deſcribed two courſes of Life, the one ſhorter but decked with Glory; the other longer, but bare and naked of Fame: both alike poſſible by Fates.

Homer. Iliad. 1.

Thetis *foreſaw, Fates by two ways,*
Might bring me to my end;
The one by Troy, *where if my time*
I ſhould with Honour ſpend,
It was but ſhort: but if at home,
A Sluggard ſtill I ſtay'd;
My life was long, but with no Fame,
Or praiſe to be repay'd.

Now as one poyſon ſometimes expels another; ſo this opinion of double Fate, (if men be diſpoſed to uſe this term) takes away the malignity of that error, which holds all events to be *fatal*; albeit of ſuch twofold fates or ſucceſs, the one part or the other muſt by abſolute neceſſity be fulfilled, according to the parties *choice*, unto whom they are awarded. The *body* of that which *Homer ſhadowed* in *Achilles*, is evidently contained in Gods forementioned Covenant with *Iſrael*, and ſealed unto us by manifeſt experience in *Davids* Line. For of Gods ſpecial Providence over the Seed of *Abraham*, or of the *Jewiſh* Nation in general, we have Treated at large in the firſt Book of the Comments upon the Apoſtles Creed. The contrary *Fates* of *Davids* Kingdom in ſucceeding Ages, ſeem to wraſtle and ſtrive, as *Jacob* and *Eſau* did in the Womb, or to counterſway each other, like two oppoſite *Scales* unequally ballanced by turns. That thus it *fared* with *Davids* Kingdom, doth not argue Gods Decree concerning it to have been mutable, but rather immutably to have *elevated* and *depreſſed* both Prince and People, according to the degrees of their mutability in turning to him or from him.

2. *Solomon* had the largeſt talent of Wealth, and the greateſt meaſure of Wit to uſe it, that any Earthly King either before or after him had. His poſſibilities to increaſe his Kingdom, and propagate greatneſs to his Poſterity, were much greater than any Earthly Monarch ſince him might expect. Many parts of Gods Glorious Promiſes made to *David*, were literally meant of him, which were never literally fulfilled in him, or in his Natural Linage; becauſe they did not perform the conditions which God required, that they might be more capable of his extraordinary undeſerved favours. The Covenant with *David* is expreſſed, *Pſal.* 89. *I have found* David *my ſervant: with my Holy Oyl have I Anointed him. With whom my hand ſhall be eſtabliſhed: mine Arm alſo ſhall ſtrengthen him. The Enemy alſo ſhall not exact upon him: nor the Son of Wickedneſs afflict him. And I will beat down his Foes before his face: and plague them that hate him.* This Promiſe pertains to *David* and his Succeſſors: but however the Promiſe was on Gods part unalterable, yet the prerogative promiſed was ſubject unto change or Contingency. For ſo a little after the Pſalmiſt diſtinguiſheth betwixt *Davids* Seed and *Davids* Sons. *His Seed will I make to endure for ever, and his Throne as the days of Heaven.* This he ſpeaks not of many, but of one, to wit, of Chriſt, to whom only the Kingdom of *David* was predeſtinated. Of ſuch as were ordained to this Kingdom, he ſpeaks in the plural, not abſolutely but conditionally: *If his Children forſake my Law, and walk not in my Judgments; if they break my Statutes, and keep not my Commandments: Then will I viſit their Tranſgreſſion with the rod, and their iniquity with ſtripes.* The tenor then of Gods Covenant with *David* as it concerned Chriſt was abſolute, but as it concerns *Davids* other Sons, it was disjunctive, or conditional. If any ſhall queſtion why God for many Generations did deal no better with *Davids* Succeſſors, than with the Succeſſors of other Kings, the anſwer from the Tenor of the Covenant is plain, *They forſook his Laws, and would not walk in his Judgments*, Pſal. 89. ver. 32. *And thus breaking his Statutes, their viſitation was altogether unevitable*, not on a ſudden, but by degrees. The Lords arm even in *Solomons* time was ſtretched out, ready to *fetch* the blow, which after his death fell upon his Son *Rehoboam*, as heir to his Chaſtiſements. The blow was ſudden and ſmart; for of Twelve Tribes, Ten were rent from his Kingdom by *Jeroboam*. The wounds inflicted by the *Egyptian* upon *Judah* and *Benjamin*, and upon *Jeruſalem* her ſelf, were grievous, though as yet not uncurable. So grievous as might give that people plainly to underſtand, that the Proſperity of *Davids* Earthly Kingdom was not like the days of Heaven; nor the Glory of *Solomons* Throne like the *Sun* in the Firmament, altogether priviledged from change or mutability. But albeit the motion of the *Creature*, appointed to execute Gods wrath, were ſudden, yet the weight of *Jeruſalems* burthen was not permanent, becauſe ſhe was not as yet frozen in ſin.

3. Of *Rehoboams* Succeſſors ſome were good, and theſe by their Penitency and Heroical *Reformation*, ſet *back* the Dial of ſuch diſmal *Fates*, as ſtill did threaten them: many were bad, and did draw Gods Plagues upon themſelves and their people. And whilſt the *blow* of Gods ſtretched out arm, is diverted and born off by the Fervent

prayers of godly *Princes*; the waight of the whole Nations burthen, is much increaſed by the iniquity of the people. Either the number of the Supplicants was not equal to the number of the Delinquents; or the fervency of their prayer and repentance, not ſo conſtant, as the others delight in ſin and wickedneſs. The waight of their *ſiniſter Fates*, by this means ſecretly and inſenſibly increaſing (even whilſt their motion was reſtrained or abated) *increaſed* the ſwiftneſs or violence of the motion, when by permiſſion of the Divine Decree, they had liberty to take their wonted courſe. *Joas* and *Achas* pulled them on ſo faſt, that *Micha* threatned judgment, not againſt the King and Nobles only, but againſt City and Temple, in ſuch a thundring voice, as if deſolation had even then beſieged the City round about, and utter deſtruction was ready to enter in at the breach: *Therefore ſhall Sion for your ſake be plowed as a Field, and Jeruſalem ſhall become heaps, and the mountain of the houſe, as the high places of the Foreſt.* Micha 3. v. 12. Spake he thus of his own times, or of ſome others following? was it in reſpect of the Eternal Decree, altogether *impoſſible* for this dreadful ſentence to have been forthwith put in execution? Indeed many of their Magiſtrates and Politicians, moſt of their Prieſts and Prophets, until this very inſtant had ſaid to the like purpoſe: *Is not the Lord among us, none evil can come upon us.* verſ. 11. This vain confidence preſumptuouſly and falſly grounded upon the immutability of Gods promiſes, made the doom menaced by *Micha* more neceſſary and *fatal* at this time, than otherwiſe it would have been; though to ſuch as underſtood the tenour of Gods Covenant with his people, neither at this time nor many years after, altogether unevitable.

4. The good King *Hezekiah* knew the Lord did not threaten in jeſt, and for this reaſon his fear was hearty, and his Prayers earneſt: *Did he not fear the Lord, and beſought the face of the Lord?* Jer. 26. ver. 19. But did this his fear or hearty Prayers impair the preſent poſſibility or neceſſity of the plagues threatned? Yes, *The Lord repented him.* Of what? that he had denounced all this evil againſt *Jeruſalem*, or intreated *Hezekiah* ſo roughly by his Prophet *Micha*? no: *But the Lord repented him of the evil which he had denounced againſt him and meant to execute.* For who *repents* himſelf, of that which he did not ſo much as truly intend? Is God then as man that he ſhould repent? It is impoſſible that there ſhould be ay *change* of purpoſe in God, and herein he is moſt unlike to man, or the Son of Man, whoſe repentance always includes ſome internal alteration of *will* or *purpoſe*, not of the matter purpoſed only. Our beſt intentions of *good* to others, often expire upon particular reſpects, and cannot be revived again, albeit we neither had juſt occaſion to take diſlike, nor the ſame reaſons to continue it, which we had to take it. Through the inconſtancy of our Nature we loath to morrow what we like to day: our affections alter without any change in the matter affected by us. Far otherwiſe it is with God, whoſe will or purpoſe is ſtill *immutable*, and yet exactly fitteth every *change* or *mutation* in the *Creature*. To have puniſhed *Jeruſalem* continuing her wonted courſe (but ſix months longer after the Prophet had thus warned her) with ſuch miſeries as *Senacherib* had menaced, was one part of the Eternal and unchangeable Decree: another part of the ſame Decree (no leſs immutable) was to avert theſe Plagues from *Jeruſalem* truly repenting upon their denunciation. No former wickedneſs could alienate his love from her, or make him recal the bleſſings promiſed to *David*, ſo long as this people was ſo affected, as in that covenant was required.

5. The *poſſibility* of the deſolation menaced by *Micha*, was, for the preſent, as great, as the Aſſyrian was potent. It might truly have been ſaid of this City, in reſpect of his Army, what one ſaith of Navigators:

Eſt tua tam propè mors, quàm propè cernis aquam.

That extraordinary power wherewith the Lord had armed this Tyrant to take vengeance upon his neighbour Nations, might well make the preſent avoydance of the plagues menaced by *Micha*, ſeem almoſt *impoſſible*. But good *Hezekiah*, by turning with all his heart, and all his Soul unto the Lord, unto whom all things are poſſible, did not only remove deſtruction threatned from the City and Temple, but cauſed it to turn upon the deſtroyer. *Jeruſalem* and *Judah*, by the unfeigned penitence of *Prince* and *People*, became the object of Gods *antecedent will*, and fell under the former part of Gods Covenant with *David*: *The enemy ſhall not exact upon him, nor the ſon of wickedneſs afflict him. And I will beat down his foes before his face, and plague them that hate him* Pſal. 89. ver. 22, 23. The *Aſſyrian* by going beyond his Commiſſion, in daring not *Hezekiah* only, but the Lord of Hoſts, unto whoſe protection *Hezekiah* had fled, becomes the object of Gods *conſequent will*, which by Divine appointment, he was at that time to execute upon *Jeruſalem*; but upon *Jeruſalem* fallen away by diſobedience, not upon *Jeruſalem* returning in heart unto her God.

6. That this people might have ſome time of breathing and reſpite to gather themſelves for the better accompliſhing of ſo great a work, as *Hezekiah* had begun; the Lord in his wiſdom ſo diſpoſed that *Tirhakah King of Cuſh* ſhould make forward to entertain *Senacherib* with Battail at that very inſtant, wherein he had purpoſed to give the onſet upon *Jeruſalem*. This unexpected removal of preſent terror, was (no doubt) a ſure *pledge* unto the people for ſtrengthning their relyance on Gods promiſe, for *ſetling* their hearts, and continuing their conſtancy in fervent prayers, during the time of the enemies abſence. And ſeeing the force of Egypt and Cuſh were not ſufficient to diſſipate *Senacheribs* mighty Army, perhaps not able to hold him play any longer; the Lord ſend *Hezekiah* and his people deliverance from Heaven: *Then the Angel of the Lord went forth, and ſmote in the Camp of the* Aſſyrians, *a hundred fourſore and five thouſand: and when they aroſe, early in the morning, behold they were all dead Corps.* Iſaiah. 37. ver. 36. The noiſe of this great overthrow was as the joyful ſound of a Jubile unto *Jeruſalem*, and did portend another more admirable and victorious Jubile to be accompliſhed in the ſame place; of which * elſewhere. This for the preſent might witneſs to *Hezekiah* and the people, that rather than one tittle of Gods Covenant with *David* ſhould fall to the ground, the Hoſt of Heaven ſhould leave their ſtation, and keep Garriſon on Earth. A little after this miraculous deliverance, the Sun is compelled to go fifteen degrees backwards, for ſetting forward the courſe of *Hezekiah* his life, whom *Death* and *Fate* had now, in the worlds ſight, arreſted. God hereby teſtified unto Prince and People, that if they would continue ſuch in *health*, as they were in *ſickneſs*, ſo well-minded in peace and proſperity, as they had been in ſtrait ſiege, or other diſtreſs of War: *Jeruſalems* good days might become as certain and conſtant, as the days of Heaven; ſeeing that great light, which was appointed from the beginning to rule the day

* *In the Treatiſe of Chriſts anſwer to* John.

day, did now give place to *Hezekiahs* prayers. But moſt of this people were moſt unlike their Prince, albeit even he, after he had received thoſe two miraculous pledges of Gods love, *did not render according to the reward beſtowed upon him.* 2 Chron. 32. v. 25. *For his heart was lifted up, therefore there was wrath upon him, and upon* Judah *and* Jeruſalem. *Notwithſtanding,* Hezekiah *humbled himſelf for the pride of his heart (both he and the inhabitants of* Jeruſalem: *) ſo that the wrath of the Lord came not upon them in the days of* Hezekiah.

7. After the yoke of *Aſhur* was taken from off this peoples neck, many of them became wanton, others ſecure, as not ſuſpecting that *a Cockatrice ſhould ſpring out of this Serpents root, that his fruit ſhould be a fiery flying Serpent.* Iſai. 14. v. 29. Unto *Hezekiah* himſelf, though a moſt wiſe and prudent King, the *Babylonian* tyranny, being now in his infancy, did ſeem by nature more mild and gentle, than the *Aſſyrian* had been. And not content to entertain the King of *Babylons* Ambaſſadors with courteſies ſutable to their congratulations, he ſhewed them his treaſury and all the good things wherewith the Lord had bleſſed him: willing (perhaps) to give their maſter and the world to wit, that notwithſtanding the former wars and exactions, he was no begger; but a fit confederate for neighbor Princes, to *curb* the inſolency of the *Aſſyrian*; whoſe ſtrength though much abated by the terrible blow, which the Angel of the Lord had given *Senacheribs* Hoſt, was not quite broken till many years after. But the Prophet knew this fawning whelp to be of Wolviſh kind, and diſcovered thoſe implanted ſeeds of cruelty in him, which when they came to be ripe, would be more noyſom to the Kings and Princes of *Judah,* than his predeceſſor the *Aſſyrian* had been. Iſaiah *ſaid unto* Hezekiah, *Hear the word of the Lord: Behold, the days come, that all that is in thy houſe, and that which thy Fathers have laid up in Store unto this day, ſhall be carried unto* Babylon: *nothing ſhall be left, ſaith the Lord. And of thy Sons that ſhall iſſue from thee, which thou ſhalt beget, ſhall they take away, and they ſhall be Eunuches in the palace of the King of* Babylon. 2 King. Chap. 20. ver. 17, 18.

8. Any Heathen which had held *Eſaias* for an undoubted *South-ſayer,* would inſtantly have concluded hence, that the captivity of *Hezekiahs* ſucceſſors, and all the miſeries which the *Babylonian* afterwards brought upon *Judah* and *Jeruſalem,* were abſolutely *fatal,* altogether impoſſible to be avoided. And many good Chriſtians (perhaps) will queſtion, whether the plagues here threatned, were not from this point of time, neceſſary in reſpect of the Divine Decree. To anſwer this queſtion by interrogation: Why ſhould not the Spirit of the Prophet *Eſay* be as truly ſubject to the former prophetical rule, as *Micahs* was? Now God, according to that rule, was ready to repent him of all the evil, which he had threatned, whenſoever the people ſhould repent them of whatſoever they had done. The Lord had given *Hezekiah* and his ſucceſſors a far larger and longer time, for preventing the evil which *Eſay* threatned, than they had for avoiding the doom denounced by *Micah.* The very tenour of denunciation made by *Eſay,* ſhews them a ready means for preventing the wo denounced; ſo they would have laid it to their hearts, or followed the adviſe of ſucceeding Prophets. But *mortality* muſt needs be riſe, where variety of diſeaſes and multitudes of unſkilful Empyricks do meet. The common tranſgreſſions of the people, are the epidemical diſeaſes of States: and ſuch projects as Princes or Stateſmen, without

the preſcript of Gods Word, or ſuggeſtion of his Providence, uſe for their recovery, are like unſeaſonable miniſtration of *Empyrical* or *old wives medicines*, to crazed Bodies. They uſually invite or entertain the deſtruction or ruine of Kingdoms otherwiſe ready to depart. Not the beſt amongſt the Kings of *Judah*, but were ſmatterers in empyrical or ſecular policy. Some were more, ſome leſs, all too much given to put confidence in multitude of men and ſtore of Treaſure. And for increaſing this ſuppoſed *ſinew* of War and nutriment of Peace, they uſed means, neither warrantable by Gods written Law, nor by the rule of charity. To prevent this miſchief which is the root of all evil, what perſwaſion could be more fit or pertinent, than this prediction of the Prophet: *That the wealth which* Hezekiah *and his Fathers had heaped together*, which his ſucceſſors would be too careful to increaſe, would in ſucceeding ages ſteal their Children, for whom it was provided, from them, and make them miſerable Captives in a forraign Land. To heap up Riches we know not for whom, is a vanity; to heap them up with care and toil to the deſtruction of our beſt private Friends, and advancement of the publick enemy, is the extremity of folly mixt with miſery. Had *Hezekiah* his ſucceſſors been as ready to aſk counſel of Gods Prophets as of Politicians; theſe could have inſtructed them, that the miſeries foretold by *Eſay*, were *fatal* unto covetouſneſs and unconſcionable care for poſterity; yet not ſimply *neceſſary* after covetouſneſs was much increaſed in *Hezekiahs* ſucceſſors. For long after the going out of this Decree, whenſoever the Princes of *Judah* repented for their own oppreſſion, and the oppreſſion of their Fathers, the Lord *repented him of the Plagues* denounced, and ſhewed himſelf ready to remove the oppreſſor from them. And though impenitency in other ſins, did in part concur; yet continuance in violence and oppreſſion, was the principal ſtring and *fatal* cord, by which the Princes of *Judah* did draw *captivity* upon themſelves and their Children, and *diſolation* upon the City.

9. To paſs over the various alternation of *Judahs* and *Jeruſalems* different fates, in the days of *Manaſſes*, *Ammon*, and *Joſias*, and come to *Jehoiakim*, *Joſias* Son, in whoſe days the inveterate diſeaſe of *Judah* came to a Criſis: *Did not thy Father* (ſaith the Prophet *Jeremy* to this untoward Prince) *eat and drink, and do judgment and juſtice, and then it was well with him? He judged the cauſe of the poor and needy, then it was well with him: was not this to know me* (*ſaith the Lord?*) *But thine eyes and thy heart are not, but for thy covetouſneſs, and for to ſhed innocent blood, and for oppreſſion, and for violence to do it. Therefore thus ſaith the Lord concerning* * Jehoiakim *the Son of* Joſiah *King of* Judah, *They ſhall not lament for him, ſaying, Ah my Brother, or ah ſiſter: they ſhall not lament for him, ſaying, Ah Lord, or ah his glory. He ſhall be buried with the burial of an Aſs, drawn and caſt forth beyond the gates of* Jeruſalem. Jer. 22. ver. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19.

* *See* Joſephus *in the Hiſtory of* Jehoiakim. Et Seder Olam.

Shortly after the execution of this ſentence upon *Jehoiakim* in full meaſure, *Jeconiah* his Son, with other of the Royal Seed, according to *Eſaias* former Propheſie, were carried Captives unto *Babel*, and all or ſome of them made Eunuchs. Howbeit the execution of the ſame Decree upon *Zedekiah* and ſuch as were yet left behind, was not as yet unavoidable, or meerly *fatal*; but ſuch notwithſtanding they made it at laſt by continuance of like covetouſneſs and oppreſſion.

When the City was more narrowly beſieged by the *Chaldean*, than it had been by the *Aſſyrian*, the Lord of Hoſts calls for the *Ægyptian*, as he had done for the King of *Cuſh*, to remove the Siege. The liberty and reſpiration which *Zedekiah* and his beſieged people in the mean time got, being much greater than *Hezekiah* had for two years ſpace together, was a true pledge of Gods *Antecedent will*, which in part they had fulfilled, and which ſhould undoubtedly have been fulfilled in greater meaſure for their good, ſo they had uſed this liberty to Gods Glory; or gone on ſo well in this time of *breathing*, as in their diſtreſs they had begun. *Ye were now turned, and had done right in my ſight, in proclaiming liberty every man to his Neighbour, and ye had made a Covenant before me in the houſe which is called by my name. But ye returned and polluted my name, and cauſed every man his Servant, and every man his Handmaid, whom he had ſet at liberty at their pleaſure, to return; and brought them into ſubjection, to be unto you for Servants and for Hand-maids. Therefore thus ſaith the Lord, Ye have not harkned unto me, in proclaiming liberty every one to his Brother, and every man to his Neighbour: behold I proclaim a liberty for you, ſaith the Lord, to the Sword, to the Peſtilence, and to the Famine: and I will make you to be removed into all the Kingdoms of the Earth,* &c. Jer. 34. ver. 15. 16, 17. *And* Zedekiah *King of* Judah, *and his Princes, will I give into the hands of their Enemies, and into the hand of them that ſeek their life, and into the hand of the King of* Babylons *Army which are gone up from you. Behold, I will command, ſaith the Lord, and cauſe them to return to this City, and they ſhall fight againſt it, and take it, and burn it with fire, and I will make the Cities of* Judah *a deſolation without an Inhabitant*, ver. 21. 22.

10. Too much skill in Secular Policy, made them put too great confidence in the ſtrength of *Ægypt:* and this confidence in the help of man, made them ſecure, whilſt they were conſcious of breaking the Covenant which their Fathers had made, and they lately renewed with their God. The probabilities of the *Ægyptians* ſucceſs againſt the *Chaldean*, were (in all Politick eſteem) very great: and likely it is that the *Chaldeans* were brought back again with ſpeed unto *Jeruſalem* by the ſpecial hand of the Almighty, that they might execute his judgments upon this Rebellious People. How neceſſary, how *fatal* and unevitable the execution of his *conſequent* will always becomes, where his *Antecedent* will hath been thus openly and wilfully neglected, may beſt be gathered from the ſame Prophets reiterated threats unto this People, reſuming (as it ſeems) their former vain confidence of the *Chaldeans* final departure, after his fore-mentioned Propheſie to the contrary, *Jer. 37. ver. 9. 10. Thus ſaith the Lord, deceive not your ſelves, ſaying, The* Chaldeans *ſhall ſurely depart from us: for they ſhall not depart. For though ye had ſmitten the whole Army of the* Chaldeans *that fight againſt you, and there remained but wounded men among them, yet ſhould they riſe every man in his Tent, and burn this City with fire.* To extinguiſh this *flame*, or prevent the *extinction* of *Zedekiahs* Royal Race, and *Judahs* Earthly Glory, there was no poſſibility left, ſo long as they wreſtled with *Fates*, and made Policy their ſtrength: yet was there after this time, a poſſibility, as true, as Gods Promiſe can make any, for eſcaping *à tanto*, though not *à toto*: a poſſibility for *Zedekiah* to have kept himſelf and his Family in a better eſtate, than they afterwards enjoyed; a poſſibility to have left the City and Temple ſtanding, after death had diſpoſed of them; ſo he would at the time appointed by God, have ſubmitted himſelf

unto the King of *Babel*, unto whom he had ſworn Allegiance. *Then ſaid* Jeremiah *unto* Zedekiah, *Thus ſaith the Lord the God of Hoſts, the God of* Iſrael; *If thou wilt aſſuredly go forth unto the King of* Babylons *Princes, then thy Soul ſhall live, and this City ſhall not be burnt with fire, and thou ſhalt live and thy houſe. But if thou wilt not go forth to the King of* Babylons *Princes, then ſhall this City be given into the hands of the* Chaldeans, *and they ſhall burn it with fire, and thou ſhalt not eſcape out of their hand*, Jer. 38. ver. 17. 18.

And *Zedekiah* the King ſaid unto *Jeremiah*; *I am afraid of the* Jews *that are fallen to the* Chaldeans, *leſt they deliver me into their hand, and they mock me. But* Jeremiah *ſaid, They ſhall not deliver thee: obey, I beſeech thee, the voice of the Lord, which I ſpake unto thee: ſo it ſhall be well unto thee, and thy Soul ſhall live. But if thou refuſe to go forth, this is the word which the Lord hath ſhewed me. And behold, all the Women that are left in the King of* Judahs *houſe, ſhall be brought forth unto the King of* Babylons *Princes, and thoſe Women ſhall ſay; Thy Friends have ſet thee on, and have prevailed againſt thee: thy feet are ſunk in the mire, and they are turned away back. So they ſhall bring out all thy Wives, and thy Children to the* Chaldeans, *and thou ſhalt not eſcape out of their hand, but ſhalt be taken by the hand of the King of* Babylon: *and thou ſhalt cauſe this City to be burnt with Fire*, &c. Verſe 19. 20, 21, 22, 23.

11. This laſt neglect of Gods *Antecedent Will*, ſo often revealed for his good, procured the ſpeedy execution of his *Conſequent Will* without all poſſibility to avoid it. Not a tittle of *Jeremies* and *Ezekiels* Propheſie, which his * Politicians ſought to ſet at variance, but is exactly fulfilled upon him, and ſo is *Micahs* Propheſie upon this City. The manner how *Jeremies* and *Ezekiels* Propheſie, which ſeem to contradict each other, were both fulfilled, is admirable, and might well move a man, not well acquainted with the nature of Prophecies and Gods ſpecial Providence, to think the *Fates* had plotted his ruine. But this particular Argument is proſecuted elſewhere more at large.

* *See Joſephus in the Hiſtory of Zedekiah.*

12. To recapitulate the ſum of many Arguments to like purpoſes: unto every poſſible choice or reſolution made by man, whether concerning matters private or publick, there is a diſtinct correſpondent ſucceſs allotted by the Omnipotent and Immutable Decree. Every actual choice or reſolution, is as the drawing of a new lot, whoſe juſt price or recompence, be it good or bad, is *inſtampt* upon it from Eternity. And for the *awarding* or payment of it in due time, the whole Hoſt of Gods Creatures ſtand bound by the very Tenour of their Being or dependency upon their Maker. Seeing all of them were made by his Word, and are continued by his meer Will and Pleaſure; ſooner ſhall they forfeit their very Being, and be reſolved into nothing, than the leaſt tittle of Gods Will, concerning any Creature, ſhould not be fulfilled; or, that *ſucceſs*, be it good or bad, ſhould not be awarded to private Men, or publick States in that exact degree and meaſure, which God from Eternity hath appointed.

From ignorance of this Eſſential ſubordination, which *fate* or conſpiracy of ſecond cauſes, have unto Gods irreſiſtible providence, who by his infinite *Creative* power, can at all times *diſſolve* their combination, or *compoſe* them anew, by ways to man for number incomprehenſible, as pleaſeth him; the wiſeſt amongſt *State Wizzards* have erred, and do err more groſly in aſſigning the cauſes of

Kingdoms *Ruines* or *Erections*, or in Prognoſticating the ſucceſs of Politick skill, than a vulgar Aſtronomer ſhould do, which would take upon him to foretel the peculiar diſpoſition of the Air or Weather in every place throughout this Iſland, for every hour of the year following. The obſervation which many of them gather from the inſpection of times preſent or paſt, are of as little uſe for future Ages, as an Almanack of this year, is for the years following. Sooner may Modern Scholars prove extraordinary Husbandmen, by obſerving *Virgils* Calendar of the riſing and ſetting of the Stars, or other Rules of that Ancient Husbandry, which he deſcribes; than Pragmatical Wits become Wiſe Stateſmen by reading *Tacitus*, *Livy*, or others, better acquainted with the Myſteries of State, or Princely Secrets, than with Gods Providence, or with the Almighties Decree concerning the ſucceſs of their Projects. Though that Decree be as He is moſt Immutable, yet the variety of mens diſpoſitions, eſpecially in ſundry Ages, is greater than any alterations in the Heavens; the divers conjunctions or oppoſitions of mens *wills* to *his*, are more than can be found amongſt the Stars. Now it is his *immutable will* to render unto every People and Nation, according to the degrees of that *conformity* or *diſſonancy*, which they hold, with his *mercy*, *bounty*, or *juſtice*, or with his moſt Holy Will.

CHAP. XXV.

Of the ſudden and ſtrange erection of the Macedonian *Empire, and the manifeſtation of Gods ſpecial Providence in* Alexanders *expedition and ſucceſs.*

1. ARiſtotle * being born when *Greece* did flouriſh, and living when the Halcyon days of *Macedon* began to dawn, would gladly tye the light of Gods Countenance, which in his full Age was inclining to the *Meridian* of *Greece*, unto the *ſituation* of his Country, and diſpoſition of his Countrymen, whoſe Politick Vertues, in his Philoſophical Vanity, were intailed into the peculiar temper of that clime. *The People* (ſaith he) *that live in cold Countries, and in* Europe (as diſtinct from *Greece*) *are ſtout and hardy, but not ſo Wiſe and Politick; more free than civil, much apter to be their own men than their neighbours maſters. The* Aſiaticks (that want no wit) *are deſtitute of courage; therefore they remain in ſervitude and ſubjection unto others. The* Grecians *as they enjoy the middle place for ſituation, ſo they participate with the* Aſiaticks *for wit, and colder Countries for courage, in ſuch proportion, as enapts them to preſerve their liberty, and to bear rule and ſoveraignty over others.* Many Comets at their firſt appearance, are uſually miſtaken for fixed Stars, reputed next in glory unto the Moon; until their parallax bewray their place, and their ſudden end diſcover their original to be corruption. Thus the brightneſs of the *Grecian* Monarchy, whilſt it was in *riſing* or coming unto its *height*, miſperſwaded their hearts, whoſe eyes it dazled, that it was to endure like the days of Heaven;

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* Τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ψυχροῖς τόποις ἔθνη, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην, θυμοῦ μὲν ἐστὶ πλήρη, διανοίας δὲ ἐνδεέστερα καὶ τέχνης. διόπερ ἐλεύθερα μὲν διατελεῖ μᾶλλον· ἀπολίτευτα δὲ καὶ τῶν πλησίον ἄρχειν οὐ δυνάμενα. τὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, διανοητικὰ μὲν καὶ τεχνικὰ τὴν ψυχήν, ἄθυμα δέ. διόπερ ἀρχόμενα καὶ δουλεύοντα διατελεῖ. τὸ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων γένος ὥσπερ μεσεύει κατὰ τοὺς τόπους, οὕτως ἀμφοῖν μετέχει. καὶ γὰρ ἔνθυμον καὶ διανοητικόν ἐστι. διόπερ ἐλεύθερόν τε διατελεῖ, καὶ βέλτιστα πολιτευόμενον· καὶ δυνάμενον ἄρχειν πάντων, μιᾶς τυγχάνον πολιτείας. *Ariſt. l. 7. c. 7. polit.*

whereas it proved but like the gliſtering bubbles of the morning dew, which diſſolve with the ſtrength of thoſe *beams*, that gave them luſtre. This is the only difference: the *period* of their ſplendour falls in the compaſs of an hour, and *Comets* uſually continue not many months. Whereas the *riſe* and *fall* of Kingdoms commonly out-reach any one mans Age or Obſervation, and ſuch as follow, mark the occurrences of their own times more than their connexion with former. Whence it is, that Secular Politicians are always learning, and never attain unto the knowledge of what they ſeek. Howbeit, *Ariſtotle* lived long enough to have ſeen his error; for *Alexander* (I take it) did dye before him, and with *Alexanders* life the light of *Macedon* was extinguiſhed, and the glory of *Greece* much eclipſed and abated. And though neither *Greece* nor *Macedon* have changed their clime or ſite, yet *Ariſtotles* Τω Ἑλλήνων γένος, *Keen Cocks of the Game*, have *proved* as arrant *Cravens* ſince, as the *Aſiatick* in his time were; as any *Europe* ever hatched: infamous for *effeminateneſs* under the *Romans*, ſo deeply infected with the Aſiatick *Luxury*, that their very Nature ſeemed to be tainted with ſervility, and to ſollicite that barbarous yoke, which for a long time hath been laid upon them. But their preſent eſtate ſtands in more need of our Prayers, than their fore-Elders did of our cenſure. To return unto their beſt times.

2. Never had any Monarchy on Earth, ſave one (if happily that may be called a Monarchy) either ſo ſpeedy erection, or ſo ſudden a diſſolution, as the *Macedonian* had. The true reaſon of its ſudden diſſolution, as a * Writer in this caſe unpartially tells us, was, becauſe the Foundation of it was laid by perjury. The true cauſe of its ſwift erection, was partly the execution of Gods juſtice upon the *Perſian*, and other Nations Communicants with him in his preſent *luxury*, partly the accompliſhing of Gods *antecedent will* for the good of his Church, as is * elſewhere ſpecified. In *Ariſtotles* time *Alexander* was, as *Nebuchadnezzar* had been Gods ſcourge or hammer to bruiſe all Eaſtern Nations.

* Pauſan.

* *In the fulfilling of that Propheſie.* Zach. 9: v.9.

3. The incredible ſucceſs of *Alexanders* furious attempts were ſuch, as no Heathen which outlived him, could aſcribe unto policy, wealth, or ſtrength, or whatſoever means meerly humane. Amongſt others, the *Heroical* Roman Poet ſo deſcribes his beginnings and proceedings, as if the *Fates* had uſed his *reſtleſs inſtinct* to purchaſe fame, but as a *ſpur* to make him run the race, and his ſudden death as a curb to check his fury, leſt he ſhould tranſgreſs the bounds that they had ſet him.

-----Macedum fines, latebraſq; ſuorum
Deſeruit, victaſq; patri deſpexit Athenas,
Perq; Aſiæ *populos* fatis *urgentibus actus*
Humana cum ſtrage ruit, gladiumq; per omnes
Exegit gentes: ignotos miſcuit amnes;
Perſarum Euphraten, Indorum ſanguine Gangen:
Terrarum fatale malum, fulmenq; quod omnes
Percuteret pariter populos, & ſydus iniquum
Gentibus, oceano claſſes inferre parabat,
Exteriore mari, non illi flamma, nec undæ,
Nec ſterilis Libye, nec Syrticus obſtitit Amman.
Iſſet in occaſus, mundi devexa ſecutus,
Ambiſſetq; polos, Nilumq; à fonte bibiſſet:

Occurrit ſuprema dies, naturaq; ſolum,
Hunc potuit finem veſano ponere Regi,
Lucan. lib 10.

Sed cecidit Babylone ſua, Parthoq; verendus.
Pro pudor! Eoi propius timuere ſariſſas,
Quam nunc pila timent populi: licet uſq; ſub Arcton
Regnemus, Zephyriq; domos, terraſq; premamus
Flagrantis poſt terga Noti: cedemus in ortus
Arſacidum domino, non fœlix Parthia Craſſo
Exiguæ ſecura fuit provincia Pellæ.
Lucan. Ibid.

The Eaſtern Nations (to our ſhame)
The Grecian *Pikes did dread*
More than they do the Romans *Dart,*
Whoſe ſoveraignty is ſpred
Through Climates hot, and Climates cold;
Through all the winds that blow.
Did not proud race of Arſacus,
Us in the Eaſt *o're-crow.*
Yet Parthia *ſtout, which, (unreveng'd)*
Drunk Roman Craſſus *blood,*
To little Pella, *on ſafe terms,*
Of conquer'd Province ſtood.

4. Some paſſages in this Poet may ſerve as a *Motto* to *Apelles* his device, who painted *Alexander* with a *Thunderbolt* in his hand; as if he had been appointed for a ſudden terror to Nations far and near, aſtoniſhing more places with dread of his *ſwift approach*, than felt his ſtroke. But whatſoever the Poet or Painter could expreſs, was more excellently repreſented by Gods Prophet, many years before *Alexander* or *Darius* was born. *And as I was conſidering, behold, an he Goat came from the Weſt on the face of the whole Earth, and touched not the ground; and the Goat had a notable Horn between his Eyes. And he came to the Ram that had two Horns, which I had ſeen ſtanding before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power. And I ſaw him come cloſe unto the Ram, and he was moved with choler againſt him, and ſmote the Ram, and brake his two Horns, and there was no power in the Ram to ſtand before him, but he caſt him down to the ground, and ſtamped upon him; and there was none that could deliver the Ram out of his hand. Therefore the he Goat waxed very great, and when he was ſtrong, the great Horn was broken: and for it came up four notable ones, towards the four winds of Heaven,* Dan. 8. verſe 5. 6, 7, 8. What ſhould move the *Prophet* to compare the Kingdom of the *Medes* and *Perſians* to a * *Ram* or what the compariſon did in particular portend, is not ſo uſeful for me at this time to know, nor ſo eaſie to find, as the myſtical portendment of his reſembling the *Macedonian* Kingdom to a Goat. The *Macedonians* in *Daniels* time, and until *Philip* of *Macedons* time (who as * *Alexander* in his choler, upbraided them, firſt made them Gentlemen) were poor Shepherds or Goatherds ſcarce able to defend their

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* *The Perſian Rams, as ſome relate, are of an extraordinary greatneſs, and might ſerve as an Emblem of* Darius *his exceſſive power in reſpect of* Alexanders, *if it were to be meaſured by viſible conjecture.*

* Non ſum facturus verba, *Macedones*, ut vos ab iſtâ domum redeundi cupiditate demoveam (ſiquidem per me integrum vobis eſt quò libuerit abire) ſed

own Mountains; no way likely to aſſault the *Perſian* in his own Land. Now as the ſwiftneſs of *Alexanders* expedition, and the fierceneſs of his onſet upon *Darius*, is lively reſembled by a *Goat* running to *puſh*; ſo his tender years are excellently characterized in the Hebrew, which is verbatim *hircus caprarum*, which properly ſignifies rather a Kid, than a Goat come to full growth; or a *male kid* that followeth the *Dam*. For, *Alexander*, when he undertook this expedition againſt *Darius* had more of his *Mothers Countenance*, than of his Fathers. But the younger he was, the more ready he was to conceive hope of victory againſt all hope in the forecaſt of man. His too much haſte had procured worſe ſpeed, unleſs he which had raiſed up his Spirit to this attempt, had a while arreſted him with ſickneſs at *Tharſis*. His abode there and at *Solis* to Sacrifice for his recovery, made *Darius* preſume that he had run himſelf out of breath, and durſt not look upon his Puiſſant Hoſt, much leſs abide his *puſh*. And in this error, into which his own and others preſumptuous confidence, in the multitude and magnificence of his Army had led him, he makes haſte to follow after *Alexander*, who, before either knew of others removal, was gotten beyond him. The circumſtances of their mutual error and of their conflict, are ſo conſonant to the Prophets predictions, that I muſt believe the ſame God, which Decreed *Abſaloms* fall by the overthrowing *Achitophels* Counſel, had now fully decreed to ruinate the *Perſian* Monarchy, by ſuffering *Darius* to liſten more unto his flattering Braggards, than unto the *mature* advice of *Amyntas*. This wiſe * Captain, by birth a *Macedonian*, well knowing *Alexander* to be of ſuch a forward Spirit, as would ſcorn either not to ſeek his adverſary any where, or not to *incounter* him whereſoever he found him; counſelled *Darius* to expect him in the plain of *Aſſyria*, whither he aſſured him that he would ſhortly come, though to the great diſadvantage of the *Grecians*: But that advantage which *Alexander* ſcorned to ſeek, the Lord *mighty in battel*, vouchſafed to give him, as *Alexander* himſelf freely acknowledged, after he knew where *Darius* his Army was encamped. Although he could hardly be brought to believe that *Darius* had left his ſtation, and marched toward *Cilicia*, until his *Scouts* brought him certain word that he had his Adverſary in his hands, ſo it would but pleaſe him to put them forth whilſt time ſerved to take him.

But the Hiſtorians cenſure of *Darius* his *fatal* miſcarriage, will give the Ingenuous Reader better ſatisfaction, than any diſcourſe can be made upon it. To excuſe his folly in not hearkning to *Amyntas*, which had been too groſs if it had been meerly natural, he ſaith, ϗ τὶ ϗ δαιμόνιον τυχὸν ἦγεν αὐτὸν, &c. which the Tranſlator miſ-interprets, when he ſaith, *Ac fortaſſe Deus illum eo loci adduxit*. The Authors words

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ut intelligatis, quid ego vobis præſtiterim, & qualem vos mihi vicem rependentes diſcedatis Ac primum à Philippo patre (ut par eſt) ordiar. *Philippus* enim vos incertis ſedibus errantes atque inopes, & pleroſq; ſub Pellibus degentes, exiguoſq; ovium greges in montibus paſcentes, ac pro iis parum felicitèr adverſus Illyrios, Triballos, & finitimos Thracas bellum gerentes; pro Pellibus Chlamydes geſtendas dedit, ex montibus in planitiem deduxit, pareſq; hoſtibus ad pugnandum effecit, ut non tam in Locorum munitione deinceps, quam in veſtrâ virtute ſalutem collocaretis: urbes vobis habitandas dedit, optimiſq; legibus atque inſtitutis ornavit. Idem vobis in eos ipſos barbaros qui vos aſſiduis populationibus laceſſebant, imperium acquiſivit, & dominos è ſervis effecit: magnam Thraciæ partem Macedoniæ adjecit, oppidiſq; ad maritimam oram peropportunis in poteſtatem ſuam redactis, commerciorum facultatem aperuit, & tutas metallorum fodinas ſuppeditavit. Theſſalos præterea, quorum metu olim exanimati eratis, veſtro imperio ſubjecit: Gente Phocenſium afflicta, aditum in Græciam amplùm & expeditum pro anguſto & difficili vobis patefacit. *Arrian de expedit. Alex. lib.* 7. *pag.* 151.

* *Darius* interea cum exercitu caſtris locum delegerat, *Aſſyriæ* campum planum omnique ex parte apertum, qui & magnitudini exercitus maximè commodus eſſet, & ad ducendum equitatum peropportunus viſus fuerat. A quo quidem loco ne recederet, *Amyntas Antiochi* filius, ab *Alexandro* transfuga, ſuaſerat. Loci enim amplitudinem, & multitudini Perſarum & impedimentis percommodam eſſe. Et manſit quidem eo Loci *Darius*. Cæterum quum *Alexander* longiorem moram Tarſi ob ægritudinem faceret, neq; minorem Solis, ubi & ſacrificarat & Ludos fecerat; multum etiam temporis in expeditione adversùs *Cilicas* montanos poſuiſſet: *Darium* à ſententiâ ſuâ abduxit, neq; invitus ad id quod maxime cordi erat credendum, protractus eſt. Siquidem ab iis qui ad voluptatem tantum loquuntur (maximo ſemper regibus cum quibus verſantur, damno futuri) impulſus, *Alexandrum* ulteriùs progredi nolle ſibi perſuaſerat, nuntio ſui adventûs perculſum. *Arrian. de expedit. Alex. lib.* 2. *pag.* 35.

words import thus much in Engliſh: *Aſſuredly ſome Divine misfortune led him into that place, in which his horſemen, his chiefeſt truſt, would do him no * ſervice, wherein nor multitude of Men, nor ſtore of Munition could advantage him, being ſo ſtraightned that he could not make any true repreſentation of the gaudineſs or goodlineſs of his Army.* It was a place ſo fit as *Alexanders* Council of War, could not have made choice of a fitter for delivering up the Scepter of *Perſia* into his hands.

* Hoc etiam modò ejus animum commoverant, quòd *Darii* Equitatum facile univerſas *Macedonum* copias proculcaturum dicebant: quantumvis *Amyntas Alexandrum*, ubicunq; is *Darium* eſſe audiret, venturum affirmaſſet: ibiq; eum opperiri ſuaſiſſet. Cæterum deterior ſententia, quod primo acceſſu gratior auribus accideret, vicit. Ac fortaſſe Deus illum eo Loci adduxit, ubi nec equitatus magno uſui eſſe poſſet, ut nec infinita hominum pariter & jaculorum ac telorum multitudo; ſed nec ipſam quidem exercitus magnificentiam oſtendere poterat: ſed *Alexandro* facilem omnino victoriam præbebat. Oportebat enim *Aſiæ* imperium *Perſis* à *Macedonibus* adimi, quemadmodum *Perſæ Medis* ac priùs *Medi Aſſyriis* ademerant. *Arrian. Ibid.*

5. *Alexanders* ſollicitous, though ſuperſtitious, care to render thanks or ſupplications for good ſucceſs unto the reputed Gods of every place where he touched in this expedition, is to me a ſufficient teſtimony or aſſured ſign, that he had taken certain notice of ſome peculiar Divine *inſtinct* impelling him to undertake it. And not knowing from what ſpecial God this *inſtinct* or impulſion came, he tendred his ſervice unto all he *knew*. * *Joſephus* his Narration of his devotion at *Jeruſalem*, and great reſpect of Gods *High-Prieſt* there, ſutes well with his uſual demeanour towards other Gods, related by this Heathen Writer, and is not improbable from his Princely kindneſs unto the *Jews*, to whom he allotted free habitation in the City called by his own name. *Vide Dion.*

* Poſtquam namq; è longinq; vidit candidatum populum, & Sacerdotes ante agmen in amictu byſſino Pontificemq; in ſtola hyacinthina auro diſtincta, tiarum in capite geſtantem, præfixâ aureâ lamina Dei nomine inſcriptâ, vix mentis compos, ſolus accedens ad Pontificem *Alexander*, comiter ſalutans nomen Dei adoravit, quem ſe in *Macedonia* vidiſſe memoravit, dum deliberaret quo pacto *Aſiam* poſſet ſubigere, ejuſque hortatu expeditionem ſuſcepiſſe. Quare & Deo immolavit, ſalvis ritibus in templum aſcendens, gaviſus admodum oſtenſó ſibi libro *Danielis*, in quo Græcum quendam *Perſas* debellaturum ſignificabatur. *Lib. antiq.* 11. *cap.* 8.

6. Many particulars not impertinent to this diſcourſe, I leave to the Ingenuous Readers obſervation, that ſhall be pleaſed to peruſe *Diodorus Siculus*, *Arianus*, or *Quintus Curtius*. Theſe preſent rightly applyed, may aſſwage that Declamatory Humour of ſome Pedantick Politicks, which would have *Alexanders* ſtrange *ſucceſs* to be the *natural* iſſue of *Macedonian* valour, and *Aſiatick* effeminateneſs. Such Collections might be tollerated in a young Student appointed to make a Theam or Declamation in praiſe of Maſculine or Frugal Spirits, or in diſpraiſe of Fœminine Luxury. Howbeit theſe Politick Conjectures are rather imperfect, than altogether untrue: whether the Authors of them did apprehend ſo much or no, I know not, but certain it is, their opinion ſuppoſeth a Divine truth, which they expreſs not. It is not improbable in true Divinity, that the *Perſians* were plagued as for many other ſins, ſo in ſpecial for their riot and luxury, and that God to give them notice thereof, did make ſpecial choice of the *Macedonian* to be his ſcourge; a people remarkable in thoſe days for auſterity of life and maſculine behaviour. For ſo it is uſual with the juſt Lord to upbraid thoſe whom he ſeverely puniſheth for ſome predominant vice, with ſome contrary vertue in them, by whom he puniſheth, as elſewhere is exemplified more at large out of * *Salvianus*.

* Dupliciter in illâ Hiſpanorum captivitate Deus oſtendere voluit, quantum & odiſſet acrius libidinem, & diligeret caſtitatem, cùm & *Vandalos* ob ſolam maximè pudicitiam illis ſuperponeret, & *Hiſpanos* ob ſolam vel maximè impudicitiam ſubjugaret. Quid enim? Nunquid non erant in omni orbe terrarum barbari fortiores, quibus *Hiſpania* traderentur? multi abſq; dubio, imò ni fallor, omnes. Sed ideò ille infirmiſſimis hoſtibus cuncta tradidit, ut oſtenderet ſcilicet, non vires valere, ſed cauſam: neq; nos tunc ignaviſſimorum quorundam hoſtium fortitudine obrui, ſed ſolâ vitiorum noſtrorum impuritate ſuperari. *De gubern Dei. lib.* 7.

But unleſs the Lord had otherways diſpoſed of time and place, the *Perſian* horſes were not ſo effeminate or cowardly, but they might eaſily have put the *Macedonian* Pikes to flight, or trampled the Footmen under their feet, as *Darius* Courtiers proudly bragged before their Encounter. But pride goes before deſtruction, and God for this reaſon brought them into thoſe ſtraits, wherein they might perceive and ſee the truth of what his Prophet had ſaid, *An horſe is but a vain thing, neither ſhall he deliver any by his great ſtrength.* Pſalm. 33. 17. And again: *Wo to them that go down to* Egypt *for help, and ſtay on horſes, and truſt in Chariots, becauſe they are many, and in Horſemen, becauſe they are very ſtrong: but they look not unto the holy One of* Iſrael, *neither ſeek the Lord.* Iſaiah 31. ver. 1. I ſhould think my ſelf *infideli deteriorem*, worſe than the Heathen Writer, if I did not derive *Alexanders* victory over *Darius*, from the Divine Decree: *The time appointed* (to uſe his * words) *was now come, that the* Macedonian *ſhould take the Empire of* Aſia *from the* Perſians, *as the* Perſians *had taken it from the* Medes, *and the* Medes *from the* Aſſyrians. Now who is it that can appoint the *times*, but he which ſitteth above the Circles of the Heavens, and moveth all things, being himſelf immovable?

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the erection of the Chaldean *Empire, and of the ſudden deſtruction of it by the* Perſian, *with the remarkable documents of Gods ſpecial providence, in raiſing up the* Perſian *by the ruine of the* Chaldean *Monarchy.*

1. THE Weapons of War wound more or leſs, according to their ſkill or ſtrength that wield them. So is the whole ſtrength of War it ſelf; ſo is the might and policy of every Kingdom more or leſs ſucceſsful to Friends, or hurtful to Foes, according to the proportion which it holds, with his will or purpoſe, who is enſtiled the *Lord of Hoſts*, the *Lord Mighty in Battail.* * Unleſs the *Grecians* had been generally lyable to the *Egyptians* cenſure [*Ἕλληνες ἀεὶ παῖδες, *The* Grecians *are always Children*] in true antiquity, *Ariſtotle* might have informed himſelf and his followers, that the *Aſſyrians*, and other inhabitants of the Southern Coaſts of *Aſia*, had ſometimes been a people ſo fierce and terrible in War, that *Alexander* attended with the whole ſtrength of *Macedon*, would have been but as a flock of Sheep or an herd of Goats to an hoſt of Wolves or Lyons. Whilſt *Tiglath Pelezer*, *Senacherib*, and other Kings of *Aſſyria*, were *Hammers* in the hand of God, who could reſiſt them? The ſtrength of theſe *Aſſyrians* was ſo great, that the Prophet foreſaw the ſudden advancement of the Chaldeans to the like or greater height or ſtrength, would hardly be believed by neighbour Nations, *Jew* or *Gentiles*, until they felt it to their ſmart. * *Behold ye among the Heathen, and regard and wonder marvellouſly: for I will work a work in your days which ye will not believe, though it be told you. For lo, I raiſe up the*

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* Parag. 4.

* *Behold they ſhall ſurely gather together, but not by me: whoſoever ſhall gather together againſt thee, ſhall fall for thy ſake. Behold I have created the Smith that bloweth the Coals in the Fire, and that bringeth forth an inſtrument for his work, and I have created the waſter to deſtroy. No weapon that is framed againſt thee, ſhall proſper, and every tongue that ſhall riſe againſt thee in judgment, thou ſhalt condemn. This is the heritage of the ſervants of the Lord, and their righteouſneſs is of me, ſaith the Lord.* Iſaiah 54. verſ. 15, 16, 17. * Hab. 1. verſ. 5. to 10.

Chaldeans, *that bitter and haſty Nation, which ſhall march through the bredth of the Land, to poſſeſs the dwelling places that are not theirs. They are terrible and dreadful: their judgment and their dignity ſhall proceed of themſelves. Their horſes alſo are ſwifter than the Leopards, and are more fierce than the evening Wolves, and their horſemen ſhall come from far, they ſhall flye as the Eagle that haſteth to eat. They ſhall come all for violence: their faces ſhall ſup up as the Eaſt wind, and they ſhall gather the Captivity as the Sand. And they ſhall ſcoff at the Kings, and the Princes ſhall be a ſcorn unto them: they ſhall deride every ſtrong hold, for they ſhall heap duſt and take it.*

The true and final reaſon, as well of the *Aſſyrians*, as the *Chaldeans* ſudden greatneſs and ſucceſs in battel, was the accompliſhment of Gods conſequent will upon *Iſrael* and other neighbour Countries, grown, by ſpeedy increaſe of their iniquity, ſlaughter-ripe. Howbeit, the power it ſelf, or ſucceſs of theſe two Monarchies was a ſure pledge of Gods Antecedent * Will for their own greater good; ſo they had gratefully acknowledged his goodneſs in making them ſo great. But when theſe *Battail-Axes* began to lift up themſelves againſt him, which hewed the Nations with them; *he* abated their edge and ſoftned their temper. Of *Nebuchadnezzar*, whoſe exceſſive Pride had made him prouder than the reſt, that Oracle was verified in an exquiſite ſenſe: * *Man being in honour had no underſtanding, but became like the Beaſt that periſheth.* And that other remnant of the laſt forecited Propheſie, was literally fulfilled in him, of whom it was meant; *Then ſhall his mind change, and he ſhall paſs over, and offend, imputing this his power unto his God*, Habak. 1. ver. 11. And *Balſhaſhar* his Son not taking warning by his Humiliation, nor by the hand-writing upon the Wall, was ſurprized with ſudden deſtruction, either the ſelf ſame night wherein the hand was ſeen writing, or (which is more probable) the ſame night of ſome year following. He had filled the meaſure of his Fathers ſins, as *full* with Iniquity, as the *Bowls* wherein he carouſed were with Wine; and *that* being full, to drink the cup of Gods wrath was to him at that time *neceſſary*.

* Vide Saint Hieron. in cap. Iſa. 45. ver. 2. & 3.

* *Pſal.* 49. 20.

2. Now according to the *Chaldeans* growth in former iniquity, the Proſperity of the *Medes* and *Perſians* did daily increaſe, and their ſucceſs in War, become every day more aſſured, than formerly it had been, and at length (in ſuch a ſenſe as hath been obſerved) altogether *fatal*. The Frugality of their Private Life, and Publick Diſcipline, ſpecially in War, were qualifications, without which (perhaps) the Lord would not ſo highly have advanced them, or uſed them as his inſtruments in this ſervice. But even theſe, and all other moral Vertues, unto which the *Polititian* aſcribes their good ſucceſs, were proper effects of Gods *Conſequent Will*, now abſolutely ſet to plague the *Chaldeans*, and of his *Antedecent Will* for *Iſraels* Redemption; ſure tokens withal, of his love unto theſe Conquerors.

The Hiſtorical ſincerity of *Xenophons* intentions, or literal truth of his Ingenuous Relations, have not been ſo much diſparaged by any other pretences whatſoever, (if by any other at all) as by the Heroical ſweet exemplary diſpoſition of his admired *Cyrus*, by his dexterity in conſultations, and the extraordinary ſpeedy ſucceſs of what he put in execution. Whatſoever *Xenophon* hath ſaid concerning his ſucceſs, it doth not ſo far exceed the unſuſpected ſtories of *Alexanders* ſwift growth in *fame* and *greatneſs*, as that did the greateſt increaſe or exceſs, which any one *General* (though much longer liv'd than

Alexander was) or which any one Age did ever bring into the Roman State. The * beſt *Spirits* which *Rome* had bred, whilſt they lookt on *Alexanders* Picture, and the Map of his Conqueſt, were aſhamed of their own dullneſs, and ſlow progreſs of their Victories. The *Parthian* though not ſo Maſculine and Valorous as in *Alexanders* time he had been, was able, in *Pompeys* judgment, to have given *Cæſar* the check, after his *Pharſalian* Victory. And in this perſwaſion *Pompey* had ſought ſuccour from him, had not *Catoes* indignation at the motion deterred him:

* Fama eſt [*Cæſarem*] quum alio tempore in *Hiſpania*, legeret per otium *Alexandri* hiſtoriam, diu eum ſecum cogitabundum ſediſſe, inde lachrymas profudiſſe, Mirantibus cauſam amicis dixiſſe; *Annon videtur vobis gemendum, quum hac ætate, Alexander tot jam regna ſubegerit, me nihildum geſſiſſe præclari?* Ut ergo *Hiſpaniam* attigit, mox accinxit ſe operi, atque intra paucos dies cohortes decem ad priores viginti conſcripſit. *Plutarch in vitâ Jul. Cæſaris.*

Si ſervire pot[illegible]s, miſerum quid decipis urbem?

3. The odds of Antiquity between *Cyrus*, *Alexander*, *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, and other circumſtances of ſeveral times, being rightly allowed (according to the rate of * former diſcuſſions to this purpoſe) will make the credit of *Xenophon* in his inſtitution of *Cyrus*, of *Arianus*, and *Quintus Curtius*, in their Hiſtories of *Alexander*, and of the beſt Roman Writers from *Livy* downwards, to any unpartial Examiner, much what eaven. Or what if *Cyrus*, as he is ſet forth by *Xenophon*, did in his *Infancy*, *Youth*, or *Maturity*, (all odds and allowances of Antiquity rightly made) far excel *Alexander*, *Pompey*, *Cæſar*, or any other whatſoever that lived after him, as well in dexterity of wit, as in exemplary diſpoſition of life, military or civil: all this may, without any juſt ſuſpicion of Poetical Fiction, without the leaſt tranſgreſſion of a faithful Hiſtorians bounds, be referred unto a more intimate, more placid, and more loving touch of that Spirit, wherewith, all that much excelled others in any Age, have been in ſome meaſure or other inſpired, and incited to thoſe exploits which have been performed by them. I cannot blame the latter Roman Heathen for miſtruſting *Xenophons* relations in the fore-mentioned Book; but ſurely, that Chriſtian which will not acknowledge ſome extraordinary * fruits of Gods peculiar calling, of his profeſſed Fatherly inſtitution, inſtruction, and protection of *Cyrus*, ſhall much forget himſelf.

* *See the firſt Book upon the Creed. Pag.* 59. &c.

* *It is memorable which* Xenophon *relates in his fourth Book, at the time when* Cyrus *did proſecute the victory, which he had gotten over the* Babylonians *in the firſt conflict, wherein their King was ſlain.* Quum autem progrederentur, & nox adpetiiſſet; proditum eſt, *Cyro* & exercitui Lucem clariſſimam cœlitus oblatam fuiſſe: quo factum ut in animis omnium quidam horror erga numen divinum, & in hoſtes confidentia exiſteret. *Xenophon. Lib.* 4.

Thus ſaith the Lord to his Anointed, to Cyrus, *whoſe right hand I have holden, to ſubdue Nations before him: and I will looſe the loyns of Kings to open before him the two leaved Gates, and the Gates ſhall not be ſhut. I will go before thee, and make the crooked places ſtraight; I will break in pieces the Gates of Braſs, and cut in ſunder the bars of Iron. And I will give thee the treaſures of darkneſs, and hidden riches of ſecret places, that thou maiſt know, that I the Lord which call thee by thy name, am the God of* Iſrael. *For* Jacob *my ſervants ſake, and* Iſrael *mine Elect, I have even called thee by thy name: I have ſirnamed thee, though thou haſt not known me. I am the Lord and there is none elſe, there is no God beſides me: I girded thee, though thou haſt not known me. That they may know from the riſing of the Sun, and from the Weſt,* *that there is none beſides me; I am the Lord, and there is none elſe*, Iſa. 45. ver. 1. uſquè ad 7.

The Spirit of God (ſo far as my remembrance or obſervation ſerves me) doth not elſewhere vouchſafe to grace any Heathen Prince with ſuch honourable Titles, or affable ſpeeches as theſe here mentioned are. Of Gods own People, but few were called by their *names*, before theſe were impoſed by men. This is the prerogative of ſuch as were *Types* of the true *Emannuel.* The very * characters which the Heathen have made of *Cyrus* his amiable carriage towards men, his devotion and vigilent care to teſtifie his thankfulneſs towards the Gods for his good ſpeed, are evident tokens of this his ſpecial *calling* to the preſent ſervice, and of his ſeeking to expreſs himſelf in outward * performances: albeit young *Samuel-like*, he could not diſtinguiſh the *Callars* voice, wanting an *Ely* to inſtruct him; yet can no Atheiſt be ſo impudent as to ſurmiſe that *Eſay*, *Jeremy*, and *Xenophon*, ſhould conſpire like *Partners* to make a *fair* game by *ſeeing* one anothers hands. For what common *ſtake* could they hope to gain by this practice? but to omit Generalities for juſtifying *Xenophon* and *Herodotus* in relating ſuch rare documents of *Cyrus* his Infancy (albeit theſe being compared with the former Propheſie and Sacred relations concerning *Solomon*, or others whom God hath called by *name*, are in themſelves capable enough of credit:) we will deſcend to ſuch particulars in Heathen Writers, as are conſonant to the Sacred Paſſages, concerning the *Babylonian* War, and may ſerve to ſet forth the Wiſdom and Providence of God in effecting his good purpoſe towards the *Captive* Seed of *Abraham*; for (according to the intent and purport of the former *Propheſie*) the Reader is always to bear in mind, that the true and final cauſe of Gods extraordinary Bleſſings upon *Cyrus*, and of his conqueſt of the *Babylonians*, was the *appointed* deliverance of his choſen people, and the manifeſtation of his Power and Wiſdom to the ends of the World.

4. A man of modern Experience in Treatiſe of Leagues, and but of ſpeculative acquaintance with the difficulties, which interpoſe to hinder the Aſſociation of leſſer Signiories, againſt mighty neighbour Monarchs, would haply deem that *Xenophon* had framed his relations of *Cyrus* his ſucceſs, in linking bordering Nations to the *Medes* and *Perſians*, by the model of ſome Academical Canvas, or ſute for ſome Annual Office amongſt fellow Citizens. The *Armenians*, the *Hyrcanians*, the *Cedroſians*, with many other natural ſubjects to the *Babylonian*, all unacquainted with the project at the beginning, come over unto *Cyrus* with as great facility and ſpeed, as if there had been no greater danger in undertaking this doubtful and (in common experience) moſt deſperate War, than in giving a free voice to one Competitor before another in a free and popular State.

But *Xenophon* was not ſo mean a contemplative Scholar, as to commit ſo foul a Solæciſm as this had been; albeit his purpoſe had been to Poetize in theſe Narrations. Poetical Fictions muſt bear a true reſemblance of probability. Truths themſelves muſt be ſet forth in their native colours, although they appear to ordinary experience, moſt incredible. Such was the ſucceſs of *Cyrus* in the former buſineſs; if it were to be derived only from his own wit or contrivance. But *Xenophon* might have good Hiſtorical reaſons not to ſuſpect the *Perſian* Annalls or *Perſians* reports of *Cyrus*, as we have ſacred authority to believe the matters reported by them. He that called *Cyrus* by his *name* before he was born, and had now ſet him up as Competitor with the *Babylonian*, for the *Aſiatick* Monarchy, had layd the plot, and made the *canvas* for him before he ſet forth: and (which is principally to be obſerved) had given publick warning to thoſe Nations, which *Xenophon* mentions (more than threeſcore years before) to be ready with others in Arms againſt *Babel*: * *Set up a Standard* (ſaith Ieremy) *in the Land, blow the Trumpet among the Nations: prepare the Nations aginſt her: call together againſt her the kingdoms of* * Ararat, Minni, *and* Aſhchenaſh: *appoint a Captain againſt her: cauſe her horſes to come up as the rough Caterpillers. Prepare againſt her the Nations with the Kings of the* Medes, *Captains thereof, and all the Rulers thereof, and all the Land of his Dominion. And the Land ſhall tremble and ſorrow: for every purpoſe of the Lord ſhall be performed againſt* Babylon, *to make the Land of* Babylon *a deſolation without an Inhabitant.* It is intimated by another * Prophet, that the Lord would have theſe propheſies concerning *Babylon* ſo remarkably fulfilled, that all the World might take notice of them: *The Lord anſwered me and ſaid, Write the Viſion, and make it plain upon Tables, that he may run that readeth it. For the viſion is yet for an appointed time, but at the end it ſhall ſpeak, and not lye: though it tarry, wait for it, becauſe it will ſurely come, it will not tarry. Behold his Soul which is lifted up, is not upright in him; but the juſt ſhall live by his Faith. Yea alſo, becauſe he tranſgreſſeth by Wine, he is a proud man, neither keepeth at home, who inlargeth his deſire as Hell, and is as Death and cannot be ſatisfied, but gathereth unto him all Nations, and unto him all People. Shall not theſe take up a Parable againſt him, and a tanting Proverb againſt him and ſay; wo to him that increaſeth that which is not his: how long? and to him that ladeth himſef with thick Clay? Shall they not riſe up ſuddenly that ſhall bite thee? and awake, that ſhall vex thee? and thou ſhalt be for Booties unto them? Becauſe thou haſt ſpoyled many Nations, all the remnant of the People ſhall ſpoyl thee: becauſe of mens blood and for the violence of the Land, of the City, and of all that dwell therein.*

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* Ego verò ſic aio, mi Rex inquit. Nam regem natura nihilo te minùs ortum arbitror: quam ille rex eſt, qui dux apum in alveo naſcitur. Illi enim ſemper apes ultro parent, ac quocunq; loco manſerit, ab eo nulla earum diſcedit. Quod ſi aliquò prodierit, nulla ipſum deſerit. Jam mirificus eis amor erga principem hunc ſuum innaſcitur Itidem erga te mihi quodam modò videntur hi homines adfecti eſſe. *Xenophon lib.* 5. p. 118.

* *Cyrus* autem domum reverſus, peccatuſque veſtam patriam, & Jovem patrium, & Deos cæteros in militiam domo profectus eſt, quum quidem & pater eum una proſequeretur. Ac poſtquam domo egreſſi eſſent fulgura, tonitruaque dextra ei oblata fuiſſe perhibentur. Quæ quum adparuiſſent, alio præterea nullo captato augurio perrexere; quod maximi Dei ſigna nemini obſcura eſſe poſſent. *Xenophon. lib.* 1. *p.* 25. *He knew by experience that he was ſet on work by ſome Divine inſtinct, and this made him ſeek to pleaſe all which he took for Gods or Divine Powers. So* Xenophon *relates in his third Book*: Bonis avibus hoſtile ſolum invaſit, ut verò primum fines tranſierat, Tellurem libationibus propitiam ſibi reddidit, & Deos atque *Heroas* regionem *Aſſyriorum* incolentes ſacrificiis placavit. Quibus peractis rurſum Jovi patrio rem divinam fecit, nec ſi quis alius ſe Deorum offerret, illum neglexit. *The watchword which he gave unto his Souldiers in that Battel wherein the King of* Babylon *was ſlain, was*, Jupiter auxiliaris & Dux. *Xenophon. lib.* 3.

* *Jer.* 51. 27, 28, 29.

* *The firſt occaſion of* Cyrus *his expedition was to regain the revolting* Armenians *unto his Uncle* Cyaxarez, *King of the* Medes. *And theſe he won to their allegiance, partly by love, partly by ſleight, having ſurprized ſome parts of their Country (under pretence of hunting) before they were aware. See* Xenophon, *Book* 2. *and* 3. *how* Cyrus *won the* Chaldeans *which bordered upon the* Armenians *to his ſide. And his* 4. *Book, how the* Hircanians, *after the King of* Babylon *was ſlain in Battail, revolted to him, and of the good ſervice which they did him. And after them the* Sacæ *and the* Caduſii, *with* Gobrias *and* Godatas *two great Princes.* * Hab. 2. verſ. 2, 3, *&c.*

Cyrus in the beginning of this expedition was but *Cyaxarez* his Agent, to regain the revolted *Armenians*. The War was managed in the King of *Media* his name, albeit God (according to *Eſaias* Propheſie) did proſper *Cyrus* under *him*, as he did *David* under *Saul*. The fame did go of *Cyrus* among the *Medes* and *Perſians*, as it had of *David* through the Hoſt of *Iſrael*, *Cyaxarez* hath ſlain his thouſand, and *Cyrus* his ten thouſand. The Monarchy was to be ſetled on the *Perſian*; *Cyaxarez* was Feoffee in truſt for *Cyrus*, as *Saul* was by Gods appointment, for *David*.

5. Their * taking of Arms was juſt, and in their own defence. Their firſt reſolutions did reach no further, than to the ſafeguard of their borders, much treſpaſſed upon by the *Chaldeans*, until unexpected ſucceſs and hopeful opportunities of better, daily preſenting themſelves without ſeeking, did invite them to come nearer. After they had gotten ſecret intelligence of the Enemies eſtate, many new Aſſociates, and quiet poſſeſſion of ſo much of his Dominions, as would ſuffice to maintain their doubled Army; they had no hope to Conquer, no purpoſe to beſiege the Metropolites of the Kingdom. That, which after a doubtful conſultation, did chiefly ſway them in the height of all their ſtrength to continue their War, was the complaint of their truſty * confederates, juſtly fearing leſt they ſhould become a prey to the inſolent Tyrant, (much exaſperated by their revolt) as ready, as able to take revenge upon them, if once their Army ſhould be diſſolved. The overthrow of *Cræſus*, following upon their reſolution to continue the War, brought great acceſs of new Aſſociates and freſh ſupplies unto their Army. Had *Cyrus* or his Confederates underſtood the Tenour of the Commiſſion, which the Lord of Hoſts had Sealed them before they undertook this War, they had, no queſtion, given the onſet upon *Babylon* before the overthrow of *Cræſus*, at that time when they marched by it. Their written warrant, if they could have read it, was very expreſs, and their invitation to attempt, full of hope: *Remove out of the midſt of* Babylon, *and go forth out of the Land of the* Chaldeans, *and be as the He-goats before the flocks. For loe, I will raiſe and cauſe to come up againſt* Babylon, *an Aſſembly of great Nations from the North Country, and they ſhall ſet themſelves in array againſt her, from thence he ſhall be taken: their Arrows ſhall be as of a mighty expert man: none ſhall return in vain. And* Chaldea *ſhall be a ſpoil: all that ſpoil her ſhall be ſatisfyed ſaith the Lord*, Jer. 50. ver. 8. 9, 10. But ſuch is the Infinite Wiſdom of the Lord, that ignorance or concealment of his purpoſe from men, whom he imploys in his ſervice, is oft-times the beſt mean to have it ſpeedily executed by them. In this Aſſembly of great Nations from the North, foretold by * *Iſaiah*, beſides the *Armenians* and *Hyrcanians*, the *Lydians*, and the *Cappadocians*, with others mentioned by *Xenophon*, were included, without whoſe preſence and aſſiſtance the enterpriſe had been in vain. The opportunity which *Cyrus* after his conqueſt of *Cræſus* took, was the definite time, appointed by God, but concealed from Men, perhaps from the Prophet himſelf which penned the Commiſſion. The entire preſence of theſe Nations now aſſembled, and skilfully ſet in array before the City (as God had commanded, for repreſenting their terrour and ſtrength) was yet nothing ſo terrible to the beſieged Spectators, as the fame of their abſence had been, when they were fewer. The * magnificence of *Babylons*

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* Procedente verò tempore moritur apud Medos Aſtyages, & Cyaxares Aſtyagis filius, matriſque Cyri frater, Medorum imperio potitur. Rex autem Aſſyriorum quum Cyrus univerſos, non exiguam ſane nationem, ſubegiſſet, Arabum regem imperio ſuo ſubjeciſſet, Hyrcanios ſubditos haberet, Bactricos oppugnaret, futurum exiſtimabat, ut ſi Medorum vires debilitaſſet, facile finitimus omnibus imperaret. *Xenophon. lib.* 1. *pag.* 22.

* *The* Medes *themſelves were unwilling to follow the Wars after the King of* Babylon *was ſlain, until the* Hyrcanians *did perſwade them; and* Cyrus *himſelf was doubtful what to do, until he ſaw in what deſperate eſtate he ſhould leave* Gobryas, *if his Army were diſſolved. See* Xenophon *in the* 5. *Book*.

* *Iſa.* 48. 20.

* Qui autem in muro ſtabant, obſidionem hanc irridebant, quòd eis commeatus eſſet copioſior quam in annos viginti. Quæ *Cyrus* quum audiiſſet, in partes duodecim exercitum diviſit, ut pars quælibet unum anni menſem in excubiis eſſet. Quibus iterum auditis, multo etiam *Babylonii* magis irridebant, qui cogitarent ſecum *Phryges* ac *Lycios* & *Arabes*, & *Cappadoces* futuros contra ſe in excubiis; quos omnes arbitrabantur animis erga ſe magis eſſe benevolis, quam erga *Perſas*. Ac Foſſæ quidem jam actæ erant. *Cyrus* verò quum audiiſſet, celebrari *Babylone* feſtum, quondam ejuſmodi diem quo *Babylonii* omnes nocte tota potarent & comeſſarentur: quamprimum eo die tenebræ acceſſiſſent, magna mortalium multitudine adhibita. Foſſarum oſtia verſus amnem aperuit. Hoc quum factum eſſet, aqua noctu in Foſſas manabat, & alveus fluvii per urbem tendens hominibus permeabilis eſſe cœpit, *&c. Xenoph. de inſtit. Cyri Hiſtor. lib.* 7. *pag.* 190.

Walls, did ſeem to out-face them in the height of their Bravery, and made them contemptible in her proud Childrens eyes. *Cyrus* himſelf deſpaired of doing any good by violent aſſault; his chief hopes, were not in the multitude of his Souldiers, but in the multitude of his Enemies, more eaſie to be vanquiſhed by Famine, than if they had been fewer. But this his project ſeemed to them ridiculous, being ſtored with Proviſion for twenty years; within which ſpace, ſome of thoſe Companies which he had ſet by courſe to keep quarter before the City, would forſake him, others they hoped would become their Friends, as they anciently had been: and in this confidence they reſt ſecure, as if they had thought to have out-laughed their ſudden deſtruction.

6. The doom which our Saviour gave upon the Fool in the Goſpel, doth ſo well befit the King of *Babylon*, his wiſeſt Counſellors and Followers, as if it had been framed of purpoſe for them. Each of them had ſaid unto his Soul, *Soul thou haſt ſtore of Proviſion laid up for many years, take thine Eaſe, Eat, Drink, and be Merry:* But the Lord had ſaid unto them all, by his Prophet *Daniel*, *Ye Fools*, in this night of your Merriment and Solemnity of your God, ſhall your Souls be taken from you, and whoſe then ſhall thoſe things be, that you have provided? The hand which wrote that dreadful ſentence upon the wall, *Mene*, *Mene*, *Tekel*, *Upharſin*; was not more viſible to *Belſhazzar* himſelf, than the finger of God in all this buſineſs is, or may be to ſuch, as will confer *Xenophons* Hiſtorical Narrations, with Prophetical Predictions.

7. Firſt * *Cyrus* caſts his Trenches near the River, whether with purpoſe to interrupt or divide its courſe, or only for more commodious defence of his Army, or annoyance of his Enemy, *Xenophon* expreſſeth [a] not; *Herodotus* is of opinion, that this opportunity was rather taken when it offered it ſelf, than ſought by *Cyrus*, when he firſt began to caſt his Trenches. However, the Trenches being made, were ready, when opportunity ſerved, to rob the City of the deep ſtream, whoſe natural courſe was through the midſt of it; and the ſtream diverted from its wonted chanel, left an eaſie entrance for *Cyrus* and his Army, under the Walls and Floodgate through which it paſſed. His ſtratagem to make this entrance into the City now drowned with Wine, opens to us the literal meaning of divers Ænigmatical Prophecies: *A draught is upon her waters, and they ſhall be dryed up: for it is the Land of graven Images, and they are made upon their Idols*, Jer. 50. ver. 38. Whatſoever *Cyrus* might intend, it was *Jeruſalem*'s and *Sion*'s curſe upon *Babylon*, which gave ſucceſs unto his ſtratagem. *The violence done to me, and to my fleſh, be upon* Babylon, *ſhall the Inhabitants*

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* Ac primum quidem turres propter flumen extruebat palmis fundatas, quarum non minor erat, quam jugeri longitudo. Nam hac majorem etiam in longitudinem excreſcunt. Has autem palmas operi propterea ſubjiciebat, ut quam maxime videretur id facere quod ſolent, qui ad urbem obſidendam ſeſe comparant, ut tametſi flumen in foſſam dilaberetur, ipſas turres non everteret. Etiam multas, alias ſuprà terram egeſtam excitabat, ut quam plurima eſſent excubiarum loca. *Xenophon. de inſtit.* Cyri *lib.* 7. *Hiſt. pag.* 150.

[a] *Yet it ſeems by* Cyrus *his anſwer to* Chryſantas, *that he had no hope to find any entrance into the City, otherwiſe than by Famiſhing the Beſieged.* Ubi jam in Caſtris eſſent *Cyrus* iis, quos oporteret, convocatis, dixit: urbem ſocii undiq; contemplati fuimus: atque equidem, quo pacto quis adeò firmos & excelſos muros oppugnando capere poſſit, videre mihi non videor. Quanto autem plures homines in urbem ſunt, quando ad pugnandum non exeunt, tanto citiùs fieri arbitror ut fame in poteſtatem redigantur. Niſi igitur aliquem alium modum habetis, quem nobis oſtendatis, hoc ipſo nobis iſtos expugnandos eſſe autumo. Et *Chryſantas* inquit: Hiccine fluvius per urbem mediam labitur, cujus latitudo ſtadia duo ſuperat? Ita profectò, ait *Gobryas*, ac tanta quoq; profunditas ejus eſt, ut ne duo quidem viri, alter alteri inſiſtentes, ſuprà aquam exſtare poſſint. Quo fit, ut fluvio ſit urbs etiam munitior, quam mœnibus. Et *Cyrus*: Miſſa facimus hæc, ait me Chryſanta, quæ viribus noſtris potiora ſunt. *Xenoph de inſtit.* Cyri *lib.* 7. *pag.* 190. *The reaſon why* Cyrus *did caſt his Trenches ſo wide and deep, was in his firſt intention, as it ſeems, only for the more commodious defence of his Souldiers againſt the ſallies of their Enemies.* Adhibita verò menſura quamprimum foſſa latiſſima profundiſſimaq; vobis erit agenda, pro parte cuiq; ſuâ; quo pauciſſimis cuſtodibus vobis ſit opus. *Xenophon. Ibid.*

of Sion *ſay; and my blood upon the Inhabitants of* Chaldea, *ſhall* Jeruſalem *ſay. Therefore thus ſaith the Lord, Behold I will plead thy cauſe, and take vengeance for thee, and I will dry up her Sea, and make her ſprings dry, Jer. 51. ver. 35. 36.* All theſe Plagues here threatned, are exactly fitted to the patterns of cruelty, which *Nebuchadnezzar* had exhibited in the deſtruction of the Holy City, and the deriſion of her and other captivated Princes. *Jeruſalem* in the preſent ſenſe and freſh memory of her grief had thus complained: *Nebuchadnezzar the King of* Babylon *hath devoured me, he hath cruſhed me, he hath made me an empty veſſel:* (therefore muſt *Babylon* be drawn dry of Water) *he hath ſwallowed me up like a Dragon; he hath filled his belly with my delicates, he hath caſt me out.* Jer. 51. ver. 34. Therefore muſt *Babylon become as heaps, a dwelling place for Dragons, an aſtoniſhment, and an hiſſing without an Inhabitant.* ver. 37. It is ſignificantly foretold by *Habakkuk* that *Nebuchadnezzar had conſulted ſhame to his houſe.* Habak. 2. And it is the opinion of good interpreters, that the wo following ſhould be particularly directed unto him and to his family: *Wo unto him that giveth his neighbour drink; that putteſt thy bottle to him, and makeſt him drunk alſo; that thou mayſt look on their nakedneſs. Thou art filled with ſhame for glory; drink thou alſo, and let thy foreskin be uncovered: the cup of the Lords right hand ſhall be turned unto thee, and ſhameful ſpewing ſhall be on thy glory.* Habak. 2. ver. 15, 16. Divers Authors of good note have left written, whether upon any better authority than tradition of the *Hebrews*, I know not (though that I know in many caſes worthy of reſpect and credence) that *Nebuchadnezzar* did uſe to make himſelf ſport, by making his captive Princes drunk. This and the like inſolencies the Lord avengeth upon his Son and people: *In their heat I will make their feaſts, and I will make them drunken, that they may rejoyce, and ſleep a perpetual ſleep, and not awake, ſaith the Lord.* Jer. 51. ver. 39. and when the time appointed was come (whether that were the firſt or ſecond year after the hand writing upon the wall) the Lord gave *Cyrus* notice of the *Babylonians* intended anniverſary revellings, whom he had now more infatuated, than they at other times uſed to infatuate themſelves. *Cyrus* his ſtratagem to dry up the water, either firſt conceived or put in execution upon this notice of their drunken feſtival, and whatſoever purpoſes of his that took effects, are all directed to the accompliſhing of Gods revealed *purpoſe* or *conſequent* will upon *Babylon*, as it were ſo many Arrows to their mark. The Lord of Hoſts was the Archer, and *Cyrus* his Bow, whoſe intentions againſt *Babylon* muſt therefore proſper, becauſe, *The Lord of Hoſts hath ſworn by himſelf, ſaying, Surely I will fill thee with Men, as with Caterpillers; and they ſhall lift up a ſhout againſt thee.* Jer. 51. ver. 14. There is not one clauſe of *Cyrus* his adviſe or exhortation to his followers, after they had found the River to be paſſable, or of his Proclamation after their entrance through the Water-gate, which *Xenophon* relates, but is paralel to ſome part or other of *Jeremies* Propheſies. We may boldly ſay all that *Cyrus* commanded, was faithfully executed, that the ſcripture might be fulfilled.

8. That * which in reaſon might moſt daunt or deter his Souldiers from ranging the Streets of *Babylon*, was opportunity of anoyance

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* At ſi hoc in mentem alicui venit quod frtur eſſe formidabile urbem intrantibus; netectis illi conſcenſis hinc inde tela in nos conjiciant: id ipſum maxime vobis animos addat. Nam ſi qui conſcendent ædes, opitulator nobis eſt deus Vulcanus. Et ſunt eorum veſtibula crematu facilia. Nam januæ palmarum è materiâ fabricatæ ſunt, quæ ingens incendium citò parient; & copia picis ac ſtuppæ, quæ citò magnam flammam eliciunt. Quo fiet, ut vel celeriter neceſſe ſit hos ab ædibus aufugere, vel celeriter exuri. Verum agite, arma capite, Diis equidem juvantibus præibo. *Xenophon. de inſtit.* Cyri *Hiſtor. lib.* 7. *p.* 191.

Tome II.

from the tops of their flat-roofed houſes. But this inconvenience *Cyrus* by his good foreſight turns to his advantage. *If any* (ſaith he) *clime up to the tops of their houſes,* (as it is likely many of them would) *we have God Vulcan our confederate: for their porches are very apt to take fire, their gates being made of Palm-trees, & aſphaltites inunctæ, which will ſerve as Oyl to cauſe them to take fire, and we have ſtore enough of Torches Pitch and Straw to inlarge the flame after the fire be once kindled. By this means, either we may enforce them to forſake their houſes or burn both together.* The execution of this Stratagem would quickly amate men already affrighted with the ſudden ſurpriſal of the City. To this purpoſe, the Lord had ſpoken long before: *The mighty men of* Babylon *have forborn to fight: * they have remained in their holds: their might hath failed, they became as women: they have burnt their dwelling places: her bars are broken.* Jer. 51. ver. 30. *One Poſt ſhall run to meet another, and one meſſenger to meet another, and ſhew the King of* Babylon *that City is taken at one end. And that the paſſages are ſtopped, and the reeds they have burnt with fire, and the men of War are affrighted.* ver. 31. 32. *Xenophon* tels us that after *Cyrus* had given *Gobryas* and *Gadatas* in charge to conduct the Army with all ſpeed to the Kings Palace: *Si qui occurrebant*, of ſuch as * came in their way, ſome were ſlain, others retired again into the City, others cried out. That which made the noyſe more confuſed and the danger leſs apprehended, was, that *Gobryas* and his Souldiers being *Babylonians* by birth, did counterfeit the *roaring* of that unruly night. Whatſoever occaſion of diſtaſt, or implacable diſcontent the proud King had given to theſe two Captains; (whether thoſe which *Xenophon* reports or others) the final cauſe of that ſucceſs, which their bloody intentions, againſt their native King did find, was the accompliſhment of Gods will revealed againſt him, for his Grandfathers cruelty againſt *Jeruſalem*, whereof being gently warned by Gods Prophet, he no way repented, but added Gall to Wormwood, and thirſt to drunkenneſs, *O thou King, the moſt high God gave* Nebuchadnezzar *thy * Father a Kingdom, and Majeſty, and Glory, and honor. And for the Majeſty, that he gave him, all people, nations, and languages trembled and feared before him: whom he would, he ſlew; and whom he would, he kept alive; and whom he would, he ſet up; and whom he would, he put down. But when his heart was lifted, and his mind hardened in pride: he was depoſed from his Kingly Throne, and they took his glory from him. And he was driven from the ſons of men, and his heart was made like the Beaſts, and his dwelling was with the wild Aſſes: they fed him with graſs like Oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of Heaven, till he knew that the moſt high God ruled in the Kingdom of men, and that he appointeth over it whomſoever he will. And thou his ſon O* Belſhazzar, *haſt not humbled thine heart, though thou knewſt all this: but haſt lifted up thy ſelf againſt the Lord of Heaven, and they have brought the veſſels of his houſe before thee, and thou and*

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* *Cyrus* autem cohortes equitum per vias paſſim dimittebat, edicens, ut ſi quos extra domos invenirent, occiderent: at illis, qui adhuc in ædibus eſſent, per Syriacæ linguæ peritos denunciari præconio juſſit, ut intus manerent. Quod ſi quis foris deprehenderetur, cum morte multandum. Et hi quidem hæc exſequebantur. *Xenophon. ibidem. pag.* 192.

* Atqui, aiebant illi, qui erant cum Gobrya Demonſtrate nobis itinera quum vobis ea cognita ſint. Urbs enim tota, hac nocte comeſſationi eſt intenta. Sed in excubias tamen ante regiæ portas incidemus, quod eæ ſemper iſtic collocentur. Non negligenda res eſt, ait *Cyrus*, ſed eundum, ut quam maxime imparatos offendamus. Quæ quum eſſent dicta, pergebant. Si qui eis obviam venirent, partim cæſi peribant, partim retrò viciſſim fugiebant, partim clamore medebant. Cum his & Gobryni clamores edebant eoſdem, velut ipſi quoq; comeſſationum ſocii. Simul per gentes, quà celerrime progredi poterant, ad regiam perveniunt. Et hi quidem Gobryæ Gadatæq; adjuncti, portas regiæ clauſas inveniunt: qui verò adverſus Regiæ cuſtodes ire juſſi fuerant, irruunt in eos in ignem luculentum potantes, ſtatimque hoſtili cum eis more agunt. *Xenophon. ibidem.*

* *So Grandfathers are uſually called Fathers in Scriptures, ſpecially in reſpect of ſuch as inherit after them. It is evident from* Jer. 52. ver. 51. *that* Evil-Merodach *did immediately ſecceed* Nebuchadnezzar. *This* Evil-Merodach *was that King of* Aſſyria, *which was ſlain in the Battel betwixt* Cyrus *and the* Babylonians *related by* Xenophon *in his* 4. *Book. A King much better beloved of his ſubjects than his ſon* Belſhazzar.

thy Lords, thy Wives and thy Concubines have drunk Wine in them, and thou haſt praiſed the gods of Silver, and Gold, of Braſs, Iron, Wood and Stone, which ſee not, nor hear, nor know: and the GOD *in whoſe hand thy breath is, and whoſe are all thy ways, haſt thou not glorified. Then was the part of the hand ſent from him, and this writing was written. And this is the writing that was written,* MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN. *This is the interpretation of the thing,* MENE, *God hath numbred thy kingdom, and finiſhed it.* TEKEL, *thou art weighed in the Balances, and art found wanting.* PERES, *thy kingdom is divided, and given to the* Medes *and* Perſians. Dan. 5. ver. 18. to 29.

9. Thus would *Daniel* have cured *Babel*, but ſhe was not cured by him; howbeit *Belſhazzar* was more kind to *Daniel* than to himſelf, than moſt great Princes are to Gods beſt Prophets that reprove them: *For he commanded and they cloathed* Daniel *with Scarlet, and put a Chain of Gold about his Neck, and made a Proclamation concerning him, that he ſhould be the third Ruler in the Kingdom. In that night was* Belſhazzar *the King of the* Chaldeans *ſlain. And* Darius *the* Median *took the Kingdom being about threeſcore and two years old.* Dan. 5. verſ. 29, 30, 31. For it is not the beſtowing of a Scarlet Robe, of Court Holy-Water, or of real Honour in greateſt meaſure upon Gods ſervants, that can cover a Scarlet Sin in Princes. The ſtain of Blood can never be waſhed off, nor the cry of the oppreſſed blown away (though the whole Element of Water, Wind, and Air were at their commands) without the tears and ſighs of the *oppreſſors*, whoſe hearts cannot be cleanſed without repentant prayers. *Jeruſalems* ſighs and tears in her ſorrow had ſunk too deep into the Almighties ears, to be expiated without the ſacrifice of many ſorrowful hearts and contrite ſpirits throughout *Babel: Iſrael is a ſcattered ſheep, the Lyons have driven him away: firſt the King of* Aſſyria *hath devoured him, and laſt this* Nebuchadnezzar *King of* Babylon *hath broken his Bones. Therefore thus ſaith the Lord of Hoſts the God of* Iſrael, *behold I will puniſh the King of* Babylon *and his Land, as I have puniſhed the King of* Aſſyria. *And I will bring* Iſrael *again to his habitation. &c.* Jer. 50. verſ. 17, 18, 19. Thus *Iſrael* is *revolved* from Gods *conſequent* will to his *antecedent*, and *Babylon* from his antecedent to his conſequent will. And for the ſpeedy execution of both parts of this his will for *Iſraels* good, and *Babylons* hurt, the *Perſian* Monarchy is with ſuch ſpeed erected.

10. But ſome hapily will here demand, wherein the ſimilitude mentioned by *Jeremy*, between the King of *Aſſyria* and the King of *Babylons* puniſhments, did conſiſt? *Senacharib* is the only *Aſſyrian* King, whoſe diſaſtrous end is regiſtred in Sacred Story: and *Belſhazzar* is the only King of *Babylon*, that did paralel him in his plagues. *Senacharib* was ſlain by his own Sons, *Belſhazzar* by his natural ſubjects, ſometimes his deareſt friends, but made his enemies by his unnatural * cruelty. *Senacharib* for blaſpheming the God of *Iſrael* was murthered whilſt he offered Sacrifice in the Houſe of *Niſroch* his god: this was one remarkable branch or Iſſue of *Hezekiah* his prayers againſt him in the Temple, to wit, *That the Lord would declare himſelf, to be a God above all the gods of the Nations. Belſhazzar* is ſlain in his Royal Palace, whilſt he Solemnizeth the Feaſt of his great God *Bell*; Part of whoſe ceremonies were to praiſe the gods of Silver and Gold, of Braſs, Wood, Iron, and Stone, *&c.* and to ſawce this Idolatrous luxury, with ſuch Sacriledge and Blaſphemy, as * *Daniel* had forewarned

He had ſlain Gobryas *his ſon, becauſe he was a better Archer than himſelf: and gelded* Gadacas *being jealous leſt he ſhould prove his corrival.*

* *Dan.* 5. 21.

forewarned them to avoid. *Senacharib* had a large time of repentance allotted, from the ſudden deſtruction of his Army until his death. *Belſhazzars* diſaſter and diſſolution of his Empire, fell out both in one hour; both (it may be) were more ſudden becauſe his warning to deſiſt from oppreſſion, Sacriledge and Idolatry, were more expreſs and ſolemn. The Juſtice of God, though executed upon the *Aſſyrian* Hoſt, by the more immediate Hand of his Power, upon *Babylon* by his wiſdom, in managing the opportunities and moments of War, was in both alike remarkable; in that both had their *fatal* ſudden blow in that very night, wherein they had lifted up themſelves againſt the God of Heaven, and *blaſphemed the holy one of* Iſrael: *It came to paſs that night* (not immediately after *Ezekias* had received *Senacharibs* blaſphemous meſſage, but in the ſame *night* ſome two years after) *that the Angel of the Lord went out, and ſmote in the Camp of the* Aſſyrians, *an hundred fourſcore and five thouſand, &c.* * 2 King. 19. 35. *And in that night* (ſaith *Daniel*) was *Belſhazzar* the King of the *Chaldeans* ſlain, to wit, in that night, which was ſolemnly conſecrated unto the *Chaldeans* God, and ſolemnized by anniverſary cuſtom; but whether in that night twelvemonth, wherein the hand writing was ſent from God, or more years after, is not certain: that it ſhould be the ſelf ſame night, is from many ſacred circumſtances, moſt improbable, if not impoſſible.

* *See* Abulenſis *and* Wolphius *in their Comments upon this place.*

11. In what night ſoever it was; the ſudden ſurprizal of *Belſhazzars* Court and Kingdom, though to modern Politicians it may ſeem ſtrange; yet no circumſtance related by any ſacred Writer is in it ſelf ſo incredible, as that which *Ariſtotle* in his ſecond Book of his Politicks reports, as credited by him; to wit, that ſome parts of this great City did not perceive the deadly blow, which the principal parts of it had felt, till three days after it was given. It is a very inconſiderate note which *Ramus*, or he that ſet forth his tranſlation of *Ariſtotles* Politicks, hath left in the Margin of this Text: *Hic locus indicat poſt* Alexandri *victorias hos libros ſcriptos eſſe, & tamen permirum ſit in his* Alexandri *nullam mentionem fieri.* A judicious Critick would rather have conjectured that theſe Books had been written before *Alexander* took *Babylon* from *Darius*; in that there is no mention in all theſe Books of *Alexanders* projects or ſucceſs; fit matters (ſpecially being freſh) for politick diſcourſe or inſtance. At the leaſt, he which had read and remembred the Propheſies of *Jeremy*, or *Daniel* concerning *Babylons* deſtruction, ſtood bound in Chriſtian charity to have demurred upon the point (before he had given ſentence) whether this place was not to be underſtood rather of *Babylons* ſurprizal by *Cyrus* than of *Alexanders* taking of it; though it had been out of queſtion that *Alexander* had taken it before *Ariſtotle* wrote his Politicks. *Ariſtotle* might have more good Authors than one, for this report. *Herodotus*, we know, (whom *Ariſtotle* had read) relates the like; whoſe entire narration, concerning the taking of *Babylon* by *Cyrus*, I have tranſcribed, that the Reader may compare his Hiſtorical relations with the propheſies before rehearſed, or hereafter to be cited.

[Cyrus *quum Gyndem mulctaſſet in trecentos & ſexaginta rivos diductum, & alterum ver illuxiſſet, ita porro ire Babylonem pergit, Babyloniis eum producto exercitu præſtolantibus. Qui, ubi propiùs urbem ille promovit, cum eo conflixerunt, prælioq; fugati, in oppidum compulſi fuerunt. Ii tamen, quia Cyrum jampridem animadverterant inquietum eſſe, viderantq; omnes pariter gentes aggredientem, comportave-*

rant permultorum annorum commeatus: ideoq; tunc obſidionem nihili faciebant. Et Cyrus, quum jam longo tempore nihil admodum res ipſius proficerent, inops conſilii erat. Tandem ſive alius ei anxio ſuggeſſit, ſive ipſi in mentem venit quid in rem eſſet, ſic ſtatuit faciendum: Inſtructis univerſis copiis, partim quà fluvius urbem ingreditur, partim à tergo quà egreditur, præcipit ut, quum cernerent alveum poſſe tranſiri, illac urbem invaderent. Ita inſtructis atque admonitis ſuis, cum inutiliori exercitus parte abiit ad paludem. Eò ubi pervenit, quæ Babyloniorum Regina fecerat circa flumen & circa paludem, eadem & ipſe fecit. Nam revocato flumine, alveum, ejus priſtinum vado tranſibilem reddidit. Quod quum ita factum eſſet, Perſæ qui ad hoc ipſum inſtructi erant, per alveum unde fluvius Euphrates abſceſſerat mediorum ferè femorum tenus fortiter Babylonem introierunt. Quos Babylonii, ſi factum Cyri priùs aut audiſſent, aut ſenſiſſent, haud dubiè contempto eorum ingreſſu, peſſimo exitio affeciſſent. Nam obſeratis omnibus quæ ad flumen ferunt portulis, conſcenſiſq; ſeptis, ipſi pro ripis ſtantes illos progreſſos veluti in caveâ excepiſſet. Nunc ex inopinato eis Perſæ aſtiterunt: & quum capti eſſent qui media urbis incolebant Babylonii, propter ejus tamen magnitudinem non ſentiebatur (ut fertur) ab iis qui circa extrema habitabant. Sed quòd fortè dies feſtus eis eſſet, exercendis choreis atque oblectationibus operam dabant, donec planè hoc reſciverunt. Atque ita primò capta eſt Babylon. Herodotus Lib. 1.]

One material circumſtance there is in *Herodotus*, which is not ſo much as intimated by *Xenophon*; and it is this: Albeit the *Babylonians* could neither have pervented *Cyrus* in diverting the courſe of the River, nor withſtood his entrance by its Chanel; yet might they with eaſe have ſtopped his paſſage along the Chanel, or his entrance into any ſtreet of the City, had they been mindful to ſhut thoſe Gates, which at the end of every ſtreet did open upon the River. But that night being Conſecrated to revelling, the paſſage by water from one part of the City to another was freely permitted. They had a ſolemn Cuſtom of leaving thoſe Gates open that night, which on other nights were to be ſhut. And by this means, deſtruction found a more eaſy entrance into that great City.

12. Some Modern Politicians have diſcourſed in Folio, againſt the vaſtneſs of Cities as moſt incommodious for defence, taking occaſion from *Ariſtotles* exceptions againſt *Babylon*, which in his cenſure was a Region; no more a City than *Peloponeſus* ſhould be, if it were walled about. But it was not *Babylons* vaſtneſs which bred this inſenſibility when the day of deſtruction was come, that ſome members of her ſhould not ſo much as feel any pain when others were utterly cut off. Should any Prince now living, in confidence of this experiment, attempt the like upon *Quinzie*, *Moſcho*, or if any other greater Cities there be in the World, he might find their Citizens better prepared, upon few hours warning, than *Babylon* was in three days, unleſs perhaps he made his aſſault upon *Moſcho* upon ſome great Feſtival, wherein her Citizens enjoy the liberty of *Lacedemonian* ſlaves, to be beaſtly drunk without cenſure. Cities far leſs than *Babylon*, only her matches in impiety, have been ſurpriſed with *Babyloniſh* ſtupidity, when the full meaſure of their iniquity had brought forth the day of viſitation. *Carthage* was far greater and fuller ſtuft with all ſorts of people when *Scipio* razed it, than when the *Vandals* took it. And yet no member of it, in the former calamity, was ſo ſenſeleſs of their fellow-members, or of their common Mothers grief, as the whole

body was, when moſt of its natural members were cut off by the *Vandal.*

[*Fragor ut ita dixerim, extra muros & intra muros præliorum & ludicrorum confundebatur; vox morientium voxq; Bacchantium: ac vix diſcerni forſitan poterat, plebis ejulatio, quæ cadebat in bello, & ſonus populi qui clamabat in circo. Et cum hæc omnia fierent, quid aliud talis populus agebat, niſi ut, cum eum Deus perdere adhuc fortaſſe nollet, tamen ipſe exigeret ut periret.* Salvianus Lib.6.] *The noiſe of Battel without the Walls, and the noiſe of ſporting within the Walls; the voice of dying men, and the voice of riotous or drunken men, were ſo mingled and confounded, that a man could hardly have diſtinguiſhed the outcries of ſuch as fell in Battel from the noiſe or cry of the multitude in the Game-court. And by ſuch doings, what did this people elſe, but ſolicite their own deſtruction at Gods hands, who otherwiſe would not (haply) have deſtroyed them; or not at this time.* With the like ſtupidity was *Treers* taken, none of the greateſt Cities then in *Europe,* though one of the wealthieſt amongſt the *Gaules,* after ſhe had been thrice lanced. The very *Babyloniſh* madneſs did poſſeſs another City not far from *Treers*: ſuch a Lethargy had over-ſpread the whole Corporation, *Ut Principes illius urbis, ne tunc quidem de conviviis ſurgerent, cum urbem hoſtis intraret: Ideo enim Deus ipſis evidenter, uti credo, manifeſtare voluit cur perirent, cum per quam rem ad perditionem ultimam venerant, eam ipſam agerent cum perirent.* Salvianus ibidem. *Her Governors did not break off their Feaſting and Banqueting, when the enemy did enter the City. God (as I conjecture) did purpoſely manifeſt the reaſon why they periſhed, in that they were doing that very thing when they periſhed, which had brought them to utter deſtruction.*

13. But of the cauſes, ſymptoms, or ſigns of Divine *infatuation,* elſewhere. Thus much I thought expedient in this place for the young Readers information; that albeit *Babylon* had been much greater in compaſs, than ſhe was, ſo that the meaſure of her iniquity had been leſs; the date of her proſperity might have been much longer. *Chaldea* might have ſate as Queen of Nations, in deſpight of all politick prognoſtications, which have been famed ſince her overthrow. The beſt ſervice which this kind of Critick uſually performs to States or Kingdoms, is to fix their Bolts upon the Gates of great Cities, after they have been ranſacked by the Enemy. But *Babylons* iniquity being grown unto that ſetled height, at which it ſtood in *Jeremies* and *Daniels* times; although her ſtrength, her wealth, proviſion, and policy, had been far greater than they were, and contracted into a narrower room than the compaſs of her Walls; the date of her Soveraignty would have been as ſhort; the device of the Lord would have been performed againſt her by other means, as ſure, and ſpeedy as *Cyrus* uſed, if his ſtratagem had been defeated. For * ſtrength of body, or ſtrength of wit, ſkill in Arms, or ſkill in policy; all of them are but the gifts of God, he can either deny them when he pleaſeth, or inhibit the uſe of them where they moſt abound. He that commanded the fire not to touch his Saints in the Furnace, can as eaſily prohibit the ſtrong to uſe his ſtrength, the ſwift his flight, and intoxicate the Politicians brain that ſhall diſpleaſe him. *This is the word of the Lord which came to* Jeremiah *the Prophet, againſt the Gentiles, againſt,* Egypt, *againſt the Army of* Pharaoh Necho *King of* Egypt, *which was by the River* Euphrates *in* Carchemiſh, *which* Nebuchadnezzar *King of* Babylon *ſmote in the fourth year of* Jehoiakim *the ſon of* Joſiah *King of* Judah. *Order ye the Buckler and Shield, and draw neer to Battel.*

** See Section 1. Cha. 9. Parag.3. & Chap. 10. Parag.2.*

Harneſs

neſs the horſe, and get up ye horſmen, and ſtand forth with your helmets, furbiſh the ſpears, and put on the brigandines. Wherefore have I ſeen them diſmaid, and turned away back? and their mighty ones are beaten down, and fled apace, and look not back: for fear was round about, ſaith the Lord. Let not the ſwift flee away, nor the mighty man eſcape, they ſhall ſtumble and fall towards the North by the River Euphrates. Jer. 46. ver. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. *Go up into Gilead, and take balm, O Virgin, the Daughter of* Egypt*: in vain ſhalt thou uſe many Medicines: for thou ſhalt not be cured; The Nations have heard of thy ſhame, and thy cry hath filled the Land: for the mighty man hath ſtumbled againſt the mighty, and they are fallen both together.* ver. 11, 12. If a few ſhall chaſe a multitude, we know the reaſon, the one was either leſs valiant, or leſs ſkilful than the other; But why the valiant ſhould turn their backs in the day of Battel, it is Gods Prophet, not the Politician muſt reſolve us: *They could not ſtand becauſe the Lord did drive them.* ver. 15.

14. The Lord had given *Moab* wit and ſtrength and wealth abundance: *He had been at eaſe from his youth, and he had ſetled on his lees, and had not been emptied from veſſel to veſſel, neither had he gone into Captivity: therefore his taſt remained in him, and his ſent is not changed.* Jer. 48. 11. But when he began to aſcribe his proſperity to his ſtrength or policy, to truſt in wealth, and deride his poor neighbour *Iſrael* now going into Captivity, the Lord who is debtor to none, bereft him of all: *therefore behold, the days come, ſaith the Lord, that I will ſend unto him wanderers that ſhall cauſe him to wander, and ſhall empty his veſſels, and break their bottles. And* Moab *ſhall be aſhamed of* Chemoſh, *as the houſe of* Iſrael *was aſhamed of* Bethel *their confidence. How ſay ye, we are mighty and ſtrong men for the war?* Moab *is ſpoyled and gone up out of her Cities, and his choſen young men are gone downe to the ſlaughter, ſaith the King, whoſe name is the Lord of Hoſts. The calamity of* Moab *is neer to come, and his affliction haſteth faſt.* Jer. 48. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, &c. *The horn of* Moab *is cut off, and his arm is broken, ſaith the Lord. Make ye him drunken: for he magnified himſelf againſt the Lord.* Moab *alſo ſhall wallow in his vomit, and he alſo ſhall be in deriſion. For was not* Iſrael *a deriſion unto thee? was he found among Thieves? for ſince thou ſpakeſt of him, thou skippedſt for joy.* ver. 25, 26, 27. *They ſhall howl, ſaying; How is it broken down? how hath* Moab *turned the back with ſhame? ſo ſhall* Moab *be a deriſion, and a diſmaying to all them about him. For thus ſaith the Lord, Behold he ſhall flee as an Eagle, and ſhall ſpread his wings over* Moab. Kerioth *is taken, and the ſtrong holds are ſurpriſed and the mighty mens hearts in* Moab *at that day ſhall be as the heart of a woman in her pangs.* ver. 36, 40, 41.

As for *Babylon*, if ſhe were ſtupid and blind, without all foreſight, fear or apprehenſion of that hideous ſtorms approach, wherein ſhe periſhed: the wonder is leſs to any Chriſtian, than their ſtupidity, who think her deſtruction might by rules of policy have been prevented. For, * though her defendants had been more in number than her proud walls could contain, though every one had been more ſtout then *Hector*, armed with more hands then *Briarius* had; though every one of her Star-gazing *Stateſmen* had had more politick eyes than *Argos* had, all had been one *totidemq; oculos nox occupat una.* A Meſſenger from the Lord of Hoſts, had called for a dimneſs of ſight upon her Seers, and ſung a *lullaby* to her Souldiers everlaſting ſleep: *I will make drunk her Princes and her Wiſemen, her Captains and her Rulers, and her mighty men: and they ſhall ſleep a perpetual ſleep, and not awake, ſaith the King, whoſe name is the Lord of Hoſts* Jer. 51. ver. 57. So infallibly doth Divine Juſtice obſerve the rule of retaliation, whereof I ſhall hereafter ſpeak: *Though* Babylon *ſhould mount up to Heaven, and though ſhe ſhould fortifie the height of her ſtrength, yet from me ſhall ſpoylers come unto her; ſaith the Lord.* Jer. 51. ver. 53. For, *ſeeing her people hath entred into the Sanctuary of the Lords houſe, the Lord will do judgment upon her graven Images.* ver. 52.

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* Orto autem clamore ac ſtrepitu, quum ii, qui erant intus, tumultum ſentirent, & inſpici rex juberet quid illud eſſet rei; apertis aliqui portis, foras procurrunt. Eas quum patefactas Gadatæi conſpicerent, iruunt & illos rurſus fugientes intro ſequuti, ac ferientes, ad regem accedunt: eumq; jam erectum cum acinace, quem ſtrictum tenebat, inveniunt. Hunc Gadatæi & Gobryani numero plures opprimunt, interfectis etiam iis, qui regi aderant ac partim aliquid objiciebant partim fugiebant, partim ſe quacunque re poterant, tuebantur. *Xenophon.. 7. pag.* 192.

15. To conclude, The reaſon of *Babels* ſtupidity, and whatſoever overſights the Politician can diſcover in her (related by *Xenophon* or *Herodotus*) was, that the fulfilling of *Jeremies* Propheſies againſt her, become more manifeſt to ſucceeding ages: *How is the hammer of the whole Earth cut aſunder and broken? how is* Babylon *become a deſolation among the Nations? I have layd a ſnare for thee, and thou art alſo taken,* O Babylon, *and thou waſt not aware: thou art found and alſo caught, becauſe thou haſt ſtriven againſt the Lord. The Lord hath opened his Armory, and hath brought forth the weapons of his indignation; for this is the work of the Lord God of Hoſts, in the Land of the* Chaldeans. *Come againſt her from the utmoſt border, open her ſtorehouſes, caſt her up as heaps, and deſtroy her utterly, let nothing of her be left.* Jer. 50. ver. 23, 24, 25, 26. For ſhe had carried away all that was in *Ezekiahs* houſe, all that his Father had laid up in ſtore, nothing was left, as *Eſaiah* had foretold. *Chap.* 39. ver. 36. the exact fulfilling of whoſe Prophecy is regiſtred by the Sacred Hiſtorian. 2 *Chron.* 6. ver. 18. The ſudden ſurprizal of the City and Court of *Babylon* made the *finding of the treaſure of Darkneſs and the riches of ſecret places*, which the Lord by his Prophet had promiſed to *Cyrus*, more eaſie, than if his entrance at that time had been ſuſpected or feared: for ſo the beſieged might have had leaſure to have hid their treaſure where the enemy ſhould hardly have found it.

16. But what ſpecial comfort is this to Sion, that *Cyrus* had done to *Babylon*, as *Babylon* had done to her. This might ſatiate or ſomewhat allay the *boyling heat* of a revengeful mind. But is the miſery of an enemy of like uſe unto Gods people, as was the Brazen Serpent? Can the ſight of it cure their grief, or beget true happineſs in ſuch as look on it? It is very probable that *Babylons* ſpoils did help to re-edifie *Jeruſalem.* And albeit, the God of *Sion*, had other means in ſtore (more by many, than man can number or conceive) for reducing his people into their own Land; we may, notwithſtanding, without cenſure of curioſity, ſafely conjecture, that the diſgraces which *Nebuchadnezzar* and his ſucceſſors had done unto the royal ſeed of *Judah*, were the firſt ſeeds of their ſpecical favour and grace with *Cyrus.* Of the plagues threatned by *Eſaiah* unto *Ezekiah* for ſhewing his treaſure unto the *Babylonians*, it was one part that of his ſons ſome ſhould be Eunuchs in the Palace of the King of *Babylon. Iſaiah.* 39. 7. Now it is unlikely that *Cyrus* would either make the *Perſian* Eunuchs, or truſt the *Chaldeans* about his body. *Daniel* and other his fellows of the royal ſeed of *Judah*, being made ſuch unto his hand, were men as fit for his purpoſe as he could ſeek. And it was

his purpoſe upon conſultation (as * *Xenophon* tels us) to have Eunuchs next about him, as men moſt likely to be truſty. *Daniel* or others of good note amongſt this people, being admitted to favour, for to be of *Cyrus* Bed-camber; would not be defective in procuring their Countries good. And eaſie it was for *him*, that cauſeth darkneſs to bring forth light, that turneth the ſhadow of death into the morning, to raiſe up a bleſſing unto his people out of their expiring curſe. But whether by this means or others, certain it is, *that ſuch of* Judah *as eſcaped* Nebuchadnezzars *Sword, were detained captives to him and his ſons until the erection of the* Perſian *Monarchy*. 2 Chron. Chap. 36. ver. 20. *Now in the firſt year of* Cyrus *King of* Perſia *(that the word of the Lord ſpoken by the mouth of* Jeremiah, *might be accompliſhed) the Lord ſtirred up the ſpirit of* Cyrus *King of* Perſia, *that he made a Proclamation throughout all his Kingdom, and put it alſo in writing, ſaying; Thus ſaith* Cyrus *King of* Perſia, *All the Kingdoms of the Earth hath the Lord God of Heaven given me, and he hath charged me to build him an houſe in* Jeruſalem, *which is in* Judah, *who is there among you of all his people? the Lord his God be with him, and let him go up.* ver. 22. 23. This laſt paſſage compared with the forecited Prophecy, *Eſaia*. 45. ver. 4, 5, 6. may acquit *Joſephus* his report of *Daniels* conference with *Cyrus*, from all ſuſpicion of fiction or uncertainty of tradition.

Bleſſed be the name of God for ever and ever: for wiſdom and might are his: and he changeth the times and the ſeaſons, he removeth Kings and ſetteth up Kings. Dan. 2. ver. 20, 21. He hath yet a fourth hammer in his hand, to bruiſe and cruſh theſe Weſtern Nations, as the three firſt had done the Eaſtern, and yet appointed to take fuller vengeance upon theſe *Jews* (whom he had now redeemed by *Cyrus*) than the *Chaldean* had done, after the ſecond meaſure of their iniquity, became more *fall* than the former had been.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of Gods ſpecial providence in raiſing and ruinating the Roman *Empire.*

1. THE lingring growth of the *Roman* Monarchy hath made the print of Gods ſpecial hand in erecting it, leſs diſcernable, than it had been in the ſudden advancement of the three former. Nor was it come to any competent height before Prophecy did ceaſe in *Jewry*. So that we are (for the moſt part) deſtitute of ſuch Comments, as God had furniſhed us with, upon the Hiſtories of other Monarchies. But whatſoever the Regiſters of *Romes* ſucceſs have aſcribed to *Fortune*, we may recover it, by the *former ruled* caſes, as entirely due unto Gods *providence*. Now the ancient *Romans* were not of their later Satyrical Poets mind: *Nullum Numen abeſt, ſi ſit prudentia.* Not *Felicity* her ſelf, whom they took for a *Goddeſs*, much leſs was

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* Quumq; in mentem ei veniret, quid in ſe negotii ſuſcepiſſet, qui multis mortalibus imperare niteretur, & habere domicilum in urbe inter illuſtres ampliſſima inſtitueret, quam ſic adfecta in eum eſſet, ut urbs alicui maxime infeſta: quum hæc inquam expenderet, corporis ſibi cuſtodia opus eſſe exiſtimavit. Quod item ſciret, homines opprimi facilius non poſſe, quam inter veſcendum, bibendum, lavandum in cubili & ſomno: circumſpiciebat, quoſnam in his ſibi maxime fidos habere poſſet. Arbitrabatur autem non poſſe fidum hominem unquam eſſe, qui magis amaret alium, quam illum, qui ejus cuſtodia indigeret. Quamobrem alios, quibus eſſent liberi, vel conjuges genio congruentes, vel amores alii, naturæ quadam coactione judicabat ad eos maxime diligendos impelli. At Eunuchos omnibus his carere cernens maximi facturos putabat illos, à quibus locupletari plurimum poſſent, & opem habere, ſi injuriis adficerentur, atque etiam honoribus ornari. A quo autem beneficiis in hos conferendis ipſe ſuperari poſſet, neminem fore cenſebat. *Xenophon. lib.* 7. *pag.* 192.

Prudence, or any other ſuppoſed patroneſs of inferiour vertues, ſo much honoured by them as Lady *Fortune*; the multitude of whoſe Temples teſtified they took her for their Soveraign Miſtreſs. From this real teſtimony of the ancient *Romans*, (who beſt knew by what means their ſtate was raiſed, or at leaſt perceived it to be often held up and inlarged by means in particular unknown to them;) *Livie* and *Plutarch* give *Fortune* * precedence of vertue (civil or martial) in the *Roman* Territories, as being a more ſpecial Benefactreſs or principal Foundreſs of their Empire. *Machiavel* is of a contrary mind, perſwaded thereto, by ſuch a reaſon, as argues he had not God or his providence in his thoughts; that his thoughts were no[illegible]is own, when he conceived it: ſo diſſonant it is to truth and his own politick principles. His words are theſe; *If no other State did ever compaſs ſuch a mighty Empire as* Rome *did, why ſhould this be attributed to Fortune, rather than to good Laws and diſcipline?*

2. With *Plutarch* and *Machiavel* it fares juſt ſo in this controverſie, as it uſually doth with other Controverſors; each of them hath the truth under his level, whiles he oppugns the adverſe opinion; both of them overſhoot it whilſt they deliver their own. *Plutarch* rightly denies the moral or civil goodneſs, whether of *Roman* Laws or lives, to have brought forth their greatneſs. He erreth as much in adjudging all that to *Roman fortune*, whereto *Roman vertue* had no juſt title. Notwithſtanding if by *Fortune* he meant any certain latent cauſe more than humane, which did convey ſucceſs to the *Current* of *Roman* policies, by ſecret and hidden paſſages, his meaning is better than his manner of expreſſing it. To think thus charitably of this ingenuous Philoſopher, we have reaſon, as knowing him to be a perfect enemy, aſwel to Epicurean chance, as to Stoical Fate: and therefore no adverſary of Divine Providence. In favour of *Machiavels* opinion, who deſerves no favour himſelf, thus much on the other ſide might be ſaid; *If the* Ancient *Romans* had been as vain as the *Grecians*, as luxurious as the *Aſiaticks*, as perfidious as the *Carthagenians*, as uncivil and barbarous as many Nations, which they conquered: they ſhould not have been ſo conſtantly fortunate in their enterpriſes at home, and abroad, as *Livie* and *Plutarch* had obſerved them to be. That is, in our language, *Divine Providence* would not have *deſtined* them unto that greatneſs, unto which at length they grew, if they had been always, or for the moſt part, as bad, as in the period of their proſperity, they proved. For albeit God be debtor unto none; yet the abundant riches of his bounty, will not ſuffer him to leave moral vertues or conſtant execution of Laws *comparatively* good, unrewarded with bleſſings temporal. All this, notwithſtanding will not infer, what *Machiavel* undertook to prove that the *Romans* did raiſe themſelves, more by vertue, than they were raiſed by Fortune; if we take Fortune (as in all probability *Plutarch* did) for an hidden Fountain, ſecretly feeding thoſe courſes which the *Romans*

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* Exiſtimarunt multi, & inter cæteros Plutarchus graviſſimus autor, populum Romanum in acquirendo tanto imperio majore fortunæ proſperitate, quàm virtute uſum eſſe; idque vel ipſiuſmet populi Romani autoritate conſtare. Neque enim fortunæ tot Templa dedicaſſet, niſi ei victorias ſuas acceptas tuliſſet. Nam Romæ nulli Deorum, Dearumve tot erant poſita templa, uti Fortunæ. Eidem huic ſententiæ videtur Livius quoque ſuffragari, eò quòd in recitandis orationibus Imperatorum, nunquam ſolius virtutis mentionem facit, ſed fortunæ auxilium adjungit. Ego vero contrarium ſentio, neque Plutarchi hanc opinionem defendi poſſe contendo. Nam ſi nulla extitit Reſpublica quæ tantum Imperium, uti Roma acquiſivit: cur id fortunæ potiùs, quam bonis ipſius legibus & inſtitutis tribuamus? virtus exercituum, & Imperatorum ſingularis induſtria Imperium Romanum peperêre: res autem partas conſervarunt bona reip: inſtitutio, rectaq; gubernandi ratio à primo Legiſlatore conſtituta: uti deinceps copioſiùs diſſeremus. *Diſput. Nic. Machiavel. Lib. 2. Cap. 1. in initio.*

took for their good, with ſucceſs and ſpeed far above their expectation. Under this indefinite latitude of unknown cauſes, the Divine Providence or *Cœleſtis fortuna* (as the *Pythagorians* term it) may be comprehended, and this Divine Providence or Celeſtial *Fortune* it was, which raiſed the *Romans*: they did not raiſe themſelves by their vertues. For we do not uſe to ſay that Princes favorites do advance themſelves, albeit Princes would not advance them to ſuch great dignities as they enjoy, unleſs they were in ſome meaſure qualified unto their liking.

3. Some Nations have been, others might have been more obſervant of better Laws than the Romans knew, and have uſed the ſame diſcipline of Peace and War, even all their Policies, with greater ſincerity of good intentions than they did; and yet not have propagated their Soveraignty over others, half ſo far, as the Roman Empire was (by Gods ſpecial Providence) propagated. For vertues moral, and civil Diſcipline, or reformation of miſdemeanors, (though all more exact, than the practice of any Nation could hitherto *patternize*) are no ſuch meritorious cauſes of temporal Proſperity or Dominion, as may bind God in Juſtice, to diſpenſe the one in greateſt Plenty, where the other moſt aboundeth. Without theſe qualifications the Romans had not been capable of ſuch proſperity, as God in bounty beſtowed upon them; but the true poſitive cauſe of their extraordinary greatneſs, was the ſpecial ſervice, whereto his wiſdom had appointed them. The rule of his liberality in diſpoſing Kingdoms, is the correſpondency or proportion, which temporal greatneſs holds with the execution of his will, whether for puniſhing thoſe which have made up the meaſure of their Iniquity, or for the propagating or preſervation of his Church already planted, or for preparing or plowing up the hearts of *wild* and unnurtured Nations, for better receiving the ſeed of his Goſpel.

4. When the meaſure of that *proſperity*, which GOD for theſe and like purpoſes had allotted *Rome* Heathen, and her iniquity became full; ſhe and her Provinces became a ſwifter prey to barbarous Nations, ſome ſcarce ſo much as heard of before, than any neighbour Countries had been to *her*. The incredible ſucceſs of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, of the *Franks* and *Almains*, &c. but ſpecially of the *Hunnes*, (whoſe furious progreſs was like to the Vultures flight, and ſeem'd to preſage the ſlaughter which they made) will juſtifie the probability either of *Xenophons* ſtories concerning *Cyrus*, or of *Curtius*, *Arianus*, or other Writers of *Alexanders* Conqueſts. Was it then Natural Policy or ſkill in War, which did ſeat all, or moſt of theſe barbarous Nations in theſe Weſtern Countries? Vertues they had not many amongſt them, yet each of them ſome one or other commendable quality, which did manifeſt the contrary predominant vice or out-crying ſin in the Chriſtian people, which God had appointed them to plague, as * *Salvianus* hath excellently obſerved. Howbeit this great power was not given them altogether to deſtroy others, but withal to edifie themſelves in the Faith, and to be made partakers of Gods Vineyard, which he had now in a manner taken from theſe ungrateful Huſbandmen, whom they Conquered. The *Francks* became Chriſtians through fear of the * *Almaines*; dread of the *Hunnes* did drive the *Burgundians* to ſeek Sanctuary in the ſame profeſſion. And no queſtion, but ſuch of the Ancient Chriſtian Inhabitants, as outlived theſe *ſtorms*, did believe God

and

* De providentia. lib. 7.

* Vide Annonium lib. 1. cap. 15. *See the Treatiſe containing the Original of Unbelief,* &c. *Cap.* 18. *Sect.* 1.

and his Servants better afterward, than they had done before. Never were there any times more apt or more powerful to kindle devotion in ſuch as were not alltogether Frozen in unbelief, or benummed with the cuſtom of ſinning, than theſe times were. *Rome*, which had been the *Watch*-tower of politik wiſdom, became more ſtupid than *Babylon* had been, when the day of her viſitation did come upon her. Her Citizens, (were a meer Politician to be their judge) deſerved to be buried in their Cities ruines, for not awaking upon ſuch and ſo many dreadful warnings as ſhe had. Extraordinary Prophets the Chriſtian world at that time had none, becauſe it needed none: the Prophecies of ancient times did ſo well beſit them, as if they had been made of purpoſe only for them. Nor *Senacherib*, nor *Nebuchadnezzar* in the prime of their ſtrength and power could better have brooked that title (though given them in expreſs terms by GOD) which *Attilas* (as it ſeems from certain * apprehenſion of his extraordinary calling to do the like ſervice,) had inſerted into his royal titles, * *Malleus Orbis & Flagellum Dei*; *The Hammer of the World and Scourge of God*. The fame of *Alexanders* firſt victories, was nothing ſo terrible to *Aſia*, as the noiſe of this *Scythian Thunderbolt* was to the utmoſt parts of *Europe*, and would have been to *Africa* and *Aſia*, unleſs the Lord had put his hook into his jaws, when he begun to ſwallow theſe and other Nations in his greedy hopes. But when the time of his commiſſion drew near to an end, this *Samſon* had a *Dalilah* to to abate his ſtrength. He that had made himſelf ſport with others miſery, and counted it his greateſt glory to ſhed much blood, was choaked with his * own, in his marriage bed: theſe were the firſt fruits of his luxurious nuptial Feaſts; what the after crop was, we leave to God.

5. The known ſucceſs of theſe *Hunnes*, throughout *Hungary* and other parts of *Europe*, may ſerve as a leading caſe to determine the queſtion propoſed between *Plutarch* and *Machiavel*; Their valour or ſtrength of war was not ſo much as known by fame to *Europeans*, until they felt it. The paſſages into *Europe*, out of theſe places of *Scythia*, which they inhabited, was unknown unto themſelves, much leſs did they dream of invading the *Roman* Empire, untill *he* that had decred to make them a ſcourge to *Europe*, did lay a train to teach them the ready way unto it. * The manner of their introduction was in the Philoſophers language by as meer a chance or *fortune*, as if a Sexton ſhould find a Caſket of Gold, whilſt he digs a Grave. They had no other intention, that very morning wherein they firſt became acquainted with the Confines of *Europe*, than to chaſe the Hart, and the Hart no other deſire, than that which was meerly natural, to ſave his life. That this reaſonleſs creature by ſeeking thus to ſatisfie his natural deſire, ſhould ſhew theſe *Hunnes* a ſafe paſſage through the Fens of *Meotis*, into *Europe*; was *meer Chance* in reſpect of them or their ſhallow forecaſt, but *providence* in reſpect of him, who hath the *product* or iſſue of every attempt poſſible, *in numerato*, a swe ſay in ready coyn: who can ſo temper all occurrents at his pleaſure, as that the ſelf ſame *ingredients* may be an wholeſom portion unto ſome, and deadly poiſon unto others; and ſo combine the careleſs intentions of men, and

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* *Other* Barbarians *had the like apprehenſion of their calling to the like ſervice as* Salvianus *witneſſeth.* Poterant (Wandal) ergo ille degere, nec timebant: ſed illa utique cœleſtis manus quæ eos ad punienda Hiſpanorum flagitia illuc traxerat, etiam ad vaſtandam Africam tranſire cogebat. Ipſi denique fatebantur, non ſuum eſſe quod facerent. Agi enim ſe divino juſſu ac perurgeri. Ex quo intelligi poteſt quanta ſint mala noſtra, ad quos vaſtandos atque cruciandos ire barbari compelluntur inviti, ſecundum illud quod vaſtator terræ Iſraeliticæ Rex Aſſyriorum ait. *Eſa.* 35. *and Jer.* 25. *Salv. lib.* 7. *de Gubern. Dei.* * Chronica Hungarorum. * Vide Chronica Hungarorum. Et Bonfin. lib. 7. dec. 1.

* Bonfin. lib. 2. dec. 1:

the deſires of brute Beaſts, as they ſhall become more faithful *confederates* for accompliſhing his will, than men can be (albeit they purpoſely conſpire together, and bind themſelves by ſolemn oath or Sacrament) for effecting their own deſigns.

6. The report which theſe roving Hunters had made to their Countrymen of that pleaſant Land, into whoſe Confines the chaſed *Hart* had led them, did invite the chief *heads* of their *Clans*, with their ſeveral *raſcalities*, to flock into *Europe* like beggers diſmiſt out of a Priſon, invited to a ſolemn Banquet. And their hunger-ſtarved appetites, being once fed with variety of uncouth pleaſures, did whet their wits and arm their ſpirits, to attempt greater matters than they could conceive before. *Artis magiſter ingeniiq; largitor, venter.* Their bellies taught them new Arts, and practice of inventions unſuſpected unto Chriſtians. The mixt Inhabitants of that Country, which from them was after termed *Hungary*, having ſufficient warning of their intended invaſion, had prepared a competent Army, whoſe Leaders preſumed, they were more ſafely guarded againſt the ſudden aſſault of their barbarous Enemies for one night, by the River of *Danow* which ran between them, than they could be by any Wall or Trench. And in this preſumption they reſted as ſecure for that night, of the *Hunnes*, as the *Babylonians* were of *Cyrus*. It is very likely, that *Detricus* General for the *Romans*, and *Matrinus*, *alias Martinus*, (or *Macrinus*) chief Commander for the *Pavonians*, one or both had read how *Cyrus* had divided the River *Gyndis*, and ſo turned the courſe of *Euphrates* in one night, that the uſual Chanel of it became paſſable to his foot Souldiers before the morning. But that the like ſhould be attempted upon * *Danow* was not credible; to be effected by their enemies, they knew it impoſſible. And what other paſſage there was poſſible for theſe *Hunnes* to find, being utterly deſtitute of Ship or Boat, they could not ſuſpect. But they bought the knowledge of their new invention a great deal too dear; with the loſs of the better part of their Army, which Encamping in the open Fields, were pitifully ſlaughtred like wandring Sheep by the * *Hunnes*, who with the help of Bladders had ſwum over to the number of an hundred thouſand, in the deadeſt time of the night. This ſudden diſaſter, which being now paſt, might in ſome Modern Politicians judgment eaſily have been prevented, did ſo leſſen the *Roman* Forces, that albeit they became conquerors in the next conflict, yet purchaſed they victory with the loſs of ſo many Souldiers, that they were not able to ſtand before the multitude of their furious Enemies in the third encounter: And to try them the fourth time, they had no courage. The *ſtump* of that Arrow, which *Detricus* carried in his forehead to *Rome*, in witneſs that he had confronted his Enemies, and was not wounded in the back did pierce the hearts of ſome and daunt the ſpirits of other *Romans*. And the freſh bleeding experiments of theſe *Hunnes* incredible fury, might well occaſion, that generation and their Children, to flatter their cowardly fancies, with forged tales, as if it were no diſparagement to the *Romans* (though as yet in higheſt eſteem for vallour amongſt the Sons of men) to be outdared by an inchanted generation of Infernal Monſters, born of Witches and begot by Devils. For ſuch *legends* of theſe *Hunnes* original, have gone for currant amongſt * good writers, and are not altogether out of date in ſome places unto this preſent day. But the *Romans*, did want a *Marius*, *Sylla*, or *Camillus* to be their Dictator in theſe times;

* *See Chap.* 26 *parag.* 11.

* Bonfinius. lib. 3. dec. 1.

* Aetius poſtquam audivit Attilam exercitum infinitæ multitudinis

times; *Detricus* was no *Julius* or *Germanicus:* what the beſt of theſe could have done, or durſt have attempted, had they been living then, is more than the ſpirit of any now living can divine; *he* that had made theſe in their times valorous, had now decreed the beggerly *Hunnes* ſhould be victorious, and there *is neither counſel nor might againſt the Lord.*

7. Or if this be not Canonical Scripture with Politicians, let us examine whether the evidence of truth manifeſted in the Hiſtorical narrations, whereon *Machiavel* comments, have not extorted as much from him in a manner againſt his will, and contray to his purpoſed concluſions, as the Author of truth in this point hath taught us. *He,* * ſaith Machiavel, *that will compare the* Romans *wiſe carriage of State-buſineſſes for many years together, with their ill managing of matters, when they were invaded by the* Gauls, *ſhall find them ſo different, as that the latter groſs error may ſeem to have been committed by another people, not by the ſame. So ſtrangely doth Fortune* (ſo he now accords in terms with *Livie,* whom herein he contradicted before) *blind the judgments of men, when it is her pleaſure not to have her power controlled, whoſe authority is ſo great, that neither they which are commonly expoſed to danger deſerve much blame, nor they much praiſe, which enjoy perpetual ſelicity. Fates may ſo ſtrongly draw both parties this way or that way, as the policy of the one ſhall not be able to prevent the evil which happen, nor to the others vertue be ſufficient to bring forth good ſucceſs.* In fine, taking *Fortune* and *Fates* for terms equivalent, throughout his whole Diſcourſe, he * concludes for Plutarch; *That the greatneſs of the* Roman *Empire was decreed by Fate; and with reference to this end, as* Rome *could not in her growing age be overthrown, ſo it was expedient that ſhe ſhould often be oppreſſed and afflicted, that her Stateſmen might become more wary and wiſe, for procuring that greatneſs which Fates had decreed to accompliſh by them.* Wherefore, that all theſe might take place: *the Fates* (which as he grants, uſe means convenient for effecting their purpoſe) *had put* Camillus *to exile, not to death; ſuffered the City to be taken by the* Gauls, *but not the Capitol: and that the City might be taken with leſs ado, they had likewiſe ordained that the greateſt part of the* Roman *army, being diſcomfited by the* Gaules, *ſhould not retire to* Rome, *but fly to* Veios. *To knit up all* (as he ſpeaks) *in a bundel, it was the ordinance of Fates, that the* Romans *ſhould for this turn*

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ductare in Gallias, obviandum maturè putavit: &, ut ipſe dicere ſolebat, enitendum, ut Alaſtores, ſeù mali genii procul ferro exterminarentur: alludens ad naturam umbrarum & Dæmonum, qui gladium eductum timent & minus, ut Pſellius ait; ac præterea ſcite alludens ad originem decantatam Hunnorum ad Dæmones referendam. Nam cum *Filimer* Rex Gothorum poſt egreſſum Scanziæ inſulæ terram Scythicam ingreſſus, reperiſſet mulieres quaſdam magas maleficâ arte populum vexare, longè fugatas adegit in ſolitudinem, ubi ſpurci ac vagi ſpiritus in complexum ſuum eas illexere, humanæ figuræ, ſed inhumanæ prorſus mentis & impietatis ſupremæ edituri ſobolem, nempe Hunnos, rapto & venatu ali conſuetos. *Forcatulus. lib. 5. pag. 722. ex Jornande in lib. rerum Getic.* Fabuloſum putarem, niſi D. Auguſtinus Sylvanos & Faunos, agreſtia veterum numina, improbos extitiſſe mulieribus, appetiſſe & peregiſſe concubitum retuliſſet: & Dæmones quoſdam, quos inquit, Duſios Galli nuncupant, eadem cupidine inquinatos pro comperto haberetur. *Ibid. ex Auguſtino. lib. 5. de Civit. Dei. Cap. 23.*

* *Diſput. lib. 2. Cap. 29.* Quod ſi quis igitur animo comprehendat res à populo Romano, prius tam præclarè, longo annorum numero, geſtas: iiſq; has conferat, quas adverſùs Gallos geſſere: tam diverſas eſſe comperiet; ut non ab uno eodemq; ſed diverſis populis, geſtæ eſſe videantur. Uſque adeo ſcilicet, oecæcat fortuna animos hominum, ait Livius: cum vim ſuam ingruentem refringi non vult. Quo fit, ut qui in perpetuis periculis verſantur, minus vituperari debeant; & minùs laudari qui continuâ fœlicitate fruuntur: cum & illos & hos fata eò trahere videantur: neq; conſilium illorum ad reſiſtendum malis, neque horum virtus ad comparandam fœlicitatem multum facere queat. &c.

* *He concludes*; Cum urbi Romæ tanta Imperii magntiudo fatalis eſſet; opprimi, ac vehementiſſime affligi eam oportuit, ut deinceps cautior, prudentiorque fieret, ac tantam imperii molem acquirendam: delere tamen planè non debuit. Itaque ut omnia hæc ita ſuccederent, Fata Camillum in exilium miſêre, non necaverunt, urbem à Gallis permiſêre occupari non Capitolium: utq; commodiùs occupari urbs poſſet, efficêre, ut major exercitus pars, ex prælio non Romam, ſed Veios fugeret. Et (ut omnia uno quaſi faſce comprehendam) effecerunt, ut ad avertendum à Republica tantam malorum molem, nihil à populo Romano prudenter ſapienterq; fieret: ad defendendum Capitolium & recuperandam urbem jam captam omnia commodiſſima inſtructa eſſent. *Diſput. Nic. Machiavel. lib. 2. Cap. 29.*

turn us neither their wonted wit, nor diſcretion, for averting the evil which befell them, and yet have all things made ready to their hands for defending the Capitol and recovering of the City. By the forecaſt of Fates, not of the Romans *it was, that exiled* Camillus, *who was no way guilty of the wrongs which the Senate had done unto the* Gaules, *no way obnoxious unto them, but free from all obligements, ſhould be at* Ardea *with one Army, and expected at* Veios *by another, that they might with joynt forces aſſault the* Gaules, *when they leaſt expected, and ſo recover the City.*

8. Had *Machiavel* told us what he meant by *Fate* or *Fortune*, we might either quickly agree with him, or eaſily confute him, as diſagreeing moſt from himſelf: whatſoever he meant by them, it had been a point of honeſty in him, to have craved pardon of *Plutarch* for contradicting him in the former diſcourſe; ſeeing he borroweth *Plutarchs* own language in this Comment of *Romes* ſurprizal by the *Gaules*. If *Machiavel* by *Fates* or *Fortune*, underſtand ſome branch of Gods *Decree* or *providence*, *mentem teneat*, *linguam corrigat*. For though he Comment upon a Heathen writer, it would no way miſbeſeem him ſometime ſo to ſpeak, as men might ſuſpect him to be a Chriſtian. But not to queſtion in what ſignification he uſed the words *Fates* or *Fortune*; the real *attributes* which he gives to *Fate* or *Fortune*, cannot belong to any power in Heaven or Earth, ſave only to the only wiſe inviſible GOD, *for who can blind the minds of men, of ſuch politick wiſe men as the* Romans *were, ſave only he who made our ſouls, and giveth wiſdom to whom he pleaſeth, who can make choice of excellent ſpirits, for managing humane affairs preſent, or entertain occaſions offered for great atchievances? who again can deprive ſuch men* (men ſo qualified as *Machiavel* would have them) *of life, depoſe them from their dignities, or ſo abate their ſtrength, as they ſhall not be able to make reſiſtance when evils are determined?* That power only can do all theſe, which knoweth all things, worketh all things, determines all things, ruleth all things. Yet all theſe attributes here ſpecified hath *Machiavel* beſtowed on *Fate*. Either was this man ſtricken with Heatheniſh blindneſs for detaining the truth in unrighteouſneſs, or elſe in ſeeing thus far into events, in his judgment, *Fatal*, he might have ſeen Gods providence ruling in them, and diſpoſing of all humane affairs whatſoever. The like contemplation of *fatal* or *fortunate events*, led *Comminæus*, a man aſwel ſeen in matters of State, as *Machiavel* was unto a diſtinct vew of Divine Providence, as ſhall be ſhewed * hereafter. Whatſoever effect theſe obſervations wrought in *Machiavel*; the peruſal of them will lift up the Chriſtian Readers heart to ſing with *Daniel*: *Bleſſed be the name of God for ever and ever, for wiſdom and might are his. He changeth the times and ſeaſons, he giveth wiſdom unto the wiſe, and knowledge to them that know underſtanding.*

See Chap. 29. Parag. 1.

9. But though we could make this or the like orthodoxal conſtruction of *Machiavels* meaning, in this diſcourſe, though *Fate* and *Fortune* in his language were the ſame that Gods *providence* is in ours; Yet the uſe which he makes of this his doctrine, would neither be conſonant to his own principles elſewhere delivered, nor to the Eternal truth: *Hoc unum pronunciabo de fortunæ viribus & fati neceſſitate, quod hiſtorias omnis generis percurrenti facile apparebit, homines fati neceſſitatem evitare non poſſe: ſed faciliorem eventum iis, quæ ab eo impendent, efficere, eumq; promovere; adeoq; parcarum telas texere, non retexere, aut rumpere. Quod etſi ita ſe habeat, non decet tamen, ut animum abjiciamus, noſq;*

plane committamus fato; ſed, quacunq; fortunâ aſpirante, bene ſperemus, diligenter prudenterq; rebus noſtris provideamus: quòd fatorum viæ & rationes producendorum effectuum, obſcuriores ſint, quam ut a nobis intelligi queant. Machiavel. in fine lib. 2. *What great matter is this, which is ſo plainly written in Hiſtories of every kind, as he that runs may read it?* His reſolution is this, that *men can not avoid the neceſſity of fate, but rather facilitate the events by it decreed: So unable are they to undo the contrivances or contextures of deſtiny, that by how much the more they ſtruggle with them, they weave and knit them faſter.* But ſhall State-pilots for this reaſon ſtrike ſail to *Fortune*, and ſuffer the world to float, whither *Fates* do drive it? *No, rather bear out againſt all blaſts of chance, becauſe the ways of fate, and manner how it brings its matter about, are ſo obſcure, that no wit of man can diſcern them.* But what boots it us to know the ways of *Fates* to be ſo obſcure, that they cannot be known, if neither *known* nor *unknown*, they can be avoided? It would inſpire our indeavours with greater alacrity, and our indeavours would be *bleſſed* with better ſucceſs, were we taught (as the truth is) that ſuch events as Politicians term *fatal*, are in their Nature, alterable, though not by us, or by any humane ſkill or policy, yet by him whoſe almighty aid, is always ready for us, ſo we ſeek it with due humility. But *Machiavel* (if I miſtake him not) was once of opinion, that *Fates* and *Fortune* interpoſe their authority only in ſome more principal humane affairs; he acknowledgeth no general providence over all. The general Maxim whence he falſely derives his fruitleſs inference, is, *That Gods Decree* (whereof Fates good or bad, are neceſſary branches) *is altogether immutable.* The moſt neceſſary, immediate, and moſt uſeful conſequent of which *truth*, is this, As long as the parties againſt whom he Decrees evil, continue the ſame, the evil decreed, is as immutable as his Decree; and men by ſeeking to avoid it by their wit or ſtrength, do draw it more ſpeedily, or more heavily upon them. For, it is impoſſible, that humane power ſhould not be foiled, whilſt it oppoſeth it ſelf againſt *Omnipotency*; or the devices of humane *wiſdom* not be defeated, whilſt they counterplot *wiſdom infinite.* But though in the Almighty, or in his Decree, there be no ſhadow of change; yet as *Daniel* ſpeaks, *he changeth times and ſeaſons*; and in that his *mercy* is *immutable*, he is always ready to repent him of the *evils* fore-threatned, when men repent them of the *evil*, for which he threatneth them. Or, in terms (perhaps) more proper, it is one eſſential part of his immutable Decree to alter the events *decreed*, or *fore-ſignified*, (be they good or bad) according as men alter their minds for *better* or *worſe*. But how *Fates* are invited or may be *avoided*, we are to ſpeak more particularly hereafter.

10. The very inſtance whence *Machiavel* framed his fore-mentioned Aphoriſm, will be a fit example for illuſtrating our preſent rule. The *Romans* (as he obſerves) were uſually moſt religious obſervers of the Law of Nations, and whilſt they continued thus, Gods bleſſings did reſt upon their pollicies: But at the time when the *Gaules* invaded *Italy*, the *Fabii*, being ſent Embaſſadors in a Treaty of peace, unadviſedly put on the girdle of war, and ſlew a Standard-bearer of the *Gaules* in defence and quarrel of the *Cluſini*, betwixt whom they ſhould have been indifferent Arbitrators. And in ſtead of juſt puniſhment (which by the Law of Nations was, to have been delivered up unto the Enemies whom they had wronged,) the *Romans* did grace

them with the office of Tribunes, at their return, and appointed them chief managers of that war with the *Gaules*, which * their inſolency had provoked. The ſucceſs whereof was ſuch, as the *Iſraelites* had, before *Achans* ſacriledge was puniſhed by *Joſuah*. *Romes* preſent calamity had ſpread much farther if the whole State had been as deeply infected with this foul *crime*, as the whole Senate and people, * then reſident at *Rome* were: *Sed Veios habitante Camillo, illic Roma fuit:* In as much, as the *life* and *ſoul* of the *Roman eſtate did then reſide* in the exiled *Camillus* and his company, (who had ſuffered much wrong from the *Romans*, but had done none unto the *Gaules*;) it pleaſed the Lord to raiſe up his Spirit, to reſcue the City from their tyranny, who would have revenged the offence committed, with greater *ſeverity*, than his Eternal equity had appointed for this time, wherein *Romes* iniquity was not fully ripe for utter deſtruction.

11. To do juſtice, though to a publick Enemy, is a fundamental rule of Prophetical and Chriſtian policy, whereto *Machiavel* hath one, and *Plutarch* another diſcourſe very pertinent. Thus to do, is good and acceptable in the ſight of God, without whoſe ſpecial direction and benediction, the practice of moſt approved rules of policy, prove more fruitleſs, if not more dangerous to great Eſtates, than choiſeſt receipts do to illiterate or ordinary patients, being adminiſtred without the Phyſitians adviſe or preſcript. * To a *Patient* demanding why the ſame Medicine, which had once done him much good, did at the ſecond time do him harm; *Vindicianus* a learned Phyſitian in St. *Auguſtines* time anſwered, becauſe at the firſt time, I gave it you; you took it the ſecond time your ſelf, being of that age, in which I would not have given it. Now as diverſity of times, alteration of humors, or conſtitution of mens bodies, may cauſe the ſelf ſame Medicine, which at ſome times brought health, at another time to bring forth Death or dangerous ſickneſs to one and the ſelf ſame body: ſo may Kingdoms, whether for form or government the ſame, or different, be ſpeedily overthrown, by following that method of reformation, or the ſelf ſame rule of policy, by which moſt States formerly have been perſwaded. He that *changeth times* and *ſeaſons*, diſpoſeth the concurrents, or diſſolveth the combination of occurrent circumſtances or opportunities, muſt give his approbation or allowance, before any contrivance of man can be effectual. He is the ſupream Phyſitian of mens Souls, the preſerver of States and Kingdoms. The greateſt Stateſmen are at the beſt, but his *Chyrurgions*, or his Apothecaries, and if they adventure upon any difficult cure without conſulting him; the ſame hand which healed this year, may wound the next, the ſame *receipt* which gave life to day, may kill to morrow. From theſe Collections, *Machiavel*, ſo he would be conſtant unto himſelf, cannot vary.

12. The diverſity of *Fortune* much furthering ſome, & croſſing others*

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* Imprimis igitur habenda ratio eſt earum rerum, quæ fato ipſo, ſeu aſtrorum influxu, evenire videntur, & quibus ut reſiſtamus, fortuna non permittit. Quarum exemplum luculentiſſimum eſt id, quod populus Romanus, in clade Gallica accepit. Nam cum fatis urgentibus, tanta moles mali inſtaret: primam occaſionem, ad illam accelerandam dederunt tres Fabii Legati, qui cum agere debuiſſent de pace, inter Cluſinos & Gallos; contra jus gentium, pro Cluſinis, adverſus Gallos prælio decertarunt: atq; ita Gallorum iram, adverſus populum Romanum provocarunt. *Machiavel. Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 29.

* Magnus ille noſtrorum temporum Medicus Vindicianus, conſultus à quodam; dolori ejus adhiberi juſſit, quod in tempore congruere videbatur: adhibitum ſanitas conſecuta eſt. Deinde, poſt annos aliquot eâdem curſus corporis causâ commotus, hoc idem ille putavit adhibendum: adhibitum vertit in pejus. Miralus, currit ad Medicum, indicat factum: at ille, ut erat acerrimus, ita reſpondit; Ideo malè acceptus es, quia ego non juſſi: ut omnes qui audîſſent, parumq; hominem noſſent, non eum arte medicinali fidere, ſed neſcio qua illicitâ potentiâ putarent. Unde, quum eſſet à quibuſdam poſtea ſtupentibus interrogatus, aperuit quod non intellexerant, videlicet illi ætati jam non hoc ſe fuiſſe juſſurum. *Auguſt. Epiſt.* 5. *ad Marcellinum.*

* Dum ſæpe multumq; ipſe mecum cogito de fortunæ diverſitate quæ aliis ſecundam, aliis adverſam ſe in eorum actionibus, inſtitutiſq; exhibet: hanc ejus cauſam inveniſſe mihi videor, quòd ut diverſi ſunt agendi modi, aliis atq; aliis hominibus conſueti ac naturales: ita aliæ atque aliæ ſunt temporum rationes, occaſioneſq;. Quidam in rebus gerendis, adminſtrandiſq; ferocia quadam utuntur, & omnia cum impetu agunt. &c. *Machiavel. Lib.* 3. *Cap.* 9. in initio.

he derives from theſe originals: *As there be divers kinds of proceedings in managing the affairs of peace or war, with whoſe diverſities the diſpoſitions of men, by nature or cuſtom much different, ſuit, ſome with one, ſome with another: ſo have different times their ſeaſons and opportunities. Some times require quick diſpatch, others delay of buſineſſes; ſome buſineſſes ſpeedy execution, others maturity of conſultation and long forecaſt.* Now ſeeing no one man is fitted for all kinds of proceedings, nor no one kind of proceeding can befit all or moſt times, but all have their limits, which without errour or danger they cannot tranſgreſs. Hence it is that thoſe men leaſt err, and become moſt fortunate in their atchievements, which have the *hap* to be imployed in ſuch times and ſeaſons, as beſt agree with their natural and *accuſtomed manner of projecting*. *State-fortune* then by *Machiavels* concluſion, is no *baſtard* brood, no *Fatherleſs brat*, but the true and legitimate offspring of *Time*, fitly matched with the peculiar diſpoſition of experienced *practicks*. On the contrary, publick *misfortune* or ill ſucceſs, is the natural iſſue of mens endeavours, when *they* are undertaken in an unfit time. The only queſtion then remaining, is, whether there be *any*, or if any, *who* is the chief Author of all *fit matches* or diſagreements between the ſeveral diſpoſitions of men, and the opportunities of times? It is a point unqueſtionable, that the prime *Author* of ſuch matches, is the firſt *Author* of all ſucceſs, be it good or bad, in humane affairs. The greateſt amongſt the ſons of men cannot command what opportunities they pleaſe, but muſt be content with ſuch as time affords them: nor are the wiſeſt of men always able to make choiſe of the beſt which time *preſents*. Time likewiſe, though thus affording opportunities, cannot appoint the men, that are moſt fit to entertain them. So that neither is time the *Fountain* or *Author*, nor can men be their own Carvers of good ſucceſs. Doth this office then belong to *Goddeſs Fortune*? If ſhe could ſee this, ſhe might ſee all things; and were no longer to be reputed Fortune: *wiſdom* and *providence* ſhould be her titles. It is *That wiſdom* by which all things were made, which diſpoſeth their operations. It is that *Providence*, which was before all times, that diſpenſeth the *times* and *opportunities*, that are. Theſe ſit ſupream *ſcrutators* in conſultations of ſtate, and have more caſting voices, than the world takes notice off. They ſecretly ſway every election: other Suffragants may freely declare their opinions, and vent their breath, which theſe *tune* and *moderate* as they pleaſe.

13. That we may deſcend to *Machiavels* inſtance; The *Romans* appointed no General without publick conſultation. Whether *Fabius Maximus* were choſen General by unanimous conſent of the Senate, or with difficulty and contradiction, we have not obſerved, or do not remember. Even ſuch as were moſt forward, or factious for him, did little think how well his peculiar temper did ſute with the opportunity of thoſe times, wherein he was appointed to *cope* with *Hannibal*. The common rumors, which run of him throughout *Rome*, argue a general diſlike of his proceedings; if lingring, might in their cenſures be called proceedings rather than cowardly delay or *detrectation*. The beſt proof he gave for a long time of his courage, was his conſtant contempt of others cenſures. * But after, the event did as far ſurpaſs their hopes of his ſlow proceedings, as theſe had come ſhort of their firſt expectations, their note was changed. *Fabius* was now the (a) only man,

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* *Non ponebat enim rumores ante ſalutem.*

a) *Unus homo nobis cunctando reſtituit rem.* Ennius.

and (as ſome of them make him) more than a man; in (*b*) common eſteem the only *Author* of their Cities preſervation. Howbeit, to ſuch as can reſolve effects into their *prime* and native cauſes, children might more juſtly be fathered upon the *Women* that bears them, than this joyful iſſue, which was brought forth by his lingring, can be upon his forecaſt or wiſedom. For this cunctation, of which the peculiar opportunities of theſe times begat good ſucceſs, was to *Fabius* (* as *Machiavel* well obſerves) a diſpoſition natural: he could not have changed with the times, nor faſhioned himſelf to new occaſions. He had held the ſame *byas* ſtill, though on another much different ground: and ſo might he well have loſt his late purchaſed fame, and *Rome* her prize, unleſs there had been more ſkill uſed in playing the game, than the ſuppoſed *Roman* Gameſters practiſed. As ſuppoſe *Fabius* had been ſent to have bid *Hannibal* play in *Africk*, and *Scipio* appointed to keep the Goal in *Italy*: Rome and *Carthage*, by the miſplacing of theſe two men, might have changed *Fates* and *Fortunes*. *Rome*, in all likelihood, had been taken, when *Fabius* ſaved it; and *Carthage* inriched with *Roman* ſpoils, at the time when *Scipio* ranſacked it. *Rome* could not have found a ſurer Buckler to bear off *Hannibals* blows in *Italy*, than *lingring Fabius*: nor a fitter ſword to beat him in his native ſoil, than *forward Scipio*. And yet was *Fabius* the moſt forward man to oppoſe *Scipio* his expedition into *Africk*: and it may be ſome of *Scipio* his friends had *bandied* as earneſtly againſt *Fabius*. Either of them liked his own courſe beſt: if haply either liked any other beſides. Neither of them knew, what temper was fitteſt for every *ſeaſon*; nor is it poſſible for the wiſdom of man to match theſe always aright, becauſe albeit the temper or diſpoſitions of men did never alter, yet the occaſions or opportunities of *times* are more changeable than the Moon.

14. The Aphoriſm which *Machiavel* gathers from the former diſcuſſions is not ſo falſe, as imperfect, and it is this: Seeing different *times* require different manners of *proceedings*, and *State-agents* cannot eaſily change their manner, whereto they have been moſt accuſtomed; it were moſt expedient for States to change their Agents, that their ſeveral diſpoſitions might more exactly *ſute* with the alterations of times and opportunities. The facility of obſerving or practiſing this rule in *Ariſtocratis*, is, in his judgment, one ſpecial cauſe why, that kind of government is more durable than Monarchical. For Princes will hold their wonted ways, they will not change their reſolutions, much leſs will they give place to others, that are better fitted for entertaining the opportunities or change of times. * *Petrus Soderinus*, a man for his moderation and wiſdom fit to have governed an Empire, did (as he thinks) overthrow himſelf and the *Florentine* eſtate, by

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(b) —*Sed mens humana major; nec tela nec enſes*
Nec fortes ſpectabat equos, tot millia contra
Pœnorum invictumq; ducem, tot in agmine, ſolus
Ibat, & in ſeſe cuncta arma viroſq; gerebat.
Sillius Italicus. lib. 7.

* Neq; Fabius ſuâ cunctatione, ullâ commodiori temporum occaſione uti potuit, quam illâ ipſâ: cum tamen naturalis eſſet in Fabio illa cunctatio, non ex preſenti temporum ſtatu ſumpta. Id enim vel eo ipſo ſatis declaravit, quòd cum Scipio in Africam poſtea ad conficiendum bellum trajicere vellet: Fabius ei vehementer reſiſtebat, & omnibus modis impedire conabatur: ut qui naturâ ſuâ magis ad cunctandum, arcendaq; præſentia pericula ferretur, quàm ad alia majora ſubeunda Itaq; per Fabium non ſtetit, quò minus Punicum bellum abſolvi finiriq; non poſſet, quòd is non animadverteret alia jam tempora eſſe, & aliam belli gerendi rationem commodam exiſtere. Quod ſi ſolus rerum potitus fuiſſet, victoriam de Carthaginenſibus obtinere nequiviſſet, quod belli gerendi rationes temporum diverſitati neſciviſſet accommodare. Sed cum in ea republica tot eſſent inſignes Imperatores, ac rei militaris peritiſſimi homines, voluit fortuna, ut ſicuti difficilibus illis temporibus Fabius bellum ſuſtinere, ac pericula arcere; ita poſtea, commodiori rerum ſtatu, Scipio id conficere, & victoriam obtinere potuerit. *Machiavel* 3. *Chap.* 9.

* Petrus Soderinus, cujus alias etiam mentionem fecimus, naturâ humanus erat, & patientiâ ſuâ multas injuriis ferebat, quæ res ſalutaris fuit Reip. ſimul atque ipſi quamdiu tempora clementiora fuere. Sed cum temporum mutatione ferrea quædam ætas adeſſet, quæ ſeveritatem poſtulabat: atque ille à conſueta ſua patientia & bonitate diſcedere neſciret, ſemetipſum ſimul, atque patriam perdidit. *Machiavel. Lib.* 3. *Cap.* 9.

continuing his authority, being unable to put off his wonted *lenity* and *patience*, in times requiring *auſtere* imperious reformation. Whereas Pope *Julius* the ſecond, played the Lyon all his time with the Foxes luck: the more he was curſed for his impetuous inſolency, the ſtronger he grew: no thanks to him or his wit, but to the times, which had they changed, he muſt have fallen. But was not *Septimius Afer*, for his native ſeverity, aſwel fitted to the impetuous diſpoſition of the *Roman* Empire when he undertook it, as any Medicine can be to the malady, for which it is by art prepared? And yet his practice (though exactly anſwering to *Machiavaels* rules of reformation (here and elſewhere ſet down) found but the Mountebanks ſucceſs; he cured ſome preſent *miſchiefs*, but procured more grievous, ſecret, and more permanent inconveniences. The barbarous nations which longed moſt for *Romes* deſtruction, learned the uſe and art of making the *Romans* Weapons and Artillery, from the diſcontented *Exiles*, which his ſeverity thruſt upon them. Nor did *Conſtantine* the great (though *Leunclavius* be willing to prefer the unſanctified *Zozimus* his Bill againſt him, to Chriſtian Princes) half ſo much weaken the Empire, by his largeneſs towards the Chriſtians, as *Septimius* did wound it, by ſeeking to reſtore, or rather to *intend*, the rigour of ancient Diſcipline amongſt Modern diſſolute *Romans*. Many like practices, in the iſſue became means of the Empires more ſpeedy diſſolution; though all, (as far as the eye of policy could ſee,) moſt convenient for the preſent ſeaſon, but it is not for Politicians to know the exact temper of times and ſeaſons, *which the Father hath put in his own power, as caſes reſerved for infinite Wiſdom.*

15. Had *Rome* in the days of *Arcadius* and *Honorius* ſtood at the ſame point of liking with God, as ſhe ſometimes had done: theſe overſights (as it pleaſeth poſterity now to cenſure them) of *Conſtantine* and *Septimius* with infinite other particulars of like nature, falling out before and after them, ſhould have added much to the meaſure of her wonted proſperity. But being now declined from Gods *favour* to the *aſpect* of his *juſtice*, all conſpire againſt her: and her beſt *ſupporters* become *ſtumbling-blocks*, to cauſe her to fall. And, although it had been poſſible for the ſeveral ſucceſſions of her ancient and choſeſt Senators, to have been aſſembled together in Council for her good; yet what poſſibility was there left to prevent the *combination* of ſecond cauſes ſecretly *conſpiring* her deſtruction, when as the unavoidable miſchances of Nations, which they knew not, even the diſaſters of her enemies became *confederates* with domeſtick miſcarriages to work her miſchief. If we conſider only the viſible cauſes, or *means* obſervable, by which this mighty Empire came to miſerable ruine: not all the overſights committed by any one, though the very worſt of all her Governours Counſellors; not all the diviſes of any one Nation or common enemy, did ſow the ſeeds of ſo much evil and miſhap, as befel her from one example of ſeverity, unſeaſonably practiſed by the * King of *Goathes*, upon a wicked woman, that ſought to cover her adultery, by her abuſed huſbands *blood*. The fact indeed deſerved the *height* of Princely indignation, and more than an ordinary death, but to pull her in pieces with horſes (as *Hermanarichus* commanded) was ſo indignly taken by her Brethren, that in revenge they killed this grave and ancient King; by whoſe wiſdom and authority the *Goathes* had been able ſo well to have matched the *Hunnes*, as the *Romans* might have ſtood as arbitrators to moderate the quarrel

Bonfin. lib. 2. dec. 1.

quarrel as they ſaw fit, or to have devided the prey. But the *Goathes*, being ſuddenly deprived of their Governour in the very *nick*, when the war was begun, left their habitation to the *Hunnes*, and (upon proteſtations of more than ordinary fidelity and good ſervice) got to be admitted as natural ſubjects within the Empire, which by this means became expoſed to a double miſchief. It hath the *Hunnes* as near, but more inſolent and noiſom neighbours, than the *Goathes* had been: and through the folly and greedineſs of the Imperial *Officers*, the *Goath* in ſhort time, of a former open enemy, became a treacherous friend. The *Romans nurſt* this young *Snake* in their boſom, after ſuch an unpleaſant and untowardly faſhion, as they might be ſure, he would be ready to uſe his *Sting*, when God ſhould ſend him one. And albeit the *Goath* and *Hun*, did naturally worſe agree, than the Toad and Spider: yet in relation to the *execution* of Gods juſtice upon the *Roman* Empire, they hold this exact ſubordination, that whereſoever the one had broken *skin*, the other was ready to infuſe his poiſon; the one always ready to inlarge the *wounds*, which the other had made before they cloſed. Howbeit, when both theſe enemies had done the worſt to *Rome* that they intended, (for both of them had power in reſpect of any help that man could make, to do her as much harm, as they liſted) yet the Prophets ſpeech concerning *Iſrael*, was remarkably true of her, *Perditio tua ex te O Roma*, *Romes* deſtruction was from her ſelf. Her very enemies would have healed her, but *Babylon*-like ſhe would not be healed. *Alaricus* the *Goath* had taken the City, but made conſcience of defacing it: he ſpared the ſupplicants for the Temples ſake. *Attilas* was kindly intreated by Pope *Leo* not to viſit it; the rather thereto perſwaded, becauſe God had viſited *Alaricus* for polluting it. It was the cry of the noble *Aetius* his blood treacherouſly ſhed, not by the Enemy, but by the Emperor *Valentinian*, at the inſtigation of *Maximus*, which did ſolicite *Genſericus* King of *Vandals* to come out of *Africk* to viſit *Rome*, now ſunk ſo low by *Aetius* his fall, that ſhe could never be raiſed again.

16. The concatenation of ſiniſter Fates, that is, (in better language) the combination of ſecond cauſes deſigned by God for the execution of his conſequent Will upon the *Roman* Empire, is in this caſe ſo pregnant: that I cannot make a fitter cloſe of this diſcourſe, than by relating the Hiſtorical Circumſtances, occaſion and conſequence of *Aetius* his death. *Maximus* a *Roman* Senator, and principal *Favorite* of *Valentinian* the Emperor, * ſporting with him on a time in his Palace, chanced to leave his Ring behind. The Emperor, by this token invites *Maximus* his Lady to come and viſit his Empreſs *Eudoxia*, his intention being to viſit her in ſuch a manner, as was no way pleaſing to her, but moſt diſpleaſing to her Huſband, unto whom ſhe diſcloſed their joynt wrong and her ſpecial grief. The indignity of the Fact (being done by ſo dear a friend as he ſuppoſed *Valentinian* was) made ſo deep impreſſion in his heart, that an ordinary revenge could not ſuffice. The Emperors life ſeemed too ſmall a recompence, without hopes of ſucceeding him: and his hopes of ſucceſſion (he ſaw) were but vain if *Aetius* ſhould ſurvive *Valentinian*, *Maximus* therefore, ſmoothly diſſembling his diſcontent for the preſent, perſwades the Emperor that *Aetius* was too potent in the opinion of the State, and become more popular than before, by the happy ſucceſs of his late employment againſt *Attilas* the common enemy, and terrour of Chriſtendom.

Vide Procop. l. 3. de bello Vandalico.

Paulus Diaconus. lib. 15.

dom. The Emperors weakneſs is eaſily wrought to put *Aetius* to death, which (as one obſerves) was in effect to cut off his own right hand with his left, and to expoſe himſelf to publick hatred and danger, without a Defendant. *Thraſilas*, a Centurion to *Aetius* knowing his Generals loyalty and innocency, in revenge of his undeſerved death, kills *Valentinian*. And *Maximus* not content to uſurp the Empire, unleſs he might have the Empreſs *Eudoxia* into the bargain, abuſeth her as *Valentinian* had done his Lady. *Eudoxia* more impatient than *Maximus* his wife had been, ſollicites *Genſericus* King of the *Vandals* to revenge her husbands death, and her wrongs. In the execution of Gods will or wrath upon *Maximus*, the *Romans* prevent him, for they ſtone him to death; but could not prevent the ranſacking of the City by him, and the final overthrow of the *Roman* Empire. As for thoſe imperial Titles which ſome afterwards took upon them, theſe were but as ominous formalities, for the more legal reſigning up of the *Roman* Soveraignty, into the hands of ſtrangers, as *Momillus* ſurnamed *Auguſtulus* the laſt of *Italian* blood which bare rule in *Rome*) did it into the hands of the *Hunnes*, the relicks of *Attilas* his race, their inveterate Enemies; whoſe rage and cruelty when it was at the height of its ſtrength, had been broken by *Aetius* his valour. As the *Roman* Rulers and Senate had done to him: ſo hath the Lord now done to them.

Vide Bonfinium lib. 7. dec. 1. & Niceph. l. 15. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Cap. 11.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Why God is called the Lord of Hoſts, or the Lord mighty in Battel. Of his ſpecial providence in managing Wars.

1. ALbeit the ſole authority of Scripture without the aſſignment of any reaſon, be a warrant alſufficient for us to enſtile our God the Lord of *Hoſts*: yet why he is ſo often in Scripture thus enſtiled, as by a moſt ſpecial and peculiar attribute, theſe reaſons may without offence be given. *His peculiar hand* is not in any ſubject of humane contemplation more conſpiuous, than in the managing of Wars. Why it ſhould be more conſpicuous in this than in other buſineſſes, wherein men are much imployed, the reaſon is plain: for *Contingences* are no where more tickliſh than in War, nor is their number in any other ſubject ſo incomprehenſible to the wit of man. It is hard to uſe wit and valour both at once; hard to ſpy an errour upon the firſt commiſſion of it, harder to redeem the time, or regain opportunities loſt. It is a groſs errour which hath inſinuated it ſelf into ſome Politicians thoughts, if we may judge of their thoughts by their writings, that the chances which may fall out contrary to Warriours expectations, are not ſo many but that they may be forecaſt or numbred. It is the Politicians errour likewiſe, (though would to God it were his alone) to think all occurrences which are caſual in reſpect of man, to be from the firſt occaſions of war begun, ſo determined by him, which gives ſucceſs in Battel, as that victory muſt in deed and truth (though to men ſhe ſeem not ſo) incline to one party more than to the other. Theſe caſualties of war, or doubtful inclinations of victory, are in ſucceſſion infinite. Their poſſibilities one way or other, may every moment increaſe from miſdemeanours, either of them which fight the

Battels, or of the parties for whom they fight. The faireſt probability of good ſucceſs may be *abated* from every good act or reformation of the adverſary. Gods Eternal freedom either in determining new occurrences, or altering the combinations of others already extant, cannot be prejudiced by any Act paſt. He hath not ſo before all time Decreed them, that he doth not ſtill Decree them, at his pleaſure, as well during all the time of war and fight, as before. *Ita accidit* **ſæpenumero, ut fortuna ad utrumq; victoriam transferat, quò Bellum extrahatur, animoſq; nunc horum, nunc illorum accendat. So it oftentimes falls out, that Fortune makes fair profer of victory to both ſides, and one while incourageth this party, another while that, by which means, wars are uſually prolonged.* Now whatſoever in theſe caſes befals men either beyond their expectation, or contrary to their forecaſt, is counted *fortunate*, if it be for their good; or *fatal*, if it be for their harm. Hence men not only of moſt accurate book-learning amongſt the *Romans*, but of beſt experience in matters of war, have given more to *Fortune*, than by-ſtanders or Hiſtorical Relators uſually acknowledge to be her due.

* Lazius

Had *Cæſar* upon a diligent and accurate ſurvey of the *means*, by which he got his victories, allotted *Fortune* her juſt part in *ſeveral*, or told us truly how much fell out beyond or above his expectation, how much juſt according to his reckoning: the world (I think) would have been of the ſame mind with *Machiavel*, in his * forementioned contemplations of *Romes* ſurpriſal by the *Gaules*, which was, *That the moſt victorious* do not deſerve much glory either for wit or valour, nor the conquered much diſpraiſe for the contrary imperfections; ſeeing *Fate* or *Fortune* have always the chiefeſt ſtroke as well in the exaltation of the one, as in the dejection of the other. Notwithſtanding it is no part of mine, whatſoever it was of *Machiavels* meaning, to have any man deprived of that commendation which is due to him in reſpect of other men. And it is not the leaſt *title* unto true praiſe, to be in *favour* with the Supream *diſpoſer* of Martial ſucceſs. In reſpect of him the *victorious* have no cauſe to boaſt, but rather, to condemn their ſloth and negligence in that the fruits of their ſucceſs, was no better than uſually it proves, they having ſo good aſſiſtance, and ſure pledges of Divine favour.

* Chap. 27. Sect. 7.

2. Whereſoever *Cicero*, *Cæſar*, *Vegetius*, or other Heathens, could ſuſpect or deſcry the ſecret aſſiſtance of Fate or Fortune, ſpecially in matters more remarkable, as are the uſual conſequents of war; there we may without ſolæciſm ſay, the finger of the Lord of Hoſts did work. For if the leaſt wound that is given or taken in fight, do not make it ſelf, but is made by the vigilant and working hand of man; ſhall not the chief ſtroke or ſway of Battel, which uſually falls without Warriors comprehenſion, lead us to a direct, a certain and poſitive cauſe? Now if this cauſe were otherways unknown, by what name could we more properly call it, than by the Lord of *Hoſts*, or great Moderator of war.

If we may gueſs at Gods working in all, by the manifeſtation of his ſpecial hand in ſome: I am perſwaded there was never any great Battel fought ſince the world began, much leſs any famous war accompliſhed with ſuch facility or ſpeed, but that if it had pleaſed the Hiſtorians to expreſs all circumſtances of ſpecial moments, or could the reader ſurvey ſuch as they expreſs, with as diligent and curious eyes, as one Artificer will anothers work: the conſultations of their chief *managers*, and the executions which ſeem to have moſt dependance on them; would bear no better proportion with their entire ſucceſs, than the day-laborers work doth with a curious edifice, or than the Pioners pains doth with the *defence* or *expugnation* of ſtrong Forts or Caſtles. And yet even in the matureſt deliberations or moſt exact conſultations of war, related by ordinary Hiſtorians, the final determination, may for the moſt part be reſolved into ſome ſpecial Divine inſtinct: the execution of that which men by ſuch inſtinct determine and reſolve upon, eſſentially depends upon the diſpoſition of Gods peculiar providence who hath an authentick negative in the uſe of every means, which men make choice of; albeit in uſing them he admit men, as his co-workers, but not as ſharers in production of the principal effect or end. He alone beſtoweth victory where he pleaſeth, by what means or whoſe *agency* he pleaſeth, but not always with victory and ſucceſs, unleſs, ſuch as be his Agents or inſtruments in the execution of his conſequent will upon others, be ready to do his antecedent will or pleaſure themſelves.

3. This is a ſubject whoſe fuller explication would require a larger volume, than this whole Treatiſe in my intendment ſhall be. I will therefore inſtance eſpecially in one Battel, and another war, of the greateſt conſequences, that the Hiſtories of theſe three hundred years paſt preſent unto us. The firſt ſhall be in that fierce and violent conflict at *Grunwald* between *Jagello* or *Vladiſlaus* King of *Poland* and *Lituania*, and the *Crucigeri* or Knights of *Pruſſia*, about the year one thouſand four hundred. Should a Politician or Souldier, that will believe no more, than he ſees grounds for out of his own Art, have ſeen the mighty preparation and couragious reſolution of both parties, he would haply have demanded a ſign of Gods providence, and ſaid in his heart, Let us ſee either of theſe two Armies take flight upon a conceipted noiſe of Chariots or Horſe-men, or an imagination of an Army not really exiſtent: or what *Gideon* is he now alive, that dare adventure on the weaker of them, with three hundred men although he had thrice three hundred Trumpeters to encourage them. We will not therefore preſs any with belief of Miracles in theſe latter times, but rather perſwade them with us to acknowledge, that thoſe extraordinary *manifeſtations* of power more than natural, in Battels fought for *Iſrael* and *Judah* by *Gideon* or *Sampſon*, by the Angels, by the Hoſt of Heaven, or by inferiour Elements, were not more pregnant documents of Gods immediate hand in managing wars, nor better proofs of his juſt *Title* to be the Lord of Hoſts, than the contrivances of ordinary cauſes and occurrences in Martial affairs of moderate times, doth or might afford to all ſuch as rightly ſurvey them. To make a mighty Army fall by the free and un-impeached exerciſe of their own valour and ſtrength, can be no leſs wonderful to unpartial eyes, than to ſcatter them by fire and lightning, than to beat them down by mighty Hailſtones from Heaven. To cauſe the ſtronger and more ſkilful in war to faint, without diminiſhing of their courage and ſtrength, is no leſs the Lords doing, than if their hearts had been ſurpriſed with a *panick* terrour, or their arms ſuddenly deprived of life and motion, as *Jeroboams* was. Yet this was the caſe of the *Pruſſian* Knights of the Croſs, and the *Germane* Forces which aſſiſted them againſt *Jagello.*

4. The conduct of the right wing of *Jagello*'s Army, which did conſiſt of *Lituanians*, was commended to his Brother *Vitoudus*, not out of any foreſight of advantage, but in honour of his perſon, or of that

Nation; which was perhaps an overſight in point of war. However, this wing was fiercely aſſaulted by the oppoſite wing of the *Germane* Army, which was a great deal the ſtronger, eſpecially for Horſemen. God by his ſecret * providence did ſo diſpoſe that this advantage ſhould redound unto their greater overthrow. For the *Lituanians* being the far weaker part of *Jagello* his Army, both for want of ſkill and of Armour, after a furious encounter fled the faſter: and the *Germane* wing, which had put them to flight, not ſuſpecting but that their other wing had been as able to match the *Polonian*, as they had been to defeat the *Lituanian*; purſued the victory ſo long and ſo far, that they were neither able fully to ſuccour the other wing, being ſcattered and broken by the *Polonians*, before their return, nor to flye from their enemies with that ſpeed they deſired; as being over wearied with the former chaſe of the *Germans*; by this overſight and preſumption, fifty thouſand were ſlain, and (as ſome relate) almoſt as many taken priſoners. They had put their confidence in the valour, ſkill and multitude of their Army, which did conſiſt of an hundred and forty thouſand choice Souldiers. The good King *Jagello* his truſt was in his prayers to God; and in the preſumption of his Enemy, which had been ſo triumphant before the victory, ſo certain of victory before the joyning of the Battel; that they would not give *Jagello* leave to ſay his prayers, or do his wonted ſervice unto God, but ſent him two Swords in mockery, one for himſelf, and another for his Brother *Vitoudus*, as if they had wanted weapons to defend themſelves; profering him withal, that if the place wherein he then was, were too ſtrait for ordering his men they would go back, as in contempt and ſcorn they did, and make him room. This inſolent meſſage was by the religious King embraced, as a welcom prognoſtick that they ſhould give him place againſt their wills. And ſo it fell out, that they were not able to defend themſelves within their Trenches; their Tents and Carriages became a prey to the *Polonians*, being ſo well Fraught with all manner of proviſion, not for neceſſity only, but for pleaſure, that *Jagello* cauſed a great number of Wine-veſſels to be burſt in pieces, leſt his Souldiers ſhould be overcome with plenty of Wine, after they had overcome their potent Enemies, or at leaſt be hindred from further purſuit of victory. There a man might have ſeen a ſtrange ſpectacle, a flood or ſtream not of blood or Wine, but as if it had been of gore by the mixture of the Wine and the blood alike violently ſhed in the *Germane* Camp. The gaudineſs of their Armour would not ſuffer ſuch as eſcaped by flight, to lye hid in the Fens or Reeds into which they ran. This was the iſſue of their unhallowed confidence, which had in their Tents abundance of Torches and of Chains; the one provided for leading the Nobles of *Poland* Captive, the other for firing their Cities.

5. There is a ſtory mentioned by *Salvianus* exactly parallel'd to the former, for the different diſpoſitions of the parties conflictant, and for the contrary ſucceſs which befel their contrary demeanors before the Battel. The conflict was betwixt the *Goathes* and the *Gaules*. The *Goathes* were a kind of Chriſtians, but *Arrians*, through default of their Inſtructors. The *Gaules* were Catholicks, as good as *Rome* had any in thoſe days; ſo were the *Pruſſian* Knights: *Jagello* was a late convert Chriſtian, and very devout in his kind, yet not quite purged from ſome Heatheniſh inbred ſuperſtition. It was a cuſtom with him to turn thrice round about, and to break a ſtraw in three pieces

* Vide Varſevicii paral. in vita Jagell.

before he went abroad. How much more acceptable or leſs diſpleaſing unto God, how much more available in the day of Battel unfained humility, fear and devotion, (though in part tainted with erroneous opinion, and ſuperſtition) are, than confidence in the purity of opinions, or profeſſion of Orthodoxal Religion, without correſpondency of practice, cannot better be expreſſed than it is by * *Salvianus. That ſaying of our Saviour*, He that exalts himſelf ſhall be brought low, *was evidently experienced in the* Goathes *and in us: they humbled themſelves and were exalted; we exalted our ſelves and were dejected.* This our General found true in himſelf, being led Captive into that City of the Enemies, into which he preſumed he ſhould the ſame day have entred as Conqueror. Herein the judgment of God was apparent upon him, that he ſhould ſuffer, whatſoever he had preſumed or undertaken to do. The King of the *Goathes* (as he concludes,) fought with prayers and ſupplications before he came to fight with the arm of fleſh; and he therefore went out with confidence unto Battel, as having obtained victory in his payer.

A ſecond parallel to the former Battel, for the alternant inclinations of victory, or ſudden turning of woful and ſad beginnings unto joyful iſſue, might be taken from that famous Battel of *Flodden*, if we may believe either the ordinary Scottiſh Hiſtory, or the conſtant report of the *Engliſh*, which were then alive, and took the Relation from the mouths of ſuch as were imployed in that ſervice, being men of note and no way partial. In their obſervation, it was the extraordinary valour of the *Scottiſh* vauntguard in the very firſt onſet or joyning of Battel, which brought victory (otherwiſe doubtful or declining from them) to the *Engliſh*. For the ſudden diſcomfiture and confuſed flight of the *Engliſh* Vantguard unto the main Battel, made that unfortunate King believe, that the *Engliſh* Army began to reel; and out of this miſtake, as one that had prepared himſelf to follow the chaſe, rather than to order his own Battel, he was encompaſſed by the *Engliſh* in that very place (as ſome report) which he had been forewarned, but in terms general and ambiguous, to eſchue.

6. That great war between *Charles* the Fifth, and the confederate Princes of *Germany*, begun in the year 1546. was more lingring. For as the Judicious * Hiſtorian obſerves, we ſhall hardly find any Record in Antiquity of two ſuch great Armies lying ſo near one to the other, ſo long as theſe two Armies did without a full Battel. The war was managed, as if it had been a game at Cheſs, wherein divers overſights were committed on both ſides; and yet the diſadvantage given or taken, ſtill ſo recoverable, that the old Maxim, *Non licet bis peccare in bello*, may ſeem by the event of this war, to be reſtrained to *prælium*, rather to a ſet Battel than to *war*. *Charles* the Emperor, did in the eſteem of Warriours, manage his buſineſſes more cauteleuſly than the Confederates did: and yet if we ſhould ſpeak in the ordinary Politician or Souldiers language, was more beholding to Fortune, than to prudence or counſel of War. It was a great over-

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* Non ita Gothi, non ita Vandali, qui & in diſcrimine poſiti opem à Deo poſtulant, & proſperitatis ſuæ munus divinis nominibus appellant. Deniq; probavit hoc, bello Proximo infelicitas noſtra. Cum enim Gothi metuerent præſumpſimus nos: nos in viribus ſpem ponere, illi in Deo: cum pax ab illis poſtularetur, a nobis negaretur: illi Epiſcopos mitterent, nos repelleremus; illi etiam in alienis Sacerdotibus Deum honorarent, nos etiam in noſtris contemneremus: prout actus utriuſque partis, ita & rerum terminus fuit. Illis data eſt in ſummo timore palma; nobis in ſumma elatione confuſio. Verè & in nobis tunc & in illis evidenter probatum fuit illud Domini noſtri dictum: *quoniam, qui ſe exaltat, humiliabitur, & qui ſe humiliat, exaltabitur.* Illis enim exaltatio data eſt pro humilitate; nobis pro elatione dejectio. Namq; agnovit hoc ille dux noſtræ partis qui eandem urbem hoſtium, quam eodem die victorem ſe intraturum eſſe præſumpſit, captivus intravit &c. In quo quidem præter ipſam rerum infelicitatem, præſens judicium Dei patuit, ut quicquid facturum ſe uſurparat, ipſe pateretur, &c. *Salvian. lib.* 7.

* *Thuanus Anno* 1546

ſight to expoſe himſelf unto ſuch imminent danger, as he did at * *Genge*, out of a deſire to view his Enemies Army. For (as the *Spaniards* confeſs) if the confederate Princes had been as vigilant to take advantage, as he was careleſs to give it, they might have put an end to this war, as ſoon as it was begun. It is noted likewiſe, as a great overſight in them, that they did not aſſault him, whilſt he was encamped about *Ingolſtade* and *Ratisborne*, expecting freſh ſupplies out of *Italy* and the Low Countries: yet the loſs of this opportunity they had eaſily redeemed not long after, had not their project been diſcloſed to *Charles*, who removed his Camp before they had notice, and, by favour of the great windes, which that night hapned, ſurprized *Donaverd*, a place of good importance for his preſent deſigns; That Count *Egmond* with his Netherland Forces, on whoſe ſkill and valour *Charles* did moſt rely, ſhould eſcape the ſurpriſal intended by the Landgrave, was more from good hap and *Cæſar Magius* his extemporary ſophiſme, than from any forecaſt either of the Emperor himſelf, or of Count *Egmond*. For unleſs his Souldiers had been perſwaded that the Landgrave was nearer to them over night, than indeed he was, he had been nearer to them, or ſooner upon them in the morning, than they could have wiſhed. But this falſe Alarm, given by *Magius*, made them willing, though much wearied, to march all night. Not long after their ſafe conduct unto the main Camp, the chief Counſellors of war were inſtant with *Charles* to diſſolve his Army for that winter, until the next Spring. That his reſolution to the contrary, proved ſo ſucceſsful, was more than in humane wiſdom could be forecaſt; ſo long as the ſucceſs of *Maurcie* Duke of *Saxony*, and the *Bohemians* which had invaded the Territories of *John* Duke of *Saxony*, was uncertain. But the prevailing power of this unexpected Enemy, being a known Profeſſor of that Religion for whoſe maintenance his noble Uncle and Father-in-Law had taken Arms, enforced the Confederates to divide their Army, which could not but give advantage to *Charles*. But that *Henry* the eighth of *England* and *Francis* the firſt of *France*, (neither of them likely to have ſtood as by-ſtanders in this great buſineſs, if they had lived) ſhould both dye in this *interim*, this was the Lords doing, not *Fortunes*. *Charles* could not ground any reſolution upon the hope of it, nor could the confederate Princes foreſee the diſadvantage, which from their death did redound unto them. Yet after all theſe prejudices on the confederate Princes behalf, *Charles* his expedition into *Saxony* againſt *John* Prince Elector, who had retired thither with part of the Army, to prevent *Maurice* his further proceedings, was very doubtful and full of danger: and yet was *Charles* (who before had ſhewed himſelf to be more timorous and backward) more reſolute and forward, in this expedition, than any of his Captains, or Commanders.

7. Doubtleſs leſt his Captains his Souldiers, or Council of War ſhould boaſt, as if their own right hands, their policy and ſtrength had gotten the victory; the *Lord of Hoſts*, the Lord mighty in Battel, did ſo diſpoſe that the Emperor one while ſhould fear, where no fear was, and another while be couragiouſly wilful or reſolute, againſt his grave Council of War, and againſt all probability of hopeful ſucceſs. At *Nordling*, when his Army was full, and his Souldiers freſh, when the *Spaniards* (after ſome difficult paſſages had been conquered by their undaunted Reſolution,) were perſwaded that victory was

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* Thuanus ibidem.

hard before them; *Charles* would not give them leave to overtake it, or (as if it had been ſnatched out of their jawes) they did gnaſh with their teeth for very indignation; nor was this hope of victory in the *Spaniards* conceived from intemperate heat of war, or longing deſire to fight without good grounds of reaſon. For *Maximilian Egmond,* a wiſe and well experienced Commander, was ſo taken with the ſame perſwaſion, that when the Emperor called him back, he pulled his Helmet off his head, and for anger and indignation, threw it with violence againſt the ground. Had *Egmond,* followed his advantage and preſently overcome his Enemies, this might have been attributed to *Scipio*'s valour in him. Or, if *Charles* himſelf had continually ſought to drive away danger by delay, he might have been reputed another *Fabius.* But this temper changed with the time, *Verſâ tabulâ currebat, qui modo ſtabat, & ſtabant qui modo currebant. They drew back,* which formerly could hardly be recalled from fighting; and he which recalled them, draws them forwards againſt their wills. For coming neer to * *Mulberg,* where *John* Prince Elector of *Saxony* was taken; albeit the Duke of *Alva* (one at that time as notoriouſly known for his reſolution, as for his cruelty afterwards) and the reſt of the Council of War, did utterly miſlike his intended paſſage, over the River of *Elve* that day, as an attempt too adventrous and deſperate, which might yeild great advantage to his enemy; no perſwaſion could move or weaken his reſolution, but fight he would upon that very day upon what terms ſoever. And it afterwards appeared that unleſs he had put this his unſeaſonable deſire of Battel (as to them it ſeemed) in preſent execution, he might long have waited, before he had laid hold on the like opportunity again. For ſome few hours ſtart, might either have ſecured the Duke of *Saxony* from a neceſſity of Battel, or aſſured him of victory, if he had been enforced to fight. The next morning, after his overthrow, the Emperor met with new ſupplies, which had *received* the Duke in a well-fenced place, whereas it was *Cæſars* good fortune to take the Duke the day before, beyond all expectation, in ſuch a place, as he could not fight upon equal terms, nor make from him but by a diſgraceful flight.

* *Thuanus Anno* 1547

8. *Alva* out of his experience and ſkill might foreſee much hazard and danger in his Maſters adventrous reſolution to paſs over an unknown River in ſuch haſt; and his Maſter, out of ſome humour or reſtleſs inſtinct, might be puſht forwards to fight that day, without apprehenſion of any juſt reaſon why: but who beſides him alone, which appointeth the occurrences and opportunities of time, could foreſee or forecaſt, that the Duke of *Alva,* being ſent on a ſudden to ſeek a guide, ſhould forthwith light on a *Man,* from whom ſome of the Duke of *Saxonies* followers (a few days before) had taken two Colts, and made him ready and willing in hope of revenge, or recovery of his loſs, to diſcover an unknown paſſage of that uncouth River. They had reaſon to enſtyle him, as they did, *Dux viæ*: for he ſtood the Emperor in more ſtead, than any ten Captains in his Army, he being reſolved to try the fortune of Battel that day. Thus the Lord of Hoſts, as ſkilful as mighty in Battel, can turn and wind the whole fabrick of War with the leaſt finger of his hand, and overthrow or eſtabliſh the cunningeſt projects of greateſt Princes, and their Councils of War, by the experience and information of a ſilly Country Swain. Captains may conſult, but he determines; they throw the Dice, he appoints the chance; they may ſet their men as it pleaſeth

them, but he in the iſſue will play the game as it pleaſeth Him. When we ſee great States-men, or ſubtil Politicians more groſsly infatuated in ſome particulars of greateſt conſequence, than ordinary men uſually are; this is a ſure token, that the wiſdom which they formerly uſed, was not their own: but when we ſee them wittingly cunning to work their own overthrow, this is an argument that there is one wiſer than they, which ſometimes gives wiſdom, ſometimes only *lends* it ſo, as he will require ſatisfaction for the miſ-imployment of it. And it is not ſo great a wonder, to ſee a wiſe man infatuated, or utterly deprived of wiſdom, as to ſee his wit and ſkill continually imployed in weaving a net, to inſnare himſelf in, and ſuch as rely upon his projects and power.

9. Hitherto *Charles* the fifth had the fortune of good Dice, and played the fore-game exceeding well. But ſeeing Religion lay at the ſtake, God inſtructs others to play the after-game a great deal better againſt him; albeit he had two great Counſellors, the one for matters of State, the other for War, to wit, the Duke of *Alva*, and *Granvel* the Chancellor, as by-ſtanders to help him. The ſum of their advice, was to account ſeverity the beſt fruits of victory; and to keep them under by ſtrong hand, whom he had conquered; and to bring them in by cunning, which had yet ſome opportunity to ſtand out againſt him. His firſt overſight, was in committing the ever-renowned Duke of *Saxony*, to the cuſtody of a *Spaniard*, to *Alſonſus Vives*, brother to the famous *Ludovicus*. This bred great alienation of affection and diſcontent in ſome Nobles of *Germany*, of whoſe fidelity and good ſervice in this War, he had proof ſufficient. But more mightily overſeen he was, in the cunning draught of thoſe Articles, upon which the Landgrave of *Heſſen* did yeild himſelf, not as a Priſoner, but as a reconciled friend, or Subject, as he preſumed. The Emperor and his Council, had wit enough to take this man Priſoner, but not to foreſee the blot, which would hereupon follow, not to the ſtayning only of the Emperors honour, but to the hazard of the main game, and utter loſs of his late Conqueſt. They did not conſider that *Maurice* of *Saxony*, Son-in-Law to the Landgrave, was as ſubtil as valorous, and being as ambitious as ſubtil, would meditate as full a requital of this real diſgrace and deluſion, (he being intereſſed in the reconcilement) as he had done of a friendly but ſharp check, given by his Uncle and Guardian (the now captive Duke of *Saxony*) for being too prodigal of his patrimony in his non-age. But *Maurice* his diſpoſition and abilities, were happily unknown unto the Emperor: and it was not uſual, for a forward young Captain, not above twenty ſix years of age, to be of as deep a reach in matters of State, as his gray-headed and moſt experienced Counſellors. The more patient he was for the preſent, the more deeply he layed his plot, the more vigilant he was to entertain all opportunities which ſhould be offered for the redemption of his Father-in-Law, and the liberty of his Country. The making of *Maurice* Prince Elector in his captive Uncles ſtead, did add much to his power: the *Spaniards* ſecurity and inſolency expreſſed in their printed Books of the conqueſt in *Germany* as of ſome meaner Province, or Appendix to their affected Monarchy, did much exaſperate the *Germane* Princes eſpecially, all but of *Brandeburgh* hitherto a faithful adherent unto *Charles* the fifth, and a truſty friend and companion unto *Maurice*, to whom he was now more neerly linkt by the ſure tye of common diſcontent. The firſt opportunity, which *Maurice*

had for effecting his long concealed plot, was the manifeſtation of *Charles* his purpoſe for reducing the Romiſh Religion into the free States and Cities of *Germany* (which had abandoned it) contrary to his former promiſes, when he ſolicited their aid againſt the Duke of *Saxony* and Landgrave of *Heſſen*, not as the chief maintainers or Patrons of reformed Religion, but as rebels againſt his imperial Majeſty. This unexpected purpoſe of *Charles* was moſt clearly bewrayed in the ſiege of *Magdeburge*, againſt which City, no occaſion of hoſtility could be pretended, beſides her Citizens reſolution to maintain that religion, which by publick Authority had been eſtabliſhed. The whole body of *Germany* beſides, was in a manner ſo drowned and choaked, that liberty (eſpecially in points of religion) could ſcantly draw breath, ſave only through *Flaccus Illyricus* his Pen. For ſubduing this City, which for a while had held out ſtoutly againſt others ſet to beſiege it, *Maurice* of *Saxony* was adjudged the fitteſt man, who being imployed in this ſervice, gains opportunity by protraction of the War to make Leagues as well with the *French* King as with ſome Princes and States of *Germany*: but after many ſuſpicions and jealouſies taken againſt him, ſo cunningly goes on with his project, that he came upon *Charles* the Emperor on ſuch a ſudden manner at *Inchborrouh*, as made him and his Courtiers, with the foraign Embaſſadors there attending, to leave the Supper which had been provided for them unto *Maurice* and his company. There was a Horſe-litter and Torches provided for the Emperor himſelf with ſome few attendants, but ſuch ſcarcity of horſes for the reſt, that a man might have ſeen that common reſemblance of Princes, of Nobles, and common people, to a company of *Cheſs-men* promiſcuouſly put into a common Bag, when the game is ended, really acted in a confuſed flight of this great Emperors amazed Court. Dukes, Earls, and Lords, great Commanders in War, common Souldiers and Kitching Boys, were glad to trudge it on foot in the mire hand in hand; a Duke or Earl not diſdaining to ſupport or help up one of the black Guard ready to fall, leſt he himſelf might fall into the mire, and have none to help him. This was the iſſue of the greateſt War which *Germany* had ſeen or known ſince the days of *Charles* the Great; in the managing and proſeqution whereof more excellent Commanders were imployed by *Charles* the fifth, than any Prince in Chriſtendom ſince had to imploy.

10. Unto many is given power and wit ſufficient compaſſing the conqueſt of their potent Enemies, unto whom the wiſdom of uſing the victory aright (which they oftentimes purchaſed at too dear a rate) is denyed. The ſame Lord of Hoſts which put his hook into *Senacheribs* Noſtrils, and thereby dragged this furious Monſter, which had ranged far and neer to devour others, into his own Land; there to fall by his own bowels in the houſe of his falſe gods; had all this while led *Charles* the fifth (a Prince of more calm and moderate ſpirit,) as it were in a ſilken ſtring, yet ſtrong enough to bring this roving projector back again within the Rhein, where he is now to encounter with the *French*. And being thus overwearied in the *Germane* War, the Duke of *Guiſe* at the ſiege of *Metz*, beats his Souldiers out of heart and breath, and makes *Charles* himſelf thus to pant: *Jam me deſertum & circa me nullos viros video; Now I ſee I am a man forſaken, and have no men about me.* Few there were beſides himſelf, that were willing to have the ſiege continued any longer: and one of his common Souldiers, out of the bitterneſs of his diſcon-

tented Soul and diſeaſed Body, calls him the Son of a mad Woman to his face, for continuing it ſo long. But whether his undertaking or proſecuting this ſiege, did reliſh more of his Mothers diſpoſition, than of his own, let Warriours judge: he never ſhewed more wiſdom in any enterpriſe before, than he did in this; that he ſought not from this time, to woo his wonted fortunes, by wreſtling with Fates. But after he perceived the Lord of Hoſts did not go out with his Armies, as before he had done, he willingly puts off his Imperial Robes with his Armour, and betakes himſelf to a private retired life. How much happier in this reſolution, than either the *Davus* or *Diabolus Germaniæ*, than the often mentioned *Maurice* of *Saxony*, ſurnamed the Victorious, or the turbulent *Albert* of *Brandeburgh*, which had brought him into theſe ſtraits! As theſe two Princes in all their undertakings, in their ſecret confederacies whether for *Charles* the fifth, or againſt him, had aimed more at their private ends, than at the publick weal of *Germany*: ſo it pleaſed the Lord of Hoſts (after he had by their joynt forces, ſo turned the Scales of the *Germane* War, as is before ſet down) to ſettle the publick peace, by their *fatal* diſcord. So I term it, partly becauſe they had been ſo dear friends, * partly becauſe a reconciliation betwixt them was ſo earneſtly ſought by many, and would have been readily embraced by *Maurice*, had not *Albert*, more out of the ſtrength of wine, than either of wit or courage provoked him to Battel by a moſt groſs and moſt unſeaſonable challenge. *Maurice* had given good tokens of his inclination to peace, and the like was expected from *Albert*. But (a) the meſſenger being diſpatched after dinner, when *Bacchus* was more predominant with *Albert*, than either *Minerva* or *Mars*; in ſtead of a pledge of peace, he ſent his Colours to *Maurice*, and ſo after they had eaten and drunk, they roſe up to play, after ſuch a manner as *Abners* young men and *Joabs* did, 2 *Sam.* 2. 14, 15. The manner of their mutual aſſalut, was more like a butchery, than a ſober War. *Albert* in this furious conflict was ſo foyled, that he never recovered Root or Branch again: but after ſome few attempts, lived as a perpetual Exile or Vagabond; his memory being as hateful to his Country in his abſence, as his preſence had been terrible, whilſt he was able to gather forces. And * *Maurice* who deſervedly enjoyed the Title of *Victorious*, did take up victory upon exchange of life; having ſo much uſe of ſenſe and memory, as to have his Enemies colours preſented to his eyes, now ready to be cloſed up in perpetual darkneſs. This was the end of this victorious Prince, which had out ſtript the greateſt States-men of thoſe times in maturity of wit, and deepneſs of judgment, in matters Martial or Civil, before his body had come to its full growth: in ſo much that policy (whom *Cæſars* in their greatneſs are oft-times forced to ſerve) did ſeem to attend on him, enabling him to atchieve thoſe projects with an heroical careleſs reſolution and majeſtick grace, for the purchaſe of which, many powerful Monarchs have been often drawn to uſe untowardly ſhifts and ſlye colluſions, odious and contemptible to their inferiours. He was the only man of this age (as one writes of him) that had the ſkill to take occaſion (when it offered it ſelf) by the very point, and to carve opportunities out of perplexities. Yet for all this had no ſkill or forecaſt to prevent; no fence to put by the ſudden ſtroke of Death, which ſet a ſhort period to his far reaching plots, and daſhed the maſter-piece of his projects, when it was come to the very height, and ready to fall upon the mark it aimed at. The *Spaniards* have

* Inter Mauritium et Albertum, cum eſſent æquales, maxima ſemper fuerat neceſſitudo; ſic ut nihil eſſet illis conjunctius. Tribus enim bellis ambo ſimul Cæſari militarunt, Gallico, Smalcaldico Magdeburgico; deinde, quartum atq; poſtremum hoc in Cæſarem ſuſceperunt. Sed natis offenſionibus, hunc tam funeſtum habuit exitum ipſorum amicitia. *Sleidanus Comment. li.* 25. *anno.* 1553

* *See the occaſions of their out fall. lib.* 24 *anno* 1552 (a) *Vide Thuanum anno* 1553

* Signa militaria ſunt hoſtibus erepta, & ad ipſum ex prælio relata: Pedeſtria quidem quinquaginta quatuor, equeſtria vero quatuordecim. Mauritius ergo vitam quidem ipſe profudit, ſed Alberti tamen vires atq; robur admodum fregit: nam ab eo prælio vixunquam ille potuit vel mediocres recolligere copias. *Sleidanus comment lib.* 25. *anno* 1553. *Vide plura Thuanum.*

more cauſe to bleſs the day of this Princes death, than the day of their Victory over the Duke of *Saxony* his Uncle. For if he had lived but a little longer, the wings of *Auſtria* and *Spain* had (in all probability) been cut a great deal ſhorter throughout *Germany* and the Low-Countries, than ſince they have been, by the Confederacy which the *French* King and he had made lately for ruinating *Charles* the Fifth. But whatſoever devices were in their hearts, the counſel of the Lord was againſt them: and that muſt ſtand, though by the ſudden fall of the Confederates.

11. To reflect a little upon the more ſpecial interpoſitions of Gods Providence, in moderating the proceedings and iſſues of this War. The Romaniſts have ſmall cauſe to brag (though many of them do ſo) of *Charles* his Victory over the two confederate Princes, as of ſome ſpecial token of Gods favour to their Church and Religion. * *Chytreus*, a moſt unpartial Writer, and well acquainted with the State of *Germany* as then it ſtood, and with the ſeveral diſpoſitions of the chief Confederates; ingenuouſly confeſſeth, as a ſpecial Argument of Gods favour towards the Profeſſors of the Reformed Religion throughout *Germany*, that the Duke of *Saxony* and *Landgrave* of *Heſſen* had not the Victory which they expected over the Emperour. He might have more reaſon thus to write, than I know or now remember: but certainly their Agreement, during the time of the War, was not altogether ſo good, as to promiſe any laſting Concord, or ſure eſtabliſhment of true Chriſtian Peace throughout the ſeveral Provinces of *Germany*, if they had prevailed. *Shertelius*, who commanded in chief for the free Cities, did (as ſome write) forſake the Camp, as being weary of their wranglings. However their few years Captivity, was a Fatherly Chaſtiſement, no plague or token of Gods wrath againſt them. As the unjuſt detention of the *Landgrave*, brought greater diſhonour to the Emperour *Charles*, than any one Act that he ever did: ſo the Duke of *Saxony* won himſelf more Honour by his durance, than the Emperour could beſtow upon him. Victory in Battel, abundance of Wealth, and Titles of Honour, are gifts and Bleſſings from the Lord; yet of which Pagans and Infidels are capable; and ſuch, as many Heathens have ſcorned or not affected. But for a Prince by Birth, which had been continually born upon the wings of better Fortune, always reputed the chief ſtay and Pillar of his Country, to endure Captivity in an uncouth Court, with ſuch conſtancy of mind, as could turn the intended contempt and ſcorn of his Witty Enemies, into kindneſs and admiration, and cauſe ſuch as had led him Captive, not only to pity, but to honour him, and propagate his fame unto Poſterity. This was a bleſſing peculiar to Gods Saints. That character which Foraign Writers have put upon him, will hardly befit any that is not a Chriſtian inwardly and in heart; [*Neque in proſperis elatum, neque in adverſis dejectum ſui hoſtes unquam vidêre:*] *His Enemies did never ſee him either puft up with Proſperity, or dejected with Adverſity.* But was it not the greater pity, (if we may ſpeak after the manner of moſt men, and as many *Germanes* in thoſe times did) that ſo noble a Prince ſhould be puniſhed with the perpetual loſs of his Electoral dignity? Yet even this (that we may with veneration rather admire than queſtion the ſecret ways of Gods Providence) was no loſs, but gain unto Gods Church, and the Publick Weal of *Saxony*, which he more ſought, than his own ends or commodities. For by his falling into *Charles* his hands, the Electoral dignity of

* *In the life of* Charles *the Fifth.*

Saxony fell into another Collateral line, which proved as beneficial and favourable to good Learning and Reformed Religion, as any other Princely Family of *Germany* in thoſe times. Witneſs (to omit their other good deeds in this kind) that Princely munificence of Duke *Auguſtus* (Brother and Heir to *Maurice* the Victorious) annually exhibited to Miniſters Orphans, related by * *Polycarpus Lyſerus.* How well thoſe good examples which *Maurice* himſelf, and his Brother *Auguſtus* had ſet, have been followed by their Succeſſors, falls not within my reading or obſervation. But ſurely theſe two *advancers* of this Second Line, did better imitate the Princely Vertues of their deprived Uncle, than his own Sons were likely to have done. For the judicious unpartial *French* Hiſtorian, aſſigns this as one ſpecial reaſon, why the fame and memory of *John* Duke of *Saxony*, did not continue ſo freſh and pretious after his death, as he deſerved, *Quia reliquit filios ſui diſſimillimos.*

* *In his Preface or Epiſtle Dedicatory to the continuation of* Chemnitius *his Harmony.*
Of Maurice *his munificence and good affection towards Learning and Religion, See* Sleidon. lib. 19. An. 1547.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of Gods ſpecial Providence in making unexpected Peace, and raiſing unexpected War.

1. THE hand of the Almighty is not more conſpicuous in managing Wars begun by Men, than his finger is in contriving their firſt beginnings. Love is his Nature, and friendſhip or mutual Love betwixt man and man, Princes or Nations, is a Bleſſing which deſcends from him alone, who is the only Author of all true Peace, but not the Author only of Peace. Sometimes he kindles unquenchable diſſentions, where the ſeeds of ſecular peace have been ſown with greateſt Policy, and watered with continual care and circumſpection. Sometimes, again, he maketh ſudden unexpected concord, between Spirits that jar by Nature, and joyns the right hand of inveterate foes, to ſtrengthen the ſtroke of Juſtice upon his Enemies.

2. Later Chronicles will hardly afford any example of worſe conſort between Neighbour Princes, than was between *Charles* of *Burgundy*, and *Lewis* of *France*; whether we reſpect the contrariety of their Natural diſpoſitions, or the incompoſſibility of their projects or engagements. Nature had planted, and policy had nouriſhed a kind of Antipathy betwixt them. And yet how quickly and unexpectedly did theſe two Great Princes (after irreconcileable variances) cloſe and agree together to cruſh the Wiſe, the Rich, and Martial Earl of Saint *Paul*, then High Conſtable of *France*. He that had been of both theſe Princes Courts, and of both their Counſels, hath left it obſerved, that they could never be brought in all their life time to concur in any other action or project beſides this; albeit, they had often greater motives to entertain Peace between themſelves, than provocations to conſpire againſt this Earl. Perhaps, his experience of their ill conſort made him more confident, than otherwiſe he would have been; though confident he might have been upon better grounds, than moſt great Subjects, or inferiour Princes can be, if Wit, if Wealth, if Policy, if Martial Power or Authority could ſecure any from the execution of Gods Juſtice.

3. The beſt uſe which *Machiavel*, or his Scholars make of this

Potentates miſhap, is to forewarn great Subjects or inferiour Princes not to interpoſe as Arbritors or Umpires upon advantage, when their Betters fall at variance. The advice, I confeſs, is very good, and ignorance hereof, or want of like conſideration (it may be) was ſome part of this great Earls folly, not his principal fault: ſome occaſion, no true or prime cauſe of theſe two great Princes combination againſt him. For beſides *Lewis* and *Charles*, * *Cominæus*, a man no way inferiour to *Machiavel* in Politick Wit, had eſpied a third principal Actor in this Tragedy, whoſe firſt appearance was (to his apprehenſion) in the likeneſs of *Lady Fortune*, but was diſcovered upon better *review* to be *Divine Providence*. This good Authors Comment upon this accident, is ſo full and lively, as it will not admit any paraphraſe of mine, without wrong, not only to him, but to the Reader. Only of one clauſe pertinent as well to the Diſcourſe following, as to that or the like paſſage of Sacred Writ, [*As every man ſows, ſo ſhall he reap*] I muſt give the Reader ſpecial notice. This Earl was always delighted to ſow the ſeeds of War, War being (as he and the world thought) the chief field, or ſureſt ground of his glory, and he ends his thus honoured life with a bloody and unglorious death. This was by Gods appointment the moſt natural crop and proper harveſt of ſuch a ſeed-time as he had made. Yet was not the finger of God more remarkable in knitting theſe two Princes, which all their life times had ſtood (as we ſay) at the ſtaffs end, than in looſing the ſtrict link of mutual amity between other Ancient Friends, and ſworn Confederates; albeit the Politician ſeek in this caſe, as in the former, altogether to cover or obliterate all impreſſion of it. For it is his manner or humour, as was obſerved before, to bring as much *griſt* as he can, and more than he ought, to his own *Mill*; to entitle ſuch partial and ſubordinate means, as fall within the compaſs of his Profeſſion, ſole or prime cauſes of thoſe effects which are immediately produced by *Divine Providence*.

4. He ſpake merrily that ſaid, *A man could not beſtow his Alms worſe, than on blind men, ſeeing they could find in their hearts to ſee their beſt Benefactors hanged.* But it hath been delivered in good earneſt, as a cautelous rule by ſome Politick *Diſcourſes*, that the moſt thankleſs office any great Parſonage can do to his deareſt Friend, were to make him King. It is a leſſon of every days teaching, *The greater men grow, the more they ſcorn to be thought to be beholden unto others.* The very ſight of ſuch as they have been more beholding unto, than they can handſomly requite, ſeems to upbraid ambitious minds. He is a mean Hiſtorian that cannot inſtance in divers upſtart Princes, which could not long ſuffer the heads of thoſe men, whoſe hands had put Crowns on theirs, unto which they had no lawful title, to ſtand where nature had given them lawful poſſeſſion, (i.) upon their own ſhoulders. Politick Rules or Aphoriſms grounded upon Hiſtorical Obſervation of this kind, are not altogether without uſe. But the doctrine inveiled in Poetical Fictions, is in this and many other

* Quid v. hoc loco dicas de Fortuna, mundi gubernatricæ? ut nonnulli putant. Obtinebat ille ſummam in *Galliis* authoritatem: finitimus erat utrique Principi; arcem habebat munitiſſimam, & rebus omnibus inſtructam. Præfecerat eum Rex quadringentis cataphractis: valebat ingenio; & peritia rei bellicæ præſtabat; magnum habebat rerum uſum, & auri vim ingentem poſſidebat. Statuendum eſt igitur Fortunam, qua nihil eſt mutabilius, ei fuiſſe planè adverſariam. Sed revera nihil aliud eſt Fortuna, quam figmentum poeticum. Quin potiùs ita judicandum eſt iratum ei fuiſſe Deum & graviter offenſum. Et ſi de conſiliis arcanis fas eſſet ulli homini pronunciare, dicerem illum excitaſſe iram Dei adverſum ſe, hac unâ re potiſſimum quod per omnem vitam, mente & animo totus in hoc fuerat ut perpetuum bellum aleret. Nam in eo poſitam eſſe putabat ſuæ dignitatis materiam, ac veluti ſegetem. Neque vero difficile ei erat iſtud perficere. Tota enim natura & moribus & ingenio Principes inter ſe diffidebant. Vix igitur credendum eſt fortunam aliquam eo dementiæ adduxiſſe virum longe prudentiſſimum, ut eos Principes adverſum ſe concitaret, quorum fuerat per omnem vitam in rebus omnibus contraria, & diverſa voluntas: qui nullam rem unquam ſimul ex animo comprobarunt niſi hanc in illius caput factam conjurationem. *Cominæus commentar. lib. 6. juxta finem.*

other caſes more Catholick than the Hiſtorians or Politicians obſervation. Uſual it is with the Poets, when they repreſent the Original and Progreſs of Tragical Diſſentions between *quondam* Friends; in the firſt place to diſpatch the Furies abroad with fire-brands in their hands, to kindle or blow the coals of cruel and (without the mutual blood of the Actors) unquenchable hatred. And to ſpeak the truth without fiction, it ſeems ſcarce poſſible that ſuch light ſparkles of humane anger, as are uſually the firſt ſeeds of quarrels between Neighbour Princes or Confederate States, ſhould grow unto ſuch raging and devouring flames, as they often do, unleſs ſome ſpirit more potent, than the ſpirit or breath of man did blow them. Now if by Furies the Poets mean, infernal Fiends or evil Spirits, their language doth not vary much from the Antient Dialect of *Canaan. God* (ſaith the Author of the Book of *Judges*, Chap. 9. ver. 23. 24.) *ſent an evil Spirit between* Abimelech *and the men of* Shechem*: and the men of Shechem dealt treacherouſly with* Abimelech*: That the cruelty done to the Threeſcore and Ten Sons of* Jerubbaal *might come, and their blood be laid upon* Abimelech, *their Brother, which ſlew them, and upon the men of* Shechem, *which aided him in the killing of his Brethren.* The mutual diſaſters of both parties, related in the verſes following, is but the juſt award of *Jothams* imprecation, *ver.* 19.20. *If ye then have dealt truly, and ſincerely with* Jerubbaal, *and with his houſe this day, then rejoyce ye in* Abimelech, *and let him alſo rejoyce in you. But if not, let fire come out from* Abimelech, *and devour the men of* Shechem, *and the houſe of* Millo: *and let fire come out from the men of* Shechem, *and from the houſe of* Millo, *and devour* Abimelech.

5. It would be more eaſie than ſafe, out of the Hiſtories of times Ancient and Modern, Domeſtick and Foraign, to parallel this laſt inſtance ſo exactly, as well for ſucceſs as practice, as might be ſufficient, if not to perſwade the Irreligious Politician, yet to leave him without excuſe for not being perſwaded, that there is an immortal *King* of *Kings*, and *Lord* of *Lords*, from whoſe juriſdiction no corner of the Earth can be exempted; an Everlaſting, Wiſe, and Righteous Judge, which overſees the inventions of mans heart with a ſtedfaſt eye, and meaſures their actions with a conſtant hand; one that viſiteth the ſame Irregularities by the ſame rule or canon, and fitteth like ſins, with like puniſhments, after thouſand of years diſtance in time, in places diſtant ſome thouſand of miles. But leaving the collection of parallel Examples, or Experiments ſutable to the rule propoſed unto the Readers private obſervation: the proof of the laſt mentioned concluſion will be more apparent and concludent from the Examples or Inſtances in the laſt Section concerning the rule of Retaliation.

CHAP. XXX.

Of Gods ſpecial Providence in defeating cunning Plots and Conſpiracies, and in accompliſhing extraordinary matters by means ordinary.

1. WHen it is ſaid that *In God we live, we move, and have our being*, this is not to be underſtood only of *being* or life natural, or of motion properly ſo called, but is to be extended unto life and operations purely *intellectual.* So that the incomprehenſible *Nature*, in reſpect of our apprehenſions, is as properly an *Agent ſuper-artificial*, as *ſupernatural.* All the skill wherewith any intelligent Creature is, or can be endowed, all the deviſes and projects of mens hearts, are as eſſentially ſubordinate to his incomprehenſible wiſdom, or counſel of his Will, as the Life, Being, and Motions of things Natural, are to his *Creative, Conſervative*, or *Co-operative Power.* Howbeit this ſubordination of the rational Creatures cogitations to his infinite wiſdom, doth no way deprive it of all liberty or freedom, in projecting, deviſing, or conſulting; but only of *power* to appoint ſucceſs unto its own projects or deviſes. Thus much, to my apprehenſion, is included in the wiſe Kings Maxim, * *Many deviſes are in the heart of man: but the counſel of the Lord, that ſhall ſtand.* This freedom or liberty of mans will in deviſing or projecting, and the want of all liberty or power to *allot* ſucceſs unto his projects, doth more truly argue, that which the Latines call *ſervum arbitrium*, that is, *mans ſervitude to miſery and ſin*, than if he had no more liberty in the one caſe, than in the other. The more ample the ſphere of his liberty in projecting or deviſing, is, or (by Divine Permiſſion) may be; the more admirable doth the *Counſel* of the Lord appear, in directing and ordering his free courſes, moſt *infallibly* unto ſuch ends as he appoints, by means for their kind, ordinary and natural. And if we would diligently conſider the works of God in our days, they are as apt to eſtabliſh true belief unto the Rules of Chriſtianity, ſet down in Scripture, as were the Miracles of former Ages, wherein Gods extraordinary power was moſt ſeen: yea, the ordinary events of our times, are more apt for this purpoſe, in this Age, than uſe of Miracles could be. For the manifeſtations of Gods moſt extraordinary power, ceaſe by very frequency, to be miraculous; and men (ſuch is the curioſity of corrupted nature) would ſuſpect, that ſuch events, (were they frequent or continual) did proceed from ſome alteration in the courſe of Nature, rather than from any voluntary exerciſe of extraordinary power in the God of Nature. But the continuance of theſe ordinary events, which the All-ſeeing Wiſdom of our God, daily and hourly brings to paſs, is moſt apt to confirm the Faith of ſuch as rightly conſider them. For by their ſucceſſive variety, the amplitude of his unſearchable wiſdom is daily more and more diſcovered, and by their frequency, the hidden fountain of his Counſel, whence this multiplicity flows, appears more clearly to be inexhauſtible. Only the right obſervation, or live apprehenſion of theſe his works of wiſdom, is not ſo eaſie and obvious unto ſuch as mind Earthly things, as his works of extraordinary power are. For ſuch works amate the ſenſe, and make entrance

* Prov. 19. 21.

entrance into the Soul, as it were by force; whereas the effects of his Wiſdom or Counſel, make no impreſſion upon the ſenſe, but upon the underſtanding only, nor upon it, ſave only in quiet and deliberate thoughts. For this reaſon, true Faith was firſt to be planted and ingrafted in the Church by Miracles, but to be nouriſhed and ſtrengthned in ſucceeding Ages, by contemplation of his Providence. The limits of this preſent contemplation, ſhall be by example or inſtance, to ſhew in what manner the Wiſdom of God doth ſometimes defeat the cunningeſt contrivances, or deepeſt Plots of Politicians, and ſometimes accompliſh matters of greateſt conſequence, by means or occurrences, light and ſlender in the eſteem of men. But how weak or ſlender ſoever they be for their particular Nature, or in themſelves, yet the combination or contexture of them, muſt needs be ſtrong, becauſe it is woven by the finger of God.

2. What plot could have been invented againſt any Land or People, more deadly, than that of *Hamans*, againſt the People of God, ſtoried, *Eſth.* 3. 8, 9. His information againſt them was bitter, and eaſie to find entrance into an *Abſolute Monarchs* Ears, whoſe words muſt be a Law to all, eſpecially to his captivate and Conquered Subjects. And the *Jews* on the other ſide, more likely to change their lives, than the Law of their God, for any Princes pleaſures. What hope (in humane ſight) for *Mordecai* to find any favour, when as *He* was to execute this bloody Law, whoſe particular ſpleen, and revengeful mind againſt *Mordecai*, had *for his ſake* procured it, in moſt abſolute form, againſt the whole *Jewiſh* Nation? You will ſay, that *Eſther* lately received to greateſt favour with the King, and now made Conſort of his Bed, might prevail much. And for a barbarous King to ſhew mercy, at his Queens entreaty, unto ſuch as had done him ſo good ſervice, as *Mordecai* had done *Aſſuerus*, is but an ordinary thing. I confeſs as much, that many occurrences, which ſeem to conſpire for *Mordecai* and his Peoples deliverance, are not extraordinary. For a King in his cups, to take a diſpleaſure at his former Queen, that would not conſent unto his folly; or for his diſpleaſure unto the divorced, to ſhew greater love unto his late eſpouſed Queen, is a matter neither ſtrange nor unuſual: but that Queen *Vaſhti* ſhould be diſplaced, and *Eſther* (unknown to be of the Captive Hebrews kind) admitted to be *Aſſuerus* his mate, juſt at that time, when *Haman*, the *Jews* ſworn enemy, was exalted next to the King and Queen in dignity; this can only be aſcribed to him, who, as the wiſe Son of *Syrach* ſpeaks, hath made all things *double, one againſt another*, *Ecclus.* 42. *v.* 24. Again, that the *King*, the very night before he came to the Banquet, which *Eſther* had prepared, ſhould take no reſt; this was the Keeper of *Iſraels* vigilant care over his people, who neither ſlumbers nor ſleeps, whilſt his Enemies are a plotting miſchief againſt them. Again, that the King taking no reſt, ſhould ſeek to ſolace his reſtleſs thoughts by reading the Chronicles, that reading them he ſhould light on that place, wherein the now diſtreſſed *Mordecaies* faithful ſervice, in bewraying the Treaſon intended againſt his perſon, by *Bigtan* and *Tereſh* his Eunuchs, was regiſtred: All this doubtleſs, was only from his wiſdom, that hath the diſpoſition of all the *Lots*, much more of all the Plots which man can caſt. Many other occurrences might here be conſidered, no one of which conſidered apart, from the reſt, but is ordinary and uſual; and yet the entire frame or compoſure of them, ſuch as

cannot be referred to any but his *Workmanſhip,* who hath Created all things in *number, weight,* and *meaſure.*

Yet a Politician that ſhould have read this ſtory in the *Perſian* Chronicles, could at the firſt ſight have diſcovered a great over-ſight in *Haman,* in not putting ſooner in execution this his abſolute commiſſion; *Semper nocuit differre paratis.* Perhaps this conditional Propoſition may be true, that if he had executed his Commiſſion with ſpeed, the *Jews* had fared worſe; but for this cauſe the Lord did not ſuffer him to entertain this reſolution. Yet let us ſee whether *haſte* in execution could accompliſh the like deſigns againſt a State in *like* caſe.

3. *Fliſcus* that nobly deſcended, and Potent *Genoeſi,* with his *familiar Verina,* had enacted as cruel a Law againſt the *Dorian* Family, and the other Nobility of *Genoa*; which they had reſolved to have written firſt, with characters of blood, upon their pretended Enemies Breſts, and after their death, to have condemned them by Proclamation, when as *Fliſcus,* through popularity, ſhould have got the Diadem. Their plot for effecting their Enemies death, and their own advancement, was lay'd as exactly as Policy could deviſe; their *practice* and execution of means invented, was more exact than the pattern which *Machiavel* gives for like deſigns. Firſt, Becauſe ſtore of Armour and Munition was neceſſary for ſuch an action, and proviſion of ſuch ſtore of Munition, would be ſuſpicious for a private man to undertake in a *popular* and *factious* State; *Fliſcus* perſwades young *Doria* (whoſe death he eſpecially ſought) to be his partner in ſetting out a man of War againſt the *Turks.* *Doria* kindly accepts the offer, altogether ignorant of the others intent, which was by this colour to furniſh himſelf with Armour and Munition out of the Country for *Doriaes* overthrow. And being once furniſhed with ſuch Tragical Attire, without ſuſpicion of any Tragedy to enſue: for to provide himſelf of ſutable Actors, he invites a multitude of the Commons to a night Feaſt, where inſtead of Thankſgiving before meat, he makes a Pathetical Oration, exhorting them to Banquet it that night in the Nobilities Blood, aſſuring them, that they ſhould be their own Carvers for ever after, of the good things of that City. Some for love to *Fliſcus,* others for hate to the *Nobility,* ſome for fear of preſent danger, and others for hope of greater dignities; for one cauſe or other, all at length, ſave two (who deſired to be ſpared for their faint hearts) offer themſelves to *Fliſcus* his ſervice. And by their forwardneſs, the City gates, next to the *key,* whoſe *command* made moſt for their purpoſe, are preſently ſurpriſed: yet not without ſome noiſe, which coming unto *Doriaes* ear, makes him ſuſpect that his Mariners were quarrelling: and riſing out of his bed to *compoſe* the ſuppoſed quarrel by his preſence, he falls immediately into his Enemies hands, before he was ſought for. But however this young Gallant had committed no *actual* crime, that by courſe of Humane Law, deſerved a violent death by ſuch Executioners; yet the right hand of the Lord had found him out, for conſenting by *Piracy* to diſturb the Publick Peace, lately concluded betwixt *Charles* the Fifth, and the *Turk*: which Peace the *Genoezes* amongſt others, the *Dorian* Faction above other *Genoezes,* but eſpecially this young *Doria,* and his Fathers houſe (which had ſtood for *Cæſar* againſt the *French*) were bound in conſcience to obſerve. But leaving the cauſe of his death unto the Righteous Judge: his ſudden end, in any Politicians judgment, was a good

Vide Thuanum, Anno 1547

good beginning to *Fliſcus* miſchievous deſigns. And what more could *Machiavel* have in the next place given in charge, but that the Gallies which made ſome ſtir at the noiſe, ſhould with all ſpeed be boorded, to make all ſure, until the Tragedy were fully acted. This *Fliſcus* ſought to put in execution with as great ſpeed as *Machiavel* in like caſe could have wiſhed. But haſte (as we ſay) makes waſte: his forward mind had made him forget, that his *body* was not ſo nimble in Armour, as out of it; not ſo apt either to avoid a ſlip, or to recover himſelf when he began to ſlide. By his haſty treading upon a looſe plank (as if the ſnare had been ſet for his Soul by the Almighties hand) he, and one or two of his companions, fell ſome yard or two ſhort of their purpoſe, and drowned themſelves and their Plot, even whilſt it was come to ſuch perfection, that the younger *Fliſcus* yet hoped to make himſelf Duke of *Genoa*, as haply he might have done, if the Lord had lent him ſo much wit as to have concealed his elder Brothers death, ſcarce known to any, till he bewrayed it, to ſuch as enquired for him, in hope to finiſh all inſtantly by his preſence. But they, partly amazed, with the elder Brothers ſudden diſaſter, and ſeeing no ſufficiency in the younger, to ſatisfie their expectation, diſſolve the root, and ceaſing to project the ruine of others, begin every one to ſeek the beſt means for his own ſafety. Thus hath this Politick Gentleman, *conſulted ſhame unto his houſe*, his ſtately Palace is demoliſhed, and his Noble Family almoſt extinct. Yet were all the conditions which greateſt Plot-maſters require in ſuch projects, exactly obſerved in this: the Plot it ſelf as acurate as could by the reach of man be deviſed, their counſel communicated but to a few at the firſt, the execution of it ſo ſpeedy, that the appointed actors could have no leiſure to deliberate whether it were better to relent, or go forwards; and yet the ſucceſs more diſmal and ſudden, than their Enemies could expect or wiſh. Thus *Machiavels* rules have their exceptions, but the Prophets Calendar is never out of date; *Non eſt viri dirigere greſſus ejus.* Not *Machiavel* himſelf had he been preſent, could ſo have directed *Fliſcus* his ſteps, that his treadings ſhould not ſlip; yea, he ſhould have fallen, though *Machiavel* had held the plank. For his iniquity had over-grown his Plot, and being come to full height, it ſtrikes upon that immutable and irreſiſtible doom, which God by *Moſes* had pronounced, *Deut.* 32. *v.* 35. *Vengeance and recompence are mine, their feet ſhall ſlide in due time, and the day of their deſtruction is at hand, and the things that ſhall come upon them, make haſte.* Theſe men we ſpake of, haſtned their own deſtruction, by making too much haſte to deſtroy others.

4. Perhaps the Politician will reply: As *Haman* was too ſlow, ſo *Fliſcus* was too haſty, and ſhould have obſerved the contrary rule,

Differ; habent parvæ commoda magna moræ.

Suppoſe this hot-ſpur were *revived*, to re-act his former or the like cunning Plot, and for his better remembrance, ſhould take the *Dolphin* and *Harrow* for his device, with this inſcription, *Feſtina lente*; it were not poſſible his ſpeed ſhould be better, ſo long as his intentions were as bad, or worſe than they had been; and his adverſaries no worſe than they were, when he conſpired their death.

To omit more examples Ancient or Foraign: the freſh memory of the Powder Treaſon, eclipſeth all that have gone before it. No

Politician can juſtly accuſe the Actors of this intended Tragedy, either of *Hamans* too long delay, or of *Fliſcus* his haſte. Such maturity and ſecreſie they uſed in their actions and conſultations, as none on Earth could have uſed more, conſidering the many letts and impediments which did croſs their projects. Hell it ſelf had gone ſo long with this hideous monſter, that it was weary, and well content to make an Abortive brood, as fearing the *pangs* that muſt have accompanyed the full delivery of what had been conceived within her Bowels, would be unſufferable. But *Achitophel* had wit at will, to Plot a Treaſon to his Soveraigns overthrow; yet herein *blinded* by *him*, that gave him ſight in other projects, that he could not forecaſt what harms might befal him by *Abſoloms* folly. And though the *Arch-plotter* were *Vir profundæ diſſimulationis*, one that could give Traiterous Counſel, as the deſtroying Angel of the Lord, and hide his Counſel as deep as Hell; though he had this extraordinary quality in him, of making his Friends ſo ſure unto him, that they would adventure both Body and Soul at any time for his ſake: yet thus far infatuated he was, as not to conſider, that ſome of them which were ſo willing to work a Publick miſchief for his pleaſure, might alſo have a deſire to ſecure their private Friends from danger, by giving them ſome general or ambiguous admonition, albeit againſt their oaths of ſecreſie. That one of them ſhould ſeek to admoniſh his Honourable Friend of the inſtant danger, was a thing not extraordinary, except in this, that ſo much good nature could be left in his breaſt, that could conſent unto his Countries ruine. That a man of the *Jeſuits* inſtruction, ſhould find an evaſion in an oath, which he held lawful, is a matter uſual. And who knows whether he that permits evil, becauſe he knows to turn it unto good, did not at this time make uſe of the *Jeſuits* Doctrine, of playing faſt and looſe with his Sacred and Dreadful name, to animate this diſcoverer to diſpenſe with that ſolemn Oath of Secreſie which he had taken, and afterward to forſwear the fact ſo deeply. I do not think he durſt have adventured upon either, without ſome *ſecret mental reſervation*. But without all queſtion, it was his *Counſel* which moderateth the main devices of mans heart, that moved him to expreſs his mind in ſuch *terms*, as might repreſent or call the Fathers diſaſter, unto the remembrance of his royal Son, whom Nature had taught to make jealous conſtructions of every ſpeech, word, or circumſtance, that might revive the memory of the intendments againſt his Father, and to forecaſt all poſſible interpretations of all occurrences, which might portend or intimate the like deſigns againſt himſelf. As the ſincerity of his royal Heart, and conſciouſneſs of clemency towards all, eſpecially towards that faction which deſerved none, had brought our Soveraign aſleep in Security: ſo the Collections which he made out of the diſcloſers Ænigmatical Admonitions, were ſuch as a man would make that had heard the Letter in a dream or ſlumber, not ſuch, as ſo Wiſe and Learned a Prince would, in other caſes, have made in his vigilant and waking thoughts. But from what cauſe ſoever the dream came, the interpretation was from the Lord, and *Let it be unto the Kings enemies for ever.* The event hath proved the diſcloſer to have been a falſe Prophet, and to have ſpoken preſumptuouſly when he ſaid, that *God and Man had concurred to puniſh the iniquity of thoſe times*, by ſuch a *blow* as he meant. We muſt with the true Prophet make confeſſion: *Not unto us Lord, not unto us, but* *unto thy Name give the Glory*. It was not God and Man, but God alone, that did ſute and order the ſeveral occurrences by which the intended blow was prevented. It was not God, but the Devil, that did intend it.

5. That the *Jews* in the days of *Mordecai*, that the *Genoezes* within this Age, that this Land and People within our memory, have not become a prey unto their malicious Enemies, was meerly from the counſel of the Lord, which muſt ſtand, for our good, if we decline not unto evil. It is not the breath or vapour of Hell, that can undermine our State, or ſhake our Princes Throne, whilſt God is with us. But if he be againſt us, what can be for us? If he do but ſpeak the word, even the leaſt word of mortal man, whoſe breath is in his noſtrils, ſhall be ſufficient to *blow up* or overturn a Kingdom.

If Subjects ſhould rebel, as often as Princes break jeſts upon them, they might work their own greater real diſgrace, and wrong both themſelves and their Poſterities far more indeed, than the other had done in words. But opportunity makes a Thief, and want of opportunity oft-times keeps great minds, much diſcontent, from Rebellion. But when it ſhall pleaſe him that hath reſerved the perfect knowledge of times and ſeaſons to himſelf, not to diſpoſe their opportunities to any Land or Peoples good, a womans unſeaſonable word may breed mightieſt Empires greater real miſchief, than Emperours Swords for many Generations can redreſs. So it fell out, when *Juſtin* the Emperour had removed *Narſes* the Eunuch, from his *Regency* of *State*, upon importunate accuſations, which, for the preſent, he could not put off, but only by putting him from his place. *Sophia* his Empreſs (not ſo wiſe herein, as after-experience might have taught her to have been) whether willing (as the old Proverb is) to add ſcath to ſcorn, or whether deſirous to ſooth *Narſes* his calumniators in their humour; ſaid, ſhe would have *Narſes* come unto *Conſtantinople*, there to Spin amongſt her maids. The jeſt, being brought unto his Ears, provoked him to give her proof of his maſculine ſpleen and indignation. For he thus reſolved, *Seeing it hath pleaſed her Excellency to appoint me this task, I ſhall ſhortly ſpin her ſuch a thred, as ſhe and her Husband ſhall hardly be able, all the days of their life, to untwiſt*. Not he, but the Lord by his mouth had ſpoken the word, and it was done. For *Alboinus* King of the *Lombards*, comes inſtantly out of *Hungary* at *Narſes* his call, who could not diſſwade him from entring into *Italy*, after it repented him of his former ſpleen againſt *Sophia*, and of his encouraging of this King to revenge his wrong. The Eaſtern Empire had received many wounds before this time, but lately cured of the moſt dangerous by *Narſes* his good ſervice. This was the firſt perpetual and irrecoverable maim: the ſecond more grievous, did follow upon as light occaſions, but wherein the concourſe of many circumſtances were more notable.

See the Hiſtories which write of Juſtin *the ſecond.*

6. When * *Mahomet* firſt begun to counterfeit *Extatical* Viſions, and practiſe Sorcery; he aimed, perhaps, at no greater matters, than *Simon Magus* did, only to be accounted *μέγαντινα*, ſome great one among his fellow *Badgers* and *Camel-drivers*. He did not ſo much as dream of *Neſtorius* or his Hereſie. And *Sergius* the *Monk*, when he began to maintain that Hereſie at *Conſtantinople*, did think as little of *Arabian* Sorcery. After theſe two, by Satans inſtigation, and GOD'S permiſſion, had made a medley of *Jewiſh Infidelity*, and *Græcian Hereſie*, as if it had been a Garment of *Engliſh Wool*, and

* *See the writers of the Emperours lives, in the life of* Heraclius.

and outlandiſh Lint; they leaſt thought of any Mutiny towards, in *Heraclius* his Camp for want of pay. The *Roman Quæſtor* was altogether ignorant of *Mahomets* Viſions, or his new coined Laws, when he thus diſgracefully intreated the *Arabians* or *Sarazens: There is ſcarce ſufficient Proviſion for the* Roman *and* Grecian *Souldiers, and muſt this raſcality of Dogs be ſo importunately impudent, in demanding their pay? Sed habet & Muſca ſplenem.* Theſe poor *Barbarians* were ſuch hungry Dogs, as looked to be cheriſhed where they *fawned*, and could be content to change many Maſters, rather than be continually *raited* thus. Now albeit the *Roman Quæſtor* did thus uncourteouſly diſmiſs them, without a Paſport or direction whither to go: yet the Lord by his harſh language, did *hiſs* for theſe Hornets, unto *Mahomets* Camp; who had been lately foiled by the *Perſian*, until theſe Fugitives raiſed him up, and made him Lord of *Egypt*. Thus of the Hereſie of *Sergius* (by Birth an *Italian*, by Profeſſion a *Monk*) and of *Mahomets* Sorcery, and of theſe *Sarazens* mutiny, hath the Divine Providence, made up a triple cord, which cannot to this day be broken; having continued almoſt theſe thouſand years, as a *fatal* ſcourge to Chriſtendom.

7. A meer Politician, that conſiders the cauſes of *Juſtinus* his loſs, by the diſcontent of *Narſes*, or of *Heraclius* his prejudice by theſe *Sarazens* revolt, would from both draw that Aphoriſm which divers have done, from a truſty * *Gaſcoignes* anſwer, unto *Charles* the Seventh *French* King. The Aphoriſm is, that Princes muſt beware what Speeches they uſe unto great Souldiers or Men of valour, ſeeing that *Gaſcoign* ingenuouſly told his Lord and Maſter, that for a foul diſgrace he could turn Traytor, though all the riches of *France*, though the *French* Kingdom it ſelf would not ſuffice for a Bribe to make him prove falſe, or to corrupt his Loyal mind. The Rule or Aphoriſm is in many caſes good. Yet if this, and all other like Caveats were ſtrictly obſerved, and other matters not amended, he that at his appointed time turns diſgraceful ſpeeches unto the ſpeakers overthrow, can make the mildeſt words, which *Generals*, or other Confederates in Arms can utter, for accompliſhing their joynt purpoſes, to effect their own ruine, and delivery of their Enemies.

* *Camerarius ex Ferrono.*

8. It is a known ſtory of a Family or Faction in *Peruſium*, who having gathered a competent Army of their Allies, to ſurpriſe the City from which they had been lately baniſhed; made their forcible entrance into it by night, burſting all the chains, that otherwiſe would have hindred the paſſage of the Horſemen, until they came unto the Market ſtead, or chief place to be ſurpriſed. But here their *Hercules*, wanting room (by reaſon of the preſs) to fetch a full blow with his Club, for burſting that chain, much ſtronger (in all likelihood) than the reſt, crys * *Back, back*, unto thoſe that were next unto him, and they the like unto ſuch as were behind them, until the ſame words had run like an *eccho* to the hindmoſt ranks or rear; who imagining that thoſe in the front had deſcryed ſome danger, reſolved to be the firſt in retiring, as they had been the laſt in entring: and hence, they in the front, perceiving themſelves ſuddenly deſtituted of their company, give their enterprize for loſt, which one blow more, or one word leſs, had preſently effected. But perpetual Exile was by Divine juſtice, the enterpriſers due; and though Iron Chains may be burſt by the ſtrength of man, yet the *Counſel of the Lord, that ſhall ſtand*, more firm than walls of Braſs, or rocks of Adamant; that his Enemies at the appointed time may fall before it.

* See *Guicciardine* and *Machiavel, locis citatis*

The only uſe which the Politician hath made of this and like Experiments, is this: Firſt, That Generals ſhould be very wary what words ſhould paſs throughout their Army, and for this purpoſe to keep Servants, Women, or other talkative, or clamorous Creatures, far from the Army, when any Service is toward. Secondly, To accuſtom their Souldiers, only to reſpect their Commanders Speeches, and to account of others as wind, that blows afar off. Theſe Caveats were given above ſeventy years ago; and yet have greater Forces than theſe *Italians* had, been upon as light occaſions defeated in their intended ſurpriſals of Cities by night, after they had blown open their Gates with *Petars*. However, the Admonition hath its uſe and ſeaſons, though oftentimes obſerved without ſucceſs, becauſe it is too much relyed upon. *Mordecai* ſpake with confidence unto *Eſther*; *If thou holdeſt thy peace at this time, comfort and deliverance ſhall appear unto the Jew out of another place*; becauſe, as he ſuppoſed, the Counſel of God was for their good. But though *Souldiers* ſhould hold their peace, and Generals ſpeak nothing but what the Politician ſhould *prompt*, yet ſhall deſtruction come upon them upon other occaſions; if the counſel of the Lord be once againſt them. Yea, though the parties diſagreeing ſhould lay all Enmity aſide, and conſult for the eſtabliſhing of Peace, yet ſhall they conclude in Blood, if the Lord of Hoſts be diſpleaſed with them.

9. A fit inſtance to this purpoſe is regiſtred, as *Camerarius* tells us in Foraign Annals, though not intimated by our *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, who had as much reaſon as any other to have recorded it, if the ſtory had been true. But ſeeing they have omitted it, I will not expect the Readers Hiſtorical aſſent unto it, but only commend it to him as an example, for illuſtrating the probability of the laſt obſervation. The *Engliſh* and *French* Army, being ready to joyn Battel in *Normandy*, the *French* Captains perſwade their King, to intreat a Parley with the *King* of *England*, that ſo all matters might be compromiſed without further harm, or danger to either party. The place agreed upon for the Parley, was a ruinated Chappel, a little diſtant from both Armies. A friendly compromiſe was by both *Kings* reſolved upon, to be further ratified upon deliberation of their ſeveral Counſels. But before their parting, a huge Snake, whether ſtirred up by the noiſe of their attendants which waited without, or upon other occaſions, ſeemed by her hiſſing, and ſwelling neck, to make towards them. Both of them alike afraid, draw their Swords, and yet neither willing to truſt other within the Walls, run out with their naked Swords in their hands: their Attendance upon this ſight, miſdeeming ſome outfall in the Chappel between them, do the like; and the Armies upon this view joyn Battel, and could not be recalled, until much blood, on both parties was, and more had been ſpilt, unleſs the night had come upon them.

10. Be this, as it may be, a true ſtory, or a fiction: the poſſibility of ſuch unexpected occurrences (all which are at the Almighties diſpoſition) are infinite, and cannot be comprehended, much leſs prevented by the wit of man, which is but finite. So that although the plots and deviſes of mans heart be many, yet hath the Lord more counterplots perpetually in ſtore, and therefore of all Counſels, *the Counſel of the Lord ſhall ſtand*.

Whilſt I read ſome Speculative Politicians, that ſeek by obſerving the errors of former times, in managing civil affairs or projects, to rectifie or correct their over-ſights, and take upon them to make an Ephimerides of future events: their Diſcourſes, in my ſlender obſervation, argue a greater ignorance in them, of Divine Providence, than their practices would in the Mathematicks, that would labour out of a ſurd number to extract a perfect ſquare. He that knows the rules of Arithmetical Diviſion, might in every *working*, or attempt of reſolving a full number into its proper *ſquare*, come nearer and nearer to the ſquare number, and yet be ſure not to find it, though he ſpent *Neſtors* years in dividing, and ſubdividing the ſame number, or reſolving fractions into fractions. The reaſon is this, how little ſoever a ſurd number exceeds the next ſquare, yet the overplus is in diviſion infinite. And ſo are the events which the Politician ſeeks to rectifie or determine of, and therefore not certainly rectifiable or determinable; ſave only by him, whoſe wiſdom is actually infinite. It is an errour incident to little Children, to think they might eaſily ſhake hands with the *Man* in the Moon, or with *Endymion* kiſs the Moon it ſelf, if they were upon the next Hill, where it ſeems to them to ſet: and if you bring them thither, they think they came but a little too late; if they could be now at the next Hill, where they ſee it go down, they imagine they might do ſo yet. Such for all the world, is the practical Politicians errour, the cauſe of both in proportion the ſame. Children are thus deceived, becauſe they imagine no diſtance between Heaven and Earth, or between Heaven, and that part of Earth, which terminates their ſight. And ſo the ſecular Politicians mind, reacheth no farther than the hemiſphere of his own faculty. Either he knows not, or conſiders not, how far the heighth and depth of his Wiſdom and Counſel that ſits in the Heavens, and rules the Earth, exceeds the utmoſt bounds or horizon of his foreſight and limited skill: in this only different from the Child, that his wit is more ſwift and nimble than the others body, ſo that he is not ſo ſoon weary of his purſuit. But if he miſs of his purpoſe at the firſt, he hopes at his next flight to ſpeed; and thus in ſeeking after true felicity (which was hard by him, when he began his courſe) he runs round all the days of his life, even as he is led by him that daily compaſeth the Earth. Better might Painters hope, by looking on the multitude of men now living, to draw accurate Pictures of ſuch as ſhall be in the Age to come; than any Politician can expect, either by obſervation of former times, or experience of his own, to preſcribe exact rules for managing of future projects. For if we conſider the whole frame, or compoſition of circumſtances, or all the ingredients, (if I may ſo ſpeak) of every event, there is as great a variety in Humane Actions, as there is in mens Faces. Never were there two events of moment upon Earth altogether alike; each differs from other, either in the ſubſtance, number, or quality of occurrences, or in the proportion of their conſonancy or diſſonancy unto the counſel of the Lord, as there is no viſage but differs from another, if not in colour or complexion, yet in ſhape or figure. I have been, perhaps, rather too long, than too bold, in decyphering the vanity of this proud Critick, which accuſeth Chriſtianity of cowardize in actions, and devotion of ſtupidity and dullneſs in conſultation of State. But ſo might Bats and Owls, condemn the Eagle of blindneſs, were tryal of ſight to be made in that part of twilight, wherein darkneſs hath gotten the victory of light. Some men not able to diſcern a Friend from a Foe, at three paces diſtance in the open Sun, 7

will read their *Pater noſter*, written in the compaſs of a Shilling, by Moon-ſhine, much better than others clearer ſighted, can read a Proclamation Print. The Pur-blind ſee beſt by night, yet not therefore better ſighted than others are, becauſe the abſolute tryal of ſight is beſt made by day. So is the meer Politician more quick ſighted, than Gods Children in matters permitted by Divine Providence, to the managing of the Prince of darkneſs. For albeit the Righteous Lord do in no caſe permit, or diſpence with perjury, fraud, or violence; yet he ſuffers many events to be compaſſed by all, or ſome of theſe, or worſe means. Now when matters uſually managed by ſpecial Providence, come by Divine Permiſſion once to catching, he that makes leaſt conſcience of his ways, will ſhew moſt wit and reſolution. For whatſoever falls to Satans diſpoſals, ſhall aſſuredly be collated on him that will adventure moſt. It is his trade and profeſſion to lend *wit*, *might*, and *cunning*, for ſatisfying preſent deſires, upon the mortgage of Souls and Conſciences. And his Scholar or Client (the Politick Atheiſt) perceiving fraud and violence to proſper well in ſome particulars, imagines theſe, or like means, throughly multiplyed, to be able to conquer all things, which he moſt deſires. But when Satans commiſſion is recalled, or his power, by Gods Providence contracted; the cunningeſt intentions, or violent practices of Politicians, prove much like to a peremptory warrant out of date, which being directed to one County, is ſerved in another. Both indanger the party proſecuting, and turn to the advantage of the proſecuted. I conclude this Chapter and Section, with the obſervation of a nameleſs Author, but ſet down in Verſes, related by *Camerarius*.

Si vitam ſpectes hominum, ſi denique mores,
Artem, vim, fraudem, cuncta putes agere.
Si propius ſpectes, Fortuna eſt arbitra rerum:
Neſcis quam dicas, & tamen eſſe vides.
At penitus ſi introſpicias, atq; ultima primis
Connectas, tantum eſt Rector in orbe Deus.

Who looks on men, and on their manners vile,
Weens nought is wrought, nought got ſans force or guile:
Who nearer looks, ſpies (who knows what) her wheel
Who couzneth fraud, and oft makes force to reel.
But Eagle ſights which pierce both far and near,
Eye One *who only ruleth all this Sphear.*

SECT.

SECTION IV.

Of Gods ſpecial Providence in ſuiting Puniſhments unto the Nature and Quality of offences committed by Men.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of the rule of Retaliation or Counterpaſſion. And how forcible puniſhments inflicted by this rule, without any purpoſe of man, are to quicken the ingraffed notion of the Deity, and to bring forth an acknowledgment of Divine Providence and Juſtice.

A*Riſtotle* did rightly deny Retaliation, or Counterpaſſion to be *ἀυτοδικαῖον, exact juſtice*; and yet it may be, *Pythagoras* his thoughts did ſoar much higher than his, when he pitched upon the affirmative. In ordinary offences committed by unequal or extraordinary perſons, *Pythagoras* his tenent, is not univerſally true. As if a great Perſon ſhould beat his far Inferiour, without juſt cauſe, it ſtands neither with the Law of God, or Rule of Equity, to beat him in the ſame faſhion, or according to the ſame meaſure again. But when Kings and Monarchs do extraordinary wrongs unto their Subjects, or practiſe Prodigious Cruelties upon their Inferiours; they uſually ſuffer the like harms or plagues themſelves. *But who* (ſaith * *Cominæus*) *ſhall call Potentates in queſtion, who ſhall accuſe, who ſhall condemn, who ſhall puniſh them? All* (as he reſolves) *that can be required to a former proceſs, ſhall be ſupplyed, by the complaints and tears of ſuch, as are agrieved by them; by the ſighs and groans of the Fatherleſs and Widows. Theſe are more Authentick than any witneſſes of fact, more powerful than any Attorney or Advocate, before the ſupreme Tribunal of God. So good and gracious a Judge is He, and ſo compaſſionate to the oppreſſed, that even in this life he often puniſheth Kings for their ſakes, ſo evidently and ſo remarkably, as there can be no place for doubt amongſt the obſervant, that he is a moſt juſt avenger of Humane Impiety. But moſt Princes* (as the ſame Author notes) *are ſo unexperienced, ſo inconſiderate,*

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* Interrogavi paulò antè, quis habiturus ſit quæſtionem de potentibus, quis illos accuſabit quis litem definiet, quis pœnam irrogabit? Certè querimoniæ & lachrymæ miſerorum hominum, quos crudeliter vexarunt, item viduarum & pupillorum gemitus atque ſuſpiria, quos parentibus atque maritis inhumanè ſpoliarunt breviter eorum, quos afflixerunt & fortunis omnibus denudarunt, lamentationes atque plangor, erunt accuſationis loco, quam illi coram ſupremo Dei tribunali ſiſtent. Qui magnitudine ſcelerum offenſus, non ſemper concedit diuturniorem impunitatem, ſed illos aliquando verberat præſentibus pœnis, ita quidem evidentur & clarè, ut dubitari non poſſit, ipſum eſſe juſtiſſimum impietatis noſtræ ultorem. Plerique verò Principes, imperiti quidem illi & inconſulti, quam diu proſpera utuntur fortuna, nihil tale metuunt, ſed eum maximè ſecuri ſunt omnium rerum, tunc ecce Deus repentè illis adverſarium aliquem excitat, do quo minime ſuſpicati fuerant. *Cominaus in fine lib.* 10.

that whiles proſperous fortune ſmiles upon them, they fear no ſtorms, no puniſhment, no conviction. And for want of this fear, which is the beginning of wiſdom, God ſuddenly raiſeth up ſome Adverſary or other, when they leaſt ſuſpect.

Affliction in ſome kind or other, is the ſureſt Friend, the moſt truſty Counſellour, that any Prince can uſe; for of all the reſt of his Retinue, it only knoweth not how to flatter. And affliction or calamity of the ſame kind, which they have undeſervedly brought upon others (when *that* befals them) is the moſt ſincere, moſt powerful Preacher, that enters in at any Court-gate, for bringing Potentates to the knowledge of God, and of his Laws, or to acknowledge him to be as well the Judge of Judges, as Lord of Lords.

2. For as Juſtice cannot be done upon private Offenders, but by the warrant of Supreme Authority; ſo when we ſee ſuch judgments beſal Supreme Magiſtrates themſelves, as to the *notions* of Natural reaſon, are juſt and right, and as it were exactly fitted to that which they have done to others; this clearly argues there is a Supreme Tribunal in Heaven, which hath more ſoveraign Authority over the higheſt Thrones and Principalities on Earth, than they have over the meaneſt Subject that lives under them, or ſillieſt Wretch that ſojourns within their Territories.

3. And if the talleſt Cedars be not without the reach of Divine Juſtice, ſhall it not controul the lower ſhrubs? Never was there any man on Earth (I am perſwaded) ſave one (who was more than man) but upon a diligent ſurvey of what he had done and ſuffered, might have taken juſt occaſion to repeat that leſſon, which the ſufferance of ſuch calamity from the hands of men, as he had procured unto others his neighbour Princes, had taught *Adonibezech* to ſay by heart, *Threeſcore and Ten Kings having their Thumbs, and their Toes cut off, gathered their meat under my Table, as I have done, ſo God hath requited me, Judg.* 1. 7. This Tyrants offences had been many and groſs, more Barbarous, than many Princes in this Age would (perhaps) commit; yet an uſual practice upon the Conquered, in thoſe Ancient times; a politick emblem of ſlavery, in thus fitting their hands for the Oar, and diſ-enabling them to uſe the Pike, or other like inſtrument of War. However, more at this day would be ready, upon like provocation, or cuſtom, to deal as boyſterouſly with their vanquiſht Foes, as *Adonibezech* did with his, rather than to make the like ingenuous confeſſion; though God did call their ſins to mind, by ſuch ſenſible remembrances, as awaked him. This I have generally obſerved, that lighter touches of Gods afflicting hand, did more effect the outragious people of the old world (unleſs ſuch as were delivered up into a reprobate ſenſe) than his ſevere blows do many amongſt us, which have the reputation of Moderate, of Civil, yea, of Sanctified Men. The minds of moſt men are ſo blinded, and choakt with cares of this world, that they look no further than into ſecond cauſes; and hence (like Idiots) they ſuſpect ſuch blows as are reached them from Heaven, to be given by ſuch as are next unto them. But even among ſuch as look far enough beyond ſecond cauſes; amongſt ſuch as ſee God in his Word, and daily hear his Promiſes, ſome there be, which either diſtinguiſh too nicely between Gods Temporal puniſhments, and his Fatherly chaſtiſements, or elſe make not right application of this diſtinction to their own particular. From the one or other miſtake, (perhaps from both) whatſoever affliction befals them, after they have

taken ſpecial notice of their Regeneration, is entertained as a meer loving correction, ſent for no other end, than to work for their future good, not as a touch of Gods Punitive Juſtice, requiring ſerious Repentance for ſome particular ſins paſt. But whatſoever may be thought of the diſtinction it ſelf, this application of it, was not in uſe amongſt the Ancient Saints and People of God.

4. Few Modern Spirits of ingenuous birth and breeding, but would ſcorn to be ſuſpected of ſuch rude and vaſt behaviour, as ſome of *Jacobs* Sons uſed towards their Father, others towards *Joſeph*, or the *Shechemites*. And yet, how quickly doth the fear, rather than the ſufferance of lighter affliction, than *Joſeph* ſuffered at their hands, call their offences againſt *him* to their remembrance. They knew themſelves to be as free from the crime, wherewith he charged them, as he was from *merit* of death, when they put him into the pit, or from deſert of bondage, when they ſold him to the *Madianites*. Notwithſtanding, his very not being ſo flexible to their requeſts, as their inſtant occaſions required, (though nothing ſo inexorable as they had been to him in his extremity, when they knew him (as now they do not) to be their Brother) cauſed them to make this mutual confeſſion one to another, [*We are verily guilty concerning our Brother, in that we ſaw the anguiſh of his Soul when he beſought us, and we would not hear: therefore is this anguiſh come upon us*, Gen. 42. 21.] This ſpeedy relentance upon this warning, is an aſſured teſtimony, that the fear of God, and of his juſt judgments, did in ſome meaſure lodge in all their hearts; but moſt abundantly, now, in *Reubens*, whoſe former ſins againſt his Father, did equalize, if not ſuperabound his Brethrens ſins againſt young *Joſeph*, of whoſe miſcarriage he was leaſt guilty. For unto the reſt confeſſing their ſins, as was ſet down before in the next verſe, he thus replies; *Spake I not unto you, ſaying, do not ſin againſt the Child, and ye would not hear? therefore behold alſo his blood is required.* Yet was this confeſſion uttered thirteen years after the fact was committed, until that time never called in queſtion.

CHAP. XXXII.

Of the Geometrical proportion or form of diſtributive juſtice; which the Supreme Judge ſometimes obſerves in doing to great Princes as they have done to others.

1. BUT theſe Sons of *Jacob* were private men. And God in putting them into the ſame fear and anguiſh of Soul, into which they had put their harmleſs Brother, might obſerve the ſtrict rule of Retaliation or Counterpaſſion, without ſwerving from the rule of Equity, ſeeing their brother was their equal: but doth the Righteous Lord obſerve the ſame rule betwixt parties, for condition or ſtate of life moſt unequal? doth he *mete* out puniſhment unto Princes, in juſt equality to the harms which they have wrongfully done to their Subjects or Inferiours? Surely he is no reſpecter of perſons, in caſes of juſtice or revenge. But where the *blow* or *matter* of puniſhment, which lights on Potentates, is much leſs, the grief or ſmart may be fully as great, as their fury can procure unto their Subjects. In the caſe between Kings and Subjects, properly ſo called, or between

Superiour and *Inferiour Subjects*, there is a kind of allowance to be made, according to Geometrical proportion, without ſwerving from the exact rule of Retaliation. It is a memorable compariſon which * *Cominæus* (according to this allowance) hath made, between the evils which *Lewis* the Eleventh *French* King, had done to others, and the like evils, which God, in the end of his Raign, did bring upon him.

2. To be diſ-reſpected by them, whom he had advanced far above their deſerts, and graced with dignities whereof, their Education and Profeſſion was uncapable, could not but be a great grief unto this great *King*, as the like ungratefulneſs would be unto any other: yet a juſt and uſual award of Divine Juſtice upon ſuch Princes as thus neglect the rule of humane diſtributive juſtice, in the diſpenſing of honourable favours. But for a Prince, which had always required exact obedience, always accuſtomed to *expect* an *obſervance* from his Subjects, more than ordinarily is given unto other Princes, to be, in his old age, inforced to obſerve and flatter the churliſh humour of his [a] Phyſitian, whoſe untoward ſervice he had recompenced with a ſtanding Fee of a Thouſand Crowns a month, beſides other gratuities extraordinary: *this* was a perpetual torment, whereof *Lewis* in his perplexity, could not but often complain unto others, yet could not remedy. For this was a Diſeaſe which he durſt not make known unto his Phyſitian, whoſe diſpleaſure he feared more than any thing elſe, beſides death; which was the only cauſe why he ſo much feared his diſpleaſure. And is it not (as the wiſe *King* ſpeaks) a vanity of vanities, or more than ſo, a miſery of miſeries, that the fear of this laſt *point* or cloſe of life, ſhould make great men ſlaves, for the moſt part of their lives, and bring a neceſſity upon them, of fearing every one with more than a ſlaviſh fear, that may in probability be conceived as an inſtrument or meſſenger of its approach. * Now this *King* was ſo ſucceſſively afraid of death, that he had given it in ſtrict charge unto his Friends and Followers, not to give him warning of this his laſt *enemy*, by *name*, whenſoever it ſhould (to their ſeeming) approach: but to exhort him only to a confeſſion or expiation of his ſins. Yet was it his ill hap or fate, after he had ſet his houſe in order, and after his dejected Spirits had been ſomewhat raiſed with new hopes of recovery, to have death rung into his Ears by his Servants, after ſuch an indiſcreet and unmannerly faſhion, as if they had ſought to put him into Purgatory, whilſt he was alive. His *Barber*, with others, (whom he had rewarded far above their deſerts) without any *preamble* or circumlocution of *reſpective* language, (as if they had come unto him, rather as Judges to pronounce the ſentence of death upon him, than as gentle remem-

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* Componam ergo illius acerbitates ac dolores, quos pertulit ante mortem, cum iis malis & incommodis, quibus alios affecit. Magnitudine quidem inter ſe differunt, ac longè aliud etiam fuit ipſius munus: verùm, quò proſperiori fuit uſus fortuna, & quò major extitit ejus per omnem *Europam* authoritas: eo quoque vehementiùs fuit afflictus, dum præter conſuetudinem ſuam & naturam aliquid perferre coactus eſt. In eo, quem diximus, Eremita, ſummam perpetuò ſpem habebat, ac ſubinde miſſis nunciis interpellabat eum ut vitam ſibi produceret. Nam etſi res ſuas, quaſi jam moriturus, conſtituerat: tamen redintegrato animo, ſperabat ſe poſſe evadere. *Cominæus lib.* 10. *in initio.*

[a] Medico ſuo menſtruum dabat ſtipendium, ut ſuprà quoque diximus, decem aureorum millia: nec id modò, verum etiam Epiſcopatum Ambianenſem ejus Nepoti, & munera publica multa largiebatur ejus propinquis & amicis. Et tamen Medicus tam erat verbis in eum aſper & durus, ut nihil ſupra: valde igitur eum Rex metuebat, & ad ſuos familiares, de illius aſperitate nimia, ſæpe querebatur, neque tamen audebat eum à ſe demittere. *Ibid.*

* Mortem nullus unquam vehementius exhorruit: nemo etiam majori ſtudio & ratione de remediis unquam cogitavit, quam ipſe. Familiaribus ſuis per omnem vitam, & mihi quoq; ſæpenumerò mandaverat, ſi quando ipſum in eâ neceſſitate poſitum eſſe conſpiceremus, ut nulla prorſus factâ mentione mortis, ad peccatorum expiationem ſolummodo adhortaremur, ac videbatur eſſe nunc temporis molliori animo, quam ut adeò duram ſententiam audiret. *Ibid.*

brancers of his mortality) told him bluntly and peremptorily, that his hour was come, that he was not to expect any further comfort from his Phyſitian, or from the Hermit, who (as he thought) had prolonged his life.

3. If we could unpartially weigh the quality and condition of the parties, who were thus uncivilly and unſeaſonably bold with him, in the one ſcale of juſt eſtimation, and the greatneſs of his perſon, his natively timorous diſpoſition, and accuſtomance in the other; the diſparity would move us to be of *Cominæus* his mind in this Point; That this untoward remembrance or denunciation of death, was more bitter and grievous unto *Lewis*, than the ſharp meſſage of death, which he had ſent by Commiſſioners, * unto thoſe two great Peers of *France*, the Duke of *Nemours*, and the Earl of Saint *Paul*, giving them but a ſhort *reſpite* to marſhal their thoughts, and *order* their Conſciences before their *final* encounter with this laſt *enemy* of mortality; which they could not fear ſo much as *Lewis* did. As this great *King* had done unto theſe great Subjects, ſo have his ſervants done to him.

* Ipſe duos *Galliæ* principes Ducem *Nemorenſem* & Conneſtablium, capite mulctaverat, & quod alterum necaſſet jam cum eſſet moriturus, ipſum pœnituit. Et quemadmodum illis per homines delectos, denunciatum fuit ſupplicium, paucis verbis, & breve temporis ſpatium, quo de ſalute ſuâ ſtatuerent, conceſſum; ad eundem plane modum iſti, nulla verborum uſi circuitione, cum ei præſignificarent mortem: ut officio noſtro ſatisfaciamus, aiebant, res ipſa poſtulat Spem nullam deinceps collocare debes, vel in Eremitâ, vel in quovis alio. Nam actum eſt de te prorſus. *Ibidem.*

4. *Lewis* again, had cauſed certain places of * *Little Eaſe* to be made, or (at leaſt) did well *accept* the invention of *Iron* Cages or Grates, little more in compaſs, than the ſquare of a tall mans length, wherein he detained ſuch as offended him; ſome for divers *months*, others for many years together. [a] And through conſciouſneſs of this his rigorous dealing with others, he *confined* himſelf (for a long time) to a *cuſtody* or *durance* as * ſtrait for his greatneſs, as the Iron Cages was for their mediocrity. They were not more deſirous to ſee theſe cloſe Priſons opened, or to hear of the day of their deliverance from them, than he was careful to cauſe the Iron *Fences*, wherewith he had encompaſſed the Caſtle, wherein he had impriſoned himſelf, to be cloſe ſhut, ſave only at ſuch times, as he appointed them (upon ſpecial occaſions) to be opened. His miſerable Captives were not afraid of Paſſengers, or of ſuch as came to viſit them, they needed no guard to ſecure them: *Lewis* cauſed certain Archers to keep Centinel, as well by day as by night, to ſhoot at all that came near his Caſtle Gates, otherwiſe than by his ſpecial command or appointment. In fine, he was more afraid to be delivered out of his Priſon, by the Nobility of *France*, than his Captives were to be put in ſuch Cages. That which he feared from his Nobility, was not death or violence, but his depoſition or removal from the preſent Government, from which many wiſe Princes in their declining Age, have with Honour and Security ſequeſtred themſelves.

* Carceres paravit horrendos, & valdè tetros, nempe caveas aliquot, partim ferreas, partim ligneas, ferreis laminibus coopertas, latitudine octo pedum, & altitudine paulo majori, quam eſt ſtatura hominis. Excogitaverat hanc rationem *Cardinalis Baluenſis*, & in eam, quæ primum perfecta fuit, incluſus eſt ipſe, perque totos quatuordecim annos detentus. *Ibid.*

[a] Et ſicut per ipſius imperium carceres illi funeſti fuerunt inventi: ad eundem plane modum ipſe quoque ante mortem, conſimilibus omnino vinculis ſeſe induit, inque majori verſabatur metu, quam illi, quos aliquando captivos detinuerat. *Ibidem.*

* Ingrediendum erat omnibus non quidem per patentem portam, ſed per parvulum oſtium, & præter paucos aliquot familiares, quorum erat opera neceſſaria, nemo quiſquam, niſi voluntate ipſius, introibat, *Ibidem.*

5. Whether *Lewis* in entertaining the invention of Iron Cages, and the uſe which he made of them, or the Cardinal, which to pleaſe his ſevere humour, firſt invented them, were more faulty, I cannot tell,

nor will I diſpute; the rule of Retaliation was more conſpicuouſly remarkable in the Cardinal. For as *Cominæus* tells us (who himſelf had lodged eight months in one of them) the Cardinal was by *Lewis* command, detained Priſoner (fourteen years together) in the firſt that was made. It was well obſerved, whether by a Chriſtian or Heathen, I now remember not,

> *——Neque lex hâc juſtior ulla eſt,*
> *Quam necis artifices, arte perire ſuâ.*
>
> *A Law more juſt than this cannot be ſet,*
> *Which cruel skill doth catch in its own net.*

One *Perillus* was the *body* or ſubject of the Emblem, whereof this Motto was the *Soul*. He died a miſerable death, in that Brazen Bull, which he had made at the Tyrants requeſt, for the deadly torture of others. And albeit, this Cardinal did not dye (for ought I read) in the *Cage* of his own invention, yet had he a greater ſhare of vexation in it, than was intended for others. What good effect this long and *hard durance* wrought in the Cardinals Soul, is not ſpecified by my Author. But it is an obſervation of excellent uſe, which an Heathen * Philoſopher hath made upon like accidents in general; *That Law or Rule of Equity* (ſaith he) *which wretched men in effect deny, whilſt they do wrong to others, the ſame Law the ſame men deſire, might be in force whilſt they ſuffer wrong or harms by others. For example, he that doth wrong, doth wiſh what the Fool ſaith in his heart, there were no God: for ſo he might hope to eſcape that vengeance, which whilſt he thinks of a God, or Juſtice Divine, hangs over his head unceſſantly, threatning to fall upon him. But he that ſuffers wrong, is willing to believe there is a God, and heartily wiſheth it ſo to be, that by his aſſiſtance he may be ſupported againſt the evils, which he ſuffers. It is for this reaſon* (ſaith this Philoſopher) *expedient that ſuch as grieve and afflict others, ſhould have experience of the like affliction, to the end, that being taught by their own loſs or grievance, they might learn that truth, which being blinded by avarice, or other unruly deſire, they could not ſee before. And this truth, or good leſſon they may eaſily learn, ſo they will undergo the mulct or puniſhment due to their offence, with ſubmiſſion or patience.*

6. Albeit the Cardinal had been a flat Atheiſt before, or one at leaſt that had not God in his thoughts, whilſt he ſought to pleaſe the rigorous humour of this King, with an invention ſo diſpleaſing unto others; yet after experience had taught him, how exactly that miſery had befaln himſelf, which by his furtherance had befaln many, or was likely to befal them; he did (no queſtion) often wiſh in his heart, that the rule of Retaliation, wherewith he was viſited, might be conſtant and unpartial; that King *Lewis* himſelf might not be exempted from its viſitation. Now unto what Rule or Law could ſo great a King be ſubject, beſides that one everliving Rule, or Eternal Law it ſelf? He that heartily wiſheth Juſtice might be done on ſuch, as have full power and authority to do it, but will not do it, doth *implicitly*, yet *neceſſarily*, acknowledge a Law or Judge Supreme, *Juſtice* it ſelf; ſo is God. And he that ſeriouſly deſires mitigation of that pain or miſery, which by the irreſiſtable force of Humane Authority

* Hierocles in hæc aurea *Pythagoræ* carmina:

Mortales quæcunque Deus mittentibus, angunt;
Ut tua ſors tulerit, patiens ne ferre recuſes:
Nec ſperanda medela tamen, ſed noris & iſtud,
Parcius iſta viris immittere numina juſtis.

thority is inflicted on him, doth acknowledge a *Mercy* more ſoveraign than any Earthly *Power*, and this can be no other than God, who is *Mercy* it ſelf. Many may caſt the fear of God out of their thoughts, but none all *notions* of Divine Juſtice out of their hearts. Theſe notions or apprehenſions of an *everliving* rule of *Equity*, *Mercy* and *Juſtice*, are ſo deeply rooted in the Conſciences of all, and are themſelves of ſuch an immortal nature, as they can never be ſo utterly extinguiſhed in any, but that affliction will inſpire them with freſh life and motion, and make them breath out Supplications to the Supreme Judge, either for mercy towards themſelves, or for juſtice upon others.

7. The particular evils which *Lewis*, by Divine Juſtice, in this life, ſuffered (haply) had never come to the exact *notice* of Poſterity, unleſs * *Cominæus* his wits, had been ſet on work to obſerve them, by his experience, or fore-ſufferance of the like evils from *Lewis*, or by his procurement. Beſides this Authors Impriſonment eight months in the Iron *Cage*; another evil there was, wherein no ancient ſervant or follower of this *King*, but had a large portion. For, he had either a natural inclination, or a diſpoſition acquired by cuſtom, to hold them, whom he did not formally ſentence to any ſet puniſhment, in a perpetual fear or anxiety of mind. Now the conſciouſneſs of this his diſpoſition, and cuſtomary practice in his beſt and able days, did (as it were) bind him over to endure the like torments in his feeble and declining years. *Metus peſſimus Tyrannus, To live in perpetual fear, is to live under the moſt cruel Tyranny that can be.* And unto this Tyranny, greateſt Tyrants are more ſubject and more obnoxious, than their inferiours can be to them. For though it be poſſible for one man to keep many thouſands in perpetual awe and fear, yet is it not ſo much for every man (of ſo many) in his own particular to fear *one* man (how greatly ſoever) as it is for *one* man (how great ſoever) to ſtand in fear, but of half ſo many. Yet can no man be ſo great, or ſo well guarded, as not to have often and juſt occaſion to fear ſome harm or other, from every one, whom he hath made to fear him more than is fitting. Whence, he that ſeeks to ſow the ſeeds of fear in the hearts of others, doth but thereby (as it were) conſecrate his own Heart or Breaſt to be the receptacle or ſtore-houſe of the multiplyed increaſe or crop. For even in this caſe that ſaying is moſt true, *As every one ſows, ſo ſhall he reap.*

What other iſſue could be expected from *Lewis* his rigid practice upon others, and his own native, timorous and ignoble diſpoſition, than ſuch tormenting jealouſies and perplexities, as *Cominæus* tells us in his old Age, did ſeize upon him, and enforce him to fear the vertue and worth of his deareſt Friends, not daring to truſt Son or Daughter, or Son-in-law. Now it is more than a Purgatory, even an Hell upon Earth, for a man which can take no joy in himſelf, to deprive himſelf of all comfort from his deareſt Friends, and *them* of all comfort from him. So * uncomfortable was the Duke of *Bourbon*, his Son-in-Laws company to *Lewis*, and *Lewis* his company unto him, that when he came to viſit him in peace, and out of loyal reſpect and duty, he cauſed a ſlye ſearch to be made of *him*, and of another Earl his companion, whether they did not bear *offenſive* weapons under their garments; thus polluting the Nuptial Joys of his late Married Son and Heir, with ſordid jealouſies of his Son-in-Law.

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* Multos ipſe, per omnem vitam, perpeuo metu & ſolicitudine excruciaverat: & nunc ecce videmus eum ad conſimilem plane modum affligi. Cui enim ſe committat, qui liberis etiam ſuis, & genero fidem non habet? Hæc autem non ad ipſum modò pertineat: verum etiam ad eos omnes Principes, qui metui volunt: qua quidem in re quanta ſit ſervitus, quum ad ſenectutem pervenerunt, tunc demum aperte ſentiunt, quia coguntur invicem plurimos formidare. *Com. Ibid.*

* *Borbonius* & Comes Dunenſis, Legatos Flandriæ, qui nuptiis Delphini interfuerant Amboſæ, honoris cauſa, quod fieri ſolet, deduxerant. Ubi Pleſſimum revertiſſent magno cum comitatu; è ſtipatorum, & ſatellitum ſuorum præfectis quendam accerſit, & explorare jubet, an eſſent armati ſub veſte, ſed ut diſſimulanter faceret, mandat, intereà dum familiariter cum iis loquitur. *Com. Ibidem.*

CHAP. XXXIII.

How the former Law of Retaliation hath been executed upon Princes, according to Arithmetical proportion, or according to the Rule of Commutative Juſtice.

1. BUT however *Lewis* of *France* were puniſhed, according to the rule of *Retaliation* or *counterpaſſion:* yet in the manner of *Ritribution*, the Righteous Lord did obſerve a kind of Geometrical proportion. The affliction or viſitation it ſelf, was the juſt award of Punitive Juſtice: and yet the *form* of proceeding bears the *character* of humane diſtributive Juſtice, which hath uſually ſome reſpect to the dignity of the perſons *awarded.* So Humane Laws, which puniſh capital crimes with death, are diſpenſed with, by the favour of the Prince, for the manner of death. *That* is not ſo ignominious or diſhonourable in the execution upon *Nobles*, as upon Inferiours involved in the ſame capital crime or treaſon; no not, albeit the *Nobles* be principals, and Inferiours but acceſſories or aſſiſtants. But this favourable kind of puniſhment for the External form, God doth not always uſe towards Princes. If many times, he may ſeem to bear reſpect or favour, unto their place or perſons, this ariſeth not from their greatneſs, but from ſome other cauſe beſt known unto himſelf. His judgments upon Princes and other Potentates, are often executed, according to the moſt ſtrict Arithmetical proportion that can be required in the rule of Retaliation upon equals, as well for the manner, as for the matter of puniſhment. And although God in this life never plagueth any according to the full meaſure of their offences committed againſt himſelf: yet he often viſiteth Kings and Monarchs, with a fuller viſible meaſure of Calamity, than they have brought upon others, and with Calamity of the ſame kind. Though *Pharaoh* had been the greateſt Monarch, and his Court the moſt Glorious Seat of Nobility (till their time) on Earth; yet becauſe he and his Nobles had plotted cruelty againſt the innocent, without relentance or remorſe, the dignity of his, or their perſons, procures no mitigation, either for the matter or manner of puniſhment. Their dues are fully paid them (as we ſay) in kind; the guiltleſs blood of poor *Hebrew* Infants, is rendred ſeven fold into the boſom of the *Egyptian* Nobility and men of War.

2. Never did any State or Kingdom, ſince the foundation of the World were laid, receive ſo terrible a wound within its own Territories, in one day, as at this time *Egypt* did, but Females did in ſome meaſure feel the ſmart. Yet in this laſt, as in the former Plagues, no *Egyptian* woman had cauſe to lament for her ſelf, for her Siſter, or Daughter; but many for their Husbands, their Brothers or Sons. What was the reaſon? The * *Egyptian* Midwives (and they were women) if no other of their Sex beſides, had been more merciful to the Infant

* Exod. 1. 15. &c.

Infant Males of the *Hebrews*, than the *Egyptian* men had been. And as they had done, ſo hath the Lord requited the one, and rewarded the other. To the mercileſs Courtiers, Politicians, and men of War, he hath rendred *vengeance* and *judgment*, without mercy, and puniſhed them with miſerable and ignominious death, ſhewing compaſſion on the weaker and more pitiful Sex.

3. It was a rare document of Divine Juſtice to ordain, and of Divine Wiſdom ſo to contrive, that the Dogs ſhould lap King *Ahabs* blood in the ſame * place, where they had lapped the blood of *Naboth* (ſtoned to death through his connivance or permiſſion.) As ſure a token it was of Juſtice tempered with Mercy, and of the great Kings ſpecial grace or favour unto this graceleſs King of *Iſrael*, that the * Dogs which lapped his blood, ſhould not ſo much as touch his body. Being ſlain in Battel, his death was honourable, as the world accounteth honour, yet was it not ſo much the dignity of his Royal Perſon, as his Humiliation upon the Prophets *challenge*, which made him capable of this favour; but not a dram either of diſgrace or miſery, from which *Ahab* was by Gods mercy, in part releaſed, which did not fall into the ſcale of Juſtice, wherein the impiety of proud *Jezebel* was exactly weighed. The meaſure of her Husbands puniſhment is not ſo much leſs, as hers was fuller than *Naboths* had been. The ſight of her commanding * Letters, cauſed poor *Naboth* to be ſtoned to death by the men of his City: and at *Jehu*'s call, her Body is daſhed againſt the ſtones by her own Servants. The dogs lapped *Naboths* blood, but they devoured *Jezebels* fleſh: ſhe had been ſhameleſly cruel in her life, and ſhe hath a moſt ſhameful and a moſt fearful death. Nor would the all-ſeeing judge ſuffer that reſpect to be done to her Corps, which her cruel * Executioner intended, upon remembrance that ſhe had been Daughter to a King. It was, I muſt confeſs, a ruful caſe, and yet a judgment, more righteous than ruful, that ſhe which had iſſued from a royal womb, ſhe from whoſe womb had iſſued Royal Progeny (for ſhe had been *reſpectively* lawful Daughter, lawful Wife, and lawful Mother unto three Kings) ſhould be entombed, ere her Corps were cold, in the entrails of * dogs, ſhould have no better burial than the dead Aſs, or other Carrion; albeit ſhe died in her own Royal Palace. But thus the Almighties arm ſometimes reacheth greateſt Princes, even in this life, heavier blows, than they can give unto their pooreſt Subjects. But where the blow or matter of puniſhment which falls on them, is much lighter, the wound or torment may be more grievous, as was obſerved before, than their fury can procure unto their diſpiſed Brethren.

* 1 *Kings* 21. 19.
* 1 *Kin.*22.18
* 1 *Kin.* 21.8.
2 *Kin.*9.33.
* 2 *Kin.*9.34.
* *Ibidem.*

4. But neither doth the ſacred relation, concerning *Pharaohs* overthrow, or *Jezebels* death, contain a more perſpicuous ocular demonſtration of Divine Juſtice executed, according to the rigour of Retaliation, than hath been repreſented, or rather really acted upon a publick Stage, within the memory of ſome now living. The ſubject of this ruful ſpectacle, was *Henry* the Second *French* King of that name. The accident is not recorded by Gods Spirit, yet the Experiment (as unpartial Writers, which I take it, were eye-witneſſes of it, have related) is as exactly parallel to the rules of Gods Spirit, and affords as good Inſtruction for modern Princes, as Examples in the Sacred Story, did to poſterity. This youthful King in the beginning of his Reign, had licenſed others to feed their eyes with the ſight of a deadly Duel, authorized by him in favour of *Vivonus*, to the

diſgrace and prejudice (as the Court of *France* expected) of *Chabotius:* whoſe hands notwithſtanding, the Lord did ſtrengthen, to kill the Favourite, who after many bitter provocations, had drawn him within the Liſts, more againſt his will, than an old Bear is brought to the ſtake. The death of *Vivonus*, though moſt juſt, doth no way excuſe the barbarous injuſtice of this King, who hath this juſtice done upon him: he had made a ſport of ſheeding blood, and he himſelf is ſlain in *Ludicro certamine*, running at Tilt, and ſlain by that hand, which had been his inſtrument, to apprehend thoſe Noble and Religious Gentlemen, which had been lately impriſoned, and in whoſe miſery the Court of *France* did then rejoyce: and adding Gall to Wormwood, ſolemnized theſe, and the like Triumphant ſhows or Sportings in their ſight: yet was it not Count *Montgomeries* hand, but the right hand of the Lord, which did at one and the ſame inſtant, unty the Kings Bever, and guide the ſplinter or glance of *Montgomeries* Spear into that eye, which had beheld a Duel, that could not be determined without the death of the one, or other combatant (both being *Frenchmen*, and his natural Subjects) with ſuch delight, as young Gallants do ordinary prizes, or other like ſpectacles of recreation. Of *Vivonus* his death, few or none but *Frenchmen*, were eye-witneſſes; but of this Kings Tragical triumph, *Spain* and *Germany*, with other Countries, were Spectators by their Proxies or Embaſſadours. As if the Lord would have theſe then preſent, to carry this meſſage to their Maſters, to be by them directed to the reſt of Chriſtian Princes. *Diſcite juſtitiam moniti & non temnere divos.*

Take warning by this Princes Fate,
Not to approve what God doth hate.

God is no accepter of perſons: in reſpect of the execution of his moſt Righteous Law; as is the People, ſo is the Prince: his word muſt be alike fulfilled in both; not only Subjects that kill one another, but Princes, (be they Kings or Monarchs) that authorize Murder, or ſuffer their Subjects blood to be unjuſtly ſpilt, by man ſhall their blood be ſpilt; if other Executioners fail, even by the hand of their deareſt Friends; ſuch was Count *Montgomery* to this King.

5. The caveat, which from the untimely death of this Earl, a judgment inflicted by Divine Juſtice, not ſo much for this, (though this were pretended by the Queen Mother and Dowager, to take away his life) as for other offences, hath been elſewhere commended to young Gallants, or Princes ſervants, was (to my remembrance) this, Not to be inſtruments, though to Kings, in the execution of manifeſt injuſtice, ſeeing this noble Gentleman, after much Honour, and many Victories gotten by War, in defence of thoſe of the Reformed Religion, whom he had formerly wronged, came at length to loſe his head in that very place, whither, by *Henry* the Seconds appointment, he had brought divers noble Gentlemen to the Fagot, and ſome of that Honourable Bench, which afterward ſentenced him to death.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The Sins of Parents viſited upon their Children, according to the Rule of Retaliation.

1. ALL the parties hitherto inſtanced in, were viſited by the Rule of Retaliation in their own perſons, ſome of them not in their own perſons alone. But it is uſual with the Supreme Judge, to viſit the out-crying ſins of Irreligious Parents, upon their Children, according to the former Rule. And to this purpoſe the viſitation of *Ahabs*, and of *Jezebels* bloody ſins againſt *Naboth*, may, by * expreſs warrant of Sacred Writ, be improved. But no Hiſtories, Prophane or Sacred, afford more fit inſtances for the proof of this Concluſion, than our own Chronicles do. It was a queſtion amongſt the Heathen Philoſophers, *An res poſterorum pertineant ad defunctos*; *Whether the ill or welfare of Poſterity, did any way increaſe, or diminiſh, the Happineſs of their deceaſed Anceſtors.* The negative part is determined by the great Philoſopher in his Morals. And I know no juſt cauſe or reaſon, why any Chriſtian Divine, ſhould either appeal from his determination, or revive the doubt. Yet if the affirmative part of the former queſtion, were ſuppoſed as true, or were it lawful to imagine or feign ſuch interchange of ſpeech, or Dialogues, betwixt deceaſed Grandfathers, Uncles, and their Nephews, as our Saviour (I take it) not by way of real Hiſtory, but of fiction, doth between *Abraham* and *Dives*; methinks King *Edward* the Third, and *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, might have taken up *Jotham's* Parable againſt *Bullingbrook*, and the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, *If ye have dealt truly and ſincerely with us*, and with the prime ſtems of this Royal Stock, *then rejoyce* ye, and your Poſterity in your deviſes: *but if not, Let fire come out from among your ſelves, or from our ſtock*, to devour you, and to make your Poſterity curſe your dealings with us. And in what region ſoever *Bullingbrooks* Soul, did in the Third Generation reſide, it might have framed its Reſponſary unto this Parable out of *Adonibezeks* Song, *As I have done to you and yours, ſo hath the Lord requited me and mine.* And had this, or the like ſaying (upon the depoſition of *Bullingbrooks* Heir) been daily rung into the Ears of *Edward* the Fourth.

* See the 1 Kin. 21. 24. and 2 Kings 9. 26. &c.

Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.

Amongſt men, none more happy is than he,
That can his own by others harms foreſee.

It might have wrought better effects for the bodily, or temporal good of his harmleſs Sons, than any *dirge* could, after his death, procure unto his Soul. Few Chronicles elſe will exhibit ſuch a continued Pedigree of unhallowed Policies ill ſucceſs, as our own Annals of thoſe times do.

2. Unto *Richard* the 2d, and his miſleaders, it ſeemed a branch of plauſible policy to baniſh his cozen (*Henry* of *Bullingbrook*) this Land; the Vicinity of whoſe Heroical Spirit, was an heart-ſore to this degenerate Prince. But what ſucceſs did the Counſel of the Lord award unto this jealous device? *Bullingbrook* by his preſence amongſt Foraign

Nations (which ſcarce knew him before) gained ſo much honour, and ſo much love with the chief Peers of this Realm (which had known him before) by his abſence, that *Richard* the Second was taken in his own fear, and his Crown ſet upon *Bullingbrooks* head, with general applauſe. But the leſs right he had unto it; the greater was his jealouſie, leſt *Richard* the Second, or ſome other more principal ſtem of the Royal Stock, might take it off again. The only means, as he thought, for ſecuring himſelf from this fear, and for ſetling the Crown upon the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, was, to put the poor depoſed King to death; whoſe errors deſerved pity and compaſſion from every true *Engliſh* heart, if not for his Grandfathers, yet for his Heroical Fathers ſake, that *Gideon* which had brought ſo much honour to the *Engliſh* Nation. And after *Richards* death, the Maſter-piece of his policy was, to ſuffer *Mortimer*, the lawful Heir unto the Duke of *Clarence*, and now unto the *Engliſh* Crown, to live a miſerable Captive under the Enemy, who had more reaſon to revenge himſelf upon the *Engliſh* by *Mortimers* death, than *Bullingbrook* had to murder *Richard* the Second. This foul ſin of *Bullingbrook* was viſited upon the Third Generation. His Grandchild and Heir, *Henry* the Sixth, a man more free from ſtain of guiltleſs blood, than either *Richard* the Second, or *Bullingbrook* had been, is cruelly murdered by *Edward* the Fourth, a ſtem of *Mortimers* ſtock, and of *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*. For though God hath ſworn not to puniſh the Children for their Fathers offences; yet he hath profeſſed it, as a rule of his Eternal Juſtice, to viſit the ſins of Fathers upon the Children. And from the equity of this rule, many Princely Races have utterly determined and expired, in the days of ſuch Princes, as were moſt free from the actual ſins of their Anceſtors, which were the cauſes of their expiration; as is in other Meditations ſhewed at large.

3. But though it were juſt with God to viſit *Bullingbrooks* ſin on *Henry* the Sixth: did *Edward* the Fourth commit no injuſtice by doing *that* which God would have done? yes, he did therefore moſt unjuſtly, becauſe he did do that, which God would not have done by him. And therefore the Counſel of the Lord, which overthrew the bloody deviſes of *Bullingbrook*, for ſetling the Crown of this Kingdom on himſelf, and his Heir Males, did more ſpeedily overthrow the device of *Edward* the Fourth. God viſits his ſin in the next Generation, upon his lovely and harmleſs Sons in their nonage, before the *devices* of their hearts were capable of any evil or miſchief towords men, and did viſit them by the hands of their bloody Uncle *Richard* the Third, who, by their Fathers appointment, had practiced Butchery upon the houſe of *Lancaſter*, that he might become a more skilful ſlaughterman of the Houſe of *York*. Thus did blood touch blood, and for a long time run in the blood of his Royal Race, until the iſſue was ſtanched by the blood of the cruel Tyrant, ſlain in Battel by *Henry* the Seventh. All theſe inſtances mentioned in this, with ſome others in the former Chapters, will fall under another more uſeful conſideration, in the Treatiſe of *Prodigies*, or *Divine forewarnings* betokening blood.

CHAP. XXXV.

Groſſer Sins viſited upon Gods Saints, according to the former Rule of Counterpaſſion.

1. AS it is generally more ſafe to ſpeak the *truth* of *times* paſt, than to open our mouths againſt the iniquity of times preſent: ſo to *trace* the *prints* of Divine Providence, in thus fitting puniſhments to mens enormities, will be leſs offenſive, whilſt this ſearch is made abroad, than it would be, were it, or the like, made nearer hand, or at home. Yet were it well, and it might go much better with this Land and People, if every *Ancient*, every *Noble*, or Private Family, ſpecially ſuch as have had much dealings with other men, would make the like ſearch within their own *pale*. Few Families there be of greater note, but either have, or might have had undoubted experience of ſome viſitations upon them, according to the Rule of *Counterpaſſion*, within two or three deſcents. That moſt private men do not find experiments of this rule in themſelves, *this* falls out for want of obſervation, or becauſe they keep not a true Regiſter of their own doings or ſufferings. No man can plead any perſonal exemption from this *Canon*, by reaſon of his Righteouſneſs or Integrity; none can altogether ſecure his Poſterity, that ſome one or other of his ſins ſhall not be viſited upon them. Nor can it juſtly be accounted any tax or prejudice, unto any Family, to undergo with patience, that mulct, which the Righteous Judge hath laid upon them. To murmur or grudge at our own, or others viſitation, whoſe welfare we wiſh or tender, is blame-worthy with God and good men. And albeit this *diſtemper* be not (only) meritorious of death; yet is it this, which for the moſt part brings a neceſſity of dying upon ſuch, as have otherwiſe deſerved death, whether bodily or ſpiritual. For no man, which with Patience and Humility, acknowledgeth the equity or juſtice of his puniſhment, as it proceeds from God, but will, in ſome meaſure, recal himſelf, or inhibit his progreſs in that ſin, the ſmart of whoſe puniſhment he feels. And unto every degree of ſincere revocation or repentance, ſome degree of mitigation is awarded. The beſt means for inſtilling the Spirit, either of meekneſs or patience, in ſuffering for offences paſt, or of *fear* to offend in the like kind again, will be to take the puniſhments or corrections of Gods Saints, into ſerious conſideration.

2. If for the manifeſtation of Gods Juſtice, it muſt be done unto his deareſt Saints, as they have done unto others, either whilſt they themſelves were his enemies, or made him their enemy, after their reconcilement had been wrought: what may they look for in the end, which ſtill continue adverſaries to the truth. *David* was a man after Gods own heart (excepting the caſe of *Uriah*) yet not therefore free from diſgrace, danger, or harm, after the Prophet had ſolemnly *denounced his pardon*; *Thy ſins are forgiven thee:* In reſpect of the Adultery committed by *Bathſheba*, *Abſolons* offence againſt his Father *David*, was much greater than *Davids* had been againſt *Uriah*. *The one was done* * *in ſecret, the other in the open Sun.* The death, if not of *Bathſhebaes* Child, yet of his Son *Abſolon*, was more bitter unto *David*, than his own death could have been. So much he

* 2 Sam. 16. 21.
2 Sam. 12. 12.

he confeſſeth himſelf, and teſtifies the truth of his confeſſion with his tears. *And the King was moved, and went up to the Chamber over the gate, and wept; and as he went, thus he ſaid, O my Son* Abſolom, *my Son, my Son* Abſolom: *would God I had dyed for thee, O* Abſolom, *my Son, my Son,* 2 *Kings* 18. So that here was more than a full *Retaliation,* if we conſider his offence, as it had reference only *Vriah.* For one mans life is as much worth as anothers, and *Vriah* loſt but one life, *David* was to ſuffer the loſs of two. Yet this is not all that the Prophet had to ſay to him for his offence; for ſo he ſaith, 2 *Sam.* 12. 9. *Thou haſt killed* Uriah *the* Hittite, *with the Sword, and haſt taken his wife to be thy wife, and haſt ſlain him with the Sword of the Children of* Ammon. *Now therefore the Sword ſhall never depart from thy Houſe, becauſe thou haſt deſpiſed me, and taken the wife of* Uriah *the* Hittite *to be thy wife.*

3. But when it is ſaid that *David was a man after Gods own heart, excepting the matter of* Uriah, this exception includes, if not an interruption in the bond of Grace, by which he had been intirely linked unto Gods favour, yet ſome wound or breach in the eſtate of his wonted favour and liking with God. And no marvel, if that ſin which made this breach, and for a time removed the *fence* of Gods favourable protection, were viſited upon his perſon, and upon his poſterity. But are the ſins which men commit, whilſt they are Gods enemies, thus viſited upon any, after their full admiſſion into the eſtate and favour of Gods Sons, or whilſt the *bond* of their *reconciliation* remains unwounded and entire? We do not read of any groſſer ſins committed by Saint *Paul,* after our Saviour had effectually called him. We may without breach of Charity, perſwade our ſelves, that he was as free from that time forward, from wronging any man, *Jew* or *Gentile,* as *Samuel* had been from wronging *Iſrael.* Saint *Stephen,* at his death, prayed for him, not againſt him. But though he freely forgave him, yet will not the Righteous Judge ſuffer the wrongs which he had done, unto this Bleſſed Martyr, paſs without ſome ſolemn remembrance. Thoſe which ſtoned Saint *Stephen,* laid down their Garments at [*] *Pauls* feet; and his willingneſs to take charge of them, argues he was conſenting to his death: ſo I think was not *Barnabas.* And for this reaſon, we do not read that *Barnabas* was ſtoned, as *Paul* was, by the *Jews* which came from *Antioch,* and *Iconium* unto *Lyſtra* and *Derbe*; albeit both had been alike offenſive for Preaching the Goſpel at *Iconium*; where the ſame [*] violence had been likewiſe joyntly attempted againſt both. Upon the matter then betwixt Saint *Paul* and Saint *Stephen* (albeit Saint *Stephen* make himſelf no party) this is the only difference; *Stephen* dyed by the hands of his Perſecutors, ſo did not *Paul.* Yet, it ſeems, the Righteous Lord ſuffered theſe malignant *Jews* to do as much unto Saint *Paul,* as had been done, by his conſent, unto Saint *Stephen,* even as much as they themſelves deſired, which did deſpite him no leſs than their Countrymen and Brethren in iniquity, had done Saint *Stephen. For they drew him out of the City, ſuppoſing he had been dead. Howbeit as the Diſciples ſtood round about him, he roſe up and came into the City, and the next day he departed with* Barnabas *to* Derbe, *Acts* 14. 19. 20. *Paul* (we may conclude) was more extraordinarily preſerved by God, not leſs rigorouſly dealt withal by the *Jews,* than Saint *Stephen* had

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[*] *Saint* Paul *acknowledgeth his conſent unto* Saint Stephens *death, either as expreſly given by him, or as included in his willingneſs to keep the garments of ſuch as ſtoned him to death,* Acts 22. 20. *And when the blood of thy Martyr* Stephen *was ſhed, I alſo was ſtanding by, and conſenting unto his death, and kept the rayment of them that ſlew him.*

[*] Acts 14. 5. 6.

been. That he was extraordinarily preſerved, we have reaſon to believe, becauſe he was appointed to be a pattern of ſuffering more violence than this, from the time of his calling. That he was appointed to be a pattern of ſuffering evils, we muſt believe, becauſe God himſelf doth expreſly teſtifie as much, at the time of his calling, unto *Ananias*, who was to ratifie his calling ſo far, as the notice of it concerned the viſible Church. For when *Ananias* did demur upon his admiſſion into the Church, *The Lord ſaid unto him, go thy way: for he is a choſen veſſel unto me, to bear my name before the Gentiles, and Kings, and the Children of* Iſrael. *For I will ſhew him, how great things he muſt ſuffer for my names ſake, Acts* 9. 15. 16. And yet (perhaps) Saint *Paul* had not been made ſuch a ſpectacle to the world of *ſufferance* or perſecutions, unleſs he had perſecuted more than Saint *Stephen*; unleſs he had made havock of the Church.

4. It is not probable, that theſe *Jews* had any mind to puniſh *Paul* for his offence againſt Saint *Stephen*; of which, if they had any notice or remembrance, this would have made them more ready to pardon him, for Preaching the Goſpel at this time, than to put him to death for perſecuting ſuch, as had Preached it before. Their reſolution to ſtone him, at this time, rather than beat him with rods, as their uſual manner was, argues that their wills, though otherwiſe free (more than enough) to do miſchief, were, by the all-ſeeing Providence, determined or guided in the manner of practiſing miſchief. To ſay, *The Author of Being, and Fountain of Goodneſs*, did inſtil this *Spirit* of fury and malice, into the hearts of theſe *Jews*, or did, by any decree, abſolutely neceſſitate them to conceive ſo full a meaſure of miſchief, as now poſſeſſed them, were (I take it) to ſwerve from the *form of wholſom words*, and would give ſome advantage to the adverſaries of truth. It was Satan and themſelves, which had charged their breaſts with this extraordinary meaſure of fury and malice. But theſe being ſo over-charged, as that without ſome vent or other they were ready to burſt; *He*, who is as well the Supreme Moderator of mens thoughts and reſolutions, as Judge of their actions, did not only permit or ſuffer, but direct, appoint, and order, that they ſhould *exonerate* or *diſcharge* their furious malice upon Saint *Paul*, not upon *Barnabas*; and upon Saint *Paul*, by that peculiar kind of violence, which now they practiſe, rather than by any other, unto which they were more accuſtomed.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Of Sins viſited or puniſhed according to the circumſtance of time or place wherein they were committed.

1. It may be, the circumſtance of the time, wherein this viſitation happened to Saint *Paul*, might ſuggeſt as much, as we have obſerved unto himſelf, or unto others then living, whom the remembrance, or notice of his former treſpaſſes might concern. But however it were in this particular, the *Identity*, whether of the time, or of the place, wherein men have done, and afterwards ſuffer extraordinary evil, are in their *Nature*, better Remembrancers of Gods Juſtice, than the exact *Identity* or likeneſs of the evils, which they have

done to others, and from others ſuffer, is. If a man ſhould meet with miſchief in the ſame place, or be overtaken by it on the ſame day, wherein he had done the like miſchief unto others: the event would *naturally* argue a legal and formal proceſs of Divine Juſtice, *calling* time and place (which are always witneſſes of actions done in greateſt ſecreſie) to give ſpecial evidence againſt him; and to make his own Conſcience confeſs that, which all the world beſides were not able to prove. Some within our memories, have concluded their unſeaſonable ſportings with death, ſudden and caſual in reſpect of men, upon the ſame day after revolution of times, wherein they had deſerved, or cunningly avoided the ſentence of death, being more than due unto them, if Juſtice might have had its natural courſe. And it might peradventure, have gone better with them, if they had hid themſelves, for that day, in the houſe of *Mourning*, or not adventured upon the houſe of Mirth, or fields of ſport.

2. To particularize in, or comment upon domeſtick modern Examples, would be offenſive; *Beatus populus qui ſcit jubilationem: That People or Family is happy*, which knows the times and ſeaſons of *rejoycing and mirth*, but more happy are *they*, which know the *times and ſeaſons* of mourning, or for preventing the day of viſitation. And the beſt means to fore-ſee or prevent it, would be, to keep an exact Calendar of our own, and of our Fore-fathers ſins, for theſe we are bound to confeſs with our own. And if we would unpartially *judge our ſelves*, for both, by unfeigned Repentance, and Hearty Contrition: we might eſcape the judgments of God, which by our neglect hang over us, and without amendment, will fall upon us. It is a ſaying among the later *Jews*, *Volvitur meritum in diem meriti:* Though puniſhments do not immediately purſue the fact which deſerves it, nor inſtantly overtake the party which committed ſuch fact; yet it reſteth not, but rowls about, until it meet with them, or their Poſterity at the ſame point of time, wherein it was deſerved. The Temple by their calculation, was twice deſtroyed upon the ſame day of the ſame month, upon which *Moſes* had broken the Tables. Though ſo it were *de facto*, yet this Revolution infers not this deſtruction to be fatal. It might have been, at both times prevented, had that Generation wherein it hapned, been as zealous of Gods Glory, as *Moſes* had been; or had they held Idolatry, or Hypocriſie in as great deteſtation as *Moſes* had done. Some Foraign * Writers have obſerved, that the hope of this Land, whilſt he lived, *Edward* the Sixth, did dye upon the ſelf ſame day (after revolution of ſome years) in which his Father had put Sir *Thomas Moore* to death, a man otherwiſe faulty, yet ſo true a pattern of moral juſtice, as it cannot ſeem ſtrange, if the Righteous Judge did take ſpecial notice of King *Henries* dealing with him, and inſert the day of his Death in his everlaſting Calendar, to be after ſigned, with the untimely death of King *Henries* only Son. How the ſins of Parents are often puniſhed in their harmleſs, or leſs harmful Poſterity, is elſewhere diſcuſſed. I will not interrupt this Diſcourſe, with any Digreſſion, concerning *Divine Equity* in this Point, nor with any Apology for theſe curious obſervations, as ſome enſtile them; I relate only matters of fact, or puniſhments anſwerable to offences, as well for the circumſtance of place, as of time.

3. * *Pauſanias* a Famous Antiquary, or, to deſcribe him better to a meer *Engliſh* Reader, the *Cambden* of *Greece*, hath obſerved as much, as

* *Vide Thuanum.*

* *Pauſanias in Achaic. lib.* 7. *p.* 425.

as now we do, in his Narrations of the Wars, between the *Romans* and the *Corinthians*, or *Achaians*, managed by *Metellus* and *Critolaus*. The Hiſtory, though brief (as being but an Appendix of his intended Topography) is fraught with many remarkable circumſtances, pointing out unto us a Divine Providence; of which, two (concerning the ſelected band of *Arcadia* put to flight, but with more honour than the reſt of *Critolaus* Army) are more ſpecially parallel to the rule of Retaliation. Theſe *Arcadians* after the foil, retired ſafe(to the number of a thouſand) unto *Elatea*, a City of the *Phocenſes*; where they found *good welcom* at the firſt, upon ſome *terms* of ancient confederacy or alliance. But the ſudden noiſe of *Critolaus*, and his companies overthrow, diſſolved the links of former Amity. The poor *Arcadians* were commanded by the State of *Phocis*, forthwith to relinquiſh *Elatea*; and in their return to *Peloponeſus*, meeting unexpectedly with *Metellus* forces, were all ſlain by the *Romans*, in the ſelf ſame place, in which their fore-elders had forſaken the *Græcian* Leaguers, or Confederates againſt *Philip* of *Macedon*. Honeſt Countrymen ſee Meteors or other Appearances, as perfectly as Philoſophers do; but they often err in gueſſing at the *place* or *ſubject* wherein the *appearance* is made. Thus many imagine the Sun to be Reddiſh, in a foggy morning; when as the redneſs is in the Air. So did this Heathen Antiquary, expreſly and fully diſcern the power of Divine Juſtice in this event, from the circumſtance of the perſons (a race of Truce-breakers) and from the place of their diſcomfiture. His eye-ſight or apprehenſion herein, was as clear as any Chriſtians. Wherein then conſiſts his error? In attributing this award of Divine Juſtice unto the Gods of *Greece*. But did any *Southſayer* of Greece foretell, that the Fathers *breach of Truce* ſhould be thus viſited upon their Children, as *Elias* foretold, that *the Dogs ſhould lap* Ahabs *blood, and eat* Jezebel *and their Childrens fleſh*, in the ſame place where they had lapt the blood of *Naboth*, whom *Jezebel* had cauſed to be ſtoned to death? The Identity of Juſtice done upon divers People and Nations, rightly argues that the God of *Iſrael*, did then rule and *execute judgment unto the ends of the world*; although he did not deal ſo with any Nation, *as he did with* Iſrael; *neither had the Heathen knowledge of his Laws*, much leſs ſuch diſtinct fore-knowledge of his judgments or viſitations as was uſual in *Iſrael*; unleſs it were in ſome caſes extraordinary.

4. To have ſeen with our eyes, what we have read in a faithful and judicious * Hiſtorian, one to dye in a fit of the Falling-ſickneſs, or, (as it was then preſumed) to be vexed to death by an Evil Spirit, at the time appointed for his Conſecration, even whilſt he did proſtrate himſelf before the Altar to receive the Holy Ghoſt, by the impoſition of his *Metropolitans* hands, would have moved the like queſtion to that of Chriſts Diſciples, concerning him that was born blind; *Lord, who did ſin, this man or his Parents?* Whoſe ſhame did he *fome* out with his laſt breath, his own, or ſome others? Such as is here expreſſed, was the fate of *Strachyquaz*, Son to *Boleſlaus* the Firſt, and Brother to *Boleſlaus* the Second, King of *Boheme*, who with the Biſhop of *Mentz*, was an eye-witneſs of this prodigious, fearful accident. And if *Conſecration dinners* were then in uſe, (as doubtleſs they were, when Kings Sons and Brothers, thought it no ſcorn to be conſecrated Biſhops) *Reſpondent ultima primis*; *Strachyquaz* did better brook his name after his death, than at his Birth or Baptiſm, or (as my Author ſpeaks)

Dubravius in Hiſtor. Boem.

ſpeaks) on his *Luſtration* day. The reality anſwering to his name, and portended by it, he left behind him. The Dinner provided, was indeed (*terribile convivium*) *a banquet of dread or horrour* to all Spectators, a feaſt of whoſe dainties few (I think) would eat. And thus much doth the name *Strachyquaz*, in the *Bohemian* language import; A name impoſed upon this unfortunate perſon, at his Birth, in triumphant memory of that bloody *banquet*, unto which his Father *Boleſlaus* the firſt, had invited *Wenceſlaus* the King, his Eldeſt Brother, with intent to murder him, as he did; taking opportunity to accompliſh this impiety, in the Temple of God, where this King (afterwards Sainted) was at his midnights devotions.

5. To ſit as *Coroners* upon the Souls of men Deceaſed, is a thing which I have ever miſliked, though ſometimes practiſed by men, otherwiſe of deſerved eſteem. And whoſoever in this caſe will take upon him to ſit as Judge, my requeſt ſhall be, not to ſerve upon the Jury. Yet if my opinion were in this particular demanded, [*Whether this man dying* (*as the ſtory preſumes*) *of a Devil, the manner of his death were any certain prognoſtick, or probable preſumption of his damnation*] my verdict ſhould go, *in mitiorem partem*, That thus to dye of a Devil, unleſs his former life had been deviliſh (which the Hiſtory no way intimates) doth no more argue his damnation, than the untimely death of *Jeroboams* Child, did argue him to have been guilty of his Parents actual ſins; in the manner of whoſe death, notwithſtanding, as well as in *Strachyquaz* his Tragical end, the ſins of their Parents were remarkably viſited, according to that rule of Juſtice, which now we treat of, that is, by way of counterpaſſion, in reſpect, if not of *time*, yet of the places wherein they were viſited. That *Jeroboams* Child dyed in Gods favour, the Text inſtructs us, 1 *Kings* 14. 13. *All* Iſrael *ſhall mourn for him, and bury him: for he only of* Jeroboam *ſhall come to the grave, becauſe in him there is found ſome good thing toward the Lord God of* Iſrael, *&c.*

6. But to return to *Strachyquaz*: the manner of whoſe death, (as is apparent) was more fearful and prodigious, yet no ſign of damnation. For as there is (*vates præteritorum & futurorum*) *a branch of propheſie in diſcovering times paſt*, as well as events to come; ſo there may be, and oft-times are prodigious, and portentuous accidents, which point at nothing (*de futuro, ſed à retro*) *which look backwards, not forwards.* The beſt uſe or ſignification of this fearful diſaſter was, to advertiſe the preſent Generation, and their Succeſſors, that the Execrable and Sacrilegious murder, committed by *Boleſlaus*, Father to *Strachyquaz*, was not expiated as yet, but to be viſited upon more Generations, without hearty repentance and confeſſion of this wicked uſurpers, and his complices ſins, wherewith the Land of *Boheme* had been polluted. The firſt born of *Egypt* was ſlain, for their Fathers offences againſt the Infant Males of the *Hebrews*; And *Strachyquaz* dyed this fearful death, by the viſitation of his Fathers ſins upon him. But he might (perhaps) have lived much longer, and have dyed in peace, had he lived according to that rule, whoſe profeſſion he had taken upon him, that is, if he had continued (as he once reſolved to do) a true penitentiary, and not affected to be a Prelate. For, if God would not ſuffer his Temple to be built by *David* (a man otherwiſe after his own heart) only becauſe he had been a man of War: we may, from the Moral Analogy of this ſacred emblem collect, that the ſame holy Lord would not ſuffer the Son of that Malignant cruel Pagan

Fratricide, which had imbrued his hands in the blood of his Prieſts, and murdered his Anointed King in the holy place, to bear rule over his Houſe, or Church. This his unſeaſonable ambitious humour, without any other actual remarkable Crime, might in Divine Juſtice exact ſome print of the Supreme Judges indignation. All this (notwithſtanding) being granted, doth not prove, there was no good thing found in the party, that was thus puniſhed, as well as in *Jeroboams* Child. It was a favour to the one, that he dyed in peace, though in his Infancy, and it might be ſome matter of honour, or favour to the other, that he had a Chriſtian burial in the Church, wherein he dyed; and that he was not made prey to the Fowls of the Air. But this we ſpeak Skeptick wiſe; what became of *Strachyquaz* after his fearful end, we leave it for the Eternal Judge to determine.

7. Whatſoever became of him, the death of his Grandmother *Drahomira*, was much more terrible: as ſhe had lived, ſo ſhe dyed, a malitious blaſphemous Pagan; a cruel bloody Step-dame to Chriſt's Infant Church, in that Kingdom. The ſtory (I know) will unto many ſeem ſtrange, yet in my obſervation very capable of credit; if we conſider the exigence of thoſe times, and the then deſperate ſtate of *Boheme*. Chriſtianity and Paganiſm lay then at ſtake, whether ſhould be entertained, whether expelled: the Pagans by their unconſcionable Policy (which aims at nothing but ſome private end, always ready to hazard whatſoever lies within their level, rather than miſs of it) had ſo cunningly played the fore-game, and by their bloody plots, removed ſo many principal men out of the way, that there was no poſſibility left, ſave only in the Almighties *immediate hand*, to make any thing of the after-game. Now in caſe of ſuch deſperate extremities (ſpecially when they happen, during the infancy of any particular Church) it cannot to me ſeem incredible, if the good Spirit of God do *out-vye* thoſe prodigious cruelties, which Satan deviſeth againſt the Saints, by ſudden miraculous executions upon their Actors, Satans inſtruments. The Tragedy of *Drahomira*, was briefly thus: This Queen-mother, had animated her Pagan Son *Boleſlaus*, ſirnamed *Sævus the Cruel*, to murder his Elder Brother, and Leige Lord *Wenceſlaus*, only becauſe he had approved himſelf a zealous Profeſſor of the Doctrine of Life. To terrifie others from taking the Sacred Function upon them, ſhe cauſed the bodies of thoſe Prieſts and Prelates, whom *Boleſlaus* had Maſſacred, to lye unburied; and * one *Podivivus*, a man of principal note in his time, to hang two

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* Intrà breve igitur tempus vaticinium Divi *Wenceſlai* completum fuit, vaticinantis, fore ut à diſceſſu ſuo, atrium Pauli Presbyteri Sacerdotibus vacuum redderetur. Correptus inter precipuos ad ſupplicium, *Podivivus* quoque totum biennium in Furcâ ſub dio pendens, nulla tabe violari, nedum corrumpi, conficique potuit, donec poſt hauſtam terræ hiatu Drahomiram, ſepeliretur. Nam quo manifeſtior, graviorq; pœna appareret, quæ merito de crudeliſſima atque impiiſſima muliere exigenda fuerat; eo loci, quo adhuc inſepulta jacebant oſſa occiſorum Sacerdotum, terra ſuâ ſponte dehiſcens, vivam Drahomiram, una cum curru & qui ſimul vehebantur, abſorbuit, aurigâ ſolo incolumi, qui ad aram juxta ſitam (nunc haud extat) equo deſiliens, accurrit, cum forte tintinnabulum tinnire audiſſet, ut corpus Domini adoraret, execrante illum Drahomira omnibus maledictis. Quare locum eum etiamnum, ut execratum funeſtumque declinant viatores, qui arcem Pragencem ab occidentali plagâ petunt. Quanquam terra eodem loci in ſtatum priſtinum cohæſerit. Puniti & illi divinitus, qui *Boleſlaum* aſſectati, gladios etiam ſuos adverſus divum *Wenceſlaum* ſtrinxerunt. Pars enim eorum mente alienata, in rapiemque verſa præcipites ex alto deorſum ſe dabant: quidam in eos gladios, quos nudaverant, incubuere. Ad hæc Templi paries, quem prope occiſus fuit Divus *Wenceſlaus*, velut cædis, ipſe quoque conſcius, aut potiùs, ut teſtis foret ſceleris ſempiterni, nulla ullius opera abſtergi, eluique potuit â cruore, quo reſperſus ex corpore Divi *Wenceſlai* fuerat. Hæc tantem tot prodigia, tamque varia ſupplicia, *Boleſlaum* exterruerunt, ut mitius deinceps cum Chriſtianis agere, ſævitamq; ſuam adverſus illos remittere inciperet. *Dubravius in Hiſtor. Boem. Lib.* 5. *p.* 40.

intire years upon the Gallows. Upon theſe, and many like provocations of Gods juſt vengeance, her *Grave* was made before ſhe felt her ſelf *Sick*; her burial like to that of *Corah*, of *Dathan*, and *Abiram*. Whether this opening of the Earth were truly miraculous, or whether it happened in the period of ſome natural declination (the ſupporters or pillars of it being digged up, or undermined before) the opening of it at that time, wherein this wicked woman was to paſs over that very place, in which ſhe had cauſed the Prieſts bodies to lye unburied, was the Lords doing, and no leſs wonderful to Chriſtian eyes, than if it had been (as perhaps it was) a meer miracle. The truth of this ſtory, wanted not the teſtimony of many Ages. For Paſſengers, from the day of her death, until the day, wherein mine Author wrote this Story, (which was within this Age current) eſchewed the place wherein ſhe dyed, as execrable and accurſed by God.

CHAP. XXXVII.

What manner of Sins they be, which uſually provoke Gods Judgments, according to the Rule of Counterpaſſion. And of the frequency of this kind of Puniſhment fore-ſignified by Gods Prophets.

1. JUſtice, as was intimated before, doth not *formally* conſiſt in Retaliation, and yet is Retaliation a formal part, or branch of Juſtice. And of this branch *Nemeſis* amongſt the Heathen, was the ordinary *Arbitreſs*. She was, in their Divinity, a Goddeſs of Juſtice, not Juſtice her ſelf; nor did every * wrong (in their opinion) belong unto her cognizance, but ſuch inſolent wrongs only as deſerved vengeance or indignation. Nor doth the Righteous moſt Merciful Lord, and only God, uſually puniſh ordinary or private, but publick and out-crying ſins, by the ſevere Law or Rule of Counterpaſſion. And it is obſervable, that moſt Propheſies, which are powred out againſt any Land, City, or People, with fuller indignation, are ſo intermingled with threats of judgment, by way of Counterpaſſion, that the quality and circumſtances of the crimes, may ſeem to ſerve the Prophets as glaſſes, for repreſenting the nature and quality of the judgments to come. And if the crimes were as well known to men, as the judgments are, we would think the one were moulded in the other. This exact proportion betwixt the pattern of ſins, which *Babylon* had ſet, and the manner of Gods judgments upon her for them, hath been obſerved * before, and I will not make the Propheſies concerning her deſtruction, any part of this obſervation. The *Propheſies* concerning other Nations and Cities, will afford plenty of inſtances to this purpoſe.

* *See the Treatiſe of the Original of Atheiſm and Idolatry.* Chap. 17. Parag. 10.

* *Chap.* 26.

2. Samaria *ſhall be as an heap of the Field, and as plantings of a Vineyard; and I will pour down the ſtones thereof into the valley, and I will diſcover the foundations thereof. And all the graven Images thereof ſhall be beaten to pieces, and all the Hires thereof ſhall be burnt with the fire, and all the Idols thereof will I lay deſolate: for ſhe gathered it of the hire of an Harlot, and they ſhall return to the hire of an Harlot,* *Micah* 1. 6, 7. The wound of *Samaria*, as the Prophet adds, *verſe* 9. was incurable, but ſo was not the wound of *Judah* as yet, although it was come to *Judah* by infection, and had touched at the very gates

of *Jeruſalem.* For ſo he ſaith, *verſe* 12. *The inhabitant of* Maroth *waited carefully for good, but evil came down from the Lord unto the gate of* Jeruſalem. Thither it came, but it found no entrance in for the preſent, as it did into the gates of other Cities of *Judah. Lachiſh* of all the Cities of *Judah*, was the firſt which took the impreſſion of *Iſraels* Idolatry, and did in part derive it unto *Sion.* And as ſhe was the firſt and principal in ſin, ſo ſhe was the firſt in the Plagues here threatned. The Chariots of *Aſhur* did firſt triumph in her ſtreets, and her Inhabitants felt the dint of the *Aſſyrian* Swords, when * *Jeruſalem* eſcaped with the laſh of *Rabſhekahs* tongue. That which is afterwards related in the Sacred ſtory, concerning *Jeruſalems* defence againſt *Senacherib*, (who had ſurpriſed moſt of the ſtrong Cities of *Judah*, and had made *Lachiſh* his ſeat of Reſidence) was ſignificantly charactered by the Prophet *Micah*, in the place fore-cited, *Evil came down from the Lord unto the gate of* Jeruſalem, but it entred into the gates of *Lachiſh*, for ſo he adds, *O thou inhabitant of* Lachiſh, *bind the Chariot to the ſwift Beaſt: ſhe is the beginning of the ſin to the daughter of* Sion: *for the tranſgreſſions of* Iſrael *were found in thee. They Sacrifice upon the tops of the Mountains, and burn Incenſe upon the Hills under Oaks, and Poplars, and Elms, becauſe the ſhadow thereof is good: therefore your Daughters ſhall commit Whoredom, and your Spouſes ſhall commit Adultery. I will not puniſh your Daughters when they commit Whoredom, nor your Spouſes when they commit Adultery: for themſelves are ſeparated with Whores, and they Sacrifice with Harlots: therefore the people that doth not underſtand, ſhall fall,* Hoſ. 3. 13, 14.

2 Kin. 18. 15. *&* 17.
Iſa. 36. 2.
Iſa. 37. 23.

3. The Children of *Ammon*, of *Moab*, and *Edom*, did triumph more than other Nations, in the day of *Judah*'s heavy viſitation by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and for this cauſe they have an heavier doom read by Gods Prophets, which lived at that time, than other Nations had, Ezekiel 25. 2. *&c. Son of man, ſet thy face againſt the* Ammonites, *hear the word of the Lord God; Thus ſaith the Lord God, becauſe thou ſaidſt, Aha, againſt my Sanctuary when it was prophaned, and againſt the Land of* Iſrael, *when it was deſolate, and againſt the houſe of* Judah *when they went into Captivity: Behold therefore, I will deliver thee to the men of the Eaſt for a poſſeſſion, and they ſhall ſet their Palaces in thee, and make their dwellings in thee: they ſhall eat thy Fruit, and they ſhall drink thy Milk. And I will make* Rabbah *a ſtable for Camels, and the* Ammonites *a couching place for Flocks: and ye ſhall know that I am the Lord. For thus ſaith the Lord God, becauſe thou haſt clapped thine hands, and ſtamped with thy feet, and rejoyced in heart, with all thy deſpite againſt the land of* Iſrael: *Behold therefore, I will ſtretch out mine hand upon thee, and will deliver thee for a ſpoil to the Heathen, and I will cut thee off from the People, and I will cauſe thee to periſh out of the Countries: I will deſtroy thee, and thou ſhalt know that I am the Lord.*

Thus ſaith the Lord God, becauſe that Moab, *and* Seir *do ſay, behold the houſe of* Judah *is like unto all the Heathen: Therefore, behold, I will open the ſide of* Moab *from the Cities, from his Cities which are on his Frontiers, the glory of the Country* Beth-jeſhimoth, Baal-meon, *and* Keriathiam, *unto the men of the Eaſt, with the* Ammonites, *and will give them in poſſeſſion, that the* Ammonites *may not be remembred among the Nations. And I will execute judgments upon* Moab, *and they ſhall know that I am the Lord.*

Thus ſaith the Lord God, becauſe that Edom *hath dealt againſt the houſe*

houſe of Judah *by taking vengeance, and hath greatly offended, and revenged himſelf upon them: Therefore ſaith the Lord, I will alſo ſtretch out my hand upon* Edom, *and will cut off man and beaſt from it, and I will make it deſolate from* Teman, *and they of* Dedan *ſhall fall by the Sword. And I will pay my vengeance upon* Edom, *by the hand of my people* Iſrael, *and they ſhall do in* Edom *according to mine anger, and according to my fury, and they ſhall know my vengeance, ſaith the Lord God.*

4. The doom of *Moab* is more particularly ſet forth by *Jeremiah*, Chap. 48. 2. *There ſhall be no more praiſe of* Moab *in* Heſhbon, *they have deviſed evil againſt it: come and let us cut it off from being a Nation*; (ſo *Moab* had ſaid of *Iſrael*) *alſo thou ſhalt be cut down, Oh mad men, the Sword ſhall purſue thee.* And again, verſe 25. 26. 27. *The Horn of* Moab *is cut off, and his arm is broken, ſaith the Lord. Make ye him drunken; for he magnified himſelf againſt the Lord:* Moab *alſo ſhall wallow in his vomit, and he alſo ſhall be in deriſion. For was not* Iſrael *a deriſion unto thee? was he found among Thieves? for ſince thou ſpakeſt of him, thou skippeſt for joy.*

The like doom of *Moab* is foretold by *Zephany*, Chap. 1. 8, 9, 10. *I have heard the reproach of* Moab, *and the revilings of the Children of Ammon, whereby they have reproached my people, and magnified themſelves againſt their border.* Therefore, *as I live ſaith the Lord of Hoſts, the God of* Iſrael, *ſurely* Moab *ſhall be as* Sodom, *and the Children of* Ammon *as* Gomorrah, *even the breeding of Nettles, and Saltpies, and a perpetual Deſolation, the reſidue of my people ſhall ſpoil them, and the remnant of my people ſhall poſſeſs them. This ſhall they have for their pride, becauſe they have reproached and magnifyed themſelves againſt the people of the Lord of Hoſts. The Lord will be terrible unto them: for he will famiſh all the gods of the Earth, and men ſhall worſhip him, every one from his place, even all the Iſles of the Heathen.* So far wide were *Moab* and *Edom* in their Divinations, when they ſaid, *The houſe of* Judah *is like unto all the Heathen*, (Ezek. 25. 8.) That all the Iſles of the *Gentiles* were to become, ſuch as the houſe of *Judah* had been, that is, profeſſed worſhippers of the true God, who had now appointed to make himſelf known to all the world, by his judgments, upon theſe proud Heathens, which for their Blaſphemies, have now forfeited their National intereſt, in this bleſſing, here promiſed to the Iſles of the Gentiles, for they ceaſed to be Nations.

5. Whiles Gods Plagues are thus fitly ſuited to the matter or manner of mens ſins: the longer the puniſhments themſelves are delayed, the ſurer document they may afford unto the obſervant, that there is a watchful eye of an all-ſeeing Providence, without whoſe preſence no fact can be committed; an attentive Ear which never ſhuts, always ready, always able to take notice of every word that can be ſpoken, and to regiſter proud blaſphemous boaſtings in the indelible characters of an everlaſting Book. It is an obſervation worth the noting, which a Learned Commentator hath made upon the place laſt cited out of *Zephaniah*. [*Verbum audivi ſuam Emphaſim habet*] *Theſe words* [I have heard] *are Emphatical*, They intimate as much unto us, as if in the name of the Lord, the Prophet had ſaid, "Though *Moab* ſaw "not me, yet I heard him (for I was preſent with him) when he pronounced the Coaſt of *Iſrael* waſte. And what I heard, I cannot "forget, nor will I forgive: according to his intentions againſt *Iſrael* "at the time appointed, will I do to him.

6. The cryers of *Edom* againſt *Jeruſalem*, when *Jeruſalem* was drowned with her Childrens tears, (which yet could not quench the fire then kindled in her Palaces) were more bitter than the cry of *Edom* and *Ammon* againſt *Judah* had been. [*Raze it, raze it, even to the foundation thereof*] The ſcope at which their wiſhes did aim, was, that *Jeruſalem* and the Temple, might ſo be demoliſhed, that they ſhould never be raiſed again. And according to this ſcantling of their malicious wiſh, the *Pſalmiſt* proportions that imprecation againſt *Edom*, which in the iſſue proved a Propheſie: *Remember, O Lord, the Children of* Edom, *in the day of* Jeruſalem, *who ſaid, raze it, raze it, &c.* The more full expreſſion or ratification of this Implicit Propheſie, we have in another Prophet, who lived about eighty years after the *Edomites* had uttered that accurſed cry againſt *Jeruſalem*: *I have loved you ſaith the Lord, yet ye ſay, wherein haſt thou loved us? was not* Eſau, Jacobs *Brother, ſaith the Lord? yet I loved* Jacob, *and I hated* Eſau, *and laid his Mountains and his Heritage waſte, for the Dragons of the Wilderneſs. Whereas* Edom *ſaith, we are impoveriſhed, we will return and build the deſolate places: Thus ſaith the Lord of Hoſts, they ſhall build, but I will throw down, and they ſhall call them the border of wickedneſs, and the people againſt whom the Lord hath indignation for ever.* Mal. 1. 2. *&c.* Some good Expoſitors have from the literal ſenſe of this place collected, that *Edom*, not long after the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, did utterly ceaſe to be a Nation. And whether any of *Eſau*'s Poſterity be left upon the face of the Earth, ſome have queſtioned, and (to my remembrance) determined for the Negative. Theſe (whatſoever beſides) were the effects of Gods profeſſed hate to *Eſau*. But there is a Seed or Nation yet on Earth, which ſhall at the time appointed be made partakers of his Bleſſing ſo often promiſed to *Jeruſalem*, and enjoy the fruits of his profeſſed love to *Jacob*.

7. Theſe Prophetical paſſages concerning *Ammon*, *Moab*, and *Edom*, afford many uſeful ſpeculations, did either theſe times afford us freedom, or this place opportunity to dilate upon them. But leaving the reſt unto the Judicious Readers own collection, out of the ſeveral Expoſitors of the places by me quoted, I ſhall only requeſt him to take this one admonition from me, [“Not to rejoyce, much leſs to triumph in any others calamity, although he knew it to be the ſpecial award of Divine Juſtice, or a condign puniſhment, purpoſely ſuited by the All-ſeeing Providence to ſome peculiar ſin.] *Edom* and *Babylon* knew that *Jeruſalem* and *Judah* were juſtly puniſhed for their offences againſt the Righteous Lord, and themſelves to be the appointed Executioners of his juſtice: yet all this doth no way excuſe them, for their preſumption in the manner of execution. *My people have been loſt ſheep, their Shepherds have cauſed them to go aſtray,* &c. *All that found them, have devoured them, and their Adverſaries ſaid, We offend not, becauſe they have ſinned againſt the Lord, the Habitation of Juſtice, even the Lord, the hope of their Fathers.* Yet all this acquits not *Babylon* from guilt of Gods judgments in ſpoiling Gods people: for ſo it follows; *Remove out of the midſt of* Babylon, *and go forth out of the Land of the* Chaldeans, *and be as the Hee-goats before the flocks*, Jer. 50. 6, 7, 8. And again, *verſe* 10. 11. Chaldea *ſhall be a ſpoil*; *all that ſpoil her ſhall be ſatisfyed, ſaith the Lord, becauſe ye were glad, becauſe ye rejoyced, Oh ye deſtroyers of mine Heritage.* Not only the practice, or real intention of miſchief, but the delight, or joy, which men take in the calamity of others, by whomſoever it be procured or intended,

doth make men liable to the rule of Retaliation. For every degree of delight or joy in others miſery, includes a breach of that Fundamental Law of Equity, [*Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris*] *Whatſoever we would not have done unto our ſelves, we ſhould be unwilling to do, or to ſee done unto others.*] And all viſitation by the rule of Counterpaſſion, as it concerns wrongs intended or done by one man to another, is but a reſarcination, or making up of that breach, which hath been made in the Fundamental Law of Equity, that is, *of doing as we would be done unto.*

8. But beſides the wrongs which Potentates, or Private Men, practiſe upon, or intend to others, there is a peculiar diſpoſition, which makes men liable to the judgments which they fear, or at leaſt, haſten the execution of judgments otherwiſe deſerved. And that is a tempting God by the curioſity of ſuperſtitious fear, or by diſſimulation. An inſtance to this purpoſe (and that is all which at this time I mean to uſe) we have in * *Jeroboam* and his *Wife*, who went diſguiſed unto the Prophet *Abijah*, (as if it had been unto ſome cunning man) to know what ſhould become of her young Son *Abijah*, then viſited with ſickneſs. The doom, or puniſhment, doth ſo well befit the temptation, that the circumſtances of the time and place, *&c.* wherein the diſcovery of her diſſembling was, by the Spirit revealed unto the Prophet, may ſeem to have ſuggeſted unto him the time of the Childs death, with other circumſtances. The Prophets eyes were dim, that he could not diſcern her by ſight, but the Lord ſo ſupplyed this defect, that he knew her by the ſound of her feet, before ſhe came in at the door. *The * Lord ſaid unto* Ahijah, *behold the Wife of* Jeroboam *cometh to ask a thing of thee for her Son, for he is ſick. Thus and thus ſhalt thou ſay unto her, for it ſhall be when ſhe cometh in, that ſhe will fain her ſelf to be another woman. And it was ſo, when* Ahijah *heard the ſound of her feet as ſhe came in at the door, that he ſaid; Come in thou Wife of* Jeroboam, *why faineſt thou thy ſelf to be another? for I am ſent unto thee with heavy tidings,* &c. *Ariſe thou therefore, get thee to thine own Houſe; and when thy feet enter into the City, the Child ſhall dye,* &c. *And* * Jeroboams *wife aroſe, and departed, and came to* Tirzah: *and when ſhe came to the threſhold of the door, the Child dyed.* But of that peculiar branch of Divine Providence, which takes men in the nets of their own ſuperſtitious fear or imaginations, we ſhall have fitter occaſion to ſpeak in the Treatiſe of Prodigies or Divine Fore-warnings.

* 1 *Kings* 14. 1, 2.

* *Ver.* 5. *&c.*

* *Ver.* 17.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The Concluſion of this Treatiſe, with the Relation of Gods remarkable Judgments manifeſted in Hungary.

1. DID God always fit his Plagues to exorbitant, or out-crying Sins, immediately after their commiſſion, men would ſuſpect that he did diſtruſt his memory. Should he defer all as long as he doth ſundry, for many years, and ſome ſpecial ones, till the ſecond, third, and fourth Generation; this would tempt us in the *interim*, to think he took juſt notice of none: *Becauſe ſentence againſt an evil work is not executed ſpeedily, therefore the heart of the Children of men, is fully ſet in them to do evil,* Eccleſ. 8. 11. But the ſame Preacher to counterpoiſe the ſway of this inbred temptation, addeth; *Though a ſinner do evil*

evil an hundred times, and God prolongeth his days, yet I know that it ſhall be well with them that fear the Lord, and do reverence before him. But it ſhall not be ſo well to the wicked; neither ſhall he prolong his days, he ſhall be like a ſhadow, becauſe he feareth not before God, Ver. 12. 13. Beſides this authority of the Preacher (concerning the determinate extent or meaning of whoſe words, I will not here diſpute) we have a Prophetical general Rule, which never faileth in it ſelf, nor to the apprehenſion of the obſervant. How mightily ſoever iniquity abounds in any City, Land or Country, *Yet the juſt Lord is in the midſt thereof: he will not do iniquity. Every morning doth he bring his judgment to light, he faileth not; but the unjuſt knoweth no ſhame,* Zeph. 3. v. 5.

2. But theſe Sacred, as well as other Maxims, have their peculiar ſubjects, in which they are more remarkably verified at one time, than at another. The extraordinary documents of Gods Punitive Juſtice, had been, no doubt, more rife in *Judah*, about *Zephanies* time, than in former Ages. And amongſt Modern Chriſtian States, none have been ſo fertile as the Kingdom of *Hungaria*, ſince it ſtood upon the ſame terms with the *Turk*, that *Judah* in *Zephanies* days did with the *Chaldæan*. I will give the Reader only a hint, or taſte from one or two Particulars, to ſet his Meditations (if it ſhall pleaſe him) on working, to obſerve the like out of the Hiſtories of that Country.

3. Amongſt all the perſons of better place, or Fame mentioned in thoſe Hiſtories, could there be found but ten (as for ought I know there may be more) whoſe Legends, either in reſpect of wrongs done to others by them, or of wrongs done to them by others, might afford ſo many pregnant proofs of Divine Retaliation, as doth the Legend of Fryer *George* or (as *Thuanus* calls him) *Martinuſius*: The Prophets Propoſition [*Every morning he bringeth forth judgment to light*] might by exact Logical Induction, be proved to have been univerſally true in that Kingdom, for more than ten years together. This man by his Valorous Wit, had advanced himſelf from a Turn-ſpit, or Cole-carrier, to be a Cardinal: otherwiſe for his Temporal dignity and authority, full Peer to moſt Princes of Chriſtendom; no way inferiour to many Kings, ſave only in want of Royal Title. In the height of his Proſperity he had entertained one *Marc Anthony de Ferraro*, Secretary to *Caſtaldie*, Lieutenant to *Ferdinand* the Emperour in thoſe parts, as a ſecret Intelligencer to betray his Maſter, but was in the end miſerably betrayed by him. For this Aſſaſſinate (* *Ferrarius*) having at all hours free acceſs upon this hope, took hence opportunity to conveigh the reſt of the bloody Actors into the Bed-chamber, of this uſually well guarded Prince, or Tyrant, in a diſmal morning, before he was dreſſed. *Ferrary* himſelf giving the firſt wound, whilſt he was reaching Pen and Ink to ſubſcribe unto the counterfeit Letters or Patents, which he then did tender him, This Fryar or Cardinal (*Martinuſius*) had plaid the Hypocrite (as was then preſumed) with his Chriſtian Neighbours, being either in affection to his own Country, or for his private ends, more engaged to the *Turk*. And Captain *Lopez*, with the *Spaniſh Harquebuzes*, deſigned by *Ferdinand* and *Caſtaldie* to aſſiſt Marqueſs *Pallavicino* for effecting this Plot, were permitted, without ſuſpicion of Hoſtility into the Caſtle, being apparelled in *Turkiſh* Weeds, or long Gowns, under which they covered their *Harquebuzes*,

* Hac verò arte conjurati in *Georgii* cubiculum irruperunt: *Marcus Antonius Ferrarius*, *Caſtaldo* ad Epiſtolis homo proſtitutæ audaciæ jam ab aliquo tempore tantam cum *Georgio* familiaritatem contraxerat, dum ſe herum prodere ſimulat, ut cubiculariis ejus propterea factus notior, quavis hora ad ipſum admitteretur. *Thuanus lib. 9.*

quebuzes, and ſuch other Armour, as they thought expedient for this fear.

4. His death though bloody and cruel in the higheſt degree, did not ſo deeply affect unpartial hearts, either with pity toward him, or with indignation at his Murderers, as the ſtrange and unuſual neglect of his * mangled Corps, did their hearts, which either through partiality or credulity, have profeſſed a delectation of his tyrannical life, upon higher terms than he deſerved. His enemies, it ſeems, were ſo careful to effect their intended Plot, and his Friends ſo affrighted with his ſudden diſaſter, that his dead body remained many days together above ground, unburied, or uncovered, with the blood frozen upon it; ſo ſtiff with cold, that it might rather ſeem to have been a blurred or beſmeared ſtatue of Stone, or Marble, than a dead man. A fit relick for a Sacrilegious Palace; ſuch was the Caſtle wherein he was Murdered, for whoſe erection he had demoliſhed an ancient Church or Monaſtery of Religious Perſons. And whether it were, that * indignation doth ſometimes make men as well pieces of Prophets, as of Poets; or whether it were ſpoken by way of bitter imprecation; the * *Abbot* upon the Sacrilegious oppreſſion, did fore-ſignifie, that this Caſtle, whoſe foundations were laid with others, ſhould at length be ſeaſoned with the blood of him that built it.

Who buildeth ſo, methinks, ſo buildeth he,
As if his Houſe, ſhould his Sepulcher be.

5. Though Gods judgments upon this man were (as all his are) moſt juſt; yet were they unjuſtly done by theſe Aſſaſſinates. They were Gods Inſtruments, but the Devils Agents, in acting this Plot: and by doing to this Cardinal, as he had done to others, they themſelves become liable in this life, to the rigour of the indiſpenſable Law, *As they have done to him, ſo muſt it be done to them.* Gods will is fulfilled upon them, as the Devils will was fulfilled by them. He was a Murderer from the beginning, and they are his Sons. And, though they afterwards diſperſe themſelves throughout divers Kingdoms or Nations, yet the cry of this Cardinals blood doth ſtill purſue them. Which way ſoever they wander; the Almighties *Net* is ſpread out for them, and being ſtill hunted after by Gods judgments, all of them are driven at length into it. *This we are ſure of* (ſaith the fore-mentioned Author of the *Hungarian* Hiſtory) *that all thoſe which were Actors of his death, in time, fell into great misfortunes. The Marqueſs* Sforce, *within a while after was overthrown, and taken Priſoner by the* Turks, *who inflicted great Torments upon him. Captain* Monin *was beheaded at Saint* Germanes *in* Piemont. Marc Anthony Ferraro, *in Anno* 1557. *(which was about ſix years after) was alſo beheaded in* Alexandria (his Native Country) *by the Cardinal of* Trent *his command. Another was quartered by the* Frenchmen *in* Provence. Chevalier Campegio, *in Anno* 1562. *was in the preſence of the Emperour*

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* *And ſo this aſſembly was diſcomfited, every man taking his neareſt and ſafeſt way, leaving their Maſters dead body to be a prey and ſpoil unburied. It remained there many days above ground naked, and without light, there being not any who reſpected to cover or bury him, being ſo ſtiff with cold, that he ſeemed as a man made out of Marble, having in his head, breſt, and arms, many wounds, upon which was yet remaining the blood all frozen; which to ſay truly, was an object worthy of compaſſion: and on the other ſide, it was execrable and enormous, to ſee ſo great a perſonage, ſo vildly left without burial by thoſe, who (God knows for what cauſe) had practiſed his death.* Martin Furree *in his Hiſtory of* Hungary, Book 4.

* Si natura negat, facit indignatio verſum.

* *Behold now the end of the proudeſt and inſolenteſt man in the world, and the greateſt and cloſeſt Tyrant that ever lived. God permitting that he ſhould in that very place end his days, which he had cauſed to be built upon the foundations of an ancient Church and Monaſtery of Religious perſons, which for that occaſion he cauſed to be defaced and pulled down; and for the ruine whereof, his death was foretold unto him by the* Abbot *of that place. See the Hiſtory of* Hungary, *in the place fore-cited. See* Thuanus Lib. 9.

Ferdinand *mortally wounded with a Boar in* Bohemia. * *Thuanus* relates the ſelf ſame accidents, from the teſtimonies of more Writers than this, ſave only that he omits the mention of him that was quartered in *Provence.*

* Certè percuſſores *Georgii* poſt ejus necem ad unum omnes pœnas dediſſe pleriq; ſcripſerunt: ac *Sfortiam* quidem diuturnâ & morte pejore apud *Turcos* captivitate. Moninum verò in ſubalpinâ regione ad *Germani* fanum cervice abſciſſâ; *Ferrarium* denique qui *Alexandriæ*, quæ ipſi patria erat, Cardinalis *Tridentini* juſſu ſexennio poſt ſecuri percuſſus eſt. Poſtremo equitem *Campegium*, qui hujus ſæculi anno 62. inter venandum in *Ferdinandi* ipſius conſpectu apri fulmino dente in *Bohemiâ* diſcerptus eſt, honeſtiori, nec tamen minus infortunâ morte. *Thuanus lib* 9.

6. What one of many hundred mornings after this fact was there, wherein *Ferdinand* did not loſe footing, either in *Hungary* or in *Tranſylvania*; wherein the *Turk* did not ſenſibly incroach upon *Chriſtendom*, and gain advantage againſt Chriſtians? The juſt compariſon between the miſery of *Judah* in *Zedechia's* days, and of *Hungary* under *Lewis* the Second, with the parallel manner of theſe two noble Kings, and their adherents miſcarriage, muſt be referred for brevities ſake, to other Treatiſes. Only to ſhut up this exemplification of the Prophets aſſertion, verified in peculiar ſort in *Hungary*: what example of Divine Juſtice, either more pregnant, or more durable, was ever manifeſted in *Judæa*, than was to be ſeen every morning for more than twenty years together in the fields of *Moacz*, where the *Horſe*, and his *Royal Rider* (King *Lewis*) found a miſerable grave before they were quite dead; but where the bones of ſuch as were ſlain in that unfortunate Battel, lay unburied in ſuch an abundance, as did exhibit a woful ſpectacle to every Chriſtian paſſengers eye, from the year 1526. until the time of * *Busbequius*, his embaſſage to *Conſtantinople* (how long after I know not) which was upon the Marriage between King *Philip* and Queen *Mary*, about the year 1555. The Chriſtian Hungars of thoſe times, after the loſs of their late mentioned King, had as juſt cauſe to inſert that lamentation into their Liturgy, as *Jeremiah* had to take it up: *The annointed of the Lord was taken in their Nets, of whom we ſaid, under his ſhadow we ſhall be preſerved alive among the Heathen*, Lam. 4. 20. As full an intereſt in that complaint of the Pſalmiſt, as the ancient *Jews* had, during the time of *Nebuchadnezzar*, or *Antiochus* his rage: *The dead bodies of thy ſervants, have they given to be meat unto the Fowls of the Heaven, the fleſh of thy Saints unto the Beaſts of the Earth, their blood have they ſhed like water, and there was none to bury them*, Pſal. 79. 2, 3. The pitiful women of *Judæa* did eat their Children, when *Titus* beſieged *Jeruſalem*. The women of *Hungary* no leſs merciful, (as may be preſumed) than other Chriſtian women are, buried their Children alive, leſt their timerous out-crys might bewray the place of their abode, or latitation, when *Solyman* and his furious Hell-hounds did ſo greedily hunt after their lives. The people of *Hungary* would not take example from the miſeries which had befallen *Judæa*, nor break off thoſe ſins which brought this miſery upon them: God grant the Prophets and Seers of this Kingdom, eyes to diſcern, and this whole people, one and other, patient hearts to hear thoſe ſins, whether of practice, or opinion diſcovered, which threaten the like judgments unto this Land, as have befallen the Kingdom of *Hungary*, one of the moſt flouriſhing Kingdoms in the Chriſtian world, within a few years before its ruine.

* Quid ex eo ſperandum ſit, ſatis eum docent ſuperiorum temporum exempla, acceptæ ad *Nicopolim*, & ad *Varnam* clades, abſenteſque adhuc oſtibus cæſorum Chriſtianorum ad *Mohaczum* campi. *Busbeq. Epiſt.* 4.

DIVERS SERMONS,

With a Short

TREATISE

Befitting theſe

PRESENT TIMES:

BY

THOMAS JACKSON Doctor in Divinity, Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majeſty, and Preſident of *Corpus Chriſti Colledge* in *Oxford.*

FOR THOV SHALT LABOR
PEACE
PLENTIE

LONDON,
Printed by *J. Macock*, for *John Martyn*, *Richard Chiſwell*, and *Joſeph Clarke*, 1672.

To the Moſt

ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCE
CHARLES,
PRINCE OF WALES,
DUKE of *CORNWALL*, &c.

All the Bleſſings of this Life, and of the Life to come.

W*Ould your Excellence vouchſafe, if not at your beſt conveniences to read, yet for the preſent to accept theſe Treatiſes following, with the like favourable Patience, as your Royal Father, and my moſt Gracious Soveraign Lord and Maſter, did hear the moſt of them, I ſhould think my pains in Publiſhing, and Offering this Mite, as well beſtowed, and as well recompenced, as any other part of my Labours in the Miniſtry: That You may long exhibite to this preſent and future Ages, a live expreſſion of your moſt Royal Fathers Princely Vertues, eſpecially of his Devotion in Gods Service, and his Zeal to his Houſe the Church; that by continuance in thus doing, You may continue in like favour with the King of kings, and Lord of lords, as* Jehoſophat, Ezekiah, *and other beſt Princes of* Judah *were, is, and ſhall be the daily Prayer of*

Your Highneſs moſt Humbly

Devoted Servant

THOMAS JACKSON.

DIVERS
SERMONS,
With a Short
TREATISE
Befitting theſe
PRESENT TIMES.

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2 CHRON. 6. 39. 40.

Then hear thou from the Heavens, even from thy dwelling place, their Prayer, and their Supplications, and maintain their Cauſe, and forgive thy People which have ſinned againſt thee. Now my God, let (I beſeech thee) thine eyes be open, and let thine Ears be attent unto the Prayer that is made in this place.

1. IT was the ſaying of a *Roman Senator*, who thought himſelf well ſeen in matters of State, *Parvi ſunt arma foris, niſi ſit conſilium domi*; Arms are of little avail abroad, without a Wiſe Council at home, to give them inſtructions: but the *wiſe King*, part of whoſe words theſe of my Text are, ſaw a great way farther, and lays his foundation much deeper, *Parvi ſunt arma foris, parvi conſilium domi, niſi ſint preces in Templo*; Council of State, or Council of War, Arms at home, or Armies ſent abroad by their directions, with their beſt inſtructions, add little to the ſecurity and ſafety of State and Kingdom, without Prayers in the Church, or Houſe of God. And for this reaſon, although he had now erected a goodly Temple, with as Princely and chearful a heart as his Father *David* had built an Altar, unto the Name and Honour of the God of *Iſrael*; yet he thought it no Sacriledge, no Robbery at all, to intend a publick and perpetual benefit to the State and Kingdom, from this glorious work. So compatible are *Royal intentions of Gods Honour*, with deſires of Gods Bleſſings temporal upon the people committed to their charge, that this wiſe *King* (even whilſt he dedicates this great houſe unto his God, for a peculiar habitation, wherein he would be pleaſed to place his name) yet conſecrated it withal as a *Sanctuary, for every afflicted Soul*, to be more than an *Arſenal for War*, as a *Magazine of medicines*, and remedies for all manner of wounds, or diſeaſes incident to the body publick.

2. God had given this young King a large Talent of *Princely Wiſdom*, and the *Spirit of Government*, in an extraordinary manner; and

of this extraordinary Wiſdom and Spirit, one ſpecial part it was to know that it was not in the power of man, not within the compaſs of any wiſdom (though participated from above) to direct his own ways, much leſs the ways of others aright, leaſt of all to give ſucceſs to their beſt directions. As the skill of Pilots is beſt known in a ſtorm, or dangerous paſſage; ſo is the wiſdom of Rulers beſt tryed in perplexity, or diſtreſs. The beſt proof or tryal which *Solomon* could give of his wiſdom in this caſe, was the knowledge to frame his Petitions aright to the *God of Wiſdom*, and *Lord of Hoſts*. This whole Chapter is no other than an *Anatomy Lecture*, of the Diſeaſes and Wounds of Kingdoms and Common-weals, publickly read by *Solomon*, for the inſtruction of Princes and Rulers that ſhould come after him. It is the *glory of a King*, as this King elſewhere obſerves, *to find out a ſecret*, and to puniſh iniquity when it is found out, (though committed in ſecret) and to render to every man according to the equity of his cauſe, being made known, is the duty of a Judge: but in as much as many Controverſies of right and wrong, muſt be determined by Oath, if men will be ſo deſtitute of the fear of God, as to ſwear falſly; or to contrive their own gain, and others harms by Perjury, what Judge can help? what Prince can remedy men by this means diſtreſſed? Yet *Solomon* begins at this inward ſore, or ſecret corruption, the remedy he ſeeks from the ſearcher of mens thoughts and hearts. So he prays, 2 *Chron.* 6.22.23. *If a man ſin againſt his Neighbour, and an Oath be laid upon him to make him Swear, and the Oath come before thine Altar in this Houſe: Then hear thou from Heaven, and do, and judge thy Servants by requiting the wicked, by recompencing his way upon his own head, and by juſtifying the Righteous, by giving him according to his Righteouſneſs.* To recompence the ways of this wicked man upon his own head is one of the mercies which in concluſion he beſeeches the Lord to ſhew unto his people, for *crudele eſt hic miſericordem eſſe.* Though mercy be always good, yet the better it is, the worſe it is placed upon ſuch peſtilent members. As great a cruelty to ſhew pity upon the perjur'd, as to pamper or cheriſh any joynt or member of the body, wherein the *Gangræne* or other deadly ſpreading Sore, hath got poſſeſſion or root. From this internal, imbred corruption, he proceeds unto more publick, and grievous wounds, or diſeaſes uſually made by cauſes external, as when *Iſrael* ſhall be *overthrown before their Enemies*, ver. 25. When the *Heavens ſhall be ſhut up, and the Earth be without rain*, ver. 26. When there ſhall be *Famine, Peſtilence, Mildew, Graſhoppers, or Caterpillars.* When the *Enemy ſhall beſiege thee in the Cities.* When they ſhall be afflicted by any *Plague* or *Sickneſs*, *ver.* 28. The ſoveraign remedy for all, and every one of theſe and the like, is the very ſame, and it is this, *ver.* 20.21. *Then hear thou from Heaven, from thy dwelling place, their Prayer, and their Supplications, and maintain their cauſe, and forgive thy people which have ſinned againſt thee*, *ver.* 29. But what if this people ſhould be led Captive into a foraign Land, not permitted to repair unto this *houſe where the Lord had placed his name?* This *Solomon* foreſaw as a matter not impoſſible, how ample ſoever his promiſes unto his *Father David*, and his ſeed, might in ordinary conſtruction ſeem to be: is there any poſſible Salve, for this poſſible Sore? or can this houſe (which he had conſecrated to be an houſe of Prayer) afford them, in this caſe, any remedy, when they could not come to pray in it? yes, the remedy is preſcribed, *ver.* 38.39. *If they* *return to thee with all their Heart, and with all their Soul, in the Land of their Captivity, whither they have carried them Captives, and pray toward their Land which thou gaveſt unto their Fathers, and towards the City which thou haſt choſen, and towards the Houſe which I have built for thy name: Then hear thou from Heaven, &c.* So then, both *Prince* and *People were to pray in this houſe*, whilſt they poſſeſt this Land and City wherein it ſtood; to *pray towards it*, when they ſojourned in Foraign Coaſts, or were detained in the Land of their Captivity; to pray *towards the place wherein* it had ſtood, in caſe it ſhould be demoliſhed. So did *Daniel*, after this houſe, which *Solomon* built, was burnt to the ground.

3. The Prerogatives which he Petitions might be beſtowed upon this Houſe of Prayer, were, you ſee, exceeding great. Was it then any part of his intention in the ſuit, or of Gods purpoſe in the grant, to have this houſe endowed with ſuch ample priviledges, for the uſe or benefit of *Iſrael* only, or of *Abrahams Seed* according to the fleſh? ſurely *Solomon* did conceive his Prayers out of a perfect and ſpecial Faith, yet the ſpeciality of his Faith, in Gods Promiſes, made unto *Iſrael*, or to *Abrahams Seed*, did no way extinguiſh his Charity, or abate his good Affection towards others, for he expreſly Conſecrates his Houſe to be an Houſe of Prayer, for the uſe and benefit of all the Nations under Heaven, though in the firſt place for *Iſrael. Moreover, as touching the ſtranger which is not of thy people* Iſrael, *but is come from a far Country, for thy great names ſake, and thy mighty hand, and thy ſtretched out arm, if they come and pray in this houſe, then hear thou from Heaven, even from thy dwelling place, and do according to all that the Stranger calleth to thee for, that the People of the Earth may know thy name, and fear thee, as doth thy people* Iſrael, *and may know that this houſe, which I have built, is called by thy name*, 32. 33. He knew the gracious goodneſs of his God, to be in it ſelf ſo great, ſo truly infinite, that it could not be a whit leſſened towards *Iſrael*, how far ſoever it were extended towards others, as it is extended to all men without exception, *in ſenſu diviſo*, though not *in ſenſu compoſito*, it is thus far extended unto all, to the end that they might come to the knowledge of the Truth, but not extended, not communicated to ſuch as love darkneſs better than light, and falſhood than truth. It was then well with *Iſrael*, when their Charity towards others, was like their Heavenly Fathers Love, without factious partiality or reſpect of perſons. It was their ſeeking to *ingroſs Gods promiſed Bleſſings unto mankind*, which twice brought that grievous curſe upon them, under which, at this day, they ſigh and groan. Now if all the Nations on Earth had this intereſt in *Solomons* Temple, ſhall we deny any one, of what Nation ſoever, the like intereſt in *Abrahams* Seed, concerning whom the Lord had ſworn, that in him ſhould all the Nations of the Earth be Bleſſed? Thus much of the general ſcope or view of this Chapter, to retire my ſelf unto my Text, which is as the center, or fitteſt Angle, for taking the exact ſurvey of this long and fruitful field.

4. To give you then a brief comprehenſion of the Principalleſt, and moſt Fundamental Truths, either directly incident into, or natural emergent out of it.

Firſt, It is taken as granted by *Solomon*, and it is to us as a point of Faith, that as well the *Calamities*, as the *Proſperities of States and Kingdoms are from the Lord*; It is he that giveth life as well to Bodies

Politick, as to Natural. It is he that woundeth, and it is he that maketh whole.

Secondly, *No Calamity, or Wounds of State, are in their Nature incurable, if this remedy be ſought in time*; they grow incurable only, by neglect of the Medicines in Gods Word preſcribed.

Thirdly, *The only ſoveraign remedy for reſtoring States and Kingdoms, diſeaſed and wounded by the hand of God, unto their perfect health, is Prayer and Supplications to the King of Kings.*

The laſt muſt be the *Conditions of the Prayers*, or *qualification of the Supplicants*, by whom ſuch Prayers, as may prevail with God, muſt be made. Upon this point *Solomon* often toucheth in ſeveral paſſages of this Chapter.

Such of the *Heathens* as were always ready to ſacrifice unto their own right arms, for Victory in Battel, and unto their own Wit in Policy, for the ſweet fruits of Peace, did often obſerve certain Surpluſſes of ſucceſs, good, or bad, which they could not account to be the natural iſſue, either of their induſtry, or contrivance; and whatſoever fell without the mould of their hopes or fears, was attributed to *Fates*, if it were diſaſtrous: to *Fortune* or *Chance*, if it were good; now whatſoever the *Heathens* did aſcribe to *Fortune*, to *Chance*, or *Fate*, or to any other ſuppoſed *guide of Nature*, or *intermedling power in Humane affairs*, all theſe the *Wiſe King* aſcribes wholly unto his God, he is the God of Peace, and yet the God that maketh War, the Lord of Hoſts, the God of Plenty, and yet the God that ſendeth Scarcity. The God of our Health, and Life, and yet it is he which puniſheth with Plague and Sickneſſes. Nor are we bound only to derive all extraordinary ſucceſs (which the *Heathen* gave to *Fortune* and *Fate*) but ever even the uſual *ſucceſs of ordinary endeavours*, (be it good or bad) from his Providence. That the Heathens did aſcribe ordinary ſucceſs (if it were good) unto themſelves, (if it were ill) unto their adverſaries or oppoſites, this was their *Atheiſm* or *Irreligion*. That they aſcribed extraordinary calamity unto Fate or Chance, was their Superſtition. Unto both theſe extreams, true Religion is alike oppoſite, and for this reaſon, muſt aſcribe all ſucceſs ordinary or extraordinary, good, or bad unto him, who is a God as well of Wiſdom, as of power, as well of Peace, as of War. The *Egyptian Magitians* were enforced to ſay of ſome Miracles wrought by *Moſes*, *Hic digitus Dei eſt*, the finger of God is in this. But if we look on *Gods works*, or our own, with the eyes of Faith, the point of his hand is more conſpicuous, or more full in matters of ordinary paſs, or in the uſual courſe of Nature, than in ſome rare miracles. If the Sun ſhould now ſtand ſtill in its ſphere, as in the days of *Joſuah* it did, the world would be ready to ſay, this is the hand of God, yet it is more impoſſible that it ſhould move without Gods power, than ſtand ſtill without it; whilſt it ſtood ſtill, it was partaker only of his *power ſuſtentative*, but deprived of his *power motive* or *co operative*, move it cannot, without the co-operation of his motive power, nor could it continue moveable, though without motion, for a moment of time, without continuance of his creative, and preſerving power; and thus in the continuance of ordinary ſucceſs or bleſſings upon mans endeavour, there is oft-times a greater concurrence of Divine communicative power, than is required unto ſucceſs extraordinary. For the meer ſubſtraction of his uſual co-operation or efficiency from us, or from ſuch as oppoſe us, makes the ſucceſs of the one, or other to be extraordinary, and yet ſo blind and ſtupid are we for the moſt part, that we take ſmall notice of his ordinary preſence, by his Wiſdom, Power, and Providence, without ſome interpoſitions of extraordinary ſucceſs, unexpected occurrences, or interruption of the ordinary courſe of time, and nature.

Did the body of the Sun alway move beyond her *Horizon*, in ſuch difference from it, as to leave no evident diſtinction between light and darkneſs, we ſhould hardly know, how much our eyes are beholding to it for the uſe of its light: many haply will be perſwaded, that the light of their eyes were ſufficient to ſee withal: God who is the light and life of the world, by whoſe participation the beſt faculties of men perform their proper functions, (as the eye doth its function by the bodily light of the Sun) is in his nature inviſible; and hence it is, that few conceive what intire dependance they have on him in all their actions, and conſultations, unleſs it pleaſe him ſometimes to withdraw his guidance or aſſiſtance from them; nor need we deny, or queſtion the proper efficacy of any viſible or ſecond cauſes, albeit we aſcribe all ſucceſs, as well ordinary, as extraordinary, good or bad, unto the ſame God. The matter of moſt ſoveraign bodily Medicines, is oft-times gathered from the Patients Gardens: the Phyſician infuſeth no new quality, or hidden virtue into the ſimples, or ingredients, yet, inaſmuch as he tempers and compounds them, and appoints in what meaſure and ſeaſon his receipt ſhould be taken, the recovery of health (though wrought by the efficacy of the Medicine, is wholly aſcrib'd to the Phyſitians skill, not ſhared betwixt it, and the natural qualities of the Medicine. Admit of a thouſand fighting men, no one mans ſtrength or courage were abated before the day of Battel, yet if every one then might be permitted to fight (as we ſay) on his own head, to come on and off, at his own liking, the Multiplication of their ſeveral ſtrength, without a guiding or directing power, might harm themſelves, more than their Enemies, ſo that we might truly ſay, that albeit our Army conſiſts of common Souldiers, as well as of Commanders, yet the ſtrength of an Army conſiſts not in the ſtrength of Limbs, but in the ſkill and moderation of their Commanders, and in the obſervance of good orders and Diſcipline. Now beſide the eſpecial dependance which every particular creature hath on the Creators power, in all his motions, attempts or actions, which is ſuch, as no Ingredient in any Medicine hath on the Phyſician; ſuch as no Souldier hath on his Commander; the whole Hoſt of Creatures, whether Sublunary or Celeſtial, whether reaſonable or reaſonleſs, whether animate, or without life, is more ſubordinate to the direction and guidance of the Divine Wiſdom and Providence, than any inferiour can be, to his lawful, moſt powerful, and moſt eſteemed Superiour. Though God doth not always work alone, but every Creature works in him, and by him in its kind, yet he alone appoints the *time*, the *place*, and *opportunity* of their workings, he alone appoints the iſſue, which they finally bring forth, he alone doth limit the *number of co-working cauſes*, or of *agents conſpiring* for the effecting of the end deſigned by his Providence, whence, though in the greateſt Atchievements jointly undertaken by man, every man might know his own and every others ſtrength, his own and every others projects, which are confederates, or co-workers with him, though every one could know all the preparation, which they ſeverally, or joyntly make, what is the determinate force, or efficacy of every inſtrumental cauſe, whoſe help they uſe; yet is it never poſſible, for them to know what other cauſes or agents the Wiſdom of God may deſign, either to hinder them, or to further their Enemies in their counterplots. So that all Proſperity or Calamity of any Nation, viſibly inflicted by ſecondary inſtruments, or agents, is juſtly aſcribed unto the Wiſdom, Juſtice, and Providence of God. *Can a Bird fall in a ſnare (ſaith the Prophet* Amos, *Chap.* 3. *ver.* 5.) *upon the Earth, where no gin is for him?* or *ſhall there be evil in the City, and the Lord hath not done it?* Men, he ſuppoſeth, are as unwilling to be overtaken with the evil here meant, with *malum pœnæ*, with calamity or diſaſter, as *Birds* are to be caught in a *ſnare*. *Calamity* then is the *ſnare* whereinto men, by Gods appointment fall, and their own *projects* and *devices*, are the *ſtrings* which draw this *Net* upon them; when theſe are contrary to the Counſel of the Lord, and if there be no evil of calamity or diſaſter in any City, which is not the Lords doing, then certainly, the good which is contrary to this evil, all the ſafety, welfare, and proſperity of any Nation, is from the Lord, is the work of his hand.

Ignorance, or want of belief of this point, was one ſpecial cauſe of the miſeries which befel the *Chriſtian Nations*, by the inundation of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, and other barbarous people; ſo a ſweet and learned Writer of thoſe times complains, *Si quando enim nobis proſperi aliquid præter ſpem noſtram & meritum, Deus tribuit, alius aſcribit hoc fortunæ, alius eventui, alius ordinationi ducum, alius conſilio, alius magiſtro, alius patrocinio, nullus Deo; & miramur ſi nobis cœleſtis manus non præſtet, cui quicquid præſtiterit derogamus.* If God at any time give proſperous ſucceſs to our proceedings, beyond our hope and merit, one aſcribes this to Fortune, another to good Hope or Chance, none to God. We may conclude this Point with the *Pſalmiſts* teſtimony, *Except the Lord build the Houſe, they labour in vain that built it. Except the Lord keep the City, the watchmen waketh but in vain, Pſalm* 127. 1. We ſhall no way pervert his words, if we thus invert or extend their ſenſe. Except the Lord be purpoſed to ruinate the houſe, they labour in vain that ſeek to ruinate it, except the Lord delivers up the City into their hands, they that beſiege it, beſiege it in vain, and if all endeavours without his *ratification* of them be vain, then it is he that doth all in all; it is he, not the Air, Elements, or Hoſt of Heaven, that bringeth Scarcity, Famine, or Peſtilence upon the Land, it is he, not the Enemy, which wounds or weakens any State or Kingdom.

But if all calamity be inflicted by his hand, who can take off what he hath laid on, who can heal where the great Phyſitian himſelf hath wounded? But the queſtion is not, what man can do when any calamity befalls him, but rather what he which can do all things, will have man to do for himſelf. Now it is not his will that we ſhould in this caſe ſit down and do nothing. The aſcribing of all the ſucceſs of our labours unto him, doth teach us only to abandon all reliance upon our own endeavours or conſultations, not the conſultations or endeavours themſelves; it ſhould be the firſt and laſt of all our endeavours, carefully to conſecrate all our conſultations and enterpriſes unto him, who alone is able to give a bleſſing unto them. It is moſt true, all our *ſtrength* is but *weakneſs* in reſpect of him, yet true with this exception, unleſs we relye upon his ſtrength; It is true, *mans wiſdom* is but *folly*, and yet true again, that our *wiſdom* becomes more than *mans wiſdom*, by relying upon his *wiſdom*, with the ſtrength of our hearts and affections; Now for the ſtrengthning of our reliance upon his wiſdom, ſtrength, and providence, and for conſecrating our endeavours aright, two things are required; 1. *The right information of our underſtanding in point of Doctrine.* 2. *Sincerity of practice, anſwerable to the right information of our underſtanding.* The firſt and general part of Doctrine, is the ſecond point propoſed, *That no calamity or wound in State, though inflicted by the immediate hand of God, is altogether incurable, if the remedy be ſought in time.* This point of Doctrine is grounded upon another ſpecial principle of Faith, to wit, that *our gracious God, in his ſevereſt puniſhments, is a moſt juſt Judge,* he doth not ſo immediately delight in the exerciſes of Punitive Juſtice, as he doth in the exerciſes of *Corrections* or *Chaſtiſements, viz.* Juſtice, Mercies, and Loving kindneſſes. He beſtows his bleſſings of Proſperity freely, and for his own names ſake, not for our ſakes or deſervings. He never plagueth any Nation, meerly for his own name ſake, or of his own accord, but as provoked by their ill-deſervings. *Deus non prius eſt ultor quam homo peccator.* God never proceeds to revenge, before man hath done him manifeſt wrong. *Pœna ſemper ſequitur culpam.* Puniſhment never hath precedency of offences, but always follows them, and for the moſt part in great diſtance. This Truth, or principle of Faith, is expreſly ſuppoſed by the wiſe King in this, *Chap. v.* 24. *And if thy People* Iſrael *be put to the worſe before their Enemy, becauſe they have ſinned againſt thee.* This inſers, that they ſhould not be puniſhed with ſo much as loſs of Victory; or defeat, unleſs they had firſt ſinned againſt their God, and again, *v.* 26. *When the Heaven is ſhut up, and there is no rain, becauſe they have ſinned againſt thee.* This teacheth us the truth of that, which an Ancient Father hath, *Nos mutamus naturam rerum,* we *exchange the nature of the Creature,* and divert the ſweet influence of Heaven from our ſelves by changing from better to worſe, and by our turning from God. *Quid ergo? de pœnarum acerbitate quærimur, unuſquiſq; noſtrum ipſe ſe punit.* They are the expoſtulation of *Salvian,* with the Chriſtians of his time, which had been often overcome, and long preſt by barbarous and heretical Nations. But why do we complain that our puniſhment is bitter and grievous, ſeeing every one of us doth puniſh himſelf? But here happly ſome will make that objection againſt the former point, which *Salvian* makes againſt himſelf by way of prevention, if all puniſhment or calamity be from God, how are we ſaid to puniſh our ſelves? His anſwer is very ſatisfactory, *Vtrumq; verum eſt, à deo quippe punimur, ſed ipſi facimus ut puniamur, Lib.* 8. *Num.* 264. Both are true, we are puniſhed by God, but 'tis our own doing, that we are puniſhed. The manner and order by which mankind fall into extremity of puniſhment, whether Temporal or Everlaſting, that he collects out of that ſaying of the Prophet *Iſaiah, Chap.* 50. *ver.* 11.

Lib. 4. *Num.* 107.

This *good Father,* albeit he lived in the miſerable times, wherein the viſible feature of Chriſts Church, and of Chriſtendom, was much defaced by the wounds and ſcars which had been given by *Barbarous hands,* yet was herein happy, that he might freely avouch the unſpeakable mercies of God, and extend his unfeigned love to all, (even to thoſe which periſhed in their ſins) without cenſure of Hereſie or Perſecution, by men of his own profeſſion; It was no ſcruple to his tender Conſcience, to aver, nor was the often avering it, any imputation unto him for many Generations, that *God did puniſh us, invitus,*

againſt

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cauſe, whoſe help they uſe; yet is it never poſſible, for them to know what other cauſes or agents the Wiſdom of God may deſign, either to hinder them, or to further their Enemies in their counterplots. So that all Proſperity or Calamity of any Nation, viſibly inflicted by ſecondary inſtruments, or agents, is juſtly aſcribed unto the Wiſdom, Juſtice, and Providence of God. *Can a Bird fall in a ſnare (ſaith the Prophet* Amos, *Chap.* 3. *ver.* 5.) *upon the Earth, where no gin is for him?* or *ſhall there be evil in the City, and the Lord hath not done it?* Men, he ſuppoſeth, are as unwilling to be overtaken with the evil here meant, with *malum pœnæ*, with calamity or diſaſter, as *Birds* are to be caught in a *ſnare*. *Calamity* then is the *ſnare* whereinto men, by Gods appointment fall, and their own *projects* and *devices*, are the *ſtrings* which draw this *Net* upon them; when theſe are contrary to the Counſel of the Lord, and if there be no evil of calamity or diſaſter in any City, which is not the Lords doing, then certainly, the good which is contrary to this evil, all the ſafety, welfare, and proſperity of any Nation, is from the Lord, is the work of his hand.

Ignorance, or want of belief of this point, was one ſpecial cauſe of the miſeries which befel the *Chriſtian Nations*, by the inundation of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, and other barbarous people; ſo a ſweet and learned Writer of thoſe times complains, *Si quando enim nobis proſperi aliquid præter ſpem noſtram & meritum, Deus tribuit, alius aſcribit hoc fortunæ, alius eventui, alius ordinationi ducum, alius conſilio, alius magiſtro, alius patrocinio, nullus Deo; & miramur ſi nobis cœleſtis manus non præſtet, cui quicquid præſtiterit derogamus.* If God at any time give proſperous ſucceſs to our proceedings, beyond our hope and merit, one aſcribes this to Fortune, another to good Hope or Chance, none to God. We may conclude this Point with the *Pſalmiſts* teſtimony, *Except the Lord build the Houſe, they labour in vain that built it. Except the Lord keep the City, the watchmen waketh but in vain, Pſalm* 127. 1. We ſhall no way pervert his words, if we thus invert or extend their ſenſe. Except the Lord be purpoſed to ruinate the houſe, they labour in vain that ſeek to ruinate it, except the Lord delivers up the City into their hands, they that beſiege it, beſiege it in vain, and if all endeavours without his *ratification* of them be vain, then it is he that doth all in all; it is he, not the Air, Elements, or Hoſt of Heaven, that bringeth Scarcity, Famine, or Peſtilence upon the Land, it is he, not the Enemy, which wounds or weakens any State or Kingdom.

But if all calamity be inflicted by his hand, who can take off what he hath laid on, who can heal where the great Phyſitian himſelf hath wounded? But the queſtion is not, what man can do when any calamity befalls him, but rather what he which can do all things, will have man to do for himſelf. Now it is not his will that we ſhould in this caſe ſit down and do nothing. The aſcribing of all the ſucceſs of our labours unto him, doth teach us only to abandon all reliance upon our own endeavours or conſultations, not the conſultations or endeavours themſelves; it ſhould be the firſt and laſt of all our endeavours, carefully to conſecrate all our conſultations and enterpriſes unto him, who alo[illegible]s able to give a bleſſing unto them. It is moſt true, all our *ſtreng*[illegible] but *weakneſs* in reſpect of him, yet true with this exception, unleſs we relye upon his ſtrength; It is true, *mans wiſdom* is but *folly*, and yet true again, that our *wiſdom* becomes more than *mans wiſdom*, by relying upon his *wiſdom*, with the ſtrength of our hearts and affections; Now for the ſtrengthning of our reliance upon his wiſdom, ſtrength, and providence, and for conſecrating our endeavours aright, two things are required; 1. *The right information of our underſtanding in point of Doctrine.* 2. *Sincerity of practice, anſwerable to the right information of our underſtanding.* The firſt and general part of Doctrine, is the ſecond point propoſed, *That no calamity or wound in State, though inflicted by the immediate hand of God, is altogether incurable, if the remedy be ſought in time.* This point of Doctrine is grounded upon another ſpecial principle of Faith, to wit, that *our gracious God, in his ſevereſt puniſhments, is a moſt juſt Judge,* he doth not ſo immediately delight in the exerciſes of Punitive Juſtice, as he doth in the exerciſes of *Corrections* or *Chaſtiſements, viz.* Juſtice, Mercies, and Loving kindneſſes. He beſtows his bleſſings of Proſperity freely, and for his own names ſake, not for our ſakes or deſervings. He never plagueth any Nation, meerly for his own name ſake, or of his own accord, but as provoked by their ill-deſervings. *Deus non prius eſt ultor quam homo peccator.* God never proceeds to revenge, before man hath done him manifeſt wrong. *Pœna ſemper ſequitur culpam.* Puniſhment never hath precedency of offences, but always follows them, and for the moſt part in great diſtance. This Truth, or principle of Faith, is expreſly ſuppoſed by the wiſe King in this, *Chap. v.*24. *And if thy People* Iſrael *be put to the worſe before their Enemy, becauſe they have ſinned againſt thee.* This infers, that they ſhould not be puniſhed with ſo much as loſs of Victory; or defeat, unleſs they had firſt ſinned againſt their God, and again, *v.* 26. *When the Heaven is ſhut up, and there is no rain, becauſe they have ſinned againſt thee.* This teacheth us the truth of that, which an Ancient Father hath, *Nos mutamus naturam rerum, we exchange the nature of the Creature,* and divert the ſweet influence of Heaven from our ſelves by changing from better to worſe, and by our turning from God. *Quid ergo? de pœnarum acerbitate quærimur, unuſquiſq; noſtrum ipſe ſe punit.* They are the expoſtulation of *Salvian,* with the Chriſtians of his time, which had been often overcome, and long preſt by barbarous and heretical Nations. But why do we complain that our puniſhment is bitter and grievous, ſeeing every one of us doth puniſh himſelf? But here happly ſome will make that objection againſt the former point, which *Salvian* makes againſt himſelf by way of prevention, if all puniſhment or calamity be from God, how are we ſaid to puniſh our ſelves? His anſwer is very ſatisfactory, *Utrumq; verum eſt, à deo quippe punimur, ſed ipſi facimus ut puniamur, Lib.* 8. *Num.* 264. Both are true, we are puniſhed by God, but 'tis our own doing, that we are puniſhed. The manner and order by which mankind fall into extremity of puniſhment, whether Temporal or Everlaſting, that he collects out of that ſaying of the Prophet *Iſaiah, Chap.* 50. *ver.* 11.

Lib. 4. *Num.* 107.

This *good Father,* albeit he lived in the miſerable times, wherein the viſible feature of Chriſts Church, and of Chriſtendom, was much defaced by the wounds and ſcars which had been given by *Barbarous hands,* yet was herein happy, that he might freely avouch the unſpeakable mercies of God, and extend his unfeigned love to all, (even to thoſe which periſhed in their ſins) without cenſure of Hereſie or Perſecution, by men of his own profeſſion; It was no ſcruple to his tender Conſcience, to aver, nor was the often avering it, any imputation unto him for many Generations, that *God did puniſh us, invitus,* *againſt his will*, but he was willing to heal the wounds which he had made, that men did conſtrain him to continue, or increaſe his plagues, when he was otherwiſe ready to take off his puniſhing hand.

But ſome in latter years queſtion (and would to God they did but queſtion) whether *Punitive Juſtice be as direct an effect of Gods primary will, or as primarily intended by him, in reſpect of ſome men, as the exerciſe of bounty and mercy toward others.* But if this Doctrine were poſitively determined, the calamities which befal moſt States and Kingdoms, would be more incurable, and all endeavours of reformation leſs available, than is behooveful for them to believe they are. Howbeit ſome paſſages of Sacred writ there be, which either naturally run, or have been drawn this way, as if Punitive Juſtice were the mark or aim of means offered by God, for ſo that place in the *Apoſtle*, Rom. 1. 20. *The inviſible things of him from the Creation of the World are clearly ſeen, to the intent that they ſhould be without excuſe.* But this expreſſion of the original, is worthily corrected by the latter *Engliſh*. *God did manifeſt himſelf in his works ſo fair, that they are without excuſe.* And though the ſpeech be for its form indifferent, or æquipendent, yet the matter doth neceſſarily ſway it from the former to this latter ſenſe. For if God had manifeſted himſelf unto them, to no other intent, but that they might be without excuſe, they had a better excuſe in readineſs, than any of the Reprobate or Damned ſhall find at the day of Judgment. None of them ſhall be then able to deny either the *receipt of a Talent*, or the receipt of it to ſome better intent or end, than to leave them without excuſe. They are therefore without excuſe, becauſe they have *hid their Talents*, and do not employ them to the uſe or end intended by their Maſter. But more particularly, the Calamities or Plagues which befel the *Jewiſh* Nation, may ſeem incurable from the words of our Saviour, *Mat.* 23. 34. 35. *Behold I ſend unto you Prophets, and Wiſe men, and Scribes, and ſome of them ye ſhall kill and crucifie, and ſome of them ye ſhall ſcourge in the Synagogues, and perſecute from City to City. That upon you may come all the righteous blood ſhed upon the Earth, from the blood of Righteous* Abel, *unto the blood of* Zacharias, *Son of* Barachias, *whom ye ſlew between the Temple and the Altar.* Did the Wiſdom of God then ſend Prophets and Wiſe Men unto their Fore-fathers? or did he come to this Generation in perſon himſelf, to this intent, or end, that all the Righteous Blood which had been ſhed upon the Earth, might be required of them? For thus interpreting this place, the original phraſe affords a pretence, ſomewhat fairer than can be brought for the former Interpretation of Saint *Paul*, *Ut ſuper vos veniat:* yet every Novice in Grammar knows, that the Prepoſition *ut*, or Greek ἵνα, doth not always denote the *Final cauſe*, it oft-times imports the *Courſe* or *Iſſue*, not the *end* or *intent* τὸ πέρας, not τὸ τέλος, ſo ſaith our Saviour, *John* 17. 3. *This is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jeſus Chriſt whom thou haſt ſent, Ut te cognoſcant*, this is no more than if he had ſaid, *te cognoſcere*, to know thee to be the only God, and Jeſus Chriſt whom thou haſt ſent, is life eternal. Give theſe words of our Saviour, in the 7th of Saint *John*, leave to interpret his forecited words, *Mat.* 23. and their meaning will be in plain *Engliſh* thus much, and no more, ſome of them you will Crucifie, and ſome of them you will Scourge, and Perſecute ſo long, until the blood of all the Righteous, ſhed upon the Earth, will come upon you. The true reaſon why the blood of Gods Prophets was to be required of this Generation, was, becauſe God had continually ſent them unto them from time to time, out of his mercy and compaſſion, that they might be healed: So ſaith the Scripture, 2 *Chron.* 36. 15. *And the Lord God of their Fathers ſent to them by his meſſengers riſing up betimes and ſending, becauſe he had compaſſion on his people and on his dwelling place. But they mocked the meſſengers of God, and deſpiſed his Word, and miſ-uſed his Prophets, until the wrath of the Lord roſe againſt his people, until there was no remedy.* That which made their calamities remedileſs, or as the original hath it, *incurable*, was their continual *mocking, or deſpiſing the meſſengers of their peace*, which God from time to time had ſent to heal them: So that all the calamity which enſued, was not the end intended by God, in ſending his meſſengers unto them, but the iſſue of their mocking and deſpiſing both *Phyſicians* and *Medicines*. They are the cauſe of their incurable wounds, yet was it God that did inflict them; for ſo it followeth, *ver.* 17. 18. *Therefore he brought upon them the King of the* Chaldeans, *who ſlew their young men in the houſe of their Sanctuary, and had no compaſſion upon Young Man, Maiden, or Old Man, or him that ſtooped for Age. He gave them all into his hand; and all the Veſſels of the houſe of God, great and ſmall, and the Treaſures of the Houſe of the Lord, and the Treaſures of the King and his Princes. All theſe he brought to* Babylon, *and they burnt the houſe of the Lord, and brake down the walls of* Jeruſalem, *and burnt all the Palaces thereof with fire, and deſtroyed all the goodly veſſels thereof.*

All this maſs of miſery fell upon the people of God, for whoſe Proſperity *Solomon* here prays; all the deſolation here mentioned, light on this Houſe, which he now conſecrates to be the houſe of Prayer. All this, and more became inevitable in the iſſue, but ſo it was not from the time that *Jeremy* began to Propheſie, to fore-tell, and fore-threaten it by expreſs revelation from the Lord of Heaven. One ſpecial means by which this miſery became inevitable, was that erroneous opinion or conceit, wherewith moſt of this people were poſſeſſed, to wit, that their Calamity or Proſperity was fatal; that all things were ſo predeterminated by God; that nothing could fall out otherwiſe than it did; that every thing was abſolutely neceſſary, in reſpect of Gods Decree. This was the ſymptom of their incurable diſeaſe, for whoſe cure *Jeremy* was ſent to the Potters houſe, there to receive that inſtruction from the Lord, of which we read, *Chap.* 18. The exact point of time wherein their diſeaſe (whether in whole or part) became incurable, we leave with all reverence unto him, who hath reſerv'd the knowledge of times and ſeaſons (as a ſpecial prerogative of his power) unto himſelf. *Acts* 1. 7. Yet thus much he hath revealed unto us, that every part of this calamity did not become inevitable at one and the ſame time: the ſtate of Prince and People became more dangerous than it had been, (as it were a diſeaſe recovering ſtrength from a relapſe) by their ſhuffling with God, after they had made a covenant with him, for freeing their Servants according to the tenor of his Law in that caſe provided. This breach of Covenant *Jeremy* fore-tells in thundring terms, would prove the cauſe of greater calamity, than he before had threatned; *And ye were now turned, and had done right in my ſight in proclaiming liberty every one to his Neighbour. But ye turned, and polluted my name,*

name, and cauſed every man his Servant, and his Handmaid, whom ye had ſet at liberty, at their pleaſures to return, and brought them into ſubjection, to be unto you for Servants and Handmaids. Therefore (ſaith the Lord) becauſe ye have not harkned unto me, in proclaiming liberty every one to his Brother, and to his Neighbour, behold I proclaim a liberty to you, ſaith the Lord, to the Sword, Peſtilence, and Famine, and I will make you to be removed unto all the Kingdoms of the Earth, Jerem. 34. ver. 15. 16. 17. *and* ver. 21. 22. *And* Zedekiah *King of* Judah, *and his Princes, will I give into the hands of their Enemies, and into the hand of them that ſeek their life, and into the hand of the King of* Babylons *Army, which are gone up from you. Behold, I will command (ſaith the Lord) and cauſe them to return to this City, and they ſhall fight againſt it, and take it, and burn it with fire, and I will make the City of* Judah *a deſolation without an Inhabitant.* Yet was not this ſentence, though thus uttered with indignation, as yet altogether unchangeable, much leſs was this peoples ſafety *peremptorily decreed by God,* as their falſe Prophets miſ-perſwaded them. This error concerning the Tenor of Gods Decree or Covenant, being planted in them, the *Egyptians* expedition againſt the *Chaldean* Army, for *Jeruſalems* ſuccour, might with fair applauſe be pretended, as a means ordained by God for effecting their ſafety. To quell this their vain confidence in the ſtrength of *Egypt,* the Prophet re-avoucheth his former meſſage with ſome additions, *Jer.* 37. 7. 8. 9. *This ſaith the Lord God of* Iſrael, *thus ſhall ye ſay to the King of* Judah, *that ſent you unto me to enquire of me. Behold* Pharaohs *Army which is come forth to help you, ſhall return to* Egypt, *into their own Land, and the* Chaldeans *ſhall come again and fight againſt the City, and take it, and burn it with fire; thus ſaith the Lord, deceive not your ſelves ſaying, the* Chaldeans *ſhall ſurely depart from us, for they ſhall not depart. For though ye had ſmitten the whole Army of* Chaldeans *that fight againſt you, and there remained but wounded men among them, yet ſhould they riſe up every man in his Tent, and burn this City with Fire.*

Yet was not the event here foretold at this time, altogether inevitable, but *inevitable only upon their refuſal to obey the Prophets counſel,* for after this time the ſame Prophet ſhews King *Zedekiah* a way or mean ordained by God, which if he had followed, a great part of this calamity ſo peremptorily denounced, might have been avoided, Jerm. 38. 17. *Then ſaid* Jeremiah *unto* Zedekiah, *thus ſaith the Lord God of* Iſrael, *if thou wilt as ſurely go forth unto the King of* Babylon, *then thy Soul ſhall live, and this City ſhall not be burnt with fire, and thou ſhalt live, and thine Houſe. But if thou wilt not go forth to the King of* Babylons *Princes, then ſhall this City be given into the hands of the* Chaldeans, *and they ſhall burn it with fire, and thou ſhalt not eſcape out of their hands.* This was the laſt warning which he was to expect from God, by his Prophet, for his Peace. But not harkning unto his voice, whilſt it was called to day, but ſeeking to eſcape the Judgments denounced by flight, he inevitably brought them upon himſelf, upon his Princes, upon the Temple, in a greater meaſure, eſpecially as they concerned himſelf and his houſe, than they had been threatned. When the *Chaldean* Princes entred the City, *Zedekiah,* and the Men of War, fled out of the City by night, but the *Chaldeans* Hoſt purſued after them, and overtook *Zedekiah* in the Deſert of *Jericho,* and brought him to *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babel,* unto *Riblah,* where he ſlew the Sons of *Zedekiah* before his eyes, and all the Nobles of *Judah*, a lamentable farewel to the ſenſe of ſight and liberty) for immmediately after he put out *Zedekiahs* eyes, and put him in chains, to carry him to *Babylon*, ver. 7. Thus have you heard how *Jeruſalem* and *Judah* came to a lamentable and tragical end, by diſeaſes in their Nature not incurable, but made ſuch by their own wilfulneſs, in not harkning to the voice of Gods Prophets. Did then the Wiſdom of God, who out of compaſſion ſent his Prophets unto them, whilſt the firſt Temple ſtood, come in perſon himſelf to increaſe the miſery of that Generation, with whom he converſt here on Earth, or to deſtroy the ſecond Temple with a more fearful deſtruction than had befallen the firſt? That this Generation became a prey, in the iſſue, to the Roman Vultures, was not from want of good will in him to gather them, but from their unwillingneſs to be gathered under his wings; witneſs himſelf, *Matth.* 23. 37. *Jeruſalem, Jeruſalem,* &c. But did he ſpeak this as God, or as Man? a captious queſtion. What if I ſhould ſay that it was, *vox humana*, and yet, *vox Dei*, *The voice of God uttered by Man*, the very perſonal voice of the Son of God, as Saint *Luke* teſtifies, *He ſpake as never man ſpake*, and was ſo affected towards *Jeruſalem*, as never man was affected. The Prophet *Jeremiah*, after he had ſeen that Tragedy really acted, which he had repreſented in words, did wiſh his Head had been a Fountain of Tears, that he might weep day and night, for the ſlain of his People. The Wiſdom and Son of God, became a more ſorrowful Spectator of a ſecond Tragedy of *Jeruſalem*, not as yet within forty years probability to be acted: when he came near ſaith Saint *Luke* 19. 41. he beheld the City, and wept for it, ſaying, *Oh if thou hadſt even known at the leaſt in this thy day, thoſe things which belong unto thy peace, but now they are hid from thine eyes.* Theſe his Tears, though he wept as man, were a viſible expreſſion of his divine inexpreſſible love toward *Jeruſalem* and her Inhabitants, after they had deſerved this ill at his hands, ſtifly bent to deſerve much worſe. As yet it was called to day, but this was a critical day, and full of danger, howbeit, *Jeruſalems* ſin was not ſealed up until the ſign of the Prophet *Jonas* was expired. After his Reſurrection from the dead, *Jeruſalem* had yet forty days for Repentance, as *Nineveh* had (for ſo long our Saviour remained here on Earth) but *Jeruſalems* Children not repenting within that time, as *Nineveh* did, their eſtate became as deſperate as their murmuring Fore-fathers had been in the Wilderneſs, they were to wander forty years in the Wilderneſs, before any of them could enter into the Land of Promiſe; and as many as were about twenty years, being cut off by oaths, from all hopes or poſſibilities of entring in at all. This Generation, whom our Saviour here fore-warns, were to continue in it forty years, which being expired, they and their Children have been exterminated, and baniſhed from it, for almoſt forty times forty years. During the forty years wherein they were permitted to remain in it, their eſtate was no leſs miſerable, than their Fore-fathers had been in the Wilderneſs. There dyed in the Wilderneſs, almoſt ſix hundred thouſand men; of this latter Generation, well nigh, twice as many within the ſame compaſs of time, did dye more miſerably, *Jeruſalem* being firſt made their Priſon, afterwards their Grave, firſt an heap of Carkaſſes, and then a heap of Stones. Now ſeeing, as our Apoſtle ſaith, theſe *Jews* did not ſtumble to the end that they ſhould fall, but rather that by their fall Salvation might come unto the *Gentiles*, let us beſeech our Gracious

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cious God, that from *Jeruſalems* ruine, we may in time, *and whilſt it is called to day*, ſeek the edification of his Church and Kingdom. Root out, good Lord, we beſeech thee, all *Jewiſh Affections*, and *Jewiſh Opinions*, out of the Hearts of thy People, that ſo our Prayers and Supplications, for the proſperity of thine Inheritance, and thine Anointed, may be ever acceptable in thy ſight, O Lord our ſtrength, and our Redeemer. *Amen.*

THE

THE
Second Sermon
UPON
2. Chron. 6. 39. 40.

Concerning the ſecond general propoſed, two points there be which require diſcuſſion or declaration; The firſt, whether this petition which *Solomon* here preferreth to the King of Kings, were granted according to his deſires.

The ſecond, how far the grant made to him, or how far the practices or experiments anſwerable to his petition, during the time that this temple ſtood, may concern us, or the times wherein we live. That *Solomons* petition was fully granted, firſt the equity of the matter contained in it may perſwade us; for he requeſts nothing at Gods hands which is for ſubſtance altogether new; nothing but that, which out of his free mercy and bounty he had granted unto his people before, though not ſupplicated unto in ſuch a ſolemn manner, as *Solomon* now uſeth and preſcribes as a pattern for others to uſe. When *Iſrael* was in his infancy, not able to ſpeak the Language of *Canaan*, much leſs to frame his petitions according to the ſtile and form of the Sanctuary, the God of his Father did underſtand his cry, and was always ready to give him a better anſwer than he could deſire. *The cry of the Children of* Iſrael (ſaith God) *is come unto me, and I have alſo ſeen the oppreſſion wherewith the* Egyptians *oppreſs them. Exod.*3.9. Might they have ſpoken for themſelves, the utmoſt of their requeſt had been only for ſome eaſe or mitigation of their preſent ſervitude and grievance; but God (ſo gracious is he) ſends them full deliverance, and of ſlaves makes them a free ſtate, a Royal Nation. Upon the ſight of *Pharaohs* Hoſt perſuing them, after they had been ſet free, the extremity of fear makes them deſirous rather to return unto their wonted thraldom, than to hazard their lives for attaining that liberty, whereunto God by *Moſes* had called them. Whilſt thus affected, *they cry unto the Lord, and he hears their cry*, although it were mingled with murmurings againſt *Moſes. Exod.* 14. *v.* 10. 11. True it is that *Moſes* prayed, whilſt they murmured; but God was more ready to hear, than *Moſes* to pray: and therefore he ſaith, *v.* 15. *wherefore cryeſt thou unto me*; *ſpeak unto the Children of* Iſrael *that they go forward.* But for a Maſter to redeem his own ſervants from forreign oppreſſion is not ſo ſtrange, or out of courſe. Did God then at the prayer or inſtance of his ſervant, heal his people whom he himſelf had wounded? *When the people complained, it diſpleaſed the Lord, and the Lord heard it, and his anger was kindled and the fire of the Lord burnt amongſt them, and conſumed them that were in the utmoſt parts of the Camp. Numb.* 11. 1. The diſeaſe was acute and made quick diſpatch, the medicine was as ſwift and ſpeedy; *Then the people cried unto* Moſes, *and when* Moſes *prayed unto the Lord, the fire was quenched, v.* 2. One branch of *Solomons* petition is, that when *Iſrael ſhould go forth to Battel againſt their Enemies by the way which he ſhould ſend them, that he would then hear their prayers and ſupplications,* and *judge their cauſe.* A lively pledge of Gods favour anſwerable to this branch of the Petition, and of the immediate dependance which ſucceſs in Battel hath on faithful prayers, we have in that ſtory *Exod.* 17. *v.* 9. 10. when *Joſuah* was ſent by *Moſes* appointment to fight with *Amalek, It came to paſs when* Moſes *held up his hand, that* Iſrael *prevailed, and when he let down his hand* Amalek *prevailed.* Another branch of *Solomons* petition in this place, is *v.* 24. *That when* Iſrael *ſhould be put to the worſt before their Enemies, that God would be merciful unto their ſin, when they ſhould turn again and confeſs his name and pray.* This was *Iſraels* caſe in the ſiege of *Ai, Joſuah* 17. *v.* 7. 8. *Joſuah* upon the ſight of this wound flies for ſuccour to that Medicine which *Solomon* haply from his practice preſcribes; *For he rent his Clothes, and fell on his face to the Earth before the Ark of the Lord, and cried, alas! O Lord what ſhall I ſay when* Iſrael *turneth their back before their Enemies!* God hears his Prayer, before he was willing to make an end of praying, *Get thee up, wherefore lieſt thou thus upon thy face?* and inſtructs him for reſtoring *Iſrael* to his wonted eſtate and condition, by recompencing the way of the wicked upon his own head. Firſt he makes *Achan* confeſs his ſin, and give glory unto God, and ſo removes the ſin from *Iſrael* by execution of Juſtice, which in like caſe is equivalent to prayer, at leaſt a neceſſary condition of ſucceſsful Prayers for the publick Weal and ſafety of Kingdoms.

2. If after *Joſuahs* Death we were to give a general title to the ſacred Hiſtory of enſuing times, for almoſt four hundred years, or make an Epitome of the Book of *Judges*, it could not be more brief than this, Iſrael *ſins and is given up into the hands of the Oppreſſor*; Iſrael *cries unto the Lord, and he ſends him a Judge and a deliverer:* And yet, as the ſacred Penman of that ſtory obſerves, *Iſraels* repentance always died with the Judge which God did ſend them, and could not be revived again but by renewing of affliction. One and the ſame affliction was commonly the effect of *Iſraels* ſin, and the means of *Iſraels* repentance; his ſin was the efficient, and repentance the final cauſe of their oppreſſion. And ſo gracious was God towards them, ſo ready always to hear their Prayers, that he ſeemed not to puniſh them ſo much for ſins paſt, as to continue his puniſhment until they repented. Among other calamities of eſtate whoſe cure or remedy *Solomon* here ſeeks, the Plague of Peſtilence is one, *v.* 28. with this the land was grievouſly ſmitten, even from *Dan* to *Berſheba*, in his Father *Davids* days, by the immediate hand of God, and in particular for his Fathers ſin in numbring the people. Yet when *David* confeſſed his ſin, and thus prayed, *Behold I have ſinned, yea I have done wickedly, but theſe ſheep what have they done? Let thine hand I pray thee be againſt me and againſt my Fathers Houſe, v.* 17. the Lord was appeaſed towards the land, and the Plague ceaſed from *Iſrael.* So

ready was God always to hear the Prayers of this people, when they turned unto him, before this Temple was built.

The ſum then of *Solomons* Petition is, that the Lord would be pleaſed to give his people ſome particular or new aſſurance, for continuing his wonted mercies or bleſſings unto them; and that this Houſe which he had built, might be as a publick Court of Audience, a place wherein it might be free for every man, and for all *Iſrael*, to exhibit the petitions of his heart to his God, and to receive anſwer from him. And ſo we may obſerve, that from this time forward the conſecration of this Houſe, and the ſolemnity which *Solomon* here uſed, did come into the ſtyle and form of this peoples Prayers, made as it were an additional to the Covenant *with Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob.* But what expreſs proof have we, that *Solomons* own prayers at this time, for theſe prerogatives of this Houſe were heard? This fully appears from the ſubſequent miracle, wherewith this petition was ſigned as with the immediate hand of God, 2. *Ch.* 7. 1, 2. *Now when* Solomon *had made an end of praying, the fire came down from Heaven, and conſumed the burnt offring, and the ſacrifices, and the glory of the Lord filled the Houſe: and the Prieſts could not enter into the Houſe of the Lord, becauſe the glory of the Lord had filled the Houſe.* This kind of anſwer by fire was always moſt ſatisfactory to the buſineſs or proceedings that were or might be in queſtion; by this anſwer God did determine the controverſies between *Elias* and *Baals Prieſts*; by the like effect of fire from Heaven (conſuming the fat of the Sacrifice) the calling of *Aaron* to the Prieſthood, by Gods immediate appointment, not by man, was put out of queſtion. And ſo was the conſecration of the Son of God to his Everlaſting Prieſthood, confirmed by the viſible apparition of the Holy Ghoſt in tongues of fire, which was the accompliſhment of both the former miraculous apparitions from Heaven, the one at the Conſecration of *Aaron*, the other at the Conſecration of this material Temple.

3. But admitting every branch of *Solomons* Petition was on Gods part fully granted; yet will it be demanded, whether the practice did purſue the grant, or what remarkable ſucceſs or iſſue the practice found? To both parts of this demand, two or three inſtances, which are upon ſacred record, will ſuffice. The firſt from the practice of good *Jehoſaphat*, in that ſtrange exigence or extremity of danger, whereunto the Kingdom of *Judah* was brought in his days, by the malicious Confederacy of *Moab, Ammon, and Mount Seir.* As was the danger, ſo was this good Kings fear, exceeding great; and the greater it was, the better motive he had to pray more heartily, according to that pattern which *Solomon* preſcribes, 2. *Chron.* 20. 5. *&c. And* Jehoſaphat *ſtood in the Congregation of* Judah *and* Jeruſalem, *in the Houſe of the Lord, before the new Court, and ſaid, O Lord God of our Fathers, art not thou God in Heaven, and ruleſt not thou over all the Kingdoms of the Heathen? And in thine hand is there not power and might, ſo that none is able to withſtand thee? Art not thou our God who didſt drive out the Inhabitants of this land before thy people* Iſrael, *and gaveſt it the ſeed of* Abraham *thy friend for ever? And they dwelt therein, and have built thee a Sanctuary therein for thy name, ſaying, if when evil cometh upon us, as the Sword, Judgment, or Peſtilence, or Famine, we ſtand before this Houſe and in thy preſence, (for thy name is in this Houſe) and cry unto thee in our affliction, that thou wilt hear and help, &c.* As the form of his prayer was peculiar, ſuch as was not uſed

before this houſe was built, ſo the ſucceſs was extraordinary, and ſuch as this people had never taſted before, unleſs it were in the deſtruction of *Pharaoh*, and his mighty Army. The victory which *Gideon* had over the *Midianites* was miraculous, in reſpect of their multitude which was vanquiſhed, and of their paucity which vanquiſhed them: yet in that miraculous deliverance, there was the Sword of the *Lord*, and the Sword of *Gideon*. They fought for victory, but in this mighty diſcomfiture of Three Nations more potent than *Midian*, which had combined for the overthrow of *Judah*, there was only the arm of the Lord; the uſe of mans Sword, or arm of Fleſh, is utterly prohibited by the Prophet *Jahaziel, ver.* 17. *Ye ſhall not need to fight in this Battel, ſet your ſelves, ſtand ye ſtill, and ſee the Salvation of the Lord with you.* All that *Jehoſophats* royal preſence, or perſon did undertake, or perform, for the accompliſhment of this victory promiſed, was, to exhort his people, not to be valiant in fight, but to put their confidence in the Lord of Hoſts, ver. 20. *They roſe early in the morning, and went forth into the Wilderneſs of* Tekoah: *And as they went forth,* Jehoſaphat *ſtood and ſaid, Hear me, O* Judah, *and the Inhabitants of* Jeruſalem, *believe in the Lord your God, ſo ſhall you be eſtabliſhed, believe his Prophets, ſo ſhall ye proſper.* And ſo they did. For this victory was more compleat, and more beneficial to the King, and People, than any victory which *David* had gotten over the Enemies of God, though purchaſed with his Peoples blood. For as it is, *ver.* 25. *When* Jehoſaphat *and his people came to take away the ſpoil of them, they found amongſt them in abundance, both riches with the dead bodies, and pretious jewels (which they ſtript off for themſelves) more than they could carry away, and they were three days in gathering of the ſpoil, it was ſo much.* For the Lord mighty in Battel, had turned the ſtrength, and weapons of death and war, which theſe Confederates had prepared againſt *Judah*, upon themſelves. The moſt remarkable circumſtance, in this Sacred Story, was, that the coals and fire of that fatal diſſention, which brought univerſal deſtruction upon theſe three Armies, did then begin to kindle, when the men of *Judah* and *Jeruſalem*, began to praiſe the Lord with ſweet Harmony, as well of heart and ſpirit, as of voice, *v* 23. *When they began to ſing and praiſe, the Lord ſet ambuſhments againſt the Children of* Ammon, *and* Moab, *and* Mount Seir, *which were come againſt* Judah, *and they were ſmitten. For the Children of* Ammon, *and* Moab, *ſtood up againſt the Inhabitants of* Mount Seir, *utterly to deſtroy, and ſlay them, and when they had made an end of the Inhabitants of* Mount Seir, *every one helped to deſtroy another.* Such power there is in the Songs of the Sanctuary, when they are rightly ſet by the Prieſt, and taken up by unanimous conſent of Prince, and People, united in heart, with the fear of God, and with loving affection one towards another, and towards Gods Church. Here was more than an accompliſhment of that branch of *Solomons* Petition in this Chapter, *ver.* 34. They went out indeed, unto their Enemies, and by the way which God had appointed them, but the way which he had now appointed them, was not to fight with them, but to believe in him, who can ſave us, as well with a few, as with many; and can maintain the cauſe of his people, as well without the induſtry or endeavours of man, as with them. And for this cauſe *Jehoſaphat*, and his people did praiſe him with like confidence, for the aſſurance which he had given them by his Prophet of future Victory, as if it had been already gotten.

A victory, or defeat of the Enemy, without the active endeavours of men, fully parallel to this we have in the 2. of *Kings Chap.*19. *v.*15 to wit, the great diſcomfiture of *Senacheribs* Army, which had for a long time beſieged *Jeruſalem*. Such was the ſucceſs of *Hezekiahs* Prayers, which were conceived in that form which *Solomon* here preſcribes, and uttered in this houſe, which he now conſecrates. *And* Hezekiah *prayed before the Lord, and ſaid, O Lord God of* Iſrael, *which dwelleſt between the* Cherubins, *thou art the God, even thou alone, of all the Kingdoms of the Earth, thou haſt made Heaven and Earth, Lord bow down thine Ear, and hear. Open Lord thine Eyes, and ſee, and hear the word of* Senacherib, *which hath ſent him to reproach the living God,* ver. 15.16. To this Petition he receives this anſwer, ver. 32. *Thus ſaith the Lord, concerning the King of* Aſſyria, *he ſhall not come into this City, nor ſhoot an Arrow there, nor come before it with ſhield, nor caſt a bank againſt it. By the way that he came, the ſame ſhall he return, and ſhall not come into this City, ſaith the Lord. For I will defend this City, to ſave it, for mine own ſake, and for my ſervant* Davids *ſake.* The like joyful deliverance was obtained by the Prayers of *Eliſha*, in that ſtreight ſiege of *Samaria*, and the Famine, wherewith the City was ſo grievouſly pinched, was ſuddenly turned into ſuch plenty, that whereas an Aſſes Head had been ſold one day for forty pieces of Silver, the morrow after, two meaſures of Barley, and a meaſure of Wheat flowr, was ſold for a Shekel, 2 *Kings* 6. 25. and 7. 18. Heaven, we read, was ſhut up for three years in *Eliſas*'s time, the Earth was chapped, and the land of *Iſrael* wounded with Famine, for want of rain. Heaven is opened again by *Elias* his Prayer, and the Land refreſhed, 1 *Kings* 17. 1, 18, 45. So that there is not one branch of *Solomons* Petition, which the Lord did not really accompliſh, when this people prayed unto him, as *Solomon* preſcribes them.

Through want of ſuch Prayers as *Solomon* here makes, or, at leaſt, for want of that Faith, by which the Prayers of *Jehoſaphat*, *Hezekiahs* and the *Prophets* were conceived, *Jehoiakim*, *Zedekiah*, &c. found no ſuch ſucceſs, or deliverance in their diſtreſs, as theſe two godly Princes had done.

But ſome men, the better they believe theſe Sacred Stories, concerning the infallible ſucceſs of the Kings of *Judah*'s godly prayers; The more prone they will be to queſtion in what caſes, how far, or whether at all, the undoubted grant of *Solomons* Petition may any way concern us, or the times wherein we live.

The queſtion may ſeem more pertinent, or rather, the ſecond general point propoſed by us, may ſeem more queſtionable, or, (more than queſtionable) altogether impertinent; becauſe, moſt of theſe victories, or deliverances, which *Judah* or *Iſrael* obtained by Prayers, were miraculous; ſuch as far exceed the force of natural cauſes, or means ordinary, and which are without the reach, or contrivance of Policy. And what aſſurance then can we have, that our Prayers ſhall be anſwered with like ſucceſs, unleſs we may believe, or hope, that even our Prayers or Supplications may procure true miracles: but miracles have altogether, or for the moſt part, ceaſed for theſe later times; in which, for this reaſon, that Song of the *Pſalmiſt* might be more fitly taken up, than the practice of *Solomon*, or the Kings of *Judah*; *We have heard with our Ears, and our Fathers have declared unto us the noble works, which thou didſt in their days, and in the old time before them.*

Thus to complain of the times wherein we live, in reſpect of former, all of us are by nature too prone; and this proneneſs is one ſpecial means, by which the fervency of better Spirits devotion, is ſo much dampned: yet *Solomon* hath told us, that we are but fooliſh Inquiſitors; And if but fooliſh Inquiſitors, then certainly no competent judges in this caſe.

To ſay, that theſe times are not more corrupt than former, were to flatter them; enough to convince us of being time-ſervers; yet to complain of them, or to lament them, as Men do which have no hope, or aſſurance in Gods Promiſes, were to accuſe God; a ſpice of infidelity. Certainly, there is no fault in the times, or in the places, wherein we live, but ſuch as we our ſelves reſpectively infuſe into them, ſome by wickedneſs of life, others by impious or ungodly opinions.

Let us then ſo uſe our freedom, in ſpeaking the truth of the Times wherein we live, that we do not ſlander the Eternal Diſpenſer of Times and Seaſons; that we caſt no aſperſions upon his Fatherly care and Providence. God hath not forgotten to be as good, and gracious unto our Times, as he hath been unto former Ages; but we have forgotten to be thankful unto him; we either are diſtruſtful of our ſelves, or, for the moſt part, teach others to diſtruſt the extent of his goodneſs, whoſe certain belief muſt be the root of Prayers, as well for Bleſſings Spiritual, as Temporal.

There is no ſpeedier way, or ſhorter cut unto Gods curſe, or vengeance, than by deſtruſting his goodneſs towards our ſelves, or by denying the fruits of it unto others.

But to the *Quære* propoſed, How far the grant of *Solomons* Petition may concern our ſelves, or the times wherein we live, the anſwer is ready; Our preſent intereſt in that grant, our aſſurance in Gods Promiſes for Bleſſings Temporal *to that People*, may be as great, our deliverance from dangers imminent, and unavoidable to the apprehenſion of man, may be as certain, and infallible, as theirs was; albeit God doth not in particular promiſe ſuccour, or work our ſafety by the ſame, and like means as he did theirs.

Admit then it were an Article of our Creed (as it is not) that Miracles in theſe later times have ceaſed, may not upon any exigence be expected, that to ſeek after ſuch ſigns, and wonders, as were given then, were a tempting of God, as in truth it is no better; yet all this ought not to weaken our aſſurance, that the iſſue of our Prayers (ſo they be as faithful as theirs were) ſhall be as joyful to our ſelves, as beneficial to the State and Kingdom, as *Jehoſaphats* and *Hezekiahs* Prayers were. *Gods* goodneſs towards us, his Providence over us, is ſtill the ſame, and our belief of this his goodneſs, if in us it be true, and ſound, 'tis the ſame it was in them; ſo will the iſſue be the ſame, either in kind, or by equivalency. Whether the like iſſue, or ſucceſs be wrought by means ordinary, or extraordinary, is meerly accidental to the certainty of it; Not to embrace the works of his wiſdom with as thankful hearts, as *Iſrael* did the works of his power, would be childiſh and pettiſh.

Hopes of ſucceſs, whether by means ordinary or miraculous, muſt in all Ages be grounded upon the ſame Article of Faith, but not at all times upon the ſame branch of the ſame Article. It is he that made us, which only can preſerve us, and while we profeſs that it is he that made us, and not we our ſelves, that he is the Maker of all things viſible, and inviſible, we include as much as the Apoſtle ſaith, and ſomewhat more than he expreſſeth in theſe words, *In him we move, live, and have our being*, which contain the three ſpecial branches of Gods Power.

Miracles, properly ſo called, conſiſt in ſome extraordinary manifeſtation of Gods Power, either adding ſomewhat unto, or ſubtracting ſomewhat from the ordinary efficacy of Inſtrumental Cauſes, or obſervable courſe of nature. All miracles may be reduced to ſuch manifeſtation either of Gods Creative, or his conſervative, or co-operative Power.

Sampſons ſtrength, or atchievements were truly miraculous, and did ſuppoſe an addition of force ſupernatural to his native activity, or extraordinary meaſure of Gods co-working power.

The Victory, which *Joſuah* got over the *Amorites*, was after this manner miraculous. There was a power more than natural, as well in the motion as in the making of thoſe great ſtones, wherewith the *Amorites* were beaten down. The *three Children* again were preſerved untoucht, in the midſt of the flaming furnace, by true miracle, or extraordinary manifeſtation of Gods power; But this conſiſted not in the addition of any ſupernatural forces unto it, but in the meer ſubtraction of Gods co-working power, without ſubtraction of his creative, or conſerving power; for ſo it had ceaſed not only to burn, but to be fire. The ſudden withering of *Jeroboams* hand was a true miracle, but did conſiſt in the ſubtraction of Gods preſerving power, that is, that branch of his power, in which, as the Apoſtle ſpeaks, all things live that are endowed with life.

That God hath thus wrought the ſafety of his Servants, and yet is able to work by theſe, or the like more miraculous means, we do believe, in that we believe he is the Almighty maker of Heaven, and Earth. But beſides that abſolute dependance which every particular creature hath on theſe branches of his power, by which their ſeveral efficacies may be extraordinarily increaſed, or diminiſhed, there is an eſſential ſubordination of all the ſeveral ranks of his Creatures, with whatſoever ſtrength or efficacy they be endowed, unto his providence; as in wiſdom he made them all, ſo in wiſdom he marſhalleth, and ordereth them all.

Now the contrivance of means, or agents, for their nature, or kind but ordinary, may be more admirable, than miracles properly ſo called, that is, than his particular works of wonder.

Miracles are in their nature more apt to affect the ſence, but the ſweet contrivances of Gods wiſdom, and providence do more affect the underſtanding. The one works aſtoniſhment, the other admiration. For this reaſon were miracles more frequent in the Infancy of the Church, as an awful kind of diſcipline to inforce unbelievers to give audience unto the word of life, and to take Gods promiſes (which would otherwiſe be ſleighted) into ſerious conſideration.

But the ways of Gods wiſdom, or ſweet diſpoſition of his providence, are more apt to cheriſh the ſeed of life being ſowen in mens hearts. Miracles by continual frequency would ceaſe to be miracles, would not be wondred at; whereas the unſearchable ways of Gods wiſdom, or his indiſſolvable contrivances of extraordinary ſucceſs, by means ordinary, will unceſſantly breed in us matter of admiration. His ways and contrivances are ſtill in one kind or other moſt admirable, but we want eyes, or will, to contemplate, or obſerve them. Yet let us ſee whether the greateſt deliverances, which God wrought for his Children of *Iſrael*, beſides that one in bringing them out of the Land of *Egypt*, were not wrought by means ordinary and uſual, if we reſpect their particular or ſeveral agencies, and admirable and extraordinary only for their combination, and contrivance. *When the Lord turned again the Captivity of* Sion, *we were like them that dream. Then was our mouth fill'd with laughter, and our tongues with ſinging. Then ſaid they among the Heathen, the Lord hath done great things for them: yea the Lord hath done great things for us already, whereof we rejoice. Pſal.* 120. *v.* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. This was indeed a great deliverance, and ſo to be acknowledged by all poſterity. For ſo the Prophet had foretold, *Jer.* 23. 7. *Behold the day is come, ſaith the Lord, that they ſhall no more ſay, the Lord liveth, which brought forth the Children of* Iſrael *out of the Land of* Egypt; *But, the Lord liveth, which brought up, and which led the ſeed of the Houſe of* Iſrael *out of the North Country, and from all Countries, whither I had driven them, and they ſhall dwell in their own Land.*

Not to make compariſon betwixt the mighty works of God, or not to queſtion whether according to the literal meaning of this Prophecy, the fame or freſh memory of this ſecond deliverance out of *Chaldey*, ſhould eclipſe the fame of the former out of *Egypt*; This is certain and unqueſtionable, that this latter deliverance was a moſt exact parallel to the former. And yet, if we could exactly calculate all the particular means, which did concur to the ſurpriſal of *Babylon* by *Cyrus*, or to *Cyrus* his ſetting this people free, we ſhould not find one miraculous effect among them; And yet if we would but ſeriouſly compare all the circumſtances and concurrences of ſecond cauſes, which *Herodotus* and *Xenophon* relate, with the ſacred predictions concerning *Cyrus* his good ſucceſs againſt *Babylon*, the intire contrivance of them is moſt admirable; and ſuch as would give us a more pleaſant view, or model of Gods infinite wiſdom, than Miracles can do of his infinite Power.

Again, in that deliverance of the *Jews* from *Hamans* Conſpiracy, there is no extraordinary manifeſtation of Gods power, no particular cauſe, or agent, was in its working advanced above the ordinary pitch of nature; and yet the contrivance, or ſuiting of theſe ordinary agents, appointed by God, is more admirable, than if the ſame end had been effected by means truly miraculous. For a King not to take kindly reſt by night, though in a Bed of eaſe, is not unuſual. For a King, again, to ſeek to ſolace his waking thoughts, by hearing the Annals of his Kingdom, or the Journals of his own Reign read unto him, is more commendable, than rare; But that King *Aſſuerus* ſhould lye awake at that time ſpecially, when *Haman* did watch and plot the deſtruction of the *Jews*, that cauſing the *Chronicles* of his Kingdom to be read, the Reader ſhould light on the place wherein *Mordecai* his unrewarded good ſervice, in diſcovering the treaſon intended againſt the Kings perſon, was recorded; this was from the Keeper of *Iſrael* who neither ſlumbereth nor ſleepeth, and who was marvellous in his peoples ſight.

It was his doing likewiſe, that *Heſter*, though by *Mordecai's* advice, ſhould conceal her Nation and Parentage, until ſhe came in ſuch high favour with the King, That Queen *Vaſhti* ſhould be diſplaced, and ſhe preferred, about the ſame time wherein *Haman* was advanced, and by his advancement enabled to do a remedileſs miſchief to the *Jewiſh Nation* had not the Lord (as the wiſe man ſpeaks) *made one thing againſt another.*

If we would rightly ſurvey that rare deliverance of *Jehoſaphat* and his people before mentioned, the particular means, by which it was wrought, were but ordinary, not miraculous: but the co-incidence, or concurrence of ſuch means was more than miraculous. Seeing the ſpirit of God hath concealed the particular occaſions of that unexpected hoſtility, between the Children of *Ammon*, and *Moab*, and the *Edomites*; we have no reaſon to ſuſpect them to have been any other, than ſuch as the Lord heretofore hath wrought, and yet may work between the Confederate Enemies of this Kingdoms Peace, for our good, if we ſhall be thankful; or between our Friends, or Confederates for the advantage of the Enemy, if we ſhall continue Enemies unto our God. In a word, in that rare and admirable deliverance, there was no particular care, or unuſual in reſpect of thoſe times, unleſs it were *Jehoſaphats*, and his Nobles firm reliance, not to the arm of fleſh, or probable appearance of means ordinary, but upon the mercy, and loving kindneſs of the Lord; in whoſe wiſdom they knew was treaſured up variety of means ordinary, unknown to them, as all-ſufficient to ſave, as if the whole Armory of his power, by working miracles, had been uſed for their defence.

If Chriſtian ſtates would throughly parallel *Jehoſaphat* and *Judah* in this; God in this Age would parallel the ſucceſs by the like extraordinary diſpoſitions of means ordinary. As his mercy endureth for ever, ſo the treaſure of his wiſdom, for effecting their good which love him, is inexhauſtible. It is not neceſſary that he ſhould interpoſe his Creative Power, or work miracles for bringing forth ſucceſs extraordinary, and miraculous; For of means ordinary, whereof he hath infinite ſtore already Created, a ſmall number, by his all-ſeeing diſpoſition, may ſuffice for any purpoſe. He can without miracles ſave with a few, as well as with many.

The Letters, or Elements of all ſpeech, or language are not many; few more in number than the years of our youth, or non-age; yet the poſſible compoſitions of theſe few are ſo various, and copious, as to afford ſeveral words, ſufficient not only to ſignify the diverſity of things that are by name, but to expreſs their natures, and properties; enough to decipher all the actions or undertakings of men throughout all Ages.

How unſearchable then are his ways? how incomprehenſible the ſecret courſes, by which he brings calamity or proſperity upon any Nation; who can with greater facility compoſe the ſeveral ranks of his Creature, even all things that are, than the *Printer* can do his few Letters.

And albeit all the viſible means which may be thought to conſpire for our woe, or for our weal, may be, to mans apprehenſion, apparently the ſame which have been manifeſted in former times, yet his wiſdom, by ſecret addition, or ſubtraction of ſome petty occurrences, may quite alter the ſucceſs, which from ſome former models we fear, or hope, with leſs ado, than a critick, permitted to correct a Preſs, can do the ſence and meaning of the exacteſt Writer, by the diſpunction or inverſion of points or letters. How many devices ſoever there be in man's heart, yet as *Prov.* 19. 21. *Solomon* ſaith, *there is a Counſel of the Lord and that muſt ſtand.*

It was a grave Chriſtian-like advice, which the Heathen *Cambyſes*, from ſome broken apprehenſions of the great wiſdom of his *Gods*, or *Divine Powers*, did give unto *Cyrus* his Son, when he firſt undertook

that

that quarrel with the *Armenians*, which gave occaſion to that great War, which by the counſel of the Lord, he happily accompliſhed againſt *Babylon*. The ſum of his advice was this, *That he ſhould run no hazard either of his own perſon, or of his charge, without ſacrificing to the Gods, and receiving directions from them. For men* (ſaith he) *in the choice of their actions, or undertakings, do but rove by gueſs, not acquainted with the Fountains, whence true goodneſs muſt be derived, or the ſecret iſſues by which it runs.*

Many inſtances he there brings of men which had wit, or power to compaſs the particulars which they moſt effected, which yet have ſtrangely miſcarried in the main chance, and as it were, ran-counter from that end, or mark at which all men by nature make aim.

The reſultance of his many inſtances, or his experiments to this purpoſe, is, *That humane wiſdom* (*at the beſt*) *hath no more skill to chuſe what is beſt for it ſelf, than as if a man ſhould come to a Lottery, where he muſt be content with the Lot which he draws; he hath a freedom of will, or power to chuſe this before that, but none to make the prize of what he chuſeth; that was ſet before. But as for the Immortal Gods, they know all things as well paſt as to come, and will direct their Friends, being conſulted, to chuſe that which is good, and decline evil. But as for ſuch as are not their Friends, there is no neceſſity that they ſhould take the like care for them.*

We may add, though all men by Nature be enemies unto the true and only God; yet is there no neceſſity laid upon any ſo to continue. All the Nations of the Earth have better means of reconciliation unto God, than the Temple of *Hieruſalem*, or the ſervice of it was unto the Nation of the *Jews*, wherein it ſtood: God, ſaith the Apoſtle, *was in Chriſt* reconciling (not this or that man) *but the world unto himſelf*. All the Nations of the Earth, as you heard before, had their intereſt in the Temple built by *Solomon*: The demoliſhing of it, or the ſecond Temple built by *Zerubbabel*, re-edified and adorned by *Herod*, can be no prejudice to any particular Nation of the Earth, much leſs to any Chriſtian Nation, leſt of all to this moſt Orthodoxal Nation.

But what? Is that way, or means of Reconciliation unto God, which we now have, more excellent than the *Jewiſh* Nation had, whilſt *Solomons* Temple ſtood? Certainly the Son of God did uſe no *Sophiſm* or *Æquivocation*; He ſpake more than *Metaphors*, even Sacred Myſteries, when he ſaid unto the *Jews*, *Deſtroy this Temple, and in three days I will raiſe it up*, John 2. 19. For albeit his words, as the *Evangeliſt inſtructs us*, were literally meant of the Temple of his body; and though the *Jews* did perniciouſly erre in not conſtruing them ſo; yet the ſame words had a farther Emblematical, Myſtical, or Spiritual ſenſe, importing, thus much, that the *Jews*, by deſtroying the Temple of his body, ſhould deſtroy that very Temple wherein they truſted, and that within three days it ſhould be raiſed with him, to a more excellent ſtate, or manner of being than it had.

The material Temple was ſigned, or marked unto deſtruction, by the rending of the vail at the hour of his death: and though the viſible building, or ſo much of it as was the work of mans hands did ſtand for forty years after; yet it ſtood but as a Carkaſs, the Soul and Spirit of it was tranſlated unto the Temple of his body. For as he ſaid, *Veios habitante Camillo illic Roma fuit.* Rome *was at* Veii *whilſt* Camillus, in whom the life and ſpirit of the Ancient *Romans* did then wholly reſide,

ſide, *had his reſidence in that Town.* Or as we ſay, *The Kings Royal preſence makes the Court*: So was it always the immediate or peculiar preſence of God, by way of inhabitation, which made that goodly Edifice, which *Solomon* now erected, to be the Temple or Sanctuary, the Houſe of Prayer.

Now from the time of our Saviours death, *God* withdrew his extraordinary preſence from the Temple made with hands; all the priviledges wherewith it was endowed, and the ſecret influence of his *Grace*, are now wholly treaſured up in the Sun of Righteouſneſs, or in the Body of Chriſt, in whom, as the Apoſtle ſpeaks, *the God-head dwelleth bodily*. *God* is not ſo preſent in any other body or place, as he was in the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, not preſent any where by way of inhabitation, ſave only in the Body of Chriſt, and in the members of it, that is, his Church.

But in as much as God is by ſuch ſpecial manner preſent in *Chriſts* manhood, our acceſs unto him, in all our troubles and diſtreſs, is more immediate than *Solomons*, or his people had any. They were to pray in the material Temple, or towards it; their Prayers had no other acceſs to Heaven, than as it were by way of *Eccho* from the Earthly Temple, and though by this way they found a true acceſs unto Heaven; yet had they not altogether the ſame acceptance there, as ours now have, or might have.

Solomon, indeed, *beſeeched God*, here in my Text, *that his eyes might be open, and his ears attent unto the Prayers, which were made in this place*, to wit, *in the houſe which he had built*. But this he ſpake, ἀνθρωποπαθῶς, *after the manner of men*. For God had not then the eyes of men, to look upon men, nor the ears of man, as now he hath, to entertain the Prayers of men.

This is our ſpecial comfort, that the Son of God, that very Lord unto whom *Solomon* directs his Prayer, is become our High Prieſt, *Not ſuch an High Prieſt as cannot be touched with the feeling of our Infirmities, but was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without ſin*. He hath his Temple, or Sanctuary *at the right hand of his Father*, Acts 3.26. where he ſits to pray for us, as *Solomon* did for his people in his name.

Yea, but he is placed there, as the Apoſtle ſpeaks, *To bleſs us with all Spiritual bleſſings*, and what are theſe to Bleſſings of *States* and *Kingdoms*, for which *Solomon* here prays? Much every way; or rather, all in all. For if Bleſſings Spiritual include godlineſs in them, they have Bleſſings Temporal annexed unto them, as appurtenances, *Godlineſs*, ſaith the Apoſtle, *is profitable unto all things, having the promiſe of the life that now is, and of that which is to come*, 1 Tim. 4. 8.

THREE

[illegible]

[illegible] serve it habitually to [illegible]

[illegible] first from the Scripture that every true [illegible]

[illegible] pray for us as Jesus did for his people in his name, [illegible] there, as the Apostle speaks, to suffer with [illegible] when we then [illegible] sisters and [illegible] which every way, or rather, [illegible] blessings spiritual include godliness in them, they [illegible] annexed unto them, as appurtenances; God- [illegible] profitable unto all things, having the promise [illegible] of that which is to come, 1 Tim. 4. 8.

[illegible]

THREE SERMONS PREACHED

Before the

KING,

UPON

JEREMIAH 26. 19.

BY

THOMAS JACKSON Doctor in Divinity, and Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majeſty.

FOR
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LONDON,
Printed by *J. Macock*, for *John Martyn*, *Richard Chiſwell*, and
Joſeph Clarke, 1672.

THREE
SERMONS,
PREACHED
Before the
KING.

JEREMIAH 26. Ver. 19.

Did he not fear the Lord, and beſought the Lord; and the Lord repented him of the evil which he had pronounced againſt them?

THE Text is part of an Apology for the Prophet *Jeremiah*, againſt whom the Prieſts, and Prophets, and all the people had pronounced this peremptory ſentence, *v.* 8.9. *Thou ſhalt ſurely dye; why haſt thou Propheſied in the name of the Lord, ſaying, this houſe ſhall be like* Shilo, *and this City ſhall be deſolate without an Inhabitant.* But this ſentence you ſhall find reverſed or contradicted by the Princes and all the People, *v.* 16. *Then ſaid the Princes, and all the People, unto the Prieſts and Prophets, this man is not worthy to dye, for he hath ſpoken unto us in the name of the Lord our God.* The ſcales of Juſtice being thus far turned the right way, the Elders and Sages of the Land ſought to keep them at the point whereto they were drawn (more through vehemency of preſent motion, than by permanent weight of reaſon) by alledging a former rule beyond exception. All that the Prieſts and Prophets could pretend, why *Jeruſalem* having made her ſelf equal to *Shilo* in ſin, might not be made equal to her in puniſhment, was this; That albeit *Shiloh* had been the place of Gods reſt, the Town or City, where the Ark of his Covenant did reſide, yet it never had the Title or Priviledge of the place which God had choſen to place his name in. This was *Jeruſalems* prerogative amongſt all the Cities of *Iſrael*. But what prerogative ſoever *Ieruſalem* did from this title enjoy, theſe had been the ſame in the days of *Hezekiah* which now they were. And if in the the judgment of *Hezekiah*, and the ſtate of *Judah*, it were lawful for *Micah* to threaten, that *Sion ſhould be plowed as a Field; that* Jeruſalem *ſhould become heaps, and the Mountain of the Houſe, like the high places of the Foreſt.* It could be no capital crime in *Jeremiah* to ſay, that the Lord would make the Temple like *Shiloh*, and *Jeruſalem* a curſe to all the Nations of the Earth. Now *Hezekiah*, and the ſtate of *Judah* (as theſe Elders alledge) were ſo far from putting *Micah* to death,

death, that *Hezekiah* for his part, did fear the Lord and beſought the Lord. And when it is ſaid, he feared the Lord, it is included that he did not only patiently hear the Prophet, but truly believe him. For the fear of the Lord in this place is neither to be extended further, nor contracted narrower than thus; he feared leſt the Lord ſhould put the Judgments denounced by *Micah* in ſpeedy execution, and as is probable, by *Sennacherib* King of *Aſſyria.* By what means ſoever the likelyhood was that this Judgment ſhould be put in execution; the only means which *Hezekiah* reſolveth upon for avoiding or preventing it, was hearty and unfeigned Prayers. *Did he not fear the Lord, and beſought the Lord? &c.* In this his reſolution and ſucceſs, theſe four particulars preſent themſelves to your conſiderations;

Firſt, His wiſdom in making choice of Prayer before and above all other means, which the opportunity of thoſe times might ſuggeſt.

Secondly, What advantagious ſucceſs did accrue from fear unto the efficacy of his Prayers? or, how fear of Gods Judgments doth prepare mens hearts to pray?

Thirdly, Of the juſt occaſion of his and his peoples fear; or of others fear in like caſe.

Fourthly, In what ſenſe God is ſaid to repent.

If I ſhould ſay that *Hezekiah* in thus doing did ſhew himſelf a godly and religious King, none would deny it; but to ſay, he was in this a wiſe and politick King, this will not be granted. For what policy was there in fearing and praying? Every Coward is capable of the former; and he is a very Fool that, when other means fail, cannot practiſe the latter. Muſt we then decline all trial of his wiſdom by the received rule of humane policy? This we might do, but this we need not do. For the depth of his wiſdom and policy will appear if we meaſure it by that rule, or ſcale of that policy which the wiſemen of this World hold in greateſt admiration. For ſo a great maſter of the art of policy tells us, that when any ſtate or Kingdom is either weakned by means internal, as by the ſloath, the negligence or careleſsneſs of the Governours (as diſeaſes grow in mens bodies by degrees inſenſible, for want of exerciſe or good dyet) or whether they be wounded by cauſes external; the only method for recovering their former ſtrength and dignity is, *ut omnia ad ſua principia revocentur, by giving life unto the fundamental Laws and ancient Cuſtoms.* As for new inventions, what depth or ſubtilities ſoever they carry, unleſs they ſuit well with the fundamental Laws or Cuſtoms of the ſtate wherein they practiſe, they prove in the iſſue but like empyrical Phyſick, which agrees not with the natural diſpoſition or cuſtomary dyet of the party to whom it is miniſtred. Of the former Aphoriſm you have many *probatums* in the ancient Roman ſtate; So have ye of the latter in the ſtate of *Italy,* about the time wherein *Machiavel* wrote (if we may believe him) in his own profeſſion. Admit then the rule or method were (as, for ought I have to ſay, it is) without exception, yet the ſucceſs of the practice (how conformable ſoever to the rule) muſt ſtill depend on that meaſure of goodneſs which is contained in the fundamental laws or primeval Cuſtoms of every Nation. If theſe be but comparatively good, the ſucceſs of the practice cannot be abſolute: If they be but ſeemingly good, or mixed with evil; the great Philoſopher treating of this ſubject hath foretold the ſucceſs, ἀνάγκη πότε χρόνῳ ἐκ τῶν ψευδῶς ἀγαθῶν ἀληθὲς ἐκβῆναι κακόν, *whatſoever is either falſly or but ſeemingly good, will in revolution of time*

time bring forth effects truly and really evil. If the fundamental Laws of any ſtate be not firm or ſound, whatſoever elſe is laid upon them, there lies a neceſſity of ſinking with their own weight. Where the *baſis* is but narrow, the *faſtigium* or roof cannot be high. Or where the foundation is both firm and ſpacious, yet if the ſtructure be ſet awry, with every degree of height it gets, there grows a parallel degree of inclination to its ſudden downfal. Now if *Hezekiah* in making choice of prayer before any other means of policy, did practiſe according to the former rule, that is, as the ancient Laws of that Kingdom, and Rules of Government preſcribed by his Anceſtors did direct him, he was more politickly wiſe than any Prince of other Nations in theſe times could be: than any at this day can be, beſides ſuch as have the like Fundamental Laws, or take his practice in like exigence for their pattern. For the Fundamental Laws of his Kingdom were abſolutely good, as being immediately given by God himſelf. The beſt Laws of other Nations were but the inventions of men. Hence ſaith the Pſalmiſt, *Pſal.* 147. *v.* 19. *He ſheweth his word unto* Jacob, *his Statutes and Ordinances unto* Iſrael. Yet *Moſes* preſumed that other Nations, which had no knowledge of their Laws in particular, ſhould from the happy ſucceſs which was to attend their due obſervance, acknowledge in general that their Laws were more righteous, and able to make this people wiſer than other Nations could be. For ſo *Moſes* had ſaid *Deut.* 4. 5. *Behold I have taught you Statutes, and Judgments, even as the Lord my God commanded me, keep therefore and do them: For this is your wiſdom and underſtanding in the ſight of the Nations, which ſhall hear all theſe ſtatutes, and ſay, ſurely this great Nation is a wiſe and underſtanding people: And what Nation is there ſo great that hath Statutes and Judgments ſo righteous, as all this Law which I ſet before you this day.*

Amongſt other Nations ſome had laws (in their kind) good for War, others for Peace, few, or none, good laws for both; none, abſolutely good for either. No ſuch laws as their ſtrict obſervance might ſecure them from their Enemies. They could not be ſo wiſe in projecting their own future proſperity, but their Enemies might be as ſubtil in contriving their adverſity. They could not be ſo ſtrong in Battel, but their Enemies and their Allies might be as ſtrong as they. They could not be ſo induſtrious or vigilant for recovering the ſtrength or dignity of their weakned eſtate, but their Enemies might be as vigilant to defeat their intentions. Or albeit one Nation had ſo far overtopped another, as well in Council of Peace, as ſtrength of War, as to be able to keep them perpetually under: yet no laws, no inventions of men could ever ſecure the moſt potent Nation on Earth, from ſuch dangers as accrue from the hoſt of inanimate or reaſonleſs Creatures, albeit all Neighbour-Nations were at Peace with them, or ſworn Confederates for advancing their ſtate and dignity. Againſt the Hoſts or Armies of men, ſome preparations may always be made, becauſe they come not without notice or preparation; but the ſeveral hoſts of the reaſonleſs Creatures come upon men, for the moſt part, without obſervation or fore-ſight. And one of them can execute anothers office or charge, or every one accompliſh that work which the Armies of men did intend, but could not execute.

That ſcarcity of bread, or other calamity, which ſometime ſuddenly ariſeth in ſome limb or corner of a Kingdom, by want of Trade, or by ſhuting up too great a multitude of Ships for a long time in one Harbour, whilſt the Enemy or Pirats annoy the Coaſts; how eaſily might it be much increaſed, if he that keeps the Winds as in a Treaſure Houſe, ſhould ſhut up a greater multitude of Ships for a long time in the ſame Harbour by a contrary Wind, albeit their Enemies in the mean while become their Friends: albeit they were provided of an invincible Navy at an hours warning. Or in caſe they did know whence the Wind cometh or whither it is going, or could ſo Covenant that it ſhould blow where and when they liſted; yet if the Lord of Hoſts be ſo pleaſed, he can bring a greater dearth and ſcarcity upon the moſt fertile Provinces of the Land, than either the Enemy, or contrary Winds can occaſion; either by withdrawing the ſweet influence of the Heavens, or by corrupting the ſeed lately ſown, or Corn ready to be reaped with abundant moiſture. Or, admit any people or Nation by Miracle or Divine Diſpenſation might have Authority, not over the Winds only, but over the Clouds, the rain, and dew: or ſuch a power of ſhutting and opening Heaven, as Huſbandmen have of letting in Brooks upon their Medows, and taking them off again at their pleaſures; ſo as they might have ſeed time, and Harveſt as ſeaſonable, their Fields as fruitful, the Sea as open as their hearts could deſire; yet the very freedom of Commerce and Traffick (whether with Foreign Nations, or with other members of the ſame Nation) may bring in a greater inconvenience (which no plenty can hold out) than the Enemy, than unſeaſonable wind or weather could threaten. Want of Trade, and want of Victuals, are Plagues or puniſhments ſent by God; but the Plague of Peſtilence, which is ofttimes the Companion of Peace and Plenty, the uſual effect of free Trading or Traffick, is more terrible than either of the former wants. And thus may every part of the reaſonleſs hoſt accompliſh what another had omitted. Now with turbulent ſpirits, or unruly men, good Laws duly executed may take ſome order; but againſt unſeaſonable weather, againſt unruly or incommodious Winds, no Law of Man, no Act of Parliament can provide. Againſt the Plague or Peſtilence, no Council of State or War, no Hoſt or Army can ſecure themſelves, much leſs others. Though they that beſiege and are beſieged do keep watch and ſentinel day and night, yet the Arrows of this dreadful Meſſenger fly more certainly to the mark, whereto they are directed, though at mid-night, than their Bullets do at mid-day.

As there is no Counſel againſt the Lord, ſo there is no policy that can prevent the execution of Gods Judgments upon mightieſt Kingdoms by the meaneſt of his Creatures beſides that policy which his Laws given to *Iſrael* did preſcribe. One ſpecial branch of that Wiſdom which *Moſes* aſcribes unto theſe Laws was, they taught their obſervers not to truſt in Bow or Shield, not to put any part of their confidence in the ſtrength or Wit of Man, no not in their own obſervation of theſe very Laws, or reformation wrought by their rules (as it was theirs) but only in the Lord of Hoſts. He was their wiſdom, and he was their ſtrength, whenſoever any danger did approach, whether from men, or from other Creatures, their Laws did teach them that he was abſolute Lord over all, that the hearts of Kings and Governours were under his Governance; that he could diſpoſe and turn them as it ſeemed beſt to his Heavenly Wiſdom. And that always ſeems beſt to him, which is for the good of ſuch as repoſe their whole truſt and confidence in him. When *Iſraels* Enemies diſpleaſed him, more than *Iſrael* did, he made them ſtronger than their

Enemies; and when their ways did pleaſe him, he made their Enemies (as *Solomon* ſpeaks) *to be at Peace with them.* Whilſt they faithfully ſerved this Lord of Hoſts, they knew he could command the whole Hoſt of the reaſonleſs or liveleſs Creatures to do them ſervice.

From this knowledge of God and his Laws, did *Solomon* gather theſe unerring rules of ſacred Policy, whoſe obſervation at this time did, and might for ever have preſerved this Kingdom. There is no inconvenience of Peace, no miſchief of War, no kind of Calamity which can befal any State or Kingdom, againſt which the Fundamental Laws of this Nation and the Rules of Policy, gathered from them by *Solomon*, did not ſufficiently provide. The ſoveraign remedies for every particular diſeaſe, or kind of Calamity, are ſet down at large, 2. *Chron.* 6. *v.* 22. to the 40. The remedy againſt the Calamity of War, *v.* 24, 25. againſt the Calamity that may come by drought, *v.* 26, 27. againſt Famine, Peſtilence, and blaſting of Corn, or other inconvenience from the Hoſt of reaſonleſs Creatures, you have the remedy *v.* 29. 30. againſt Captivity in a Foreign Land, *v.*37, 38. The ſoveraign remedy againſt all theſe and other like inconveniences and Calamities, is for ſubſtance one and the ſame with that which good King *Hezekiah* here uſed, *to fear the Lord, and pray unto the Lord*, either in the Temple when they had opportunity to reſort unto it, or towards the Temple or the place wherein in ſtood, when they ſojourned or were detained Captives in a Foreign Land. And who ſo would diligently peruſe the ſacred ſtory, from *Solomons* time until this peoples return from Captivity, and the building up of the ſecond Temple, ſhall find a *probatum* of this Catholick and ſoveraign Medicine, in reſpect of every branch of Calamity mentioned by *Solomon* at the Conſecration of the firſt Temple. I muſt hold to the inſtance of my Text. Another branch of that which was contained in the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, and which goes a great deal deeper than the fundamental rules of any other Policy, was this; That of all Calamities which did or could befal them, their ſins and tranſgreſſions were the prime cauſes; and whatſoever afflictions were laid upon them for their ſins, could not be taken off without the humble ſupplication of the ſinners. Unto a lower ebb than King *Ahaz* did leave it at, the Kingdom of *Judah* had not been brought by any of his Predeceſſors, or by any other in their days. Now of all the miſeries which at any time befel it by the Famine, by the Enemies Sword, or by the Peſtilence, the only cauſe which the rule of Faith aſſigns, was their forſaking of the Lord their God, and the tranſgreſſing of his Laws. But to prevent the perpetuity and continuance of ſuch Calamities as King *Ahaz* and his Adherents had by their foul tranſgreſſions involved this Kingdom in, no attempt or practice of Prince or People, whether jointly or ſeverally, did ever find ſucceſs, until they put *Solomons* rules of ſacred Policy in practice, as good King *Hezekiah* did; *Did he not fear the Lord, and prayed before the Lord, &c.?* The fruits of his Prayer, and the reformation of thoſe corrupt times, by giving life unto their Fundamental Laws, were two. Firſt, his Prayers procured an healing of the Wounds, which by negligence of his Predeceſſors had been given to the State. Secondly, he prevented the execution of thoſe terrible Judgments which, in his own days, did hang over this land and people, ſpecially over their Heads and Rulers. The Kingdom of *David* had ſometimes exceeded the moſt flouriſhing Neighbour *Kingdoms*, as far as the *Cedars* of *Libanus* did the ordinary Trees of the Foreſt; but was now brought low. That height which was left her, was but as a decayed Tree markt to the fall; *Hezekiah* by *Zealous Prayers*, removes the Axe from the root, after it had made ſuch deep inciſion, that it was ſcarce able to bear its ſtem, though diſpoiled of his top or principal branches: it nearly concerned every one which hoped for ſhelter under its ſhade, to pray for gentle winds and comfortable weather, that ſhe might recover root and branch again. But ſo *Hezekiah's* and his *peoples Succeſſors* did not. *Manaſſes* his Son found a people not untoward, as being in ſome tolerable ſort reformed by *Hezekiah*; but he himſelf a moſt untoward King, able (by his authority, and bad example) to undo what his good Father had well done: to ſpoil and marr a greater people than he was Lord of, though better reformed in *Joſiah* Grand-child to this *Manaſſes*, as good a King as could be wiſhed for: a man that needed no reformation, a fit pattern for reforming others. But this Heavenly Star was placed in an Earthly Sphere; he had to deal with ſuch a lewd Court, and naughty people, as choaked the influence of his *goodneſs*. And albeit his perſonal performances in his attempted reformation, were no way inferiour to *Hezekiah's* practice in this place; yet neither his *performances* nor *prayers* found the like ſucceſs. He could not plant the fear of the Lord, either in his *people*, or in his own *Childrens hearts*. And if we ſequeſter *Joſiah* his attempt of reformation, from *Hezekiah* his time, unto the deſtruction of the City and Temple; there was ſometimes on the *Princes* part, ſometimes on the *Peoples* part, uſually on all parts, Prince and People, if not a continual increaſe of ſin, yet a continuance in uſual and wonted ſins. And where *Gods Judgments* have once ſeiſed upon a Land or People, there is no removal of them without publick Repentance: no true Repentance without Prayer, no Prayers effectual without fear of the Lord. *Did he not fear the Lord, and beſought the Lord*, &c. His *Prayers* were earneſt and effectual, becauſe his fear was hearty, and unfeigned, not affected. But how fear ſhould perform the office either of Mother or Mid-wife, for the bringing forth of ſucceſsful *prayers*, is a Quære not to be omitted, and was the ſecond General propoſed.

Pray we may, but our Prayers cannot be ſucceſsful, unleſs they be conceived in Faith; *And Faith* (as our Apoſtle tells us, *Heb.* 11. 1.) *is the ground or ſubſtance of things hoped for.* And what affinity is there, what agreement can there be, between fear and hope, or confidence, which is, if not the Nature, yet the native iſſue of Faith. From theſe words of the Apoſtle [*Faith is the ground of things hoped for*] haply it was that ſome late Writers have put *fiducia*, or *confidence* in the very definition of Faith. But we are to conſider that the former words of our Apoſtle, contain rather a character, than a juſt deſcription or definition of Faith. Otherwiſe his words following had been ſuperfluous [*Faith is the evidence of things not ſeen*] And under this more general character, things feared may be as directly contained, as things hoped for. But have we any Scripture to warrant us, that Faith in ſome caſes may be as truly the ground of things feared, as of things hoped for? Yes. *By Faith* (ſaith the Apoſtle, *Heb.* 11. 7.) *Noah being warned of God of things not ſeen as yet, moved with fear, prepared an Ark for the ſaving of his Houſe.* Or if we conſider Faith not in it's Univerſality, as it equally reſpects the whole Word of God, but as it hath a peculiar reference unto his Covenant with this People, that (we know) was not a Covenant of Life only, but a Covenant of life and death. And all the Writings of the Prophets which were to them, and are to us the trueſt Leaders and Guides unto Faith, are as full of *threatnings* as of *promiſes*: their ſweeteſt Hymns are compoſed as well of judgment, as of mercy. So that Faith if it be not lame or defective, hath two hands; aſwell a left hand to apprehend the truth of *Gods judgments* threatned, whilſt we ſwarve from the ways of life; as a right hand, to lay hold on the truth of his promiſes, whilſt we are not conſcious of ſuch deviation. Fear then, which is no other than an expectation, or apprehenſion of evil, is the left hand of Faith; and hope which is the expectation or apprehenſion of good, is the right. And they who place the nature of Faith, *in fiducia*, or confine it unto confidence, do utterly maim it on the left ſide; and being maimed or dead on the left ſide, it cannot be ſound or lively on the right. That which they term *fiducia*, or confidence in *Gods promiſes*, if it be not ſupported with an implanted fear of his judgments threatned, is in true language but preſumption; It cannot bring forth the Prayers of Faith. For Prayers made in Faith, pre-ſuppoſe and include a ſincere renouncing or relinquiſhing of thoſe deſires or practices, which by Nature, or courſe of *Gods* Juſtice, are either incompatible with the Bleſſings which we pray or hope for; or are the cauſes of the evils threatned or inflicted. He that will offer the Sacrifice of Prayer unto God for his health, muſt abandon all exceſs and riot; otherwiſe he doth but mock God. And he that ſupplicates for the forgiveneſs of his ſins, muſt be prepared in heart to forgive ſuch as have ſinned, or treſpaſſed againſt him. 'Tis our Saviours own comment upon the Prayer which he hath taught us. And hence the Heathen Cynick did juſtly deride ſuch *Supplicants* and *Sacrificers* as continued in riot, whilſt they tendered their *Prayers* and *Sacrifices*, to intreat *Gods* favour towards themſelves for health. Whilſt we retain malicious or revengeful purpoſes towards our Neighbours, it is to put in a caveat againſt our own Suits or Petitions in the Court of Heaven.

Now unto this qualification, or preparative unto Prayer, which conſiſts in the abandoning of thoſe practices or reſolutions, which ſtand as a bar or caveat againſt our *Petitions* and *Supplications*; there is no means ſo effectual, no method ſo compendious, as hearty and unfeigned fear of *Gods Judgments*. It is the very arm or hand of Faith, for removing all ſuch obſtacles. For fear (as we ſaid before) is the expectation of evil approaching. And the apprehenſion of any remedileſs miſchief, of any greater inconvenience or ineſtimable evil, will over-ſway the hope or expectation of any inferiour good, be it matter of pleaſure or commodity by which two matters only we are withdrawn from goodneſs it ſelf. And if any man be altogether wedded unto temporary delights, or contentments, it is for want of fear. In the beginning of a Storm, the Merchant or Paſſenger will be unwilling to caſt any part, eſpecially of his moſt pretious commodities, over board; but in caſe ſtorms increaſe, to his ſight or obſervation, if then the Pilot or Mariner can perſwade him, that the Ship wherein he Sails, unleſs it be ſpeedily diſburthened, will ſhortly ſink; the certain fear of loſing all, will move him to part with one half, or inſtant dread of loſing his own life, will make him willing (if need ſo require) to part with all. The griping Uſurer will be ready to releaſe the unconſcionable intereſt covenanted for, if the Lawyer in whom he truſts, can perſwade him, that by rigorous exaction of the Uſe he may come to loſe the Principal, or to incur a cenſure, from which both Uſe and Principal will not free him. The caſe of *Judah* in this extremity, was the very ſame, if we compare the judgments threatned by *Micah*, with the nature and quality of the ſins that had provoked them) as you may find in the prophet *Micah* 3. 9. *They build up* Sion *with blood, and* Jeruſalem *with iniquity. The heads thereof judge for reward, and the Prieſts thereof teach for hire, and the Prophets thereof Divine for money.* Now until theſe greedy hopes of unlawful gain were abandoned, they could not pray in Faith. The miniſtration of Publick Juſtice, for private reward, the Prieſts teaching for hire, and the Prophets divination for Money, would (reſpectively) turn their very Prayers into ſin. Now what means could be more effectual for abandoning theſe, and the like ſins, than the judgment which the Prophet there threatned from the Lord? *Therefore ſhall* Sion *for your ſake be plowed as a field, and* Jeruſalem *ſhall become heaps, and the Mountain of the Houſe as the high places of the Foreſt*, Micah 3. 12.

If the heads of the houſe of *Judah*, and Princes of the houſe of *Iſrael*, to whom this meſſage is directed, did ſincerely, and truly believe him that ſent it, they could not but fear, leſt without their ſpeedy Repentance, the Lord would quickly accompliſh whatſoever the Prophet in his name had threatned. Now hearty and unfeigned fear *that* Sion *ſhould be plowed as a field, that* Jeruſalem *ſhould become a heap*, would move all ſuch as had not their habitation only, but the very root of their livelihood in them, to lay a better foundation of their own, and of their Poſterities welfare, than blood and violence. It would incline the hearts of their Rulers and Magiſtrates to break off their iniquity by ſincere adminiſtration of Juſtice: by Alms-deeds, and works of Mercy. Fear again, leſt the Mountain of the houſe, that is, the Temple (on whoſe flouriſhing eſtate the livelihood and welfare of Prieſts and Prophets did ſo depend, as the Paſſengers life doth on the ſafety of the Ship wherein he Sails) would work their hearts to an obſervance of the properties or qualifications, to the performance of all the conditions which are required to faithful and effectual Prayers. But of the conditions of ſucceſsful Prayers, and of the qualification of good Suppliants, fitter occaſion will offer it ſelf hereafter. Thus much towards this purpoſe we have gotten from theſe generals, that the hearts of men which have been longer accuſtomed, or hardned in perverſe courſes of groſſer ſins, will hardly be new moulded, or re-faſhioned according, or wrought unto the temper and model of *Hezekiah's* heart, until they be made to melt with fear of ſuch judgments, as *Micah* here threatned againſt *Judah*, *Jeruſalem*, and *Sion*. For producing this melting, or mollifying fear, the Conſiderations are ſpecially three. Firſt, The conſciouſneſs or apprehenſions of ſuch ſins as ſpecially provoke Gods anger, or ſolicite his Judgments. Secondly, A faithful recounting of Divine Forewarnings or Monitions paſt, eſpecially if they have been groſly neglected, or uſually ſlighted. Thirdly, The inſpection of the inſtrumental cauſes, or means in probability appointed for the execution of Judgments threatned; or a diligent obſervance of the ſigns of the Time.

As theſe be the ſpecial means for begetting unfeigned fear; ſo the beſt method for nurturing up ſuch fear begotten, that it neither grow ſlaviſh nor wild, that it end not in deſperation, is to know in what ſence, the Lord is ſaid to repent. For the ſins which ſpecially provoke Gods fearful judgment againſt any land or people, we cannot have a more diſtinct view of them in brief, than from the Prophet *Micah* in the forecited place. Bribery and corruption in the ſeats of Juſtice: oppreſſions and cruelty in the mighty and wealthy, mercenary temporizings in the Sons of *Levi*; every one of theſe diſeaſes is dangerous, though alone; but when they all meet in any State or Kingdom, they grow deadly. Or if *Micah* may be no further allowed of, than of a ſingle witneſs, we may add unto him the like teſtimonies of the Prophet *Iſaiah*, who lived in the ſame time with him. Corruption in the ſeat of Juſtice, did in his time taint the ſervice of the Temple, turned the Prayers of the Rulers into ſin, and made their ſacrifices become abominable. *Eſay* 1. 14. The very averſneſs or unwillingneſs of ſuch Rulers and Oppreſſors as theſe were, to have the Law laid unto them by the Prophets, was a prognoſtick of ſudden Judgments approaching, *Iſaiah* 30. 13. *Therefore this iniquity ſhall be to you as a breach ready to fall, ſwelling out in a high Wall, whoſe breaking comes at an inſtant.* Now if the Prieſts and Prophets, whoſe office it is to diſcover and repair ſuch breaches, do but dawb them with untempered Mortar, and ſo hide and cover them from their ſight, whom it concerns to beware of them; by this doing, they draw the multitude within the reach of that ruin and deſtruction, which like a trap or ſnare was ready to fall upon them. Or leſt any ſhould ſuſpect that theſe Prognoſticks did ſerve only for *Jeruſalem* and *Judah*, the ſame Prophet inſtructs us, *Iſaiah* 47. that it was oppreſſion and cruelty towards ſuch as *ſhe had conquered*, which did draw Gods Judgments upon *Babel*. But that which made them to fall ſo ſuddenly and unexpectedly upon them, was the popular and man-pleaſing humors of her Southſayers and Diviners.

Jeruſalem and *Judah* were at this time ſick of all thoſe three diſeaſes, and therefore had juſt cauſe to fear the Judgments threatned;

Quid, quod & hos morbos gravius ſymptomo ſequatur?

There is a ſymptom mentioned by the Prophet *Micah*, which was worſe than the diſeaſes themſelves; *yet will they lean upon the Lord, and ſay, Is not the Lord among us? None ill can come upon us. v.* 11. Elſewhere we read this people taxed by Gods Prophets for truſting ſometimes in lyes; ſometimes in oppreſſion or violence; ofttimes for putting confidence in their own ſtrength, or in the ſtrength of their Confederates. But of any branch of this fault they were not at this time guilty; yet taxed no leſs, as being no leſs tax-worthy, ſhall I ſay, for truſting the Lord, or rather (as the Prophet ſaith) for leaning on the Lord? That is, for preſuming on his favour in the conſciouſneſs of ſuch ſins as they now ſtood charged with. That to preſume on Gods wonted favours or ordinary protection in the conſciouſneſs of extraordinary ſins, is a moſt grievous ſin againſt God, (beſt proportioned by his ſin againſt Gods Deputy, who being infected with ſome dangerous diſeaſe ſhould preſume to reſt himſelf upon the Royal Chair,) is a truth unqueſtionable. But why this people, being thus dangerouſly infected, ſhould at this time ſpecially lean upon the Lord, and avouch his warrant for their protection, may well be queſtioned, and not unfitting to be inquired after. The reaſon (I take it) is this; Theſe peoples fore-elders, or theſe very men themſelves, in *Ahaz* time had uſually been indited of Idolatry, and found guilty, ſpecially of worſhipping in high places, and ſerving groves and Idols. But *Hezekiah* in the very beginning of his Reign, removed the high places, brake the Images, cut down the Groves, brake in pieces the braſen Serpent that *Moſes* had made. 2. *Kings* 18. *v.* 14. Nor was he more zealous in repreſſing all worſhips of falſe Gods or Idolatry, than in reſtoring the ſervice and worſhip of the true God. Albeit he had found the Temple ſo ſtrangely prophaned in the firſt month of the year, and of his Reign, as might ſeem to require many months labour for its preparation and cleanſing; yet in the ſecond month by his zealous care, the feaſt of unleavened bread with the Paſſover and other parts of Gods ſervice were celebrated with ſuch publick joy and ſolemnity, as the like had not been ſeen in *Jeruſalem* from the days of *Solomon* the Son of *David*, who conſecrated the Temple, as we read 2. *Chron.* 30. *v.* 26. In all this reformation the Heads and Rulers, the Prieſts and Levites, with other parties principally taxed by the Prophet *Micah*, had gone along with their good King, and no doubt had entred the ſame Covenant with the Lord their God, which he reſolved to do 2. *Chron.* 29. *v.* 10. and having thus returned unto the God of their Fathers, they preſumed that he was now turned to them, and would be their Guardian and Protector againſt their Enemies. Albeit they had ſeen their Brethren, the ten Tribes of *Iſrael*, about this time lead into Captivity by the *Aſſyrian*, yet this ſad accident, through the deceitfulneſs of Hypocriſy, would in all likelyhood add more to their preſumption than to their fear. They were at all times prone to judge others raſhly and therefore at this time would in all likelyhood ſuſpect, that this Judgment had befaln *Iſrael* becauſe they had this plauſible pretence or motive, that *Iſrael* for the moſt part would not joyn with *Hezekiah* in this reformation of Religion, or reſtauration of Gods Service, but ſcoffed at his Meſſengers, when they were ſolemnly invited thereunto. But this reformation, alas, was on *Judahs* part (the King excepted) but a lame or defective reformation. For whilſt they pulled down Idols in the high places, ſuffering the Idols of Covetouſneſs, Oppreſſion, and cruelty to be enſhrined in their hearts: whilſt they cleanſe the Temple from material filth or prophanation, and in the mean time harboured prophaneſs and uncleanneſs in their own breaſts; they did not turn to the Lord with their whole hearts, as the Lord in the Law required, and *Solomon* in the conſecration of the Temple did on their part capitulate and Covenant.

However an half reformation was better than none. Leſs evil it was to have no Idols or Images in the high places, no prophaneſs in the Temple: than to have Idols both in their breaſts, and in the Woods, than to have the Temple of God and their hearts alike prophaned. This is true; yet whilſt they reſt perſwaded, that the Lord will graciouſly accept of their lame Sacrifice, that is, of this ſuperficial, or half reformation, or that he was tied by promiſe to perform the mercies, which he promiſed to *David* and *Solomon* upon true repentance, unto them, as they were now affected, *Laudem cum crimine penſant*, this confidence or preſumption was worſe than the abuſes which they had reformed. To rely or lean upon the Lord in the conſciouſneſs of thoſe out-crying ſins, was perfect Hypocriſie; And that is, if not worſe far, altogether as bad, as down-right open Idolatry. And the Prophet *Micah* would give poſterity to underſtand, that theſe delinquents preſumption upon Gods favour, before they repented of their groſs ſins or delinquencies, did provoke Gods fierce wrath againſt them, more than the ſins themſelves did. They preſumed God would be extraordinarily favourable unto them for *Jeruſalem* and *Sion*'s ſake; at leaſt for the Temples ſake, ſeeing the Lord had choſen that place to put his name there. But the righteous Lord by his Prophet declares himſelf to be ſo far from this partiality or reſpect of perſons, that *Jeruſalem* for their ſakes ſhould become an heap; that *Sion* for their ſakes ſhould be plowed as a field; that the Temple, in which they truſted, ſhould for their ſakes be made like the high places of the Foreſt.

The ſum or reſultancy of all that hath been ſaid, is this; That as in every Nation he that feareth God and worketh righteouſneſs, is accepted of him: So in whatſoever place or Nation bribery and oppreſſion in the Laity, mercenary temporizing in the Clergy, and Hypocriſie in moſt ſorts abound, Gods fearful Judgments ſtill do gather as they encreaſe; and without repentant Prayers and Supplications, are ſuddainly powred out like a thunder-ſhowre.

But this *Theſis* or *Major* propoſition will have the faithful aſſent of all good Chriſtians. All the difficulty will be in framing a *Minor* or aſſumption, which ſhall run parallel with this *Major*; That is to perſwade the Magiſtracy, the Gentry, and Clergy, of any State or Kingdom, that they are reſpectively as faulty, as deeply guilty of theſe ſins, as men of their rank and place were in the State of *Judah* in *Hezekiah*'s days. All that I have to ſay in this point, for the preſent, is to beſeech Almighty God, that every Man amongſt us whom it concerns (and it more or leſs concerns all) may enter into his own heart, and may unpartially examine and judge himſelf, that this land and people be never ſo judged of the Lord, as *Micah* had threatned *Jeruſalem*, and *Judah* ſhould be in the days of good *Hezekiah*.

THE
Second Sermon
UPON
JER. 26. 19.

AN hard taſk it would be to perſwade the Magiſtracy, the Gentry and Clergy of any State or Kingdom throughout Chriſtendom, that they are as deeply guilty of theſe ſins, as men of their place and rank in *Judah* were, againſt whom *Micah* denounced that terrible judgment.

Againſt all that we can alledge to this purpoſe, there is one general exception, alike common to all our hearers whom it concerns. They muſt believe that the State of *Judah* was deeply tainted with bribery, corruption, and oppreſſion, becauſe the Prophet *Micah* hath ſaid it. But modern Preachers are no Prophets, nor is all which they ſay to be accounted any part either of Gods Law or Goſpel. The exception indeed is thus far pertinent, that the ſame ſpirit of God, which taught the Prophets to foreſee evils to come or judgments approaching, did likewiſe notifie unto them many matters of fact preſent or paſt, which did provoke Gods judgments. But of the like matters of fact with their qualities, ſuch as are no Prophets can have no juſt notice, can have no better knowledge of them then by here-ſay. Now Faith cometh not by here-ſay, nor may the Meſſenger of God ſo far believe, all that he hears, though from many mouths, as to make it matter for the Pulpit. Yet one of theſe two we muſt believe, we may be certain of; either that the Magiſtrates, Nobles, and Clergy of this Realm are as faulty, as men of their rank and place in *Judah* were in *Micahs* time: or that the people of this Kingdom are more malicious and ſlanderous, at leaſt more quarrellous than the people of *Judah* were. If *Vox populi* were always *Vox Dei*, we might proceed with warrant of Gods word to make the ſame concluſion that *Micah* did, to thunder out preſent judgment againſt the Court, againſt the Chief Cities of this Kingdom, and againſt the Church eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom.

2. But whether are more faulty, Magiſtrates and Superiours in giving juſt occaſion to be thus thought of, or inferiours in taking occaſion where none is given, or greater then is juſtly given, this I leave to the ſearcher of all hearts, who hath reſerved the judgments of times and ſeaſons and of mens demerits in them unto himſelf alone by peculiar right of Prerogative. The moſt uſeful point that I can

pitch upon, will be to diſcover the errors, or fallacies, by which we uſually deceive our ſelves, even whilſt we endeavour to examine or judge our ſelves.

3. Now as into Cities ſtrongly fortified, well ſtored with men and victuals, the Enemy oft-times finds entrance, either by the negligence of the watch, or at ſome ſecret places for the time ill manned: So into Churches or common Weals well grounded in points of Faith and Orthodoxal Doctrine, and abounding with all Spiritual food, deſtruction and ruine (ſuch judgment as *Micah* here threatned) find eaſie paſſage by a twofold negligenee or incogitancy, rather than groſs errour. The firſt incogitancy common to moſt is, that we hold it ſufficient to repent us of our own ſins, or of the ſins of our own Times. The ſecond, that even ſuch as are willing to take an accurate view, as well of their Fore-fathers or Predeceſſors ſins, as of their own ſins, or of the ſins of the Time and Place where they live, do often uſe a falſe or imperfect ſcale. For preventing the firſt incogitance, we are to conſider, that albeit God do never puniſh the Children for their Fathers ſins, yet he uſually viſits the ſins of the Father upon the Children, at leaſt with temporal plagues or puniſhments, as well publick as private. And this viſitation is ſometimes drawn upon Poſterity, not ſo much by a proneneſs to imitate their Fore-elders in thoſe actual ſins, by which they did firſt provoke Gods wrath, as by a promptneſs to maintain the Arts of their Fore-elders (without addition unto them) eſpecially if they have been warranted by any kind of *Legality*. For Children not to confeſs the ſins of their Fore-fathers, not to repent of them, not to make ſatisfaction for them (ſo far as they have been injurious to men) is by the rule of Divine Juſtice ſufficient to charge the Inheritance, which deſcends unto Poſterity, with the puniſhments due to their actual tranſgreſſions from whom it deſcends. Nor to viſit the ſins immediately upon the firſt tranſgreſſions, or Tranſgreſſors, but to give them and their Succeſſors a larger time for Repentance, is a branch of Gods long-ſuffering and mercy. But to viſit the ſins, not duly repented of by the firſt and ſecond, upon the third and fourth Generation, is a branch of Juſtice, declared and avouched by God himſelf in the ſecond Commandment. But this point will meet us again in the reformation attempted by the good *Joſias*. The ſecond incogitance is more pertinent to this place, and in it ſelf more dangerous. And it is this; Many which carefully endeavour to frame their lives and actions by the Prophetical rule, are not ſo careful and provident to meaſure their tranſgreſſions by the Prophetical ſcale, or by the ballance of the Sanctuary, but according to the rate of modern corrupt language. Thus when we hear the Prophets compare the oppreſſors, or corrupt Magiſtrates of their times, to ravenous Wolves, to brambles, to thorny hedges, moſt men inſtantly conceive, that the parties whom *Gods Prophets* (which were no ſlanderers) did thus deeply cenſure, had taken away their Neighbours lives, or goods by ſtrong hand, by ſome notorious diſturbance of publick peace, by ſuch palpable facts, as with us are ſaid to be contrary, to the Crown and Dignity of the Prince. And by this groſs Calculation, many Potentates, and Magiſtrates, many that take upon them to be reformers of others, run further upon the ſcore of Gods wrath, than the *Jewiſh* Rulers in *Micah's* time did, before they bethink themſelves of any danger. Many, again, of tender Conſciences, in reſpect of divers Duties, whereof others make no ſcruple,

when they hear, or read the woes denounced againſt Hypocrites, will with the Poet deteſt ſuch lying lips, *even as the gates of Hell*, which ſpeak well, and mean ill; which have God in their mouths, and the Devil in their hearts. But he that meaſures this ſin of Hypocriſie by this Heatheniſh ſcale, may come to make up the full meaſure of it, before he hath charged it upon his accompts, or bethink himſelf to be in ſuch arrerages for this ſin, as deſerves to be called for.

4. By the ſame over-ſight, many people which firmly believe the Prophetical rules to be moſt infallibly true, make up the meaſure of their iniquity, before they have made up their intended accounts, or ſuſpect themſelves to be in any ſuch arrerages, as may deſerve the Prophets cenſure, or to be called upon by threatning *Gods Judgments.* The error it ſelf is much what the ſame, as if a Factor which ſtands charged with a Thouſand pounds ſterling, according to the old hanſe or eſterling pay ſhould make up his private reckonings, according to the rate of pounds, or coin, this day currant throughout this Kingdom; he which thus accounts for any great ſum, muſt needs fall into the error of the Church of the *Laodiceans*, *Rev.* 3. to think himſelf rich, or well before hand, when he is *poor and wretched*, and lyable to a debt, unſatisfiable by himſelf, unſupportable by his Friends, yet our accompts unto God we may make up for the moſt part after this manner.

5. To make theſe different Calculations agree, or to reform or rectifie our corrupt language by the rule of the Sanctuary, that which we uſually call Warineſs in dealing, or wit to uſe the benefit of the Law, or the advantage of times in making bargains; *This in the Prophetical* language is, *hunting our Brother with a Net*, and whereas the Prophet ſaith of the Judges and Magiſtrates of his times, that even *the beſt of them was but a bramble, and the moſt upright among them as a thorny hedge.* This is the very *Scantlings* of the faireſt courſe of legal proceedings, which poor men in our times ſhall find. The leaſt protection which the cuſtomary courſe of Law affords unto them, is but like the ſhelter, which ſilly Sheep in a ſtorm, find under a hedge of thorn, or buſh of brambles. However the Law may protect them from the violence which other intend againſt them, yet ſhall they be ſure to leave their fleece for this protection. It is a thing much to be wiſhed, that either the Courts of Temporal Law were not ſo open, or the doors of the Sanctuary might be cloſer ſhut than they are, ſpecially againſt ſuch as are upon petty occaſions, far more ready to ſpend a Hundred pounds in legal vexation of his Neighbour, or Chriſtian Brother, than to give an hundred pence for Chriſt's ſake, or his Church, be the cauſe never ſo urgent, or juſt. That which in the language of great Landlords, is no more than to make the moſt or beſt of their own, is in the Prophets dialect neither better, nor worſe, than to play the *Ravenous Wolves, to eat the fleſh, and gnaw the bones of their poor brethren.*

If *Micah*, *Jeremy*, or *Zephany* were now alive, and ſhould ſee many poor hunger-ſtarved wretches, whoſe Friends and Parents had been undone by racking of Rents, or hard bargains, or by Suits of Law, they would take the boldneſs upon them to pluck our braveſt Gallants, our wealthieſt Citizens, our greateſt Landlords, our graveſt Lawyers by the ſleeves in the open ſtreet, and tell them to their faces, the limbs and bones of theſe poor wretches, are in the beams and raſters of your ſtately houſes, their fleſh and blood is in your dainty diſhes, you ſuck their very marrow in your pleaſant cups. *The bread of the poor*, ſaith the Son of *Sirach*, *is the life of the needy*, *he that deprives him of it*, *is a man of blood*, *he that taketh away his Neighbours living*, *ſlayeth him*, *and he that defraudeth the labourer of his hire*, *is a blood-ſheder*, Eccleſ. 34. 21, 22. This character goes deeper than a murderer with us. So doth the Prophet *Zephany's* cenſure of the corrupt Rulers in his time, exceed the Notion which we have of *Canibals*, *The Princes of the oppreſſing City are roaring Lyons*, *her Judges are evening Wolves*, *they gnaw not the bones until to morrow*, Zeph. 3. 3. But are not the Sons of *Levi* in our times, as liable to theſe Prophets cenſure, concerning the Prieſts and Prophets of *Judah* in their days? Hath the Clergy no portion in the meaſure of this Lands iniquity? Surely if the ſins of this Land, at any time, within theſe forty years paſt, had been divided into ten parts, the Tranſgreſſions of the Pulpit and Print-houſes, would have largely made up a tenth part. And they have not in any point more offended, than either in giving this people a falſe, or in not giving them a true *Scale* of that Hypocriſie, which the Spirit of God ſo much condemns. A kind of Hypocriſie there is, which conſiſts in pretending one thing, and meaning another: but this is ſo groſs, that the very Heathens deteſt it. The greateſt cunning or proficiency, that Practitioners in this kind attain to, is to deceive others, not themſelves. To applaud their own Wits, men of this guiſe may have ſome occaſion, but no temptation to applaud themſelves for extraordinary honeſty or ſanctity of life; whereas to deceive themſelves, more than any others, to think themſelves more *Righteous* and *Religious* than their Neighbours, is the inſeparable Symptom of Hypocriſie truly Phariſaical; this is a diſeaſe of the Soul, which cannot be directly intended or cauſed? It hath its being only by reſultance, and it always reſults from an extraordinary meaſure of zeal, but of zeal obſtructed, or not uniformly diſpenſed throughout the whole body of Chriſtian Religious duties. Now, whereſoever zeal is not uniform, or free from obſtructions, the greater zeal men bear unto ſome particular duties, as to hearing of the Word; or that which they conceive to be the form of wholſom Doctrine; or to obſervance of Rules, for avoiding Superſtition or Prophanneſs; the more cenſorious they become of others, and more uncharitable towards all that will not comply with them in their rigid zeal or curioſity of reformation. It was not a pretended nicety, but an internal zeal of ſtraining of Gnats, which did ſo blind and embolden the *Phariſees* to ſwallow Camels. They knew themſelves to be as free from groſs Idolatry, and were as zealous reformers of it, and breach of Sabbath, as any living men could be, yet theſe were the two ſpecial ſins for which their Fore-fathers were puniſhed, and out of that deep notice which they had in reforming theſe groſs abuſes they ſaid, as they were perſwaded, if we had lived in the days of our *Fore-fathers*, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the Prophets, and yet by thus judging their *Fore-fathers*, they did condemn themſelves, and were even then making up the meaſure of their iniquity, as our Saviour foretells them, *Matth.* 23. *ver.* 32. their meer over-priſing this reformation, did bring forth worſe effects in them, than worſhipping of Idols, or breach of Sabbath. Their Fathers had killed the Prophets for diſwading them from theſe two delightful ſins. Theſe later *Jews* put the Prince of *Prophets* to death, becauſe he would not comply with them in the rigid reformation of theſe two ſins. This was the very root of their extream hatred againſt him. Were there any Evangelical *Prophets*, or men of *Apoſtolical Spirits* amongſt us, they might, and would make Application of our *Saviours ſpeeches* in particular to many which take the name of Profeſſors, or of Reformed Religion, as their own peculiar; woe unto you Hypocrites, which ſay, if we had lived in the days of the *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the Son of God. There is ſcarce a Chriſtian which is not apt to think thus charitably of himſelf, and your ordinary Miniſter cannot in particular diſprove them, only thus much we know and fore-warn in general, *Corruptio optimi ſemper peſſima*, that kind of Hypocriſie, Spleen, or Envy, which ariſeth from obſtructed zeal, or partial obſervance of Evangelical Duties, is worſe than that Hypocriſie which ſprung from partial obſervance of the Law. For men profeſſing Chriſtianity and great Zeal unto Truth, to make up the meaſure of *Jewiſh* enmity againſt Chriſt, to condemn themſelves by judging the *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, as greater Hypocrites than themſelves, is a matter as eaſie (God grant not as uſual) as it was for the *Jews* to make up the meaſure of their Fore-fathers ſins, and to condemn themſelves by judging their Anceſtors as more bloody Perſecutors, than they would have been in like caſe.

And if unto this branch of iniquity, divination for money, and teaching for hire, naturally afford nutriment, our ſins have been in theſe particulars, more faulty than the Times wherein *Micah* lived, in any likelihood could be. The covetous *Prieſts* and *Prophets* of *Judah*, were not meer hirelings; *Judah*, I take it, had not many, few or none, whoſe maintenance did wholly depend upon the voluntary benevolence of them they were to teach.

2. Whereas amongſt us the greater number of ſuch as take upon them to teach *Gods* people, are meer Stipendaries, and yet contend for the Pulpit, in oppoſition to ſuch as have their livelihood from the Alter, by courſe of Law eſtabliſhed, as eagerly as the *Jeſuits* and *Dominicans* have done of late about the Chair in the *Univerſities* of *Spain*. Upon theſe occaſions the meaneſt Corporation amongſt us, though conſiſting for the moſt part of Apron-men, have found opportunities to have their fancies humoured, and their ears tickled by their hireling Shepherds, after a more delicate manner than any Heathen Emperour, or Chriſtian King could ever procure from their *Paraſites*; and the Shepherds re-flattered by their flocks into an higher conceit of themſelves, than any Pope pretends unto. For though the *Roman* conſiſtory uſurp the Monopoly of the Holy Spirit, and of his gifts; yet neither doth the Pope take upon him to ſecure the *Cardinals*, nor the *Cardinals* to ſecure him, that whenſoever either of them dye, they ſhall infallibly be ſaved, and be as *Glorious Saints* as *Saint Peter* to morrow, if they chance to dye this day. But why doth the Prophet *Micah*, when he aſſigns the cauſes of *Gods Judgments* threatned, mention only the ſins of the *Rulers*, *Magiſtrates*, and *Clergy*? Was not the people at that time infected with the popular diſeaſes of all times, as with Adultery, Murder, Luxury of all kinds, and prophaneneſs. No doubt they were: and do not thoſe ſins deſerve vengeance? They do. Yet the judgments due unto them, are uſually charged upon the Tranſgreſſors themſelves, not upon the Land or State wherein they live; unleſs the principal Tranſgreſſors eſcape unpuniſhed, by the connivence or corruption of Rulers; in this caſe

the ſins of private men, become the ſins of the Land, and ſolicite publick *Viſitations.* So doth oppreſſion, ſpecially when it is practiſed by men of Authority, upon the poor and helpleſs men. Of others wrongs, or of wrong done unto others, that which *Eli* ſaid unto his *Sons*, 1 *Sam.* 2.25. is moſt true. *If one man ſin againſt another, the Judge ſhall judge him; but if a man ſin againſt the Lord, who ſhall intreat for him?* Now when *Judges* and *Magiſtrates* ſuffer the poor and helpleſs to ſuffer wrong, they ſin againſt the Lord: for though he be Lord of all, and the avenger of all wrongs, yet is he in ſpecial manner the protector of the Fatherleſs, Widow, and the Helpleſs; and what can be more juſt, than that they which oppreſs their helpleſs Brethren, ſhould be oppreſt by Foraign Enemies? And however men eſteem of us the *Sons* of *Levi*, we are by *Gods* ordinance and appointment, as Fathers to our flock, committed to our charge; and though we have not that co-ercive Authority over them, which *Eli* had over his *Sons*, yet we ſhall partake of his puniſhment, if we prove not more faithful remembrancers of their negligences and tranſgreſſions, than *Eli* was to the *Sons* of his body. Finally, As the other ſins which *Micah* taxed, were their ſins which did commit them, ſo their leaning upon the Lord in the conſciouſneſs of ſuch ſins, were the ſins of the *Prieſts* and *Prophets*, which ſhould have forewarned them of the wrath to come, and have put them in mind of their ſtrange neglect of warnings paſt. That the neglect of *Gods* fore-warnings, or ſummons to Repentance, whether theſe be meer monitions, or mixt with puniſhments, is a fearful Symptom of a dangerous diſeaſe, and, without repentance, a preſage of death, is a point ſo common and known, as it needs no proof. The divers kinds of ſuch fore-warnings, ſometimes given by the Hoſt of reaſonleſs Creatures, ſometimes by the reaſonable, and the danger increaſing by their neglect, are pathetically recounted by the Prophet *Amos, Chap.* 4. with this Item or Caveat ſtill repeated at the neglect of every meſſage, *Yet have ye not returned unto me, ſaith the Lord; And I alſo have given you cleanneſs of Teeth in all your Cities, and want of Bread in all your places; yet have ye not returned unto me, ſaith the Lord. And alſo I have with-holden the rain from you, when there were yet three months to the Harveſt,* &c. Ver. 6.7. *I have ſmitten you with blaſting and mildew: when your Gardens and your Vineyards, and your Fig-trees, and your* Olive-*trees increaſed, the Palmer-worm devoured them, yet have ye not returned unto me, ſaith the Lord. I have ſent among you the Peſtilence after the manner of* Egypt, *your young men have I ſlain with the Sword, and have taken away your Horſes, and I have made the ſtink of your Camps to come up unto your noſtrils, yet have ye not returned unto me, ſaith the Lord,* Ver. 10. The ſame burden is twice repeated in the verſes following, for not returning unto the Lord after two calamities inflicted upon them, diſtinct from the former, as well for time as quality. The ſpace or diſtance of time between the firſt and laſt of theſe fore-warnings was ſo long, that many of them which had known the firſt, or could take notice of it, were dead before the laſt approached; and moſt of them, whom the laſt meſſage did ſpecially concern, were unborn, when the firſt warning was given. And yet the neglect of it is laid to their charge; and of all theſe fore-warnings or chaſtiſements (beſide the Deſolation of ſome Cities) there is ſcarce one which hath not been paralleld by the like given to this Kingdom long ago.

9. To begin with that which moſt reſembles this fore-warning given by the Prophet *Micah* unto this people, *Sion, for your ſakes, ſhall be plowed as a Field.* This was to them a meer monition, for God repented of the Plague denounced againſt them; ſuch was the Powder-plot unto us. It was a gentle monition of a fearful judgment. For however, ſuch as fore-told it were lying Prophets, Sons of *Belial*, whom no Son or Child of God was bound to believe, when they threatned judgment, yet the warning which God in Mercy gave us, by them, was truly real. The Sepulchers of our Kings were nearer the point to have been more pitifully plowed, than *Senacherib* intended to plow *Sion*, or the City of *David*, when in the days of *Hezekiah* he did beſiege it; Gods mercy towards us was that time no leſs, than at any time it had been unto *Sion*; our deliverance, though not ſo miraculous, was yet no leſs wonderful for valuation, than *Jeruſalems* deliverance from *Senacheribs* Army, ſhortly after this fore-warning by *Micah*. But did either warning or deliverance take the ſame effect with us, as the like had done with *Hezekiah* and his people? Herein we truly imitate *Hezekiah*, not ſo much in the uſe, which he made of this fore-warning, as in his demeanour after his recovery from his Sickneſs, that we do not render according to the reward beſtowed upon us. An Anniverſary Thankſgiving was upon our delivery by publick authority preſently enjoyned, and hath ſince by all ſorts of men profeſſing true Religion (to the eyes of men) been duly obſerved. Unto this day young and old, whilſt they bleſs God for his Mercies, accurſe the malice of ſuch as did project that fearful Plague againſt us; and his curſe be upon him that ſhall think either their practice, or principles, whence they inferred, or ſought to warrant it, can be deteſted too much. Yet for all this we may deteſt their Practice and Religion, yea, we may magnifie Gods mercies towards us, though never too much, yet much amiſs. If our acknowledgment of his mercies had been, or were yet ſincere and intire; our fear of his judgments ever ſince that time, would have held full equipoize with our hatred or deteſtaion of our adverſaries miſchievous imaginations againſt us. For the un-erring eye of his all-ſeeing Providence, and Omnipotently ſtedfaſt hand, by which he wields the ſcales of juſtice, would not have ſuffered his conſuming wrath to come any nearer to us, than we were come unto the full meaſure of our iniquity.

10. The firſt thing which then was, or now is to be enquired after, is, what were the extraordinary, and ſpecial ſins, which drew Gods Judgments ſo near upon us? Theſe were not the cruelty of Laws enacted againſt Profeſſors of that Religion, which theſe Traytors profeſſed; as they as fooliſhly, as impiouſly alledge; nor was the negligence, or connivance of ſuch as were put in truſt with the execution of theſe Laws, the cauſe of the judgment then threatned, as ſome others out of miſ-guided zeal ſuſpect. Of ſuch negligence, or omiſſion, or of whatſoever elſe may give any advantage to the Adverſaries of our Peace and Religion, there were ſome poſitive cauſes in our ſelves, God only knows how many; but of theſe we cannot but take notice, which the Prophet *Micah* expreſſeth, or ſome like unto them, as Sacriledge, oppreſſion, and Bribery in the Laity; Simony and time-ſerving in the Clergy; Luxury, Prophaneneſs, and Hypocriſie in both. Now when the Profeſſors of true Religion, ſhall give undoubted proof of their conſtant and

impartial zeal againſt theſe foul enormities, or for enquiring after the moſt enormous delinquents in all theſe kinds; there will be good hope that the Laws already enacted, or projected againſt Idolatry, againſt Superſtition and falſe Religion, ſhall have their wiſhed ſucceſs. But ſuppoſe, that upon the occaſion, or opportunity, which theſe Idolatrous Miſcreants had in a manner thruſt into the hands of our Law-makers, the Suppreſſion of Idolatry and Superſtition throughout this Land, had been more exact and more compleat, than that which *Hezekiah*, in the beginning of his Reign, had wrought in *Judah:* Was there any probability that thoſe other diſeaſes, which *Micah* mentions, would have been one jot abated? any likelihood that the moſt amongſt us would not have learned that Song or Ditty by heart; *Is not the Lord now amongſt us?* and the Antiphony unto it, would have been, *no evil can come upon us.* Other groſs exorbitancies uſually come within the ſtroke of the civil Sword, and lye open to the execution of wholſom Laws: but for ſnipping this ſecret Hypocriſie, or preſumptuous leaning upon the Lord, though in the Profeſſors of true Religion, the ſevereſt execution of wholſom Laws, or exerciſe of the civil Sword, hath no force or dint, the cure of this diſeaſe properly belongs unto the Divine, and the method to cure it, is contrary to the ordinary courſe of Law or Phyſick; we muſt break a general cuſtom of this people, and teach them not to rate their affections unto truth, by their oppoſition unto falſhood, not to meaſure their zeal and love to true Religion, by their hatred of falſe Religion. Theſe be the very roots of that Hypocriſie or Preſumption, which *MICAH* ſo deeply taxeth in the ſtate of *JUDAH*, the chief ingredient in the leaven of the *Phariſees.*

But leſt more of this people ſhould ſlide into an error too common unto many, as if ſuch a reformation of Religion, as they affect, would acquit, or ſecure the State and Kingdom from all danger of Gods threatned judgments; let us here behold the ſeverity and mercy of our gracious God. Mercy, I ſay, towards us, and Severity towards our Brethren, Profeſſors of Reformed Religion in Neighbour Nations, whom he of late ſubjected to the Enemies Sword, and other calamities of War; for what tranſgreſſion in particular, he only knows; but ſurely not for thoſe tranſgreſſions, which ſome, out of diſcontented zeal, conceive to be the only cauſe of his diſpleaſure againſt this Nation, whenſoever any croſs or calamity befalls themſelves; for no man can ſuſpect thoſe Foraign Churches, which he hath viſited of late, were deeply guilty either of Connivance to Superſtition, or too much favouring *Arminianiſm.* However, the Righteous Lord by chaſtiſing them, doth fore-warn us to examine and judge our ſelves, and if we find no other cauſes, or probable occaſions to fear the approach of the like Judgments upon our ſelves; yet even this alone, will in the day of Viſitation, make a great addition to our general accompt, that we did not humble our ſelves with fear and trembling, whilſt the Lord did humble and correct them, whilſt his hand was heavy upon ſuch of our Nation, as were ſent abroad for their ſuccour. Our Conſciences will one day accuſe us (when we ſhall have occaſion to ſeek the Lord) that we have not, for the years late paſt, beſought his goodneſs with greater fear and devotion, to remove the rod of his wrath from them.

But did the Lord in this interim direct no meſſengers of his wrath unto us within our own Coaſts? Did mortality and famine only follow the Camp abroad, or Towns beſieged in other Nations? The famine (Gods name be praiſed for it) hath not for many years been either univerſally ſpread throughout this Land, or extraordinary grievous upon any greater portion of it, and yet hath left ſo deep impreſſion in ſome native members of this great body, as may evidently convince the reſt of great ſtupidity, in not ſympathiſing more deeply with them. And ſtupidity or dullneſs in any member, whilſt others ſuffer, is an infallible Symptom of a dangerous diſeaſe, oft-times a certain prognoſtick of death; and he were but an indocile Chriſtian, that could not by thoſe known calamities, which much people of this Land have ſuffered from this meſſenger, inſtruct himſelf, how eaſie it is for the Righteous Judge to bring ſuch calamity upon this Kingdom, by this meſſenger alone, as would move even the moſt malicious and cruel Enemies that we have had, to bemoan our caſe, although we were fully aſſured of a conſtant Peace with all other Neighbour-Nations, that have any power or ability to annoy us by the Sword, or any practice of Hoſtility. *Rome* in her growth, in her heighth of greatneſs, and in her declining days, had received many grievous wounds, was ſubject, in all eſtates, to fearful calamities and diſaſters; yet never in ſuch a lamentable and ruful plight, as the Famine had brought her to, if we may judge of her inward grief, either by her bitter out-cries, or by the dejected, and ghaſtly dreſs, in which one of her Sons, then living, hath ſet her forth.

Vid. plura apud Claudianum initio belli Gildonici.

Si mea manſuris meruerunt mœnia naſci,
Jupiter auguriis, ſi ſtant immota Sibillæ
Carmina, Tarpeias ſi nec dum deſpicis arces,
Advenio ſupplex, non ut proculcet Oaxen
Conſul ovans, noſtræve premant pharetrata ſecures
Suſa: nec ut rubris aquilas figamus arenis:
Hæc nobis, hæc antè dabas; nunc papula tantùm
Poſcimus: ignoſcas miſeræ, pater optime, genti;
Extremam defende famem, ſatiavimus iram
Siqua fuit; lugenda Getis, & flenda Suēvis
Hauſimus, ipſa meos horreret Parthia caſus.

After a ſolemn reſignation of all claim, title, or intereſt to all former Victories, or wonted Triumphs, ſhe takes upon her the Beggars garb, and becomes an humble Suppliant for bread; and for that not injuſt competency, but in ſuch a meaſure as might aſſwage, or prevent extremity of hunger; of which ſhe had ſuffered ſo much, as ſhe thought would have given full ſatisfaction, either to her ancient and inveterate Foes, or to the moſt malignant of her modern Enemies: enough, as ſhe thought, to have drawn ſighs from the *Barbarous Getes*, or to have wrung tears from the mercileſs *Swab*, or to have caſt *Parthia* her ſelf into a Swoun, ſo ſhe might have been a Spectator of her ruful and tragical plight: yet all this evil came upon her not by obſervation; it was not preventible by any fore-caſt or policy, beſides that which *Hezekiah* here uſes; this would have ſufficed, ſo it had been practiſed in time.

But it is not the repreſentation of that which hath befallen others long ſince, or may hereafter befal our ſelves, which will ſo much affect us, as the recognition of that which we our ſelves have formerly ſuffered. It will not then, I hope, be unſeaſonable to put you in mind, how in theſe latter times, whilſt Neighbour Nations addreſs their Embaſſadors to this Court, either to condole the Death of our Soveraigns, or to congratulate our joy for the happy continuance of Royal ſucceſſion, there ſtill hath come one unwelcome or unexpected Embaſſador, either with them, or before them, to this people. And however he ſeem to plead for the Grave, yet his Meſſage is from Heaven, and for our Peace; though he find audience for the moſt part with needy, ſick, or dying men, yet his inſtructions are principally directed to the living and potent amongſt us, and the tenure of them is in effect thus, think you that thoſe whom the Lord hath wounded with his poiſonous Arrows were greater Sinners than your ſelves, or that they have ſuffered more than they have deſerved? *I tell you nay, but except ye repent, ye ſhall all likewiſe periſh*; unleſs you prepare your hearts to meet the Lord while he is on the way, a greater Plague than the Plague of Peſtilence, is coming againſt you. Yet hath that Plague been twice in our memory more fearful, than in the days of our Fore-fathers. To omit that great mortality, which was almoſt univerſal throughout this land about twenty ſeaven years ago; The Calamities which followed upon the ſecond arrival, or return of this Embaſſadour about five years ago did leave a live Print or Character of that fear, by which the Prophet *Amos* deſcribes the day of the Lord. *Amos* 5. *v.* 18. 19. *The day of the Lord, ſaith he, is darkneſs, and not light, as if a Man did fly from a Lion, and a Bear met him, and went into the Houſe, and lean his hand on the Wall, and a Serpent bit him.* Many fled from the great City, as a Man would fly from a Lion, and thought themſelves ſafe, if they could get into a Ship for ſome other Port, but ſped no better than if they had met with a Bear, Death being as ready, as they were, to imbark it ſelf as a Paſſenger for every Port, authorized to execute his Commiſſion, as well by Sea, as by Land; others coming to the ſhore were more harbourleſs in the wiſhed for Haven, than if they had committed themſelves to the mercileſs waves of the Sea, which way ſoever they took, their caſe was like unto a ſtricken dear, *hæret lateri lethalis arundo.* They could not ſhift aſide from Gods Arrow, which ſtill took up ſome vital part for his mark? Some after their arrival in their Native Soil, wandred without Companions to ſupport them in their weakneſs, and laſtly dyed in the freſh and open air, without that comfort which the infected places, from which they fled, might have afforded them without conſorts in their ſighs and grones, without ſuch mutual expreſſions of grief as Sympathy of nature brings forth in the Beaſts of the field.

But amongſt the woful ſpectacles, which the calamity of thoſe times preſented, none methinks more apt to imprint the terrour of Gods Judgments deeper, than to have ſeen men, otherwiſe of undaunted ſpirits, men whom no Enemies looks or brags could afright, afraid to hold parley with their Native Country-men that came unto them with words of love and peace, more agaſt to embrace their deareſt friends or neareſt Kinsfolks, than to graſp an Adder, or a Snake. The Plague of Peſtilence is above all other Diſeaſes catching, and ſuch as have been moſt obſervant of its courſe, tell us, men of covetous minds or unſeaſonably greedy of gain, are uſually ſooneſt caught by it, though expoſed to no greater, or more apparent viſible danger, than others are. The courſe which this Meſſenger of death obſerves, (if theſe mens obſervations of it be true) may lead our conjecture to one ſpecial cauſe why it was ſent amongſt us with ſuch large commiſſion, ſurely, if in the days of health and peace it had not been uſual for one neighbour to prey upon another, and to verifie the ſaying, *homo homini lupus*; the Neighbour-hood and preſence of men of the ſame Nation and Profeſſion, would not not have become more terrible unto others, than if their Habitations had been amongſt Wolves, or Lions, or other Ravenous Creatures. But to what end ſoever this fearful meſſenger was ſent amongſt us, the tenor of this meſſage, either was not well underſtood, or is not perfectly remembred. And for this reaſon, his commiſſion hath been renewed of late, in the times of our hopes and joy for the continuance of royal ſucceſſion in a ſtraight line. But *Gods* name be ever bleſſed, who hath hitherto ſo tempered his judgments with mercy, that we have more juſt cauſe of Joy and Thankſgiving for the birth of one, than of ſorrow for the death of many. Yet let not this, I beſeech you, abate our fear of future judgments, or occaſion us to think that the Lord either hath repented, or will repent of the evil which he hath ſo often threatned, whereof he hath given this Land and People ſo many warnings, until we bring forth better fruits of our Repentance, than hitherto we have done. That thus we may do, let us pray continually to the Lord, that he would teach us to fear, as *Hezekias* did, that he would teach us to pray, as *Hezekias* did. As for him, he is the ſame Lord ſtill, the ſame loving Father to us, that he was to *Judah*, and cannot forget to repent whenſoever we ſhall truly turn unto him. Convert us, O Lord, and we ſhall be converted.

JER.

* * *

Jer. 26. 19.

And the Lord repented him of the evil which he had pronounced againſt them. Thus might we procure great evil againſt our Souls.

THIS is the reſolution of a controverſy, debated from the beginning of this Chapter, unto this place, between the *Prieſts*, and the *Prophets*, and the people, and the *Princes* of the Land; whether the Prophet *Jeremy* were to be put to Death, for ſaying *the Lord would make his Temple like* Shiloh, *and the City of* Jeruſalem *a curſe to all the Earth.*

The *Prieſts* and *Prophets* contend, that he was to be put to Death, and the people at the firſt concur with them in this bloudy ſentence, but afterward comply with the Princes, whoſe verdict was, that he was not worthy to dye, becauſe he had ſpoken to them in the name of the Lord their God. And upon this verdict, the Elders of the Land give judgment from a ruled caſe in the Prophet *Micah*, who had ſpoken more terrible words againſt both City and Temple in more peremptory manner, than *Jeremy* now had done, and yet not therefore put to Death, but reverenced by *Hezekiah*, as you have it in the beginning of this 19. verſe. *Did* Hezekiah *King of* Judah, *and all* Judah *put* Micah *at all to Death? Did he not fear the Lord, and beſought the Lord?*

Now if the ſolemn practice of ſo good a King as *Hezekiah* was, could not move them, yet the happy ſucceſs of his practice ſhould in reaſon allure them, to deal more mildly with *Jeremy*, than was intended by them. For upon *Hezekiah*'s Prayers, and repentance, *the Lord repented him of the evil which he had pronounced againſt* Jeruſalem, and *Sion:* and when they further add, *thus might we procure great evil againſt our Souls,* they imply thus much, that if this preſent Aſſembly do not repent of their ill intentions againſt *Jeremy*, the Lord would not repent of the evil, which by his mouth he had pronounced againſt them.

The points which offer themſelves to be diſcuſſed are but two. The firſt, in what ſenſe God is ſaid to *repent.* The ſecond, in what caſe it is ſaid, *that God will not repent, or that he is not as man, or the Son of man, that he ſhould repent.*

Deus tunc pœnitere dicitur, quando non facit aut quod minatur, aut quod promittit. God as ſome give out, who take upon them to reſolve this point, *is then ſaid to repent when he doth not effect the evil which he threatneth, or the good which he promiſeth.*

All this is true; yet no true definition, no juſt expreſſion of repentance; either as it is appliable in Scripture to God or Man. Moſt true it is, that whenſoever God is ſaid to repent, it muſt be conceived, that he did not effect either the evil which he threatned, or the good which he promiſed: But it is not reciprocally true, that wheneſoever God doth not bring the evil of puniſhment to paſs, which he threatneth, or the good which he promiſeth, it is rightly ſaid or conceived that he did repent.

A loving father may ſometimes threaten to chaſtiſe, ſometimes promiſe to reward the ſon whom he loveth beſt; and yet not be truly thought to repent, albeit he neither chaſtiſe, nor reward him: For he may thus mingle threatnings with incouragements, with purpoſe only to try his preſent diſpoſition.

Thus we read that God, who is a moſt loving Father to mankind, did command *Abraham* to ſacrifice his only ſon *Iſaac*, whom he loved. This was a threatning command, at leaſt in reſpect of *Iſaac*. Now albeit the Lord did withhold *Abrahams* hand from executing this command: yet do we not read, nor is it to be conceived, that God did repent of that which he gave *Abraham* in charge. The reaſon is, becauſe he charged *Abraham* thus to do, not with purpoſe to have *Iſaac* then preſently ſacrificed, but only to try the ſincerity and ſtrength of *Abrahams* faith, and obedience; and by this tryal to gain his aſſent unto the offering up of the ſeed promiſed from the beginning of the world, which was from this time irreſiſtably ordained to be the ſeed of *Abraham*. For ſeeing God from the beginning had determined to give his only Son for the redemption of man, it was his good pleaſure to confirm this promiſe by oath unto a man, that was ready to offer up his only Son in Sacrifice unto God, and *Abraham* from this very intended work, as St. *James* tells us, *was called the friend of God*: the promiſe made to our firſt Parents was now accompliſhed by way of Contract, or Covenant betwixt God and *Abraham*, that the Son of God and ſeed of *Abraham* ſhould be offered up in ſacrifice for a bleſſing unto all the nations of the earth. This being the end or purpoſe of God in commanding *Abraham* to ſacrifice his only ſon *Iſaac* in whom his ſeed was called, there is no ſemblance of repentance in God, although he did withhold *Abrahams* hand from doing that which he had commanded him to do.

They therefore come neerer unto the meaning of the Holy Ghoſt in this particular expreſſion, who tell us that *Deus tunc pœnitere dicitur, quando non facit quod facturus erat. God is then ſaid to repent when he doth not that which he was about to do, or that which he intended or purpoſed to have done.* For without a revocation or reverſing of ſomewhat ſeriouſly purpoſed or intended, there can be no true notion of repentance whether in God, in Man, or Angels.

And this notion, or expreſſion of repentance as it is attributed unto God in Scripture, we have expreſly delivered by the Prophet *Jeremy. Chap.* 18. *from v.* 7. *to the* 11. *At what inſtant I ſhall ſpeak concerning a Nation, and concerning a Kingdom to pluck up, and to pull down, and to deſtroy it; If that Nation, againſt whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them. And at what inſtant I ſhall ſpeak concerning a Nation, and concerning a Kingdom, to build and to plant it: if it do evil in my ſight that it obey not my voice, then I will repent of the good wherewith I ſaid I would benefit them.*

This general to my obſervation was firſt drawn into a rule or doctrinal form by the Prophet *Jeremiah*; yet the truth of the former part of it was experienced long before in the Men of *Nineveh*, though contrary to the mind and expectation of the Prophet *Jonas*, not out of a neſcience of this rule, or Gods uſual dealing with men, but out of a particular diſlike, or diſcontent, that the ſentence, which God had commanded him to pronounce, ſhould not be put in execution.

The ſentence was, *yet* 40. *days, and* Nineveh *ſhall be deſtroyed. Jonas* 3. *v.* 4.

This ſolemn Proclamation the Lord did dictate unto him as it is *v.* 2. Did the Lord thus ſpeak to try the *Ninevites* diſpoſition only, had he no intention or thought, as the Prophet *Jeremy* ſpeaks, to overthrow, or deſtroy the City? Certainly the *Ninevites* did think he had; and yet this their thought or opinion is commended unto us by the Holy Ghoſt under the ſtile, or title of belief, for ſo it is ſaid *v.* 5. *The people of* Nineveh *believed God.*

Wherein did they believe in him, or what did they believe of him?

Surely they believed, in the firſt place, that he meant as he ſpake, that he had a purpoſe or intention to deſtroy them. They knew their ſins had deſerved no leſs, and they believed that God was a juſt God, to inflict upon them what they deſerved; but they believed withal, that he was a God of mercy, and forgiveneſs; and out of this fear thus tempered with hope, they addreſs themſelves to become as capable of his mercy, as they had been of his Juſtice. *For ſo it follows, that the people of* Nineveh *believed God, and proclaimed a faſt, and put on Sack-Cloath from the greateſt of them even unto the leaſt of them*; and thus they did both by the Kings Royal Command, and Example: an admirable reſolution in a Heathen King, a practice more Orthodoxal than was the doctrine of the Prieſts or Prophets, which queſtioned *Jeremiah*, for ſaying *the Lord would make his Temple like* Shilo, *unleſs they did ſpeedily repent.* But what was the iſſue of the *Ninevites* repentance? God, ſaith the Text, *ſaw their works, that they turned from their evil way, and God repented of the evil that he had ſaid that he would do unto them, and he did it not. v.* 10.

Did he then but ſay that he would do this evil unto them, without any thought or purpoſe to do it? if he had but only ſaid it, and not meant it, he could not be truly ſaid to repent him of it; his ſaying ſuppoſeth his intent or thought, for he ſaid it ſolemnly, and publickly, not tentatively, or by way of trial only.

But if God had a ſerious will or purpoſe to deſtroy *Nineveh* at this time, and deſtroyed it not, how is it true which the *Pſalmiſt* ſaith, *that he doth whatſoever he will in Heaven and in Earth?* So that if it be true what we have before delivered, we ſhall be thought by ſome, to admit either ſome defect in his power, or ſome alteration in his will. Thus little Children by turning long round, imagine that the Globe of Heaven and Earth runs round with them, until their brains be ſetled: And men of riper years (unleſs their underſtandings correct their fancy) conceit that Towers and Steeples, with the ſhoars, whereon theſe or other edifices ſtand, do move from us, whilſt we ſwiftly paſs by them, or from them.

But to think there ſhould be any change in Gods will, becauſe many things which he ſeriouſly willeth are not effected, is an errour a great deal more groſs, than either of the former. For all the change is in the object of his will, that is, in the things willed or nilled by him.

The anſwer to this objection, or diſcovery of this fallacies original, was moſt acutely made, and punctually delivered by the Schoolmen long ago, *Aliud eſt mutare voluntatem, aliud eſt velle mutationem*; *It is not all one for God to change his will, and to will a change in things created by him.*

God never changeth his will, it always is as his nature is, abſolutely immutable, or, as our Apoſtle ſpeaks, *without ſhadow of change*: yet by one and the ſame unchangeable will, he may, and doth will variety of changes, diverſity of alterations, in the things willed by him, or in the ſentences denounced by his Prophets in his name. He worketh all things by the counſel of his will, and as Saint *Gregory* ſaith, *Nunquam mutat conſilium, his counſel doth never change or alter*; *ſæpius tamen mutat ſententiam, his unchangeable, unalterable counſel, may work a change in all things beſides it ſelf.*

It was his juſt will, ſeriouſly at this time to deſtroy the *Ninevites*, and this his will or purpoſe, we will conceive to be more unchangeable, more immoveable than a rock of Adamant; and *Nineveh*, whilſt ſhe continued her wonted courſe in ſin, was like a Ship before a full wind, which had out-ſaled her watch, whilſt the Mariners ſlept; and by this error, ready to daſh againſt the immovable rock of Divine Juſtice; had not her Pilots and Governors (awaked out of their ſleep upon the Prophet *Jonas* ſummons) tackt about, and directed their courſe another way.

If whilſt we acknowledge *Gods* will to be moſt unchangeable, we conſider it withal to be a moſt compleat, and moſt conſtant rule of equity and goodneſs, *qua talis*; it will moſt neceſſarily follow, that even in this reſpect, that it is a rule moſt compleat, and moſt unchangeable, it muſt have one award for *Nineveh*, raging with cruelty and oppreſſion, another for *Nineveh* turning from the violence that was in their hands; one doom for *Nineveh* wallowing in drunkenneſs, riotouſneſs, and uncleanneſs, another for *Nineveh* watching, waſhing her ſelf with tears, faſting, and ſitting in aſhes covered with Sack-cloth. One ſentence for *Nineveh* polluting her ſelf with pride of heart, with perjury and blaſphemy; another for *Nineveh*, humbling her ſelf under the mighty hand of God with faſting, devoutly calling upon his name, with tears and ſupplications.

For albeit God knoweth all things, as well things to come as preſent, and doth nothing, otherwiſe than from Eternity it was determined to be done; yet even this we know was determined from Eternity, that every man, in every Nation, ſhould be rewarded, not according to the identity of their perſons or place, but according to the diverſity of their ways, to the variety of their works.

Though Rocks in the Sea be immovable, yet we eaſily conceive how the diſtance, or aſpect, betwixt them and Ships, which Sail to and fro, doth vary every moment, whilſt the Ships are in motion. Conceive then *Jeſus Chriſt* to be, as he truly is, the immovable Rock of our Salvation, but withal a living Rock, and an all-ſeeing rule, and it will be eaſier to conceive, how the doom or ſentence from Eternity awarded to every mans actions, doth hourly change either for quality or degree, as men do change their courſe of life, whether from good to evil, or from evil to good, from good to better, or from evil to worſe.

So then, Repentance in theſe *Ninevites* did import not only a will of change, but a true change in their wills and affections. They turned their delight in ſin, into ſorrow for ſins paſt, and good reſolutions not to tranſgreſs ſo again.

Repentance in God, importeth only a will of change, nor is it the will of every change, but a change of the doom or ſentence denounced, which the Scripture calls Repentance in God. And here I ſhould have ſet a period to the firſt Point propoſed, did not ſome men queſtion, whether that belief wherewith the *Ninevites* are ſaid to have believed God, were a true belief, or an act of *ſaving Faith?* however, ſuch it was, as did ſave them from preſent deſtruction, but ſo it might be in ſome mens judgments, and yet be but a temporary hiſtorical Faith. For how could they pray in Faith, according to the Apoſtles rule, ſeeing they doubted whether God would ſhew mercy upon them, or no; For ſo much ſeems to be included in the reſolution. *Ver. 9. Who can tell if God will return and repent, and turn away from his fierce anger, and we periſh not.*

Now thus to doubt, may ſeem to argue, that their Prayers were not of true Faith.

But theſe two ſacred maxims (*Whatſoever is not of Faith is ſin*) (*whatſoever is done with doubt or ſcruple, is not of Faith*) are oftner wreſted, ſometimes to abet preſumption in reſpect of God, ſometimes diſobedience towards his Vice-gerents, than any other maxims in Sacred Writ beſides. For this preſent, the limitation of them is briefly this.

Whenſoever the doubt, or controverſie ſtands betwixt a mans Belly or Purſe, and his Soul or Conſcience, the Apoſtles rule (*Whatſoever is not of Faith is ſin*) is univerſally true, whoſoever doth any thing for his Belly, or Purſe, or matters of ſuch temporal conſequence, which he probably doubts, may wound his Soul or Conſcience, his action or choice is not of Faith, is truly ſinful; In other caſes he that intends to do much good, muſt reſolve to do many things whereof he cannot but doubt, whereof he cannot be reſolved but by the event or ſucceſs, yet not ſin.

Thus theſe *Ninevites* were uncertain or doubtful, whether the Lord would repent or no, of the evil threatned againſt them, and yet notwithſtanding this doubt, they did well, exceeding well, to faſt and pray, that he might repent; and in thus doubting, and thus doing, they declare not their works only, but their Divinity to have been much better than theirs, who condemn the like actions of Heathen men for ſinful, becauſe their perſons were not ſanctified by ſaving Faith. As for theſe *Ninevites*, they had a true notion of that Truth which the Scripture teacheth, to wit, that as God is often ſaid to repent, ſo ſome ſpecial caſes there be, in which he doth not, in which he will not upon any terms repent, and of which the Prophets ſaying is moſt true, *He is not as man, or the Son of man, that he ſhould repent.*

And ſuch, for inſtance, was the caſe of *Saul*, the firſt King of *Iſrael*, in the iſſue, though not from the beginning of his Raign, or from that point of time wherein God revealed that branch of his will to *Samuel*, 1 *Sam.* 15. *It repenteth me that I have ſet* Saul *up to be King, for he is turned backward from following me, and hath not performed my Commandments.* And he that turns his back from Gods Commandments, ſhall be ſure to meet his judgments in the face.

But this heavy ſentence againſt *Saul* (as it there followeth) *grieved* Samuel, *and he cryed unto the Lord all night, but his crys were not heard*) for ſo it follows, *ver.* 35. *that* Samuel *came no more to ſee* Saul, *until the day of his death, nevertheleſs he mourned for* Saul, and in the 1. *v.* of the

19. *Chap.* *Samuel* is expreſly forbidden to *mourn for* Saul: and if he might not mourn for him, he might not pray for him.

A lamentable caſe that ſo great a Prophet, ſo good a Man as *Samuel* was, might not pray, might not mourn for his Soveraign Lord, whom by Gods ſpecial Command, he had Anointed, but the cauſe is intimated *v.* 28. 29. For when *Saul* by ſeeking to hold the Prophet from departing from him, had rent his Coat, he returns this heavy meſſage unto him, *The Lord hath rent the Kingdom of* Iſrael *from thee this day, and hath given it to a neighbour of thine, that is better than thou: and alſo the ſtrength of* Iſrael *will not repent, for he is not as man that he ſhould repent.* And *Samuel* had no reaſon to mourn for him, or to pray to God for reverſing this ſentence, after he knew the Lord would not be intreated to recal it.

But here the Aliens from the Common-Weal of *Iſrael*, or men of *Julians* diſpoſition would object, is the God of *Iſrael* no otherwiſe affected towards his people, towards Kings of his own making, than the Gods of the Heathen (whom ye deſpiſe) were towards Kingdoms or Monarchies which ſerved them? Doth he give his people juſt cauſe to complain of him as the Heathen Poet did of his Gods, when he ſaw *Rome* ſo rent and torn with civil Wars, that it could not long ſtand? *Heu faciles dare ſumma Deos, eademq; tueri --- Difficiles!* Will the ſtrength of *Iſrael* advance a man to a Kingdom which never ſought it, but had it put upon him whilſt he was ſeeking his Fathers Aſſes? And will he not be intreated to keep him in it after long poſſeſſion, after many adventures of his body, and effuſion of his blood for ſupporting it? Will he repent of the good which he had purpoſed to do for *Saul*, and will he not repent of the evil which he had denounced againſt him? Thus uncatechiſed fleſh and blood, or men not inſtructed in the ways of God would repine. Now it were an eaſie anſwer to ſay, that God did thus peremptorily deal with *Saul* becauſe it was his abſolute will to depoſe him and to chuſe *David* in his place. But this or the like anſwer would make a fooliſh Heathen ſtark mad, and move a Man that hovered betwixt Heatheniſm and Chriſtianity, to fall quite from us: whereas we are bound by the Apoſtles rule *to give no offence not only to the Church of God, but neither to the Jew nor to the Gentile*; whereas this anſwer gives juſt occaſion of offence to them all. For ſure the Scripture is plain, and I think no Chriſtian will (in the general) deny, that *Saul* did at this time much better deſerve to be depoſed, than either he or *David* did to be elected King; his ſins were the meritorious cauſe of his rejection, but what ſins in particular is not ſo apparent.

Saul, as ſome ancient interpreters obſerve, was once little in his own eyes, and then he was a great Man in Gods ſight, but he grew great, exceeding great in his own eyes, and the greater he thus grew, the more he waned in Gods favour, whoſe eternal will, and pleaſure is, *to give grace unto the meek and humble, and to reſiſt and bring down the proud.*

All this is true, but too general to give ſatisfaction to the doubt propoſed: For God doth never ſo peremptorily reject any lawful Prince as he did *Saul* without hope of repentance, or reverſing the ſentence denounced againſt him, unleſs it be for ſome exceſſive multitude or full meaſure of ſin, or for ſome ominous, or prodigious ſins.

We read only of *two remarkable ſins committed by* Saul *before his rejection*, the one was for offering a burnt-offering, and for his intendment to offer a peace-offering before *Samuel* came unto him. 1 *Sam.* 13. 19. & 20. *And for this tranſgreſſion Samuel* ſaith unto him *verſ.* 30. *Thou haſt done fooliſhly, thou haſt not kept the commandment of the Lord thy God which he commanded thee: For now would the Lord have eſtabliſhed the kingdom upon Iſrael for ever. Saul* then had Gods promiſe before for the continuance of his Kingdom. But of this good truly intended to him, the Lord from this time repents, as it follows *verſe* 14. *But now the kingdom ſhall not continue.* Yet upon this fact it is not ſaid, that the Lord would not repent of the ſentence denounced againſt him.

But what was *Sauls* folly in all this; or was it any? for as it is ſaid, *v.* 8. *he tarried there ſeven days, according to the ſet time that Samuel had appointed.* It was not ſo great a folly for *Saul* being a King to ſtay no longer, as diſreſpect in *Samuel* not to come within the time appointed: was it not more fit that the Prophet ſhould ſtay for the King, than the King for the Prophet? The Text is plain, that *Saul ſtaid ſeven days according to the ſet time that Samuel had appointed,* but it is not ſo plain out of the Text, nor is it any way probable, that theſe ſeven days were obſerved by *Saul* in that ſeaſon, or to that end which *Samuel* had appointed.

Two good interpreters, and ancient in reſpect of our times, have obſerved an amphibology in *Samuels* words, and it was *Saul*'s folly to make choice of the ſiniſter or wrong ſenſe.

Rupertus & Angelomus.

The words you have now written, were not written but ſpoken then by *Samuel, Chap.* 10. *v.* 8. And however the Hebrew Text, as it is now pointed, but eſpecially the Latine and the Engliſh, do caſt the ſenſe of *Samuels* words that way which the objection ſuppoſeth, yet the matter it ſelf, and other circumſtances ſway the other way, in excuſe of *Samuel,* and aggravation of *Sauls* folly. *Thou ſhalt go down before me to* Gilgal, *and behold I will come down unto thee to offer burnt offrings, to ſacrifice ſacrifices of peace offrings.* And here they make a pauſe or full ſenſe, and begin another at theſe words, *ſeven days ſhalt thou tarry till I come to thee.*

But the Original will bear another ſenſe, retaining the ſelf ſame words, only altering the pauſe or point, as thus, *Thou ſhalt go down before me to* Gilgal, *and behold I will come unto thee to offer burnt offrings, and to ſacrifice the ſacrifice of peace offrings for ſeven days:* and then begin the ſecond clauſe thus, *thou ſhalt tarry till I come to thee,* as if he had ſaid, ſee in any caſe thou tarry till I come to thee, and ſhew thee what thou ſhalt do. *Samuel* it ſeems went in the mean time to aſk Counſel of the Lord, as being not himſelf fully inſtructed in this great buſineſs which he was towards.

If *Saul* did uſurp the Prieſts Office, in offring Sacrifices upon pretence of *Samuels* ſtay, this was prodigious. If he took upon him only to appoint the time for the Sacrifice or ſupplication, deſigning ſome Prieſts for exerciſing the ſacred function, this was a great deal too much, more than meer folly; for all this was by God himſelf reſerved for *Samuel* who was the interpreter or ſpokes-man betwixt God and *Saul.* The Sacrifice, no queſtion, was a publick and ſolemn ſacrifice, ſuch as *Solomon* made at the Conſecration of the Temple, whoſe ſolemnity laſted *full ſeven days:* and it is probable, that this preſent ſolemnity which *Samuel* had appointed, was the Conſecration of *Saul*, or eſtabliſhiſhing him in his Kingdom, had he not fooliſhly wronged himſelf by trenching upon the Prieſts, or the Prophets function, or upon both.

But whether theſe mentioned, or ſome others, or theſe with others, were the principal branches of *Saul's* folly, certain it is, that neither any of theſe, nor all of theſe, did make his doom to be inevitable, or his depoſition irreverſible. For though *Samuel* upon notice of this his folly, did fore-tell that God would give his Kingdom unto another, yet he did not expreſly add, that the Lord would not repent him of this evil denounced againſt him: and this addition being not made, the ſentence was liable to the ordinary rule of interpreting *Gods* threatnings, *Jer.* 18.

Saul by repenting of this folly, might have been capable of that pardon, whereof he made himſelf altogether uncapable, by his ſecond more groſs, and more ſtupid tranſgreſſion of Gods Commandment. What was that? His indulgence towards *Agag* and his people. Is it then an unpardonable ſin in Chriſtian Princes, to ſhew pity unto Heatheniſh or Idolatrous Princes, whom God hath given into their hands by Victory and Battel? No. To gather ſuch general Doctrines or Uſes, from particular Inſtances in Scripture, as ſome have done from *Ezekiah's* demoliſhing the Brazen Serpent, or from *Ahabs* ſuffering *Benhadad* to eſcape with life, is but the Symptom of diſtempered zeal, miſled by ignorance. Nor will it follow, becauſe *Ahab* was more remarkably, and more ſeverely puniſhed, for ſuffering *Benhadad* to eſcape with life, than he was for putting poor *Naboth* to death, that therefore this ſlaughter was a leſs ſin in it ſelf than the other. For we read that *Ahab* repented him of his unjuſt and cruel dealing with *Naboth*: but ſo he did not of his other folly, in ſuffering *Benhadad* to eſcape with life: and for this reaſon God repented him of the ſentence denounced againſt *Ahab* by *Elias*: So did he not repent of that other ſentence denounced by another Prophet, *becauſe thou haſt*, &c.

However, this was not all wherein *Saul* was faulty; though foully faulty in all this, more faulty in ſparing *Agag*, than *Ahab* was in ſparing *Benhadad*; For God had expreſly commanded him *utterly to deſtroy* Amalek, *not ſparing man or beaſt*. But ſo the ſame God commanded the *Iſraelites* to deſtroy the *Canaanites*, yet their ſin in entring league with the *Gibeonites*, was not equivolent to *Sauls* tranſgreſſion; for the condition of *Amalek*, and the Kings, was much worſe than the condition of other Heathens, more uncapable of pity from the *Iſraelites*, than the *Amorites* or the *Hittites* were. For God had denounced hoſtility againſt this People by ſolemn oath, *Exod.* 17. *ver.* 15. 16. *And* Moſes *built an Altar, and called the name of it* Jehovah Niſſi, *for he ſaid, becauſe the Lord hath ſworn, that the Lord will have War with* Amalek *from Generation to Generation.* Now the *Amalekites* being thus ſolemnly declared to be Gods Enemies in ſo high a degree, the *Iſraelites* were bound to wreak his foe-hood againſt that Nation. *Nunc, olim, quocunq; darent ſe tempore vires.*

When *Saul* was made King of *Iſrael*, to fight the Battels of the Lord, and at this time expreſly enjoyned to deſtroy *Amalek*, his ſin in ſparing *Agag* and the Cattel, was a ſin of like nature, as if a Judge or Sworn Magiſtrate, being put in truſt to do juſtice in a particular, unto which his Soveraign Lord had peremptorily, and determinately ſworn, ſhould upon bribe, or other ſiniſter reſpects, neglect his duty, and make his maſter (as much as in him lay) fore-ſworn. And for any inferiour judge thus to do, deſerves more bodily deaths than one. It would be diſloyalty for his deareſt friend to ſue for his pardon.

It is a moſt Catholick rule in Divinity, of which the *Heathens* had an ingrafted notion, the Ancient *Jews* an undoubted tradition, and the uſe and doctrine of it unanimouſly received by primitive *Chriſtians*, *That whereſoever we find either matter of bleſſing, or matter of curſing denounced by oath; there the ſentence is irreverſible, God will not repent.* We ſee the rule firſt experienced in thoſe murmuring *Iſraelites*, to whom God had ſworn, *That they ſhould not enter into his reſt.* For though they repented of their folly, and beſought God with tears that he would revoke his ſentence, offering their ſervice (which before they had neglected) for conquering the Land of Promiſe, yet the Lord would not hear them, and, which is more remarkable, he would not hear *Moſes* in this particular for himſelf, becauſe he was involved as an acceſſary in that ſentence, *for he ſpake unadviſedly on their behalf.* So *Moſes* himſelf doth teſtifie, *Deut.* 3. *ver.* 23. *&c. And I beſought the Lord at that time ſaying, O Lord God thou haſt begun to ſhew thy ſervant thy greatneſs, I pray thee let me go over and ſee this good Land which is beyond* Jordan, *and that goodly Mountain* Libanon. *But the Lord was wroth with me for your ſakes, and would not hear me; and the Lord ſaid unto me, let it ſuffice thee, ſpeak no more unto me of this matter, get thee unto the top of* Piſgah, *and behold it with thine eyes: for over this* Jordan *thou ſhalt not go.*

So then God repented him that he had made *Saul* King over *Iſrael*, becauſe he had the Kingdom only by meer promiſe, not by promiſe confirmed by oath. But God would not repent of his depoſition, nor reverſe his ſentence, becauſe *Saul* by his prepoſterous indulgence unto *Amalek* (Gods ſworn enemy) did by this fact incur the ſentence of depoſition by oath; and more deeply participate with the *Amalekites*, than *Moſes* had done with the *Iſraelites*, whom God had cut off by oath, from entring into the Land of *Canaan*.

I hope I ſhall not be thought to flatter men, whilſt I bleſs the name of our Glorious Lord, for ſetting a King over us, as far from *Saul's* or *Ahab's* diſpoſition, as they were from the diſpoſition of King *Hezekiah*, and for giving him a people nothing ſo untoward, either towards God, or him, as the murmuing *Iſraelites* were towards God and his ſervant *Moſes*.

But whatſoever hath been ſaid, or is written concerning the Kings of *Iſrael* or *Judah*, were written for our inſtruction, whether Prince or People.

The moſt immediate uſe of the Point laſt diſcuſt, concerns great Princes, and their followers: their followers thus far, that they never ſolicite, or importune their Soveraign Lords, or in caſe they do, it deeply concerns Princes, not to ſuffer themſelves to be wrought by any ſolicitation, or importunity, to favour any cauſe which ſtands accurſed by Gods Eternal Law, nor to take the perſons of any men into their protection, whom the Supreme Judge hath exempted from his; not to patronage any, whom the Law of God and man, have deſigned unto utter deſtruction. For by doing ſuch bodily good to prodigious malefactors, they ſhall procure, as my Prophet ſpeaks, *great evil unto their own Souls.* Evils, at leaſt, temporal unto themſelves, and to their people, of which the Lord will not repent. For where ſuch favour is ſhewn unto men, or rather, where favour and pity is ſhewed unto ſuch men, as God is thus highly diſpleaſed with, there can be no true fear of the Lord. In whomſoever that fear is, it is *predominant*, and will command all other affections, whether of hope or fear, whether of hatred, love, or favour to men. Unleſs ſuch fear of the Lord be firſt planted in their hearts, no Prince, nor Potentates, no ſtate or Kingdom can juſtly pretend to this bleſſing which *Hezekiah's* prayers obtained. For he firſt feared, and then beſought the Lord before the Lord repented of the evil which he had pronounced againſt him, and his people.

Now it is our hope and aſſurance, that God will repent of the evil denounced, which makes our fear of him or of his judgments, to be a filial, not a ſlaviſh fear. For no man can fear God with a true filial fear, but he that apprehends him as a loving Father, and one that is ſorry for our afflictions, one that delighteth not in the puniſhment of his Sons or Servants but in their repentance, that they may become capable of his Fatherly mercy, or loving kindneſs.

With thee there is mercy, (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) *therefore ſhalt thou be feared.* Why? doth any man fear Gods mercies more than his Juſtice? No. This was no part of the *Pſalmiſts* meaning: We fear his Judgments in and for themſelves, and as they bring evil upon us. We fear God himſelf for his mercy, we are afraid to offend him if we be his Children, becauſe he is merciful, and becauſe the greateſt evil which any man can procure unto his own Soul, is to deprive himſelf of his mercy, who is goodneſs it ſelf, the ſole Fountain of all the good which can be derived unto us. Or it may be a further part of the *Pſalmiſts* meaning, that it was our apprehenſion or belief of his mercy, which keepeth our fear, whether of him or of his judgments, within his proper ſphere, or limits; as if he had ſaid, *with thee O Lord there is mercy, therefore ſhalt thou be feared*, hated thou canſt not be by ſuch as apprehend or believe thy mercies; whereas fear of judgments, or perpetual puniſhments, unleſs it be tempered with hope of mercy, runs out of its wits, and running beyond its bounds always ends in hatred.

It is not poſſible either for that man not to love God, which truly believes that he hath mercy in ſtore for all; or for that man not to hate him, or at leaſt not to occaſion others to hate him, which is perſwaded that he hath reſerved judgment without mercy to ſome men, as they are men; or that he hath deſtinated them to inevitable deſtruction before he gave them life or preſervation.

To be thus perſwaded argues an uncharitable diſpoſition, as well towards God, as towards men: and from both root and branch of this error, from all ſuch hereſies, hatred, malice, and uncharitableneſs good Lord deliver us, that are thine heritage, thy whole Church, eſpecially this land and people.

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A
TREATISE
CONCERNING
The *SIGNS* of the *TIME*,
OR,
Gods Forewarnings.

CONTAINING
The ſum of ſome few Sermons delivered partly before the
Kings Majeſty, partly in the Town of *New-Caſtle* upon *Tine*.

BY
THOMAS JACKSON Doctor in Divinity, and Chaplain
in Ordinary to his Majeſty.

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LUKE 13. 5.

*I tell you nay; but except ye repent, ye ſhall all like-
wiſe periſh.*

THE words contain an Emphatical negative, οὐχὶ, λέγω ὑμῖν, and the Emphaſis of the negative doth infer a vehement affirmative, though conditional, or exceptive; *but except ye repent, ye ſhall all likewiſe periſh.* Beſides the grammatical emphaſis, or vehemence, the ſame words are twice repeated by him who uſed no tautologies, by him whoſe nay was nay, and whoſe yea was yea, and *Amen.* The ingemination of the ſame ſentence was from two ſeveral occaſions: The one given to our Saviour; the other taken by him. The occaſion given ye have *v.* the 1. *There were preſent ſome that told of the* Galilæans, *whoſe blood* Pilate *had mingled with their ſacrifices.* Who theſe *Galilæans* were, and what was their crime, is no where (to my obſervation) regiſtred in particular; probable it is, that they were the relicks of *Judas* of *Galilee* his Sect, of whom we read *Act.* 5. 37. This man, as *Gamaliel* in that place relates, roſe up (that is in our language, did rebel) in the days of the tax enjoined about the time of our Saviours Birth, and drew much people after him; and though he periſhed, and all, even as many as obeyed him, were diſperſed: yet, his ſect, or opinions died not with him: for as *Joſephus* that great *Jewiſh* Antiquary tells us, he left two Sons which maintained his doctrine after his death, and theſe *Galileans* here mentioned were, it ſeems their Diſciples; and their crime, mutiny, or attempt of rebellion.

With what intentions the relaters of theſe news did interrupt our Saviour in his Serious diſcourſe unto his Auditors, he beſt knew. However, *res ipſa includebat dolum.* With what intention ſoever they came unto him, the relation it ſelf, before ſuch a multitude, was captious: Such as would have put a man, but ordinarily wiſe, either to ſilence, or upon an exigence. If he ſhould have held his peace, this had been a diſparagement to the opinion, which the people had of his wiſdom; and if he were diſpoſed to reply, there ſeems a neceſſity laid upon him, either of cenſuring theſe *Galileans* for notorious tranſgreſſors, or of taxing *Pilate* of extraordinary cruelty, to condemn theſe miſerable men after ſuch dreadful execution, eſpecially before their Countrymen (for ſuch were moſt of his Auditors, *Galileans* many of them, perhaps, their Kinſmen) had been odious. To have taxed *Pilates* perſon of cruelty, or this his preſent fact of injuſtice, had been dangerous; for it was an act of ſtate. And whatſoever private edge, or ſpleen, this *Roman* deputy had againſt theſe *Galileans*, that was ſure to be backt by publick ſupreme Authority. As for *Pilates* perſon, place, or fact, that our Saviour (ſuch was his wiſdom) meddles not with; he neither approves, nor diſallows it. That theſe *Galileans* were grievous tranſgreſſors, did juſtly deſerve what they ſuffered, he denies not. But that they were more hainous ſinners than any other *Galileans*, which had not ſuffered the like puniſhment, that he firmly denies, in the 2. *ver. Jeſus anſwering, ſaid unto them, ſuppoſe ye that theſe* Galileans *were ſinners above all the* Galileans, *becauſe they ſuffered ſuch things? I tell you nay, but except ye repent* πάντες ὡσαύτως ἀπολεῖσθε, *ye ſhall all likewiſe periſh.*

This ſpeech is directed to his ordinary Auditors, who for the moſt part were *Galileans*, and our Saviour at the time, when this news was brought him, was not in *Judæa*, nor in *Pilates* juriſdiction, but in *Galilee* or *Peria*, which both belonged to *Herods* Soveraignty.

But theſe News-mongers were not *Galileans*, but inhabitants of *Jeruſalem*, and for this reaſon he takes occaſion to put them in mind of as fearful an accident which had fallen out, though not ſo lately, yet within their memory, in *Jeruſalem*, admoniſhing the Inhabitants thereof to make better uſe of it, than hitherto they had done, *ver.* 4. *Or thoſe eighteen, upon whom the Tower in* Shilo *fell, and ſlew them, think ye that they were ſinners above all men that dwelt in* Jeruſalem? *I tell you nay, but except ye repent* πάντες ὁμοίως ἀπολεῖσθε, *ye ſhall all likewiſe periſh.*

This ingeminate verdict of our Saviour, firſt, againſt the *Galileans*, 2ly, againſt the Inhabitants of *Jeruſalem*, as moſt other of his ſolemn ſentences (if we had the Grace, wit, or will to weigh them aright) admit a double ſenſe or importance, and require a twofold conſideration. The one as they are Prophetical and of more ſpecial uſe. The other as they are moral, and of general uſe. We are in the firſt place to conſider theſe words now read unto you, as they are Prophetical. For unleſs we have a true ſcale of them, as they lye under this obſervation, we ſhall take their moral meaning, either too wide or too ſtrait, and ſhall continually wander from the meaning of the Holy Ghoſt, in the particular application of them.

But ſome haply will demand; what matter of Propheſie, or of Propheſie befitting the Prince of Prophets, is it, or can it be thus emphatically to utter, οὐχὶ λέγω ὑμῖν *it is in no caſe, as you think of theſe* Galileans,*or Inhabitants of* Jeruſalem,*but unleſs one and other of you repent, ye ſhall all likewiſe periſh.*

Every ordinary Miniſter of Gods Word may, and ought to Preach this Doctrine daily to his Auditors, unleſs they be much better than in moſt places they are. For ſuch (for the moſt part) both Prieſt and People are, that unleſs they do repent, they ſhall dye not the death of the Body only,but of the Soul. Yea, but many thus dye which do not periſh,and many may periſh,and yet not periſh, ὡσαύτως, or ὁμοίως, after the ſame manner that thoſe *Galileans*,whoſe blood *Pilate* mingled with their Sacrifices, or thoſe eighteen of *Jeruſalem*, upon whom the Tower of *Shilo* fell, and ſlew them. Now our Saviours meaning is, that as the end of theſe few particular men, was exemplary and diſaſtrous, ſo ſhould the end of the *Galilean* Nation, and of the Inhabitants of *Jeruſalem* without Repentance be; a ſpectacle and aſtoniſhment to all the Nations of the Earth, which ſhould ſee, hear, and read of it. And to fore-tell this National diſaſter, ſo long before was matter of Propheſie well befitting the Prince of Prophets. A true document that he had the ſpirit of Propheſie, not by meaſures, or minute portions, but moſt full and entire, that he was not only *vates futurorum*, or *præteritorum*, but *certus interpres præſentium.* For unto all theſe points the Spirit of Divine Propheſie doth reſpectively reach. *Moſes* did declare himſelf to be as true a Prophet, in ſetting down the Hiſtory of the Creation, and the lives of the Patriarks, as in fore-telling what ſhould befal their Poſterity. So did *Daniel* as well in retriving *Nebuchadnezzar's* dream, which had out-flown his own memory, as in giving the undoubted interpretation of it. Our Saviour in this place declares himſelf to be *vates præteritorum*, in his moſt infallible recounting that ſad accident in *Jeruſalem* without a remembrancer, or any record of it then extant. For however the thing it ſelf was well known to the Inhabitants of *Jeruſalem*, yet he did not Preach upon *Carantoes.* The ground of this his Heavenly diſcourſe was not, *vox populi*, but his own infallible knowledge of both theſe diſaſters. And both of them were extraordinary ſigns, or fore-warnings, unto the *Jewiſh* Nation, and in particular, to the Inhabitants of the Province of *Galilee*, and City of *Jeruſalem.* Yet ſigns or fore-warnings, whoſe interpretations, none beſides the Prince of Prophets could then have given. And his interpretation of them, is in brief this, that *Galilee* ſhould be the prime ſeat of that bloody war, and *Jeruſalem* the center of all thoſe unparalleld calamities, whereat the general ſigns of the time, and theſe two particular diſaſters mentioned in my Text, directly point, and would ſtrike home without ſpeedy repentance.

That both theſe ſad accidents were ſuch as the *Latines* call *portenta* or *prodigia*, that is in ſacred language, *peculiar ſigns of the time*, or *fore-warnings of greater calamities to follow*, we gather from the firſt words of the Chapter, παρῆσαν δέ τινες, *there were ſome preſent*, ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ καιρῷ *in illo ipſo articulo temporis*, in that very ſeaſon, or nick of time, who told him of the *Galileans*, whoſe blood *Pilate* had mingled with their Sacrifices: What ſeaſon was that? That point of time, wherein he ſaid unto the people, *Chap.* 12. *ver.* 4. *When ye ſee a Cloud riſe out of the Weſt, ſtraight way ye ſay, there cometh a ſhowr, and ſo it is. And when ye ſee the South wind blow, ye ſay there will be heat, and it cometh to paſs. Ye Hypocrites, ye can diſcern the face of the Skie, and* *of the Earth, but how is it that ye do not diſcern this time? Yea, and why even of your ſelves judge ye not what is right? And when the* Phariſees, *with the* Sadduces *came tempting, and deſiring him that he would ſhew them a ſign from Heaven,* as it is Matth. 16. ver. 1. 2. &c. *He anſwered, and ſaid unto them, when it is evening ye ſay it will be fair weather, for the Skie is Red. And in the morning, it will be foul weather to day, for the Skie is Red and lowring: O ye Hypocrites, ye can diſcern the face of the Skie, but can ye not diſcern the ſigns of the times?* And albeit his recited ſpeeches, *Luke* 12. *ver.* 54. were directed unto the people, or promiſcuous multitude then preſent: yet in that multitude there were (no queſtion) ſome *Scribes,* which had the prerogative, and portion of the firſt born in the title of *Hypocrites.*

Now our Saviour's diſcourſe immediately before my Text, being of the Signs of the Time, and a tax of his Auditors dullneſs, in not diſcerning them: This unexpected interſertion of thoſe *Galileans,* whoſe blood *Pilate* had mingled with their ſacrifices, whatſoever the News-mongers intended, was indeed no interruption, but rather an illuſtration of his Doctrine; It comes in its right cue: and the relators of this ſad accident ſerve his turn as fitly, as the Chirurgion doth the Phyſician, by making a viſible diſſection of that part, on which the other makes an Anatomy Lecture. The implication, or importance of the news, thus ſuited by Divine Providence unto the point then handled by our Saviour, is in effect, as much as if he himſelf had ſaid unto his Auditors; if you want other ſigns of the Time to meditate upon, take theſe two for your Theme, the unuſual Maſſacre of the *Galileans,* and the diſaſter of thoſe eighteen Inhabitants of *Jeruſalem, upon whom the Tower in* Shilo *fell and ſlew them.* Theſe are the firſt drops of Gods diſpleaſure againſt the Nation; but theſe drops without Repentance, will grow into a current, and the current into a river, and the river ſwell into a flood, and the flood into an ocean of publick woe, and tragick miſeries.

The Prophet *Jeremiah* long before had taxed their Fore-fathers as more dull and ſtupid, than the reaſonleſs Creatures, as the Birds of the Air, for not diſcerning, or not obſerving thoſe ſigns of the Time, which did fore-ſhow Gods judgments upon them, with the cauſes which did provoke them, *Jer.* 8. 6. 7. *I harkned and heard, but they ſpeak not aright; no man repented him of his wickedneſs, ſaying, what have I done? every one turned to his courſe, as the horſe ruſheth into the battel; yea, the* Stork *in the Heaven knoweth her appointed times; and the* Turtle, *and the* Crane, *and the* Swallow, *obſerve the time of their coming, but my people know not the judgment of the Lord.*

This ſtupidity or ſenſleſneſs in man, whether *Jew* or *Gentile,* whether *Chriſtian* or *Heathen,* in thus ſlighting or neglecting the ſigns of the Time, that is, ſuch Portendments or Prognoſticks of Gods judgments or calamities, as the very book of Nature, or of the viſible creatures affords, argues the nature, at leaſt the diſpoſition of men, in whom this ſtupidity is found, to be farther out of frame, than the nature of the Birds of the Air, or Beaſts of the Field. For they commonly foreſee unſeaſonable weather, or ſtorm coming, and ſeek in time for ſome ſhelter or refuge, but ſo do not men for the moſt part return to God, who is their only refuge, under the ſhadow of whoſe wings, there is only hope of ſafety; albeit he daily gives them more pregnant Prognoſticks of wrath enſuing, than the diſpoſition of the Air doth unto Birds or Fowls.

From theſe circumſtances of the ſeaſon, wherein theſe news were brought unto our Saviour, the enſuing diſcourſe muſt take its riſe by theſe degrees, firſt; of the peculiar ſigns of times portending unuſual Calamities, and of their general uſe. Secondly, of the manner how this propheſie was fullfilled upon the whole *Jewiſh* Nation, according to the ſcale or model of theſe two ſigns upon theſe few *Galileans*, and Inhabitants of *Jeruſalem*. Thirdly, of the moral uſe, or application of both theſe ſigns and predictions.

That the preſerver of mankind doth always in one kind or other gently, yet ſeriouſly forwarn every City, or Nation of ſuch extraordinary calamities, as hang over their heads, and without repentance inevitably fall upon them; there can be no better proof than by induction, that is, by the general agreement of Hiſtorians whether ſacred, Chriſtian, or Heathen, in all Ages. Of Hiſtorians, whoſe works are entirely extant, or unſuſpected to be the Authors whoſe names they bear, *Herodotus* is the moſt ancient, and he hath made up the induction to our hands until his own times, *Quoties ingentes ſunt eventuræ calamitates vel civitati vel nationi, ſolent ſignis prænunciari. Extraordinary calamities, whether ſuch as beſal Cities or peculiar signiories are always foreſhewn by ſome ſign or other.* This Author lived before *Alexander* the Great, but after *Cyrus* had taken the City of *Babylon*; and is quoted by *Ariſtotle*, who was *Alexanders* inſtructor. I refer his inſtances or enſamples, confirming his former induction of general obſervation, to a fitter opportunity, divers of them being more paralleld to the ſigns of the times in my text, than any I have read in any Heathen Author. In the Age next enſuing the Author of the ſecond Book of *Maccabees* (A man of authentick credit for matter of fact, though not of Canonical Authority for his doctrine, or judgment upon matter of fact related by him) hath recorded the like forewarnings, though in another kind, foreſignifying the Wars that befel the the *Jewiſh* Nation by *Antiochus*, *Chap.* 5. 2. 3. To parallel theſe with the like in every Age ſince that time, would be leſs painful to an ordinary Preacher, than troubleſom to his Auditors. *Matchiavel*, a man as free from ſuperſtition, or vain credulity, as any other Writer that hath been born and bred amongſt Chriſtians, out of his own reading, and experience hath made the ſame induction which *Herodotus* did, but ſomewhat more full.

Ut cauſam facilè confitebor me ignorare: ita rem ipſam cum ex antiquis, tum novis exemplis agnoſcere oportet, & confiteri omnes magnos motus, quicunq; aut urbi, aut regioni evenerunt, vel à conjectoribus vel à revelatione aliquâ prodigiis aut cœleſtibus ſignis prædici ac prænunciari ſolere. Matchiav. diſput. lib. 1. cap. 56.

But beſides the induction made by *Herodotus* (whoſe works I doubt, but know not whether *Matchiavel* had read) many other inſtances he brings out of his own obſervations and experience.

But ſome will aſk, what credit is to be given to *Matchiavel* or men of his temper? Little or none (I muſt confeſs) in point of cenſure or opinion concerning matter of Religion or ſacred uſe; But as the teſtimony of the *Jew* in matter of fact is the moſt pregnant proof that we Chriſtians can uſe againſt the *Jews* themſelves, or for confirmation of our Religion; ſo *Matchiavels* teſtimony in matter of fact of this nature whereof we treat is moſt authentick againſt the *Atheiſts* or men of no Religion. For this great *Politician* was ſo far from being too ſuperſtitious or credulous in this kind, that by his writings many

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many have ſuſpected him to have been rather irreligious, more inclining to *Atheiſm* than either to the Chriſtian or *Jewiſh* Nation. And whatſoever in this kind he hath obſerved, as he himſelf confeſſeth, was in a manner evicted or extorted from him by the evidence of truth. The true cauſe of ſuch prodigious ſigns or forewarnings he profeſſes he did not know, and we have reaſon to believe him in this, becauſe he was ignorant of the right end or uſe of them. But this, ſaith he, all we of *Florence* know, that the coming of *Charles* the Eighth *French King* with a puiſſant Army was foretold long before by *Jerome Savanorola*, and likewiſe foreſhewed by many other ſigns riſe in his times, throughout the *Dukedom* of *Tuſcany*. Now this divination of *Savanorola* was not gathered from any politick obſervation: for *Charles* his attempt was in all politick eſteem ſo incredible and raſh, that the grave *Senators* of *Venice* would give no credence unto the firſt news of his entring into *Italy*, until one of their ancients better acquainted (it ſeems) with that *French Kings* diſpoſition than the reſt, told them that he could more eaſily believe this raſh attempt of that *French King*, than of any of his Predeceſſors. But beſides the teſtimony of *Matchiavel* for this particular, we have the undoubted teſtimony of *Philip de Comines*, that grave and religious *Hiſtorian*, who was then agent for the *French King* in *Italy*, and relates this prediction from *Savaronola* his own mouth, with more particulars than *Matchiavel* mentions; for he expreſly foretold him of that unexpected ſucceſs which *Charles* at his firſt coming did find: but this he foretold with this *proviſo* or *caution*, that unleſs the *King* his Maſter did faithfully execute the work whereunto the *Lord* of *Lords*, and *King* of *Kings* had deſigned him, he would quickly call in his Commiſſion, and bring the *French* Armies back again into their own land with diſgrace and loſs. The event did prove both theſe parts of this prediction to be moſt true.

This great alteration of ſtate and Wars in *Italy*, as *Matchiavel* confidently affirms, was likewiſe portended or foreſignified by ſuch apparitions in the air, as the Author of the ſecond Book of *Maccabees* in his 5. *Chap.* mentions, that is, by apparitions of great Armies of Men joining Battel over *Aretium*, a Town in *Tuſcany*. The words of the Author of the ſecond of *Maccabees* before cited are theſe, *And then it hapned that through all the City for the ſpace almoſt of* 40. *days, there were ſeen Horſe-men running in the air in Cloth of Gold, and armed with Lances, like a band of Souldiers, and Troops of Horſe-men in array, encountring and running one againſt another, with ſhaking of Shields, and multitude of Pikes, and drawing of Swords, and caſting of Darts, and glitterings of golden Ornaments and harneſs of all ſorts; wherefore every man prayed that that apparition might turn to good.*

He inſtances in another ſign or prodigy well known to all in *Florence*, which did portend or fore-ſignifie the Death of *Lorenzo de Medices*, who laid the firſt foundation of the preſent *Dukedom* of *Tuſcany* in his Family, being a man who by his wiſdom had preſerved all *Italy* a long time in Peace. For a little before his Death the roof of their Chief Church or Temple took fire from Heaven, which much defaced it. The baniſhment of *Petrus Soderinus* a great Peer and Pillar of the ſtate of *Florence* in his time, and the calamities which enſued thereupon, were likewiſe fore-ſignified or portended, by the burning of their *Guild-hall* or *Senate-houſe*, by lightning or fire from Heaven. Theſe examples he brings from his own knowledge, another he brings out of *Livie*, of one *Æditius* an honeſt Country-man, who was warned and commanded by a voice in the dead of night, more clear and ſhrill than the voice of man, to tell their Magiſtrates that the *Gauls* their Enemies were coming to be revenged upon the *Romans*. So he concludes his diſcourſe as he did begin it, that whatſoever might be thought of ſuch conjectures or forewarnings, this is moſt certain by experience, that ſome great alterations always follow upon ſuch ſigns or forewarnings. As for *Herodotus*, I like his Verdict in this kind the better, becauſe he referred this obſervation of prodigies or ſigns of the time unto the *Egyptian* Nation, which was the moſt ancient and moſt remarkable Kingdom amongſt the Heathens. And what reaſon the *Egyptians* had to obſerve theſe prodigies and ſigns of the time more than others, both Jews and Chriſtians cannot but know or may remember, ſeeing God had ſhewed ſuch ſigns and wonders in the Land of *Egypt* as had not been ſhewn in any Nation before, ſuch as can ſcarce be paralleld in any Nation ſince, beſides in the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, until the day of judgment, or the ſigns which ſhall be given before it come.

Unto matters related by the Author of the ſecond Book of *Maccabees* if not for his own eſteem, yet for St. *Pauls*, or whoever were the Author of the Epiſtle to the Hebrews, we owe ſuch an Hiſtorical belief as may ground matters of ſacred or Canonical uſe or application, becauſe that ſacred Author hath given him credit or countenance in his relations of the perſecutions of Gods people long before his own time, which are not regiſtred by any ancient Author now extant, beſides this Author of the ſecond Book of *Maccabees*. 2. *Maccab*. 7. 7. *Heb*. 11. 35.

They extend an undoubted truth too far, which make Canonical Scriptures to be the only rule of our belief, as well for matters of fact, as for matter of Doctrine or Uſe. For ſome matters of fact, though not related in Canonical Scriptures, we may, and do belief, or know, as certainly, as thoſe matters which are related by ſacred Hiſtorians. We (all of us) as ſtedfaſtly believe, and know, that God hath often viſited this Land with the Plague of Peſtilence in latter years, as we do that he viſited the Land of *Judah* in *Davids* time. Many of us believe or know, that we have been ſick, grievouſly ſick; and this we believe and know as firmly, as we believe that *Hezekias* was ſick even unto Death and recovered, albeit his ſickneſs, and the Plague wherewith *Judah* was viſited in *Davids* time, are both recorded in Scriptures, ſo are not any viſitations wherewith the Lord hath viſited either our ſelves in particular, or this Land and people in general.

But though theſe or the like matters of fact be not expreſt in Scriptures, which are the rule of our Faith: yet are the Canonical Scriptures the only rule of Faith, how we ought to demean our ſelves, when we are either viſited in particular as *Hezekias* was, or when Gods viſitation is more general and publick, as it was upon *Judah* in the Reign of *David*.

But however we may know matters of fact which are preſent, or which fall out in our times, as undoubtedly as we do matters of fact related in Scriptures: yet it will be objected, that we may not give the ſame credit or belief unto any matters of fact done in former times, related by Heathen or Chriſtian, by ancient or modern Authors, which we do unto all matters of fact, which have been regiſtred by Canonical Writers.

All this is true, yet unto Writers, as well Heathens as Chriſtians, we may and ought to give, though no ſacred eſteem or credit, yet an Hiſtorical or Moral belief, as many by profeſſion Chriſtians do not diſtinctly give unto matters of fact related by ſacred Writers, or at leaſt unto their cenſures of them.

If all, or moſt of us could but attain unto ſuch a diſtinct Hiſtorical belief of ſacred Writers, as many have of ſtories related, as well by Ancient Heathens, as by Modern Chriſtians, we would be more Religious, or leſs Irreligious than for the moſt part we are.

Briefly, though to believe as much concerning the ſigns of the times, as the Heathens did, though to make as good or better uſe of them than they did, be not ſufficient to acquit us from ruine and deſtruction fore-ſignified; yet not to believe as much as they did, not to make ſo good uſe as they did, not to be ſo much affected with them as they were, is enough, and more than enough to condemn us, enough to bring that ruine or calamity, which they portend or fore-ſignifie, inevitably, and in full meaſure upon us.

Unto theſe obſervations of *Herodotus* and *Matchiavel*, I only add this one, that the greater the alterations or calamities be, which are thus fore-ſignified, or portended, the greater commonly, and more ſtrange the Prodigies be, which fore-ſignifie them. The more ſudden the blow, or the fewer the fore-warnings be, the more expreſs and punctual they are. Two inſtances for this preſent ſhall ſuffice, exhibited a little before, or in the time wherein *Matchiavel* wrote. Both fore-warnings were given, *Vivâ voce*, by the voice of men, but of men which no man preſent knew, either whence they were, or whither they went, after the delivery of their meſſage.

The one unto *James* the Fourth, then Lord and King of our now Siſter Nation. The apparition and meſſage was ſo ſtrange, that the Learned Hiſtorian, for whom I have it, profeſſeth, he ſhould hardly have believed it, unleſs he had heard it from a man far from lying and coining of news, namely from Saint *David Lindſey* that famous King at Arms, and Knight of the Mount.

Hac belli denuntiatione in Scotiam, prolata dum ad excercitum proficiſcens rex Limnuchi veſpertinas in Æde ſacrâ cantiones (ut tum moris erat) audit; ſenex quidam ingreſſus, capillo in rufum flaveſcente, ac in humeros promiſſo, fronte in calviciem glabro capite nudo, veſte longiuſculâ cyanei coloris amictus, ac linteo cinctus, cætero aſpectu venerabilis, is regem quærens per turbam obſtantium penetrat; ubi ad eum acceſſit ruſtica quidam ſimplicitate, ſuper ſolium, in quo rex ſedebat innixus, Rex, inquit, ego at te ſum miſſu, ut te admoneam ne quo inſtituiſti progrediaris, quam admonitionem ſi neglexeris, non erit è re tua nec eorum qui te comitabuntur: præterea præmonere ſum juſſus, ne mulierum familiaritate, conſuetudine, ac conſilio utaris, ſecus verò ſi facies & damno & ignominiæ tibi res erit. Hæc locutus turbæ ſeſe immiſcuit: nec cum, præcipibus finitis, rex eum requireret, uſquam comparuit: quod eo magis mirum eſt viſum, quod eorum qui propriùs aſtiterant atq; eum obſervabant, avidi ex eo multa ſciſcitandi, nemo ejus diſceſſum ſenſerat. In iis fuit David Lindeſis, *Montanus; homo ſpectatæ fidei & probitatis, nec à literarum ſtudiis alienus, & cujus totus vitæ tenor longiſſimè à mentiendo aberat, à quo niſi ego hæc, uti tradii, accepiſſem, ut vulgatam vanis rumoribus fabulam, omiſſurus eram.*

And it is no wonder if this fore-warning were ſo unuſual and ſtrange, ſeeing the calamity which came through the neglect of it, was ſo great, as this famous Herald in his Writings complains, it could not be paralleld in any Nation beſides the *Ægyptian*, for the loſs of the Prince, and ſo many Nobles in one day: But though the blow was for the preſent terrible, yet, God be praiſed, the wound was not incurable; *Forſan & has venturus amor præmiſerat iras.* The wound, or breach, was at that time the wider, that the cure, or cloſe of it, might be the ſweeter; and let him periſh that ſeeks any other uſe of the ancient foe-hoods, betwixt theſe two Neighbouring Nations, than the ſetling of ſuch love and peace betwixt them, as becometh deareſt Siſters. Let no other emulation poſſeſs Nobility, Gentry, or Commonalty of either Kingdom, beſides true zeal in Gods ſervice, and Loyal obedience to his Vice-gerent, their joynt Lord and Soveraign.

If the former relation of that famous Knight, and Herald, might ſeem ſtrange to any for the preſent, their diffidence, or incredulity, might have been ſufficiently convinced by an apparition, and fore-warning far more ſtrange, exhibited within twelve or thirteen years after, unto the State, or Court of *Hungary*.

Amongſt other Writers of thoſe times, ſee that Noble French Hiſtorian, Martin Fumée, *Lord of* Genillé. Hiſtor. Hungar. l.1.p.32.

The King being at dinner, the Gates of his Caſtle being ſhut (as the cuſtom was) a certain Ghoſt, in form and ſhape of a man, evil favoured, with crooked legs, came halting, and knocks at the gate, and with a loud ſhrill voice, deſired to ſpeak with the King, to acquaint him with things, which nearly concerned both the good of himſelf, and of the Kingdom. His ſpeeches at firſt being not heard by the guard, who were at the gate (as it is the uſe in Princes Courts) he cryed louder, and with a horrible voice demanded again, whether they gave the King notice thereof. In the end, certain of the company being moved by the importunity of this deformed Ghoſt, they demanded of him what he would have, but he replying ſaid, he would not reveal his ſecrets to any but the King. This meſſage was preſently carried to the King, who underſtanding thereof, ſent unto him one of his ſervants, in the beſt and richeſt apparel, and one who was next himſelf, feigning that he was the King, commanding him to enquire what this fellow would ſay. This meſſenger coming before the Ghoſt, and asking him in private, what ſecret he would impart unto him, the other denying that he was King (but came diſguiſed to abuſe him) with a high and loud voice he ſaid, that ſince the King would not hear him, he ſhould ſhortly periſh. And ſo ſhortly he did with the loſs of a great part of the Kingdom of Hungary, *not recovered by* Chriſtians *to this day.*

But it is time to come to the uſe, which the Heathens did, and the Chriſtians ought to make of the ſpecial Signs, or Fore-warnings, of what kind ſoever they be. Of the Heathens, ſome in moſt Ages did utterly contemn, or ſcorn all preſage from the ſigns of the time, ſome not ſo ill diſpos'd, did ſlight them, others took them into ſerious conſideration, but for the moſt part, made no right uſe of them, did groſly err either in practice, or opinion. The ancient *Romans* had an accuſtomed preſage of ſucceſs in Battel, by the eating of Birds, kept for that purpoſe. This kind of preſage was ſo far contemned by *Claudius Pulcher*, General for the *Romans* in the firſt *Punick* War, that when the Soothſayers had diſſwaded him from giving Battel to the *Carthaginians* that day, becauſe the Birds would not eat, he commanded them to be caſt into the Sea, to ſee if they would drink or no: But the ill ſucceſs, which was conceived to follow upon this contempt, did cauſe the *Senate* to call in his Commiſſion, and chuſe another

General in his place. Howbeit this kind of preſage, I take it, was no ſign of the time, or fore-warning exhibited by the true God, but rather effected by ſuperſtitious men.

However, the contempt, or ſcorn of ſuperſtition, or blind devotion, unleſs it ſpring from a ſincere, and well-rooted love to true Religion, is much worſe than Superſtitious, than Idolatrous practices. Many inſtances are extant in unſuſpected Authors, that the Irreligious contemners, or ſcorners of falſe Gods, have been remarkably plagued, not by thoſe ſuppoſed Gods, whoſe ſervice they neglected, but by the true and only God, who is the juſt revenger, as well of Atheiſm, and Irreligion, as of Superſtition, and Idolatry.

But the Emperour *Veſpaſian*, though an Heathen, was in his way devoutly Religious, and though no contemner, yet a ſlighter of the Prodigies, and Signs of the Time. For when amongſt other preſages remarkable of his death, notice was given him of a Comet which then appeared; he bid the relaters deliver this meſſage to the King of *Parthia*, *Ille comatus eſt, ego autem calvus*; ſeeing the King of *Parthia* did wear long hair, it was moſt likely, that this Blazing Star, or *crinita ſtella*, as the *Romans* call it, ſhould portend his death, rather than the Emperour *Veſpaſians*, who was bald. But the courſe of deſtiny, as the Heathens upon this obſerved, could not be diverted by jerks of wit, for *Veſpaſian* dyed before the extinction of this Comet, and the King of *Parthia* out-lived both : *Veſpaſian* perhaps might have lived the longer, if upon theſe ſummons, or fore-warnings, he had betaken himſelf to his Prayers, as *Hezekiah* in like caſe did, or ſad in his heart unto Divine Power, which gave him thoſe ſummons, as *David* in like caſe did, *Behold here am I, do with me as it ſeemeth good in thy eyes.*

But error in opinion concerning the uſe of theſe fore-warnings, was uſual to the more ingenious, and devouteſt ſort of Heathens, which did carefully regard them. Thus far they are to be commended, in that they thought theſe fore-warnings to be ſent by the Gods, or Divine Powers, as tokens or pledges of their good will towards men; ſome of them expreſly ſay they were ſent from the God, not from the Gods, from *cæleſte numen*, not from *cæleſtia numina*, *from the Power of Heaven, not from Heavenly Powers*; wherein did theſe men fail, or err? In this ſpecially, that albeit they did not ſuſpect the Divine Power, either of hatred, or want of good will towards men, yet they thought fate, and deſtiny, were ſtronger than this Divine Power; that the miſerable calamity, and ſucceſs which did commonly enſue upon ſuch fore-warnings, could by no means poſſible be either prevented, or averted; hence was that, or the like exclamation,

Silius Italicus.

Heu vani monitus, fruſtraq; morantia parcas
Prodigia; heu ſuperi fatis certaſſe minores.

But this was the ſpeech of a Poet, and Poets take liberty to be paſſionate in expreſſing the diſpoſitions, or opinions of men in their times. Yet a moſt ſober, moſt ingenious *Roman* Writer, is more expreſs to this purpoſe in Proſe. *Cn. Etiam Pompeium Jupiter omnipotens abundè monuerat, nec cum C. Cæſare ultimam belli fortunam experiri contenderit.*

Valerius Maximus.

He ſpeaks not of the Gods in general, but of one God, whom he characters under the ſtile of Omnipotency, who did fore-warn *Pompey* the Great, not ſufficiently only, but abundantly, not to hazard his Fortunes upon a Battel to be determined on one day. The forewarnings which he there relates were extraordinary, and prodigious; ſome of them portended *Pompey*'s overthrow, others *Cæſars* Victory. His verdict, or cenſure upon them is briefly this, they were ſuch *à quibus appareret cæleſte numen & Cæſaris gloriæ faviſſe, & Pompeii errorem inhibere voluiſſe.*

But if this Heavenly Power were willing to inhibit *Pompey*'s error, how came it to paſs that it was not inhibited? This is all the reaſon he could give, *Invictæ leges neceſſitatis, pectus alioqui ab amentiâ remotum, prodigia iſta juſtâ æſtimatione perpendere paſſæ non ſunt. The irreſiſtible Laws of neceſſity would not ſuffer this great and otherwiſe moſt prudent General, to weigh theſe forewarnings aright.*

But if this *Jupiter*, or Heavenly power were, as he inſtiles him, omnipotent, and willing withal, as he confeſſeth, to inhibit *Pompey*'s error at this very time, what law, what neceſſity, or what laws of neceſſity could reſiſt, or prohibit the execution of his will? Theſe immutable Laws of neceſſity, if any ſuch there were, might be more truly ſtiled Omnipotent, than *Jupiter* or that great God, who gives Laws to Man, and Angels: but it was the want of true Logick which did occaſion this errour, or ill expreſſion in this Heathen Writer, as it had done and doth the like in the *Stoicks*. The tranſpoſing only of one word, or placing of one point aright, without alteration of any ſyllable, or its ſignification, would make this Heathens Opinion, and expreſſion of himſelf exactly paralleld to the rule of Faith.

When he ſaith, *Invictæ leges neceſſitatis &c. would not ſuffer* Pompey *to lay theſe forewarnings to heart*, he contradicts himſelf, and the truth of Divine Omnipotent Power. Whereas if he had ſaid, the invincible Laws of neceſſity did ſuffer *Pompey*, not to lay theſe forewarnings to heart, he had ſpoken like a Chriſtian. For there can be no other invincible Law of neceſſity beſides the irreſiſtible will of the one Omnipotent God, and that is a Law abſolutely invincible, and moſt irreſiſtible; and yet a Law which admits a liberty of choice in the parties ſubject to it, or a Law for the moſt part disjunctive. It was the irreſiſtible will of God that *Pompey* ſhould have ſufficient, or, as this Author ſpeaks, abundant warning to correct his errour, or to abate his high ſpirit or pride of heart, and yet it was one and the ſame irreſiſtible will of one and the ſame God, that theſe forewarnings, how prodigious ſoever, ſhould not neceſſitate his will or enforce relentance upon his preſent reſolution.

No matter of fact, or ſigns of the time can be more infallible prognoſticks of calamities foreſignified by them, than theſe ſigns of the time which it pleaſed our Saviour to interpret. No Prophecy or prediction, though uttered by an Angel from Heaven, can induce a greater neceſſity, or argue a more inevitable futurition of things ſo foretold than the expreſs prediction, or prophecy of the Son of God himſelf.

Though here, or elſewhere he often foretold the deſtruction of *Galilee*, and *Jeruſalem*; yet was not the deſtruction of either of them, from the date of this Propheſie, abſolutely neceſſary, or inevitable, but neceſſary only upon ſuppoſition, or conditionally neceſſary, *unleſs ye repent ye ſhall all likewiſe periſh.* Yea but this propoſition might be true, *if they did repent they ſhould not periſh.* But this doth not argue their repentance to have been poſſible: For *Hypothetica propoſitio*

propoſitio (as they ſay) *nihil ponit in eſſe*; this propoſition would be true, though in a Beggars mouth, *If I had ten thouſand pound I ſhould be a rich man*, yet the truth of this propoſition puts no money in his purſe.

But he that would apply this Logick rule unto our Saviours Speech in my Text, doth either jeer our Saviour, or make him to be a jeerer of the Sons of affliction, which latter, of two evils, is the worſe; for whereſoever the contract or covenant is ſerious, or where the bond or grant is real, and legal, the condition muſt be facible.

The Prince, or Judge, that would grant, or promiſe a malefactor, ſuppoſe a man-ſlayer, his life upon condition, or *proviſo*, that he ſhould reſtore the party whom he had ſlain to life again, would be thought rather to mock him than ſhew mercy to him, and to do himſelf, and his authority more wrong than the other good.

Solomon did not mock *Shimei* when he gave him life upon this condition, that he ſhould keep himſelf within the Confines of *Jeruſalem*. This condition, though not performed by *Shimei*, was facible, and the breach of it did bring Death upon *Shimei*.

Every condition or promiſe, if it be ſerious, *præſupponit aliquid in eſſe, preſuppoſeth ſome eſtate in being.* As when our Saviour ſaith, *except ye repent, ye ſhall all likewiſe periſh*; This exception, or condition, preſuppoſeth an eſtate in ſin, yet an eſtate mutable. It preſuppoſeth theſe men were truly lyable to deſtruction threatned, but it preſuppoſeth withal, that the door of life, and ſalvation, though now but narrow, was not utterly ſhut againſt them; that as yet it was called to day with them; yea that after this time there was a Seaſon wherein this Son of God did call them to repentance, *when he beheld the City, and wept over it*; *Oh that thou hadſt known this thy day, &c.* After they had caſt him off from being King over them, and exempted themſelves from his wonted ſpecial protection; yet he ceaſeth not to pray for them, *Father forgive them for they know not what they do.*

But here ſome, who think it part of their office to fend of Gods intended mercies from ſuch as they have marked for reprobates, will tell you, that our Saviour did then pray not for the *Jews*, but for the *Roman* Souldiers: yet *Roman* Souldiers they were not, but *Jews* of the worſt condition, which ſtoned the Bleſſed Martyr *Stephen* to Death, and yet he prayed, *Lord lay not this ſin unto their charge.* And it will be no ſin in us to think that the dying Diſciple did learn this extraordinary Charity from his dying Maſter.

Now if either Maſter, or Diſciple had known the deſtruction, which hanged over this peoples head, to have been at that time altogether inevitable, neither of them would, or might have prayed for them, or againſt the Plague, which in the iſſue fell upon them; for it was never lawful for the Prophets, nor is it for any man living this day, to pray for any people, or perſon, in caſe they infallibly know that they are utterly caſt off by God, or left in a ſtate impenitible.

As for the deſtruction here threatned againſt *Galilee* and *Jeruſalem*, though at this time truly evitable, yet it became leſs evitable every day than other, for almoſt forty years, by their continual perſeverance in ſpecial ſins; and their progreſſion in ſin without relentance was occaſioned by the neglect of the ſigns of the time, or the forewarnings which God had given them for their good.

No publick Plagues or Calamities, whether foreſignified by ſuch ſigns, as theſe in my Text, or punctually foretold by Gods Prophets, or by his Son the Prince of Prophets, become inevitable, unleſs it be by contempt, or neglect of forewarnings given, or by deeming all events to be inevitable, becauſe they are foreſignified, or foretold by God himſelf, or by his Embaſſadours.

It is true ſometimes, that the very inevitability of enſuing Calamities is either expreſly foretold, or foreſignified: but ſuch preſignifications, or predictions can be no forewarnings, but rather peremptory denunciations of ſome irreverſible ſentence, or doom after warnings given, be they more, or fewer.

To ſcorn, or neglect forewarnings given, is a Symptom of hardneſs of heart, and contempt of Gods word. To think all Calamities are inevitable, which are foretold, or foreſignified, or of which God himſelf hath given forewarnings, is a branch of falſe Doctrine, or an Hereſie, ſometimes adjudged by the Law-makers of this Land ſo Capital, that they did exempt the maintainers of it (which were then the Sect of the *Anabaptiſts*) from all benefit of the Kings Royal pardon, as is apparent from the general pardon of the thirty ſecond year of King *Henry* the Eighth: but by what conſtitutions of the viſible Church of *England* (which then was) the errour of ſuch men as thought nothing could fall out otherwiſe than it doth, was condemned for an Hereſie, or by what Parliamentary Law it was adjudged to be a Capital Hereſie uncapable of pardon, or whether ſuch Eccleſiaſtical conſtitutions, or municipal Laws as were then in force have been ſince by like Authority repeal'd, or antiquated by diſuſe or diſcontinuance of practice, are points without the limits of my profeſſion, and beſides my intention, either to determine or farther enquire after in this place. Therefore leaving theſe points with all ſubmiſſion to the learned Profeſſors or interpreters of Laws Eccleſiaſtical or municipal, the next enquiry muſt be of the manner how this Prophecy of our Saviour, and the ſigns of the time which he did prophetically interpret, were accompliſhed.

Of

Of the ſeveral ſorts of Divine forewarnings.

THE manner of Gods forewarning by matter of fact, or other viſible ſigns, is ſo various, that it cannot be comprehended by art, or obſervation. Sometimes he forewarns by ſigns in the Sun, and Moon, ſometimes by apparitions in the air, ſometimes by monſtrous births; ſometimes he makes the murren of Cattel, or mortality of Beaſts of the field, or Birds of the Air, to be forerunners of Plagues or Peſtilence unto men. Sometimes he forewarns men (as we ſay) in kind, and gives them a touch of publick ruin, or deſolation enſuing, without repentance, by the ſudden diſaſters of ſome few men, or Children in the ſame Nation. So *Herodotus* tells us, that before the deſolation of the people of *Chios*, theſe ſtrange ſigns did happen. *Sed videlicet quoties &c. ut ſuprà. Etenim Chiis ante hanc cladem ingentia ſigna contigerant: Vnum, quòd ex choro centum juvenum, quos miſerant Delphos, duo omnino rediere, nonaginta octo peſtilentiâ abſumptis: Alterum, quòd ſub idem tempus, paulo ante navalem pugnam, tectum ſupra pueros litteras diſcentes corruit, ita ut ex centum viginti pueris unus omnino evaſerit. Hæc eis ſigna Deus præmonſtravit; poſt hæc excepit pugna navalis, quæ civitatem in genua dejecit. Acceſſit ad cladem navalis pugnæ Hiſtiæus cum Lesbiis, qui Chios jam exhauſtos facile ad excidium deduxit. Herodotus lib.* 6. The ſigns were two, *One, that of a hundred yourg men, whom they had ſent to* Delphos, *two only returned, the reſt being conſumed by Peſtilence: another, but a little after the ſame time, before the loſs of their Navy and Mariners by Sea, the roof of the School-houſe did fall ſo ſuddenly, that of an hundred and twenty Children, but one eſcaped with life. And theſe ſigns (as he conceives) God did give them of that great diſaſter, which they had by Sea, which brought the City firſt upon her knees, and after to that utter ruine, and deſolation, which the* Leſbians *in their weakneſs did bring upon both City, and people.*

Theſe forewarnings, as before was intimated, run parallel with theſe two in my former Text, the fulfilling of which, as alſo of the parable uttered by our Saviour in the words immediately following, come now to be diſcuſt.

LUKE 13. Ver. 6, 7, 8, 9.

He ſpake alſo this Parable; A certain man had a Fig-tree planted in his Vineyard, and he came and ſought Fruit thereon, and he found none.

Then ſaid he unto the dreſſer of his Vineyard, behold theſe three years I come ſeeking Fruit on this Fig-tree, and find none; cut it down, why cumbreth it the ground?

And he anſwering ſaid unto him, Lord let it alone this year alſo, till I ſhall dig about it, and dung it.

And if it bear Fruit, well; and if not, then after that thou ſhalt cut it down.

THeſe words are as an Appendix of our Saviours precedent diſcourſe, concerning ſuch Signs of the time, as did portend, or fore-ſignifie the utter ruine of the *Jewiſh* Nation, and of the viſible Church planted in it. How peremptory ſoever the fore-warnings were, how infallible ſoever he was in his Predictions of their ruine, yet both were ſubject to this exception, or condition, *unleſs ye repent, ye ſhall all likewiſe periſh.* The uſe, or importance of the Parable was to admoniſh them, that theſe fore-warnings or ſigns of the time, which God did give them, whether by the expreſs words of this great Prophet, which was then amongſt them, or by ſtrange matters of fact legible in the Books of the viſible Creatures, were not to continue *in infinitum*; They had their period ſet before all times, from Eternity. And however it is elſewhere ſaid, That *at what time ſoever a ſinner doth repent him from the bottom of his heart, I will put all his wickedneſs out of my remembrance.* Yet it is no where ſaid, that ſinners may repent them at what time they will, or find the juſt fruits of ſuch repentance as they perform. But as there is an indefinite or long time, within which it is poſſible for ſinners to repent, and a promiſe univerſal, that at what time ſoever, within this limited time, ſinners do repent, their Prayers, and Supplications ſhall be heard: So there is a peremptory day ſet to all Nations reſpectively, after which there is no acceſs by true repentance, no entrance by ſuch repentance, as they tender unto temporal ſafety. *To day* (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) *If you will hear his voice, harden not your hearts, as in the day of Temptation in the Wilderneſs, when your Fathers tempted me, proved, and ſaw my works forty years: Wherefore I was grieved with that Generation, and ſaid, they do always err in their hearts, and have not known my ways; So I ſware in my wrath, that they ſhould not enter into my reſt*, Heb. 3. v. 7. 8, 9, 10. Pſal. 95. 7.

The meaning of the Pſalmiſt in that place, is more fully and plainly expreſſed by our Saviour, *ver.* 24. and 25. of this Chapter, in his anſwer to that queſtion, *Lord are there few that ſhall be ſaved? And*

Tome II. *and he ſaid unto them, ſtrive to enter in at the ſtrait gate; for many, I ſay unto you, will ſeek to enter in, and ſhall not be able.* But to what end ſhould they ſtrive to enter in at that gate, at which they are not able to enter? Shall we ſay, that albeit they that ſtrive to enter, be not able of themſelves, yet it is poſſible for them to enter in by Gods aſſiſtance? Or that albeit they are not able to do any thing poſſible, that may merit their entrance; yet they may do ſomewhat, which being done, God will make the entrance poſſible to them, and enable them to enter in? This anſwer in ſome other caſes is moſt true, yet not in this; it can no way ſatisfie the queſtion propoſed unto our Saviour, it is no way pertinent to the meaning of this Parable, concerning entering it at the ſtrait gate, or this Parable of the unfruitful Fig-tree. It is at ſome times, at many times, poſſible for all that hear the Word, to become obedient to the Word heard, and by this obedience to enter in at the ſtrait gate. But it is not poſſible for any to enter in at it, after they have ſometimes contemptuouſly, or often times careleſly omitted the opportunity which God had offered them for their eaſie entrance into it, or paſſage through it. The gate is not ſo ſtrait, but that all men, which have heard of it, may enter in at it, whilſt it is open, ſo they ſeek to enter in at it in order, not tumultuouſly. But after this gate is ſhut, none can enter, though many ſeek to enter. So our Saviour inſtructs us in the 25. ver. of this Chapter, *When once the Maſter of the houſe is riſen up, and hath ſhut to the dore, and ye begin to ſtand without, and to knock at the dore, ſaying, Lord, Lord, open unto us, and he ſhall anſwer, and ſay unto you, I know you not whence you are.* This is the general end and ſcope of the Parable in my Text, and of the Parable of the fooliſh Virgins. For the more clear explication of this Parables particular contents, ye are in the firſt place to know the meaning of the ſingle terms, as firſt, who is in ſpecial meant by the certain man which hath planted a fig-tree in his Vineyard. Secondly, Who is in ſpecial meant by the dreſſer of this Vineyard. Thirdly, What is meant by the Fig-tree planted in it. Laſtly, What is meant by the three years, wherein Fruit was by the owner expected, and the fourth year wherein the dreſſer of the Vineyard did petition for the ſparing of it upon further tryal.

The owner of the Vineyard, and of the Fig-tree planted in it, as beſt Interpreters agree, doth repreſent God the Father, or firſt Perſon in Trinity. He it is that exacts ſatisfaction for all ſins committed againſt the Deity, or Divine Nature: and he it is which demands fruit of whatſoever the Divine Nature hath planted; that is, thankfulneſs of man in ſpecial, for his benefits beſtowed upon him; but ſpecially of his Church whereſoever planted. By the dreſſer of the Vineyard, ye are to underſtand the Son of God, or Second Perſon in Trinity. For he it is which took our Nature upon him to Till, and Dreſs it for his Fathers ſervice, and that portion of our Nature, which he took upon him, is as the root, or ſtem to all the reſidue which ſhall be freed from curſing: So our Saviour tells us, *I am the true Vine, and my Father is the Husbandman,* or the owner of the Vine. It is again the Son of God, or Second Perſon in Trinity, which doth mediate betwixt God and Man, and by his mediation and interceſſion, our firſt Parents, (the whole nature of man) was reprieved from death. By his mediation and interceſſion, the execution of Gods dreadful, and exemplary judgments upon the ſeed of *Jacob*, or people of *Iſrael*, was for many Ages deferred, though in ſome part executed upon them in every Age, but never fully executed upon the Nation, until their contemptuous neglect of theſe forewarnings. By the Fig-tree planted in the Vineyard, you are to underſtand the Kingdom of *Judah*, or the Church of the *Jews*, as they ſtood affected for this preſent. For in reſpect of Gods choſen people then living on earth, or of that one Holy Catholick Church, which was then in planting, and was afterwards to be propagated through out the world, the *Jewiſh* Church or Synagogue then flouriſhing, was but a Fig-tree planted in a Vineyard, but as one Fig-tree for quantity, and a moſt unfruitful one for quality, in reſpect of the charges, care, and pains, which had been beſtowed upon it, and of the ſpecial care which the dreſſer of the Vineyard had taken of it.

By the three years wherein Fruit was expected from the Fig-tree, but not yielded, we are in the hiſtorical, literal, or punctual ſenſe, to underſtand the three years of our Saviours Prophetical function here on Earth, which were before this time compleat and ended. By the fourth year, wherein the Fig-tree was permitted to grow upon further tryal, we are to underſtand the year current wherein this Parable was uttered, in the midſt of which year our Saviour was Conſecrated here on earth, to his Sacerdotal, or Prieſtly Function. And forty days after his Conſecration, admitted to exerciſe this Function in his Heavenly Sanctuary.

But here it may be demanded, why this Fig-tree, that is the *Jewiſh* Church, was permitted to ſtand after this fourth year was ended, ſince it continued this year more unfruitful than the former; for it is imported in the Parable, that unleſs it did bear fruit within this fourth year, it was to be cut down. To this demand we anſwer, that the meaning of the Parable is not, that this Fig-tree inſtantly was to be cut down at the fourth years end, but that the Dreſſer of the Vineyard would not intreat the owner any longer for it, in ſuch manner as he had done before, but would leave it wholly to his wiſdom, how it ſhould be diſpoſed of; or in what time, or by what degrees it was to be cut down. True it is, that it was not utterly cut down at this fourth years end, for the *Church* & the Common-weal of the *Jews*, repreſented by the Fig-tree, did continue almoſt forty years after this fourth year ended, but ſtood like a tree, or ſtem of a tree, marked to be felled. There did not paſs one year of forty, wherein it did not receive ſome chops, or deep inciſion in the root or ſtem, not one year wherein it was not deſpoiled of ſome principal branches. And during this time, the Son of God, here repreſented by the Dreſſer of the Vineyard, ſtood as a Spectator, made no interceſſion for it. For after this people had rejected him from being their King and Protector, Gods fearful judgments often threatned and denounced againſt it, took their ordinary proceſs without any prohibition.

This Church or People were not to expect any extraordinary favour, or more favourable ſigns than other Nations had: yet ſigns they had many of their miſerable ruine and deſolation of their Country: which they might have obſerved, which if they had obſerved but in ſuch meaſure and manner as many Heathens did the like, they might have been acquitted *à tanto*, though not *à toto*; their ruine and deſtruction after it, became in a manner neceſſary, was not neceſſarily decreed to be ſo inevitable, as by their own ſtubbornneſs they made it in the iſſue. Thus much in general of the ſenſe and meaning of the owner of the Vineyard, and the Dreſſer of it, of the fig-tree, and of the three years wherein it continued fruitleſs, and of the fourth year wherein it was to be cut down.

But as for the Fig-tree, and the years wherein it was permitted to ſtand, beſides the former punctual or hiſtorical ſenſe, they have an exemplary or indefinite ſenſe. That which is fore-propheſied of this particular Fig-tree, or Church of the *Jews*, holds true, in proportion, of every particular viſible Church on earth. Every one of them have their ſeveral fore-warnings, or appointed times for bringing forth fruit, within which time, if they do not repent, they are exempted from our Saviours ſpecial protection, and left open to the ordinary proceſs of Gods judgments, as this particular Fig-tree was. This is the only difference, that the fore-warnings of other Churches and Nations, are not, in reſpect of the time ſo expreſs, ſo determinate and punctual as this Fig-tree was. Now are they markt to the fall by the ſelf ſame degrees, that this fig-tree was; the time of their fall and ruine after ſuch fore-warnings, is not ſo determinate, in reſpect of us, as the time of *Jeruſalem's* and *Judah's* ruine, after our Saviours death, and reſurrection were. For the time of their ruine was both fore-told by the Prophets, and pre-figured by matter of fact; as by their fore-elders wandring forty years in the wilderneſs, and by the forty days, which after our Saviours Reſurrection, were given them to bethink themſelves better, and to make their peace with God, as the *Ninevites* did upon fore-warning given them by *Jonas*. But leaving theſe punctual, or ſpecial fore-warnings, we are to follow the fore-warnings here mentioned in the 3. and 4. verſes of this Chapter, with the like general ſigns of times enſuing.

The Province of *Galilee* had its fore-warning in the maſſacre of theſe *Galileans*, whoſe blood *Pilate* mingled with the Sacrifices. The inhabitants of *Jeruſalem* had their particular fore-warning likewiſe in the lamentable diſaſter of thoſe eighteen, upon whom the Tower in *Shilo* fell.

Theſe *Galileans* (were they many or few) did periſh in *Jeruſalem*, and their diſaſter, for this reaſon, was more publick, ſuch as the whole Nation of the *Jews* could not but take notice of; ſo that both ſigns put together, with the circumſtances of time and place, wherein they hapned, did portend, that the utter ruine of the whole Nation ſhould be in *Jeruſalem*.

It might be true in part, which the chief Prieſts and Phariſees had obſerved, *John* 7. 52. *Search and look, for out of* Galilee *ariſeth no Prophet.* Nor was our Saviour, to whom they apply this obſervation in particular, a *Galilean* by birth, but a Neighbour-born unto *Jeruſalem*; for he was born in *Bethlehem*, the City of *David*. But at the time of this great Prophets birth, who was to falſifie their obſervation in reſpect of future times (for he made *Peter*, *John*, and *James*, and other *Galileans*, more than Prophets) there aroſe a ſeditious Sect in *Galilee*, which did firſt oppoſe the payment of Tribute unto *Cæſar*. And all the oppoſition which this Rebellious People made againſt the *Roman* Empire, took its original from *Judas* the *Gaulonite*, and his Sons. And as *Galilee* was the beginning of woe unto *Jeruſalem* and the *Jewiſh* Nation, ſo it was the firſt in the plagues and woes here denounced. For *Veſpaſian* being ſent to quell this Rebellion, made his firſt Invaſion upon *Galilee*, and took in all the Cities and Principal Towns within that Province, before he made any aſſault upon *Jeruſalem*, or other Cities of *Judah*.

The number of *Galilæans*, which periſhed in that War, was ſo great, that I ſhould hardly believe *Joſephus* his relations of them, unleſs our Saviour had foretold this calamity was to be national, and univerſal: for all were to periſh, beſides ſuch as did in time repent, which (God wote) were but a few.

But had thoſe *Galilæans* no ſigns of the times, beſides theſe forewarnings in my Text, to diſſwade them from that deſperate War? yes, ſigns they had many and moſt pregnant, which did verifie the literal meaning of our Saviours Prophecy, ſigns abundant to inſtruct them, that the Lord had appointed the *Romans* to rule over them; and theſe ſigns they had partly before, partly after *Veſpaſians* coming to manage the War on the *Romans* part againſt them.

King *Agrippa* of whom we read *Acts* 26. in that Excellent Oration ſet down by *Joſephus* in his ſecond Book, and ſixteenth Chapter, did forewarn them more like a Prophet, than a Politician; but theſe forewarnings concern'd the whole Nation as much as they did *Galilee*. After the invaſion made upon *Galilee* by *Veſpaſian*, *Joſephus* himſelf, who wrote the Hiſtory of thoſe Wars, in which he had been a principal agent, took warning by the viſible ſigns of the time, to yield himſelf to the *Romans* upon the taking of *Iotopata*. But a more fearful forewarning they had in the ſecond taking of *Joppa*, whither the *Galilæans* had fled in great abundance, hoping at leaſt to have eſcaped the *Romans* Forces by Ships, if they were not able to defend themſelves by Land; but they found the wind, and weather to fight more bitterly againſt them, than the *Romans* had done. The tempeſt did drive them from the Sea, and the *Romans* from the City. Some were ſwallowed by the waves, ſome killed themſelves for fear of being drowned, many were daſhed againſt the Rocks, ſo that the Sea was bloudy, and all the ſhore was covered with dead bodies. Such as eſcaped the Sea, were killed by the *Romans*, four thouſand two hundred dead bodies were caſt upon the ſhore. *lib.* 3. *Chap.* 15. Did the reſt of the *Galilæans* take warning by theſe mens diſaſter, or by the deſtruction of this and other Cities, and the general deſolation of their Country? They did in part, but to no purpoſe. They ſaw it was in vain to defend the Cities of *Galilee*, but even the deſperate eſtate hereof they took as a ſign of the time, or as a watchword to fortifie *Jeruſalem*, the Chief City, and *Metropolis* of their Nation. This was the City which the Lord had choſen amongſt all the Cities of *Iſrael*, to place his name there; and God, they thought, was bound in honour to defend his choſen City. Out of this perſwaſion all the men of War that were left in *Galilee*, and in other places, over-run by *Veſpaſian*, did repair unto *Jeruſalem*, and in the iſſue of this reſolution they fullfilled that which our Saviour had foretold, that not only the *Galilæans*, but the Inhabitants of *Jeruſalem* ſhould periſh.

Had thoſe *Galilæans*, after deſpair of defending their own Cities, or ſtrong holds, or after they ſaw *Veſpaſians* Army bent againſt *Jeruſalem*, fled as our Saviour admoniſhed his followers into the Mountains, or diſperſed themſelves amongſt other Nations, they might have eſcaped that butchery, which the *Romans* practiſed upon them, and they upon others of their own Nation. And unleſs they and others of their own Nation, contrary to our Saviours admonition, had flocked unto *Jeruſalem* (after they had ſeen it begirt with the *Roman* Forces) the Burgeſſes, or Inhabitants of that Famous City had ſubmitted themſelves unto the *Romans*, who were ready to give them better quarter, than now one Chriſtian Nation will upon like occaſion give another. But the Inhabitants of that City being overcrowded with the multitude, which daily flocked unto them, and which they admitted to be partakers with them of the legal Sacrifices, they became partakers of that vengeance, which ſtill purſued the ſeditious, what place ſoever they made choice of for their refuge. Thus by neglecting or contemning the ſigns of the time which our Saviour had given them, the greater part of that Nation, more than five to one, of ſuch as were then ready to bear Arms, were firſt ſhut up in *Jeruſalem*, as in a Priſon, or as ſo many fatted Beaſts in a Market; The Temple afterwards becoming as the Slaughter-Houſe or Shambles. To recount all the miſeries which they ſuffered in the City and in the Temple by the Famine, and by the Sword, and by the infection of dead Corps, which had no other Grave beſides the open ſtreets, the Temple, and their Houſes, would be a labour infinite, and ſuperfluous for this place, ſeeing they are ſo fully and ſo pathetically related by *Joſephus*, whom God had appointed as the fiteſt Man to keep the Regiſter of them; and you may at your beſt leaſure, without any Fee peruſe his Records, now more common in our Engliſh Language, than the Records or Chronicles of our own Nation. And ſo no doubt it was Gods will to have them, that our Nation might take Example, or Inſtructions by them, whom they more concern than they do any Nation ſince they were firſt written by him. My preſent aim or level, directs me only to obſerve the fullfilling of our Saviours words in my Text, and the accompliſhment of thoſe ſigns of the time, which the Owner of this Vineyard did give unto this people, after that the dreſſer of it (that was our Saviour) had given over his ſpecial protection of them, and left them to the ordinary courſe of his Fathers Juſtice.

The blood of thoſe *Galilæans*, whom *Pilate* ſlew, did but make a mixture with the blood of the Sacrifices which they offered; and in this mixture we do not read that the blood of theſe ſeditious men was prædominant, or that it was a mixture of the blood of Men and Beaſts *ad pondus*, or in equal meaſure. But after *Jeruſalem* was beſieged by the *Roman* Army, *Joſephus*, who relates only the matter of fact, without any reference to the prediction of our Saviour in this place, doth tell us that the Altar did ſwim with the blood of men, the blood of *Galilæans*, as well as of the Inhabitants of *Jeruſalem*, in greater abundance, than at any time it had done with the blood of Beaſts. The blood of Beaſts, or of legal Sacrifices, whilſt they were legally offered, that is, whilſt the Law was in force, was an infallible ſign unto this people, that God would ſpare their perſons, and accept of their commutation, that is, of the blood of Beaſts in lieu of the blood of Men, which he might at all times have juſtly exacted. But when the blood of Men, about the Altar or Courts of the Temple, was ſhed in greater abundance, and that by Men of *Jewiſh* Progeny, than the blood of Beaſts had been; this was a ſign and a fearful one, that the righteous Lord would no longer accept of legal Sacrices, but did require the blood of thoſe men who had abuſed the legal Sacrifices, not as a means to pacifie his wrath, or to defer their deſerved puniſhment, as the blood of Beaſts in former time had done, but rather as an infallible ſign, that this was the time appointed for taking full vengeance of all the righteous blood, which they, or their Forefathers

fathers had ſhed in this holy City. Or to uſe our Saviours words, *Luke* 11. 50. 51. *That the blood of all the Prophets which was ſhed from the Foundation of the World, might be required of this Generation from the blood of* Abel, *unto the blood of* Zacharias, *which periſhed between the Altar and the Temple, verily I ſay unto you it ſhall be required of this Generation.*

But had this people no other forewarnings to deſiſt from this deſperate War after *Jeruſalem* was beſieged by *Veſpaſian*, beſides theſe prophetical forewarnings of our Saviour? yes, though the Book of the Law and Prophets were now ſealed up, that they could not read or underſtand the meaning of it; though our Saviours forewarnings were quite forgotten, or not obſerved by them; yet the Book of the viſible Creatures was ſtill legible; they wanted not prodigies, or other remarkable ſigns of the time, which teſtified Gods ſpecial providence in directing all occurrences for the good of the *Romans*, and for their deſtruction. And theſe ſigns were obſerved even by the Heathens, and others which had no true knowledge of Chriſt, or of his Prophecies. A remarkable one was preſſed upon them by *Joſephus*, in his Oration unto them; *The Fountains which before gave you no Water, yield it to* Titus *in great abundance. You know that before his coming the Fountains without the City, and* Siloe *were ſo dried up, that Water was ſold by meaſure, yet now they flow ſo plentifully, that they do not only ſerve all the Armies, and their Cattle alſo, but beſides that, do water all the Gardens about. lib. 6. c.* 11.

It is a ſhort, but a remarkable obſervation which the ſame Author there makes: *Veſpaſian* (ſaith he) *ſo gained by warring againſt us, that he hath hereby got the whole Empire.* This was a pregnant ſign of the time; for indeed the manner how the *Roman* Empire did, within the ſpace of ſixteen months, devolve from *Nero* upon *Galba*, from *Galba* upon *Otho*, from *Otho* upon *Vitellius*, rather to cruſh them than to advance them; and the manner again how the ſame Empire, after this long tumble, did quietly ſettle under *Veſpaſian*, and his Sons, did abundantly teſtify even unto the natural Moral Man, that this reſolution was wrought by the ſpecial hand of God. Every ſober or civil Man, which had any notion of the Divine Providence, might have clearly gathered, that albeit *Nero* had appointed *Veſpaſian* General againſt the *Jewiſh* Nation; yet it was the Lord of Lords, and King of Kings which had directed, and appointed *Nero* thus to make this choice, and did confirm it. He again in thoſe times which had peruſed the Prophecies, might have collected, that the ſame Lord of Lords which gave *Egypt* to *Nebuchadnezzar*, for his diligent ſervice againſt the proud City of *Tyre*, had now reſerved the *Roman* Empire for *Veſpaſian*, as his pay or ſtipend for the faithful ſervice, which he had done him in his Wars againſt *Galilee* and *Judea*.

The Character which the *Roman* Hiſtorians have put upon *Galba* was brief, but pithy; *dignus imperio niſi imperaſſet, that he was in all mens judgments worthy the Empire if he had not taken it upon him.* And *Veſpaſian* himſelf, who afterwards enjoyed the Empire, did eſteem *Galba* worthy of it. Now that *Galba* enjoyed it, or his life after he was choſen Emperour, ſo ſhort a while as he did, that was not above ſeven months, and ſeven days, this we may ſay, was by the ſpecial appointment of the *Lord*, to the end that *Titus*, being far on his way towards *Rome* to preſent his Fathers ſervice, and his own unto *Galba*, might upon the unexpected news of *Galba*'s Death, turn back again into

Judea,

Judea, to manage the Battels of the Lord againſt *Jeruſalem, and other Cities of the Province*, in his Fathers abſence, who in the interim was choſen Emperour: And this War *Titus* managed with as great valour and alacrity, as could be expected of any *Roman* then living, and yet with greater wiſdom and clemency. A man he was of ſuch a temper and diſpoſition, that we may think he was either choſen, or fitted by the Maker of all men, for this purpoſe, ſpecially that the obſtinate *Jews*, and all the world beſides, might have a viſible model, or character of his own former dealing with this ſtubborn people.

When we read the ſacred ſtory, 2 *Chron.* 26. or the Lamentations of *Jeremy*, concerning the miſerable Maſſacre of both Prieſts, and People, of young and old, and the utter deſtruction of both City and Temple by *Nebuchadnezzar*, we cannot much wonder at ſuch cruelty as was then practiſed by a barbarous and cruel Tyrant, always willing to do his worſt againſt all that did oppoſe him. But that theſe Hiſtorical expreſſions of *Jeruſalem's* miſery under *Nebuchadnezzar*, a pattern of Tyrants, ſhould become true Propheſies, that the miſeries of this People at that time, ſhould be but as prodigious ſigns, or portendment of far greater miſeries under the *Roman Titus* the flower of courteſie, and mirrour of affability amongſt Princes; this points at ſomewhat extraordinary, at ſomewhat worthy of admiration. This viſible type or ſhadow, hath a body anſwerable unto it. *Titus* is the type or ſhadow, than whom no man that day living could have been more unwilling either to practiſe cruelty upon any private man, or to bring ruine upon any City or Nation: And yet the *Jewiſh* Nation, and *Jeruſalem* the Queen of Cities, did ſuffer far greater miſery under him, than any City, or Nation of the world beſides, did ever ſuffer under the moſt bloody Tyrant, into whoſe hands the Lord had given them. But how unwilling ſoever he was to practiſe cruelty, or ſuffer it to be practiſed by others under him, yet he was bound to practiſe the Diſcipline of War, not to ſtain either his own worth, or the Majeſty of the *Roman* Empire, by proſtituting his native clemency unto deſperate ſtubborn rebels.

That of the Prophet *Hoſea* was never more truly verified, never more exactly fulfilled in any Generation of this People, than it was in this laſt. *Perditio tua ex te ô Iſrael, ſalus ex me.* That this City and Temple was ſpared ſo long, *That this people had ſo large a time for Repentance*, this was altogether from God, *Who willeth not the death of him that dyes*; and to teſtifie this, *Amor benevolentiæ, this good will of his* unto them, as they were men, even unto the laſt end, and after they had broken off, *Amorem amicitiæ, The love of friendſhip*, he ſends for a General againſt them, not a *Vitellius*, but a *Titus*, a man, *quoad hæc*, or in this particular, after his own heart, a man as it were compoſed of Princely valour, and clemency; That in the iſſue, the City, the Temple, and People periſhed, after ſuch a Tragical and unparalleld a manner, as they did, this was their own doing, their own ſeeking. They themſelves did give fire firſt unto the Temple, and afterwards by their deſperate ſtubbornneſs, provoked the *Roman* Souldiers to accompliſh the combuſtion ſo contrary unto *Titus* his will, and command, that nothing beſides neceſſity would have excuſed them: but thus they, and their fore-fathers provoked God himſelf to puniſh and plague them ſo often as they were plagued; he being always of his own nature and goodneſs, more compaſſionate towards them, than any Father can be towards his Son, than any Mother towards the Fruits of her womb.

To conclude this Point; the blood of theſe few *Galilæans*, which *Pilate* mingled with the blood of their Sacrifices, and that diſaſter which befel thoſe eighteen by the fall of the Tower in *Shilo*, being compared with the National diſaſter of *Jeruſalem* and *Galilee*, bear but the ſame proportion, which the Cloud that *Elias* ſervant ſaw ariſing out of the Sea, like a mans hand, did unto that great inundation which immediately followed upon it.

Now as none but a Prophet could have Prognoſticated ſuch abundance of moiſture from ſo little an appearance: ſo none but the Prince of Prophets could have diſcovered that unparallel'd deſtruction of *Galilee*, *Judæa*, and the *Jewiſh* Nation, from ſuch petty and private diſaſters, as theſe two mentioned in my Text, forty years before their accompliſhment.

The Moral Part of this Treatiſe.

THE moſt uſeful Conſiderations which theſe words diſcuſſed, compared with the former Chapter, affords us, are for the general two.

Firſt, They teach us to beware of raſh judgment, or cenſuring others as extraordinary ſinners, or more grievous ſinners than our ſelves, though Gods viſible judgments upon them (which are always moſt juſt) be extraordinary.

Secondly, They inſtruct us to lay Gods extraordinary judgments upon others, or other unuſual ſigns of the times unto our own hearts. For theſe are the uſual means whereby the Spirit of God doth work ſinners to true Repentance. Wherein true Repentance (which is the duty whereunto our Saviour, by theſe ſigns, exhorts the people) doth conſiſt, is the ſubject of other Meditations conſonant to theſe preſent.

To the firſt Point [that raſh judgment, or unadviſed cenſuring of others, is a foul fault even in beſt men] all men, good and bad, do agree. But not to cenſure, or eſteem of others on whom God hath ſhewed notorious judgments, as more notorious ſinners, than thoſe which eſcape his judgments, this may ſeem for divers reaſons queſtionable. Firſt, As all ſober-minded men agree, it cannot ſtand with the goodneſs of God to plague, or puniſh any, but for ſome ſin or other. And if thus to deal with men be a branch of his goodneſs, it muſt be a branch of his juſtice to recompence extraordinary and grievous ſinners, with extraordinary and grievous puniſhments. What fault is it then to judge of the cauſe by the effect? why may we not cenſure them for notorious ſinners, or more grievous ſinners than our ſelves, whom the Righteous Lord hath remarkably judged, or grievouſly puniſhed? If to reward every man according to all his ways, be the irreſiſtible rule of eternal, and unchangeable juſtice, what reaſon have we to deny all thoſe to be moſt grievous ſinners, which he that cannot err in judgment, hath puniſhed moſt ſeverely?

Every part of theſe *Quæries* would ſway much with any reaſonable Chriſtian, if there were no puniſhment reſerved by Gods Eternal Juſtice for the life to come. All of them would be unanſwerable, if the truth of that maxim, or general rule, *God rewards every man according to all his ways or works*, did determine, or expire with our laſt mortal breaths. But ſeeing we all expect, or at leaſt profeſs our expectation, that *Jeſus Chriſt* ſhall come to judge, as well all thoſe which are dead, as thoſe which he ſhall find alive at his ſecond coming, we cannot by rule of Faith or Reaſon, expect that every man ſhould be rewarded according to all his ways, before that laſt and final judgment. We may not preſume that any man, the leaſt ſinner that dyes in his ſins, ſhould be puniſhed according to all his deſerts, before that laſt and general Aſſize. After that day, or after the Eternal and moſt Righteous Judge hath given final ſentence, we may ſafely ſay and pronounce,

nounce, that this man hath been a more grievous ſinner than that, than we our ſelves were, becauſe we ſee him more grievouſly puniſhed, or ſentenced to a more grievous puniſhment, than we or others are; but before this day it is not Chriſtian-like, it is not ſafe to ſay or think, that this man is a more grievous ſinner than we our ſelves are, or that this man deſervs to be more grievouſly plagued, than we our ſelves, or others whom we think well of, ſo long as either they, or we, have one hours ſpace left for repentance. To judge of the meaſure of any mans ſins, by the manner of his puniſhments here on Earth, or to determine of his future eſtate by his preſent death or diſaſter, is to uſurp or trench upon *Chriſt Jeſus* his royal Prerogative, which to prejudice by word, or ſentence interlocutory, which to pre-occupate by many peremptory, or cenſorious thought, is more than a *præmunire*, a branch of high treaſon, or rebellion againſt him.

Beſides this exception, which clearly infringes the former allegations for judging of the cauſe by the effect, or meaſuring mens ſins by the manner of their viſible puniſhments, many poſitive reaſons there be, which might perſwade us, that our moſt good and gracious God, without impeachment unto his unchangeable mercy and juſtice, may, and often doth in this life, ſhew extraordinary mercy, to extraordinary ſinners, and recompence ordinary ſinners, men not ſo ſinful as the beſt of us account our ſelves to be, with extraordinary puniſhments in this life.

Both parts of this allegation may be proved by inſtance, and by rule, by examples of Scripture, and by reaſons grounded on Scripture.

Firſt, Becauſe ſuch as have been extraordinary ſinners, have obtained extraordinary mercy. There was not an honeſt Matron, or unmarried Woman in the Land of *Judea* or *Galilee*, but would have taken it for a Defamation, to have been compared to *Mary Magdalen*. She was a notorious ſinner, in that notorious ſin of wantonneſs and uncleanneſs, and yet obtained greater mercy than any woman of her time, beſides the Bleſſed *Virgin Mary*, for ſhe was endowed with an extraordinary meaſure of that excellent gift of Love and Charity. Our Saviour gives her this teſtimony, that ſhe loved much. And the reaſon why ſhe loved much, was, becauſe many ſins, and thoſe of the worſt kind of ſins, were forgiven her. Here was mercy two ways extraordinary. Firſt, In that ſhe had many ſuch ſins forgiven her. Secondly, In that ſhe loved much. For this extraordinary meaſure of love, through the ſame goodneſs of God, by which it was given her, was to have an extraordinary reward. Again, what Diſciple or Apoſtle of our Saviour was there, which might not have upbraided *Peter* with extraordinary ingratitude (which is the height of ſin) for denying his Lord and Maſter three ſeveral times expreſly, and in a manner judicially. And yet for all this, Gods mercy, and gracious favour towards him, was extraordinary, even in reſpect of other Diſciples and Apoſtles, the Diſciple whom *Jeſus* loved, only excepted. *Paul*, for a long time, was a Blaſphemer of the Evangelical Truth, a more furious Perſecutor of ſuch as followed the ways of life, than the Prince of his Tribe, King *Saul*, had been of Righteous *David*. And yet this man from a notorious ſinner, from a perſecuting *Saul*, was changed into a zealous *Paul*, became a valiant Champion for the Faith, more zealous in maintaining it, than he had been furious in perſecuting ſuch as profeſſed it. And this ſudden, and extraordinary change was wrought by the extraordinary mercy of God.

Tome II.

But do not theſe and the like inſtances, or examples of Gods extraordinary mercy, favour, and bounty, towards extraordinary and notorious ſinners, no way prejudice or impeach the unchangeable mercy of God, or his impartial dealing with Men? No, for the extraordinary mercy which he ſhewed, did not extend to them only, but to all extraordinary ſinners in the like kind unto the Worlds end. His extraordinary mercy, and favour unto *Mary Magdalen*, was a pledg of his mercy, and favour to all like ſinners of her Sex, ſo they would by true repentance accept, and embrace his mercy and favour manifeſted unto her. If any which hear, or read of his mercy exhibited to her, do finally periſh, their perdition is from themſelves. If any truly repent, their ſalvation and repentance (by which they become immediately capable of ſalvation) is from the Lord. Gods extraordinary mercy unto *Peter*, who had in a manner made Shipwrack of his Faith, was as *ſecunda tabula poſt naufragium, as a planck, or maſt, caſt out after Shipwrack,* not only for his ſuccour, but for the ſuccour of all the *Jewiſh* Nation which had denied the Lord that bought them. As many of this Nation as after *Peters* Converſion were converted and ſaved, their Converſion, and Salvation, was meerly from the Lord; as many of them as periſhed, did therefore periſh, becauſe they did not repent as *Peter* did; and they did therefore not repent, becauſe they did not lay Gods mercies towards him, and to their Country-men converted by him, to their hearts. That extraordinary mercy again, which God exhibited unto *Paul*, yields the aſſurance of Faith, a ſure Anchor of Hope, to all Perſecutors of the Church, whether *Heathens*, *Turks*, or *Infidels*, that there is plenteous redemption with God in Chriſt, mercy plenteous to work repentance in them, and (by repentance) compleat redemption of Body and Soul. As many of *Turks* or other *Infidels* as do not repent, and by their not repentance periſh, their perdition or not repentance is from themſelves. Not the Salvation only, but the repentance of ſuch as do repent is meerly from God: and this God our Lord, who is rich in mercy towards all, did work repentance in *Mary Magdalen*, in St. *Peter*, and St. *Paul*, by means and motives extraordinary, that all ſuch ſinners as they were might believe and know, that no ſinners are excluded from poſſibility of repentance in this life, but that the mercy which he ſhewed to them by means extraordinary, is daily exhibited by means ordinary, that is, by the adminiſtration of the word, and Sacraments, unto all that do not willfully exclude themſelves.

The ſecond point propoſed was, that God doth award extraordinary viſible puniſhments unto ordinary ſinners, without impeachment to his unchangeable Juſtice, or to that ingraffed notion, which all Chriſtians have of his unpartial dealing with the Sons of Men.

It was an extraordinary Viſitation, wherewith he viſited the Inhabitants of *Bethſhemeſh*, and their Territories. 1 *Sam.* 6. 19. for he ſmote of the people fifty thouſand threeſcore and ten men, becauſe they had looked into the Ark of the Lord. It was likewiſe an extraordinary puniſhment upon *Uzzah*, who being but a *Levite*, did touch the Ark of the Lord. 2 *Sam.* 6. 6. For he was ſmitten with ſudden Death, from which kind of puniſhment all of us do pray, or ought to pray, that the Lord would deliver us.

But may we therefore conclude, that theſe men of *Bethſhemeſh* were ſinners above all the men of *Judah*, or that *Uzzah* was a more grievous ſinner than any *Levite* of his Age, on whom the Lord did not ſhew like puniſhments? God forbid, yea our Saviour, who is both our Lord and God, hath in my Text forbidden us to paſs the like cenſure, either upon them, or upon any in after Ages, on whom the like judgments have been viſibly executed. That the men of *Bethſhemeſh* did grievouſly ſin in looking into the Ark of God, no Chriſtian can, no *Jew* doth deny: But that they were more grievous ſinners in this, than a great part of men (Chriſtians by profeſſion) are in this our Age, none but an *Hypocrite* will affirm. Leaving their perſons to be judged by God, this their particular ſin is more than doubted by all ſuch, as having neither lawful calling, nor abilities to diſcern ſacred myſteries, will take upon them not only to look into the Ark of God, but to determine of his Covenant of Life and Death, that is of Election, and Reprobation, the very grammatical notion, of which terms they underſtand not.

As for the ſin of *Vzzah*, it was for nature, and quality the very ſame, as if a Pariſh Clerk in our days ſhould intrude himſelf into a Deacons Office, as if a Deacon ſhould uſurp the function of a Presbyter, or a Presbyter the Office of a Biſhop. Now the Delinquents in both theſe kinds are at this day more than ten to one in compariſon of the men of *Bethſhemeſh*, to all the men of *Judah*, or in compariſon of *Vzzah* to all the *Levites* of his time, which were not guilty of like ſins in particular.

The judgments which God did ſhew upon the men of *Bethſhemeſh*, and upon *Vzzah*, though extraordinary, were yet judgments tempered with mercy. For God in thus puniſhing them did forewarn all poſterity not to treſpaſs in the like kind as they did, leſt a more grievous puniſhment either in this life, or in the life to come do befal them. For as our Apoſtle. 1 *Cor.* 10. 6. in the like caſe ſaith, *all theſe were our examples.*

But many in this laſt age, and more than in any Age ſince our Saviour died, and in this Kingdom than in any one Kingdom under Heaven, have palpably tranſgreſſed after the manner of *Vzzah*, and the men of *Bethſhemeſh*.

May we hence therefore conclude, that theſe men are more grievous ſinners than any others of this Age, or Nation, which have not tranſgreſſed in particular after theſe mens Example? No, the Lord hath forbidden us to paſs this cenſure, or judgment upon them: Such as are moſt free from theſe preſumptuous ſins, muſt ever remember that they have often grievouſly tranſgreſſed the Law of God in ſome one kind or other. All of us muſt lay that ſaying of our Saviour to heart; *unleſs we repent we ſhall all likewiſe periſh.*

But though this place prohibits raſh cenſure and judgment upon particular ſinners, may not we which are Gods Embaſſadors pronounce the like univerſal ſentence, which our Saviour here doth againſt all the Inhabitants of *Galilee* and *Jeruſalem*, with the ſame limitation againſt this, or any other Chriſtian Nation, *except ye repent ye ſhall all periſh*, after the ſame diſaſtrous manner that the *Jewiſh* Nation did? I tell you nay; this is beyond our Commiſſion, beyond our inſtructions, whom God hath appointed for his Embaſſadors. Our Saviour himſelf hath put in a Caveat againſt all ſuch preſumptuous conjectures, or pretended divinations. The calamities, and diſtreſſes of *Galilee* and *Jeruſalem*, of the whole *Jewiſh* Nation were ſo general, and ſo Tragical, as no Nation ſince the beginning of the World had ſuffered the like, no other ſhall ſuffer the like unto the Worlds end. But then all Nations, *unleſs they repent ſhall periſh*, after a more fearful and viſibly diſaſtrous manner, than *Galilee* and *Jeruſalem* did. But may we not in the mean time ſay, that theſe *Galilæans*, and Inhabitants of *Jeruſalem*, in whom this Prophecy in my Text was literally fulfilled, were ſinners above all other Nations or Generations in the World, becauſe they ſuffered ſuch things as no other Nation, or Generation had either ſuffered, or ſhall ſuffer unto the Worlds end? *I tell you nay.*

But this preſent Generation of the *Jews* did put our Saviour, the Son of God, the God of their Forefathers, to an ignominious death: And this was the moſt grievous ſin, *quoad ſpeciem*, for its ſpecifical quality, that could be committed; A ſin that could not be committed again, for he was to dye but once, *Death hath no more Dominion over him?* But though the Son of God could dye but once, yet many this day living may be as guilty of his Death, as *Judas*, or *Pilat*, as the moſt malitious amongſt the Chief *Prieſts*, the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* were. Or admit that thoſe *Jews* were more deeply guilty of our Saviours blood than any Generation ſince; yet he that would hence infer his Death to have been the chief or only cauſe of all the Calamities, which befel that preſent Generation of the *Jews* wherein he dyed, ſhould only prove himſelf to be more ſkillful in laying the charge, than in making the juſt exoneration, he ſhould ſhew himſelf to be but half an Accomptant; but of this elſewhere.

But in what ſenſe ſoever the putting of our Saviour to Death, was the cauſe of *Jeruſalems* deſtruction; yet this particular ſin in putting our Saviour to Death, was not the ſin, or any part of the ſins, of which they are forewarned by our Saviour to repent, for this ſin was not as yet committed, nor ſo much as thought upon by thoſe *Galilæans*, whoſe blood *Pilat* mingled with their Sacrifices, or by thoſe eighteen upon whom the Tower in *Siloe* fell. And no queſtion but theſe men did periſh for ſuch ſins as the Nation was for the moſt part guilty of, and were forewarned of by exemplary puniſhments, inflicted upon theſe *Galilæans*.

The perſecution of our Saviour was but a Symptom of thoſe other ſins, of whoſe deadly iſſue, without repentance, they were forewarned by theſe, and the like ſigns of the time. The reaſon why they hated the light of the World, after he had done ſo much good unto them, was, becauſe their deeds were evil, *Joh. 3. v. 19. And this is the condemnation, that light is come into the World, and men loved darkneſs rather than light, becauſe their deeds were evil.* What then were thoſe capital ſins whereof they were warned in particular? ſuch in the firſt place was their preſent rebellious diſpoſition, for which ſin in particular theſe *Galilæans* did thus periſh. But was this all? No, it is one thing to be rebellious, another to be unrelentingly rebellious. This unrelentance preſuppoſeth ſome other fouler ſin than Rebellion. As what? Hypocriſie ſpecially, and when our Saviour upbraids them with this Title of Hypocriſie, as when he ſaith, *Luke 12. v. 54. Mat. 16. Ye Hypocrites ye can diſcern the face of the Skie, and of the Earth, how is it that ye cannot diſcern the Signs of the Time,* His ſpeech implies, that their Hypocriſie was the chief cauſe, why they did not diſcern the ſigns of the time; Why they were ſo unrelentingly Rebellious againſt God and Man, that they would take no warning either from the Son God, or by the Calamities of their Brethren.

Now if any amongſt us be as great Hypocrites as they were, they be as grievous ſinners, as guilty of Chriſts bloudy Death, and liable to as grievous puniſhments, either in this life, or in the life to come, as they were.

A Phariſaical Hypocrite none can be, unleſs his Soul be ſo wedded to ſome branches, as he conceives them of holy doctrine, or zeal to Gods word, that he would rather ſuffer his Soul, and Body to be diſſolved, than be divorced from his opinions: That will not be ready as opportunity ſerves to perſecute all ſuch, even unto Death, as will not comply with him, or maintain his faction. And this kind of Hypocriſie always preſuppoſeth ſome other ſins which breed it, always include ſome other ſins, or errors, which feed and ſtrengthen it. That error which breeds Hypocriſie, is a zealous deſire to be extreamly contrary in all or moſt points unto them, whom they undoubtedly know to contradict the truth as well in ſome opinions as practices.

Satan may inſtill other erroneous opinions into his Scholars, and yet muſt be inforced to play the Sophiſter before he can draw them to admit of his intended concluſions, that is lewd, or wicked practices, but if he can once inſinuate immature perſwaſions, or ſtrong preſumptions of their irreverſible eſtate in Gods favour, he needs no help of Sophiſtry to infer his intended concluſions. This antecedent being ſwallowed, he can inforce the concluſion by good Logick, by rules of reaſon, more cleer than any Syllogiſm can make it, then any Philoſophical, or Mathematical demonſtration. For it is an unqueſtionable rule of reaſon, preſuppoſed to all rules of Syllogiſms, or argumentations, that an Univerſal Negative may be ſimply converted, as [if no man can be a ſtone, then no ſtone can be a man] the rule is as firm in Divinity, that if no Hypocrite, no envious, or uncharitable man can enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, then no man that muſt enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, that is irreverſibly ordained to eternal life, can be an Hypocrite, can be an envious, or uncharitable man. Whence again it will cleerly follow, that if the former opinions concerning mens perſonal, or national irreverſible eſtate in Gods favour have poſſeſſed mens Souls and Brains before its due time; albeit they do the ſelf ſame things that Rebels do, that Hypocrites, that envious or uncharitable men do: yet ſo long as this opinion ſtands unſhaken, they can never ſuſpect themſelves to be Rebellious, to be Hypocrites or uncharitable: That which indeed, and in the language of the Holy Ghoſt, is Rebellion, will be favourably interpreted to be the Liberty of Conſcience in defence of Gods Laws; envy, hatred, and uncharitableneſs towards men, will go current for zeal towards God, and true Religion.

To illuſtrate, or confirm theſe obſervations touching the Original, and Symptoms of phariſaical Hypocriſie, by the example and practice of theſe *Jews*, according to the order in which they have been now propoſed. The firſt Original was in the overpriſing of the rigid reformation of their Forefathers prophaneneſs.

Their Fathers worſhipped ſtocks, and ſtones, the Images or Statues of Heathen Gods, theſe latter ſought to be ſo extreamly contrary to the Heathen, or to the practiſes of their Forefathers in this particular, that they would not endure any civil uſe of Pictures; and their unrelenting zeal to maintain this rigid reformation was the Original of that Rebellion, wherein they periſhed after they had continued it ſeventy years more or leſs. For *Herod* the Great, having erected a Golden Eagle upon the walls of the Temple, not with purpoſe to have it adored, but in teſtimony of his gratitude, and allegiance to the *Roman* Emperour, ſome of their *Rabbins*, or great Maſters, did teach their Scholars to deface it, though they dyed for it: and death in this holy quarrel was accounted Martyrdom. Afterwards they were preſſed to admit a ſtatue of the *Roman* Emperour in their Temple, but not urged, as I take it, to adore it. And this did blow the coals of former diſſention, and was the original of that final rebellion under *Nero*. Now if they had not apprehended this rebellion, as an holy war, or had not affected to become Martyrs in defence of true Religion, they might eaſily have deprecated this eye-ſore, or grievance at the *Roman* deputies hands, as the wiſer ſort of them ſometimes had done.

But however theſe latter *Jews*, almoſt from the time of their return from *Babylon*, did increaſe the meaſure of their fore-fathers groſſer ſins, by too nice and rigid reformation of them, and added Phariſaical Hypocriſie unto them, as a new diſeaſe of the Soul ſcarce heard of before; yet this Hypocriſie, though epidemical to this Nation, had not the ſtrength to bring forth that monſter of uncharitableneſs, which did portend the ruine of this mighty people, until they were invaded by the *Romans*. For from the time that this Nation was brought into ſubjection by *Pompey* the Great, their Church-Governours did allow, and appoint daily Sacrifices to be offered for the Peace, and Tranquility of the *Roman* Empire, and ſecurity of the Emperours. But a little before the fulfilling of this Propheſie in my Text, there aroſe a Sect which did condemn this cuſtom, after an hundred years continuance, as unlawful, as contrary to the Law of God, as a pollution of the Temple. And it is a point obſervable by ſuch as read the Hiſtory of *Joſephus*, that of all the irregularities, or prodigious villanies committed in the Temple, during the time of the ſiege, as the tumultuous diſpoſition of their High Prieſts, and murder of them, and others of better place, the Faction ſirnamed (by themſelves) the *Zealous*, were the chief Authors, and Abetters. The fruit of this their blind and miſ-guided zeal, was to miſ-interpret the murder of their Brethren, which would not comply with them in their furious projects to be the beſt ſervice, the only ſacrifice then left to offer unto God; for the daily ſacrifice of beaſts did ceaſe for want of proviſion, they having plenty, or ſufficiency of nothing but of famine.

Now, to parallel the ſins of our Nation, of this preſent Generation ſpecially, with the ſins of the latter *Jews*: As for ſins againſt the ſecond Table, no man of unpartial underſtanding, or experience can deny that we far exceed them, unleſs it be for murder only, diſobedience to Parents, to Magiſtrates, Adultery, Fornication, Theft, Falſe-witneſs-bearing, and Coveting their Neighbours Goods, are far more rife amongſt us than they were, or could be amongſt them, at leaſt in the practice. The keen edge of ſome few give us occaſion to conjecture what the bloody iſſue of miſ-guided zeal would be, could it once get as ſtrong a back as it had in theſe *Jews*, when there was no King in *Iſrael*, or in that *Anarchy* wherein every one did that which was pleaſing in his own eyes. Again, no man not ſurprized with a *Jewiſh* ſlumber, but may clearly ſee how many amongſt us, place a great part of Religion in being as extreamly contrary to the *Romiſh* Church, as theſe latter *Jews* were to the Idolatry, or Superſtition of the Heathen, or of their Fore-fathers. Now if this zeal of contrariety to *Romiſh* Superſtition, be but equal to the like zeal in the *Jews*, the Hypocriſie, which is the reſultance of ſuch miſ-guided zeal, muſt needs be more malignant. And eaſie it were, if place and time did permit, to demonſtrate how theſe men condemn themſelves by judging the *Romiſh* Doctrine and Diſcipline, in her groſſeſt errors and practices. *Antarticks* they are, and think they can never be far enough from the *North-pole*, until they run from it unto the *South-pole*, and pitch their habitation, *in terrâ incognita*, in [illegible] world and Church unknown to the Ancients, and I fear unto themſelves.

But to let this error paſs; if it were a grievous ſin in this laſt Generation of the *Jews*, to prohibite the offering of Legal Sacrifices for the peace and ſecurity, for the weal and proſperity of the *Roman* Emperours, whilſt the partition wall betwixt the *Jew* and the *Gentile* was yet for the moſt part ſtanding; it cannot be a leſs ſin in ſuch Chriſtians, as forbid us to offer up the calfs or fruits of our lips, to wit, the Sacrifice of Prayer for all men, for all people in the world, ſince this partition wall was taken away. If thus to pray for all men were indeed an error; yet it were, alas, but *error amoris*, *a charitable error*; an error which deſerved pity, rather than contempt, and hatred of thoſe who think themſelves wiſer in Gods ways, than their Fathers in Chriſt; yet pity it they do not, but rather ſcorn and contemn it, or perſecute ſuch as practiſe it ſo far as they are able; that is, with bitter and ſlanderous words. And why do they ſo? Not out of hatred unto mens perſons, if we may believe them, but out of zeal unto Gods Word, which forbids the practice of it, and muſt be obeyed before any injunctions of the Church, which in their conſtruction are but Laws of men. But where doth Gods Word ſo expreſly forbid it? Our Saviours practice, as they alledge, which ought to be to us a rule more ſoveraign, than any Rubricks in our Church Book, doth in their opinion by conſequence condemn it, as *John* Chap. 17. ver. 9. *I pray for them, I pray not for the world; but for them which thou haſt given me, for they are thine.* This, for ought I know, is the only place that can be pretended againſt the practice of our Church. But the queſtion is not, whether our Saviour, in this place, or at this time, did pray for his Apoſtles alone, or for ſuch as ſhould believe through their report, but what it was which he prayed for them only? If our Saviour in this very place did pray his Father, not only to beſtow ſome extraordinary gifts upon his Apoſtles, and ſuch as they taught, *vivâ voce*; but withal, for ſome viſible manifeſtation of theſe extraordinary gifts beſtowed upon them, this will no way exclude the world, as it then ſtood in oppoſition to true Believers, *in ſenſu diviſo*, from being partaker of his Prayers for gifts ordinary. Now that our Saviour did thus pray for his Apoſtles, and the firſt Converts, to this end and purpoſe, that theſe extraordinary gifts beſtowed on them alone, might be an inducement to bring the world, and all future Generations, to be partakers of ordinary gifts, is evident from the 20. and 21. ver. *Neither pray I for theſe alone, but for them alſo which ſhall believe on me through their word: that they may all be one, as thou Father art in me, and I in thee, that they alſo may be one in us: that the world may believe that thou haſt ſent me.* Our Saviour in this Prayer for the world, prays not only that it might be partaker of the outward means, but of the internal means of Salvation, yea, of Salvation its ſelf, for ſo he had premiſed, *ver.*3. *This is life Eternal, that they may know thee the only true God, and Jeſus Chriſt whom thou haſt ſent.*

The extraordinary bleſſings which our Saviour prayed for, were the viſible endowments of the Holy Ghoſt, and that admirable union of ſoul and mind, and community of goods and poſſeſſions, &c. *mentioned,* Act. 2. 3. 4. &c *All which gifts were peculiar to theſe Primitive times.*

So far then is our Church, or the ancient Church, whom ſhe follows, from contradicting our Saviours meaning in this place, that they took his prayer and practice for their pattern. For as we are taught in our Liturgy to pray for all men without exception, we are taught withal not to pray for all things, for all men promiſcuouſly, but reſpectively; for ſuch things for every man as his eſtate and condition is immediately capable of. All men of what Nation or condition ſoever, as well, *Singula generum*, as *genera ſingulorum*, are either in the way of truth, or out of it: This diviſion admits no *medium*, or third member. Now we are taught to pray for all men, for every man, that are comprehended in this diviſion; but not to pray for the ſame bleſſings for all. In the firſt place we are taught to pray, that God would bring all thoſe into the ways of truth as have erred and are deceived; we do not pray to God to confirm them in the way of truth, until they be in it; of ſuch as are in the way of truth (which is the ſecond member of the univerſal diviſion) ſome do ſtand, that is, walk in it without ſtumbling, others fall, others walk in it, yet but weakly and droopingly: and according to their ſeveral eſtates and conditions, we pray firſt, That God would ſtrengthen ſuch as do ſtand; Secondly, That he would raiſe up ſuch as do fall; Thirdly, That he would help and comfort the weak hearted, or fainting travellers in the ways of truth, and finally (not at our firſt converſion) to tread down Satan under our Feet; For we muſt reſiſt, we muſt encounter him before he will flye from us, and after his flight we muſt purſue the victory, or advantage gotten before we can hope to trample upon him. But what ſucceſs hath our Church found by continuing this form of Prayer, more than other Churches, which contemn or deride it? The ſucceſs we leave to God: yet this comfort we have, that albeit many, or moſt of them, for whom we thus daily pray, may dye in their ſins, their blood ſhall not be required at our hands. As for ſuch as malign, or mock us for thus praying, let us continue our prayers for them alſo, Father forgive us, and forgive them all our ſins, negligences, and ignorances, and endue us with the Grace of thy Holy Spirit, to amend our lives, according to thy Holy Word.

Jam. 4. v. 7.

A

A SERMON, OR POSTILL, PREACHED IN NEWCASTLE upon TINE,

The Second *Sunday* in *Advent*, 1630.

BY

THOMAS JACKSON Doctor in Divinity, and Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majeſty.

FOR THOV SHALT LABOR
PEACE
PLENTIE

LONDON,
Printed by *J. Macock*, for *John Martyn*, *Richard Chiſwell*, and *Joſeph Clarke*, 1672.

A
SERMON,
OR
POSTILL;
PREACHED in NEWCASTLE
Upon *Tine*, the Second *Sunday* in *Advent*, 1630.

LUKE 21. Ver. 25.

And there ſhall be ſigns in the Sun, and in the Moon, *and in the Stars, and upon the Earth diſtreſs of* Nations, *with perplexity, the Sea, and the Waves roaring.*

THIS day being the Second Sunday in *Advent*, draws me, as you ſee, unto a new Text, being part of the Goſpel for this Solemnity. But my Text doth not draw me to a new Argument. My former Argument, as ye may remember, was concerning the ſigns of the time. And here ye may behold ſigns of the time in the Frontiſpiece of my Text; *There ſhall be ſigns in the Sun, and in the Moon,* &c. *Upon the Earth, and in the Waters*, that is, in every part of this great, and viſible Book of the Creature. But of what, or of what times were theſe ſigns here foretold? To the former part of this queſtion, our Evangeliſt hath made a full anſwer, *ver.* 27. *Theſe were ſigns of the Son of man's coming to judgment with power, and great Glory.* By the Son of man, ye know, is meant our Lord and Saviour Chriſt, and his coming was expected by this people, one, and other. *John Baptiſt* knew this to be the title of the *Meſſias*, and out of this Notion or Deſcription of his perſon, and office, he being in Priſon, ſent two of his Diſciples unto him, with this Embaſſage, *Luke* 7. *ver.* 19. *Art thou he that ſhould come, or are we to look for another:* And from this Embaſſage of *John* the next Dominical, or *Lords* day takes its denomination, or right to be enrolled amongſt the Dominicals conſecrated to the memory of his coming. The *Phariſee* likewiſe knew this title of *him that was to come*, to belong unto Chriſt, *or unto the great Prophet, which God had promiſed to raiſe up unto them like to Moſes.* And out of this notion they propound this interrogatory unto *John*, John 1. 21. *Art thou* Elias? *art thou that Prophet? and again,* ver. 25. *Why Baptizeſt thou then, if thou be not that Chriſt, nor* Elias, *neither that Prophet?* And from *John's* anſwer to theſe interrogatories, *ver.*

26. 27. *I baptize with water, but there ſtandeth one among you, whom ye know not, he it is who coming after me is preferred before me.* The fourth, and laſt Dominical takes its denomination, or right to be enrolled amongſt the days conſecrated to the memory of his coming. The Dominical, or Lords day laſt paſt, takes its denomination from the Goſpel appointed for that day. *Behold* O Sion *thy King cometh, &c.* So doth this preſent day, or ſecond Sunday in *Advent*, take this Title from that clauſe of the Goſpel, *v.* 27. *And then they ſhall ſee the Son of man coming in a Cloud.*

Now the coming of Chriſt, the Son of Man, and the Son of God, admits in the general, two degrees. The firſt, his coming in humility to viſit and redeem the World. The ſecond, his coming in Power, and Glory to judge the World. The Goſpels appointed by the Church for the three other Dominicals, or Lords Days in *Advent*, refer to the firſt manner of his coming, to wit, in humility to viſit and redeem his people. The Goſpel appointed for this preſent day points at his coming in Power, and Glory to judge the World. The queſtion then is, whether this Prophecy hath been in any ſort already fulfill'd, or in what ſort it ſhall be hereafter fullfilled, or accompliſhed? or if this Prophecy were twice to be fullfilled, the queſtion is, whether theſe ſigns here mentioned in my Text, do concern as well the laſt fullfilling of it as the firſt? That this Prophecy hath been already literally fulfilled, is cleer from the 21. and 32. Verſes of this Chapter. *Verily I ſay unto you this generation ſhall not paſs till all be fullfilled.* All what? All that he had ſaid concerning the ſigns of the time, ſo St. *Matthew* expreſſeth our Saviours meaning more fully than St. *Luke* doth. *Math.* 24. *v.* 34. *Verily I ſay unto you this generation ſhall not paſs till all theſe things be fullfilled*, that is, till the terrors of thoſe times whereof he ſpeaks, until the ſigns of theſe times in the Sun, in the Moon, and in the Stars, ſhould be exhibited. For by this Generation he comprehends that preſent Age, or compaſs of an hundred years, taking their beginning either from the time wherein he uttered this Prophecy, or from the Birth of theſe his Auditors, the greater part whereof were betwixt twenty and fifty years, and but a few of them to live above fifty years after this forewarning; ſo that this Age or Generation whereof he ſpeaks was to determine with the Lifes of theſe Auditors: though many of them did not, yet ſome of them did, and more might have outlived theſe ſigns here foretold. For theſe ſigns were to be exhibited unto the Nations not long after the deſolation of *Jeruſalem* as St. *Mark* tells us, *Chap.* 15. *v.* 24. *But in thoſe days* after that tribulation *the Sun ſhall be darkned and the Moon ſhall not give her light, and the Stars of Heaven ſhall fall, and the powers that are in Heaven ſhall be ſhaken.* Or leſt any man ſhould except that the Sun might be darkned after the days of *Jeruſalems* tribulation, and ſorrow, and yet not be ſo darkned till the laſt day, St. *Matthew* hath put in a Caveat againſt this exception, *Mat.* 24. 29. *Immediately after the tribulation of thoſe days ſhall the Sun be darkned, and the Moon ſhall not give her light.* So that if we can point out the time, wherein all that our Saviour ſaid concerning the tribulation of *Jeruſalem*, and *Jury* were fullfilled, we may eaſily find out the appointed time, wherein the Signs in my Text were to be exhibited.

That which muſt direct us in the right ſearch of the tribulations precedent to his coming here literally meant, is our Saviours cenſure upon his Diſciples admiration at the goodly buildings of the Temple. *As he went out*, ſaith Saint *Matthew* 24. 1. *and departed from the Temple, his Diſciples came to him, to ſhew him the buildings of the Temple*, Saint *Mark* tells us, *Chap.* 13. 1. *That one of his Diſciples ſaith unto him, maſter ſee what manner of ſtones, and what buildings are here?* And becauſe this one Diſciple is not named, Saint *Matthew* indefinitely ſaith, *his Diſciples came unto him.* A ſtrange humour in them (were they one or more) for how could they imagine that he had not obſerved the goodlineſs of theſe buildings before. But upon what occaſion ſoever (they or he, one or more of them) did move him to view the buildings, his reply unto this motion was unexpected, *For he ſaith unto them, ſee you not all theſe things? Verily I ſay unto you, there ſhall not be left here one ſtone upon another, that ſhall not be thrown down, Mat.* 24. 2. *Mark* 13. 2. *Luke* 21. 6. And thus much he had told them with weeping eyes before, *Luke* 19. 44. But it ſeems they were at better leiſure to hearken unto this ſecond prediction of the Temples deſtruction, than they were before, when their ears were filled with the joyful ſhouts of *Hoſanna, Bleſſed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord.* And hence as he ſate upon the *Mount* of *Olives*, over againſt the Temple, *Peter*, and *James*, and *John*, and *Andrew*, asked him privately, *Tell us when ſhall theſe things be? and what ſhall be the ſigns, when theſe things ſhall be fulfilled? Mark* 13.*v.*34. All of his Diſciples, at leaſt all of them, which moved this queſtion, did agree in this prenotion, that all theſe things ſhould be fulfilled at his coming, and that at his coming to judgment, the world ſhould have an end. Hence Saint *Matth.* 24. 3. relates the queſtion thus. *Tell us when ſhall theſe things be, and what ſhall be the ſign of thy coming, and of the end of the world?* But this queſtion, though not ſo intended by them, was, *fallacia ad plures interrogationes*, a queſtion conſiſting of two parts, one ſo different from the other, that one and the ſame anſwer could not befit both; and therefore he makes anſwer, *diſtinguendo*, or reſpectively to both parts. Concerning the ſigns of his firſt coming, to declare himſelf to be the judge of the world, or the ſigns precedent to the deſtruction of the Temple, he gives them a plain peremptory anſwer, *Mat.* 24. from *v.* 4. to the 36. And ſo again, *Mark* 13. from *v.* the 5. to *v.* 32. And in this Chapter, from *v.* 10. to *v.*32. But concerning the other part of the queſtion, when the world ſhould end, or the ſigns that ſhould precede, that he conceals, or rather exhorts them not to enquire after it; *But of that day and hour*, that is, the day of final judgment, or the end of the world, *knoweth no man, no not the Angels of Heaven, but my Father only*, Mat. 24.36. And Mark 13. 32. *But of that day and hour knoweth no man, no not the Angels which are in Heaven, neither the Son, but the Father.*

That this anſwer concerns only the ſecond part of the former queſtion, to wit, the time wherein the world ſhall end, is hence evident for that the Angels, yea, and ſuch as underſtood the Prophets, at leaſt our Saviour Chriſt, as man, did know the time appointed, for the deſtruction of the Temple, and the deſolation of the holy City and Land, for thus much was punctually and literally fore-told by *Daniel*, Chap. 9. 24. *Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy City, to finiſh the tranſgreſſion, and to make an end of ſins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlaſting righteouſneſs*, &c. No queſtion but *Daniel* himſelf, and the Angel which inſtructed him, did know the preciſe point of time when *theſe ſeventy weeks* did commence; although Chronologers at this day vary a little upon this point, and he that knew the time when they begun, might eaſily collect at what time they were to end. For theſe *ſeventy weeks*, or ſeventy ſevens of years, make up the juſt ſum of four hundred and ninety years, and ſo long did *Jeruſalem* continue after it was reſtored again by *Cyrus*, and his Succeſſors in the *Perſian* Empire. And albeit our Saviour's Diſciples did not at that time, perhaps clearly underſtand the Propheſie of *Daniel*; yet they might clearly foreſee the time of *Jeruſalem's* deſtruction, by the ſigns which our Saviour gives them in this *Chapter*, and in the 24. of Saint *Matthew*. The ſigns were ſpecially three; Firſt, *Earthquakes and ſtrange commotions of Wars in ſeveral Nations*, as ſpecially between the *Jews*, and other Nations ſubject to the *Roman* Empire. Secondly, *The general hatred wherewith all Nations did perſecute Chriſt's Diſciples*, which were then no Nation, but the feweſt of any ſect or profeſſion: For unto the time between our Saviours death, and the death of the Emperour *Nero*, that ſaying of our Saviour, *ye ſhall be hated of all men for my names ſake*, hath ſpecial reference. And it was moſt remarkably fulfilled whilſt the *Jewiſh* Nation did flouriſh, or was in ſtrength. For that Nation did bear more deadly hatred to ſuch as profeſſed themſelves to be *Chriſts Diſciples*, than they did unto the Heathen. And the Heathens again, ſpecially the *Romans*, did hate and perſecute the Chriſtians, as the worſt ſort among the *Jews*, of whom they took Chriſt's little flock to be a ſtem, or branch, becauſe the Governours of it, *Chriſt's Apoſtles*, were *Jews* by Progeny. So that the Laws which were enacted in *Rome* againſt the *Jews*, were moſt ſeverely executed upon the Chriſtians, beſides many lawleſs and barbarous cruelties, which were practiſed upon many of them in the time of *Nero*, without any check, or impeachment. This was a ſecond ſign precedent to the deſolation of *Jeruſalem*. The third was the abomination of deſolation fore-told by *Daniel*, and expounded by our Saviour, *Mat.* 24. 15. *For the over-ſpreading of abominations*, ſaith Daniel, Chap. 9. *ver.* 27. *He ſhall make it deſolate, even unto the conſummation, and that determined, ſhall be powred upon the deſolate.* It is termed by our Saviour, the *abomination of deſolation*, becauſe it was an abomination which did portend the utter deſolation of the City, and of the Temple, wherein this abomination was practiſed by the Seditious, or that faction which was called the Zealous. And this abomination became moſt remarkable from that time that the Seditious begun, firſt to depoſe the High Prieſts, and afterwards to murder them in the Temple. For then they turned the houſe of God, *not into a den of Thieves*, but into a den of Murderers, even a Slaughter-houſe. The fulfilling of this part of our Saviour's Propheſie, you may read at your leiſure in *Joſephus* in his ſixth Book of the *Jewiſh* War, Chapter 1. *Oh miſerable City*, ſaith he, *what didſt thou ſuffer at the* Romans *hands, to be compared unto this, although they entred with fire to purge thee from thy iniquity? For now thou waſt no longer the houſe of God, neither couldſt thou endure being made a Sepulcher of thine Inhabitants, and having by thy Civil Wars made the Temple a grave of dead bodies.*

It was the abomination which this deſperate, and graceleſly *Jewiſh* people did commit in the holy place; (that is, in the Temple and in the Courts of it) which brought that miſerable deſolation upon the

Temple, upon the City and Nation. The *Romans* were but Executioners of Gods wrath and vengeance againſt them. And thoſe interpreters of the Goſpel, who by the abomination of deſolation underſtand the *Roman* Forces though many they be, yet the more they be, or ſhall be, the more they multiply a ſtrange error, or groſs incogitancy. But after the practice of ſuch abominations, as *Joſephus* relates, in the holy place, the doom pronounced by our Saviour againſt the Temple, againſt the City, and Nation, became ſo inevitable, and was to be executed with ſo much ſpeed, as every one that in thoſe times feared God might ſee the juſt occaſion, and neceſſity of our Saviours admonition, *Mat.* 24. 16. &c. *Then let them which are in* Judæa *flee unto the Mountains, let him which is on the Houſe top not come down to take any thing out of his Houſe, neither let him which is in the field return back to fetch his Cloaths, &c. Then ſhall be great tribulation, ſuch as was not from the beginning of the World to this time, nor ever ſhall be.* The ſame admonitions of our Saviour are related *totidem verbis, Mark,* 13. *v.* 14. to the 20. and by St. *Luke* 21. 21. to the 26. with ſome additions. *Then let them which are in* Judæa *fly unto the Mountains, and let them which are in the midſt of it depart out, and let not them which are in the Country enter thereinto. For theſe be the days of vengeance, that all things which are written may be fulfilled, and they ſhall fall by the edge of the Sword, and ſhall be led away Captive into all Nations. And* Jeruſalem *ſhall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled.* After Gods wrath had once ſeized upon them, the execution of it was ſo nimble and quick, that if it had continued but ſome few weeks, or many days, as it had begun, all *Iſaacks* ſeed according to the fleſh had utterly periſhed. But *for the elects ſake*, or ſuch as God had choſen out of that Nation to propagate the Kingdom of his Son, *theſe days of tribulation were ſhortned*; And however the perſecution of both *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, did not determine with the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* : yet the number of Chriſtians did multiply faſter than the Seed of *Abraham*, according to the fleſh had done in *Egypt*. Now all theſe ſigns, which our Saviour had given of *Jeruſalems* deſtruction, were fulfilled within forty years after his reſurrection, and aſcenſion; and the diſſolution of the Temple, and of the City, which theſe ſigns, or abominations did portend, was accompliſhed in the Autumn following.

Now after the exhibition of theſe ſigns, and the tribulation of thoſe days, the fearful ſigns here mentioned in my Text were immediately to follow. But how immediately? without any delay, or interpoſition of time, of days, of months, or years? this we may not ſay, this we can not ſafely collect from our Saviours words. Theſe ſigns were to follow immediately, *non immediatione temporis*, *ſed immediatione ſignorum*; that is, they were to follow immediately, not with reference to the next times enſuing, but with reference to the next remarkable ſigns of the times, of which the World (as well the Chriſtians then encreaſed, as the reliques of the *Jewiſh* Nation, as the *Gentiles* (who were the greateſt part of the World) after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* were to take warning. In this ſenſe we ſay that one King is anothers immediate Succeſſor, if there be no King between them, albeit there be an *interregnum*, either of Weeks, or Months betwixt them. The vacancy of an Epiſcopal See for one or two years, or more, doth not make the next ſucceeding Biſhop not to be the others immediate Succeſſor, albeit there be an intermediate time betwixt the ones Death, or removal, and the others Election, or Conſecration. Thus albeit the ſigns in my Text did immediately ſucceed the former ſigns of *Jeruſalems* deſtruction; yet the World, as well the *Jews*, and Chriſtians, as the *Romans*, had a convenient time allotted to pauſe, or meditate upon the ſtrange deſolation of *Jeruſalem*, and *Judæa*, before the ſecond rank of ſigns here in my Text, were to be exhibited, for they were not exhibited until the ſecond year of *Titus* his Reign. For ſeeing the Nations would take no notice of Chriſts Kingdom, or of Gods Judgments by the prodigious deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, it was, ſhall I ſay his will, yea an act of his mercy to give them a ſecond, a more ſolemn publick warning of that great and terrible day, wherein that *Jeſus* whom the *Jews* had Crucified, whom the *Romans* had ſtrangely ſleighted, and grievouſly perſecuted in his members, will come with glory and power to execute judgment upon all ungodly men, upon all unbelievers, or Rebels againſt his Kingdom.

But before I come to ſhew you the particular manner how this Prophecy was fulfilled within that age current, wherein it was uttered, it will be expedient to acquaint you with the ſtrange manner how the *Jews* firſt, and the *Romans* after them did miſconſtrue, or pervert the ſigns of the time, which God had given them for their good. The Heathen Writers themſelves acknowledge there was a conſtant Fame, or received opinion throughout the Eaſt, that the Land of *Jury* in this Age, ſhould bring forth one who was to be Lord, and King over the whole World. This general Fame and opinion took its Original from the Prophecies of the Old Teſtament, concerning our Saviours Birth and Reſurrection. And unto theſe prophetical predictions, all the ſigns of the time did fully accord; yet ſeeing our Saviours Kingdom was not of this World, though more univerſal, ſeeing the authority which he exerciſed was meerly ſpiritual not temporal, ſeeing he would not take upon him to impriſon, to put to Death, or to divide Inheritances, or to manage Wars againſt the Enemies of this people, they ſleighted him then as moſt part of the World have done his true Embaſſadors ſince. For who is there almoſt that fears the edg of the ſpiritual Sword, unleſs it be backed with the Temporal. But did the *Jewiſh* Nation then take notice of the former conſtant Fame throughout the Eaſt, concerning the great Lord of Lords which was then to ariſe out of *Jury*? or had they no apprehenſion of the ſigns of the time which did confirm, or ſeal the truth of the Prophecies, which occaſioned this Fame? Yes, the ſigns of thoſe times did work very ſtrange, though very bad effects, even in the very worſt of this people. Their hearts were ſo over-grown with Pride, Vain glory, and Hypocriſie, that the abundance of theſe and the like bad humours did turn good Phyſick, even the food of life it ſelf into deadly poyſon.

For out of this undoubted prenotion, that this was the very time wherein the Lord had promiſed to deliver this people from the hands of their Enemies, they became ſo prone (as the event proves they were) to take Arms, and Rebel againſt the *Romans*, partly about the time of our Saviours Birth, but eſpecially after his reſurrection, when his Kingdom began to be propagated through the World. There was no man of greater might, or potency amongſt them, which did not take upon him to promiſe this peoples deliverance from the *Roman* Yoke, with which, the more they ſtrugled, the ſorer it cruſhed them; and the multitude were as prone to believe every one that would take upon him the name or Title of a Saviour, or Deliverer. The fore-ſight of this proneneſs in great ones to promiſe Salvation to this people, and the peoples promptneſs to believe them, did occaſion our Saviour to give theſe admonitions to his Diſciples, *Beware of falſe Chriſts, Mat.* 24. *v.* 4. *Mark* 13. *v.* 6. *Luke* 21. *v.* 6. which would ariſe in *Jury* before the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, with ſuch fair inticeing promiſes, and pretences of deliverance, *that if it had been poſſible the very elect ſhould have been deceived by them.* And no queſtion but many of our Saviours Diſciples had followed theſe falſe *Chriſts*, unleſs their Maſter the true *Chriſt* had expreſly forewarned them to beware of them; or unleſs he had inſtructed them that the Victory, which God had promiſed to give his people at this time over their Enemies, was not to be purchaſed by ſtrength of Sword, but by patient poſſeſſing of their own Souls in time of Wars and Perſecutions. And of theſe times wherein falſe Prophets, or falſe Chriſts did ſo prevail with this people, was that ſaying of our Saviour. *John* 5. 43. remarkably fulfilled. *I am come in my Fathers Name, and ye receive me not, If another ſhall come in his own name, him you will receive.*

The wiſeſt amongſt the *Romans*, and amongſt the reſt *Tacitus*, that great Stateſ-man, or Politician, obſerving the *Jews* to have failed ſo fouly in their hopes of becoming Lords over the Nations by their expected King, or *Meſſias*, turned greater Fools than the *Jews* had been; for having acknowledged the truth of the former Prophecy which was ſo famous and ſo conſtantly received throughout the Eaſt, He would have it fullfilled in *Veſpaſian*, in that he was called out of *Judæa* unto the Empire of *Rome*, that is (as they interpret it) to be Lord of the whole World. And which is moſt ſtrange, *Joſephus* himſelf, a *Jew* by Birth and Education, and therefore acquainted with the Prophecies, or prenotions concerning their *Meſſias*, was either the Author of this fooliſh interpretation, or the firſt Author now extant that did publiſh it. *Tacitus* adds ſome credit to *Joſephus* his report of the conſtant fame throughout the Eaſt, that *Judæa* ſhould at that time bring forth the Lord of the whole World, but he makes no addition to *Joſephus* his folly in miſapplying that which the Prophets had ſaid, and the Eaſtern Nation had received concerning the King that was to ariſe out of *Judæa* unto *Veſpaſian*, making him and his Sons of true and lawful Emperours, falſe Chriſts. Now to awake the *Romans* out of this proud fantaſtick dream; the true Chriſt, the Lord of Heaven and Earth, and judge of quick and dead, did exhibit theſe ſigns here mentioned in my Text before the *Romans* had fully digeſted their triumphant Feaſt, and joy for the Victory which they had gotten over the *Jewiſh* Nation, *Italy* and *Rome* it ſelf became the Stage whereon theſe fearful ſpectacles were acted, and the whole *Roman* Empire were more than Spectators, if no Actors, yet Patients in this doleful Tragedy. Beſides the deſtruction of the old World by Water, and of *Sodom*, and other four Cities by Fire and Brimſtome, no Hiſtory of the World doth mention any ſuch ſtrange calamities as iſſued from the burning of the Mount *Veſuvius* in *Campania*, which firſt hapned in the firſt, or ſecond year of *Titus*, although it hath oftentimes ſince procured great annoyance to Neighbour Provinces. But that it begun firſt to burn in the days of *Titus* is clear from the untimely Death of *Pliny* the Elder, that great *Naturaliſt*, Who out of curioſity going to ſearch the cauſe of it, was choaked to Death with the ſmoak.

I have often put you in mind heretofore, that many Hiſtorians which either never read the ſacred Prophecies, or did not mind them when they wrote their Hiſtories, are uſually the beſt interpreters as well of the Prophecies in the Old, as New Teſtament. Nor is the fullfilling of any Prophecy in the Old Teſtament more literally, or more punctually related, either in the Old, or New Teſtament, than the fullfilling this Prophecy in my Text is, by *Dio Caſſius*, a moſt Judicious, and Ingenious Heathen Writer, in the Reign of *Titus*. *The ſudden Earthquakes were ſo grievous, that all that Valley was ſultring hot, and the tops of the Mountains ſunk down, under the ground were noiſes like thunder, anſwered with like bellowings above; the Sea roared, and the Heavens reſounded like noiſe; huge and great craſhings were heard, as if the Mountains had fallen together; great ſtones leaped out of their places, as high as tops of Hills, and after them iſſued abundance of fire and ſmoak, inſomuch that it darkned the air, and obſcured the Sun, as if it had been Eclipſed; ſo that night was turned into day, and day into night; many were perſwaded that the Giants had raiſed ſome civil broils amongſt themſelves, because they did ſee their ſhapes in ſmoak, and heard a noiſe of Trumpets; others thought the World ſhould be reſolved into old* Chaos, *or conſumed with fire; ſome ran out of their Houſes into the ſtreets, others from the ſtreets, or High-ways into their Houſes; others from Sea to Land, ſome again from the Land to the Sea, Dio Caſſius in hiſtoriâ Titi.*

Beſides the large extent of this calamity through *Egypt*, *Syria*, and *Greece*, and great part of *Africa* related by this Author, and toucht upon in the firſt Book of Comments upon the Creed. *page* 49. *&c.* The Latine Reader may find many other circumſtances in other good Writers, as in *Procopius*, *Zonaras &c.* faithfully collected by *Maiolus tractatu de montibus. pag.* 520. *&* 521.

Though *Cedrenus* were a Chriſtian, yet I think when he wrote the Hiſtory of *Phocas* he had as little mind, or thought of the fulfilling of St. *Johns* Prophecy, Revelation the 8. *Chap. v.* 8. *&c.* As *Dio Caſſius* had of the accompliſhment of our Saviours Prophecy in my Text; *And the ſecond Angel ſounded, and as it were a great Mountain burning with fire, was caſt into the Sea, and the third part of the Sea became blood. And the third part of the Creatures which were in the Sea, and had life, died, and the third part of the Ships were deſtroyed. Cedrenus,* after a brief Character of *Phocas* his ill favoured body and conditions, in which latter his *conſort* did too well agree with him, tells us, *that in his time there was an inundation of all manner of miſchiefs upon Mankind, an infinite number of men, and beaſts died, and the Earth denying her increaſe, the famine and grievous peſtilences aroſe, and the Winters were ſo ſharp and cruel that the Sea freez'd, and the fiſhes in it periſhed. Cedrenus in compendio hiſtoriæ pag.* 332. *Theſe were ſtrange ſigns of the time*, and did portend the greateſt alteration that ever befel Chriſtian Churches, by the erection of the two grand Antichriſtian Tyrannies, the one in the Eaſt, the other in the Weſt.

Ἐν τ῀ ἡμέραις αὐτȣ῀ πάντα ἐπεισέδυσε κοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ κακὰ θνῆσις ἀνθρώπων ϗ κληνῶν πολλὴ ϗ ἀναρίθμητ@ ἀφορίαι τ῀ γῆς, ϗ λιμοὶ, ϗ λοιμοὶ χαλεπώτατοι, ϗ χιμῶνες τηλικȣ῀τοι, ὡς παγῦναι τιμ θάλασσαν, ϗ τεθνᾶναι τȣ῀ς ἰχθύας.

Lib. 1. *comment. in Symbolum Apoſtolicum.*

All that I have for this preſent, to add unto my former obſervations, concerning the burning of *Veſuvius* is the admirable diſpoſition of Gods Providence, in that he would not have the fulfilling of this Prophecy in my Text to be recorded by any Evangeliſt, or other ſacred Writers, but by this Heathen Hiſtorian; A bright ray, or beam of Divine Providence you may obſerve in ſo diſpoſing the teſtimonies of theſe times, as that the Evangeliſt, St. *John*, who uſually relates our Saviours Speeches more diſtinctly, and more at large than the other three Evangeliſts, doth not ſo much as mention our Saviours Prophecies, either concerning the ſigns preceeding the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, or theſe ſigns in my Text, which were ſigns of his coming to judge the Nations. The reaſon I take it was, becauſe St. *John* of all the four Evangeliſts did out-live both ſorts of the ſigns, for he was alive in the days of *Trajan* the Emperour, betwixt whoſe Reign and the Reign of *Titus*, in whoſe days theſe ſigns in my Text were exhibited, *Domitian*, and *Cocceius Nerva*, did ſucceſſively Reign over the *Romans*. And it may be St. *John* did purpoſely omit the Relation of our Saviours Prophecies concerning theſe ſigns, or prognoſticks, whether of *Jeruſalems* deſtruction, or of Chriſts coming to judge the Nations, becauſe he knew, when he wrote his Goſpel, he was to out-live them, and for this reaſon his relation of them would have been more lyable to ſuſpicion, or to the exceptions of the *Jews* for Heathen, than the relations of St. *Matthew*, *Mark*, or *Luke* were, ſeeing they all dyed before the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. But did St. *John* know, or what preſumptions have we to think he did know, that he was to continue his Pilgrimage here on Earth, until this Prophecy of my Text were fulfilled, that is, until Chriſts coming to give all the Nations of the World, as well as *Jeruſalem*, a ſolemn warning of his Power, and purpoſe to judge the World? This St. *John* might know, or this he could not but know, from our Saviours Speeches to him and St. *Peter*, related by him *John* 21. *v.* 18. to the 23. Our Saviour had ſignified, or intimated to St. *Peter*, by what manner of Death he ſhould glorifie God, and bid him *follow him*; the meaning is that he ſhould be crucified, as our Saviour had been. But *Peter* not content to know the manner of his own Death, turned about, and ſeeing St. *John*, ſaith to *Jeſus*, *Lord, what ſhall this man do? And* Jeſus *ſaid unto him, if I will that he tarry till I come, what is that unto thee?* The reſt of the Brethren, that is, of Chriſts Diſciples made a falſe deſcant upon this ſure ground; for they hence collected, that St. *John* ſhould not dye at all; but this miſconſtruction of our Saviours words, St. *John* himſelf *v.* 23. of that *Chap.* plainly refutes. *Jeſus ſaid not unto him, he ſhall not dye, but if I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?* Yet this his annotation, or comment upon our Saviours words, did better refute errors paſt, than prevent the errors, or miſconſtructions of times enſuing. For ſurely they err which interpret our Saviours words as a meer put off to *Peters* curious Queſtion, or as if they contained no ſuch prediction, or Prophecy concerning *John*, as the former did concerning *Peter*. And there is a *medium* between the conſtruction which the Diſciples then made of our Saviours words, and that conſtruction which others have made ſince. The Diſciples hence collected, that *John* ſhould not dye at all, others collect that our Saviours Speech was meerly Hypothetical, or conditional; yet being propoſed by way of interrogation, it is equivalent to this aſſertory, or affirmative, It is my will that he ſhould tarry till I come, do not thou grudge at this but follow me: Now, as you have heard before, there is a twofold coming of Chriſt, the one typical, or repreſentative, which is the coming here mentioned in my Text, and meant by our Saviour in his anſwer to *Peter*, *John* 21. *v.* 22. the other real, or conſummative, to wit, his laſt coming to Judgment. The Diſciples did err only in this, that they underſtood our Saviours words unto St. *Peter* of his laſt coming to Judgment. And if *John* had been to tarry on Earth till that time, the conſequence had been true, he ſhould not have dyed but as St. *Paul* ſpeaks, *he ſhould have been changed.* But our Saviour ſpeaks of his coming here mentioned in my Text, of which coming St. *John*, and others then living, were to be witneſſes, and ſpectators; And of this coming the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* was a ſign, by which his Diſciples then alive might prognoſticate, or expect it before they dyed. But of his laſt coming to judgment, at leaſt of the time of the Worlds end, our Saviour in my Text gave no ſign, but rather inhibited his Diſciples to enquire after it, ſeeing it was then reſerved to his Father only. And if any be diſpoſed to ſeek after the ſigns of that day, theſe he muſt learn of St. *John* in his Revelation, who ſaw his firſt coming to judgment in ſuch a ſence and manner, as he had ſeen the Kingdom of Heaven come with Power, and Glory, at his transfiguration upon the Mount.

But though the time of Chriſts coming to judgment be uncertain, though we may not expect that he ſhould come unto us in ſuch viſible manner, as he did to this Generation; yet he daily comes to us in a more real manner, if we will prepare our hearts to entertain him. For ſo he comes to us in his word, and in the Sacraments, and this his coming ſhall be unto judgment, unleſs we examine and judge our ſelves. But if we will judge our ſelves, we ſhall not be judged of the Lord; yea he comes unto us in mercy and loving kindneſs. One way or other he comes to all. *Behold* (ſaith he) *I ſtand at the door and knock, if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will ſup with him, and he with me. Revel.* 3. 20. Yet he which thus knocketh, that we may open, hath commanded us to *knock that it may be opened to us.* And indeed the only way by which we can open the door to him is by continual knocking at the Gate of Mercy, that he would open that unto us, that he would come unto us by his Grace, by the ſweet influence of his own Everlaſting Sacrifice, Lord hear us when we call upon thee, and open unto us, and ſo come unto us, yea *ſo come quickly.*

A brief Appendix to the former Treatiſe of the ſigns of the Time, or Divine Forewarnings.

Of ominous preſagements, or abodings good or bad, whether given, taken, or affected; and of Prodigies, or portendments which are, for the moſt part, publick ſigns of the times wherein they are exhibited, I had in my younger and better days, written a large Treatiſe, which hitherto I have not had the opportunity, or leaſure to publiſh, out of which I have borrowed two or three inſtances in the former Treatiſe. But amongſt all the Forewarning ſigns given to this land, as ſo many ſummons to repentance, none which have been given within my memory did make ſo durable impreſſion upon my heart and thoughts, as that late mighty wind, which having begun his terrible viſitation from the utmoſt point of the *South-Weſt*, did continue it in one night unto the *North-Eaſt* Corner of this *Southern* Province. This was more than a ſign of the time; *Tempus ipſum admonebat*, the very time it ſelf wherein it hapned, being the Vigils of that great Anniverſary *Novemb.* 5. was a ſign, to my apprehenſion,

henſion, moſt ſignificant, and doth interpret the meaning of this terrible Meſſengers inarticulate voice, much better than any linguiſt living this day, as well as the Prophets (were any ſuch now alive) could do. Both the Meſſenger, and the time wherein he delivered his meſſage, do teach us that truth, which hath been often mentioned in theſe former meditations, more punctually, and more pithily than I could then, or can yet expreſs it. Thus much of his meaning, the ſerious Reader may underſtand, that albeit we of this Kingdom were in firm League with all Nations of the Earth with whom we have had any time Commerce; although our greateſt Enemies ſhould become our greateſt friends; yet it is ſtill in the Lord Almighty his Power, and as we may fear in his purpoſe, to plague this Kingdom more grievouſly by his own immediate hand, or by this inviſible, but moſt audible Meſſenger; or by other like ſtorms, and Tempeſts, than at any time he hath done by the Famine, by the Sword, or by the Plague of Peſtilence; to bury more living Souls, as well of ſuperior as of inferior rank in the ruines of their ſtately Houſes, or meaner Cotages, then the Powder-plotters did intend to do, or the Powder-plot it ſelf, had it taken effect, could have done.

God grant every member of this Church and Kingdom grace to look into his own heart and purpoſes: and to all in Authority, whether ſuperior or inferior, from the higheſt to the loweſt, to look not only unto their own, but unto others ways of whom they have the care, or overſight, that theſe may run parallel with the ways of God: which if we ſhall continue to croſs, or fall foul upon them, or his moſt ſacred Laws; it is not any Parliamentary Law, not any act of ſtate, or decrees of Courts of Juſtice, that can break the ſtroak of his outſtretched puniſhing arm and hand, or fend off his dreadful Judgments threatned from falling more heavy upon us, than at any time hitherto (his name be praiſed) they have done. Finally although our publick Faſts, or ſolemn deprecations for averting his judgments from this Land, have, for the time being, ceaſed by the ſame Authority by which they were begun: yet no Authority, no act of ſtate doth prohibit any private man to faſt upon the days appointed by the Church; whoſe Canons injoin though not whole Families, yet of every Family ſome one, or other, to reſort unto the Houſe of the Lord to offer up Prayers, and Supplications appointed by our Church, upon two other ſpecial days in the Week, beſides the Lords day. Nor are any prohibited upon theſe days to offer up, beſides their Supplications for averting his judgment, the Sacrifice of Praiſe, and Thankſgiving for our many deliverances paſt, unto him, to whom all Praiſe, Power, Dominion, and Thankſgiving are due.

NAZARETH and *BETHLEHEM*,
OR,
Iſraels Portion
IN THE
SON OF JESSE.
AND
# MANKINDS COMFORT
FROM THE
WEAKER SEX.

TWO
SERMONS
Preached in Saint *MARY'S* Church in
OXFORD.

I. TIM. 3. 16.

Without controverſy, great is the myſtery of godlineſs: God is manifeſt in the fleſh.

BY

THOMAS JACKSON Bachellor of Divinity, and
Fellow of *Corpus Chriſti* College in *Oxford.*

LONDON,
Printed by *J. Macock*, for *John Martyn*, *Richard Chiſwell*, and
Joſeph Clarke, 1672.

TO THE

Right Reverend Father in God, and my very good Lord, *JAMES*, by Divine Providence Lord Biſhop of *WINCHESTER*. *T. J.* wiſheth all Grace and Happineſs.

Right Reverend and Honourable,

S*Ince it hath pleaſed ſuch as have hitherto been Spectators, as well of my weakneſs, as of my induſtry in the Miniſtry, to pardon the one for the others ſake; it is, and ever ſhall be my care, to have your* Lordſhip, (*under whoſe Patronage*, *as* Honourable Succeſſor *to my worthy* Founder, *I now enjoy the continuance of former opportunities*) *no witneſs of my ſloth, or idleneſs. Yet theſe papers I produce not, either in teſtimony of my pains, which in ſo little a work cannot be great; or as a proof of my diligence in poliſhing what hereafter I mean to ſet forth. Rather out of indulgence to my bodily indiſpoſition, and diligent forecaſt how long my journey is like to be, I have begun after ſuch a manner, as by Gods aſſiſtance, and your* Lordſhips *wonted countenance, I may hope to continue. To leave ſome fuller explication, then I have found, of the admirable conſonancy between ancient* præſignifications, *whether* prophetical, typical, *or* Hiſtorial, *and* Evangelical *Relations, concerning our* Saviours *Conception, his* Birth, *his Baptiſm, Paſſion, Reſurrection, and Aſcenſion (or other like parts of his Humiliation, and Exaltation) is the point, whereto my Studies have been conſecrated, and my obſervations principally directed, ſince I undertook the Miniſtery. And in this reſpect, I may truly call my meditations in this kind, the firſt fruits of all my Labours. Now of this crop, which, with reference to my poor Harveſt, is like to be very great, as much at leaſt as all the reſt, and as I truſt moſt acceptable to my God, I have brought this little Sheaf unto your* Lordſhip, *humbly deſiring that you would vouchſafe to offer it up unto Him, by whoſe only Bleſſing all the reſt muſt be ſanctified.*

fied. Thus omitting longer preface, until I may fit it with a larger work, I humbly commend your Lordſhip *to the gracious protection of our Heavenly Father, and this ſlender pledge of my moſt intire obſervance to your benign acceptance.*

From my Study in *Corpus*
Chriſti College in *Oxford*
Septemb. 6. 1617.

Your Honours

In all duty and ſervice,

to be commanded,

THOMAS JACKSON.

NAZA-

NAZARETH and *BETHLEHEM,*
OR,
ISRAELS
Portion in the Son of *JESSE.*

BOOK VII.

JEREMIAH 31. Ver. 21. 22.

Turn again O Virgin of Iſrael, *turn again to theſe thy Cities. How long wilt thou go aſtray, O thou Rebellious Daughter? For the Lord hath created a new thing in the Earth, a Woman ſhall compaſs a Man.*

1. IT is the obſervation of a moſt ancient Father. [a] *Omnis Prophetiâ priuſquam impleatur ænigma eſt. Every Propheſie before it be fulfilled is a riddle.* And amongſt Propheſies the latter part of this my Text, not the leaſt Ænigmatical. For our better underſtanding the true meaning of theſe words in themſelves, their coherence with the former, and my Prophets drift or ſcope in all: may it pleaſe you (Men, Fathers, and Brethren) to conſider the time was now come, wherein the Lord had put *Judah alſo out of his ſight, and caſt off* Jeruſalem, *the City which he had choſen.* Benjamin *was become* Ben-oni, a ſon of ſorrow unto his Mother. [b] For *a voice was heard in* Ramah, *mourning and bitter weeping,* Rahel *weeping for her Children, refuſed to be comforted becauſe they were not,* in the Land of her Burial and their Fathers Birth. But the Lord always more tender and compaſſionate towards his Children, than a woman towards the Children of her womb, yea, than tender *Rahel* her ſelf towards her deareſt Son, whoſe birth had coſt her her life; in the midſt, yea, even in the firſt beginning of theſe his judgments, remembers mercy. He now ſends *Judah* into captivity after *Iſrael,* but as a ſecond arrow to find out a former loſt. And *Benjamin* muſt go, though as ſore againſt his own will into *Chaldæa,* as he had done ſometimes againſt his Fathers into *Egypt*; yet in the Almighties determination, as well now, as then to redeem his brother from that thraldom wherein he had been long detained. For the Lord had put up *Ephraims* lamentation, with *Rahels* tears for *Benjamin,* deſirous, as he himſelf in the verſes following proteſts, to prepare one and the ſame medicine for both their maladies. [c] *Refrain thy voice from weeping* Rahel, *and thine eyes from tears, for thy work ſhall be rewarded ſaith the Lord. And they ſhall come again from the Land of the Enemy: and*

[a] *Ireneus.*

[b] *Chap.* 31. *ver.* 15.

[c] *Chap.* 31. *ver.* 18.

there is hope in thine end, ſaith the Lord, that thy Children ſhall come again to their own borders. I have heard Ephraim *bemoaning himſelf thus, thou haſt corrected me, and I was chaſtiſed,* &c.

2 But as *Ephraims* intemperancy had been greater, more wilful, and of longer continuance, than *Judahs* or *Benjamins* had been, ſo his recovery was now more difficult, and put his Heavenly Phyſician to a greater plunge, than when it enforc'd him to cry out * *Oh Ephraim what ſhall I do unto thee?* He was become as a man, whoſe nature is ſo far ſpent, that no Phyſick can be ſafely adminiſtred to him. Long calamity and diſtreſs brings oft-times the Souls of Gods Children ſo far out of taſte with his ſweeteſt mercies, that they loath their very proffer, no leſs than ſick men do the ſight of meat. [d] *The Lord is with thee thou valiant man,* ſaith the Angel of the Lord to *Gideon:* But he replies, *Ah my Lord, if the Lord be with us, why then is all this come upon us? and where be all his miracles, which our Fathers told us of, and ſaid: Did not the Lord bring us out of* Egypt? *But now the Lord hath forſaken us, and delivered us into the hands of the* Midianites. More wayward and diffident my Prophet fore-ſaw, *Ephraim* or *Iſrael,* for the moſt part, would be. The beſt of them, albeit they miſtruſt not the truth of Gods promiſes unto *Abraham*, yet doubt whether theirs, and their Fathers ſins, have not forfeited their intereſt in them. If they acknowledge Gods ſummons for *Judah's* return, and theirs to be the ſame, yet with old *Anchiſes* in like caſe, they find a difference in their eſtates,

——— [e] *Vos ô quibus integer ævi*
Sanguis ait ſolidæq; ſuo ſtant robore vires,
Vos agitate fugam.———

Such as had freſh and lively ſpirits to weild their ſtrong and able limbs, ſeeing their arms could not defend their Country from the violence of their Enemies, might uſe the benefit of their legs to eſcape their burial in her ruines.

Me ſi cælicolæ voluiſſent ducere vitam,
Has mihi ſervaſſent ſedes.

But ſure, if the Gods intended *Anchiſes* any longer leaſe of his life, they would allow houſe-room to his aged bones in *Troy*. Thus why *Judah* and *Benjamin* ſhould return unto their borders, diſtruſtful *Ephraim* could conceive theſe or like reaſons. The time of their captivity is not ſet ſo long, but many which have ſeen *Jeruſalem* in her glory, may live to ſee the [f] *City built up upon her own heap, and her Palaces remaining after their wonted manner.* [g] *Their Children ſhall be as aforetime, their noble Ruler ſhall be of themſelves, their Governour ſhall proceed from among them.* But as for *Ephraim*, our Fathers ſaid it in their haſte and fury, and we their poſterity muſt for ever be bound unto the bargain. [h] *What portion have we in* David? *we have no inheritance in the Son of* Jeſſe. Many of his goodly ſtems, now planted by the palms of *Babel*, may take root again in their native ſoil, and be as a ſhelter to the tender grafts, that muſt ſprout out of the lower ſhrubs of *Judah:* but he that ſhall look upon the remedileſs ſpoil and waſte, long ſince made throughout all the Mountains of *Samaria*; will he not take up his Parable and ſay, *Ephraim* is as a wood deſtroyed, wherein is never a *Samplar* left? The youngeſt ſprig that was

* *Hoſ.* 6.4.

[d] *Judges* 6. *ver.* 12.

[e] *Virg. Æn.* 2.

[f] *Jer.* 30.18.

[g] *Verſ.* 21.

[h] 1 *Kings* 12. *verſe* 16.

was removed thence, is now doated or withered with Eld in a ſtrange and weariſh ſoil. How many of our Fathers, which had never ſeen the light in the land of their conception, being brought captives hither in the womb, have we ſeen, after their ſight had failed them, for very age and long expectation of return) encloſed in the bowels of a foreign earth; yet now no more a Step-mother to us their Children that are left behind. An hundred years are paſt and gone, ſince our fathers were rooted out of their Native Land, and ſeventy more are yet to come before our promiſed deliverance be accompliſhed. And what comfort can it be to any of *Ephraims* race, to return after ſo long time, into the land of *Iſrael*, now as ſtrange and uncouth unto us, as *Media* and *Aſſyria* were to our fathers.

3. That *Ephraim* was thus affected, the iſſue did too well prove; for few, if any, of this tribe did return with the captivity of *Sion*; and ſuch of them as afterwards return'd, did, for the moſt part, inhabit *Galilee*, or Regions allotted to other Tribes. This backwardneſs, whether general in *Iſrael*, or more particular in *Ephraim*, was portended in the ominous character of this Propheſie: wherein *that* God, which was a loving Father to all the Sons of *Abraham*, appears more anxious and ſolicitous for *Ephraim*, than for *Judah* and *Benjamin*, whoſe return from captivity was more ſpeedy and entire. And my Prophet from fore-knowledge of this diſtruſtful temper in *Ephraim*, makes tryal of ſo many courſes to make him relliſh Gods Promiſes, which he condites of purpoſe for his palate in ſweeteſt terms of deareſt love; ſometimes intreating him under the name of *Ephraim*, ſometimes under the name of *Iſrael*, as if he would try whether the one were not more lucky than the other. Sometimes wooing him with faireſt promiſes of gracious favours to come. [i] *I will build thee, and thou ſhalt be builded O Virgin* Iſrael: *thou ſhalt ſtill be adorned with thy Timbrels, and go forth in the dances of them that be joyful. Thou ſhalt yet plant Vines upon the Mountains of* Samaria, *and the planters that plant them ſhall make them common.* Sometimes recounting his former kindneſs. [k] *I am a father to* Iſrael, *and* Ephraim *is my firſt-born:* for when I ſhared *Rubens* dignity amongſt his brethren, did I not ſo eſteem of *Ephraim*? *Levi* had his Prieſthood, and *Judah* his Kingdom; but the double portion was reſerved for *Joſeph*: and the lot, whoſe diſpoſition belongs to me, fell to *Ephraim*, though the younger brother; in the fairer and larger ground. Sometimes again, like a penſive Father jealous of every occaſion that might ſcar a fugitive, wild untamed ſon from approaching his preſence, he proteſts his ſorrow for his ſevere chaſtiſements paſt. [l] *Is* Ephraim *my dear ſon? is he my pleaſant child?* Should I tell him ſo, his bitter correction would not ſuffer him to believe it. *Yet ſince I ſpake unto him, I ſtill remembred him, my bowels are troubled for him. I will ſurely have mercy on him, ſaith the Lord.* If the difficulty of the way deter thee, thou ſhalt not wander as thy Fathers did in the wilderneſs: whiles the paths by which the ſpoilers led thee are freſh in memory, * *ſet thee up way-marks, and make thee high heaps for thy direction, and ſet thine heart towards the path-way that thou haſt walked.* Thy return ſhall be as quick and ſpeedy as thy departure. Or if the Mountains of *Ephraim* be polluted, *Tabor* and *Hermon* are not ſo. *Zabulon* and *Nepthalim* muſt yet ſee a wondrous light. Let *Ephraim*, if he loath his own inheritance as unclean, take poſſeſſion among his brethren; or in caſe he linger behind, as diſdaining that *Judah* ſhould be his leader, let not his bad example entice the other Sons of *Jacob* to draw back, as it ſometimes did them to revolt from *David*. *Turn again, O virgin Iſrael*

i *Jer.* 31. 4.

k *Ver.* 9. *Why* Ephraim *is called Gods firſt born.*

l *Jer.* 31. 20.

* *Verſe* 21.

Iſrael (for thou ſhalt no more be opbraided with the Adulteries of *Samaria*) *Turn again to theſe thy Cities my beloved Daughter, my pleaſant Child only refractory and rebellious in this, that thou wilt not haſten thy retire, when as the Lord hath purpoſed to create a new thing in thy territory, there the* Woman *ſhall encompaſs the* Man. This is the upſhot of all my Prophets ſweet and pathetical invitations of *Iſrael* to return from captivity. This new and ſtrange event of a *woman encompaſſing a man*, is as a peerleſs garland, proffered firſt to *Ephraim* as the head of his brethren, or in the ſecond place, unto ſuch of the ten Tribes as would be moſt forward to undertake the courſe. We muſt needs then with venerable Antiquity, and ſome moſt [m] ancient reformers of the Religion, which we profeſs, acknowledge ſome extraordinary matter to be here promiſed. Howſoever ſundry learned interpreters of latter times ſeem not to account it ſuch: but as if they had begun to ſlumber, when they came to the words of my Text, (diſpoſed to take a nap with my Prophet, or with him of whom he ſpake, ver. 26. *Upon this I awaked and beheld, and my ſleep was ſweet unto me*) they paſs over this myſtery as in a dream.

4. For the right unfolding whereof, four words there be in the *Original* of remarkable uſe, and we will diſpenſe with ordinary tranſlations, for not fully expreſſing them, when as many Learned Commentators, otherwiſe very skilful in the *Hebrew*, ſcarce deign to take notice of their true and proper Grammatical value, much leſs of their Prophetical references or importances. The firſt נאת tranſlated as you have heard, in the Earth, which phraſe in our Engliſh is uſually as much as if he had ſaid, *in orbe terrarum, in the world*; whereas by the circumſtances of the place, and conſonancy to the Hebrew dialect (moſt frequent in Prophetical Writings) it muſt be reſtrained unto that part of the earth, whereunto he ſolicites theſe *Iſraelites* return. *I create a new thing in the Land*, to wit, of *Iſrael*, or the Kingdom of *Ephraim*, as it is oppoſed unto the two other Tribes: as *Pomeranus* hath Learnedly obſerved. The ſecond original word is here rendred (as well as conveniently it could be in one word) by *woman:* yet is it not אשה but בתולה or נקבה as if he had ſaid, *The Female ſhall compaſs the Male*; though ſomewhat more be included in the word גבר than a male, or man.

5. The ſacred myſtery of this ſpeech may beſt appear by compareing this new creation of the ſecond *Adam* in the Virgins womb, with the creation of the firſt woman in *Adam*: with reference whereunto this is called a new creation, wherein the order of the former is inverted. It is ſaid, *Gen.* 1. [n] *In his Image created he him, he created them male and female.* The reaſon of which Ænigmatical ſpeech (whence *Plato*, as I think, took his fable of *Androgyni*) is becauſe *Moſes* there ſpeaks of *Adams* creation only, in whom notwithſtanding *Eve* was in a ſort created or encloſed as bone of his bone, and fleſh of his fleſh: He ſpeaks of him in both numbers, as of *unum actu*, which was *potentia plura*. The like manner of ſpeech he uſeth in the firſt verſe. *In the beginning God created the Heaven* and the *Earth*. Yet neither, was then diſtinctly created, but the maſs, whence both were afterwards diſtinguiſhed as it were into male and female: that is, into ſuch Heavens, as now are the Agents, and ſuch an Earth, as now is the Mother, whence all earthly creatures are produced. In this new creation the Lord encloſeth not *Zakor*, *Iſh*, or *Adam*, not *Maſculus* only but *Gever* (i) *vir fortis*, the valiant or ſtrong man, the grand Heroick of the world, in the female

[m] *Pomeranus.*

[n] *Gen.* 1.27.

maleor weaker veſſel. *The female ſhall compaſs the male*, not after the uſual manner of Childrens encloſure in the womb, but as *Evah* was encloſed in *Adam*, or as the ſhell encloſeth the kernel, whoſe firſt root of exiſtence is from within, not from without; whoſe encloſure every way is entire, never opened to receive what it encloſeth, but only to have it taken forth. This, I take it, is the natural and true meaning of theſe words in this ſubject, whereof we ſpeak, conſidered with ſuch references as have been ſpecified.

6. Our ſmall acquaintance, whether with the peculiar ſigns of theſe ancient times, or with many common prenotions (concerning the manner of *Meſſiahs* birth or conception) which either my Prophet might pre-ſuppoſe as ſufficiently known to them for whoſe good he wrote, or this Propheſie occaſion their ſucceſſors to enquire after, againſt the time appointed, will not ſuffer us to apprehend, either the appoſiteneſs, or efficacy of theſe brief perſwaſions, ſo fully as the obſervant *Iſraelites*, before, or about our Saviours coming, might eaſily have done. Yet if we may gueſs at the force of his Argument, by ſuch references and circumſtances, as have left ſome print behind them in the revolutions of times, unfolding this prediction, which he had wrapt up in ænigmatical generalities, it is more fully thus.

Doſt thou therefore ſtand off, and diſdain thy return to theſe thy Cities, O thou Virgin, but haughty and rebellious *Iſrael*, becauſe the glory of *Shilo's* birth ſhall be thy ſiſter *Judah's* and not thine? Doth it grieve thee that *Bethlem*, *Ephrata*, ſometimes ſo little amongſt the thouſands of *Judah*, ſhould now over-top the chief Cities of *Samaria*? A Prophet from the mouth of the Lord hath ſaid it, and it muſt of neceſſity come to paſs, [o] *That out of Bethlem, he ſhall come forth that ſhall bear rule in* Iſrael; *whoſe goings forth have been from the beginning and from everlaſting.* *Ephrata* it was rightly called of old, and it happily height *Bethlem* ſince, ordained from Eternity to bring forth the Bread of Life: but neither hath *Iſrael* born *Ephraims* name for naught. Fruitfulneſs alſo is with thee. Theſe thy Cities, though little and barren in thy ſight, are not forſaken of thy God: thou haſt likewiſe a Prophets word for thy aſſurance, that albeit *Judah* muſt bring him forth, yet *Iſrael* ſhall be the land of his conception, of whoſe Kingdom there ſhall be no end. Account it not blind chance, but thy good hap, that thy name is firſt mentioned in the re-eſtabliſhing of my ancient grant. [p] *Behold the days come* (ſaith the Lord) *that I will perform that good thing which I have promiſed unto the houſe of* Iſrael, *and to the houſe of* Judah. *In thoſe days, and at that time, will I cauſe the branch of Righteouſneſs to grow up unto* David, *and he ſhall execute judgment and Righteouſneſs in the land*, Jer. 33. ver. 14. 15. Search the Prophets at the time appointed, and it ſhall be ſhewed thee, that whilſt one of them made this glorious promiſe, in my name, to *Bethlem*, [q] another (no Enemy to the houſe of *Judah*) did fore-tell thy Fathers, that the root of *Jeſſe* ſhould recover his ſap, and give firſt beginning of liſe to the branch of *Righteouſneſs*, within thy borders. Though by birth he muſt be a *Bethlemite*, and of *Davids* linage, yet the name by which he muſt be beſt known, ſhall be taken from one of thy Cities, wherein [r] *being firſt conceived, he ſhall grow up as a branch out of a decayed trunk, or as a root of a dry ground*, not as a young plant from the live ſeed of a former tree: That this place of his conception is not ſo clearly named by *Iſaiah*, as the place of his birth by *Micah*; doth this diſmay thee?

[o] *Micah* 5. 2.

[p] *Jer.* 33. *ver.* 14. 15.

[q] *Eſa.* 11. 1.

[r] *Eſa.* 53. 2.

The greater ſecreſie is a ſign of a greater myſtery. I know thee of old, thou art coy, thou art ſtrange, and muſt be wooed with rarities and new wonderments. And what wonder ſince the world began, hath been heard of like to this new thing, *which I create in theſe thy Cities, that a Woman (without the conſort of man) ſhould encloſe him in her womb, whoſe out-goings have been from everlaſting.* The Creation of Heaven and Earth, may in compariſon of this *new Creation*, be held ſtale and trivial.

7. Of this *Ænigma* in my Text, and that other fore-mentioned Chapter 33. we may ſay as *Joſeph* did of *Pharaohs* dreams, *both are one.* So is that nurſery of myſteries, *Iſaiah* 11. *ver.* 1. wherein the place of his conception and education is ſecretly named: and the like, *Iſaiah* 53. of a *root growing up out of a dry ground.* This metaphor of the root, as alſo the Emphaſis of that ſpeech delivered in Gods own perſon: [ſ] *I will cauſe the branch of Righteouſneſs to grow up*, ænigmatically fore-ſhadow, that this growth ſhould not be by ordinary *Generation*, but by *Creation*; that as trees and plants in the firſt Creation, did meerly grow up out of their mother earth, without ſeed precedent; ſo ſhould this branch of *Righteouſneſs*, this root of *Life*, take his whole ſubſtance from his earthly mother, by the ſole immediate power of his Heavenly Father.

ſ *Jer.*33.15.

Thus much of the coherence of theſe words with the former, the true meaning of this ænigma, and of the Prophets drift and ſcope in this place: which is to aſſure *Ephraim* or *Iſrael*, that he ſhould ſhare with *Judah* in the glory of their *Meſſiah*, as after he did in his conception and education. It remains that we proſecute the manner, how this Propheſie was fulfilled in the myſtery of our Saviours conception, and other ſuch accidents as fell out in *Iſrael*, well deſerving their ſpeedy return.

8. The *Jewiſh Rabbins* have a tradition, that God before he made this great world, did try his skill in making many leſſer. But this, I am ſure, you all deteſt as a fable in it ſelf moſt impious, becauſe it impeacheth Gods omnipotency: moſt frivolous, becauſe prejudicial to his wiſdom, which worketh all things for teſtification of his glory, or confirmation of his Creatures faith; neither of which could have any place before Men and Angels were created. But it is a point well fitting our meditations at this ſeaſon, to conſider how the Lord, in ſundry Ages, ſince the firſt promiſe of mans redemption by the womans ſeed, did give illuſtrious documents as of his power, ſo of his purpoſe to effect this *New Creation:* delighting to raiſe ſtrength out of weakneſs, and by known effects of this nature, to purchaſe unto himſelf that title (often inſerted amongſt his moſt glorious Attributes) of making the barren womb to bear, and become a joyful mother of children. He fore-ſaw, as his Prophet *Iſaias* complains, with what difficulty the world would believe his Prophets reports of their *Meſſias growing up as a branch out of a dry ground:* And for this purpoſe he ſought by famous Experiments of their conceptions, that were moſt lively types of *Him*, to train up his peoples hearts to a firm belief of his future ſtrange miraculous conception.

t *Gen.*18.10.

9. *I will come unto thee* (ſaith the Angel of the Lord to *Abraham*) *according to the time of life, and lo* Sarah *thy Wife ſhall have a Son*; This meſſage ſeem'd ſo ſtrange to *Sarah*, who over-heard it, that ſhe ſhews by her laughing how glad ſhe could be if it might be ſo, rather than apprehend any probability that ſo it ſhould be. Hence the Angel

reproves

Verſe 14.

reproves her ſlowneſs to believe. *Shall any thing be hard to the Lord?* And as if it had been a matter of greater difficulty to rouſe her dull faith, than to quicken her dead womb, he reiterates his meſſage again, *At the time appointed I will return unto thee, even according to the time of life, and* Sarah *ſhall have a Son.* This ſtrange work of the Lord once accompliſhed, was to be a perpetual ſign for confirmation of his peoples faith in the expectation of a far ſtranger, in due time to be effected. For this uſe *Iſaiah* made of it. [u] *Hear me ye that follow after Righteouſneſs, and ye that ſeek the Lord, look unto the rock whence ye were hewen, Et ad ciſternam perforatam unde exciſi eſtis:* alluding unto the dead womb of *Sarah*, as he expounds himſelf in the next words; *Conſider* Abraham *your Father, and* Sarah *that bare you, for I called him alone, and encreaſed him.* The end which the Prophet aims at throughout that Chapter, is to rectifie and eſtabliſh their conceit of Gods Power, who was able, even of ſtones, to raiſe up *Children unto Abraham:* intimating withal, that Chriſt's Church, though far ſurpaſſing the amplitude of *Abraham's* preſent ſeed, was to be raiſed, from materials more weak and ſlender in the ſight of man.

[u] *Eſa.* 51. 2.

10. Again, *Manoahs* Wife had as little hopes to conceive a Son, as *Sarah* had, much leſs to conceive ſuch a Child or *Geber*, as ſhould begin that which the *Geber* here mentioned in my Text, was to finiſh, that is, to redeem *Iſrael* from the oppreſſion of their enemies. And the Angel of the Lord, deſirous to avert ſuch a miſtruſtful reply as *Sarah* had given, prevents it by inſinuating his knowledge of what ſhe could pretend: for ſo he begins his meſſage. [x] *Behold now thou art barren and beareſt not, but thou ſhalt conceive and bear a Son, the Child ſhall be a* Nazarite *to God from his Birth; and he ſhall begin to ſave* Iſrael *out of the hand of the* Philiſtines.

[x] *Judg.* 13. 3.

As little hope was there of *Hannahs* barren womb, until out of the fulneſs of ſorrow for her forlorn eſtate, ſhe conceives Faith, that God was able (as in her Song ſhe expreſſeth) to make the *barren bear ſeven Children.* Perhaps ſhe meant *Benſhebang ſeptenarium filium*, one that ſhould be of better ſtead to *Iſrael*, than any other ſeven; a governour of Gods People, a lively type of her long expected Redeemer.

11. But leſt theſe examples of *Iſaac's*, *Sampſon's*, and *Samuel's* birth, all Sons of barrenneſs, might in the fulneſs of time, have leſs force upon mens hearts, by reaſon of their diſtance: the Lord will have *Chriſt's* fore-runner, *John Baptiſt*, to be conceived of a woman more unlikely to *bear*, in their ſight, that meaſure all things by humane probability, or experiments of preſent times. So ſtrange theſe news did ſeem to *Zachary* his Father, that when the Angel told him his Prayers were heard, and his Wife *Elizabeth*, ſhould conceive and bear a Son, one that ſhould be filled with the Holy Ghoſt from his Mothers womb, he is not yet ſatisfied, but demands. [y] *Whereby ſhall I know this, for I am an old man, and my Wife is of a great age.* This diſtruſtful demand, was at this time (wherein God had determined to exact of all his people, great, and ſmall, outward confeſſion of inward belief, unto a far more ſtrange and miraculous conception) ſo unſeaſonable and prepoſterous, that in ſign of his power to take away the barrenneſs of *Elizabeths womb*, he ſeales up the Prieſts lips, diſenabling him to bring forth one word, until his Wife, according to *the word* of the Lord, had brought forth her promiſed Son. Now the

[y] *Luke* 1. 18.

famouſneſs of this event throughout *Jury*, ſhould have ſerved for a ſign, to confirm mens Faith of *Chriſts* conception.

12. If one of *Jeruſalems* devouteſts *Prieſts*, come ſo far ſhort of *Abrahams* readineſs to believe *Gods Promiſes*: no marvel if the beſt of women bewray ſome ſpice of her mother *Sarahs* miſtruſt. But it is far from my diſpoſition at any time, or my purpoſe at this, to urge, further to aggravate the infirmity of a veſſel ſo ſanctified, elect, and pretious. And I am perſwaded the *Evangeliſt* did not ſo much intend to diſparage hers, as to confirm our belief, by relating her doubtful queſtion, and the Angels reply; the one being but *Sarahs* miſtruſt refined with Maidenly modeſty, the other, *Sarahs* check mitigated and qualified by the Angel. [z] *After I am waxed old, and my Lord alſo, ſhall I have luſt?* ſaith *Sarah!* as you heard before: thus checked by the Angel. *Wherefore did* Sarah *laugh: ſhall any thing be hard to the Lord?* The bleſſed Virgin, upon a more ſtrange ſalutation, only demands of the Angel. [a] *How ſhall this be, ſeeing I know not a man?* And the Angel anſwered her, not by way of reproof or interrogation, but for her inſtruction, giving her a further ſign. *Behold thy Couſin* Elizabeth, *ſhe hath alſo conceived a Son in her old age, and this is her ſixth month, which was called barren: for with God nothing ſhall be impoſſible.* This Heavenly dialogue was firſt uttered, and in ſuch particular ſort related by Saint *Luke* to inſtruct us, that as the Virgin did now with better grace and decency act that part, which *Sarah* had before ſomewhat miſ-acted: ſo this her Son, was that promiſed ſeed, whereof *Iſaac* was but the Type, and his ſtrange and unuſual conception as it were a *præludium* to this miraculous conception of our Saviour, fore-told by *Jeremy*, and thus related by the *Evangeliſt*.

z Gen. 18. 12.

a Luk. 1. 34.
Verſe 36.

Inſtead of an Exhortation or Applicatory Uſe (which my Text being it ſelf an Exhortation directed to another people, and out of date in theſe our days, will hardly yield without wringing) give me leave to ſpend the ſhort remainder of time in propoſing matter of admiration, eſpecially to younger Students, haply not ſo well acquainted with the manner of our *Saviours* conception, birth, and education, or how far *Iſrael* ſhared with *Judah*, or *Nazareth* with *Bethlem*, in theſe circumſtances or the like.

13. I know by the folly of my youth, how ready young wits, againſt this good time, would be to ſee *Menechmus* or ſome more queint Comœdy of like errors acted: wherein no one particular, conſidered alone, is worth the noting; only the dependance of one upon another, being unuſual, makes the whole contrivance pleaſant: yet ſuch as can breed no firm perſwaſion of any Hiſtorical Truth, but rather bewrays it ſelf to be a fiction. And no fiction can yield delight or pleaſure, ſave only *ex hypotheſi*, in as much as our imagination ſuppoſeth that as true, wherein there appeareth no repugnancy or impoſſibility why it might not be, ſuch as the repreſentation makes ſhew of. As Poems uſually delight more than true Stories, only becauſe the Poets feign a likeneſs or image of more amiable and admirable truths, than can ordinarily be found or obſerved in the common courſe of life. Yet even in their rareſt inventions, the *Orators* Argument holds ſtill true of the Spectators. If they can afford applauſe in *re ficta*, how would the like real truth it ſelf affect them? what would they do if they ſhould ſee a ſolid and ſubſtantial Edifice, more beautiful and proportional in every part, than the ſuperficial platform

or draught which they ſo liked. Shall we then applaud the curious fictions of humane fancy, and not be raviſht with admiration, at the real and moſt truly admirable effects of the Almighties Providence in our Saviours Conception? This would be infinitely more prepoſterous and fantaſtick, than if you ſhould loath or ſcorn the rareſt live-beauty of moſt amiable reaſonable Creatures, ſuch as your ſelves, and run mad with love of *Baboons* ſhadows, or for an *Ape*, or *Monkies* Picture. What effect either ſo admirable in it ſelf, or of ſuch unſpeakable conſequence for our good, was ever preſented on the ſtage of Earth, ſeen or heard within the circumference of this mighty Amphitheatre, or is poſſible to be conceived by the heart of man, as the Birth and Conception of our *Saviour Chriſt?* yet is the concurrence or contrivance of all circumſtances precedent or conſequent, ſo unuſual, ſo far ſurpaſſing humane expectation, that if we compare their whole frame, with the moſt curious form of any humane invention extant: *Illam homines dicas, hanc poſuiſſe Deum:* you will ſay that the one might eaſily be invented by ſuch as your ſelves, but that the other could not be forecaſt, contrived, and acted without the All-ſeeing Wiſdom of the Almighty God. And I am fully perſwaded, that if either *Jew* or *Atheiſt* would but ſearch the Scriptures with hearts as devoid of prejudice, and minds as free from other thoughts and cares, as moſt men bring to famous Plays or Comedies: this contemplation would enfore the one to acknowledge, that Prophecies in old time came not by the will of Man: the other, that *Jeſus* the Son of *Mary* was he, of whom *Moſes* and all the Prophets ſpake.

14. Firſt, *Iſaiah* foretells the condition or eſtate of his mother: *Micah* the place of his Nativity; *Jeremy* the place and manner of his Conception; the two former more than ſix, the laſt five hundred years, before he was conceived or born. What hopes could the *Bleſſed Virgin* have either in her own, or others ſight, to be the mother of ſo great a *Monarch?* you will ſay ſhe was of the linage or ſtock of *David:* ſo were many more of far greater place and dignity than ſhe, all ſeated in *Jury* about *Bethlem* or *Hieruſalem*, the ſuppoſed places of his Conception and Education, until the event did prove the contrary. Suppoſe old *Samuel* had been then living, and the Governours of *Judah* ſhould have preſented ſuch of the Daughters of *Jeſſe* as they thought moſt likely, to ſee whom he would nominate to be their *Meſſias* Mother: the election doubtleſs would have been far longer than *Davids* was to the Crown of *Iſrael*. To have ſought the bleſſed amongſt Women in *Galilee*, would have ſeemed more ſtrange to the Men of *Judah*, than the ſeeking out of their King amongſt the Sheepfolds, did to *Jeſſe*, and the Men of *Bethlehem*. But God who ſees not as man ſeeth, uſually delighteth to croſs our expectation, whether of good or bad, by contrary ſucceſs. It was the abſolute nullity rather than improbability of any ſuch hopes as are now ſuggeſted, which had excluded *Mary* from the Princely Tribe, contented to live an obſcure life with her Huſband in *Nazareth* a poor City of *Zabulon*, as moſt think, or as others, bordering on *Zabulon* in the Tribe of *Nephthaly*; however within the Kingdom of *Ephraim*, or *Iſrael*. And thither the Angel of the Lord repairs unto her. The effect of his Embaſſage being to unfold this Ænigmatical Prophecy, which had been ſealed up until this time appointed, for the fulfilling of it. [b] *In the ſixth month* (ſaith the Evangeliſt) *the Angel* Gabriel *was ſent from God, unto a City*

[b] Luke 1.v.26.

City of Galilee *named* Nazareth, *to a Virgin eſpouſed to a man, whoſe name was* Joſeph *of the Houſe of* David. Here ſome prophane Companions captiouſly demand, ſeeing it was Gods will to have his Son (as *Iſay* had foretold) born of a pure Virgin, why would he not make choice of a Maid or Woman unbetroathed, of whom there could be leſs ſuſpicion? As Paſſengers of good reſpect, would often paſs by unregarded by poor Cottagers, did not ill nurtured Curs notifie their approach by barking: ſo many divine myſteries would be leſs obſerved than they are, did not prophane Objectors become our remembrancers. As the former captious demand, to what intent ſoever conceived by unbelievers, doth but ſolicit this anſwer from the *Orthodox*. The firſt promiſe was made under this ſtile; *Semen mulieris: The ſeed of the Woman eſpouſed*, though a Virgin (ſuch as *Eve* was when ſhe ſinned) ſhall ruſh the Serpents head. Yet the mouth of prophaneneſs not herewith ſtopt is more ready to quarrel with the meſſage it ſelf, as too vulgar for an Embaſſadour of ſuch ſtate as the *Angel* Gabriel. *Behold, what ſhould ſhe behold? thou ſhalt conceive in thy Womb, and bring forth a Son. Why? do not all Women* conceive before they bring forth Children, or, do others conceive *in their Aprons?* But to diſmiſs this audience of the *Atheiſts* falſe deſcant, or diviſion upon this plain Song, as he eſteemed it. Is the phraſe in many profeſt Interpreters judgment any better, than a Tautology, or, at the beſt, than an *Hebrew Pleonaſm?* yet even Tautologies in ſacred language, ſeldom want their weight, or obſervation. And *Hebrew Pleonaſms*, in Prophetical or Evangelical Writings, are oft-times full of myſteries. Or what if this phraſe be ſometimes vulgarly uſed in vulgar narrations? yet in extraordinary ſubjects, it may, and by the Analogy of Orthodoxal interpretation, ought to be taken in the moſt proper and remarkable ſence, whereto it can literally be extended. The expreſs mention of the uſual place, συλλήψῃ ἐν γαστρὶ excludes the ordinary cauſe, and implies an unuſual manner of Conception. The interpoſition of the primitive σὺ which was emphatically expreſt in the ſalutation εὐλογημένη σὺ, and muſt here be repeated, ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ, will much alter the ſence or importance of the phraſe. So doth the dependance which the demonſtrative *ecce* hath with the words which went before. *Fear not* Mary *for thou haſt found favour with God*, καὶ ἰδοὺ συλλήψῃ [σὺ] *Behold thou ſhalt conceive in thy Womb*, [*not from without.*] The importance is fully *æquivalent* to the Hebrew *Tesobeb* in my Text, (thy fruit ſhall be encloſed in thy Womb, yet ſhalt thou not be leſs fruitful than ſhe that conceiveth by a Conſort. For thou ſhalt bring forth not a Daughter, not a male Child only, but ſuch a Son as may well brook the name of Saviour, *for he ſhall be great, and be called* Verſe 32. *the Son of the moſt high.* And is not this as much as *Geber?*

15. And yet God in his wiſdom would have the Bleſſed Virgin her ſelf to be for a while ignorant of this conſtruction, that her doubtful reply might occaſion the Angel to enlarge his Comments upon my Prophets riddle. Verſe 34. *Then ſaid* Mary *unto the Angel how ſhall this be, ſeeing I know not a Man? And the Angel anſwered and ſaid unto her, the Holy Ghoſt ſhall come upon thee, and the power of the higheſt ſhall overſhadow thee.* As if he had ſaid, what haſt thou to do with a man? who haſt found this favour with God, that it ſhall not be with thee, as with other Women? thy Conception of this thy Son is a work new and unheard of hitherto in *Iſrael:* a work not of Generation but of Creation; it muſt be wrought by the immediate hand of God. But

let it not ſeem ſo impoſſible, as new and ſtrange, ſeeing he hath foretold it by his Prophets, who is able to bring to paſs what ever he foretells. Nor would the *Evangeliſt* in my opinion have been ſo careful to ſpecifie the *Angels* name, in theſe two ſtories of *John Baptiſts*, and our Saviours Conceptions, without reference to his principal meſſage or office; which was to annunciate his Birth, to whom this name *Gabriel* did beſt agree; one that ſhould be *Geber-El*, the ſtrong God, or the ſtrength of God.

Thus you ſee how this Prophecy of the *Females* encloſing the *mighty Man, or Heroick*, by way of *Creation, not of Generation*, in the land of *Iſrael* is in due time fulfilled, beyond her expectation that did conceive him, until the Angel did inſtruct her.

16. And now it ſeems ſhe apprehends as much, as the Angel had told her and no more, *That the Lord would give the Throne of* David *to her Son*; and whether from expreſs notice of *Ezekiels* words, or rather from the ſame Spirit, whereby he ſpake: She makes part of his menacing Prophecy a ſtrain of her joyful Song, ſo inverting his words, as the Lord had done the line of *David*; making firſt, laſt; and laſt, firſt. * *Exalt him that is low* (ſaith the Prophet) *and abaſe him that is high.* * *He hath put down the mighty from their ſeat* (ſaith the Bleſſed Virgin) *and exalted them of low degree.* The abaſing of the high and mighty was verified, whilſt *Ezekiel* lived, in the ſudden depoſition of *Zedekiah*; ſo, perhaps, was the exalting of him that was low, hiſtorically experienced in the exaltation of * *Jehoiakin*, but not fulfilled until this time, wherein God, from the Womb of his poor Handmaid, raiſed up this light to *David*, unto whom the * *Diadem* of right belonged. Yet all this time ſhe thinks as little how *Micahs* Prophecy ſhould be fulfilled, as ſhe had done before of *Jeremies*, or *Iſaies*: ſhe had gone indeed, not long after this Conception, into *Jury*, to confer with her Couſin *Elizabeth*; but as the *Evangeliſt* tells us, ſhe was returned again to *Nazareth*, whence ſhe and her Huſband departed a little after, againſt their wills. For, unleſs *Auguſtus* at this very time, had given out his Commandment, for taxing all that were ſubject to the *Roman* Empire, there is no intimation of any purpoſe either in *Mary* or *Joſeph*, to repair to *Bethlehem Ephrata* the City of *David*. But the leſs they minded it before, the more they are confirmed by the experience of the event, and the manner how Gods Prophecies are fulfilled.

*Ezek.21.26.
*Luke 1.v.52.
* 2 Kings 25. v. 27.
Ezek.21.v.27.

17. Thus by the diſpoſition of the Almighty, not by any purpoſe of *Auguſtus*, or conſultation of Man, the Son of God is come firſt into his own City, but his own receive him not; he hath not ſo much as Houſe-room fit for Man; an ill *omen*, that his Subjects will not acknowledge their Allegiance to him. For as the Lord long ſince had complained of their more then bruitiſh ignorance and ſtupidity. * *The Ox knoweth his Owner, and the Aſs his Maſters Crib, but* Iſrael *hath not known, my people hath not underſtood.* What did not *Iſrael* know? or what would his people not underſtand? It is the note of a judicious Convert *Hebrew* (and I now remember not whether he give any further reaſon of it) that the Verbs ית and התבמו there uſed, are tranſitives, and muſt be refered to that, which went before, Iſrael *hath not known his owner, my people will not acknowledge him for their Maſter*, that lies ſwadled in a a cratch or manger. This is a ſtumbling block to the proud and haughty *Jew*, that fixeth his Eyes on lofty Towers, and ſtately Palaces, as if theſe were the places of his *Meſſiahs* Birth; who in his prime,

Iſaiah 1. v. 3.

prime, muſt come to *Zion*, as one too meek and humble to mind ſuch matters; as one that would teſtifie the place of his birth by [n] *riding upon an Aſs, and upon a Colt, the foal of an Aſs.* But though *Judah* and *Iſrael* be more ſtupid than the Oxe or Aſs, yet even in this humility of his birth, *Arabia* and *Sheba* ſhall bring gifts to him, as to their King. Yet ſo provident is the Lord, leſt any hand of man ſhould ſhew it ſelf in his exaltation, that theſe Foreign Princes open profeſſion of Allegiance to this new born Child, indangers his innocent and harmleſs life. But what will the *Atheiſt* ſay? Cannot God protect his Son from all likelihood or approach of danger? yes, he could, but his purpoſe was now to ſhew his wiſdom, not his power, in defeating great *Herods* vigilant and anxious care, and all the ſubtileſt projects of his cunningſt Politicians, by the counterplots of a poor dreaming man. *Rachel* muſt have cauſe again to weep for her Children about the borders of *Benjamin*: and *Herod* by ſtriking at the Son of God, muſt kill his Son: whilſt he that was indeed a Father to all the Sons of men, becauſe the true and natural Son of God, he, in whoſe *right*, *Iſrael* enjoy'd the promiſes, and had an adoptive title to be called the Son of God, muſt in part of his nonage be be ſuſtain'd in *Ægypt*, as *Iſrael* had been, by a *Joſeph*; that ſo, what was verified of the one, as in the Type, might be fulfilled in the other as the ſubſtance. *Out of* Egypt *have I called my Son.*

[n] *Zech*.9.9.

Hoſea 11.1.

18. But whither did God call his Son? ſure if his ſuppoſed Father *Joſeph* do not with young *Samuel* miſtake the Callers voice, he was to return into *Judæa*, the fitteſt place, in his apprehenſion, for the education of him, that was born unto the Crown of *David*; a place, wherein if *Herods* firſt deſigns had ſtood firm and ſure, he might have lived ſecurely. But God that directed *Jacobs* right hand to the head of *Ephraim*, contrary to his Father *Joſephs* expectation; hath turned the heart of [b] *Herod* on a ſudden to affect him moſt in the laſt draught of his Will and Teſtament, whom he had reſpected but in the ſecond place in the former. And *Joſeph* approaching the Coaſts of *Jury*, advertiſed that *Herod* had a Succeſſour there, not *Antipas*, as he perhaps, with others had expected, but *Archelaus* as bloody a villain as the Father, ſuſpects, (as it ſeems) either the truth of his admonition by a dream in *Egypt*, or his conſtruction of it. He doubts whether they be dead, that ſought the life of the child: for as the *Evangeliſt* ſaith. * *He was afraid to go into* Judea. χρηματισθεὶς δὲ κατ' ὄναρ, *Yet ſeeing he had been warned in a dream* (or perhaps being warned again) though he avoid *Judah*, he will at leaſt go into ſome part of *Iſrael*. If he had two warnings, this latter was to inſtruct him in the true meaning of the former, whereby he was not directed to *Judæa* in particular, but into the Land of *Iſrael*, as I take it, with oppoſition to the Land of *Judæa*. And ſo ſaith the *Evangeliſt*, he left his purpoſe for *Judæa*, and turned aſide into the parts of *Galilee*, to the place of Chriſts conception. And thus by his doubtful reſolution, the will of the Lord, which he had ſpoken by the Prophet, is undoubtedly fulfilled; to wit, that Chriſt from the place of his conception and education, ſhould be called *Nazaræus*. A name (in their intendment that ſought to faſten it firſt upon him) of diſgrace and ſcorn, but by the diſpoſition of the Almighty, a known title of greateſt honour, convicting ſuch as uſed it otherwiſe, even whilſt they ſpake it, of blaſphemy, which way ſoever we interpret the meaning of it. For if this Cities name, whoſe Etymology is hardly found in the old Teſtament,

[b] *Joſephus, lib.* 17. *c.* 10.

* *Mat.* 2. 22.

Ibid.

Teſtament, were *Natſoreth* or *Natzareth*, or as [n] *Elias Levita* ſaith, *Netzer*, (the word which *Iſaias* uſeth) it is by interpretation the City of plants or grafts, in plain Engliſh *Graftown*. Whence if the *Jew* captiouſly demand: was it ever heard that any Prophet ſhould ariſe out of *Nazareth?* We may anſwer (as our *Saviour* did *Pilate*) *Infidel!* thou haſt ſaid it; though unwittingly, as *Caiphas* thy predeceſſour did foretel his dying for the people. For didſt thou never hear of a man, whoſe name was the *branch*; never of a *Plant Netzer*, that ſhould grow out of the root of *Iſhai?* What if thou canſt not revile this *Jeſus*, whom we Preach, but thou muſt acknowledge him *Hanotzeri ſurculus ille*, or *ſurcularius ille*, or *germen illud*; The *Plant*, the *Branch?* For though the objector mean to diſgrace him, yet God had ordained his glory as well out of his Enemies mouths, that meant him miſchief, as out of the mouths of ſilly Babes, that meant him neither good nor ill. And it is very ſuitable to the ways of Gods Providence, to ſuggeſt by ambiguous words or ſpeeches, unto the attentive hearer, conceits quite contrary to their meaning that utter them. So *Craſſus* in his *Parthian* voyage, wills his Souldiers, (diſheartned with a diſmal way, which *Abgarus* had led them) to be of good chear; they ſhould not come that way back again: his meaning was, they ſhould return a better, but they take this as the ſentence of death from their Generals mouth; and ſo march on drooping, in ſuch dead ſilence to their miſerable diſaſter, as men condemned do to the place of execution. This ſpeech of *Craſſus* was worſe taken, than it was meant: but many of like obſervation I could here alledge, which ill meant by ſuch as uttered them, have been well interpreted by the parties whom they concern'd: as the *Apollonians*, ſoliciting aid of the *Epidamnians* againſt the *Illyrians*, finally, put off with this flouting anſwer. *We will ſend* 'Αιαντα, (ſo was the river call'd which ran by their City) *to your ſuccour:* chearfully accept the offer, and take heart and courage at the very mention of 'Αιαντας as if *Aiax* (who height ſo in *Greek*) had been reviv'd to be their leader. And their confident hopes, conceiv'd upon the imaginary conduct of ſuch a noble General, did by Divine Providence, bring forth real ſucceſs, and unexpected victory. And ſo no doubt the faithful *Hebrews*, as oft as they heard the *Jews* call our *Saviour* in contempt, *Hanotzeri*, did interpret their ſpeech, otherwiſe than they meant it, as St. *John* did that of *Caiaphas*. And this was the *Evangeliſts* meaning, when he ſaith, our *Saviour* went to *Nazareth*, that he might be known by his name, uſed both by his followers and his enemies.

[n] Dicunt Chriſtiani Jeſum natum eſſe in *Bethlehem* & educatum fuiſſe in civitate quæ in linguâ eorum *Nazareth* in noſtrâ verò *Nezer* vocatur.

Appian.

Val. Max. lib. 1. *c.* 5.

19. Yet do I no way reject, but moſt willingly embrace their interpretation of this place, who think that ſpeech of the *Angel* unto *Sampſons* Mother. *And he ſhall be a* Nazarite *from his birth*, was fulfilled of Chriſt, who was the true *Nazarite* indeed. N[illegible]s this interpretation (as moſt think) incompatible with the former: both are branches of the tree of life, in both ſhine moſt glorious rays of the Divine Providence, would not men be more contradictious than their opinions. For, firſt, it is a needleſs doubt moved by the one, whether this Cities name in *Hebrew* were written with [o] *Zaiin*, or with *Tſadhi*; and it is an impertinent obſervation of the other, to tell us that *Nazaræus*, or *Nazarenus*, for a *Nazarite*, comes not from the *Hebrew*, *Natzar*, but from *Nazar:* for the *Evangeliſts* and Greek Writers of the New Teſtament, not out of ignorance, but by the direction of the Holy Ghoſt, and of purpoſe uſe the *Hebrew* names as they are mollified by

Judges 13. 5.

[o] *Z. TS.*

the Septuagints, for the more facile pronunciation of the *Gentiles*: as the famous *Rainolds* wiſely admoniſhed *Junius*, for this reaſon to uſe *Samaria* for *Someron*; and the like; ſeeing the Holy Ghoſt had ſo ſpoken. It will ſuffice then, for our purpoſe, that the words ſignifying an Inhabitant of this City, and a *Nazarite* , ſuch as *Sampſon* was, are one and the ſame in the Greek and Latin. As for that different character, which ſome obſerve by writing the one *Naziræus*, and the other *Nazaræus*, or *Nazarenus*, I have juſt reaſon to ſuſpect it for Criticks coin; firſt invented, and ſince obſerved by ſuch as had better marked the different character of the *Hebrew* words, whence they are derived, than the diſpoſition of the Divine Providence in ſuffering no difference betwixt them in the Greek and Latin. It is a point (I know) very behoveful in Arts, or Sciences, or Humane Hiſtories to diſtinguiſh ſuch *æquivoca à caſu*, as often fall out in Tranſlations, or corruption of ſpeech, by ſome note of difference in the original character. But theſe words *Nazaræus*, or *Nazarenus*, we ſuppoſe to be *æquivoca*, not *à caſu*, but, *à conſilio divino*, by the Divine Providence, which oft-times in the ambiguity of ſpeeches, hath intendments quite contrary to the ill meaning of ſuch as ſpeak them; as in bad actions he uſually hath an end much different from the purpoſe of the doer. And for mine own part, I never could more fully comprehend how incomprehenſible God was in his wiſdom, nor how inſcrutable in his ways, than whilſt I conſider, how fore-ſeeing from all Eternities, that the chief thing which either the proud or ſtubborn *Jew*, the curious *Græcian*, the haughty and ſtately politick *Roman*, could object againſt his Son, exhibited in the infirmity of our fleſh, would be the meanneſs of his Parentage and Education; he could yet ſo diſpoſe, that he ſhould be conceiv'd and brought up in ſuch a City, as if his adverſaries would upbraid him with the baſeneſs of it in *Hebrew*, they ſhould withal, though unwittingly, enſtile him by that glorious name, which *Eſay*, *Jeremy*, and *Zachariah* had appropriated to the *Meſſias*: that is, he ſhould be publickly known by the name of the *branch* or *plant of Jeſſe*. Or if they would nickname him from it in *Greek*, or *Latin*, they ſhould withal, though unwittingly, acknowledge him to be that *Nazarite* of God, of whom *Sampſon* was but the Type; or to uſe his own words, [a] ὃν ὁ πατὴρ ἡγίασε *illum, quem pater ſanctificavit*, thus turning the note, or article of diſgrace, to ſignifie the quite contrary κατ᾽ ἐξοχὴν. And this purpoſe the Lord in his Divine Providence, would have as well this title of *Nazarite*, *Jeſus Nazarenus*, written in *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin* capital Letters, upon the Croſs, as the title of *King*. Now we all know that even the title of *King*, was, by ſuch as procured the inſcription, intended by way of ſcorn, or contempt: but yet in the Almighties diſpoſition; this inſcription in th[illegible] three famous Tongues, was as a publick authentick Proclamation of his right unto the Crown of *David*: ſuch a teſtimony as he was heir of all things in Heaven and Earth, as ſhall condemn all ſuch, throughout the world, of Rebellion, as have not unfeignedly acknowledged Allegiance to him, as to their ſupreme Lord and King. In like ſort, whatſoever they intended by this title of *Nazarenus*, unto the faithful it muſt ſerve, as a publick and authentick teſtimony, that Chriſt Jeſus was the man, which was to be known by the name of *branch, the branch of Righteouſneſs, the* Netzer *of Jeſſe, the* Nazarite, *the holy one of God*. The chief reaſon that moves me to embrace this interpretation, is, becauſe theſe two words *Natzar* and

Nazir,

[a] Joh. 10. 36.

Nazir, with their derivatives, or words of æquivalent ſignification, are the very titles, wherein the Holy Ghoſt ſeems to delight, when he deſcribes the Kingdom of Chriſt. His very Crown is called by a word of the ſame Root with *Nazaræus*, or *Nazarenus* the *Nazarite*, as *Pſalm* 132. *Upon him ſhall his Crown flouriſh.* Nor do I ſee what can be objected againſt us, ſave only this. If what was ſaid of *Sampſon* as the Type, be fulfilled in Chriſt, as in the body or ſubſtance: then Chriſt ſhould have been a true *Nazarite* as *Sampſon* was. Out of doubt he was ſo; but as he was a true and perfect Prieſt, though no legal Prieſt after the order of *Aaron*, but according to the order of *Melchiſedeck*, which was more eminent and excellent; ſo he was a true and perfect *Nazarite* (though no legal *Nazarite* from his birth) or rather the perfection or *Idæa* of *Nazarites*, and therefore to be ſeparated from that concertion of ceremonial matters, wherein the form and eſſence of legal *Nazarites* devotion did conſiſt. And yet, as it became the Prince, and Crowned King of *Nazarites*, the ἄλφα and ὠμέγα of *Nazarites* ὁ Ναζωραῖος; or him, on whoſe head the *Nazarites* Crown was to flouriſh, he performed the legal rites of *Nazaritiſm* by his *Embaſſadour John Baptiſt*, in whom he ſet an end to thoſe legal rites. As for the manner of their birth, and the Angelical predictions, with other occurrences; no Type in Scripture agrees better with the *Idæa* or *Prototypon*, than *Sampſon* and *John Baptiſt*, with our Saviour: how that which was literally meant of *Sampſon*, may be ſaid to be principally meant of Chriſt, ſhall elſewhere (God willing) appear. I would now only requeſt you to obſerve, that in ſome Copies of the Seventy, it is ſaid that *Sampſon* ſhould be Ναζηραῖον θεοῦ, in others (retaining the ſence or expoſition, not the Etymology) it is ſaid he ſhould be ἅγιον θεοῦ, or *ſanctificatio Domini* (i) *Domino ſanctificatus.* And ſo the Holy Ghoſt, when he gives us the true expoſition of the Greek Ναζαρηνὸς, as by the diſpoſition of the Divine Providence it ſhould ſound to us, extorts this confeſſion from the unclean ſpirit. *What have we to do with thee Jeſus* Nazarene, *I know thee who thou art*, not ſimply ἅγιος, as it was ſaid of *Sampſon*, but ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ θεοῦ, *that Holy one*, of whom *Sampſon*, and legal *Nazarites* were but Types. Again, where it is foretold by the Angel, that *Sampſon* ſhould begin to ſave *Iſrael* out of the hands of the *Philiſtines*, this ſpeech methinks, ſhould imply a relation to ſome greater Saviour, that was to accompliſh this ſalvation of *Iſrael* from the hands of their enemies. And beſides the ſpiritual redemption of them and us, (of all the *Iſrael* of God) accompliſhed by Chriſt, and pre-figured by *Sampſons* temporal ſaving of them from the *Philiſtines*: to my ſimplicity, it ſeems not altogether void of obſervation, that as *Sampſon* was born, when the *Iſraelites* were firſt oppreſſed by the *Philiſtines*, ſo Chriſt likewiſe was then born, when *Herod* an *Alien*, and a *Philiſtine* by birth, was Tyrant as well of *Judæa* as *Palæſtina*.

Luke 4. 34. *If the wicked ſpirit did ſpeak this in Greek, he ſpake according to the uſe of the word* Nazarenus *in the Septuagint.*

20. That I may conclude in one word, as I intended, with you noble ſtems, or other hopeful plants here ſeated in this famous nurſery of Arts; whoſe growth I wiſh in all the knowledge of foreign Nations; only, in the bowels of Chriſt Jeſus our Saviour, let me beſeech you, and in his name, as his unworthy Miniſter, charge you: that neither out of the phantaſtick doating love, to Foreign Nations, or natural pride of our hearts, you ever ſay with that *Syrian* Courtier; Are not *Iſther*, *Po*, and *Mæander*, the beautified ſubjects of delicate *Græcian* or *Italian* wits, better than *Jordan* or *Kedron*, than all the waters of *Iſrael*? Slander

Tome II.

not the Mountains of *Samaria* (no not in your ſecret thoughts) for dry and barren in reſpect of *Parnaſſus* or *Cythæron* : but though with *Ephraim*, you wander to view the glorious ſights, or learn ſuch choice experience, as the famous Monarchies of *Aſſyria*, *Babylon*, *Greece*, or *Italy* can afford you; yet let not your Souls, which God by Chriſt doth woo more earneſtly, than he did *Ephraim* by my Prophet, be ever affianced to theſe Aliens: but return at length to theſe your Cities of *Iſrael*; and viſit *Nazareth* wherein the Lord hath wrought his wonders, wherein the Rod of *Jeſſe* ſprung up. And what way ſoever you bend your courſe, take Gods providence for your Pilot, and let *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*, the *ſtar* of *Jacob*, the *branch* of *David*, and *Nazarite* of God (in whom all the Prophecies of different Ages meet as lines in their Center; for the making up of whoſe glory, as well the ſcurrilous appellations of his deadly Enemies, as the glorious ſalutations of his followers, concur as the diverſe Meridians, of diſtant Regions, or oppoſite Hemiſphears in the Pole:) be always the Loadſtar of your thoughts.

THE

THE
WOMAN
A true help to
MAN,
OR
Mankinds Comfort
FROM THE
WEAKER SEX.

Galat. 4. Ver. 4, 5.

4. *But when the fulneſs of time was come, God ſent forth his Son made of a Woman, made under the Law.*

5. *To redeem them that were under the Law, that we might receive the adoption of Sons.*

1. ALL things naturally deſire their preſervation. There is as true a longing of bad humours, to feed and ſtrengthen themſelves by ſemblable nutriment, as of nature, to expel them. And ſince the corruption of nature, became, in a manner, natural to the Sons of *Adam*, it hath ever been the property of it, if not altogether to loath the food of life; yet to mingle it with ſuch ſauces, as ſtrengthen the fleſh to reſiſt the working of the ſpirit.

A dangerous ſpice of this intemperancy, you may behold in theſe *Galatians*, now ſeeking to allay the ſweet promiſes of the Goſpel, which their corrupt taſt could not relliſh, with the bitter threats and curſes of the Law. The pretences, uſed by favourers of Circumciſion, to colour this ill compounded receit, might be more than can poſſibly come to this ages notice. Two more principal, are ſufficiently, though implicitly, notefied unto us by our Apoſtles anſwers, or preventions. The former is drawn from the glorious teſtimonies, given by Gods Saints to the Law, before the Revelation of the Goſpel. For, taking theſe *Jews*, as they were, many hundreds of years before Chriſt was Born. [a] *The Lord hath not dealt ſo with any Nation, as for his*

[a] Pſ.147.v.20.

his Judgments they had not known them. And can theſe *Galatians*, by nature *Gentiles*, the off-ſpring of Heathens, excel *Iſrael*, without obſervation of that Law, by which *Iſrael* had ſo far exceeded all the Nations of the World?

2. But as the dawning, though in reſpect of former darkneſs, it may ſeem as day, compared to the bright Sun-ſhine following, is rather to be reputed part of night: So the ſtate of the *Jews* under the Law, although a freedom in reſpect of that thral and ignorance, wherein they had lived in *Ægypt*, was but bondage and ſlavery to the liberty of the Goſpel. And theſe *Galatians*, in turning to the *Law*, after they had been ſo well entred in the Goſpel, renued the *Iſraelites* ſin; who being on their way to *Canaan*, reſolved to turn back to the Houſe of bondage, whence the Lord had freed them. Or, to make the beſt that may be of their opinion; ſay they did not indeed (as in expreſs words they did not) utterly revoke the Goſpel, but only couple it with the Law: yet even this their errour and diſobedience, is the very ſame as if the *Iſraelites* ſhould have reſolved not to uſe *Manna*, which God ſent them from Heaven, for bread, unleſs they might have Onions and Garlick, and the fleſh-pots of *Ægypt* for their meat.

3. The ſecond Argument, wherewith theſe *Jewiſh* Seducers had bewitched theſe fooliſh *Galatians* (as we may gather from our Apoſtles præoccupation in this preſent Chapter) was much what the ſame with that main charm, wherewith the *Roman* Sorcerers ſo mightily prevail with the ignorant of our times.

Theſe, or the like Queries, you may imagine, were often propounded to theſe late Converts, by the *Jews*. Whoſe Succeſſors would *Paul*, would *Apolloes*, would others, which abandon Circumciſion, or the Ceremonial Law, be reputed? Do they not call themſelves the Children of Prophets? Would they not be accounted the Sons of Gods choſen people? And what Religion (I pray) did the Prophets, or their godly Forefathers profeſs? Did they not all ſubſcribe to the Ceremonies given by *Moſes?* Did they not live and dye in theſe practices, which we perſwade you to? And ſo living, and ſo dying, did they live or dye like Slaves or Bondmen; or as free born Sons of *Abraham*; and Heirs of the Everlaſting Promiſes?

4. To bring this controverſie, between our Apoſtle and theſe Seducers, to a more ſhort and diſtinct iſſue. Firſt, they agree, that only ſuch as lived under the Law, were the true Church and people of God. Secondly, that only the true Church and people of God, were the Sons of *Abraham*, and Heirs of the Everlaſting Promiſes. But from theſe grants or ſuppoſitions, our Apoſtle thus infers.

As every other Heir, ſo the Church of God was to have a time of Non-age, before ſhe could come to her full Age, or be enſtated in the Inheritance bequeathed; that during this Non-age, the ſtate or condition of Gods Church and people, as of all other Heirs in their Childhood, did nothing differ from the condition of Servants. Whence again it will follow, that as the Authority of Tutors, of Guardians, and Feoffees in Truſt (though, for the times being, moſt abſolute) is utterly to expire and determine, at the time, by the Teſtator or Doner appointed for the Heir to enter upon his Inheritance: ſo the Law of Ordinances, which God himſelf had given by *Moſes*, though during the time of the Churches Non-age, moſt abſolute and ſoveraign, was to be repealed and cancelled, at the fulneſs of time (*i. e.*) at the time appointed by God for the full age of the Church. Where it will be no digreſſion by the way to obſerve, that the period of other heirs nonage, was not always preciſely determined by humane Laws; but might be longer or ſhorter, according to the appointment of the Donor. Laſtly, As ſecular heirs, by not entring upon their inheritance at the time appointed, do much prejudice their title, and deſerve (as we ſay) to be beg'd for fools; ſo the Church and People of God, by not abandoning the yoke of the Law, at the time appointed by God for their full age, did thereby make themſelves uncapable of the bleſſing beſtowed on them in the Goſpel.

5. This is the point moſt preſſed by our Apoſtle in this and the Chapter following. *Stand faſt therefore in the liberty wherewith Chriſt hath made you free, and be not intangled again by the yoke of bondage: behold, I* Paul *ſay unto you, that if ye be circumciſed, Chriſt ſhall profit you nothing: for I teſtifie again to every man, that is circumciſed, that he is a debter to do the whole Law: Chriſt is become of no effect unto you, whoſoever of you are juſtifyed by the Law: ye are fallen from Grace.* Chap. 5. v. 1.

Now that which determined the Churches nonage, and did *ipſo facto*, extinguiſh the Soveraign Authority of the Law, was the ſending forth of the Son of God, who was heir of all things. *But when the fulneſs of time was come, God ſent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the Law, to redeem them that were under the Law, that we might receive the adoption of Sons.* Or according to the dialect of our Engliſh Law, that the inheritance of Sons might be conveyed or made over unto us (for ſo much the Greek ἀπολαμβάνειν, may import) and it was to be conveyed unto us, not by right of birth (all of us being Children of wrath) but by adoption. Now, adoption is the ingraffing of a Foraigner, into a better ſtock or family. The only ſtock whereinto we (which were not ſons, but ſervants) could be ingraffed, was the true and natural ſon of God. He alone could ſet *Gentiles* free from the bondage of ſin, and *Jews* from the curſe of the Law, *which was added becauſe of tranſgreſſion.* The ſum then of our Apoſtles doctrine in this place, is the ſame with our Saviours. *Verily, verily, I ſay unto you,* that boaſt of *Abrahams* ſeed, and never were in ſubjection to any) *to you, I ſay, that whoever committeth ſin, is the ſervant of ſin, and the ſervant abideth not in the houſe for ever, but the ſon abideth ever. If the Son therefore make you free, ye ſhall be free indeed.* Joh. 8. v. 33.

6. Referring the act of Redemption, and this glorious Prerogative of being the Sons of God unto ſome better occaſion; give me leave, firſt, to unfold, what the Son of God hath done for his part, that he might be a perfect and unpartial Redeemer: Secondly, What is in our parts required, that we might be capable of his Redemption.

In the former I ſhall endeavour to ſtir up admiration, at the wiſdom and love of God; the uſe whereof ſhall be to kindle love and thankfulneſs in our ſelves, and to incite our alacrity in performing ſuch duties as are required at our hands.

The ſum of that, which the Son of *God* hath undertaken for us, is by our Apoſtle gathered to theſe three heads.

1. *He was ſent forth into the world.*
2. *He was made of a Woman.*
3. *He was made under the Law.*

Of theſe in their order: and of their ſeveral neceſſities and conveniences.

To be a Son, neceſſarily pre-ſuppoſeth a begetting. If then we

be the Sons of God, we muſt be gotten by him; and of us that are
his children by adoption, ſaith Saint *James*, *He begat us with the word*
Jam. 1. 18. *of truth, that we ſhould be the firſt-fruits of his Creatures.* This word
of truth, by which we muſt be begotten, muſt firſt be conceived by
us; and yet it is the principal of thoſe good and perfect gifts, all and
every one of which (as the ſame Apoſtle ſpeaks) are *from above, and*
Verſe 17. *deſcend to us from the Father of light.* But who ſhall aſcend up into
Heaven to fetch them thence? *No man* (ſaith our Saviour) *aſcendeth*
John 3. 13. *up to Heaven, but he that deſcended from Heaven, the Son of man which*
is in Heaven. When he diſcourſed of Heavenly myſteries: *He ſpake*
what he knew, and teſtified what he had ſeen; others ſpake but by gueſs
Chap. 1. v. 18. or hear-ſay, as they had been taught. *No man* (ſaith Saint *John*) *hath*
ſeen God at any time, but the only begotten Son, which was in the boſom of
the Father, he hath declared him. Being in the boſom of the Father
from everlaſting, he could not but know him, and his will concerning
man from everlaſting. But ſo long as he remained in the boſom
of God, not manifeſted to the world, we could no more approach the
place of his dwelling, than we could the dwelling of his Father; we
were as uncapable of his inſtructions, as of his Fathers.

7. Requiſite therefore it was he ſhould be ſent forth, that he
might be our Teacher; ſuch a mature authentick Teacher, as ſaving
truth, able to beget Sons unto God, ſhould iſſue as naturally from his
mouth, as ripe ſeed, apt for propagation, doth from fruitful trees.
From this his efficacy in teaching, did the people admire God, ſpeaking
Mat. 7. 29. in him, *For he taught not as the Scribes and Phariſees, but as one*
that had Authority; being indeed the author of that doctrine, which
he taught; one from whoſe fulneſs all former Teachers had received
their meaſure of knowledge. *Moſes* himſelf that gave the Law, much
more the *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, the expounders of it, were but as ordinary
School-maſters; their beſt Auditors but as School-boys, or
Grammar-ſcholars, labouring all their life times, to learn the firſt
rudiments, or elements of ſaving knowledge. But after the *Divine*
Word had ſpoken to the world by the mouth of man, *Great was the*
Epheſ. 4. 11. *number of Preachers: He gave ſome Apoſtles, and ſome Prophets, and*
ſome Evangeliſts, and ſome Paſtors and Teachers; of ſuch myſteries,
as no ſecular Artiſts, nor Children of *Prophets*, could ever attain unto;
nor did they which taught the world theſe myſteries, learn them
by rule or method.

8. But you will ſay, all this might have been done, although he had been ſent in the form of an *Angel*, wherein he appeared unto the Fathers. He that taught *Moſes* without the ſubſtance of man, could have taught the *Apoſtles* and *Evangeliſts*, the whole doctrine of the Goſpel, although he had not been born of a woman: he that overthrew *Pharaoh* and all his Hoſt in the Red Sea, put the *Canaanites*, and other Enemies of *Iſrael* to flight, by his ſole inviſible preſence: could not he have vanquiſhed ſin and Satan without the aſſumption of our nature? doth the fleſh add ſtrength unto the ſpirit?

The queſtion is not what he could have done by his Almighty Power, but what in his wiſdom was moſt fit and convenient for our Redemption. Now, this we ſay, that by the eternal Rules of Equity, which God obſerves in all his ways, it was not only convenient, but neceſſary) though not for our inſtruction, yet for our redemption and ſanctification) that his Son ſhould not be only man, but man *made of a woman:* and our Apoſtle in ſaying thus, ſaith a great deal more, than if he had ſaid, born of a woman.

9. Every man, except the firſt Man *Adam*, is born of a Woman, but no man beſides the Son of God, by whom Man and all things were made, was made of a Woman. The myſteries contained in this manner of ſpeech, cannot be duly valued or unfolded, without ſome explication of that peculiar reference, which theſe words, in the Apoſtles intent and meaning, have to the firſt Creation of Man and Woman.

10. And here I muſt intreat you of the weaker Sex, to obſerve with me, that our Apoſtle, aſwel to put you in mind of that duty which you owe to your Huſbands, as alſo to ſtir up your thankfulneſs towards God, for your redemption; ſtill refers you to the manner of your Mother *Eves* Creation, and tranſgreſſion. Two teſtimonies ſhall at this time ſuffice, for the eſtabliſhing of this truth; both taken from our Apoſtles Writings. Of which the one beſt expounds the true force and meaning of this phraſe; *Made of a Woman:* The other unfolds the myſtery therein contained.

The former is, 1. *Cor.* 11. *v.* 7. *&c. For a man indeed ought not to cover his head, foraſmuch as he is the image and glory of God, but the woman is the glory of the man; for the man is not of the woman, but the woman of the man; neither was the man created for the woman, but the woman for the man.* Thus he derives your ſubordination to your Huſbands, from the firſt Original of your Sex: this method and manner of inſtruction he learned from our Saviour, who reſolved the difficulty propoſed concerning divorce, from the Canon, or Inſtitution of Matrimony, enacted by God, with *Adams* conſent, and voice, whilſt *Eve* was formed. Nevertheleſs, to qualifie and moderate this Authority, which the man by priority of Creation, hath over the woman, the Apoſtle adds; *Neither is the man without the woman, nor the woman without the man in the Lord: for as the woman is of the man, even ſo is the man alſo by the woman; but all things of God.* The firſt woman then, was made of the firſt man; all men ſince have come into the World by the Woman: but the Son of God came not only by the woman, but was *made of the woman*; as the firſt woman was of the firſt man. This great myſtery was preciſely foretold by the Prophet *Jeremy*, though not ſo plainly, as many at the firſt ſight would obſerve it. *The Lord hath created a new thing in the earth, a* woman *ſhall compaſs a* man, *or the female ſhall incloſe the male, or man of ſtrength.* It is called a new Creation, with reference to the firſt Creation, wherein the woman was incloſed in the man; as here quite contrary, the man is incloſed in the woman, by the immediate hand of God, conceiv'd and born without any concurrence of man; as the firſt woman was brought forth out of the ſubſtance of man, without the help or conſort of a woman.

Verſe 11.

Jerem. 31. v. 22.

11. The ſecond place in our Apoſtles Writings, which trulieſt explicates the meaning of the myſtery contained here in my Text, or in the place of *Jeremy* laſt cited; and beſt ſets forth the incomprehenſible wiſdom of Gods proceedings in the admirable work of mans redemption, is 1. *Tim.* 2. 11. *Let the woman learn in ſilence with all ſubjection, but I ſuffer not a woman to teach, nor to uſurp authority over the man, but to be in ſilence:* Why is her uſurpation of authority over the man, ſo inſufferable? the reaſon in the next words is given, in part, from the order of her Creation, *for* Adam *was firſt formed, then Eve.* This proves that ſhe ſhould have been under mans authority, though neither he nor ſhe had ſinned. But the principal reaſon why

ſhe is put to ſilence, eſpecially in the Church, is from the manner of her tranſgreſſion, in the verſe following: *And* Adam *was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the tranſgreſſion.* Becauſe ſhe had boldly adventured, to hold parly with the old Serpent without her Huſbands leave, and contracted with ſo great danger to all Mankind, without his inſtructions; becauſe this done ſhe took upon her to be the Serpents Agent to bring over her Huſband (whom ſhe was to Counſel, when her advice was demanded, not to lead) into the ſame combination; therefore is this modeſty and ſilence which the Apoſtle ſpeaks of, injoined the whole Sex, by way of puniſhment, or at leaſt, to put them in mind of their mothers firſt trangreſſion. For *Eves* diſeaſe, or ſurfeit of the forbidden fruit (until God in his infinite Wiſdom found out a ſoveraign remedy by the contrary) was more dangerous and prejudicious to the whole Sex, than *Adams* was to his Sons.

This truth is included in the laſt clauſe of our Apoſtles diſcourſe, concerning this point, 1. *Tim.* 2. 15. *Nevertheleſs ſhe ſhall be ſaved.* This adverſative particle (*Nevertheleſs*) ſuppoſeth a tacite objection; this or the like. But is there no means left for *Eves* Salvation, as well as for *Adams*; though ſhe only were ſeduced by the Serpent? or ſhall not the woman which is in ſubjection, be ſaved as well as the man, which hath authority over her? Yes, ſhe ſhall be ſaved too; but by what means? *διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας, through child bearing:* but alas, what ſhall then become of the barren womb, or of her that beareth no Children?

12. *Cornelius à lapide*, a late Jeſuit, would have the pains of Child birth, to be in this place eſtabliſhed as a Purgatory, without which this Sex could not enter into Heaven. Muſt then the exceſſive, or extraordinary ſufferings of ſome mothers, ſupererrogate for other women that bear no Children? I ſhall not need to trouble my ſelf with removing this ſtone of offence, which can ſtumble none but the Daughters of the blind Church. I will paſs over it, and proceed: As this place of *Timothy* beſt expounds the words of my Text, ſo may theſe words in it διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας beſt be expounded by another place in this *Epiſtle*, wherein the Apoſtle, diſcourſing of that promiſe of God to *Abraham*, (*In thy ſeed ſhall all the Nations of the Earth be bleſſed*;) excellently obſerves (what the matter and circumſtance of the Text, not the grammatical ſingularity of number doth neceſſarily infer) this is not ſpoken *to his ſeed as of many*, *but as of one and to thy ſeed, which is Chriſt*; To comment therefore upon St. *Paul*, by the Analogy of his Comments upon *Moſes*; he ſaith not in this place, the woman *ſhall be ſaved through bearing of Children*, as ſpeaking of many, but *through her Child-birth*, as meaning one, which is Chriſt; *the Son of God*, *made of a woman*, without man.

Gen. 22. 18.

Gal. 3. 16.

13. It is uſual with the *Hebrews*, to put the abſtract for the concrete, *ſubſtantives* for *adjectives*. [b] *Cauſe our Captivity to return like the Rivers in the South*; (that is) bring home our Captives with ſpeed: ſo Salvation is often put for Saviour; Glory for glorious, Juſtice for juſt, *&c.* Now by the ſame priviledge, which admiteth Captivity for Captives, or *ſanctificatio domini*, for *domini ſanctificatus*; muſt τεκνογονία, *Child-birth*, go in this place, for as much as τὸ τέκνον γηνεθέν: Σωθέσηται διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας is all one with Σωθέσηται διὰ τοῦ τέκνου γηνεθέντος, *ſhe ſhall be ſaved by her Child.* Briefly, the Womans Child-birth is as much as the Womans Child, and the Womans Child is ſomewhat

[b] Pſ. 126. v. 4.

more than the Womans ſeed. For, that the Womans ſeed which was to cruſh the Serpents head, ſhould become a Child and be brought forth by his Mother, not conceived only, is no paradox of our invention. It was the meaning of Gods promiſe, when firſt he made it, that this ſeed ſhould be ſuch a Child, ſo conceived and brought forth, as might truly call a Woman his Mother, but no Man on Earth his Father.

14. To give you a more diſtinct view of Gods Wiſdom, in contriving the means of our Salvation. The firſt Woman, by yielding her conſent to the wicked ſpirit, eats of the forbidden fruit, in hope ſhe and her Huſband ſhould become *Gods*, and their off-ſpring like young Gods, knowing good and evil. The iſſue of this adulterous compact with the Serpent, was, that ſhe conceived ſin, and brought forth Death, before ſhe was a Mother of Children. And her Children with their poſterity, were by nature the Sons of wrath, the Serpents ſeed, and Heirs of his everlaſting curſe. To cure this malady by the contrary ; God in his wiſdom, ſo ordains, that another of the weaker Sex, of a temper quite contrary to her Mother *Eve* ; one as lowly as ſhe was proud, whom the old Serpent had never tempted with dreams of being a Queen, much leſs of being a Goddeſs on Earth ; one whoſe Spirit rejoyced in the lowly eſtate of an Handmaid, ſhould, by yielding conſent to the bleſſed Spirit, conceive him that was the Son of God, the Tree of Life, in whom as many as believe, receive the adoption of Sons, and are Co-heirs with him of everlaſting bliſs. No marvail if the Iſſues of their conſents ſhould be ſo contrary, when as the principal Agents, with whom they contracted, were ſuch oppoſites ; the one was the *SPIRIT* of *TRUTH*, the Author of Life, and *GOD* of *LIGHT*: the other *the ſpirit of falſhood, the father of lies, and prince of darkneſs*. Laſtly, the firſt woman, did thus adulterate her Soul, by contracting with Satan without advice or conſent of her Huſband: and this is that which made her eſtate, and the ſtate of her Sex, far more deſperate than *Adams* was. For, as Divines obſerve, the wicked Angels, becauſe they ſinned wittingly and willingly, without a tempter, are left without all means of a Mediator, or Redeemer. Now the woman, in that ſhe did partake more deeply of this their ſin, (for being tempted by them, ſhe forthwith turn'd tempter with them) was more liable to their remedileſs puniſhments than the Man : until the Lord in mercy, found out the means, here mentioned by our Apoſtle, to releive her. The concluſion intended by him in that diſcourſe, is, to aſſure womankind, that *Evahs* aſſenting to Satan, (without the advice of her Huſband) was not more available to condemn the Sex, than the *bleſſed Virgins* bringing forth of her firſt *born*, whom ſhe conceived by meer reliance on Gods promiſe, without the concurrence or furtherance of *man*, was to redeem it.

15. This expoſition of the place in *Timothy* is ſo clear and natural, that not the meaneſt ſtudent here preſent (ſo he will mark the Former References to the firſt Creation) but may well wonder how any profeſſed Interpreter could omit it. Imagine with me, that the whole Tenor of this aſſurance, deviſed in tearms moſt exquiſite, for ſecurity and comfort of the weaker Sex, were to be peruſed by any ordinary Lawyer, but with half the diligence men uſe to examine Leaſes, or other Evidences concerning their private commodities : The principal clauſe, or *demiſe it ſelf*, would, at firſt ſight, appear to be contained

in theſe words, σωθήσεται δὲ διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας. It would likewiſe be as apparent, that *faith, love, holineſs, ſobriety,* and *temperance,* did follow only by way of condition or proviſo. Or to ſpeak in our own dialect: Seeing *faith, love, &c.* are added as conditions, or qualifications on the womans part, who is the ſubject or patient; the means or meritorious cauſe of Salvation, being emphatically aſſigned under ſcholaſtick Character in the clauſe precedent, σωθήσεται διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας: this hath always ſeem'd to me a Demonſtration as evident as any can be, *Ab Effectu*, that the principal Object or Foundation of ſaving Faith, (*the promiſed womans ſeed*) muſt needs be compriſed in the word τεκνογονία: [k] *In Jeſus Chriſt* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *neither Circumciſion availeth any thing, nor Uncircumciſion, but Faith which worketh by Love.* But neither Love, nor Faith working by Love, can avail more without *Chriſt Jeſus*, than Circumciſion in *Chriſt Jeſus*. And bootleſs it had been to have added this conditional, (*if they continue in Faith, &c.*) unleſs the Foundation of Faith and Salvation, had been compriſed in the former words, *She ſhall be ſaved by her Childbirth.* Now as fidelity, chaſtity, and practices of charity, are neceſſary to all, but in a peculiar and remarkable ſort neceſſary to thoſe, whoſe Forefathers have been perfidious, adulterours, and oppreſſors: ſo, albeit none can be ſaved without theſe virtues here mentioned, (*faith, charity, holineſs, temperance*) yet are theſe peculiarly neceſſary to the weaker Sex, in reſpect of the firſt womans ſin: to the ſeveral parts or degrees whereof they are moſt divinely and accurately ſuited and ranked by our Apoſtle. One part of her tranſgreſſion (perhaps the firſt) was Infidelity, or diſtruſt to Gods threats and promiſes: therefore it is required as a condition neceſſary to all Women, ἵνα μείνωσιν ἐν πίστει, *that they be conſtant in Faith.* Another part of the firſt womans ſin, (beſides diſloyalty) was breach of that ſocial love, which by order of Creation was due unto her Huſband. For as ſhe had beginning of being from him, ſo ſhe was not to have contracted any buſineſs concerning her eſtate without him. She ſhould have known his conſent, before ſhe had preſumed to have paſſed hers; and becauſe ſhe did not ſo, but brake the bond of ſocial love; it is required of all women *that they continue in love.*

k Gal. 5. 6.

16. Again, the firſt woman polluted her ſoul with ſpiritual adultery, by liſtning to Satans impious ſuggeſtions. Hence it is required of the weaker Sex, that they continue in *holineſs and chaſtity.* The claſp that muſt keep all theſe ornaments, or ſpiritual habits cloſe about them, is *Temperance.* For ſo the Apoſtle concludes; *Notwithſtanding they ſhall be ſaved, if they continue in faith and charity, and holineſs with temperance.* As if he had ſaid, it was their mother *Eves* intemperate appetite of the forbidden fruit, fair in ſhew, which did quicken and give life unto the firſt tranſgreſſion; whoſe firſt ſeed (perhaps) was pride; and for this reaſon *continent eyes,* and *temperate appetites* are on the womans part required in the laſt place, as *ſubjection* is in the firſt. For *Concluſion* of this point. As this Catalogue of vertues in the laſt clauſe, hath expreſs reference to the ſeveral parts of her tranſgreſſion: ſo have theſe words σωθήσεται δὲ διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας, as peculiar relation unto the promiſe concerning the womans ſeed, [d] *which was to bruiſe the ſerpents head.*

d Gen. 3. v. 15.

17. I ſhall not need to trouble this learned audience, with a doctrine very frequent, becauſe moſt uſeful in the Primitive Church. A neceſſity was laid upon the Reverend Fathers, of thoſe times, to

uſe this place, as one, amongſt many, moſt pregnant, for refutation of ſuch Hereticks, as held our Saviour did take only the ſhape and figure, not the true fleſh and ſubſtance of man, from his mother. But ſeeing their hereſies have for theſe many years, ſlept with their bodies: I hold it a ſin to awake them, by entertaining any ſolemn diſpute with them, or making loud declamation againſt them. Taking the truth, which theſe men are not able now to contradict for unqueſtionable (as being the principal ſubject of all Chriſtian knowledge.) Their obſervation is neither unneceſſary for any time, nor impertinent to this preſent occaſion, who out of this phraſe *MADE OF A WOMAN*, would give us the true *MEDIUM*, or *Cauſal Demonſtration* of another *Concluſion*, eſſentially ſubordinate to the fore-cited obſervation of the Ancient. The concluſion is, that our Saviour, did with the ſubſtance or fleſh of man, take upon him all the infirmities, and weakneſſes of our mortal fleſh.

18. The Heathens although they feigned *Pallas* to be a Goddeſs, yet conceived her to be of a Maſculine Valour, and true Heroical Spirit, as being wholy conceived and born of *Jupiters* ſubſtance, not participating of *Junoes* nature, or diſpoſition. That Wiſdom in the Greek tongue is of the feminine gender, was to them a ſufficient *Hint*, thus to transform the wiſdom of God into a *Goddeſs of wiſdom.* What they ſpake of this *Goddeſs* or *Daughter* of *Jove*, was moſt true of the *wiſdom* and *Son* of *God*. He was begotten from all eternities of his Father, *very God of very God*, *Geber-el*, the ſtrength of God, or the ſtrong God. And whilſt he remained in the boſom of his Father only, ſending forth Wiſe-men and Prophets unto his people, he did in no wiſe participate of any infirmity. But that this *wiſdom and Son of God* ſhould be conceived and born of a mother, without a father, and ſent forth into the world upon the ſame embaſſage that he had ſent his ſervants; was a truth far remote from that *Hemiſphere* of darkneſs wherein the Heathen ſat; yet a common prenotion amongſt Gods people. And what better proof can be deſired for evincing him to be *a man* (as the Prophet terms him) *of infirmities*, than his taking his whole ſubſtance from the infirmer and weaker Sex. [d] *The man that is born of a woman* ſaith *Job*) *is of few days*, *full of trouble*; Intimating, as ſome think, that as life and ſtrength are from the *Father*, ſo frailty and mortality are from the *Mother*. It is not then ſtrange, if he who took his whole ſubſtance from his mother, were peculiarly capable of infirmities. A dry and weary iſh ſoil cannot naturally ſend forth goodly Cedars, full of ſap: nor could the incredulous *Jew* have expected, his promiſed *Meſſias* ſhould be a *Giant*, or man of ſtrength, had he but duly conſidered, that he was to be the *womans ſeed*, fleſh of her fleſh, and bone of her bone; not ſo of *Mans*. And more particularly of this ſprig of *Jeſſe*, ſaith the Prophet, [e] *He ſhall grow up before him as a tender plant, and as a root out of a dry ground: he hath no form nor comelineſs, and when we ſhall ſee him, there is no beauty that we ſhould deſire him, he is deſpiſed and rejected of men, a man of ſorrows, and acquainted with grief.*

19. Marriage well fitted is a kind of Muſick, and conſiſts in a true conſort of the ſtronger and weaker Sex. But in this happy *marriage* betwixt *HEAVEN* and *EARTH*, between the *Divine*, and *Human Nature*, the *Son* of *God*, and the *Seed* of *Abraham*; there is a conſort of contrarieties (of ſtrength and weakneſs) in their abſtracts. He, that was *Geber-el*, *the ſtrength of God*, is indiſſolubly linkt with

the

[d] Job. 14. v. 1.

[e] Iſa. 53. v. 2.

the weakneſs of man, with the fleſh and ſubſtance of a woman. He, of whom God might have ſaid, as *Jacob* did of *Reuben* before his fall. [h] *My firſt-born, my might, and the beginning of my ſtrength, the excellency of dignity, and the excellency of power*, is become (ſin only excepted) like unto *Reuben*, when his dignity was gone, *unſtable as water:* the Son of God, (not by adoption, but by eternal generation) is ſent forth, *made of a woman*, and thereby ſubjected to more infirmities, than any man before him had been, or after can be. *Strength* was thus to ſtoop to *Weakneſs*, that weakneſs might become ſtrong; and *Eternity* to match with *Mortality*; that our mortal bodies might be immortal. For as *Man* and *Wiſe* are one fleſh; ſo much more the *Son* of *God*, and the *womans ſeed*, make but one *Chriſt*. And in this conſort, the Spouſe, or weaker nature, *Coruſcat Mariti Titulis, is really dignified, with theſe late mentioned, or the like titles of her Lord and Husband.* Strength is now become her girdle, and immortality her wedding garment; freedom, joy, and happineſs everlaſting, are made her jointer, whoſe former ſtate was mortality, charged with ſervitude and infirmities.

20. The former obſervation concerning the importance of the word *mulier* here uſed, though (in my opinion) not impertinent to our Apoſtles meaning; may in better judgments, ſeem rather to increaſe than diminiſh, a common difficulty. Firſt, were his meaning ſuch as we ſuppoſe it; he had ſaid better, γενόμενον ἐκ θήλεος than ἐκ γυναικὸς, *factum ex fœminâ*, rather than *ex muliere*. For *fœminâ* being the proper name of the weaker Sex, ſeems to import fragility, more directly than *Mulier* doth. Beſides, this Phraſe *factum ex fœminâ* would have well conſorted with that principal Article of our Belief, *He was made and born of a Virgin:* With which, this form of ſpeech in my Text, *factum ex muliere*, may ſeem ſcarce compatible. For *virgo* and *fœmina* are ſubordinate, every *virgo* is *fœmina*; but *virgo* and *mulier*, or γυνὴ and παρθένος are rather oppoſites. Some learned Interpreters, notwithſtanding, have obſerved the Greek γυνὴ, to be ſometimes taken for παρθένος, as *mulier* likewiſe in the Latine is for *virgo*. And why might not the Apoſtle uſe the like language? Yet in ſaying thus much and no more, they make the manner of his ſpeech more capable of excuſe, than meritorious of admiration; whereas to my apprehenſion, there lies a Myſtery in the word γυνὴ, as here it is uſed by the Apoſtle, which had not been ſo well expreſt, either by the common name of the Sex, θῆλυς, *fœmina*, or by παρθένος, *virgo*.

For better notification of what I conceive, you are to conſider, that *virgo* and *mulier* (as the words anſwering to them in the Greek) have two ſignifications, or rather importances. *Virgo* ſometimes implies no more than *fœminam intactam*, or *viri ignaram*, *a woman that knows not a man:* ſometimes it ſignifies, *fœminam intactam*, *nec deſponſatam*; *a woman not betrothed. Mulier* likewiſe implies ſometimes an oppoſition to the firſt importance or ſignification of *virgo*, and ſignifieth as much *fœminam corruptam*, or *viri gnaram*; ſometimes it imports no more than *fœminam viro deſponſatam*. And this later uſe or importance whether of the Latine *mulier*, or of the Greek γυνὴ, is not oppoſite, but co-incident to the ſecond uſe or importance of *virgo*, or παρθένος. One and the ſame *fœmina*, may be *intacta*, and yet *deſponſata*, a *wiſe* or woman betrothed unto a man, and yet a virgin. So *Eve* is called by the *Septuagint* γυνὴ, (in the Original *Iſhah*) a *wiſe*, at her firſt creation: Matrimony it ſelf was eſtabliſhed, in her extraction out

[h] Gen. 49. v. 3.

out of *Adams* ſide. In this ſenſe ſhe was *mulier* , a *wiſe* , when ſhe committed the firſt tranſgreſſion , and yet παρθένος or *fœmina intacta* a virgin too ; for ſhe did not know her husband , before ſhe had contaminated her ſoul with luſting after the ſerpents baits. And for this reaſon, would the wiſdom of God be made man of a *virgin*, and yet withal *ex muliere* , of a *virgin* betrothed unto an husband , that *Eves* miſcarriage might be regained in her. *Eve* was created to be a help to *Adam* , but proved his ruine. The bleſſed Virgin muſt likewiſe be ſolemnly conſecrated for an help to *Man*, but ſo conſecrated , becomes a comforter, not to *Joſeph* only, but to all his brethren , to all the *Iſrael* of God, whether they be *Jews* or *Gentiles*.

21. For the Wiſdom of God , thus ſolicitouſly and accurately to contrive and plot the means of mankinds Redemption , it was expedient and neceſſary, in reſpect of that inbred ſuperſtition, wherewith both *Jews* and *Gentiles* were deeply tainted. All of us , from our cradle, from the womb , are ſick of our mother *Eves* diſeaſe ; prone, upon every light accidental circumſtance , or want of ceremonial references, to pick occaſion when none is offered, to diſtruſt Gods promiſes for our good. The ſubtilty of the old ſerpent, continues ſtill the ſame, rather increaſt by long experience, than impaired by age. No Sophiſter ſo captious, no Lawyer ſo cunning, as He, to miſperſwade men, either that the inſtruments of their aſſurance want words to carry the inheritance unto all, or that their Redeemer is unable or unwilling to inſtate them in it ; or that ſome, at leaſt in reſpect of their particular condition or ſtate of life, are uncapable of the good intended. For preventing this his cunning, hath God in his wiſdom encompaſt and hedged in all mankind with ſuch a World of references, and admirable alliances unto his *Son made man of a woman*, as no ſort or condition of men (that frame their aſpect aright) can ſuſpect themſelves to be excluded. Every circumſtance of his perſon, conception, birth and life, are ſuited, as it were of purpoſe, to give check unto the utmoſt curioſity of ſuperſtitious humane fancy.

22. Had our redeemer been only man, though a man much more after Gods own heart, than his Father *David* was ; we would have ſaid of him as we do of a friend whoſe mind we know to be better than his means ; *Surely, he wiſheth me well*, and would lay down his life to do me good : but being once dead, what Dominion can he have over Death ? Or raiſed again ; yet being far abſent in the higheſt Heavens ; how ſhall he guard me againſt Satan and his Angels, ſtill preſent to aſſault me here on earth ? Again ; had he been only the *Son* of God ; we would have conceived of him, as we do of many great ones, whom we acknowledge to be honourably diſpoſed, but not ſo tenderly compaſſionate of poor mens caſes, as might be wiſht ; becauſe they have no acquaintance with poverty or the miſeries that attend it. To prevent theſe temptations to diſtruſt ; God would have his only *Son* to be made a *Man* of ſorrows, and of entire acquaintance with grief ; a man ſubject to greater bodily vexations than any in this life can taſt. And yet at laſt to be exalted according to his humane nature unto glory, that we might have a Solicitor in the Court of Heaven, of our own Corporation and ſtock : one that could pity our wants, and compaſſionate our grievances, by the lively experience, and never fading memory of his own more grievous ſufferings whilſt he lived on earth ; able withal to plead our deliverance from danger, out of that infinite *wiſdom* which He is, and

to procure it by that infinite favour and reſpect, which he hath with his Father from everlaſting.

23. Or if the Son of God had been made man, as *Adam* was of the earth, or not thus miraculouſly made of a *woman:* the old ſerpent might eaſily have brought the weaker Sex into a relapſe of their native diſtruſt unto Gods promiſes. Fear, if not deſpair, would in temptations have overtaken them, leaſt Chriſt had been ſent forth to redeem the *Man* only, whoſe Sex he aſſumed, not ſilly woman, to whom he had no ſpecial reference. Or had he been made *MAN* of a Virgin only, not of a wife or woman betroathed to an Huſband; married perſons might have miſtruſted, leaſt matrimony had made them more capable of their firſt parents curſe, than of the *bleſſing* made in the *promiſed ſeed*; or leaſt the conjunction of twain in one fleſh, might have cauſed a divorce of both from *him*, unto whom whoſoever is conjoined, *is made one ſpirit with him.* Now that the world might know marriage to be *honourable among all men*; and that the bonds of undefiled wedlock, are no fetters to the Soul: it pleaſed the wiſdom of God to be conceived in wedlock, and born of a *Virgin* affianced to a man. On the contrary, leaſt the Eunuch, (He, I mean, that either by nature is unfit for marriage, or out of judicious reſolution and diſcreet choice, holds marriage unfit, or unexpedient for him) ſhould take up his complaint, and ſay, Alas, *I am a dry tree*, and can bring forth no fruit unto eternal life: it hath pleaſed the only begotten *SON* of God to grace and ſanctifie ſingle life, by his own practice and example. For though he were *made man of a woman*, betroathed unto an Huſband: yet was he never betroathed unto any woman: that no humane Soul of what condition, or ſex ſoever, might have occaſion to diſpair of being eternally betroathed to him. The end and iſſue of his admirable chaſtity, was to inſtitute, that ſupernatural and ſacred Polygamy, which was (perhaps) by peculiar indulgence of divine diſpenſation legally foreſhadowed in the multitude of *Davids* Wives, or in the Polygamy of others, from whom he deſcended. Howſoever, *as the deſolate hath more Children than ſhe that hath an Huſband*, ſo are the ſpouſes of this chaſt and *holy one*, more in number, than the Wives and Concubines of luxurious *Solomon.* He is that everlaſting *Bridegroom*, whoſe Courts no multiplicity of conſorts can pollute: there is no Soul, ſo it bring Faith for its dowry, but may be aſſuredly eſpouſed to him. What was ſpoken of *Eve* in reſpect of *Adam* is true of all (be they male or female) that are once eſpouſed to him. *They are members of his body*, (and therefore cannot be cut off) *of his fleſh and of his bones:* and being ſuch, there is no danger of any Nullity; they can never be divorced from him; there is nothing that can diminiſh or eſtrange his love. Barrenneſs by *one womans Child-birth*, is now no more a reproach unto the reſt: ſo they be not barren in Faith. The Childleſs are more dear to him, than was *Hannah* to her Huſband. Virginity it ſelf is become exceeding fruitful, by the fruit of the *Virgins* Womb. And the Eunuch, which in time paſt, [a] *might not enter into the Congregation of the Lord,* [b] *hath now gotten a place and name in the Houſe of God better than of Sons and Daughters*, for there is no man ſo dear and tender as the name of *Spouſe*; none ſo capable of everlaſting habitation with the immortal King.

1 Cor.6.v.17.

Eſay 54. v. 1.

a Deut.23.v.1.

b Iſa. 56. v. 5.

24. But all this being granted, that our Redeemer was made *man*

of a *woman*, who was both *Wife* and *Virgin*, that he himſelf made choice of ſingle life: theſe circumſtances only miniſter hope to both Sexes, or ſtates of life. But he that was thus made and thus lived, is the undoubted Heir and Lord of all things: And what comfort can the deſtreſſed Captive, the poor ſervant or bondſlave reap, from his Incarnation, that is by nature *the Son of God, King of this World, and Father of the World to come?* Surely, as much as any other, if not more, ſo he brook his eſtate with patience; for it follows: *He was made under the Law, &c.*

25. If ſuch as were under the Law, were (as the Apoſtle often inculcates) in Bondage, or in the ſtate and condition of pupils, or ſervants: then queſtionleſs the Sons of God, in being made under the Law, became a Servant, for his preſent eſtate and condition, that he might make ſervants free men, and Sons of God. And this reaſon is expreſt by the Apoſtle, in my Text: Beſides this; unleſs the Son of God had profeſt his obedience, and ſervice unto the Law, by being circumciſed the eight day: Men of Jewiſh Progeny, might have been tempted to doubt whether God had not ſet the badge or ſeal of Circumciſion upon their Nation, as he did his mark upon *Cain*, in token they ſhould be Vagabonds, and Fugitives from his preſence. Indeed the greateſt part of the Circumciſion, proved *Cains* Brethren in the event: but that God did not by Circumciſion mark them to exile and ſlaughter, is ſufficiently manifeſted in that he cauſed his only Son to be circumciſed. So then he is circumciſed and made under the Law, that ſuch as were of the Circumciſion and under the Law, might have full aſſurance he was ſent forth to be their redeemer. Yet had he been conceived in the ſame Province wherein he was Born and Circumciſed: the ten Tribes, or Kingdom of *Iſrael*, might well have doubted, whether Gods promiſes had not been entailed unto the Tribe of *Juda*; whether their Fore-Elders had not releaſt their intereſt in them, and foreſpoken all their poſterities hopes, by that deſperate and unhappy ſpeech, which fell from them when they firſt revolted from *Rehoboam*: *What portion have we in* David? *neither have we inheritance in the Son of* Jeſſe. 1 King 12.16.

26. This, or the like temptation, upon whatſoever ground conceived, wrought ſtrongly with this people whilſt they remained in Captivity, and for this reaſon, when God perſwades them to return with *Judah* into the Land of promiſe, he is inforced to promiſe them by the Prophet *Jeremy*, that the expected *Meſſias* (for whoſe birth *Micah* had taken up *Bethlehem*) ſhould be conceived and *made* of a *woman* in the Land of *Iſrael*. To this purpoſe I have heretofore, out of this place, expounded that paſſage, *Jer.* 31. *Turn again O Virgin of* Iſrael, *&c. For the Lord hath created a new thing* (not in the *earth* or wide World, at random: but) *in thy land*; *the female ſhall encloſe the male.* His ſpeech is full, and yet preciſe and wary: for he was only *incloſed* in the Land of *Iſrael*, and brought forth in *Judah*.

27. But the better right or title theſe circumſtances of Chriſts Conception, Birth, or Circumciſion, convey either to the Kingdom of *Iſrael*, or *Juda* ſeverally, or jointly to the whole ſeed of *Abraham* after the fleſh; the leſs hope could we *Gentiles* have, of any portion in the Son of *Jeſſe*, had not the Lord, out of his infinite mercy and wiſdom, made the Covenant of life and bleſſing with *Abraham*, before he took upon him the mark of Circumciſion; that is, before there was any legal diſtinction between the *Jew* and *Gentile*. This is a

point ſo admirably preſt, by the great Apoſtle of the *Gentiles*, for their comfort, that it ſhall ſuffice me, to quote ſome few paſſages of his Comments upon *Moſes* Narrations; which I can never read without admiration, and ſecret joy of heart. Gal. 3.v. 8, 9. *And the Scripture foreſeeing that God would juſtifie the heathen through faith; preached before the Goſpel unto Abraham, ſaying, in thee ſhall all nations be bleſſed. So then they which be of faith, ſhall be bleſſed with faithful Abraham.* As he had ſaid to the like purpoſe before. Verſe 6, 7. *Abraham believed in God, and it was counted to him for righteouſneſs. Know ye therefore, that they that be of faith, the ſame are the children of Abraham.*

The true iſſue, or κεινόμενον, of that great Controverſie between him and his Country-men, is, *Whether Circumciſion and obſervance of that Law whereby the Jew was diſtinguiſhed from the Gentile, or* BELIEF *in Gods promiſes concerning the ſeed to come, did make men ſons of Abraham and of bleſſing.* Our Apoſtles plea for BELIEF is unanſwerable, becauſe *Abraham* by *believing God*, received the promiſes in the name and behoof of the Nations, before he received the ſign of Circumciſion: which may hence be argued to be no infallible ſign of *bleſſing*, in that it was imparted as well to *Iſmael*, *Abraham's Son*, according to the fleſh, as unto *Iſaac*, who was the ſon of promiſe. Much leſs could the obſervance of the Law, which was not given till four hundred and thirty years after the former Covenant was eſtabliſhed, make men ſons of *Abraham*, and of bleſſing. Gal. 3. 15. *Covenants* which receive their whole ſtrength and vertue from the will or purpoſe of men, *being once confirmed, no man may diſannl, or add ought to them.* The Contractors themſelves muſt change their minds, or revoke their mutual conſents, before any other may correct or change their deeds. But Gods promiſe for mans good can neither change of it ſelf, nor be changed by any. Yet had *Abraham* not Gods promiſe only, but his ſolemn oath *to aſſure the inheritance of bleſſing to him and his ſeed.* There is no mention of any releaſe on *Abrahams* part; and it were impiety to think, that God, without ſome releaſe made by him whilſt he lived, would be ſo injurious, as to retract, or alter the Covenant after his death. Or ſhall a title immediately grounded on his ſolemn oath, whoſe word alone gives ſtrength and being to all things that are, (even power and authority to Laws themſelves) need the corroboration of any Law? To what end then was the Law given ſo long after *Abrahams* death? that his poſterity might plead their title by it, to the inheritance before promiſed? This is that which our Apoſtle proſecutes, with ſuch deep, but juſt indignation, throughout this diſcourſe. For this was in effect to diſtruſt Gods oath, and for their parts, utterly to renounce all intereſt in the Covenant made to *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, by ſeeking thus to draw the free *Doner* into new legal bonds with *Moſes*. Yet if the Law added nothing to their former aſſurance, the queſtion ſtill remains, why it was given? the Gal. 3. v. 19. Apoſtle reſolves us, *It was added becauſe of tranſgreſſion.* In which words he would give us to underſtand, that the whole world was *quoad rem*, for its preſent eſtate or condition, under the curſe denounced againſt *Adam*: the beſt of whoſe children were heirs of bleſſing, only *quoad ſpem*; the life of our hope or expectation, being in the promiſed ſeed, which was to come into the world. In the Interim, till his coming, God gave his Law to *Abrahams* ſeed after the fleſh, that the threats and curſes contained in it, might imprint a lively ſenſe and feeling of that firſt curſe, under which the whole world ſtood;

and that the ſenſe or feeling hereof, might bring forth a more eager longing after the ſecond *Adam*, or promiſed ſeed, who was to propagate the bleſſing unto Mankind: who being manifeſted in the fleſh, was to redeem all from that curſe which had befallen the whole nature in *Adam*; and being made under the Law, was to redeem the ſeed of *Abraham* from the particular curſes of the Moſaical or Ceremonial Law. This Law then, whilſt it laſted, concurred no otherwiſe to the adoption of ſons than *privation* doth to the conſtitution of natural bodies. It was *principium tranſmutationis, non conſtitutionis: to vaniſh out of the world whiles the world was regenerated.* The principal point whereat our Apoſtle aims in this Epiſtle, is to aſcertain both *Jew* and *Gentile*, that their deliverance from the forementioned curſes, was on their parts to be expected, by the ſame means, and upon the ſame conditions, that the promiſe of bleſſing had been eſtabliſhed with *Abraham*. This is the main concluſion, *Wherefore the Law was our Schoolmaſter to bring us unto Chriſt, that we might be juſtified by faith. But after that faith is come, we are no longer under a Schoolmaſter. For ye are all the Children of God by faith in Chriſt Jeſus. For as many of you, as have been baptiſed into Chriſt, have put on Chriſt. There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female, for ye are all one in Chriſt Jeſus. And if ye be Chriſts, then are ye* Abrahams *ſeed, and heirs according to the promiſe.* Chap.3.23.&c.

28. Thus you have heard rudely, and briefly, what the Son of God for his part hath done, that he might be a perfect Redeemer, and unpartial Mediator between God and Man: and you know what on our part, is required, for the accompliſhing of our Redemption: *Abrahams faith.* Now were it as well known, what it is truly to believe, as that true belief is on our parts only requiſite, for attaining the bleſſing promiſed to *Abraham*, and to his ſeed; moſt of our miniſterial labours were at an end. But my time for proviſion hath been ſo ſhort, and my opportunities for intentive meditations in this ſhort time ſo few, that I could not hope, either much to amend the Characters of larger Comments to this purpoſe; or that theſe unrefined, ſhould make any better impreſſion, whiles I utter them, in your ears, than they have done, or may do, whiles you read them, in your eyes. I was the willinger to ſpend the whole time now allotted, in laying theſe foundations; becauſe men uſually expect ſtrength rather than curioſity of workmanſhip in foundations ſcarce brought above ground. Howbeit, no man would willingly thatch upon a ſtrong foundation, though rude and plain. And a better cover I could not in this exigence provide, if I ſhould make up the ſtructure or application. All I have to ſay unto you, is by way of requeſt; that as often as you ſhall compare, or hear lively faith compared unto a tree, and good works unto the fruit; you would vouchſafe to take this note of remembrance from me: *Faith* is a plant of *Paradiſe*, which comes not up by generation, but is herein truly like to trees of the firſt Creation, that it doth not ſend forth leaves before bloſſoms, nor bloſſom before it bring forth fruit. For it hath his fruit created in it. If you further demand what be the proper fruits of true belief, as it is fixt on this peculiar object or Article of Faith, [*The Son of God,* Abrahams *ſeed made of a woman*:] He himſelf hath reſolved you; They are, *Poverty in ſpirit, godly ſorrow, meekneſs, hunger and thirſt after righteouſneſs, mercifulneſs, purity of heart, &c.* For that bleſſedneſs Mat.5.v.1.&c.

neſs which God did promiſe, without a Sequeſter or Mediator unto faithful *Abraham*, and in him to all true Believers, is, by this Son of God, and ſole fountain to all bleſſings promiſed, expreſly bequeathed with the mouth of man, unto *the poor in Spirit, to Mourners* to *the Meek*; to *the merciful and pure in heart.* Albeit the denominations be much different, yet theſe qualifications differ no more from *Abrahams* Faith, than fractions or parcels do from their proper *integrums.* To believe in Chriſt made of a Virgin, is to have him faſhion'd in our hearts, whoſe whole life and converſation was a pattern of ſuch practices, as he there commends unto us, in the beginning of the Evangelical Jubilee. Now, did we put him on as truly in our daily converſation, as we have done by profeſſion, at our Baptiſm: we might be as well known to be Sons of Adoption by theſe Chriſtian Habits, as Academick, or Graduates by our Weeds and and Ornaments. But if we ſhould make enquiry after the firſt parcel or fraction of true Faith in Chriſt (ſuch *lowlineſs* of mind *and ſpirit* as was in the bleſſed Virgin, which conceived him) amongſt the rich and mighty: we may perhaps find ſome ſhadow of it in their outward complement, like a Beggar at a Potentates gate, within which he may not enter. To give harbour or lodging to ſuch a baſe gueſt in their hearts, is a diſparagement to their greatneſs. Even poverty her ſelf, may bewail the paucity of the poor in ſpirit amongſt her Children. Such as have been mightily humbled by potent Adverſaries, have juſter occaſion to lament the want of true humility in their breaſts, than the abundance of grievances, or heavy burdens, which others lay upon their backs. For the moſt of us, ſeeing we make our mouths iſſues either of bitterneſs, ſcurrility, corrupt communication, or of jeſting, which is not comely; ſhall we not ſin againſt our own Souls, and give the Spirit of God the lye; if we ſay we are pure in heart? Yet ſaith St. *John, Every one that hath this hope in him* (of being the Sons of God by Adoption in this life, and of ſeeing *God* in the life to come) *doth purifie himſelf as he is pure.* 1 John 3. 3. What ſhall we ſay then? *Lord if thou wilt, thou canſt make us clean?* but alas, how often wouldſt thou have purified us, and we would not be purified? Yet grant, *Moſt Gracious Father*, we beſeech thee, that our particular wills and deſires may evermore want ſucceſs, rather than their accompliſhment ſhould defeat or fruſtrate our general deſire, of being bleſſed with faithful *Abraham.* Accept *this* (good Lord) we intreat thee, for our final deſire, and let it be regiſtred in everlaſting Records, as our laſt Will and Teſtament, *Not as we will, but as thou wilt*, for our wills are tainted with corruption, and naturally tend unto deſtruction: or though they be ſometimes ſet aright, and freed from error in their actual choice; yet their choice is always ſubject to change; as variable as temptations are various. But as thou art, ſo is thy *will*, moſt holy and righteous, *without ſhadow of change, a will of life and ſalvation*: Lord let not theſe our corruptible wills, but this thy everlaſting will be fulfilled in us. As thou haſt promiſed bleſſedneſs to faithful *Abraham*, and in him to all Believers; ſo, we beſeech thee, bleſs us with true belief, with lowlineſs of ſpirit, with meekneſs, with purity of heart, and with whatſoever other fruits of Faith, to which thy *Son* our *Saviour* hath bequeathed his bleſſing.

TWO

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TWO

SERMONS

Never before Printed.

The Firſt on St. *Math.* 2. V. 1, 2.
The Second on St. *Math.* 2. V. 17, 18.

St. *Math.* 2. Ver. 1, 2.

1. *Now when* Jeſus *was born in* Bethlehem *of* Judea *in the days of* Herod *the King, behold there came Wiſe-Men from the Eaſt to* Jeruſalem.
2. *Saying, where is he that is born King of the* Jews? *for we have ſeen his Star in the Eaſt, and are come to worſhip him.*

SECT. I.

UPON the ſight of a new and ſtrange Star in the Eaſt, theſe *Wiſe-men* (were they many or few) repair with all ſpeed to *Jeruſalem*. And in thus doing they did wiſely; for where ſhould they ſeek the *King of the Jews*, but in his *ſtanding Court?* Now *Jeruſalem* was not only the City of the Kings of *Judah*, but the Seat of *Oracles*, and Fountain of Reſolutions in Sacred matters. But they found *Jeruſalem* and her Children (the very Chief Prieſts and Scribes, the ordinary Interpreters of all good Oracles) like the fooliſh Virgins in the Goſpel, in a dead ſleep, at this their Bridegrooms firſt coming. And as men that are ſuddenly awaked out of a dead ſleep, ſo they fare, upon this unexpected news of the *Meſſia's* birth, brought unto them by ſtrangers from a far Country. So ſaith the Text, *verſ.* 3. *When Herod the King had heard theſe things, he was troubled* (or moved with muddy paſſions) *and all Jeruſalem with him.* Theſe *Wiſe-men* then being *Gentiles*, and Aliens from the Common-wealth of *Iſrael*, give firſt information, not to *Herod* only, but to the chief Prieſts and Scribes, of the time wherein their long-expected *Meſſias* was born. And though theſe *Wiſe-men* only knew him by the Style or Title of the *King of the Jews*; yet *Herod* immediately apprehends, that this King of the *Jews* could be no other than the promiſed *Chriſt* or *Meſſias:* For ſo it followeth, *verſ.* 4. *When Herod had gathered all the chief Prieſts and Scribes together, he demanded of them, where Chriſt ſhould be born?* And as theſe ſtrangers inform *Herod*, and the Prieſts of the *time when*; ſo the Prieſts upon conſultation inſtruct them again, in *what place* he was to be born, *verſ.* 5, 6. *They ſaid unto him, in Bethlehem of Judea; For thus it is written by the Prophet: And thou Bethlehem in the land of Judah, art not the leaſt amongſt the Princes* (or Regiments) *of Judah; for out of thee ſhall come a Governour, that ſhall rule my people Iſrael.* Mich. 5. 2.

SECT. II.

BUT was it not a wonder, that theſe *Gentiles* ſhould ſee more in the viſible Book of the Creatures, than the Chief Prieſts could ſee in the Law and Prophets, concerning the time of the *Meſſias* his birth? Was not the face of the Skie there as open to them, as to theſe *Gentiles*? But they were at all times dull and heavy in diſcerning the *ſigns of the time*; not only more dull than the *Gentiles*, but than the beaſts of the field, or birds of the air. And for this fault they were taxed long before this time, by the Prophets (*Iſa.* 1. 3. *Jer.* 8. 7.) And after this time taxed by our Saviour in the 12. and 13. Chapters of S. *Lukes* Goſpel: yet not much to be blamed at this time in this particular, unleſs this Star which theſe Wiſe-men ſaw in the Eaſt, had firſt appeared, or might have been ſeen in their Horizon. Now that it did ſo appear, or might have been ſeen in that Horizon, is not apparent from any circumſtance in the Text. It were a better Query (could we hope to find out the diſtinct truth) how theſe *Gentiles* did, or could poſſibly diſcern from the Apparition of a new Star, that the promiſed King of the *Jews* was now born? The uſual Anſwer to this Query, is, that they had this *Prenotion* from the Propheſie of *Balaam*. *Numb.* 24. 17. *There ſhall come a Star out of Jacob, and a Scepter ſhall riſe out of Iſrael, and ſhall ſmite the corners of Moab, and deſtroy all the Children of Seth.* But how ſhould theſe *Wiſe-men* know that this Star, which they had ſeen in the Eaſt, was that Star of *Jacob* which *Balaam* fore-propheſied ſhould ariſe? Some hence collect or ſuppoſe, that thoſe *Magi* or *Wiſe-men* were *Balaams* Country-men, or his Neighbours. But this Inference admits a *Melius inquirendum*, a further Inquiſition: for by the Star fore-propheſied by *Balaam*, this Star which the *Wiſe-men* ſaw, cannot be meant, according to the *literal or aſſertive ſenſe*; for that pitcheth only upon the King of the *Jews*, or the *Meſſias*: He was the *Star of Jacob*, which *Balaam* meant. Yet in as much as this Star of *Jacob*, that is, the promiſed *Meſſias*, was ordained of old to be as well a *Light unto the Gentiles*, *as to be the Glory of the people Iſrael:* it was moſt agreeable to the ſweet diſpoſition of Divine Providence, that he ſhould be firſt manifeſted to the *Gentiles*, by the light of a Star. So that this Star which the *Wiſe-men* ſaw in the Eaſt, was fore-propheſied of, or intimated by *Balaam*, though not according to the literal or *aſſertive* ſenſe, yet in the *Alluſive*, Characterical, or Relative ſenſe. Of which kind of fore-ſhadowing Evangelical Myſteries, ſomewhat hath been premiſed. And there is no queſtion, but *Balaams* Propheſie had been ſcattered, not only through his own Country, but through many other Eaſtern Provinces. And yet the time of this Stars appearing, ſeeing it was to appear, and to be as it were an Emblem or Index of the Star of *Jacobs* birth, was more punctually ſet down by *Daniel*, whoſe Propheſie (or broken Traditions of it) were in all probability further ſcattered or ſpread throughout the Eaſt, eſpecially amongſt the *Medes* and *Perſians*. Their opinion is more probable, who think, theſe *Wiſe-men* came out of *Perſia*, or the Confines of it, rather than out of *Balaams* Country, which was *Meſopotamia* or *Caldea*.

SECT. III.

CErtainty or probable conjecture there is none, that this Star ſhould firſt appear in the Latitude or Meridian of *Judea*, of *Caldea*, or *Meſopotamia*; or that it ſhould guide theſe *Wiſe-men* unto *Jeruſalem*, as ſome have imagined, but without all ground. Moſt cercain it is, for the Text affirms it, that this Star did lead them from *Jeruſalem* to *Bethlehem*; for it is ſaid *verſ.* 9. *When they had heard the King, they departed, and lo the Star which they ſaw in the Eaſt, went before them, till it came and ſtood over the place wherein the young Child was.* But that it ſhould in like manner guide or lead them from their own Country to *Jeruſalem*, no circumſtance of the Text doth guide or warrant us to conjecture. The contradictory rather is imported, *verſ.* 10. *When they ſaw the Star, they rejoyced with exceeding great joy.* This exceeding great joy upon the regained ſight of this Star, argues they had a long time been deprived from the ſight of it, and as is moſt probable, from the very time that they ſet forward for *Jeruſalem*, from what Coaſt or Country ſoever they came. What kind of courſe or motion this Star obſerved whilſt they ſaw it in the Eaſt, the Scripture intimates not; but the courſe or motion which it held from *Jeruſalem* to *Bethlehem* was unuſual, not circular, from Eaſt to Weſt. And the ſame Star which could by Gods providence guide them to the very place where the new born Babe (who was by birth King of the *Jews*) did reſide, might by the ſame Providence eaſily teach them the time of his Birth, whilſt they were in their own Country, which was far Eaſtward from *Jeruſalem*. When they ſay, *[*We ſaw his Star in the Eaſt*] this ſpeech in the Original admits an *Amphibologie* or doubtful ſenſe. Firſt it may imply, that they being in the Eaſt (whether in *Perſia*, or in ſome further Country) did ſee this Star, not in their own Meridian or Latitude, but towards the Meridian of *Judea*, or *Meſopotamia*. But this ſenſe or conſtruction, for the reaſon before alledged, is improbable; for ſo they might have ſeen it better in their journey towards *Jeruſalem*, than they had done in their own Country. Or this ſpeech, [*We have ſeen his Star in the Eaſt*] may import, that they being in their own Country, which was Eaſtward from *Jeruſalem*, did ſee this Star, ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ, *in the Eaſt* from them, or in the Eaſtern point of the Horizon from *Perſia*, or of *India* beyond *Ganges*. This ſenſe is moſt agreeable to the Original Phraſe, ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ, that is, *in the Eaſt* κατ᾽ ἐξοχὴν, in the very furtheſt part of the Eaſt then known; or ſo far Eaſtward, as any part of *Aſia* the great doth extend: So as the Eaſt might take notice of his birth, whoſe

*Εἴδομεν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀστέρα ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ.

whoſe Soveraign dominion was to extend from the riſing of the Sun, unto the going down thereof: from every point of Heaven or Earth, to all points imaginable in them. Again; when it is ſaid, that thoſe *Wiſe-men ſaw his Star in the Eaſt*, and that they came *from the Eaſt*; the Phraſe or Character of ſpeech in the Original is much different, though in our *Engliſh* the ſame. For they are ſaid to come, not ἀπ' ἀνατολῆς, but ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν, in the plural; as we would ſay, from the *Eaſts* or *Eaſtern Regions*, which had not at all either either the ſame Latitude or Meridian; From places perhaps further diſtant, than *Italy*, or *Greece*, *Germany*, or *Hungaria*: And yet the apparition of the Star was Eaſt, in reſpect of all their ſeveral habitations.

SECT. IV.

THE next *Quæry* is about the Circumſtance of the time, either when they firſt ſaw the Star, or when they came to *Jeruſalem*. [*] A late Chronologer of deſerved eſteem, would perſwade us, that this new Star made its firſt appearance at the time of our Saviours Conception. And his reaſon is, becauſe Comets or new Stars do rather portend events to come, than point at occurrences preſent, or paſt. But the apparition of Comets or ſtrange Stars, at the birth of great Princes, is not unuſual; at leaſt, not without example or obſervation. For a ſtrange Comet did appear at the birth of *Mithridates*, that active and ſtirring Prince, which did truly portend, though not his birth, yet his diſpoſition, when he came to years; one that ſhould ſet the Eaſtern Nations in Combuſtion, about the Confines of the *Roman* Empire; as the Star that appeared at his birth, did ſeem to threaten to ſet the Heavens or Element of Air on fire. But for this Star which theſe *Wiſe-men* ſaw, it is agreed upon by all, even by the moſt curious Inquiſitors; that it firſt appeared either at the time of our Saviours *Birth*, or at the time of his *Conception*. And yet whether of theſe opinions we pitch upon, both admit ſome doubt. Firſt, if theſe *Wiſe-men* had ſeen this Star at the time of our Saviours *Conception*: How chanceth it that they came ſo late, ſo many days after his birth, ſeeing they had time enough to make preparation for their Journey, and to bid this King of the *Jews* welcome into the World; to have been the very firſt which ſhould have tendred their ſervice and allegiance to him? Again; If this Star did firſt appear unto them at the time of our Saviours *Birth*, and did enlighten them in this point of Faith at the ſame inſtant, that the light did ſhine unto the Shepherds about *Bethlehem*: How was it poſſible they ſhould come ſo ſoon unto *Jeruſalem* as they did, eſpecially if they came as far as *Perſia* or further. Both objections, this latter eſpecially, were unanſwerable, if we grant that they came to worſhip our Saviour as upon this very day, which is the twelfth day from his Nativity *excluſivè*.

[*] *Reuſnerus.*

SECT. V.

THere is an ancient Tradition in the Romiſh Church, yet but a Tradition, which graceth the ſixth of *January*, with three great wonders: *Firſt*, with the coming of theſe Wiſe-men to *Bethlehem*; *ſecondly*, With our Saviours Baptiſm, as on this day, in *Jordan*; *Thirdly*, With the firſt Miracle which our Saviour wrought; that was, *turning water into wine*, at *Cana* in *Galilee*. This laſt is but conjectural: The *ſecond*, that our Saviour ſhould be baptized as upon this day, is moſt improbable; ſo improbable, that *Janſenius*, a Learned Biſhop of that Church, hath clearly refuted it. The *firſt* Tradition, that theſe *Wiſe-men* ſhould come as upon this very day to *Bethlehem*, is altogether incredible; ſo incredible, that no Child or Novice in Faith, which will uſe the Evangelical Story, as theſe *Wiſemen* did this Star, for his Guide or Leader, but may eaſily diſcern a great Incogitancy in the firſt Authors of this Tradition, and a ſtrange negligence in ſuch as follow their opinion; having liberty and opportunity to examine their Doctrine, as the *Bereans* did St. *Pauls*, by the Scripture. *Firſt*, It is evident from St. *Matthew* Chap. 2. That God, immediately upon theſe *Wiſe-mens* coming to *Bethlehem*, did forewarn them, not to return to *Herod* at *Jeruſalem*, as they had promiſed: and at the ſame time did warn *Joſeph* in a Dream to fly into *Egypt*, becauſe *Herod* would ſeek the Life of the Child. It is evident again out of St. *Luke* Chap. 2. that our Saviour the new born King of the *Jews*, whom the *Wiſe-men* came to Worſhip, was preſented to his Father in the Temple, according to the rite or cuſtom of the Law, before he was carried by *Joſeph* into *Egypt*. Now it is incredible, unimaginable; that *Joſeph* after he was warned by God to fly with what ſpeed he could into *Egypt*, would ſuffer the bleſſed Virgin his Eſpouſed Wife (after God had foretold him that *Herod* would go about to ſeek the Life of the Child) to go with our Saviour unto *Jeruſalem*. So that the caſe is clear; they went into *Egypt* after the Purification of the Bleſſed Virgin: which was five Weeks and more after the Birth of our Saviour, and before theſe *Wiſe-men* came to *Bethlehem*; but how long before their coming is uncertain. But that clauſe of old *Simeons* bleſſing [*Mine eyes have ſeen thy Salvation, which thou haſt prepared before the face of all People, to be a Light unto the* Gentiles,] was a Propheſie of that acknowledgment which theſe *Wiſemen* in the name of the *Gentiles*, made of their allegiance to him. When *Simeon* uttered this Song or Prophecy, theſe *Wiſe-men* were not come to *Bethlehem*, nor to *Jeruſalem*. And yet it is to be preſumed, that upon the firſt apparition of his Star in the Eaſt, or of their notice of it, (if it did appear before they took notice of it:) they made what haſt they could unto *Jeruſalem*. And this perſwades us, that being at the leaſt five weeks in coming thither, they came from Regions far Eaſtward from *Jeruſalem*, as far as the Eaſtern parts of *Perſia*, or from ſome part of *India* beyond *Ganges*.

SECT. VI.

BUT here I know not what ſecret inſtinct doth prohibit me to leave this point; or rather lead me to a further enquiry, from what People or Region theſe Wiſe men came, before I can rightly determine or conjecture about what time they came to *Jeruſalem.* It is, if not altogether certain, yet moſt probable, that they came from ſome People or Nation which had better Traditions of a King of the *Jews*, that ſhould be be greater than any that had gone before him; *A People more peaceable* and loving commerce or dealing with *Judah* and *Iſrael* in their flouriſhing days, than *Balaams* Country, or other Neighbour Provinces had. Of ſuch People we can imagine but *two ſorts*; the one, the Inhabitants of that Country whence the Queen of the *South* came to hear *Solomons* Wiſdom, which, as beſt Writers now agree, was from *Meroe*, a Region ſome five hundred miles within the Tropick of *Cancer*, where the variation of day and night is but half an hour; it being the firſt Northern clime, at the leaſt, a thouſand miles from *Jeruſalem* Southward. But how the Inhabitants or Governours of this Country ſhould firſt ſee the Star in the Eaſt, unleſs they had Traffick or Commerce with thoſe Eaſtern Provinces, wherein it did firſt appear, is not conceivable. The other ſort of People, which can with probability be imagined to have ſeen this Star firſt, are the Inhabitants of thoſe Provinces, Iſlands, or Countries with which *Solomon* and *Hiram* had happy Traffick for Gold, Ivory, and other Pretious Commodities.

SECT. VII.

IT will be no Paradox to imagine, that the People of theſe Provinces had ſome tradition or prenotion, that there was to ariſe a greater King than *Solomon*, in the Land of *Judæa*, with whom they deſired to renew their ancient League or Commerce, And this is moſt agreeable unto the Prophecies concerning their coming unto Chriſt, and the Hiſtorical Types of *Solomons* time. *And the Navy alſo of* Hiram *that brought Gold from* Ophir, *brought in from* Ophir *great plenty of* Almug Trees, *and* Pretious Stones. *And the King made of the* Almug Trees *Pillars for the houſe of the Lord, and for the Kings houſe, Harps alſo and Pſalteries for Singers: there came no ſuch* Almug Trees, *nor were ſeen unto this day,* 1 Kings 10. 11, 12. *Now the weight of Gold that came to* Solomon *in one year, was ſix hundred threeſcore and ſix Talents of Gold: beſides, that he had of the Merchant Men, and of the Traffick of the Spice-Merchants, and of all the Kings of* Arabia, *and of the Governours of the Country,* Ver. 14, 15. Again, ver. 22, 23, 24, 25. *The King had at Sea a Navy of* Tharſhiſh, *with the Navy of* Hiram: *Once in three years came the Navy of* Tharſhiſh, *bringing Gold, and Silver, Ivory, and Apes and Peacocks. So King* Solomon *exceeded all the Kings of the Earth for Riches, and for Wiſdom. And all the Earth ſought to* Solomon *to hear his Wiſdom, which God had put in his heart; And they brought every man his Preſent, veſſels of Silver, and veſſels of Gold, and Garments, and Armour, and Spices, Horſes, and Mules, a rate* *year by year.* The queſtion then revolves upon this point; where *Ophir* and *Tharſhiſh* (which furniſhed *Solomon* with Gold) were ſituated? Of *Ophir* we read diſtinctly, 1 *Kings* 9. *And King* Solomon *made a Navy of Ships in* Ezion-Geber, *which is beſide* Eloth, *on the ſhore of the Red Sea in the Land of* Edom. *And* Hiram *ſent in the Navy, his Servants, Shipmen that had knowledge of the Sea, with the Servants of* Solomon. *And they came to* Ophir, *and ſet from thence Gold, four hundred and twenty Talents, and brought it to King* Solomon, *Ver.* 26. 27. 28. *Tharſhiſh* was not far from it, perhaps further Eaſt than *Ophir*. From theſe Regions, no queſtion the *Wiſe men* came, and it may be, did land at *Sheba*, or *Seba*, which is that part of *Arabia Felix*, which is next to *Æthiopia*; and (if *Lucan* were not out in his Aſtronomy) lay beyond the *Tropick* of *Cancer*. And all this we may ſay was done, that it might be fulfilled which was foretold by the Royal Prophet, *Pſalm* 72.10.11. *The Kings of* Tharſhiſh, *and of the Iſles, ſhall bring Preſents: The Kings of* Sheba *and* Seba *ſhall offer Gifts: yea, all Kings ſhall fall down before him: All Nations ſhall ſerve him, and he ſhall live, and to him ſhall be given of the Gold of* Sheba: *Prayer alſo ſhall be made for him continually, and daily ſhall he be praiſed,* Ver. 15. All this was verified of *Solomon* as in the ſhadow, but fulfilled only in Chriſt the Son of *David*, as in the Body or Subſtance; as is apparent from thoſe glorious Titles wherewith the Royal Prophet concludes this *Pſalm*: *His name ſhall endure for ever, his name ſhall be continued as long as the Sun, and Men ſhall be bleſſed in him; all Nations ſhall call him bleſſed. Bleſſed be the Lord God, the God of* Iſrael, *who only doth wondrous things,* &c. Ver. 17. 18. If the Ingenuous Reader require more punctual ſatisfaction where *Tharſhiſh* was ſituated; or whether it were that Iſland which we now call *Sumatra*; the beſt Author I can refer him unto, is that Learned *Portugal Varerius*, whoſe Treatiſe heretofore was hard to come by, it being bound up only with ſome parcels of *Caninius* and *Nebriſſenſis*, but ſet forth of late by *Pontanus*, in his attempted anſwer to Mr. *Selden*, *De Mari clauſo*; for what reaſon or purpoſe I know not, unleſs this Author, with the Epigrammatiſt, had bought more Paper, than he knew how to ſtill with good and pertinent matter, without the help of this Treatiſe.

Ignotum vobis Arabes veniſtis in Orbem: Umbras mirati nemorum non ira ſiniſtras.

SECT. VIII.

At what time ſoever theſe *Wiſe men* came to *Bethlehem*, from what Country ſoever they came: this we are bound abſolutely to believe, that thither they came to adore our Saviour, in the days of *Herod* the King. But even againſt this truth which every Chriſtian is ſtrictly bound abſolutely to believe, the Atheiſt or other Infidel, the *Jew* eſpecially will thus object. If your Evangeliſts Hiſtory of theſe *Wiſe mens* coming to *Jeruſalem*, and of the murder of the Infants about *Bethlehem*, which their coming thither did occaſion, be true: How comes it to paſs that *Joſephus*, a diligent Hiſtorian, by your own confeſſion (to whoſe authority you attribute much in matters of fact publickly known, and of greater conſequence) ſhould omit both theſe Stories, being a man withal no way partial towards *Herod*, whom though he often commend for his Princely Vertues, yet he ſometimes as ſharply taxeth, for his cruelty and unprincely jealouſie, ſpecially in his old Age: And yet the greateſt cruelty which he committed, the moſt out-crying Sin whereof he was guilty, was the Butchery of theſe Infants, which were by birth *Joſephus* his Country-men, as then no Chriſtians but *Jews?* Unto this or the like objection againſt our belief, whether made by the *Jew* or Other, we are bound by the Apoſtles Rule, to give an Anſwer, in that we are bound to give a *reaſon of our faith and hope to every one that ſhall demand it.* To the objection propoſed, thus we anſwer in the firſt place; that many are of the Court which are not of the Council: And yet even of Kings ſworn and Privy Councillors, many know only the pretended Cauſes of War, or of ſuch bloody deſigns as *Herod* practiſed againſt theſe Infants, but not the true and proper Motives: Theſe are Myſteries of State, which that Noble late Hiſtorian tells us, are known only to ſuch, as himſelf and *Philip de Comines*, by their places, were; Men that lodge at the feet of Kings, of their Bed-Chamber or Cabinet Counſel: Such a Man *Joſephus* was not in *Herods* days, nor was he then born when theſe *Wiſe-men* came to adore him that was born King of the Jews. That which he relates concerning the paſſages of theſe times, he had heard perhaps from ſome of the Court, but from none of *Herods* Cabinet-Counſel. The Holy Ghoſt doth tell us, that *Herod* called the *Wiſe-men privily* or *ſecretly*, to be informed by them concerning the time of the *Meſſias* birth: yet them he acquainted not with his purpoſe to take away his Life, which was the only occaſion which he had to take away the Life of ſo many Infants.

SECT. IX.

Unto the truth related by the Evangeliſt, *Joſephus* himſelf, though unwittingly, gives teſtimony or information not impertinent. For he tells us, that *Herod* not long before his Death was poſſeſt with ſuch a deep and diſcontented Melancholy, as is no way credible, it could take its Original from the Cauſe which he aſſigns for it. *Herod* as he relates, cauſed all the Nobles of *Judea* to be impriſoned, or ſhut up under a guard of Souldiers in the Tilt-yard, or Game-Court, giving ſtrict charge unto his Executors, that immediately upon his departure out of this World they ſhould all be put to Death, and that there ſhould be one ſlain in every Family. And this he did (as *Joſephus* tells us) out of a jealous fear that there ſhould be no ſuch mourning at his Death as there had been at the Death of other Kings, unleſs he gave the *Jews* this Cauſe of bitter mourning for themſelves. But the Evangeliſt gives us a better reaſon of this his deſperate diſcontent, which doubtleſs aroſe from the *Wiſe-mens* Queſtion, *Ubi eſt ille qui natus eſt Rex Judæorum? Where is the King of the Jews which is now born*, or as the Original will bear it, *King of the* Jews *by birth?* This could not but ſtrike *Herod* to the very Heart, who was King of the *Jews*, not by birth, but by poſſeſſion or meer Uſurpation. And when he perceived that the *Wiſe-men* had deluded him in not returning again to *Jeruſalem* as they promiſed; ἐθυμώθη λίαν *he was exceeding wroth*, his anger did boyl within his Breaſt; and out of this fretting jealouſie, he murthered and made away all the Infants about *Bethlehem*, under two years old: But this he might do before his Death with leſs noiſe or publick notice, than would be made or taken if his deſign to murther all the Nobility of *Judea* had taken effect. But thoſe whom he put in truſt with the execution of this deſign, did relent after his Death. And it is probable that their deliverance from bloody perſecution did ſwallow up the Cry of the Murthered Infants from the Ears of all, ſave from the Ears of God, and their Parents which could not help them; which durſt not take juſt notice of it. However the ſame occaſion which moved *Herod* to kill theſe Infants, did likewiſe incenſe him to take away the Nobles of *Judah*, leſt they haply might take part with this new born King of the *Jews*, againſt his Son, on whom he ſought to ſettle the Soveraignty of *Judea* and *Galilee*, by the Authority of *Auguſtus* then Roman Emperour, unto whom he ſubmitted the ratification or nullification of his Laſt Will and Teſtament.

SECT. X.

BUT can we produce the poſitive teſtimony of any Hiſtorian of thoſe times, as unpartial for us Chriſtians, as *Joſephus* was; or any paſſage in any Heathen Writer, that bears witneſs to the Hiſtorical Truth of our Evangeliſt, concerning the Murther of theſe Infants, which was occaſioned by theſe *Wiſe-mens* coming unto *Jeruſalem*? yes! *This poſitive truth* though ſecretly carryed in *Judea*, was famouſly known in *Rome*: It was related to *Auguſtus* then Emperour, whether by *Quintilius Varus* then Regent of *Syria*, (or by ſome other.) However *Auguſtus* ſealed the truth of it with that witty Apophthegm, which *Macrobius* an Heathen Claſſick Writer of thoſe times, hath recorded amongſt other witty ſpeeches of *Auguſtus*. The ſum of his record is to this effect, that when News was brought to *Auguſtus*, how *Herod* had put to death his own Son with the Infants which he cauſed to be ſlain in *Syria*: the Emperour replyed, *Melius eſt Herodis eſſe Porcum, quàm Filium. It was better to be* Herods *Hog, than his Son.* For *Herod* being for his Religion a Jew, would not have killed his Hog; whereas with theſe Infants he had killed his own Son.

SECT. XI.

BUT here the Zeal of ſome Chriſtians, to maintain the truth of the Evangelical ſtory, hath caſt an aſperſion upon it, or raiſed a ſuſpicion againſt it, from this forecited paſſage of this forecited Author. They imagine that *Herod* at that time had a Son under two years old, which he cauſed to be murthered amongſt other Infants about *Bethlehem*. But for this imagination, they have no good Author: And unleſs they had been negligent in peruſing the words of this unpartial Heathen Author, and *Joſephus*; they could have had no temptation, no occaſion thus to imagine. For *Macrobius* doth not ſay that *Herods* Son, which was put to death at the ſame time, and upon the ſame occaſion that the Infants about *Bethlehem* were put to death, was then an Infant. Thus to collect, is to commit the Fallacy, *à benè diviſis, ad malè conjuncta*, a Fallacy, which in other Subjects every Novice in the Arts, would eaſily avoid. Though every Poet be a Man, yet will it not follow that every good Man is a good Poet: or that every good Poet is a good or Virtuous Man: Much leſs will it follow, that becauſe *Herod* put his own Son to death amongſt the Infants in *Judea*, therefore his Son was an Infant. Nor doth the Character of *Auguſtus* cenſure upon this fact, incline this way; but quite to the contrary. For in congruity of the Latine Tongue, of whoſe Elegancy he was moſt obſervant, he ſhould have ſaid *Melius eſt Herodis porcellum eſſe, quàm puerum: that it was better to be* Herods *Pig than his Child*, not his *Hog*; if his Son which he put to death, had been an Infant. Now it was evident out of *Joſephus*, that *Herod* not long before he dyed himſelf, did cauſe his Son *Antipater* to be publickly condemned and afterwards to be put to Death, upon the ſame occaſion and out of the ſame Jealouſie, which as the Evangeliſt tells us, moved him to murther the Infants about *Bethlehem*. The joint motive to both theſe unnatural Facts, was an unhallowed hope to ſecure the Soveraignty of *Judea* and *Galilee*; the one unto *Archilaus*, the other unto *Antipas*, both born after he was King; whereas *Antipater* his eldeſt Son, was born before he had this title beſtowed upon him by the *Romans*. So that he which hath a mind and juſt occaſion to inquire after the diſtinct time and ſeaſon, when theſe *Wiſe-men* came to *Bethlehem*, muſt begin his ſearch from the time of *Antipater* his death. And that (I take it) was more than a year after the birth of our Saviour, ſome few days before *Herod* died. Seeing *Solomons* and *Hirams* Fleet did make return from *Tharſhiſh* but once in three year: it could not be expected that theſe *Wiſemen* ſhould come from thence within leſs than the ſpace of one year.

SECT. XII.

THE end of theſe *Wiſe-mens* coming to *Jeruſalem* and of their journey from *Jeruſalem* to *Bethlehem*, was to worſhip this new born *King of the* Jews. And worſhip him they did after the beſt manner of worſhip which they knew: *For they fell down, and opening their treaſures, preſented him with the beſt things of the Land and Region from whence they came; with Gold, with Mirrh, and Frankincenſe.* And what opinion ſoever they had of him, whether as well a diſtinct apprehenſion of his Godhead, as of his future exaltation according to his Manhood: they evidently declare, That that precept of the Pſalmiſt was written in their hearts. Pſal. 2. 10. *Be wiſe now therefore oh ye Kings, be inſtructed ye Judges of the Earth, ſerve the Lord with fear and rejoice with trembling, kiſs the Son leſt he be angry and ye periſh from the way.*

All of us will be ready to ſay, at leaſt to think, that if we had ſeen his Star, and known it to have been his Star, we would have done as theſe *Wiſe-men* did. *Sed mentitur iniquitas ſibi:* It is our Hypocriſie which deceives many of us. For if we believe the Goſpel, we muſt believe him to be a greater King, than theſe *Wiſe-men* at his Birth could conceive him to be; That *he is that light which enlighteneth every man which cometh into the World.* Why then are we not as ready as theſe men were, to worſhip him in truth and in Spirit, eſpecially ſeeing he calls us not ſo far from our own home to perform this duty? We have (Gods name be praiſed for it) places appointed for his worſhip amongſt us, at our own doors. For to this purpoſe were theſe Churches or Temples ſet apart or hallowed. And to theſe Temples we often come, though not ſo oft as we ſhould. But do we come to worſhip him with fear and reverence; or to offer Sacrifice to him in them? Where then is that Geſture or ſign of ſubmiſſion which is proper to ſuch as truly worſhip him? Many of us ſcarce vouchſafe to offer the Sacrifice of Prayers and Thankſgiving, or to ſay *Amen*, to ſuch as offer it: or if this we do, we do it in ſuch a negligent faſhion, as is not fitting for us to offer, or him to accept of our Sacrifice. Many of us come to theſe places of worſhip and Sacrifice, only to hear the word preached, yet whilſt the word is only preached, he that preaches only offers the Sacrifice, and that he offers amiſs if he offer of that which coſt him little or nothing. However he only offers it, the reſt are meer Patients. True it is, that when we come unto the Houſe of God, *it is better to hear, than to offer the Sacrifice of Fools.* And true it is again, that *Obedience is better than Sacrifice:* But there is a Sacrifice of Wiſe Men not of Fools, and our beſt Obedience is, to offer this Sacrifice, when we come into the Houſe of God. Wherein then doth this Sacrifice conſiſt? In devotion at Prayers, in Thankſgiving, and in Alms-deeds: *With theſe Sacrifices God is well pleaſed.* And if the end of hearing the word Preached, be not to learn to offer this Sacrifice aright: the more plentifully it is Preached, the greater our attention in hearing it, is; the worſe it is, or the worſe it will be with us in the iſſue, that do but prepare our hearts to Hypocriſie. But of this Sacrifice of Prayers and Alms-deeds, I ſhall take occaſion (if God permit) to ſpeak more at large hereafter. The Lord in the mean time prepare your hearts to hear aright, and mine to inſtruct you aright.

Matth.

St. *Matth.* 2. Ver. 17. 18.

17. *Then was fulfilled that which was ſpoken by the Prophet* Jeremy, *ſaying:*

18. *In* Ramah *was there a voice heard, lamentation, weeping, and great mourning,* Rachel *weeping for her Children, and would not be comforted, becauſe they were not.*

SECT. I.

COuld the ſearch of Prophetical Myſteries be at any time unſeaſonable amongſt the Sons of Prophets: I am not ignorant, how well either ſome other Text might befit this preſent occaſion, or this Text ſome other ſeaſon. Of ſuch Obſervations, as by Gods aſſiſtance, and your wonted patience, I hope now to impart unto you, moſt were conceived in a time very ſeaſonable; and the longer their birth were deferred, the more likely they were to periſh: though nothing of this kind, which without wrong to your Patience, may be preſerved, can periſh at any time otherwiſe, than unſeaſonable. In this reſpect, though with ſome loſs of late Meditations in another Argument often thought upon for this preſent occaſion, I have thought good to commit, what I conceived concerning this difficult Propheſie, partly to your memory, partly to paper, rather, than ſuffer all utterly to dye in my brain, being full charg'd with Meditations of much different Nature. Thus to do I have been the rather perſwaded, becauſe I perceive the difficulty of this, and one or two places more (but of this eſpecially) hath deterred many excellent Divines from the diligent ſearch of many more Propheſies (whoſe accompliſhment have been expreſly related in the Goſpel) as if there were no hope of finding any deeper myſtery in them, than quotation of the Prophet by way of *alluſion* and *accommodation.* I will not here diſpute the queſtion, whether any Propheſie may be truly ſaid (or was meant by the Evangeliſt) to be fulfilled only in this ſenſe. Of all other, I am perſwaded this Propheſie in my Text includes a far greater Myſtery.

SECT. II.

SOme principal difficulties, wherewith this Text is charged, I have diſcuſſed in other domeſtick Meditations, more capable of Grammatical diſquiſitions. One was, how *this Lamentation,* which the Prophet ſaid was heard in *Ramah,* ſhould be taken up, as the Evangeliſt tells us, in *Bethlehem?* Our *Engliſh Geneva* to ſalve this difficulty, which

Jer. 31. 15.

which ariſeth from the diſtance of theſe places, reads it thus: *A voice was heard on high*; with the warrant I muſt confeſs of Saint *Hierom*, but not without appearance of ſome wrong unto Saint *Matthew* or his Interpreter, who retains the name of *Ramah* in the *Greek*, and it were fitting it ſhould be retained in the *Prophetical Text*, however they might expound it in the Margin. But the difficulty would be little or none, if we admit *Ramah* to be put *per Synecdochen* for all, or moſt Cities of *Benjamin*. Albeit I would not reject the *Geneva-Interpretation*, as altogether contrary, or impertinent to the Prophets meaning. The original word may, according to the purpoſe of the Holy Ghoſt, truly include both Senſes; the one as more literal and proper to the Type, the other, as more remarkable and peculiar to the Body or ſubſtance: But thus to have rendred *Ramah* [*on high*] had been more tolerable in the Evangeliſt, than in the Prophet.

SECT. III.

THE principal difficulty is; to what uſe this Evangelical relation ſerves? for what harmony can this lamentable accident have with the glad tydings of the Goſpel lately proclaimed? how do theſe bitter out-crys either grace Chriſt's Birth, or confirm our Faith? For the more perſpicuous, and facile ſolution of theſe, and many like doubts, I muſt crave leave to interſert certain *prolepſes* or *prenotions*; and for the inſtruction of the younger, beg one or two *poſtulary ſuppoſitions*, which, unto ſuch as are exerciſed in Propheſies, will upon the propoſal go for *Maxims*. The firſt ſuppoſition ſhall be this.

SECT. IV.

THE Evangeliſts by the direction of the Spirit, give us only the hint of moſt Propheſies, which they tell us are fulfilled: the exact parallelling of the Type, and *Antitype* according to all, or moſt circumſtances, they purpoſely leave to the induſtrious ſearch of poſterity. For had they ſet forth exact Comments upon Prophetical paſſages, truly fulfilled in the events related by them, both would have been more lyable, if not to ſuſpicion, yet to a poſſible imagination of Forgery; and the whole truth, or full knowledge of Propheſies being clearly opened unto us by them, would have been leſs eſteemed, than now it is, whiles by their brief directions, it is found out by our long and painful ſearch. A fit inſtance for confirmation of this *ſuppoſition*, I gave you in my laſt Meditations out of this place. To the *Jews* purpoſely demanding a ſign, our Saviour ſays no more than this; *As* Jonas *was three days and three nights in the belly of the Whale, ſo ſhould the Son of man be three days and three nights in the womb of the Earth*, adding withal, that if thus much would not ſerve for their inſtruction, *the Men of Niniveh ſhould riſe up in judgment againſt them.* This brief caveat might have taught them to have made that collection, whoſe neglect brought forth deſtruction, on whoſe right uſe or application their ſafety depended. The uſe, or application was this: As after *Jonas* reſurrection the *Ninivites*, ſo this People, after his reſurrection, ſhould have forty days to make their peace with God; otherwiſe that ſentence which *Jonas* denounced againſt *Nineveh*, ſhould be executed upon *Jeruſalem*, and her Children, as it was at forty years end. And how eaſily they might have made this calculation of forty years, by the forty days of Chriſt's abode on Earth (after his reſurrection) was then declared.

Vide Numb. 14. 34.

SECT. V.

IN like manner the Evangeliſt in this place acquaints us only with *Rachels* tears, and bitter out-cries: but what theſe may portend, he leaves for us to ſearch out. The method which I mean to obſerve in this ſearch ſhall be; *Firſt*, To unfold the literal meaning, or hiſtorical circumſtance of the Prophet. *Secondly*, To compare them with like circumſtances, or ſigns of time related in the Goſpel. Thus it followeth in the Prophet: *Thus ſaith the Lord, refrain thy voice from weeping, and thine eyes from tears, for thy work ſhall be rewarded* (ſaith the Lord) *and they ſhall come again from the Land of the Enemy. And there is hope in thine end* (ſaith the Lord) *that thy Children ſhall come again to thine own border.*

Jer. 31. 16. 17.

SECT. VI.

YOU muſt conſider, that this promiſe being within ſeventy years ſealed by the Experiment of the event, did not expire with that Generation, to whom it was made or performed; but being compared with other more ancient predictions, or portendments, whereunto the Prophet hath ſpecial reference, it was an everlaſting infallible Prognoſtication to this people, that the over-flow of *Rachels* tears did fore-token greater good to the Land, and border of *Benjamin*, than the inundation of *Nilus* doth to *Ægypt*.

SECT. VII.

My ſecond Suppoſition muſt be this.

MAny places, as well in Prophetical, as Evangelical Writings, have peculiar reference to ſome paſſages of more ancient ſtories, with which duly compared, as ſtreams with their fountains, their Current is placid, and fluent, their explication perſpicuous and eaſie; but without ſuch compariſon, very turbulent and harſh. Thus, as in my laſt publick meditations I acquainted you, thoſe words of St. *Paul*, 1 *Tim.* 2. 15. concerning *the Womans Salvation*, [διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας] admit a facile, and commodious expoſition from that reference, which they manifeſtly include unto the manner of the firſt womans tranſgreſſion, and the promiſe thereupon made unto the womans Seed. So may thoſe words, *Matth.* 23. 35. *That upon you may come all the Righteous blood*, &c. (which have tortured moſt Interpreters, as much as they have tortured them) ſuffer a plain and gentle explication uſeful for all Ages, for all States and Kingdoms; from ſerious conſideration of that ſpecial reference, which our Saviour in St. *Luke*'s relation of that paſſage, expreſly includes unto *Zacharias* his ominous ſpeech, when he dyed: [*Lord look upon it and require it*] With theſe I may rank that other place, *Rom.* 9. *ver.* 19. *Why doth he yet find fault?* &c. which ſome (otherwiſe moſt skilful Pilots) miſ-referring to the whole diſcourſe of Predeſtination, have ſet their compaſs much amiſs, whiles they adventured to lanch out into the bottomleſs and boundleſs, gulf of Election and Reprobation. But of this elſewhere.

SECT. VIII.

THE places whereto that part of the Prophet (which our Evangeliſt here acknowledgeth fulfilled) hath ſpecial reference, are the ſtories of *Joſephs* and *Benjamins* birth. *God* (ſaith *Moſes*) *remembred* Rachel, *and God harkned unto her, and opened her womb, and ſhe conceived, and bare a Son, and ſhe called his name* Joſeph. She took this welcome boon, as an undoubted pledge of the like bleſſing to come, for ſhe ſaid (by Sacred Inſtinct, no doubt, or inſpiration) *The Lord ſhall add to me another Son*, Gen. 30. 22. 24. Howbeit, as we read, *Gen.* 35. 17. when ſhe was in peril of Child-birth, ſhe gave her former hopes of this ſecond Son for loſt; and the Midwife is fain to comfort her with her own prediction, or good ominous preſagement of *Joſephs* name: (*Fear not, thou ſhalt have this Son alſo*) yet (as it followeth) *when her Soul was in departing, ſhe called his name* Ben-oni, *the Son of my ſorrow.* But his Father (ſeeking with ſpeed to avert this Siniſter Omen) forthwith, called him [*Benjamin*] the Son of his right hand.

That which the Heathens have obſerved, either concerning the impoſition of names:

Conveniunt rebus nomina ſæpè ſuis;
Or the preſages of Parents----- *Heu nunquam vana parentum,*
Augaria, &c.----
It cautus, nec vana Thetyn timuiſſe memento;

Statius Thebaid.

Statius Achilleid.

Is of moſt obſervable uſe in the ancient Patriarchs. The names given by them unto their Children, did often fore-ſignifie their ſtate or condition. As he that will truly obſerve what is written in the Sacred Stories concerning *Benjamin*, ſhall find that (*utriuſq; nominis nomen habet*) he bare neither of the former names for nought. We may ſee two *different fates* of his Poſterity (fully anſwearable to the contrary importance of the names given him by his Father and Mother) often wreſtling: yet ſo, as the victory is more permanent with the *Weirds* alotted him in that name, which his Father beſtowed upon him. No Tribe in *Iſrael* was more valorous, yet none ſo ſubject to ſorrowful diſaſters, as the Tribe of *Benjamin*. As for inſtance; ſuppoſe *Rachel* (as this Prophetical Proſopopeia ſuppoſed her living a great while after, but ſuppoſe ſhe) had lived ſo long, and no longer, as to ſee that moſt lamentable maſſacre, and almoſt final extirpation of this Tribe mentioned, *Judges* 20. 35. *&c.* might ſhe not juſtly have taken up *Her* complaint in the Poet, *whom* of a long joyful Mother of the ſtouteſt Heroicks in that age, the Enemies Sword had in one day made Childleſs.

Statius.

Ah quanto melius, dextrâq; in ſorte jugatæ,
Queis ſteriles thalami, nulloq; ululata dolore,
Reſpexit Lucina *domum, mihi quippe malorum*
Cauſa labor. ————————————— What

folly moved me to envy the Fertility of my Siſter *Leah*, when as barrenneſs had been to me a bleſſing? With more comfort might I have ſtrangled *Ben-oni* in the birth, or buried him the day wherein he was born, than now to ſee five and twenty thouſand of his Children, all men of years, of ſtrength, and courage, ſlain by deſperate hands of their furious brethren, the unnatural Sons of *Iſrael*, and the poor remnant enforc'd (as old *Iſaac* would not ſuffer their Father *Jacob*) to take their Wives from a foreign Tribe. *Benjamin* at this time, was indeed *Ben-oni*, a true Son of ſorrow unto his Mother. But the next memorable news, which we hear of him in the ſacred ſtory is, that he is become the head of his Brethren; for within this very Age the firſt King of *Iſrael* is choſen out of this late deſolate Tribe. And though he in the end prove *Ben-oni*; yet this Tribe of *Benjamin* ſticks cloſe to *Judah*, when all the reſt revolted to his Brother *Joſeph*, and ſo long as *Judah* continued *Gods Law-giver*, *Benjamin* continued his *right hand*, or valourous Executioner.

Judg. 21. ver. 12.

SECT. IX.

BUT now at this time when my Prophet wrote, the men of *Judah*, and *Benjamin* were ſtraitly beſieged in *Jeruſalem*, and the Land of *Benjamin* lying in the *Chadæans* way unto the City, was miſerably waſted, the women, and Children without guard or defence, expoſed to the mercileſs rage of cruel Enemies. This is the reaſon why old *Rachel* renews her former Complaint, and will not be perſwaded but that *Benjamin* muſt ſtill be *Ben-oni*. She, and her Daughters (for under the name of *Rachel* muſt we comprehend all the woful Mothers of that Tribe) fill the Heavens with their outcries, whiles their Children are either pitifully ſlain before their eyes, or drawn out of their embracements into miſerable bondage. Though mention be only made of *Ramah*, yet muſt we imagine the wailings to have been as loud, and bitter about *Bethlehem*, which was in the Border of *Benjamin*, and near unto the place where *Rachel* dyed.

SECT. X.

THE comfort, which the Prophet, (well acquainted with all the references) miniſtreth to his Mother *Rachel*, (for he himſelf was a *Benjamite*) is thus; *Rachel*; thou ſorrowedſt, when thou broughteſt forth my Father *Benjamin*, as fearing, leſt he ſhould have died with thee, or before thee: yet after hard labour and pains, thou hadſt this joy, that a Man-child was brought forth into the World.

And albeit through Womaniſh fear thou gaveſt him a name importing ſorrow, yet his father wiſely changed it into a name aboading much better hopes. Howbeit even *Jacob* himſelf (for he had a Woman to his Mother) mourned a long time for *Joſeph*, weening he had been devoured with wild Beaſts, and when *Benjamin* was called by God to go into *Ægypt* for the good of his Brethren, he complained, and ſaid [*I ſhall be robbed of my Child, as I have been.*] Gen. 43. 14.

Notwithſtanding this ill aboding, *Benjamin* returned in ſafety with his Brother *Judah:* And young *Joſeph* and old *Jacob* (who had a long time lamented his loſs) had a joyful meeting. Such at this time, is thy fear and ſorrow: but much better hereafter, than any old *Jacob* found, ſhall thy comfort be; *Joſeph* (thou weeneſt) is utterly periſhed from among the Sons of Men; but he continues a mighty people among the *Medes* and *Aſſyrians.* And though *Benjamin* be now led Captive unto *Babylon*, yet *Judah* is gone with him as his pledge, and if he bring him not back again let the blame be his, yea mine, yea Gods for ever. *For thus ſaith the Lord; If my Covenant be not with day and night; and if I have not appointed the Ordinances of Heaven, and Earth: Then will I caſt away the ſeed of* Jacob, *and* David *my Servant, ſo that I will not take any of his ſeed to be rulers over the ſeed of* Abraham, Iſaac, *and* Jacob: *for I will cauſe their Captivity to return, and have mercy on them.* Jerem. 33. 35. *Yea I have ſworn by my Holineſs that I will not fail* David. Pſal. 89. 35. Now, ſo long as this promiſe laſts, either in general to *Iſrael*, or *Abrahams* ſeed, *Benjamin* muſt have his Childs Portion in this bleſſing; or whiles this bleſſing remains in peculiar ſort to the ſeed of *David*, *Benjamin*, for his faithful adherence unto *Judah* (ſo long as either City, or Temple was ſtanding) muſt participate with him in the Prerogative. And when the Kingdom ſhall be reſtored again, whoſoever ſitteth on the left hand, faithful *Benjamin* muſt ſit on the right hand of the Throne of *David.*

So, within ſeventy years it came to paſs, that the poſterity of *Benjamin* returned with *Judah* into the Land of Promiſe, and inhabited *Jeruſalem*, *Bethlehem*, and other bordering Cities promiſcuouſly with the Royal Tribe. Whereas the reſidue of *Jacobs* ſeed, which had been captivated, returned but ſcatteringly now and then; and took their habitation where they could get it, either in *Canaan*, or near about it.

SECT. XI.

THE purport of my *ſecond ſuppoſition* (That this Comfort miniſtred by *Jeremy* to his Mother *Rachel* and her Daughters, was not to be reſtrained to that preſent occaſion, whereof it was truly meant) may be ratified from the places laſt cited, being compared with thoſe promiſes. Jerem. 31. 28. *And it ſhall come to paſs, that like as I have watched over them to pluck up, and to break down, and to throw down, and to deſtroy, and to afflict, ſo I will watch over them to build and to plant (ſaith the Lord.)* This he promiſed ſhould be an everlaſting Covenant, *ver.* 31. and 32. By the *very Tenor of it*, this people was given to underſtand, that the exhibition of Plagues foretold by Gods Prophets, was always a ſure pledge of the mercies, and bleſſings, which in his name they had promiſed.

SECT. XII.

My Third Suppoſition *muſt be this.*

THE Captivity or civil death of *Judah*, and *Benjamin*, under *Nebuchadnezzar*, their redemption thence, and reſtauration to their own Land were expreſs Types, or prefigurations, the one of their bodily, and ſpiritual death, the other of their reſurrection from the grave, and reſtitution unto Paradiſe. And in this type it is included, that *Rachels* preſent Mourning for the bodily death of her Sons, muſt have a new comfort anſwerable to her former comfort for their civil death and Captivity.

Thus may we gather the iſſue or *product* of this Prophecy by the Golden Rule. Look what proportion *Rachels* comfort at her Childrens return from *Babylon* had held, with her ſorrow for their Captivity; her comfort in the Goſpel, muſt bear the ſame proportion to the juſt occaſions of her ſorrow related by St. *Matthew*. Let us ſee then, how the Prophets deſcription of the ſorrow which befel her in his time, doth fit her ſorrow procured by *Herod*.

Were I to unfold this Prophecy amongſt Women, a little Rhetorick would perſwade them, that no event ſince the World began, could miniſter ſo juſt matter of thoſe Womaniſh Throbs, and bitter houlings, which no tranſlation can ſo well expreſs, as the very ſound of the Original Text rightly pronounced would do even to ſuch, as underſtand it not. Mothers bowels of compaſſion ſympathize deeplier with the ſorrows of their Children, than Maſculine Parents can do; deeplieſt with the ſorrows of ſuch Children, as have been lateleſt extracted from them. And unto the weaker Sex, the ſight or memory of bloody Death is always terrible, but more ghaſtly, by how much the parties ſuffering are more young and tender. It is then moſt diſconſolate, and unſupportable, when it befalleth Infants not by accident of War in ſome furious aſſault, but ſo willfully, and wittingly plotted, as the Parents can be no ſharers with them in the danger.

> *A voice was heard in* Ramah, *Lamentation, and weeping:* Rachel *weeping for her Children, refuſed to be comforted for her Children becauſe they were not.*

When we ſay, *Men, Fathers,* and *Brethren,* our purpoſe is not to exclude women, as no true parts of our Auditory. The Hiſtorical circumſtances of this paſſage import, that *Rachel* had juſt cauſe to weep as well for her Daughters, as for her Sons, and in this conſideration perhaps our Engliſh bringeth her in weeping for her *Children*. Howbeit the very grammatical propriety of the Original word doth ſo exactly fit the Evangelical event, as the ſpirit of Prophecy may ſeem principally to have ſhot at it through the Hiſtorical occaſion. It is *verbatim* [Rachel *weeping for her Sons*,] and at this time ſhe weeps for theſe alone. *Herod* had no quarrel to the Females.

For her *Sons* ſhe wept, *and would not be comforted*, *becauſe they were not.*

The leſs they were, or the more they were not, the leſs reaſon ſhe had, or the more unwilling was ſhe to be coſmorted. In the former calamity they were not (as we ſay) *ſecundum quid*, that is, not in the borders of *Benjamin*, not in the Land of their Nativity, but in bondage to a foreign Enemy, whence, in the ſight of Man, it was very improbable, yet not altogether impoſſible for them to return; But now *Simplicitèr* they *are not*; no where to be found in any Land of the Living: Death had ſeized upon them for the land of darkneſs, wherein all things are forgotten, and who is he can bring them thence? not the High Prieſt *Jeſus the Son of Joſedec*; not *Zorobabel*, which conducted their Fathers from Captivity; not *Sampſon*, though in the prime of his full ſtrength, he did carry away the Gates of *Azzah*, but was not able to withſtand the Gates of Death, not *David*, nor their Father *Benjamin*, though both were alive to command, or lead the whole poſterity of *Iſrael*. All theſe might ſay of the Sons of *Rachel*, as *David* did of his Child by *Bathſheba*, *We may well go to them, but they cannot come to us:* It is not in our power to bring them back. Where then is the wonted promiſe of *Rachels* reward? who ſhall comfort her in this calamity?

2 Sam. cap. 12. v. 23.

SECT. XIII.

Surely this Tragical Event (all circumſtances of time and place, and occaſions of *Rachels* ſorrow being duly compared with their Types) give evident teſtimony, that the true *David*, the true *Benjamin* was now brought forth. For all this miſery fell on theſe Infants of *Judah*, and *Benjamin*, upon a conſtant report, or known fame of a King of the *Jews* lately born in *Bethlehem* a City of *David*. Now as *David* did prefigure him in the place (for *David* was born in *Bethlem:*) ſo did *Benjamin* prefigure him (to ſpeak after the manner of men) in the caſual manner of his birth. It is a point to be obſerved, that of all the Sons of *Jacob*, only *Benjamin* was born in the Land of Promiſe, and *Rachels Pillar* there erected, ſtood as a *Statua Mercurialis* to point out the manner how, and the place where the promiſed *Meſſias*, the *Flower of Jeſſe*, and the hope of *Benjamin* ſhould firſt come, as a Stranger or Pilgrim, into his own Inheritance. For *Rachel* (as the forementioned ſtory telleth us) was journeying towards *Bethlehem*, when ſhe died in travel of *Benjamin*, who was born within a furlong of the City. The Bleſſed Virgin outruns her, and gets the goal: yet, as if *Rachel* her Harbinger had come ſhort, the Inn is taken up before her coming, and ſhe muſt bring forth the promiſed *Meſſias* in an out-houſe, as *Rachel* did *Benjamin* in the open Field.

SECT.

SECT. XIII.

Now to calculate the ſum of *Rachels*, and her Daughters hope of comfort in the Goſpel, according to the juſt improvement of their ſorrow procured by *Herod*; my Text compared with former Types, and references, ſpeaks thus:

Herod hath taken order, ye ſhall not weep without cauſe, be it your care not to weep without meaſure. Mourn not as thoſe who have no hope, but even in the midſt of your bittereſt complaints, ſtill remember *Rachels* hard labour muſt have a joyful reward; that her exceeding ſorrows portend extraordinary comfort in the iſſue. The beſt name ſhe had to beſtow upon your Father, when ſhe brought him forth, was *Ben-oni, Son of my ſorrow*. As his birth brought forth her death, ſo ſhe look'd he ſhould not be long liv'd himſelf, of little comfort to his loving Friends. But this name did in a manner dye with her that gave it, and never revived, but as a pledge of comfort, or earneſt of a joyful change. The name given in lieu hereof by his Father, by which he himſelf, whilſt he lived, by which his mighty Progeny ſince, and the Land of their habitation, hath for many Generations been beſt known, was *Benjamin*, Son of the right hand, a Son of ſtrength and ſuccour to his Friends, a Son of terror to his Enemies. The deſtiny alotted him by his Father at his birth, was ratified after by his ſolemn bleſſing upon his death-bed: *Benjamin ſhall flouriſh like a Wolf in the morning, he ſhall devour the prey, and at night he ſhall divide the ſpoil*, Gen. 49. 27.

And now behold a Child is born upon your borders, near to the place of your Father *Benjamins* birth, who, as you miſ-deem, ſhall revive your Mother *Rachels* complaints, and ratifie the hard *Weirds*, which ſhe beſtowed upon the Son of her ſorrow: one, that at his birth, hath made the Sons of *Benjamin* and *Judah*, right *Ben-onies*, true Sons of ſorrow to you their Mothers. And though his Mother did not part with him, as *Rachel* did with your Father: yet herein her hap may ſeem the harder, that ſhe muſt live to lament his death; for *Simeon* already hath read her doom. *Et tuam ipſius animam pertranſibit gladius: A Sword ſhall pierce through thy own ſide*, Luke 2. 35. And is not this to be her *Ben-oni?* and as is the name, ſuch is the nature, which he takes from her. He is the womans Seed, and therefore a man of ſorrows; a man ſubject to ſuch miſery, as would revive your Mothers tears dryed up with death. But *he*, whoſe only begotten Son he is (the ſame who ſaid; *I am a Father to* Jacob, *and* Iſrael *is my Poſterity*) hath a name to beſtow upon him above all names, and will exalt him from the ſtate of miſery and mortality, wherein he lives to the right hand of Eternal Majeſty, to that inheritance, whereof the whole Land of *Benjamin* is but a ſorry Map, to be a High Prieſt of that Sanctuary, whereof all *Jeruſalem* and *Judah* are but the model; of whoſe perſon *Melchizedeck* was but a fleeting ſhadow, and what ſhall be your hope *in noviſſimis?* if your Father *Benjamin*, the Son of *Jacob's* right hand, could by Gods Providence give you being, when you were not; ſhall not this *Benjamin* [the Son of Gods right hand] provide a better being, than here they could hope for, in his everlaſting Kingdom? Meaſure the amplitude of their inheritance by that plot, or draught, which the finger of God hath drawn in your Fathers redemption from *Chaldæan* thraldom, and reſtitution to the Land of Promiſe. So full experience had they then of that joyful iſſue, which *Jeremy* promiſed to your Mother *Rachels* mourning, that they left this as a *tryed receipt*, or approved *cordial* to poſterity, whenſoever the like malady ſhould befal them, *they that ſow in tears, ſhall reap in joy*; *he that goeth forth weeping*, (like ſome *Barbarian*, altogether ignorant in the Art of Husbandry, whoſe fear is, leſt that Corn which ſhould have fed him, ſhould utterly periſh in the ground) *ſhall doubtleſs come again with joy, and bring his ſheafs with him.* The Heavens echoing with your late out-crying, and the Air and Earth moiſtened with your weeping, are a world of witneſs to Men, and Angels, that you have more plentifully ſowed in tears, than did your Anceſtors; what then is your hope? or where is your comfort? As the ſorrows of your Seed-time have abounded, ſo the joys of your Harveſt ſhall ſuper-abound. The Lords promiſe unto your Anceſtors is not yet expired; but extends in full force to you and yours. With what more pretious Seed could the Land of *Judah* and *Benjamin* be ſown, than with the blood of tender Infants, never tainted with harmful, or bloody thought. What though thus ſcattered upon the ground by cruel hands, which have skill enough to deſtroy and waſte, but none to reap: It ſhall be gathered by the right hand of him, which found out the birth of man, and diſpenced the breath of life to all things living. Not a grain of this Seed ſhall periſh, or prove unfruitful; this preſent ſorrow ſhall bring forth joy, in ſome thirty, in ſome forty, in ſome an hundred fold. Every corn ſhall have his ear, and every ear his full load of incorruptible, and pleaſant fruit. The Lords wonted voice of joy and comfort, is not ſhortned to you daughters of *Rachel*. Unto the daughters of *Rachel* thus ſaith the Lord [*Refrain your voices from weeping, and your eyes from tears*] wiſh not in your hearts, that theſe your Children might return to you, but rather that you may go to them, ſo ſhall your laſt end be full of hope, for they are returned unto their borders, unto that bliſsful Paradiſe, wherein man in his firſt and beſt days, had his abode, and are made now partakers of his preſence, from whoſe mouth the firſt Father of theſe our bodies received the ſweet influence of Cœleſtial life. This is the land of your true reſt, where *Jeſus*, the Son of Gods right hand, lately born upon your borders, will tranſplant this ſacred Vine, which *Herod* upon the fame of his Nativity, had made to bleed more plentifully in the land promiſed to your Fore-fathers, than *Pharaoh* did in *Ægypt* about the time of *Moſes* birth. And is it not time it were tranſplanted, when as the vineyard lyeth open to all the beaſts of the Foreſt?

Pſal. 126. 5.

Moſes your Lawgiver, after he had eſcaped the cruel Maſſacre generally intended againſt all the Males of *Iſrael*, brought your Fathers out of the Land of *Ægypt*, and oppreſſion: but *Joſhuah* his Succeſſor (becauſe the Law hath made nothing perfect) conducted them into a land of liberty, of eaſe, and reſt: but wherein the holieſt of your Prieſts and Prophets, the mightieſt among your Kings and Rulers, had been ſtill ſubject unto death, and taken their laſt repoſe with the Beggar in the duſt. But this *Jeſus*, to whom cruel *Ægypt* now affordeth ſafe ſhelter from *Herodian* Butchery, being your anointed *King*, *Prieſt*, and *Prophet*, is the Mediator of a better Covenant, able to redeem his followers from the vale of darkneſs and ſhadow of death; yea, to conduct them from the priſon of the grave, unto a Kingdom, [*Where the light of the Moon, ſhall be as the light of the Sun, and the light of the Sun ſevenfold* to that it is] *Iſa.* 30. 26. He hath the *Keys* of Life, of Death, and Hell in his hands, *where he openeth none may ſhut, where he ſhutteth none may open,* Iſa. 22. 22.

SECT. XIV.

If you deſire a juſt, or authentick warrant for this paraphraſe, you may take it from the ſixteenth of this Propheſie, ver. the fourteenth, *Behold the day cometh (ſaith the Lord) that it ſhall no more be ſaid [the Lord liveth] that brought up the Children of* Iſrael *out of the Land of* Ægypt. *But the Lord liveth, that brought the Children of* Iſrael *out of the North, and from all the Lands whither he had driven them: I will bring them again into their Land, that I gave unto their Fathers.*

He that denyeth this paſſage to be literally meant of *Judah* and *Benjamins* deliverance from *Babylon,* becauſe they are only fulfilled in our deliverance by Chriſt, ſhall give the *Jew* great advantage, and commit as great an over-ſight, as if an Heir poſſeſs'd of a goodly Lordſhip, ſhould burn the Terrar of it, which his Anceſtors had truly taken for their Succeſſors good (if they had wit to uſe it) when any controverſie ſhould happen concerning the bounds, or extent of their Inheritance. The *Jew,* on the contrary, in denying theſe places to be meant of Chriſt, and us, becauſe they have been literally verified in the deliverances of their Fathers by *Zorobabel,* and *Jeſuah* the Prieſt, is like a man diſtracted, which brags and boaſts he hath a goodly heritage, becauſe he can ſhew the map or ingroſſed *Terrar* of thoſe Lands, which the Law had taken from him for want of wit to uſe them aright.

If you compare theſe *Iſraelites* two deliverances from *Ægypt,* and *Babylon* upon equal terms, the former was more miraculous; how then doth God promiſe, that the glory of the later ſhould eclipſe the ſplendor of the former? The moſt commodious anſwer to this difficulty, in my opinion muſt be this: the Prophet meaſures the firſt deliverance from *Ægypt* only by its own real greatneſs, but expreſſeth this future deliverance from *Babylon,* and the *North* land, according to its repreſentative greatneſs, *id eſt,* as it is a more immediate map of a more mighty deliverance to enſue. Now we know, that a map though in it ſelf a thouſand times leſs, than the leaſt parcel of encloſed ground, may repreſent the exact form, or proportion of that Country whoſe name it bears, though that be ten thouſand times bigger, than the largeſt field that that our eyes can look upon. And thus hath the Wiſdom of God in one and the ſame original word or phraſe, included two deliverances, of which the one is a map unto the other.

The Lord liveth, ſaith the Prophet, *which brought out the Children of Iſrael,* that is, in the vulgar and typical ſenſe, from the land of the *North,* but in the full or myſtical ſenſe (which the prime or proper ſignification of the word affords) from the land of *darkneſs.* Thus may *Ramah* in the Prophet, be taken literally for the Town ſo called, and yet import as much in the Evangeliſt, as *Heavens high.* The voice of weeping might firſt reſound in *Ramah,* but at this time pierce the very *Heavens.*

Pſal. 126. 1.2.

When the Lord turned again the Captivity of Sion (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) *then was our mouth filled with laughter, and our tongue with ſinging*, or (as others read) *with joy.* The matter of this their joyful ſinging was ſo remarkable, that it did move the very Heathens to ſay [*The Lord hath done great things for them*] Now unto every degree of this their Typical joy which was exceeding great, we muſt allow a degree of Heavenly joy for our Spiritual deliverance, as far ſurpaſſing it, as the miles which we travel, do the ſcales of miles in a map, or as the degrees which we obſerve in the Heavens, do degrees in the Earth. Their deliverance from the taunts, and mocks, from all the injuries which they ſuffered by Idolaters in the North-land, was the type or map; the reality hereto anſwering, was our deliverance from the Powers of Darkneſs, and from the ſociety of Infernal Spirits. Their reſtitution to *ſing the Lords ſong in his Temple*, was as the Terrar; the inheritance it ſelf hereby ſignified, let him decipher, that hath been *wrapt up into the third Heaven, and heard voices which cannot be uttered:* Let us reſt contented with ſuch deſcriptions as he hath made unto our hands, and we may ſafely uſe; let it ſuffice us for our comfort, that we are made *partakers of the inheritance of the Saints in light*, that the Lord *hath delivered us from the powers of darkneſs, and hath tranſlated us to the Kingdom of his dear Son*, Col. 1. 13.

2 *Cor.* 12. 4.

SECT. XV.

THough *Iſrael* be mentioned in the Covenant drawn by the Prophet, yet the Apoſtle extends the meaning of it to all the faithful. It was firſt to be drawn in the *Iſraelites* names, the *Gentiles* being then in nonage, and not capable of any ſtate in it before their manumiſſion by Chriſt. Amongſt all the Sons of *Abraham* according to the fleſh, it is very probable, the Kingdom of Heaven did in the firſt place belong to theſe young Infants. The Papiſts willingly diſpence with them for want of merits, and ſo they might do with themſelves, ſo they would mend their deeds and doctrine. As for theſe Babes, though they had not done ſo much good, as St. *Francis*, or St. *Dominick:* yet I am ſure they have done leſs harm than their Angelical Doctor, or others, with whoſe treaſure they hope to purchaſe Heaven; but though *Rachels* Sons had lived much longer to do much good, and no harm, they muſt have ſought Heaven by meer favour, not by plea, or title of inheritance.

Sed quia nec fato, meritâ nec morte peribant.

Our Church in appointing the Goſpel for the Feaſt of Innocents, acknowledgeth them to have been true Martyrs. *See Rev.* 14.3.4.5.

In as much as they neither dyed by the courſe of nature, nor for any crime pretended againſt them or their Parents, (as Children oft times dye violent deaths by chance of War, intended againſt their Elders) but meerly for Chriſts ſake, as if they had been ſo many *Champions* clad in the Kings *Coat-armor* to intercept the blows that were directed againſt him; I will not queſtion by what authority the Ancients have canonized them for Saints and Martyrs. The fulfilling of this Propheſie I have in hand, doth, in my judgment, warrant no leſs. At leaſt, if there were no other way to ſalve the literal, and exact fulfilling of this laſt clauſe [*Thy Children ſhall return again unto* *their borders*] we might maintain it as more probable, than any interpretation, that they which contradict this can make of our Evangeliſt, that [*Amongſt thoſe many bodies of the Saints, which after our Saviours Reſurrection, awaked out of their ſleeps, and came out of their graves into the holy City*] *Rachel* was one, and then received theſe her Martyred Children raiſed to life again. It holds very good Analogy with the ſweet diſpoſition of Divine Providence, and therefore with the doctrine of Faith, to think, as theſe Infants were the firſt that witneſſed Chriſt's Birth by their bloody death: ſo they ſhould be the firſt partakers of his ſecond birth, and companion of his joyful Reſurrection. It is obſerved by ſome late Judicious Divines, that Pillars or Statues, were erected by Ancient Patriarchs, neither as Trophees of victories paſt, nor as meer Memorials of deceaſed Friends; but as tokens of a future victory over death, and pledges of an everlaſting life. If the obſervation (as I have no reaſon to miſtruſt it) be authentick, the remarkable erection, and long preſervation with ſome ſpecial mention of this Pillar or Statue of *Rachels* Sepulchre, portends ſome extraordinary hope, or manner of her Reſurrection. And ſeeing it ſtood in the borders of *Benjamin* and *Judah*, it might well ſerve as a body to that *Motto*, which the Prophet gave her for her comfort [*Spes erit in noviſſimo*] *There is hope in thy end.* And both put together make a compleat Emblem, or Prophetical Type of a joyful Reſurrection to betide her, and the Sons of her ſorrow [*That both ſhould return again unto their borders.*]

SECT. XVI.

However, theſe here mentioned, are the laſt guſhes of *Rachels* tears, whoſe Mourning-vail was rent with the Rocks and Monuments of our Saviours Reſurrection, and theſe bitter out-crys about *Bethlehem* and *Jeruſalem* (in teſtification that a *Benoni*, a man of ſorrows was then born) being the period of all her ominous complaints, have been drowned with the contrary cry from *Jeruſalem*, which is above: ſince the true *Benjamin*, or *Benoni*, was there inrolled under the name or title *Benjamin*, that is, of one exalted to the *right hand* of Majeſty. *And I* John *ſaw the Holy City, new* Jeruſalem, *coming down from God out of* Heaven, *prepared as a Bride adorned for her Husband.*

And I heard a great voice out of Heaven, ſaying, *Behold the Tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them, and they ſhall be his people, and God himſelf ſhall be with them, and be their God.*

And God ſhall wipe away all tears from their eyes: and there ſhall be no more death, neither ſorrow, nor crying; neither ſhall there be any more pain: for the former things are paſſed away, Apoc. 21. the 2, 3, 4. ver. If the Daughters of *Judah* and *Benjamin* henceforth weep for their dead, *Rachel* hath wiped her cheeks, and cannot wet them again; ſhe hath forgotten to take up her Mourning Song.

CHRISTS ANSWER
UNTO
Johns Queſtion;
OR, AN
INTRODUCTION
To the KNOWLEDGE of
JESUS CHRIST,
And him Crucified.

Delivered in certain Sermons, in the Famous Town
of *New-Caſtle* upon *Tine*.

JOHN 5. 39.

Search the Scriptures: for in them ye think ye have Eternal Life, and they are they which teſtifie of me.

BY

THOMAS JACKSON Doctor of Divinity, Vicar of
S^t^ *Nicholas* Church there, and Fellow of *Corpus Chriſti*
College in *Oxford*.

LONDON,
Printed by *J. Macock*, for *John Martyn*, *Richard Chiſwell*, and
Joſeph Clarke, 1672.

TO THE

Right Reverend Father in God, *RICHARD*, by Divine Providence, Lord Biſhop of *DURHAM*, my very Honourable good Lord, and *Dioceſan.*

Right Reverend and Honourable,

BEing here detained, upon occaſions made known in in part unto your Lordſhip, I thought my ſelf, bound in Duty and Conſcience, to render an account, as well of my time ſpent in this my abſence, as whilſt I was preſent at my charge. Though this I cannot for this time perform, ſave only in part. Theſe Papers which I now Conſecrate to your Honours Protection, contain only the Firſt-fruits of my Labours, in that Worthy and Famous Congregation, which it pleaſed your Lordſhip about a year ago, (for which I ever reſt yours bounden) to commit unto my truſt. Yet theſe being all that I took with me to peruſe in my abſence, which I well hoped ſhould have been much ſhorter, theſe are all that I could at this time preſent your Lordſhip withal, humbly beſeeching they may be accepted as an undoubted pledge of my Duty and Obſervance to your Lordſhip, and of my unfeigned deſire and reſolution to ſet forward that worthy and Religious Congregation (from which I have received much true comfort, and many kindneſſes) in the ways of truth, as well by my Pen in my abſence, as by my voice whilſt I am preſent. So, commending this Introduction to your Lordſhips Patronage, and your Lordſhip to the Gracious Patronage and Protection of the Lord Jeſus, I humbly take my leave.

From my Study in *Corpus Chriſti* College in *Oxford*
Decemb. 20. 1624.

Your Lordſhips

In all duty and ſervice,

THOMAS JACKSON.

A brief view of the Principal Parts of the Diſcourſe following.

I. *The meaning or purport of* John's *Queſtion*, [Art thou he that ſhould come, or do we look for another?] *Matth.* 11. *ver.* 3.] Page 466.

II. *What did move* John *to make this Queſtion*, Page 467, and 468.

- III. What ſatisfaction the anſwer here made by our Saviour, might give
  - 1. To ordinary or indifferent Auditors: wherein are diſcuſſed, *Page* 470. to 474.
    - 1. Wherein true Bleſſedneſs (which our Saviour here promiſeth to all) doth conſiſt. *Page* 475. *Parag.* 14. to *Page* 480. *Parag.* 19.
    - 2. How the miracles heard and ſeen by *Johns* Diſciples, do prove that *Jeſus*, who wrought them, was the Author and Donor of all theſe good things or degrees of goodneſs, wherein true bleſſedneſs, in the opinion and judgment aſwel of Heathen Philoſophers, as of Chriſtians, doth conſiſt, *Page* 479. *parag.* 19. to *Page* 484. *parag.* 22.
  - 2. Unto *John*: Wherein are diſcuſſed
    - 1. The manner how the Faith of the Patriarchs, and of the Prophets themſelves, was grounded upon Divine Predictions, and ratified by the events anſwering unto them: That even the Patriarchs and Prophets themſelves, might err in their apprehenſions, or applications of Gods Word revealed unto them, until their apprehenſions were rectified by new Revelations, or their applications corrected by the exhibition of the event, or effect foretold, *Page* 486. *parag.* 24. to *Page* 496. *Parag.* 34.
    - 2. The particular places of Scriptures, from whence the Phariſees had their prenotions concerning Baptiſm; and on which *Johns* Faith or Belief concerning our Sa-

viours Perſon or Office, or his own Miniſtery was grounded: with the Signs of the Time that did expound them, *Page* 501. *parag.* 37. to *Page* 533. *parag.* 66.

3. What correſpondency the two places of Scripture, to which our Saviour in this anſwer referreth *John*, have with the former places wherein *John's* Faith was grounded, and with the Signs of the Time, or miraculous events here related, *Page* 533. *parag.* 66. to *Page* 549. *parag.* 81.

III. *How the general Concluſion, Bleſſed is he whoſoever ſhall not be offended in me, is inferred from the Premiſes. What it is to be offended in Chriſt? Which be the ſpecial roots of this offence; and how they may be avoided.* Page 549. parag. 81. *to the end.*

CHRIST'S

CHRISTS ANSWER
UNTO
Johns Queſtion;
OR,
An Introduction to the Knowledge of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and him Crucified.

Matthew 11. Ver. 4, 5, 6.

Go, and ſhew John *again thoſe things, which ye do hear and ſee. The Blind receive their ſight, and the Lame walk, the Lepers are cleanſed, and the Deaf hear, the Dead are raiſed up, and the Poor have the Goſpel Preached unto them. And Bleſſed is he, whoſoever ſhall not be offended in me.*

T*HIS is life Eternal* (ſaith our Saviour, *John* 17. *ver.* 3.) *that they may know thee the only true God, and Jeſus Chriſt whom thou haſt ſent.* The knowledge of the only true *God*, and of Jeſus Chriſt whom he hath ſent, are ſo inwrapt and linked together, that he which hath the later hath the former, according to the ſaying of our Saviour; *He that hath ſeen me, hath ſeen my Father*, *Joh.* 14. 9. This knowledge of Chriſt, and of him Crucified, was all that our Bleſſed Apoſtle Saint *Paul* eſteemed or determined to know amongſt the *Corinthians*, and all that I ſhall deſire to know amongſt you, and is, as I hope, if not the only, yet the ſpecial point which any of you deſire to be made known unto you by my Miniſtry, whether publick or private. What it is to know Chriſt, and the vertue of his Croſs, which be the ſpecial or moſt uſeful branches of this knowledge, and in what rank or order the ſeveral branches grow, ſhall by Gods aſſiſtance, and your deſired patience, be diſcuſſed at large hereafter, in unfolding of that fore-cited ſaying of our Apoſtle to the *Corinthians* in his firſt Epiſtle, *Chap.* 2. *ver.* 2. Which if God permit, ſhall be the main ſubject or theam of my meditations in this place.

You will give me leave to make my entry, or paſſage into a ſubject ſo large, ſo ample, and ſo uſeful, by degrees and leiſure. Now, ere we can attain unto the true knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt, whom God hath *ſent*, and of him Crucified, we are to enquire upon what grounds we believe or know, that the man Jeſus, whom the Jews did Crucifie, whom we Preach, and on whom we believe, was he, whom

God hath *ſent*, or he, whom God before all Worlds had ordained to *ſend* into the world. For albeit God in ſundry ages ſent many meſſengers unto his Church, though ſuch as he ſent, did come in perſon, and diſcharge their function: yet when we read of him that was to be *ſent*, or of *him that was to come*, * without further addition, circumlocution, or paraphraſe; we muſt take theſe as titles, which may not be communicated unto many, as being truly meant but of one, which is Chriſt the Lord. And under theſe general or royal Titles, the promiſed Seed, or Meſſias, was apprehended, and known by the beſt of Gods Servants, as well before the Law was given, as whilſt the Law was ready to expire and determine.

[He which was to be Sent] or [He which was to come] were from the beginning known and proper Attributes of the Meſſias.*

2. Thus we read, *Exod.* 4. ver. 13. that *Moſes*, after many pretences and excuſes to avoid the Embaſſage unto *Pharaoh* for the deliverance of Gods People, laſtly concludes with this requeſt, "*O my Lord, ſend I pray thee, by the hand of him whom thou wilt ſend*; which is ſo much in the interpretation of the Ancients, as if he had ſaid; Lord, I know, thou haſt ordained from the beginning, to ſend an Authentick Meſſenger unto the world, for the deliverance of thy people; one that ſhould ſpeak as never man ſpake, and do thoſe works which no man beſides can do. And I beſeech thee to *ſend him* at this time unto *Pharaoh*, to let thy people go, for this is a work worth his pains. I know, ſome latter Writers reject this interpretation, but their exceptions againſt the Ancient Interpreters are not concludent, and therefore not to be admitted, eſpecially when the better ſort of latter Writers, with whom I accord, do imbrace the interpretation of the Ancients. Again, although God had ſent *John Baptiſt* on as great Embaſſage as this of *Moſes*, He was *ſent as a Meſſenger to prepare the ways of the Lord*; yet he doth not affect, but doth utterly diſclaim this title of being *him, whom God hath ſent*, as knowing it to be peculiar unto the Saviour of the world: for ſo he ſpeaks of him, in oppoſition unto himſelf, *John* 3. ver. 34. *For he whom God hath ſent, ſpeaketh the words of God: for God giveth the Spirit not by meaſure unto him.* For this reaſon *John* was ſent from God as a meſſenger to prepare his ways, who never doubted of his miraculous birth and conception, *John*, who had heard and ſeen him declared by voice and viſion from Heaven unto *Iſrael*, even after he himſelf had proclaimed him to be the Lamb of God, which was to take away the ſins of the World; yet for a period or up-ſhot of all that he deſired to know concerning Jeſus his perſon, his office, his actions in this life, compriſeth all in this ſhort Interrogative; *Art thou he that ſhould come, or do we look for another?*

3. Unto this queſtion or demand, being the entire tenor of *John's* ſolemn Embaſſage, and the ſum of all which he deſires to know concerning Chriſt, our Saviour vouchſafes no other anſwer than what hath been read unto you, *Jeſus anſwered*, &c.

Now if we conſider that ample teſtimony which our Saviour in the words following my Text, did give of *John* in Audience of the multitude, *to wit*, that he was a *Prophet*, *yea, and more than a Prophet*, that of all that *were born of women, there was none greater than John:* Charity and Chriſtian modeſty will conſtrain us to preſume, that this queſtion, *Art thou he that ſhould come, or do we look for another?* being thus ſolemnly by *John* propoſed, was no idle, but a ſerious and uſeful queſtion; fit not only for him, but for Poſterity to be reſolved in. Again, if we conſider that this anſwer which I have read unto you, was made by our Bleſſed Saviour, we ſtand bound upon our allegiance to believe, that as the queſtion was ſerious and uſeful, ſo the anſwer was pertinent, full, and ſatisfactory. All this is moſt plain in the general, but if we deſcend unto particulars, the difficulties are two.

[1.] Firſt, From what affection or diſpoſition of mind this Queſtion ſhould proceed, or what it was that ſhould occaſion *John* to make it.

[2.] Secondly, In what manner and how far our Saviours Anſwer, or the words which I have read unto you, do fit the occaſions which moved *John* to make the Queſtion, or fully ſatisfie the Queſtion it ſelf.

Two general Queries, the one concerning *Johns* Queſtion, and the other concerning Chriſts Anſwer. Which may be taken for the two general parts of this enſuing Diſcourſe.

4. Concerning the firſt point, to wit, *From what affection or diſpoſition of mind this queſtion ſhould proceed, or what ſhould move* John *to make it,* there is greater variety or diverſity than oppoſition or contrariety of opinions amongſt the Learned. [a] *Juſtin Martyr* and *Tertullian* were not afraid to ſay and deliver in writing to poſterity, that *John* himſelf did at this time truly doubt and diſtruſt, whether he, that wrought theſe miracles here mentioned in my Text, were the promiſed Seed or no; and that out of this doubt or diſtruſt in himſelf, he ſent this meſſage unto our Saviour, *Art thou he that ſhould come, or do we look for another?* *Tertullian* in his fourth Book againſt *Marcion*, goeth further, and ſaith, That after our Saviour did enter upon his Prophetical function, and took upon him to inſtruct the people publickly by word and miracle, the Spirit of God which was given to him not by meaſure, beginning now to dilate and ſhew it ſelf unto the world, did withdraw or call in that portion of the Spirit of Prophecy, wherewith *John Baptiſt* had formerly been endued (*to prepare the ways of this his Lord*) as great flames draw flying ſparkles to them, or ſuck out the leſſer lights or Candles that are near them. As if *John Baptiſt* himſelf, when he ſaid, *Oportet illum creſcere, me autem decreſcere,* had unwittingly or otherwiſe prophecied, that the Spirit of Propheſie ſhould decreaſe in him, as it did increaſe or more amply manifeſt it ſelf in our Saviour. Yet this interpretation, I muſt tell you, though avouched by two of the moſt ancient Fathers, whoſe writings are now extant, is ſlenderly ſeconded by later Writers, whether of Romiſh, or reformed Religion. *Maldonat*, a Learned Jeſuit, doth thus cenſure them, or rather the times wherein they lived; *In illâ nimirum ætate, nondum ſatis culta theologia hujuſmodi ſpinas aliquando proferebat:* that is, that goodly Garden of God, which we call *Divinity*, *was not in that age ſo well dreſſed, but that it did ſometimes bring forth ſuch thorns and brambles as theſe were.* Should the beſt of our Writers or Preachers ſpeak on this faſhion of the Ancient Fathers, the Romiſh Church would take it as a ſufficient teſtimony to condemn us for Hereticks. Howbeit we will not condemn it, as an Hereſie in her Children for ſpeaking or writing thus; but rather wiſh they would be conſtant to themſelves, and unpartial toward us; to permit us that liberty, which they take in refuſing the Authority of the moſt Ancient Fathers, eſpecially in the interpretation of Scriptures. Others there were, and theſe very ancient too, which diſliking *Juſtin Martyrs* and *Tertullians* interpretation of this place, would qualifie it thus; *John* the Baptiſt did not queſtion nor doubt, whether *Jeſus* whom he had baptized, were the Son of God, the promiſed and long expected *Meſſias* or no, but *utrum eſſet ad inferos*

(a) *Vid. Maldonat in hunc locum.*

feros deſcenſurus, whether he were to taſt of death himſelf, or whether he would come to reſcue the dead from the power of Hell and the Grave. Et in hanc ſententiam (ſaith the ſame *Maldonat*) *maxima pars veterum conceſſerunt: the greateſt part of the Ancient Fathers were* (by his confeſſion) *of this opinion, concerning the interpretation of this place.* But will he therefore ſubſcribe unto them, or reſt upon their interpretation? No; he hath no reaſon ſo to do, ſeeing the Fathers themſelves did follow this interpretation, becauſe as then, no better was found out. We have gained thus much from this Learned Jeſuit for ſome after diſputes, that latter ages may find out ſome better expoſition of principal paſſages of Scripture, than moſt of the beſt and ancienteſt Fathers knew.

5. What then is that better expoſition of this place, whereunto he and moſt of his fellows ſubſcribe? It is this: *John* did not move this queſtion out of any doubt or diſtruſt of his own, but only for the better inſtruction of his Diſciples, in whom he could hardly beget any true conceit or eſtimate of our Saviours worth. So factious they were for their Maſter, that they diſdained or envyed, that our Saviour ſhould have more followers than he had. So it is ſtoried, *John* 3. *verſ.* 25, 26. *There aroſe a queſtion between ſome of* Johns *Diſciples and the* Jews *about purifying: and they came unto* John *and ſaid unto him,* Rabbi, *He that was with thee beyond* Jordan, *to whom thou bareſt witneſs, behold, the ſame baptizeth, and all men come unto him.* Now ſeeing *John*, as the Authors of this interpretation think, could not aſſwage this humour in his Diſciples, (which he earneſtly labours in the forecited place) but the more he debaſed himſelf in compariſon of Chriſt, the more worthy they thought him of greater honour: he therefore now ſends them unto Chriſt himſelf, whoſe inſtructions being graced with miracles, he preſumed would be more effectual in them, than all the exhortations he could beſtow upon them. The main ſtream of later Interpreters, as well Proteſtants as Papiſts, run this way. And if the queſtion did ariſe from diſtruſt or diffidence, theſe imperfections were in all likelihood more incident to the affectionate Scholars, than to the ſanctified and prudent Maſter.

6. Others there be, but not ſo many to my remembrance, as to make a few, which would derive the former queſtion, *Art thou he that ſhould come, &c?* not from any doubt, much leſs from any diffidence or diſtruſt, either in *John*, or in his Diſciples; but rather from joy of heart in *John*, as if it were rather, *vox exultantis vel jubilantis, quàm dubitantis.* And it cannot be denyed, but that men ofttimes make pathetical expreſſions as well of preſent joy as of diſlike or diſcontent by way of Interrogation. Thus honeſt Houſe-keepers or hearty Hoaſts will ſometimes welcome their grateful and long expected gueſts with this or the like ſalutation, *Are you come?* when they cannot truly doubt whether they are come or no, if they will believe their own ſenſes. We ſee the wiſeſt men not apt to give ſwiſt credence unto extraordinary good news, leſt their ſorrow ſhould prove greater, if the report ſhould prove falſe. And naturally, when exceſſive joy either ſpringeth too faſt, or groweth too rank, we ſeek to allay or ſnip it by a fictitious or imaginary diſtruſt of thoſe truths whence it groweth, of which we cannot make any real or conſtant doubt. So he ſaith in the Poet,

Horret adhuc animus, manifeſtaq; gaudia differt,
Mens ſtupet & tanto cunctatur credere voto.

7. I dare not take upon me to determine which of theſe four ſeveral Interpretations is the beſt, but ſurely the ſecond, though moſt followed by the Ancients, is fartheſt wide from the Evangeliſts meaning. And methinks it were eaſie to find out a fifth, which might challenge as great a ſhare or portion of probability as any of the former can do. For my own part, as I dare not impeach *John* himſelf of any doubt or diſtruſt, as *Juſtin Martyr* and *Tertullian* do; ſo I cannot account it any ſin in *John*, or any impeachment to his dignity, if at this time he ſought the confirmation of his former belief in Chriſt by new documents, or ſome freſh ſupplies of inward comfort to allay the tediousneſs of a hard lingring durance, from his mouth, that was the Fountain of Comfort, and had the words of Eternal Life.

PART II.

CHRISTS ANSWER.

How it is ſatisfactory to the Queſtion.

8. BUT from what diſpoſition ſoever the former queſtion, *Art thou he that ſhould come, &c?* did ariſe, whether from joy or exultation in *John*, or from diſtruſt or diffidence in his Diſciples; or partly from the one, and partly from the other; (nor are the divers opinions concerning this point, incompatibly oppoſite:) there yet remaineth a queſtion of greater difficulty, and of far more uſeful enquiry, for right unfolding the Contents and pith of my Text. The queſtion is this, *How this anſwer of our Saviour could poſſibly either confirm or ratifie* Johns *former belief of Chriſts perſon, office, or actions, or add any increaſe to his knowledge or comfort; or laſtly give any part of ſatisfaction to the diſtruſt or diffidence of his Diſciples*; ſeeing there is nothing more contained in this anſwer, than *John* and his Diſciples undoubtedly knew before. For ſo it is ſaid in the ſecond verſe of this Chapter; When *John* being in Priſon had heard the works of Chriſt, he ſent two of his Diſciples, and ſaid unto him; *Art thou he that ſhould come, or do we look for another?* Now what works done by Chriſt could *John* hear of in Priſon, which were not truly miraculous, which were not the very ſame with thoſe, which our Saviour in my Text informeth *John* to have been wrought by him, as *reſtoring of the blind to their ſight, the lame to their limbs, the ſick to health, the dumb to ſpeech, the dead to life, &c?* And that which moſt increaſeth the difficulty, amongſt other works of Chriſt, which, *Johns* Diſciples being preſent (as it ſeems by Saint *Luke, Chap.* 7. *verſe* 27.) relate unto him, his raiſing up of the Widows Son of *Naim* from death to life to the great aſtoniſhment of the Spectators, was one. Now who did ever know a man truly dead, as this Widows Son was, who was not withal more than deaf, more than dumb, more than blind of both his eyes, more than lame of arms and legs, of feet and hands? Wherefore, in as much as *John* knew before, that Chriſt had *raiſed him up that was dead, and made him ſit up, and ſpeak, and delivered him to his Mother*; he could not be ignorant, that he had made one that was more than dumb to ſpeak; one that was more than halt to go, one that was more than blind to ſee. What ſatisfaction then could this anſwer give, either to *John* or to his Diſciples, both of whom knowing thus much before; eſpecially ſeeing the one of them at leaſt, as moſt Interpreters think did diſtruſt or doubt, whether Chriſt (notwithſtanding all this) were *He that ſhould come*;

come; and both of them could not but expect ſome ratification or confirmation of their former belief from his anſwer?

For clearing this difficulty or exception, we are to examine theſe two points.

The general diviſion of the ſecond Quere, propoſed Parag. 3.

[1.] Firſt, what the particulars here avouched by Chriſt, and ſolemnly teſtified by *Johns* Diſciples, might naturally and literally import to any indifferent underſtanding Auditor.

[2.] Secondly, What they might intimate or ſuggeſt unto *John*, as no queſtion but this anſwer did give more full ſatisfaction unto *John*, than it could do to any other for that time, without his Paraphraſe or Comment upon it.

The firſt member of the general diviſion, what ſatisfaction our Saviours anſwer might give to any indifferent Auditor.

9. Touching the former point, we ſay, The very particulars thus ſolemnly avouched and authentically teſtified, include in them even unto ordinary ſence and reaſon, as much as could be expected in the promiſed *Meſſias*, or long-expected Redeemer of *Iſrael*. Thus much they manifeſtly include, if we rightly make the deductions, according to the true Logical extent of their natural ſence. For although it be a rule moſt infallible, that the truth of an indefinite propoſition may be ſalved or ſupported by the truth of one particular; as if a man ſhould bargain with a day-laborer, promiſing him in theſe indefinite terms, *to give him ſo much for his work, as other neighbours did*, though ſome of them gave twelve pence, ſome ten pence, and others but eight pence: the Law would upon theſe terms or agreements award him no more than eight pence, becauſe it can conſtrain the hirer only to make good his Covenant to the hired, and his Covenant is performed, if he make his promiſe true. Now, if but one or two Neighbours give but eight pence, and he giveth as much, it is evident he giveth as much as his Neighbours do, and this is enough to ſalve the truth of his promiſe, according to Law and Logick: although to uſe the benefit of either to a poor mans prejudice, would ill beſeem a man of better note and faſhion. In like manner, although our Saviour had only raiſed the Widows Son of *Naim* from Death, or at leaſt, if he had given ſight to one or two blind men only, or if he had cleanſed but one or two Lepers, and made only one or two lame men to go, this indefinite anſwer to *Johns* Queſtion, *The blind receive their ſight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleanſed, the deaf hear, and the dead are raiſed up*, *Mat.* 11. *v.* 5. had been ſo true, as no Grammarian or Logician had been able to impeach it of falſhood. But though it be certain that an indefinite propoſition is oft-times true, if one or two particulars be true, yet oft-times ſuch indefinite ſpeeches include a multitude of particulars, and ſometimes an univerſality, or the whole number of all the particulars, which the words can literally comprehend or ſignifie. As for example, if a man ſhould bid his friend take heed how he deals; for the World is naught, and men are cunning: no man would conceive his meaning to be, that there were but one or two naughty or cunning men in the World: but rather that the World were in a manner full of them; and that no Society or Corporation were free from ſuch men. Again, if a man ſhould adviſe his friend not to rely upon mens words in matters of great conſequences, without ſome real aſſurance, becauſe men are mortal; no man would conceive his meaning to be, that this or that man were mortal, but that all were mortal.

10. That this indefinite ſpeech of our Saviour, *The blind receive their ſight, and the lame walk, &c.* did (as we ſay) *de facto*, include

not only ſome few, but a multitude of all or moſt particulars ſpecified, is apparent from the 7. of *Luke*, *verſe* 21. *At the ſame hour* (when *Johns* Diſciples came unto him) *he cured many of their infirmities and plagues, and of evil ſpirits, and unto many men that were blind, he gave ſight.* As this indefinite ſpeech did *de facto* include a multitude, ſo it did *de potentiâ* include an univerſality; that is, as there were many blind men received their ſight, many ſick that were cured, ſo all of every ſort here ſpecified, might have been partakers of the like benefit, if the default had not been in themſelves or in their friends. There was not a man throughout all the Tribes of *Iſrael* ſo blind, but might have had his perfect ſight reſtored unto him, ſo he had demeaned himſelf towards Chriſt, as theſe other blind men did. Not one man throughout all the Land ſo deaf, ſo dumb, or lame, but that if their friends would have brought them unto him, and have ſupplicated for them, being not able to ſupplicate for themſelves, they might have had their perfect hearing, their ſpeech or limbs reſtored unto them. All the Lepers might have been cleanſed; all poſſeſſed with Devils, might have been diſpoſſeſſed, and freed from their Tyranny, ſo they would have but humbled themſelves under Gods hands, and ſincerely acknowledged their imperfections and infirmities to have been the fruits of their ſin or offences againſt God their Creator and Redeemer: for thus to be humbled, was to become poor in ſpirit.

11. What is it then which *John*, or his Diſciples, or the whole Nation of the *Jews* could expect of Him that was to come, their promiſed and long-wiſhed-for *Meſſias*, whereof theſe good beginnings related, were not ſure pledges and full aſſurances? Moſt of this people, and with them *Johns* Diſciples, were ſick of their fore-fathers diſeaſe: they deſired in their hearts a King to fight their Battels, a man of as goodly preſence as *Saul* was, for perſonage as lovely as *Jonathan*, a man as valiant in Battel as *Judas Maccabæus*, as Victorious as *David*, as *Samſon*, or *Gideon*. But what King of *Judah* or *Iſrael* did ever levy an Army, without ingrateful exactions from his people? Which of them did ever inrich himſelf or the State by foreign ſpoils, without impoveriſhing many of his native ſubjects? Whilſt ſome of them might ſing theſe or like publick Songs, *Saul hath ſlain his* 1000. *and* David *his* 10000. many a poor Widow in private laments the loſs of her deareſt Huſband with ſighs and tears; *many* Rachels *mourn for their Children*, and cannot be comforted, becauſe the Conquerour cannot reſtore them to life again. Finally, the whole glory and pomp of War, when they are at the height, and at the beſt, are but like a bright and furious flame, which muſt be continually nouriſhed with mans bloud, as a Lamp is with Oyl, or the Fire with Wood. The beſt War that ever was undertaken, was but *malum neceſſarium.* It was well obſerved by the wiſer ſort of Heathen, that no War was ever juſt, but when it was neceſſary. And, as another ſaith, *Bellum gerimus ut pace fruamur*, The only right uſe and end of War is to procure an honourable and ſecure Peace. If ſuch Peace may be had without War, they are but fools and unhappy men, unfit Members of the World, that will undertake War and kindle diſſentions betwixt Nation and Nation. Ye have heard perhaps of the Philoſophers Dialogue with *Pirrhus* that great Warrier, to this purpoſe: When this great *Nimrod* had ſwallowed as many ſeveral Kingdoms or Nations in hope, as the *Jews* could expect their *Meſſias* ſhould in one

age conquer; the Philoſopher asked him, What he meant to do after he had conquered the *Romans*? Then, ſaid he, I will conquer the *Gauls* and *Spaniards*; and when he had done with them, he would bend his Forces againſt *Africa*. But when you have conquered them, and as many more as you intend to conquer, what do you laſt reſolve upon? His anſwer was, to live merrily and at eaſe, in plenty and pleaſure. Why, quoth the Philoſopher, this you may do already, without either hazard of your own, or your Followers lives: for none of theſe Nations which you intend to vanquiſh, are likely to indanger you, ſo you will not begin with them. The preſent Nation of the *Jews* were of *Pyrrhus* his temper, and ſought after that, as it were by a *round* or *circle*, which was in a manner put into their hands, ſo they would but have looked near about them, and not have ſet their proud imaginations upon ſuch roving projects as *Pyrrhus* did. Such amongſt them as were thus affected, would not acknowledge our Saviour to be the *Meſſias* or *him that was to come*, becauſe he was a man of peace, a man of a meek and humble ſpirit. If another ſhould have come (as ſhortly after many falſe Chriſts did ariſe) which would have animated them unto War againſt the *Romans*, the moſt of them ſuch as loved peace eſpecially, would quickly have been weary of him. What then? was there nothing, which both ſorts, the proudeſt and humbleſt, the peaceable and contentious did alike affect, and hope to ſee accompliſhed by their promiſed and long expected *Meſſias*? Saint *Auguſtine* tells us of a Mimick or Jeſter (a kind of Artificial Fool) which undertook to tell every man in the Town or City where he dwelt, what he thought or deſired, when they were aſſembled to try his skill in the publick Markets: all he had to ſay was this, [*Vultis vos omnes vili emere, & caro vendere*] *All of you deſire to ſell dear, and buy good cheap.* But as this Reverend Father obſerveth, there was more Mimick wit, than ſolid truth in this conceit. For many come to Markets, which neither have mind to buy, nor to ſell, but to look on. Amongſt ſuch multitudes as mind buying and ſelling, ſome good men there be, which would deſire to uſe a conſcience in both: but, ſaith the ſame Father, if he had ſaid, *All of you, as well the buyer as the ſeller, as they that come only to hear or ſee, deſire to be happy*; his ſpeech had been uncontrollably true. For Happineſs only is that which all men naturally deſire.

12. There is no petty *good*, but is deſired by ſome or other; That is the chief or prime *good* (as the Ancient Philoſophers have defined it) which is deſired by all. Did they collect this only as men, or doth not the Scripture either ſay, or ſuppoſe the ſame as a ground of truth? *Yet once, it is a little while, and I will ſhake the Heavens and the Earth, and the Sea, and the dry Land. And I will ſhake all Nations, and the deſire of all Nations ſhall come, and I will fill this Houſe with Glory, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts,* Haggai 2. 2, 7. In what ſence our Saviour Chriſt (for of our Saviour Chriſt this place is undoubtedly meant) ſhould be inſtiled the *deſire of all Nations*, is a queſtion which hath perplexed ſome good Preachers, and may exerciſe the wit of a good Interpreter. Firſt, How could the Gentiles which were far more than a major part of all Nations (here intimated) be ſaid at that time to deſire him, in whom they did not in any ſort believe, whom they did not at all expect? For how ſhould they expect him, how ſhould they believe in him, of whom they had not heard? The *Jewiſh* Nation indeed, or ſeed of *Abraham* had heard of him, and

did expect him, and yet as the Prophet had foretold, ſo it came to paſs, *That when they ſaw him, they ſaw no beauty in him, that they ſhould deſire him*, *Eſay* 53. *ver.* 2. And was it poſſible, that he ſhould be the *deſire of all Nations*, whom no Nation did deſire? Yes. In as much as God had Conſecrated *him* to be the only fountain of that *Happineſs*, which all men, which all Nations naturally do deſire, and which is all, that any man of what Nation ſoever, *Jew*, *Gentile*, *Greek*, or *Barbarian* can deſire; he is truly inſtiled by the Prophet, *The deſire of all Nations*. To ſay, that as many as deſired Happineſs, did deſire our Saviour Chriſt, can ſeem no Paradox, if we conſider (what no Philoſopher will deny) that even ſuch as follow poyſoned pleaſures, ſeek after happineſs and life in theſe by-paths, which lead to death and miſery. Though moſt men take the high-way to death and miſery: yet no man deſires to dye or to be miſerable, but their contraries.

13. So that our Saviours anſwer, though it ſeemed doubtful in the premiſes, is in concluſion as perfect, as if he had directly and expreſly ſaid: Go, tell *John* that I am he that was to come, and that you are not to expect another, ſeeing whatſoever you can expect or deſire in any one or more, whom you may imagine yet to come, *That* you may have in me alone: for true bleſſedneſs is all that you or any man can deſire, *and bleſſed is he whoſoever ſhall not be offended in me*, *Matth.* 11. 6. *Eſay* 53. 2. But though *John* and his Diſciples could deſire no more of him that was to come, than to be truly bleſſed in him: yet might they deſire ſome further proof than his bare aſſertion or authority, that they might be truly bleſſed in him. For this bleſſedneſs whereof he ſpeaketh, was none of thoſe things which they did hear or ſee, ſeeing it cannot be known by corporal ſight or hearing. It is like that new name ſpoken of in the *Revelation*, *which no man can read, but he which hath it*. All this is true, yet notwithſtanding all this, the things which they did hear and ſee, were undoubted pledges and viſible aſſurances of this inviſible bleſſedneſs, which here he promiſeth, and of which every man might have undoubted experience in himſelf, ſo he would not be offended in him. For though our Saviour with far better reaſon might, yet did he never exact ſuch abſolute belief unto his words, as the Pope or viſible Church of *Rome* do to theirs, to whatſoever they ſhall decree, without either expreſs warrant or teſtimony of Gods Word written before, or experimental knowledge in themſelves. This will better appear in the ſecond Point propoſed, which was, *what theſe words did intimate or ſuggeſt to* John.

The points now to be enquired after are two:

[1.] *Firſt*, What is it to be bleſſed and happy in Chriſt, or wherein this happineſs or bleſſedneſs which here he promiſeth, doth conſiſt?

[2.] *Secondly*, How theſe particulars here mentioned, *The blind ſhall receive their ſight, the lame walk*, &c. do induce or infer this univerſal concluſion, *Bleſſed is he whoſoever is not offended in me*?

Wherein the bleſſedneſs here promiſed doth conſiſt.

14. The former will draw the latter after it: and in diſcuſſion of the former, I muſt crave pardon to acquaint you with the opinions of ſuch of the Heathen as ſought, to be wiſer than the reſt (that is, of their Philoſophers) concerning Happineſs or Felicity. Not that I relye upon their ſaying or authorities; but ſeeing the problem propoſed is general, *to wit*, [what ſatisfaction this anſwer could give to any unpartial Auditor, whether *Jew* or *Gentile*:] I muſt give ſuch ſa-

tisfaction as is fitteſt to ſuch, perhaps, as are too much addicted unto the Philoſophy of the Heathen. Beſides, it will be a good means for us to find out the right and ſafe way, if we ſhall obſerve where others have gone wrong, or plunged themſelves.

To the former. The very name or common notion of Bleſſedneſs, Happineſs, or Felicity, doth import as much as [*Summum bonum*] *The chief or ſupreme good*, or crown of goodneſs; That (as we ſaid before) which all men naturally do deſire, and which is all, that any man can deſire; That which is only able to ſatiate all the deſires or appetites of the Humane Soul. It is agreed upon, as well by the wiſeſt of the Heathens, as of Chriſtians, that [*bonum*] and [*appetibile*] are terms convertible; *that is*; They mutually fit the one the other, as the meaſure and the thing meaſured; whatſoever is good, is deſirable; and whatſoever is deſirable, is good to the party which deſires it; at leaſt as for the preſent he ſtands affected: and that only is truly good which ought to be deſired. For the rectifying of our deſires, the Heathens went thus far aright, [That the deſires of ſenſe, or the inferiour part of the Soul, were to be guided and directed by reaſon:] We Chriſtians know, that even reaſon it ſelf muſt be regulated by the Word of God, or Rule of Faith; otherwiſe it will outray farther in its deſires, than ſenſe, without the check or controul of reaſon, could do. The things which we may deſire, are of three ſorts:

1. *Profitable*,
2. *Pleaſant*, or
3. *Honeſt*.

All theſe three branches of goodneſs, or rather theſe ſeveral ſorts of good things are required unto true happineſs: yet ſo, as true happineſs or the chief good conſiſts properly in the fruit of the third branch or ſtem, to wit of *Bonum Honeſtum*, in its full growth or maturity. This chief or prime good is not only deſired for it ſelf, and for no other end, but it is the end for which all things elſe, whether they be inferiour branches of *Bonum Honeſtum*, *Vertue* or *Honeſty*, or whether they are pleaſant or profitable, are deſired. Every branch of *Bonum Honeſtum*, of *Vertue* or *Honeſty*, though it be to be deſired for the chief and prime good, yet is it to be deſired in it ſelf, and for it ſelf; ſo to be deſired for it ſelf, that we muſt be content to lop off all the other branches of pleaſure and profit, rather than hinder the growth of this. *Godlineſs*, ſaith the Apoſtle, *is great gain*, and it hath been an old Proverb among you, *It is a good ſport to be honeſt.* The iſſue of that ſport, delight, or gain, whereby our growth in godlineſs or honeſty may be prejudiced, is loſs and grief. Things pleaſant are to be deſired in themſelves, and for themſelves; yet ſo far only, and at ſuch ſeaſons, as their deſire may not hinder the purſuit of things good and honeſt. Our deſire of theſe latter, muſt give bounds or limits to the deſire of the former. Things pleaſant may be deſired in greater meaſure, than for themſelves they can be deſired, in caſe they bring advantage to the courſe of *Honeſty*, of *Piety*, or *Vertue*. Things meerly profitable, are not deſirable at all for themſelves, or in themſelves, but only ſo far as they are conducent to the purchaſe of delights lawful and honeſt, or of honeſty it ſelf. For which reaſon, *profit*, as the more judicious Schoolmen determine, is no true and proper branch of goodneſs, nor are things meerly profitable, truly and inherently good, but good only by extrinſical denomination or by accident. Of this rank is Phyſick, which no man deſires for it ſelf, or in ſuch manner or meaſure as he deſires wholſom food; it is in its nature diſtaſtful to ſenſe, yet to be deſired as a means for procuring health, which all men deſire for it ſelf: becauſe it is truly good and pleaſant, and yet withal to be deſired, as a means profitable for the exerciſe of Piety, and performance of Vertuous Actions: of this rank likewiſe is that which moſt men, upon a common error, moſt of all deſire, to wit, ***Gold*** or ***Coyn***, or other Externals, before we have occaſion to uſe them. Theſe are not good in themſelves, ſave only with reference to the procuring of things pleaſant or honeſt. In Countries wherein Gold is not by cuſtom referred to this uſe, men eſteem it no more than *Æſops* Cock did the Pearl. Thus we have read of a dumb Dialogue, between a poor ***Indian*** and a wandring *Spaniard*, that in his hunger offered Gold for a Pullet, which the *Indian* attempting to chaw with his teeth, reſtored it again, with this intimation; That he could eat the Pullet, but he could not eat the Gold: Other uſe of this metal he knew none, and being not uſeful, it was not good to him, though of more worth to one of us, than all the quick goods which the poor ***Indian*** had.

15. But more pertinent to our preſent purpoſe is that diviſion of goodneſs, or good things which the Philoſophers have made unto our hands in this very Argument whereof we treat. For unto *Felicity*, or true *Happineſs*, they require a threefold rank or order of good things. The firſt was (as they call them) [*Bona fortunæ*] *The goods of Fortune*, which we call means and maintenance, as *Monies*, *Lands*, *Goods*, *Poſſeſſions*, *Revenews*, or whatſoever other externals. The ſecond, [*bona corporis*] as *health*, *ſtrength*, *agility*, *beauty or comlineſs of body*. The third was [*bona animi*] the *endowments of the Soul or Mind*, which they comprehended under the names of *Vertue*, Moral and Intellectual: of whoſe ſeveral parts ſome did anſwer in proportion unto health, or welfare of the body, as Juſtice, Sobriety, Temperance, in which the health of the Soul did even in their judgment more ſpecially conſiſt, as the ſtrength or agility of the Soul did conſiſt in valour, wit, or reſolution. As for *Arts* and *Sciences*, theſe they accounted as the attire, or external comelineſs of the Soul. Their chiefeſt errors in theſe diſquiſitions were, that they thought (at leaſt ſome of the wiſeſt of them) that this Felicity or Happineſs might be compleat in this life. Howbeit ſome of them did think, that no man was to be accounted or adjudged happy before his death. Not that theſe men, for ought we can gather, did hope for any extraordinary Happineſs after death; but that ſuch happineſs or proſperity as man is capable of in this life, and ſuch as they obſerved ſome men to enjoy, was ſo brickle and uncertain, as no man could ſafely paſs his ſentence of them whether they were happy or no, until they had finiſhed their courſe of life. But the greateſt error in this Argument (wherewith the greateſt Philoſopher himſelf was overtaken) was, that this Happineſs might be attained unto by good education, or by the wit and induſtry of man: for he denyeth it to be the free gift of God. But we Chriſtians believe and know, that if all good things be the gift of God, then the chief or ſupreme good muſt be the extraordinary and ſpecial gift of God. And yet withal we muſt conſider, that God who giveth all good things freely, never caſteth ſuch precious Pearls as this unto Swine. Although it cannot be purchaſed by mans induſtry: yet God giveth it only to the induſtrious, only to ſuch as ſeek after it with the beſt faculties and endeavours of their

Souls, content to forgo all things elſe, for the purchaſe of it. But of this hereafter.

16. Yet herein *Ariſtotle* and other Heathen Philoſophers were more Orthodoxal, than ſome rigid Stoical Chriſtians, in that they thought no man could be truly happy without health of body, or whilſt he continued in want and penury, much leſs whilſt he continued in ſuch pains and torments as *Regulus* or other like virtuous or good Patriots did endure rather than they would wrong their Conſcience or undo their Country. He that ſhall accuſe theſe Heathens as carnally minded in this, conſidereth not, that in thus accuſing them, he condemneth the generation of the juſt. Our Apoſtle St. *Paul* had greater peace of Conſcience, than *Regulus* or any other *Roman* could have. That part of happineſs which conſiſteth in the health and welfare, or other endowments of the Soul, was as compleat and perfect in him during this life, as any man, whilſt cloathed with mortality, can expect: yet ſaith he of himſelf, and others, even of all that were alike minded as he was; *If in this life only we have hope in Chriſt, we are of all men moſt miſerable*; 1 *Cor.* 15. *verſe* 19. What occaſions ſoever other good Chriſtians of theſe times had to join with him in this complaint; his own occaſions, to ſpeak, to think and write, as here he doth, are elſewhere by him ſpecified at large, and are moſt juſt. *Are they Miniſters of Chriſt? I ſpeak as a fool, I am more: in labours more abundant, in ſtripes above meaſure, in priſons more frequent, in deaths oft: of the* Jews *five times received I forty ſtripes ſave one; Thrice was I beaten with rods, once was I ſtoned, thrice I ſuffered ſhipwrack: a night and a day have I been in the deep, In journying often, In perils of waters, In perils of robbers, In perils by my own Country-men, In perils by Heathen, In perils in the City, In perils in the Wilderneſs, In perils in the Sea, In perils among falſe brethren: In wearineſs and painfulneſs, in watching often, in hunger and thirſt, in faſtings often, in cold and nakedneſs. Beſides thoſe things which are without, that which cometh upon me daily, the care of all the Churches; who is weak, and I am not weak? who is offended, and I burn not?* 2 *Cor. Cap.* 11. *verſe* 23. to the 30.

17. Theſe grievances of body and perplexities of mind were of themſelves rather branches or degrees of miſery than of felicity; things in their own nature not to be deſired but avoided, as being in that rank of evils which we call [*malum pœnæ,*] ſuch as all puniſhments or chaſtiſements, whether juſtly or unjuſtly inflicted, are. For whatſoever is contrary to that which is truly *good,* muſt needs be ſo far truly *evil,* as it is contrary unto that, which is in its nature *good.* Now all [*malum pœnæ*] that is, all puniſhments, chaſtiſements, or bodily grievances, are directly contrary to the ſecond branch of *goodneſs* fore-mentioned, which the Schools call [*Bonum Jucundum,*] the goodneſs of lawful pleaſure, of harmleſs delight, of blameleſs eaſe or contentment, all which are degrees or branches of felicity. But though theſe grievances before-mentioned by our Apoſtle, were in themſelves truly evil, yet was it good for him, as it is for all men elſe, to ſuffer them for the Goſpels ſake, or for the confirmation of others faith. Both parts of this true doctrine or aſſertion are avouched by the ſame Apoſtle, Heb. 12. verſe 11. *No chaſtening for the preſent ſeemeth to be joyous but grievous: neverthele ſs afterwards it yieldeth the peaceable fruits of righteouſneſs unto them which are exerciſed thereby.* So that no chaſtening or bodily grievance, which befalleth us for Chriſts or the Goſpels ſake, is ſo true or great an evil in one ſenſe,

as it is good in another, to wit, in the firſt rank of goodneſs beforementioned, that is profitable or uſeful. All perſecutions, whether in body, goods, or name, have the ſame reference or proportion unto the Soul, or to its welfare, health and happineſs, that bitter and unpleaſant Phyſick hath unto the body. Now there is no man, but will be willing to lay down his bodily life as a weariſom burthen, rather than to live continually under the Phyſicians or Chyrurgeons hands without any eaſe or intermiſſion: And yet even the bittereſt and moſt unpleaſant Phyſick, ſuch as in it ſelf is to be loathed, is good, and by all wiſe men to be deſired, ſo long as there is certain hope, that it may be a means to eaſe their bodies of lingring pain or torture, or procure the reſtauration or long continuance of former and wonted health. In like manner, our Apoſtle Saint *Paul* would have wiſhed never to have profeſſed the Chriſtian Religion, rather than to have lived eternally in ſuch perſecutions, as he ſometimes ſuffered, becauſe they were in themſelves evil, and diſtaſtful unto the humane nature: notwithſtanding he rejoyceth and glorieth in them, as they have reference to that exceeding weight of Glory and Crown of Righteouſneſs, for the attaining whereof they were, though not cauſes, yet as means ordained by God, uſeful, and for thoſe times neceſſary. And therefore our Saviour ſaith, *Bleſſed are they which are perſecuted for righteouſneſs ſake, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.* And again, *Bleſſed are ye when men ſhall revile you and perſecute you for my ſake.* Matth. 5. 10, 11. *Rejoyce and be glad, for great is your reward in Heaven; for ſo perſecuted they the Prophets, which were before you. verſe* 12. So then ſuch as ſuffer perſecution for righteouſneſs ſake, are bleſſed, [*ſpe, non re,*] whilſt they ſuffered perſecution; That is, they are not in the actual poſſeſſion of that bleſſedneſs, which they hope for, nor can they expect, (as our Apoſtle in the fore-cited 15. Chapter to the *Corinthians*, 19. *verſe* teacheth us) that their hopes of bleſſedneſs in Chriſt, ſhall be accompliſhed in this life, becauſe neither the endowments of the mind, nor of the body, whoſe perfection and accompliſhment are neceſſary to true and perfect happineſs, can be perfected and accompliſhed, until this corruptible have put on incorruption, and theſe our mortal bodies become impaſſible and immortal. As for thoſe external comforts or ſupplies, which are neceſſary to that ſmall portion of happineſs, which we have in this life, as meat, drink, apparel, and the like, we ſhall have no need nor uſe of them in the life to come. In that life we ſhall be ſo fully happy within our ſelves, and in the fruition of God, as we ſhall need nothing without us, nothing beſides Gods preſence, and the fruition of our ſelves. The want or penury of any thing uſeful in this life, is a degree or part of miſery: but not to need them, not to want them, is a portion of true felicity. And for this reaſon haply it is, that amongſt all the good works and miracles which our Saviour did, we never read, that he made any needy Beggers exceeding rich in worldly riches, becauſe riches are neither uſeful nor neceſſary to that happineſs, whereunto all his miracles do lead and draw us: but as he did neither make, nor promiſe to make his followers rich, ſo he would not ſuffer any of them, whilſt he lived here on earth, to continue in want or penury. Theſe evils or degrees of miſery in this life, he often prevented by miracles, when they were ready to befal them.

18. Here we are by the way to conſider, that whilſt our Saviour

was bodily preſent with his Diſciples and followers, none of them were in want or need, but he inſtantly relieved them. If any fell ſick, he preſently cured them: if they were in danger by Sea, they could no ſooner cry out, *Maſter, we periſh*, but he as ſoon checked the wind with the breath of his mouth, and turned the ſtorm into a calm: he did not ſuffer them ſo much as to weep or mourn, but rather miniſtred continual matter of joy and comfort unto them: Nay, as we read *Mark* 2. *verſe* 18. It was a ſolœciſm for them to faſt, whilſt he was with them. *When* Johns *Diſciples, or the Phariſees came unto him, and demanded of him, Why do the Diſciples of* John *and of the Phariſees faſt, but thy Diſciples faſt not?* Jeſus *ſaid unto them, Can the Children of the Bridegroom faſt, whilſt the Bridegroom is with them? As long as they have the Bridegroom with them, they cannot faſt: but the days will come, when the Bridegroom ſhall be taken away from them, and then ſhall they faſt in thoſe days.* Thus you ſee a great difference betwixt the eſtate of his Diſciples, whilſt he was with them, and whilſt he was taken from them: the one was an eſtate of joy and contentment, without bodily grievance or moleſtation; the other had his joy and internal comfort mixt with ſorrow of bodily diſcontentments. What was then the reaſon of this difference? Surely it was our Saviours will and pleaſure in affording theſe contentments, which did accompany his bodily preſence here on earth, to exhibit a perfect Map or Model of that fulneſs of all joy and contentment, which we ſhall be made partakers of by his bodily preſence with us in Heaven. So then, for concluſion of the firſt point, and for more commodious paſſage unto the ſecond, our Saviour by the miracles here mentioned, and the like, did openly and evidently declare himſelf to be the Author, Lord, and free Doner of all theſe three ranks or ſorts of good things, which the Heathen by light of nature ſaw to be requiſite or neceſſary for the attainment of true felicity, or in the fruition whereof in full and perfect meaſure, true and perfect happineſs did conſiſt.

How the particular miracles here mentioned, infer this univerſal concluſion, *Bleſſed is he, whoſoever ſhall not be offended in me.*

19. Firſt, For theſe externals, which the Heathens call [*Bona fortunæ*] (as meat, drink, apparel, or means neceſſary for maintenance of life) without which we can rather receive no contentment, than be throughly contented with them; albeit our Saviour gave them in leſs meaſure than worldly minds deſire them: yet his bounty in beſtowing of them, did herein far exceed the magnificence of greateſt Princes, in that he herewith pleaſured his Diſciples without any grievance unto others. This was a foundation of publick happineſs, which no Monarch or State-founder could ever lay, in that, no man did ever fare a whit the worſe becauſe his followers or favourers, (how many ſoever they were) did fare the better. For thus our Saviour plentifully fed multitudes of people in the Wilderneſs, without occaſioning any dearth or ſcarcity of bread or victuals unto ſuch as remained in the Towns or Villages. The reliques or offalls of the Feaſts that he made, were always greater than the proviſion it ſelf. Once we read of his feeding five thouſand men with ſeven Barly-loaves, and two Fiſhes, and the fragments or broken meat was ſeven Baſkets full, *Mark* 8. *ver.* 20. Another time of his feeding five thouſand men with five loaves, when there remained twelve Baſkets full of fragments. Nor did this his bounty extend only in caſes of neceſſity, or for preventing want or penury, but unto matter of delight or decency. For as he fed thouſands of people in the Wilderneſs, where no food was to be had for them without miracle; ſo, to grace the marriage feaſt at *Cana* in *Galilee*, he turned

water

Water into Wine, not of the worſt ſort, but of the pleaſanteſt and chearfulleſt taſte. Thus when Tribute or Pole-money was unjuſtly exacted of him, he did not demand a benevolence from thoſe men on whom he had wrought thoſe mighty cures, or whom he had otherwiſe benefited extraordinarily; He ſupplyeth himſelf and *Peter* with this *neceſſary* from a Fiſh, which had no more uſe or need of money whereof the *Roman Cæſar* had want, than the poor *Indian* had of the *Spaniards* Gold. So that albeit he ſent his Pole-money to *Rome* with others, yet was there not one penny leſs in *Jury*, than there was before.

20. But to come to the ſecond ſort or rank of good things, which the Heathens by light of Nature ſaw neceſſary unto felicity, as [*bona corporis*;] what greater bodily happineſs could befal the blind or lame, than for the one to be reſtored unto his perfect ſight, the other to the right uſe of limbs? What could the deaf more deſire, than to be able to hear, or the Lepers than to be clenſed from their leproſie? What ſo great a bodily bleſſing, if any at all beſides could be beſtowed upon the dead, as to be reſtored to life again? Yet thoſe and many like bleſſings our Saviour beſtowed upon all that were not offended in him, by his meer word, thereby ſhewing himſelf to be the Lord, and diſpoſer of all the Bleſſings, or parts of Happineſs which concern the body. And *Johns* Diſciples might hear and ſee the parties here mentioned, made thus far truly happy by him. Happy they were in reſpect of all other men, happier by much than thoſe men which ſtill continued *Blind*, or *Lame*, or *Leprous*, or *Deaf*, or in that eſtate of death, from which our Saviour raiſed theſe dead here mentioned. Again, happier they were than ſuch men as never had been *Blind*, or *Lame*, or *Leprous*, or *Deaf*, or never had taſted of bodily death. For albeit the bleſſings of life, of health, of ſtrength, of ſoundneſs of limbs, were in themſelves (if we meaſure them by themſelves) the ſelf-ſame in both: yet theſe mentioned in my Text, knew much better how to value or prize theſe bodily bleſſings aright, or how to uſe them to their right end by their former long want or abſence, than others could do by their continual preſence or fruition of them. Again, happy they were in reſpect of themſelves, or their former eſtate, much happier in that they were now able to walk, whereas before they had been lame; much happier, in that whereas now they ſee, they had ſometimes been blind; that whereas now they are clenſed, they had ſometimes been Lepers; in that ſuch of them as now live, had been ſometimes dead. For, although the habit be in it ſelf much better than the privation, as ſight is much better than blindneſs, health much better than ſickneſs, ſoundneſs of limbs much better than lameneſs, life much better than death: yet ſometimes the ſufferance of want, or privation of things in their nature good and pleaſant, may be more profitable or uſeful for attaining ſome greater good, than the preſent poſſeſſion or fruition of good things. Now it was not the habit or preſent fruition of life and health, not the right uſe of limbs and bodily ſences, but the former want or privation of them, which was as the root or ſtock wherein the third part of that happineſs, which conſiſts in the health or welfare of the Soul, was ingrafted. If ſome of theſe men had always enjoyed their perfect ſight, it is more than twenty to one but that their own right eyes had offended them; and better it were they ſhould have been plucked out, than have offended them: but beſt of all, that they had none to

offend them, or draw them from Chriſt the fountain of Happineſs, unto other vanities. If others of them had been always ſound of body and limbs, their own right hands or feet, would have been as a ſtumbling-block to them in the way of life, and have hindered them from coming to Chriſt. If others of them had not been ſmitten with Leproſie, or other like grievous Diſeaſes, they had not ſought to Chriſt as to their Phyſician: and not finding h[illegible] ſo happy a Phyſician as they found him for the body, they would not ſo earneſtly have ſought unto him, as the only Phyſician of their Souls; although he be uſually found of none but ſuch as ſeek him. Finally, Unleſs the Lord had humbled all of them with ſome one or other bodily grievance, or with want and poverty, they had not become ſo humble in mind, or poor in ſpirit, as now they are; and not being ſuch, they had not been capable of the greateſt miracle, or beſt bleſſing here beſtowed, *that is*, they had not been εὐαγγελιζόμενοι, for ſo it is remarkably ſaid in the Text, νεκροὶ ἐγείρονται, *the dead are raiſed*, ϗ πτωχοὶ εὐαγγελίζονται, *and the poor*, (as our latter *Engliſh* Tranſlation readeth it) *have the Goſpel Preached unto them*: much better, I muſt confeſs, than ſome of the Ancient Fathers, which expound the Original, εὐαγγελίζονται, (being as the Latines ſay, a Verb common, or, as the Grecians ſay [*verbum medium*] that is, ſometimes active, ſometimes paſſive) according to its active, ſignification in this place; and render it thus, *The poor Preach the Goſpel*. But as *Maldonate* well obſerveth, for the poor to Preach the Goſpel, was never any matter of wonder, and therefore no part of our Saviours meſſage unto *John*, as being no point worthy ſo great a Maſter as our Saviour was, ſolemnly to teach; or ſo great a Scholar as *John* was, ſolemnly to learn. And howſoever the word in the Original be rendred by Interpreters, the thing ſignified by it, is the greateſt miracle in this Catalogue. That the Goſpel ſhould be Preached unto the poor, as *Maldonate* would have it, was [*valdè mirum*] a great and real wonder. And why ſo great or real a wonder? Becauſe, ſaith he, to have the Goſpel Preached unto them, was as much as to have a promiſe to be made Kings, as he rightly proves from divers places of this Goſpel by Saint *Matthew*. [*Quid autem admirabilius quàm pauperem Regem fieri?*] *What more admirable or wonderful, than for poor men and beggars to be made Kings?* He further addeth, that although the Goſpel were equally and indifferently Preached to all: yet it pleaſed our Saviour only to mention the Poor, both becauſe that was moſt ſtrange and unuſual according to the cuſtom of the world, that the Poor ſhould have the promiſe to be made Kings; and withal, that he might ſhew himſelf to be the *Meſſias*, or the Anointed of the Lord, who, as the Prophet *Eſay* had fore-told, *ſhould Preach the Goſpel to the Poor.* Thus far *Maldonate*. But under correction, the original phraſe πτωχοὶ εὐαγγελίζονται, imports a great deal more than either *Maldonate* expreſſeth in Latine, when he ſaith [*Evangelium prædicatur pauperibus*] or than is expreſſed in out latter *Engliſh*, *The Poor have the Goſpel Preached unto them*. Our former *Engliſh* cometh ſomewhat nearer the Original, when it ſaith, *The poor receive the Goſpel.* But the vulgar Latine, though it miſs in many, yet in this particular beſt expreſſeth the meaning of the Evangeliſt, if the *Romiſh Prieſts* and *Jeſuits*, which hold it to be Authentick, did underſtand the meaning of it, or improve it to the beſt ſence; for ſo it renders the Original *verbatim* [*Pauperes Evangelizantur.*] For right unfolding the contents of this ſpeech, or taking the full value of the Original, we are to obſerve that Verbs paſſive, whether in the Hebrew, Greek, Latine, or Engliſh, may include or import a two-fold paſſion; the one meerly Grammatical or intentional; the other real, either natural or ſupernatural. One and the ſame Verb may ſometimes include the former only, ſometimes the latter, according to the diverſity of the matter or ſubject whereunto it is applied. To give inſtance in that ſpeech of *Melchizedeck*, *Geneſ.* 14. 19. *Bleſſed be* Abraham *of the moſt high GOD, poſſeſſor of Heaven and Earth. And bleſſed be the moſt High God which hath delivered thine enemies into thine hand.* Now, though the word in the Original be the ſame, though it be for ſignification as truly paſſive, when it is ſaid, *Bleſſed be the moſt High God*, and when it is ſaid, *Bleſſed be* Abraham *of the moſt High God:* yet we muſt always note this difference in the thing it ſelf, that whenſoever God is bleſſed by man, as here he was by *Melchizedeck*, mans bleſſing can produce no real *paſſion* or *alteration* in God: it can add no degrees of bliſs or happineſs to him. But whenſoever man is bleſſed by GOD, his bleſſing always addeth ſome increaſe of bleſſedneſs, either in his goods, in his body, or in his Soul. Again, if one man give another poyſon, the other may be ſaid to have poyſon given him, or to be Grammatically paſſive. But it is one thing to have poyſon given him, and another to be poyſoned. This latter includes a real paſſion or bodily mutation, though from better to worſe, from life to death. He that hath a medicine given him, is in common ſpeech termed a Patient, and is Grammatically paſſive. But every one that is thus far paſſive as to have a medicine given him, is not inſtantly medicined, cured, or healed; for this includes a real operation or amendment of that which was amiſs in the body. In like manner, in as much as our Saviour preached the Goſpel equally and indifferently to all, all that heard him, might be alike truly and literally ſaid to have had the Goſpel preached unto them, if we reſpect only the Grammatical ſenſe and ſignification of the word. But it is one thing to ſay that all had the Goſpel preached unto them; and another thing to ſay, all were *Evangelizati.* For this latter was peculiar only to *the poor in ſpirit:* They only took this ſtamp or impreſſion of the Goſpel, which was preached to all. Briefly, the Original phraſe doth literally and naturally import as true or real an alteration, or tranſmutation in the Souls of ſuch as were poor in ſpirit, as the former miracles here mentioned, did in the bodies of the blind, the lame, the deaf, the leprous, or dead. Now it is not ſaid that the blind had their ſight proffered or promiſed unto them, or that the lame were only made to walk, or the Lepers cleanſed only in hope, or by way of promiſe. But all of them were truly and actually cured of their infirmities of body; and ſo no queſtion were the poor in ſpirit as truly cured, as truly healed of their infirmities of their Souls. They had been as truly dead unto the life of the ſpirit, as thoſe whom Chriſt is here ſaid to have raiſed up, were unto the life of the body. But now they are raiſed up to newneſs of life, enlightened to ſee the truth, and enabled to walk not after the fleſh, but after the ſpirit. And whereas before they had been the bond-ſlaves of ſin, wherewith their Souls were more fouly ſtained or tainted than theſe Lepers bodies were with leproſie, they are now freed and cleanſed from the guilt and raign of ſin, and made the ſervants of righteouſneſs. Thus much is included in theſe laſt words, [*Pauperes evangelizantur*;] and this tranſmutation of their Souls was, or might have been, as conſpicuous or obſervable to *Johns* Diſciples, as the changing of *Sauls* mind or ſpirit was unto the *Iſraelites*, after *Samuel* had anointed him King. 1 *Sam. cap.* 10. *ver.* 9. This Interpretation of this place is made unto our hands by our Saviour himſelf, the beſt Interpreter of his own words: for ſo he ſaith, *Luke* 6. *ver.* 20. *Bleſſed be ye poor*, (ſetting his eyes on his Diſciples) *for yours is the Kingdom of God.* This bleſſing of Intereſt in the Kingdom of God here bequeathed by our Saviour unto the poor, is in effect the ſame with theſe words in my Text, [*Pauperes evangelizantur*;] of which, their Intereſt in the Kingdom of God is the true real and formal effect. For the Goſpel is called the Kingdom of God, becauſe it inſtateth ſuch as receive the impreſſion of it, that is, the *Evangelizati*, in the Kingdom of God or of Heaven. The Kingdom of God in Scriptures is twofold, and hath two importances. Sometimes it importeth the Kingdom of Grace, which the poor in ſpirit attain unto in this World: Sometimes it importeth the Kingdom of Glory, which no man ſhall attain unto but in the World to come. The Kingdom of Grace there bequeathed had two parts; the one ordinary, to continue throughout all ages, which did conſiſt in the raign or ſoveraignty of the ſpirit over the fleſh: the other extraordinary, yet uſual in that time, and did conſiſt in the raign or ſoveraignty of ſuch poor men, as Chriſts Diſciples were, over Satan and his Angels. And this part of the Kingdom of grace, or this effect of it, was more conſpicuous and viſible unto others, and was one of thoſe works or miracles which *Johns* Diſciples might hear and ſee, and make faith or true relation unto their Maſter. Now the bleſſedneſs here promiſed by our Saviour, or ſo much of it as men are capable of in this life, conſiſteth in the former part of the Kingdom of Grace, that is, in the ſoveraignty of the ſpirit over the fleſh. Both parts of this obſervation are ſet forth unto us by our Saviour, *Luke* 10. *verſe* 17, 18, 19. *The Seventy returned again with joy, ſaying, Lord, even the Devils are ſubject unto us through thy name. And he ſaid unto them, I beheld Satan as lightning fall from Heaven. Behold, I give unto you power to tread on Serpents and Scorpions, and over all the power of the Enemy; and nothing ſhall by any means hurt you. Notwithſtanding in this rejoice not, that the Spirits are ſubject unto you; but rather rejoice becauſe your names are written in Heaven.* All the poor which are here ſaid to be *Evangelizati*, were thereby inſtated in the Kingdom of Grace, and made the Sons of God, as it is written, *Joh.* 1. *ver.* 12. *As many as received him, to them gave he power* [ἐξουσίαν, a priviledge or faculty] *to be the Sons of God*, and Heirs Apparent unto the Kingdom of Glory. This is all one, as to have their names written in the Book of life.

21. But here the Jeſuit, at leaſt the Monck, or begging Fryer (who takes the poverty which he voweth, to be an Evangelical perfection, containing in it a title of merit to the bleſſedneſs here mentioned;) would reply, that by the poor mentioned, *Luke* 6. *v.* 20. the poor in ſpirit only are to be underſtood, though not expreſſed: becauſe the poor in ſpirit are expreſſed by Saint *Matthew*, who relates the ſelf-ſame ſtory, *Chap.* 5. which Saint *Luke* doth in that 6. *Chap.*: but in as much as the ſtory or relation here in my Text, is not the ſame with either of the former two, it will not ſo clearly follow, that the poor in ſpirit are here only to be underſtood. Yet it is a rule in

Logick, and it is a rule of reaſon, [*Quæcunq; conveniunt in aliquo tertio, conveniunt etiam inter ſe.*] From which rule it will cleerly follow, that if as well theſe words of my Text, as thoſe of Saint *Luke*, *Chap.* 6. *verſe* 20. be but Evangelical expreſſions of one and the ſame Prophetical prediction, in which the poor in ſpirit are to be underſtood, this my Text muſt be meant of the poor in ſpirit, as well as thoſe other words of Saint *Luke* or Saint *Matthew*. But of the conſonancy of the Evangeliſt and the Prophet, by Gods aſſiſtance hereafter.

22. You have heard, and I make no queſtion but you do believe, That whatſoever your hearts can deſire, even the fulneſs of that true happineſs, which is all that you or any man can deſire, is only to be ſought in Chriſt, in whom it may be found by all. For confirming your particular Intereſt in him, and in the bleſſedneſs which here he promiſeth: the right receiving of this Bleſſed Sacrament is of all other means moſt effectual. For your better preparation to the due receiving of it, it will be available to conſider the doctrine which my Text affords; that although Chriſt be a fountain of happineſs infinite, and inexhauſtible; although his death (whoſe memory we celebrate, whoſe vertue in this Sacrament we ſeek) be, as it were, the opening of this Fountain; yet are the ſtreams of bliſs and happineſs which iſſue from him by his death, derivable only unto ſuch as are not offended in him. Though the *Goſpel*, as our Apoſtle ſpeaketh, *Rom.* 1. *ver.* 16. *be the power of God unto Salvation:* yet as my Text ſaith, the poor in ſpirit only take the impreſſion of it. Even power it ſelf, and goodneſs infinite, ſufficient in it ſelf to ſave all, though in number infinite, is effectual only in ſuch as are of an humble and contrite heart. Of their humiliation or contrition, or their poorneſs in ſpirit, which is here mentioned in my Text, that might be truly ſaid, which our Saviour doth of *Thomas* the Apoſtle his Faith: *Thomas, thou believeſt becauſe thou haſt ſeen, happy are they which have not ſeen and yet believe.* The moſt of theſe men were therefore poor and humble in ſpirit: becauſe the Lord had humbled, broken, or chaſtiſed them, ſome with bodily blindneſs, others with lameneſs, ſome with deafneſs, others with leproſie, or like grievous ſickneſs, ſome with death. However, becoming once truly humble and poor in ſpirit, though by theſe and like means, all of them were truly happy in Chriſt: but much happier and more bleſſed ſhall they be, whom the Lord having not ſo grievouſly chaſtiſed in body, yet do become as humble and poor in ſpirit, as they were. The beſt conſideration I can commend unto you, for working this humiliation and contrition of ſpirit, is this, that as the Ceremonies of the Law were but ſhadows of theſe things which are now fulfilled in Chriſt; ſo all the bodily calamities, which Chriſt here cured in ſo many ſeveral bodies, were but as ſo many ſenſible types or ſhadows of more grievous maladies in every mans Soul; although by nature we do not feel them. Some of them were dead in body, and *all of us*, as our Apoſtle ſaith, *are by nature dead in treſpaſſes.* Now if we do as truly and heartily bewail this deadneſs of our Souls, as the poor Widow of *Naim* did the bodily death of her only Son; then, as our Apoſtle ſaith in the ſame place, *We are quickned in Chriſt*, and he will deliver our Souls unto us ſafe and ſound, as he did him unto his mother. Some of thoſe were blind in body; all of us were dark in mind, even from the Womb: and if we ſupplicate unto him with like earneſtneſs to enlighten

lighten our minds, as theſe poor men did to receive their bodily ſight, we ſhall be as happy in this cure, as they were in the other. Some of them were halt and lame, and not able to go; and we, after we have ſeen and known the ways of God, are more unable to walk in them, than they were to run a race. Some of them were Lepers in body; ſo are we all by nature Lepers in Souls. But whatſoever lameneſs, infirmity or diſeaſe hath befaln our Souls by *Adams* tranſgreſſion or by our own corruption, he is both able and willing to work more miraculous cures upon our Souls, than he did upon theſe poor mens bodies, ſo we intreat him as earneſtly and heartily as they did.

23. None of you, I hope, conceiveth Chriſts bodily preſence to be either neceſſary or expedient for curing or healing your Souls. No mans faith in Scripture is more commended than the Centurions, which did not deſire our Saviours bodily preſence, when he offered it, for the healing of his ſervant. His anſwer was, *Lord, I am not worthy, that thou ſhouldſt come under my roof, but ſpeak the word only, and my ſervant ſhall be healed. Matth.* 8. 8. If this acknowledgment were a document of lively faith, and Chriſtian modeſty in this Centurion; what can it be but arrogancy and unbelief in the Romaniſt, to think himſelf worthy, not only of Chriſts bodily preſence under the roof of his Houſe, but under the roof of his mouth, yea in his ſtomach? But far be all ſuch unclean and carnal thoughts from any here preſent. Let us ſtedfaſtly believe, that Chriſts Word is now as powerful in Heaven, as it was on Earth; yet have we not only his Word, but the viſible pledges of his body and blood for the healing of our Souls. Whatever other defect there may be in our preparation for receiving theſe pledges of his paſſion, let us be ſure, that our intention to humble our ſelves, and amend our lives, be ſincere and without Hypocriſie.

The

The Second Member of the General Diviſion, propoſed in the Diſcourſe, Parag. 8. *What ſatisfaction this Anſwer of our Saviour did give to* John?

§. 24. V*Erbum ſapienti ſat eſt.* A man of underſtanding and experience, in part acquainted with any buſineſs on foot, perceiveth more by a word or hint, than another of leſs underſtanding or experience, altogether unacquainted with the ſame buſineſs, would do by inſtructions given in *Folio.* Now *John,* we know, was a man of extraordinary underſtanding, and experience in matters Spiritual, ſpecially ſuch as concerned Chriſt, to whom he was the immediate forerunner, unto which office he was qualified, or ſet apart from the womb, yea, ſanctified unto it even in the womb, as you may read, *Luke* 1. *ver.* 41. As this qualification made him more docile or capable of good inſtructions than other Children were, ſo his Father *Zacharias* was better able to inſtruct him in the knowledge of Chriſt, of whoſe Kingdom and Office he had Propheſied, than any other Prieſt or Son of *Aaron* could. For *Zacharias* was, for ought that we can gather, the only Prophet then in *Iſrael,* at leaſt the Spirit of Propheſie, which for a long time had been as a fountain dryed up, did firſt break forth in him. After that *John* himſelf came to maturity of age and underſtanding, he was directed by ſpecial commiſſion from his God, to uſher Chriſt into the world, to induct him into his Prophetical Function, to declare him to be the Redeemer of *Iſrael,* to proclaim him to be the High Prieſt of our Souls, that was to make the full Atonement for the ſins of whole world. Now unto *John,* thus well qualified and inſtructed in matters concerning Chriſt, and in particular acquainted with the carriage of all buſineſſes concerning Chriſts Baptiſm or other actions until his impriſonment; this anſwer of our Saviour Chriſt, (eſpecially being framed out of that Prophets words which had penned *Johns* Commiſſion, for being Chriſt's meſſenger, or preparing his ways, more than 600. years before either of them was born) would ſuggeſt or imply a great deal more, than it could do unto any other man not ſo well qualified or inſtructed as *John* was, and not ſo well acquainted with the particular paſſages of Scripture whereon *John's* Faith was grounded, nor with the ſigns of the time, by which his Faith in the *Meſſias* was confirmed.

Now for your better edification in this Point, give me leave to break this portion of the Bread of life which I have in hand, into three parts:

Three branches if this ſecond member.

The firſt, The general means by which every mans Faith or belief in Chriſt is wrought or grounded, or by which it is or may be confirmed.

The ſecond ſhall be the unfolding of thoſe particular places of Scripture on which *John's* belief was grounded, as alſo the ſigns of the time, by which his Faith, before his impriſonment, (or before the framing of this queſtion) was ratified and confirmed.

The third, What correſpondency, concord, or conſonancy, the particulars here mentioned, and thoſe places of Scripture whereunto our Saviour in this anſwer refers *John*, or the ſigns of this very time wherein this anſwer was made, have unto the other parts of Scripture, or ſigns of the time by which *John's* former Faith had been eſtabliſhed and confirmed. Of theſe three in their order by Gods aſſiſtance.

25. Concerning the firſt Point, we all believe and know that Gods Word is the only rule on which our Faith muſt be grounded, by which we muſt be builded up as the houſe by line or level.

The firſt Branch Concerning the manner how our belief in Gods Word, or in Chriſt is grounded to the 36. Parag.

In this general we and the Church of *Rome* agree: The firſt breach or point of difference betwixt us and them is, Whether this Word of God, by which the Temple of God muſt be raiſed, be partly written and partly unwritten? We ſay, that the whole Rule or Canon of Faith is written or contained fully in the Books of the Old and New Teſtament. They grant theſe Books to contain part of the rule, but the other part, which in effect they make the principal, is (as they ſay) contained in unwritten Traditions, of whoſe truth, or true meaning, the viſible Church for the time being, is the ſole Judge. This indeed is the roof or covering of their Edifice, which (as elſewhere we have ſhewed, and by Gods aſſiſtance, ſhall more fully ſhew hereafter) doth utterly raze or overthrow the foundation it ſelf, whereon they would ſeem to put it, to wit, *the written Word of God*, and the Truths concerning Chriſt contained in it. But our purpoſe is not at this time to ſhew you, in what manner they overthrow the foundation of Faith or Word of God, but rather the manner how our Faith is grounded on it.

26. Now though it be true which we lately ſaid, that Faith muſt be grounded only on the written Word; this ſaying notwithſtanding muſt be reſtrained unto the time ſince Gods Word unto his Church or People by his appointment was committed unto writing. Wherefore you muſt remember, or take notice, that there was a time wherein no part of Gods Word was written: for *Moſes* was the firſt that committed Gods Words to writing; the firſt that made a Regiſter or Record of what God had ſpoken unto the Patriarchs. Now, the belief of the Patriarchs was grounded on Gods Word, though then unwritten, after the ſame manner as ours is on the written Word. For (as you will eaſily conceive) it is not the writing of Gods Word which makes it to be the ground or Rule of Faith. Yet here haply you will demand, To what other end then was it written? To this we anſwer, That the writing of it by ſuch ſpecial Regiſters as God had appointed for that purpoſe, and the ſtrange preſervation of the Records written by them, is to us an infallible Argument, that what they have written, is the Words of God, not the Words of Men. And this, to know that the words which we believe or give credence unto in matters concerning our Happineſs or Salvation, are the words not of any mortal man, but of the immortal God, is the firſt ground of Faith.

The prediction not of any but of ſome ſpecial events, argues the Authors of the Prediction to have been inſpired by God.

27. Unto the right grounding of our Faith in this firſt Point, two things were ever required: The firſt, prediction or fore-telling things to come: The ſecond was, the event or experiment anſwering to the prediction. Yet is it not the prediction of any event that ſhall fall out, though for a long time after, that can argue the prediction it ſelf

to have been Gods words, or the fore-teller of ſuch events to be a Prophet. For the *Aſtronomers* can fore-tell you the Eclipſes of the Sun or Moon for many years before they fall out or happen: yet no man takes their ſkill as an Argument that they are true Prophets, or that they are enlightned by the Spirit of God, by which the Scriptures were written, or the myſteries contained in them were fore-told. But if an Aſtronomer could as diſtinctly fore-tell what kind of weather every month, or every day, for two or three years following ſhould bring with it, as he can fore-tell what day or hour the Sun or Moon ſhall be Eclipſed, or in what degree or meaſure either of their bodies ſhould be obſcured or hid from our ſight; you would conceive of him as a man more than ordinary, and that he could not know this by ordinary Skill or Art, no not by the Black Art it ſelf, or by dealing with the Devil. He that could certainly fore-tell all the particular changes of weather, or the alteration of States and Kingdoms, or the ſeveral Eclipſes or Illuminations of Gods true viſible Church here on Earth for the next Generations that are to come, might juſtly challenge the reputation of a Prophet or Meſſenger ſent from God, at the hands of all ſuch as had heard or read his Predictions before the truth of them was ſealed by their manifeſt undoubted events. What then is the reaſon why the certain and known prediction of ſome events, whoſe truth afterwards becometh viſible and manifeſt unto the world (as the Eclipſes of the Sun and Moon, or the Conjunction of Planets, which ſhall fall out ſome forty years hence or more) ſhould not as infallibly argue the aſſiſtance of the Divine Spirit, or revelations immediately made from God, as the fore-telling of all change of weather, or matters of greater conſequences do, as matters of States or Kingdoms, or Gods viſible Church? The reaſon is, becauſe God by his everlaſting Decree hath appointed the Sun and Moon their conſtant and certain courſe, and priviledged them from all impoſſibility of impediment or diſturbance in their ſeveral courſes, which either man, or infernal Spirits can attempt againſt them: whereas by the ſame everlaſting Decree, he hath ordained ſuch variety or inconſtancy in the Air, or other inferiour Elements, as no wit of Man or Devil can comprehend all the poſſible changes of weather, which may happen within ſome few years following. For though Satan and his Angels be enſtiled Prince of the Air by Gods Saints, yet doth not this title any way import that they have abſolute Independent Power, or Monarchical Soveraignty over the Air, but only that he who is the Supreme Lord of Heaven and Earth, of all the World, and of all in it, oft-times permitteth thoſe Infernal Spirits, for the iniquity, or ſins of men, to exerciſe ſuch power in the Air, as he never permitteth them to uſe or exerciſe in the higher Region, whence they are utterly baniſhed or excluded. So that albeit they oft-times know much, and more than man by means natural can do, concerning the alteration or change of weather: yet can they know no more concerning theſe or like effects, than God permitteth them to know, or ſuffereth them in his juſt judgments to effect and work. Again, for the managing of civil affairs, of Government of States, or Kingdoms, *God*, by his everlaſting Decree, hath left unto men ſuch variety of choice, ſuch a contingency in their conſultations, ſuch a freedom of will in contriving or projecting their ſeveral ends, as it is impoſſible for any man living in this Age, though he ſhould conſult with Witches or Familiar Spirits, to prognoſticate, or fore-tell what the ſucceſs or final iſſue of what he himſelf at this preſent projects or plots, * ſhall be an hundred, or two hundred years hence. From this faculty, or rather facility in fore-telling things of this nature, which for divers Generations after ſhall certainly come to paſs, the Lord himſelf doth plead, and prove his Title of infinite Wiſdom, that he is the only wiſe immortal God, that beſides him there is none that can do or ſay as he doth. *Produce your cauſe, ſaith the* LORD, (unto the Heathen gods and their worſhippers:) *Bring forth your ſtrong reaſons, ſaith the King of* Jacob. *Let them bring them forth, and ſhew us what ſhall happen: Let them ſhew the former things what they be, that we may conſider them, and know the latter end of them, or declare us things for to come. Shew the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are gods: yea, do good, or do evil, that we may be diſmayed; and behold it together. Behold, you are of nothing, and your work of nought: an abomination is he that chuſeth you,* Iſa. 41. ver. 21, 22, 23, 24. And again, Chap. 4. ver. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. *Sit thou in ſilence, and get thee into darkneſs, O Daughter of the* Chaldeans: *for thou ſhalt no more be called the Lady of Kingdoms: I was wroth with my People; I have polluted my Inheritance, and given them into thine hand; thou didſt ſhew them no mercy; upon the ancient haſt thou very heavily laid the yoke. And thou ſaidſt, I ſhall be a Lady for ever: ſo that that thou didſt not lay theſe things to thine heart, neither didſt remember the latter end of it. Therefore hear now this, thou that art given to pleaſures, that dwelleſt careleſly, that ſayeſt in thine heart: I am, and none elſe beſides me; I ſhall not ſit as a Widow, neither ſhall know the loſs of Children, and Widow-hood; they ſhall come upon thee in their perfection, for the multitude of thy Sorceries, and for the great abundance of thine Enchantments.* This ſpeech (you muſt conſider) is directed in particular to the *Chaldæans*, who were the moſt curious Inquiſitors after things to come; the cunningeſt Southſayers, (as they took and profeſſed themſelves) in the world. And for this reaſon it is, the *Lord* ſendeth that peremptory challenge unto them, *ver.* 12, 13, 14, 15. *Stand now with thine Enchantments, and with the multitude of thy Sorceries, wherein thou haſt laboured from thy youth, if ſo be thou ſhalt be able to profit, if ſo be thou mayſt prevail: Thou art wearied in the multitude of thy Counſels: Let now the Aſtrologers, the Star-gazers, the monthly Prognoſticators, ſtand up, and ſave thee from thoſe things that ſhall come upon thee. Behold, they ſhall be as ſtubble: the fire ſhall burn them, they ſhall not deliver themſelves from the power of the flame: there ſhall not be a coal to warm at, nor fire to ſit before it. Thus ſhall they be unto thee with whom thou haſt laboured, even thy Merchants from thy youth, they ſhall wander every one to his quarter: None ſhall ſave thee.*

** Vide Acts* 1. 6. 7.

18. Let me give you two inſtances or examples of things fore-told by *God*, (by his Prophet *Eſay*) concerning the ſtrange alteration of States or Kingdoms, both which predictions were exactly and remarkably fulfilled and accompliſhed; the one about an 100. the other about 170 years after the Prophet, from the mouth of the *Lord*, had fore-told them. The former is related in the ſecond Book of *Kings*, *Chap.* 20. and in the 39. of *Eſay*, *ver.* 6, 7, 8. The ſum of both theſe ſtories is this: After *Hezekiah* had ſhewed his Houſe, and all his Treaſure unto the King of *Babylons* Embaſſadour, which came to congratulate his late recovery from that dangerous ſickneſs, of which the Prophet *Iſaias* had by *Gods* appointment cured him, having firſt ſecured him, not

only of his inſtant recovery, but of the continuance of his former health, and prolonging of his days by a ſign from Heaven: the ſame Prophet came unto him, and telleth him that this his kindneſs or courteſie to the Embaſſadors in ſhewing them his Treaſury, was [*factum malè ominatum,*] and did abode a future miſery to his poſterity. *Hear the Word of the LORD, ſaith* Iſaiah *to* Hezekiah; *Behold the days to come, that all that is in thine Houſe, and that which thy Fathers have layed up in ſtore until this day, ſhall be carried to* Babylon: *nothing ſhall be left, ſaith the Lord. And of thy Sons that ſhall iſſue from thee, which thou ſhalt beget, ſhall they take away; and they ſhall be Eunuchs in the Palace of the King of* Babylon.

Now, if we conſider the ſtrength of *Judah* and of *Egypt* in thoſe times, and the ſmall power which the *Babylonians* had in reſpect of his Neighbour the mighty King of *Aſſyria*, who then laid claim to *Judah*; the accompliſhment of this Prediction or Propheſie was in all politick eſteem or humane conjecture more improbable and more incredible, than if a man in this Age ſhould take upon him to foretel that the Duke of *Saxony*, or ſome other Prince of *Germany*, ſhould conquer the *Low-Countries*, *France* and *Spain*, and lead all the Royal Race of both thoſe Kingdoms Captives unto *Dreſden*, or to ſome other Princely Court of *Germany* within theſe hundred years next following. He that ſhould fore-tel thus much at this preſent, would be recounted a true Prophet or Meſſenger from God in the ages following, by ſuch as lived to ſee the event or prediction fulfilled or verified. Now there was not one part or circumſtance of the former Propheſie, but was notoriouſly and remarkably accompliſhed in *Jehoiakim*, *Zedekiah*, and their Children, both of them being Sons to good King *Joſiah*, both of them being Confederates with the King of *Egypt*, whoſe joined ſtrength could not reſiſt the greatneſs whereto the Kingdom of *Babylon* within three or four diſcents was grown: For *Nabuchadnezzar* had made himſelf Lord of *Jewry*, of *Egypt*, and the Empire of *Aſſyria*. The ſame Prophet (which is more remarkable and more admirable) about the ſame time foretels the ſudden deſolation of the *Babylonian* Empire, before it was grown to half its height or greatneſs, and names the Party which was to accompliſh the work of the Lord, more than an hundred years before he was born. *Iſai.* 45. *verſ.* 6, 7.

29. The accompliſhment of this Propheſie by *Cyrus*, the Lord would have aſwel the *Gentile* as the *Jew* to take ſpecial notice of, as an impregnable argument, or irrefragable teſtimony of his power, in raiſing up *Cyrus* to take vengeance on the *Babylonians* in the height of their Pride, for the wrongs which they had done to *Judah* his Sanctuary: an impregnable argument likewiſe of his exceeding mercy and loving kindneſs towards his people, whom *Cyrus*, after he had conquered *Babylon*, did ſet at liberty, and gave them Licence to re-edifie the City and the Temple. *Thus ſaith the Lord to his anointed, to* Cyrus, *whoſe right hand I have holden, to ſubdue Nations before him: and I will looſe the loins of Kings to open before him the two-leaved Gates, and the Gates ſhall not be ſhut, &c.* to *verſe* 17. The manner of *Cyrus* his ſudden ſurprizing *Babylon* in that night, wherein they celebrated the Feaſt of their Idol *Bell*, is recorded at large by two Heathen Writers, *Herodotus* and *Xenophon*, as long after this Propheſie was fullfilled, as the prediction was before it. Their Relations of it are ſo plain and conſtant unto the predictions of *Iſay* and *Jeremy*, and ſpecially to

the Relation which the Prophet *Daniel* hath made (who was in *Babylon* when *Cyrus* took it) that the incredibleſt *Gentiles* of that age were inexcuſable. Now the reaſon why the Lord ſeeks to win credit to his Prophet in theſe his ſtrange predictions of alterations in States and Kingdoms, was, that neither *Jew* nor *Gentile* ſhould have any pretence to diſtruſt the ſame Prophets more admirable predictions concerning the *Meſſias* which was to come; in which predictions this Prophet above others, is ſo plain and ſo plentiful, that he was enſtiled by the Ancient Fathers, the *Evangelical Prophet*.

Of the literal and myſtical ſenſe of Propheſies.

30. Here I muſt requeſt you to obſerve, what I muſt often inculcate or repeat unto you hereafter, That the Spirit of God did from the beginning, uſe a peculiar kind of fore-ſhewing all events which properly concerned the promiſed *Meſſias*, either in his Birth, Conception, Baptiſm, or principal actions in his death and paſſion, or in his Reſurrection and Aſcenſion. The alterations of States or Kingdoms were for the moſt part fore-ſignified, or declared before-hand, only by meer words, by meer Propheſie or prediction. But ſuch things or events as concern'd our Saviour Chriſt, were fore-ſignified as well by deed and fact, as by word; as well by real repreſentations, as by meer Propheſie or Predictions. From this two-fold fore-ſignification of things to come, which concern the *Meſſias*, the Ancients have rightly obſerved two ſenſes of Scripture, the *literal* and the *myſtical*. The literal ſenſe is that, which the words upon their firſt uttering or writing (whether in terms proper or borrowed) directly and immediately import, without interpoſition of real event, or repreſentation of the myſtery foretold, by matter of fact. So that the branches of the literal ſenſe, taken according to its full latitude, (as it is oppoſed to the myſtical or meerly typical ſenſe) may be as many as there be tropes or figures of ſpeech, whether Rhetorical or Poetical, beſides the proper plain Grammatical or Hiſtorical expreſſion of things to come. The myſtical ſenſe or meaning is that, which is portended by ſome deed or fact, as by ſome Legal Type inſtituted by *Moſes*, or by ſome real event which the ſacred Hiſtorians or other faithful Writers according to their predictions relate. For Heathen Hiſtorians oft-times make Hiſtorical Relations of the events which the Prophets fore-told. And the events ſo related and foretold, become real Propheſies of other like events to come, as *Iſayes* predictions concerning *Cyrus*, and *Zacharias* predictions concerning *Alexanders* Victories (being both accompliſhed divers hundred years before Chriſt was incarnate) did myſtically fore-ſhadow ſuch events as the Evangeliſts have Hiſtorically related concerning Chriſt and the ſucceſs of his Goſpel. Whether the allegorical ſenſe be a branch of the literal, or of the myſtical; or whether ſometimes of the one, and ſometimes of the other, and ſometimes of both, (according as the nature of the Allegory is) or whether ſure Arguments for confirming our faith may be drawn aſwel from the Allegorical, as from the plain literal and myſtical ſenſe, are points elſe-where diſcuſſed. It ſhall ſuffice here to admoniſh you, that our belief (eſpecially as it concerns the myſtical ſenſe of Scriptures) muſt be always grounded on the intention and meaning of the Holy Ghoſt, or of God ſpeaking in Scriptures, not on the Prophets preſent apprehenſions of what he ſpeaks, unto whom perhaps part of the Holy Ghoſts intention was revealed: the reſt being wrapt up and hidden, until the event or ſigns of time which it concerned, did more fully unfold it. The

myſtical and *literal ſenſe* oft-times concur; ſometimes ſo, as the ſame words may be univocally verified of the Type, and of the myſtery portended by it. As for example, in the 12. of *Exodus*, *verſe* 26. *not a bone of it ſhall be broken:* This was literally meant of the Paſchal Lamb, which theſe words immediately and directly point at; for this was the Law of the Paſchal Lamb, that *not a bone of it ſhall be broken.* And all Laws are to be conceived and interpreted according to the plain literal and Grammatical ſenſe of the words. But inaſmuch as the Paſchal Lamb it ſelf was a real type or ſhadow of the Lamb of God, which was to take away the ſins of the World by his bloody Death upon the Croſs, the ſelf ſame words which were literally and hiſtorically verified of the Paſchal Lamb, were as truly and more exactly fulfilled of Chriſt, according to their myſtical (and yet univocal) ſenſe. And the fulfilling of this myſtery was the cauſe (as I doubt not but you all know) why our Saviours bones were not broken upon the Croſs, when the bones of the other two which were crucified with him, were broken. *GOD* in his wiſdom had prevented all occaſion of breaking his bones by haſtening his Death, before the other died which were crucified with him. Sometimes the ſame words may be verified of the Type, and of the Body, not according to their univocal ſenſe or importance, but æquivocally, or analogically; properly verified of the Body, and catachriſtically of the Type. As for inſtance, theſe words; *I will be to him a father, and he ſhall be to me a ſon*, are truly meant both of *Solomon* and of *Chriſt*, but not *ſecundum univocam rationem.* The title of the Son of God, as it is communicated unto *Solomon* with *Chriſt*, differs as much as [*homo*, and *homo pictus*,] as a *man, and a painted man.* Some events there are concerning our Saviour or his actions, which were not at all foretold by expreſs words of Propheſie, but only foreſhadowed by deed or fact, or by ſome real Type or repreſentation; at the leaſt they are not literally foretold in the ſame places in which they are really fore-ſhadowed. Thus was his Death upon the Croſs really repreſented by lifting up the brazen Serpent in the Wilderneſs, yet not literally foretold by *Moſes*; ſo was his impriſonment or abode in the grave really fore-ſhadowed by *Jonas* impriſoned in the Whales belly: but *Jonas* did not expreſs thus much by word or Propheſie. But of theſe and the like Types we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. Of all the teſtimonies or fore-ſignifications of Chriſt, or him Crucified, thoſe teſtimonies wherein is a concurrence of fore-ſignifications aſwel by fact as by word, are the moſt pregnant, and moſt concludent againſt the *Jews*; and therefore the ſureſt grounds of our belief in Chriſt. Of the particular manner how Arguments for confirming our Faith are to be drawn from this kind of teſtimony eſpecially, God willing, hereafter. Whether, of theſe or other Teſtimonies concerning Chriſt (but of theſe eſpecially) the belief or knowledge of the faithful hath been, or may be either confuſed and indefinite, or explicit and diſtinct.

31. The firſt prediction which God revealed unto man, was concerning the forbidden fruit; *In that day thou eateſt thereof, thou ſhalt dye.* This prediction our firſt Parents did not believe, until woful experience had ſealed the truth of it unto their and our irrecoverable loſs, for any thing that they knew or could do. But the truth of the Divine Prediction in threatning evil, being fully experienced and ratified by their loſs, was by *Gods* Providence, Wiſdom, and Mercy,

an eſpecial inducement unto them for eſtabliſhing their Faith unto his Prediction concerning the Womans Seed, which was to bruiſe the Serpents head. *I will put * enmity between thee and the Woman, and between thy Seed and her Seed: it ſhall bruiſe thy head, and thou ſhalt bruiſe his heel,* Gen. 3. 15. In this Prediction, there is a concurrence of the literal and myſtical ſenſe. A true enmity between the Seed of the Natural Serpent, and the Natural Seed of the Woman: Howbeit this enmity is but a Type or Emblem of that ſupernatural enmity which the Spiritual Serpent beareth unto the Seed of the Woman, κατ' ἐξοχὴν.

This was the original and fountain of all enſuing Propheſies or Predictions concerning Chriſt, and yet even this Prediction it ſelf, as moſt other Propheſies, was in reſpect of the particular manner or circumſtances, which were to accompany the fulfilling of it, a kind of riddle, until the event or other declarations of Propheſies upon it, and facts anſwerable unto them did unfold it. Our mother *Eva* (no doubt) did in the general believe, that as by man death came into the world, ſo the deliverance from death ſhould come by man, which was to be born of a woman; but whether ſhe did in particular believe, that *this man, or ſeed of the woman,* which was to deliver her and her Husband from the curſe of death, ſhould be born of a Virgin, or of a woman without the conſort of man, is more than the Analogy of Faith, or Chriſtian Charity binds us to believe of her. Their opinion is very probable, who think, ſhe miſtook *Cain* her firſt born, to be the Promiſed Seed, and that out of this too joyſul apprehenſion, ſhe uttered theſe words, *I have gotten, or poſſeſſed a man of the Lord.* Gen. 4. 2. So the moſt Tranſlations read it: but as the Authors of this opinion which I now recite, tranſlate, *I have poſſeſſed a man, even the Lord*; to wit, the Lord, which ſhe expected ſhould redeem them. I know this Interpretation is rejected by *Calvin* and *Mercer*, two moſt Judicious Interpreters of the true literal meaning of Scripture, the latter eſpecially, a moſt exquiſite *Hebrician.* But to countervail their Authority, the ſame Interpretation is well approved by * *Paulus Fagius*, who, for ought I can perceive, was amongſt Chriſtian Writers, the firſt Author of it; for whoſe authority and excellent skill in the *Hebrew* Tongue and *Jewiſh* Antiquaries, as I will not peremptorily avouch it, ſo I dare not reject it. The Authors of this opinion concerning our Mother *Evahs* miſtaking her firſt-born Son for the Promiſed Seed, have attributed the like error, though not altogether ſo groſs, unto *Lamech* the Father of *Noah. Lamech* had as true a prenotion or ſtedfaſt belief in this general as *Evah* had, that mankind ſhould be comforted concerning their labours, that they ſhould be freed from the curſe which the firſt man had brought upon the Earth, upon himſelf, and his Poſterity, and that this freedom or comfort ſhould be brought unto them by man, by one that was born of a woman. And yet out of his over-rejoycing at the birth of the firſt Son which God had ſent him, he did (As theſe Authors think) miſ-apply his general prenotion or belief concerning the Promiſed Seed, to his new and firſt born Son. *Lamech* (ſaith *Moſes*, Gen. 5. 28.)

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* *The word enmity here uſed, is not a term æquivocal: and yet the thing ſignified by it, is not univocally the ſame, as it reſpects the natural Serpent, and the Man, and the natural man, and the womans Seed and the old Serpent; but the ſame by Analogy only or proportion.*

* Diverſæ huic lectioni occaſionem dedit vocula את quæ æquivoca eſt ad omnia præmemorata ſignificata. Et quia quiſq; ſuo abundat ſenſu, abundabo ego quoq; & meò, ſimpliciſſimè accipiendo dictiunculam את, ut ſit notæ articuli ſimulatq; demonſtrationis, ipſiſſimam rei ſubſtantiam, cui jungitur, denotans, hoc ſenſu; Poſſedi ſive acquiſivi virum, nempe ipſum Adonai, q. d. acquiſivi illum ipſum virum, qui eſt Adonai, id eſt, Deus ſive Dominus, quem ſcilicet pollicitus eſt mihi Dominus, cum dixit, Semen tuum conteret caput Serpentis. Quia enim *Eva* credidit promiſſioni de ſemine mulieris ſine dubio exiſtimavit hunc illud eſſe ſemen, per quod caput Serpentis conculcandum. *Paul. Fag. in 4. cap. Geneſ.*

lived 182 *years: and begat a Son. And he called his name* Noah, *ſaying, This ſame ſhall comfort us concerning our work, and toyl of our hands, becauſe of the ground, which the Lord had curſed.* But to wave this queſtion: [Whether *Lamech* did imagine this his Son to be him that was to come, or whether beſides him he looked for another] it is queſtionleſs, that he uttered this ſpeech by the ſpirit of Propheſie, and as the ſpeech it ſelf was verified or fulfilled of *Noah*, according to its plain Grammatical literal ſenſe, ſo it was exactly fulfilled or accompliſhed in Chriſt, according to the full importance of its myſtical ſenſe, that is, Chriſt and his Office was as truly and really fore-ſhadowed by *Noah* himſelf, or by his office, qualification, or actions, as *Noahs* office or qualifications were literally fore-told, or propheſied of in this ſpeech of *Lamech: Noah, after the Flood, offered a Sacrifice unto the Lord, and the Lord ſmelled a ſweet ſavour, or a ſavour of reſt,* and upon this Sacrifice engaged himſelf by promiſe, *Not to curſe the ground again for mans ſake*, Gen. 8. 21. Here you ſee *Lamechs* Propheſie literally verified in *Noah:* howbeit the Sacrifice of *Noah* was but a ſmokie ſhadow of that real and ſubſtantial Sacrifice which was offered by the Son of *God* unto his Father *. The comfort which *Noah* afforded unto the World, concerning the work and toyl of their hands, or the ground which the Lord had curſed, was but a ſlight Surface, or liveleſs Picture of that glorious bleſſing of life, which Chriſt, having freed us from *Adams* curſe, hath by his his death bequeathed unto us. *I heard a voice from hence, ſaying unto me, Bleſſed are the dead which dye in the Lord, from henceforth yea ſaith the Spirit, that they may reſt from their labours, and their works do follow them, Revel.* 14. 13. Again, *Noah* was a Preacher of Righteouſneſs, Chriſt was more, *&c. Noah* built an Ark, into which whoſoever entred not, did periſh, into which likewiſe, whoſoever did enter, were ſaved from the Deluge; ſo did Chriſt build one Holy Catholick and Apoſtolick Church, without which none can be ſaved; in which whoſoever is found, ſhall be undoubtedly ſaved from thoſe everlaſting flames wherewith the world ſhall be deſtroyed.

* *Walk in love, as Chriſt alſo hath loved us, and hath given himſelf for us, an offering and a ſacrifice to God for a ſweet ſmelling ſavour,* Epheſ. 5. 2.

32. So then our belief that Chriſt the Son of *Mary* was the promiſed Seed which was to come, and that he was in part pre-figured by *Noah*, may be rightly grounded on the Divine Prediction, or Propheſie uttered by *Lamech*; it cannot be ſafely grounded on *Lamechs* apprehenſion or application of this Prediction. Herein perhaps he might err, and ſo might the beſt of Gods Prophets err in the particular determination of them, wherein their Propheſies were to be fulfilled, or in their applications of them to the perſons in whom they might conjecture they ſhould be fulfilled. Nor is error in particulars of this nature (ſo long as men ſtedfaſtly believe the general) altogether ſo dangerous as ſome men think it, unleſs it be accompanied with wilfulneſs or obſtinacy: for that is it which turns errors into Hereſies. *Abraham* himſelf, after his *belief* in Gods Promiſes concerning the promiſed Seed, was imputed unto him for Righteouſneſs, did commit a greater error in miſ-application of that very promiſe, whoſe belief was imputed unto him for Righteouſneſs, than *Evah* or *Lamech* did in miſ-applying *Gods* Promiſe concerning the Womans Seed unto their Firſt-born; if haply they did ſo miſ-apply it. For *Abraham* by *Sarahs* perſwaſion, thought *Gods* Promiſe or Prediction concerning his Seed, ſhould be fulfilled in the Seed or Off-ſpring of *Hagar*, *Sarahs* Handmaid; and continued in this perſwaſion, until the Lord recti-

fied it, and ſet his belief aright by expreſs promiſe of *Iſaacs* ſtrange and miraculous birth. And the event anſwering to this promiſe or prediction, was a real fore-ſignification or prefiguration of the more ſtrange and more miraculous birth of our Saviour. So likewiſe was the ſtrange Birth and Conception of *Samſon*, of *Samuel*, and of *John Baptiſt:* for God in his Wiſdom did diſpence theſe miraculous bleſſings of fruitfulneſs upon Woman, by natural diſpoſition of body or of age altogether barren, that they might ſerve as inducements for eſtabliſhing the belief of poſterity, concerning the moſt miraculous Conception of the Womans Seed κατ' ἐξοχὴν, which had been promiſed from the beginning. And albeit an Angel from Heaven might in reaſon, (at leaſt with better reaſon than any mortal man can pretend) exact belief unto his ſolemn meſſage or predictions, without further proof or experiment; yet the Angel *Gabriel* himſelf, the great Embaſſadour of the bleſſed Annunciation, would have the bleſſed Virgin to ground her belief, not only upon his ſole prediction, but withal upon the freſh and real experiment of her Couſin *Elizabeths* ſtrange Conception of a Son in her old Age. For after the delivery of his meſſage, and his rejoinder to her modeſt reply, *How ſhall this be, ſeeing I know not man?* He finally concludes the Dialogue on his part, *Behold, thy Couſin* Elizabeth, *ſhe hath alſo conceived a Son in her old age, and this is the ſixth month with her, who was called barren; for with God nothing ſhall be impoſſible. Luke* 1. 36, 37. Nor did the bleſſed Virgin refuſe to make tryal of the ſign which he had given her: for immediately after the Angels departure from her, *ſhe repaired unto her Couſin Elizabeth*, (as the Text ſaith) *in haſte*, where ſhe found the Angels prediction fully ratified by the event or fact. For, upon the firſt ſalutation of *Elizabeth*, the Child (whoſe Conception the Angel told her of) did ſpring for joy in *Elizabeths* Womb; and for a pledge or token that ſhe had conceived by power and virtue of the Holy Ghoſt, her Couſin *Elizabeth*, upon her ſalutation, was filled with the Holy Ghoſt in her heart, and out of the abundance of her heart thus filled, her mouth did ſpeak and utter that prophetical ſalutation which the Angel had uſed unto her, with a loud voice; *Bleſſed art thou amongſt Women, and bleſſed is the fruit of thy Womb, v.*42. And by this ſpirit of Propheſie, *Elizabeth* did then know that that bleſſed Virgin had conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, and that then the Child conceived by her, ſhould be her Lord and Redeemer: the bleſſed Virgin again, upon freſh experiments of theſe facts fully anſwerable to the Angels prediction, was filled with the Holy Ghoſt, and the ſpirit of Propheſie, by which ſhe uttered that excellent ſaying, *My Soul doth magnifie the Lord, &c.*

Now the very Embaſſage of the Angel *Gabriel* was really foreſhadowed or prefigured by the ſending of *Eſaiah* the Prophet unto *Ahas* the King of *Judah*, whereof we read *Eſay* the 7. *verſe* 3. The tenor of the Angels Meſſage unto the Bleſſed Virgin was literally and expreſly foretold by the Prophet unto *Ahas*, *verſe* 14. *Behold, a Virgin ſhall conceive and bear a Son, and ſhall call his name Emanuel.* Howbeit even in this Propheſie or teſtimony of our Saviours Birth and Conception, there was an ἀποτέλεσμα, *that is*, a full concurrence of Propheſie and Type, an expreſs prediction or fore-telling of what ſhould afterwards come to paſs, and a real over-ſhadowing or repreſentation of what afterwards did come to paſs by matter of preſent fact or deed; *that is*, this Propheſie was truly verified in the Prophets time, according to its literal or hiſtorical ſence; and yet again exactly and exquiſitely fulfilled, according to the literal and myſtical ſence, in our Saviours Birth and Conception. The ſigns of both times, concerning the eſtate of *Judah*, were in proportion the ſame. But the particular and full explication of this Propheſie will come more fitly to be diſcuſſed hereafter.

33. For Concluſion of the firſt general point propoſed, I would requeſt you to note, that of ſuch fore-ſignifications concerning our Saviour Chriſts Conception, his Birth, his Baptiſm, his Death, his Paſſion, as conſiſt in matter of fact or type, ſome are direct, others are indirect, and ſignifie by contraries. As for example; The firſt Woman was made of *Adam* by Gods immediate hand, not begotten by Man, and being thus made, ſhe was an inverted type or ſhadow, that the ſecond *Adam*, who was to bruiſe the Serpents head, was to be made of a Woman by the immediate hand of GOD, not begotten by Man. Thus much was expreſly foretold by the Prophet *Jeremy, chap.* 31. *v.* 22. *Behold, I create a new thing in the Land, the female ſhall compaſs or encloſe a man, or the female ſhall encloſe Gever.* But of this point you may be ſatisfied, if it pleaſe you, elſewhere more at large. I only inſtance in this particular for this time, to give you notice that ſome things may be really fore-ſhadowed, as well by contraries or inverſion of the circumſtances, as by direct types or ſutable repreſentations. Whether it be this way or that way fore-ſhadowed, the caſe is all one, as it was with that Picture-maker, who being requeſted to paint a Man and an Horſe overthrown in Battel, painted an Horſe in a full career with a Man on his back; and being challenged for not making ſuch a Picture, as he was requeſted to do, he willed the party to turn the upſide of the Table downwards, and he had as fair and exact a Picture of an Horſe and a Man overthrown, as he could make him. Of this kind of Types was the Brazen Serpent; it could not be any direct Type of CHRIST, albeit the lifting up of a Brazen Serpent, was a real Type or repreſentation of our Saviours future exaltation upon the Croſs. And ſo was *Hezekiahs* demoliſhing of the Brazen Serpent, a real Propheſie or repreſentation of our Saviours bruiſing the old Serpents head, or rather of his utter deſtruction of his Kingdom, which ſhall be acompliſhed at the laſt day. But the full explication of this Type, we muſt defer until we come to unfold the myſteries of Jeſus Chriſt, and him Crucified. Let this ſuffice at this time for the firſt general point, *to wit*, how our Faith in Jeſus Chriſt is to be grounded or confirmed: wherein hath been ſhewed, firſt, That all belief muſt be grounded on the Word of GOD. Secondly, That we believe theſe Books of the Old and New Teſtament to be the Word of GOD, becauſe they contain as well ſuch predictions or Propheſies, as real prefigurations or Types of Chriſt and his Kingdom, as none but the only wiſe immortal God could fore-ſhadow.

The Scripture is the only infallible Rule, by which the true Church can be diſcerned.

34. The uſe of this Doctrine hitherto delivered, is the ſame which ſhall be the end of all my meditations upon this portion of Scripture. The points which I ſpecially aimed at in the choice of it, were theſe: firſt, to breed or beget a ful perſwaſion in you, that theſe Books of the Old and New Teſtament are ſufficient in themſelves to make you wiſe unto Salvation; that the truth of myſteries contained in them, may be ſufficiently manifeſted by their own light, without the infallible propoſal or authority of any viſible Church on Earth to give

them luſtre, or make them viſible. Their light is of it ſelf ſufficient to enable you to diſcern all truths expedient for your Salvation; and amongſt other truths, to diſcern which of all the viſible Churches upon Earth, is the true Church of God. And this they ſufficiently teach, without any ſuch notes or properties as the *Romiſh Church* would obtrude upon you. If in the Writings of our own Friends, I mean, the Paſtors or Teachers of Reformed Churches, you light upon ſome notes of the true Church, as *Preaching of the Word*, and *Adminiſtration of the Sacraments*, you muſt conceive their meaning to be no more but this, *That theſe two conſpicuous and viſible notes, are eſſentially and neceſſarily required to the conſtitution of a viſible Church.* They are not, they cannot be any infallible notes for diſcerning which viſible Church is true, which falſe, which Heretical, which Orthodoxal: no more than to have publick Meetings, or a form of Government eſtabliſhed by Law or Charter, can be a true note for diſcerning which is the beſt or ancienteſt Corporation in this Kingdom. Now, to have publick Meetings, or a form of Government eſtabliſhed by Law or Charter, can be no note or difference for diſtinguiſhing one Corporation from another, becauſe without theſe, no aſſembly of men, how great ſoever can be truly termed a Corporation. And that wherein all agree, can be no note whereby to difference or diſtinguiſh one from another, or to determine which is the beſt, which is the worſt. Wherefore if the queſtion were, Which is the beſt or ancienteſt Corporation in this Kingdom? This queſtion could no otherwiſe be reſolved, than by inſpection of their ſeveral Laws and Charters. Or, in caſe their Charters were the ſame, that Corporation would be the beſt, which did rightlieſt uſe, practiſe or enjoy the benefits or priviledges of the ſame, or like Charter, or which did live as well in publick as in private, in beſt conformity to their Laws. Now, every viſible Church is a Society or Corporation Eccleſiaſtick: And no aſſembly or multitude of men, how great ſoever, albeit they privately profeſs the ſame Faith, can truly be ſaid to make one viſible Society or Corporation Eccleſiaſtick, unleſs they have their publick Meetings to hear the Word of God Preached, or read unto them, unleſs at ſuch Meetings they joyn together in publick Prayer and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments. Whence if the queſtion be, of all ſuch Aſſemblies, Corporations, or Societies Eccleſiaſtick, as joyn together in hearing the Word Preached, in Common Prayers, in Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, *that is*, Of all viſible Churches, which is the true Church of God: There can be no other poſſible ſatisfactory anſwer than this, *That is*, the true Church of God, or Orthodoxal viſible Church, whoſe Doctrine, Prayers, and manner of Adminiſtring Sacraments, is moſt conformable and agreeable to the Fundamental Charter, which Charter is contained in the Books of the old and New Teſtament. So that all other points, all marks and notes, how many ſoever our Adverſaries make, muſt be examined and tryed by this Rule. Amongſt other marks of the Church, they make the gift of Miracles to be one.

Verbi prædicatio & Sacramentorum adminiſtratio non tam ſunt notæ quibus diſtingui poteſt Orthodoxa Eccleſia ab Hæretica, quàm formalis ratio ſeu differentia conſtitutiva Eccleſiæ viſibilis.

35. Concerning Miracles I have not much to ſay, being loth to put my ſickle into another mans Harveſt, from whom, I hope, you ſhall reap full ſatisfaction. Only this caveat I would commend unto you, which heretofore I have publiſhed, that although it be granted, that the Devil by his own power can work no true miracle, that is, nothing that ſhall be above the force or power of nature, or contrary to it; or it being granted likewiſe, that God doth never lend the uſe of his

Omnipotent Power unto Satan, his Angels or Miniſters, to work any true Miracle thereby to try the Faith of Chriſtians: yet all this being granted in general, if we deſcend unto particular wonders, we muſt have as great skill in the force and power of nature, how far it may extend, as Satan hath; We muſt be as cunning in diſcovering his ſlights, juglings, or deluſions, as he is in his jugling or deluding, before we can be ſecure, that he cannot put one of the two jugling tricks upon us. As firſt, that he cannot make us believe thoſe wonders which we ſee effected, to exceed the force or power of natural cauſes, when as in truth and in deed they do not: or that he cannot make us believe, that ſuch wonders or miracles, as indeed exceed the force of nature, to be wrought by him or his Inſtruments; when as they are wrought by God himſelf, for ſome other ſpecial end or purpoſe, or for ſome other uſe than he or his Inſtruments could refer them unto. The Hail-ſtones mentioned, *Joſhuah* 10. *ver.* 11. were, aſwell for their magnitude, as for the manner of their falling upon the five Kings of the *Amorites*, truly miraculous, and ſure ratifications of *Joſhuah's* and his followers belief: Yet whether Satan, permitted by God [*Applicare activa paſſivis*] *to make choice of his own Agents or Inſtruments*, be not able ſo far to improve the ſtrength of natural cauſes, or ſo combine them, that they ſhould produce as great Hailſtones as thoſe were, is more than any ſober Philoſopher will take upon him to define. However, the production of the like or greater tempeſt than this was, is not enough to perſwade this or that point of controverſed Doctrine. For ſuppoſe ſome poor *Amoritiſh Widow*, pitifully oppreſſed by one or more of theſe five Tyrants, had out of the bitterneſs of her Soul, about this time, preſented her complaints to *Nemeſis* at *Rhamnus*, a place wherein the power of this revengeful Lady was, in the conceit of the Heathen, uſually manifeſted, in as remarkable and peculiar ſort, as the vertue of our Lady (in the opinion of the *Romiſh Catholicks*) is at *Hall* or *Loretto*, in reſpect of other places. Imagine again, thoſe Hailſtones had fallen upon the five Kings, upon the poor Widows return into *Canaan* from *Rhamnus*, how eaſily might the ſuppliant have been perſwaded by Satan, that this great Miracle had been effected for her ſake, and by the power of the imaginary Goddeſs *Nemeſis*, whom ſhe ſerved? It was not then this miraculous ſtorm, but the conſonancy of its miraculous effect, unto Gods Promiſe or Prediction made to *Joſhuah*; (to wit, the manifeſt execution of *that Gods* ſentence whom *Joſhuah* worſhipped, (maugre all the Gods, whoſe aid theſe Kings of the *Amorites* had ſupplicated againſt *Iſrael*) which was to confirm the Faith of the *Iſraelites* unto Gods Promiſes. For *the Lord had ſaid unto* Joſhuah, (when the *Gibeonites* ſupplicated his aſſiſtance againſt the Kings of the *Amorites* that dwelt in the Mountains) *Fear them not: for I have delivered them into thine hand; there ſhall not a man of them ſtand before thee. Joſhuah*, upon this requeſt of the *Gibeonites*, warranted by *God*, *came unto them ſuddenly, and went up to* Gilgal *all night.* And as the Lord had promiſed, ſo it came to paſs: *for the Lord diſcomfited them before* Iſrael, *and ſlew them with a great ſlaughter at* Gibeon, *and chaſed them along the way, that goeth up to* Bethoron, *and ſmote them unto* Azekah, *and unto* Makkedah. *And it came to paſs, as they fled from before* Iſrael, *and were in the going down to* Bethoron, *that the Lord caſt down great ſtones from Heaven upon them unto* Azekah, *and they dyed: they were more which dyed with Hail-ſtones, than they whom the Children of* Iſrael *ſlew with the Sword*, Joſh. 10. *v.* 8, 9, 10, 11.

36. For concluſion, the greateſt wonderment or miracle, that in this age can be wrought, muſt be tryed by this only touch-ſtone of Faith, Gods written Word, whether it proceed from God and his Meſſengers, or from Satan and his Inſtruments. Now ſeeing the Scriptures, or Rule of Faith, hath manifeſted unto us, wherein the Kingdom of Chriſt, and the Kingdom of Satan or Antichriſt do conſiſt, the Point, whereon every miracle or wonderment muſt be examined is this, Whether it tend to the eſtabliſhment of the Kingdom of God or of Chriſt in our Souls, or to the erection or propagation of the Kingdom of Antichriſt through this world.

Suppoſe ſome man or woman amongſt us were really poſſeſt of a whole Legion of Devils, and that ſome *Turkiſh*, *Jewiſh*, *Muſcovitiſh*, *Greek*, or *Romiſh Prieſt*, ſhould take upon him by exorciſm to make all the Devils go out of the Parties body poſſeſſed, one after another, in as viſible and conſpicuous manner, as he could drive Bees out of their hive through a quill or pen, and cauſe every one of them to tell you his name, or what place he holds in Hell: yet the true uſe of ſuch miracle or wonderment could be no other, than to reſolve you, that there may be a real poſſeſſion of ſome bodies in this age, and a real diſ-poſſeſſion of theſe Devils, which had taken poſſeſſion of it. But if the party which had thus really diſpoſſeſt them, ſhould upon this wonderment exhort or require you to believe, that that viſible Church whereof he is a Prieſt or Member, is the only true Church of God, whoſe Propoſals or Doctrines you are abſolutely bound to believe, without further examination or tryal of them by the written Word of God, *the rule of Faith*; this were a true and infallible Argument, that the wonder was wrought by the power and ſlight of Satan, not by the vertue and power of God, or of Chriſt's true Meſſengers. For if we duly conſider, what advantage or poſſeſſion Satan might by this means gain over our Souls; if any Devil in Hell would be ſo proud, ſo obſtinate, or wilful, as to refuſe to obey any *Prieſt*, *Jew*, or *Turk*, that would adjure him to depart upon theſe conditions out of any mans body which he did poſſeſs: reaſon and common ſenſe might inſtruct us, that *Beelzebub* the Prince of Devils, and his aſſiſtants, would uſe all the power they could, to vex or torment ſuch a wilful Devil, as an *Apoſtata*, a Rebel, or Traytor, that would not advance their Kingdom when he might. Wherefore, if any Prieſt or other, ſhall at any time tempt you to admit of the infallibility of the *Romiſh Church*, or to believe in all points as that Church believeth, only upon fame or ſight of ſuch a wonder wrought by one of her Children; ye ſtand bound in conſcience, and upon the Allegiance which you owe to Chriſt, to crave reſpite until you can inform your conſciences, whether the acknowledgment of ſuch abſolute infallibility, as the modern Prieſts and Jeſuits aſcribe unto the modern Romiſh Church, or the ſubmiſſion of your belief unto all her Doctrines (eſpecially to this) be not a flat Apoſtaſie from Chriſt unto Satan, and a true acknowledgment of his Soveraignty made unto the Church of *Rome*, as to his Proxy or Deputy for this purpoſe. Again, if any Prieſt ſhould work ſuch a wonder as hath been mentioned, by ſuch exorciſm as they uſe, as by applying the conſecrated Hoſt, (as they call it) their Crucifixes or Holy-water unto the party affected, or by examining the Devils by Oath upon the Sacrament; you are bound in Conſcience likewiſe to crave reſpite to be reſolved, whether theſe or the like Solemnities or Ceremonies as they have uſed of late in this Land, be not Magical Sacrifices, true and proper feats of Witchery and Sorcery. Theſe are points wherein no exorciſt, no *Romiſh Prieſt* or *Jeſuite* this day living in this Land, can give any ingenious underſtanding man any tolerable ſatisfaction. The former Point, concerning the infallibility of the *Romiſh Church*, is elſe-where handled at large, and I ſhall be willing to acknowledge my ſelf a thankful Debtor unto any Prieſt or Jeſuite, or other well-willer of the preſent *Romiſh Church*, that ſhall give me occaſion or ground of reaſon to think better of their Religion in this Point, than hitherto I have thought, or can perſwade my ſelf to think. And better than flat Apoſtaſie from Chriſt I never thought it, ſince I was able to read the *Trent Council*, *Bellarmine*, *Valentian*, or other defendants of the Popes abſolute and plenary power. My Soul ſhall bleſs him, whether Proteſtant or Papiſt, that ſhall convince my underſtanding, there can be any more peſtiferous foundation laid for the erection of *Antichriſts* Kingdom, than the Jeſuiſts and Canoniſts have laid, by making the preſent Pope the Virtual Church; or the viſible Church of *Rome*, the ſole Catholick Church, unto which God in his Word hath promiſed the infallible aſſiſtance of his Spirit. As for the latter Point, that their Exorciſms are but inchantments or feats of Sorcery, it hath been laid unto their charge by ſome of good place, and greater worth in the Church of *England*, who are able enough to prove their Allegations, ſo their Adverſaries would be willing to make their defence, or ſubmit themſelves to any lawful tryal.

The

The ſecond Branch of the ſecond Member, propoſed in the former Treatiſe, Parag. 24. Containing an explication of the particular Propheſies, on which John Baptiſts *Faith was grounded, as alſo of the ſigns of the time, by which it was confirmed, before he ſent his meſſage unto our Saviour.*

Of the prenotions which John *or the Phariſees had concerning the time or manner of Chriſts coming or manifeſtation: and of the Interrogatories propounded to* John *by the Prieſts and Levites.*

Sect. 37. AMongſt other things before delivered, this was one which I muſt requeſt you to call to mind, That there may be a true prenotion or ſtedfaſt belief of ſome promiſe or prediction concerning Chriſt, and yet the parties which do no ways diſtruſt the indefinite truth or fulfilling of ſuch predictions or prefigurations, might oft-times err in the application of them to ſome party, or in ſome other circumſtance, until the event it ſelf did teach them rightly how to apply. Every errour preſuppoſeth ſome branch of Ignorance; but Ignorance doth not always include errour. Whence it will follow, that if the beſt of Gods Saints might err in particulars concerning themſelves as *Abraham* did, there is no queſtion but they and others might be ignorant of many particulars which became manifeſt to poſterity. Thus the Phariſees or the Prieſts and Levites, which were ſent from *Jeruſalem* to queſtion *John Baptiſt*, had a true prenotion or belief in general, that God in latter ages would raiſe up an extraordinary Prophet like unto *Moſes*. But whether this extraordinary Prophet ſhould be the Chriſt or *Meſſias* himſelf, or rather his fore-runner, his attendant or companion, they were ignorant. They had again a true prenotion or belief in general, that God would ſend a ſolemn Meſſenger to prepare the ways of the Lord or the *Meſſias* whom they did ſeek: but whether this Meſſenger ſhould be *Elias* the Prophet, the ſame individual perſon which was taken up in a fiery Chariot into Heaven, or ſome other in power and efficacy of ſpirit, in zeal to Gods true worſhip and Religion like unto him, they were ignorant. And to have been meerly ignorant had been no fault, or at leaſt no dangerous fault: but this their ignorance declined to errour and ſtiff preſumption, that this Meſſenger foretold *Malachy* 3. *verſe* 1. ſhould be *Eliah* the *Tiſhbite* himſelf. They had a true prenotion or belief in general, that the *Meſſias* his coming into the World, or manifeſtation to it, ſhould be ſolemnized with ſome extraordinary Rite or Ceremony to be performed by water; as by waſhing or baptizing: but whether this ſolemnity of *baptizing* or waſhing ſhould be performed by the *Meſſias* himſelf, or by *Elias*, whom they lookt ſhould be his meſſenger, or by the Prophet like to *Moſes*, (who as they expected, ſhould be a perſon diſtinct from Chriſt;) In all theſe points they were ignorant, at leaſt doubtful. Howbeit their prenotion of this *indefinite* or *general truth* did moſt incline unto the firſt point, to wit, that this *ſolemnity* of baptizing ſhould be performed by the Chriſt or *Meſſias* himſelf. Thus much may probably be gathered from

Johns emphatical denial that he was the Chriſt or Meſſias. *This is the record of* John, *when the* Jews *ſent Prieſts and Levites from* Jeruſalem *to ask him, Who art thou? And he confeſſed and denied not: but confeſſed, I am not the Chriſt, Joh.* 1. *v.* 19, 20. Thus much he confeſſed voluntarily, as may be gathered from Saint *Luke: And as the people were in expectation, and all men muſed in their hearts of* John, *whether he were the Chriſt or not:* John *anſwered, ſaying unto them all, I indeed baptize you with water, but one mightier than I cometh, the latchet of whoſe Shoos I am not worthy to unlooſe, he ſhall baptize you with the Holy Ghoſt, and with fire. Luke* 3. *verſe* 15, 16. This voluntary acknowledgment of his, was in effect to deny that he was the Chriſt: but what he here intimates by way of denyal, or prevention of the people that doubted whether he were the Chriſt or no, he plainly expreſſeth, being ſolemnly and formally aſked the ſame Queſtion by the Prieſts and Levites, which the people tacitly made; *I am not the Chriſt.** Now, his anſwer to this firſt interrogatory, being ſo full and plain; they frame a ſecond, *What then? Art thou Elias? And he ſaith, I am not.* And not ſatisfied with this anſwer, they preſs him with a third, *Art thou the Prophet? And he anſwered, No.* And he had good reaſon to anſwer negatively to this third Interrogatory, becauſe he had anſwered negatively to the firſt: for that Prophet which *Moſes* fore-told the Lord would raiſe up like unto himſelf, was to be the Chriſt, the promiſed Meſſias, and no other.

* Joh. 1. 20.

38. Of the exact proportion and ſimilitude betwixt *Moſes* and Chriſt, you may read * elſewhere, or hear more at large hereafter, as occaſion ſhall require. His anſwer to the ſecond Interrogatory being negative, might well adminiſter matter of new quarrel or diſpute unto the captious of thoſe times, and ſome occaſion of ſcruple unto the curious amongſt us: for he ſeems to deny that, which our Saviour in this very * Chapter avoucheth of him; *But what went ye out for to ſee? A Prophet? Yea, I ſay unto you, and more than a Prophet. For this is he of whom it is written, Behold, I ſend my Meſſenger before thy face, which ſhall prepare thy way before thee.* And again, *verſe* 13, 14. *For all the Prophets, and the Law propheſied until John. And if ye will receive it, this is * Elias which was for to come.* And again, *Mark* 9. *verſe* 11, 12, 13. *When the Apoſtles asked him, ſaying, Why ſay the Scribes that Elias muſt firſt come*; (to wit, before the conſummation of the hopes of *Iſrael*, or their redemption by the Meſſias) *He anſwered, and told them,* Elias *verily cometh firſt, and reſtoreth all things, and how it is written of the Son of man, that he muſt ſuffer many things and be ſet at nought. But, I ſay unto you, that* Elias *indeed is come, and they have done unto him whatſoever they liſted, as it is written of him.* This he ſpake of *John Baptiſt*, after he was beheaded. And what reaſon had *John* to deny he was *Elias*, when he was asked this Queſtion, ſeeing our Saviour, after his denyal, hath twice affirmed it? [*Non male reſpondit, malè enim prior ille rogavit.*] The fore-man or ſpeaker of the Prieſts and Levites, did propound this Queſtion amiſs, and in ſuch a ſence, as *John* could not anſwer affirmatively to it. For the meaning of the Interrogatory was, Whether he were that very *Elias* the *Thisbite*, which was taken up into Heaven in the fiery Chariot; and *John* knew himſelf not to be this *Elias*, nor did our Saviour ever affirm that he was this *Elias*.

* *In the third Book upon the Creed. Sect.*3. *cap.*11. *parag.* 7.

* Matt. 11. 9, 10.

* Mal. 4, 5.

39. But ſome men haply will reply, that albeit they were miſtaken in this particular, to which *John* did well to give a negative anſwer:

yet *John*, having ſo fair an occaſion to rectifie the error of the *Prieſts* and *Levites*, might have done better, if he had more fully expreſſed himſelf, and anſwered with a diſtinction, that he was not *Elias* the *Thisbite*, but yet that *Elias* which the Prophet *Malachy* had fore-told the Lord would ſend, *Chap.* 4. For *John* could not, in all probability, be ignorant of the Prophet *Malachy* his meaning, ſeeing the Angel *Gabriel* had expreſly expounded it to his Father *Zacharias*, Luke 1. ver. 17. *He ſhall go before him in the ſpirit and power of* Elias, *to turn the hearts of the Fathers unto the Children, and the diſobedient to the wiſdom of the juſt, to make ready a people prepared for the LORD.* But this perhaps was more than *John* had occaſion to call to mind. He might be ignorant, without offence, whether *Elias* himſelf was not to come after him. For even the beſt of Gods Saints and Prophets (as was obſerved before) knew no more of Gods will concerning things to come, than it was his will and pleaſure to impart unto them. Each of them knew his Cue, the ſigns of the time when he was to begin, and when to end; each had the part, which God had appointed him to utter or act, perfectly by heart; Each knew the tenor of his own Commiſſion: but none, or few of them, did ſo well underſtand anothers Commiſſion, until they had ſeen it ſped, or the meaning of it unfolded by the event. Now, although the words of *Malachy* were literally meant of *John Baptiſt*, yet were they a kind of Riddle, until our Saviour did unfold them. And it ſeemeth by the phraſe which our Saviour uſeth, *Matthew* 11. *ver.* 14. that their true meaning was a myſtery, which he himſelf, or *John* only knew, and was to be revealed only to ſuch as were already true Diſciples. For the word *receive* is, τεχνικὸν, a *term of Art* amongſt the *Hebrews*, and imports ſome ſuch myſtery as the *Jews* imagine to be contained in their *Cabaliſtical Art*. The like force hath the ſame word in that of the Apoſtle, 1 *Tim.* 1. 15. *This is a faithful ſaying, and worthy of all reception or Cabaliſm.* Not that he approves that Art, at leaſt, as ſince that time it hath been uſed, but rather, that this was a myſtery of greater worth and conſequence, than all the myſteries which the *Cabaliſts* can imagine to be in their Art contained. The manner or importance of the Apoſtles ſpeech, is much-what like to that anſwer of his in the * Poet, who when they ſought to terrifie him from fight, by the ill-aboding or ſiniſter flying of Birds, made anſwer:

1 *Tim.* 1. 15.

* *Homer. Iliad.* μ.

Εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης.

It was the beſt Augurium or South-ſaying, for a man to fight for his Country.

40. Finally, Although *Malachy* did Propheſie of *John Baptiſts* coming before Chriſt *in the power and ſpirit of* Elias; yet *John Baptiſt* did not receive his inſtructions from this Prophet, nor had he his Commiſſion for being Chriſts fore-runner, or his warrant for baptizing from *Malachy*, but from the Prophet *Iſaiah*. And therefore when the Prieſts and the Levites preſt him further, ſaying, *Who art thou, that we may give an anſwer to them that ſent us? What ſayeſt thou of thy ſelf? He ſaid, I am the voice of one crying in the Wilderneſs, make ſtraight the way of the Lord, as ſaid the Prophet Eſaias.* This was the peremptory anſwer which he meant to ſtand unto. This, and other paſſages of the ſame Prophet being joyned with the internal teſtimony of the Spirit, which did interpret their true meaning unto him, was his warrant for doing what he did; for baptizing, or for preparing

the way of the Lord which was to come. But whether the Lord would ſend *Elias*, or ſome other greater Meſſenger than himſelf, was more than he durſt take upon him to reſolve the Prieſts and Levites in; (ſpecially ſeeing they were of the Sect of the Phariſees) and more perhaps than he in his Religious modeſty or ſobriety did queſtion or enquire after. But when the ſame Prieſts and Levites did by way of demand or Interrogation ſeem to upbraid him with arrogancy, in taking more upon him than was befitting him, unleſs he were either the Chriſt, or *Elias*, or the Prophet like to *Moſes*; to ſome of which ſo great a work as the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm did ſolely belong: he modeſtly anſwers [*diſtinguendo*] *I baptize with water, but there ſtandeth one among you, whom ye know not: He it is, who coming after me, is preferred before me, whoſe Shoos latchet I am not worthy to unloſe*, John 1. 26,27. In which words the Evangeliſt Saint *John* doth intimate as much as is expreſſed by the Evangeliſt Saint *Matthew*, to wit, that Chriſt ſhould baptize them after another manner than *John* did, that is, *with the Holy Ghoſt and with fire*, Chap. 3. 11. I will not trouble you, but rather requeſt you not to trouble your ſelves with that needleſs Queſtion (and for the moſt part as ill ſtated by ſuch as have moſt medled with it, as it is needleſs) *how* John's *baptiſm did differ from Chriſt's Baptiſm*, or, Whether they were two Baptiſms altogether diſtinct.

41. Thus much you may evidently conceive out of what hath been now delivered. Firſt, That the Prieſts and Levites (at leaſt the Sect of the Phariſees, of which Sect, the Prieſts and Levites which queſtioned *John* concerning his Baptiſm, were) did not err in their prenotion or belief in general, that the *Meſſias* his coming or manifeſtation to the world, ſhould be ſolemnized by *Baptiſm*; nor did they fail in their conjecture, that the Chriſt or *Meſſias* himſelf was to Baptize: but with what Baptiſm he was to Baptize, they were ignorant. Secondly, You may perceive that *John Baptiſt* had not only a prenotion, but a diſtinct belief or knowledge in particular; that as he himſelf did Baptize with water, ſo the Chriſt or *Meſſias*, whoſe fore-runner he was, ſhould Baptize with the Holy Ghoſt and with fire. The only uſeful or pertinent queſtions which remain to be reſolved or diſcuſſed, are but two. The firſt,

[1.] Whether the Prieſts and Levites, or the Phariſees had their prenotions or belief in general, [that the *Meſſias* his firſt manifeſtation to the world, ſhould be ſolemnized by Baptiſm] from unwritten Traditions of the Ancients only, or whether it were grounded upon the expreſs teſtimony of Scripture, or the written Word of God. The ſecond,

[2.] Whether *John Baptiſts* firm belief of Chriſts Baptizing with the *Holy Ghoſt*, and his own Baptizing with water, were grounded only upon the internal revelations made to him in private, by him that ſent him to *Baptize* with water; or whether they were grounded likewiſe upon expreſs teſtimonies of the written Word, interpreted and made known unto him by the ſame ſpirit by which the Word was written.

To both theſe Queſtions the anſwer muſt be affirmative; as well the ones prenotion, as the others diſtinct belief, were both grounded upon the expreſs teſtimonies of the written Word. The only ſearch or enquiry then to be made, is upon what expreſs teſtimony the one or other was grounded, and how our belief may be grounded upon the ſame teſtimonies.

42. I

Two ſorts or branches of the literal ſence.

42. I muſt requeſt you to remember, that God in the Old Teſtament did fore-ſhew things to come two ways: either by expreſs teſtimony or prediction, or by matter of fact or real repreſentation. One and the ſame future event is oft-times declared or fore-ſignified both ways. Now predictions meerly prophetical are of two ſorts. Sometimes the Prophets foretel things to come in proper and literal terms, ſo as every man at the firſt hearing may underſtand their meaning. As the Prophet ſpake to *Ahab*, 1. *Kings chap.* 20. *verſe* 42. *Becauſe thou haſt let go out of thy hand a man, whom I appointed to utter deſtruction, therefore thy life ſhall go for his life, and thy people for his people.* Sometimes they fore-tell future events of greater conſequence, as truly and as certainly, but by way of parable, emblem, or allegory. Now, this kind of prediction, and the Types or Figures of the Law, or real events, have the ſame proportion as Poetry and Painting. It was wittily ſaid, [*Poema eſt pictura loquens, & pictura eſt Poema ſilens,*] *Every Poem is a kind of ſpeaking picture, and every artificial picture a kind of mute and ſilent Poem.* And ſo likewiſe every Type or Ceremony of the Law, * every Hiſtorical event portending myſteries Evangelical, is a tacit and ſilent propheſie; and every prophetical parable was a kind of ſpeaking Type or Picture of the like events. The events fore-told or repreſented by Gods Prophets, are always real and ſubſtantial, more than moral, more than natural; myſteries truly Cœleſtial and ſupernatural. Howbeit, the repreſentation of ſuch events or myſteries, is oft-times meerly literal or verbal, but conceived in ſuch terms as ſuppoſe a *feigned* metamorphoſis in the works of nature, to make the picture more freſh and lively. And this kind of prophetical expreſſion of things to come, we call the emblematical ſence or literal Allegory: ſo that although every Poet be not a Prophet, yet every Prophet of the Lord was a true Poet; not in feigning events which never were, nor never ſhould be, but in framing pictures of future events in themſelves contingent, as *exact* and freſh, as any Painter can make of the man whom he ſeeth with his eyes, or whoſe picture hath been drawn to his hand. Now, if a Painter could make exact Pictures of Children which ſhall not be brought forth till the next year following; we would ſay he wrought by inſpiration of his ſpirit, in whoſe books all their members are written, or that his pencil was guided by his hand, who found out the birth of man.

* *Hence ſaith our Saviour,* Mat. 11. v. 13. That the Law as well as the Prophets *propheſied until* John.

Moſt of Iſaiahs *Propheſies concerning* Johns *Baptiſm, or our Saviours manifeſtation were emblematical.*

43. The Propheſies in ſpecial concerning the manifeſtation of the *Meſſias*, and *Johns* office or attendance, are for the moſt part conceived in terms not proper, but parabolical or Emblematical, that is, conſiſting of literal or verbal Allegories. Howbeit ſome of theſe Propheſies, perhaps ſome paſſages in all of them, point out future events in literal, proper and hiſtorical terms. And of events thus literally and punctually fore-ſhewed, ſome came not to paſs until the *Meſſias* was revealed: Others were hiſtorically verified long before: yet ſo, as the events which then hapned, were by Gods inſtitution true Types or ſhadows of miſeries revealed in the Goſpel, or to be revealed during the time of grace. So that one and the ſame Propheſie, is ſometimes, or in reſpect of ſome part of its total object, fulfilled according to the plain literal ſenſe: ſometimes, or in reſpect of other parts of its object, it is fullfilled according to the literal Allegory: ſometimes, or in ſome reſpect, it is fullfilled according to the myſtical ſenſe or real Allegory. Amongſt other ſacred paſſages, which, by the confeſſion

ſion of the Ancient and modern malignant *Jew*, have ſpecial reference to the days of their Meſſias his Revelation, theſe following are more remarkable, *Iſay, cap.* 35. *& cap.* 40. of which hereafter. And again; *I will open rivers in high places, and fountains in the midſt of the valleys: I will make the wilderneſs a pool of water, and the dry land ſprings of water. I will plant in the wilderneſs the Cedar, the Shittah Tree, and the Mirtle, and the Oyl Tree: I will ſet in the deſart the Fir Tree, and the Pine and Box Tree together: That they may ſee, and know, and conſider, and underſtand together, that the hand of the Lord hath done this, and the Holy one of Iſrael hath created it.* Iſaiah 41. verſe 18, 19, 20. *Remember ye not the former things, neither conſider the things of old. Behold, I will do a new thing: now it ſhall ſpring forth, ſhall ye not know it? I will even make a way in the wilderneſs, and rivers in the deſart. The beaſts of the Field ſhall honour me, the Dragons and the Owls, becauſe I give waters in the wilderneſs, and Rivers in the Deſart, to give drink to my people, my choſen. This people* (the ſeed of *Abraham* according to promiſe) *have I formed for my ſelf, they ſhall ſhew forth my praiſe. But thou haſt not called upon me,* O Jacob: *but thou haſt been weary of me,* O Iſrael. That is, the ſeed of *Abraham* according to the fleſh, or ſuch as gloried in their carnal prerogatives of their birth or progeny. *Iſaiah* 43, verſe 18, 19, 20, 21, 22. *Go ye forth of* Babylon: *flee ye from the* Chaldeans *with a voice of ſinging: declare ye, tell this, utter it even to the end of the earth: ſay ye; The Lord hath redeemed his Servant* Jacob. * *And they thirſted not when he led them through the deſarts; he cauſed the waters to flow out of the rock for them: he clave the Rock alſo, and the waters guſhed out.* Iſaiah 48. verſe 20, 21. *For ye ſhall go out with joy, and be led forth with peace: the mountains and the hills ſhall break forth before you into ſinging, and all the trees of the Field ſhall clap their hands. Inſtead of the thorn ſhall come up the Fir Tree, and inſtead of the bryer ſhall come up the Myrtle Tree, and it ſhall be to the Lord for a name, for an everlaſting ſign that ſhall not be cut off.* Iſaiah 55. ver. 12, 13.

* *The Prophet emphatically implies that the miracle which God had wrought for his people in the wilderneſs after their deliverance out of Egypt, ſhould be reiterated or eminently accompliſhed upon their return from* Chaldea. *He foreſaw, as* Jeremy *did, that this ſecond deliverance ſhould be more glorious than the former.* Vide Jer. 23. verſe 27.

44. From theſe and the like particulars in this Prophet, we may obſerve this general: That in all or moſt places, wherein the manifeſtation of the Meſſias, or propagation of his Kingdom is mentioned, there is ſtill foretold ſome ſtrange miracle or wonder to be wrought in the deſart, and in particular the burſting out of waters. The queſtion is, in what ſenſe theſe and like places have been fulfilled, or whether the predictions were plainly literal, or rather by way of Parable or Allegory. Whatſoever may be ſaid or thought of ſome of theſe predictions, certain it is, that others of them were never verified or fulfilled according to the literal, plain, or natural ſenſe of the words, either before or about our Saviours manifeſtation in the wilderneſs. That is as much as to ſay, The myſteries here truly foretold upon *Johns* Baptiſm, were not fore-ſhadowed or prefigured by matter of deed or fact, or by any ſuch real repreſentation as theſe words properly imply; or by any natural or viſible alteration of the ſoil or trees in the wilderneſs. Only the manner of the Propheſie or prediction is Emblematical or Allegorical, that is, the myſteries here foretold, were ſuch in reſpect of mens ſouls, bodies, or affections, as theſe alterations in the ſoil or trees of the wilderneſs (if they had literally faln out) might have been true ſhadows or pictures of them. To

begin with that place whence *Johns* Commiſſion took his beginning. *Iſaiah* 40. *ver.* 3, 4. *The voice of him that cryeth in the Wilderneſs, prepare ye the way of the Lord, make ſtreight in the Deſart a high way for our God. Every Valley ſhall be exalted, and every Mountain and Hill ſhall be made low: and the crooked ſhall be made ſtreight, and the rough places plain.* We are not hence to believe, as ſome latter *Jews* fooliſhly dream, that all the Hills in the Wilderneſs, or place where the *Meſſias* was to be manifeſted, were to be levelled with the Valleys or lower ground; or that all the High-ways for men to come unto him, ſhould be made as plain and ſmooth as a Bowling-alley or Garden-walk. The intent or purport of the Prophet was, that this *Cryer* in the Wilderneſs was ſo to prepare the hearts, the affections, and diſpoſitions of mens minds, that they ſhould not be offended in Chriſt or the *Meſſias*, when he ſhould be revealed; that they ſhould remove all ſtumbling blocks of Pride, Arrogancy, Covetouſneſs, Perverſeneſs, Hypocriſie or the like, which did hinder them from coming unto him with all their Souls, and all their Hearts. So when it is ſaid, *The Lord would turn the thorn into the Fir tree, or the bryer into the Myrtle tree in the Wilderneſs*; we muſt not imagine ſuch a real or corporeal tranſmutation upon our Saviours approach. For if this Metamorphoſis had been made, *John* ſhould not have been a *Cryer* in the Wilderneſs, but in the Garden. What then do the words according to the Prophets natural meaning and intention import? As true, as real, and ſtrange an alteration in mens Souls and Affections, which thus harkned to the Cryers voice, as the ſuppoſed change of the thorn into the Fir tree, or the bryer into the Myrtle tree, or the change of the Wilderneſs it ſelf into a Garden (if that had been really and miraculouſly wrought) could have forepictured, or fore-ſhadowed. The Metaphor or Allegory is no other than that of the ſame Prophet, *Iſaiah* 5. *ver.* 7. *The Vineyard of the Lord of Hoſts is the houſe of* Iſrael, *and the men of* Judah *his pleaſant Plant: and he looked for judgment, but behold oppreſſion, for righteouſneſs, but behold a cry.* That this is the intent and meaning of *Iſaiahs* poetical manner of Prediction, or Figurative kind of ſpeech in the fore-cited places, may be gathered from *John Baptiſt* himſelf, whoſe Interpretation of them in this place is literal, though his ſpeech be metaphorical and ſutable to the former Allegory. For the tenor of his proclamation, or crying in the Wilderneſs was, *Repent, for the Kingdom of God is at hand.* Now Repentance, according to the ſtrict and proper ſenſe of the original, imports a mutation of the mind. And *John*, in the very next words expreſſeth, wherein this change of mind whereto he exhorts them doth conſiſt; *Bring forth fruits worthy Repentance*, *Matth.* 3. *ver.* 8. This he ſpake unto the Phariſees and Sadduces, when they came unto his Baptiſm, whom he termeth a Generation of Vipers, more barren unto all good works or fruits of the Spirit, than the *Thorns* in the Wilderneſs, or the *Brambles* in the Deſart; and yet as proud that they were *Abrahams* Sons, as the Bramble in the Parable of *Jotham*, (*Judges* 9. *ver.* 15.) which ſought to be anointed King over the Trees of the Foreſt. All of them expected to be heirs of the Kingdom of Heaven, which they rightly believed ſhould be eſtabliſhed in the days of the *Meſſias* or Chriſt. Howbeit they thought the chief glory of this Kingdom ſhould conſiſt in their tyrannizing or domineering over the *Gentiles* like Lords and Kings. For quelling this humour, and working that change of mind wherein

The Prophet in the fifth verſe, had Allegorically pictured oppreſſion *by the wild grape, and* righteouſneſs *by the uſeful fruit of the true vine.*

wherein true Repentance conſiſts, *John* admoniſheth them, *Think not to ſay within your ſelves, We have* Abraham *for our Father*: (This proud conceit was a Mountain which was to be removed, ere they could come to Chriſt:) *For I ſay unto you, that God is able out of theſe ſtones to raiſe up Children unto* Abraham, *Matth.* 3. This laſt clauſe in its literal and proper ſenſe, imports a more miraculous change, than the turning of the Bramble into the Myrtle, or the Thorn into the Fir tree, than the exalting of Valleys into Mountains. And yet rather than Gods Promiſe ſhould not have been accompliſhed, this ſpeech of *John* muſt have been fulfilled in its ſtrict and proper ſenſe. However, literally fulfilled it was, in the adoption of Publicans and Sinners, (of whom it was meant by *John*) *to be Abrahams Seed and Heirs of Promiſe.* But the Baptiſt continueth his former Allegory, or Parabolical ſpeech, according to the Prophet *Iſaiah's* intent and meaning; *Now alſo the Axe is laid to the root of the Trees: therefore every Tree which bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down, and caſt into the Fire, ver.* 10. None are excepted, no not the Off-ſpring of *Abraham*; for unleſs upon the Baptiſm of water which *John* Adminiſtred, they become fruitful like the Vine or Olive, they muſt be accounted amongſt the Thorns and Brambles, and be *ſentenced* unto the fire.

The literal Allegory (or Emblematical importance of waters burſting out in the Wilderneſs, ſo often mentioned by the Prophets.

45. But what ſhall we ſay of the waters burſting forth in the Wilderneſs, ſo often mentioned by the Prophet *Iſaias*? Were theſe predictions as meerly figurative as the former, and not at all fulfilled according to the literal, plain, hiſtorical ſenſe? It is probable that they were thus fulfilled, and that God had ſhewn ſome wonders in the Wilderneſs, in cauſing Springs of Water to burſt forth in dry and barren places, between *Iſaias* and *John Baptiſts* days: perhaps before the 107. *Pſalm* was penned, which for the plain literal ſenſe accords with the Prophet *Iſaias* words; *He turneth the Wilderneſs into a ſtanding water, and dry ground into water-ſprings. And there he maketh the hungry to dwell; that he may prepare a City for Habitation, Pſalm* 107. *ver.* 35, 36. Yet becauſe this is but probable or conjectural, we will make it no ground of our intended inference. Suppoſing then that theſe predictions were as meerly figurative or metaphorical as the former, they might notwithſtanding, truly and prophetically pre-figure, or by way of Emblem fore-ſhadow, as well the internal comfort of the Spirit wherewith Chriſt Baptizeth us, as the external Baptiſm of water which *John* adminiſtred. The Water, you know, hath two natural properties, from which many Metaphors (uſual in Sacred Writers) are borrowed; by which the true intent and meaning of the Prophet *Iſaias*, figurative or emblematical expreſſions of the waters in the Wilderneſs is to be valued. The firſt natural property of water, (ſpecially in hotter Countries, where thirſt is more vehement, and waters more pleaſant) is, to refreſh or comfort the weary Soul: The ſecond, to be the *Nurſe* or *Mother* of fruitfulneſs, aſwell in the trees or graſs of the Field, as in plants, herbs, or flowrs of the Garden. According to this latter property, the Prophets prediction of Springs burſting out in the Wilderneſs, was a true Poetical Emblem or ſhadow of *Johns* Baptizing with water, who was to be by his office, as the Gardiner, to water and cheriſh thoſe fruitful Trees and plants of Righteouſneſs, with which God had promiſed to adorn the Wilderneſs. For even the Publicans and Sinners, Aliens by nature from the Common-wealth of *Iſrael*, being made partakers of the

Baptiſm of *John*; were ingrafted into *Abrahams* ſtock, made fruitful branches of that Vine which *God* had planted in *Jewry*, and heirs of that Heavenly Kingdom which *John* did Preach: whilſt *Abrahams* Seed according to the fleſh were diſ-inherited. *All the people that heard him, and the* Publicans *juſtified God, being Baptized with the Baptiſm of* John: *But the* Phariſees *and* Lawyers *rejected the counſel of God againſt themſelves, being not Baptized of him, Luke* 7. *ver.* 29, 30. *vide Mat.* 8. *ver.* 11, 12. According to the firſt natural property of water, which is, to refreſh the weary, or ſuch as are ready to faint for thirſt, the ſame predictions of *ſprings or waters burſting forth in the Wilderneſs*, did pre-figure the internal comfort of the Spirit, wherewith Chriſt alone Baptizeth us. For though *John* did plant and water thoſe plants of *Righteouſneſs*, yet was it Chriſt alone that gave the increaſe. And this internal Baptiſm was really fore-ſhadowed, not only by Figurative or Prophetical manner of ſpeech, but by Hiſtorical and real matter of fact. And ſo likewiſe was the external Baptiſm by water literally fore-told by the Prophet *Iſaias*, that it ſhould be a type or ſign of Chriſt's Baptiſm with the Spirit. This internal Baptiſm (to omit other inſtances) was really fore-ſhadowed by the waters which iſſued out of the Rock in the Wilderneſs, when the people murmured againſt *Moſes* and *Aaron*, as if they had brought them forth out of *Ægypt* to have killed them with thirſt in the Deſart. Now this we take as granted, that every Miracle which God wrought in the Old Teſtament, was a true ſhadow or picture of ſome great myſtery to be fulfilled in the New Teſtament, or after the manifeſtation of Chriſt. In this the *Jews* agree with us; only they expect, that the Miracles which their *Meſſias* ſhould work, ſhould be more glorious to the eye of ſenſe, than thoſe which *Moſes* wrought. But we, ſay they, are not only greater, but of another kind: otherwiſe they ſhould not be true miraculous myſteries but meer miracles. Now that the waters iſſuing out of the Rock, were a type or ſhadow of this myſtical Baptiſm of the Spirit, we have the teſtimonies of the Prophet *Iſaiah, Chap.* 48. *ver.* 28. before cited, and of the *Apoſtle*, 1 *Cor.* 10. *ver.* 1, 2, 3, 4. *Brethren, I would not that you ſhould be ignorant, how that all our Fathers were under the cloud, and all paſſed through the Sea, and were all Baptized unto* Moſes *in the cloud and in the Sea; and did all eat the ſame ſpiritual meat; and did all drink the ſame ſpiritual drink: For they drank of that ſpiritual rock that followed them: and that rock was Chriſt.* How was it Chriſt? not literally, not identically. Chriſt, according to the God-head, was not ſo preſent in, or ſo united to the rock, as he is now to our fleſh; yet was it Chriſt, the ſecond perſon in Trinity, the Son of God, which made the water (wherewith the *Iſraelites*, his people, were comforted and refreſhed in the extremity of their bodily thirſt) to iſſue out of the Rock when *Moſes* ſmote it. The myſtery portended or fore-ſhadowed by this miracle herein conſiſts; That the ſame Son of God (who was truly God) *which* gave them plenty of water out of the Rock, ſhould afterwards become the Rock of our Salvation; the Fountain of Life unto the thirſty and weary Soul. This internal Baptiſm, which was thus really fore-ſhadowed by the waters in the Rock, was literally fore-told, *Pſalm* 36. *ver.* 8, 9. *They ſhall be abundantly ſatisfyed with the fatneſs of thy houſe: and thou ſhalt make them drink of the Rivers of thy pleaſures. For with thee is the Fountain of life: in thy light ſhall we ſee light.*

46. Amongſt other ſenſes, in which the Scriptures of the Old Teſta-

A peculiar ſenſe in which Propheſies, the Pſalms *eſpecially, are more frequently fulfilled than obſerved to be fulfilled by moſt* Interpreters.

ment are ſaid to be fulfilled in the New, one, and that an eſpecial one (as is elſewhere obſerved) is, when ſuch ſpeeches as are by the Prophets (moſt of all by the *Pſalmiſt*) indefinitely uttered of God, but cannot be attributed to the Divine Nature otherwiſe than ἀνθρωποπαθῶς, (*that is*, by manner of ſpeech borrowed from the cuſtoms or faſhions of men) do imprint their ſtrict and proper character upon *God made man*, and fit his actions as the Seal doth the Print in Wax. The Divine Nature is *life* it ſelf, an Ocean of living waters, which we cannot approach: but the Divine Nature in Chriſt, is as a Fountain or Well of life, from which every thirſty Soul may draw the water of life without ſtint, without any danger of drowning himſelf, or drawing it dry. For it is more calm and placid than any Fountain or Spring, though more inexhauſtible than the Sea. According to this ſenſe is that other place of the *Pſalmiſt* fulfilled in Chriſt, that is, in *God made man*; *The Lord ſhall Reign for ever, even thy God,* O Sion, *unto all Generations*, Pſalm 146. *ver.* 10. That the God of *Sion*, as God, ſhould reign for ever, was no new thing, no matter of wonder, or worth notice-taking to any Inhabitant of *Jeruſalem* or man of *Judah*. All of them, (from the leaſt unto the greateſt) knew well that he which had made the World, had no beginning no end of days or ſoveraignty. But that this God of *Sion*, who was Lord likewiſe of Heaven and Earth, ſhould be as viſibly enthronized in *Sion* as *David* had been; and that he ſhould begin to erect a Kingdom which was never to have an end; this was a wonder worthy to be taken notice of by all the world. Now, that this God of *Sion*, by whoſe protection *Moſes* had led *Iſrael* out of *Ægypt*; under whoſe conduct *Joſuah* brought them into the Land of Promiſe, that he who had anointed *David* King, ſhould himſelf be anointed King over *Sion*, was the true and literal meaning of the *Pſalmiſt* in this and the like places; of which hereafter. Of this rank is that Propheſie of *Iſaias*, *Chap.* 40. *ver.* 5. with which *John Baptiſt* was well acquainted; for he had his Commiſſion from it; *The glory of the Lord ſhall be revealed, and all fleſh ſhall ſee it together: for the mouth of the Lord hath ſpoken it.* Such an open, diſtinct, and full ſight, as theſe words literally import, ſuppoſeth an object truly viſible, and within ken of ordinary and common ſight. God in his glory is altogether inviſible to fleſh and blood, and though he had taken viſible ſhape upon him in the Heavens: yet ſo he had ſtill remained inviſible to men that have their habitation here on earth. That unto them he might become viſible, and that they might ſee his glory together; ſo ſee it, as they were ſeen of it; that he might ſee them, and they ſee him with the eyes of fleſh: He took up our fleſh for his Tabernacle, and walked and talked amongſt us in more viſible and audible manner than he did in the Camp of *Iſrael*, than he did with *Moſes* in the Tabernacle of the Congregation. This which *Iſaias* here ſpeaketh from the mouth of the Lord, the Lord himſelf did after utter with his own mouth, and yet with the mouth of man, *to wit*, that he *which had ſeen him, had ſeen his Father:* becauſe the glory of God was manifeſted in him. And when the Prophet ſaith, *That the glory of the Lord ſhould be revealed, and that all fleſh ſhall ſee it together*, it is in this ſpeech included, that this glory of God ſhould be revealed, or manifeſted in *the fleſh*. The beſt interpretation of the Prophets words that I can commend unto you, muſt be from Saint *John*, *Chap.* 1. *ver.* 1, 14. *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.*

And the Word was made Fleſh, and dwelt amongſt us (and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father) full of grace and truth. This bleſſed Apoſtle might perhaps ſay of himſelf and ſome few others in a peculiar ſort, *We ſaw his glory*, and the *glory which we* ſaw, was as the only begotten Son *of God:* for he with *Peter* and *James* had ſeen him transfigured on the Mount. But all that ſaw the Man Chriſt Jeſus at his Baptiſm with their bodily eyes, did ſo ſee the glory of God revealed from Heaven. And he was ſo ſeen of all fleſh. *Some* of all ſorts, though not all of every ſort, did ſee him baptized, and heard him declared from Heaven to be Son of God. Some then preſent were Phariſees, others Sadduces, ſome *Jews*, others *Gentiles*, ſome Publicans, ſome Prieſts and Levites, ſome Samaritans, other *Galilæans.* Not at that time only (though the Prophets words be eſpecially meant of that time) but ever after, all fleſh might have ſeen the lively characters of thoſe *glorious* attributes of Salvation, which the Prophets and Pſalmiſt had appropriated to the God of *Sion*, to make diſtinct and real impreſſion in the Man Chriſt Jeſus. Theſe two attributes of *glory* and *ſalvation*, are of ſo near alliance, of ſuch equivalent uſe, that whereas the Prophet had ſaid, *All fleſh ſhould ſee the glory of God*; Saint *Luke* expreſſing his meaning, ſaith, *All fleſh ſhall ſee the ſalvation of God, chap.* 3. *verſe* 6. He ſuppoſeth, as the Prophet meant, that the glory of GOD ſhould be manifeſted in the ſalvation of men. This *glory* of *ſalvation of God* was then revealed, and became viſible to fleſh and bloud, when God became man, and took his general attribute of *ſalvation*, as his proper *name*, being called *Jeſus.* Finally, that *ſalvation* of God which *Simeon* ſaw with ſuch delight at our Saviours Circumciſion, all fleſh *did* or might have ſeen at his *Baptiſm.*

47. But to return unto the Teſtimony of the Pſalmiſt, *With thee is the Fountain of life*, which containeth the myſtical ſignification of the waters, which miraculouſly iſſued out of the rock. The beſt Interpretation of both places is delivered by Saint *John*, by way of Comment upon our Saviours words, *John* 7. 38, 39. *He that believeth on me (as the Scripture hath ſaid) out of his belly ſhall flow Rivers of living water.* This interſertion or parentheſis [*as the Scripture hath ſaid*] ſtands like the *tongue* in a ballance, doubtful to whether part of the Sentence wherein it is contained, it inclineth. Some Interpreters would draw it to the firſt part; *He that believeth in me, as ſaith the Scripture*, that is, in ſuch wiſe, ſuch ſort and meaſure as the Scripture requireth, *out of his belly ſhall flow Rivers of living water.* Others would draw it to the later part, and render it thus; *He that believeth in me, out of his belly ſhall flow Rivers of living water, as the Scriptures have fore-told.* Though both interpretations may be true, though both may ſtand with the general Analogy of Faith; yet the later (in my opinion is more pertinent, and more conſonant to the true intention of this place. But then it will be queſtioned, What Scripture hath ſaid that, which our Saviour here doth, *to wit*, that rivers of living water ſhould flow from ſuch as believed in him? The very expreſs words are no where elſe to be found in Scripture: for they are, (as moſt of our Saviours are, when he ſpeaks of greateſt myſteries) parabolical. Their importance, or real ſenſe, is expreſſed by Saint *John* in the ſame place; *This he ſpake of the Spirit, &c.* Now, if by the *rivers of living* water, our Saviour meant (as Saint *John* telleth us he did) this plentiful effuſion of his Spirit; the ſame Scriptures which

foretel the plentiful effuſion of the Spirit, whether in terms plainly literal or emblematical, fore-tel likewiſe the Rivers of Living water which were to flow from true believers. The manner of our Saviours expreſſion of the Spirits effuſion *by rivers flowing out*, implyeth, it ſhould be poured out in ſuch a plentiful meaſure, as would be not only ſufficient to ſatiate the ſouls of them that thirſted after it, but in a meaſure over-flowing to the Salvation of others. And ſuch were theſe admirable gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, which after our Saviours Aſcenſion were beſtowed upon his Apoſtles and Diſciples. The Scriptures, which particularly fore-tel this plentiful effuſion of the Spirit, are many: theſe following are, if not the principal, yet the moſt appoſite to our preſent Argument, *Joel* 2. *verſe* 28, 29, and 32. *And it ſhall come to paſs afterward, that I will pour out my Spirit upon all fleſh, and your Sons and your Daughters ſhall propheſie, your old men ſhall dream dreams, your young men ſhall ſee viſions. And alſo upon your ſervants, and upon the Hand-maids in thoſe days will I pour out my Spirit. And it ſhall come to paſs, that whoſoever ſhall call on the name of the Lord, ſhall be delivered: for in Mount* Zion, *and in* Jeruſalem *ſhall be deliverance, as the Lord hath ſaid, and in the remnant, whom the Lord ſhall call.* And again, *Iſaias* 44. *ver.* 3, 4. *I will pour water upon him that is thirſty, and Floods upon the * dry ground: I will pour my Spirit upon thy Seed, and my bleſſing upon thine off-ſpring: And they ſhall ſpring up as among the graſs, as Willows by the Water-courſes.* The firſt words of this later Propheſie were literally and hiſtorically fulfilled in the Baptiſm of *John*; the later part of it, is, as it were an Evangelical explication of the myſtical ſenſe of the former words. And *John Baptiſt* might from this place alone eaſily collect, that although he might pour water upon mens bodies, though he did plunge or waſh ſuch as are compared to dry Land, in the waters, and by this external Sacrament, ingraft them in the ſtock of *Abraham:* yet he could not *pour* out the Spirit of God, or beſtow the bleſſing of increaſe upon them. This he knew muſt be the work of him that *ſent him*, who had beſtowed ſome portion or meaſure of the Spirit or bleſſing here mentioned upon him, as a ſure pledge or experiment of the like bleſſing to be beſtowed on others; ſpecially on ſuch as had been partakers of his Baptiſm. From the ſame place likewiſe *John* might eaſily gather, that the *baptiſm* of *water* wherewith he himſelf baptized, was in order of time to go before the Baptiſm of the Spirit, which was myſtically prefigured by it, and fore-told by our Saviour in the fore-cited place, *John* 7. *v.* 38. though (as we ſaid before) in a figurative or allegorical ſenſe, which Saint *John* in the next words after, *verſe* 39. hath expounded unto us: *This ſpake he of the Spirit, which they that believe on him, ſhould receive: For the Holy Ghoſt was not yet given, becauſe that* Jeſus *was not yet glorified. Johns* meaning is, *the Spirit was* not *poured out* in ſuch plentiful meaſure, as this place of *Iſay* and that other of the Prophet *Joel* did import. For, after our Saviours glorification, all ſuch as were baptized with water, were likewiſe baptized with the Holy Ghoſt: moſt of them filled with the Spirit of Propheſie, or gift of tongues, enabled to convey the words and waters of life unto the Souls of others. All this was fore-ſignified by the Holy Ghoſts deſcending upon our Saviour at his coming out of the water. For his Baptiſm was a prefiguration of his Death and Reſurrection: and by his Reſurrection he was really declared to be the Son of God, and fulfilled the Pſalmiſts prediction;

Thou

* *The* dry ground *in this place,* [ſupponit pro homine] (*as ſome Logicians ſpeak*) *and is to be underſtood of men ſo affected, as* David *was, when he uttered that Song in the Wilderneſs of* Juda, My ſoul thirſteth for thee, my fleſh longeth for thee, in a dry and thirſty Land, where no water is. *Pſa.* 63. *v.* 1. *Compare this Teſtimony with the former Teſtimony,* Pſalm. 36. parag. 45.

Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee. Pſal. 2. Which prediction was further ratified, and the meaning of it determined by the voice from Heaven; *This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleaſed.* The ſame truth thus often declared aſwel by predictions as by matters of fact or real event, was finally teſtified by the deſcending of the Holy Ghoſt upon his Apoſtles and Diſciples. So that another Branch of Saint *Johns* meaning, or if you will, another *ſhoot* of the former branch, is, That the Holy Ghoſt, at the time when our Saviour uttered thoſe words, *He that believeth in me, &c.* did not appear as an authentick witneſs to ratifie his Doctrine. His teſtimony concerning our Saviour was reſerved till our Saviours glorification, after which it was *publick, frequent* and *viſible.* Jeſus, (ſaith Saint *Peter*) *whom ye ſlew and hanged on a tree: Him hath God exalted with his right hand to be a Prince and a Saviour, for to give repentance to* Iſrael, *and forgiveneſs of ſins. Act.* 5. *v.* 30, 31, 32. *And we are his witneſſes of theſe things, and ſo is alſo the Holy Ghoſt, whom God hath given to them that obey him.* This giving of the Holy Ghoſt in viſible manner, was that Baptiſm of Chriſt which was oppoſed to the Baptiſm of *John,* and that the World might know and believe it came immediately from Chriſt, and not from *John,* nor from the Apoſtles, or from the Sacrament which they adminiſtred; it was given to ſome, and theſe by condition *Gentiles,* before they had been partakers of *Johns* Baptiſm, or any Moſaical rite or Sacrament. *Act.* 10. 44, 47. *While* Peter *yet ſpake theſe words, the Holy Ghoſt fell on all them which heard the word.* Whence he concludeth; *Can any man forbid water, that theſe ſhould not be baptized, which have received the Holy Ghoſt, aſwel as we?* Saint *Peter* took more ſpecial notice of our Saviours words from this experiment in *Cornelius* and his Family, than he did from the Holy Ghoſt deſcending in cloven tongues upon himſelf and his fellow Apoſtles, which had been baptized: *And as I began to ſpeak, the Holy Ghoſt fell on them, as on us at the beginning. Then remembred I the Word of the Lord, how that he ſaid,* John *did baptize with water, but ye ſhall be baptized with the Holy Ghoſt. Acts* 11. 15, 16. Saint *Peters* belief in this point, was grounded upon our Saviours words, and confirmed by this experiment: *John Baptiſts* belief of the ſame concluſion, was grounded upon the Prophet *Iſaias* predictions. *John* did foretel the ſame truth which our Saviour did, before he was acquainted with him or knew him by face: and yet *Johns* knowledge or belief of this myſtery was confirmed by a viſible ſign, by the deſcending of the Holy Ghoſt. Concerning which, and the manner how *John* came to know our Saviour before he baptized him, with the ſigns of the time that did accompany or enſue upon his Baptiſm, we are in the next place to make enquiry.

Matth. 3. ver. 11.

48. From the former Dialogue between the Prieſts and Levites and *John Baptiſt,* concerning his office and miniſtery of Baptiſm, you may obſerve, that *John* was careful to prevent two inconveniencies: Firſt, the falſe opinion which the people had conceived of him, as if he had been the Meſſias himſelf; and ſecondly, to prevent all ſuſpicion of compact or colluſion between *Jeſus* of *Nazareth* (whom he afterward proclaims to be the *Meſſias*) and himſelf. And unto this ſuſpicion both parties had been more lyable, if they had been aſwell acquainted before our Saviours Baptiſm, as afterward they were. Not to ſpeak of our Saviours knowledge, who knew all things; for *John* the Baptiſt, he had a true prenotion or diſtinct belief of theſe generals or *indefinites.*

indefinites. 1. That the time wherein the *Meſſias* was to be manifeſted unto *Iſrael*, was now approaching. 2. That the *Meſſias* was to repair unto the place where he baptized, there to be declared or manifeſted unto *Iſrael.* 3. That the *Meſſias* after his manifeſtation, was to baptize others with the Holy Ghoſt. Theſe generals he believed and knew from the predictions of the Prophet *Iſay*, expounded to him by the internal Revelation of the Spirit, and the ſigns of the time immediately preceding. But of theſe particulars following, he was ignorant until the event, and the ſigns immediately following did unfold them. 1. The day and hour wherein the *Meſſias* was firſt to be manifeſted; when he firſt begun to baptize, he diſtinctly knew not. 2. The day and hour of the *Meſſias* coming unto him being known: yet he knew not how to diſtinguiſh the *Meſſias* from other men by face or ſight. 3. After he had known and ſeen him face to face: yet he knew not whether he ſhould baptize him with others or no: but rather preſuppoſed it as a matter unfitting, that the meſſenger, whoſe Commiſſion only was to baptize with water, ſhould baptize his Lord and Maſter, whom he knew to be ſent of purpoſe to baptize others with the Holy Ghoſt. This laſt point is evident from Saint *Matthew*, chap. 3. ver. 13, 14, 15. *When* Jeſus *came from* Galilee *to* Jordan *unto* John, *to be baptized of him*; John *forbade him*, *ſaying*, *I have need to be baptized of thee, and comeſt thou to me? And* Jeſus *anſwering*, *ſaid unto him*, *Suffer it to be ſo now: for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteouſneſs. Then he ſuffered him.*

49. That *John Baptiſt* before this time did not know our Saviour by face, is evident from Saint *John*, chap. 1. ver. 29, 30, 31, 32. *The next day*, (not the next day after our Saviours Baptiſm, but the next day after the Prieſts and Levites had queſtioned *John*, or the next day after our Saviours return from the wilderneſs) John *ſeeing* Jeſus *coming unto him*, *ſaith*, *Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the ſin of the World. This is he of whom I ſaid, After me cometh a man, which is preferred before me: for he was before me. And I knew him not: but that he ſhould be made manifeſt to* Iſrael, *therefore am I come Baptizing with water. And* John *bare record*, *ſaying*, *I ſaw the Spirit deſcending from Heaven like a Dove, and it abode upon him.* And further to prevent all ſuſpicion of compact or colluſion betwixt them, or rather to ſtir up the people to admire with him the ſweet diſpoſition of the Divine Providence in all this buſineſs; he repeateth again what he ſaid before; *And I knew him not: but he that ſent me to baptize with water, the ſame ſaid unto me, Upon whom thou ſhalt ſee the Spirit deſcending and remaining on him, the ſame is he, which baptizeth with the Holy Ghoſt. And I ſaw and bear record, that this is the Son of God.* But whilſt I am a twiſting theſe two Evangelical Narrations together, you have perhaps already eſpied or may hereafter eſpy a knot or rivel, wherewith your belief one time or another may be entangled; ſpecially, if the Jew, Atheiſt, or Libertine ſhould draw it faſter, or a weak Interpreter of Scriptures have the handling of it. That you may the better know, whenſoever occaſion ſhall be offered, how to looſe or untwiſt the knot, give me leave firſt to caſt it. For as the great Philoſopher telleth us; No man knoweth rightly how to aſſoil or reſolve a queſtion, unleſs he firſt know how to frame it. The right making of any objection (as the ſame Philoſopher tells us) is more than half the ſolution of it. The doubt or knot which ariſeth out of the two narrations of the Evangeliſts, Saint *Matthew* and Saint *John*, is framed thus: Firſt, It is evident

A ſeeming contradiction betwixt St. Matthew *and St.* John *fully cleared.*

evident out of them both, as alſo out of the other two Evangeliſts, that the Holy Ghoſt did not deſcend upon our Saviour until *John* had baptized him. It is evident again out of Saint *Johns* words fore-cited, *cap.* 1. *ver.* 33. That the deſcending of the Holy Ghoſt upon our Saviour, and his *reſting upon him*, was given by God himſelf unto *John Baptiſt* for a ſign, whereby to know or diſtinguiſh the *Meſſias*, or him that was to *baptize with the Holy Ghoſt*, from all other men Now if *John* knew him by face from all other men, before the Spirit did deſcend and reſt upon him, what needed this ſign? And if he knew him not by face before the deſcending of the *Holy Ghoſt*, what conſtruction can we make of Saint *Matthews* words before recited, *Chap.* 3. *ver.* 13. 14. where he ſaith, *That when Jeſus came to be Baptized of him*, John *replyed*, *I have need to be Baptized of thee*, *and comeſt thou to me?* For to whom could the *Baptiſt* himſelf in good earneſt ſay, *I have need to be Baptized of thee*, ſave only unto him whom he knew could Baptize him *with the Holy Ghoſt and with fire?* And if *John Baptiſt* knew Jeſus of *Nazareth*, at his firſt coming to him, to be the man, which was to Baptize with the Holy Ghoſt, before he had ſeen the Holy Ghoſt deſcending upon him (as out of Saint *Matthew* it plainly appeareth, that he did ſo know him) How is it true which Saint *John* ſaith in the perſon of *John* the *Baptiſt*, *I knew him not?* that is, in ordinary conſtruction, as if he had ſaid, I had not known him, but by the deſcending and reſting of the Holy Ghoſt upon him.

50. The ſeeming contradiction between theſe two Evangeliſts, hath occaſioned ſome of the Ancients to conceit, that the Holy Ghoſt did twice deſcend upon our Saviour: once before his Baptiſm; (of which deſcenſion, *John* only or ſome few more were ſpectators, and by this ſign in private *John* did know him, before he came in publick to be Baptized of him) and again, immediately after his Baptiſm. But a man cannot more ſtrengthen, or confirm a weak, craſie, or unſound objection, than by giving it a lame, unſolid, or unſatisfactory anſwer. The one part of this diſtinction conſiſting meerly in imagination, would ſerve as a foil, to give ſome tincture or colour of truth unto the objected Contradiction, which if it be well examined and better looked into, conſiſts only in appearance. *Janſenius* ſeeks to ſalve this objected contradiction in this manner. * The Baptiſt in the words fore-cited, ſaith not that *he did not know our Saviour before the Holy Ghoſt did point him out by deſcending upon him, but that he had received a revelation from God concerning the Holy Ghoſts deſcending upon him.* The ſolution is borrowed in part from Saint *Chryſoſtom*, perhaps ſufficient enough to blank a forward diſputant, that would undertake to prove a plain contradiction between the Baptiſts Words, as they are related by Saint *Matthew*, *Chap.* 3. and by Saint *John.* But many ſpeeches which cannot legally be convinced of falſhood, are often apparently deluſory or impertinent, and imply ſome moral inconvenience, albeit they cannot eaſily be drawn to a Logical impoſſibility or irreconcileable repugnancy. If we take the *Baptiſts* words as Saint *John* relateth them, *Chap* 1. *ver.* 33. *And I knew him not*, &c. according to the ordinary ſtandard of Civil Dialect in matters of ſerious conference or commerce, they import thus much at leaſt, That all the knowledge which *John Baptiſt* had of our Saviour before he Baptized

* Quanquam ſecundum probabiliorem *Chryſoſtomi* ſententiam, ut prius dictum eſt, *Joannes* ante columbæ deſcenſum interiori ſpiritus revelatione Chriſtum venientem ad Baptiſmum ſuum cognoverit, id tamen non pugnat cum præſenti loco. Nam non dicit hic *Joannes* ſibi ignotum fuiſſe donec Columbæ inditio illum agnoverit, ſed tantum hoc ſignum ſe divinitus aliquando accepiſſe quo illum agnoſceret, certius utiq; & ſic ut per illud certo ipſum alius manifeſtare poſſet. *Cap.* 16. *fol.* 138.

Baptized him, was ſuggeſted from conſideration of the ſign which God had given him, not from any new internal revelation of the Spirit, altogether diſtinct from that revelation by which the ſign was given, *ver.* 33. *But he that ſent me to Baptize with water, the ſame ſaid unto me, upon whom thou ſhalt ſee the Spirit deſcending and remaining on him, the ſame is he which Baptizeth with the Holy Ghoſt. And I ſaw and bare record that this is the Son of God.* His record had not been authentick, unleſs he had ſeen the Spirit deſcend upon him. And his conjectural knowledge of him, as of the Son of God, before the Spirit did deſcend upon him, had been altogether groundleſs, without ſome juſt preſumption that this was the man upon whom the Spirit was to deſcend.

51. *Maldonat* having framed the like anſwer in effect as *Janſenius* doth, ſeeks to illuſtrate it thus by example: *Albeit* John Baptiſt *did no more know our Saviour by face from other men, than* Samuel *did the Sons of* Jeſſe, *one of which he was appointed to anoint King in* Saul's *ſtead over* Iſrael*: yet when our Saviour came to be Baptized, he might know him to be the* Meſſias, *by ſome ſuch Divine inſtinct or revelation, as* Samuel *knew* David, whoſe face he had never ſeen before, to be the man whom God had appointed him to anoint King over *Iſrael.* But of this (otherwiſe judicious) Commentator in his Expoſitions of Propheſies, or of the manner how Scriptures are ſaid to be fulfilled, that may be truly ſaid, which the *French* Mathematician did of *Cardanus* his writings; [* *Ingenioſe ſemper, raro perfectè*] *His Expoſitions in this kind are always acute and witty, ſeldom exact or fully ſatisfactory.* And the very inſtance which he bringeth for illuſtration of this point, is very unfitting, very unlike. For it is evident out of the Hiſtory mentioned, 1 *Sam. Chap.* 16. *ver.* 3. That although *Samuel* knew none of *Jeſſe's* Sons by face, yet he had diſtinct revelations from God, ſome negative and expreſs, *Look not on his countenance, nor on the height of his ſtature: becauſe I have refuſed him, ver.* 7. Others again, as expreſly aſſertory. For when *David* was brought before him, *The Lord ſaid, ariſe, anoint him: for this is he, ver.* 12. *Samuel* had no viſible ſign given from God, whereby to know the man, whom he was to anoint, from his brethren: but was meerly to rely upon ſuch revelations or inſtructions, as God had promiſed to give unto him in the very act or buſineſs. *Call* Jeſſe *to the Sacrifice, and I will ſhew thee what thou ſhalt do, and thou ſhalt anoint unto me him, whom I name unto thee,* 1 *Sam.* 16. 3. But God, as you heard before, had given to *John Baptiſt* an expreſs viſible ſign, whereby to diſtinguiſh the *Meſſias,* or *him* that was to Baptize with the Holy Ghoſt, from all other men. God did not promiſe him any ſuch new revelations or inſtructions, whereby to know him before his Baptiſm, or in the act of Baptizing, as he expreſly promiſed to *Samuel.* Nor doth the Evangeliſt either mention or intimate any ſuch revelations, as the Hiſtory ſaith were given to *Samuel,* to have been given or made unto *John Baptiſt,* before the Holy Ghoſt did deſcend upon our Saviour. So that ſuch revelations or inſtructions as *Maldonat* ſuppoſeth, were on *Samuels* part altogether neceſſary: becauſe he had no viſible ſign given him: but in this buſineſs of *John Baptiſt* altogether ſuperfluous. The exhibition or production of the viſible ſign which God had promiſed him, was the only new revelation which he was to rely upon.

* *Monath. in Ariſt. Mechan.*

52. I will not trouble you with the variety of Opinions, or Ex-

poſitions of ſeveral *Commentators*, from none of which I have received any full ſatisfaction my ſelf. All of them have omitted one Point, which in every controverſie ought in the firſt place to be enquired after. And it is this; *Whether there be not a Mean between the oppoſite or controverted opinions?* The oppoſite opinions in this Argument are two: The one, That the Holy Ghoſt did deſcend upon our Saviour in *Johns* preſence, before he was Baptized by *John*: The other, that *John* did know our Saviour before his Baptiſm, by ſome ſpecial immediate revelation of the Spirit. Now, it is not neceſſary that *John* ſhould know him by either of theſe two ways. There is an apparent *mean* or middle way betwixt them, by which *John* might come to ſuch knowledge as he had of our Saviour, before the Holy Ghoſt did in the ſight of the people deſcend upon him. And this *mean*, we may ſuppoſe to be the opening, or unfolding of ſome Prophetical paſſage, whoſe meaning, (before) *John* had neither occaſion in particular to obſerve, nor opportunity to diſcern. Howbeit, this knowledge of Scriptures may be called a revelation, but ordinary and *mediate*, ſuch as the Miniſters of the Goſpel may at this day have by the help of Commentaries, by collation of Scripture with Scripture, or of Hiſtorical events with Propheſies precedent: the ſigns of the time being in all Ages the beſt Commentaries, and as it were *ſubſtitutes* to the Spirit of Propheſie or Revelation. Now, although the Evangeliſt neither mention any ſpecial revelation made unto *John*, after God had given him a ſign, whereby to know our Saviour, nor intimate any probable ground for ſuch conjectures: yet they (Saint *Mark* eſpecially) relate ſuch circumſtances of our Saviours coming to *John*, as might well occaſion him to call to mind, a peculiar paſſage concerning Chriſts Baptiſm mentioned by the Prophet *Iſay*, which otherwiſe perhaps had not been thought of, or whoſe meaning, although he had thought of it, *John* could not for the preſent have underſtood, without ſuch Comments or Expoſitions as the manner of our Saviours coming to Baptiſm did make upon it. Now, the teſtimonies of the Scripture long before written, eſpecially the Prophetical teſtimonies or Predictions of things to come, are no way ſuperfluous, either where new revelations (though made by God to following Prophets, *viva voce*) or viſible ſigns are given or promiſed, but rather ſubordinate and concurrent: that is, (to ſpeak more plainly) as well all new revelations made by the Spirit (whether *viva voce*, or otherwiſe,) as all viſible ſigns or wonders, which God doth promiſe or work, are to be examined and authoriſed by his Word already written, ſpecially by the Predictions of the Prophets. And all new revelations, or viſible ſigns or wonders, which have been, are, or ſhall be, if they proceed from God or the Spirit of Truth, are always true Commentaries, or Expoſitions of ſome part or other of the Written Word, and pledges withal of ſome greater myſtery to come; afterwards to be fulfilled for their good, to whom ſuch revelations or ſigns are given and made.

Of the means or ſigns by which John *came to know our Saviour in part, before the Holy Ghoſt did deſcend upon him.*

53. The hiſtorical relation of *Saint Mark*, whoſe circumſtances might lead *John*, and now may lead us unto the right meaning of the Prophet *Iſaias* Teſtimony concerning the deſcending of the Holy Ghoſt, is in the 1. of *Mark ver.* 9. *And it came to paſs in thoſe days* (to wit, in thoſe days wherein all the Land of *Judea*, and they of *Jeruſalem* went out, and were all Baptized of *John* in *Jordan*, confeſſing their ſins) *that Jeſus came from Nazareth of Galilee, and was Baptized*

tized of John in Jordan. Now, ye are to conceive, that as no Biſhop or Inferiour Miniſter amongſt us, doth, or may at any time adminiſter Baptiſm, ſave only to ſuch as he knoweth to be born of Chriſtian Parents, whoſe names and place of dwelling he knoweth: ſo, neither did *John*, the firſt Miniſter of Baptiſm, admit any to the Baptiſm of water, ſave only ſuch as did profeſs their names, their condition of life, or place of dwelling. And (our Saviour only excepted) all that were Baptized of him, did confeſs their ſins. All this is evident from the *Evangeliſts*, eſpecially from the *Evangeliſt* Saint *Luke*, *Chap.* 3. For *John* beſtowed a diſtinct Sermon, or Exhortation upon every diſtinct ſort or profeſſion of men that came to be Baptized of him. Unto the Phariſees and Sadduces which came to his Baptiſm amongſt other multitudes of people, he ſaid; *Oh Generation of Vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come? Bring forth therefore fruits worthy of Repentance, and begin not to ſay within your ſelves, We have* Abraham *to our Father. For, I ſay unto you, that God is able of theſe ſtones to raiſe up Children unto* Abraham. *And now alſo the Axe is laid to the root of the Trees. Every Tree therefore which bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down and caſt into the fire, Luke* 3. *ver.* 7, 8, 9. The People hearing their Teachers or Maſters thus ſharply checked by *John*, *Asked him, ſaying, What ſhall we do then? He anſwereth, and ſaith unto them; He that hath two coats, let him impart to him that hath none, and he that hath meat, let him do likewiſe.* And as it followeth in the ſame Evangeliſt, *Then came alſo Publicans to be Baptized*, and being taught, as it ſeems, by the example of the people of *Judea*, which had been Baptized before them, *They ſaid unto him, Maſter, What ſhall we do? And he ſaid unto them, exact no more than that which is appointed you.* And after they had been Baptized, *the Souldiers likewiſe demanded of him, ſaying, And what ſhall we do? and he ſaid unto them, Do violence to no man, neither accuſe any falſly, and be content with your wages*, ver. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14. Now, after all theſe were Baptized, (yet all theſe being ſtill preſent with *John*, *that all fleſh*, as the Prophet fore-told, *might ſee the glory*, or as Saint *Luke* ſaith, the *Salvation of God*;) our Saviour came to be Baptized of *John*. And inaſmuch as *John* before this time did neither know him by face, or by name; there is no queſtion, but he would require both his name, his profeſſion, and place of dwelling, before he would admit him unto Baptiſm, unleſs our Saviour haply did in both prevent him. However, after *John* had once heard his name, and the name of the place, (Town or City) from whence he came; he might eaſily Prognoſticate or Divine, without any ſpecial extraordinary revelation, that amongſt all the multitudes of men, which reſorted unto his Baptiſm, this was the man, on whom the Holy Ghoſt was to deſcend, according to Gods Promiſe, and the Prediction of the Prohpet *Iſaias*. And upon this prenotion or preſumption, *John* might in modeſty ſay unto him, as you heard before; *I had need to be Baptized of thee; and comeſt thou to be Baptized of me?*

54. But I know, you expect to know the place of the Prophet *Iſaias*, wherein the deſcending of the Holy Ghoſt upon our Saviour, is fore-told; and how the name of Jeſus, and of the Town or City whence he came, might call this place unto *John's* mind, or expound the diſtinct meaning of it, before unknown unto him. The place is, *Iſay* 11. *ver.* 1, 2. *And there ſhall come forth a Rod out of the ſtem of* Jeſſe, *and a Branch ſhall grow out of his roots. And the Spirit of the Lord*

Lord ſhall reſt upon him, the ſpirit of wiſdom and underſtanding, &c. This Prediction or Prophetical teſtimony is of the ſame rank or kind, that all, or moſt of this Prophets Predictions which concern the myſtery of *John's* Baptizing our Saviour, were before obſerved to be; *that is,* a Prediction not given in literal, plain, Grammatical terms, but in terms Allegorical or Emblematical: ſuch as was *Jothams* Prediction of *Abimelechs,* and the men of *Sechems* ruine, by the Parable of the Trees of the Foreſt: or ſuch as *Iſaia's* fore-picturing the deſtruction of *Judah* and *Jeruſalem,* by the Parable of the Vineyard, which was to be layed waſte by its Lord and Owner; becauſe inſtead of Grapes, it brought forth wild Grapes. The Prophet *Iſay,* in the latter end of the tenth Chapter, and in the words immediately preceding to the late-cited Teſtimony had ſaid, *Behold, The Lord, the Lord of Hoſts ſhall lop the bough with terror: and the high ones of ſtature ſhall be hewn down, and the haughty ſhall be humbled. And he ſhall cut down the thickets of the Foreſt with Iron, and* Lebanon *ſhall fall by a mighty one, ver.* 33, 34. By the fall of *Lebanon,* a Foreſt famous amongſt the Nations for tall and goodly Cedars, he fore-pictures the extirpation of *Davids* Royal Race by *Solomon* and his Succeſſors, or the pulling down the Mighty from their ſeats; By cuting down the thickets of the Foreſt with Iron, he fore-ſhadows the deſtruction of this people by the enemies *Sword,* and the low eſtate whereto the Houſe of *Judah* and *David* ſhould be brought, before the coming of *Shiloh,* or of *him* whom they ſo long expected. In the latter part of the Propheſie, (which is the beginning of the eleventh Chapter) the Prophet fully expounds himſelf, that the intent or purpoſe of the Propheſie, was to inſtruct the people, that when the Off-ſpring of *David,* and hope of *Judah* ſhould ſeem in a manner utterly cut off, (as it was to all mens thinking in the days of *Herod* the Great) yet then there ſhould ſpring a Rod out of the ſtem of *Jeſſe,* and a Branch out of his root, which ſhould raiſe the Houſe of *David* (now ruined) unto greater height than ever it had. By this *Rod* or *Branch,* the Prophet underſtands a man; for he terms him the Rod or Branch of *Jeſſe,* (who was *David's* Father) But a man, that ſhould be better able to rule and feed the people of *Iſrael* than *David* himſelf, the chief ſtem of *Jeſſe,* or *Solomon* his Son, or any other King of *Judah* had been. The extraordinary gifts or qualifications, which the Prophet foretelleth that the Spirit of the Lord, which was to reſt upon him, would beſtow upon this Rod of *Jeſſe,* are ſuch as can appertain to none, ſave only to the *Meſſias* himſelf, that is, to the Lords Anointed, or him that was to be anointed with the Holy Ghoſt.

55. The greateſt offence which the *Jews* took at our Saviour, was, that he came not forth of *Bethlem* the City of *David,* but from *Nazareth,* a Town in *Galilee*; that his Education was ſo mean, and his Parentage ſo poor. Now, this offence, the Prophet *Iſaias* (ſo they would have underſtood him) had fully prevented, fore-telling that he ſhould grow up as a Rod out of the ſtem of *Jeſſe,* and as a Branch out of his root. This did truly fore-picture, that he ſhould be of meaner Parentage than *David* himſelf had been, as being to ſpring out of the decayed ſtem or root of *Jeſſe.* Again, the very word in the Original, [*Netſer*] ſignifying a Rod, did picture out unto us, the very place wherein he was to grow up as a Rod, until he came to be declared unto *Iſrael* by the Spirit of God deſcending upon him. For the Town of *Nazareth* hath its very name from the word here uſed

by the Prophet *Iſaias*, [*Netſer*] and is as much in Engliſh, as the Town of *Rods* or *Grafts*. Now, albeit *John* did not know this Rod or Branch of *Jeſſe*, before he came unto him to be baptized, yet his very name, being *JESUS*, which is a Saviour, and the name of the place whence he came, *Natzareth* [*a Town of Rods,*] could not but ſuggeſt thus much to *John*; That ſeeing the Holy Ghoſt, or Spirit of God was to deſcend upon ſome one that came unto his Baptiſm, and to reſt upon him; there was none amongſt all the multitudes, that came unto him, in whom this prediction or ſign which God had given him, could be ſo fulfilled, as in this *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*: and thus certainly expecting, that the Spirit of God would deſcend upon him, he refuſed, as Saint *Matthew* telleth us, to baptize him, ſaying; *I have need to be baptized of thee, &c.* Now, this very ſign which God gave to *John* how to know him, was given before by the Prophet *Iſay*, in the place fore-cited. For, in that he is termed a Rod or Branch, on which the Spirit of the Lord ſhould reſt, it is imported, that the manner of his reſting ſhould be as a Bird or Fowl doth upon a ſtem or branch. So that all which God in the ſign given to *John* doth add unto the Propheſie, is a diſtinct expreſſion of the Bird or Fowl, in whoſe ſhape or bodily likeneſs the Spirit was to deſcend and reſt upon him; and that was in the ſhape or bodily likeneſs of a Dove. So then *John* before our Saviours Baptiſm, had the Teſtimony of the Prophet, that the Spirit of the Lord would deſcend and reſt upon the man whom he then firſt knew only by the name of *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*, that is, of *Jeſus* the Rod or Branch of *Jeſſe*. After our Saviours Baptiſm, he had this teſtimony or aſſurance of the Prophet, and his own Interpretation of it (when our Saviour firſt came unto him) fully ſealed and warranted by the evidence of his bodily ſenſes, by the viſible experiment of the Holy Ghoſt, deſcending in the likeneſs of a Dove, by the voice which he heard from Heaven, *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleaſed.*

56. That this Propheſie of *Iſaias* hath ſpecial reference to the time of our Saviours Baptiſm, and to the Kingdom of Heaven, which *John* proclaimed, and into which his Baptiſm by water was as the door or entrance; the very ceremony or ſolemnity of mens admiſſion unto it do teſtifie: and ſo do the effects and fruits of the Spirits deſcending and reſting upon the *Rod or Branch* of *Jeſſe*, which fruits and effects are in the ſame Chapter at large deſcribed, and are of two ſorts. The firſt ſort concerns the Rod or Branch of *Jeſſe* himſelf, and theſe are ſet forth in the 11. Chapter of *Iſaias*, *verſe* 3, 4, 5. *The Spirit of the Lord* (ſaith the Prophet) *ſhall make him of quick underſtanding in the fear of the Lord, and he ſhall not judge after the ſight of his eyes, neither reprove after the hearing of his ears. But with righteouſneſs ſhall he judge the poor, and reprove with equity, for the meek of the earth: and he ſhall ſmite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips ſhall he ſlay the wicked. And righteouſneſs ſhall be the girdle of his loins, and faithfulneſs the girdle of his reins.* All theſe are heroical endowments or qualifications for Government of ſo great a Kingdom, as the Prophet foretold this Rod of *Jeſſe* or Branch of *David* was to erect. And of theſe qualifications here mentioned, the beſt gifts which the Lord beſtowed on *David*, on *Saul*, or *Solomon*, or upon other Kings of *Judah*, at their anointments or inaugurations, were but ſhadows or prefigurations. Now, the *deſcending* of the Spirit of God here fore-told by the Prophet, and reſting upon our Saviour, was

his anointment and ſolemn inauguration or deſignment to his Kingdom. Not that he was inſtantly to enter into his Kingdom of Glory, or take poſſeſſion of his Heavenly Inheritance, but for a time to expect ſuch troubles and perſecutions in the attainment of it, as his Father *David* had ſuffered between the time wherein *Samuel* had Anointed him King in his Father *Jeſſes* Houſe at *Bethlem*, and the time wherein he was publickly Anointed King, after *Sauls* Death, in *Hebron*. That our Saviours anointment or deſignment to be King and Lord over *Iſrael*, doth bear date from the time that he was baptized by *John* in *Jordan*, Saint *Peter* teſtifies, *Acts* 10. *ver.* 37, 38. *That word you know, which was publiſhed throughout all* Judæa, *and began from* Galilee, *after the Baptiſm which* John *preached: how God anointed* Jeſus *of* Nazareth *with the Holy Ghoſt and with power, who went about doing good and healing all that were oppreſſed of the Devil; for God was with him.* The voice which at his anointment was heard from Heaven, did plainly and openly declare him to be that ſon of *David*, of whom alone it was truly fulfilled, which *David* by his ſpirit of Propheſie had foretold, *That God ſhould be unto him a Father, and he ſhould be unto him a Son.* And upon this declaration made at his Baptiſm, the Devil, unto whom ſome ſcattered ſound of it haply came, might collect that he was [*Dei Filius.*] The firſt memorable Act his Father David (after *Samuel* had anointed him) did undertake, was his conflict with *Goliah:* and the firſt Act this Rod of *Jeſſe*, after his anointment undertaketh, was his encounter with Satan in ſingle combate. The other part of the fruits or concomitances of this our Saviours Anointment by the Holy Ghoſt, is deſcribed at large in the 11. Chapter of *Iſaias*, *ver.* 6, 7, 8, 9. *The Wolf alſo ſhall dwell with the Lamb, and the Leopard alſo ſhall lye down with the Kid: and the Calf and the young Lyon, and the fatling together, and a little Child ſhall lead them. And the Cow and the Bear ſhall feed, their young ones ſhall lye down together: and the Lion ſhall eat ſtraw like the Ox. And the ſucking Child ſhall play on the hole of the Aſp; and the weaned Child ſhall put his hand on the Cockatrice Den. They ſhall not hurt nor deſtroy in all my holy Mountain: for the earth ſhall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the Sea.* The exact fulfilling of this Propheſie in its literal ſenſe, that is, according to the ſtrict propriety of native or unborrowed ſignification of words, [*credat Judæus,*] let it be expected by the unbelieving *Jew*, whoſe too much credulity to the *letter* hath brought forth an abſolute infidelity concerning the myſteries of his ſalvation. But whilſt he expects ſuch a league and amity betwixt the creatures here mentioned, as the words literally import, he plainly declares himſelf to be more cruel, more rancorous and untamed, than the moſt ravenous Beaſt, or moſt venemous Creature here mentioned. For, neither the ſweet invitation of our Saviour, nor all the good deeds which he wrought amongſt this people whilſt he lived on earth, nor the puniſhing hand of God, which hath been always heavy upon them ſince his death, hath to this day wrought ſuch a placable or reconcileable diſpoſition toward us *Gentiles*, or toward their own brethren which truſt in Chriſt, as they expect in the days of their *Meſſias*, ſhould be wrought in the Wolf towards the Lamb, or in the Aſp or Cockatrice towards the Child or ſucking Infant. We may take this amongſt others, as a ſure Argument of our Intereſt in the Womans Seed, in that this generation of Vipers or Serpents (as *John Baptiſt* terms them) have exerciſed the venemous enmity of Serpents againſt all that have profeſſed the name of Chriſt ſince his death. But the greater their enmity is unto the profeſſion of Chriſtianity, or the longer it hath continued, the more ſtrange and admirable will that reconciliation or agreement ſeem, which the Evangeliſt records to have faln out at the time of our Saviours Baptiſm or Anointment; not only between the *Jew* and the *Gentile*, but between the Phariſee and Publican, between the Sadduce and the Roman Souldier, all of them communicating together in the ſolemnity or Sacrament of Baptiſm. For many of every ſort here mentioned, were baptized of *John* in *Jordan*, confeſſing their ſins. This ſudden and unexpected obedience of all ſorts unto the Summons of *Johns* calling to repentance, and the ſtrange alteration which followed upon the Sacrament of Baptiſm and the repentance which *John* Preached, aſwell in the *Jew* as in the *Gentile*; is the myſtery of the New Teſtament, which the Prophet fore-pictures in the Parable of the Wolf agreeing with the Lamb, of the Leopards reconciliation with the Kid, and of the Lions near familiarity with the Ox or Aſs.

The Publicans which before the preaching of Baptiſm and Repentance by *John*, were as ravenous as the evening Wolves, became as innocent as the Lamb. The Souldiers likewiſe which had been formerly as fierce and cruel as the Lyon, became as tame and gentle as the Ox or Cow, and ſubmitted their necks unto the yoke of the Goſpel. Such of the Phariſees likewiſe, as before their Baptiſm had been as venemous as the Aſp or Cockatrice, did by the worthy receiving of this Baptiſm, and the grace which God did give them, become as mild and gentle, as the ſucking Infant or weaned Child.

The parallel circumſtances or ſigns of the time in the days of Noah, *and of* John Baptiſt.

57. This I take to be the true interpretation and native meaning, though not of theſe words which he uſeth, yet of the Prophet himſelf, and that which the Holy Ghoſt did purpoſely intend to expreſs in the fore-cited place. But may not the prediction, though meerly, or for the moſt part (as was obſerved) parabolical, have ſome ſpecial reference to the days of *Noah*, wherein the like reconciliation of hoſtile and antipathizing natures, was literally and hiſtorically verified and experienced? Yes doubtleſs, the ſigns of that old World, and the ſigns of the time wherein our Saviour was baptized, do as exactly reſemble the one the other, as the ſhape or image of the face in the glaſs doth the Picture that produceth it, or the Picture doth the live body which it repreſents. And beſides the power of God, which is able to effect all things without ſecondary cauſes or means ſubordinate, we cannot imagine any other cauſe or reaſon that ſhould move the *Jew* and *Gentile*, the Phariſee and Publican to communicate together in *Johns* Baptiſm, beſide that which moved the beaſts of every kind here mentioned by the Prophet, and others beſide them, to hold better conſort in *Noahs* Ark, or at their entrance into it, than they had done whilſt they enjoyed their natural liberty in the Fields and open air. The true reaſon of both theſe ſtrange reconciliations and compoſals of theſe inbred fohoods, was that, which the great Philoſopher tells us will unite the deadlieſt enemies, [κοινὸς φόβος] i. e. *The ſudden approach or joint apprehenſion of dread or danger alike common, and alike imminent to both.* Now the ſtrange and uncouth dread of this univerſal deluge, could not choſe but compel all the Land Creatures to keep the peace of nature before they entred *Noahs* Ark; to forbear the exerciſe of wonted hoſtility, whilſt they were in it; and to entertain a general truce whilſt the deluge laſted. But what fear

or dread of danger alike imminent to all, could the Phariſee and Publican, the Sadduces and the Heathen Souldiers jointly apprehend, that might move them to like peace or conſort during the time of *Johns* Baptiſm, or before he was to baptize our Saviour? The Prophet *Malachy*, to my apprehenſion, in the concluſion of his Propheſie, intimateth ſome great plague or curſe ready to fall, either upon the whole World, or at leaſt upon the Land of *Jewry*; unleſs it were prevented by ſuch means as the floud might have been, or as the deſtruction of *Niniveh* in the days of *Jonas* was prevented; that is, by humiliation and true repentance. And this humiliation of the people, or turning to the Lord by true repentance, was to be wrought, as *Malachy* ſpeaketh, by the Prophet *Eliah*, that is, as you heard before, by *John* the Baptiſt. The Prophets words are theſe; *Behold, I will ſend you* Eliah, *the Prophet, before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord. And he ſhall turn the heart of the Fathers unto the Children, and the heart of the Children unto the Fathers, leſt I come and ſmite the earth with a curſe. Malac.* 4. *verſe* 5, 6. The beſt interpretation of this place is made by the Angel *Gabriel*, *Luke* 1. *ver.* 16, 17. *And many of the Children of* Iſrael *ſhall he turn to the Lord their God. And he ſhall go before him in the Spirit and power of* Elias, *to turn the hearts of the Fathers to the Children, and the diſobedient to the wiſdom of the Juſt, to make ready a people prepared to the Lord.* Unleſs ſome competent multitude had been thus prepared to entertain the Kingdom of Grace, or the Goſpel, or Chriſt Jeſus the King in their hearts, his firſt coming had been as dreadful to the whole Land, as the unworthy receiving of his body and blood was to the *Corinthians*, 1.*Cor.* 11. God in his Wiſdom (as ſome of the Fathers very well obſerve) had ſo ordained, that the ſame Element by which the old World (beſides *Noahs* Family) were deſtroyed, ſhould be conſecrated as an eſpecial means for preſervation of the new World. The Baptiſm of Water which *John* adminiſtred, was as a renovation or ratification of the promiſe which God had made to *Noah*: a viſible ſign, that GOD had freed the Earth or Land of *Jewry* from that curſe which *Malachy* ſpeaks off, and was withal a viſible pledge or Sacrament of a new bleſſing. Whatſoever the curſe or anger was, which hanged at this time over the peoples head, the Dove which deſcended upon our Saviour at his Baptiſm, did bring to this generation a more expreſs releaſe from it, and a more ſoveraign pardon for all their ſins, than *Noahs* Dove did bring of *Noahs* and his Families deliverance from the curſe of waters, or from the danger of the Floud, when ſhe came with an Olive branch in her mouth. Now, inaſmuch as *Johns* Baptiſm by water, was as the [*medius terminus*,] or as the way and paſſage between *Noahs* Ark, and that Holy Catholick Church, which our Saviour Chriſt was now to erect, whereof *Noahs* Ark, as you heard before, was the expreſs Type; it is no marvel if that which was literally fulfilled or verified in the days of *Noah*, were fulfilled according to its emblematical importance or myſtical ſenſe, in the days of *John* or at his Baptiſm. The congruity between *Noahs* Ark, and the Holy Catholick Church, or new *Jeruſalem* which was now to deſcend from Heaven, doth herein partly conſiſt. Firſt, not only *Noah* and his Family, but the Beaſts as well clean as unclean which entred into the Ark, were all preſerved from bodily deſtruction: So, not only the Off-ſpring of *Abraham*, (which was prefigured by *Noahs* Family) nor ſuch Proſelytes only of the *Gentiles*, as were made viſible members of the *Jewiſh* Church, which anſwered in proportion to the clean Beaſts in *Noahs Ark:*) but even the worſt ſort of the *Gentiles*, ſuch as had moſt oppugned the Children of *Abraham* in their Religion, ſo they will be admitted into the Holy Catholick Church, or Myſtical body of Chriſt, ſhall be as undoubtedly preſerved both in Body and Soul from the curſe of Hell-fire, as the unclean Beaſts which entred into *Noahs* Ark were from the curſe of waters.

What was myſtically prefigured by the clean and unclean Beaſts in Noahs *Ark.*

58. That the admiſſion of the Heathens, which had been no Proſelytes of the *Jewiſh* Church before, into the Catholick Church now erected by Chriſt, was prefigured by the unclean beaſts, is more than probable unto us from the Viſion which Saint *Peter* ſaw, *Acts* 10. *ver.* 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16. *Peter* after his Prayer, *became very hungry, and would have eaten: but while they made ready, he fell into a trance, and ſaw Heaven opened, and a certain veſſel deſcending unto him, as it had been a great ſheet knit at the four corners, and let down to the Earth: wherein were all manner of four-footed Beaſts of the earth, and wild Beaſts, and creeping things, and Fowls of the Air. And there came a voice to him, Riſe,* Peter, *kill, and eat. But* Peter *ſaid, Not ſo, Lord, for I have never eaten any thing that is common or unclean. And the voice ſpake unto him again the ſecond time, What GOD hath cleanſed, that call not thou common. This was done thrice: and the veſſel was received up again into Heaven.* The opening of Heaven, and the letting down of the veſſel, wherein were all manner of Beaſts, as well unclean as clean, did ſignifie that the Kingdom of Heaven, or gates of the new *Jeruſalem*, were now ſet open to all Believers, and the way to true belief manifeſted to all, of what Nation ſoever they were: the one as open, and the other as manifeſt to the *Italians* or *Romans*, which never had been Proſelytes; as to the Seed of *Abraham*, or the Proſelytes which they had made. That matters of fact, or Emblematical repreſentations by viſion or apparences, are as truly doctrinal, as words uttered and underſtood according to the literal ſenſe; we need no further proof, than Saint *Peter's* application of this viſion, *ver.* 28. *And he ſaid unto them,* (unto *Cornelius*, and his *Italian* friends and attendants) *Ye know how that it is an unlawful thing for a man that is a* Jew, *to keep company, or come unto one of another Nation: but God hath ſhewed me* (not in expreſs words, but by viſion or repreſentation emblematical) *that I ſhould not call any man common or unclean.* Nor did *Peter* in expreſs terms or conceit, deem any man unclean. Only had he ſaid, whether in expreſs words, or in thought only, *I have never eaten any thing that is unclean.* Yet, when anſwer was made, *What God has that cleanſed, call not thou common*; he knew by the circumſtances of the time, and by the tenor of *Cornelius* his meſſage unto him, that God in this anſwer did not mean Beaſts or things edible, but men repreſented by unclean beaſts, whoſe uſe the Lord at this time had ſanctified unto his people, in token that men or Nations before unclean, were now capable of ſanctification. The Myſtery included in this viſion, was fulfilled in the Baptiſm with the Holy Ghoſt, and was prefigured by the admiſſion as well of Publicans and Roman Souldiers, as of Phariſees, Jews, or Proſelytes, unto the Baptiſm of *John*. Now, Saint *Peter's* own interpretation of this Viſion, will warrant our former interpretation of the Prophet *Iſay*, *Chap.* 11. *ver.* 6. as alſo, of moſt other places in this Prophet, which, as you heard before, were to be underſtood, not according to the literal, plain, and Grammatical ſignification of the

words, but according to their Poetical or Emblematical importance. Howbeit, when we affirm that the aforeſaid Propheſie, *Iſa.* 11. 6. was ſpecially fulfilled, according to its Poetical, Parabolical or Emblematical ſenſe, we no way deny, that it might in part be verified or exemplified, according to the plain, literal, or hiſtorical ſignification of the words. Certainly it was ſo verified in our Saviour, whilſt he remained, after his Baptiſm, in the Wilderneſs. *And immediately* (after his Baptiſm) *the Spirit driveth him into the Wilderneſs. And he was there in the Wilderneſs forty days tempted of Satan, and was with the wild Beaſts, & the Angels miniſtred unto him, Mar.* 1. 12, 13. We do not read, that any wild beaſt or noyſom creature of which the Wilderneſs had plenty) did either annoy our Saviour, or attempt any violence againſt him whilſt he was with them; We do not read, that Satan did ever tempt him to encounter with a Lyon or a Bear, as his Father *David* had done, or to tread on Serpents or Scorpions, to ſee whether they would ſting him or no: becauſe he ſaw by experience, that this Jeſus of *Nazareth* had power over all theſe, and whatſoever other creature elſe that was at Satans command. He had ſeen that of the Pſalmiſt, *Pſalm* 91. *ver.* 13. fulfilled in him: *Thou ſhalt tread upon the Lyon and Adder, the young Lyon and the Dragon thou ſhalt trample under feet:* yet he hoped, our Saviours confidence in the Authority and power, which he exerciſed over wild beaſts and venemous creatures in the Wilderneſs, might animate him to try another concluſion, which he thought had as fair and plauſible premiſes in the Scriptures to infer it: *Then the Devil taketh him up into the Holy City, and ſetteth him on a Pinacle of the Temple; and ſaith unto him, If thou be the Son of God, caſt thy ſelf down: for it is written, He ſhall give his Angels charge concerning thee, and in their hands they ſhall bear thee up, leſt at any time thou daſh thy foot againſt a ſtone* *. Where was it written that the Angel ſhould take charge of him, leſt he ſhould daſh his foot againſt a ſtone? In the very ſame place (and in the words immediately going before) wherein it was ſaid that he ſhould *tread upon the Lyon and the Adder*, &c. The Lyon, the Adder, and other noyſom creatures would ever and anon be in his way, whilſt his way was in the Wilderneſs: and to tread on them was no tempting of God. The Angels of God in this caſe were to protect him: but to caſt himſelf head-long from the Pinacles of the Temple, was no part of his way. The Prophet had fore-told no ſuch miraculous protection of him or his followers. For him to have tryed this concluſion, had been a tempting of God. This, and the like, were feats better beſeeming *Simon Magus*, or others of Satans Scholars. For this reaſon, our Saviour after his reſurrection, bequeatheth no ſuch power or authority unto his Diſciples: unto whom, notwithſtanding, he communicated the former power of treading upon Serpents, of converſing with wild beaſts or venemous creatures in ſuch manner, as the fore-cited place, *Iſay* 11. *ver.* 6. according to the plain, literal, and native ſignification of the words, importeth. *I beheld Satan* (ſaith our Saviour) *as lightning fall from Heaven. Behold,* *I give unto you power to tread on Serpents and Scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy: and nothing ſhall by any means hurt you,* Luke 10. ver. 18. 19. This Commiſſion being firſt drawn about the time that this anſwer was returned unto *John* by our Saviour, was more fully ratified upon our Saviours reſurrection, and (as I take it) before that time not put in execution by his Apoſtles or Diſciples. Thus much the literal meaning of Saint *Marks*

One and the ſame portion of Iſaias Propheſie, which had been only emblematically or parabolically fulfilled in ſuch as came to John's *Baptiſm, was hiſtorically and literally fulfilled in our Saviour Chriſt, after his Baptiſm, and in his Apoſtles after his glorification* words, *Chap.* 16. *ver.* 16, 17, 18. to my underſtanding doth import, *He that believeth, and is Baptized, ſhall be ſaved, but he that believeth not ſhall be damned. And theſe ſigns ſhall follow them that believe, in my name ſhall they caſt out Devils, they ſhall ſpeak with new Tongues, they ſhall take up Serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it ſhall not hurt them: they ſhall lay hands on the ſick, and they ſhall recover.* He ſaith not, that they ſhould leap down from the Pinacles of the Temple, or from the tops of high Towers, and not hurt themſelves.

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* *Matth.* 4. *ver.* 5, 6.

59. Again, I would not deny but that the fore-mentioned Propheſie, *Iſa.* 40. 14. which was exactly fulfilled according to the literal Allegory or Emblematical ſenſe, might be in part fulfilled according to the plain, literal, and proper ſenſe; Not at the time of *John's* Baptiſm, but ſome years before, yet after *John* was of age and experience to obſerve the Signs of the time, and their Prognoſticks. Amongſt other ſymptoms of that terrible Earthquake, which overthrew twelve famous Cities in *Aſia*, about the ſixth or ſeventh year of *Tiberius* * *Tacitus* relateth this for one, [*Sediſſe immenſos montes, viſa in arduo quæ plana fuerint.*] The Grammatical ſenſe of his words, ſo far as they reach, is ſo exactly parallel to the plain literal ſenſe of *Iſaias* Propheſie, that I cannot Engliſh them better, than by borrowing the Engliſh Tranſlation of the Prophet: The Logical extent of whoſe words, is far more ample than the others hiſtorical relation. Some *Vallies*, according to *Tacitus*, *were exalted*, and *ſome mighty Hills were brought low.* The Prophet ſaith, *Every Valley ſhall be exalted, and every Mountain and Hill ſhall be brought low.* According to this Logical extent or univerſality, this Propheſie neither hath been, nor can be fulfilled in its plain, literal, and hiſtorical ſenſe. Howbeit, this and the like viſible wonders wrought by the hand of God, though anſwerable but in part to the plain literal meaning of this Prophet, were true and exact emblems of that which the Prophet principally meant, and which the mouth of the Lord ſince hath ſpoken, *Whoſoever exalteth himſelf, ſhall be brought low, and every one that humbleth himſelf, ſhall be exalted, Luke* 14. *ver.* 11. The exact accompliſhment of this ſentence, according to the utmoſt extent of its univerſality, is not to be expected till the laſt Day. Howbeit, there was a true *Criſis* of it exhibited at the *Baptiſm* of *John*, which was (as Saint *Luke* telleth us) in the fifteenth year of *Tiberius.* From that time the Publicans and Sinners were advanced, and the Children of *Abraham*, which gloried in their birth-right, debaſed. Poor Fiſher-men became Heads of the Tribes of *Iſrael*, greater men in the Houſe of God, than *Moſes* and *Aaron* had been, whilſt *Moſes* Succeſſors, the chief Prieſts and Doctors of the Law, were infatuated, and became like Salt without taſte or ſavour. Of this miraculous change, the fore-mentioned Prodigies were (as we ſaid before) the types or emblems. As Mineraliſts uſually find ſome Homogeneal earth or metal nearer * the *Day*, as they uſe to ſpeak, which directs them unto the metal or treaſure which they ſeek: ſo, before the exact accompliſhment of divers Propheſies, God uſually gives his people a glimpſe or hint by the Signs of the time, by ſome real event or matter of fact, anſwerable in ſome meaſure to the plain literal ſenſe of the Prophet, but true Emblems or more immediate Prognoſticks withal, of greater myſteries approaching. That Earth-quake which hapned in *Jewry*, whilſt *Auguſtus Cæſar* and *Anthony* tryed their fortunes in that great and famous Sea-fight at *Actium*, was in part an accompliſhment of the Prophet

* *Tacit. lib.*2. *Annal.*

Luke 3. 1.

* That is, *the Surface of the Earth.*

Prophet *Haggai* his literal meaning, *Chap.* 2. *ver.* 6. 7. *Yet once, it is a little while, and I will ſhake the Heavens, and the Earth, and the Sea, and the dry Land. And I will ſhake all Nations*, &c. This ſhaking of the Nations, and of the Earth at that time, was a ſure prognoſtick of that Myſtery which the Prophet in the Verſes following fore-telleth, *to wit*, that the glory of the latter Temple ſhould be greater than the glory of the former, and that the deſire of all Nations, who was the glory of both Temples, the Prince of that peace which God had promiſed to give in *Jeruſalem*, was ſhortly to come. For about ſome twelve years after, *Herod* erects the Temple anew, and made it even for external pomp and ornament, more beautiful and glorious than *Solomons* Temple had been; that the King of glory, and Prince of peace, for whoſe entertainment (though unwitting to *Herod*) it was erected, might come unto it, and fill it with glory. And within eighteen years after *Herod* began this work, he was preſented in it, and acknowledged by *Simeon* to be the light of the *Gentiles* (one deſired of all the Nations) and the glory of his people *Iſrael*.

60. The beſt Commentary upon the late cited paſſage of the Prophet *Haggai*, is a paſſage parallel unto it in the Prophet *Malachy: I will ſhake all Nations*, ſaith *Haggai*, Chap. 2. ver. 7. *and the deſire of all Nations ſhall come. Who* or *what* this deſire of all Nations ſhould be, is not ſo expreſly avouched by this Prophet, but that ſome good Chriſtians of latter years have queſtioned, whether this place were literally meant of Chriſts coming to the ſecond Temple, or whether the glory with which *Haggai* fore-telleth, the Houſe of God ſhould be filled, were the glory of the *Son* of God *incarnate*. To prevent this captious Criticiſm, or to ſatisfie the cavil which carnal minds might pretend for it; the Prophet *Malachy* determines the quality of the Perſon, and the place unto which he was to come. *Behold, I will ſend my meſſenger, and he ſhall prepare the way before me; and the Lord, whom ye ſeek, ſhall ſuddenly come to his Temple; even the meſſenger of the Covenant, whom ye delight in: behold, he ſhall come, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts, Mal.* 3. 1. But though his coming were to be *ſudden*, was it therefore to have no certain prognoſtick? or was it *ſudden* only unto ſuch as neglected the preſages of peace, or other ſigns of the time fore-told by the Prophet *Haggai, ver.* 7. *I will ſhake all Nations*, &c. *And in this place will I give peace, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts, ver.* 9. There is no motion in this inferiour world, but tends to reſt, and the more vehement the motion is, ſo it be not unnatural and deſtructive, the more pleaſant is the *reſt* which terminates it. This experiment in the courſe of nature, is the ground of the Prophetical Emblem. That unuſual ſhaking of Sea and Land, that extraordinary commotion of all Nations, muſtred to that terrible Sea-fight between *Auguſtus Cæſar* and *Anthony*, and to the reſt of the Roman Civil Wars a little before, was but a prognoſtick preamble to that happy and unſpeakable peace which the Prophet fore-told the Lord would give in his *Temple* at *Jeruſalem*. This was that peace of God which paſſeth humane underſtanding, which was to be diffuſed throughout the Nations, when the Son of Righteouſneſs did ariſe, whoſe beams are cloathed with Salvation, as the Sun-beams are with light. Some glimpſe or flaſhes of this glorious peace, which was to iſſue out of *Jeruſalem*, (the viſion and fountain of peace) *Rome* had by reflex, as the Moon at the full hath its light from the Sun. But as no man within that hemiſphere wherein the Moon ſhines in her full ſtrength,

looketh after the Sun that gives the light: ſo few or none, much delighted with the glory and ſplendor of *Rome*, being then at full, did much look after the Sun of Righteouſneſs, whoſe approach (though in an oppoſite Hemiſphere) the general peace proclaimed at *Rome* by the ſhutting of *Janus* his Temple, did as certainly prognoſticate, as the day-ſtar doth the Suns ariſing. Of this univerſal peace, that general tax mentioned by Saint *Luke*, *chap.* 2. *ver.* 1. was one ſpecial conſequent. Now, this tax was firſt decreed by *Auguſtus* in *Spain*, within three or four years after the Battel of *Actium*. * And for this reaſon it is, that the Church of *Spain* did anciently begin their computation of years, not from our Saviours Birth, as we do, but from the date of *Auguſtus* his Decree for the univerſal tax firſt enacted in *Spain*, though not put in execution till our Saviours Birth, about ſome 26. years after. So that of his Birth, as well the Earth-quake in *Judæa*, as the general Wars and univerſal Peace which enſued, were infallible preſages unto all ſuch as duly compared the Signs of the Time with the Prophets Prediction. Thus much of thoſe particular Propheſies on which *Johns* Faith, before he received this anſwer from our Saviour, was grounded. Unto which a little is to be added, concerning the peculiar ſigns of the time, which did accompany our Saviours Baptiſm.

* Ob eam Edicti pronuntiationem nonnulli Populi in Gallia & Germania rebellaverunt, ſuſpenſoq; Edicto miſſi ſunt ad illos domandos à Cæſare Tiberius & Druſus; qui poſtquam omnia pacaſſent, Romanoq; imperio ſubegiſſent, anno quadrageſimo ſecundo ſui imperii, quo anno Chriſtus natus eſt, à Præſide Syriæ Cirino cæteroq; orbe Edictum Tarraconæ decretum executioni mandatum eſt, cujus computationem Hiſpania omnis, non à generali executione per univerſum facta, ſed à die decreti facti retinuit. *Epiſcopus Geraldenſis Paralipon. Hiſpan. lib.* 10.

61. It was a perpetual Law unto the *Iſraelites*, that as every ſeventh day was a day of reſt unto themſelves, ſo every ſeventh year ſhould be a year of reſt unto the ground. It was not in that year to be tilled. Now, at the end of every ſeventh year of Sabbaths or reſt, that is, after 49. years ended, they were to have the year of *Jubile*. The year wherein *John* began to baptize and perform his Miniſtry, was the ſeventh Sabbatical year, a year moſt obſervable by the Law; but this Law concerning the years of Sabbaths or of reſt, as the modern *Jews* themſelves confeſs, was but ſlenderly or not at all obſerved by their Fore-fathers after their return from *Babylon*. And for this ſin, amongſt others, they have had for a long time no Land of their own wherein to obſerve it. The time of the year wherein *John* begun to enter upon his office or miniſtery, as ſome * Chronologers rightly gather, was in the beginning of *September*. In the beginning of which Month, as you may read, *Levitic.* 23. they were to obſerve the feaſts of Trumpets, by which Ceremony the other ſolemn feaſts in the ſame month, as the feaſt of the Atonement, and the feaſt of Tabernacles were proclaimed. Whether the *Jews* after their return from Captivity, did obſerve this ſolemnity, or neglect it, as they had done the years of Sabbaths, I well know not, and much it ſkilleth not. It ſufficeth us to obſerve, that the myſtery fore-ſignified by the ceremony or Solemnity which the Law commanded, was duly obſerved and fulfilled by *John*: for he in the beginning of this month, began to lift up his voice like a Trumpet in the Wilderneſs, as the Herald or Ambaſſadour of that God whom in all their ſolemn Feaſts, eſpecially in theſe of the ſeventh month, * the *Jews* did ſeek, and whom they now might both have ſeen and felt; unleſs they had been worſe than blind; unleſs they had winckt with their eyes, and wilfully bereft themſelves of their ſenſes. Now, to awake them out of this ſlumber, the ſame God

Of the ſigns of the time which did accompany our Saviours Baptiſm.

* *Functius Reuſnerus.*

* *Vide Iſai.* 58. 1, 2. *Mal.* 3. *v.* 1.

God whom they ſought, being deprived of this his Herald or Cryer by *Herods* Cruelty, proclaimed himſelf, as you may read in the forecited place, *Joh.* 7. 37. to be that God or Fountain of Life, whereto *John* by his Baptiſm did direct them: *In the laſt day, that great day of the Feaſt,* (to wit, the Feaſt of Tabernacles, in which feaſt *Johns* Baptiſm was moſt famous) Jeſus *ſtood and cryed, ſaying, If any man thirſt, let him come unto me and drink.* Our bleſſed Saviour in this Proclamation, acteth but that very part, which he had penned for himſelf: He had dictated it to the Prophet *Iſaiah* as he was the *Wiſdom* and *Son* of GOD; by whoſe ſpirit the whole body of Scriptures was written, to whom all the Prophets and Evangeliſts were but Scribes or Amanuenſes. He now uttereth and acteth it with the voice and geſture of man. But what date doth the penning and writing of it bear? God himſelf had thus invited them, *Iſay* 55. *ver.* 1, 2. *Ho every one that thirſteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money: come ye, buy and eat, yea come, buy wine and milk without money, and without price. Wherefore do ye ſpend money for that which is not bread? and your labour for that which ſatisfieth not? hearken diligently unto me, and eat ye that which is good, and let your ſoul delight it ſelf in fatneſs. Incline your ear, and come unto me: hear, and your ſoul ſhall live, and I will make an everlaſting Covenant with you, even the ſure mercies of* David. But this Proclamation of our Saviour fell out after *Johns* Death, and was the laſt ſolemn invitation which he made unto the *Jews* at *Jeruſalem*; of which by Gods aſſiſtance, hereafter. Another ſpecial ſign of the time, by which *Johns* Faith was confirmed, is from the Circumſtance of the time and place, wherein our Saviour was baptized by him.

At what time of the year, or on what day our Saviour was baptized.

62. I am not ignorant, that there hath been an antient tradition, eſpecially in the Weſtern Church, that our Saviour was baptized upon the ſixth of *January*, which we call the *Epiphany*, or the twelfth day. And the Church of *England*, not willing to diſſent from the Romiſh Church, ſave only in matters of great conſequence, or in points wherein that Church hath no ſhew of antiquity, retaineth in part the Liturgy or Service which that Church had appointed for that day. So you may find the ſecond Leſſon uſually read in our Churches upon that day, to be the third Chapter of Saint *Lukes* Goſpel, wherein the Hiſtory of our Saviours Baptiſm is moſt expreſly mentioned; and at the end of the Hiſtory concerning our Saviours Baptiſm, the ſecond Leſſon appointed by our Church for that day, doth end. But in a part of the Liturgy to this day uſed in the Romiſh Church, to wit, in the Anthem appointed for that very day, it is in expreſs terms avouched; [*Hodie à* Joanne *in* Jordane *Chriſtus baptizari voluit*;] *This day our Saviour pleaſed to be baptized of* John *in* Jordan. Notwithſtanding all this, *Janſenius* that Reverend Biſhop of *Gant*, a moſt learned and ingenuous Interpreter of the four Evangeliſts, albeit he dyed a member of the then viſible Romiſh Church wherein he lived, did not think himſelf bound to believe either the practice or tradition of that Church, becauſe in his judgment it was not warantable by Scripture, ſpecially if they took the words before-cited in the ſtrict and literal ſenſe. For being ſo taken, it contradicts the words of Saint *Luke*, *chap.* 3. *ver.* 23. *And* Jeſus *himſelf* (when he was baptized of *John*) *began to be about thirty years of age:* Or (as he reads) *was almoſt thirty years of age, when he began to enter upon his function:* which bears date from the day of his Baptiſm. Now if he had been

baptized upon the ſixth of *January*, or the *Epiphany*, he muſt needs have been either 13. days above 30. years old, or but 13. days above 29. Some Romaniſts, acknowledging our Saviour to have been baptized before he was 30. years of Age compleat, account his age from his Conception, in reſpect whereof, he was almoſt thirty, when he was but ſome few days above 29. years old, if we account his Age from his Nativity. Others would have him baptized in the 31. year of his Age, accounting his Age from his Nativity. For, ſuppoſe he had been baptized upon the ſixth of *January*, after thirty years compleat, he might as truly be ſaid to have been then about thirty years, as if he had been baptized ſome few days or weeks before he was 30. But the Greek *ὡσεὶ*, when it ſignifies *about* this or that time, doth uſually ſignifie rather ſhort than over. And for this reaſon *Janſenius*, although he point the Original, as the followers of this laſt opinion do, yet liketh much better of *Epiphanius* his opinion, who was an ancient Writer, and a profeſſed Collector of ancient traditions or opinions; and he referreth the day of our Saviours Baptiſm unto the ſeventh of *November*. So doth learned *Chemnitius* refer it to the feaſt of the *Encenia* or Purification of the Temple. But ſome other Chronologers of reformed Churches, with more probability, refer the day of his Baptiſm unto the tenth of *September*, which was the feaſt of the Atonement. Upon this day the Angel appeared unto *Zacharias*, whilſt he was burning Incenſe in the Holy place, and foretold the Birth and Conception of *John Baptiſt*.

Naclantus in medulla Scripturæ.

The Ceremony concerning the Scape-Goat and other ſolemnities uſed in the Feaſt of the Atonement, myſtically fulfilled in our Saviour upon the day of his baptiſm.

63. The conſonancy of many Types and ſigns of the time with this opinion, is very great and very pleaſant. But if I ſhould relate them all, you would haply ſay, they are but conjectural, becauſe not grounded upon teſtimony of Scripture. Many of them I muſt confeſs, are neither expreſly foretold by any Prophet, nor really fore-ſhadowed or prefigured, for ought I know, by any real event or matter of fact, or by any ſolemnity commanded by the Law of *Moſes*. Yet one event there is which followed immediately upon our Saviours Baptiſm, ſo expreſly related by three Evangeliſts, that it doth neceſſarily argue ſome prefiguration or fore-ſhadowing in the Law or Books of *Moſes*: for ſo every remarkable event or action which concerns our Saviour Chriſt was fore-ſhadowed. The event whereof now I ſpeak, was his leading into the Wilderneſs by the Spirit to be tempted by the Devil. So ſaith Saint *Mark* expreſly (what the others intimate.) *And immediately the Spirit driveth him into the Wilderneſs*, *Mark* 1. 12. Now the end of his going or being led thither (though few Interpreters have obſerved it) was, to fulfill the myſtery fore-ſignified by the Scape-goat, which upon the day of Atonement, as we read, *Levit.* 16. 21. *Was to be led by the hand of a fit man into the Wilderneſs, after* Aaron *or his Succeſſour the High-Prieſt had laid his hands upon his head, and confeſſed over him all the Iniquities of* Iſrael, *and all the tranſgreſſions, and all their ſins, putting them* (as the Text ſaith,) *upon the head of the Goat.* Now, as it is evident out of Scripture, that our Saviour Chriſt was Crucified at the time, that the Paſchal Lamb was killed; to the end the World might take notice, that he was the Lamb of GOD, whoſe Sacrifice the Paſchal Lamb did prefigure; ſo by a certain Analogy of Faith, we may rightly gather that our Saviour was led into the Wilderneſs by the Spirit, upon the ſame day, that the Scape-Goat was by the preſcript of *Moſes* Law to be led thither; to the end that *John*, and ſuch as were preſent, might believe and acknowledge,

knowledge, that the myſtery fore-ſhadowed by the legal ceremony of the ſcape-Goat, was fulfilled in this *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*, whom they had ſeen and known baptized of *John*. Wherefore, in as much as it is evident out of Scripture, that the ſcape-Goat was to be led into the Wilderneſs upon *the Feaſt-day of the Atonement*, and inaſmuch as our Saviour was led into the Wilderneſs, immediately after he was baptized; the concluſion will directly follow, that our Saviour was baptized upon the Feaſt of the Atonement, which was the tenth of *September*. So that *John*, by this account, was a quarter of a year above thirty, and declining towards the Wane, and our Saviour growing up into his full age, being a quarter under thirty, when he was baptized of *John*. The end of our Saviours going into the Wilderneſs, was (as you heard before) to be tempted of the Devil; and amongſt other means, to be tempted eſpecially by faſting. This temptation doubtleſs did not befal him for his own ſake, but that he might fully expiate the ſins committed by the Iſraelites in the Wilderneſs, from whoſe curſe their poſterity was not acquitted, until he which was prefigured by the Scape-Goat, had really and bodily undergone the burthen of it, as the Scape-Goat in ſhadow or ceremony only had done. One ſpecial end of his going upon this day into the Wilderneſs, was, to carry thither the ſins of all that came unto *Johns* Baptiſm. For, as many as were baptized by *John*, confeſſed their ſins. And if *John* did not, no queſtion but He, who was to accompliſh as well that which was foreſhadowed by *Aaron*, as by the Scape-Goat, did put all the ſins, which had been confeſſed to *John*, or to God in *Johns* preſence, upon himſelf, as *Aaron* did put all the iniquities of the Children of *Iſrael*, and all their tranſgreſſions (being firſt confeſſed) upon the head of the Goat, before he ſent him into the Wilderneſs. *Levit.* 16. *ver.* 21. Where we are by the way to note, that this people did always with their own ſins ſolemnly confeſs the ſins of their fore-fathers. The eſpecial ſins which the *Iſraelites* had committed in the Wilderneſs, were their tempting of God, ſaying, *Is the Lord amongſt us or no?* and their rebellious murmuring againſt God, and his Servant *Moſes*, in their grievance of hunger and thirſt, or in their intemperate longings after their *Ægyptian* dyet. For this ſin they were ſtung with fiery Serpents; the reliques or Off-ſprings of their firſt Parents curſe, whom the old Serpent had ſeduced and made ſubject to annoyance by the venemous Creatures. And this ſin was remarkably and fully expiated by our Saviours faſting forty days and forty nights in the Wilderneſs, and by his vanquiſhing the Tempter himſelf the old Serpent in this temptation (as we ſay) at his own weapon. For at this time he eſcaped the malice of the Devil; the powers of darkneſs had no power over him. And this was prefigured by the Scape-Goat, which being led into the Wilderneſs, was to be let go by the man that led him.

64. Probable it is, that *John Baptiſt* from his obſervance, how exactly our Saviour had fulfilled the Type of the Scape-Goat, did (upon his return from the Wilderneſs) pre-collect or prognoſticate, that he ſhould as exactly fulfill the Type or myſtery of the Paſchal Lamb, and hence proclaims him to be that Lamb of God which was to take away the ſins of the World, more than three years before Saviours Apoſtles or Diſciples did know the meaning of this myſtery, or the congruity between the ſhadow and the body. It is remarkably ſaid by our Apoſtle, *That our Saviour is the body whereof legal ceremonies were the ſhadows.* But you muſt underſtand a body ſo heterogeneal and compleat, that no

one or few legal Ceremonies could perfectly fore-ſhadow it. But as the Ceremonies were many and almoſt infinite; ſo every one did fore-ſhadow ſome part or piece of this compleat body; no remarkable part of it, *that is*, no ſpecial event or action which concerned our Saviour Chriſt, but was fore-ſhadowed by ſome or other legal Ceremony. As his leading into the Wilderneſs upon the day of the Atonement, was fore-ſhadowed by the Ceremony of the Scape-Goat; ſo his Baptiſm upon the ſame day, was as expreſly fore-ſhadowed or prefigured, as any event concerning him, either was or could be, by the Legal Ceremony, which *Aaron*, or his Succeſſour the High-Prieſt, were to obſerve upon the ſame day, *to wit*, upon the Feaſt of the Atonement: *And* Aaron *ſhall come into the Tabernacle of the Congregation, and ſhall put off the Linen garments which he put on, when he went into the holy place, and ſhall leave them there. And he ſhall waſh his fleſh with water in the holy place, and put on his garments, and come forth, and offer his burnt Offring, and the burnt Offring of the people, and make an Atonement for himſelf, and for the people. Levit. 16. ver.* 23, 24. *Aaron* was to waſh his body in the holy place, as ſtanding in need of Legal ſanctification from it: So unable was he to ſanctifie himſelf or it. Our Saviours body was waſhed in *Jordan*, and by his bodily preſence ſanctified both the water and the place, yea Heaven it ſelf, or that Heavenly Manſion, whereof the Aaronical holy place was but a ſhadow, was now purified by our Saviours Baptiſm, as it was afterwards to be cleanſed and ſanctified by his bloud. Between the circumſtance of the time when, & the circumſtance of the place wherein our Saviour was baptized, the conſort is ſweet.

65. Our Saviour was baptized by *John* at *Bethabera* beyond *Jordan*, as is evident from Saint *John* the Evangeliſt, *Chap.* 1. *verſe* 28. This was the place (as the name imports) where the *Iſraelites* under the conduct of *Joſhua* or *Jeſus* the Son of *Nun*, firſt entred into the Land of *Canaan*, the Land of their promiſed reſt. And in token that this was the Land which God had promiſed unto *Abraham*, and that this was the time and place wherein God did tender performance of his promiſe unto *Abraham* and his ſeed, ſo far as it concerned the bleſſing or Inheritance temporal; the River of *Jordan* in that very ſeaſon wherein it was accuſtomed to over-flow his banks, did divide it ſelf, and retract the ſtream, to give the ſeed of *Abraham* as ſafe and dry a paſſage into the Land of *Canaan*, as the Red Sea had given them out of *Egypt*. The reaſon why *Jeſus* the Son of God would be baptized at this place, rather then at any other, and the reaſon why the Heavens did open over him being in this place baptized was, to ſhew, that He was the *Jeſus* which was to conduct them into their reſt indeed, into that Land, whereof the Land of *Canaan* was but the Map; that he was the man in whom Gods promiſe unto *Abraham* performed in part by *Jeſus* the Son of *Nun*, was to be finally accompliſhed. The opening of the Heavens, and the emiſſion of that voice from Gods preſence, *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleaſed*, was a full and ſatisfactory anſwer unto all the prayers which the High-Prieſts did annually make, when they went into the moſt holy place. But in what ſort *Jeſus* the Son of *Nun*, or that other *Jeſus* the Son of *Joſedech* did fore-ſhadow the Son of God, will come into more particular conſideration in a fitter place. Thus far of the Propheſies on which *John Baptiſts* belief or warrant for baptizing was grounded, and of the ſigns of the time expounding the meaning of theſe Propheſies unto him, or his attentive Auditors before his Impriſonment.

The

The third Branch of the ſecond Member. The conſonancy between thoſe Scriptures whereunto our Saviour in this anſwer referreth John, *and the former Propheſies on which* John's *Faith was grounded, with the congruity of time and other circumſtances or occurrences, which unfold their meaning.*

Sect. 66. *Iſdem alimur ex quibus conſtituimur:* As every thing's firſt breeding or beginning hath been, ſuch commonly is the manner of its nouriſhment or feeding. Bodies or creatures meerly vegetable, as Trees, Plants, Herbs, Corn, Graſs, and the like, ſeek after no other nutriment than the juice or moiſture of the fatned earth, with which kind of nutriment Creatures indued with ſenſe cannot thrive or proſper. The meaneſt food that can give ſatisfaction to the meaneſt of them, is vegetable, as Graſs, Corn, Herbs, or other Fruits of the Fields, or Trees. Some kind of Creatures indued with ſenſe there be, which muſt be nouriſhed with others of the ſame, but of inferiour kind. As the Lion will not feed on ſtraw with the Ox or Aſs: but feedeth on theſe and other like Creatures conſiſting of fleſh and blood, as theſe do on vegetables. So that there be almoſt as many ſeveral ſorts of nutriment or feeding, as there be ſeveral or diſtinct kinds of Creatures nouriſhed and fed. And not ſo only, but even Creatures of the ſame kind have their variety of nutriment. Though all receive their nutriment from the fatneſs of the Earth, yet is not every vegetable alike content with every ſoyl.

Hîc ſegetes, illic veniunt fœlicius uvæ.

Some ſoyls yield plentiful nutriment to Vines or Plants, but are not ſo kind Nurſes unto Corn or Herbs. Some kind of mould is good for Corn, not altogether ſo good for Graſs. And in the ſame mould wherein Rye or Oats grow up and proſper, Wheat or Barly thrive not ſo well. Now, albeit God allowed greater variety of food or nouriſhment to mankind, than to all other kinds of Creatures beſides; (for moſt Creatures vegetable, or ſuch as feed on vegetables, are given by expreſs Charter unto man for food:) yet we ſee by experience, that ſome men either by peculiar conſtitution of body, or by long accuſtoming themſelves unto ſome ſpecial kind of food, are more delighted, and like better with that, than with any other. And albeit a man by ill dyet, whereunto he hath been long accuſtomed, ſhall contract any diſeaſe or diſtemperature: yet a skilful Phyſician will be as careful to give ſome contentment unto cuſtom, as to correct the preſent diſtemper. The uſe or end of all nutriment, in what body ſoever, is to continue life and health, and to augment ſtrength. And our ſeveral refections ſhould be as ſo many ſeveral invitations or entertainments of the Soul or Spirit of life, that it would be pleaſed to reſide where now it doth, until God provide

provide it of a better reſidence. Now, as every vegetable or ſenſitive body liveth by its Soul, ſo the reaſonable Soul of man liveth by Faith. The firſt original or ſeed of Faith, is the Word of God. The only nutriment of Faith, or of the Soul which ſeeks to live by Faith, is experiment or obſervation of events, whether in our ſelves or without us, anſwerable to the Word of God, from which Faith had its firſt ſeeds or beginning. Again, as every man is moſt bound to obſerve thoſe Rules of Scripture, which moſt concern himſelf or his profeſſion : ſo thoſe experiences or taſtes of Gods Bleſſings which ſute beſt with his peculiar kind of life, yield beſt nutriment unto Faith once begotten. Every mans growth in Faith is then moſt firm and ſolid, when it proceedeth from a perfect growth in thoſe Scriptures from which it took firſt root, and from whoſe experienced truth it was formerly nouriſhed and increaſed.

67. Seeing then *John's* Faith in Jeſus of *Nazareth*, as in the *Meſſias* then revealed, did ſpring from Gods Word uttered by *Iſaias* the Prophet, as from its firſt root, and had been nouriſhed by ſenſible experiments and manifeſt ſigns of the time, anſwerable to the Prophet *Iſaias* Predictions concerning *John's* office: for this reaſon it is, that our Saviour, who beſt knew what anſwer would be moſt fitting and moſt ſatisfactory to *John's* demand, returneth him no other anſwer than you often have heard read unto you; *The blind receive their ſight, the halt go*, &c. The ſum of the anſwer is a brief rehearſal of the various miracles which our Saviour had lately wrought, and continued to work, when *John's* Deſciples came unto him. Now, all the miracles here recited, are but ſo many ſenſible experiments of thoſe Predictions, wherein *John's* Faith, concerning the diſcharge of his office, was firſt grounded; experiments of the very ſelf ſame kind, by which his former Faith had been nouriſhed and confirmed. Such experiments they are as could not but ſtrengthen his Faith, although it had been weakned by doubt or diſtruſt: Experiments in themſelves able to revive his Faith, although it had been more than half ſtifled by deſpair.

68. The ſpecial places of the Prophet *Iſay*, by which *John* was directed in the execution of his office of Preaching Repentance or Baptizing, and whereon his Faith or belief of the *Meſſias* which was to come was grounded, have been alledged and expounded to you before. They were for the moſt part ſuch as did fore-tell ſtrange wonders to be wrought in the Deſart, as the *burſting out of waters in dry places*, turning of Valleys into Mountains, *planting of the Wilderneſs with pleaſant Trees*. All which Predictions were only or eſpecially to be fulfilled in their Allegorical or Parabolical ſenſe, *that is*, in the ſtrange alterations of mens affections and diſpoſitions, which did follow upon *John's* Baptiſm : yet not wrought by *John*, but by him that came after him, which was to Baptize with the Holy Ghoſt and with fire. *John*, before his Impriſonment had ſeen good fruits of his Baptiſm and Preaching of Repentance, he had ſeen the Holy Ghoſt likewiſe deſcend in miraculous manner upon our Saviour: whereby he knew him to be the *Anointed* of the Lord, and that Righteous Branch of *David*, which was to accompliſh whatſoever the Prophet *Iſay*, or *John* out of him, had fore-told. But as for miracles, *John* himſelf wrought none before his Impriſonment, nor had he ſeen or heard our Saviour work any. As indeed he did work no miracles, beſides the turning of Water into Wine at the Marriage Feaſt

at *Cana* in *Galilee*, which (as Saint *John* the Evangeliſt telleth us) was the beginning of miracles, or as a proof or aſſay of his ability to work miracles when his hour was come; which was not, till *John* was impriſoned. But immediately after *Herod* had impriſoned *John*, our Saviour left *Judea* and went into *Galilee*; where, by Gods appointment, the Kingdom of Heaven, whoſe approach *John* at his Baptiſm had foretold, was to be proclaimed and eſtabliſhed. The matter of fact, to wit, his going into *Galilee* upon *Johns* impriſonment, is expreſly related by Saint *John*, *cap.* 4. *ver.* 1, 2, 3. *When therefore the Lord knew how the Phariſees had heard, that* Jeſus *made and baptized more Diſciples than* John, *(though* Jeſus *himſelf baptized not, but his Diſciples) he left* Judæa, *and departed again into* Galilee: not ſo much for fear of the *Jews*, as to accompliſh that, for which he was ſent into the World. The end of his going into *Galilee* at this time, after *John* had performed his office of baptizing, and was now to decreaſe, is more expreſly noted by Saint *Matthew*, *chap.* 4. *ver.* 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16. *Then the Devil leaveth him, and behold, Angels came and miniſtred unto him. Now when* Jeſus *had heard, that* John *was caſt into Priſon, he departed into* Galilee. *And leaving* Nazareth, *he came and dwelt in* Capernaum, *which is upon the Sea-Coaſt, in the Borders of* Zabulon *and* Napthaly: *That it might be fulfilled, which was ſpoken by* Iſaias *the Prophet, ſaying, The Land of* Zabulon, *and the Land of* Napthaly, *by the way of the Sea beyond* Jordan, Galilee *of the Gentiles: The people which ſate in darkneſs, ſaw great light, and to them which ſate in the Region and ſhadow of death, light is ſprung up.* In particular to ſhew you the whole manner how this Propheſie was fulfilled by our Saviours going out of *Judæa* into *Galilee*, by his leaving *Nazareth*, and repairing to *Capernaum*, would require a longer diſcourſe than is fitting for the Pulpit. Some touch of it, perhaps I ſhall give in the concluſion of our Saviours Anſwer to *John*, as it concerns the firſt place of *Iſay*, whereto he referreth him. That which I would now have you to obſerve out of the Evangeliſt Saint *Matthew*, is this: Firſt, that this Propheſie was fulfilled in our Saviours promulgation of the Goſpel in thoſe places. Secondly, albeit our Saviour was anointed King of *Judah*, and inaugurated to the Kingdom of Heaven at his Baptiſm: yet he did not take actual poſſeſſion of his Kingdom, or give Laws unto his Subjects, he did not fully exerciſe his Regal Authority over Satan and the unclean ſpirits his Angels; nor eſtabliſh the Kingdom of Grace by ſigns or wonders, until the time of *Johns* Impriſonment. Thus much is evident from the words of Saint *Matthew*, *Chap.* 4. *ver.* 17. *From that time* (to wit, from *Johns* Impriſonment) Jeſus *began to preach, and to ſay, Repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand.* From the ſame time he did chooſe his twelve Apoſtles, and gave Authority to them and to the ſeventy Diſciples to preach the Kingdom, to heal all manner of diſeaſes, and to deliver the people from the tyranny of Satan. From the ſame time our Saviour began to make that excellent Sermon upon the Mount, whereof you may read, *Matth.* 5, *&* 6. which is the fundamental Charter, by which the Kingdom of Heaven here on Earth is eſtabliſhed. Now, albeit *John* did work no miracles himſelf, nor had ſeen our Saviour work any before his impriſonment: yet he had ingaged his credit and reputation with the people, (who took him for no leſs than a Prophet,) that *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*, whom he baptized in *Jordan*, ſhould work ſuch miracles as *Iſaias* the Prophet had foretold the *Rod* or Branch of *Jeſſe* ſhould work; and accompliſh all, which the ſaid Prophet had foretold ſhould enſue upon the voice crying in the Wilderneſs. That *John* had thus far ingaged himſelf for winning reputation to his Lord and Maſter, is evident from the fruits or effects of this his ingagement, manifeſted in the people. *John* 10. *v.* 39, 40, 41, 42. *After our Saviour had eſcaped out of the hands of the* Jews, *he went away again beyond* Jordan, *into the place where* John *at firſt baptized, and there he abode. And many reſorted unto him, and ſaid;* John *did no miracle, but all things that* John *ſpake of this man, were true. And many believed on him there.* Now, albeit *John*, after he had ſeen the Holy Ghoſt deſcend upon our Saviour, did never doubt whether he was the promiſed *Meſſias* or no: yet what greater comfort or ſatisfaction could *John* receive being now impriſoned, than to have an acquittance from his former Ingagement for our Saviour, ſealed by ſuch viſible and ſenſible events as are here related, and ſolemnly acknowledged and delivered by him for whom *John* ſtood ingaged, who had fully diſcharged whatſoever *John* had promiſed on his behalf? That this anſwer of our Saviour did really diſcharge *John* of his former ingagement, and fully acquit him from all ſuſpicion of colluſion or compact with *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*, whom he baptized, and proclaimed to be the *Meſſias*; might eaſily have appeared to the moſt malitious *Jew* then living, that would but have compared the miracles here related, with the predictions of the Prophet *Iſay*, laying both of them to heart, and weighing them with the circumſtances of the ſeveral times. The teſtimonies are two. The firſt prediction of the Prophet *Iſay*, whereto our Saviour in this anſwer referreth *John*, and all ſuch as ſhould ſeek ſatisfaction from him, is, *Iſay* 35. but eſpecially, *ver.* 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. *Strengthen ye the weak hands, and confirm the feeble knees. Say to them that are of a fearful heart, Be ſtrong, fear not: behold, your God will come with vengeance, even God with a recompence, he will come and ſave you. Then the eyes of the blind ſhall be opened, and the ears of the deaf ſhall be unſtoped. Then ſhall the lame man leap as an Hart, and the tongue of the dumb ſhall ſing: for in the Wilderneſs ſhall waters break out, and ſtreams in the deſart. And the parched ground ſhall become a pool, and the thirſty Land ſprings of water: in the habitation of Dragons, where each lay, ſhall be graſs, with reeds and ruſhes.*

69. The Teſtimonies before-cited out of *Iſay*, albeit they were abundantly ſufficient to beget faith in *John* himſelf, and others that did unpartially conſider and compare them with the ſigns of the time and other circumſtances, of which you have heard: yet were they not ſo apt or effectual to convince the froward and partial hearers, as this laſt cited Teſtimony was, and is. Againſt the former places, and the expoſitions which *John* made of them to himſelf and to his Diſciples, Pride and Malice, or fretting jealouſie might have made theſe or the like exceptions, plauſible enough to diſcontented minds, or to men poſſeſſed with a prejudicate opinion either of *John*, or of *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*, whom *John* proclaimed for the *Meſſias*. Thus might ſuch men as I now ſpake off, have objected. *It is true which* John *alledgeth for his Commiſſion out of* Iſay, *That there ſhall a voice be heard crying in the Wilderneſs, to prepare the ways of the Meſſias whom we expect; that the Lord will work ſtrange wonders in the deſart, upon the Meſſias his declaration unto* Iſrael. *But, who ſhall aſſure us, that this* John *is to be the Cryer or Herald, which* Iſay *foretold ſhould uſher the Meſſias into his Kingdom; or that this* Jeſus *whom he proclaimeth, ſhould*

be the Branch of Jeſſe, *the Son of* David, *and that* Chriſt *or* Anointed *of the* LORD, *whom we expect? The Prophet doth not ſo plainly deſcribe the voice of one crying in the Wilderneſs, either by* name, *by* parentage, *or by* dwelling; *but that it is poſſible for ſome other man to come after* John, *which may have better right to that Office, which he takes upon him, than, for ought that yet appears, he hath. It is no miracle for a man of better note than* John *is, to pretend or counterfeit ſuch revelations or expoſitions of the Prophets, as he maketh ſhew of: for as yet he hath given us no real proof of his extraordinary calling, by any evident miracle or undoubted wonder; and without ſome apparent miracle, his teſtimony of himſelf, or of Jeſus of* Nazareth *is not concludent.* Nor do we in thus ſaying, any way queſtion the truth of *Iſaiahs* Predictions; but only whether this *man* which takes upon him to be a Cryer in the Wilderneſs, be the very man whom *Iſay* meant in the Propheſie alledged by *John*, or no. What if many of ſuch as repaired to this *John* in the Wilderneſs, have upon his Baptiſm, and the Doctrine of Repentance which he taught, become new men, nothing like to the men they had been? What if ſome of them, being before more barren than the Bramble, have ſince his Baptiſm ſhewed themſelves more fruitful than the Fig-tree or the Olive? What if others, of men more ravenous than Wolves, have become as moderate in their deſires, and as harmleſs in their actions as the ſilly Lamb? What if others, heretofore as fierce and cruel as the Leopard and the Lyon, are now become (to moſt mens ſeeming) as tame and gentle as the Ox, the Aſs, or other like domeſtick creature? What if others, heretofore noted to be as venemous as the Aſp or Cockatrice, have now gotten an opinion in the world (ſince they were diſciplined by *John*) for being as mild and placable, as the ſucking Infant or the new weaned Child? Yet who knows whether this ſeeming Sanctity, or change of mind may not be counterfeited or pretended only? or whether theſe men may not within ſhort ſpace return again unto their former temper, and appear in their in-bred native likeneſs?

70. Theſe and the like exceptions might malice, pride, envious jealouſie, or prejudicate opinions have made, with ſome colour of probability, unto men offended with *John Baptiſts* perſon; ſpecially if they had made them immediately after he began to Baptize. And it would have been an hard task for *John* to have refuted the objections, or convinced the Objectors, out of the teſtimonies of the Prophet *Iſay* before cited. But now that pride and malice it ſelf might ſee the Blind reſtored unto their perfect ſight, the Lame unto their right uſe of limbs; now, that men haply, heretofore offended with *John Baptiſts* perſon or our Saviours, might perfectly know, ſuch as they had formerly known to be altogether truly Deaf, to be as well able to hear as to be heard: in that they might hear ſuch as were perfectly Dumb, to ſpeak diſtinctly; in that they might ſee late naſty and lothſom Lepers become as clean and comly of body as themſelves: nor pride, nor malice it ſelf (ſo they would ſuffer themſelves to be throughly informed in theſe matters of fact) could move any queſtion whether theſe and the like were the very men or no, whom *Iſay* the Prophet meant in the Propheſie laſt cited, *Chap.* 35. And being once truly informed in matters of fact, to wit, [that theſe miracles were truly wrought, and wrought by that Jeſus of *Nazareth*, whom *John* proclaimed to be the *Meſſias*] they could not queſtion whether the ſame God, which had ſent *Iſaias* the Prophet to fore-tell theſe ſtrange wonders,

ders, had not alſo ſent this Jeſus of *Nazareth* to accompliſh *that* in *deed* and *truth*, which *Iſaias* had fore-told, and which was in part fore-ſhadowed in the days of *Ezechiah* and the Prophet *Iſay*. For, albeit the malitious *Phariſees* or other *Jews*, whom God had given over to a Reprobate ſenſe, might have calumniated our Saviour, as if he had wrought theſe miracles here mentioned, by the power of Satan, as they ſaid ſometimes that he did caſt out Devils by the power of *Beelzebub* Prince of Devils: yet could not *calumny*, nor *malice it ſelf*, entertain a ſuſpicious thought, that the Prophet *Iſay* ſhould foretell the working of theſe miracles by the ſpirit of lyes or of Satan. For *Iſaias* plainly affirmeth, that their God ſhould bring this Salvation which he promiſeth. Of which ſalvation the miracles wrought in my Text, are the undoubted pledges, or rather the firſt beginnings. So it is ſaid, * *Then the eyes of the blind ſhall be opened.* This word [*Then*] pre-ſuppoſeth a time *when* thoſe miracles ſhould be wrought: and this time was, *when God ſhould come to ſave his people.* God did often ſave his people: But it is one thing for God *to ſave his people*, and another, *that God ſhould come to ſave his people.* It is one thing that God ſhould come *to ſave his people*, another, that God the *Avenger*, that *God the Recompencer* or *Rewarder* [their *God* in ſpecial] ſhould come to ſave them. Yet are all theſe branches emphatically contained in the literal ſenſe or Grammatical conſtruction of the former words: *Behold your God will come with vengeance, even God with a Recompence, he will come and ſave you, Iſay* 35. *ver.* 4. This argueth a ſpecial manner, and an extraordinary meaſure of Salvation. In brief, the ſum or extract of the whole Chapter is this. The miraculous alterations in the Wilderneſs, *as of Waters breaking out*, &c. mentioned in the beginning of this Chapter, (elſewhere ſo often inculcated by the Prophet; and fulfilled upon *John's* Baptiſm,) were ſure prognoſticks or preſages of *God's coming to ſave his people*: and the particular miracles fore-told, *ver.* 4. and now wrought by our Saviour, were infallible ſigns or demonſtrations from the effect, that the Lord, whoſe ways the Cryer in the Wilderneſs was ſent to prepare (that very God of whom *Iſaias* here ſpeaks) was *come* in perſon to *ſave* his people. And it is probable, that *John's* queſtion, *Art thou he that ſhould come*, &c? had peculiar reference unto this place; at leaſt, our Saviours referring him to this place, would give him full ſatisfaction that he was to expect no other *to come*.

* Iſa. 35.5.

71. Beſides the evident fulfilling of this Propheſie, beyond the utmoſt extent of its plain Grammatical ſenſe; the ſigns and circumſtances of the time would much avail *John*, or others then better acquainted with the Hiſtories or Cuſtoms of the *Jewiſh* Nations, than now we are. Concerning the circumſtances of the times wherein *Iſaias* uttered this Propheſie, thus much in general is undoubtedly true. The Revelation or Propheſie was firſt conceived or uttered by *Iſaias*, at that very time, wherein *Senacherib King of Aſſyria*, had laid the land of *Judah* waſte, and put *Jeruſalem* unto that great diſtreſs, whereof you may read 36. Chapter of this Propheſie, as alſo in the eighteenth and nineteenth of the ſecond Book of *Kings*: Which deſolation and diſtreſs, as alſo the deliverance from it, the ſame Prophet *Iſaias* had fore-told, as you may read, *Iſa.* 8. 9. and 10. Chapters, and the latter part of the ſeventh Chapter. The Hiſtory of *Senacheribs* attempt againſt *Jeruſalem*, with his mighty overthrow, and of *Ezekiahs* ſickneſs and recovery, are inſerted at large

between the 35. and 40. Chapters of this Prophet, not through negligence of the Collectors, or Compilers of theſe ſacred Volumes, but by the ſpecial direction of the Holy Spirit, to the end, that the Reader might compare the Hiſtorical events with the Prophetical Predictions, and their Evangelical accompliſhments, with the Hiſtorical events or portendments. That theſe Propheſies of *Iſaias* in particular, although literally and hiſtorically verified in the days of *Hezekiah*, did in the opinion of the ancient *Jews* portend, or prefigure ſome greater myſteries to be accompliſhed in latter Ages, we need no further Teſtimony than that of the Son of *Sirach*, *Chap.* 48. *ver.* 21, 22, 23, 24, 25. *He ſmote the Hoſt of the* Aſſyrians, *and his Angel deſtroyed them. For* Ezechias *had done the thing that pleaſed the* LORD, *and was ſtrong in the ways of* David *his Father, as* Iſaiah *the Prophet, who was great and faithful in his Viſion, had commanded him. In his time the Sun went backward, and he lengthned the Kings life. He ſaw by an excellent ſpirit, what ſhould come to paſs at laſt, and he comforted them that mourned in* Sion. *He ſhewed what ſhould come to paſs for ever, and ſecret things or ever they came.*

Of the ſign given to Hezekias *for his deliverance from the* Aſſyrian; *and what the ſigns or circumſtances of thoſe times did foreſhadow.*

71. That blaſphemous meſſage, which *Sennacherib* ſent to *Hezekiah* by *Rabſhekah* his General, hapned in the beginning of the ſeventh Sabbatical year: and *Hezekiah* and his peoples deliverance (by *Sennacheribs* over-throw) was accompliſhed in the year following, which was the year of Jubilee. Thus much the literal ſenſe and meaning of the Sign which the Prophet *Iſay* gave to *Hezekiah*, doth (to my apprehenſion) directly import, *Iſay* 37 *verſ.* 30. *This ſhall be a ſign unto thee, Te ſhall eat this year ſuch as groweth of it ſelf*; (this was the expreſs Law of the Sabbatical or ſeventh year, as you may read, *Levit.* 25. *ver.* 3, 4, 5, 6.) *and the ſecond year that which ſpringeth of the ſame.* This is the expreſs Law of the year of Jubilee, which did always immediately follow the ſeventh Sabbatical year, as you may read, *Levit.* 25. *ver.* 11, 12. *A Jubilee ſhall that fiftieth year be unto you: ye ſhall not ſow, neither reap that which groweth of it ſelf in it, nor gather the Grapes in it of thy Vineyard. For it is the Jubilee, it ſhall be holy unto you: ye ſhall eat the increaſe thereof out of the Field.* How well or ill, this people at other times did practiſe this precept, whilſt they lived under Kings which were of the Race of *David*, I now enquire not. The Lord at this time had inforced them to make a vertue of neceſſity, and to rely meerly upon his extraordinary bleſſing upon their Fields and Vineyards (ſpecially ſuch as were within their walled Cities) without their own labour or husbandry, either in ſowing, planting, or reaping; in all which, although they had been diſpoſed to break the Law of the Jubilee, yet the enemy had prevented them. Howbeit, at the end of two years, the Lord had promiſed deliverance from the preſent Siege, and fear of their potent Enemy, as it followeth in the Prophet, *And in the third year ſow ye and reap, and plant Vineyards, and eat the fruit thereof.* This ſign * was a ſign of a Covenant between God and them: a pledge or earneſt, that if they performed the precept of the Law concerning the Jubilee and Sabbatical year, he would perform the thing ſignified by the ceremony of the Jubilee, *that is*, joyful deliverance from the Oppreſſor. This extraordinary bleſſing of God upon their Plants and Vineyards, during the time of the ſiege, was a ſign or pledge of Gods extraordinary Bleſſings upon the beſieged, as well Prince as People, after the ſiege was broken up, and the mighty

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* *Vide* Jer. 34. ver. 13, 14, 15.

Army of the *Aſſyrians* deſtroyed and ſcattered. For ſo it followeth in the Prophet, *verſ.* 31, 32. *And the remnant that is eſcaped of the Houſe of* Judah, *ſhall again take root downward, and bear fruit upward. For out of* Jeruſalem *ſhall go forth a remnant, and they that eſcape out of Mount* Sion : *the zeal of the Lord of Hoſts ſhall do this.*

73. What queſtion ſoever ſome curious Chronologer may move concerning the computation of time, as whether this deliverance did preciſely fall out in the year of Jubilee by the Law appointed, or in ſome year ſubſtituted in lieu of the Jubilee before neglected : ſure I am, that whatſoever this year of their deliverance did want of the legal form, was abundantly ſupplyed in the reality or ſubſtance of the year of Jubilee. No Servant throughout all the Land of *Jewry* did ever rejoyce more at the approach of any year of Jubilee, than all the Free-men and Maſters in *Jeruſalem*, than all the Princes and Nobles of *Judah*, than the King himſelf did rejoyce at their deliverance from the yoke of the *Aſſyrian*, whoſe overthrow the Prophet compareth unto the overthrow of *Pharaoh*, * Iſay 10. ver. 26, 27. *And the Lord of Hoſts ſhall ſtir up a ſcourge for him, according to the ſlaughter of* Midian *at the Rock of* Oreb, *and as his rod was upon the Sea, ſo ſhall he lift it up after the manner of* Egypt. *And it ſhall come to paſs in that day, that his burthen ſhall be taken away from off thy ſhoulder, and his yoke from thy neck, and the yoke ſhall be deſtroyed, becauſe of the anointing.* Of this ſtrange deliverance from *Sennacherib*, the ſtrange birth of the *Emanuel* mentioned, *Iſay* 7. 14. and of the Child likewiſe mentioned, *Iſay* 8. 1. (whether that were the ſame or ſome other) were pledges or ſigns unto this people. So was the deliverance of *Hezekiah* and his people, a type or ſhadow of a greater deliverance, from a greater Enemy in the days of the *Meſſias* ; and all the joy which was conceived upon the deſtruction of *Sennacheribs* Army, was but a picture of that joy which this people was to expect upon the anointment of their *Meſſias*, as may appear from the ninth of *Iſay*, *ver.* 3, 4, 5, 6. *Thou haſt multiplyed the Nation, and not encreaſed the joy,* (or as the latter *Engliſh* hath it, *To him thou haſt encreaſed the joy,* or perhaps it may be rendred, *Haſt thou not encreaſed the joy?*) *they joy before thee, according to the joy in Harveſt, and as men rejoyce when they divide the ſpoil. For thou haſt broken the yoke of his burden, and the ſtaff of his ſhoulder, the rod of his oppreſſor, as in the day of* Midian. *For every battel of the Warriour is with confuſed noyſe, and garments rolled in blood : but this ſhall be with burning and fuel of fire. For unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given,* &c.

* *Vide* Iſay 11. ver. 16, 17.

74. Nothing more uſual with Gods Prophets, than to prefix denunciations of wo and miſery to Propheſies of comfort ; and to make the experienced accompliſhment of woes fore-told, the infallible avouchers of enſuing joys. To omit other inſtances or exemplifications of this obſervation, elſewhere handled, the connexion of the fortieth Chapter of *Iſay* (whence *Johns* Commiſſion for Baptizing with water was derived) with that doleful Prediction, *Iſay* 39. *v.* 7. is remarkable. So is the connexion of the ninth Chapter of the ſame Prophet with the eighth, eſpecially if we ſet the full point in the Hebrew where Saint *Jeremy* found it, and where *Arias Montanus* in the great Bible hath placed it. For ſo the firſt words of the ninth Chapter, according to our preſent Engliſh, ſhould be the latter end of the eighth Chapter, and ſhould be rendred thus : There ſhall be

no flight, no hope of eſcape from the ſtraights or anguiſh that beſets him. And according to this reading, the former Propheſie of woe and miſery ſhould here end. After which the Propheſie of joy and comfort doth immediately enſue in the beginning of the ninth Chapter, to this or like effect: *The Land of* Zabulon, *and the Land of* Nephthaly, *were the firſt of all the Tribes of* Iſrael, *that were found light* (and ſwept away by the Oppreſſor) *but in latter days the way of the Sea beyond* Jordan, Galilee *of the Nations ſhall be glorious. The people that walked in darkneſs, have ſeen a great light: they that dwell in the Land of the ſhadow of death, upon them hath the light ſhined.* I am the bolder to commend this ſenſe to the judicious and learned, becauſe it ſets the Prophetical prediction, and the Evangelical Narration, *Matth.* 4. *ver.* 15. in an even and parallel courſe. Whereas the ordinary reading and pointing of the beginning of that ninth Chapter of *Iſay*, is ſo perplexed, that many good Interpreters by following it, have made the Evangeliſt (for ought that I can ſee) to fall foul *upon* the *Prophet*, and the hiſtorical event, (if this prediction were hiſtorically verified in *Hezekias* days) to croſs the Evangelical myſtery related by St. *Matthew.* Unto both theſe inconveniencies, but eſpecially unto this latter, another over-ſight or non-obſervance, (not ſo much in point of Grammar, as of Hiſtory or Geography) have given great occaſion. For it is commonly received, though without all ground, yea contrary to the ground of ſacred Hiſtory, that *Sennacheribs* Army was deſtroyed by the Angel, near unto *Jeruſalem.* But could we as clearly gather where *Sennacheribs* Army was deſtroyed, as we can clearly prove that it was not deſtroyed about *Jeruſalem:* the fulfilling of this Propheſie would be as perſpicuous for the manner or circumſtance, as it is remarkable for ſubſtance. But the ſearch of the place where *Sennacheribs* Army was deſtroyed, we leave to the Schools. For the Propheſie it ſelf [*The Land of* Zabulon, *and the Land of* Nephthaly, *&c.*] whether it were not at all verified by any real event, until it was accompliſhed by our Saviours tranſmigration from *Judæa* into *Galilee*, or whether it were ratified by ſome Hiſtorical event in *Hezekias* his days, as by the manner of *Sennacheribs* overthrow, certainly the Prophets ſpecial intent and purpoſe was to give poſterity notice, that as the Land of *Zabulon*, of *Nephthaly*, the way of the Sea, *&c.* were firſt captivated by the *Aſſyrian*, ſo they ſhould be the firſt ſpectators of that great Victory, which the Angel of God, the great Angel of the Covenant, was to have over thoſe powers of darkneſs, which the *Aſſyrian* tyranny did but fore-ſhadow. And this was the reaſon why our Saviour upon *Johns* Impriſonment, leaving *Judæa*, went into *Galilee*, becauſe his Soveraignty over Satan was to be manifeſted, and the Kingdom of Heaven firſt proclaimed and eſtabliſhed there. And thus much of the former teſtimony, *Iſay* 35. whereto our Saviour in this Anſwer referreth *John*, and of the ſigns and circumſtances of the time, wherein the Propheſie was firſt conceived, or of the times immediately enſuing.

75. The ſecond teſtimony whereto this Anſwer referreth *John*, and which doth well illuſtrate and ratifie our obſervations upon the former, is *Iſay* 61. *ver.* 1. *The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me, becauſe the Lord hath anointed me, to preach good tidings unto the meek.* I muſt here give you notice, that whereas our Engliſh reads, *To preach glad tydings unto the meek or poor*, the phraſe in the Original is the ſelfſame with this here in my Text. Only the *Verb* in the Original is the

Active, becauſe the Prophet fore-tels the Office of CHRIST: but in the Evangeliſt, who ſheweth the effects or fruits of Chriſts Office, it muſt needs be as you will eaſily conceive, a paſſive. Wherefore I muſt diſſent as well from our Engliſh as from our Latine Tranſlations, in the Tranſlation of the Hebrew in the Prophet, as I did before in the Tranſlation of the Greek here in the Evangeliſt. The vulgar Latine having rightly tranſlated the Greek here in my Text, [*pauperes evangelizantur,*] doth vary from it ſelf and from the truth in the interpretation of the Prophet. For ſo he renders it, as our Engliſh doth, [*miſit me evangelizare pauperibus,*] *He ſent me to preach unto the poor:* whereas if this tranſlation had been conſtant to it ſelf, it ſhould have been, [*miſit me evangelizare,* or *evangelizatum pauperes,*] *he hath ſent me to Evangelize the poor in ſpirit.* And to Evangelize them, is as much as to imprint the Goſpel or Kingdom of Grace in their hearts. And this interpretation of the Prophet may be neceſſarily inferred from the circumſtances of the Prophetical Text it ſelf, by the ſame Arguments which before were uſed for interpreting the Evangeliſts. *To preach the Goſpel unto the poor,* is only to make them a promiſe of the Kingdom of Grace; which cannot be the true or full meaning of the Prophet in this place: for this firſt clauſe, [*miſit me evangelizatum pauperes,*] is the general root wherein all the Clauſes following are contained, as branches. Now this *Anointed* of the Lord here ſpoken of, did not only promiſe to bind up the broken-hearted, but did bind them up. He did not only promiſe liberty to the Captives, or the opening of the Priſons to ſuch as were ſhut up; but did ſet both at liberty. As we ſay, Chriſts *bene dicere* is *bene facere:* ſo Chriſts Proclamation of liberty to the Captives in this place, was their actual freedom or manumiſſion. The enemies yoke was to diſſolve and break, upon this anointments pouring out, as the wax melteth before the fire. So much the Prophetical phraſe in the Original, *chap.* 10. *ver.* 27. doth import. In like manner, when it is ſaid, that he did [*evangelizare pauperes,*] *evangelize the poor;* it is not only meant, that he did preach the Goſpel or glad tidings unto them: but made them actual partakers of that Spirit of joy and gladneſs, wherewith God, *even his God had anointed him above his fellows.* This often-mentioned Evangelization of the poor, and meek in ſpirit, is as much as that which followeth, *ver.* 3. *To give beauty for Aſhes, and the oyl of joy for mourning.* Now, if you call to mind what was before delivered, That our Saviour was anointed to his Prophetical and Kingly Office at his Baptiſm, by the Holy Ghoſt deſcending upon him in the ſhape of a Dove; and that *John,* upon the firſt hearing of the Cities name where he dwelt, did know him to be that Rod or Branch of *Jeſſe,* on whom the Prophet *Iſay, chap.* 11. *ver.* 1, 2. had foretold the Spirit of the Lord ſhould reſt: Our Saviours anſwer to *John* is as full and ſatisfactory, as the heart of *John,* or any man living could deſire; ſo appoſite and fitting, as nothing but the Wiſdom of God could deviſe. The ſum of his anſwer is in effect this; *Go ſhew* John *again that the Spirit of the Lord, the Spirit of wiſdom and underſtanding, the Spirit of might and counſel, which* Iſay *fore-told ſhould reſt upon the Rod and Branch of* Jeſſe, *and which* John *ſaw deſcend, and abide upon me in the ſhape or likeneſs of a Dove at my Baptiſm, is not departed from me, it is upon me ſtill. The Ointment wherewith the Spirit anointed me, was not given me for mine own uſe; nor is it ſpent or conſumed, although it powerfully diffuſeth it ſelf to all about me,* *me, that are not offended with me. By it the poor are made rich, even as rich as Kings, inſtated in the Kingdom of Grace and of the Goſpel, and anointed Heirs unto the Kingdom of Glory. By it every broken and contrite heart is healed: ſuch as were ſhut up, are ſet at liberty; ſuch as were bound, are looſed; by it the yoke of the oppreſſor is diſſolved.* Now, the end of all this change or alteration is, as the Prophet *Iſay* concludeth, *That they might be called trees of righteouſneſs, the planting of the Lord, that he might be glorified. Iſaiah* 61. *ver.* 3. The Rod, the Branch of *Jeſſe*, the Righteous Branch of *David*, were the known glorious Titles of the *Meſſiah* or Son of *David*: and it was his glory, whilſt he lived on earth, to make others like himſelf, Trees or Plants of Righteouſneſs. The Prophets continuation of this Allegory in comparing men to Trees, even in thoſe places wherein the glory of Chriſts Kingdom is moſt plainly, though muſt elegantly fore-ſhadowed, argueth the ſum of all the wonders which he foretold ſhould be wrought in the Wilderneſs, and which he hath repreſented in ſuch variety of Poetical Pictures to be this; That the dry and barren places of *Judæa* wherein *John* baptized and preached repentance, as alſo the vaſt and barren places about the borders of *Zabulon* and *Napthaly*, which heretofore had ſcarce yielded any food or nutriment for tame Beaſts or Cattel, much leſs any fit habitation or reſort for men, ſhould in the days of the Meſſiah, become the moſt fertil and fruitful Nurſery of ſuch Plants and Grafts, as God had prepared for the Celeſtial Paradiſe. Theſe trees of righteouſneſs whereof the Prophet ſpeaks, were firſt planted in the Wilderneſs wherein our Saviour preached the Goſpel of the Kingdom, and wrought miracles. They were inſtated in the Kingdom of Heaven, (as Feoffees in truſt for the founding of ſome new Society or Corporation,) and made ſupporters or Pillars of that Church Militant, which hereafter ſhall become Triumphant.

76. That which ſealeth this admirable conſonancy between the Prophetical Predictions, and theſe Evangelical events or experiments, is the circumſtance or ſigns of the time wherein theſe miracles mentioned in my Text were wrought, and wherein this meſſage was ſent unto *John*. This is intimated, when it is ſaid, * *He was ſent to preach liberty to the Captives, and to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.* *Iſa. 61. 2. Theſe are expreſs Characters of the year of *Jubilee*: and the year of *Jubilee* is by interpretation, as much as the *year of joy or rejoycing*; declared by the ſound of Trumpets. Now, *John* (as you heard before) began to lift up his voice like a Trumpet in the Wilderneſs in the beginning of *September*, which was every year to the *Jews* the Feaſt of Trumpets. Now, this Feaſt of Trumpets, wherein *John* began to cry in the Wilderneſs, was the latter end of the ſeventh Sabbatical year. Our Saviour, as you heard before was baptized upon the Feaſt of the Atonement, which was the beginning of the year of Jubilee, wherein the Jubilee was to be proclaimed with Trumpet. He was at the time of his Baptiſm, as you heard before out of St. *Luke*, about thirty years of Age: and an exquiſite * Chronologer hath well calculated, that the day wherein he was baptized, was the beginning of the thirtieth year of Jubilee, after this peoples entrance into the Land of Promiſe. So that every year of our Saviours private life before he was declared unto *Iſrael*, was equivalent to the accompliſhment of a Jubilee, which is for fifty years; and the people might expect of him now coming to thirty years of age, whatſoever had been

* *Reuſnerus, Naclantus.*

fore-ſhadowed in all the years of Jubilee or Joy, for fifteen hundred years from this peoples entrance into the Land of Promiſe. Now in this thirtieth year of the Legal Jubilee, our Saviour began to preach the Goſpel, that is, the joyful tidings of the Kingdom, and the liberty of the Sons of God: and in truth and ſubſtance to accompliſh that, which was prefigured by the Legal Jubilee. All the priviledges or matters of rejoycing which the Legal Jubilee did afford, are ſet down at large, *Levitic.* 25. *ver.* 9, 10. *On the tenth day of the ſeventh month, in the day of Atonement, ſhall ye make the Trumpet ſound throughout all your Land. And ye ſhall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the Land unto all the Inhabitants thereof. It ſhall be a Jubilee unto you, and ye ſhall return every man to his poſſeſſion, and ye ſhall return every man to his Family.* And ver. 39, 40, 41. *If thy brother that dwelleth by thee, be waxen poor, and be ſold unto thee, thou ſhalt not compel him to ſerve as a bond ſervant, but as an hired ſervant, and as a ſojourner he ſhall be with thee, and ſhall ſerve thee to the year of Jubilee. And then ſhall he depart from thee, both he and his Children with him, and ſhall return unto his own Family, and unto the poſſeſſion of his Fathers ſhall he return.*

77. If you deſire to know the Evangelical myſteries prefigured by theſe Legal priviledges of the Jubilee or fiftieth year; and the manner how all theſe prefigurations were fulfilled by our Saviour, at the time when he ſent this anſwer unto *John*: you muſt conſider, that no ſervant throughout the Land of *Jewry*, whether an hired ſervant of the ſeed of *Abraham*, or a Bond-man of the Nations, was ever in ſo great a bondage or hard ſervitude unto his Maſter, as all the Sons of *Abraham*, yea of *Adam*, were unto Satan. This acceptable year of the Lord, in number the thirtieth Legal Jubilee, being firſt proclaimed by *John*, afterwards by a voice from Heaven at our Saviours Baptiſm, and laſtly by our Saviour himſelf after *Johns* Impriſonment, was the time appointed by God for the manumiſſion or ſetting free of his people, and all mankind from the bondage and ſervitude to Satan. Nor did our Saviour only proclaim this acceptable year of the Lord, but did by deed and fact declare himſelf to be that Lord which had given the Law of Jubilee unto the *Jews*, and was now come in perſon to put the true intent and full meaning of it in execution, which was to ſet free all ſuch as did hearken unto his voice, and ſought to be eaſed from their ſlavery and thraldom. Of this preſent freedom or manumiſſion, even theſe bodily miraculous Cures here mentioned in my Text, were undoubted effects, and ſo many ocular or ſenſible demonſtrations. All theſe defects or imperfections of body, as blindneſs, lameneſs, deafneſs, dumbneſs, crookedneſs, and the like, were as the bonds and chains of Satan. Thus much is evidently proved by our Saviours Argument againſt the Ruler of the Synagogue, which was diſpleaſed becauſe our Saviour had healed a poor woman upon the Sabbath day, whoſe body was bowed together. *Thou Hypocrite,* (ſaith our Saviour) *doth not each one of you on the Sabbath day looſe his Oxe or his Aſs from the ſtall, and lead him away to watering?* Luke 13. ver. 15. *And ought not this woman, being a daughter of* Abraham, *whom Satan hath bound, lo theſe eighteen years, be looſed from this bond on the Sabbath day?* ver. 16. Saint *Peters* words are more general; for he ſaith, *He healed all that were oppreſſed of the Devil, Act.* 10. *v.* 38. But the ſpecial document and the fulleſt aſſurance of this preſent freedom or manumiſſion by our Saviour, was the often-mentioned Evan-

gelization of the poor in Spirit, that is, their participation of that Oyl of gladneſs, wherewith he was anointed above his fellows or adherents. This includeth as well [*terminum ad quem*] as [*terminum à quo*] that is, it includeth not only a manumiſſion or deliverance from the ſervitude of Satan, but withal an accompliſhment or fulfilling of that, which was prefigured in the ſecond priviledge of the Legal Jubilee: and this priviledge was, that every man might return unto his poſſeſſion, or to the inheritance of his Fathers, although he had formerly pawned or mortgaged it. Now, Paradiſe, you know, was the poſſeſſion which all of us loſt in our firſt Parents, and from entring into it we were all excluded, ſo long as we continued the ſervants of Sin and Satan: And unto this poſſeſſion did the Womans Seed or ſecond *Adam*, the Anointed of the Lord, whereof the Prophet *Iſay* ſpeaks, Chapter 61. actually reſtore the poor in Spirit, that lived and converſed with him. This reſtauration or returning to the poſſeſſion or inheritance of their firſt parents, was firſt proclaimed, and the poſſeſſion it ſelf in part firſt given or bequeathed to his Diſciples, a little before *John* ſent unto our Saviour this meſſage, whereto my Text contains the anſwer. The Proclamation was our Saviours Sermon upon the Mount.

78. It is a point worth your obſervation, that our Saviour beginneth that Sermon, (which as we ſaid before, was the Fundamental Charter of the Kingdom of God, or Evangelical Law) from the beginning of the fore-cited 61. Chapter of *Iſay*, *The Spirit of the Lord is upon me*, ſaith the Prophet, *therefore he hath anointed me to Evangelize the poor*, or meek in Spirit. He opened his mouth, ſaith the Evangeliſt, *Matth.* 5. *ver.* 3. that is, after long ſilence and expectation, he began to proclaim the acceptable year, *Bleſſed are the poor in ſpirit, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.* Thus our Saviour expreſſed the meaning of this Phraſe in my Text, [*pauperes evangelizantur*:] for the poor in Spirit are therefore bleſſed, becauſe inſtated in the Kingdom of Heaven, and inſtated they were in the Kingdom of Heaven, by being *Evangelized.* Another part of his Embaſſage or effect of his anointment, was to comfort all that mourn, to give to *them that mourn in* Sion, *beauty for aſhes, and the oyl of joy for ſorrow*, *Iſay* 61. The ſecond Branch of his Embaſſage or Proclamation was, *Bleſſed are they that mourn, for they ſhall be comforted*, Matth. 5. ver. 4. Saint *Luke*, Chap. 6. addeth (which is not expreſſed in Saint *Matthew*) that at the ſame time, *he pronounced a woe unto the rich, a woe unto the full, a woe unto ſuch as laughed*, (to wit, in an unſeaſonable time, when God had called to faſting and mourning) and a *woe unto the vain-glorious, or men-pleaſers*, ver. 24, 25, 26. As well the woes as the bleſſings here ſolemnly pronounced, were expreſly fore-told by the Prophet *Iſay*, *Chap.* 61. *ver.* 2. So it is ſaid, *That the Lord had ſent him to proclaim the acceptable year of the* Lord, *and the day of vengeance of our God.* This powerful denunciation of woe and bleſſing was that *Fan* whereof *John Baptiſt* ſpeaketh, *Mat.* 3. *ver.* 12. *His Fan is in his hand, and he will throughly purge his floor, and gather his Wheat into his Garner: but will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire.* Both our Saviours Sermon, and *John Baptiſts* deſcription of his Fan, as alſo that of *Malachy* 3. *ver.* 2, 3, 4. are but exegetical expreſſions of that fundamental Propheſie, *Iſay* 35. *ver.* 4. wherein it is implyed, that when God ſhould come to ſave his people, he ſhould come as well [*Deus ultor*] as [*Deus renumerator*] as well *God the Revenger, as God the Rewarder.* But did our Saviour give

any document of this his power at the uttering of this Sermon? *It came to paſs*, ſaith the Evangeliſt, *when Jeſus had ended theſe ſayings* (of wo and bleſſing, of vengeance and recompence) *the people were aſtoniſhed at his doctrine. For he taught them as one having authority, and not as the Scribes, Matth.* 7. *ver.* 28, 29. Thus when our Saviour expounded the fore-cited Propheſie, *Iſa.* 61. *ver.* 1. in the Synagogue at *Nazareth*, *All bare him witneſs, and wondred at the gracious words, which proceeded out of his mouth.*

79. The preciſe time of the year, or month wherein our Saviour made this Sermon, or returned this anſwer here in my Text unto *John*, or whether it were returned before he Preached the acceptable year of the LORD in *Nazareth*, cannot ſo eaſily be gathered from the circumſtances of the Evangeliſt: but as all Interpreters (I think) agree, this anſwer was given within the compaſs of that year wherein our Saviour was Baptized. Now, this was the laſt legal Jubilee which this people were to enjoy, and the firſt beginning of the Evangelical Jubilee, which was to continue here on earth until the Worlds end, to be fully accompliſhed in the World to come. So that this great myſtery of our eternal Reſt and Joy in Heaven, had firſt a ſhadow in the Law, to wit, the *Legal Jubilee*. Secondly, A Picture in the Prophet *Iſay*, or in the Hiſtory of *Hezekias*, and his miraculous delivery from the *Aſſyrians*. Thirdly, A live body in the Goſpel or days of the *Meſſias*, every way anſwerable to the Picture drawn by the Prophet. The firſt conception of this live body, or Evangelical Jubilee, was from the day of our Saviours Baptiſm: and the birth of it, from the delivery of our Saviours Sermon upon the Mount. Fourthly, The accompliſhment, full growth, or perfection of this live body, is to be expected only in the life to come, where our Joy, our Reſt and Peace, ſhall be for meaſure boundleſs, and for term endleſs. Now, according to theſe ſeveral degrees of ſhadow, of picture, of life and growth, one and the ſame Scripture, even according to its native and literal ſenſe, may be often verified and fulfilled. All the former Propheſies likewiſe concerning the planting of the Wilderneſs with pleaſant Trees, though actually fulfilled, according to the importance of the Parabolical, or Emblematical ſenſe in that year of Jubilee, which Jeſus of *Nazareth* did proclaim, ſhall not be finally accompliſhed, until the beginning of that Jubilee which ſhall have no end. Thus much is ſpecified, *Iſay* 60. *ver.* 20, 21, 22. *Thy Sun ſhall no more go down, neither ſhall thy Moon with-draw it ſelf: for the Lord ſhall be thine everlaſting light, and the days of thy mourning ſhall be ended. Thy people ſhall be all Righteous: they ſhall inherit the Land for ever, the* Branch *of my planting, the work of my hands that I may be glorified. A little one ſhall become a thouſand, and a ſmall one a ſtrong Nation: I the Lord will haſten it in his time.* This laſt verſe, though partly fulfilled in the converſion of whole Nations by our Saviours Apoſtles and Diſciples, made Citizens of the new *Jeruſalem* deſcending from Heaven at our Saviours Baptiſm, ſhall not be accompliſhed, until theſe Trees of Righteouſneſs be tranſplanted into the Heaven of Heavens, and *ſet* there by the Tree of Life. Then ſhall the leaſt ſprig that hath been truly ingraffed into the ſtock of *Jacob*, the meaneſt Son of *Abraham* by Faith, become more fruitful in himſelf, than *Abraham* was in his Poſterity, and a greater King and Lord of more than *David* or *Solomon* in their prime. Thus much is included in that ſaying of our Saviour, *Mark* 10. 29, 30. *There is no man*

Netſer.

that hath left Houſe, or Brethren, or Siſters, or Father, or Mother, or Wiſe, or Lands for my ſake and the Goſpels, but he ſhall receive an hundred fold now in this time, Houſes, and Brethren, and Siſters, and Mothers, and Children, and Lands, with Perſecutions, and in the world to come Eternal Life. If the leaſt of them that forſake all for Chriſts ſake, grow in this life into an hundred, how great or ſtrong a Nation every ſmall one that is not in this life offended in him, ſhall after this life ended, become, is inexpreſſible. But we believe our Saviour, that the leaſt and ſmalleſt of ſuch as forſake all for him, and the Goſpel, ſhall have life eternal. And we believe Gods Word, that life eternal is more than ten thouſand lives temporal, though a thouſand lives of a mans own, be much more worth than a million of other mens lives, whereof we might hope to be the Lords and Diſpoſers.

80. That other Propheſie likewiſe before mentioned, *Iſay* 35. *verſe* 4. Though literally verified at Gods firſt coming into the World to be made man, and then punctually fulfilled, when JESUS of *Nazareth*, GOD and MAN, came to *John's* Baptiſm, is to be finally accompliſhed, when the ſame Jeſus ſhall come to judge the quick and the dead. Then ſhall he manifeſt himſelf to be *God the Avenger*, and *God the Recompencer*, by pronouncing that Sentence from which there ſhall be no appeal; *Come ye bleſſed of my Father, poſſeſs the Kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. Depart from me, ye Curſed, into Everlaſting Fire, prepared for the Devil and his Angels.* The former part of this Sentence ſhall proceed from him, as he is God the *Rewarder* of all ſuch as diligently ſeek him: The latter part of this Sentence, *Go ye curſed*, &c. proceedeth from him as he is God the Avenger. In that accompliſhment of days (which ſhall utterly aboliſh all night) and not before, ſhall that other part of the ſame Propheſie, *Iſay* 35. *verſe* 5, 6. be likewiſe finally accompliſhed: *Then the eyes of the blind ſhall be opened, and the ears of the deaf ſhall be unſtopped*, &c. The eyes of many blind were opened at the time when this Anſwer was given: yet not the eyes of all the blind men then living, which were not offended in him, but only the eyes of all the blind throughout *Judæa* and Neighbour Regions, that came unto him without offence. At his ſecond coming, the eyes of all, that after perpetual darkneſs have been finally ſhut up by death, ſhall be opened to ſee the glory of God; ſo opened to ſee it, without offence, as they ſhall never be ſhut again, never be deprived of this beatifical Viſion. In that day ſhall all the halt and lame, that have not been offended in him, even ſuch as never enjoyed the uſe of limbs from their coming out of the Womb, unto their going unto their Grave, become more ſtrong and agile than the *Hart*, and more ſwift and nimble than the *Roe*. Then ſhall the ears and tongues of all that have been born deaf and dumb, be ſo unſtopped and unloſed, as upon the firſt opening they ſhall be enabled to hold Conſort with the Quire of Angels, to deſcant upon thoſe hidden Myſteries and Prophetick Songs, about whoſe literal ſenſe, or plain Grammatical meaning, there hath been much diſcord amongſt greateſt Criticks, and amongſt Schoolmen continual jars.

This is all which I have at this time to ſay concerning the three parti-

Tome II.

particular Branches propoſed in the beginning of the ſecond General Obſervation, which was thus: *What ſatisfaction this anſwer of our Saviour* [*The blind receive their ſight,* &c.] *could give to* John *or his Diſciples, or to any that doubted whether Jeſus of* Nazareth *was he that was to come.* Somewhat more is to be ſaid concerning the Concluſion; *Bleſſed is he, whoſoever ſhall not be offended in me.*

Matth.

Matth. 11. Ver. 6.

Bleſſed is he, whoſoever ſhall not be offended in me.

§. 81. THE univerſality of the bleſſedneſs here promiſed, may be gathered by this Induction, as you heard before: *The Blind are happy, the Lame are happy, the Lepers are happy, the deaf and dead are happy: therefore all are, or or at leaſt, there is none but might be happy, ſo they would not be offended in me.* But the ſame concluſion, *Bleſſed is he, whoſoever ſhall not be offended in me,* is more immediately contained in the laſt clauſe of the fifth verſe, [*Pauperes Evangelizantur*] and may be inferred by way of Syllogiſm, thus: *Every one that is evangelized, is bleſſed: but every one that is not offended in me, is evangelized:* Ergo, *Every one that is not offended in me, is bleſſed.* To be Evangelized, *that is,* to have the power and vertue of the Goſpel imprinted upon their Souls, is the higheſt degree of Happineſs, that in this life can be expected. [*Beatum eſſe ineſt Evangelizato per ſe* καθ' αὑτὸ.] All are ſo far happy in this life, as they are *Evangelizati,* and no further: ſo that of the major Propoſition there is no queſtion. The minor, [*Every one,* that is not offended in Chriſt, is *Evangelizatus*] is thus inferred: *To be poor in Spirit,* and *not to be offended in Chriſt,* are terms, as Logicians ſpeak, reciprocal: whoſoever is *poor in Spirit,* is not apt to *be offended in Chriſt*; and whoſoever *is not apt to be offended in Chriſt, is poor in Spirit.* And again, none that are *truly poor in Spirit,* are apt to take *offence at Chriſt*; and, none that are *apt to take offence at Chriſt,* are *poor in Spirit.* So that, if the poor in Spirit be Evangelized, then all that are not offended in Chriſt, are Evangelized, and all are ſo far Evangelized, as they are not offended in him. For *Evangelium Chriſti, eſt potentia Dei ad ſalutem*] *The Goſpel of Chriſt is the power of God unto Salvation,* unto all ſuch as being invited, do come to Chriſt, without putting ſtumbling-blocks or matter of offence before their own feet. Whether, *to be poor in Spirit, or not to be offended in Chriſt,* is firſt in order of time or nature, were not ſo profitable to diſpute. It ſufficeth us to know, that Chriſt was ſent to anoint the poor in Spirit with the oyl of gladneſs, [*ex officio*] and that none are poor in Spirit, but ſuch as are not offended in him. Whence, the points to be enquired after, are but two. The firſt, What it is to be offended in Chriſt. The ſecond, Which be the ſpecial offences that are to be avoided.

Rom. 1. ver. 6.

82. [*Whoſoever is not offended.*] The word in the Original ſignifieth, a ſtumbling block, or ſome hard body againſt which another may ſo ſtrike or daſh, as it may hurt it ſelf, or be hindred in its motion or progreſs. The Latine [*offendo,*] whence our *Engliſh* is derived, (according to its prime and natural ſignification) imports as much as the Greek doth. For it is a compound of the old Verb [*fendo*] now almoſt out of uſe amongſt the Latines, which ſignifieth as much, as to touch or ſmite: whence the Latine [*defendere*] is as much as to warde

What it is to be offended in Chriſt.

or bear off. This uſe of the word [*defend,*] is common in our Engliſh. So we call him a Maſter of Defence, that can teach others to warde off blows or ſtrokes, or other annoyances, that by darting or hurling may be intended againſt them. And amongſt Mariners, to fend off, is as much as to prevent or hinder one ſhip from grating and falling foul upon another. And if we would follow the Latines as ſtrictly in the proper uſe of the word [*offendere,*] as we do in the uſe of the ſingle Verb [*fendo*] or of its compound, [*defendo,*] we ſhould ſay, one ſhip offends another, when one ſhip falleth foul upon another: For ſo a Latiniſt would expreſs the Engliſh [*Navis in navim offendit*:] for, *offendere*, is as much as *impingere*, to hit or daſh againſt. In this propriety, the Latine [*offendere*] is uſed, *Pſalm* 91. 12. *They ſhall bear thee up in their hands, leſt thou daſh thy foot againſt a ſtone.* [*Ne offendas in lapidem, &c.*] Now, becauſe to offend or daſh againſt hard bodies, is diſpleaſant and grievous unto ſenſe; Every thing is hence ſaid to offend us, that is diſpleaſant and grievous unto us, or that hindereth us in the proſecution of our will, delights, or pleaſures. Hence they are ſaid in this ſecondary ſenſe to be *offended* in Chriſt, that were diſpleaſed with his actions, perſon, or doctrine. The iſſue or conſequence of this mutual offence taken by men at CHRIST, or by GOD at men, which contemn and ſpurn at his admonitions, is excellently expreſſed by the Prophet *Eſay, chap.* 8. *ver.* 13, 14, 15. *Sanctifie the LORD of Hoaſts himſelf, and let him be your fear, and let him be your dread. And he ſhall be for a a Sanctuary to thoſe that ſanctifie his name, and dread his power: but for a ſtone of ſtumbling, and for a rock of offences to both the Houſes of* Iſrael, *for a gin and for a ſnare to the inhabitants of* Jeruſalem. *And many among them ſhall ſtumble and fall, and be broken, and be ſnared, and be taken*; namely, as many of both the Houſes of *Iſrael*, as did not ſanctifie his name, or dread his power. When he ſaith, he ſhall be for a *ſtone of ſtumbling*, this imports the iſſue and conſequence, not the end why this ſtone was laid in *Sion*. For if the revolting *Jews* themſelves, did not therefore ſtumble, that they might fall; *Rom.* 11. 11. the end or reaſon why this ſtone was laid in *Sion*, was not that they might either ſtumble or fall: but many of them have ſtumbled and faln, many of them have been broken and inſnared; but they are broken and inſnared, becauſe they ſtumbled and took offence, where none was given: and all this the Prophet did foretel to prevent a ſcandal or offence, which the weak in Faith, or the Heathen, which had not heard of Chriſt, would have taken, unleſs the lamentable event of the *Jews*, which ſpurned and kicked at this ſtone, had been diſtinctly foretold, and as it were painted out by the Prophet. The meaning is, as if he had ſaid; I ſee you will kick or ſpurn at this precious ſtone or foundation, which God hath promiſed to lay in *Sion*: and ſeeing you will not be fore-warned, take your paſtime: yet know withall, that this your ſporting with, or ſpurning of this ſtone, which your Maſter-Builders will reject, as being too baſe and unſightly in their eyes; will prove but as the ſpurning of ſome wanton Creatures at the Spring, or gin, which they eaſily may remove, but being removed, it will bring the ſnare or trap upon them, which they ſhall not be able to remove or eſcape. Our Saviour Chriſt in his humiliation was as the ſpring or gin, at which the *Jews* ſpurned: but is ſince grown into the corner ſtone, and ſhall become as the trap, and fall to cruſh and bruiſe all ſuch, as ſpurned at or contemned him in the days of his humility, or at this day make a ſcorn at ſuch humility as he taught. The Prophets ſpeeches in this and like places, wherein he foretelleth what ſhall after happen in ſuch a manner, as he may ſeem to invite them unto that which afterward they bring upon themſelves, is but like that in the Poet;

Rode caper vitem; ſed dum tu ſtabis ad aras,
In tua quod ſpargi cornua poſſit, erit.

But the beſt Comment that is or can be made upon the Prophets words, is made by our Saviour, *Matth.* 21. *ver.* 42, 43, 44. *Did you never read in the Scriptures, the ſtone which the builders rejected, the ſame is become the head of the corner? This is the Lords doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes. Therefore ſay I unto you, the Kingdom of God ſhall be taken from you, and given to a Nation bringing forth the fruit thereof. And whoſoever ſhall fall upon this ſtone, ſhall be broken: but on whomſoever it ſhall fall, it will grind him to powder.* Theſe chief Prieſts and Phariſees, to whom our Saviour propounded this queſtion, were the Maſter-builders in *Hieruſalem*; but were ſo far from ſanctifying the Lord of Hoſts, and ſo far from making him their fear, their dread, and Sanctuary, as the Prophet adviſed them; that they kick and ſpurn at him in the days of his humiliation, as unfit to have any place in their viſible Temple. But ſhortly after he uttered this Parable, he grew into ſo high and great a place in the true Temple of God, that he hath groun'd the material Temple, and the whole City of *Hieruſalem* it ſelf to duſt and powder by falling upon them: although he did no otherwiſe fall upon them, than by ſuffering his Fathers wrath and diſpleaſure (which he had ſtill kept off) to fall upon them that did ſpurn or were thus deeply offended at him. The ſeveral fates or final iſſues of every ones ways, that have heard of Chriſt or been baptized in him, is fore-pictured in the ſtate or iſſue of theſe *Jews*, to whom he was firſt revealed.

83. Every one is ſo much more happy, as he is leſs apt to be offended in him; they moſt unhappy, that are moſt offended in him. To be offended in Chriſt all they are ſaid, and here intended, which being invited to come unto him, or being on their way, are, upon whatſoever occaſions or temptations, led another way; or ſo ſtumble and fall in the way undertaken by them, that they have no heart to go forward: but either directly retire, or ſtay at the place where they ſtumbled or fell. Whatſoever hindreth any man from coming to Chriſt, or from imbracing the Goſpel, is an offence, not given, but taken. Though all be offended in him that have been invited and come not to him: yet the *Jews* are more properly ſaid to be offended in him, than the Heathen, which had not ſought after him. The offences which the *Jews* took, were for the moſt part, either againſt his Country, or againſt his parentage, or againſt his doctrine. This laſt offence, in reſpect of theſe days, is the moſt dangerous, and that wherein we modern Chriſtians may treſpaſs ſo much more hainouſly, than the *Jews* did; as they did more grievouſly offend than the Heathens, in being ſo deeply offended at their Meſſias, of whom they had heard, and after whom they had ſought.

Three originals of diſlike or offence taken againſt Chriſt by the Jews.

84. The moſt, and even the beſt ſort of the *Jews*, were apt to take offence at our Saviours ſuppoſed Country. Thus when *Philip* came and told *Nathanael*, * *We have found him of whom* Moſes *in the Law, and*

* John 1. v. 45, 46.

and the Prophets did write, Jeſus *of* Nazareth, *the Son of* Joſeph: Nathanael *ſaid unto him, Can any good thing come out of* Nazareth? *Nathanael* in ſpeaking this, ſpake as for the preſent he thought. This ſpeech (it ſeems) was *Vox populi*, in thoſe days. But our Saviour had a more charitable opinion of *Nathanael*, than *Nathanael* had of his Country or place of dwelling. For notwithſtanding this his hard conceit of *Nazareth*, our Saviour commendeth him for a true *Iſraelite*, and one, in whom there was no guile. The common offence was quickly removed out of ſo harmleſs and humble a heart. Upon a little conference with our Saviour, he acknowledgeth him for that ſtone elect and pretious, which God had promiſed to lay in *Sion. Rabbi*, ſaith he, *thou art the Son of God, the King of* Iſrael. *Nathanael*, though in part offended with the place of our Saviours preſent habitation, was yet truly happy, in that he was not ſo far offended with it, as to refuſe at *Philips* invitation to come and ſee whether any good thing could come out of it or no. His prejudicate opinion of *Nazareth* was leſs than *Naaman's* was of *Jordan*: his ſucceſs in hearkning to *Philip* and repairing to *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*, much happier than *Naaman's* was in hearkening to the Prophet *Eliſha*, and his waſhing in *Jordan*. So uſeful is that rule, which ſince hath been commended unto us by our Apoſtle Saint *Paul*; *Try all things, and retain that which is beſt.* But what is beſt we cannot know without tryal or compariſon of particulars.

85. The ſame prejudice which *Nathanael* had of *Nazareth*, the people, mentioned *Joh. 7. ver.* 40. had of *Galilee*, the Country or Province, whereof *Nazareth* was a poor City or Town: But their prejudice was much more deeply rooted, than *Nathanaels* was; their offence at our Saviour, and the prejudice they had of *Galilee*, was greater, and they by it more unhappy. After our Saviour had made that Proclamation in the Feaſt of Tabernacles, whereof you heard before; *If any man thirſt, let him come unto me and drink. He that believes in me, (as the Scripture hath ſaid) out of his belly ſhall flow Rivers of living water.* Joh. 7. 37. *Many of the people when they heard this ſaying, ſaid, Of a truth this is the Prophet: others ſaid, This is the Chriſt: but ſome ſaid, Shall Chriſt come out of* Galilee? *hath not the Scripture ſaid, that Chriſt cometh of the ſeed of* David, *out of the Town of* Bethleem, *where* David *was? So there was a diviſion among the people becauſe of him, and ſome of them would have taken him.* Thus you ſee how apt prejudicate opinion is to pick quarrels with the truth, and to pretend inſoluble contradictions between Scripture and Scripture, or between it and the Prophets opinions or Interpretations of it: betwixt which there is an admirable and apparent conſonancy, to ſuch as will with patience and unpartially confer them. It is moſt true which this people alledged, that the Chriſt and Meſſias was to come out of *Bethlehem*, the City of *David*, but might he not therefore come out of *Galilee*? out of *Nazareth*? [*Diſtinguant tempora, & concordant Scripturæ:*] one Prophet foretels that the Ruler of Gods people ſhould go out of *Bethlehem*, a place of plenty, a fruitful ſoil, and by interpretation, the houſe of bread. This was meant of his Birth and firſt coming into the World; and that *Jeſus* of *Nazareth* (which now came out of *Galilee*) did firſt come into the World out of *Bethlehem*, the City of *David*, this people had too good proof, ſo they would have but looked back to the time of their own births or infancy, or have examined the Records or Hiſtory of thirty years fore-paſſed. For

what was it that moved *Herod* to ſlay all the Infants about *Bethlehem*, but that he hoped among them to have ſlain the expected Son of *David*, the hope of *Iſrael*? Another Prophet fore-telleth as diſtinctly and plainly, that this ſame Son of *David* ſhould grow up, as a *tender plant out of a dry ground*, and that many ſhould be offended in him (as this people now was) for no other reaſon, than that he was not ſo beautiful or glorious, as they expected their Meſſias ſhould be. *Iſay* 53. *v.* 3. The ſame Prophet elſe-where ſpecifieth the Towns name, wherein this *Branch* of *David* was to grow, as you heard before out of the eleventh of *Iſay*.

86. But theſe Scriptures were ænigmatical or obſcure; and how ſhould the people know their meaning, without the interpretation of the preſent viſible Church, *that is*, of the High-Prieſts, the Scribes, and Phariſees? This was the plea of the viſible Church in thoſe days; and this peoples reliance upon their viſible Church or Chief Rulers of *Jeruſalem* (after ſuch a manner in part, as the Romaniſts now do upon the Church of *Rome*, that is, upon the Pope and his Cardinals) was the beginning or root of the *Jews* Apoſtaſie from Chriſt. That which the Romaniſt would perſwade us to be the Rock of our Salvation, and rule of our Faith in Chriſt, was to thoſe *Jews* the only rock of offence; the line of deſolation, as the Prophets call it, to *Hieruſalem*. That very objection which the people in the ſeventh of *John* did make, was taught them by the Scribes and Phariſees, the then viſible or repreſentative Church. The prejudice which theſe great *Rabbies* had of *Galilee*, and the offence which they took at our Saviour, was ſo deeply rooted in their hearts, that they took it as a proof ſufficient to condemn him for a falſe and counterfeit Prophet, becauſe he avoucheth himſelf to be a true Prophet, being, as they imagined, a *Galilæan*. For when *Nicodemus* had ſeverely taxed their partiality, and unwarrantable proceeding againſt him; *Doth our Law judge any man before it hear him, and know what he doth? They anſwered, and ſaid unto him, Art thou alſo of* Galilee? *Search and look: for out of* Galilee *ariſeth no Prophet. Joh.* 7. *v.* 51, 52. *The truth*, and becauſe the truth, the true Church of God, was viſible and conſpicuous in *Nicodemus*, or at leaſt in ſuch as the High-Prieſt, the Scribes and Phariſees, the then viſible Church, did excommunicate and perſecute as Seducers, or men ſeduced by our Saviour. The Scribes and Phariſees were the viſible Church in the ſelf-ſame ſenſe, as the Romaniſts now take it: yet limbs of *Antichriſt*, true types and ſhadows of theſe Sons of *Belial*, with whom we have to deal, who after many warnings and evident convictions of blaſphemous intemperancy, are not yet aſhamed to bring thoſe arguments for the eſtabliſhing the Authority of their preſent Church, which, if they had any truth in them, would juſtifie the Scribes and Phariſees, in condemning our Saviour for a falſe Prophet, a Seducer, or Blaſphemer; yea, would prove *Judas* to be a better Martyr than any their Church can brag of, for betraying him.

87. Certainly, the men of *Nazareth* were not offended with our Saviour, either for his Country in general or particular, and yet moſt unhappy men, in that they were upon other occaſions deeply offended with him, when he came in love to viſit them, and proffered the glorious light of the Goſpel unto them. *He came to* Nazareth *where he had been brought up, and as his cuſtom was, he went into the Synagogue on the Sabbath day, and ſtood up for to read. And there was delivered*

unto him the Book of the Prophet Iſaias; *and when he had opened the Book, he found the place where it was written, The Spirit of the Lord is upon me: becauſe he hath anointed me to Preach the Goſpel to the poor, he hath ſent me to heal the broken-hearted, to Preach deliverance to the Captives, and recovering of ſight to the blind, to ſet at liberty them that are bruiſed, to Preach the acceptable year of the Lord,* Luke 4. verſe 16, 17, 18, 19. Never did any Preacher in the World chuſe a fitter Text, or better ſuting with time and place, than this, which by Divine Providence offered it ſelf unto our Saviour at the firſt opening of the Book; and the Application was as pithy, as the Text was plain and pregnant: *And he began to ſay unto them, this day is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears, Luke* 4. 21. Againſt this Doctrine or Expoſition, no exception was taken at the firſt, but on the contrary (as the Evangeliſt ſaith) *All bare him witneſs, and wondred at the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth, ver.* 22. What was it then that did finally offend them? Nothing beſides their own ſqueamiſh, nice, and womaniſh fancy. They were taken with a ſpice of the ſalf-ſame diſeaſe, whereof our Romiſh-Catholick Dames are ſick even unto death; to whom any ſtinking weed or loathſom drug, raked out of the ſink or puddle of tradition, ſo it be brought by a Quack-ſalver, or Mountebank from beyond the Seas, reliſheth much better than the ſweeteſt flowers that grow, either in the Prophetical or Evangelical *Herbary*; better than the bread and water of life it ſelf, daily proffered unto them by the native and allowed Phyſicians of their Souls; Men as able to inſtruct their Foreign Inſtructers in any good Learning, eſpecially in the glad tydings of the Goſpel, as they are to inſtruct the rude and ignorant, in matters of treaſon and villany. Out of this inchanted humour, or bewitched fancy, the Inhabitants of *Nazareth,* after they had heard our Saviour for a while with admiration, began to ſay, *Is not this* Joſephs *Son?* Or as Saint *Matthew* relateth it, *Whence hath this man this wiſdom, and theſe mighty works? Is not this the Carpenters Son? Is not his Mother called* Mary? *and his Brethren* James *and* Joſes, *and* Simon, *and* Judas? *and his Siſters, are not they all with us? Whence then hath this man all theſe things? and they were offended in him,* Matth. 13. ver. 54, 55, 56, 57. This offence they bewray in words, but Saint *Luke* intimateeth another Original of their offence, deeplier rooted in their hearts, and which upon no provocation, but rather upon our Saviours intended prevention, did draw them unto moſt deſperate practices. The original of this offence, was our Saviours refuſal to work ſuch Miracles amongſt them, as they expected, albeit for this refuſal he brought them a ruled caſe, which ſhould have taught them Patience and Humility; but as they were affected, it filled their hearts with rage and cruelty. * *And he ſaid unto them, Ye will ſurely ſay unto me this Proverb, Phyſician, heal thy ſelf: Whatſoever we have heard done in* Capernaum, *do alſo hear in thy Country. But I tell you of a truth, many Widows were in* Iſrael *in the days of* Elias, *when the Heaven was ſhut up three years and ſix months; when great Famine was thorow out all the Land: but unto none of them was* Elias *ſent, ſave unto* Sarepta, *a City of* Sidon, *unto a Woman that was a Widow. And many Lepers were in* Iſrael, *in the time of* Elizeus *the Prophet; and none of them was cleanſed ſave* Naaman *the* Syrian. The implication was, that even the honeſtly-minded, or well diſpoſed Heathen were nearer to the Kingdom of God, than the ſtubborn and

* *Luke* 4. ver. 23, 24, 25, 26, 27.

and ſelf-willed *Jew*, that boaſted in being *Abrahams* Seed, and the expected *Meſſias* Country-man. Their apprehenſion of this his meaning, and application of his words unto themſelves, did work a general diſtaſte of his Perſon and Doctrine. *All they in the Synagogue, when they heard theſe things, were filled with wrath, and roſe up, and thruſt him out of the City, and led him unto the brow of the Hill, (whereon their City was built) that they might caſt him down headlong.*

88. They are principally offended with him, becauſe he would not do ſuch miracles as they expected: and he is therefore unwilling to do any miracles amongſt them, becauſe they were already offended in him. It is a remarkable cenſure which St. *Mark* giveth of this their untoward diſpoſition: *He could do no mighty work there, ſave that he laid his hands upon a few ſick folk, and healed them*, Mark 6. verſe 5, 6. Certainly thoſe ſick folks were not offended in him, otherwiſe he had not healed them. *He did not many miracles there*, ſaith Saint *Matthew*, *Chap.* 13. *ver.* 58. The reaſon given by Saint *Matthew*, why he did not, and by Saint *Mark* why he could not do many mighty works there, was one and the ſame, avouched in the ſame terms by both theſe Evangeliſts, and it was his Auditors unbelief, or that deep offence which they had cauſleſly taken at him. But haply ye will ſay, the greater their unbelief was, the more need they had of his mighty works to make them believe: and what work can we imagine ſo mighty, that Chriſt, who was truly God, could not really effect, ſo he were willing? and willing, it ſeemeth he was, to have made his Country-men, and Neighbours of *Nazareth*, true Believers: he read his Commiſſion and Charter of Foundation, for eſtabliſhing the Kingdom of Heaven here on Earth, in their Audience. And it is a truth unqueſtionable, that *Chriſt* as now, ſo then was truly *God*, and continued in the ſame, bleſſed for ever: and unto God nothing is, nothing can be unpoſſible. All this is moſt true in reſpect of his power: but ye muſt again conſider, that many things which are very poſſible, and very eaſie in reſpect of his power, are altogether unpoſſible to be done, becauſe they imply a contradiction or contrariety to the eternal Rule or Law of his Goodneſs, Juſtice, or Majeſty. Now, it is an expreſs branch of his eternal law or equity, not to *caſt Pearls before Swine*, not to ſave ſuch men by miracles or mighty hand, as contemn and ſpurn at the ordinary means of Salvation, or deſpiſe the riches of his bounty. The portion of Scripture before mentioned (ſo they had ſuffered him to have gone forward with the expoſition of it, or would have attended to him with that reſpect and reverence which was due unto the Words of God) was more effectually to beget Faith in their Hearts, than all the miracles that could have been wrought; for Faith cometh by hearing, not by ſight; and ſeeing this churliſh people had ſwiniſh ears, and brutiſh appetites, our Saviour as man, could not (without manifeſt violation of his Fathers eternal Law, and of his own eternal Law, as he was God) feed their eyes or other ſenſes with ſuch miraculous ſpectacles, as were ordained to convert men. Every unruly or exorbitant deſire is a rock of offence; every affection, how natural or how civil ſoever, unrectified, unmaſtered, or unſubdued, is as a crooked, rugged path, which muſt be made plain and ſtreight e're we come to Chriſt. This rectifying, this ſmoothing or levelling of our deſires and affections, is that way of the Lord which *John* was ſent to prepare*.

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* *To this purpoſe the Apoſtle*, Heb. 12. *interprets the Prophet* Iſay, *Chap.* 40. *ver.* 3. *by himſelf*, *Chap.* 35. *ver.* 3.

Deſire of knowledge in Arts or Sciences of Wiſdom, or experience in affairs civil and politick, is a deſire in it ſelf commendable: yet, if the deſire of the one, or the other be immoderate, it is as a Hill or Mountain that muſt be brought low, e're the way of the Lord (whether from him to us, or from us to him) can become paſſable. The deſire of a ſign for confirmation of Faith, is not unlawful. *Abraham* deſired one, and had it; and ſo did *Hezekiah:* and both herein commended. *Ahaz* had a ſign offered, but would not take it, and is by the Prophet ſharply reproved. Yet the immoderate or unſeaſonable deſire of a ſign, is a dangerous root of offence. Both parts of this obſervation are from Saint *Paul*, 1 Cor. 1. ver. 22. 23. *The Jews require a ſign, and the Greeks ſeek after wiſdom, but we Preach Chriſt Crucified, unto the Jews a ſtumbling-block, and unto the Greeks fooliſhneſs: but unto them which are called, both Jews and Greeks, Chriſt the power of God, and the wiſdom of God, ver.* 24. Whom doth he mean by ſuch as are called? All that are in any ſort, or howſoever called? No, but ſuch as are not meerly Grammatical, but real paſſives; or, as others ſpeak, ſuch as are effectually called. In what terms ſoever we expreſs our ſelves, we mean the ſame perſons, and the ſame thing that our Saviour here doth, *that is*, all they, and only ſuch, as are not offended in him: for they all, and they only obey their calling.

The more ſpecial offences, which this age is as apt to take againſt Chriſt as the Jews were.

89. The more ſpecial roots of more dangerous offences, or more grievous ſtumbling-blocks in the way to Chriſt, are *Covetouſneſs, Vain-glory, Ambition, Jealouſie of reputation, or fear of diſgrace. All theſe things* (ſaith the Evangeliſt) *heard the Phariſees which were covetous, and they mocked him*, Luke 16. 14. *How can you believe*, (ſaith our Saviour) *which receive honour one of another, and ſeek not the honour that cometh from God only?* John 5. 44. *vid. v.* 39. 40. *Among the chief Rulers* (ſaith the ſame Evangeliſt) *many believed on him, but becauſe of the Phariſees, they did not confeſs him, leſt they ſhould be put out of the Synagogue: for they loved the praiſe of men, more than the praiſe of God*, John 16. *v.* 42, 43. Theſe roots of offence are alike common to the *Jews*, and unto us: We muſt take heed, that we examine not our ſelves, by comparing our affections towards Chriſts perſon or office, with the affections of theſe *Jews* towards his office or perſon. This were the readieſt way to caſt us into a Phariſaical ſlumber or dream of our own Righteouſneſs. The only means for us to know, whether we be more or leſs offended in Chriſt, than the fore-mentioned *Jews* or *Phariſees* were, is to compare our lives, converſations, and practice, with our Saviours Doctrinal precepts, eſpecially with thoſe Fundamental ones, ſolemnly uttered by him in the Sermon upon the Mount, *Mat.* 5. Amongſt which, this is a principal and peremptory one; *I ſay unto you, that except your righteouſneſs ſhall exceed the righteouſneſs of the Scribes and Phariſees, ye ſhall in no caſe enter into the Kingdom of Heaven*, ver. 20. Now, from entring into the Kingdom of Heaven, which is the Kingdom of Happineſs, nothing can bar us, unleſs we be offended in Chriſt, who is the way and door unto it. Is there any amongſt us, that ſeeketh as earneſtly after the praiſe of men, or after any honour that cometh not from God alone, as the *Jews* mentioned, *John* 12. and *John* 5? Is there any amongſt us as covetous, as the Phariſees were, mentioned *Luke* 16? If any ſuch there be either in this, or any other Chriſtian Congregation, be they many or few, all and every of them are as far from the Kingdom of Heaven,

altogether as much offended in Chriſt, as the fore-mentioned Rulers, *Jews*, and *Phariſees* were. Is there any amongſt us of diſpoſition towards his Brother or Neighbour, or towards any profeſſing the name of Chriſt, as implacable or irreconcileable as the Scribes and Phariſees were towards Publicans and ſinners? Let ſuch a man, if any ſuch there be, know and remember, that whilſt he continueth in this mood, he is as much offended in Chriſt as they were: and if he ſo continue, our Saviour Chriſt will be as much offended at him in the laſt Day, as at thoſe that crucified him. Is any man as careful for the things of this life as theſe *Jews* were? He is as far from the Kingdom of Heaven, and the happineſs here promiſed, as the *Jews*; yea, as the Heathen were. It is our Saviours inference, not mine; *Take no thought, ſaying, What ſhall we eat? or, What ſhall we drink? or, Wherewith ſhall we be cloathed? (For after all theſe things do the* Gentiles *ſeek.) For your Heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all theſe things. Matth.* 6. 31, 32. His Precept for our direction followeth; *But ſeek ye firſt the Kingdom of God, and his righteouſneſs, and all theſe things ſhall be added unto you. Take therefore no thought for the morrow, for the morrow ſhall take thought for the things of it ſelf. ver.* 33, 34. This is the perpetual Law of the Evangelical Jubilee, whoſe obſervance was prefigured in the legal obſervation of the ſeventh year of reſt, or the year of Jubilee: In both which years, as you heard before, the *Jews* were forbidden to ſow or reap, commanded to rely upon Gods extraordinary bleſſing in the ſixth year, and to reſt contented with ſuch things, as ſhould grow of their own accord in the ſeventh year of reſt or year of Jubilee. Not to ſow at all, or not to reap in theſe two years, was a temporary Law, meerly legal or ceremonial. The moral Law hereby prefigured, and perpetually to be obſerved by us Chriſtians, is, *That we buy ſo, as if we poſſeſſed not*, that in ſowing or reaping, or in whatſoever other buſineſs concerning this life, *we uſe the World as if we uſed it not:* That our prime and chief care be in ſeeking the Kingdom of God, or matters of the life to come: That every preſent day, we take more pain and care in imploring Gods bleſſings upon our preſent and future labours, than in contriving means, or diſpoſing of labours, in worldly conjecture, moſt available for procuring our ends, or that good which we ſeek. This practice and method our Saviour had injoined us in that prayer, which he hath taught us. Firſt, we pray that Gods name may be ſanctified; and that his Kingdom may come; that his will may be done in Earth as in Heaven: and in the next place, that he would give us bread this day, for to *morrow*, and the days *following*; that is, as the Apoſtle ſaith, *to caſt all our care on him, who careth for us all.* But what avails it us to know by how many ways and means we may be offended in Chriſt, unleſs we know withal by what means poſſible theſe or the like offences may be avoidable? It is true, and therefore our Saviour teacheth a compendious way or means for avoiding offences. As firſt in this very Chapter, *Matth.* 11. *ver.* 29. *Learn of me, for I am meek, and lowly in heart: and ye ſhall find reſt unto your ſouls.* To the ſame end or purpoſe are all thoſe places of Scripture addreſſed, which exhort us to humility, to deny our ſelves, to take up our Croſs and follow Chriſt. Of theſe and other good rules to this purpoſe, you may read at large, *Luke* 14.

90. But others haply will ſay, What availeth it to propoſe theſe good rules unto us, unleſs it be in our power to practiſe them? We

believe it as a dictate, or *maxim* of Faith, that *God gives grace unto the humble, or unto ſuch as forſake all, and deny themſelves*; but what is this to us, unleſs we may likewiſe be aſſured, that God will either give us grace, or ſome free-will, or natural power to deny or humble our ſelves? Here indeed were the true and fruitful iſſue of all theſe intricate controverſies, which in latter years have much troubled the Peace of the Church, as well the Romiſh, as the Reformed. The controverſies, I mean of Election and Reprobation, between the *Lutherans* and the *Calviniſts*, between the *Arminians* and the *Gomariſts*: as alſo, the controverſie concerning concurrence of Grace and Free-will, proſecuted with eager and bitter contention for theſe many years, between the Jeſuits and the Dominican Friers. But of this radical controverſie, about Free-will, a point neceſſary to be known, and yet inwrapped with as many unneceſſary intricate diſputes, and on all parts as ill ſtated and handled (for the moſt part) as any other queſtion whatſoever; I ſhall have fitter occaſion to ſpeak at large, when I come to handle that argument concerning our ſervitude to ſin, which muſt be the entrance unto our knowledge concerning Jeſus Chriſt and him Crucified: unto both which, theſe diſcuſſions upon this Text have been premiſed.

91. At this time I will only acquaint you with that, which I have elſewhere delivered, as the true mean between the contrary opinions of the *Lutherans* and the *Calviniſts*, between the *Jeſuits* and *Dominicans*, betwixt the *Stoicks* and the *Pelagians*, in the point of Free-will, or power of man to work, or not to work his own Salvation. The mean is, that albeit man hath no freedom of will or ability to do that, which is good, or to diſpoſe his heart for the better receiving of Grace: yet he hath a true poſſibility or freedom of will to do, or not to do ſomething required by God; which thing being done by man, God will diſpoſe his heart, and make it fit for his grace. The ſame thing not being done or neglected, the neglecters heart ſhall every day than other be more indiſpoſed, and more incapable of grace than heretofore. For illuſtration of this point, I have inſtanced in two particulars, *to wit*, in *Naaman* the *Syrian*, and the Widow of *Sarepta*, both Heathens and unregenerate. *Naaman* had no power or Free-will to cleanſe himſelf of his Leproſie, either in whole or in part; yet a true freedom of will to waſh or not to waſh in *Jordan*. Now, if he had finally departed in ſuch a ſullen fit, as he begun to take at the Prophets advice, and not at all have waſhed himſelf in *Jordan*, he might have returned home a fouler Leper than he came. So then the cure was altogether Gods work, *Naaman* had no finger in it; but to waſh in *Jordan* was in part *Naamans* own work, and an exerciſe of that Free-will, which God upon *Adams* fall, doth take from no man. In like manner, it was in the poor Widows choice, to give or not to give *Elias* a Cake of her ſmall ſtore of oyl and meal: but if ſhe had refuſed to do as the Prophet adviſed her, God had not multiplyed the the oyl and meal in her cruſe extraordinarily. So then in working this miracle God had no Partner, it was meerly his doing: but in beſtowing theſe Alms upon the Prophet, the poor Widow in part did work. This was an act or exerciſe of her free-will and loving kindneſs, no fruit of ſanctifying grace. In like manner, to humble or caſt down our ſelves before God, that we may be partakers of ſanctifying grace, is in part our work, and ſtrictly required at every mans hand, that hopes to be partaker of this grace: but the lifting

of us up, or our Converſion to God, is meerly, ſolely and totally Gods work. In this work we are as meerly paſſive, a *Naaman* was in the cure of his Leproſie, or the poor Widows Oyl and Meal in the Miracle which God wrought in it: but ſo meerly paſſive, we are not in the former work in humbling or caſting our ſelves down. *Humble your ſelves therefore under the mighty hand of God, that he may exalt you in due time.* 1. *Pet. cap.* 5. *v.* 6. For if it were as impoſſible for us to caſt our ſelves down without Gods ſpecial grace, as it is to liſt our ſelves up without it; the Apoſtles Precept, *Jam.* 4. 10. had been to no better purpoſe, than if a man ſhould ſay to a lame Child, faln into a deep Ditch, Come hither, my Child, and I will help thee up. This were rather to mock a Child in his miſery, than to promiſe him any help or comfort. I hope there be none here preſent, Men or Women, but think it very poſſible for them, ſo far at leaſt to caſt themſelves down before God, as to receive the pledges of Chriſts body and blood, as our Church commandeth, meekly kneeling upon their knees.

That kneeling at the Sacred Communion, is a geſture moſt decent, and moſt conſonant to the analogy of Faith.

92. But ſome, perhaps, though I hope not many, are of opinion, that in this caſe they are not bound to do what they can do, but rather tyed not to kneel, though the Church command kneeling; becauſe they have no expreſs warrant or rule of Scripture ſo to do: however, they and all that profeſs themſelves to be Chriſts Servants, have an expreſs command to receive the pledges of his body and blood: and if any be ſo ſcrupulous, as not to receive them in any other manner than is expreſly commanded or warranted by the Scripture; the parties thus affected (for ought I ſee or know) muſt not receive them at all, and ſo they ſhall evidently tranſgreſs the expreſs general rule of Scripture, which commands all to receive them. For in all caſes of this nature, *that is*, in all caſes wherein the thing it ſelf or action is expreſly commanded to be done, and the manner or circumſtances of doing it not ſo expreſly commanded; the Authority of Superiours muſt rule our affections or opinions, for the manner or circumſtance of doing what is commanded. Whoſoever in this caſe heareth not his lawful Paſtor or Governour, heareth not Chriſt: Whoſoever in this caſe deſpiſeth the Canons and Conſtitutions of the Church wherein he liveth, deſpiſeth Chriſt: Whoſoever in this caſe wilfully offendeth againſt the Canons of the Church, is offended in Chriſt, and puts a ſtumbling-block in his own way; yea, he bars himſelf out of the Kingdom of Grace, expreſly promiſed here in my Text, to all that are not offended in Chriſt, and in more ſpecial ſort really exhibited to all that worthily receive this Bleſſed Sacrament of his body and blood. But haply it will be farther replyed, that albeit our Saviour did not expreſly forbid us to receive the Sacrament kneeling: yet he hath taught us by his example to receive it after another manner and geſture; and it is more convenient to follow his example, than the ordinance of the Church. To this I anſwer, that our Saviour did not at all receive the Sacrament, becauſe he had no ſins to be remitted by it. His Apoſtles had, and did receive it; but whether ſtanding, ſitting, or kneeling, it is not expreſſed. All that can be gathered out of the Evangeliſt, is this, that as they were eating, our Saviour *took bread and bleſſed it, and brake it, and gave it to his Diſciples: ſo he did the cup likewiſe.* But whether they received the bread or the cup ſtill ſitting, after the ſame manner as they did at their meat, is not expreſſed, nor can hence be gathered: for ſo a man may truly ſay, that whilſt we are at Service and Prayers, we receive

Tome II.

the Communion: yet it will not follow, that becauſe all or moſt of us ſit in time of Service, we therefore ſit at the receiving of the Communion. But be it granted, that the Apoſtles eat the Bread, and drank the Wine, after the ſelf ſame manner that they eat the Paſſeover, yet it would be very hard to expreſs the particular manner of their eating the Paſſeover. I am perſwaded, that there is never a Joyner in this Kingdom, that could make us Seats and Tables of the ſame faſhion, that the Tables and Seats were of, at which our Saviour and his Apoſtles did eat the Paſſeover: or in caſe we had ſuch Seats or Tables made to our hands, for ought I can imagine, we muſt have ſome famous Antiquary or Maſter of Ceremonies, to inſtruct us how to ſit or lye, or to diſpoſe of our bodies at them.

93. This only is certain, that our Saviour himſelf did eat the Paſſeover after the ordinary and accuſtomed manner of thoſe times, and according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the then viſible Church. For which Rites and Ceremonies, in all particulars, the then viſible Church had no expreſs Rule or pattern, which they were perpetually bound to obſerve, either given by *Moſes* or the Prophets; they had added many circumſtances, which are not expreſſed in *Moſes*. Now, if our Lord and Maſter, who had power to inſtitute new Rites and Ceremonies, did notwithſtanding conform himſelf to thoſe Rites and Ceremonies of the viſible Church of the *Jews*; ſhall we not herein truly follow the true example of Chriſt, if we do the like? On the contrary, ſhall we not ſhew our ſelves to be none of his Diſciples, if we uſe or affect that liberty or ſingularity, which he neither did nor would uſe, although there were no authority in the Earth to command him to conformity? Laſtly, It may be objected, that many in the Primitive Church, who knew the Apoſtles practice better than the viſible Church now doth, did not receive the Sacrament of Chriſts body and blood, after the ſame manner as now we do. I am not ignorant of a ſcruple, which many of the *buſie-brained Maſters* labour to inſtil into their Auditors heads; though in other caſes they can ſlight Antiquity at their pleaſure, yet in this caſe they have been curiouſly critical, to obſerve out of the Fathers of the Greek Church, that they received the Sacrament [*κύψαντες*, not *γονυπετοῦντες*] *that is*, bowing indeed, but not bowing their knees. All this we grant; for the Greek Church at this day receive the Sacrament ſtanding on their feet, yet bowing their bodies, not their knees. What is the reaſon? To make a leg, (as we ſay) or to bow the knee, is a Ceremony, even in expreſſions of civil courteſie, ridiculous amongſt them. Howbeit they expreſs their ſeveral reſpect to their Friends, and to their betters of what rank ſoever, as diſtinctly and curiouſly by ſeveral manners of bowing their heads and bodies, as we can do by making legs, bowing the knee, or kneeling upon our knees. And herein they are highly to be commended, for reſerving a diſtinct kind of bending their bodies, in expreſſing their ſubmiſſion towards God or Chriſt in their Liturgy, or receiving the Sacrament. So then, [*diſtingue loca, & concordant conſuetudines.*] Though the Greeks receive the Communion ſtanding, and bowing their bodies, whereas we receive it with bended knees, without bowing of our bodies: yet herein we fully agree, that both we and they receive it in the moſt decent and ſubmiſs manner, for geſture or deportment of our bodies, that we otherwiſe know or uſe. They receive it ſtanding, and bowing the upper part of their bodies: becauſe that is the beſt and moſt ſignificant ſign

of ſubjection or ſubmiſſive obedience, that is in uſe amongſt them: we receive it kneeling, becauſe this is the beſt and moſt ſignificant ſign of ſubmiſſive obedience, that is in uſe or practice in theſe Weſtern parts of *Europe*. Did not ſome amongſt us poyſon their natural and civil affections, with preſumptuous conceits of extraordinary ſanctity, nature it ſelf (to whom our Apoſtle in like caſe appealeth) would thorowly inform us all, that we ſtand bound to receive ſo great a bleſſing, as in this Sacrament we expect at the hands of our gracious God, after the beſt and moſt ſubmiſſive manner of outward geſture and deportment, that we know, or can frame our bodies unto.

94. But if a man ſhould ask, Whether the right or cuſtom obſerved in the Greek Church, or in our Church, be in it ſelf the more decent or ſignificant, or better befitting the uſe or end of this Sacrament? I dare confidently affirm, that the ceremony or geſture obſerved and commanded by our Church, doth much better befit the uſe and end of the Sacrament, than the rite or ceremony obſerved by the Greek Church doth; better than any other rite or manner can do, though otherwiſe as decent and fitting, or more decent and fitting, in all other parts of Gods ſervice. And my reaſon which I commend unto your impartial conſideration, is this; that this Sacrament was not inſtituted in remembrance of the firſt inſtitution of it, or to repreſent the Apoſtles manner of receiving of it, but in remembrance of our Saviours death and paſſion. Whence I would requeſt ſuch as urge our Saviours example for a pattern of their behaviour or deportment at the Sacrament, to look upon our Saviours bodily geſture or deportment in the heat and extremity of his paſſion, wherein he preſented himſelf before his Father, in his agony and bloody ſweat in the Garden. Being in his Agony, as Saint *Luke* ſaith, he preſented theſe ſupplications unto his Father; *Father if thou be willing, remove this cup from me, neverthele*ſ*s, not my will, but thy will be done.* But after what manner or geſture of body did his perplexed Soul utter theſe earneſt Supplications, [θεὶς τα γόνατα,] *kneeling, or fixing his knees upon the ground.*

95. If I ſhould have ſpent the whole time alotted, only in exhorting or preparing you to the fit and worthy receiving of this Sacrament, I could not have ſaid more, or more to the purpoſe, than the contemplation of our Saviour in this Agony doth at firſt view preſent unto all of us, that will lay it to heart. And it is in a word this, that you would make his Prayer, *commutatis commutandis*, a pattern for your Prayers; his geſture in preſenting his Prayers to his Father, a pattern of your geſture or deportment, whilſt you celebrate the memory of his paſſion, ſpecially whilſt you make application of the benefit of his paſſion to your ſelves, by receiving the viſible pledges of his body and blood; which I hope you do not mean to receive, without fervent Prayer that God will paſs over your ſins, and not enter into judgment with you. You need not, you may not interpoſe that condition in your Prayer, which our Saviour did in his, *Father, if it be poſſible, let this cup paſs from me.* So great was his goodneſs towards us, his loving kindneſs ſo tender, that he purchaſed unto us better certainty, and better aſſurance that our Prayers may be heard, than he had that his own Prayers ſhould be heard in this particular. Therefore it was not poſſible that this cup ſhould paſs from him, that it might be poſſible for it to paſs from all, and every one of

us. Pray we then, but let us pray with *bended knees*, every man for himſelf, and every man for his Fellow-Communicant: *Heavenly* FATHER, *ſeeing thou art willing ſo to have it, let thy cup of thy wrath and diſpleaſure paſs from us, and let thy cup of thy bleſſing be ever amongſt us: O cauſe not any of us to drink of that bitter cup, which thy only Son, our only Saviour, hath ſwallowed for us. Expoſe us not (good* FATHER) *to thoſe bloudy and grievous conflicts with the powers of Hell and darkneſs, which thy Son ſuſtained for us. Oh lay no more upon us, than thou ſhalt give us ſtrength and patience, through him, and for him, to undergo and vanquiſh. Make us to triumph as Conquerours in this Victory over Hell and Satan, over all the power of the enemy.* Thus praying whilſt we celebrate the memory of his agony and bloudy ſweat with *knees bended*, as his in that agony were on the ground, and with hearts lifted up to Heaven, where he now ſits at the right hand of God; My life for yours, my Soul for your Souls, if herein ye offend either God the Father, or Chriſt his Son, the Holy Spirit, or your own Conſciences. To receive this Bleſſed Sacrament without ſome mental Prayer, were to receive it unworthily. To pray whilſt you receive it, and not to pray kneeling on your knees, as your cuſtom is at other Prayers, and as the Church your Mother, upon this particular occaſion of praying in ſpecial injoineth you, were to be offended in Chriſt, more offended in him for the Church your Mothers ſake, than the *Jews* were for *Galilee* or *Nazareth* his Country ſake. Nor are you only offended in him, by refuſing to bow your knees when you come unto him: but you give juſt offence to the common Adverſary, to whom Saint *Paul* adviſeth you, to give no offence, much leſs to give any advantage againſt the truth: for ſo you offend the Pillar of Truth, the Church of God. Now, God of his infinite mercy remove all needleſs ſcruples out of the phanſies of the weak, and all real obſtacles of offence out of the hearts of ſuch as have power to command their knees in this ſervice.

THE
KNOWLEDGE
OF
CHRIST JESUS:
OR, THE
SEVENTH BOOK
OF
COMMENTARIES
UPON THE
APOSTLES CREED.

CONTAINING
The firſt and general PRINCIPLES of
CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY:

With the more immediate Principles concerning the true Knowledge of CHRIST.

Divided into four Sections.

CONTINUED
By *THOMAS JACKSON* Doctor of Divinity, Chaplain to his Majeſty in Ordinary, and Preſident of *Corpus Chriſti* College in *Oxford.*

LONDON,
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Joſeph Clarke, 1672.

TO THE
ROYAL MAJESTY
OF OUR
MOST GRACIOUS
AND
PIOUS SOVERAIGN
CHARLES
KING
OF
Great Britain, &c.

Moſt Gracious Soveraign,

I*T is not out of admiration of your greatneſs, though unto me you be the greateſt under* Heaven, *nor out of any deſire to be made great by you, that I preſent this Treatiſe to your ſacred* Patronage. *That which puts this unuſual boldneſs upon me, is my long experience of your Royal Goodneſs, (wherewith your greatneſs is bounded) of your gratious affability to your meaneſt Subjects, and ſpecial affection to the Subject whereof I treat,* Jeſus Chriſt,and him Crucified. *A ſubject commended by your Sacred Majeſty unto the Faculty of Divinity within your* Univerſity *of* Oxon, *at your* Mannor *of* Woodſtock *two years ſince. It was my happineſs to be then preſent, and I took no little comfort, that in this* courſe *I had the* ſtart *of many of my Brethren, moſt of my Meditations being addreſſed unto this part of Divinity. But the advantage of ſtart, which I then had, I neither can hope, nor deſire*

deſire to keep, as being ſince acquainted with many younger Students (to omit men of mine own rank and age) whom God hath bleſſed with better gifts and opportunities to accompliſh that courſe, which I ever intended, ſince my deſignment to this ſacred function. If my endeavours may prove occaſions to ſtir up the gifts of God in them, or give them any uſeful hints for proſecuting this Argument, I have that which I moſt deſired in the publication of my former Meditations upon the Apoſtles Creed. And if theſe labours, and others of like nature following, may be accepted by your Majeſty: I have all that I deſire, beſides the propagation of Chriſts Kingdom and Church here on Earth, and the good ſucceſs of my daily prayers for the bleſſing of God the Father, the Son, and Holy Ghoſt upon your Sacred Majeſty: your Royal Conſort and hopeful Iſſue.

Your Majeſties

Moſt Humble Servant

and devoted Chaplain,

THOMAS JACKSON.

THE KNOWLEDGE OF CHRIST JESUS:

OR, THE SEVENTH BOOK OF COMMENTARIES UPON THE *APOSTLES CREED.*

How Evil ſhould mingle it ſelf with the works of God, ſeeing every thing made by him (and he made all) was good; How that evil which we call ſin, ſhould find entrance into, and hold poſſeſſion of the heart of man, who was the accompliſhment of all Gods viſible works, and upon whoſe Creation it is ſaid, that God ſaw every thing that he had made, and it was very good; What kind of being this evil hath, whether meerly privative, or only poſitive, or partly both; Wherein that ſervitude which Sin did bring upon us, doth conſiſt; What freedom of will is compatible with our natural ſervitude unto Satan, (for without ſome freedom of will, we might be Satans Inſtruments, his ſlaves or ſervants unto ſin we could not be.)

Theſe and the like *Quæries*, with their ſeveral branches, in the firſt project of this long work, had their place allotted between the Article of Creation, and the Articles concerning Chriſt, or in the intended Seventh Book of Commentaries upon the Creed. But the method then intended I have now altered, not out of forgetfulneſs, but out of choiſe, and upon theſe conſiderations eſpecially. Firſt, in that the doctrine concerning ſin original or actual, is not expreſly mentioned in the Creed. Secondly, Becauſe the moſt pleaſant and moſt fruitful branches of Divine Providence (whoſe general ſtems have been in the Article of Creation handled) are no where ſo conſpicuous or ſo admirable, as in the Evangelical Hiſtory of the Conception, Birth, Life, Death, Reſurrection, and Aſcenſion of Jeſus

Chriſt our Lord and Saviour. And pity it were to ſever them in place, which accord ſo well in nature. Laſtly, I conſidered, it could no way be harmful to have the Plaiſter ready before I adventured to lance the ſore; ſpecially, in that I am likely to ſearch ſomewhat deeper, than I have found it ſearched by others. The only ſore of the humane Soul, whoſe ſcars cannot in this life be perfectly healed, is ſin original; and the wounds thereof are ſins actual and habitual; the only medicine or ſalve for both, is the Knowledge of Chriſt and him Crucified: for he is the only tree of life, whoſe leaves are appointed to heal the Nations.

SECT.

SECTION I.

Of the belief or Knowledge of Chriſt in general: and whether Theology be a true Science or no.

CHAP. I.

Of the principal points that Chriſtians are bound to believe.

That all we which bear the name of Chriſtians did take the name originally from Chriſt, the * Heathen Hiſtorian did acknowledge. He did believe that Chriſt (the Author and finiſher of our Faith) did ſuffer under *Pontius Pilate*, yet this belief was far from making him a Chriſtian. That which we Chriſtians are in the firſt place to believe is, that the man Chriſt *Jeſus*, whom the *Jews* by the help of *Pontius Pilate* did crucify, was truly the Son of God, his only Son; ſo truly and indiſſolubly the Son of God, as well as of man, that whilſt this man was conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, the Son of God was likewiſe conceived by the Holy Ghoſt; whilſt this man was born of a pure Virgin, the true and only Son of God was born of the ſame Virgin; whilſt this man was put to Death, Crucified, Dead and buried; the Son of God was likewiſe Crucified, dead and buried; whilſt this man Chriſt was raiſed again from the dead, the true and only Son of God was ſo raiſed; whilſt this man aſcended into Heaven, the Son of God aſcended into Heaven; whilſt this man ſitteth at the right hand of God, and maketh interceſſion for us, the Son of God there ſits and makes the ſame interceſſion; that when we expect the ſame Jeſus, whom the *Jews* did crucifie, ſhall come in viſible manner to judge the quick and the dead, we believe and expect that the Son of God ſhall come to judge the quick and the dead. Of the firſt points we ought to have, at the leaſt, a true Hiſtorical Belief. Our belief of that Article concerning Chriſts coming to judgment, and of our Reſurrection from the Dead, is more prophetical, than Hiſtorical.

2. Is then an Hiſtorical belief of Chriſts Conception, Birth, Death, and Reſurrection ſufficient for us? Sure it is not, unleſs withal it be ſalvifical. No Faith can ſave, unleſs it be a ſaving Faith: but no Faith can be ſalvifical, unleſs it be Hiſtorical. For he that doth not believe the Hiſtory of Chriſts Death and Paſſion, can have no Chriſtian Faith at all. Now the utmoſt effect whereunto the endeavours of Gods Seedſmen are immediately terminated, is to plant in the hearts of their hearers a firm perſwaſion of the Divine Truth of the Sacred Hiſtories,

* Ergo abolendo rumori Nero ſubdidit reos, & queſitiſſimis pœnis affecit, quos per flagitia inviſos, vulgus Chriſtianos appellabat. Auctor nominis ejus *Chriſtus*, qui Tiberio imperitante, per Procuratorem Pontium Pilatum ſupplicio affectus eſt. *Tacit. Annal. Lib.* 15. *Pag.* 255.

Hiſtories, or Prophecies concerning Chriſt. In reſpect of this perſwaſion they are ſaid to plant and water, and to be Co-workers with Gods Spirit. But to make this perſwaſion to be Salvifical, this is the work of God alone. For unleſs he give this increaſe to what we plant and water, all our labours are loſt, our beſt endeavours are to no purpoſe. Yet as we are to believe, that without God we can do nothing, ſo are we bound to hope that in him, and by him, we may do all things, or have all things done in us and for us, which can be needful or conducent to our Salvation. Now if ſuch as are bound to teach, and ſuch as are bound to learn, would daily ſeaſon their endeavours, (their Prayers eſpecially) with ſerious conſideration of this twofold truth, we could have no juſt occaſion either of doubt or fear, but that if our belief of the rehearſed Articles of Chriſt were once truly Hiſtorical, it would certainly become rightly Salvifical. For to be Hiſtorical, and to be Salvifical are not *membra oppoſita*, no ſuch oppoſite members as divide belief into two parts or kinds: they are as ſubordinate one to the other, as natural wit, and artificial improvement of it.

CHAP. II.

Of Hiſtorical belief in general, and how it doth variouſly affect Believers according to the variety of matters related: the ſeveral eſteem of the Hiſtorians.

THat we call Hiſtorical belief, which hath no other ground beſides the authority of the Hiſtorian or Relater, or at the moſt, Experiments ſutable to things related. And ſuch Experiments may be known ſometimes by ſenſe, ſometimes by reaſons demonſtrative. And yet all the credit which they can give to the Hiſtorian, or all the additions they can make unto Hiſtorical belief formerly planted, will be but probabilities or preſumptions. Whether the Moon was eclipſed at the time when *Nicias* was General for the *Athenians* againſt the *Syracuſians*; or when *Columbus* made firſt diſcovery of *America*, are queſtions which may be ſcientifically reſolved by Aſtronomical Calculations. But whether *Nicias* through ignorance of natural cauſes and groſs Superſtition, committed that intolerable over-ſight which (as [a] *Plutarch* relates) occaſioned the overthrow of the *Athenian* Forces by Sea and Land; or whether *Columbus* made that witty advantage of the like eclipſe which [b] *Benzo* in his Hiſtory of *America* mentions,

cannot

(a) *But then it fell out unfortunately for* Nicias, *who had no expert nor skilful Soothſayer: for the party which he was wont to uſe for that purpoſe, and which took away much of his ſuperſtition, called* Stilbides, *was dead not long before. For this ſign of the Eclipſe of the Moon (as* Philocorus *ſaith) was not hurtful for men that would flie, but contrarily very good, for ſaid he, things that men do in fear, would be hidden, and therefore light is an enemy unto them. But this notwithſtanding, their cuſtom was not to keep themſelves cloſe above three days in ſuch eclipſes of the Moon and Sun, as* Autoclides *preſcribes in a book he made of ſuch matters, where* Nicias *bare them in hand, that they ſhould then tarry the whole, and full revolution of the courſe of the Moon, as though he had not ſeen her ſtraight clear again, after ſhe had once paſſed the ſhadow and darkneſs of the earth. But all other things laid aſide and forgotten,* Nicias *diſpoſed himſelf to Sacrifice unto the Gods, until ſuch times as the enemies came again as well to beſiege their Forts, and all their Camp by Land, as alſo to occupy the whole Haven by Sea.* Plutarch in vita Niciæ in fine.

(*b*) Almirans ob hæc ingenti animi ægritudine anxius, cum hinc Indos nec gratia, nec prece, nec pretio ullo adduci poſſe videret, ut cibaria exercitui præberent, nec armis ab ſe cogi propter infirmitatem ſuorum, alia via idem aggredi ſtatuit. Atque id cœleſti quodam inſtinctu ei veniſſe in mentem libens equidem crediderim, providente *viz*. Deo, ne tantus vir fame periret. Id porro ita factum eſt; fortè in propinquo tugurium Barbarorum erat, hos Columbus monet, ac prenunciat, ipſos, ni vitæ ſubſidia ſibi ac ſuis ſuppeditarent, peſte â Deo cœlitus miſsâ brevi omnes perituros; cujus rei id habituros ſigni, quòd duos intra dies Lunam ſanguine fœdatam viſuri eſſent. Id cum eâdem die & horâ, qua Almirans prædixerat, conſpicarentur Indi (Lunæ autem defectus is erat) ſubitò victi formidine quæcunq; ei ad victum neceſſaria fuerunt, benignè præbuere, inſuper veniam culpæ orantes, neve ipſis iraſci pergeret. *Benzo Hiſt. novi orbis l.* 1. *c.*14.

cannot be known by any computation Aſtronomical or Chronological. This wholly depends upon the authority of the Hiſtorians. Yet if by Calculations Aſtronomical compared with the Annals of thoſe Times, it ſhould appear that there were no ſuch Eclipſes in the years pretended for theſe practices; this would convince theſe Hiſtorians, and thoſe whom they follow of error, if not of forgery. On the other ſide, if Aſtronomers ſhould make it clear, that in the points of time aſſigned by theſe Hiſtorians, there did fall out ſuch Eclipſes of the Moon, this would free them from ſuſpicion of fiction, ſo much the more, by how much they were leſs skilful, or leſs obſervant of the Cœleſtial motions or revolutions of times wherein Eclipſes happen.

2. But ſometimes the ſenſible events or experiments may ſquare ſo well with Hiſtorical Relations, as to leave no place for curioſity it ſelf, to ſuſpect either fiction or falſhood in the Hiſtorian. As who could ſuſpect the truth of the Roman Hiſtories, which mention the ſubjection of this Iſland to their Empire, for divers ſucceſſions; if he had ſeen their Coins, lately digged out of the Earth, bearing the inſcriptions of twenty ſeveral Emperours. Or who could ſuſpect the Hiſtorical Truth of their progreſs into the Northern parts of this Kingdom, that have obſerved the ruines of that wall which they built, and other monuments as ſutable to their Narrations, as the ſeal is to the ſignet. The beſt is, that the Experiments which ſuit unto the Hiſtories of the Old and New Teſtaments, are more plentiful and more pregnant, than any external ratifications of any other Hiſtorical Narrations can be. For of Sacred Hiſtorical Truth, beſides the legible Teſtimonies of the great book of the Creatures, every little world may have a world of witneſſes in himſelf. Now if our belief of the Hiſtories concerning Chriſt and him Crucified, be but equal to our belief of other Hiſtories, yet their authority or eſteem will be much greater, becauſe we cannot believe this Truth, but we muſt withal believe it to be Divine; and every man by nature hath a more ſacred eſteem of matters which he conceives to be Divine, than he can have of things meerly mundane or humane.

3. But where the truth of Hiſtorical belief is to our apprehenſion the very ſame, and the degrees of our aſſent unto it equal, yet the eſtimate of the ſame truth, or its impreſſion upon our affections, is not the ſame. Theſe vary according to the ſeveral weight of matters related though by the ſame Author, and believed by equal degrees of the ſame kind of belief. Of *Edward* the ſeconds ſtrange defeat by *Robert de Bruce* King of *Scotland*; and of *Edward* the Third, and the Black Prince his Son, or *Henry* the Fifth their ſucceſs againſt the *French*, we have but one and the ſame Hiſtorical belief, whether for degree or quality: yet are we not the ſame way, or in the ſame degree, affected with the one ſtory as with the other. The reading of *Edward* the Third, or *Henry* the Fifths ſucceſs, delighteth us *Engliſh* with the ancient Honour of our Nation. The remembrance of *Edward* the ſeconds defeat, doth ſo diſaffect us, that we could wiſh this ſtory were not ſo true as the other.

But how unpleaſant ſoever the Annals of *Edward* the ſecond be to ſome *Engliſh*, yet we never obſerved any of this Age, to weep at the reading of them, whereas in ſome Provinces of this Kingdom, the battel of *Pannierehugh*, the Rebellion in the North, and that leſs diſaſter, in the year following that Rebellion upon the *Engliſh* borders, could not have been mentioned, or ſeriouſly related, within our memory, without many tears of ſuch Auditors, as had no other knowledge of the events, ſave only from Hiſtories, or from Traditions which can produce no better belief than Hiſtorical.

4. Some caſes then there be, in which although the authority of the Hiſtorian be the ſame, and albeit the matters related by them be for weight or ſubſtance the ſame; yet ſhall they not make the ſame impreſſion upon our hearts or affections. Yea matters (in themſelves conſidered) of ſmall moment, will ſometimes ſway double as much as others of more than double weight unto them, although the Hiſtorical belief of both be equal. The circumſtances from which Hiſtorical truths of leſſer weight ſimply conſidered, receive theſe extraordinary degrees of gravitation, are ſpecially three, *Vicinity of place, Recency of time, and Peculiar references to our ſelves, to our Country, to our Friends or Allies.* The true reaſon why the Hiſtory of Chriſts death (in ſome degree I ſuppoſe believed by all) doth work ſo little or ſo ſucceſſleſly upon moſt mens affections, is becauſe they conſider his death, though in it ſelf a matter of greater conſequence, yet as a matter paſt a thouſand and ſome hundred years agone, or as a matter done by the *Jews* more than two thouſand miles from our coaſt. And thus they conſider it without any peculiar reference to themſelves, as the cauſe of it; or no more concerning themſelves, than as they are, *Pars quota humani generis*, ſome little parcels or grains of mankind, or of the humane nature which he redeemed, theſe being more innumerable than the Sand on the Sea ſhore.

5. But how firmly ſoever we apprehend the truth of Chriſts death and paſſion for the ſubſtance, yet this apprehenſion cannot produce a true compleat Hiſtorical belief of his death, unleſs our apprehenſion of the ſubſtance be ſeconded with the like apprehenſion of ſuch circumſtances, as are peculiar to this Hiſtory above others. What circumſtances are theſe? Although he ſuffered but once, and that far off and long ago; yet whatſoever he then ſuffered or did, doth as nearly and as immediately concern every man this day living in what place ſoever, as it did thoſe that were living when he dyed, either ſuch as were ſorrowful Spectators of his death, or Actors in it. For albeit he were offered but once, and that but in one place (without the gates of *Jeruſalem*) yet this one offering was of value truly infinite, and for efficacy everlaſting. And being ſuch, it muſt be equally appliable to all perſons, times, and places. In his death, in his infinite and everlaſting Sacrifice, every one hath a peculiar intereſt not *Pro ratâ*, but *in ſolidum:* by vertue of that atonement which he made, by that redemption which he purchaſed once for all, he hath an entire abſolute right of dominion over every one of us, and every one of us hath as entire an intereſt in his death, as if whatſoever he did or ſuffered in the days of his Humiliation, he had done and ſuffered all for us alone. But this laſt conſideration, perhaps, is more pertinent to the knowledge of Chriſt and of him Crucified, than unto the Hiſtorical belief of his Death or Croſs.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Whether ſuch knowledge of God, and of Chriſt as the Scriptures teach, be a Science properly ſo called.

ADmitting the objects of our belief, might be as certainly and as evidently known (at leaſt by ſome) as the ſubjects of Sciences, properly ſo called are: Whether this knowledge and our belief of the ſame objects may be co-incident, that is, whether it be all one ſo to know them, and to believe them, I will not diſpute: for this would occaſion a controverſie about the uſe of words, unfitting for a Profeſſed Divine to entertain, much more to invite. But that there is a knowledge of Chriſt even in this life, which if not for perſpicuity or evidence of truth, yet for the excellency of the truths known, exceeds all other knowledge, we have our Apoſtles peremptory ſentence for us: For, writing to his Converts of *Corinth*, which then abounded with all kind of knowledge ſecular, he ſaith, *I eſteemed, or determined to know nothing amongſt you, ſave Jeſus Chriſt, and him Crucified*, 1 *Cor.* 2. 2. He therefore determined to know nothing beſides, becauſe he had no other knowledge in any eſteem, in compariſon to this. And what good Chriſtian would deſire any other, but as it is ſubſervient to this knowledge? This comprehends all that we can deſire either to know or to enjoy; all that we can eſteem or love, even Eternal Happineſs it ſelf, as the author and fountain of all Happineſs inſtructs us, *John* 17. *ver.* 3. *This is life eternal to know thee the only true God, and Jeſus Chriſt whom thou haſt ſent.* But whether our Saviour in this Speech, or his Apoſtle in the former, do uſe the word *knowledge* in a ſtrict, or in a vulgar ſenſe, may be queſtioned. And this queſtion reſolves it ſelf into another more general; as, whether Theology, that is, [knowledge of God] be a ſcience properly ſo called; or whether many concluſions of Faith may be clearly demonſtrated?

2. Two ſorts of men there be, who for the ſupport or ſecuring of their unreaſonable concluſions, have ſome reaſon to deny this Queen of Sciences, this Miſtreſs of Arts, and Supreme Governeſs of all good faculties, to be a Science properly ſo called: The Agents for the *Romiſh Church*, and their extream oppoſites, whether meer *Enthuſiaſts*, ſuch as deny all uſe of Scriptures; or mixt *Enthuſiaſts*, men that acknowledge the uſe of Scriptures, but abuſe them more than ſuch as reject them, by uſing them too much, or to no good purpoſe, or mingle them with the ſecret inſpirations of their private Spirits, or wreſt them to their own fancies. Firſt, If the concluſions controverted betwixt us and the *Roman Church*, may be one way or other demonſtrated, as either to be altogether true, or altogether falſe, or ſo ſublime, that in this life they cannot be punctually or abſolutely determined: then are we not abſolutely bound to believe every Propoſition, which that Church ſhall commend unto us as a Doctrine of Faith, with the ſame confidence, as if it were expreſly delivered in Scripture, or in the Articles of our Creed. Nor ſhould every applauded Book or Sermon, albeit their bulk or ſubſtance conſiſts for the moſt part of Scripture Sentences, be acknowledged to be that Word of God to which all owe obedience; if once it were acknowledged, that there

is a faculty or Science of Divinity, which hath the ſame authority to approve or diſprove doctrinal concluſions or their uſes, which other Arts or Sciences have to examine the works of all pretenders to them. If Divinity be a Science, then he which is a Divine, or a Maſter of his Profeſſion, might cenſure the Profeſſors of other Arts, Faculties, or Sciences, which take upon them to reſolve Theological Controverſies, or to teach Doctrines which the Church (wherein they live) never avouched, with the ſelf ſame liberty, which the Profeſſors of other Arts uſually do Divines, if they take upon them to teach or practiſe within the Precincts of their profeſſion.

Beſides theſe two ſects of men, and ſome other men which cannot be comprehended under any ſect or faction, but have the ſame temptation to deſire that there might be no true knowledge of God or of Chriſt, or no demonſtration of the Spirit; that the Atheiſt or deſperate ſinner hath to wiſh there were no God, or no Judge of quick and dead: I cannot conceive, what reaſon any man or any ſort of men have to deny Theology to be a true and proper Science. Yet to give the ingenious Reader, if not full ſatiſfaction, yet ſome Hints (at leaſt) whereby he may ſatisfie himſelf, it will be no digreſſion from our preſent argument, (at leaſt no long digreſſion) briefly to ſhew, wherein that knowledge of God and of Chriſt, which may in this life be obtained, doth differ from Sciences properly ſo called, and wherein they do agree.

Now all the differences or concordance that can be betwixt any Sciences, Arts or faculties, do either concern the Maxims and Principles, or the *concluſions* and the *ſubjects* of ſuch faculties.

3. The Maxims or Principles of all other Sciences may be clearly apprehended, and firmly aſſented unto, by the induſtrious ſearch and light of common reaſon, without illuminations ſuper-natural: ſo cannot the principles or Maxims of Divinity; there muſt be a light or illumination more than natural, before we can have either a clear and undoubted apprehenſion of their truth, or a juſt valuation of their worth. Yet this difference is not much material, neither part of it poſitive, or negative, is any way formal or eſſential to the conſtitution of a Science properly ſo called. For by what means ſoever the Principles of any Science become manifeſt and certain unto us, whether by our own induſtry, or by the teaching of others, or whether we be taught them immediately from God, (either by the admirable diſpoſition of his extraordinary Providence, or by ſpecial infuſed grace) is meerly accidental to the conſtitution or nature of a Science properly ſo called. He that ſees the deduction of Mathematical Concluſions from the uncontroverſed Maxims of the ſame Art, as clearly as another doth, is never a whit the leſs ſkilful Mathematician, although perhaps he learned the Principles by the help of an Extraordinary Teacher, which the other attained unto by the induſtrious exerciſe of his own wit. Now if it be meerly accidental to the nature of a Science, whether a man be αὐτοδίδακτος, or ἀλλοδίδακτος, his own Maſter or anothers Scholar (whether in learning the Principles or Concluſions:) it can be no prejudice either to his knowledge, or proficiency in ſuch knowledge, that he hath been θεοδίδακτος, immediately taught by God, at leaſt for the Maxims. And I make no queſtion but that the principles of ſome other Sciences beſides Divinity (at leaſt ſome principles of ſuch Sciences) have been immediately taught by God: Or, if any man liſt to move queſtion or

Controverſie about this truth, I could entertain many Heathen Advocates for my opinion without any great coſts or pains.

4. But as it is true that the Principles of Divinity cannot be known without illuminations more than natural: ſo it is certain, that ſince the ceaſing of extraordinary illuminations or gifts of the Spirit, the moſt of ſuch Principles, (or ſo many of them as are required to the ſcience or faculty of Divinity) cannot be diſtinctly known without the knowledge of other Arts or Sciences. Moſt of the Attributes of God cannot be well unfolded without competent ſkill in Metaphyſical learning. Many of his works can never be known nor admired aright without the Science of Philoſophy; nor can the Offices or Attributes of Chriſt be taught aright, without more ſkill in the learned tongues, than common Grammarians or general Lexicons will afford. He that hopeth to attain to the true knowledge of theſe Principles, muſt either uſe the help of ſome Lexicon peculiar to Divinity, or make one of his own. Eaſier it were to learn the terms of Law or Phyſick, out of *Thomaſius* or *Riders* Dictionary, than to know the true Theological uſe or meaning of many principal terms in the Old or New Teſtament out of *Stephanus* or *Pagninus* his *Theſaurus*, though both of them moſt excellent Writers in their kind. And yet after a man hath attained by all the means afore-mentioned, and other like helps of Arts, unto a competent knowledge of the Principles; there is no leſs uſe of good Logick in Divinity, than in any other Science whatſoever, for the right deduction of neceſſary concluſions from ſuch principles, or for refuting Heterodoxal Doctrines, or quelling impertinent or frivolous queſtions. But the Principles of Divinity being once known, the dilatation or deduction of them into form of Art or Science, and the eſtabliſhment of Orthodoxal concluſions, may be made as certain and perſpicuous by Logick, as the like can be in any other Science. For the uſe not of uſual or vulgar, but of exquiſite Logick, is in no Art ſo neceſſary as in Divinity. The method for conſtituting any Art or Science from principles known is two-fold, the one direct and poſitive, by affirmative ſyllogiſms, or by demonſtration *à Priore*; the other by reducing concluſions contradictory *ad impoſſibile*, that is, by diſcovering their manifeſt contradiction or irreconcileable oppoſition unto ſome fundamental principles of the ſame Science. Now what concluſions or opinions they be in particular, which contradict either thoſe Theological Principles, that concern the nature and attributes of God; or the perſonal union of two natures in Chriſt, his Prophetical, Sacerdotal, or Royal Function; ſhall (by the aſſiſtance of his grace) be diſcuſſed in the ſecond Treatiſe of the Catholick Church. Of this in the mean time I reſt perſwaded, that it is neither too much learning that hath made this preſent age more mad than the former; nor any greater meaſure of Gods Spirit than may be found in others, which makes many among us more bold than their Brethren, than their Fathers in Chriſt, in determining greateſt myſteries of Divinity.

CHAP. IV.

Of the agreements and differences between Theology *and other Sciences in reſpect of their Subjects: that the true Hiſtorical belief of Sacred Hiſtorians, is equivalent to the certainty, or evidence of other Sciences.*

BUT, in every Science, *oportet diſcentem credere.* Every young Scholar is bound to believe his Teacher, and muſt take ſome principles upon truſt, until he be able to try them himſelf. Yet as he is no perfect Artiſt, or no maſter of Science, who cannot ſee the evidence of Principles, or Maxims, and the connexion between them and the concluſions iſſuing from them, with his own eyes: ſo neither doth he deſerve the name of a Divine, or Teacher of this faculty, whoſoever he be, that cannot in the firſt place diſcern the truth of the Maxims or Principles, or cannot in the ſecond place make demonſtration of the coherence or non-coherence, or of the diſcord between them, and ſuch concluſions as are rightly inferred, or meerly pretended from them. But the beſt is, that as a Carpenter may have skill enough to meaſure the Timber which he buys, or a Woodward the Wood which he ſells, or every good Husbandman the quantity of the ground which he tills; and yet all their skill put together, will not half ſuffice to make a Mathematician: ſo may all of us be in our callings good Chriſtians, or true Believers, and yet no true Divines, but more unapt to be Teachers in this faculty, than an ordinary Carpenter to write a Comment upon *Euclide*, or a Husbandman to ſet forth a Treatiſe of *Coſmography*. Thus far the Faculty or Science of Divinity holds exact correſpondency with other Sciences properly ſo called: and the practice of Chriſtian men in their ſeveral callings bears the ſame proportion unto true Divinity, which manual Arts or Trades do unto thoſe Sciences, unto which they are ſubordinate.

2. A difference notwithſtanding there is between Divinity and other Sciences, but I cannot ſay whether the faculty of Divinity come ſhort of other Sciences properly ſo called: or rather exceed them in that wherein they differ. The difference is this. The total ſubject of other Sciences, (of ſome at leaſt) may be exactly known in this life; though not by any one man, yet by all that may ſeek after it. But this ſubject of Divinity can never be exactly known by any one man, nor by any ſucceſſion of men, though all of them ſhould ſtudy no other Art, beſides the knowledge of God and of Chriſt, until the worlds end. From this incomprehenſible amplitude of its ſubject it is, that many principal points in Divinity, points neceſſary unto Salvation, muſt be believed only, even by Divines themſelves; we may not endeavour or hope to know them, until we be admitted into that everlaſting School. And it is a great part of our profeſſion, or of our proficiency in it, to know what queſtions belong to this preſent inferiour School; and what they be which muſt be reſerved unto the high School Everlaſting.

Vide Rugerium de queſtionibus.

3. But other true Sciences there be, and in their kind truly Noble, (whoſe juſt challenge unto both theſe titles no man gain-ſays, no man queſtioneth) which have their peculiar problems, as well as unque-

ſtionable principles or concluſions. It is not yet reſolved by Geometricians, whether the Quadrature of Circles be poſſible, or whether the continued protraction of lines not parallel make their co-incidence not neceſſary. Aſtronomers are not yet agreed whether there be ſo many ſeveral Orbs, as there be Planets, or how many Sphears above the Planets, or whether theſe Orbs or Sphears (be they few or more) be concentrick. It is controverſed whether not the Planets only, but thoſe which we call fixed Stars do move in the Firmament, as Fiſhes do in the Water, or as Eagles ſoar in the Air, or whether the whole Firmament from the Region wherein the fixed Stars do move, unto this lower region of the Air wherein we breathe, be at all times ſo uniform for the tranſmiſſion of light, or for the true repreſentation of the exact diſtance whether of the altitude or latitude of the Stars from us, as at ſometimes it is, or as glaſs, or the clear air is with us. This laſt *Quære* were it agitated, and diſcuſſed as it might be, would (I am perſwaded) ſhake many Aſtronomical ſuppoſitions or preſumed Notions concerning *motum trepidationis*, that is, of the ſuppoſed reciprocal motion of thoſe which they call fixed Stars from South to North, from North to South. Great expences without hope either of gain, or of recovering the principal ſpent in trying Chymical concluſions by many in the former Age, will not to this day give ſatisfaction to ſome modern Naturaliſts, whether the converſion of other metals, or materials into Gold, be atchievable. Many like problems there be in other ſecular Sciences which will never be fully reſolved until we ſhall not need their reſolution. Yet were the number of inſoluble problems in every one of theſe Sciences mentioned, or in all that can be mentioned, much greater than it is, this could be no prejudice to them, ſo long as the deduction of many uſeful concluſions from clear undoubted Principles may be made evident to men which have their wit and ſenſes exerciſed in ſuch ſubjects. That the number then of inſoluble Problems is in Divinity much greater than in any other faculty, this only argues the ſubject of it to be more admirable than the ſubjects of other Faculties. In other Faculties or Sciences we are bound to give our abſolute aſſent to no more principles or concluſions than are clear and evident. But in Divinity we muſt abſolutely believe many concluſions which we cannot hope in this life abſolutely to know, or that they ſhould be made evident unto us. For we muſt believe the final judgment with the joys of the life to come, which no man can know till he enjoy them: and we muſt believe the everlaſting pains ordained for the Devil and his Angels, which no man hopes ever to know. Many matters of fact likewiſe there be related by the Prophets, Evangeliſts, and other Sacred Writers, of which there can be no ungainſayable proof or demonſtration, no other ground or reaſon of our aſſent unto them, beſides the authority of the Relator. Howbeit no man can rightly acknowledge ſuch authority, as may command his aſſent without further proof, unleſs there be better grounds or motives, than the bare propoſal or aſſertion of the Author. That we are thus bound to believe many Sacred Truths which cannot in this life poſſibly be known, doth no way argue our belief of them to be leſs rational, than our aſſent unto other Truths which may be proved by reaſon: but rather ſuppoſeth that the true hiſtorical belief of Relations Sacred, doth parallel the truth or evidences of Sciences properly ſo called. No evidence of any Science doth ſo far exceed true hiſtorical belief of

Tome II.

of matters Sacred, as it doth all hiſtorical belief of matters Secular: and it incomparably exceeds all other hiſtorical belief, not only in reſpect of the worth or juſt eſtimate of matters related, but even for the rational evidence of the abſtract or ſpeculative truth. What eſteem ſoever we make of *Zenophons* ſtories, this participates no authority, no credit to *Plutarch* or other *Græcian* Writers of later times. We may give deſerved credit to *Plutarch*, to *Tacitus*, and yet juſtly ſuſpect *Herodotus* and *Livie* in many particulars. All the credit which Secular Hiſtorians that live in, or write of ſeveral Ages, can expect of us, muſt grow from their own roots. The conſent of many Writers in ſeveral Ages may ſerve to underprop a general or common truth, which happily would decline or fall, if it were ſupported by the credit of one alone. But natural propagation of truth, from one Secular Hiſtorian to another, is not to be expected. And without ſuch propagation, ſome addition may be made to our belief of one by reading others, but there can be no true growth or augmentation of our belief of matters Secular, by comparing divers Hiſtorians. Far otherwiſe it is in the right Hiſtorical belief of matters Sacred.

4. The ſeed of Divine Myſteries, which are ſown in Moſaical Writings, ſhoot out their branches in the enſuing Hiſtorians the Prophets, and bear flower and fruit in the Evangelical ſtories. So that he that rightly believes the truth of Moſaical Hiſtories, cannot diſtruſt the Prophets: or ſuſpect the Evangeliſts in their Relations. This is a truth ſuppoſed by the Author of truth himſelf; *Had ye believed* Moſes, *you would have believed me: for he wrote of me*, Joh. 5. 46. that is, Chriſt was if not the ſole ſubject, yet the only ſcope of *Moſes* his Writings. Now to believe the Hiſtories of *Moſes* or matters related by him, we have inducements many, no leſs binding than the experiments or inductions which win, and tye our aſſent unto the Principles of Arts or Sciences. Theſe inducements are partly from the viſible Book of the Creatures, partly from the eſtate of the *Jews* ſufficiently known to all Nations from time to time. Of theſe inducements ſomewhat hath been ſaid in the firſt Book of theſe Comments; ſomewhat likewiſe in the Treatiſe of Creation. Now the contemplation of that moſt exact harmony between Moſaical or Prophetical delineations of Chriſt, and that live image of him, which the Evangeliſts by his Spirit have exhibited unto our view, is no leſs rational, than the contemplation of connexion between the Principles of other Sciences and their concluſions. The progreſs in this contemplation of the Harmony betwixt the ſeveral paſſages of Sacred Stories, is not the ſame that is between Mathematical Principles, or Theorems and their concluſions. The point then next to be enquired, is, how the myſteries concerning Chriſt and his Kingdom, which have been revealed unto us in the New Teſtament, were delivered by *Moſes*, by the Prophets, or other Canonical Writers of the Old Teſtament.

SECTION II.

Of the ſeveral ways by which the Myſteries contained in the Knowledge of Chriſt were foretold, pre-figured, or otherwiſe fore-ſignified. Of the divers ſenſes of Holy Scriptures, and how they are ſaid to be fulfilled, with ſome general Rules for the right interpretation of them.

CHAP. V.

Containing the general diviſion of Teſtimonies, or fore-ſignifications of Chriſt.

ALL the prenotions or fore-ſignifications which the *Patriarchs* had, or their Poſterity might have had, concerning Chriſt, have been elſewhere reduced to theſe three general Roots, *To teſtimonies meerly Prophetical*, *meerly Typical*, and *Typically Prophetical*. The diviſion, though no way miſliked by us now, may notwithſtanding upon the reviſe, be ſomewhat amended or further explained. All the prenotions or overtures of him that was to come, were either by word, or matter of fact; either Enunciative and aſſertive, or repreſentative, or partly Enunciative, partly repreſentative. All Enunciative or Aſſertive teſtimonies of him that was to come, may be reduced to the firſt branch of the former diviſion, that is, to teſtimonies meerly Prophetical. But ſo cannot all repreſentations of Evangelical Myſteries be reduced to prenotions meerly typical, or prefigurations real. For there may be a true repreſentation or deciphering of myſteries future, as well in characters of ſpeech, in ſingle words or proper names, as by matters of fact, by mens perſons or offices, legal ceremonies, or hiſtorical events. We are then in the firſt place to treat in general of prenotions or teſtimonies meerly Prophetical, or expreſly Aſſertive. In the ſecond, of prefigurations meerly typical, yet (in their kind) real, as of legal ceremonies, of mens perſons, of hiſtorical events or matter of fact. In the third place of Prenotions or Teſtimonies typically Prophetical, that is, in which there is a concurrence of expreſs Propheſie or Prediction, and of ſome matter of fact or real prefiguration of Chriſt or Myſteries concerning him. In the fourth and laſt place, we are to give ſome hints or general heads of obſervations concerning prenotions or repreſentations of Evangelical Myſteries meerly literal or verbal. More particulars of every kind of prenotions here mentioned, ſhall (by Gods aſſiſtance) be diſcuſſed in the particular Articles concerning our Saviours Incarnation, Conception, Birth, Death, and Paſſion.

CHAP. VI.

Of the firſt rank of Teſtimonies concerning Chriſt, that is, of Teſtimonies meerly Prophetical.

THeſe are in number exceeding many, yet ſundry of them either not well obſerved, or not rightly explained by ordinary Interpreters; who, as though they thought to ſupererogate in not obſerving ſo many as might be obſerved, or in not fully diſplaying ſuch as ordinarily are obſerved, oftentimes diminiſh the number of prenotions typically Prophetical to make up the number of Teſtimonies meerly Prophetical. Teſtimonies meerly Prophetical we account all ſuch, and only ſuch Predictions, as according to the literal aſſertive ſenſe of the words, and in the purpoſe of the Holy Spirit, by whom they were regiſtred, are appliable only to Chriſt himſelf, not to any legal type or ſhadow of him. For all ſuch Predictions or bare Aſſertions as are literally appliable to any other beſides Chriſt, or to others with him, belong unto the third member of the former diviſion, that is, to Teſtimonies or Prenotions typically Prophetical, or (at leaſt) Prophetically typical. For ſome difference there is (though not much) betwixt theſe two expreſſions, as will appear hereafter.

2. All the Predictions, which we have in that Fifty third Chapter of *Iſaiah*, are meerly Prophetical: they cannot be literally avouched of any Man, of any Creature, but only of the Son of God himſelf, made a man of ſorrows and infirmities for us men and for our Salvation. Of the ſame rank is that particular Propheſie of *Jeremy*, *Jer.* 31. 22. *The Lord hath created a new thing in the Earth, the Woman ſhall encompaſs the man.* But whether that other Propheſie, *Iſa.* 7. 14. *Behold a Virgin ſhall conceive and bear a Son, and ſhall call his name Emmanuel*, be meerly Prophetical, or Prophetically Typical, will require further diſcuſſion in a more convenient place. But for that Propheſie, *Zach.* 9. 9. *Rejoyce greatly O Daughter of* Sion, *ſhout O Daughter of* Jeruſalem: *behold thy King cometh unto thee, a King juſt and lowly, riding upon Aſs, and upon a Colt the Foal of an Aſs*, it is without all queſtion meerly Prophetical, and can be literally meant of none, but of *Sion's* and *Jeruſalems* Saviour alone. And however the accompliſhment of this Prediction might with more facility have been counterfeited by the fraudulent *Jew*, than the accompliſhment of any Prophetical Teſtimony before our Saviours coming in this manner to *Jeruſalem*, or immediately after it, yet for this fifteen hundred years and more, they have had no poſſible colour for diſguiſing the truth of the Prophetical Prediction, or Evangelical ſtory how it was fulfilled. Though out of their madneſs they might ſet up a King, and cry and ſhout before him: yet have they had no *Sion*, nor *Jeruſalem*, whereunto they could have brought him for theſe fifteen hundred years and more, nor have they been permitted to come near the place where it ſtood with any other than counterfeit joy, being

enforced for many Generations, to purchaſe the priviledge or liberty of howling over the Ruines of *Sion* and *Jeruſalem*, unto which their expected *Meſſias*, by the purport of the former Propheſie was to come, at a far higher rate, than they had brought the delivery of him into their power.

4. That the coming of their King unto that *Sion* and *Jeruſalem* which then were, was fore-told by their Prophet *Zachary* above two thouſand years ago, the *Jewiſt Rabbins* of this age confeſs. That this Propheſie was literally meant of their expected King or *Meſſias*, they do not deny. That this Propheſie hath been already literally fulfilled according to every circumſtance, we Chriſtians verily believe. The particular manner how it was fulfilled in and by our Saviour Chriſt, will have its place in the Article of his *Paſſion*, and in the manner of his Conſecration to his everlaſting Prieſthood. Now for the better confirmation of our Faith unto this general, that all the Predictions of the Old Teſtament, which concern our Saviour Chriſts Incarnation, Death and Paſſion, *&c.* were dictates of the Holy Spirit of God, who neither deceiveth any man, nor can be deceived by man or wicked ſpirit, we are in the next place briefly to ſhew, how Sacred Teſtimonies, meerly Prophetical concerning Chriſt, exhibit *that demonſtration of the Spirit*, whereof the Apoſtle ſpeaks, (1 *Cor.* 2.4.----) unto all reaſonable men that will ſeriouſly weigh them, together with the nature or ſubject of matters fore-told, and with the various circumſtances of time and place, *&c.* wherein they were uttered or fulfilled.

CHAP. VII.

What manner of Predictions they be, or of what matters the Predictions muſt be, which neceſſarily infer the participation of a Divine Spirit.

EVery Propheſie is a true Prediction; but every true Prediction is not a Propheſie. Any ordinary man that is Arbitrator of his own actions, and maſter of his word, may truly fore-tell ſome events, projected or ſeriouſly purpoſed by himſelf, unleſs death or ſome extraordinary caſualty prevent his accompliſhment of them. And no wiſe man will fore-tell the performance of what he promiſeth, or the accompliſhment of his purpoſes, otherwiſe than with ſubordination (either expreſs or implied) unto his good will or pleaſure, who ſeeth all things, even the very ſecret purpoſes of our hearts, much better than we our ſelves do; and worketh all things according to the Counſel, not of our will, but of his own. However, though by his permiſſion and aſſiſtance, we make performance of whatſoever was for many years before promiſed or purpoſed by us; yet this is no demonſtration of a Divine or Prophetical Spirit in us. To arrogate or challenge the name of a Prophet from the truth of ſuch Predictions, were more than enough to prove the party ſo peccant to be a falſe Prophet.

Beſides thoſe Predictions which are common to all men, whilſt they have the ordinary gift of memory, diſcretion, or underſtanding: there be Predictions peculiar to ſeveral Arts or Faculties, which come ſomewhat nearer to the nature of Propheſies properly ſo called, but (well examined) fall further ſhort of them, than they go beyond the former preſages or predictions of ordinary wiſe or diſcreet men.

2. A man of ordinary skill in Aſtronomy, able by his own or others skill to fore-tell the ſet times of the Eclipſes, whether in the Sun or Moon, might eaſily gain the reputation of a Prophet, or a Southſayer, amongſt barbarous illiterate people: yet no civil Nation will account men thus far ſkilful to be extraordinarily learned, much leſs for Cœleſtial Prophets. *Hippocrates* or *Galen* (ſo they had been diſpoſed to play the *Mountebanks*) might have gotten a better opinion amongſt the Vulgar, or their Patients, than they had of themſelves or their own skill: for both of them could, and did diſcover the nature of ſuch diſeaſes and alterations enſuing in mens bodies, as the wiſeſt men then living, but not ſo good Phyſitians as they were, could not gueſs at right, much leſs diſtinctly fore-ſee. Yet neither of theſe two famous Phyſicians (for ought I can learn) did take upon them to interpret the aſpects or motions of the Stars after ſuch a manner, as many meaner Phyſicians ſince their time have done. So far were they from challenging the name or title of Prophets, or Southſayers, that they did not take upon them to fore-tell, what the ſecret motions or diſpoſitions of their Patients bodies, whether alive or dead, did preſage either to private men, or to publick States. Yet to fore-tell ſtrange events to come, by obſerving the alterations in mens living bodies, or by the Anatomy of them dead, is in any reaſonable conſtruction more congruous and facile, than to fore-tell the ſucceſs of War or politick Projects by anatomizing dead brutiſh Creatures, or by inſpection of their intrals. This later skill many in times paſt amongſt the Heathens have profeſſed, and have had the reputation of Augures or Southſayers.

But albeit their Predictions in this ſubject might for the moſt part prove true (which I do not believe) yet all this was not ſufficient to purchaſe the juſt title of Prophets or Diviners: it only argues ſome deeper inſight in ominous fore-warnings or portendments, as *Hippocrates* and *Galen* had in medicinal preſages, above ordinary men. That there may be a peculiar skill or dexterity of conjecture concerning the peculiar ſigns of Times, whether by interpretation of Dreams, of Prodigies, of Comets, or the like, is a point not worth the debating in Divinity. That this skill (were it granted to be much greater than the Profeſſors of it, in what kind ſoever, arrogate unto themſelves) doth amount to the nature of a true Propheſie or Divination properly ſo called, all true Divines muſt deny.

3. That skilful Phyſitians may truly preſage the certain iſſue of ſome diſeaſes ſetled or growing, as of the life and death of their Patients, far beyond the capacity of vulgars, and to the admiration of men, otherwiſe more learned than themſelves, is not doubted by any man of underſtanding. But all wherein they exceed others not skilled in Phyſick, is this; That their Art and Experience enables them to diſcern the working or firſt projects of cauſes Phyſical, or ſeminal Originals of alterations in mens bodies, much ſooner and with more dexterity, than men without skill or experience in their Art can do. But ſo a well experienced, though illiterate Gardiner, will diſtinguiſh ſeveral Herbs or Simples at the firſt peeping out of the mold wherein they were hid, much better than a meer contemplative Artiſt (which hath pored oftner and longer upon *Mathiolus*,

Dioſcorides, or other Herbaliſts, than the moſt Induſtrious Gardiner hath done on his plots,) ſhall be able to diſtinguiſh them after a months growth. Yet will not the cnningeſt Gardiner, though a contemplative Herbaliſt withal, take upon him to tell what Seeds have been ſown by another of his profeſſion, ſo long as they lye hid in the ground. Nor will the moſt skilful Phyſician (unleſs conceipt of his skill far exceed his wit or underſtanding) adventure to fore-tell what diſeaſes in particular ſhall beſal men for the preſent in perfect health, for any one or more of the next ſeven years to come. Aſtrologers (for ought I can ſay againſt their profeſſion) may truly fore-tell or give a happy gueſs at ſuch events as uſually follow upon the Apparition of Comets. But I never heard of any Aſtrologer that could prognoſticate, at what time, in what degree of altitude, longitude, or latitude, any Comet (before its appearance) ſhould be ſeen, neither whether there ſhould be any Comets at all the next five years to come; much leſs if any appear, what courſe it ſhall obſerve. I dare not deny all artificial or experimental skill in the interpretation of dreams, but none of this profeſſion (I preſume) will be ſo bold as to fore-tell what his Neighbour ſhall dream of in the ſeveral nights of the next month, or to re-call his dreams to mind, if haply he have forgotten them. There was more true Divinity in that brief reply of the *Chaldean Aſtrologers*, or ſuppoſed *Diviners*, unto *Nebuchadnezzars* unreaſonable demand, *Dan.* 2. *ver.* 10. than in all their profeſſed Art of Divination. *The* Chaldeans *ſpake to the King, O King live for ever: tell thy Servants the dream, and we will ſhew the interpretation. The King anſwered and ſaid to the* Chaldeans, *The thing is gone from me: if ye will not make known unto me the dream with the interpretation thereof, ye ſhall be cut in pieces, and your houſes ſhall be made a Dunghil. The* Chaldeans *anſwered before the King and ſaid; There is not a man upon the Earth that can ſhew the Kings matters: Therefore there is no King, Lord, nor Ruler, that asked ſuch things at any* Magitian, Aſtrologer, *or* Chaldean. *And it is a rare thing that the King requireth, and there is none other that can ſhew it before the King, except the Gods whoſe dwelling is not with fleſh,* Dan. 2. *ver.* 4, 5, 10, 11. In this laſt clauſe only they failed. For that God which revealed *Nebuchadnezzars* dream, and the interpretation thereof unto *Daniel* was to be *God with us*, to have his dwelling in our fleſh.

4. However, they knew by light of nature and of reaſon, that it was but one and the ſame skill to tell or retrive matters of this nature paſt, that is, whereof they had no hint or notice, either from their own Senſes, or from Hiſtory or Tradition; and to fore-tell things contingent, or not determined in their comprehenſible cauſes.

Now to fore-tell things of this nature, any *Future* that falls not out by the conſtant and obſervable courſe of nature; or which hath no dependance on any viſible cauſe already attempting its effect (though ſo ſecretly as none but a perfect Artiſt can diſcover the project) is that kind of Prediction, which only deſerves the title of Propheſie, or Divination properly ſo called, and is not communicable to any Creature, ſave only by participation of the Divine Spirit. All ſuch Predictions muſt be derived from ſome revelation immediately made by God himſelf unto ſome one or other of his Creatures, from whom the reſt receive it, either by Writing or by Tradition. This Topick of Divinity, the Lord himſelf immediately taught the Prophet *Iſaiah*, *Chap.* 41. *ver.* 21. *Produce your cauſe* (ſaith the Lord) *bring forth your ſtrong reaſons, ſaith the King of* Jacob. *Let them bring forth and ſhew us what ſhall happen: Let them ſhew the former things what they be, that we may conſider them, and know the latter end of them, or declare us things for to come. Shew the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are Gods.* This caſe comes home againſt all pretended divinations given by Oracles, by the ſuppoſed Heathen Gods, and their Prieſts and Prophets: So doth that other, *Iſa.* 47. 5, 6, 7. fully reach all pretended Aſtrological Divinations of contingents future.

5. Yet all the Predictions concerning Chriſt, in the writing of *Moſes* or the Prophets, are of this rank and nature, which God himſelf denies could be fore-ſeen or fore-told either by ſuppoſed Heathen Gods or by Aſtrologers. Now this principle being once granted, [That all the Prophecies concerning Chriſt, alledged by the Evangeliſts, were uttered many years before the relation of their accompliſhment by them] no rational man can deny, that the firſt Revealer of them was God himſelf, who calleth things that are not as if they were, and fore-telleth things to come, as if they were already paſt. Many things fore-told by the Prophets concerning the Incarnation of the Son of God, his Birth, his Death, and Paſſion, Reſurrection, *&c.* demonſtratively infer a Creative or Omnipotent Power, from whom they received this Spirit of Divination. Many again, (beſides the ſuppoſal of his Omnipotent Power) manifeſtly argue a wiſdom truly infinite. Of the deduction of both theſe Attributes from Prophetical Divinations, of legal or other typical prefigurations of Chriſt and his Kingdom, hereafter (by Gods aſſiſtance:) as the expoſition of Types or Propheſies, or of both, either ſeverally or joyntly conſidered, ſhall miniſter matter or occaſion.

That Predictions of this rank and nature, whereof we now treat, did ſuppoſe a power Divine for their Author, was a common prenotion amongſt the Heathen, amongſt the Latins eſpecially, in whoſe language the faculty of fore-telling things thus contingent was called *Divinatio.* A fuller expreſſion (as *Tully* ſomewhere obſerves) than the *Grecians* had of the like skill. For it imports a great deal more than μαντεία, or other like titles aſſumed by ſuch *Mountebanks*, as were the true Diſciples of the grand Impoſtor and Father of lies. Nor could this grand Impoſtor himſelf have gotten the eſteem of a Deity or power Divine amongſt rude people by any other means, than by counterfeiting Predictions truly Divine. The *major* Propoſition [that all prediction of Contingents to come, or of events not as yet *ſeminally* extant in their natural cauſes, was from Divine Inſpiration] the Heathens rightly believed and acknowledged. But that ſuch Spirits as demanded Sacrifice, or other like obſervances of them, could fore-tell future events of this rank, was never ſufficiently proved unto them. Theſe Infernal Impoſtors, and the *Mountebanks* their Scholars, whether Aſtrologers, Southſayers, *&c.* play'd the Juglers in this aſſumption or *minor:* and by this means wrought their Followers to ſubſcribe unto moſt deſperate practical concluſions.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Sibylline *Oracles whether they came originally from God or no: that the perſpicuity of their Predictions doth not argue them to be counterfeit, or forged ſince the Incarnation of the Son of God.*

BUT if the infallible predictions of future events, which have no cauſes diſcernable, either by the general eye of nature, or peculiar skill of Art, co-exiſtent with them, do neceſſarily infer the Spirit of Propheſie, or Divination properly ſo called: it will be further demanded what is to be ſaid or thought of the *Sibylline* Oracles; whether they were from Heaven, or from Earth, or from the Region under the Earth? Whether God or any good Angel did inſpire theſe Propheteſſes with their predictions concerning Chriſt? That many things concerning his life, and Kingdom, were expreſly fore-told by theſe Heathen Propheteſſes, the beſt amongſt the ancient Chriſtians did believe, nor did the Heathens that lived with them, or before them, queſtion the Authority of the Records which they alledged. The only queſtion then was, whether their predictions of ſtrange alterations to inſue throughout the world, did punctually refer to Chriſt whom the *Jews* did Crucifie, or to ſome other Heroick Perſon. That theſe Prophecies were extant for many Generations before the Bleſſed Virgin, the Mother of Chriſt (from whom alone he took his bodily ſubſtance) was born or conceived, no literate Chriſtian or Heathen did ever queſtion. Yet upon her Nativity to have foretold, that ſhe ſhould conceive and bring forth ſuch a Son as ſhould likewiſe be the Son of God, the great Redeemer of the World, did far ſurpaſs all Aſtrologians ſkill, or any other *Prognoſticks* which cannot finally be reſolved into the Spirit of the only wiſe immortal God, as into their firſt Author or Fountain.

2. But many great Divines, many good Antiquaries and Critiques of beſt note in theſe latter times (which would be accounted the moſt learned) move queſtion, whether all, or moſt, or any competent part of thoſe verſes, which now go under the name of *Sibylline* Oracles, be the very ſame either for matter or form, with the ancient Records, which, it is granted by all, were extant long before our Saviours coming into the world? Or whether moſt paſſages in theſe now extant have not been compoſed by Chriſtians deſirous to make a ſupplement unto ſome fragments of the true Originals, which had been loſt? To induce this ſuſpicion or opinion, that the Volume of Oracles now extant, is but a ſuppoſititious brood of later times, it is plauſibly alledged by good Writers, that thus much muſt be granted, or elſe we muſt grant (which may ſeem worſe) that thoſe myſteries of Chriſt and his Kingdom, which we Chriſtians believe, were more expreſly revealed unto the Heathen by theſe ſuppoſed Propheteſſes, than they were to the *Jews*, Gods choſen people, either by *Moſes* or the Prophets. For ſuch is the nature and quality of theſe *Sibylline* Predictions, as now we have them, that they may rather ſeem to be exegetical explications of *Moſes* and the Prophets, than Original Propheſies, which are for the moſt part ænigmatical or parabolical.

2. All the Arguments notwithſtanding, which can be drawn from this or the like Topick, are more plauſible than pregnant, and (well examined conclude *aut nihil, aut nimium.* Which way ſoever they be drawn or made to look, either they do not reach home to the point in queſtion, or elſe they over-reach, or fall awry of it; none of them do punctually fall upon it. For no Chriſtian or Heathen Writer, whether ancient or modern, hath hitherto made queſtion whether the fourth Eclogue of *Virgil*, were penned by this Heathen Poet, or compoſed by ſome which lived after our Saviours Death, in favour of the Chriſtians. Now if we had the *notes* of that plain Song (on which this Prince of Latin Poets runs ſuch curious *deſcant*) in the very Characters wherein *Sibylla Cumæa* left it, (for *Virgil*, as he himſelf profeſſeth, was but a Commentator upon this one, among many other Heathen Propheteſſes intitled to this name of *Sibyl*:) I do not ſee, nor can I conjecture, what paſſages in the Old Teſtament do more literally and plainly expreſs the ſacred myſteries concerning Chriſt and his Kingdom, which the Evangeliſts have unfolded unto us, than that one *Sibylla* did, on whoſe Writings *Virgil* comments in lofty and curious verſe.

3. *The Law and Prophets* (ſaith our Saviour) *continued unto* John *the Baptiſt.* His meaning is not that the matter of thoſe Writings did then expire or determine; or that the Writings themſelves ſhould then become *obſolete* or out of uſe: But rather, that *John* ſhould take the Lamps which they had lighted and deliver them to ſuch as were to purſue the ſame courſe, which he after the Law and Prophets had undertaken. He was *Lucerna ardens & lucens*, a bright and a burning Lamp, to enlighten ſuch as lived with him, or came after him to follow his ſteps with zeal and devotion towards *him*, whom he did uſher into World. As *Johns* entrance upon his Office was a kind of period to the Law and Prophets, after which there was a new *Epocha*, or diſtinction of times to follow: ſo there was to be a determination of *Sibils* Oracles, about that time wherein *Virgil* wrote that fourth Eclogue, *Ultima Cumæi venit jam carminis ætas. Virgil* did groſly err in the perſon or party of whom this Prophecy of *Sibyl* was literally meant, according to the intention of the ſpirit of divination, by which it was firſt conceived: and err he did, though not ſo groſly, in the circumſtances of the time wherein it was to be accompliſhed. But theſe two errors and other circumſtances being pardoned, the ſubſtance of his diſcourſe, or deſcant upon *Sibylla Cumæa's* Verſes, is Orthodoxal, and ſuch as concludently argues the Text, whereon he Comments, to have been originally more than humane, truly divine.

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4. For however we have learned long ago, that all the gracious promiſes made by God unto the ancient Iſraelites, for continuation of the Aaronical Prieſthood and other like Prerogatives peculiar to that Nation under the ſtyle or tenure of *Legnolam*, for ever, were to determine at the revelation of their long expected Meſſias: and although many Chriſtian Writers well verſed in Hebrew Antiquaries, aſſuredly inform us, this was an unqueſtionable tradition amongſt the ancient Hebrew Rabbins, though now denied: yet no Writer, either Jewiſh or Chriſtian, gives me ſo full ſatisfaction in this point, as *Virgil* in the fore-cited Eclogue doth. For after he had ſaid, *Ultima Cumæi venit jam carminis ætas*, He addeth immediately, *Magnus ab integro ſæclorum naſcitur ordo.* This implies, that as there was then an end of that

Age or World wherein *Sibylla Cumæa* lived, ſo there was another Age or World to begin at the accompliſhment of her Prophecy, which was to have no period, but to be as we ſay, *Sæcula Sæculorum*, a World of Worlds, or a World without end. Such we Chriſtians believe the Kingdom of Chriſt to be, which was to take its beginning here on Earth at the accompliſhments of the Prophecies concerning his Reſurrection and Exaltation. With his Croſs or Humiliation *Virgil* meddles not, having transformed all that *Sibylla* Propheſied of Him, into the ſimilitude of the Roman Empire as then it ſtood goodly and glorious, and ſo to continue (as he hoped) with perpetual increaſe of ſtrength and happineſs. If we had all the ſingle threds as *Sibylla* left them, which this Heathen *Poet* hath twiſted into theſe and the like ſtrong lines:

Jam redit & virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna.
Jam nova progenies cœlo demittitur alto:

5. Methinks they might lead us by a compendious and gain way unto a clearer view of many divine myſteries recorded by ſacred Writers, concerning our Saviours Eternal Generation, Incarnation, Nativity, and propagation of his Kingdom, than we can hope to approach unto by the perplexed Labyrinths of many modern Interpreters, of divers School-men, or by any tradition of the ancient Hebrews, as now they are extant. But the exact parallel between the undoubted Oracles of Gods Prophets, and ſuch hints as *Virgil* deſcants upon, from *Sibylla Cumæa*, I leave to younger Academick Divines or Moraliſts. It ſhall ſuffice my preſent purpoſe to add ſome one or two more unto the former. The firſt Revelation concerning Chriſt and his Kingdom which is extant upon ſacred Record, is, *That* Gen. 3. ver. 15. *I will put enmity* (ſaid God to the Serpent) *between thee and the woman, and between thy ſeed and her ſeed. It ſhall bruiſe thy head, and thou ſhalt bruiſe his heel.* That this Womans Seed was to be a Man, all that believed the truth of *Moſes* Writings, did know: but that he was to be the Son of a pure Virgin, was more (as is moſt probable) than our Mother *Evah*, more than the Father and Mother of *Noah* at the Birth of their firſt Born, did apprehend, and perhaps more than ſome Prophets and many godly men after them, did explicitely believe. Yet of this myſtery, that *Sibylla*, whom *Virgil* follows, had certainly a prenotion, though transformed by *Virgil* into Poetical fictions of *Aſtræa*. For it is likely by *Jam redit & virgo &c.* he meant her return unto the Earth. The accompliſhment of that firſt Prophecy *Gen.* 3. *ver.* 15. by our Saviours Victory gotten over Satan upon the Croſs, was firſt declared by himſelf after his Reſurrection to his Diſciples, Mark 16, 17, 18. *And theſe ſigns ſhall follow them that believe. In my name ſhall they caſt out Devils, they ſhall ſpeak with new tongues: they ſhall take up Serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it ſhall not hurt them, &c.* Of all this the Heathen *Sibylla* had a prenotion, expreſſed by *Virgil* in few, yet pithy words:

Occidet & Serpens, & fallax herba veneni
Occidet. ——

6. [*] *The Wilderneſs (ſaith the Prophet* Iſaiah *cap.* 35. 1, 2.) *ſhall be glad for them and the deſart ſhall rejoice and bloſſom. It ſhall bloſſom abundantly.* And again cap. 41. 19. *I will plant in the Wilderneſs the Cedar, the Shittah tree, and the Myrtle, and the Oyl Tree. I will ſet in the deſart the Fir Tree, and the Pine and the Box Tree together.* All theſe and the like expreſſions of matter of joy in theſe two Chapters and elſewhere in this Prophet, have their parallel in that fore-cited Eclogue. And, as if he had foreſeen that which the Apoſtle tells us of, *Ecce vetera præterierunt, nova facta ſunt omnia*;

[*] *Aſſyrium vulgo naſcetur amomum, &c.*

Molli paulatim flaveſcet campus ariſtâ;
Incultiſq; rubens pendebit ſentibus uva:
Et duræ quercus ſudabunt roſcida mella.

— Nec nautica pinus
Mutabit merces: omnis feret omnia tellus.
Nec varios diſcet mentiri lana colores, &c.
Sponte ſua ſandix paſcentes veſtiet agnos.

He concludes -- *Aſpice venturo Lætentur ut omnia Sæclo.*

CHAP. IX.

Anſwering the Objections againſt the former reſolutions; that God did deal better with Iſrael *than with other Nations, although it were granted that other* Nations *had as perſpicuous predictions of Chriſt and of his Kingdom, as the* Iſraelites *had.*

BUT if we acknowledge the Revelation of theſe and the like Divine Myſteries unto the Heathen, to have been ſo perſpicuous as the Sibylline Oracles (whether thoſe which now are extant, or thoſe which *Virgil* did Comment upon) do exhibit; ſhall we not hereby contradict the *Pſalmiſts* avouchment of Gods ſpecial favour to his peculiar people, *Pſalm* 147. 19, 20. *He ſheweth his words unto* Jacob: *his Statutes and his Judgments unto* Iſrael. *He hath not dealt ſo with any Nation: and as for his judgments, they have not known them.* For how can it rightly be conceived, that he ſhould deal better with *Jacob* or *Iſrael*, than with any other people, if it be granted that the Romans or other Nations, which were, if not by Gods command yet by his permiſſion depoſitories of the Sibylline Oracles, had in them as perſpicuous teſtimonies or revelations of Chriſt, as *Jacob* and *Iſrael* had, either in the Law or in the Prophets. Moſt certain it is, that the meaſure of Gods gracious dealing with any Nation, People, or State, muſt be taken from the ſeveral manner or model of Revelations made unto them, concerning the Incarnation, Death and Paſſion, *&c.* of his only Son: for whoſe only ſake and merits all the bleſſings which have been, which are, or which ſhall be beſtowed upon the ſons of men, were firſt promiſed or intended unto them; in whom all that have any promiſe of ſuch bleſſing, receive their intereſt, and immediate title unto them: by whom and through whom all Cœleſtial Bleſſings are actually derived unto, and accompliſhed in all ſuch as having juſt title, make right claim unto them.

2. The Pſalmiſt himſelf (from whoſe authority this objection is borrowed) affords a fair hint for a right anſwer unto it. He doth not ſay, that God ſheweth his word unto *Jacob* alone; or that no other Nation beſides *Iſrael* had any knowledge of his word, or prenotion of the word which was to be made fleſh. Wherein then did he deal better with *Iſrael*, than with any other Nation? In ſhewing his ſtatutes and judgments unto that Nation alone. For albeit the Revelations made unto the *Sibyls* (if now we had the undoubted Originals) might be more perſpicuous than any Prophecy in the Old Teſtament; or admitting they had been delivered in the ſelf-ſame words which God did ſpeak to *Moſes* and the Prophets: this would not infer that the ancient Heathens had as good means of knowing Chriſt as *Iſrael* had, or that the manner of ſhewing his words unto both was (as the words are ſuppoſed to be) altogether the ſame. The ſtatutes and judgments which he had given unto *Iſrael* only, were given unto this purpoſe, that the words which he had ſpoken by *Moſes* and the Prophets, might make more legible impreſſion in their hearts. Amongſt many ſtatutes and judgments peculiar unto *Iſrael*, theſe were principal and fundamental, that the words which God had ſpoken by *Moſes* and the Prophets, ſhould be publickly read, often inculcated, and expounded unto them: that all his viſitations of this people, whether in mercy whilſt they obeyed his voice, or in judgment for their diſobedience; ſhould be regiſtred, to remain upon Record as ſo many ruled Caſes or Preſidents.

3. To have the myſteries of ſalvation however revealed is a great bleſſing to any Nation. But it is not one and the ſame bleſſing to have the ways of life perſpicuous in themſelves, and to have them made perſpicuous unto this or that age or party. This later bleſſing even thoſe, to whom theſe *Sybilline* Oracles were imparted, did want. And want it they did through their own default, in that they made no better uſe of theſe particular Prophecies, than they had done of the common Book of Nature. *Rom.* 1. 20, 21. The Lord of Heaven and Earth was good and gracious unto many Heathens in diſpenſing or ſuffering theſe or the like Crums to fall unto them from his Childrens Table: yet not ſo gracious to them as he was to his Children, in that he gave them no Laws and Ordinances for the publication of theſe myſteries, or for obſerving the times wherein they were to be fulfilled. Nor had theſe Heathens the grace or goodneſs in them to enact publick Laws for this purpoſe: but like that ungracious ſervant in the Goſpel, they held it a point of wiſdom to impriſon theſe pretious talents in their *Archives*, not to be looked upon, but upon occaſion of ſtate.

4. But ſuppoſe the Heathens had been as peremptorily admoniſhed by God himſelf, or as ſtrictly enjoined by Laws of their own making, to acquaint poſterity with the *Sibylline* Oracles, as the *Iſraelites* were to inſtruct their Children in Gods word delivered by *Moſes*; would this have made the meaning of theſe Prophecies, in themſelves (as is ſuppoſed) moſt perſpicuous, either more perſpicuous or more effectual to ſucceeding Generations than they were? God knows that.

But the daily experience of this age, of this year current, and of ſome few late paſt, will not ſuffer us not to know, that abundant plenty either of ſpiritual food, or of medicines in themſelves moſt divine, though daily adminiſtred, doth not always *de facto* purifie the hearts of Chriſtians from Heatheniſh humours or diſeaſes. What then is wanting, where ſpiritual meat and medicines do ſo abound? A want there is, firſt of ſevere diſcipline to teach Phyſitians themſelves, how to diſpence the food or Phyſick of life aright. Secondly, a greater want there is of coercive Laws (or of the execution of them) for binding our Patients to a right poſture or diet, whilſt they are under our cure. The loud out-crying ſins of theſe times awake the thoughts of all that are not dead in ſin: and the oftner it is thought upon, the more it will be lamented by every honeſt heart, That God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, that Chriſt who is God and Man, our gracious Lord and Redeemer, ſhould be more traduced, and more groſly miſtransformed through liberty of propheſying (as they term it) amongſt us Chriſtians, than they have been in any age before amongſt Turks or Heathens, which have died in their ſins for want of propheſying. But as for *Iſrael* of old they wanted no Laws or Diſcipline for theſe or the like good purpoſes; and Prophecies they had in abundance: Only they were wanting to themſelves in not exerciſing the Diſcipline, in not executing the Laws which God had given them. And unto this defect they added an exceſs of traditions contrary to the Laws appointed them by God, and extreamly oppoſite to wholſom diſcipline or doctrine.

5. But ſuch *Jewiſh* Traditions as were contrary to the Law of God, how prejudicial ſoever they were unto their Souls which firſt invented or followed them, do not prejudice us Chriſtians (of this age) half ſo much as the loſs of ſome *Jewiſh* Traditions, or rules for interpreting Scriptures, which had been conſtantly received amongſt the ancient Hebrew *Rabbins*, but rejected by the later *Jewiſh* Maſters. And it would be a work in it ſelf, worthy any one mans labours or works of this life, to retrieve the footſteps or progreſs of the ancient *Rabbins*, whereof ſome ſcattered prints here and there, may be obſerved in ancient Writers. That ſuch rules there were conſtantly received in the time of our Saviours Converſation here on Earth, (though now either wilfully concealed, or through ignorance not acknowledged by latter *Jewiſh Rabbins*) is hence apparent, in that the mouths of modern *Jews* are wideſt open to bark againſt our interpretation of thoſe paſſages of Moſaical and Prophetical Writings, whoſe bare allegation whether made by our Saviour himſelf, or by his Diſciples after his Reſurrection, did ſtop the mouths of thoſe cruel dogs which ſought their lives. What theſe rules or traditions were in particular, is not of facile conjecture, nay almoſt impoſſible to determine. This general notwithſtanding is moſt certain, that God did ſhew the Incarnation, Death, and Paſſion of his only Son, even all whatſoever *Iſrael* was to believe concerning the Perſon or Offices of the expected Meſſias, or we Chriſtians concerning Jeſus Chriſt and him crucified, not by meer Prophecy only, or by words literally and expreſly aſſertive; but withal by ſigns of the Time, by Hiſtorical events, by matters of Fact, by Rites and Ceremonies, by Types and ſhadows. By all theſe ways God did ſpeak or declare his purpoſe. For as the *Pſalmiſt* ſaith, That *the Heavens declare the glory of God, that days and nights have their words ſo loud and ſhrill, that their ſound goes throughout all*

all the world, *Pſalm* 19. ſo likewiſe ſigns and wonders are ſaid to have their voices. *And it ſhall be* (ſaith God to *Moſes*, (Exod. 4. 8.) *that if they will not believe thee, nor hearken to the voice of the firſt ſign* (which was the reciprocal converſion of *Moſes* rod into a Serpent) *yet they will believe the voice of the latter ſign*; and that was the ſmiting of *Moſes* his hand with Leproſie as white as ſnow, and reſtoring it to perfect ſound fleſh again. If ſigns and wonders have their voices, then God doth ſpeak unto us by them, as well as by his audible, and written word, but even where his written word is for the ſenſe moſt plain, the matters contained in it have their voice or ſpeech. This manner of Gods ſpeaking unto men, is excellently expreſſed by *Gregory* the firſt, in the * 20. of his Morals, and 1. *Cap. To ſay nothing of the weightineſs of the matter or ſubject: the Scripture excels all other Sciences in its peculiar manner of expreſſion. For in plaineſt and punctual, or textual narrations it points at Myſteries, and it ſo ſpeaks of matters paſt, as in them it fore-tells things to come, and in the very ſame words records things done and paſt, and diſcovers things to be afterwards done.*

[* Quamvis omnem ſcientiam atqne doctrinam Scriptura ſacra ſine aliqua comparatione tranſcendat, ut taceam quòd vera prædicat, quòd ad cœleſtem patriam vocat, quòd à terrenis deſideriis ad ſuperna amplectenda cor legentis immutat: quòd dictis obſcurioribus exercet fortes, & parvulis humili ſermone blanditur, quod nec ſic clauſa eſt ut paveſci debeat, nec ſic patet ut vileſcat, quòd uſu faſtidium tollit, & tanto ampliùs diligitur, quanto ampliùs meditatur, quòd legentis animum humilibus verbis adjuvat, ſublimibus ſenſibus levat, quòd aliquo modo cum legentibus creſcit, quòd à rudibus lectoribus, quaſi recognoſcitur, & tamen doctis nova ſemper reperitur. Ut ergo de rerum pondere taceam, ſcientias tamen omnes atque doctrinas ipſo etiam locutionis ſuæ more tranſcendit, quia uno eodemq; ſermone dum narrat textum, prodit myſterium; & ſic ſcit præterita dicere, ut eo ipſo noverit futura prædicare, & non immutato dicendi ordine, eiſdem ipſis Sermonibus novit, & anteacta deſcribere & agenda nunciare.]

This paſſage of Saint *Gregory* refers eſpecially unto Hiſtorical Narrations in Scripture, which beſides the plain literal, have a further myſtical and hidden ſenſe, of both which we are to ſpeak hereafter. The next Point in order to be proſecuted, is of Teſtimonies or Prenotions of Chriſt meerly typical.

CHAP. X.

Of Teſtimonies in the Old Teſtament concerning Chriſt meerly Typical, and how they do conclude the Truths delivered in the New Teſtament.

UNder this title we comprehend all prefigurations of Chriſt exemplified in the Old Teſtament by the perſons and offices of men, by legal rites and ceremonies, (either annual and ſolemn, or commanded to be uſed upon private ſpecial occaſions;) or by any matter of fact or event, whereto no expreſs Propheſie, no Aſſertive notation of him, or application unto him who was to come, is annexed. And herein the wiſdom of God appears moſt admirable, that the contents of every Article in the Apoſtles Creed, were reſpectively fore-ſhadowed by ſome one or other of theſe ways mentioned, and ſome of them by all. The manner of his conception was clearly prefigured (for ſubſtantially repreſented it could not be) by the conception of *Iſaac*, of *Sampſon*, and of *Samuel*. And that Generation wherein he was conceived and born, was ſufficiently warned to obſerve theſe three prefigurations (as then to be accompliſhed) by the ſtrange conception of *John* the *Baptiſt.* His Circumciſion with the myſteries implyed in it, or ſubſequent unto it, were fore-ſhadowed in the covenant eſtabliſhed between God and *Abraham* in the Circumciſion of *Iſaac.* Of his Baptiſm (though that be not expreſſed in our Creed) the waſhing of the High Prieſts body in the day of Atonement was a type. Of his leading into the Wilderneſs, (upon the ſame day) to be tempted by Satan, the Ceremony of the Scape-Goat was a true Prognoſtick. Of his appearing in the form of a Servant, and of his performance of all the duties, which can be required from a ſervant in the moſt exquiſite manner that can be imagined, holy *Job* was more than a type, a living ſhadow. Of all his troubles and deliverance from them, his Father *David* was a live example. Of his depreſſion by his envious and malitious Brethren, and of his exaltation by the immediate hand of God, the Hiſtory of *Joſeph* and of his Brethren exhibits an illuſtrious image. Of his death upon the Croſs, and the glorious victory obtained thereby over Satan, the the Brazen Serpent erected by *Moſes* in the Wilderneſs, was a conſpicuous Hieroglyphick. His incloſure three days and three nights in the womb of the Earth, and his Reſurrection from the grave, were portended by the Impriſonment of *Jonas* in the Whales belly, and by his deliverance thence. And of his reſurrection in particular, the offering of the firſt fruits in the Feaſt of unleavened bread, from the firſt inſtitution of that Solemnity, was an annual ſign or token. Of his Cœleſtial Kingdom of peace, *Solomons* glory, and peaceable reign here on Earth, was an exquiſite map. Of his Aſcenſion into Heaven, the Tranſlations of *Enoch* and *Elias* were undoubted pledges. The Eternity of his perſon, and everlaſting duration of his Prieſthood were exquiſitely fore-ſhadowed, the one by the Perſon, the other by the Prieſthood of *Melchiſedech.* The full view and contemplation of theſe and the like types, and the examination of their congruity with the live body, to wit, Chriſt, whom in ſome part or other, every one of them did fore-picture, we muſt refer unto the explication of the ſeveral Articles in this Creed, whereunto they do reſpectively appertain.

2. The Rule or Topick for demonſtrating the truth of every Article by theſe and the like types, is the ſame with that fore-mentioned in the former Chapters concerning teſtimonies meerly Prophetical, or Predictions of future events, as yet not extant in any cauſes viſible or comprehenſible by Art. To draw an exact picture of a Child as yet unborn, or whoſe Parents at this time are not conceived, is a skill as impoſſible for any Painter or Limner to attain, as it is for an Aſtrological Phyſician to deſcribe the nature, complexion, or diſpoſition of men that ſhall have no actual being or exiſtence till he be dead. Now Chriſts Acts and Offices, his Humiliation and Exaltion, were not more exactly fore-deſcribed or diſplayed by the Prophets, than they were fore-pictured or fore-ſhadowed by Hiſtorical events, or legal types. Every ſuch type or event was a real or ſubſtantial, though a ſilent Propheſie; and the moſt expreſs Propheſie concerning Chriſt, was but a ſpeaking type or vocal ſhadow. The Spirit of God did ſpeak by the one, and ſignifie his purpoſe by the other: his wiſdom in both is alike admirable. The moſt exquiſite Artiſt living cannot take ſo true a proportion of a mans face, as it ſelf, without any Art or Invention, will draw in a true glaſs: yet this we admire not becauſe it is ordinary. But to make as per-

fect a reſemblance of a mans viſage by a chaos of *Chymæra*'s, or painted deviſes which repreſent no viſible creature, if you look upon them ſingle, or tranſmit their ſhapes into a plain glaſs, might well ſeem an invention ſurpaſſing all skill of Art, if a late Artiſt had not given us an ocular demonſtration of this skill, in thus repreſenting the perfect viſage of that great and famous Prince *Henry* the Fourth of *France:* however there be no reſemblance of any humane face, or of any part thereto belonging in the painted Baſe; yet the reflection of ſuch incondite figures, or confuſed fancies as are thereon painted, falling upon a Column of Braſs, or Bell-metal glazed with Latten, placed in the centre or point aſſigned in the plain table by the Author of this invention, doth effigiate this great Princes viſage and countenance as perfectly as any picture, which hath been taken of him in his life time. The skill in this deviſe is ſo admirable, as it would require but a very little ſkill in Rhetorick, to perſwade an illiterate man which hath ſeen him living, that his Ghoſt were preſent (though inviſible to by-ſtanders) looking upon it ſelf in this artificial viſible glaſs: yet all this ſkill exhibited in this maſter-piece of modern inventions, how admirable ſoever it may ſeem to men not exerciſed in the like, is comprehenſible to accurate Artiſts in this kind, and can afford no true illuſtration of the incomprehenſible wiſdom of God, in fore-picturing Chriſt with his Acts and Offices. Of this incomprehenſible wiſdom we have a better model, by adding this ſuppoſition or fiction to the former invention; that an hundred Picture-makers or more, having had free liberty one after another, to draw their lines and poſtures upon the ſame table (none of them acquainting another with his intention or work) ſhould have framed ſuch a true repreſentation, as this now extant is, of *Henry* the Fourth *French* King, in the age before he was born. But after a more admirable manner, than this fiction ſuppoſeth, were Chriſt and his Croſs, *&c.* fore-pictured by matters of fact, by Hiſtorical events, by Types and Ceremonies, and by the concurrence with theſe of mens free actions and intentions which knew not one another, much leſs had notice of their purpoſes, the laſt of them living, more than 400. years before Chriſt was conceived.

For the right apprehenſion or imblazoning theſe meerly typical repreſentations of Chriſt, no artificial ſkill is more uſeful than the true Art of Heraldry, or ſkill in Hieroglyphicks. And no kind of learning more uſeful for the right apprehenſion of the third kind of teſtimonies or prenotions concerning Chriſt, than the inſight in Emblems, Deviſes, or Impreſſes.

CHAP. XI.

Of Teſtimonies concerning Chriſt Typically Prophetical, or Prophetically Typical, and of their concludent proof.

MEer Types are true Hieroglyphicks, and Hieroglyphicks are as *Bodies* without *Souls*, that is, Pictures without *Inſcriptions*. Emblems or *Impreſſes* muſt have both *Body* and *Soul*, a *Deviſe* with its inſcription or *motto*. And ſo do teſtimonies of the third rank propoſed concerning Chriſt, conſiſt of a Type as the *body* or deviſe, and have words prophetical annext, as the *ſoul* or breath. And this kind of teſtimony or prenotion of Chriſt is of two ſorts: either Typical and Prophetical, or Prophetical and Typical. That ſome difference there was betwixt theſe two expreſſions, not only in the order or placing of the words, but in the matter alſo thus tranſplaced, was intimated before, Chapter 5. Whereſoever the Type hath precedence, or is concomitant to the inſcription annext unto it, yet ſo as both point at Chriſt to come: there the teſtimony or proof is typically prophetical. Where the words or prophecy have precedence of the Type, and both refer unto Chriſt; the proof or prenotion is Prophetically Typical. That the Ceremony of the Paſchal Lamb was inſtituted by God himſelf to prefigure or fore-picture our Saviour Chriſt, no Chriſtian denies. And one Law concerning the Paſchal Lamb was, that *not a bone thereof ſhould be broken.* Exod. 12. 46. The words of this Law were no prediction in reſpect of the firſt inſtitution of the Paſſover, but an Appendix or Concomitant; and yet a moſt remarkable Prophecy in reſpect of our Saviour Chriſt, in the manner of whoſe Death both the Type and the Law of the Type were, by Gods admirable providence, exactly fulfilled. *Then came the Souldiers,* ſaith St. *John, and brake the legs of the firſt, and of the other which was crucified with him: But when they came to* Jeſus, *and ſaw that he was dead already, they brake not his legs, but one of the Souldiers with a ſpear pierced his ſide.* That our Apoſtle Saint *John* did take both theſe events as a concludent proof, that Chriſt was the true Lamb of God fore-ſhadowed by the Paſchal, is apparent from his emphatical expreſſion of his obſervation upon it. *He that ſaw it bare record, and his record is true, and he knoweth that he ſaith true, that ye might believe. For theſe things were done, that the Scripture ſhould be fulfilled; A bone of him ſhall not be broken.* And again, Zach. 20. 10. *They ſhall look on him whom they have pierced.* John 19. 32, 37.

Thoſe words of the Prophet *Hoſea cap.* 11. 1. according to their literal ſenſe, refer to an Hiſtorical event forepaſt; *When* Iſrael *was a Child then I loved him, and I called my Son out of* Egypt. They bear no ſemblance of prophecy in reſpect of the *Iſraelites* deliverance out of *Egypt* by *Moſes*; but both this deliverance and the Prophets obſervation upon it, have a peculiar aſpect unto Chriſt, who was by Divine appointment to ſojourn a while in *Egypt*, but to be called thence. So as the ſame words which are an Hiſtorical Narration in reſpect of the Type (to wit, *Iſrael*, or the Sons of *Jacob* brought out of *Egypt* by *Moſes*;) are an expreſs Prophecy of Chriſts coming thence, with *Joſeph* and his Mother, into the Land of Promiſe. That ſpeech of the Pſalmiſt likewiſe *Pſal.* 118. 22. *The ſtone which the builders refuſed, is become the head ſtone of the Corner*; doth allude or refer unto ſome hiſtorical event then freſh in memory. They contain no Prophecy in reſpect of the event, whatſoever that were, yet are they a moſt true concludent Prophecy of Chriſts Exaltation by his Father, after his rejection by the Prieſts and Elders. So our Saviour interprets it *Matth.* 21.42. All theſe three teſtimonies mentioned, conſiſting both of word and matter of fact, are firſt Typical, then Prophetical. But oftentimes the ſame words (though not always according to the ſame ſenſe,) are Prophetical as well in reſpect of the Type as of the Antitype, and then the proof or teſtimony is prophetically typical, or meerly prophetical from their firſt date, and afterwards in proceſs of time both Typical and Prophetical. Of this rank is that Prediction made to *David*, 2 Sam. 7. 12, 13, *&c. And when thy days be fulſilled, and thou ſhalt ſleep with thy Fathers, I will ſet up thy Seed after thee, which ſhall proceed out of thy Bowels, and I will eſtabliſh his Kingdom: He ſhall build an houſe for my name, and I will eſtabliſh the Throne of his Kingdom for ever. I will be his Father, and he ſhall be my Son; if he commit iniquity, I will chaſten him with the rod of men, and with the ſtripes of the Children of men, but my mercy ſhall not depart away from him, as I took it from* Saul, *whom I put away before thee. And thy Houſe and thy Kingdom ſhall be eſtabliſhed for ever before thee: thy Throne ſhall be eſtabliſhed for ever.* Of the ſame rank and order is that repetition of this promiſe, *Pſalm* 89. from verſe 20. to the 37. Both places contain an expreſs Propheſie of Gods favour unto *David* and to his Poſterity, and both include the prerogative of *Solomon* above all Kings that had gone before him. And yet, in as much as *Solomon* in the heighth of his glory was but a ſhadow or picture (though a fair one) of the Son of God, who was to be made the Son of *David* likewiſe: the ſame words which were undoubtedly verifyed of *Solomon* in his time, were afterwards exactly fulfilled in Chriſt, who was the living perſon, or ſubſtance whom *Solomon* did fore-picture. No Chriſtian can, no Jew will deny theſe words of the Prophet *Iſaiah*, *Chap.* 22. 20, 21, 22, *&c.* to be Prophetical in the firſt place of *Eliakims* advancement, to be chief Maſter, or high Steward over the houſe of *David* in *Shebnah*'s ſtead. *And it ſhall come to paſs in that day, that I will call my Servant* Eliakim *the Son of* Hilkiah: *And I will cloath him with thy robe, and ſtrengthen him with thy girdle, and I will commit thy Government into his hand, and he ſhall be a Father to the Inhabitants of* Jeruſalem, *and to the houſe of* Judah: *And the key of the houſe of* David *will I lay upon his ſhoulders: ſo he ſhall open and none ſhall ſhut, and he ſhall ſhut and none ſhall open. And I will faſten him as a nail in a ſure place, and he ſhall be for a glorious throne to his Fathers houſe. And they ſhall hang upon him all the glory of his Fathers houſe,* &c. But in as much as *Eliakim* both by name and office did but prefigure or delineate Chriſt in his acts and office, the ſame words which were literally meant of *Eliakim*, are in a more exquiſite ſenſe fulfilled in Chriſt. But of the ſeveral ſenſes of Scriptures, and how the Scriptures are ſaid according to theſe ſeveral ſenſes to be fulfilled, ſomewhat in the two next Chapters following.

Theſe Proofs or Teſtimonies whereof we now treat, whether Typically Prophetical, or Prophetically Typical, are in number many, and of all the reſt more concludent to Readers, but ordinarily obſervant. For they contain the intire force and ſtrength of the two former proofs or teſtimonies (meerly typical, or meerly prophetical) by way of union, and it is univerſally true, *Vis unita ſemper fortior.*

3. Imagine a man of ordinary inſight in Architecture, ſhould come into ſome large and curious Palace (or City) newly built, and after a diligent ſurvey of the form and faſhion of every particular room, houſe, or ſtreet, ſhould find a model of elder date than the work it ſelf, which did bear the juſt proportion and inſcription of every room or building: this would reſolve him, that ſuch exact correſpondency could not fall out by chance, but that the City or Palace had been built by his directions, which made the model, or by ſome others which made uſe of his ſkill, albeit no handy-workman imployed

in the building, albeit none but the Architect, or general director, did perceive as much. Thus all hiſtorical events related in the New Teſtament concerning Chriſt his Birth, his Death, and Paſſion, &c. have their exact Maps or Models drawn in the Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament, beſides the expreſs prophetical inſcriptions, which inſtruct us how to refer or compare every part of the legal or hiſtorical model unto the Evangelical edifice anſwering to it. This to every obſervant Reader is a concludent proof, that one and the ſame ſpirit did both forecaſt the models, and in the fulneſs of time accompliſh the work it ſelf, to wit, the building up of *Sion* and *Jeruſalem*, though this he effected (as Maſter-Builders in like caſes do) by the hands of inferiour Workmen, not acquainted nor comprehenſive of his project or contrivances.

4. *Every houſe* (ſaith the Apoſtle Heb. 3. 4.) *is builded by ſome man, but he that built all things, is God.* This power of God by which he made all things, even the materials of all things whereon men do work, doth not farther exceed the power of other Builders, than the wiſdom of the ſame God, which is manifeſted in the edifice of the Heavenly Temple, doth ſurpaſs all ſkill or contrivance of the moſt ſkilful Architects or Projectors. For whatſoever is by them forecaſt or projected, doth never proſper, never come to any perfection, unleſs the Workmen imployed by them follow their rules or directions. But this greateſt work of God; the erection or edification of his Church, did then go beſt forward, when the Workmen or Builders imployed about it, did forſake his counſel, and followed the directions of his malitious adverſary, who ſought the confuſion both of it and them. He built up the Kingdom of *Sion* and *Jeruſalem* in Peace, without let or interruption, even whilſt the Maſter-Builders deſigned by him did lay the Foundation, or chief Corner ſtone of it, in blood. And after it was ſo laid, did accompliſh whatſoever he would have done in this great work, by the hands of ſuch Workmen, as did nothing leſs, than what he would have had them to do. Though *Judas*, one of the twelve, by Satans ſuggeſtion did betray his Lord, though the High-Prieſt and Elders became the Devils Agents to condemn him, and though *Pilate* (laſtly) turned Satans Deputy to ſentence him to Death: yet all theſe did that which the moſt wiſe, moſt righteous, and moſt merciful God had fore-determined to be done. *Theſe things* (ſaith Peter Acts 3. 18.) *which God before had ſhewed by the mouth of all his Prophets, that Chriſt ſhould ſuffer, he hath ſo fulfilled.* Yet ſaith St. Paul Acts 13. 27. *They that dwell at* Jeruſalem *and their Rulers, becauſe they knew him not, nor yet the voice of the Prophets, which are read every Sabbath day, they have fulfilled them in condemning him.* So then God is ſaid to fulfil all things which were written of Chriſt, becauſe he did order and direct all the counterplots and malitious intentions of his Enemies according to the models and inſcriptions which had been exhibited in the Old Teſtament. *Judas* his treachery againſt his Lord and Maſter, with its accurſed ſucceſs, was exactly fore-pictured by *Achitophels* Treaſon againſt *David*. The malice of the High-Prieſt and Elders was foretold and fore-pictured by the like proceeding of their Predeceſſors againſt *Jeremy*, and other of Gods Prophets, which were Chriſts fore-runners, and Types and ſhadows of his perſecutions. They then fulfilled the Scriptures in doing the ſame things that their Predeceſſors had done (but in a worſe manner and degree) albeit they had no intention or aim to work according to thoſe

models which their Predeceſſors had framed: nor to do that unto Chriſt which the Prophets had foretold ſhould be done unto him: For ſo St. *Peter*, Acts 3. 17. *Now* (Brethren) *I wote that through ignorance ye did it, as did alſo your Rulers.*

5. But here I muſt requeſt all ſuch as read theſe and the like paſſages of Scriptures, not to make any other inferences or conſtructions of the Holy Ghoſts Language or manner of ſpeech, than ſuch as they naturally import, and ſuch as are congruous to the rule of Faith. If we ſay no more than this, *God did order or direct the avarice of* Judas, *the malice of the High Prieſt, the popularity of* Herod, *and ambition of* Pilate, *for accompliſhing of that which he had fore-determined concerning Chriſt*, we ſhall retain the *form of wholſom doctrine.* In thus ſpeaking and thinking, we think and ſpeak as the Spirit teacheth us. But if any ſhall ſay or think, that God did ordain either *Judas* to be covetous, or the High Prieſts to be malitious, or *Herod* and *Pilate* to be popular and ambitious, to this end and purpoſe that they might (reſpectively) be the betrayers and murtherers of the Son of God; this is dangerous. The Orthodoxal truth, and wholſom form of expreſſing it, in this and the like point, is acutely ſet down in that diſtinction, which (for ought I find) was unanimouſly embraced by the Antients, and by all at this day that be moderate, acknowledged to be true, *Deus ordinavit lapſum Adami : non ordinavit ut Adamus laberetur.* God did diſpoſe or order *Adams* fall (for by his All-ſeeing Providence, and All-ruling Power, he turned his fall into his own and our greater good :) but he did not decree, ordain, or order that *Adam* ſhould fall, or commit that tranſgreſſion by which he fell. For ſo he ſhould have been the Author both of *Adams* firſt ſin, and of all the ſins which are neceſſarily derived to us from him. For no man (I think) will deny, that God is the ſole Author of all his own Ordinances and Decrees, or of whatſoever he hath fore-decreed, or fore-determined us for to do.

CHAP. XII.

Of the ſeveral ſenſes of Scripture, eſpecially of the literal and myſtical.

Without knowledge of Scriptures there can be no true knowledge of Chriſt, and to know the Scriptures is all one as to know the true ſenſe and meaning of them intended by the Holy Spirit. I will not here diſpute, whether every Portion of Scripture in the Old Teſtament admit more ſenſes intended by the Holy Spirit, than one; or whether in ſome ſenſe or other, every paſſage in *Moſes* Writings, in the Prophets, in the Book of Pſalms, or ſacred Hiſtories, do point either immediately, or mediately at Chriſt, or at *Him* that was to come. But that divers places, alledged by the Evangeliſt out of the Old Teſtament, to prove that *Jeſus* whom the *Jews* did crucifie, was their expected Meſſias; admit more ſenſes, I take as granted. The queſtion is, how many ſenſes either the places alledged by the Evangeliſts or Apoſtles, or other paſſages in the Old Teſtament, may *reſpectively* admit. And in this *Quære* I will not be contentious, but only crave that liberty which I willingly grant to others in all like caſes, that is, to make mine own diviſion, and to follow mine own expreſſions of every ſeveral ſenſe or branch of this diviſion, that ſo I may refer the particular explication of every Type, of every Prophecy, or other prenotion of Chriſt, which hath been fulfilled, without perplexity or confuſion, to its proper or general head. That ſenſe of Scripture, in my expreſſion, may happily be referred unto the literal, which in ſome other mens language would be accounted figurative or Allegorical. That ſenſe again (according to my diviſion) may be reduced unto the literal, myſtical, or moral, which ſome great Divines make a diſtinct ſenſe from all theſe, to wit, Anagogical. Or admitting all theſe and more ſenſes of Scriptures, I may perhaps ſometimes touch upon another ſenſe, which is not (to my apprehenſion) reducible to any of theſe.

2. The ſeveral ſenſes of Scriptures (eſpecially ſuch as more immediately point at Chriſt) cannot be better notified, or more commodiouſly reduced to their ſeveral heads, than by a review of the ſeveral ways, by which God from the beginning did intimate or manifeſt his will, his good will towards Mankind, in *him* and through *him* which was to come. And the ways, by which God did manifeſt Chriſt to come, were in the general two; either by words aſſertive, and expreſs prediction, or by way of Picture and repreſentation, or by a concurrence of both: which third way is no way oppoſite to the two former, but rather a friendly combination of them. The ſecond branch of this diviſion, to wit, prænotions of Chriſt repreſentative, may (as heretofore it hath been) be ſubdivided into repreſentations real, as by Type, Hiſtorical event, or other matter of fact; or into repreſentations meerly literal, verbal, or nominal. The firſt general branch of this diviſion, (that is, prenotions of Chriſt delivered in words expreſly aſſertive) exhibit to us that which we commonly call the literal or grammatical ſenſe. For that (as beſt Divines agree) is the literal ſenſe or meaning of the Holy Spirit, which is immediately ſignified by words aſſertive, whether Legal, Prophetical, or Hiſtorical, without any intercourſe or intervention of any Type or matter of fact. Whether the words be Logical and proper, Allegorical, or otherways figurative, ſkills not much. The variety of expreſſions by words aſſertive, if ſo the words immediately expreſs the matter foretold without intervention of Type, or matter of fact, doth not divide or diverſifie the literal ſenſe. As when God foretold that *the Wilderneſs ſhould be planted with pleaſant trees,* Iſa. 41. 19. &c. *That the Wolf ſhould dwell with the Lamb, that the Leopard ſhould lye down with the Kid, and the Calf and the young Lion, and the Fatling together.* The form of ſpeech is figurative, and (in the language of ſecular Rhetoritians) Allegorical. And ſo that other of the Vineyard, *Iſay* 5. is parabolically figurative. And yet the ſenſe of all theſe places is in the School of Divinity as truly literal, as when it is ſaid, *The Womans ſeed ſhall bruiſe the ſerpents head*; or that *in* Abrahams *ſeed all the Nations of the earth ſhould be bleſſed.* For by the Trees wherewith the Wilderneſs was to be planted, by the Wolf, and by the Lamb, by the Leopard and the Kid, *&c.* divers ſorts of men were immediately meant: and to the fulfilling of all, or any of the Prophecies, it was not required that there ſhould be a transformation either of men into Trees, Leopards, Wolfs, or Lions, *&c.* or of theſe or like Creatures into men. For how ever the ſenſe of Scripture in all theſe places be

literal; yet it is literally Allegorical. And of the literal or verbal Allegory, that Maxim is moſt true, *Senſus Allegoricus non eſt argumentativus, No firm Argument can be drawn from the Allegorical, Parabolical, or other figurative ſignification of words.* As we may not infer that the Wilderneſs was to be planted with Trees, or that the Wolf and the Lamb, the Leopard and the Kid, were to conſort as well together on dry land, as ſometimes they did in *Noahs* Ark, whilſt the deluge laſted; before theſe Propheſies could be fulfilled, according to the literal ſenſe; as this ſenſe in the language of the Holy Ghoſt, is oppoſed unto the Allegorical: For that in the Apoſtles language is ſaid to be ſpoken Allegorically, which is not immediately fore-told or ſignified by words (whether proper or figurative) but fore-ſhadowed by ſome real event, by mens perſons or their offices, or by matter of type or fact. *It is written* (ſaith our Apoſtle, *Gal.* 4. 22, 23.) *that* Abraham *had two Sons, the one by a Bond-maid, the other by a Free-woman: but he who was of the Bond-woman, was born after the fleſh: but he of the Free-woman was by promiſe. Which things are an Allegory, for theſe are the two Covenants.* The Evangelical myſteries implyed in this Allegory, and unfolded by our Apoſtle, were not immediately notified by any words or propoſition in the Hiſtory of *Sarah* and *Hagar*, and their Sons, but only fore-pictured by matter of fact, or by the things themſelves, which the words, according to the literal ſenſe, did immediately fore-ſignifie. For the word *Hagar* did in that ſtory literally ſignifie *Sarah's* hand-maid or bond-woman. But this bond-woman, and her Son, and their eſtate or condition of life did excellently repreſent the eſtate and condition of ſuch as did adhere unto the Law after the Goſpel was proclaimed. And the Goſpel with the happy eſtate of ſuch as imbrace it, was not fore-ſignified by the name *Sarah*, or by the name *Iſaac*, but by their eſtate and condition who were ſo named. Moſt of our Apoſtles Arguments throughout the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews* are drawn, not from the literal, but from the Allegorical ſenſe. Yet God forbid that we ſhould ſay or think, that his Arguments did not conclude. I ſhould rather ſay (if it be lawful to compare Sacred Teſtimonies or Authorities, one with another) that Arguments drawn from the Allegorical ſenſe of Scriptures are moſt admirably, if not moſt firmly, concludent. For they are Arguments of proportion, and pre-ſuppoſe four terms at the leaſt, either *expreſſed* or *implyed.* And the Allegorical ſenſe of Scriptures always includes the myſtical, though the myſtical doth not always include the Allegorical. For whereſoever any Evangelical myſtery was fore-ſhadowed by any type, by any Hiſtorical event or matter of fact, there is a latent myſtical ſenſe, though not expreſſed by words or letters.

3. But it oftentimes ſo falls out, and (as I take it) always in teſtimonies either typically prophetical, or prophetically typical, that there is an inſeparable concurrence, or combination of the literal and myſtical ſenſe, though not always after the ſame manner. Sometimes the literal ſenſe, according to the ſame propriety or ſignification of words, doth fit the Antitype or body, as well as the type or ſhadow. As whether we apply that ſpeech, *Exod.* 12. 46. *Ye ſhall not break a bone thereof*, unto the Paſchal Lamb, or to Chriſt, who was myſtically fore-ſhadowed by it: the literal ſenſe is the very ſame, there is no variety in the ſignification of the words. Chriſt had as true bones as the Paſchal Lamb, and the preſervation of his bones was

literally fore-propheſied in the Law concerning the Paſchal Lamb, but withal myſtically fore-pictured by the obſervance or practice of that Law. Sometimes again the literal ſenſe doth better befit the Antitype, than the type. As thoſe words fore-mentioned, 2 *Sam.* 7.14. *I will be his Father, and he ſhall be my Son:* are more proper in reſpect of Chriſt who was the Antitype, than of *Solomon* who was the type or ſhadow, of his Son-ſhip. So that our Saviours Incarnation or Nativity is collaterally fore-propheſied with the Nativity of *Solomon*; and his royal office and favour with God, myſtically fore-ſignified by *Solomons* perſon and office.

4. But many times the expreſſions of the Holy Ghoſt (as well in teſtimonies *typically prophetical*, as *prophetically typical*) are like inſcriptions or mottoes in Impreſſes or Emblems. Now theſe Inſcriptions beſides the plain literal native ſenſe of the words, have a further Symbolical importance, or moral ſignification. No man that ſees that device of bull-ruſhes couched in a ſwelling ſtream, with this Inſcription, *flectimur, non frangimur undis*: but will acknowledge, the plain literal ſenſe to point immediately at them. Yet beſides this literal ſenſe, they have this Symbolical importance (partly implyed in the words themſelves, and partly repreſented by the *body* of the device) that he which gave this device, had learned that leſſon of the Poet, *Dum furor in curſu eſt, currenti cede furori*, that he was reſolved to ſtoop a while unto the iniquity of the times, not without hope to bear up his head again, and to over-top his Adverſaries, after the preſent tyranny was over-paſt, as bull-ruſhes do the waters wherein they grow, when the flood (unto whoſe violence for a while they yielded) hath ſpent its ſtrength. That fore-cited ſaying of the *Pſalmiſt*, Pſal. 118. 22. [*The ſtone which the builders refuſed, is become the head ſtone in the corner. This is the Lords doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes:*] according to the literal ſenſe, is terminated to an Hiſtorical event, then preſent or freſh in memory. And, if we may relye upon the Authority of the Author of the Scholaſtick Hiſtory, the Hiſtorical event or matter of fact to which theſe words literally and immediately refer, was a remarkable ſtone for which the builders of the Temple could find no convenient place in the intermediate ſtructure, which yet unexpectedly proved the fitteſt corner-ſtone or *finiſher* that they could have deſired. This, ſaith he, was even then acknowledged not to fall out by meer chance, or without ſome further portending meaning or ſignification. The exceptions taken againſt this tradition avouched by this Author *Petrus Comeſtor*, are (to men acquainted with the manner of Sacred expreſſions of things to come) ſo weak that they add ſtrength unto it. But whatſoever the Hiſtorical event were, at which theſe words in the literal ſenſe immediately point, we Chriſtians know, that in the Symbolical or Spiritual ſenſe they refer to Chriſt. His exaltation unto Majeſty and Glory, after the chief Rulers of the Temple had caſt him aſide and rejected him, as not fit to be entertained amongſt Gods people, was myſtically fore-ſhadowed by that matter of fact or hiſtorical event, whereof the *Pſalmiſt* ſpeaks (whatſoever that were:) yet not expreſly fore-told according to the direct literal ſenſe of his words, but only ſignified according to the Symbolical importance. After the ſame manner the fore-cited words of

Ad literam traditur fuiſſe paratus lapis ad templi ædificium, nec tamen congruè in eo poni potuit, donec conſummato opere in angulo ſurſum poſitus eſt ita congruè, quod mirarentur omnes, nec præter ſignificationem factum intelligerent: hic eſt Chriſtus qui fundamentum eſt, ita quod ſtructuræ ſupereminet. Quod cum audiſſent Sacerdotes & Phariſæi, voluerunt eum tenere, ſed timuerunt turbas. *Petrus Commeſtor in Hiſtor. Evang. cap.* 127.

of the Prophet Iſa. 22. 22. [*The key of the Houſe of* David *will I lay upon his ſhoulder: ſo he ſhall open and none ſhall ſhut, and he ſhall ſhut and none ſhall open:*] do in their literal and native ſenſe immediately point at *Eliakim*, of whoſe office in the Houſe of *David*, a material and viſible key was the enſign or pledge, as the like is of ſome great Offices in Modern Princes Courts. But according to the emblematical or ſymbolical importance, both *key* and *office*, both inſcription and matter of fact, refer unto the ſpiritual inviſible power of the Son of *David*, *Who hath the keys of Hell and of Death Rev.* 1. The keys likewiſe of the Kingdom of Heaven; and where he openeth, no Power in Heaven or Earth can ſhut, nor open where he is pleaſed to ſhut.

That which ſome call the moral ſenſe of Scriptures, is always reducible to this general branch laſt mentioned, to wit, to the emblematical or ſymbolical importance of the words expreſſed, as they concur with matter of fact or real repreſentation. Only there may be a moral ſenſe, where there is no Prophecy, no repreſentation truly myſtical. As when it is written, *Thou ſhalt not muzzle the mouth of the Oxe, which treadeth out the Corn:* this law was to be obſerved according to the plain literal ſenſe. And yet both the law it ſelf, and its obſervance from the firſt date of the letter, had that moral, which the Apoſtle makes, *That ſuch as ſerve at the Altar, ſhould live by the Altar.*

5. To this branch likewiſe belong all the ſignifications of legal Ceremonies, which do not immediately point at Chriſt, in whom they were exactly fulfilled, but at Moral Duties to be performed as well by us Chriſtians, as by the ancient *Jews*. *Chriſt our Paſsover* (ſaith the Apoſtle 1 *Cor.* 5, 7, 8.) *is ſacrificed for us. Therefore let us keep the Feaſt; not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedneſs: but with the unleavened bread of ſincerity and truth.* This was the true moral of that legal obſervance of the Feaſt of unleavened Bread, which was to be kept according to the ſtrict letter of the law, whilſt the law of Ceremonies was in force. Concerning this ſymbolical or moral ſenſe (eſpecially when it is not prophetical,) *Maldonats* adviſe is very good; He that will ſearch after ſuch ſenſes, muſt hold cloſe to the letter: *Propiùs mihi Rupertus videtur in quærendo morali ſenſu ad literalem acceſſiſſe; quod ſemper faciendum eſſe ei, qui ridiculus eſſe nolit, ſæpe monuimus.* And of Allegorical, myſtical or ſymbolical ſenſes, which are prophetical or prefigurative, none are current or concludent, but ſuch as hold exact proportion with the ſenſe Hiſtorical.

6. Some good Divines there be, which would have an anagogical ſenſe diſtinct from all theſe mentioned. The Allegorical, Spiritual, or Myſtical ſenſe is by them limited to matters already accompliſhed in the Goſpel; whereas the Anagogical reacheth to matters of the World to come. But this difference in the ſubject or time unto which whether words or matters ſacred refer, makes no formal difference in the ſenſe or manner of the prediction or prefiguration. Whatſoever is in Scripture fore-ſignified or intimated concerning the ſtate and condition of the life to come, is either literally foretold by expreſs words, or myſtically fore-ſhadowed by matter of fact, or notified by ſome concurrence of prediction and repreſentation; and ſo may be reduced to one or other of the ſenſes mentioned, either to the meer literal, or to the meerly myſtical, or to the literally or ſymbolically myſtical or ſpiritual ſenſe.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the literal ſenſe of Scripture not aſſertive, but meerly characterical.

BUT Divine Myſteries (as was intimated before) are ſometimes neither notified by expreſs prediction or words aſſertive; nor by matter of fact, Hiſtorical Event, or Type, nor by the perſons actions, or Offices of Men; but repreſented only by words or names, by notes or letters, or other ſecret Characters of ſpeech. Now this manner of repreſenting Myſteries Divine produceth a ſenſe of Scripture diſtinct from all the former, which can hardly be comprehended under one certain denomination, unleſs it be under this negative, *the litteral ſenſe not aſſertive.* Or if the Reader deſire a poſitive expreſſion of it, he may term it, *the characterical ſenſe.* To begin with the firſt words of Scripture, *In the beginning* (ſaith *Moſes*) *Bara Elohim, The Lord created, &c.* Although theſe words be aſſertive; yet the myſtery of the Trinity is not avouched in Logical Aſſertion or Propoſition, but only repreſented or inſinuated in the peculiar form or character of the Grammatical Conſtruction, if happily it be here either repreſented or intimated at all. For ſome both judicious Divines, and great Hebricians there be, as well in the Romiſh as in the Reformed Churches, who will acknowledge no intimation of any myſtery in this Conjunction of a Noun Plural with a Verb Singular; but tell us this form of ſpeech is uſual in the Hebrew Dialect, as the like is in ſome Caſes in the Greek. For the Græcians (as every Grammar Scholar knows) join Nouns of the Neuter Gender Plural with Verbs of the Singular Number, as Ζῶα τρέχει. Theſe mens authority would ſway much with me, if I did not find it counterpoiſed, by obſervation of *Wolphgangus Capito* an exquiſite Hebrician and diſcreet ſearcher of the myſtical ſenſe of Scriptures. Now, if his obſervation do not fail him, the Conſtruction of Verbs ſingular with Nouns plural is never uſed amongſt Hebrew Writers, unleſs the Noun do want the ſingular Number. In this caſe alone they do not extend the ſignification of the Verb into ſuch plurality, as is in the Noun, contrary to the uſe of the Latines, who, to make the adjective and ſubſtantive agree in number, ſtretch *Unum*, one, or unity it ſelf, into a plural form, as *unæ literæ, una mœnia*; which would be a harſh kind of ſpeech in our Engliſh or Modern Tongues. But the Plural *Elohim* (as * *Capito* well obſerves) doth not want its proper ſingular *Eloah.* Therefore unleſs the Holy Ghoſt had intended the notification of ſome myſtery in the form or character of his ſpeech, *Moſes* would rather have ſaid *Barah Eloah*, than *Barah Elohim.*

2. I am the more inclined to this opinion, becauſe many of the ancient and moſt Orthodoxal Writers, obſerve a more diſtinct expreſſion of the Bleſſed *Trinity* throughout divers places of the firſt Chapter of *Geneſis*, from the repetition of the name of God or *Elohim* in the more perfect works of ſeveral days; as in the work of the fourth day ver. 14. *And God ſaid, Let there be lights in the firmament of the Heavens.* This is the voice of God the Father giving out his *fiat*, and it is repeated again ver. 16. *And God made two great lights.* This refers to God the Son by whom all things were made, and

* See Capito *in his* Hexameron *and* Paulus Fugius *in his ſeveral Comments upon this place.*

and by whom theſe lights were ſet in the firmament *ver.* 17. It is laſtly added ver. 18. *And God ſaw that it was good:* The note or character of the Holy Ghoſt approving what was made by the Son from the authority of the Father. So *Moſes* again deſcribes the works of the firſt day. *And God ſaid, let the waters bring forth abundantly* ver. 20. And in the 21. he repeats again *And God created great Whales,* &c. And again, *God ſaw that it was good.* When it is ſaid *ver.* 22. of the ſame days work, *And God bleſſed them ſaying, Be fruitful and multiply:* this may refer unto the three perſons jointly. So in the works of the ſixth day ver. 24. *God ſaid, Let the earth bring forth the living Creature after his kind, &c.* And it is repeated again ver. 25. *And God made the beaſt of the earth after his kind, &c. And God ſaw that it was good.* But when *Moſes* comes to the accompliſhment of the ſixth days work *ve.* 16. he alters the form or character of ſpeech, and makes the Verb, as well as the Noun, plural. And God ſaid, *Let us make man in our Image after our likeneſs.* This order obſerved by the ancients in the firſt Creation of all things is admirably exemplified in the manner of Mans Redemption, wrought by the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt jointly, yet not without diſtinction of order in their joint working, in their undivided work. But of this, by the aſſiſtance of this Bleſſed *Trinity,* hereafter.

3. But however the Ancients, or ſuch as follow them may fail in this or the like particular ſearch of myſteries, from no better hint than the repetition of the ſame words or matter: Yet their endeavour in the general to find out deep hidden myſteries from theſe or the like ſuperficial or characterical prenotions, is warranted by the word of God according to its literal or aſſertive ſenſe. For ſo we are taught by *Moſes,* that ſuch repetition of the ſame things as in ſecular Sciences would incur ſuſpicion of tautology or ſuperfluity of words, may be the undoubted character of ſome matter more than ordinary, and more obſervable than if it had been repreſented but once, or after one manner only. A ſecular Southſayer or profeſſed Interpreter of nocturnal repreſentations, would have ſought after more interpretations than one of *Pharaohs* two Dreams; eſpecially ſeeing the matter repreſented to him in the firſt viſion was ſo unlike to the matter repreſented in the ſecond. Yet *Joſeph* by the guidance of Gods Spirit diſcovers theſe two dreams, though diſtinct in time and manner of repreſentation, to be for ſubſtance but one. *And* Joſeph *ſaid unto* Pharaoh, *the dream of* Pharaoh *is one: God hath ſhewed* Pharaoh *what he is about to do. The ſeven good Kine are ſeven years: and the ſeven good ears are ſeven years: the dream is one. And the ſeven thin and ill favoured Kine that came up after them, are ſeven years; and ſeven empty ears blaſted with the Eaſt-Wind, ſhall be ſeven years of famine,* Gen. 41.25, 26, &c. *And for that the dream was doubled unto* Pharaoh *twice, it is becauſe the thing is eſtabliſhed by God: and God will ſhortly bring it to paſs.*

4. When we ſay, an honeſt mans word ſhould be as good as his Oath, we ſuppoſe that this moral integrity or perfection in man, hath a far more exquiſite pattern in God. He is no leſs immutable in his promiſes than in his Oath. It is impoſſible for him to change his mind, or to deceive men in the one as in the other: To what end then doth he ſo often interpoſe his Oath, ſometimes when he denounceth judgment, otherwhiles for the conſolation of men, and confirmation of their belief in his gracious promiſes? Sure it is one thing to ſay, Gods purpoſe, will, or promiſe is immutable; another, that the

thing purpoſed, will'd, or promiſed by him, is immutable. The abſolute immutability of his purpoſe, or promiſe, can yield us no full aſſurance, that the things promiſed or purpoſed by him are unchangeable, or that ſentence denounced (though in terms peremptory) is irreverſible. But unto whatſoever promiſe or ſentence we find his oath annexed, it is an undoubted character, a note moſt infallible, that the thing promiſed is unalterable, that the ſentence ſo denounced is irreverſible. This is one of the moſt Catholick rules for the right interpreting of many, and for the reconcilation of divers Scriptures, which otherwiſe ſeem moſt oppoſite. But the proof and uſe of this rule will come under a more full examination in the Treatiſe of our Saviours Conſecration to his everlaſting Prieſthood; and in ſome other diſcuſſions, in what ſenſe God is ſaid to repent; in what caſes not to repent. For both aſſertions are frequent in Scriptures.

Vide Authorem Incognitum dictum (id eſt Aguanum ut Lorinus ſæpius monet) & patres quos in hunc finem citat, in *Pſalmum* CX.

5. Sometimes Divine Myſteries are repreſented not in ſome one word or name, but in the very character or frame of ſome one letter, or in the addition of a letter or point. There is no queſtion amongſt us Chriſtians, but that he who called unto *Moſes* (*Levit.* 1. 1.) from the mercy ſeat (as we gather from *Numb.* 7.) was the Son of God, the eternal Word, who ſince hath taken our Nature upon him, and calleth unto us with a voice and mouth truly humane, though the voice and mouth of God. But at that time he called to *Moſes* not in a loud and thundring voice (like that in Mount *Sinai*) but with a ſoft and gentle voice. And this gentleneſs of the voice (as the Hebrew Doctors obſerve) and ſome good Chriſtian Hebricians approve their obſervation) with the myſtery fore-ſhadowed by it, is charactered unto us by the extraordinary ſmallneſs of one letter in the original word.

ויקרא Vide Ainſworth in *Levit.* 1. 1.

6. The like myſtery is repreſented unto us after the ſame manner, *Iſay* 9. 7, &c. The Prophet diſplaying the titles of the Meſſias and his Kingdom (contrary to the rules of ordinary Orthography) *mutat quadrata rotundis*, begins the Hebrew word rendred by our Engliſh *of the increaſe*, *with Mem rotundum*, with a round letter inſtead of a ſquare. And this unuſual character, the *Jews* themſelves acknowledge to be a note of ſome myſtery (as * one of them being converted to Chriſtianity, obſerves againſt his brethren, which love darkneſs more than light.) The myſtery notified in this particular (as this Author tells us) is by their own rules, in caſes wherein they are no parties engaged, the ſame with that, which is immediately after expreſſed in words aſſertive and plain. *That of his Government and Peace there ſhall be no end, upon the Throne of* David, *and upon his Kingdom to order it, and to eſtabliſh it with Judgment and with Juſtice, from henceforth even for ever: the zeal of the Lord of Hoſts will perform this.* I refer the obſervation of the like characterical repreſentations, unto the diligent Readers of the Old Teſtament in the Original tongue, or of ancient Hebrew Commentators, whoſe [a] Teſtimonies in many caſes, where they are no parties, are no way to be contemned. And amongſt other branches of that rule for interpreting Scriptures, which was conſtantly received amongſt the ancient *Jews* (as *Peter Martyr* and *Bucer* with

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* *Johannes Baptiſta* in Confutatione Hebraicæ Sectæ. prima pars de primo Meſſiæ adventu, *fol.* 12. dictioni primæ *Pemathe* litera, quæ mem rotunda apud vos nuncupatur, contra regulam grammaticalem veſtram ibi imponitur, quod quidem myſterium æternitati imperii, veſtri recte attribuunt, per verba Prophetæ immediate ſequentia, [ut confirmet illud] & corroboret in judicio & juſtitia à modo uſque in ſempiternum; quamvis ipſi Prophetam de *Ezechia* loqui dicant, quorum falſitas ex eo patet, quod hæc perpetuitas in *Ezechiæ* imperio viſa non eſt. Bene autem in Chriſto Jeſu, ut Scripturæ omnes teſtantur, & experientia docet, verificatum videmus.

[a] Porro placet, chriſtiane lector te hic admonere, hanc vocem תולדות ubique in bibleis hebraicis defectivè, hoc eſt ſine vau altero ſcribi, exceptis duobus locis [אלה תולדות השמים]

others, ſomewhere obſerve) this repreſentation of Divine Myſteries by letters, or characters unuſual, might (for ought I know) be one.

Et eo qui extat in *libello* Ruth cap. ultimo, ואלה תולדות פרצ id eſt, Et iſtæ generationes peretz, *&c.* In quibus tantum duobus locis תולדות uti vides, integre ſcribitur, alias ſemper ſine vau, cum puncto holem loco vau poſito, hoc modò תלדות vel תולדת. Cauſam noſtri hanc aſſignant, omnes generationes imperfectas eſſe, præter generationem cœli & terræ à Deo productam & generationem Meſſiæ, qui juxta carnem è familia peretz, unde & Rex *David* prodiit, natus eſt. Qui Deus, & homo eſt, & ab incorrupta virgine, operatione ſpiritus ſancti, abſque omni peccatorum labe, in hunc modum editus. Nihil tale enim edit caro, & ſanguis. Et veteres etiam doctiores Hebræi perhibent תולדות hic integre ſcribi, propter Meſſiæ ex familia peretz oriundi, nativitatem, quod ea futura eſſet abſq; omni defectu, ut nulla alia. *Paulus Fagius in Gen.* 2. 4.

7. As for the repreſentation of like myſteries by proper names of men eſpecially, who by their place or office, were types or forerunners of Chriſt, that (I preſume) no ſober Chriſtian will except againſt, or call in queſtion. And this repreſentation or prenotification of future myſteries, was exhibited, either in the firſt impoſition of names, or in the change of names, or in the ſeveral uſe of divers names, when the ſame party retained more names than one. There was ſcarce a Son of *Jacob*, whoſe name did not imply a kind of Propheſie, *Rachel* did truly Propheſie of the ſtate and condition of the *Benjamites*, when ſhe called the Father of that Tribe at his Birth *Benoni*, the Son of her ſorrow. And *Jacob* did as truly Propheſie when he changed his name into *Benjamin*, the Son of his right hand. *Nun* the *Ephramite* did call his Son *Hoſeah*, by Divine inſtinct or direction. And *Moſes* did truly Propheſie, when he changed his name into *Jehoſhua*. With what intention *Iſaac* or *Rebecca* did call their younger Son *Jacob*, I know not; or whether they had any other motive (known to themſelves) to give him this name, beſides, that which the manner of his birth did miniſter, for he caught hold of his brothers heel in the Birth. But this name *Jadgnakah*, *hand in heel*, made afterwards by cloſe compoſition (as it ſeems) *Jagnakah*, did (as the attempt ſignified by it in the birth) portend, that he ſhould ſupplant his elder brother, and get the birth-right from him.

8. After this name given him by his Parents, he was in his full age named *Iſrael* by God himſelf, by way of addition only, without any change or determination of his former name, or the Omen of it. But it is not without obſervation why he is ſometimes called *Jacob*, ſometimes *Iſrael*, in the ſame continued Hiſtorical Narration, the name *Jacob* characterizing his preſent infirmity; the name *Iſrael* notifying his recovering or gathering of ſtrength. But one of the moſt admirable pre-repreſentations *literal not aſſertive*, of myſteries plainly afterward avouched and fulfilled, which I have either obſerved, or found obſerved by others, is in the *Benedictus*, Luke 1. 68, *&c.* *Bleſſed be the Lord God of* Iſrael, *for he hath viſited and redeemed his people; and hath raiſed up an horn of Salvation for us in the houſe of his Servant* David, *&c. To perform the mercy promiſed to our Forefathers, and to remember his Holy Covenant, the oath which he ſware to our Father* Abraham, *that he would grant unto us, that we being delivered out of the hands of our Enemies, might ſerve him without fear, in holineſs and righteouſneſs before him all the days of our life.* The ſum of that which God had ſpoken by the mouth of his Holy Prophets, which had been ſince the world began, was now re-avouched by *Zacharias* (being filled with the Holy Ghoſt) in a literal aſſertive ſenſe, plain and eaſie, even to the capacity of the natural man. And yet the ſum of all, which *Zacharias* by the Spirit of Propheſie did

now utter, was clearly repreſented (to men of ſpiritual underſtanding in the Scriptures, or experienced in their ſpiritual ſenſe) in the very names of *John Baptiſt* and of his Parents. For *Zacharias* (the *Baptiſts* Father) is by interpretation *the remembrance of God. Elizabeth* (his Mother) as much as *the oath of God.* And the name *John*, imports the *free grace of God.* And all theſe put together, ſound as much, as that God did now remember his people with that Grace, which he had ſworn to beſtow upon them in his Covenant with *Abraham*, that is, with grace of deliverance from their enemies (and their own ſins were their greateſt enemies) with Grace enabling them to ſerve him in Holineſs and Righteouſneſs all the days of their life. Of more particulars in this kind, as they ſhall fall within the compaſs of Propheſies, or Prefigurations concerning Chriſt, hereafter.

CHAP. XIV.

That the Scripture is ſaid to be fulfilled according to all the former ſenſes: that one and the ſame Scripture may be oftner than once fulfilled according to each ſeveral ſenſe.

THE fulfilling of any thing written, ſuppoſeth a fore-telling or pre-ſignification of the ſame. And becauſe matters related by the Evangeliſts, and other Sacred Writers of the New Teſtament, were of courſe and of purpoſe either fore-told or pre-figured in the Old Teſtament, hence it is, that this phraſe of fulfilling that which was written, is in a manner peculiar to theſe Sacred Writers, not in uſe amongſt ſecular Hiſtorians. Yet the phraſe is not therefore barbarous, becauſe not uſed by politer Writers in the ſame ſubject, that is in Hiſtorical Narrations: for it is uſed by *Tully* and other moſt elegant Writers in the ſame ſenſe which Sacred Writers uſe it: As becauſe every man (as was intimated before) may fore-tell thoſe things which were by himſelf projected or promiſed, they are likewiſe ſaid, *implere promiſſa*, to fulfil their own Promiſes, or to fulfil the Omen, or ſignification of their own names: ſo an elegant Poet ſaith, *Maxime, qui tanti menſuram nominis imples.* Now ſeeing this phraſe [*This was done that the Scripture might be fulfilled*] is ſo frequent in the New Teſtament, *Maldonat* did very well, and like himſelf, in unfolding the ſeveral ways (as he conceived them) according to which the Scripture is ſaid to be fulfilled, almoſt in the very beginning of his Learned Commentaries upon the Four Evangeliſts. Yet ſome queſtion there may be, whether he did all this, which was ſo well and

Dicitur autem Prophetia, quantum equidem obſervare potui, quatuor modis impleri. Primum, quum id ipſum fit, de quo propriè, & literali, ut dicitur, ſenſu intelligebatur, ſicut cap 1. 22. Matthæus dixit impletam in Maria Iſaiæ Prophetiam fuiſſe; Ecce virgo concipiet, & pariet filium. Secundo, cum fit non id de quo propriè intelligebatur Prophetia, ſed id quod per illud ſignificabatur. ut 2 *Reg.* 7. 14. Ego ero illi in patrem, & ille erit mih[illegible] in filium, quod propriè de Solomone dictum eſſe perſpicuum eſt. Divus tamen Paulus de Chriſto, cujus Solomon figura erat interpretatur, *Hebræ* 1. 6 quaſi in eo impletum eſſet, & quod *Exod.* 12. 46. dictum eſt: Os non comminuetis ex eo, certum eſt intelligi de agno, tamen *Joan cap.* 19. 36. in Chriſto, qui per agnum ſignificabatur, impletum dicit. Tertio, cum nec id ſit de quo propriè intelligitur Prophetia, nec id quod per illud ſignificatur, ſed quod illi ſimile eſt, & omnino ejuſmodi, ut Prophetia non minus apte de eo, quam de quo dicta eſt, dici potuiſſe videatur, nam Paulus hic labiis me honorat, de Judæis qui tempore Iſai: erant, Deus dixerat, *Iſa.* 29. 13. Chriſtus autem in eis, qui ſuo erant tempore, impletum ſignificat, *Mat.* 15. 7, 8. Simile eſt exemplum, *Mat.* 13. 14. & *Act.* 28. 26. Quartò, cum id ipſum, quod per Prophetiam, aut Scripturam dictum erat, quamvis jam factum fuerit, tamen magis ac magis fit. Tunc enim Scriptura impleri dicitur, id eſt, quod per eam dictum erat, cumulatiſſime fieri. Obſervamus enim in Scripturis ſæpe fieri, dici, non ſolum quod fieri incipit, ſed quod magis, ac magis fit, ſicut *Joan.* 2. 11. dicuntur diſcipuli Chriſti, viſo miraculo aquæ, in vinum converſæ, crediđiſſe, quia magis ac magis crediderunt nam jam certe ante crediderunt. *Maldonat. in ver.* 15. *Mat.* 2.

wiſely

Tome II.

wiſely attempted by him, ſo well and ſo judiciouſly as might in reaſon have been expected from him.

2. The Scripture (ſaith he) ſo far (as I could hitherto obſerve) is ſaid to be fulfilled four manner of ways. Firſt when that very thing is done or comes to paſs, which was meant by the Prophet, or other Sacred Writers in the literal and proper ſenſe: As when Saint *Matthew* (to uſe his inſtance) ſaith *Chap.* 1. 22. That which was ſpoken by the Prophet, (*Behold a Virgin ſhall conceive and bear a Son, and ſhall call his name* Emmanuel) was fulfilled in the Bleſſed Virgin. The rule is true and without exception, but the illuſtration of it is not ſo fit, as *Maldonat* ſuppoſed. For that ſaying of the Prophet *Iſaiah* was fulfilled more ways than one, perhaps according to all the four ſeveral ways, which he conceived, in the conception, birth, and name of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. *Secondly, The Scripture is ſaid to be fulfilled, when that comes to paſs which was fore-ſhadowed by the proper and immediate ſubject of the Prophets ſpeech.* As that ſaying, *Exod.* 12. 46. *Ye ſhall not break a bone of it, was properly and immediately meant of the Paſchal Lamb, yet fulfilled in our Saviour Chriſt, of whom the Paſchal Lamb was the type or ſhadow.* Unto this ſecond rule or branch he likewiſe refers that Propheſie, 2 *Sam.* 7. 14. *I will be to him a Father, and he ſhall be to me a Son.* This was fulfilled in Chriſt, as the Apoſtle teacheth, *Heb.* 1. 5. though properly meant of *Solomon,* as *Maldonat* takes it for granted; although ſome judicious Commentators of the Roman Church in his time do queſtion, or rather peremptorily (yet too boldly) deny it. However, this ſecond rule of *Maldonat* is good, and acknowledged by all, only his expreſſion of the two inſtances needs ſome correction: for the firſt place alledged by him was as literally, and as properly meant of Chriſt, as of the Paſchal Lamb; and the ſecond more properly meant of Chriſt than of *Solomon,* though literally and properly meant of *Solomon,* and fulfilled in him. The truth is, that both places were two ways fulfilled both in the literal, and myſtical ſenſe, and the ſecond twice fulfilled, once in the literal, and again both in the literal and myſtical ſenſe.

3. *Thirdly,* (ſaith the ſame Author) *The Scripture is ſaid to be fulfilled, when neither that which was literally and properly pointed at by the Prophet, nor that which was fore-ſhadowed by it comes to paſs, but ſome other thing which is ſo like unto it, that the ſame ſpeech may as aptly, and as handſomly be applyed unto it, as unto that which was properly and literally meant.* For illuſtration of this third rule, he alledgeth that of the Prophet, *Iſaiah, Chap.* 29. 13, 14. *For as much as this people draw near unto me with their mouth, and with their lips do honour me; but have removed their heart far from me, and their fear toward me is taught by the precept of men. Therefore, behold I will proceed to do a marvellous work amongſt this people, even a marvellous work and a wonder. For the wiſdom of their wiſe men ſhall periſh, and the underſtanding of their prudent men ſhall be hid.* This (ſaith *Maldonat*) was properly meant of the *Jews* which lived in *Iſaiahs* time; and yet our Saviour, *Mat.* 15. 7, 8. gives us to underſtand that this was fulfilled of the *Jews,* which converſed and diſputed with him. *Ye Hypocrites, well did* Iſaiah *Propheſie of you, ſaying: This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips; but their heart is far from me.* Unto this third rule or obſervation, *Maldonat* would draw that other ſaying of the Prophet *Iſaiah,*

chap. 6. 10. *Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and ſhut their eyes, leſt they ſee with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and underſtand with their heart, and convert and be healed.* Yet this Prophecy, as our Saviour expreſly tells us *Mat.* 13, 14. was fulfilled in the *Jews* to whom he ſpake *Ore tenùs*, in Parables. And ſo doth St. *Paul* Acts 28. 26. where he expounds the Orthodoxal meaning both of our Saviours and the Prophets words. The truth of this third rule will come in ſome queſtion in the next Chapter, but admitting it for the preſent to be Orthodoxal and true, yet the inſtances or illuſtrations are impertinent. For all the paſſages alledged by him were more literally and more properly meant of the incredulous *Jews* which converſed with our Saviour than of thoſe *Jews* which were the Prophet *Iſaiahs* coëvals; as the underſtanding Reader will eaſily collect from the 12. of *John* 41. being compared with the forecited 6. of *Iſaiah*.

The fourth way by which (in *Maldonats* obſervation) *the ſcripture is ſaid to be fulfilled, is, when that which was foretold or prefigured though already done in part, or begun to be done, is afterwards more conſtantly and more fully done.* The obſervation or rule is unqueſtionably true, but it is not a rule or branch diſtinct from the two firſt, but rather a tranſcendent to all the ways according to which the Scriptures may be rightly ſaid to be fulfilled.

4. And theſe ways can be neither more nor fewer, than are the ways by which God did either foretel or prefigure things to come, and to be accompliſhed in Chriſt. Some predictions were meerly Prophetical, ſome prefigurations were meerly Typical, other meerly literal or characterical. And unto theſe and their commixtures all the Teſtimonies or Prenotions concerning Evangelical myſteries have been reduced. Now according to all theſe ways the Scripture is ſaid to be fulfilled. Where the Teſtimony is meerly Prophetical, that is ſuch as is literally applyable to Chriſt alone, the Scripture is ſaid to be fulfilled only in the literal ſenſe. When the teſtimony or prenotion is only Typical, as when the repreſentation is made by matter of fact, or hiſtorical event, in this caſe the Scripture is fulfilled only according to the myſtical ſenſe; and after this manner moſt of the legal Ceremonies are ſaid to be fulfilled in Chriſt. The Hiſtory of the Brazen Serpent was myſtically fulfilled in his Death upon the Croſs: the ſtory of *Jonas* his Impriſonment in the Whales belly was thus fulfilled in his Burial, and three days abode in his Grave: the Ceremony or Rite of offering the firſt fruits was thus fulfilled in his Reſurrection. Where the teſtimony and prenotion is both Typical and Prophetical, as is that of the Paſchal Lamb, and of the ſtone which the Builders refuſed, there the Scripture is fulfilled both according to the literal and the myſtical ſenſe, whether the words as they are referred to Chriſt be logical and proper, or whether they be allegorical or ſymbolical; yet can we not ſay that theſe Scriptures were fulfilled as well in the Type as in Chriſt, but in Chriſt alone. For neither of theſe paſſages [*Ye ſhall not break a bone of it*] [*the ſtone which the builders refuſed*] were prophetical in reſpect of the Type, but only in reſpect of the myſteries typified. And no Scripture is ſaid to be fulfilled, otherwiſe, than as it is either a prediction or prefiguration of ſomewhat to come. But where the teſtimony is prophetically typical, there one and the ſame Scripture is twice fulfilled both in the Type and in the Antitype, as that 2. *Sam.* 7. [*I will be to him*

him a Father, and he ſhall be to me a Son] was fulfilled in *Salomon* in the literal ſenſe, but in Chriſt both according to the literal and myſtical ſenſe. So was that fore-cited paſſage *Iſay* 22. fulfilled in *Eliakim* according to the literal ſenſe, but afterwards fulfilled in Chriſt both according to the literally ſymbolical and the myſtical ſenſe. And thus the names given to *John Baptiſt* himſelf, and to his Parents had their accompliſhment when Chriſt was exhibited in our fleſh: and yet theſe, and many other of the ſame rank, were more exactly fulfilled after his Reſurrection.

Maldonat his fourth rule (as was before intimated) will hold in all theſe ſeveral ways, according to which the Scripture is ſaid to be fulfilled, whether according to the meer literal and aſſertive ſenſe, or according to the meer myſtical ſenſe, or according to both with their ſeveral branches, or according to the characterical ſenſe, or literal repreſentative only not aſſertive. According to every one of theſe ſenſes may one and the ſame Scripture be oftner fulfilled than once or twice, and in a manner more remarkable at one time than at another, though always truly fulfilled and according to the intention of the Holy Ghoſt.

5. To begin with the literal aſſertive. No man I think will queſtion whether that of the Prophet *Iſaiah* [*with the breath of his lips ſhall he ſlay the wicked*] were literally meant of any beſides our Saviour Chriſt. And there is no queſtion but theſe words were fulfilled within the compaſs of that age which brought him forth, and ſo then fulfilled in ſundry wicked ones: yet do not theſe words refer to them, or thoſe times alone, but are to be fulfilled in a more remarkable manner at the day of Judgment, or perhaps before it. For from this place of the Prophet *Iſaiah*, our Apoſtle had that Revelation. 2 *Theſſ.* 2. 8. *Then ſhall that Wicked be revealed, whom the Lord ſhall conſume with the ſpirit of his mouth, and ſhall deſtroy with the brightneſs of his coming.* Many like Prophecies there be concerning the glory of Chriſts Church and the happy eſtate of his elect, which are even in this life literally fulfilled or verified by way of pledge or earneſt, but ſhall not be exactly fulfilled, ſave only in the life to come. Ignorance of this rule, or non-obſervance of it, hath been the Nurſe of dangerous and ſuperſtitious error, as well in the Roman Church as in her extreme oppoſites: in ſuch I mean, as begin their Faith and anchor their hopes at the abſolute infallibility of their perſonal election with no leſs zeal or paſſion than the Romaniſt relies upon the abſolute infallibility of the viſible Church.

6. That very inſtance which *Maldonat* alledgeth for the confirmation of his third rule [*This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips, &c. Matth.* 15. 8.] was literally meant of the *Jews* which lived in *Iſaiahs* time, yet not properly fulfilled in them or of them; for in reſpect of them, it was not a Prophecy, but a ſharp reproof or tax: yet this reproof or tax was a moſt exact Prophecy in reſpect of the *Jews* which converſed with our Saviour, of whom it was literally meant in a more exquiſite ſenſe than of their Anceſtors, and in this ſenſe often fulfilled. The antient *Jews* did not honour God being perſonally and viſibly preſent, with their lips as theſe latter did, nor were there hearts ſo malitiouſly ſet, at leaſt their malice not ſo diametrally bent, againſt God at any time, as the hearts and malice of theſe latter *Jews* were againſt Chriſt, who was the God of their Fathers. As theſe latter *Jews* did fill up

the meaſure of their Fathers ſins; ſo whatſoever God did threaten to this ſtiff-necked people for their Rebellion againſt him, was more exactly fulfilled in this laſt Generation, than it had been in any former. The ſeveral generations or ſucceſſions created no difference in the true object of the literal ſenſe: that may and did as equally reſpect many Generations as one man, infinite tranſgreſſions as truly as ſome few. This Scripture may be as truly fulfilled in all as in one, though not in all according to the ſame meaſure. So St. *Stephen* tells the *Jews* Acts 7. 5. 52. *Ye ſtiff-necked and uncircumciſed in heart and ears, ye do always reſiſt the Holy Ghoſt: as your Fathers did, ſo do ye. Which of the Prophets have not your Fathers perſecuted? And they have ſlain them which ſhewed before of the coming of the juſt one, of whom ye have been now the betrayers and murderers.* And our Saviour himſelf chargeth the preſent Generation of the *Jews* with the blood of *Zacharias* Son of *Barachias*, whom their Fore-fathers had ſlain many hundreds of years before *Mat.* 23. 35. adding withal, that his blood ſhould be required of that Generation preſent. Which is a proof ſufficient that this *Zacharias* was not the Father (as ſome have ſuppoſed) of *John the Baptiſt*. For if he had been ſlain between the Temple and the Altar, he muſt have been ſlain by that preſent Generation to whom our Saviour directs this ſpeech, and ſo there had been no matter of obſervation capable of that Emphatical *Epiphonema Luke* 11. 51. *Verily I ſay unto you it ſhall be required of this Generation.* Now his blood was to be required of this laſt Generation, becauſe they had fulfilled the meaſures of their Fore-fathers ſins, who had prodigiouſly ſlain their High Prieſt *Zacharias*. But how the Prophecy of this their High Prieſt, or rather his dying curſe, was fulfilled more exactly of this laſt Generation than of that Generation which put him to Death, would require a particular Treatiſe, not in this place to be inſerted. His dying ſpeech (though uttered by way of imprecation) was prophetical. And the event of his imprecation, though exhibited ſhortly after his Death was typically prophetical of that which happened to this laſt Generation within forty years after the Death of our Saviour, whom *Zacharias* did in his Death (though not in his dying ſpeeches) exactly fore-ſhadow.

7. As one and the ſame Scripture may be oftner than once fulfilled or exactly verified in different meaſure only by way of growth or increment of the ſame literal ſenſe; ſo likewiſe may it be of one and the ſame man in reſpect of ſeveral times. For out of queſtion it is, that the Scripture *Gen.* 15. 6. Abraham *believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteouſneſs*, was literally verified of *Abraham* at that very point of time, when God firſt called him from his own Kindred and his Fathers Houſe into the promiſed Land. And yet St. *James* ſaith *cap.* 2. 23. that this very Scripture was fulfilled when *Abraham* offered up *Iſaac* his Son upon the Altar: and from this laſt performance of *Abraham* he had, if not the firſt, yet the trueſt title to be called the friend of God. Not altogether after the ſame manner, but after a manner not much different was that Scripture *Iſaiah* 53. 4. twice fulfilled of our Saviour before his Reſurrection: *Surely he hath born our griefs, and carried our ſorrows, &c.* This was moſt exactly fulfilled in his ſufferings (whatſoever theſe were) upon the Croſs, unto which St. *Peter* refers it, 1 Pet. 2. 24. *He his own ſelf bare our ſins in his own body on the Tree, that we being dead to ſin, ſhould live to righteouſneſs, by whoſe ſtripes you were healed.* Yet was the ſame

teſtimony truly fulfilled before, as St. *Matthew* more fully inſtructs us, *cap.* 8. *ver.* 16, 17. *When the even was come, they brought unto him many that were poſſeſſed with Devils; and he caſt out the ſpirits with his word, and healed all that were ſick. That it might be fulfilled which was ſpoken by* Iſaiah *the Prophet ſaying, Himſelf took our infirmities and bare our ſickneſſes.* The teſtimony alledged by theſe two Apoſtles unto ſeveral purpoſes is one and the ſame, and yet concludent of what they both purpoſed or intended. Nor is it neceſſary to ſearch out two ſeveral ſenſes of one and the ſame teſtimony alledged and twice fulfilled. For of one and the ſame literal ſenſe or ſignification there may be two objects or more. The literal ſenſe of the words, as fore-cited by St. *Peter*, hath for its object our Saviours ſufferings, or his bearing our infirmities and the diſeaſes of our Souls upon the Croſs. The object whereto St. *Matthew* refers, was the infirmities or ſickneſſes of mens bodies; for theſe he bare though not (as we ſay) in kind, yet by exact ſympathy or fellow-feeling, before he bare our ſpiritual infirmities upon the Croſs; and whether he bare theſe after ſuch an exact ſympathy, as he did the bodily infirmities of thoſe whom he cured, may be diſcuſſed in the Article of his paſſion.

8. But as for teſtimonies either typically prophetical, or prophetically typical, beſides that they may be oftner fulfilled than once, according to the ſame ſenſe in general, (as either according to the literal or myſtical ſenſe or both) they admit a greater variety of particular ſenſes no way oppoſite unto the general, but ſubordinate and co-ordinate one to another. Sometimes the ſame words fit the Type in ſuch a proportion, as the names of Shires or Provinces do thoſe parts of the Maps, wherein they are repreſented; but fit the Antitype in ſuch a meaſure as the ſame name in the Map doth the Province which it repreſents: ſometimes in one and the ſame Prophecy or continued Hiſtorical Narration, one clauſe or paſſage doth fit the Type only, another the Antitype only, according to the proper literal ſenſe; and ſome others ſo fit both. As in *Pſalm* 72. 1. *Give the King thy Judgments, O God, and thy righteouſneſs unto the Kings Son:* by the King it is evident *David* meant himſelf, and by the Kings Son, both *Solomon*, and him of whom *Solomon* was the ſhadow or Type; the one according to the literal ſenſe only, the other both according to literal and myſtical. Theſe words again in the 2. verſe, *He ſhall judge the people with righteouſneſs, and the poor with equity*, refer both to *Solomon*, and to Chriſt; to the one as to the model, to the other as to the edifice. So doth that other paſſage ver. 8. *He ſhall have dominion alſo from Sea to Sea, and from the River unto the ends of the earth.* This Prophecy was fulfilled or exactly verified according to the letter in *Solomon:* For he did command from the *Phœnician* Sea unto the Sea of *Edom*, and from the River *Euphrates* unto the Lands end, according to that ancient *terrar* which the Lord himſelf had given of *Judahs* Dominion. Yet this Dominion whilſt it was moſt entirely poſſeſt by *Solomon*, was but a Map of Chriſts Kingdom; he was to rule from Sea to Sea, over all the Seas in the World, and from River to River from every point of Sea and Land unto the ſame point again; For all was to be given him as well in Earth as in Heaven. *Solomons* Earthly Kingdom doth fit Chriſts Kingdom here on Earth, as a Map of Paper doth a Country or Province; and Chriſts Kingdom here on Earth is but the Scale of his Kingdom and Dominion in Heaven.

9. Sometimes the ſame paſſage of Scripture may according to the intent and meaning of the Holy Spirit be fulfilled or verified of the Type or pledge in an ordinary literal or proverbial ſenſe, (which is ſomewhat more than the ordinary literal) and yet be fulfilled of Chriſt in the moſt exactly punctual literal ſence that can be imagined. *They that dwell in the Wilderneſs* (ſaith *David* Pſal. 72. 9.) *ſhall bow before him, and his Enemies ſhall lick the duſt.* This was truly meant and verified of *Solomon* in the literal and proverbial ſenſe, but moſt exactly fulfilled in Chriſt, unto whom *all knees ſhall bow of things in Heaven, of things in Earth, and of things under the Earth:* and all his Enemies, Death it ſelf, and him that had the power of Death, ſhall inherit the Serpents firſt curſe, that is, to be fed with duſt, *Gen.* 3. 14. No doubt but *Solomon* had his ſhare in that prediction v. 12. *He ſhall deliver the needy when he cryeth, the poor alſo and him that hath no helper*; Him that is not able to cry or ſpeak for himſelf. But *Solomon* could never give ſight unto the blind, or limbs unto the Lame, or ſpeech or hearing to ſuch as were born deaf or dumb. Theſe were prerogatives peculiar unto that Son of *David* whom *Solomon* did fore-ſhadow. But even the deaf and dumb had ſome friends to ſolicite Chriſts aid for them; the lame, the blind, and the ſick, could cry themſelves unto him, or make ſigns of their deſire of his help; yet others he helped which did not, either by themſelves or by their friends, deſire his help, as that impotent man which had laid ſo long at the Pool of *Betheſda*. *Solomon* might deliver the poor from civil oppreſſion or bodily violence, and might raiſe them in their temporal fortunes; but it was the promiſed Son of *David* alone, that could deliver them from the oppreſſions of the Devil, or from the impriſonment of their own bodily ſenſes. Thus he delivered *Lazarus* from the very bonds of Death, and from the Priſon of the Grave, when he himſelf could not, and his Siſters would not or did not cry unto him for this deliverance, but rather diſſwaded him from attempting it. Now the very name *Lazarus* is by interpretation as much as *David* in that verſe expreſseth, *Him that hath no helper*. According to this difference or allowance, moſt paſſages in that 72. Pſalm beſides the 5. *ver.* and the concluſion from the 17. are literally meant both of *Solomon* and of Chriſt. But theſe Prayers of *David* were Prophetical both in reſpect of the Type and the Antitype; ſo are not many other like paſſages in the Pſalms, which contain pathetical expreſſions of the parties deſires, griefs, or ſorrows, which did pen them; and yet are no leſs exquiſitely fulfilled in Chriſt, than the former which were literally meant both of Chriſt and of the Pſalmiſt, though prophetical only in reſpect of Chriſt. Every religious man, which had a religious woman to his Mother, might frame his Prayers in the ſame literal form that the Pſalmiſt uſeth *Pſal.* 116. 16. *O Lord, ſurely I am thy ſervant, I am thy ſervant, and the Son of thy handmaid.* Yet in as much as this Pſalmiſt (who ever he were) was a Type of Chriſt, that which he ſpake and meant of himſelf in an ordinary and common ſenſe was fulfilled of Chriſt in the moſt exquiſite ſenſe whereof theſe words or letters are capable. For he was the Son of a Handmaid, of Gods Handmaid κατ' ἐξοχὴν, in ſuch a peculiar manner as no Son of Man before him was, nor after ſhall be. And he was the ſervant of God in ſuch a ſenſe and after ſuch a manner, as no man could be, no man would deſire to be, ſave only that man who was the Eternal and only Son of God. But of this Title of the Son of God, his being the ſervant of God, in his proper place.

10. The Pſalmiſt again did queſtionleſs both act and pen his own part, when he thus exclaimed, *Yea mine own familiar Friend in whom I truſted, which did eat of my bread, hath liſt up his heel againſt me, Pſalm* 41. 9. This was but an expreſſion of ſome intolerable ingratitude and wrong, either paſt, or then in working; the ſpeech was neither altogether figurative nor hyperbolical, but a typical Propheſie of *Judas* his Traiterous dealing with his Lord and Maſter; and in *Judas* alone it was properly fulfilled according to the moſt exquiſite and moſt punctual literal ſenſe that could have been deviſed. For *Judas* being in an office of truſt, did then lay wait for his Maſters life, and did then fully reſolve upon his intended treaſon, when he was in the meſs, and dipt his finger in the ſame diſh with him. The Father of lies, of treaſon, and ingratitude, did enter into his heart at the ſame inſtant, wherein he devoured the Bread his maſter had reached unto him. By the ſpeedy and more diſaſtrous iſſue of his Prodigious Treaſon, preventing the Traytor for triumphing in this Maſters death, as his bloody Confederates did, this people might have known that Chriſt was the man whom God did favour, whom the Pſalmiſt did fore-ſhadow in his complaint; and of whoſe reſurrection he Propheſied in his Prayer, *Verſe* 10. 11, 12. *But thou, O Lord be merciful unto me, and raiſe me up that I may requite them: by this I know that thou favoureſt me, becauſe my enemy doth not triumph over me. And as for me, thou upholdeſt me in mine integrity, and ſetteſt me before thy face for ever.* All that the Pſalmiſt here pens, was more exquiſitely acted by our Saviour, if we ſubduct the imprecations upon his enemies, which the Pſalmiſt mingles with his prayers for himſelf.

11. The Author of the 69. *Pſalm* (were he *David* the Son of *Jeſſe*, or ſome other ſo enſtiled for the ſame reaſon, for which *John Baptiſt* is by our Saviour himſelf called *Elias*) did not utter that complaint without ſome urgent cauſe or preſſing occaſions, Ver. 20. 21. *Reproach hath broken my heart, and I am full of heavineſs, and I looked for ſome to take pity, but there was none, and I looked for comforters, but I found none. They gave me alſo gall for my meat, and in my thirſt they gave me vinegar to drink.* Theſe paſſionate expreſſions could hardly proceed from ſuch ſympathy, as a pure Prophetical viſion of what the malignant *Jews* would do for many Generations after unto Chriſt, was likely to raiſe. They ſeem live characters of experienced grief and ſorrow, and it may be the Pſalmiſt was then a Priſoner, fed with the bread of affliction, and compelled to drink water as bitter as his bread was naſty. But whatſoever the Pſalmiſt here ſpeaks of himſelf, and of his miſerable perplexities, though in an high and tragical ſtrian, or in a ſenſe ſomewhat hyperbolical, was, we know, fulfilled in Chriſt, according to the literal and punctual ſenſe. Briefly, all the Pſalmiſts and other Prophets, in all their cauſleſs and undeſerved ſufferings at the hands of worthleſs and malicious men, were true types, and yet no more than types or ſhadows of Chriſt, in his agony and bloody paſſion. But in their importunate and bitter imprecations uttered in their guiltleſs ſufferings, they were not ſo much types, as foyls of his unſpeakable patience, meekneſs, and long-ſuffering: for he never prayed againſt his Enemies (as the Prophets did) but always for them. Their demeanour in their calamities, diſgrace, or torments, was ſuch as did ſhew themſelves to be but men: His, always ſuch as did declare him to be, what he often ſaid of himſelf, truly God.

And yet the bitter imprecation which the Pſalmiſt and other Prophets uſed in their indign ſufferings, or againſt the malitious enemies of his Church and People did (by Divine Inſpiration) prove moſt exact typical Propheſies of all the Calamities which befel the *Jewiſh* Nation after they had declared themſelves to be the enemies of the God of their Fathers, and put the Lord of life, their promiſed *Meſſias*, to death. As in particular, and for inſtance, that imprecation of this *Pſalmiſt*, ver. 23. unto the 28. with that other Propheſie *Iſay* 29. Saint *Paul* did ſee in part fulfilled in the *Jews* of his time, *Rom.* 11. 8, 9, 10. *According as it written, God hath given them the ſpirit of ſlumber: eyes that they ſhould not ſee, and ears that they ſhould not hear unto this day.* And *David* ſaith, *Let their Table be made a ſnare and a trap, and a ſtumbling block, and a recompence unto them. Let their eyes be darkned that they may not ſee, and bow down their back alway.* This imprecation made by the Pſalmiſt (but never reſumed by our Saviour) did fall upon them by the law of retaliation. Therefore their Table became a ſnare unto them, becauſe they gave the Son of God gall for meat, and vinegar in his thirſt to drink. But in what ſenſe his death, or the indignities which they put upon him, was the cauſe of *Jeruſalems* deſtruction and extirpation of the *Jewiſh* Nation, is more fully ſet down in other meditations, ſomewhat of which may (if need ſo require) be inſerted in proof of the undoubted truth of the Articles of his Reſurrection and Aſcenſion, againſt the *Jews*.

CHAP. XV.

Whether all Teſtimonies alledged by the Evangeliſts out of the Old Teſtament, in which it is ſaid or implyed, [This was done that the Scripture might be fulfilled] *be concludent proofs of the Evangelical Truths for which they are alledged.*

IT would require a great deal of diligence in latter Divines, to redeem the negligence of former, either in not obſerving, or in not tranſmitting their obſervations to Poſterity; at what time, on what occaſions, and by whom the ſeveral *Pſalms* were written. For that all of them were written at the ſame time, or by the the ſame hand, is no way probable in it ſelf, nor ſo accounted amongſt the beſt Divines of this age. *Theodoret* amongſt the Ancients, *Melancthon* and *Moller* amongſt Modern Writers, have better attempted this profitable work, than they have been ſeconded. The hiſtorical occaſions, and other circumſtances of the times wherein theſe *Pſalms* were written, were they known according to the literal ſenſe, would lead us by a fair and ſafe way, as it were by the rule of three, unto the juſt product or capacity of the true Allegorical and Myſtical ſenſe, in which they were fulfilled. But as our caſe now ſtands, the luxuriant and perplexed branches of ſuch forced Allegories, as men fancy to themſelves, or frame by gueſs, without any perfect ſcale or proportion from the true hiſtorical ſenſe, have occaſioned many judicious Divines, to doubt or queſtion whether thoſe things, which by the Evangeliſts are ſaid to be done, that the *Scriptures might be fulfilled,*

filled, do always imply ſome concludent proof or demonſtration of the Spirit. *Calvin*, for being ſometimes too bold, ſometimes too ſparing in the expoſition of ſuch places, as the Evangeliſts ſay are fulfilled in Chriſt, is deeply taxed by the *Lutherians* generally, and by many of the *Romiſh* Church. But Chriſtian Charity will perſwade men of ſober paſſions, that it was rather fear leſt he ſhould give offence unto the *Jews*, than any deſire or inclination to comply with them, which made him ſometimes give the ſame interpretations of Scriptures which they do, without expreſſion of, or ſearch after farther myſteries than the letter it ſelf doth miniſter. However it be, if *Calvin* be liable to a judgment, *Janſenius*, *Sasbout*, and *Maldonat*, three of the moſt judicious Commentators of the Romiſh Church for theſe many years, are liable to a Council, for their unadviſed preſumption in this kind. One of them denyeth that often forecited place; *I will be to him a Father, and he ſhall be to me a Son*, to be literally meant of *Solomon*: wherein he gives juſt offence unto the *Jews*, and by Superſtitious fear of committing that error, whereof *Calvin* is often accuſed, doth fall into the contrary. The two others queſtion whether that of the Prophet *Hoſea*, *Out of* Egypt *have I called my Son*, were properly fulfilled in our Saviour, or only ſaid to be fulfilled, *per accommodationem*, by way of alluſion, that is, in ſuch a manner as we might ſay that of the Poet,

Omnis in Aſchanio chari ſtat cura Parentis.

Were fulfilled in any Father or Mother, whom we ſaw to dote upon, or much to delight in their lovely Son. And this was the explicite meaning of *Maldonats* third rule before cited, *in what ſenſe the Scripture is ſaid to be fulfilled.*

2. That this was his meaning in that place, may be gathered from his comment on that other ſaying of Saint *Matthew*, Chap. 13. 34, 35. *All theſe things ſpake Jeſus unto the multitude in Parables, and without a Parable ſpake he not unto them; that it might be fulfilled, which was ſpoken by the Prophet ſaying, I will open my mouth in Parables, I will utter things which have been kept ſecret ſince the foundation of the world.* His obſervation upon this place are, in his own words (engliſhed) thus. *The particle*, That, *doth not denote the cauſe why our Saviour ſpake in Parable; for he did not thus ſpeak, to the end that* Davids *ſayings might be fulfilled, but becauſe his Auditors were unworthy of ſuch perſpicuous declarations, as he uſed to his Diſciples in private.* This he takes as granted from our Saviours ſpeech, Ver. 13. 14. *Therefore ſpake I to them in parabless, becauſe they ſeeing ſee not, and hearing they hear not, neither do they underſtand. And in them is fulfilled the Propheſie of* Iſaiah, *which ſaith, By hearing*, &c. The abſtract of his obſervations upon *ver.* 34, 35. is this; that it was no part of our Evangeliſts meaning, to teach us, that *Davids* Propheſie was properly fulfilled by our Saviours Parables; ſeeing *Davids* diſcourſe (as he conceives) was indeed no Propheſie, but an hiſtorical narration of matters paſt, beſides, that word which the Pſalmiſt there uſeth, doth not ſignifie ſuch Parables as our Saviour in this 13. Chapter meant, but rather ſuch pithy ſentences, as the *Greeks* call Apophthegms. *Maldonats* concluſion therefore is, that the Evangeliſt (according to his uſual manner) did only accommodate that which *David* had ſpoken, to our Saviours ſpeeches in this place, to which they have ſome affi-

nity or ſimilitude; though no concludent congruity: and for our better ſatisfaction, he refers us to his Comments upon *Matth.* 2. 15. that is indeed, *to his third rule,* in what ſenſe the Scriptures are ſaid to be fulfilled. But in this, and other like paſſages to the ſame purpoſe, this Author only gives us to underſtand, how eaſie a matter it is for good Divines, ſometimes to ſpend a great deal of learning and wit to no good purpoſe; eſpecially when they ſtrive to be hypercritical, or to be cenſorious of others pious endeavours, though perhaps not ſo accurate.

3. To reviſe theſe his animadverſions, *ordine retrogrado,* that is, beginning with the laſt, and ending with the firſt:

No man did ſay that the narrations in that Pſalm were Prophetical in reſpect of the matters literally and immediately ſignified by words themſelves: Yet in as much as theſe matters though paſt, as Gods wonder in *Egypt* and the Wilderneſs, the conducting of his people to the land of *Canaan,* and their rebellious behaviour in it, were true types or ſhadows of the like events in future times; there is not any thing in that Pſalm related, which in the myſtical ſenſe doth not fore-repreſent ſome parallel event, when the God of their Fathers ſhould come in perſon to expoſtulate with his people, in ſuch a manner as *David* did with the people of his time, which he did not in his own name or authority, but in the name and authority of his Lord and God. For ſo he begins that Pſalm, *Give ear, O my people, to my Law, incline your ears to the words of my mouth. I will open my mouth in a parable, I will utter dark ſayings of old.* This preamble cannot literally be applyed to *David* or any Prophet, ſave only as he was a type or ſhadow of him that was to come. The Pſalmiſts words immediately following though Apophthegmatical and pithy, were plain in reſpect of the literal ſenſe, (if you conſider them only as matters of fact fore-paſt;) were known and had been taught, at the leaſt by ſome of their Fathers, though perhaps forgotten by poſterity. However, in reſpect of their myſtical importance, or as they contain a proportionable parallel of the Kingdom of Heaven, with the Kingdom of *Iſrael,* according to the fleſh; they are ſentences both hard and dark, and ſuch as did require a better paraphraſt upon *David,* or the Author of this Pſalm, than he was of *Moſes,* or of the Sacred Hiſtorians before his time. For by the Parables meant in *ver.* 2. of this Pſalm, if we may believe Saint *Matthews* paraphraſe upon theſe words, were meant, *things which had been kept ſecret from the foundation of the world, Matth.* 13. 35. This was the myſtical ſenſe of the Pſalmiſts words, and according to Saint *Matthews* literal expreſſion of them, they neceſſarily import the myſteries of the Kingdom of Heaven; and ſo all the Parables which our Saviour uſed in that Chapter (as he there uſeth many) reſpect the Kingdom of Heaven, and were hard and dark to ſuch as were not of Chriſts Diſciples, or ſuch as the Pſalmiſt there deſcribes, *A ſtubborn and faithleſs generation.* It is true therefore which *Maldonat* in his ſecond animadverſion ſaith, that the cauſe why our Saviour ſpake to his common Auditors in parables was, becauſe they were unworthy of clearer revelations, uncapable for the time of greater talents, having uſed their former ordinary talents ſo ill. Thus our Saviour reſolves his Diſciples, ver. 11. 12. *Unto you it is given to know the myſteries of the Kingdom of Heaven, but to them it is not given. For whoſoever hath, to him ſhall be given: and he ſhall have abundance: but whoſoever hath not,*

not, from him ſhall be taken away even that he hath. And to the ſame effect the Pſalmiſt had Propheſied, or fore-warned this Generation, even all Generations following. It was then an allegation unconcludent and impertinent, and no way beſeeming *Maldonat*, to ſay our Saviour did not ſpeak in Parables, to the end that *Davids* ſayings might be fulfilled, but becauſe this preſent Generation did deſerve no other language. For theſe two are no way oppoſite, but ſubordinate. And if it be ill for men to ſeparate thoſe things which God hath conjoined, it is much worſe to ſet things at odds, or in oppoſition, which the Spirit of God hath made co-ordinate, or ſet in concord.

Now both theſe aſſertions, as well that which *Maldonat* refuſes, as that which he approves, have a Divine truth in them. Firſt, it is moſt true that our Saviour did ſpeak unto the Multitude, and to the Phariſees, on whom they relyed, in Parables, becauſe they were for the time unworthy of ſuch declarations as he made to his Diſciples for the increaſe of their talent which they had uſed not ſo much amiſs as the others had done. And no leſs true it is, that the Pſalmiſt did fore-propheſie that the Poſterity of *Iſrael* from his own time, until the coming of the *Meſſias*, ſhould be more unworthy hearers of Divine Myſteries than their fore-fathers had been; unleſs they ſeriouſly repented both their own ſins, and the ſins of their fore-fathers. So that our Saviour did ſpeak unto them in Parables for theſe two reaſons. Firſt, Becauſe they were unworthy hearers. Secondly, To the end his Diſciples might know and believe, that this manner of ſpeaking was fore-propheſied by the Author of the 78. *Pſalm.*

4. *Maldonats* firſt animadverſion was, that this Latine Particle *ut*, or the Greek ἵνα doth not always ſignifie the cauſe of what is ſaid or ſpoken, but ſometimes the event only. How true ſoever this be, it no way prejudiceth the truth now delivered by us. For it will not follow that this Particle *ut*, either in this place of Saint *Matthew*, or in another place where it imports the fulfilling of Scriptures, doth not ſignifie the *cauſe*, becauſe it ſometimes, or oftentimes ſignifieth the event only. But ſeeing the right uſe of this Particle, or the knowledge of its ſeveral references, is much conducent to the juſt valuation of many teſtimonies which have been, and muſt be hereafter alledged out of Scriptures; it will be very uſeful in this place to unfold its ſeveral ſignifications or importances once for all.

Sometimes this Particle, as well in the Greek, as in the Latin, and in our Engliſh, is tranſitive only; and imports neither any true cauſe nor the event; as in that of our Saviour, *John* 17.3. *This is life eternal, that they may know thee the only true God.* The reſolution of which words, without any wrong either to their full importance in logical conſtruction, or to their grammatical elegancy, is but this, *Cognoſcere te eſſe verum Deum eſt vita æterna. To know thee to be the only true God is eternal life.* From this uſe or importance of this Particle *ut*, that other, which *Maldonat* makes, is not different, or no otherways different than the end of a tranſition or paſſage is from the paſſage or tranſition it ſelf; as when our Saviour ſaith, *Mat.* 23. 34. *I ſend unto you Prophets and Wiſemen,* &c. *that upon you may come all the Righteous blood ſhed upon the Earth, from the blood of Righteous Abel, &c.* God forbid any good Chriſtian ſhould refer this Particle *That* unto the firſt words, Behold I ſend unto you Prophets, *&c.* and by this means conceive the end and cauſe why God did ſend Wiſemen

men and Prophets unto them ſhould be this, that all the righteous blood ſhed by their Fathers, ſhould be required of this Generation; it refers only to thoſe words, *Some of them ſhall ye kill and crucifie, &c.* The true importance is, as if he had ſaid, ye ſhall, or you will, go on in your Fathers ſins ſo far and ſo long, until at length the blood of all the Righteous, whom your Fathers have ſlain, ſhall come upon you: Or, as Saint *Luke* hath it, *ſhall be required of you.* So that the importance of this Particle *ut*, in this place, denotes the event of their practices or reſolutions, not the final cauſe of the Prophets coming unto them. And it is the ſame with that which St. *Paul* expreſſes in the infinitive mood, *Rom.* 1. 20. *For the inviſible things of him from the Creation of the world are clearly ſeen, being underſtood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and God-head, ſo that they are without excuſe*, εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἀναπολογήτους. The end why God did manifeſt himſelf unto men, in the book of his Creatures, was, that they might know him to be the God, and glorifie him as God. And it was the ample meaſure of manifeſtations made to this end, which left even the Heathens themſelves without Apology or juſt excuſe; and according to this importance of the Particle *ut*, (as it noteth only the event or ſome tranſition to the event) many good Writers would value that of Saint *John*, Chap. 12. 37, 38. *Though he had done ſo many miracles before them, yet they believed not on him. That the ſaying of* Iſaias *the Prophet might be fulfilled which he ſpake*, ut impleretur ille ſermo; *Lord who hath believed our report, and to whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed.* And I could wiſh, that *Maldonats* animadverſions upon the fore-cited 35. verſe of *Matthew the* 13. had been as Orthodoxal or diſcreet, as they are upon this place of *John*. For of ſuch Commentators as I have read, none ſpeaks more pertinently or more diſcreetly to the difficulty wherewith that place is charged, unleſs it be his brother *Tolet*, who hammers out *Athanaſius* his expoſition as Learnedly (and more fully) as *Maldonat* doth the Expoſitions of other Greek Fathers. However, I cannot aſſent to them, or to any others, in this one point, in that they would make the Particle *ut*, here, (as elſewhere it doth) to point only at the event, not any cauſe. That it cannot in this place denote the final cauſe, *Athanaſius* carries it clearly againſt ſome Hereticks of his time, or before him, who did ſo interpret it; who yet ſpake conſequently enough to their wicked opinions, in that they acquit theſe unbelieving *Jews* from blame, and lay their charge upon *Iſaias*, whoſe prediction, they thought, did either cauſe or infer the neceſſity of theſe *Jews* infidelity, after ſo many glorious miracles as had been done by our Saviour in their ſight.

5. But that this particle *ut*, doth in this place denote and import more than the event, that it refers unto ſome true Cauſe, is moſt evident, in that the uſe of it, *ver.* 38. is, in Saint *John's* meaning, æquivalent to that other Particle uſed by him, ver. 39. διὰ τοῦτο; *Therefore they could not believe becauſe* Iſaiah *ſaid again*, &c. Now that this particle, διὰ, *therefore, ideo, quia, and ſuch like*, do always refer immediately unto ſome true Cauſe, we cannot deny without ſome wrong to *Priſcian* or without ſome *non obſtante*, or ſuch licentious diſpenſation (as it is ſaid a Pope once gave) *ut fiatur contra omnes grammaticos.* It is certain again, that neither particle doth immediately refer to any real cauſe of the thing it ſelf avouched by Saint *John*, or that *Iſaias* his ſaying, or the fulfilling of it, ſhould be any cauſe at all of the *Jews*

infidelity, neither the principal cauſe (as the Hereticks whom *Athanaſius* refutes, did conceive) nor any acceſſory or leſs principal cauſe, as ſome modern Writers imagine, whom *Maldonat* (without naming them) well confutes. But we ſhould conſider how that which is the true effect of ſome real cauſe, is oft-times the true cauſe of our true knowledge or apprehenſion of the cauſe it ſelf, or of its connexion with the effect: and ſuch a cauſality theſe and the like cauſal particles or conjunctions, *ideo*, *quia*, *propter*, *&c.* do uſually import. As if one which had never ſeen the King or Court before, ſhould ſay, Sure this is the King, becauſe the reſt ſtand bare before him: this ſpeech imports a true cauſe not of the thing it ſelf avouched, or why this is the King, but of the parties knowledge or notice of him as King. And ſo we know that *Mary Magdalen* had many ſins forgiven her becauſe ſhe loved much: but her love was the effect not the cauſe of this plentiful forgiveneſs, as the more intelligent ſort of Pontifician Writers now grant, and the circumſtance of the Text will clearly evince it, againſt all that ſhall avouch it to be any more than a cauſe of our knowledge. However ſeeing every cauſe is a cauſe of ſome effect, or refers to ſome things produced or occaſioned by it, The queſtion ſtill remains of what effect the fulfilling of *Iſaiahs* Prophecy, or the contemplation of the event which he foretold, ſhould be the true cauſe, if it were no cauſe at all of theſe *Jews* infidelity?

6. The ſerious contemplation of this Prophets ſaying after the Holy Ghoſt had called them, and the matter which they ſo have fitted unto our Evangeliſts mind, was a true cauſe why he did ceaſe to wonder at the ſtupidity of this people. For if *Iſaiah* had not long before decyphered their froward and ſtubborn diſpoſition, poſterity would have ſuſpected either that St. *Johns* taxation of their ſtupidity had been more hyperbolical than true, or elſe that our Saviours miracles had not been ſo all-ſufficient in themſelves, as the Evangeliſt makes them, for winning credence to his doctrine, or reſpect unto his perſon. But ſeeing nothing breaks forth in this laſt Generation, whoſe ſeeds and roots had not been diſcovered by *Iſaias* in their Forefathers, this takes away all occaſion in poſterity to ſuſpect either the truth of St. *Johns* Narration, or ſufficiency of our Saviours miracles. Not theſe cauſal particles only, as, *ut*, or, *propter*, but adverſative alſo, as *veruntamen*, *ſed*, do ſometimes refer not to any written clauſe or ſentence precedent, or any matter contained in them, but unto the ſecret or tacite thoughts of the Writer or Speaker, or to ſome ſtrong affection ſeeking to vent it ſelf in ſuch abrupt or unuſual language. To begin a ſpeech with *nam* or *veruntamen* would be a ridiculous ſolœciſm, unleſs it were by way of decorum in ſome appointed to act or utter a ridiculous part. And yet an exquiſite Poet did thus begin his doleful Elegie;

Hîc tamen umbroſum nactus nemus, hîc loca ſola
Ne mea quis nimiùm carpſit lamenta ſeverus.

Hieronymus Vida in carmine, cui titulus Gelelmi Vide & Leonæ Oſcaſalæ parentum manib.

The particle, *Tamen*, without ſolœciſm or breach of Grammar Rule, hath an elegant reference to his former thoughts or affections which had been theſe or the like; *It is an unſeemly part for a man of my place and breeding to blubber and weep for the death of his Parents:* notwithſtanding *ſeeing the place affords opportunity, nature ſhall take* her forth *for a while.* And after this manner the Pſalmiſt begins the 73.

Pſalm, *Veruntamen Bonus eſt Deus* Iſrael, *Notwithſtanding God is good to* Iſrael, This particle *refers* to his precedent thoughts or ſecret diſputations with his own heart, which had been theſe or the like; *Surely God hath forgotten his promiſe unto* Iſrael, *or elſe he never meant them ſo much good as he ſeemed to promiſe, in that he ſuffers them to be trod under feet by their wicked and blaſphemous Enemies*; and in the *criſis* or conqueſt of theſe and the like cogitations (which he afterwards confeſſeth of himſelf) he burſt out into the former expreſſion, *Notwithſtanding God is good to* Iſrael. And after this manner, theſe two cauſal ſpeeches [*ut impleretur ille ſermo Iſaiæ*, Joh. 12. *Propterea non potuerunt credere &c.*] refer to theſe or the like precedent cogitations of St. *John*; *Is it poſſible that men of* Abrahams *linage, that any creatures indued with reaſon, ſhould not believe, after ſo many miracles done in their ſight?* Yes, I know it to be more than poſſible, becauſe the Prophet *Iſaiah* hath foretold as much. Yea, but St. *John* goes further, and ſays, *they could not believe becauſe* Iſaiah *had foretold their unbelief.* Yet if we ſcan his words aright, St. *John* doth not reſolve the impoſſibility or difficulty of their unbelief into *Eſaias* his prediction formally taken, but into the hardneſs of heart which *Eſaias* had foretold. For ſo his words are; *Therefore they could not believe; becauſe that* Eſaias *ſaid again. He hath blinded their eyes, and hardened their hearts, that they ſhould not ſee with their eyes, nor underſtand with their hearts, and be converted; and I ſhould heal them. Theſe things ſpake* Eſaias, *when he ſaw his glory.* The moſt that can be made of theſe words, the ſtrongeſt collections that can be inferred from them, for inferring any divine cauſality of their unbelief, will amount to no more than this; It is not poſſible that the greateſt part of men in our times ſhould underſtand many divine truths about which they diſpute, or be wiſe unto ſalvation; becauſe it is ſaid by a good Author, [Wiſdom cannot enter into a froward heart.] This *ſpeech* is Canonically true of all ſuch men *ſenſu compoſito*, that is, whilſt they continue perverſe and froward, but not true *in ſenſu diviſo*, for though it were abſolutely true, that it is impoſſible for wiſdom to enter into a froward heart, yet it is poſſible for a froward heart to put off frowardneſs, and for ſuch as are now a ſtiff-necked and ſtubborn people in good time to brook the yoke of Chriſtian obedience.

7. But doth this period of St. *John* [*after ſo many miracles done before them, they did not believe, that the ſaying of* Eſaias *might be fulfilled*] import no more than if a man ſhould ſay, the factious ſpirits of our times cannot believe aright, becauſe it is written that *wiſdom cannot enter into a froward heart?* In *Maldonats* expoſition on this place of St. *John*, and of that other *Mat.* 13. 34. *&c.* this is the utmoſt value of both allegations [*that the Prophets words do ſo well fit the events related by theſe two Evangeliſts, as that they could not fit them better although 'twere granted that it were meant of them alone, or had been ſpoken to no other end, than to notifie theſe two events.*] Yet if we may have the liberty to expreſs the Prophets meaning, or to ſpeak conſequently unto the truth it ſelf (acknowledged by all good Chriſtians) or to ſome ſpecial truths formerly delivered, the Prophecy of *Iſaiah*, alledged by St. *John*, was in a more peculiar manner fulfilled in the ſtrange infidelity of the *Jews* which ſaw our Saviours miracles, than any Proverbs of *Solomon* or other general Maxims can be fulfilled or verified of any miſbelievers in theſe our times, either of ſuch as deny Chriſt in expreſs words, or confeſſing him in words deny him

in deeds. For the words of *Solomon* or other moral ſayings of Canonical Writers, how well ſoever they may fit the errors or infidelity of our times, had no punctual aſpect to them, but were uttered as abſolute truths without reſpect of age, time, or perſons, and fit all men and every ſort of men, of what condition, age, or nation ſoever they be. Whereas the former forecited Prophecy of *Iſaiah* was punctually or literally meant of the *Jewiſh* Nation, which lived after his time unto the deſtruction of the City and Temple, and to the return of the Babyloniſh Captivity. For ſo it follows in the 6. *chap. ver.* 10. *Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and ſhut their eyes, leſt they ſee with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and underſtand with their hearts, and convert and be healed. Then ſaid I, Lord, how long? And he ſaid, until the Cities be waſted without Inhabitants, and the Houſes without Man, and the land be utterly deſolate: and the Lord have removed men far away, and there be a great forſakeing in the midſt of the Land. But yet in it ſhall be a tenth, and it ſhall return and ſhall be eaten, as a Teyle Tree, and as an Oak, whoſe ſubſtance is in them when they caſt their leaves: ſo the holy ſeed ſhall be the ſubſtance thereof.* This very Prophecy was more exactly fulfilled in the excecation and obduration of the *Jews* which did not believe our Saviours miracles, and in that deſolation of *Judea* which enſued upon his Death. But whether the laſt part of this Prophecy, concerning their return again to God, ſhall be as exactly fulfilled in theſe out-caſts of *Iſrael*, future times would better reſolve us or ſuch as ſhall live after us, than any living Interpreter of Scriptures can. With this queſtion St. *John* meddles not, but beſides that the former part of that Prophecy doth according to the literal ſenſe as truly point at this later Generation of the *Jews*, as at the former: The real event it ſelf or matter of fact foretold, was more conſpicuouſly remarkable in this later Generation, than it had been in the former: For it was a prediction prophetically typical. The firſt deſolation was ſuch a real Type of the later, as *Iſraels* caſting off God from being their ruler in the time of *Samuel*, was of that ſolemn abrenunciation of Chriſt which theſe latter *Jews* made before *Pilate*, when they cryed; *We have no King but* Cæſar. Or the like deſolation was ſuch a *Criſis* of that deadly diſeaſe, whereof the excecation and obduration mentioned by St. *John* was the ſymptom, as that calamity which befel *Judah* the next year after *Zacharias* Death was, of the calamity which befel the whole Nation within forty years after our Saviours Death.

8. So then the particle *Ut*, neither in this place of St. *John*, nor in any other, doth ever import any true cauſality of excecation or obduration on Gods part or his Prophets; but in this place of St. *John*, and in every other, where it is ſaid, [*that this or that was done that the Scripture might be fulfilled*] the ſame particle doth always import, that whatſoever was ſo done, whether poſitively or directly by God himſelf, or with permiſſion of his juſt providence, by the poſitive intentions of Satan or incorrigible ſtubbornneſs of men, was always ordered by God to this end and purpoſe that poſterity might believe and know, no ſuch event did follow by chance, or that the Prophet did foretel ſuch events only in general, without ſpecial reference unto the particular events related by the Evangeliſt. Seeing every final cauſe is purpoſed or projected by ſome intelligent nature, one and the ſame particle, *That*, or the like, with reference to ſeveral pro-

jectures, may ſometimes denote a true final cauſe, ſometimes the event or conſequent only, in one and the ſame propoſition; as in that of our Saviour *Matth.* 23. 34. *Some of them you ſhall kill and crucifie;* &c. *that upon you may come all the righteous blood ſhed upon the earth.* The final cauſe projected by Satan, was to bring righteous blood upon theſe *Jews*, but this was the event or conſequent only, no final cauſe, of their projects againſt Gods Meſſengers: But theſe Meſſengers were ſent by God only to this end, that they might recal his people to their allegiance: yet this end or purpoſe did include this condition, that if they continued or made up the meaſure of their Fathers ſtubbornneſs, they were to ſuffer more grievous puniſhment, than if they had not been forewarned by the Prophets. In like manner the excecation and obduration of theſe latter *Jews* was the mark at which Satan aimed, no true cauſe (though a neceſſary conſequent) of their continued abuſe of that talent which God had given them; but no final cauſe, no cauſe at all why our Saviour did ſo many miracles amongſt them: their excecation and perdition was from themſelves.

9. That Prophecy of *Iſaiah*, and that other of our Saviours *Mat.* 23. 35. *that upon you may come all the righteous blood*, (or as St. *Luke* hath the ſame prediction more emphatically,) *Verily I ſay unto you it ſhall be required of this Generation:* both theſe and the like were conformable to that general rule delivered by *Jeremy*, *Chap.* 18. *ver.* 7, 8. *At what inſtant I ſhall ſpeak concerning a Nation, and concerning a Kingdom, to pluck up and to pull down, and to deſtroy it: If that Nation againſt whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them.* And our Saviours prediction *Luke* 11. 31. though the words may ſeem moſt peremptory, did implicitely contain or admit the ſame condition, which he in another prediction of his to the ſame effect doth expreſs, *Luke* 13. 3. *I tell you nay, but except you repent yee ſhall all likewiſe periſh*, that is, periſh after the ſame diſaſtrous manner that the *Galileans* there mentioned, or the Inhabitants of *Jeruſalem*, had periſhed. Now however the prediction of *Iſaiah* or *Zacharias* his imprecation when he dyed, were no true cauſes of this peoples infidelity or deſtruction, yet in as much as what they threatned, though with this condition and Proviſo [*Unleſs they do repent*] did ſo exactly come to paſs, the event is of moſt concludent proof to us that they ſpake by the Spirit of God; a true cauſe of our knowledge that they were Prophets indeed, and that theſe events were not caſual in reſpect of their predictions, though in themſelves contingent, or holding the true mean between neceſſity of being, and neceſſity of not being.

10. But the beſt way to convince them of errour, who teach that Prophecies, are ſometimes ſaid to be fulfilled only by alluſion, will be, to declare the particular manner how theſe places at which they ſtumble moſt, do conclude what the Evangeliſts rather intimate, than fully expreſs. For ſo it was the will of God, that even the Evangeliſts themſelves ſhould oft-times only give us hints for ſearching out thoſe demonſtrations of the Spirit, which they perfectly knew, but would not ſet down at large, leſt this ſhould occaſion ſloathful negligence in ſucceeding Ages, or prevent our admiration at the exact conſonancy between Prophetical predictions and Evangelical Narrations.

To conclude this preſent Treatiſe: it is always more ſafe for the moſt learned Expoſitor of Scriptures to ſay, [I do not conceive how this or that allegation doth conclude, or how this or that Propheſie was exactly fulfilled] than peremptorily to avouch of any particular alledged by the Evangeliſt, that it was no concludent proof but alluſive only, becauſe he, or ſuch as he hath read, cannot conceive how it is fulfilled. It is hard for any one man to ſee or hear all that hath been ſaid or written by others upon any parts of Scripture, but it may be eaſie for others that come after, to ſay ſomewhat in Arguments of this nature, which no one before had ſaid or obſerved, yea ſomewhat more than the Prophet himſelf did diſtinctly fore-ſee, when he ſpake or wrote theſe very words which the Evangeliſts ſay were fulfilled.

CHAP. XVI.

Whether the Prophets *did always fore-ſee, or explicitely believe, whatſoever they did fore-tell, or fore-ſignifie concerning Chriſt.*

SOme have reſolved upon the affirmative part of this problem, not only as true in it ſelf, but as one ſpecial ground of difference between the Prophets of the Lord, and the Heathen Soothſayers or Diviners, which ſometimes fore-told that which afterwards proved true, but without any apprehenſion of the truth of it. That Heathen Diviners did ſometimes rave, or ſpeak they knew not what, in their divinations, I will not deny; that they did always thus, is more than I can affirm. However, between raving Predictions, and a diſtinct apprehenſion or fore-ſight of matters fore-told, there is a greater difference than between ſtaring, and being ſtark mad. That the Prophets of the Lord did never rave in their Predictions, that they had always a true apprehenſion of the truth delivered by them, and a fore-ſight of the events future which they fore-told, I reſt aſſured. But that this fore-ſight ſhould extend to all the branches of truth, which are ſaid to come to paſs, that their ſayings might be fulfilled, I ſee no convincent Argument to perſwade me. The contradictory to this aſſertion, (if any be pleaſed to undertake it) we thus infer. The Evangeliſts and Apoſtles, or others enabled to Preach the Goſpel with power from above, men viſibly annointed with the Holy Ghoſt to this function, were bound to teach no other things than what had been fore-told by *Moſes* and the Prophets. And yet the Evangeliſts both knew and taught others to believe many things, which the [b] Prophets, even the [c] Kingly Prophets, much deſired, but could not be admitted to ſee or hear. And this is a concludent proof, that the Prophets did not always diſtinctly fore-ſee or apprehend all things which were fore-told by them, not thoſe events which the Spirit of God ſaith came to paſs, that their ſayings might be fulfilled. Otherwiſe, they muſt have ſeen all that the Evangeliſts ſaw, have known all the Myſteries of the Kingdom of Heaven, which the Apoſtles after our Saviours Reſurrection, knew or taught: but this is directly contradictory to our Saviours aſſertion;

(b) Mat. 13. 17. *For verily I ſay unto you, that many Prophets and Righteous men have deſired to ſee thoſe things which ye ſee, and have not ſeen them, and to hear thoſe things which ye hear, and have not heard them.*

(c) See Luke 10. 24. *For many Prophets and Kings have deſired to ſee thoſe things which ye ſee, and have not ſeen them,* &c.

and whatſoever is contradictory to truth it ſelf, muſt of neceſſity be untrue. Wherein then did the Prophets of the Lord differ from Heathen Soothſayers or raving Diviners?

2. He that can make a good conſtruction of what he ſpeaks or writes, cannot be ſaid to rave, albeit he know not the iſſue or full importance of things uttered by him. *Caiaphas* did not rave when he ſaid, *It was expedient that one man ſhould die for the people, rather than all ſhould periſh.* Yet was he no Prophet, although (as S. *John* tells us) he did in this ſpeech Propheſie. For he did not intend or take upon him to fore-tell any unuſual matter or divine myſtery, but only give his political adviſe or *placet* concerning the buſineſs then in hand. Any worldly wiſe man might have ſpoken as wiſely as he did. That his ſpeeches then did prove ſo happily ominous as they did, this was meerly from the extraordinary diſpoſition of Divine Providence. He neither ſpake as Heathen Diviners did when they raved, nor as the Prophets of the Lord uſed to ſpeak whenſoever they fore-told things to come in the name of the Lord. For they always had a true intention to fore-tell ſuch things, and to give aſſurance unto the people, that whatſoever they fore-told in the name of the Lord, ſhould come to paſs, whether their Predictions were for form expreſly disjunctive, or whether they were abſolute and peremptory, that is, not charged with conditions, exceptions, or Proviſoes, either implicite or explicite. Somewhat then they always expreſly fore-ſaw, as often as they took upon them to fore-tell or foreſhew things to come, but ſeldom did they know all which came to paſs, that their ſaying might be fulfilled.

3. The Problem propoſed cannot be diſtinctly reſolved without a review of the different ways or manner how things future were foretold by the Prophets. Now of divine teſtimonies or predictions ſome were meerly prophetical, others prophetically typical, and both theſe ſtems again did divide themſelves into more branches. Some predictions meerly prophetical were delivered in a plain grammatical or hiſtorical ſenſe of words, others in terms allegorical or ænigmatical. Of ſuch predictions meerly prophetical as are expreſſed in the plain grammatical or hiſtorical ſenſe of words, ſome did refer to one matter or fact, or to ſome determinate point of time, and in the intention of the Holy Ghoſt were to be but once fulfilled. Others according to the ſame literal ſenſe were to be fulfilled (ſometimes in the ſame; ſometimes in a different meaſure) oftner than once, at divers times, and in ſeveral ages. Of ſuch predictions as were to be but once fulfilled, and that according to the plain literal ſenſe, this affirmative is univerſally true; [The Prophets had always a diſtinct knowledge or apprehenſion of the ſum or ſubſtance of the events which are ſaid to come to paſs that their ſaying might be fulfilled.] Search all the Predictions of our Saviours Incarnation, Nativity, Circumciſion, of his Paſſion, Reſurrection, and Aſcenſion. Whatſoever places in the Prophets do literally refer to theſe points, were to be but once fulfilled. For our Saviour was to be but once incarnate, but once to be born, to die but once, to be raiſed from death once for all. Now if the Prophets which did literally fore-tell theſe things, had not diſtinctly fore-ſeen the ſubſtance (at leaſt) of theſe Evangelical myſteries, they muſt either have raved in their predictions (as it is preſumed the Heathen Prophets, or *Apollo's* Prieſts uſed to do) or elſe have fore-told them only after ſuch a manner as *Caiaphas* did fore-tell his death.

And the fulfilling of their Propheſies, though according to their plain literal aſſertive ſenſe, could not prove them to have been Prophets properly ſo called, that is, men indowed with the true Spirit of divination. For no man I think will ſay, that *Caiaphas* was thus qualified, although he Propheſied in ſome ſort of our Saviours death.

Jeremy ſurely did fore-ſee that the promiſed Seed ſhould be conceived of a pure Virgin, when he uttered that Propheſie, *Chapter* 31. 22. So did *Iſaias* fore-ſee, that the *Meſſias*, whom they continually expected, ſhould be deſpiſed of many, ſhould be a *man of ſorrows*, ſhould dye and riſe again, when he uttered the Propheſie, *Chap.* 35. *ver.* 3. But we have not the like inducement to believe that he did ſo diſtinctly apprehend that the expected *Meſſias* ſhould be brought up in *Nazareth*, although this was fore-told by him, *Chap.* 11. 1. not in the plain literal ſenſe, but ænigmatically.

4. Where the prediction, according to the plain literal ſenſe, was in the intention of the Holy Ghoſt to be oftner fulfilled than once, the Prophet which fore-told it, did always diſtinctly fore-ſee the event in the firſt place fore-told, or the firſt fulfilling of his own prediction. There is not the like neceſſity for us to believe or think that he had the like diſtinct fore-ſight or apprehenſion of thoſe events in which one and the ſelf-ſame Propheſie was the ſecond, third, or fourth time to be fulfilled. *Iſaias* diſtinctly fore-ſaw the future inclination of theſe *Jews*, by their preſent diſpoſition to draw near to God with their lips, and be far from him in their hearts, and that their hypocriſie (if continued) would work their deſtruction; otherwiſe he had but raved, or but ſpoken by gueſs, but that the matter of this his reproof, or Prophetical admonition ſhould be more exactly fulfilled of the *Jews* ſix hundred years after his time, as it was, we cannot determine whether he did fore-ſee this or no. In that Viſion made unto him, *Chapter* the 6. he diſtinctly fore-ſaw this Peoples proneneſs to wink with their eyes, and to harden their hearts unto their own deſtruction and deſolation of their Country; and out of his diſtinct fore-ſight hereof, he did deliver his meſſage in an imperative ſenſe, *excæca, obdura, make blind their eyes, and harden their hearts*, which in the prophetical uſe of theſe words, is uſually as much (but no more) as if he had ſaid, I am commanded to fore-warn you of ſuch a ſpirit of ſlumber and hardneſs of heart now creeping upon you, that (unleſs you repent) your Cities ſhall be deſolate, *&c.* But albeit we reſume that we formerly granted, and cannot now deny, that *Iſaias* had a diſtinct apprehenſion of our Saviours death and reſurrection; yet whether he had the like diſtinct apprehenſion, or fore-ſight of that excecation and obduration of his people, which did preſage the ſecond deſolation of *Jeruſalem*, and deſtruction of the ſecond Temple, as he had of the former made by *Nebuchadnezzar*, is queſtionable. And the more probable part of the queſtion is, that he had not. Of the return of *Judah* from the *Babyloniſh* Captivity *Iſaias* (as appears from the 6. Chapter) had a true prenotion: yet neither ſo full nor diſtinct as the Prophet *Jeremy* had, when he ſaw the Captivity come upon them. For from the book of *Jeremy*, not of *Iſaiah*, *Daniel* (a Prophet no way inferiour to either of them) learned the diſtinct time of his captivated peoples return to their own Land. As for the time of the ſecond Temples deſtruction, or for the deſtruction of it at all: that *Daniel* did neither learn from the Propheſie of *Iſaiah*, or of *Jeremy*, or of any books before extant;

for it was revealed unto him immediately from the Author of truth himſelf, and after ſuch a manner as that we cannot reaſonably imagine, either the ſubſtance or circumſtance of what was then revealed, to have been known to any Prophet before him. And yet it is true, that divers Propheſies, both of *Iſaiah*, and of *Jeremy*, were more exactly fulfilled in the deſolation of *Judah* by *Titus*, than they had been fulfilled in the former deſolation by *Nebuchadnezzar*.

5. But predictions prophetically typical (as well as teſtimonies meerly prophetical) were of two ſorts. In ſome ſuch predictions, the plain literal ſenſe did fit the antitype, as well as it did the type; as in the prediction before mentioned. *I will be to him a Father, and he ſhall be to me a Son*, and in the like *Pſam* 72. In others the literal inſcription did fit the type only according to the plain, literal, or logical ſenſe; and the antitype only in the moral or ſymbolical ſenſe. Of both ſorts it is true that the Prophets always had a view or apprehenſion of that which was immediately fore-told according to the literal ſenſe, or of the firſt fulfilling of it; the caſe is the ſame as it was in teſtimonies meerly prophetical. But of that which was immediately ſignified not by words but by ſome matter of fact or hiſtorical event, wherto the words in the literal ſenſe immediately refer, of ſuch ſecond events, or of the fulfilling of the Propheſie, both according to the literal and myſtical ſenſe, the Prophet had not always a diſtinct fore-ſight or apprehenſion. Such as they ſometimes had, was by extraordinary priviledge or diſpenſation, it was no neceſſary appendix of the ordinary gift of Propheſie; leſs appendant thereon, than the prenotion or fore-ſight of the ſecond, or third event was upon the fore-ſight or apprehenſion of the firſt. For in that caſe the ſame Propheſie, though often fulfilled, was yet always fulfilled only, according to a fuller importance or growth of the ſame literal ſenſe, without the intervention or mixture of any matter of fact, which could properly be called a real type or map of that which afterwards hapned. As, if the Prophet *Iſaiah* did not by vertue of the ordinary gift of the Spirit fore-ſee the ſecond or third remarkable fulfilling of that Propheſie; *This people draw near me with their lips, but are far from me in their hearts*; it is leſs probable that the Prophet *Jeremy* ſhould fore-ſee the ſecond, or more exact accompliſhment of that Propheſie: *Behold the day is come (ſaith the Lord) that they ſhall no more ſay the Lord liveth, which brought the Children of* Iſrael *out of the Land of* Egypt; *but the Lord liveth, which brought up the houſe of* Iſrael *out of the North-Country*, &c. *Jer.* 23. 7, 8. For in the ſecond fulfilling of this Propheſie, beſides the improvement or ſublimation of the literal ſenſe, there was an intervention of matter of fact or type.

6. Again, if it be doubtful whether the Prophets had always, or for the moſt part, ſuch a diſtinct fore-ſight of the antitype, as they had of the type, or if it be more probable that they had no ſuch apprehenſion of the antitype, when the literal ſenſe of their words did (though in a different degree) truly fit both; then is there no probability that they ſhould fore-ſee the ſecond accompliſhment of ſuch Propheſies as no way reach the antitype in the plain, literal, or grammatical ſenſe, but by Symbolical or Emblematical importance. *Iſaiah*, no doubt, had a clear fore-ſight of *Eliakims* admiſſion into *Shebnah*'s office, whoſe depoſition he likewiſe fore-ſaw: But that he fore-knew the harmony between the depoſition of *Shebnah* (which he knew would ſhortly be fulfilled) and the rejection of the Jewiſh

Rulers, or between *Eliakims* advancement, and our Saviours exaltation after his reſurrection, we have no probable inducement to believe; but inducements many to perſwade us that the fore-knowledge of things thus fore-propheſied and fore-ſhadowed, was for the moſt part reſerved unto the Holy Spirit, not imparted to the Prophets, who in fore-telling or fore-ſhadowing the Antitype were for the moſt part his Organs only, though his Agents in the prediction of the Type, and did ingage their credits only for the firſt fulfilling of the Prophecies, or for their fulfilling in general. Of the difference betwixt the knowledge of the Spirit of God, and the Prophets whom he did imply in repreſentation of myſteries to come, we may have a proportionable ſcale in the difference betwixt the extraordinary Herald, or other Inventor of ſuch devices as they give, and the ordinary Painter. An ordinary Scholar that ſhould ſee a painted Eclipſe of the Sun with this inſcription, *totum adimit quo ingrata refulget*, would eaſily apprehend that this word *ingrata* refers to the Moon; but what ingratitude or ingrateful perſon the Moon in this deviſe ſhould repreſent, that he could not learn from ſkill in painting, but from the Hiſtory of the Times, or from the Author of this deviſe, which (to my remembrance) was an *Italian* Prince, who had been brought under a cloud, much prejudiced in his honour and fortunes by an unthankful plant of his ſtock, whom his favour and countenance had advanced to the dignity of a Cardinal. Or if one ſhould intreat a ſkilful Painter to repreſent three ſmall Veſſels in the ſame River, diſtant one from another near upon the ſame line, one of them uſing the furtherance of Oars and Wind to go ſpeedily againſt the ſtream, another the benefit of Oars to outrun the ſtream, and a third in the middle moving neither ſwiftlier nor ſlowlier than the ſtream it ſelf doth, with this Motto or Inſcription, *videor occurſari utriſq;*, the ingroſſer of this deviſe from his own experience would eaſily conceive the truth of the inſcription in the grammatical or natural conſtruction of the words, and might conjecture in general, that they imported ſomewhat more than a bare repreſentation of what we ſee by daily experience verified of things floating in the water. For whilſt we row ſwiftly by them, we think they come againſt us, when they go the ſame way which we do, but more gently. And this is the condition of ſuch men in our times as will not combine with factious ſpirits, either with ſuch as by help of Arts and other potency directly oppoſe the truth, or ſuch as follow it with furious zeal or indiſcretion. He that ſeeks to hold the middle courſe betwixt theſe oppoſites, regulating as well his affections as his opinions by the placide current of the water of life, neither ſtriving againſt it, nor ſeeking to out-run it, ſhall be thought to oppoſe both parties and come in danger of being cruſht between them. But this moral is more than the Ingroſſer of ſuch a deviſe could apprehend, without further inſtruction than the review of his own work, or the grammatical ſenſe of the inſcription (ſuppoſe he underſtood Latin) would afford him. Now the Prophets in many caſes were but the Ingroſſers of ſuch viſions or repreſentations of myſteries to come, as the Holy Ghoſt did dictate unto them, whether by word or matter of fact, or both ways. The full importance of many ſuch repreſentations, neither was, nor could be revealed, ſave only by him which had the ſpirit of prophecy not by meaſure.

7. If *Enoch*, *Moſes*, *Elias*, and the whole fellowſhip of Prophets

which foretold our Saviours coming (whether firſt or ſecond) had been ſpectators of all his miracles, or ear-witneſſes of all his words; every one of them would have learned more from him, than all of them knew before. Each of them would have been able to make better conſtruction of one anothers words, than any of them, without his interpretations, could have made of his own. It is a lamentable negligence in many Interpreters, not to obſerve or ſeek after the manifeſt proofs which our Saviour gave of his immenſe prophetick ſpirit, from which, for the moſt part, they gather only moral doctrines and uſes. For that ſaying though delivered by Authors not Canonical, is yet canonical and univerſally true, *Never ſpake man like this man.* And thus he ſpake as well in interpretation of prophetical predictions or legal Ceremonies, as in his expoſitions of the moral Law.

8. Briefly then, if we had no better Interpreter of the Prophets than the Prophets themſelves, or no clearer apprehenſion of the myſteries now exhibited than they had when they foretold them; this would be ſufficient to confirm our Faith, that they ſpake by the Spirit of God; more than ſufficient to leave us without excuſe, if we ſhould not glorifie Chriſt as God: but when it is ſaid that we are built upon the foundation of the Prophets and Apoſtles, the meaning is not, that we are bound to ground our Faith only upon the actual apprehenſions or intentions of the Prophets and Apoſtles, but eſpecially upon the intent and meaning of the ſacred Spirit by whom they ſpake and were inſpired. For (as I ſaid before) they were ſometimes or in ſome reſpects his Agents, in others his Organs only: Nor are we bound to believe, that his inſpirations or inſtructions, ſuch as concern the particular point whereto they ſpake, were always comprehended by thoſe that were plentifully inſpired by him. For his inſpirations were oft-times more plentiful than their capacity was, and yet the overflow not ſpilt, but plentifully diffuſed to after Ages in matter of fact or Hiſtorical Event, if we do not ſo much contemplate theſe in themſelves, as the ſweet diſpoſition of them by the Divine All-ſeeing Providence.

Laſtly, In thoſe places of prophetical predictions which admit either amphibology of conſtruction, or equivocal ſenſe of words, or both, it was not neceſſary that the Prophets themſelves ſhould diſtinctly apprehend both conſtructions or ſenſes, but only that which they intended; and yet their ſayings might be and have been fulfilled in both. Yet this laſt branch of the reſolution of the former queſtion will bring forth another; whether the Prophecies of the Scriptures without prejudice to their ſacred truth admit amphibologies, or equivocal literal ſenſes.

CHAP. XVII.

Whether Divine Prophecies or Predictions concerning Chriſt, may admit Amphibologies, or ambiguous ſenſes.

WEre I in this place to meddle with the manner of Chriſts preſence in the Sacrament (a point which in due time and place will come to be diſcuſſed in theſe Commentaries:) I ſhould ſurely *balk* that ſaying of St. *Peter Acts* 3. 21. ὃν δεῖ οὐρανὸν μὲν δέξασθαι ἄχρι &c. that is, in our reading, *Whom the Heavens muſt receive or contain until the time of reſtitution.* This one place, in ſome mens judgments, will ſufficiently conclude for us in that great controverſie concerning Chriſts tranſubſtantial, or conſubſtantial preſence in the Sacrament. For if the Heavens muſt contain his body or humane nature until the time of reſtitution; he neither is nor can be preſent (according to this nature) in the Sacrament, whilſt it is celebrated here on Earth. But to this allegation the *Lutheran* long ſince hath ſhrewdly replyed, by making a quite contrary conſtruction of the words alledged, without alteration of any letter or point, though not without ſome amphibologie in the whole ſentence, beſides an equivocal or double ſignification of one word. Firſt, then it cannot be denied that the words forecited may, without violence to any Rule of Grammar, be conſtrued as if they were thus tranſpoſed ὃν δεῖ δέξασθαι μὲν οὐρανὸν, that is, He muſt receive the Heavens, rather than the Heavens him. And δέξασθαι τὸν οὐρανὸν without fraud or covin may import as much as to take the poſſeſſion or Government of Heaven, which our Saviour after his Reſurrection did, and is to retain both poſſeſſion and Dominion of Heaven and all things elſe, until the time of reſtitution whereof St. *Peter* there ſpeaks. For ſo *Camillus* is ſaid by a good Author δέξασθαι τὴν πόλιν, to have received the City, that is to have taken the Government of it upon him. And the Hebraiſm, whereof the Greek in the New Teſtament hath for the moſt part ſome tincture or relliſh, is not averſe from this interpretation. For ſo ſaith the Pſalmiſt ſpeaking (I take it) by way of Prophetical Type, of our Saviours exaltation; *When I ſhall receive the Congregation,* I will judge uprightly. *Pſal.* 75. 2. Now our Saviours receiving of Heaven and of the World it ſelf, in this ſenſe is without interruption, without diſpenſation; for he is perpetual Governour of it. But that Heaven doth ſo indiſpenſably receive or contain our Saviours Body or humane nature, that he may not at any time go or be out of it, until the time of reſtitution or the laſt day, is more than any man ſafely may affirm. Surely he was preſent with St. *Paul,* and was ſeen by him after another manner, than he is preſent with or ſeen by the *Lutherans* or Papiſts in their Sacraments. And how erroneous ſoever their doctrines concerning the manner of Chriſts preſence in the Sacrament be, this Text can be of no great uſe to refute them.

Plutar. in vita Camil.

2. Yet ſome have replyed upon the *Lutheran,* that by the forecited interpretation of this Text, they make St. *Peter* (a moſt ſacred Writer doubtleſs) to ſpeak in the Language of *Aſhdod,* as ambiguouſly as *Apollo* (whilſt he did beſt deſerve or brook the ſtile of λόξιος) ever did in his Heatheniſh Oracles. But this reply, with what eloquence ſoever it might be preſſed upon the *Lutherans,* may by them be as eaſily, and yet as forcibly retorted upon ſuch as make it. For if it be a fault to grant that theſe ſacred Oracles may admit amphibologies, or a ſcandal to give ſuch interpretations as may occaſion others thus to conceive of them: the fault and ſcandal (for ought I conceive) muſt be equally divided between the *Lutheran* Interpreters and their oppoſites. For if either would yield to other in their interpretations of this Text, either for the right placing or conſtruction of the words, or for the various ſignification of one and the ſame word, there could be no ſcandal given or taken. He in this caſe gives

the greateſt ſcandal, (if a ſcandal it be to grant Amphibologies in Prophetical or Apoſtolical Writings) who is moſt peremptory in his own opinion, or faſter wedded to the interpretations of his own ſect or faction. For my ſelf, (I thank God) I can with Patience, and Chriſtian Charity, permit either party to imbrace their own interpretation of this place, being fully reſolved that to grant either Amphibological or equivocal ſenſes or both in one, and the ſame ſentence, whether of moral or prophetical Writings, can be no prejudice to that ſacred eſteem, which all men ought to have, and may have of them. And he that will take upon him to diſtinguiſh the dictates of the Holy Ghoſt, from the anſwers of *Apollo* λόξιος, by this diviſion or difference, that the one did admit ambiguous conſtructions (whether for Amphibologies or equivocal ſenſes) which the other doth not admit, ſhall in this doing neither much prejudice the Heathen *Apollo*, nor much magnifie the Oracles of God.

3. To the Objection we are to anſwer anon. Our poſition for the preſent is, that many paſſages, as well in the Prophets, as other Sacred Oracles, may and do admit both Amphibologies and Ambiguous ſenſes, and that the ſame Propheſies are oft times fulfilled according to both ſenſes: that in the interpretation of moral precepts, which are ambiguous, we do not offend, unleſs we chuſe the ſiniſter or leſs ſafe part in our practice. It is ſo in this caſe, as in doubtful opinions: the one part is uſually more ſafe to be followed in practice than the other, although there be no abſolute reſolution whether is ſpeculatively more true. As ſuppoſe it to be equally probable on both ſides, whether tithes be due, *Jure divino*, or no: yet it would be the ſafer way for every man to pay his Tithes as duly, as if he were fully reſolved that they were due by Gods peremptory Law. For ſo long as any doubt remains, whether they be due by Gods Law or no; the detaining of them cannot by any Humane Law be made, *ex fide*, it is ὐκ ἐκ πίστεως, and whatſoever is ſo, is (in our Apoſtles ſenſe) a moſt grievous ſin. But to proced in our aſſertion. Rom. 14. 13.

4. Two grave and learned * Writers in their times (and their times were ancient in reſpect of ours) have obſerved an Amphibology in the directions which *Samuel* gave to *Saul* (from Gods own mouth queſtionleſs) 1 *Sam.* 10. 8. *Thou ſhalt go down before me to* Gilgal, *and behold I will come down unto thee to offer burnt offerings, and to ſacrifice ſacrifices of peace offerings: ſeven days ſhalt thou tarry till I come to thee, and ſhew thee what I will do.* It was *Sauls* misfortune, ſhall I ſay, or miſdemeanour to make choice of the worſe part of that double conſtruction which theſe words may admit, for this Amphibology was not, *in ſcripto*, but in words uttered, though afterwards committed to writing. Reaſon might have taught *Saul*, that if the War were undertaken, it was to be adminiſtred likewiſe by the counſel of the Lord; and therefore he did fooliſhly in adventuring to offer Sacrifice, or do any other Solemn Act, before the Prophet (who was the Lords Ambaſſadour in this buſineſs) came unto him. Although it be ſaid, Chap. 13. ver. 8. *That he tarryed ſeven days, according to the time ſet by* Samuel, yet in this doing ſurely, he did not as *Samuel* appointed him to do: otherwiſe *Samuel* had done more fooliſhly of the two. He ſtayed then the juſt meaſure of that time which *Samuel* had appointed, but he did not obſerve the ſeaſon, the end, or purpoſe which *Samuel* had appointed. The ſeven days were appointed him to offer Solemn Sacrifice, and if

* *Angelomus* and *Rupertus.*

if he had not digreſſed from *Samuels* direction herein, the ſeven days of Sacrifice had been his ſolemn inauguration to the Kingdom, as may with probability be gathered from the 13. verſe of the 13. Chap. Samuel *ſaid to* Saul, *thou haſt done fooliſhly: thou haſt not kept the Commandment of the Lord thy God, which he commanded thee: for now would the Lord have eſtabliſhed thy Kindom upon* Iſrael *for ever.*

5. To admit either an Amphibology in ſentences by mutual tranſpoſition of words or clauſes, or ambiguous ſignification of words by changing of points, can be no greater diſparagement to the ſacred authority of the original Text, than the equivocal or ambiguous ſignification of the ſame word without any alteration of points or letter, would occaſion; if either ſort of ambiguities did juſtly miniſter any ſuch occaſion at all. Now that the ſelf-ſame word, or words, may in one and the ſame ſentence admit ambiguous, and much different ſignifications, no man that reads the Scriptures with as much diligence, or obſervance, as reverence, can make queſtion. There is no difference at all betwixt Chriſtians and Jews, much leſs amongſt the Chriſtians themſelves, about letters or points in the 8. *Pſalm*, in that verſe eſpecially. *Thou haſt made him little lower than the Angels, and haſt crowned him with glory and honour.* This word *little* admits two ſenſes grammatically much different, and yet muſt reſpectively be interpreted according to the full purport of both. This *Pſalm* by the Title and Inſcription, is a *Pſalm* of *David*, and bears the character of *Davids* Pen: the ſubject or matter of it is Thankſgiving to God for his extraordinary favour unto man, above all other viſible Creatures. That which raiſed his thoughts to ſuch an high pitch, and his expreſſions of them in ſuch a lofty Prophetical ſtrain as he here uſeth, was his ſerious contemplation of the beauty of theſe Heavenly bodies, the Sun, Moon, and Stars, *&c.* all which he knew to be the works of Gods own hand: and yet he ſaw them nothing ſo much regarded by him as man, even the meaneſt of men, *Enoſh* or *Ben Adam.* The Heavens indeed were far above men in ſituation or place; but man was further above them in dignity, than he was below the Angels or Cœleſtial Creatures *Elohim.* Now if we reſpect only the plain literal ſenſe of the *Pſalmiſts* ſpeech, or conſider it as it reflects only upon the Hiſtory of the firſt Creation, the Hebrew מעט is an adverb of quantity, and is rightly rendred by the Latine *paulò* or *aliquantulum*, as it is moſt true, that man by the gift of Creation, was *little lower* than the Angels, being true Lord and King of this inferiour world. But moſt Pſalmiſts (*David* eſpecially) whilſt they contemplate the Sacred Hiſtories of times paſt, not as Polititians do Hiſtories ſecular, but as *vates præteritorum, as men rapt with Gods goodneſs* towards their Fore-fathers, become withal *vates futurorum*, true Prophets of better things to come. In this admiration of mans firſt eſtate which was now loſt, *David* had a view or glimpſe of his reſtauration to it, or a better: Whatſoever his thoughts or apprehenſions for the preſent were, his expreſſions by diſpoſition of Divine Providence, reached the manner of mans reſtitution to it, as they do the firſt eſtate it ſelf from which we fell. And in reſpect of this myſtical ſenſe, the ſame Hebrew מעט without any alteration at all, is an adverb of time, and is moſt divinely rendred by our Apoſtle, *Heb.* 2. 5, 6, &c. *Unto the Angels hath he not put in ſubjection the world to come, whereof we ſpeak, but one in a certain place teſtified*

ſaying, *What is man that thou art ſo mindful of him, or the ſon of man that thou viſiteſt him? Thou mad'ſt him lower, for a little while, than the Angels, thou crownedſt him with glory and honour, and didſt ſet him over the works of thy hands. Thou haſt put all things under his feet*, &c. His inference is admirable: For albeit the former words, *Thou haſt made him but a little lower than the Angels*, were literally true of the firſt man *Adam*, yet were they not verified in any Son of *Adam*. Nor were the words following, *thou haſt given him dominion over the works of thy hands*, &c. ever fulfilled either in the firſt man, or in any other creature; nor can they in their exquiſite ſenſe be applyed to any beſide the ſecond *Adam*, or ſon of Man, κατ' ἐξοχήν. He is now Lord of all, all things are ſubject to him, even as he is the ſon of man. And that he might be thus crowned with glory and honour, and bring his brethren, (miſerable men, and the ſons of miſerable men) unto glory, he was for *a while to be made lower than the Angels, through the ſufferings of death*, as our Apoſtle hath it, *ver.* 9. But to be made lower than the Angels after this manner, was to be made a great deal lower than they or the meaneſt of men, as the ſon of man was, though but for a little time.

6. But the utmoſt extent of that variety of ſenſes, which may ariſe either from the different ſignification of one and the ſame word, or from Amphibology of conſtruction, from diverſity of points, or change of letters, is not infinite. And if we ſhould examine all the poſſible changes of points or letters, which the Rabbins or others imagine, there will not appear any ſuch difference, throughout the whole Bible, for the quality or morality of the ſeveral ſenſes thus occaſioned, as the alteration of one point often doth in ſecular writings: not any ſuch as was in that ambiguous anſwer, which a Biſhop of this Land ſometimes gave to a wicked propoſal, *Edvardum occidere nolite timere bonum eſt*, Had he pointed this ſaying as it might have been pointed, his counſel had been good and Ghoſtly, but leaving the pointing of it to their diſcretion which asked his reſolution, his dealing was impious and diabolical. But the Founder of an Abbey did leave this Inſcription upon the Frontiſpiece thus rightly pointed, *Porta patens eſto: nulli claudatur honeſto:* The turning of one point out of his place thus, *Porta patens eſto nulli: claudatur honeſto*, did turn the Abbot (as the tradition is) out of his place. *Sicque unum ob punctum perdit Robertus Aſylum.* But the variety of pointing or changing letters, which hath been by divers imagined in the Hebrew, expoſeth no man to the like danger, can give no countenance to any lewd or wicked practices. A various reading may ſometimes hinder or incumber the true myſtical or ſpiritual ſenſe; it never depraveth the moral ſenſe: and oft-times again it furthereth the true and myſtical ſenſe: As that place of *Jer.* 25.38. is very ambiguous, and variouſly rendred by divers good Interpreters. Some read, *the Land ſhall be deſolate, becauſe of the fierceneſs of the* Grecian, as if *Greece* had taken the name of *Ionia*, from the Hebrew *Ionah*, which is the word uſed in that place. Others, and thoſe of good note, read, *becauſe of the fierceneſs of the Dove*; moſt of modern Writers read, *becauſe of the fierceneſs of the Oppreſſor, or Tyrant*. The participle or the verbal, (as ſome good Hebricians obſerve) is both active and paſſive, either an oppreſſor, or an oppreſſed. From the paſſive ſignification the Dove hath its name in the Hebrew, becauſe it is ſo ſimple a creature, expoſed to oppreſſion, without active ability to oppreſs others. How-

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ſoever we tranſlate it in this place, or in the like, *Jerem.* 46. 16. there will be no danger in the moral ſenſe, nor no controverſie about the fulfilling of this Prophecy in *Nebuchadnezzar*, who was no Dove for diſpoſition, unleſs it were for his folly after his Conqueſt of *Egypt* and the Neighbour Countrys.

7. Yet dare I not condemn the vulgar * Tranſlation, or ſome ancient Interpreters who follow the vulgar, or the ſame Tranſlation which the vulgar makes: Neither of them (as in charity I preſume) being ignorant, that the words may bear the ſame Tranſlation which the moſt now follow. Both of them might have better reaſons of the two known ſenſes which the Original might well bear, to chooſe that ſenſe which they imbrace, than I have to approve the contrary. For however the Dove be a ſilly impotent Creature in it ſelf, yet was it a Nurſing Mother (as ſome ancient Writers ſay) unto *Semiramis* that great Foundreſs of *Babylon*, and was the Royal Enſign of the *Babyloniſh* Empire, ſometimes as terrible to the Eaſtern Nations, as the Roman Eagles were to the Weſtern. And it is not unuſual even for ſacred Writers, to decipher the tyrannical or revenging power of greateſt Soveraignties by their Enſigns, whether theſe were by nature terrible or weak. And thus our Saviour himſelf deſcribes the ſagacity and potency of the Roman Forces by their Enſigns. This latter reading *à facie columbæ* doth much better characterize the ſwiftneſs of *Nebuchadnezzars* coming upon the *Egyptians*, and the neceſſity of the *Jews* ſpeedy flight from out that Land, than if we read *from the face*, or *wrath of the oppreſſor*, or (as the ſeventy have it) *from the mighty ſword*. The Prophet in that 46. *cap. v.* 16. implies, that unleſs they take their flight in time, they ſhould wiſh, when it was too late, that they had Wings like a Dove to fly away and be at reſt. The Author of the vulgar Latine differs in many places from our Modern Tranſlations, not out of ignorance of the different ſenſes which the Original might bear, but out of choiſe. And although he ſometimes err, yet for the moſt part *Cauſas habet error honeſtas*, he had ſome probable reaſon ſo to err: nor doth the error, howſoever occaſioned, induce any dangerous depravation, either of the moral or prophetical ſenſe. Sometimes he aims at ſome further myſtery, than the contrary reading which the Hebrew (ſuppoſing it were always pointed, as now we have it) will reach unto. There is as great a difference in the reading of one or two words, without alteration of any conſonant, in the laſt verſe of the ſecond Chapter of *Iſaiah*, betwixt the vulgar Tranſlation and ours, as in any place which I have obſerved. That verſe we read. *Ceaſe ye from man, whoſe breath is in his noſtrils: for wherein is he to be accompted of?* And thus we read it upon ſuppoſition that the Original -- בַּמֶּה was thus pointed. The vulgar Latine (according to *Forerius* his emendation of it) thus, *Quieſcite ergo ab homine, cujus ſpiritus in naribus ejus eſt: quia excelſus reputatus eſt ipſe*: and thus both he and the former vulgar read it, preſuming that the Original word was not בַּמֶּה but בָּמָה. I refer the determination of this various reading to accurate and unpartial Criticks of the Hebrew

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* *Thus to think of the vulgar Tranſlation* Fagius *his teſtimony of the tranſlator perſwades me upon the* 8 *verſe of the* 4. *Chap. of Geneſ.* Thargum Hieroſolymitanum conſentit cum Latinâ vulgatâ editione, ſic enim habet, Et dixit *Cain* ad *Hebel* fratrem ſuum, veni, egrediamur foras, ſive in agrum, &c. Quod propterea huc adfero, ne quis temerè, & impudenter vulgatam editionem Latinam rideat, exibilet, explodat, atq; plane condemnet, ſicubi illam à veritate hebraicâ forte diſſentire invenerit. Hoc enim fere, deprehendo, quòd ubi ea veritatem hebraicam non ſequitur, aut ſeptuaginta, aut Thargum *Onkeli* vel *Ionathæ*, aut Hieroſolymitanum, aut aliquem ex Commentatoribus Hebræorum ſequitur. Adeò, ut ejus tranſlationis author quiſquis fuerit, non temere ex ſuo capite finxerit, ſi qua in re à textu hebraico diſcrepare videtur. *Fagius* in tranſlat. præcip. vet. teſtam. collat. p. 22.

Dialect. For mine own part, I muſt confeſs, the material circumſtances of the Text may incline unto that reading which the vulgar follows, and St. *Jerom* approves, yea is very zealous for it. But it may be queſtioned, whether the Original *Bamah* do uſually, or in any other place beſides this, denote the height or dignity of any mans perſon or place, though it be the uſual word for expreſſing thoſe high places which were dedicated unto Idols. But this queſtion I ſubmit to the ſame reference with the former more general. It ſufficeth that there is no harm in either ſenſe.

Sometimes it ſignifies the high places appointed for Gods ſervice, as 1. Sam. 9. 13,14. and Deut. 32. 13. it ſignifies the excellency or choice places of the earth.

8. However if the Oracles of God do admit ſuch Amphibologies or various ſenſes, as theſe places laſt alledged by us do; why do we Chriſtians blame the Heathen Oracles for giving doubtful or ambiguous anſwers? or wherein do the Scriptures afford more manifeſt documents of a Divine Spirit ſpeaking in them, if Prophetical Oracles be as ambiguous for the ſenſe, as the Oracles of *Apollo* were? It was not Amphibology or equivocation ſimply conſidered, but the artificial or meditated contrivance of ambiguous or equivocal ſenſes, after they had been conſulted, concerning buſineſſes already ſet on foot and in agitation, which did convince the Heathen Oracles of deluſion. Had that ambiguous anſwer [*Aio te Æacida Romanos vincere poſſe,*] been given by the Oracle (unconſulted) two or three hundred years before *Pyrrhus* his Birth or the Roman Empires growth unto that mediocrity, which in *Pirrhus* days it had; the very prediction of ſuch equipoize between the Houſe of *Æacus* and of *Romulus*, or of ſuch doubtful conflicts as happened between the *Epiroteans* and the *Romans*, would have been a good proof of a Divine Inſpiration; no preſumption of deluſion, on which ſide ſoever ſucceſs had taken. Or if the like ambiguous Oracle Κροῖσος Ἅλυν διαβὰς μεγάλην ἀρχὴν διαλύσει, had been delivered, unſought after, as long before the Birth of *Cræſus* as that Prophecy of *Iſaiah cap.* 45. 1. &c. was before *Cyrus* was conceived, before he could think of God, or be thought of by men; Whatſoever in the iſſue had become of *Cræſus*, the fore-telling of his name, and manner of expedition againſt *Cyrus*, would have argued a ſpirit truly Prophetical, though not ſo diſtinctly prophetical or ſublime, as that ſpirit was by which *Iſaiah* conceived the fore-mentioned Prophecy concerning *Cyrus*. But ſeeing the Oracle was dumb until *Cyrus* was in Arms againſt the *Babylonians* and their Confederates, until Victory did hover betwixt two mighty Adverſaries, without expreſſing of her inclination to either, both of them being ſo deeply ingaged that the one (even in politick conjecture) was to have a mighty fall; the contrivance of this anſwer in ſuch doubtful and ambiguous terms, argues it to have been conceived by the Spirit which hath profered his ſervice and aſſiſtance to latter Popes, when they were conſulted upon like occaſions.

Now ſeeing our ſacred Oracles were given many hundred of years before the events foretold by them, and ſince exhibited, had any ſeminal cauſe or obſervable Original out of which they were to grow: the greater the variety of their ſenſes or conſtructions is, the more admirable proof doth their accompliſhment exhibit of that infinite wiſdom, which did dictate them unto the Prophets, eſpecially if one and the ſame Oracle in Proceſs of time be verified or fulfilled according to two or more poſſible conſtructions, or in ſenſes which may ſeem contrary or much different. After this manner was that forementioned Prophecy *Jerem.* 23. 6. 8. fulfilled; firſt in the ordinary and uſual ſenſe, in the peoples return from *Caldæa*, and thoſe Northern Countries, through which they had been diſperſed: and about five hundred years after, or from the time of our Saviours death, the ſame Propheſie was accompliſhed again in the moſt exquiſite literal ſenſe, and according to the primeval ſignification of one and the ſame word, [צָפוֹנָה] yet theſe * two ſenſes in which this Scripture was fulfilled, though different, were not contrary, but ſubordinate.

* *From the North land, and from the land of darkneſs.*

9. That place of the Prophet *Iſaiah*, Chap. 19. ver. 18. is ſubject to the like variety of reading or doubtful ſenſe, not by ſubſtitution of one or two points for others, but by the miſtaking of one conſonant for another being very like unto it, as of *Mem* for *Samech*. The Prophet, no doubt, did write and intend *Cherez* not *Cherem*, for it had been *Verbum male ominatum*, *an ill abodance*, if the firſt of theſe five *Egyptian* Cities, which were to ſpeak the language of *Canaan*, ſhould be called the *City of deſtruction.* It was to all of them matter of glory to become ſubjects to Chriſts Kingdom, and it was the glory of this one above the reſt, that it ſhould be the firſt participant of this glory. For this word [לְאַחַת] without any alteration of letter or point, doth ſignifie ſometimes *the firſt*, as well as *one*, becauſe one is the firſt in numbers. Now the firſt of theſe Cities did never ſo well brook its ancient name of *Heliopolis*, that is, the City of the Sun, by which it was known amongſt the Heathens, as when it was enlightned by the Sun of Righteouſneſs, and yet this ſplendour, through its Inhabitants default, was not perpetual: for, as I take it, before Saint *Jerom's* time, it was become the City of deſtruction or deſolation, having turned Gods Bleſſing (as many others did) into a curſe. And this alteration or change might be truly characterized in the ſubſtitution of one letter for another; whether that hapned by the negligence of Tranſcribers, or otherwiſe. For (as it is * elſewhere obſerved) thoſe things which be *æquivoca à caſu*, in reſpect of men, are *æquivoca à conſilio*, with reference to the Divine Providence, which though it never cauſe the errors of men, yet doth it order and moderate them.

* *In a Sermon entituled* Nazareth and Bethlehem] *towards the latter end, and in a Treatiſe of the Holy Catholick Church.*

10. It is doubtful (as ſome good Writers obſerve) whether the Prophet *Zachary*, Chap. 11. 13. did write הַיּוֹצֵר or הָאוֹצָר that is, *the Potter* or *the Treaſury*. That Hebrew *Rabbi*, whom *Vatablus* amongſt other good Chriſtian Writers approves, is of opinion, that he wrote, האוצר and that the letter *Jod* was added by negligence of Tranſcribers. Admitting his conjecture to be true, yet it no way diſparageth the ſincerity of the Hebrew Text, but rather occaſioneth a greater admiration of the all-ſeeing Providence of the Author of Scriptures, in repreſenting that devolution of the price of blood (which *Judas* retendred unto the High Prieſt) from the Sacred Treaſury, (unto which ſuch brogues, or eſcheats as this, were by ordinary courſe due) unto the buying of the Potters field. It is but one and the ſame branch of Divine Providence, thus to turn the negligence of Tranſcribers, to the ſeting forth of his wiſdom, and to divert the wicked intentions of men, unto the manifeſtation of his juſtice and goodneſs.

11. Sometimes again one and the ſame original word may have contrary ſignifications, and have another to parallel it in its contrariety. So the Hebrew *Kalal* in its abſtract or firſt ſignification anſwers to the Latine *elevare*, to be light, or of no weight: and hence

according to the variety of the matter or ſubject whereto it is applyable, it ſometimes imports *vility* or *contempt*, and ſometime *exaltation* or *advancement.* If we value the firſt ſignification of it as it is appliable to the ballance or juſt ſcale, to be elevated or diſcovered to be light, implies no good, but evil. Yet to be lifted up or exalted above others, not in juſt ballance, but whiles things compared ſtand upon their own bottom or center, includes matter of glory, or pre-eminence. The Hebrew *Cabad*, which in its prime ſignification is contrary to *Kalal*, and punctually anſwers to the Latine, *Grave eſſe*, or (in our Engliſh) to *be weighty, heavy, or ſway downwards*, ſo long as the compariſon ſtands betwixt things weighed in juſt ballance, argues matter of better value or pre-eminence. And hence it is that one and the ſame word, which in its prime ſignification imports weight or heavineſs, in the next metaphorical or tranſlated ſenſe, imports praiſe, honour, glory: yet if we take it out of the ballance, and ſet it in ſome other ſpecial reference, it implies depreſſion, diſgrace, or ignominy. Now according to the two contrary ſignifications of each of theſe words, whoſe prime ſignifications are directly contrary, that Propheſie of *Iſaiah*, Chap. 9. ver. 1. was exactly fulfilled *Primo tempore alleviata eſt terra Zabulon & terra Nepthali: & noviſſimo aggravata eſt via maris trans Jordanem Galilæa gentium. Populus qui ambulabat in tenebris, vidit lucem magnam.* So the old vulgar reads it; but according to *Forerius*, thus, *Primo tempore vilis fuit terra Zabulon, & terra Nepthalin, & noviſſimo honorata fuit, via maris trans Jordanem Galilæa gentium. Populus qui ambulabat in obſcuro, vidit lucem magnam.* *Zabulon* and *Nepthali* in our Prophets time had been weighed, as *Balſhazzar* afterwards was, in the ballance, and were found too light. They were the firſt which where ſwept away by the rod of *Aſhur*, and led Captives into a ſtrange Land. Yet were they the firſt unto whom the Goſpel of the Kingdom was Preached by our Saviour himſelf: and ſo the former Propheſie which had been in our Prophets time fulfilled of them, according to the prime ſignification of the Hebrew *Kalal*, which is to be *vile or light*, was in our Saviours time fulfilled of them, according to the ſecond importance of the ſame word, which is, to be exalted or advanced; and according to the firſt tranſlated ſenſe, or metaphorical ſignification of *Cabad*, which is to be honourable or glorious. The former fulfilling of this Propheſie ye have in the Sacred Hiſtory, 2 *Kings* 15. 29. *In the days of* Pekah *King of* Iſrael, *came* Tiglath Pileſer *King of* Aſſyria, *and took* Ijon, *and* Abelbethmaachaſh *and* Ianoah, *and* Kedeſh, *and* Hazor, *and* Gilead, *and* Galilee, *all the Land of* Nepthali, *and carried them Captive to* Aſſyria.

12. The ſecond fulfilling of it is exactly related by Saint *Matthew*, Chap. 4. ver. 12, 13, &c. *Now when Jeſus had heard that* John *was caſt into Priſon, he departed into* Galilee: *and leaving* Nazareth, *he came and dwelt in* Capernaum, *which is upon the Sea-coaſt, in the borders of* Zabulon *and* Nepthali: *that it might be fulfilled, which was ſpoken by* Iſaias *the Prophet ſaying. The Land of* Zabulon, *and the Land of* Nepthali, *by the way of the Sea beyond* Jordan, Galilee *of the Gentiles. The people which ſate in darkneſs, ſaw great light, and to them which ſate in the region and ſhadow of death, light is ſprung up.* But as *Zabulon* and *Nepthali* changed their minds or opinion of Chriſt, whom at firſt they honoured; ſo the words of this Propheſie did

change their ſignification, and were fulfilled of them again in a contrary ſenſe. It was their glory that they were elevated or lift up to Heaven, at our Saviours firſt coming to them: it was their ignominy and miſery that they afterwards became *graves* or *gravity*, preſſed down with their ſins to Hell. For unto this place of the Prophet *Iſaiah*, that ſpeech of our Saviour refers, *Mat.* 11. 20, &c. *Then began he to upbraid the Cities, wherein moſt of his mighty works were done, becauſe they repented not. Woe unto thee* Chorazin, *woe unto thee* Bethſaida: *for if the mighty works which were done in you, had been done in* Tyre *and* Sidon, *they would have repented long ago in ſackcloth and aſhes. But I ſay unto you, it ſhall be more tolerable for* Tyre *and* Sidon *in the day of judgment, than for you. And thou* Capernaum *which art exalted unto Heaven, ſhalt be brought down to Hell: for if the mighty works, which have been done in thee, had been done in* Sodom, *it would have remained unto this day. But I ſay unto you, that it ſhall be more tolerable for the Land of* Sodom, *in the day of judgment, than for thee.* In this our Saviour did ſpeak as never man ſpake, and manifeſt himſelf to be the Prince of Prophets, in that all his ſolemn ſpeeches, as well as deeds (if we would be obſervant of them) direct us to ſome Prophetical Oracle or other, or reveal ſome myſteries before latent, or (which is all one) ſome myſtical ſenſe of Scriptures. And however no Propheſie can be truly ſaid to be fulfilled only by way of accommodation or alluſion; though there be no alluſive ſenſe of Scriptures diſtinct from the ſeveral ſenſes before mentioned: yet ſhall we not be able to perceive, either the manner how many Propheſies are fulfilled, or the literal ſenſe of many places in the New Teſtament, unleſs beſides the grammatical ſignification or conſtruction of the words, we know withal the matter (be it rite or cuſtom, *&c.*) whereto they allude or refer.

CHAP. XVIII.

Containing the general Heads or Topicks for finding out the ſeveral ſenſes of Scripture, eſpecially for the juſt valuation of the literal ſenſe, whether in the Old Teſtament or in the New.

SUch qualifications, whether for learning or life, as *Tully* and *Quintilian* require in a compleat Orator, *Galen* in a Phyſitian, or other Encomiaſts of any liberal Science, profeſſion or faculty may require in a perfect Profeſſor of it, is but a part of theſe endowments, which ought to be in a true Divine or Profeſſor of Divinity. The Profeſſors of every other faculty, may without much skill in any Profeſſion beſides their own, truly underſtand the genuine rules or precepts of it. All the learning which he hath beſides, ſerves but for ornament, is no conſtitutive part of the faculty which he profeſſeth. But the very literal ſenſe of many precepts, or of many fundamental rules and *Maxims* in Divinity, can neither be rightly underſtood, nor juſtly valued, without variety of reading, and obſervations, in moſt other Faculties and Sciences that be; beſides the Collation of Scripture with Scripture, in which ſearch alone more induſtrious ſagacity is required, than in any other Science there can be uſe of. The references, without whoſe knowledge the poſitive ſenſe of many Scriptures cannot be known, *are reſpectively* almoſt *infinite*, at leaſt *incomprehenſible* to any one mans reading or obſervation. It ſhall ſuffice in this place to comprehend the generality of all under this brief diviſion. The matters whereto the Scriptures, whether of the Old or New Teſtament refer, are either rites and cuſtoms civil, or natural experiments not recorded by any Canonical Writers; or rites and cuſtoms, practices and experiments recorded in the Canon of Faith. It would be no difficult work to write a large volume of inſtances in either kind. Of both I preſent only theſe few, firſt of cuſtoms, practices, or experiments, not expreſſed in any Canonical Writer.

2. *Set thou an ungodly man to be Ruler over him, and let Satan ſtand at his right hand*, (ſaith the Pſalmiſt, *Pſalm* 109. 5.) The imprecations in this Pſalm, of whomſoever elſe they were literally meant, were fulfilled in *Judas Iſcariot*; and for this reaſon this Pſalm was uſed at the degradation of Biſhops, when they were found Traytors either to their calling, or to their leige Lords. But the paſſage fore-cited hath a ſpecial reference to the cuſtom of thoſe ancient times, in which the Adverſary or Accuſer was to be placed on the right hand of him, that was to be condemned, and on the left hand of him that was to be acquitted. The emblematical or moral ſenſe of this cuſtom, is expreſt by the Pſalmiſt in the verſe following, *When ſentence is given upon him, let him be condemned.*

Poſt hæc rogavit *Chilpericus* Pontifices ut aut veſtis prætextati ſcinderetur, aut centeſimus octavus Pſalmus (qui maledictiones Scariothecas continet) ſuper eum recitaretur, vel certè in perpetuum communione privaretur Aimoinus, in lib. 3. cap. 27.

3. Of Wiſdom, ſaith *Solomon*, Prov. 3. 16. *Length of days is in her right hand, and in her left hand riches and honour.* A man of ordinary reading and obſervation, would conceive by the character of this ſpeech; that length of days was much better than riches or honour, becauſe thoſe are preſented by Wiſdoms left hand, but length of days by her right hand. But a Learned Critick (for thoſe times, wherein he lived) hath obſerved a more *recondite* ſenſe of theſe words, charactered unto us in the cuſtom of thoſe ancient times, whereunto *Solomon* alludes. It was the manner of the Ancients to expreſs all numbers under an hundred upon the fingers of their left hand, but hundreds and above hundreds, upon the fingers of their right hand, as *Juvenal* deſcribes the happineſs of *Neſtor*;

In quibus verbis præter illum ſenſum qui eſt in promptu ſubeſt recondita quædam per digitos computandi ratio, qua omnis antiquitas utebatur. Quamvis enim per longitudinem dierum intelligatur interminabilis vitæ jucunda poſſeſſio, reſpicit tamen ad illud quod qui pertingebat annum vitæ centeſimum, incipiebat in dextrâ manu computare, cum in ſiniſtrâ ſuperiores numeraſſet. Ut de *Neſtore*, qui apud *Ovidium* dixerat; vixi annos bis centum, nunc tertia vivitur ætas. *Juvenalis* ait. Rex Pylius magno, &c. *Ant. Nebriſtenſis* in quinquagena, *cap.* 16.

Fœlix nimirùm, qui per tot ſecula mortem
Diſtulit, atque ſuos jam dextrâ computat annos.

His years were more than could be numbered upon his left hand, for he lived three hundred years; a fair age, yet not comparable to the length of days, or number of years, which the right hand of Wiſdom diſpenſeth to her followers: theſe exceed all vulgar ſcale both for number and happineſs.

4. Some places there be even in the New Teſtament, whoſe force or elegancy cannot be apprehended without ſome skill, either Experimental

mental or Speculative, in meaner faculties. Moſt of the Parables uttered by our Saviour, albeit we take them with his own expoſitions of them to his Diſciples, can hardly be underſtood by beſt Divines of theſe times, unleſs they be weighed with the matter or ſubject whereon the Parable is grounded, or to which his ſpeeches in particular refer. No Parable is more clearly expounded than the Parable of the ſower; and yet many good Interpreters have erred in the Expoſition of it; and from this error have made the Land of *Jewry* (whilſt Gods temporal bleſſing was upon it) to be envied for its fruitfulneſs in reſpect of others. To reap twenty buſhels of Corn for one of Seed, exceeds the rate of fertile ſoils amongſt us; and yet this is the loweſt ſcantling of that increaſe, which the Seed ſown in good ground, did bring forth. But if we meaſure the increaſe mentioned in the Parable, not from the meaſure of the Seed which is ſown and reapt, but from the particular grains which took root and proſpered in good ground, we ſhall have no cauſe to accuſe our own Fields of Barrenneſs in reſpect of *Judæa*. For one grain in ſome parts of this Kingdom (not the moſt fertile) yields more than ſeventy, though others in the ſame Land yield not twenty, and ſome it may be, in other places, above an hundred.

5. He that knows not ſo much in the Art of Grafting, as that the Graft doth ſweeten the ſap and moiſture, which it receives from the ſtock, not participating of its ſowrneſs, ſhall hardly underſtand Saint *Pauls* meaning, *Rom.* 11. 24. *If thou wert cut out of the Olive Tree, which is wild by nature, and wert grafted contrary to nature in a good Olive Tree: how much more ſhall theſe which be the natural branches be grafted into their own Olive Tree?* To graft wild Plants in ſweet ſtocks (at leaſt for the graft ſo planted to proſper) is contrary to the ordinary cuſtom of nature, and it is in particular more contrary to the nature of the Olive, than to any other Tree, becauſe it will hardly admit of any graft by reaſon of its fatneſs, nor will the grafts of it eaſily thrive in any other ſtock, if we may believe ſuch, as write of Plants.

6. With ſowing and planting, the dreſſing of Vines hath more than affinity, and without ſome knowledge or experience of this part of huſbandry, ſome intire Parables, and other Allegorical ſpeeches uttered by our Saviour himſelf, cannot rightly be interpreted: and for theſe three parts of huſbandry and others, the rule is but one; [that every one who takes upon him to expound thoſe paſſages in the Goſpel, which refer to theſe branches of huſbandry, peruſe ſuch Authors as write in particular of the cuſtoms or manners uſual in that climate wherein our Saviour converſed in ancient times:] For neither doth the huſbandry of theſe times, or of this climate wherein we live, in many points well ſuit with thoſe practices or rules of huſbandry whereunto our Saviour alludes.

7. But however many of our Saviours Parables refer unto theſe or like Experiments in vulgar Trades, yet ſundry Parables and other Speeches uttered by him, and by his Apoſtles, require either ſpeculative or experimental Knowledge in more ingenuous and more noble Profeſſions; or in civil Rites or Cuſtoms which vary in ſeveral Ages, or Nations. A man that had never ſeen any Marriage celebrated out of his own Native Soil, or Neighbour Countries, nor read of the Rites or Cuſtoms in this kind uſed by Eaſtern Nations, before or about the time of our Saviours Pilgrimage here on Earth, could not be much edified by the Parable of the Ten Virgins, or the

like which allude to nuptial Cuſtoms in thoſe times. *Briſſonius* and *Roa* would ſtead a Preacher more which hath occaſion to expound theſe Parables, than twenty ordinary Commentators or Profeſſors in Divinity, unleſs it be ſuch as have been beholding to theſe two, or other Authors of Miſcellane Philologie.

8. To compare the Tabernacle of the Sun which God hath placed in the Heavens, and the riſing of this glorious light, unto the manner of a Bridegrooms coming out of his Chamber after the manner and faſhion in uſe with us, would be but an homely expreſſion. Yet hath it pleaſed the Spirit of God to deſcribe the out-goings of this great light which governs the day, in that moſt elegant ſacred hymn; *In them hath he ſet a Tabernacle for the Sun, which is as a Bridegroom coming out of his Chamber, and rejoiceth as a ſtrong man to run a race. Pſal.* 19. 4, 5. But the cuſtom or manner of Uſhering Bridegrooms, in thoſe times, out of their Chambers by Lamps or Torches in the night time, had a Poetical *decorum* for repreſenting the manner of the Suns recourſe unto us after darkneſs, the Morning Star or ſtrained glimmerings of the dawning being as his Torch-bearers. And as the Bridegrooms coming out of his Chamber to fetch his Bride, was a ſilent Poem of the Suns approach unto us; ſo the Pſalmiſts Deſcription of the Sun in its riſing and courſe is a ſpeaking Picture of the coming of the Sun of Righteouſneſs into the World, after the light of Prophecies or Revelations, whether by Urim and Thummim, or by voice from Heaven, had been far removed from the Hemiſphere of *Judæa*, until they began to return again in *John Baptiſt* and his Father *Zacharias*, who were as the day Star or dawning to Uſher in the Sun of Righteouſneſs, who was to continue his courſe from the one end of the Earth to the other, with more indefatigable courage, and with more comfortable warmth, than this viſible Sun doth viſit the Earth. He was that ſtrong man, that *Gebor*, unto whom the Pſalmiſt compares the Sun in its ſtrength, for *Gebor* is his proper Title. And I make no queſtion but the glory of his Kingdom begun here on Earth, though deſcending from Heaven where it ſhall be accompliſhed, was by the Holy Ghoſt intended according to the Myſtical ſenſe of that Pſalm, which is not a Hiſtory only but a true Prophecy.

* And our Apoſtles allegation of the fourth verſe of this Pſalm *Rom.* 10. 18. *Their ſound went into all the earth, and their words unto the end of the World*, was not alluſive only, but argumentative and fulfilled in the Preaching of the Goſpel by the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors in the myſtical ſenſe, as it had been before thoſe times daily verified in the literal.

* Sed dico: An non audierunt? Quartum argumentum ſumptum ab eo quod Gentes antea quoque ſemper habuerunt præclaram divinæ bonitatis cognitionem. Quo argumento haud dubie Judæorum malitiæ plenam retundit invidiam. Quare inquit, hic tantopere offendimini ac ringimini, ſemper conantes modis omnibus impedire, ne Evangelium communicetur Gentibus. An exiſtimatis Gentes nunquam antea de bonitate Dei quicquam audiviſſe? Atqui Pſalmographus diſertè teſtatur quicquid cognoſci de Deo poteſt, vel ex ipſa conditione rerum viſibilium quæ in mundo ſunt ab omnibus mortalibus exploratum abundè teneri. In omnem terram exivit ſonus eorum, & in fines orbis terrarum verba illorum. *Andrea Hyperius* in D. *Pauli* ad Romanos Epiſtolam exegema, *cap.* 10. *verſ.* 18.

9. But meer ignorance in theſe and the like Parables of our Saviour, whoſe knowledge nearly concerned the Generation in which and for whoſe good he uttered them, (however the knowledge of them much concerns us of this Age and Nation) cannot be ſo prejudicial to all good Chriſtians, as the ignorance of other Parables, and other Proverbial ſpeeches of his, which alike meerly concern Mankind. Yet an ignorance there is of many Rites and Cuſtoms, unto which both the words of the Prophets, and his explications of them, which

concerns mans Redemption by him, punctually refer according to the literal ſenſe. Moſt of us know not him as our Redeemer, becauſe we know not our ſelves, nor that miſerable bond of ſervitude which he did diſſolve for us all. And this we know not, becauſe we conſider not the ſtate and condition of legal Servants, unto cruel and tyrannical Lords. We were ſervants to a moſt cruel Tyrant. And the Son of God for our Redemption, became truly and properly a ſervant to his Father, before he became our Lord in ſpecial, and ſo muſt we be ſervants to him in ſpecial, before we become the Sons of God. For we muſt be Sons before we be Heirs, and Sons by Adoption, before we be made Kings and Prieſts unto his Father. I never read that paſſage of our Apoſtle, *Rom.* 8. 15. [*Ye have not received the Spirit of Bondage again to fear, but ye have received the Spirit of Adoption, whereby we cry Abba Father*] But I always conceived there was ſomewhat more contained in it, than was to be found in any Lexicon or vulgar Scholiaſt: yet what it ſhould be in particular, I learned of late from a * Learned Profeſſor of another faculty, which he hath adorned by his more than ordinary ſkill in ſacred Antiquity, and miſcellane Philology. Now if we value the Apoſtles words, *per quem clamamus Abba Pater*, with reference to the legal cuſtom, or manner by which ſome ſort of ſlaves by birth and condition, did claim the priviledge of Manumiſſion, or of Adoption amongſt the Ancient *Jews*: the expreſſion is full of Elegancy and moſt Divine; the manner of their Adoption to hereditaments temporal, was a kind of typical Propheſie of our Adoption to our Eternal Inheritance in the Heavens.

* Et fallor nimiùm niſi ex hoc more & locutionis genere pendeat tum Phraſis illa ſacra apud D. *Paulum* περὶ υἱοθεσίας, ſive adoptione in Epiſtola ad Galatas 4. ut eos qui ſub lege erant redimeret, ut adoptionem filiorum (ſeu liberorum) reciperemus: Quoniam autem eſtis filii (ſeu liberi) miſſit Deus ſpiritum filii ſui in corda veſtra clamantem, Abba, Pater. Itaque jam non es ſervus ſed filius aut proles & hæres Dei per Chriſtum, tum illa ad Romanos 8. 14. Quicunque Spiritu Dei aguntur ii ſunt filii (ſeu liberi) Dei. Non enim accepiſtis ſpiritum ſervitutis in timorem; ſed accepiſtis ſpiritum adoptionis, filiorum (ſeu liberorum) Dei, in quo κράζομεν; eodem vocabulo utroque in loco utitur, clamamus Abba, Pater. Ipſe enim ſpiritus teſtimonium reddit ſpiritui noſtro, quòd ſumus filii (ſeu liberi) Dei. Si autem filii (ſeu liberi) & hæredes. Elegans eſt, ad receptos Ebræorum mores alluſio. *Johannes Seldenus* de ſucceſſionibus in bona defuncti, *&c.* ad leges Hæbreorum, cap. 4.

10. Were we as well acquainted either with Boys plays in ancient times, as with our Chriſtmaſs ſports, or with the ſeveral kinds of Olympick games, as we are with our Country may-games or horſe-races, we might be more beholden to our ſelves in many points, than to ordinary profeſt Expoſitors of Sacred Writ. For even unto childiſh ſports, the father of the fatherleſs, and guardian of the helpleſs, our Saviour himſelf, ſometimes refers us for the true meaning of his Parables, as in *Matthew* 11. if we may believe *Lyra* or *Theophilact* in matter of fact; *But whereunto ſhall I liken this Generation. It is like unto Children ſitting in the Markets, and calling unto their Fellows, and ſaying, we have piped unto you, and ye have not danced; we have mourned unto you, and ye have not lamented. For* John *came neither eating nor drinking, and yet they ſay he hath a Devil. The Son of man came eating and drinking, and they ſay. Behold a man Gluttonous, and a Winebibber, a Friend of Publicans and Sinners; But Wiſdom is juſtified of her Children.* But whether there were any ſuch poſitive cuſtom amongſt Children, as *Lyra* and *Theophilact* relate, I will not diſpute *pro* or *con*: However, * *Maldonats* obſervation upon the place is of very good uſe for any that either intend to make a Comment, or to read Commentators upon our Saviours Parables, with liberty of judgment or diſcretion. The beſt is, *Janſenius* hath better

* Paulò propius ſenſum videtur *Hugo Card.* attigiſſe: enim non

better expounded this place with reference unto childrens ſports in general, than *Lyra* or *Theophilact* have done, although we grant them ſuch a peculiar kind of ſporting as they ſuppoſed was then in uſe. *Verum ut ludi genus hoc incertum eſt, ita nec convenit literæ. Non enim in literâ dicuntur hi quidem dicere*, Cantabimus vobis & non ſaltaſtis, *aliis vero*, lamentavimus & non ploraſtis, *ſed utrumque eiſdem tribuitur. Et vana eſt Nicolai interpretatio, qui ideo dictum putat* [coæqualibus ſuis dicunt] *quia pueri diviſi erant in duas æquales partes. Coæquales enim propriè dicuntur Coætanei, & Græcè in Matthæo, eſt* ἑταῖροις, *id eſt, ſodalibus. Proinde ſimplicius fuerit, ſine ſpecialis alicujus ludi imaginatione exemplum hoc intelligere ſecundum conſuetudinem communem puerorum, qui in foro & lætioribus locis civitatem congregati inter ſe ſtudent ludendo effingere, quicquid ab aliis vident ſeriò agi. Itaq; aliquando nuptias effingunt, & nuptiales lætitias tibiarum aut aliorum inſtrumentorum cantu imitantur; aliquando verò funeralia obſequia exprimunt, in quibus apud Judæos planctibus & lamentatione quorundam ac lugubrium decantatione, ſolent homines ad triſtitiam & fletum provocari. Hæc dum imitantur pueri, fit frequenter, ut quod joco agunt, non ſit efficax, vel ad tripudia nuptialia, vel ad fletus funerales provocandos.*

11. But as for the Olympick games, or the like, whether elſewhere inſtituted in imitation of them, or before them, it is evident, that the Apoſtles and other Sacred Writers (Saint *Paul* eſpecially) had both ſeen them, and made good uſe of them for the more lively expreſſions of many Chriſtian Duties. And unleſs we know the particular * Cuſtoms unto which their words refer, we ſhall but play at Blind-man-buff in our Expoſitions of them, or in our Exhortations to ſuch practices as they preſcribe, *Conſider him* (ſaith our Apoſtle) *that endured ſuch contradiction of ſinners againſt himſelf, leſt ye be weary and faint in your minds, ye have not yet reſiſted unto blood, ſtriving againſt ſin, Heb.* 12. 3,4. The words are Metaphorical, or *Verbo tenus*, Allegorical, and allude unto thoſe ſtrivings or conflicts which ſeldom were determined without blood, wherein it was a ſhame to yield, before any blood was drawn. Such was the law or practice of thoſe games which the Latines call *Pugilatus*, wherein *manus demittere*, to let down the hands, was an acknowledgment of Victory; which haply might have been recovered by the party wounded, or remitting his hands, unleſs his heart had been weaker than his hands. To this purpoſe that exhortation, *Heb.* 12. 12. *Wherefore erect the hands which hang down, and the feeble knees.* The duty whereto he exhorts them, was no practice of Alms or Charity towards impotent or feeble men, but that the *Paſtors*, whom this precept doth eſpecially concern, ſhould encourage their flock to ſtrive againſt ſin, with as great courage and reſolution as the Olympick or other Gameſters did againſt their Antagoniſts, not to let down their hands, or give over after many wounds or reſiſtance unto blood; as being ſure, though they dyed in fight to be better rewarded, than the Victors were in theſe bodily fights.

perſonas perſonis, ; ſed negotium negotio: nec partes partibus: ſed totum toti comparari. Senſum enim eſſe, perinde ſe Scribarum & Phariſæorum cauſam habere, atque ſi pueri dicant ſodalibus ſuis, cecinimus vobis, &c. Sic enim poſſe illis dici, Johannes vobis lamentatus eſt, & non planxiſtis; filius hominis cecinit, & non ſaltaſtis. Hunc eſſe verum ſenſum, ver. 19. magis probabimus. Nunc ſatis eſt ut moneamus valdè eſſe uſitatum, ut in parabolis non perſonæ perſonis, non partes partibus; ſed totum negotium, toti negotio comparetur Can. 13. 24. ſimile factum eſt regnum cœlorum homini, qui ſeminavit bonum ſemen in agro. Non enim regnum cœlorum homini, ſed potius ſemini, aut agro ſimile eſt. Itaque ſenſus eſt, idem accidit in regno cœlorum, atque ſi quis ſeminaſſet bonum ſemen in agro ſuo, & ibidem verſiculo 45. Simile eſt regnum cœlorum homini negotiatori quærenti bonas margaritas. Non enim homini, ſed potius margaritæ ſimile eſt, & idem accidit in regno cœlorum, atque ſi quis quærat bonas margaritas, inventa autem una pretioſa margarita vendat omnia quæ habeat, & emat eam. Sexcenta ſunt exempla generis ejuſdem. Itaque fruſtra laborat, qui anxiè quærit, quomodo perſonæ perſonis, partes partibus reſpondeant. Totum ſententiæ corpus intuendum eſt, & integrum ex integra parabola trahendum: ne in partes diviſum pereat, atq; diſſolvatur. *Maldo. verſ.* 16. *cap.* 11. *Mat.*

* *All that concern this argument are exquisitely handled by* Petrus Faber *in his* Agoniſticon.

fights. Unto the ſame courage and reſolution the Prophet *Iſaiah* had exhorted the people of God in his age, though not them only, but all ſucceeding Generations. For his words are tipycally Prophetical, and point directly to the time of our Saviours coming to viſit and redeem his people: and yet alluſive withal unto the bodily ſtrivings or wreſtlings of thoſe ancient times, *Iſa.* 35. *ver.* 34. *ſtrengthen ye the weak hands, and confirm the feeble knees, ſay to them that are of a fearful heart, Be ſtrong, fear not, behold your God will come with vengeance, even God with a recompence, he will come and ſave you.* The end and ſcope as well of the Prophet, as of our Apoſtle, was to inſpire ſuch life and courage into Gods people in their heavieſt preſſures, as that *Cæſarean* Souldier did into his Mates, when *Pompey's* followers, in *Cæſars* abſence, had almoſt beaten them out of their Trenches:

——(a) *Peterem fæcilior umbras*
Cæſaris aſpectu, teſtem hunc fortuna negavit;
Pompeio laudante cadam, &c.
Vicimus, O Socii, veniet qui vindicet arces.

(a) *Bucanus.*

12. If we knew the true importance of *manus remiſſas*, we might know withal the true importance of βέβηλος, uſed by our Apoſtle in the ſame place; which ſometimes ſignifies a profane perſon, but ſo it ſignifies by conſequence only: the punctual meaning of it in this Chapter ver. 16. (if I be not miſtaken) is better expreſt by the Syriack, רפא and by the Latine *remiſſus*, than by *profanus*, that is, ſuch a one as is ready to yield rather than to endure any hard conflict; or ſuch as *Eſau* was, who did chuſe rather to relinquiſh his inheritance than to ſuffer a ſharp hunger or thirſt for a ſeaſon.

Uſual it was with S. *Paul*, and with others (whether ſacred Writers or Writers of ſacred Myſteries) to draw arguments *à minore ad majus*, that is, from the practice of ſuch as were diſpoſed to try Maſteries for temporary Crowns or Garlands, to perſwade ſuch abſtinence or other obſervances requiſite for all who ſeek after the incorruptible Crown of Glory, which cannot be taken from them: for the winning or wearing whereof no man can be prevented, ſo he ſtrive for it lawfully. Witneſs that one place, for this preſent. 1 *Cor.* 9. 24, 25, *&c. Know ye not that they which run in a race, run all, but one receiveth the price? So run, that ye may obtain; And every man that ſtriveth for the maſtery, is temperate in all things. Now they do it to obtain a corruptible Crown, but we an incorruptible. I therefore ſo run, not as uncertainly: ſo fight I not as one that beateth the air. But I keep under my body, and bring it into ſubjection, leſt that by any means, when I have Preached to others, I my ſelf ſhould be a caſt-away.* But if all thoſe which run in Secular races, it be not poſſible for more than one to receive the prize, or (as the original word imports) to ſnatch it from the *blede* or *ſtaff* whereto they run; we may be ſure that not ſo many would offer themſelves to try maſteries in this kind, as otherwiſe would be forward, if every one that did his devoir might be aſſured of ſome reward ſufficient to acquit, or countervail his pains. If then this ſimilitude, between ſuch as ſeek a corruptible and an incorruptible Crown, did run (as we ſay) *quatuor pedibus*, few of our Apoſtles Auditors would have adventured their pains or endeavours in that Chriſtian courſe to which he exhorted all.

Maldonats fore-mentioned rule for the right interpretation of Parables or Similitudes of this kind, is as uſeful for the right interpretation of this place, as for any other Parable or Similitude in Scripture: and his rule (or rather the rule of *Hugo Cardinalis* from whom he borrowed his animadverſions upon *Matthew* 11. 16.) is thus. (b) *We are not to compare perſons with perſons, nor to be curious in ſuiting particulars to particulars, but to accord the whole buſineſſes handled in groſs: as when it is ſaid, The Kingdom of Heaven is like unto a man that ſowed good ſeed in his field, we are not to parallel the man, but rather the ſeed ſown, or the field where it is ſown, with the Kingdom of Heaven: or in this and the like generality; It happened in the plantation of the Kingdom of Heaven, as when a man hath ſown good ſeed in his ground, the envious man comes and ſows tares.*

b *See his words noted in the Margent, Paragraph the* 10. *of this Chapter.*

13. But what was S. *Pauls* meaning in 24. of the fore-cited Chapter? That every one which profeſſeth Chriſtianity muſt be more reſolutely circumſpect in his undertakings and their managings, than thoſe few in compariſon are, who enter the liſts for a temporal prize or garland. Otherwiſe they ſhall be ſure to fail of their hopes, to be in worſe caſe than ſuch as come only as ſpectators, that purpoſe to be no actors in ſuch prizes, or than ſuch actors as do *nihil agere*, or after they have run, ſit down with loſs. To this effect he expreſſes himſelf in the verſes following; *Every man that ſtriveth for the maſtery, is temperate in all things, &c.* But the very literal importance of thoſe three words in the Original ὑπωπιάζω κηρύξας and ἀδόκιμος, cannot be ſo well learned from any Dictionary or *Lexicon*; as from ſuch as write of the Olympick Games, or of that kind of tryal of maſteries, which in his time or before was in uſe. The word ὑπωπιάζω is proper (I take it) unto Wreſtlers, whoſe practice it was to keep under other mens bodies, not their own, or to keep their Antagoniſts from all advantage of hold, either gotten or aimed at. But our Apoſtle did imitate their practice upon his own body, not on any others, for his own body was his chief Antagoniſt. The word κηρύξας hath in that place no immediate reference unto the preaching of the Goſpel, but did generally import ſuch as were tryers of Olympick Games, whether *wreſtlings*, *whirlebats*, or the like. The word ἀδόκιμος comprehends all which loſt the prize for which they contented, whether by ſluggiſhneſs or foul play.

The ſame word cometh to ſignifie a *Reprobate*, or a man finally rejected by God, or irreverſibly deprived of his good ſpirit, but at the ſecond, third, or fourth hand. And thoſe Interpreters of ſacred Writ, who take this title uſual in Scripture to be a Metaphor of ſpeech borrowed from falſe coins or counterfeit metals, fail more in Logick than in Grammar; though fail they do in both. It ſometimes indeed refers or alludes unto falſe or counterfeit coins, and according to this *Reference* it comes the neareſt to the denotation of a Reprobate, or a man finally rejected by God. For that coin which is for ſubſtance but Braſs, or Copper, will hardly (if at all) after it be caſt aſide upon tryal, go amongſt wiſe men for currant money. The tranſmutation of baſer metals into more pretious, however ſome men profeſs this ſkill, is ſeldom effected, perhaps not facible: whereas he that was this year ἀδόκιμος in the Olympick Games or other like prizes, might the next year be ἀδόκιμος, or crowned as Victor. But the Original word, for its formal or abſtract ſignification, is a great deal more general, than to be reſtrained either to coined metals, or to men which ſtrive for maſtery in any kind of activity. It properly imports a *rejection upon juſt tryal*, and is applyable to matters and perſons almoſt infinite.

14. Or if we interpret this word by its reference unto money or coins, yet even theſe may be ἀδόκιμα, more ways than one; either for the baſeneſs of the metal, or for the counterfeit ſtamp, or for want of weight. For if it be but ſome grains too light, any man may refuſe it, although it bears *Cæſar's* Image and Superſcription. Or if it be full weight, and pure Gold withal; yet if it be elſewhere eſtamped, than where *Cæſar* ſhall appoint, or by any ſtamp or perſon not authorized, no man is bound to receive it, and he that tenders it, is to be puniſhed. And yet both theſe kinds of Reprobate Coins may be legitimated or made current, by new coining, or addition of quantity without any alteration of the quality. But coins, ἀδόκιμα, for the metal, as if that be Braſs, Copper, or Silver gilt, and eſtamped for Gold, albeit they be full weight, are by no Laws currant. And yet ſome there be (as we ſaid) which profeſs the Art of turning ſuch metals into Gold, but whether this be facible, or no, is no point of Divinity. But ſurely the Almighty Creator of all things, hath more skill in transforming men of what condition ſoever, than any Alchymiſt hath in changing metals from worſe to better. Even ſuch as are ſaid to be given over by him into a Reprobate ſenſe, εἰς νοῦν ἀδόκιμον, may (for ought we know) be afterwards refined by him, and become εὐδόκιμοι, Juſtifiable men. Many of the Gentiles were delivered by him into a Reprobate ſenſe, not particular perſons only, but even whole Nations; and ſo hath the Nation of the *Jews*, for the moſt part, been for theſe many years. But that God did finally Reprobate any perſon, whether Jew or Gentile which lived in oppoſition to the Chriſtian Faith, or whether there ſhall not be a reverſion of that curſe which hath befallen the Jewiſh or other Nation, God alone muſt judge and determine. So that it will be hard for any man to prove that the word ἀδόκιμος doth any where in the New Teſtament punctually anſwer unto that uſe or notion, which cuſtom hath now in a manner preſcribed for in many Theological diſputes; that is, for men irreverſibly fitted or deſigned to everlaſting deſtruction. If in any place it were to be taken in this ſtrict ſenſe, I ſhould ſuſpect that of S. *Paul*, 2 *Cor.* 13.5. above others; but that not from the Grammatical ſignification of the word, or from any reference it hath in that place, more than any other to falſe coins, but from the peculiar reference which the matter and circumſtances of that place have to matters of fact, or hiſtorical types in the Old Teſtament; without whoſe knowledge or obſervation, the true meaning or importance of many words uſual in the New, can never be truly valued. The Apoſtles words in the fore-cited place are thus; *Examine your ſelves whether ye be in the Faith, prove your own ſelves; know ye not your own ſelves, how that Jeſus Chriſt is in you, evcept ye be Reprobates?*

CHAP. XIX.

Of the uſe of Sacred, or Miſcellain Theology, for finding out as well the Literal, as the Myſtical, or other Senſes of Scripture.

WHat ſhall we ſay then, that every one that is not certain of his own Salvation, or every one not aſſured by Faith that his name is written in the Book of Life, is irreverſibly appointed to everlaſting death, or ἀδόκιμος, according to our Apoſtles meaning in this place? God forbid. No Chriſtian man (I hope) will forbid us, or deny us leave to reſtrain the Apoſtles words, in what ſenſe ſoever we take them, unto ſuch men only, as thoſe *Corinthians* were, that is, to men which have been inſtructed in all points neceſſary for a Chriſtian to believe, to men that have been baptized in this Faith, to men partakers in a plentiful manner of the word Preached, and of the Sacraments. But may we, or ought we to apply this peremptory ſentence unto every man that is a viſible member of the true Church, or of thoſe Churches in which the pure word is conſtantly Preached, and the Sacraments duly Adminiſtred? Are all theſe bound upon pain of Reprobation to believe, either that they are already compleatly regenerated, or that they have ſo mortified the deeds of the body, that they cannot dye the death of the Soul? If thus we ſhould Preach or Teach; how ſhould we be able to comfort Afflicted Conſciences in their perplexed fears? And would not the beſt fruits of our labours be preſumption in many, and deſpair in moſt of our hearers? Yet if thus we may not ſay, muſt we therefore deny that the word ἀδόκιμος, is in the fore-cited place to be taken in that ſtrict ſenſe, in which it is uſually taken by ſome Modern Divines, not in that place only, but in many others of the New Teſtament, that is, for men either irreverſibly ordained to death, or finally forſaken of God? That the word is uſed by our Apoſtle in this ſtrict ſenſe, I dare not either peremptorily affirm or deny. The point more queſtionable, and more uſeful for our edification will be, to inquire what the Apoſtle means by theſe words, *Know ye not that Jeſus Chriſt is in you?* The branches of the enquiry are two; the firſt, what manner of Chriſts being in them is here to be underſtood. The ſecond, what kind of knowledge they were to have of his being in them: or whether for Chriſt to be in them be all one, as for them to be in Chriſt by the Spirit of Regeneration and Adoption, or all one, as to be elected, that is, irreverſibly ordained unto glory; and whether they were bound to believe all this, *certitudine fidei*, by the certainty of Faith.

2. To this we anſwer, that neither all, nor any of thoſe points, were neceſſarily to be believed by theſe *Corinthians*, much leſs by ordinary Chriſtians at this day; albeit we grant the word *Reprobates* to be taken in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, that is, for men irreverſibly fitted for deſtruction. For ſo it may be taken, and in my opinion ought to be taken in that place if in any. But ſo taking it, we muſt rate our Apoſtles meaning in the words precedent [*Know ye not that Chriſt is in you*] by that peculiar reference, which the preſent eſtate of thoſe *Corinthians*, had unto the eſtate of the rebellious *Iſraelites*, who after ſo many wonders and manifeſt documents of Gods peculiar Provi-

dence over them, did tempt him, and require further ſigns, whether God were among them or no, *Exod.* 17. 7. *And he called the name of the place* Maſſah *and* Meribah, *becauſe of the Children of* Iſrael, *and becauſe they tempted the Lord ſaying; Is the Lord among us or not?* Unto the ſame height of iniquity thoſe Phariſees were come, who after they had ſeen ſo many miracles done by our Saviour, as did fully teſtifie that he was that very God, whom their Fathers had thus tempted in the Wilderneſs, yet *came forth unto him, and began to queſtion with him, ſeeking of him a ſign from Heaven, tempting him, Mark* 8. 11. And hence it was, that this Heavenly Phyſician of their Souls, upon this deſperate Criſis, *ſighed deeply in his Spirit, and ſaid, Why doth this Generation ſeek after a ſign? Verily I ſay unto you, there ſhall be no ſign given to this Generation: and he left them, ver.* 12. 13. Now theſe *Corinthians*, after unqueſtionable Experiments of many miraculous effects of Chriſts power wrought amongſt them by the miniſtry of *Paul*, did ſeek after a further proof or ſign of Chriſts ſpeaking in him, 2 *Cor.* 13. 3. and for their ſatisfaction, he exhorts them to examine themſelves whether Chriſt were not in them, not in him alone: and this they might know, unleſs they were ἀδόκιμοι, that is, ſuch Reprobates as the fore-mentioned rebellious *Iſraelites* were. For it could be no other than a Symptom or Criſis of a Reprobate mind, or of men rejected by God and left of Chriſt, to murmur, doubt, or queſtion, whether the gift of tongues, of healing, and other wonderful effects of Chriſts power, manifeſted by *Pauls* miniſtry, did not truly teſtifie that his Commiſſion was from Heaven, or that Chriſt was amongſt them, to wit, in that Church. For ſo the original, ἐν ὑμῖν, is in his place to be taken, as it is elſewhere in the New Teſtament; as when our Saviour ſaith to the Phariſees, *Luke* 17. 21. *The Kingdom of Heaven is within you,* ἐντὸς ὑμῶν, that is, the power of it is manifeſted amongſt you: but he meant not that the Kingdom of Heaven was in the hearts of all them to whom he ſpake. And ſo the Septuagint (whom the Evangeliſts and Apoſtles follow) renders the Hebrew בְּקִרְבֵּנוּ in the fore-cited place, *Exod.* 17. 7. not ἐντὸς ἡμῶν, but ἐν ἡμῖν, *Is the Lord in us or no?* So that neither our Saviours expreſſion, nor that of the Apoſtle, 2 *Cor.* 9. doth infer any more than we have ſaid.

3. It is not all one for any amongſt us, to doubt or queſtion whether the doctrine contained in the Apoſtles Creed, or in the New Teſtament, be the doctrine of life and ſalvation; as to doubt or be uncertain, whether he himſelf be perſonally in the eſtate of life, or a choſen veſſel. To doubt of the former general is infidelity, a ſin not incident to a true Chriſtian. But many amongſt us may doubt of the latter point, and yet be as good Chriſtians, as thoſe who think they have aſſurance of Faith, that they are Predeſtinated, and condemn all others as Reprobates in the worſt ſenſe, who do not as certainly believe that they live in Chriſt, as that Chriſt died for ſinners. But this was no part of our Apoſtles meaning in that paſſage to the *Corinthians*. The queſtion between him and them was not about ſpecial belief of perſonal election, but about this general, whether he were a true Apoſtle or no: Or, whether the miracles which had been manifeſted amongſt them by his miniſtry, were wrought by the power of Chriſt or no. If they continued in this doubt, or tempting of God, they would (as he fore-warns them) hereby prove themſelves to be ἀδόκιμοι, that is, ſuch as the murmuring *Iſraelites* had been, or ſuch as the preſent Generation of the *Jews* for the moſt part,

were, that is, caſt off from being Gods Church or people. So that if we take the word ἀδόκιμοι in the ſtricteſt and ſevereſt ſenſe, it rather imports a National or Provincial rejection of that people from being his people, or from his reſidency amongſt them by his publick Spirit, than a perſonal Reprobation of every particular or individual. For to pronounce thus much of every *Jew*, that hath not adjoined himſelf to Chriſts body the Church, ſince the general rejection of that Nation, is beyond my Commiſſion, altogether without the Precincts of this preſent inquiſition, which was only to ſhew the true uſe of ſacred Philology for finding out the juſt extent and value of many paſſages, aſwell in the Old Teſtament as in the New, whoſe Grammatical ſenſe is for the ſubſtance uſually plain, but indeterminable for quantity, without obſervance of their peculiar references either to ſome ſpecial matter of fact recorded in Scripture, or to ſome ſacred paſſages more antient.

4. What place of Scripture is there leſs controverſible for Grammatical ſignification of the words than that of S. *Paul*, Rom. 9. 19? ἐρεῖς οὖν μοι, τί ἔτι μέμφεται; τῷ γὰρ βουλήματι αὐτοῦ τίς ἀνθέστηκε, *Thou wilt ſay unto me; Why doth he yet find fault or chide? for who hath reſiſted his will?* To this effect an ordinary Scholar in any extraordinary Grammar School in this Kingdom would at firſt ſight render the Original. But concerning the extent of the ſame words taken in this unqueſtionable ſenſe, there is and hath been much controverſie amongſt great Profeſſors of Divinity. Many extend them to Reprobates in general, as if our Apoſtle had ſaid, [Why doth he find fault with Reprobates, ſeeing he hath irreſiſtibly ordained them to deſtruction?] But what occaſion St. *Paul* here had to mention Gods chiding or expoſtulation with Reprobates in general, is without my capacity to conceive. Or were it granted that τί μέμφεται, *why doth he chide*, doth refer to all this ſort of men; yet would it ſtill remain queſtionable, unto what time or part of time the Particle ἔτι did refer; for it is an Adverb of time not to be univerſally taken for all ſucceſſions of time, but always points at ſome limited portion of time. God doth not always find fault or expoſtulate either with all Reprobates, or with any one Reprobate.

5. The limitation then of this ſpeech in reſpect of the perſon, muſt be taken from reference to that which the Apoſtle had ſaid *ver.* 17. ὅτι εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐξήγειρά σε ὅπως ἐνδείξωμαι ἐν σοὶ τὴν δύναμίν μου, *For this very cauſe have I raiſed thee, or ſtired thee up, that I might ſhew my power in thee.* Now theſe words refer to *Pharaoh* alone, to that *Pharaoh* whoſe heart was remarkably hardened. Nor did God at all times from his birth chide or expoſtulate with this very *Pharaoh*. The word ἔτι implies, and our Apoſtle ſuppoſeth, that the Lord had expoſtulated with him before that time, unto which our Apoſtles words in ſpecial refer. Otherwiſe the word ἔτι would have no place in that paſſage according to any Grammar ſenſe; for that is, as if he had ſaid, why doth he chide or find fault with him any longer, or why doth he expoſtulate with him at all, after that time wherein he had ſaid, *For this very purpoſe have I raiſed thee up, or kept thee alive* (being already fitted for deſtruction) *that I might ſhew my power in thee.*

6. This queſtion is very pertinently made by our Apoſtle, ſeeing *Pharaoh* at this time was ſo hardened, that he could not repent, without ſome ſpecial mercy or extraordinary diſpenſation. For wiſe men only chide thoſe of whoſe amendment there is ſome, though ſmall hope left.

Unto this *Quære* our Apoſtle frames that anſwer; *Nay but O man, who art thou that replies againſt God? ver.* 20. unto 24. Concerning the punctual meaning of which, I have none for the preſent, if any other man have any deſire to diſpute, my advice unto him is, that he would weigh our Apoſtles fore-cited words, τί ἔτι μέμφεται, with that ſpeech of God to *Pharaoh*, unto which our Apoſtle refers us, *Exod.* 9. 18. ἔτι οὖν σὺ ἐμποιῇ τοῦ λαοῦ μου, τοῦ μὴ ἐξαποστεῖλαι αὐτούς; *and yet exalteſt thou thy ſelf againſt my people, that thou wilt not let them go?* And this God ſpake unto *Pharaoh* immediately after he had told him, *for this very purpoſe have I raiſed thee up*; or (as the *Septuagint*, and *Junius*) *for this very purpoſe have I reſerved thee alive:* with whoſe Tranſlation and Interpretation of this place in *Exodus*, I would requeſt every ingenuous ſober Reader, to acquaint himſelf, as well as with the ordinary Expoſitors of the 9. to the *Romans*, and not adventure to ſail in a narrow, uncouch, and unſounded Sea, only with the help of a general Card, as ſome have done, and for want of an experienced *Pilot*, have either fallen upnn dangerous Rocks, or ſtricken upon ſuch Shelves, as there is ſmall hope of their ſafe arrival, without ſome ſuch extraordinary mercy, as S. *Paul* and his fellow Paſſengers found, yet with loſs of the Ship wherein they ſailed.

7. Divers other places of Scripture there be, which (in my opinion) are uſually extended beyond their native compaſs, though ſometimes without any great danger of bad conſequences, yet always with ſome loſs of contentment to him that deſires the true knowledge of the Holy Ghoſts meaning in them. And thus they are over-extended through want of obſervation, unto what matters of fact, or ſpecial circumſtances of ſome peculiar times they punctually refer. Seeing the Pſalmiſt in the 8. *Pſalm*, doth ſo magnifie the goodneſs of God, and his ſpecial Providence over mankind in general; it muſt needs put an obſervant Reader of thoſe Sacred Hymns to a demur, why the Author of the 90. *Pſalm* ſhould ſo pathetically complain of the ſhortneſs and miſery of mens days or years. And to this demur; I know not how to make any juſt reply, if we take the matter of his complaints to concern all men, which lived either in that time or ſince. But if we conſider that *Moſes*, the man of God, was the Author of that *Pſalm*, (as the Inſcription of it directs us to think) and that he penned it ſome few years after the deliverance of Gods people by him out of *Ægypt*; the cauſe or occaſion of the complaint is very juſtifiable and ſerious, yet peculiar to thoſe preſent times, and the people whereof he was governour. For I think it was never experienced in any Age, or Nation beſides, that of ſix hundred thouſand living Souls, and likely to live in reſpect of the conſtitution of their bodies, or any Epedemical diſeaſe, that then did reign, ſo few (males at leaſt) ſhould out-live threeſcore and ten years, and fewer fourſcore. And yet of all the males which had been delivered out of *Ægypt*, not one that was but twenty years old, did live above threeſcore years, not one that was but thirty, could live above threeſcore and ten, not one that was but forty (two or three only excepted) could live above fourſcore years; or if ſome attained to that Age or above it, yet their Pilgrimage was to be full of ſorrow, all of them (beſides two or three) excluded by oath from entring into the Land of their promiſed reſt; all above twenty (beſides *Caleb* and *Joſuah*) were to dye within forty years in the Wilderneſs, * even *Moſes* the man of God himſelf, who penned this *Pſalm*, was prohibited

* *Deut.* 4. 21.

to enter into the Land of *Canaan*, and therefore had juſt reaſon to complain, as there he doth (yet without murmuring) not of Gods diſreſpect unto Mankind in general, but of that heavy doom which he had pronounced againſt all the Sons of *Jacob* above twenty years old; of which number we cannot imagine fewer than two hundred thouſand. That the 33. *verſe* of *Pſalm* the 78. [*therefore their days did he conſume in vanity, and their years in trouble*] doth punctually refer unto that ſentence denounced *Numb.* 14. againſt thoſe rebellious *Iſraelites* whoſe Carkaſſes fell in the Wilderneſs, is unqueſtionable. Now albeit the words of this verſe be not the ſame with thoſe of *Moſes Pſal.* 90. 10. [*Yet is their ſtrength, labour, and ſorrow: for it is ſoon cut off, and we fly away*] yet their ſignification is Synonimal.

8. But this errour in ſtretching the native ſenſe of Scriptures beyond its proper liſts or bounds, is ſometimes committed by overſight, not in matters of Hiſtory or Morality only, but in the greateſt myſteries of Faith, as in that place *Jerem.* 31. 22. *How long wilt thou go about, O thou back-ſliding Daughter? For the Lord hath created a new thing in the earth, A woman ſhall compaſs a man,* (as we uſually read it.) Such as acknowledge the great myſtery of the Womans Seed, or Incarnation of the Son of God, to be included in this Prophecy, extend the native ſignification of the word בָּאָרֶץ in the *earth*, too far. Howbeit in this errour or overſight, there is no falſhood; for that the Woman or Female ſhould encloſe or compaſs the Male, or that mighty one the ſecond *Adam*, was a new thing indeed and a wonder to all the earth. But this general truth doth not hit the punctual meaning of the Holy Ghoſt in that place, for the word אֶרֶץ *earth*, is to be reſtrained unto the Land of *Ephraim*, or of *Iſrael*, as it was oppoſed unto the Land of *Judah*. Thus much the literal circumſtance of this Prophecy alone will enforce, and that Prophecy of *Iſaiah* parallel unto this, will perſwade us, *Iſa.* 11. 13. *The envy alſo of* Ephraim *ſhall depart, and the Adverſaries of* Judah *ſhall be cut off,* Ephraim *ſhall not envy* Judah, *and* Judah *ſhall not vex or upbraid* Ephraim. The implication is, that the one Kingdom was to ſhare with the other in the fulfilling of this grand myſtery foretold by theſe two Prophets in the forecited Chapters. The Kingdom of *Ephraim*, of which *Nazareth* was a Limb (though a ſmall one) was to be graced with the Meſſias Conception and Incarnation, and with the Angel *Gabriels* preſence for the avoucher. The Kingdom of *Judah* (whereof *Bethlem* was a remarkable Portion) was to be dignified with his Birth; and that was proclaimed by an Hoſt of Angels.

9. Of this myſtery I have treated in other * Meditations publiſhed ſome fifteen years ago, and ſhould ſcarcely ſo much as have touched it in this place, had not ſome exquiſite * *Hebricians* (with whoſe Meditations I have ſince that time been acquainted) without any reference to what I had then ſaid or conceived, altogether waved or ſlighted the great myſtery acknowledged by Antiquity, as well *Jewiſh* as Chriſtian, in this place of the Prophet *Jeremy*. In their opinion, *the new thing* which the Lord promiſed to create in the earth, is no more than that the Law *Deut.* 24. 1, 2, 3, 4. (though indiſpenſable in reſpect of Man and Wife) ſhould be diſpenſed with, or repealed, as it did concern *Ephraim* or *Iſrael*, who had been ſometimes Gods Spouſe, but now divorced for her manifold Adulteries, and yet by Gods ſpecial Grace had liberty to return unto him again. To this purpoſe I am not ignorant that ſome latter *Rabbines* interpret this place,

* *See* Nazareth *and* Bethlehem, *or* Iſraels *Portion in the Son of* Jeſſe.

* *Ainſwor.* upon *Deut.* 24. *ver.* 3.

place, (as they do many other) to elevate the myſtery of the Incarnation; but ſo do not thoſe exquiſite Chriſtian *Hebricians*, from whom I muſt crave pardon to diſſent. All that they ſay concerning Gods diſpenſation with that Law, *Deut.* 24. is moſt true, but not the whole truth, nor any part of the Prophet *Jeremies* true meaning in that 31. Chapter. That meaning which they would faſten upon this place, was expreſly delivered by our Prophet, *Chap.* 3. not to *Ephraim*, but to *Judah* before ſhe followed *Ephraim* into Captivity; and therefore this could be no new thing to be created afterwards in the Land of *Ephraim*. *They ſay if a man put away his Wife, and ſhe go from him and become another mans, ſhall he turn unto her again, ſhall not the Land be greatly polluted? But thou haſt played the Harlot with many Lovers, yet return again to me, ſaith the Lord.*

10. And however the original * *Bara* do not always include as much, as ſome Schoolmen would appropriate to the Latine *creare*, that is, to make ſomething of meer nothing: yet it uſually imports ſome great work of the Almighty Maker, which one way or other is equivalent, or more than equivalent, to the firſt Creation of Heaven and Earth out of nothing, if we may believe *Capito* and *Fagius*, upon whom any Novice in the Hebrew tongue, or ordinary Profeſſor of it, may as ſafely pitch an implicite belief or truſt, as upon any which have lived ſince their times. Again, however the Prophet *Jeremy*, Chap. 3. 1. avouch a relaxation of that peremptory Law, *Deut.* 24. 4. yet doth he not intimate, that this relaxation was ſuch an extraordinary work, as that the Lord might be ſaid to have *created* it as *new thing*, whether in the Land of *Judah* or of *Ephraim*, or in the earth or wide world it ſelf. Nor is there any other word in that 31. of *Jeremy*, ver. 22. beſides the word *Lord*, which is the ſame with any other word uſed either by *Jer.* Chap. 3. ver. 1. or *Deut.* 24. 3, 4. In both which places man and wife are deſcribed by their proper characters איש and אשה nor is the wives returning to her husband deciphered by a ſecular motion or compaſs, but by a plain return unto him. Whereas in the 31. of *Jeremy*, *ver.* 21. the characterical notion of the perſons there meant, is firſt not *Iſh*, an husband or *vir*, but *Geber*, (that mighty man, or womans ſeed promiſed, *Gen.* 3. 15. and this *Geber*, (not *Iſhah*) the *wife* or woman ſimply, but *Nekebah* the female, was to incompaſs or incloſe, the original word תסובב ſometimes refers to motion, and is as much as the Latin *circumire*, or *circumvenire*, to *encompaſs* or *go about*, which may be either by a circular, or by a ſphærical motion. Sometimes the ſame word refers to ſtation or reſt, and is as much as our *Engliſh*, to begirt, or environ; as an Army doth a Beſieged City; or as gueſts placed at a round Table; and according to the difference of the ſubject, to incloſe or go round about, or to environ on every ſide. And ſo much it imports in that name which *Jeremy* gave to *Paſhur*, the Son of *Immer* the Prieſt, *Jer.* 20. 3, 4. *The Lord hath not called thy name* Paſhur, *but* Magor Miſſabib, *For thus ſaith the Lord, behold I will make thee a terror unto thy ſelf, and to all thy Friends, and they ſhall fall by the ſword of their Enemies, and thine eyes ſhall behold it,*

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* Non extat apud nos in linguâ ſanctâ (vocabulum) quo productionem rei ex nihilo ſignificamus niſi ברא *Bara* Similiter & *Rabi David Kimhi.* Omnis ſignificatio creationis eſt innovatio rei, & progreſſio ejus à non eſſe ad eſſe. Secundo, uſurpat etiam Scriptura [creandi] verbum, ubi aliquid non ex mero nihilo, ſed ex præjacente materiâ; ſed quod magnum, eximium præclarum, & novum quiddam ſit, ſingulari Dei virtute, ac potentia in lucem profertur. Atq; hinc eſt quod eo utitur, ubi cetorum, & hominis conditionem proponit. Sunt enim ceti vaſtæ, & portentoſæ quodammodo magnitudinis. Homo ob eximias dotes omnibus creaturis præſtat imo omnium creaturum quaſi caput & princeps eſt. Hanc quoque vim ſignificandi, creandi verbum in Numeris habet, cap. 16. 30. ubi de abſorptione Corah, Dathan, & Abiram agitur. Ibi enim *Moſes* ſic loquitur. Sin recens quicquam creaverit Dominus, aperuieritque terra os ſuum & devoraverit eos. *Fagius* in collationem in Ca. 1. Gen. ac etiam in exegeſi dictionum hebraicarum in idem caput.

it, &c. And thou Paſhur *and all that dwell in thine houſe ſhall go into Captivity, and thou ſhalt come to* Babylon, *and there thou ſhalt dye, and ſhalt be buried there, thou and all thy friends to whom thou haſt propheſied lies, verſe 6.* As this *Paſhur* was every way beſet with terrour, ſo was the *Geber* every way to be incloſed or incompaſſed by *Nekebah* the Female. And the new thing which the Lord promiſed to Create in the Earth, hath ſpecial reference to the firſt Creation of Male and Female in Mankind. *Gen.* 1. 27. זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה *Male and Female* Created he them. The Original which there notifies the *Female*, is the very ſame which our Engliſh in the 31. of *Jeremy* renders *Woman*, that is the Weaker Sex. But the Original *Zakar*---- rendred (*Gen.* 1. 27.) by *the male*, is not ſo much as *Geber*, ---- For though every *Geber* be *Zakar*, yet every *Zakar* is not *Geber*, nor was the firſt *Adam* enſtiled by this name. The Prophet *Jeremies* meaning then was, that in this new Creation in the Land of *Ephraim*, not the male or man only, but the mighty male, that *Geber* of whom *Gideon* and *Sampſon* were but Types and Shadows, was to be incloſed in the Female or weaker Sex, as the firſt Woman or Female was in the firſt Male. As ſhe was fleſh of his fleſh, and bone of his bones, ſo was this *Geber* to be of that Females fleſh and bones which was to incloſe him. And this was a work of Gods Creation, a new Creation far ſurpaſſing the firſt Creation, wherein the Woman was made of Man. For in this new Creation, the *Geber*, the Son of God himſelf was to be made Man of a Woman. And it is not unworthy the obſervant Readers conſideration, that when the Lord doth as it were woo *Ephraim* or *Iſrael* to return again unto their own Land or to *him*, he doth not intreat them as a Huſband doth his Wife, but as a loving Father doth his Prodigal Son, or roaming Daughter, as *ver.* 20. *Is* Ephraim *my dear Son? Is he a pleaſant Child? for ſince I ſpake againſt him, I do earneſtly remember him ſtill, therefore my bowels are troubled for him, I will ſurely have mercy upon him, ſaith the Lord. Set thee up way marks, make thee high heaps, ſet thine heart toward the high way, even the way which thou wenteſt; Turn again O Virgin* Iſrael, *turn again to theſe thy Cities, how long wilt thou go about O thou back-ſliding Daughter, for the Lord hath Created a new thing in the Earth (or in thy Land,) the Woman ſhall incompaſs the Man.*

11. Divers places there be in the New Teſtament, which touch not upon any Article in this Creed, which have tortured many good Interpreters, no leſs than ſome vulgar Interpreters have tortured them. I ſhall at this time inſtance only in two. Firſt in that of St. *Matthew* 23. 34, 35, 36. *Behold I ſend unto you Prophets and wiſe men, &c. That upon you may come all the righteous blood ſhed upon the Earth, from the blood of righteous* Abel *unto the blood of* Zacharias *Son of* Barachias, *whom ye ſlew between the Temple and the Altar, verily I ſay unto you, all thoſe things ſhall come upon this Generation.* The reaſon why moſt Interpreters of St. *Matthew* have wandered as men overtaken with a thick miſt upon a wild Heath or Foreſt, was becauſe they did not conſult the *Index Mercurialis*, which St. *Luke*, from the words expreſly uttered by our Saviour, had ſet up for their better direction. For whereas St. *Matthew* expreſſeth the *Epiphonema* or concluſion of our Saviours ſpeech, thus; *All theſe things ſhall come upon this Generation:* St. *Luke cap.* 11. expreſſeth it; *Verily I ſay unto you it ſhall be required of this Generation.* What was to be required of this Generation? The blood of all the Prophets from *Abel* to *Zacharias*, and

Zacharias his blood in particular. For though this preſent Generation by not repenting for their Forefathers ſins, had made themſelves guilty of the blood of all the Prophets, which ſtood upon ſacred Record from *Abels* time unto the deſtruction of the Temple: yet *Abel* and *Zacharias* the High Prieſt, whoſe Death was in many reſpects moſt prodigious, were the eſpecial avengers of blood. For the blood of the one after he was dead, and the dying voice of the other, did cry to God for vengeance. For ſo it is recorded in the ſecond of *Chron.* 24. 22. of *Zacharias*, [*When he dyed he ſaid; The Lord look upon it, and require it.*] Now our Saviour in the words recorded by St. *Luke*, forewarns this impenitently ſtubborn Generation, that *Zacharias* his dying curſe (which had been through his mediation often defered and often mitigated) ſhould be executed upon them, as an ungodly race of ungodly Anceſtors in a fuller meaſure than perhaps *Zacharias* intended. The exact parallel between the ſins of this people in the days of *Joaſh* King of *Judah*, who cauſed *Zacharias* to be ſtoned to Death in the Temple, and the ſins of this preſent Generation who put the High Prieſt of their Souls (the Lord of Glory himſelf) to an ignominious Death; in what ſenſe the blood of *Zacharias* was more required of this Generation than the blood of our Saviour or of his Apoſtles; in what manner the Death of *Zacharias* and of our Saviour, were the cauſes of this preſent Generations deſtruction, I have elſewhere diſcuſſed at large, and, if God permit, mean ſhortly to publiſh amongſt other Meditations upon our Saviours Prophetical Function, or of ſuch Propheſies wherein he ſpake as never Man ſpake; which were not to be fulfilled in himſelf, as in his Death, Reſurrection, and Aſcenſion, or coming to Judgment. For all Propheſies of this rank which ſhall come unto my memory or obſervation, will have their fit place in theſe Commentaries.

12. So will not that ſpeech of his *Mat.* 24. 28. *Whereſoever the Carkaſe is, there will the Eagles be gathered together.* Yet ſeeing the expoſition of this place hath been omitted in the explication of ſome Prophecies with which it hath moſt affinity, as with the ſigns of his coming to Judgment, *Math.* 24. and *Mark* the 13. I have thought good to ſay ſomewhat of it in this place. Moſt Interpreters grant the ſpeech to be proverbial, and yet (as uttered by our Saviour) to be a Prophecy. The myſtery foretold moſt of the Antients would have to be the gathering together of Saints unto Chriſts body at the final judgment; or at leaſt the gathering together of thoſe bodies, which being alive, ſhall be raught up into the air to meet him at his coming. But however the Eagles (at leaſt ſome kind of Eagles) may be fit Emblems of Gods Saints, yet τὸ πτῶμα the body or Carkaſe whereto the Eagles reſort, hath no handſom or comely remembrance of Chriſts appearing in Glory; although it were granted that his wounds or ſkars ſhould then be conſpicuous. I make no queſtion but our Saviour in the forecited place, did mean that kind of Eagles, whoſe properties we have deſcribed by God himſelf, even by this our Lord God and Redeemer, *Job.* 39. 27. *Doth the Eagle mount up at thy command, and make her Neſt on high? ſhe dwelleth and abideth on the Rock, upon the Crag of the Rock, and the ſtrong place, from thence ſhe ſeeketh the prey, and her eyes behold a far off: her young ones alſo ſuck up blood, and where the ſlain is, there is ſhe.* The Eagle here diſplayed is either the Vulture, or of the Vultures kind, and their ſagacity whether in ſmelling ſlain bodies a far off, or in preſaging where great

ſlaughters are like to happen, as alſo their ſwift reſort unto the prey, is well known to ſecular Philologers. But the flocking together of this kind of Eagles doth rather menace deſtruction, than Miniſter any matter of Comfort, according to the literal ſenſe, either of Proverbial Speech, or of Prophecy. So the Prophet *Habakuk* doth Character the fierce and ſwift incurſion of the *Caldeans* by this kind of Eagles haſtening to the prey, chap. 1. ver. 8. *Their Horſes alſo are ſwifter than the Leopards, and are more fierce than the Evening Wolves, and their Horſemen ſhall ſpread themſelves, and their Horſemen ſhall come from far; they ſhall fly as the Eagle that haſteth to eat.* And ſo *Moſes* long before had threatned this people *Deut.* 28. 49. *The Lord ſhall bring a Nation againſt thee from far from the end of the earth, as ſwift as the Eagle fleeth, &c.* And this Prophecy was moſt exactly fulfilled in the Conqueſt, Oppreſſion, and Deſtruction of this Nation by the *Romans* and their Allies, eſpecially the *Italians*, *Spaniſh*, *German*, and *Britiſh*, with other of theſe Weſtern Nations. And our Saviour in the forecited place foretels the fulfilling of this Prophecy of *Moſes* upon the *Jews* of that preſent Age. For all that our Saviour had ſaid in that 24. of *Matthew* was to be accompliſhed (according to the literal ſenſe) in that age current: for ſo he ſaith ver. 34. *Verily I ſay unto you, this Generation ſhall not paſs, till all theſe things be fulfilled.* Now it is evident, that this gathering together of the Eagles, was to be fulfilled before thoſe ſigns of his coming to judge *Jeruſalem* were to be exhibited, *ver.* 29. Our Saviours Prophecy then cannot (according to the literal ſenſe) *refer* unto his coming to final judgment, but unto his coming to viſit *Jeruſalem*, and the Nation of the *Jews*, of whom, as he intimates, ſome few ſhould be ſtrangely reſerved, others remarkably plagued, and ſo to be plagued by the *Romans*, whoſe Enſign was the Eagle. Thoſe whom God had forſaken or appointed to the ſlaughter within that age current were (as we ſay) dead in Law; and whitherſoever they fled, the *Roman* Eagles, which God had authorized to be his Executioners of the heavy Judgments there denounced, would be more ſwift than they; more ſagacious than they were ſubtil. And albeit theſe wandring Corps did take the Temple for their Sanctuary, and make *Jeruſalem* and it, the laſt ſeat of that deadly War; yet even there ſhould theſe Eagles or Vultures be gathered againſt them, and teach their young ones to ſuck their blood. And indeed if a man would accurately obſerve the proceſs and ſucceſs of the War againſt them by the *Romans*, it would appear to have been begun and ended rather by ſuch ſecret inſtinct or preſage, as the Eagles have of great ſlaughters than by rational projects or humane conſultation.

13. To this expreſſion of the literal meaning of the forecited place St. *Luke* directs me, who of all the three Evangeliſts mentioneth the immediate cauſe or occaſion of our Saviours proverbial Speech, *Luke* 17. 37. *And they anſwered (or replyed) and ſaid unto him, where Lord?* The meaning of the interrogatory is, where ſhall the place or ſeat of theſe ſtrange Calamities be? and to this he anſwers, *Whereſoever the body is, there will the Eagles be gathered together.* The importance of his anſwer is, whitherſoever theſe Sons of Death ſhall repair, thither will the Executioners of Gods wrath be gathered together; to wit, the *Romans*, who ſhould not ſpare ſuch as did reſiſt or ſeek to ſave their lives by hoſtility or ſtrength, and yet be ready to ſpare ſuch as would ſubmit themſelves unto their mercy. Thus much (in my apprehenſion)

apprehenſion) was intimated *ver.* 33. *Whoſoever ſhall ſeek to ſave his life, ſhall loſe it, and whoſoever ſhall loſe his life, ſhall preſerve it, I tell you in that night there ſhall be two men in one bed, the one ſhall be taken, the other ſhall be left: Two women ſhall be grinding together, the one ſhall be taken and the other left. And they anſwered and ſaid, where Lord? &c.* This I take to be the literal meaning of this Prophecy. As for the myſtical, parallel to this literal (if this afford any ſuch) that cannot elſewhere be ſo fitly handled, as in the Article of Chriſts coming to judge the World, both quick and dead. Now according to the myſtical ſenſe, we are (I take it,) to underſtand by the body, the bodies of the Saints deceaſed: and then to make the Allegory or proportion (ſuch as the Scripture always maketh) handſom and comely: the Eagles muſt not be ſuch as *Job* deſcribeth, either Vultures, or of Vultures kind, but *Jovis Aquilæ*, which as Philologers tell us, do not uſe to feed on dead Corps or ſlain fleſh. Theſe are fit Emblems of the ſwift miniſtery of the Celeſtial Angels in gathering or ſummoning the bodies of deceaſed Saints from the one end of the Earth to the other.

SECTION III.

That the Incarnation of God, and of God in the perſon of the Son inſtiled ὁ λόγος, the Word, was foretold, prefigured, &c. in the Writings of *Moſes*. Of the Hypoſtatical Union between the Son of God and Seed of *Abraham*.

CHAP. XX.

That God according to the literal ſenſe of Scriptures, was in latter Ages to be Incarnate, and to converſe with men, with the ſeed of Abraham *eſpecially here on earth, after ſuch a peculiar manner, as we Chriſtians believe, Chriſt, God, and Man did.*

THAT which in the firſt place we are to know concerning Chriſt and him Crucified, is, that he was to be both God and Man. And this we are to learn from the Sacred Oracles, whether in the literal or myſtical ſenſe, in this Order. Firſt, from ſuch Oracles as teach us that God was to be Incarnate, and to converſe with Men *more humano*, after an humane manner here on earth. Secondly, From ſuch Divine Oracles as inſtruct us that God was to be Incarnate, and thus to converſe with Men in the perſon of the Son. Thirdly, From ſuch as foretel the manner of the Incarnation, and of the permanent Union between the Son of God and the humane Nature.

2. To diſpute with the *Jew* or other Infidel, who acknowledgeth the truth of the Old Teſtament without ſome manifeſt ground of the literal ſenſe, were but to beat the Air. For there can be no concludent Allegorical or Myſtical ſenſe, unleſs it be grounded on the literal. And of all the branches of the literal ſenſe, none is ſo evidently concludent againſt the *Jew*, the *Arian*, or *Photinian*, whether antient or latter (to wit, the *Socinian*) as that which for the moſt part is leaſt obſerved, or moſt ſlenderly proſecuted by ſuch as ſeek to confute the *Jew*, or other Infidels or Hereticks which ſubſcribe unto the literal ſenſe of the Old Teſtament. The beſt Topick, or ſeat of Arguments for this purpoſe, muſt be borrowed from thoſe paſſages in the Old Teſtament, which according to the plain literal or Grammatical ſenſe cannot, without blaſphemy or literal ſoleciſm, be applyed to any perſon but God, to any beſides the God of *Iſrael*, and yet cannot be meant of God himſelf (according to the punctual literal ſenſe)

ſenſe) ſave only as he was to be incarnate, or to have his converſation amongſt men, after a more peculiar manner than in the ancient times of the world he had. And theſe places be for number many, perhaps more than all the other Propheſies or Predictions concerning Chriſt, whether literal or myſtical. My purpoſe is not in this place to rehearſe all of this kind which I have obſerved, but rather to explicate ſome few of theſe many.

The firſt ſhall be that, *Exod.* 29. 45, 46. *And I will dwell amongſt the Children of* Iſrael, *and will be their God, and they ſhall know that I am the Lord their God, that brought them forth out of the Land of* Egypt, *that I may dwell amongſt them: I am the Lord their God.* That this place cannot be literally meant of any perſon, man, or Angel, but of God himſelf, which brought *Iſrael* out of the Land of *Egypt*, no modern Jew doth or can deny. The ſame promiſe is renewed or repeated, *Lev.* 26. 11, 12, 13. *And I will ſet my Tabernacle amongſt you, and my Soul ſhall not abhor you, and I will walk among you, and will be your God, and ye ſhall be my people. I am the Lord your God, which brought you forth out of the Land of* Egypt, *that ye ſhould not be their bondmen; and I have broken the bands of your yoke, and made you go upright.*

3. God before this time had appeared unto them, had conducted them by a cloud by day, and by a pillar of fire by night, had divers ways manifeſted his ſpecial preſence, and ſpoken to *Moſes* their leader in a more familar manner, than he had done to any Prophet before, or ſince his time. Yet all thoſe evidences of his glorious preſence amongſt them, were but pledges of a more ſpecial manner of his future preſence with them, or of walking or talking, not with ſome one principal man amongſt them only, ſuch as *Moſes* was, but with all that are willing to walk and talk with him, as *Moſes* had done with that Generation. Neither of thoſe Propheſies could be exactly fulfilled, according to the punctual literal ſenſe, of thoſe ancient times, wherein the firſt Tabernacle did wander with them in the Wilderneſs, though verified according to the vulgar literal ſenſe, in thoſe times. For God their Lord was ſaid to remove or to ariſe, when the Ark removed or ſet forward, *Pſal.* 68. 1. Nor were the ſame Propheſies fulfilled in thoſe times, wherein the Lord had a permanent Tabernacle, or conſtant place of reſidence amongſt them in *Jeruſalem.* Albeit he was then ſaid to dwell between the *Cherubims*, and to have choſen *Sion* for his place of reſt, yet *Ezekiel* after the deſolation of the Temple projected by *David*, and built by *Solomon*, doth promiſe this people more than a redintegration of the Temple, or any other material Temple, more than a meer *revival* of the former Promiſes, *Exod.* 29. 45. and *Levit.* 26. 12, 13. for ſo the Prophet aſtipulateth in the name of his God, Chap. 37. ver. 26, 27, and 28. *Moreover, I will make a Covenant of peace with them, and multiply them, and will ſet my Sanctuary in the midſt of them for evermore: my Tabernacle ſhall be with them, yea, I will be their God, and they ſhall be my people; and the Heathen ſhall know that I the Lord do ſanctifie* Iſrael, *when my ſanctuary ſhall be in the midſt of them for evermore.*

4. But now we ſee, and ſeeing, cannot but bewail that the Seed of *Abraham*, according to the fleſh, whom this promiſe did (in the firſt place) concern, hath had no place of dwelling in the Land of *Canaan*, almoſt for theſe ſixteen hundred years paſt. Nor hath the God of *Iſrael* dwelt amongſt them, after ſuch a manner as he did, during the

time of the firſt Tabernacle, or whilſt the firſt or ſecond Temple were ſtanding. And yet this covenant was (according to the literal ſenſe of the Prophet) to be an everlaſting Covenant, yea, perpetually everlaſting, after it once began to be *in eſſe:* God was to dwell with *Iſrael*, or with the Sons of *Abraham* there meant without interpretation in this life, and everlaſtingly in the life to come. Beſides this everlaſting Covenant, was a Covenant likewiſe of everlaſting peace, to ſuch as were partakers of it. For the peculiar manner of Gods dwelling with *Iſrael*, the *Jew* cannot imagine a more punctual fulfilling of this Propheſie, than the Evangeliſt Saint *John* hath left upon Record, Chap. 1. ver. 14. *And he dwelt amongſt us, (and we beheld his glory, the glory, as of the only begotten of the Father) full of grace and truth:* Thus he dwelt and converſed with the Children of *Iſrael*, according to bodily deſcent, and with none elſe; how then is it ſaid by the Prophet, that he was to dwell with them for evermore, or that this Covenant of Peace ſhould be an everlaſting Covenant? Seeing *Iſrael* or the Sons of *Jacob* by bodily diſcent, did for the moſt part reject this Covenant, when God, for his part, was ready to ſeal it unto them, the Gentiles were ingraffed in the believing ſtock, when the natural branches were broken off: and yet God ſtill dwells, *in medio Iſrael*, he hath his everlaſting Tabernacle in *Iſrael*, that is, in the Seed of *Abraham* and of *Jacob*, which he aſſumed and did chuſe, not as he had done *Sion* or *Jeruſalem*, but for a perpetually everlaſting reſt. And though this place of his reſt be removed, not only from the Sons of *Iſrael*, but from all the Sons of men that live here on earth; yet he ſtill dwelleth with us, who are ingraffed in the ſtock of *Abraham* and of *Iſrael*, unto the end of the world, and ſo ſhall dwell with true *Iſraelites* world without end. He hath his reſidence in every Church throughout the world, in as peculiar a manner, as he ſometimes did reſide in the Temple of *Jeruſalem*: for whereſoever God is truly worſhipped, there doth he dwell.

5. This Covenant of everlaſting peace, which the Prophet foretold was to be eſtabliſhed as the firſt Covenant, was by blood, but by far better blood, than the blood of Bulls and Goats, by the blood of the Teſtator himſelf, that is, of God himſelf. *Bellum geſſit, ut nos pace fruamur*, He was once for all to war with fleſh and blood, with Powers and Principalities, that all ſuch as embraced this Covenant avouched by *Ezekiel*, might enjoy everlaſting peace, not the peace of this world, yet peace in this world, to be accompliſhed in the world to come. And our Saviour the Son of God, for more full declaration that he was the Author of this Covenant, a little before his death, bequeathed the legacy of Peace unto his Apoſtles and Diſciples, as Feoffees in truſt for all that ſhould follow the Faith of *Abraham*. *Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you, not as the world giveth, give I unto you: let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid*, *John* 14. 27. And after he had ſealed this Covenant with his blood, his ſalutation unto his Diſciples was, *Peace be unto you*; *and, Behold I am with you unto the end of the world.* After his death he did walk and talk only with his Diſciples, but before his death he had walked, conferred and converſed with all the Children of *Iſrael*, that would come unto him, in a more familiar manner, than he had done with *Moſes* himſelf in *Egypt* and in the Wilderneſs. And though his body be removed out of their ſight and ours, yet he dwelleth in his Church, and walketh in it by his Spirit. *Theſe things, ſaith he, that*

holdeth the ſeven Stars in his right hand, who walketh in the midſt of the ſeven Golden Candleſticks, Revel. 2. 1. and 21. 3. *And I heard a great voice out of Heaven ſaying, behold the Tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them, and they ſhall be his people, and God himſelf ſhall be with them, and be their God.* God was ſaid to walk with the Children of *Iſrael,* whilſt the Tabernacle did remove or wander with them; but not to dwell with them, until the building of the Temple. *Whereas I have not dwelt in any houſe, ſince the time I brought up the Children of* Iſrael *out of* Egypt *even to this day, but have walked in a Tent and in a Tabernacle,* 2 Sam. 7. 6. But the ſame God doth now walk in the Church, and dwell in his Church by his Spirit, and the Church ſhall dwell with him in his Heavenly Temple.

6. This Propheſie of *Ezekiel,* is one of that ſort and rank before rehearſed, *Chap.* 14. *Par.* 6. 7. to wit, a Propheſie which was oftner to be fulfilled than once, and after different meaſures in ſeveral times. It was to be fulfilled according to the ordinary ſcale of the literal ſenſe, and in the intention of the Holy Ghoſt, at this peoples return from the *Babyloniſh* Captivity. From that time *Judah* and *Iſrael,* or *Ephraim,* were not to ſtrive or contend: and thus we ſee it fulfilled unto the deſtruction of the Temple. For though many of the ſeveral Tribes of *Iſrael* did return to their own Land ſucceſſively, or now and then, yet all were inſtiled or indigitated by the name of *Judæi* or *Jews,* a good name, until they forfeited their intereſt in this promiſe. And God did upon their return erect his Sanctuary amongſt them, that is, his Temple wherein he did dwell, as he formerly had done in *Solomons* Temple. Now this Covenant, which God did promiſe to make with *Iſrael* and *Judah,* upon the delivery from the *North Country, and from all the Countries wherein he had ſcattered them,* was to exceed the former Covenant, which he had made with their Fathers, when he brought them out of *Egypt,* as appeareth, *Jer.* 23. 5, 6, 7, 8. And to exceed it, not only in reſpect of benefits Spiritual, or the matter promiſed, but in reſpect of the very form and tenure of the Covenant it ſelf. Not that this deliverance was either in it ſelf, or in the Nations eyes, greater than the former, but that this Covenant after it once began to be *in eſſe,* was to continue for ever without interruption; whereas the former Covenant was broken, did expire, or determine. For during the time of the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, neither *Judah,* nor *Iſrael,* had either a wandring Tabernacle or ſtanding Temple, God did not dwell amongſt them according to the native and literal meaning of that promiſe, *Levit.* 26. 12. But according to this Propheſie of *Ezekiel, God even their God was to dwell amongſt them, to have his Sanctuary in the midſt of them for evermore.* But did this Sanctuary or Tabernacle there promiſed, continue in the midſt of them ſince that time? yes, it hath ſo continued, and ſhall continue for evermore, though not in the ſame kind, or *quoad materiam,* yet by an equivalency, or more than equivalency, or by a ſpiritual and ſuper-eminent manner. For when the ſecond Temple began to decay, or become as a carkaſs, or body without a ſoul; the the body of our Lord and Saviour Chriſt, which he took from *Abraham* and *David,* became the Temple of God, and continueth to this day our Sanctuary, or Sanctification it ſelf. And we Heathens, or Gentiles do now know, that the Lord hath Sanctified *Iſrael,* and that his Sanctuary is in the midſt of them for evermore.

7. All thoſe places wherein God promiſed to be their God, all thoſe Sacred Hymns and Propheſies which enſtile him God, even *our* God, in the exquiſite or ſublime literal ſenſe, refer or drive to that point which we Chriſtians make the foundation and roof of our Faith, to wit, that he was to be God with us, or God in our nature or fleſh, God made man of the ſeed or ſtock of *Abraham*, like us in all things, ſin excepted. This new and glorious Temple was according to ſtrict propriety erected, *in medio Iſrael*, or *interiore Iſrael*, that is, in one that was truly an *Iſraelite*, the very center or foundation of *Abrahams* Seed, or of *Jacob's* Poſterity. But being erected in the midſt of *Iſrael*, or in the Seed of *Abraham* after this ſenſe, it was not erected only for the Sons of *Abraham*, or of *Iſrael* by bodily deſcent, but all were to become true *Iſraelites* that ſhould be united to this Seed, and worſhip God in this Sanctuary. For in that Chriſt Jeſus was the Son of God, he was more truly the *Iſrael* of God than *Jacob* had been, and all that are ingraffed into this Temple of God, all that receive life from him, are more truly the Children of *Iſrael*, than any of *Jacobs* Sons were, which refuſe to be united to him.

CHAP. XXI.

That this peculiar manner of Gods preſence with his People by Signs and Miracles, was punctually fore-Propheſied by the Pſalmiſts.

BUT for God to dwell with this People, or in the midſt of them, is a phraſe not unbeſeeming God, even in their judgment, who hold the Divine Majeſty, to be altogether incorporeal, immaterially immenſe, as many of the wiſer and more ſober Heathens did. But in moſt of the Prophets, in the book of *Pſalms* eſpecially, many characters there be of the Divine Majeſties peculiar preſence in his Church, with this people, or in the world, which to any Heathen, either accurate Philoſopher, or elegant Poet, would ſeem more unſeemly, than a poor Country-mans Petition, of his own drawing and pening, to his Soveraign Lord, would be, or then his Speech would be; if he were ſent Ambaſſadour to a foreign Prince. Both ſpeech and behaviour would on this caſe be ruſtick, and his ſalutations ſuch as would only befit his honeſt or worſhipful Neighbours. And thus moſt Prophets, in the deſcriptions or diſplays of Gods Attributes, ſpeak of him, if we look only in the vulgar literal ſenſe, at the beſt but ἀνθρωποπαθῶς, ſcarce obſerving that decorum, which an ordinary Courtier would uſe to any greater Prince. Yet may we not think that God did ſend ſuch Ambaſſadors to his people, or appoint ſuch Orators from him to them, and from them to him, as he had not enabled to ſpeak in ſuch manner, as did become both himſelf and them. And ſurely it is the fault or imperfection, not of the *Pſalmiſts* or other Prophets, but of their Interpreters, to make them ſpeak of God, only ἀνθρωποπαθῶς as we would do of great men. For even thoſe ſpeeches, which ſeem moſt homely, or leaſt obſervant of Decorum, do fit God incarnate, or God made man, more exactly than the choiceſt titles that a Secretary of Eſtate could uſe unto a King; more accurately, than a well made Garment doth the party, for whom it was made; than the Bark doth the Tree, or the ſkin the body, which not art, but nature hath provided for their covering. All thoſe ſpeeches of God which ſome would have to be ſpoken only, ἀνθρωποπαθῶς, will come within this latitude. They are either ſpoken of God made man, or from the time of his birth unto his baptiſm, or whilſt he was in execution of his Prophetical function; or whilſt he was in the form of a ſervant, or during the time of his Conſecration to his everlaſting Prieſthood, or after he was made both Lord and Chriſt, that is, after his Reſurrection and Aſcention. As for thoſe paſſages, which concern the Incarnation of God, his Circumciſion, or other things concerning him between his Birth and his Baptiſm, theſe I ſhall refer to theſe particular Articles. The firſt inſtance in this kind after he was Anointed to Preach the Goſpel, ſhall be that of the Pſalmiſt, *Pſalm* 89. 8, 9. *O Lord God of Hoſts, who is a ſtrong Lord like unto thee? or to thy faithfulneſs round about thee? Thou ruleſt the raging of the Sea, when the waves thereof ariſe, thou ſtilleſt them.* And again, Pſalm 107. 23, &c. *They that go down to the Sea in Ships, that do buſineſs in great waters, theſe ſee the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep. For he commandeth and raiſeth the ſtormy wind which lifteth up the waves thereof: they mount up to the Heaven, they go down again to the depth, their Soul is melted becauſe of trouble, they reel to and fro, and ſtaggar like a drunken man, and are at their wits end. Then they cry unto the Lord in their trouble, and he bringeth them out of their diſtreſs. He maketh the ſtorm a calm, ſo that the waves thereof are ſtill: then are they glad becauſe they be quiet, ſo he bringeth them to their deſired Haven.* For majeſty or beauty of ſpeech, an Heathen, perhaps, would be ready to compare ſome deſcriptions of *Virgil*, or other Poet, with either or both of theſe paſſages. But this is not all, nor the principal point to be conſidered in the Pſalmiſts diſplays of the Divine Majeſty, either in theſe or moſt other *Pſalms*. For they were not only Divine Poets, or *vates præteritorum*, but true Prophets of things to come, and did (at leaſt ænigmatically) fore-tell wonders to be viſibly unfolded, and openly revealed in latter ages. Maſters and Teachers they were, not only of Orthodoxal Doctrines, and their moral uſes, but of ſacred myſteries, ſuch as none but true Prophets could fore-tell. It was a point of vulgar Catechiſm amongſt the *Jews*, that unleſs the Lord did guide the Ship, the Pilots labour was but loſt; except the Lord did rule the Sea, the Mariners pains were to no purpoſe. Every Son of *Jacob*, according to the fleſh, did know, and many of them, upon experience of his ſpecial Providence over the Sea, and Sea-faring men, would heartily acknowledge, that it was the Lord, not their ſkill and pains, that brought them to the Haven, where they would be. But whatſoever the Pſalmiſts occaſion was to pen this Pſalm, the Holy Ghoſt, by whoſe Inſpiration he took occaſion to pen it, by whoſe direction it was inſerted into this Sacred Canon of Scripture, did intend, that this acknowledgment of Gods experienced favours in times paſt or preſent, ſhould be a Propheſie for the direction of times to come. And however the Nation of the *Jews* were for the moſt part affected, the underſtanding of the better, and more Religious amongſt this people, was enlightned by the ſpirit to foreſee, all of them were bound to expect the fulfilling of this Propheſie, in a more diſtinct, remarkable, and exquiſite manner, than the Pſalmiſt, or his fore-fathers had any experience of. If any man deſire to know the time when, with the manner how, it was thus remarkably fulfilled, let him peruſe that Evangelical ſtory, *Mat.* 23. &c. *And when he was entred into a Ship, his Diſciples followed him; And behold there aroſe a great Tempeſt in the Sea, inſomuch that the Ship was covered with the waves, but he was aſleep. And his Diſciples came to him and awoke him ſaying, Lord ſave us, we periſh. And he ſaith unto them, why are ye fearful, O ye of little Faith? then he aroſe and rebuked the winds and the Sea, and there was a great calm.* Or as it is, Mark 4. 39. *And he aroſe and rebuked the wind, and ſaid unto the Sea, peace, be ſtill; and the wind ceaſed, and there was a great calm.* He uſed no ceremony, no inſtrument, ſuch as *Moſes, Elias,* or other Prophets uſed in the miracles wrought by their miniſtry; but lays his command upon them, in token and teſtimony that he was abſolute Lord of both, that very Lord of whom the Pſalmiſt had ſaid, *Thou ruleſt the raging of the Sea, when the waves ariſe thou ſtilleſt them:* that very Lord unto whom Sea-faring men did uſe to cry in their diſtreſs. There were more paſſengers at this time with him, ſpectators of the Miracle, and ear-witneſſes of his words, for as Saint *Mark* tells us, there were alſo with him other little Ships, *ver.* 36. And theſe other Paſſengers, not his Diſciples, perhaps were thoſe whom the ſame Evangeliſt, *ver.* 41. ſaith, did fear exceedingly, and ſaid one to another, *What manner of man is this, that even the winds and Sea obey him?* His Diſciples ſure at that time did apprehend him to be more than man, and though they do not expreſs ſo much in words, yet by an implicite or ſecret inſtinct, they acknowledge him to be that very God, whom the Pſalmiſt had deſcribed; otherwiſe they had not preſented their Prayers immediately unto him in that form which Saint *Matthew* relates, *Lord ſave us, we periſh,* but rather thus, Maſter pray unto thy God, or, unto thy Father, that we periſh not. But he being with them, though they are not aware of his peculiar, and immediate preſence: So that we may conclude, that all this was done and ſaid, that the former Scripture might be fulfilled; and the reaſon perhaps, why he taxeth them ſo ſharply for want of Faith, was not ſo much for that they feared to periſh in ſuch a terrible ſtorm, but that they did not apprehend, that there was for this time no ſuch occaſion to fear, becauſe the fore-cited Propheſies were to be punctually fulfilled by their Prayers unto him being viſibly preſent. And for the ſame reaſon, it may be, he reproveth *Peter* for want of Faith, when he walked towards him upon the Sea: for *Peter* might, and ought to have conceived, that his Maſter was that very Lord and God, which ſtilleth the raging of the Sea, and that this was the very point of time, wherein that other Propheſie of the Pſalmiſt, *Pſalm* 77. 19. was to be remarkably fulfilled. *Thy way is in the Sea, and thy path in the great Waters, and thy footſteps are not known;* and that he could conduct him as ſafely over the Sea of *Tiberias,* as he led his people by the hands of *Moſes* and *Aaron,* through the Red Sea. If we knew the times or occaſions of the writing of thoſe *Pſalms,* or what days they were appointed in the ancient Church of the Jews, it would much conduce to this or the like ſearch, how and when they were fulfilled; it may be they were appointed to be read upon thoſe very days wherein theſe miracles were done. That there was to be a ſecond fulfilling even of thoſe miracles which the Pſalmiſts celebrate, as being done before, we gather from the Prophet, Iſa. 43. 15, 16. *I am the Lord your Holy One, the Creator of* Iſrael, *your King: Thus ſaith the Lord, which maketh a way in the Sea, and a* *path in the mighty Waters*, &c. *Remember ye not the mighty things, neither conſider ye the things of old, Behold I will do a new thing: Now it ſhall ſpring forth, ſhall ye not know it? I will make a way in the Wilderneſs, and rivers in the Deſert.* Now this Propheſie of *Iſaiah* was to be remarkably fulfilled, when the Lord, their Redeemer came to viſit them.

2. Amongſt other Attributes of the God of *Jacob*, mentioned by the Pſalmiſt, *Pſal.* 146. theſe are inſerted, *ver.* 7. *He giveth food to the hungry, the Lord looſeth the Priſoners: The Lord openeth the eyes of the blind, the Lord raiſeth them that are bowed down.* No Child of *Jacob*, which had been relieved in his hunger and thirſt by the hand of men, but was ready in the firſt place, to thank the Lord God of his Fathers, for his bounty. They knew it was the Lord, which gave men power to gather wealth, that putteth it into the hearts of the rich to relieve the poor. If the liberality of the Princes and Nobles at any time did abound, they knew they were Almoners to the God of *Jacob.* If any of them being formerly (by Law or Authority) kept in durance, were ſet at liberty, they were taught to thank the Lord, more than man, for their deliverance. Him they knew to be Lord of Lords, to have the hearts of Kings in his hands; yet all this was not the only, or the principal uſe, which the godly and learned amongſt the *Iſraelites* made of the *Pſalmiſts* Doctrine. They were taught by their Fathers to expect, that the Lord himſelf would come to feed them with his own hand, and would ſet Priſoners free *vivâ voce*, with the words of his own mouth. That this Lord was to live amongſt them, and to converſe with them, from the greateſt to the leaſt, in more viſible manner, than he did with *Moſes* on the *Mount*, or in the Wilderneſs, at the time appointed for the exact fulfilling of this, and other Prophecies, *Thou openeſt thine hand* (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) *and ſatisfieſt the deſire of every living thing. Pſal.* 145. 16. Now that *Jeſus* was that Lord, of whom the *Pſalmiſt*, in theſe two places laſt cited, ſpeaketh, was fully teſtified by the Miracles which he wrought, in feeding many thouſands with ſome few loaves, and two ſmall fiſhes, and in filling ſo many Baſkets with the fragments or reliques of that ſmall proviſion, wherewith he had filled thouſands. From theſe Miracles, the people which had ſeen him do them, and taſted of his bounty, did rightly infer, that he was that Prophet, which was to come into the World, as you may read *John* 6. 14. and being ſuppoſed to be that Prophet, they conſequently preſumed, that he was likewiſe to be the King of *Iſrael*; and out of this conceit or preſumption, they would have enforced him to be their King, *ver.* 15. But all theſe good prenotions of him, as their promiſed *Meſſias*, were drowned in their bellies, which were indeed to them their gods, and theſe being ſatisfied their Religion was at an end; their zeal was come unto a period. For as our Saviour ſaith *ver.* 26. *they ſought him not becauſe they ſaw the miracles* (which did truly prove him to be that God, which filleth all things living) *but becauſe they eat of the loaves, and were filled.* And that upon condition he would ſo feed them with material food continually, they would have made him King, and have enforced him to undertake this charge, as it is, *ver.* 15. Who the Pſalmiſt did mean by the hungry, in the forecited Pſalm, is certain, and how the Lord himſelf did feed them, is plain; but who are literally meant by the Priſoners, or what Priſoners *Jeſus*, during the time of his Prophetical Function, did unlooſe or ſet at liberty, is not

ſo evident from the Evangelical Story. It is not indeed at the firſt ſight, or according to the rate of the Engliſh Phraſe. But the learned Commentators upon the 61. of *Iſaiah* have well obſerved, that by Priſoners or men ſhut up, the Hebrews uſually underſtand the deaf, the dumb, the blind, and the phraſe is very proper and elegant. For hearing, as the Philoſophers obſerve, being the ſenſe of Diſcipline, by which Man learns to conceive and ſpeak; deafneſs, where it is natural, and implanted hath always dumbneſs for its conſort, and is no other than a cloſe impriſonment of the humane Soul. For the greateſt miſery of cloſe impriſonment is, that men ſo impriſoned can neither open their minds to their deareſt friends, nor their deareſt friends open their minds to them: their Souls notwithſtanding are free to expreſs their grief unto their Keepers. But the Souls of men, whoſe ears have been ſhut up from the Womb, can neither receive any intelligence from others, nor give any ſignifications of their own thoughts unto their friends, with whom they converſe. Yet many Souls thus ſhut up from the Womb did *Jeſus*, during the time of his Prophetical Function, ſet free by the breath of his mouth. If he ſaid but *Ephphata*, the Priſon doors were opened, and the fetters broken. Such as had been deaf, and dumb from the Womb, had their ears unſtoped, and the ſtrings wherewith their tongues were holden preſently untyed.

3. But the Pſalmiſt added, *The Lord opened the eyes of the blind*, and blindneſs is a part likewiſe of the Souls Impriſonment, ſuch as before the Pſalmiſts time had received their ſight, by help of Phyſick or other ſecondary means, were ſaid (in the language of thoſe good times) to have their eyes opened by the Lord; becauſe unleſs the Lord do bleſs the Medicine, the Phyſicians labour is in vain. Yet of many blind men reſtored to ſight by Miracle, or by the immediate hand of God, we read not in the Old Teſtament. Miracles of this kind were altogether, or for the moſt part, reſerved till the maniſeſtation of God Incarnate, as * we gather out of the 35. of *Iſaiah*. Nor could the Phariſees, though they were the greateſt Antiquaries amongſt the *Jews*, diſprove that blind mans Teſtimony of whom we read *John* 9. 32. Although he expoſed himſelf to great diſadvantage in undertaking an univerſal negative; *ſince the World began*, (ſaith he) *was it not heard, that any man opened the eyes of one that was born blind*. What then was he bound in Conſcience to think of *Jeſus*, who had newly opened his eyes, which had been ſhut up from the Womb? The leaſt he could think of him was, that which in plain terms he avoucheth againſt the Phariſees, *If this man were not of God, he could do nothing*. But if no Man, ſince the World began, had done the like, why ſhould he not believe that this *Jeſus* was more than παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, more than a Man ſent from God, even God himſelf? Why did he not acknowledge, that the Clay, which *Jeſus* made to open his eyes, had been tempered by the finger of that God, which had made the earth it ſelf of nothing, by whom all things were made, and without whom nothing was made? unto this point of belief he came by degrees; and our Saviour from this experiment, begets belief in him unto the main point of Chriſtianity, and works his Soul unto Confeſſion, that he was the Son of God. Jeſus *heard that they had caſt him out, and when he had found him, he ſaid* not unto him, doeſt thou believe on the Prophet that is to come into the World, on the *Meſſias* or King of *Iſrael*? but *doeſt thou believe on the Son of God?*

He

* *See the Treatiſe of Chriſts Anſwer to* John.

He anſwered, who is he, Lord, that I might believe on him? And Jeſus *ſaid unto him, thou haſt both ſeen him, and it is he that talketh with thee. And he ſaid, Lord I believe and he worſhipped him. John* 9. 35, 36, 37, 38. With what worſhip? with which they call δουλεία or ὑπερδουλεία only? Doubtleſs with that worſhip, which was due only unto God. Thus you ſee, that *Jeſus* by feeding the hungry with his own hand, by opening the ears of the deaf with the breath of his mouth, and the eyes of the blind with his finger, doth prove him to be that very Lord and God, in whoſe praiſes that excellent Hymn (the 146. *Pſalm.*) was written and daily ſung by the *Jews* and *Phariſees*, although their eyes, becauſe they winked with them, and hated the light, were not open to underſtand the meaning of it.

4. But were there no other Priſoners, beſides the deaf and the blind, which the *Pſalmiſt* foretells the Lord (in whoſe praiſe that *Pſal.* was conceived and ſung) would unlooſe? no other whom *Jeſus* during the time of his Prophetical Function did unlooſe? Sure all were Priſoners that were bound by Satan, and ſo bound were moſt of theſe lame and diſeaſed, which our Saviour cured, more particularly that poor Woman, mentioned *Luke* 13. 15, 16, was Satans Priſoner, as we may gather from our Saviours reply unto the Ruler of the Synagogue, whoſe heart was inflamed with diſtempered zeal and indignation aſwell againſt our Saviour for healing, as againſt the people for bringing their ſick to be healed upon the Sabbath day. *The Lord then anſwered him and ſaid, thou Hypocrite doth not each one of you on the Sabbath looſe his Oxe or his Aſs from his ſtall, and lead him away to watering? And ought not this woman, being a Daughter of* Abraham, *whom Satan hath bound, loe theſe eighteen years, be looſed from this bond, on the Sabbath day? And when he had ſaid theſe things, all his adverſaries were aſhamed, and all the people rejoyced for all the glorious things that were done by him. Luke* 13. 15, 16, 17. Not only the cure it ſelf, but his manner of working it, manifeſtly witneſſeth that he which wrought it, was that Lord, in whoſe praiſe the Pſalmiſt conceived that Song. For he did not cure her as a Meſſenger ſent from God, or as a Miniſter of delegated Power or Authority, but by word of Majeſty as Lord and Author of the health which he beſtowed upon her. *Woman ſaith he, thou art looſed from thine infirmity. And he laid his hands upon her, and immediately ſhe was made ſtraight, and glorified God.* Beſides the exact correſpondence between the Pſalmiſts words, [*The Lord raiſeth up them that are bowed down*] and the Evangeliſts deſcription of the party cured and the cure, [*as that ſhe was bowed together, and could in no way lift her ſelf up*;] there is another point very remarkable in the character or phraſe of the Evangeliſt. For in the beginning of this relation he ſaith, *when* Jeſus *ſaw her he ſaid unto her:* (this was before ſhe was healed) but when he relates our Saviours reply unto the Ruler of the Synagogue (after ſhe was healed) he doth not ſay, *Jeſus* then anſwered him and ſaid, *but the Lord then anſwered him and ſaid*; as if he himſelf had conceived, and would lead us into the ſame truth that this very fact had ſufficiently manifeſted that *Jeſus*, whom the people took for a Prophet, to be that very Lord, of whom that Pſalm was literally meant, and in whom this clauſe of *raiſing up thoſe that were bowed down*, was at this time, and not before, punctually fulfilled.

For concluſion, I would requeſt the Reader to obſerve that our Saviours Anſwer unto *John Mat.* 11. 5. hath as ſpecial and peculiar reference unto this 146. *Pſalm*, as it hath unto thoſe places in the 35. and 61. of *Iſaiah*, which have been expounded * elſewhere. All three places, but the 35. of *Iſaiah*, and this 146. *Pſalm* eſpecially, evidently prove Jeſus to be not only the Meſſias, or him that was to come, but to be theſe Lord God of *Jacob*, who praiſes this Pſalmiſt and other Prophets ſought to ſet forth.

** In Chriſts anſwer to* John's *queſtion.*

5. The difference between the Evangeliſts relation, and the Pſalmiſts prediction of Chriſts miracles, *Mat.* 11.5. is very little, or (to ſpeak properly) is no difference, or a difference implying ſuch exact correſpondency, as is betwixt the character and the letter, or impreſſion which it makes. The verbal difference, and real correſpondency is this. The Evangeliſt from our Saviours mouth in the firſt place, relates the miracles, [*The blind receive their ſight, and the lame walk, the Lepers are cleanſed, and the deaf hear*, &c.] and from theſe particulars makes up this general principle, [*Bleſſed is he whoſoever ſhall not be offended in me*] The *Pſalmiſt* contrariwiſe firſt ſets down the ſame principle, and afterwards fore-tells the miracles, which were to be as ſo many proofs or experiments, whereby this people might know the God of *Jacob*, when he ſhould come in perſon to make them happy. *Happy is he* (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) *that hath the God of* Jacob *for his help, whoſe hope is in the Lord his God.* Why are they happy which truſt in him, or would not be offended in him, when he came unto them? *Becauſe he made Heaven and Earth, the Sea, and all that therein is, which keepeth truth for ever, which executeth judgment for the oppreſſed, which giveth food to the hungry, the Lord looſeth the Priſoners*, &c. Pſal. 146. 5, 6, 7.

6. The ſum of all that the Jew or Heathen can object againſt us, for thus interpreting this place, or for adoring Chriſt Jeſus whom they Crucified, as the very God here meant by the *Pſalmiſt*, muſt amount from that general prohibition, (as they will interpret it) ver. 3. *Put not your truſt in Princes, nor in the Son of man, in whom there is no help, or no Salvation.* But ye Chriſtians (will they ſay) put your truſt in the Son of man, in the Son of *Mary* a woman, and therefore tranſgreſs the *Pſalmiſts* precept. But admitting theſe words [*Put not your truſt in Princes*, &c.] had been expreſt in this univerſal form [Put not your truſt in any Princes, nor in any ſon of man whomſoever: for there is no help in any of them] Yet ſuch univerſal rules do uſually admit ſome exception, or an exception of ſome principal particular. As when it is ſaid, *He hath put all things under his feet; it is manifeſt*, ſaith the Apoſtle, 1 Cor. 15. 27. *that he is excepted, who put all things under him*, though he be more than all things that are put under him. And when our Apoſtle tells us, that we muſt utterly renounce all works, and only relye upon the mercy of God in Chriſt: Yet the renouncing of all works (which is the greateſt of all works) muſt be excepted from this general rule. For he that renounceth this work cannot come to Chriſt, cannot be partaker of Gods mercy in him. And ſo in this general prohibition of the *Pſalmiſt*, *Put not your truſt in Princes, nor in any Son of man, that ſon of man* muſt be excepted, who is alſo more than the ſon of man, more than any Prince, the Son of God, the Lord God of *Iſrael*. In all other Princes, beſides this one Prince, who was to reign for ever, there is no help, no ſalvation, and becauſe they are void of help and ſalvation, they are uncapable of our confidence; we may not ſafely repoſe our truſt in them, or upon them. But I would demand

of the Jew, what opinion his Fore-fathers, in the time of *Moſes Samuel*, *David*, and the Prophets, had of their expected *Meſſias*? What opinion the Seed of *Abraham*, this day living, have of the Son of *David*, whom they expect ſhall reign over them? Was he, in the opinion of their Fore-fathers, to be no more than the Son of Man, though the Son of *David*? If he were to be no more than ſo, there was no confidence, by the *Pſalmiſts* rule, to be placed in him; they were not to expect help or Salvation from him; he could be but another *David*, another *Sampſon*, another *Joſhuah*, or *Moſes*. If he were to be but a King on Earth, as many others have been before him, though all others, though put together, of much leſs power than they expect he ſhall be; yet their expectation of him is fuller fraught with revenge and malice towards others, than with hope of any great good unto themſelves, if ſo he were to be but a mighty Prince or Monarch, not truly God; or if his Kingdom were but of this world, or to be bounded within the ſphere of the Moon, for ſo he might bruiſe and cruſh the Nations, as *Joſhua* the *Canaanites*, or *David* his enemies; he could not make all his own followers Kings and Monarchs. Nor could Monarchies or Kingdoms make them happy, on whom he did beſtow them; there could be no help or Salvation general either in Prince or Subject. The more bountiful he were in beſtowing Temporal Bleſſings, wealth, power, or honour upon the Seed of *Abraham* after the fleſh, the greater calamity he ſhould bring upon other Nations. How then could he be that promiſed Seed of *Abraham*, in whom all the Nations of the earth were to be bleſſed? Finally, if the ancient *Jews* (as I think theſe modern *Jews* will not deny) expected help and Salvation from their *Meſſias*, if they taught their Poſterity to put truſt in this promiſed Seed of *Abraham*, whenſoever he ſhould be revealed, then it is concluded, that their expected *Meſſias* was to be that God of *Iſrael*, whom the Pſalmiſt, in the 146. *Pſalm* deſcribeth. And this is the Fundamental Article of Chriſtian Faith, unto the acknowledgment whereof this Lord God of *Iſrael* in his good time, bring the Seed of *Abraham* after the fleſh, and all others which either deny it, or are ignorant of it.

CHAP. XXII.

That the God of Iſrael *was to become a Servant and a Subject to Humane Infirmities, was fore-told by the Prophets, according to the ſtricteſt literal ſenſe.*

THough all theſe Propheſies were punctually fulfilled (according to the ſtrict propriety of the literal ſenſe) of God incarnate, or whilſt he converſt with men here on earth, in the form of a Servant, which is ſomewhat more, than the form and eſſence of a man: yet other Propheſies there be, which more punctually refer unto this eſtate in particular, and unto thoſe grievances, which it was impoſſible for him that was truly God to ſuffer, unjuſt for any man to ſuffer, who was not by eſtate and condition a true Servant in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of this word. Now we read that *when Jeſus had ſaid to one ſick of the Palſie, be of good cheer, thy ſins are forgiven thee*; *the Scribes* and *Phariſees* (who were then preſent) *began to reaſon, ſaying, Who*

Who is this, that ſpeaketh Blaſphemy? who can forgive ſins but God alone? *Luke* 5.21. And for thus cenſuring his ſpeech, they preſume they had the warrant of God himſelf *Eſay* 43. 25. *I, even I, am he that blotteth out thy tranſgreſſions for mine own ſake, and will remember thy ſins no more.* It was moſt true what from this place they collect, to wit, that God alone could forgive ſins. But from the preſent miracle, and the manner of our Saviours Converſation with them here on Earth, and their moſt wicked dealing with him, (had they compared theſe with the words immediately precedent in the Prophet) it had been eaſy for them to have gathered that he was that only God, which did forgive ſins. For ſo the Prophet had ſaid to this people in the perſon of his only God, *Thou haſt made me to ſerve with thy ſins, thou haſt wearied me with thy iniquities.* This in particular is one of thoſe many places, which even by the *Jews* Confeſſion, could be literally meant of none, but God himſelf, and yet could never be literally and punctually fulfilled or verified, but of God Incarnate. For this people did never make God to ſerve under their ſins, he was never wearied with their iniquities; ſave only whilſt he took the *form* of a ſervant upon him, and did bear their ſins in the ſubſtance of their fleſh.

2. Of the ſame obſervation is that other place, *Eſay* 63. 9, 10. *In all their affliction he was afflicted, and the Angel of his preſence ſaved them: in his love and in his pity he redeemed them, and he bare them, and carried them all the days of old. But they rebelled and vexed his holy Spirit. Therefore he was turned to be their enemy, and he fought againſt them.* And ſo it is ſaid, *that he was grieved forty years with that Generation, which he had delivered out of* Egypt. And both places, were they to be limited only with reference to times paſt, could not be meant of God otherwiſe than ἀνθρωποπαθῶς, or in a metaphorical ſenſe. But as well that complaint of the Pſalmiſt, as this of the Prophet *Eſay*, were not meerly Hiſtorical, but Prophetical, both to be fulfilled after a more exquiſite ſenſe in latter Ages. For all Gods mercies and loving kindneſs to their Fathers were but as pledges, or talents given by way of earneſt, for greater goodneſs, and more tender mercies towards latter Generations; ſo they would be thankful for the former. God, whilſt he was only in the form of God, could not in ſtrict propriety of ſpeech be *troubled*, could not be *grieved* with compaſſion, could not be *wearied*. All thoſe are paſſions, or accidental affections, incident only to fleſh and bloud, or at leaſt to natures ſubject to ſervitude and puniſhment. But of God in our nature, and form of a ſervant, all theſe pathetical complaints were moſt exactly accompliſhed. Who was weak amongſt his people, and he not weakned by their weakneſs? who amongſt them did mourn, and he not mourn with them? who was afflicted in body or Soul, and he not partaker of their afflictions? Of all thoſe duties of Chriſtian Charity, or fellow-feeling of others infirmities, practiſed by his Apoſtles, and commended to us by them; he by his practiſe and converſation, ſet the moſt exquiſite pattern, more exquiſite than any, who was but man, could have ſet. For he was a man of ſorrows and infirmities to bear all our grievances. He cured no bodily infirmity (though he cured many) whoſe grief (until the cure was wrought) he did not ſuffer by exact and perfect ſympathy. And only by the anguiſh of his Soul and Spirit, not *Iſrael* alone, but all people throughout the World, whoever found, or hope to find any, muſt find reſt

and comfort to their Souls and Conſciences. Yet all this the wicked poſterity of that wicked Generation, (whoſe ingratitude towards the God of their Fathers did miniſter both matter of complaint and of prophecy to the Prophet *Eſay*, and the Pſalmiſt) no way regarded, but requited all the pains, trouble, and affliction which he had undertaken for their poor brethrens bodily good, and the comfort of all their Souls, with ſuperaddition of thoſe deadly griefs and ſorrows, which by the Romans help they brought upon him. This God of *Iſrael* in former times had fought for them, and had conducted them in the form of an Angel, *Joſhuah* himſelf being but his Deputy, or under Commander. But now that they have thus ungratefully requited him for all his loving kindneſs towards their Fathers, whilſt he was only in the form of God, or did appear in the garb or figure, not in the ſubſtance of an Angel, and for all the troubles and grievances undertaken by him for their good, whilſt he was in the *ſubſtance* of man, and *form* of a ſervant, he at length became their Enemy, and fought againſt them. For as Viſitors, though far abſent, do yet viſit by their Commiſſaries; ſo this God of *Iſrael*, that *Jeſus* whom the *Jews* had Crucified being made King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, did judge *Jeruſalem*, and the Nation of the *Jews*, by *Veſpaſian* and *Titus*, as by his Deputies. It was he, not they, that in that great War did overcome them. As they had grieved him more than their Forefathers had done, with whom he was grieved forty years in the Wilderneſs; ſo they did remain in the Land of their promiſed reſt, but forty years after his Death, and ſo they remained in far worſe caſe, than their Forefathers had done in the Wilderneſs: and their poſterity ſince have wandred throughout the World, as unwelcome Gueſts, for almoſt theſe ſixteen hundred years.

CHAP. XXIII.

That God was to viſit his Temple after ſuch a viſible and perſonal manner, as the Prophet Jeremy *in his name had done.*

THE Modern *Jew* cannot deny that of the Prophet *Jeremy chap.* 7. *ver.* 3, 4. &c. to be meant of God alone: nor is he able to ſhew us how it was, or could be otherwiſe fulfilled, than of God incarnate, or of God in the viſible nature and ſubſtance of man coming to viſit his Temple: *Thus ſaith the Lord of Hoſts the God of* Iſrael; *Amend your ways and your doings, and I will cauſe you to dwell in this place. Truſt ye not in lying words, ſaying, The Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord are theſe,* And again ver. 8. *Behold, ye truſt in lying words, that cannot profit. Will ye ſteal, murther, and commit adultery, and ſwear falſly, and burn incenſe unto* Baal, *and walk after other gods, whom ye know not: and come and ſtand before me in this Houſe which is called by my name, and ſay, We are delivered to do all theſe abominations? Is this Houſe, which is called by my name, become a Den of Robbers in your eyes? Behold even I have ſeen it, ſaith the Lord.* To have denyed, that God at this time did truly hear what this people ſaid, did truly ſee what they

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they did, did perfectly underſtand their ſecret thoughts, had been an errour much groſſer, and more dangerous, than the errour of the *Anthropomorphitæ*, that is, of ſuch as imagined God by nature to have eyes, ears, and heart like man. For that was but an Hereſie or tranſformation of the Deity; the other was *Epicuriſm*, the worſt and groſſeſt errour wherewith the very Heathen or Infidels were poſſeſt. And ſo the Pſalmiſt deſcribeth it, *Pſal.* 94. 7. *Yet they ſay, the Lord ſhall not ſee, neither ſhall the God of* Jacob *regard it. Underſtand ye brutiſh among the people, and ye fools when will ye be wiſe? He that planted the ear, ſhall he not hear? he that formed the eye, ſhall he not ſee? &c.*

2. Sight and hearing were, in thoſe times, as truly attributed to God, as now they can be: yet in a general or tranſcendent, not ſo exquiſite, ſo proper, and formal a ſenſe, as the pathetical expreſſion, which the Prophet there uſed, doth literally imply. *Behold, even I have ſeen it, ſaith the Lord.* For certainly that implies a great deal more, than by ordinary Catechiſms, or domeſtick inſtructions, they could have learned: thus much at the leaſt; that the Lord God himſelf, who ſent the Prophet to deliver this meſſage, The Lord God of *Iſrael*, who neither ſlumbreth nor ſleepeth, would watch his opportunity, unleſs they did amend theſe miſdemeanors, to viſit them and his Temple, not by a Prophet or deputed Commiſſary, but in perſon, and after as evident and viſible a manner to fleſh and blood, as the Prophet had done, but with far greater power. The Prophet had only meer ſpiritual power to proteſt againſt them, no coërcive Authority to puniſh the Delinquents, or to baniſh theſe abuſes out of the Temple: This caſe was reſerved unto the Lord himſelf, and was put in execution by him oftner than once, as I take it, at two ſeveral Paſovers. For ſo we read *John* 2. 13. &c. *And the* Jews *Paſſover was at hand, and* Jeſus *went up to* Jeruſalem, *and found in the Temple thoſe that ſold Oxen, and Sheep, and Doves, and the changers of money ſitting. And when he had made a ſcourge of ſmall cords, he drove them all out of the Temple, and the Sheep and the Oxen, and poured out the changers money, and overthrew the Tables, and ſaid unto them that ſold Doves; Take theſe things hence, make not my Fathers Houſe an Houſe of Marchandize.* This was done, I take it, at the firſt Paſover after his Baptiſm, but he exerciſed the ſame power with greater Authority at his laſt coming to *Jeruſalem* in Triumph, ſo we read *Mat.* 21. 12, 13. *And* Jeſus *went into the Temple of God, and caſt out all them, that ſold and bought in the Temple, and overthrew the tables of the money-changers, and the ſeats of them that ſold Doves; and ſaid unto them, it is written, My Houſe ſhall be called the Houſe of Prayer: but ye have made it a Den of Thieves.* It is to me remarkable, that this Evangeliſt ſaith, he went into the Temple of God: and yet when he relates the very words which he then uſed, he ſaith not, as in the former place of St. *John* he did; *It is written, my Fathers Houſe ſhall be called an Houſe of Prayer*; but *My Houſe ſhall be called the Houſe of Prayer, yet ye have made it a Den of Thieves.* And both St. *Mark* and St. *Luke*, retain the very ſame character of ſpeech: *Jeſus* ſaith he, *went into the Temple, &c. and would not ſuffer, that any man ſhould carry any veſſel through the Temple*, (an abuſe for which *Jeremy* had denounced Gods judgment againſt their Fore-fathers:) and he taught, ſaying unto them, *Is it not written, my Houſe ſhall be called of all Nations the Houſe of Prayer: but ye have made it a Den of Thieves? &c. Mark* 11. 15, 16,

16, 17. The like is *Luke* 19. 46. Both by his ſpeech, and by the extraordinary exerciſe of his more than Royal Authority, he gave them evidently to underſtand, ſo they would have been taught by him, that he was that very Lord, that very God of *Iſrael*, unto whom that Houſe had been dedicated, that Lord which had ſent his Prophet *Jeremy*, to dehort their Fore-fathers from polluting the Temple, as now their Poſterity do. And if we conſider the uſual condition, or ſtubborn temper of Church Trading Men, and the ſtrong back which long continuance of this plauſible cuſtom of making proviſion for Sacrifices in the Temple, had given unto that ſharp edge, which the opportunity of this great and ſolemn Feaſt had ſet upon their wonted deſires of gain; it is not imaginable, that ſo many men would ſo quickly have quit their ſeats of Merchandize, for the laſh of one mans hand, unleſs it had been withal the very hand of God: not credible that all the eyes in the World beſides could have blencht them in their wonted courſe, unleſs they had been eyed and looked upon, by the very eyes of God himſelf, of that God who was Chief Lord of the Temple. For ſo the eyes of Chriſt, as we Chriſtians believe and know, were as truly the eyes of God, as the Prophet *Jeremies* eyes were his own, and that whilſt he ſaw and looked upon thoſe abuſes of the Temple with humane eyes, yet he ſaw them with the eyes of God in as ſtrict and exquiſite a ſenſe, as *Jeremy* had ſeen them with the eyes of man.

3. The contents of this Text are a prediction, or preſignification, of that rank and nature, which hath been before deciphered in the general, that is, a prediction typically Prophetical; ſuch as that of the Pſalmiſt, *The ſtone which the builders refuſed, is become the chief ſtone in the Corner.* Or that which in the literal or Hiſtorical ſenſe did reſpect the Paſchal Lamb. [*Not a bone of it ſhall be broken.*] For the Prophet *Jeremy* did by expreſs words foretel, and by matter of fact foreſhadow, that which afterwards was moſt exactly accompliſhed. He was perſecuted by that Generation wherein he lived, for the delivery of that meſſage Chap. 7. ver. 12, 13, 14. *But go ye now into my place which was in* Shiloh, *where I ſet my name at the firſt, and ſee what I did to it, for the wickedneſs of my people* Iſrael. *And now, becauſe ye have done all theſe works, ſaith the Lord, and I ſpake unto you, riſing up early, and ſpeaking, but ye heard not; and I called you, but ye anſwered not: therefore will I do unto this houſe, which is called by my name, wherein ye truſt, and unto the place which I gave to you, and to your fathers, as I have done to* Shiloh. The ſame meſſage was delivered by him, many years after this time, by the expreſs commandment of the Lord, chap. 26. ver. 4, 5, 6. *And thou ſhalt ſay unto them, Thus ſaith the Lord, if ye will not hearken to me, to walk in my Law which I have ſet before you to hearken to the words of my ſervants the Prophets, whom I ſent unto you, both riſing up early, and ſending them (but ye have not harkened:) then will I make this houſe like* Shiloh, *and will make this City a curſe to all the nations of the earth.* His perſecution for this delivery of his meſſage from the Lord, is upon ſacred record, v. 8, 9. *Now it came to paſs when* Jeremiah *had made an end of ſpeaking all that the Lord had commanded him to ſpeak unto all the people, that the Prieſts and the Prophets and all the people took him, ſaying, Thou ſhalt ſurely dy: why haſt thou propheſied in the name of the Lord ſaying? This houſe ſhall be like* Shiloh, *&c.* The laſt Generation of the *Jews*, with whom our Saviour converſed in as viſible and familiar manner, as *Jeremy* had done with their Forefathers, did charge him

firſt, and afterwards his Martyr Saint *Stephen*, with capital Blaſphemy, for ſaying, the Temple then ſtanding ſhould be deſtroyed. The accuſation of our Saviour for theſe words (conceived to be uttered by him) you have, *Mat.* 26. 60, 61. *Yea, though many falſe witneſſes came, yet found they none. At the laſt came two falſe witneſſes and ſaid, this fellow ſaid, I am able to deſtroy the Temple of God, and build it in three days.* Or, as Saint *Mark* hath the ſame accuſation, *Chap.* 14. ver. 57, 58, 59. *And there aroſe certain, and bare falſe witneſs againſt him, ſaying, We have heard him ſay, I will deſtroy this Temple that is made with hands, and within three days I will build another made without hands. But neither ſo did their witneſs agree together.* If they had agreed, or come home to the interrogatories propoſed, he had dyed (if they had had the power of death) for ſaying the very ſame words in effect, for which their Fore-fathers threatned *Jeremy* with death. The ſame practice you have reitered againſt S. *Stephen*, Acts 6. ver. 12. 13. *And they ſtirred up the people, and the Elders and the Scribes, and came upon him, and caught him, and brought him to the Council, and ſet up falſe witneſſes, which ſaid, this man ceaſeth not to ſpeak blaſphemous words againſt this holy place, and the Law. For we have heard him ſay, that this Jeſus of* Nazareth *ſhall deſtroy this place, and ſhall change the cuſtoms which* Moſes *delivered us.* Whether Saint *Stephen* ſaid thus or no, I will not diſpute, but moſt probable it is, that he did never ſay this in expreſs terms, becauſe the Text ſaith, *They ſet up falſe witneſſes againſt him.* However, theſe falſe witneſſes againſt Saint *Stephen* did truly Propheſie, as *Caiaphas* did. For Jeſus being made Chriſt, did deſtroy the Temple by the *Romans*, and abrogated the Ceremonies given by *Moſes*, becauſe they had made up the meaſure of their Fore-fathers ſins, who perſecuted *Jeremy* for ſaying no more, in effect, then they laid to Saint *Stephens* charge. And that which *Jeremy* threatned, was in part fulfilled, not long after his perſecution and impriſonment. For *Sion* became like *Shiloh*, a deſolate place, and forſaken of God for a long time; yet re-edified again within the Age or Generation then living: ſo was not *Shiloh* until this day. Nor hath *Jeruſalem* or *Sion* been reſtored, ſince they forſook the Lord God of their Fathers, when he came to viſit his Temple, as *Jeremy* had done, and to be Anointed King over *Sion*.

4. All that I have to add unto the former teſtimony, *Jer.* 7. is this; that our Saviour, at this time of his Conſecration, or whilſt he was a King or Prieſt *in fieri* only, did give ſome documents of his Royal Power, or juſt challenge to his right over *Judah* and *Jeruſalem*, in a more ſpecial manner, than at any time before he had done. For we do not read, that he did take upon him to judge between party and party in matters temporal, nor to diſpoſe of the goods or poſſeſſions, whether of *Jews* or of *Gentiles*, ſave once, when he gave the Legion of Devils leave to enter into the Herd of Swine, and to carry them headlong into the Sea. And this he did immediately after he had manifeſted himſelf to be God, by commanding the wind and the water, as was before declared. Before this time he might have ſaid more truly than *Samuel* did, whoſe Oxe or Aſs have I taken? Yet now when he came to viſit his Temple, he gave his Diſciples Commiſſion more than Royal, to take an Aſs and her Colt for ſervice, to ride on them in triumph (as the Prophet *Zachary* had fore-told) unto *Jeruſalem* and to *Sion*. And this he did, *jure domini*, by right

of Dominion. The tenor of the Commiſſion, and the execution of it, you have diſtinctly ſet down, *Mat.* 21. 1, 2, 3. *And when they drew nigh unto* Jeruſalem, *and were come to* Bethphage *unto the Mount of Olives, then ſent Jeſus two Diſciples, ſaying unto them. Go into the Village over againſt you, and ſtraight way ye ſhall find an Aſs tyed, and a Colt with her; looſe them, and bring them to me. And if any man ſay ought unto you, ye ſhall ſay, The Lord hath need of them: and ſtraight way he will ſend them.* And Saint *Mark* tells us, Chap. 11. ver. 5. *And certain of them that ſtood there, ſaid unto them, What do ye looſing the Colt? And they ſaid unto them, even as Jeſus had commanded; and they let them go.*

5. This manner of his coming to *Jeruſalem*, his powerful viſitation of the Temple immediately upon it, and the Inſcription which *Pilate* made on his Croſs, ſome four days after, with other remarkable circumſtances of the ſtory, or journal of that ſacred week, be a pregnant teſtimony, that this Jeſus of *Nazareth*, whom we adore, was that King of the *Jews* and of *Sion*, whoſe coming *Zacharias* had ſo long before fore-told. But it is not ſo apparent out of his fore-cited Propheſie, either that this King of *Sion*, was the God of *Sion*, or that the God of *Sion*, and of *Iſrael*, was to be made King of both. For in that he was God, he was the King not of *Iſrael* or *Judah* only, but of all the Earth, God over all from everlaſting to everlaſting by right of Creation. The next point then in queſtion betwixt the *Jew* and us, is this; Whether it may be concludently proved from the literal ſenſe of thoſe Oracles which they adore, that he, who was the God of *Sion*, and of *Iſrael*, from everlaſting to everlaſting, were to be made King of *Sion* in latter times, or after the gift of Propheſie did ceaſe in *Judæa* and *Jeruſalem*.

CHAP. XXIV.

That the God of Iſrael *was to be made King, and to Reign not over* Iſrael *only, but over the Nations in a more peculiar manner than in former Ages he had done.*

WEre there no other Part or Volume of the Old Teſtament left, beſides the Book of *Pſalms*; the teſtimonies contained in it, which according to the literal ſenſe, will abundantly induce this concluſion, are for number more, and more punctual, than all the teſtimonies which the Jew can bring out of all other Scriptures, that they were to have a *Meſſias*, or Son of *David*, whoſe Throne was to be exalted above the Throne of *David*, or of *Solomon*. Or if this Book of *Pſalms* were the only Book, whereby both Jews and Chriſtians were to be regulated in points of Faith, this Book alone would condemn both, of ſuch folly and ſluggiſhneſs of heart, as Chriſt our God and Saviour upbraideth thoſe two Diſciples with, *Luke* 24. 26. &c. *Ought not Chriſt to have ſuffered theſe things, and to enter into his glory? And beginning at* Moſes, *and all the Prophets, he expounded to them, in all the Scriptures, the things concerning himſelf.* He did then enter into his Glory, when he was made a King of Glory: and ſuch a King he was not made, until he had endured an harder ſervitude,

tude, or condition of life more miſerable to fleſh and blood, than *Iſrael* had done in *Egypt*, or than any of the Prophets, whether *Pſalmiſts* or others, had undergone. Of this ſervitude or hard condition of life, which was pre-figured by matter of fact, in moſt of his Prophets, and in all thoſe Pſalmiſts, and fore-told in all thoſe *Pſalms*, which contain matter of complaint, or imploration of releaſe from oppreſſion, in its proper place. We are now briefly to peruſe ſome of thoſe *Pſalms*, which according to the literal ſenſe, imply the exaltation of the God of *Iſrael*, or of *Sion*, to be the King of *Iſrael*, or of *Sion:* and for this view it would much avail, if we knew, who were the Authors of ſuch *Pſalms*, and upon what occaſion they were penned.

2. The Author of the 7. *Pſalm* was *David* himſelf, and no other, as the Inſcription and occaſion of his complaints, therein mentioned, do manifeſt. The complaints he tenders immediately unto God, and yet this God, who was to be awaked, was to return to his Throne on high. *Ariſe O Lord* (ſaith he ver. 6.) *in thine anger, lift up thy ſelf, becauſe of the rage of mine enemies, and awake for me to the judgment that thou haſt commanded; ſo ſhall the Congregation of the people compaſs thee about; for their ſakes therefore return thou on high. The Lord ſhall judge the people. Judge me, O Lord, according to my Righteouſneſs, and according to mine integrity that is in me.* He that is to ariſe, was certainly laid down, and he that is to awake, was for the time aſleep; and he that was to return on high, was queſtionleſs deſcended from the highneſs of his Throne. Nor are theſe ſpeeches to be conſidered ἀνθρωποπαθῶς, more than that judgment of the people, which he implores of God. I dare not affirm, that the 47. *Pſalm* was penned or conceived by *David* himſelf, yet Authentick and Canonical among the *Jews*. Now the whole current of that *Pſalm* contains a general Acclamation, or gratulatory Hymn of God the Lord, who was to be made King. *O clap your hands (all ye people) ſhout unto God with the voice of triumph. For the Lord moſt high is terrible: he is a great King over all the Earth. He ſhall ſubdue the people under us, and the Nations under our feet. He ſhall chuſe our Inheritance for us, the excellency of* Jacob *whom he loved.* Some paſſages in this Pſalm had their literal verification in the practice of this people, at ſuch ſolemn Feaſts as this Pſalm was appointed to be ſung. For they did then exhibit ſuch joyful Acclamations, as are here charactered, and exalt the name of the Lord, by Hymns of Praiſe and Thankſgiving. But both Songs and Ditties, the geſtures both of Prieſts and People which ſung them, did fore-ſignifie matter of more univerſal triumphant joy, to be communicated to all Nations, when God ſhould become ſuch a gracious King over them, as he had been over the Seed of *Abraham*, ver. 7, and 8. *For God is the King of all the Earth, ſing ye Praiſes with underſtanding. God raigneth over the Heathen: God ſitteth upon the Throne of his Holineſs.* Was it the chief matter of this publick joy, that God ſhould ſubdue the Nations under the feet of *Jacobs* Poſterity? This had been rather cauſe of ſorrow to the Heathen Nations, than any juſt cauſe of comfort to the Jew, if theſe words (according to the literal) did import a temporal or civil ſubjection of the Nations by conqueſt of Sword. Nor doth the original word import any ſuch thing, but a voluntary ſubjection or ſubmiſſion wrought by fair and gentle perſwaſion. And by the unqueſtionable meaning of the very letter; the Nations were to rejoyce, in that they were to be

thus ſubdued, not to the whole Nation of the *Jews*, but to the Inheritance which God had choſen for them, or to the excellency of *Jacob* whom he loved. And theſe (as *Theodoret* rightly obſerves) were the Apoſtles and Diſciples, whom God had choſen out of the Jewiſh Nation. Theſe indeed have brought not our bodies, but our ſouls and conſciences, under ſubjection to the yoke of Chriſt; who was the God, whom the Pſalmiſt there Fore-propheſied ſhould be very highly exalted, not by aſcending of the Ark into Mount *Sion*, nor by propagation of his Kingdom, or gaining a greater multitude of Subjects here on Earth, than he had whilſt the Jews only were his choſen people; but by erecting a new Throne and Kingdom in the higheſt Heavens, where now he dwelleth, and executeth the royal judicature, which he before did in the Tabernacle, or in the Temple: there he had a viſible *Throne*, and a viſible *Mercy ſeat*, but there his preſence was not always viſible, nor viſible at any thing but in type or figure. And if we may believe the latter Jewiſh Doctors, when they ſpeak unwittingly for us againſt themſelves, that Solemn Feſtival wherein this triumphant Song was publickly ſung, was firſt inſtituted, and afterwards continued, as an anniverſary memorial of the dedication of the Temple, * or for bringing the Ark into it: and that was as much as the inthronization of the God of *Iſrael*, as peculiar King and Lord of *Sion*. But they themſelves do grant, that this very Pſalm was not only a Triumphal Memorial of what was paſt, but withal Prophetical, and to be fulfilled in the days of their expected *Meſſias*. And ſo we Chriſtians ſee it now exactly fulfilled, according both to the myſtical, and to the punctual literal ſenſe, in Chriſt Jeſus their *Meſſias* (though they acknowledge him not) now ſitting at the right hand of God, and deſigned to be the ſupream Judge, not of the Jews only, but of all the world, of quick and dead.

3. That the God of *Iſrael* was to become King of all the world, to be crowned with Majeſty and Glory, was to judge the world after another manner than from the beginning of it, or at that time, when theſe late cited Hymns were Conſecrated to his Praiſe, had been experienced; many other Pſalms do ſo punctually import, that without this ſuppoſition, or this interpretation of them, they can have neither any true literal meaning, nor contain any remarkable truth worthy the note of *Selah*, which is often inſerted in Pſalms of this kind. *The Lord* (ſaith the Author of the 93. *Pſalm*) *reigneth*; *he is cloathed with majeſty. The Lord is cloathed with ſtrength, wherewith he hath girded himſelf.* He was to be thus cloathed, thus girded with ſtrength, not as God, but as King. *The world alſo is eſtabliſhed; that it cannot be moved: Thy throne is eſtabliſhed* מֵאָז *of old, à tunc*, from then, that is, from the time wherein he was thus to reign, and thus to be cloathed with *Majeſty*. And by this eſtabliſhing of his Throne, the world was to be eſtabliſhed after another manner than it had been. He himſelf, indeed, (as it followeth in the ſame verſe) was from Eternity. So was not the Throne or Kingdom which the Pſalmiſt there doth not only deſcribe, but Propheſie of; his Throne is an everlaſting Throne] yet everlaſting (as we ſay) *à parte poſt*, from the time it was eſtabliſhed, not from Eternity: and ſo is the Kingdom here meant. And *Pſalm* 96. 10. &c. *Say among the Heathen, that the* Lord *raigneth, the world alſo ſhall be eſtabliſhed, that it ſhall not be moved: he ſhall judge the people Righteouſly. Let the Heavens rejoyce, and let the Earth be glad, let the Sea roar, and the fullneſs thereof: Let the Fields*

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* Vide Mollerum in argumentum hujus *Pſalmi.*

Fields be joyful, and all that is therein, then ſhall all the Trees of the Wood rejoice before the Lord: for he cometh, for he cometh to judge the earth, he ſhall judge the World with righteouſneſs, and the people with his truth. All theſe are characters of times future; and that joyfulneſs *of the fields and all that is in them*, &c. which the Prophet mentions, is (I take it) no other than the fulfilling or ſatisfying of *the earneſt expectation of the Creature, waiting for the manifeſtation of the Sons of God. Rom.* 8. 19.

That of the Pſalmiſt, *Pſal.* 97. 1. falls under the ſame line of obſervation: *The Lord reigneth, let the earth rejoice, let the multitude of the Iſles rejoice.* This literally implies, that the earth, whether generally taken, or reſtrained to the Land of *Jewry*, ſhould have better cauſe to rejoice, and the multitude of the Iſles new occaſions of greater gladneſs, than in former times they had known. When then was this new matter of joy and gladneſs, there promiſed to all the Earth and her Inhabitants, to begin to bear date, or be *in eſſe?* From that point of time, wherein the Lord began to Raign after another manner, than before he had done. The Raign of the Lord over all the Earth, and over all the Iſlands of the Earth (if we conſider him only as God) was from the beginning of the World, and ſo ſhall continue without change or alteration World without end. The Raign of the Lord then, in this place foretold, muſt be the Raign of God Incarnate, or of Gods being made King. And thoſe holy men of God which thus ſpeak, did by the Spirit of Prophecy foreſee thoſe days which *Abraham* ſaw and rejoyced to ſee. Now the beginning of theſe joyful days, was from the time wherein the Lord did *looſe the Priſoners, did deal his bread unto the hungry, did open the eyes of the blind, and raiſed them, that were bowed down,* with his own hands, or with his own voice. For ſo the Author of the 146. Pſalm (a little before paraphraſed) doth conclude that admirable ἐπινίκιον, or triumphant ſong of the God of *Iſrael*; *The Lord ſhall raign for ever, even thy God O* Sion *unto all Generations.* All the former works of mercy and piety towards miſerable men, were but *præludia* or portending documents of his future Raign, or œcumenial Kingdom ſhortly after to be eſtabliſhed.

CHAP. XXV.

That the former Teſtimonies do concludently infer a plurality of perſons in the unity of the Godhead: and that God in the perſon of the Son was to be Incarnate, and to be made Lord and King.

BUT if the Lord God of *Iſrael* were to ſerve under the ſins of this people, or to be made a ſervant for their ſins; if he were to be Anointed King not over them only, but over all the Earth beſides; it will be demanded, unto whom he was to be a ſervant, and who (after this his ſervice,) was to make or Crown him King? Surely, being God, he was not to be a ſervant unto Man or Angel: if he that was God muſt be a ſervant, he muſt be a ſervant to him who is, and truly was, God. If he that was truly God, were to be Anointed

King, and to be enthronized, he muſt be anointed by him alone, who was as truly God. Theſe conſiderations enforce us, and when God ſhall give them hearts to take theſe and the like into ſerious conſideration, will perſwade the *Jews*, that however the God of *Iſrael* be one, yet in this unity of the Godhead, or Divine Majeſty, they and we muſt acknowledge more than an unity or identity of perſons. What it is to be a perſon, and what manner of diſtinction is between the perſons in the Bleſſed Trinity, are points which I never had mind to diſpute *More Scholarum*, ſince I firſt knew the Schools, or bent my ſtudies to know Chriſt; but was always ready to admire, what I knew not to expreſs.

Nor could I ever well underſtand the language of ſuch as thought themſelves able to inſtamp theſe high myſteries with Scholaſtick *forms* of words, but have taken more delight and comfort, for theſe thirty years and more, in rehearſing daily, (as I am bound by Oath Evening and Morning) the Collect appointed by our Church for *Trinity Sunday*, with the Hymn annexed unto it in the antient Liturgies, than in all the variety, whether of School-men, or of ſuch polite Writers as ſeek to adorn and beautifie their ruder expreſſions of this great myſtery. And, I have * ingaged my ſelf not to meddle with this point until (by Gods aſſiſtance) I have finiſhed the reſt of theſe Comments; and then, by way of Meditation or Devotions only. Thus much notwithſtanding, the former conſiderations, and the very fundamental grounds of true Chriſtianity inforce us to grant; that in the divine nature, though moſt indiviſibly one, there is an eminent ideal pattern of ſuch a diſtinction as we call between party and party; a capacity to give, and a capacity to receive; a capacity to demand, and a capacity to ſatisfie: Capacities ſufficiently different for the exerciſe of juſtice and love, not *ad extra* only, but within the divine nature it ſelf. If there were but one *party*, or *perſon* in the divine nature, the remiſſion of mens ſins without ſatisfaction had been more proper and pertinent, than remitting of them upon ſatisfaction. For one and the ſelf ſame party to demand ſatisfaction of himſelf, and to make it to himſelf (eſpecially by way of puniſhment or diſgraceful affliction) is ſo unconceiveable to reaſon it ſelf, that it is altogether uncapable of admiration to reaſon ſanctified, or enlightned by grace.

* *In the preface to the Treatiſe ſo the Catholick Church.*

2. But this is that which ſome Modern Hereticks labour to prove; to wit, That God did not exact ſatisfaction for our ſins of our Saviour Chriſt Jeſus; that it had been exact cruelty in God to have laid the burthen of all our ſins upon him, who knew no ſin. But how then is Chriſt ſaid to have taken away our ſins? God, (ſay theſe men) did freely remit them without ſatisfaction, and Chriſt did take them away, by ſetting us a pattern of Holineſs; and of Patience in affliction; That is, in ſuch ſort as a Phyſician might be ſaid to have taken away an Epidemical Diſeaſe, by preſcribing a *recipe*, which every one after might make for himſelf, and be his own Apothecary. Briefly, they think that God cannot be excuſed from cruelty, but by denying all true and proper ſatisfaction made to him by Chriſt. But it is an overſight uſually incident to men enclouded in groſſer errours, to object that unto their Adverſaries, as an inconvenience or abſurd conſequence, which is ſuch only according to the objecters own tenets, but moſt true and conſonant to their principles whom they oppugn, if theſe might be taken into due conſideration. Thus ſome

Fields be joyful, and all that is therein, then ſhall all the Trees of the Wood rejoice before the Lord: for he cometh, for he cometh to judge the earth, he ſhall judge the World with righteouſneſs, and the people with his truth. All theſe are characters of times future; and that joyfulneſs *of the fields and all that is in them*, &c. which the Prophet mentions, is (I take it) no other than the fulfilling or ſatisfying of *the earneſt expectation of the Creature, waiting for the manifeſtation of the Sons of God. Rom.* 8. 19.

That of the Pſalmiſt, *Pſal.* 97. 1. falls under the ſame line of obſervation: *The Lord reigneth, let the earth rejoice, let the multitude of the Iſles rejoice.* This literally implies, that the earth, whether generally taken, or reſtrained to the Land of *Jewry*, ſhould have better cauſe to rejoice, and the multitude of the Iſles new occaſions of greater gladneſs, than in former times they had known. When then was this new matter of joy and gladneſs, there promiſed to all the Earth and her Inhabitants, to begin to bear date, or be *in eſſe?* From that point of time, wherein the Lord began to Raign after another manner, than before he had done. The Raign of the Lord over all the Earth, and over all the Iſlands of the Earth (if we conſider him only as God) was from the beginning of the World, and ſo ſhall continue without change or alteration World without end. The Raign of the Lord then, in this place foretold, muſt be the Raign of God Incarnate, or of Gods being made King. And thoſe holy men of God which thus ſpeak, did by the Spirit of Prophecy foreſee thoſe days which *Abraham* ſaw and rejoyced to ſee. Now the beginning of theſe joyful days, was from the time wherein the Lord did *looſe the Priſoners, did deal his bread unto the hungry, did open the eyes of the blind, and raiſed them, that were bowed down,* with his own hands, or with his own voice. For ſo the Author of the 146. Pſalm (a little before paraphraſed) doth conclude that admirable ἐπινίκιον, or triumphant ſong of the God of *Iſrael*; *The Lord ſhall raign for ever, even thy God* O Sion *unto all Generations.* All the former works of mercy and piety towards miſerable men, were but *præludia* or portending documents of his future Raign, or œcumenial Kingdom ſhortly after to be eſtabliſhed.

CHAP. XXV.

That the former Teſtimonies do concludently infer a plurality of perſons in the unity of the Godhead: and that God in the perſon of the Son was to be Incarnate, and to be made Lord and King.

BUT if the Lord God of *Iſrael* were to ſerve under the ſins of this people, or to be made a ſervant for their ſins; if he were to be Anointed King not over them only, but over all the Earth beſides; it will be demanded, unto whom he was to be a ſervant, and who (after this his ſervice,) was to make or Crown him King? Surely, being God, he was not to be a ſervant unto Man or Angel: if he that was God muſt be a ſervant, he muſt be a ſervant to him who is, and truly was, God. If he that was truly God, were to be Anointed

King, and to be enthronized, he muſt be anointed by him alone, who was as truly God. Theſe conſiderations enforce us, and when God ſhall give them hearts to take theſe and the like into ſerious conſideration, will perſwade the *Jews*, that however the God of *Iſrael* be one, yet in this unity of the Godhead, or Divine Majeſty, they and we muſt acknowledge more than an unity or identity of perſons. What it is to be a perſon, and what manner of diſtinction is between the perſons in the Bleſſed Trinity, are points which I never had mind to diſpute *More Scholarum*, ſince I firſt knew the Schools, or bent my ſtudies to know Chriſt; but was always ready to admire, what I knew not to expreſs.

Nor could I ever well underſtand the language of ſuch as thought themſelves able to inſtamp theſe high myſteries with Scholaſtick *forms* of words, but have taken more delight and comfort, for theſe thirty years and more, in rehearſing daily, (as I am bound by Oath Evening and Morning) the Collect appointed by our Church for *Trinity Sunday*, with the Hymn annexed unto it in the antient Liturgies, than in all the variety, whether of School-men, or of ſuch polite Writers as ſeek to adorn and beautifie their ruder expreſſions of this great myſtery. And, I have * ingaged my ſelf not to meddle with this point until (by Gods aſſiſtance) I have finiſhed the reſt of theſe Comments; and then, by way of Meditation or Devotions only. Thus much notwithſtanding, the former conſiderations, and the very fundamental grounds of true Chriſtianity inforce us to grant; that in the divine nature, though moſt indiviſibly one, there is an eminent ideal pattern of ſuch a diſtinction as we call between party and party; a capacity to give, and a capacity to receive; a capacity to demand, and a capacity to ſatisfie: Capacities ſufficiently different for the exerciſe of juſtice and love, not *ad extra* only, but within the divine nature it ſelf. If there were but one *party*, or *perſon* in the divine nature, the remiſſion of mens ſins without ſatisfaction had been more proper and pertinent, than remitting of them upon ſatisfaction. For one and the ſelf ſame party to demand ſatisfaction of himſelf, and to make it to himſelf (eſpecially by way of puniſhment or diſgraceful affliction) is ſo unconceiveable to reaſon it ſelf, that it is altogether uncapable of admiration to reaſon ſanctified, or enlightned by grace.

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great Clarks in the Romiſh Church (but none of their wiſeſt men) object againſt us, that we make God a Tyran, by teaching that he hath given us a Law which is impoſſible for us to fulfil. The objection is unanſwerable, according to their Principles, who teach, that a man cannot be juſtified or abſolved from the ſentence of Death denounced by the Law, without perfect inherent righteouſneſs or fulfilling of the Law: But the ſame objection no way toucheth us; who teach, that albeit we muſt ſtill be doing that which is good, yet after we have done all we can (ſuppoſe much better than either they or we do) we muſt ſtill deny our ſelves, and renounce not the works which we have not done, but the good works we have done; and wholly rely upon the mercies of God in Chriſt, who once for all ſuffered for our ſins, and daily abſolves us from them, ſo oft as in ſincerity of heart we confeſs our ſins, and implore his propitiation for them. Unleſs we knew the fulfilling of the Law, whether by habitual or actual righteouſneſs, or by doing thoſe things which we ought to do, or leaving thoſe things undone which we ought not to do, to be impoſſible for us in this life; our reliance on God in Chriſt could not be ſo firm, or ſo perpetually conſtant, as the doctrine of our Church, (ſo it be rightly imbraced,) will make it.

3. The *Socinians* wander in the like, but much groſſer, miſt of errours, wounding one another whilſt they ſhoot at us, who are ſufficiently armed againſt their poyſoned Arrows by the Armour of God on the right hand and on the left, to wit, the diſtinction of perſons in the Bleſſed Trinity. Indeed, were there but one party or capacity in the divine nature, which were the only party or perſon offended, their arguments for remiſſion of ſins after their way would conclude againſt us, who preſs a neceſſity or convenience of ſatisfaction unto God. But their ſtrongeſt Arguments fall either wide, or ſhort, of all ſuch as maintain this diſtinction of parties, or perſons in the divine nature. For if the Son of God, or ὁ λόγος, were truly God from Eternity, and remained God after man did make himſelf the ſervant of Satan; he might, without wrong to any man, to any party, without wrong to himſelf (for *volenti non fit injuria*) voluntarily take the *form* of a ſervant upon him, and in that *form*, or low condition of man, make *perfect* ſatisfaction *per tranſlationem pœnæ, for all our debts, for all our ſins*; and our debts being fully paid, reſtore us to the liberty and priviledge of the Sons of God. He both might and did truly purchaſe that peculiar dominion over us, which he hath over all men, an abſolute dominion of puniſhing all Gods ungracious, and of crowning all his thankful and faithful ſervants. This dominion, as it is peculiar to Chriſt, was purchaſed by true and real ſatisfaction made unto God.

4. But what it was for *Chriſt, the Son of God*, to take upon him the *form* of a ſervant, or wherein this condition or *form* of a ſervant did properly conſiſt, are points which neither the *Arian* nor the *Socinian* did ever take into ſerious conſideration. If the *Socinian* would yet do ſo, he might clearly ſee that his former objections could not reach us, but muſt rebound upon himſelf. For the Man Chriſt Jeſus, being ſo juſt a man, as we believe, and he grants he was, unleſs he had been more than man, truly God, and truly a ſervant withal, it could not have ſtood with the goodneſs of God, nor with any rule of Juſtice, divine or humane, either to have puniſhed him for our ſakes, as we ſay God did, or to have ſuffered him to undergo ſuch hard and cruel

uſage at the hands of wicked and ſinful men, as the *Socinians* confeſs he did undergo, without murmuring or complaint. But this is a point which cannot be orderly handled, until we come to the Death and Paſſion of our Lord and Saviour, which was the ἀκμὴ or period (rather,) of his ſervitude, or of being in the form of a ſervant, which was the *Baſis* of his humiliation. And albeit I purpoſe not in that place to diſpute, whether God could poſſibly have freely remitted our ſins without any ſatisfaction (a queſtion to which no wiſe men will take upon them to give a peremptory anſwer, whether negative or affirmative:) yet I ſhall by Gods aſſiſtance, there make it clear, that no other means or manner of remitting our ſins, of abſolving or juſtifying us, or of bringing us to glory, which either the *Socinian*, or the wit of man can imagine, could have been ſo admirable to ſober capacities, as that way and manner which the Scripture plainly teacheth, and that in brief is this.

5. The Divine Nature, in the perſon of the Father, requires ſatisfaction for the tranſgreſſions of man againſt the Eternal Law and unchangeable rule of goodneſs, or thoſe poſitive Laws which he had given in ſpecial to man. The ſame Divine Nature in the perſon of the Son, undertook to make ſatisfaction for us, in taking our nature upon him, and *He* having by right of conſanguinity, the authority and power of redeeming us; the ſame divine nature in the perſon of the Holy Ghoſt doth approve, and ſeal this happy and ever bleſſed compromiſe. This ineffable accord between the divine perſons in the Unity of the Godhead, concerning the great work of Mans Redemption, is moſt exactly parallel to that accord, which ſome of the Ancient have excellently obſerved betwixt them in that work of Creation, as hath been before expreſſed in that Article. Not to repeat, nor to add to that which was there delivered, but to continue theſe preſent diſcuſſions concerning the Eternity and perſon of the Son of God.

6. Some there have been, and are, who granting all that we have ſaid, or can deſire to be granted, concerning the Incarnation of God, or Trinity of perſons in the Unity of the Godhead, further demand; why God rather in the perſon of the Son, than in the perſon of the Father, or of the Holy Ghoſt, ſhould be incarnate or made fleſh? But might not theſe men (ſome perhaps will ſay) as well have demanded, why God the Father did make the World rather by the Son than by himſelf, or by the Holy Ghoſt? Or why this Title of *Him, by whom all things were made*, ſhould be peculiar to God the Son? And to this queſtion it would be a ſatisfactory anſwer to ſay, that we muſt believe that the World was ſo made becauſe the Scripture, which is the only rule and guide of Faith, doth ſo inſtruct us; or becauſe the perſons of the Bleſſed Trinity (for reaſons beſt known unto themſelves alone) would have it to be ſo, and ſo to be written. But many arguments there be well obſerved by the ancient, and better explicated by Modern Divines, (ſome of whoſe works are extant in print, others worthy of the preſs) unto which I ſhall be as far from adding as from detracting. Theſe reaſons alone abundantly ſatisfie all the deſires, which I ever had to be informed in this point. Firſt, ſeeing the Bleſſed Trinity was pleaſed to have ſatisfaction made for the ſins of Mankind, and by this ſatisfaction to exhibit an exquiſite pattern of Juſtice and Equity: Secondly, ſeeing mans ſin did eſpecially conſiſt in Rebellion; the ſatisfaction was (according to the rule or pattern of Equity and Juſtice) to be made by moſt exquiſite

obedience. Now the moſt exquiſite obedience that can be performed, is from a Son unto his Father, or from a Servant unto his Lord. Hence it pleaſed the Eternal Wiſdom, and Son of God, to take not the nature of man only, but the *form* of a ſervant (for a while) upon him, to make the moſt perfect and abundant ſatisfaction, by the moſt exquiſite obedience of which both the ſtate of a Son, and condition of a Servant was capable.

7. The ſtone of offence, whereat the *Socinians* (who account themſelves good Chriſtians, and do not deny Chriſt to be the Son of God) do ſo much ſtumble, is in part the very ſame with the prejudice which the *Arians* had of the Orthodoxal Truth; whoſe breach or diſruption in the Canon of the Ancient Catholick Faith, the firſt *Nicene* Council ſought to repair, not by addition or ſuperſtruction of any new Articles of belief, but by a gentle diduction or dilatation of that ſenſe, which was included in the Apoſtles Creed, or in the Ancient rule of Faith. *I believe in one God*, &c. *and in one Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the only begotten Son of God, begotten of his Father before all worlds*; and again, *Very God of very God, begotten, not made, being of the ſame ſubſtance with the Father*, &c. It is not improbable, that the *Arians* and their Followers might take offence, or pick a quarrel at this Title [of being the only begotten Son of God before all worlds] the rather, becauſe ſome of the moſt ancient, and not a few middle-age Writers do ſeek to ground this Article upon that Divine Oracle, Pſal. 2. *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee:* as if *hodiè* in that place, did not literally and punctually refer to any peremptory day or time circumſcriptible by remarkable circumſtances, or notable hiſtorical events, but were put for *hodiè æternitatis*, which implies no time, but an indiviſible interminable duration. And if the allegation were true in this ſenſe, there could be no queſtion between Profeſſors of Chriſtianity, about the Eternal Generation of Jeſus Chriſt, as he is the Son of God. But ſo it often falls out, that ſome one impertinent allegation, or weak proof, being too much ſtood upon, doth provoke or embolden ſuch men, *qui ita veritatem amant, ut velint eſſe vera quæcunq; amant*, to deny the general truth, for whoſe confirmation weak and impertinent proofs are brought; albeit the ſame truth might be moſt ſtrongly proved from many other irrefragable teſtimonies of Scripture. That the Pſalmiſt, *Pſalm* 2. ſpeaks of our Saviours Reſurrection from the Grave, is moſt clear from the Apoſtles teſtimony; and in what ſenſe it was fulfilled, whether in the literal only, or in the myſtical, or in both; whether according to the plain literal ſenſe, it look as well *retrò* as *antè*, or have any eſpecial reference to what is paſt, ſhall, by Gods aſſiſtance, be diſcuſſed in the explication of that great Article. I dare not in this place, uſe the former authority, to prove the Eternal Generation of the Son of God.

8. That he ſhould be [the only begotten Son of God] otherwiſe than by his *begetting from the dead* unto glory and immortality; or that he ſhould be ſo before the World (from all Eternity) may ſeem to imply a contradiction *in terminis*. For the Father muſt be before the Son, unleſs we take theſe terms, as terms meerly relative, not as importing any ſubſtance or perſons. All terms meerly relative, *quà tales*, are *ſimul naturâ*, *coæval for ſtanding*. *Abraham*, though an ancient man, was not *Iſaac*'s Father, before *Iſaac* was his Son. But if we reſpect the perſons, or ſubſtances betwixt whom ſuch

relations ſtand, the perſon of the Father is always before the perſon of the Son, according to the precedence of time; or if we conſider not the perſons or ſubſtances, but that which they call, *proximum fundamentum relationis, that act or operation, from which ſuch relations do immediately reſult*; ſo it is true, that *generans eſt prior generato, Begetting, or to beget, hath priority or precedency* (though not of time, yet of nature) of *being begotten.* But if the Son of God be co-eternal to his Father, there can be no place for either of theſe precedencies or priorities, nor for any thing truly proportionable to them, ſeeing in Eternity there is *nihil prius, nihil poſterius,* no priority, no ſucceſſion. How then can Chriſt Jeſus be conceived to be the only Son of God, begotten of his Father before all worlds, if to be before all worlds, be as much as to be from all Eternity, or in Eternity? To this we anſwer, that where the truth of the matter is unqueſtionable; men ſoberly minded ſhould not wrangle about the ſtrict propriety of words; eſpecially in myſteries, whoſe comprehenſion far ſurpaſſeth mans capacity, and are even to bleſſed Angels ineffable, or unexpreſſible in any punctual or proper phraſe. The truth which the *Nicene* Fathers ſought to eſtabliſh, was this; that Chriſt Jeſus was not made the Son of God before all worlds, but was the Son of God, very God of very God, from all Eternity, co-eternal, and coequal to his Father. For ſo they expreſs themſelves [*He was begotten and not made.*] The manner of his Eternal Generation or begetting, they ſeem to reſemble to the Generation or Production of light. For ſo they ſay, *light of light, very God of very God,* &c. Now that light which the ſplendid body of the Sun diffuſeth through the Air (but eſpecially through Cœleſtial bodies) is coëval with its Fountain, which produceth or begetteth it. For it was never held a Soleciſm, to call *Lumen filiam lucis,* to ſay *light* is the *daughter* of *the Sun.* But however it ſhall pleaſe men to expreſs the manner of the Son of Gods Eternal Generation; the former inductions, that *Pater eſt prior filio naturâ & tempore, that the perſon or ſubſtance of the Father hath always precedency both of time and nature,* in reſpect of the perſon and ſubſtance of the Son, or that *generans* is *prius naturâ generato,* to *beget hath always precedence of nature,* (though not of time) of being begotten, are true only in temporal Generations or Succeſſions. All men, and other generable creatures, ſince the world began have been mortal, *de facto.* The firſt man was but conditionally immortal. And albeit he might have lived for ever, yet had he a beginning of life in time; and ſo were his Sons or Succeſſors to have; albeit they had been born immortal, or both born and begotten before he did ſubject himſelf and them to mortality, by ſin. If immortal Creatures could have Sons or Succeſſors by nature, they were to be immortal by nature: otherwiſe they ſhould be a kind of Monſters, or an equivocal brood. If then he who poſſeſſeth Eternity, have a true and proper Son [which the word, *only begotten,* implies] after what manner ſoever he be his Son, (though by a manner altogether unconceivable to us) that *Son* muſt be co-eternal to his Father. For the truly eternal God to have, beget, or produce a Son, which is not eternal, but everlaſting only *à parte poſt,* is as unconceivable to reaſon, as that an immortal Father ſhould beget a mortal, or a mortal Father an immortal Son. No Schoolmen did ever acknowledge the Generation of the Son of God to be univocally like to other Generations in all points beſides the Eternity of it. For even in that we acknowledge it to be Eternal, we *difference* it from all other *Generations* by ſuch an unexpreſſible ſuper-eminency, as Eternity hath over time, or Divine Immenſity of all bodily magnitudes, or the Divine Eſſence it ſelf of Created Natures.

CHAP. XXVI.

That by the Son of God and the Word, *we are to underſtand one and the ſame party or perſon: that the* Word *by whom Saint* John *ſaith the World was made, is Co-eternal to God the Father, who made all things by him.*

BUT to wave this point (for the preſent) concerning the manner how the Eternal God ſhould beget an Eternal Son: the thread which we are to unwind (as far as poſſibly we can without knot or ravel) is this: that Chriſt Jeſus is *heri, hodiè*, yeſterday, to day, the ſame (only true Son of God) for ever, truly Co-eternal to his Father. And this being a point of ſo great conſequence, I will not allot one place only for the clearing of it, but inſiſt upon it (more or leſs) in all the Articles which concern Chriſt. For in all of them, we ſhall be enforced to incounter the *Jew*, as well as the *Arrian* or *Socinian*.

2. Whether of theſe two be the greater ſinner, or more dangerous enemy to the Croſs of Chriſt, that I leave to God the Father, and Chriſt Jeſus the Judge of quick and dead, and to the Holy Spirit to determine. But ſeeing it is no ſin to refute or cenſure both their errors; the error of the modern *Jew*, who utterly denieth Chriſt to be the Son of God in any ſenſe ſeems to me more excuſable, at leaſt leſs inexcuſable than the error of the *Arrian* or *Socinian*; who granting Chriſt to be the Son of God, deny him to be Co-eternal to his Father. And my reaſon is, becauſe it is not more plain or pregnant out of the writings of *Moſes* or the Prophets (which the *Jews* only acknowledge) that God was to be incarnate or to become man (though that be moſt pregnant;) than it is from the Evangeliſt and other Sacred Writers of the New Teſtament, (whoſe authority the *Socinian* denies not) that Chriſt is the only Son of God from all Eternity. Two or three Teſtimonies ſhall ſuffice for the preſent. Were there no other place beſides that of the Apoſtle, *Heb.* 7. 3. and that of Saint *John Chap.* 1. theſe would captivate my underſtanding to the obedience of belief in this point. The Apoſtle ſpeaking of *Melchiſedech*, ſaith, *he was without beginning, without end of life*, ἀφωμοιωμένος δὲ τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ, that is, albeit he had both Father and Mother, beginning and end of days, yet he is repreſented unto us, without beginning or end of days, that ſo he might be a type or ſhadow of the Son of God. But how far a type of the Son of God? only in this, as he was without beginning of days, or end of life. That the Apoſtle by the Son of God, did mean Chriſt Jeſus and none elſe, none deny. The very ſcope and end of this parallel betwixt *Melchiſedech* and Chriſt was, to ſhew that Chriſt the Son of God was truly and really ſuch as *Melchiſedech* was only by ſhadow or repreſentation; that is, really and abſolutely without beginning or end of days,

he who is, who was, and is to come: perfect characters of Eternity. Again, it is evident, that the Son of God who died for us, was the ſame perſon and party with that ὁ λόγος, *with that Word* which was made fleſh. This conſequence is ungain-ſayable [that if ὁ λόγος, the Word were without beginning or end of days; God bleſt for ever, and co-eternal with him, who ſaid, *Let there be light*, *Let there be a Firmament*, *&c.* then Chriſt Jeſus the Son of God, who not only we but the *Socinians* grant did die for us, was and is without beginning or end of days, truly co-eternal to God the Father.]

3. That ὁ λόγος [*the word of God*] was abſolutely Eternal, not made ſo in time, is a truth which the wit of man cannot more punctually preſs againſt all that in future times ſhould deny or queſtion it, than St. *John* doth in the beginning of his Goſpel. And the manner of his reiterate Emphatical Expreſſions of himſelf, (every latter adding ſtrength unto the former) confirms the opinion or tradition of the Ancient: that he purpoſely wrote that majeſtick Proem to his Goſpel (which is but a Paraphraſe, though moſt Divine, upon the Writings of *Moſes*, and the Prophets touching this great myſtery) for preventing of the ſpreading of the Arian or like Hereſie, whoſe ſeeds were by the envious man ſown in St. *Johns* time, after Chriſts other Apoſtles were fallen aſleep. *In the beginning* (ſaith St. *John*) *the Word was*; What *beginning* doth he mean? The ſame which *Moſes* meant, when he ſaid, *In the beginning God made the Heaven and the Earth.* The Original Phraſe, whether uſed by *Moſes* in the Hebrew, or by St. *John* in the Greek, exactly anſwers to the Latine *in principio.* Now though every cauſe be *Principium*, *the beginning* or that which gives beginning to its proper effect: Yet *Omne principium*, *every beginning*, is not a proper cauſe of that which uſually follows upon it. For the firſt dawning or *ſcaring* of the Morning is the beginning, yet no true poſitive cauſe, of the day following; it is firſt in order of time, but not of cauſality. And this ambiguity of the Phraſe *in the beginning*, is the ſame both in the Hebrew, and in the Chaldee, as the learned in theſe tongues (no parties in this buſineſs) have obſerved. Now in that firſt of *Geneſis*, we muſt take the word *beginning*, not for the cauſe of all which followed, but for the firſt in order or precedency of duration. For the Heavens and the Earth (if we take them as now they are) were not made in that *beginning* or point of time wherein God is ſaid to have made the Heaven and Earth: Nor did any of theſe, or any other parts of the World ſpring or reſult by way of cauſality from the firſt maſs which was without order of parts, or true form; otherwiſe the diſtinction of light from darkneſs, or ſeparation of the waters which are above the firmament, could not have been works of Creation properly ſo called, but rather of Generation; whereas the Scripture tells us, that theſe were the works of the firſt and ſecond day, much leſs could the production of plants or vegetables, or ſubſtances endued with ſenſe have been any proper works of Creation, after the Heavens and Earth were made. When then *Moſes* ſaith, * *In the beginning God made the Heaven and the Earth*, this is all one, as if he had ſaid, the Heavens and the Earth had a begining, and that this un-

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* In principio erat verbum hoc eſt erat ante omnia: Significat enim differentiam filii Dei, & rerum creatarum, quippe hæ in principio fiunt: at æternus filius nequaquam ſit in principio, verum erat ante omnia ſæcula. Et quemadmodum cœlum, & terra in principio, id eſt ante omnia fuerunt facta: ita Dei verbum erat ante omnia creata. Nam præteritum antiquitatem, & præexiſtentiam nobis deſignat. Adhæc, creata in principio fiunt, ſed non eſt neceſſe, ut ſint: at verbum Dei in principio erat, quod eſt, non factum eſt, ſed erat & eſt. *Simon Portius in initio Scholii in hæc verba Joannis.*

formed Maſs was the beginning or firſt draught of them, and all things elſe whereof this Maſs was the beginning, did begin to be before they had any permanent or determinate kind of being. And when St. *John* ſaith, Ἐν ἀρχῆ ἦν ὁ λόγος, *In the beginning the word was*; the Phraſe in Grammatical conſtruction neceſſarily implies that the word had a perfect actual being when all things elſe did but begin to be, and having then an actual proper being, it could not at that time, or any time ſince, not at the beginning of time it ſelf, begin to be, but was and is and ſo continues, without ending.

4. Or leſt wits unarmed with Arts, or unable to untwiſt Arguments ſubtilly contrived by ſophiſtry, ſhould be made to ſtagger in this Article of the *Eternity* of the Word, he adds *the word was with God, and the word was God*, not by extrinſecal or borrowed appellation (as Princes and Angels ſometimes are called Gods) but by nature God, the Almighty God. Hence he adds, *the ſame was in the beginning with God*, that is, had as perfect being as God himſelf had, when all things elſe begun to be [there is his Eternity] or if this were not enough, he further ſaith, ver. 3. *All things were made by him*, to wit, *by the Word* [This is the character of his Almighty Power or Coequality with God who made all things by him.] But here perhaps the *Arian*, or other involved in his error, will object, at leaſt in favour of this opinion it may be objected, that this *univerſal* of St. *John*, *all things were made by the Word*, is ſubject to the ſame limitation or exception which thoſe two univerſal before * mentioned were, the one out of St. *Paul*, 1 *Cor*. 15. [*When he ſaith he hath put all things under his feet, he is excepted who hath put all things under him*:] the other out of the Author of the 146, *Pſal*. [that we may not put truſt or confidence in any Son of Man] which admits of this limitation [unleſs it be in that Son of Man, who is alſo the Son of the Lord God of *Iſrael*:] why then may not this univerſal of St. *John* [*All things were made by the Word*,] admit of this or the like reſtraint; All other things beſides the word were made by God, and by the word as his coagent, but the word himſelf made by God alone? Indeed if our Evangeliſt had ſaid only thus [*All things were made by the Word*] this limitation would be more tolerable; but to prevent this cavil or captious limitation, he expreſly addeth [*Without him was not any thing made that was made*] This Clauſe reacheth home, and carries it clear, that this ὁ λόγος *the Word*, was not any of thoſe things which were made or created, otherwiſe it ſhould have been made or created by it ſelf, which is impoſſible. The addition of this Clauſe is but an exegetical, or fuller expreſſion of that which S. *John* ſaid before [*that the Word was with God in the beginning*,] that is, when all things which have beginning, did begin to be, this Word was Gods coagent, truly eternal and Almighty.

*Chap. 21. parag. 6.

5. The ſame Concluſion is contained (though more cloſely couched, eſpecially in our Engliſh Verſion) in that of S. *Paul*, *Heb*. 1. 2. *God in theſe laſt days hath ſpoken unto us by his Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things, by whom alſo he made the Worlds.* Though he be appointed Heir of all things, as he is man, yet this right of inheritance was derived unto him as man, from the work of Creation, as he was the Son of God. For as the Apoſtle there adds, *God by him made the Worlds.* Were there then more worlds than one? If there were, all were created by the *Son*, and without him neither any world, nor any part of the world was created. Howbeit the world in the Original,

ginal, doth not ſignifie this viſible or quantitative world, *non mundos ſed ſæcula, non* κοσμοὺς *ſed* ἀιῶνας, not the Heavens, the Earth, the Elements, or any other part which we ſee, but all things whatſoever, which have any duration or ſucceſſion, were made by the Son of God; and he had a perfect being before any thing could be made by him, and is therefore truly eternal. The worlds in the original comprehends all things which heretofore have been, and now are not; all things which now are, and ſometimes were not; all which hereafter ſhall be, though after their beginning of being they ſhall have no end. So that S. *Pauls* ſpeech expreſly extends it ſelf ſomewhat further than that of S. *John*, *All things were made by him, and without him was nothing made that was made*, S. *Johns* ſpeech (expreſly) refers only to things which were then made, S. *Pauls* ſpeech extends it ſelf as well to things future as paſt, not only for their making or beginning, but for their preſervation or ſupportance. For ſo he ſaith, *Heb.* 1. *ver.* 3. *He upholdeth all things by the word of his power.* As the Father then created all things, ſo were all things created likewiſe by the Son. The Father preſerveth all things, and yet the Son (who is the expreſs Image of his glory) preſerveth and upholdeth all things. And however we render the original ἀπαύγασμα, the brightneſs, or χαρακτὴρ, he is the Almighty ſplendor, and the Almighty expreſſion or *character* of the Father Almighties Glory and Perſon. Finally, as he is heir of all things elſe, ſo is he heir of the Almighty Eſſential Attributes; theſe he enjoys not, υἱοθεσίᾳ, *not by adoption or participation*, but κληρονομίᾳ, by right of inheritance, as being his only begotten Son: yet not his Succeſſor, but his co-equal from Eternity. And here (by the way) I cannot ſufficiently admire the care and wiſdom of the Ancient Church, in appointing the Goſpel for that great Feſtival, (wherein we celebrate the memory of Chriſts Nativity) out of the fore-mentioned Chapter of S. *John*, and the Epiſtles for the ſame Feſtival, out of the firſt of the *Hebrews*; to the end that all Chriſtians might be ſufficiently inſtructed as well in the truth of his Eternal Generation, or Eternity of his Perſon, as he is the Son of God, as of his Nativity in time, as he was the Son of *David* born of the Virgin, or of his begetting from the dead. And as for the error of the *Arians* or others, who, acknowledging the Divine Truth of the New Teſtament, deny the Eternity, or Eternal Generation of the Son of God; The moſt compendious way to refel them is not (as I conceive) fiercely to diſpute againſt them, but rather to let them be carried with the blaſt of their own Doctrine, or draw them unto theſe fundamental Rocks, and let them ſplit themſelves.

6. But to follow S. *Johns expreſſions* a little further, which come nearer to the point now in handling, *v.* 4. *In him* (that is, in the word) *was life*, this is more than if he had ſaid, he is the word of life. For ſo is the *Goſpel* by way of efficacy or efficiency; but men only, who live by it, are the ſeat and ſubject of that life which it imparts; which is wrought by the *Preaching* of it. But when the *Apoſtle* ſaith, *in the Word was life*, this implies, he was that *ſeat* and *fountain* of life, from whom both the efficacy of the *Goſpel*, and that life which is ſubjectively in men or Angels, is derived or participated. *And the life was the light of men, and the light ſhineth in darkneſs, and the darkneſs comprehended it not.* All theſe are *Attributes* or expreſſions of a nature truly *Divine*, characters of a living eſſence, or of life it ſelf, before men or the world were made, and this is confirmed to us, *ver.* 8. *The Word was the true light, which lightneth every man that cometh into the world*; And if every

man that cometh into the world, then the firſt man *Adam* was enlightned by this word: For he was both the light and life of the world, ever ſince the firſt beginning of either; albeit the world and wordly men did not apprehend him to be ſuch, as it is expreſſed, *ver.* 10. *He was in the world, and the world was made by him, but the world knew him not*; So then, he was in the world ever ſince it was made, and the world was in him (as in its eminent, or ideal efficient cauſe) before it was made. *He came unto his own, and his own received him not.* Who were theſe his own? If all Generations of men, or all ſucceſſion of time, or things temporal were made by him, all theſe were his own. Yet before the coming into the world, of which the Apoſtle here ſpeaks, all theſe were not his own by the ſame peculiar right. He always was Lord of lords, and King of kings, and Supreme Ruler of ſuch as ruled the Nations: yet were not all Nations his peculiar inheritance: this was the prerogative of *Abrahams* Seed, or *Jacobs* Poſterity. And albeit he had been in them, and with them after a more ſpecial kind of preſence for many Generations: yet at this time, whereto the Apoſtles words refer, he firſt came by a peculiar manner, both into the world and unto them, by becoming an inhabitant or ſojourner in the Territories bequeathed to *Abraham* and to his Seed. But theſe who were thus his own by peculiar redemption from the Land of *Egypt*, for the moſt part received him not. Yet his coming (though) after this peculiar manner, to his own was not loſt, nor was Gods promiſe to *Abraham* any way impeached by their refuſing, or not receiving of him. *For to as many as received him* (whether they were of *Abrahams* Seed after the fleſh, or of the *Gentiles*, to all of both ſorts) *he gave a right or priviledge to become the Sons of God*, *ver.* 12. All were made the true and lively Sons of *Abraham* by receiving him, who was before *Abraham*, but was now made man of the Seed of *Abraham*. Now in that he made all the Sons of God which received him: this pre-ſuppoſeth he was the Son of God, not *by making*, not by taking the Seed of *Abraham*; but the Son of God by Nature or Eternal Generation, the true *God* of *Iſrael*. For ſo the Evangeliſt concludes that Heavenly diſcourſe, *ver.* 14. *And the word was made fleſh, and dwelt amongſt us, and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth.*

7. Why Saint *John* in the proæme to his Goſpel doth inſtile Chriſt Jeſus *the word of God*, rather than the *Son of God*, why it is rather ſaid, the *Word became fleſh*, than the *Son* became fleſh: in what Propheſie the *word* becoming fleſh was fore-told or fore-ſhadowed, with the manner how it was made fleſh, or the meaning of this phraſe, muſt be the ſubject of ſome Chapters following. This, for the preſent, is evident out of places before alledged, that Saint *John* did mean no other party or perſon by the *word*, than him, whom afterwards, throughout his whole Goſpel, he ſtiles the *Son of God:* and out of the ſame places it is as evident, that *the word*, ὁ λόγος, was that very *God* of *Iſrael*, who had promiſed to erect a Tabernacle, and dwell in his people, or amongſt them, and to manifeſt his glory to them after a more peculiar manner, than he had done, either during the time of the firſt Tabernacle, or of both the Temples. For that Text of Saint *John*, *John* 1. 14. *He dwelt amongſt us, and we ſaw his glory, the glory as of the only begotten Son of God*, imports the exact fulfilling of all thoſe Propheſies, wherein the manifeſtation of Gods Glory in ſucceeding Ages is promiſed. That the glory of God was to be revealed in the fleſh, Saint *John* did learn

from Scriptures, which were extant before our Saviours Incarnation; though this he learned not by ſtudy or art, but from Divine Revelation. But that the man Chriſt Jeſus, with whom he converſed here on Earth, was the *word*, which the Scripture foretold ſhould be made fleſh, or that the glory, which ſhined in him, was the very brightneſs of Gods glory; this St. *John* knew by experiment; as having ſeen his transfiguration upon Mount *Tabor*, and converſed with him after his Reſurrection. This both he and St. *Paul* believed from ſenſible evidence of experiments exactly anſwerable to the predictions of *Moſes* and other Prophets, concerning the glory of God, which was in latter times more fully to be revealed, than in former.

8. To omit thoſe two places before-cited *Exod.* 29.44,45. and *Lev.* 26.11,12. (unto both which places that of St. *John Chap.* 1. 14. doth in ſpecial refer) we will inſiſt a while upon that Text *Exod.* 33. 14. to the 23. *The Lord ſpake unto* Moſes *face to face, as a man ſpeaketh with his friend.* The ſum of this Dialogue is expreſſed ver. 14,15. *My preſence* (ſaith God) *ſhall go with thee, and I will give thee reſt. And* Moſes *ſaid, if thy preſence go not with us, carry us not up hence, for wherein ſhall it be known here, that I and thy people have found grace in thy ſight?* But *Moſes* not ſatisfied with the promiſe of Gods preſence, and ſeparation of them from other people, requeſts a ſight of his glory, and this in part is granted ver. 21,22,23. *And the Lord ſaid, Behold, there is a place by me, and thou ſhalt ſtand upon a Rock. And it ſhall come to paſs while my glory paſſeth by, that I will put thee in a clift of the Rock, and will cover thee with my hand, while I paſs by. And I will take away mine hand, and thou ſhalt ſee my back parts: but my face ſhall not be ſeen.* For ſo God had ſaid ver. 20. *Thou canſt not ſee my face: for there ſhall no man ſee my face, and live.* Yet this ſight of Gods glory, or ſo much of it as *Moſes* ſaw, left ſuch an impreſſion in his face or Countenance, as you may read *chap.* 34. *ver.* 33. that he was conſtrained *to put a vail upon his face, whilſt he talked with the people, who were not able to behold the glory.* But *this vail* (as our Apoſtle tells us, 2 *Cor.* 3. 14.) *is put away in Chriſt.* It is true. Yet this ὁ λόγος, or *the word*, was not *the Chriſt* to do away this Vail, till he put on the vail of fleſh. The fleſh then was a vail to him, but as a glaſs or mirrour to us. We may in Chriſt with open face behold that glory of God, whoſe reflex on *Moſes* face the *Iſraelites* could not behold, but through a vail. Chriſt then is that glaſs or mirrour, wherein the brightneſs of Gods glory, which the *Iſraelites* could not then behold, may now be ſeen. But did the *Jews* or *Iſraelites* in the time of the Old Teſtament (or in that time, wherein the Author of the Book of Wiſdom wrote) conceive any ſuch matter, as our Apoſtle here infers, that the glory of God ſhould be more fully revealed; or that men ſhould be more capable of the participation of his preſence in latter ages, than they had been in former? Some of them did, others did not; all of them ought, even by their own prenotions or interpretations of Scriptures, ſo to have conceived and believed. For thus ſome modern Jews conceive of *Moſes* his requeſt. *What was that* (ſaith a great Rabbin amongſt them) *which* Moſes *our Maſter ſought to attain unto, when he ſaid, I pray thee ſhew me thy glory?*

9. *He requeſted to know the truth of the being (or eſſence) of the Holy Bleſſed God, until that he were known in his heart, like as a man is known, whoſe face is ſeen, and whoſe form is engraven in ones heart: ſo that man is diſtinguiſhed or ſeparated in his knowledge from other men. So* Moſes *requeſted that the Eſſence of God might be diſtinctly*

known in his heart from the Eſſence of other things. ſo that he might know the truth of his Eſſence as it is. But God anſwered him, that the knowledge of living man, who is compounded of body and ſoul, hath no ability to apprehend the truth of this thing concerning his Creator. * That knowledge of God, or ſight of his glory whereof *Moſes* was uncapable, was truly engraven in the heart of the man Chriſt Jeſus, and in his light we ſee light. He that ſaw him with the eyes of Faith, did ſee the Father; he did ſee the glory of the God-head. The brightneſs of the Divine Glory is alike inacceſſible, alike incommunicable in the Son, as in the Father, if we conſider them in their Divine Nature alone; but in the man Chriſt Jeſus, and in him alone, we may behold the brightneſs of the Divine Glory, which neither eye nor heart of man could behold in it ſelf, or in any Divine Perſon alone, but only in the Divine Perſon which was incarnate.

* Ainſworth *upon this place, out of Maimony,* &c.

10. And it is not here to be omitted that the fore-cited 29. of *Exodus*, ver. 45. *I will dwell among the Children of Iſrael*, is thus tranſlated by *Onkelus* in his Paraphraſe, *& ponam præſentiam divinitatis meæ in medio filiorum Iſrael.* So *Fagius* (with ſome others) render it, and why he ſo renders it, gives the reaſon. * And the latter Rabbins (as (*b*) one well converſant in their writings, ſaith) generally obſerve that whenſoever it is ſaid in the perſon of God, *that I will dwell amongſt them*; this may not be underſtood of the Majeſty of the Holy and Bleſſed God. To this purpoſe they alledge the 9. verſe of the 85. *Pſalm, His Salvation is near them that fear him, that Glory may dwell in our Land.* And *Simeon*, in his dying Song, doth teſtifie, that Jeſus the Son of *Mary*, whom he embraced, when he was preſented in the Temple, was the Salvation of God. *Lord, now letteſt thou thy ſervant depart in Peace, according to thy Word. For mine eyes have ſeen thy Salvation.* And although our Saviour, whilſt he lived here on earth, had no conſtant dwelling, no place of inheritance; yet at this time the Godhead, or that glory of the Godhead, of which the Pſalmiſt ſpeaketh, was incorporated in him. Theſe and the like Scriptures S. *John* did ſee fulfilled in Chriſt, when he ſaid, *The Word was made fleſh, and dwelt amongſt us, and we ſaw his glory the glory as of the only begotten of the Father*; that is, ſuch glory as could not be communicated to any but to him, who was by nature the Son of God: ſuch glory as no fleſh could behold, otherwiſe than as it was in Chriſt, or in the Word made fleſh; ſuch a declaration of the divine Majeſty as none beſides the Son of God could declare. So the Apoſtle ſaith, verſ. 18. *No man hath ſeen God at any time, but the only begotton Son who is in the boſom of the Father,* ἐκεῖνος ἐξηγήσατο, *he hath declared, or expounded him.* But wherein doth this declaration conſiſt, or how was it made by the *Son*? Not by *Word* only, or by declaration of his will, but by matter of fact, or real repreſentation. But of this point more fully in the Expoſition of the Name *Jeſus.* Seeing *Moſes* had ſaid, that no fleſh could ſee God and live, it may ſeem ſtrange to men, which have not their ſenſes exerciſed in the ſearch of Scriptures; that the Prophet *Iſaiah* ſhould avouch *the glory of the Lord ſhall be revealed, and all fleſh ſhall ſee it together*, *Iſa.* 40. 5. *Moſes* ſpeech, and that conceit which the ancient had, [that man could not ſee God and live] was univerſally true, until the *Word* or brightneſs of Gods glory was made

* Paraphraſi quadam uſus ſum ad explicandum vim & energiam vocis Chaldaicæ Shechinah, quam, ad verbum quietem vertere, שׁכן enim verbum, quieſcere ſignificat. Hinc Hebræi præſentiam Dei quæ ſeſe in tabernaculo circa arcam exerebat, à quieſcendo, (quod ibi videretur quaſi quietem & ſedem ſuam habere Deus) Shechinah appellant. Nos jam quietem, jam præſentiam Divinitatis, jam majeſtatem illius reddidimus. *Fagius in Exod.* 29 45.

(*b*) *Ainſworth* upon this place.

made fleſh. But this was the very myſtery which *Iſaiah* in that Chapter foretold, as elſewhere hath been declared in part, and ſhall be (as it comes in order to be handled) more fully a little after this Chapter.

11. That the modern Jews can expect the God of their Fathers ſhould dwell with them, ſhould walk with them, ſhould manifeſt his glory unto them, after ſuch a manner as their own Doctors interpret his promiſe made to *Moſes* to all theſe purpoſes, after any other way or manner, than the Evangeliſt witneſſed, he did walk with, and manifeſt his glory unto his Diſciples: This (to us Chriſtians) is an evident demonſtration, that the veil, which their Forefathers put before their faces, when they could not behold the brightneſs of Gods glory, which ſhone on *Moſes* face after he had ſeen God and talked with him, is to this day put before their hearts, when they read *Moſes* and the Prophets. For this glorious Majeſty of God, *the very expreſs or graven Image of his ſubſtance*, which (they ſay) *Moſes* deſired to ſee, but could not, did ſo perſonally dwell in the man Chriſt Jeſus, that whilſt he walked with his people, God did walk with them; whilſt he remained within the Territories of *Judah* or *Galilee, Salvation and Glory did dwell in their Land.* And to this day in whomſoever he dwelleth by faith in him, God dwelleth by faith. As he is the expreſs image of the perſon of his Father: ſo every one in whom he thus dwelleth, in him is the expreſs image of *him* as he is man; he is the Tabernacle or Temple of the living God. The inference is our Apoſtles, 2 *Cor.* 6. 16. *Ye are the Temples of the living God, as God hath ſaid, I will dwell in them, and walk in them, and I will be their God, and they ſhall be my people.* Our Evangeliſt S. *John Rev.* 21. 3. exegetically dilates the former teſtimonies of *Moſes* and the Prophets a great deal further than S. *Paul* here doth, *I heard a great voice out of Heaven, ſaying, Behold the Tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them, and they ſhall be his people, and God himſelf ſhall be with them, and be their God, and God ſhall wipe away all tears from their eyes. And there ſhall be no more death, neither ſorrow, nor crying, neither ſhall there be any more pain, for the former things are paſſed away.* But this mortality muſt put on immortality, and our corruptible fleſh become incorruptible, before this laſt Clauſe of S. *Johns* Propheſie can be literally fulfilled in us; or begin to bear date *in eſſe*. And before this happy change of our mortal bodies, none of thoſe other Propheſies, *Exod.* 29. *Levit.* 26. *Ezek.* 37. ſhall be finally accompliſhed; albeit all of them have been already fulfilled in different meaſure and manner, both according to the literal and myſtical ſenſe. For God hath dwelt and doth dwell more properly in the man Chriſt Jeſus, than at any time he did in the Tabernacle or Temple. Theſe were in their times the ſeats of Gods peculiar preſence, of the manifeſt appearances of his divine Majeſty, from which all the bleſſings upon *Iſrael* or *Abrahams* poſterity by bodily deſcent were derived, after ſuch a manner as the viſible light in this inferiour World is derived from the body or Sphere of the Sun. Yet ſuch as were partakers of theſe bleſſings, all the particular Synagogues through the Land of *Jury*, did not by this participation of his preſence in the Temple or Tabernacle, become Temples or Tabernacles of the God of *Iſrael*: theſe were never conceived to be or inſtyled the ſeat of his reſt, or of his peculiar preſence. But ſince the *Word* was made fleſh, ſince the ſeed of *Abraham* was made the Tem-

ple of the living God; every particular Church, truly Chriſtian, becomes a more proper ſeat of Gods peculiar preſence, than the material Temple in its glory and ſplendour was; and far more communicative of all bleſſings ſpiritual to every true particular member of them. Every individual or particular man, who is incorporated into this Church, and made a living member of it, doth by the participation of that Spirit which dwelleth in it, become a true Temple or Tabernacle of the living God. Whoſoever truly believes in Chriſt, whoſoever eateth his fleſh, and drinketh his blood, Chriſt (who is the *prototypon* and true Temple of God) doth dwell in him, and he in Chriſt: he is in God, and God in him after a more peculiar manner, than either the Patriarchs or Prophets were in God, or God in them. But this peculiar manner of Gods dwelling in us by Faith, and we in him, hath his peculiar place in other principal Articles of the Creed, or in the Treatiſe of the Sacrament, concerning the myſtical Union betwixt Chriſt and his Members. The next Quære, which in this Section offers it ſelf to be diſcuſſed, and muſt be the Title of the next Chapter, is briefly this.

CHAP. XXVII.

Why St. John *doth rather ſay*, the Word *was made fleſh, than the Son of God was made fleſh, albeit the Son of God, and* the Word, *denote one and the ſame perſon.*

TO this Quære ſome judicious Divines make Anſwer, that the ſecond perſon in Trinity was (at leaſt implicitely) known unto ſome Heathen Philoſophers, under the Title of ὁ λόγος, long before his Incarnation, and longer, before St. *John* wrote his Goſpel. Now it is not improbable, that thoſe Hereticks which did call the Divinity of Chriſt in queſtion, againſt whoſe Hereſie the Evangeliſt did put in that Caveat in the beginning of his Goſpel) at the leaſt ſuch as were in danger to be ſeduced by them, were (to his knowledge) better verſed in the Writings of *Plato* and *Triſmegiſt* than in *Moſes* and the Prophets. And men naturally both conceive and imbrace the truth with more facility, when it is delivered unto them in terms, whereunto they have been inured. Now ſuch as were well read in *Plato* or *Triſmegiſt*, or would be willing to read them, could not be ignorant of an eternal λόγος, which they called the Son of the eternal *mind* or eſſence. And this λόγος *the word* or image of the eternal *mind* was not in their apprehenſion meerly notional or repreſentative only, but δημιουργὸς a *Word* or *reaſon* (or however we expreſs it) truly operative, the inviſible cauſe or maker of all things viſible. Unto theſe and the like prenotions, which the Heathen Philoſophers had of an Eternal Father in his Eternal Son, St. *John* (in the judgment of ſome great Divines) did purpoſely apply himſelf,, and frame his expreſſions to their capacity, whom he ſought to reclaim, or to inſtruct. Nor is it either unuſual, or unbeſeeming the Apoſtles themſelves, to alter both the matter and form of ſpeech, according to the diverſity of the parties whom they ſeek to reform. St. *Paul* did not diſpute with the Athenians after the ſame manner, he did with the

Jews, nor did he inſtruct the Hebrew converts in the ſame language or form of Catechiſm, which he uſed amongſt the *Gentiles*, St. *John* then (in the conjecture of the former ancient Divines) did make the ſame advantage of the prenotions which the Heathens had of this truth, which St. *Paul* did from the Inſcription of the Athenian Altar; *that God* (ſaith he) *whom ye ignorantly worſhip, him declare I unto you.* But did theſe harmleſs ſpeculations of theſe Philoſophers require any ſuch reformation from St. *John*, as the Athenians ſuperſtitious worſhip did from St. *Paul*? Sure their followers were to be better catechized in this truth, than they had been, or could be, by any Philoſophy: their beſt ſpeculations (though in themſelves true) were to their Profeſſors altogether fruitleſs, and (as I take it) without any prenotion or expectance that this ὁ λόγος δημιουργὸς, that *word*, by which they acknowledge all things were made, ſhould be made viſible in our fleſh, ſhould exhibit a more exquiſite repreſentation of the divine nature, and eſſence, in the Microcoſm or little model of mans body, than had been exhibited in the making and governing this great Univerſe. They knew, that ὁ λόγος was truly God without beginning, but they did not either adore him as God, neither did they adore their Eternal νοῦς as God, or by *him*. All this they were to learn from St. *John*: for this is a myſtery which far ſurpaſſeth the capacity of man to conceive or comprehend, without revelation or inſtruction, either mediately or immediately made unto us, by this ὁ λόγος, the *Word* himſelf.

2. Nor is it probable that either *Plato* or *Triſmegiſt* did firſt diſcover ſo much of this grand myſtery as was known among the Heathens, before St. *John* wrote his Goſpel. And it is no leſs impious than improbable, to ſuſpect, that St. *John* ſhould borrow thoſe divine expreſſions of the Words Divinity from any Heathen Philoſopher; as that blaſphemous Platonick exclaimed when he read the beginning of his Goſpel, that he had ſtoln his expreſſions out of his Maſter *Plato*. Nor was St. *John* himſelf the firſt of all ſacred Writers, which did diſplay the Titles of the Son of God by ὁ λόγος, or by the *word, light, or life* which was without beginning or ending: moſt probable it is that *Plato* and *Triſmegiſt* did borrow that light, which they had in that myſtery, from the ancient Hebrews, or from rules received by them, by conſtant tradition, for interpreting not one but many paſſages in *Moſes* and the Prophets, as St. *John* there doth from the ſame rule or tradition. No doubt the *Chaldee* Paraphraſts did expreſs the divine nature of the Son of God by the *word*; the one before St. *John* did write his Goſpel; the other near upon the ſame time. For *Jonathan* (as *Fagius* tells us) did live about the time wherein *Herod* reedified the ſecond Temple; *Onkelos* a little after the deſtruction of it and of *Jeruſalem* by *Titus*.

3. The *word* of the Lord (ſaith an exquiſite (c) *Hebrician*, and judicious peruſer of the *Chaldee* Paraphraſe) is often uſed inſtead of *Jehovah*, or *Elohim* (both being proper names of God) and denotes *Meſſiah*, or *Chriſt*, by whom God made all things and preſerves them. He inſtanceth in that of *Iſaiah* 1. *ver.* 14. Where the Hebrew Text is literally thus, *My ſoul abhorreth your new Moons, &c.* The Chaldee or Targum renders it thus, *My word abhorreth your new Moons.* And again, *Jer.* 1. 8. Where God ſpeaking in his own perſon ſaith, *I am with thee*, the Chaldee renders it, *My word is with thee.* And according to the Hebrew, where we read *Iſaiah* 45. 17. Iſrael *ſhall be ſaved with an everlaſting ſalvation in the Lord*, or *by the Lord*; the Chaldee hath it, Iſrael

(c) Shindlerus in vocabulo אֱמַר Conſtat enim cum ex Hebræorum, tùm Latinorum ſcriptis hunc noſtrum paraphraſtem Chaldæum, quem *Onkelos* appellant, cui tranſlatio pentateuchi adſcribitur, fili-

Iſrael *ſhall be ſaved with an everlaſting Salvation by the Word of the Lord.* But two places of *Onkelus* there be, more remarkably pertinent to our preſent purpoſe, than any others which I have obſerved. The firſt is, *Gen.* 3. 8. *And they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden*, that is, (as *Onkelus* renders that place) *they heard the voice of the Word of the Lord*; or *the voice of the Lord God the word.* So that ὁ λόγος *the Word* (which in the beginning was with God, and was God) did convent our firſt Parents, as having peculiar reaſon to examine and convict them of their tranſgreſſion, beeauſe he in perſon, not the Father or Holy Ghoſt, was to undertake for their reſtauration, was to combat with the Serpent for their Redemption, whom immediately after he convents in the womans preſence, and denounceth this ſentence upon both; *The Lord God ſaid unto the Serpent*, *becauſe thou haſt done this, thou art curſed above all cattel, and above every beaſt of the field: upon thy belly ſhalt thou go, and duſt ſhalt thou eat all the days of thy life, and I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy ſeed and hers*, &c. *Gen.* 3. 15, 16. It is no harſh Conſtruction to read this place, *and they heard the voice of the Word of the Lord*, *per appoſitionem*, not *the voice of the Word of the Lord*, which the Latine renders in the Genitive caſe, *the voice or the Word of the Lord.* Yet if we read it ſo, we ſhall not diſſent from the fore-cited meaning of the Chaldee; and the ſame Interpreters refer the word *walking* unto God himſelf (as if he had ſaid, *they heard the voice of God, which walked in the garden*) not unto the voice whether of God, or of the word of God, though *Fagius*, with ſome other, think the word *walking* may be read in the Accuſative caſe, *audiverunt vocem Domini Dei ambulantem, they heard the voice of the Lord walking*, that is, increaſing or intending it ſelf by degrees. But this, otherwiſe moſt judicious Writer ſometime cenſures the ſeventy Interpreters of ignorance in the Hebrew tongue, ſometime ſlights their Interpretation, without juſt cauſe. For ſeeing it hath pleaſed the Holy Ghoſt, in the greateſt myſteries concerning Chriſt, to follow their interpretation, though not ſo authentick in it ſelf as the Hebrew Canon is; this commands my aſſent, though not to the opinion of ſome among the Ancients, that theſe ſeventy were as truly inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt, as the Pen-men of the Hebrew Canon were; yet thus far, that they were directed, either immediately by the Spirit, or by the Rules and Traditions, in their times received, for the right unfolding of many places, which in the Hebrew were either ambiguous or involved; and better directed by ſuch rules than modern Hebricians are by *Maſorets* or the later *Rabbins*: albeit both of them be of good uſe. Thus to think of the LXX, their conſonancy with the Chaldee Paraphraſe, in many places of great moment, doth (beſides the former ſpecial motives) ſomewhat incline me, yet did not the Chaldee (as I am perſwaded) borrow ought from them, or they from the Chaldee; but both were beholden to

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um fuiſſe ſororis Titi Imperatoris nec diu poſt devaſtationem ſecundi templi paraphraſim ſuam conſcripſiſſe. Alterum vero paraphraſtem, quem *Jonathan* filium *Uzielis* vocant, cui prophetas tribuunt ante devaſtationem templi ſua ſcripſiſſe Tametſi ſint qui velint utrumq; tota biblia in linguam Chaldaicam tranſtuliſſe. Sed audiamus hac de re teſtimonium doctiſſimi viri Galatini, qui libro primo de arcanis catholicæ veritatis contra Judæos Cap. 3. ſic ſcribit: Per idem ferme tempus, anno ſcilicet ante Chriſti natalem circiter ſecundo, & quadrageſimo, Jonathas Uzielis filius, Hilleliſq; auditor atq; Symeonis juſti qui Chriſtum infantulum ſuſcepit in brachiis, condiſcipulus, totum vetus inſtrumentum in Chaldæam vertit linguam, atq; expoſuit: ita ſenſum è ſenſu traducens, & ita obſcuriſſima quæq; exponens vocabula, ut quæcunq, de Meſſia dubia & latenter ſcripta erant, certa atq; clariſſima reddiderit. Adeo ut ejus editio, non tam interpretatio, quàm gloſſa, atq; expoſitio videatur. Quam Hebræi thargum, id eſt tranſlationem nuncupant. Tantæq; apud eos eſt authoritatis, ut non ſolum ei contradicere nemo audeat, ſed non minus quoq; fidei, quam ipſi textui paſſim omnes eidem adhibeant, *&c. Paulus Fagius in præfatione ad verſionem Onkeli. Vide ſimile teſtimonium Lyrani in cap. 8. Iſaiæ.*

to the prenotions or received rules of the ancient Hebrews.

4. The ſecond remarkable place, wherein *Onkelus* doth not diſſent from the *Hebrews*, but rather unfoldeth the myſtery implicitly contained in it, is that of *Geneſis* 22. 15, 16. *By my ſelf have I ſworn, ſaith the Lord, that in bleſſing I will bleſs thee, &c. and in thy ſeed ſhall all the Nations of the earth be bleſſed, becauſe thou haſt obeyed my voice.* So the Hebrew: The Chaldee, thus, *By my word have I ſworn (ſaith the Lord,) that bleſſing I will bleſs thee, &c. Becauſe thou haſt obeyed my Word.* This tranſlation of the Chaldee affords more light for the right and punctual explication of St. *Paul*, *Heb.* 6. 17. than moſt Commentators of that place have done, albeit ſome Greek Scholiaſts which I have conſulted (but whoſe words I now remember not) have made acute and accurate ſearch for the true meaning of it. *God*, ſaith the Apoſtle, *willing more abundantly to ſhew unto the heirs of promiſe, the immutability of his counſel, confirmed it by an oath.* So our Engliſh reads it; yet with this correction or animadverſion in the margine [*interpoſed himſelf by an oath*] but the original *verbatim* ſounds thus, *Deus intermediavit juramento*, *God did intermediate by oath.* Now the object of this Oath (as our Apoſtle tells us, ver. 13.) was God himſelf; *When God made promiſe to* Abraham, *becauſe he could ſwear by no greater, he ſware by himſelf* (yet this, *by my ſelf have I ſworn*, is more expreſs in the *Septuagint*, than in the *Hebrew*.) But the Chaldee further inſtructs us, that the object of this Oath was the *word*, ὁ λόγος; which did not note only God himſelf, but the μεσίτης, *the mediator* between God and Man; and the tenor or contents of the Oath was, that this ὁ λόγος, (who was God himſelf, and the object of this Oath) ſhould become the ſeed of *Abraham*, and make mediation by ſuch a Sacrifice, as God the Father, for tryal only, did require of *Abraham*. The coming of the Son of God, or ὁ λόγος, into the World, which had long before been promiſed, was not newly ratified only by Oath: but from this time the Son of God was truly predeſtinated to be the ſeed of *Abraham*, or the ſeed of *Abraham* to be the Son of God; as afterwards the ſeed or Son of *David* was; to wit, from that time wherein the Lord had ſworn to *David*, *that his ſeed ſhould endure for ever, and his Throne as the days of Heaven. Pſal.* 89. 29. It is not to be omitted, that where the Hebrew *Pſal.* 110. hath it, *The Lord ſaid unto my Lord ſit thou at my right hand, &c.* the Chaldee hath it, *The Lord ſaid unto his Word; ſit thou at my right hand, until I make thy enemies thy footſtool.* And this *Word*, or this *Lord* (for ſo the Hebrews expreſs it by *Adonai*) was then deſtinated, and declared by oath, to become not only the Son of *David*, but to be a Prieſt for ever after the order of *Melchiſedech*, *ver.* 4. All theſe three places will require ſome further conſideration, in the Treatiſe of Gods Covenant with *Abraham* and with *David*, or of our Saviours Conſecration to his Everlaſting Prieſthood. Thus much for the preſent may ſuffice, that St. *John* was not the firſt, which conceived the Son of God, God himſelf to be ὁ λόγος; much leſs did he need to borrow his expreſſions from any Writers not truly Canonical. For all this was contained in the places before alledged, as *Jonathan* and *Onkelus* interpret them; and was likewiſe expreſly contained in the Hebrew, in ſundry places of the Prophets; of ſome of which (God willing) in the next Chapter.

5. As little probability there is, either that St. *Paul Heb.* 1. 1. ſhould borrow his Characters of the Son of God from the Author of the

Tome II. Book of Wiſdom; or that Author his, (though much what the ſame) from St. *Paul:* as that St. *John* ſhould take his expreſſions from the former Chaldee Paraphraſt, or the latter from St. *John.* Both St. *Paul*, and the Author of the Book of Wiſdom, had their hints, (at leaſt) from ſuch prenotions as the ancient Hebrews had of the wiſdom or Son of God, or of their expected *Meſſias*, when he ſhould be revealed. It is no way improbable, (much leſs incredible) that ſuch Interpreters or Paraphraſers upon ſacred Writ, as (for ought we know) did not expreſly believe in the Son of God, either before his Incarnation or ſince, ſhould have the forementioned prenotions concerning the promiſed *Meſſias*; ſeeing the very *Samaritans* had the like, which they could not gather from the ordinary reading of Original Scripture, if at all they read them. Such a prenotion that Woman *John* 4. had of the *Meſſias*, before ſhe did believe that Jeſus was the promiſed *Meſſias* or Chriſt. *I know* (ſaith ſhe) *that Meſſias cometh which is called Chriſt; when he is come, he will tell us all things, ver.* 25. She had a prenotion and conceit, that the *Meſſias* ſhould tell them all things in a better manner, than the Prophets could do. For ſhe had acknowledged our Saviour to be a Prophet, *ver.* 19; yet reſted not ſatisfied with his anſwer to her queſtion there made, until he had told her in expreſs terms, that he was the promiſed *Meſſias*.

6. But to compare St. *Pauls* Characters of the Son of God with the Authors of the Book of Wiſdoms Characters of the Wiſdom of God.

Heb. 1. 1.	Πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως πάλαι ὁ θεὸς λαλήσας τοῖς πατράσιν ἐν τοῖς προφήτας.	God, who at ſundry times, and in divers manners ſpake in times paſt unto the Fathers by the Prophets,
	Ἐπ᾽ ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων ἐλάλησεν ἡμῖν ἐν υἱῷ· ὃν ἔθηκε κληρονόμον πάντων, δι᾽ οὗ καὶ τοὺς αἰῶνας ἐποίησεν.	Hath in theſe laſt days ſpoken unto us by his Son; whom he hath appointed heir of all things, by whom alſo he made the Worlds.
	ὃς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης, καὶ χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ, φέρων τε τὰ πάντα τῷ ῥήματι τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ, δι᾽ ἑαυτοῦ καθαρισμὸν ποιησάμενος τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν ὑψηλοῖς	Who being the brightneſs of his glory, and the expreſs image of his perſon, and upholding all things by the word of his power; when he had by himſelf purged our ſins, ſate down on the right hand of the Majeſty on high,
	τοσούτῳ κρείττων γενόμενος τῶν Ἀγγέλων, ὅσῳ διαφορώτερον παρ᾽ αὐτοὺς κεκληρονόμηκεν ὄνομα.	Being made ſo much better than the Angels, as he hath by inheritance obtained a far more excellent name than they.
Wiſd. 7. 25.	Ἀτμὶς γάρ ἐστι τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ δυνάμεως, καὶ ἀπόρροια τῆς τοῦ Παντοκράτορος δόξης εἰλικρινής. διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲν μεμιαμμένον εἰς αὐτὴν παρεμπίπτει Ἀπαύγασμα γάρ ἐστι φωτὸς ἀϊδίου, καὶ ἔσοπτρον ἀκηλίδωτον τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐνεργείας, καὶ εἰκὼν τῆς ἀγαθότητος αὐτοῦ Μία δὲ οὖσα πάντα δύναται, καὶ μένουσα ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ πάντα καινίζει. καὶ κατὰ γενεὰς εἰς ψυχὰς ὁσίας μεταβαίνουσα, φίλους θεοῦ καὶ προφήτας κατασκευάζει. Ουθένα γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ θεὸς, εἰ μὴ τὸν σοφίᾳ συνοικοῦντα. Ἐστὶ γὰρ αὕτη εὐπρεπεστέρα ἡλίου καὶ ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ἀστέρων θέσιν. φωτὶ συγκρινομένη, εὑρίσκεται	For ſhe is the breath of the power of God, and a pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty; therefore can no undefiled thing fall into her. For ſhe is the brightneſs of the everlaſting light, the unſpotted mirrour of the power of God, and the image of his goodneſs. And being but one, ſhe can do all things: and remaining in her ſelf ſhe maketh all things new, and in all ages entring into holy Souls, ſhe maketh them friends of God and Prophets. For God loveth none, but him that dwelleth with Wiſdom. For ſhe is more beautiful than the Sun, and above all the Order of Stars, being compared with the light, ſhe

προτέρα. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ διαδέχεται νύξ, σοφίας δὲ οὐ κατισχύει κακία.

ſhe is found before it. For after this cometh night: but vice ſhall not prevail againſt Wiſdom.

7. There is not one propoſition or character in all this paſſage, which (for ought I yet know) is not Canonical. No Attribute of Wiſdom, which can fitly be applied to any perſon or ſubſtance ſave only to the Son of God or at leaſt to the Holy Ghoſt. But whether this Author did ſo intend them, or apply them; or whether the Holy Ghoſt did by his peculiar inſpiration, or God by his ſpecial providence, direct him thus to ſpeak or write, after the ſame manner he did *Moſes* and other Authors of Canonical Scriptures, is not to me ſo evident. Nor is it probable that this Book was written by *Solomon*, albeit the Author of it doth put upon him the perſon of *Solomon*, and perſonate himſelf under the Habit or Garb of the King of *Iſrael*. Their opinion is not improbable, who think this Book was written by *Philo* the Jew, to ſolace himſelf, and his Country men, upon the ill ſucceſs of his Embaſſage unto *Caius* the Emperour, which was not many years after our Saviours Death, nor many before St. *Paul* did write his Epiſtle, or St. *John* his Goſpel. The Book it ſelf (whoſoever was the Author of it) is an excellent and a moſt elegant Paraphraſe upon many Canonical Scriptures, and contains many exquiſite expreſſions of Gods ſpecial providence, and infinite wiſdom in governing the World, and in over-ruling both the Policy and the Power of greateſt Princes. The ſame Book notwithſtanding is, (for many reaſons) juſtly denyed by St. *Jerome*, by our Church, and by many grave Writers in other Churches reformed, to be any genuine part of the Old Teſtament; to be any Portion of the rule or Canon of the Hebrews Faith received by them before our Saviours Incarnation. And being no portion of their Catholick rule or Canon, it is no way probable that our Apoſtle St. *Paul*, when he wrote the Divine Epiſtle directed in ſpecial to the Hebrews his Country-men, would borrow his Titles or Attributes of our Saviours glory from this Authors Encomiaſm of wiſdom. Nor can any convincing proof be brought, to perſwade us, that the Author of this Book (whoſoever he was) did make application of theſe characters of wiſdom (in *the abſtract*) unto Chriſt; or truly believe, either that *Jeſus* the Son of *Mary* (though living haply on earth before his time) or that the promiſed *Meſſias*, whoſe coming he did expect, ſhould be the wiſdom of God, which he ſo magnifies, or God incarnate in whom all former Scriptures, and his own Encomiaſm of Divine Wiſdom ſhould in particular and punctually be fulfilled. That the commendations which he gives to wiſdom, (at leaſt the moſt of them) can really and truly be applied to none but Chriſt, who is the wiſdom and Son of God. All this, and more, being granted will not conclude, that he did intend or think of Chriſts Birth or Incarnation, or apprehend the perſonal Union between the Son of God, and the Son of *David*. For *Tully* and other Heathen Writers have made ſuch panegyrical deſcriptions of vertues moral and intellectual, of wiſdom eſpecially, or of Philoſophy in their abſtract notion, as can have no real pattern ſave only in the divine incomprehenſible Eſſence: and yet they themſelves lived, and (for ought we know) dyed without any diſtinct knowledge or apprehenſion of the true God; yea many times committed groſs Idolatry with thoſe vertues, whether moral or intellectual, which they ſo magnified in the abſtract.

8. Whilſt we peruſe Authors either Heterodoxal, or not Canonical, this rule (I take it) is of general good uſe; that for matter of practice, or application, we are ſpecially to conſider, *quàm benè*, not *quàm bona*; on the contrary, in point of ſpeculation, not *quàm benè, ſed quàm bona*, not how well, or to what good end they ſpeak, but how good things they ſpeak or write. The writings of the Modern Jew are, for the moſt part, malicious and morally evil; yet (unto ſuch as know to make right uſe of them) in their ſpeculations upon the Old Teſtament (even in ſuch of them as are profeſſed enemies to our Lord and Saviour, and to the Evangelical ſtory) there be ſo many ſcattered Characters, or miſ-placed Syllables, as being rightly put together, and well ordered by ſome judicious *Ariſtarchus*, or *accurate compoſer*, would make up a more exact Commentary upon moſt of thoſe places in *Moſes* and the Prophets, which we Chriſtians uſually alledge for proving the truth of ſundry Articles in this Creed, than can be gathered out of the Chriſtian Interpreters of the Old or New Teſtament, which have not the care or skill to beat thoſe Enemies at their own weapons, or to retort thoſe blows, which they offer at us, upon themſelves. Thoſe ſtrange dreams or fancies which they have concerning myſteries to be revealed in the days of the *Meſſias*, are evident ſigns that the Lord hath caſt them into this long ſlumber for the inſtruction of us Chriſtians. And the right interpretation of their dreams, or their application, is one of the higheſt degrees of Propheſie, which in this latter age can ordinarily be expected. And I would to God ſome Sons of the Prophets would addreſs their pains and ſtudies to this purpoſe, unto which, according to our poor talent, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in ſome ſpecial Articles following. But to return unto the point propoſed in the beginning of this Chapter; one ſpecial reaſon why Saint *John* inſtiles our Saviour ὁ λόγος, *the Word* (not *the Son*) was to make up a more exquiſite reſemblance of his incomprehenſible Eſſence, of the Eternity of his Perſon, and his Eternal Generation, of his con-ſubſtantiality with God the Father than (without this particular expreſſion) we could have had, or perhaps would have ſought for. Every one of his ſeveral titles, whether given to him by Saint *John*, or by Saint *Paul*, adds ſomething to the better expreſſion of his unexpreſſible excellence, unto the raiſing of our apprehenſions to a higher pitch of admiration of theſe incomprehenſible myſteries, than one or two, or fewer than are made, could have done. To inform our underſtandings, or rectifie our Faith, that the Son of God is more exquiſitely, or more conſubſtantially like unto his Father, than any Son of man is unto the Father of his body; he is by the Holy Ghoſt inſtiled the expreſs *Image or Character* of his Fathers Perſon, *Heb.* 1. 3. No man can be altogether ſo like another, as the impreſſion is to the print. To inſtruct us again that this abſolute and perfect expreſſion of the father in the ſon far exceeds any ſuch expreſſion, as the Statue can make of man, or ſuch as the Seal leaves in the wax; he is by Saint *John* inſtiled by the name of life; being the living ſubſtantial Image of his Father. Again, to rectifie our apprehenſions, that the Son of God did not grow into this abſolute live image of his Father by degrees, after ſuch a manner as the Sons of men do, (for no Child is altogether like his Father from his birth) it hath pleaſed the Holy Ghoſt further to emblazon his incomprehenſible Generation or begetting under the character of *brightneſs* or *light*. *He is the brightneſs of Gods glory*, faith

ſaith St. *Paul* and by St. *John*, *the light*. And this is the moſt exquiſite of any reſemblance that can be taken from things ſenſible. The Sun and Fountain of viſible light doth naturally, without interpoſition of time, without any labour or operation, produce or beget brightneſs or ſplendor. And this it doth ſo unceſſantly, ſo perpetually, that if we could imagine there had been a Sun or Fountain of light without beginning to continue without end of time or days; we could not but imagine, that there ſhould be a brightneſs or ſplendour perpetually produced without beginning or without ending of ſuch production, or of the brightneſs ſo produced, by this Fountain of light. Yet this ſuppoſition being granted or admitted, the reſemblance would herein fail; That this continual production of light, without beginning, without ending, did yet admit a ſucceſſion, or continuity of time, which the Eternal Generation of the Son of God doth not admit, for that only is truly Eternal which is not only without beginning or end of days, but without all ſucceſſion in duration, without menſuration of days or years: all which are contained in Eternity, as this viſible World, and all the power in it are contained in his power who is inviſible and incorporeal. All theſe reſemblances are taken from things ſenſible. Laſtly, the Eternal Generation of the Son of God (as moſt Divines will have it) is moſt fitly reſembled by the *Word*, or repreſentation of the mind or ſpirit, which for its nature is more immortal than the light. Yet this reſemblance, or any that can be taken from our intellection, or ſecret conference between the ſpirit and ſoul of man within it ſelf, is in this point (to omit others) lame or defective: that albeit the ſpirit or mind of man be immortal, and as unceſſant in his proper acts or operations as the Sun is in ſending forth light to this inferiour World; yet our choiſeſt thoughts or cogitations moſt internal and moſt ſpiritual, vaniſh. The mutual conference betwixt our ſpirits and internal ſenſes, is not perpetual and unceſſant. The reaſon whereof (as the Philoſopher teacheth) is, becauſe the paſſive underſtanding (whether the cogitative faculty or phantaſie) without whoſe continual ſervice or attendance, there can be no conſtant record or remembrance of the Acts or inſtructions of the underſtanding, is corruptible eſpecially in its act or operation; and ſubject to greater change and alterations than the lower regions of the air, albeit the mind or ſpirit be as clear and conſtant as the Sun. But in the life to come, when this corruptible ſhall have put on incorruption, and our inferiour faculties become immortal, not only the proper acts or operations of the mind or ſpirit, or of the active underſtanding, but the apprehenſion alſo of what the mind or ſpirit ſuggeſts, or their impreſſions upon the inferiour faculties of the Soul, ſhall be incorruptible, unceſſant and perpetual. And then no doubt our apprehenſions of this great myſtery comprehended under this name or title of the *Word*, ſhall be more clear and perfect to the moſt illiterate and meaneſt capacities (this day living) than in this life it is, or hath been to the moſt profound and ſubtleleſt School-Divines, which have moſt ſtudyed the meaning of this myſtery. And yet (under correction) the full importance of ὁ λόγος ſuch as in this life may be had, and ought to be had, is either not ſo well conceived, or not ſo well expreſſed, by moſt Interpreters, (whether of the Old or New Teſtament) as it might have been, if they had but taken notice of thoſe ſeveral places in both Teſtaments, in which the Son of God is inſtiled ὁ λόγος.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVIII.

That the Incarnation of the Word, or of the Son of God under this Title, was fore-propheſied by ſundry Prophets, with the expoſition of ſome peculiar places to this purpoſe, not uſually obſerved by Interpreters.

ANother ſpecial reaſon, beſides the former mentioned, why Saint *John* doth ſay, The *word was made fleſh*, rather than *the Son of God was made fleſh*, was, becauſe the incarnation of ὁ λόγος, *the word*, was more expreſly fore-told than the Incarnation of the *Son of God*; though one and the ſame perſon or party be ſo really meant and intended by the Holy Ghoſt, that the Incarnation of the *Word* doth concludently infer the Incarnation of the only *Son of God*. But where then was the Incarnation of ὁ λόγος, fore-told, or fore-ſhadowed? It was (I take it) not only fore-told, but ſolemnly proclaimed by the Prophet *Iſaiah*, Chapter 40. and the fulfilling of what he promiſed, was declared by *John Baptiſt* at our Saviours Baptiſm. *John* (we know) was the voice of the Cryer fore-propheſied, *ver.* 3. of that Chapter, and did perform his function (as it was fore-told he ſhould) in the Wilderneſs. The chief contents of the Cry, or Proclamation it ſelf are two: The firſt, *Prepare ye the way of the Lord, and make ſtreight in the deſert a high way for our God.* This was fulfilled by *John Baptiſts* Preaching of Repentance. The burden of his Preaching was *Repent, for the Kingdom of God is at hand.* But the voice ſaid again (whether to *Iſaiah* or to *John Baptiſt*, or to both) *Cry, and he ſaid, what ſhall I cry? All fleſh is graſs, and all the goodlineſs thereof is as the flower of the field. The graſs withereth, the flower fadeth; becauſe the Spirit of the Lord bloweth upon it: ſurely the people is graſs. The graſs withereth, the flower fadeth, but the Word of our God ſhall ſtand for ever.* This was the effect, or ſum, of that which *John Baptiſt* was to proclaim. Of the exact congruity betwixt *Johns* Doctrine, and the Prophets Prediction, I have elſewhere (to my remembrance) treated. Concerning the meaning of the Prophets words, *All fleſh is graſs*, that is handled by moſt Interpreters, and Preachers, in Funeral Sermons eſpecially. Nor can there be a fitter Text for diſplaying the mortality and frailty of our Nature: nor (as ſome think) for ſetting forth the excellency of Preaching. But to magnifie the Word of God in general, as it is Preached by us the unworthy Miniſters of it, is (in moſt mens Interpretations) indirectly to magnifie our ſelves, or our calling, which (howſoever our perſons be) is queſtionleſs honourable, and ſo to be eſteemed by all good Chriſtians. Yet this excellency whether of the word Preached, or of Preachers, was either no part, or the leaſt part of the Prophets meaning, when he ſaith *the word of the Lord endureth for ever.* For the true uſe and end of that Propheſie, Chapter 40. is expreſt in the beginning of it: *Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, ſaith our God. Speak ye comfortably to* Jeruſalem, *and cry unto her, that her warfare is accompliſhed, that her iniquity is pardoned. For ſhe hath received of the Lords hand double for all her ſins.* But what comfort could it be to *Jeruſalem*, or to Gods People, that the Word of God which is Preached to them, *endureth for ever*, when as they were but as *the graſs which withereth?* The more the Prophet did magnifie the immortality of Gods Word in this ſenſe, the more he muſt have increaſed the ſad remembrance of their own miſery and mortality. And however *Iſaias* and other Prophets had Preached the word of the Lord more plentifully, and more powerfully in that Age wherein he lived, than it had been in any Age before, or in any Age ſince, (excepting the times wherein *John Baptiſt* and our Saviour and his Apoſtles lived on Earth:) yet mortality and miſery did ſtill grow faſter upon this people, than it had done in any Age before; ſo faſt for four or five Generations, that this people became like graſs withering by degrees, and at laſt to be rooted up. The matter then of comfort which the Prophet there promiſeth to *Jeruſalem*, was not in his time really exhibited, but to be continually expected, until the word of the Lord, which he ſo magnifieth for its glory and immortality, ſhould become viſible to all fleſh. The comfort there Propheſied of, did conſiſt in the manifeſtation of that glory, which he then fore-told ſhould be revealed. For whatſoever in that Chapter he uttered, was not delivered by way of common place by ordinany Catechiſm of Doctrine and Uſes, but by the extraordinary Spirit of Propheſie. The iſſue of his Propheſie was, that the ſtate and condition of all fleſh ſhould be much better in latter times, than in his age, or any age before it was. At what time then was this comfort actually exhibited to all fleſh which before was but graſs, and as the flower of graſs that fadeth? Then aſſuredly, *when the word of the Lord, which endureth for ever*, did become fleſh, or was incorporated in our fleſh. For the life and efficacy of this word (as the Text literally imports) was to be manifeſted by its admirable effects or operations upon the mortality or weakneſs of fleſh. Our mortality or miſerable condition (as the Prophet preſumes) could not weaken the immortal efficacy of this Word, whereas the Word might give life and immortality to all fleſh, which ſhould ſee the Glory, and taſte the Goodneſs of it. By the *Word of the Lord then which endureth for ever*, we are to underſtand, not *Verbum Domini*, not only the Word of the Lord, as it is daily Preached, but the Lord himſelf, who if he ſpake the word, great ſhall be the number of the Preachers of the Word, both of Prophets, and of Propheteſſes.

2. The beſt Interpretation of the Prophet *Iſaiah*, is already made unto our hands, partly by Saint *Peter*, partly by Saint *John*, in the beginning of his Goſpel. *We are born again*, (ſaith Saint *Peter*) *not of corruptible Seed, but of incorruptible, by the Word of God which liveth and abideth for ever*, 1 Pet. 1. 23. *By corruptible Seed*, he means our corruptible nature, as we are the Sons of *Adam*. For ſo he expounds his own meaning in the words of the Prophet before mentioned, *For that all fleſh is as graſs, and all the glory of man as the flower of graſs, the graſs withereth, and the flower thereof falleth away.* Now that which it ſelf withereth and falleth away can yield no Seed of life, can miniſter no comfort unto miſery or mortality. The Antitheſis then, or oppoſition requires, that by the incorruptible Seed of which we are born again, we muſt underſtand the *Word* of God which endureth for ever, or ſomewhat into which that word doth in ſpecial manner infuſe life, or *verbum caro factum*, the eternal Word as it is invailed in fleſh, but in fleſh exempted or priviledged from all corruption. For it is called *the Word of God which liveth for ever*; not ſo much in reſpect of its own life, but in regard of its communication of life to ſuch as are deſtitute of life. That this is the true ſcale of Saint *Peters* meaning, we may gather from Saint *Johns* parallel paraphraſe

phraſe upon the ſame words of the Prophet *Iſaiah. In the beginning was the word, and the word was God,* &c. *And he came unto his own, and his own received him not, but as many as received him, to them he gave power or right to become the Sons of God, even to them which believe on his name.* But who are they who rightly believe on his name? *Such as are born not of blood, nor of the will of the fleſh, nor of the will of man,* (this is that which Saint *Peter* ſaith, *not of corruptible Seed*) *but are born of God.* And whoſoever is born of God, is queſtionleſs born of that immortal Seed whereof Saint *Peter* ſpeaks. The further explication of this Point will much depend upon the ſolution of theſe two queſtions. The firſt, In what ſenſe we are ſaid to be born of God. The ſecond, When miſerable and corruptible men were firſt ſo born. To aſſoil the latter queſtion in the firſt place; Fleſh and Blood were not capable of this new birth, whereof Saint *John* and Saint *Peter* ſpake, until *that word of God which endureth for ever,* that word which was with God, and was God, by whom the world alſo was made, came into the world, and being made man was born of a woman. The Holy Patriarchs and Prophets were true heirs of this Glorious Promiſe, but could not be real poſſeſſors of of the Bleſſing promiſed, before this time. But was the incarnation of the eternal Word to this purpoſe concludently fore-propheſied by *Iſaiah* in that 40. Chapter? Yes, this was the principal part of thoſe glad tidings, which the *voice of him that cryed in the Wilderneſs,* was to proclaim, as it is expreſſed, ver. 5. *The glory of the Lord ſhall be revealed, and all fleſh ſhall ſee it together.* The ſight of it was to be a ſight of life and comfort to all fleſh: and this was the height of that comfort, which the ſight of this glory exhibited, that as they had been the miſerable Sons of mortal men, ſo they ſhould become the Sons of God, bleſſed for ever. Now it is evident out of other Scriptures, that no fleſh could ſee the Glory of God and live, ſave only as the brightneſs of it was to be allayed by a veil of fleſh, through which the Apoſtles themſelves, not all, but *Peter, James,* and *John* did behold it, as weak-ſighted men do the ſplendor of the Sun through a a cloud. Hence ſaith Saint *John* (by way of Comment or Paraphraſe upon the fore-cited 40. of *Iſaiah*) ver. 5. *The word was made fleſh, and we beheld his glory,* (to wit, the Glory of the Word of God which endureth for ever) *The glory as of the only begotten Son of God, full of Grace and Truth. And of his fullneſs, all that believe, receive grace for grace.* When it is ſaid that the Son of God was made man of a Woman, this implies, that he was as truly fleſh of the womans fleſh, and bone of her bones, as the firſt woman was fleſh of the firſt mans fleſh, and bone of his bones. But in this the myſtery of the firſt womans Creation is not finally accompliſhed. How was it then ſo accompliſhed? In this, that no ſons of men, none that are born of a woman, can truly and really become the Sons of God, until they become fleſh of his fleſh, and bones of his bones, who was not made the Son of God, but was the Son of God by nature, his only begotten Son before all the worlds, the light and life of men. As then *the word* which in the beginning was with God, and the Son of God, are but titles of one and the ſame perſon: ſo the *word of life, and the word of God, which endureth for ever,* are but Synonimal expreſſions of one and the ſame myſtery, to wit, of the Word being made fleſh, or become viſible and ſenſible unto fleſh. *That* (ſaith Saint *John*) *which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have ſeen with our*

our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled of the Word of life; *that we declare unto you. For the life was manifeſted, and we have ſeen it, and bear witneſs, and ſhew unto you, even that eternal life, which was with the Father, and was manifeſted unto us,* 1 *John* 1. 1, 2. This life was always with God, but came not into the world, was not manifeſted to fleſh and blood; until ὁ λόγος, *the Word*, and Son of God was incarnate.

3. The ſame Antitheſis, or oppoſition which the Prophet *Iſaiah* makes between the mortality and frailty of fleſh, and the immortality or everlaſting duration of the Word of God, the *Pſalmiſt* makes between his own miſery and fading eſtate, and the everlaſting happineſs of his Lord God. And from the contemplation of this oppoſition, takes the ſame comfort to himſelf, which the Prophet *Iſaiah* was commanded to miniſter unto Gods People, and unto *Jeruſalem*, *My days*, ſaith he, Pſal. 102. 11. *are like a ſhadow that declineth, and I am withered like graſs: but thou, O Lord, ſhalt endure for ever, and thy remembrance unto all Generation*, And again, *Of old thou haſt laid the foundations of the Earth, and the Heavens are the works of thy hands: they ſhall periſh, but thou ſhalt endure, yea all of them ſhall wax old like a garment, as a veſture ſhalt thou change them, and they ſhall be changed*; *thou art the ſame, and thy years ſhall have no end.* That this paſſage of the *Pſalmiſt* is literally meant of the Eternal God, the *Jews* themſelves cannot deny. And that it is meant of God incarnate, of the Son of God manifeſted in the fleſh, S. *Paul* in the 1. to the *Hebrews*, doth aſſure us Chriſtians. For he alledgeth this very place, *ver.* 10. to prove that Chriſt, God and Man, was far above all Angels and Principalities, and that after his enthronization as King, he was to change this world which was made by him. The very literal meaning of the *Pſalmiſt* will enforce thus much, that this place was to be meant of God, not ſimply or abſolutely, but of God incarnate. For the eternal duration of the Godhead is not meaſurable by days or years, but the Incarnation of the Son of God, or his duration in the fleſh, may be accounted by number of years for the time paſt; yet are his years as man to continue without end, without any decay or diminution of that nature which he aſſumed. The *Pſalmiſt* fore-ſaw his own intereſt in the numberleſs years of his Lord, whoſe happineſs and immortality was the only comfort of his miſerable mortality. The ſame comfort the Author of the 103. *Pſalm*, (whether he were the ſame with the Author of the 102. *Pſalm*, or ſome other) takes to himſelf from the like contemplation of his own miſery, and of the happineſs of God Incarnate. *Like as a Father pitieth his Children, ſo the Lord pitieth them that fear him. For he knoweth our frame, he remembreth that we are but duſt. As for man his days are as graſs: as a flowr of the field, ſo he flouriſheth. For the wind paſſeth over it, and it is gone, and the place thereof ſhall know it no more. But the mercy of the Lord is from everlaſting to everlaſting, upon them that fear him, and his righteouſneſs unto Childrens Children: To ſuch as keep his Covenant: and to thoſe that remember his Commandments to do them*, Pſal. 103. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18. For the true interpretation, or application of this paſſage unto this preſent purpoſe, it is in the firſt place remarkable, that where in the 13. verſe we read *Jehovah*, or the *Lord*, the Chaldee renders it, *The word of the Lord hath pity on them that fear him:* In the ſecond, that the mercy of the Lord, or of *the word of God*, verſe 17. is * τὶ τεχνικὸν, that is, a word or term whoſe full importance cannot be had from

* *Chriſt is called the mercy or gracious Saint of God,* Pſal. 16. 10. *Compare that place with the beginning of the* 118 Pſalm, & Pſalm 136. *and others; wherein it is repeated that the mercy of the Lord endureth for ever.*

any ordinary Lexicon, unleſs it be ſuch as is proper unto Divinity. For it cannot be underſtood of that mercy or loving kindneſs of God, which was ordinarily manifeſted either towards mankind in general, or towards the People of *Iſrael* in particular. Every Novice in the School of the Prophets did know that this mercy of the Lord was perpetual. But what could it avail the Author of this *Pſalm*, to conſider that this Mercy of God had been manifeſted to his fore-fathers before his time, and ſhould be to Poſterity in their ſeveral Generations after him; what comfort could it afford unto *the Childrens Children of ſuch as feared him*, that this *Mercy of God* ſhould be reſerved for them, only after the ſame manner or meaſure which their fore-fathers had taſted, or had experience of it, and yet complain of their miſerable and wretched eſtate for the preſent; and comfort themſelves only in the expectation of that abundant mercy which they hoped afterwards ſhould be revealed. The beſt expoſition upon this place of the *Pſalmiſt*, or what is in ſpecial meant by the *mercy of the Lord*, or of the *word of God*, is given by S. *Paul, Titus* the 3. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. *For we our ſelves alſo were ſometimes fooliſh, diſobedient, deceived, ſerving divers luſts, and pleaſures, living in malice and envy, hateful, and hating one another. But after the kindneſs and love of God our Saviour toward man appeared, not by works of Righteouſneſs which we have done, but according to his mercy he ſaved us, by the waſhing of Regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghoſt, which he ſhed on us abundantly through Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour: That being juſtified by his Grace, we ſhould be made heirs according to the hope of eternal life.* Of this mercy and loving kindneſs the Patriarchs and Prophets (as we ſaid before) had the Promiſe, but without all hope of enjoying the thing promiſed for the preſent. It was not then the mercy of God, or *Jehovah* conſidered in the Godhead only, but the mercy of God to be incarnate, to be made King and Judge of the Earth, which did ſo comfort theſe and other Pſalmiſts in their greateſt diſtreſſes and perplexities, in all which they had juſt occaſion to ſay, as Saint *Paul* afterwards did, *If in this life only*, (or in the loving kindneſs of God, as it hath been experienced in our days) *we had hope we were of all men moſt miſerable*, 1 Corinthians *Chap.* 15. *ver.* 19.

4. That this place, though literally meant of God alone, was yet to be punctually fulfilled in God incarnate, or in the Word made fleſh, beſides this Expoſition of Saint *Paul*, the very letter and circumſtance of the Text doth perſwade us. For the expected comfort, whereupon this Pſalmiſt pitcheth, is this: *The Lord hath prepared his Throne in the Heavens, and his Kingdom ruleth over all.* And here again, whereas we read *the Lord*, the Chaldee reads, the *Word of the Lord hath prepared his Throne.* And in that it was *prepared*, it was not from Eternity, though after it were prepared, to continue from everlaſting to everlaſting, that is (as we ſay) world without end. And this is that Throne, and that Kingdom which *Daniel* fore-told, that God long after his time would erect, *Daniel* 2. ver. 44. *And in the days of theſe Kings ſhall the God of Heaven ſet up a Kingdom, which ſhall never be deſtroyed, and that Kingdom ſhall not be left to other people: but it ſhall break in pieces, and conſume all theſe Kingdoms, and it ſhall ſtand for ever.* And of this Throne you have a moſt exquiſite deſcription by Saint *John*, Revel. 4. ver. 1, 2. *After this I looked, and behold a door was opened in Heaven, and the firſt voice which I heard, was as it were of a Trumpet talking with me, which ſaid, Come up hither,*

hither, and I will ſhew thee things which muſt be hereafter. And immediately I was in the Spirit: and behold, a Throne was ſet in Heaven, and one ſate on the Throne. And round about the Throne were four and twenty ſeats, and upon the ſeats I ſaw four and twenty Elders ſitting, cloathed in white rayment. And they had on their Heads Crowns of Gold, &c. *The four and twenty Elders fell down before him that ſate on the Throne, and worſhip him that liveth for ever, and caſt their Crowns before him ſaying, Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive Glory, and Honour, and Power: for thou haſt created all things, and for thy pleaſure they are, and were created.* This praiſing of him that ſate upon the Throne, was that whereunto the Author of the 103. *Pſalm*, did ſolemnly invite the Heavenly Powers, long before Saint *John* had this Viſion. For after he had ſaid, *The Lord had prepared his Throne in the Heavens, and his Kingdom ruleth over all*; it follows immediately, *Bleſs the Lord ye his Angels, that excel in ſtrength, that do his Commandments, harkning unto the voice of his word. Bleſs ye the Lord, all ye his Hoſts, ye Miniſters of his, that do his pleaſure. Bleſs the Lord, all his works in all places of his Dominion: Bleſs the Lord, O my Soul.* That which our Saviour ſaith of *Abraham*, was in its meaſure true of this *Pſalmiſt*; he alſo ſaw the day of Chriſt, the day of his glorious Reſurrection, that day whereof it is ſaid, *thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee*, and did rejoyce in Soul to ſee it, and his own intereſt in it, and aſſured hope of his inheritance in the Heavenly Kingdom.

5. But the Viſion of *David* to this purpoſe in that Pſalm, which amongſt ſome few others, bears the inſcription of *Michtam*, Davids *Jewel or Golden Song*, (as ſome would have it) is moſt punctually clear, *Keep me, O God, for in thee do I put my truſt:* that is, (as the Chaldee explains it) *In thy word have I put my truſt*, or hope for Salvation, *Pſal.* 16. 1. and ver. 2. *I have ſaid unto the Lord* Adonia. And again, ver. 8. &c. *I have ſet the Lord always before me: becauſe he is at my right hand, I ſhall not be moved. Therefore my heart is glad, and my glory rejoyceth; my fleſh alſo ſhall reſt in hope.* But here the Eunuchs queſtion unto *Philip* will interpoſe its ſelf, *Of whom ſpeaketh the Prophet this, of himſelf, or of ſome other?* I can no way brook their opinion, who think the *Pſalmiſt* ſpeaks all this in the perſon of Chriſt, as his figure, but rather in this, as in many other *Pſalms*, and in the two laſt fore-cited eſpecially, ſome paſſages there be which cannot be literally applyed but to the *Pſalmiſt* himſelf, others which cannot be applyed to any one but *Chriſt*, that is, to *God or the word incarnate:* and the 9. verſe, *My heart is glad*, &c. contains a feeling expreſſion of that joy or exultation of Spirit, which did poſſeſs all the faculties both of *Davids* Body and Soul. But what was the object of this his exultation, or the ground of his joy? He expreſſeth it, ver. 10. *Thou wilt not leave my Soul in Hell, neither wilt thou ſuffer thy Holy One to ſee corruption.* But the ſame queſtion here interpoſeth again; *Doth he ſpeak all this of himſelf, or of ſome other?* whatſoever may be thought of the former clauſe of that verſe, *Thou wilt not leave my Soul in Hell* (which as ſome think) might be meant both of Chriſt and *David* (though in a different meaſure;) moſt certain it is, that the latter clauſe, *Thou wilt not ſuffer thy Holy One to ſee corruption*, was not literally meant of *David*, much leſs fulfilled in him, but literally meant of him alone, and literally fulfilled in him alone, whom *David* in Spirit called Lord; though he then fore-ſaw he ſhould truly be his Son. This undoubted truth we learn

from Saint *Peter*, *Acts* 2. 29. *Men and Brethren, let me freely ſpeak unto you of the Patriarch* David, *that he is both dead and buried; and his Sepulchre is with us unto this day. Therefore being a Prophet, and knowing that God had ſworn with an oath to him, that of the fruit of his loins, according to the fleſh, he would raiſe up Chriſt to ſit on his Throne, he ſeeing this before, ſpake of the Reſurrection of Chriſt, that his Soul was not left in Hell, neither his fleſh did ſee corruption. And* Saint *Paul*, *Acts* 13. 36, 37. more fully and more punctually to our animadverſions upon this latter clauſe expounds it thus: David, *after he had ſerved his own Generation, by the will of God fell on ſleep, and was laid unto his Fathers, and ſaw corruption. But he whom God raiſed again, ſaw no corruption.* In this, as in many other *Pſalms*, the comfort which did ariſe from the ſweet contemplations was *Davids* own, or the *Pſalmiſts*, who fore-ſaw that great myſtery whereof we now treat, but the fountain of their comfort was Chriſt, or God Incarnate, who was to be raiſed from the dead. *David* in this *Pſalm* did rejoyce in heart, that albeit he knew his nature to be like the graſs that withereth, albeit he knew his Soul ſhould be divorced from his body; yet this divorce he knew (by Faith) ſhould not be perpetual, that albeit he could not but expect his body, his fleſh and bones ſhould rot in his Sepulchre, as the body and fleſh of his fore-fathers, to whom he was to be gathered, had done; yet he fore-ſaw in Spirit, that even his body, ſhould at length, be redeemed from corruption by the Reſurrection of that Holy One, whoſe body, though ſeparated for a time from his immortal Soul, was not to ſee or feel any corruption. Finally, though *David* and other *Pſalmiſts* fore-cited, (if others they were) did not perfectly and explicitely fore-know that they were to dye; yet had they as true implicite belief of that which our Apoſtle explicitely delivers, *Coloſ.* 3. 3, 4. *That their life was hid with Chriſt in God, that when Chriſt, who was their life, ſhould appear, they ſhould alſo appear with him in glory.*

6. To the former general Quære [in what ſenſe we are ſaid by Saint *John* to be born of God] we anſwer; that to be born of God, is all one with that of Saint *Peter*, *to be born of immortal Seed*; but what is that immortal Seed, whereof Saint *Peter* ſaith we are born again? That, in one word, is the fleſh and blood of the Son of man, who is alſo the Son of God. So he himſelf inſtructs us, *John* 6. 53, 54, 55. *Verily, verily, I ſay unto you, except ye eat the fleſh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you. Who ſo eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life, and I will raiſe him up at the laſt day. For my fleſh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He that eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him.* That is meat and drink indeed which nouriſheth us not to a bodily, but to a ſpiritual and immortal life; which pre-ſuppoſeth an immortal Seed. Unto all theſe ends and purpoſes, to our new birth, to our nouriſhment and growth in ſpiritual life, the fleſh and blood of the *Word* or Son of God, were conſecrated by his ſufferings upon the Croſs, and by his Reſurrection from the dead. He was, according to his humane nature, both the Prieſt appointed to obtain theſe bleſſings, and to award them, *ex officio*; and withal the Sacrifice, by whoſe participation they are really and actually conveyed unto all that do, or ſhall inherit the immortality of Soul and Body.

7. But if his fleſh and blood be the ſeed of immortality, how are we ſaid to be born again *by the Word of God*, which liveth and abideth

for ever? Is this word, by which we are born, the ſame with that immortal ſeed of which we are born? It is the ſame not in nature, but in perſon. May we not in that ſpeech of St. *Peter by the word*, underſtand the word preached unto us by the Miniſters who are Gods Seeds-men? In a ſecondary ſenſe we may, for we are begotten and born again by preaching, as by the inſtrument or means; yet born again by the eternal *word*, (that is by Chriſt himſelf) as by the proper and efficient cauſe of our new birth. Thus much St. *Peters* words in that place will inforce us to grant according to the letter. For having before declared, that the word of God (by which we are born again) *doth live and endure for ever*, he thus concludes, *and this is the word which by the Goſpel is preached unto you.* 1. *Pet.* 1. 25.

8. The Goſpel it ſelf (taken in the largeſt ſenſe) is but the declaration of the Evangeliſts and Apoſtles upon the prophetical predictions concerning the Incarnation, the Birth, the Death, the Reſurrection and Aſcenſion of Chriſt. And Chriſt himſelf, who was put to Death for our ſins, and raiſed again for our juſtification, is *the word* which we all do or ought to preach. The Goſpel written or preached by us cannot be *that word*, which by the Goſpel is preached unto us. This *Word*, in the literal aſſertive ſenſe, can be no other than the *eternal word* or Son of God made fleſh, and conſecrated in the fleſh to be the ſeed of immortality. And if we take the Goſpel, not according to the outward letter or bark, but for the heart or ſubſtance of the Goſpel, or for the glad tidings of life (which is the primitive ſignification of this word ἐυαγγέλιον, or Goſpel) that is no other, than the *Word made fleſh*, or manifeſted in the fleſh. To this purpoſe ſaith our Evangeliſt, or rather the Angel of the Lord, *Luke* 2. 10. *Fear not, for behold I bring you good tidings of great joy which ſhall be to all people:* (this is no more than the Prophets ſaith, *all fleſh ſhall ſee the glory of the Lord:*) *for unto you is born, this day in the City of* David *a Saviour, which is Chriſt the Lord.* Lord he was long before, and this *Lord* was made fleſh before that day wherein he was born, but firſt manifeſted in the fleſh upon that day, and manifeſted to be the Saviour of all people or all fleſh, ſome eight days after, yet not then compleatly made Chriſt until his Reſurrection. Again, the Goſpel in its prime or principal ſenſe is no other, or no more than the great myſtery of godlineſs which was inwrapt in the volume of *Moſes* and the Prophets, but not revealed or unfolded until the *word* was made fleſh, was circumciſed in the fleſh, and made King and Chriſt. *Without controverſie*, ſaith St. *Paul*, 1 *Tim.* 3. 16. *great is the myſtery of godlineſs: God was manifeſted in the fleſh, juſtified in the ſpirit, ſeen of Angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the World, received up into glory.* All theſe teſtimonies put together amount to this point, that the Son of God, manifeſted in the fleſh, was *that Word* which in St. *Peters* language, is preached by the Goſpel. And if we do not preach *this word* unto our hearers, if all our Sermons do not tend to one of theſe two ends, [either to inſtruct our Auditors in the Articles of their Creed concerning Chriſt, or to prepare their ears and hearts that they may be fit Auditors of ſuch inſtructions] we do not preach the Goſpel unto them, we take upon us the name of Gods Ambaſſadors, or of the Miniſters of the Goſpel, more than in vain.

9. Beſides all theſe teſtimonies, and others that might be alledged, all moſt undoubtedly true in the literal aſſertive ſenſe, that the myſtery of godlineſs, or the joyful tidings which *Abrahams* Seed did ex-

pect ſhould conſiſt in the Union between the Eternal Word, or Son of God, and our fleſh; we have a moſt lively Character or prefiguration (though not aſſertive) in the original word deſigned by the wiſdom of God to expreſs the preaching of the Goſpel or joyful embaſſage of our everlaſting peace. For one and the ſame word in the original doth ſignifie *fleſh*, and *the preaching of glad tidings unto all people or fleſh*, without variation of any radical letter, but only of grammatical Mood or Declenſion בָּשָׂר according to the uſe of the original language, doth properly ſignifie *fleſh*, that is, Men or Creatures indued with life or ſenſe; and being the root or primitive is not a Verb, but a Noun. The firſt Verb that is formed of it doth ſignifie as much as the Latine *nunciavit* or *nunciare*, to bring or deliver a meſſage, and is always uſed for ſome good or joyful meſſage, and in peculiar for the preaching of the Goſpel, which is the joyful meſſage κατ' ἐξοχὴν: As, to omit other places, it is thus uſed *Jerem.* 20. 15. *Curſed be the man that brought tidings to my Father* אֲשֶׁר בִּשַּׂר אֶת־אָבִי *ſaying a man child is born unto thee, making him very glad.* And in the forecited 40. of *Iſaiah, ver.* 9. *O Sion, that bringeſt good tidings, get thee up into the high Mountain.* O Jeruſalem, *that bringeſt good tidings, lift up thy voice with ſtrength, lift it up, be not afraid, ſay unto the Cities of* Judah, *behold your God.* And in the 61. of *Iſaiah, ver.* 1. which is the very place wherein the preaching of the Goſpel by our Saviour himſelf is fore-prophecyed, that which St. *Luke* expreſſes *chap.* 4. *ver.* 18. by *preaching the Goſpel to the poor*, is in the original לבשר ענוים *evangelizatum pauperes.* Now that fleſh, and preaching of glad tidings to all fleſh ſhould be ſignified by one and the ſame original word, no Grammarian can eaſily give any reaſon. It falls not within the compaſs of their Etymologies or derivations: there is not here a primitive and derivative, not a principal and an Analogical ſenſe. The true reaſon that may be given for it is, that the wiſdom of God did thus fore-ordain it: that ſo this great myſtery of the Eternal Words becoming fleſh might be foreſhadowed as well by verbal Character, as foretold by expreſs prophetical Teſtimonies, delivered by way of propoſitions, or prefigured by real Types in the Law or in matter of facts in ſacred Hiſtory.

מְבַשֶּׂרֶת

CHAP. XXIX.

Of the true meaning of this ſpeech, the word was made fleſh: *Whether it be all one for the* Word *to be made fleſh, and to be made man, or whether he were made fleſh, and made man at the ſame inſtant?*

BUT it being granted (and I hope ſufficiently proved,) that the Incarnation of the Word, is the very life and kernel of the Goſpel, that the Patriarchs and Prophets did ſolace themſelves, and taught their Childrens Children to do the like, in all their perplexities, by aſſured hope of this great myſtery in the Lords good time to be revealed: yet the curious fancies of captious wits have been, and will be ready to queſtion, though not the matter or myſtery it ſelf, yet the manner of our Evangeliſts expreſſion of it, [*the Word was made*

made fleſh.] To be made fleſh, is to be made a ſubſtance, and the *Word* which is ſaid to be made fleſh, was more than a ſubſtance, the ever-living Eſſence, the life and light of men, before he was manifeſted in the fleſh. Doth he ſtill remain ſo? So we Chriſtians are bound to believe. Yet might the Jew or meer Heathen Artiſt have liberty to oppoſe us, they would find matter of argument, to this or the like purpoſe; whenſoever one ſubſtance is truly made another, the former ſubſtance ceaſeth to be what it was before. For the truth of this general rule, inſtances are plentiful in all ſorts of ſubſtances which are ſaid to be made what they were not before: when one ſimple Element is made another; when the water becomes a vapour, it ceaſeth to be water; when the Vapour is made a cloud, it is no longer a vapour; when the cloud reſolves into rain, it is no more a cloud: when of the Elements any third body is made, whether perfectly or imperfectly mixt, they ceaſe to be what they were, they loſe both their form and names. Nor ſkills it whether one ſubſtance be made or becomes another which before it was not by courſe of nature, or immediately by the finger of God, or by the exerciſe of his miraculous power. For it was a true miracle, and a great one, that pure water ſhould be immediately made perfect Wine, and yet the water being made wine did ceaſe to be what it was before; it was no longer a ſimple Element, but a true mixt body. Now *the Word,* (as all Chriſtians grant) was an Everlaſting Eſſence, more than a ſubſtance, before it was made or became fleſh. How then can we Chriſtians maintain, that it ſtill remains the ſame it was, without any real alteration, or change, whether ſubſtantial or accidental? To this objection we reply, as before we have done in other caſes, that multitude of inſtances, how many ſoever, cannot make up a perfect induction, if in any one, pretended for grounding a rule or propoſition abſolutely univerſal, there be the leaſt diverſity or diſſimilitude of reaſon. Every ſuch diverſity or diſparity acquits the inſtance in which it is found, for being comprehended under the Rule or Law, otherwiſe Univerſal. Admitting it then to be univerſally true of all other ſubſtances or Eſſences in the World beſides; *Whenſoever one is made or becomes another which before it was not, that ſubſtance, which is made another, doth loſe it ſelf, or ceaſeth to be what it was*; Yet this univerſal rule will not reach the inſtance now in debate concerning *the Words being made fleſh.* The reaſon is plain, not from the manner of this miraculous work, but from the nature or ſupereminency of that everlaſting ſubſtance or Eſſence, which was miraculouſly made fleſh. All other Eſſences or ſubſtances, which are capable of being made, or becoming what they were not, are capable of change or alteration in their ſubſtances. They do not either loſe their own names, or ſuffer the names of other ſubſtances to be put upon them, until they have put off their own natures, or loſt poſſeſſion of themſelves. The law of nature tyes even liveleſs ſubſtances more ſtrictly not to change their names until they be conquered, or overcome by others, than the Laws of Heraldry ties Nobles or Gentlemen not to alter their ancient Arms or Names, which they ſeldom do, unleſs upon Conqueſt, or ſome Marriage, or Alliance, beneficial or advantagious to their Houſe or Family. But the *Word* of God which endureth for ever, was and is as unchangeable as God himſelf: was and is from Eternity, more than all things, *Eſſence, or being it ſelf.* As all things were made by him, ſo he might when he pleaſed, be made fleſh or man without any change or alteration in himſelf, either whilſt all things were made by him, or whilſt he were made this particular. It is then the preheminence or ſuperexcellency of his nature or Eſſence, which exempts him from the former general rule or pretended induction.

2. For the more commodious expreſſion, as of divers other ſupernatural myſteries or matters ſpiritual, ſo of this great myſtery, eſpecially the fitteſt reſemblance which can be made of them, muſt be borrowed not from experiments or inductions in matters phyſical, but from caſes of civil uſe or conſequence. Mutations accidental there may be many, phyſically accidental in one and the ſame ſubſtance, without any alteration in the ſubſtance, in which ſuch change is made: Yet ſuch changes of accidents properly inherent, for the moſt part either add ſome perfection to the ſubſtance, or detract ſomewhat from it. But for a perſon already inveſted with honourable Names or Titles, and with realities anſwering to them, to inveſt himſelf with realities or titles of an inferior rank, is no diſparagement to his former dignities. Thus many Princes by birth and of great poſſeſſions, ſometimes take the Names or Titles of Knights, are ſolemnly made Knights, created Earls, ſometimes made Gentlemen of *Venice*, and ſome Kings of this Land have been made free of particular Companies or Corporations under their Royal Juriſdiction, and ſo made without any impeachment or diminution of their Royal Titles, but only to the grace or advancement of that Order whereof they were made Knights, or of thoſe Societies and Corporations whereof they were made free. And thus although the *Word*, who before the beginning of time was with God, was truly God, was in the fulneſs of time made fleſh, this can be no impeachment to his Deity or Divine perſon, but an unſpeakable exaltation or advancement of the humane nature which he took upon him. And herein, we poor miſerable men (ſo we would be thankful for it) have a preheminence of the Angelical nature, in that the Son of God, God bleſſed for ever, did vouchſafe to become one of our order and rank, in ſuch a manner as he is not of theirs.

3. The reſolution of the ſecond Quære depends upon another more queſtioned point, which I have no mind to diſpute, and leſs to be tyed to other mens conjectures, or voluntary determinations of it without warrant of Scripture, or any certain deductions from it, warrantable by reaſon. The point queſtionable is briefly this, whether the humane Soul of our bleſſed Lord was infuſed into his body immediately upon his Conception, which (as the ſacred Text to my apprehenſion imports) was in a moment, and immediately upon the Bleſſed Virgins aſſent unto the Angels meſſage. If at the ſame inſtant or moment of time the humane Soul was inſpired into his body, the Word was not made fleſh before he became man. If otherwiſe, the holy ſeed did after the Conception grow by degrees into a live ſenſitive reaſonable ſubſtance, though neither after the ſame manner, nor by the ſame means, yet according to the ſame meaſure of time as other Infants do. The caſe is unqueſtionable that the Son of God, or the Word, was made fleſh before he was made man; For he was not made man before the inſpiration or Creation of the reaſonable Soul; but even from the very firſt moment of his Conception, the Womans ſeed was hypoſtatically united to the Word or Son of God. The fleſh and blood which he took of the bleſſed Virgin became

the fleſh and blood of the Son of God from the firſt moment of their aſſumption. Nor can this opinion be juſtly charged with any ſuſpicion of errour, or other difficulty, as containing nothing which is not exactly parallel to that which we believe concerning the Union of his body with the Divine nature in his perſon, after his body was ſeparated from his Soul. His body in that interim of ſeparation or of its reſt in the grave, was as truly the body of the Son of God, as it had been whilſt it was living. His Soul likewiſe was as truly the Soul of the Son of God during the divorce, as it was whilſt it retained Union with its body. And whether the blood which was ſhed from his moſt pretious body on the Croſs, were gathered again into his veins (a point not to be pryed into by mortal men) or how ever it pleaſed him or his Heavenly Father to diſpoſe of it; yet I think I may ſay that not a drop of it but remains unto this day the true blood of the Son of God; it loſt no Union, nor degree of Union with his Divine Perſon: it ſtill retains the power and efficacy of cleanſing or ſanctifying our nature.

4. Some I know there be who think all others to ſpeak and think unworthily of Chriſt, unleſs they grant that his Soul was not only infuſed into his body in the firſt Conception of it, but that it was withal endued with all manner of knowledge which he afterwards had. Yet to bind any man to believe or acknowledge either of theſe (the latter eſpecially) is to lay more upon us than God hath in his written Word, or in the Book of his Creatures tyed us unto, if ſo theſe men will give us leave to uſe the ſpectacles of reaſon in reading either Book. For if our bleſſed Saviour, during all the time he was in his Mothers Womb, had the perfect uſe of ſenſe and reaſon, his condition of life had been more weariſom than in any part of his Pilgrimage here on Earth it was; for he was as mortal, and as ſubject to ſad impreſſions in the Womb, as he was in the ſtrength of his age: and Death had been more welcome to him than ſuch cloſe impriſonment, if the exerciſe of reaſon or Contemplation had been as free there as it was, when he was endued with liberty of ſenſe and local motion. The only reaſon I can conceive any man ſhould pretend either for the infuſion of the reaſonable Soul into his body, at the firſt Conception, or that the reaſonable Soul, whether then or at the time wherein other infants become capable of it, ſhould be endued with ſuch a meaſure of actual or explicite knowledge whilſt he was in his Mothers Womb, as afterwards it was, muſt be grounded on the Hypoſtatical Union between the Womans ſeed, and the word of God. But if any reaſon thus grounded could infer either part of the premiſſes, it would aſwel infer, that his knowledge as man, ſhould have been infinite from his Conception. This I think no Chriſtian will affirm; for the perſonal Union of the divine nature with the humane, doth not endow it with the real Titles of the Divine. Otherwiſe, Chriſts ſtrength as man ſhould have been infinite from the Womb: and his body ſhould have been every where. And it would be leſs unreaſonable to ſay that his body is at this day infinite, and his humane nature every where; than that his wiſdom or knowledge, as man, ſhould have been infinite, or as great whilſt he was in the Womb as now it is. If the divine nature did not communicate his infinity to the humane, nor make the Son of God ſo compleat a man for ſtrength or ability of body from the Womb, as at thirty years he was; it exceedeth the bounds of my capacity to imagine, what

reaſon thoſe men have for their opinion, who think our bleſſed Lord and Saviour did not as truly grow in wiſdom and knowledge, as he did in ſtrength or ſtature of body. The Scripture is alike literal for both, *Luke* 2. 52. *Jeſus increaſed in Wiſdom and ſtature, and in favour with God and man.* I make no queſtion but that ſuch as deny his growth in wiſdom, do this out of a religious fear, leſt they ſhould ſpeak or conceive any thing of Chriſt which might be thought either to derogate from his greatneſs, or from his goodneſs. This fear or zealous care is in the general very good, but hath ſmall ground in this particular. For were it either well grounded, or well guided, it would rather teach us not to deny that *Jeſus* did grow in wiſdom and goodneſs, than to be peremptory in contradicting others which hold the affirmative. Simple *neſcience* can be no ſin in any Child nor in any man, unleſs it be of thoſe things which he is bound to know. But *proficiency* in wiſdom and knowledge is in the Sons of men a praiſe worthy perfection, which I ſhould be as unwilling to deny unto my Lord and Saviour in his infancy or his youth, as to rob him now of any Royal Attributes ſince he was made King. That he was without all ſtain of ſin, the moſt Holy Sanctuary of the moſt Holy and Bleſſed God from the Womb, I ſtedfaſtly believe: but that he had the ſame meaſure of knowledge at his Circumciſion, at his preſentation in the Temple, which he had and gave proof of when his Parents found him in the Temple diſputing with the Doctors, or no greater meaſure of this knowledge at his Baptiſm, than he then had; or as great as his Baptiſm, as ſince his Reſurrection and Aſcention he hath; I ſhall crave pardon for making theſe or the like any points of my belief. If any man be otherwiſe minded I grudge him not the liberty of his opinion, but will confeſs my ignorance, when he ſhall ſhew me any expreſs Scripture, or any diduction out of Scripture which ſhall not infer *aut nihil, aut nimium.*

5. It ſufficeth me to believe and know that my Lord was ſo qualified with all grace, even whilſt he lived in the form of a ſervant, that he was always more ready to underſtand, and comprehend whatſoever it pleaſed his Heavenly Father to impart or ſignifie unto him, than chriſtal is to receive the light of the Sun, or any glaſs the ſhape of bodies which preſent themſelves unto it; and more ready withal to do whatſoever he knew to be his Fathers will he ſhould do, than we are to eat when we are hungry, or to drink in the extremity of thirſt. There was in him, even in his Cradle, a docility or capacity, both for learning and doing his Fathers Will, truly infinite in compariſon of other Children; yet this capacity was actuated by degrees. This, I take it, is as much as we are bound to believe concerning his growth in wiſdom; and this we cannot deny to be contained in the Hypoſtatical Union, of which we are without curioſity to ſay ſomewhat in the next place.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXX.

Of the Hypoſtatical and Perſonal Union betwixt the Word and the Fleſh, or betwixt the Son of God and the Seed of Abraham.

THE manner of the Union between *the Son of God*, and the Seed of *Abraham*, is a myſtery (that one of the Bleſſed Trinity only excepted) moſt to be admired by all, and leaſt poſſible to be exactly expreſſed by any living man, of all the myſteries whoſe belief we profeſs in this Apoſtles Creed. And for this reaſon my former reſolution to avoid all School diſputes about the relations in the Trinity, and each ſeveral perſons peculiar properties, ties me to the like obſervance in this preſent point. And in my younger days, I had a greater deſire to learn more exquiſite rules of Logick or other good Arts, out of School-diſputes in theſe two kinds, than can be found in the Profeſſor of ſuch Arts themſelves, than I have in theſe declining years to learn Divinity from them.

2. The particulars which the moſt ſubtile amongſt the School-Divines exhibite, concerning the manner of the Hypoſtatical Union, are well ſummed up by the Learned and Judicious *D. Field*, in whoſe computation they amount to more than I ſhall have occaſion in this place to make uſe of: and are withal of ſo high a pitch and ſtrain, as ſurmounts my aim or level for this time; which is only, to ſhew how truly, how juſtly, how conſonantly to the known rules of reaſon in other caſes, we Chriſtians believe and acknowledge ſuch a peculiar Union between the Son of God, and the Son of *David*, that whilſt the Son of Man was conceived, born, crucified, and raiſed from the dead, the Son of God likewiſe was conceived, born, crucified, *&c.* Now for juſtifying theſe and the like expreſſions, [the Son of God was conceived, was born, was crucified, *&c.*] (whether we find them in the Creed, or in the Apoſtolick or Evangelical writings, whence they iſſued into this Creed;) we can have no better ground, or fundamental reſemblance, than that of *Athanaſius* [*As the reaſonable ſoul and fleſh make one man, ſo God and Man make one Chriſt:*] yet this illuſtration, or expreſſion of the manner of this myſtical union is excepted againſt by ſome great Divines, and by *Cardinal Bellarmine* by name, yet excepted againſt, not as falſe or impertinent, but as defective. But if every reſemblance of this or other Sacred Myſtery, which is any way defective, were liable to exception, the Church ſhould do well to give a general prohibition, that no man ſhould attempt to make any. For all will come ſhort of the myſtery which we ſeek to expreſs by them, or of ſo much of it, as we ſhall know in that Eternal School. It was the Cardinals fault to ſtretch *Athanaſius* his expreſſion further than he intended it, or not to allot it a certain extent, within which it is moſt divinely true.

3. The like compariſons ſometimes hold firm and true only, *quoad veritatem, non quoad menſuram, according to the truth, not according to the meaſure of the ſame truth.* As when we beſeech our Heavenly Father *to forgive us our treſpaſſes, as we forgive them that treſpaſs againſt us*; or when our Saviour enjoyns us, *to be merciful, as our Heavenly Father is merciful:* the meaning is, not that the meaſure of

his mercies towards us ſhould be but equal to our mercy, or kindneſs towards men our fellow-ſervants: and yet, the meaning of our Saviours injunction is, that we muſt be as truly merciful and charitable towards others in ſome degree, as God is infinitely merciful towards all. Sometimes the like compariſons are firm and true, *& quoad veritatem, & quoad menſuram*, both according to the truth, and the ſame meaſure of truth, but not *quoad modum*, at leaſt not *quoad modum ſpecificum proximum, ſed quoad modum genericum aut remotum:* true they may be ſometimes according to the ſame manner, and yet not in all reſpects, or according to the ſelf-ſame particular manner. And ſuch is this compariſon of *Athanaſius*. Firſt it holds, *quoad veritatem unionis*, As it is not the meer inhabitation of the reaſonable ſoul in the body, but the peculiar union of theſe two parts, which makes a man: ſo is it not the internal preſence or peculiar inhabitation of the Deity in the manhood, but the true and real union of theſe two natures, which makes one Chriſt. Infernal Spirits may, by Gods permiſſion, take up their lodgings in the bodies of men, may be confined within them, and uſe them as their inſtruments: yet by ſuch reſidence in them, men neither become Devils, nor Devils Men, nor do they make any one reality, or third thing in part, or whole, diſtinct from both.

4. The former compariſon doth not hold, *ſecundum omnem modum:* that is, though the Godhead and Humanity of Chriſt be as truly, as properly, and really united, as the reaſonable ſoul and the humane body are, yet the manner of the union is herein different. The reaſonable ſoul and the body being two diſtinct Natures, each having their proper exiſtence, though imperfect and incompleat, do by their union make one perfect compleat Nature. Their union is made by Phyſical or Natural compoſition. Now in all ſuch unions or compoſitions, each part ingredient muſt abate or loſe ſomewhat; there muſt be a mutual faſhioning, or fitting of the one to the other. But the Deity or Godhead as it is all things elſe; ſo it is fitneſs it ſelf, and cannot be faſhioned or fitted to any Creature, as being not ſubject to any ſhadow of change, or alteration. The Creatures may be faſhioned or fitted to be more or leſs capable of his preſence, or participation. But this participation in what degree, in what manner or meaſure ſoever it be had, includes no Phyſical compoſition, or confuſion of natures. Thus much *Athanaſius*, to prevent all captious exceptions againſt this ſimilitude, had ſufficiently expreſſed in the place fore-cited; *Though he be God and Man, yet he is not two, but one Chriſt; One, not by the converſion of the Godhead into fleſh, but by taking of the manhood into God, One altogether not by confuſion of ſubſtance, but by unity of perſon.*

5. Some Philoſophers there are, and have been, who although they grant a Phyſical compoſition of matter and form in man, yet they deny the reaſonable ſoul (the intellectual part at leaſt) to be the form of man, or any part of the Phyſical compound, which (in their Philoſophy) is pre-required to the conſtitution of man; not any proper part of his Eſſence or Nature. That viſible live-ſubſtance, wherein the reaſonable ſoul during her Pilgrimage here on Earth doth reſide, as in a walking Priſon, is in theſe mens Philoſophy or Divinity as formally diſtinguiſhed by its meer Organical faculties, or bodily ſenſes, from all other living Senſitive Creatures, as any of them is from another. And they are diſtinguiſhed each from other, only by

the peculiar manner of the ſenſes, or modification of their Organical faculties. The reaſonable ſoul, or faculty of reaſon, is in this opinion rather the Crown or Diadem, whereby man excels all other Creatures as their King or Governour, than the Phyſical form whereby he is formally or ſpecifically diſtinguiſhed from them. According to this opinion there ſhould be in one and the ſame man two diſtinct compleat natures, one bodily phyſical compound, indued with ſenſe and ſubject to mortality, another rational and immortal. And theſe two natures make one man, not by phyſical compoſition, or union of matter and form, but by a peculiar ſubordination of the ſenſitive Creature unto the rational, or of ſenſe unto reaſon, as true, as firm and real, as the ſubordination of life is to ſenſe, or bodily mixture is unto life or vegetation; but not by the ſame manner of ſubordination. If *Athanaſius* his Philoſophy were of this mould, his compariſon would be true *quoadmodum:* however, leaving the examination of this opinion to the Schools, let us examine his compariſon *quoad veritatem & menſuram.*

6. Such Philoſophers as grant the reaſonable ſoul to be a *form* truly phyſical, and an incompleat part of mans nature, do not for the moſt part affirm, that it is propagated from the parents of our bodies, but created by God, as the ſoul of the firſt man was. And yet even theſe men who deny the reaſonable ſoul to be *ex traduce*, do not avouch that only the bodily part or fleſh of man is conceived, but the whole man who conſiſts of a reaſonable ſoul aſwell as of a body. The full and perfect Conception of every living thing includes not only a preparation of the bodily ſubſtance for receiving the ſoul, but beſides this, the unition of the ſoul, (whether ſenſitive only or reaſonable) with its proper body. And ſeeing the proper nature of man conſiſts eſpecially in reaſon, there can be no perfect conception of man, as man, until the reaſonable ſoul be ſeated in and united unto the bodily ſubſtance, fitted or organized for it. Whether that bodily ſubſtance were before this union endued with ſenſe or no, is not much pertinent to the point now in hand. However Philoſophers may diſpute that caſe, this poſition is proper and Philoſophical: [Man doth beget man, and woman conceives man, although the reaſonable ſoul, which is the principal part of man, do not take its original or beginning of being, either from the man that begets him, or from the woman that conceives and brings him forth, but immediately from GOD.]

7. This aſſertion likewiſe is Chriſtian and Theological; [The bleſſed Virgin did truly conceive and bring forth Chriſt Jeſus, God and man, the Son of God, and the Son of *David:*] albeit the Divine Nature, which is the excellency of Chriſt, did not take beginning from her, but was from all eternity without beginning, yet not united to the Manhood till the Conception wrought by the Holy Ghoſt in the Virgins Womb, though both aſſertions be moſt true, yet the ground of this Theological Aſſertion is more perſpicuous and firm than the ground of the Philoſophers aſſertion wherewith it is parallel'd. We Chriſtians may give a better reaſon of our faith and form of doctrine, than the Philoſophers can give of their opinion, or manner of phraſe in this point. Firſt in the Conception of ordinary or meer men, the bodily ſubſtance, or the material part, hath a diſtinct exiſtence of its own, before it be united unto the reaſonable ſoul, and the reaſonable ſoul likewiſe hath a proper exiſtence (at leaſt in order of nature if not of time) precedent to its union with its body. Nor is

the union ſo perfect, as to make ſimply but one exiſtence of both. It is actually one, potentially two, and in the diſſolution of body and ſoul, they are actually ſevered; there is not then ſo much as co-exiſtence, or exiſtence of the one in the other. But neither the ſubſtance which the Son of God took from the Bleſſed Virgin, nor the reaſonable ſoul which was united unto it, had any proper exiſtence, before their union with the Divine Nature. The bodily ſubſtance aſſumed by his Divine Perſon, was a part of the Bleſſed Virgins individual nature, and had its whole exiſtence in her before its aſſumption, but by the aſſumption, it hath exiſtence wholly in him, not as a part, but as an Appendix to his Divine Perſon. That which the Philoſophers, or School-Divines ſay concerning the creation of the reaſonable ſoul, and its union with mans body, is more remarkably true of Chriſt's Humane Soul. The reaſonable Soul (ſay the Philoſophers) *infundendo creatur, & creando infunditur*, is created by infuſion, and is infuſed by creation. Chriſts reaſonable ſoul was not in order either of time or nature, firſt created, then aſſumed, *ſed aſſumendo creabatur, & creando aſſumebatur*, it was created whilſt it was aſſumed, and it was aſſumed whilſt it was created. Whether it were united to the body or fleſh from the firſt moment of their aſſumption, is an extravagant to this aſſertion. The ſubſtance likewiſe which our Bleſſed Saviour took from his Mother, was not either in order of time, or of nature, firſt conceived or prepared by any prævial diſpoſitions for the Divine Natures habitation in it, and then aſſumed; *ſed inter aſſumendum concipiebatur, & inter concipiendum aſſumebatur*; it was conceived by aſſumption, and aſſumed in, or by its conception.

8. The next branch of this inquiry is, what is meant when we ſay, the fruit of the Virgins womb was aſſumed by the Son of God? This form of ſpeech imports thus much at the leaſt; that the Son of God, or the Divine Nature in his Perſon, was to be partaker of fleſh and blood, as we Sons of men are. So the Apoſtle teacheth, *Heb.* 2. 14. *Foraſmuch then as the Children are partakers of fleſh and blood, he alſo himſelf likewiſe took part of the ſame, that through death he might deſtroy him that had the power of death, that is, the Devil.* This participation of fleſh and blood with his brethren, is but an expreſſion of the aſſumption. *Verily*, ſaith the Apoſtle, ver. 16. *He took not hold of the Angels, but he took hold of the Seed of* Abraham. The meaning of theſe expreſſions, as likewiſe of the original word, is, that albeit the Angels were created by him, yet were they not ſo aſſumed, or ſo united to his perſon, as the Seed of *Abraham* was, and is. Nor is he partaker of their nature, or of any other nature beſides, after ſuch a peculiar manner, as he is of the ſame humane nature by aſſuming the Seed of *Abraham*.

Some School-Divines and followers of *Aquinas*, will have the former ſimilitude of *Athanaſius* to conſiſt eſpecially in this; that as the reaſonable ſoul doth uſe the body of man; ſo the Divine Nature of Chriſt doth uſe the manhood, as its proper united inſtrument. Every other man, beſides the man Chriſt Jeſus, every other creature is the inſtrument of God: but all of them ſuch inſtruments of the Divine Nature, as the axe or hammer is to the Artificer which worketh

In omnibus autem rebus creatis nihil invenitur huic unioni tam ſimile, ſicut unio animæ ad corpus. Unde *Athanaſius* in ſymbolo ait, Sicut anima & corpus unus eſt homo, ita Deus & homo unus eſt Chriſtus. Sed cum anima rationalis uniatur corpori dupliciter, uno modo ſicut materiæ, alio modo ſicut inſtrumento: non poteſt eſſe ſimilitudo quantùm ad primum modum unionis; quia tunc ex Deo, & homine fieret una natura, cum materia, & forma conſtituant propriam naturam ſpecie Relinquitur ergo, quòd attribuitur ſimilitudo, ſecundum quod anima comparatur corpori, ſicut inſtrumento

worketh by them. The moſt Puiſſant Princes, the mightieſt Conquerors which the world hath ſeen or felt, could grow no higher in titles, than *Attilas*, or *Nebuchadnezzar* did. *Malleus orbis & flagellum Dei*, hammers or ſcourges of God to chaſtiſe or bruiſe the Nations. But the humanity of Chriſt is ſuch an inſtrument of the Divine Nature in his Perſon, as the hand of man is to the perſon or party, whoſe hand it is. And it is well obſerved, whether by *Aquinas* himſelf, or no, I remember not, but by *Viguerius* an accurate ſummiſt of *Aquinas* ſums, that albeit the intellectual part of man be a ſpiritual ſubſtance, and ſeparated from the matter or bodily part: yet is the union betwixt the hand and intellectual part of man no leſs firm, no leſs proper, than the union between the feet or other Organical parts of Senſitive Creatures, and their Senſitive Souls, or meer Phyſical forms. For the intellectual part of man, whether it be the form of man truly, though not meerly Phyſical, or rather his eſſence not his form at all, doth uſe his own hand not as the Carpenter doth uſe his axe, that is, not as an external or ſeparated, but as his proper united inſtrument. Nor is the union between the hand, as the inſtrument, and intellective part, as the Artificer or Commander of it, an union of matter and form, but an union perſonal, or at the leaſt ſuch an union as reſembles the Hypoſtatical Union between the Divine and Humane Nature of Chriſt, much better than any material union wherein Philoſophers or School-divines can make inſtance.

ad quod etiam dicta antiquorum Doctorum concordant, qui naturam humanam in Chriſto dixerunt quoddam divinitatis inſtrumentum, ſicut ponitur corpus organum animæ. Aliter enim ſe habet anima ad corpus (quod eſt proprium organum ejus:) aliter inſtrumenta extrinſeca. Hæc enim non eſt proprium inſtrumentum hujus hominis, ſicut hæc manus cum per dolabram multi poſſit operari: ſed hæc manus ad propriam operationem animæ deputatur, quia manus eſt inſtrumentum unitum & proprium, dolabra verò extrinſecum & commune. Sic in unione verbi Dei, & hominis conſiderari poteſt Omnes enim homines comparantur ad Deum, ut quædam inſtrumenta, quibus operatur; ipſe enim eſt qui operatur in nobis velle, & perficere pro ſua bona voluntate. Sed alii homines comparantur ad Deum quaſi inſtrumenta extrinſeca ſeparata, nec moventur à Deo ad operationes proprias ſibi, ſed ad operationes communes omni rationali naturæ, ut ſunt intelligere veritatem diligere bona, operari juſta. Sed humana natura à Chriſto aſſumpta eſt proprium inſtrumentum ſibi unitum ad operandas operationes, quæ ſunt propriæ, ſoli Deo convenientes: ſicut ſunt mundare peccata, illuminare mentes per gratiam & introducere in perfectionem vitæ æternæ. Nec diſcrepat à rerum naturalium ſimilitudine quòd aliquid ſit naturaliter inſtrumentum proprium alicujus, quod tamen non ſit forma ipſius. Nam lingua (prout eſt inſtrumentum locutionis) eſt proprium organum intellectus, qui tamen (ut probat Philoſophus in tertio de animâ) nullius corporis eſt forma Similiter etiam invenitur aliquod inſtrumentum quod ad naturam ſpecie non pertinet, & tamen ex parte materiæ competit huic individuo, ut ſextus digitus, vel aliquid hujuſmodi. Nihil igitur prohibit ponere unionem naturæ humanæ ad verbum tanquam inſtrumentum unitum & conjunctum. Nec tamen natura humana ad naturam verbi pertinet, nec verbum eſt ejus forma, licet pertineat ad ejus perſonam. Prædicta tamen exempla ſic poſita ſunt, ut non omnimoda ſimilitudo ſit in his requirenda. Intelligendum eſt enim verbum Dei multò ſublimius, & intimiùs humanæ naturæ uniri, quàm quacunque alia inſtrumenta propria.

9. Theſe and the like ſpeculations are neither unpleaſant nor unprofitable, if ſo the Reader will not reſtrain the former ſimilitude of *Athanaſius*, only to this kind of Union. But after what manner, to what ſpecial purpoſes, or what peculiar ſervices the Manhood of Chriſt is the inſtrument of his divine nature (as the ancient for the moſt part unanimouſly affirm) by Gods aſſiſtance in other Articles following, or in the myſtical Union betwixt Chriſt and his Members. Thus much in this place, and for the preſent may ſuffice, that the perſonal Union between the Divinity and Manhood of Chriſt, (though it be in it ſelf more admirable than comprehenſible or expreſſible.) is more proper and firm than any Union which can be made by mixture, by confuſion, by compoſition, or compaction of ſeveral natures into one. But what *Athanaſius* meant in that expreſſion of *taking the manhood into God*, may (if I miſtake not) to my preſent purpoſe (which is only to lay the general grounds of theſe communications of properties, which Divines, whether Antient or Modern, obſerve between the Divine and Humane Nature of Chriſt) be yet further explicated by anſwering the main objection that can be made againſt *Athanaſius* his ſimilitude, or theſe illuſtrations of it.

10. Some haply will object, (and it is all I think, that can be objected againſt us) that as we are, ſuch is our fleſh, ſuch is our bloud. We are by nature men, and our fleſh and bloud is by nature only humane, or the fleſh and bloud of men; but if the fleſh and bloud whereof the Son of God is partaker, be as truly his, as our fleſh and bloud is ours, ſhall they not be ſuch as he is, that is, fleſh and bloud truly divine not humane? This muſt in no wiſe be granted, otherwiſe the Son of God ſhould not be (as the Apoſtle avoucheth he is) partaker with us of *the ſame fleſh and bloud.* The fleſh and bloud which he aſſumed and was partaker of, are as truly humane, as mans fleſh and bloud are, and of the ſelf ſame nature that mans fleſh and bloud are of. And of ſuch fleſh he was to be as truly, as properly partaker, as we are. And yet it is neceſſary that the ſame fleſh and bloud which he aſſumed, be as truly and as properly the fleſh and bloud of the Son of God, (who is by nature God bleſſed for ever) as our fleſh is the fleſh, or our bloud the bloud of the Sons of men. Otherwiſe, albeit the fleſh and bloud aſſumed by him had been as truly, and as properly humane fleſh and bloud as ours is; yet could not the Son of God have been as true and proper a partaker of humane fleſh and bloud as we Sons of men are. For no party or perſon can as truly and really participate with another in that which is not his own by as perfect right, as it is the others who is partaker of it with him. So then the fleſh and bloud of our Saviour Chriſt was truly and properly *Caro humana, non divina*; *ſanguis humanus, non divinus*, not divine but humane fleſh and bloud; and yet withal as truly and properly *Caro Dei*, and *Sanguis Dei*, the fleſh and bloud of God, as it was *caro humana*, *ſanguis humanus*, humane fleſh, and humane bloud: more properly the fleſh, and bloud of God, than the fleſh and bloud of man. For even the whole humanity of Chriſt, aſwel the reaſonable Soul as the fleſh was and is the humanity of the Son of God. *God.* ſaith the Apoſtle, *Acts* 20. 28. *hath purchaſed the Church* τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματι *with his own proper bloud.* Now if the Church be Gods own, not by Creation only but by true purchaſe; then the bloud by which he purchaſed it, was as truly his own, as our bloud, or any thing within us, or without us, which we can own, is ours. But was it Gods own bloud, after the ſelf ſame manner or meaſure that our bloud is ours? It was not in every reſpect, or after every manner his own, ſo as our bloud is ours; yet his own by a more proper, more full, and ſoveraign title than our bloud is any way ours.

11. Our fleſh and bloud may be ſaid to be our own in two reſpects, either as it is a part of our nature, or an appurtinance of our perſon. In this laſt reſpect the fruit of the Virgins Womb was the Son of Gods own ſubſtance, the fleſh and bloud which he took from her were his after a more exquiſite manner, or in a fuller meaſure of the ſame manner, than our fleſh and bloud are our own. Or if we would ſpeak the language of Philoſophy her ſelf, rather than of Philoſophers, or of ſuch as profeſs themſelves to be her followers, though oft-times, (as we ſay) a far off. Our fleſh, our bloud, our limbs, are ſaid to be our own, not ſo much or not ſo properly as they are parts of our nature, as in that they are either parts or appurtenances of our perſons. That which is immediately annext or linkt unto our perſon, is by a more peculiar and ſoveraign right our own, than any things whatſoever beſides we do poſſeſs, or are Lords of; be it Lands, Goods, or Servants. For whatſoever we poſſeſs, being not thus

annexed unto our perſons, are but externals, their poſſeſſion is communicable, their property may be ſo alienated, as others may make as good uſe of them as we do. A man may be wronged in every thing that is his own, whereof he is by juſt title poſſeſſed, but the wrongs done to a man in externals, do not touch him ſo nearly, as the wrongs done to his perſon, or to any part or appurtenance of it.

12. That there is a true and real diſtinction between the natures and the perſons of men, or between things which are our own by union of nature, or by union unto our perſons, may thus be gathered. Every part of our nature is either a part, or an appurtenance of our perſon: but every part or appurtenance of our perſon is not a part of our nature. A man may ſuffer groſs perſonal wrong without pain or damage to any part of his nature, without loſs of any commodity that could be made of that wherein he ſuffered wrong, it being (in it ſelf conſidered) uncapable of wrong. As in caſe ſome joint or part of a mans body be dead and withered, irrecoverably deprived of ſenſe, of pain, of vital motion: it thereby ceaſeth to be a part of the humane nature, but it therefore ceaſeth not to be an appendance or an appurtenance of his perſon. He that ſhould disfigure, mangle, or otherwiſe handle ſuch a dead member any otherwiſe than the party, whoſe it is, were willing to have it handled, doth wrong his perſon in a higher degree than if he mangled or maimed his live goods, or Cattel: and yet however he handle it, he puts the living party to no pain, it being (as it is ſuppoſed) no natural or ſenſible part of his body, nor could it have yielded any commodity though it had been cut off before it was disfigured. Offences of this nature are not to be valued according to the excellency of the phyſical complexion or conſtitution of the bodily part wounded or contumeliouſly handled, but according to the excellency or dignity of the party whoſe fleſh or ſubſtance it is that is wounded or abuſed; whether it be an entire live part of his nature, or an appendix only to his perſon, as being a joint or member in part maimed or deprived of ſenſe before. Generally whether we ſpeak of mens actions or ſufferings undertaken for our behoof, to the loſs of bloud or limbs; we are not to value the one or other ſo much according to the phyſical property, or natural worth of the member loſt or damnified, as according to the dignity of the perſon which voluntarily undertaketh ſuch hard ſervices for us. And thus we are to rate aſwel the indignities and pains which our Saviour ſuffered in body by the Jews or Roman Souldiers, as the anguiſh of his Soul in that great conflict with the powers of darkneſs, neither according to the excellency of his bodily conſtitution, or exquiſite purity of his Soul, but according to the ineſtimable dignity of his divine perſon, of which, aſwel his immaculate Soul, as his undefiled body were no natural parts, but appurtenances only.

13. Laſtly, That proper bloud, wherewith God is ſaid to have purchaſed the Church, was the bloud of the Son of God, the ſecond perſon in Trinity, after a more peculiar manner than it was the bloud either of God the Father, or of God the Holy Ghoſt. It was the blood of God the Father, or of God the Holy Ghoſt, as all other Creatures are, by common right of Creation and preſervation. It was the bloud of God the Son alone by perſonal Union. If this Son of God, and High Prieſt of our Souls, had offered any other Sacrifice for us then himſelf, or the Manhood thus perſonally united unto him, his offering could not have been ſatisfactory; becauſe in all other things

created, the Father and the Holy Ghoſt had the ſame right or intereſt which the Son had; he could not have offered any thing to them which were not as truly theirs as his. Only the Seed of *Abraham*, or fruit of the Virgins Womb which he aſſumed into the Godhead, was by the aſſumption made ſo his own, as it was not theirs, his own by incommunicable property of perſonal Union. By reaſon of this incommunicable property in the Womans ſeed, the Son of God might truly have ſaid unto his Father [Lord,thou haſt purchaſed the Church yet with my bloud:] but ſo could not the man Chriſt Jeſus ſay unto the Son of God, [Lord, thou haſt paid the ranſom for the ſins of the World, yet with my bloud, not with thine own.]

SECT.

SECTION IV.

Of the Conception, and Birth, of our Lord and Saviour the Son of God: of the Circumciſion of the Son of God, and the name Jeſus, given him at his Circumciſion; and of the fulfilling of the Types and Propheſies concerning theſe Myſteries.

CHAP. XXXI.

The ænigmatical Predictions concerning Chriſts Conception, unfolded by degrees.

THat the Predictions of the Prophets, which the *Jew* acknowledgeth for Sacred, are of Divine infallible authority: that according to many of theſe Prophetical Predictions, God in the perſon of the Son was to become man, the eternal Word was to be made fleſh, (that is, to have our fleſh and nature ſo united unto him, that whilſt our fleſh and nature was conceived and brought forth, the Son of God was alſo conceived and brought forth, whilſt the man Chriſt Jeſus did ſuffer in the fleſh, the Son of God did alſo ſuffer) This is the brief ſum or extract of all that hath in this Treatiſe been delivered. This is the foundation of Faith as Chriſtian, the radical article of Chriſtian Theology. It follows in our Apoſtles Creed, that *this only Son of God, Chriſt Jeſus our Lord, was conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, and born of the Virgin Mary.* The name *Jeſus* was given him at his Circumciſion, and comes there to be handled. So was not the name *Chriſt*, but as often as the Evangeliſts ſo inſtile him before his reſurrection from the dead, it is by way of anticipation; for he was made Lord and Chriſt at his Aſcenſion into Heaven, though Anointed to his Prophetical Office at his Baptiſm, (from which time he did declare himſelf by word and deed to be the Prince of Prophets) yet not then conſecrated, much leſs admitted to the function or exerciſe of his everlaſting Prieſthood: not then enthronized King of Kings, and Lord of Lords: theſe royal titles were accompliſhed in his Reſurrection and Aſcenſion. The point for the preſent to be handled is; how the conception and birth of the Son of God, the Lord God of *Iſrael*, was fore-told or fore-ſhadowed, and how accompliſhed for the ſubſtance, how manifeſted by the ſigns of the time, or circumſtances concomitant.

2. The conception and birth of the Son of God, with other myſteries which concern his perſon and offices, were purpoſely fore-told and fore-pictured from the fall of our firſt Parents, until the Sacred Canon of the Old Teſtament was finiſhed; yet not fore-told, or fore-pictured

in the ſame meaſure, or after the ſame manner, in every age of this long ſucceſſion. The firſt predictions or repreſentations of theſe great myſteries, were ænigmatical and implicit, but for the moſt part unwrapped and branched in ſucceeding Ages. The latter repreſentations bear the ſame proportions to the moſt ancient, that Maps of particular Countries bear unto more general, or Chorography unto Geography. In a Map of the whole World, though accurately drawn, we ſhall hardly find any exact proportion of theſe *Britiſh Iſlands*, no ſuch diſtinct evidences of the ſeveral Provinces of this Iſland, as are uſually repreſented in a Map of *Europe* of the ſame quantity. And it were in vain to ſeek ſo diſtinct a ſurvey of every *Engliſh* Shire or County in a Map of *Europe*, as we have in our ordinary Maps of *England:* But if we deſcend to Chorographical Platforms of every ſeveral Shire, every one that knows how to uſe them, may find the diſtinct place of his birth, breeding, or dwelling. The firſt and moſt general Map of Myſteries concerning Chriſt, or of the Word to come, is that often mentioned, *Geneſis* 3. ver. 15. *I will put enmity between thy Seed and her Seed, &c.* Yet without ſome further dilatations, or repreſentations of this Promiſe, made by the Prophets, it were impoſſible for the wit of man to diſcover any true proportion of thoſe great Myſteries which the Evangeliſts relate, although all of them were contained in this, as in their firſt head or fountain, or as moſt Corographical Deſcriptions are, in the Coſmography of the Univerſe. Very probable it is, that our Mother *Hevah* did from this promiſe conceive, that the Seed promiſed ſhould be, *Vir Jehovah*, a man, which ſhould be likewiſe the Lord God. But queſtionleſs ſhe did not imagine, much leſs believe, that this man, the Lord, ſhould be conceived and brought forth of a pure Virgin, for ſuch ſhe her ſelf was not when ſhe uttered that ſpeech, *poſſedi virum ipſum Jehovah*, as *Fagius* upon ſeveral *reviſes* reads it. Nor could the Parents of *Noah* imagine that their Son ſhould be ſo conceived or born, although (as many good Authors think) they miſtook him, as *Hevah* did *Cain*, for the promiſed womans Seed; preſume they might without preſumption, that the promiſed *Meſſias* was to proceed from *him* according to the fleſh, but ſeeing *Noah* had more Sons than one, it was not to him, or to others then living diſtinctly repreſented, from what branch of his ſtock he ſhould proceed; until *Noah*, by Divine inſtinct or inſpiration, did bequeath the Birth-right unto *Sem*; but *Sem* had many Sons, and his Poſterity was great, and it is not probable that *Sem* himſelf did know from which of them the Promiſed Seed ſhould iſſue, until the bleſſing which *Noah* beſtowed on *Sem*, was by God himſelf (and perhaps by *Sem* as Gods Embaſſador) beſtowed on *Abraham*, unto whom the former myſtery, concerning the Incarnation of the Son of God, was more diſtinctly repreſented both by word and fact, than it had been to any of his Anceſtors. He doubtleſs did conceive, that the *Seed* in whom all the Nations of the world were to be bleſſed, ſhould be God, the Son of God, be born after a more miraculous manner than his Son *Iſaac* had been: but *Abrahams* Seed by *Iſaac*, became more numerous than any mans before his time had been, and was divided into Twelve Tribes. In which of theſe Twelve Tribes the promiſed Seed was to be ſought for, was as uncertain, and as undiſtinct, as if we ſhould ſeek for the *Topography* of ſome particular Town of *England* in an ordinary Map of *Europe*. *Jacob* on his death-bed points at his Parentage in this generality, (*Gen.* 49. 10.) that he was

In his Comments upon the 4 first Chapters of Geneſis, *&* *in his Collations.*

was to ſpring out of *Judah*. But God by his Spirit directs the Church to ſeek him in the Genealogy of *Jeſſe* and *David* in the Land of *Judea*. *David* himſelf had a diſtinct repreſentation, that he ſhould not be his Son only, but that he who then was his Lord, ſhould become his Son, and be made *Prieſt* after the order of *Melchiſedech*; and no doubt but *David* conceived withal, that this his Lord and Son ſhould be born of a *Virgin*, not begotten by any man; for thus much the Holy Spirit, which ſpake to him, hath literally charactered unto us in that ſpeech, *Pſal.* 132. 11. *Of the fruit of thy womb will I ſet upon thy Throne*, &c. The ſame myſtery, or the performance of this promiſe made to *David*, is more diſtinctly unfolded by *Iſaiah*, *Cap.* 7. *ver.* 14. The Lord himſelf will give you a ſign, *Behold the Virgin ſhall conceive*, &c. But whether this long expected Son of *David* ſhould proceed from *Solomon* or any of his race, or from the race or linage of ſome other Son of *David*, this was not repreſented (for ought we read) either unto *David* or *Iſaiah*; and ſure the Author of the 89. *Pſalm*, (whether *David*, or rather ſome latter Prophet) was neſcient of this particular, and the interruption or exſtinction of *Solomons* line was (I take it) firſt revealed unto *Jeremiah*, and *Ezekiel*, and the accompliſhment of their Propheſies (of *Ezekiels* eſpecially) firſt acknowledged or obſerved by the Bleſſed Virgin in her [a] *Magnificat*. In *Davids* time the place of his conception and birth were not diſcovered. [b] *Iſaiah* firſt points at the place of his conception in particular, but [c] ænigmatically. *Jeremiah* deſcribes the place of his conception more plainly, yet in a far greater generality. That he was to be conceived in the Land of *Ephraim*, as it was divided from *Judah*. Yet haply if *Herod* had asked his Scribes and others, where the King of the Jews was to be conceived, it is queſtionable whether they could ſo clearly have reſolved him of the place of his conception, as they did certifie him of the diſtinct place of his birth. This they learned out of the Prophet *Micah*, *Chap.* 5. *ver.* 2.

3. That of our Apoſtle, *Heb.* 1. *ver.* 1. is exactly verified in reſpect of the Article now in handling. The Prophets and Holy men of God, or God by their Miniſtry ſpake of our Saviours conception and birth, πολυμερῶς, not at ſundry times only, or in ſeveral Ages of the Fathers, but *piece-meal*, or by ſcattered Predictions, πολυτρόπως, ſundry ways; ſometimes literally and plainly, ſometimes myſtically or ænigmatically. *But in this latter age he hath ſpoken unto us by his Son*, (or in his Son:) For even the hiſtorical paſſages of his conception and birth, though delivered unto us by his Evangeliſts, were ſpoken ἐν υἱῷ, his very conception, his birth and actions, as well as the words uttered by him, have their plain and full language, and if we take them as ſet down by the Evangeliſts, are as the putting together of all what the Prophets had ſpoken ſcatteredly, or repreſented by broken Pictures, or portions of Truth. After that main head or fountain of Propheſies was opened, and had his courſe drawn by God himſelf, not by any Prophet. [*I will put enmity between thee and him*, &c.] Every ſucceeding Age (eſpecially from the deluge) adds ſome new rills or petty ſtreams unto it, the full current of which is conſpicuous only in the Goſpel.

CHAP.

[a] Luke 1 52.

[b] Iſa. 11. 1. Iſa. 53. 2.

[c] *See the Treatiſe of Chriſts anſwer to* John *And* Nazareth *and* Bethlem.

Tome II.

CHAP. XXXII.

Saint Luke's *Narration of our Saviours Conception and Birth, and its exact concordance with the Prophets.*

TO begin with St. *Lukes* Narration of his Conception, *Cap.* 1. *ver.* 26. *In the ſixth month, the Angel* Gabriel *was ſent from God unto a City of* Galilee, *named* Nazareth, *to a Virgin eſpouſed to a man whoſe name was* Joſeph, *of the Houſe of* David, *and the Virgins name was* Mary. In theſe few lines we have the exact Chorography of thoſe general or more obſcure deſcriptions which *Iſaias* and *Jeremiah* had made of the place of his Conception; and in the words following we have the particular and moſt exact ſurvey of all Gods promiſes made to *David*, or related by other Prophets concerning that Son of *David*, who was to rule over *Jacob* for ever. When Saint *Luke* ſaith in the words forecited, *the Angel* Gabriel *was ſent in the ſixth month*, this may refer either to the time of *John Baptiſts* Conception (as in all probability it doth) *ver.* 36. *Behold, thy Couſin* Elizabeth *ſhe alſo hath conceived a Son in her old age, and this is the ſixth month with her, who was called barren:* Or it may refer unto the ſixth month of the year, according to the ancient and civil account of the Hebrews: for until the time of *Iſraels* delivery out of *Egypt*, the Month wherein *John Baptiſt* was conceived (which anſwers for the paſt part to our *September*) was the firſt month in which (as moſt latter Divines are of opinion) the World was Created. The Month *Abib* (which anſwers unto *March* with us) became obſervable to the *Iſraelites* from their deliverance in that Month out of *Egypt*, and continues in their Eccleſiaſtical Accompt the firſt in order. In the ſame Month the Conception of our Lord and Saviour was denounced by the Angel, and our deliverance by him from the powers of darkneſs afterwards accompliſhed, and well deſerves the title of the firſt Month ſince his Conception and Paſſion: but in whether of theſe two reſpects, or whether in both, the month wherein the Angel was ſent, be termed the ſixth month, is no matter of ſuch moment or conſideration, as the tenour of his meſſage, *ver.* 31. 32. *And behold thou ſhalt conceive in thy Womb, and bring forth a Son, and ſhalt call his name* Jeſus: *He ſhall be great, and ſhall be called the Son of the higheſt, and the Lord God ſhall give unto him the Throne of his Father* David. When the Angel ſaid, *He ſhall be great, and his mother ſhall call his name* JESUS, it is implied, that as yet he was not great, that he had not the beginning of that greatneſs which is here promiſed. And may it not be as rightly implied, that when he ſaith, *He ſhall be called the Son of the higheſt*, as yet he was not the Son of the higheſt, but firſt to brook the name of *Jeſus*, and then firſt to be *made* and called the Son of God, when he was become great, and had received the Throne of his Father *David*. But it is not without obſervation, that the Angel ſaith not, *He ſhall be the Son of the higheſt*, nor doth he ſay, that the bleſſed Virgin his Mother ſhould beſtow this name upon him, as *ſhe* did the name of *Jeſus*. The intent and meaning of the Holy Ghoſt in this place, is, that this fruit of the Virgins Womb, who was to be named *Jeſus* by his Mother, from his Circumciſion, ſhould be called the Son of the *higheſt*, not in regard of his future greatneſs as man, or as he was the promiſed *Son of David*, but by reaſon of his peculiar *aſſumption*, or union into the perſon of the Son of God, who was *Davids* Lord before he was conceived, and was publickly to be declared the Son of God by his Reſurrection from the dead. At which time, and not before, he took the eſpecial Government of that Kingdom upon him, which had ſo often been promiſed to the Son of *David*. This meaning of the Holy Ghoſt, the Evangeliſt doth open unto us, *Verſe* 33. *He ſhall raign over the Houſe of* Jacob *for ever, and of his Kingdom there ſhall be no end.*

2. Unleſs this *Holy* of *Holies*, who was now to be born of the Bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, had been the Son of God before this time, he ſhould in reaſon be called the Son of the Holy Ghoſt. For unto the Virgin *Mary*, demanding *how this ſhould be, ſeeing ſhe knew not a man, ver.*34. The Angel anſwered, *The Holy Ghoſt ſhall come upon thee, &c.* An Emphatical expreſſion of that which we believe in the Creed, *That the Holy Ghoſt ſhould work his Conception.* Now he who is Author of the conception of any perſon, which before ſuch a conception had no exiſtence, is in propriety of ſpeech to be reputed the Father of the party or perſon conceived. But this very perſon whom we now adore under that name or title of *Jeſus Chriſt our Lord*, being before all Worlds the true and only Son of God, albeit the Holy Ghoſt was the Author of his conception as man (a more principal cauſe and Author of his conception, than any mortal Father is of his mortal Son:) yet was not the fruit of the Virgins womb to be reputed the Son of the Holy Ghoſt, but of him alone who was the true and only Father of that *Perſon*, unto whom the fruit of the Virgins womb was by the operation of the Holy Ghoſt perſonally united. The Holy Ghoſt was not then the cauſe or Author of any new perſon, but only eſpouſed, or betroathed the Humane Nature of Chriſt (which before had no actual exiſtence) unto him who was the Son of God from Eternity. Now not he that gives, but he that takes the Spouſe given in Marriage, is the true Husband. And the Spouſe ſo taken, from her Eſpouſal, becomes the Daughter not of him that gives her in Marriage, but of the Father of her Husband, with whom ſhe is now made one fleſh. Thus God the Father (by this Eſpouſal thus wrought by the Holy Ghoſt) becomes the Father of the Humane Nature of *Jeſus*, which was now united unto his Son, after another manner than before he had been, of any man; and after another manner than the Holy Ghoſt was, or is the Father of the man *Chriſt Jeſus*. Chriſt then as God and man, is the only Son of God the Father: The ſame *Jeſus* only as man, is the Son of *David*.

3. That the promiſed *Meſſias* was, according to the Prophecies, to be the Son of *David*, is evident: but by what lineal deſcent he was to be the Son of *David*, or by what legal right the Kingdom of *David* was derived unto him, is not without queſtion amongſt Chriſtians. *David*, we know, by Gods free donation, was King of *Judah* and *Iſrael*, and *Solomon* by legal right did ſucceed him in his Kingdom. And *Solomons* Heirs or Succeſſors by bodily deſcent had as firm a title to the Kingdom of *David*, as any other Kings or Monarchs have to the Crowns and Dignities of their Anceſtors. But whether *Solomons* line by bodily deſcent, were utterly exſtinguiſhed before the conception or birth of our Saviour, is a point neither much debated, nor agreed upon by Divines. If it were extinguiſhed before that time,

yet *Davids* line did not determine with *Solomons*. And for this reaſon (haply) our Saviour is inſtyled by the Holy Ghoſt, *the Son of* David, not ſo of *Solomon*; albeit *Solomon* was as true a ſhadow of him as King, as *David* had been: And *Solomons* Kingdom, and raign a fairer Map of his Kingdom, than *Davids* was. And though our Saviour intermediate Anceſtors, according to the fleſh from *David* downward, were as many, as St. *Luke*, and more than St. *Matthew* relates: Yet he did immediately ſucceed *David* in the Kingdom. For ſo by the law of moſt Countries, *in caſe* the elder Brethrens Sons or Iſſues fail, the third or fourth Brother ſucceeds as lawful Heir, not unto his elder Brothers, or their Children, but to their Grandfather or firſt Donor. Many may be immediate Heirs unto them to whom they are no immediate Succeſſours in lineal deſcent. That *Solomon* and his line had no ſuch perpetuity beſtowed upon them by vertue of Gods Covenant with *David*, as that it might not determine before the promiſed ſeed of *David*, was exhibited, the tenour of that Covenant (as it is exemplified by the Author of the 89. Pſalm) puts out of queſtion; *I have ſound* David *my ſervant, with my holy oyl have I annointed him.* ver. 20. *He ſhall cry unto me, Thou art my Father, my God, and the rock of my ſalvation. Alſo I will make him my firſt born; higher than the Kings of the Earth: my mercy will I keep for him evermore: and my Covenant ſhall ſtand faſt with him. His ſeed alſo will I make to endure for ever, and his throne as the days of Heaven*, ver. 26, 27, 28, 29. This laſt he ſpeaks of *Davids ſeed* as of one, not of his *ſeeds* as of many. For ſo it follows, ver. 30. *If his Children forſake my Law, and walk not in my judgments, if they break my ſtatutes, and keep not my Commandments; then will I viſit their tranſgreſſions with the rod, and their iniquity with ſtripes.* This viſitation with rods and ſtripes imports more than fatherly chaſtiſements: true and real puniſhments. Yea, heavy judgments upon *Davids* other Children according to their deſerts. None are utterly exempted from Gods heavy diſpleaſure, beſides the promiſed *ſeed*, or *Davids Son* κατ' ἐξοχὴν, whoſe prerogative is in the next words reſerved by Oath, *Nevertheleſs my loving kindneſs will I not take from* David, *nor ſuffer my faithfulneſs to fail: my Covenant will I not break, nor alter the thing that is gone out of my lips, ver.* 33. This is in effect, as if he had ſaid, however *Davids* other Sons provoke me, I will not repent of that loving kindneſs which I promiſed to him; it ſhall be accompliſhed in *Davids* ſeed; for in reſpect of things alterable or reverſible, whether promiſed for the good of men, or threatned for their woe, God is uſually ſaid to repent, but to whatſoever he ſwears, of that he never repents. Every event ratified by Oath, is either unalterable or irreverſible. *The Lord hath ſworn*, ſaith *David Pſal.* 110. *and will not repent*, that is, he will not change or alter that which he hath promiſed. To alter that which was only promiſed, but without Oath, is in the phraſe of the Holy Ghoſt (as we uſually render the original) to fail or break Covenant, that is in more proper language, to reverſe a bleſſing promiſed. Hence it is added in the next verſe of the 89. Pſalm, [*Once have I ſworn by my holineſs, that I will not lye unto* David] that is, I will not make void my Covenant. *His ſeed ſhall endure for ever, and his throne as the Sun before me. It ſhall be eſtabliſhed for ever as the Moon, and as a faithful witneſs in Heaven.* This is that Throne, and that Kingdom which the Angel (*Luke* 1. 32, 33.) foretold ſhould be given unto the ſeed or fruit of the Virgins Womb. As for *Davids* other Children, or for *Solomons* race, their title to the temporary Crown of *David* was at the firſt but conditional,or rather mutable: for every conditional eſtate pre-ſuppoſeth a ſtate in being, but a ſtate mutable, or reverſible. Such was the ſtate of *Solomon*, or the heirs of his body, as well unto the Kingdom of *Judah* as of *Iſrael*. The Kingdom of *Iſrael* they utterly loſt in the ſecond deſcent. The next *Quære* is, whether this their eſtate unto *Judah* or *Iſrael*, which was by original tenor reverſible, were. *de facto*, utterly reverſed, and the Covenant (as it concerned them) finally cancelled.

4. And of this *Quære* the branches are two, firſt, whether *Solomons* line were utterly extinguiſhed before the return of *Judah* from the Babyloniſh Captivity, or in any Age before the Son of God, and the Promiſed Seed of *David* was manifeſted in the fleſh? The ſecond, whether in caſe the utter extinguiſhment of *Solomons* line be a point doubtful, or by any Authentick Author or record indeterminable; This line, were not in the ſame deſperate caſe, for recovering the Kingdom, that *Elies* race was for regaining the Prieſthood, from which it was by ſolemn oath depoſed? That *Solomons* line was utterly excluded from inheriting the Kingdom of *Judah* and *Jacob*, the Jews and Chriſtians for the moſt part agree: And the tenor of that terrible ſentence againſt *Jeconiah* (according to the principles acknowledged by both) will infer no leſs. *As I live, ſaith the Lord, though* Coniah, *the Son of* Jehoiakim, *King of* Judah, *were the ſignet upon my right hand, yet would I pluck thee thence: And I will give thee into the hand of them that ſeek thy life, and into the hand of them whoſe face thou feareſt, even into the hand of* Nebuchadnezzar *King of* Babylon, *and into the hand of the* Chaldeans. *And I will caſt thee out, and thy mother that bare thee, into another Country where ye were not born, and there ſhall ye dye. But to the Land, whereunto they deſire to return, thither ſhall they not return. Is this man* Coniah *a deſpiſed broken Idol? Is he a veſſel wherein is no pleaſure? Wherefore are they caſt out, he and his Seed, and are caſt into a Land which they know not? O earth, earth, earth, hear the word of the Lord, Thus ſaith the Lord, Write ye this man childleſs, a man that ſhall not proſper in his days: for no man of his Seed ſhall proſper ſitting upon the Throne of* David, *and ruling any more in* Judah, *Jerem.* 22. 24, 25, 26, &c. This laſt clauſe is (to me) a concludent proof, that the man Chriſt Jeſus was not of *Jeconiahs* Seed, becauſe he was to *ſit upon the Throne of David, and to proſper*; yea, to be the fountain of all Proſperity to Prince and People; And he that will avouch our Lord and Saviour to have been of the Seed of *Jeconiah*, will hardly be able to *fend off* that contradiction, which his aſſertion directly includes, not only to the Angels promiſe (*Luke* 1.33.) but unto the Prophet *Jeremiah*, Chap. 23. ver. 5. 6. *Behold the day is come, ſaith the Lord, that I will raiſe unto* David *a righteous branch, and a King ſhall raign and [proſper] and ſhall execute judgment and juſtice in the earth. In his days* Judah *ſhall be ſaved, and* Iſrael *ſhall dwell ſafely*, &c. The man Chriſt Jeſus is in this place (and elſewhere) inſtiled the branch of *David*, or a ſtem of the root of *Jeſſe*; but no where a branch of *Solomon*, or of his Seed, which (is moſt probable) did determine in *Jeconiah*, whom his Uncle *Zedekiah* did ſucceed for a while in the Kingdom of *Judah*, but with worſe ſucceſs. For *Ezekiels* denouncement againſt him, and the Crown of *Solomon*, was no leſs terrible than this of *Jeremiah* againſt *Coniah*: *And thou prophane wicked Prince of* Iſrael, *whoſe day is come, when iniquity ſhall*

have an end: Thus ſaith the Lord God, Remove the Diadem, and take off the Crown: this ſhall not be the ſame: exalt him that is low, and abaſe him that is high. I will overturn, overturn, overturn it, and it ſhall be no more, until he come whoſe right it is, and I will give it him, Ezech. 21. 25, 26, 27. The Contents of this denunciation (as I take it) are theſe eſpecially, *Both the* Crown *and the* Mitre [*the Enſigns of the Royal and Sacerdotal dignity*] *were ſo to be cruſhed, that neither ſhould remain the ſame they were.* The *Mitre* was to be caſt a new, but in a far leſs mould: the *Crown* to be broken, and the reliques of it to be united to the *Mitre*, both put together to remain, but as models of that dignity, which before they generally had, until the Royal and Princely dignity were united in him that had full right to both, that is, in the Promiſed Seed, or Son of *David*. The *readings* upon the 27 verſe, are various. The vulgar Latine (following the Septuagint) thus *iniquitatem ponam eam.* The *Zurick* or *Tigurine* thus, *curvam, curvam ponam eam.* And if this reading be juſt and ſtreight, it may ſerve as a character of that crooked deſcent and tortuous revolution of the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical power, from one Family unto another, not ſetling in any one line until the coming of the Son of *David*, unto whom *both* by right did belong. Yet ſome authority in all this *Tumble* did ſtill remain in the Tribe of *Judah*, though not in the race of *Solomon* or of *David*) until *Shiloh* came. And I know not whether that cited paſſage of *Ezekiel*, *ver.* 27. *It ſhall be no more* (to wit, the ſame that it was) *until he come whoſe right it is*, have not ſpecial reference to that Propheſie of *Jacob*, Gen. 49. 10. *The Scepter ſhall not depart from* Judah, *until* Shiloh *come, and unto him ſhall the gathering of the people be.* The Septuagint ſeem to interpret the name *Shiloh*, according to the ſame importance that אשרלו the original (as our Engliſh hath it, *Ezek.* 21. 27. [*whoſe right it is,*] as if *Shiloh* had been as much as *Aſherlo, cui repoſitum eſt.* But whether according to the ordinary rules of Grammar, *Shilo* may ſtand for as much as *Shello*, or whether the myſtery contained in this Propheſie might require or diſpence with ſome irregularity in the Grammatical form of ſpeech, I leave it to accurate Criticks, or ſacred Philologers: and ſo I do another queſtion which is emergent as well out of the fore-cited words of *Jacob*, as of *Ezekiel*, whether both Propheſies were to be underſtood of Chriſts firſt coming to judge *Jeruſalem* (unto which latter the words of *Ezekiel* ſeem moſt to incline, for ſo the original, *until he come to whom judgment belongeth.*) I reſt contented with this part of the Prophet *Ezekiels* undoubted meaning, that neither the Civil, nor the Eccleſiaſtick Dignity of *Judah*, were to be the ſame they were, until the coming of the expected *Meſſias*, and yet ſome reliques of both to remain until his coming.

5. Some of the Prieſtly line after this peoples return from *Babylon*, did take upon them to exerciſe Princely authority, (as the *Maccabees*) but with more honour for a while, than with good ſucceſs for Poſterity. Others afterwards did attempt the like, but were put by it, yet permitted or authorized by the *Romans* to exerciſe the Prieſtly Function, ſome of them executed for their mutinous aſpiring to the Crown. Laſtly, when they became Competitors for the Royal Dignity, it was collated upon *Antipater*, and from him derived (or ſuffered by *Auguſtus* to deſcend) on *Herod* the great, in whoſe days the promiſed Seed of *David*, the true heir unto the Crown of *Judah* was born. But though *Herod* did exerciſe Royal Juriſdiction over *Judæa*,

as well as over other Neighbouring Provinces, yet was he not created King over *Judea*, this was no part of his Royal Title beſtowed upon him by *Antonius*. The firſt ſolemn authorized Title of King of *Judah*, from the captivity of King *Jeconiah* and *Zedekiah*, was that Inſcription written upon our Saviours Croſs, written by *Pilates* command, ſo peremptorily, that the Jews could not get a change or reverſion of it in any of the three languages wherein it was written [*Jeſus Nazarenus Rex Judæorum.*] *Pilate*, I take it, did not in this Inſcription intend the ſcoff or ſcorn of our Saviour, or of the Jewiſh Nation, but only the ſtyle, or title of the crime for which our Saviour was endited: He neither affirmed nor denyed him to be the King of the Jews, but that which the world might conceive was written in jeſt or in ſcoff, the God of *Iſrael* made good in earneſt, by making this Jeſus whom *Pilate* and the Jews had Crucified, *both Lord and Chriſt*, that is, a far greater King than *Cæſar* himſelf, whom they acknowledge their only King.

6. *Joſeph* his ſuppoſed Father (in all * probability) was dead before this time of our Saviours paſſion, ſo that the lineal right of the Crown of *David* was now in Chriſt, as the only Son of the Virgin *Mary*, who had no Child by *Joſeph* her Husband, nor he any Son by any former Wife; ſo that the whole right unto the Crown of *David*, which either or both of them had, was by legal deſcent devolved upon this dying man, who after his great Humiliation was to be more highly exalted, and in him alone that which was ſaid by the Prophet *Ezekiel* was accompliſhed, *exalt him that is low, and abaſe him that is high*. And yet the ſame Propheſie had been at ſeveral times verified, or fulfilled in part before. And firſt, perhaps, in *Jeconiah*, who after the debaſing of *Zedekiah*, his Uncle by *Nebuchadnezzar*, was exalted above other Captives by *Nebuchadnezzars* Son *Evil-Merodach*. And again more punctually (according to the Prophets meaning) in *Zorobabel*, and other of *Davids* line, after *Solomons* line was either extinguiſhed or depoſed; but more fully afterwards in the Bleſſed Virgin, as ſhe expreſſes her thankfulneſs for it in her ſweet ſong, *Luke* 1. 52. *He hath put down the mighty from their ſeat, and hath exalted the humble and the meek*. Whether the Bleſſed Virgin in her own right, or *Joſeph* her Husbands while he lived, were the next heir unto the Crown of *David*, is diſputed by others, unto whoſe determinations I have nothing to ſay in this place. Whatſoever right, either or both of them had, was (I take it) derived from *David* by *Nathan*, not by *Solomon* or his Succeſſors. *Joſeph* and *Mary* were heirs to the Kingdom which *Solomon* did enjoy, though not of his Seed: and ſo were *Salathiel*, and *Zorobabel*, from whom they directly deſcended.

* *Otherwiſe our Saviour at his death would not have commended his mother unto Saint* Johns *care, but unto her husbands.*

2 Kings 25. 27, 28.

7. But whether her Son ſhould be the lawful heir of *David*, was no part of the Bleſſed Virgins doubt or queſtion to the Angel. But how ſhe ſhould conceive a Son, according to the purport of the Angels promiſe, that ſhe queſtions, *Luke* 1. 24. *Then ſaid* Mary, *how ſhall this be, ſeeing I know not a man?* To omit the idle fancies of ſome, who would hence collect that the Bleſſed Virgin had vowed chaſtity in ſingle life, as if, *I know not a man*, had been as much, as *I am reſolved never to know man*; The truth is, that however ſhe was at this time eſpouſed unto *Joſeph*, yet the marriage was not to be conſummated till ſome competent ſpace after the Eſpouſals, within which time ſhe did rightly apprehend the conception fore-told her

by the Angel, was to be accompliſhed, or rather from the very time of this preſent dialogue; and hence ſhe demands, how it was poſſible that ſhe ſhould inſtantly conceive, ſeeing ſhe knew not a man; yet are not theſe words of diſtruſt, they have no tincture of ſuch incredulity or ſlow belief, as we find taxed in *Sarah*, and *Zachariah* Father to *John Baptiſt*; yet were both *Sarah*, and *Elizabeth*, the Wife of *Zachariah*, types or ſhadows of the Bleſſed Virgins miraculous conceiving. So were *Hannah* and *Sampſons* Mother. The conception of all their Sons (and they were reſpectively their only Sons) was wonderful, and without the ordinary courſe of nature; peculiar bleſſings of him, *that maketh the barren to be a joyful Mother of Children.* *Sarah* and *Hannah*, and *John Baptiſts* Parents, had been Petitioners to the Lord of Life for Children, and had their Petitions ratified, one by the Prieſt, and others by the Angel of the Lord. But *Sampſon* was promiſed to *Manoahs* Wife by the Angel of the Lord, without any Petition on her part made to this purpoſe, and promiſed withal to be a deliverer of his people from the *Philiſtines.* And in this particular, or in the manner of the Angelical Annunciation, the birth of *Sampſon* was a more lively type of the birth of our Saviour, albeit this conception of *Sampſon* was not ſo ſtrange as that of *Iſaac.* That *Sarah* in her decrepit age ſhould conceive a Son, was a matter incredible, and unparallel'd in any age of the world before or ſince, yet not properly miraculous. *Through Faith* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *Heb.* 11. 11.) Sarah *received ſtrength to conceive Seed, and was delivered of a Child when ſhe was paſt age* (either for conceiving Seed, or for bringing it forth conceived, yet both ſhe did) *becauſe ſhe judged him faithful who had promiſed.* The Faith by which ſhe conceived ſtrength was the gift of God, and the ſtrength which ſhe conceived by this Faith, was ſuch a wondrous effect, as theſe gifts which are attributed to the Faith of miracles. But *Sarah* having received this ſtrength by Faith, the conception was according to the courſe of nature, *It was with her after the manner of women*; not ſo with the Virgin *Mary*, who became Bleſſed by believing the Angel: She did not receive ſtrength to conceive Seed; the performance of thoſe things which were foretold by the Angel were from the Lord himſelf. * *Vnleſs ſhe had believed, ſhe had not been eſtabliſhed*; yet her belief did co-operate with the effect promiſed. That was the immediate work of the Holy Ghoſt by marrying part of her ſubſtance to the Perſon of the Son of God, after a manner unknown to her. There was not firſt a marriage, and then a conception, nor a conception firſt and then a mariage, both were accompliſhed at once.

* See Iſa. 7.9.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Saint Matthews *relation of the manner of our Saviours Conception and Birth, and of the Harmony betwixt it and the Propheſies.*

IT is well obſerved by divers good Writers, that Saint *Matthew* begins the Genealogy of our Saviour Chriſt not from *Adam*, where Saint *Luke* (*ordine retrogrado*) ends it: but (*ordine recto*) from *Abraham*, becauſe the Covenant of the Promiſed Seed was firſt by oath eſtabliſhed in *Abrahams* line, and afterwards more particularly in *Davids*, whoſe Son and Heir our Saviour was, though Son by adoption, or next Heir in reverſion unto *Jeconiah*, who was the laſt (as theſe Authors think) of *Solomons* line: the laſt at leaſt that could pretend unto the Kingdom of *David*. And though it be ſaid in our Saviours Genealogie according to St. *Matthew*, that *Jeconiah* begat *Salathiel*; yet this cannot be meant of a natural begetting, but of a civil. He was the Son of *Salathiel* in ſuch a ſenſe as the Holy Ghoſt uſeth in the ſecond Pſalm, ver. 7. *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee*: to wit, unto the Kingdom of *Iſrael*; if this place be literally to be underſtood of *David*, (as the moſt probable opinion is,) though afterwards to be myſtically fulfilled only in Chriſt, who is not only Gods only begotten Son from Eternity, but his firſt begotten from the dead, and ſo made King of Kings, and Lord of Lords. But of theſe points in their due place.

2. *The Birth of Jeſus Chriſt* (ſaith S. *Matthew*, Chap. 1. verſ. 18. &c.) *was on this wiſe. When as his mother Mary was eſpouſed to Joſeph, before they came together, ſhe was found with Child of the Holy Ghoſt. Then Joſeph her husband being a juſt man, and not willing to make her a publick example, was minded to put her away privily. But while he thought on theſe things, behold the Angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a dream, ſaying, Joſeph thou Son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wiſe; for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghoſt. And ſhe ſhall bring forth a Son, and thou ſhalt call his name Jeſus, for he ſhall ſave his people from their ſins.* In this narration ſome ſpecial paſſages are expreſly the ſame with the former related out of S. *Luke*, as that our Saviour was conceived by the Holy Ghoſt of the Virgin *Mary*, or in the Virgin *Mary*. So S. *Matthew*, to denote that the bleſſed Virgin was no agent in this conception, ſaith, *that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghoſt*, Chap. 1. verſ. 20.

This, I take it, is of the ſame Character with that meſſage of the Angel unto the bleſſed Virgin her ſelf in S. *Luke*, Chap. 1. verſ. 31. Καὶ ἰδοὺ συλλήψῃ ἐν γαστρί. *Behold thou ſhalt conceive in thy womb*, not ἐν γαστρὶ ἕξεις *thou ſhalt be with Child and bring forth a Son*, as the Angel ſaid unto the Wife of *Manoah* (*Judg.* 13. 3.) and to others which beyond expectation or courſe of nature did conceive and bring forth ſons of promiſe. Both Evangeliſts again expreſly tell us, that the Virgin *Mary* was eſpouſed to *Joſeph* the Son of *David*, before the Angel *Gabriel* did bring this meſſage unto her; hereby giving us to underſtand, that the works which the Devil had wrought in our nature ſhould in this particular (as in many others) be undone by God, after the ſame way and method that they were done by this his Enemy. The firſt woman we know did conceive ſin, whilſt ſhe was a Virgin, at leaſt before ſhe knew her husband *Adam*, who was the only man then on Earth: for ſhe was a Virgin eſpouſed from her firſt Creation. This firſt woman conceived Death by believing the Serpent, and practiſing according to his Counſel, before ſhe had conſulted her Huſband. The bleſſed Virgin did conceive the Lord of life by believing the Angel *Gabriels* meſſage without conſent or adviſe of her betroathed Huſband, who at the firſt ſuſpected her loyalty, but afterwards (admoniſhed by the Holy Ghoſt) did admit of her as his lawful conſort, did permit her to enjoy all the priviledges of a wife, and her Son the priviledges of his only Son and Heir, without any further knowledge of her as his Wife.

Tome II.

3. St. *Luke* gives us the Chronology of our Saviours Birth more diſtinctly than St. *Matthew* doth; *It came to paſs* (ſaith he) *in thoſe days, that there went out a decree from* Cæſar Auguſtus, *that all the World ſhould be taxed,* or *booked.* Chap. 2. ver. 1. The exact year from the giving of the Law, or from the return of *Judah* from Captivity, neither of the Evangeliſts do meddle with in the ſtory of our Saviours Birth; and for this reaſon I omit them. The other circumſtances concerning the time wherein (according to the Roman Account) he he was born, with the place, were more uſeful for us; becauſe theſe were, or might have been, known to all other Nations, not to the Jews only, out of the Roman Annals. It is agreed by all, that *Jeſus* was born in the time of *Auguſtus,* and in the days of *Herod* the King. If any be deſirous to know the exact year, wherein he was born, the beſt rule for his direction in this ſearch muſt be to find out the time of that tax or inrollment, mentioned by St. *Luke,* Chap. 2. ver. 1, 2, &c.

Now this taxing or inrolling, was firſt made when *Cyrenius* was Governour of *Syria,* and that (as all agree) was either in the beginning of the 42, or in the latter end of the 41, of *Auguſtus.* Yet whether this taxing or inrollment of every perſon capable of ſuch inrollment, were not decreed, or intended before by *Auguſtus,* though firſt put in execution whilſt *Cyrenius* was Governour of *Syria,* may admit ſome doubt or queſtion: however, we are to calculate the time of our Saviours Birth from the time in which this Decree was put in execution throughout *Judea,* not from the time of the firſt deſign, or intention of *Auguſtus* to have ſuch a tax or inrollment of all that were Subjects to the Roman Empire.

4. The *Spaniſh* Nation, as well for their civil as Eccleſiaſtick Acts, did for a long time after they became Chriſtians, uſe a Computation of years different from all other Chriſtian States or Kingdoms. For all beſides them (as far as I have obſerved) begin their Computation from our Lords Incarnation or Birth, which was at the ſame time that this Decree of *Auguſtus* was put in execution through *Judea.* The *Spaniards* begun their *Æra* (ſo they call their computation) ſome 27. years more or leſs before this time, and as ſundry of their ancient Writers think from that time wherein *Auguſtus* did firſt reſolve upon this taxing and inrolling of all the families under his juriſdiction, and that (as they alledge) was firſt thought on, and ingroſſed at *Tarracone* in *Spain,* after he had fully ſubdued the *Cantabrians* and others which had revolted from him in *Spain.*

5 But this moſt probable opinion of many ancient Writers (as others of like nature uſually do) ſuffers ſome prejudice by impertinent and diſprovable allegations ſought out for the confirmation of it. “First, The Writers take it as granted, that the Decree ſet forth “by *Auguſtus* in *Spain,* was for raiſing a general *tax* or *tribute* through-“out all his Dominions, that this Tribute was to be paid in braſs, a “currant Coin amongſt the Romans, aſwel for the payment of Soul-“diers, as for the diſcharge of civil contracts, or mulcts wherein they “were condemned. And from this ſuppoſition (which will not be granted them) theſe Writers conjecture that the word *Æra* took its original. Hence they call this Decree of *Auguſtus, ærea conſtitutio,* as if the word *Æra* which (in their language) is the computation of times or years, were the plural, (though not warrantable by *Priſcian*) of the Latine *Æs,* afterwards by common uſe made a Noun ſingular.

But this ſuppoſition it ſelf, [that the Ἀπογραφὴ whereof St. *Luke* ſpeaks, ſhould import as much as a general tax or tribute] is confuted by * *Sepulveda* a profeſſed *Spaniſh* Antiquary, and Chronicler unto *Charles* the Fifth. And if his obſervations fail not, the Romans did not receive their Tribute or Taxes either in braſs or gold, but in ſilver only. And becauſe the impoſition of Tribute or Tax is always ungrateful to conquered Provinces or people, it is an opinion in *Sepulveda* his judgment void of probability, that the *Spaniards* ſhould begin their computation of time from ſuch a diſtaſtful Decree, but rather from the immunities or priviledges which *Auguſtus* did beſtow upon that Nation. For ſo the Jews begin their *Æra*, or computation of time from their joyful deliverance out of *Egypt*, and from the reſtauration by *Cyrus* and his Succeſſors; as we Chriſtians do ours from the Birth or Conception of our Saviour Chriſt. As for the Latine *Æra*, that *Sepulveda* firſt, and divers other good Writers after him, derive more properly from a miſtake of ancient Writers not ſo well acquainted as they might have been, with the abbreviations uſed in the date of publick civil Acts. Now the ancient *Spaniards* did date ſuch Acts, (as we do) by the raign of our Kings; but they of *Auguſtus* eſpecially after this manner *A. E. R. A*; which ſtood for as much as *Annus erat Auguſti*, (ſuppoſe 20, 30, 40, &c.) But ſucceeding ages ignorant of this manner of writing, putting the former ſcattered letters or ſyllables together, made one entire word of them *AERA*, or *ÆRA*.

* Vide Sepulvedæ Cordubenſis de correctione anni menſiumq; Romanorum tractatum.

6. Yet to grant this learned Critick all that he demands concerning this point, he errs no leſs (to my apprehenſion) in his peremptory negative inferences, than thoſe Writers whom he refutes, had done in their affirmative conjectures concerning the original of the word *ÆRA*, or the ſuppoſed occaſion of it. His intended concluſion, is that this *ÆRA* or computation of time (which is peculiar to the *Spaniards*) hath no reference to the Decree of *Auguſtus* mentioned by St. *Luke Chap.* 2. whereas *Gerundenſis*, beſides other good Spaniſh Writers, brings poſitive proof that the ἀπογραφὴ whereof St. *Luke* ſpeaks (were it a tax, or as *Sepulveda* will have it, an inrollment or booking of ſeveral Tribes or Families, or of particular perſons in every Family) was projected by *Auguſtus* in *Spain*, immediately after he had ſubdued his rebellious people there, as preſuming that all the World beſides, (at leaſt all that did yield obedience to the Roman Empire) had been quiet. But finding oppoſition in other Countries beyond his expectation, he did defer the execution of the former decree until all were quiet within the Empire; until bordering, or neighbour Countries had profeſſed their deſire of peace, or were admitted into a league of amity with the Romans. Now this being done, the decree was firſt put in execution throughout the whole Empire, at the time (mentioned by St. *Luke*) of our Saviours Birth. *In thoſe dayes,* (ſaith St. *Luke*) *there went out a decree from* Cæſar Auguſtus, *that all the World ſhould be taxed or enrolled.* Theſe words *in thoſe days* may either punctually refer unto the days between our Saviours Conception and Birth, or unto ſome longer time between the firſt ſetting forth of this decree or deſign of *Auguſtus*, and the execution of it. So St. *Luke* in the 2. verſe tells us, that this taxing or inrolling was *firſt made, when* Cyrenius *was Governour of* Syria, *and all went to be taxed or enrolled every one into his own City.* A thing, I take it, neither neceſſary nor uſual among the Romans for gathering

Vide librum decimum Paralipomenωn Gerundenſis Epiſcopi.

ing of publick taxes or tribute, which might be done either at the place of their dwellings, or in ſome chief Cities wherein they were enjoyned to pay them. Other Chriſtian Nations begin their *ÆRA* or *Computation* of time from the execution of this Decree, which falls upon the time of our Saviours Birth. The *Spaniſh* Nation begun theirs from the firſt ſetting forth or deſign of this enrollment, which jumps with the time of *Auguſtus* his gracious Raign over them, and their admiſſion into his ſpecial favour.

7. The defering of the execution of this Decree, upon the occaſions mentioned by *Gerundenſis* and other Spaniſh Writers, is moſt agreeable to the admirable courſe of Gods proceeding in like caſes; whoſe pleaſure it is, to diſpoſe and order the projects of greateſt Princes, either quite contrary to their intentions, or to divert them from the point at which they level, unto the punctual fulfilling of his will revealed, or the predictions of his Prophets. Had *Auguſtus* gone on with his former purpoſe of inrolling all his Subjects inſtantly after his Victory upon the *Cantabrians*, there had been no publick record that *Joſeph* and *Mary* were of the linage of *David*; The bleſſed Virgin being at that time, according to the common calculation of her years, unborn, at leaſt uncapable of the eſpouſals, or of inrollment: For (as I take it) the Romans did not intend to inroll Children or Infants. Or if in any years, intercurrent between the begining of the Spaniſh *ÆRA*, and that point of time which St. *Luke* mentions, the former decree had taken effect in *Judea*, the Son of *David* had not been brought forth in the City of *David*. For neither had *Joſeph* or *Mary* any other purpoſe or occaſion to viſit *Bethleem*, beſides obedience to the Emperours Decree for their inrollment at the prime ſeat of their Family, and perhaps for paying ſome head-ſilver, or admiſſion money. But God in his unſearchable wiſdom devolves the execution of *Auguſtus* intention or purpoſe upon this very point of time, to the end it might appear upon Authentick Record, that both *Joſeph* the ſuppoſed Father, and *Mary* the undoubted Mother of our Lord and Saviour, (unto both whom he was the true and lawful Heir) were of the ſtock and linage of *David*, and that this promiſed ſeed of *David*, and branch of *Jeſſe*, which had come into his Mothers Womb in *Nazareth*, might come into the World in *Bethleem*, where *David* was born, and *Jeſſe* dwelt. It is not probable that the Romans did regiſter his birth there; yet this the Lord would have authentically notified unto the World by the repairing of the wiſe men from the Eaſt to do their homage unto him there, and that by the direction of the Chief Prieſts and Scribes being conſulted by *Herod* the King. Of the compaſs of time in which, or of the place from which theſe wiſe men came to *Bethleem*, in its due time and place. But our Saviour was born before they ſet forth, and born at *Bethleem* upon the occaſions mentioned by St. *Luke*, and as St. *Matthew* intimates, to the end, that the fulfilling of a Prophecy concerning his birth might be ſo remarkably recorded, as it might leave both Jew and Gentile without excuſe. That *Bethleem* was the place deſigned by God for the birth of the promiſed Meſſias, was a notion clear and evident to the chief Prieſts and Scribes, at the time when *Herod* conſulted them. For as then they had conceived no prejudice againſt the perſon, birth, or life of our Saviour: Nor had the malice of their heart wrought any Eclipſe in their brains or underſtanding: they had their anſwer *ad unguem*. *When* Herod *the King* (ſaith St. *Mat-*

thew *heard this thing, he was troubled, &c. And when he had gathered all the chief Prieſts and Scribes together* ἐπυνθάνετο, he conſulted them (as Oracles) where Chriſt ſhould be born. *And they ſaid unto him,* (without diſtraction, or ſcattering of ſuffrages) *in* Bethleem *of* Judea. *For thus it is written by the Prophet; And thou* Bethleem *in the land of* Judah, *art not the leaſt among the Princes of* Judah. *For out of thee ſhall come a Governour, that ſhall rule my people* Iſrael. It is not ſtrange if the chief Prieſts and Scribes were ſo ready with their anſwers unto *Herod,* ſeeing this prenotion concerning the place of the Meſſiahs birth, was known unto the vulgar people. *Many of the people* (ſaith St. John) *when they heard this ſaying, ſaid, Of a truth this is the Prophet: Others ſaid, This is the Chriſt. But ſome ſaid, ſhall Chriſt come out of* Galilee? *Hath not the Scripture ſaid, that Chriſt cometh of the ſeed of* David, *and out of the Town of* Bethleem, *where* David *was?*

8. But how clear ſoever the meaning of the Prophet *Micah* in thoſe days were both to Prieſt and people: ſome variation there is in the words of St. *Matthew,* from the words of the Prophet, as they ſtand in the original: at which, both latter Jews, and ſome Chriſtians take more offence than the ancient Jews could have done. And if this variation were of any moment, or could miniſter juſt offence, either to the Jew, to the Grecian, or to the *Church* of God, all the blame were to be layed upon theſe Scribes and Prieſts, whom *Herod* in his perplexity did conſult. For St. *Matthew* in this particular was but the Regiſter of their anſwer, which he did record in the ſame words that they ſolemnly made it. The words of the Prophet in the Original, as they are now pointed, run thus: *And thou* Bethleem Ephratah, *though thou be little among the thouſands of* Judah; *yet out of thee ſhall he come forth unto me, that is to be Ruler in* Iſrael, *whoſe goings forth have been from old, from everlaſting.* Micah 5. 2. The anſwer of the Prieſts and Scribes, as it ſtands upon record by S. *Matthew,* is *verbatim* thus; *And thou* Bethleem *in the land of* Judea (in clearer diſtinction from *Bethleem* in the Tribe of *Zebulon,* in which Tribe, or upon whoſe borders our Saviour was conceived, than the Prophets words import, for *That* (it may be) might as truly brook the name of *Ephrata*) οὐδαμῶς ἐλαχίστη εἶ ἐν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν Ἰούδα, *nequaquam minima es inter principatus, aut Chiliadas Judæa, Art nothing leſs than the leaſt of all the Seigniories or diviſions of* Judah. For ſo it ſeems they did divide their Tribes or Provinces, as we do Shires or Counties into ſeveral Hundreds or Liberties. Some good Writers, whom our Engliſh followeth, ſeek to ſalve this ſeeming contradiction between the Prophet and Evangeliſt, or that anſwer which he relates, made by the chief Prieſts and Scribes to *Herod,* thus; But thou, (or as for thee) O *Bethleem Ephrata,* though thou be little to be reckoned among the Seigniories or thouſands of *Judea,* yet out of thee ſhall he come forth unto me, that is to be Ruler in *Iſrael,* &c. But this ſquaring of the Prophets words to our Evangeliſts relation, is ſomewhat harſh and rugged to the modern Jew, who ſeeks to frame his ſteps according to the plain trodden literal ſenſe. And therefore ſeeing both Chriſtians and Jews, as well ancient as modern, agree that the promiſed Meſſias was to be born in *Bethleem:* the variation of the reading in the Prophet, and in the Evangeliſt ſhould not in reaſon be too much ſtood upon by either; yet ſeeing we are bound to give no offence to the Jew, nor to preſs any reading, at which they may ſtumble,

being enclined to trip at every ſcruple; we may (I take it) with the liking and approbation of *Druſius* (an exquiſite Hebrician for point of Grammar) and without the diſlike of any learned Jew, read the firſt words of the Prophet *Micah*, by way of interrogation, thus, And art thou *Bethleem Ephrata* little, or too little to be reputed among the principalities of *Judah?* Now this interrogation according to both their rules and ours, is equivalent to the negative uſed by our Evangeliſt οὐδαμῶς ἐλαχίστη *nequaquam minima*, thou art in no wiſe little, or too little to have place among the Seigniories or principalities of *Judea.* This interrogation being preſuppoſed, the words following naturally, admit this paraphraſtical ſupply; little thou art, and for a long time haſt been *in re*, but great *in ſpe: For out of thee ſhall he come forth to me which ſhall be the Ruler over* Iſrael, *whoſe going forth hath been of old, from everlaſting*; foretold and expected before *Judah* was a Kingdom, or *David* a King, from the beginning of the World, of Mankind, and ever ſince the fall of the firſt Man *Adam.*

CHAP. XXXIV.

The manner of our Saviours Conception and Birth, as it was foretold by the Prophet Iſaiah, *exactly fulfilled. The Jews exceptions againſt St.* Matthews *allegation of the Prophet* Iſaiahs *teſtimony, with the full anſwer unto them.*

MICAH foretells the particular place of the Son of Davids Birth in terms plain and literal. *Jeremiah* the place of his Conception in general, as *Iſaiah* had done before in particular, but both ſomewhat ænigmatically. The manner of his Conception and Birth (abſtracted from theſe circumſtances of place and time) is moſt emphatically foretold by *Iſaiah*, and as I take it, ſome few years before *Micah* did ſo punctually deſcribe the place of his Birth. *Micah* (as it is upon ſacred record) *Jerem.* 26. 18, 19. propheſied in the days of *Hezekiah*, and ſo did *Iſaias.* But whether any prophecy of *Micah* bear date before the raign of *Hezekiah*, is to me uncertain: And that prophecy of *Micah* before-mentioned, *Chap.* 5. *ver.* 2. *And thou* Bethleem *in the land of* Judea, *&c.* in all probability, was delivered in the days of *Hezekiah*, and after that other prophecy, *Micah* 3. 12. Sion *ſhall be plowed like a field, &c.* Whereas the prophecy of *Iſaias* concerning the manner of Chriſts Conception and Birth was uttered by him *viva voce*, in the days of King *Ahaz*, who was Father to *Hezekiah*, as appears *Iſaiah* 7. 1. unto the 17. The prophecy was, *Hear ye now O Houſe of* David, *is it a ſmall thing for you to weary men, but will you weary my God alſo? Therefore the Lord himſelf ſhall give you a ſign; Behold, a Virgin* (or the Virgin) *ſhall conceive and bear a Son, and ſhall call his name* Emmanuel. This is the firſt prophecy alledged by St. *Matthew, Chap.* 1. where having regiſtred the Angels ſpeech to *Joſeph* in a Viſion by night, *ver.* 19. [*Then* Joſeph *her Husband being a juſt man, and not willing to make her a publick example, was minded to put her away privily. But while he thought on theſe things, behold the Angel of the Lord appeared to him in a dream, ſaying;* Joſeph *thou Son of* David, *fear not to take unto thee* Mary *thy Wife:*

for that which is conceived in her, is of the Holy Ghoſt] he thus concludeth: *Now all this was done, that it might be fulfilled which was ſpoken of the Lord by the Prophet.*

2. *Junius* in his parallel upon this 22 verſe, and the fore-cited teſtimony of *Iſaiah*, moveth a queſtion, neither ſo curious nor ſo dangerous as pertinent [whether theſe words be the collections or interpretations of St. *Matthew*, or whether in this hiſtorical relation he were only the Regiſter of the Angels ſpeech to *Joſeph*, as in the fore-cited teſtimony out of *Micah*, he was of the chief Prieſts and Scribes anſwer unto *Herods* demand, concerning the place where the *Meſſias* ſhould be born.] This good Writer is of opinion, that the Angel himſelf did unfold the true intent and purpoſe of the Holy Ghoſt in that Propheſie unto *Joſeph*, as a principal argument to perſwade him not to put away *Mary* his eſpouſed Wife, but entertain her, and her Son with the ſame reſpect and love, as if the Child conceived in her had been as well his only begotten Son as hers. But however the Angels preſence and manner of ſpeech did afford abundant ſatisfaction to *Joſephs* perplexed thoughts for the preſent; yet to prevent all future *regretings*, after the Angels departure from them (when haply the dream or viſion might be partly forgotten, or the truth of it ſuſpected) it was convenient to acquaint him with the word of the Lord, written long before to the ſame purpoſe; for that was permanent, and beyond all exception or ſuſpicion. And ſeeing it was ſo clearly fore-told by the Prophet, that a Virgin ſhould conceive, and bring forth a Son, who ſhould be a ſign or pledge of comfort to the houſe of *David*, it could not ſeem ſtrange or improbable to *Joſeph*, that his eſpouſed Wife, who, as he himſelf alſo, was of the lineage of *David*, ſhould be the Virgin meant by the Holy Ghoſt in that Propheſie. Saint *Matthew* then did learn the true meaning of the Prophet by the Angel, and this meaning of it being avouched by both, there can be no queſtion amongſt Chriſtians of the concludent proof and efficacy of the Propheſie it ſelf, as it is alledged by Saint *Matthew*. We may not ſuſpect or think that it was fulfilled only by way of accommodation, or alluſion, as in the judgment of ſome modern Divines, divers other Scriptures are; which yet are ſaid by our Evangeliſt to be fulfilled, or for the fulfilling of which, many events hiſtorically related by them, are ſaid to be done, or come to paſs.

3. Yet even this moſt pregnant teſtimony of that grand myſtery of our Faith, [that Chriſt was conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, and born of the Virgin *Mary*] is ſhrewdly oppoſed by the Modern Jews; and their oppoſitions to our uſual interpretations of this Propheſie, are more fiercely maintained by them, becauſe it is in it ſelf ſo pregnant. Firſt, They object that the original word *Gnalma*, doth not always import a Virgin, but ſometimes a Child-bearing woman; that in this place it points at the Prophets preſent Wife, who before this time had brought him forth Children, one at leaſt, and was now to bring him forth another, which was to be the *Emmanuel* here meant. But this grammatical exception againſt the original word, is the weakeſt they bring, and is clearly refuted by *Junius* and many others; and were it granted that the original word might ſometimes import a Childbearing Woman (which is a conceipt of theirs, as fooliſh, as impious) yet could it not in this place denote the Prophets preſent Wife. It is queſtioned whether the Prophet at this time had any Wife at all, though it be apparent that *Iſaias* had been married before

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ſore this time, from the third verſe of the ſeventh Chapter, [*Then ſaid the Lord unto* Iſaias, *Go forth now to meet* Ahaz, *thou and* Shear-jaſhub *thy Son*] a Son, no doubt, lawfully begotten. But if his Mother had been then living, or if ſhe had been *Hagnalma*, that *Virgin* or *Woman*, in whom the Prophet did mean to inſtance in particular, there ſhould have been mention of her coming, as well as of her Sons *Shear jaſhub*, with *Iſaiah*, to meet *Ahaz* at the place appointed by the Lord himſelf; for all things contained in his Propheſie, the very circumſtances of time and place, are particularized moſt exactly.

4. Secondly, the Jews object, that if our Saviour Chriſt had been the Seed here promiſed, or if the Bleſſed Virgin, or *Joſeph* her Huſband had known thus much, they would have called him *Emmanuel*, not Jeſus, at his Circumciſion; at leaſt, this ſhould have been his uſual name. For ſo the Prophet expreſly ſaith, *And thou ſhalt call his name* Emmanuel, whereas the Angel enjoyneth the Virgin to call her Son *Jeſus*.

The third and main exception, which they preſs moſt fiercely, is, that the Child here promiſed (whoſoever were to be his Mother) was to be a pledge of that ſtrange deliverance of *Ahaz* and his People (within ſome few years after) from the confederacy of *Syria* and *Ephraim*, who had then projected the utter extirpation of the houſe of *David*. Now every ſign, is either of ſome future event to be exhibited after the ſign is given, or an aſſurance that thoſe things which are ſaid to be fore-told in the name of the Lord, were ſo fore-told by God indeed, not pretended only by the Prophet. If this *Emmanuel* were to be a ſign and pledge to *Ahaz* and his people, that the Lord would deliver them beyond their expectation from their preſent Enemies, he was (according to the literal and hiſtorical purport of the Prophets words) to be born before this deliverance was accompliſhed. If he were only to be a ſign or aſſurance that the words which *Iſaias* ſpake to *Ahaz*, were ſpoken by the ſpecial command of the Lord, this might be an undoubted ſign to us, or to ſuch as lived about the time of his birth; it could be no ſign or aſſurance unto *Ahaz*, or the people then living, either of their deliverance from their Enemies, or that *Iſaias* had ſpoken to them in the name of the Lord, if they did otherwiſe queſtion his authority. Or to ſay the very truth, unleſs the *Emmanuel* there promiſed, were born at the time limited by the Prophet, his birth could yield no aſſurance unto us, that *Ahaz* was delivered from the King of *Syria* and *Ephraim*, or that theſe two Enemies were cut off within the time limited by the Prophet. All this we are to believe from the Hiſtorical narration and literal ſenſe of the Prophet, not from the Evangelical ſtory concerning the miraculous birth of our Saviour; of which, if we have a true hiſtorical belief, we muſt believe the Evangeliſt from the Prediction of the Prophet, or from the parallel between the Prophets and the Evangeliſts words. This inference is good, and ſufficient to ground true belief [The Prophet foretold the Virgin ſhould conceive and bear a Son; therefore the Evangeliſts Allegation and Hiſtory is of Divine Truth] but not *è contra*, the Evangeliſt reports that a Virgin did conceive and bring forth a Son, *ergò*, that which the Prophet had ſaid of *Ahaz* his deliverance from his Enemies, is of like Truth and Authority.] *Junius* therefore with ſome others, conſequently enough to their own Interpretations of this place, deny that the Birth of the *Emmanuel* here Propheſied by *Iſaiah*, was "any ſign at all of *Ahaz* preſent delivery, or of the diſaſter of *Rezin* and *Pekah*, but of a greater and ſtranger deliverance of *Judah* and *Iſrael*, from their potent Enemies in future ages. And that ſeeing the Lord from the beginning of that Kingdom had promiſed to give the Houſe of *David* ſo admirable a ſign, as the Conception of a *Son* by a pure Virgin, it was either Hypocriſie or ſtrange incredulity in *Ahaz*, to refuſe a leſſer ſign of his preſent deliverance, when God did ſo freely offer it, as it is ver. 10, 11, 12. *Moreover the Lord ſpake again unto* Ahaz, *ſaying; ask thee a ſign of the Lord thy God, ask it either in the depth, or in the height above. But* Ahaz *ſaid, I will not ask, neither will I tempt the Lord.* "This, in the Prophets conſtruction was, to weary and vex God, who had profered this ſign, But what ſign? Any that *Ahaz* would demand for his preſent ſecurity againſt the confederacy of *Syria* and *Ephraim*. And ſeeing he would not chooſe a ſign, the Lord would give him one, better than he could have choſen for himſelf, *Behold, a Virgin ſhall conceive*, &c. But the queſtion ſtill remains of what this ſhould be a ſign? *Junius* denyeth it to be any ſign of that deliverance or aſſurance, for which *Ahaz* was commanded to aſk a ſign; he adds withal, that of this temporary deliverance *Shear-jaſhub*, whom *Iſaiah* was commanded to bring with him, when he went to meet *Ahaz*, was the ſign or pledge. But herein I cannot aſſent unto him, for *Shear-jaſhub* was a pledge of their * return whom *Pekah* and *Rezin* had lately captivated, no ſign or pledge of keeping *Ahaz* or *Hezekiah* in poſſeſſion of the Kingdom. Of all this the *Emmanuel* here promiſed was the undoubted ſign or pledge, if we would look upon the ſacred ſtory, whilſt we debate thoſe controverſies with the Jew, or with others, that differ in opinion from us in this particular.

5. Not to trouble the Reader with recital of other good Chriſtian Writers opinions concerning this point, or of their expoſitions upon this place of *Iſaiah*: the reſultance of their confident conteſtations *pro*, and *con*, is but this. There is more contention than contradiction between them about the true intent and meaning of the Holy Ghoſt, and of the Prophet.

The Jew indeed flatly contradicts us in our expoſitions of this place, and ſo far as they contradict us in the main point, we are bound to maintain our contradiction to them. But the extending of this contradiction unto them in all their expoſitions on this place, and of ſome others, declare the Jew and us Chriſtians to be two Sons of one and the ſame Father. The Jew being the elder Brother, is careful to preſerve the Map or Terrar of the inheritance bequeathed unto him, after he hath been diſinherited. And, frantick as he is, having the Map or Terrar, he brags that the inheritance repreſented in it is wholly his. We Chriſtians one and other being ſeized and in poſſeſſion of the inheritance, permit him the liberty of raving: (as loſers muſt have leave to ſpeak.) But oftentimes while we laugh at him, we our ſelves are careleſs to take a Copy of the Terrar, whoſe ſafe cuſtody the Jew makes chief matter of his Religion; although he oftentimes bellur it with fooliſh animadverſions of his own invention, as unſkilful ſtudents do good Books which they underſtand not with impertinent ridiculous marginal Notes, or interlineations. But however we Chriſtians be in poſſeſſion of the inheritance promiſed to *Abraham*, from which *Abrahams* ſeed, according to the fleſh, have been ejected, it would be no harm to be beholding unto them for a Copy of the ancient

* *See the tenth Section of this Chapter.*

ancient *terrars* of it, I mean, of the literal ſenſe of divers Scriptures, of prophecies eſpecially, and of this moſt admirable prophecy in particular. The blots and ſtains which the Jew hath made, or ſuffered to be made, in the literal expoſition of this place may eaſily be taken out without obliteration of that exact proportion, which their other expoſitions on this place hold with the Evangelical myſteries as well forepictured, as foretold in this prophecy.

That the עלמה particularized by note of demonſtration or ſpecial reference, * ſhould then be a married or Child-bearing Woman, is a blot or ſtain in the literal meaning of this prophecy, which unleſs it be taken out, will utterly deface the proportion between the hiſtorical event here foretold, and the Evangelical myſtery repreſented by it. A greater blot or ſtain it is which the Jew hath made, by avouching that the *Emmanuel*, whoſe birth was here foretold, ſhould be either *Shear-jaſhub* the Son of *Iſaiah*, or *Hezekiah* the Son of *Ahaz*; both of them being born before this time, as it is evident, the one from the literal meaning of the Prophet, the other from the ſacred ſtories of the Books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*. As for thoſe Jews, which reſpectively avouch both parts of this fooliſh conjecture, they expreſs the ſame humour to raign in them, which *Busbequius* obſerves in the modern Turks; who when the fit comes upon them, will not ſtick to ſay, that *Job* was Steward of *Solomons* Houſhold, and *Alexander* the Great, Maſter of his Horſe. Yet theſe and ſome few like ſtains or blots, which the modern Jew hath made in *Iſaiah* his map or terrar of the Evangelical myſtery, (whoſe exemplification is fully recorded by St. *Matthew*) being taken out: their other expoſitions of the Prophets words rather preſerve than deface the map it ſelf, and may be of good uſe to diſcover the proportion between it and our royal inheritance repreſented in it; or for confirming our belief, as well of the Evangeliſts, as of the Prophets relations.

* העלמה·

First, When the Jews alledge that the *Emmanuel* promiſed by the Prophet, was to be born within ſome few years, or rather within the compaſs of a year, from the time of his meeting *Ahaz*, this is moſt conſonant to the literal ſenſe of theſe words, *Chap.* 7. 16. *For before the Child ſhall know to refuſe the evil, and chooſe the good, the Land that thou abhorreſt ſhall be forſaken of both her Kings.* This ſaith the marginal note upon our former Engliſh, *is not meant of Chriſt, but of any Child. For before a Child can come to the years of diſcretion, the Kings of* Samaria, *and* Syria *ſhall be deſtroyed.* The note is two ways faulty: Firſt, In denying this to be meant at all of Chriſt; Secondly, In avouching it to be meant of any Child. And I wiſh the note were extant in our *Engliſh*, or in ſome other language only, which the Jews for the moſt part either do not read, or do not underſtand. Yet if this place may be meant not of every Child, but of any one Child beſides our Saviour Chriſt; and if the word *Hagnalma* in the 14. *verſe* according to its ſtrict propriety, do ſignifie a Virgin, ſhall we not hence be concluded to grant, that ſome other Virgin beſides the Virgin *Mary* (and before her) did conceive and bring forth a Son? This in no wiſe may be granted, nor any interpretation of any place admitted from which ſuch impious concluſions as this, may be inferred. To conceive a Son whilſt ſhe was a Virgin, was the incommunicable prerogative of the Mother of our Lord. Yet will it not hence follow that the Prophet by the emphatical character of a Virgin *Hagnalma* might not deſign ſome Virgin then preſent, not the Prophets Wife, but rather ſome Virgin of *Ahaz* kindred, or of the houſe of *Judah*; for whom he aſtipulates that within the compaſs of the year following, ſhe ſhould conceive, and bring forth a Son, not whilſt ſhe was a Virgin, but by becoming a lawful Wife beyond or before her expectation.

7. But here ſuch as are otherwiſe minded, or take this paſſage to be literally meant of the Bleſſed Virgin alone, will reply; What wonder was it, or what matter worthy the uſhering in with an *Ecce*, or other like injunction of attention, for her who was now a Virgin, to conceive and bring forth a Son, after the manner that other Women, within a year after they are married, uſually do? But they who thus object, *facilè pronunciant, quia ad pauca reſpiciunt*, they give ſentence upon the view of one circumſtance only, when as they ſhould take a great many more into their conſideration. The Virgin thus particularized, according to the literal ſenſe of the Prophet, whether then preſent (as is moſt probable) or otherwiſe ſo famouſly known, that his words in all mens apprehenſion then preſent, had reference to her, might be either for want of years, or for ſome other defects, as unlikely to bring forth a Son within the time limited, as *Sarah* after ninety years age was, more unlikely than the Wife of *Manoah* or *Zacharias*. However, it far ſurpaſſed the skill of Aſtrologers, Phyſitians, of men expert in natural Magick, or other kind of divination whatſoever, (beſides the divination which proceeds from the Father of lights) to give ſuch full aſſurance, as the Prophet there doth, that any Woman ſhould conceive within ſuch a compaſs of time, or that ſhe ſhould conceive a Son, not a Daughter, leaſt of all that ſhe ſhould conceive and bring forth a Son, who ſhould deſervedly brook the name and title of *Emmanuel*, that is, to be a pledge of Gods ſpecial preſence to the houſe of *David* or land of *Judah*, or to protect them againſt their potent Enemies, or to be a demonſtrative ſign or hoſtage, that before he could know how to refuſe the evil and chuſe the good, the Land, which *Ahaz* abhorred, ſhould be forſaken of both their Kings; who were now ready and able (without Gods ſpecial aid) to devour the Land of *Judah*. Yet for all theſe and other like conſequences of *Emmanuels* birth, the Prophet confidently aſtipulates in the name of his God; which without a ſpecial warrant from him, had been an intolerable preſumption. But as for *Ahaz* himſelf, his houſe, and people, (becauſe they would not believe this Prediction, according to the literal tenor) they were to be plagued by that Nation in whoſe potency they put their truſt; by the ſame Enemy, which the Prophet had foretold, ſhould by Gods appointment defeat the preſent miſchievous deſign of *Syria* and *Samaria* againſt *Judah*. And all this they ſhould have done, without any future harm or danger to the houſe of *David* by them, ſo *Ahaz* and his people would have relyed entirely upon Gods Promiſe, or faithfully accepted of the ſign promiſed by his Prophet. *But not believing this, they were not eſtabliſhed, ver.* 9. For ſo the Prophet immediately after *Ahaz* refuſal of this ſign, did threaten *Ahaz* and his people, ver. 17. *The Lord ſhall bring upon thee, and thy People, and upon thy Fathers Houſe, days that have not come, from the day that* Ephraim *departed from* Judah: *even the Kings of* Aſſyria. *And it ſhall come to paſs in that day, that the Lord ſhall hiſs for the Fly that is in the uttermoſt part of the Rivers of* Egypt, *and for the Bee that is in the Land of* Aſſyria. *And they ſhall come, and ſhall reſt all of them in the Deſolate Valleys; and in the holes of the Rocks, and upon all Thorns, and upon all Buſhes.* The demerits of

Ahaz, and of his people which did deſerve the denunciation and execution of the plagues here threatned, were their too much confidence in the King of *Aſſyria*, and their diſtruſt (hence occaſioned) of what the Lord had promiſed by his Prophet *Iſaiah*, and would have performed by other means than by the aid of the *Aſſyrian*, ſo they would have relyed upon them. We do not read that either *Ahaz*, or his people did diſtruſt, much leſs that they were puniſhed for their diſtruſt unto Gods Promiſes concerning the coming of the *Meſſias* in the appointed time, but for not accepting the ſign or pledge, as well of his coming, as of their inſtant deliverance from the danger wherein then they ſtood.

8. But what probabilities, or juſt preſumptions be there, that any Woman who was a Virgin at that time when *Ahaz* and *Iſaiah met, in the high way of the Fullers field*, ſhould, upon the occaſion mentioned, become a married Woman, and conceive a Son, according to the time intimated by the Prophet? All this, I take it, is more than probable from the true and literal meaning of the 1, 2, 3, and 4 verſes of the 8 Chapter, which are no other than an exegetical expoſition of the former Propheſie, Chap. 7. ver. 14, 15, 16. or a more legal ratification or new aſſumption of making good the aſſurance, which in the former Chapter he had given: *Moreover, the Lord ſaid unto me, take thee a great roll, and write in it with a mans pen concerning* Maher-ſhalal-haſh-baz. *And I took unto me faithful witneſſes to record,* Uriah *the Prieſt, and* Zachariah *the Son of* Jeberechiah. *And I went unto the Propheteſs, and ſhe conceived and bare a Son: then ſaid the Lord to me, Call his name* Maher-ſhalal-haſh-baz. *For before the Child ſhall have knowledge to cry, my Father and my Mother, the riches of* Damaſcus, *and the ſpoil of* Samaria *ſhall be taken away before the King of Aſſyria.* The Child promiſed, *Chap.* 7. *ver.* 14. and in this place, according to the true connexion of the literal ſenſe, is (in my apprehenſion) one and the ſame, though deſcribed by two names, the one importing comfort to the houſe of *David*, and the Land of *Judah*; and this was given him before his conception: the latter importing the ſudden execution of the woes denounced againſt *Syria* and *Samaria*, and was given him after his conception. And leſt we ſhould doubt whether this *Maher-ſhalal-haſh-baz* were the ſame with the *Emmanuel* promiſed in the former Chapter, he is inſtiled again by the very ſame name, *Chap.* 8. unto *ver.* 8. *The Lord ſpake unto me again, ſaying, Forſomuch as this people refuſeth the waters of* Shiloah *that go ſoftly, and rejoyce in* Rezin, Remaliahs *Son: now therefore behold the Lord bringeth up upon them the waters of the Rivers, ſtrong and many, even the King of* Aſſyria, *and all his glory: and he ſhall come up over all the Chanels, and go over all his banks.* Again, that the name *Emmanuel* did literally import Gods peculiar preſence at that time with his people, not only to deliver them from *Rezin* and *Pekah*, but from the potency of the *Aſſyrian* in future times, is evidently included in the 9 and 10 verſes. *Aſſociate your ſelves, O ye people, and ye ſhall be broken in pieces. and give ear all ye of far Countries: gird your ſelves, and ye ſhall be broken in pieces: gird your ſelves, and ye ſhall be broken in pieces. Take counſel together, and it ſhall be brought to naught; ſpeak the word and it ſhall ſtand, for God is with us.* The ſtrange defeat of the confederacy here fore-told, was not to be expected in the days of *Ahaz*, in whoſe times the *Aſſyrian* did attempt no great matters againſt them, but in the days of *Hezekiah*. Thus much the Prophets words in the

verſes following import, *ver.* 16. 17. *Bind up the teſtimony, ſeal my law among my Diſciples. And I will wait upon the Lord that hideth his face from the houſe of* Jacob, *and I will look for him.* This binding up of the Teſtimony, and ſealing of this Law doth argue both the Law and Teſtimony to have been of ſpecial moment, yet not to be put in execution, or fully accompliſhed for the preſent. Of the accompliſhment of both, whether wholly or in part, the Prophets Sons in the interim were ſigns and pledges, as is imported, *ver.* 18. *Behold I, and the Children whom the Lord hath given me, are for ſigns, and for wonders in* Iſrael *from the Lord of Hoſts, which dwelleth in Mount* Sion. This laſt paſſage is alledged by the * Apoſtle, amongſt others, to prove, that the Lord of Hoſts himſelf, who in the 14. *ver.* of the 8. of *Iſaiah*, had promiſed to be a Sanctuary to his people, was to participate with them of fleſh and bloud. *He that ſanctifieth, and they who are ſanctified are all of one. For which cauſe he is not aſhamed to call them brethren, ſaying, I will declare thy name unto my brethren, in the midſt of the Church will I ſing praiſe unto thee.* And again, *I will put my truſt in him.* And again, *Behold I and the Children which God hath given me.* Yet that the 18. verſe of *Iſaiah* the 8, to which our Apoſtle in this place refers us, was literally meant of the Prophet and his Children, is too apparent to be denied, nor will it be ſafe to ſtand upon terms of contradiction thus far with the modern Jew. One of the Prophets Sons was called *Shear-jaſhub*, which by interpretation is, *The remnant ſhall return:* and of this return or reſtauration, he was the ſign or pledge. The other was called *Emmanuel*, which being interpreted is, *God with us*; a name portending or foretokening Gods ſpecial preſence with his people at more times than one. The impoſition of both names, and their importance were literally fulfilled in the age immediately following, but myſtically fulfilled only in Chriſt, whoſe coming to viſit his people, was prefigured by both of them. The full importance or abode of the name *Emmanuel*, was fulfilled in our Saviours Conception and Birth: the true importance of *Shear-jaſhub*, ſhall be myſtically fulfilled, when the fulneſs of the *Gentiles* is come, or when the *Jew* ſhall be called to be again the ſeed of *Abraham* according to promiſe.

* Heb. 2. 11. &c.

9. Two points only remain. The firſt how the prophecy concerning *Emmanuel*, was fulfilled according to the literal ſenſe in the Prophets time; and our reſolution in this point we muſt take from the ſacred records of this theme in the Old Teſtament. The ſecond, how this prophecy was fullfilled according to the myſtical ſenſe; and this we muſt learn from the Evangeliſts which alledge the fullfilling of it, and other unpartial Writers which relate either circumſtances or ſigns of thoſe times in which they wrote: Out of theſe two points the parallel between the Prophet and Evangeliſts will of its own accord, without any anxious inquiry, or further diſcuſſion, reſult.

10. The Hiſtories of the old Teſtament, by which *Iſaiahs* literal meaning may be beſt interpreted, are in the 2. of *Kings* 17, 18. 2. *Chron.* 28. 16, 17, *&c.* We have a *conſtat* from the Prophet *Iſaiah* himſelf, *Chap.* 7. 1, 2. That this prophecy concerning *Emmanuel*, was uttered by him in the days of *Ahaz* King of *Judah*, and of *Pekah* the Son of *Remaliah*; but in what certain year of either of theſe two Kings Reigns, this Revelation was made to *Iſaiah*, and the matter of it inſtantly imparted unto King *Ahaz*, is not ſo certain. Moſt cer-

tain it is, that *Iſaiah* delivered this meſſage from the Lord to *Ahaz* before the twelfth year of his Reign, for in that year *Hoſhea* the Son of *Elah* begun to reign in *Samaria* over *Iſrael*, 2. *Kings* 17. 1. and this was after *Pekah* the Son of *Remaliah* was dead. And though it be not ſo certain, yet moſt probable it is, that the former prophecy was uttered about the 8. or 9. year of *Ahaz*, or about 3. years or ſomewhat more before *Pekah* the Son of *Remaliah* was ſlain. One year, or ſomewhat under, we muſt allow for the Conception and Birth of the *Emmanuel*, or *Maher-Shalal-haſh-baz*, and ſome two years after until he were upon the point or period of time, wherein ordinary Children in thoſe days were enabled to know how to refuſe the evil, and chooſe the good, that is, to diſtinguiſh between other meats, beſides milk, butter, and honey, and between his parents and other perſons. Before this *Emmanuel*, or *Maher-Shalal-haſh-baz* were thus enabled to diſtinguiſh between meat and meat, or his parents and other perſons, (but how long before this time, it is uncertain) both *Pekah* Son of *Remaliah*, and *Rezin* King of *Syria*, according to the tenour of *Iſaiahs* Prophecy, and the aſtipulation made by him upon the ſign proffered to *Ahaz*) were to be deprived of their Kingdoms, or rather their Land and Kingdoms to be quitted of them, *Iſaiah* 7. 16. and *Chap.* 8. *ver.* 4. But before their ruine, and before this revelation concerning their ruine was made unto the Prophet *Iſaiah*, they had brought *Judah* and the Houſe of *David* exceeding low, 2 *Chron.* 28. 5, 6, 7, 8. *Wherefore the Lord his God delivered him into the hand of the King of* Syria, *and they ſmote him, and carried away a great multitude of them Captives, and brought them to* Damaſcus. *And he was alſo delivered into the hand of the King of* Iſrael, *who ſmote him with a great ſlaughter. For* Pekah *the Son of* Remaliah *ſlue in* Judah, *an hundred and twenty thouſand in one day, which were all valiant men, becauſe they had forſaken the Lord God of their Fathers. And* Zichri, *a mighty man of* Ephraim, *ſlue* Maaſerah *the Kings Son, and* Azrikam, *the Governour of the Houſe, and* Elkanah *that was next to the King. And the Children of* Iſrael *carried away captive of their brethren, two hundred thouſand women, Sons and Daughters, and took alſo away much ſpoil from them, and brought the ſpoil to* Samaria. Upon this great diſaſter, or captivity of the people of *Judah* by theſe two Kings, the Prophet *Iſaiah* did name one Son of his *Shear-jaſhub*, as a pledge or token that theſe captives ſhould return again unto their own Land, as they did beyond all expectation, from *Samaria*. The Hiſtory is very remarkable, both for matter and circumſtance, and recorded at large by the Author of the ſecond Book of *Chronicles*, in the words immediately following the fore-cited. *But a Prophet of the Lord was there, whoſe name was* Oded: *and he went out before the Hoſt that came to* Samaria, *and ſaid unto them, Behold, becauſe the Lord God of your Fathers was wroth with* Judah, *he hath delivered them into your hand, and ye have ſlain them in a rage that reacheth up into Heaven. And now ye purpoſe to keep under the Children of* Judah *and* Jeruſalem *for bondmen and bondwomen unto you. But are there not with you, even with you, ſins againſt the Lord your God? Now hear me therefore, and deliver the Captives again which ye have taken captive of your brethren: for the fierce wrath of God is upon you. Then certain of the heads of the Children of* Ephraim, Azariah *the Son of* Johanan, Berechiah *the Son of* Meſhillemoth, *and* Jehizkiah *the Son of* Shallum, *and* Amala *the Son of* Hadlai, *ſtood up againſt them that came from the War, and ſaid unto them, Ye ſhall not* *bring in the Captives hither, for whereas we have offended againſt the Lord already, ye intend to add more to our ſins and to our treſpaſs, for our treſpaſs is great, and there is fierce wrath againſt* Iſrael. *So the armed men left the Captives, and the ſpoil before the Princes, and all the Congregation. And the men which were expreſſed by name, roſe up, and took the Captives, and with the ſpoil cloathed all that were naked among them, and arrayed them, and ſhod them, and gave them to eat and to drink, and anointed them, and carried all the feeble of them upon Aſſes, and brought them to* Jericho, *the City of Palm Trees, to their brethren; then they returned to* Samaria. And ſo no doubt, thoſe Captives which *Rezin* King of *Syria* had carried to *Damaſcus*, were ſet at liberty after the King of *Aſſyria* had ſlain *Rezin*, meeting with *Ahaz* there. But the *Edomites*, and the *Philiſtines*, both ancient Enemies to the Houſe of *David*, became *ungues in ulcere*, and kept the wound open with tooth and nail, which *Rezin*, *Pekah*, and *Zichri* had made, as it is regiſtred, 2. *Chron.* 28. 17. &c. *For again the Edomites had come and ſmitten* Judah, *and carried away Captives; the Philiſtines alſo had invaded the Cities of the low Country, and of the South of* Judah, *and had taken* Bethſhemeſh *and* Ailon, *and* Gederoth, *and* Shocho, *with the Villages thereof, and* Timnah *with the Villages thereof,* Gimzo *alſo, and the Villages thereof, and they dwelt there.* After theſe wounds which theſe ſeveral Enemies had made in the ſtate of *Judah*, *Rezin*, and *Pekah* with joint forces beſieged *Jeruſalem*, 2 *Kings* 16. 5, 6, 7, 8. *Then* Rezin *King of* Syria, *and* Pekah *Son of* Remaliah *King of* Iſrael, *came up to* Jeruſalem *to War: and they beſieged* Ahaz, *but could not overcome him. At that time* Rezin *King of* Syria *recovered* Elath *to* Syria, *and drave the Jews from* Elath: *and the Syrians came to* Elath, *and dwelt there unto this day. So* Ahaz *ſent meſſengers to* Tiglath-Pelezer *King of* Aſſyria, *ſaying, I am thy ſervant, and thy Son: come up and ſave me out of the hand of the King of* Syria, *and out of the hand of the King of* Iſrael *which riſe up againſt me. And* Ahaz *took the ſilver and gold that was found in the houſe of the Lord, and in the treaſures of the Kings houſe, and ſent it for a preſent to the King of* Aſſyria. *And the King of* Aſſyria *hearkned unto him: for the King of* Aſſyria *went up againſt* Damaſcus, *and took it, and carried the people of it Captive to* Kir, *and ſlue* Rezin. This unhallowed ſubmiſſion of *Ahaz* unto the King of *Aſſyria*, was the very thing which the Lord by the Prophet *Iſaiah* did diſſwade him from, foretelling withal that if he perſiſted in this purpoſe of caſting out one Devil by another, or by the Prince of Devils, the latter would prove worſe than the former. On the contrary, if *Ahaz* and his people would rely upon the ſign which God had given them, or accept of his immediate aid, both *Rezin* and *Pekah* ſhould within ſhort ſpace be ruinated without either preſent aid, or future evil from *Aſſyria*. But if they would not believe or rely upon him, although God for his part would perform the former part of this Prophecy, as it concerned the Death of *Rezin* and *Pekah*, and the captivity of *Samaria*, yet he would bring all the plagues upon *Judah*, which the Prophet *Iſaiah* had threatned, by the hand of *Aſſyria*, whoſe aid they now ſought. And yet this preſent *Emmanuel* was to be a pledge of a ſtrange defeat of the *Aſſyrian*, after much miſchief done by him, as well to *Judah* as to *Iſrael*. For *Hezekiah* (Son and Succeſſour unto *Ahaz*) was inforced to buy his peace of *Sennacherib* ſucceſſor to *Tiglath-Peleſer* at as dear a rate, as *Ahaz* had purchaſed the *Aſſyrians* aid. *Now in the fourteenth year of King* Hezekiah, *did* Sennacherib *King of*

Aſſyria *come up againſt all the fenced Cities of* Judah, *and took them. And* Hezekiah *King of* Judah *ſent to the King of* Aſſyria *to* Lachiſh, *ſaying, I have offended, return from me; that which thou putteſt on me, will I bear. And the King of* Aſſyria *appointed unto* Hezekiah *King of* Judah, *three hundred Talents of ſilver, and thirty Talents of Gold. And* Hezekiah *gave him all the ſilver, that was found in the houſe of the Lord, and in the treaſures of the Kings houſe. At that time did* Hezekiah *cut off the gold from the doors of the Temple of the Lord, and from the pillars which* Hezekiah *King of* Judah *had over-laid, and gave it to the King of* Aſſyria, 2 *Kings* 18. 13, 14, *&c.* Both this diſtreſs whereunto *Judah* was now brought, and *Hezekiahs* ſtrange deliverance from *Sennacherib*, or whatſoever the ſacred Story, 2 *Kings* 19. or elſe-where relates concerning both, were foretold by *Iſaiah* the Prophet, *Chap.* 8, and 9, as conſequences of *Ahaz* his refuſal of the ſigns which God had offered him, and of the ſign which God did give to the Houſe of *David*, albeit they would not accept it.

11. But to deſcend unto the parallel between the Hiſtorical Narrations in the Book of *Kings*, of *Chronicles*, and Interſertions to the ſame purpoſe in the Prophecy of *Iſaiah*, and our Evangeliſts relations how they were fulfilled: In the days of *Ahaz* the Houſe of *David* was brought exceeding low by the Syrians, by the King of *Samaria*, by the *Edomites*, and by the *Philiſtines*. From this extraordinary depreſſion of it, the hopes of *Rezin* and *Pekah* for the extirpation of it, were ſo advanced, that they confidently reſolved upon the particular man, whom they meant to make King of *Judah*; that was the Son of *Tabeol*, *Iſaiah* 7. 6. In the height of this their confidence, and the perplexity of *Judah*, and the Houſe of *David*, the Lord ſends his Prophet *Iſaiah* to give them aſſurance of their Delivery, by an extraordinary ſign.

In the days of *Joſeph* and *Mary* his eſpouſed Wife, the Houſe of *David* (whereof they both were branches) was brought much lower, than in the days of *Ahaz* it had been. And however no miſchief were intended againſt them in particular, (as being obſcure and private perſons, neither in poſſeſſion nor competitors for the Kingdom) yet for breaking off the ſucceſſion of *David*, or preventing any of his line to be Lord of *Judah*, the plot was laid with more cunning, than it had been by *Rezin*, and *Pekah*. Three of thoſe ancient *Foehoods* which had ſought to wreak themſelves againſt *Judah* in the days of *Ahaz*; were now revived and united in one man, in *Herod* the great; and the *Foehood* by this union became both greater and ſtronger. He was by birth a *Philiſtine*, and by Royal * Title (beſtowed upon him by the *Romans*) King of *Idumæa* and *Samaria*, unto which he ſought to annex *Judea*, as his inheritance. And although the particulars be not mentioned in the New Teſtament, yet is it indefinitely evident out of St. *Matthew* that *Herod* had his confederates againſt the Houſe of *David*, and which (aſſoon as they knew of his birth) did ſeek the life of the Son of *David*; *When* Herod *was dead, behold an Angel of the Lord appeared in a dream to* Joſeph *in* Ægypt, *ſaying, Ariſe and take the young Child, and his Mother, and go into the Land of* Iſrael: *for they are dead which ſought the young Childs life.* Math. 2. 19. 20. This argues there were ſome other that dyed about the ſame time with *Herod*, which with him had ſought the life of *Jeſus*.

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* Poſthæc *Cæſar* in Galliam fecit expeditionem, turbatam non-nihil: *Antonius* ad bellum Parthicum profectus eſt: & *S. C.* approbatis actis ejus tam futuris quàm præteritis, rurſum duces paſſim dimiſit, & alia cuncta ut voluit diſpoſuit. Reges quoque aliquot appellavit arbitratu ſuo, duntaxat qui certum tributum penderent. *Ponti Darium, Pharnacis* filium, *Mithridatis* nepotem, Idumæorum Samaritarumq; Heroden. *Appian. Alexandrini* de bellis civilibus Lib. 5. pag. 715.

In this low eſtate whereunto the houſe of *David* was brought before the death of *Herod* and his confederates; the Lord did ſend not a Prophet, but an Angel to aſſure, not the continuance only of *Davids* ſucceſſion, but the reſtauration, enlargement, and everlaſting eſtabliſhment of his Kingdom unto *Mary* the Daughter of *David*, and her Husband, by a greater ſign than *Iſaiah* had proffered unto *Ahaz*. The Angel delivers his embaſſage, moſtwhat in the ſame words that *Iſaiah* did to *Ahaz*, *Behold*, ſaith the Prophet *Iſaiah*, 7. 14. *this Virgin ſhall conceive and bear a Son, and ſhe ſhall call his name* Emmanuel. Unto the Bleſſed Virgin (then preſent) ſaith the Angel, *Luk*. 1.30,31. *Fear not* Mary, *for thou haſt found favour with God, and behold thou ſhalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a Son, and ſhalt call his name Jeſus.* The impoſition of this name Jeſus is committed to the care of the Virgin: ſo was the name of *Emmanuel* to the Virgin, to whom the Prophet *Iſay* directs his ſpeech, when he delivered his meſſage unto *Ahaz*. For in the Original, the word which Saint *Matthew* renders impersonally, or in the third perſon plural (καλέσουσι) (that is according to the Hebrew Dialect, he ſhall be called) is the ſecond perſon ſingular, and the fœminine, *tu vocabis*, thou Virgin ſhalt call him *Emmanuel*. This variation of the Evangeliſt from the Prophets preciſe word, is ſuch, as breeds no vitiation at all, in the real ſenſe; but ſuch as reaſon it ſelf, and rules of Grammar require in like caſes. The Virgin being (as we ſuppoſe) preſent, when the Prophet exhibited the ſign unto *Ahaz*, he was to ſpeak unto her in the ſecond Perſon. But the Evangeliſt relating the fulfilling of this Propheſie, not in the literal ſenſe only, but in the myſtical, was to change the perſon, or to relate it in the third perſon plural, which is indeed an impersonal, according to the Hebrew Dialect, *Behold a Virgin ſhall bring forth a Son, and they ſhall call his name (that is*, he ſhall be called) *Emmanuel, which is by interpretation, God with us.*

12. But here the *Jew* demands, firſt how the particle הַ which is always emphatical, ſhould denote the Bleſſed Virgin, and ſhould be transferred from one Virgin to another. Secondly, Why the name given our Saviour at this Circumciſion, was not *Emmanuel* according to the Prophets ſpeech, but Jeſus. To the firſt demand, we anſwer, that the original letter is always emphatical: ſometimes a note of demonſtration, or particularity; and according to this importance, it refers unto the Virgin then preſent, as if the Prophet had ſaid, *Ecce, virgo hæc, Behold, this Virgin ſhall conceive*, &c. Sometime it is a note of Eminency, and according to this importance, it refers unto the Virgin of Virgins, the Bleſſed Mother of our Lord, of whom it is meant not only in the myſtical, but in the moſt exquiſite literal ſenſe. To the ſecond we ſay, the impoſition of the name *Emmanuel*, had been requiſite at our Saviours Circumciſion, if this Propheſie had been meant of him only in the literal ſenſe. But in as much as it was to be fulfilled in *Him*, according to the moſt exquiſite both literal and myſtical ſenſe, it was requiſite there ſhould be an improvement, as well in the *ſignificancy* of the name, as in the thing ſignified by it. Now the name *Jeſus* imports a great deal more than the name *Emmanuel*, as will appear in the explication of it. The importance of the name *Emmanuel*, as it refers unto the Child inſtantly promiſed by *Iſaiah*, is applyed unto the Bleſſed Virgin by the Angel in his Preface to the Annuntiation, *Luke* 1. 28. *Hail thou that art in high favour, the Lord is with thee, bleſſed art thou amongſt women.* The Lord

was with her in a more peculiar manner, whilſt the Angel thus ſpoke unto her, than he had been with *Gideon*, to whom the like ſalutation was tendred by an Angel, *Judges* 6. 12. Or with *Judah* in the days of *Iſaiah* or *Hezekiah*. But after the Lord was conceived by her, he was both with her, and with us, after a more admirable manner, than at any time he had been before with Gods deareſt Saints. This manner of his being with us, could not be fully expreſſed by any other name, than the name *Jeſus*.

13. *Ahaz* his diſtruſt unto Gods promiſe being ſet aſide, or rather, if we uſe it, as a *foyl* to ſet forth the Bleſſed Virgins facile aſſent, and fidelity unto the Revelation made unto her by the Angel: the Prophetical and Evangelical ſtory hold better correſpondency both for ſubſtance and circumſtance, than is between the Model and the Edifice. The *Emmanuel* promiſed by *Iſaiah*, was an aſſured pledge that *Pekah* King of *Samaria*, and *Rezin* King of *Syria*, ſhould dye, or be depoſed before this Child could diſtinguiſh between meats, or cry, my Father, my Mother. The accompliſhment of this ſign, or of the promiſe confirmed by it, is regiſtred in the Sacred ſtory. For *Pekah* was ſlain by *Hoſhea* the Son of *Elah*, within two or three years after the ſign was given, and ſo was *Rezin* by *Tiglath-Pileſer* at *Damaſcus*. Within the like compaſs of years after the Evangelical promiſe was made to the Bleſſed Virgin, that her Son *Jeſus* ſhould ſit upon her Father *Davids* Throne; *Herod* the great who had uſurped it, did dye a miſerable death: ſo did his confederates againſt the houſe of *Judah*, as we gather from *Matthew* 2. 20. *Ariſe* (ſaith the Angel to *Joſeph* in a dream) *and take the young Child, and his Mother, and go into the Land of* Iſrael: *for they are dead which ſought the young Childs life.* Now *Joſeph* returned from *Egypt* two years after our Saviour was born. Whom the Evangeliſt means beſide *Herod*, when he ſaith they were dead which ſought the Childs life, is no where in Sacred ſtory expreſſed: nor is it to me certain whether *Syria* at that time had a King of their own, but it is probable they had, ſeeing in Saint *Pauls* time *Aretas* was King of *Damaſcus*, 2 Cor. 11. 32. Some there be which mention the death of one *Obedas*, whom they make King of *Syria*, who died about the ſame time with *Herod*, but from what authority, they expreſs not. The Evangeliſt might mean the Roman Governour of *Syria*, by whoſe favour and potency *Herod* was emboldned to tyrannize over the Jews Nation, and to work his projects againſt the houſe of *David*. Some have accuſed *Quintilius Varus* of this great ſin, unto whom, and to the Legions under his Government, the right hand of the Lord of Hoſts had reached a more terrible blow, than *Judah* had received from him or *Herod*, within ſome few years after the butchery of the Infants.

14. The ſecond bleſſing whereof the *Emmanuel* was a pledge, whoſe conception had been fore-told by *Iſaiah*, was not exhibited till many years after, and it was this, that *Judah* and the houſe of *David* ſhould be more admirably delivered from the *Aſſyrian*, when he ſhould beſiege *Jeruſalem* more fiercely than *Rezin*, or *Pekah* had done. And this was in the days of *Hezekiah*; for ſo the Prophet aſſures the people, *That the rod of* Aſhur *ſhould be broken as in the day of* Midian, *Iſaiah* 9. 4. Which is in effect, as if he had ſaid [The *Lord* will be with us after as wonderful a manner as he was with *Gideon*, when *Iſrael* was oppreſſed by the *Midianites*.] And ſo it fell out in the days of *Hezekiah*, that *Sennacheribs* mighty Army was deſtroyed

by a more fearful deſtruction, than the *Midianites* had been by *Gideon.* And unto this ſtrange defeat of the *Aſſyrian*, the Prophets words, *Iſa.* 9. 4, 5. do refer; *Thou haſt broken the yoke of his burthen, and the ſtaff of his ſhoulders, the rod of his Oppreſſor: as in the day of* Midian. *For every Battel of the Warriour is with confuſed noiſe, and garments rolled in bloud: but this ſhall be with burning and fewel of fire.* Now of this diſaſter which befel *Aſſyria*, and the ſtrange deliverance of *Judah*, and the houſe of *David* by it, the *Emmanuel* there promiſed by *Iſaiah* was the pledge or aſſurance, as the Prophet in the next words intimates, *For unto us a Child is born, and unto us a little one is given*, &c. *Iſaiah* 9. 6. That by this Child the Prophet meant the *Emmanuel* mentioned, *Chapter* 7. is acknowledged by all, even by ſuch, as admit of no more *Emmanuels* than one, to wit, our Saviour *Chriſt*. But ſeeing the *Emmanuel* there literally meant, was given as a pledge or comfort unto *Judah* in this particular diſtreſs, certainly he was born before him, though not born only as a pledge of this deliverance, but of a far greater Deliverer or Saviour to come, for whoſe ſake alone this deliverance, and all other of his people from their enemies (both bodily and ghoſtly) were ſent from God. And beſt Interpreters take thoſe words of *Iſaiah*, 2 Kings 9. 34. *I will defend this City to ſave it for mine own ſake, and for my ſervant* Davids *ſake*, to be literally meant not of *David*, but of *Davids* Son, the true *Emmanuel.* But to return to the 9. of *Iſaiah*; upon that Viſion of that great overthrow of *Sennacheribs* Army, the Prophet takes his *riſe* to view a greater victory, a more potent Enemy in the ſame place, where *Sennacheribs* Army was overthrown, and that was not near *Jeruſalem*, but in the borders of *Zebulun*, and *Napthali*, near to *Libanus*, in that Country whoſe Inhabitants *Sennacheribs* Predeceſſor *Tiglath-Pileſer*, had firſt captivated, and in the ſame place our Saviour gave his Apoſtles power over Satan and his Angels, who had his people in greater ſubjection than the *Aſſyrians* had them in the time of *Iſaiah*. For he had poſſeſſed many of their bodies after another manner, than any earthly Tyrant could have them in poſſeſſion. Now when the Prophet fore-tells as well the victory of the Angel of the Lord over the *Aſſyrian*, as the victory of Chriſts Apoſtles over Satan, he gives this one ſign of both, *For unto us a Child is born, and unto us a little one is given*, &c. Theſe words may refer, both to the type, and antitype in the literal ſenſe: but immediately after the light of that great myſtery, which all this while had been under the cloud of the literal ſenſe, breaks forth in its proper native luſtre: For the words following can be meant of none but Chriſt: *And his name ſhall be called Wonderful, Counſellour, the Mighty God, the everlaſting Father, the Prince of Peace. Of the encreaſe of his government and peace, there ſhall be no end: upon the Throne of* David, *and upon his Kingdom to order it, and to eſtabliſh it with judgment, and with juſtice, from henceforth even for ever: the zeal of the Lord of Hoſts will perform this.* As for the former paſſages concerning the *Immanuel*, and *Mahar-ſhalal-haſh-baz*, they are literally meant of *Iſaiah* his Son, and yet are withal proofs no leſs concludent againſt the Jew, no leſs pregnant teſtimonies of our belief concerning the miraculous birth of our Lord and Saviour Chriſt, than the teſtimonies laſt cited out of *Iſa.* 9. 6, 7. or of his Godhead, or everlaſting Kingdom. For however ſuch immediate viſions, or unvailed revelations of Chriſt, as *Iſaiah* in theſe two verſes, and in the 53 Chapter, or elſewhere adds, were the moſt ſublime kind of prophecies, ſuch as few other Prophets beſides *David*, could ever attain unto, (theſe having the like priviledges amongſt the Prophets, that *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, had amongſt the fellow Apoſtles, permitted to aſcend the Mount with Chriſt, and ſee the transfiguration or glory of his Kingdom;) Yet for our inſtruction, predictions of Chriſt typically prophetical, or prophetically typical, are moſt admirably concludent (as was premiſed * before) eſpecially, when the ſame words, according to the literal ſenſe, fit both the pledge and the myſtery pledged, or the Evangelical myſtery according to the improvement in a more exquiſite ſenſe, than they did the Type or Hiſtorical Event.

Chap. 11. Sect. 2, 3.

15. To conclude this parallel between the Evangeliſt and the Prophet, with the contrary demeanours of *Ahaz* and the bleſſed Virgin, upon delivery of the like meſſage from the Lord. The Lord proffers *Ahaz* a ſign whereſoever, or in what kind ſoever he would aſk it: but he will not aſk it, nor will he tempt the Lord. *Iſay* 7. 11, 12. As if not to rely upon the ſtrength of *Aſſyria*, had been to tempt the Lord. Nor will he believe the Prophet when he gives him a ſign moſt ſutable to the ſigns of that preſent time. For *Ahaz* and his people had a fair introduction to believe all that the Prophet had aſſumed to make good, upon the Conception and Birth of *Emmanuel*, from the experienced ſucceſs or happy *Omen* of *Iſaiah* his former Son, whom he named (upon the occaſion fore-mentioned) *Shear-jaſhab*.

The bleſſed Virgin after ſhe had ſeen the Angel of the Lord, and talked with him, did think it no tempting of the Lord to accept this ſign which the Angel proffered, *Behold, thy Couſin* Elizabeth, *ſhe hath alſo conceived a Son in her old age, and this is the ſixth month with her, who was called barren. Luke* 1. 36. After her acceptance of this ſign, and ſolemn paſſing of her aſſent unto whatſoever the Angel ſaid, *Behold the handmaid of the Lord, be it unto me according to thy word, ver.* 38. She thought it no tempting of the Lord to be further confirmed in the truth of this ſign, *For ſhe aroſe in thoſe days, and went into the Hill Country with haſte, into a City of* Juda*: and entered into the houſe of* Zacharias, *and ſaluted* Elizabeth. *And it came to paſs, that when* Elizabeth *heard the ſalutation of* Mary, *the Babe leaped in her womb, and* Elizabeth *was filled with the Holy Ghoſt. And ſhe ſpake out with a loud voice, and ſaid, Bleſſed art thou among women, and bleſſed is the fruit of thy womb. And whence is this to me, that the Mother of my Lord ſhould come to me? For lo, aſſoon as the voice of thy ſalutation ſounded in mine ears, the Babe leaped in my womb for joy. And bleſſed is ſhe that believed, &c. Luke* 1. 39, 40, *&c.* Upon theſe lively experiments of the truth of the Angels words unto her, the bleſſed Virgin immediately conceives that ſweet and ſacred Hymn, *My ſoul doth magnifie the Lord, &c.* In her belief and acceptance of this ſign, or rather in her conception, which did inſtantly follow upon it, that ſign which God had proffered to *Ahaz*, by *Iſaiah*, was moſt exactly accompliſhed. *Ahaz* was willing to aſk a ſign, either in the depth, or height above, *Iſai.* 7. 11. Though *Ahaz* ſhould have requeſted God that the Moon and Stars might deſcend out of the Spheres, and become Mountains and Rocks on earth, or that the ſtones in the bowels of the earth, or Rocks in the Sea, might aſcend into Heaven, and become glorious ſtars: Neither of theſe, nor both of them had been ſo great a wonder, as that which God now wrought upon the bleſſed Virgins belief unto his promiſe. For now he who was higher than the Heavens, who filleth both Heaven and Earth with his preſence (the true and only Son of God,) comes down from Heaven, is incloſed in the Virgins Womb, becomes her Son: and the fruit of her Womb, whoſe bodily original was from the earth, becomes the Son of God, the King of Heaven, and yet ſtill remains the true *Emmanuel,* God with us, or more than ſo, the *Jeſus* the Saviour.

CHAP. XXXV.

Of the Circumciſion of our Saviour.

THE Angelical hymn or teſtification of the birth of *Jeſus,* made unto the Shepherds by the Cœleſtial Hoſt, is a ſubject more fit for Sermons than for theſe Comments; at leaſt, the ſolemnity of that great Feſtival, would better become the Commemoration of thoſe joyful Ditties, than a plain Hiſtorical Narration of them; ſpecially ſeeing it would require a long ſearch, and a large diſcourſe to make it clear, where this ſacred Hymn ſung by Angels upon the birth day of *Jeſus,* was either foretold by any Prophet, or fore-ſhadowed by matter of fact. Beſides this Hymn, the next Evangelical Narration to his Birth was his Circumciſion, and impoſition of the name *Jeſus.* Now, albeit his Circumciſion be not mentioned in the Creed, yet it is a point of belief, not to be omitted in this place. *When eight days were accompliſhed for the circumciſing of the Child, his name was called* Jeſus: *which was ſo named of the Angel before he was conceived in the womb. Luke* 2. 21. But was it any where either expreſly foretold, or concludently portended by matter of fact, that the Son of God, (God bleſſed for ever) ſhould be circumciſed? Yes: all this was moſt concludently fore-ſignified, and that in ſuch a peculiar manner, as cannot exactly be paralleld with any of the former general ways, according to which the Incarnation of the Word, or other Articles concerning the Son of God, were either obſerved to be fore-ſhadowed, or to be fulfilled. Teſtimony expreſs and direct, there is none, I know, that the Son of God ſhould be circumciſed, and yet the circumciſion of God in the perſon of the Son, was more than fore-pictured, literally included in the Covenant between God and *Abraham,* Gen. 17. 6, 7. *I will make thee exceeding fruitful, and I will make Nations of thee, and Kings ſhall come out of thee. And I will eſtabliſh my Covenant between me and thee, and thy ſeed after thee in their generations for an everlaſting Covenant, to be a God unto thee, and to thy ſeed after thee, &c. And God ſaid unto* Abraham, *Thou ſhalt keep my Covenant therefore, thou and thy ſeed after thee, in their Generations. This is my Covenant which ye ſhall keep between me and you, and thy ſeed after thee: Every man child among you ſhall be circumciſed. And ye ſhall circumciſe the fleſh of your foreskin; and it ſhall be a token of the Covenant betwixt me and you. And he that is eight days old, ſhall be circumciſed among you, every man child in your generations, ver.* 9, 10, 11, 12. Though *Abraham* himſelf, and all his Houſhold were preſently circumciſed; yet the Covenant whereof Circumciſion was the pledge or token, was to be eſtabliſhed not in *Abraham* or in *Iſmael,* but in *Iſaac. And God ſaid,* Sarah *thy wife ſhall bear thee a ſon indeed, and thou ſhalt call his name* Iſaac: *and I will eſtabliſh my Covenant with him, for an everlaſting Covenant,* *and with his ſeed after him*, ver. 19. *Abraham* feared leſt Gods ſpecial favour to this Son of promiſe might exclude *Iſhmael* from bleſſings ordinary; and hence he prefers this modeſt Petition unto God, *ver.* 18. *O that* Iſhmael *might live before thee.* To which he receives this gracious anſwer, *ver.* 20. *And as for* Iſhmael, *I have heard thee. Behold, I have bleſſed him, and will make him fruitful, and will multiply him exceedingly: twelve Princes ſhall he beget, and I will make him a great Nation.* Laſtly, to ſhew that the prerogative promiſed to *Iſaac*, was firm, and not ſubject to contingency; it is further repeated, *ver.* 21. *But my Covenant will I eſtabliſh with* Iſaac, *which* Sarah *ſhall bear unto thee, at this ſet time, in the next year.*

2. It is very obſervable, that whereas the Hebrew mentions only the Covenant betwixt God and *Abraham*, and his ſeed after him: the * Chaldee Paraphraſe hath it expreſly, that God did make this Covenant betwixt his *Word* and *Abraham*, as *ver.* 2. *Dabo fœdus meum inter verbum meum, & inter te.* And ver. 10. *Hoc eſt fœdus meum quod ſervabit is inter [verbum meum] & inter vos, atq; inter [filios tuos] poſt te: ut circumcidatur in vobis omnis maſculus.* What manner of Covenant or rather league this was betwixt God and *Abraham*, comes to be diſcuſſed in the unfolding of Gods Oath to *Abraham*, and the Conſecration of *Abrahams* ſeed to his everlaſting Prieſthood of everlaſting bleſſing. The legal Covenant (afterwards confirmed by Oath,) was now begun and ſolemnized on *Abrahams* part, (as ſolemn leagues in thoſe Eaſtern Countries uſually were,) by effuſion of blood, his own, and his families, and ſo to be continued in his poſterity throughout their Generations. And in as much as Circumciſion was the ſign or ſolemn Ceremony of this mutual league between God and *Abraham*, and *Abrahams* ſeed; it is neceſſarily implyed (by the tenour of the ſame mutual Covenant) that God ſhould ſubſcribe or ſeal the league after the ſame manner, and to receive the ſame ſign of Circumciſion in his fleſh, which *Abraham* and his ſeed had done. Again, in as much as this league was eſtabliſhed with *Iſaac Abrahams* Son by promiſe; this likewiſe includes, that the only Son of God who was to be *Abrahams* ſeed, ſhould be circumciſed in his fleſh, as *Iſaac* had been. And this part of the Covenant was performed on Gods part in the perſon of his Son at the Circumciſion of the Child *Jeſus*. It was impoſſible that the Covenant ſhould be fully accompliſhed ſo long as *Abrahams* corruptible ſeed did only bear the ſeal or ſign. For it was to be an everlaſting Covenant: and to ſeal an everlaſting Covenant with an everlaſting ſeal in *Abrahams* ſeed or ſucceſſour according to the fleſh, was a matter as difficult, as to imprint a permanent ſtamp or character upon a ſtream of running water. This Covenant could not begin to be in *eſſe*, or bear a true and ſolid everlaſting date, until it were ſealed in the fleſh of the promiſed ſeed. As was his perſon in whom this Covenant was to be accompliſhed, ſuch was the ſeal; and ſuch did the Covenant thus ſealed, become, truly immortal and everlaſting, never to be reiterated after it was once accompliſhed in him, which was not done, but begun upon the eighth day after our Saviours birth. That which was now begun by him, and in part ſealed by him, by the ſeal of Circumciſion in his fleſh, was afterwards to be accompliſhed, and finally ſealed by his bloudy Sacrifice upon the Croſs. The continual practice of Circumciſion by the Jew (though he be ſenſeleſs and blind, and perceiveth it not) is unto us a legible character, and an undoubted viſible pledge, that God who made

* Onkelus Fagio Interprete.

made this Covenant with *Abraham*, was to be Incarnate, or to aſſume fleſh, by aſſuming *Abrahams* Seed; to the end he might interchangably ſeal this Covenant in his fleſh. But ſeeing as well *Abrahams* preſent Seed as their Families, were ſtill ſubject to mortality; it was moſt fitting and requiſite, that Circumciſion ſhould be continued throughout all their Generations, in teſtification of their hope and expectance of the Promiſed Seed, unto whoſe fleſh the ſeal of Circumciſion being once put, the Covenant ſealed was to ſtand faſt for ever, without reiteration or addition of any other ſeal. In him all Gods Promiſes are yea, and Amen. Whilſt he was circumciſed, God was circumciſed, and Man was circumciſed; and this Covenant or League between God and Man, was mutually ſealed by God and Man, with one and the ſame numerical ſeal. Howbeit, as was intimated before, this glorious Covenant thus jointly ſealed up in him, was not to bear its everlaſting date, until it were further ratified, and finally ſealed by his bloudy Sacrifice upon the Croſs, unto which ſervice he was initiated by his Circumciſion. The Sacrament of Circumciſion was not ſo properly aboliſhed as changed into the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and ſo changed by that Commiſſion which this our everlaſting Prieſt gave to his Apoſtles and Miniſters after his Reſurrection. *Go ye therefore, and teach all Nations baptizing them in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, Math.* 28. 19. It was by this new Commiſſion ſo changed, that he which now ſeeks to circumciſe others, or ſuffers himſelf to be circumciſed; doth but labour as much as in him lies to diſſolve, and diſſipate this glorious Covenant betwixt God and Man, thus jointly ſealed up in one and the ſame individual perſon, with one and the ſame numerical ſeal, and afterwards authentickly and finally ſealed by the bloudy Sacrifice of the ſame perſon God and Man upon the Croſs. And however the *Mahumetans*, the *Sarazens*, and *Perſians*, with other prepoſterous imitatours of *Abrahams* Faith, have run mad with love of this Ceremony of Circumciſion; ſometimes moſt loathſom and odious to fleſh and bloud, whilſt it was pleaſing unto God; yet the practice of it, is now more abominable unto God that gave it for a ſign of his everlaſting Covenant, than it was pleaſing to him, or diſpleaſing to men, whilſt the Law of Ceremonies was in force. And for this reaſon, St. *Paul* wiſheth the ſame curſe or puniſhment unto ſuch as preſſed the neceſſity of Circumciſion upon Chriſts Church, which God himſelf had threatned unto ſuch, as during the time of the Law, did neglect, contemn, or omit it. *The uncircumciſed manchild*, (ſaith God to *Abraham, Gen.* 17. 14.) *whoſe fleſh of his fore-skin is not circumciſed, that ſoul ſhall be cut off from his people.* I would (ſaith St *Paul, Gal.* 5. 12.) or as ſome read, *I would to God they were even cut off that trouble you.* Such he means, and ſuch alone, as did trouble them by preſſing the neceſſity of Circumciſion upon them, which had been baptized in Chriſt.

3. That the Heathens were concluded in this league, the modern Jew cannot deny. For not only *Abrahams* Sons, but every Male in his Family, though bought with money, was to receive the ſign of this Covenant in his fleſh. But ſaith the Jew, ſeeing they came into this league by receiving Circumciſion, what is this to you Gentiles which will not be circumciſed? The Apoſtle Saint *Paul* hath moſt divinely diſſolved this knot, *Rom.* 4. 10. His words are ſo plain, that they need no Comment, but only to add this circumſtance, which is likely Saint *Paul* took for granted, when he made that excellent Com-

ment upon *Moſes* his words, *Gen.* 15. 6. *Abraham* (ſaith *Moſes*) *believed in God, and it was imputed unto him for righteouſneſs.* Seeing the Scripture, as S. *James* tells us, was fulfilled, when *Abraham* offered up his Son *Iſaac*, why was not this teſtimony of God concerning *Abraham*, reſerved to that fact, or at leaſt to *Abrahams* obedience in circumciſing himſelf and his Son *Iſrael*? Both theſe facts include a greater meaſure of belief in Gods Promiſes, than *Abraham* gave proof of in the fore-cited place, and was therefore more capable of that praiſe or apprehenſion. But, if that approbation of *Abrahams* Faith had been deferred until the Covenant of Circumciſion had been ſubſcribed unto by *Abraham*, the Jews might with more probability have conceived, that this righteouſneſs which God imputes to *Abraham*, had come by the deeds of the Laws, that none but ſuch as are circumciſed could be partakers of it; Whereas on the contrary, this teſtimony being given unto *Abraham* before he was circumciſed, cuts off the Jews title of boaſting in Circumciſion. This is the ground of the Apoſtles reaſon, *Rom.* 4. 9, 10. *For we ſay that Faith was reckoned unto* Abraham *for righteouſneſs.* How was it then reckoned? When he was in circumciſion, or in uncircumciſion? Not in circumciſion, but in uncircumciſion. *And he received the ſign of Circumciſion, a ſeal of Righteouſneſs of the Faith, which he had yet being uncircumciſed, that he might be the Father of all them that believe, though they be not circumciſed, that righteouſneſs might be imputed unto them alſo.*

And again, *Gal.* 3. 8. *And the Scripture fore-ſeeing that God would juſtifie the Heathen through Faith, Preached before the Goſpel unto* Abraham, *ſaying, In thee ſhall all Nations be bleſſed. So then they which be of Faith, are bleſſed with faithful* Abraham.

4. Again, God in ſo diſpoſing of times and ſeaſons, that his only Son ſhould be circumciſed upon the firſt of *January*, did ſignifie that intereſt which the Gentiles or Heathens were to have in this Covenant. For this was the day wherein the *Romans*, in whoſe Dominions, and under whoſe Government he was born, did conſecrate to *Janus*, to them a God of peace and proſperity, the day wherein they did mutually preſent their ſolemn ſalutations or good wiſhes for a happy year, and for good luck ſake, as we ſay, did ſend gifts one to another, as honey and other like ſweet-meats, and coin, *ut dulces dies anni à dulcibus rebus auſpicarentur*, as Emblems of their good wiſhes for many pleaſant and happy days.

And whilſt they were thus employed in preventing each other with gifts and mutual precations of peace and many happy days; God gives his only Son unto them (and to them all) who was the Prince of that peace; the common fountain of all that Happineſs, which they could wiſh one to another. Albeit the Son of God were born eight days before, yet he was given unto us upon the day of his Circumciſion. His Circumciſion was the deſignment or dedication of him for the Salvation of mankind. *Behold* (ſaith the Angel, *Luk.* 2. 10.) *I bring you good tidings of great joy, which ſhall be to all people.* The Prophet *Iſay* fore-told this joy, not only with reference to the birth, but to the Circumciſion alſo of the true *Emmanuel*. *They joy before thee according to the joy in Harveſt, and as men rejoyce when they divide the ſpoil,* Iſa. 9. 3. *For unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given; and the government ſhall be upon his ſhoulder,* &c. *ver.* 6.

But ſome there be, who will either deny, or not believe, that our Saviour was circumciſed upon the firſt of *January*, becauſe we have no better warrant for this opinion, than the Tradition of the Church. But ſome of the Ancient and Learned Fathers did think they had the teſtimony of Scripture, beſides the Tradition of their Ancients. For ſo they interpret thoſe words of Saint *John Baptiſt*, *John* 3. 30. He muſt encreaſe, but I muſt decreaſe; as if they did contain a ſecret character of the time wherein *John Baptiſt* and our Saviour were born; the one upon the longeſt, the other upon the ſhorteſt day in the year. And by this account our Saviour was circumciſed upon the eighth day of *January*. For my part I dare not contradict this kind of interpretation of the Fathers, being fully perſwaded that the Holy Ghoſt doth oft-times fore-ſignifie greateſt myſteries, as well by meer character of words, as by words aſſertive or matter of fact.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Of the name Jeſus, *and the title* Lord.

THE meaning of the name *Jeſus* is expounded by the Angel, Matth. 1. 11. *She ſhall bring forth a Son, and thou ſhalt call his name Jeſus: for he ſhall ſave his people from their ſins.* But this *title* of *Saviour* may admit many degrees, partly in reſpect of the name it ſelf in the original tongue, whence it deſcends unto the Greek and Latine: but more principally in reſpect of the matter, that is, the diſtreſs or danger whence men are *ſaved*. In reſpect of this latter at leaſt, *Jeſus* the Son of *Mary*, far exceeds all others that have been, or hereafter may be termed Saviours. But of the danger or miſery from which he ſaved his people, there will be better opportunity to ſpeak at large in the Article of his Croſs. The explication of the name it ſelf, is the work of this time and place. Some there be which think this name *Jeſus* muſt neceſſarily be derived from the eſſential and proper name of God; a name never rightly pronounced by the Jews, or by any other, as ſome learned Hebricians think before our Saviours Birth, but then made *effable*, or utterable (as the Authors of this opinion would perſwade us, who derive this word *Jeſus* from *Jehovah*, by interſertion of one Hebrew letter, to wit, *Shin*, which is as much as *Sh*.) According to this derivation, they would make the *compound* name to be an emblem or type of the two natures in Chriſt; *Jehovah* bearing the type of the Divine Nature, and the letter *Shin* interſerted into this name, to be an emblem of the Incarnation or Humane Nature aſſumed into the unity of the perſon of the Son of God. This Etymology or derivation (as the Authors of it imagine) beſt agrees with the Angels interpretation of the name *Jeſus* before-cited; becauſe *Jehovah* himſelf *ſaith* (Iſay 45. 21.) *There is no Saviour beſides me.* If this be λόγος ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιος *currant Cabbaliſm*, we are in ſpecial beholding to *Oſiander* for it. If by ſager judgments it happen to be cenſured for a fancy, * *Jacobus Naclantus*, a Romiſh Biſhop muſt ſhare with *Oſiander* in the cenſure. Whatſoever the opinion be in it ſelf, the allegation for confirmation of it, is not concludent. For *that*, rightly examined, only infers, that *Jehovah* himſelf, (he that was eſſentially God) and none beſides him, was to be our Saviour, or the Saviour of the World. This is a truth unqueſtionable, yet a truth which will not conclude, that whilſt he became the Saviour

* Vide *Jacobum Naclantum* in Medulla ſcripturæ.

Saviour of the World, he was to take no other name or title upon him, beſides the proper and eſſential name of God, only imbelliſhed with one letter. But admit the name *Jeſus*, (as we take it in our Creed) given to our Saviour by the Angel, muſt draw its pedegree from the ſame Hebrew *root* or *primitive*, from which the name *Jeſus*, given to others, is derived; yet the branches of the ſame root or primitive, (from any of which the name *Jeſus* may be aptly alike immediately derived) differ much. Firſt, we may derive the word *Jeſus* from the *future tenſe* of the Hebrew *Jaſhang* [*Salvavit*] And thus the name in the Hebrew ſhould be *Jehoſhuah*, whence he whom in our Engliſh we call *Joſhua* the Son of *Nun*, and *Jeſus* the Son of God, ſhould have one and the ſelf ſame name in the Hebrew, as they have in the Greek and vulgar Latine. According to this derivation all the prerogatives which *Jeſus Chriſt* the Son of God can challenge before *Jeſus* the Son of *Nun*, or others which have been called *Jeſus*, muſt be deduced only from the matter or manner of the ſalvation which he beſtows, not from any peculiar property or ſoveraignty of name. The ſame name in the Hebrew is ſometimes read ſhorter, not *Jehoſhua*, but *Jeſhua*, and from this latter contracted name as well the Greek Ιεσοῦς, as the Latine *Jeſus* is more immediately and with leſs alteration derived. This latter kind of writing (or contraction,) was more familiar among the *Jews* in our Saviours time. And for this reaſon the modern *Jews* call him *Jeſu*, not in deſpight or mockery (as ſome great * Clarks have been perſwaded) but out of an ordinary cuſtom of omitting the Hebrew *gutteral* in this and like words for better facility of pronouncing. And as *Druſius* notes, the omiſſion of this letter in proper names, grew in uſe amongſt latter *Hebricians* (ſuch as lived ſince or about our Saviours time) upon the ſame occaſions, that moved the ancient Latine Fathers, to render the Hebrew *Hoſeang*, not as we do now, *Hoſeas*, but *Oſe*. Whether we read *Jehoſhua*, or *Jeſhua*, or *Jeſhu* in the Hebrew, the name in the Greek or Latine is all one; and the meaning or ſignification in the Hebrew the very ſame.

* Vide Druſium de nominibus.

2. But albeit the name of this our *Jeſus* may rightly be derived from the ſame branch of the Hebrew *Jaſhang*, from which the name of *Jeſus* as it was given to *Jeſus* the Son of *Nun*, and to *Jeſus* the Son of *Joſedec*, took their original, yet I like beſt of their opinion, which derive the name *Jeſus* (as given to the Son of God) not from the *participle*, *verb*, or *adjective*, but from the abſtract or ſubſtantive *Jeſhugnah*, which is as much *as ſalus ipſa, or Salvation* it ſelf. And this original of the name *Jeſus*, *Simeon* ſeems to intimate in his divine Song *Luke* 1. *ver.* 28.29. *He took the child* Jeſus (ſaith the Evangeliſt) *in his arm, and bleſſed God and ſaid, Lord now letteſt thou thy ſervant depart in peace according to thy word; for mine eyes have ſeen*, (not σωτῆρα σου, but σωτήριον σου) not *ſalvatorem*, but *ſalutem*, not the Saviour, but the ſalvation, *which thou haſt prepared before the face of all people, a light to lighten the Gentiles, and to be the glory of the people* Iſrael. Now all theſe Attributes [of being *a light to lighten the Gentiles*, to be *the glory of* Iſrael] are properly aſcribed unto the perſon of our Saviour, unto God made man, or unto the man Chriſt Jeſus, in whom the Godhead dwelleth bodily. The Hebrew abſtract or ſubſtantive, which the Greeks expreſs by σωτήριον or σωτηρία, that is, by *ſalvation* it ſelf, (not by Saviour) is moſt frequently uſed in thoſe places of Scripture wherein Salvation by Chriſt is promiſed. As *Iſay* 52. 10. *The Lord*

hath made bare his holy arm in the eyes of all the Nations, and all the ends of the earth ſhall ſee the Salvation *of our God.* And again, *Iſai.* 56. 1. *Thus ſaith the Lord, keep ye judgment, and do juſtice: for my ſalvation is near to come, and my righteouſneſs to be revealed.* And *Habakkuk* 3. 18. *Yet I will rejoice in the Lord, I will joy in the God of my* Salvation, (ſo our Engliſh,) *or in God my ſalvation, or my* Jeſus. And again, *Iſay* 49. 6. *It is a light thing that thou ſhouldſt be my ſervant to raiſe up the Tribes of* Jacob, *and to reſtore the preſerved of* Iſrael: *I will alſo give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayſt be my* Salvation *unto the end of the Earth.* Inſtantly after God had ſaved *Iſrael* out of the hand of the *Egyptians*, and drowned the *Egyptians* in the Sea, *Moſes* and the Children of *Iſrael* ſang this ſong unto the Lord, *Exod.* 15. 1, 2. *He hath tryumphed gloriouſly; the horſe and his rider hath he thrown into the Sea. The Lord is my ſtrength and ſong, and he is become my ſalvation,* &c. This deliverance of *Iſrael* from the *Egyptian* thraldom and their ſafe conduct through the red Sea, was but a a type or ſhadow of a greater deliverance to be wrought by the ſame God for his people, for which they were to take up the ſame ſong which *Moſes* and the Children of *Iſrael* here did; but with ſome additions or fuller expreſſions, how the God of their ſtrength ſhould become the God of their *Salvation*, or their Jeſus. *And in that day, thou ſhalt ſay, O Lord, I will praiſe thee; though thou waſt angry with me, thine anger is turned away, and thou comfortedſt me. Behold, God is my ſalvation: I will truſt, and not be afraid, for the Lord* Jehovah *is my ſtrength, and my ſong, he is alſo my* Salvation. *Therefore with joy ſhall ye draw water out of the Wells of* Salvation, *Iſaiah* 12. 1, 2, 3. Though theſe and many other places of the like obſervation had their true hiſtorical occaſions, yet were they not exactly fulfilled according to their prophetical importance, until he fulfilled them, who was *Jehovah*, both Lord and God from Eternity, not by a general title, but by a diſtinct and proper name given unto him by Gods appointment at his Circumciſion. How the name and office of Chriſt Jeſus, as King and Prieſt, was both fore-propheſied, and reſpectively fore-ſhadowed, by *Jeſus* the Son of *Nun*, and by *Jeſus* the Son of *Jehoſedec*, muſt be referred unto his Conſecration, to be the Prieſt after the order of *Melchiſedec*.

3. It followeth in the Creed, *That Jeſus Chriſt who is the only Son of God is our Lord.* Now whether this title [Lord] be interſerted into this Article by way of anticipation, as the other title Chriſt apparently is, may be doubted. He did bear the name *Jeſus* from his Circumciſion, as we do our Chriſten names from the Font. This was his proper name; the other two were names of office. *Know ye*, ſaith the Apoſtle, *Acts* 2. 36. *that that* Jeſus *whom ye have crucified, him hath God made both Chriſt and Lord,* to wit, after they had crucified him. He was anointed to his Prophetical office at his Baptiſm, but thereby rather initiated to be, than actually made Chriſt and Lord. Unto theſe two offices of everlaſting Prieſt, and everlaſting King, he was not actually anointed, or fully conſecrated until his Reſurrection from the dead. Was not then the Son of God, *Lord* before his reſurrection? Yes, being God from Eternity, he was alſo Lord from Eternity. So we are taught by *Athanaſius, The Father is Lord, the Son is Lord, and the Holy Ghoſt is Lord.* Whoſoever is truly God, is alſo truly Lord. And in this acception of Lord, as there be not three Gods but one God, ſo there be not *three Lords, but one Lord* in the Bleſſed Trinity. The Father is the only God, the only Lord;

the Son is the only God, the only Lord; the Holy Ghoſt is the only God, the only Lord. But whether this title of Lord, as it is here inſerted in this Article of the Creed, import no more, than that the Son of God, is the true and only Lord, with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt; or whether it were not before his Birth in ſome ſort peculiar to the Son, is a point neither clear in it ſelf, nor eaſie to be cleared; becauſe the ancient Tranſlators, (eſpecially the Greek and Latine) render the three original words, *Elohim, Jehovah*, or the name of four letters (however it be pronounced) and *Adonai* promiſcuouſly by *Lord*. And yet theſe three words in the original have their ſeveral ſignifications or importances. To omit the word *Elohim:* About the name of four letters there is much contention how it ſhould be pronounced; yet all agree that it denotes the Nature and Eſſence of God; is his moſt proper name, and admits no plural. The proper ſignification of the name *Adonai*, is as much as *Dominus* or Lord.

4. The reaſon, as I take it, why the Greeks and Latines have uſually but one expreſſion of both names, is, becauſe the ancient Hebrews did not pronounce the name of four letters, unleſs it were in the Sanctuary, or in ſolemn benedictions. Nor did they write it ſo as it might be pronounced, that is, with any proper vowels, but either with the vowels of *Adonai*, or of *Elohim*. Not the Greeks and Latines only, but the Chaldee paraphraſe ſometimes reads *Adonia*, where we read *Jehovah*, or the name of four letters. And thus it doth not from miſtake of the Hebrew vowels, which in the time of *Onkelus*, the latter of the two Chaldee Parapraſes, were not expreſt. *And God ſaid to* Moſes, *I appeared to* Abraham, *unto* Iſaac, *and* Jacob, *by the name of God Almighty, but by my name* Jehovah *was I not known to them*, *Exod.* 6. 3. Or as the Chaldee by the name *Adonai*, &c. *Wherefore ſay unto the Children of* Iſrael, *I am the Lord, and I will bring you out from under the burthens of the* Egyptians, *and I will rid you out of their bondage*, &c. Some good Writers in the interpretation of this place obſerve, that albeit *Abraham, Iſaac*, and *Jacob* were in high favour with God, yet they wrought no Miracles as *Moſes* the firſt among the Sons of men did. And hence they infer, that *Moſes* did work all his Miracles in the power and vertue of his name, whether *Jehovah* or *Adonai*, which was firſt manifeſted unto him. But amongſt many interpretations of this place * *Fagius* beſt approves this.

* Variæ ſunt Commentatorum interpretationes in hunc locum: quarum aliquot hic referre volumus. Quidam ſic intelligunt; quòd Deus quidem generalem quandam ſui cognitionem patribus revelaverit: ſed notam claram & perſpicuam, quam revelata eſt per *Moſen*. Et inter Patriarchas obſcurè adhuc de Deo prædicatum, per *Moſen* autem manifeſtiorem prædicationem de Deo vulgatam eſſe. Alii dicunt quòd hoc nomen Dei, *Adonai*, manifeſtum quidem & uſitatum fuerit Patriarchis, ſecundum vocem, ſed non ſecundum ſignificatum myſterium, aut virtutem ejus. Videlicet quòd Patriarchæ ſciverint quidem Deum ſatis fortem, & potentem eſſe ad ædenda miracula & prodigia, ſed non ſciverint nomen Dei tetragrammaton יהוה nomen illud eſſe, quo poſſit homo, tanquam cooperator & delegatus à Deo miracula ædere Quemadmodum *Moſen* putant virtute hujus nominis יהוה *Adonai*, miracula ædidiſſe. Mihi videtur omnium ſimpliciſſima ſententia eſſe eorum, qui ad hunc modum explicant, Quaſi Deus hoc ſenſu hæc verba ad *Moſen* dixerit. Omnipotentem quidem me eſſe patribus declaravi & mihi abunde eſſe divitiarum, ut illos divites redderem. At in nomine meo *Adonai* non fui cognitus illis, id eſt, verum opere non complevi quod illis ſum pollicitus. Quaſi dicat promittentem quidem me illis terram Chananæorum, audierunt & crediderunt; ſed opere promiſſa complentem non viderunt, quemadmodum tu viſurus es. Tibi igitur in nomine meo *Adonai* cognitus ero, Id eſt, videbis me id facere quod nomen ſonat, nempe veracem eſſe, *&c. Paulus Fagius* Paraphra. *Chald.* in Exodum *Chap.* 6.

Although God were known to *Abraham* as Omnipotent and All-ſufficient to perform whatſoever he hath promiſed: yet was he not known unto *Abraham* or other of the Patriarchs by that name or title, which did import the inſtant performance of what he had promiſed unto *Abraham*. This was immediately imported in the name *of four letters*, or in thoſe Deſcriptions which God there gave to *Moſes* of his nature and eſſence, or of his preſent purpoſe towards *Iſrael* in the third of *Exod.* ver. 14, ***I am, that I am,*** &c.

5. And the Chaldee paraphraſe, it is probable, did uſe the name *Adonai* in ſtead of the name of four letters, as moſt pertinent and moſt ſignificant to this purpoſe. For it properly pertains to him who is not only in himſelf Almighty or Allſufficient, but Lord of all, to diſpoſe of Kingdoms and Inheritances; to depoſe greateſt Lords and advance meaneſt ſervants. If the name of four Letters were to the ancient Hebrews as ***Druſius*** with ſome others will have it, ineffable; this was a true character of his incomprehenſible nature, which they properly ſignifie. Nor doth the uſual ſubſtitution of *Adonai*, for the want of four letters want matter of more than Grammatical obſervation. This practice was a literal Emblem or Character of that which our Evangeliſt hath expreſt in words aſſertive, *John* 1. 18. *No man hath ſeen God at any time: the only begotten Son, which is in the boſom of the Father he hath declared him.* In this Declaration or Expoſition of God (whoſe incomprehenſible nature was charactered by his ineffable name) made by the Son of God incarnate, there was a greater improvement of mans knowledge of God, in reſpect of that knowledge which *Moſes* and the Prophets had, than there was in *Moſes* his knowledge of God, in reſpect of *Abrahams*, *Iſaacs*, or *Jacobs*. *Moſes* and his Succeſſors did ſee the performance of that, which the name of *Jehovah*, or *Adonai*, firſt revealed to *Moſes* did import, to wit, deliverance from their bodily Enemies, and in that deliverance they had a pledge of far greater bleſſings promiſed, which yet they did not receive. For as our Apoſtle teſtifies *Heb.* 11. 39. *Though* Moſes *amongſt others, through faith, obtained a good report; yet he did not receive the promiſe*, that is, the bleſſing promiſed, nor was the nature of man capable of this bleſſing promiſed, until that God, who was firſt revealed unto *Moſes*, under the name of *Jehovah*, was made Lord and Chriſt.

6. It had been a queſtion more worthy of ***Druſius*** his pains, than all the queſtions which he makes concerning the name of four letters, whether the name *Adonai* were not in ſome ſort peculiar to the Son of God, or to ὁ λόγος, who was to be made fleſh. That this name *Adonai* is ſo peculiar to the Son of God as ὁ λόγος is, I dare not affirm. For ὁ λόγος doth no where to my remembrance denote any other perſon in the bleſſed Trinity beſides the Son; Whereas the name *Adonai* is an expreſſion which many times refers unto the Trinity or Divine nature. And in this extent it muſt be taken, when it is ſubſtituted for the ineffable name of God, unleſs ſome ſpecial circumſtances reſtrain it to the Son. But in many paſſages of the Old Teſtament, both names are expreſt according to their proper conſonants. And in all theſe places the name *Adonai* refers only to the Son, as the name of four letters denotes the Father. As in that 110. Pſalm, where we read, *The Lord ſaid unto my Lord*, it is in the original *Jehovah* ſaid unto my Lord *Adoni*, or *Adonai*. And in this place the name of four letters refers only to God the Father. But ſo doth not the name *Adoni* denote either the Father or the Holy Ghoſt, but the Son alone. I durſt not have been ſo bold as to have gathered this general rule from mine own obſervation, unleſs I had found it excellently obſerved and proved at large by *Petrus Faber* in his *Dodecamenon*, *Chap.* 8. It much affected this learned man, as it will do any that is wiſe unto ſobriety, to ſee how moſt of the Ancients, as well in the Greek as in the Latine Church, albeit they took no notice at all of any difference between

theſe two names of God in the Original, did yet conſtantly appropriate the name of *Lord* to *God* the *Son*, when he is named in the ſame prayer or gratulatory Hymn with God the Father. But this they might learn either from St. *Paul*, or from the Apoſtles Creed. For ſo the bleſſing is, The grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the love of God, [not of the Lord God] &c. And ſo in the Apoſtles Creed the title of Lord is appropriated unto the Son of God, not added either to the Father Almighty, or to the Holy Ghoſt.

7. But in many places of the Old Teſtament, wherein both names of God are ſpecified, the name of *Adonai* is placed before the name of four Letters. And thus it happens, ſo far as I can obſerve, eſpecially in the ſerious ſupplications, or gratulatory expreſſions of Holy men, as in that ſpeech of *Gideon*, *Judges* 6. 13. *Oh my Lord, if God be with us, why then is all this befallen us?* And again, *Joſuah* 7. 7. *Joſhua ſaid, Alas, O Lord God, wherefore haſt thou at all brought this people over Jordan, &c.* The Evangelical Myſtery implied in this form of prayer or ſupplication, is excellently deciphered by *Maſius* in his Comments upon this place, with whoſe words, gathered from the Tradition or Liturgy rather of the ancient Hebrews of the *Cabbaliſts* I conclude this Treatiſe.

* *Joſhua* (ſaith he) calls God by two names, when as chief Commander he ſpeaks in behalf of all the reſt. The one is *Adonai*: the other *Jehova*. The former ſetteth out Gods ruling power: the later hath reſpect (as elſewhere I have ſhewed) to Gods Eſſence. Theſe two names often come together in the moſt fervent prayers of the Saints in the ſacred ſtory: as here they do. Namely, they inſpired with the Holy Ghoſt do, as (I conceive) the Holy Church doth, praying for all things from the Father for the Sons ſake. For ſeeing *Adonai* (as I ſaid) hath an eye to Gods ruling power; it agrees manifeſtly to the Son, and repreſents him to us by whom as God the Father made the World, ſo he ruleth it. In this point the diviner ſort of Hebrew Authors called *Cabbaliſts*, aſſent to us; when they teach that the name *Adonai* is as it were the key, by which entrance is opened to God *Jehova*: that is, to God as it were, hid in his own Eſſence: and that it is the treaſure, in which theſe things beſtowed on us by *Jehova* are all depoſited; And that moreover it denoteth the great Steward, who diſpoſeth of all, and nouriſheth and quickneth all things under *Jehova*; And finally, that no man can approach near *Jehova*, but by *Adonai*: becauſe there is no other way or courſe at all to come to him; And that therefore the Church thus begins her holy prayers: *Adonai*, that is, Lord open my lips, and my mouth ſhall ſhew forth thy praiſe. Theſe and ſuch like paſſages are extant in the Book intituled *Porta lucis*, *the Gate of light*: and in the Book called שם המפרש That is, The name explicated.

* Compellat Joſua Deum duplici nomine, dum ut Imperator, pro omnibus verba facit. Alterum eſt, אדני Adonai; alterum יְהוָֹה illud ad dominationem pertinet; hoc Dei eſſentiam, ut alibi dixi, intuetur. Solent autem duo iſta nomina ſæpius in vehementioribus precationibus iſto modo conjungi à viris ſanctis in ſacra hiſtoria. Quod eodem illi Spiritu afflati fecere, ut ego certè exiſtimo, quo ſacroſancta Eccleſia Deum Patrem omnia orat per Filium. Nam cum nomen Adonai, ut dixi, dominationem intueatur, planè filio congruit, eumq; nobis repræſentat, per quem Deus Pater, ut fecit mundum, ſic mundum moderatur. Idq; adſentiuntur nobis etiam, verbis ſaltem, diviniores Hæbræorum Philoſophi, quos *Cabbaliſtas* vocant; cum tradunt, illud nomen, Adonai, eſſe tanquam clavem, qua patefit aditus ad Deum Jehovam: hoc eſt, ad Deum in ſua eſſentia veluti latentem; eſſe Theſaurum, in quo ea, quæ ab Jehova nobis impartiuntur, omnia ſunt recondita, Eſſe inſuper œconomon illud magnum, qui res omnes diſpenſat, nutrit, vegetat, per Jehovam; Deniq; neminem ad Jehovam penetrare poſſe, niſi per Adonai: Neq; enim ullam aut viam, aut rationem ad illum perveniendi aliam eſſe prorſus; Atq; ideò Eccleſiam preces ſuas ſacras ſic auſpicari: Adonai, hoc eſt, Domine, Labia mea aperias, & os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam. Hæc enim, & his ſimilia alia ſcripta extant in eo libro, cui titulum illi fecère, Portam Lucis: & in libro quem vocant שם המפרש id eſt; Nomen explicatum. *Maſius Comment. in Joſuam, Cap.* 7. *pag.* 124.

THE HUMILIATION OF THE SON of GOD,

BY HIS

Becoming the SON of MAN,

By taking the form of a Servant, and by his ſufferings under *Pontius Pilate*, &c.

OR, THE

EIGHTH BOOK OF COMMENTARIES UPON THE *APOSTLES CREED.*

Divided into four Sections.

CONTINUED

By *THOMAS JACKSON* Doctor of Divinity, Chaplain to his Majeſty in Ordinary, and Preſident of *Corpus Chriſti* College in *Oxford.*

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THE
HUMILIATION
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OR THE
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COMMENTARIES
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APOSTLES CREED.

THAT the Man *Chriſt Jeſus* was truly and properly the Son of God, not from his Conception, Birth, or Circumciſion, but from Eternity: that the Son of God was ſo made man in time, That whilſt the man *Chriſt Jeſus* was conceived, born, and circumciſed; He who was the Son of God, and God our Lord from Eternity, was conceived, born, and circumciſed in our fleſh, hath been, though not the entire ſubject, yet the main ſcope of a former Treatiſe. Unto which by the aſſiſtance of this *Jeſus*, and his Holy Spirit, we now endeavour to annex this preſent Treatiſe, or Eighth Book of *Commentaries* upon the Apoſtles Creed; the ſubject and ſcope whereof is to ſhew, that the ſame God, and our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, born of the Virgin *Mary*, &c. did, (according to the Scripture afore extant) ſuffer under *Pontius Pilate*, was crucified, dead, and buried, *&c.*

Beſides that which hath been delivered concerning this *Jeſus* and our *Lord*, all that we are in theſe *Comments* to proſecute or meddle with (until we come unto the Article of his coming to judge the Quick and the Dead, and the accompliſhment of a Treatiſe already begun, concerning the Holy Catholick Church) will fall under theſe

Generals, *The Humiliation*, *The Exaltation*, And *Conſecration* of the Son of God to the everlaſting Prieſthood.

Of his Humiliation, his Death and Sufferings: Of his Exaltation, his Reſurrection from the Dead, his Aſcenſion into Heaven, and ſitting at the right hand of God, were the periods, or accompliſhments; Of his Conſecration to his everlaſting Prieſthood, his Agony, and Bloudy Death, his reſt three days and three nights in the grave, and Reſurrection thence, were the principal, though not the only parts. To begin with his Humiliation.

SECT.

SECTION I.

Of the Humiliation of the Son of God, and the end why he did ſo humble himſelf in the general.

CHAP. I.

In what ſenſe the Son of God is ſaid to have humbled himſelf.

1. ALbeit, the Humiliation of the Son of God our Lord be not expreſly mentioned in the Apoſtles Creed, yet is it ſo emphatically expreſt in *Canonical* Scriptures (whence the Articles of our Creed are taken, by whoſe rules they are to be interpreted) that no man which admits the Scripture to be a rule of Chriſtian Faith and practice, can deny this Humiliation of the Son of God to be a Fundamental point of belief, and rule of manners, and practice truly Chriſtian. As to omit other Texts for the preſent, that one of our Apoſtle S. * *Paul* ſhall ſuffice, *Let nothing be done through ſtrife or vain-glory, but in lowlineſs of mind; let each eſteem others better than themſelves. Look not every man on his own things, but every man alſo on the things of others. Let this mind be in you, which was alſo in* Chriſt Jeſus: *who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God: But made himſelf of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a ſervant, and was made in the likeneſs of men. And being found in faſhion as a man, he humbled himſelf, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the Croſs.* If we conſider this Humiliation of Chriſt our Saviour, in its general or abſtract notion, not as reſtrained unto particular circumſtances of his death and ſufferings, it is in ſome ſort more peculiar to him as he was, and is the Son of God, than the matter of any other Article following in this Creed. For when we ſay (as we muſt believe) that the only Son of God was born, was circumciſed, did ſuffer under *Pontius Pilate*, was crucified, dead, and buried, theſe and the like ſpeeches can be no other ways verified of him, as he is God, than *per communicationem idiomatum:* That is, the matters ſignified by theſe and the like ſpeeches had their beginning and real exiſtence in his humane nature. For that alone was really capable of weakneſs, ſorrow, infirmity, and of death: Yet in as much as the whole Humane Nature it ſelf was but an Appendix of his Divine Perſon, (no perſon diſtinct from it) whatſoever Chriſt Jeſus did do or ſuffer in this Nature, was done, and ſuffered by the Eternal Son of God. The Son of God was truly humbled, in, and according to this Nature

* Phil.2.ver.2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

ture in all his natural, and more than natural ſufferings, from his birth to his death. Yet may we not ſay, that this Son of *God* did humble himſelf only in theſe or the like undertakings, whereof the Humane Nature alone was really capable. That *exinanition*, or nullifying of himſelf, mentioned by our Apoſtle, (*Phil.* 2. 7.) did not take its beginning from, or in the manhood, but in and from the Divine Perſon of the Son of *God*. For it was no Phyſical paſſion, or natural affection, no paſſion at all, either natural, or ſupernatural, yet a true and proper Humiliation more than civil, though better reſembled by Humiliation civil, than by natural. His obedience did not meerly conſiſt in his patient ſuffering, but in the ſubmiſſion of himſelf to his Fathers will, before he ſuffered. Moſt willing he was to take upon him the form of a ſervant, before he actually took our nature upon him for our redemption; before the Angel *Gabriel* was ſent unto the Bleſſed Virgin; before the * *Pſalmiſt* had ſaid on his behalf, *Sacrifice and offering thou wouldſt not: but a body haſt thou prepared me; in burnt offerings and ſacrifice for ſin thou haſt had no pleaſure: then ſaid I, lo I come; in the volume of the book it is written of me: I delight to do thy will, O God.* This unconceivable manner of his unexpreſſible willingneſs to do his Fathers will, was the very life and ſoul of that moſt admirable obedience of his humane will to do and ſuffer whatſoever he did or ſuffered in our fleſh: That, which gave the infinite value, and everlaſting efficacy to his everlaſting ſacrifice, which was offered once for all.

* Pſ. 40. ver. 6, 7, 8.

2. For taking a true, though an imperfect ſcale (for ſuch is the beſt that man can take) of his humiliation and obedience, we are to ſcan the meaning of our Apoſtle in the forecited place more particularly. He was, ſaith our Apoſtle, ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ, *in the form of God*; the original implyeth the very eſſence or nature of God. As much as we are taught to believe in the *Nicene* or *Athanaſius* Creed, where it is ſaid, *He was of one ſubſtance with the Father. &c.* He was ſo in the *form* of God, or ſo truly God, *that he thought it no robbery*, (no uſurpation of any dignity which was not his own by right of nature) to account himſelf equal with God. It was no robbery ſo to account himſelf, becauſe he knew himſelf ſo to be. Yet ſaith the Apoſtle, ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε *he did.* (as it were) *empty* himſelf, or ſequeſter this his greatneſs, and became leſs, or lower than the ſons of men, μορφὴν δούλου λαβών, by taking upon him the eſſential *ſtate* or *condition* of a ſervant: being firſt made ſubſtantially man, that he might be for a time *eſſentially* and *formally* a ſervant. For though every man be not a ſervant, yet every ſervant muſt be a man. Now the Son of God being thus found in the form and garb of a man, and in the *formal* condition of a ſervant, *He humbled himſelf yet lower, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the Croſs.* And that was a kind of death unto which by the Roman Laws, (whereunto he yielded obedience) none but ſlaves, or malefactors of ſervile condition were lyable. And how ever, many of this ſtate or condition, were put unto this ignominious death; yet none beſides the man *Chriſt Jeſus* did ever ſuffer it out of obedience or willingly, but for want of power to reſiſt or eſchew it. Had it been in the power of the moſt abject ſlaves that ever did ſuffer it, to have called in but half ſo many Roman Souldiers to their reſcue, as *Chriſt Jeſus* could have commanded of Celeſtial Angels, they would have ſold their lives at a dearer rate, than the Emperors did, which were ſlain in battle or mutiny.

3. But the man *CHRIST JESUS*, who was alſo the true Son of God, and who in that he was the wiſdom of God, did better know the horror or pains of a lingring death before he had experience of it as man, than any Creature Man or Angel, can do: when HE *was afflicted and tormented, yet he opened not his mouth*; *but was brought* (unto his Croſs) *like a Lamb unto the ſlaughter, and as a ſheep before his ſhearer is dumb, ſo opened he not his mouth. Iſa.* 53. 7. This far exceeded all obedience of any man whether free-born, or a ſlave. His patience in all his ſufferings did far exceed the patience of dumb Creatures, of Lambs themſelves, of worms, or meaner ſenſible paſſives. For none of them doth dye a violent death without ſtriving or reluctance, without endeavour to annoy ſuch as afflict or torment them: Whereas this Lamb of God, to ſhew himſelf to be the mirrour of patience and obedience, did pray for his perſecutors, after the pangs of death more than natural, had ſeized upon him; after he had been buffetted, ſpit upon, ſcourged, and every way moſt diſgracefully abuſed; whilſt he endured the lingring and cruel torments of the Croſs, exaſperated with bitter ſcoffs and revilings of his unrelenting perſecutors, (unceſſantly pouring Vinegar inſtead of Oyl into his wounds,) gave not the leaſt ſignification of diſcontent, either by word or geſture towards God or Man; unleſs ſome haply will put a ſiniſter interpretation upon that exclamation when he was ready to dye, *My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me?* But of the purport of this exclamation, by Gods aſſiſtance, in its due time and place. In the interim without prejudice to any mans perſon or authority, I reſt perſwaded that this ſpeech beareth no character of diſcontent, much leſs of deſpair. To conclude this point, As there never was any ſorrow like to his ſorrow in his ſufferings, ſo was there no obedience, nor ever ſhall be any obedience, like to his from the beginning to the end of his ſufferings. This did farther exceed all his ſorrows, than his ſorrows did the pains and ſorrows of other men.

CHAP. II.

That the dignity from which the Son of God had deſcended, and unto which the Son of man was to be exalted, were teſtified by many ſigns and documents during the time of his humiliation.

UNto this admirable lowlineſs of obedience, God awarded a correſpondent degree of exaltation. For ſo the Apoſtle inferreth in the words immediately following, *Philip* 2. 9. *&c. Wherefore* (or for this cauſe) *God alſo hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name; that at the name of* JESUS *every knee ſhould bow, of things in Heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth: and that every tongue ſhould confeſs that* Jeſus Chriſt *is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.* The ſame Apoſtle, *Rom.* 14. 9. tells us, *To this end Chriſt both died, roſe and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living.* As man he was made Lord from his Reſurrection, but as the Son of God, and a diſtinct perſon from his Father, he was Lord from Eternity: as to omit other places before-cited, our Apoſtles inference in the 14. of the *Romans*, *ver.* 10. 11. will make clear to any Chriſtian that can take it into due conſideration, *We ſhall all ſtand before the judgment ſeat of Chriſt.* How is this proved, or whence had our Apoſtle himſelf this Revelation? From the Prophet *Iſaiah Chap.* 45. *ver.* 10. For there it is written, *As I live ſaith the Lord, every knee ſhall bow to me, and every tongue ſhall confeſs unto God.* Chriſt then not as man, but as God, was that Lord in whoſe name the Prophet ſpeaketh this, *As I live, ſaith the Lord, every knee ſhall bow to me.*

2. Had this Lord the only Son of God taken our nature upon him, though adorned even from the firſt moment of its aſſumption with ſuch majeſty and glory, as now it is; yet the aſſumption of it would have been an humiliation of the Son of God, not phyſical, but rather (as I ſaid) civil, or *ad modum civilis humiliationis*, an incomparable and unparalleld affability, an incomprehenſible loving kindneſs. But for this Lord to be incarnate for us of a Virgin, to take our nature upon him charged with mortality and infirmities, to ſurcharge our ordinary humane conditions with the extraordinary eſtate of a ſervant; to burden this hard ſervitude with pain and torture, with diſgrace and ignominies, more than ſervitude humane is capable of; This was that unexpreſſible humiliation and incomprehenſible loving kindneſs towards us miſerable men, which our Apoſtle ſo emphatically ſetteth forth for our pattern in ſubmitting our wills to his moſt holy will, as he did his unto his Fathers. And our Lord himſelf requireth that we ſhould be humble, as he is humble: not according to the meaſure of his humiliation, for that is as impoſſible for us, as to be as perfect as our Heavenly Father is perfect, or as holy, as he is holy; Yet muſt we be truly holy, as our Heavenly Father is holy, and ſincerely humble as the Son of God our Lord and Saviour was humble. Our humiliation or obedience to his will, though it muſt be true, not hypocritical; yet in this life at the beſt, and in the beſt of men is imperfect in compariſon of the obedience of Heavenly Angels, though theirs be but finite. But the depth of the humiliation of the Son of God is, as he is, immenſurable, truly infinite. Higher than God he could not be, but ſo high he was in glory and dignity from Eternity: yet lower than man, than the moſt abject of the Sons of men, he vouchſafed for a time to be, that we might be at leaſt made equal to the Angels; even Lords and Kings unto God, of ſlaves by birth and condition unto infernal Tyrants.

3. But could he not have thus advanced us without any depreſſion or Humiliation of himſelf? could not we Sons of men be made happy without the miſery and ſorrow of the Son of God? The anſwer to this *Quære* will find place hereafter. That which for the preſent deſerveth our conſideration, is, that in all the ſeveral degrees of his Humiliation, *God* the Father was ſtill pleaſed to exhibit ſome viſible documents, or ſenſible manifeſtations of that glory and dignity, whereof his Son for a time had deveſted himſelf, and of that glory unto which as man for his faithful ſervice done in our nature he was to be exalted. His birth, we know, was mean in the eyes of men, his entertainment at his firſt coming into the world, (for lodging eſpecially) more deſpicable than the lodging or entertainment of penitentiary Pilgrims. Yet then welcomed into the world by an Hoſt of Angels ſounding out gratulatory Hymns unto *God* for the comfort of us miſerable men, for whoſe ſakes, he who was their ſupreme Lord,

did vouchſafe to deſcend thus low; and while they congratulate us, they do truly adore him. But ſeeing the ditties of their congratulatory Hymns were heard only by ſome few, and thoſe men of meaner rank in *Jury*; *God* would have his glory proclaimed by thoſe wiſe and potent men, which had ſeen his Star in the *Eaſt*, and from the glorious appearance, or ſecret ſignifications made to them of it, came in perſon, firſt to *Jeruſalem*, then to *Bethleem*, to render that homage and ſervice to this Infant, which they ſcorned to perform to *Herod*, or *Auguſtus Cæſar*, of whoſe greatneſs no doubt they had heard, but did not admire or eſteem it in compariſon of this late born King of the *Jews*. Theſe and other glimpſes of that glory which was due unto him perpetually as man, though publickly manifeſted, did not ſo much affect the ſtubborn-hearted *Jews*, as the meanneſs of his ordinary condition or ſtate of life did offend them. No queſtion but that voice which came from Heaven at his Baptiſm, *This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleaſed*, was heard by more than by *John Baptiſt*, and both teſtified and proclaimed by him to them that heard it not; and yet forgotten by moſt within three years ſpace: ſo deeply forgotten, that they did not call to memory, at leaſt not lay it to heart, upon the ſecond publication of his glory. For ſome few days before his ſufferings, the like encomiaſm of that glory, which was due unto him as he was the Son of God, was proclaimed from Heaven, upon his Prayers, to this purpoſe, when his Soul was heavy, and troubled with expectation of approaching ſorrows, *John* 12. 26, &c. *If any man ſerve me, let him follow me, and where I am, there ſhall alſo my ſervant be. If any man ſerve me, him alſo will my Father honour. Now is my Soul troubled, and what ſhall I ſay? Father, ſave me from* this hour: *but for this cauſe came I unto this hour. Father glorifie thy Name. Then came there a voice from Heaven, ſaying, I have both glorifyed it, and will glorifie it again.* This document of his glory was more publick than the former, and the end and ſcope of it more ſolemnly avouched by himſelf, *ver.* 29. 30 *The people therefore that ſtood by and heard it, ſaid, that it thundred: Others ſaid, an Angel ſpake to him.* Jeſus *anſwered and ſaid, This voice came not becauſe of me, but for your ſakes.*

4. Yet even this gleam of his glorious brightneſs, wherewith the peoples eyes were for the preſent dazzled, was ſhortly after ſo overclouded with the ignominies and indignities done unto him at his Attachment, Arraignment, and Execution, that his very Diſciples had almoſt quite forgotten it. For ſo two of them give this and other glorious documents of his dignities for loſt, after they had heard the news of his reſurrection. *We truſted* (they ſay) *that it had been he, which ſhould have redeemed* Iſrael, *Luke* 24. 21. And what reaſon or pretence had they not to truſt ſo ſtill? *Only becauſe the chief Prieſts and Rulers had delivered him to be condemned to death, and had crucified him, ver.* 20. A ſtrange drowſineſs had fallen upon them, in that they could not fore-ſee that the day of his glorious reign over *Iſrael* thus fore-tokened by theſe and the like ſcattered rays or dawnings, was to be uſhered by a troubleſom night of ſorrows and ſufferings; and with this ſtupidity himſelf upbraids them. *Then he ſaid unto them, O Fools, and ſlow of heart to believe all that the Prophets have ſpoken: Ought not Chriſt to have ſuffered theſe things, and to have entred into his glory? Luke* 24. 25, 26. Now all the ſufferings, and other Eclipſes of this Sun of Righteouſneſs, were as clearly fore-told as his future glory; both by expreſs teſtimony and typical matter of fact.

By expreſs teſtimony, *Iſa.* 53. 1, 2, 3. *Who hath believed our report, and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed? For he ſhall grow up before him as a tender plant, and as a root out of a dry ground: He hath no form nor comlineſs, and when we ſhall ſee him, there is no beauty that we ſhould deſire him. He is deſpiſed, and rejected, a man of ſorrows, and acquainted with grief: and we hid, as it were, our faces from him. He was deſpiſed, and we eſteemed him not.*

5. But were thoſe other interpoſed flaſhes of this day ſtars brightneſs exhibited at his birth or firſt ariſing; at his Baptiſm, and at his Paſſion, as clearly fore-told as the Eclipſe of it in his ſufferings? That the Angelical Song or Service of Angels at his Nativity, were foretold by the Pſalmiſt, *Pſalm* 97. 7. I ever took it, following the paths of the Ancient, as a plain caſe void of ſcruple, until *Ribera* ſtumbled me in my courſe with a criticiſm upon the Apoſtles allegation of this paſſage, *Heb.* 1. 6. *And again, when he bringeth in the firſt begotten into the word, he ſaith, And let all the Angels of God worſhip him.* So our Engliſh, ſo *Eraſmus*, and ſome of the moſt accurate Greek Interpreters, according to the ſenſe and meaning of our *Engliſh*. But this learned Commentator renders it thus, (I muſt confeſs *verbatim*, according to the original) *Et cum iterum introducit primogenitum in orbem terræ*; When he bringeth his firſt begotten again into the world, the words in the original are thus, ὅταν δὲ πάλιν, not πάλιν δὲ ὅταν. Upon this ground this good Writer takes liberty to diſſent from the beſt Commentators that had gone before him, and peremptorily denyeth this place to be meant of the Son of Gods firſt coming into the world. And it cannot be denyed, but that this 97 *Pſalm* contains a remarkable Propheſie, that the Son of God, or God of *Iſrael* ſhould be made Lord and King, and Judge of the world by peculiar right. This is one of thoſe many places which (as in the former Book hath been obſerved) cannot be meant of any, ſave only of him who was truly God, and yet could not be punctually fulfilled, ſave only of God incarnate. But *Ribera* ſhould have conſidered that one and the ſame paſſage in any *Pſalm* or Propheſie might have been fulfilled in God incarnate at ſeveral times, and alike literally refer to ſeveral manifeſtations whether of his glory, or of his ſufferings. Yea ſometimes * one and the ſame place, or propoſition may literally and punctually refer both to his Humiliation and Exaltation, as that of the 8 *Pſalm*, *ver.* 5. *Thou haſt made him little lower than the Angels; and haſt crowned him with glory and honour.* Now if one and the ſame paſſage or prediction may be punctually fulfilled of God incarnate at ſeveral times, or at his Nativity, his Baptiſm, his Transfiguration, and Reſurrection, &c. much more may ſeveral paſſages in one and the ſame *Pſalm*, or other Propheſies be reſpectively fulfilled, ſome of his Nativity or Reſurrection; other of his coming to Judgment. It is then no concludent proof, which *Ribera* brings in prejudice of the Ancient to ſtrengthen his own opinion, that the teſtimony alledged by the Apoſtle, *Heb.* 1. 6. out of *Pſalm* 97. cannot be literally meant of our Lord and Saviours Nativity; becauſe the chief ſcope of that place, is to fore-tell his coming to judge the world, when he ſhall be attended with an Hoſt of Angels. For if this attendance and obſequey be performed unto him, as is probable, by the whole Hoſt of Heaven; the celebration of his Nativity, or firſt coming into the world by a band or company of theſe Heavenly Souldiers (how many, or how few, God only knows) might be, and certainly was a pledge or *prælu*-

dium.

* See the ſeventh book, Chap. 17. Sect. 5.

ludium. Nor doth the placing of the words in the original neceſſarily argue but that the word πάλιν may have the ſame ſenſe that it had in former places, that is, only a repetition of teſtimonies without expreſs reference to Chriſts firſt or ſecond coming.

In that 40 of *Iſaiah* * before expounded, ſome paſſages (if not one and the ſame) literally refer to the Incarnation, or firſt manifeſtation of the Word in the fleſh, others to the declaration of him to be the Son of God at his Baptiſm, which *John Baptiſt* acknowledged to be the end and tenor of his Embaſſage. Where, and in what manner that tranſcendent glimpſe which was exhibited in the ἀκμῇ of his Humiliation, *John* 12. 28. was fore-told, and fore-ſignified in its proper place. But the former *quære* here opportunely preſents it ſelf again; ſeeing ſuch glory as theſe glimpſes did portend, was due unto him perpetually, what neceſſity or urgent conveniency was there, that he ſhould be made ſo low, and ſo ſtrangely humbled.

* In the 7th Book, and Chap. 28.

CHAP. III.

Whether our ſins could have been remitted without the Humiliation of the Son of God, is a point not determinable by Men: That the manner of the remitting our ſins by his Humiliation, was the moſt admirable way, which Wiſdom, Juſtice, or Mercy could require.

1. *Peremptorily* to avouch that God could not have remitted the ſins of our firſt Parents without full ſatisfaction, nor advanced their ſinful ſeed unto Glory, without the diſgraceful ſufferings of his only Son, would by ſome, and well might be cenſured for a ſaucy doctrine: A doctrine, more derogatory from the Omnipotent Majeſty than it would be to Prerogatives Royal, to deny Kings or free Princes inveſted with it, the exerciſe of that moſt Princely vertue, *Clemency*, or to grant a prohibition againſt them, in caſe they ſhould freely forgive offences committed againſt themſelves, or afterwards honour the parties thus freely forgiven upon their extraordinary thankfulneſs for ſuch gracious favours. This benignity no loyal Subject will grudge or repine at, when it is practiſed by his liege Lord and Soveraign; and ſhall we deny the like freedom to infinite Majeſty, whereof benignity, and graciouſneſs infinite, is (to ſpeak after the manner of men) a ſpecial branch or dimenſion.

2. Yet on the other ſide reſolutely to determine that the ſins of our firſt Parents could have been remitted without ſatisfaction, or their Seed advanced to Glory without the Humiliation of the Son of God; would be a raſh, if not an unſound reſolution. For albeit we take it for granted, that earthly Princes of the beſt temper may freely pardon any offences againſt themſelves, and crown this ſpecial favour with the advancement of the perſons ſo offending, to higher place and greater honour than formerly they did enjoy: yet will not hence follow, that the Omnipotent and moſt juſt Judge might have done the like. For, he is not of Majeſty or of gracious goodneſs only, but of Juſtice truly infinite; the immutable and indiſpenſable rule of juſtice and goodneſs. And he alone who is wiſdom truly infinite,

can determine whether the remiſſion of mens ſins without ſatisfaction, or the award of glory without ſome interpoſition of merits, do not imply ſome contradiction to the rule of juſtice infinite, which they do not imply to infinite Majeſty or benignity. The greateſt Majeſty on earth may more juſtly pardon offences done againſt themſelves, than they can do the like offences againſt the publick Law it ſelf, or the community of men under their Government. For Earthly Princes how great or good ſoever they be, are no living laws of goodneſs, no living rules of juſtice. This is the Prerogative of the Almighty Lord, to be both a moſt Righteous Judge, and the very Law or Idæal rule of Righteouſneſs.

3. Not Princes only, but every private perſon, or publick Magiſtrate (ſo they ſit not in the ſeat of Juſtice) may pardon a crime for its nature capital, if it be only committed againſt themſelves; as if a ſervant ſhould take his Maſters purſe, not by violence, but unwarily laid aſide, and deny the finding, taking, or reſtoring of it; the maſter may without wounding his Conſcience diſmiſs the party delinquent of his ſervice, without calling his life in queſtion, although the crime be by humane law capital. Nor ſhould the maſter, I take it, by this clemency incur the danger of the humane Law, if he be as well content to loſe the money, as the delinquents ſervice. In this caſe he may do to the worſt of his ſervants as he deſires it may be done to him, if his caſe or condition were the ſame. But if of a private Maſter, he ſhould become a publick Judge, and ſhew the ſame favour to him that had been his ſervant, being arraigned for the like offence committed againſt another; he ſhould hereby grievouſly tranſgreſs both the Law of God and Man. The true reaſon whereof is not becauſe the former rule [*Of doing as he would be done unto*] doth hold, as one of late (out of the ſpirit of contradiction rather than judgment) hath taught; not univerſally or always, but *ad plurimum*, for the moſt part, or now and then, or more certainly in private men than publick Magiſtrates. For they eſpecially are moſt ſtrictly tied to that fundamental rule of juſtice and equity of *doing as they would be done unto.* But ſeeing, as the great [*]*Caſuiſt Gerſon* ſomewhere obſerves, Every Judge ſuſtains a double perſon; one of his own, as he is ſubject to the like infirmities with other men; another of the Publick Weal, or Community wherein he liveth. Hence it is, or ſhould be, that how merciful or gracious ſoever he be by natural diſpoſition, or grace; yet when he aſcends the ſeat of Juſtice, he muſt lay aſide his private perſon, all private conſiderations, and arm himſelf with the publick. Now the object of the obſervance of the former rule, of doing as he would be done unto, is not the perſon or party accuſed or arraigned, but the perſons whom he wronged, or may hereafter wrong. The greateſt Judge in this caſe muſt do to the Common Weal, whereof he himſelf is a member, as he deſires it ſhould be done to himſelf in like caſe, that is, to right them when they are wronged, and to protect them from further danger, by putting wholeſom laws in execution, for cutting off noiſom members of publick Society.

4. But what of all this? God is no member of any Community, being in himſelf far greater, and better than the whole Univerſe of things viſible and inviſible; and for this reaſon not bound to conform himſelf to any of the former rules, which greateſt Princes are by his Law bound to obſerve. However, he is immutable goodneſs it ſelf, more than the rule of all thoſe rules of mercy, juſtice, and goodneſs

which he enjoins us to follow. It is moſt true, he can do whatſoever he will, yet cannot any thing be willed by him that is contrary to goodneſs, juſtice, or mercy. Though his mercies exceed the mercies of the beſt men; yet ſome ſins there are which exempt men from participation of his mercies, ſins unpardonable to mercy it ſelf: So ſaith our Saviour, *Mark* 3. 28, 29. *Verily I ſay unto you, all ſins ſhall be forgiven unto the ſons of men, and blaſphemies, wherewith ſoever they ſhall blaſpheme. But he that ſhall blaſpheme againſt the Holy Ghoſt, hath never forgiveneſs, but is in danger of eternal damnation.* And St. *Matthew* more fully, Chap. 12. ver. 31. *Wherefore I ſay unto you, All manner of ſin and blaſphemy ſhall be forgiven unto men: but the blaſphemy againſt the Holy Ghoſt ſhall not be forgiven unto men. And whoſoever ſpeaketh a word againſt the Son of man, it ſhall be forgiven him: but whoſoever ſpeaketh againſt the Holy Ghoſt, it ſhall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come.* It is not the ſole infinity of that Majeſty againſt which we ſin, that makes the ſin ſo unpardonable. For the Father is of infinite Majeſty, the Son is of infinite Majeſty, and the Holy Ghoſt can be no more: their Majeſty and Glory is co-eternal, and co-equal. The ſin here meant then cannot be any ſpecial ſin more offenſive againſt the perſon of the Holy Ghoſt, than againſt the perſon of the Father, or the Son. Nor is it (whatſoever elſe it be) any one ſin ſpecifically diſtinct from other ſins, as murder is from luſt, or luſt from pride and envy, but rather a confluence of many grievous ſins: It always pre-ſuppoſeth a great meaſure of long continued contempt of Gods ſpecial favour, gifts, or goodneſs. Thoſe whom our Saviour, in the fore-cited places forewarns, as being at the pit brink of this infernal bottomleſs ſin, were as Saint *Mark* tells us, *Scribes that came down from* Jeruſalem, *Mark* 3. 22. and as Saint *Matthew* adds, *Phariſees* too, *Matth.* 12. 24. Both of them had ſeen or heard our Saviours miracles which were ſo pregnant that they could not deny the truth of them. The particular miracle which occaſioned this diſcourſe, was, the healing of one poſſeſſed of a Devil, *Inſomuch that being blind and dumb before, he both ſpake and ſaw; and all the people were amazed, and ſaid, Is this the Son of* David? *And when the Phariſees heard it,* (or as Saint *Mark* adds, the Scribes which came down from *Jeruſalem*) *they ſaid, this fellow doth not caſt out Devils, but by* Beelzebub, *the Prince of Devils, Matth.* 12. 22. *Mark* 3. 24. And Saint *Mark* giving the reaſon why our Saviour, after he had called the Scribes and Phariſees to him, and debated this controverſie with them, did fore-warn them in ſpecial of this dangerous ſin, addeth, *Becauſe they ſaid, he hath an unclean ſpirit,* Mark 3. 30.

5. Into this fearful ſin, or rather high meaſure of ſin, of whoſe danger our Saviour ſo graciouſly fore-warns theſe Scribes and Phariſees; thoſe convert *Hebrews* to whom Saint *Paul* wrote that excellent Epiſtle, were ready without his like admonitions to fall. *It is impoſſible* (ſaith he) *for thoſe men who were once enlightned, and have taſted of the Heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghoſt, and have taſted the good Word of God, and the power of the world to come: If they ſhall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance: ſeeing they crucifie unto themſelves the Son of God afreſh, and put him to an open ſhame. For the Earth, which drinketh in the rain that cometh oft upon it, and bringeth forth herbs meet for them by whom it is dreſſed, receiveth bleſſing from God. But that which bringeth forth thorns and briars,*

briars, is rejected, and is nigh unto curſing, whoſe end is to be burned, Heb. 6. 4, 5, 6. Others perhaps in thoſe times had either incurred this ſentence here denounced, or ſtood in greater danger than theſe *Hebrews* did, of whom our Apoſtle at this time had good hope; *But, beloved, we are perſwaded better things of you, and things that accompany Salvation, though we thus ſpeak. For God is not unrighteous to forget your work and labour of love, which ye have ſhewed towards his Name, in that ye have miniſtred towards his Saints, and do miniſter,* Heb. 6. 9, 10. Of our Apoſtles punctual meaning, or ſenſe in theſe two verſes laſt cited, as of all the reſt unto the end of the Chapter, I ſhall have occaſion hereafter to treat. Of the former verſes, I have no more for this preſent, or hereafter (for ought I know) to ſay, than this; That their meaning, if any be diſpoſed to ſcan them more exactly, may (I take it) be beſt illuſtrated by the type or parallel exhibited in the days of *Moſes*, in thoſe men which were excluded by oath from the Land of *Canaan, Numb.* 14. 20, 21, 22, 23. *And the Lord ſaid, I have pardoned according to thy Word. But as truly as I live, all the earth ſhall be filled with the glory of the Lord. Becauſe all thoſe men, which have ſeen my glory and my miracles which I did in* Egypt, *and in the Wilderneſs, and have tempted me now theſe ten times, and have not hearkned to my voice; Surely they ſhall not ſee the Land which I ſware unto their Fathers, neither ſhall any of them that provoked me, ſee it.* All theſe, which were all the Males of *Iſrael* above twenty years of age, ſave *Caleb, Joſhua,* and *Moſes*, (who was in part involved in this ſentence) did bear a true type, or ſhadow of thoſe who, offending in like manner againſt Chriſt and his Goſpel, we call Reprobates, yet not ſo true types of ſuch a ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, as thoſe which went to ſearch the Land of *Canaan*. *And the men which* Moſes *ſent to ſearch the Land, who returned and made all the Congregation to murmur againſt him, by bringing up a ſlander upon the Land. Even thoſe men that did bring up the evil report upon the Land* (after they had ſeen the goodlineſs, and taſted the pleaſant fruits of it) *died of the Plague before the Lord. But* Joſhua *the Son of* Nun, *and* Caleb *the Son of* Jephunneh, *which were of the men that went to ſearch the Land, lived ſtill:* and many happy days after that time, *Numb.* 14. 36, 37, 38.

6. Very probable it is, though I will not determine *pro* or *con*, that the irremiſſible ſin whereof our Saviour and Saint *Paul* ſpake, for which there remaineth no ſatisfaction, was if not peculiar, yet *Epidemical* unto thoſe Primitive times, wherein the Kingdom of Heaven was firſt planted here on Earth by our Saviour: and the Holy Catholick Church was in erection by the miniſtery of the Apoſtles, or in times wherein the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit were moſt plentiful, and moſt conſpicuous. Even in thoſe times, into this woful eſtate none could fall, *which had not taſted of the Heavenly gift, of the good word of God, and of the powers of the world to come, and had not been partakers of the Holy Ghoſt.* Nor did ſuch men fall away by ordinary ſins, but by relaps into Jewiſh blaſphemy, or Heatheniſh idolatry, and malicious ſlander of the Kingdom of Heaven, of whoſe power they had taſted. God was good to all his Creatures in their Creation, and better to men in their redemption by Chriſt: of this latter goodneſs all men were in ſome degree partakers. The contempt, or neglect of this goodneſs was not irremiſſible: the parties thus far offending, and no further, were not exclu-

ded from the benefit of Chriſts ſatisfaction, or from renewing by repentance: but of the gifts of the Spirit which was plentifully poured out after our Saviours Aſcenſion, all were not partakers. This was a ſpecial favour, or peculiar goodneſs, whoſe continued contempt, or ſolemn abrenuntiation by relapſe either into Heatheniſm, or Jewiſh blaſphemy was unpardonable; not in that it was a ſin peculiarly committed againſt the perſon of the Holy Ghoſt; but becauſe it did include an extraordinary oppoſition unto the indiſpenſable law of juſtice, or goodneſs, which God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt are.

7. Some ſins then there be, or ſome meaſure of them, which being made up, no ſatisfaction will be accepted for them. It is impoſſible according to the ſacred phraſe, that the parties thus delinquent ſhould be renewed by repentance. But whether according to this dialect of the Holy Ghoſt, that grand ſin, whereof our Saviour, and the Apoſtle ſpeaks, be abſolutely irremiſſible until death, hath determined their impenitency which committed it; or only exceeding dangerous in compariſon of other ſins, I will not here diſpute: much leſs dare I take upon me to determine either branch of the main queſtion propoſed: As [*Whether ſatisfaction were abſolutely neceſſary for remitting the ſins of our firſt Parents, or their Seed?*] Or, [*whether the Son of God could have brought us ſinners unto glory by any other way, or means, than that which is revealed unto us in his Goſpel?*] It ſhall ſuffice me (and ſo I requeſt the Reader it may do him) to ſhew that this revealed way is the moſt admirable for the ſweet concurrence of Wiſdom, Juſtice, Mercy, and whatſoever other branches of goodneſs elſe be, which the heart of man can conceive; more admirable by much than wiſdom finite could have contrived, or our miſerable condition deſired, unleſs it had been revealed unto us by God himſelf.

8. For demonſtration of this concluſion, and for deterring all which pretend unto the priviledge or dignity of being the Sons of God, from continuance in ſin, no principle of Faith, or paſſage in the ſacred Canon can be of better uſe than that, 1 *John* 3. 8. *He that committeth ſin is of the Devil: for the Devil ſinneth from the beginning. For this purpoſe the Son of God was manifeſted, that he might deſtroy the works of the Devil.* However, the words which ſeveral tranſlations do render, one and the ſame word in the Original (ἵνα λύσῃ) be of different ſignification in point of Grammar; yet is there no contradiction betwixt them upon the matter. Our latter Engliſh which I alledged readeth [that he might deſtroy] the former, that he might diſſolve the works of the Devil. Neither of them much amiſs, and both of them put together, or mutually helping one another, exceeding well. Some works of the Devil, the Son of God is ſaid more properly to diſſolve, others more properly to deſtroy. Sin it ſelf, as the Apoſtle tells us, is the proper work of the Devil, his perpetual work; for he ſinneth from the beginning. And for this cauſe the man that committeth ſin is of the Devil, the Devils workman, or day labourer, ſo long as he continues in known ſins. Sin, the beſt of men daily do. But it is one thing to ſin, and do a ſinful Act, another to be ὁ ποιῶν την ἁμαρτίαν, the phraſe uſed by our Apoſtle) a worker, or doer of evil, *operarius iniquitatis:* Such workmen the Sons of God, or ſervants of Chriſt cannot be, at leaſt ſo long as they continue Sons or Servants.

The points moſt queſtionable in thoſe fore-cited words of S. *John*, now to be diſcuſſed in this preamble to the manner how the Son of God did diſſolve, or deſtroy the works of the Devil, are two. The firſt, from what beginning the Devil is ſaid to ſin, or to continue in ſin. The ſecond, what ſpecial works of the Devil they were, which the Son of God did, or doth undo, or for whoſe diſſolution, or deſtruction he was manifeſted in our fleſh.

CHAP. IV.

From what beginning the Devil is ſaid by Saint John *to ſin. Whether ſin conſiſt in meer privation, or have a poſitive entity, or a cauſe truly efficient, not deficient only.*

1. THE word *Beginning*, is ſometimes taken univerſally and abſolutely, as it reacheth to the firſt moment of time, or to the firſt beginning of Heaven and Earth, of all things viſible and inviſible, which have beginning of being. * From this utmoſt extent of the word *beginning*, Saint *John* in the beginning or entrance into his Goſpel ſtrongly infers, that ὁ λόγος, the Word by whom all things were made, was truly God, without beginning or end of days, becauſe he was in the beginning, that is, had a true and real exiſtence, when all things whether viſible or inviſible, which were created by him, did but begin to be. But the beginning mentioned by the ſame Apoſtle in the fore-cited place, 1 *John* 3. 8. may not be ſtretched ſo far as to make it pitch upon the firſt beginning of time, or of all things made or created. Firſt, It is neither certain nor probable that any of the Angelical ſubſtances were created, or begun to be before all other creatures. Secondly, It cannot be certainly known whether the Bleſſed Angels which keep their ſtation, and the collapſed Angels, were all created in the ſame inſtant: or if it were certain or granted that ſome of them were created before others, though all of the ſame day; yet could there be no certainty or probability that the collapſed Angel which is become a Devil (or Prince of Devils, who Saint *John* ſaith, ſinned from the beginning) was created before all other Angels, or with the firſt that were created. Moſt probable it is (in my opinion) that the Angels were all created in the fourth evening and morning, together with the Sun and Moon, and the Stars of the Firmament, two days before man was created. Thus much thoſe words of God unto *Job*, (*Chap.* 38. *ver.* 4.) ſeem to import. *Where waſt thou when I laid the foundations of the world,* &c. *or when the morning Stars ſang together, and all the Sons of God ſhouted for joy?* If by the Sons of God, in this place, the Angels be meant, then Lucifer, by which name we commonly deſcribe the Devil, was then the Son of God, an Angel of light, and did with the whole Hoſt of Heaven, praiſe, laud, and magnifie his Creator: whenſoever he was created, God created him righteous and juſt.

* See the 7th Book, cap. 26. Sect. 34.

2. Now albeit he was the firſt of all Gods viſible creatures that became evil: though ſin it ſelf did take its beginning from him, yet undoubtedly he had a perfect being before ſin did begin to be in him: he did not, he could not ſin in the ſame point of duration in which he was created. Some therefore for this reaſon refer the *beginning* mentioned in Saint *John*, to the beginning of ſin, as if his

meaning in their conſtruction were thus: Satan ſinneth perpetually from the beginning of ſin, which had its firſt beginning in him. But though this be true, yet if we ſtretch the *beginning* of our Apoſtle thus far, it will not *cloſe* ſo well with his collection or inferences: For the Devil in the ſame place is inſtiled, a *ſinner* from the begining eſpecially, if not only, with reference to thoſe works which the Son of God was to diſſolve or deſtroy. But the Son of God did not manifeſt himſelf on purpoſe to diſſolve the works which the Devil had wrought in himſelf, or in the collapſed Angels his aſſociates; but the works only which they had wrought in man. For this cauſe ſaith the Apoſtle, *He took not on him the nature of Angels, but he took on him the seed of* Abraham, *Heb.* 2. 16. As the Devil is a liar, and father of lies ſince the beginning, ſo he was a ſinner not only in himſelf, but the beginner or begetter of ſin in man. And ſince he firſt begot ſin in him, he ſinneth ſtill as a worker, or foſter-father of ſins in mans poſterity.

3. Whether our firſt Parents did ſin upon the ſame day whereon they were created, is to me uncertain: and for this reaſon I will not diſpute either upon the improbabilities, or probabilities of the affirmative opinion which is maintained by many, of whoſe opinion I had rather make ſome good uſe, than move any controverſie about it. Moſt certain it is, that the old Serpent and his aſſociates were ſinners themſelves, before they ſeduced our firſt Parents to that firſt and hainous ſin of mankind. Whether one or more of them had poſſeſſed the viſible *Serpent*, which *Moſes* ſaith was *ſubtiler than all the beaſts of the field*, (as the fitteſt Inſtrument or Organ) for accompliſhing their deſign againſt poor innocent man; his ruine was projected before he or they could accompliſh it. Moſt probable again it is, that they had grievouſly ſinned againſt their God and Creator, if not before, yet at leaſt from the Creation, or firſt beginning of man, whoſe eſtate they envied: yet whether they were irreverſibly caſt out of Gods gracious preſence before the accompliſhment of this their project againſt man is not ſo certain: More probable to me it is, that the accompliſhment of this wicked project, which they could not hope to effect but by ſlandering their Creator, did make up the meaſure of their former ſins unto an unpardonable height; unto an height more unpardonable, than the ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt is in men during this life. For we read not of any curſe or woful Sentence pronounced, much leſs peremptorily denounced againſt the old Serpent and his aſſociates, until God had convented this viſible Serpent, and the woman whom he had beguiled. But the curſe denounced againſt that viſible Serpent did fall upon the whole Legion of unclean Spirits, which had poſſeſſed it, or uſed it as their inſtrument, though perhaps poſſeſſed but by one.

4. In this ſeduction of our firſt Parents (if not before) the Devil committed ſin, no leſs than rebellion or high treaſon againſt his maker. In this alone, if not otherwiſe, he proudly ſought to be like God, in that he made man of a ſervant, or ſon of God, to become his ſlave, or vaſſal. He was of *Julius Cæſars* mind, or rather, *Julius Cæſar* of his; and more affected to be Lord *Paramount* over Earth and the viſible Creatures in it, than inferiour, or *Compeer* to any Celeſtial creature. And no marvel or matter of wonderment it is, if this combination of rebellion againſt God, and of envy againſt man, by God appointed the ſupreme Lord of all viſible Creatures, did make

the breach, of Satans allegiance to his Creator ſo irreconcileable, that the true and only Son of God would not vouchſafe to become his Lord Redeemer, as he is of men, whom he ſeduced. But whether Saint *John*'s meaning in the fore-cited place be, that the Devil ſinneth from the beginning of ſin in man, or from the beginning of ſin in himſelf: From the one, or from the other beginning, he ſtill continueth to ſin againſt God and man without end or intermiſſion.

5. But is ſin in man in deed and truth the work of Satan? If truly and properly it be a work, it is ſomething, or more than ſomething, as being the work of him who doth not buſie himſelf about ſmall matters. It muſt be a thing either viſible or inviſible, and if it be comprehended under either part of this diviſion, why are we taught to believe, that God the Father Almighty, is the Maker not only of Heaven and Earth, but of all things viſible and inviſible in them? If all things were made by him, what could be left for Satan to work or make? The appearance of this difficulty moved that acute and learned Father Saint *Auſtin* ſometime to ſay, that ſin was nothing, and oftentimes to allot it a cauſe deficient only, denying it any true poſitive efficient. And many good Writers ſince his time, in our days eſpecially, over-ſway'd with this Fathers bare authority, will have ſins of what kind ſoever, to be privations only, no poſitive entities. But they conſider not that the ſelf-ſame difficulties, beſides other greater more inevitable inconveniences, will preſs them no leſs, who make ſin to be a meer privation, or to have a cauſe deficient only; than they do others who acknowledge it to have a poſitive efficient cauſe, and a being more than meerly privation.

6. What then be the ſpecial inconveniencies, wherewith their opinions are charged, which make ſin either nothing, or but a meer privation? Firſt, We account it a folly in man, a folly incident to no man, but an *Heautontimorymenon*, to be angry or chafing-hot for nothing. Hence ſeeing the Almighty Judge doth never puniſh either man or Devil, but for ſin; we ſhall caſt a foul aſperſion on his Wiſdom and Juſtice, by maintaining ſin to be nothing. But fewer in our times there be, (though ſome I have heard out of the Pulpit, which under pretence of Saint *Auguſtins* authority) make ſin to be meer nothing. But many there be who hold it to be a meer privation, which is a mean between meer nothing, and a poſitive entity. Yet admitting (not granting) the nature of ſin to conſiſt formally in privation: meer privations for the moſt part have cauſes truly efficient, fewer, cauſes meerly deficient, if there can be any cauſality in deficiency. *Blindneſs*, *deafneſs*, *dumbneſs*, are privations; and yet more men loſe the ſenſe of *hearing*, *ſight*, or *feeling*, (in ſome particular members) by violent blows, or by oppreſſing of raging humours, than by meer defect, or decaying of ſpirits. And where one man drops into his grave for meer age (as ripe Apples do from the trees they grow on, to the ground, without blaſts of wind or ſhaking) a thouſand die a violent, or untimely death, by true and poſitive efficient cauſes, either external, or internal.

7. That which either hath deceived, or emboldned many Divines to allot ſin a being only privative, is a Philoſophical or Metaphyſical *Maxim* moſt true in it ſelf, or in its proper ſphere, but moſt impertinently applied to the point now in queſtion. The *Maxim* is, *Omne ens, quà ens, eſt bonum:* Every entity in that it hath a being, is good. Moſt true, if we ſpeak of tranſcendental goodneſs, or *bonum entis:*

for every thing which hath a true being, is accompanied with a goodneſs entitative. But the queſtions amongſt Divines is, or ſhould be about moral goodneſs, or that goodneſs which is oppoſed to [*malum culpæ*] that evil which we call ſin. Now if every poſitive entity, or nature were neceſſarily good, according to this notion of goodneſs: every intelligent rational Creature, ſhould be as impeccable as his Creator, and we ſhould truly ſin (if to ſpeak untruly be a ſin) when we ſay the Devil is a knave, or any man diſhoneſt. For if every nature, or entity (as ſuch) were morally good, it were impoſſible any nature or poſitive entity ſhould be evil qualified, ſhould be laden with ſin, that is, with that evil which is oppoſed to goodneſs moral, or to holineſs; whether this evil be a meer privation, or poſitive entity. For in as much as the ſight, or viſive faculty is the property of the eye, or in as much as this propoſition is true: *Oculus, quà oculus videt*; this concluſion is moſt neceſſary [when the eye hath loſt the ſight, or viſive faculty, it is no more an eye, unleſs in ſuch an equivocal ſenſe, as we ſay a Picture hath eyes, though not ſo properly.] If a man cannot ſee (as we ſay) a *ſtime*, but with one eye, we account it no ſolecifm to ſay he hath loſt the other. The caſe in the former inſtances is more clear: If Satan or man were morally good, becauſe they have a poſitive entity or nature; neither of them could poſſibly be morally evil, neither of them ſinful Creatures, albeit we ſhould grant ſin to be as meer a privation, as blindneſs is.

8. It is a *Maxim* in true Logick (that is, in the faculty or ſcience of reaſoning abſolutely true) and therefore true in Divinity alſo (for truth is but one, and it is her property not to contradict her ſelf, though examined in ſeveral ſubjects;) *Quicquid convenit ſubjecto quà tale, non poteſt abeſſe ſine ſubjecti interitu.* No natural property can ceaſe to be, or periſh, but together with the ſubject which ſupports it. Whence if that Angel, which is now the Devil, had been truly good, *quà Angelus*, or if goodneſs (moral) had belonged unto him, as he was a poſitive entity, or rational creature, he had ceaſed to be either a rational creature, or any thing elſe, when he loſt his goodneſs.

9. Of ſins of omiſſion, it is moſt true, that they find place in our nature, rather by deficiency than efficiency; and yet even this deficiency for the moſt part, is occaſioned by ſome formal poſitive act or habit. For this cauſe it is queſtioned among Schoolmen, Whether there is, or can be any ſin of meer omiſſion, that is, not occaſioned by the commiſſion of ſome other ſinful acts precedent, or linked with ſome ſuch act preſent. To deny all ſins of meer omiſſion in nature already corrupted, would be more probable than in the firſt ſin whether of man or Angel. Neither of them could poſſibly have committed ſin, or done that which they ought not to have done, without ſome precedent omiſſion of that which they ought to have done. But of this elſewhere more at large; and ſomewhat of it briefly in the next Chapter.

10. Sure I am, that the work which Satan wrought in our firſt Parents, and in our Nature, had a cauſe truly efficient, hath a being more than meerly privative. For it was a work ſo really great, and ſo cunningly contrived, that the ſtrength and wiſdom of the Son of God was required (as being only all-ſufficient) to diſſolve or deſtroy it; and is it poſſible that any ſo great a work could be wrought by deficiency, or a defective worker? Not Satan only, but his inſtru-

ments are as poſitive, as induſtrious efficients, as effectual workers of iniquity, as the beſt man which ever lived (the man *Chriſt Jeſus* only excepted) was, or is of righteouſneſs. But it is true again, that neither Satan nor his inſtruments can produce or make any ſubſtances or ſubjects: theſe are all the works of God whether they be viſible or inviſible. What ſhall we ſay then, that God did create any naked ſubſtances, and leave it free for Angel or other his Creatures, to inveſt them with what accidents or qualities they pleaſed? No: if God had created any ſubſtances without accidents, they ſhould have been morally neither good, nor bad: For all other natures, beſides the incomprehenſible Eſſence, who only eſſentially *is*, and whoſe Eſſence is goodneſs it ſelf, though they were made actually good, yet their goodneſs was mutable: it was but an accident or quality, no eſſential property. What ſhall we ſay then to the propoſed objection, that ſin, if it be any thing, either viſible or inviſible, muſt be of Gods making, not the work of Satan, ſeeing we acknowledge God to be the Maker of all things viſible and inviſible?

11. The punctual anſwer is, That this univerſal, [*God made all things viſible and inviſible*] muſt be extended only to thoſe things which are properly ſaid to be made or created. Now ſubſtances only whether viſible or inviſible, are the immediate and direct effects, and proper object of Creation. Accidents had their beginning as appurtenances to their ſubjects, by reſultance only. That goodneſs which God approved in man, did reſult from his nature, not *quà talis*, but as it was the immediate work of God: it had no making or Creation, diſtinct from the Creation of man. He that *moulds* a bullet, or makes a material ſphere, maketh both *round*; and yet we cannot ſay that he makes *rotundity* or *roundneſs*, by any work or action diſtinct from the making of the bullet or ſphere. *Factâ ſphærâ ſimul ſit rotunditas:* That which the Artificer intends, is a ſphere; yet cannot he poſſibly make a ſphere, but *rotundity* will by reſultance ariſe with it, or from it. In like manner, when God made man, he made him after his own Image and ſimilitude: this was the *mould* in which he was caſt: and being caſt into this *mould*, he could not but be good.

12. The humane nature, as framed by God, was like a Muſical Inſtrument exactly made, and exactly tuned, both at once; not firſt made, and then tuned. That body of Earth into which the Almighty Creator firſt inſpired the breath of life, was not firſt a man in *puris naturalibus*, and afterwards adorned or beautified with original juſtice. That ſpirit of life, which God inſpired into him, did ſo tune and ſeaſon the whole maſs or ſubſtance, that his reaſonable Soul or Spirit did forthwith hold exact harmony with the Creators will. His inferiour faculties or affections, held exact conſort with his reaſon. All this was the work of God, and with this harmony was God delighted; yet this harmony, though moſt exact, was mutably exact. The goodneſs or excellency of this ſweet harmony in the humane nature, became the object of Satans envy, and the mutability of this excellency became the ſubject of his temptations: a ſubject capable of inticements unto evil. The only mark which Satan aimed at, was to deface or diſſolve this work of God, and inſtead of this ſweet harmony, to plant a perpetual diſcord in the humane nature; a diſcord, an enmity betwixt the Soul and Spirit of man and his God; a diſcord, an enmity, or civil war betwixt mans Conſcience

ſcience and his Affections. Satan then did deface, or diſſolve the work of God, and the Son of God was manifeſted to diſſolve his works in man, and to deſtroy his power.

CHAP. V.

Of the firſt ſin of Angels and Man, and wherein it did eſpecially conſiſt.

I. WITH the nature of ſin in general, or according to that extent propoſed in the beginning of the former book, I meddle not in theſe preſent *Commentaries*, but have reſerved them to another work already begun in a Dialect more capable of ſuch Schoolnicities or diſquiſitions, than our Engliſh is. About the nature or ſpecifical quality of the ſin of *Lucifer* (ſo it hath pleaſed the Ancients to ſtile that Prince of the collapſed Angels) ſome queſtion there is amongſt Divines, and the like about the quality or nature of our firſt Parents ſin: as whether one or both of them were *pride* or *infidelity*. But *infidelity* in its proper uſe and ſignification, is rather a ſymptom, or concomitant of many ſins precedent, than any one ſin; a diſtruſt of Gods mercy for pardoning ſins committed. It is to my capacity unconceivable how the firſt ſin of what Creature ſoever ſhould be *infidelity*; or how the firſt degree of infidelity could find entrance into man or Angel, without ſome poſitive fore-running ſin. But if by infidelity thoſe Divines, whoſe expreſſions in this point I cannot approve, mean no more than incogitancy or want of conſideration, we ſhall accord upon the matter. For without the omiſſion of ſomewhat which they ought to have done, neither man nor Angel could have ſinned ſo poſitively and groſſy, as both of them did. Both were bound to have made the goodneſs of their Creator in making them ſuch glorious Creatures as they were, the choice and moſt conſtant object of their firſt thoughts and contemplations. But through want of ſtirring up that grace of God, which they received in their Creation, or by not exerciſing their abilities to reflect upon the goodneſs and greatneſs of their Creator, they were ſurpriſed with a deſire of proper excellency, or of greater dignity than they were capable of. By this means that ſin which was begun by incogitancy, or want of reflection upon the true object of their bliſs, was accompliſhed in pride. For pride naturally reſults in men from too much reflection upon their own good parts. And whilſt they compare themſelves with themſelves, (as our Apoſtle ſpeaketh) they become unwiſe, or which is worſe, whilſt they compare their own good parts with others mean parts (whether ſuch indeed, or to their apprehenſion) they ſlide without recovery into that foul ſin of Hypocriſie. All men by nature (that is, from the *unweeded* relicks of our firſt Parents pride) are prone to over-value themſelves, and to thirſt after greater dignities than they deſerve, or are qualified for. This pride or ambition in the Angels was preſently ſeconded with envy (as a foul vice as pride it ſelf, and its uſual compeer and companion) againſt the new and laſt-made viſible creature man, and envy did as ſpeedily bring forth that malitious practice againſt our firſt Parents, which (as was ſaid before) in probability did make their ſin more unpardonable, than the ſin of our firſt Parents was.

2. But admitting both their firſt poſitive ſins, to have been for nature or ſpecifical quality, *deſire of proper excellency*, whoſe branches are pride and ambition: this poſition admitted, will beget a new queſtion or diſquiſition, to wit, What manner of proper excellency, or what degree of pride it was, for which their juſt Creator did puniſh them? Some are of opinion, that the height of that proper excellency, at which the Angels (at leaſt one Angel) did aim, was perſonal union with the Son of God, or God himſelf. But this opinion, without prejudice to the Authors or Abettors of it, is very improbable, becauſe the myſtery that the Son of God ſhould become a Creature, or take any created ſubſtance into the unity of his perſon, was not, for ought I have read, or can gather from any paſſage in Scripture, revealed either explicitly, or implicitly before the fall of man, or before his convention for his Apoſtacy from God; which was not until the firſt day of the ſecond week at ſooneſt, when the world was (as we ſay) in *facto*, not in *fieri* only, as it reſpectively was in the firſt week, or ſeven days. When this opinion that the aſſumption of any Creature into unity of perſon with the Son of God, or with any perſon in the Bleſſed Trinity, was either known, or probably conceived by Man or Angel before the fall of Man, ſhall be ſufficiently proved, I ſhall yield aſſent to their opinion as probable, who think the firſt ſin of Lucifer, was a deſire or longing after perſonal union with the Son of God, or God himſelf. No queſtion but the old Serpent had ſinned more grievouſly in the ſame kind, than our firſt Parents did, when the woman by his cunning and malice, and the man by her prevarication did taſte the forbidden fruit, in hope or expectation to be made thereby like to *Elohim* or God himſelf.

3. But was it poſſible that either the collapſed Angels, or man by their ſuggeſtion, ſhould attempt or deſire to be equal with God, or to be Gods Almighty? To be in all points co-equal with God, was perhaps more than Lucifer himſelf did deſire: yet that even our firſt Parents deſired to be in ſome ſort or other equal with God, is probable from the Apoſtles character of the Son of God [*He being*, ſaith he, *in the form of God, thought it no robbery to be equal with God.*] This to my underſtanding implies, that the robbery or ſacriledge committed by our firſt Parents, for which the Son of God did humble and ingage himſelf to make ſatisfaction, was their proud or haughty attempt to be equal with God, at leaſt in knowledge of good and evil. And yet, as was ſaid before, the collapſed Angels had doubtleſs ſinned more preſumptuouſly, before they tempted our firſt Parents to the like ſin. Neither Man nor Angel could have effected equality in any one Attribute with their Creator, much leſs in all, or moſt, ſo they had made his glory, power, or majeſty, the chief or principal object of their firſt contemplations. But how far the previal ſin of omitting this duty, might let looſe their ſtrong and ſwift imaginations unballanced with experience, or what entrance it might work for that deſperate and poſitive ſin of Ambition, or ſeeking to be equal, or like to God for power and wiſdom; God, and they only know, if haply they now know, or perfectly remember the manner of their firſt tranſgreſſions. Many things, may learned and wiſe men do, and attempt more, though incogitancy, want of conſideration

(or *ad pauca reſpicientes*) which by men of meaner parts would be ſuſpected for a ſpice of madneſs, if they had taken them into ſerious conſideration before.

4. There is no Chriſtian Man, I am perſwaded, this day living (unleſs he be ſtark mad) who if this interrogatory were propounded unto him in expreſs terms; [*whether do you think your ſelf altogether as wiſe, as God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt?*] but would anſwer negatively, ***I am not.*** And yet how many Writers in our time, through forgetfulneſs to put this or the like interrogatory to themſelves, when they ſet pen to Paper, have continued for many years together grievouſly ſick of our firſt Parents firſt diſeaſe, whatſoever that were; yet not ſick of it in explicit deſires or attempts to be every way equal with God, but in implicit preſumptions that they are altogether equal with him in wiſdom and knowledge, at leaſt for the governing of this Univerſe from the beginning of it to the end, and for the diſpenſing of mercy and juſtice towards Men and Angels, before they had any beginning of being, and for ever, even World without end after this viſible world ſhall be diſſolved. To give a true and punctual anſwer to all their preſumptuous contrivances, or to accept their challenges in this kind, would require more ſkill in Arts than moſt men are endowed with, and a great deal more time than any wiſe man or ſkillful Artiſt can be perſwaded to miſpend. It would be a very hard taſk for the cunningeſt Needle Woman or other Profeſſor of manual or finger-myſteries, to unweave or diſſolve a ſpiders Web, thred by thred, after the ſame manner which ſhe did weave it: And yet a mean Houſewife or Child, may with a wing or beſom in a moment undo all that the ſpider hath wrought in a whole year. And ſo may every Novice in Arts unbuble all, that ſome great Clarks or Schoolmen have been twenty or thirty years in contriving or working, (as in ſetting forth maps or ſyſtems of the manner of Gods Decrees before all times, or diſputes about election or reprobation, as they are immanent acts *in him*) with that common but uſeful exception, ***aut nihil, aut nimium.*** Their concluſions might (for ought I know) be unanſwerable and ſound, upon ſuppoſition that they are every whit as wiſe as God. But this being not granted them, or the contradictory being granted, [*that the Omnipotent Creator is* δὶς διὰ πασῶν *wiſer then they are*:] the moſt elaborate and longeſt ſtudied Treatiſes, which it hath been my hap upon theſe Arguments to ſee, afford no document of greater ſtrength or cunning than is exhibited in the Spiders Web. The Authors of them tell us only (and herein we believe them) what they themſelves would have done, if they had been delegated to make Decrees or Acts for the Government of Men and Angels, or what God ſhould have done if they had been of his Privy Council, when he made all things viſible, and inviſible. But what God doth, hath done, or will do according to the ſole counſel of his moſt holy will, *that*, they ſhew us not, nor go about to ſhew, whilſt they run the clean contrary way to that which God our Father, and the Church our Mother hath preſcribed us to follow. Now the way which the Engliſh Church from the warrant of Gods word, to this purpoſe preſcribes, is to admire, not to determine the equity of Gods Decrees before all times from contemplation of the manner of their execution or ſweet diſpoſition of his providence in time. It is a prepoſterous preſumption to determine the manner how they have been, or ſhall be executed, by prying into the projection or contrivance of the Al-

mighty Judge, before Man or Angel, or any thing beſides God himſelf had any being.

5. He ſinned grievouſly that ſaid in his heart, or ſecret unexamined thought, *ſimilis ero altiſſimo* (whether this be meant of *Nebuchadnezzar*, or ſome other earthly Tyrant only, or literally of one or more of them, and myſtically of *Lucifer*.) But they ſin no leſs for the *act*, which ſay in their hearts, or preſuppoſe in their implicit thoughts, *altiſſimus eſt ſimillimus mihi:* the moſt high God hath determined nothing concerning Men or Angel, otherwiſe than we would have done, if we had been in his place. They prepoſterouſly uſurp the ſame power which God in his firſt Creation did juſtly exerciſe, who though not expreſly, yet by inevitable conſequence, and by implicit thoughts make a God after their own image and ſimilitude. A God not according to the reliques of that image wherein he made our firſt Parents, but after the corruptions or defacements of it, through partiality, envy, pride, and hatred towards their fellow Creatures. But of the original of transforming the Divine Nature into the ſimilitude of mans corrupted nature, I have * elſewhere long ago delivered my mind at large. And I would to God ſome (as I conjecture) offended with what I there obſerved (without any reference or reſpect either to their perſons or their ſtudies) had not verified the truth of my obſervations in a larger meaſure, than I then did conceive they could have been really ratified, or exemplified by the meditation or practice of any rational man. This transformation of the Divine Nature, which is in ſome ſort or degree common to moſt men, is (in the leaſt degree of it) one of thoſe works of the Devil, which the Son of God came into the World to diſſolve by doctrine, by example, and exerciſe of his power. But what be the reſt of thoſe works beſides this? All (I take it) may be reduced to theſe general heads. Firſt, *The actual ſins of our firſt Parents.* Secondly, *The remainder or effects of this ſin, whether in our firſt Parents, or in their poſterity, to wit, that more than habitual, or hereditary corruption which we call, ſin Original.* Thirdly, *Sins adventitious or acquired, that is, ſuch vitious acts, or habits, as do not neceſſarily iſſue from that ſin which deſcends unto us from our firſt Parents, but are voluntarily produced in particular men, by their abuſe of that portion of freewill which was left in our firſt Parents, and in their poſterity, and that was a true freedom of will, though not to do well, or ill, yet at leaſt* inter mala: *to do leſs, or greater evil, or to do this or that particular, ill, or worſe.* Original ſin is rather in us *ad modum habitus*, than an habit properly ſo called. All other habitual ſins or vices are not acquired but by many unneceſſitated vitious acts: But to diſtinguiſh between vice and ſin, or between vitious habits and ſinful habits, is (to my capacity) a work (or attempt rather) of the ſame nature, as if one ſhould go about to divide a point into two portions; or a mathematical line into two parallels.

* *In the fifth Book of Commentaries upon the Apoſtles Creed, or a Treatiſe containing the original of unbelief, &c. See the former Treatiſe, chap. 44, 45. &c.*

6. Nor are theſe ſins enumerated, nor ſin it ſelf *formally* taken the only works of the Devil which the Son of God came to deſtroy, but theſe ſins with their ſymptoms, and reſultances. For the Devil ſinneth from the beginning in continual tempting men to ſin, although his temptations do not always take effect. He ſinneth likewiſe in accuſing men before their Creator, or ſolliciting greater vengeance than their ſins in favourable conſtruction, deſerve. Now that neither his temptations, nor accuſations do always find that ſucceſs, which he intends, this is meerly from the mercy and loving kindneſs of our Creator, in

ſending his Son to diſſolve the works of Satan. The general ſymptom or reſultance of all ſin original, or actual, is ſervitude or ſlavery unto Satan, and the wages of this ſervitude is death: not this hereditary ſervitude only; but death which is the wages of it, is the work of Satan. Yet a work which the Son of God doth not utterly deſtroy until the general reſurrection of the dead. Nor ſhall it then be deſtroyed in any, in whom the bonds of the ſervitude and ſlavery unto ſin have not been by the ſame Son of God diſſolved, whilſt they lived on earth. He was firſt manifeſted in the fleſh and form of a ſervant to pay the ranſom of our ſins, and to unty the bonds and fetters of ſin in general. He was manifeſted in his reſurrection to diſſolve or break the raign of ſin within every one of us. For as the Apoſtle ſpeaks, *He died for our ſins, and roſe again for our juſtification.* And he ſhall laſtly be manifeſted, or appear in glory utterly to deſtroy ſin, and death. *CHRIST* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *was once offered to bear the ſins of many, and unto them that look for him ſhall he appear the ſecond time without ſin unto ſalvation,* Heb. 9. 28.

SECTION II.

Of the more ſpecial qualifications, and undertakings of the Son of God for diſſolving the works which the Devil had wrought in our firſt Parents, and in our nature, and for cancelling the bond of Mankinds ſervitude unto Satan.

CHAP. VI.

Of the peculiar qualifications of the Son of God for diſſolving the firſt actual ſin of our firſt Parents, and the reliques of it, whether in them, or in us their ſinful poſterity.

I. THE qualifications or undertakings of the Son of God for diſſolving or remitting ſuch actual ſins, as do not neceſſarily iſſue from our firſt Parents, and for bringing them and us unto greater glory than they affected, do challenge their place or proper ſeat in the Treatiſe deſigned *to his exaltation after death*, and *his conſecration to his everlaſting Prieſthood*. We are now to proſecute the points propoſed in the title of this Section, and in the firſt place ſuch points as were propoſed in the title of this Chapter.

2. The rule is univerſally true in works natural, civil, and ſupernatural, but true with ſome ſpecial allowances, *Vnum quodq; eodem modo diſſolvitur, quo conſtituitur.* Though the conſtitution and diſſolution of the ſame work include two contrary motions, yet the manner or method by which both are wrought is uſually the ſame; only the order is inverted. And we ſhould the better know how mans firſt tranſgreſſion was diſſolved by the Son of God, if we firſt knew how it was wrought by Satan, or wherein the ſin it ſelf did properly conſiſt. Infidelity or diſobedience it could not be, for theſe are ſymptoms of ſins already hatched. Whatſoever elſe it was, the firſt tranſgreſſion was *pride*, or ambitious deſire of Independent immortality. Now the Son of God begun his work where Satan ended his; diſſolving this ſin of pride, by his unſpeakable humility. And to take away the guilt of mans diſobedience or infidelity, which were the ſymptoms or reſultances of his intemperate deſires; the Son of God did humble himſelf to death, even to the death of the Croſs, repoſing himſelf in all his ſufferings upon God. The firſt man was the only Favourite which the King of Kings had here on earth, the only Creature whom he had placed as a Prince in Paradiſe, a ſeat more than Royal or Monarchical, with hopes of advancement unto Heaven it

ſelf. It was a plot as malitious, as cunning, in Satan to diſpoſſeſs man of his preſent dignity, and to throw him down from this height of hope to helliſh ſlavery; to make him a creature more miſerable than the earth, water, or other inferiour element, harboured any. Yet was his miſery, if we ſound the very depth of it, not commenſurable to the exceſſive meaſure of his pride. The ground or bottom of this pride was lower than the loweſt part of the earth, as low as nothing: the height of it reached above the higheſt Heavens. Man, who as Saint *Auguſtine* ſaith, was but *terræ filius*, *& nihili nepos*, the Son of the Earth, and Nephew of nothing. Man, who if he had looked back to his late beginning, might have ſaid to the ſilly earth-worm, *Thou art my Siſter*, and to every creeping thing, *Thou art my Brother*; became ſo forgetful of his original, that he ſought (by the ſuggeſtion of Satan) to become like his Almighty Creator, who out of the ſame earth, had made him ſo much more excellent, than all earthly or ſublunary Creatures, as they were than nothing. But let the firſt mans pride, or Satans malice in hatching it, and the reſt of that ſinful brood, receive all the degrees of aggravation, which the invention of man can put upon them: yet the medicine prepared by the Son of God, will appear more ample, than the wound is wide; and more ſoveraign than it is dangerous. Satans cunning in working mans fall, doth no way equalize the wiſdom of the Son of God in diſſolving this work. It is not probable, as was obſerved before, that Satan could ſo far infatuate the firſt man, as to make him affect to be every way equal with his God, but only to be like or equal unto him in ſome prerogative, as in the knowledge of good and evil; and probable it is he did deſire, that his immortality and ſoveraignty over other Creatures, might be the one independent, and the other ſupreme. Now theſe, and all other branches of Pride, whereof we can imagine the humane nature by the Serpents ſuggeſtion to be capable, are more than countervailed, every way over-reached by the firſt degree of the Humiliation of the Son of God. He was not only like, but equal to the Father, not in ſome one, or few, but in all the prerogatives of the Divine Nature. He was (ſaith the Apoſtle) *in the form of God*, and (*therefore*) *thought it no robery to be equal with God.* Yet he vouchſafed to become, not like to man only, but truly man, more than equal to other men in ſorrows and ſufferings.

3. Whatſoever equality or ſimilitude with God it was, at which the firſt mans pride, through incogitancy did aim, it was not effected, but affected only, by way of tryal. He could not out of a deliberate choice or ſetled reſolution, aſſure himſelf that he ſhould become ſuch as he deſired to be. But the Son of God, who was truly God, out of unerrable, unchangeable, infinite wiſdom, determined with himſelf to become truly man. How man, whilſt man, ſhould become more than man, truly God: neither the wit of man, nor the ſubtilty of the Serpent could have deviſed; although (by Divine Permiſſion or grant) they had been enabled to accompliſh, whatſoever to this purpoſe they could diviſe or imagine. But the *Wiſdom* and Son of God found out a way, by which he might ſtill continue God, and yet become as truly man as he was God: a way by which the diverſity of theſe two natures might ſtill remain unconfuſed without diverſity of perſons or parties. Though mans ambition had reached ſo high, as to aſpire from that condition of *being* wherein God had eſtated him, to be abſolutely equal with God: yet his ambition had not been

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equal to that Humiliation which the Son of God did not only affect, but attain unto. For although he became a man of the ſame nature that *Adam* was of, or any man ſince hath been, yet was he a man of a lower condition; of as low condition as any earthly Creature could be: for as the Pſalmiſt in his perſon complains (*Pſalm* 22. 6.) He became *a worm and no man, the reproach of men,* one whom the very abjects amongſt men did think they might ſafely tread upon with ſcorn.

4. For the Son of God to be made man, to be made a man of this low eſtate or condition (whenceſoever he had taken his humane ſubſtance) was a ſatisfaction all-ſufficient to the juſtice of God for mans pride; a *diſſolution* moſt compleat of the firſt work, that our firſt Parents ſuffered the Devil to work in our nature; if we reſpect only the ſubſtance of it. But that no part of Satans work, no bond or tye of circumſtance wherewith he had intangled our nature, might remain undiſſolved: the Son of God was made of a Woman; and this was to ſecure the Woman, or weaker Sex, that he came to diſſolve the works which Satan had wrought in them. For as the Apoſtle ſaith; *The firſt woman was in the tranſgreſſion, not the man*; the man at leaſt not ſo deep in the ſame tranſgreſſion as the woman. She alone (for ought we read) committed the robbery, in taking the forbidden fruit from off the tree, her husband was the receipter only: And by ſwallowing it by the Serpents ſuggeſtion, ſhe firſt conceived and brought forth death, without her husbands conſent or knowledge. Her tranſgreſſion was twofold: Truſt, or confidence in the Serpents promiſe: want of credence (through pride) to Gods threatnings. To diſſolve this work of the Devil, ſo far as it was peculiar to the woman; the Son of God was conceived of a woman, without the knowledge or conſent of man. Satan uſed the Serpent for his *Proxie*, to betroth himſelf unto our nature: the Holy Ghoſt by the miniſtery of an Angel, wins the Bleſſed Virgins aſſent, or accord to become the mother of the Son of God. Seeing the firſt woman became the mother of ſin whilſt ſhe remained a Virgin, though then a Wife; the Son of *God* would have a Virgin for his mother, yet a a Virgin-wife; a Virgin affianced to a man. And thus as the firſt woman, being not begotten but made of man, did accompliſh Satans plot in working his fall, and corrupting our nature: ſo the Son of *God* being made man of a woman, doth diſſolve this work by purifying what ſhe had corrupted, and by repairing what the firſt man, and woman had undone.

5. There is a Tradition concerning the *Meſſias* Conception, and his Mother's father'd upon an Ancient Jewiſh Rabbin, by *Petrus Galatinus*, but as I conjecture, rather a Commentary upon his own fancy, or ſome Monkiſh Legendary whom he was pleaſed to grace. The abſtract of this Legend, with his Comment upon it, is thus. There was one ſpecial part of *Adams* bodily ſubſtance priviledged from the contagion of the firſt ſin, and this propagated by one ſpecial line unto Poſterity, until it came to the mother of the *Meſſias*, who from the vertue of this preſerved portion of *Adams* nature, was conceived without original ſin, as being made out of this ſubſtance after ſuch a manner

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Capnio. Vellem expreſſius audire, an veteres Hebræorum ſenſerint matrem *Meſſiæ* in peccato originali concipiendam non fuiſſe. *Galatin.* Quamvis ex his quæ diximus, ſatis (ut arbitror) apertè colligatur, hanc priſcorum Judæorum fuiſſe fidem, nedum, opinionem: hoc tamen manifeſtiùs ex verbis prædicti *Rabbenu haccados* habetur: qui eodem in libro גלי רזייא Gale razeia, cum ad ſeptimam Antonini Conſulis urbis Romæ petitionem inter cætera dixiſſet, propter matrem verò ejus ſcilicet Meſſiæ ait David, *Pſal.* 80. וכנה אשר נטעה ימינך, hoc eſt, & abacum quam plantavit dextra tua. Dixiſſetq; ei Antoninus, Cur mater Dei comparatur abaco, curvè dicit, eam à dextra Dei plantatam? Reſpondit ſic ille, Similis facta eſt abaco matèr Dei. Quandoquidem

as the *Meſſias* or Son of God was made of a Virgin. *Sit fides pœnes Authorem.* We know the Bleſſed Virgin was the daughter of *Abraham*, and the Daughter of *David*, but not by any portion of *Abraham*'s or *David*'s body altogether exempted from ſuch alterations, as the Elementary vertues of which all mens bodies are made, are ſubject unto. Nor was the body of the *Meſſias* to be made of any ſuch portion of *Adam* perpetually exempted from the contagion of ſin original, unto the time wherein the Bleſſed Virgin was affianced to *Joſeph*. The firſt exemption of any portion of the humane nature, or ſubſtance of *Adam* after his fall, was granted and wrought by the immediate hand of God in the conception of his Son by the Holy Ghoſt, which was immediately upon that ſweet aſſent of the Bleſſed Virgin unto the Angel *Gabriel*, *Ecce ancilla*, &c.

6. If it were lawful to moralize ſuch Fables (as I take this of *Galatinus* to be no better) the beſt moral I can make of it, would be this. However there had been many intermediate Generations (as many as Saint *Luke* relateth, if not more) between our Father *Adam*, and the Conception of the Son of God: yet was our Saviour in ſome reſpects the immediate Succeſſour of *Adam*, the only ſecond *Adam*: His immediate Succeſſour not in ſin, but of that purity of nature wherein the firſt *Adam* was created; and yet withal immediate Succeſſour unto that curſe which *Adam* by tranſgreſſion had incurred, but was not able to expiate nor to bear, ſave only by the everlaſting death of himſelf and his Poſterity. And for this reaſon (if I miſtake not) the Son of God doth call himſelf, as no Son of *Adam* before him did, *The Son of man*, by peculiar title. Yet was this a title, as * *Maldonat* well obſerves, not of honour but of abjection; of greater abjection than the like title given to *Ezekiel* not by himſelf, but by the Angels: And yet *Ezekiel* is called by the Angel not בֶן-אִישׁ but: בֶן-אָדָם Of the difference betwixt theſe two titles which are both expreſt in our *Engliſh* by Son of man. I refer the Reader to the 49. *Pſalm*, ver. 2. and the Commentators upon it. As the Son of God was immediate Succeſſour unto *Adam*, ſo he was the immediate heir unto the bleſſing promiſed to *Abraham*, more than heir, the Author and Foundation of it: He was likewiſe immediate Succeſſour unto *David* and his King-

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ſicut abacus eſt armarium, quod Principes conficiunt ad collocanda vaſcula auri & argenti, ut gloriam ſuam, atq; opes omnibus oſtendant; Ita mater Regis Meſſiæ erat armarium, quod Deus conſtruxit, ut in eo ſedeat ipſe Meſſias ad oſtendendam gloriam Majeſtatis ſuæ cunctis mortalibus. Per id autem quod ait plantatam eſſe à dextra Dei, oſtendit eam primam eſſe creaturam Dei in genere humano; ſicut dictum eſt, Micheæ. cap. 5. ומצאותיו מקדם מימי עירלם id eſt, Et egreſſus ejus ab æternitate, & à diebus ſeculi. Dicit enim egreſſus numero multitudinis. Quia ſunt duo Meſſiæ egreſſus Unus Divinitatis, quæ eſt æterna ideoque dicit ab æternitate. Alter humanitatis, quæ in ſuæ matris extat ſubſtantia, quæ creata eſt ab hora creationis mundi. Hæc ille, quem Judæi Magiſtrum noſtrum ſanctum nuncupant. Ad quorum declarationem notandum eſt. Quod opinio quorundam veterum Judæorum fuit, matrem Meſſiæ non ſolum in mente Dei ab initio, & ante ſecula creatam fuiſſe, ut paulò ſuperiùs dictum eſt: verùm etiam materiam ejus in materia Adæ fuiſſe productam, ipſamq; glorioſam Meſſiæ matrem principalem extitiſſe, cum ejus amore (ut dictum eſt) mundus creatus ſit. Nam cum Deus *Adam* plaſmaret, fecit quaſi maſſam ex cujus parte nobiliori accepit intemeratæ matris Meſſiæ materiam, ex reſiduo verò ejus & ſuperfluitate *Adam* formavit. Ex materia autem immaculatæ matris Meſſiæ facta eſt virtus, quæ in nobiliori loco & membro corporis *Adæ* conſervata fuit. Quæ poſtea emanavit ad *Seth*, deinde ad *Enos*, deinde ſuccidaneo ordine ad reliquos uſq; ad ſanctum *Jehoiakim*. Ex hac demum virtute beatiſſima mater Meſſiæ formata fuit: Et idcirco eam, *Zach. cap.* 4. ſuæ prophetiæ את האבן חראשה hoc eſt petram primariam, recte appellavit. Ex qua ut antiqui Judæorum expoſuerunt, excidendus erat Meſſias. Neque quidem abs re, cum tempore, gradu, & excellentia primaria futura eſſet. Ex qua quidem opinione apertè concluditur, carnem glorioſæ matris Meſſiæ non fuiſſe peccato originali infectam, ſed puriſſimam à divina providentia præſervatam. Quocirca nec anima ejus hujuſmodi peccatum in conceptione contractura erat. *Petrus Galatinus*, lib. 7. per totum caput tertium.

* Mihi verò ratio cur ita ſeſe vocaverit, duabus ex rebus petenda eſſe videtur: altera quòd ſolus ipſe & Ezechiel, (imo Daniel etiam aliquando) ita vocetur, ut *Irenæus*, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 18. notavit: altera quòd ſolus ipſe ſe ita vocet. Nam alii in novo Teſtamento nunquam eum filium hominis appellant. Ex priore re intelligimus poſſe eâdem, aut ſimili de causâ, quâ *Ezechielem* filium hominis appellari. Cur autem *Ezechiel* ita vocatus ſit, cum multas illic opiniones recenſuerimus, illam *R. Abraham* maximè probavimus, vocari eum filium hominis, quia ſemper cum Angelis loquebatur; qui eum, ut à ſe, qui homines non erant, ſed videbantur, diſtinguerent, filium hominis appellabunt.

Nec enim ipſe, ſed eum Angeli ita vocant. Simili fortaſſe ratione Chriſtus, quia Deus erat, & filius Dei, quaſi antitheſi quadam cum de ſe, ut homine, loquitur, filium hominis vocat. Non quod alius, ſed quod alitèr filius Dei, quia Deus, & filius hominis, quia homo eſſet, quemadmodum *Auguſtinus* indicavit. Ex poſteriore probabilem conjecturam ducimus cum ſe non honoris, ſed abjectionis causâ ita vocare, ſicut apud Prophetam vermem & opprobrium hominum appellat, *Pſal.* 21. *ver.* 7. Niſi enim nomen abjectionis eſſet, alii etiam eum aliquando eodem modo vocaviſſent. Sed obſervamus *Ezechielem* nunquam à ſe, ſed ab aliis: Chriſtum nunquam ab aliis, ſed à ſe filium hominis appellari. Ideò ergo ſe filium hominis appellat, ut ſignificet ſe, cum in forma Dei eſſet, nec rapinam arbitraretur ſe eſſe æqualem Deo, exinaniiſſe tamen ſemetipſum, formamq; ſervi accepiſſe, & habitu inventum, ut hominem, *Phil.* 2. 6, 7. *Maldonat* in *cap.* 8. *Matthæi ver.* 20.

dom: the only body in whom the ſhadow of Gods mercies unto *David*, for the good of *Iſrael*, and *Judah* was to be fulfilled. If he had been immediate Succeſſor unto *David* only, this might have occaſioned ſome ſuſpicion or diſtruſt, that he had been the Redeemer of the Jewiſh Nation only, or of the Sons of *Jacob*. Had he been immediate Succeſſor unto *Abraham* only, this might have occaſioned the like ſurmiſe or fancy, that he had been manifeſted only to diſſolve the works which Satan had wrought in *Abraham's* Seed according to the fleſh, which was much more ample than the Seed of *Jacob*. But in as much as the Son of God did in time become the Son of Man, the immediate Succeſſor unto *Adam*, the only ſecond *Adam* (though not the firſt, or ſecond man from *Adam*) This giveth us to underſtand that he was the next of kindred to all men, as they were men, whether Jews or Gentiles. He to whom the redemption of all mankind, did by right of kindred, without partiality, or reſpect of perſons, equally belong. And for this reaſon he did not take any created *party* or *perſon* into the Unity of his Divine Perſon, but the meer nature of man, or Seed of *Abraham*, as ſequeſtred from all perſonal reſpects or references.

7. Thus was the Son of God to be qualified, that his undertakings for mankind might be univerſally beneficial. But the *Baſis* of his Humiliation and undertakings in our fleſh, *That*, from which (being annexed to the dignity of his perſon) the intenſive infinity of the ſatisfaction for the ſins of the world, and our redemption from the ſervitude of Satan did reſult, *was the form of a Servant*, which he voluntarily took upon him. A myſtery not much looked after, much leſs into, by any Divines, whom it hath been my hap to read. The moſt do ſcarce make it ſo much as a comely Metaphor, or ſignificant expreſſion of ſomewhat more than the ſtate or condition of man. But that the *form* of a ſervant was a qualification of the Son of God diſtinct from his manhood, may thus be concludently proved. The nature and eſſential form of man did ariſe, and doth remain in him ſince his reſurrection from death: ſo did not the form or condition of a ſervant; that, lies dead and buried for ever. By his reſurrection from death, he did not only of a mortal man, become immortal; but from the eſtate or condition of a ſervant, (without the interpoſition of ought beſides his death) was made both Lord and King of all things created by him. It will therefore be no digreſſion to treat of the *form* of a ſervant more at large in this method and order. Firſt, *Wherein the eſſential ſtate or condition of a legal ſervant, doth conſiſt.* Secondly, *Of the exact correſpondency, or identity of form between legal ſervitude, and ſervitude to ſin and Satan.* Thirdly, *Of the formal identity betwixt the ſtate and condition of the Son of God, whilſt he was in the form of a ſervant, and the two other forms and conditions of ſervants*, to wit, *legal ſervants and ſlaves to ſin.* The only difference betwixt theſe three ſorts of ſervants, is in the matter of their ſervitude: the form or eſſential condition is one, and the ſame in all three. Of the ſtate of legal ſervants, and of our ſervitude unto ſin, I have, after a popular or vulgar way, more copiouſly

diſcourſed upon ſeveral occaſions. The brief or extract of ſo much of theſe diſcuſſions, as to my preſent memory, is pertinent to this inſtant Treatiſe, muſt be the ſubject of the next diſcourſe.

CHAP. VII.

Of Legal Servants, and of the Analogy betwixt their Civil eſtate, and the eſtate of wicked men.

1. OF Legal Servants there were two ſorts, one whom we called hired Servants or Apprentices, whom a *Latiniſt* would rather call *Famuli* then *Servi*. Others were *Servi*, ſervants properly ſo called, ſuch as we would properly term *ſlaves* or *bondmen*. Of *ſlaves* and *bondmen*, their Lords and Maſters had a fuller power or dominion, than any Maſter hath over his hired ſervants. Not the actions only or bodily employment, but the perſons of ſlaves or bondmen are at their Maſters diſpoſal; they had the ſame right of dominion over them, which men have over Lands which they hold in *Fee Simple*, a power to alienate, to ſell or ſet them to any other. And for this reaſon a ſlave or bondman is in Scripture called the Inheritance of his Maſter. Of hired ſervants, the actions or imployments only are at their Maſters diſpoſal, their perſons are free: nor are their actions or imployments perpetually at their Maſters diſpoſal, but only ſo long as the Covenant laſteth, and ſo far only as is covenanted between them. The greateſt intereſt that their Maſters can have in them, is, only ſuch as a man hath in lands and grounds which he renteth of others: the fruits are intirely his which renteth the grounds: the ſoil or inheritance, is the Lords or owner of it. The labours or imployments of an hired ſervant, are his Maſters only, his perſon is in *nullius bonis*, it is not the goods or chattel of another: What he can earn or get is his own, ſo that he is as much a free-man, as a ſervant. The true and original difference between both theſe kinds of *ſervants* and a *free man*, is this: A free man hath power to diſpoſe of his actions or imployments for his beſt advantage: A ſervant, (whether by Covenant, or a bondman) albeit he hath a reaſonable will to deſire his own good or preferment, yet hath he no power or right to diſpoſe of his own actions or employments, for compaſſing that good, which as he is endued with reaſon, he could project and fore-caſt. For of his imployments or expence of time, he muſt give an account unto his Maſter. In reſpect of legal or civil freedom, that uſual definition is warrantable; *Liber eſt qui vivit, ut vult:* He is legally or civilly free, which may imploy his labours, or expend his time, as he pleaſeth for his own good, without the controll or check of others. And he is a legal ſervant, *qui non vivit ut vult*, which cannot beſtow himſelf or time, according to his own deſire or will, but as his Lord or Maſter ſhall appoint. His Maſter by legal right may impoſe a neceſſity upon him, either of not doing that which he deſireth to do, or of doing that which he deſireth not to do. A ſervant may deſire to pleaſure himſelf or his friend by his day labour, or other expence of time; but if this he do without his maſters conſent or approbation, he wrongs his maſter, who if he pleaſe, may conſtrain him to do his buſineſs,

and neglect his own, or his friends. Again, a ſervant may have a deſire or reſolution, not to gratifie or pleaſure another (ſuppoſe his own, or his friends Enemy) by his ſervice or employments, and yet if he be his Maſters friend, he may compel him to do that party whom he miſlikes, that good office, or ſervice, which he would not. Briefly, every ſervant hath a freedom of will in matters civil, but no *arbitrium*, no freedom of power, or right to diſpoſe of himſelf, or of his actions for accompliſhing that which he may freely will: he muſt frame his courſe of politick or civil life, *ex arbitrio Domini.*

2. From this difference of eſtate, or condition of a free man, and a ſervant, the Heathens did by light of nature rightly infer; that every vitious man (though a Lord, though a Prince, or Monarch) was a true ſlave to his own luſt, or lewd deſires: that every wiſe, and temperate man, though a bondman for his legal ſtate and condition, was a true free man. The Roman Orator in his Paradoxes (as he entitles them) to this purpoſe, was an Orthodox. And the Arguments which the Slave in the Satyrical Poet brings to prove his Maſter to be a greater ſlave than himſelf, are unanſwerable, *Tunc mihi Dominus, rerum imperiis hominumq; Tot tantiſq; minor*; Are you a Lord, and I a ſlave, when as you may be commanded by more men, and by more deſires, than I am ſubject unto? The ſlave acknowledged no more Maſters than this one, whom if it would pleaſe but to ſay the word, his freedom might without difficulty be obtained, if the *Prætor* of the City would but vouchſafe (by his Maſters leave) to lay his white rod upon him, and cauſe him to be turned once or twice about with ſome few other Ceremonies, he could be turned out of a ſlave into a free Citizen, in the ſpace of an hour: whereas, if his Maſter had been turned round, (till his ſenſes had failed him) in caſe the *Prætor* would have laid his rod an hundred times upon his head, he could not have wound himſelf out of thoſe bonds of ſervitude wherein his luſts had inſnared him. This ſlave had obſerved, that his Maſter would often commend the frugality and temperance of the ancient Romans, and often deſire that he, and other modern Romans, might live as they did: yet if any great man, or good neighbour would invite him to a luxurious feaſt, or if any fooliſh pleaſures, with whoſe exceſs he had been formerly ſtung, ſhould proffer themſelves, he had not ſo much power to reſiſt or reſtrain them, as this ſlave had to neglect his deſigns or commands, when they did diſpleaſe him. And for his Maſter to be drawn thus every day to do that which in his retired and ſober thoughts he did moſt diſlike and condemn, was in his judgment a greater ſlavery than any bodily ſervitude. If the reaſons which theſe and other Heathens often uſed to prove vitious men to be the only true ſlaves, had not been the dictates of the law of nature written in our hearts, or reaſons unanſwerable; the Apoſtles of Chriſt, yea Chriſt himſelf would not have uſed the like. *Know ye not* (ſaith St. *Paul*, *Rom.* 6. 16. as if it were a ſhame in this point to be ignorant) *that to whom ye yield your ſelves ſervants to obey, his ſervants ye are to whom ye obey: whether of ſin unto death, or of obedience unto righteouſneſs.* And S. *Peter* tells us of ſome, *who whilſt they promiſe liberty unto others, they themſelves were ſervants unto corruption: for of whom a man is overcome, of the ſame is he brought into bondage,* 2 *Pet.* 2. 19. So our Saviour ſaith, *Joh.* 8. 34. *Whoſoever committeth ſin, is the ſervant of ſin.* And of him no doubt our Apoſtle St. *John* learned that doctrine; *He that committeth ſin, is of the Devil:* a ſervant of his.

3. But albeit the wiſer ſort of Heathens did by light of nature know, that every vicious man was a ſlave or ſervant to his own luſts or deſires: yet the greateſt danger which they apprehended from the ſervitude, was but fear of *ſatyrical* cenſure for prepoſterous baſeneſs in ſubjecting reaſon to ſenſuality. That their own deſires, luſts, or affections, were maintained and cheriſhed by a foreign Enemy, as ſo many Rebells to wage War againſt their immortal Souls, or that their Conſciences being ſubdued by luſt, ſhould be everlaſtingly ſubject to ſo cruel a Tyrant as the Devil is, were points wherein the Prince of darkneſs had blinded the eyes of the wiſeſt Heathen. And would to God we Chriſtians, to whom the Lord hath revealed thus much, could ſee or hear ſo much concerning this doctrine, as would make us perfectly underſtand, or lay to heart the ineſtimable danger wherein we ſtand, whether in reſpect of the faſt hold which this Tyrant by our corrupted nature and cuſtom hath got of us, or of the miſerable uſage which will follow, if he and ſin finally prevail againſt us. But this is a common place, for which every man may find a fitter Text in his own heart, than any other man can chuſe for him, and matter of more ample and pertinent diſcourſe upon it, than reading of many Books can ſuggeſt unto him. All that I have here to ſay concerning this point is, to requeſt the Reader to examine his own heart, and calculate his non-performances of what (I preſume) he often ſeriouſly intended, and perhaps hath vowed. His duty it is to open the wounds of his Conſcience, either to God alone in ſecret, or to ſuch as God hath appointed for the Phyſicians of his Soul and Conſcience. My purpoſe is to prepare the Plaiſter or Medicine, and to inform him how to apply it.

CHAP. VIII.

The Son of God was properly a ſervant to his Father, yet not by birth as he was the Son of his Handmaid, but by voluntary undergoing this hard condition for the redemption of man.

1. To free us from this miſerable ſervitude unto ſin, (which alone doth wound our Conſcience) the Son of God did freely and voluntarily take upon him the *form* of a ſervant. The parts of his peculiar ſervice were in general two: The one, to conquer Satan, who was by right of Conqueſt our Lord: The other, to reconcile us to grace and favour with God; to make us firſt ſervants, then Sons, and laſtly Kings and Prieſts to his, and our Heavenly Father. Theſe two parts of his peculiar ſervice unto his Father, (for unto him alone he was a ſervant) exhibit the moſt admirable pattern of Juſtice, Mercy, and loving kindneſs, as well in God the Father, as God the Son, that the wit of Man or Angels can contemplate. Firſt it was a pattern of Juſtice, never after to be parallel'd for God the Father to exact ſatisfaction for our ſins, at the hands of his dear and only Son. Unto this unmeaſurable act, or exerciſe of Juſtice upon the Son of Righteouſneſs, his mercy towards us miſerable ſinners was fully commenſurable. For whatſoever he ſuffered for our ſakes,

was from his Fathers, and his own mercy and loving kindneſs towards us. Again, ſo infinite was the juſtice of our Gracious God, that even whilſt he ſhewed his mercy and loving kindneſs towards us, he did vouchſafe to give (as we ſay) the Devil himſelf his due, and to obſerve the law of Arms or Duel with this Prince of Rebels, his ſubject by right of Creation, but profeſſed enemy by reſolution. Albeit this grand Rebel after his revolt from God, had conquered man, and made him (by treachery) of Gods ſervant and ſon, a meer ſlave unto himſelf; the righteous Lord would not deprive this mighty Lion, and greedy Wolf of his prey, by any other means, than by right of conqueſt gotten over him by man. He did not arm a legion of Angels, nor ſummon the whole Hoſt of viſible Creatures againſt him, nor uſe his omnipotent and abſolute Power to deſtroy or annihilate him, or as then to ſhut him up in the everlaſting priſon. The exerciſes of ſuch power whether immediately by the Omnipotent Creator himſelf, or by his Creatures, had been more than Satans *matches* upon equal terms or weapons. Exerciſe of ſtrength was not the firſt way in the wiſdom of God to conquer pride, ambition, or vain-glory, though theſe muſt be quelled with the power and ſtrength of the Son of God, whom it pleaſed the Father at the firſt onſet to weaken, by laying our firſt Parents infirmities, and their Poſterities upon them. Theſe were the weapons by which he foiled the old Serpent, and obtained the victory by managing our weakneſs and infirmities, better than our firſt Parents did thoſe great abilities, wherewith their Creator had endowed them to reſiſt temptations. The weapons which the old Serpent uſed in the conqueſt of our firſt Parents, and by which he retained their Poſterity in continual ſlavery, were their own deſires and affections; theſe he improved ſo far, that they became unweildy. And he, having gotten (as we ſay) the better end of the ſtaff, did wreſt our wills at his pleaſure, to do thoſe things which God forbids us to do, and make us furious executioners of his cunning contrivances againſt our own Souls. The particularities of his ſlights or cunning for bringing us into thraldom inextricable (unleſs the Son of God ſet us free) are elſewhere deciphered. Theſe two are the main generals: Firſt, The extenſion of our natural deſire of things within their bounds good and pleaſant. Secondly, The improvement of our fear of things diſtaſtful to nature, as of death, diſgrace, or torture. Now that the Son of God might thus beat him at his own weapons, it was neceſſary that he ſhould firſt take upon him the *form* or eſſential condition of a ſervant: for without this, firſt voluntarily undertaken by him, the rule of juſtice could not poſſibly have ſuffered him, to have ſuffered ſo much as he did for our redemption. Wherein then did the ſtate, or condition of a ſervant, which he took upon him formally conſiſt? Or when did he firſt become a ſervant? from the firſt moment of his birth or conception?

2. I cannot brook their opinion, who think our Saviour was by birth a legal ſervant, as being *filius ancillæ*; the ſon of an hand-maid or *bond-woman*. This groſs hereſie hath been well refuted by ſome late Schoolmen, whoſe names I now remember not, nor the names of the Authors or Abettors of this opinion. The mother of the Son of God was indeed *ancilla*, an hand-maid, but to him only whoſe ſervice is perfect freedom. So the *Pſalmiſt*, in the perſon of the Son of God (to be manifeſted in our fleſh) or as his type, directs his Prayer,

Pſal. 116. 16. *O Lord, truly I am thy ſervant, and the Son of thy hand-maid.* CHRIST (as all Chriſtians grant) was the Son of Gods hand-maid, after ſuch a manner, and in ſuch a ſenſe, as never any man beſides him was. For he was the promiſed womans Seed, and the ſon of a woman in ſuch a ſort, as he was not the ſon of any man. Again, he was the ſervant of God, after ſuch a peculiar manner, as neither man or woman had been, or ever ſhall be. But how doth this peculiar ſervice of his fit our ſervitude unto ſin? Even as the medicine doth the diſeaſe, or as the plaiſter doth the wound for which it is prepared. In the Son of God made man, there were two diſtinct wills; the one truly Divine, the other truly Humane. To deny this diſtinction of wills in Chriſt, were to revive the hereſie of the *Monothelites* ſo called, becauſe they held but one will in Chriſt; to wit, the Divine. An error into which they haply fell (as many ſince their time have done into a worſe) by not diſtinguiſhing between *voluntas* and *arbitrium.* Our Saviour *Chriſt*, whilſt he lived here on earth, had a reaſonable *will* of the ſame nature, or quality our will is of (ſin excepted.) And by this will he could not but deſire his own particular good; as health, welfare, and other lawful contentments of the Humane nature, which are requiſite to true joy or happineſs. But in as much as the Son of God from the beginning of mans ſervitude unto Satan became our Surety, and to make ſatiſfaction for our ſins, did in the fullneſs of time take our nature upon him: he did wholly ſubmit his reaſonable will, all his affections and deſires unto the will of his Heavenly Father. And in this renouncing of the arbitrament of his will, and in the entire ſubmiſſion of it unto the will of his Father, did that *form* of a ſervant, whereof our Apoſtle ſpeaks, formally conſiſt. For unto the eſſential definition, or conſtitution of a ſervant, theſe two only concur. Firſt, The uſe of reaſon. (for fools, infants, or reaſonleſs creatures cannot be ſervants) Secondly, *Carentia arbitrii proprii*, want of right, or arbitrary power, to diſpoſe of their bodily actions or employments, according to the deſire or lawful choice of their reaſonable will. So then the general definition, or abſtract form of a ſervant is univocally the ſame, 1. In *Legal Servants.* 2. In ſervants to ſin. And 3. In the Son of God, during the time of his Humiliation here on earth, or whilſt he became hoſtage for our Redemption. But the ſervice of theſe three ſorts of ſervants is in the concrete moſt different. And the difference ariſeth from the matter or ſubject in which they are reſpectively deprived of proper right, or arbitrary power to diſpoſe of themſelves, or of their actions. A legal ſervant wants power to diſpoſe of his employments, or bodily actions in matters temporary concerning this life. Servants to ſin (ſuch all the ſons of *Adam* are by nature) want power to diſpoſe of their actions, or courſe of life in matters moral, ſpiritual, or ſuch as concern their Conſciences. All, and every one of us have a deſire to be happy, and yet all of us, until we be freed by the Son of God from this natural ſervitude, are by the Prince of darkneſs uſually diverted from this ſtrait way which leads to happineſs, unto the crooked by-paths which tend to death, and inextricable miſery. The Son of God, although according to his Humane nature, he had a reaſonable will and deſire of happineſs, which could never in any particular become exorbitant, or diverted from that which is moſt holy and juſt: yet even he in the days of his Humiliation, wanted power to reap the wages of righteouſneſs, or fruits of holineſs. Though joy and comfort was as pleaſant to him, as to any man beſides, though compleat happineſs was due unto him, as he was a moſt juſt and righteous man perſonally united to the Son of God: yet having taken upon him the *form* of a ſervant, he did with unſpeakable patience, and obedience, bear all the griefs and ſorrows Satan and his inſtruments, by Divine Permiſſion, could invent againſt him, and chearfully undergo the heavieſt burthen which his Heavenly Father was pleaſed to lay upon him for our redemption.

3. From this peculiar condition of a ſervant, which the Son of God did voluntarily take upon him, that main objection which ſome modern *Arrians* or *Photinians* make againſt the abſolute ſatisfaction of our Lord Redeemer, for our ſins, may eaſily be anſwered, or rather will diſſolve it ſelf. God (ſay theſe men) could not without tyrannical injuſtice require full ſatisfaction for the miſdemeanors of all wicked and naughty men, from one moſt juſt, and holy man. *To ſlay the righteous with the wicked that be far from thee, O Lord*, was the ſaying of *Abraham* to God, *Gen.* 18. 25. But farther ſurely it is, and always hath been, from the Judge of all the world, (who is the eternal living rule of juſtice it ſelf) to put the innocent and righteous, to the lingring and cruel tortures of an ignominious death, for redeeming wicked and cruel men from deſerved death; or to purchaſe not the impunity only, but the advancement of wilful Rebels, by the ſevere puniſhment of his dear, and only obedient Son. This objection (as was in the former Treatiſe intimated) would pierce deep, if we were diſarmed of thoſe Chriſtian Principles which theſe modern Hereticks have caſt aſide, to wit, the plurality of perſons in the Trinity, and the Oneneſs of perſon in the Son of God, *Chriſt Jeſus*, God and man; even whilſt he was inveſted with the form of a ſervant. We believe, and confeſs as they do, there is but one God; and yet in this God, we acknowledge as they do not, *unum & alium*, one perſon of the Father, another of the Son, another of the Holy Ghoſt, ſuch a diſtinction of capacities, that the Father, not the Son exacts ſatisfaction for mans violation of the eternal and indiſpenſable rule of equity and juſtice: that God the Son, not God the Father, did become mans ſurety, and undertake to make full ſatisfaction for all his ſins.

The Seventh Book of Commentaries upon the Creed, Chap. 25. *Sect.* 3, 4. *&c.*

4. Now he that will make ſatisfaction to another, muſt have ſomewhat to give of his own, ſo his own, as it is not the others to whom it is given. What then had the Son of God to give by way of ſatisfaction unto God the Father, or to the Holy Ghoſt, which was ſo his own, as it was not theirs? Only that part of our nature which he took from the ſubſtance of his mother into the unity of his Divine perſon. In all other parts of our nature, over all other parts of this univerſe, God the Father, and God the Holy Ghoſt had the ſame *intereſt*, or *right of dominion* with the Son. Now this part of our nature being thus aſſumed into the unity of the Second Perſon: The Son of God, and the Son of the Bleſſed Virgin do not ſuffer, as party and party. There is *unum & aliud*, one *nature* of the God-head, another of the *manhood*, *not unus*, *& alius*, not one perſon of the Godhead, another of the manhood. The Divine nature in the Perſon of the Son, is the only party which undertook our Redemption: the Humane nature aſſumed into the unity of his Perſon, was but his qualification, an appendance, or appurtenance, no true part of his Perſon. And (as heretofore hath been obſerved) albeit the fleſh of the man

Chriſt Jeſus was, ***Caro humana, non divina,*** fleſh of the ſame nature and ſubſtance with our fleſh: yet were his fleſh and blood more truly the fleſh and blood of the Son of Cod, than of the man *Chriſt Jeſus:* the Humane body more truly and properly his own, than our bodies are ours. Now our fleſh, and bodily parts are ſaid to be our own, not ſo much becauſe they are parts of our nature, as becauſe they are appurtenances of our perſons, or becauſe we have a peculiar perſonal right or power ſo to diſpoſe of them, as to make them no parts of our nature. We account it no unnatural part in wiſe men, to cut off any rotten or putrified member, rather than ſuffer the whole body beſides utterly to periſh. In ſome certain caſes, publick Societies, or Communities of men (none of which have the like peculiar authority over the meaneſt free private member, as every owner of a body natural hath over his teeth, his toes, his fingers, or other leſs principal part neceſſary for ſome uſes only: not for the preſervation of the whole) have by publick conſent deſigned ſometimes ſome principal members of the Community, ſometimes members leſs principal, not condemned of any crime, as Sacrifices for redeeming others from preſent danger, or for ſecuring poſterity from ſervitude or oppreſſion. And when out-rages have been committed by great Armies, the Authors or principal Incentives of the mutiny being unknown, or not convicted by legal proof, the expiation hath uſually been made by decimation. Every tenth man hath by wholſom diſcipline of War been puniſhed according to the demerits of the crime committed. But albeit every tenth man ſince *Adam* had been by him and his Succeſſors conſent devoted to death, or lingring torture, far worſe than death: their execution could have made no expiation, no ſatisfaction unto God for the tranſgreſſions of the whole Community. The attempt of the medicine would have increaſed the malignity of the univerſal diſeaſe. Yea albeit the Son of God could have been by man intreated to practiſe this cure which is uſed by private wiſe men, for preſervation of their natural bodies, or by great Commanders for preventing Mutinies or loſs of Armies: all this had not been ſufficient to have redeemed the world, or the whole Community of men from utter ruine and deſtruction; or (which is worſe than both) from everlaſting ſervitude unto Satan. Men by Art, or rather Artiſts, by the guidance of Gods Providence, have found out remedies againſt venemous diſeaſes, by medicinal confections of venemous ingredients. The poyſonous bitings of the Scorpion are uſually cured by the oil of Scorpions: and of the fleſh of ſome Serpents, Phyſicians make ſoveraign Antidotes for preventing poyſon, or for curing venemous diſeaſes. But the venom which the old Serpent had diffuſed, not through the veins only, but through the whole nature of man, was not curable by this courſe of Phyſick. The old Serpent was to be deſtroyed, but not to become any ingredient in this Catholick medicine, whereby the Humane nature was to be cured. That, by the wiſdom of God, was taken out of the nature and ſubſtance wounded, not from the ſubſtance which did wound or ſting. But this part of the nature wounded, which was to be the medicine for the reſt, was firſt to be perfectly cured, and throughly purified by perſonal unition to the Son of God. And being thus purified, and cleanſed from all ſpot of ſin, it was diſ-figured and mangled, that the blood of it might be as a balſamum, and quinteſſence to heal the wounds, and ſores of our corruption. If it were the will and pleaſure of the Son of God, to ſubmit his moſt holy body unto the good will and pleaſure of his moſt holy Father; if with his conſent and approbation it were bruiſed and mangled: here was no wrong done to any man, but on Gods part rather a document of his unſpeakable love unto mankind: Love unexpreſſible on God the Fathers part, that would ſuffer his only Son to take upon him the true form of a ſervant, and undergo ſuch hard ſervice for us: Love unexpreſſible on God the Sons behalf, that did ſo willingly expoſe his humane body to pain and torture for our Redemption. Here was no wrong at all, either to the Son of God, from God the Father, or to the Humane nature of Chriſt from the Godhead, or Divine Perſon of the Son; rather all indignities and harms which were done unto the man *Chriſt Jeſus* by Satan, and his inſtruments did redound unto the Son of God. The humane nature was the only ſubject of the wound and pain. The Son of God was the only ſubject (if we may ſo ſpeak) of the wrong, the only party or perſon wronged by Satan and his inſtruments; but no way wronged by the Father, much leſs by himſelf, as having free power to put that part of our nature which he aſſumed, unto what ſervice ſoever his Father would require. Concerning this laſt qualification of the Son of God, I have nothing more to ſay in this Treatiſe, ſave only how it was fore-told or fore-ſhadowed. The Predictions that the Son of God, or the Meſſias, ſhould become a ſervant, are frequent in the Old Teſtament, and will here and there interpoſe themſelves in ſome enſuing diſcuſſions of his undertakings for diſſolving the works of Satan. The next inquiry is, how it was fore-ſhadowed, or typically fore-told.

CHAP. IX.

Gods ſervant Job *the moſt illuſtrious Type of the Son of God, as he was inveſted with the form of a ſervant.*

1. THE form of a ſervant which the Son of God did take upon him, was fore-ſhadowed by all thoſe holy men (Prophets or other) which are by Sacred Writers inſtiled the *Servants* of God. A title not uſually given to many Kings or Prieſts, not once (I take it) by God himſelf unto *Abraham*; though he were the greateſt of holy men, which were but men; the father of the Faithful, whether Kings, Prieſts, or Prophets: the only Prophet, Prieſt, or other, which (to my remembrance) was inſtiled the friend of God. *Moſes*, *Aaron*, and *David*, are ſometimes inſtiled the ſervants of God, by God himſelf. Yet were theſe three (reſpectively) more illuſtrious Types of the Son of God, as he was to be made King, Prieſt, and Prophet, than of *him* as he took the form of a ſervant upon him. Of *Chriſt Jeſus*, as he was in a peculiar ſort the ſervant of God, *Job* the moſt remarkable pattern of patience (before this Son of God was manifeſted in the fleſh) is the moſt exact type or ſhadow; not for his qualifications only, but in his undertakings. *Job's* conflicts with Satan, and wreſtlings with Temptations, are more expreſly recorded, and more emphatically expreſt, than any mans beſides, before the only Son of God became the Son of man, and ſervant to his Heavenly Father. Satan by ſpecial leave obtained from God (but ſo obtained by

God as challenger) did combate or play his prizes with this ſervant of God, at two the moſt prevalent weapons, which his cunning and long experience upon all advantages, which the weakneſs of men (from the fall of *Adam*) did afford him, could make choice of. And theſe two weapons were; [hope of good things, and fear of evils temporal] which this great uſurper did preſume were at his diſpoſal, either by right of that conqueſt which he had gotten over the firſt man, or could obtain by Gods Permiſſion to enſnare the firſt mans Poſterity. The direct and full ſcope of all our hopes is Felicity; and ſo is miſery the period of all our fears. Unto Felicity three ſorts of good things are required, *Bona animæ, bona fortunæ, bona corporis.* The endowments and contentments of the reaſonable Soul; health with ability, and lawful contentments of the body; competency of means or worldly ſubſtance, which are ſubſervient to both the former endowments aed contentments of Soul and Body. No miſery can befall man, but either from the want of ſome one or more of theſe three good things which are required to happineſs (as the Philoſophers conceived it) or from their contraries. All the evils which men naturally fear, are either evils incident to the body; as ſickneſs, pain, torments, death, want or loſs of goods, or worldly ſubſtance, loſs of good name, diſgrace or ignominy, imputation of folly, which are no leſs grievous to the rational part of man, than pain or grief are to the part ſenſitive; more grievous by much to ingenious men, than loſs of goods, than want or penury. For as an Heathen Satyriſt well obſerved;

Nil habet infœlix paupertas durius in ſe,
Quam quòd ridiculos homines facit.

The ſhrewdeſt turn that poverty can do any mortal creature, is to expoſe him unto contempt or ſcorn. By fear of all theſe three evils Satan driveth moſt men into his ſnare of ſervitude; as many, if not more, as he draws into the ſame ſnare by hope of good things. By every one of theſe three evils, by the very leaſt of them, if we take them ſingle, he had caught ſo many as he thought ſufficient to make up this general induction: [*That none could eſcape his ſnares or ſprings, ſo he might be permitted by God to take his opportunities for ſetting them.*]

2. *Job* was a man as happy as any man before him had been, according to that ſcale of happineſs which Philoſophers could hope for in this life, or could make any probable ground of better hopes for the life to come. *There was a man* (ſaith the Text) *in the Land of* Uz, *whoſe name was* Job, *and that man was perfect and upright, and one that feared God, and eſchewed evil.* This is a fuller expreſſion than any Philoſopher could make of the principal part of happineſs, that is, of a mind richly endowed with all kind of vertues moral; and more than ſo, with Spiritual Graces. *And there were born unto him ſeven Sons, and three Daughters*; theſe were more than *bona corporis*, more than parts of his perſonal conſtitution, which beſides theſe was exceeding good. *His ſubſtance alſo was ſeven thouſand Sheep, and three thouſand Camels, and five hundred yoke of Oxen, and five hundred She-Aſſes, and a very great houſhold* (or *husbandry*, great ſtore, no doubt, of ſervants, which were part of his worldly ſubſtance) *ſo that this man was the greateſt of all the men of the Eaſt.* Here was a great meaſure of thoſe things, which Philoſophers call

bona fortunæ, goods of fortune, (or, as we now ſay) *goodly means, fair revenues. Job* was a richer man for thoſe times, in reſpect of others, than any man this day living is in reſpect of our times. Yet this goodly Cedar, in his full height, was *ſound within,* and *ſtreight without,* unſhaken by any blaſts of former Temptations, until the Lord himſelf appointed him to be a Dueller with Satan. The challenge made by Satan is very remarkable. *There was a day when the Sons of God came to preſent themſelves before the Lord, and Satan came alſo among them. And the Lord ſaid unto Satan, whence comeſt thou? Then Satan anſwered the Lord and ſaid, From going to and fro in the Earth, and from walking up and down in it. And the Lord ſaid unto Satan. Haſt thou conſidered my ſervant* Job, *that there is none like him in the earth, a perfect and upright man, one that feareth God, and eſcheweth evil? ver.* 6, 7, 8. Satan would not believe the Lords commendations of this righteous man: for he *anſwered the Lord, and ſaid, Doth* Job *fear God for naught? Haſt not thou made an hedge about him, and about his houſe, and about all that he hath on every ſide? Thou haſt bleſſed the work of his hands, and his ſubſtance is increaſed in the Land. But put forth thine hand now, and touch all that he hath, and he will curſe thee to thy face.* After the Lord had permitted Satan to try the utmoſt of his ſkill at this firſt weapon [loſs of goods, and loſs of Children.] *Job* by his Antagoniſts confeſſion came off with honour: he ſtill continued Gods faithful ſervant: *He aroſe* (ſaith the Text) upon the heavy news of his univerſal loſs of Goods and Children) *and rent his mantle, and ſhaved his head, and fell down upon the ground, and worſhipped, and ſaid, Naked came I out of my Mothers womb, and naked ſhall I return thither: the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away: Bleſſed be the name of the Lord.* In all this *Job* did not ſin, *ver.* 20, 21, 22. Yet is not Satan his Antagoniſt daunted with this baughle, but craves leave to try his ſkill at another weapon; for ſo it follows: *Again, there was a day when the Sons of God came to preſent themſelves before the Lord, and Satan came alſo among them to preſent himſelf before the Lord,* &c. *And the Lord ſaid unto Satan, Haſt thou conſidered my ſervant* Job, *that there is none like him in the earth, a perfect and an upright man, one that feareth God, and eſcheweth evil? and ſtill he holdeth faſt his integrity, although thou movedſt me againſt him, to deſtroy him without a cauſe. And Satan anſwered the Lord and ſaid, Skin for ſkin, yea all that a man hath, will he give for his life. But put forth thine hand now, and touch his bone and his fleſh, and he will curſe thee to thy face. And the Lord ſaid unto Satan, Behold he is in thine hand, only ſave his life,* Chap 2. ver. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6. Having this licenſe granted him, he fore-ſlows no time for putting it in ſpeedy execution. *So went Satan forth from the preſence of the Lord, and ſmote* Job *with ſore boyls, from the ſole of his foot unto his crown: and he took him a potſheard to ſcrape himſelf withal, and he ſate down among the aſhes,* ver. 7, 8.

3. In the firſt Temptation (which was loſs of Goods) *Job* did not ſin ſo much as in word. So far he was from ſinning in word, ſo far from murmuring at his ſudden change, that he ſetteth a copy, not of Patience only, but of Thankſgiving for temporal croſſes or calamities. In the ſecond Temptation, which was more terrible, he ſo far a while reſiſted, as if he had purpoſed to make an Atonement for *Adams* ſin, in raſhly yielding to his Wives ſuggeſtion. For when *Jobs* Wife did ſeek to miſ-perſwade him, *Doſt thou ſtill retain*

retain thy integrity? Curſe God and dye; he thus replyed: *Thou ſpeakeſt as one of the fooliſh women ſpeaketh. What? Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and ſhall we not receive evil?* verſe 9, 10. Yet that *Job* in the continuance of this ſecond Temptation did not ſin, is more than the Word of God will warrant us to avouch. Certainly he was a ſinner, and did actually ſin in this temptation, though not in ſo high a degree, as his miſerable comforters ſuppoſed him to have ſinned, long before this miſery did befall him. They thought the exceſs of his Afflictions, in reſpect of the ordinary afflictions which other men did ſuffer, did pre-ſuppoſe an exceſs of ſin in him, and that his preſent ſufferings did convince him of former Hypocriſie, which is the worſt of ſins. Yet ſome ground they had of this perſwaſion or ſuſpicion: for few or none within their memory, or before their times, had fallen into ſuch a depth of miſery, as *Job* now had done, without ſome exceſſive height of ſin in ſome one kind, or other. Yet *Jobs* friends in the extent of their collections, did, if not, groſly ſin, yet foully err in their particular Application. For *Jobs* caſe was extraordinary: his Temptations were without all former example. In reſpect or order of time, he was the firſt and moſt remarkable pattern of Patience, which the Scripture hath propoſed unto us. No righteous man, or true ſervant of God before him, had been ſo afflicted, either in body, in loſs of goods, or eſteem with men, with friends eſpecially, as this moſt upright and faithful ſervant of God was. The titles given him by God himſelf of perfectneſs and uprightneſs extraordinary, if we compare them with his extraordinary temptations and grievances, do argue, that he was the ſervant of God after a more peculiar manner than others had been; a remarkable ſervant, not only in reſpect of his ſanctity and integrity; but as a ſpecial Type and figure of the Son of God, who was in ſucceeding ages to take the form of a ſervant upon him, and in this form to be expoſed to more terrible combats with Satan, than *Job* had been, although, as man, he were more upright and righteous than *Job*. And beſides ſuch Saints of God, as were peculiar Types of the Son of God, or of the man *Chriſt Jeſus*, in the days of his Affliction; That induction made by *Eliphas*, Job 4. ver. 7, 8, 9. was univerſally true in reſpect of thoſe times, and theſe enſuing. *Remember I pray thee, whoever periſhed being innocent? or where were the righteous cut off? Even as I have ſeen, they that plough iniquity, and ſow wickedneſs, reap the ſame. By the blaſt of God they periſh, and by the breath of his noſtrils are they conſumed.* That of the Pſalmiſt (whether *David* or ſome other) was univerſally true, not of his times only, but of after-times alſo, though true of latter times with the former allowance or exception, of ſuch as were ſpecial Types of Chriſt in his affliction. *I have been young, and now am old, yet have I not ſeen the righteous forſaken, nor his Seed begging their bread*, Pſal. 37. 25.

CHAP. X.

How the Son of God did conquer Satan at thoſe Weapons, wherewith he had conquered our firſt Parents.

1. THat the Son of God was manifeſted to diſſolve the works, of the Devil, our Evangeliſt S. *John* hath taught us: and St. *John Baptiſt* had told him, and others as much before. *I knew him not* (ſaith this his forerunner) *but that he ſhould be manifeſted unto* Iſrael, *therefore I come baptizing with water. And* John *bare record, ſaying, I ſaw the Spirit deſcending from Heaven like a Dove and it reſted upon him*, Joh. 1. 31, 32. But did this manifeſtation declare, or manifeſt his purpoſe to diſſolve or deſtroy the works of the Devil? Yes. Immediately upon his Baptiſm, he gave *Iſrael* and the World juſt proof, that the end of his manifeſtation, was to take away the ſins of Mankind, and for this reaſon he began to untwiſt that tripple cord, wherewith our firſt Parents, and in them their whole poſterity were bound by Satan. For albeit the firſt ſin found entrance into our nature by incogitancy, and had its period or accompliſhment in pride; yet were not pride or incogitancy the only ſtrings of that ſnare, wherein Satan had taken us. The bonds and ties by which he took, and holds us captive, are mentioned by St. *John* in his firſt Epiſtle, 2. *Chap. ver.* 15, 16. *Love not the World, nor the things that are in the World. If any man love the World, the love of the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world, the luſt of the fleſh, the luſt of the eye, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the World.* From theſe three heads or ſources, all the over-flowing of ungodlineſs may be derived; and theſe found entrance into this viſible World through our firſt Parents folly, and Satans ſubtilty. For albeit the luſt of the fleſh, the luſt of the eyes, and the pride of life, took their diſtinct ſpecifical being, or live-ſhape from the firſt ſin, yet were the ſeeds of all theſe ſins ſown by Satan in our firſt Parents Souls and ſenſes, before the body of ſin with its members were framed, or animated. “There was an extravagant “deſire of the eye, an irregular appetite of the fleſh, by which the “Serpent tolled on the firſt woman to eat the forbidden fruit; and “the eating of it did hatch this three-fold brood in kind. *The woman* (ſaith *Moſes Gen.* 3.6.) *ſaw* (through falſe ſpectacles of Satans making) *that the tree was good for food:* (here was the embryon or ſeed of the luſt of the fleſh) *and that it was pleaſant to the eye;* (here were the firſt lineaments of the luſt of the eye) *and a tree to be deſired to make one wiſe:* (this was the inchoation of the pride of life) *And ſhe took of the fruit thereof and did eat, and gave alſo to her husband, and he did eat:* and by their eating, the former *deſire* of forbidden food was turned into the luſt of the fleſh: The *curioſity* of the eye was turned into the *luſt of the eye*; and the *deſire* of knowledge or proper excellency, was changed into the *pride of life*. So that the truth of St. *James* his obſervation, *Chap.* 1. *ver.* 13, 14. was remarkably experienced, in the manner of our firſt Parents fall. *Let no man ſay when he is tempted, I am tempted of God. For God cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth he any man. But every man is tempted when he is drawn away of his own luſt, and entiſed. Then when luſt hath conceived, it bringeth forth ſin; and ſin, when it is finiſhed, bringeth forth death.* Now

to diſſolve theſe three temptations or cords of vanity, wherewith our firſt Parents were taken captives: the Son of God, immediately upon his Baptiſm, was led by the Spirit into the Wilderneſs to be tempted.

2. Our firſt Parents being placed in Paradiſe (a place furniſhed with variety and plenty of food) by too much indulgence unto their appetite, or by incogitancy to bridle it by reaſon, could not abſtain from that fruit which only was forbidden them. Power they had to have abſtained: but they did not uſe it, when they had no neceſſity, no urgent provocation to eat at all, much leſs to eat of that fruit. The Son of God made a man more ſubject to bodily harms by long forbearance of meat, than our firſt Parents were: after forty days continuance in a vaſt and barren Wilderneſs, wherein no food or fruit did grow, could not in his hunger be tempted to eat any food which the ordinary providence of God did not reach unto him. *Ingens telum neceſſitas, Neceſſity* (as we ſay) *hath no law:* there is no fence againſt it: *Cogit ad turpia,* it makes men, otherwiſe honeſt, to do many things which are not comely. And, for this reaſon the great tempter at the firſt *bout,* aſſaults our Saviour with this *fiery dart* of *neceſſity. If thou be the Son of God, command that theſe ſtones be made bread.* As if he had ſaid, Long faſting hath made it apparent that thou art a man ſubject to weakneſs and infirmity; and (if thou be withal the Son of God) thou canſt, and a neceſſity is laid upon thee, as man, to provide thy ſelf of food, for without food man cannot live. Yet this *fiery dart* (though *ſteeled* and *pointed* with the tempting delight of manifeſting his own worth or excellency) is wholly diverted by that *ſhield* of Faith: *It is written, Man ſhall not live by bread only, but by every word which proceedeth out of the mouth of God:* So *Moſes* had ſaid unto Iſrael, *I fed thee with* Manna, *to teach thee, that man liveth not by bread, but by every word which proceedeth out of the mouth of God, doth man live.* * *Iſrael* then did live for a long time both by *Manna,* and by the word of God; on which, without *Manna*, they would not have relied. *Manna* was as the body, and the word of God ſpoken by *Moſes,* as the Soul, or ſpirit of that food, by which they lived: both *Manna,* and that word of God, make but an Emblem or Type of the Eternal Word of God, who is the food of life; Life it ſelf; and yet at this time (as man) was an hungred. So then, as he was the Son of God, he was able of ſtones to make bread, and as he was a man ſubject to infirmities, he had juſt occaſion at this time to uſe his power. Yet as man inveſted with the *form* of a ſervant, he could not be induced to uſe this power. For as he often profeſſeth, he came not to do his own will; no not in things lawful and moſt agreeable to nature: but the will of him that ſent him, though that did enjoin him to do or ſuffer things moſt diſpleaſant to nature. This was the time, wherein he was by his Father appointed to conquer the irregular appetite of the ſenſe of taſt, and the luſt of the fleſh.

* Deut. 8. 3.

3. Our firſt Parents being Gods Vicegerents here on earth, Lords of all his viſible Creatures, not therewith content, by Satans inticements aſpired to be like unto God, higher than Angels, than other powers or principalities. The Son of God, albeit he were by nature Lord of men, and Lord of Angels; cannot be allured to exerciſe his command over them, albeit they were commanded to attend him. Satans pretence in his ſecond aſſault was very fair, and ſeemed to be countenanced by Scripture, *If thou be the Son of God, caſt thy ſelf*

down, for it is written; *He ſhall give his Angels charge concerning thee, and in their hands they ſhall bear thee up, leſt at any time thou daſh thy foot againſt a ſtone.* * Fitter occaſion, to any mans ſeeming, could not be offered for the exquiſite verification, or exact fulfilling of this Propheſie, than by this adventure to throw himſelf down from the Pinacle of the Temple. But the Son of God, who gave the Law, being now made under the Law, ſubmits himſelf unto that legal precept; *Thou ſhalt not tempt the Lord thy God*: and with this Scripture retorts Satans attempted blow upon himſelf. But what temptation of God had it been in the Son of God, to have thrown himſelf down from the Pinacle of the Temple, to have given proof that he had been that juſt man, over whom God had given his Angels charge? Some there be, who reply, that Satan did alledge this Scriprure impertinently, imperfectly. For the Pſalmiſt ſaith, *He ſhall give his Angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways.* Now the ways of men are not in the air, but upon the earth. This interpretation I neither much miſlike, nor altogether approve; becauſe our Saviour doth not tax Satan for his impertinent, or imperfect allegation of the former Scripture. Nor do I ſee any reaſon, why flying in the air might not be one of the ways of the Son of God made man, as well as walking upon the Sea in a Tempeſt; if ſo it had pleaſed him, or his Heavenly Father, by whoſe appointment or diſpoſing, he did do or ſuffer all things. Now it was his Fathers will, that by his walking on the water he ſhould manifeſt himſelf to be the Son of God, able to command either wind or water. It was likewiſe his Fathers will, that at this time, as man, he ſhould conquer the pride of life, or that deeply implanted deſire in all men of proper excellency, or advancing themſelves before due time. By this free reſignation of his authority over the Angels, he makes ſatisfaction for our firſt Parents pride, in ſeeking to advance themſelves above the Angels.

* Pſal. 91. 11, 12.

4. Again, Paradiſe did afford our firſt Parents as full ſatisfaction for the delight of the eye, as it did for food: and yet deſire of that food which they needed not, found entrance into their hearts or fancies by their eyes. But the Son of God being made the Son of Man, having neither place to lay his head, nor any proſpect for the preſent to pleaſe his eye; had all the Kingdoms of the Earth, and their glory repreſented unto him, with proffer of their ſale or donation rather, only upon condition that he would do that homage unto this great Prince of the world, which many Princes do to Kings or Emperours: or Emperours themſelves had done to Popes or Prelates. The pretence was fair, and the temptation the ſtrongeſt of all the three. For what man, who is but meer man, would not adventure upon any practice for the gaining the Kingdom or Monarchy, which their Anceſtors had fooliſhly loſt. Now *Adam* was Lord and Monarch of this viſible world, until he ſuffered himſelf to be conquered by Satan, who did remain *de facto*, if not by right of conqueſt, the Prince of it, and Lord of men; until the Son of God made man, did throw him out of poſſeſſion. But that hour of his was not yet come: ſo far was he from affecting the Kingdoms of this world, that he was yet acting the part of a ſervant in it; but a ſervant to his Father only, not to men or Princes in this world. Of how mean a condition ſoever he were as man, yet he diſdained to worſhip Men or Angels, though but with civil worſhip, for any preferment: and therefore diſmiſſes this great Uſurper thus with indignation, *Avoid, Satan.*

Satan. Satan, it ſeems had a prenotion or ſuſpicion that Chriſt was that Juſt and Holy man, whom the Pſalmiſt deſcribes, *Pſal.* 91. Or ſuch a Son of God, as they were which appeared before the Lord, when he was permitted to tempt *Job.* That he was the only Son of God, or equal with God, was more than he then knew.

5. Theſe three temptations wherein our Saviour foiled Satan, are parallel'd to the firſt temptation of *Job*, which was loſs of worldly ſubſtance; more generally all the evils which the Son of God did ſuffer in our fleſh, or whilſt he was converſant with men in the form of a ſervant, did bear Analogy to the Evils which *Job* did ſuffer, but for particulars more in number, and more grievous: there was no evil that comes *ab extra* which he ſuffered not in greater meaſure, than *Job* did any. As for loſs of goods or worldly ſubſtance, *Job* made no reckoning: the Son of God, though heir of all things, did not vouchſafe ſo much as to grace theſe by being owner, or poſſeſſor of them: He renounced the world, and all things in the world before he came into it: he would not be intangled or meddle with them, that he might pleaſe him, who had choſen him to be his Souldier, his only Champion in this great conflict with the Prince of darkneſs. But to parallel *Jobs* other temptations with our Saviours.

CHAP. XI.

A parallel between Jobs *ſecond temptation, and the Son of Gods ſufferings in our fleſh before the hour of his Agony or his Croſs.*

1. JOB was ſmitten with ſores, from the crown of his head, to the ſoles of his feet; his diſeaſe was more than natural, at leaſt incurable: for he was thus ſmitten by Satan. But was the Son of God thus ſmitten? *durum eſt affirmare.* Satan had no power thus immediately to ſmite him. For bodily diſeaſes, we do not read of any that did take poſſeſſion of his ſacred body: we read that he cured all manner of diſeaſes, but never ſtood in need of the Phyſicians help for himſelf. No diſeaſe did breed in his body being free from ſin; and being anointed to cure all, he did not, he could not take any by contagion. But though he cured all manner of diſeaſes, or all the diſeaſed which were brought unto him; yet we do not read that he cured all in *Judæa* which were diſeaſed. For ſo none ſhould have died in that land during the time of his three years Pilgrimage through it, from his baptiſm to his death. Albeit he cured many of diſeaſes natural, yet not all that were naturally diſeaſed, though weak, or ſick unto death. For he was not manifeſted to diſſolve or deſtroy the works of nature, albeit he gave proof by many experiments, that he was able to deſtroy or divert the whole courſe of nature. But we read, *That* JESUS *of* NAZARETH *being anointed by the Holy Ghoſt, went about from his baptiſm to his death, doing good and healing all that were oppreſſed of the Devil,* Acts 10. 38. And many were ſo oppreſſed which were not poſſeſſed. Many diſeaſes, which to us would have ſeemed natural or caſually bred, were as immediately procured by Satan, as *Jobs* Plagues were; and in theſe bonds of bodily

affliction Satan had held them longer than he held *Job*. Such was that womans diſeaſe, whoſe cure being wrought by the Phyſician of our Souls upon the Sabbath day, the Ruler of the Synagogue did malign as an ungodly work: but the Son of Gods reply doth juſtifie as well the truth of our aſſertion, as the lawfulneſs of his practice. *Hypocrite, doth not each one of you on the Sabbath day looſe his Oxe or his Aſs from the ſtall, and lead him away to the water? and ought not this daughter of* Abraham, *whom Satan hath bound, loe, eighteen years, be looſed from this bond on the Sabbath day?* Luke 13. 14, 15. This bodily diſeaſe was a work of Satan, which the Son of God came to diſſolve. Satan had thus bound her to the end that he might by theſe bonds draw her to ſome unlawful practice for her eaſe; as to aſk counſel of ſome cunning woman, or to adventure upon the pretended myſteries of ſome unhallowed Art. Of diſeaſes meerly natural, the cunning Tempter makes uſe or way by them for his temptations, though he have no finger in the inflicting of them; yet he moveth ſuch as are grievouſly afflicted with them, to repine or murmur againſt God: and all ſuch repining, or impatiency in ſickneſs, though occaſioned by ſickneſs meerly natural, is a work of Satan which the Son of God came to diſſolve or prevent. But how did he diſſolve or prevent them, by taking them upon him? Though Satan could lay theſe and the like bonds of bodily afflictions upon this woman, and upon many others both men and women in *Judæa* in theſe times; could he therefore lay the like upon the body of the Son of God? It is certain he could not. How then did the Son of God in bodily maladies or grievances, either parallel *Job*, whom Srtam had ſmitten, or thoſe miſerable Creatures, whom he looſed from Satans bonds? He did not parallel them at all in the matter of the diſeaſe, or bodily grievance; that could not breed in his body, it could not be produced in it by Satan: yet did he parallel *Job*, and all the parties whom he cured though ſmitten or bound by Satan, in the grief or pain of the diſeaſe, whoſe matter could not faſten upon him. He which commands us by his Apoſtle, *to weep with them that weep*, did out of all queſtion exhibite a more real pattern of this Precept, than the Apoſtle could practiſe. Yet ſaith the Apoſtle of himſelf, and he ſaid it without Hypocriſie, without boaſting, *Who is weak, and I am not weak? who is offended, and I burn not?* Such was his care of all the Churches, that every mans grief was in ſome meaſure the Apoſtles grief; every mans infirmity did in ſome portion weaken him: yet was it not foretold of this Apoſtle by any Prophet, *that he ſhould bear our griefs, or take our infirmities upon him.* This was the peculiar Character of the Son of God manifeſted in the fleſh, expreſly foretold by the Prophet *Iſaiah, Chap.* 53. *ver.* 4. and the accompliſhment of it related by St. *Matthew, Chap,* 8. *ver.* 16, 17. The manner of his curing others of their ſickneſſes and infirmities, was by taking them upon himſelf, not in *kind*, but by *ſympathy*. As the eye takes the form or ſhapes of objects viſible without participation of the ſubſtance whence they flow: ſo our Saviour took the grief or pain of every diſeaſe which he cured, without the matter or corruption which did breed grief in the diſeaſed patient. In all mens griefs he was grieved; in all their pains he was tormented. He wept with thoſe that wept, and mourned with ſuch as mourned. Who did grone, and he was not troubled in ſpirit; who did ſigh, and he was not ſad in heart? He took their ſighs and ſorrows at a lower key, than they themſelves did, which had matter of affliction or ſorrow in them. Yet do we not read that he ſighed, groaned, or often wept when he cured others: but the reaſon was becauſe ſuch as beſought his help, did not beſeech him with ſighs, with tears or grones. At the raiſing of *Lazarus* from the dead he wept and groaned: what was the reaſon? Not to prejudice the allegories and myſteries, which ſome ancient Fathers have hence obſerved; the principal reaſon according to the literal ſenſe why at this time he wept, was becauſe *Mary* and her Comforters came to him with weeping eyes. So ſaith the Text, *Joh.* 11. 13. *When* Jeſus *ſaw her weep, and the Jews alſo weep, which came with her; he groaned in the ſpirit, and was troubled in himſelf and ſaid, Where have ye laid him? They ſaid unto him, Lord come and ſee: and* Jeſus *wept. Lazarus* no doubt had ſighed and groaned in his abſence, had wiſhed his preſence with theſe, and other like expreſſions of ſorrow: and now that he finds *Lazarus* dead, and *Maries* cheeks for his deceaſe bedewed with tears, he ſympathizeth with her in her preſent grief, and by tuning his heart to *Lazarus* his dying pangs or throbs, he looſeeth him from the bonds of death, and freeth *Mary* and her good friends from matter of grief and ſorrow, by taking her ſorrow upon him.

2. And as the care of all the Churches which he had planted, was not the leaſt part of St. *Pauls* grief and vexation: ſo the ſorrow which the Son of God did conceive for ſuch as would not ſeek unto him for help, for ſuch as did not ſorrow for their ſins, was a great part of his ſufferings. Thus he wept for *Jeruſalem*, whilſt *Jeruſalem* went mad with mirth, and reſolved to banquet all her Gueſts at that great Paſover with his blood. *When he was come near, he beheld the City, and wept over it ſaying, If thou hadſt known, even thou, in this thy day the things which belong unto thy peace, but now are they hid from thine eyes,* Luke 19.42, Theſe tears were ſhed in publick for the City and Nation, but how many more he ſhed in private, or with what ſighs he deplored their eſtate, that would not implore his help, that would not feel their miſery, being bound by Satan, as well in body, as ſoul; this I leave to the Readers conſideration and conjecture. Even when the full weight of bodily miſery did ſeize upon him, when he was bearing the Croſs unto the place wherein he was crucified, he pitied *Jeruſalem* more than he would ſuffer others to pity him. *Weep not for me ye daughters of* Jeruſalem, *but weep for your ſelves.* Thus he did more than bear our griefs: for he was grieved at their miſeries, which did not grieve for themſelves: *Nihil miſerius miſero non miſerante ſeipſum.* But in all theſe ſufferings by ſympathy, there was no violence, they were not mingled with diſgrace or ſcorn. Albeit his cures were often ſlandered by the Scribes and Phariſees, yet were they ſtill magnified by the parties cured, or by the people. But when his hour was come, the hour wherein he was to enter combate with the Enemy of Mankind, he was not one minute free from violence or indignity. The greateſt evils which can befal men in this mortal life, are tortures of body, indignities, or diſgrace: and it is diſputable whether a wiſe man would not rather chuſe death it ſelf, than either lingring torture, perpetual diſgrace, or a foul indignity. But we need not diſpute this queſtion in the caſe of the Son of God: diſgrace and pain, indignities and torture, did not come ſingle upon him: one of them was anothers ſecond, whilſt the conflict betwixt the Serpent and the Womans Seed continued. As it is the property of

ſome biting Serpents, to make way or entrance by their venemous teeth, for the infuſion of more deadly poyſon from ſome other parts of the body: ſo this Generation of Vipers, which perſecuted the Son of God, uſed the civil power of *Pilate*, and the Roman Souldiers to open his veins, and lance his fleſh, that their tongues might inſtil the poyſon of Aſps into his glorious ſtripes, and bleeding wounds. But with the bitter taunts and indignities offered unto him, even whilſt he was upon the Croſs, I am not to meddle in particular: they have proper ſeaſons allotted for their memorial. It ſufficeth therefore to obſerve, that the obedience and patience of the Son of God, in theſe moſt grievous ſufferings were ſo abſolute, that we muſt borrow the patience of *Job*, not in the ſecond temptation by bodily grievance, but in his firſt temptation by loſs of goods, or worldly ſubſtance, for a ſcale to ſet it forth. In all his ſufferings, in all that his enemies tongues or hands could do, or ſay unto him, this ſervant of God did not ſin ſo much as in word, but offered the ſacrifice of Prayers and Supplications with the Sacrifice of his Soul, and Spirit for his perſecutors.

3. Yet admit *Jobs* patience in his bodily afflictions, had been more perfect than in the firſt temptation it was, for loſs of bodily goods; and his obedience moſt compleat, both without mixture of impatiency, without ſtain of diſobedience: the full meaſure of both had not been equivalent to the leaſt ſcantling of the obedience, or patience of the Son of God made man; for thoſe acts, though otherwiſe equal, are always beſt which are done, *ex officio*. Prayers, or ſolemn Services officiated by a Prieſt, and juſtice awarded by a Magiſtrate, are more acceptable unto God, and more beneficial unto men, than if the ſame Act or Offices were more accurately performed by private men without a calling. Now *Job*, and other holy men, became *pro modulo*, in ſome ſort the ſervants of God by obedience. It was the great meaſure of their obedience, which made their ſervice more acceptable. But the obedience of the Son of God made man, did reſult or iſſue from the *form* of a ſervant, which he voluntarily, and on purpoſe took upon him, that he might in it, and by it, perform obedience more than ſufficient for diſſolving the force and ſtrength of that diſobedience and rebellion, which the Devil had wrought in the Father of mankind, which with its curſe became hereditary to his ſinful Poſterity. The firſt *Adam* was created in the Image of God, not in reſpect of Holineſs only, but in reſpect of Soveraignty and Dominion. The ſecond *Adam*, though he were the Son of God, was moulded in the *form* of a ſervant, even from his firſt conception. For as the Apoſtle ſaith; he who was in the form of God, did empty or annul himſelf, taking upon him the *form* of a ſervant. This was the *terminus ad quem*, the intrinſecal term of the Son of Gods firſt Humiliation; for as was ſaid before, the Son of God did humble or empty himſelf only in his manhood, or according to his manhood, after it was aſſumed; but in the very aſſumption of the manhood thus moulded in the form of a ſervant. His humility, as man was the humility of a ſervant, it was not affected, but a native branch of his preſent calling. His obedience was not forced by conſtraint or fear, it was more than a branch, the very eſſence of his calling. For he took upon him the *form* of a ſervant, it was not put upon him againſt his will, as it was upon *Job*. Nor was his obedience as man, more excellent than any other mans had been, in re-

ſpect of its root or original only, as being the formal effect of his calling, that is, of the form of a ſervant which he took upon him, but moſt compleat in reſpect of the end or final effect. For, having annulled himſelf by taking upon him the form of a ſervant, he further humbled himſelf, and became obedient unto death, even to the death of the Croſs. Other ſervants may with their earthly Maſters conſent, be ſet free; and ſupreme authority may in ſome caſes command their Maſters to ſet them free. But the *form* of a ſervant was ſo cloſely united, or wedded unto the Son of God manifeſted in the fleſh, that it could not be cut off or divorced from him, ſave only by death, and by the death of the Croſs, which was a ſervile death, and the accompliſhment of his ſervice. But in what peculiar acts was the obedience or exerciſe of the *form* of a ſervant, which the Son of God took upon him, moſt conſpicuous or more remarkable, than they have been in other men?

4. It is a great deal more uſual to our Saviour than to any Prophet, to any Sacred Writer, or other Meſſenger of Gods will, to tell his hearers that he came not of himſelf, but was ſent, that being ſent he came not to do his own will, but the will of him that ſent him; that he ſpake nothing of himſelf, but as his Father had appointed him, ſo he ſpake, and ſo he did. What was the reaſon, that he *that* ſpake as never man ſpake, and did thoſe works which none beſides could do, ſhould ſo often uſe theſe or like *ſpeeches* to his Auditors. Sure, his ſpeeches unto this purpoſe are neither Apologetical, nor preventive: as if his authority had been more queſtionable, or his practices more ſuſpicious, than the authority and practices of the Prophets, and other Holy men had been. And what was it then that gave occaſion to this peculiar form of ſpeech, or made the uſe of it ſo familiar and frequent? All his ſpeeches to this purpoſe, are but the characters or expreſſions of the *form* of a ſervant, which he took upon him. His whole courſe of life, his undertakings and encounters with this ſtubborn people, or with Satan and his Inſtruments, might have teſtified to any conſiderate, unpartial man, that no man being left free to himſelf, would have adventured upon them out of the deliberate choice of an humane or reaſonable will. Specially his laſt ſufferings were ſuch, as no wiſe man, how godly ſoever, would have undergone, unleſs they had been put upon him by authority ſupreme and irreſiſtable. We may further obſerve, how the form of a man, and the form of a ſervant, which had layed quiet for three and thirty years, without any *Criſis* of their difference, did upon the approach of his death and paſſion, begin to ſtruggle, but without all ſtrife or hoſtile diſſention, as *Eſau* and *Jacob*, towards the time of their birth, had done in their Mothers womb: Even in the height of that triumphant, and more than royal entertainment, which the multitude made him at his entrance into *Jeruſalem*, as if he had then come to take poſſeſſion of the Crown of his Father *David*, even whilſt his ears were filled with theſe and the like acclamations, *Hoſanna to the Son of David:* He began to be troubled in ſpirit, whilſt the form or nature of man did ſuggeſt one thing, and the form of a ſervant correct, what the form of man did ſuggeſt, and ſway him another way. *What ſhall I ſay? Father, ſave me from this hour:* * So the reaſonable ſoul of man could not but wiſh, it could not but apprehend this hour as an hour of evil: and evil, as evil, cannot be deſired by the will of man. Reaſon cannot but deſire, or wiſh the prevention or removal of it. But though he were the Son of God,

* John 12.27.

Tome II.

* Heb. 5.8.

yet as the Apoſtle ſpeaks, *He learned obedience by the things which he ſuffered.* * He reſolves not to do according to his own liking, but as his Father ſhould appoint him. And hence he inſtantly overballanced the formal natural deſire or inclination of the form of man, with the ſerious conſideration of his office or preſent calling, as he had taken upon him the form of a ſervant. For as it were recalling himſelf, he addeth; but *therefore came I unto this hour,* to wit, that he might ſuffer all the evils incident to man in this world.

5. Afterwards, when his Agony came upon him, his wonted natural inclination of the form of man, or ſway of the reaſonable ſoul became more ſtrong: and hence he puts his former wiſh or intimation, [Father, what ſhall I ſay? ſave me from this hour] into the form of a Prayer; *Father, if it be poſſible, let this cup paſs from me:* and yet over-ſways this natural inclination or deſire as he was man, with a ſtronger deſire or delight to do the office of a ſervant, and counterchecks that Prayer which he had conceived as man, with a Prayer which he had conceived, *ex officio,* with a Prayer of Conſecration, ***nevertheleſs not as I will, but as thou willeſt:*** as if he had ſaid, Though it be juſt and reaſonable which I deſire; ſo juſt, as thou wouldſt not deny the like to any other man in my caſe; yet ſeeing I am thy ſervant, and the Son of thy handmaid, in ſuch a manner as no other man hath been, I wholly ſubmit my ſelf unto thy will, and conſecrate my ſelf unto thy ſervice, how hard ſoever it ſhall prove. *Abraham,* we know, waxed bold with God, by often reiterating and renewing the form of his petition for *Sodom.* Firſt, He prayed that God would ſpare the City for fifty Righteous men, then for forty, then for thirty, and laſtly deſcends to ten: His boldneſs was grounded upon a dictate of nature, or common principle of Faith, that it was far from him who was to do juſtice to all the world, to ſlay the righteous with the wicked. Suppoſe, God had ſaid to *Abraham,* at his firſt petition, thus, *Abraham,* at thy requeſt, I will for this time ſpare the men of *Sodom,* upon condition that thou, and ſuch as ſupplicate for them, will become their bail, and ſtand between them and that ſtorm of fire and brimſtome, which muſt ſhortly go out againſt them from my fiery preſence; would this hard condition have been accepted by *Abraham,* or accepted with patience? Would he not have oppoſed this former principle with greater vehemency and paſſion, [To ſlay the righteous for the wicked, that be far from thee, O Lord: ſhall the Judge of all the world thus far tranſgreſs the rule of juſtice?] Yet may we not think, that righteous *Abraham,* though inſtiled the friend of God, was ſo much leſs ſinful, than the moſt ſinful man in *Sodom,* as the man *Chriſt Jeſus* was more righteous than *Abraham.* And what then could reſtrain this juſt and Holy One for making the ſame plea for himſelf, which *Abraham* for himſelf might have made, which without offence unto his Lord, he did often make on the behalf of ſo many righteous men, not as were, but as he ſuppoſed poſſibly might be in *Sodom?* Only this; the Son of God, who is equal with God, to the end and purpoſe that he might diſſolve the works which the Devil had wrought in our nature, had taken our nature upon him, had made his humane fleſh, and humane blood, the fleſh and blood of God himſelf, though not as parts of the Divine Nature, yet as appurtenances of the Divine Perſon, and was not only found in the faſhion of man, but was inveſted with the eſſential form of a ſervant. And it is the perfection of a ſervant, not to do his own

will, but the will of his Lord. Now the body or humane nature of the Son of God, was not a ſervant to his Divine perſon, but to the perſon of his Father, whoſe will he was in the humane nature to perform, whatſoever the performance of it ſhould coſt him. For unto this purpoſe only, and no other, did he take both the nature of man, and form of a ſervant upon him, that he might in them, and by them, accompliſh the will of his Father. As for his body, *that*, during the time of his Humiliation, was in *bonis patris*; the goods and poſſeſſion of the Father; as every ſervant (properly ſo called) is the goods and inheritance of his Maſter. His ſufferings in this nature were to be *extended*, until the full price of our Redemption was paid. The juſt meaſure of theſe his ſufferings, and full price of our Redemption, he did (as he was man) learn by experience.

CHAP. XII.

Of Chriſts full ſatisfaction for the ſins of men, and whether to this ſatisfaction the ſuffering of Hell pains were neceſſarily required: And of the circumſtances of his Agony.

1. THE undertakings of the Son of God for mans Redemption, did for the moſt part conſiſt in his ſufferings. *Though he were a Son* (ſaith the Apoſtle, *Heb.* 5. 8.) *yet learned he obedience by the things which he ſuffered.* Though he were always a Son, the only Son of God; yet ſuffer he did not any longer, than whilſt he was in the *form* of a ſervant. Of all true ſervice or Apprentiſhip, obedience is the ſpecial property: the greateſt perfection whereunto the condition of a ſervant, or one under legal command can pretend. Now the perfection of obedience cannot by any means either be better exemplified or approved, than by patience in ſuffering. *Servants* (ſaith Saint *Peter*, 1 *Pet.*2.18,19.&c.) *be ſubject unto your Maſters with all fear; not only to the good and gentle, but alſo to the froward: For this is thank worthy, if a man for conſcience toward God endure grief, ſuffering wrongfully. For what glory is it, if when ye be buffeted for your faults, ye ſhall take it patiently? but if when you do well and ſuffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God. For even hereunto were ye called, becauſe Chriſt alſo ſuffered for us, leaving us an example that ye ſhould follow his ſteps: who did no ſin, neither was guile found in his mouth; who when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he ſuffered, he threatned not, but committed himſelf to him that judgeth righteouſly: who his own ſelf bare our ſins in his own body on the tree.*

2. By this unſpeakable obedience of the Son of God in vouchſafing to ſuffer for us, with unimitable patience, what he had in no degree deſerved: we who were by natural condition ſlaves to Satan, were fully redeemed unto the liberty of the Sons of God. Of what kind ſoever his ſufferings were, ſuch and ſo many they were, and all ſo patienly ſuſtained by him, that he made a full and perfect ſatisfaction for the ſins of the whole world, as the Ancient, and our Engliſh Liturgy expreſſeth. And that he made a full and perfect ſatisfaction for all the ſins (whether of diſobedience or impatience in ſufferings) of all thoſe men who are in any degree redeemed by him, is

not queſtioned by any Chriſtian whether in truth or profeſſion only, who grant that the Son of God did make any true and proper ſatiſfaction for the Sons of men. Concerning the extent of mans redemption by the Son of God, or for his full ſatisfaction for their ſins, we ſhall, if God give leave, diſcourſe hereafter. But whether unto this full and perfect ſatisfaction which he undertook to make for men, if not univerſally (as our Church teacheth) yet as all reformed Churches agree, indefinitely taken: it were neceſſary, requiſite, or expedient that the Son of God ſhould in our nature undergo the ſame penalties or ſufferings in kind, which without his ſatisfaction for them, all mankind ſhould have ſuffered, is a queſtion, which of late years hath troubled even thoſe Reformed Churches, which agree upon this general; that his ſatisfaction was moſt full and all-ſufficient. The heat of this contention is unto this day rather abated, than extinguiſhed. Now the pains which all the Sons of *Adam*, and *Adam* himſelf, without full ſatisfaction made by the Son of God, ſhould in juſtice have ſuffered, were the pains of Hell, perpetual durance in that unquenchable fire, which was of old prepared for the Devil and his Angels. Whether this fire, be it material or immaterial, or more than equivalent, perhaps unto material fire, did ſeize upon the humane ſoul or body of the Son of God, or upon both, either in his Agony in the Garden, or upon the Croſs, is the point or problem now in queſtion. The affirmative part of this problem hath been averred by ſome in their publick writings, under the title of the *Holy Cauſe*; ſo dignified for no other reaſon, as I conceive, but becauſe it was in thoſe days maintained ſtiffly by ſuch as deemed themſelves more holy than other men, at leaſt more Orthodoxal in points of Sacred Doctrine, than their Fathers in Chriſt, and (by confeſſion of their own Conſciences) more learned than themſelves. Others, taking this for granted, that Chriſt ſuffer all the pains of the damned, have been ſo far overſway'd with their adherence unto this Doctrine, as to miſ-deem that Article in the Apoſtles Creed concerning Chriſt's deſcending into Hell, or *ad inferos*, to incline this way; as if to believe Chriſt did deſcend into Hell, had been all one, as if he had ſuffered the pains of Hell in his Agony, in the Garden, or upon the Croſs. But if this had been any part of the true meaning of that Article; the Apoſtles, or whoſoever were the firſt Compoſers of the Apoſtolick Creed, as we now have it in the Latin, and eſpecially in the Engliſh, would have expreſt themſelves in plainer terms. For if by [Hell] in that Article the pains of Hell had been by them meant or intended, they would not have ſaid that the Son of God deſcended into Hell, but rather that Hell had aſcended up unto him, whether in the Garden, or on the Croſs. That the Son of God our Saviour Chriſt, did truly deſcend into the nethermoſt Hell, may with greater eaſe, and more probability, be proved out of the Canonical Scriptures, as well of the Old Teſtament, as of the New; than his ſuffering the pains of Hell, can be infered from either Teſtament, or from the Apoſtles Creed. That Chriſt did after his death, or diſſolution of body and ſoul, deſcend into Hell, ſuch as maintain his ſuffering the very pains of Hell, do generally deny. But to omit this incongruous paradox, or this prepoſterous expreſſion of it, that Chriſts deſcention into Hell ſhould intimate his ſuffering of Hell-pain before his death, it ſhall ſuffice to examine the reaſons which have been, or may be brought, that he did, or was to ſuffer ſuch pains whenſoever, or in what place ſoever.

All the reaſons which can be alledged that he did ſuffer ſuch pains, muſt either be drawn from the event, or ſome experiments recorded in the New Teſtament, or from ſome predictions in the Old, or from a neceſſity or expediency, whether in juſtice, in equity, or out of his abundant love to Mankind, that he was to ſuffer them.

3. No neceſſity or expediency of ſuch ſufferings can be (as I conceive) pretended, but either for ſatisfying Gods juſtice, or for his full and abſolute conqueſt over Satan, or for his conſecration to his everlaſting Prieſthood, that he might be a merciful and faithful High Prieſt in things concerning God, or a ſweet Comforter of all ſuch as ſuffer whether in body or ſoul for his ſake. The ὅτι of the former queſtion, that he did ſuffer the very pains of Hell, muſt be proved or attempted from his ſpeeches, geſture, or other experiments related by the Evangeliſts in their accurate deſcriptions of his Agony, and ſufferings upon the Croſs. To begin then with the relation of his Agony. That is related at large by St. *Matthew* and St. *Luke*, which is ſcarce mentioned by St. *John*, whoſe ſpecial part in penning this Sacred Tragedy, it was to remember that divine diſcourſe with his Diſciples, being at his laſt Supper with them, and his repair to the Garden beyond *Cedron*, which he had ſo often frequented before, that the opportunity of this place made *Judas* of a ſecret thief, an open Traytor.

4. The manner and circumſtances of the Agony it ſelf are moſt fully related by St. *Luke cap.* 22. *ver.* 39, *&c. And he came out, and went as he was wont, to the Mount of Olives, and his Diſciples alſo followed. And when he was at the place, he ſaid unto them, Pray that ye enter not into temptation. And he was withdrawn from them about a ſtones caſt, and kneeled down and prayed, &c.* Not to diſpute about the phraſe here uſed by St. *Luke.* Καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπεσπάσθη, as whether it imports ſome violent withdrawing by impulſion, or ſome extraordinary inſtinct, or whether in true conſtruction it be no more than thus, *he did voluntarily withdraw himſelf:* queſtionleſs he was by the one means or other now led the ſecond time to be tempted. The temptation was grievous and more extraordinary than his former temptation in the Wilderneſs. Thus much is intimated by that peremptory monition to his Apoſtles, [*Pray that ye enter not into temptation:*] partly from the manner of his prayer for himſelf; *Father, if thou be willing, remove this Cup from me.* The queſtion is what *Cup* this was, whoſe removal he deſired? It was a deadly Cup as all agree; but of what death? natural, or ſupernatural? death of body only, or of ſoul? Had the *Cup* which he ſo feared to drink, been only a death natural, or ſuch as other men had or may taſte of, his ſerious reiterated deprecation of it, would in ſome mens collections argue leſs courage or reſolution in him than many others though generous, yet but meer men, have exhibited either at the approach or onſet of death, or in the very conflict with deadly pangs, or terrours. Or if *Peter* at this time had not been amazed with heavineſs of ſpirit, he might thus have crowed over his Maſter, *dulce bellum inexpertis*, when I forewarned you to be good unto your ſelf, and not to let theſe things come upon you; all the thanks I had for my pains was this, *Get thee behind me Satan: for thou ſavoureſt not the things which are of God, but the things which be of men.* * And yet now thou prayeſt unto thy Father that theſe things, which I adviſed thee to beware of, may not fall upon thee. Wherein then, I beſeech thee, did I offend, unleſs

Mat. 16: 22.

leſs it were in foreſeeing or foretelling, that in time it would repent thee of thy forward reſolution ? But admit this Cup whoſe removal he now prayes for, were more than either the fear or feeling of a natural death, though accompanied with more grievous ſymptoms than any man before him had either felt or feared: was it poſſible that the horror of it ſhould not be duly apprehended by him from the time, wherein he had reſolved to ſuffer thoſe things which *Peter* counſelled him not to ſuffer ? If he were ignorant how dearly his future ſufferings would coſt him, why did he undertake to make ſatisfaction for our ſins by them? For to undertake any buſineſs of greater conſequence out of ignorance, or out of knowledge in part commendable, without due and conſtant reſolution; how ever the ſucceſs fall out, doth always prejudice, if not elevate the juſt eſteem of the undertakers diſcretion. The undertaker in this great buſineſs of mans Redemption, was the Son of God, whoſe wiſdom no man can too highly eſtimate, whoſe undertaking for us all men beſides himſelf do eſteem too low. Shall we ſay then he was not ignorant of any thing that ſhould befal him; yet ignorant of them as man, or that he was ignorant of them in part, in part did foreknow them? Surely as he was God, he did know all things before they were, before they could have any title to actual being. For infinite knowledge (ſuch is the knowledge of the Deity, and of every Perſon in it) can neither be ignorant or neſcient of any thing, whether future, preſent, or paſt, or of any thing poſſible to have been, or poſſible to be either for the preſent or future. If the leaſt degree of knowledge of any thing paſt, preſent, or future, could accrue or reſult *de novo* unto the Divine Nature, either in it ſelf, or in any perſon in it, whether *ab extra*, from occurrences which happen in the revolution of time, or from the ſuppoſed determination of his own will from eternity; we ſhould hence be enforced to deny, that the wiſdom or knowledge of the Divine Nature, or of any Perſon in it were abſolutely infinite. For that unto which any thing can accrue, or be added, is not truly infinite for the preſent, or in it ſelf; can be no otherwiſe infinite than by ſucceſſion, or by addition of ſomewhat to it beſides it ſelf. If it were true which ſome avouch, that God doth not, or rather cannot foreknow contingents future, otherwiſe than by the determination of his own will: this ſuppoſed determination of his will (being indeed but a fancy or transformation of his will to the ſimilitude of ours) doth make his knowledge abſolutely infinite, being of it ſelf only capable of true infinity, by this addition.

5. That God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, is of wiſdom and knowledge truly infinite; not by occurrences *ab extra*, from the Creation, but in himſelf, I firmly believe. As for the manner how he doth know, or foreknow things future, contingents eſpecially, is a point which I could wiſh were not at all, or more ſparingly diſputed, as being aſſured, that this point of all others now queſtioned, cannot poſſibly be determined by any Man or Angel, unleſs he be every way as wiſe as God, or ſomewhat wiſer. God (the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt) I verily believe did more perfectly know the degrees and qualities of all the ſufferings of our Saviour in the fleſh, than he himſelf as man did ever know or foreknow them. Yet did not the Divine nature, or any Divine perſon, as Divine, know them by experience or painful feeling as the man *CHRIST JESVS* did, but by a knowledge as ſuper-eminent to the knowledge of ſenſe, or humane

reaſon, as the Divine nature is to the nature humane : or as ubiquitary being or immenſity is to circumſcriptive or local preſence. The Divine nature, whether we conſider it in the Perſon of the Father, Son, or Holy Ghoſt, could learn nothing which they knew not before, by the ſufferings of the Son : yet the Son himſelf as man did learn obedience by the things which he ſuffered in the fleſh. Whatſoever may be thought or ſaid of other knowledge communicated to the Man *CHRIST JESUS*, by the vertue of the Perſonal Union : yet his ſenſible or experimental knowledge, as of pains and ſorrow whether incident to body only, or to both body and ſoul, was not from his Cradle infinite, was not ſo compleat at his Baptiſm, as at his laſt Supper, nor then ſo exact as in the Garden, or upon the Croſs it was. A growth or increaſe in this kind of knowledge is granted by ſuch of the Schoolmen, as did not know or conſider, what it was for the Son of God to be in the form of a ſervant, but took this to be all one, as to be in the form of a mortal man. But ſuch as duly conſider his peculiar eſtate or condition, whilſt he was in the form of a ſervant, will eaſily conceive his voluntary renouncing that full meaſure of knowledge which he now hath as man, and his obedient ſubmiſſion of his Manhood unto the feeling of our infirmities, to have been a neceſſary part, or rather the very depth of that humiliation, or exaninition of himſelf, whereof the Apoſtle ſpeaks. For it is one ſpecial good quality of a ſervant, not perfectly to know his errand, not to be too inquiſitive after the particular contents of it, before he be ſent ; but to expect inſtructions from him that ſent him, though it be in an Ambaſſage.

6. If we take it then as granted, that our Saviour as Man did from his infancy moſt clearly foreſee, or diſtinctly know, that he was to redeem Mankind, by taſting the bitter Cup of death for them ; it will not hence follow, that he ſhould at all times know, either the true quality, or exact meaſure of the pains which he was at the time appointed by his Father to ſuffer, for accompliſhing this great work undertaken by him. For of all things that can be known by men, the knowledge of pains, either for quality, or the diſtinct meaſure of them, is leaſt poſſible without experimental knowledge, or ſenſible feeling of them. Many Phyſicians have learnedly diſcourſt of the ſeveral ſorts of feavers, and calculated their degrees *more mathematico*, as Mathematicians do the quantity of figures or ſolid bodies, or revolutions of the Heavens. But the real pains or languiſhments of hectical, peſtilential, or other feavers, the moſt learned Phyſician in the World cannot diſtinctly know or calculate, unleſs he feel them. Or in caſe by ſenſible experience he knew the nature or quality, or ſeveral degrees of every feaver ; he is not hereby enabled diſtinctly to apprehend the maladies which attend the Gout until he feel them. Or ſuppoſe he knew theſe maladies from the higheſt to the loweſt degree, this will not indoctrinate him to know the extremities of the Stone ſo perfectly and diſtinctly as his meaneſt Patient doth which hath ſenſible experience of it, though in a middle degree. Our Saviour long before his laſt reſort unto the Garden of *Gethſemane*, was a man of ſorrows, had plentiful experience of humane infirmities or bodily maladies. For he had felt the grief and pain of all the diſeaſes which he had cured by moſt exact and perfect ſympathy with the diſeaſed. His heart was tunable to every mans heart, that did ſeriouſly impart his grief of mind or affliction of body unto him. Only

in laughter or bodily mirth he held no conſort, for ought we read with any man. But the grief and ſorrow which in the Garden he ſuffered, could not be known by ſympathy. The Protopathy was in himſelf, and no man, not the Apoſtles themſelves, could ſo truly ſympathize with him in this grief, as he had done with them, or the meaneſt of their brethren in other grievances or afflictions. For never was there on earth any ſorrow, like unto the ſorrow wherewith the Lord had afflicted him in this day of his wrath. Yet was his obedience more than equal to his ſorrow, and this obedience he learned by his ſufferings.

7. But if in this hour, or any other he learned obedience, this ſeems to argue that he was either diſobedient before, or at leſt wanted ſome degree or part of obedience. For no man can be ſaid to learn that leſſon, which he hath already moſt perfectly by heart. To this we ſay, That however the Son of God, or the man Chriſt Jeſus, did never want any degree, or part of habitual or implanted obedience; yet the meaſure of his actual obedience was not at all times the ſame. The obedience which the Apoſtle ſaith he learned, was obedience paſſive; and all paſſive obedience doth properly conſiſt in patient ſuffering ſuch things as are enjoyned by lawful authority, or in ſubmitting our wills and affections, not our bodies only unto the juſt deſigns of Superiours. Our Saviour at all times wholly ſubmitted his humane will unto his Fathers will, had always undertaken with alacrity, whatſoever his Father had appointed him to undertake or undergo: But his Father had never called him to ſuch hard ſervice, as in this hour was put unto him. Now if obedience paſſive conſiſt in patience of ſuffering, it muſt needs increaſe, as the hardneſs of the ſufferings increaſe; in caſe the hardeſt ſervice be born with equal patience, or undertaken with the ſame meaſure of ſubmiſſion unto his will which enjoyns them, that meaner ſervices are. Again, if the true meaſure of bodily pains, or ſorrow of mind cannot otherwiſe be known, than by experience, the Son of God himſelf as man, and in the form of a ſervant, was to learn obedience, at leſt ſome new degrees of it by gaining experience of unuſual pains and ſufferings. And ſuch queſtionleſs were thoſe anguiſhes, whether of ſoul or body which he ſuffered in the Garden. That he had often prayed before this time, we read; and no doubt had always tendred his petitions to God, as to his Father, with ſuch humility of ſpirit, as became an obedient Son, and faithful Servant, as did beſt befit the Idæal pattern of all true obedience. But we do not read, nor have we any occaſion or hint, to conjecture, that at any time before this he did ſo humble himſelf in Prayer, as at this time he did, whether we reſpect the form or tenor of his ſupplications, or his voice or bodily geſture in the delivery of them. All the circumſtances of theſe his ſupplications, are accurately recorded by the Evangeliſts. *He was withdrawn, or did withdraw himſelf, from his Apoſtles about a ſtones caſt.* And yet in this diſtance his Apoſtles, though drowſie and heavy, did hear him pray diſtinctly, who had taught them and us to pray for our ſelves in ſecret, ſo ſecretly, as that none beſides our Heavenly Father might hear them. As for his geſture, or poſture of body, that, at the firſt delivery of his Prayer and Supplications was, θεὶς τὰ γόνατα. So Saint *Luke*, *Chap.* 22. *ver.* 41. *He went forward,* ſaith Saint *Mark*, *a little, and fell on the ground and Prayed,* Mark 14. 35. So he might do and fall on his knees, as Saint *Luke* relates.

But Saint *Matthew* adds, *He went a little further, and fell on his face, and prayed, ſaying, O my Father, if it be poſſible, let this cup paſs from me.* That he thrice uſed this form or tenor of Prayer, whether at each time he uſed the ſame poſture of body, or rather falling on his knees than on his face; is not ſo clear, though moſt probably he did ſo. Now that which theſe three Evangeliſts do intimate or imply in the accurate relations of theſe circumſtances, is more expreſly recorded by Saint *Paul*, *Heb.* 5. 7. to wit, that in the days of his fleſh he offered up Prayers and Supplications with ſtrong crying and tears. And no wonder if ſtreams of tears guſhed from his eyes, when his whole body (as Saint *Luke* informs us) did diſtil blood. The full importance of this ſacred paſſage of Saint *Paul*, *Heb* 5. from the fourth *verſe* to the ninth, ſeeing it contains matter of deeper myſteries, than moſt Interpreters (which I have read) have taken any great pains to *ſound*, muſt be part of the ſubject of another following Treatiſe, concerning his Conſecration to his everlaſting Prieſthood. Thus much in the mean time, I take as granted, that the fore-cited ſeventh *verſe* of the fifth *Chapter* to the *Hebrews*, doth in ſpecial refer unto the Supplications made by our Saviour in his Agony: and will be the beſt Comment I know upon the Evangeliſts, for clearing that Point now in queſtion [what Cup it was, for whoſe removal he thrice ſo earneſtly prayed.]

8. *He offered up theſe his Prayers*, ſaith the Apoſtle, *unto him, who was able to ſave him from death.* This is exactly parallel to the preamble which our Saviour uſed before the full ingruence or paroxiſm of his Agony; *Abba, Father, all things are poſſible to thee, take away this Cup from me*, &c. No man doubts but that his Father was able to ſave him from diſſolution of body and ſoul, that is, from death it ſelf, whether it had come by courſe of nature, or by violence. But from this death it is plain he did not ſave him. Of this cup, or kind of death, he taſted to the full, in the utmoſt extremity, upon the Croſs. How then is it true, which Saint *Paul* in the fore-cited place addeth, *That after he offered up Prayers with ſtrong crying and tears, he was heard in that he feared: Or* (as others read) *for his piety.* Whether reading we follow this, or that, the juſt importance of our Apoſtles words, εἰσακουσθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλαβείας is thus much at leaſt, that *he was delivered* from that which he ſo much feared, though with a pious fear: for out of ſuch a fear he offered up his Prayers with ſtrong crying and tears. The *Cup* then which he ſo earneſtly prayed might paſs from him, was not the cup of violent death ſimply conſidered, nor as accompanied with all the indignities done unto him by the *Jews*, *Romans*, and others the very next day. For what then did he at this time ſo earneſtly pray? for ſpeedy releaſe or deliverance from the heavineſs of Soul, or anguiſh of Spirit, which now had ſuddenly ſeized upon him. The very firſt draught of this Cup had caſt him into a bloody ſweat, and had he been enforced to have taken a ſecond, or third deep draught of it; or if his preſent anguiſh had been for ſome few hours continued, he had prevented the cruel tortures of the Croſs, and the indignities done unto his perſon by the Jews or Roman Souldiers. This was that Cup which *Peter* counſelled him not to taſte of, for whoſe removal he never prayed, as being fully reſolved to pledge the utmoſt extremity of their malice, with a far greater meaſure of patience. And for this reaſon, when *Peter* drew his Sword for his reſcous (as he intended) he checks him again, as

he had done, *Matth.* 16. 23. *Put up thy Sword into the ſheath : the Cup which my Father gives me, ſhall I not drink it?* *John* 18. 11. But that cup which he ſo earneſtly did pray might paſs from him, did certainly vaniſh with his Agony, and his Agony did endure no longer than he offered up his Supplications and Prayers; about the ſpace of an hour. There remained no ſign or ſymptom of it after the Traytor had delivered him up into his enemies hands. Or if we ponderate Saint *Luke*'s relation of his Agony aright, his Prayers were heard upon the firſt, or ſecond uttering of them. Seeing eaſe, or deliverance from the ingruence of pains, is all that they preſſed for the preſent deſires: it is all one whether the burthen be leſſened, or his ſtrength to bear it be increaſed. His eaſe and comfort is either way the ſame. Admit then the heavy burthen laid upon the Son of God in the days of his fleſh, had continued the ſame, or perhaps increaſed from his firſt entring into the Garden: yet his Prayers were heard, in that an Angel was ſent, whether to ſtrengthen him, or to comfort him, *Luke* 22. 43. The word in the Original is often uſed for ſuch internal ſtrength, as men recover by ſome comfortable refection, when they are faint for want of meat, or by gathering their ſpirits after they have been diſſipated or dejected by ſudden fear or amazement. It would perhaps be accounted impertinent to make inquiry what Angel it was, which was ſent to comfort or ſtrengthen the Son of God in that extremity of his Agony. Yet many of the Ancients, and of modern Interpreters, not a few, are of opinion that it was the ſame Angel which did annunciate his birth and conception, and that was the Angel *Gabriel*. Who though, perhaps, he did not take his name from his fore-ſeen deputation to his function; yet did he never brook it better in any former acts of his miniſtery, than in the performanee of this preſent ſervice. His name imports as much as the ſtrength of God, and at this time he ſtrengthneth the man *Chriſt Jeſus* who then was, and now is the Son of God: as truly God as man. Now if he who was the Son of God, did receive ſtrength or comfort from an Angel; it is no Paradox or Soleciſm to ſay, that he learned obedience by the things which he ſuffered, or that theſe preſent ſufferings were unknown to him as man, until he felt them. For no reaſon can be to my apprehenſion conceived, why he who was the Son of God might not be capable of ſome growth in knowledge, experimental eſpecially, as well as in bodily quantity or ſtrength of body. Concerning the nature and quality of thoſe ſufferings wherein he was ſtrengthened or comforted by an Angel, as whether they were natural or ſupernatural; or if ſupernatural, whether they were the very pains of Hell, or ſuch as we ſhould have ſuffered without his ſatisfaction, cannot be inferred either from the unuſual form of his Prayers uttered with ſtrong cries, or from his geſture in the Garden.

9. Some there be who take his bloody ſweat in that grievous Agony, to be a ſymptom of infernal pains. But from what grounds either in Philoſophy or Divinity, I know not. If the pains of Hell, or helliſh pains (ſo ſome diſtinguiſh) be procured by the fire of Hell (be that material or immaterial) bloody ſweat can be no probable effect of the one or other fire. Nor is ſuch ſweat any τεκμήριον, or demonſtrative ſign of pains more grievous than may be inflicted by agents, or ſuffered by patients meerly natural. For however in colder Countries, bloody ſweats be as rare in mens bodies, as ſhowers of blood in the Air: yet as a good Philoſopher hath long ago obſerved,

to ſweat blood is not unuſual to Italians; * yet uſual only (as I take it) to men of that Climate in ſome peculiar diſeaſes. The moſt remarkable inſtance which I have read of bloody ſweat in a man not oppreſt with any diſeaſe, is of a Captain * an Italian (if I miſtake not) who being ſurprized by the ſubtilty of his Enemy, whom he had truſted too far upon a *tryſte* of Parly, and thereby inforced either to yield up the Fort which he had ſtoutly maintained, or otherwiſe to be preſently hanged: the conſideration of this perplexity wherewith through his own folly he had intangled himſelf, did make ſuch deep impreſſion into his generous ſpirits, that it ſqueez'd blood out of his Veins. Our Saviour (no doubt) as man, had a more full apprehenſion of all the malicious diſgraces and cruel indignities which his Enemies could put upon him, than this Captain had. The meaſure of his bodily ſufferings and perſonal wrongs were in number far more, and for quality far more grievous than ever were intended to this Captain, or to any other mortal man by their Enemies. And though the death of the Croſs was in it ſelf an ignominious and cruel death, yet in our Saviours particular that was moſt true, *mortis modus morte pejor*; the manner of his apprehenſion, of his double arraignment, and conviction, of his uſage before he was brought to the place of execution, and all the time whilſt the malice of Jew and Gentile was wreaked upon him was more grievous than the Death of the Croſs it ſelf without theſe grievous concomitants could have been. To ſcan theſe briefly, and in order. The very manner of his apprehenſion made ſome impreſſion of ſorrow and indignation in him, as appears by the character of his ſpeech, *Luke* 22. 32, &c. *Then Jeſus ſaid to the Chief Prieſts and Captains of the Temple, and the Elders which were come to him. Be ye come out, as againſt a thief, with ſwords and ſtaves? when I was daily with you in the Temple, ye ſtretched forth no hand againſt me, but this is your hour, &c.* And ſo no queſtion did their binding of him in bonds by all probability and circumſtances more grievous and more diſgraceful, than ordinary Fellons, Thieves, or Murtherers, in thoſe days were liable unto, eſpecially before legal conviction. For *Judas* who had bargained with the High Prieſts and Elders for making delivery of him into their hands, had forewarned them, *Mat.* 26. 48. *Lead him away ſafely*; as if he had ſaid, Be ſure ye make him faſt. Whether the Traytor thus ſpake out of a deſire to have him put to death, or only to ſecure himſelf againſt all quirks of Law concerning his bargain, in caſe *JESUS* (as he oft had done) ſhould eſcape out of their hands, I will not peremptorily determine: albeit I am not ignorant that divers of the exquiſiteſt Interpreters, and other good Writers are of opinion, that *Judas* betrayed him, not ſo much out of malice, as out of covetouſneſs: being perſwaded he was able to quit himſelf from any reſtraint, that they could lay upon him. In the mean time, however it fared with his Maſter, or with them to whom he delivered him; he reſolved to free his gainful bargain from further queſtion. And this may be the probable reaſon of his relentance after he ſaw his Maſter condemned to death, without all hope of reſcue or reprieval. So it often falls out, that when the events fall out worſe than the Projectors intended,

* *Curaus.*

* Capta Dragonera, Magio negotium datum, ut Montemmarinum munitiſſimum locum aggrederetur. Igitur ſecum ducto Auguſto Saluciarum principis notho filio, eò tendit: evocatoque quaſi ad colloquium præſidiariorum duce ab Auguſto, quîcum arctiſſima intercedebat amicitia; Magius ex compacto ſuperveniens eum comprehendi juſſit, & ut locum dederet, hortatus; cum nihil proficeret: poſtremo minas addidit & ipſum vinctum quaſi ad ſupplicium in oppidi conſpectum deduci imperavit, tam miſerabili ſpectaculo victi oppidani, ut ducem ſuum periculo eximerent, deditionem fecere. Obſervatum, tam indignæ mortis vehementi metu adeo concuſſum animo eum fuiſſe, ut ſanguineum ſudorem toto corpore funderet. *Thuan. lib.* 10. *pag.* 221. 1.

intended, albeit their firſt intentions were in themſelves wicked, the conſideration hereof brings them commonly to ſuch remorſe, as cauſeth deſpair ſooner than any degree of true Repentance. And for *Judas* to make his gain, or to redeem the loſs which he had ſuffered by the waſte of ointment as he interpreted it, poured upon his head, by the delivery of his Maſter, although he did not at all intend his death; was an odious treaſon, which is always the proper fruit of a baſe and covetous mind. And both branch and fruit, the covetouſneſs, and the treaſon might be a corraſive to our Saviour, and in part occaſion his Agony. So might the malicious diſpoſition, and ignominious proceeding of the Prieſts and Elders againſt him, be more grievous to him than the pains of death, or publick diſgraces which he ſuffered by them. The ſuborning of falſe witneſſes againſt him, were more diſtaſtful to his righteous Soul, than all the ſufferings and ſcornful revilings which they beſtowed upon him. But amongſt all the indignities which Satan, and his inſtruments could invent, theſe were the moſt grievous. Firſt their begging of *Barabbas* his pardon, when *Pilate* would have diſmiſt or reprieved *Jeſus*. This was a cruel kind of mercy, the true effect of prepoſterous zeal, and Phariſaical Hypocriſie. For this cuſtom of ſhewing mercy, or begging pardon for ſome Priſoner at the great Feaſt of the Paſſeover, was firſt inſtituted in the remembrance of the mercy which God had ſhewed unto their Fathers in delivering them out of *Egypt*. And in requital of this extraordinary favour, which the Lord God of *Iſrael* had ſhewed to their Fathers, they deliver him to be Crucified by the Gentiles, being ſet up by *Pilate* an Heathen Governour, in competition for this poor favour with *Barabbas*, a notable Rebel, Thief, and Murderer. Another indignity was the ſudden execution of this moſt unjuſt ſentence, not giving him ſuch competent time, as other Priſoners had to diſpoſe of himſelf, and of his eſtate, or to make preparation for death. For this Seſſion was not called for him, but for others who had been in cuſtody before, yet he is caſt into the bargain, as a fragment or refuſed remnant, as a party no more conſiderable, than a Cutpurſe taken in the manner in open Court, whilſt others are Arraigned. Now all theſe indignities, and many more, as the Evangeliſts tell us *Chriſt* did fore-ſee before his Agony ſeized upon him. And might not the fore-ſight or due apprehenſion of them, and of the lingring death which theſe did uſher in, or both put together, more probably cauſe that Agony and Sweat in the Garden, than the apprehenſion of death and indignities approaching, or than the extremity of ſome diſeaſes do the like effects in other men?

10. As for the ſweating of blood in ſome diſeaſes, that is never occaſioned by any apprehenſion of the diſeaſe occurrent, but only by the *ingruence* of the diſeaſe it ſelf, whereof it is an effect or ſymptom. Or if it be objected that our Saviour might have a deeper apprehenſion of his death approaching, than any other man had of diſeaſes before they did actually ſeize upon him. Yet is there no reaſon to ſuſpect, that he had not the ſame apprehenſion long before he entred into the Garden, or that this apprehenſion, whether of death or indignities, ſhould not be improved by ſenſible experiments of the violences after done unto him in the High Prieſts Hall, by the Roman Souldiers, or by his ſcourging at *Pilates* command, which was more cruel than others condemned to dye the death of the Croſs did ſuffer; becauſe *Pilate* hoped that the ſight of his gory ſtripes might quench the

malicious heat of the *Jews*, and acquit him from further condemnation. Yet in all his enſuing ſufferings we do not read, or find that he had any ſymptoms of that anguiſh which came upon him in the Garden: He did not ſo much as pray unto his Father for any releaſe from the tortures and indignities, which he actually felt by ſenſible experience; but rather for his enemies which had procured them. Or if his bloody ſweat in the Garden had been occaſioned (as in all probability it was not) from any fore-ſight or apprehenſion of his indign uſage by the Jews, and by the Roman Souldiers, whilſt he was in hold, or upon the Croſs; it could not be any ſymptom of helliſh or infernal pains.

11. Yet that he ſuffered ſuch pains upon the Croſs, hath been avouched too confidently by ſome, and more peeviſhly maintained by others. One eſpecial ground pretended for this ill-ſounding doctrine is, that exclamation uttered by him a little before his death; *My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me?* The collections which many Learned Writers of the Romiſh Church have drawn from *Calvin*'s Comments upon theſe words, are too plentiful to be here inſerted; and the imputations which they lay upon him and his followers unanſwerable, if he meant or ſpake as they expreſs his meaning, to wit, that theſe words ſhould argue a ſenſible experience of Hell pains, or the worſt ſymptoms of ſuch pains, as either deſpair, diſtraction of mind, or diſcontent. I ſhould be very ſorry to read them in *Calvin*, or in any other Writer of the Reformed Churches, very unwilling diſtinctly to call to memory ſome paſſages in late Engliſh Writers, which to my remembrance incline too much this way. All I can ſay in *Calvin*'s defence, if he peremptorily affirm, that our Saviour did ſuffer the pains of Hell upon the Croſs, is this. If it be an hereſie (as the Romiſh Church doth make it, and I cannot gain-ſay them, if it be ſtifly maintained:) the hereſie was broached by a great and Learned Romiſh * Cardinal before *Calvin* wrote. And when the Pope, who is the pretended Judge of all Hereſies, ſhall condemn his books for heretical, or his opinion in this particular for an Hereſie; I ſhall be ready to perſwade the Church of *England* (as far as I am able) to do the like. The true importance of our Saviours Exclamation, or Proclamation rather upon the Croſs (for he uttered it, *voce magna*, with a proclamatory voice) will come to be ſcanned in the next Treatiſe. But if Satan either by his own ſtrength, or by ſpecial permiſſion from God the Father, did tempt our Saviour upon the Croſs, whether immediately, or mediately by the malicious ſtratagems of the Jews, and by the prophaneneſs of the Roman Souldiers, ſo far as to proclaim his own deſpair or diffidence of Gods favour towards him, or to the leaſt degree of impatience or diſcontent; it would be hard to make any conſtruction of our Saviours prediction, *John* 14. 30. *The Prince of this world cometh, and hath nothing in me*; or as ſome have more fully expreſt the Hebraiſm, *nothing againſt me.* As certainly he had no matter to work upon, no occaſion of ſolace either to himſelf, or to his infernal aſſociates, as if they had moved him to the leaſt degree of diffidence or impatience. For our Saviour queſtionleſs was more than certain by a more excellent certainty, than the certainty of Faith, that he ſhould be ſaved from the ſecond death; that he ſhould never fall away from Gods favour, nor be for a moment forſaken of him. Otherwiſe, he had been a leſs faithful ſervant of God, leſs mindful of ſpecial revelations made to him as man, than they are

* *Cuſanus.*

who believe their own ſpecial election or predeſtination, only upon application of Gods general promiſes to themſelves in particular. For beſides the internal revelations made to him as man, he had many publick aſſurances, ſuch as others beſides himſelf did hear; none of which he did ever diſtruſt or doubt: much leſs could he fear leſt his Father ſhould be ſo far diſpleaſed with him, as ever to forſake him. Now his pains upon the Croſs were grievous, and the indignities done unto him, to fleſh and blood intolerable: yet his apprehenſion of Celeſtial joys due unto him, was never interrupted. And out of this never interrupted apprehenſion, or rather view of theſe joys, *He endured the Croſs, and deſpiſed the ſhame,* as our Apoſtle tells us, *Hebr.* 12. 2. Not only his apprehenſion of theſe, but his moſt circumſpect obſervance of all opportunities to do his Fathers will, and to ſee all the Scriptures concerning him fulfilled; was never more conſpicuouſly remarkable, whilſt he was upon the Croſs, than in his laſt conflict with death. The fulfilling of the Propheſies concerning his ſufferings, requires a peculiar Treatiſe. For his extraordinary circumſpection about that very point of time wherein he uttered theſe words, *Eli, Eli, Lamacſabahani, My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me?* that is abundantly teſtified by Saint *John,* who was an ear witneſs of his ſpeeches. *Now there ſtood by the Croſs of Jeſus his mother, and his mothers ſiſter,* Mary *the Wife of* Cleophas *and* Mary Magdalene: *When Jeſus therefore ſaw his Mother, and the Diſciple ſtanding by whom he loved; he ſaith unto his Mother, Woman, behold thy Son. Then ſaith he to the Diſciple, Behold thy Mother. And from that hour that Diſciple took her unto his own home,* John 19. 25, 26, 27.

CHAP. XIII.

The Bloody Sacrifice of the Son of God, was all-ſufficient to make full ſatisfaction for the ſins of the world, without his ſuffering of any ſupernatural or unknown pains.

1. BUT however the former pretended concluſion concerning Chriſt's ſuffering the pains of Hell, or any other of the ſymptomes, cannot be inferred, either from this bloody ſweat in the Garden, or from any ſpeeches of his, or any effect related by the Evangeliſts: yet the favourers of this concluſion, rather than they would give it over, endeavour to prove it by reaſon drawn from the final cauſe of all his ſufferings. The ſuffering of the pains of Hell (ſay they) was neceſſarily required to the full ſatisfaction for all our ſins, which all good Chriſtians confeſs he did bear both in his Agony, and upon the Croſs. But the very foundation of this aſſertion is very weak, and the ſuperſtructive worſe: moſt derogatory to the infinite worth of Chriſts bloody Sacrifice. Firſt, It is not required by the rules of equity, whether Divine or Humane, that ſatisfaction for wrongs done, ſhould always be made in kind, or by way of counterpaſſion. It is in many caſes more full and more ſufficient when it is made by equivalency, than if it were made in kind. As in caſe a man in his rage ſhould cruelly beat his Neighbour, or Butcher his Cattel: to permit the party which ſuffered the wrong whether in his perſon or in

his goods, to exerciſe the like rage or cruelty upon his perſon or live-goods, which did the wrong, could be no true ſatisfaction, either to the law, or party wronged, but rather beaſtly revenge. The beſt ſatisfaction which in this caſe could be awarded to the party wronged, would be to give him ſuch contentment in one kind or other, as might in reaſon, though not to paſſion, be as beneficial and uſeful to him, as the effects of his fury and rage which did the wrong, were in juſt eſtimation hurtful: and yet ſuch withal, as ſhould make the offender, as unwilling to do the like wrong again, as the party wronged or any in his caſe would be to ſuffer it. This is the only true ſatiſfaction which in the ſame or like caſe could be juſtly made to the Law, whoſe true intendment always is to make all men willing to do to others, as they deſire ſhould be done unto them: unwilling to do any thing to others, which they would not have done unto themſelves. Our Father *Adam* had wronged our common nature, and all of us had offended our Creator more grievouſly, than any man can wrong another. Now in that our God and Creator is withal the eternal rule of Juſtice, or rather Juſtice it ſelf; it was requiſite that ſatisfaction ſhould be made unto him in the fulleſt degree. For one man, for all men which had done this wrong, to make ſatisfaction to infinite Majeſty, either in whole or in part was impoſſible. Though all mankind had been condemned to ſuffer unceſſantly, both in body and ſoul, they might by this means have been continually making ſatisfaction, but never had made it; albeit their ſufferings had been endleſs. Therefore was this great work undertaken by the Son of God made Man for us.

2. Suppoſe then all this had been foreknown, before our Saviour was incarnate, ever ſince the fall of our firſt Parents, and the ſentence denounced againſt them; it would have been a more grievous ſin in our firſt Parents or in any of their poſterity, than the ſin of the old Serpent in ſeducing them or us to yield to his ſuggeſtions, to have beſought God the Father, that his only Son ſhould make ſatisfaction for us in the very ſame kind, which we ſhould have made, but could never make, that is, by ſuffering the pains of Hell. That the man Chriſt Jeſus might ſuffer ſuch pains as the damned ſhall do, was perhaps the deſire of Satan, that which the great Enemy of Mankind did moſt earneſtly labour to effect. And if thus he did but deſire, this was the greateſt actual ſin, which either he or his infernal Aſſociats ever had committed, or can commit. Whatſoever they might deſire, all that our Heavenly Father could require of his only Son after he became our ſurety, was to make full ſatisfaction for all our ſins againſt his Deity, or the eternal rule of juſtice. But all this he knew might be accompliſhed by his only Son after a more excellent manner, than either by exerciſing his wrath due unto us, or by ſuffering Satan whoſe redemption his Son did no way undertake, to wreak the utmoſt of his malice or foehood againſt Mankind upon him. For my ſelf amongſt others, I muſt confeſs, I could never underſtand the language of many profeſſed Divines, who would perſwade us that the full Vialls of Gods wrath due unto our ſins were poured upon his Son. Whatſoever their meaning be, which I preſume is much better, than I can gather from their expreſſions, the manner of ſpeech (to ſay no worſe) is very improper, and to me unpleaſant. For how was it poſſible, God the Father ſhould be wroth with him in whom alone he was always well pleaſed. But wrath or anger againſt any one, are always the effects

of ſome diſpleaſure precedent: and no ſatisfaction can be made whilſt diſpleaſure is taken, or wrath kindled againſt the party which ſeeks to make ſatisfaction or reconciliation. Now the infliction or permiſſion of Hell pains to be inflicted upon any, is the award not of Gods judgment, but of his wrath and fury.

3. If it be objected that our ſins were infinite, though not for number yet for quality, becauſe committed againſt an infinite Majeſty; and conſequently that no ſatisfaction according to the exact rule of juſtice could be made without puniſhment, or penalties truly infinite: the anſwer is as Orthodoxal, as eaſie or common. That the ſatisfaction made for us by the Son of God, was more truly infinite, than the ſins of Mankind were. For it was abſolutely infinite, *Non quia paſſus eſt infinita, ſed quia qui paſſus eſt erat infinitus.* The perſon or party who made ſatisfaction for us; or party which undertook the ſatisfaction, was both in Majeſty, and in goodneſs, as truly infinite, as the Majeſty and goodneſs whom we had offended, and by whom exact ſatisfaction was required: both of them were both ways abſolutely infinite. I omit the weakneſs of ſuch calculatory arguments, as this; [Our ſins were abſolutely infinite, becauſe committed againſt an infinite Majeſty,] as too well known to moſt ſtudents, and often enough, if not too often deciphered in other of my meditations. For this being admitted, all ſins ſhould be equal, becauſe all are committed againſt the ſame infinite Majeſty and goodneſs. As for the true meaſure of our ſins and ill deſervings, that muſt be taken from the meaſure of Gods diſpleaſure againſt them: and that is but equal to the ſeveral degrees of our diſobedience to his moſt holy Laws and Commandments. This then we verily believe, that the full height and meaſure of all diſobedience and rebellions againſt God, was neither higher or greater than the obedience which his Son performed in our fleſh, or whilſt he ſtood in the condition of a ſervant: that our Heavenly Father was never ſo much diſpleaſed at all our diſobediences, as he was well pleaſed with the obedience of his only Son, or with their obedience that are truly ingraffed in him, and are made partakers of his obedience in his ſufferings. Both parts of this concluſion may with facility be evinced in the judgment of all men which have ſubſcribed unto, or do admit the principles in Divinity, whether Legal or Evangelical.

4. It was a maxim undoubted in the time of the Law, that obedience was better than ſacrifice: the corrollary or conſequence of which maxim doth amount to this point, that obedience without ſacrifice, was always better than ſacrifice without obedience. Yet ſuch ſacrifices, as were appointed by God, being offered out of the ſpirit of obedience, were always more acceptable than obedience alone. Such ſacrifices as were appointed by God himſelf, unleſs they were offered in obedience and out of conformity to his Law, were abominable. The principal part of obedience, which the Law required, was the humble confeſſion of the parties ſins, for whoſe ſakes they were offered. This confeſſion was made over the heads of the beaſts which were offered: the parties offering them always acknowledging, either expreſly by their tongues, or implicitly in heart, that they had better deſerved a cruel death than the dumb Creatures, which they ſacrificed had done. Briefly, Legal ſacrifices were then acceptable, when their offerers put on ſuch affections, as *David* maketh expreſſion of, when he ſaw the people plagued for his ſins, or at leaſt

when the puniſhment of their own ſins came ſuddenly upon them through his folly. *Loe, I have ſinned, and I have done wickedly: but theſe ſheep what have they done?* * Yet even whilſt the beſt of Gods people thus affected did offer the beſt kind of Legal Sacrifices (Bullocks whilſt their Horns and Hoofs began to ſpread,) their ſacrifice and obedience did but lovingly meet, they were not mutually wedded or betrothed. But whilſt the Son of God did offer up himſelf for us upon the Croſs, his ſacrifice and obedience were more ſtrictly united, than Man and Wife, than Mans Soul and Body. For betwixt theſe there is oft-times diſſention or reluctance: ſo was there never betwixt Chriſts Divine perſon who was the offerer, and the humane nature which was the offering. His humane nature and will before it was ſacrificed, and whilſt it was ſacrificed, was more obedient to his Fathers will, than our firſt Parents ſenſes or affections in their integrity were unto their reaſonable ſouls. When he cometh into the World (as our Apoſtle interprets the * Pſalmiſt) he ſaith, *Sacrifice and offerings thou wouldſt not, but a body haſt thou prepared or fitted for me. In burnt offerings and ſacrifices for ſin thou hadſt no pleaſure: then ſaid I, loe, I come (in the volume of the book it is written of me) to do thy will O God.* This will of God accompliſhed through the ſacrifice of his Son, was that will of God, by which we are ſanctified, and if ſanctified, then juſtified; yet not juſtified without ſatiſfaction before made. Of the full meaning of this place, and of the true reconciliation of the Seventy Interpreters (whom the Apoſtle follows) with the Pſalmiſt or the Original, by Gods grace hereafter. Thus much is pertinent to our preſent purpoſe, that the body which the Son of God aſſumed to do that will of his Father, which could not be accompliſhed by any other ſacrifices (though numberleſs and endleſs) was a body fitted for all kinds of calamities and croſſes, which are incident unto mortality: a body more capable of pain, or deeper impreſſions from the violent occurrences of all externalls, which are natural; than any other mans body was, or had been. A body as it were moulded and organized of purpoſe to be animated or actuated with the ſpirit of obedience and all manner of patience in ſuffering, which can be required in a faithful ſervant. *Servants* (ſaith St. *Peter* *) *be obedient, &c. For this is thank-worthy, if a man for conſcience toward God endure grief, ſuffering wrongfully.* CHRIST JESUS, who was the pattern of all obedience required in ſervants, not only whilſt he was to deal with malicious unreaſonable men, but in the very ἀκμὴ of his Agony, (when his heart within him was become like melting wax through the vehemency of that fiery tryal) did ſet the faireſt copy of that obedience, which St. *Peter* requires ſhould be taken out (how rudely ſoever) by every ſervant of God, under his own hand. Even in this Agony when his mortal ſpirits did faint and languiſh, the ſpirit of obedience was much ſtronger in him, than the pulſe of pain and ſorrow. It did not intermit or abate when his pains and anguiſh did increaſe. *Being in Agony* (ſaith St. *Luke*) *he prayed more earneſtly, Luke* 22. 44. Theſe words I refer if not to the third, yet certainly to the ſecond paroxyſm of his Agony; one or more of which fits did wring blood from his ſacred body, being otherwiſe full of health. But moſt probable it is from St. *Lukes* relation, *Chap.* 22. *ver.* 44. that he ſweat blood both in the firſt and ſecond fit, and that in all the three he delivered his ſupplications θεὶς τὰ γόνατα *kneeling, or falling upon the ground.* The form of his

* 2. Sam. 24. 17.

* Pſal. 40. Heb. 10. 5, 6, 7.

* 1. Pet. 2. 18, 19.

Prayer, and manner of deportment in it (as was ſaid before) exhibite a true document or demonſtrative argument, that beſides his Divine Will, he had a will truly humane, a reaſonable will in that he did deſire, or deprecate the removal or aſſwagement of his preſent ſufferings, with greater fervency of ſpirit and devotion, than any Sons of *Adam* could deprecate the pains of Hell, if they ſhould be beſet with them, or feel their approach. And yet withal, he wholly ſubmits his humane body, ſoul, and will unto his Heavenly Fathers will, who by his conſent had free power to diſpoſe of them in life and death, as he pleaſed. Out of this fervent ſpirit of obedience conſecrated unto Gods ſervice by his moſt devout Prayers, he was delivered from the pains and terrors, which he both feared and felt in the Garden.

5. As for his Sacrifice upon the Croſs, albeit we ſubduct the worth of it in ſelf conſidered (which infinitely exceeds the worth of all other Sacrifices;) it was moſt properly, and moſt really the Sacrifice of a broken heart, or contrite ſpirit. For after his natural ſtrength was ſpent, and his bodily ſpirits diffuſed with his blood; he laſtly offers up his immortal ſpirit, his very ſoul unto his Father. *Father, into thy hands I commend my Spirit: and having ſaid thus he gave up the ghoſt*, Luke 23. 46. The ſpirit of obedience did not expire with bodily ſpirits, it did accompany his Soul into Paradiſe: it was put off with the form of a ſervant, but cloathed upon with glory and immortality. Shall we yet doubt, whether the Sacrifice upon the Croſs being offered out of ſuch unexpreſſible obedience, were fully ſufficient to make abundant ſatisfaction for all our diſobediences; albeit we ſhould ſubduct his obedience and patience in that grievous Agony in the Garden?

6. If any man be diſpoſed to move further doubt about this point; the Apoſtles authority, or rather his reaſon, will put the point out of queſtion, *Heb.* 9. 11, 12, 13, 14. *But Chriſt being come an High Prieſt of good things to come, by a greater and more perfect Tabernacle, not made with hands, that is to ſay, not of this building: Neither by the blood of Goats and Calves; but by his own blood he entred in once into the Holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us. For if the blood of Bulls and Goats, and the aſhes of an Heiſer ſprinkling the unclean, ſanctifieth to the purifying of the fleſh; how much more ſhall the blood of Chriſt, who through the eternal ſpirit, offered himſelf without ſpot to God, purge your conſciences from dead works, to ſerve the living God?* The form and manner of his diſpute in this paſſage, as in moſt others throughout this Epiſtle, is allegorical: but allegories in true Theology, always include arguments of proportion, and are as firm as any Geometrical or Mathematical demonſtration. The terms of proportion in this argument are eſpecially four. Firſt, Sins meerly Ceremonial, that is, ſuch errors and eſcapes as are evil, becauſe forbidden, not evil in themſelves. The 2. The remedy appointed for ſuch ſins, and that was the blood of Bulls and Goats, &c. The 3. Sins properly ſo called, that is, all offences or treſpaſſes againſt the Law of nature, or againſt the Law of God. Things not evil only becauſe forbidden, but rather forbidden becauſe evil in their own nature. The fourth term is, The Antidote or Preſervative againſt ſuch ſins, as in their nature poyſon our Souls: and this ſoveraign preſervative is only the blood of Chriſt. The Apoſtle takes it for granted, that the Sacrifice of Bulls and Goats were ſufficient to make ſatisfaction for ſins meerly ceremonial; and the blood available ſo far to ſanctifie the parties offending againſt

the Law of Ceremonies, as that they might be admitted into the Congregation, or ſtand *recti in curia*, after the ſacrifice was once offered. Of this Purification concerning the fleſh by the blood of ſuch ſacrifices, that which the Romaniſts ſay of the Sacraments of the New Teſtament, might be more probably ſaid; *Conferebant gratiam ex opere operato.* The Ceremonial ſin was taken away by a Ceremonial Offering. From this known maxim concerning the law of Ceremonies, or Legal Sacrifices St. *Paul* takes his *riſe* unto the high myſtery of the Goſpel, to wit, that the Offering which the Son of God did make upon the Croſs, was more ſufficient, as well for making full ſatisfaction unto God for all ſins committed againſt his Law, as for purifying the Conſcience of offenders from dead works: more effectual to make men partakers of the true Celeſtial Sanctuary, than the blood of Beaſts was for making them legally clean. Purification from ſin, or ſanctification always preſuppoſed full ſatisfaction for the ſins committed. To cleanſe men from ſins meerly Ceremonial, or to ſanctifie them according to the fleſh the bloody ſacrifice of bruit Beaſts was ſufficient, although they ſuffered no other pains than natural, albeit they felt no force, or aſſault of any agents, but meerly natural, much more is the blood of Chriſt, of force ſufficient not only to make a full atonement for us, but to cleanſe us from all ſins, although he ſuffered no pains ſupernatural, although he had ſuffered no force or impreſſion of any Agents more than natural. All this is but a branch of our Apoſtles inference. For albeit ſins committed againſt the Moral Law of God, do in a manner infinitely exceed ſins committed againſt the Law of Ceremonies only: yet are not the ſins of the one kind ſo much more hainous, than the ſins of the other, as the blood of Chriſt doth for vertue exceed the blood of Bulls and Goats. Nor is there that odds *of difference* betwixt ſins Moral, and ſins Ceremonial, which is between the Prieſts of the Law, and the High Prieſt of our Souls, the Son of God. And yet the main ground of our Apoſtles inference doth not ſimply conſiſt in the ſuper-excellency of the High Prieſt of our Souls, or of the Sacrifice which he offered, in compariſon with legal Prieſts and their Sacrifices, but withal in the admirable Union of our High Prieſt and his Sacrifice. For admit it as poſſible, firſt, that there might have been ſome matter of Sacrifice, as pure and ſpotleſs, as the body of our Saviour; more pure and glorious than the Angelical ſubſtances: Secondly, That this pure and ſpotleſs ſacrifice had been offered by a Prieſt for dignity equal to the Son of God (as by the Holy Ghoſt the third Perſon in Trinity:) yet his offering or ſervice could not have been ſo acceptable unto God, as our Saviours Offering or ſervice was; becauſe the infinite worth of the Prieſt or Perſon ſacrificing, could not in this caſe have conferred any worth or vertue truly infinite upon the Sacrifice or Offering made by him, though as Holy and Glorious as any Created ſubſtance can be; unleſs it had been ſo perſonally united to him, that in offering it, he had offered himſelf, as our Saviour did. This is the main ſtem, or rather the root of our Apoſtles emphatical inference or ſurplus in the forecited place. *How much more ſhall the blood of Chriſt, who through the eternal Spirit offered himſelf without ſpot to God, purge your Conſcience from dead works to ſerve the living God.*

7. Anſwerable to this hypoſtatical or perſonal Union between our High Prieſt and his Sacrifice, was that Union between his obedience to his Father, and his Mercy and Compaſſion towards Men. Obedience,

ence, Mercy, and Sacrifice were ſo united in his Offering, as they never had been before his own death was the internal effect of his mercy towards us, and obedience to his Father the period of his humiliation of himſelf: *He humbled himſelf and became obedient unto death, even unto the death of the Croſs.* That we know, was a cruel and ſervile Death; but no part of the ſecond death, not charged with the pains of Hell: otherwiſe our Apoſtle would have mentioned them, as the accompliſhment of his obedience, or of his ſervice; which, without them did exceed the very abſtract or pattern, either of ſervice or obedience. *Quid eſt ſervitus, niſi obedientia animi fracti, & arbitrio carentis ſuo? Servitude* (ſaith * *Tully*) *is nothing elſe but the obedience of a broken or dejected mind, utterly deprived of all power or right to diſpoſe of it ſelf*, or of its actions. It is indeed dejection of mind, a broken eſtate, or baſeneſs of condition; which make men willing to become ſervants unto others, or inforceth them to reſign all their right and power unto their Maſters Will. But it was no dejection of mind, no want of any thing in Heaven or Earth, but only the abundance of mercy and compaſſion towards us miſerable men, which moved the Son of God to renounce this World before he came into it, and to deprive himſelf of all that right and intereſt, which every other man hath over his own body and ſoul, by voluntary reſignation of his entire humane nature unto the ſole diſpoſing of his Father. Other ſervants were obedient unto their Lords upon neceſſity, or dejection of mind: he voluntarily became a ſervant to his Father, that he might accompliſh the office of a ſervant in the ſacrifice of a broken and contrite ſpirit. This was the internal effect of his ſervice and obedience, and this ſacrifice thus offered was all-ſufficient to make ſatisfaction for all the diſobedience of men; for the ſins of ten thouſand Worlds of men.

* *In his Paradoxes.*

CHAP. XIV.

That our Saviour in his Agony (at leaſt) did ſuffer pains more than natural, though not the pains of Hell or Helliſh pains: That the ſuffering of ſuch pains was not required for making ſatisfaction for our ſins, but for his Conqueſt over Satan.

1. BUT albeit the bloody ſacrifice of the Son of God were, as God himſelf is, all-ſufficient to theſe purpoſes; may we hence collect that he ſuffered no pains more than natural, or of no other kind than his Martyrs, Apoſtles, or Prophets have done? God forbid. Between pains natural and the pains of Hell, there is a mean; to wit, pains altogether ſupernatural in reſpect of the Agent, and ſomeways more than natural in reſpect of the Patient: and ſuch pains out of all queſtion the Son of God did ſuffer in the Garden, though not upon the Croſs. Nor were theſe his ſufferings ſuperfluous, though no way neceſſary for paying the full ranſome or price of mans Redemption or reconciliation unto God. Moſt expedient they were, if not neceſſary to other purpoſes: As *firſt*, for his abſolute Conqueſt over Satan. *Secondly*, For his Conſecration to his Everlaſting Prieſthood.

hood. Of his conflict with Satan in the Garden (a place ſutable to that wherein he had conquered our firſt Parents,) *Jobs* ſecond temptation was the type or ſhadow. His Father expoſed him to the ſecond temptation, as he had unto the firſt temptation in the Wilderneſs, and permitted Satan to exerciſe the utmoſt of his power againſt him: only over his ſoul or life he had no power. Theſe were taken from him by the malice of men, and by the death of the Croſs, not by the immediate power of Satan. That the conflict in the Garden was extraordinary; that in this hour the decretory Battel betwixt the old Serpent and the Womans Seed was to be fought (at leaſt the brunt of it;) the letter of the Scripture is to my apprehenſion very plain: As firſt from that ſpeech of our Saviours after his *Maundy*, *Joh.* 15. 13. *Hereafter I will not talk much with you: for the Prince of this World cometh:* with greater violence ſurely than at any time before had been permitted him to uſe. For our Saviour uttered theſe words immediately after Satan had entred into *Judas*: at which time his Commiſſion to enter the liſts with the holy ſeed of the woman was firſt to be put in execution. It hath always ſeemed to me a myſtery or ſecret, whereof no reaſon can be given in nature, how Satan gains greater power of doing miſchiefs and harms to men by ſecret compact with others of their own nature, as with Witches, or other of his own worſhippers; than is permitted him to uſe by his own immediate power or ſtrength. *Judas*, though he was no Witch, yet was he a Worſhipper of Satan, one who had made *Mammon* his God, for whoſe ſervice he had reſolved to betray his Maſter into the hands of his Enemies. It is pregnant again from that ſaying of our Saviour immediately upon the ceſſation or intermiſſion of his Agony and bloody ſweat, that Satans aſſaults were at this time extraordinary; *When I was daily with you in the Temple, you ſtretched out no hand againſt me: ſed hæc eſt hora veſtra, & poteſtas tenebrarum, But this is your hour, and the hour appointed for the powers of darkneſs to try their ſtrength againſt me.* But after they could get no advantage of him by grapling with him in the Garden, being not able to move him to the leaſt ſignification of any impatience, or overture of diſcontent, as Satan had done *Job* in his ſecond temptation; they leave him unto the malice of his mortal Enemies, being aſſured they ſhould get advantage enough over their Souls, and prevalently tempt them to cruelty and hatred towards this holy One, more than natural. The hour of his terrible combat with Satan was but newly expiring, when thus he ſpake to the Chief Prieſts and Elders. And howbeit this word *hour* ſometimes imports more than an hour (as we ſay) by the Clock, ſome larger indefinite time or ſeaſon: yet that in the forecited place it is to be taken for a juſt hour, and no more, many circumſtances of the Text perſwade me: (this eſpecially) when he ſaith to his Diſciples, *Could ye not watch with me one hour?* As if he had ſaid, Of all the time that I have been with you, this was the only hour, wherein your watchfulneſs and attendance on me had been on your parts moſt requiſite, and to me moſt acceptable. And the effect of his Petition as St. *Mark* * expreſſeth it, was thus, *that if it were poſſible the hour might paſs from him.* This was the hour wherein he taſted the bitter Cup, whoſe preſent bitterneſs upon his Prayer was, if not altogether taken away, yet aſſwaged; and the hour it ſelf, wherein he was to taſt of it, perhaps ſhortned.

2. This conflict with Satan, and the iſſue of it, our Saviour appre-

* Mark 14.35.

hended at his triumphant ingreſs into *Jeruſalem*, immediately after his future glorification was avouched by a voice from Heaven, three days before he entred into his Agony. *Now is my Soul troubled, and what ſhall I ſay? Father, ſave me from this hour: but for this cauſe came I unto this hour. Father, glorifie thy Name. Then came there a voice from Heaven, ſaying, I have both glorified it, and will glorifie it again,* &c. *Now is the judgment of this world: now ſhall the Prince of this world be caſt out. And I, if I be lift up from the earth, will draw all men unto me*, John 12. 27, 28, &c. In what ſenſe, or how far the world at this time was judged, exhibits plentiful matter of controverſe Divinity, not immediately emergent from the poſitive points of Divinity now in hand. And for this cauſe I muſt requeſt the Ingenuous Reader for the preſent to take a matter which before was propoſed, into deeper conſideration. The point is briefly this; Our firſt Parents in the ſelf ſame fact by which they became rebellious, *ipſo jure*, committing high treaſon againſt their God and Creator, did ſubject themſelves, and their Poſterity, unto the Tyrannical Dominion of Satan. His vaſſals and ſlaves, all of us were by right moſt ſoveraign amongſt the Sons of men, by right of conqueſt in Duel. Now albeit the Conquerour was a Traytor and Rebel againſt God; although he did firſt commit, or at leaſt accompliſh this his rebellion and treaſon, by withdrawing our firſt Parents from that allegiance and obedience, which by law of nature, they and we ought perpetually to have born unto our Maker: Yet ſo obſervant of all rules of equity and juſt form of proceedings, was he who is goodneſs, equity, and juſtice it ſelf; that unto Satan the profeſſed Rebel againſt him, and implacable Enemy towards man, he did vouchſafe the benefit of the Law of Arms or Duel. Now ſeeing Satan, being not Omnipotent, but of power, force, and ſubtilty limited, had thus ſubdued our firſt Parents, whom their Creator had endowed with freedom and power, ſufficient to diſpoſe of their actions for the future good of themſelves, and their Poſterity: his gracious goodneſs would not take us out of this Rebels hands, by the Omnipotent Power, or irreſiſtible force of his Godhead. Man being conquered by his ſometimes fellow-creature, was in the wiſdom of Divine equity, to be reſcued from this bondage by a Creature, by a man of the ſame nature and ſubſtance, ſubject to all the infirmities (ſin excepted) to which we are ſubject: as taking his ſubſtance from that man whom Satan had conquered. As Satan did not appear in his own ſhape or likeneſs, when he ſubdued our firſt Parents (for ſo no queſtion they would have been more wary to have cloſed with him;) but diſguiſed in the ſimilitude of a Serpent, which was a Creature more ſubtle than all the beaſts of the field, yet a Creature every way far inferiour to man: So the Son of God did not enter this combat with Satan in the glory and ſtrength of his Godhead, but in his God-head as it were diſguiſed or clothed upon with the true nature and ſubſtance of man, and of a man whom Satan upon tryal before, had known to be throughly ſubject to the infirmities of mortality. Otherwiſe he had more wit, than to have entred the liſts with him in the ſecond conflict.

3. How much dearer this conflict with Satan coſt our Saviour, than *Jobs* ſecond temptation coſt him; *he* only knows, and this knowledge he learned by patience and obedience in ſuffering theſe pains of what kind ſoever they were. The ancient Greek Liturgies expreſs them beſt by *ἀγνωστὰ παθήματα, the unknown ſufferings.* Such, I take it, as no

man in this life,beſides our Saviour alone did ſuffer, nor ſhall ever any man ſuffer the like in the life to come,in which, the pains of Hell ſhall be too well known unto many.But that our Saviour in this life ſhould ſuffer ſuch pains is incredible : for this being granted the powers of darkneſs had prevailed more againſt him, than Satan did againſt *Job.* For the actual ſuffering ſuch pains,includes more than a taſte,a draught of the ſecond death, unto which no man is ſubject, before he dye the firſt death: nor was it poſſible that our Saviour ſhould ever taſte them either dying or living, or after death. This error, it ſeems, hath ſurprized ſome (otherways good Divines) through incogitancy, or want of ſkill in Philoſophy. For by the un-erring rules of true Philoſophy, the nature,quality,or meaſure of pains muſt be taken, not ſo much from the force or violence of the Agent, as from the condition or temper of the Patient: *Actus agentium ſunt in patiente rite diſpoſito.* The fire hath not the ſame operation upon Gold, as it hath upon Lead; nor the ſame upon green Wood, which it hath on dry. Or if a man ſhould deal his blows with an even hand between one ſound of body, and of ſtrong bones; and another ſickly, craſie, or wounded: the pains though iſſuing from the equality of the blows, would be moſt unequal. That which would hardly put the one to any pain at all, might drive the other into the very pangs of death. *Goliah* did look as big, did ſpeak as roughly, and every way behave himſelf as ſternly againſt little *David,* as he had againſt *Saul,* and the whole Hoſt of *Iſrael:* Yet his preſence, though in it ſelf terrible, did make no ſuch impreſſion of terror upon *David,* as it had done upon *Saul,* and the ſtouteſt Champions in his Hoſt. And the reaſon why it did not, was, becauſe *David* was armed with the ſhield of Faith, and confidence in the Lord his God; a ſecret Armour which was not then to be found in all the Kingdom of *Iſrael* beſides. But a far greater than *Goliah,* aſſociated and ſeconded with a far greater Hoſt, both for number and ſtrength, than the *Philiſtines* in *Davids* time were able to make; more maliciouſly bent againſt the whole race of *Adam,* than the *Philiſtines* at this, or any other time, were againſt the Seed of *Abraham,* was now in field. And all of us are bound to praiſe our gracious God, that in that hour we had a Son of *David,* far greater than his Father, to ſtand between us, and the brunt of the battel then pitched againſt us. For if all mankind from the Eaſt unto the Weſt, which have lived on Earth ſince our Father *Adam's* fall unto this preſent time, or ſhall continue unto all future Generations, had been then muſtred together, all of us would have fled more ſwiftly, and more confuſedly from the fight or preſence of this great Champion for the powers of darkneſs, than the Hoſt of *Iſrael* did from the Champion of the *Philiſtines,* when he bid a defiance unto them. All of us had been routed at the firſt encounter without any ſlaughter, been committed alive to perpetual ſlavery and impriſonment. But did this Son of *David* obtain victory in this Duel with the Champion for the powers of darkneſs,at as eaſie a rate as his Father *David* had done over *Goliah?* No: If we ſtretch the ſimilitude thus far, we ſhall diſſolve the ſweet harmony between the Type and the Antitype. The conqueſt which the Son of *David* had over Satan and the powers of darkneſs (whether in the Garden, or upon the Croſs) was more glorious than that which *David* had over *Goliah,* or *Iſrael* over the *Philiſtines. David* was Maſter of the field, *ſine ſanguine & ſudore multo,* without blood, or much ſweat. The Son of *David* did ſweat much blood before he foiled his potent Adverſary. And the preſent queſtion is not about the meaſure, but about the nature and quality of the pains which the Son of *David* in this long combat ſuffered, in reſpect of the pains which *David*, or any other in the behalf of Gods people had ſuffered. As the glory of our Saviour Chriſt is now much greater, than the glory of all his Saints, which have been, or ſhall be hereafter: ſo no doubt his ſufferings did far exceed the ſufferings of all his Martyrs. But all this, and much more being granted, will not infer that he ſuffered either the pains of Hell, or helliſh pains, (*pœnas infernales, aut pœnas inferorum:*) ſuch pains as the power of darkneſs, in that hour of extraordinary temptation had caſt all mankind into, unleſs the Son of *David* had ſtood in the breach. Admit the old Serpent had been in that hour permitted to *exert* his ſting with all the might and malice he could, againſt the promiſed womans Seed, that is, the manhood of the Son of God: yet ſeeing (as the Apoſtle ſaith) the ſting of death is ſin (not imputed, but inherent) it was impoſſible that the ſtinging pains of the ſecond death, ſhould faſten upon his body or ſoul, in whom there was neither ſeed nor relick, neither root or branch of ſin. Or again, admit Hell fire (whether material, or immaterial) be of a more violent malignant quality, than any material fire which we know, in what ſubject ſoever it be ſeated, is; and that the powers of darkneſs, with their entire and joint force had liberty to environ, or begirt the Son of God with this fire, or any other inſtruments of greater torture, which they are enabled or permitted to uſe: yet ſeeing there was no fuel either in his ſoul or body, whereon this fire could feed; no pains could be produced in him for nature or quality truly helliſh, or ſuch as the damned ſuffer. For theſe are ſupernatural, or more than ſo, not only in reſpect of the Agents or Cauſes which produce them, but in reſpect of the Subject which endures them. Satan finds always ſomething in them, which he arms againſt them; ſome inherent internal corruption, which he exaſperates to greater malignity, than any external force or violence could effect in any creature not tainted with ſuch internal corruption, from which the promiſed womans Seed was more free, than his Crucified body was from putrifaction. The Prince of darkneſs and this world could find nothing which he could exaſperate or arm againſt him.

4. In reſpect of Divine Juſtice, or of thoſe eternal rules of equity which the Omnipotent Creator doth moſt ſtrictly obſerve; it was not expedient only, but neceſſary, that the Son of God ſhould in our fleſh vanquiſh Satan, and vanquiſh him by ſuffering evils, even all the evils incident to our mortal nature. There was no neceſſity, no congruity that the Son of God ſhould vanquiſh this great Enemy of mankind, by ſuffering the very pains of Hell, or helliſh torments. Theſe properly taken, or when they are ſuffered in kind, are the proper fruits and neceſſary effects of Satans victory over ſinners; the final wages of ſins unrepented of, or not actually expiated by the blood of our Redeemer. In all other tribulations, diſtreſſes, or perſecutions, which are not the wages of ſin, We are (as our Apoſtle ſaith, *Rom.* 8.35.37.) *more than Conquerors through him that loved us*, if ſo we endure them with patience. But how more than Conquerors in theſe which are in themſelves evil and diſtaſtful to our nature? Therefore more than Conquerors, becauſe theſe afflictions ſuffered with patience, do teſtifie our conformity to the Son of God in his

moſt grievous ſufferings: and the diſſolution of the works of Satan in us, doth ſeal unto our Souls a full acquittance from Hell pains, from which, queſtionleſs our High Prieſt was free in that great combate with Satan and his Infernal Powers. Otherwiſe, he had not been full Conquerour over Hell and the ſecond death, which is no other than the pains of Hell, or helliſh Torments. Nor could the ſufferings of ſuch torments be any part of the Son of Gods qualification for diſſolving thoſe works of Satan, which cannot be diſſolved but by the exerciſe of his everlaſting Prieſthood, which was the laſt end, or final cauſe of his ſufferings, or conſecration by afflictions.

CHAP. XV.

Chriſts ſuffering of the unknown pains, or of pains greater than ever any of his Martyrs or others in this life have ſuffered, requiſite for his qualification, as he was to become the High Prieſt of our Souls.

1. THE Son of God was to ſuffer all the afflictions, which we in this world can ſuffer, in a far higher degree than we can ſuffer them: to be more ſtrongly tempted by all the means by which we are tempted unto ſin, whether by fear of evil, or by hope of things good and pleaſant unto nature; that he might (even to our apprehenſion) be a more faithful and merciful High Prieſt in things concerning God, than ever any before him had been, or can be. But Satan, we know, tempteth no man in this life unto ſin, either with the fear or ſufferings of any evil or vexations, whereof our mortality can have no experience. He labours to withdraw no man from Gods ſervice by giving them any taſte or touch of the pains prepared for the damned in the life to come. Such as are in the deepeſt bonds of thraldom to him, would quickly abandon his ſervice, if he ſhould tender them ſuch a true ſymbole or earneſt of their everlaſting wages, or ſuch a momentany taſte of Hell pains, as the Spirit of God in this life, exhibiteth to ſome of his Children of their everlaſting joys. And it is queſtionable whether our nature, whilſt mortal, be capable of ſuch pains, or whether the firſt touch or real impreſſion of them, would not diſſolve the link or bond between mans mortal body, and his immortal ſoul in a moment. For as *fleſh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God*, but *this mortal muſt put on immortality*, ere we can be partakers of Celeſtial joys: ſo it is probable that our corruptible bodies muſt be made in another kind incorruptible, before they can be the proper ſubjects or receptacles of Hell pains. But though no man in this life be tempted to ill, or withdrawn from the ſervice of God, by ſufferance of ſuch pains; yet in as much as many are oft times tempted to deſpair of Gods mercies, by the *unknown* terrors of Hell, or repreſentations of infernal forces: there is no queſtion but the Son of God, not in his Divine Wiſdom only, by which he knoweth all things, but even as man, had a more diſtinct view of all the forces, and terrors of Hell, more full experience of their active force and attempts, than any man in this life can have; to the end, that he might be a faithful Comforter of all ſuch unto the

worlds end, as ſhall be affrighted or attempted with them. If we conſider then only the attempt, aſſault, or active force by which Satan ſeeketh to withdraw us from God unto his ſervice, not the iſſue or impreſſion which his attempts make upon us ſinful men: there was no kind of temptation whereto the Son of God was not ſubject, whereto he did not ſubmit himſelf for our ſakes, that he might have full experience, or perfect notice as man, of all the dangers whereunto we are obnoxious. By that which was done againſt the green tree he knoweth, what will become of the dry, if it be expoſed to the like fiery tryal. It was requiſite that this great Captain of Gods warfare with Satan, and of our Salvation, ſhould have a perfect view of all the forces which fight againſt us; that he might be a faithful Solicitor to his Almighty Father for aid, and ſuccour unto all that are beſet with them, unto all that offer up ſtrong cries unto him, as he in the days of his fleſh did unto his Father, and was ſaved from that which he feared.

2. The greateſt comfort which any poor diſtreſſed mortal man can expect, or which our nature is capable of in oppreſſion and diſtreſs, muſt iſſue from this main Fountain of our Saviours Agony and bloody ſweat, of his Croſs and Paſſion. For whatſoever he ſuffered in thoſe two bitter days, he ſuffered, if not for this end alone, yet for this eſpecially, that he might be an All-ſufficient Comforter unto all ſuch as mourn; as having ſometimes had more than a fellow feeling of all our infirmities and vexations, as one who had taſted deeper of the Cup of ſorrow and death it ſelf, than any man before him had done, or to the Worlds end ſhall do. It would be a great Comfort to ſuch as have ſuffered Shipwrack, to have an Admiral, a Diſpenſer of Alms unto Sea-faring men, who had ſometimes ſuffered Shipwrack, or after Shipwrack had been wronged by his Neighbours or Natives. And ſo, it would be to a man eaten out of his eſtate by uſury or vexations in Law, to have a Judge or Chancellor who had been both ways more grievouſly wronged; a juſt, or upright man, whoſe heart would melt with the fellow-feeling of his calamities. Experience of bodily pains or grievous diſeaſes inclineth the Chirurgion or Phyſician to be more compaſſionate to their Patients, and more tender of their well-fare than otherwiſe they would be. And for theſe reaſons, ever ſince I took them into conſideration, and as often as I reſume the meditations of our Saviours Death, I have ever wondred and ſtill do wonder at the peeviſhneſs, or rather pathetical prophaneneſs of men, who ſcoff at thoſe ſacred paſſages in our Liturgy, *By thy Agony and bloody ſweat, by thy Croſs and Paſſion, &c. Good Lord deliver us*; as if they had more alliance with ſpells, or *forms* of conjuring, than with the ſpirit of Prayer or true Devotion. Certainly they could never have fallen into ſuch irreverent and uncharitable quarrels with the Church our Mother, unleſs they had firſt fallen out, and that fouly with *Pater noſter*, with the Lords Prayer, the Creed, and the ten Commandments. For I dare undertake to make good that there is not either branch or fruit, bloſſom or leaf in that ſacred Garden of devotions which doth not naturally ſpring and draw its life and nouriſhment from one or other of the three former roots, to wit, from the Lords Prayer, or from the Creed ſet Prayer wiſe, or from the ten Commandments. And he that is diſpoſed to read that moſt Divine part of our Liturgy with a ſober mind and dutiful reſpect, ſhall find not only more pure devotion, but more profound Orthodoxal Divinity both for matter and

form, than can be found in all the Engliſh Writers which have either carped or nibled at it. Not one Ejaculation is there in it, which hath the leaſt reliſh of that leaven, wherewith their prolix extemporary devotions who diſtaſte it, are for the moſt part deeply ſowred. But here I had ended my Treatiſe of the qualification and undertakings of the Son of God for diſſolving the works of Satan, had not a new *Quære* preſented it ſelf to my meditations in the latter end of theſe diſquiſitions; and the *Quære*, is this:

3. Why our Saviour in his Agony, or his other ſufferings upon the Croſs ſhould not tender his petitions unto God in the ſame form or tenor wherein the Pſalmiſts or other holy men which were types or figures of him in his ſufferings, had done theirs in their anguiſh or diſtreſs; or in the ſame form which he once, and no oftner than once did uſe upon the Croſs, *My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me?* The ancient ſtile of Prayer uſed by Gods Servants or Ambaſſadours, as well in their humble ſupplications, as in their gratulatory Hymns, but eſpecially in their fervent and pathetical Ejaculations for deliverance from preſent dread or danger, was יְהֹוָה אֲדֹנָי or יְהֹוָה אֱלֹהַי *my God, and my Lord*; or *my Lord, and my God.* Beſides the obſervations before made to this purpoſe out of [c] *Maſius*, or rather out of the Liturgy of the Ancient Jews avouched by him, and of the Primitive Church (well obſerved by *Faber*) many paſſages in the Pſalms which did reſpectively both fore-picture and foretel his Agony and ſufferings upon the Croſs, are moſt pregnant. Of the ingratitude of his people toward him, of the indignities and cruelties done unto him by the Jews; no Pſalmiſt (the Author of 22. only excepted) hath a more lively punctual repreſentation, than that which is *Pſal.* 35. and 38. 40. *David* in the very ἀκμὴ or *paroxyſm* of the grievances which he ſuffered from ſuch of *Sauls* followers as he had well deſerved of, delivereth his Petition in this form: *Avenge thou my cauſe, my God and my Lord*, Pſal. 35. 23. *Judge me according to thy righteouſneſs, O* JEHOVAH, *my Lord*, Pſal. 35. 24. and 38. 16. (whether *David* or ſome other were the Author of it) *Quia ad te expecto, tu reſpondebis Domine, Deus mi.* And again, *Pſal.* 40. 6. *Multa feciſti tu* JEHOVAH, *Deus meus, &c.*

[c] *The ſeventh Book of theſe Commentaries upon the* Creed, *chap.* 36. *par.* 3, 4, *&c.*

ואדני
אֱלֹהַי

אֱלֹהַי
יְהֹוָה

אֲדֹנָי
אֱלֹהַי

4. But when the hour was come wherein all theſe Prophetical Ejaculations of the Pſalmiſts were to be exactly fulfilled in our Saviour Chriſt: and by him, he prefers his ſupplications *ſtilo novo, in a form or ſtile* unuſual before, but familiar and uſual to him when his paſſion and death drew nigh, as *Joh.* 12. *Father, (not Lord God) what ſhall I ſay? ſave me from this hour, &c.* And *Joh.* 17. *Father glorifie me, &c.* He uſed the ſame form in his Agony thrice, Father, if it be poſſible, let this Cup paſs from me. And in the laſt words, which he uttered in the form of a ſervant, he ſaid not, My God, my God, or my Lord God; But Father into thy hands I commend my ſpirit. This variation between this moſt faithful Servant of God and other holy men, Gods faithful ſervants, in the form of their ſupplications or gratulatory Ejaculations conceived and uttered upon the like occaſions, ſuggeſts thus much unto us (if I miſtake not) that of all Gods ſervants or holy men, the Man *CHRIST JESUS* only was his true Son not by adoption as others were, and we now are, but his Son by right of inheritance; and yet being ſuch a Son, was for a time as truly his Servant, as his Son. He who always had been יְהֹוָה אֲדֹנָי:

or God the Lord: He whoſe title it was to hear his peoples Prayers, and unto whom all fleſh ſhall come, *Pſal.* 65. 2. doth now tender his Prayer, not to יְהוָה אֲרֹנָי not unto אֱלֹהַי יְהוָה for that had been to prefer a Petition unto himſelf, whereas he was now to prefer his Petition unto his Father whoſe Servant he now was as man, but did not thereby ceaſe to be as truly his Son. Had he been his Son by Creation only, or in reſpect of the admirable integrity and ſuper-excellency of his performances as man; he had doubtleſs tendred his Petitions in the ſame ſtile or form, which other godly men, and Gods faithful Servants before had uſed, though much better than they did. But however he was the Servant of God after a more peculiar manner than any other had been; yet he preſents his ſupplications in ſuch a ſtile as hath relation to himſelf, rather as he was a Son than as a Servant. The eternal Son of God was the party ſupplicant unto the Eternal Father for his mortal ſervant. For he was a ſervant only according to his humane nature, and according to that only as it was mortal, whereas he ſtill remaineth Mediator betwixt God and Man, not as Man only, much leſs as a mortal man, but according to his Eternal Perſon, and his immortal manhood. This his manhood is now dignified with the real and actual title of Lord. He was our Lord and Mediator before he aſſumed our fleſh into the unity of his Perſon: but then Mediator according to his Divine Perſon, or as God only. When he is inſtiled by the Prophets יְהוָה אֲרֹנָי or God the Lord, this latter title was *more Prophetical, than Hiſtorical,* and did import as much as that he, who was then *Jehovah* our God, at the time appointed ſhould come to be our Lord by peculiar right of dominion purchaſed by his ſufferings for our redemption. And for this reaſon I take it, his Apoſtle *Thomas* being convinced of incredulity unto the report of his reſurrection, ſupplicates to him for pardon in the ſame ſtile or form, as the *Pſalmiſt* and other godly men had done in their diſtreſs; *My Lord, and my God,* * which is the full and punctual expreſſion of יְהוָה אֲרֹנָי or, יְהוָה אֱלֹהַי For now he was not only *ſpe*, but *re*, become both Lord and Chriſt.

* Joh. 20. 28.

SECT.

SECTION III.

Of the Harmonical parallel between the Predictions or Types of the Old Teſtament, and the Evangelical Relations, concerning our Saviours Triumphant coming unto *Jeruſalem*, and of his Entertainment there, until the Inſtitution of his Supper.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the King of Sions *coming to* Jeruſalem, *and how the manner of his coming was for circumſtance of time, prefigured by the Law or right of the Paſchal Lamb; and for other circumſtances, expreſly fore-told by the Prophet* Zachary.

1. AN Apoſtle hath ſaid it, and we muſt believe him, that our Saviour Chriſt was, *Agnus occiſus ab origine mundi*; *the Lamb ſlain from the beginning of the world.* and other Scriptures abundantly teſtifie, that he was to be ſlaughtered in time, to the end that he might take away the ſins of the world. About the indefinite or illimited truth of both theſe Propoſitions, there is no controverſie amongſt good Chriſtians. The limitation notwithſtanding of both theſe undoubted truths require ſome further diſquiſition; the limitation of the latter a larger Treatiſe: The main *Quere* concerning the former is briefly this. [From what beginning of the world our Saviour is ſaid to be, *Agnus occiſus, the Lamb ſlain,*] as whether from the firſt beginning of time, or from the firſt day of the Creation. To ſtretch the beginning of the world thus far, is more than the rules of true Theology will warrant. For it was neither neceſſary or expedient, that the Son of God ſhould be ſlain, or that any bloody Sacrifice ſhould have been offered, if our firſt Parents had preſerved or retained their original integrity. By the beginning of the world, then in our Apoſtles meaning, we are, I take it, to underſtand the ſinful world, as it is coeval or confederate with the fleſh, or the firſt entrance of ſin into it, or rather into our nature. From the fall of our firſt Parents, at leaſt from their convention before their Almighty Judge and Creator; the Son of God was firſt deſtinated, and afterwards conſecrated to be the Lamb of God, which was to take away the ſins of the world. And of his death and paſſion, or other undertakings to this purpoſe, as well the Sacrifice which Righteous *Abel* offered out of the flock, as the bloody Sacrifice of himſelf, being

butchered by his ungracious Brother *Cain*, were true types or ſhadows. So was the Paſchal Lamb, which was ſolemnly offered every year, once in token, afterwards in memory of the *Iſraelites* miraculous delivery out of *Ægypt*. The firſt inſtitution, and obſervance of this ſolemnity, was given as a pledge or aſſurance unto Gods choſen people, that the deſtroyer ſhould not hurt one of them, when he ſmote all the firſt born of *Ægypt*, both of Man and Beaſt. The ſame ſolemnity was afterwards continued in memory of that mighty deliverance, which *Iſrael* had from *Pharaoh* and his Hoſt. Howbeit even this miraculous deliverance was but a ſhadow or typical aſſurance of that great deliverance which the Son of God in our fleſh, and all Gods people, in him and by him, had from the powers of Hell and darkneſs, in that great Paſſover, wherein this true Lamb of God predeſtinated to this purpoſe from the beginning of this World, was actually conſecrated and ſolemnly upon his Conſecration; offered.

2. A queſtion there is, but ſoberly handled by ſome good ſacred Antiquaries; whether the Law of the Paſchal Lamb delivered by *Moſes*, were to be ſolemnized according to all the rites and circumſtances, which were enjoined, and punctually to be obſerved at the time of *Iſraels* departure out of *Ægypt*. One branch of this Law it was, that every Houſhold which was capable of eating it, ſhould take it from the flock four days before the offering of it. This ſeparation was his Conſecration, and this rite or ceremony, as ſome good Writers tell us, was obſerved throughout the Generations, if not in the Lambs offered by every private Family, yet in the Lamb deſigned or choſen for the publick ſacrifice in that great Feſtival, which was brought into the City four days before the offering of it, with great pomp and ſolemnity. But be it that the ſolemnity of bringing the Lamb four days before the Paſſover, was to be obſerved only in *Ægypt:* this will no way impair the ſweet harmony between the Legal Type and the Evangelical myſtery; but rather give it a better luſtre: For that Paſſover which was celebrated in *Ægypt* was the moſt illuſtrious peculiar Type of this great Paſſover, wherein the Son of God was ſacrificed for the ſins of the World. Other ſucceeding legal Paſſovers were but remembrances of that great deliverance whereof the firſt Paſſover in *Ægypt* was the pledge, or pre-aſſurance. And we in like ſort were once for all delivered from the powers of Hell and darkneſs, by the viſible blood of the new Covenant; of which deliverance, we are more ſtrictly enjoined to continue a memorial, until our Mediator and Redeemer come to Judgment. Now to declare unto the World, that *JESUS* the Son of God and of *David*, was the Lamb of God ordained from the beginning of the World to effect this mighty deliverance, and to fulfill the myſteries fore-pictured by the Paſſover in *Ægypt*; He came unto *Jeruſalem* (the place appointed for this and other grand Feſtivalls) four days before the Paſſover wherein he was ſacrificed, and was brought in with greater Pomp and Solemnity, than any Paſchal Lamb, than any Prince of *Judah* at any time before had been. His attendants were more, and their reſpects and ſalutations tendered in more ſubmiſſive manner, and the titles given to him much loftier than either *David* his Father, or *Solomon* in all his Royalty had been accuſtomed unto. The Hiſtory of his coming is very remarkable of it ſelf, and the circumſtances as they are variouſly related (yet without claſhing or contradiction,) by all the four Evangeliſts, moſt conſiderable.

3. For the circumſtance of time, which was four days before the Paſsover, that is determinately and punctually ſet down by two Evangeliſts, and may be evidently inferred out of all four. The ſpecial occaſions of a great concourſe of people out of ſeveral Nations or Provinces, which at this laſt Paſsover did expect his coming, or went out of *Jeruſalem* to meet him or wait upon him, after another guiſe, than at any the three former Paſsovers ſince his Baptiſm had been ſeen; are moſt fully expreſt by St. *John Chap.* 11. *ver.* 45. *Then many of the Jews which came to* Mary, *and had ſeen the things which* Jeſus *did, believed on him. But ſome of them went their ways to the Phariſees and told them what things* Jeſus *had done.* John 12. 9, 17, 18. *Much people of the Jews knew therefore that he was there; and they came, not for* Jeſus *ſake only, but that they might ſee* Lazarus *alſo, whom he had raiſed from the dead. The people therefore that was with him, when he called* Lazarus *out of his Grave, and raiſed him from the dead, bare record. For this cauſe alſo the people met him, for that they had heard, that he had done this miracle, &c.* The Original occaſion of this great concourſe, as appears in theſe paſſages, was the irrefragable teſtimony of his raiſing *Lazarus* from the Grave, wherein he had laid four days. The ſpecial occaſions which moved the whole multitude of his Diſciples (that is ſuch as for the preſent did believe in him) to entertain, and did occaſion others to entertain him with thoſe extraordinary acclamations, or other expreſſions of joy and exultation, (recorded by all the Evangeliſts) are moſt punctually expreſſed by St. *Luke, Chap.* 19. *ver.* 37, 38. *And when he was come nigh, even now at the deſcent of the Mount of Olives, the whole multitude of the Diſciples began to rejoice, and praiſe God with a loud voice, for all the mighty works that they had ſeen, ſaying, Bleſſed be the King that cometh in the Name of the Lord, peace in Heaven, and glory in the Higheſt.* Theſe acclamations of his followers and Diſciples were ſo loud, and their exultation (in ſuch ſiniſter conſtruction, as *Michal* made of *Davids* dancing before the Ark) ſo laviſh, that they exaſperated the Phariſees (who were but a ſmall part of the multitude, who did attend or obſerve his approach,) unto more uncivil behaviour towards this their King, than *Michal* did uſe towards *David* her Lord and Huſband. *Luke* 19. 39. *And ſome of the Phariſees from among the multitude ſaid unto him, Maſter, rebuke thy Diſciples:* As if they had ſaid, Thy Diſciples play the Fools: and unleſs thou inhibit their folly, they will make thee a laughing ſtock to wiſe men. But his reply unto them for this their advice, though for terms and language, more mild and gentle; yet for the matter or myſtery implied, was more ſharp than *Davids* was to *Michal:* Verſe 40. *He anſwered, and ſaid unto them, I tell you, that if theſe ſhould hold their peace, the ſtones would immediately cry out.* For this was the time wherein *Jeruſalem*, and the Daughter of *Sion* had been commanded ſome hundreds of years before, to rejoice after an unuſual manner. And the juſt occaſions of this extraordinary point of time above all others, did require ſuch a ſolemn and publick teſtification, that if Men, Women, and Children had been ſilent, the very ſtones in the ſtreet, the Edifices and Pavements in *Jeruſalem* and *Sion*, muſt have ſupplied their defect. For theſe were appurtenances of the City, which had been peremptorily injoined to ſhout for joy whenſoever their promiſed and long expected King ſhould come unto her. As the occaſions of this extraordinary concourſe of people, and of their unuſual exultation, are moſt

fully expreſt by St. *John* and St. *Luke*: ſo the final cauſe of both, or ſweet diſpoſition of Divine providence in this whole buſineſs, is moſt punctually expreſt by St. *Matthew*, *Chap.* 21. *ver.* 4, 5. *All this was done that it might be fulfilled which was ſpoken by the Prophet ſaying; Tell ye the Daughter of* Sion, *Behold, thy King cometh unto thee meek, and ſitting upon an Aſs, and a Colt the foal of an Aſs.* The Prophet, or one of the Prophets at leaſt, which did foretel all that now hapned, was *Zachariah*, *Chap.* 9. 9. whoſe words are more full than the Evangeliſts. *Rejoice greatly, O daughter of* Sion, *ſhout O daughter of* Jeruſalem: *Behold thy King cometh unto thee: he is juſt, and having Salvation* * *lowly and riding upon an Aſs, and upon a Colt the foal of an Aſs:* So our ordinary Engliſh Tranſlations render the place, word for word: but whether this Tranſlation or others, Greek or Latine do fully and punctually expreſs the Prophets meaning, is in the next place to be diſcuſſed.

* *Or ſaved himſelf, &c.*

CHAP. XVII.

A Comment or Paraphraſe upon the firſt eight verſes of the ninth of Zachary: *And of the connexion betwixt them and the ninth verſe, in which the manner of our Saviours coming to* Jeruſalem *was moſt expreſly foretold.*

1. THis teſtimony of the Prophet *Zachary*, (as was obſerved before*) is meerly Prophetical, that is, was literally meant of the *Meſſias* alone, never verified, much leſs fulfilled of any King or Prophet: it was a myſtery without a Type. Other paſſages in this ninth *Chapter*, ſuch eſpecially as come after this ninth *verſe*, may admit a myſtical or allegorical ſenſe: and I ſhould like well of that allegory, which *Ribera* and *Rupertus* have made upon the former verſes, if they had firſt given us the true and literal ſenſe. But ſetting aſide ſuch paſſages as the Evangeliſts or Apoſtles have expounded unto us, the beſt Comments which are extant upon this or moſt other Propheсies revealed or written, ſince the building of the ſecond Temple by *Zerubbabel*, are for the moſt part made to our hands by unpartial unſuſpected Hiſtorians, that is, by Jews or Heathens, ſo we Chriſtians would take the pains to peruſe, and diligently compare their Narrations of matter of fact, with ſacred Prophetical Predictions. For the true and literal ſenſe of this whole ninth *Chapter* of *Zacharias*, beſides the ninth *verſe*, an ordinary Scholar may better inform himſelf from *Arrianus*, *Quintus Curtius*, and *Joſephus*, or others which write of *Alexanders* Wars, than from *Ribera*, *Rupertus*, or all the profeſſed Chriſtian Commentators, which have not had the hap to conſult theſe Heatheniſh or Jewiſh Hiſtorians. And ſome paſſages in the latter part of this *Chapter* there be, unto which the Hiſtory of the *Maccabees* (though *Apochrypha* for matter of faith) may give great light for the right underſtanding of them. My purpoſe is only to touch upon ſome few ſuch paſſages in the firſt part of this *Chapter*, as are conducent to the point in hand, that is, to make a clear and ocular demonſtration how this Prophecy avouched by St. *Matthew*, and others in this ninth *Chapter* of *Zachary*, were fulfilled.

* *The ſeventh Book of Commentaries, c.*6.

2. *The burden of the word of the Lord in the Land of* Hadrach, *and* Damaſcus *ſhall be the reſt thereof: when the eyes of man, as of all the Tribes of* Iſrael, *ſhall be toward the Lord. And* Hamah *alſo ſhall border thereby,* Tyrus *and* Zidon *though it be very wiſe. And* Tyrus *did build her ſelf a ſtrong hold, and heaped up ſilver as the duſt, and fine gold, as the mire of the ſtreets. Behold the Lord will caſt her out, and he will ſmite her power in the Sea, and ſhe ſhall be devoured with fire, Zechariah,* 9. 1, 2, 3, 4. *Joſephus* in his Book of Jewiſh Antiquities, briefly relating the ſwift ſucceſs of *Alexander* in his War, relateth the events in the ſame order and method, which the Prophet *Zachariah* had foretold them in. That he firſt over-ran *Syria* and took *Damaſcus*, and afterward beſieged *Tyre*, which held out nine months againſt thoſe forces which had conquered the *Perſians*, *Syrians*, and other Eaſtern parts in leſs ſpace. As for the Writ drawn for the execution of *Tyre*, you ſee it is punctually drawn by the Prophet *Zachary*; but who ſhall aſſure us that it paſſed the Seal, or was executed according to the tenor of his Commiſſion. *By her power in the Sea*, the Prophet meant, as the Oracle in like caſe did, her wooden Walls or multitude of Ships: and theſe as *Curtius* tells us, being almoſt all ſunk or taken, their chief Fort was ſurprized by the Macedonian Army. After her walls were ſcaled, the greateſt part of her defendants *ſumma tectorum obtinebant, ſaxa, & quod in manibus fors dederat ingerentes ſubeuntibus*, did annoy the Aſſailants from the tops of their Houſes with ſtones, or whatſoever came firſt to hand. So this their laſt and deſperate fury did blow the fire of Gods wrath which was kindled againſt them, from the Prophet *Zacharies* time. For as this Heatheniſh Writer adds, *Alexander exceptis qui in templa confugerant, omnes interfici ignemque tectis injici jubet*, commands that all ſhould be ſlain beſides ſuch as fled into the Temples, that their dwelling Houſes ſhould be burnt. This great Conqueror in all this War, though he expreſly knew not his Commiſſion, was but Gods Sheriff: and (though intending no ſuch thing) did ſee the execution ſhould be according to the Prophets ſentence. How much Tyrian blood was ſhed in this ſiege, as *Curtius* ſaith, may in part be hence gathered; beſides all that died in that miſerable Sea-fight, or thoſe fierce ſkirmages about the Walls after the Macedonians had made entry both by Sea and Land; ſix thouſand of ſuch as bare Arms were forthwith ſlain, two thouſand hanged on Gibbets along the ſhoar, *that Askalon*, as it followeth in the Prophet, *ver.* 5. *might ſee it, and fear, and the hopes of* Ekron *be confounded.* And as *Arrianus*, *Joſephus*, and ſome other tells us, *Tyre* being thus miſerably ranſackt, the other Cities of *Syria* or *Paleſtina*, yielded without reſiſtance. Only the ſtrength of Scituation, ſtore of proviſion, the reſolution and fidelity of the Governour to *Darius* the Perſian Emperour, emboldned *Gaza* to hold out for a time, as ſtoutly, as *Tyre* had done. For that part which God had appointed her, and her King or Governour to act, was not fear, but ſorrow. *Askelon ſhall ſee it, and fear,* Gaza *alſo ſhall ſee it, and be very ſorrowful, and* Ekron *for her expectation ſhall be aſhamed, and the King ſhall periſh from* Gaza, *and* Aſkelon *ſhall not be inhabited,* ver. 5.

3. The greater danger the Conqueror himſelf did in the aſſault of *Gaza* incur, the more grievous was her ranſack, and the greater was the cruelty practiſed upon the conquered. *Alexanders* wounded body did exaſperate his heroical mind to imitate *Achilles* (his pretended Progenitor) as much at this time in deſpightful revenge, as at other

times he had done in valour. For by *Alexanders* appointment *Batis*, as *Curtius* inſtiles him, the Governour of *Gaza*, or Deputy King for *Darius*, being yet as full of life and ſpirit, as of bleeding wounds, was dragged by the heels, after a Chariot, through the ſtreets, as *Hector* had been by *Achilles*, about the walls of *Troy*. Thus doth confidence in cauſes accurſed by God, inevitably bring their undertakers to thoſe diſaſtrous ends, whereto the juſt will of the Almighty Judge had for their ſins appointed them. All this, and much more, which *Curtius* and *Arrianus* relate concerning the deſolation of *Gaza*, (we need not be afraid to ſpeak it) came to paſs, that the word of the Lord ſpoken by *Zachariah*, might be fulfilled. *The King ſhall periſh from* Gaza, *&c.* ver. 5. Yet would I not have theſe words concerning *Gaza*, and her Governour, being for quantity indefinite, reſtrained to this particular time or accident. For that were to make this diſaſter the compleat object of the literal ſenſe, of which it is at the moſt but a principal part. This woful accident might, and I take it, did portend the like in ſucceſs of time, and I have ever held thoſe Interpreters ſhort-ſighted, rather than over-ſeen, who think the ſeveral paſſages in this Propheſie muſt literally refer only to the Wars of *Alexander*, or of the *Maccabees*. For multitude of like events, though different only in time, not in proportion to Prophetical Predictions, can neither argue any diverſity in their former object, nor any plurality of literal ſenſes. All in their order may be alike literally meant by the ſame Prophet, all alike properly ſignified by the ſame words. No man queſtioneth whether ἄνθρωπος in Greek, or *homo* in Latine, have more ſignifications than one, although in ſtrict propriety of ſpeech they denote, or ſignifie as well men now living, as thoſe that dyed a thouſand years ago.

4. Hitherto we have ſeen how God by *Alexander*, begun to pull down the pride of *Tyre*, and of the *Philiſtines*: not with purpoſe utterly to deſtroy them, as he did the old world, but rather by this caſtigation or contuſion, to prepare and fit them for that mixture with the *Jews* their ancient Enemies, which was fore-told by the Prophet *Zachariah*, ver. 6, 7. *And a * Baſtard ſhall dwell in* Aſhdod, *and I will cut off the pride of the* Philiſtines, *And I will take away his blood out of his mouth, and his abominations between his teeth: but he that remaineth, even he ſhall be for our God, and he ſhall be as a Governour in* Judah, *and* Ekron *as a Jebuſite.* The literal truth of this laſt cited paſſage, we may ſee experienced after the Wars of *Alexander*, and of his Succeſſors with the *Maccabees*, partly in that great place which *Herod* of *Askelon* held amongſt the Jewiſh Nation, partly in the *Philiſtines Proſelytes*, who were admitted as Communicants with the Sons of *Abraham* in their Sacraments and Sacrifices, partly in the admiſſion of the *Jews*, as free Denizens into the Cities of *Paleſtina*, and in ſuch quiet cohabitation of the *Philiſtines* and theſe modern *Jews*, as hath been between the *Jebuſites* and their Anceſtors. Every part of this obſervation might be concludently proved out of unpartial Hiſtorians, Heatheniſh or Jewiſh, which wrote before our Lord and Saviour was born. Divers parts of it are abundantly proved out of the Author of the firſt Book of *Maccabees*, Chap. 10. ver. 88. 89. *Now when King* Alexander *heard theſe things* (to wit, the victory over *Azotus*, and the ſubmiſſion of *Askelon* upon the ranſack of it) *he honoured* Jonathan *yet more, and ſent him a buckle of Gold, as the uſe is, to be given to ſuch as are of the Kings blood: he gave him alſo*

* *That is, it ſhould be a quiet habitation for bordering Nations, or a mixt people.*

alſo Accaron, *with the borders thereof in poſſeſſion.* Chap. 11. ver. 60, 61. *Then* Jonathan *went forth, and paſſed through the Cities beyond the water, and all the forces of* Syria *gathered themſelves unto him, for to help him: and when he came to* Askalon, *they of the City met him honourably. From whence he went to* Gaza, *but they of* Gaza *ſhut him out: wherefore he laid ſiege unto it, and burned the Suburbs thereof with fire, and ſpoiled them.* Chap. 13. ver. 33, &c. *Then* Simon *built up the ſtrong holds in* Judea, *and fenced them about with high Towers, aud great Walls, and Gates and Bars; and laid up victuals therein. Moreover* Simon *choſe men, and ſent to King* Demetrius, *to the end he ſhould give the Land an immunity, becauſe all that* Tryphon *did, was to ſpoil. Unto whom King* Demetrius *anſwered, and wrote after this manner; King* Demetrius *unto* Simon *the High Prieſt, and friend of Kings, as alſo unto the Elders and Nation of the Jews, ſendeth greeting. The Golden Crown, and the Scarlet Robe which ye ſent unto us, we have received, and we are ready to make a ſtedfaſt peace with you, yea and to write unto your Officers to confirm the immunities which we have granted. And whatſoever Covenants we have made with you, ſhall ſtand; and the ſtrong holds which you have builded, ſhall be your own. As for any over-ſight, or fault committed unto this day, we forgive it, and the Crown Tax alſo, which ye owe us, if there were any other Tribute paid in* Jeruſalem, *it ſhall no more be paid. And look who are meet among you to be in our Court, let them be inrolled, and let there be peace betwixt us. Thus the yoke of the Heathen was taken away from* Iſrael *in the hundred and ſeventieth year. Then the people of* Iſrael *began to write in their Inſtruments and Contracts, In the firſt year of* Simon *the High Prieſt, the Governour and Leader of the* Jews. *In thoſe days* Simon *camped againſt* Gaza, *and beſieged it round about, he made alſo an Engine of War, and ſet it by the City, and battered a certain Tower and took it. And they that were in the Engine, leapt into the City: whereupon there was a great uproar in the City, inſomuch as the people of the City rent their clothes, and climbed upon the walls with their Wives and Children, and cryed with a loud voice, beſeeching* Simon *to grant them peace. And they ſaid, Deal not with us according to our wickedneſs, but according to thy mercy. So* Simon *was appeaſed towards them, and fought no more againſt them, but put them out of the City, and cleanſed the houſes wherein the Idols were: and ſo entred into it with Songs and Thankſgiving: yea he put all uncleanneſs out of it, and placed ſuch men there as would keep the Law, and made it ſtronger than it was before, and built therein a dwelling place for himſelf. They alſo of the Tower of* Jeruſalem *were kept ſo ſtrait, that they could neither come forth, nor go into the Country, nor buy, nor ſell: wherefore they were in great diſtreſs for want of victuals, and a great number of them periſhed through Famine. Then cryed they to* Simon, *beſeeching him to be at one with them, which thing he granted them, and when he had put them out from thence, he cleanſed the Tower from pollutions. And entred into it the three and twentieth day of the ſecond month, in the hundred ſeventieth and one year, with Thankſgiving and branches of Palm-trees, and with Harp and Cymbals, and with Vials, and Hymns, and Songs; becauſe there was deſtroyed a great Enemy out of* Iſrael. *He ordained alſo that day ſhould be kept every year with gladneſs. Moreover, the hill of the Temple that was by the Tower, he made ſtronger than it was, and there he dwelt himſelf with his company.* He that will compare theſe, and many other paſſages in this grave

Writer, with the ninth of the Prophet *Zachariah*, will perceive there may be good uſe of Books not Canonical, for the right underſtanding of ſacred Writings moſt Canonical; and that this Book, though *Apocryphal*, did not deſerve to be left out in the new impreſſions, or binding up of our Bibles. But to return unto the Propheſie of *Zachariah*.

5. The manifeſt accompliſhment of all the ſtrange alterations foretold by him in the ninth Chapter, might well occaſion the *Jews* to expect the coming of their promiſed King ſhortly after. And amongſt all the ſigns, which the times intercurrent, between *Alexanders* conqueſt of *Syria*, *Tyre*, and *Paleſtina*, and our *Saviours* death, did exhibit; this to me is moſt remarkable, that after ſo many terrible blaſts of Gods wrath thus over-turning every Caſtle and ſtrong hold about *Jeruſalem*, ſweeping moſt Cities of their Ancient Inhabitants, as the whirlewind doth their ſtreets of duſt; the Temple of *Jeruſalem* ſhould all this while hold up her head: that Temple, whoſe foundation, and ſuperſtructions, had been accuſed of Sedition, and Rebellion, whoſe demolition had been ſolemnly vowed by ſuch Tyrants as had power given them over the City and ſtrong holds of *Jeruſalem*, power to practiſe all kind and manner of ſavage cruelties on the Citizens bodies, and to expoſe their carkaſſes to the Birds of the Air. The conſideration hereof doth plainly teſtifie ſuch a powerfull arm, and watchful eye of the Almighty to defend his houſe, as in the eight verſe of this Chapter is literally charactered. *And I will encamp about my houſe becauſe of the Army, becauſe of him that paſſeth by, and becauſe of him that returneth: and no oppreſſor ſhall paſs through them any more, for now have I ſeen with mine eyes.* He that could rightly ſpell the ſeveral paſſages in the fore-mentioned Authors, and the diſpoſition of Divine Providence over-ruling the projects of *Alexander* and his Succeſſors, in all theſe Wars according to the literal Predictions of the Prophet *Zachary*, and put them right together, could not ſuſpect that which *Joſephus* hath regiſtred in the latter end of the Eleventh Book of Jewiſh Antiquities, concerning *Alexander's* reconciliation to *Jaddah* the High Prieſt of the *Jews*, and the extraordinary favours done unto that Nation, which not long before had mightily offended him.

6. But this Prediction of Gods ſpecial Providence in protecting his Temple againſt ſuch as pretended miſchief unto it, was literally fulfilled, not only in the times of *Alexander*, but in the attempts made againſt it by *Nicanor*, *Antiochus*, and other of his profeſſed enemies, though not fully to be accompliſhed until the glory of this Temple came. For the Temple built by *Zerubbabel*, *ſub auſpiciis*, of *Jeſhue* the High Prieſt, did continue and flouriſh until *Jeſus* the High Prieſt of the Covenant, into whoſe body the life and ſpirit of it was to be transfuſed, did viſit and cleanſe it. It muſt be granted that *Herod* the Great did take down the Temple built by *Zerubbabel*, not with purpoſe to demoliſh it, but to make it more glorious to humane view, than *Solomons* Temple had been. And this friendly diſſolution of it, with purpoſe to re-edifie it, did pre-figure the diſſolution of Chriſts body and ſoul, and their reunition in glory and immortality. And I could willingly yield my aſſent unto *Rupertus* and *Ribera*, that the firſt verſes of this Chapter were truly fulfilled in that victorious paſſage of the Goſpel throughout the Cities of *Syria* and *Paleſtina* before mentioned: So they or their followers would grant me, that the

ſwift victory of the Goſpel, was as well occaſioned, as portended by *Alexanders* ſpeedy conqueſt of theſe Regions. For God did plague theſe Neighbour Nations, before the deſire of all Nations came unto this Temple, that *Jeruſalem* might take warning by them, and repent her of her ſins. *I have cut off their Nations, their Towers are deſolate: I made their ſtreets waſte, that none paſſeth by: their Cities are deſtroyed; ſo that there is no man, that there is none Inhabitant. I ſaid, ſurely thou* (Jeruſalem) *wilt fear me, thou wilt receive inſtruction, ſo their dwelling ſhould not be cut off, howſoever I puniſhed them, but they roſe early, and corrupted all their doings,* Zephaniah 3. 6, 7. That this Propheſie, unto what other times ſoever it be concludently appliable, doth in ſpecial refer unto the calamities brought upon the Nations by *Alexander* the Great, is apparent from *Zeph.* 2. 4, 5. But to return to the literal meaning of the Propheſie now in handling: * that, as I take it, is, as if the Prophet had ſpoken in more words to *Jeruſalem* thus. "Thine eyes, in the Generations following, ſhall "behold the flouriſhing pride of ſundry Nations, each endeavouring "to over-top others in height of glory and temporal ſtate: each "ſtriving to keep others under by humane Policy and ſtrength of "War. And whilſt the ſight of their mutual Conqueſts ſhall poſſeſs "thy thoughts, thou wilt be ready in the pride of thy heart to ſay, "*Jeruſalem* and *Judah*, one day ſhall have their turn, and in that day "ſhall the Sons of *Jacob*, the Seed of *Abraham* and *David*, be "like the Monarchs of *Greece* and *Perſia*, far exalted above the "Kings of other Nations: every one (able to bear Arms) gliſtring "with his golden ſhield, and leading the Princes of the Heathen, as "Priſoners bound in chains, and their Nobles in fetters of iron. The "beauty, and riches of their coſtly Temples, ſhall deck the Chariots "of my Children, which their Captives ſhall draw in Triumph. "But thou ſhouldeſt remember, that the promiſed Prince of peace, "of benignity, and juſtice, ſhould not be ſought amongſt the tumultuous hoſts of war. Or canſt thou hope, *that the deſire of all Nations*, ſhould be thy Leader, or General to deſtroy themſelves. It "is glory and honour enough for thee; glory and honour greater "than the greateſt Conqueror on Earth could ever compaſs, that the "King of kings, and Lord of lords, ſhall be anointed and proclaimed "King upon the Hill of *Sion*: that the inviolable decrees of everlaſting peace ſhall be given to all the Nations under Heaven from "thy Courts. And therefore whilſt Horſes and Chariots, or other "glorious preparations of War ſhall preſent themſelves to thy view, "ſuffer them to paſs as they come, and reſt aſſured that thy King, of "whoſe coming thou haſt often been admoniſhed by the Prophets, "is not amongſt them. The manner of his coming unto thee, ſo "thou wilt mark it, bodes far better tidings to thee, and all the Nations beſides, than can accompany the proſperous ſucceſs of Wars, "or any Victory which is ſtained with blood. What King of *Judah* "or *Iſrael* did ever levy an Army, though in juſt defence of their "Country and People, on ſo fair terms, that no poor amongſt them "were pinched with Taxes for the ſupply? What Victory did they "ever obtain ſo good cheap, that many of their Children were not "inforced to ſit down with loſs, many wounded, others maimed, "and ſome always ſlain? But lo, now I bring thee unuſual matter of "exultation, and uncouth joy. For behold, *thy King cometh unto "thee* (whenſoever he cometh) attended with juſtice for his guide, "and

* Zach. 9. 9.

“ and Salvation for his train. He ſhall execute judgment without oppreſſion, he ſhall ſave thee (ſo thou wilt be ſaved) without deſtroying any; able and ready to make thy lame to go, to give life to the dead, without hazard either of life or limb to any who reſts within thy Territories. Such ſhall be the manner of his coming, and ſuch his preſence, that the ſillieſt wretch amongſt thy Children, may think himſelf more happy, than any King of *Judah* or *Iſrael* which was before him; ſo he will conform himſelf to his garb or demeanor. *For he cometh unto thee poor and lowly, riding upon an Aſs, and a Colt, the Foal of an Aſs,* to wean thee from the vain hopes of the Heathen, from which the Prophets have ſo often dehorted thy fore-fathers. Some put their truſt in Horſes, ſome in Chariots: *but thy confidence muſt be in the Lord thy God,* who will always be thy King to defend thee, to protect thee, and ſtrengthen thee, through this weakneſs. For by the weakneſs of his appearance, *he will cut off the Chariot from* Ephraim, *and the Horſe from* Jeruſalem, *and the battel bow ſhall be cut off, and he ſhall ſpeak peace unto the Heathen:* His Dominion ſhall be from Sea to Sea, and from the River to the ends of the Earth, *Zach.* 9. 10. The mark whereat the Prophet *Zachariah* in this place aims, is the very ſame with that which the Prophet *Haggai*, his coeval, had ſet up a little before him; Neither of them (as I take it) conſcious of the others Predictions. *Yet now be ſtrong, O* Zerubbabel, *ſaith the Lord, and be ſtrong, O* Jeſhua, *Son of* Joſedech *the High Prieſt, and be ſtrong all the people of the Land, ſaith the Lord, and work, (for I am with you, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts) according to the word that I covenanted with you, when ye came out of* Egypt, *ſo my Spirit remaineth among you: fear ye not. For thus ſaith the Lord of Hoſts, Yet once, it is a little while, and I will ſhake the Heavens, and the Earth, and the Sea, and the dry Land. And I will ſhake all Nations, and the deſire of all Nations ſhall come, and I will fill this houſe with glory, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts. The Silver is mine, and the Gold is mine, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts, The glory of this latter houſe ſhall be greater than the former, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts. And in this place will I give peace, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts,* Haggai 2. 4, 5, *&c.* And the Prophet *Zacharia* had touched (before) on the ſame ſtring, Chap. 2. ver. 10 *Sing and rejoyce, O Daughter of Sion: for loe, I come and I will dwell in the midſt of thee, ſaith the Lord. And many Nations ſhall be joyned to the Lord in that day, and ſhall be my people: and I will dwell in the midſt of thee, and thou ſhalt know that the Lord of Hoſts hath ſent me unto thee,* &c. Every branch of theſe fore-cited Propheſies were exactly fulfilled according to their plain literal ſenſe in our Saviours triumphant ingreſs into *Jeruſalem*, and viſitation of the ſecond Temple, which by the bounty of *Herod* the Great, and of many other Nations, was made, (even to ſecular eyes) more * beautiful and glorious, than the Temple of *Solomon* was. The extraordinary contributions of ſeveral Nations, and Princes of the Roman Empire for the beautifying of this ſecond Temple, and *Herods* ſpecial care in the right imployment of his own and others expences upon this glorious work, might have taught the Jews, had they not been blind, to expect that the deſire of all Nations, their promiſed King, was ſpeedily to come unto it: yet not to come in ſuch pomp, ſpecially of war, as they expected, but in ſuch humility, and meekneſs of ſpirit, as the Prophet *Zachariah* in the ninth Chapter, and tenth verſe, hath expreſſed. And ſo, it had been foretold

*** Vide Riberam in ſecundum Haggæi.**

told in the building of *Zerubbabels* Temple. *Not by might, nor by power, but by my ſpirit, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts. Who art thou O great Mountain? before* Zerubbabel *thou ſhalt become a plain, and he ſhall bring forth the head ſtone thereof with ſhoutings; crying, Grace, grace, unto it,* Zach. 4. 6.

7. Some parts of the forecited Prophecy there be which were not to be fulfilled in the exquiſite literal, but eſpecially in the myſtical or ſpiritual ſenſe, until our Saviours Reſurrection from the dead, or the accompliſhment of his Conſecration to be King, Prieſt, and Temple to all the Iſrael of God. But of theſe by Gods aſſiſtance in the Article of his Reſurrection. That, which we are now to follow, is the fulfilling of the ninth *verſe* of the Prophet *Zachariah.*

CHAP. XVIII.

The fulfilling of Zachariah *his Prophecy, Cap. 9. ver. 9. recorded by all the Evangeliſts; but moſt fully and moſt punctually by St.* Matthew.

1. THere was not any ſacred prediction from the firſt promiſe of the Womans Seed until this time, more capable of being counterfeited by ſubtil pretenders to the Crown of *David,* than this particular was: and yet the fulfilling of it, ſo we would take all circumſtances related by the Evangeliſts into ſerious conſideration, or ſcan the true Grammatical ſenſe of the Prophets words aright, is as concludently punctual, as the accompliſhing of any Prophecy beſides; any paſſage in the 53. of *Iſaiah,* or the 22. *Pſalm* not excepted. God by his all-ſeeing providence did prevent the reduction of that poſſibility or facility rather of impoſture, whereunto this Prophecy above others was expoſed, into act. For from the day of our Saviours Triumphant coming into *Jeruſalem,* neither City nor people had any juſt occaſion of ſuch joy or exultation as now they expreſt; ſcarce any quiet hour from this neglect of that great ſalvation, which now was proffered, until the deſtruction of the City and Temple, and the diſperſion of the Jewiſh Nation throughout the World. Among many other circumſtances related by the Evangeliſts, all worthy of our ſerious conſideration, this one in my mind is moſt remarkable; that the Owners of the Aſs and of the Colt, or the Neighbourhood then preſent, ſhould ſuffer them to be untied and carried away before they ſaw the Diſciples warrant ſo to do, ſubſcribed by their Maſters hand. But warrant they had none ſave only Parroll. *And if any ask why you do ſo, ſay, The Lord hath need of them, &c. Mat.* 21. 3. and *Mark* 11. 3. Had not this Lord, whoſe authority they avouched, been a greater King than his Father *David*; had not his power and authority, not over their goods only, but over their minds and Conſciences, been more than Monarchical: he could not ſo plainly, and ſo peremptorily have fore-prophecied *de futuris contingentibus,* or given his Diſciples full aſſurance that the Owner of theſe *juments* ſhould do, as he foretold they would do.

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This was an Oracle of the ſame God, of the ſame power, and authority, which informed *David*, that the men of *Keilah* would betray him into *Sauls* hands, if he did commit himſelf to their truſt. The men of *Keilah* were prevented from doing that, which the Searcher of all hearts ſaw they were intended or bent to do. But theſe men did as the Lord foretold they ſhould do, when they intended no ſuch matter.

2. If we compare the Evangelical relations concerning the manner of our Saviours coming to *Jeruſalem* with the Prophets predictions, they agree ſo well that *Zachariah* in this particular may ſhare well with *Iſaiah* in that title of the Evangelical Prophet. Yet in the manner of the Evangelical Stories concerning this point, there is ſome variation in words, but no contradiction or contrariety in ſenſe. *Go unto the village* (ſaith St. *Matthew*) *over againſt you. And ſtraight you ſhall find an Aſs tied and a Colt with her: looſe them and bring them unto me*, Mat. 21. 2. St. *Mark* relateth the ſame ſtory thus; *Ye ſhall find a Colt tied, whereon never man ſate, looſe him and bring him*, Mar. 11. 2. See *Luke* 19. 30. This variation of words hath raiſed a doubt amongſt Interpreters as well of the Prophet as of the Evangeliſts, whether our Saviour did ride part of the way upon the Aſs, and part upon the Colt, or all the way upon the Colt alone. Such as think our Saviour did ride only upon the Colt, labour to ſalve the truth of the Prophetical prediction and St. *Matthews* relation, how it was fulfilled by a *Synecdoche* uſual, as they alledge, in the Hebrew Dialect. To ſay the King of *Sion* ſhould come riding upon an Aſs, and upon the foal of an Aſs, is a ſpeech as juſtifiable in grammatical ſenſe, as that *Jonas* ſhould be ſleeping in the ſides of the ſhip (ſo are the words of the Prophecy) whereas he could not ſleep but in one ſide of the ſhip at one time. But as for *Synecdoches*, *metonymies*, or other like words of Art, Grammar, or Rhetorick, unleſs they be reduced to ſome logical or rational maxim, they edifie no better in Divinity, than an Allegory or myſtical interpretation, which is not grounded upon ſome Hiſtorical relation of matter of fact, according to the plain literal or grammatical ſenſe. The στῦλος or the only foundation of this *Synecdoche* here pretended, muſt be that logical rational maxim [*ad veritatem indefinitæ propoſitionis ſufficit veritas unius particularis*] Unto the truth of an indefinite propoſition, the truth of one particular is ſufficient. He that can prove *Socrates* to be a learned man, may without impeachment affirm, that man is learned, or men are learned: for the expreſſion of any particulars indiſtinctly apprehended (or confuſedly known) by the plural, is uſual not in the ſacred only, but in modern Languages. We Engliſh men do not commit any ſoleciſm when we ſay, the Noble *Sidney* was ſlain in the Low Countries: albeit in ſtrict propriety of ſpeech, he was ſlain but in one of thoſe Countries or Provinces. A man that had been preſent, or had a diſtinct Geographical apprehenſion of the place where he was wounded, would have named it in the ſingular, as at *Zutphen*. So it was ſaid, *Judges* 12. 7. That *Jeptha* died and was buried in the Cities of *Galead*; that is, as our Engliſh very well renders it, in one of the Cities of *Galead*, but in which one of them, that, it ſeems the Author of that ſacred Hiſtory did not think worthy to be taken into particular conſideration, being a point wherein poſterity without loſs might be altogether ignorant. And certainly it was ignorance of their own Dialect, or the ſpirit of ſlumber, which occaſioned ſome

* Jewiſh Writers to gather from this plural expreſſion, that *Jephtha's* bones were ſcattered throughout all the Cities of *Galead*, or reſpectively intombed in many ſeveral places. The Evangeliſts uſe the like ſpeech when they ſay: The Malefactors which were crucified with our Saviour did revile him; whereas in ſuch diſtinct apprehenſion as St. *Luke* had of this circumſtance, one of the two only did revile him, or at leaſt continue in this wicked mind; but the party reviling being not ſo diſtinctly known by name or by other circumſtances (as *Barrabas* was) to the other Evangeliſts as unto St. *Luke*, they make their expreſſions in the plural. It is a general rule worthy of every Commentators actual conſideration, that albeit every Evangeliſt relate nothing but the truth, yet no one of them relates the whole truth concerning our Saviours life and actions, his death and paſſion: nor do they always obſerve the order and method of all circumſtances, or occurrences, as will appear hereafter. The manner of our Saviours coming to *Jeruſalem*, might be, and no doubt was more diſtinctly repreſented to the Diſciples ſenſes, than it had been to the Prophet *Zachariahs* ſpirit. For *lumen propheticum erat aliqualiter ænigmaticum*; the light of Propheſie was not always diſtinctly evident, but indefinitely. And this might be the reaſon why the Prophet foretels that our Saviour ſhould come riding both upon the Aſs, and the Colt, when as * three Evangeliſts mention only the Colt. And albeit St. *Matthew* mention both, yet it may be replied, that he hiſtorically in that paſſage avoucheth nothing of his own obſervation, but only relateth the Prophets words which he ſaw now fulfilled, although our Saviour had rid only upon the Aſs, or upon the Colt.

3. But however the Prophets words in themſelves conſidered, or compared only with the hiſtorical narrations of their fulfilling as they are extant by St. *Mark*, St. *Luke*, and St. *John*, may admit the preſumed *Synecdoche*, or plural expreſſion inſtead of the ſingular: yet to my underſtanding or obſervation, none of theſe three Evangeliſts affirmative for Chriſts riding upon the Colt or Foal of the Aſs, is ſo excluſive, as St. *Matthews* relation of the ſame ſtory is incluſive. Nor is St. *Jeroms*, *Maldonats*, or others inference from the expreſſion of theſe three Evangeliſts ſo concludent, that he rode upon the Colt alone, as the inference which may be drawn from St. *Matthews* relation that he rode upon both. *Ye ſhall find an Aſs tyed, and a Colt with her: looſe them and bring them unto me: And if any man ſhall ſay ought unto you, ye ſhall ſay, The Lord hath need of them, and ſtraightway he will ſend them.* He further adds, *All this was done, that it might be fulfilled which was ſpoken by the Prophet, ſaying, Tell ye the daughter, &c.* All the other three Evangeliſts affirmatives will not infer this negative, that our Saviour did not ride upon the Aſs at all. The hiſtorical, literal, or legal tenour of our Saviours Commiſſion directed or given to his two Diſciples, whom he authorized to take them, imply that he had inſtant uſe of both, though more ſpecial, or permanent uſe of the Colt or Foal. And the execution of this Commiſſion neceſſarily infers as much; *And the Diſciples went, and did as Jeſus had commanded them. And brought the Aſs and the Colt, and put on them*

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* Nunquam cohabites impiis, eò quòd fieri non poſſit, ut non ex illorum converſatione & tu impius evadas. Quod ſi miraris: Conſidera quid acciderit Jiphtah Gileaditæ, qui licet juſtus eſſet, tamen quia habitavit in tribu Ephraijm, & ipſe ab eis ad impietatem pertractus fuit. Cum enim videret quòd filios & filias ſuas idolo Baal comburerent: inde quoq; & ipſe abiit, ſimilique modo filiam ſuam occidit. Item cum videret eos operam dare homicidiis, factus eſt & ipſe homicida, abiens & interficiens 40 duo millia, ob quod facinus tanquam impius punitus, non meruit ſepulturam, juxta id quod dicitur; Et ſepultus eſt in civitatibus Gilead, Judic. 12. Qui locus Scripturæ docet, diſperſa fuiſſe oſſa ejus in omnibus civitatibus Gilead. In quocunque enim loco videbant ejus oſſa, ſepeliebant ea. *Ben. Syra. Sentent. Mor. 6.*

* Mark *and* Luke *in the forecited places and* St. Joh. *Chap.* 12. *ver.* 14.

their Clothes, and they ſet him thereon: or as the Original hath it, *upon them*, ἐπάνω αὐτῶν, *Mat.* 21.6, 7. His diſmiſſion of the Dam upon ſome ſhort trial, and longer uſe of the young one (as ſundry of the Ancient with good Modern Interpreters obſerve) did admirably prefigure the inſtant rejection of the Jews, and the ſpeedy admiſſion of the Gentiles here promiſed. The Gentile though never accuſtomed to the yoke of Moſaical Laws, by whoſe Rites the anointing and Conſecration, the coming of this great King was foreſhadowed; did beyond expectation willingly ſubmit himſelf unto the Goſpel or Kingdom of Heaven here on Earth, as the young Colt which never had been backt before this time, did gently bear our Saviour, notwithſtanding all the noiſe and cry which had been made by the promiſcuous multitude. When as the Jew reſembled or typified by the old Aſs, which had been uſed to the yoke and ſaddle, became (as it is probable ſhe did) reſty and ſkittiſh ready to kick, and ſpurn, and endeavouring to throw her Rider. And in type or prognoſtick of this myſtical truth, it is not improbable, that our Saviour relinquiſht the Aſs after he had aſſayed her, and took her Colt, and rode on him into *Jeruſalem*, though no man had ſat upon him before.

4. However, the fulfilling of the latter part of this Prophecy, whether it was fulfilled by *Synecdoche*, or in the plain literal, and legal conſtruction of the Prophets words; was moſt clear and evident unto the Apoſtles and Diſciples ſenſes. But whether the former part of this Prophecy concerning the Titles of this King was ſo clearly fulfilled, admitteth ſome queſtion which cannot be determined without further diſcuſſion of the Grammatical ſenſe, or Prophetical importance of theſe words צַרִיק וְנושָׁע הוא The beſt and choiſeſt Tranſlations vary much, partly about the ſignification, partly about the pointing of theſe words. And no Interpreter which I have read (though I have conſulted many) doth give me any tolerable ſatisfaction for their Emphatical or Prophetical importance, ſave one or two. I ſhall for this reaſon crave pardon with humble ſubmiſſion of my opinion unto the judgment of the learned, to proffer more variety of Tranſlations and Interpretations, than I have been accuſtomed, unto the Readers choice. The vulgar Latine renders it thus; *Ecce Rex tuus veniet tibi juſtus, & ſalvator: ipſe pauper, &c. Behold, thy King cometh, a juſt King, and a Saviour: he is poor, &c.* referring the Hebrew pronoun to *pauper. Junius* accords in part with the vulgar, *Juſtus & ſalute præditus:* with whom our latter Engliſh accords, ſave only that it refers the Pronoun הוא unto *juſtus & ſalvator, he is juſt and having ſalvation:* whereas *Junius* altogether omits the expreſſion of it, and the vulgar refers it to that which followeth, *he is poor, he is lowly or meek.* The Tranſlator of the Kings Bible refers it unto *juſtus, Juſtus ille & ſalvator, that Juſt and Saviour. Arius Montanus* in his Interlineary refers the ſame Pronoun unto the firſt clauſe, *Juſtus, &c.* But whereas others read, *Salvator ille*, he hath it, *Salvatus ipſe:* So doth our former Engliſh, *he is juſt, and ſaved himſelf.* But *Cramerus* the Lutheran, *ut Hunnii diſcipulum agnoſcas*, chargeth that Tranſlation which our former Engliſh follows (as his Maſter *Hunnius* had *Calvin* in many others) with Judaizing, at leaſt for giving advantage to the captious Jew. For what argument can it be either of glory to a great King, or of joy unto Subjects, to foretell that he himſelf ſhould be *ſervatus* or *ſalvatus*. This expreſſion implies danger unto himſelf more directly, than ſaving health unto others: it ſup-

poſeth peril or hazard ***antecedent***, but doth not neceſſarily argue victory for the conſequent. And yet the words in the Original are formally paſſive. But ***Cramerus*** with ſome others would out of the Grammatical Rudiments which they had learned, inſtruct us, that Verbs of this Form or Conjugation, ſometimes admit a ſignification meerly active, otherwhiles neither meerly active or paſſive, but reciprocal, as the ***Septuagint*** renders this place σωζῶν ἑαυτὸν, that is, *ſaving himſelf.* So doth our latter Engliſh in the marginal note. Yet if the Original in this place might be (as *Cremerus* would have it) reciprocal, the *baſis* of theſe two contrary ſignifications ſhould be the paſſive. And though both verſions *ſaving himſelf*, and *ſaved himſelf* meet in one point; yet it had been more handſome to have ſaid *ſalvatus à ſeipſo*, than *ſervans ſeipſum.* And ſo *Vatablus* in his annotations upon this place tells us, it may be rendred. *Vertere potes* (ſaith he) *& ſervetur, ſub: à ſe, pro ſervans ſe.* But *Maſius* a man more ſkillful than the vulgar Grammarians, hath ſo far impeacht theſe Grammatical curioſities about the peculiar force or value of Conjugations, that it is not ſafe to put a matter of ſo great a conſequence, as the fulfilling of a Prophecy concerning Chriſt, upon their Verdict. And however many other Verbs in this form, to wit, in *Niphal*, be rather equivalent to actives, than truly actives, neuterpaſſives, or reciprocals: yet their uſe though it were more frequent than it is, cannot preſcribe againſt the proper and natural ſignification of the word נושע in this place, which for ought I find is always a meer paſſive. Wherefore to wave theſe Grammatical curioſities, this obſervation (I take it) is more real, and of better uſe. That as vulgar Philoſophers uſually aſcribe the variety of effects unto the Agents or Efficients, which ariſeth wholly from the matter or Patient. So Grammarians often labour to ſalve the regular uſe, or importance of words from the diverſity of Forms or Conjugations in their derivatives, or multiplicity of ſignifications in the primitive, when as all the variation proceeds wholly from the nature of the ſubjects unto which one and the ſame word in one and the ſame form or ſignification is applied. As for inſtance, when *Melchiſedeck* ſaith, *Benedictus ſit Deus Abrahami, & Benedictus ſit Abraham à Deo, &c. Bleſſed be the God of* Abraham, and *bleſſed be* Abraham *of the moſt high God:* the formal ſignification of the Latine [*benedictus*] and the Engliſh [*bleſſed*] is one and the ſame: but the uſe, or importance much differ, whilſt applied unto God and unto *Abraham*. For *Abraham* or man to be bleſſed of God, or to have good words beſtowed upon him by divine goodneſs, always importeth ſome real donative whereby he becometh more happy than he was before. For in God *benedicere* is *benefacere*, his good word or bleſſing is always operative of ſome real good to the party whom he bleſſeth. But for God to be *bleſſed* by man, or which is all one, for man to *bleſs* God, can import no more than a teſtification of his love and loyalty towards his Creator, that he no way envieth, but heartily congratulateth his eternal happineſs, and could wiſh if it were poſſible, that it might be greater, or that he could expreſs his loyalty and thankfulneſs better unto him, who is worthy of all praiſe, honour, glory, and bleſſedneſs, *&c.*

5. In like caſe admitting the proper and formal ſignification of the Hebrew נושע to be always one and the ſame, and punctually rendred by *Arias Montanus* [*ſalvatus*;] yet the importance of it, whilſt our Saviour is the Subject and we the Agents, will much differ from

the importance of it, whilſt we are the Subjects or Paſſives, and he the Agent or Donor. *Salvatus* applied unto us, alway implies ſome real ſalvation of ſoul or body, or of both, and is as much in Engliſh as to be ſaved or redeemed from death and danger. The ſame word again applied to the King of *Sion* by his Subjects, or by us ſinful men unto our Saviour and Redeemer, can imply no more than our congratulation of his dignity, or an acknowledging of his power to ſave, or our hearty Prayers that he would beſtow his ſaving health upon us. If *Arias Montanus* or other Tranſlators of the Hebrew had been tied to have uſed no other than *Ciceronian* or *Terentian* Phraſes, it would perhaps have been a ſoleciſm, to have put the Latine *ſalvatus* for *ſalutatus*. But the Latine Tranſlators oft-times uſe a Phraſe or Dialect more ancient by much than *Cicero* or *Terence*, whoſe language though (unto ſuch as peruſe few other Writers than *Tully* or *Terence*, or others a little before or after them) it may ſeem harſh; yet is it more expreſſive of the Hebrew (the ancienteſt of Languages) than the modern Latine, as *ſalvatus* in this place is more ſignificant, and holdeth better Analogy with the propriety of the Latine Tongue, than if he had ſaid *ſalutatus*. He whoſoever he be, to whom we ſay, *ſis ſalvus*, or *jubeo te ſalvere*, may according to the fundamental Rules of Grammar Latine, though not according to the cuſtom of Criticks or Refiners of that Language, be more properly ſaid to be *ſalvatus* than *ſalutatus*. And I make no queſtion, but *Montanus* and others did uſe it in this ſenſe, as the moſt punctual expreſſion of the Original, unleſs they had ſaid *ſalvandus*. However, he is properly ſaid to be *ſalvatus* or *ſalutatus*, who is either really ſaved from danger or unto whom we wiſh all health and ſafety. The paſſive *juratus* is in its formal ſignification one and the ſame, whilſt it denotes the party, or perſon, or matter by which we ſwear or proteſt, or the parties which make oath, not only according to the *Hebraiſms*, or *Elleniſms*, uſed by moſt Tranſlators, but in the elegancy of the Latine or Roman refined Dialect. So an elegant * Poet expreſſeth *Amphiaraus* his ſcrupuloſity, or rather obſervance of *decorum*, in not ſwearing by *Apollo*, but old *Chaos* in that Region of darkneſs;

* *Statius.*

Teſtor inane Chaos: quid enim hic jurandus Apollo?

If he had ſworn by *Apollo*, *Apollo* had been *juratus*, yet not *juratus* in that ſenſe as a Jury with us are ſaid *jurati*, that is ſworn men, or men which take an Oath being adminiſtred unto them: for it muſt conſiſt of ſwearing men, or of ſwearers: a new title given by ſome Roman regular Catholicks, (as they call themſelves) unto ſuch Seculars of their own Profeſſion, as will take the Oath of Allegiance, or acknowledge it to be adminiſtred unto them by lawful Authority. And yet I take it, he that takes a voluntary Oath may be truly ſaid to be *juratus*, not only to ſwear, but to be ſworn, and that not in vulgar or legal Engliſh only, but in pure refined Latine, as in that of *Prudentius*;

Tentavit Geticos nuper delere Tyrannos,
Italiam patrio veniens juratus ab Iſtro.

According to the cuſtom of refined Latine it would perhaps be a ſoleciſm to ſay a man that dies of poiſon were *venenatus*, albeit *venenatus*, be a proper Latine word, not abſolute, whilſt it denotes Arrows or Bullets, but in our Engliſh we ſpeak as properly when we ſay a man was poiſoned, as when we ſay a poiſoned Bullet, a poiſoned *ſhaft*. And ſo no queſtion according to the true intent of the Prophet *Zachariah* our Saviour was as properly ſaid to be נושע that is *ſaved*, or *ſalvificated*, whilſt the multitude cried *Hoſanna*, or wiſhed all health unto him; as we are ſaid to be σωζόμενοι, or ſaved by him. And if *Montanus* had as fully expreſt this whole Phraſe נושע הוא as he doth the word נושע *ſalvatus*, little could have been added to it by way of Comment.

6. But to take the full importance of the whole Phraſe, or matter ſignified according to the ſublimity of the Prophetical Dialect or expreſſion; that, I take it is thus. However the promiſed King of *Sion* was to come unto her ſo lowly in perſon, ſo poorly attired, ſo meanly furniſhed of ſtrength or viſible pomp, as might cauſe her Inhabitants rather to deride, than reſpect him: yet even in this plight or garb, he ſhould be entertained with general applauſe, with louder acclamations, than had been uſed at the Coronation of *David*, or of his Succeſſors. The ancient form of ſuch ſolemn acclamations had been: *Vivat Rex, &c.* Let the King live: but to our Saviour the multitude cry, *Hoſanna, Hoſanna, to the Son of* David. And this peculiar kind of ſalutation or acclamation, is punctually foretold by the Prophet, and grammatically expreſt by the Hebrew. For *Hoſanna*, whether we take it as precatory or congratulatory, is an active which doth as exactly fit the paſſive נושע as *ego ſalutote*, doth *tu es ſalutatus à me*, I ſalute you, and you are ſaluted of me. If *Arias Montanus* had ſaid *ſalvatus ille* for *ſalvatus ipſe*, the Tranſlation had been a more full expreſſion of the Majeſtick original phraſe. The full expreſſion or Prophetical importance of the whole Phraſe (if I miſtake not the emphaſis of the Hebrew Pronoun הוא eſpecially when it comes in the * rear or after the Subſtantive to which it refers) will amount to this height and higher, *Ecce Rex tuus venit, Rex ille juſtus, &c. Et pro juſtis celebrandus.* And I know not whether *Caſtellio* his verſion of this place do not imply as much *Ecce Rex tuus venit, qui eſt juſtus & victorioſus.* It had been an ancient tradition or common prenotion amongſt this people before the Prophet *Zachariah* was born, that their King or Chriſt ſhould be the Son of *David*, and *Davids* Lord; A Prieſt after the order of *Melchiſedeck*, who was King of *Salem* by Office, and by Title King of Righteouſneſs, or the righteous King. Now the Prophet forewarns this people, that the glorious King, whom *Melchiſedeck* did by Office and Title foreſhadow; ſhould come to *Sion* and *Jeruſalem*, not attended with Horſes and Chariots, but as became the righteous and pacifical King (for ſo much his other Title עני imports) *riding on an Aſs, and the foal of an Aſs*, and have both his Titles proclaimed though not by expreſs words, yet by Hieroglyphick or ſacred Heraldry. His lowlineſs, which is the only ground of pacifical diſpoſition, was lively repreſented by the manner of his approach, riding upon the foal of an Aſs, which in an inſtant had learned gentle conditions from his lowlineſs and peaceable temper, who firſt did ſit upon him. His righteouſneſs was really proclaimed by the congratulations, and preſents of the people; *Much people* (ſaith St. *John*) *that were come to the Feaſt, when they heard that* Jeſus *was coming to* Jeruſalem, *took branches of Palm-Trees, and went forth to meet him*, as yet not hearing whether he came on foot, or Horſeback)

* Vide Hebraicum contextum *Prov.* 19. 21.

and cried Hoſanna, *bleſſed is the King of* Iſrael, *that cometh in the Name of the Lord*, John 12. 12, &c. And St. *Mark* telleth us; *Many ſpread their garments in the way: and others cut down branches of the Trees, and ſtrawed them in the way. And they that went before, and they that followed, cried ſaying,* Hoſanna, *bleſſed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord. Bleſſed be the Kingdom of our Father* David, *that cometh in the Name of the Lord,* Hoſanna, *in the Higheſt*, Mark 11. 8, 9, 10. Mat. 21. 8, 9. Now the Palm-Tree was as well in prophane, as in ſacred Heraldry, as true an Emblem or Hieroglyphick of Righteouſneſs or Juſtice, as the Sword is of Authority, and power. Hence ſaith the Pſalmiſt, *Juſtus ut palma florebit*, the juſt ſhall flouriſh like a Palm-Tree. Why rather like this Tree. than any other? then like the Oak or Cedar? *Pierius* (to my remembrance) giveth us the ground, or reaſon of this ſacred alluſion: and it is this; For that the Palm-Tree, the more it is wronged, or preſt down, the leſs it is diverted from its natural courſe, but groweth higher, and ſpreadeth the more. And was for this reaſon, a fit Emblem of this righteous and victorious King, whoſe incomparable exaltation did grow from his unparalleld humiliation and depreſſion.

Quòd verò ponderibus reſiſtat & in adverſum incurvetur, facere idem Judices debent, atq; reluctabundi ſeductores pellaceſq; omnes detrectare, neq; mulieribus, neq; violentiæ cedere. Pierius in initio ſui lib. L. de hierog. & inquit *Ariſtot.* Si ſuper arboris ejus lignum magnum quantumlibet pondus imponas, Palma minime deorſum cedit, nec infra flectitur, ſed adverſus pondus reſurgit & ſurſum nititur in adverſum fornicata.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the meaning or importance of [Hoſanna to the Son of David.]

1. THE diverſity of Interpretations of many principal paſſages in Scripture, is for the moſt part as great, as the multiplicity or variety of importances, or ſignifications of ſome one ſingle word, in ſome large ſentences and paſſages. The beſt is, that this word *Hoſanna*, hath but two importances, which can breed any matter of difference, between Interpreters of Scripture, or any variety of Interpretations. Yet diſcord between Interpreters uſually ariſe, without any difference, only from variety of ſignifications in words more than compatible; yea moſt conſonant between themſelves; As ſome there be, who would have this word *Hoſanna*, to be meerly precatory or optative: as much as, *The Lord ſend help or ſalvation*; Others would have it to be meerly (or eſpecially) congratulatory: Whereas both opinions agree very well, though their ſeveral Authors, or Abetters have cenſured each other. That *Hoſanna* in the intention of the Multitude, which carryed or ſpread branches of Palms or Olives in the way, ſhould (at leaſt in the direct ſenſe) be meerly congratulatory, is probably alledged from the whole phraſe, or ſtructure of ſpeech: for they did not cry, as the blind man in the way did, υἱὲ Δαβὶδ ἐλέησον. O Son of *David*, have mercy upon me or ſave me: but Ὡσάννα τῷ υἱῷ Δαβὶδ ἐν ὑψίστοις, *Hoſanna* to the Son of *David* in the Higheſt. Both clauſes import matter only of congratulation. *Caninius* firſt, and after him *Beza* amongſt others, have out of their Rabbinical learning well

Mark 10. 48.

well obſerved, that the branches of Palms, of Olives, or other Trees which this people uſed in their ſolemn Feaſt of Tabernacles, or the like, in which they uſed the comprecations of the 118. *Pſalm*, came by cuſtom and concurrence of time to be called *Hoſanna*; by ſuch a manner or trope of ſpeech, as the Engliſh and French do call the buds or flowers of Hawthorn, *May*. According to this importance, or ſignification of the word [*Hoſanna*] the meaning of the multitude or Diſciples was, that they did bear theſe boughs, and uſe theſe congratulations in honour of the Son of *David*, now coming unto them in triumph.

2. Some go a great way further, and would perſwade us that the people, or multitude being ſorry that they had ſo ſleighted our Saviours preſence, or invitations in the laſt feaſt of Tabernacles (*John* 7.) to which this ſolemnity of carrying branches was (at the leaſt) originally proper, did ſeek to redeem their former neglect, and regain the opportunity of tendring their allegiance unto him, not as he was the Son of *David* only, but as the God of their Fathers, who had brought them out of *Ægypt* into the Land of *Canaan*, and redeemed them from Babyloniſh Captivity, to honour him with ſolemn Feaſts, and other ſervices in *Jeruſalem*. But that the multitude, (either all, or moſt, or any) ſhould have a more diſtinct explicite apprehenſion of his Deity, or of the great myſtery of ſalvation which he was now to accompliſh, than his Diſciples and Followers had, is very improbable. That his very Diſciples (though Actors in this buſineſs) had no ſuch diſtinct apprehenſion of the great myſtery imported by this ſolemnity, is unqueſtionable. For St. *John*, upon a diſtinct review of all the circumſtances of this Solemnity, whether congratulatory, or precatory or both, tells us, *Theſe things underſtood not his Diſciples at the firſt, but when* Jeſus *was glorified, then remembred they that theſe things were written of him, and that they had done theſe things unto him*, Chap. 12. 16.

3. Amongſt the things which are written of him, this was one, that he ſhould be acknowledged and publickly proclaimed for the Son of *David*, κατ' ἐξοχὴν, the often promiſed and long expected Meſſias, and Redeemer of the whole world. And all this was acknowledged and proclaimed by the multitude, as well by the form of prayer which they uſed, as by their real congratulations. Firſt that the word *Hoſanna* was uttered by way of prayer by the multitude, is clear from that paſſage in the Pſalmiſt, whereunto the word *Hoſanna* with the matters of fact, which did accompany it, do refer. For ſo it is agreed upon by all ſides, that הושיעהנא Pſalm 118. 25. is a ſolemn and formal prayer; *Save now I beſeech thee, O Lord: O Lord, I beſeech thee, ſend now proſperity:* to wit, unto the Son of *David*, and unto his people by him. And thus far at leaſt, the apprehenſion or intention of the people, when they cryed *Hoſanna* to the Son of *David*, did reach. For they thought this was the day, which the Lord had made; and did therefore rejoyce and were glad in it, as in the day of their long expected redemption from the hands of all their enemies. As they heard theſe things, he added, and ſpake a Parable, becauſe he was nigh to *Jeruſalem*, and becauſe they thought that the Kingdom of God ſhould immediately appear, *Luke* 19. 11. This prenotion, that the Kingdom of God was now to be manifeſted, did facilitate the aſſent or obedience as well of the Owner of the Aſs and Colt, whereon he rode to *Jeruſalem*, as of the Maſter of the family wherein he did eat his Paſsover, unto the intimation or direction of

our great Lord and Maſter. The one ſtory concerning their preſent obedience, we have *Mat.* 21. 5. The other more at large, *Luke* 22. 7. to the 14. Nor did they err in taking this to be the day of their Redemption; but in the confuſed notion of the enemies, from which they were to be redeemed. They expected only a deliverance from the Tyranny of the *Romans*, and other hoſtile Nations, over whom they hoped the Son of *David* ſhould exerciſe royal and temporal Juriſdiction. And it is no wonder, if the multitude, whether of inhabitants of *Jeruſalem* or ſtrangers which went out to meet him and congratulate his approach, did apprehend no more than thus, ſeeing the two Diſciples which accompanied him towards *Emaus* upon the day of his Reſurrection, had no better a notion of the Redemption promiſed than this, though even this notion did fleet or vaniſh, after they had ſeen him put to death: *We truſted that it had been he, which ſhould have redeemed Iſrael, Luke* 24. 21. This argues, that their former truſt was for the preſent extinguiſhed, till he by opening the Scriptures unto them, did revive and kindle it.

4. Again, when they cry *Hoſanna* to the Son of *David* in the Higheſt, not from Heaven: this no way argues that their ſalutation ſhould not be formally precatory: eſpecially if *Maldonats* obſervation be without exception, that ἐν ὑψίστοις be equivalent (according to the Hebrew dialect) unto *ab excelſis* from *the higheſt Heavens.* However taking the word [*Hoſanna*] as in its primary ſignification, foraſmuch as *the Lord ſend help*, or grant ſalvation; and the Greek ἐν ὑψίστοις according to the native Greek, *in the higheſt:* the natural meaning, or literal expreſſion of the congratulation will amount to this, that God would be pleaſed to ratifie their petitions for the proſperity of the Son of *David* in Heaven, not doubting but that God ſo doing, his bleſſings upon him and them might be eſtabliſhed here on earth. For ſo they further expreſs themſelves in the Pſalmiſts words, *Bleſſed be the King that cometh in the Name of the Lord: Peace in Heaven, and glory in the higheſt*, Luke 19. 38. But though *Maldonat* with other judicious Commentators do clearly evince this form of congratulation, *Hoſanna*, to be precatory: yet was *Maldonat* more to blame, than ſuch as think it only to have been congratulatory, when he avoucheth that this ſolemnity of carrying branches of Palms and Olives, had no ſpecial reference to the Feaſt of Tabernacles, and more to blame, when he thinketh that the Feaſt of Tabernacles had *nihil commune cum Chriſto*, no Type or Figure of this ſolemnity, or that this ſolemnity did include no Emblematical acknowledgment or teſtification, that *CHRIST JESUS* was as truly the Son of God, as of *David:* as well *Davids* אֲדֹנִי: Lord, as his Son.

CHAP. XX.

At what time, and upon what occaſion the 118 Pſalm *was compoſed; And at what Solemn Feaſt eſpecially uſed.*

1. FOrgiving ſuch, as it may concern, more full ſatisfaction in the points late handled: and for ſetting forth the ſweet harmony, betwixt the Prophetical Song, and the Peoples Acclamations and cry at this great and laſt ſolemn Feſtivity: the beſt method I can conjecture, would be to make diligent enquiry at what time, and upon what occaſions the 118 *Pſalm* was firſt written, and at what ſolemn Feaſt it was principally uſed. *Mollerus*, a man of commendable pains in this particular ſearch, and one who had read very many, telleth us, that the major part of Learned Interpreters whom he had peruſed, are of opinion that this *Pſalm* was compoſed by *David* himſelf, upon occaſions of his victory over his enemies, and freedom from diſturbance or danger from the houſe of *Saul*, upon the death of *Iſhboſheth*. And for ſtrengthning this conjecture, he referreth us to the 2. of *Samuel* 6. And *Coppen*, a moſt Ingenuous and exact Examiner of ſuch Commentators, as he had read, ſeemeth rather to encline this way, than to the contrary. The main ſtream of Interpreters would carry me with them, did not the nature of the Subject now in hand, permit a peculiar liberty of diſſenting from a major part, though otherwiſe moſt Learned Interpreters. And having conferred this 118. *Pſalm*, as well for circumſtances, as for matter, and for the character of ſpeech or language, with the Hiſtory of the 2. of *Sam.* 6. as with the 18. and 68. *Pſalm*, which, it is evident, were both written at the time, and upon the occaſions, which *Mollerus* conjectures this 118. *Pſalm* was compoſed; I find no congruity either of matter or ſtile betwixt them. Many paſſages in the 118. *Pſalm* there are, which literally refer unto the gates or building of the houſe of the Lord, not to the Ark or Tabernacle, which were only extant in the time of *David*. For he lived not to ſee the chief corner ſtone, whether the higheſt, or the loweſt of the Temple laid or placed; much leſs to ſee the gates, at which the righteous was to enter, ſet up. Beſides, although this 118. *Pſalm* was written by the ſame Spirit, by which *David* wrote; yet the language or character of this *Pſalm* doth argue, it was compoſed in a different age from that, wherein *David* lived, and wrote the 18. and 68. *Pſalms*. And as far, as my obſervation leads me, in the ſame age, and upon the ſame occaſions, that the Pſalms of degrees (all ſave one) were firſt compoſed and firſt uſed. And thoſe *Pſalms* (it is to me clear) were written after this peoples return from *Babylon*, and, as is moſt probable, after the death of *Zerubbabel*, when the glory of the houſe of *David*, was for a time eclipſed by the ſplendor of the houſe of *Aaron*. And certainly, if this *Pſalm* had been compoſed by *David* himſelf, or any of his Succeſſors, or other Prophet in this Nation, while the firſt Temple was ſtanding, there would have been Thankſgiving in ſpecial expreſt for the houſe of *David*, as well as for the houſe of *Aaron*. But the form of Thankſgiving in the firſt place runs thus; O *give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good; becauſe his mercy endureth for ever. Let* Iſrael *now ſay, that his mercy endureth for ever, Let the houſe of* Aaron *now ſay, that his mercy endureth for ever. Let them now that fear the Lord ſay, that his mercy endureth for ever*, Pſal. 118. 1, 2, 3, 4.

Nor is there any expreſs mention in ſpecial, of the houſe of *David*, or of his Succeſſors unto the end of this Pſalm: though many paſſages in the ſame Pſalm cannot according to the true literal ſenſe be applyed to any perſon or Community, ſave only to the Son of *David*, who was alſo *Davids* Lord. The Thankſgivings are uttered or delivered not in the name of any one Perſon or Family, but in the name and behalf of the whole Community, as well Prieſt as People. And yet the ſame Thankſgiving are punctually directed unto God the Lord: or as the multitude, not by diſtinct apprehenſion of their meaning, but by the diſpoſition of Gods Divine Providence expound the Pſalm, unto God Incarnate, the Son of *David*.

2. But as I am not prone to be carried with a general ſtream of Interpreters, againſt probable diſcoveries of a ſafer courſe: ſo am I unwilling to be ſingular, or to venture upon narrow paſſages without a Pilot. And a more skilful Pilot in this caſe, I could not have wiſhed for, than *Theodoret*, an ancient Father of great judgment, and well deſerving the ſtile of *Theodoret* the wiſe or diſcreet. Now this grave and moſt diſcreet Author in this particular Argument, whereof we treat; at what times, and upon what occaſions the Pſalms were written: conducts me thus far, that this 118. *Pſalm* was written after *Iſrael* returned from *Babylon*. Though the other ſtream which *Mollerus*, and others follow, be much broader; yet this narrow cut, which after *Theodoret* I take, will appear (I hope) upon due ſounding deeper and ſafer. *Theodorets* judgment is thus;

Et hic etiam hymnus eſt ab iis qui ſalutem à Deo conſecuti ſunt, allatus. Judæi namque poſt reverſionem, cum omnes finitimi in unum coacti eſſent, atq; etiam gentes alias & barbaras conflaſſent; deinde cum plagis à Deo illatis, profligati eſſent, ſecundum Joelis & Ezechielis & Micheæ & Zachariæ vaticinationem, hunc hymnum de gratiarum actione Deo afferunt.	This is one of thoſe hymns wch were compoſed by ſuch as obtained ſalvation or deliverance. The *Jews* (after their return from *Babyloniſh* captivity) when all bordering Nations with other barbarous people at their inſtigation were gathered againſt them, after they ſaw them plagued by God, and their malicious projects defeated according to the Propheſies of *Joel*, *Ezekiel*, or of *Zachariah* offer up this *Pſalm* of thankſgiving unto the *Lord*.

3. However Saint *Jerom*, *Mollerus*, and others do for particular circumſtances of the Compoſers, time, and occaſions of this Pſalm, follow another current, than *Theodoret* did; yet we all meet in the Main or Ocean, whereinto this Pſalm and others do exonerate themſelves. For thus *Mollerus* concludeth his Preface to this Pſalm:

Nec dubium eſt, Davidem in hoc Pſalmo, ut in pleriſq; aliis, magis ad Chriſtum, cujus perſonam gerebat, quam ad ſe reſpexiſſe, ejuſque in ſe imaginem exprimere voluiſſe. Atque inde factum eſt, ut quoties poſt illud tempus hic Pſalmus in Synagoga à Judæis legeretur, ad	There is no queſtion but that this *Pſalm* (as moſt others of *Davids*) had more ſpecial reference to Chriſt, whoſe Perſon he did repreſent, or typifie, and whoſe portraicture he ſought to ſet forth; than unto *David* himſelf. And hence it was, that as often as this *Pſalm* was recited in the Jewiſh Synagogues, it was always accommodated to the Meſſias, and reckoned amongſt the ſolemn

ſolemn Prayers and Supplications for his coming unto them, as *Hierom* teſtifieth. Now ſeeing by its frequent recital, it was ſo well known to the vulgar ſort, hence was that gratulatory Verſicle, or Song [*Hoſánna*] taken up by them, at that time wherein Chriſt was entertained by the multitude, according to the ſtate or cuſtom of their King or expected Meſſias.

Meſſiam fuerit accommodatus. & inter eas preces, quibus adventus ejus petebatur, relatus: ut teſtatur Heronymus. Cumq; ex aſſiduâ repetitione populo eſſet notiſſimus, hinc ſumptus eſt verſiculus in pompâ illa in qua Chriſtus tanquam Rex hujus populi fuit exceptus, ut ſcribitur, Mat. 21. Mollerus in argumento hujus Pſalm

4. Now ſeeing it is confeſſed by all, aſwel expreſly by the Jews, as by matter of fact related by the Evangeliſts, that this 118. *Pſalm* did contain a peculiar Propheſie or Teſtimony prophetically typical of the promiſed Meſſias his coming to *Jeruſalem*, to ratifie or fulfil whatſoever was fore-told or portented by this Solemnity, wherein it was firſt uſed: no time, or ſeaſon can with greater probability be allotted, no occaſion more fitly pretended for the firſt compoſing of it, than the extraordinary joy of the whole Community of the people of *Judah* and *Iſrael*, as well Prieſts as Laicks, upon the erection or finiſhing of the ſecond Temple. For within the compaſs of this ſeaſon, *Haggai* had Propheſied that the deſire of all Nations ſhould come unto that Temple. The preciſe time according to exact calculation of his coming to *Jeruſalem*, and of his death there, had been notified by *Daniel* not long before. The Sacred Hiſtory of the times, wherein *Zerubbabel*, *Joſhua*, *Haggai*, and *Zachariah* lived, bear plentiful record, that the people of *Judah*, *Benjamin*, or *Iſrael* had no juſt cauſe, or great occaſions of rejoycing according to that ſcale of joy and gladneſs, which is charactered in the 118. *Pſalm*, immediately after their return from Babyloniſh Captivity. For both Neighbour Nations, and the principal Officers of this ſide *Euphrates*, of thoſe Kings unto whom they were ſubject, did partly by violence, partly by malicious ſuggeſtions for divers years prohibite the erection of the Temple, and the re-edifying of *Jeruſalem*. More fear, than joy did poſſeſs this great people, when they begun to erect the Altar of the Lord, as may appear from *Ezra* 3.4. And that was divers months before the foundation of the Temple was laid: at which time, indeed, there was much joy, eſpecially amongſt the people, and younger ſort; Yet joy mixt with many tears of the Ancient, eſpecially Prieſts and Levites, which had ſeen the former Temple, (at leaſt the foundation of it.) *Ezra* 3.12, 13.

5. However, it is probable that this 118. *Pſalm* was in part compoſed upon the ſight or view of the firſt foundation of the ſecond Temple. For *Ezra* tells us, that the Prieſts and Levites, after the Ordinance of *David* King of *Iſrael*, ſung together by courſe in praiſing and giving thanks unto the Lord, *becauſe he is good, and his mercy endureth for ever towards* Iſrael. And in this form of Thankſgiving, the 118. *Pſalm* begins and ends, *O give thanks unto the Lord, for his mercy endureth for ever. Let* Iſrael *now ſay that his mercy endureth for ever.* ver. 1. *O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good: for his mercy endureth for ever*, ver. 29. I am not forgetful, nor can the Reader be ignorant that there is another Pſalm, *videlicet* 136. in which this form of praiſe is more perpetual, as being the cloſe or fall of every

verſe. But that *Pſalm* (as I have many inducements to conceive) was compoſed long before the foundation of the Temple was laid. But other *Pſalms* of Thankſgiving there are beſides theſe two, which were compoſed upon ſpecial occaſions, and afterwards continued in their ſolemn Feaſts with further additions, and amplifications, as the like occaſions of publick joy did miniſter. For latter Prophets, or men otherwiſe inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt for that purpoſe, to interſert, or add more plain or fuller expreſſions of *Davids*, or former Prophets intent or meaning in their form of Thankſgiving, or to Paraphraſe upon them, was never unlawful, although they had added the ſame curſe, to ſuch as ſhould add unto, or diminiſh their writings, which is annexed unto the law of *Moſes*, and the Book of the *Revelations*. For no addition is forbidden, but ſuch as includeth a vitiation of the Text, or ſuch as pretendeth Divine Authority, when it hath it not.

6. But however this 118. Pſalm or moſt part of it might be begun upon the occaſions forementioned by *Ezra*; yet ſome paſſages in it there are, which in particular refer unto ſome one of the three great and Anniverſary ſolemnities, as that; *This is the day which the Lord hath made, we will rejoice and be glad in it. Save now O Lord I beſeech thee, &c. ver.* 24, 25. Now after the foundation of the Temple was laid, there was no ſolemn Feaſt, in which this peoples expreſſion of joy and thankſgiving was ſo remarkable, or ſo peremptorily required, as in that Feaſt of Tabernacles or Booths recorded by *Nehemiah*, *cap.* 8. A Feaſt of Tabernacles there was ſome few months after the foundation of the Temple was laid by *Zerubbabel* and *Jeſhua* the Son of *Jozadeck*, recorded by *Ezra* 3. 4. *&c.* But that Feaſt of Tabernacles was ſolemnized *ſecundum quid*, only in reſpect of the peculiar daily ſacrifices, which the Law in that month appointed to be offered. There is no mention in *Ezra* of their dwelling in Booths; either in their publick ſtreets, upon their publick Houſes, or in the Courts of the Lords Houſe, which was not at that time builded. This part of that great ſolemnity had not been obſerved from the days of *Joſhua* the Son of *Nun*, until *Nehemiah* had put his peremptory Commiſſion for re-edifying *Jeruſalem*, in execution. Nehemiah *which is the* Tirſhatha, *and* Ezra *the Prieſt the Scribe, and the Levites that taught the people, ſaid unto all the people; This day is holy unto the Lord your God, mourn not, nor weep: for all the people wept, when they heard the words of the Law, &c. And they found written in the Law, which the Lord had commanded by* Moſes, *that the Children of* Iſrael *ſhould dwell in Booths in the feaſt of the ſeventh month. And that they ſhould publiſh, and proclaim in all their Cities, and in* Jeruſalem, *ſaying, Go forth unto the Mount, and fetch Olive branches, and Pine branches, and Myrtle branches, and Palm branches, and branches of thick Trees to make Booths. So the people went forth, and brought them, and made themſelves Booths, every one upon the roof of his Houſe, and in their Courts, and in the Courts of the Houſe of God, and in the ſtreet of the Water Gate of* Ephraim. *And all the Congregation of them that were come again out of the Captivity, made Booths, and ſate under the Booths: for ſince the days of* Joſhua *the Son of* Nun, *unto that day, had not the Children of* Iſrael *done ſo, and there was very great gladneſs. Alſo day by day from the firſt day unto the laſt day, he read in the Book of the Law of God. And they kept the feaſt ſeven days, and on the eight day was a ſolemn Aſſembly according unto the manner,* Nehem. 8. 9, 10, 11. *&c.* This

great day of the Feaſt was that Anniverſary ſolemnity, wherein our Lord and Saviour, after the revolution of many years (how many I leave to the Calculation of Chronologers;) did make that ſolemn Proclamation unto the people aſſembled at the Feaſt of Tabernacles, *John* 7. 37. *In the laſt day, that great day of the feaſt,* Jeſus *ſtood and cryed, ſaying, If any man thirſt, let him come unto me, and drink. He that believeth on me, (as the Scriptures have ſaid) out of his belly ſhall flow rivers of running water. But this ſpake he of the Spirit, which they that believe on him, ſhould receive. For the holy Ghoſt was not yet given, becauſe that* Jeſus *was not yet glorified.*

7. It is very obſervable, which is recorded by Saint *John, Chap.* 7. 14. *That about the midſt of the Feaſt,* Jeſus *went into the Temple and taught: and ſo taught, that the Jews marvelled ſaying, How knoweth this man letters ſeeing he never learned?* But to my apprehenſion, it is more obſervable, and wanteth not a myſtery (though for the preſent I cannot ſound it;) why our Saviour ſhould begin to teach in the Temple, in the midſt of the Feaſt, not from the firſt day until the laſt, as *Ezra* the Prieſt and Scribe had done in the ſame Feaſt mentioned by *Nehemiah.* His Friends and Kinsfolks had adviſed him to be at *Jeruſalem* to ſhew himſelf at the beginning of the Feaſt: *Now the Jews Feaſt of Tabernacles was at hand. His Brethren therefore ſaid unto him, Depart hence, and go unto* Judea, *that thy Diſciples alſo may ſee the works which thou doſt. For there is no man that doth any thing in ſecret, and he himſelf ſeeketh to be known openly. If thou doſt theſe things, ſhew thy ſelf unto the world, &c. Then* Jeſus *ſaid unto them, My time is not yet come; but your time is always ready, &c. Go ye up unto this Feaſt. I go not up yet unto this feaſt, for my time is not yet come. When he had ſaid theſe words unto them, he abode ſtill in Galilee.* Howbeit after his teaching three or four days at the leaſt, and his ſolemn invitation of all men to come unto him in the great day of the Feaſt; he was not publickly acknowledged for the Chriſt; but ſo acknowledged by ſome, and with demur or contradiction of others, *Then the Jews ſought him at the feaſt, and ſaid, Where is he? And there was much murmuring among the people concerning him. For ſome ſaid, he is a good man; Others ſaid, nay, but he deceiveth the people. Howbeit no man ſpake openly of him, for fear of the Jews. John* 7. 11, 12, *&c.* But this verdict of him, was given up before he taught in the Temple. After which time their ſuffrages varied, not only one from another, but from themſelves. For upon that part of Doctrine which he delivered from the 15. verſe to the 25. *Some of them of* Jeruſalem *ſaid, Is not this he whom they ſeek to kill? But lo, he ſpeaketh boldly, and they ſay nothing unto him: Do the Rulers know indeed, that this is the very Chriſt? Howbeit we know this man, whence he is: But when Chriſt cometh, no man knoweth whence he is. Then cryed* Jeſus *in the Temple, as he taught, ſaying, Ye both know me, and whence I am, and I am not come of my ſelf, but he that hath ſent me is true, whom ye know not. But I know him: for I am from him, and he hath ſent me. Then they ſought to take him: but no man laid hands on him, becauſe his hour was not yet come. And many of the people believed on him, and ſaid, when Chriſt cometh, will he do more miracles than theſe, which this man hath done? John* 7. 25. *&c.* But in the great and laſt day of the Feaſt, many of the people, after they had heard his ſolemn invitation, ſaid, *Of a truth, this is the Prophet: Others ſaid, this is the Chriſt. But ſome ſaid, Shall Chriſt come out of* Galilee? *Hath not the*

Scripture ſaid, that Chriſt cometh of the ſeed of David, *and out of the Town of* Bethleem, *where* David *was? So there was a diviſion among the people, becauſe of him. And ſome of them would have taken him, but no man laid hands on him, ver.* 40, 41, *&c.* For when the Chief Prieſts, and Phariſees aſked of the Officers, whom they had employed upon the demur or debatement of the people to attach him, verſe 32. *Why have ye not brought him?* The only anſwer they could get, was this, *Never man ſpake like this man.* verſe 45. 46.

8. But however, in this great Feaſt he ſuffered ſuch contradictions of ſinful men, open contradictions one to another, and ſecret contradictions in moſt individuals to their own Conſciences. For as he had told them *John* 7. 28. *That they both knew him, and whence he was, and that he came not of himſelf.* Albeit their paſſions would not permit them ſo to acknowledge him. Yet his entertainment for the preſent, was not ſo harſh and churliſh (at the peoples hand eſpecially) as it was at the next ſolemn Feaſt, in which he again did publiſh his Commiſſion, to wit, in the Feaſt of the *Encœnia* or Dedication of the Temple, immediately enſuing the forementioned Feaſt of Tabernacles. *There was a diviſion* (ſaith Saint *John*) *again among the Jews for theſe ſayings, And many of them ſaid, He hath a Devil, and is mad: why hear ye him? Others ſaid, theſe are not the words of him that hath a Devil. Can a Devil open the eyes of the blind? And it was at* Jeruſalem *the Feaſt of the Dedication, and it was Winter. And* Jeſus *walked in the Temple in* Solomons *Porch. Then came the Jews round about him, and ſaid unto him, How long doſt thou make us doubt? If thou be the Chriſt, tell us plainly.* Jeſus *anſwered them, I told you, and ye believed me not. The works that I do in my Fathers name, they bear witneſs of me, &c. Joh.* 10. 19, 20, *&c.* Upon this avouchment, that God was his Father, and that he and his Father were one, the Jews took up ſtones to ſtone him. *Jeſus anſwered them, many good works have I ſhewed from my Father: for which of theſe works do ye ſtone me? The Jews anſwered him, ſaying, For a good work we ſtone thee not; but for blaſphemy, and becauſe that thou being a man makeſt thy ſelf a God. But he eſcaped out of their hands, and went away again beyond* Jordan, *into the place, where* John *at firſt baptized. And there he abode, and many reſorted unto him, and ſaid,* John *did no miracle, but all things that* John *ſpake of this man were true. And many believed on him there. ver.*39,40,&c. more than had done at *Jeruſalem,* unto which he did not come, till the great and laſt feaſt of the Paſſover, albeit he were invited, or adviſed to repair thither, rather than to remain in *Herods* Dominions. *Luke* 13. 31. *Then came certain Phariſees* (Inhabitants of *Jeruſalem,* or their Complices) *ſaying unto him, Get thee out, and depart hence: for* Herod *will kill thee. And he ſaid unto them, Go, tell that fox, &c. It cannot be, that a Prophet periſh out of* Jeruſalem, *&c.* verſe 33. He finally reſolves them, *Ye,* (to wit) *of* Jeruſalem, *Behold your Houſe is left unto you deſolate: Ye ſhall not ſee me until the time come, when ye ſhall ſay, Bleſſed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord, verſe* 35. And after this manner he was ſaluted by Men, Women, and Children: by all ſorts (unleſs it were the Scribes and Phariſees) at his coming to this great and laſt Paſſover, whereof I now treat. However their crucifying of him ſome few days after, whom they acknowledged for their Lord and Meſſias, did both deſerve and portend that utter deſolation of City and Temple, which he had foretold in the words immediately going before, *O* Jeruſalem,

ruſalem, Jeruſalem, *which killeſt the Prophets, and ſtoneſt them that are ſent unto thee; how often would I have gathered thee, &c. Behold your Houſe is left unto you deſolate.* But of the full importance of theſe words, I have delivered my opinion elſewhere more at large. That Chriſt after the Feaſt of the Dedication mentioned *John* 10. did remain where *John* at firſt baptized, until ſome few days before the Paſsover; is clear from that remarkable ſtory concerning the raiſing of *Lazarus* from death. *John* 11. 1. &c. *When he had heard therefore that he was ſick, he abode two days ſtill in the ſame place, where he was. Then after that, ſaith he to his Diſciples, Let us go into* Judea *again. His Diſciples ſay unto him, Maſter, the Jews of late ſought to ſtone thee; and goeſt thou thither again?* Jeſus *anſwered, Are there not twelve hours in the day? If any man walk in the day, he ſtumbleth not; becauſe he ſeeth the light of the world. But if a man walk in the night, he ſtumbleth, becauſe there is no light in him.*

9. It is obſervable, that immediately before, or in the time of theſe great and ſolemn Feaſts, his fame was publiſhed for ſome rare miracle. *When Chriſt cometh* (ſaith the people) in the Feaſt of Tabernacles, *will he do more miracles than this man hath done? John* 7. 31. The late miracle which occaſioned the contradiction or variety of opinion at the Feaſt of the Dedication of the Temple, was the reſtoring of one, who had been blind from his birth, to perfect ſight. You have the ſtory at large *John* 9. The laſt and greateſt miracle, which he did about *Jeruſalem*, immediately before this laſt Paſsover, and that which occaſioned him to be proclaimed the Chriſt, not by himſelf as at other times, nor by his Diſciples only, but by the unanimous conſent of that mighty Aſſembly, beſides the Prieſts, and Scribes, and Phariſees, was the raiſing of *Lazarus* to life after he had been four days dead. And thus far I can aſſent unto ſome modern Writers, that the Multitude then aſſembled, eſpecially the ſtrangers, did purpoſely ſeek at this Feaſt to redeem their former contempt or ſlight eſteem of him at the Feaſt of Tabernacles and Dedication before-mentioned, by their forwardneſs to entertain and ſalute him, as their glorious King, the long expected Son of *David*.

CHAP. XXI.

That the Meſſias was to be proclaimed King of Sion *at ſome one or other of their great and ſolemn Feaſts, was a prenotion or received opinion amongſt the Jews.*

1. FRom the Evangelical Hiſtory of our Saviors appearances at the ſolemn Feaſt celebrated at *Jeruſalem*, and from the debates between his Auditors, eſpecially in the laſt year of his preſence there; the Intelligent Reader will eaſily collect without further Advertiſement, that it was a common *prenotion*, or received opinion amongſt this people, that their expected *Meſſias* ſhould be manifeſted or acknowledged at ſome one or other of their Anniverſary Feaſts; of which the Paſsover was the principal, or (as *Chryſoſtome* with ſome other of the Ancients inſtile it) *Metropolitan*. But in which of theſe three ſolemn Feaſts, the Son of *David* ſhould be proclaimed King, and made (by God) their Lord,

and Chriſt, was if not to all, yet to moſt of them, even to his followers (whether Apoſtles or Diſciples) uncertain, until the event did determine the doubt unto ſuch of them, as God did grant eyes to ſee, and ears to hear, and hearts to underſtand the myſteries of ſalvation; *reſpectively prefigured* by theſe three ſolemn Feaſts, and really accompliſht in this great Feaſt of the Paſsover, wherein they Crucified *JESVS* of *NAZARETH* (their late proclaimed King,) and in the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt* next following. The full intent, and purport of this laſt obſervation, as well the affirmative, as negative part, to wit, [*the certainty that he was to be proclaimed King at ſome one of thoſe Feaſts: and the uncertainty at which of thoſe he ſhould be ſo proclaimed*] is included in thoſe words of St. *John* before-cited to another purpoſe; *Theſe things underſtood not his Diſciples at the firſt*; that is, they did not lay them to heart, nor rightly apprehend the melodious harmony between the ſolemnity of that time, and the events fore-pictured by that, and other ſolemnities. *But when* Jeſus *was glorified, then remembred they that theſe things were written of him, and that they had done theſe things unto him*, *Chap.* 12. 16. that is, they firſt conſidered, and then remembred, that his glorious exaltation was foretold, typically prefigured by that ſolem Feaſt, and really acknowledged by the multitude.

2. That the ſolemnity of dwelling in Booths, uſed in the Feaſt of Tabernacles, or the exigence or occaſion in whoſe remembrance that Feaſt was inſtituted (which was their ſpecial relief from extremity of heat and thirſt in the Wilderneſs;) had ſpecial reference to the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt*: is too apparent to be contradicted by any good Chriſtian, from that of our Saviour, *John* 7. 37. *In the laſt day, that great day of the Feaſt* (to wit, of the Tabernacles) Jeſus *ſtood, and cried, ſaying, If any man thirſt, &c. This ſpake he of the Spirit, which they that believe on him ſhould receive. For the Holy Ghoſt was not yet given, becauſe that* Jeſus *was not yet glorified.* But ſhortly after his glorification, the Spirit of God, the true water of life, was poured out more plentifully upon all fleſh capable of it, than water had been unto *Iſrael* in their extremity of thirſt in the Wilderneſs; or then that water, which was uſed (I know not whether by Precept or Tradition) to be poured out upon the Altar in the Feaſt of Tabernacles, eſpecially upon that great day of the Feaſt, wherein our Saviour ſpake theſe words. But in what place of Scripture it was foreſignified, that waters ſhould flow out of their bellies that believed on him, is not pertinent to our preſent purpoſe. Gods ſpecial protection, not of *Iſrael* only according to the fleſh, but of his Univerſal Church from ſpiritual Enemies, under the ſhadow of his Wings, was more peculiar than the Palm-Trees or Willows of the Brook, or Booths made of them, could afford to the Sons of *Jacob*, againſt the parching heat of the Sun, after our Saviour was glorified. As for thoſe words forecited, *Levit.* 23. 43. *I made the Children of* Iſrael *to dwell in Booths, when I brought them out of the land of* Egypt: they refer (if good Writers be not miſtaken) to *Exod.* 12. 37. *The Children of* Iſrael *journeyed from* Rameſes *to* Succoth; that is a place of Booths, or Tabernacles, or as to a Northern Borderer might be more fully expreſt, *to a* place of Shields, or Summer Houſes. Yet (if I be not miſtaken) the forecited place of *Leviticus* concerning the occaſion of inſtituting the Feaſt of Tabernacles or Shields hath reference alſo to that of *Exodus* 15. 27. *And they came to* Elim, *where were twelve*

Wells of Water, and ſeventy Palm-Trees, and they encamped there by the Waters.

3. Out of the former diſcuſſion it is apparent, that the Feaſt of Tabernacles had reference unto the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt*, and that the commandments of carnal rejoycing in that Feaſt, were ſpiritually accompliſhed in the *Pentecoſt* next following our Saviours Paſſion. But what ſpecial reference had the ſame Feaſt of Tabernacles unto the ſolemnity of the Paſsover? Surely the ſame, which other ſolemn Feaſts of the Seventh Month (which was a month of legal ſolemnities,) had. Now that the Feaſt of Atonement or Expiation, which was the tenth day of that month, (next after the Feaſt of Trumpets, and ſome four days before the Feaſt of Tabernacles) was punctually accompliſht at the Feaſt of the Paſsover, wherein our Saviour was Crucified; *Maldonat* himſelf, the moſt rigid Oppoſer of the harmony betwixt theſe ſolemnities, and the laſt Feaſt of the Paſsover, would not have denyed, if this interrogatory had been put unto him. It is true, that the myſteries fore-ſhadowed at this Feaſt by the Scape-Goat, by the waſhing of the High Prieſt, and by ſome other Ceremonies, were fulfilled *in die ſuo*, that is upon the tenth day of the ſeventh month, in which our Saviour (as with the conſent of beſt modern Writers I have elſewhere obſerved *) was baptized. But for the myſteries prefigured by the Sacrifices, whoſe blood was brought into the Sanctuary upon the tenth of the ſeventh month; theſe were not accompliſht, until the entrance of our Redeemer *CHRIST JESUS*, into the moſt Holy place, was viſibly ſignified by the rending of the Vail in the Temple. It is moſt true again, that the legal Feaſts of Trumpets, which was the firſt ſolemnity of the ſeventh month, was Evangelically fulfilled by St. *John Baptiſts* Proclamation and Baptiſm in the beginning of the ſame month. But as for the Feaſt of Tabernacles, albeit the ſolemnity thereof was in part fulfilled at our Saviours appearance, and Proclamation of his Celeſtial Ambaſſage by himſelf, upon the great day of that Feaſt, as was but now obſerved: Yet the full accompliſhment of the ſolemnities then uſed, or of the myſteries prefigured by their publick rejoicing in that Feaſt eſpecially, was not exhibited, until our Saviours triumphant ingreſs into *Jeruſalem* four days before the Feaſt of the Paſsover, wherein he ſuffered for us. Many amongſt the multitude, at the Feaſt of Tabernacles immediately before, did acknowledge him for the expected *Meſſias*, or for the Prophet, whom God had promiſed to raiſe up amongſt them like unto *Moſes*. None of them then did either out of expreſs apprehenſion of his Deity, or by Emblematical ſignifications of their allegiance unto him, acknowledge or proclaim him to be the God of their Fathers, who had ſpoken to *Moſes* in the Wilderneſs: or that very God, unto whoſe honour, the Feaſt of Tabernacles was firſt inſtituted, and ſo continued to their poſterity. This acknowledgment was firſt made (though unwittingly) by the multitude, which came to greet his welcome, when he came from *Bethany* to *Jeruſalem*, over the Mount *Olivet*. But how was he at that time (though unwittingly) ſo acknowledged by the multitude?

* See Chriſts Anſwer to *John*.

4. Although man be a reaſonable and projecting Creature; yet the cunningeſt contrivances of wiſeſt men, are always moderated by the All-ſeeing wiſdom of their Creator. And the execution of their projects, although they reach unto, or hit the mark propoſed by them, do often glance or fall upon ſome other Object, than they thought

of. And oftentimes, as well the intention, as contrivance for its execution, are put upon them by ſecret inſtinct. As in that good woman, which poured the precious Ointment on our Saviours head, whilſt he ſat at meat in the houſe of *Simon* the Leper, *Matth.* 26. 7. Few I think upon good conſideration, will ſuſpect any further intent, than a longing deſire to teſtifie her love, her loyalty, and obſervance of him, as a gracious man and a ſpecial Benefactor. Yet in the diſpoſition of Divine Providence, working in her by ſecret inſtinct, to teſtifie her love rather in this kind, than in any other; ſhe did exhibite an undoubted preſage of his death and burial approaching, as our Saviour himſelf interprets the fact: *When his Diſciples ſaw it, they had indignation, ſaying, To what purpoſe is this waſte? for this Ointment might have been ſold for much, and given to the Poor. When* Jeſus *underſtood it, he ſaid unto them, Why trouble ye the woman? for ſhe hath wrought a good work upon me. For ye have the Poor always with you, but me ye have not always. For in that ſhe hath poured this Ointment on my body, ſhe did it for my burial. Verily I ſay unto you, whereſoever this Goſpel ſhall be Preached in the whole world, there ſhall alſo this, that this woman hath done, be told for a memorial of her, Matth.* 26. 8, 9, 10, *&c.* As he was willing to receive the accuſtomed Funeral Rites of his Country, at this womans hands, before his death: ſo was it his pleaſure to have his Coronation over the Kingdom of *David*, the Dedication of his glorious Temple, his triumph over the Grave, Death and Hell, ſolemnly celebrated before his Reſurrection from the dead. For it was lawful for this Lyon of *Judah* to triumph over death, before the victory, which was to be purchaſed by his death. The honour done unto him at this ſolemnity, and the ſeverity of his ſentence againſt *Jeruſalem* in the midſt of this *Jubilee*, (methinks) exhibits ſuch a glimpſe of his ſecond appearance in Majeſty unto judgment, as the transfiguration on the Mount did of his Glory, after his Reſurrection. He had told the Jews, *John* 5. 23. *As the Father raiſeth up the dead, and quickeneth them: Even ſo the Son quickeneth whom he will. For the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son: that all men ſhould honour the Son, even as they honour the Father. He that honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father which hath ſent him.* A full proof of his power to pierce the monuments by his word, and to make the graves give up their dead; had been a few days before this ſolemnity, exhibited in his raiſing of *Lazarus:* which as was before obſerved, did ſpecially occaſion the multitude aſſembled at *Jeruſalem*, to meet and congratulate him, not as the Son of *David* only, but as *David's* Lord. For, greater honour (though they intended not ſo much) had not been done, either by *David* before the Ark of the Lord, or by their Fore-fathers unto God himſelf in the Feaſt of Tabernacles.

5. That the Feaſt of Tabernacles was a Feaſt of joy, inſtituted to the honour of that God, who had redeemed *Iſrael* from *Egyptian* bondage, who had protected them in *Succoth*, and in the Wilderneſs in their whole journey towards *Canaan*; is a point unqueſtionable either amongſt good Chriſtians or malignant Jews. That the carrying of Palm-branches in triumphant manner, ſkipping, dancing, or ſinging, was the peculiar character or expreſſion of that joy, wherewith this people was commanded to rejoyce before the Lord their God in this Feaſt of Tabernacles above all others, may be ratified by the tradition and practice of the Jews, whilſt they had liberty,

and opportunity to celebrate this Feaſt, eſpecially from *Nehemiah* his time. And in as much as the great multitude aſſembled at the Feaſt of Paſſeover, wherein our Saviour did accompliſh the laws and rites of the Paſchal Lamb; did preſent with this kind of honour accuſtomed in the Feaſt of Tabernacles: they evidently declare unto the world, though not by expreſs confeſſion, or diſtinct apprehenſion of his eternal Deity (as was ſaid before;) yet by geſture, and deportment put upon them by ſecret inſtinct, that this *Jeſus* whom they thus welcomed in the Mount of *Olives*, was that very God and Lord of Hoſts, who had given them victory over *Pharaoh* and his Hoſt in the Red Sea, who had protected them, and refreſhed them in the Wilderneſs in all their diſtreſſes, and in their whole journey to the Land of *Canaan:* that very only God in memory of whoſe gracious goodneſs towards them, the Feaſt of Tabernacles was firſt inſtituted by *Moſes*, afterward more ſolemnly celebrated by *Joſhua;* and upon ſome interruption in matter of ceremonies, revived, or reſtored by *Nehemiah.*

6. As for the doctrine of the latter Jews (ſuch I mean, as from our Saviours time, have recollected the practice of their Fore-fathers in this Feaſt of Tabernacles;) I refer the Ingenuous Reader to the Commentators upon *Leviticus* 23. and upon *Nehemiah.* The garb and geſture of the Jews in bearing of Palm-branches at the Feaſt of Tabernacles, (if we may believe theſe mens relations) was not much unlike the deportment of the Ancient *Grecians* after victory, whether in ſerious Wars, or in Olympick Games: or rather the deportment of the Ancient *Grecians* was by ſuperſtitious imitation borrowed from the laws and cuſtoms of the Ancient *Hebrews.* The practice of the *Grecians*, and moſt other Nations in their victories, is recorded by *Pauſanias.*

Wreaths or branches of Palms, are a ſet reward for many Prizes; and in every place doth adorn the right hand of the Vanquiſhers: which cuſtom is ſaid to have had its firſt original after this wiſe. It is reported that *Theſeus* being returned from *Crete*, did inſtitute certain games at *Delos*, in the honour of *Apollo*, and did reward the Victorers with Palms: Of which Palms *Homer* alſo maketh mention in thoſe verſes, wherein he recites the mournful Oration of *Uliſſes* to the daughter of *Alcinous.*

Οἱ δὲ ἀγῶνες φοίνικος ἔχουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ στέφανον, ἐς δὲ τὴν δεξιὰν ἔστι, καὶ πανταχοῦ τῷ νικῶντι ἐστι θέμενος φοίνιξ. ἐνομίσθη δὲ ἐπὶ τοιῷδε. Θησέα ἀνακομιζόμενον ἐκ Κρήτης φασὶν ἐν Δήλῳ ἀγῶνα ποιήσασθαι ω Ἀπόλλωνι, στεφανοῦν δὲ αὐτὸν τοὺς νικῶντας ω φοίνικι. τοῦτο μὲν δὲ ἄρξαι λέγουσιν ἐντεῦθεν. τοῦ δὲ φοίνικος τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ μνήμην ἐποιήσατο καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν Ὀδυσσέως ἱκεσίᾳ πρὸς τὴν Ἀλκίνου θυγατέρα. *Pauſanias in Arcadicis Lib.* 8.

That the bearing of Palm-branches in their right hands, was a general Emblem (amongſt moſt Nations) of victory; I willingly aſſent to this Learned Antiquary, for *Palmam obtinere* is as much in Latin Writers, as *Victoriam obtinere.* But that this device ſhould take its original from *Theſeus*, I cannot be perſwaded; becauſe the Sacred ſtory of the Old Teſtament, and the Propheſies or Viſions in the New, do teſtifie this cuſtom to be more Ancient than *Theſeus* amongſt Gods People, and an Emblem of the victory of Gods Saints over Death and the Grave. To omit other places, that of Saint *John*, *Apoc.*7. is moſt pregnant: *After this I beheld, and loe, a great multitude which no man could number, of all Nations, and Kindreds, and People, and Tongues ſtood before the Throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with*

White Robes, and Palms in their hands. And cryed with a loud voice, ſaying, Salvation to our God, which ſitteth upon the Throne, and to the Lamb, verſe 9, 10. This manner of congratulation uſed by the Saints, is but a more diſtinct and full expreſſion of the peoples voice, when they cryed *Hoſanna* to the Son of *David*, which as was obſerved before, was both precatory and congratulatory: and did withal, according to the propriety of the Hebrew, import thus much; Lord grant Salvation to the Son of *David*, that he may ſave us. So that both the people (though they unwittingly, and more unconſtantly) and the Saints of all Nations expreſly and conſtantly do honour the Son, even as they honour the Father.

CHAP. XXII.

That the honour done to our Saviour at his coming to Jeruſalem, *did (though not in the diſtinct apprehenſion of the multitude, or of his Diſciples) concludently declare him to be the Son of God, or the God of their Fathers.*

1. THE former Aſſertion concerning the real exhibition of that honour unto the Son of *David*, at this memorable Paſſeover, which by the intendment of the Law, *Levit.* 23. was directed unto God alone in the Feaſt of Tabernacles, is more remarkably implyed in the undoubted accompliſhment of the Feaſt of Dedication, next before the ſame Paſſeover: eſpecially if we compare the often mentioned congratulations of the people crying [*Hoſanna* to the Son of *David*] with our Saviours actions and doctrine (both of them being accurately recorded by the Evangeliſts) between his entring into the Temple, and the time of his Agony. The Feaſt of the Dedication, *Encænia* in the ninth month heretofore handled in part, was a Feaſt inſtituted in imitation of the Feaſt of Tabernacles, whoſe Anniverſary Celebration was immediately and peremptorily commanded by God himſelf; *Moſes* at that time being his ſole Agent or Embaſſadour: whereas the Feaſt of Dedication or *Encænia* was inſtituted by the viſible Church at a time, wherein there was no Prophet in *Iſrael*, no man endued with the Spirit of *Moſes*; nor no immediate or extraordinary Revelation from God. For a little before the inſtitution of the Feaſt of Dedication, the Author of the 74. *Pſalm* had thus complained; *We ſee not our ſigns, there is no more any Prophet, neither is there among us any that knoweth how long.* And this *Pſalm*, as beſt Interpreters are of opinion, was compoſed in the time of *Antiochus* his raging tyranny over *Jeruſalem*, over the People of God, and his Temple. Both parts of this obſervation may be confirmed by the Author of the firſt Book of *Maccabees*; *Then* Judas *appointed certain men to fight againſt thoſe that were in the Fortreſs, until he had cleanſed the Sanctuary. So he choſe Prieſts of blameleſs converſation, ſuch as had pleaſure in the Law: Who cleanſed the Sanctuary, and bare out the defiled ſtones into an unclean place. And when as they conſulted what to do with the Altar of burnt offerings which was prophaned; they thought it beſt to pull it down, leſt it ſhould be a reproach to them, becauſe the Heathen had defiled it. Wherefore they pulled it down, and*

laid up the ſtones in the Mountain of the Temple, in a convenient place, until there ſhould come a Prophet to ſhew what ſhould be done with them, 1 Maccab. 4. 41, 42, *&c.* And after they had cleanſed the Sanctuary, they reſtored the holy veſſels, and furniſht the Temple of the Lord. *On the five and twentieth day of the ninth Month (which is called the Month* Caſleu *) in the hundred forty, and eighth year, they aroſe up betimes in the morning, and offered Sacrifices according to the Law upon the new Altar of burnt offerings, which they had made. Look at what time, and what day the Heathen had prophaned it, even in the day it was dedicated with Songs, with Citterns, and Harps,* &c. ver. 52 *Moreover* Judas *and his Brethren, with the whole Congregation of* Iſrael, *ordained that the days of the Dedication of the Altar ſhould be kept in their ſeaſon from year to year, by the ſpace of eight days from the* 25. *day of the month* Caſleu, *with mirth and gladneſs,* ver. 29. The manner of celebrating this Feaſt, is more fully expreſt by the Author of the ſecond Book of *Maccabees, Chap.* 10. 5, 6, *&c. Upon the ſame day that the Strangers prophaned the Temple, on the very ſame day, it was cleanſed again, even the* 25. *day of the ſame month, which is* Caſleu. *And they kept eight days with gladneſs, as in the Feaſt of Tabernacles; remembring that not long before they had held the feaſt of Tabernacles, when as they wandred in the Mountains and Dens like Beaſts,. Therefore they bare Branches, and fair Boughs, and Palms alſo, and ſang Pſalms unto him, that had given them good ſucceſs in cleanſing his Temple.* They alſo ordained by a common Decree, that every year thoſe days ſhould be kept of the whole Nation of the *Jews.* And ſo it was continued unto the laſt year of our Saviours Pilgrimage here on Earth.

2. It hath been long ago well obſerved by the Learned and judicious *Hooker*, and (if my memory fail not) toucht upon by his Ancient, the Learned Examiner of the *Trent Council:* that albeit the Feaſt of the Dedication was not inſtituted by *Moſes*, nor ratified by any of his Succeſſors in the Prophetical function; yet was it graced by our Lord and Saviours preſence and obſervation of it, as appears from *John* the 10. So far was he from cenſuring Sacred Solemnities, though not immediately inſtituted by God, but by the ordinary authority of the viſible Church: ſo long as their inſtitutions did not vitiate, but rather enlarge their Laws and Ceremonies regiſtred by *Moſes* (or to uſe the phraſe of the Hebrew Rabbins) did not contradict the ſtations of Mount *Sinai.* For he came to *Jeruſalem* at this Feaſt (though celebrated in the Winter) and taught the people, not to take the ſolemnity for a will-worſhip, but to expound the true intent and prefigurations of it, to try whether they would acknowledge him to be that God who had given their Fore-elders good ſucceſs in cleanſing the Altar and Sanctuary, from the pollutions of the Heathen. But ſo far was his own people from acknowledging thus much, that they took up ſtones to throw at him for his Doctrine. Yet at the Feaſt of the Paſſeover next enſuing, they did by matter of fact, or emblematical expreſſions of their loyalty towards him (being thereunto led by ſecret inſtinct beyond their actual apprehenſion) acknowledge him for their very God, who had given them victory over *Antiochus*, over *Gorgias*, and other reliques of his malicious Aſſociates or Inſtruments. For thus much their bearing of branches of Palms, of Olives, or other Trees uſed in the honour of God, at the Feaſt of Dedication, or that other of Tabernacles, and their crying

ing *Hoſanna* unto him, did concludently import by way of ſuch benign interpretation of their meaning, as loving Fathers make of their liſping Childrens expreſſions, or other ſignifications of their deſires by bodily and viſible geſture, though not by articulate voice. Immediately after he had, in the ſubſtance of man, received from them thoſe honorary Preſents, which were due to God alone, he went into the Temple to cleanſe and purifie it from the abuſes of Money-changers or Merchandiſers, wherewith upon politick pretences or ſophiſms of ſtate for preſent gain, it was at this time no leſs polluted by the Seed of *Abraham*, than it had been by *Antiochus*, or other Heathens, before the Feaſt of the Dedication was inſtituted. Once before, (as we read *John* 2.) he had reformed the like abuſes, but then in the Name and Authority of his Father: but now he viſits the ſame Temple, and gives ſentence in his own Name, *It is written*, (not my Fathers houſe, but) *my houſe ſhall be called the houſe of Prayer, but ye have made it a Den of Thieves*, Mat. 21. 13.

3. This ſecond reformation, he executed ſo peremptorily, that the chief Prieſts and Elders of the people came the next morning into the Temple, as he was teaching, and demanded of him, *By what authority doſt thou theſe things?* Mat. 21. 23. To this queſtion he anſwers only by a croſs interrogatory, unto which they could not reply; *I will ask you alſo one thing, which if ye tell me, I likewiſe will tell you, by what authority I do theſe things: The Baptiſm of* John, *whence was it? from Heaven, or of Men? And they reaſoned among themſelves, ſaying, If we ſhall ſay from Heaven, he will ſay unto us, why did ye not then believe him? But if we ſhall ſay of men, we fear the people: for all held* John *as a Prophet. And they anſwered Jeſus and ſaid, We cannot tell, And he ſaid unto them, Neither tell I you by what authority I do theſe things.* If they had (as their Conſciences did ſuggeſt unto them) acknowledged the Baptiſm of *John* to have been from Heaven, they muſt withal have acknowledged him to have been the ſecond *Adam*, or Redeemer of Mankind; to have deſcended from Heaven truly Heavenly; not the Son of *David* only, but the true Son of God their Lord, and God; as the little Children the Evening before (though not perhaps by expreſs apprehenſion) had proclaimed him: and ſo proclaimed him, that the chief Prieſts and Scribes could not contradict his moſt Divine Expoſition of their meaning, or rather of the *Pſalmiſt*, whoſe Prophetical Hymn God had appointed them now to act; *When the chief Prieſts* (ſaith Saint *Matthew*) *ſaw the wonderful things that he did, and the Children crying in the Temple and ſaying,* Hoſanna *to the Son of* David; *they were ſore diſpleaſed, and ſaid unto him, Heareſt thou, what theſe ſay?* As if they had thus meant, We ſee thou art ready to play at ſmall games, rather than ſit out, being thus content to ſolace thy ſelf with the applauſe of little Children, which know not what they ſay: as lately thou didſt with the congratulations of Ideots and Fiſhermen thy followers. But children and fools (ſuch as they accounted our Saviours followers) do oft times ſpeak the very truth: and he who was truth it ſelf, doth juſtifie theſe little Children, as Gods Embaſſadours for this purpoſe. For ſo he replies, *Yea, have ye* (who boaſt ſo much of your ſkill in Scripture) *never read, Out of the mouths of Babes and Sucklings thou haſt perfected praiſe?* And he left them as ſilent for any matter of juſt reply, as he had done their father the Devil, when he ſent him away with that *Item*, or *Scriptum eſt, Avoid, Satan: for it is written, thou ſhalt*

ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve. And however the malice of theſe chief Prieſts and Scribes did in the next morning revive, yet the teſtimony alledged by him in juſtification of the Children, was ſo pregnantly concludent of his purpoſe, that Satan himſelf, had he been preſent, could not have reply'd unto it.

4. For that 8. *Pſalm*, as the *Jews* cannot deny, was compoſed in honour of the God of *Iſrael:* that it was alſo Prophetical, and to be fulfilled in time, is to all Chriſtians apparent from our Apoſtles allegation of another place to the like purpoſe, *Hebrews* 2. 6, 7. of whoſe fulfilling hereafter. The firſt part of the Propheſie, (that יְהוָה אֲרֹנֵנוּ God their Lord, which as hath been before obſerved, was the peculiar title of God the Son, or of God to be manifeſted in the fleſh) was never punctually fulfilled, until the Children cryed *Hoſanna* to the Son of *David*, in the Temple. In theſe congratulations, they did by Divine Inſtinct, or diſpoſition of the All-ſeeing Providence, proclaim the expected Son of *David* to be יְהוָה אֲרֹנֵנוּ, that very God their Lord, in whoſe praiſe this *Pſalm* was conceived. The Babes then did ſpell the Prophets meaning not amiſs: But our Saviour, and the preſent circumſtances of the time, did put their liſping ſyllables together, more rightly, and fully anſwerable to the meaning of the Prophetical Viſion. For ſo it followeth in the ſame *Pſalm*, that this God their Lord, did therefore ordain his praiſe out of the mouths of Babes and Sucklings, *Becauſe of his Enemies; that he might ſtill the Enemy and Avenger*, *Pſa.* 8. 2. And ſo the malicious Prieſts and Scribes were put to a *Nonplus* upon our Saviours allegation of this Propheſie in juſtification of himſelf, and of theſe Infants, whoſe teſtimonies they ſought to elevate, and to impute the acceptance of it to his folly. Now albeit our Saviour left them at this *Nonplus* for the preſent, yet within a day or two after, he putteth the very *Phariſees*, the moſt Learned of them, to a greater *Nonplus*, by another teſtimony, parallel to this of the 8. *Pſalm*, *While the* Phariſees (ſaith Saint *Matthew*) *were gathered together*, Jeſus *asked them ſaying, What think ye of Chriſt? Whoſe Son is he? They ſay unto him, The Son of* David: *He ſaith unto them, How then doth* David *in Spirit call him Lord, ſaying, The Lord ſaid unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footſtool? If* David *then call him Lord, how is he his Son? And no man was able to anſwer him a word: neither durſt any man (from that day forth) ask him any more queſtions*, Mat. 22. 41, 42, *&c.* All this argues a full conviction of their Conſciences: and that unleſs they had ſuffered their Splenatick Paſſions to conquer their Conſciences for the preſent; or had hood winked their intellectuals with malicious habits of their hearts: they muſt of neceſſity have confeſſed as much, as the little Children (in this expreſſion) before had done, to wit, that he was not only the promiſed Son of *David*, but that the promiſed Son of *David* was to be *Davids* Lord, this whole peoples God, and Lord. For it is obſervable, that *David* in the beginning of the 110 *Pſalm*, ſaith not, *Jehova* ſaid unto *Jehova*, but *Jehova* ſaid unto *Adonai*, *Sit thou on my right hand*; not thereby denying, that this *Adonai* was to be *Jehova*, but that he was to be (as the Author of the 8. *Pſalm* ſaith) both his God and his Lord: It is again (to my preſent apprehenſion) obſervable, that after *Nehemiah* had revived the ſolemnity of the Feaſt of Tabernacles, and moved the people to renew the Covenant, which their Fore-fathers had made, for faithful obſervance

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ſervance of Gods Laws given by *Moſes:* they nuncupate this their ſolemn vow unto יְהֹוָה אֲרֹנֵנוּ to the Lord our God. *And the reſt of the people* (to wit, all beſides thoſe, who had ſealed to the Covenant before, with *Nehemiah,*) *the Prieſts, the Singers, the Nethinims, and all they that had ſeparated themſelves from the people of the Lands, unto the Law of God: their Wives, their Sons, and their Daughters, every one having knowledge and underſtanding. They clave to their Brethren, their Nobles, and entred into a curſe, and into an oath, to walk in Gods Laws, which were given by* Moſes *the ſervant of God, and to obſerve, and do all the Commandments of the Lord our Lord, and his judgments and his ſtatutes,* Nehem. 10. 28, 29, &c. But this ſolemn vow and Covenant confirmed by oath of keeping Gods Laws, was more ſhamefully broken by this perverſe and gain-ſaying Generation, than thoſe Laws themſelves had been by *Antiochus* or other Heathen, which had never ſworn unto them. For the chief Prieſts, the Scribes, the Elders, notwithſtanding the former convictions of their Conſciences, hold on to perſecute this God their Lord, unto whoſe honour their Forefathers had dedicated this vow, with greater cruelties and more malicious indignities, than *Antiochus* had uſed towards the meaneſt of his people; and ſo at length to bring that curſe annexed to the former vow, upon themſelves and upon their Children unto this day.

5. Thus much of the Prophecies or foreſignifications of his triumphant ingreſs into *Jeruſalem*, and of his entertainment there, until the Feaſt of the legal Paſsover, whoſe myſtery he did accompliſh by his Death: Points not handled either ſo fully, or ſo punctually, as was requiſite, by any Commentators, Poſtillers, or others whom I have read. And this hath emboldned me to enlarge my meditations upon this ſmall part of my Comments on the Creed. As for the Prophecies, Types, or other fore-ſignifications of what he did, or ſuffered from the time of his ſacred Supper, until his Reſurrection from the dead, theſe have been ſo plentifully and ſo punctually handled by many, eſpecially by the learned *Gerard*, that much cannot be added without a great deal of ſuperfluous pains. And yet I know, it will be expected, that I ſay ſomewhat of this argument.

SECT.

SECTION IV.

The Evangelical relations of the indignities done unto our Saviour by ſinful men, and of his patience in ſuffering in them, reſpectively prefigured and foretold by the Prophets and other ſacred Writers: Or a Comment upon the Evangelical Hiſtory, from the inſtitution of his Supper unto his Death and Burial.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the betraying of our Saviour, of his apprehenſion, and diſmiſſion of his Diſciples: And how they were foretold or prefigured in the Old Teſtament.

1. OF the ſweet Harmony between the inſtitution, occaſion, and celebration of the legal Paſsover, and the continuation of the Lords Supper or Sacrament of his body and blood inſtituted in lieu or rather in remembrance of the accompliſhing of it, I have in other meditations delivered my mind at large. And if it ſhall pleaſe the Lord God to grant me life and health; what I have either uttered in Sermons, or otherways conceived concerning this Argument, ſhall be communicated to this Church wherein I live, (if not to others) in the Article of the Catholick Church, which did begin to be on earth from our Saviours Reſurrection, or from his Aſcenſion into Heaven and deſcending of the Holy Ghoſt. At the accompliſhment of the Legal Paſsover, by the inſtitution of the grand myſtery or Sacrament prefigured by it; our Lord and Saviour was betrayed by his unfaithful friend and ſervant *Judas*, yet by his prodition conſecrated to be that Lamb of GOD, which the Paſchal Lamb did prefigure; that Lamb of God, which was to take away the ſins of the World, of which ſins the annual offering of the Paſchal Lamb, or other legal Sacrifices whatſoever, were but anniverſary commemorations, or remembrances, that ſin did ſtill reign throughout the World. The treaſon of *Judas* was expreſly foretold, (and perhaps prefigured by treaſon practiſed againſt the Pſalmiſt) *Pſal.* 41. 9. *Yea, mine own familiar friend, in whom I truſted, which did eat of my bread, hath lift up his heel againſt me.* By whom, or upon what occaſion ſoever, this *Pſalm* was compoſed, certain it is, the Pſalmiſt according to the literal and hiſtorical ſenſe did act his own part with ſenſible feeling of preſent in-

firmities, which did myſtically prefigure more juſt occaſions, which the promiſed *Meſſias* ſhould have to take up the ſame complaint. *Judas* did eat of his bread: did ſwallow the very ſop, which was prepared for himſelf at that very time, when by the inſtigation of the Devil, he reſolved to betray him. So that this *Pſalm* (as hath been obſerved before) was fulfilled in *CHRIST*, both according to the myſtical, and the moſt punctual, exquiſite, literal ſenſe. So was that other complaint, whether of the ſame Pſalmiſt, or of ſome other; *For it is not an open enemy that hath done me this diſhonour: for then I could have born it. Neither was it mine adverſary that did magnifie himſelf againſt me: for then peradventure I would have hid my ſelf from him. But it was even thou my companion, my guide, and mine own familiar friend. We took ſweet counſel together: and walked in the houſe of God as friends*, Pſalm. 55. 12, 13, &c. *Judas* had often accompanied our Saviour whilſt he taught in the Temple, but eſpecially at this laſt Feaſt of the Paſsover, wherein he did for four days together frequent the Temple, from Morning till Evening, diſputing with the learned, and catechiſing the vulgar and ignorant. And our Saviour to notifie this Prophecy to be exactly fulfilled by *Judas*, ſaluteth him in the name of a friend, while he comes to betray him.

2. His treachery againſt his friendly and loving Lord, was much the fouler, by reaſon of the long communion with him both at table and at ſacred offices. This treachery was expreſly fore-ſhadowed by *Achitophels* treaſon againſt *David*; of whom it is probable, the former complaints were literally meant. Both the treaſons were abominably wicked, but *Ahitophels* more generous, *Judas* moſt baſely wicked: for he had no provocation to meditate revenge upon his Maſter, who had never done him, nor any living ſoul wrong, but went about doing good to all, and healing all that ſought to him for help, though poſſeſſed with Devils. But this kind of healing, *Judas* did not ſeek, but rather through entertainment of greedy and covetous projects, did invite the Devil to enter into his heart, at that very time, wherein the door of ſaving health and entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven was to be ſet open to all. *Ahitophel* had ſome pretence, or provocation to revenge himſelf upon his Maſter, by reaſon of the indignity done unto his Family, and ſtaining of his blood by *David*, in defiling his near Kinſwoman or Neece, *Bathſheba.* Yet was *Ahitophels* malice towards *Davids* perſon more bitter: for he ſought his life, and reſolved to wreak his foehood upon him in the higheſt degree; and had atchieved his purpoſe, ſo *Abſalom* would have hearkned ſo well to his ſecond advice, as he did to his firſt. His firſt advice, which was full of revengeful retaliation for *Davids* folly with *Bathſheba*, we have recorded the 2. of *Samuel* 16. 20. *Then ſaid* Abſalom *to* Ahitophel, *Give counſel among you what we ſhall do. And* Ahitophel *ſaid unto* Abſalom, *Go in unto thy Fathers Concubines, which he hath left to keep the houſe, and all* Iſrael *ſhall hear, that thou art abhorred of thy father: then ſhall the hands of all that are with thee, be ſtrong. So they ſpread* Abſalom *a tent upon the top of the houſe, and* Abſalom *went in unto his Fathers Concubines, in ſight of all* Iſrael. *Moreover* Ahitophel *ſaid to* Abſalom, *Let me now chuſe out twelve thouſand men, and I will ariſe, and purſue after* David *this night. And I will come unto him, while he is weary, and weak handed; and I will make him afraid: and all the people that are with him ſhall flee, and I*

will ſmite the King only. And I will bring back all the people unto thee: the man whom thou ſeekeſt, is as if all returned: ſo all the people ſhall be in peace. And the ſaying pleaſed *Abſalom* well, and all the Elders of *Iſrael* for a while. But after *Ahitophel* ſaw this his ſecond, and more deadly project, defeated by the contrary counſel of *Huſhai*; he gave his enterpriſe and himſelf for loſt: and in deep melancholy (yet willing to ſet his houſe in order) went immediately, and hanged himſelf. *Judas* in like manner, after the chief Prieſts and Elders, had daſhed his plot, which was only to gain ſome money, and their favour for his grateful ſervice, without any deſire of blood; did caſt away the hire of his Treaſon, and himſelf with it. But of his caſting down the Money in the Temple, and the manner of his fearful end, there will be fitter occaſion to ſay ſomewhat * hereafter.

* Chap. 26.

3. *David* after he had been aſſuredly informed of *Abſaloms* conſpiracy againſt him, forſook *Jeruſalem*: and he, and all his train, or neceſſary attendance, went on their bare feet, with their heads covered and weeping, *over the brook* Kidron, *and along the Mount of Olives*, 2 Sam. 15. 23, 30. And thus the Son of *David*, a little after he ſaw *Judas* reſolved to betray him, or rather, after it pleaſed him to take notice of the Conſpiracy againſt him, between *Judas* and the chief Prieſts and Elders, marched the ſame way with a leſſer train, accompanied only with his Diſciples, but with more full aſſurance of their deliverance from preſent danger, than *Davids* great train had: becauſe he carried the true Ark of the Lord in his breaſt, whoſe type or ſhadow, *David* being uncertain or doubtful of the event, ſent back again to *Jeruſalem* with the Prieſts that did wait upon it. Yet he himſelf went over the brook *Kidron* with a ſadder heart, than *David* his father had done. *David*, and his Train, though much greater, and better able to reſiſt the violence of the Purſuer, than his Train was; marched further in that night wherein they fled from *Abſalom*, than the Mount of *Olives*. The Son of *David* took up his ſtation in a Garden, near about the Mount of *Olives*, and there expected the encounter of the *Arch-Ahitophel* (which had vanquiſht the firſt *Adam* in a Garden) now attended with a greater Hoſt of infernal Aſſociates, than *Ahitophel* did require of *Abſalom* for the ſurpriſal of *David*, and his Train, about the ſame place, or not far beyond it, 2 *Sam.* 17.

4. When I behold my Saviour in that heavy plight and dejected poſture, deſcribed by the Evangeliſt, proſtrating himſelf on his knees and face to the Earth, yet ſending out theſe ejaculations unto Heaven; *Father, if it be poſſible, let this Cup paſs from me.* Methinks I ſee the exquiſite accompliſhment of the *Pſalmiſts* complaint, charactering his own woful caſe for the preſent, yet by way of propheſie or prefiguration of more juſt cauſe, which the promiſed *Meſſias* ſhould have of uttering the like complaint, who was, as he ſaw, to partake more deeply of his grievances and afflictions, though not of his paſſion or impatience in them. For this Son of Righteouſneſs, was willing to ſuffer with all ſubmiſſion to his Heavenly Fathers will, whatſoever any of his fore-running ſhadows had ſuffered, either immediately from the hand of God, or by the violence of men; and to ſuffer them without any token of grudging or impatience. The complaint of the *Pſalmiſt*, who did fore-ſhadow the dejected eſtate of the Son of God, in that hour of Temptation we have ſet down, *Pſalm* 38. 14. *My*

ſins are gone over my head, and they are like a ſore burden too heavy for me to bear. But the heavy burden, not of the Pſalmiſts ſins alone, but of the ſins of the world, were now laid upon the Son of man in the Garden, and did deject him to the ground. But how patiently ſoever he did bear or fall down under this burden; yet he ſtood in need of comfort from Heaven, as his fore-runners in far leſs anguiſh had done. And if we would take Saint *Luke's* relation of the Angels coming to ſupport and comfort him in this his weakneſs, into ſerious conſideration; we may have a brief, yet a moſt true and punctual Commentary upon that Propheſie, *Pſalm* 8. *Thou haſt made him for a little while, lower than the Angels,* to wit, as he was the Son of man: though never ceaſing to be the Son of God. For the moſt valiant General that is, which ſtands in need of ſupport or help from his meaneſt Souldier, is for the time being, lower than he is, which lends him his hand, or helps him up, being thrown down or proſtrate. Now this our chief Leaders Agony, and the time between his apprehenſion and his death, was the only time that little while, whereof the *Pſalmiſt* ſpeaks, wherein *Chriſt Jeſus,* as man, was made lower than the Angels, lower than the ordinary Sons of Men. For he was, as another *Pſalmiſt* in his perſon complains, *A worm, and no man.* But immediately after this bitter Agony, the ſtrength and vigour of the Son of Righteouſneſs, which for a time was eclipſed or over-caſt with a bloody ſweat, did break forth a freſh, and though in the height time, did no leſs dazle and aſtoniſh the armed band, which came with *Judas* to apprehend him, than the light which ſhone at mid-day did Saint *Paul,* when he was armed with authority to attach his Followers. For immediately after, that Cup which he prayed againſt, was paſſed from him; *He knowing all things* (ſaith Saint *John*) *that ſhould come upon him, went forth, and ſaid unto them that came to apprehend him, Whom ſeek ye? They anſwered him,* Jeſus *of* Nazareth. Jeſus *ſaith unto them, I am he. And* Judas *alſo which betrayed him, ſtood with them. Aſſoon then, as he had ſaid unto them, I am he, they went backward, and fell to the ground. Then asked he them again, Whom ſeek ye? And they ſaid,* Jeſus *of* Nazareth. Jeſus *anſwered, I have told you, that I am he. If therefore, ye ſeek me, let theſe go their way. That the ſaying might be fulfilled which he ſpake, Of them which thou gaveſt me, I have loſt none,* John 18. 4, 5, 6, *&c.* Here was a true document, both of his royal and ſpiritual Power: of his royal Power, in that he could command them to forbear any violence towards his Diſciples; yea, not to oppoſe violence offered unto one of their company. *For Simon Peter* (as Saint *John* ſaith) *having a Sword, drew it, and cut off one of the Servants of the High Prieſts right Ear: the Servants name was* Malchus, ver. 10, 11, *&c.* Saint *Luke* recordeth, *that he touched his Ear and healed him:* So far was he from all deſire of revenge upon his enemies. This was an act of his power ſpiritual: ſo was that likewiſe in protecting his Diſciples from danger, as well of Soul, as of body. For as Saint *John* (to my apprehenſion) intimates, if they had been put unto the ſame fiery tryal, unto which he himſelf was expoſed, they had denyed him and their former Faith. Therefore he commanded his Apprehenders to let them go their way, that the ſaying might be fulfilled which he ſpake (ſome few hours before) *Of them which thou gaveſt me, have I loſt none,* John 18. 10. So he had ſaid, *John* 17. 11. *And now I am no more in the world, but theſe are in the world, and I come to thee Holy Father, keep through*

through thine own* Name, *thoſe whom thou haſt given me; that they may be one, as we are. While I was with them in the world, I kept them in thy* Name: *thoſe that thou gaveſt me I kept, and none of them is loſt, but the Son of perdition. Either *Judas* was never one of them, whom his Father had given him, or at leaſt, at this time, had given himſelf to his Father the Devil.

5. But as one, and the ſame Propheſie, may be often filled by events much diſtant in time: ſo may divers Propheſies, much diſtant for time, be accompliſht in one and the ſame event, in the ſame point of time; as in this diſmiſſion of *Jeſus* his Diſciples, both his own Prediction (as Saint *John* tells us) was fulfilled, and another Propheſie likewiſe, as we may gather from Saint *Mark*, or rather from our Saviours expoſition recorded by the Evangeliſt, *Mark* 14. Jeſus *ſaith unto them, All ye ſhall be offended becauſe of me this night. For it is written, I will ſmite the Shepherd, and the Sheep ſhall be ſcattered.* This ſmiting of the Shepherd, was amongſt other Propheſies, both foretold, and prefigured, (as is probable) by the death of *Joſiah:* unto which moſt refer that of *Jeremiah*, Lamen. 4. 20. *The breath of our noſtrils, the Anointed of the Lord, was taken in their pits; of whom we ſaid, under his ſhadow we ſhall live among the Heathen.* Some there are, which refer this complaint, unto the Captivity of *Zedekiah*, but not ſo pertinently or conſiderately, as moſt other of their meditations or obſervations would occaſion the Reader to expect. For the Prophet *Jeremiah*, did never conceive ſuch hope of *Zedekiah* or *Jehoiakim*, as the deep ſtrain of this particular threne or throb doth import. No Son of good *Joſiah*, was either in life or death, ſuch a type of the Lords promiſed Anointed, as himſelf had been. From the hour of his death, until the return of his people from Babyloniſh Captivity, *Jeruſalem* and *Judah* did not ſee one joyful day: the light of Gods Countenance did not ſhine upon them, as the Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament, eſpecially of the Books of *Kings* and *Chronicles* do ſufficiently teſtifie. Nor did this Nation, from the day of our *Saviours* death, enjoy one quiet or ſecure day: not one hour, wherein there either was not apparent danger, or ſome ſecret breeding of new calamities: nor ſhall they enjoy any, till it pleaſe him whom they Crucified, to reſtore them again to the Land of their Inheritance, from which they are ſcattered: or at leaſt, to their ſpiritual ſtate from which they are fallen.

6. That the fore-mentioned lamentation or threne, did in the literal and hiſtorical ſenſe refer unto the untimely death of good *Joſiah*; that the calamities which enſued upon his death, did typically portend juſt matter of greater ſorrow for the death of the Lords Anointed, κατ' ἐξοχὴν [the Meſſias:] that one place of the Prophet *Zachariah* (to omit others) perſwades me: *They ſhall mourn for him, as one who mourneth for his only Son, and ſhall be in bitterneſs for him, as one that is in bitterneſs for his firſt born. In that day ſhall there be a great mourning of* Hadradrimmon *in the Valley of* Megiddo, Zachar. 12. 10, 11, *&c.* For in the Valley of *Megiddo*, *Joſiah* was ſlain, as it is recorded, 2 *Chron.* 35. 22, 23. *And all* Jeruſalem *and* Judah *mourned for* Joſiah, *and* Jeremiah *lamented for* Joſiah, *and all the ſinging men, and the ſinging women ſpake of* Joſiah *in their Lamentations to this day, and made them an Ordinance in* Iſrael: *and behold they are written in the Lamentations.* This diſaſter occaſioned by his own over-ſight or forwardneſs to fight with *Necho*, befel *Joſiah*, after he had wrought that remarkable reformation

tion in the houſe of the Lord, and after he had celebrated the Paſſover, with ſuch ſolemnity, as had not been ſeen before in *Jeruſalem*, nor after. It was the eminency of *Joſiah* his zeal and fidelity, in ſetting forth that ſolemnity and other ſervices of God, which occaſioned this people, even the Prophets, firſt to conceive, that they ſhould proſper under his ſhadow, and after theſe hopes had failed, to lament his death in ſuch paſſionate expreſſions, as the faithful amongſt his people, even our Saviours Diſciples did his death. *But we truſted that it had been he, who ſhould have redeemed* Iſrael, *Luke* 24. 20. The extremity of ſorrow upon our Saviours death, foreſhadowed by the Lamentations for *Joſiahs* loſs, was fulfilled, *pro illâ vice*, in that compunction of heart and ſpirit, in Saint *Peter's* Auditors, *Acts* 2. 37. *Now when they heard this, they were pricked in their hearts. and ſaid unto* Peter, *and the reſt of the Apoſtles, Men and Brethren what ſhall we do?* But the full accompliſhment of thoſe mournful Lamentations for our Saviours death, whether fore-ſhadowed, or fore-told, or inchoated, whether in the Old Teſtament, or in the New, is not to be expected before the converſion of the *Jews*, which will not be Publick or National, until they ſeriouſly and publickly repent them of their own ſins, and of the ſins of their fore-Fathers, for putting the Lord of life and King of glory, to a bitter and ſhameful death. Nor is the Nation of the *Jews* only, but all the Kindreds of the Earth to bewail him and repent: for all were cauſes of his death. *Behold he cometh* (ſaith Saint *John*) *with Clouds; and every eye ſhall ſee him: and they alſo which pierced him: and all Kindreds of the Earth ſhall wail becauſe of him*, Rev. 1. 7

7. A fitter ſubject for Meditations, to make either a private Chriſtian truly wiſe, or wiſe men (eſpecially Governours, whether Eccleſiaſtical or Civil) truly Chriſtian; I could not commend unto the one, or other, (though bound ſo to do upon my death-bed) than the Sacred Hiſtory concerning the eſtate of *Judah*, from the death of good *Joſiah*, to the end of the *Babyloniſh* Captivity; and the Hiſtory of *Joſephus* and others, who have deciphered the eſtate of the *Jews*, ſince they put the Lord of life to death. This parallel between *Jeruſalems* two progreſſes to her firſt and ſecond deſtruction, was the main theam of my firſt miniſterial meditations, the contents whereof would be too laborious to collect, and their expreſſions too long to be interſerted in this Treatiſe. To return therefore to the former path, from which I have ſomewhat, though not impertinently digreſſed.

8. Of that glory of Chriſt, which ſhall be revealed, when every eye ſhall ſee him, when they that Crucified, and pierced his body, ſhall mourn after ſuch a manner, as *Zachary* and Saint *John* in the places fore-cited import: He himſelf in the hours of his greateſt Humiliation (immediately after his Agony in the Garden, and (as I take it) before *Judas* did deliver him up to the High Prieſt and Officers) did exhibite ſome rays or glimpſes by ſtriking the Armed band, which came to attach him, backwards down to the ground, with the ſole words, or breath of his mouth. And again, by the deliverance of his followers from ſuch rage and tyranny, as they practiſed againſt him, that the words of the Prophets (not their projects) and his expoſition of their meaning might be fulfilled, *I will ſmite the Shepherd, and the Sheep ſhall be ſcattered.* This Propheſie we have, *Zach.* 13. 7. The accompliſhment of this Propheſie, was in part exemplified by

the ſcattering of his Apoſtles and Diſciples, upon his apprehenſion and death. And ſo were the words immediately following in the Prophet, punctually verified, and really exemplified, in recollecting them again after his Reſurrection, and the Feaſt of Pentecoſt next enſuing. The full accompliſhment of the Propheſie, as it concerns the ſcattering of the flock or ſheep, was not publickly declared or exemplified before the deſtruction of the ſecond Temple, and diſperſing of the Jewiſh Nation. The other parts of the ſame Propheſie, muſt be afterwards accompliſht in the converſion of the *Jews*.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of the Predictions or Prefigurations of our Saviours ſufferings after his apprehenſion in the High Prieſts Hall, &c.

1. ALL theſe rays or glimpſes of the Sun of Righteouſneſs, did interpoſe themſelves in the days of his Humiliation and obſcurity, before he was led bound to *Caiaphas* the High Prieſt. But after *Judas* of a cloſe *Abitophel* or cunning traytor, became an open *Dalilah*, and had betrayed his Maſter into their hands with a kiſs: this *Sampſon* the Sun of Righteouſneſs, became like another man, or like the Moon in Eclipſe. More weak and impotent for any attempt of reſiſtance or eſcape, than *Samſon* was, after the Razor had gone over his head, and taken of the Enſign of the *Nazarite*. Theſe enemies of the God of *Iſrael*, did ſport themſelves more cruelly, with the bodily miſeries and calamities of the true *Nazarite*, than the *Philiſtines* had done themſelves with *Samſon*, until he reſumed his former ſtrength by dying. So then, *Samſon* in his ſtrength and weakneſs or dejected eſtate, was a lively type of *Jeſus* of *Nazareth* in both his eſtates and conditions of life, whilſt he lived here on Earth. No type at all, not ſo much as a ſhadow of Chriſts Humility and Patience in all his ſufferings, but rather a foil by his impatience, to ſet a luſtre upon the unparalleld meekneſs of this true *Nazarite* of God by an *Antiperiſtaſis*. *Samſons* laſt Prayers unto the God of his ſtrength were, that he would give him power at the hour of his death, to be revenged on his Enemies, for the loſs of his Eyes. *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*, the true *Nazarite* of God, when he came unto the Croſs on Mount *Calvary*, the Stage and Theatre for his Enemies ſport and triumph over him in this ſolemn Feaſt, prays heartily, even for thoſe that hood-winkt him, and *bid him Propheſie, ſaying, Who was it that ſmote thee?* And for the Roman Souldiers, which were the Executioners of their malicious merriment, he prays for both in ſuch a ſweet and Heavenly manner, as no Prophet had ever done for his Perſecutors, *Father forgive them, for they know not what they do.* He did not ſo much as either lift up hand or voice, or conceive any ſecret Prayer againſt one or other of his Perſecutors, during the time of his lingring, but deadly pains; as knowing, this was the time wherein his body was to be made as an Anvil, that he might do the will of his Father by the Sacrifice of himſelf, and ſufferance of all other indignities, more bitter to a meer man, than twenty deaths, though of the croſs. The effect or purpoſe of Gods will in this Sacrifice (as our Apoſtle inſtructs us) was

our

our Sanctification. But the will of God, which he was now to do, was his will paſſively taken, to wit, for the body of CHRIST offered up once for all, as our Apoſtle interprets the meaning of the Author, or rather of the Holy Ghoſt, who did inſpire the Author of the fortieth Pſalm with the ſpirit of Prophecy.

2. As in peruſing many other *Pſalms*, ſo in this, I cannot but bewail the negligence of moſt Interpreters, as well ancient as modern, for not inquiring more accurately after the Authour, but eſpecially the hiſtorical occaſions of compoſing it. I had many years ago ſundry probable notions or conjectures, that this Pſalm, though inſcribed a Pſalm of *David*, or revealed to *David* * (for this inſcription will well bear both ſenſes) as ſome other Pſalms which have the ſame Inſcription, were (if we may believe good Authors) penned or paraphraſed upon by *Jeremiah*, for the peoples uſe in the Babyloniſh Captivity. But theſe conjectures, and the peruſal of ſuch notes, as I had then gathered concerning the Author of this Pſalm, I now wave, or rather altogether omit. But whether the Author of this Pſalm (ſuppoſe *David*) did act his own part, as having ſome ſpecial Commiſſion from the Lord to inſtruct the people, that to do Gods will in ſome peculiar ſervice then required, was better than Sacrifice, much better then burnt Offering: or whether he ſpake this divine viſion or rapture, in the perſon of the *Meſſias* alone; this (however) is moſt certain, that the 6, 7, and 8. verſes of that 40. Pſalm, do contain a concludent Prophecy of the abolition of legal Sacrifices, by the Sacrifice of Chriſts body. The argument or demonſtration is moſt divinely gathered, and irrefragably preſt home to this purpoſe by our Apoſtle, *Heb.* 10. from the 4. verſe to the 11. *It is not poſſible, that the blood of Bulls and Goats ſhould take away ſins. Wherefore when he cometh into the World, he ſaith, Sacrifice and Offering, thou wouldſt not, but a body haſt thou prepared me: in burnt Offerings and Sacrifices for ſin, thou haſt had no pleaſure. Then ſaid I, Lo, I come (In the volume of the Book it is written of me,) to do thy will, O God. Above, when he ſaid, Sacrifice and Offering, and burnt Offerings, and offering for ſin thou wouldſt not, neither hadſt pleaſure therein, which are offered by the Law: then ſaid he, Lo, I come to do thy will (O God:) he taketh away the firſt, that he may eſtabliſh the ſecond. By the which will, we are ſanctified, through the offering of the body of* JESUS CHRIST *once for all.*

* Vide Genebrardum in Pſal. 3.

3. The only difficulty about the reconciliation of the Pſalmiſt in the Original, and the tranſlation of the Seventy, which the Apoſtle follows, *Heb.* 10. and his approbation of it, makes it to me in this particular, altogether as Authentick as the Hebrew, or a better expreſſion of it, than modern Interpreters without him could make. The reſolution of this difficulty, will much depend upon the literal meaning or importance of the Hebrew Phraſe אָזְנַיִם כָּרִיתָ Some Latine Interpreters render it thus, *aures perfodiſti mihi:* others, *aures perforaſti mihi:* others, *aures aperuiſti mihi*, thou haſt digged through, bored, or opened my ears. And ſome of theſe conceit an alluſion in the literal ſenſe, to the legal cuſtom of boring the ears of ſuch, as were content to continue perpetual ſervants to their preſent Maſters, and not uſe the priviledge of the year of *Jubilee.* But this conjecture is rejected by many modern Writers, and in particular to my remembrance by *Pineda.* *Aures perfodere* (ſaith the *Tigurine* Note upon this place) *ſymbolicâ oratione eſt in ſervitutem mancipare*, as

much, as to make one a perpetual ſervant. This Interpretation I take, ſuppoſeth the former alluſion to ſuch as were made perpetual ſervants by boring their ears. But our Saviour, although for a time he took the form of a ſervant upon him, and was qualified for the performance of the hardeſt part of this ſervice, by opening the ear; yet was he not made, nor did he become a perpetual ſervant, but ſhortly after to be made both Lord and *CHRIST.*

4. ***Ribera*** (who doubtleſs had read very many and with great judgment,) ſaith, Of all the Interpreters which he had peruſed, *Genebrard* comes neareſt to the meaning of the Holy Ghoſt. To exhibite *Genebrards* Interpretation in his own words:

The ſum of his expoſition is, that the Pſalmiſts meaning is moſt Elegantly expreſt by the Apoſtle, if we admit of a Synecdoche in the Pſalmiſt, and a Metaphor, both in the Pſalmiſt and Evangeliſt. The Metaphor, *aures perfodiſti* is borrowed from the Potter, who firſt works or kneads the Clay, or Earth, whereof he makes his Veſſel, as if *perfodere* were as much as *fodicare.* And ſo God who is ſtiled the former or faſhioner of all things, did work or frame the body of Chriſt in his Mothers Womb, as he had done the firſt mans body of red Earth or Clay. The Synecdoche conſiſts in this, that he mentioneth the ear for the whole body: for though the whole body were ſo formed by *GOD*, yet the Pſalmiſt maketh mention only of the ear, becauſe he treateth there of obedience.

Aures mihi aperuiſti, id eſt, corpus, per Synecdochen, è Paulo Heb. 10. *Mihi aptaſti corpus humanum in utero virgineo. Rabbini non ſatis perceptâ metaphorâ, Aures fodiſti ſive aperuiſti mihi, ad tuæ obtemperandum voluntati aurem revelaſti, retexiſti, ab aure abſtuliſti velum & tegmen, ut acutiùs audiret. Effeciſti ut te audirem, ac tuæ voluntati libens parêrem. Me docilem & obſequentem ad audiendum reddidiſti. Chald. Aures ad auſcultanda tua præcepta formaſti mihi. Noſtris congruenter. Quia enim agitur de corporatione ſive incarnatione Domini, eſt metaphora ſimul & Synecdoche, ad quorum troporum difficultatem explanandam Apoſtolus appoſitiſſimè poſuit* Corpus aptaſti mihi. *Eſt enim primùm metaphora à figulis, qui manu fodicant & ducunt argillam, è quâ cupiunt vas aptare, currente rota. Quare Deus & figulus, & fictor, & plaſtes nuncupatur, ut alludatur ad* Geneſ. 2. *quando ex humo humanum corpus duxit. Eſt deinde Synecdoche, pars pro toto, aures pro corpore: Sed aurium præſertim meminit, quia de obedientia agebatur.*

5. What further improvement of *Genebrard* his expreſſion, either *Ribera*, or others of that Church, whereof they were Members, have made; I leave it to the diligent Readers further enquiry. *Genebrards* expreſſion in his own words, is ſomewhat fuller, than that which *Junius* hath in his parallel between the Apoſtle and this Pſalmiſt; but neither any whit diſſonant from the other. If either of them, or *Ribera* had diligently read ſome Writers of Reformed Churches (their Ancients in time) upon the 10. of the *Hebrews*, any one of them might have ſpoken more fully and punctually to the queſtion, than all of them do, For if we take it as granted, which the *Tigurine* note upon the forecited fortieth Pſalm imports, to wit, that *to open the ear*, is a ſpeech ſymbolical: the ſymbolical ſenſe of it, is beſt ex-

preſſed by the Prophet *Iſaiah* , in that portion of Scripture, which was appointed by the ancient Catholick Church, and retained by our Orthodoxal Engliſh, for the Epiſtle on *Tueſday* (in *hebdomade ſancta*) or week before Eaſter. The exegetical expoſition of the Hebrew, *to open the ears*, made by the Prophet, implies a qualification or rather conſecration of the whole body , for ſuffering all manner of grievances, that could be inflicted upon it: and that this qualification was to be wrought by the ear, as it is the ſenſe of Diſcipline, whether active or paſſive, whether of underſtanding, or of patience in ſuffering. Nor are the Seventy Interpreters in this point to be blamed, (eſpecially the Tranſlation being ſo well approved by our Apoſtle, *Heb.* 10.) for their variation in words from the Hebrew, but rather to be admired for their divine expreſſion of the intent,and meaning of the Holy Ghoſt, as well in the fortieth Pſalm, as in the tenth to the *Hebrews*. The Pſalmiſt doubtleſs did foretel, and the Prophet *Iſaiah* did perhaps both foretel and forepicture the indignities done unto our Saviours body in the High Prieſts Hall , by the Jews: and in the Common-Hall or Seſſions-Houſe, by the Roman Souldiers, and upon the Croſs by both. This Prophet more particularly foretold his undaunted patience and reſolution, in ſuffering whatſoever they did, or could inflict upon him. To parallel the Prophet with the Evangeliſts, the Prophets words are theſe; *The Lord God hath opened mine ears*, (*aperuit aures*, not *aures perfodit*, or *perforavit*) *and I was not rebellious, neither turned away back. I gave my back to the ſmiters, and my cheeks to them that plucked off my hair. I hid not my face from ſhame and ſpitting. For the Lord God will help me, therefore ſhall I not be confounded; therefore have I ſet my face like a flint, and I know, that I ſhall not be aſhamed. He is near, that juſtifieth me, who will contend with me? Let us ſtand together: who is mine adverſary? let him come near to me. Behold the Lord God will help me: who is he that ſhall condemn me? Lo, they all ſhall wax old, as doth a garment: the moth ſhall eat them up*, Iſaiah 50. 5, 6, *&c.* This reſolution or undaunted patience (which is the effect or conſequence of *opening the ear*) doth fully import *corpus aptatum*, not an humane body, only framed or faſhioned in the Womb, as Chriſts was, but a body qualified, or fitted by the diſcipline of the ear, for all manner of ſufferings, as the body of a ſervant, to do his Maſters will, though by ſuffering the moſt cruel death or torture, that could be inflicted upon him. And ſuch was the body of Chriſt, wherein he executed that part of his Fathers will, by which we are ſanctified once for all. But the circumſtances precedent and ſubſequent to the Prophetical paſſages, will occaſion the attentive Reader to diſpute with himſelf, at leaſt to move the like queſtion to that,which the Eunuch propoſed to *Philip*,as whether he ſpoke all this only in the perſon of Chriſt, or reſpectively both of Chriſt,and of himſelf? That the Prophet when he compoſed that divine paſſage,had an explicite previſion of the indignities, which ſhould be done unto his Lord; and of his admirable reſolution to ſuffer them with inimitable patience; there is no queſtion but (as hath been oftentime obſerved before) the ſpirit of the moſt Evangelical Prophets (of which rank *Iſaiah* was a ſpecial one) were uſually elevated unto raptures or previſions of our Saviours ſufferings, by their own like ſufferings. They had not only a clear foreſight, but a true feeling of them (though in a far leſs meaſure, and lower degree, than Chriſt himſelf had;) *Ye ſtiff-necked, and uncircumciſed in hearts, and ears* (ſaith St. *Stephen*)

Stephen) ye do always reſiſt the Holy Ghoſt: as your Fathers did, ſo do ye. Which of the Prophets have not your Fathers perſecuted? And they have ſlain them, which ſhewed before of the coming of the juſt one; of whom ye have been now the betrayers, and murderers, Acts 6. 51, 52. If theſe latter Jews did to our Saviour *CHRIST*, as their Fathers had done to the Prophets his fore-runners; then the Prophets did ſuffer the like indignities of the former Generation, as Chriſt did of the latter. They were not only fore-runners, or fore-tellers of him, but types or ſhadows of him in all his ſufferings. No Prophet was more cruelly dealt with, than the Prophet *Iſaiah.* None did partake more deeply of the Royal Son of *Davids* affliction, than this Prophetical Son of *David:* for *Iſaiah* was of the royal blood, a neer Kinſman to wicked *Manaſſes*, who cauſed him to be ſawed to death, if we may believe Eccleſiaſtical Stories.

6. *Iſaiah*, In the beginning of this 50. Chapter, brings in the Lord thus debating with the unbelieving, rebellious people of his time, *Where is the Bill of your Mothers Divorcement, whom I have put away? Or which of my Creditors is it, to whom I have ſold you? Behold, for your iniquities have you ſold your ſelves, and for your tranſgreſſions is your Mother put away. Wherefore when I came, was there no man; When I called, was there none to anſwer? Is my hand ſhortned at all, that it cannot redeem? Or have I no power to deliver? Behold, at my rebuke I dry up the Sea: I make the Rivers a Wilderneſs: their Fiſh ſtinketh becauſe there is no water, and dyeth for thirſt. I cloath the Heavens with blackneſs, and I make ſackcloth their covering,* Verſe 1, 2, 3, *&c.* But in the 4 ver. he altereth the Perſon, if not of the Speaker, yet of him to whom he ſpeaks; *The Lord God hath given to me the tongue of the Learned, that I ſhould know how to ſpeak a word in ſeaſon to him that is weary. He wakeneth morning by morning, he wakeneth mine ears to hear, as the Learned.* This was the Prophets own comfort in particular, and in this qualification, he was a type or ſhadow of that אֲדֹנָי יֱהוִה, who had thus qualified him. And ſo no doubt he he was in that reſolution, which he took upon him from the opening of the Ear, *ver.* 4. before cited. In both places it is remarkable, that he doth not inſtile the God of his ſtrength, and comfort by the Name of אֱלֹהִים or by the Name of four Letters only, but thus אֲדֹנָי יֱהוִה The Lord God hath given me the Tongue of the Learned: the Lord God hath opened mine ear. And this, as was obſerved before, was the peculiar title of God, the ſecond Perſon in the Trinity, or God to be Incarnate: unto whom the Prophets, his fore-runners in all their anguiſhes and diſtreſſes, did under this peculiar title direct their Prayers, as then ſeeing that this Lord God was to bear their ſorrows; and to be partaker of all their infirmities, that he might be a faithful Comforter, and ſuch an High Prieſt as our Apoſtle deſcribes, *Hebr.* 2. They intreated him by the fore-ſight of his future ſufferings, as the faithful now do beſeech him to be compaſſionate towards them by the memory or experience of his afflictions paſt. There is no incongruity then to ſay, that this Propheſie of *Iſaiah* was literally and reſpectively meant of himſelf, as of the type: but really fulfilled of אֲדֹנָי יֱהוִה whom he praiſeth, not only in the myſtical, but alſo according to the moſt exquiſite literal ſenſe. For however, this Lord God had opened his ear, yet the reſolution, which he profeſſed was greater, than he had occaſion to put in practice, at leaſt with

ſuch undaunted patience, as our Saviour did. Yet do we never read, that our Saviour in the days of his Humiliation, or hour of his Agony, did direct his Prayers unto God, under the title of * אֲרֹנָי יֱהוִה his Lord, and God, but unto God as his Father. And this is to me a pregnant argument, that not only the fore-cited place of *Iſaiah*, but many other Hymns or Pſalms, eſpecially in, or after *Davids* time, were literally meant of the Prophets, which compoſed them, eſpecially in reſpect of this circumſtance of the perſon or party to whom they prayed, ſeeing our Saviour in his Prayers to God, did never uſe the ſame title they did. The Prophet *David* himſelf had many and juſt occaſions, in his own perſon, to conceive that excellent Prayer, *Bow down thine ear, O Lord, and hear me: for I am poor and needy*, &c. *Pſal.* 86. Yet were the occaſions, and matter of this Pſalm really accompliſht in the Son of *David*, whom *David* here, as in the 110. *Pſalm* twice inſtileth his Lord and God, as ver. 12. *I will praiſe thee, O Lord my God, with all my heart, and I will glorifie thy Name for evermore.* And ver. 15. *And thou, O Lord, art a God full of pity and compaſſion, and gracious, long-ſuffering, and plenteous in mercy and truth. Moſes* had ſaid the ſame in effect long before: only he doth not give the title of Lord, nor intimate ſuch a clear diſtinction of the perſons in the Trinity, as *David* in this 110 *Pſalm* did. For *David* (as was obſerved before) had a clear previſion, that albeit the *Meſſias* or promiſed Seed was to be his Son, yet was withal to be the Son of God: therefore to be that אֲרֹנָאָי יְהוִה, unto whom he, and other Holy men did continually pray in their calamities, and ſo much magnifie, either for their comfort or ſtrength to endure their grievances.

* See Cap. 15. Par. 3. & 4.

7. But to return to the fore-cited place of the Prophet *Iſaiah*, the words immediately following the fore-cited place, verſe 8. [*He is near that juſtifieth me: who will contend with me?* &c. *Behold the Lord God will help me: who is he that ſhall condemn me?*] were literally, and reſpectively meant not only of Chriſts fore-runners, but of his followers: and are ſo applyed by our Apoſtle, *Rom.* 8. 30, 31. *If God be for us, who can be againſt us?* And again, verſe 33. *Who ſhall lay any thing to the charge of Gods Elect? It is God that juſtifyeth: who is he that condemneth? It is Chriſt that died, yea rather that is at the right hand of God, who alſo maketh interceſſion for us.* The Apoſtle in this had the ſame confidence in Chriſt the Lord and in his ſufferings, which the Prophet *Iſaiah* had in the Lord his God, to whom he directs his Prayers. And ſo may all others have, that faithfully believe in him: that is, all ſuch, to whom their own Conſciences can teſtifie ſuch a true conformity unto Chriſt in his ſufferings, as our Apoſtle *Paul* and the Prophets were conſcious of in their Souls and Spirit. And any other mark of Election, beſides this, I know none: nor will it be eaſie for the Reader, whoſoever he be, to find any other in the day of tryal or temptation.

8. The Evangelical parallel to the Prophet *Iſaiahs* Prediction, we have in part, *Luke* 22. 63, 64. *And the men that held Jeſus, mocked him, and ſmote him, and when they had blind-folded him, they ſtroke him on the face, and asked him, ſaying, Propheſie, who is it that ſmote thee?* Thus they dealt with him in the High Prieſts Hall, before his examination or ſentence given againſt him. And ſo again they uſed him at his examination, *John* 18. 19. *The High Prieſt asked Jeſus of his Diſciples and of his Doctrine: Jeſus anſwered, I ſpake openly to the world,*

world, &c. *Why askeſt thou me? Ask them which heard me, what I have ſaid unto them: behold they know what I ſaid. And when he had thus ſpoken, one of the Officers which ſtood by, ſtruck* Jeſus *with the palm of his hand, ſaying, Anſwereſt thou the High Prieſt ſo?* Unto this indignation he replies with ſuch meekneſs and patience, as no Prophet in like caſe ever uſed, only thus, *If I have ſpoken evil, bear witneſs of the evil: but if well, why ſmiteſt thou me?* To the like indignities done unto him by the Roman Souldiers, and by *Herod*, he maketh no reply at all. So that however the fore-cited words of the Prophet *Iſaiah*, and of the Pſalmiſt, *Pſalm* 40. and the 86. might be reſpectively verified of themſelves; yet were they never exactly fulfilled, ſave only of that אֲדֹנָי that Lord to whom they direct their Prayers. None of them ever had a body ſo fitted, or their ears ſo opened by the Lord God, as this Lord God himſelf had, a temper of body and mind not moveable to any paſſion either by indignity of ſpeeches which he heard, or by the blows which he ſuffered.

CHAP. XXV.

The unjuſt proceedings of the High Prieſt and Elders againſt the Son of God, were punctually foretold by the Prophets.

1. BUT was it any where elſe foretold beſides in thoſe paſſages of the Prophet *Iſaiah*, and the *Pſalms* fore-cited, that the Lord of Glory, or God the Redeemer of *Iſrael*, ſhould ſuffer all thoſe indignities, ſhould be deſpightfully arraigned, unjuſtly examined, and ſentenced to death by his native Subjects, and by the Gentiles? If thus much had not been both fore-told and fore-ſhadowed both by *Moſes* and other Prophets, our Saviour would not have cenſured thoſe two Diſciples whom he did vouchſafe to accompany to *Emaus*, ſaying, *We truſted that it had been he, who ſhould have redeemed* Iſrael. His tax of this their preſent diſtruſt or dull belief, is more ſharp than any reply or anſwer, which he made unto ſuch malicious Infidels, as from the time of his apprehenſion did deride, beat, ſcourge, and crucifie him, for avouching he was the God of *Iſrael*, or King of the *Jews*. For unto theſe two Diſciples he ſaid; *O Fools, and ſlow of heart to believe all that the Prophets have ſpoken. Ought not Chriſt to have ſuffered theſe things, and to enter into his Glory? And beginning at* Moſes *and all the Prophets, he expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning himſelf,* Luke 24. 25, 26. I can no way diſlike, but rather approve of *Maldonats* and other Learned Commentators wiſhes upon this place, that, if ſo it had pleaſed the Lord, the Evangeliſt had related unto us, either the places which he expounded to them, or his expoſitions upon them. But (as I have heretofore advertiſed the Reader, and ſhall take occaſion hereafter to put him in mind) it ſeemed not expedient to the wiſdom of God, to have the full expoſition, either of our Saviour, or the Apoſtles themſelves, upon thoſe Scriptures which they alledge, extant upon undoubted record: but rather to exhibit us certain hints or juſt matter of ſober and ſerious ſearch of the Scriptures which they alledge. Amongſt other ſacred paſſages, which our Saviour expounded to thoſe two

Diſciples, I make no queſtion, but the eighty ſecond Pſalm was one. To omit all enquiry who was the Author of the Pſalm, whether *Aſaph* (whoſe inſcription it bears) or *David* himſelf: or what ſpecial occaſions, the Author of it, whoſoever he was, had to compoſe it, whether his own experience in ſuffering wrong: or ſome obſervation of groſs partiality or corruption in the courſe of Juſtice towards others: the Pſalm it ſelf is Prophetical, and was never ſo punctually verified at any time before or ſince, as it was at our Saviours examination by the High Prieſt and Elders, and at his arraignment before *Pontius Pilate*; yet the full accompliſhment of the laſt clauſe will not be, until the final day of Judgment: *God ſtandeth in the Congregation of the Mighty* (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) *he judgeth among the Gods. How long will ye judge unjuſtly, and accept the perſons of the wicked? Defend the poor and fatherleſs: do juſtice to the afflicted, and needy: deliver the poor and needy; rid them out of the hands of the wicked,* Pſalm 82. 1, 2, 3, 4. Here was a fair caveat put into the Courts of Juſtice by the Pſalmiſt, not to paſs ſentence upon the Meſſias, for ſaying he was the Son of God, or for making himſelf equal with God: not to accept of the perſon of *Barabbas* before him, who now as GOD did ſtand amongſt them. But beſides this caveat of the Pſalmiſt, the circumſtances of time, and the manner of their own proceedings againſt him, did warn them, as *Pilates* Wife did him, to beware how they had any thing to do with that juſt and holy man. And our Saviour himſelf vouchſafeth to be the remembrancer, that however he now ſtood to be judged by them, yet he was that very God, which the Pſalmiſt foretold ſhould be their Judge, and the Judge of the whole World: For ſo the Pſalmiſt concludeth; *Ariſe, O God, and judge the earth: for thou ſhalt inherit all Nations,* verſe 8. This univerſal Inheritance and power to judge the earth, was beſtowed upon our Saviour at his Reſurrection, after they had judged him for ſaying he was the Son of God.

2. After they had ſought many falſe witneſſes againſt him, but could find none whoſe teſtimonies did agree, or if they agreed, did reach home to convince him of any capital crime: they ſought to entrap him by his own confeſſion, which being judicially made and taken, they knew to be a full and legal conviction. *The high Prieſt*, failing in his intended ſubornations againſt him, *ſaid unto him, I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us, whether thou be the Chriſt, the Son of God,* Matth. 26. 62, 63. And unto this interrogatory miniſtred unto him, by the High Prieſt *ex officio*, not in a criminal cauſe, but in a point of belief or doctrine, he vouchſafeth a full and punctual anſwer, as to his competent Judge *quoad hæc*; ſuch an anſwer, as he did not vouchſafe either to *Herod*, when he was brought before him, nor to the High Prieſt and Elders, when they examined him before the two falſe witneſſes, which at the laſt caſt were brought againſt him: Theſe circumſtances we have related in the forecited place of St. *Matthew*: *At the laſt came two falſe witneſſes, and ſaid, This fellow ſaid, I am able to deſtroy the Temple of God, and build it in three days. The High Prieſt ſaid unto him, Anſwereſt thou nothing? what is it which theſe witneſs againſt thee? But* Jeſus *held his peace*, Matth. 26. 60, &c. And St. *Luke* tells us, *Chap.* 23. 9. *When* Herod *queſtioned him in many things, he anſwered him nothing. But aſſoon as the High Prieſt adjured him by the living God to tell him the truth, whether he was the Chriſt, the Son of the living God*; Jeſus *ſaith unto him, thou haſt ſaid. Nevertheleſs I ſay unto you, hereafter ſhall you ſee the Son of man*

ſitting at the right hand of power, and coming in the Clouds of Heaven. Then the High Prieſt rent his Cloths, ſaying, He hath ſpoken blaſphemy: what further need have we of witneſſes? Behold, now ye have heard his blaſphemy: what think ye? They anſwered, and ſaid, He is guilty of death, Matth. 26. 65, 66. All theſe circumſtances are related by St. *Luke*, but not in the ſame order, which St. *Matthew* doth, for (as hath been heretofore obſerved) albeit we are bound to believe, that every Evangeliſt wrote nothing but divine truth, yet every one of them, did not record the whole truth, with all its circumſtances, nor relate either our Saviours anſwers, or his Enemies practices againſt him, in the ſame order of time, in which they were made or exhibited. St. *Matthew* refers, or rather intermingles the fulfilling of *Iſaiahs* Prophecy for ſpitting in his face, for buffetting him, and ſmiting him with the Palms of their hands, with the relation of his anſwer to the High Prieſt, and his Aſſociates cenſure againſt him: *Then did they ſpit in his face, &c.* Matth. 26. 67, 68. St. *Luke tell us that they which held him over-night, when* Peter *denied him, did mock him and ſmite him, &c.* Luke 22. ver. 63, &c. And again that the High Prieſt put the forementioned Interrogatory to him, in the morning, after *Peter* had denied him. And *verſe* 66. this is moſt probable, that the High Prieſt and his Complices being Hypocrites, would at leaſt be careful to obſerve the outward or viſible form of Juſtice, which was not to examine men, or produce witneſſes againſt them after midnight, or in the Evening. For this was one of the groſs abuſes practiſed by their idolatrous Forefathers; the full meaſure of whoſe groſſer ſins, this laſt Generation did make up by a preciſe and rigid reformation of them. The conſciouſneſs of their curioſity, and care to eſchew their Forefathers open ſins, was the principal root of their Phariſaical Hypocriſie.

3. But we need not to rely upon probabilities, concerning the time wherein they examined our Saviour: for that is plainly and aſſertively ſet down by St. *Luke* 22. *As ſoon as it was day, the Elders of the people, the chief Prieſts, and Scribes came together, and led him into the Council, ſaying, Art thou the Chriſt? tell us. And he ſaid unto them; If I tell you, you will not believe. And if I ask you, you will not anſwer me, nor let me go,* verſe 66, 67, &c. St. *Luke* although he moſt exactly obſerves the order of the proceſs, and circumſtance of time, omits the adjuration of the High Prieſt, and the production of the falſe witneſſes againſt him. But to recompenſe this omiſſion, he interſerts one reply of our Saviour to the adjuring interrogatory, which St. *Matthew* expreſſeth not, but unto which his other expreſſions muſt have ſpecial reference, if we will make true Grammatical conſtruction of them. For upon this interrogatory, *Art thou the Chriſt? tell us*, as St. *Luke* hath it, *he ſaid unto them, If I tell you, you will not believe, and if I alſo you, you will not ask anſwer me, nor let me go.* And here St. *Matthews* elliptical expreſſion of the anſwer following, doth ſomewhat raiſe or quicken St. *Lukes* more full expreſſion; St. *Luke* ſaith, *Hereafter ſhall the Son of man ſit on the right hand of the power of God.* * St. *Matthew* relating the ſame anſwer, ſaith, *Nevertheleſs I ſay unto you, hereafter ſhall ye ſee the Son of man ſitting, &c.* * This adverſative particle, *Nevertheleſs*, refers to that of St. *Luke* which St. *Matthew* omits, *If I tell you, you will not believe me, &c.* Though there be ſome variation in the words, yet they agree as well as a *ſharp* and a *flat* in Muſick: whatſoever is omitted by either, is but a reſt in ſong.

* Ver. 69.

* Matth. 26. 64.

The full tone or harmony betwixt them, amounts to this: “However ye will not believe what I ſay: nor deal ingenuouſly with me, yet at your peril be it: For I muſt tell you the truth which you know in part, but will not know; but which hereafter ye ſhall more than believe. *For ye ſhall ſee the Son of man ſit on the right hand of the power of God, &c.* This they knew well to be a ſeat only for the Son of God, and therefore, whereas before they had only interrogated, whether he was the Chriſt, they put the ſecond interrogatory to him, as St. *Luke* relateth them plainly and diſtinctly, though St. *Matthew* put them both into one; *I adjure thee by the living God that thou tell us whether thou be the Chriſt the Son of God,* Mat. 26. 63. *Then ſaid they all, Art thou then the Son of God? And he ſaid unto them, Ye ſay that I am,* Luke 22. 66, and the 70. And upon this confeſſion they proceed againſt him. Now this anſwer or confeſſion implies theſe two fundamental points of belief: The firſt, that this *JESUS* of *Nazareth*, whom they now convented, was the Chriſt. The ſecond, that although he was the Son of man, yet being the *CHRIST*, he was likewiſe the Son of God, not by adoption, but by nature or *primogeniture*. For unleſs this had been the meaning of their Interrogatory and of his anſwer, they could not have condemned him of blaſphemy, for avouching himſelf to be the *Meſſias:* that is, the Son of God in ſuch a ſenſe, as *Abraham*, or *David*, or *Adam* in his integrity had been, or any of the pure Angelical Subſtances are. They took it as granted, nor did he deny it, that he made himſelf ſuch a Son of God, as was equal with God. And this to their apprehenſion was blaſphemy; a capital crime, and ſo they cenſure it. So then here was God ſtanding in the Congregation of the Mighty. Theſe earthly Gods did judge him, and he again judgeth them: at leaſt he declareth himſelf to be that Judge, which was to judge them and the Gentiles too. But as the Pſalmiſt in this forecited Pſalm had foreprophesied, *They know not neither will they underſtand: they walk on in darkneſs; all the foundations of the earth are out of courſe.* They indeed were *Gods, and all of them Children of the moſt High: yet all to die like men, and fall,* as former great ones had done. But not the Sons of God after ſuch a manner as he was, who albeit he was to die like man, yet not to fall like one of the Princes, but to riſe again by power of the Godhead to judge the Earth.

CHAP. XXVI.

The falſe accuſations made by the Prieſts, and Elders againſt the Son of God, when they brought him before Pilate, *foretold by our Saviour himſelf and by the Prophets.*

1. As the Son of man, and the Son of God was willing to bear our ſorrows, and take all our infirmities upon him; to the end he might be a faithful Comforter of all ſuch, as mourn: ſo it was his pleaſure likewiſe to ſuffer this moſt groſs and deteſtable civil wrong from the Earthly powers of Juſtice, that he might be moſt exquiſitely qualified, even according to his humane nature, to do right unto ſuch as ſuffer like wrong: and juſtice upon all unjuſt

Judges, eſpecially upon ſuch as perſecute others, as he was perſecuted for bearing teſtimony unto the truth or fundamental myſteries of our Salvation. But however theſe earthly Gods, or Rulers of the Jews did ſentence him to death for blaſphemy : yet were they not by divine providence permitted to put this ſentence in execution according to that manner of puniſhment, which Gods Law did award to Blaſphemers. For by the award of that Law he ſhould have been ſtoned to death. But as St. *John* inſtructs us in this remarkable point of Gods ſpecial providence; When *Pilate* willing to free himſelf from guilt of innocent blood, *bid them take him, and judge him according to their Law, they replied, It is not lawful for us to put any man to death. John* 18. 31. How true or pertinent this anſwer was, I will not here diſpute. But thus they anſwered, as the ſame Evangeliſt there tells us, that the ſaying of *Jeſus* might be fulfilled, ſignifying what death he ſhould die, and by whom. This ſaying or prophecy of our Saviour to which St. *John* refers, is punctually ſet down by St. *Matthew* 20. 17, 18. Jeſus *going up to* Jeruſalem, *took the twelve Diſciples apart in the way, and ſaid unto them; Behold, we go up to* Jeruſalem, *and the Son of man ſhall be betrayed unto the chief Prieſts, and unto the Scribes; and they ſhall condemn him to death, and ſhall deliver him to the Gentiles to mock, and to ſcourge, and to crucifie him.* Unto this death of the croſs they brought him, by their importunate, and ſubtil ſollicitations of *Pilate,* to proceed againſt him upon another capital crime, than they by their pretended law had condemned him for. For they pronounc'd him as worthy and guilty of death (by their law) for blaſphemy : whereas, now before *Pilate* they frame a new accuſation againſt him, for rebellion againſt *Cæſar*; becauſe he profeſt himſelf to be King of the Jews, as in truth he was, for royal pity and compaſſion towards them : but without any purpoſe to move the people to take arms, or to exerciſe any royal authority over them, or any others upon earth, becauſe his Kingdom was not of this World.

2. Whilſt the High Prieſt and Elders ſate as Judges in their own Council-Houſe, they ſuborn'd falſe witneſſes againſt him : but whilſt they accuſe him before *Pilate,* they themſelves become the moſt malicious and falſeſt witneſſes that ever were produced, or offered themſelves voluntarily to teſtifie in open Court againſt any living man, in a cauſe criminal or capital. All theſe malicious practices againſt him, were clearly foretold by the Pſalmiſt his forerunner in the like ſufferings, and in particular (I take it) by *David* himſelf *Pſalm* 35. *Falſe witneſſes did ariſe, they laid to my charge things that I knew not. They rewarded me evil for good, to the ſpoiling of my ſoul. But as for me, when they were ſick, my cloathing was ſackcloth, I humbled my ſoul with faſting, and my prayer returned into mine own boſom. I behaved my ſelf, as though he had been my friend or brother, I bowed down heavily as one that mourneth for his Mother. But in mine adverſity they rejoyced, &c. ver.* 11, 12, 13. *&c.* Thus did the Compoſers of this *Pſalm* and of ſome others, to the like effect complain : every man reſpectively in their own perſons, and upon juſt occaſions. And however they did not in their murmuring complaints, yet in the cauſes or occaſions of the ſufferings, they did really prefigure juſter occaſions and more grievous matter of complaint, on the behalf of their expected Redeemer. And he muſt have uttered the like complaints in a far higher ſtrain, if he had been but a meer man, not armed with patience or

long ſuffering truly divine. The indignities done unto him by *Pilate* and the Roman Souldiers, by *Herod* and his men of War, were perſpicuouſly foretold by *David Pſal.* 2. *Why do the Heathens rage, and people imagine a vain thing?* This parallel between the Prophecy of *David*, and the hiſtorical events anſwering to it, not the Apoſtles only, but other inferiour Diſciples did unanimouſly acknowledge upon the deliverance of *Peter* and *John* and the reſt of the Apoſtles from ſuch violence intended againſt them by the Rulers, and Elders of the Jews, (as had been practiſed by them upon our Saviour,) for working of a miracle in his name: *When they had further threatned them, they let them go, finding nothing how they might puniſh them, becauſe of the people: for all men glorified God for that which was done. For the man was above forty years old, on whom this miracle of healing was ſhewn. And being let go, they went to their own Company, and reported all that the chief Prieſts and Elders had ſaid unto them. And when they heard that, they lift up their voice to God with one accord, and ſaid, Lord, thou art God which haſt made Heaven and Earth, and the Sea and all that in them is: who by the mouth of thy Servant* David *haſt ſaid, Why do the heathens rage, and the people imagine vain things? The Kings of the Earth ſtood up, and the Rulers were gathered together againſt the Lord and his Chriſt. For of a truth againſt thy holy Child* JESUS, *whom thou haſt anointed, both* Herod *and* Pontius Pilate, *with the Gentiles and the people of* Iſrael, *were gathered together for to do whatſoever thy hand and thy Council determined before to be done. Acts* 4. 21, 22. *&c.*

3. All of our Saviours Perſecutors, whether Jews or Gentiles, *per dicta & facta malè ominata*, did read their own doom and the doom of all ſuch, unto the Worlds end, as ſhall continue the courſe that they begun. The Roman Souldiers Clothing him in a Purple Robe, by putting a Crown of Thorns upon his Head, and by crying, All hail unto the King of the Jews, did act that part in jeſt or Comical Merriment, which they muſt one day act in earneſt, and more than tragical ſorrow. For he had ſworn it long before, *That all knees ſhould bow unto him*, and in that day, they which Crowned him with Thorns, ſhall ſee him Crowned with Majeſty and Glory. *Herod* in ſending him back to *Pilate* in a white or candid Robe, did bear witneſs of his innocency and integrity: and withall, of *Herod* his Fathers Scarlet ſins, in putting ſo many poor Innocents to a bloody death, upon the notice of his Nativity. And as for *Pilate* and the Roman ſtate, by whoſe authority he was ſcourged with rods here on earth; he whoſe ſeat is in the Heavens, did even then laugh them to ſcorn, and ſince hath broken the whole race of Roman *Cæſars*, with a rod of iron, and daſht them and their Monarchy to pieces, like a Potters Veſſel. What more ſhall be done againſt theſe cruel Actors, or Abetters of their cruel practices againſt this King of Kings; I leave it wholly (with all ſubmiſſion) to his ſole determination. But that the Indignities done unto him by the Jews, by the Roman or other Heathen Governours; and the viſible revenge, which hath ſince befaln them, were punctually foretold by *David*, Pſalm 2. the teſtimony before-cited, *Acts* 4. is a proof moſt authentick and moſt concludent.

4. Yet of all the ſufferings which he ſuffered under *Pontius Pilate*, beſides the indignities done unto him in the extremities of his pains upon the Croſs, (at which *Pilate* was not preſent;) the rejection of him by the Jews, when this Heathen Governour out of a good nature

or well-meaning policy, had propoſed him with an infamous Thief or Murderer, was far the worſt, and doth deſerve the indignation of all that loved him. And this circumſtance is preſt home to them by St. *Peter*, *Acts* 3. 13, 14. *The God of* Abraham, *and of* Iſaac, *and of* Jacob; *the God of our Fathers hath glorified his Son* JESUS, *whom ye delivered up, and denied in the preſence of* Pilate, *when he determined to let him go. But ye denied the holy One, and the Juſt, and deſired a Murderer to be granted unto you, and killed the Prince of life, whom God hath raiſed up from the dead, &c.* In this prepoſterous, and ſacrilegious choice, they did the Devil a more peculiar and more immediate ſervice, than their Idolatrous Forefathers had ever done, either in adoring the Brazen Serpent, (which was the moſt perverſe Idolatry, that ever they committed) or in ſacrificing their Sons and Daughters to the infernal Spirits. In thoſe ſervices, they declare themſelves to be ſervants to Devils: In this ſiniſter choice they prove themſelves to be the Devils own Sons: and exactly fulfil our Saviours Prophecy or diſcovery of their inclinations, before they themſelves did know them. For when *Jeſus* had told ſuch Jews as did in a ſort believe on him, that *they were ſervants to ſin, and could not be made free, but by the Son, who abideth in the houſe for ever:* they chollerickly reply, that they were the Sons of *Abraham*. Our Saviour rejoins, *Ye are of your Father the Devil, and the luſts of your Father you will do, he was a murtherer from the beginning. John* 8. 30. *&c.* and the 44. And ſo they now deſire *Barabbas*, one whoſe name imports the Son of their Father: and by quality, the Son of the Devil, an infamous murderer, to be delivered unto them, in memory of their deliverance out of *Egypt:* and importunately ſollicite the murder of the Son of God, of that very God, who had delivered them out of *Egypt:* who ſpake to *Moſes* in Mount *Sinai*; that Lord God, unto whom *Joſhua* and all the Judges that ſucceeded him, were but Generals in the time of War; unto whom in time of Peace, or counſel for direction of publick affairs, the beſt of the Prieſts and Prophets unto the days of *Samuel*, were but Deputies. For the Lord God of *Iſrael* all that time was their immediate and proper King. Governours and Deputies they had ſucceſſively many, but none endued with Royal Authority, beſides him. No matter of conſequence whether of War or Peace, was undertaken by their Governours without ſpecial revelation or anſwer from him by *Vrim* and *Thummim*, until *Samuels* old age; *Then all the Elders of* Iſrael, *gathered themſelves together, and came to* Samuel *unto* Ramah, *and ſaid unto him, Behold thou art old, and thy Sons walk not in thy ways: now make us a King to judge us, like all the Nations. But the thing diſpleaſed* Samuel *when they ſaid, give us a King to judge us: and* Samuel *prayed unto the Lord,* 1. *Sam.* 8. 4, 5. This unſeaſonable ill aboding deſire, did diſpleaſe the Lord unto whom they prayed, as much as it did *Samuel*. And yet ſo far is he from forcing obedience by irreſiſtible coaction, that he perſwades *Samuel* to deſcend to their importunate ſuit, but firſt to make proteſtation againſt it; *Now therefore hearken to their voice, howbeit yet proteſt ſolemnly unto them, and ſhew the manner of the King, that ſhall raign over them, ver.* 9. This proteſtation againſt their Petition, and his pathetical forewarning of them, what hard uſage they ſhould find under the King, whom they would chooſe, are ſet down at full from the 10. of this Chap. unto the 19. *Nevertheleſs the people refuſed to obey the voice of* Samuel, *and they ſaid, Nay, but we will have a King to* *rule over us, that we may be like all Nations, and that our King may judge us, and go out before us, and fight our Battels.* And ſo after *Samuel* had rehearſed their reſolution in the ears of the Lord their preſent King, notwithſtanding the proteſtation, and their fore-warning concerning their future Kings manner of Government, they are permitted for the hardneſs of their hearts, to go to a free Election of a new King. Yet the calamities and oppreſſions which *Samuel* forewarns would follow upon this their not approved Election, was ſcarce ſo much as verified in the days of *Saul*, of *David*, or *Solomon:* never exactlyfulfilled by any King of their own nomination, or by any King impoſed upon them, until they ſolemnly and openly diſclaim their Native King; (that very God, whom *Samuel* in all this buſineſs had conſulted) and cryed, *We have no King but Cæſar.* After this nomination of *Cæſar* for their King, whatſoever calamities foretold by *Samuel*, were in any part verified by their own unruly Kings, were moſt exactly accompliſht by the race of *Cæſars*, unto whom they ſolemnly dedicated that allegiance, which was due to *Jeſus* their Ancient Lord and King. At the ſame time, and not before, were the words of the Lord unto *Samuel*, Chap. 8. 7, 8. exactly fulfilled. *The Lord ſaid unto* Samuel, *hearken unto the voice of the people in all that they ſay unto thee: for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I ſhould not raign over them. According to all the works which they have done, ſince I brought them out of* Egypt, *even unto this day, wherewith they have forſaken me, and ſerved other gods; ſo do they alſo unto thee.* But of the fulfilling of this Propheſie, both according to the literal ſenſe, and prefigurations, or matter of fact: and how the Prieſts and Scribes with their projects againſt our Saviour, did bring *Jacob's* dying curſe, or ominous predictions againſt *Simeon* and *Levi* upon themſelves, and their Poſterity; more hath been ſaid in the Commentaries of the firſt Book * of the Creed, than I now exactly remember: more, at leaſt, than I will trouble the Reader with a repetition of what he may find there publiſhed.

* Sect. 3. Chap. 11. par. 9, 10, &c.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of ſuch Repentance as Judas *found: of his caſting down the Thirty pieces of Silver in the Temple: and of the difficulties or variety of Opinions, by which of the Prophets it was foretold.*

1. ONE Hiſtorical relation concerning *Judas* and his fearful end, there is, which is by Saint *Matthew*, (who of all the four Evangeliſts, citeth the teſtimony of the Propheſie, wherein part of it was foretold) left ſomewhat ambiguous for the circumſtances of time, wherein it happened. Some perhaps would at the firſt ſight, conceive from Saint *Matthew*'s words, that *Judas* did caſt down the hire of his Treaſon in the Temple, immediately after the chief Prieſts and Elders had bound our Saviour, and led him to *Pontius Pilate* the Governour. But if we conſider other circumſtances of time related by Saint *John*, and Saint *Luke*, it is far more probable that *Judas* was not touched with ſorrow or grief: whether of mind or of

body, or of both, until our Saviour was ſentenced to the death of the Croſs by *Pontius Pilate.* For the firſt thing which the chief Prieſts and Elders did, after they themſelves had paſt ſentence on our Saviour, was the delivery of him to the Secular power, and their importunate ſollicitation of *Pilate* to put their ſentence in execution. It was a memorable document of deadly Hypocriſie in the Prieſts and Elders, that they would not enter into the Common-hall, or publick Court of Juſtice to indite him there, being immediately after to celebrate the uſual ſervice for that day in the Temple. It was again an extraordinary courteſie in *Pilate* towards them, that he would vouchſafe to take their accuſations in the Pavement, or Court adjoyning to the Pretorium. But as well the courteſie of the one, as the hypocriſie of the other, friendly conſpired to accompliſh the will of God, which was to have his only Son, made that day, a Sacrifice of Atonement for the ſins, both of the Jews and Gentiles; whereas, if *Pilate* had ſtood upon points of Authority or Prerogative: it is more than probable, the Prieſts and Elders would rather have deferred their accuſations for that inſtant, than have entred into the Pretorium or Common-hall. But having once obtained their deſire in the Pavement, they immediately returned into the Temple, where *Judas* attended them. And having reſolved (as he thought) to have ſet his houſe, or worldly buſineſs in ſuch order, as *Abitophel* had done his; he went forth and hanged himſelf. So that albeit *Judas* had ſeen his Maſter dead in law, that is, ſentenced to death by the High Prieſt, and *Pontius Pilate*, upon the *Jews* importunate accuſations and teſtimonies againſt him: Yet the Traytor having no witneſs produced againſt him, beſides his own Conſcience, no Judge or appointed Executioner beſides himſelf: did dye an accurſed death, before his Maſter had made an Atonement for the ſins of the world. So the *Pſalmiſt* by way of imprecation had fore-told; *Let ſudden deſtruction come upon him unawares* (or as the others) *let deſtruction come upon him, and let the net, that he hath made for others, catch himſelf: into that very deſtruction let him fall,* Pſalm 35. 8. How this imprecation, though not directed againſt *Judas* alone, did punctually fall upon him, will better appear anon in the diſcuſſions, how the imprecations reiterated in the 109. *Pſalm,* were moſt punctually fulfilled in him. That which for the preſent I intended to advertiſe the Reader of, is briefly this; That if we refer the time of *Judas* death, unto this point of time intimated, the parallel betwixt Saint *Matthews* relation of his fearful end, and other ſacred paſſages in the Evangeliſts and Apoſtles, will be more clear. Saint *Matthew*'s relation ye have in the 27. Chapter 3. *Then* Judas *which had betrayed him, when he ſaw that he was condemned, repented himſelf, and brought again the Thirty pieces of Silver to the chief Prieſts and Elders, ſaying; I have ſinned in that I have betrayed the innocent blood: And they ſaid, What is that to us? See thou to that. And he caſt down the pieces of Silver in the Temple, and departed, and went and hanged himſelf. And the chief Prieſts took the Silver pieces, and ſaid, It is not lawful to put them into the Treaſury, becauſe it is the price of blood. And they took counſel, and bought with them the Potters field to bury ſtrangers in. Wherefore that field was called, The field of blood unto this day. (Then was fulfilled that which was ſpoken by the Prophet* Jeremiah, *ſaying, And they took the Thirty pieces of Silver, the price of them that was valued, whom they of the children of* Iſrael *did value: and gave them for the Potters field, as the Lord appointed me.)*

2. But where this caſting down of the thirty pieces of Silver in the Temple, was foretold, or by whom, there is, and hath been great variety of opinions amongſt Learned Interpreters, as well Ancient as Modern; ſo great, that many of them have rather ſoiled, than any way cleared the meaning of the Evangeliſt: and left the inveſtigation of the truth, more difficult to the ingenuous and ſagacious Reader, than if they had not medled with it, or left it (untoucht) to his private ſearch. The firſt difficulty is about the Grammatical ſignification of ſome words in the Original. The 2. pitcheth upon a miſnomer of the Prophet, as whether that Propheſie, which the Evangeliſt ſaid was fulfilled in this fact of *Judas*, was uttered or written by *Zachariah*, or the Prophet *Jeremiah*, or reſpectively by both. The 3. admitting thus much was either only foretold, or both foretold, and fore-pictured either by *Jeremiah*, or by *Zachariah*, or by both, whether they ſpoke in their own perſons, or in the perſon of *Judas*, or of Chriſt, or of both. The firſt difficulty, or rather diſcord about the literal ſenſe of the Prophets words, as they are related by the Evangeliſt, hath been occaſioned, partly by the Tranſlation of the Septuagint, and partly by the Author of the vulgar Latine. For whereas we read as well in Saint *Matthew*, as in the Prophet *Zachariah*, *And I caſt them*, ad figulum, *to the Potter*; the vulgar Latine hath it, And I caſt them, *ad Statuarium*, to the Statue-maker in the houſe of the Lord. The Septuagint thus, καθὲς αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ χωνευτήριον, caſt them into the Furnace, or to the Metal-melter. The Greek might import (though not ſo directly as the Latine) a Potters Furnace. But if we take *Statuarius* (which is the expreſſion of the vulgar Latine) in its proper ſenſe, for a Statue-maker, whether in ſtone or of metal, wrought with tool or molten, there could be no uſe of ſuch an Artificer in that Temple, wherein all Statues or Images of what ſtuff ſoever they could be made, were more ſtrictly forbidden; Or in that people among whom the erecting or making of them was a crime capital. To avoid this abſurdity in their Authenticated Tranſlation, the Sectaries of the Romiſh Church by the [Statuary] would have us underſtand God himſelf, who is the former or faſhioner of all things. And for this Interpretation, they alledge ſome Ancient Greek Fathers, but whoſe Authority, they themſelves will ſlight, or paſs ſuch cenſures upon their Authors, as they will not permit us in like caſe to do, whenſoever they make againſt their pretended Catholick Tenets. The moſt Learned Interpreters in Romiſh Church, do partly bewray, and ſometimes openly profeſs, that this Interpretation is too far fetcht, and far wide from the meaning of the Prophet (whoſoever he was) as he is alledged by the Evangeliſt. What then could move ſo many of them to embrace, or rather not to diſclaim theſe roving collections? Only the authority of the Trent Council, which hath ſo fettered them in this, and other like points, that they dare not ſay that their reaſonable Souls are (under God) their own: but are content to ſacrifice learning, reaſon, and common ſenſe to many illiterate reſolutions of wilful, partial, and corrupt men in that Council aſſembled. If the Ingenuous Reader will not believe me in this particular, let him take the pains to ſatisfie himſelf, by obſerving how *Ribera* and *Caſtrus*, with ſome other men very well Learned, and Ingenuous (ſo far as they durſt) have utterly loſt themſelves in their Commentaries upon the eleventh of *Zachary*.

3. Concerning the ſecond difficulty, many both in the Romiſh and Reformed Churches, will in no caſe admit of a miſnomer in the Evangeliſts writing, but will have the words cited by him to be the Prophet *Jeremiahs* own words,though no where extant in his own works, which now we have. Yet in ſome other works of his, which no Chriſtian living this day, hath ſeen: but of which Saint *Hierom* had ſeen an Hebrew Copy, as he himſelf relates; but unto which it doth not appear that he gave any credit, it being imparted to him by one of the Sect of the *Nazarens*. The words of the pretended Propheſie anſwer ſo punctually and identically to every apex or title of Saint *Matthews* quotation or paraphraſe upon the Prophet; as we may more than ſuſpect, juſtly preſume that paſſage which Saint *Hierom* relates, to have been ſquared on purpoſe to Saint *Matthews* allegation, after the publiſhing of this Goſpel. For ſuch ſuppoſititious or baſtard books, were obtruded upon the Church before Saint *Hieroms* or *Origens* days.

Amongſt many Interpretations upon this 11. of *Zachariah*, which *Junius* in his parallels hath diligently recited, he approves only of one or two: the one, that *Zachariah* was *Binomius*, had two names, *Jeremiah* and *Zachariah*, a thing not unfrequent in Sacred Hiſtories, eſpecially where their names, whether they be two or more, have but one ſignification or importance. Now the Etymology of *Jeremiah* and *Zachariah*, according to his Interpretation of them, have the very ſame ſignification. The other, which after this, *Junius* likes beſt, is that *Zachariah* had the Prophet *Jeremiah* for his Maſter or Inſtructer, though not *viva voce*, yet partaker of his Spirit by tradition, or undoubted relation of his Prophetical Predictions, from ſuch as had been acquainted with *Jeremiah*, during the time of *Zedechiahs* raign, or in the beginning of the Babyloniſh Captivity. This good Writer was afraid leſt *Jeremiah* ſhould have lived too long, if he had been acquainted with *Zachariah*, upon his return from *Babylon*, or about the building of the ſecond Temple, as ſome others before *Junius* had avoucht, whoſe opinion, in the main point, he likes well of, to wit, that albeit the teſtimony alledged by Saint *Matthew*, be diſtinctly found in the Prophet *Zachariah*, yet is aſcribed by the Evangeliſt himſelf, purpoſely to *Jeremiah*, becauſe *Zachariah* had learned it from *Jeremiah*, as *Daniel* had done the end of the Captivity.

4. For my part, if I could be fully perſwaded (as I am not to the contrary) that the reaſon why Saint *Matthew* did purpoſely aſcribe theſe words in the Prophet *Zachariah*, unto *Jeremiah*, was becauſe the Prophet *Zachariah*, had *Jeremiah* in this and many other Propheſies for his Inſtructer or Guide; I ſhould think it no Solœciſm to ſay, that *Zachariah* had been acquainted with *Jeremiah* himſelf, either about the beginning of the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, or that *Jeremiah* had lived until this peoples return to *Jeruſalem*, and to the Inheritance and Poſſeſſions of their Fore-fathers. For that divers of that Generation, wherein *Jeremiah* Propheſied, and whilſt the firſt Temple was ſtanding, did live ſo long, as *Junius* thinks it improbable *Jeremiah* ſhould live, is clear from that of *Ezra* 3. 12. *Many of the Prieſts and the Levites, and chief of the Fathers, who were Ancient Men, who had ſeen the firſt houſe; when the foundation of the houſe was laid before their eyes, wept with a loud voice: and many ſhouted aloud for joy.* Howbeit, I am not of opinion, that men in thoſe days did by ſtrength of nature make up ſo many years here on Earth, as this

Hiſtory implies theſe many Prieſts and Levites did, but rather that God by his ſpecial providence and goodneſs, did at this time reiterate or renew that Covenant of life, which once he made to *Phinehas* and *Eleazar*. And *Jeremiah* and *Baruch* the Son of *Neriah*, had this ſpecial priviledge beſtowed upon them, that their lives ſhould be given unto them for a prey, * in all places whither ſoever they went. Again, it is very probable, ſeeing *Jeremiah* during the time of his impriſonment, did by the appointment of the Lord *buy the field of* Hananeel *his Uncles Son, and cauſe the Evidences ſubſcribed to be put up by* Baruch *in an Earthen Veſſel, that they might continue many days:* that he expected to ſee the return of this people from Captivity unto the poſſeſſions of their Fathers: that he himſelf did hope to enjoy the benefit of this his bargain, which he made in a ſtrange time, as Wordlings would think. But ſo he made it for the confirmation of this peoples Faith in Gods promiſes, that fields and poſſeſſions, which then lay deſolate, ſhould be repoſſeſt by this people and their poſterity: and Inheritances ſhould be ſold and alienated to the next of Kindred, (as this of *Hananeels* was to *Jeremiah*) according to the Law.

* *See Jer.* 45. *ver.* 5. *&* 39.

5. *Maldonat* in his Comments upon St. *Matthew* is very free, and not afraid, as *Junius* and other good Writers are, to admit of a miſnomer, neither occaſioned by the Evangeliſts forgetfulneſs, nor from miſtake of letters, or abbreviatures by the Tranſcribers, but rather by a voluntary interſertion of the Prophet *Jeremiah* his name by ſome bold Tranſcriber or Interpreter, when as the Evangeliſt had only ſaid, *The Prophet*, (as his uſual manner is) without any intimation what Prophet it was, leaving that wholly to the diligent Readers ſearch or obſervation. For ſo he doth in that remarkable Prophecy; *Behold a Virgin ſhall conceive, and bear a Son, &c.* he ſaith no more, than all this was foretold by the Prophet, without any mention or intimation of *Iſaiahs* name: nor doth he name the Prophet *Hoſea*, when he records the fulfilling of his Prophecy, *Out of* Egypt *have I called my Son*, Mat. 2. 15. And in verſe 23. of the ſame Chapter, *he ſhall be called a* NAZARENE. He giving the reaſon why *Joſeph*, by the diſpoſition of the Divine Providence did divert his intended return unto *Bethleem*, where Chriſt was born, and took up his dwelling in *Nazareth*, ſaith this was done, *that it might be fulfilled which was ſpoken by the Prophets*, not ſo much as intimating the name of any one Prophet, by whom this was foretold. And if the curious Reader would obſerve his allegations of Prophetical teſtimonies, throughout his whole Goſpel, he ſhall find the Prophets name, (whoſe teſtimony he moſt faithfully records) concealed or omitted three times as often, as it is expreſt. And in thoſe few places, wherein the Prophets name, whoſe authority he alledgeth, is expreſt, it may without any danger be queſtioned whether they were ſo expreſt or interſerted by Interpreters or Tranſcribers. For the addition of names, or change of ſome vowels, doth no way vitiate the divine truth of Prophecy; though the cuſtom of latter Interpreters or Tranſlators, be far more commendable to expreſs the Prophets name, or the Chapter and verſe, to which the Evangelical ſtory refers, in the margine, not in the body of the Text. However the miſnomers of perſons or places inſerted to the body of the diſcourſe, doth no way corrupt the true ſenſe, and meaning, either of Hiſtorical or Prophetical truth: the errour is imputable only to the Tranſcriber or Interpreter, not to the Author.

6. But for this place now in queſtion, I know it is objected by good Writers, (both as well of the Reformed, as Romiſh Church) that the moſt ancient Copies of St. *Matthews* Goſpel now extant, have the name of *Jeremiah*, not of *Zachariah:* and therefore it is a preſumption at leaſt, that the name was not interſerted by any Interpreter or Tranſcriber, but expreſt by the firſt Author himſelf. Yet this is a preſumption only, no juſt proof, becauſe there may be for ought we know, more ancient Copies of St. *Matthew*, than any Man of latter years hath ſeen or publiſhed to the World; as of latter years ſome Copies of the *Septuagint* and of St. *Johns* Goſpel have been communicated unto the Chriſtian World, which are more ancient, than thoſe which in former ages were moſt common. Again, no man can make ſuch proof, that any Greek Manuſcript of St. *Matthew* now extant is more ancient than the Syriack Teſtament, in which the name of the Prophet *Jeremiah* is not to be found, although the ſubſtance of St. *Matthews* Text concerning the fulfilling of this Prophecy be plain, and full. Laſtly, I think, ſcarce any of the Romiſh Church would affirm, that ſuch Manuſcripts, as they have ſeen, are more ancient, than their firſt vulgar Latin Tranſlation of the Books of *Moſes.* And now, if it be no prejudice to the ſubſtance of truth in their moſt ancient Tranſlation, to interſert names, and places, not ſo much as heard of in *Moſes* his time, nor added by the Seventy Interpreters: or other expreſſions of the Hebrew names (uſed by *Moſes*) by the Grecians: but new names impoſed by the Grecians upon places otherwiſe called in more ancient times: it can no way diſparage the true ſenſe or meaning of St. *Matthew*, although very ancient Interpreters or Tranſcribers have interſerted the name of *Jeremiah* inſtead of *Zachariah* into the body of his Text. But where doth the moſt ancient vulgar Tranſlator make any ſuch interſertion of names into the body of *Moſes* his Writings? To omit other places, ſo he doth *Numb.* 34. 11. where we read, as the Hebrew *verbatim* hath it. *And the Coaſt ſhall go down from* Shepham *to* Riblah, the ancient vulgar Latine makes this interſertion, *de* Sephama *deſcendent termini in* Reblata *contra fontem* Daphnen; The Coaſt or Border ſhall deſcend from *Sephama* to *Riblah*, over againſt the Fountain called *Daphne*, that is, to that *Antioch* where Chriſts followers were firſt named Chriſtians. It is not probable, that the firſt Author of the vulgar Latine was more ancient, than that Hebrew Copy of thoſe Apocryphal Books aſcribed to *Jeremiah*, by the Sect of the *Nazarenes.* Now this teſtimony alledged by St. *Matthew*, being extant in that Apocryphal Book before any Latine Tranſlation of the Bible; and more ancient than any Greek Tranſcript of St. *Matthew*, as yet publickly known: the Interpreters Greek or Latine might with the ſame confidence interſert the Prophet *Jeremiah* his name into the body of the Text, as the vulgar Latine doth the name of the Fountain *Daphne* into the Hiſtory of *Moſes.* The moſt ancient and beſt Authority, which the Author of the vulgar Latine can pretend for this interſertion, is from the Author of the 2. Book of *Maccabees.* I could not therefore condemn *Maldonat* for ſpeaking inconſequently, either to the truth it ſelf, or to the Authority of the Romiſh Church, wherein he lived, for his ingenuous free opinion concerning this miſnomer in the Text of St. *Matthew*, which is a far groſſer errour in Tranſcripts or Inſtruments of the Law than of the Goſpel.

Vide Nebriſſenſis quinquagenam. C. 14.

7. But whether we admit of *Maldonats* or *Junius* opinion, as the

more probable: the third difficulty propoſed, will not be diſſolved by one, or both; And that was, how the Author of the Propheſie, whoſe accompliſhment Saint *Matthew* records (were it *Jeremiah*, *Zachariah*, or ſome other) ſhould ſuſtain the perſon of *Judas* the Traytor, and the perſon of our Saviour *Chriſt*, who was betrayed, of whom the fore-cited Propheſie was to be literally fulfilled. That it was fulfilled by *Judas* fact, is granted by all: but how it was fulfilled of our Saviour, is a queſtion, which moſt Interpreters leave undetermined. For the reſolution or determination of it, there might be another queſtion premiſed, to wit, whether he or they, whoſoever they were, who did fore-tell *Judas* his caſting down the Thirty pieces of Silver, to the Potter, in the Temple, did fore-ſignifie this by way of Viſion, or did withal fore-picture it by like matter of fact. But the reſolution of this latter queſtion (neither altogether impertinent, nor abſolutely neceſſary) might be referred to the determination of the like queſtion, moved by Interpreters upon that of *Hoſea*, 1. 2. *Go, take unto thee a Wife of whoredoms, and Children of whoredoms: for the Land hath committed great whoredom, departing from the Lord.* However they have determined, or ſhall determine that queſtion concerning *Hoſea*, as whether indeed he did take a wife of fornication unto him, or only ſpeak ſymbolically, (as if his ſayings were to be conſtrued for his deeds) neither part of the determination will determine the preſent difficulty, how either *Jeremiah* or *Zachariah* ſhould repreſent either our Saviour Chriſt or *Judas*, either by word or deed. The ſhadow of this ſeeming ſtumbling block, hath affrighted ſome Learned Commentators out of the right way, into which they had upon good deliberation entred. To inſtance in one, it was well obſerved by *Caſtrus* upon the 11. of *Zachariah*.

Nihilominus ſicut Zacharias *in ſua perſonâ referebat Chriſtum, ita & facto ſuo. Nam quemadmodum pro ſuo munere paſtoritio exigebat pretium, fidem, & pietatem ex corde, & datum eſt pretium vile, triginta argenteorum: ita Chriſtus poſtulabat à Judæis pro ſuo Evangelizandi munere, ut ſibi crederetur, & ut Deus coleretur: At illi pretio triginta argenteorum eum æſtimaverunt. Et ſicut Propheta indignatus quòd tam vili pretio fuiſſet æſtimatus, & pretium projecit, & eos qui pretium illi dederunt: ita Chriſtus projecit Judæos, & tradidit Romanis devaſtandos. Ne verò dicamus* Zachariam *Judæ perſonam & Chriſti ſimul retuliſſe, videtur veriùs diverſam eſſe pro-*

Zachariah, he grants, *did repreſent Chriſt both by perſonal office and by matter of fact*. *Zachariah* did demand faith, and hearty piety of his flock for his prophetical pains amongſt them, and they tender him a baſe reward, thirty pieces of ſilver: So Chriſt required of the Jews for his Evangelical function amongſt them, only this, that they would believe him, and worſhip God: and they value him at 30. pieces of ſilver. Again, as the Prophet with indignation renounced both the baſe ſtipend which was offered to him, and the flock which did tender it: ſo Chriſt caſt off the Jews which had thus diſeſteemed him, and delivered them over to be deſtroyed by the Romans. But (ſaith this Author) leſt we ſhould grant that the Prophet *Zachariah* did by the ſame fact or reſolution repreſent both the perſon of Chriſt and of *Judas*, it is more probable that the Prophecy of *Zachariah* is different from that of *Jeremiah*, which St. *Matthew* alledgeth. For *Hierom* upon on the 27. of St. *Matthew* tells us, he had lately read a Book of *Jeremiah* in the Hebrew Tongue, which one of the Sect of the Nazarens had imparted unto him, in which he found Saint *Matthews* allegation word for word. Thus far *Caſtrius*.

phetiam Zachariæ & Jeremiæ. *Nam &* Hieronymus *ſuper* 27. Matthæi *ſic ait, Legi nuper in quodam Hebraico volumine, quod Nazareæ ſectæ mihi Hebraicus obtulit,* Jeremiæ *apocryphum, in quo hæc ad verbum ſcripta reperi.*

Deſinit in piſcem mulier formoſa ſupernè.

He begins his verdict in the ſpirit of wiſdom and diſcretion, continueth it perplexedly, and concludeth it according to the fooliſhneſs or forgetfulneſs of the fleſh. For that inconvenience which he ſo much feared, will be never a whit the leſs, albeit we grant him, that Saint *Matthews* words, do not refer to the fore-cited place of *Zachariah*, but to thoſe Books of *Jeremiah*, which Saint *Hierom* had ſeen; or to any other Prophet whatſoever, whether his works be extant or loſt. And thus being blencht in his right courſe by the ſhadow, he falls foul upon that very ſtumbling block, or rather a far worſe than that, which he ſought to avoid. For by his concluſion, the often fore-mentioned allegation of Saint *Matthew*, cannot be literally, or concludently referr'd to any Prophet at all.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The clear reſolution of the third Difficulty propoſed: of the fearful end of Judas, *and how it was both fore-pictured, and fore-told.*

1. SHall we ſay then that either *Zachariah*, or any other Sacred Author of the Propheſie alledged by Saint *Matthew*, did repreſent both the perſon of *Judas* the Traytor, and of *Jeſus Chriſt* whom he betrayed? There is no neceſſity to avouch thus much: nor would it be any abſurdity to grant all this and ſomewhat more. The parallel between the Evangeliſt, and the Propheſie of *Zachariah*, as now it is extant, (whether in the Hebrew or Septuagint) whether he only fore-told the event, or fore-acted it alſo by like matter of fact, (which latter is more than probable) is moſt exact. For *Zachary* (as he himſelf affirmeth) did require his ſtipend for his Prophetical function, *And they weighed him thirty pieces of Silver*, Zach. 11. 12. But this ſtipend, after he had received it, was ſo contemptible in the ſight of the Lord, that he ſaid unto him, *Caſt it unto the Potter, a goodly price, that I was prized at of them. And ſo he took the thirty pieces of Silver, and caſt them to the Potter in the houſe of the Lord.* In thus undervaluing the Prophets perſon and pains, they did undervalue the goodneſs and perſon of that Lord, whoſe Ambaſſadour he was. *Judas* in like ſort *goeth to the High Prieſts, and asked of them, What will ye give me, and I will deliver him unto you? and they covenanted with him for thirty pieces of Silver*, Matth. 26. 15. This was the higheſt price, which

this laſt and worſt Generation of *Iſrael*, did ſet upon the chief Shepherd of their Souls; not the hire or ſtipend for his pains: for theſe they ſet at nought. And by this act they did exactly fulfil both the Prophet *Zachariahs* words, and the meaſure of their Fore-fathers ſins, in undervaluing his miniſterial labours and perſon. The ſame Lord which commanded *Zachariah* to caſt his contemptible ſtipend unto the Potter, did now cauſe *Judas* to throw down the price, for which he ſold and delivered his Lord and Maſter unto the chief Prieſts and Officers, in the ſame houſe of God or Temple, after he had ſeen that it was the price of his Maſters blood, not the ſtipend only of his treachery. That *Judas* did thus far repent, as to acknowledge his ſin in ſaying, *I have ſinned in betraying innocent blood*, this was the Lords doing, or (as the Evangeliſt ſaith) *that which the Lord appointed him to do*, Matth. 27. 12. And no Chriſtian need be afraid to ſay, that *Judas* was moved, or appointed of the Lord, as *Zachary* was, to caſt down the Thirty pieces of Silver in the Temple, to the end, that his Propheſie, and his fact might be exactly fulfilled. Their Fore-fathers in offering unto *Zachariah* Thirty pieces of Silver for his hire, did fore-picture that their ungracious Poſterity would ſet as low a price upon the Lord himſelf. And thoſe words of the Lord unto the Prophet, Verſe 13. *A goodly price that I was prized at*, have the ſame ſenſe and importance with the like words (before cited) * unto *Samuel, They have not caſt thee off from being King, but me.* If we compare the 13. verſe of the 11. of *Zachary*, with the 12. and conſider the alteration of the perſons ſpeaking, they will bear this ſenſe or importance; or rather require this conſtruction; "Be content to forego thy ſtipend: for they have not only undervalued thee, and thy "Miniſterial pains, but they have undervalued me. For as this preſent Generation hath done by thee, ſo, and much worſe will their "ungracious Poſterity deal with me. This is the very brief or abſtract of Saint *Matthew*, Chap. 27. ver. 9, 10. (*Then was fulfilled that which was ſpoken by the Prophet ſaying, And they took the Thirty pieces of Silver, the price of him that was valued, whom they of the Children of* Iſrael *did value: and gave them for the Potters field, as the Lord appointed me.* Theſe laſt words caſt a ſcruple, or rather a ſtumbling block in many Interpreters ways, how the Prophet *Zachariah* ſhould be appointed of the Lord to buy the Potters field. But this is preſently taken away, if we conſider, that the Evangeliſt in the 9. and 10. verſes doth make a paraphraſe or exegetical expoſition upon the Prophets words. Now it was ever lawful, yea, the office of the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts, not only to quote the Prophets, but to paraphraſe upon, or expound aſwell the literal, as myſtical ſenſe of their words, or portendments of their facts. And if we conſult the Prophet himſelf in the original, or in the Tranſlation of the Seventy; that expoſition which we have made, as well of his words, as of Saint *Matthews* paraphraſe, is moſt naturally emergent out of the Grammatical ſignification of the words, and the perſons ſpeaking. When the Prophet ſpeaks unto the people in his own perſon, he ſaith, *If ye think good, give me my ſtipend or hire*, * not my price, as ſome render the Original. But when the Lord ſpeaks thus unto him, *Caſt it to the Potter*, he ſaith not a goodly ſtipend, that I was rewarded with, *but a goodly * price, that I was prized at of them.* And this diſtinction of the words perſwades me, that the Prophet did really demand, and they did really pay his ſtipend. And in this their under-

* Chap. 26. Parag. 4.

* Zach. 11. 12. הָבוּ שְׂכָרִי δότε τὸν μισθόν μου ſaith the Septuagint

* אֶדֶר הַיְקָר אֲשֶׁר יָקַרְתִּי מֵעֲלֵיהֶם gloriosum pretium, quo appretiatus ſum, Zach. 11. 13. καὶ σκέψαι εἰ δόκιμόν ἐστιν, ὃν τρόπον ἐδοκιμάθην ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν,

undervaluation of his perſon, and pains, they did portend their Poſterities diſ-eſteem of the great Prophet the Lord himſelf.

2. One ſcruple yet remains, which if I did not, every obſervant Reader of the Prophet would caſt in his own way: and it is this; what the Prophet had to do with any Potter in the houſe of the Lord? Some interpreters, without any mention of this ſcruple, give this reaſon why God commanded the Prophet to throw his ſtipend to the Potter, becauſe his perſon or profeſſion was as contemptible, as the ſtipend was. But if this was the true reaſon, the party to whom he threw it, was not contemptible only for the meanneſs of his perſon or profeſſion, but contemptible amongſt others of his own trade. For the world in the Original hath a note of demonſtration prefixt unto it: not *a* Potter, but *the* Potter. This ſcruple (if I miſtake not) is already cleared in the former Book. For as *Vatablus* with the conſent of ſome Ancient Hebrew Rabbins obſerve, the ancient reading of the Hebrew was האוצר unto the Treaſury, or unto the Treaſurer. But in ſucceſſion of time there hapned a variation in reading, not by negligence of Tranſcribers or Tranſlators, but by Gods ſpecial Providence, [היוצר for האוצר]. And this ſubſtitution of one letter for another, or alteration of the ſignification of the words, did moſt divinely character the devolution of the Thirty pieces of Silver, deſigned by *Judas* to the Treaſury or Corban, unto the buying of the Potters field to bury ſtrangers in it. Both *Judas* for caſting them down for the Temples uſe; and the chief Prieſts, in otherwiſe diſpoſing of them, did as the Lord had appointed them. Neither of them did amiſs in all this. The height of their ſin was in buying and ſelling the Lord of life, ſpecially at ſo low a price. This the Lord did not appoint, or ordain them to do: yet did he ordain their moſt wicked deeds, and direct their malicious intentions to an happy end: to the redemption of all our Souls, and to the fulfilling of this Propheſie. And ſo he did ordain *Judas* his reſolution to make away himſelf, unto the confirmation of our Faith, and to the fulfilling of another Propheſie, not much obſerved (for ought I read) by moſt Interpreters. The firſt and laſt act that *Judas* did, after he had caſt down the Thirty pieces of Silver in the Temple, is recorded by Saint *Matthew* 27. 5. *And he caſt down the pieces of Silver in the Temple, and departed, and went and hanged himſelf.*

See the 7. book of Comments on the Creed.

3. This laſt act was pre-figured, (as moſt have obſerved) by the fearful end of *Ahitophel.* But was the manner of his dying (which was ſomewhat more fearful than *Ahitophels*) any where elſe fore-told? Yes, it was moſt remarkably fore-propheſied, *Pſalm* 109. with its circumſtances, or ſad conſequences. Firſt, That the imprecations throughout that Pſalm were literally meant of *Judas*, though his name be not expreſt in it, is clear from Saint *Peters* ſpeech unto the Aſſembly of Chriſt's Diſciples, for proceeding to the election of another Apoſtle, in *Judas* his place; *And in thoſe days* Peter *ſtood up in the midſt of the Diſciples and ſaid, (The number of the names together were about an hundred and twenty) Men, and Brethren, this Scripture muſt needs have been fulfilled which the Holy Ghoſt by the mouth of* David *ſpake before concerning* Judas, *which was guide to them that took* Jeſus. *For he was numbred with us, and had obtained part of this Miniſtery. Now this man purchaſed a field with the reward of iniquity, and falling headlong, he burſt aſunder in the midſt, and all his bowels guſhed out: and it was known unto all the dwellers at* Jeruſalem, *inſomuch, as that*

field

S. *Matthew* adds, and ſaith it was called *The field of blood unto this day*: which argues, that he wrote his Goſpel a long time after S. *Peter* made his Comment upon the Pſalmiſt.

field in their proper tongue is called Aceldama, *that is to ſay, The field of blood. For it is written in the Book of* Pſalms, *Let his habitation be deſolate, and let no man dwell therein. And his Biſhoprick let another take,* Acts 1. 15, 16, 17. Albeit the chief Prieſt did bargain for the field to bury ſtrangers in, yet in as much, as the money wherewith they bought it, was *Judas* his goods, not theirs; Saint *Peter* held it no Solœciſm to ſay, that *this man,* (to wit, *Judas*) *did purchaſe a field with the reward of iniquity.* And ſeeing this field was purchaſed of a Potter, it is but one and the ſame manner of ſpeech, which Saint *Matthew* uſeth (by way of paraphraſe upon the Prophet *Zachariah*) that *Judas did caſt down the Thirty pieces of Silver to the Potter in the houſe of the Lord.* Saint *Matthew* relates only *Judas* his hanging of himſelf: Saint *Peter* adds further, *That falling headlong, he burſt aſunder in the midſt, and all his bowels guſhed out.* It ſeems, or rather it is evident, that either the rope or the gallow tree did break: the latter is more probable, if any heed be to be given to an old tradition, that he made choice of an Elder tree for the gallows; a very brittle wood, and ſuch as bears no good fruit, unleſs it be that which is called the Jews-ear. But although we be bound to believe, that moſt of the imprecations in this Pſalm were literally, and concludently meant of *Judas*; yet it may be queſtioned, whether they were literally meant of him alone, or directly intended againſt his perſon by the Prophet *David.* And however it was lawful for the Prophets to pray directly againſt particular perſons living in their own time (which for any Chriſtian living to do, is moſt abominable:) yet for the particular imprecations of this and ſome other Pſalmiſts, which were not fulfilled till after Ages, I cannot but highly approve of *Genebrards* reſolution upon this *Pſalm.* The extract of his reſolution is, that however *David* might have juſt occaſions to ſupplicate for revenge upon ſome enemies to him, and to his Government, and to the God of *Iſrael,* whoſe Deputy he was: Yet his direful imprecations throughout this Pſalm, aims at the whole hoſt of impiety, or the body of impious men. And ſeeing *Judas* was the chief, or higheſt member of that huge body with whom he fought: the curſes which he ſent forth at random (in reſpect of future ages) did fall perpendicularly and moſt punctually, in fulleſt meaſure, upon this eminent Traytor to his King and Country; to his Lord God.

4. All the imprecations throughout this Pſalm are Prophetical, and have been (at leaſt reſpectively) long ago fulfilled; but in which of them, the manner of this Traytors fearful end was in particular punctually foretold, is not ſo clear, as that the ordinary Reader will eaſily ſee it. Nor can he be much holpen by any diſcoveries of moſt Interpreters. Many beſides *Judas* have hanged themſelves: many have been ſurprized by ſudden death, or ſmitten by Gods revenging arrow, with ſore diſeaſes in a moment. Yet have we read of none, in whoſe death, ſelf intentions and ſecret acute diſeaſes did ſo concur as they did in *Judas.* His own intention was only to hang himſelf, and this he effected. But certainly there was ſomewhat more in it, than could naturally follow from this attempt; as that he ſhould burſt aſunder in the middle, that all his bowels ſhould guſh out, and haſten his death before the ordinary time of expiration by the ordinary courſe of nature in ſuch, as die that unnatural and accurſed death, which he ſought after. But the Pſalmiſt had thus propheſied and prayed againſt him, *Pſalm* 109. 17. *As he loved curſing, ſo let it*

come unto him: as he delighted not in bleſſing, ſo let it be far from him. As he clothed himſelf with curſing, like as with his garment; ſo let it come into his bowels like water, and like oil into his bones. Yet do we not read, nor have we any occaſion to ſuſpect, that *Judas* being a companion of the Bleſſed Apoſtles till his death, and a continual follower of Chriſt the Bleſſed whilſt he lived on earth; was accuſtomed to ſwear, curſe, or blaſpheme. His demeanor amongſt them (doubtleſs) was civil, not prophane. How then were the Pſalmiſts words punctually verified of him; *He loved curſing: he delighted not in bleſſing?* The meaning is, (as in many other places of the Pſalmiſts) that however he did not openly ſwear, curſe, or blaſpheme, or bewray his hate to goodneſs: yet in his heart he did abhor the ways which tend to peace and happineſs, and ſet himſelf not immediately or directly to curſedneſs. How then is he ſaid to have loved curſing? Becauſe through avarice, and ſtiff adherence to ſiniſter private ends, which he had ſecretly propoſed unto himſelf; he was diverted from the ways of peace and happineſs, (which is the end, that all men in the general ſeek and wiſh for) unto the crooked paths which *winde* to curſedneſs and malediction. As his addiction to theſe paths was ſecret and hid, ſo was the diſeaſe whereof he died. It gathered ſecretly, though ſuddenly within his body. It ſoaked like oil into his bones, and into his bowels like water. And as a good Author (whoſe words, and name I now remember not) hath conjectured, he died of a Dropſie, more acute and ſudden, than that diſeaſe naturally is. Yet however it bred within him, by cauſes natural or ſupernatural, it might be the true and natural cauſe of his burſting in the middle, and of the guſhing out of his Bowels. Of his ſudden diſeaſe and deſtruction, other Pſalmiſts had likewiſe Propheſied. Now that theſe and the like Prophetical imprecations might be exactly and remarkably fulfilled in him; the Righteous Lord would not ſuffer him to die meerly of ſtrangling or ſuffocation, but ſmote him with theſe ſecret and ſudden diſeaſes; of what kind ſoever they were.

See Pſal. 55. 16.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of the Harmony betwixt the Evangeliſts Narrations or Hiſtory [from the time our Saviour was ſentenced to death, until his expiration upon the Croſs:] and the Moſaical Prefigurations or Propheſies concerning his death and ſufferings.

1. THERE is no knowledge comparable to the knowledge of *Chriſt*, nor is there any other part of this knowledge more uſeful than the contemplation of his Croſs. A Theam of which no private Chriſtian can meditate too often, or too much, ſo he follow the directions of the Learned for his practice. Of this argument a great many Interpreters have writ very much, and a good many very well, both for the doctrinal part, and for the uſeful, which muſt be grounded upon the doctrinal. The expreſſions of my meditations upon this point, or (which is all one) the Uſe or Application of this grand Article of belief, (for whom he dyed) or what is to be

done by them, who intend to be true partakers of this common ſalvation purchaſed by his Croſs: Theſe and the like I muſt defer, until I have ſet down (as God ſhall enable me) the doctrinal points of his humiliation (whereof the Croſs is the period,) and his exaltation, which was accompliſht by his Aſcenſion. That which muſt confirm and cheriſh our belief, as well of his Croſs, as of his Reſurrection and Aſcenſion; is the clear harmony between the Evangelical Hiſtories themſelves, and the predictions or prefigurations of what they jointly or ſeverally relate, recorded in the Books of *Moſes* and the Prophets, or the Hiſtorical Volumes of the Old Teſtament.

2. *He bearing his Croſs,* (ſaith St. *John*) *went forth unto a place called in the Hebrew* Golgotha, Chap. 19. 17. *When they had mocked him* (ſaith St. *Mark*) *they took off the purple from him, and put his own Cloths on him, and led him out to crucifie him; and they compel one* Simon *a* Cyrenian, *who paſſed by, coming out of the Country,* (*the father of* Alexander, *and* Rufus) *to bear his Croſs,* Chap. 15. 20. Betwixt theſe two relations of St. *John* and St. *Mark*, there is ſome variation, no contradiction, no ſuch appearance of contraction, as might be pickt between St. *Matthew* and the other Evangeliſts, about his riding unto *Jeruſalem* upon the Aſs, and the Colt, as St. *Matthew* ſaith: or (as the others expreſs) upon the Colt only. But that appearance of contradiction (as hath been ſet down before) will eaſily vaniſh, to him that peruſeth the Prophet *Zachariah* and the Evangeliſts, with an obſervant and clear eye. For he might ride part of the way upon the one, and part upon the other. In like manner ſeeing his progreſs from the Common-Hall unto *Golgotha*, was diviſible, as the local diſtance between them was, our Saviour himſelf might bear his Croſs ſome part of the way, or for a while: and *Simon* the *Cyrenian* perhaps a greater part of the way, or for a longer time. Again, ſeeing the Croſs it ſelf was not only diviſible but actually divided, our Saviour might bear one part of it all the way, and *Simon* another for the moſt part of the way between the *Prætorium* and *Golgotha*. Nor is it probable that either of them ſhould for any time, or for any portion of the way bear both the whole Croſs, and the Chapiter whereon the Title of his accuſation was engroſt by *Pilate* [Jeſus *of* Nazareth *King of the Jews.*] That our Saviour did bear his Croſs out of the *Prætorium* or place of Judicature, is clear from the forecited place of St. *John*. And it is more than probable, that he did bear it all along the City, till he came to the publick Gate, where the Souldiers meeting with *Simon* coming out of the Country, compel him to go back again with them, and bear the Croſs to *Golgotha*. *And as they came out* (ſaith St. *Matthew*) or rather as they were coming forth (not from the *Prætorium* or Common-Hall, but from the Gates of the City) *they found a man of* Cyrene, *him they compeld to bear his Croſs.* It is clear again from St. *Luke* 23. 26. that *Simon* did bear the Croſs, *JESVS* going before him. Whether our Saviour did faint under it at the gate through feebleneſs of body, or by long watching, I will not diſpute, much leſs determine; though ſome good Writers give this reaſon why *Simon* was compeld to bear it, being firſt laid upon our Saviour. But whether for this reaſon or ſome other, they took it from our Saviours ſhoulders, and laid it upon *Simons*; there was a myſtery in it, and at leaſt, an Emblematical expreſſion of what our Saviour before had ſaid, *If any man will be my Diſciple, let him take up his Croſs, and follow me.* For this *Simon* queſtionleſs either had

been one of Chriſts Diſciples before, or at this time became one, as his two Sons *Alexander* and *Rufus* were, when St. *Mark* did write his Goſpel. But it is very probable, that they knew him for one of his Diſciples, and for this reaſon compeld him to bear his Croſs, being not willing of himſelf to do them any ſervice in ſuch a wicked employment. Now though this man did meet JESVS, when he was going out of the gate, (as we would ſay) by mear chance or fortune, that is, without any intention or forecaſt on his part ſo to do; yet even this contingency was determined, and the thing it ſelf intended by Divine Providence, that we might have a viſible pattern ſet by this man, (though againſt his will) of that duty or ſervice, which the Apoſtle preſcribeth to all that intend to be Chriſts true Diſciples. Jeſus, *that he might ſanctifie the people with his own blood, ſuffered without the Gate. Let us go forth therefore unto him without the Gate, bearing his reproach*, Heb. 13. 12, 13. We muſt do that willingly which this man was compelled to do; that is, renounce our intended ways, and follow him, as this man did, bearing his Croſs.

3. After he was come to *Golgotha*, but before he was nailed to the Croſs; *they gave him wine mingled with gall* (as St. *Matthew* ſaith) or (as St. *Mark*) *with myrh.* With what intention they miniſtred this bitter Cup unto him, he beſt knows: Not for his comfort (as I conjecture) but rather to add Gall unto Woormwood, or to make the potion more loathſom unto him by theſe two bitter ingredients. For thus much the Pſalmiſts words, (which were now in part fulfilled of him) imply: *I looked for ſome to take pity, but there was none, and for Comforters but I found none. They gave me alſo gall for my meat, and in my thirſt they gave me Vinegar to drink*, *Pſalm.* 69. 20, 21. Whether the other two which were Crucified with him, had the like Cup miniſtred unto them, is uncertain: but the Evangeliſts take no notice of what was done to them. *Myrh* mingled with wine being in ſome caſes a ſtrengthener, might be offered to them, that they might dye more courageouſly: and our Saviours mingled with Myrh and Gall, that the Pſalmiſts complaint might be more remarkably fulfilled in him, *poſuerunt fel in eſcam meam. When he had taſted of this bitter Cup*; (ſaith S. *Matthew*) *he would not drink*, 27. 34. *They gave him to drink* (ſaith St. *Mark*) *wine mingled with myrh, but he received it not*, 15. 23. To taſt of it, and not to drink of it, (as St. *Matthew* ſaith) was not to receive it, or not to accept of it: ſo that there is no appearance of contradiction betwixt theſe two Evangeliſts; both of them relate the ſame truth: but neither of them the ſame truth fully. St. *Mark* omits the mingling of the Wine with Gall; St. *Matthew* the mingling of it with myrh, and his not receiving of it: or rather to taſt of it, not to drink of it, was both to receive it, and not to receive it.

4. That the Lord was Crucified betwixt two malefactors, all the Evangeliſts agree without any variation in words: but the circumſtance or order of time wherein they were Crucified, is not ſo punctually ſet down by any of the Evangeliſts, as the circumſtance or order of place. They were crucified all together, one near to another; yet one after another in reſpect of time. *Then were there two Thieves Crucified with him* (ſaith St. *Matthew*) *one on the right hand, and another on the left*, 27. 38. This ſeems to imply that our Saviour was the firſt that was Crucified. So doth St. *Marks* relation, *Chap.* 15. 27. *And with him they Crucified two Thieves, one on the right hand,*

and another on the left. Nor doth St. *Luke* any way vary from theſe two Evangeliſts, *Luke* 23. 32, 33. *And there were alſo two other malefactors led with him to be put to death. And when they were come to the place which is called* Calvary; *there they crucified him, and the malefactors, one on the right hand, and another on the left.* The Crucifying of the Son of God between two notorious malefactors, (as bad, if not worſe than *Barabbas* was) upon a croſs, (as is probable) ſomewhat higher than the other two, was ſo plainly foretold by the Prophet *Iſaiah, Chap.* 53. that his Prophecy needs no other Comment, then that which St. *Mark* hath made upon this circumſtance of place, wherein he was Crucified. *And the Scripture was fulfilled which ſaith, And he was numbred with the tranſgreſſors,* or, as the vulgar hath it, *Et cum ſceleratis reputatus eſt*; He was not only ſentenced to death, but reputed alſo by the multitude as a notorious Malefactor; and for this reaſon Crucified in the middle, and upon an higher Croſs. For this Prerogative, or preeminence of place in capital puniſhments, was by the cuſtom of thoſe times, and by other Nations ſince, allotted to the principal offenders or Ringleaders in Mutinies, Treaſons, or Rebellions. Now our Saviour (as the ſuperſcription of his Croſs doth witneſs,) was put to death for High Treaſon. *This is* Jeſus *of* Nazareth (*or* Jeſus *the* Nazaren) *the King of the Jews.* This was the entire title, or full inſcription, as the Reader will eaſily conceive, if he compare the four Evangeliſts together, albeit none of them taken alone doth expreſs ſo much.

5. It might more eaſily be queſtioned then reſolved (for the Evangeliſts ſay nothing expreſly one way or other (whether *Pilate* himſelf did write this title, or cauſed it to be written by ſome under-Officer of the Court: or whether it were firſt written in the Court of Juſtice, or at the place of execution. *Pilate* (ſaith St. *John*) *wrote a title, and put it on the Croſs, and the writing was* JESUS *of* NAZARETH *King of the Jews. John* 19. 19. The ſuperſcription of his accuſation was (ſaith St. *Mark*) *The King of the Jews, Chap.* 15. 26. To me it ſeems probable, that this title was written or dictated by *Pilate* in the place of Judicature, becauſe I find no probable reaſon to conjecture that *Pilate* ſhould be preſent in perſon at the place of execution. It is probable again from St. *Matthew*, that the Table or Chapiter, wherein this title was written, was not ſet up till after he was Crucified: *Sitting down, they watched there, and ſet over his head his accuſation written, This is* Jeſus *the King of the Jews,* Matt. 27. 36, 37. And St. *Johns* words *Chap.* 19. 20. to my apprehenſion do more than intimate, that few or none beſides *Pilate* himſelf did know of this inſcription, before the Croſs was pitched, and our Saviour nailed unto it. *This title* (ſaith he) *then read many of the Jews: for the place where* Jeſus *was Crucified, was nigh to the City.* To what theſe laſt words ſhould refer I cannot conjecture, unleſs it be to give us notice, that the Jews which read this title might ſpeedily inform the High Prieſts what *Pilate* had written, and they as ſpeedily intreat *Pilate* (as they boldly did) to correct or amend this ſuperſcription: for ſo it immediately follows in the Evangeliſt; *Then ſaid the Chief Prieſts of the Jews to* Pilate, *Write not, the King of the Jews, but that he ſaid, I am the King of the Jews. But* Pilate *anſwered, What I have written, I have written,* verſe 23. The ſame Lord who had made *Caiaphas* not long before to Propheſie, did now guide *Pilates* hands and thoughts (though not to Propheſie, yet) to proclaim unto the World in Hebrew,

brew, Greek, and Latine, that this harmleſs man whom they had firſt condemned in their own Conſiſtory for blaſphemy againſt God; and afterwards indited of High Treaſon againſt *Cæſar*, was indeed their true and lawful King: a greater and more juſt King than *Cæſar* himſelf was; and (as the Centurion afterwards confeſſed) *the very Son of God.* Whether the title and inſcription of the crimes, and names of the parties Crucified were uſual amongſt the Romans, or uſed at this time only, and that over our Saviours head alone, I leave unto the Readers ſearch, or to ſuch as have leiſure to ſtudy Roman Rites or Antiquities.

6. *Pilate* in all probability did write, or cauſe to be written this ſuperſcription, to avoid the calumniations of the *Jews* before the Roman *Cæſar,* unto whoſe accuſations he had been the more liable, if he had ſuffered the crime pretended by them to have ſlept, or buried it in ſilence without any publick Record, that he had puniſhed *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*, as a Traytor to the Roman Emperour. *After* this inſcription of his accuſation was ſet up over his head, *They that paſſed by reviled him, wagging their heads, ſaying, Thou that deſtroyeſt the Temple, and buildeſt it in three days, ſave thy ſelf. If thou be the Son of God, come down from the Croſs. Likewiſe alſo the chief Prieſts mocking him, with the Scribes and Elders ſaid: He ſaved others, himſelf he cannot ſave. If he be the King of* Iſrael, *let him now come down from the Croſs, and we will believe him: he truſted in God, let him deliver him now, if he will have him; for he ſaid, I am the Son of God,* Matth. 27. 39, 40. *&c.* All theſe, and the like indignities done unto him, betwixt the time of the inſcription over his Croſs until the ſixth hour, are ſo clearly and punctually foretold by the Author of the 22 *Pſalm,* that it might well be queſtioned, whether the Pſalmiſt did ſpeak all this in the perſon of Chriſt alone, or reſpectively of himſelf: that is in other terms, whether this Pſalm was meerly Prophetical, as that 53 Chapter of *Iſaiah* (for ought I conceive) is: or typically Prophetical. I rather aſſent unto their opinion, who grant this Pſalm to be meant (for the moſt part at leaſt) of *David* himſelf; or of the Author of it, whoſoever he was, according to the literal or hiſtorical ſenſe, though more exactly by much to be fulfilled, according both to the myſtical and exquiſite literal ſenſe in that Son of *David,* of whom *David* himſelf, and moſt of the Prophets, in their extreameſt ſufferings were but types or ſhadows. Unto whoſe Poetical, or Hyperbolical expreſſions of their perſonal grievances in their ſeveral Generations, the perſonal ſufferings of the Son of God were in ſucceſſion of time to be commenſurably fitted, after ſuch a manner, as a body in his growth is to the garment, which in its infancy was far too wide for it. Some paſſages in this Pſalm there are, which cannot in any ſenſe befit our Saviour, but the Pſalmiſt alone; ſome again which fit our Saviour much better, than they did this Pſalmiſt or any other Prophetical type or ſhadow of him. Such are the caſting of lots upon his veſture; the piercing of his hands and feet. But what occaſions ſoever this Pſalmiſt had to utter the like complaints, there is no character either of deſperation or murmuring againſt his God in theſe his afflictions throughout this whole Pſalm: Much leſs was there any inclination either to deſpair or impatience in the Son of God, in whom alone this Pſalm was exactly fulfilled. Neither was this Pſalm, or any other to be fulfilled in him, or by him, according to the characters of impatience, or leaſt intimation of doubt or deſpair in this

Pſalmiſt; but according to their chearful embracements of their preſent afflictions and croſſes, according to their confidence and hope of deliverence from them, and exaltation or reſtauration into Gods moſt ſpecial ſavour after them. All the delineations or characters of heroical qualities in the *Pſalmiſts*, were to be ſubſtantially and exactly fulfilled in the Son of God. The concluſion of the latter part of this Pſalm from the 21 *verſe* to the end, is full of hope and comfort on the Pſalmiſts own part; and a Divine Propheſie of the victory, which the Son of God, of whom he was the type or ſhadow, ſhould obtain over death, pains, and ſorrows, more grievous than he himſelf did ſuffer. In this Viſion of the Son of Gods victory over all theſe, *David* did foreſee and rejoyced to foreſee his own redemption from the preſent griefs and ſorrows of heart, with which he was compaſſed. Briefly, this 22. Pſalm from the beginning to the end lies under the ſelf ſame obſervation with the * ſixteenth Pſalm, which without all queſtion was penned by *David* himſelf.

* *See the ſeventh Book of theſe Commentaries, ſect. 3. cap. 28. ſect. 5.*

7. But ſeeing it is to be confeſſed by all, that the moſt part of our Saviours ſufferings upon the Croſs, whether inwardly in body, or in curſed ſpeeches, revilings, and taunts; are moſt clearly foretold in that 22. Pſalm: This miniſtred to me an occaſion of a new *quære*, why our Saviour (during all the time of his lingring pains upon the Croſs) ſhould rehearſe only the firſt words of this Pſalm: and why them only, after all the reſt, which did literally and exactly concern him, had been viſibly and audibly fulfilled in his bodily ſufferances, grievous pains, and other indignities done unto him. Why did he not repeat that part of this Pſalm, [*They pierced my hands and my feet,*] when they firſt nailed him unto the Croſs? or why not the 18. *verſe*, *They parted my garments, &c.* at that inſtant, wherein the Souldiers caſt lots, whoſe his veſture ſhould be? or why not the 7. and the 8. *verſes* of the ſame Pſalm, *All they that ſee me, laugh me to ſcorn: they ſhoot out their lips: they ſhake their heads, ſaying,* [*He truſted in the Lord;*] at that very time, when they that paſſed by, and the Prieſts and Elders that ſtood by the Croſs, reviled him, wagging their heads? All theſe indignities were done unto him before the ſixth hour, and in the open Sun: whereas he did not utter the words of complaint, wherewith the Pſalmiſt beginneth his Pſalm, until the ninth hour. *When the ſixth hour was come,* (ſaith St. *Mark*) *there was darkneſs over the whole land until the ninth hour. And at the ninth hour* Jeſus *cried with a loud voice, ſaying,* Eloi, Eloi lamaſabacthani, *which is being interpreted, My God, my God why haſt thou forſaken me?* Mark 15. 33, 34. St. *Matthew* relateth the ſame ſtory, in the ſame order, and circumſtance of time, only with this variation in words, *Eli, Eli lamaſabacthani? Matt.* 27. 46. St. *Mark* it ſeems, relateth the words in the Syriack or Chaldee then uſual: St. *Matthew* in the ſame ſyllables our Saviour ſpoke them, and as they are in the Pſalmiſt; for *Eli* comes nearer to the name of *Elias* than *Eloi:* and might more eaſily occaſion that miſtake in the multitude, which both the Evangeliſts relate, than if he had cried *Eloi:* for that was the uſual appellation of God in thoſe times. *Some of them that ſtood by* (ſaith St. *Mark*) *when they heard it, ſaid, Behold he calleth* Elias, Mark 15. 35. *Some of them* (ſaith St. *Matthew*) *that ſtood there, when they heard that, ſaid, This man calleth for* Elias. *And ſtraightway, one of them ran and took a ſponge, and filled it with Vinegar, and put it on a reed, and gave it him to drink: the reſt ſaid, Let be; let us ſee, whether*

ther Elias *will come to ſave him, Matth.* 27. 47, *&c.* Between St. *Matthew*, and St. *Mark* in this laſt clauſe, concerning Vinegar which was given unto him; there is ſome variation in words. *And one ran* (ſaith St. *Mark*) *and filled a ſponge full of Vinegar, and put it on a reed, and gave him to drink, ſaying, Let alone, let us ſee whether* Elias *will come to take him down,* Mark 15. 30. St. *Mark* appropiateth that ſpeech unto the party, which ran to give him Vinegar, which St. *Matthew* aſcribeth to the reſt of the multitude ſeeking (as his words ſeem to import) to inhibit him from doing that which he did. This variation in words betwixt theſe two Evangeliſts, hath occaſioned a queſtion more proper to the Schools of Phyſick than of Divinity, as *Whether the drinking of Vinegar be more effectual to prolong life, or haſten death in bodies fainting, ſpecially for want of blood.* St. *Marks* relation ſeemeth to imply, that the intention of the party, which ran to give him Vinegar, was to prolong his life for a while, to try whether *Elias* would come, and take him down from the Croſs. But from St. *Matthews* relation of the ſame ſtory, it is probable that the multitude which heard him utter theſe words, *My God, my God why haſt thou forſaken me?* did preſume that Vinegar would ſhorten his life; and for this reaſon, as much as in them lay, did inhibite the other to give him Vinegar, leſt it might have been replied, that *Elias* would have come to relieve him, if he had not haſtned his death. But Vinegar as it is thought by *Galen* himſelf, (if ſome good Commentators do not miſquote him) mingled with Hyſſop, is a ſtrengthener; and that the Veſſel of Vinegar which St. *John* ſaith ſtood by the Croſs, was ſet there on purpoſe to keep ſuch as were Crucified from fainting. However, there is no contradiction between the Evangeliſts. For the multitude did therefore inhibite him, that ran for Vinegar, leſt by thus doing, he ſhould prolong his life; as if they had ſaid, Seeing he calls for *Elias*, ſtay thine hand, and ſee whether *Elias* will come to recover him in his fainting. And he which gave him Vinegar, after he had given it him, did conform himſelf unto the reſt, as if he had ſaid; I have done this kindneſs for him to prolong his life a while, let us ſee whether *Elias* will come and take him down, and free him from the Croſs. The truth is, that albeit he which made ſuch haſte to miniſter Vinegar unto him, did do this feat at the ſame time, or about that inſtant wherein our Saviour cried out, *Eli, Eli lamaſabacthani*; yet this exclamation did no way cauſe him to make ſuch ſpeed, but rather moved the reſt which heard theſe words (perhaps better than he did,) to diſſwade him from doing that which he intended upon another occaſion. That which moved him to do, as he did, was another ſpeech of our Saviours uttered by him, when he was on the Croſs; either immediately before, or immediately after he cried out, *Eli, Eli, &c.* though not with ſuch a loud voice, as he uttered that. And this ſpeech is mentioned only by St. *John* 19. 28, 29. Jeſus *knowing that all things were now accompliſhed, that the Scripture might be fulfilled ſaid, I thirſt. Now there was a Veſſel full of Vinegar, and they filled a ſponge full of Vinegar, and put it upon Hyſſop, and put it to his mouth. When* Jeſus *therefore had received the Vinegar, he ſaid, It is finiſhed.* So that the intention of him that filled the ſponge with Vinegar, and put it upon Hyſſop, and put it to his mouth, was to quench his thirſt whereof he complained. But whether St. *John* meaneth the ſame thing by Hyſſop, which the other two Evangeliſts mean by the reed: or whether ὕσσωπος in the Eccleſiaſtical Greek, be the ſame with that which we call Hyſſop, or rather Roſemary, which is rather a *frutex*, than an hearb, and better reſembleth a Reed than Hyſſop; let profeſſed Criticks, or ſuch as have leaſure to peruſe Herbaliſts, or ſuch as write of Plants, determine. Many probabilities there are, and to my remembrance alledged by *Gerard* (not the famous Herbaliſt) but that learned Divine yet living, which half perſwades me that the Hebrew אֵזוב whence ὕσσωπος in Eccleſiaſtical Greek ſeems to be derived, was the branches or ſtalks of Roſemary. But theſe are points, wherein a man may be altogether ignorant without any detriment; or very ſkilful without any great advantage to the knowledge of *JESUS CHRIST*, and of him crucified. But unto this Ocean of celeſtial knowledge, the fulfilling of every prophecy, of every legal ceremony, of every hiſtorical type or ſhadow, maketh ſome addition.

8. Amongſt other prophecies or teſtimonies typically prophetical, which remained to be fulfilled after our Saviour cried out with a loud voice, *Eli, Eli, lamaſabacthani*; that complaint of the *Pſalmiſt* 69. 22. was one; *They gave me alſo Gall for to eat, and in my thirſt they gave me Vinegar to drink.* He ſaith not, They gave him Gall to eat in his hunger: and for this reaſon haply he would not receive the wine which was mingled with gall by way of ſcorn or mocking (as S. *Luke* inſtructs us, 23. 36.) as being then neither hungry nor thirſty. But St. *John* informeth us, he received the vinegar offered unto him at the ninth hour, becauſe he was in extremity of thirſt. At this hour and not before, that of the *Pſalmiſt* 22. was remarkably fulfilled in him; *My ſtrength is dried up like a potſheard, and my tongue cleaveth to my jaws: Thou haſt brought me to the duſt of death, verſe* 15. As after his faſting forty days in the Wilderneſs, he was tempted with hunger: ſo after his lingring pains upon the Croſs, he was truly thirſty: and upon this ſenſible experience of the greateſt bodily grievance that can befal a man, he ſaid I am athirſt, but not with a loud voice or exclamation. Whether he firſt ſaid, I am athirſt, and then cried out with a loud voice, *My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me?* Or firſt cried out, *My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me?* and then ſaid, *I am athirſt*, I will not diſpute, becauſe I cannot determine. The later of the two ſeemeth to me more probable. However, neither his ſpeech nor exclamation intimate any touch of impatience, much leſs of deſpair; but only a deſire to give the world notice that this 22. *Pſalm* was ſpecially meant of him; and that all which was meant of him concerning his humiliation or indignities done unto him upon the Croſs, were now fulfilled; and that there remained one or two ſayings of the ſame or ſome other Pſalmiſt to be fullfilled before his death, eſpecially by receiving the Vinegar. For *when he had received it*, (ſaith St. *John*) *he ſaid*, Conſummatum eſt, *It is finiſhed*; as if he had ſaid. Now my ſufferings and indignities are at an end. Yet beſides the bodily thirſt, wherewith he was at the ninth hour more deeply touched, than with hunger in the Wilderneſs, there was a thirſty deſire of his ſoul to be diſſolved from the body, and to be with his Father. And in this his laſt extremiy, that other complaint of *David* was moſt exactly fulfilled, *I ſtretch forth my hands unto thee: my ſoul thirſteth after the, as a thirſty land. Hear me ſpeedily, O Lord, my ſpirit faileth: hide not thy face from me, leſt I be like unto them that go down into the pit. I remember the days of old, I meditate on all thy works; I muſe on all the works of thy hands*, Pſalm. 143.

143. 6, 7. *David* was delivered from the Pit which he feared, but our Saviour was ſpeedily heard for that he prayed; which was, that his body might go unto the Grave, and his Soul and Spirit unto his Father. And albeit St. *John* inſtructeth us, that after he had received the Vinegar, and ſaid, It is finiſhed; he gave up the Ghoſt: Yet St. *Matthew*, and St. *Mark* tell us, that he cried again with a loud voice, and ſo gave up the Ghoſt. The articulation of this loud voice or cry, is regiſtred only by St. *Luke* 23. 46. *And when* Jeſus *had cried with a loud voice, he ſaid, Father, into thine hands I commend my ſpirit. And having ſaid thus, he gave up the Ghoſt.* And in this cry or ſpeech, another Scripture or Prayer of *David* was exactly fulfilled, *Pull me out of the net that they have laid privily for me: for thou art my ſtrength. Into thine hands I commend my Spirit,* Pſalm 31. 4, 5. But how was this fulfilled in him? Surely as the Prophet, or the Holy Ghoſt by whom he ſpake, did mean it. How then was it meant of him? Not meerly Prophetically, but typically of the Pſalmiſt, and more really and punctually of him. The Pſalmiſt in his own perſon, or as acting his own part, did commend his Spirit to God his Redeemer, in hope to be redeemed from Death, or danger of body intended againſt him. The Redeemer of Mankind uſing the ſame words deſired bodily Death, or diſſolution of body and Soul, commending his Soul or Spirit by a dying wiſh into his Fathers hands.

Mat. 27. 50. Mar. 15. 37.

9. The 143. Pſalm (as the inſcription of the *Septuagint* informeth us) was compoſed by *David*, when his Son *Abſalom* with his complices did purſue him: and the ſixth verſe, *I ſtretch out my hands, &c.* is ſigned with a *Selah*, a note, or character as I take it, (not of muſick only) but of ſome greater myſtery to be fulfilled. The myſtery in this particular was this, that as *David* after he had in his own perſon prayed for deliverance, and was heard; ſo was the Son of *David* inſtantly after he had received the Vinegar, delivered from the torments of death or bodily pains. *When* Jeſus *therefore had received the Vinegar* (ſaith St. *John*) *he ſaid, It is finiſhed: and he bowed his head, and gave up the Ghoſt,* 19. 30. If we conſider either the 143. Pſalm, or the 31. as literally meant of *David:* there is no intimation of any diſtraction of mind in him; much leſs was there any inclination to any diſtraction, diſcontent or diſtruſt, in *JESUS* the Son of *GOD*, in whom whatſoever was commendably acted by *David* in his diſtreſs, was moſt punctually and exquiſitely fulfilled of this our Bleſſed Saviour in all his ſufferings. His memory was moſt freſh, and his patience moſt remarkable, when his mortal ſpirits were expiring.

10. That ejaculation, *Pſalm* 31. 6. *Into thy hands I commend my ſpirit*; was (ſaith *Maldonat*) meant of Chriſt in another ſenſe, than it was of *David:* rather fulfilled of Chriſt in a more exquiſite ſenſe, than it had been verified of *David*. *David* according to the literal and hiſtorical ſenſe being in diſtreſs, commends the tuition or ſafety of his Soul unto God, directing his Prayer for ſpeedy deliverance from that bodily danger, wherewith he was beſet, unto *Adonai Jehova* unto the Lord of truth, or the Lord God his Redeemer. *Pull me out of the net, that they have laid privily for me: for thou art my ſtrength, &c. Thou haſt redeemed me, O Lord of truth,* Pſal. 31. 4, 5. The Lord God Redeemer of Mankind directs his Prayer unto his Father, *Father, into thy hands I commend my ſpirit,* after he had ſuffered all the diſgraces, pains, and tortures, whereof any mortal body

was ever capable. This delivery, or ſurrender of his life, and ſoul *vivâ voce*, at the very moment or point of death, into his Fathers hands, did move the Heathen Centurion to ſay, *Of a truth, this man was the Son of God*, Mark 15. 39. *When the Centurion* (ſaith St. *Luke*) *ſaw what was done, he glorified God, ſaying, Certainly this was a righteous man*, Luke 23. 47. This is in effect the very ſame which St. *Mark* ſaith. For, in that the Centurion did acknowledge him for a righteous man; he did neceſſarily in his heart acknowledge him to be the Son of God, becauſe he had ſo profeſt of himſelf. That righteouſneſs, which the Centurion aſcribeth unto him, was the truth of his confeſſion before *Pilate*, when he was examined upon this interrogatory, [*Art thou then the Son of God?*] now more fully proved and declared unto the World by the ſtrange manner of his death.

11. The confeſſion of this Heathen Man, was more Chriſtian, than the queſtions, which ſome Schoolmen have moved upon the delivery of his ſoul *vivâ voce* into his Fathers hands. For ſo, ſome have queſtioned, whether he were *homicida ſui*, or made away himſelf by actual diſſolution of his ſoul from his body, before the violence and cruelty of the tortures whereto his Enemies put him, could by courſe of nature work this divorce. Surely, if he did any way prevent the death intended againſt him by the Jews, or ſhortned his own natural life, though but for a moment; they had not been ſo true, and proper murderers of him, as the Apoſtle intimateth, and we Chriſtians believe they were. For albeit *Abimelech* had received a deadly incurable wound by the hands of a Woman; yet he died by the hands of his Page or Armour-bearer: *And a certain woman caſt a piece of a milſtone upon* Abimelechs *head, and all to brake his ſcull. Then he called haſtily unto the young man his Armour-bearer, and ſaid unto him, Draw out thy ſword and ſlay me; that men ſay not of me, A woman ſlew him. And his young man thruſt him through, and he died*, Judg. 9. 53, 54. But as ſome Schoolmen have in the diſquiſition of this point gone too far: ſo others have acutely reſolved the difficulty, and elegantly reconciled the difference in opinions. *Mors Chriſti non fuit verè miraculoſa, erat tamen miraculum in morte Chriſti.* Chriſt did no way make away himſelf, or die by miracle, but by courſe of nature; Yet was it a true miracle, that his life and ſpirits being ſo far ſpent, he ſhould have ſpeech and memory ſo perfect, as to make delivery of his ſoul into his Fathers hands *viva voce*, at the very moment of his expiration. The Jews, and Romans did truly, and properly take away his life; and yet he did as truly and properly *animam ponere*, lay down his life for his ſheep, in that he patiently ſubmitted himſelf to their tyrannical cruelty: and more ſweetly and placidly reſigned up his Soul into his Fathers hands at the inſtant of death by courſe of nature, or perhaps a little after it, than a ſheep doth his fleece unto the ſhearer or his owner. In this reſignation or bequeathing of his ſoul thus placidly into his Fathers hands, in his inimitable patience in all his ſufferings, whether of torture or indignities, there was a moſt exact concurrence, (or coincidence rather) of all former ſacrifices and obedience; more than the quinteſſence of thoſe ſacrifices, wherewith God was always beſt pleaſed, that is, the ſacrifice of a contrite ſpirit, and broken heart not humbled, but humbling it ſelf unto death. The moſt full and proper ſatisfactory ſacrifice, that could be required by God or deſired by Man: a ſacrifice ſo compleat, as no wiſdom beſides wiſdom truly infinite, could have

conceived: no perſon beſides the perſon of him that was truly God could have offered or performed.

CHAP. XXX.

That the Son of God ſhould be offered up in bloody ſacrifice, was concludently prefigured by the intended death of Iſaac.

1. THat the Son of God ſhould be thus offered as a true and proper bloody ſacrifice, was concludently prefigured by the ſacrifice of *Iſaac* intended by his Father *Abraham:* That the Croſs whereon he offered himſelf, ſhould be the very Altar of Altars, the body which the legal Altars did foreſhadow; and that this Croſs ſhould be erected without the Gate of *Jeruſalem*, was foreſhadowed by other matters of fact recorded by *Moſes*. To begin with the firſt type, to wit, *Iſaac*. The place appointed by God himſelf for the ſacrifice of *Iſaac*, was either the Mount, whereon the Temple ſtood, or ſome Mount near unto it, if not *Calvary* it ſelf. *And when* Abraham *came near to the foot of the Mount* (which of the Mountains of *Moriah* ſoever it were) *he laid the wood for the burnt offering on* Iſaac *his ſon* *. *Iſaac* then bare his croſs unwittingly, and was afterwards willing by gentle perſwaſions to die upon the wood which he bare. For if he had deteſted or abhorred the fact intended upon him, he was of years and ſtrength ſufficient to have reſiſted his father, he being at leaſt twenty five years of age, and *Abraham* one hundred twenty five. *Now our Saviour* (as the Evangeliſts record) *went forth bearing his croſs unto a place called in Hebrew* Golgotha, either a place where the ſculls of dead men were laid, or rather for the form or faſhion of it like a ſcull: But here ſome curious Inquiſitor, or one diſpoſed to examine or ſcan the relations of the Evangeliſts, as Lawyers do later evidences by more ancient deeds; would interpoſe this, or the like exception, [*Non concordat cum originali.*] For our Saviour *Chriſt* (as the Evangeliſts record) was really ſacrificed, actually crucified, and put to death, but ſo was not *Iſaac* as *Moſes* tells us. But all this will infer no more, than all good Chriſtians muſt of neceſſity grant, to wit, that the Evangelical records are more than meer exemplifications of *Moſes*. For that which was verified or truly foreſhadowed in *Abrahams* readineſs to ſacrifice his only Son; and in his Sons willingneſs to be ſacrificed by him: was to be really, and exactly fulfilled of God the Father, who had bound himſelf by promiſe to give his only Son unto Mankind, and in the willingneſs of this his only Son JESUS CHRIST, to be offered up in ſacrifice for the ſins of the World. Our Apoſtle is not afraid to ſay, that *Abraham by faith offered up his only Son* (that very man upon whoſe life or death, the fulfilling of the promiſes made to *Abraham* and his ſeed, did depend:) *accounting or being reſolved, that God was able to raiſe him up even from the dead, from whence alſo he received him in a figure.* *Heb.* 11. 17, 18. *Iſaac* then was a true figure both of Chriſts Death and Reſurrection. And *Abraham* firſt in ſtretching forth his hands to ſlay his only Son; and ſecondly, in being prohibited by God from accompliſhing

* *Gen.* 22.

compliſhing his reſolution: did accurately foreſhadow thoſe fundamental truths, which we Chriſtians believe concerning the true and bodily death, and reſurrection of our Lord and Saviour. *Abraham* (by benign Interpretation of the mind or reſolution for the very fact or deed) did both ſacrifice his only Son, and receive him from the dead.

2. But was there no more than a tentation or tryal of *Abrahams* Faith in that ſtory of *Moſes*, *Gen.* 22.? If no more than ſo, the tempting or tryal it ſelf might ſeem ſuperfluous. For God who knoweth all things, aſwell poſſible as determinate or future, did moſt infallibly know what *Abraham* would do upon his command, what he would leave undone upon expreſs prohibition. This only concludeth, that the Omnipotent and Allſeeing Father of Power did not ſtand in need of the determination of *Abrahams* will, either to foreſee or determine that which upon this actual obedience of *Abraham*, he did firſt bind himſelf by oath to perform: That which long before he had decreed *ad extra*, and in his general expreſſion of his mercy and loving kindneſs; he had promiſed to do. We had his promiſe before Mankind was actually propagated or multiplyed upon the Earth, *that the Womans Seed ſhould bruiſe the old Serpents head*, which had ſeduced her. The like comfortable words were at ſundry times interpoſed by God himſelf to *Noah* and *Abraham*.

3. But upon this preſent fact of *Abraham*, the ſame Lord interpoſeth his oath, (and it was the firſt oath which we read, that God did make) for the fulfilling of the general promiſe in one of *Abrahams* ſeed, *Becauſe thou haſt done this thing, and haſt not ſpared thine only Son; by my ſelf have I ſworn, ---- that in thy ſeed all the Nations of the Earth ſhall be bleſſed.* But did not this God of mercy and conſolation infallibly know that *Abraham* would be ready to do all that he commanded him to do? Yes certainly and more than ſo, that *Abraham* ſhould not do all which he firſt commanded him to do. Why then did he command him to ſacrifice his only Son *Iſaac*? To this end that he might have *Abrahams* full conſent to offer up one of his ſeed, but not *Iſaac*? for the accompliſhing of the bleſſing promiſed to Mankind from the date of the Curſe pronounced againſt the firſt Woman. Inaſmuch as *Abraham* was willing to ſacrifice his only Son, the Son of his old age, whom he loved more dearly, than he could have done any one or more Sons, or than he could have loved him if he had been the Son of his middle age: his conſent for the ſacrificing of any other, either of his or *Iſaacs* poſterity, whoſoever he were, was evidently included in this his extraordinary obedience. And yet ſo graciouſly and lovingly did God deal with *Abraham*, that albeit he was the Lord of all, and *Abrahams* moſt gracious Lord in particular; that he would not ſeize upon any of *Abrahams* ſeed for a Sacrifice of Atonement betwixt himſelf and the whole World, without *Abrahams* conſent. This gracious Lord then by interpoſing the forementioned Oath [*that in* Abrahams *ſeed all the Nations of the Earth ſhould be bleſſed*] was abundantly merciful, not to *Abraham* only, but unto all Mankind by him. And yet as *Rupertus* (out of St. *Chryſoſtom* if my memory fails me not) obſerveth, this abundant mercy was not *diluta miſericordia*, that is, this mercy though incomparable, was well placed, and the accompliſhment of it aſſured upon moſt juſt and equitable, though not upon any valuable conſiderations. *Quæſivit Deus titulum in Abrahamo*, ſaith this Author, &c. God from the firſt promiſe made

to Mankind did expect a fit occaſion to confirm it by ſolemn Oath, and found out *Abraham* a Man (*quoad hæc*) according to his own heart for accepting this League or Covenant betwixt him and Man upon earneſt given or reſolved to be given by *Abraham*. For God had before determined to give his Son for the redemption of men, and now finding *Abraham* moſt willing and ready to give him his only Son, and finding alſo *Abrahams* only Son obedient unto death: he binds himſelf by ſolemn Oath, that he would give his only Son; and that his only Son being made the ſeed of *Abraham*, ſhould be more willing than *Iſaac* was to be offered up in bloody Sacrifice for the redemption of Mankind. But the contents or importances of Gods Covenant made by Oath unto *Abraham*, were they to be handled alone, would require a larger volume and longer diſquiſition, than I dare in theſe years and in this weakneſs project. So much of them as I conceive to be pertinent unto theſe Commentaries upon the Apoſtles Creed, ſhall be intermingled (by Gods aſſiſtance) in the explication of the Articles following.

4. But taking all that hath been ſaid for granted, to wit, that God by demanding *Iſaac* in Sacrifice, or by preſſing *Abraham* to be the Sacrificer, did bind himſelf by oath to offer up his only Son in ſuch a bloody Sacrifice, as *Abraham* had deſtinated *Iſaac* unto: Yet the captious Jews, or other Infidels would thus except, that *Abraham* never intended, nor was he by God commanded to offer up his only Son *Iſaac* upon the Croſs: for that did not only imply a bloody, but an accurſed kind of death. This indeed is the main ſtumbling block to the Jew, who perhaps would not ſo much as have *ſcunnered* at the Altar, if our Saviour had been offered upon it, ſpecially in the Temple, or in the Courts adjoining. The next *quæries* then, for ſatisfaction of the Jews or other Infidels (if God at any time ſhall vouchſafe them eyes to ſee, or ears to hear) are, in what ſacred writings acknowledged by them, the bloody Sacrifice of *Abrahams* ſeed, or his ſufferings upon a Tree or Croſs without the City of *Jeruſalem*, not in the Courts or Precincts of the Lords Houſe, were either foretold or foreſhadowed.

CHAP. XXXI.

That the Son of God ſhould be offered upon a Tree or Croſs, was prefigured by Moſes *his erection of the brazen Serpent in the Wilderneſs.*

1. THat the death of the *Meſſias* or Son of God upon the Croſs, was prefigured by *Moſes* his lifting up of the brazen Serpent upon a Pole, (perhaps a Croſs) in the Wilderneſs: this Son of God did inſtruct his timorous Diſciple *Nicodemus*, who came to him by night, more fully, than he did ſuch as were his daily followers, until the time approached wherein he was to ſuffer this ignominious death. His ſacred Catechiſm to this Diſciple, is exactly regiſtred by St. *John*, and uttered by him ſome years before that laſt Feaſt of Tabernacles whereat *Nicodemus* was preſent. *Joh.* 7. *No man* (ſaith our Saviour unto him) *hath aſcended up to Heaven, but he that came down from Heaven,*

Heaven, even the Son of man which is in Heaven: and as Moſes *lifted up the Serpent in the Wilderneſs, even ſo muſt the Son of man be lifted up.* While the Son of man was lifted up, the Son of God was likewiſe lifted up, that is, by way of Sacrifice or Atonement. That the efficacy of this Atonement ſhould proceed from vertue or power of himſelf, as he was the Son of God, he himſelf inſtructeth us, ver. 16. *For God ſo loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whoſoever believed in him, ſhould not periſh, but have everlaſting life: for God ſent not his Son into the world to condemn it, but that the world through him might be ſaved.* The end then of his coming into the world was to ſave it, and the end of his lifting up upon the Croſs, was to draw all men to look upon him, as the *Iſraelites*, who were ſtung with Fiery Serpents, did upon the Brazen Serpent, which *Moſes* erected in the Wilderneſs. To this purpoſe he afterwards expounds himſelf, when he repeateth his Catechiſm made to *Nicodemus*, unto the people, *John* 12. *And I, if I be lift up from the Earth, will draw all men unto me.* He did, and doth draw all men unto him, not drag any after him. Such as will not be gently drawn by him, their perdition is from themſelves: and however all ſhall not in the iſſue be ſaved by him, yet he is the Saviour of all, though eſpecially of ſuch as believe, that is, of ſuch as out of the ſenſe and feeling of their ſins, (which are the ſtings of death) ſeek that remedy for their Souls from meditations upon the Croſs, or upon him Crucified, which Gods people in the Wilderneſs did for their Bodies, by looking upon the Brazen Serpent erected by *Moſes*.

2. That bodily Salvation which they enjoyed by obſerving of this Divine Preſcript, was not procured by the material Serpent on which they looked, but by the vertue of that inviſible power, whoſe ſpiritual efficacy was in times following, to be more viſibly manifeſted in the accompliſhment of that grand myſtery, which this ſtrange temporal healing did pre-figure: and that was the future cure of our Souls; our deliverance from the tyranny of the old Serpent by the Son of God becoming the Son of man, and vouchſafing to be lift up from the earth upon the Croſs. *For it was requiſite that upon them exerciſing tyranny, ſhould come penury, which they could not avoid; but to theſe it ſhould only be ſhewed how their Enemies were tormented. For when the horrible fierceneſs of Beaſts came upon theſe, and they periſhed with the ſtings of crooked Serpents, thy wrath endured not for ever. But they were troubled for a ſmall ſeaſon, that they might be admoniſhed, having a ſign of Salvation to put them in remembrance of the commandment of thy Law. For he that turned himſelf toward it, was not healed by the thing which he ſaw, but by thee which art the Saviour of all,* Wiſd. 16. 4, 5, 6, 7.

3. Shall we ſay then that the Brazen Serpent was a true Picture or Type of Chriſt? So, many have from the fore-cited place of Saint *John* concluded; and of theſe many, not a few have ſought out divers properties of Braſs, and of Serpents, more than accurate naturaliſts before had known, to ſalve up the apparent incongruity betwixt the Picture and the Body, which they would have it to repreſent. But when they have ſaid all they can, or others more than they could for them, the congruity will be no better than, *ſi gryphes jungantur equis.* For what correſpondency or conveniency can there be between the Serpent, and the womans Seed? Shall we attempt to foreſhadow light by darkneſs? or make a league betwixt Chriſt and Belial?

lial? All that which our Saviours expoſition upon *Moſes* his fact will concludently infer, is briefly this, that the myſtery of his ſuffering upon the Croſs, was prefigured by the erection of the Brazen Serpent: and by the comfort which the wounded *Iſraelites* found by looking upon it.

4. *Ahitophels* treachery againſt his Maſter *David*, did truly foreſhadow the betraying of *Davids* Lord by *Judas*; yet no man will hence conclude, that *Ahitophel* was a type of Chriſt or of his death, but rather of *Judas* and his fearful end. Nor was the Brazen Serpent any other ways a type of Chriſts perſon, than *Ahitophel* was, that is no type at all: yet a more excellent type of that old Serpent whom the womans Seed was to vanquiſh, than *Ahitophel* was of *Judas*. And the erection of this Serpent upon a pole or tree, was a Propheſie or ſpeaking Picture, that the victory of the womans Seed, or Son of God over Satan, ſhould be accompliſht upon the Croſs. This Interpretation I learn from our Saviour himſelf, *John* 12. 31. *Now is the judgment of this world, now ſhall the prince of this world be caſt out.* Now, that is, when the Son of man ſhall be lift up. The Croſs then was the Scene or Stage, wherein the long Duel was to be determined; and the deſtruction of the old fiery Serpent upon the Stage, was excellently fore-ſhadowed by the lifting up of the Brazen Serpent in the Wilderneſs, which queſtionleſs did better repreſent a dead, wounded, or bruiſed Serpent, than a live or active one. This interpretation or diſplay of that ſacred Emblem, is moſt conſonant to the hiſtorical circumſtances and occaſions, which *Moſes* had to make, and ſet up the Brazen Serpent upon a pole to the view of all the people. God from the fall of our firſt Parents, did by way of puniſhment, as well upon the Woman and her Seed, as upon the Serpent and his Seed, which had ſeduced her, denounce a perpetual enmity between them. Now albeit this enmity did principally conſiſt between the womans Seed, κατ' ἐξοχὴν, that is, our Saviour, and the old Serpent, that is, the Devil and their Followers: Yet this ſpiritual enmity was viſibly repreſented to the world, by that antipathy, which in courſe of nature is uſually experienced between men and bodily Serpents. And this enmity (ſpecially on the Serpents part) was never more remarkable than in the Wilderneſs, when the murmuring *Iſraelites* did tempt the Lord their God after the ſame manner, as the firſt woman had done, that is, by luſting after meats for that time and place forbidden; by loathing Manna and Heavenly Food which God had plentifully provided for them. *And they departed from the Mount* Hor, *by the way of the Red Sea, to compaſs the Land of* Edom: *and the people were ſore grieved, becauſe of the way. And the people ſpake againſt God, and againſt* Moſes, *ſaying, Wherefore have ye brought us out of* Egypt *to dye in the Wilderneſs? for here is neither bread nor water, and our Soul loatheth this light bread. Wherefore the Lord ſent fiery Serpents among the people which ſtang the people, ſo that many of the Children of* Iſrael *dyed. Therefore the people came to* Moſes *and ſaid, We have ſinned, for we have ſpoken againſt the Lord, and againſt thee: pray unto the Lord, that he take away the Serpents from us. And* Moſes *prayed for the people. And the Lord ſaid unto* Moſes, *Make thee a fiery Serpent, and ſet it upon a pole: and it ſhall come to paſs, that every one that is bitten when he looketh upon it, ſhall live. And* Moſes *made a Serpent of Braſs, and put it upon a pole, and it came to paſs, if a Serpent had bitten any man, when he beheld the Serpent of Braſs, he lived,* Numb. 21.4,5,6,7,8, *&c.*

5. The importance or implication of the Hiſtory, is, that as God had now brought that curſe upon them, which had been denounced againſt the womans Seed from her firſt ſin: ſo in caſe they would not tempt the Lord their God by renewing their firſt Parents ſin, they ſhould in good time ſee the curſe denounced againſt the old Serpent, that is, the cruſhing of his head, as exactly fulfilled as the puniſhment upon the womans Seed had been by the fiery Serpents in biting their heels: That the ſame Lord who had now ſaved them from the poiſon of theſe leſſer bodily Serpents,would in his good time deprive the old Serpent of his deadly ſting, and deſtroy death it ſelf by dying upon the Croſs. The experience of woes or calamities threatned againſt diſobedience, is uſually given by Gods * Prophets as a pledge or earneſt for the accompliſhment of the good things, which he hath promiſed to the penitent.

* *Jer*.32.42.

6. That which ſpecially did firſt perſwade me thus to diſplay the Emblem of the Brazen Serpent, was the demolition of it by good *Hezekiah*, who queſtionleſs would never have done to it as he did, had he known, or taken it to have been the type or figure of his expected Redeemer, rather than of his Enemy. The good King by this zealous fact, did fore-ſhadow the future accompliſhment of that grand myſtery, which the erection of the Brazen Serpent was appointed to repreſent, to wit, the diſſolution of the old Serpents Kingdom over this world. The adoration of this Serpent, whilſt it ſtood uncruſht, was not only an abuſe of things indifferent, but the moſt prepoſterous idolatry which this rebellious, ſtiff-necked people did at any time practiſe. For in worſhipping it, they did worſhip him, whoſe quality and perſon it did repreſent. And for this reaſon *Hezekiah* was moved with greater indignation againſt it, than againſt any other Idol, Satue, or relicks of Idolatry which came in his way. *He took away the high places, and brake the Images, and cut down the Groves, and brake in pieces the Brazen Serpent, that* Moſes *had made: for unto thoſe days the Children of* Iſrael *did burn incenſe unto it, and he called it* Nehuſhtan, 2 *Kings* 18. 4, 5. A name queſtionleſs implying much more, than the meer grammatical expreſſion (which moſt Interpreters uſe) imports. Nor had this good Kings words or fact been worth the regiſtring, if he had only called a Brazen Serpent broken to pieces, a piece of Braſs. But the full importance of this word, as of many others in the Original, whether in the Greek or Hebrew, will not be eaſily found in ordinary Lexicons or Nomenclators. Every good Interpreter ſhould have a Lexicon, either of his own, or others gathering peculiar unto Divinity, ſpecially for words uſed in a Technical, Emblematical, or Proverbial ſenſe. However, *Nechoſheth* ſignifies no more ordinarily than braſs: Yet *Nehuſhtan* in his Emblematical ſpeech, or fact of *Hezekiah* (as I ſhould gueſs) imports no leſs than our Engliſh *foul Fiend, the old Dragon,* or *Satanas.* As theſe Idolaters in *Hezekiahs* time did adore the Picture, or Type of the old Serpent: ſo this laſt Generation having forſaken the God of their Fathers, did chuſe *Barabbas,* the Son of the Serpent, and renounced the Son of God for being their Lord, and ſo make up the full meaſure of their Fore-fathers iniquity, and brought a greater plague upon their Poſterity, than any which did befall their Anceſtors in the Wilderneſs,whether by the biting of Serpents, or other of Gods judgments or puniſhments.

7. To this effect I took occaſion to expound this fact of *Hezekiah obiter*, and upon another Text in a learned Audience many years now ago, without the tax of any (as far as I could hear) and with better approbation of ſome then preſent, than I expected, becauſe the expoſition was new and uncouth. And yet as I have found ſince, conceived before by a Learned man, though no profeſt Divine. But (as the proverb is) by-ſtanders ſometimes ſee more than they who play the game. And I muſt freely confeſs, that for the explication of many places in Scripture, I have learned more, or been better confirmed in mine opinions by the Lawyers, than by the profeſt Divines of the French Nation, one, or two excepted. The man to whom I am in this particular beholden, is *Hotman*;

And that which in his Hiſtory deſerves to be had in ſpecial memory, he demoliſhed and caſt down the Brazen Serpent, which *Moſes* by Gods command had ſet up in the Deſert, that ſuch as were ſtung by the biting of Serpents, might be healed by looking thereon, when he perceived the ſuperſtitiouſly-bent people thereunto Idolatrouſly to Attribute Divine Honour. For there was not in that Image any Divine efficacy, but this being the time of Infancy of Gods worſhip, *Moſes* the School-maſter of the *Hebrews*, by this Image did pre-figure Chriſts triumph over the conquered Serpent, when by the name of Serpent (* as is ſaid at the beginning) he intimated the ſubtle enemy of Mankind.

Quodque in ipſius hiſtoria ſingulari memoriâ dignum eſt, ſerpentem æneum, quem Dei monitu Moſes *in ſolitudine ſtatuerat, ut qui ſerpentum morſu ulcerati eſſent, eo conſpecto ſanarentur, excîdit atq; disjecit, cùm animadvertiſſet populum ſuperſtitione imbutum divinos ſtatuæ honores tribuere. Non enim ei ſimulachro vis ulla divinitus inerat, ſed cum hæc divinæ religionis eſſet pueritia,* Moſes *hebreæ gentis pædagogus, eo ſimulachro futurum Chriſti de Serpente devicto trophæum deſignabat, cum ſerpentis nomine callidum (ut à principio dictum eſt) humani generis hoſtem ſignificaret.* Hotman *in conſolatione è ſacris literis petitâ, de factis* Ezechiæ, *pag.* 128.

* Scilicet in 3. Cap. ejus libelli.

CHAP. XXXII.

That the Son of God ſhould ſuffer without the Gates of Jeruſalem, *pre-figured by the Sacrifice of the Atonement.*

1. BUT before Gods people could be capable of this cure of their Souls, by looking upon him, who did vanquiſh the old Serpent, or before he came to be the Author of ſo great Salvation: he was to make full ſatisfaction for their ſins, whoſe weight had otherways preſſed all Mankind down to Hell. This full reconciliation or atonement betwixt the juſt unpartial Judge and ſinful men, was made upon the Croſs. But ſome will demand in what part of *Moſes* writings this was fore-told or pre-figured? It was moſt exquiſitely fore-told and pre-figured, partly in the alienation of the primacy from the month *Tiſri*, unto the month *Abib*. Until the law was given, *Tiſri* had abſolute precedency, being the month, wherein, according to all proba-

bility the world was created. But upon the deliverance of *Abrahams* Seed from the tyranny of *Egypt*, the month *Abib* by Gods ſpecial command, had both precedency and pre-eminency: Yet not abſolute precedency, but precedency in reſpect of that which was more pre-eminent, to wit, for the Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical account; as for their accounts temporal, *September* or *Tiſri* did ſtill retain precedency. And for this reaſon, I take it, our Saviour was firſt proclaimed the Meſſias by *John Baptiſt*, in the month *Tiſri*, but afterwards declared to be the Son of God by his reſurrection from the dead in the month *Abib*. At his Baptiſm he had fulfilled one part of the myſtery pre-figured in the legal Feaſt of Atonement, which was celebrated upon the tenth day of the month *Tiſri*. In his ſufferings upon Mount *Calvary*, he did fully accompliſh that which was pre-figured by the legal Sacrifices in the day of Atonement, and that which was inchoated by himſelf at the day of his Baptiſm. At his * Baptiſm he fulfilled the myſtery of the Scape-goat, bearing theſe peoples ſins into the Wilderneſs, and there vanquiſhed the great Tempter, who had firſt vanquiſhed them and their Fore-fathers. At the Feaſt of the Paſſeover, in the month *Abib*, he accompliſhed the myſtery pre-figured by the other Goat, whoſe blood was brought by the High Prieſt into the Sanctuary. Thus much we learn from our Apoſtle, *Heb.* 13. 10. &c. *We have an Altar, whereof they have no right to eat, which ſerve the Tabernacle. For the bodies of thoſe Beaſts, whoſe blood is brought into the Sanctuary by the High Prieſt for ſin, are burnt without the Camp. Wherefore Jeſus alſo, that he might ſanctifie the people with his own blood, ſuffered without the gate. Let us go forth therefore unto him without the Camp, bearing his reproach.* The true meaning or purport of this paſſage, and the connexion of it with the former, the Reader ſhall find more at large in a Sermon to be annexed (by Gods aſſiſtance) with others to this preſent and the former Treatiſe. All in this place intended by me, is to ſatisfie ſuch as will be ſatisfied, that our Saviours ſufferings upon the Croſs were a moſt true and proper Sacrifice: a Sacrifice fully ſatisfactory for the ſins of the world: the accompliſhment of all the ſacrifices of the law: the only ſacrifice whereof the Anniverſary ſacrifices uſed in the Feaſt of Atonement, were but ſhadows, no true images. Again, that the Anniverſary Sacrifices of the Paſſeover which were in the month *Abib*, and thoſe in the Feaſt of Atonement, were to be jointly accompliſhed at one and the ſame time, to wit, in the firſt month after this peoples delivery out of *Egypt*; is implyed in the alteration of the account upon their deliverance. For that alteration portendeth that in the very ſame month, in which they were delivered, there ſhould be in after times a more general deliverance of Gods people, whoſe memory ſhould deſerve the precedency of all Feaſts and Solemnities. Such was that Feaſt of the Paſſeover, wherein our Saviour ſuffered.

* *See Chriſts anſwer to* John.

2. As for all the circumſtances of place, or time, or the like wherein other legal ſacrifices were offered; the myſteries pre-figured by them could not poſſibly be accompliſhed in one and the ſame time, and place by any ſacrifice; not by the ſacrifice of the Son of God himſelf, though all-ſufficient for its ſubſtance. For if he ſhould have fulfilled the Sacrifice of Atonement, in the Feaſt of Atonement, and the Sacrifice of the Paſchal Lamb in the month *Abib*, or in the place where it was offered; he muſt have dyed oftner than once, and in more places than one. For the myſtery pre-figured by the Paſchal

Lamb, that was accompliſhed in due time on the day appointed for that Sacrifice. So was the Altar whereon he was offered, that is, the Croſs, the accompliſhment of the figurative place whereon the firſt Paſchal Lamb was offered, and that was the lintels or door poſts of the *Iſraelites* houſes, on which the blood of the Paſchal Lamb was ſprinkled. But the ſlaughter of the Paſchal Lamb in the firſt inſtitution, was, ***intra pomæria***, within the doors or precincts of private Families, or within the compaſs of publick places of Meetings. So that in reſpect of the place wherein the true Paſchal Lamb, and the true Lamb of God was ſlain or ſacrificed, there is ſome diſparity; yet a full harmony between the ſubſtance of both ſacrifices, and the circumſtances of time wherein they were offered. But this defect, or rather this variation concerning the circumſtance of place, wherein the Paſchal Lamb, and the Lamb of God, who taketh away the ſins of the world were offered, is moſt exactly recompenced by the circumſtance of place, wherein the body of the Hee-goat, on which the Lords lot ſhould fall, and other Sacrifices in the day of Atonement, were by a moſt peremptory law to be conſumed. And that place was without the Camp, whilſt the Poſterity of *Jacob* had no Temple or no fixt place of worſhipping God, but a moveable Tabernacle. *Alſo the Bullock for the Burnt-offering, and the Goat for ſin-offering (whoſe blood was brought to make a reconciliation in the holy place) ſhall one carry out without the Hoſt to be burnt in the fire with their skins, and with their fleſh, and with their dung*, * *Lev.* 16. 27. This is the Apoſtles meaning in the fore-cited place, *Hebr.* 13. *Jeſus, alſo, that he might ſanctifie the people with his own blood, ſuffered without the gate*, that is, without the City, yet near the Suburbs of *Jeruſalem*, whoſe type or figure was the Camp of the *Iſraelites* in the Wilderneſs, or at that time wherein the Tabernacle was moveable. For the Tabernacle was but a model or pattern of the Temple in *Jeruſalem*, as the Camp of the *Iſraelites* in the Wilderneſs was of *Jeruſalem* it ſelf.

* Vide Chytræum in hoc caput.

3. And however their God, and ſupreme Lawgiver, did by a peremptorily law enjoyn his people, that no manner of bloody ſacrifice ſhould be offered, or at leaſt no publick ſolemn Feaſt be celebrated, ſave only in *Jeruſalem*, after the Ark was brought into it and placed in the Temple: Yet the circumſtance of the place, wherein our Saviour was ſacrificed, was exactly fore-ſhadowed by the place wherein the Anniverſary Sacrifices in the Feaſt of Atonement, during the time of this peoples progreſs in the Wilderneſs or moveable Tabernacle, were offered, and that was without the Camp, or Trenches of that great Congregation.

4. The ſum of all the fore-mentioned Prefigurations or Predictions, whether of our Saviours offering up of himſelf according to his Fathers will and appointment, or of the times, and places wherein he was offered, is this, that this his offering up of himſelf was a true and proper Sacrifice; a more full ſatisfaction for all the ſins or tranſgreſſions of men againſt the moral law of God, than the Sacrifices in the Feaſt of Atonement, or the Paſſeover, or other Anniverſary Solemnities, were for ſins whether of omiſſion or commiſſion, meerly againſt the law of Ceremonies. This is moſt Divinely expreſt by our Apoſtle, *Hebr.* 9. 13. as hath been handled more at large before.

Sect. 3.

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CHAP. XXXIII.

At what hour of the day our Saviour was Crucified, at what hour taken down from the Croſs, and of the myſteries enſuing his death.

1. About the time of the year, as in what Month, and in what day of the Month, the Lamb of God was offered or did offer up himſelf in bloody Sacrifice, there is no queſtion of moment, or none at leaſt which may not eaſily be reſolved. But as concerning the time of the day, or hour wherein he was offered, there is more than variety of opinions amongſt the learned: ſome appearance of contradiction between two, over whom were they now alive, no Authority now on Earth could have any power either of arbitration or juriſdiction. *It was the third hour* (ſaith St. *Mark*,) *and they Crucified him, &c.* 15. 25. deſigning the time after he was brought to *Golgotha, and refuſed to taſte of the Wine mingled with Myrh*; Whereas St. *John* ſpeaking of the time a little before *Pilate* gave ſentence, ſaith, *It was the preparation of the Sabbath, and about the ſixth hour. John* 19. 14. That the various relations of theſe two Evangeliſts (if we take them as they are extant in moſt Copies) ſhould be reconciled, there is a neceſſity. And if either of their own writings were to be corrected by the other; St. *Johns* Goſpel (as *Maldonat* well obſerveth) were to be corrected by St. *Marks*. For St. *Marks* aſſertion is punctual and preciſe, and between the ancient Manuſcripts and modern exemplifications of his Goſpel, there is no variation: but in St. *Johns* there are. For in ſome Copies yet extant, and in ſome which *Nonnus* in his Poetical Paraphraſt did follow, there is expreſs mention of the third hour, not of the ſixth. Whence it is probably conjectured by ſome, that the ſixth hour was inſerted by the Tranſcribers of St. *Johns* Goſpel for the third, upon a miſtake of the figures or numerical characters; the numerical character of the ſixth hour being not much unlike the numerical character of the third hour. And yet it cannot be denied that in ſome ancient Manuſcripts of the Greek Teſtament now extant, the numbers of hours, or days, or years are expreſt in entire words, not in figures or numerical characters. But whether this manner of expreſſing numbers was uſual *ab initio*, or in the times when St. *John* wrote, or uſed at all by him, is not ſo clear. For ſeveral ages or revolutions of times have their ſeveral manners of expreſſions, ſpecially for quoting of Scriptures or deciphering of numbers. And ſometimes latter ages agree better in this point with the moſt ancient, than middle ages do. The determination of this particular, as whether in St. *Johns* time, numbers were expreſt at large, or in figures, I refer to profeſſed Antiquaries.

2. But admitting that St. *John* did write expreſly, about the ſixth hour (not in figures:) Many learned men of ſeveral Churches and Religions, have wittily attempted to ſalve the appearance of contradiction betwixt him and St. *Mark*, by reducing the manner of meaſuring the day unto the ſcale or manner of meaſuring the night, which they divide into four parts or watches, every watch containing three hours according to the Sun-dial; So as the firſt great hour anſwerable

able to the watch by night, did begin at ſix in the morning, and continue till nine, which with them was called the third hour; and this third hour anſwerable to the ſecond watch of the night containing likewiſe three diurnal hours, did continue until the mid-day, or twelve of the clock, at which time their ſixth hour did commence, and continue till their ninth hour, which is our three a Clock in the Afternoon, at which time it is without queſtion that our Saviour did yield up the Ghoſt. So that when St. *Mark* ſaith, *our Saviour was Crucified at the third hour*, that is, about nine a Clock in the Forenoon, and before twelve, which was the ſixth hour; and when St. *John* ſaith he was ſentenced to death by *Pilate* about the ſixth hour: we muſt take his meaning to be thus, that he was ſo ſentenced, as long before the ſixth hour, which is our twelve a Clock, as after the third hour, which is our nine. So that the preciſe time of his Crucifying ſhould be about half an hour after ten of the Clock. For if we admit or allow the former ſcale of dividing the day into the firſt, third, ſixth, and ninth hour, it might as truly be ſaid, our Saviour was Crucified about the ſixth hour, as about the third hour, if he were Crucified at half an hour after ten. For ſo ſome Collegiat ſtatutes which enjoin the ſhutting of their Gates at eight in Winter, and nine in Summer, and opening them about ſix in Winter, and five in Summer; have been by legal and authorized conſtruction adjudged to be rightly obſerved, ſo they were ſhut within half an hour after eight in Winter, or half an hour after nine in Summer: or opened half an hour after ſix in Winter, and half an hour after five in Summer. So that ſuch as approve the former reconciliation of St. *Mark* and St. *John*, did very cauteouſly pitch upon the point of time mentioned, that is, half an hour after ten in the Morning for the Crucifying of our Saviour, or for the point of time wherein *Pilate* did ſentence him to death. For this was the juſt middle point between the third hour, and the ſixth hour, and did equally refer to both. This reconciliation of the two Evangeliſts, would have better ſatisfied me, if the Authors or followers of it had not attempted to have given a reaſon for it, which I can no way approve, but rather ſuſpect the opinion it ſelf for the improbability of the reaſon alledged by them.

3. The reaſon which *Maldonat* (a man free enough to admit miſnomers or miſtakes in Tranſcribers of the Goſpel) alledgeth for his opinion [that our Saviour was not Crucified preciſely at the third hour] (as St. *Mark* ſaith;) is becauſe in his judgment ſo many buſineſſes or debatements as did interpoſe in that Morning, wherein our Saviour was ſentenced unto the death of the Croſs, could not be diſpatched before the third hour, that is nine a Clock in the Forenoon. But in my opinion (which I ſubmit to better judgments) more buſineſſes by many than the Evangeliſts relate, might have been determined according to the courſe of civil Juſtice (eſpecially before ſuch as examine them *ſummariè & de plano*) within leſs time then St. *Mark* and the other Evangeliſts allot to the examination, arraignment, and adjudication of our Saviour to the death of the Croſs. *Vt primum exortus eſt dies, Aſſoon as it was day* (ſaith St. *Luke*) *the Elders of the people, and the chief Prieſts and Scribes came together, and led him to their Councel, &c.* Luke 22. 66. The time then of their Aſſembly to examine him (albeit we account the beginning of the day only from the Sun-riſing not from the dawning) was at ſix a Clock in the Morning, (if not before.) *And after they had examined him, the whole*

whole multitude of them aroſe, and led him unto Pilate, *and began to accuſe him,* Luke 23. 3. And this in all probability was before their ſecond hour, or ſeven a Clock with us in the Morning. Now the time of our Saviours circuiting from *Pilate* to *Herod*, and back again, and all the debatements betwixt *Pilate* and the Jews, which are related by the Evangeliſts, could not in that tumultuous Congregation take up more time than an hour and an half. So that our Saviour might not only be ſentenced to death by *Pilate* (as St. *John* relates) but actually Crucified, or lifted up upon the Croſs preciſely and punctually at the third hour, as St. *Marks* words import.

4. If we thus reconcile St. *John*, (or rather the Tranſcribers of his Goſpel) unto St. *Mark*, and his Goſpel, as in all Copies now it is extant; the Harmony between the Type and the Antitype, or the proportion between the picture and the live ſubſtance repreſented by it, will be moſt exact. For, we are to conſider that the Son of God by the Sacrifice of himſelf once for all, was to accompliſh not only the Anniverſary Sacrifices of Atonement of the Paſſover, *&c.* but the continual daily Morning and Evening Sacrifices. The hour allotted for the Morning Sacrifice was the third hour, or nine a Clock in the Forenoon; the hour appointed, and accuſtomed for the Evening Sacrifice, was the ninth hour, or three a Clock in the Afternoon: and at this hour (as the Evangeliſts jointly record) our Lord Redeemer did accompliſh his Sacrifice. *Jeſus* (ſaith St. *Matthew*) *when he had cryed again with a loud voice* (and that was about the ninth hour) *gave up the Ghoſt. Et ecce aulæum Templi fiſſum eſt, and behold the vail of the Temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom.* 27. 46, 50, 51. One ſpecial importance of the word *Ecce* in this place as in many others, is the preſent exhibition of that which was promiſed or portended. The myſtery foreſhadowed or portended by the Anniverſary Sacrifices of the Paſchal Lamb, by the daily Morning and Evening Sacrifices, by thoſe Sacrifices of the Atonement, whoſe blood was brought by the High Prieſt unto the Sanctuary; was in brief this, that all theſe Rites or Solemnities ſhould expire upon the death or ſacrifice of the true Lamb of God: and thus much, and more is ſealed unto us by that ſpeech of our Saviour a little before his death, *Conſummatum eſt, All is finiſhed, John* 19. 30. Now the rending of the vail immediately after our Saviour had commended his Spirit into his Fathers hands, did betoken *that now,* and not before, the entrance or paſſage into that moſt holy place, which was prefigured by the material *Sanctum Sanctorum*, was ſet open not to Prieſts only, but to all true believers: That the Cœleſtial Sanctuary (whether that be *cælum empyræum* the ſeat of our future bliſs, or ſome other place) was now inſtantly to be hallowed, or conſecrated by the blood of the High Prieſt himſelf, as the terrene Tabernacle or Sanctuary was by the legal High Prieſt with the blood of Bullocks or Goats, *&c.*

5. Whitherſoever the ſoul of this our High Prieſt went that day, wherein he offered the ſacrifice of himſelf, (as whether into the nethermoſt hell, or into the place where the ſouls of the righteous men did reſt,) there is or ſhould be no queſtion among good Chriſtians but that he was that Evening in Paradiſe. For, ſo had he promiſed unto the penitent Malefactor who was Crucified with him, with an aſſeveration equivalent to an oath, *Amen dico tibi, hodie mecum eris in paradiſo, Verily I ſay unto thee, this day thou ſhalt be with me in Paradiſe.* As for thoſe ſophiſtical Noveliſts (to ſay no worſe) who thus

miſpoint the words of his promiſe, *Amen dico tibi hodie, mecum eris in Paradiſo,* Verily I ſay unto the this day, thou ſhalt be with me in Paradiſe, to wit, ſometimes hereafter, as at the general reſurrection of the juſt (though not this very day,) they declare themſelves to be in this particular as in moſt others, more unfit to interpret ſacred Oracles, than Apes to be principal Actors in ſtately doleful Tragedies. For our Lord and Saviour did moſt graciouſly grant this poor ſoul more than he durſt petition for; and with better expedition, than he could hope for, to wit, a preſent eſtate of bleſſedneſs, whereas he requeſted only to be remembred with ſome mercy or favour without indenting any point of time (after our Saviour had entred into his Kingdom.) And his entrance into that Kingdom was not upon the ſame day wherein he ſuffered, nor within forty days after. The Kingdom of Heaven was not ſet open to any believers, not to *Abraham* himſelf upon our Saviours Paſſion or Reſurrection, whether that Kingdom import the ſame place wherein *Abraham* before that time was or ſome other. For it is one thing to ſay that the Souls of Righteous Men deceaſed were in Heaven before our Saviour aſcending thither: another to ſay they were in the Kingdom of Heaven, or Citizens of that Kingdom, which upon the day of our Saviours Victory over death was not erected. And he who denyeth the Souls of the Patriarchs to be partakers of the Kingdom of Heaven before our Saviours death, cannot be concluded to grant that they were either in *Limbo,* or in any other Region under the Earth, or under the Stars.

6. But to wave further diſpute about this point for the preſent: Our Saviours Soul upon the ſame day wherein he dyed, was in Paradiſe: and ſo was the ſoul of the penitent Malefactor, yet not at the ſame inſtant (perhaps not within the compaſs of the ſame hour wherein our Saviours Soul went thither) in what Region ſoever, whether of Heaven or Earth this Paradiſe was ſeated. For it is evident out of the Evangelical Hiſtories, that our Saviour did ſurrender his Soul into his Fathers hand before either of them who were Crucified with him, did expire. For as was before recited out of St. *Matthew* 27. 50. immediately upon the ninth hour our Saviour yielded up the Ghoſt. This teſtimony alone, or this at leaſt with the like, *Mark* 15. 37. had been ſufficient to prove the Article of our Saviours Death. But for the more full ſatisfaction of all poſterity, as well of Jews as of Gentiles, God would have the death of his only Son to be remarkably recorded, by the ſolemn teſtimony of the Roman Centurion taken upon examination before *Pilate: And now when the even was come* (that, I take it, was betwixt five and ſix of the Clock:) *becauſe it was the preparation, that is, the day before the Sabbath;* Joſeph *of* Arimathea *an honourable Counſellor, who alſo waited for the Kingdom of God, came and went in boldly to* Pilate, *and craved the body of* JESUS. *And* Pilate *marvelled if he were already dead, and calling unto him the Centurion, he asked him, whether he had been any while dead. And when he knew it of the Centurion, he gave the body to* Joſeph. *Mark* 15. 42, 43, *&c.* That our Saviour died before the other which were Crucified with him, is more apparant from the parallel teſtimony of St. *John* 19. 31, 32. &c. *The Jews therefore, becauſe it was the preparation, that the bodies ſhould not remain upon the Croſs on the Sabbath day, (for that Sabbath day was an high day:) beſought* Pilate *that their legs might be broken, and that they might be taken away. Then came the Souldiers and brake the legs of the firſt, and of the other which was Crucifyed with him. But when*

they came to JESUS *and ſaw that he was dead already, they brake not his legs.*

7. And thus we may obſerve that aſwel the malignant Jews, as Chriſts Diſciples of the Jewiſh Nation, and the Roman Souldiers, though unwittingly did ſtrangely combine for the accompliſhment of divers Prophecies or prefigurations concerning the death of the Son of God. Had he not died before the other two which were Crucified with him, his legs had been broken with theirs, and his body had not been inter'd before the ſetting of the Sun, as is probable from *Pilates* demand to the Centurion [*whether he had been any while dead*] before he would give *Joſeph* leave to bury his body. Now if his body had not been inter'd before the Sun-ſet, or at leaſt before the Stars appeared, the myſtery prefigured by the impriſonment of *Jonas* three days and three nights in the belly of the Whale, could not by any Synecdoche have been exactly fulfilled by his bleſſed reſt in the Grave: but of this hereafter. Again, if the breaking of his legs had not been prevented by his dying before the other two which were Crucifyed with him; the harmony betwixt the manner of his death, and the death of the Paſchal Lamb could not have been ſo exact: *for no bone of it was to be broken, Exodus* 12. 46. *Numb.* 9. 12. Nor ſhould that which *David* ſpake of himſelf, (but of himſelf as he was the Type of Chriſt) when he was in ſome peril of breaking his Legs or Arms, or ſome better joints, have found its accompliſhment in the circumſtance of our Saviours death. *Theſe things were done* (ſaith St. *John*) *that the Scripture might be fulfilled, A bone of him ſhall not be broken. John* 19. 36. This allegation of St. *John* (if my obſervation fail not) refers as literally and properly to that ſaying of *David, Pſalm.* 34. 20. (when he was driven by *Saul* into the Cave of *Adullam*) as unto the Rite of the Paſchal Lamb beforecited, *He keepeth all his bones, not one of them is broken.* This was not a meer Hiſtorical Narration, but a ſpeech typically prophetical, that is, firſt verified of *David,* and afterwards to be more exactly accompliſhed in the Son of *David.* Of the ſame rank was that which followeth, *Evil ſhall ſlay the wicked, and they that hate the righteous ſhall be deſolate. The Lord redeemeth the Soul of his Servants, and none of them that truſt in him, ſhall be deſolate. verſe* 21, 22. The truth of this obſervation was never ſo punctually proved, or exemplifyed as in the death of the two Malefactors which were Crucified with our Saviour. Though neither of them had any intereſt in the former promiſe [*He keepeth all his bones, not one of them is broken;*] yet the Soul of the one who truſted in the Lord, was inſtantly redeemed, and taken up into Paradiſe by him: the ſoul of the other which did hate and revile him, was (to ſay no worſe) left deſolate.

8. Again, the law concerning the taking down of ſuch as were hanged on a Tree (though not ſtrangled,) before the night went over them; had not been accompliſhed in our Saviour, unleſs the day wherein he dyed had been the preparation to the great Sabbath. For it was not the zeal of the Jews unto the due obſervation of this law, but fear of polluting this great Sabbath which moved them to become Petitioners unto *Pilate,* that the bodies of all that were then Crucified might be taken down, and carried away before the beginning of the Sabbath, which was in the twilight following. The law which out of this fear they occaſioned to be obſerved and fulfilled, is extant, *Deut.* 21. 22, 23. *And if a man have committed a ſin worthy of death, and*

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and he be to be put to death, and thou hang him on a Tree: his body ſhall not remain upon the Tree, but thou ſhalt in any wiſe bury him that day: for he that is hanged is accurſed of God: that thy land be not defiled, which the Lord thy God giveth thee for an inheritance. That this law had a ſpecial reference or pre-aſpect unto our Saviours Death upon the Croſs, St. *Paul* hath taught us, *Galat.* 3. 13. *Chriſt hath redeemed us from the curſe of the law, being made a curſe for us: for it is written, Curſed is every one that hangeth on a Tree.* Laſtly, however the Centurion and the Souldiers apprehended no neceſſity of breaking our Saviours legs, as being perſwaded that he had been a good while dead, and fit to be buryed: Yet one of them to make all (as we ſay) ſure, pierced his ſide while he was yet hanging upon the Croſs, with a ſpear, ſtriking him (as by the poſture of his body is probable) under the ſhort ribs through his very heart: otherwiſe he might have broken one, or more of his bones. And this, as St. *John* inſtructs us, was done *that another Scripture might be fulfilled, And they ſhall look on him whom they have pierced, John* 19. 37. The Prophecy which by this accident was exactly fulfilled, we have *Zachar.* 12. 8, 9, *&c. In that day ſhall the Lord defend the Inhabitants of* Jeruſalem, *and he that is feeble among them at that day ſhall be as* David; *and the Houſe of* David *ſhall be as God, as the Angel of the Lord before them. And it ſhall come to paſs in that day, that I will ſeek to deſtroy all the Nations that come againſt* Jeruſalem. *And I will pour upon the Houſe of* David, *and upon the Inhabitants of* Jeruſalem, *the Spirit of Grace and ſupplications; and they ſhall look upon me whom they have pierced, and they ſhall mourn for him as one mourneth for his only Son, &c.*

9. This ſacred paſſage lieth punctually under that line or rule for interpreting ſacred Oracles, which in theſe Commentaries hath been oft heretofore mentioned: that is, it is a paſſage which cannot be literally verified of any perſon beſides God himſelf, nor could it have been fulfilled in God himſelf otherwiſe, than as he was incarnate, made ſubject to death, and violent percuſſion after death. But whether this paſſage either according to the literal ſenſe of the Prophet, or to the intention of St. *John* in avouching the fulfilling of it, amount to any more than hath been ſaid, or (in particular) to infer [that *real communication* of properties between the divine and humane nature of Chriſt,] which ſome of the moſt learned in the Lutheran Church would from this place (in ſpecial) preſs upon us; is a diſquiſition more proper to the Article of the Holy Catholick Church, than to this Treatiſe of the Humiliation of the Son of God. That humiliation (as I conceive) did expire with his death; or at leaſt when he was taken down from the Croſs after his ſacred ſides had been ſo pierced, as St. *John* relates by that rude Roman Souldier, whoſe name by unwritten tradition was *Longius*, but a name (as I ſuppoſe) miſtaken for the Weapon wherewith he pierced him, which was λόγχη.

The Concluſion of this Treatiſe.

IT followeth in the Apoſtles Creed that he was *buried*, that *he deſcended into Hell.* In what ſenſe ſoever we take this word *buried*, the Hiſtorical Truth of it is moſt punctually recorded by the Evangeliſts. The only *quære* which this Article, or this part of the Article will admit, is, whether by his burial we are to underſtand the interring or depoſiture of his body in the monument: or rather his imbalming by *Joſeph* or *Nicodemus*, who did accompliſh that work which the good woman before his death did fore-ſignifie, or begin by pouring out that precious ointment on his head. This *quære* hath been long ago propoſed by ſome learned men in the * *French* and *German* Churches, who ſeem to deny the local deſcenſion of his Soul into Hell, either into the place of the damned, or into *Limbum patrum*. But this truth they have denyed, or queſtioned with better moderation and diſcretion, than ſuch of our Native Engliſh as either have queſtioned or oppoſed our Churches meaning in this Article. For by his deſcending into Hell, theſe men would have us underſtand the interring or depoſiture of his body in the Monument or Sepulchre wherein no man had been laid before, being before imbalmed, *As the manner of the Jews was to bury*, John 19.40. But for pleading one way or other of Chriſt his deſcenſion into Hell, at this time, or in this place, I have excluded my ſelf in the general diviſion of this and the enſuing Treatiſe, which was concerning the Humiliation and Exaltation of the Son of God. Now unto whether member of this dichotomy or general diviſion, the burial, interring, or diſcenſion of the Son of God into Hell, ſhould be referr'd; I am not as yet reſolved by any Catholick conſent: But in my private opinion, I think rather to the *Exaltation or Conſecration of the Son of God* to his Everlaſting Prieſthood. And unto this Treatiſe principally intended by me in theſe long Commentaries upon the Apoſtles Creed, I muſt crave pardon to refer all thoſe other modern Controverſies concerning the extent of our Saviours ſufferings, “*For whom he dyed*; *for whom he roſe again*; *whether the redemption purchaſed by his blood, was univerſal to all mankind, or to the elect or predeſtinated only*; *or* (ſeeing redemption is a term importing matter diviſible) what part of redemption purchaſed by Chriſt, was common to *Adam, and all that came after him*; what part more proper to ſuch as under the Law were circumciſed, or in the time of the Goſpel Baptized; what part of the ſame Redemption is peculiar to the Elect or Predeſtinate.

*Vide Petrum Ramum in Commentariis de fide Capite 130. de Chriſti ſepulturâ. Et Tremellium in editione Syriaci Teſtamenti.

See the 2. Page of this Treatiſe.

In the mean time I conclude this Treatiſe concerning the Humiliation of the Son of God, with that excellent Prayer for the Peace of the Church, firſt conceived in Latine by *Eraſmus*, and afterwards ſet forth *An. Dom.* M D XLV. both in Latine and Engliſh, as a part or appendix of that Primmer or Liturgy, which King *Henry* the Eighth cauſed to be publiſhed by the Supreme Authority of the Church of *England*, with divers other Godly Prayers yet retained, as appertinences, if not as genuine parts of our Communion Book. Why this Prayer for the Peace of the Church ſhould be left out, I ſuppoſe the moderate and devout Reader will wonder with me.

L*ord Jeſus Chriſt*, which of thine Almightineſs madeſt all Creatures both viſible and inviſible, which of thy godly wiſdom governeſt and ſetteſt all things in moſt goodly order, which of thine unſpeakable goodneſs keepeſt, defendeſt, and furthereſt all things, which of thy deep mercy reſtoreſt the decayed, reneweſt the fallen, raiſeſt the dead: vouchſafe (we pray thee) at laſt to caſt down thy countenance upon thy well-beloved Spouſe the Church; but let it be that amiable and merciful Countenance wherewith thou pacifieſt all things in Heaven, in Earth, and whatſoever is above Heaven, and under the Earth: vouchſafe to caſt upon us thoſe tender and pitiful eyes, with which thou did'ſt once behold *Peter*, that great Shepherd of thy Church, and forthwith he remembred himſelf and repented; with which eyes thou once didſt view the ſcattered multitude, and wert moved with compaſſion, that for lack of a good Shepherd they wandred as a Sheep diſperſed and ſtrayed aſunder. Thou ſeeſt (O good Shepherd) what ſundry ſorts of Wolves have broken into the Sheep-coats, of whom every one cryeth, Here is Chriſt, here is Chriſt: ſo that if it were poſſible, the very perfect perſons ſhould be brought into error. Thou ſeeſt with what winds, with what waves, with what ſtorms thy ſilly ſhip is toſſed, thy ſhip wherein thy little flock is in peril to be drowned. And what is now left, but that it utterly ſink, and we all periſh? Of this tempeſt and ſtorm we may thank our own wickedneſs and ſinful living; we eſpy it well and confeſs it, we eſpy thy righteouſneſs, and webewail our unrighteouſneſs: but we appeal to thy mercy which (according to the Pſalm of thy Prophet) ſurmounteth all thy works: we have now ſuffered much puniſhment, being ſouſſed with ſo many wars, conſumed

Domine Jeſu Chriſte, qui omnipotentiâ tuâ feciſti omnes creaturas, viſibiles, inviſibiles, & divinâ ſapientia tua gubernaſti diſpoſuiſtique omnia ordinatè, qui ineffabili bonitate tua cuſtodis, defendis, promoveſque omnia, qui profunda miſericordia tua reficis ruinoſa, renovas collapſa, vivificas mortuos: digneris (precamur) ad extremum, in dilectam ſponſam tuam Eccleſiam, dulcem illum & miſericordem vultum tuum, quo cœleſtia omnia terreſtriaque, & quæ ſupra cœlum infraque terram ſunt pacificas, conjicere: digneris teneros miſericordeſque oculos in nos convertere, quibus Petrum *ſemel, magnum Eccleſiæ tuæ Paſtorem aſpexiſti, & continuò rediit ſecum in memoriam, & pœnitentiam ductus eſt; quibus diſperſam ſemel multitudinem perluſtraſti, & miſericordia commovaberis, quod boni Paſtoris defectu errabant quaſi oves ſparſæ palenteſque. Tu ſatis vides, bone paſtor, quot varia luporum genera in ovilia tua irruperunt, è quibus unuſquiſque clamat, Hic Chriſtus eſt, hic Chriſtus eſt: ita ut, ſi fieri poſſet, in errores deducerentur electi. Tu vides quibus flatibus, quibus fluctibus, quibus tempeſtatibus miſera navis jactatur, in qua puſillus grex tuus de ſubmerſione periclitatur. Quid autem nunc reſtat, niſi ut prorſum ſubmergatur, omneſque nos pereamus? hujus tempeſtatis cauſa eſt noſtra iniquitas & depravata vita; hoc nos videmus & confitemur, juſtitiam tuam cernimus, & injuſtitiam noſtram lamentamur: ſed ad miſericordiam tuam provocamus quæ (ſecundùm Pſalmum Prophetæ tui) exuperat omnia opera tua: multa ſupplicia ſuſtinuimus, multis bellis fracti, multis jacturis bonorum conſumpti, tot morbo-*

morborum peſtiumque generibus flagellati, tot fluctibus quaſſati, tot perterrefacti; & nullus tamen nobis ita fatigatis, & inuſitata malorum vi debilitatis, portus perfugiumque apparet, ſed quotidie magis magiſque graves plureſque pœnæ imminere cervicibus noſtris videntur. Non hic de tua aſperitate conquerimur, miſericordiſſime Domine, ſed tuam potiùs miſericordiam intuemur, quòd longè graviores plagas commeriti ſumus. Nos verò abs te, miſericordiſſime Domine precamur, non quid meritis noſtris dignum ſit conſideres aut perpendas: ſed potiùs quid diceat miſericordiam tuam, ſine qua ne Angeli quidem in cœlo conſiſtere poſſunt, nedum nos vaſa luti infirma. Miſerere noſtri Redemptor noſter, qui facillimè exoraris, non quod nos miſericordiâ tuâ digni ſumus; ſed hanc gloriam nomini tuo dato. Ne patiaris Judæos, Turcas, reliquoſque qui vel non noverunt te vel gloriæ tuæ invident, perpetuò de nobis triumphare, & dicere; Ubi Deus, ubi Redemptor, ubi Servator, ubi Sponſus illorum eſt? Hæc contumelioſa verba & convitia in te Domine redundant, dum ex malis noſtris bonitatem tuam exiſtimant, nos derelinqui putant, quos emendari non cernunt. Cum ſemel in navigio dormires, & tempeſtas ſubito exorta minaretur mortem omnibus qui in navi erant, ad clamorem paucorum Diſcipulorum excitabaris, & continuò fluctus quieverunt, ventus ceſſavit, tempeſtas in magnam tranquillitatem converſa eſt; Aquæ mutæ Creatoris vocem agnoverunt. In hac autem longè graviore tempeſtate, in qua non paucorum hominum corpora in diſcrimen veniunt, ſed innumerabiles animæ peri-

with ſuch loſſes of goods, ſcourged with ſo many ſorts of diſeaſes and peſtilences, ſhaken with ſo many flouds, ſeared with ſo many ſtrange ſights from Heaven, and yet appear there no where any Haven or Port unto us being thus tired and forlorn among ſo ſtrange evils, but ſtill every day more grievous puniſhments, and more ſeem to hang over our heads. We complain not of thy ſharpneſs, moſt tender Saviour, but we eſpy here alſo thy mercy, foraſmuch, as much grievouſer plagues we have deſerved. But O merciful Jeſu, we beſeech thee, that thou wilt not conſider, nor weigh what is due for our deſervings, but rather what becometh thy mercy, without which, neither the Angels in Heaven can ſtand ſure before thee, much leſs we ſilly veſſels of clay. Have mercy on us, O Redeemer, which art eaſie to be intreated, not that we be worthy of thy mercy, but give thou this glory unto thine own Name. Suffer not that the Jews, Turks, and the reſt of the Panims, which either have not known thee, or do envy thy glory, ſhould continually triumph over us, and ſay; Where is their God, where is their Redeemer, where is their Saviour, where is their Bridegroom, that they thus boaſt on? Theſe opprobrious words, and upbraidings redound unto thee, O Lord, while by our evils, men weigh and eſteem thy goodneſs: they think we be forſaken, whom they ſee not amended. Once when thou ſlept'ſt in the Ship, and a tempeſt ſuddenly ariſing threatned death to all in the Ship, thou awokeſt at the out-cry of a few Diſciples, and ſtraightway at thine Almighty word the waters couched, the winds fell, the ſtorm was ſuddenly turned into a great calm: the dumb waters know their makers voice. Now in this far greater tempeſt, wherein not a few mens bodies be in danger, but innumerable Souls: we beſeech thee at the cry of thy holy Church, which is in danger of drowning, that thou wilt awake. So many thouſands of men do cry, Lord ſave us, we periſh, the tempeſt is paſt mans power: yea, we ſee that the endeavours of them that would help it, do turn clean a contrary way. It is thy word that muſt do the deed, Lord Jeſu. Only ſay thou with a word of thy mouth, ceaſe O tempeſt, and forthwith ſhall the deſired calm appear. Thou wouldſt have ſpared ſo many thouſands of moſt wicked men, if in the City of Sodom had been found but ten good men. Now here be ſo many thouſands of men, which love the glory of thy Name, which ſigh for the beauty of thy houſe; and wilt thou not at theſe mens Prayers let go thine anger, and remember thine accuſtomed and old mercies? Shalt thou not with thy Heavenly policy turn our folly into thy glory? Shalt thou not turn the wicked mens evils into thy Churches good? For thy mercy is wont then moſt of all to ſuccour, when the thing is with us paſt remedy, and neither the might nor wiſdom of men can help it. Thou alone bringeſt things that be never ſo out of order, into order again: which art the only Author and Maintainer of Peace. Thou fram'dſt that old confuſion, which we call *Chaos*, wherein without order, without faſhion, confuſely lay the diſcordant ſeeds of things, and with a wonderful order, the things that of nature fought together, thou didſt ally and knit in a perpetual band. But how much greater confuſion is this, where is no charity, no fidelity, no bonds of love, no reverence neither of laws, nor yet of rulers; no agreement of opinions, but as it were in a miſordered quire, every man ſingeth a contrary note. Among the Heavenly Planets is no diſſention, all four Elements keep their place, every one do their office whereunto they be appointed. And wilt thou ſuffer thy Spouſe, for whoſe ſake all things were made, thus by continual diſcords

clitant; ad vocem univerſæ Eccleſiæ tuæ, Domine, precamur ut vigiles, quæ nunc in periculo ſubmerſionis eſt. Tot jam millia hominum clamitant, Domine, ſerva nos, perimus, tempeſtas hæc humanam potentiam ſuperat, immo verò conatus eorum qui illi præſidium ferrent, in contrarium avertuntur. Quod hæc præſtabit, ſolum verbum tuum eſt: Verbo ſolum oris tui dicito, Tempeſtas ceſſa, & confeſtim tranquillitas expetita apparebit. Quot millibus impiorum peperciſſes, ſi in civitate Sodomæ *vel decem inventi fuiſſent: nunc verò tot millibus hominum gloriam nominis tui amantium, & propter decorem domus tuæ gementnm, non horum precibus adductus iram remittes, & conſuetarum antiquarumq; miſericordiarum tuarum recordaberis? an non divinâ ſapientiâ tuâ noſtram ſtultitiam in gloriam tuam convertes? an non malorum improbitatem in Eccleſiæ tuæ bonum commutabis? cum enim miſericordia tua ſolet omnia ſublevare, cùm res nobis immedicabilis eſſe videtur: nec potentia aut ſapientia humana corrigi poteſt. Tu ſolus res etiam inordinatiſſimas in ordinem adducis, qui ſolus author conſervatorque pacis es. Tu antiquam confuſionem quam* Chaos *appellamus formaviſti, in qua ſine ordine, ſine modo, perturbatè diſcordia ſemina rerum jacebant, & admirabili ſerie res natura ſuâ pugnantes, vinculo perpetuo copulaviſti & colligaviſti. Quanto quæſo, major confuſio eſt hæc, ubi nulla charitas, nulla fides, nulla copulatio amoris, nulla legum, nulla Magiſtratuum reverentia, nulla opinionum conſenſio, ſed quaſi in perturbatiſſimo coro, unuſquiſque diverſum canit. In cœleſtibus planetis nulla eſt diſſenſio, elementa ſuas ſedes tenent unumquodq; conſtitutum ſibi officium facit: & ſponſam ſuam cujus cauſa omnia facta ſunt, continua ſic diſſenſione perire & labefactari permittis?*

Malò ſne

Malóſne ſpiritus ſeditionis authothores atq; adminiſtros, in ditione tua ſine ulla reprehenſione ita regnare permittes? potentemnè illum iniquitatis ducem, quem ſemel dejeceras, caſtra invadere & milites tuos ſpoliare ſines? Cum hic in hominibus verſabaris, vocem tuam fugiebant dæmones. Emitte quæſumus Domine, Spiritum tuum qui è pectoribus omnium nomen tuum profitentium, malos ſpiritus magiſtros intemperantiæ, avaritiæ, vanæ gloriæ, libidinum, ſcelerum, diſcordiæ abigat. Crea in nobis, Rex, & Deus noſter, cor mundum, & Spiritum Sanctum tuum in pectoribus noſtris renova, nec Spiritum ſanctum tuum auferas à nobis. Reſtitue nobis fructum ſalutaris ſanitatis tuæ, & Spiritu principali corrobora Sponſam, Paſtoreſq; ejus. Hoc Spiritu reconciliaſti cœleſtia terreſtribus, hoc formaſti ac reduxiſti tot linguas, tot nationes, tam diverſa hominum genera in unum corpus Eccleſiæ, quod corpus eodem Spiritu copulatur capiti. Hunc Spiritum ſi in omnium hominum cordibus renovare digneris, tum externæ hæ quoq; miſeriæ ceſſabunt: aut ſi non ceſſaverint, ad fructum ſaltem, utilitatemq; diligentium te traducentur. Siſte hanc Domine Jeſu, confuſionem; hoc horribile Chaos in ordinem adducito: expande Spiritum tuum ſuper aquas malè fluctuantium opinionum. Et quia Spiritus tuus, qui juxta Prophetæ ſententiam continet omnia, ſcientiam etiam habet vocis: effice ut quemadmodum omnibus qui in domo tua ſunt, unum lumen, unus Deus, una ſpes, unus Spiritus; ſic unam quoq; habeant vocem, unam cantilenam, unum ſonum, unam catholicam veritatem profitentes. Cum in cœlum glorioſè aſcendiſti, demiſiſti de cœlo res precioſiſſimas; dediſti dona hominibus, varia munera ſpiritus diviſiſti: renova Domine de Cœlo veterem bonitatem, da nunc Eccleſiæ labe-

to periſh and go to wrack? Shalt thou ſuffer the wicked Spirits, which be authors and workers of diſcord, to bear ſuch a ſwing in thy Kingdom unchecked? Shalt thou ſuffer the ſtrong Captain of miſchief, whom thou once overthreweſt, again to invade thy Tents, and to ſpoil thy Souldiers? When thou wert here a man converſant amongſt men, at thy voice fled the Devils. Send forth, we beſeech thee, O Lord, thy Spirit which may drive away out of the breaſts of all them that profeſs thy Name, the wicked Spirits, maſters of riot, covetouſneſs, of vain-glory, of carnal luſt, of miſchief, and of diſcord. Create in us, O our God and King, a clean heart, and renew thy holy Spirit in our Breaſts, pluck not from us thy Holy Ghoſt. Render unto us the joy of thy ſaving health, and with thy principal Spirit, ſtrengthen thy Spouſe and the Herdmen thereof. By this Spirit thou reconcil'dſt the Earthly to the Heavenly: by this thou didſt frame and reduce, ſo many Tongues, ſo many Nations, ſo many ſundry ſorts of men into one body of a Church; which body by the ſame Spirit is knit to thee their head. This Spirit, if thou wilt vouchſafe to renew in all mens hearts, then ſhall alſo theſe foreign miſeries ceaſe, or if they ceaſe not, at leaſt they ſhall turn to the profit and avail of them which love thee. Stay this confuſion, ſet in order this horrible *Chaos* (O Lord Jeſu;) let thy Spirit ſtretch out it ſelf upon theſe waters of evil wavering opinions. And becauſe thy Spirit, which according to thy Prophets ſaying, containeth all things, hath alſo the ſcience of ſpeaking: make, that like as unto all them which be of thy houſe, is all one light, one Baptiſm, one God, one Hope, one Spirit: ſo they may alſo have one voice, one note, and ſong, profeſſing one Catholick Truth. When thou didſt mount up to Heaven triumphantly, thou threweſt out from

above thy precious things, thou gaveſt gifts amongſt men, thou dealteſt ſundry rewards of thy Spirit. Renew again from above thy old bountifulneſs, give that thing to thy Church now fainting and growing downward, that thou gaveſt unto her ſhooting up, at her firſt beginning. Give unto Princes and Rulers the grace ſo to ſtand in awe of thee, that they may ſo guide the Common-Weal, as they ſhould ſhortly render accompt unto thee that art the King of kings. Give wiſdom to be always aſſiſtant unto them, that whatſoever is beſt to be done, they may eſpy it in their mind, & purſue the ſame in their doings. Give to the Biſhops the gift of Propheſie, that they may declare and interpret Holy Scripture, not of their own brain but of thine inſpiring. Give them the threefold charity which thou once demandedſt of *Peter*, what time thou didſt betake unto him the charge of thy ſheep. Give to the Prieſts the love of ſoberneſs and of chaſtity. Give to thy people a good will to follow thy Commandments, and a readineſs to obey ſuch perſons as thou haſt appointed over them. So ſhall it come to paſs, if through thy gift thy Princes ſhall command that thou requireſt, if thy Paſtors and Herdmen ſhall teach the ſame, and thy people obey them both: that the old dignity and tranquillity of the Church ſhall return aagain with a goodly order unto the glory of thy Name. Thou ſparedſt the Ninivites appointed to be deſtroyed, as ſoon as they converted to Repentance: and wilt thou deſpiſe thy houſe falling down at thy feet, which inſtead of ſackcloth hath ſighs, and inſtead of aſhes tears? Thou promiſedſt forgiveneſs to ſuch as turn unto thee, but this ſelf-thing is thy gift, a man to turn with his whole heart unto thee, to the intent all our goodneſs ſhould redound unto thy glory. Thou art the maker; repair the work that thou haſt faſhioned. Thou art the Redeemer; ſave that thou haſt bought. Thou art the Saviour; ſuffer not them to periſh which do hang on thee. Thou art the

labefactatæ & inclinatæ: quod illi emergenti, & exorienti initio dederas; Da Principibus Magiſtratibuſq; gratiam timoris tui: ut ita Rempublicam ſuam gubernent, quaſi ſtatim tibi Regi Regum rationem reddituri. Da ſapientiam ſemper aſſiſtricem illis, ut quodcunq; optimum factu fuerit, & animo provideant, & factis perſequantur. Da Epiſcopis tuis donum Prophetiæ, ut ſanctas Scripturas non ex ſuis ingeniis, ſed tua inſpiratione declarent & interpretentur. Da triplicem illis charitatem, quam à Petro *requirebas, quando illius curæ oves tuas commiſiſti. Da Sacerdotibus tuis temperantiæ, caſtitatiſque amorem. Da populo tuo ſtudium ſequendi mandata tua, & promptitudinem obediendi iis, quos tu ſuper illos conſtituiſti. Ita fiet, ut ſi largitate tua principes ea imperent, quæ tu præcipis; paſtores eadem doceant, populus utriſque pareat: veteris Eccleſiæ dignitas, tranquillitaſque cum ordinis conſervatione ad gloriam Nominis tui refloreſcat. Ninivitis peperciſti morti addictis, ſtatim ut ad pœnitentiam converſi fuerant: & domum tuam inclinantem jam & corruentem diſpicies, quæ vice ſacci gemitus, vice cinerum lachrymas profundit? promiſiſti remiſſionem converſis ad te: at hoc donum tuum eſt, ut quis cum toto corde ſuo ad te convertatur, ut omnis bonitas noſtra ad gloriam tuam redundet. Tu factor es, refice opus tuum quod formaſti: Tu Redemptor es, ſerva quod emiſti: Tu Servator es, ne ſinas perire qui tibi innituntur: Tu Dominus es & poſſeſſor, vendica poſſeſſionem tuam; Tu caput es, opem fer membris; Tu Rex es, da nobis legum tuarum reverentiam: Tu princeps*

ceps pacis es, aſpira nobis fraternam charitatem: Tu Deus miſerere ſupplicum tuorum, ſis (ut beatus Paulus *loquitur) omnia in omnibus, ut univerſus Eccleſiæ tuæ chorus conſentientibus animis & vocibus conſonantibus gratias de miſericordia inventa agant Patri, Filio, & Spiritui ſancto, qui pro perfectiſſimo concordiæ exemplo perſonarum proprietate diſtinguuntur & conjunctione naturæ adunantur, quibus laus, & gloria ad omnem æternitatem.* Amen.

Lord and owner; challenge thy poſſeſſion. Thou art the head; help thy members. Thou art the King; give us a reverence of thy Laws. Thou art the Prince of Peace; breathe upon us brotherly love. Thou art the God; have pity on thy humble beſeechers; be thou, according to *Pauls* ſaying, all things in all men, to the intent, the whole quire of thy Church with agreeing minds, and conſonant voices for mercy obtained at thy hands, may give thanks to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, which after the moſt perfect example of Concord, be diſtincted in property of perſons, and one in nature, to whom be Praiſe and Glory eternally. *Amen.*

A

A
TREATISE
OF THE
CONSECRATION
OF THE
SON of GOD,
TO HIS
EVERLASTING PRIESTHOOD.

AND
The Accompliſhment of it by his Glorious
RESURRECTION and *ASCENSION.*

BEING THE
NINTH BOOK
OF
COMMENTARIES
UPON THE
APOSTLES CREED.

CONTINUED
By *THOMAS JACKSON* Doctor of Divinity, Chaplain
to his Majeſty in Ordinary, and Preſident of *Corpus Chriſti*
College in *Oxford.*

LONDON,
Printed by *J. Macock*, for *John Martyn*, *Richard Chiſwell,* and
Joſeph Clarke, 1672.

Cccccc

TO THE
ROYAL MAJESTY
OF OUR
MOST GRACIOUS
AND
PIOUS SOVERAIGN
CHARLES
KING
OF
Great Britain, &c.

Moſt Gracious Soveraign,

THE only ends or ſcopes at which my deſires, in the firſt draught of this long work of comments upon the Apoſtles Creed, did aim, were firſt and principally the glory of God, which is the ſupreme Cauſe of Cauſes, the main end of all other ends, intended by good Men or Angels: The ſecond, ſubordinate to this, was to give ſatisfaction to my longing deſires, of diſcharging my Duty to the Church my Mother, by doing her ſuch ſervice as I was able; in ſetting forth the true worſhip of God, and in maintaining the Faith profeſſed by her: The third ſubordinate to the ſecond, but principally to the firſt, was to give an account unto my middle Age how I had ſpent my Youth, and to leave a Conſtat *unto my old Age (at which by Gods good providence, beyond my hope or expectation, I am now arrived) that I had not altogether ſpent my beſt daies in a drowſie ſleep, or* *which is worſe, in waking dreams, or wandring projects, after pleaſure, riches, ambitious hopes, or private ends. But being firſt called unto Your Majeſties ſervice, in my declining years, I took the boldneſs upon me, about ſome five years ago, in ſupplement of my weak performances in my Ordinary attendance, to dedicate theſe three Books, concerning the knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt, and of him Crucified, unto Your Highneſs, theſe being, (to mine own apprehenſion) the beſt fruits of my beſt and flouriſhing years. The matter or ſubject of them will not (I take it) be denied by any, to be the fitteſt Theme for the meditations of all good Chriſtians, according to their ſeveral capacities. And no ſubject under Heaven can be either more profitable, or more delightful, for contemplative or ſtronger wits to work upon: unto whom, eſpecially unto ſuch of them, as have better means or abilities, than God hitherto hath bleſſed me withal, I leave to amend or finiſh what I have long ago begun, and thus far proſecuted. Full time it is for me, but no time (I hope) as yet overpaſt to conſecrate the reſt of my labours, unto death-bed-learning, and devotions, which is the beſt ſervice that can be expected from me at theſe years, and which the elder I grow, the better able I truſt I ſhall be to perform; as having by long experience found my ſelf to be then the ſtrongeſt in this kind of exerciſe of mind and ſpirit, when I am in greateſt weakneſs of body. Now of theſe my devotions and daily Prayers unto God, a great part muſt be conſecrated to this end, that he would vouchſafe to continue his gracious favours and mercies towards your Royal Perſon, and that the Crowns of theſe Kingdoms, whereof you are, next, and immediately under him and his Chriſt, the ſupream Lord and Governour, may long flouriſh upon your own Head, and the Heads of your Poſterity, that after this life ended he may inveſt you with a Crown of endleſs Glory.*

Your Majeſties

Moſt Humbly devoted Servant

and Chaplain,

THOMAS JACKSON.

TO THE

CHRISTIAN READER.

IT was in my thoughts when this Copy of my Meditations upon the conſecration of the Son of God to his Everlaſting Prieſt-hood, *was firſt licenſed for the Preſs, to have annexed unto it one or two Sermons, or ſhort Treatiſes of the like argument. But being called from my ſtudies by urgent occaſions before the Impreſſion of this Ninth Book of Commentaries upon the Creed was near finiſhed, I am conſtrained to publiſh it in a leſſer Volume, than I firſt intended it, though (I take it) in as many lines, or more words than either of the two former Books upon the ſame argument, to wit, the knowledge of Chriſt, and of him crucified, do contain. The matter is not great, and ſo much the leſs, becauſe I have ready* (in adverſariis) *divers Sermons, or ſhort Treatiſes, as appendices or appertinences to all theſe three Books,* reſpectively. *and to another intitled* Chriſts Anſwer to Johns Diſciples, *or* an Introduction to the Knowledge of Chriſt, *&c. to be publiſhed as ſoon as God ſhall be pleaſed to grant me ability, and opportunity. Other three Books I have in like readineſs for the Preſs, to wit, the Tenth Book of Comments upon the Creed, or, a Treatiſe of the natural Mans ſervitude to ſin, and of that poor remnant of Free-will which is left in the Sons of* Adam *before they be regenerated in Chriſt by the Spirit, together with directions for the right uſe or imployment of Free-will, after our Baptiſm, for the accompliſhment, or rather for performance of the conditions on our parts required, that mortification may be accompliſhed in us by the ſpirit of God. The next of the three Books promiſed, is the Eleventh Book of theſe Commentaries containing a Treatiſe upon the Articles of Chriſts coming to Judgment, of the Reſurrection of the dead, and of the Life Everlaſting, which is the final ſentence which at his coming to Judgment ſhall paſs upon all men, as well upon them which have been long dead, as thoſe that ſhall be found alive at his coming. The laſt Book of theſe Comments contains the ſecond part of a Treatiſe heretofore begun, and in part publiſhed, concerning the Articles of the Holy Catholick Church; of the Communion of Saints, and the Forgiveneſs of ſins. What I here promiſe, or may occaſion the Readers, eſpecially young Students in Divinity, to expect, ſhall by Gods aſſiſtance be ſhortly or in good time performed, either by my ſelf, or by my Executors: unto whoſe diſpoſals, I am not likely to leave much; ſcarce any thing elſe beſides Books and Papers.*

Thine ever in
Chriſt Jeſu

THOMAS JACKSON.

A

A
TREATISE
OF THE
CONSECRATION
OF THE
SON of GOD
TO HIS
EVERLASTING PRIESTHOOD.

AND
The Accompliſhment of it by his Glorious *RESURRECTION* and *ASCENSION.*

1. WANT ſometimes of ſkill, ſometimes of induſtry, oftentimes of both, to ſound the myſteries, or diſcuſs the general Maxims contained in Sacred Scriptures aright, hath been one ſpecial occaſion, as of breeding, ſo of nurſing and continuing endleſs quarrels amongſt the chief Profeſſors of Peace, Students I mean or Graduates in Theology. Now for compoſing the moſt or greateſt Controverſies which for theſe late years have diſturbed the Peace of Chriſts Church Militant here on Earth, no Maxime in the whole Book of God, which is the only Fundamental and compleat rule of Faith and manners, is or can be of greater or better uſe than that of our Apoſtle, *Heb.* 5. 9. *And being made perfect he became the Author of Everlaſting Salvation to all that obey him, being called a Prieſt, &c.* The diſcuſſion whereof in a fuller meaſure, and (as I hope) in a more diſtinct manner, than I have found it diſcuſſed by others, is the main end or ſcope of theſe preſent undertakings. The Maxime it ſelf though brief, is the true ſcale or diametral line or rule, without whoſe knowledge or diſtinct ſurvey firſt taken, neither the full diſtance or diſproportion, nor the parallel approaches, or ſymmetral vicinities, which many different opinions yet ſtill in debate reſpectively hold or bear unto the infallible doctrine of ſalvation and life, will ever be fully diſcovered, much leſs clearly determined.

Beſides this great and general uſe, if we could hit the punctual meaning of this place, or take a true value of the very firſt word in

Tome II.

this Text τελειωθεὶς, we might with more facility clear that obſcure and difficult place, *Heb* 11. 40. and inform our ſelves, Firſt, What better thing it was, which God had provided for the Faithful in latter ages, in reſpect of former; And ſecondly, What the Apoſtle there means by *being made perfect.* For in this *being made perfect,* conſiſteth the better-hood of the Faithful's eſtate in that time, in reſpect of *Abraham*'s, the Patriarchs, and the Prophets.

SECT.

SECTION I.

Of Conſecration, and of the Qualificatitons of thoſe that were to be Conſecrated High Prieſts.

CHAP. I.

Of the true value or ſignification of the word τελειωθεὶς *or of* being made perfect.

WHatſoever good thing or perfection it was which the Apoſtles, or Diſciples of our Lord did obtain in this life, over and above all that which the Patriarchs in their Pilgrimages here on earth did attain unto, this was wholly from the *perfection* here mentioned in my Text. Neither the Patriarchs nor Apoſtles were made *perfect* until the Son of God was made *perfect*. Their beſt perfection is but an effect, or branch of his perfection, or of *his being made perfect*. That the Patriarchs and Apoſtles ſhould be *made perfect*, is not a thing ſtrange, becauſe they were but men, and therefore ſubject to many imperfections: but that the Son of God who is perfection it ſelf ſhould be made perfect, this may ſeem more than ſtrange, a thing impoſſible; and we were bound to admit a Soleciſm in the Apoſtles expreſſion, if we were to weigh it only according to the grammatical ſignification of the *Original* τελειωθεὶς, which word for word, is neither more nor leſs than to *be made perfect*.

2. But many words there are in all the learned tongues, whoſe prime ſignification every ordinary Grammar-Scholar may know whilſt he reads them only in Hiſtorians or Rhetoricians. And yet the beſt Grammarian living (ſo he be no more than a Grammarian) may be altogether ignorant of their true meaning or importance, whilſt they are uſed in legal or ſolemn Inſtruments, or as terms of ſome ſpecial art or faculty. Every School-boy knows the ordinary ſignification of *Poſſum*, whilſt he reads it in his Grammar Rules, or in ſuch Authors as he is acquainted with: and yet his maſter (how good a Grammarian ſoever) unleſs he be a Philoſopher withal, ſhall hardly be able to render the true notion or expreſſion of *Potentia* in natural Philoſophy: And a natural Philoſopher may be ſometimes as far to ſeek in the uſe of the ſame word *Potentia*, or *Poteſtas*, in the faculty of the Civil Law. Laſtly, He that hath his ſenſes exerciſed in all theſe Faculties or Sciences mentioned, would be a meer ſtranger to the notion of the ſame word in the Mathematicks: as unable to expreſs what *Poſſe*, or *Æquipoſſe* imports in the Science of Geometry, as a meer ruſtick is to underſtand the terms of Law. Such a word or term is this firſt word in my Text, τελειωθεὶς. For it is more than a word of Art, *verbum*

ſolenne, uſed by the LXX. Interpreters, to expreſs the legal and formal Conſecration of *Aaron* his Sons and their Succeſſors to their Prieſtly Function. And in this ſenſe it is to be taken in this place, and is ſo rendred in our former Engliſh, [*And being conſecrated, he was made the Author of Salvation.*] And ſo is the very ſame word rendred by our latter Engliſh, *Heb.* 7. and the laſt. [*The word of the Oath which was ſince the Law, maketh the Son Prieſt*] *who is* τελειωθεὶς, *conſecrated for evermore.*] The Authors of both Tranſlations (if ſo it had pleaſed them) might have given better content and ſatisfaction to their Readers, if they had conſtantly ſo expreſſed the ſame word with its Allies in moſt places of this Epiſtle. That in this place the word τελειωθεὶς imports as much as we have ſaid, that is, the formal and ſolemn Conſecration of the Son of God unto his everlaſting Prieſthood, needs no farther proof or declaration, than the matter or ſubject of his diſcourſe from the 14 *ver.* of the 4 *Chap.* unto the 11 *ver.* of this 5. Now the only ſubject of his diſcourſe, aſwell in theſe places now cited, as through the whole 7 *Chap.* is the Conſecration of the Son of God to his everlaſting Prieſthood: and the ſuper-excellency of the Prieſthood, aſwell as of the Conſecration to it, in reſpect of legal Prieſthoods or Conſecrations.

3. This is the profoundeſt myſtery in Divinity, or rather the main foundation of all Evangelical myſteries treated off by our Apoſtle unto the end of this Epiſtle. But this profound myſtery it ſelf hath the ſame hap, which other deep foundations have, that is, to be leaſt ſeen or ſought into by ſuch as are otherwiſe exact ſurveyors of ſuperſtructures or buildings raiſed above ground.

The ſum of my preſent ſearch or ſurvey after this great myſtery, is this; How the everlaſting Prieſthood of the Son of God, and his Conſecration to it were pre-figured, fore-ſhadowed, or fore-told either in the Law, or before the Law!

Of the Eternity of this our High Prieſts perſon, (that is, the perſon of the Son of God) *Melchiſedech* long before the Law, was the moſt illuſtrious Type or Picture. So was his Order, or Sacerdotal Function, the moſt exact ſhadow of the Son of Gods Everlaſting Prieſthood.

Of the qualification of the Son of God for this Everlaſting Prieſthood, and of the manner of his Conſecration to it, *Aaron* and other legal Prieſts his lawful Succeſſors, and the legal rites or manner of their Conſecration, were the moſt lively Pictures.

Firſt, Of the parallel between *Aaron* and his Succeſſors lawfully ordained, and the High Prieſt of our Souls, for their qualifications required by the Law of God, and by the Law of Nature.

Secondly, Of the parallel between *Melchiſedech* and the Son of God, aſwell for their perſons, as for Sacerdotal Functions or Exerciſes of them.

The parallel between *Aaron* and other Prieſts of the Law, and the Son of God, for their qualification to their different Prieſthoods, is (as was but now intimated) the ſubject of our Apoſtles diſcourſe from the beginning of the fifth Chapter unto the 10 *ver.* We are then in the firſt place to ſearch out the true ſenſe and meaning of our Apoſtle, by tracing his ſteps from the 1 *ver.* unto the 9 *ver.* Secondly, To ſhew in what ſenſe the Son of God, by his Conſecration, became the Author of Everlaſting Salvation to all that obey him, and to them only. For ſo our Apoſtle ſaith, *Being Conſecrated, he became the Author* or cauſe αἴτιος, *of everlaſting ſalvation to all that obey him.*

CHAP. II.

Of the Separation of the High Prieſt from men, and of the compaſſionate temper which was the ſpecial Qualification of every High Prieſt. Heb. 5. v. 2.

E*very High Prieſt is taken from among men*, ſo that every High Prieſt muſt be a man ſo *ſeparate* or ſet apart from ordinary men for offering gifts or ſacrifices unto God, as that which we call conſecrated, or hallowed ground, is from common ſoil or places of ſecular uſe or commerce. But albeit the Prieſts of the Law were by Conſecration ſeparated from ordinary men: yet could they not be ſeparated from their own ſins, ſo long as they carried this body of death about them. *But ſuch an High Prieſt* (ſaith our Apoſtle *Chap. 7. v. 27.*) *It behoved us to have, as is harmleſs, holy, and ſeparated from ſinners.* He was ſo ſeparated from ſinners, that he could take no infection from them or their ſins, whilſt he lived and converſed amongſt them. Another ſpecial Qualification, required in ſuch as were appointed to the legal Prieſthood, we have *verſe* the ſecond of this fifth Chapter: And that was, to be able ſufficiently to have compaſſion on them that were ignorant and out of the way; and for this reaſon, though God be not the Author of ſin in any, yet he made an eſpecial uſe of the ſins whereunto legal Prieſts were ſubject; to teach them thereby, to be compaſſionate towards others: more compaſſionate than they would or could have been, if they had not been conſcious of their own infirmities, and grievous offences againſt God; for which they were to offer ſacrifices, aſwel as for the ſins of the people. And the more deeply they were touched with the conſciouſneſs of their own ſins, or with Gods diſpleaſure which they had incurred by them; the more devoutly they prayed for the people, the more diligent and careful they were in their office of Atonement for them. Every godly or conſiderate High Prieſt did in every reſpect for the people, as they deſired God ſhould do for them.

2. This *compaſſionate temper* in every High Prieſt or chief ſpiritual Governour required by the Law of God, is ſo agreeable to the common notions of the law of nature, that the conſonancy betwixt them did (if not firſt occaſion) yet ſtrengthen the Worlds opinion of *Peter's* ſupremacy over Chriſts Catholick Church. A memorable inſtance to this purpoſe we have recorded by a late ingenious Writer of the life and facts of *Matthias Corvinus* King of *Hungary*, into whoſe preſence an ambitious School-man had long deſir'd to be admitted; who becauſe he had learned to play faſt and looſe with *Aquinas* or *Scotus* diſtinctions, preſumed he was able to diſſolve any knot in Divinity, and deſired nothing more than to play his prizes before that witty King: Being after long importunate ſuit admitted into his preſence, the firſt Problem the generous King propoſed unto him was this; [Seeing St. *Peter* had thrice denied his Lord and Maſter, whereas St. *John* who had never offended him, was never tainted with any crime, but continued ſtill the Diſciple whom he loved; What was the reaſon why our Saviour Chriſt ſhould make St. *Peter* head

of his Church, rather than Saint *John*] * The Jugler perceiving that he had brought the wrong box with him, requeſted the King not to meddle with Gods ſecrets, but to propoſe ſome other controverſed queſtion to him: upon the iſſue the King reſolved him that this was none of Gods ſecrets, alledging the Authority of Saint *Hierom*, as an introduction to his own collections, and this reaſon withal, That if our Saviour had made Saint *John* head of the Church, he would have been more ſevere and rigorous than thoſe, or other corrupt times would ſuffer; as being not conſcious to himſelf of any groſs enormity. The ſame reaſon had been avouched long before by *Eulogius*, but cenſur'd by * *Photius* as reliſhing more of plauſible fancy, than of ſound judgment. Yet in this fancy there was a ſpice of truth and reaſon; * for Saint *Peter* became more powerful in Preaching the Goſpel to his Brethren the Jews, than any of Chriſts other Apoſtles, becauſe he ſympathized better with them, and was (no queſtion) more compaſſionate and kind unto them, than any of the other Apoſtles were, or could have been.

* Tunc Gattus iratus inquit, noli te mihi præfinire modum Theologiæ, quem teneo: Nemo enim eſt tam temerarius, qui in Theologicis ſe mecum conferre auderet. Nam nihil in hâc Divinâ ſcientiâ mihi eſt (ut puto) incognitum. Omnes enim Bibliothecas percurri & nunquam hujus dubitationis occurrit declaratio. Tunc Rex Matthias ait ad Gattum: Non multos in Theologia libros legi, nec etiam in aliis facultatibus; A puero enim ad Regiam dignitatem evectus, pauca è multis didici, & militarem quodammodo literaturam arripui. Sed tamen hujus rei declaratio, ut opinor, facilè invenietur: Gattus impatiens, ſermonem Regium interrumpens, inquit, Deponite hanc mentem, quoniam ut dixi nuſquam eſt, &c. Si virgo Johannes & in fide firmus Pontifex fuiſſet, cum ligandi ſolvendique poteſtate, nuſquam libidinis blanditias, vimque expertus, & qui nullo tumultu à Chriſto potuit dimoveri, ad ſui ſimilitudinem humanum genus confirmare percubuiſſet, & Chriſti, fideiq; deſertores, libidineq; corruptos ſumma auſteritate depuliſſet. Non enim ex fragilitate peccantes, ſed ex animi nequitia homines putaſſet, qui fletibus dolorem fingerent: ſumma igitur ratione factum eſt ut Petrus Johanni in Pontificatu præferretur, quod tu Johannes Gatte inter illa Dei judicia inſcrutabilia connumerabas. Galeotus Martius de dictis & factis Matthiæ inter alios ſcriptor rerum Hungaricarum elegans. *Cap.* 30. *pag* 386, *&c.*

* τοῦτο μὲν φήσιν, ὁ Εὐλόγιος πιθανώτερον μᾶλλον, ἢ ἀληθέστερον λέγων; *and he gives a good reaſon for this ſentence in the words following.* Etſi enim Petro dictum eſt, veruntamen in perſonâ Coryphæi & cæteris Apoſtolis talis poteſtas data. Quandoquidem & ſequentibus illos Sacerdotibus eandem datam eſſe ſolvendi ligandiq; poteſtatem credimus. *Photius ex 2. lib. Bibliotheca. Columno* 1599.

Of this Point ſee more at large in the 3 book of theſe Commentaries upon the Creed, Sect. 2. Cap. 6.

3. But in offering gifts and ſacrifices out of true compaſſion towards his people, in making Interceſſion and Atonement for them, our High Prieſt did, and doth far exceed all legal Prieſts, all other inferior ſpiritual Governours. *In all things* (ſaith our Apoſtle) *it became him to be made like unto his Brethren, that he might be a merciful and a faithful High Prieſt in things concerning God, that he might make reconciliation for the ſins of his people. For in that he ſuffered and was tempted, he is able to ſuccour them that are tempted*, Heb. 2.17. All his ſufferings and temptations were requiſite for his Qualification to his Prieſtly Function, which was to be merciful and compaſſionate towards ſinners: more compaſſionate towards all ſorts of ſinners, than any one ſinner could be either towards himſelf or others; Becauſe he had more full and deeper experience of the wages due to ſin, than any ſinners in this life can have. Hence, ſaith our Apoſtle, in the words immediately preceding to theſe now in handling, *Though he were the Son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he ſuffered.* As he was the Son of God he knew all things, could learn nothing; yet as the ſon of man, or as man deſign'd for our High Prieſt, he had a ſenſible experience of the pains and puniſhments due to ſin, and of the unknown terrors of the ſecond death, which as he was God he could not have, and which as man, unleſs he had been the Son of God withal, he could not have born. The obedience which he learned by ſuffering (as was obſerved before) was paſſive not active. And his unſpeakable patience (even while he ſuffered theſe grievous and unknown pains and terrors) is mentioned by our Apoſtle as a part of his Qualification, *ver.* 7. *In the days of his fleſh he offered up Prayers and*

ſupplications by ſtrong crys and tears unto him, that was able to ſave him from death, εἰσακουσθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλαβείας.

CHAP. III.

What were thoſe ſtrong cries which the Son of God did utter in the days of his fleſh, how far his prayers were heard, and from what death and danger he was delivered. Heb. 5. v. 7.

Maldonate with ſome other good Interpreters refer theſe ſtrong cryes or loud exclamations unto that ſtrong cry upon the croſs, *my God my God why haſt thou forſaken me?* But thus they teach (with due reſpect unto their worth and learning I ſpeak it,) very impertinently and inconſiderately. For firſt, that ejaculation of our Saviour upon the Croſs, though uttered with a loud voice or cry, bears rather the character of a complaint or expoſtulation, than of a humble Prayer or ſupplication, (if we take it in the literal ſenſe) as if it had been extorted from the extremity of pain which he then ſuffered. The truth is, it was neither a Prayer nor complaint, but *mera teſſera*, a ſignal or watch-word to his Auditors or Spectators to rally their tumultuous diſordered thoughts. And if they had taken their former indignities done unto him on the Croſs, and his admirable patience in ſuffering them without murmur or complaint, into ſerious conſideration, they might have diſcerned that this was the man or promiſed *Meſſias*, whoſe ſufferings the Pſalmiſt did deſcribe, and by his own ſufferings in part repreſent. For our Saviour uttered not theſe words of the 22 *Pſalm*, until all the other paſſages in the ſame *Pſalm* were ocularly exemplified and fulfilled in him.

2. Secondly, we never read, nor have we any occaſion to ſuſpect, but reaſons pregnant to deny that our Saviour did ever deprecate the death of the Croſs; or could be daunted with any indignities which the Jews could do unto him, either by word or fact: either by themſelves or their Aſſociates. And for this reaſon (as hath been obſerved before,) when *Peter* had adviſed him to be good to himſelf, not to expoſe his perſon to the malice of the Jews, he was diſmiſſed with this ſevere check, *Get thee behind me Satan, for thou art an offence unto me, &c.* Now *Peter* had been the more provident of the two, if his Maſter had uttered the former words, either by way of Prayer or complaint. Again, if our Saviour had been at any time daunted with the death of the Croſs, or had prayed for deliverance from this death, or any pains that did accompany it, his Prayers or Supplications had not been heard by him, who was able to ſave him from death; ſeeing from this death, he did not ſave him, but ſuffered or rather required him to taſt of it to the full for all men. But it is evident, that theſe *ſtrong cries and exclamations uttered with tears mentioned by our Apoſtle Chap.* 5. 7. were heard to the full. For ſo it is ſaid, *He was heard in that which he feared.* So both our Engliſh Tranſlations read it: The latter with this variation in the margine, *He was heard for his Piety.* Neither expreſſion is altogether untrue; yet neither of them full; or both put together not much *ad appoſitum, little pertinent* to our Apoſtles intent or meaning. How then are they

In the eight Book of theſe Comments Cap. 12. par. 3.

to be amended? By a more full explication of the ſeveral acceptions of the words in the original.

3. This latter word ἐυλάβεια, rendred by *fear*, or *piety*, imports in its prime or proper ſignification as much as a wary or cautelous fear. And (if good Interpreters do not fail us,) it is alway taken in the better ſenſe, that is (as we ſay) for a *filial* or *pious*, not for a *baſe* or *ſervile fear*. Whence ſeeing he only is pious or godly, who is wary or circumſpect not to offend God, nor to wound his own Conſcience, the ſame word in the ſecondary or conſequential ſenſe doth ſignifie piety, or godlineſs. But whether in one or both of theſe two compatible ſenſes we take this word in this place, the conſtruction which either the vulgar Latine or our Engliſh makes of the whole original clauſe ἐισακουσθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐυλαβείας *exauditus eſt ob reverentiam*, he was heard in that he feared, or for his *piety* or *reverence*, will be very harſh. For the Greek prepoſition ἀπὸ cannot by Analogy, either to the Greek or Hebrew, be rendred by the Latine *ob* or *propter*; or as our Engliſh doth *in* or *for*; or *in that he feared*, or *for his piety*, or reverent fear. We are therefore to conſider a twofold Hebraiſm in this paſſage. The one in the word ἐυλαβείας, the other in the word ἐισακουσθεὶς. It is a general rule in the Hebrew Dialect, that not only Participles but Noun Subſtantives, or *abſtract forms*, are aſwel Paſſive as Active. According to this Analogy unto the Hebrew, the word *Hope* aſwel in the Greek as in the Latine, and many other like, are ſometimes to be conſtrued actively, ſometimes paſſively. *Spes quâ ſperamus & ſpes quæ ſperatur.* And ſo likewiſe *promiſſio qua Deus promittit & promiſſio quæ promittitur. This is the promiſe which he hath promiſed, even eternal life.* And ſo is the word, fear, whether we take it in the worſe or better ſenſe, as for a natural or ſervile fear, or for a pious and religious fear, there is *timor quo timemus*, a fear by which we ſeek to eſchew evil, and *timor qui timetur* which is no other than the evil feared. Now the word ἐυλαβείας muſt in this place of neceſſity be taken in the paſſive ſignification, not in the active, that is, for the evil which our Saviour ſo much or ſo piouſly feared. Again in aſmuch as God always delivered them from danger or dread, whoſe prayers he hears, hence it is that to be *exauditus*, *truly heard of God* in Prayers and Supplications, is as much as to be delivered from the dread or danger which we pray againſt. So that εἰσακουσθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐυλαβείας is in true Engliſh all one, as if he had ſaid, And he was delivered from that which he ſo *piouſly or mightily feared*.

4. The Apoſtles words contain a full expreſſion of the Pſalmiſts ſpeech, or rather a record of the fulfilling of his Prophecy. *Pſalm* 22. 21. *Save me from the Lyons mouth, for thou haſt heard*, that is, *thou haſt delivered me from the Horns of the Unicorn.* God had delivered his Son (whoſe part in all his ſufferings this Pſalmiſt did reſpectively act, or repreſent) from the firſt temptation in the Wilderneſs; and now he prays he would deliver him from this far greater temptation in the Garden, (when the whole Hoſt of darkneſs had inviron'd him) with ſtrong cryes and tears, *Father if it be poſſible let this Cup paſs from me!* And ſo St. *Luke* inſtructs us, He was heard and delivered from that hour of temptation which he did ſo much dread. For in the ſecond pang of that bitter Agony an Angel was ſent to comfort him, and within the ſpace of an ordinary hour this Cup was ten thouſand times more bitter than the death of the Croſs, or any pains which he ſuffered upon it, was utterly removed from him. And after this hour

was ended, we do not read, nor is there any circumſtance in holy Writ to enduce ſo much as a conjecture that he ſtood in fear of any evil that could befal him by the Jews or Roman Souldiers, *but moſt patiently* (as our Apoſtle ſpeaks) *endured the Croſs and deſpiſed the ſhame.* Of what kind ſoever the pains which he ſuffered in the Garden, were (a point in the former Book diſcuſſed at large) the ſuffering of them was neither neceſſary, or requiſite, for making ſatisfaction to God the Father for the ſins of the World. For ſuch ſatisfaction was abundantly made by the meer death of the Croſs. Yet were theſe his unknown, or unexperienced ſufferings in the Garden, either neceſſary, or moſt expedient for his Qualification and Conſecration to his Everlaſting Prieſthood, that he might be a merciful and faithful High Prieſt able to compaſſionate and ſuccour all ſuch as are in any kind tempted. Briefly, ſeeing one ſpecial part of his Prieſthood is to make interceſſion and ſupplication for us in all our diſtreſſes, it was in the wiſdom of God expedient that he ſhould have juſt occaſion to offer up Prayers and Supplications with ſtrong cryes for himſelf. And in aſmuch as theſe his ſupplications were heard of his Father, we have aſſurance that he will not ceaſe to make interceſſion for us, until God grant us deliverance from temptations, ſo we pray unto him in ſuch fear and reverence as he in his Agony did unto his Father. He will in this caſe do for us as he deſired his Father to do for him.

5. It ſeemeth the Conſecration of legal High Prieſts, ſo long as they accurately obſerved the rites and manner preſcribed by *Moſes*, did one way or other coſt them ſo dear that no man which duly weighed the charge laid upon them would be very ambitious of the office. Hence ſaith our Apoſtle, *Heb.* 5. 4. *No man taketh this honour unto himſelf but he that is called of God as* Aaron *was:* So likewiſe Chriſt took not to himſelf this honour to be made an High Prieſt, but he that ſaid unto him, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee*, put this charge or honour upon him; againſt his will queſtionleſs, as man, albeit he moſt obediently ſubmitted himſelf to his Fathers Will, becauſe he had taken the form of a Servant upon him. His Conſecration we may ſafely avouch coſt him dearer than the Conſecration of all the legal Prieſts that had been before him; or of all the Chriſtian Biſhops, or Prelates which have lived ſince did or doth them, whether ſeverally or jointly. Never did any man utter thoſe words ſo truly and ſincerely, *Epiſcopari nolo*, as he did, or pray ſo earneſtly, that the charge of his Conſecration might be mitigated whilſt he was in his Agony. But how dear ſoever his Conſecration coſt him, the coſts and charges of it though altogether unknown to us, were recompenced by the purchaſe which he gained by it: For, as it followeth, being thus conſecrated, he became the Author of Everlaſting Salvation to all that obey him, and their Salvation was and is as pleaſant to him; as his ſufferings whereby he was conſecrated, were for the preſent diſtaſtful.

CHAP. IV.

The Conſecration of the Son of God was not finiſht immediately after his Agony in the Garden, nor was he then or at the time of his ſufferings upon the Croſs, an actual, or compleat High Prieſt after the Order of Melchiſedech.

BUT was his Conſecration finiſhed immediately after he had been anointed with his own blood in the Garden, or aſſoon as his Prayers and Supplications which he offered up with ſtrong cryes and tears were heard? No; whatſoever elſe was required for his Qualification, there could be no true and perfect Conſecration to his Prieſthood without a Sacrifice, without a bloody Sacrifice. This was one principal part of *Aarons* Conſecration to his legal Prieſthood, and ſo of his Succeſſors. But here the Jew, who is for the moſt part leſs learned than perverſe and captious, will in this particular ſhrewdly object, if not thus inſult over the negligence of many Chriſtian Teachers: “When your Crucified God was convented by the High Prieſts “and Elders, when he was arraign'd before *Pontius Pilate*; when he “was ſentenced to the death of the Croſs, tell us plainly whether in any “of theſe points of time mentioned, he were truly a Prieſt, or no “Prieſt? If no Prieſt at all, what had he to do to offer any Sacrifice, eſpe-“cially a bloody one? For this was a ſervice ſo peculiar to the legal Prieſts which were the Sons of *Aaron*, that it was ſacriledge for the Sons of *David*, For the greateſt Kings of *Judah* to attempt it. If you will ſay then he was a Prieſt, you muſt acknowledge him either to have been a Prieſt after the Order of *Melchiſedech*, or after the Order of *Aaron*: If you ſay he was a Prieſt after the Order of *Aaron*, you plainly contradict this Apoſtle whom you acknowledge to be the great Teacher of you Gentiles; for he ſaith *Chap.* 7. *v.* 14. of this Epiſtle, *It is evident that our Lord ſprang out of* Judah, *concerning which Tribe,* Moſes *ſpake nothing concerning the Prieſthood.* And again, *Chap.* 8. *v.* 4. he ſaith, *He were not a Prieſt if he were upon earth, ſeeing there are Prieſts which according to the Law offer gifts.* Now if he could be no Prieſt were he now on Earth, then certainly he could be no Prieſt after the Order of *Aaron*, nor did he offer any legal, or bloody Sacrifice whilſt he lived (as ſometimes he did) here on Earth.

2. Was he then whilſt he lived here on earth, a Prieſt after the Order of *Melchiſedech*, and by this title authorized to offer ſacrifice? This I preſume you dare not avouch. For *Melchiſedech* was a Prieſt according to *endleſs life*; his Prieſthood was an immortal Everlaſting Prieſthood. Now although every man be not an High Prieſt, yet every High Prieſt muſt be a man, and a man taken from amongſt ordinary men, to offer gifts and ſacrifices for ſin. The Prieſthood is an accident; the humanity or manhood is the ſubject or ſubſtance which ſupports it. Dare you then ſay that a mortal man whilſt he was ſuch, could poſſibly be an Everlaſting Prieſt, or a Prieſt according to an endleſs life, when he was to dye a miſerable and ignominious death the very ſame day? *Durum eſſet hoc affirmare!* This indeed is a hard ſaying, a point of Doctrine whoſe intimation did cauſe the Jews, ſuch as were in part our Saviours Diſciples, or very inclinable to

his ſervice, to queſtion the truth of his calling and of his ſayings, *John* 12. *ver.* 32. *&c. And I, if I were lift up from the Eearth, will draw all men unto me.* Now this he ſaid (ſaith Saint *John*) ſignifying what death he ſhould dye, to wit, the death of the Croſs. And ſo his Auditors conceived his meaning; and for this reaſon the people anſwered him, *We have heard out of the Law, that the Chriſt abideth for ever, and how ſayeſt thou the Son of man muſt be lift up? Who is that Son of man? ver.*34. This people at that time had a clear prenotion, or received opinion that their promiſed *Meſſias*, or the Chriſt ſhould be a Prieſt after the order of *Melchiſedech*, that is, a Prieſt to endure for ever; for the Lord had confirmed thus much by oath, *Pſalm* 110. And out of this common prenotion, whether firſt conceived out of that place of *David, The Lord hath ſworn and will not repent, thou art a Prieſt for ever after the order of Melchiſedech*; or from ſome other Scripture, the people in the fore-cited place, queſtioned whether it were poſſible he ſhould be the Chriſt, ſeeing by his own confeſſion he was ſhortly after to dye the death of the Croſs.

3. Theſe objections, I confeſs, could hardly be anſwered, if we ſhould grant what many modern Divines out of incogitancy have taught, or taken upon truſt without further examination, to wit, that the eternal Son of God our Lord and Saviour, was an High Prieſt from Eternity, or an High Prieſt from his birth as man, or from his Baptiſm when he was anointed by the Holy Ghoſt unto his Prophetical Function, or whilſt he was upon the Croſs. But not granting this, (as we have no reaſon to admit any branch of it) the anſwer to the former objection is clear and eaſie: Betwixt a Prieſt compleat, or actually Conſecrated, and no Prieſt at all, *datur medium participationis*; *There is a mean or third eſtate or condition, to wit, a Prieſt in* fieri, *though not in* facto, *or a Prieſt,* inter conſecrandum, *that is, in the* interims *of his Conſecration before he be actually and compleatly Conſecrated.* Such a Man, or rather ſuch a Prieſt was *Aaron*, during the firſt ſix or ſeven days of his Conſecration, yet dare no *Jew* avouch that after the firſt or ſecond day of his ſeparation from common men, he was no more than an ordinary man, no Prieſt at all; nor that on the ſeventh day he was a Prieſt actually conſecrated, but as yet in his Conſecration. He was not till the eight day qualified to offer up Sacrifices unto God, but had peculiar Sacrifices offered for his Conſecration by *Moſes*.

4. Briefly then, the Sacrifice of the Son of God upon the Croſs, whether we conſider it as offered by himſelf, or by his Father, (as it is ſometimes ſaid in Scripture to be offered by both) was the abſolute accompliſhment of all legal Sacrifices or Services Aaronical. And yet but an intermediate (though an eſpecial) part of his Conſecration to the Prieſthood after the order of *Melchiſedech*, not the *ultimum eſſe*, or accompliſhment of it. It was not *terminated* till the day of his Reſurrection from the dead. But of this Argument more at large, *Sect.* 5. in the Article of the Reſurrection of the Son of God. That this Eternal Son of God was not actually Conſecrated or made an High Prieſt, until his Reſurrection from the dead, our Apoſtle in the fifth verſe of this Chapter before cited, to another purpoſe, fully inſtructs us. Chriſt took not to himſelf this honour to be made the High Prieſt, but he that ſaid unto him, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee*, put it upon him. And this day, or this, *Ego*

hodiè genui te (as this our Apoſtle elſewhere inſtructs us) refers unto the day of his Reſurrection, or begetting from the dead. After which day death hath no more dominion over him, but *He* ſuch an abſolute power over death and the powers of darkneſs, that neither can annoy, or aſſault him. And from this day, and not before, doth his endleſs everlaſting Prieſthood *commence*. And being thus actually Conſecrated by his Reſurrection from the dead, that is, made both Lord and Chriſt, he is become the Author of Everlaſting Salvation; which was the ſecond Point.

CHAP. V.

That the Son of God by his Conſecration being once accompliſhed, became the Author and Fountain of Everlaſting Salvation to all ſuch, and only ſuch as obey him. In what ſenſe he is ſaid to have dyed for all Men, or to be the Redeemer of all Mankind.

He became the Author of Salvation to all that obey him.

THE ſignification of the ſingle terms in this Propoſition is ſo plain, that it needs no paraphraſe or explication, and the connexion of them ſo firm as requires no diſtinction. All the difficulty is about the limitation of the entire Propoſition it ſelf, as whether he be the Author or cauſe of everlaſting Salvation only to them which obey him, or unto all, to the end that they may obey him: or whether this Propoſition be equivalent, and but equivalent unto this Propoſition [*whoſoever believeth in him ſhall be ſaved*] or a reſtraint of it! Surely if in all theſe places of the Old and New Teſtament, wherein Salvation is aſcribed to *Faith*, or unto *Faith* alone, the Apoſtles or Prophets had *ſubſtituted obedience* inſtead of *Faith*, there could have been no dangerous miſnomure; for as the Faith is, ſuch is the obedience, and *è contra*. Both terms equally imply two (the ſame) things neceſſary to Salvation. Firſt, A ſubmiſſion of our wills to Gods will, or a readineſs to do his will revealed. Secondly, When we have done as well was we can, to deny our ſelves, and renounce all confidence in our beſt works, whether of Faith or Obedience. But however the terms be fully equivalent, yet the word *obedience* better befits this place, than if he had ſaid, *He became the Author of everlaſting Salvation to all that believe in him*, becauſe *obedience* is the very formal effect of true Faith or Belief, as they are ſet upon this particular truth or myſtery here taught by our Apoſtle; the ἀποσφράγισμα, or impreſſion, or the ingroſment of the pattern here commended to our imitation. For if we ſincerely and ſtedfaſtly believe that the Son of God became obedient to his Father, even unto the death of the Croſs; that for our ſakes he was Conſecrated through grievous Afflictions, through unknown pains and terrors, to the end he might be our faithful and compaſſionate High Prieſt: This Doctrine it ſelf being laid to our hearts, will bring forth the like affection or obedience towards him, ſpecially if our Faith be ſeconded by hope of being Conſecrated through obedience to be Kings and Prieſts with him, unto our God, which is the full paraphraſe of our everlaſting Salvation here meant; the true expreſſion of that perfection mentioned by our Apoſtle, *Heb.* 11. *v.* the laſt.

But if the Apoſtles punctual meaning be, that the Son of God is the Author of everlaſting Salvation only to ſuch as obey him, ſhall we not hence be concluded to grant, that he died only for ſuch as finally ſhall be ſaved, or that he redeemed none but the Elect, becauſe the Author of Salvation to none but theſe? Thus, many in our days and (which is more to be lamented) ſome of this Church of *England* have from the former premiſſes collected and peremptorily taught, that Chriſt dyed for none but the Elect, without vouchſafing any mannerly anſwer to the Church their Mother, who expreſly maintains the contradictory, as that he dyed for all men: that he redeemed not only every one of us in particular, but all mankind: Others have been ſo courteous, as to vouchſafe their Mother and Brethren ſome diſtinctions or limitations of that univerſal aſſertion, as thus, That he dyed for all, *ſufficientèr*, not *efficientèr*, ſufficiently, not efficiently for all; that he redeemed all mankind with this limitation, that is, *ſingula generum*, ſome of all mankind, ſome rich, ſome poor, ſome Jews, ſome Gentiles.

The latter diſtinction is very dangerous; the former impertinently unneceſſary: for if by all mankind we once come to underſtand ſome of all ſorts of men, we ſhall commit no new error, but only extend the ſame; if by the whole world, which God the Father is ſaid to have created, we underſtand only ſome portion of every principal part of this Univerſe, as ſome portion of the Heavens, ſome of the Stars, ſome part of the Earth, ſome of the Water, ſome part of the Air, ſome of every ſort of Vegetable or living things, but not abſolutely all. The other diſtinction of *ſufficientèr* and *efficienter*, falls under the *common error* of moſt modern Catechiſts, or * Divines, which is, to take upon them to divide things, which in their nature are indiviſible, (as the Will of God, the Death of Chriſt, or the Value of his ſufferings) and to leave other terms which import matter diviſible, undiſtinguiſhed. Such is the term or word *Redemption* paſſively taken, not as it is an act of God, or as it is in his *preſcience*. For however the will of God, or the value of Chriſts ſufferings be altogether indiviſible becauſe abſolutely infinite, yet of Redemption purchaſed for us by Chriſts bloody death and paſſion, there are (as you pleaſe to call them) ſeveral parts or degrees. Now *that* may be abſolutely true of ſome one, or more parts of degrees which is not true of all: The firſt degree of our Redemption purchaſed by Chriſt, was the payment of the ranſom for our ſins unto his Father, and our freedom from ſlavery by his conqueſt over Satan. This part, or theſe degrees of Redemption, are alike common to all mankind: Chriſt whether in his death upon the Croſs, or in his conflict with the powers of darkneſs in the Garden, did ſuffer aſmuch for any one, as for all. God was in him reconciling all men unto himſelf. All were ſet free, *de jure*, from Satans ſervitude.

The ſecond part or degree of Redemption is our actual admiſſion into the Catholick Church: or (which is all one) our ſolemn calling to be the Sons of God. And this part of Redemption is common to all who are Baptized according to Chriſts commiſſion given to his Apoſtles and their Succeſſors to this purpoſe. Another part of our Redemption, whether that be altogether diſtinct from the former, or

** If they had ſaid Chriſt was the meritorious cauſe of Salvation to all men, or had merited Salvation for all, not the efficient working cauſe of Salvation to all, but only to ſuch as obey him faithfully, they had come nearer the truth.*

but a conſequent to it, is our actual exemption from the rage or tyranny of ſin within our ſelves whilſt we live here in the fleſh. And this degree of redemption is proper only to thoſe, who though they live in the fleſh do not live according to the fleſh, or the faſhions of the World; as having their *hearts purified* by a lively Faith in Chriſts Death. The laſt part or final accompliſhment of our Redemption, is the exemption of both Body and Soul from the powers of Hell and Death by Reſurrection unto endleſs Glory, which is the Everlaſting Salvation here meant: And this is proper only unto ſuch as finally ſhall be ſaved by continuance in Faith and Obedience. But let us not deceive our ſelves, for God will not be mocked; and we ſhall but mock him if we preſume to go to Heaven by curious Diſtinctions, or nice Doctrines, without a conſtant progreſs in ſyncere unpartial obedience. Nor will external Conformity to Orthodoxal Rites, or Religion, or Eye-ſervice, ſuffice to obtain the Salvation here promiſed to ſuch as obey him: or if we be addicted to eye-ſervice or obedience, let us perform our obedience, not in our own eyes, or as in the eyes of ſinful men, but as in the eyes and view of that ὁ λόγος mentioned by our Apoſtle, *Chap.* 4. of this Epiſtle, *ver.* the 9. *In whoſe ſight every Creature is manifeſt, all things are open and naked.* This is that Eternal Word, who is now made our High Prieſt, and ſhall hereafter come to be our Judge. Let us then account it a principal part of our preſent and future obedience, to pour out our Souls in Prayers and Supplications to this our High Prieſt for the remiſſion of all our ſins paſt; and ſeeing he was conſecrated once for all, through afflictions or ſufferings (for ſo the current of our Apoſtles diſcourſe implies,) to be a compaſſionate and merciful High Prieſt to his Father for us, let us all publickly and privately, daily and hourly beſeech him by his Agony and bloody ſweat, by his Croſs and bitter Paſſion, not only to make interceſſion for us, but to pour out the ſpirit of Prayer upon us; to ſtrengthen us with ſupplies of grace for ſubduing the body of ſin which is within us, unto the ſpirit, and to quicken our ſpirits unto newneſs of life, that ſo we may be able to ſtand before him in that great day of Judgment!

SECTION II.

Of the calling or deſignment of the Son of God to be an High Prieſt after the Order of *Melchiſedech*: Of the differences and agreements in ſome particulars between the Prieſthood of *Aaron*, and the Prieſthood of *Melchiſedech*.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Signification or Importance of the word calling, *uſed by our Apoſtle* Heb. 5. *with the general Heads or Points to be handled and diſcuſt in this* 2, 3, 4. *Sections.*

THat the making of the Son of God perfect, [τελειωθεὶς] *v.* 9. implies a ſolemn *Calling* or Conſecration to his High Prieſthood, is yet more apparent from the words following, *v.* 10. *Called an High Prieſt after the Order* of *Melchiſedech.* This word *Called*, imports ſomewhat more than a name impoſed upon him, though at his Circumciſion, or at his Baptiſm, more than a meer title of dignity. But what more than ſo? A ſolemn *Calling* or Deſignment unto this high Office or Prelacy? Such a calling, but more ſolemn, than *Aaron* had unto the legal High Prieſthood. Unto this Prieſthood *Aaron* is ſaid *Chap.* 5. *v.* 4. that he was καλούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, that is by ſpecial Deſignment or deſtination advanced to the Office of the High Prieſt during the Law. But when the ſame Apoſtle ſpeaks of the calling of the Son of God unto the High Prieſthood, after the Order of *Melchiſedech v.* 10. The word in the Original is more ſignificant and more ſolemn than καλούμενος, as it refers to *Aaron*; for it is προσαγορευθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ſolemnly declared or pronounced by God to be an High Prieſt after the Order of *Melchiſedech.*

2. The method of our preſent inquiry or ſearch into this grand myſtery muſt be this.

Firſt, who this *Melchiſedech* was, according to whoſe Order the Son of God was called to be a Prieſt? or how *Melchiſedech*, whoſoever he were, did repreſent or ſhadow out the perſon of the Son of God?

Secondly, wherein the Prieſthood of *Melchiſedech* did conſiſt? or wherein it differed from the Prieſthood of *Aaron*? and what calling he had to ſuch a Prieſthood?

Thirdly, what Divine Deſignment, or calling the Son of God had to his Everlaſting Prieſthood?

Fourthly, A parallel between the Conſecration of *Aaron*, or other of his Succeſſors to this legal Prieſthood, and the Conſecration of the Son of God to his Everlaſting Prieſthood prefigured or foreſhadowed, not by *Aaron* or his Succeſſors, but by *Melchiſedech* before the Law was given.

Fifthly, The peculiar acts or exerciſes of the Son of God's Everlaſting Prieſthood. This fifth or laſt Point muſt be referred as an Appendix unto the Articles of the Son of God's Aſcenſion, and his ſitting at the right hand of God the Father. All theſe are Points of good uſe, and worthy of deeper and better conſideration than they uſually are taken into, by moſt Interpreters of ſacred Writ, or Controverſy-writers.

The firſt Queſtion only may ſeem to be too curious: And ſo perhaps it is indeed, if we ſhould take upon us to determine the individuality of *Melchiſedech's* perſon, after whoſe Order the Son of God was conſecrated or made a Prieſt. But on the other ſide it would be preſumptuous, abſolutely to deny this *Melchiſedech* to have been the ſame individual perſon whom the latter Jews generally, and many late learned Chriſtian Writers take him for. The greateſt difficulty in this Point ariſeth from the Apoſtles deſcription of *Melchiſedech*, *Chap.* 7. *v.* 3. *Without Father, without Mother, without deſcent, having neither beginning of days, nor end of life, but made like unto the Son of God, abideth a Prieſt continually.*

3. From this place ſome would peremptorily conclude, that *Melchiſedech* could be no mortal man, no Son of *Adam*, but either the Holy Ghoſt, or the Son of God then appearing to *Abraham* in the ſimilitude or likeneſs of Man. For of this *Melchiſedech*, ſave only in the Hiſtory of *Abraham*, *Gen.* 14. and 110. *Pſalm*, there is no mention at all in the Old Teſtament.

To wave or rather diſmiſs their opinion, who think *Melchiſedech* the Holy Ghoſt, the third perſon in Trinity, ſeeing it is but a conjecture of ſome few, who rather wave than proſecute it; Let us ſee what probability there is, that this *Melchiſedech* ſhould be the Eternal Word or Son of God appearing to *Abraham* in the likeneſs of Man, and exerciſing the Function and Prieſthood of the moſt high God.

CHAP. VII.

In what ſenſe Melchiſedech *is ſaid to be without Father and Mother* Heb. 7. 3. *Whether he were a mortal man as* Abraham *was, though more ancient: wherein the ſimilitude between* Melchiſedech's *Perſon and the Perſon of the Son of God doth ſpecially conſiſt.*

P. C. lib. 3. *c. de repub. Judæorum.*

THis latter opinion is broched and peremptorily maintained by a late learned and ſmartly Elegant Writer; who though he be (as I conceive as yet) no Divine or Prieſt by profeſſion, yet he takes upon him to cenſure the moſt Divines or Interpreters of ſacred Writ, whether ancient or modern, more ſharply than I dare cenſure him. From whom notwithſtanding I diſſent as freely, and (as I hope) upon better grounds than he doth from them; eſpecially if the grounds of his exceptions againſt them, be not better than the grounds of the opinions, which he takes upon him to refute. The main ground of his exception, againſt ſuch Divines (ancient or modern) as think that *Melchiſedech* who bleſſed *Abraham*, was either ſome petty King amongſt the *Cananites* or other Inhabitants of the land promiſed to *Abraham*, and actually poſſeſſed by his ſeed; or *Sem* the Son of *Noah*, is this; no Inhabitant of *Canaan*, not *Sem* himſelf the Son of *Noah* was *without father or mother, without genealogy, without beginning or end of days*. Theſe Titles this good Writer conceives are peculiar to the Son of God, though more peculiar in the time of *Abraham*, than at this day. But was our High Prieſt, or could he have been at that time the true Son of God, and the God whoſe Son he was, not as truly then his Father as now he is? Again, if that *Melchiſedech* who appeared to *Abraham* at leaſt in the likeneſs of man, and in the reality of an High Prieſt, were no other perſon beſide the Son of God, it will concludently follow, that the Son of God was then an High Prieſt *after the Order of Melchiſedech*; or more than ſo, that *Melchiſedech* was the Son of God. How then ſaith our Apoſtle, that the Son of God was made an High Prieſt by the word of the Oath which was ſince the Law, and by vertue of this Oath conſecrated for evermore, being (as the Author of this opinion ſuppoſeth) the Prieſt of the moſt high God long before the Law was given: or if *Melchiſedech* was then the true and only Son of God, how is it ſaid by our Apoſtle, *Chap.* 7. *v.* 3. that he was ἀφωμοιωμένος τῷ υἱῷ τȣ̃ Θεȣ̃, made like unto the Son of God? Was the Son of God made like unto himſelf by taking the likeneſs of Man upon him? Or rather was the Manhood or likeneſs in which he appeared to *Abraham* made like unto the Son of God? The former part or diviſion of this *dilemma* is improbable; The latter altogether impoſſible. For that man, or that likeneſs of man, who bleſſed *Abraham*, *Gen.* 14. had a beginning and an end of days; unleſs the Author of this opinion will maintain that the Manhood or likeneſs of Man, wherein the Son of God appeared to *Abraham*, was Coeternal to his Perſon; was begotten of God, (not made) before all Worlds, and to continue united to him World without end. Both parts of this aſſertion reſpectively contradict two fundamental Articles of our Creed: The one, that all things numerable, whether viſible or inviſible were Created of God by his Son, they had no being from Eternity: The other, that the Son of God was made Man of a Woman in time, having no permanent body, or likeneſs of Man when he was ſo conceived: whence it is clear that the *Melchiſedech* who bleſſed *Abraham*, was not the Eternal Son of God, nor made like unto him for his Eternity by the body of Man which he aſſumed or appeared in.

5. But it is not all one to refel other mens opinions or interpretations of Divine Oracles, and to maintain our own aſſertions, or (as the preſent occaſion requireth) to clear the forecited place. *Heb.* 7. *He* (to wit, *Melchiſedech*) *was made like unto the Son of God, being without father, without mother, without genealogy, without beginning or end of days.* For there is an opinion or preſumed Doctrine which hath gotten ſo long poſſeſſion of many publick Chairs, as will hardly brook any oppoſition, either from the Pulpit, or from private Writers: The opinion is, that *Melchiſedech being without father, without mother, &c.* was herein like unto the Son of God; or the Son of God like to him in that he hath no Father in Earth, nor a Mother in Heaven.

But be the Authors of this opinion, how great ſoever, their followers how many ſoever, both moſt acute; all the ſtrength which the wit of one can add unto the authority of the other, is but, as if they ſhould join hands or forces to take faſt hold on the ſheath or ſcabbard, having given the hilts of the ſword of the Spirit into the hands of the Jew, who may at his pleaſure turn the points of our own weapons upon us, unleſs we learn to keep them more warily, and handle them more skilfully than theſe men have done. For he that hath a Father in Heaven, may truly and abſolutely be ſaid to have a Father: For God is more truly our Father, than thoſe whom we call Fathers on Earth. Hence ſaith our Saviour, *Call no man Father upon Earth, for there is but one, your Father which is in Heaven, Matth.* 23. 9. Yet is this God more truly Chriſt's Father, than he is ours. Again, he that hath a true Mother on Earth, may truly and abſolutely be ſaid to have a Mother; otherwiſe all of us ſhould be Mother-leſs Children from our birth; For none of us had an Heavenly Mother, none of our Mothers were brought to bed in Heaven.

6. It being then granted that our Saviour had a true Father in Heaven, and a true Mother on Earth, he muſt needs in both reſpects be more unlike unto *Melchiſedech,* who (as our Apoſtle ſaith) *was without Father or Mother,* than like unto him, in that he had no Mother in Heaven, no Father on Earth. Whence if we ſhould maintain this ſimilitude intended by our Apoſtle, to conſiſt either in whole, or part, in Chriſt's being in this ſort without Father or Mother; the Jew might thus retort, *Argumento ad homines efficaci,* That we Chriſtians were a brood of Monſters, and not the natural offſpring of men and women, becauſe none of us have a man for his Mother, none of us a woman for his Father. Beſides, one of the two Propoſitions whereon they labour to build our Faith by this croſs device, is no ſound pillar, but a broken or craſed prop. For if Chriſt be truly ſtiled the Son of *Abraham,* the Son of *David,* he had fathers on earth according to the fleſh, though not begotten by a carnal generation: nor was he the Son of *Mary* by carnal Conception, yet truly her Son, and ſhe truly his Mother, and by conſequence *Abraham* as truly his Father. Again, to be *without Father, without Mother,* are but branches of that general negative [*without Genealogy.*] Now whether we conſider him as God, or as Man, he cannot without wrong to the Sacred Character, or ſenſe of the Holy Spirit, be thought, or ſaid to be ἀγενεαλόγητος, *without Genealogie,* as *Melchiſedech* is; for one generation or deſcent makes a Genealogy: Otherwiſe *Cain* and *Abel* ſhould have been ἀγενεαλόγητοι, *without Genealogie,* which titles, notwithſtanding, cannot in the Evangeliſts meaning be applyed unto *Adam*; for he derives all others Genealogies from *Adam*'s, and *Adam*'s from God, *Luke* 3. Now look in what ſenſe *Abel, Cain,* or *Adam* may be ſaid to have a Genealogy, Chriſt may in the ſame ſenſe have two. One as he is the Son of God, another, as he is the Son of *Abraham, David,* and of *Mary.* But ſo it is, that even the wiſeſt and moſt judicious Writers oft-times ſwallow ſuch fallacies in Hiſtorical Narrations, or Diſcourſes (of matters Spiritual eſpecially) without any ſenſible diſguſt, or diſlike, as would be rejected no leſs than poyſon unallayed, were they exhibited to them in the ſimplicity of language, or logiſtick form. To inſtance in an notorious, one much like unto this late mentioned.

Parag. 7.

7. The moſt Ancient Editions of *Macrobius* mentioned in a jeſt of *Auguſtus*, broken upon *Herod* for killing his Son at the ſame time that he butchered the Hebrew Infants; *Mallem Herodis eſſe porcum quàm filium.* Some Ancient Chriſtians to ſalve the truth of this Narration, being ſomewhat ſuſpitious, (becauſe *Herod* at that time had no known Son that was a Child) have made the old Tyrant Father of a young Son (ſuppoſed to be born unto him by a ſecond Wife of *Jewiſh*, if not of *David's* Progeny) which the Age wherein he lived, never laid unto his charge. Some latter Criticks, better able to diſprove this ſuppoſititious brood, than apt to reform that error in themſelves, which unreform'd in others, did beget it, have not ſpared to charge their Brethren (in time their Fathers) with falſification of *Macrobius* his Text, as if the fore-cited paſſage had been inſerted by ſome Ancient Chriſtians, as many Verſes in *Sibylla's* Oracles have been, unleſs theſe and the like *Ariſtarchuſſes* fail in their Criticiſms. But for *Macrobius* his Text, it is without queſtion uncorrupt, and the Chriſtian Fathers free from that falſification of it, whereof late Criticks have accuſed them. The zeal of the ancient Fathers, and the cenſorious ſawcineſs of latter Criticks did alike over-reach their judgments. But this, as I ſaid, is a fault common to us, and to thoſe that are far our betters. We maintain our own poſitions, as if we were waking: we peruſe good Authors, as if we had never lookt upon them but in a ſlumber; yet what puny Logician but would ſcorn to ſwallow this fallacy in a dream, *Chærilus fuit vir bonus, Chærilus fuit Poeta, ergo Chærilus fuit bonus poeta: Chærilus* was a good man, and a Poet; therefore a good Poet. The fore-mentioned Critical Collection is in regard of its form alike falſe and disjointed: only the matter of it is not ſo vulgar or palpable. The root of the Criticks erronious cenſure was this; *Herod* killed the *Syrian* or *Hebrew* Infants; amongſt theſe Infants he killed his own Son, *ergo*, this Son of *Herod*, when he killed him, was an Infant. That *Herod* about the ſame time wherein the Infants of *Judah* and *Bethleem*, were by his appointment ſlain, did out of his jealous fear command *Antipater*, his turbulent Son, to be put to death, no Modern Critick ſhall be ever able to diſprove. That the killing of his own Son (being come to maturity of age) with theſe Infants, doth better ſort with the Analogy of Gods Juſtice uſually manifeſted in the infatuation of Politicians, and with the literal ſenſe and character of *Auguſtus* jeſt, (taking it as *Macrobius* hath expreſſed it) than if he had ſlain the ſame party in his Infancy, ſhall * elſewhere (by Gods aſſiſtance) be declared.

8. The Fallacy, for whoſe diſcovery theſe two former have been produced, is in my opinion, of all three, the moſt groſs; the beſt form that can be put upon it, is this; *Melchiſedech was without Father or Mother. Melchiſedech* is like unto the Son of God, *ergo, Melchiſedech* is herein like unto the Son of God, in that he is *without Father or Mother.* The premiſſes are moſt true, but the concluſion (if I may ſo ſpeak) more than moſt falſe; for of all the perſons that are, or have been in Heaven or Earth, none are ſo unlike, as the Son of God and *Melchiſedech*, if we ſtate the compariſon betwixt them, according to the natural tenor or importance of theſe terms, ἀγενεαλόγητος ἀπάτωρ ϗ ἀμήτωρ. What ſhall we ſay then? that theſe titles expreſly given to *Melchiſedech* by our Apoſtle, are altogether ſuperfluous, needleſs, or impertinent to the concluſion intended by him? Rather moſt neceſſary, and moſt appoſite. As how? Briefly thus. This diſcription of him

* *In a diſquiſition (by way of Homily or Sermon upon the Epiphany) at what time, and from what place the Magi or Wiſe men of the Eaſt came to* Jeruſalem *to adore our Saviour Chriſt, whom they rightly believed to be the King of the Jews.*

by theſe Titles, is a condition or qualification neceſſarily ſuppoſed, or pre-required to the ſimilitude intended betwixt Chriſt and him. It is no proper part or formal term of the ſimilitude it ſelf. *That* formally conſiſts only in being without beginning or end of days; and herein they are as like one another, as any body, and its proper ſhadow can be.

9. Every man that hath a Father, even *Adam* himſelf, who was *without Father or Mother, had a beginning of days:* Every man that hath a Son to ſucceed him, is likewiſe ſuppoſed to have an end of his days. Whence it is that no King of *Judah* or *Iſrael*, not *Solomon* himſelf in all his glory, could be any true model of the Son of God in reſpect of his Eternity: No Prieſt, or Son of *Levi*, not *Eleazar, Phinehas* or *Aaron* himſelf, though pictured in their pontifical *ornaments*, could bear any colour or reſemblance of his everlaſting Prieſthood. For all theſe are γενεαλόγητοι: their Parents, their Sons, and Succeſſors, are exactly regiſtred in the Sacred Volume; and the ſame Page or Table which expreſſeth their Genealogy, doth repreſent withal their mortality, that they had a beginning or end of days: And whoſoever hath a beginning or end of days, can be no true ſhadow of Eternity, or of the Son of God as he is Eternal.

CHAP. VIII.

That the omiſſion of Melchiſedech's *Genealogy did import a a ſpecial myſtery; and what that myſtery was.*

MAY we hence aver, that every man mentioned in Scripture, whoſe Birth, whoſe Death or Genealogy is not expreſſed, may be a true ſhadow or picture of the Son of God, as he is Eternal? We do not, we need not ſay ſo. The day is oftentimes mentioned in the Scripture, without any mention of the night. Yet to ſeek after a myſtical ſenſe in all ſuch places, were to ſet our wits a wandring in a waking dream. But ſeeing in the Story of the Worlds Creation, we find ſuch accurate and conſtant mention of the evening and morning making one day, until all the works of the ſix days were accompliſhed, and no mention of any evening in the ſeventh day which God did ſanctifie for a day of reſt; we may with the Ancients ſafely admit the firſt ſix days to be as a Map, or Calender of the ſix ages of this Tranſitory world, wherein there is a continual viciſſitude of light and darkneſs, no joy or pleaſure, without ſorrow and grief, for their Succeſſors and Companions; and the Moſaical deſcription of the ſeventh, to be an emblem or ſhadow of the everlaſting Sabbath in the Heavens, which ſhall be a day of joy and gladneſs, without mixture of darkneſs or ſucceſſion of night, without any medly of pains or grief.

2. By perfect Analogy to this and the like, not more myſtical than orthodoxal interpretation of Scripture, not meerly authoriz'd by the Greek or Latine Fathers, but pre-ſuppoſed by our Apoſtle as unqueſtionable among the Ancient Jews, we may infer our intended concluſion: What was that? That the omiſſion of every mans Genealogy, whoſe name or deeds are ſpecified in the ſacred Story, is always a ſign or token of ſome latent myſtery? No, but rather thus;

Seeing no King or Prieſt of *Abraham's* lineage were he good or bad; ſeeing no Patriarch from whom God's Bleſſings did lineally deſcend, but hath a Genealogy upon ſacred Record, the omiſſion of ſo great a mans Genealogy as was *Melchiſedech*, who was a King and Prieſt of the moſt high God; a Prieſt which ſolemnly and really bleſſed *him, in whoſe Seed all the Nations of the Earth were to be Bleſſed, unto whom* Abraham *paid Tithes of all that he had*; The omiſſion of ſuch a mans Genealogy doubtleſs includes ſome great and weighty myſtery. And if we ſtand not (as in many like caſes we ought not) upon the logical inference which the *aſſertive* letter affords, but follow the emblematical, or characteriſtical ſenſe of the ſtory, we may behold this man to be (as the Apoſtle ſpeaks) ἀφωμοιωμένος, that is, one *transformed* or turned out of his proper ſhape or likeneſs, that he might be like the Son of God. The *abſimilation* of this man (whoſoever he were) from himſelf, that he might be like the Son of God, conſiſts eſpecially in the abandoning or putting off all references to Father or Mother, to Wife or Children: For theſe references in man neceſſarily repreſent a beginning and end of days, and by conſequency a diſſimilitude to the perſon of the Son of God, who is Eternal, and to his endleſs Prieſthood.

3. It was the ſpeech of one man, but is univerſally true of all, *Mortalis mortalem genui*, and it is as neceſſarily and eſſentially true of God, *Immortalis immortalem gignit.* For ſeeing God is more eſſentially, and more immutably immortal, more truly eternal than we are mortal; Then he which is truly the Son of God, as we are the Sons of men or *Adam*, muſt needs be as abſolutely Eternal, as the Deity or Divine Nature, or as God the Father himſelf: Otherwiſe the Generation ſhould be equivocal and imperfect, not univocal; as contrary to nature it ſelf, and as prodigious, as for a mortal man to beget an immortal Son; as for a woman to conceive a God. And if there were no other places of Scripture (as God be praiſed there are plenty) to infer the abſolute Eternity, or eternal Generation of the Son of God againſt the *Arrian* or other Heretick, the very foundation of our Apoſtles ſimilitude between *Melchiſedech* and Chriſt in the Chapter following, doth clearly repreſent thus much to all that look not on it with Jewiſh ſpectacles. To conclude then, as the greatneſs and height of *Melchiſedech's* calling ſerves as a Map to repreſent the high Majeſty of the everlaſting Prieſthood: So the omiſſion of his Genealogy is an emblem or ſhadow of the infinite duration, or Eternity of the Son of God. Howbeit if we ſhould take off this borrowed ſhape, or wipe out the artificial colours wherewith it hath pleaſed the Spirit to ſet forth this lively picture of Chriſt, yet the very Table it ſelf whereon the Picture is drawn, is more apt than any other tree in all the garden of God beſides, to be made an Heavenly *Mercury*. The fitneſs of it for this purpoſe, will more eaſily be apprehended, if we ſuppoſe what the Ancient Jews (whoſe Traditions where they are parties, are in no wiſe to be rejected) take as granted, *viz.* That he, whom *Moſes* in the 14. of *Geneſis*, calls *Melchiſedech*, was *Shem* the great, the Son of *Noah*. This *Shem* was a man begotten of his Father before the world that then was; our High Prieſt, our Heavenly *Mercury*, is the Son of God begotten of his Father before all worlds, before any period or inſtant of imaginary time, even from Eternity it ſelf.

CHAP. IX.

What manner of Bleſſing it was which Melchiſedech *beſtowed on* Abraham. *That the manner of the Bleſſing argues* Melchiſedech *to have been* Sem *the great, as the Jewiſh Rabbins enſtile him, the Eldeſt Son of* Noah, *not by birth, yet by prerogative of the firſt born.*

I Dare not obtrude this Tradition of the Ancient Jews, as a point of our belief, yet the matter of it as probable as any Doctrine whatſoever, that is grounded only upon the Analogy of Faith, not upon expreſs teſtimonies of Scripture, or concluſions deduced from ſuch teſtimonies by demonſtrative conſequences. The allegations for this opinion, were they exactly calculated or put together, amount ſo high, as no aſſertion contained within the ſphear of probability can over-top them. The exceptions of *Pererius* and *Maldonate* againſt them, are too weak, albeit they touch not half ſo many as are diligently and accurately gathered by Doctor *Willet*; unto whoſe labours I refer ſuch as deſire further ſatisfaction in this Point neither abſolutely neceſſary, nor altogether needleſs. One or two reaſons not alledged by him, come now to be diſcuſſed.

The firſt, What manner of bleſſing it was, which *Melchiſedech* beſtowed on *Abraham*, Heb.7.

The ſecond, How the matter and manner of this bleſſing proves this *Melchiſedech* to be *Sem*.

2. But what kind of Bleſſing did our Apoſtle mean? Verbal only, or by way of ſalutation? So the people may bleſs their Prieſts; the worſt of men their godlieſt Prelates, and wretched'ſt beggers greateſt Kings; of ſuch kind of bleſſing the maxim undoubtedly affirmed by our Apoſtle, cannot be true. Of what bleſſing then is it moſt undoubtedly true? Of real and ſolemn bleſſings authentickly imparted, *ex officio*, as when a Biſhop Confirmeth Children; or by way of bequeſt, as when the Father beſtows an Heritage, with his bleſſing upon the Son; as *Abraham* bleſſed *Iſaac*, *Iſaac Jacob*, *Jacob Juda* and his Brethren?

3. Whom then may we imagine this man ſhould be, which in this ſort bleſſed *Abraham*, who was a man, than whom, there was none greater amongſt the Sons of men: none in his time (*Melchiſedech* only excepted) ſo great in the Church of God? No Analogy either of ſacred Rule, or of Tenets joyntly maintained by the Engliſh and Romiſh Church, (concerning the never interrupted Succeſſion of the true Church, or the Miniſters in it) will ſuffer us to think this *Melchiſedech* ſhould be a *Canaanite*. For although we ought (perhaps) to be as far from denying, as from affirming that God had many choſen veſſels amongſt the Sons of *Cham*, yet is it no way probable, or to be affirmed that he had any viſible Church amongſt them at that time whereof we ſpeak; much leſs any ſuch orthodoxal authentick High Prieſt as was, *ex officio*, to bleſs *him*, with whom the everlaſting Covenant was to be eſtabliſhed: within whoſe Family and Poſterity the true and viſible Church was to be confined almoſt two thouſand years after. Nor do we in ſaying thus, tye the Almighty

(as ſome haply will accuſe us) to uſe no means but ordinary, in beſtowing his extraordinary bleſſings. But this we ſay, that where the manner of his *calling* is moſt extraordinary and miraculous, it is his pleaſure to uſe the ordinary means of lawful Miniſters for the ratification or declaring of his *calling*; at leaſt for the admiſſion of the parties *called* unto the emoluments or prerogatives of their calling. *Paul* was plucked away from the Synagogue (as a ſappy branch from a dying Tree) by the immediate and ſtrong hand of God; but to be ingrafted, or inoculated into the true Church, which is the body of Chriſt by means ordinary and miniſterial, by the hands of *Ananias* a civil and viſible member of Chriſts myſtical body.

4. In like manner we do not deny that the manner of Gods calling *Abraham* out of *Haran*, and the matter of the bleſſings then promiſed to him, to have been both extraordinary; in which bleſſing notwithſtanding he is to be inſtalled by *Melchiſedech*, appointed as Gods Deputy, or Vicegerent (ſo the Hebrew *Cohen* properly ſignifieth) to ratify or ſeal the former promiſes unto him. The manner of the conveyance is formal and legal, ſuch as God ordinarily uſeth in like caſes. And by probable conſequence this *Melchiſedech*, whoſoever he were, was a true principal member of the viſible Church, which at that time was no where on Earth, but in *Sem* and his poſterity. Of thoſe Sons of *Sem* which are mentioned in *Abraham*'s Genealogy moſt were dead: others (for ought we read, or by analogy can gather from what we have read) no way ſo fitly qualified for this ſervice as *Sem* himſelf, who was then alive. For *Sem* had been ſolemnly bleſſed by his Father: And although he be repreſented unto us in the 4. of *Geneſis*, under another name and ſhape than he receiv'd the bleſſing in, yet the holy ſpirit ſeems to point him ſpeaking in his own native language, and ſolemnly beſtowing that bleſſing upon *Abraham* his Son which his Father *Noah* had beſtowed on him. *Bleſſed be the Lord God of* Shem, *and let* Canaan *be his ſervant! Gen.* 4. The implication or importance is, as if he had ſaid, *Shem* ſhall have cauſe to bleſs the Lord his God for making him Lord of *Canaan*. This bleſſing or bequeſt we know was to bear date aſwel in *Shem*'s Poſterity as in himſelf, but principally in his Poſterity. Now we no where read of any conveyance or bequeſt of this bleſſing made by *Shem* unto his Succeſſors, beſides that ſolemn bleſſing which *Melchiſedech* (whom for this reaſon we ſuppoſe to have been *Shem*) beſtowed on *Abraham*. The tenor of his bequeſt, or conveyance is more expreſs, *Gen.* 14. 19. *Bleſſed be* Abraham *of God moſt high poſſeſſor of Heaven,and Earth!* This prophetical benediction implies that *Abraham* and his Poſterity ſhould have cauſe to bleſs the Lord their God, for giving them poſſeſſion of that Earth or Land which was the Type or pledge of their Heavenly Inheritance and Poſſeſſions. This was the gain of godlineſs, that *merces valde magna*, to have the promiſe of this life, and of that which is to come. And as the land of Promiſe or Kingdom of *Canaan* once poſſeſſed, was a true pledge or earneſt of their Title to the Heavenly Kingdom; ſo *Abraham* at the very time when *Melchiſedech* bleſſed him, received the pledges of his poſterities hopes unto that temporal Kingdom.

5. For albeit we utterly deny all ſacrifice of Bread and Wine, yet may we not in oppoſition to the Papiſt affirm or maintain that *Melchiſedech* entertained *Abraham* and his followers, only with a vulgar or common refection. Theſe Elements of Bread and Wine being con-

ſidered with the ſolemnity of the bleſſing, have beſides the literal ſenſe, a ſymbolical or myſtical importance and are thus far; at leaſt ſacramental, that they ſerved for earneſts to ſecure *Abraham*, that his poſterity ſhould quietly enjoy and eat the good things of that pleaſant land wherein he was now a Sojourner. Briefly, *Abraham* in that ſacred Banquet which the King of *Salem* exhibited unto him, did (as we ſay) take *levery de ſeiſin* of the promiſed land, and (as it is probable) in that very place which God had deſtinated for the Metropolis of the Kingdom, or at leaſt in that place where *John* did baptize. And albeit *Melchiſedech* did (no doubt) derive the bleſſing beſtowed on *Shem*, or on himſelf by *Noah* in more expreſs terms unto *Abraham*, by inſpiration extraordinary and divine; yet *Abraham* at this time had afforded him a fit text or theam to make theſe extemporary expoſitions or declarations upon: Of all that had proceeded out of the loins of *Shem*, none as yet had ever given the like proof of his likelyhood to become Lord of *Canaan* as *Abraham* now had done, whom God had enabled to *right* the King of *Sodom* and other *Cananitiſh* Kings not being able to *right* themſelves againſt forreign Uſurpers.

6. For any man of ordinary underſtanding that had been an Actor in the late War (ſo happily managed by *Abraham*) and a by-ſtander at *Melchiſedech's* bleſſing of him to have conjectured to this purpoſe, had been as eaſie and as warrantable as it was for the *Iſraelites* to *divine* that *Moſes* ſhould be their Deliverer by the manner of his killing the *Ægyptian* which had contended with an *Iſraelite*. Now the holy Spirit ſeems to tax their dulneſs for not apprehending this myſtery from the manner of *Moſes* fact. Thus we may derive Gods bleſſings upon Mankind ſince the flood, from *Noah* to *Shem*, from *Shem*, whom we take to be *Melchiſedech*, unto *Abraham*, in whoſe ſeed all the Nations of the Earth were to be bleſſed. This argues *Abraham's* promiſed Seed to be greater than *Melchiſedech*, for *Abraham* was bleſſed by *Melchiſedech*, not in *Melchiſedech's* name, but in the name of the moſt high God, whoſe Prieſt he was. Howbeit this promiſed *ſeed* of *Abraham* was not greater than *Melchiſedech*, in external beauty or Prerogative Royal, till after his Reſurrection or ſecond birth. During the time of his humiliation he was rather deſtinated than conſecrated to be the *Author* or Fountain of bleſſedneſs unto us. For as the Apoſtle argues. *Heb.* 5. 8. *Though he were the Son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he ſuffered:* And being conſecrated (to wit) by his ſufferings, became the Author of Eternal Salvation unto all *them that obey him: And is called of God (from the time of his Reſurrection or exaltation) an High Prieſt after the Order of* Melchiſedech.

CHAP. X.

Wherein the Prieſthood of Melchiſedech *did differ from the Prieſthood of* Aaron; *That* Melchiſedech *did not offer any ſacrifice of Bread and Wine unto God when he bleſſed* Abraham.

THE Office of *Aaron* and of his Sons we have deſcribed *Deut.* 10. 8. *At that time the Lord ſeparated the Tribe of* Levi *to bear the*

Ark of the Covenant of the Lord, to ſtand before the Lord, to miniſter unto him, and to bleſs in his name unto this day. And again Deut. 18. 3. *This ſhall be the Prieſts duty, &c. For the Lord thy God hath choſen him out of all thy Tribes to ſtand and miniſter in the name of the Lord, him and his Sons for ever, ver.* 5. Could *Melchiſedech's* Office be greater, or his patent ampler, eſpecially for duration? For ſacrifice, Prayer, and bleſſing are the trinal dimenſions of the Prieſthood howſoever taken. This difficulty perhaps did occaſion a foul error in the Romiſh Church or encourage her followers to maintain this error brought forth (it may be) upon other occaſions, to wit, that the Office of *Melchiſedech* ſhould properly conſiſt and herein eſpecially differ from the Prieſthood of *Aaron:* For that when he met *Abraham*, he offered up Bread and Wine by way of proper ſacrifice unto God, as a type or pledge of the unbloody ſacrifice of the Maſs, unto which the Romaniſts for the moſt part reſtrain the exerciſe of Chriſt's Prieſthood after the Order of *Melchiſedech.*

2. To omit their Chymical conceits, who labour in vain to extract ſome act of ſacrificing out of the Original word *hotſi*; *Maldonate* (the moſt zealous and laborious pleader in this Argument, becauſe *Calvin* had held the Monkiſh Allegorizars to the literal and Grammatical ſenſe of Scriptures) holds it no ſin to put a trick of Grammar (ſo they would admit it) upon *Calvin's* followers; upon the very text it ſelf. For whereas the Romiſh Interpreters who went before him admit the vulgar edition, *Et erat Sacerdos Dei altiſſimi*, This Critick to deſpite *Calvin*, will correct *Magnificat*, and renders it thus, *Et erat ſacrificans Deo altiſſimo.* His reaſon for this innovation is becauſe the Hebrew *Cohen* is for its form a Participle of the preſent tenſe; but ſurely he was better read in his Grammar than in his Lexicon, although better read in that than in the Hebrew Text; for although the Hebrew *Cohen* be uſually taken for a Prieſt, yet to ſacrifice is no part of the proper and formal ſignification of the *radical Verb Cahan:* That directly imports no more than *miniſtravit*, or *Sacerdotem egit.* Whence though it be moſt true, that every Sacrificer is a *Cohen*, is a Prieſt, or Miniſter of God; yet is not this truth ſimply convertible, that is, [*Every Cohen, Prieſt, or Miniſter of God is a Sacrificer*] ſpecially if we ſpeak of times before the Law was given, or ſince it expired; much leſs will it follow that every act or function which the Miniſter of God performs, ſhould be a Sacrifice. So that albeit we ſhould give the Critical Jeſuit leave to degrade the Hebrew *Cohen*, and turn it out of a Noun, (in which form and habit it was taken by all his Predeceſſors) into the nature and value of a *Participle*, the Grammatical ſenſe will amount to no more than this, *Et erat Miniſtrans*, or *Sacerdotio fungens Deo altiſſimo*; and all this *Melchiſedech* might do, and this he verily did in bleſſing *Abraham*, not in bringing forth, or offering Bread and Wine. The letter of the Text runs thus, *And* Melchiſedech *King of* Salem *brought forth Bread and Wine, and he was a Prieſt of the moſt high God.* Suppoſe a Man ſhould here interrupt the Reader, or Relater of this Hiſtory thus; What if he were a Prieſt of the moſt high God? To what purpoſe is this clauſe inſerted? The Holy Ghoſt in the next words clears the doubt, or rather prevents the Queſtion, [*And he bleſſed* Abraham.] In what form or ſort? *Bleſſed be* Abraham *of the moſt high God!* So then *Melchiſedech* is inſtiled a Prieſt of the moſt high God, to ſhew his warrant to bleſs in the name of the moſt high God. And for this interpretation I have the warrant,

In his Commentar. upon the 110. Pſalm.

rant, or confirmation from * *Cyril* of *Alexandria.*

3. As for his Bread and Wine he offered theſe to *Abraham*, and not to God, as * *Philo Judæus*, a competent witneſs in this Controverſie, hath informed us: For this good Author oppoſeth *Melchiſedech's* Hoſpitality towards *Abraham*, unto *Amalech*'s niggardly and uncharitable diſpoſition towards *Iſrael* coming out of the Houſe of affliction. *Amalech* (ſaith he) was excluded from the Congregation of the Lord, becauſe he met not *Iſrael* with Bread and Water, whereas *Melchiſedech* had met our Father *Abraham* (laden with the ſpoils of his Enemies) with Bread and Wine. He hath not (in my opinion) erred much in taking the Symboles or Elements of Bread and Wine for Emblems of that true *pabulum animæ*, which conſiſts in contemplation of Heavenly things. And yet I am perſwaded he had no expreſs knowledge of the true object of ſuch contemplation, to wit, the body and blood of Chriſt, or of the benefit conveyed to us from them (ſince they were offered in ſacrifice unto God) by the Elements of bread and wine, not as meer ſigns but as undoubted pledges of his body and blood to be communicated to us.

4. And although *Suidas* in his ſecond Paragraph on the word *Melchiſedech*, will have our Saviours Prieſthood after the Order of *Melchiſedech* to take beginning from the night before his Paſſion, wherein he took Bread and Wine and bleſſed them; yet in his third Paragraph upon the ſame word, he ſaith ἐξήνεγκεν αὐτῷ, *Melchiſedech* brought forth Bread and Wine unto *Abraham*. But let us ſuppoſe what the Text will not ſupport, that *Melchiſedech* did offer up a Sacrifice of Bread and Wine to the moſt high God; thus much being granted we may draw that Net which the Romaniſts ſets for others upon himſelf; for our next interrogatory ſhould be this; Of what ſacrifice may we by any analogy of Faith imagine this ſuppoſed ſacrifice of *Melchiſedech* to be the Type? of the daily reiterated ſacrifice of the Maſs, or of the one only ſacrifice of the Son of God? Surely, if *Melchiſedech* be a true Type of the Everlaſting Prieſt, his Sacrifice muſt be a Type of this Prieſt's Everlaſting Sacrifice. Now as we read not (though *Maldonate's* reading of the former place were true) that *Melchiſedech* did offer any ſacrifice beſides this ſuppoſed Sacrifice of Bread and Wine: ſo we muſt undoubtedly believe that the Son of God did offer no more Sacrifices than one, and that one never to be reiterated, becauſe the value of it being truly infinite, the efficacy of it muſt needs be abſolutely Everlaſting; If otherwiſe, we ſhould with the Romaniſts admit of a Sacrifice by ſucceſſion, or multiplication as everlaſting as this tranſitory World, which ſhall not laſt for ever: Beſides the inconveniences which they multiply by this vain apology for their wicked practices, we muſt of neceſſity acknowledge *Melchiſedech* to have been a Type or Figure, not of Chriſt, or not of Chriſt only, or not ſo properly of him, as of the whole Generation of Maſs Prieſts; and his Sacrifice to have been a truer Type of the unbloody Sacrifice which they daily offer, than of Chriſts bloody Everlaſting Sacrifice upon the Croſs. Yea the meaneſt, moſt illiterate and lewdeſt Maſs-Prieſt ſhould be as true a Succeſſor of *Melchiſedech*, of Chriſt himſelf, as *Phineas* or *Eleazar* were of *Aaron*.

5. *Mariana* in his brief Comment, or large notes upon the 14*th* of *Geneſis*,

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* Προσυπάγει δὲ ὅτι καὶ Μελχισεδὲκ βασιλεὺς Σαλὴμ, ἐξήνεγκεν αὐτῷ ἄρτους καὶ οἶνον· ἦν δὲ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου καὶ εὐλόγησε τὸν Ἀβραὰμ καὶ εἶπεν εὐλογημένος Ἀβραὰμ τῷ θεῷ τῷ ὑψίστῳ, &c. *lib* 1. *glaphyr. in titul. de Abraham & Melchiſedech.*

* *Lib.* 2. *ſacræ legis allegoriarum. pag.* 106.

Geneſis, boldly avoucheth the unbloody ſacrifice of the Maſs to have been prefigured by *Melchiſedech*'s Sacrifice of Bread and Wine. But the point it ſelf he toucheth ſo gently, as if he had deſired to have *balked* it, as indeed he doth but wave it; and queſtionleſs he would have omitted it as he doth many other tenets maintained by the Church of *Rome*, when he comes to interpret thoſe Scriptures whereon ancient Schoolmen or vulgar Commentators have laboured to ground them. But unto the fore-cited Hiſtory of *Melchiſedech*, becauſe it is held ſuch a principal ſort of the Romiſh Religion, he durſt not but do his wonted homage, intimating withal that he had ſomewhat more to ſay to this point when he ſhould come to interpret the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*. But albeit he lived to finiſh his intended work or learned *Scholia* upon the Bible; yet when he came to the ſeventh Chapter to the *Hebrews*, all he had to ſay was to refer us to what he had ſaid upon the fourteenth of *Geneſis*: And to this reference he adds ſuch a Caveat, or an Appendix, as if he would give us to underſtand, that he had ſaid more upon the fourteenth of *Geneſis* than he could tell how to make good out of St. *Paul*'s Parallel between *Melchiſedech* and our Saviour Chriſt. *Miror in hoc Capite inter tot ſimilitudines, quibus* Melchiſedech *Chriſtum repreſentat nihil dixiſſe de ſacrificio Panis, & Vini quod* Melchiſedech *obtulit (ut diximus)* Gen. 14. 18. *Symbolum noſtri ſacrificii & Euchariſtiæ, de qua malo alios audire quàm ipſe pronuntiare; indicaſſe ſit ſatis. Mariana in 20. ſeptimi Cap. ad Hebræos.*

I wonder that in this Chapter amongſt ſo many ſimilitudes wherein Chriſt is ſhadowed aud repreſented by Melchiſedech, *there is no mention at all of the ſacrifice of Bread and Wine, which* Melchiſedech *offered (as before was intimated)* Gen. 14. 18. *being as a ſymbole or token of our ſacrifice and Euchariſt; concerning which point that I had rather hear other men ſpeak than declare mine own opinion*, &c.

6. The youngeſt this day living, whether in the Engliſh or Romiſh Church, though he dye for very Age ſhall not live to read or hear any Jeſuit or other Advocate of the Romiſh Church, give any ſatisfactory anſwer to this brief demand. The anſwer on our part is very eaſie, becauſe the Queſtion on their part is fooliſh. Our anſwer is, that the Apoſtle was not to meddle with more compariſons between Chriſt and *Melchiſedech* than were true in themſelves, and intended by the Holy Ghoſt, of which number this fiction of the Romiſh Church concerning *Melchiſedechs* Sacrifice of Bread and Wine, is no part or appurtinance, neither doth the letter of the Text, or any circumſtance of the Hiſtory, unpartial Antiquity, or any Orthodoxal rule of interpretation, favour it.

CHAP. XI.

In reſpect of what points eſpecially the Prieſthood of Melchiſedech *did fore-picture the Prieſthood of the Son of God.*

BUT if the Prieſthood of *Melchiſedech* did not herein ſpecially differ from the Prieſthood of *Aaron*, [in that *Melchiſedech* did offer an unbloody Sacrifice, whereas the offerings of *Aaron* were for the moſt part bloody ſacrifices,] what other difference can we with probability conceive betwixt them? or wherein did *Melchiſedechs* ſacerdotal function more excellently fore-picture our Saviours Prieſthood, than the Prieſthood of *Aaron* did? For as *Aaron* and his Succeſſors did offer bloody Sacrifices aſwel daily as Anniverſary, ſo the Son of God did offer up himſelf in bloody Sacrifice upon the Croſs; and by this offering up of himſelf once for all did accompliſh whatſoever was fore-pictured by all manner of bloody ſacrifices which *Aaron* and his Poſterity were authorized to offer. To this *Quære* the Anſwer * hath been premiſed, and it was this, That when the Son of God did offer up himſelf upon the Croſs, he was neither a Prieſt after the Order of *Aaron*, nor of *Melchiſedech* but a Prieſt in *fieri*, or in his Conſecration fore-ſhadowed by *Melchiſedech*. And after the Conſecration was accompliſhed, he was not to offer any ſacrifice at all, either bloody or unbloody. Though we dare not ſay *Melchiſedech* did never offer any bloody, or other ſacrifice, yet we do not read of any which he offered. This part of his function (if at any time he ever exerciſed it) is omitted of purpoſe by the Holy Ghoſt as his Genealogy is, that by this repreſentation of him he might more exactly foreſhadow the Prieſthood of the Son of God, who after his Conſecration was not to offer any Sacrifice at all. All the ſimilitudes intended by the Apoſtle between *Melchiſedech* and our High Prieſt, conſiſt eſpecially in theſe three. Firſt in the identity of their Titles: In the greatneſs of their perſons; and in the authoritative manner of beſtowing their bleſſings. For the identity or Analogy of their titles is a point which hath been diſcuſſed before. Some ſcruple is caſt by an Author before-mentioned, that this Title of King of *Salem* ſhould be as nominal a Title, as *Melchiſedech* or King of Righteouſneſs was. But if this conjecture were true, our Apoſtle had inſtiled him, when he interprets the importance of his Titles, not βασιλεὺς σαλὴμ, but Μελχισαλὴμ as he did the former title *Melchiſedech* King of Righteouſneſs, or the Righteous King, *Heb.* 7. 1. *Melchiſedech* was his *prænomen*, or a name given unto him by ſuch as had been ſenſible of his righteous dealing with his Subjects or Neighbourhoods. But when the Apoſtle ſaith he was βασιλεὺς σαλὴμ, this denotes the place, or territory whereof he was not by name only, but by juſt inheritance, King.

*Sect.1.cap.4.

2. For the greatneſs of his perſon or place in thoſe times, *that* we muſt learn from our Apoſtle, *Heb.* 7. Θεωρεῖτε δὲ πηλίκος οὗτος, &c. *Now conſider how great this man (or this Prieſt was) unto whom even the Patriarch* Abraham *gave the tenth of the ſpoils. And verily they that are of the Sons of* Levi, *who receive the Office of the Prieſthood, have a commandment to take Tithes of the people according to Law, that is of their Brethren, though they came out of the loins of* Abraham. *But he whoſe deſcent is not counted from them* (for he lived and died ſome centuries of years before them) *received Tithes of* Abraham, *and bleſſed him that had the Promiſes, and without contradiction the leſs is bleſſed of the better. And here men that dye receive Tithes; but there he receiveth them of whom it is witneſſed, That he liveth, and as I may ſo ſay,* Levi *alſo who received Tithes, paid Tithes in* Abraham, [or was tithed in *Abraham*] *for he was yet in the loins of his Father when* Melchiſedech *met him.*

3. About the manner how *Levi* was *Tithed* in *Abraham*, ſome Queſtions have been made by the School-men, or if haply made by others; not ſo handſomly or happily reſolved by them: For they draw this Point, How *Levi* ſhould be *Tithed* in *Abraham* unto Phyſical or Philoſophical diſputes; whereas our Apoſtle argues the caſe between the Prieſthood of *Aaron* and of *Melchiſedech* with ſuch men, as were too much addicted unto the Levitical and Moſaical Law,

appealing not to the Rules of that Law, but to the Rules of the Civil, Moral Law, or Law of Nations. The extract of our Apoſtles meaning (if I miſtake not) is this; That if *Levi*, *Moſes* or *Aaron* had been in full poſſeſſion of their inheritance unto Tithes from their Brethren at that time when *Melchiſedech* met *Abraham*; Or if *Melchideſech* had lived in *Canaan* unto their days, they ought to have done as their Father *Abraham* did, that is, to have ſolemnly acknowledg'd this *Melchiſedech* to have been their better, by paying the tribute of Tithes unto him. Our Apoſtle takes it as unqueſtionable, that *Melchiſedech* was *Abraham's* better, and being either better or a greater man than *Abraham* was, then certainly a greater or better man than *Moſes* or *Aaron* were, than any Son of *Abraham*, beſides the promiſed Seed or Meſſias, whom the Jewiſh Nation expected, had been. And of this promiſed Seed alone, *Melchiſedech* for the greatneſs of his perſon was the only type.

4. For albeit *Abraham* were a Prophet, and did exerciſe the Function of a Prieſt within his own Family, or for ſome others, upon ſpecial occaſions: albeit ſome of *Abraham's* Seed were both Kings and Prophets; others both Prieſts and Prophets, yet none of them were both Kings and Prieſts; none of them anointed to theſe two Functions. *Melchiſedech* (though perhaps never ſolemnly anointed to either Function) was the only man which was by Divine Providence or Heavenly Calling, both a true King and a Prieſt of the moſt high God. By both theſe titles, the Tithes of all the ſpoils which *Abraham* had got by Conqueſt, were due, nor are any other Tithes predial or perſonal due to any this day, ſave only to the King or Supreme Majeſty, or to Biſhops and Prieſts within the Regions wherein they accrue. And for this reaſon (as I conjecture) the * *Daniſh* Nation after they had embraced the Goſpel, and were become of a Heatheniſh, a Chriſtian Common-weal or Kingdom, did allot the Tithes of their labours, or increaſe of Vegetables, or profitable living creatures, unto their King and to their Biſhops, excluding then the great Biſhop of *Rome*. For when he demanded his Portion in them, he was rejected by that ſharp and witty anſwer of *Woldmarus*. *We have our Kingdom from our ſubjects, our life from our Parents, our Religion from the Church of* Rome, *which if your holineſs redemand, we remit it by theſe preſents.*

Whether his meaning was that he would abondon Chriſtian Religion ſimply, or the Religion of the then Romiſh Church only, rather than forgo his Portion of Tiths allotted to him as King, I leave it with all ſubmiſſion to the Searcher of all our hearts, and Judge of all our actions. I have no warrant or juſt preſumption out of any Hiſtory to accuſe this King, either of Atheiſm or Irreligion.

5. But *Melchiſedech* was both King and Prieſt, a more Soveraign King than *Woldmarus* was, and a greater High Prieſt than the Biſhop of *Rome*, or any other that have lived on Earth, beſides the Son of God himſelf, whoſe Picture or ſhadow he was. That this Son of God or Seed of *Abraham* which he aſſumed ſhould be much greater

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* Tertius eſt ſtatus Eccleſiaſticus, in quo fuerunt Epiſcopi ſeptem, ad quem cæteri etiam Canonici referuntur. Hi habent decimas in regno: quæ tamen in provinciis diverſis diverſo modo dividuntur, dimidiam partem decimarum percipiunt Epiſcopi, dimidiam Rex, aliquam Canonici paſtores, pars etiam ad ædificandas Eccleſias contribuitur. Et quantum ad pontificium ius attinet, ſemper in hoc regno, quem admodum etiam in Gallia, nominationes & ordinationes prælaturarum Epiſcopatuumq; regibus, ad hoc uſq; tempus, collatæ fuerunt, ut etiam ex reſponſo Waldemari quarti Regis Daniæ ut arbitror, quod hic annectere libuit, conſtat. Cum Pontifex Romanus à Rege hæc & ſimilia poſtularet, fertur reſcripſiſſe Rex, Regnum habemus à ſubditis vitam à parentibus, religionem à Romana Eccleſia, quàm ſi repetis, remitto per præſentes Mercator. pag. 82. in deſcriptione Daniæ.

than *Melchiſedech* King of *Salem* , is implied in the manner of Gods promiſed bleſſing unto *Abraham* being compared with the manner of *Melchiſedechs* bleſſing *Abraham.* For *Abraham* was bleſſed by *Melchiſedech* not in *Melchiſedechs* name, but in the name of the moſt high God whoſe Prieſt he was ; for he was bleſſed by him not in him ; whereas in *Abraham's* ſeed all the Nations of the Earth, *Melchiſedech* as well as *Abraham* were to be bleſſed. Howbeit this promiſed ſeed of *Abraham* was no greater than *Melchiſedech* in external beauty, or Prerogative Royal till after his Reſurrection or ſecond Birth. During the time of his humiliation, he was rather deſtinated than Conſecrated to be the Author or Fountain of bleſſedneſs unto us. For as the Apoſtle argues, *Heb.* 5. 8. *Though he were the Son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he ſuffered. And being conſecrated* (to wit by his ſufferings) *became the Author of Eternal Salvation unto all that obey him. And is called of God* (from the time of his Reſurrection or exaltation) *an High Prieſt after the Order of* Melchiſedech. For from this time and not before, his Royal Prieſthood did *commence.* So he ſaith to his Diſciples immediately after his Reſurrection, *All power is given to me in Heaven and Earth* ; power to bleſs with the bleſſings of this life, and of the life to come. And being now after his Conſecration to be enthroniz'd in his Kingdom, and Royal Prieſthood, *he lift up his hands and bleſſed his Diſciples, And it came to paſs that as he bleſſed them he departed from them and was carried up into Heaven, Luke* 24. 50. 51. Yet being there in body he continues with his Church here on Earth by continuation of his bleſſings unto the Worlds end. That this part of his Prieſtly function to wit, his *Authoritative, or Authentick bleſſing* doth follow his Reſurrection, our Apoſtle intimates *Acts* 3. 26. *Ye are the Children of the Prophets and of the Covenant which God hath made unto our Father, ſaying to* Abraham, *Even in thy ſeed ſhall all the Nations of the earth be bleſſed.* Firſt, *unto you hath God raiſed up his Son* Jeſus, *and him he hath ſent to bleſs you in turning every one of you from your iniquities.* And again, *Chriſt hath redeemed us from the curſe of the Law being made a curſe for us, that the bleſſing of* Abraham *might come on the Gentiles, Gal.* 3. 14. So that the Jews were the firſt, but not the only parties intereſſed in the bleſſing wherewith *God* by *Melchiſedech* bleſſed *Abraham.* For inaſmuch as that bleſſing was the ſame bleſſing (though further ſpread, and better branched) wherewith God by *Noah* bleſſed *Sem*, we Gentiles the Sons of *Japheth* were Heirs of it in reverſion. For though *Shem* be the firſt, *Japhet* was in the ſecond place bleſſed with his Brother *Shem. Gen.* 9. 27. *God perſwade* Japhet, *that he may dwell in the Tents of* Shem, *and let* Canaan *be his ſervant.* So that *Melchiſedech* doth prefigure Chriſts Prieſthood by his *Authority* to bleſs in Gods name. Bleſſing as it was applied unto *Melchiſedech,* is but a ſhadow or ſurface only. *Abraham* indeed was bleſſed by him, but in the name of the moſt high God. But bleſſing as appliable to Chriſt is a *ſolid,* and hath its trinal dimenſion. We are bleſſed for him, we are bleſſed through him, we are bleſſed by him ; And which is the full iſſue or product of all three dimenſions, we ſhall be everlaſtingly bleſſed in him. For the firſt ; we may not ſo much as beg any bleſſing or good thing at Gods hand, but for his ſake. Hence it is, that all our Prayers are conceived in this form, either expreſly or implicitely, *propter merita Jeſu Chriſti.* Secondly, of thoſe bleſſings which it pleaſeth God to grant for his ſake, we may not entreat, no not expect their conveyance ſhould be made unto us by any other perſon or means than by *him*, and the vertue of his ſufferings. And for this reaſon it is, that we uſually conclude our Prayers, *Per Jeſum Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum*, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord; not *Propter Jeſum Chriſtum*: That is alway expreſſed or implyed in the body or beginning of the Prayer. It was the intention of the Ancients to inſtruct us by thoſe two uſeful clauſes of our ſolemn Prayers, that whatſoever we ask for Chriſt's ſake, we cannot otherwiſe obtain than through him. And though the Father be the firſt *granter*, yet the Son immediately beſtows all bleſſings upon us, as the places of Scripture late alledged, teſtifie. God's bleſſing deſcend to us, only by him, that they may draw us unto *him*, in whom only we are bleſſed. For that everlaſting happineſs of the life to come, formally conſiſts in our union with him, and cannot be manifeſted or imparted to us, but by the participation of his bleſſed preſence.

6. Will ye have a more particular map, in what manner the bleſſing of *Abraham* deſcends upon us by this our High Prieſt? Then call to mind in what terms *Melchiſedech* bleſſed *Abraham*. They were theſe, *Bleſſed be* Abraham *of the moſt High God Poſſeſſor of Heaven and Earth*, Melchiſedech (if the ſame be *Shem*) had by vertue of his Father *Noah*'s bleſſings, a manifeſt right unto the Land of *Canaan*, and had ſome part of it in poſſeſſion; and this right and title he bequeaths to *Abraham*. The chief matter of his bleſſing is, that *Abraham*'s Poſterity ſhould be Kings and Prieſts in that Land; And albeit he were a Prieſt of the moſt High God, yet his Kingdom was of this world, and in this world, though a type of the Heavenly Kingdom. But our Saviour's Kingdom was not of this world, for ſince his Reſurrection he hath taken poſſeſſion of Heaven as he is man, but in the right and title of the eternal Son of God. God the Father made all things by God the Son, whom he hath made Heir of all things as man, which were made by him as God; not as an Heir in his nonage, but as joynt Lord with his Father, at whoſe right hand he is placed; ſo that as man, he hath more full and more immediate authority to diſpoſe of Heaven, than *Melchiſedech* had to diſpoſe of *Canaan*, for he beſtowed that upon *Abraham* by way of Prayer, as became a Prieſt of the moſt high God. But this our High Prieſt, who is alſo the moſt high God, ſhall diſpoſe of Heaven to his Servants by royal ſentence and authority as King. *Then ſhall the King ſay unto them that ſit on his right hand. Venite benedicti patris mei poſſidete vobis paratum regnum à conſtitutione mundi, Come ye bleſſed of my Father, poſſeſs ye the Kingdom prepared for you from the foundations of the world!* This is the accompliſhment of that bleſſing which *Melchiſedech* beſtowed upon *Abraham*; and the ſecond part of his benediction muſt be the everlaſting Song of ſuch as are bleſſed in *Abraham*'s Seed. *Bleſſed be the moſt High God, who hath delivered our Enemies into our hands: who hath enabled us to overcome the world, the Devil, and the Fleſh!* And though Chriſt our High Prieſt were the Son of *David*, and of *Abraham*, as man according to the fleſh; yet as man he is the firſt begotten from the dead, and Father of the world to come. *Melchiſedech* himſelf, in reſpect of the everlaſting bleſſing, is his Son, and muſt have his portion in it at the laſt day. For if all Nations, if every one of any Nation that is truly bleſſed, be bleſſed in *Abraham*'s Seed, *Melchiſedech* himſelf muſt be bleſſed in him, not only by him: and therefore he is that moſt high *God*, poſſeſſor of *heaven* & *earth*, in whoſe name *Melchiſedech bleſſed Abrahã.*

7. But to return to our Apoſtles next paſſage, *Heb.* 7.11.&c. *If therefore perfection were by the Levitical Prieſthood* (for under it the people received the Law) *what further need was there that another Prieſt ſhould ariſe after the order of* Melchiſedech, *and not be called after the order of* Aaron? *For the Prieſthood being changed, there is made of neceſſity a change alſo of the Law.* The full diſcuſſion of this 12 *v.* becauſe it contains matter of controverſie amongſt us Chriſtians, and between ſeveral profeſt members of reformed Churches; as whether Chriſt were a Law-giver, or wherein the Law which he gave did differ from, or excel the Law of *Moſes*, whether Levitical or Moral, muſt be referred to another Treatiſe. * *The Law* (ſaith our Apoſtle) *made nothing perfect, but the bringing in of a better hope did.* So our latter Engliſh reads the Text, yet proffers to us another reading in the Margin, which (in mine opinion) is more conſonant to

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* Vide Cyrillum *l.* 1. glaphyrorum in titulo de *Abraham* & *Melchiſedech.*

our Apoſtles meaning, to wit, *That the Law was an introduction of a better hope by which we draw near to God. And this drawing near to God,* is that perfection which the Law could not effect. But the principal point, whereon our Apoſtle pitcheth for evincing the Prieſthood of Chriſt to be far more excellent than the Levitical Prieſthood was, was reſerved to the laſt place, and pathetically, though briefly avouched, *ver.* 20. [*And in aſmuch as not without an oath*] *for thoſe Prieſts, to wit, after the order of* Aaron *were made without an oath, but this, to wit, Chriſt, with an oath, by him that ſaid unto him, The Lord ſware and will not repent, thou art a Prieſt for ever after the order of* Melchiſedech; *By ſo much was Jeſus made the ſurety of a better Covenant; And they truly were many Prieſts, becauſe they were not ſuffered to continue by reaſon of death. But this man, becauſe he continueth for ever, hath an unchangeable Prieſthood: Wherefore he is able alſo to ſave them to the uttermoſt that come unto God by him, ſeeing he ever liveth to make interceſſion for them.* And again, *v.*28. *For the Law maketh men High Prieſts which have infirmities, but the word of the oath, which was ſince the Law, maketh the Son, who is conſecrated for evermore.* Theſe two laſt paſſages require a fuller diſcuſſion of a Point often touched upon in ſome Printed Treatiſes, and divers Sermons: A Point much neglected by many good Divines, and carped at by others through their ignorance in true Antiquity, *videlicet,* What the interpoſition of God's ſpecial oath doth import more than his largeſt promiſes without an oath.

SECTION. III.

Of the calling or deſtination of the Seed of *Abraham*, and Son of *David* by ſolemn Oath to the Everlaſting Prieſthood.

CHAP. XII.

The chief or main principal whereon our Apoſtle grounds his Treatiſe or diſcourſe to the Hebrews: *Containing a* Paraphraſe *upon the moſt part of the ſixth Chapter to the* Hebrews.

SEEing every rational Writer that writes to any good end and purpoſe, hath always ſome one or more Principles, on which his diſcourſe doth revolve, or ſettle, as a ſphear or body orbicular doth upon it's Axis or Center; the advice which *Cardanus* ſomewhere gives to every one, who would take upon him to Comment upon any good Author is very uſeful. And his advice is this; Firſt, To ſeek out the main Principles (be they few or more) whereon the Author doth eſpecially relye or ground his diſcourſe or project. There is a rule given long ago by a better [a] Author for interpreting Sacred Writ, no way diſſonant unto this advice of his, *Finis diſcendorum optima ratio dictorum,* the end or ſcope at which Sacred Writers (in their diſputes eſpecially) do aim, is the true μετρὸν or ſtandard by which their particular ſentences or diſcourſes muſt be meaſured, the only right way for finding out the true and literal meaning of what they ſay. The non-obſervance or want of taking theſe rules into conſideration, hath been the ſpecial occaſion why S. *Paul's* Epiſtle to the *Romans* hath been of all other portions of Scriptures the worſt interpreted, by moſt that have undertaken to Comment upon it. But of the main principle or ſcope of that Epiſtle, I have * elſewhere written, and ſhall, as God ſhall give opportunity, write or ſpeak a great deal more.

2. The principal end or ſcope of S. *Paul* (or whoſoever were the Author of this divine Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*) was to prove that Chriſt Jeſus, whom the *Jews* did Crucifie, was deſigned or deſtinated by *God* to be a Prieſt not after the order of *Aaron*, but of *Melchiſedech*, and declared to be ſo, deſigned by God's oath to *Abraham*, which was the firſt oath that God did vouchſafe to make, that is extant upon any Sacred Record; though the contents of this firſt oath were more fully expreſt in his oath unto *David*. The tenor or importance of both oaths, eſpecially of that unto *David*, are not any

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* *In a Treatiſe upon* Ro. 9. 18. *lately publiſhed by another without my conſent or knowledg. My purpoſe was to have publiſhed another of the ſame ſubject upon the* 16 *v. of the ſame Ch. delivered by me in a Sermon about* 26 *years ago, ſome few months before I wrote the other.*

[a] *Grego. magnnus.*

where mentioned or preſt upon the *Jews* in any part of the New Teſtament beſides in this Epiſtle; but in this Epiſtle very frequently: firſt in the place before cited, *Heb.* 5. 10. *He was called of God an High Prieſt after the order of* Melchiſedech. But the preſſing of it further upon theſe *Hebrews*, our Apoſtle for the preſent, forbears for their dullneſs of hearing, *ver.* 1. But though they were for the preſent unfit Auditors of ſuch an high myſtery, yet were they not ſuch perpetuall. The true reaſon why our Apoſtle ſaith the things he had to ſay of *Melchiſedech*, *were hard to be uttered or conceived by theſe hearers ſtanding thus affected*, was not (as a late Writer, before mentioned, conjectures) becauſe this *Melchiſedech*, who met *Abraham*, was the Son of God, then appearing in the likeneſs of man; For this was a point eaſie to be uttered, and eaſie to be conceived, if it had been any part of our Apoſtles meaning: But of what he had to ſay, and hath ſpoken at large in the ſeventh Chapter of this Epiſtle, theſe his Scholars were not capable, at leaſt (he ſaw) would not be attentive to his leſſon, until he had given them a ſharp though moderate correction, which he doth from the 12 *ver.* of the 5 Chapter, unto the 9 *ver.* of the 6. Ready they were, as is evident from our Apoſtles admonition, to revolt from the Chriſtian Faith unto *Judaiſm*, and to fall into that irremiſſible ſin which he there deſcribes. Now to recall men prone to vice or ſin, there are but two ways: The one by manifeſting the danger of the relapſe; the other by miniſtring comfort or aſſurance of happy ſucceſs in that courſe of life which hath been commended by the Phyſicians of their Souls unto them. The dreadful eſtate into which they were without his directions ready to fall, is diſcovered to them in moſt pathetical expreſſions from the 4 *ver.* of the 6 Chapter to the 9. *For it is impoſſible for thoſe, who were once enlightned, and have taſted of the Heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghoſt, and have taſted the good Word of God, and the powers of the world to come, if they ſhall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance: ſeeing they Crucifie to themſelves the Son of God afreſh, and put him to an open ſhame. For the earth which drinketh in the rain which cometh oft upon it, and bringeth forth herbs meet for them, by whom it is dreſſed, receiveth bleſſing from God; But that which beareth thorns and briars is rejected, and is nigh unto curſing, whoſe end is to be burned.* Theſe paſſages ſhew the dangerouſneſs of their diſeaſe to whom he wrote his Epiſtle, and that they ſtood in need of extraordinary Phyſick. The comfortable preparative for the making of them capable of a moſt ſoveraign receipt followeth, *ver.* 9. *But Beloved, we are perſwaded better things of you, and things that accompany Salvation, though we thus ſpeak: For God is not unrighteous to forget your work and labour of love which ye have ſhewed towards his name, in that ye have miniſtred to his Saints, and do miniſter.* Here were a Text of excellent uſe (were it warily handled) for reſtoring ſuch men, as after their recovery from Atheiſm, Infidelity, or Hereſie, fall into a relapſe as bad as theſe, as into an Apoſtaſie, from the Faith (ſometimes ſincerely profeſſed by them) into Libertiniſm or prophaneneſs: As fit a Theam as any I have obſerved in Sacred Writ, to encourage all men of what ſort or condition ſoever profeſſing Chriſtianity, to the conſtant practice of good works, eſpecially of Charity.

3. For albeit the works of Charity which the *Hebrews* had done, could not, albeit the beſt works which we now living, can do, can no ways merit any degree of Grace, or make us worthy of the gift of

Repentance: yet by good works we become more capable of Gods mercies, of his long-ſuffering, or forbearance to puniſh us after the ſame manner or meaſure, that he doth preſumptuous ſinners. οὐ γὰρ ἄδικος ὁ θεὸς ἐπιλαθέσθαι; This is, as if he had ſaid, The God whom ye *Hebrews* (now converted to Chriſtianity) ſerve, *non eſt dominus adeo durus*, * *is not ſo rigorous a Judge*, but that whilſt he weighs your latter or preſent Tranſgreſſions in the legal ſcale of Juſtice, he will put your former deeds of Charity into the ſcale of Mercy. But leaving the full diſcuſſion of this paſſage to profeſt Commentators, or Controverſie-writers, although we ſhall prize good works, or deeds of Charity at the loweſt rate, which our Apoſtle in this place ſets upon them, *That* will amount unto as much, as ſome Learned Fathers have ſaid, *Sunt via ad regnum non cauſa regnandi*; *They are the way to Heaven, or means to obtain full aſſurance of hope* here on earth, for ſo our Apoſtle preſſeth his exhortation to them, *ver.* 11. 12. *And we deſire that every one of you do ſhew the ſame diligence, to the full aſſurance of hope unto the end; That ye be not ſlothful, but followers of them, who through Faith and Patience inherit the Promiſes. For when God made promiſe to* Abraham, *becauſe he could ſwear by no greater, he ſwore by himſelf, ſaying, Surely bleſſing I will bleſs thee, and multiplying I will multiply thee; And ſo after he had patiently endured, he obtained the Promiſe.* So that patience in doing good works to our loſs, or in ſuffering wrong from others, are good works or qualifications prerequired to our firm apprehenſion of God's moſt free and gracious promiſes.

* Or inequitable for the word ἄδικος refers to *juſtitia univerſalis*, which comprehends clemency, or benignity aſwell as legal Juſtice.

4. There is firſt an aſſurance given by God unto *Abraham*, and in him to the heirs of promiſe. Secondly, There is an aſſurance of hope in ſome, and ought to be in all men; and this conſiſts firſt in the right apprehenſion of the aſſurance given by God, and in a well grounded belief or perſwaſion of our intereſt in the promiſe conveyed unto us from God by *Abraham*. The right apprehenſion of the aſſurance given by God, muſt be in the underſtanding or brain: The true belief or perſwaſion of our intereſt in this promiſe, is but the ingroſſment of our former apprehenſion in our hearts. How this belief or aſſurance of hope muſt be wrought, or confirmed, comes after to be diſcuſſed: Of this only we are in this place to fore-warn the Reader, that he muſt not begin his belief or perſwaſion backwards, or the wrong way, that is, not to make that πληροφορίαν τῆς ἐλπίδος (whereof the Apoſtle ſpeaks) the firſt part of his Creed. For to arrive at this point of belief, or degree of hope, is that τελειότης, or *perfection*, unto which our Apoſtle ſought by degrees to conduct theſe *Hebrews*, who had been truly converted to the Chriſtian Faith, and had continued till this time true Believers in their kind; men better Catechiſed in the firſt Principles of belief, than any man now living is; for they had an Apoſtle for their Catechiſt, as appears from the firſt verſe of the ſixth Chapter. The only way to attain unto this *perfection* or *aſſurance* of hope, is to follow the footſteps of ſuch as inherit the promiſe, or had a firm and true apprehenſion of their intereſt in it whilſt they lived here on earth. Thus much is implyed in the fore-mentioned exhortation of our Apoſtle, *verſe* 11. and 12.

5. The aſſurance given to *Abraham*, and in him to all that follow his footſteeps, is on Gods part as full and abſolute, as Almighty power could make it; for it is a promiſe confirmed by oath, and

by the moſt ſolemn oath that could be adminiſtred or made: for God ſware by himſelf, who is the greateſt of all, that either God or man can ſwear by. There could not be either a greater power, or any other ſo great beſides; yet even amongſt men who alway ſwear by ſome Divine Power or Revenger of falſe oaths greater than themſelves; an oath puts an end to all ſtrife or controverſie in Law, as our Apoſtle teacheth us, *ver.* 16. But in what times, or in what caſes this maxime was, or was moſt true (for moſt true it is, with the allowances of the circumſtances for time and place, or in matters determinable by oath, are Queſtions proper to Interpreters of Law, whether Judaical in the Jewiſh Nation, or of Laws eſtabliſhed in other Nations, at or before the time wherein the Author of this Epiſtle did write; who, as I ſhould preſume from this very allegation, beſides many other reaſons, was Saint *Paul:* For I know no other of our Saviour's Apoſtles or Diſciples (though moſt potent in Scriptures) which had ſo much skill, either in the Laws of the Jewiſh or other Nations, as Saint *Paul* had, being brought up at the feet of *Gamaliel.* For the better underſtanding of this our Apoſtle in the laſt fore-cited verſes, or at leaſt for occaſioning others to ſearch deeper into his meaning, than many Interpreters or plauſible Preachers uſually do, it will not be amiſs to premiſe ſomewhat concerning the nature of oaths, or their ancient uſe amongſt men, before we come to explicate the tenour of God's oath, and the Covenant made by it unto *Abraham.*

CHAP. XIII.

The uſe of Oaths, and their obſervance is from the Law of Nature. Of the manner of taking Solemn Oaths amongſt the Ancients of ſeveral Nations.

THough all men in former Ages were not acquainted with the true God, by whom all ought to have ſworn; though ſome transformed the Deity into the ſimilitude of Beaſts; though ſome directly acknowledged no God at all, no Divine Power; yet even in the very worſt of theſe, the ſmothered ſeeds of Religion did give ſome *criſis* of their *Inherence* in matter of oath or imprecation. The ingraffed notion of the Deity upon provocation or occaſion of ſwearing, found always ſome, though often a prepoſterous or ſiniſter vent. Even ſuch ſtupid Tyrants as thought no Power ſo great as their own; ſuch as did pick deadly quarrels with their vaſſails for not ſwearing by their *Genius*, did uſe to ſwear not (as God here doth) by themſelves, or by their own power, but by ſuch creatures as did command their deſires or affections; for their Conſciences ſecretly ſuggeſted to them that theſe were greater than themſelves. And it is no marvel if this *honour of Invocation*, which is due only to the true God, were by godleſs perſons oft-times tendred to thoſe things, which they loved or admired moſt, becauſe theſe were in truth and deed to them as Gods. *Caligula* uſed to ſwear by *Druſilla*; ſometimes by that Horſe, which he cauſed to be fed in as Lordly a *Plate*, as any that came unto his own Table, and which he had deſtinated to be his fellow Conſul. It ſeems this was a *bonny beaſt*, whereas he himſelf was an ugly Monſter amongſt men. The Emperour *Claudius* (as *Suetonius* tells us) *converſus in officia pietatis jusjurandum neque ſanctius neque crebrius inſtituit quam per Auguſtum*; *did not ſwear ſo often, nor hold any oath ſo ſtrict as to ſwear by his Predeceſſor Auguſtus.* And *Junius Brutus*, as a good Author tells me, did uſe to ſwear ſolemnly by the blood of *Lucretia*. The moſt ſolemn Oath among the *Pythagoreans*, a devout and Religious Sect of Philoſophers, was *per ternarium*, the number of *three*. The reaſon, I take it, was, becauſe this number was to them, as the myſtery of the Bleſſed Trinity is to us. Some Heathens (as the *Egyptians*) did ſwear by Herbs, by Beaſts, or liveleſs Elements, becauſe they miſ-conceived ſome Divine Power to have peculiar reſidence in them or about them. And ſome, no evil Princes, did ſwear, or authorize others to ſwear by their Scepters, becauſe they took theſe as emblems of Divine Power. Others ſwear by the parts of their own bodies, as by their hearts, *&c.* Yet theſe were *directly* and *formally*, rather imprecations than oaths, yet *obliquè*, or *implicitè juramenta* (as the Lawyers ſpeak) *Collateral or Connotative* imprecations of Divine Power, to whom the execution of vengeance upon themſelves, or upon the parts of their bodies) if they ſwore falſly, did in their opinion properly belong. But whatſoever was the direct and formal object of Judicial Oaths, their outward form of ſolemnity was always, or for the moſt part accompliſhed, *Tangendo altaria*, or *elevatis manibus*, or both ways:

Præſenti tibi maturos largimur honores,
Jurandaſq; tuum per nomen ponimus aras,

Saith the Poet of *Auguſtus*. And the *Grecian* which gave firſt occaſion to the Proverb, *Amicus uſque ad aras*, implyed his readineſs to tell ſome ſuch ſmooth tale or officious lye for his Friend's good, as he durſt not avouch, if he were called to touch the Altar. This was the cuſtom (it ſeems) in thoſe Ancient Times wherein *Moſes* lived. Moſes *built an Altar, and called the name of it* Jehovah Niſſi, for he ſaid, becauſe the Lord hath ſworn; or (as ſome read it) becauſe *he hath liſt up his hand, he will have War with* Amalech *from Generation to Generation*. *To liſt up the hand*, or touch the Altar (one or both of them at leaſt) was aſmuch as the kiſſing of the Book is to us; the principal formality, or external character of a Solemn Oath; *Ergo is, qui ſi aram tenens juraret crederet nemo, per Epiſtolam, quod volet, injuratus probabit?* Shall we then take this teſtimony by a letter without an Oath for a juſt proof, whoſe Oath, though he laid hold upon the Altar, no man would truſt? To ſwear by the Name or Power of God, as a profound Civilian inſtructs us, is *de eſſentia juramenti*, the eſſence or form of an Oath, but to kiſs the Book, *&c.* is *de conſuetudine*, a matter of cuſtom. *Intrepidos altaria tangere*, in *Juvenal*'s conſtruction is, all one as to make no Conſcience of an Oath; the eſſential property of Epicurean Atheiſm.

Cicero in orat. pro Flacco.

Duarenus.

See the fifth Book of theſe Comments upon the Creed, Sect. 1.

2. We muſt not think our Apoſtles rule [*That an Oath is to make an end of all Strife*] to be defective or leſs univerſal, than it makes ſhew of, although it comprehend not Epicures, nor take faſt hold of Atheiſts, becauſe theſe are but equivocally men, or at the beſt they can be no better parts of any civil body, or humane ſociety, than a broken link is of a chain. He that makes no Conſcience of an Oath,

may make better aſſurance of his Lands and eſtate, than of his internal thoughts and affections, without which aſſurance there can be no true ſociety amongſt the Sons of men. *Nullum vinculum ad aſtringendum fidem Majores noſtri jurejurando arctius eſſe voluerunt*, ſaith *Tully*. But an oath *Aſſertory*, not by Roman conſtitutions only, but by Divine Law, is a kind of civil rack to conſtrain men to confeſs the truth concerning matters preſent or paſt, in caſes expedient for the maintenance of humane ſociety. And an oath *promiſſory*, or *de futuro*, is God's *wreſt* to faſten our Souls unto the truth profeſſed by us, for the performance of good duties. With this latter uſe, the uſual etymology of the word *Oath* in Greek, hath ſome affinity: For they would have the word ὅρκος to be of the ſame progeny with ἕρκος, *Becauſe he that ſweareth is tyed or bound to thoſe points which he acknowledgeth or confeſſeth.* Yet many of the Ancient *Etymologers* would have the word ὅρκος (in the Grecian language) derived from ὅρος *terminus*, unto which derivation our Apoſtle (as ſome Divines conjecture) doth allude, when he ſaith that an oath is, πέρας ἀντιλογίας, an end or term of all Controverſies. This as I dare not deny, ſo I would not, nor perhaps would the Authors or Abettors of this opinion, ground the ſtrength of our Apoſtles Argument ſo much upon the Grammatical ſignification, or etymology of the word ὅρκος, as upon the real expoſition or civil uſe of it in legal cuſtoms and conſtitutions of moſt Nations concerning like caſes to that mentioned by him; as in matters of truſt or contract betwixt man and man, without any other witneſs than themſelves. For ſo the Lord (by whom we ought to ſwear) had enacted it, *Exod.* 22. 10. *If a man deliver unto his Neighbour an Aſs, or an Oxe, or an Sheep, or any Beaſt to keep, and it die, or be hurt, or driven away no man ſeeing it, then ſhall an Oath of the Lord be between them both, that he hath not put his hands unto his Neighbours goods: and the owner of it ſhall accept thereof, and he ſhall not make it good*

The like law or Conſtitution was ſometimes of like force in *Egypt*. *Bochoridis leges*, ſaith *Diodorus*, *mandabant ut ſi quis pecuniis mutuò acceptis abſq; ſyngrapho ſe debere neget, interpoſito juramento à debito abſolvatur. That if monies committed to truſt without ſpecialty or mutual writings ſhould be denyed, the Controverſie ſhould be ended by the Defendant's Oath*; And he gives this reaſon for the equity of this Law: [Why ſhould not the Judge or Law give as much credit to any man's Oath, for aſmuch as another commits to his truſt without any aſſurance at all, or without any better aſſurance than the Creditor's Oath?] The like eſteem did the Grecians make of the pretended Debtor's Oath in like Controverſies. When *Cydias*, an Hoſt of *Tenedos*, denyed the charge of money delivered unto him by *Archetimus* of *Erythræa* his ancient friend and gueſt, the matter after ſome altercation of words was referred to Oath; Now albeit *Pſidias* his Conſcience did ſerve him to deal unjuſtly, yet it grudged to ſwear directly a groſs untruth; and to ſtay the muttering of it with ſome ſhadow of truth, that is, with plain equivocation, he feigns himſelf ſo ſick and craſie againſt the day of final hearing, as if he ſtood in need of a ſtaff, into which (being made hollow on purpoſe) he cunningly ſtuffed up the Gold, about which the Con-

Προστάττουσι δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀσύγγραφα δανεισαμένους ἂν μὴ φάσκωσιν ὀφείλειν ὀμόσαντας ἀπολύεσθαι τοῦ δανείου, &c. Primum ideo, ut jurisjurandi religionem magni facientes, Deum revereantur. Cum enim manifeſtum ſit, quod ſæpius dejerans fidei jacturam faciat, ne emolumento illo privetur, maximoperè cavebit unuſquiſq; ne adjuramentum deveniatur. Deinde & hoc cogitavit legiſlator ſi fidem in vitæ integritate conſtituat totam, cunctos ad morum probitatem invitatum iri, ne tanquam fide indigni infamentur. Iniquum præterea judicabat, quibus citra juramentum fides habita eſſet, his de eodem contractu juratis fidem denegari. *Biblioth lib.* 1. *de Ægypt. legibus.*

troverſie grew: Being called to his Oath which was to be *elevatis manibus*, with hands lifted up, he committed his ſtaff to the cuſtody of *Archetimus*, the Plantiff, and thus proceeds; "It is true (ſaith he) "that my friend *Archetimus* delivered ſo much Gold unto me, but by "the Oath which I have taken, I have delivered the ſame ſum unto "him again. This Oath (though to *Archetimus* his knowledge altogether falſe) had by the cuſtoms of that time and place made a full "end of the Controverſie to his loſs, which he perceiving, threw "down the ſtaff with ſuch indignation to the ground, that the *handle* "burſting, the Gold which he truſted unto him fell out. And thus "the Providence of God (ſaith mine * Author) ſaved *Archetimus* "harmleſs; but *Pſidias* (as men ſay) came to a fearful end.

* Stobæus de perjurio. *pag.* 198.

CHAP. XIV.

Of Oaths Promiſſory ſpecially for Confirmation of Leagues, and of the fearful judgments that uſually fall upon them, who wittingly and willingly violate them.

THE uſe of Oaths amongſt the Romans, was ſomewhat more ample than all theſe inſtances imply, though how far it did extend, I leave it to the determination of Civilians. A very good Civil Lawyer tells me (and his teſtimony is moſt conſonant to our Apoſtles mind in this place) *Vetus fuit regula juris cauſam jurejurando deciſam non retractari*, that a cauſe or caſe of Controverſie decided by Oath, might not be traverſed or recalled. *Juſtinian's* reſtraint of this ancient rule in ſome ſpecial and rare caſes, rather corroborates than impairs the indefinite truth, or general validity of it: Yet were not Oaths *Aſſertory* more authentick, or of more validity in Ancient Times for ending Controverſies betwixt man and man, than Oaths promiſſory (ſuch as God's Oath in this place is) were for maintaining publick peace, or confirming leagues betwixt Nation and Nation. The examples of Heathen, aſwell as of Sacred Princes or Generals (ſo we would follow them) teach us not to retract any thing that we have ſworn unto, not to delay performance of any thing which we have promiſed by Oath, albeit the conditions in ſome caſes prove ſuch in the iſſue, as we would not have ſubſcribed unto them at any hand, had we known them in others, ſuch as we ought not to have ſubſcribed unto. When *Alexander* the Great, (a Prince otherwiſe too raſh and furious in executing his rigorous deſigns) perceived that the *Lampſaceni* (open Rebels in his interpretation) had entertained *Anaximenes*, his Fathers old acquaintance, to plead for their pardon, fearing that this ſmooth-tongued Orator (if he ſhould permit him to ſpeak his mind at large) might ſomewhat mitigate the rigorous ſentence pronounced againſt them, upon the Orator's firſt approach into his preſence, takes a ſolemn Oath by the Gods of *Greece*, that he would do quite contrary to whatſoever he would requeſt on the behalf of the *Lampſaceni*. Then ſaid *Anaximenes*, it will little boot me to be long in my petition, which in brief ſhall be this; *That you would captivate their Wives and Children, deſtroy their City, and ſet the Temples of their Gods on fire.* Now albeit this boiſterous King had ſtedfaſtly purpoſed to do aſmuch as the Orators words imply; and had interpoſed a ſolemn Oath to confirm his purpoſe, yet his Oath being by the Orators cunning retorted, his former reſolution did relent and yield unto the Orators firſt intended ſerious requeſt. And in memory of this great Controverſy between this great Prince and his Rebellious Subjects, or revolted Confederates, thus happily ended by a retorted or inverted Oath, the Orator had an Olympick *ſtatue* erected to him by his Clients.

Pauſanias lib. 6. hoc eſt Eliacor. 2.

2. Thus to ſave this City with its Inhabitants could not be more prejudicial to *Alexander's* former Oath, or reſolution, than it was to *Joſhua* to make Peace or League with any *Cananite*; for God whoſe General he was had given him expreſs command to the contrary: Yet in aſmuch as that ſtrict commandment given by God, was only particular to this purpoſe, the neglect of it, eſpecially upon ignorance of circumſtances was evil only becauſe forbidden, and only ſo far evil as it was forbidden. But in aſmuch as an Oath is the moſt ſacred Bond in humane Society, the breach of it is not only evil becauſe forbidden, but therefore forbidden becauſe in it ſelf ſo evil. Whence though it were unlawful for *Joſhua* to make any League with the *Gibeonites* being by Nation and Progeny *Canunites*, yet in aſmuch as they were men, the league once made with them being confirmed by Oath might not be violated by him, or any of his Succeſſors. The legal Maxime in this caſe holds moſt firmly, *fieri non debuit factum valet*. Although *Joſhua* had formerly ſworn to have continual War with the *Cananites*, yet the interpoſition of this Oath, upon a miſtake that they were not *Cananites*, muſt be ἀντιλογίας πέρας, an end of hoſtile quarrel between *Iſrael* and the *Gibeonites*: or if any haply ſhould here reply that this League did *valere de facto* was made *valid* more through *Joſhuah's* courteſie or ſcrupuloſity of Conſcience, than by the Law of nature, Nations, or by any ſtrict rule of equity; the ſeverity of Gods Judgments upon the Houſe of *Saul*, for violating this League which *Joſhua* had made by Oath more than four hundred years after he had made it, will convince him of error. *Saul* ſought to ſlay the *Gibeonites* in his zeal to the Children of *Iſrael* and *Judah*, 2. *Sam.* 21. 2. but as if *Iſrael* had forfeited their eſtate in the promiſed land by breach of their former Covenant, the earth for three years denied her encreaſe, as it is *verſe* the firſt: Nor could this famine be ſatisfied otherwiſe than by the fleſh and blood of thoſe men for whoſe ſake the *Gibeonites* blood had been unjuſtly ſpilt. For when *David* (being inſtructed of the Lord that the famine was ſent to revenge their wrongs) demanded of the *Gibeonites* (to whom the Lord now had given power of binding and looſing *Iſrael*,) *What ſhall I do for you, and wherewith ſhall I make the Atonement that ye may bleſs the Inheritance of the Lord? They ſaid unto him, We will have no ſilver nor gold of* Saul, *nor of his Houſe, neither for us ſhalt thou kill any man in* Iſrael; *But the man that conſumed us, that deviſed evil againſt us, that we ſhould be deſtroyed from remaining in any of the Coaſts of* Iſrael, *let ſeven men of his Sons be delivered unto us, and we will hang them up unto the Lord in* Gibeah *of* Saul, *whom the Lord did chuſe. ver.* 3, 4, 5, 6. But *David* (as it it follows) ſpared *Mephiboſheth* (at whoſe life the *Gibeonites* did ſpecially aim) becauſe of the Lords Oath that was between them, between *David* and *Jonathan* the Son of *Saul*.

3. But here leſt ſuch malevolent eyes or ears as *Machiavels* or *Machiavilian* Politicians, ſhould by looking upon or hearing this ſtory

read, let in ſuſpicion into their unhallowed hearts, of ſome ſecret complot betwixt the *Gibeonites* and *David*, for planting the Scepter of *Iſrael* in *Davids* ſtock by rooting out the whole ſtock of *Saul* beſides this impotent forlorn branch *Mephiboſheth*; we may parallel this prodigious calamity with others like unto it, which in the obſervation of Heathen Writers have by the Providence of God befaln other Royal Families for the perjury of their Progenitors, albeit executed upon them by the hands of Men. The difference will be only this, that *David* in the execution of Gods fierce wrath upon the Houſe of *Saul* did underſtand his Commiſſion much better than other Executioners of Gods like wrath did, who did nothing but what God would have done, but without juſt warrant.

4. Could Kingdoms be ſurely founded upon their preſent ſtrength and greatneſs, or ſtates be made ſtand upright and firm by rule of ſecular policy, the likelyhood was greater that the *Macedonian* Kingdom ſhould have continued in *Philips* race than the Kingdom of *Iſrael* in the Houſe of *Saul.* “Every man (ſaith * *Pauſanias*) will eaſily “grant that this *Philip* for his atchievements was the greateſt King “which *Macedon* had either before or after him: Of Princely vertues he had ſo many and ſo well mixed, as few Princes in any ages “have enjoyed the like. What then did he want why he might not “be reputed in Wiſe-mens cenſure a good Governour or Commander? Only this, that he had his own Oath at too great command. “His perjury did ſpoil his politick projects whilſt they ſeemed moſt “to proſper, and ruinated the foundations of his intended Monarchy “as faſt as he laid them; and which is worſt of all, his Soul being infected with this foul ſin did propagate the rot unto the fruit of his “body: As he had often deluded his Gods, ſo the Oracle to revenge “this quarrel deluded him. The ſentence of death which he expected “the Oracle ſhould at his inſtance award upon the King of *Perſia*, did “ſeize upon himſelf in his beſt years, and amidſt his triumphant jollities. Immediately upon his death his infant Son by *Cleopatra* was “with his Mother ſcorched to Death in a Veſſel of braſs by the appointment of *Olympias*, unto whoſe cruelty another of his Sons by “a former Wife within few years after was ſacrificed. And as if their “complaints and out-cries againſt this unjuſt execution of a Womaniſh wrath had been appointed, or authorized to bring down Gods “more immediate judgments upon the remnant of *Philips* ſeed, or his “Grand-Children, (which had more potent Guardians in humane “poſſibility to ſhield them from humane violence,) theſe were cut “down by fates, or (as my Authors words will bear it) by the deſtroying power.

5. And as for *Alexanders* untimely death it is remarkable amongſt Children. It is an excellent *Epiphonema* wherewith *Pauſanias* concludes his diſcourſe concerning *Philips* perjury: “If *Philip* (ſaith he) “when he laid his plots for erecting the Macedonian Empire had laid “the Delphick Oracle, given to *Glaucus* the *Spartan*, to his heart [Ἀνδρὸς δ' εὐόρκου γενεὴ μετόπιθεν ἀρείων, *the poſterity of men which make Con*“*ſcience of Oath ſhall fare the better*] we ſhould have no reaſon to “ſuſpect that any of the Gods would have extinguiſhed *Alexander* and “the Macedonian Glory, as it had been with one and the ſame breath “of their diſpleaſure. Now the Oracle pronounced the ſentence of untimely death upon the poſterity of *Glaucus* the *Spartan* becauſe he conſulted it, whether he might with ſafety forſwear the pawn or depoſition

* In lib. 8. hoc eſt de Arcadic.

poſition which the *Mileſians* had committed to his fidelity: And when knowing his doom he ſought the revocation of the ſentence upon promiſe of full reſtitution, he only obtained this anſwer for his own and others inſtruction [*to ſollicite or tempt God to abet, or countenance perjury, and to be actually perjured come both to one reckoning.*] If the Reader ſuſpect the authority of the Oracle upon preſumption that all oraculous anſwers were inſpired by Devils, or diſcredit the ſtory it ſelf becauſe related by *Herodotus*; as I may not join with him in raiſing needleſs ſuſpicions, or too large imputations againſt one or other, ſo I will not requeſt him to admit the relation upon any other terms than as an Emblem of divine truth.

6. That which this Emblem repreſents as *vero ſimile*, was remarkably fulfilled in *Jehoiakim* and *Zedechias*: Both of them had deſerved death and depoſition for their other ſins; but that which moved the Lord to write theſe two principal ſtems of *David*, Childleſs among the Families of *Judah*, was falſification of their Oaths to *Nebuchadnezzar*. *Zedekiah* had Gods ſpecial promiſe that he and his Houſe ſhould live, upon condition he would ſubmit himſelf (as by Oath he was bound) unto the King of *Babel*; but ſleighting his Oath till time was paſt, and not ſubmitting himſelf to *Nebuchadnezzar*, till he was caught, his Sons were ſlain before his eyes. And no ſooner had this tragical ſpectacle found entrance into his troubled Soul, but the Windows by which it entred were ſhut up; that ſo having no poſſibility of vent for grief, it might reflect more vehemently upon his penſive heart, and be ſuch a perpetual torment to his reſtleſs fancy, as an Earwig is to the brain into which ſhe hath crept. I will conclude theſe inſtances concerning Oaths *promiſſory* with his verdict, who was able to make the induction good. *Si quis omnem antiquitatem & bellorum memoriam ab ultimo principio repetat, profecto reperiet eorum qui pactas violarunt inducias, miſerrimos exitus & civitatibus ac populis calamitoſiſſimos extitiſſe. Bodinus lib. 5. pag. 964. He that would take pains to ſearch records of Antiquity or memorials of War from the firſt beginning of Hiſtories extant, ſhall clearly find that the violation of leagues or ſolemn truces hath brought a miſerable end upon truce-breakers, whether private perſons or publick States.*

7. One part of his inſtance or induction he took from the league betwixt *Henry* the ſecond French King, the Lantgrave of *Haſſia*, *Maurice* of *Saxony*, and *Albert* of *Brandeburg*, violated firſt by *Maurice*, and afterward more ſhamefully by *Albert* of *Bandeburg*. The noble Hiſtorian and great Antiquary of *France*, who had the Articles of the League betwixt *Philip* of *Spain* and (I take it) this *Henry* the ſecond King of *France*, derives all the miſeries and calamities which befel *France* in their inteſtine broils, and civil Wars, from the violation of this League on the French Kings part, whereunto he was tempted by the pretended infallible Roman Oracle upon a diſpenſation, with his Oath proffered unto him not ſought by him. So much worſe was the ſpirit of this Roman Oracle than the Spirit which guided the *Delphick* Oracle in the anſwer to *Glaucus* the *Spartane* before-mentioned. The like diſpenſation of the Pope with an Oath of *Contract* did ſet the Rebellion in the North on foot, and was the cauſe of the calamity or miſery which befel him and his Family, who ſought for it and others of his Aſſociates.

Thuanus.

About the 10. *of Queen* Elizabeth.

8. And no marvel if God in this caſe be ſevere to viſit the ſins of Fathers upon the Children, aſwel as in the caſe of Idolatry. For of

theſe two ſins, Perjury or wilful breach of ſolemn Oath is the more abominable, though I know not whether I ſhould account them two ſins, or ſeveral branches of one ſin; or whether were worſe utterly to deny the truth of Gods being, or his Omnipotency; or to produce him as a witneſs or Countenancer of that which is untrue. The truth of Gods Being and his Juſtice being preſuppoſed or believed, it ſtands with reaſon what *Bodin* hath obſerved, *That perjury ſhould bring forth deſtruction and calamity, whether to publick ſtates or private families in greater plenty than any ſin whatſoever.* Other enormities always deſerve Gods wrath and in the iſſue bring it upon offenders, but perjury only is conceived and brought forth by ſolliciting or imploring Gods wrath or vengeance upon ſuch as commit it. But ſome will here demand, What is all this which hath been ſaid concerning the ſacred uſe of Oaths amongſt men, and the Plagues executed upon ſuch as violate thoſe ſacred Oaths, to the Oath which God interpoſed to *Abraham*, or to their aſſurance which rely upon him? Much every way. For, the ſpecial, if not the only reaſon why Gods hand hath light ſo heavy upon all perjured perſons is, becauſe God himſelf, who vouchſafeth to ſwear to *Abraham* for our Comfort, is ſo true in all his promiſes, and ſo unpartial in awarding Juſtice, that he would not puniſh mens neglects or contempt of ſolemn Oaths ſo ſeverely as uſually he doth, were he not beyond compariſon or comprehenſion more obſervant of his Oath when he ſwears by himſelf, than we are of our Oaths which we take in his name. Briefly, albeit ſome in this age among the moſt zealous Profeſſors of Chriſtianity eſcape his viſible puniſhments, or ſometimes proſper better in Worldly Eſtate for their Perjury than many amongſt the Heathen did: yet by this practice they forfeit their intereſt in the aſſurance which God made by Oath unto the Heirs of Promiſe. Every one that hopes to be bleſſed with faithful *Abraham*, or to be partaker of the bleſſing promiſed by Oath unto him muſt in this particular be perfect as his Heavenly Father is perfect. Every one that hath been tainted with this foul ſin, how great a gainer ſoever he be by it in Worldly courſes, muſt purge himſelf from it by the ſolemn proper acts of Faith, that is, by true Repentance, Alms-deeds, and full Reſtitution of accurſed gains to the parties whom he hath wronged: *For* (as our Apoſtle tells us) *every one that hath this hope, that is, to be the Son of God with faithful* Abraham, *muſt purifie himſelf, as he is pure.* 1 *Joh.* 3. 3.

CHAP. XV.

In what caſes ſolemn Oaths were or are to be taken and adminiſtred.

Amongſt others truly inſtiled *golden verſes* of *Pythagoras*, every verſe containg ſome one or other moral rule of good life, this was a principal one, ΣΕΒΟΥ ΟΡΚΟΝ.

1. The Comment or Paraphraſe of an Heatheniſh Writer, though a profeſt Enemy to us Chriſtians, at leaſt to ſuch as lived in his age, is very Chriſtian, as many other parts of his Commentations upon *Pythagoras* moral rules are (to uſe the words of that learned French Civilian *Tiraquel*) moſt Divine.

2. Whilſt I reviſe theſe and the former obſervations of the Heathen, concerning Oaths, and conſider how exactly parallel they are to the Sacred Rules of God's written Laws and Caſes determined by Divine Juſtice, I cannot but reſume the Prophet *Jeremiah*'s wiſh or Prayer, *Oh that my head were turned into a well or fountain, that I might weep day and night for the ſins of this people!* And of this age wherein a man may more ſafely believe a *Turk* ſwearing by *Mahomet*, or a canting Beggar by his *Solomon*, or a rude pit-man, or coal-worker by ſpitting upon a coal, than many witneſſes, who bear the name of Gentlemen and good Chriſtians, whilſt they ſwear in Courts of Juſtice by the Lord God of their Salvation, kiſſing the Book wherein their intereſt in the promiſes made to *Abraham*, and their hopes of the life to come, are contained. Nor is this the fault of falſe witneſſes only, but of Law-makers or Interpreters, or of men in Authority, that a man may be ſworn out of his inheritance, out of his livelihood and good name, by one uncatechized Clown or Atheiſt, who neither knows by whom, nor unto what he ſwears; ready at all times to lend that which he hears called an oath, unto his friend or brother in miſchief. An oath being a ſpecial part of Religion, it were to be wiſhed it were never to be adminiſtred or exacted by ſuch as give more proof to ſhew their authority and power in being enabled by Humane Law to give it, than either of their deſire or ability to inſtruct the party ſwearing unto what he ought, unto what he ought not to ſwear, or in any other principal point of Religion. Many caſes are often determined by one mans Oath, which are not poſſible to be proved by the oaths of any ten men living, though men of life and manners unſuſpected. And yet in caſe the perſon ſwearing to his neighbours utter undoing, might be convicted of wilful perjury, the beſt remedy that the Law or Cuſtom affords him, will prove much worſe than the diſeaſe it ſelf; that is, beget a tedious ſuit in ſome coſtly Court. But neither did the primeval Church of God, nor the Ancient Laws of Heathen Nations admit of any ſuch Cuſtom. Exceptions againſt lewd perſons or ſuſpected witneſſes, were admitted before they were permitted to ſwear. Or in caſe any were detected to ſwear falſly, the detection was without any great coſt; and the puniſhment ſevere and ſpeedy. In caſe a man had ſworn falſly againſt his Neighbour in matter of Debt, he was, beſides other puniſhments, to pay as much as his Neighbor ſhould have been damnified by his Oath. In caſe of infamy and ſlander he was adjudged to undergo the ſame puniſhment which his oath, had it been admitted, would have brought upon the party accuſed. If he had ſworn againſt another in a matter capital, his perjury was puniſhed with death, and ſo were falſe accuſers, albeit they did ſwear or accuſe on the behalf of the Prince or Emperour. One of the beſt Catechiſms that I dare commend unto ſuch as have power to miniſter ſolemn oaths, or unto ſuch as are bound to anſwer upon oath, or ready when occaſions require to interpoſe oaths voluntary, is the Comment of the fore-cited Philoſopher upon that golden Verſe of *Pythagoras*.

Vide Duarenum in tractatu de Juramento.

JUS JURANDUM COLE.

Fuerit autem cultus ejus ſervandi optima ratio & cura, ſi eo nec frequenter utaris, nec temere, nec quibuſlibet in rebus * *nec ad ſermonis amplificationem, nec ad narrationis confirmationem atque fidem, ſed quantum*

* μηδὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς παρατυχοῦσι μηδὲ εἰς ἀναπλήρωσιν λόγου.

tum fieri poteſt, rebus tantum neceſſariis ſimul atque honorificis adhibeatur, eoque tempore cum nulla ſalus alia quàm ex ſola jurisjurandi veritate expectatur. Invenient verò fidem iſthæc aqud eos qui audiunt, ſi congruum jurijurando modum adhibuerimus, ſique ſuſpicionem omnem non iis ſolum qui juramento abſtinent, ſed qui utuntur etiam ſuſtulerimus, quicquid in mortalium rebus veritate majus nobis haberi.

Hierocles,
In ſecundum aureum carmen Pythagoræ.

God's oath at all time when it pleaſed him to ſwear, was a voluntary oath; no Authority could exact of him. But how free or voluntary ſoever his oath to *Abraham* was, it was not *gratis dictum*, but interpoſed to ſome good uſe or purpoſe. The ſpecial uſes or purpoſes of this firſt oath of God(which is upon record) comes in the next place to be diſcuſſed.

3. It is on all ſides agreed, that the Article or matter unto which God did ſwear, was of great conſequence and weight: For men ought not to make ſolemn oaths or proteſtations, but in ſuch caſes; becauſe they are commanded to be holy as he is holy. But can there be any caſe or buſineſs betwixt God and Man of ſo great conſequence, that his ſole word or meer promiſe might not ſuffice to determine it? His word in it ſelf no doubt is more firm and ſure, than all the oaths of men and Angels. It is therefore in the ſecond place preſumed, or granted by all good Writers, that our Gracious God confirmed this promiſe by oath, *ex abundanti*, for the ſupport of mens infirmities, which too often meaſure the goodneſs of God, and the fidelity of his promiſes by their own notions of goodneſs, or by their experience of ſuch fidelity as is found in promiſes amongſt good men. But albeit we may take ſurer hold of any mans word or promiſe, than of his indefinite overtures or inclinations to do us good, yet a very honeſt mans word is no ſheat-anchor for a wiſe man to relie upon in a violent ſtorm. The *feſt* ſometimes may be ſure and firm, when the cable is ſlender and weak: Or the cable very ſtrong, when the *feſt* or Anchor-hold is ſlippery. Hence ordinary promiſes or profeſſions of real kindneſſes by a tacite or implicite conſent of moſt men, admit divers acceptions or diſpenſations, whereof ſolemn oaths are uncapable. In what terms ſoever ordinary promiſes or profeſſions of kindneſſes be expreſſed, their tenour is to be underſtood or conſtrued with this *Proviſo*, *Rebus ſic ſtantibus*. Unexpected diſaſter, or rare miſchance, is in common equity a ſufficient releaſe for non-performance of that which was ſincerely promiſed upon probable hopes of better means or abilities; or at leaſt of the continuances of ſuch means as the party had when he made promiſe. Many men who will hardly ſtrain their oaths for their life, will diſpenſe with their honeſt words, or good intentions, rather than ſubject themſelves to any incompenſable wordly miſchief, or remedileſs inconvenience, which may certainly follow upon the performances of what they promiſed. For this reaſon, every wiſe man muſt be more wary to what he ſwears, than to what he promiſeth. For matter of promiſe concerns things temporal only, whereas he that takes a ſolemn oath, doth ſequeſter his immortal ſoul and eſtate in the life to come, into the hands of the Almighty Judge and Revenger of perjury. Hence was it that the noble Roman *Regulus* did chuſe rather to return to

the *Carthaginians*, reſolving to endure all the tortures and pains that they could inflict upon him, than to violate the ſolemn oath which they adminiſtred unto him. And albeit the *Carthaginians* knew him to be a man for his fidelity and due obſervances of his promiſes, as juſt and righeous as *Rome* had any; a man more faithful and true (if we believe ancient Hiſtories) than the *Carthaginians* ordinarily were: yet out of diſcretion and politick obſervance, they held it more ſafe to truſt to *Regulus* upon his oath, than upon his meer promiſe. No wiſe man, or prudent Statiſt unto this day, will truſt the beſt man living (over whoſe perſon or eſtate he hath no command or juriſdiction) in matter of greater conſequence, without a ſolemn oath. A grave * Civilian obſerves, *Abſq; jurejurando alicui in fœderibus contrahendis confidere, eſt piſcari in aere & venari in medio maris.*

* *Waremundus in meditamentis pro fœderibus.*

CHAP. XVI.

God's Oath to Abraham, *was an Oath for Confirmation of the League betwixt them. Of the ſeveral manner of Leagues.*

NOW God's Oath to *Abraham* was an Oath of League; a ſolemn confirmation of that Covenant which God had entred with *Abraham* at the Circumciſion of his Son *Iſaac.* We may obſerve in the Sacred Story, that *Abraham* had firſt God's meer promiſe, and on that he faithfully relyed, *Gen.* 12. 13. 14, *&c.* Afterwards this promiſe grew into a ſolemn everlaſting Covenant, ſigned on *Abraham's* part by the Circumciſion of himſelf, and his Son *Iſaac*; and afterwards confirmed on God's part by ſolemn oath; and laſtly ſigned and ſealed by the bloody death of the only Son of God. For the Readers better conduct in the paſſages which follow, it will be requiſite, Firſt, To intreat briefly of the nature of Covenants and Leagues. Secondly, To diſplay the Evangelical importances of the oath, by which this League was firſt confirmed, and afterwards renewed. The word *Covenant* in our Engliſh, is ſometimes equivalent to that which the Latines call *pactum*, or *conventum*, to wit, any contract or bargain, wherein there is *quid pro quo*, ſomewhat given, and ſomewhat taken. And in this ſenſe every Covenant or bargain is an act of commutative Juſtice, wherein there is, *ratio dati & accepti*, a mutual bond between the parties contracting upon ſome valuable conſiderations. A Covenant of this rank there cannot any be properly ſaid or imagined betwixt God and meer man as *Abraham* was; for who can give any thing unto God, which was not his own before, by a more ſoveraign right and more peculiar title than it is, or can be his that would take upon him to make God his Debtor by deed of gift. And for this very reaſon the acuteſt Schoolmen reſolve us, that commutative Juſtice cannot be *formally* in God. But when we read that Juſtice is one of God's Eſſential Attributes, or when we ſay that God is truly and *formally* Juſt; this muſt be meant of diſtributive Juſtice, the ballance of whoſe ſcales are *pœna* and *præmium*, matter of puniſhment, and matter of reward. For God as a juſt Judge doth truly and accurately render unto every man according unto all his ways, without

out any reſpect of any advantage, gain, or profit, that can redound unto him by mans doing good; but meerly out of his unſpeakable love unto mercy it ſelf, unto bounty it ſelf, or unto Juſtice it ſelf. But though there cannot be ſuch a *Pactum* or Covenant between God and Man, between God and *Abraham* himſelf; as is a proper act of commutative Juſtice, wherein there is *ratio dati & accepti*, (For *Abraham* had nothing to give unto God, from whom he had received all that he had, and from whom he did expect to receive his Son *Iſaac*, in whom the very Covenant was to be eſtabliſhed) yet there may be between God and Man, and there was between God and *Abraham* a true and proper Covenant in another ſenſe, that is, aſmuch as the Latines call *fœdus*, a true or proper league of amity or aſſociation. And thus the word in the original, eſpecially in *Geneſis* 17. 7. is to be taken.

2. This kind of League or Covenant may be of two ſorts, *fœdera iniqua quæ victores victis dabant:* Such as the Conquerors would give unto the Conquered, which was always upon unequal terms or conditions; and yet better for the Conquered and weaker part to admit of, than to be altogether without league or ſecurity for their ſafety or protection. Or they were *fœdera æqua*, leagues entred upon equal terms or condition; ſuch as uſually are the leagues between neighbour-Kingdoms, free-States; or Soveraignties independent each on other, eſpecially if ſuch leagues be made, when the one hath the other at no advantage: And theſe leagues were of two ſorts; either mutually defenſive only, or offenſive as well as defenſive, as the Greeks ſay, Συμμαχίας ϗ ἐπιμαχίας; or as the Latines more fully expreſs the nature of them, * *Ut eoſdem haberent & hoſtes & ſocios*, that he which was a friend to one party, ſhould likewiſe be held a friend unto the other party included in the League: that he that ſhould declare himſelf an enemy to the one party, ſhould forthwith, and for ſo doing, be taken and reputed for an enemy unto the other party. Beſides this mutual aid or aſſiſtance in times of War, one ſpecial end of leagues or aſſociation was, that one Country might be relieved in their want, or pleaſured in their proſperity with thoſe bleſſings wherewith others abounded. This mutual intercourſe or exchange of commodities between Nation and Nation, is alway cut off, or much impaired in time of hoſtility or war: *Neither* party can with ſecurity enjoy the good things which their own land affords; much leſs can they with ſafety be partakers of thoſe commodities wherewith God hath bleſſed their enemies. And in caſe it ſo fell out, that a people rich in Money or Merchandize, but deſtitute of Corn or Wine, or other ſuch neceſſaries, ſhould fall at variance with thoſe who were accuſtomed to ſupply their wants; their eſtate in the middeſt of their wealth was but miſerable, and would enforce them to ſeek peace upon terms unequal. So we read, *Acts* 12. 20. *When* Herod *was highly diſpleaſed with them of* Tyre *and* Sidon (a people for wealth inferiour to none) *they came to him with one accord, and having made* Blaſtus, *the Kings Chamberlain their Friend, they deſired peace.* What reaſon had they to become ſuitors for peace with *him*, againſt whom they had been able to have waged War, whom perhaps they were able to out-match with number of men and weight of money? S. *Luke* gives the reaſon in the next verſe; *Becauſe their Country was nouriſhed by* Herod's *Country.*

3. But infinitely more miſerable than the forlorn eſtate of any one people can be, in reſpect of the moſt potent and cruel Adverſary, was

*** Inter alios commentatores in juſtinum vide victorinum Strigelium in annum nonum belli Peloponneſiaci. *pag.* 134.**

*** Vide Balthazar. Agal. lib. 1. de jure & officiis belli. cap. 7. parag. 1. &c.**

was the eſtate of all mankind, whilſt Heaven and Earth were at enmity. For albeit God in mercy ſuffered his Sun to riſe aſwel upon the unjuſt Sons of *Adam*, as upon *Adam* in his integrity, yet were all utterly deprived of all commerce with the Inhabitants of Heaven: All were excluded from the tree of life without whoſe fruit, this bodily life which we lead here on earth, even whilſt we live in greateſt pleaſure or proſperity, is but as a ſhort walk or progreſs from the womb unto the grave; as it were from a priſon to a place of torment or execution: Reaſon we had to deſire peace of Heaven, and to become humble Supplicants for that League or Covenant whereof God here preventeth *Abraham*: reaſon we had to have ſought this League, upon what terms or conditions ſoever. In reſpect of the parties which enter this league or aſſociation, it was a League of the former kind, *quod victores victis dabant.* God was our Lord by a higher title than the right of conqueſt, and we were worſe than his meaneſt vaſſails, not his ſervants, but his condemned Priſoners. It was in his power to have cut us off from all poſſibility of any League or Amity, ſave only with hell and death, which we and our Fathers had choſen for our confederates. And yet the conditions of this League wherewith God preventeth *Abraham* (for he ſought it at *Abraham*'s hands, when *Abraham* did not ſeek it at his) are conditions, *æqui fœderis.* It is made upon as good terms or conditions, as any League between Free-ſtates and Kingdoms independent was ever proffered or performed. It is more than a League offenſive and defenſive: More then Συμμαχίας ϗ ἐπιμαχίας. For this League is but a ratification of that promiſe which God hath made to *Abraham*, *Gen.* 12. 2, 3. *And I will make of thee a great Nation, and I will bleſs thee, and make thy name great, and thou ſhalt be a bleſſing. And I will bleſs them that bleſs thee, and curſe him that curſeth thee: And in thee ſhall all the Families of the earth be bleſſed.* And yet it is ſaid, *Chap.* 17. *ver.* 19. That God would eſtabliſh his League with *Iſaac*, but with *Iſaac* only as in the type, or as he was the pledge only on *Abraham*'s part: For it is a thing not to be imagined, that the Lord in giving ſentence of bleſſing and curſing would tye himſelf unto ſuch ſtrict conformity (as this promiſe imports) with the parties to be judged by him, as that he would bleſs all whoſoever bleſſed *Abraham*, or that he would curſe them that curſed *Abraham* or *Iſaac*, or their Seed in their own perſons, or for their own actions. How then doth God perform this promiſe unto *Abraham*? Not in *Abraham* or *Iſaac*'s perſon, but in another Seed of *Abraham*, of whom that is expreſly avouched, *Chap.* 22. 16, 17, 18. which in the 12 *Chap.* was implicitely, or avouched of him as he was indefinitely comprehended in *Abraham*'s Seed, or potentially contained in *Abraham*'s perſon. *In thee* (ſaith God to *Abraham*, Gen. 22. 18.) *ſhall all the Families of the earth be bleſſed. By my ſelf have I ſworn, ſaith the ſame Lord God*, Chap. 22. 16.) *For becauſe thou haſt done this thing, and haſt not with-held thy Son, thine only Son, that in bleſſing I will bleſs thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy Seed as the Stars in Heaven, and as the Sand which is upon the Sea ſhore*, &c. *Thy Seed ſhall poſſeſs the gates of his enemies: And in thy Seed ſhall all the Nations of the Earth be bleſſed, becauſe thou haſt obeyed my voice.* By *Abraham*'s Seed in this place, he meant not *Iſaac*, with whom this Covenant was eſtabliſhed, but another Seed of *Abraham*, and another Son of Promiſe, in whom this Covenant was to be accompliſhed. So our Apoſtle interprets this place, *Galat.* 3. 16.

Now to Abraham *and his ſeed were the promiſes made: He ſaith not and to his ſeeds as of many, but as of one, and to thy ſeed which is Chriſt*, that is as truly the Son of God as the ſeed of *Abraham*, who is as truly and properly God as he is Man. This interpretation of our Apoſtle is grounded upon the matter or ſubject of the promiſe. For it is impoſſible that all the Families of the Earth, even *Abraham* himſelf, and *Melchiſedech* who bleſſed *Abraham* ſhould be bleſſed, either in *Iſaac*, or in *Abrahams* ſeed, either indefinitely or univerſally taken; or in any ſeed of *Abraham*, who was not as truly God as Man; or who was not that moſt high God, in whoſe name *Melchiſedech* bleſſed *Abraham*. In this ſeed, and by this ſeed, all the Nations are bleſſed that ſhall be bleſſed. And whatſoever bleſſings any man or people receive from God in him as he is the Son of God, or for his merits; they ſhall receive them by him, and through him, as he is the ſeed of *Abraham* and Son of Man. And in this ſeed of *Abraham*, this Covenant here eſtabliſhed with *Iſaac*, ſhall be performed according to the ſtrict propriety or utmoſt improvement of the words or clauſe of the Confederacy, or League offenſive and defenſive between God and *Abraham*. Whoſoever ſhall bleſs this ſeed, ſhall be bleſſed of God. Whoſoever ſhall curſe this ſeed, ſhall be accurſed by God; and not ſo only, but whomſoever this ſeed ſhall bleſs, them likewiſe God the Father ſhall bleſs: Whomſoever this ſeed ſhall pronounce accurſed, they ſhall ſtand accurſed (without revocation or appeal,) by God the Father: For God the Father hath tyed himſelf to conformity of ſentence with this ſeed of *Abraham*. Unto whom this ſeed (now made King and Prieſt, and placed at the right hand of God) ſhall award this ſentence (which he will award as Judge to all that ſhall be placed on his right hand,) *Come ye bleſſed of my Father inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the Foundation of the World*, they ſhall be bleſſed by God the Father with Everlaſting and Immortal bliſs. And unto whom he ſhall pronounce that other ſentence, *Depart from me ye curſed into everlaſting fire prepared for the Devil and his Angels*, they ſhall ſtand accurſed likewiſe by God the Father, by an irrevocable and everlaſting curſe.

CHAP. XVII.

The League between God and Abraham *did eminently contain the moſt accurate ſolemnities that were uſed betwixt Prince and Prince, or Nation and Nation.*

AS this League here mentioned betwixt God and *Abraham*, was for its conditions of the higheſt rank of League, *ut eoſdem haberent & hoſtes & ſocios*: So it was as ſolemnly concluded and ſubſcribed unto by both parties, as any League betwixt Man and Man was ever concluded and ſolemnized. Albeit the manner of concluding or making Leagues of amity betwixt Man and Man, or people and people, was in ancient times (ſpecially amongſt the Eaſtern Nations) moſt formal and remarkably ſolemn; and the manner or ſolemnity did vary or differ according to the variety of Cuſtoms uſual amongſt diverſe Nations. The Macedonians for confirmations of Leagues with others, did divide a quantity of bread between the parties conſociating, giving the one half to the one party, and the other to the other. So *Xenophon* deſcribes the ſolemn League of amity between *Alexander* the Great and *Cohortanus*. And though *Xenophon* expreſſeth it not, it is very probable that they uſed ſuch ſolemn imprecations as were uſually made in other Leagues concluded with the like ſolemnity or ſacrifice; And that was, that ſo God would divide or ſmite him or them, that ſhould break the League, or violate the conditions agreed upon, as they did divide the bread, or ſmite the Sacrifice by which the League was concluded. Other Leagues of amity or aſſociation (as the ſame * *Xenophon* tells us) were concluded between party and party which had formerly been at variance and hoſtility, by mutual delivery of the ſame Weapons, as of Lances, Pikes, or other offenſive Weapons now conſecrated by this ſolemn delivery to be inſtruments or pledges of peace, or not to be uſed ſave in their mutual defence, or in offence to them who ſhould prove Enemies to their mutual Peace. But thoſe Leagues were more ſolemn which were concluded with Blood, either of the parties which entred League, or with the blood of Beaſts ſacrificed for making Peace between men. So * *Tacitus* tells, it was the cuſtom amongſt ſome Eaſtern Kings, when they entred a League, to clutch their hands and fingers, and to tye their thumbs ſo hard, until the blood did riſe in the pulp or fleſhy part, and afterwards to let them both ſo much blood by a gentle touch, that each party might ſuck others blood. *Id fœdus arcanum habetur quaſi mutuo cruore ſacratum.* This kind of League (ſaith *Tacitus*) was accounted ſacred, as being confirmed by mutual blood. But how ſacred or ſecret ſoever this League was, (for the word *Arcanum* importeth both) it was *pro illa vice, for that turn*, both openly and ſhamefully violated by *Radamiſtus*. * *Xenophon* likewiſe deſcribes another League between the *Grecians* and the people of *Aſia* concluded by the blood of Sacrifices which they mutually killed. The Grecians dipped their Swords, and the Aſiaticks their Lances in the blood of the Sacrifices, (which were a Bull, a Bear, a Wolf and a Ram) being firſt mingled together in a Shield or Target; as if they had ſought to have made peace between theſe offenſive Weapons of War, by making them pledge each other in a common Cup. For ſo the moſt ſolemn manner of plighting Faith betwixt ſome Nations was, for the one to take up the ſame Cup from the others hand, and to pledge him in it; or in caſe no Cup or Wine could be preſently had, they were to lick the duſt of the earth at each others hands.

2. The manner of ſolemnizing this preſent League betwixt God and *Abraham*, at the firſt draught of it, was much what the ſame with that which *Tacitus* reports of the Eaſtern Kings. It was ſolemnized on *Abrahams* part by the effuſion of his own and his Son *Iſaacs* blood, and ſo continued throughout the Generations of their Poſterity, by

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* Interrogante illo, reſpondent ſe Macrones eſſe, quære igitur inquit *Xen.* cur aciem adverſus nos inſtruxerint, & cur hoſtes noſtri eſſe velint? reſpondent illi, quia vos etiam noſtrum ſolum ingreſſi eſtis. Et reſponderi duces jubent, id non eo factum, ut vos ullo damno afficiamus, ſed poſteaquam adverſus regem bellum geſſimus, redire jam in Græciam cupimus, & ad mare pergere, quærunt illi num de eo fide datâ ſibi cavere velint; velle ſe Græci & dare fidem & accipere inquiunt: poſt hæc Macrones haſtam barbaricam Græcis tradunt, & ipſis Græci viciſſim Græcam, quod hoc pacto fidem dari apud ſe dicerent. Lib. 4. de expeditione Cyri p. 267.

* Qua neceſſitate Mithradates diem locumq; fœderi accepit caſtelloq; egreditur. Ac primo Radamiſtus in amplexus ejus effuſus ſimulare obſequium, & ſocerum ac parentem appellare, adjicit juſjurandum, non ferro non veneno vim allaturum: ſimul in locum propinquum trahit, proviſum illic ſacrificium imperatum dictitans ut diis teſtibus pax firmaretur. Mos eſt regibus quoties in ſocietatem coeant, implicare dextras, pollicesq; inter ſe vincere, nodoq; præſtringere, mox ubi ſanguis in extremos artus ſe effuderit, levi ictu cruorem eliciunt atq; invicem lambunt. Id fœdus arcanum habetur, quaſi mutuo cruore ſacratum. Lib. 12 Annal.

* Quumq; armatorum acies inſtructa eſſet, Græcorum imperatores, & ſerierum Ductores apud Ariæum conveniunt, & quum Græci, Ariæus, cum aliis apud ipſum dignitate præſtantiſſimâ viris juramento confirmant, non prodituros ſe mutuo, ſed in ſocietate conſtanter permanſuros, addentibus hoc ſacramentum barbaris, ſine fraude ſe itineris duces fore. Hæc ſacramenta quum præſtarent, aprum, taurum, lupum, arietem mactabant, Græcis gladium, barbaris haſtam in ſcutum tingentibus. Lib. 2. de expeditione Cyri p. 217.

cutting off the Fore-ſkin of their fleſh. And inaſmuch as Circumciſion was the ſign, or ſolemn Ceremony of this mutual League between God and *Abraham* and *Abrahams* ſeed; it is neceſſarily implyed by the tenour of the ſame mutual Covenant, that God ſhould ſubſcribe or ſeal the League after the ſame manner, and receive the ſame ſign of Circumciſion in his fleſh which *Abraham* and his ſeed hath done.

3. This Covenant which was firſt entred by Circumciſion, was afterwards renewed on Gods part, as on *Abraham's* part by mutual and ſolemn Sacrifice. The manner of Gods Treaty or Proceſs with *Abraham* in this Covenant, is worthy of ſerious obſervation: And *Abrahams* demeanour in all this buſineſs is the moſt lively pattern, and moſt exquiſite rule for all our imitation who deſire the aſſurance of Faith or Hope concerning our preſent or future eſtate in this Gracious League or Covenant. Though it be moſt true, (which hath been often intimated before,) that no man can deſerve any thing at Gods hand, becauſe no man can give him any thing which he hath not received from him; ſeeing no man can beſtow upon God, or convey unto him any title, or right of propriety which he hath received from him, which God had not, before man received it from him, or enjoyed it by him: Yet if we be content ſincerely to renounce our own title or intereſt in the Creatures which we have received from him, or in our ſelves, (who are likewiſe his, whoſe very being is the free gift of his goodneſs,) he ſtill rewards us for every ſuch ſervice, or act of our bounden duty, with a larger meaſure of his bounty, than any deſervings of man from man can pretend unto. And thus he rewarded *Abraham* always *in kind*; always according to the quality or ſpecifical nature of his work or ſervice; but for quantity far beyond all proportion of any gift or ſervice which *Abraham* could preſent unto his God; though it had been the Sacrifice of himſelf, or of his Son. The firſt remarkable ſervice which God expreſt or required of *Abraham*, was to forſake his Kindred and his Fathers Houſe. *Gen.* 12. 1. And in lieu of that intereſt which *Abraham* renounced in theſe, (thoſe being not the ten thouſand part of the Country wherein he lived) God gives him a juſt title or intereſt to the whole Land of *Canaan*, and promiſeth to make a mighty Nation of his ſeed; to erect more than one or two Kingdoms out of it. And yet all this is but the pledge or earneſt of a far better patrimony prefigured by it, and bequeathed with it as an inheritance conveyed by delivery of the *terrar*. The ſpiritual bleſſing envailed under this great temporal bleſſing, was, that God would be a God unto *Abraham* and to his ſeed, and that they ſhould be unto him a people. And to be Gods peculiar people was ſo much greater than to be Lords and Kings over the whole Earth, as the temporal inheritance which God here promiſed *Abraham* (that was the whole Kingdom of *Canaan*) was greater than the private temporal patrimony which *Abraham* for Gods ſervice had left in *Caldæa*, or *Meſopotamia*.

4. The next ſervice which God requires of *Abraham* and his ſeed that they might become more capable of his promiſe, and that this promiſe might *tranſire in pactum*, *paſſe* (as we ſay) *into a League or Covenant*, was that *Abraham* and his ſeed ſhould circumciſe the Foreſkin of their fleſh; and by this Ceremony or ſervice, they were Conſecrated to be Gods people, his peculiar people. The reward which God aſtipulateth or promiſeth to this ſervice or Ceremony by them

performed, was that he would conſecrate himſelf by the ſame Ceremony of Circumciſion to be their God, their gracious Protector and Redeemer. But *Abraham* and his Son *Iſaac* being by this Ceremony of Circumciſion once conſecrated to Gods ſervice, they might not after they had once received this *badge* or *cognizance*, withdraw themſelves from any ſervice unto which their Lord God ſhould afterwards call them, how harſh and unpleaſant ſoever it might ſeem to fleſh and blood. The next remarkable ſervice whereunto God called *Abraham* was to offer up his only Son *Iſaac* whom he loved, for a burnt Offering: And this ſervice *Abraham* for his part is as willing to undertake to be an Actor in it, and *Iſaac* as willing to undergo or be a patient in it, as they had been in the former ſervice of Circumciſion. The reward which God appointed to this ſecond ſervice of *Abraham* and *Iſaac*, was the *final ratification* of the former promiſe, or Covenant, by ſolemn Oath. *By my ſelf have I ſworn, that in thy ſeed ſhall all the Nations of the Earth be bleſſed.* The contents of his Oath is, that God would make his only Son ſuch a Sacrifice as *Abraham* was willing to have made his only Son *Iſaac*, that in him, and by him all the Nations of the Earth, that is all of every Nation that would ſo rely upon Gods promiſes as *Abraham* and *Iſaac* did, ſhould be made Heirs with them of the Kingdom which God had promiſed; and that was the Kingdom of Everlaſting bliſs. But of this particular the Reader may ſee more in the eighth * Book of theſe Comments.

* *Chap.* 30. *Parag.* 3. &c.

5. In this Sacrifice of the Son of God and Seed of *Abraham*, the League firſt ſolemnized by Circumciſion, was for the external rite or manner more exquiſitely ſolemnized than any League ever had been. The ſolemnity of all other Leagues were eminently contained in it. For beſides the rites before-mentioned in ſolemnizing Leagues concluded by Sacrifice, each party had a Prieſt or *vates*, or elſe made choice of ſome indifferent Prieſt for both. Each party likewiſe had their proper Sacrifice, or (which would give better ſatisfaction to curioſity) they had one common Sacrifice in which both parties had equal intereſt, as being provided at their joint coſts and charges; or the one brought a Prieſt and the other a Sacrifice. Sometimes again they had one * common Temple, either built of purpoſe at their joynt coſts (as ſome think *Janus* Temple in *Rome* was built by *Romulus* and *Titus Tatius*, for ratifying the peace between the *Latines* and the *Sabines*) or elſe made choice of ſome Temple moſt indifferently ſeated for both to meet in. All theſe circumſtances were good emblems of the wiſhed for peace; good emblems likewiſe of the equal conditions in ſuch Leagues agreed upon; and yet imperfect emblems, ſcarce good ſhadows of the admirarable manner how this League of peace be-

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* *Iſocrates* in oratione de pace ait ſe ſpectatorem fuiſſe plurimorum bellorum in Græcia; confecit enim annos ætatis ſuæ pænè centum; ſed re atque uſu comperiſſe, omnium bellorum exitus tandem ad normam juſtitiæ congruere. Quanquam enim eventus qui antecedunt καταστροφὴν tanta in varietate ſunt, ut ſæpe cogant homines dubitare, utra cauſa ſit melior, tamen finis declarat juſtitiam cauſæ victricem eſſe, deum oppreſſos injuſtis modis vindicare in veterem libertatem. Hujus regulæ duo exempla evidentiſſima in hoc tertio libro extant, atque eminent: unum de bello inter Lacedæmonios & Meſſenios, alterum de incendio univerſæ Græciæ, quod Peloponneſiacum vocatur. Vetus conſuetudo fuit ædificare communia templa, atq; in iis veſci rebus conſecratis, quoties fœdera inter vicinos fiebant. Quare cum Lacedæmonii in Peloponeſo vicini eſſent, communi templo extructo pacem inter ſe fœduſq; extruxerunt. Sed quodam tempore adoleſcentes Meſſenii, jura divina & humana violantes regem Laconicum Teleclum ad communia ſacra profectum interfecerunt & virgines Laconicas nobiles ad turpitudinem rapuerunt. Itaq; Lacedæmonii juramento ſeſe obſtrinxêre, non antè domum ſe reverſuros quam Meſſenam ſolo æquaſſent, aut omnes certe occumbere velle morti: Et ſi autem diu anceps Mars fuit, & dubia belli fortuna, (nam Ariſtomenes dux Meſſeniorum, qui habuit cor hirſutum, ſua manu trecentos Lacedæmonios trucidavit) tamen Meſſena Anno 19. à Lacedæmoniis capta & ſervitutis jugo triſtiſſimo oppreſſa eſt. Victorinus Strigelius in tertium librum hiſtoriarum Juſtini.

twixt God and man was concluded. We cannot ſay that God had one Prieſt, and man another; but both had one Prieſt more indifferent than any two Nations ever could have, though his Father had been of the one Nation, and his Mother of the other, and himſelf born upon the Sea betwixt them, or upon the bounds of their borders. The Prieſt between God and man was but one, and yet truly God, and truly man; ſo truly one, that we cannot ſay the Seed of *Abraham*, or Son of man did provide the Sacrifice, and the Son of God did offer it, but (which is more admirable and more indifferent) the fleſh of this Sacrifice was humane, or mans fleſh as truly and properly as ours is; and yet as truly and properly the fleſh of God, as ours is the fleſh of man. The blood of the Sacrifice likewiſe was *ſanguis humanus*, mans blood as truly and properly as any blood in our veins is, and yet as truly and properly the blood of God, as our blood is the blood of man. It was (as hath been heretofore obſerved) humane blood, or mans blood by nature, that is, of the ſame ſubſtance with our blood, and yet the blood of God by perſonal Union or Property, by a more peculiar title, than the blood in our bodies can be ſaid ours. For the Godhead is more nearly united to the manhood of Chriſt, than our Souls are to our Bodies. And by this perſonal or bodily habitation of the Godhead in his body, he who was our Sacrifice, and continues a Prieſt for confirming this League, is alſo become the Temple. His body is become that Tabernacle wherein God promiſed to meet the Children of *Iſrael*. And unto the glory of the Godhead which was before inacceſſible, but now dwelling in this Tabernacle, we have daily acceſs through the blood of Chriſt. We may at all times, and in all places, preſent him in this Tabernacle with the ſacrifice of Prayer, of Thankſgiving, and of our ſelves; and he from hence (as our God and Father) indues us with the Spirit of Chriſt, whereby we are made his Sons. For the blood of Chriſt, as it is *ſanguis humanus*, humane blood, of the ſame nature with ours) doth ſymbolize with our nature; and as it is the blood of God, in which the Godhead dwelleth perſonally, it is of force and vertue ſufficient to purifie and cleanſe our ſinful nature, and to make us partakers of the Divine Nature.

See the 7th Book of Comments upon the Creed. Chap. 30. Parag. 10.

CHAP. XVIII.

What the Interpoſition of God's Oath for more abundant Confirmation of his Promiſe to Abraham *did import, over and above all that which was included in the literal or aſſertive ſenſe of the League between God and* Abraham.

Leaving it to the Learned Profeſſors of Laws Canonical, Civil, or Municipal, what ſpecial obligement a ſolemn oath induceth, more than a meer Covenant or *Paction* without an oath can require; our next enquiry muſt be, what the Interpoſition of God's oath firſt made to *Abraham*, and afterwards renewed with more expreſs exemplifications unto *David*, did import, according to the Characterical or Emblematical ſenſe. This is a point of Divinity often mentioned in this long work of Commentaries upon the Creed, and divers other of my meditations in my younger and better days; and the oftner intimated, becauſe it hath been ſo ſeldom handled or thought upon by moſt Commentators or Controverſie-writers, although in my opinion (continued ever ſince I began theſe Commentaries) it be the very key, without which there can be no lawful entrance into, no ſafe retire out of thoſe uſual debates concerning *Election*, *Predeſtination*, or other poſitive points of Divinity, whereon the reſolution of theſe doth moſt depend. Now the reſolution of this point we are to learn, not from any practice of humane Courts Judicial or Coercive, for determining Pleas or Controverſies between party and party. For all in Proceſſes of this nature, the determination muſt be according to the literal, grammatical, and aſſertive ſenſe of Laws in this caſe provided, and of Teſtimonies produced or exhibited according to Law. The Queſtion now in handling with its deciſion, depends much upon Tradition, or received rules (whether of Ancient Heathen Jews or Chriſtians) What Oath made either by the true and only God, or by the imaginary Gods of the Heathen, did import more than a meer promiſe or threatning. To begin firſt with the Ancient Heathen.

2. Albeit that which the Apoſtle ſaith of the God and Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt [*That he had no greater by whom he could ſwear*] could have no place, at leaſt ſutable to the eſtimation of the Gods, by which the Heathens did ſwear or call to witneſs; yet when *Jupiter*, the greateſt God amongſt them, was either provoked or voluntarily pleaſed to ſwear by ſuch parts of this Univerſe, as were conceived to be his coequals, his full Peers, if not his betters, it was generally preſumed or believed, that the doom or ſentence ſo pronounced (were it bliſsful or diſmal) was irreverſible. For this reaſon the Oath by *Styx* is called by *Homer* ὅρκος μέγιστος, the grand or greateſt Oath. But ſo called [I take it] by a Synecdoche: For if *Jupiter* had ſworn by *Phlegeton*, or by the *Elyſian* Fields, it had been all one as if he had ſworn by *Styx*, or other parts of the Infernal Region; all, or every one of which were in Heatheniſh Divinity more venerable than this middle viſible Region wherein we live.

Ἴστω νῦν τόδε γαῖα καὶ οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὕπερθεν
Καὶ τὸ κατειβόμενον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ (ὅστε μέγιστος
Ὅρκος δεινότατός τε πέλει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσι) &c.

Hom. Odyſſ. l. 5.

Not *Jupiter* only but *Juno*, in *Homer*'s Divinity, did hold the Oath by *Styx* to be inviolable.

Ἄγρει νῦν μοι ὄμοσον ἀάατον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ
Χειρὶ δὲ τῇ ἑτέρῃ μὲν ἕλε χθόνα πουλυβότειραν
Τῇ δ' ἑτέρῃ ἅλα μαρμαρέην, &c. Libro 14. ἰλιάδ.

Such doom or ſentences as the Heathens accounted fatal, even the awards of the weyred Siſters themſelves (the conceived Spinſters of fates and fortune) did derive the neceſſity of their execution, from interpoſition of ſome oath or other. And in caſe the fates or *weyred Siſters* had ſworn the deſtruction of any Nation or People, *Jupiter* had no authority to releaſe the parties, thus deſigned, from deſtruction; but a power only to puniſh, *ultra condignum*, or beyond the meaſure of puniſhment decreed by the *weyred Siſters* or fates

A memorable ſpeech, to this effect, a ſtately Roman Poet hath put into *Jupiter*'s mouth,

-----Vos ô ſuperi, meus ordine ſanguis,
Ne pugnate odiis, neu me tentare precando
Certetis; ſic fata mihi nigræq; ſororum
Juravere colus. Manet hæc origine mundi
Fixa dies bello populiq; in prælia nati:
Quod niſi me veterum pœnas ſancire malorum
Gentibus, & diros ſinitis punire nepotes
Arcem hanc æternam, mentiſq; ſacraria noſtræ
Teſtor, & Elyſios, etiam mihi numina, Fontes,
Ipſe manu Thebas correptaq; mœnia fundo
Excutiam, verſaſq; ſolo ſuper Inacha tecta
Effundam turres, ac ſtagna in cærula vertam
Imbre ſuperjecto; licet ipſa in turbine rerum
Juno ſuos colles templumq; amplexa laboret.

The laſt clauſe of this pathetical Oath, bears a counterfeit, or adulterate character of that ſolemn Oath of the true and only God; *As I live ſaith the Lord, though* Coniah, *the Son of* Jehoiakim *King of* Judah *were the Signet upon my right hand, yet would I pluck thee thence; and I will give thee into the hand of them whoſe face thou feareſt, even into the hand of* Nebuchadnezzar *King of* Babylon, *and into the hands of the* Chaldeans. *And I will caſt thee out, and thy Mother that bare thee, into another Country where ye were not born, and there ſhall ye die,* Jerem. 22. 24, 25, 26, *&c. But unto the Land whereunto they deſire to return, thither ſhall they not return. Is this man* Coniah *a deſpiſed broken Idol? Is he a veſſel wherein is no pleaſure? Wherefore are they caſt out, he and his Seed, and are caſt into a Land which they know not? O earth, earth, earth, hear the word of the Lord! Thus ſaith the Lord, write ye this man childleſs; a man that ſhall not proſper in his days; for no man of his Seed ſhall proſper, ſitting upon the Throne of* David, *and ruling any more in* Judah.

3. With the Hebrew Rabbins, this Tradition or received Rule concerning the importance of God's Oath, is ſo authentick, as it makes them more peremptory in their reſolution for the expiration of *Solomon*'s Line in *Jeconiah*, than moſt Chriſtian Interpreters upon that place have been; unleſs it be ſuch as in this point follow them. Yet can I not perſwade my ſelf, nor conceive any ſuſpicion that either the Jewiſh Rabbins ſhould take their hints for thus interpreting the fore-cited or any other place of Scripture, wherein God's Oath is interpoſed, from the Divinity of the Heathen: Much leſs did the Ancient Poets or Philoſophers (who were the beſt Divines the Heathens had) borrow their fancies or conjectures from the Jewiſh Rabbins who were their Punies; nor were the Fathers of the Greek and Latine Church, the Fathers or firſt Authors of this Catholick Rule or Tradition. All of them rather were beholding to the Ancient Hebrews, or to Moſaical or Prophetical Writings, for ſuch prenotions or confuſed apprehenſions, as in this ſubject they had. The conſent of the Ancient Chriſtian Writers or Fathers, the diligent Reader may find in their Comments upon thoſe places of Scriptures, wherein God's Oath is mentioned; but eſpecially in their Comments upon the 110 *Pſalm*, from which place and the like, not they only, but our Apoſtle (to my apprehenſion) in the ſixth and ſeventh Chapters to the

Hebrews, took his directions. The Lord (ſaith *David*) *Pſalm* 110. *ver.* 4. *hath ſworn and will not repent, thou art a Prieſt for ever*, &c. This, in the language of *Canaan*, and by conſent of many Fathers, is as much as if he had ſaid, The Lord will not repent, or reverſe his promiſe to me and my Seed, becauſe he hath ſworn that he ſhould be a Prieſt for ever after the order of *Melchiſedech*.

4. That God doth repent him, either of the evil which he denounceth, or of the good which he promiſeth, is a phraſe moſt uſual in Scripture; the true and punctual meaning of which phraſe is, that God did change or revoke either his ſentences of calamity, or of good which he in both caſes truly intended, and irreſiſtibly meant to put in execution. And all this he might do, and often did without any change or alteration in his will or intention; but always upon ſome change or alteration in the parties, either truly intereſſed in his promiſes, or liable to his heavy judgments: when the one party did change from good courſes to evil, he was immutably free to reverſe his promiſe (as he himſelf ſomewhere ſpeaketh) to break his Covenant. And when wicked men did turn from their wicked ways, he was as free, and more willing to reverſe ſentences of woe, not only threatned, but decreed againſt them. This freedom in *God* is perpetually preſumed or taken as granted by his Prophets, whenſoever the Promiſe, Decree, or Covenant is not revealed unto them with the ſeal of an Oath. But the ſentence whether for good or evil being revealed under Oath, was in their judgment fully declared to be irreverſible. For this reaſon the Prophet ſometimes wiſhed the ſpeedy execution of Plagues threatned by God unto their own Nation or Kindred; as knowing it bootleſs either to intreat Gods favour, after his wrath againſt them was denounced by Oath, or to ſollicite the fulfilling of his gracious promiſes towards their Poſterity, until his wrathful ſentences confirmed by oath were put in execution. In one and the ſame Chapter, it is ſaid oftner than once, that *God did repent him of making* Saul *King of* Iſrael: What is the reaſon? He was made King without an Oath, yet with ſincere promiſe of continuing the Kingdom to himſelf and to his ſeed, with this condition, in the Prophets conſtruction implyed though not expreſſed, *Si bene ſe gereret*; But when the Prophet *Samuel* denounceth the ſentence of depoſition upon him. 1 *Sam.* 15. 29. *The ſtrength of* Iſrael *will not lie, nor repent, for he is not a man that he ſhould repent:* The meaning is, that the ſtrength of *Iſrael* will not revoke his ſentence * denounced by Oath againſt *Amaleck* and his Aſſociates; and *Saul* by ſparing *Amaleck*, *incidit in hanc ſententiam*, doth fall under this ſentence, though not as principal, yet as an acceſſory.

5. A true Parallel to the Hiſtory concerning the anointing and depoſition of *Saul*, had been exhibited before by the ſame Prophet in the election and depoſition of *Eli*, who was poſſeſſed of the Prieſthood by legal title, under divine promiſe to himſelf and to his Houſe. The promiſe we have 1 *Sam.* 2. 30. and the reverſing of the promiſe or bleſſing promiſed in the ſame *verſe* and *verſes* following. *Wherefore the Lord God of* Iſrael *ſaith, I ſaid indeed that thy Houſe, and the Houſe of thy Father ſhould walk before me for ever, but now the Lord*

ſaith

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[*] Balaam *had heard or known by viſion that the Lord had ſworn to give the Land of* Canaan *to the ſeed of* Jacob, *and hence he took up his parable in the ſame words that* Samuel *uſed to* Saul: *Riſe up* Baalak *and hear, hearken unto me thou Son of* Zippor, *God is not a man that he ſhould ly, neither the Son of man that he ſhould repent, hath he ſaid and ſhall he not do it, or hath he ſpoken, and ſhall he not make it good? &c.* Numb. 32. 18, 19.

ſaith, be it far from me: For them that honour me, I will honour, and they that deſpiſe me ſhall be lightly eſteemed. Behold the days come, that I will cut off thine arm, and the arm of thy Fathers Houſe, that there ſhall not be an old man in thy Houſe, &c. This lamentable meſſage was ſent unto him by the Man of God mentioned, *v.* the 27. The ſame ſentence or curſe upon him and his Houſe, is afterwards denounced by *Samuel* under Oath, *And the Lord ſaid to* Samuel, *behold I will do a thing in* Iſrael, *at which, both the ears of every one that hear it, ſhall tingle. And in that day I will perform againſt* Eli, *all things which I have ſpoken againſt his Houſe, when I begin, I will alſo make an end. For I have told him that I will judge his Houſe for ever for the iniquity that he knoweth, becauſe his Sons made themſelves vile, and he reſtrained them not: And therefore I have ſworn unto the Houſe of* Eli, *that the iniquity of* Elie's *Houſe ſhall not be purged with Sacrifice, nor offering for ever. verſes* 13, 14, 15. *&c.* Now when *Samuel* had imparted this fearful ſentence unto *Eli*, being thereunto adjured, he replied no more than this, *It is the Lord, let him do what ſeemeth him good. v.* 18. Had this meſſage been delivered by that man of God which brought the former, not ratified by Oath, unto this good old Man though an impotent Governour, haply he would have ſleighted it, as 'tis probable he did the former, or have called the Meſſengers Commiſſion in queſtion. But this latter and more terrible doom being delivered to him by a Child, who for his maintenance and being, did depend upon him as upon his Foſter-Father; by a Child ſo far from ſecular cunning, or ſophiſms of corrupt Prieſts or Levites, that he knew not the voice of the Lord from the voice of his Tutor, until he was inſtructed by him; his Commiſſion was to *Eli* more authentick; and his meſſage both for matter and tenour more free from all ſuſpicion of impoſture. The anſwer of *Eli* is of the ſame alloy with *Job's* reply unto the ſad news which his ſervants brought to him. *The Lord* (ſaith *Job*) *hath given, and the Lord hath taken away, bleſſed be the name of the Lord. Job.* 1. 21. Thus he ſpake after he had ſeen himſelf and his Family utterly undone for Worldly ſubſtance, deprived of all Earthly Contentment. *Eli* knew this ſentence againſt him being denounced by Oath, as certain, and impoſſible to be reverſed, as if it had been already put in execution. For this reaſon (I take it) the old Man did think upon a more ſubmiſſive anſwer unto *Samuel*, than he had vouchſafed unto the Man of God, who was ſent unto him upon the ſame errand. The humility and modeſty of his anſwer perſwades me that the fearful ſentence denounced againſt him, did extend no further than to the irreverſible depoſition of him and his Family from the legal or temporary Prieſthood, unto the poor and mean eſtate wherein his Poſterity after the diſaſter of his two Sons, were to live here on the Earth. Nor have I (nor any man for ought I know) any warrant from Gods word to ſay, and Chriſtian Charity forbids me to think, or from this place to conjecture, that either *Eli* himſelf, his two lewd Sons, or his Poſterity were abſolutely, that is irreverſibly decreed from this time to Everlaſting damnation. Many decrees or ſentences denounced by Divine Oath may be, and are abſolutely irreverſible, when as the Plague or matter of the Curſe denounced, is only temporary, not everlaſting; But to determine with the life of the party againſt whom 'tis denounced, or at the worſt to his Succeſſors here on earth, it no way reacheth the ſtate of the one or of the other in the life to come.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the two things wherein our Apoſtle ſaith it was impoſſible for God to lye.

THis is our Comfort; there is no Curſe, nor woe denounced by Oath throughout the whole Scripture, which either in the aſſertive or Characterical ſenſe can be extended ſo far as the bleſſing ſealed by Oath to *Abraham*, and to all the Heirs of Promiſe. *So God willing more abundantly to ſhew unto the heirs of promiſe the ſtableneſs of his Counſel, bound himſelf by an Oath*; So our former Engliſh reads. The latter thus; *wherein God willing more abundantly to ſhew unto the Heirs of Promiſe the immutability of his Counſel, confirmed it by an Oath*; *or* (as the margine) *interpoſed himſelf by an Oath*; but with ſubmiſſion of my verdict in this caſe to competent Judges, there is ſomewhat more implyed in the Original, than either our Engliſh, or Latin Tranſlations(which I have read)do expreſs. Three or four words there are in this paſſage which are τεχνικὰ, or *ſolennia*; *words* of *form*, or peculiar to the faculty of Theology. Firſt ἐπιδεῖξαι, is ſomewhat more than to ſhew; as much as authentickly or ſolemnly to declare. Secondly, τὸ ἀμετάθετον τῆς βουλῆς αὐτοῦ imports a great deal more, *than the ſtableneſs or immutability* of his Counſel. For, that Gods will or Counſel is, as *he is* moſt abſolutely immutable, was a point ſo well known to *Abraham*, and to the Sages of the Heathen, which lived after him, as it needed no ſolemn avouchment or declaration by Oath: That God moſt immutably wills mutability in the works of nature, and in the government of this inferior world, as ſometimes (though ſeldom) in the courſe of ſtars, and often in the erection or extirpation of greateſt Kingdoms, or of royal or ſacerdotal ſucceſſion, was a point not doubted of by any that acknowledged there was a God. The myſteries in this place declared by ſolemn oath were theſe; *That the Bleſſing before promiſed, and now firſt ratified by Oath unto* Abraham *and his Seed, not according to the fleſh but the ſpirit, ſhould not be only irreverſible, but unchangeable: That the promiſed womans Seed ſhould be one of* Abraham'*s Seed: That this Seed after his Conſecration to the office of bleſſing ſhould not be ſubject to any change or chance: That his Kingdom and Prieſthood ſhould be Everlaſting.* This laſt clauſe may be made more clear from the renewing and reſtraining of his glorious promiſe unto the Seed of *David* κατ' ἐξοχὴν. Our former Engliſh hath * two animadverſions upon this place, which are rather imperfect than erroneous. Again what thoſe two things were ἐν οἷς ἀδύνατον ψεύσασθαι τὸν θεὸν; or what the importance of the word ψεύσασθαι is in this place, is a point not ſo fully determined by moſt Interpreters, but that it is free for every latter Interpreter to conjecture or demur upon the point. Our Engliſh marginal note implies, that the [a] two things in which it was impoſſible for God ψεύσασθαι were his *word* and his *Oath*. I ſhould rather think his promiſe made to *Abraham*, and his ſolemn Oath made for the ratification of his promiſe. But whether we underſtand his word or promiſe, and his Oath for ratification of either; they muſt be taken *conjunctim*, not *diviſim*, not ſeverally but conjunctively. For Gods meer promiſe without an Oath, though moſt ſure in it ſelf, is not ſo firm an Anchor for poor men to rely upon in temptations, as his promiſe confirmed by Oath; nor

** The one that God did interpoſe his Oath, becauſe of mans wickedneſs which will not believe God except he ſwear.*

[a] The other that the two immutable things mentioned here by our Apoſtle were his Word and Oath.

nor doth the Original ψεύσασθαι in this place imply any poſſibility or impoſſibility of lying, or unſincere dealing in God himſelf, but refers to the ſtability or unſtability of the bleſſing promiſed. A bleſſing whether of this life or the life to come, under meer promiſe, may be ſubject to contingency or change; becauſe the promiſe it ſelf (by reaſon of cauſes beſt known to Divine Wiſdom) may be reverſed, but a bleſſing promiſed by Oath is exempted from all poſſibility of reverſion, if it concern this life; or if it refer to the life to come, it muſt be, as that life is; not only irreverſible, but alſo unchangeable, either for quality or degree of joy.

2. By the two things our Apoſtle ſaith it was impoſſible for God ψεύσασθαι, that is, to ſuffer his bleſſing promiſed to *Abraham*, and to the Heirs of Promiſe to *fail*; we may underſtand without violence to the text or incongruity of ſence, the Oath it ſelf, and the object of the Oath which was God himſelf. *He ſware by himſelf*, ſaith the Original, *Geneſis* 21. *v.* the 1. The true meaning of which place is moſt elegantly expreſſed by our Apoſtle, *Hebr.* 6. *v.* 17. ἐμεσίτευσεν ὅρκῳ, *he interpoſed himſelf*, as our Engliſh noteth, or, *word by word, he mediated by Oath*; thereby binding as well the perſon of the Son, who is ὁ μεσίτης, the *only Mediator* between *God and Man*, as his own Almighty Perſon. And this *merces magna* promiſed by God himſelf by Oath, in the Perſon of the Father, and the Son, is moſt ſuitable to the obedience, not of *Abraham* only, but of *Iſaac*, whom God (as it hath been obſerved before) did ſtill reward in kind. But whatſoever the two immutable things in this place meant by our Apoſtle, were; it is evident that his Oath was interpoſed for the conſolation and comfort of *Abraham* and his Poſterity; ſo the Apoſtle tells us expreſly, *v.* 18. and 19. *That by two immutable things in which it was impoſſible for God to lye, we might have a ſtrong conſolation, who have fled for refuge to lay hold upon the hope ſet before us.* The ſheat Anchor of this ſtrong hope or conſolation, is firſt the irreverſibility of the Promiſe: Secondly, the immutability of the bleſſing promiſed; of which it is impoſſible that any ſuch Heir of Promiſe as *Abraham* was when God vouchſafed thus to ſwear unto him, ſhould either fail or come ſhort. This I take to be the true meaning of that uncouth Phraſe [*wherein it is impoſſible for God to lie*] that is, to ſuffer the bleſſing promiſed to fail or change, or them to periſh who are poſſeſſed of it by vertue of this Covenant ſealed by Oath. Every thing in ſacred Dialect is called a *LYE* which is ſubject to mutability, hazard, or change; or on which one too much relying may be deceived or fall into danger: So ſaith the *Pſalmiſt*, שקר הסוס לתשועה *an Horſe is a lye unto ſalvation.* The elegancy of which word in the Original, is well expreſſed by our vulgar * Engliſh, *an Horſe is but a vain thing to ſave a man.* But why a lie, or vanity? Becauſe he that relies upon it too much, or more than upon God, may come to ſudden deſtruction; according to the ſame dialect that feſt or Anchor-hold unto which the *Jews* in ſtorms of War or Calamity, did too much truſt, to wit, *Templum Domini, Templum Domini*, were (as the Prophet calls them) lying words. And no better are many mens perſwaſions of the abſolute certainty of their own Salvation, only becauſe they believe in Chriſt alone, and ſeek unto no other Mediators or Interceſſors. Indeed, if they believe in Chriſt as *Abraham* and *Iſaac*, and *Joſhua* did in God; that is, if they follow the footſteps of theſe men, or rather the ways of God, wherein theſe walked with a faithful and unfeigned heart,

Pſal. 33. *v.* 17.

* *And by the vulgar Latine as well* fallax equus ad ſalutem.

heart, then their Election is ſure and firm in it ſelf, although in many caſes to them uncertain. But the principal meaning of our Apoſtle is, that the bleſſing promiſed by Oath unto *Abraham*, is immutable and everlaſting in the life to come; and this we are bound to believe, *certitudine fidei*, by aſſurance of Faith without doubt. But whether we our ſelves in particular, ſhall be undoubtedly actual partakers of ſuch Salvation, we have no better aſſurance from this place, than the aſſurance of hope and ſtrong conſolation; for ſo it followeth; *This hope or* (as Oecolampadius would have it) *this conſolation we have as an anchor of the Soul, both firm and ſtedfaſt; and which entreth into that within the vail.* The implication is, that this hope is not of temporary bleſſings, but of everlaſting life through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, now King and Prieſt in our nature of the Cœleſtial Sanctuary.

CHAP. XX.

The former Importance of Gods Oath to Abraham, *and the Contents of it ſpecified in the two immediately precedent Chapters, more fully confirmed by the Tenor of God's Oath to* David *and to his Seed, deſcribed at large by the Author of* 98 Pſalm, *moſt concludently by the Apoſtle*, Heb. 7.

ALL that which hath been obſerved out of the Tenor of God's Oath to *Abraham*, is implyed in the Pſalmiſt's paraphraſe upon the ſame Covenant renewed by ſpecial Oath unto *David*, *Pſalm* 89. That the Author of this *Pſalm* ſhould be *David* himſelf, no Interpreter which I have read, doth affirm, beſides ſome few, and thoſe of no great skill for interpreting Scriptures, who think that all theſe *Pſalms* were written by *David* himſelf. But this opinion may be clearly convinced, both from the matter and form of this *Pſalm*, beſides the inſcription. For if we ſhould acknowledge *David* to be the Author of this *Pſalm*, there will be no affinity betwixt the matter or ſubject of it, and the *character* or *expreſſion*. Evident it is that the houſe and linage of *David* were in great diſtreſs, and ſubject to grievous temptations of diſtruſting *God's* promiſes, at the time wherein this *Pſalm* was written. And he that will diligently peruſe the Sacred Hiſtory from *David*'s election or *nomination* to the Kingdom of *Iſrael*, until the return of God's people from Babyloniſh Captivity, or the death of *Zerubbabel*, will hardly find more periods of time than two, wherein the occaſion or matter of this Pſalmiſts complaint can have any cognation with his character or expreſſion; which is a fundamental rule for all Intelligent Writers to follow; and moſt exactly obſerved by ſuch as wrote by Divine Inſpiration. The two periods of time wherein this *Pſalm* can with probability be imagined to be written, are either from the death of good *Joſiah* unto the Babyloniſh Captivity, or (as my conjecture leads me) ſhortly after the *forraging* of *Judah*, and *ranſacking* of *Jeruſalem* by *Seſac* King of *Egypt* in the days of *Rehoboam*, after the departure of the Ten Tribes from *Judah*. The beſt determination of this doubt or *Quarie* depends upon Chronologies, or certain diſcoveries of the time wherein * *Ethan* the *Ezrahite* did live. The *Pſalm* it ſelf (as the title ſheweth) is a *Pſalm* of inſtruction, and begins with praiſe and thankſgiving, and ends with prayers and benedictions. As for the intermediate complaints, or ſeeming expoſtulations with God, as if he had forgotten his Covenant made to *David*; theſe (I take it) are rather lively repreſentations of the murmuring and diſcontentments of the people in that age, than true expreſſions of the Pſalmiſts own apprehenſions concerning the true tenor of Gods Promiſe unto *David*. For this is uſual to moſt Pſalmiſts in time of calamity; a point which if the Spaniſh Jew or Rabbin (mentioned by many good * Authors) had conſidered, he would not have interdicted his Countrymen or Scholars to read this *Pſalm*.

2. But to come to the explication of this *Pſalm* it ſelf, or the meaning of the Holy Ghoſt in it; After many ejaculations of Prayers and Thankſgiving, or recitations of God's mercy; *The Lord is our defence, and the Holy One of* Iſrael *is our King*. Then, *Thou ſpakeſt in Viſion to thy Holy One, and ſaidſt, I have laid help upon one that is mighty, I have exalted one choſen from among the people: I have found* David *my ſervant, with my holy Oyl have I anointed him*, &c. The Text upon which he made this ſublime and long paraphraſe following, is recorded, 2 *Sam.* 7. 11. *And as ſince the time that I commanded Judges to be over my people* Iſrael, *and have cauſed thee to reſt from all thine enemies: Alſo the Lord telleth thee that he will make thee an houſe; and when thy days be fulfilled, and thou ſhalt ſleep with thy Fathers, I will ſet up thy Seed after thee, which ſhall proceed out of thy bowels, and I will eſtabliſh his Kingdom*, ver. 13. *He ſhall build an houſe for my name, and I will eſtabliſh the Throne of his Kingdom for ever. I will be his Father, and he ſhall be my Son. If he commit iniquity, I will chaſten him with the rod of men, and with the ſtripes of the children of men. But my mercy ſhall not depart from him, as I took it from* Saul, *whom I put away before thee. And thine houſe and thy Kingdom ſhall be eſtabliſhed for ever before thee, thy Throne ſhall be eſtabliſhed for ever. According to all theſe words, and according to all this viſion, ſo did* Nathan *ſpeak unto* David. Divers paſſages aſwell in this Text, as in the fore-cited paraphraſe in the *Pſalm* upon it, have been literally verified; ſome in *David*, others in *Solomon*; but exactly fulfilled according to the myſtical ſenſe in *David*'s Seed by promiſe, unto whoſe perſon, and to no other, ſome few ſpecial paſſages, according to the literal ſenſe do refer. The next labour is ſo to diſtinguiſh betwixt theſe ſeveral paſſages, as that *David* and his Son *Solomon* may have their due without derogation to the prerogative of *David*'s Seed by promiſe, who was to be, and now is, both *Solomon*'s and *David*'s Lord. The 12 and 13 *verſes*, according to the moſt exquiſite literal ſenſe, *refer* to *David*'s Seed, not by carnal generation, but by promiſe or birth ſpiritual; and yet truly verified of *Solomon* according to a lower degree of the literal ſenſe; who was *David*'s Seed by carnal generation. The eſtabliſhing of *Solomon*'s Kingdom, is here indefinitely expreſſed without any note of Univerſality in reſpect of time: nor was his Line, *de facto*, perpetuated, untill the promiſed Seed was ſpiritually conceived, and made of our fleſh and ſubſtance. If *Solomon*'s Line (as is probable) did determine in *Jeconiah*; yet this no way excludes it from being part of the literal object, *ver.* 13. *He ſhall build an houſe for my name, and I will eſtabliſh the Throne of his Kingdom for ever*; that is, ſo long as that ma-

* *This* Ethan *the* Ezrahite, *as is moſt probable, did flouriſh in the latter end of* Solomon'*s reign, and in the days of* Rehoboam, *& was eſteemed in his age one of the wiſeſt men after* Solomon, 1 Kin.4.30,31. *and* Solomons *wiſdom excelled the wiſdom of all the children of the Eaſt-country, and all the wiſdom of* Egypt, *for he was wiſer than all men, than* Ethan *the* Ezrahite, *&c.*

* Bucer, Calvin, Coppen, *&c.*

terial Temple ſhould ſtand, which was until the Captivity of *Babylon.* The firſt words likewiſe of the 14 *ver. I will be his Father, and he ſhall be my Son,* were literally, and in the hiſtorical ſenſe, meant of *Solomon,* albeit exactly fulfilled in *David's* Seed, κατ' ἐκοχὴν, in the myſtical ſenſe; that is, *Solomon,* as his *Father David* before him, was inſtiled the Son of God, or God's firſt-born amongſt the Princes of the earth; and ſo inſtiled not by Court-complement, or in the Adulatory ſtile, but by the Spirit of God. Both their Royalties and Prerogatives did bear the ſame proportion to all the præeminencies of earthly Kings, which lived before them, or in their times (eſpecially for the perpetuity of the Kingdom) which the portion of the firſt-born did bear by the Law of God, or cuſtom of Nations unto younger Brothers. But the latter part of the 14 *ver.* and the whole 15 *ver. If he commit iniquity, I will chaſten him with the rod of men, and with the ſtripes of the children of men,* are to be underſtood of *Solomon,* and the heirs of his body only; they are not appliable to the Son of God made man, or to the Son of *David* made King and Prieſt, either according to the literal or myſtical ſenſe. The 16 *ver.* refers to *David,* and to *Solomon,* and their Sons in the literal, but to Chriſt and his Kingdom only, in the myſtical ſenſe, as to the true body and ſubſtance; of which theſe two great Kings of *Iſrael* and *Judah,* and their Kingdoms, were but as brief Maps or Terrars. The Kingdom of *David's* Seed κατ' ἐξοχὴν, and of *Solomon* his Succeſſor in the Kingdoms of *Iſrael* and *Judah,* do differ more in ſubſtance, than the Map of *Germany* doth from that ſometimes goodly Country, now waſted with War and Famine.

3. But in all theſe paſſages before-cited, there is no intimation of God's Oath for the confirmation of his promiſe unto *David* and his *Seeds,* but to his *Seed.* Yet this aſſurance unto his *Seed* we have in 132 *Pſalm,* which was compoſed by *David* himſelf, toward the latter end of his reign, or after he had brought the Ark of the Covenant unto Mount *Sion,* the place dedicated by this Pious King for its perpetual reſidence. It is a point to me very conſiderable, that as God did not confirm his promiſe of bleſſing to *Abraham* by Oath, until *Abraham* had yielded up by Faith his only Son *Iſaac*; ſo did he not give *David* aſſurance by Oath, that the Seed promiſed to *Abraham* ſhould be his Seed; or that this his Seed ſhould be the High Prieſt of the Heavenly Sanctuary, until *David* had firſt bound himſelf by ſacred Oath to prepare a place for the Ark of the Covenant, an habitation for the Almighty God of *Jacob: Lord remember* David *and all his afflictions,* Pſalm 132. ver. 1. *How he ſware unto the Lord, and vowed unto the mighty God of* Jacob; *Surely I will not come into the Tabernacle of my houſe, nor go up into my bed; I will not give ſleep unto mine eyes, or ſlumber unto mine eye-lids, until I find out a place for the Lord, an habitation for the mighty God of* Jacob, *&c.* This great ſervice thus conſecrated, and devoted by the royal Prophet: the mighty Lord (who will not ſuffer a cup of cold water, given to a Prophet, in the name of a Prophet to paſs unrewarded) doth abundantly recompence, not in general only, or by equivalency, but as before he had done *Abraham's* and *Iſaac's* obedience in *kind.* Thus much is implyed, *ver.* the 11. *The Lord hath ſworn in truth unto* David, *he will not turn from it,* &c. As if he had ſaid, he will not reverſe his promiſe, nor ſuffer the bleſſing promiſed to fail; becauſe both were confirmed by Oath. What was the Bleſſing promiſed and confirmed

by Oath? *Of the fruit of thy body* (or of thy belly, as the original hath it) *will I ſet upon thy Throne.* The object of this Oath reacheth to none of *David*'s Seed, ſave only to him who was the promiſed womans Seed, the fruit of the Virgins womb; yet were not *David*'s Sons, or the reſt of his Seed excluded by Oath from reigning in *Judah* and *Jeruſalem*, until time ſhould be no more; ſo it followeth *ver.* the 12. *If thy Children will keep my Covenant, and my Teſtimony that I ſhall teach them, their Children alſo ſhall ſit upon thy Throne for ever.* But theſe (we muſt conſider) are words of Promiſe, not of Oath; and for this reaſon are expreſt not in an abſolute form or tenor. *And ſo muſt other promiſes not confirmed by Oath, be interpreted: although the condition be not always expreſſed, they alway imply more than a meer poſſibility; a true title to the bleſſing promiſed, though not a title undefeaſable.*

4. But it is time to review the Paraphraſe of the Pſalmiſt, *Pſal.* 89. upon this laſt, and other promiſes, made reſpectively unto *David* himſelf, and to his Seed or Sons. The original occaſion, whether of that Pſalmiſt's tentations to queſtion the truth of God's promiſes to *David*, or (which I rather think) of the general diſtruſt in the diſcontented multitude of thoſe times, which he did rather ſeek to repreſent, than approve, was this; Either they did not diſtinguiſh at all, or elſe not ſo well as they ſhould, between the Articles unto which God did ſwear, and the Articles unto which he tyed himſelf by promiſe only. The latter were alway conditional, or ſubject to a forfeiture or revocation upon the miſdemeanour of the parties, whoſe good it did concern. *I have found* David *my ſervant, with my holy oyl have I anointed him, with whom mine hand ſhall be eſtabliſhed, mine arm alſo ſhall ſtrengthen him: The enemy ſhall not exact upon him, nor the ſon of wickedneſs afflict him,* ver. 20. 21, 22, *&c.* All this, no good Chriſtian can doubt, was literally and punctually meant of the ſon of *Jeſſe*. As little queſtion there is of the 25 *ver. I will ſet his hand in the Sea, and his right hand alſo in the Rivers.* This, according to the literal meaning, expreſſeth the extents or bounds of *David*'s or *Solomon*'s Kingdom here on earth: For that extended from the *Sidonian* Sea on the Weſt, unto the diviſion of *Euphrates* (on the Eaſt) into divers Chanels.

5. But this promiſe, with the Bleſſing promiſed, whereof *David* and *Solomon* were fully poſſeſt, was myſtically (as hath been obſerved before) to be fulfilled in the Seed of *David* promiſed by Oath, whoſe Dominion over this inferiour world reacheth from Sea to Sea, over all the rivers and corners of the earth. The 26, 27, and 28 *verſes*, fall under the ſame rule or line. But although it were a part, and a principal part of the bleſſing promiſed to *David*, that the Meſſiah ſhould be his Seed or Son, yet were neither *David* or *Solomon*, nor any other of *David*'s Sons any part of that promiſe, *ver.* 29. *His Seed alſo will I make to endure for ever, and his Throne as the days of Heaven.* Thus the Holy Ghoſt ſpeaketh as the Apoſtle interpreteth the like promiſe (or rather the ſame promiſe made before to *Abraham*) not of *David*'s Seed, as of many, but as of one Seed, which is Chriſt. The Apoſtles Interpretation of God's promiſe to *Abraham* (I am not ignorant) hath much perplexed ſome Learned Interpreters; but (as was obſerved before) men better verſed in rules of Grammar, than in myſteries of Divinity. And many impertinent diſcourſes for ſalving the truth, or ſupporting the ſtrength of the Apoſtles inferences, we may oft-times

oft-times read, and ſometimes hear. But the old Maxim, *Ex nihilo nihil fit*, holds more true in this caſe, than in the point whereto the Philoſopher applies it: *A groundleſs doubt can never produce a pertinent anſwer*, or be capable of a firm and ſolid reſolution. Now the the men which have queſtioned the force of the Apoſtles inference, did only or ſpecially conſider the Grammatical uſe of the word *Seed*; which although it be of the ſingular number, yet denotes a multiplicity of perſons. But the ground of our Apoſtles inference was from the matter or bleſſing promiſed, not from the Grammatical form of words wherein it was expreſſed. He could not be ignorant, nor was he incogitant, that moſt promiſes made to *Abraham* and his Seed, did literally refer to all his Poſterity, eſpecially to *Iſaac*; yet he very well knew and conſidered, that the promiſe of that Seed, wherein all the Nations of the earth ſhould be bleſſed, could be extended to no more than one Seed, who was the promiſed Seed of the Woman. And unto this Seed alone (promiſed by Oath unto *David*) the 29. *ver.* before rehearſed muſt be confined, as is clear from the 30. *ver.* where, after he had ſaid, *That his Seed ſhould endure for ever, and his Throne as the days of Heaven*, he there adds, *If his Children forſake my Law, and walk not in my Judgments: If they break my Statutes and keep not my Commandments, then will I viſit their tranſgreſſion with the rod, and their iniquities with ſtripes. v.* 30, 31, 32. This the Holy Ghoſt ſpeaketh not of *David*'s Seed as of one, but of his Seeds as of many. Nor is it any where ſaid, that any or all of their Thrones ſhould endure as the days of Heaven: For all *Davids* Children, beſides that one *Seed*, were by the Pſalmiſts own acknowledgment, lyable to ſuch viſitations or cenſures as the Lord of Lords doth paſs on other Kings and Potentates, according to their demerits at his pleaſure. Nor are the viſitations here mentioned to be univerſally taken for Fatherly corrections only, (a ſlumber wherewith ſome, otherwiſe good Interpreters, have been overtaken;) but for true and real puniſhments.

6. What then, had *David* and his Sons no Prerogative above other Kings or Princes? Did God make promiſe of no more favour and grace to *David* and to his ordinary ſeed than he had done to *Saul?* If we ſhould thus conclude, the tenor as well of Prophecies as of Gods promiſes to *David* would convince us of error, and the Hiſtorical Events would determine againſt us. For neither *Salomons* Idolatry, nor *Rehoboam*'s Oppreſſion (which was equivalent to Idolatry) a fooliſh Son of a wiſe Father, did utterly extinguiſh the promiſes made to *David* and his Succeſſors, though *Rehoboam* fooliſhly intending the oppreſſion of his Subjects, did impair the bleſſing promiſed. For after both theſe had been gathered to their Fathers, the Lord in mercy and in memory of his Covenant with *David* did often repair the ruins which ſuch unwiſe Kings, as *Rehoboam*, and ſome of his Succeſſors were, had made in *Judah* and *Jeruſalem*; by raiſing up ſuch lights unto *David*, as *Aſa*, *Jehoſaphat*, *Hezekiah*, and *Joſias* were. This preeminence or precedency in Gods promiſes, all *Davids* lawful Succeſſors had over all the Nations under Heaven; that they were as Gods firſt born amongſt the Kings of the Earth; but with this limitation or condition, *quamdiu bene, aut ſaltem mediocriter ſe geſſerint.* Now in latter Generations the Kings and Princes of *Judah* (who had been the firſt in Gods favour) by multiplying their own, and making up the number of their Forefathers tranſgreſſions, become the very

laſt; as remarkable objects of Gods fearful Viſitations threatned, (*Pſal.* 89. *verſes* 30. and 31.) as their godly Forefathers had been of his bleſſings. And yet the forfeiture of their preſent eſtate, or of their intereſt in the Covenant made to *David* and his ſeed, did reach no further than to their own perſons, or to their ſeed according to carnal Generations, as is moſt elegantly and punctually expreſt in the *verſe* immediately following. *Nevertheleſs my loving kindneſs will I not take from him* (that is, from *David*) *nor ſuffer my faithfulneſs to fail: My Covenant will I not break, nor alter the thing that is gone out my lips. v.* 34. The true expreſſion of the myſtery in theſe words, amounts to thus much at leaſt, and to what more, I leave it to ſuch as have leiſure and judgment to examine. “However *Davids* Poſte-
“rity in future times may make a deſperate forfeiture of their poſ-
“ſeſſion in the Land of *Canaan*; be excluded from all claim or title
“to the Kingdoms of *Judah* or *Iſrael*; though the whole race which
“ſhall iſſue from *David* or *Solomon*, by ordinary right or Succeſſion,
“may be utterly extinguiſhed or put out; yet *one thread* ſhall be re-
“ſerved inviolable from the force of the Enemies Sword, Famine, Fire,
“or Death it ſelf. This (to my apprehenſion) is the true meaning
“of that paſſage, *I will not break my Covenant.*

7. The impoſſibility here implied for diſinheriting the Seed of *David* κατ' ἐξοχὴν, or (as we Engliſh ſpeak) of cutting of the entail in remainder to this ſingular Seed of *David*, after all the reſidue of his Poſterity, either were or might have been deprived of their Crowns and Dignities, or of all Title to the Scepter of *Judah*, doth depend upon the often-mentioned confirmation of *Davids* Throne and Kingdom by Oath unto the Seed of *David* by promiſe: So the holy Spirit by whoſe inſpiration this *Pſalm* was penned, (whatſoever the Pſalmiſt intended) moſt punctually expreſſeth *v.* 35. *Once have I ſworn by mine holineſs, that I will not lye unto* David. *His Seed ſhall endure for ever, and his Throne as the Sun before me. It ſhall be eſtabliſhed for ever as the Moon, and as a faithful witneſs in Heaven.*

8. The emphaſis of the word *once* in the Original (whether Hebrew or Greek,) is as well expreſſed by our Engliſh Proverb or Apophthegm, *Once done and aye done*, that is, ſo well done as it needs no correction, no amendment, or reiteration. Nor do we read that God after the interpoſition of this Oath firſt made to *Abraham*, and afterward renewed to *David*, did ever reſume the like ſolemn Oath; or make fuller declaration of it; until the Seed promiſed was exhibited. This is that which the Pſalmiſt means, *I have ſworn once by my holineſs, that I will not fail* David. The true expreſſion of which Phraſe is equivalent to that before-mentioned upon the 18. *verſe* of the ſixth to the *Hebrews.* And the word in the Original is the very ſame with that which the Septuagint uſeth in the Tranſlation of this 89. *Pſalm.* The true meaning of both places is, that not only the promiſe it ſelf was irreverſible, but that the bleſſing promiſed after it was once exhibited, ſhould be exempted from all poſſibility of expiration or diminution. The true reaſon whereof was, becauſe this promiſe was confirmed by Oath and the declaration of his Oath reiterated in this *Pſalm*, *verſes* the 36. and 37. being before avouched *v.* 3. And ſuch reiterations in Scripture are not tautologies but true Characters (as from the Scripture it hath been afore * obſerved) of the ſtability of the thing promiſed or ſignified.

Pſal. 89. 35.

* *In the* 7th. *Book of theſe Comments.* Ch. 13. Parag. 3. &c.

10. The expreſſions in the beginning of this *Pſalm*, and in the cloſe,

are, *Indices optimè moratæ orationis*, true Characters of *pious humility and reverent devotion towards God:* The intermediate paſſages are full of expoſtulatory paſſions. This difference in the character perſwades me that the Pſalmiſt did pen his own part for the firſt *v.* to the 38. and repreſent the murmurings of male contents from the beginning of that *verſe* unto 52. which is the laſt. Two points more there be which require a further review before we leave this *Pſalm*; as, firſt unto what former promiſes made to *David* in his life time, the Oath twice mentioned by the Pſalmiſt, doth literally refer. Our latter Engliſh in the margine upon *v.* the 3. ſends the Reader an errand, (I muſt confeſs not impertinent) unto the fore-mentioned place of *Samuel.* 2. *Chap.* 7. 11. Yet an errand which that place cannot fully diſpatch; for in that place there is no mention of an Oath. Both the places cited out of the 89. *Pſalm* literally refer unto the promiſe mentioned by *Samuel*; but as it is confirmed by Oath upon Record *Pſalm* 132. which, it is evident was compoſed by *David* himſelf a long time after the promiſe avouched by *Nathan* in the 2. *Sam.* 7. and longer before the 89. *Pſalm* was penned. The next query worthy the judicious Readers conſideration, is; what Gods Oath *by his holineſs*, as the LXX. Interpreters have it ἐν τῷ ἀγίῳ μȣ in or by my holy one doth directly ſignify or collaterally import. That God ſwearing by his holineſs, did directly and immediately ſwear, by himſelf is not controverſed; for the Oath for its ſubſtance and eſſential object, is the very ſame with that Oath which he made to *Abraham*, *Geneſis* 22. where it is ſaid, *by my ſelf have I ſworn*; for Gods holineſs is himſelf. But for the collateral object of this one and the ſame Oath, I refer the judicious and moderate Reader to *Calvin*'s expoſition or reſolution of this doubt thus related by *Coppen* in his ingenuous and learned annotations upon the 36. *v.* of the 89. *Pſalm. Per ſanctitatem, id eſt per meipſum. Calvinus putat Deum juraſſe per Templum tanquam præſentiæ ſuæ ſymbolum, & quoddam habitaculum. Ita Calvinus in harmonia Evangeliſtarum.* v. 17. Ch. 23. Math. *Ubi principium hoc ponit & figit, non eſſe fas niſi per unius Dei nomen jurare; unde ſequitur, quaſcunq; ad jurandum formulas homines adhibeant, uni Deo ſervandum eſſe ſuum honorem; unde colligitur, quomodo & quatenus per Templum jurare liceat, videlicet quia ſedes eſt & Sanctuarium Dei, ſicuti per cœlum, quia illic refulget Dei gloria. Deus enim ſe in talibus præſentiæ ſuæ Symbolis in teſtem & Judicem advocari patitur, modo jus ſuum ſalvum retineat.*

11. If this annotation be true and orthodoxal, that when God did ſwear by his holineſs, he did by way of atteſtation call his Temple his holy place to witneſs, I ſhould not underſtand the material Temple as then not founded in *Jeruſalem*, but that Heavenly Sanctuary, or moſt holy place whereinto Gods holy one, whom he would not ſuffer to ſee or feel corruption in the Grave, was, after his Reſurrection from the dead, to enter; and there to remain as our immortal Mediator and Interceſſor. For ſo the Son of God, God bleſſed for ever ſhould be as true and eſſential an object of this Oath as the Father himſelf was. And this interpretation doth well accord with our Apoſtles expreſſion or expoſition of Gods Oath to *Abraham* ἐμεσίτευσε τῷ ὅρκῳ he did interpoſe himſelf, or intermediated by Oath.

12. If the allegations hitherto mentioned cannot perſwade, I hope the authority and arguments of our Apoſtle will enforce the ingenuous Chriſtian Reader to grant the main concluſion in this diſcourſe

intended. The Concluſion is briefly this, [However Gods Promiſe made without an Oath be in the aſſertive ſence the very ſame with promiſes confirmed by Oath; yet in the characterical ſence they much differ.] Meer promiſes are conditional and reverſible; the bleſſings ſo promiſed, mutable or determinable by time; but Gods Oath annexed to his Promiſes, is alway a character of irreverſibility, and of everlaſting immutability after the bleſſing promiſed be poſſeſſed, ſo far as it concerns the life to come. Two places there are in the ſeventh *Chapter* to the *Hebrews* very pregnant to this purpoſe, and which do ſufficiently authorize the fore-mentioned prenotion or received rule for interpreting all the former places of Scripture alledged, as we have done. For after many forcible reaſons to convince his Auditors that there was no ſuch *perfection* in the Law or legal Prieſthood, as the Patriarchs and their godly Fore-fathers did hope and wait for: And that there was a neceſſity that both the Law and Prieſthood ſhould be changed (which is the Subject of his diſcourſe from *verſe* the 10.) he pitcheth ſpecially upon this *verſe*, *And in aſmuch as not without an Oath he was made Prieſt; for thoſe Prieſts were made without an Oath, but this with an Oath, by him that ſaid unto him, The Lord ſware and will not repent, thou art a Prieſt for ever after the Order of* Melchiſedech, *by ſo much was* Jeſus *made a ſurety of a better* Teſtament. *Aaron* and his Sons had the promiſe, and were authorized by expreſs Charter to offer Sacrifice and to bleſs in Gods name for ever. And what more could be ſaid (in the aſſertive ſence) of our High Prieſt? Or what argument can there be drawn from ſacred authority that the Prieſthood of *Aaron* ſhould not be, that the Prieſthood of the Son of *David* ſhould be everlaſting and unchangeable? The only ſure ground of this inference is that mentioned by our Apoſtle [*becauſe* Aaron *and his Sons were made Prieſts; were deſtinated and authorized to their function* without an Oath, whereas the Son of *David* was deſtinated and aſſigned to his Prieſthood after the Order of *Melchiſedech* by ſolemn Oath interpoſed by him that ſaid, *Thou art a Prieſt for ever after the Order of* Melchiſedech; which words are three or four times reiterated in this *Chapter*. The contents or importances of the Oath are moſt divinely expreſſed by the Apoſtle from *v.* 23. to the end of the *Chapter*. *And they truly were many Prieſts, becauſe they were not ſuffered to continue by reaſon of death; but this man (or rather this Prieſt) becauſe he continueth for ever, hath an unchangeable Prieſthood, wherefore he is able alſo to ſave them to the uttermoſt that come unto God by him, ſeeing he ever liveth to make interceſſion for them, for ſuch an High Prieſt became us who is holy, harmleſs, undefiled; ſeparate from ſins and higher than the Heavens, who needeth not daily as thoſe High Prieſts to offer up Sacrifice, firſt for his own ſins, and then for the people; for this he did once when he offered up himſelf. For the Law maketh men High Prieſts which have infirmity, but the word of the Oath which was ſince the* Law * *maketh the Son who is Conſecrated for evermore.* Chriſt the Son of *David* was a mortal man before he was conſecrated to be an immortal Prieſt; for his very death was a part of his Conſecration. And after the accompliſhment of his Conſecration, the Prieſthood of *Aaron* became void, as being never confirmed by Oath. For all things not ſo confirmed, are at the beſt but commenſurabe to time or ſucceſſion; and time it ſelf ſhall be aboliſhed by Oath. *Rev.* 10. 6.

*See Chap.*10.*of this Book.*

* *This punctually refers unto Gods Oath made to* David *Pſal.*110.*not to Gods Oath made to* Abraham *which was long before the Law.*

Juravit per viventem tempus non fore amplius.

That opinion of ſome Heathen Philoſophers as of * *Hierocles* concerning the endleſs ſucceſſion of time or perpetual continuance of all things according to the courſe of nature (which now they hold) is probable, did take its original from a miſtake, or miſapplication of the tradition or prenotion concerning the ſtability or everlaſting condition of things confirmed by Oath. He with ſome others apply this undoubted rule unto things temporal or to this preſent World; which holds true only of the World to come.

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* Legem quidem ſuperius Dei actionem exiſtere docuimus, eodem modo ſemper ſe habentem perpetuaque & immutabili ratione res omnes producentem. Iusjurandum deinceps ipſi cauſam eſſe dixerimus, quæ omnia in eodem ſtatu ita conſervet atq; retineat; ut quæ juramenti fide confirmata ſunt, & legis ordinem tuentur, tanquam certus legis effectus, in eorum recto ordine, quæ condita ſunt, exiſtant. Quod enim eadem lege ſtant omnia, ſicuti diſpoſita ſunt, primarium fuerit hoc divini jurisjurandi opus: quod quidem inter eos, qui Deum ſemper intelligunt, maximè atq; perpetuò ſervatur. *pag.* 28.

SECTION IV.

By what Perſons and in what manner the Conſecration of Jeſus Chriſt the Son of God to his Prieſthood was prefigured.

CHAP. XXI.

That Jeſus *or* Jehoſhua *the Son of* Nun, Zerubbabel *the Son of* Shealtiel, *and* Jeſus *the Son of* Jehoſadeck *were ſpecial Types of* Jeſus Chriſt *the Son of God, (reſpectively) as he was to be made and now is both King and Prieſt.*

SOme good Hiſtorians have obſerved, that many famous Kingdoms have been ruinated or extinguiſhed under Princes of the ſame name with thoſe that firſt did erect or advance them. *Darius* the firſt King of that name in *Perſia*, made his Country famous, and the *Perſians* Lords of the beſt part of the inhabited World. Another *Darius* makes *Alexander* famous by his mighty overthrow, and raiſeth up the Monarchy of *Macedon* by the fall of the *Perſian*. *Auguſtus* was the ſecond Great *Cæſar*, and the firſt perpetual Roman Emperour; and in *Auguſtulus* the very Title of Emperour did dye; not ſo much as a ſhadow of the Roman Empire remained after him. *Conſtantine* the Great did firſt erect the Eaſtern Empire, and founded the City of *Conſtantinople*; the firſt of all Emperours that did publickly defend the Chriſtian Faith: Another *Conſtantine* was the laſt Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, leaving the Empire to the diſpoſal of the *Turk*. *Baldwin Compeere* of *Godfrey* of *Bulloigne* in the Conqueſt of the Holy Land, and after his Death Created King of *Jeruſalem*, eſtabliſhed this new Kingdom in Peace which he had won by War: Another of the ſame name and race leaves the Holy Land it ſelf for a prey unto the ſuperſtitious *Mahumetan*, not repoſſeſt ſince his death by any Chriſtian Prince.

2. Nor do humane ſtories only (though many beſides theſe alledged might be produced) afford us inſtances or obſervations in this rank: The viſible Kingdom or Common-Wealth of *Iſrael* (taking *Iſrael* for the whole race of *Jacob*) was firſt eſtabliſhed and ſetled in Peace by * *Hoſea* the Son of *Nun*, whom *Moſes* (upon fore-ſight of this his good ſucceſs in planting the people of God in the Land of their Promiſed reſt,) * named *Jehoſhua*, that is to ſay a Saviour. In the days of *Hoſea* the Son of *Elah* did *Iſrael* (as oppoſed unto the Kingdom of *David*, that is ten Tribes of twelve) utterly ceaſe to be a Nation. Both King and People were led Captives by *Shalmanezar* King of *Aſſyria*. The Kingdom likewiſe or Common-Wealth of *Judah* did finally expire and

* *Numb.* 13. 8.

* *Numb.* 13. 16.

and determine under Jeſus the Son of *David*, but altogether through this peoples fault; he never ceaſt to be a Saviour, a greater Saviour of his people, than Jeſus the Son of *Nun* had been, for he was *Salus ipſa, Salvation it ſelf.* But his people was become ſo wicked, that Salvation it ſelf could not ſave them, or preſerve their common-wealth from ruine. Howbeit,to ſpeak the truth, this Jeſus our Lord and Saviour did rather tranſlate the Kingdom of *Judah* and *David* from Earth to Heaven, than ſuffer it utterly to periſh. He ſtill remains a King, and of his Kingdom there ſhall be no end: Though his Kingdom be not of this world, nor over *Iſrael* or *Jacob* according to the fleſh, yet he ſtill ruleth in *Jacob* unto the ends of the world, and ſo ſhall rule world without end. This tranſlation of the Kingdom of *Judah* and *David* from Earth to Heaven, or this new erection of this Heavenly Kingdom by Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour, was pre-figured by another Jeſus, as lively a type or ſhadow of Chriſt as Jeſus the Son of *Nun* had been.

3. For after *Judah*, through her riot and intemperancy had procured her bane, as her ſiſter *Samaria* had done, and was carried for dead out of the dwellings, wherein Jeſus the Son of *Nun* had firſt ſeated her; the Lord in all his all-foreſeeing Providence, and in ſign what was after to be accompliſhed and fulfilled concerning the Kingdom of *David*, would have another Jeſus, the Son of *Jehoſedech*, to ſet *Judah*, after her recovery from captivity, or civil death, on her feet again. So it is ſpecified, 2 *Eſdras* 3. *Zach.* 3. *Haggai* 2. that at this peoples return from *Babylon* into their Land, *Jeſhua*, or Jeſus the Son of *Jehoſedech* was their High Prieſt, and herein a Type of Chriſt, as he is our High Prieſt and Saviour. *Zerubbabel* a Prince of the Tribe of *Judah*, and one of *David*'s Line (under whoſe conduct this people returned ſafe from *Babylon*) was the Type of Chriſt as King. In reſpect of their deliverance from *Babel*, or ſafe conduct in the way, *Zerubbabel* had the precedency of Jeſus the High Prieſt, as *Moſes* had the precedency of Jeſus the Son of *Nun*, in reſpect of the peoples deliverance from *Egypt*. But as Jeſus the Son of *Nun*, was Gods principal inſtrument in planting this people in the land of Promiſe; ſo Jeſus the High Prieſt, the Son of *Jehoſadech*, is the principal Saviour of this people after their ſafe return from *Babel*, into their Native Land; the principal type or ſhadow of Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour, as he is Conſecrated by God to be the Author of everlaſting Salvation. *Zerubbabel* the chief Prince of *Judah*, and Jeſus the Son *Jehoſadech* the High Prieſt (and for his time the ſole Succeſſor of *Aaron* in his office) joyn both together, the one a lively type of Chriſt Jeſus the Son of *David*, as he was King, the other a lively type of Chriſt Jeſus, as he was ordained to be our High Prieſt in the building of the material Altar, which was to be erected unto the Lord in the City of *Jeruſalem*, after their return from *Babylon*. But whether of theſe two, to wit, *Zerubbabel* the ſon of *David*, or Jeſus the ſon of *Jehoſedech*, *Aaron*'s ſucceſſor, had precedency in this great work of erecting the Altar unto God (the firſt work of difficulty or moment to be undertaken by Gods Servants, upon their return unto *Jeruſalem* the City of God) were hard to determine by any rule of ſacred *Heraldry*. *Ezra* the Scribe, and ſacred Hiſtorian of this buſineſs, gives Jeſus the Son of *Jehoſadech*, the precedency in ſtile, *Ezra* 3. 2. *Then ſtood up* Jeſhua *the Son of* Jozadak, *and his Brethren the Prieſts, and* Zerubbabel *the Son of* Shealtiel *and his Brethren, and builded the*

Altar of the God of Iſrael, *to offer burnt offerings thereon, as it is written in the Law of* Moſes *the man of God.* But in the ſecond of *Haggai*, ver. 4. *Zerubbabel* the Son of *David* hath the like precedency of ſtile. *Now be ſtrong O* Zerubbabel, *ſaith the Lord, and be ſtrong O* Jeſhua *the Son of* Joſedech *the High Prieſt, and be ſtrong all ye people of the Land, ſaith the Lord, and work, for I am with you ſaith the Lord of Hoſts.*

4. Yet that Jeſus the Son of *Joſedech*, was the more illuſtrious and principal Type of Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour and Redeemer, as he is the builder and founder of God's Spiritual Temple, (God's Holy Catholick Church) is moſt apparent from the Propheſies of *Zachary*, a Prophet, in thoſe times, extraordinarily raiſ'd up by God to encourage Jeſus the High Prieſt, and his fellow-Prieſts, to go forward in building the material Temple in *Jeruſalem*, ſpecially if we compare *Zachary* the *third*, and part of *Zachary* the *ſixth*, with the Propheſies of *Jeremy*, Chap. 23. ver. 33. To begin with *Zachary*, Chap. 3. Jeſus the Son of *Joſedech*, by Progeny the Son of *Aaron*, is ſolemnly enthronized as deputy or *Proxie* for the Son of *David*, the promiſed and long-expected High Prieſt after the order of *Melchiſedech*. This ſtory, or true *legend* of the inſtallment, or enthronization of Jeſus the Son of *Joſedech*, as in the right and intereſt of Jeſus Chriſt the Sole Founder and Builder of the Holy Catholick Church, whereof the viſible and material Temple of *Jeruſalem* was but a type or ſhadow, is very remarkably ſet out unto us as in a Map, *Zach.* 3. The whole *Chapter*, as alſo the 2 *Chapter*, from the 6 *verſe* unto the end, is worth our peruſal, as moſt pertinent to this Argument. Firſt, *Satan* that is the adverſary of Jeſus the High Prieſt, waxed bold to reſiſt him in the building of the material Temple, being encouraged therein, partly becauſe the remnant of *Judah* then returning from Captivity, was but as a *brand pluckt of the fire*, the light whereof in the eyes of *Satan* their adverſary, might eaſily have been extinguiſhed, unleſs the Lord had rebuked *Satan*, as the Lord there by his Angel doth: and his rebuke was an Authentick prohibition. Secondly, *Satan* was the bolder to reſiſt this work, becauſe Jeſus the High Prieſt appointed by God, and encouraged by his Prophets for accompliſhing of it, was for his bodily preſence but weak, and would quickly have been daunted by his potent adverſary, unleſs the Lord by his Angel had rebuked and prohibited him. Thus *Satan* himſelf in perſon reſiſted our Lord and Saviour after his Baptiſm, when he firſt begun to lay the foundation of his Church, and to erect the Kingdom of God, being thereto emboldned by the weakneſs of his bodily preſence and appearance, in the faſhion of man, and form of a ſervant, until the Lord himſelf rebuked him (as the Angel in the name of the Lord, did the adverſary of *Jeſhua*) ſaying, *Avoid, Satan, for 'tis written, thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve*; And upon this rebuke *Satan* immediately left him, and the Angels came and miniſtred unto him, *Matth.* 4. This is the Evangelical accompliſhment of the viſion which *Zachary* ſaw as in the type or Map, *Zach.* 3. *ver.* 1. 2. But here it will be demanded, whether the verſes following, *ver.* 3. 4. which were literally and hiſtorically meant of Jeſus the Son of *Jehoſedech*, can be applied to Jeſus our High Prieſt, either according ro the literal or myſtical ſenſe? *Jeſus* (ſaith the Text) *was cloathed with filthy garments, and ſtood before the Angel, and he anſwered and ſpake unto thoſe that ſtood before*

him ſaying, take away the filthy garments from him, and unto him he ſaid, Behold I have cauſed thine iniquity to paſs from thee, and I will cloath thee with change of rayment, ver. 4. Jeſus his outward habit or rayment, was ſordid and unſightly, *Qualem decet exulis eſſe,* Such as well became a man as yet *retainer* to the houſe of mourning, not fully abſolved from the houſe of his priſon, or not yet admitted unto the houſe of his freedom.

5. This Jeſus in this habit, was a true Picture of Jeſus our High Prieſt, whilſt he continued in the form and condition of a ſervant, or whilſt araigned before the High Prieſts, or *Pontius Pilate*; and although in this eſtate he knew no ſin, yet as the Apoſtle ſaith, 2 *Cor. Chap.* 5. *ver.* laſt. *He was made ſin for us, that we might be made the righteouſneſs of God in him.* He is ſaid to be *made ſin* for us, becauſe he bare the puniſhment due to our ſins. And this ſin or iniquity God did truly cauſe to paſs from him, becauſe our ſins were never inherent in him, but made his by imputation only. The puniſhment likewiſe due unto our ſins, did paſs from him at his departure out of this world unto his Father. The new rayments wherewith Jeſus the High Prieſt was cloathed, are emblems, or ſhadows of that glory and immortality wherewith Jeſus our High Prieſt, ſince his Reſurrection is inveſted. The fair Mitre, which was put upon Jeſus the Son of *Jehoſadech*'s head, was the model of the Crown of *David*, which was to flouriſh upon Jeſus the Son of *David*'s head, as it is, *Pſalm* 132. *ver.* 18. *But upon himſelf ſhall his Crown flouriſh.*

6. Briefly, The proteſtation which the Angel in the verſes following makes to Jeſus the Son of *Joſedech*, is but a renewing or repetition of the promiſe which God had made unto *Abraham* and *David* concerning their Seed. The tenor of God's promiſe here renewed or repeated unto Jeſus the High Prieſt is the ſame: *And the Angel of the Lord proteſted unto* Jeſhua, ſaying, *Thus ſaith the Lord of Hoſts, if thou wilt walk in my ways, and if thou wilt keep my charge, then thou ſhalt alſo judge my houſe, and ſhalt alſo keep my Courts, and I will give thee places to walk among theſe that ſtand by.* Theſe words contain as ample a patent for the temporal or legal Prieſthood unto Jeſus the Son of *Jeſodech* and his Poſterity, as *David* had for continuation of the temporal Kingdom in his race or progeny; both the promiſes and patents were conditional. But that there ſhould ariſe an everlaſting Prieſt, as well as an everlaſting King, one in whom God's Promiſes ſhould not be conditional, but *yea and amen*, that is, abſolute and irrefragable, the Prophet *Zachary* adds, *Hear now O* Jeſhua *the High Prieſt, thou and thy fellows that ſit before thee, for they are*, what are they? *monſtrous perſons*, ſaith our former Engliſh, or *men wondred at* ſaith the latter; *Viri portendentes*, ſaith the vulgar. The Prophets meaning is, that they are men ſet for types or ſigns of great matters to come. The word in the original is the ſame, *Ezech.* 12. 11. *Say I am your ſign, like as I have done, ſo ſhall it be done unto them*, that is, to the Princes of *Jeruſalem*, and houſe of *Iſrael*; *They ſhall remove and go into Captivity.* As *Ezechiel* his digging through the wall in the peoples ſight, and carrying forth his ſtuff upon his ſhoulders in twilight, with his face covered, that he ſhould not ſee the ground, was a ſign or prognoſtication of *Zedechiah*'s ſtealth or flight from the *Chaldeans* Army which beſieged him: So *Jeſhua* the High Prieſt, and all his fellows, in all this action or ſolemnity (ſpecially in laying the foundation of the Altar and Temple) were prognoſtick ſigns or prefigurations of Jeſus the

everlaſting High Prieſt, and of the Spiritual Temple, (the Holy Catholick Church) which he was to build by the miniſtry of the Apoſtles. So it followeth, *For behold I bring forth my ſervant the branch. For behold the ſtone that I have laid before* Jeſhua, *upon one ſtone ſhall be ſeven eyes, behold I will engrave the graving thereof, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts, and I will remove the iniquity of that Land in one day.*

CHAP. XXII.

Of the Harmony between the Prophet Jeremy, *and the Prophet* Zachary, *concerning the man whoſe name is the Branch: How his growth or ſpringing up was prefigured by* Zerubbabel *the Son of* David: *His name and title as our High Prieſt fore-pictured by the name and title of* Jeſus *the Son of* Joſedech: *That he was as truly the Son of God before all time, as the Son of* David *in time.*

THat this man, whoſe name was the Branch, was to build the Temple of the Lord; that he was to take his *inveſture* unto his Prieſtly dignity by Jeſus the Son of *Jehoſadech*, as by his Proxie is apparent from the ſixth *Chapter* of the Prophet *Zachary* 11. *Take ſilver and gold and make Crowns, and ſet them upon the head of* Jeſhua, *the Son of* Joſedech *the High Prieſt, and ſpeak unto him ſaying, thus ſpeaketh the Lord of Hoſts ſaying, Behold the man whoſe name is the Branch, and he ſhall grow up out of his* * *place, he ſhall build the Temple of the Lord, even he ſhall build the Temple of the Lord, and he ſhall bear the glory, and ſhall ſit and rule upon his Throne, and he ſhall be a Prieſt upon his Throne, and the counſel of peace ſhall be between them both.*

* *This is as* Junius *interpreteth, out of* Nazareth.

2. This place and the former are pregnant, that the Servant of the Lord, whoſe name was *Zemah*, the Branch, whoſe office was to build up the Temple of God, ſhould be a Prieſt, and ſhould ſit upon his Throne as Prieſt. But it cannot from either place be gathered; it is not ſo much as intimated that he ſhould either be a Prieſt after the order of *Aaron*, or of *Melchiſedech*, or of the Seed of *Aaron* as Jeſus, or *Joſhua* the Son of *Jehoſedech* was. But as the Prophet affirmeth not, that he was to be Prieſt after *Aaron* or *Melchiſedech*, ſo neither in plain terms doth he deny it: true, but as every Prophet of God ſpeaks nothing but the truth, ſo neither doth one of them ſpeak all the truth, or all that is requiſite for us to believe concerning Jeſus our Saviour. That the man, whoſe name was the Branch (the ſame party of whom *Zachary* here ſpeaks) ſhould not be of the Seed of *Aaron*, or a Prieſt after the order of *Aaron*, is evident from the Propheſie of *Jeremiah*, *Jer.* 23. 5. uttered more than ſeventy years before *Zachariah* began to Propheſie. *Behold the days come, ſaith the Lord, that I will raiſe unto* David *a righteous Branch, and a King ſhall raign and proſper, and ſhall execute judgment and juſtice upon the earth. In his days* Judah *ſhall be ſaved, and* Iſrael *ſhall dwell ſafely; and this is the name whereby he ſhall be called, the Lord our Righteouſneſs.* It is plain then out of the fore-cited Propheſie of *Zachary*, that Gods

ſervant, the Righteous Branch, was to be a Prieſt: It is evident again out of *Jeremiah*, that he was to ſpring out of the Seed of *David*, and to raign as King over *Judah* and *Iſrael*, as *David* had done. And theſe two put together, will directly conclude, that this Branch of *David*, was to be that Son of *David*, concerning whom the Lord had ſworn and would not repent, that he ſhould be a Prieſt for ever after the order of *Melchiſedech*, who was both King and Prieſt, and by interpretation the King of Righteouſneſs, and King of peace: both which titles are expreſly given to this Servant of God and Branch of *David*, the one by the Prophet *Zachary*, the other by the Prophet *Jeremiah*.

3. But is it intimated or fore-told by either of them, that he ſhould be as truly *David*'s Lord, as *David*'s Son? Yes, *Jeremy* implies this in fuller terms, than *David* himſelf doth, *Pſalm* 110. for *David* ſaith, the Lord ſaid unto my Lord *Adonai*, not *Jehovah*, whereas the Prophet *Jeremy* tells us, that the ſupreme ſtyle or title of this Branch of *David* ſhould be not *Adonai Tzadkenu*, but *Jehovah Tzadkenu*, *Jehovah* our righteouſneſs: So that he whom *David* in ſpirit calleth his Lord, was to be as eſſentially Lord and God; as he that ſaid unto him, *Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footſtool.* But was he according unto this name or title pre-figured or fore-ſhadowed, either by *Zerubbabel* the Prince of *Judah*, or by his aſſociate Jeſus the High Prieſt, in conducting Gods people from the Land of their Captivity, into the land of Promiſe? Yes, there is not one title or attribute mentioned in either Propheſie, but it is fore-ſhadowed, either joyntly both by *Zerubbabel*, and Jeſus the High Prieſt, or ſeverally by one of them.

4. As he is the Branch of *David* fore-propheſied by *Iſaiah*, Chap. 11. 1. (whereto both theſe Propheſies of *Jeremiah* and *Zachary* have reference) he is more exquiſitely prefigured by *Zerubbabel*, than by *David* himſelf, or any other Prince of *David*'s Line. The Branch which God had promiſed to raiſe up unto *David*, almoſt an 110 years before *Jeremiah* had uttered his Propheſies, was to grow up out of the ſtem or root of *Jeſſe*, as it is, *Iſa.* 11. 1. that is, he was to be a man of meaner Parentage, than *Jeſſe* the Father of *David* was; a man more unlikely to become a Prince or Ruler of Gods people than *David* was, when he kept his Fathers ſheep: Of *David*'s linage, many after the captivity were poor, and of as mean ability as *Jeſſe*, *David*'s Father was. *Zerubbabel* was born unto *Salathiel* in captivity, and *Salathiel* himſelf the Son of *Jeconiah*, a poor captive Prince: but whether *Salathiel* was the Son of *Jeconiah*'s body, or rather his Son by adoption, I have no more to ſay than was ſaid before. Whether this way, or that way, he were his Son, if we conſider the potency of the *Chaldean* Empire when he was born, or the *Chaldeans* general averſneſs from the Jews, or their jealouſie of the royal race, it was more unlikely that any of *David*'s line ſhould be releaſed from captivity, or be ſuffered to return from Babylon unto their native land, than that *Iſrael* ſhould be delivered from the *Egyptian* thraldom by *Moſes*. But the ſame God which had ſhewed his mighty power in the overthrow of *Pharaoh* and his powerful Hoſt, did as miraculouſly ſhew both his power and wiſdom in the ſudden ſurpriſal of *Babylon*, and overthrowing the *Babylonian* Empire by *Cyrus*. Of theſe two wonderful deliverances of his people; the latter in the Prophet *Jeremy* his eſteem, is the greater, therefore he ſaith, *Jerem.* 16. 14, 15.

14, 15. *Behold the days come ſaith the Lord, that it ſhall no more be ſaid, the Lord liveth, that brought up the children of* Iſrael *out of the land of* Egypt; *but the Lord liveth that brought up the children of* Iſrael *from the land of the North, and from all the lands whither he had driven them, and I will bring them again into their land, that I gave unto their Fathers.* The like you may read, *Jerem.* 23. 7, 8. *Cyrus* after his ſtrange conqueſt of *Babylon*, ſets Gods people free, and authorizeth *Zerubbabel*, the next heir then left unto the Crown of *Judah*, to conduct them unto *Jeruſalem*, there to ſerve their God, as he in his Laws had preſcribed. But after their ſafe arrival there, they are moleſted by their malicious enemies: the building of the City and Temple is after *Cyrus* his death for divers years hindred, until *Zerubbabel* by his favour and potency with *Cyrus* his Succeſſors, procures the revival of the Charter, which *Cyrus* granted, and frees himſelf and Gods people from further moleſtation by their enemies, as you may read it at large in the Book of *Ezra*. So that part of *Jeremiah*'s Propheſie is verified of him, for in his days, and by his means (under God) *Judah* was ſaved, and *Iſrael* did dwell ſecurely. Though he were not in name or title a Saviour, yet he is indeed the Saviour of his people from preſent diſtreſs and danger. And thus far this poor revived Branch of *David*, is a true and lively Type of that Branch of *David*, in whom all the promiſes of God made unto *Abraham* and *David* were fulfilled, who was to be a Saviour, not in reality only, but in name or title, and called eſpecially Jeſus, becauſe he was to ſave his people, not from bodily diſtreſs or captivity, but from their ſins. And as he is in this ſenſe a Saviour, Jeſus the Son of *Jehoſedech* is the lively Type or ſhadow of him, as well in office or function, as in expreſs name or title; for he being their High Prieſt, and *Aaron*'s Succeſſor, did make legal Atonement for their ſins, did ſanctifie the Temple, Altar, and their Offerings, and performed all legal Righteouſneſs for them, in ſign of greater Righteouſneſs and Salvation by that High Prieſt which was to come, whoſe ſupreme title was the Lord our Righteouſneſs.

5. But did either *Zerubbabel*, or this Jeſus the High Prieſt and his aſſociates prefigure, or fore-ſhadow our High Prieſt in this royal name or title of being the Lord our Righteouſneſs? Certain it is, that *Zerubbabel* did not, for neither his own name, nor his Fathers, nor any of his Progenitors names ſince *Jehoſaphat*'s days, had any reference to this title, nor import the thing ſignified by it in their grammatical ſignifications. But the Father of this *Jeſhua*, or Jeſus the High Prieſt, was named *Jehoſadech*, which ſignifies as much as the righteouſneſs of the Lord, or the righteous Lord.

6. But here we muſt conſider that names are of two ſorts. Some names agree to the things named *ſubſtantially* and directly. Others *accidentally*, or *in obliquo*. The former ſort expreſs the condition and nature of the thing named. As the name of *Adam* which God impoſed upon the firſt man did expreſs his nature or ſubſtance; to wit, the red earth out of which he was framed. So the name which *Adam* gave unto the firſt woman, did truly expreſs the nature and condition of the Sex, to wit, that ſhe was made of man; that ſhe was of his fleſh and of his bone, ſo likewiſe is the name of *Eveh* a true expreſſion of her nature, for ſhe was the Mother and Fountain of life unto all Poſterity.

7. Names other-whiles, though ſolemnly given, expreſs or import

ſome circumſtance or relation unto the nature or thing it ſelf which they primarily and properly ſignifie. So *Gideon* was called *Jerub-baal*, not that ever he did plead for *Baal*, but in remembrance of his Fathers anſwer unto them which had expoſtulated with him for cutting down *Baal's* Grove.

8. So *Moſes* called the Altar which he erected. *Exod.* 17. 14. *Jehovah-Niſſi* the Lord my Banner. Not thereby intending to occaſion us to think, that the Altar ſo named was either *Jehovah*, or his defence, but only to import or ſignifie, that in that place wherein he built the Altar and at the time of this inſcription, *Jehovah* his God had been the Defender and Protector of *Iſrael* in miraculous manner againſt the *Amalekites*. So likewiſe when our Saviour called *Simon*, *Cephas* or *Petros*, the name imports not that he was either the rock it ſelf, or Corner-ſtone whereon Chriſt's Church is founded; But only that he had ſome ſpecial reference or relation unto the Rock or Foundation Stone which God had laid in *Sion*, or which is all one that he was the firſt which did ſolemnly confeſs and acknowledge Chriſt Jeſus to be as truly God as Man. The matter or object directly ſignified by theſe words is the only true and real Foundation of Faith as Chriſtians; of the Catholick Church it ſelf. Of this rank or ſort of names is the name *Jehoſadech* as it was given unto the Father of *Jeſus* the High Prieſt, but this doth no way imports that he was either *Jehovah*, or a man more righteous than other High Prieſts had been; and yet ſo called, not by chance or out of vain oſtentation of his Parents, but by divine inſtinct or appointment of God: Or whatſoever intent his Parents might have in giving him this name, God did ſo direct their intentions, as he did *Caiphas* his ſpeech to be a kind of Prophecy of what was to come. We may ſay of *Jehoſadech* as the Angel ſaid of *Jeſus* and his Fellow-Prieſts, that he was *vir portendens*, his very name and office did portend or bode, that *Jehovah* himſelf the righteous Lord ſhould become our High Prieſt. And in as much as the Son of *Jehoſadech* was the firſt High Prieſt, the firſt of all the Sons of *Aaron* that was called *Jeſus*, that is, a Saviour; this likewiſe did portend or fore-ſhadow that the Saviour of Gods people, the High Prieſt for ever after the Order of *Melchiſedech*, ſhould be the Son not of *David* only but of *Jehovah* the righteous Lord, or Lord of righteouſneſs And if he were to be as truly the Son of *Jehovah* the righteous Lord, as he was to be the Son of *David*, then queſtionleſs he was to be as truly *Jehovah*, that is, as truly and eſſentially God, as he is truly and eſſentially man. For the relation betwixt the Father and the Son is much more ſtrict in the Divine nature, than it can be amongſt men.

See the third Book of theſe Comments *Sect.2.Chap.7.*

See this point handled at large in the third Book of theſe Comments.

9. Amongſt men it will follow, that if the Father be a man, the Son muſt be a man; if the Father be mortal, the Son muſt be mortal: but it will not follow, that if the Father be a righteous or potent man, the Son likewiſe muſt be a righteous or potent man. The reaſon is, becauſe they are divided in ſubſtance. But in as much as the Son of God is of the ſame ſubſtance or eſſence with his Father, it will directly follow not only, that if the Father be God, the Son is God, but alſo that if the Father be Lord of Righteouſneſs, the Son alſo muſt be Lord of Righteouſneſs. Yet in as much as not *Jehoſadech* the Father, but Jeſus the Son became legal righteouſneſs or a temporal Saviour to Gods people in captivity, this truly fore-ſhadoweth this truth unto us; that although God the Father be as truly the Lord of Righteouſneſs as God the Son; both being of one ſubſtance,

yet

yet is *Jehovah* become our righteouſneſs and our ſalvation, not in the perſon of the Father, but in the perſon of the Son.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Objection of the Jews againſt the interpretation of the former Prophecy, Jerem. 23. *anſwered. In what ſenſe* Judah *is truly ſaid to be ſaved, and* Iſrael *to dwell in ſafety by Jeſus the Son of God and Son of* David.

YET here the Jew will object, that this Prophecy is not yet fulfilled, becauſe *Judah* is not fully ſaved, nor *Iſrael* planted in their own land. But the Apoſtle hath fully anſwered this objection, if we could as rightly apply his ſolution. *All* (ſaith he) *are not Iſrael that are called Iſrael, Rom.* 9. 6. Yet many are true *Iſraelites* indeed which are not ſo in name; *Nor is he a Jew that is one outwardly, but that is one inwardly.* The Apoſtle in the ſame place gives us to underſtand, that many are Jews or of *Judah* inwardly, which are not of *Judah* outwardly, or ſo called by name. Whoſoever is inwardly or in heart that which the name of *Judah* importeth, he is truly of *Judah*, though not the ſeed of *Judah* or of *Abraham* concerning the fleſh. Now the name of *Judah* or Jew importeth as much as a Confeſſor or true Profeſſor of *Abrahams* faith, and every one is a true *Iſraelite*, that is ſo qualified as *Nathaniel* was, *one in whoſe ſpirit there is no guile:* unto all ſuch and only unto ſuch the Lord imputeth no ſin: and all they unto whom the Lord imputeth no ſin; all ſuch as truly confeſs Chriſt to be the Son of God and promiſed Branch of *David* are ſaved by him, whether they be the Sons of *Jacob* or of *Abraham*, or Gentiles according to the fleſh. So that in concluſion all *Judah* and all *Iſrael* according to the full extent of this Prophecy are ſaved by this *Jeſus:* for all of them dwell in ſafety, they are not become afraid of themſelves, but poſſeſs their Souls with patience. To become *Jews* or *Iſraelites* in this ſenſe is the firſt degree of ſalvation, and this degree they likewiſe have from *Jeſus*, through whom and in whom they are to expect the accompliſhment of their Salvation. Chriſt then firſt ſaves us from our ſins that are inherent in us, or (as the Apoſtle ſpeaks) he firſt *ſets us free from the Law of ſin* by the ſpirit of life which is in him, and finally exempts us from the wages of ſin which is everlaſting death. And thus much is contained in that fore-cited promiſe, *Jerem.* 16. and in the *cloſe* and concluſion of that Prophecy, *Jerem.* 23. concerning the ſaving of *Judah* and *Iſrael* by the branch of *David* whoſe name or title is, The Lord our righteouſneſs. *Behold the days come ſaith the Lord that they ſhall no more ſay the Lord liveth which brought up the Children of* Iſrael *out of the Land of* Egypt; *but the Lord liveth which brought up, and which led the ſeed of the Houſe of* Iſrael *out of the North Country:* The Hebrew Phraſe *Meeretzzaponah*, according to the uſual and ordinary rate of that language, ſignifies indeed from the North-land; yet the original of this ſignification or importance of theſe words, was from a conceit which the *Jews*, or ſuch as had their habitation near unto the Æquinoctial line, had; That thoſe parts of the World which were more remote from the Æquinoctial or Southern Climes were hidden from the Sun, and were at leaſt in reſpect of their Country, lands of obſcurity and darkneſs. The very prime and native ſignification of the original words in the Prophet, rendred by our Engliſh *from the North land or Country*, is *verbatim* from the land of obſcurity or darkneſs. And whatſoever the Land of *Chaldea* (whereof *Babylon* was the chief City or *Metropolis*) was unto others, it was unto the Captive Jews a Country of darkneſs, a land of obſcurity; the very ſhadow of death. And their deliverance from it was a true Type or ſhadow of our deliverance from the Region or Land of Darkneſs it ſelf. The full importance of the Evangelical myſtery concluded in the fore-cited paſſage of the Prophet *Jeremy* according to the moſt proper and moſt exquiſite literal ſenſe is expounded unto us by our Apoſtle St. *Paul*. *Coloſſ.* 1. 12, 13. *God the Father* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *hath made us meet to be partakers of the Saints in light, and hath delivered us from the Power of darkneſs, and tranſlated us into the Kingdom of his dearly beloved Son.*

2. So that this part of *Jeremy*'s Prophecy, 23. 6. *In his days Judah* ſhall be ſaved, and *Iſrael* ſhall dwell in *ſafety*, muſt be fulfilled in every one of us more exquiſitely than it was in the whole remnant of *Judah* and *Iſrael* which returned in ſafety from *Babylon* the Land of their Captivity unto *Jeruſalem*, the place of their peace and reſt. Every one of us muſt be ſaved from the land of darkneſs, and tranſlated into the Kingdom of light, before we can be ſure of our Salvation; before our election and Salvation can be made certain unto us. For every one of us is by nature the Child of wrath; every one of us as he is the Son of *Adam* carries a Babel or Maſs of confuſion about with him, or rather lives in it as in a walking Priſon. Every one of us is ſubject to more than *Babyloniſh*, to more than *Egyptian* ſlavery. Our very Souls which are the light unto our bodies; our very minds which have the ſame place in our Souls which *Goſhen* had in *Egypt*, are darkened or (as the Apoſtle ſpeaks) are darkneſs it ſelf. Now to extract or draw us out of our ſelves, or out of that ſervitude unto ſin in which we were born, or to bring us out of that darkneſs which is within us, is a greater miracle, a more remarkable document of God's infinite Power and Wiſdom than the bringing of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, than the reſcuing of *Judah* from the Captivity of *Babylon* were. God did make the Wind and Waters his Inſtruments to overthrow *Pharaoh* and his Hoſt in the red Sea: he made his Angels miniſtring ſpirits to conduct *Iſrael* in their departure thence; but to draw us out of our ſelves, to extract our minds and ſpirits from the dregs of the fleſh, to tranſlate them from the powers of darkneſs to the Kingdom of light, the miniſtry or ſervice of Angels or other Creatures did not ſuffice. For accompliſhing this great work the Son of God himſelf became a Servant. He that was eſſentially *Jehovah*, God himſelf did Cloath himſelf with Salvation as with a Garment, and became a Saviour not in the appearance of an Angel; not in our meer ſhape and likeneſs, nor in the meer *form* or *ſhape* of any other Creature, but in our *fleſh and ſubſtance*.

CHAP. XXIV.

That our High Prieſt the Son of God did not only accompliſh that which was fore-ſhadowed by the name and title and office of Jeſus the Son of Joſedech, *but withal the legal* Rites *or Solemnities; none of which he did deſtroy or diſſolve as he did the works of the Devil, but change or advance them into better ſolemnities to be obſerved by us Chriſtians. That his ſolemn accompliſhment of the Feaſt of Atonement, at the Feaſt of the Paſſover was prefigured in the Law, and foreſignified by God's ſpecial command.*

THE Son of God ſaith St. *John* was manifeſted to the end *that he might deſtroy or diſſolve the works of the Devil.* Not only the works which he had wrought in the nature of *Adam* and all his Sons, (the manner of whoſe deſtruction or diſſolution the Reader may find diſcuſſed at large in the Eighth Book of theſe Commentaries;) but beſides theſe, all the ſolemn Rites or Ceremonies, whether Sacrifices or other ſervices by which the ſubtil Enemy of Mankind had enticed men unto, or retained them in obedience to his ſervice. All theſe the Son of God came into the World not to change or accompliſh, but utterly to aboliſh or deſtroy them. As for the Aaronical Prieſthood or legal rites dependant on it, theſe he came not utterly to aboliſh or deſtroy, but to change or ſublimate them into a better kind of ſervice. This Orthodoxal form of words the Apoſtle hath taught us. *Heb. 7. v. 12. The Prieſthood being changed there is made of neceſſity a change alſo of the Law*; that is no deſtruction either of the Law or Prieſthood. *The falſe witneſſes themſelves which were ſet up to accuſe St.* Stephen *of blaſphemous words againſt the holy place and the Law,* though willing, no queſtion, to charge him with more than he ſaid, yet charge him with nothing but this. *We have heard him ſay, that this* Jeſus *of* Nazareth *ſhall deſtroy this place, and ſhall change the Cuſtoms which* Moſes *delivered us. Acts 6. v.* 14. But theſe malicious men with their Complices and Abettors did deſtroy the material Temple by turning it into a Den of Thieves or Murtherers, by practiſing theſe and other like works of the Devil in it. Notwithſtanding the utter deſtruction of this Den of Thieves by theſe means (the Houſe of God; which was the Temple whilſt it continued a Houſe of Prayer) was not utterly deſtroyed, but rather changed or tranſlated unto *Jeruſalem* which is above, as the Ark of the Covenant had been before, from *Shiloh* unto *Sion.* As for any intention utterly to deſtroy any Cuſtom which *Moſes* had given them they had no pretence to accuſe either St. *Stephan* or our Saviour, who had ſolemnly proteſted that he *came not to deſtroy or diſſolve the Law, but to fulfil it.* And none, unleſs perhaps ſome baſe Mechanick or meaner metal Man, who thinks the *matter* whereon he works to be of all others the beſt, would accuſe an Alchymiſt or ingenious Artiſt for waſting or deſtroying copper, lead, or braſs, if he could change or ſublimate them into pure gold.

3. The change or accompliſhment of the beſt legal rites, even ſuch as were appointed by an everlaſting covenant, was more admirable

than this ſuppoſed tranſmutation of baſer metals into refined gold, can truly repreſent; for, as hath been * obſerved before, Albeit our Saviour was no Prieſt after the order of *Aaron*, either before or after his Conſecration, yet he did moſt exquiſitely accompliſh the whole Aaronical Prieſthood, and other legal rites dependent on it by his Conſecration to a more excellent, truly everlaſting Prieſthood. Circumciſion was enjoyned under this title of an everlaſting covenant, and ſo enjoyned under a terrible penalty (before the Law was given by *Moſes*) to all the Seed of *Abraham* throughout their Generation. Was this Rite or Ceremony then deſtroyed or annihilated by the Circumciſion of the Son of God? Neither deſtroyed then, nor changed before his death, but at his Circumciſion deſigned to be changed into an everlaſting Covenant, and after his Reſurrection and Aſcention, not ſo properly changed, as advanced into a better Sacrament or Seal of Gods love unto mankind, under a ſtricter penalty to the contemners of it, or the *undertakers* for both ſexes, than Circumciſion had been to the *Hebrew* males. The Jewiſh Sabbath, or Seventh day likewiſe was not ſo truly nullified for the ſubſtance of the precept, which was to be a commemoration of God's reſt from all his works upon the Seventh day, as clarified or purged from the droſs or dregs of legal Ceremonies; and chang'd into the Lords day: And the Lords day, beſides the repreſentation of Gods reſt from his works of Creation upon the Seventh day, contains a weekly commemoration of our Redemption from the bondage of ſin and powers of darkneſs (repreſented by the thraldom of *Iſrael* in *Egypt*) through the Reſurrection of our Lord and Redeemer. Again, no ſolemnity in all the ſacred Calender of legal Feaſts was more peremptorily enjoyned, or ſtrictly obſerved than the Feaſt of Expiation or Atonemennt; yet was not this Anniverſary Feaſt ſo properly aboliſhed, as accompliſhed, or advanced by that one everlaſting Atonement made once for all by the Son of God upon the Croſs. For albeit that Atonement, in reſpect of the Sacrifice or Offering, was but once made, yet the vertue or efficacy of it is not circumſcriptible by time, nor interruptible by any moment or inſtant of time. Though he dyed but once to make ſatisfaction for us, yet he liveth for ever to make interceſſion for us, and is a perpetual propitiation for the ſins which we daily and hourly commit, and for his ſake, and through his propitiation, all our ſins, who truly believe in him, and ſupplicate unto him for his interceſſion, ſhall be not in general only, but in particular freely pardoned. Nor doth the abſolute everlaſting perfection of this Atonement, any way prohibite us Chriſtians to keep a ſolemn commemoration of the day whereon it was made once for all. But whether this commemoration were ordained or obſerved by the Apoſtles themſelves, or taken up by voluntary tacite conſent of the Church, after the Apoſtles had finiſhed their Pilgrimage here on earth, I dare not take upon me to determine: But whether from this or that authority or example, moſt Chriſtians are ready to humble themſelves on the Friday before Eaſter, and acknowledge it to be a *good day*, becauſe it is the Commemoration of our Saviours *Paſſion*, and Atonement made by it. And albeit this Humiliation were much more ritually and ſeverely obſerved by all of us, than it is by ſome few, we ſhould not trangreſs any Law of God, nor ſwerve from the Analogy of Chriſtian Faith, but rather accompliſh the true intent and purport of the Law given by *Moſes*, for the ſtrict obſervation of the day of legal Atonement. The humbling of our

* In the firſt and third Sections of this Book.

our ſelves upon that day by Faſting and Prayer, is alike common and lawful both to the Jew and Chriſtian, and the repreſentation or Commemoration of Chriſt's bloody death upon that day, by Communication of his Body and Blood under the Sacramental ſigns and pledges, is rather an accompliſhment, than an aboliſhment of the legal Sacrifices, or rather Ceremonies of the Prieſt's entring into the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, upon the tenth day of the month *Tiſri*. A Commemoration of which day, the Modern Jews to this day celebrate with fooliſh and phantaſtick ceremonies, as by tormenting of a * Cock; eſpecially a white one: Yet theſe phantaſtick practices ſerve as an *impreſs or emblem* of that ſacred Truth, which we Chriſtians believe and acknowledge, as hath been obſerved at large in the Fifth Book of Commentaries upon the Creed. *Chap.* 47. *Parag.* 2. and 3.

* Vide Buxdorf. Synagogâ Judaica. Cap. 20.

4. May we Chriſtians then call the *Friday* before *Eaſter*, the day of our Atonement; or the Dominical next after it the great Sabbath? For aſſoiling this or the like Quæry about the uſe of words, eſpecially ſuch as are legal, I know no fitter diſtinction than that plain maxim of the Schools, *Omne majus continet in ſe ſuum minus non formaliter tamen ſed eminenter: Every greater containeth the leſs of the ſame kind, not formally, but by way of eminency.* It were no branch of untruth to ſay, that a quadrangle is two, and that a five-angled figure is three triangles; yet would it be a ſoleciſm to ſay the one were three triangles, and the other two triangles, if we ſhould be directly demanded what manner of figure this or that were; The only true and punctual anſwer muſt be, that the one is formally a quadrangle, the other a quinqangle. To deny any King of *England* for the time being, to be Duke of *Lancaſter*, would be cenſured for more than an errour or Logical untruth; for ſince the annexion of that great Dukedom to the Crown, every King of *England* hath had as juſt and full a Title to it, as to the Kingdom it ſelf, or ancient Crown-lands. And yet if a Lawyer, or other ſkilful in drawing legal inſtruments, ſhould in thoſe very Charters or Donations, which the royal power grants, not as a King of *England*, but as he is Duke of *Lancaſter*, enſtile him only thus, *H.* by the grace of God, Duke of *Lancaſter*, &c. doth give and grant to *N.* omitting his royal Titles, it would be a dangerous ſolœciſm in Law. Now the legal Titles or names of Feaſts, or of the ſervice, are ſo contained in the Evangelical ſervices and ſolemnities, as two triangles are in a quadrangle, or as Duke of *Lancaſter* is in the royal Title of King of *England*. It is no ſin to ſay that the *Friday* before *Eaſter* is the day of our Atonement, or that the firſt day of the week on which Chriſt aroſe from the dead, is the Chriſtian Sabbath: but the more Evangelical or royal Style, is to nominate the one the Lords day, rather than the Sabbath; and the other rather Good-Friday, or *feria quinta in hebdomade ſancta*, (that is, the fifth day beſides the precedent Dominical in the holy week) than the day of our Atonement. The like may be ſaid of all other Chriſtian Feſtivals, inſtituted as ſolemn commemorations, in teſtimony of the accompliſhment of the legal rites or ſervices by the ſufferings, Reſurrection, and other glorious actions of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

To conclude this ſhort digreſſion with *Eraſmus* his reſolution, of a queſtion leſs needful than the former, yet agitated by ſome as it ſeems in his days, or before him, *Noc hic agitabo quæſtionem, An in Chriſtum competat ſervi vocabulum: qui favent ejus dignitati, malant filium dici quam ſervum; qui reſpiciunt ejus humilitatem, & ad mortem uſq; obedientiam,*

dientiam, non horrent ſervi vocabulum: Filii nomine magis gaudent ſacræ literæ, & ipſe dominus patrem ſæpius appellat quàm Dominum aut Deum ſuum, & tamen Paulus ſcribit illi ſuſceptam formam ſervi, hoc eſt, hominis ut interpretantur quidam, nec ſervi modo verùm etiam ſervi mali & verberibus digni, quemadmodum dictus eſt eidem, veniſſe in ſimilitudine carnis peccati. Sed ab ſit hac de re inter conſervos contentio, qui ſervum appellare gaudent, imitentur illius obedientiam; quibus magis arridet filii nomen, imitentur illius charitatem, qui utrolibet nomine agnoſcunt Dominum Jeſum, utrumq; pro viribus exprimant. In rebus enim ſpiritualibus nihil vetat eundem nunc ſervum, nunc filium appellari. * Eraſmus in Pſal. 85. ver. 2.

* In Chriſt's anſwer to John's Diſciples.

5. But ſeeing we Chriſtians affirm that our High Prieſt did accompliſh the legal Prieſthood and Sacrifices by his bloody ſacrifice upon the Croſs, the Jew may object that however his ſatisfaction might be full for ſubſtance, yet it failed in congruity of circumſtances, and in particular for the circumſtance of time. [*Opus diei decentur ſit in die ſuo*] Every work is then well done, then better done than otherwiſe it could be, when it is done in its own time or proper day: If then Chriſt made full Atonement for all our ſins by his own Sacrifice upon the Croſs, this Sacrifice had been offered in better ſeaſon upon the day of Atonement, which was the tenth day of the ſeventh month or *September*, then on that day wherein he offered it, which was the fourteenth day of the firſt month, a day as far different in time from the day of Atonement, as one Feſtival day or Solemnity can be from another. The anſwer firſt in general is, that ſeeing our High Prieſt was to offer but one Bloody Sacrifice, and that one no oftner than once (for as his death, ſo his ſacrifice was never to be reiterated) it was impoſſible he ſhould offer this one ſacrifice (by which all legal ſacrifices and ſervices were to be accompliſhed) upon the ſame day, wherein all the ſacrifices which did fore-ſhadow it were offered or performed. As impoſſible it was that this his only ſacrifice ſhould be offered at ſeveral times, as in ſeveral places. Although moſt in the Romiſh Church ſeem to avouch both parts of this impoſſibility, yet they avouch it with this diſtinction or limitation, that his bloody ſacrifice was but once offered, and that but in one place, at one and the ſame time. But of this (if God permit) hereafter. His bloody ſacrifice, that Church doth grant, was to be offered but once, and therefore but upon a ſpecial day or ſolemn Feaſt, which did fore-ſhadow it by the proper ſacrifice of that day. Now not only the annual, but all the daily ſacrifices did fore-ſhadow *this his bloody Sacrifice once offered for all: and all of them were accompliſhed by it.* Reaſon, from theſe premiſſes may inſtruct us, how requiſite it was that he ſhould offer this ſacrifice at that time, or upon that day on which the principal ſacrifices of the Law, which moſt exquiſitely, or moſt lively fore-ſhadowed it, were offered. The ſervices or ſacrifices of other Feaſts, were to attend or conjoyn themſelves to this. Now as *Jeruſalem* was the Metropolis of the Jewiſh Nation, the place wherein all the Seed of *Jacob*, whereſoever they dwelt, were to preſent themſelves, and to perform the ſolemnities and ſervices of their principal Feaſts; ſo the Paſſeover was the Metropolis of their ſolemn Feaſts: all other Feaſts had ſpecial reference unto it; It did point out the time, as *Jeruſalem* did the place wherein all other legal ſolemnities were to be accompliſhed. Seeing then our High Prieſt was to accompliſh as well the ſacrifices of the Paſchal Lamb, as the ſervices

vices of the Atonement; it was more requiſite that the ſervices uſual upon that day of Atonement, ſhould yield unto the Feaſt of the Paſſeover for circumſtance of time, than the Feaſt of the Paſſeover ſhould yield unto it; ſpecially ſeeing our High Prieſt had already punctually accompliſhed the principal ſolemnity uſed in the feaſt of Atonement, *in die ſuo*, upon the very Feaſt day of Atonement, which (* as is before ſaid) was the day of our Saviour's Baptiſm, the day of his Conſecration to his Prophetical Function. Albeit divers bloody ſacrifices were offered upon the Feaſt of Atonement, yet the principal and moſt publick ſolemnity was the leading of the Scape-Goat into the Wilderneſs, *Levit.* 16. *ver.* 20. 21. *And when he hath made an end of reconciling the holy place, and the Tabernacle of the Congregation and the Altar, he ſhall bring the live Goat, and* Aaron *ſhall lay both his hands upon the head of the live Goat, and confeſs over him all the iniquities of the Children of* Iſrael, *and all their tranſgreſſions in all their ſins, putting them upon the head of the Goat, and ſhall ſend them away by the hand of a fit man into the Wilderneſs.* To accompliſh the myſtery of this ſervice, our Saviour was led by the Spirit into the Wilderneſs immediately after his Baptiſm, bearing the iniquity of this people, even all the ſins which had been confeſſed by *Jeruſalem* and *Judah* at *John*'s Baptiſm. And though he himſelf needed not to be waſhed and Baptized as being all clean; yet, as he ſaith himſelf, it became him to be Conſecrated by Baptiſm to this ſervice to fulfil all righteouſneſs, and by fulfilling this part of righteouſneſs in bearing the ſins, which this people had confeſſed, into the Wilderneſs, he made a fuller Atonement for *Jeruſalem* and *Judah*, than any High Prieſt before had made. That curſe wherewith *Malachy* had threatned the Lord, would ſmite the earth or land of *Jewry*, was for this time averted by this his bloody ſacrifice.

* In Chriſt's anſwer to *John's* Diſciples.

6. But as our Saviour at the time of his Baptiſm, which was upon the day of Atonement, had fulfilled the myſtery of the Scape-goat; ſo he was to accompliſh the myſtery fore-ſhadowed by the boody ſacrifice of the Paſchal Lamb. To this purpoſe *John* the Baptiſt, upon his return from the Wilderneſs had propheſied, *Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the ſins of the world*, John 1. 29. He had born the iniquity of *Jeruſalem* and *Judah* by his journey unto, by his faſting and watching in the Wilderneſs, and from this *John* fore-ſaw he was to take away or bear (for ſo the original may import) the iniquities or ſins of the world. He is called by *John* and others, the Lamb of God, for his innocent and ſpotleſs life; yet not ſo much (if at all) with reference to the Lambs offered in the daily ſacrifices (which were altogether without ſpot or blemiſh) as with reference to the Paſchal Lamb, which was to be the choiceſt and faireſt of the flock: and for this reaſon God in his wiſdom would have him ſacrificed at that Feaſt, or very time wherein the Paſchal Lamb was ſlain, *id eſt*, upon the fourteenth of the firſt month, *inter duas veſperas*, *betwixt the two evenings.* Some think betwixt three of the clock, and the day-going, or Star-riſing. Our Saviour died a little after three, and was brought in peace into his grave about the Sun-ſetting, and by reſt or repoſal in it, hath hallowed the houſes of death, as the Paſchal Lamb did the houſes of the *Iſraelites* wherein it was ſlain, and purchaſed our ſafety from the deſtroying Angel, even whilſt our bodies lodge within the land of darkneſs or region of death. The congruity of time, and other circumſtances, between the ſacrifice of the Paſchal Lamb, and the

ſacrifice of our High Prieſt, are ſo manifeſt, and ſo well known, as they need no further Comment.

7. The myſtery fore-ſhadowed by *Iſrael's* deliverance out of *Egypt*, (which firſt occaſioned the inſtitution of the Paſſeover) was ſo great, that the Lord in memory of it, did give the month wherein that deliverance was wrought, the preheminence of all the months in the year; whereas before that time, the month of *September*, in which the Feaſt of Atonement was celebrated, was for order of time or accompt the firſt, as being the ſeaſon according to the tradition of the *Hebrews*, and in all probability of reaſon, wherein the world was firſt created. And after the month of *Abib* had by Gods appointment got the preheminence of all other months; yet the month *Tiſri*, or *September* ſtill retains the precedency in the civil accompt of the *Hebrews* for matters temporal or ſecular. The accompt of their years in matters of contract or bargain, as of mortgage or purchaſe was always to be taken from Jubile to Jubile, or from one Sabbatical or ſeventh year to another. And the year of Jubile, or Sabbatical year, did always begin and end in the month of *September*. And as we of this Land have two accompts, the one from the year of the Lord, the other from the raign of the King; ſo had the *Hebrews* two accompts of the year more diſtinct and certain than ours are. The one for matters civil or ſecular, according to which account *September* was the firſt month, and *March* the ſeventh month. The other for matters Eccleſiaſtical or Spiritual, and according to this accompt the month of *Abib* or *March* was the firſt month, and *September* the ſeventh month. And becauſe matters Spiritual, or belonging to the ſervice of God, or ſtate of his Church, were the matters which God did principally reſpect in the inſtitution of his Law, therefore the month *Abib* or *March*, after this peoples deliverance from *Egypt*, though not before, was to be accompted the prime and principal month.

8. So then, albeit the Feaſt of Atonement, and the Feaſt of the Paſſeover differ as much in reſpect of the diſtance of time, as any two Feaſts in the year can do, as having juſt half a year betwixt them; yet for identity of ſeaſon, or congruity of other circumſtances they agree the beſt. Both of them are in their kinds the firſt months, light and darkneſs hold the ſame proportion in both. Both of them diſtribute day and night by equal ballance to all the Inhabitants of the Earth. *John Baptiſt's* conception fell upon the Feaſt of Atonement, and the ſolemnity of this Feaſt was in divers reſpects accompliſhed by our Saviour at his Baptiſm or Conſecration to his Prophetical Function. Our Saviour's own Conception was about the Feaſt of the Paſſeover, and fitting it was for congruity of time that he ſhould finiſh the courſe of his mortal life, and accompliſh all the legal ſacrifices by the bloody ſacrifice of himſelf upon that day, at that time wherein he had received the firſt beginning of life as man; fitting it was that he ſhould be conceived to life immortal in the womb of the earth upon the ſame day, or at that time wherein he had firſt been conceived in the Virgins womb, to the miſeries and frail eſtate of mortality. Briefly then in the alienation of preheminence, or precedency from *September* to *March*, the tranſlation of the Atonement or Expiation from the one month, or the other was included and foreſhadowed. The month *Abib* was by Gods appointment made the firſt and principal month of the whole year, with reference to this great

work of final Atonement or Expiation, which was to be wrought in it by the bloody ſacrifice of the High Prieſt, in which all other ſacrifices and ſolemnities had their end and final accompliſhment. There was no legal Feaſt of Attonement to be celebrated after it.

9. Again, for circumſtance of time it was moſt fitting and congruous that the ſecond Tabernacle ſhould be erected at the ſame time and ſeaſon wherein the firſt Tabernacle was erected, that the High Prieſt of the New Teſtament, or everlaſting Tabernacle, ſhould be Conſecrated at the ſame ſeaſon, wherein the High Prieſt of the Old Teſtament, or earthly Tabernacle was Conſecrated. Now the firſt Tabernacle was erected, and *Aaron* the High Prieſt thereof Conſecrated in the firſt month *Abib*, as is apparent from *Exod.*40. *v.*2. The Tabernacle was begun to be ſet up upon the firſt day of that month, and was twelve days in erection. *Aaron* was ſeven days in his Conſecration, but whether he was Conſecrated in the firſt ſeven days of the month, or whether his Conſecration begun from the eighth day, and laſted to the fifteenth, is all one for congruity of circumſtance between the Conſecration of *Aaron*, and the Conſecration of our High Prieſt. Sometimes it ſo falls out that the Evangelical myſteries begin where the legal ſhadows do end, and are as it were uſhered in by them; ſometimes again the myſteries fulfilled upon the ſame day, wherein the legal ſervices or ſolemnities which fore-ſhadowed them were, or ought to have been celebrated. But it is more than probable from many circumſtances, *Levit.* 8. that *Aaron*'s Conſecration did not begin till the ſeventh or eighth day of the month *Abib*, and ended the fourteenth or fifteenth.

CHAP. XXV.

In what reſpects the Conſecration of Aaron, *and of his Sons did eſpecially pre-figure the Conſecration of the Son of God; and in what reſpects they ſpecially differ. That the Conſecration of* Aaron *did in divers reſpects ſerve as a* foil *to ſet forth the excellency of the Conſecration of the Son of God.*

CONcerning the Conſecration of *Aaron* and his Sons, you may read at large, *Exod.* 29. *Levit.* 8. Their Conſecration conſiſted partly in the ſacrifices offered by *Moſes* for them, partly in other ſervices or ſolemnities, either performed by them, or done unto them. The Prieſts of the Law, even *Aaron* the firſt High Prieſt himſelf, was to be Conſecrated by *Moſes* the man of God. The High Prieſt of the New Teſtament was to be Conſecrated by God the Father, by him that had ſworn to make him a Prieſt after the order of *Melchiſedech*. We are not to parallel the Son of God and *Aaron* according to every part or ſolemnity of their Conſecration, at leaſt we are not to compare every part or particular in kind. For in *Aarons* Conſecration there be many circumſtances which neceſſarily imply, pre-ſuppoſe or argue ſuch imperfections and defects, either in *Aaron*'s perſon, or in the ſacrifices or rites by which he was Conſecrated, as may not ſo much as be imagined in our High Prieſt, in his Sacrifice or any part of his ſervice: But rather theſe imperfections in *Aaron*'s perſon, in his Sacrifice or Prieſthood, do ſerve as foils to ſet forth the excellent and abſolute perfection of our High Prieſts perſon, of his Sacrifice, and of his Prieſthood. Firſt, it was a defect or imperfection in *Aaron*'s perſon, that he ſhould ſtand in need of a Sin-offring, or of an Offring of Atonement to make him capable of the dignity of legal Prieſthood, or of his Conſecration to it. This diſſimilitude between the Perſon of the High Prieſt of the Old Teſtament and the High Prieſt of the New is expreſt by our Apoſtle. *Heb.* 7. 26, 27. *For ſuch an High Prieſt became us, who is holy, harmleſs, undefiled, ſeperate from ſinners, and made higher than the Heavens, who needeth not daily as thoſe High Prieſts to offer up Sacrifice, firſt for his own ſins and then for the peoples: For this he did once when he offered up himſelf.*

2. So far was our High Prieſt from ſtanding in need of any Sin-offring or Sacrifice for himſelf, that he himſelf became the full and perfect Atonement for the ſins of the whole World, even the Sin-offring for the High Prieſts themſelves which yearly made Atonement for the people. Again 'twas a defect or imperfection in the Sacrifices by which *Aaron* was conſecrated in that they were more than one, or of divers kinds; for of bloody Sacrifices there were three; a Bullock for a Sin-offring, and two Rams, the one for a Fire-Offring or Sacrifice of reſt, the other the Ram of Conſecration or of filling the hand. It argues again a greater defect in all theſe Sacrifices, whether you take them *conjunctim* or *diviſim*, in that they were to be often offered. And this defect or imperfection in the ſubſtance of theſe Sacrifices, or in the Sacrificer, or his ſervice, the Lord ſought to recompence or ſupply by the perfection of the number of ſeveral times, or ſolemnities in which they were offered. For theſe Sacrifices were to be offered ſeven times. *Aaron* and his Sons were to fill their hands ſeven days together before their Conſecration was accompliſhed. Our High Prieſt as he had no Sacrifice but one, to wit, the Sacrifice of himſelf; ſo was he to offer this Sacrifice, or this Sacrifice was to be offered but once, either for his own or for our Conſecration. And by this once offering of this one Sacrifice he did fully and abſolutely accompliſh whatſoever was fore-ſhadowed by the full number of the legal Sacrifices or ſolemnities which were uſed at the Conſecration of *Aaron*. For the number of ſeven is a full number, yea a number full of myſteries, and wherein the Spirit of God ſeems to delight. Herein then as hath been intimated before, the High Prieſt of the New Teſtament, and the High Prieſt of the Old exactly agree; that as the Conſecration of the one, ſo the Conſecration of the other was to laſt ſeven days. *Aaron* and his Sons as you may read *Exod.* 29. were commanded to attend at the door of the Tabernacle ſeven days together. Our Saviour after his entrance into *Jeruſalem* did attend the Temple five days together teaching and inſtructing the people, and in curing the Blind and Lame which were brought unto him. He was more frequent and diligent in performing thoſe and the like acts of mercy, than *Aaron* and his Sons were in offering Sacrifices or performing other legal ſervices. And having purged the material Temple from brothery and merchandizing, reſtoring it to the uſe of Prayer, which the High Prieſts of the Law had turned or ſuffered to be turned into a Den of Thieves; having thus purged the Temple on the firſt or ſecond day of his Conſecration, and afterwards hallowed it by his Doctrine, by his preſence

ſence and exerciſe of holineſs in it, he went the ſixth day into his Heavenly Sanctuary, into Paradiſe it ſelf to purify and ſanctify it with his own blood, to conſecrate it for us, as *Moſes* at *Aaron's* Conſecration did purifie and conſecrate the material Sanctuary and the Altar with the blood of Bullocks and of Rams. Yet was not this Conſecration as yet fully accompliſhed: the period or accompliſhing of it is from the moment of his Reſurrection or Reunition of his Soul and Body. As *Aaron* firſt, ſo every High Prieſt of the Law after him was to continue ſeven days in his Conſecration, that the ſeventh day or Sabbath might paſs over him; becauſe no man, as they conceive, can be a compleat Prieſt until a Sabbath have gone over his head. But the Sabbath of the Lord did never ſo exactly paſs over any High Prieſt in his Conſecration as it did over the High Prieſt of the New Teſtament. However it were of *Aaron's* it was the laſt day of his Conſecration: it was to him indeed a Day of reſt, after ſix days of labour, of watching, praying, faſting, and after he had accompliſhed the works which his Father had ſent him to do, by the torments of his bloody Sacrifice, and whatſoever pains he ſuffered upon the Croſs. But after he had ſaid *conſummatum eſt*, which was in the end of the ſixth day, in that day whereon God firſt had made Man, and the Son of God had now redeemed Man; his Conſecration was not yet conſummate, his body was to reſt the ſeventh day in the Grave: And his Soul in bliſs all the Sabbath or ſeventh day, and after the Heavenly Sanctuary had been thus hallowed by the reſt and preſence of his bleſſed Soul in it on the ſeventh day, his Soul and Body were reunited upon the firſt day in the Morning, at that time when the light begun to be diſtinguiſhed from darkneſs. And this was the time of the accompliſhment of his Conſecration or of his admiſſion to the Prieſthood after the Order of *Melchiſedech*.

3. So then to be ſeven days in Conſecration was no imperfection in *Aaron* and his Prieſthood, but rather a myſtery to be accompliſhed in the Conſecration of the Son of God. That *Aaron ſhould have his hands filled ſeven days together* by *Moſes* with the Sacrifices which were offered for him, was an argument as well of his own perſonal imperfections, as of the imperfections of his Sacrifices. Howbeit the *myſtery* or *moral* implyed by the *filling of the hand*, was no point of imperfection; and for this reaſon was as exactly fulfilled in the Conſecration of our High Prieſt as in the Conſecration of *Aaron*. The *moral* implied by the *filling of the hand*, was to ſignify that *Aaron* did not uſurp the dignity of Prieſthood, or take it up (as we ſay) at his own hand, but was hereunto lawfully and ſolemnly called by God, from whom he had received whatſoever he had. The inference hence made by our Apoſtle is this, *Heb.* 5. 4, 5. *No man taketh this honour to himſelf but he that is called of God as was* Aaron: *So alſo Chriſt glorified not himſelf to be made an High Prieſt, but he that ſaid unto him, Thou art my Son to day have I begotten thee.* He that had thus ſaid unto him did likewiſe prepare or fit a body to him for his Sacrifice, he did not fill his hand with Sacrifices or Burnt-offrings.

4. It was an imperfection likewiſe in *Aaron's* perſon or his Sacrifices, or in both; his Conſecration it ſelf was imperfect in that his Conſecration did not ſerve for the Conſecration of his Sons, or his Succeſſors: all of them were to have their ſeveral Sacrifices or other ſolemn Rites of Conſecration. The perfection which this *foil*, ſets forth in our High Prieſt and his Conſecration is this, *that we are ſanctified through*

through the offering of the body of Jeſus Chriſt once for all. Hebr. 10. 10. *Every Prieſt ſtandeth daily miniſtring and offering oftimes the ſame Sacrifices which can never take away ſins; but this man* (or rather this Prieſt) *after he had once offered one Sacrifice for ſins, for ever ſate down on the right hand of God, and henceforth expecting till his Enemies be made his footſtool. For by one offering he hath conſecrated for ever them that are ſanctified.* ver. 11, 12, 13.

5. As many as have reaped or hereafter ſhall reap any benefit, either from God's Oath to *Abraham* concerning his Seed in whom all the Nations of the Earth were to be bleſſed, or from the renewing of this Oath to *David* concerning his Son which was to be the Diſpenſer of this bleſſing and to be made a Prieſt after the Order of *Melchiſedech* who bleſſed *Abraham*; all, and every one of them are conſecrated to the participation of this bleſſing by the Conſecration of this our High Prieſt the Son of God. The Law (ſaith the Apoſtle) makes men High Prieſts which have infirmity, but the word of the Oath which was ſince the Law maketh the Son High Prieſt, who is conſecrated for evermore; and by this his Conſecration we, even all the Iſrael of God are conſecrated by an everlaſting Conſecration. So ſaith the Apoſtle *Revel.* 1. 5. *Jeſus Chriſt the firſt begotten of the dead, and Prince of the Kings of the earth hath waſhed us from our ſins in his own Blood, and hath made us Kings and Prieſts* (that is Prieſts after the Order of *Melchiſedech*) *unto God and his Father.* By this his Conſecration likewiſe to his everlaſting Prieſthood we are hallowed and conſecrated as Temples to our God, ſo ſaith St. *Peter.* 1 *Pet.* 2. *v.* 4, 5. *To whom coming as to a living ſtone, diſallowed indeed of men, but choſen of God and precious, ye alſo as lively ſtones are built up a ſpiritual houſe, an Holy Prieſthood, to offer up a ſpiritual Sacrifice, acceptable to God by Jeſus Chriſt.*

5. But to take the ſeveral bloody Sacrifices which were offered at the Conſecration of *Aaron* and his Sons, into more particular conſideration; Albeit theſe Sacrifices were all imperfect, not only abſolutely, or in reſpect of our High Prieſts Everlaſting Sacrifice, but even in reſpect of theſe ſpiritual Sacrifices mentioned by St. *Peter* which we are to offer unto God; yet were they all in their kind moſt perfect. The beſt and chiefeſt in the whole rank of legal or Aaronical Sacrifices; they are as ſo many *lineaments* pourtraying in part, or foreſhadowing that body or accompliſhment, not of them only, but of all other Sacrifices. All meet in it as ſo many lines in their Center. The firſt bloody Sacrifice that was offered at the Conſecration of *Aaron*, was a Bullock. The Prieſts might offer no other Sacrifice than this for their own Sin-offering, becauſe this was of all other the beſt, and yet in compariſon of this, ſaith the Pſalmiſt in the Perſon of this our High Prieſt in his affliction, *I will praiſe the name of God with a ſong, and will magnifie him with thankſgiving, this alſo ſhall pleaſe the Lord better than a Bullock which hath horns and hoofs*, that is, beginning to ſpread the Horn and Hoof, for at that time they were moſt fit for Sacrifice. *Pſal.* 69 *ver.* 30. 31. His meaning was that this Sacrifice of thankſgiving ſhould be more acceptable unto God than the very beſt Sacrifice of the Law; and ſo it was, eſpecially whilſt offered by our High Prieſt, even when he offered his bloody Sacrifice upon the Croſs, and after his Enemies had given him Vinegar in his thirſt to drink. For after he had uttered that pitiful Song of the *Pſalmiſt. Pſal.* 22 (whether only out of his grief or anguiſh, or upon other reſpects and intentions) *My God my God why haſt thou forſaken Me*, he finally com-

mends his Soul, his Spirit, unto his Father in the words of the *Pſalmiſts Song. Pſ.* 35. *Father, into thy hands I commend my ſpirit!* The uttering of both theſe Songs in this anguiſh of Soul, argues he lov'd his God and our God, his Father and our Father, with all his Soul, with all his heart, with all his ſtrength; and his performance of this great Commandment, (as the Scribe which approved his anſwer to the Phariſees, to the Herodians, and the Sadduces had a little before confeſt, upon his anſwer to his Queſtion) was more than all whole burnt Offrings and Sacrifices *Mat.* 12. from *v.* 12. to 34.

CHAP. XXVI.

In what reſpects the Bullock offered at the Conſecration of Aaron, *&c. and the rites of Offering it did prefigure the bloody Sacrifice of the Son of God, eſpecially the circumſtances of the place wherein it was offered.*

BUT you will aſk wherein did the Sacrifice of the Bullock, which was offered for a Sin-offering or Atonement at *Aaron's* Conſecration, or the circumſtances in offering it, punctually fore-ſhadow the bloody Sacrifice which our High-Prieſt offered at his Conſecration, or the manner or circumſtance of his offering it? It did in circumſtance at leaſt prefigure the Sacrifice of our High Prieſt after the ſame manner or in reſpect of the ſame circumſtance that the annual Sacrifices of Atonement did prefigure it; of which hereafter. Inaſmuch as the head and fleſh, *&c.* of the Bullock for Sin-offering or Atonement for *Aaron* at his Conſecration, was to be offered or burnt without the Camp, not to be burnt upon the Altar; It fell under the ſame Law, and undergoes the ſame conſiderations which the annual Sacrifices in the Feaſt of Atonement did. For ſo it is expreſly commanded, *Exod.* 29. 14. *That the fleſh of the Bullock and his skin ſhould be burnt without the Camp, because it was a ſin-offering.* Now it was an univerſal and peremptory Law that no fleſh of any Sacrifice, whoſe Blood was brought into the Sanctuary to make Atonement, ſhould be eaten by the Prieſts in the Sanctuary.

2. It was again a Law as peremptory, that the Prieſts, eſpecially the High Prieſts might (that is, had power to) eat the fleſh of any Sacrifice whoſe Blood was not brought into the Sanctuary. For to this purpoſe *Moſes, Levit.* 10. 17. expoſtulateth with *Aaron's* Sons which were left after the death of *Nadab* and *Abihu. Wherefore have ye not eaten the Sin-offering in the holy place, for it is the holy of holies, and it, (viz. the fleſh of the ſin-offring) he hath given to you to bear the iniquity of the Congregation, to make Atonement for them before the Lord: Behold the Blood of it was not brought in, behold indeed you ſhould have eaten it in the holy place as I commanded you. Aaron* in his Apology for his Sons againſt this accuſation of *Moſes*, in no caſe queſtions the truth or extent of this commandment, but rather excuſeth himſelf and his Sons for not obſerving the purport of the Law as the caſe ſtood with them; his two Sons *Nadab* and *Abihu* being lately conſumed with fire iſſuing out from before the Lord, for offering ſtrange fire, (*which he had not commanded them*) upon his Altar. And ſeeing that although

they had put off all the reſpect of the obedience of his Sons, yet could he not put off the affection of a loving Father towards them, or ſuddenly ceaſe to mourn for their untimely death; whereas to have eaten the Sacrifices in the holy place with a ſad countenance or heavy heart had been to pollute it. So that this ſad and woful accident made the eating of the Sin-offring in the holy place unlawful or unexpedient to him and his Sons, which ordinarily or in caſe no ſuch accident had befallen them, had not only been lawful but neceſſary. But ſeeing the blood of the Bullock offered for *Aaron's* Sin-offering at his Conſecration had not been brought into the Sanctuary, and ſeeing no ſuch woful accident or legal impediment had at this time befallen *Aaron* and his Sons, it may juſtly be queſtioned what was the reaſon they did not eat the fleſh of this their Sin-offring or Atonement? It was a ſufficient warrant unto them not to eat it becauſe the Lord had forbidden it. *Exod.* 29. 14. But if it be demanded what was the reaſon or intent of this Law; or rather of this particular exception from the general Law by which they were commanded to eat it? Some make anſwer that *Aaron* and his Sons were not as yet compleat Prieſts, or Prieſts already conſecrated, but in their Conſecration only, and therefore were not comprehended under the general Law which commanded the Prieſt, forbidding all others, to eat the fleſh of the Sin-offering, whoſe blood was not brought into the Sanctuary. But this reaſon concludes only in probability againſt *Aaron* and his Sons, who did now attend their Conſecration; it no ways concludes againſt *Moſes* who did conſecrate them, who was not only permitted but commanded by God to eat of all the Sacrifices or Offrings which *Aaron's* Sons or Succeſſors might lawfully eat; yet did not *Moſes* eat any part of the Bullock offered at *Aaron*'s Conſecration for a Sin-offring or Atonement, for God had expreſly commanded it to be burnt without the Camp. Their anſwer therefore to that former demand, is more pertinent, who ſay that no High Prieſt, whether ordinarily called or extraordinarily, (as *Moſes* was for the Conſecration of *Aaron* and his Sons) might eat of any Sacrifice which was offered for a Sin-offring or Atonement for the Prieſts themſelves, although the Blood of it were not brought into the Sanctuary. Of the Sin-offrings for the people whoſe Blood was not brought into the Sanctuary the Prieſts might eat, they were to eat.

2. This commandment for them to eat of the peoples Sin-offring, argues the ſins of the people were to be born or taken away by the Prieſt. The prohibition for the Prieſts to eat the Sin-offrings made for themſelves, argues the ſins of the Prieſt could not be born or taken away by the Prieſts of the Law or their Sacrifices, but were to expect a better Sacrifice of a better High Prieſt: The legal Sacrifices in the mean time were to be offered in a place prefiguring the place wherein this better Sacrifice was to be offered, a place without the Gates of *Jeruſalem*. Whiles the people wandred in the Wilderneſs without any ſetled habitation, or City to dwell in, the Sacrifice or ſubſtance of the Sin-offring was to be conſumed with fire without the Trenches, or bounds whereſoever they did encamp, as Souldiers do in the open field, near unto the Ark of the Teſtament. But after the Ark had found a ſetled habitation or reſting place in the Temple which *Solomon* built, the City of *Jeruſalem* in which the Temple ſtood, became the Camp of *Iſrael*. And this and other like ſolemnities and ſervices which were commanded to be performed without the Camp

whiles the people wandred in the Wilderneſs, were to be performed without the gates of *Jeruſalem*, albeit the Sacrifice was to be offered in the Temple; whence ſeeing our Saviour's Body was the offering for ſin, or the Sacrifice of Atonement, by which the myſteries imported by all other Sacrifices, were fulfilled, it was to be conſumed or brought into the duſt of death in Mount *Calvary*, or *Golgotha*; or ſome place without the City. So that the Apoſtles Argument, *Heb.* 13. drawn from the annual Sacrifices of Atonement, concludes as punctually for this Sacrifice of Atonement or Sin-offering at *Aaron*'s Conſecration: *We have an Altar whereof they have no right to eat, which ſerve at the Tabernacle, for the bodies of thoſe Beaſts whoſe blood is brought into the Sanctuary by the High Prieſt for ſin* (as alſo of thoſe Beaſts which were offered for the Prieſts Sin-offering at the Conſecration, albeit their Blood were not brought into the Sanctuary) *are burnt without the Camp. Wherefore Jeſus alſo that he might ſanctifie the people with his own Blood, ſuffered without the gate.* Now this Sanctification of Gods people by Chriſts Blood, was their Conſecration with him to be Kings and Prieſts, as he was now made King and Prieſt, that is, a Prieſt after the order of *Melchiſedech*, and as he himſelf ſaith, *John* 17. 29. *For their ſakes I ſanctifie my ſelf,* (that is, I undergo the Rites of Conſecration prefigured by the Law) *that they alſo may be ſanctified through the truth,* or truly ſanctified, that is, after a better manner than they could be ſanctified or conſecrated by the legal Sacrifices, Ceremonies, or Services of the Law.

3. The ſecond ſort of bloody Sacrifices offered by *Moſes* at the Conſecration of *Aaron* and his Sons, were two Rams, the one for a Burnt-offering to the Lord for a ſweet ſavour and Offering made by fire unto the Lord, *Exod.* 29. 18. The myſtery hereby fore-ſignified at our Saviour's Conſecration, is expreſſed by the Apoſtle, *Epheſ.* 5. 1. 2. *Be ye therefore followers of God as dear Children, and walk in love as Chriſt hath loved us, and hath given himſelf for us an Offering and a Sacrifice to God for a ſweet ſmelling ſavour.* The other Ram was to be offered as a Peace-offering, and is called by *Moſes*, *Exod.* 29. the Ram of *Aaron*'s Conſecration *ver.* 26. becauſe *Aaron* and his Sons were to be anointed with the Blood of it.

CHAP. XXVII.

In what reſpects the Ram of the Conſecration, and the Ram *which God did provide for a Burnt-offering inſtead of* Iſaac, *did prefigure the Sacrifice of the Son of God. Of other ſpecial Rites wherein* Aaron *at his Conſecration, and in the Function of his Prieſthood, did prefigure the Conſecration and Prieſthood of the Son of God.*

NOW if we conſider the ſpecial references of the Aaronical Prieſthood, there could no fitter Sacrifice be offered for *Aaron* and his Sons at their Conſecration, than the Sacrifice of Rams; no other Sacrifices uſed in the Law could be ſo fit an emblem or repreſentation of our High Prieſt's Sacrifice at his Conſecration. The points whereto the Aaronical Prieſthood (whether during the time of their Conſecration, or after *Aaron* and his Sons were Conſecrated Prieſts) had peculiar reference, were two. The firſt, the ſolemn memorial, the commemoration or reiteration of God's Covenant made with *Abraham* and with his Seed, or the continual acceptance of it, by performing the obedience which God required at their hands in all their Sacrifices. The ſecond was a perpetual repreſentation of the accompliſhment of this Covenant on Gods part, in and by the promiſed Seed or Meſſias. God had promiſed by Oath to *Abraham*, that in his Seed, not only *Abraham*'s Seed after the fleſh, but all the Nations of the Earth that follow the ſteps of *Abraham*, ſhould be bleſſed. And in this promiſe confirmed by oath it was implyed, as hath been often mentioned before, that the Son of God ſhould become *Abraham*'s Seed, and that the Seed of *Abraham* thus made the Son of God ſhould be offered up to God in ſuch a manner as God required *Abraham* to offer up his Son *Iſaac*, that is, in a true and bloody Sacrifice. *Iſaac*'s approach to death was a Type, a figure, or repreſentation of our Saviour's bloody death. *Iſaac*'s ſtrange deliverance from this bloody death, menaced by his Fathers outſtretched hand, armed with a bloody knife, was a type or ſhadow of our Saviour's Reſurrection from death, which God his Father had not only threatned, but inflicted upon him. Now as that which *Abraham* intended to have done to his Son *Iſaac*, was accompliſhed by God upon his only Son, ſo *Abraham*'s words to *Iſaac*, when he intended to offer him up in bloody Sacrifice, became a true propheſie of our Saviour's bloody Sacrifice. *Iſaac* bearing the wood of the Burnt-offering upon his back, and obſerving his Father to carry fire in the one Hand, and a knife in the other, no creature in the world beſides themſelves being preſent, moved this queſtion, [*Behold the fire and the wood, but where is the Lamb for the Burnt-offering*] *And* Abraham *anſwers, God will provide himſelf a Lamb for a Burnt-offering, my Son, Gen.* 22. 7, 8. Whatſoever the natural conſtruction of *Abraham*'s anſwer in theſe words might import, *Abraham* at this time had no other intention than to offer up his Son *Iſaac* for a Burnt-offering. Howbeit his words without wrong to their grammatical conſtruction in the original might imply as much, and as the *Hebrews* conceive, they did to *Iſaac*'s apprehenſion imply as much as if he had ſaid, [God will provide himſelf a Lamb for a Burnt-offering, even thee my Son; or, God will provide thee my Son for a Burnt-offering.] And from this apprehenſion, or conſtruction of *Abraham*'s words, *Iſaac* (as the *Hebrews* have a tradition) forthwith became willing to be offered up in Sacrifice for a Burnt-offering, ſuffering himſelf to be bound upon the Altar by his Father, being able, if he had been ſo diſpoſed to make reſiſtance, as being now, at leaſt, 25 years of age.

22. However it were, *Iſaac* was as willing to be offered, as *Abraham* was to offer him. And yet *Abraham*'s former words are more exactly fulfilled, even for the preſent, than if *Iſaac* had been then offered upon the Altar: For though God had commanded *Abraham* to offer his only begotten Son *Iſaac* for a Burnt-offering, yet he had been a Burnt-offering of *Abraham*'s providing; but the Ram which was caught by the horns in the thicket, was a Burnt-offering of Gods proviſion meerly: It was no part of *Abraham*'s ſtore, of *Abraham*'s proviſion, fore-caſt or fore-ſight. The Ram queſtionleſs came not thither from any neighbour-place by chance; God did provide it

for a Burnt-offering, by a manner extraordinary and miraculous. For if *David* would not offer a Sacrifice to God of that which coſt him nothing, or of that which was another mans by former poſſeſſion, until he had made it his own by a better title than by free donation, or his own by a juſt price or valuable conſideration, *Abraham*, doubtleſs, would not have offered a Sacrifice unto the Lord, of that which he might juſtly ſuſpect to be the goods of another man, until he had bought it of the known owner. But knowing this Ram to have been of Gods own, or meer proviſion by means miraculous or extraordinary, he forthwith offered it for a Burnt-offering, inſtead of his Son. So then, the League or Covenant betwixt God and *Abraham* is concluded, and ſubſcribed unto on *Abraham*'s part, with the Sacrifice of a Ram, and was to be continued or accepted of by *Abraham*'s Poſterity with continuation of like Sacrifices. The High Prieſts themſelves, who were in their rank and order, Mediators or Interceſſors for continuing and eſtabliſhing this Covenant between God and *Abraham*'s Seed, were to be ſolemnly Conſecrated by the Sacrifice of Rams; And in memorial or commemoration of *Iſaac*'s deliverance from death, the *Jews* did celebrate that day wherein God provided this Sacrifice inſtead of *Iſaac*, that was (according to their Kalendar) the firſt of *September*, or feaſt of Trumpets, with the Sacrifice of Rams. But they conſidered not, that in the words of Gods Oath to *Abraham*, it was implyed that God would give his Son, his only Son, for ſuch a bloody Sacrifice or Burnt-offering, as *Abraham* intended to have made of his Son *Iſaac*. They conſidered not that in *Abraham*'s anſwer to *Iſaac*, *The Lord would provide himſelf of a Burnt offering*, and in the miraculous proviſion of the Ram for a Burnt-offering inſtead of *Iſaac*, it was implyed or fore-ſignifyed as well by matter of fact, as by expreſs word of Propheſie, that God would provide matter of Sacrifice when he ſhould offer his only Son after a more excellent miraculous manner, than he had now done the Ram inſtead of *Iſaac*. For ſeeing the Son of God, as God could not dye, he therefore provides him a mortal body taken from the Seed of *Abraham*, the ſubſtance of the Bleſſed Virgin, and ſo unites it to his Divine Perſon, that whilſt this Seed of *Abraham* was offered in Sacrifice, the Son of God was likewiſe offered, that whilſt *Abraham*'s Seed was thus Conſecrated by bloody Sacrifice, the Son of God was likewiſe Conſecrated to be the High Prieſt after the order of *Melchiſedech*, that is, to be the Author, Donor, and Diſpenſer of that bleſſing, which *Melchiſedech* in the name of the moſt High God, whoſe Prieſt he was, beſtowed on *Abraham*, and which God upon *Abraham*'s readineſs to offer *Iſaac*, did by ſolemn oath bind himſelf to perform, and to perform it in *Abraham*'s Seed. The neceſſary conſequence or abſtract of which Oath, as it is before manifeſted, was this, that *Abraham*'s Seed ſhould be that moſt High God, in whoſe name *Melchiſedech* had bleſſed *Abraham*.

3. The unuſual and unexpected fulfilling of *Abraham*'s words to *Iſaac*, *Gen.* 22. 8. Jehovah Jireh, *The Lord will ſee, or the Lord will provide himſelf a Lamb for a Burnt-offering*, gave *Abraham* occaſion to name that place *Jehovah Jireh*, as alſo to a common Proverb taken up from the name of this place, and from the event, *In the Mount of the Lord it ſhall be ſeen, Gen.* 22. 14. or as the original, without ſtraining will more naturally bear, *In the mountain the Lord, or Jehovah will be ſeen.* And this Proverb taken up upon theſe occaſions, in

whether ſenſe or conſtruction you liſt to take it, was more than a Proverb, a true myſtery, or myſtical propheſie exactly fulfilled in the Crucifying of our Saviour. The Lord in the Mount did ſee, and was ſeen by his ſpecial Providence, when he provided the Ram for a Sacrifice inſtead of *Iſaac*. The Mountain whereon *Abraham* purpoſed to have offered *Iſaac*, as he was commanded by God, for a Burnt-offering, was one of the Mountains in the land of *Moriah*, and that (as all Interpreters agree) was about the place wherin *Jeruſalem* was afterwards built; moſt are of opinion, that it was that part of Mount *Sion* wherein the Temple was afterwards built, wherein the threſhing-floor of *Arauna* ſtood, which *David* conſecrated for the Altar of God. But whether it were this Mountain, or Mount *Calvary*, I will not diſpute. Mount *Calvary* likewiſe was in the Land of *Moriah*, and in this Mountain *Jehovah did ſee, and was ſeen*; he did in this Mountain provide himſelf of a Lamb for a Burnt-offering, he himſelf became a Lamb or viſible Sacrifice for our ſins, by whoſe blood he himſelf, and we in him were conſecrated Prieſts to God the Father. The other circumſtances, whether concerning *Iſaac* or the Lamb, were viſibly and remarkably accompliſhed in the Sacrifice of the Son of God. *Iſaac* did bear wood for the ſacrifice up into the Mountain, where *Abraham* intended to Sacrifice him: The Son of God did bear the wood of the Croſs whereon he was ſacrificed, at leaſt part of it, up to Mount *Calvary*. The Ram which God provided inſtead of *Iſaac*, was caught by the horns in the thicket of brambles or thorns; and the Lamb of God, the Son of God, marched to his Croſs with a Crown of thorns and brambles upon his head, as moſt of the Fathers and beſt modern Interpreters collect from the Evangeliſts ſtory. For where it is ſaid that they took off the Purple robe, and other royal enſigns wherewith they had in mockery inveſted him, it is not mentioned that they took off this Crown of Thorns; this was the thicket wherein the murderers caught him: For as ye know he was condemned upon pretence that he affected the Crown of *David*, and ſuffered himſelf to be entitled and ſaluted the King of the *Jews*, and in deriſion of this great myſtery which they underſtood not, they put a Crown of Thorns upon his head, and Crucifie him in it.

4. But whilſt the Princes of the Earth, and the Rulers take counſel againſt him, while the Heathen Souldiers and Jewiſh People do rage and make a mock of him; he that ſate in the Heavens laught them to ſcorn, what they did act in jeſt or ſcorn here on earth, he turns into earneſt, and ratifies by an everlaſting decree in Heaven. They cloath the Son of God with a Purple or Royal Robe, and bowing their knees thus, they ſalute him, *Hail King of the Jews*, unwittingly fore-propheſiing as *Caiphas* did, as well by matter of fact as by word, that God would now anoint the Son of *David* to be that King over *Sion*, to whom all knees ſhould bow, of things in Heaven, of things on the Earth, of things under the Earth. They in deſpite and bitter ſcoffs wreath a Crown of thorns or brambles about his head, and faſtened it on with a reed or mock-ſcepter, which they had put into his hand, little conſidering that he which ſate in the Heavens, did conſecrate him here by this part of his afflictions, to the wearing of that everlaſting Crown of glory which *David*, *Pſalm* 132. had fore-told *ſhould flouriſh upon him, whilſt his enemies were cloathed with ſhame*, *ver.* 18. And of this Crown of Glory, as well the royal Diadem or Crown of *David*, wherein his Succeſſors were enthronized,

nized, as the Crown of holineſs wherein *Aaron* and his Succeſſors the High Prieſts were conſecrated, were but the ſhadows or models, and ſo no queſtion was the Crown upon the Ark or Mercy-ſeat. And it is a point which I will commend unto the ſerious Reader's obſervation, ſpecially in the reading of the Apocalyps or the Revelation, that in all or moſt part of the Viſions made to Saint *John* the Diſciple whom he loved, of Chriſt in his Glory, he ſtill appears, and his appearance is ſtill emblazoned by this Diſciple, in ſome one or other of the robes which *Aaron* uſed at his Conſecration. Sometimes he appears with *a garment down to the foot, and girt about the paps with a golden girdle:* Such were the *robes and girdle of Aaron* the High Prieſt; and to ſhew that his Saints were Conſecrated likewiſe in his Conſecration, his Saints or Angels appeared thus cloathed unto *John*, Rev. 15. ver. 5, 6. *And after that I looked and behold the Temple of the Tabernacle of the Teſtimony in Heaven was opened; and the ſeven Angels came out of the Temple, having the ſeven plagues, cloathed in pure and white linen, and having their breaſts girded with golden girdles.* Sometimes he appears with a Crown upon his head.

Rev. 1. 13.

5. His Palace or Kingdom likewiſe, his walk or verge is emblazoned or ſet forth by the material Temple, the Miniſtery likewiſe of his glorified Saints and Angels. But of this hereafter.

6. Thoſe temporary flaſhes of royal ſalutations and greetings which the multitude tendred unto him when he came into *Jeruſalem* to be conſecrated, were ratified by an everlaſting decree in Heaven; So 'tis ſaid, *Revel.* 7. 9, 10. *And after this I beheld, and loe a great multitude which no man could number, of all Nations and Kindreds, and People, and Tongues, ſtood before the Throne, and before the Lamb, cloathed with White robes, and Palms in their hands, and cryed with a loud voice ſaying, Salvation unto our God which ſitteth upon the Throne, and unto the Lamb!* This was the accompliſhment of the multitudes crying *Hoſanna to the Son of David*, with Palm-branches in their hands, and thoſe which thus cryed in Heaven, are they (as the Angel inſtructs Saint *John*) *which came out of great tribulation, and have waſhed their robes, aud made them white in the blood of the Lamb; therefore are they before the Throne of God, and ſerve him day and night in his Temple, and he that ſitteth on the Throne ſhall dwell among them, Revel.* 7. 14, 15, *&c.* This waſhing of their Garments in the blood of the Lamb, was likewiſe pre-figured in the Conſecration of *Aaron*, Exod. 29. 21. *Thou ſhalt alſo take of the blood that is on the Altar, and of the anointing oyl, and ſprinkle it upon* Aaron, *and upon his Garments; and upon his Sons, and upon the Garments of his Sons with him, and he ſhall be hallowed, and his Garments and his Sons, and his Sons Garments with him.* This blood wherewith their Garments was ſprinkled, was the blood of the Ram of the Conſecration, whoſe blood likewiſe *Moſes*, as it is in the 20 *ver.* was commanded to take *and put it upon the tip of the right ear of* Aaron, *and upon the tip of the right ears of his Sons, and upon the thumb of their right hand, and upon the great toe of their right foot, and ſprinkle the blood*, &c. This ceremony or ſervice was literally and punctually fulfilled in the Conſecration of our High Prieſt. The High Prieſt of the Law was Conſecrated with foreign blood, with the blood of Rams; The High Prieſt of the New Teſtament was Conſecrated, ἐν αἵματι ἰδίῳ. with his own blood, and in this blood, not only his hands, his feet or ears were ſprinkled or anointed, but his whole body was anointed or

bathed. For though he was always internally ſanctified, and though this his internal ſanctification was moſt abſolute and perfect from the womb, yet would the Lord have him thus viſibly and externally conſecrated with his own blood, that we by the ſame blood might be ſanctified and conſecrated after a better manner than *Aaron* was by the blood of the Ram of Conſecration. The moral implyed in ſprinkling of *Aaron*'s right ear, the thumb of his right hand, and the great toe of his right foot is this; our ears which are the ſenſe of diſcipline, and the gate by which Faith entreth into our hearts, muſt be conſecrated and hallowed by the blood of our High Prieſt, that we may know Gods will; our hands and feet likewiſe which are the inſtruments of ſervice, are hallowed and ſanctified by his blood, that we may walk in his ways, and do his will. Finally, As both our bodies and ſouls have been redeemed by his blood, ſo both muſt be conſecrated in it, and enabled by it unto his ſervice.

7. Another Ceremony or Service at *Aaron*'s Conſecration, was the offering up *of one loaf of bread, one cake of oyled bread, and one wafer wherewith* Aaron'*s and his Sons hands were firſt to be filled, and afterwards to be burnt upon the Altar for a Burnt-offering, for a ſweet ſavour unto the Lord,* Exod. 29. *ver.* 23, 25. The myſtery ſignified by this and the other bloody Sacrifice, may beſt be gathered from that which hath afore been ſaid concerning the circumciſion of *Iſaac,* and of *Abraham*'s Seed, or concerning Gods demanding *Iſaac* for a Burnt-offering, which was then obſerved out of *Rupertus* an Ancient Writer; God did demand at *Abraham*'s hands, that he might thereby tye himſelf to give his own Son unto *Abraham* and his Seed. To which may now be added the teſtimony of Saint *Chryſoſtom,* in his Comments upon our Saviours words to the Woman of *Samaria*; *Da mihi bibere, give me to drink. The fountain of life ſitting beſides the Fountain, calls for drink, not that he was deſirous to take, but rather to give drink: Give me to drink, ſaith he, that I may make thee drink the water of immortality. I thirſt after the Salvation of mens Souls, not that I might drink, but that I may give them Salvation to drink. I imitate my Father who ſaid to* Abraham, *offer me up thy Son, thy only Son* Iſaac, *whom thou loveſt, for a Burnt-offering*; This he ſaid, not as if he had deſired to accept *Abraham*'s Son, but that he determined to give his own Son for the ſins of the world, as Saint *John* ſaith, *Chap.* 3. *ver.* 16. In like manner God required the fleſh and blood of Bullocks and of Rams, with unleavened bread to be offered up in Sacrifice unto him at the Conſecration of *Aaron,* not that he ſtood in need to eat the fleſh of Bulls, or bread of Wheat, or drink the blood of Rams, but that he then purpoſed to conſecrate for us, and to give us his only Son, whoſe fleſh is meat indeed, whoſe blood is drink indeed, whoſe body is the bread of life, which cometh down from Heaven, which who ſo eateth ſhall live for ever, for he that truly eateth, is Conſecrated by it to be a King and Prieſt for ever unto God the Father.

CHAP. XXVIII.

A brief Recapitulation of what hath been ſaid in this parallel between the Conſecration of Aaron *and the Conſecration of the Son of God; the concluſion of the whole Treatiſe concerning it.*

TO recapitulate what hath been ſaid before: The beginning of the Everlaſting Prieſthood according to the Order of *Melchiſedech* is the determining of the Aaronical Prieſthood, unleſs we ſhall ſay as perhaps we ought, that this Prieſthood with the legal Rites and Sacrifices did expire with the laſt mortal breath of him who is now immortal.

2. The Everlaſting Sacrifice whereby he is conſecrated an Everlaſting Prieſt was then accompliſhed, and the ceſſation of the Aaronical Prieſthood proclaimed when he ſaid *conſummatum eſt*, and commended his Spirit unto God. Yet is it not probable that his Conſecration, or the Conſecration of the everlaſting Sanctuary were at the ſame inſtant accompliſhed. His ſacred Soul perfumed with the freſh odour and fragancy of his ſweet ſmelling Sacrifice, anointed with his moſt precious blood into whatſoever other place it afterwards went, inſtantly repaired into the Holieſt of Holies, into Paradiſe it ſelf. This is the accompliſhment of our Atonement, prefigured by the High Prieſts entring into the holy place with blood, *and the period of all Sacrifices for his own or our Conſecration.*

3. That the vale through which the High Prieſt after the Order of *Aaron* did enter into the moſt holy place, ſhould rend aſunder at the very inſtant wherein the Soul and Spirit of this our High Prieſt did paſs through the vale of his fleſh rent and torn, into his Cœleſtial Sanctuary, was a lively Emblem to all obſervant Spectators, that he was no intruder but called by God. And reaſon they had to obſerve this ſign or accident, in that he had promiſed to one of them that were Crucified with him, *Hodie mecum eris in Paradiſo.*

4. The publick ſolemnity of Conſecration hath ever been a ſpecial teſtimony or adjunct of lawful calling; and Chriſt's Conſecration was more ſolemn and publick than *Aaron*'s was. Such it was as fleſh and blood could not affect; ſuch as nothing but filial obedience to his Heavenly Father, could have moved this our High Prieſt to admit, becauſe it was to be accompliſhed by a lingring and a bloody death. *Moſes* at the Conſecration of *Aaron* is commanded to gather all the Congregation together unto the door of the Tabernacle. *Levit.* 8. *Ad tria voluit Dominus populum congregari: Primum ut pro eo ſacerdos offerret, eumq; expiaret: Secundum, ad inſtituendum ſacerdotem, ut ſciret populus* Aaron *& filios ejus præfici ſibi in ſacerdotes & mediatores; & de cætero commendavit ſe illi. Tertio ne eſſet inter eos aliquis, qui poſtea ſacerdotium ambiret poſtquam omnes ſciebant Aaronem à Deo ſacerdotem inſtitutum. Oleaſter.*

5. For the like reaſons God would have the Conſecration of his Son accompliſhed at the Paſover, that is, as a Father ſpeaks, at the Metropolis of Jewiſh Feaſts, the moſt ſolemn, publick and univerſal meeting that any one People or Nation in the World ever had, beſides

ſides the concourſe and confluence of ſtrangers at the time of our Saviour's Paſſion. The manner of whoſe death, and the ſigns and wonders then exhibited, made the Heathen Centurion, a Man altogether ignorant of theſe ſacred myſteries, to confeſs that this *Jeſus*, whom he had ſeen Crucified, was the Son of God. But the time, the manner, and conſequence of his Reſurrection moſt directly proves as well his Prieſthood, as his calling to it, to have been from God; both more excellent than *Aaron*'s was.

6. We ſee it experienced *Numb.* 16. 17. that notwithſtanding the publick ſolemnity of *Aaron*'s Conſecration by *Moſes*, there wanted not ſuch rebellious ſpirits then, as the World is full of now, which thought themſelves altogether as holy, and as fit to be High Prieſts as he. After the earth had ſwallowed up the principals in this conſpiracy; the headleſs multitude, though terrified for a while with the fearful diſaſter of their Ring-Leaders, conſpire afreſh againſt *Moſes* and *Aaron*, and had utterly periſhed in this Rebellion had not *Aaron* run into the midſt of the Congregation, which ſought his life, and ſtood with his cenſer, as with a ſhield of defence, betwixt them and death. But ſeeing neither the fearful examples ſhewed upon *Coreh*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, nor *Aaron*'s late compaſſion towards them, *when wrath was gone out from the Lord againſt them*, *and the Plague was kindled amongſt them*, were able to quell their jealouſies, or appeaſe their murmurings, the Lord laſtly made the Rod of *Levi* alone inſcribed with *Aarons* name amongſt all the Rods of the Tribes of *Iſrael*, to bring forth branch, leaf, bloſſom, and fruit in one night; and thus beautified with flowr and fruit, which were not to fade in ſo many years, as they had been hours in ſpringing, to be laid up in the Ark of the teſtimony, to ſtay the murmurings of the Children of *Iſrael*, and to be as a witneſs againſt them whenſoever they ſhould queſtion *Aaron*'s calling.

7. The Tribes of *Iſrael* were never ſo maliciouſly and ſtubbornly bent againſt *Moſes* and *Aaron*, as the Tribe of *Levi*, and *Aaron*'s ſucceſſors with their complices, were againſt the Son of *David*; to whom the Lord deſtinated the Prieſthood after the order of *Melchiſedech* by ſolemn oath. Though the earth did quake, and the rocks rent in ſunder; though the graves did open, and give up their dead, more deſirous to ſwallow up theſe rebellious miſcreants quick than to ſwallow up *Coreh*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, as doubtleſs they had done, unleſs this Prieſt of the moſt high God had made an Attonement for them, (ſaying, *Father forgive them*, *for they know not what they do*) yet their murmurings ceaſe not with his life; their malice purſues him into his grave.

8. The laſt and peremptory ſign reſerved by the wiſdom of God, either to ſtay their murmurings, or to condemn them with *Coreh*, with *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, unto the everlaſting pit, was the cauſing of this Rod of *Jeſſe*, this branch of *David*, whom theſe cruel and mercileſs men had quite ſtript of flower, of leaf, of branch, bereft of ſap, and as it were ſcorcht and *beaked* in the fire of affliction, to recover ſap, and leaf, and flower again, to bring forth the fruit which never ſhall fade, now conſecrated to be the Tree of Life to all the Nations, enthronized in the heavenly Tabernacle, and planted at the right hand of God, *until his enemies*, by the rod of his power, *be made his footſtool*. We have ſeen in part how fitly that teſtimony of the *Pſalmiſt*, *Thou art my Son*, *this day have I begotten thee*, being underſtood of Chriſt Pſal. 110.

Chriſt raiſed from the dead, is avouched by our Apoſtle to prove Chriſts calling, his Conſecration and advancement to the Prieſthood here mentioned, to have been from God; and from the event anſwering to the Pſalmiſt's Propheſie, and from that other teſtimony of *Pſalm* 110. often mentioned; *Doth Saint* Peter *cauſe the murmuring of the people of* Iſrael *to ceaſe.* For from the two premiſes, *Acts* 2.*ver.* 36. he thus concludes; *Therefore let all the houſe of* Iſrael *know aſſuredly that God hath made the ſame Jeſus, whom ye have Crucified both Lord and Chriſt*; that is as much as if he had ſaid, both King and Prieſt; by theſe declarations he gained three thouſand Souls, which otherwiſe had periſhed in their murmurings.

9. So then the day of his Reſurrection is the day wherein the dignity of everlaſting Prieſthood is actually collated upon him, and as he himſelf teſtifieth, *All power is given unto me both in Heaven and Earth.* And if all power; then as well the power of Prieſthood, as the power royal. And as High Prieſt, he gives Commiſſion to his Diſciples to Teach and Baptize. The day of his Aſcenſion or placing at the right hand of God, is the day of his ſolemn enthronization, and immediately upon this he ſent forth the rod of his ſtrength out of *Sion.* For by this Rod (fore-told by the *Pſalmiſt, Pſal.* 110.) we are to underſtand that power, wherewith his Diſciples were to be endued from above, which they were to expect in *Jeruſalem* at the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt.* The effuſion of the Holy Spirit, and emplanting the Law of the Goſpel in their hearts upon that day, or the day following wherein the *Law* of *Moſes* was proclaimed, was a Proclamation to all the world, that the Prieſthood was tranſlated, or changed by this maniſeſt tranſlation, or change of the Law.

SECT.

SECTION V.

Of the Reſurrection of the Son of God. By what Prophets it was fore-told. By what Perſons or legal Rites it was fore-pictured or fore-ſhadowed.

CHAP. XXIX.

In what high eſteem Saint Paul *did hold the Article of our Saviour's Reſurrection and Aſcenſion,* &c. *That the want of explicite belief to this grand Article of the Reſurrection, did argue rather a dullneſs or ſlowneſs to believe the Scriptures, than any infidelity, or incredulity, even in ſuch as had ſeen his Miracles, and had heard him fore-tell his death and riſing again, until the event did manifeſt unto them the truth of his former Doctrine and Predictions.*

WHen the Doctor of the Gentiles ſaith, *He eſteemed to know nothing,* amongſt the great Maſters of knowledge, *ſave Jeſus Chriſt and him Crucified,* this exception no way excludes the knowledge of his Reſurrection from the dead, or implies that he had not the knowledge of this Article in equal eſteem with the knowledge of his Croſs. How highly ſoever he did eſteem both myſteries, it doth not argue that he did rate the knowledge of his Aſcention into Heaven, his Seſſion at the right hand of God, or his coming thence to judge the quick and the dead one mite lower. The greateſt bleſſing which he could either praiſe God for, or pray unto him for, whether for himſelf, or for his beloved *Epheſians,* was the knowledge (as he terms it) of theſe grand myſteries. *Wherefore I alſo after I had heard of your Faith in the Lord Jeſus, and love unto all the Saints, ceaſe not to give thanks for you, making mention of you in my Prayers; that the God of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Father of Glory, may give unto you the ſpirit of wiſdom and revelation in the knowledge of him: The eyes of your underſtanding being enlightned, that ye may know what is the hope of his calling, and what the riches of the Glory of his inheritance in his Saints, and what is the exceeding greatneſs of his Power to usward, who believe according to the working of his mighty Power, which he wrought in Chriſt when he raiſed him from the dead, and ſet him at his own right hand in the Heavenly places, far above all Principalities, and Power, and Might, and Dominion, and every name*

1 Cor. 22.

that is named, not only in this World, but alſo in the World which is to come. Epheſ. 1. v. 15, 16. &c. But the high price of the knowledge of theſe myſteries, and the fervency of his Prayers for attaining unto ſuch knowledge, are more pathetically expreſt. *Phil.* 3. *v.* 7. *But what things were gain to me, thoſe I counted loſs for Chriſt, yea doubtleſs, and I count all things but loſs for the excellency of the knowledge of Chriſt Jeſus my Lord; for whom I have ſuffered the loſs of all things, and do count them but dung that I may win Chriſt, and be found in him, not having mine own righteouſneſs, which is of the Law, but that which is through the faith of Chriſt, the righteouſneſs which is of God by faith; that I may know him and the power of his Reſurrection, and the fellowſhip of his ſufferings, being made conformable unto his death, if by any means I might attain unto the Reſurrection of the dead.*

2. The conſiderations of theſe raptures of our Apoſtles joy and hope, occaſion or rather revive the reliques of my private ſorrow and grief, even in this ſubject of publick joy and comfort. For the bittereſt and deepeſt ſting which Worldly croſſes, or multiplicity of buſineſſes, or other vexations paſt have left in my thoughts, is this, That my portion for many years in all theſe (reſpectively) hath brought a neceſſity upon me, either not at all, or in my old and decaying days to publiſh the fruits of my former labours in theſe great myſteries, which to my apprehenſion had been well ſet in my flouriſhing and vivid years; or (to borrow an expreſſion from a more ſacred and more authentick Author) that the Children (of my deſires) ſhould come now to the birth when there is leaſt ſtrength left to bring them forth: yet was the Lord his comfort and ſtrength, who was the Author of this complaint; and on the ſame Lords gracious goodneſs, my weakneſs, whether of memory, judgment, or expreſſion ſhall repoſe it ſelf. As for the Articles of Chriſt's Reſurrection and Aſcention, the ingenuous Reader cannot expect, nor can I hope that I ſhould ſay much which hath not been ſaid before by many others, eſpecially in this ripe age of learning, theſe being the theams or ſubjects of Anniverſary Sermons upon the ſolemn Feaſts unto which they properly belong, as well in the Court, as in the Univerſities, and all other well ordered Churches throughout this Kingdom; yet ſomewhat I muſt ſay concerning theſe two points, as being ingaged to bring this long Treatiſe concerning the Knowledge of Chriſt and him Crucified to ſome period.

* *Hezekiah* 2. *King.* 19.3.

3. The true or Chriſtian belief of any Article of the Creed, includes ſomewhat more than an opinion, more than a pious opinion or meer probability of its truth; and the knowledge of the myſteries laſt mentioned, in our Apoſtle's meaning or expreſſion, imports ſomewhat more than a meer belief of them; more than ſuch a belief, or the ſight, or experiment of greateſt miracles could produce or eſtabliſh in moſt docile Auditors, whether of our Saviour himſelf, or of his Apoſtles; for even the beſt and moſt docile of the Diſciples or Apoſtles which had been Ear-witneſſes of his Heavenly Doctrine, and Eye-witneſſes of all his miracles from his Baptiſm or temptation in the Wilderneſs, unto his repoſal in the Grave, did not know half ſo much concerning the myſteries of his Croſs, of his Paſſion, and bloody Death, before his Reſurrection as they did after it, nor did they ſo well underſtand ſo much of the power and vertue of his Reſurrection it ſelf, for many days after their experience of the truth of

it, as they did after his Aſcention into Heaven, and the deſcenſion of the Holy Ghoſt upon them; by whoſe efficacious inſpiration or operation in their hearts and Souls, the knowledge of all the fore-mentioned Articles was much increaſed, and their belief of the meaneſt matters which did concern Chriſt, much better rooted and ſtrengthened, than it had been before his glorification: His placing at the right hand of God in his Throne of Majeſty, did Crown their former belief and glorious hopes with freſh joy and Comfort.

4. Wherein the knowledge of Chriſt, and the knowledge of other ſubjects, whether Philoſophical, or mathematical, or in other terms, wherein the faculty of Theology and Sciences properly ſo called agree or differ, hath been diſcuſt at large in the ſeventh Book of theſe Commentaries and in the fourth. We are then properly ſaid to know any effect, or concluſion in Sciences properly ſo called, or ſo reputed, when we diſcern the true cauſe why it is ſo, and are aſſured that it cannot be otherwiſe. And we are then ſaid to know Chriſt, and him Crucified according to the ſcale of ſpeculative knowledge, when we can diſcern the ſweet harmony between the Evangelical relations, or matters related by the Apoſtles concerning Chriſt, and the predictions of the Prophets, or prefigurations by matters of fact in the Law, or legal ſervices, or in ſacred Hiſtories. Again as in Sciences properly ſo called, there is a regreſs or knowledge of the cauſe by the effect, of the effect by the cauſe; So there is a two-fold knowledge of Chriſt, the one ſpeculative (ſuch as hath been deſcribed before) the other, which is the better, practical or experimental, which latter is better reſembled by moral Philoſophy than by natural experiments, or mathematical concluſions.

5. This experimental knowledge of Chriſt, and of the myſteries whereof we treat, conſiſts in that ſolid impreſſion which the fore-mentioned ſpeculative knowledge being liniamented in our brains, doth by the finger of God, that is, by his holy Spirit, ingrave in our hearts, and inſtamp upon our affections. I muſt begin with the ſpeculative knowledge of theſe two Articles concerning the Reſurrection and Aſcention of the Son of God; and conclude with the practical or experimental.

6. The concluſions, or declarations of theſe myſteries are ſet down by the four Evangeliſts diſtinctly, and accurately, both for ſubſtance, and Hiſtorical circumſtances, and their ſeveral references to former Scriptures avouched not only by them but by other of the Apoſtles in their Canonical Writings, eſpecially by St. *Paul* in his Epiſtles to the *Epheſians*, *Coloſſians*, *Corinthians*, and to the *Hebrews*. The Evangelical Declaration of this great myſtery, with the manner how the belief or knowledge of it was improv'd or enlarg'd, is moſt punctually and clearly related by St. *John Chap.* 20. This bleſſed Apoſtle and St. *Peter* did at the firſt believe *Mary Magdalen*'s report more diſtinctly and expreſly than they did the prophetical predictions. *The firſt day of the week, cometh* Mary Magdalen *early when it was yet dark, unto the Sepulchre, and ſeeth the ſtone taken away from the Sepulchre. Then ſhe runneth, and cometh to* Simon Peter, *and to the other Diſciple whom Jeſus loved, and ſaith unto them, they have taken away the Lord out of the Sepulchre, and we know not where they have laid him.* Peter *therefore went forth, and that other Diſciple, and came to the Sepulchre. So they ran both together, and the other Diſciple did out-run* Peter, *and came firſt to the Sepulchre.* And he ſtooping down, and looking in

ſaw the linen Cloaths lying, *yet went he not in. Then cometh* Simon Peter *following him, and went into the Sepulchre, and ſeeth the linen Cloaths lye. And the Napkin that was about his head, not lying with the linen Cloaths, but wrapped together in a place by it ſelf. Then went in alſo that other Diſciple, which came firſt to the Sepulchre, and he ſaw and believed,* for as yet they knew not the Scripture, that he muſt riſe again *from the dead.* Such knowledge or belief of the Scripture as for this time St. *John* had, was farther improved by Chriſt's Apparition unto them upon the ſame day in the Evening. *Then the ſame day at Evening, being the firſt day of the Week, when the doors were ſhut, where the Diſciples were aſſembled for fear of the Jews, came Jeſus and ſtood in the midſt, and ſaith unto them, Peace be unto you. And when he had ſaid ſo, he ſhewed unto them his hands and his ſide. Then were the Diſciples glad when they ſaw the Lord. Then ſaid Jeſus unto them again, Peace be unto you: As my Father hath ſent me, even ſo ſend I you. And when he had ſaid this, he breathed on them and ſaith unto them, receive ye the Holy Ghoſt. Whoſoever ſins ye remit, they are remitted, and whoſoever ſins ye retain they are retained. But* Thomas *one of the twelve which was called* Didymus *was not with them when Jeſus came. The other Diſciples therefore ſaid unto him, we have ſeen the Lord: But he ſaid unto them except I ſhall ſee in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, and thruſt my hand into his ſide, I will not believe, and after eight days his Diſciples were within, and* Thomas *with them: Then came Jeſus the doors being ſhut, and ſtood in the midſt and ſaid, Peace be unto you. Then ſaid he to* Thomas, *Reach hither thy finger, and behold my hands, and reach hither thy hand, and thruſt it into my ſide, and be not faithleſs but believing. And* Thomas *anſwered and ſaid unto him, My Lord and my God. Jeſus ſaith unto him,* Thomas, *becauſe thou haſt ſeen me, thou haſt believed, bleſſed are they that have not ſeen, and yet have believed.* Unto ſome it may ſeem queſtionable in what ſenſe, or how far that of St. *Paul* is true, Faith cometh by hearing, ſeeing St. *Thomas* profeſſeth that he would not, and St. *John* in this place of himſelf confeſſeth that he did not believe one of the fundamental Articles of Chriſtian Faith, to wit, Chriſts Reſurrection from the dead, until they had ſeen what they had to believe: Yet if we could accurately ſift the internal ſenſe or kernel from the huſk or ſhell of words wherein it is contained, it will infer no more than this, that the ſight of the eye or miracles ſeen may be an inducement or introduction unto true belief; they cannot be the true ground or anchor-hold of Chriſtian Faith. Such Faith muſt be grounded, and Hope truly Chriſtian muſt be pitched upon the teſtimony of *Moſes* or the Prophets, or other ſacred and Canonical Writings. The reaſon why St. *John* did not believe our Saviour's Reſurrection before he ſaw his empty Tomb, and the linnen Cloaths wherein he had been wrapped, was becauſe before this ſight he knew not the Scripture which he had often heard read or avouched. The ſight then of this or of other miracles, did but open an entry or paſſage unto the true knowledge of that which he had formerly heard. But more ſtrange it may ſeem to all of us, that two ſo great Apoſtles as St. *Peter* and St. *John*, which had been for three years and a half together perpetual Auditors of ſuch a Maſter as ſpake as never Man ſpake, and often Eye-witneſſes of ſuch works done by him, as no Man beſides him could do, ſhould now be ignorant of that fundamental Article of Faith whereof at this day to doubt were Hereſie, which now to deny were infidelity: For if Chriſt be not riſen from the dead, then the dead ſhall not ariſe, and if the dead do not ariſe, then were both Preaching and hearing vain; our Faith were vain; both Prieſt and people were in a worſe caſe than Infidels; and we Chriſtians ſhould be of all men moſt miſerable.

6. Yet far be it from us to ſay or think that either of theſe two Apoſtles were at this time in the ſtate of Hereticks, or that either of their caſes were no better than the caſes of Infidels; rather it would be a branch of infidelity in us to think that at this time they had no Faith. The root of their belief in Chriſt (as in their Meſſias and Redeemer) was intire and incorrupt; the ſtem of it was ſound although until this time it had not ſhut out into this particular branch of Faith. This was the time wherein the actual and expreſs belief of Chriſt's Reſurrection from the dead was to bloſſom and bear fruit even in theſe two Apoſtles. That it did now break forth in them and bear fruit, was the work of God; that before this time it ſhould keep in and be in ſome ſort ſnipt, was the Ordinance and diſpenſation of the ſame God: for if the knowledge of our Saviour's Reſurrection had been as *expreſs*, *as explicite*, and diſtinct before his death, as it was after his riſing from the dead, neither had their love either been ſo hearty in it ſelf, or ſo manifeſt to themſelves, nor their Faith ſo lively and chearful as in the iſſue both did prove: The heartineſs of their love unto him whilſt he lived was manifeſted even unto themſelves, by their ſorrow for his death, which doubtleſs had been much leſs, if in the *interim* they had actually and expreſly believed to have ſeen him again within three days. The ſtrength, the livelyhood, or cheerfulneſs of their Faith was truly manifeſted and experienced in their joyful entertainment of the glad tidings which were brought unto them by *Mary Magdalen*, and whereof their outward ſenſes were in part witneſſes. Their joy could not have been ſo great, nor their embracement of his Reſurrection ſo cheerful and hearty if it had been expreſly and confidently expected by them. It was by ſo much the welcomer, by how much the accompliſhment of it was leſs thought on.

7. But were theſe two great Apoſtles altogether without blame, in that before this time they knew not the Scripture that Chriſt was to riſe from the dead? They might be more capable or worthy of blame, than we to lay any blame upon them; wherefore not to pronounce what I think of them, much leſs to determine any thing concerning them, I muſt make bold to be the Reader's remembrancer of that which our Saviour himſelf immediately after his Reſurrection ſaid unto two of his Diſciples which did doubt of the truth of it, albeit they had heard it in a ſort teſtified, the ſtory is *Luke* 24. 22, 23. *Certain Women of our Company (ſay thoſe two Diſciples which went with our Saviour to* Emmaus*) made us aſtoniſhed, which were early at the Sepulcher. And when they found not his body they came ſaying, that they had alſo ſeen a Viſion of Angels which ſaid that he was alive; And certain of them which were with us went to the Sepulcher and found it even ſo as the women had ſaid, but him they ſaw not. Then he ſaid unto them, O fools and ſlow of heart to believe all that the Prophets have ſpoken. Ought not Chriſt to have ſuffered theſe things, and to enter into his glory.* How far St. *Peter* and St. *John* were lyable to this cenſure of the ſupream Judge that I leave for him to determine. St. *John* from this time did expreſly believe Chriſt's Reſurrection. So did not St. *Peter*

till afterwards, if we may believe the collections of Cardinal * *Tollet* upon this place.

8. The point, which from our Saviour's words unto theſe Diſciples, *Luke* 24. and from our Evangeliſt's Confeſſion of himſelf in the 9. *ver.* of the 20. *Chap.* I would commend unto the Reader's conſideration, is this, that our Saviour's Reſurrection from the dead was fore-ſignified and might have been fore-known, not from one or two places of Scripture only, but from many; from the current of that which *Moſes* and the Prophets had written. So it follows *Luke* 24. 27. *Beginning at* Moſes *and all the Prophets he expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning himſelf.* And when St. *John* ſaith, *that the Diſciples as yet knew not the Scriptures*, this is more than if he had ſaid that they knew not the Scriptures that he muſt riſe again from the dead. The Phraſe imports as much, as if the whole drift and ſcope of Scripture was to fore-ſhadow, ſet forth, or exemplifie the power and vertue of Chriſt's Death, and Reſurrection from the Dead.

CHAP. XXX.

That the Death and Reſurrection of the Son of God was ænigmatically fore-told in the firſt promiſe made to our Father Adam, *and our Mother* Eve. *That his Reſurrection was exquiſitely prefigured by* Iſaac's *eſcape from death; and the Propagation of his Kingdom after his Reſurrection, by the ſtrange increaſe, or multiplication of* Iſaac's *Seed. A parallel betwixt our Saviour and* Joſeph *in their affliction and exaltation.*

THE truth of our Saviour's Reſurrection is neceſſarily though but ænigmatically included in the firſt promiſe made to Mankind. *Gen.* 3. *ver.* 15. *And I will put enmity between thee and the Woman, and between her Seed and thy Seed; It ſhall bruiſe thy head and thou ſhalt bruiſe his heel.* This ſacred Oracle, as hath been to divers purpoſes before obſerved, includes a literal, and an emblematical or myſtical ſenſe. To the preſent purpoſe, by the *heel of this Womans Seed* κατ' ἐξοχὴν ſome of the ancients underſtand the Humanity of our Saviour, and not amiſs, ſo it do not point out the ſimilitude too preciſely. The warrantable punctual meaning of the place is thus; As a bruiſe in the heel to an ordinary man is not deadly, ſo neither was death it ſelf unto our Saviour, becauſe he was God as well as Man, and by the vertue of his divine power, could as eaſily recover life again after he had been put to death, as a ſtrong body, whoſe vital or internal parts are whole and ſound, can recover health after ſome bruiſe in the heel, or other infirmity in his outward or extream parts; but ſo could not Satan recover the blow which our Saviour by his ſufferings gave him in the head; he hath been ever ſince *diminuti capitis*, deprived of his wonted power, and diſpoſſeſſed of ſuch as were before his captives: So ſaith our Saviour, *John* 12. *ver.* 31. *Now is the judgment of this world, now ſhall the Prince of this world be caſt out; And I, if I be lift up from the Earth, will draw all men unto me.* And his drawing of men unto him, was a drawing of them out of Satans bondage and dominion. So that *Lucifer*, as we may hence gather, had a two-fold fall; The one from Heaven or his ſeat of Angelical Glory, when he ſought to be like God his Creator: The other from his power or dominion over this inferiour world or mortal men. And this befel him by ſeeking to make the Son of God more miſerable than other men, by attempting to have him lifted up upon the Croſs, as the Brazen Serpent was in the Wilderneſs. The ſame nails that nailed our Saviours feet to the Croſs, did pierce the old Serpent's head. In brief, Chriſt was to cruſh the old Serpent's head by conquering death, and death could not be fully conquered but by dying. So that when it offered it ſelf unto our Saviour, he was to meet with it, and to fight with it, not a far off, but hand to hand, yea, to cloſe with it, and to receive the utmoſt force and power of it in every part. Not thus throughly to have taſted it, had been to eſchew it, or to have fled from it, nor to have conquered it: But thus to abide the extremity of it, to receive the full dint of all the blows that death and hell, or all the powers of darkneſs could reach mortality; and yet to put all off, or rather to redouble their forces upon themſelves, was truly to ſubdue death, and him that had the power of death. This is our Apoſtles inference, *Heb.* 2. *ver.* 14. *Foraſmuch then as the Children are partakers of fleſh and blood, He alſo himſelf likewiſe took part of the ſame, that through death he might deſtroy him that had the power of death, that is, the Devil.*

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* Introeunte Petro intravit etiam alter Diſcipulus, qui primus venerat: Sed ante Petrum ingredi non erat auſus. Hic vidit etiam linteamina & ſudarium, ſed fecit aliud, quod non fecit Petrus, credidit enim, nempe reſurrexiſſe Dominum. Petrus intravit quidem & vidit. Johannes verò intravit, vidit, & credidit. Si credidiſſet tunc Petrus, non utiq; ſoli ſibi Johannes fidem tribuiſſet, &c. Vide plura in annota. ibid. ſc. *Joh.* 20. 8.

2. Our Saviour, as ſome of the Ancients have wittily ſaid, did as it were bait his Divinity with his Humanity, that he might catch Satan in his own *net*, or with his own *hook*. Satan being by nature an immortal Spirit, did take upon him the bodily ſhape of a Serpent to beguile the firſt woman; and our Saviour being the Eternal Spirit and Son of God, did take our fleſh (that is, the womans Seed) upon him, thereby to deceive or intrap the great Tempter. For unleſs the Godhead had been inveſted with the weakneſs of mortal fleſh, the old Serpent would not have ſo deſperately adventured his ſting or teeth upon the Godhead as he did. But whilſt he ſought to ſwallow the bait of his fleſh, he hath loſt his ſting, he hath broken his teeth, and ſpoiled his jaws by medling with the Godhead.

3. But more plainly by much was our Saviour's Reſurrection, and victory over death fore-pictured by *Iſaac*'s narrow eſcape from death, *Gen.* 22. 9. The Altar was built on purpoſe for him, the wood was couched, and *Iſaac* faſt bound upon it; the knife was in his Fathers hand, whoſe arm was ſtretched forth to ſtrike him: But God by his Angel, and a voice from Heaven delivers him from this imminent danger, as it is, *ver.* 11, 12. *This only Son of Abraham*, this Child of Promiſe, the only hope, or pledge of that promiſed Seed which was expected from the beginning, was to come thus near unto death, and yet to be delivered from it; that the Faith of *Abraham* concerning the Death and Reſurrection of Chriſt the Promiſed Seed, might be tryed; or rather that by his tryal, our Saviour's Death and Reſur-

rection might be truly repreſented or fore-pictured by *Iſaac's* danger and delivery: So ſaith the Apoſtle, *Heb.* 11. 17, 18, 19. *By Faith,* Abraham *when he was tryed offered up* Iſaac, *and he that had received the promiſes, offered up his only begotten Son; of whom it was ſaid, that in* Iſaac *ſhall thy Seed be called: Accounting that God was able to raiſe him up even from the dead; from whence alſo he received him in a figure; to wit,* of the Reſurrection of Chriſt, or the Promiſed Seed.

4. The latter part of this promiſe belongs meerly and properly unto Chriſt, in whom alone it could be fulfilled. For the more in number *Abraham's* Children according to the fleſh were, before the Promiſed Seed did come; and the greater their temporal Proſperity or Happineſs were, the worſe it muſt needs go with other Nations or Kindreds of the Earth. If the Meſſias, or Promiſed Seed ſhould have erected ſuch a temporal Kingdom here on earth, as the Jews expected, the Nations of the earth could not have been bleſſed in him, as God promiſed by Oath to *Abraham:* for it is no part of Happineſs, but rather miſery, to have the Jews, or Seed of *Abraham* according to the fleſh for their Lords and Maſters.

5. Notwithſtanding the former promiſe was in part fulfilled in the mighty increaſe of *Abraham's* Poſterity by *Sarah;* this was a pledge of the latter part which was to be fulfilled in Chriſt. *Through Faith,* (ſaith the Apoſtle) Sarah *received ſtrength to conceive Seed, and was delivered of a Child when ſhe was paſt age, becauſe ſhe judged him faithful who had promiſed. Therefore ſprang there even of one, and him as good as dead, ſo many as the Stars of the Skie in multitude, and as the ſand which is by the Sea-ſhore innumerable,* Heb. 11. ver. 11, 12.

6. It was one of the great wonders of the world, that from a woman that had been barren till after fourſcore years of age, there ſhould proceed above ſix hundred thouſand men within leſs than four hundred years. The Miracle notwithſtanding had been leſs, if her Children had been more; but ſhe brought forth no more Sons than *Iſaac:* and this mighty Nation did ſpring from *Jacob,* who was but one branch of *Iſaac. Sarah* was as good as dead when ſhe conceived *Iſaac,* and *Iſaac* himſelf was at death's door before he gave life to others. So powerful is God to raiſe ſtrength out of weakneſs, and to make the barren a fruitful Mother of many Children. Howbeit this wonderful increaſe of *Sarah's* or *Iſaac's* Poſterity was but a ſhadow, a draught, or map of that great miracle which was to be exhibited in the Promiſed Seed. More admirable it was that the Bleſſed Virgin ſhould bear a Son, than that *Sarah* ſhould conceive. More ſtrange and miraculous that Chriſt being put to death, ſhould become the Father of more people than *Iſaac* had been. Yet this we ſee hath God performed: For ſince his Reſurrection he hath begotten more Sons to God, throughout the Nations, than all the Children of *Abraham* or *Iſaac* according to the fleſh.

7. This miraculous birth of the Church, and this mighty increaſe of her Children, the Lord did, as it were, point out to future ages, in the fore-mentioned increaſe of *Sarah's* Poſterity; that the world might know the body or ſubſtance when it ſhould appear, by the picture which he had made of it. And that *Abraham's* Poſterity, according to the fleſh, might ſtedfaſtly believe the Spiritual promiſe by the temporal pledge: Of which pledge every one of them was a part.

8. To this end and purpoſe ſaith God himſelf by his Prophet *Eſay*, Chap. 51. ver. 12. *Hearken to me ye that follow after righteouſneſs, ye that ſeek the Lord: Look unto the Rock whence ye are hewen; and to the hole of the pit whence ye are digged. Look unto* Abraham *your Father, and to* Sarah *that bare you, for I called him alone, and bleſſed him, and increaſed him.*

9. It was more remarkably true of us Chriſtians (whether the poor remnant of the Sons of *Abraham*, according to the fleſh, which were converted, or of us Gentiles the Seed of *Japhet*) than it was of the Iſraelites which were born in *Egypt*. *We were not the greateſt, but the leaſt of all people or Nations.* It was not our own wit or ſtrength made us ſo great a Nation as we are: But the Lord our God which loved *Abraham*, loved us in Chriſt, and beſtowed the bleſſing of *Iſaac* in fuller meaſure upon us. It was his power, his love and wiſdom, that did thus multiply and increaſe us. *The Rock whence we were hewen, and the hole of the pit whence we were digged*, was our Saviour's grave. After his death ſaith the Evangeliſt Saint *Luke*, Chap. 23. ver. 52, 53. Joſeph *of* Arimathea *went to* Pilate *and begged the body of Jeſus, and took it down and wrapped it in linen, and laid it in a Sepulchre that was hewen in ſtone wherein man never before was laid.*

10. This Rock was the quarry, out of which the whole Church of God, which is now ſpread far and wide over the face of the whole earth, was digged. Our Saviour's Reſurrection from the dead was the firſt opening of it: And by vertue of his Reſurrection, ſuch as were dead in ſins and treſpaſſes, ſuch as without it ſhould have conſumed to duſt in the grave, are become living ſtones, even Pillars in the houſe of God; *Abraham's* children according to promiſe, for *out of ſtones hath God raiſed up Children unto* Abraham.

11. This Application of the Type is warranted by the Prophet *Eſay*, Chap 53. ver. 8. *He was taken from Priſon, and from Judgment, and who ſhall declare his Generation? What Generation did the Prophet mean?* The eternal Generation of the Son of God. So indeed ſome of the Ancients have interpreted this place, and too many modern Interpreters have herein followed them. But this were to run-counter upon the Text. No print or footſtep of the Prophets progreſs in this *Chapter*, no literal circumſtance, or meaning doth lead, or direct us this way, but the contrary; to wit, to his generation or off-ſpring; to ſuch a generation, but far more ample, as the *Iſraelites* were of *Abraham*, for ſo it followeth in the Prophet, *He was cut off from the land of the living, for the tranſgreſſion of my people was he ſtriken; And he made his grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his death, becauſe he had done no violence, neither was any deceit in his mouth*, and v. 10. *When thou ſhalt make his Soul an offering for ſin, he ſhall ſee his Seed, he ſhall prolong his days, and the pleaſure of the Lord ſhall proſper in his hand: He ſhall ſee of the travel of his Soul and be ſatisfied, by his knowledge ſhall my righteous ſervant juſtifie many, for he ſhall bear their iniquities*, ver. 10, 11. They whoſe iniquities he did bear, and whom he juſtified, are his Seed, or that Generation whereof the Prophet doth ſpeak. Unto this purpoſe our Saviour himſelf doth ſpeak, *John* 12. *ver.* 23. 24. When *Andrew* and *Philip* came unto him (a little before his Paſſion) and told him certain Greeks deſired to ſee him, he anſwered them ſaying, *The hour is come that the Son of man ſhould be glorified! Verily, verily, I ſay unto you, except a corn of Wheat fall into*

the ground and dye, it abideth alone, but if it dye it bringeth forth much fruit.

12. In reſpect of this his Reſurrection out of the grave, he is called *the firſt begotten from the dead*; for the Father of whom he was begotten before all worlds, from all eternities, did now beget him as man unto glory and immortality. According to his firſt birth, as man by the Bleſſed Virgin, he was truly called the Seed of *Abraham*, the Son of *David*. According to the ſecond birth or begetting him from the grave, he is called *the Father of the world to come*; and as a man, the Father of *Abraham*, the Father of *David*, yea, and of *Melchiſedech* himſelf, who bleſſed *Abraham*. For the life of glory and immortality doth deſcend to all that ever ſhall be partakers of it, from the man Chriſt Jeſus now poſſeſt of glory and immortality, as truly and really as his mortality or life in the fleſh did deſcend from *Abraham*, from *David*, or from his Mother the Bleſſed Virgin.

13. *Iſaac* (as all have known it) was the true picture and ſhadow of our Saviours death and deliverance from it. The mighty increaſe likewiſe of *Iſaac* and *Jacob*'s Seed was the emblem or pledge of our Saviour's Seed or Generation, which cannot be numbred or declared.

14. But the circumſtances of our Saviour's ſelling, of his betraying, of his cruel perſecutions by Prieſts and People, the ungracious offſpring of *Iſrael* or *Jacob*, the whole legend of his Humiliation unto death, and Exaltation after his Reſurrection, are more exactly foreſhadowed by the cruel perſecutions of *Joſeph* procured by his brethren; by his calamity and advancement in *Egypt*. Their perſecutions by the Sons of *Jacob*, do in a manner parallel themſelves. Both of them were ſold by a *Judas*, more for hope of gain, than deſire of blood on their parts that ſold them.

15. The pit whereinto *Joſeph*'s Brethren caſt him, as alſo the pit or dungeon wherein he lay in fetters after his coming into *Egypt*, were true pictures of our Saviour's grave, or of the pit whereinto his Soul deſcended: So was *Joſeph*'s deliverance out of them, a true ſhadow or reſemblance of Chriſt's Reſurrection. *Joſeph*'s high advancement by *Pharaoh*, an exquiſite Type or map of our Saviour's glorious Kingdom, after his Reſurrection or Birth from the dead; ſo *Joſeph* complains unto *Pharaoh*'s Butler, *Gen.* 40. *ver.* 15. *I was ſtollen away out of the land of the* Hebrews, *and here alſo have I done nothing that they ſhould put me into the dungeon.*

16. The whole ſtory of *Joſeph*'s depreſſion and advancement is ſet down, *Pſal.* 105. *ver.* 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22. *He ſent a man before them, even* Joſeph, *who was ſold for a Servant, whoſe feet they hurt with fetters, He was laid in Iron until the time that his* Word *came, the* Word *of the Lord tryed him. The King ſent and looſed him, even the Ruler of the people, and let him go free. He made him Lord of his houſe, and Ruler of all his ſubſtance; To bind his Princes at his pleaſure, and teach his Senators wiſdom.*

This cannot be meant of the written Word, but of that ὁ λόγος, *mentioned by S.* John, Ch. 1. 1. *and by S.* Paul, Heb. 1.

17. A more expreſs draught or map, as well of our Saviour's Humiliation, as of his Exaltation is *Gen.* 39. *ver.* 20, 21. and *Gen.* 41. *ver.* 39. Inſtead of the priſon or dungeon wherein *Joſeph* lay, he is raiſed to the higheſt place in the Kingdom under *Pharaoh*: *Thou ſhalt be over my houſe* (ſaith Pharaoh to Joſeph) *and according to thy word ſhall all my people be ruled, only in the Throne will I be greater than thou. See I have ſet thee over all the land of* Egypt, *and without thee ſhall*

ſhall no man liſt up his hand or foot in all the land of Egypt. So was our Saviour after his Reſurrection, made chief Ruler over the houſe of God. *Every houſe is builded by ſome man; But he that built all things is God. And* Moſes *verily was faithful in all his houſe as a ſervant, for a teſtimony of thoſe things which were to be ſpoken after; but Chriſt as a Son over his own houſe, whoſe houſe are we.* The amplitude of Chriſt's Kingdom as man, fore-ſhadowed by *Joſeph*'s advancement under *Pharaoh* over all the land of *Egypt*, is deſcribed, *Pſalm* 2. *ver.* 10. ſpecially *Pſalm* 8. *ver.* 5, 6. *Thou haſt made him a little lower than the Angels, and haſt crowned him with glory and honour. Thou mad'ſt him to have dominion over the works of thy hands, thou haſt put all things under his feet.* Yet ſaith the Apoſtle, 1 *Cor.* 15. 27. *It is manifeſt that he is excepted which put all things under him; And when it is ſaid, that he ſits at the right hand of God until his enemies be made his footſtool;* It is included, that he at whoſe right hand he ſits, is in throne or ſeat of dignity above him. Again, *Joſeph*, inſtead of the iron wherein he was bound, hath the Kings Ring put on his hand: Inſtead of his ragged or ſquallid weeds, he is arrayed in a veſture of fine linen and ſilk: Inſtead of his fetters and bonds, he hath a golden chain put about his neck: All theſe ornaments beſtowed on *Joſeph*, as the Ancient and Learned well obſerve, were but reſemblances of thoſe glorious endowments wherewith our Saviour's Body or Humanity hath ſince his Reſurrection been inveſted.

18. *Joſeph* was placed by *Pharaoh* in the ſecond Chariot, and he made them cry before him *Abrech*, that is as much as to ſay, Lord or King, to whom bowing of the knee was due. All this, and whatſoever more was done to *Joſeph*, is but a model of that honour, which as our Apoſtle tells us, God hath commanded to be given to Chriſt. *Wherefore God hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name, that at the name of Jeſus every knee ſhould bow, of things in Heaven, and things in Earth, and things under the Earth; and that every tongue ſhould confeſs, that Jeſus Chriſt is Lord, to the glory of God the Father,* Philip. 2. ver. 9, 10, 11. *Let all the houſe of* Iſrael *know aſſuredly, that God hath made that ſame Jeſus, whom ye have Crucified, both Lord and Chriſt,* Acts 2. 36.

CHAP. XXXI.

Shewing the concludency of the allegations uſed by the Apoſtles Saint Peter *and Saint* Paul, *to prove the truth of Chriſt's Reſurrection; and in particular of the Teſtimony, Pſalm* 2. Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.

NOT to repeat other Types or Prophetical Teſtimonies of Chriſt's entrance into immortal Glory by the ſufferings of death, of which the Reader may find plenty, as well in Poſtillers as Commentators; not to dilate upon ſuch general teſtimonies, whether meerly Typical or Prophetical, or Typically Prophetical, as have been heretofore handled in the ſeventh and eighth Book of theſe Comments upon the Creed, as that of *Pſalm* 82, *&c.* I make no queſtion but thoſe teſtimonies out of the *Pſalms* or Prophets which are avouch'd to this purpoſe by the Apoſtles themſelves, ſpecially by St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, were expounded by our Saviour himſelf unto the two forementioned Diſciples which did accompany him unto *Emmaus*.

2. Now the teſtimonies moſt inſiſted upon by the Apoſtles, as well for convincing the Gentiles, as the Jews, are ſpecially three, that of *Pſal.* the 2. *Thou art my Son this day have I begotten thee*, and Pſal. the 6. *Thou wilt not leave my Soul in Hell, nor ſuffer thine holy one to ſee corruption*; the third [*The Lord hath ſworn and will not repent, thou art a Prieſt for ever after the Order of* Melchiſedech,] or which is much what the ſame, *The Lord ſaid unto my Lord ſit thou at my right hand until I make thine Enemies thy footſtool*. The extraordinary ſucceſs of all theſe allegations abundantly teſtifies that they were moſt concludent, for many thouſand Souls at two ſeveral times (beſides others) were converted by them. The teſtimony out of *Pſal.* 2. is preſt home by St. *Peter Acts.* 2. *v.* 6. to the 37. to the Jews ſpecially, and by St. *Paul* both upon Jews and Gentiles. *Act* 13. Though with better ſucceſs upon the Gentiles: The force and ſtrength of this teſtimony, and likewiſe how far it was meant of *David* and fulfilled in Chriſt hath been at large diſcuſt * before. The point at which theſe preſent endeavours aim, is to declare how theſe two Teſtimonies [1. *Thou art my Son this day have I begotten thee*; and 2. *Thou art a Prieſt after the Order of* Melchiſedech,] do concludently and irrefragably infer the Reſurrection of Chriſt, that *Jeſus* whom the Jews had Crucified being both the Son of God and Son of *David*, and his Conſecration to his Everlaſting Prieſthood, for unto this latter point both teſtimonies are drawn by our Apoſtle *Heb.* 5. *v.* 5. and 6. But how cloſe they reach this point, whether jointly or ſeverally, is not ſo clearly ſet forth by moſt Interpreters, as that the Reader, unleſs his underſtanding far ſurpaſs mine, will eaſily collect. The general meaning of our Apoſtle hath been declared in the firſt Section, and in the cloſe of the fourth of this Book; it is punctually thus, Seeing *Aaron*'s calling to the dignity of Prieſthood was publickly manifeſted to be from God, no Man after might take upon him to erect a new Prieſthood, no not to the temporal prejudice of *Aaron* and his Succeſſors, much leſs to aboliſh this Prieſthood which God had erected, unleſs he could manifeſt to Man and Angels, that his Commiſſion for thus doing was immediately from God, and authentick, being ſealed by Oath, and ſolemnly executed. And ſeeing no man might, therefore Chriſt though God and Man did not glorify himſelf (as the Apoſtle adds) to be made an High Prieſt, but he that ſaid unto him *Thou art my Son this day have I begotten thee*, did put this dignity upon him. Many Interpreters have ſtretcht their wits to make the literal ſenſe of this Pſalmiſt's words reach home to our Apoſtle's purpoſe: Others ſo ſlight it as if they would give us to underſtand or cauſe to ſuſpect our Apoſtle himſelf did not much ſtand upon it, but only paſs by it unto the ſecond teſtimony, *Thou art a Prieſt for ever after the Order of* Melchiſedech. Albeit in my opinion the latter teſtimony proves his *fiat* or Commiſſion, the former his ordination or execution of his Commiſſion. I will not wrong the judicious Readers patience with profering variety of ſuch expoſitors unto his choice as his wiſdom cannot approve. *Cajetan* hath *Ribera*'s approbation, and of all the expoſitors which went before him draws the Pſalmiſts Oracle [*Thou art my Son this day have I begotten thee*] neareſt to the point in queſtion. So

* *Seventh Book.*

So far I am from carping at any thing which thoſe two expoſitors have ſaid to the point now in queſtion, that I will endeavour to explicate and extend their meaning in the beſt ſort I can. The Prieſthood (ſaith *Cajetan*, as *Ribera* expounds him) before the Law given was annexed as a Prerogative to the firſt born, and deſcended from *Abraham* to *Iſaac*, and by ſpecial diſpenſation to *Jacob*. Now the whole dignity of the firſt born being loſt by *Ruben* was divided amongſt three of his Brethren. The Soveraignty or Principallity fell to *Judah*, the Prieſthood to *Levi*, and the double Portion to *Ephraim*. And in *Aaron* the Son of *Levi* was the Prieſthood eſtabliſhed long before the Kingdom was eſtabliſhed in *David* the Son of *Judah*, and to the Prieſthood ſo eſtabliſhed, *David*'s Sons had as little right, as *Aaron*'s Sons had to the Crown or Diadem. Gods peremptory Decree for thus dividing theſe two Prerogatives, *Azariah* is not afraid to plead unto King *Vzziah*'s face. *Chron.* 2. 26. And his ſpeech did take impreſſion, for he had no ſooner made an end of ſpeaking but the Leproſie begun to appear in King *Vzziah*'s face; and for his uſurpation of the Prieſts Office and intruſion into the Houſe of God, he is utterly excluded from his Palace, and enforced to reſign the Government unto his Son. But inaſmuch as he, of whom the Pſalmiſt ſpeaks, is ſolemnly regiſtred and by him declared to be the firſt born and Son of God, it is not lawful only, but expedient, but very neceſſary that all the branches of the firſt borns Prerogative which *Ruben* had ſcattered, ſhould be reunited in his Perſon. Again, in that he is the promiſed Seed, he is the compleat Heir of all the bleſſings bequeathed to *Abraham*, and out of whatſoever Tribe this promiſed Seed was to ſpring, the honour of Prieſthood was as due unto him as the Kingdom. *Levi* and *Aaron* were but as Feoffees in truſt for conveying the Prieſthood, as *Judah* and *David* were for making over the Kingdom unto him.

3. All thoſe ſuppoſitions and others (perhaps more than *Cajetan* or *Ribera* thought of) being granted prove only thus much, that the only begotten Son of God, or firſt born to *Abraham* and to *David*, had a juſt title to the Eternal Prieſthood. They do not directly prove, that *Jeſus* whom the Jews have Crucified to be that Son of God, and Seed of *David* meant by the Pſalmiſt in the *Pſalm* fore-cited: Or this being granted, all put together do not manifeſt his Conſecration or actual admiſſion to the High Prieſthood, by whoſe erection the Prieſthood of *Aaron* was changed, which is the concluſion punctually intended by our Apoſtle.

4. For a more ſatisfactory Declaration of the ſtrength of this Argument, we are to take the words of the Pſalmiſt into a further and more punctual conſideration than hitherto we had occaſion to take them. As firſt, of what GENERATION theſe words, *ego hodie genui te*, are principally meant, whether meant at all of *David*, or how of him, and how of Chriſt the Son of God and Son of *David*, καθ' ἐξοχὴν. Many of the Ancients being ſeconded by more of the Schoolmen, and middle ag'd allegorizing Commentators, underſtand this Pſalmiſts Oracle of that GENERATION of the Son of God which is mentioned in the NICENE Creed, or that * Creed which is to be publickly read in the ſecond ſervice of our Church, [*Begotten of his Father before all Worlds.*] and in theſe mens conſtruction by the word *HODIE* is meant *HODIE ÆTERNITATIS*, the day of Eternity or Eternal day, wherein there is no ſucceſſion of parts, of hours, or minutes. But this interpretation is diſliked by *Calvin*, who is

* *That is, the Conſtantinopolitane Creed.*

is always zealous for the literal though ſometimes with prejudice to the myſtical or principally intended ſenſe. Yet that ſenſe in this place cannot be expreſt by *HODIE ÆTERNITATIS*, or by the Eternal Generation of the Son of God. That it cannot be the literal ſenſe of this Pſalmiſt is apparent, becauſe neither the Reſurrection of the Son of God, nor his Conſecration to the Everlaſting Prieſthood can with any colour of probability be inferred or pretended from it: much leſs can it be the myſtical or true allegorical ſenſe of this Oracle; for theſe always muſt be grounded upon the literal, and no Scripture can be ſaid to be fulfilled according to the myſtical or true allegorical ſenſe, until it hath been firſt verified according to the literal ſenſe. Now the Eternal *GENERATION* of the Son of God cannot follow either his Reſurrection from the dead, or his Conſecration to his Everlaſting Prieſthood; nor could ever any *Periphraſis* or *notation* of it be either fulfilled, or verified in time, ſeeing it is before all times.

5. May we ſay then with good Commentators, as with *Calvin* for one, that theſe words (*this day have I begotten thee,*) have no manner of reference to the Son of Gods Generation before all Worlds? Certain it is, that this Generation is no part of the object, no part of the immediate ſubject, (whether according to the literal or myſtical ſenſe of the Pſalmiſts words) whether we conſider them written or intended by him, or as avouched by St. *Paul* and other Apoſtles for the further confirmation of Chriſts Reſurrection from the dead. All that can be ſaid on their parts whom *Calvin* cenſures is this, that the Eternal *GENERATION* of the Son of God might be taken as a common notion or preſuppoſed truth, both by the Pſalmiſt when he writ, and by the Apoſtle when he avouched theſe words, *ego hodie genui te.* That the *Word* or Son of God was from Eternity, this was a common prenotion to all the Ancient, learned, or faithful *Hebrews.* And that he who was the only begotten Son of God before all Worlds *ſhould be begotten by him from the dead*, that is, prov'd at large by St. *Paul. Act.* 13. And that the raiſing of that *Jeſus* the Son of *David* (whom the Jews had Crucified) from the dead unto immortal endleſs life was an authentick Declaration, that this Son of *David* was likewiſe the Son of God their expected Lord and Meſſias, is moſt ſweetly deduced by our Apoſtle. *Rom.* 1. *v.* 1, 2, 3, 4. Paul *a Servant of Jeſus Chriſt called to be an Apoſtle, ſeparated unto the Goſpel of God. Which he had promiſed before by the Prophets in the holy Scriptures concerning his Son Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, which was made of the Seed of* David *according to the fleſh. And declared to be the Son of God with power according to the Spirit of holineſs by the Reſurrection from the dead.* This paſſage rightly infers, that Chriſt was the Son of God, the uncreated Word by whom all things were Created before he was made the Son of *David:* For he was made ſo only according to the fleſh or humane nature; but this Eternity of his uncreated Perſon or Eſſence, was no part of our Apoſtles divine diſcourſe or moſt concludent Argument. *Act* 13. *Men and Brethren, Children of the ſtock of* Abraham, *and whoſoever among you feareth God, to you is the word of this ſalvation ſent: For they that dwell at* Jeruſalem *and their Rulers becauſe they knew him not, nor yet the voices of the Prophets which are read every Sabbath day, they have fulfilled them in condemning him. And though they found no cauſe of death in him, yet deſired they* Pilate *that he ſhould be ſlain. And when they had fulfilled all that is written of him, they took him down from*

from the Tree and laid him in a Sepulchre. But God raiſed him from the dead; and he was ſeen many days of them which came up with him from Galilee *to* Jeruſalem, *who are his witneſſes unto the people. And we declare unto you glad tidings, how that the promiſe which was made unto the Fathers, God hath fulfilled the ſame unto us their Children, in that he hath raiſed up* Jeſus *again as it is alſo written in the ſecond Pſalm. Thou art my Son this day have I begotten thee. And as concerning that he raiſed him up from the dead now no more to return to corruption, he ſaid on this wiſe. I will give you the ſure mercies of* David, from *v.* 26. to 34. For the clearer and fuller explication of this paſſage we are to enquire what manner of teſtimonies or predictions in which the Apoſtle inſtances, were; as whether prophetical only, or typically prophetical.

6. To begin with the former, *Ego hodie genui te, this day have I begotten thee, that*, with ſubmiſſion of my opinion to better judgments, is a prediction typically prophetical, which kind of prediction as hath been obſerved before is the moſt concludent; and this one of the higheſt rank in that kind, that is an Oracle truly meant of *David* according to the literal ſenſe, and yet fulfilled of Chriſt the Son of God by his Reſurrection from the dead, both according to the moſt exquiſite literal, and the myſtical or principally intended ſenſe. *David* without all queſtion was the compoſer of the ſecond *Pſalm*; and the joyful occaſions or extraordinary matter of exultation which raiſed his Spirit to that high and majeſtick ſtrain of Divine Poeſie, whereof this and the eighteenth *Pſalm* with ſome others bear lively Characters, were partly the triumphant Victories which he had already gotten over the Enemies of *Iſrael*'s Peace, and the Confederators or Conſpirators againſt his Crown and Dignity; partly the glorious promiſes which through patient expectation of deliverance he had obtained for the further eſtabliſhment and advancement of his Throne, and the inlargement of his Hereditary Kingdom. Before the compoſition of the ſecond *Pſalm*, he had the glorious and gracious promiſe of which *Ethan* the *Eſrait* ſo curiouſly deſcants. *Pſalm.* 89. *I will make him my firſt born, higher than the Kings of the Earth, &c.* Now it can be no ſoleciſm to ſay, that he who in ſacred language is inſtiled the firſt born, ſhould have the title of the firſt begotten among the Princes of the Earth. Seeing the title of begetting is oft-times in ſacred language to be meaſured, not by the ſcale of Philoſophers or Naturaliſts Dialect, but of moral or civil language or interpretation. For they that are Sons by adoption only, or next Heirs in reverſion to a Crown or Dignity, are ſaid to be begotten of thoſe which adopt them, or of whom they be the immediate Heirs or Succeſſors, and in this ſenſe in the ſacred Genealogy, *Jeconiah* is ſaid to have begotten *Salathiel.* *Mat.* 1. 12. So that *David* upon his own occaſions (whether upon his anointing to the Crown of *Judah* in *Hebron*, or of *Iſrael* in *Sion*) might in the literal ſenſe avouch theſe words, *Pſalm* 2. of himſelf, *I will preach the Law whereof the Lord ſaid unto me thou art my Son this day have I begotten thee.*

7. For *David* to call the day of his Coronation, or of his deſignment unto the Crown of *Judah*, or of all *Iſrael*, his Birth-day or begetting by God, by whoſe ſpecial power and providence he was Crowned, is not ſo harſh a phraſe as ſome haply would deem it, that either know not, or conſider not that it was uſual in other States or Kingdoms beſide *Judah*, to celebrate two *natales dies*, two ſolemn Na-

tivities or birth-days in honour of their Kings and Emperours; the one they called *diem natalem imperatoris*, the other, *diem natalem* * *imperii*. The one the birth-day of the Emperour whereon he was born of his natural Mother; the other, the birth day of him as he was Emperour, which we call the Coronation day. The reaſon might hold more peculiar in *David* than in any other Princes, becauſe he was the firſt of all the Seed of *Abraham* that took poſſeſſion of the Hill of *Sion*, and ſetled the Kingdom of *Judah* fore-propheſied of by his Father *Jacob*, upon himſelf and his Poſterity.

8. But whatſoever may be thought of *David*, or of his Son; the day of our Saviour's Reſurrection may be as truly and properly called the day of his Nativity, as the day wherein he was born of the Bleſſed Virgin *Mary*. This was his Birth-day, or Nativity to his mortal life as he was the Son of man; that was the day of his Nativity or begetting to immortality, the birth-day of his Kingdom and royal Prieſthood. The moſt concludent teſtimony, though leaſt obſerved by moſt Interpreters, is that of the Apoſtle before mentioned, * *Heb.* 5. *ver.* 4. *No man taketh this honour, to wit, of Prieſthood, but he that is called of God, as was* Aaron. *So alſo Chriſt glorified not himſelf to be made an High Prieſt, but he that ſaid unto him, Thou art my Son, to day have I begotten thee, (It was he that did glorifie him with this title) as he alſo ſaith in another place, thou art a Prieſt for ever after the order of* Melchiſedech. The Apoſtles drift aud meaning is, that our Saviour did not intrude himſelf into the Prieſthood, but had as ſolemn a calling and Conſecration to it by God his Father, as *Aaron* had to the legal Prieſtood by *Moſes*. And he did deprecate his calling or Conſecration to this Prieſthood more earneſtly and fervently than any High Prieſt or Biſhop did their Conſecration: Although they ſay, *Epiſcopari nolo, They have no deſire to be Conſecrated.* But ſure our Saviour ſpake as he meant when he prayed unto his Father; *Father, if it be poſſible let this Cup paſs from me.* Now thus he prayed after God had begun to anoint and bathe him in his own blood unto the Prieſthood, after the order of *Melchiſedech*, as *Moſes* had anointed *Aaron* with the blood of Beaſts unto his legal Prieſtood. And this place of our Apoſtle concludes the point before handled, to wit, that our Saviour did begin his Prieſthood after the order of *Melchiſedech*, from the day of his Reſurrection; for upon that day was the Pſalmiſt's Propheſie fulfilled, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.*

9. The fulfilling of this Oracle (meant of *David* according to the literal) according to the myſtical ſenſe in Chriſt Jeſu the Son of *David*, is moſt Divinely expreſt by Saint *Luke*, *Acts* 3. and 4. in which two Chapters, many paſſages above all others in this ſacred hiſtory, are worthy of ſerious and frequent meditations, ſpecially in reſpect of the circumſtances of time and ſome other occurrences. The Holy Ghoſt, at it is at large related, *Chapter* 2. had been firſt poured out upon Chriſt's Diſciples, a little before the ordinary time of the mornings Service or Devotions at this ſolemn Feaſt of Pentecoſt. And upon the ſame day, as 'tis very probable from the firſt Verſe of the third Chapter. Peter *and* John *went together unto the Temple at the hour of Prayers being the ninth hour*; and beſtowed a better alms upon a poor Creeple, than after many years profeſſion of that poor trade, he durſt preſume to beg at their hands, or pray to God for.

* Inter alios Scriptores de Die natali vidi Martinum de Roa. Cap. 16. Suet. in Calig. decretum autem, ut dies quo cæpiſſet imperium, Palilia vocarentur, velut argumentum rurſus conditæ urbis. Spartian. in Hædriano. Cor. Tacit. l. 2. Hiſtor. de imperio Auguſti, &c.

* *See the firſt Section of this Treatiſe.* Chap. 4.

10. The ungainſayable truth of the miracle wrought upon this Creeple by *Peter* and *John* (who, had they been as ambitiouſly minded as their examiners, might have challenged the glory of it to themſelves) did not ſo much grieve the Prieſts and Captains of the Temple with the Sadduces, as that upon this occaſion they taught the people, and Preached the Reſurrection of the dead through Jeſus Chriſt, *Chapter* 4. *verſe* 2,3. Upon this grief conceived at firſt by ſome few there preſent, the next morning the High Prieſt, with the whole hoſt of his aſſiſtants and kindred, did enjoyn theſe two Apoſtles, *not to teach at all, or ſpeak in the name of Jeſus*; but upon that magnanimous reply, [*Whether it be right in the ſight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye*, ver. 19.] made jointly by *Peter* and *John* to the High Prieſt's and Elders peremptory injunction; being let go, they made report of the whole buſineſs, with the ſucceſs, unto their own company; *Who when they heard it, lift up their voice to God with one accord, and ſaid, Lord, thou art God which haſt made Heaven and Earth, and the Sea, and all that in them is; who by the mouth of thy ſervant* David *haſt ſaid, why did the Heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing? The Kings of the Earth ſtood up, and the Rulers of the earth were gathered together againſt the Lord, and againſt his Chriſt. For of a truth againſt thy Holy Child Jeſus, whom thou haſt anointed, both* Herod *and* Pontius Pilate, *with the Gentiles and the people of* Iſrael *were gathered together, for to do whatſoever thy hand and thy counſel determined before to be done, Acts* 4. from *v.* 23. to 28. This joyful news thus brought by *Peter* and *John*, did raiſe the ſpirits of the other Diſciples, if not to propheſie as *David* had done; yet to make a more lively expreſſion or interpretation of his Propheſie, than either he himſelf, or any Prophet before our Saviour's Reſurrection could have compos'd. As indignation ſometimes will hammer out Verſes or Rimes from wits of duller metal: ſo extraordinary exultation, or uncouth matter of ſpiritual joy, will bring forth ſacred Hymns and Poeſies, or interpretations of Scripture equivalent to the ſpirit of propheſie.

11. I cannot diſmiſs this teſtimony without ſome ſhort paraphraſe upon it, for ſetting the parallel betwixt the Type and the body, according to the rules formerly delivered: *Why do the Heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing? The Kings of the earth ſet themſelves, and the Rulers take counſel together againſt the Lord, and againſt his Anointed, Pſalm* 2. *ver.* 12. All theſe are truly and literally meant of *David*'s affairs, for he had enemies both againſt the people of *Iſrael* and among neighbour Nations of the Heathen, which did oppoſe the flouriſhing eſtate or growth of his Kingdom, which they fear'd would bring their Poſterity unto ſubjection; *Hence they ſaid, let us break their bonds aſunder, and caſt their cords from us, ver.* 3. The ſame words likewiſe are literally fulfilled of the Son of God in a more exquiſite ſenſe. For as the Diſciples mentioned, *Acts* 4. expreſs the fulfilling of this Propheſie; *Both* Herod *and* Pontius Pilate, *with other Gentiles, and the people of* Iſrael, *were gathered together againſt him.* Who was not only the Anointed of the Lord as *David* was, but the Chriſt or Meſſias, κατ' ἐξοχὴν. In thoſe words following likewiſe, *ver* 4. *He that ſitteth in the Heaven ſhall laugh, the Lord ſhall have them in deriſion*; *David* had a peculiar intereſt, for they literally refer to the defeats of malitious conſpirators againſt *David* and his Kingdom, and the good ſucceſs which, notwithſtanding thoſe, he aſcribes unto the good

providence of his God, *ver.* 6. *Yet have I ſet my King upon my holy Hill of* Sion. Now there was no defeat either wrought or hoped for on *David*'s part, or on *Solomon*'s his Son which was not a true ſhadow and picture, (and no more than ſo) of thoſe ſtrange defeats which *He*, who then ſate in the Heavens, and now ſits there in our nature, did bring upon all thoſe which conſpired againſt the Anointed of the Lord, the *man*, or as the Diſciples call him, *Holy Child Jeſus.* Which deſcription, I take it, refers unto him only whilſt he was in the *form of a ſervant.* By defacing this *form* they made him *Lord.* For albeit the malicious and cruel plots of the High Prieſts, to take away his life and fame, were ſo ſubtlely contrived, and ſo accurately executed, as if they had continued the Aaronical Prieſthood and bloody Sacrifices to no other end and purpoſe, ſave only that they might become more cruel Butchers or Slaughter-men of the Anointed of the Lord, than their Predeceſſors had been of beaſts or reaſonleſs ſacrifices: Yet not he only, but the Heavenly Powers; Saints and Angels had matter enough of joy and gladneſs to contemplate how the Heathens, and this worſe than Heatheniſh Seed of *Abraham* could do nothing unto him, ſave that which he that ſate in the Heavens would have to be done; albeit they did that only which *Satan* would have them to do. They had conſecrated themſelves wholly unto his ſervice, and yet he that ſits in the Heavens, made both their maſter and them to be his inſtruments for accompliſhing the Conſecration of the Son of *David* to his everlaſting Prieſthood and Kingdom.

CHAP. XXXII.

The concludency of Saint Paul's *ſecond Argument*, Acts 13. *drawn from the* 55 *of* Iſaiah.

THE ſecond teſtimony avouched by Saint *Paul*, *Acts* 13. *ver.* 34. borrowed from *Iſaiah* 55. *v.*3. is for ought I can obſerve meerly Prophetical, or a *Viſion:* For however the Prophet might take his *riſe* from former Oracles concerning *David*, yet his Propheſie according to the literal ſenſe, could not be meant of any perſon or party, either in the Prophets own time, or in the intermediate ſpace between his time and the exhibition of the Seed promiſed to *Abraham* and to *David* in our fleſh, in whom alone, ſpecially from the hour of his Reſurrection from the dead it was punctually verified, and once for all fulfilled; that is, as we ſay, begun to bear date, or be in *eſſe reali.* The whole *Chapter* contains as clear a Prophetical viſion of the exerciſe of Chriſt's Prophetical and Sacerdotal Function, as any other paſſage of like quantity in all the writings (now extant) of this Evangelical Prophet. The Readers whom the knowledge of this great myſtery moſt nearly concerns, may find more uſeful obſervations in many Learned Commentators upon that *Chapter*, than I dare either take upon me to repeat, or repreſent unto them; having reſolved to inſiſt upon no more than are pertinent to the point now in hand, nor to touch upon any, ſave only in the paſſage to the third *verſe*; thus the *Chapter* begins, *Ho, every one that thirſteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money, come ye buy and eat, yea come buy wine and milk* *without money and without price.* Unto this Sacred Fountain of truth our Saviour often directs his Auditor's, teſtifying both by words and practices, that all theſe Promiſes, or rather the Bleſſings here promiſed, were actually exhibited in him: as firſt thoſe words of his in the Sermon upon the Mount; *Bleſſed are they which do hunger and thirſt after righteouſneſs, for they ſhall be filled, ver. 6.* refer as punctually to this place, as to *Eſay* 65. 13. *Therefore thus ſaith the Lord God, behold my ſervants ſhall eat, but ye ſhall be hungry; Behold my ſervants ſhall drink, but ye ſhall be thirſty*; though punctually to that. But as the Prophet in this place ſpeaks, they were ſatisfied without any coſt or charges, for he taught the people without *fee* or reward, and declared himſelf to be not only the inexhauſtible Well and Fountain, but the bread and ſtrength of Spiritual life, by his miraculous proviſion of bodily food for all ſuch as did hunger and thirſt after his Heavenly Doctrine. It follows in the ſecond *verſe, Wherefore do ye ſpend money for that which is not bread? And your labour for that which ſatisfieth not? Hearken diligently unto me, and eat ye that which is good, and let your Soul delight it ſelf in fatneſs.* Upon theſe words our Saviour himſelf doth paraphraſe, *John* the 6. *ver.* 27. *Labour not for the meat which periſheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlaſting life, which the Son of man ſhall give unto you: For him hath God the Father ſealed.* And again, ver. 32, 33. *Then Jeſus ſaid unto them, Verily, verily, I ſay unto you,* Moſes *gave you not that bread from Heaven, but my Father giveth you the the true bread from Heaven. For the bread of God is he which cometh down from Heaven, and giveth life unto the world.* And v. 35. *I am the bread of life, He that cometh to me ſhall never hunger: And he that believeth on me ſhall never thirſt.* In all theſe and the like paſſages, whether avouched by our Saviour himſelf, or by his Apoſtles after him, we are taught no other Doctrine than the Prophet in his name, and by his Spirit had taught the people, *ver. 3. Incline your ear and come unto me, hear and your Soul ſhall live, and I will make an everlaſting covenant with you, even the ſure mercies of* David. Was this Covenant yet to make, being made before firſt with *Abraham*, then renewed with *David?* The Apoſtle for concluſion tells us, *Heb.* 11. *ver.* 39. *Neither* Abraham *nor any other of the Patriarchs or Holy men, though in their Generations renowned for their Faith, did receive the promiſe*; and if not the promiſe, then not the everlaſting Covenant whereof the Prophet here ſpeaks. What was that? *The real object of the Covenant or Bleſſing promiſed.* But if it be demanded what this Bleſſing promiſed was? It was *Chriſt Jeſus*, not only as he was exhibited in the fleſh, but raiſed from the dead; as is more largely declared in a Treatiſe upon *verſe* 40. *Chapter* 11. to the *Hebrews*, to be annexed unto this preſent Treatiſe.

Iſa. 55. 3.

2. All this hath been implyed or intimated before, in that of our Apoſtle, *Heb.* 5. *And being made perfect, he became the Author of eternal Salvation to all them that obey him, ver. 9.* that is (to reflect upon the Prophet *Eſay*'s expreſſion of this myſtery) to *all that encline their ears unto him, and faithfully hear him. The Everlaſting Covenant* taken in this ſenſe, that is, for the everlaſting Bleſſedneſs, or that degree of Bleſſedneſs expreſt in the Goſpel, is not actually made with any, none are real partakers of it, but ſuch as are true and lively members of Chriſt's body; ſuch members of it as *Abraham* and *David* were not, before the Son of God and the Son of *David* was conſecrated to his everlaſting Prieſthood and Kingdom.

3. According to the moſt ſtrict and genuine ſenſe of the Prophet and our Apoſtles interpretation of it, Chriſt Jeſus being raiſed from the dead is the very Covenant it ſelf. For ſo the words of the Prophet, and our Apoſtles interpretation of them run *verbatim*, without any interruption or obliquity in conſtruction; *I will make an everlaſting Covenant, to wit, the ſure mercies of* David, or as the Latine more fully, *miſericordias illas ſtabiles Davidis.* That theſe words directly ſignifie the Perſon of Chriſt and his benefits is moſt clear from *v.* 4. *Behold I have given him for a witneſs to the people, a Leader and Commander to the people.* So that Chriſt is called *the ſure mercies of* David, becauſe in him and through him all Gods promiſes or mercies promiſed to *David*, are *Yea*, and *Amen*, that is, were actually perform'd, and made everlaſting, not in *promiſe* only, but in *eſſe*. Betwixt the *Hebrew* Text and the ſeventy Interpreters, whoſe Tranſlation St. *Paul* in the fore-cited place doth follow, a meer Grammarian, or curious Critick might obſerve ſome variation in words, yet no difference or diverſity in ſenſe worthy the notice of a true Linguiſt, or rational Divine: The Apoſtle when he avoucheth this Prophetical Oracle, *Eſay* 55. 3. as a confirmation of the concludency of the former teſtimony out of *Pſal.* 2. [*Thou art my Son to day have I begotten thee*] omits the firſt part of it [*I will make an everlaſting Covenant with you,*] as being fully contained in the latter part, which is indeed an authentick exegetical expoſition of the former, to wit, Gods promiſe or Oath to give this people and Nation in the time appointed, τὰ ὅσια Δαβὶδ τὰ πιϛὰ, that is, *the holy and faithful things of* David, ſaith our Engliſh. But the full and punctual expreſſion of our Apoſtles meaning will beſt appear from the manner how he infers that concluſion which he twice in this place avoucheth from the often mentioned place of the Prophet *Iſaiah:* For after that inference * *v.* 33. *Thou art my Son this day have I begotten thee*, he adds for confirmation, *v.* 34, 35. *And as concerning that he raiſed him from the dead, now no more to return to corruption, he ſaid on this wiſe, I will give you the ſure mercies of* David. Wherefore he ſaith alſo in another *Pſalm*, * *Thou ſhalt not ſuffer thine holy one to ſee corruption.* The brief or extract of the Prophet *Iſaiah*'s meaning in St. *Paul*'s conſtruction is this, *That God by raiſing up Chriſt Jeſus* from the dead, never to die again, did really exhibite, or actually perform that Covenant made by Oath to *David*. *Pſal.* 89. *ver.* 28. *My mercy will I keep for him for evermore; and my Covenant ſhall ſtand faſt with him, &c.* and v. 35. *Once have I ſworn by my holineſs that I will not fail* David, *his Seed ſhall endure for ever, and his Throne,* (that is, not the ſucceſſive Throne of *David*, but the Throne of *David*'s *SEED*) *as the Sun before me.*

* *Acts* 13.

* *Pſalm.* 16. 11.

4. *David* in the days of his fleſh did receive the promiſe or Covenant if you take it in the active or formal ſignification, as for *promiſſio quâ Deus promitit*, or *pactum quo Deus paciſcitur*, but if we take this promiſe or Covenant in the Paſſive ſenſe, *id eſt*, for the bleſſing promiſed or Covenanted, *that* was not perform'd till Chriſt was raiſed from the dead, and glorified, as it follows, *Eſay* 55. *v.* 5. In this ſenſe *Zacharias* calls the exhibition of the promiſed Seed though yet in the Womb, the performance of the Oath which God had ſworn to give unto *Abraham* and his Off-ſpring. So that the word πιϛὰ, the faithful things of *David* is contradiſtinct not to diſſimulation, or any ſuſpicion of faining in the promiſer, but to the reverſible or mutable ſtate of the bleſſing promiſed. It implies the immortality of the Son of *David* according

Luke 1. 71.

according to the fleſh, or the immutability of his Holy Prieſthood and Kingdom: Briefly the word πιστὰ is equivalent, and ſomewhat more than ſo unto the word βεβαῖον as 'tis uſed by St. *Peter. Epiſt.* 2. *Chap.* 1. *Give all diligence to make your calling and election ſure*, or rather *firm* and *ſtrong*, *v.* 10. in which place the word *election* muſt of neceſſity be taken not in the formal or active ſenſe, but in the paſſive, material, or real ſenſe, not for *electio quâ Deus nos eligit*, but for the irreverſible ſtate in grace, which is the effect of Gods Election, which eſtate is poſſible to be obtained in this life if we ſeek it as we ought, and as the Apoſtle in that place doth injoin us. This diſtinction betwixt the Active and Paſſive ſignification of the ſame words, ſince my firſt entrance into the Miniſtry, I ever wiſh'd heartily might have been, or yet be taken into conſideration by many in our days; by many who have ſkill abundant, as well in Logick as in the learned Tongues, *&c.* to deceive *themſelves*, and *ſuch* as take their reſolutions upon truſt, but little ſkill to allay the bitterneſs of contention, or comprimiſe many verbal differences very comprimiſible in themſelves; and leſs will to exhort, inſtruct, reprove their Auditors in the ſpirit of meekneſs, in points of neceſſary and uſeful Doctrines, to ſet any Copy, or give any Character of Chriſtian Charity, either by their Doctrine or practice.

5. And here I had ſet a period to this *Chapter* had not the diſcuſſion of the former *Queſtions Act* 13. *called* to my remembrance *the ſaying of the ſame Apoſtle. He that wrought effectually in* Peter *to the Apoſtleſhip of Circumciſion, the ſame was mighty in me towards the Gentiles. Galat.* 2. *v.* 8. Of which obſervation we have a lively document or experiment in the admirable ſucceſs of St. *Peter*'s Sermon, *Act.* 2. grounded for the moſt part upon the ſame Text and Arguments which St. *Paul* uſeth *Act.* 13. Three thouſand Souls were converted by St. *Peter*, but all or moſt of them of the Circumciſion or Seed of *Abraham*, his brethren according to the fleſh; for unto them he directs his ſpeech, *v.* 26. *Men and Brethren, &c.* But with St. *Paul*'s perſwaſions, though moſt powerfully preſt upon them; few of the Jews or Men of *Iſrael*, (unto whom in the firſt place he tenders the fruits of his Miniſtry, Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοὶ ὑιοὶ γένους Ἀβραὰμ, Men and Brethren, Children of the ſtock of *Abraham*,) were much taken: but of the Proſelytes of the Gentiles to whom ſpecially in the ſecond place was directed, καὶ οἱ ἐν ὑμῖν φοβούμενοι τὸν θεὸν, that is, and all ſuch as are not the ſtock of *Abraham*, yet living amongſt you, fear the God of *Abraham*, ſcarce one that heard him but was over-joyed with his diſcourſe. Hence ſaith St. *Luke ver.* 42. *And when the Jews were gone out of the Synagogue the Gentiles beſought that theſe words might be preached to them the next Sabbath.* So many there were which were thus taken, that when the Jews ſaw the multitudes, *they were filled with envy, and ſpake againſt thoſe things which were ſpoken by* Paul, *contradicting and blaſpheming.* Then *Paul* and *Barnabas* waxed bold and ſaid, *it was neceſſary that the Word of God ſhould have firſt been ſpoken to you; but ſeeing ye put it from you, and judge your ſelves unworthy of everlaſting life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles; for ſo hath the Lord commanded us. Act.* 13. *ver.* 45, 46, 47. It were a point worthy the diſcuſſion were it not extravagant from my preſent Argument, How *Paul* and *Barnabas* did deduce a neceſſity of command of preaching to the *Gentiles* upon themſelves, from the words of the Prophet *Iſaiah* 49. 6. *I have ſet thee to be a light to the Gentiles, that thou ſhouldſt be for ſalvation unto the*

the end of the Earth. The ſame command they might and no doubt did deduce from *Iſay* 55. *v.* 4, 5. *Behold I have given him for a witneſs to the people, a Leader and Commander to the people. Behold thou ſhalt call a Nation that thou knoweſt not, and Nations that knew not thee ſhall run unto thee, becauſe of the Lord thy God, and for the holy one of* Iſrael, *for he hath glorified thee.* By the manner of the Apoſtles inference of deduction of command upon himſelf and *Barnabas*, the Reader may eaſily inform himſelf, that many things are undiſpenſably enjoined the Miniſters of the Goſpel by force and vertue of the Old Teſtament, which are neither expreſt nor repeated in legal form throughout the New Teſtament. Though not ſo repeated or expreſt they may be concludently inferred by more than Analogy, by full equivalency to expreſs legal commands. But this point I ſhall commend to the ſerious conſideration of ſome learned Divines, who in the juſt defence of Orthodoxal Doctrines, which they are well able to maintain, have engag'd themſelves to diſpute in ſuch matters as come in only upon the by. Thus much we know in general, that we are injoin'd to preach Chriſt Crucified and raiſed from the dead, as *Paul* and *Barnabas* did, ſubmitting the ſucceſs of our labours unto him who hath reſerved the appointment of times and ſeaſons, or fitting opportunities to all occurrences unto himſelf; that *Paul* himſelf was not taken at all with that moſt Heavenly Sermon of St. *Stephen*, with part of which, or with ſome ſpecial arguments uſed by that bleſſed Martyr, he at the time appointed won many thouſand Souls unto God.

CHAP. XXXIII.

That our Saviours departure, and paſſing out of this World to his Father, or his entring into his Glory through afflictions was exquiſitely foreſhadowed by divers ſolemnities in the legal Paſsover, and by the Iſraelites *paſſing through the red Sea.*

Though ſuch teſtimonies of the Old Teſtament as are typically Prophetical, be (as hath been intimated in divers Treatiſes before) moſt pregnant proofs for points of Faith delivered in the Goſpel: Yet this rule requires ſome limitation, or ſome allowances to make it full current, the compariſon betwixt this and other ſorts of teſtimonies muſt be *ſecundum ſimpliciter ad ſimpliciter*; that is, The moſt clear and pregnant teſtimonies of this kind are more exquiſite than the moſt clear and pregnant of any other rank. But every teſtimony of this ſort is not more concludent and admirable than any teſtimony of another rank; not more pregnant than ſome foreſignifications of myſteries to come, which are meerly typical, or ſpeak to us only in the *Old Teſtament* by matter of fact. Of this rank was the type or ſign of the Prophet *Jonah*; then which there can be none more pregnant, in reſpect of the Article of Chriſts Reſurrection, the force or concludency of it is warranted by our Saviours own Authority, and for this reaſon (haply not inſiſted upon ſince by the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts after his Death, to whom it was all ſufficient that he himſelf had avouch'd it. But ſeeing this Type or ſign implies divers circumſtances or references, as well to our Saviour's Aſcenſion, as to his Reſurrection; the diſcuſſion of it ſhall be differ'd as the binding or coupling of this preſent edifice. For finiſhing that part of it which concerns the Article of the Reſurrection only; the next inquiſition muſt be, how our Saviour's paſſage to immortal endleſs life thorow death was prefigured, or fore-typified by the legal Rites or Solemnities of the Paſsover, or feaſt of unlevened bread.

2. The occaſion and firſt inſtitution of the Paſsover, I doubt not every ordinary Reader either knows, or will eaſily call to mind. It is ſet down *Exod.* 12. which is the firſt leſſon appointed by the Church for the Feaſt of the Reſurrection. The inſtitution or occaſion of it you have ſet down from *ver.* 2. unto the 12. The meaning of the word, or *quid nominis*, we have in the 12. *ver. It is the Lord's Paſsover, for I will paſs through the Land of* Egypt *this night, and will ſmite all the firſt born in the Land of* Egypt, *both man and beaſt. And againſt all the Princes of* Egypt *I will execute judgment, I am the Lord. And the blood (to wit, of the Paſchal Lamb) ſhall be to you for a token upon the houſes where ye are, and when I ſee the blood I will paſs over you, and the plague ſhall not be upon you to deſtroy you, when I ſmite the land of* Egypt. So then it is called the Paſsover, becauſe the Lord when he paſſed through *Egypt*, and viſited every houſe with a fearful viſitation; he paſſed over all the houſes of the *Iſraelites* which lived amongſt them, upon whoſe door-poſt the blood of the Paſchal Lamb was ſhed. Whether this Viſitation of the *Egyptians* were held by ſome good Angel, or by that Spirit or Angel whom Saint *John* calls ἀπολλύων, that is, as *Moſes*, *Exod.* 12. 23. entitles this Viſitor *the Deſtroyer*; I will not diſpute, ſeeing it is certain the viſitation or judgment it ſelf was the Lords. And by his appointment the Viſitor or Executioner, whoſoever he were, good Angel or bad, one or more, was to paſs over the houſes of the *Iſraelites*, as being exempted from his commiſſion, whilſt he ſmote the firſt born of man and beaſt that pertained to any houſe of the *Egyptians*. But at this preſent Paſsover, wherein the Saviour of the world became a Sacrifice, Hell, as we ſay, was broken up and let looſe; the powers of darkneſs were become as a raging Sea, or ſwelling tyde over-flowing her banks, and had wrought a more ruful deſolation upon all mankind, upon the face of the whole Earth, than the flood of *Noah* had done, unleſs by God's Providence they had been reſtrained. The Flood in the time of *Noah* was a flood of waters only; this was a ſtream of fire and brimſtone, which the breath of the Lord had kindled, unleſs his wrath had been appeaſed, and the flame quenched by the blood of the Paſchal Lamb. The commiſſion of the deſtroying Angel throughout *Egypt*, did extend no further than to the firſt born of man and beaſt, and was to endure but for one night; the powers of darkneſs did aim at all, and lie in wait till the worlds end to devour all, whoſe hearts are not ſprinkled with the blood of this Paſchal Lamb, which was ſhed not for a few houſes, but for all. Every houſe in *Iſrael* was to have their ſeveral Lamb, or two houſes at the moſt could be priviledged by the blood of one Lamb; but our Paſchal Lamb, as he was ſlain by the whole Congregation of *Iſrael*, cryed down to death by the Prieſts, the Scribes and Phariſees, and the whole multitude; ſo his blood was ſufficient to redeem all the *Iſrael* of God from the Deſtroyer, even as many

throughout all Ages and Kingdoms, as will ſubmit themſelves unto his Laws, and acknowledge him for their Redeemer. And for this reaſon he was ſlain without the City, as a publick Sacrifice in the open Air. The Croſs whereto he was nailed, was as the door-poſts of that houſe, of which he is the Builder and Maker, that is, of the whole world it ſelf. Now it is to be preſumed that the blood of that Sacrifice which was to redeem and ſanctifie all unto the worlds end, which ſeek Redemption and Sanctification by him, ſhould not be as blood ſpilt upon the earth which cannot be gathered up. As he was to give to others by his blood, ſo he was to give life to himſelf again.

3. But is it imported in the inſtitution of the Paſſover, or in any Solemnity belonging unto it; that the Lamb of God which was to take away the ſins of the world by his Death, ſhould himſelf be reſtored unto life again? Yes. This word *Paſsover*, beſides the former ſignification of paſſing over the houſes of the *Iſraelites*, hath another ſignification or importance, to wit, That all thoſe Families which were priviledged from the power of the Deſtroying Angel which ſmote the *Egyptians*, ſhould paſs out of the land of *Egypt*, or houſe of bondage, through the red Sea, into the land of their reſt and liberty, under the conduct of *Moſes*, who had the great Angel of the Covenant for his guide in this paſſage. For the Reader's better apprehenſion how the myſteries of the Goſpel concerning our Saviour's Paſſion and Reſurrection were fore-ſhadowed in the ſolemnity of the Paſſover, we are to conſider that there is a twofold ſenſe of Scripture, the one literal, the other myſtical: The literal ſenſe conſiſts in the immediate or grammatical ſenſe or ſignification of the words; The myſtical ſenſe is that which the Facts or Perſons immediately ſignified by the literal or grammatical ſenſe of the words, do fore-ſhadow. Thus by *Iſrael*, in the Sacred Story, ſometimes *Jacob* the Father of the twelve Tribes, ſometimes the twelve Tribes themſelves are literally meant. And *Iſrael* taken in this ſenſe, is literally called the Son of God, but by this name *Iſrael* Chriſt Jeſus is myſtically meant: He it is alone, *qui tanti menſuram nominis implet.* He it is which prevailed with God, and is more properly called the Son of God, than either *Jacob* or his Poſterity were. And that which according to the literal ſenſe was meant of *Jacob's* Poſterity; [*When* Iſrael *was a Child, then I loved him, and called my Son out of* Egypt, *Hoſ* 11.1.] was literally fulfilled of Chriſt in a more full and exquiſite ſenſe, as the Evangeliſt inſtructs us, *Mat.* 2.15. For God called this his only Son out of *Egypt*, literally taken, that is, out of the ſame Land or Kingdom wherein *Jacob's* Seed had been ſojourners, into the ſelf-ſame Land of *Canaan* into which he had brought them; ſo that every word in this Propheſie, is in the literal ſenſe truly verified as well of Chriſt, as of *Jacob's* Seed. But *Egypt* and *Canaan*, beſides this literal ſenſe and ſignification, have a further myſtical ſenſe or importance. The ſtate of *Iſrael*, or the Sons of *Jacob* in *Egypt*, was a map or ſhadow of our ſlavery and bondage unto the powers of darkneſs: Their paſſage out of *Egypt* into the land of *Canaan* through the red Sea, was a Type of our paſſage from the bondage of ſin, into the Kingdom of light, through the region of death it ſelf. Thus the Paſchal Lamb, literally taken, was a picture of Chriſt's Sacrifice upon the Croſs; and ſo was *Moſes* which inſtituted the Sacrifice, and conducted Gods people out of *Egypt*, but a ſhadow of Chriſt: *Joſhuah*, or Jeſus the Son of *Nun*, which brought them into the land of *Canaan*, was no more. The great Angel of the Covenant which was with *Moſes*, and

with *Joſhuah* as their guide and protector in this buſineſs, was with the man Chriſt Jeſus in unity of Perſon; and Chriſt Jeſus is with us unto the worlds end, as the Ark of the Covenant was with *Moſes* and *Joſhuah*, or with the Hoſt of *Iſrael*, to direct and ſupport us in all our ways.

4. But is this paſſage from this vale of miſery to a better life, any where in Scripture called a Paſsover? Or is it any part of the true meaning or importance of this ſolemn feaſt? This myſtery is unfolded by S. *John* 13.1. *Now before the feaſt of the Paſsover* (and it was but a day before) *when Jeſus knew that his hour was come*, ἵνα μεταβῇ, *That he ſhould depart* (as our Engliſh renders it) *or rather that he ſhould paſs out of this world unto his Father, having loved his own which were in the world, he loved them unto the end.* Some good Interpreters note an elegancy of ſpeech in the original, or an alluſion unto the etymology of the Paſsover in *Hebrew*, as if in Latine he had ſaid, *Ante diem feſtum tranſitus ſciens Ieſus quia veniet hora ejus ut tranſeat:* But to my obſervation, whereſoever there is the like elegancy of ſpeech or alluſion, in the original, the elegancy is not affected for it ſelf, as it uſually is by ſecular Artiſts, but always denotes ſome myſtery, or ſomewhat in the matter it ſelf, more uſeful to ſober minds, than any artificial elegancy of ſpeech can be to curious Artiſts. Now the myſtery charactered unto us in that ſpeech of S. *John*, of Chriſt's paſſing out of this world unto his Father is this, to wit, That the legal Paſsover which was inſtituted in memory of the Lord's paſſing over the houſes of the *Iſraelites*, and their paſſage out of *Egypt* through the Red Sea, did fore-ſhadow the paſſage of the Son of God out of this world, wherein he had lived in the ſtate and condition of a ſervant, unto the land of his reſt and liberty; he therefore paſſed out of this world unto his Father, that in his ſight and preſence he might obtain the liberty and prerogatives of the only Son of God, begotten of his Father before all worlds; but he therefore came into this world, that by his death and manner of departing out of it, he might open and prepare a paſſage for us out of this vale of miſery. The land or inheritance into which he paſſed, is the inheritance of everlaſting pleaſure; but the paſſage was on his part bitter and full of ſorrow; yet this notwithſtanding, he willingly endured for the love of his people: having loved his own which were in the world, ſaith the Apoſtle, *He loved them to the end*, that is, he perfectly loved them which would not ſuffer him to forget them when the hour of his bitter Paſſion approached, willing to ſuffer whatſoever was laid upon him for their ſake. And as *Moſes* the night before the *Iſraelites* paſſage out of *Egypt* did inſtitute the Paſsover; ſo our Saviour before his paſſage out of this world, did inſtitute this Sacrament or Supper, not only as a memorial of his paſſage, but as a perpetual pledge of his peculiar preſence, for conducting all ſuch as believe on him, and to be a vejand or viaticum to ſtrengthen and comfort all ſuch as reſolv'd to follow him, as the *Iſraelites* did *Moſes*. Again, as *Moſes* inſtructed the *Iſraelites* in the Laws and Rites of the Paſsover before they eat it; ſo our Saviour gave inſtructions by precept and example for our due preparation unto this ſervice. The precepts are generally two; *Humility*, which he taught by his example in waſhing his Apoſtles feet, *ver.* 13. to the 17. The ſecond, *Love*, ver. 34. ver. 35. *A New Commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another as I have loved you; that ye alſo love one another, by this ſhall all men know that ye are my Diſciples if ye love one another.*

CHAP. XXXIV.

The Reſurrection of the Son of God, and the effects or iſsues of his birth from the grave, were concludently fore-pictured by the Redemption of the firſtlings of the flocks, and of the firſt-born males, and by the offerings of the firſt fruits of their Corn.

BUT was the legal Sacrifice of the Paſchal Lamb the only ſolemn memorial either of the Lord's paſſage over the houſes of the *Iſraelites* into *Egypt*, or of the *Iſraelites* paſſage out of *Egypt* through the red Sea? Are all the myſteries of the Goſpel, which immediately concern our Saviour's Reſurrection and paſſage out of this mortal life to an immortal, to be referred unto this one legal Type or model? Is this the only ſcale by which we are to meaſure it? No, the Feaſt of the Paſsover was an Anniverſary, kept but once a year; whereas the Lord would have as well the deliverance from the deſtroying Angel in *Egypt*, as their deliverance from the Hoſt of *Pharaoh* to be often imprinted in their memories; and their impreſſions to be renewed upon ſeveral and frequent occaſions. To this purpoſe was that precept concerning the firſt born, directed to *Moſes* before their paſſage out of *Egypt*, Exod. 13. 1. *The Lord ſpake unto* Moſes *ſaying, ſanctiſie unto me all the firſt born whatſoever openeth the womb among the Children of* Iſrael *both of man and beaſt, it is mine:* And again, *ver.* 11, 12. of the ſame *Chapter*. Every firſtling of their herds or flocks is expreſly markt out for the Lord, with the ſtamp or character of the Paſsover. *And it ſhall be, that when the Lord ſhall bring thee to the Lands of the* Canaanites, *that thou ſhalt cauſe to paſs over unto the Lord all that open the matrix, and every firſtling of the Beaſt which thou haſt, the male ſhall be the Lords, and every firſtling of an Aſs thou ſhalt redeem with a Lamb, and if thou wilt redeem it, then thou ſhalt break his neck, and all the firſt-born of man amongſt thy Children, thou ſhalt redeem.* The reaſon of this Law is given, *ver.* 14, and 15. to wit, becauſe the Lord by ſtrength of hand had brought them out of *Egypt*, after he had ſlain the firſt born of *Egypt* both of man and beaſt; therefore they were to ſacrifice unto the Lord all that opened the matrix being males: But the firſt born of their Children they were to redeem; yet theſe, as all other legal Rites and Sacrifices, had a double aſpect or reference: The one to the firſt occaſion of their inſtitution, which is here literally expreſt; the other to fore-ſhadow ſomewhat to come by the legal ſervice or inſtitution. The myſtery fore-ſhadowed by the legal ſanctifying, or ſacrificing the firſt-born males unto the Lord, was the expectation of a firſt-born male, by whoſe Conſecration or *paſſing over* unto the Lord, all theſe, and the like legal Ceremonies, ſhould once for all be accompliſhed, and their Children fully ſanctified and redeemed. That theſe legal ſervices taken at the beſt, could be no more than ſhadows of good things to come, common reaſon might have taught this people: for ſeeing the firſtlings of the Herds, though offered in ſacrifice unto the Lord, could not ſanctifie the uſe of their Flocks unto them; but the uſe of every dumb creature was to be ſanctified unto them, by a ſacrifice of one and the ſame kind; (As the uſe of their Lambs and Sheep was to be hallowed by the ſacrifice of a firſtling-male Lamb, and ſo the Goats by the firſtling-male Kid, and their Oxen and Cattel by the ſacrifice of the firſtling Calves or Bullocks;) who could in reaſon expect that the ſacrifice of a Lamb, of a Kid, of a Bullock, or any other, dumb creature, ſhould be a ſufficient price for the Redemption of their firſt-born males, or able to ſanctifie or conſecrate both male and female in their ſeveral Families unto the Lord; *He that ſanctifies, and they that are ſanctified, are all of one*, ſaith the Apoſtle. Heb. 2. 11. Men were to be redeemed and ſanctified by man, and if the firſt-born male in every Family, had been ſacrificed for the reſt, this would have made no ſatisfaction, no ſanctification, ſeeing the firſt-born was by nature as unclean as the reſt, and every dumb creature, which was by Law unclean, and could not be ſacrificed, was to be redeemed by the ſacrifice of a firſtling-male, which was by its kind clean; as the Aſs becauſe it was by its kind unclean, was to be redeemed; that is, the uſe of it was to be ſanctified or made lawful unto its owner, by the ſacrifice of a firſtling Lamb.

2. But who amongſt all the firſt-born of women was in his kind or by nature clean? Not one beſides the Son of the Bleſſed Virgin, who was likewiſe the only Son of God. It is he alone that was to redeem and ſanctifie the reſt of mankind; which were all by nature unclean: And with reference to the former Law, our Apoſtles inſtiles him, *primogenitus omnis creatura*, the firſt-born of every creature, *Coloſ.* 1. 15. Now though it be moſt true that Chriſt was before all things, that all things were created by him, whether viſible or inviſible, that all things conſiſt by him as he is the only Son of God, begotten of his Father before all Worlds; yet this is not the true and full meaning of that moſt ſacred maxime, *Eſt primogenitus omnis creaturæ, he is the firſt born of every creature.* One part of the Apoſtle's meaning in that admirable paſſage, 1 *Coloſ.* 13. to the 20. is, that unleſs Chriſt had been the Son of God from Eternity, all fulneſs could not have dwelled in him; nor could he have had preheminence in all things which the Apoſtle there mentions. Another part of the Apoſtle's meaning there, is, that in the ſame Chriſt as man, it pleaſed God that all fulneſs ſhould dwell; and that as man he ſhould in all things have the preheminence, and in as much as all fulneſs dwelleth in him as man, and that in all reſpect he hath preheminence, he is likewiſe as man the firſt-born of every creature; that is, all the prerogatives which the firſt-born males had before the after-born or Females, are contained in his prerogative and fulneſs as man. Now as the firſt-born males amongſt the off-ſprings of dumb creatures did ſanctifie all the reſt of the ſame kind: So Chriſt as man doth ſanctifie all things, make all things acceptable unto God which are capable of ſanctification or acceptance: As man likewiſe he had all the prerogatives of the firſt-born in the Families of the Patriarchs which were eſpecially two: The Prieſthood, and the Principality or civil dominion over their Brethren and Poſterity. For Chriſt as man is made both King and Prieſt; and albeit *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and the Patriarchs, and *Melchiſedech* who bleſſed *Abraham*, were both Kings and Prieſts over their Families and Children; yet theſe prerogatives they had by a ſolemn right derived from him which was to come, who was to be a Prieſt after the order of *Melchiſedech*. Again, in reſpect of the character of the firſt-born male, or of that which gave it the prerogative of the after-born, he hath the preheminence; for he opened

the womb or matrix in ſuch a manner, as no creature had done, or ſhall do after him; for he was made true man, and truly born of a woman, yet not begotten by any man. And albeit *Melchiſedech*, *Abraham* and *David*, were dead long before he was conceived by the Holy Ghoſt; long before he was born or made man of a woman, though he be truly enſtiled the Seed of *Abraham*, and the Son of *David*, which for this reaſon were of neceſſity to be before him: Yet this precedency was a precedency only of time, a precedency in reſpect of this mortal and miſerable life. In reſpect of that better life, he hath the precedency even of time; for he is the Father of the World to come, and as our Apoſtle hath it, 1 *Coloſ.* 18. *He is the firſt-born, or firſt-begotten from the dead; that in all things he might have the preheminence.*

3. Chriſt by his Divine Power had raiſed the Widows Son of *Naim*, and his Friend *Lazarus*; the one ſome two years, the other but a few days before, from death to life: but neither of them, nor any before them which had been ſo raiſed, could be truly ſaid to be begotten from the dead, but rather begotten to dye again; for to be born and begotten from the dead, includes an everlaſting freedom from the power or approach of death; as it is in the Hymn for the morning Prayer upon Eaſter-day. *Chriſt's riſing again from the dead now dyeth not, death from henceforth hath no power upon him.* According to this notion or importance of *primogenitus ex mortuis*, of being the firſt born, or firſt begotten from the dead; Chriſt hath the preheminence every way, he was the firſt in order of time, and was raiſed from death to an endleſs life. He was the only *prime* in reſpect of power or cauſality; whoſoever thus hath been, or ſhall be raiſed or begotten from death to an immortal life, is thus raiſed and begotten by vertue of Chriſt's Reſurrection. Albeit the Souls of *Abraham*, of *Moſes*, and *David*, &c. were before this time ſeated in bliſs; yet were not their bodies ſo much as capable of dowry or jointure with them, in the ſtate of bliſs, before ſuch time as the Son of God was thus begotten from the dead; yea, might the Souls of thoſe and other righteous men have looked upon their bodies or relicks in the duſt, they would have loathed their company, and abhorred cohabitation with them, as being things polluted and unclean.

4. How clean or well winnowed ſoever the Corn were before it was ſown; yet the off-ſpring of it after it dyed in the ground was unclean. The uſe of green ears was not lawful unto this people, until the firſt fruits were offered up unto the Lord. In like manner albeit *Abraham*, *Moſes*, and *David* were juſtified whilſt they lived in the fleſh, even ſanctified perſons through belief in Chriſt which was to come: Yet their bodies were to inherit their Father *Adam*'s curſe. *Duſt thou art, and unto duſt thou ſhalt return.* Subject they were to corruption, altogether incapable of incorruption or immortality, until their expected Meſſias became their firſt fruits for them. Chriſt, ſaith our Apoſtle, 1 *Cor.* 15. 20. *is riſen from the dead, and become the firſt fruits of them that ſleep; for ſince by man came death, by man came alſo the Reſurrection of the dead.* So generally true is that of the Apoſtle, *That which ſanctifyeth, and that which is ſanctified are both of one*, that is, both of one kind, *Heb.* 2. And in this ſenſe that ſaying of Saint *Ambroſe*, which ſome in latter Ages have much quarrelled, is moſt true. [*When thou haſt overcome the ſharpneſs of death, thou didſt open the Kingdom of Heaven to all Believers.*] The body of no

Saint was capable of entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven before this time. None could be conſecrated unto this ſervice before the Conſecration of the High Prieſt himſelf which was not accompliſhed till he was begotten from the dead, and made the firſt fruits of them that ſleep.

5. Briefly to mould up the the ſcattered or diſperſed notions in this and ſome other former Treatiſes; how the fulneſs of all things which were fore-ſhadowed in the Feaſt of the Paſsover with its rites did as our Apoſtle ſaith dwell in Chriſt, or how in all things he had the preheminence: Firſt, he is in the literal and moſt exquiſite ſenſe, the *Iſrael* of God, the Son of God which was to paſs out of this World unto his Father. Secondly, he was the true Paſchal Lamb which was ſlain for our deliverance from the deſtroyer, and for our ſafety in this our paſſage from this World into a better. Thirdly, he is the real *Moſes* that muſt conduct us, for he was Conductor unto *Moſes*. Fourthly, he is the firſt born of every Creature, which by his Sacrifice did ſanctifie all the reſt and make them acceptable unto God. Fifthly, he is the firſt-born or firſt begotten from the dead; the firſt fruits of them that ſleep, that is, he by whom ſuch as ſleep in death and inhabite darkneſs, ſhall be made meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the Saints in light as well in their bodies as in their Souls.

SECT.

SECTION VI.

He Aſcended into Heaven.

CHAP. XXXV.

How the Aſcenſion of the Son of God was prefigured by the Tranſlation of Enoch, *and by the taking up of* Elias; *And foretold by the Pſalmiſt.* Pſal. 15. *and* Pſal. 24.

THE Son of God in the day of his ſufferings as he was Man, did aſcend in Soul into that Paradiſe, into which the Souls of Patriarchs, of Prophets, with the Souls of holy and juſt men that dyed immediately after him, or at the ſame time with him, were admitted. And on that day, at leaſt before the dawning of the next which was the Sabbath, he conſecrated the Celeſtial Sanctuary or Paradiſe with his own blood. But his Aſcenſion into Paradiſe, what part ſoever of Heaven that were, on that day, is not the Aſcenſion mentioned in our Creed: For when it is ſaid, *He Aſcended* into Heaven, this muſt be underſtood of his Aſcenſion thither in Body, which was forty days after his Reſurrection from the dead. And into Heaven, or that part of Heaven mentioned in our Creed, he did not then aſcend only as an High Prieſt, but alſo as King of Heaven and Earth. The Day of his Aſcenſion as was * mentioned before, was the day of his ſolemn Enthronization.

* *In the fourth Sect. of this Book* Chap. *laſt.*

2. The manner of his Aſcenſion is punctually related, ſpecially by the Evangeliſt St. *Luke* in the laſt *Chapter* of his Goſpel, and in the firſt, of the Sacred Hiſtory of the *Acts* of the *Apoſtles*. The ſpecial *Quæries* concerning his or other Evangelical or Apoſtolical avouchments of his Aſcenſion, are but two: The firſt, how that which they Hiſtorically relate or avouch was fore-pictured: The ſecond, how or by what Prophets fore-told in the ſacred Writings of the Old Teſtament. And theſe two *Quæries* muſt be diſcuſt not by dichotomy, or by way of oppoſition, but either ſeverally or promiſcuouſly as the Texts of the Old Teſtament ſhall miniſter occaſion.

3. The Aſcenſion of this juſt and holy one, of the great Prophet promiſed by *Moſes*, was firſt prefigured by the Tranſlation of *Enoch*, which was long before the Law was given, long before *Moſes* was born. But of *Enoch's* Tranſlation little can be ſaid upon ſure grounds, or by juſt warrant of Scripture: Only this we know from authentick teſtimonies, that *he was an holy man and one that pleaſed God*; A man both in life and in his Tranſlation from this life unto a better, who did truly fore-ſhadow him in whom alone God was, and is, and ever will be beſt pleaſed.

4. The manner of *Eliah*'s Aſcenſion or rather of his being taken up from Earth into Heaven, or to a far better place than Earth, was more viſible and more conſpicuous, and the time of his taking up more publickly known, than the time or manner of *Enoch*'s Tranſlation was: He was taken or carried up out of *Eliſhah's* ſight, who with many others did expect the time and day of his Tranſlation, in a fiery Chariot; a fit Emblem of *Eliah*'s prophetical Spirit, always burning with zeal towards the ſervice of God, even to the deſtruction of the Enemies of it, or diſturbers of the Peace of *Iſrael*. Our Saviour did rather aſcend in a Cloud than was taken up by it, albeit taken by it out of their ſight which ſaw him aſcend from Earth to Heaven: The Cloud it ſelf in which he did aſcend, being an Emblem of his ſweet and mild ſpirit, of thoſe gracious lips which did always diſtill words of mercy and love, allaying the terrible heat and fervency of *Eliah*'s, and other Prophets Spirits which had fore-told his firſt comeing into, and his going out of this World, and his ſecond coming to judge it.

5. Two illuſtrious predictions of his Aſcenſion we have *Pſal.* 15. and *Pſal.* 24. but whether the one or both of theſe *Pſalms* which illuſtrate or confirm the truth of the Evangelical ſtory, be meerly prophetical, or typically prophetical, or mixt, *id eſt*, thus literally verified in the Pſalmiſts themſelves, or Pen-Men of theſe Hymns, and afterward myſtically fulfilled in Chriſt, is more than I dare peremptorily, either affirm or deny. Moſt probable it is that the Author of the 15. *Pſal.* which doubtleſs was *David* himſelf did pen his own part, and exerciſe his hopes and intereſt in the future Aſcenſion of his Son and Lord, of which he had a preſent pledge or token, by his late reſtitution into the Tabernacle of the Lord from which he had ſometimes been excluded, not for any crime or demerit, nor by any Eccleſiaſtical cenſure of excommunication or ſuſpenſion, but by ſecular violence of hoſtile perſecution: During the time of his exile from the Tabernacle, he or the Sons of *Chorah* for him, uttered thoſe pathetical complaints. *How amiable are thy Tabernacles thou Lord of Hoſts. My ſoul longeth, yea even fainteth for the Courts of the Lord: My heart and my fleſh cryeth out for the living God. Yea the ſparrow hath found an Houſe, and the ſwallow a Neſt for her ſelf, where ſhe may lay her young, even thine Altar O Lord of Hoſts my King and my God. Bleſſed are they that dwell in thy Houſe, they will be ſtill praiſing thee.* Pſal. 84. ver. 1, 2. *&c.* and again ver. 9. *Behold O God our ſhield; and look upon the face of thine anointed.* After his reſtitution to his former freedom, the Kingly Prophet out of his conſciouſneſs of his own integrity and righteouſneſs of the cauſe for which he was perſecuted by *Saul* and by others, frames theſe Divine Characters of ſuch as have intereſt in the bleſſings prefigured by free reſort unto the ſervice of the Tabernacle, or of the Temple (whoſe erection perhaps was in his project) when he compoſed this 15. *Pſal. Who ſhall abide in thy Tabernacle, or who ſhall abide in thy holy hill?* This Queſtion he propoſeth to *Jehovah*, the Lord himſelf deſirous to be inſtructed by him in this great myſtery before he took upon him to inſtruct others in it. And he receives this anſwer, *He that walketh uprightly, and worketh righteouſneſs, and ſpeaketh the truth in his heart, ver.* 2. and thus concludes, *he that doth theſe things ſhall never be moved.* Which laſt words could not be exactly fulfilled of the Tabernacle, which it ſelf was moveable: None but men ſo qualified as the Character of the *Pſalm* imports, had any juſt title or

ſure hope to be perpetual partakers or inheritors of the bleſſings or comforts of this life, which did attend the true ſervice of the Tabernacle much leſs of the eternal bleſſings of the Heavenly Sanctuary. The ungodly and prophane perſons of thoſe times, or men tainted with the contrary vices unto thoſe good qualifications which he there requires, however they might by extraordinary mercies fare *de facto*, did always *de jure*, or by the ordinary courſe of Gods Juſtice forfeit their intereſt in the bleſſings promiſed to ſincere obſervants of the Laws of the Tabernacle.

6. So that this 15. *Pſalm* for its literal ſenſe is a fuller expreſſion of the matter contained in the firſt *Pſalm*, or a more lively Character of the bleſſings there promiſed. Now in as much as the Tabernacle whilſt it was moveable in the Wilderneſs, whilſt it was pitched in *Shiloh*, or in the Temple it ſelf erected by *Solomon* on Mount *Sion*, was but a Type or Figure of that Heavenly Sanctuary which God by his own immediate hand hath pitched. Whatſoever was literally meant or verified of the firſt Tabernacle or Temple, and of the viſible Founders of them, or ſincere reſorters to them, was in the myſtical ſenſe verified of the Heavenly Sanctuary, and of the inviſible Founder of it, Chriſt Jeſus the Son of God who did conſecrate it with his own blood, *into this holy Temple*. He alone could enter by the Sacrifice of himſelf, he alone had right to dwell in it; but through his mediation and interceſſion all ſuch as follow the Pſalmiſts directions in that *Pſalm*, which are indeed the immediate precepts of God himſelf, are admitted to be partakers of thoſe joys which by right, as we ſaid, belong to the holy one of God alone, as all the faithful people during the Law were partakers of the Sacrifices and ſervices of the Temple, though theſe were to be performed by the High Prieſt alone; further, in as much as none beſides the promiſed Seed of *David*, or *David*'s Lord, could exactly perform, or ſolidly expreſs the qualifications in that *Pſalm* required; none but he could have juſt right or title to enter into that moſt holy Sanctuary whereof the *ſanctum ſanctorum*, or Holy of Holies was but the model, nor aſcend into that Holy Mount whereof the Hill of *Sion* was at the beſt, but the footſtool or loweſt ſtep to it. Into this Sanctuary the Son of God our High Prieſt had better right to enter, more abſolute authority to aſcend the Royal Throne in what part ſoever of Heaven ſeated, than the High Prieſt of the Law had to enter into the *ſanctum ſanctorum*, or Sanctuary within the Vail; into which he was to enter but once a year; nor might he then admit any Aſſociates or Attendants to go in with him. But into this Heavenly Sanctuary, into which our hopes (even in this life) do enter, Chriſt Jeſus (as ſaith the Apoſtle) is gone before us, being made an High Prieſt for ever after the Order of *Melchiſedech*, and by vertue of this Prieſthood he hath full power and authority to conſecrate us to be Kings and Prieſts unto God, even all us that ſeek to expreſs the Characters of the Pſalmiſts bleſſed man by ſanctity of life towards God, and ſincerity of converſation amongſt men.

6. That by the Tabernacle or holy Hill mentioned *Pſal.* 15. the Heavenly Sanctuary whereinto our High Prieſt is entred, is principally intended according to the myſtical ſenſe, beſides the concluſion of that *Pſalm*, the cloſe of the 24. *Pſalm* makes it more clear. The Queſtion and Anſwer propoſed and made by this Pſalmiſt, is the ſame (but more diſtinct) with that mentioned 15. *Who ſhall aſcend into the Hill of the Lord? And who ſhall ſtand in his holy place?*

He that hath clean hands, and a pure heart; who hath not lift up his ſoul to vanity, nor ſworn deceitfully. He ſhall receive the bleſſing from the Lord, and righteouſneſs from the God of his ſalvation, ver. 3, 4, 5. *Pſal.* 24. But there follows another remarkable Queſtion twice propoſed in words altogether the ſame; and twice anſwered in the ſame words for equivalency of ſenſe, with a Preface moſt majeſtick; *Lift up your heads, O ye Gates, and be ye lift up, ye everlaſting doors, and the King of Glory ſhall in. ver.* 7. The Queſtion follows, *ver.* 8. *Who is this King of Glory? Sure neither* David *who compoſed this Pſalm,* nor *Solomon* his Son, *but Jehovah potens in bello. Jehovah the ſtrong and mighty Lord, puiſſant in Battle, ver.* 8. But leſt his Poſterity ſhould not be ſo obſervant of theſe myſteries as was befitting, immediately after the reiteration of the former Preface, *Lift up your heads O Gates, &c.* and of the ſame Queſtion, *Who is the King of Glory,* he reſolves us ſomewhat more fully than before, *ver.* 10. *Jehovah exercituum ipſe eſt Rex gloriæ, the Lord of Hoſts he is the King of Glory,* and concludes the whole *Pſalm* with *Selah,* which, as to my remembrance hath been obſerved before, is not only a muſical note or modulation of the tone in ſinging, but a character of ſome peculiar matter or myſtery in the ditty, deſerving attentive meditation.

7. Upon the matter then, or reckoning, *recta ratio* being admitted Judge, this Pſalmiſt by King of Glory and Lord of Hoſts means the ſame Lord, and no other than whom in the beginning of this Divine Hymn he had acknowledged ſupream Lord and Creator both of Sea and Land. *The Earth is the Lords, and the fulneſs thereof; the World and they that dwell therein, for he hath founded it upon the Seas* (that is in ſuch a ſenſe as we ſay Towns and Cities are ſituated upon the Rivers on whoſe Banks they ſtand) *and eſtabliſhed it upon the flood, ver.* 1, 2. Yet may we not deny that this *Pſalm* may literally refer to the bringing in of the Ark into the Hill of *Sion,* and to the exhortation of the Pſalmiſt to admit and entertain it as the Seat of the King of Glory, God bleſſed for ever. But this literal ſenſe doth no way prejudice, but rather ſtrengthen the force of their argument who hence conclude the deity of the Son of God then admitted in triumph into the Hill of *Sion* (or the Tabernacle pitched in it) according to his divine nature only; this triumphant admiſſion being a ſure pledge or earneſt of his future admiſſion into his Heavenly Sanctuary, the place of his everlaſting reſidency as Lord and Chriſt in our nature. No man who acknowledgeth or rightly eſteemeth the authority of the Pſalmiſt, unleſs abundance of wit hath beſplitted his underſtanding, can imagine that the King of Glory whom the Pſalmiſt here mentioneth ſhould be any other party or perſon beſides the Son of God Chriſt Jeſus, whom the Jews (when he came to the material Temple or Tabernacle wherein his divine nature did in peculiar manner reſide) did not entertain in ſuch manner as *David* enjoined their Fore-Fathers to entertain the Ark of his preſence. They would not acknowledge him to be their Meſſias becauſe they knew him not, nor the Scriptures which did foretell this his coming. For as our * Apoſtle with ſpecial reference to the words of this Pſalmiſt tells us, *had they known him to be that Lord of Glory* unto whoſe honour *David* conſecrated this Hymn, they would not have Crucified him. But by *crucifying,* or rather by *his humiliation* of himſelf unto the Death of the Croſs, he was conſecrated as man unto his Everlaſting Prieſthood, and made both Lord and King of Glory.

* 1. *Cor.* 2. 8.

CHAP. XXXVI.

At what time, and upon what occaſions the 68. Pſalm was compoſed: What reference it hath (in the general) unto our Saviours Aſcenſion.

ANother *Pſalm* there is appointed by the wiſdom of the ancient and continued by the diſcretion of the Engliſh Church even ſince the firſt reformation, to be read or ſung as a proper Hymn to the Feſtival of our Saviours Aſcenſion: A *Pſalm* full of myſteries and divine raptures apt to enkindle our hearts with zeal and admiration, could we find out, or rightly ſeek after either the Hiſtorical occaſions which miniſtred the matter or ditty of this divine Song, or the ſeveral parts of Scripture unto which moſt paſſages in it according to the literal or Hiſtorical ſenſe do reſpectively refer. The occaſion of compoſing the *Pſalm*, to wit, 68. Some Jewiſh Rabbins conjecture to have been that glorious Victory which *Ezekiah*, or rather the Lord of Hoſts in *Ezekiah*'s days, got over *Senacherib* and his mighty Army. But the moſt of the more judicious Chriſtian Commentators with greater probability or diſcretion, refer the occaſion of compoſing this *Pſalm* to that ſolemn Tranſlation of the Ark of God from *Kyriath Jearim* into Mount *Sion* at large deſcribed, 2. *Sam.* 6. David *gathered together all the choſen men of* Iſrael, *thirty thouſand. And* David *aroſe and went with all the people that were with him from* Baal *of* Judah, *to bring up from thence the Ark of God whoſe name is called by the Lord of Hoſts, that dwelleth between the Cherubims, or at which the name even the name of the Lord of Hoſts was called upon.*

2. This latter opinion is in it ſelf perſwaſible, or rather deſerves full credence from the firſt words of the *Pſalm*, *Let God ariſe, let his Enemies be ſcattered, let them alſo that hate him flee before him*, *ver.* 1. Theſe were *verba ſolemnia* the accuſtomed ſolemn form of Prayer uſed ſo often as the Ark of the Covenant (which was to this people the moſt authentick pledge of Gods peculiar preſence and protection, and for this reaſon called by his name) did remove from one place to another during their Pilgrimage in the Wilderneſs. *And they departed from the Mount of the Lord three days journey: And the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord went before them in the three days journey to ſearch out a reſting place for them: and the Cloud of the Lord was upon them by day when they went out of the Camp. And it came to paſs when the Ark ſet forward, that* Moſes *ſaid, riſe up Lord and let thine Enemies be ſcattered, and let them that hate thee flee before thee? And when it reſted he ſaid Return, O Lord, unto the many thouſands of* Iſrael. *Numb.* 10. *ver.* 33, 34, 35, 36. *Moſes* prayed *conceptis verbis*, that God would ariſe and take part with his people. *David* out of the freſh experience of Gods mighty protection over him, his ſubjects, and allies ſo long as they worſhipped him in truth and ſincerity, in this ſymbole of his preſence, ſeems to utter *Moſes* ſong rather by way of congratulation for Victories already gotten than by way of inſtant Prayer for preſent aſſiſtance; A great part of this moſt divine, moſt ſublime ditty, is a recapitulation of the glorious Victories which the God of *Iſrael* had purchaſed for his people, and upon their deliverance out of

Egypt, and their other peculiar protections, or ſuccours which private men or women in their diſtreſs had found, when they were helpleſs in the ſight of men, or oppreſſed by their Neighbours; *Sing unto God, ſing praiſes to his name, extol him that rideth upon the Heavens by his name* Jah, *and rejoyce before him. A Father of the fatherleſs, and a Judge of the Widows is God in his Holy Habitation. God ſetteth the ſolitary in Families, he bringeth out thoſe that are bound in Chains, but the rebellious dwell in a dry land*, ver. 4, 5, 6. The *verſes* following refer to the publick deliverance out of *Egypt*, and the majeſtick apparitions about *Mount Sinai: O God when thou wenteſt forth before thy people, when thou didſt march through the Wilderneſs, the earth ſhook, the Heavens alſo dropped before the Lord, even* Sinai *it ſelf was moved, at the preſence of God, the God of* Iſrael, *&c.* 7, 8. Some good Interpreters here obſerve that the Ark it ſelf is called *Jehovah*, or the Lord God of *Iſrael*, by the ſame form of ſpeech that the Sacramental pledges are called, the one the Body, the other the blood of Chriſt.

3. Now the ſweet ſinger of *Iſrael* was confident that the God of their Fathers would be as gracious to himſelf, to his people, and their ſucceſſors, after he came to dwell in Mount *Sinai*, as he had been to *Moſes* and *Joſhua* in the Wilderneſs, or unto *Samuel*, while the Tabernacle was in *Shiloh* or elſewhere, either in motion or pitched. Hence ſprung thoſe encomiaſtical expreſſions throughout the *Pſalm* of the glory of Mount *Sion*, not ſo much for its native ſituation (though that were glorious) as for that it was now become the *pedeſtal* to the Ark, wherein *Jehovah*, or *Jah* kept his reſidence. *The hill of God is as the hill of* * Baſhan, *an high hill as the hill of* Baſhan. *Why leap ye, ye high hills? This is the hill which God deſireth to dwell in, yea the Lord will dwell in it for ever, ver.* 15, 16. Yet all theſe glorious hopes, or hoped promiſes Propheſied of in this *Pſalm*, are to be interpreted according to the rules before obſerved upon *Pſalm* 89. Many of the Bleſſings hoped for and fore-propheſied, were meant according to the literal ſenſe, of *David*. his himſelf and Poſterity, yet but conditionally true of them, abſolutely, irreverſibly, and everlaſtingly true only of *David*'s Son or Seed, *κατ' ἐξοχὴν*, that is, of that God and Lord, who in the fulneſs of time, was to be encloſed in the Virgins womb, and to have his everlaſting habitation in the fruit of her body, after a more admirable and peculiar manner than he reſided in the Ark, when *David* brought it unto the Hill of *Sion*. He is often ſaid indeed to dwell in the Ark and in the Temple, but never ſo did dwell in them in ſuch a ſenſe as our Apoſtle deſcribes his habitation in the man Chriſt Jeſus, σωματικῶς, bodily, or as *Chemnitius* renders it, by perſonal reſidence.

* Baſhan *was a goodly hill-Country, and graced with glorious victories over* Og *the King of that Region, unto which, and the deliverance from* Pharaoh *and his Hoſt, theſe paſſages in this* Pſalm *do literally allude.*

4. For the encomiaſtical part of the 68 *Pſalm*, ſo far as it concerns Mount *Sion*, *Jeruſalem*, or *Judah*, the Reader may find a paraphraſtical expoſition to it, *Pſalm* 48. which was compoſed after this, and as it is moſt probable, in the days of *Jehoſaphat*. For any Paraphraſe or Comment upon that *Pſalm*, I leave the learned Reader to his own choice: I would only commend one paſſage of * *Calvin*'s Comments upon it, which an Ingenuous cenſurer of this great Doctor, when he treads awry or ſpeaks harſhly, but a more friendly encomiaſt of him when he goes aright, hath commended to me, upon the cloſe of that *Pſalm: Walk about* Sion, *and go round about her, tell the*

* *Hæc ſunt ipſa Calvini verba:* Propheta ſitum & pulchritudinem Jeroſolymæ commendat, ac ſi diceret, urbem eſſe optimè munitam & inexpugnabilem: quia aliqua ex parte in his externis notis fulgebat Dei benedictio. Quanquam memoria tenendum eſt, quod prius dixit, Deum in ejus palatiis conſpici in arcem. Neq; enim turres vel murum

Towers thereof, ver. 12. &c. *Argutum ſimul & ſolidum eſt, & diligenter notandum, quod hic Calvinus auguratur & interpretatur de excidio urbis & Templi, ut ſplendorem Templi narrent poſteritati. Non opus erat auditu & narratione ſi viſibus humanis ſemper patuiſſet. Narrantur poſteritati quæ non exhibentur, veluti, quotidiana oracula & ſpectacula. Cop. in v.* 14. This commendable obſervation upon the 48 *Pſalm*, makes a ſpeech of this ſame *Calvin* upon the principal paſſages of the 68 *Pſalm*, more harſh and diſtaſtful to this Ingenuous cenſurer, and to others which have their ſenſes exerciſed in the interpretation of Propheſies, eſpecially ſuch as are alledged by the Apoſtles or Evangeliſts. So was the [*] 19. *verſe* of this *Pſalm* urged by Saint *Paul* to prove our Saviours Aſcenſion, *Epheſ.* 4. *Calvinus ait: Paulus locum hunc ſubtilius ad Chriſtum deflectit; mallem dicere, divinius ad Chriſtum transfert & accommodat.*

5. But this Ingenious Writer, and accurate Latiniſt uſeth this word *accommodate* in another ſenſe than *Janſenius*, *Suarez*, or *Maldonat*, or other Literaliſts do, which oftentimes, though not always, oppoſe the word *accommodation*, or alluſion, to concludent proof: for of all the Propheſies which point directly to the Article of Chriſt's Aſcenſion; this 19 *verſe* alledged by Saint *Paul* to this purpoſe, is moſt concludent, if we could rightly parallel the literal or hiſtorical paſſages which are well deciphered by *Calvin*, with the myſtical or principally intended ſenſe or actual accompliſhment of *David*'s words. The hiſtorical occaſion from which the ſpirit of Propheſie in *David* took its *riſe* to proclaim this grand myſtery of the Goſpel, was the often mentioned triumphant introduction of the Ark of God (or in equivalent ſenſe, the God of *Iſrael* which dwelt in the Ark) into the hill of *Sion*; which from this time and occaſion was inſtiled *the place of Gods reſt*; becauſe the Ark of God (as was preſumed) was there to reſide (without wandring) as in the place which God had choſen for it. To this purpoſe, *Pſalm* 78. *He ſmote his enemies in the hinder parts, he put them to a perpetual reproach. Moreover he refuſed the Tabernacle of* Joſeph; *and choſe not the Tribe of* Ephraim, *but choſe the Tribe of* Judah, *the Mount Sion which he loved. And he built his Sanctuary like high Palaces; like the earth which he hath eſtabliſhed for ever*, ver. 66, 67, 68, 69. From this deſignation of the Ark to reſide in *Jeruſalem*, *David* (haply) who knew beſt the tenor of Gods promiſe concerning this buſineſs, would not ſuffer it to go along with him when he fled from *Jeruſalem*, as being in danger of ſurpriſal by his Son *Abſolon*.

CHAP.

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nunc commemorans, vult priorum mentes in illis ſubſiſtere, ſed potius ſpeculum proponit quod Dei faciem repreſentet. *Circundate* ergo *Sion* inquit, hoc eſt, attente circumſpicite: *Numerate turres, & ſtudium veſtrum applicate ad conſiderandum murum ejus*: æſtimate pro dignitate palatia ejus. Ita facilè conſtabit urbem eſſe divinitus electam; quia longe ſupra alias omnes emineat. Nam in hoc totus eſt ut appareat qualitas illa & perſona qua Dominus Jeroſolymam induerat, eam ſibi in ſacrarium & in domicilium populo ſuo erigens. Cæterùm Propheta finem notando, ut narretur poſteris forma & ſplendor urbis ſanctæ, tacitè innuere videtur venturum aliquando tempus quo non amplius poterit conſpici. Quorſum enim narratio in re manifeſta & ante oculos poſita? Qanquam ergo paulo ante dixit, urbem illam perpetuo ſtabilitam eſſe, nunc per modum correctionis admonet qualis futura ſit perpetuitas, nempe quæ ad renovationem duntaxat Eccleſiæ duret. Nos enim ſumus illa poſteritas ad quam pertinet ac dirigitur narratio. Quia quæcunq; veteri populo Deus beneficia contulit, nobis communia ſunt: Non quod ſplendor ille externus, quo admirabilis fuit Jeroſolyma, hodie inter nos emineat, ſed quia ſpiritualibus donis non minus ſplendidè ornata fuit Eccleſia poſt exhibitum Chriſtum, quam olim muris & turribus inſtructa Jeruſalem ſub legis umbris. *Calvinus* in 13. ver. Pſal. 48.

[*] *Thou haſt aſcended on high, thou haſt led captivity captive.* Coppen, in ver. 19.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Of the concludency of the Apoſtle's Allegation, Epheſ. 4. 7, 8. *Out of the* 18 ver. *of the* 68 Pſalm.

BUT to ſet forth the parallel betwixt the Prophet and our Apoſtle; The cuſtom among the Romans and other Nations, was to beſtow *congiaries* or *largeſſes* upon their Friends or Natives, when they led their enemies captive in ſolemn triumph. Whether *David* led any enemies, of which he had conquered many, in ſuch triumph; or whether he did meerly as a Prophet, or ſacred Poet, diſplay his former victories gotten over the enemies of God and his Church, by the manner of the Nations triumphs over their enemies, is not in my obſervation evident. This is certain, he diſperſed not painted or poetical, but real largeſſes unto the people, ingrateful memory of the former victories which God had given to him and his Predeceſſors, the former Champions, for the people of *Iſrael*. And more than probable it is, that *David* in this hymn had ſpecial reference to the victories and triumphs of *Barach* and his aſſociates over *Siſera*, moſt Divinely expreſſed by *Deborah* in her Song, *Judg.* 5. *My heart is toward the Governours of* Iſrael, *that offered themſelves willingly among the people. Bleſs ye the Lord*, ver. 9. *Awake, awake* Deborah, *awake, awake, utter a Song, Ariſe* Barach *and lead captivity captive, thou Son of* Abinoam. *Then he made him that remaineth, have dominion over the Nobles among the people. The Lord made me have dominion over the mighty*, ver. 12, 13. Whether *David* when he compoſed the 68 *Pſalm*, did imitate the triumph of *Barach* and *Deborah* over *Siſera*, General of *Jabin*'s Hoſt, by matter of fact, as by leading his captives in triumph, which is moſt probable; or only ſeek to exceed *Deborah* in his Song by more full expreſſions of his thankfulneſs towards God, who had given him greater victories over greater enemies, is not manifeſt: But it is more than matter of opinion, or pious credulity, that both the victories of *Barach* and *David* over the viſible enemies of God's people, or whatſoever other hiſtorical occaſions, *Deborah*, or *Barach*, or *David* had to utter their Songs, were but Types, or ominous or lucky prenotions of that great victory which the Seed of *David*, the Son of God, was to obtain over the old Serpent and his Seed, over death it ſelf, and all the powers of darkneſs. The triumph of the one or other (*David* I mean or *Barach*) was but a picture or painted ſhadow of that triumphant conqueſt deſcribed by our Apoſtle, *Coloſ.* 2. *And you being dead in your ſins, and the uncircumciſion of your fleſh, hath he quickned together with him, having forgiven you all treſpaſſes, blotting out the hand-writing of ordinances that was againſt us, and took it out of the way, and having ſpoiled principalities and powers, he made a ſhew of them openly, triumphing over them in it*, ver. 13, 14, 15.

2. The harmony between the literal or hiſtorical ſenſe of *David*'s words, though we weigh them only according to *Calvin*'s Comments upon them: [*Thou haſt aſcended on high, thou haſt led captivity captive, thou haſt received gifts for men*] and the myſtical interpretations of them given by Saint *Paul*, is as ſweet as plain, ſuch as need no deſcant beſides the bare propoſal of the Pſalmiſt's Text, and Apoſtles interpretation of it, or conſiderations of the occaſions which *David* had to

ſpeak, as in the fore-cited place he doth. *David* and *Barach* with other Conquerours when they led Captivity Captive gave gifts unto their friends, gifts of divers ſorts to ſeveral perſons, ſilver and gold, or other guerdons to their well-deſerving Captains or Souldiers, Rayments of Needle-work unto Women of better rank, Wine and Cakes, or other like junkets to poor Women and Children. *As ſoon as* David *had made an end of burnt Offerings and Peace-Offerings, he bleſſed the people in the name of the Lord of Hoſts, and he dealt among all the people, even among the whole multitude of* Iſrael, *as well to the Women as Men, to every one a Cake of Bread, and a good piece of fleſh, and a Flaggon of Wine, ſo all the people departed, every one to his Houſe.* 2. Sam. 6. ver. 28, 29. And this was the time when he brought the Ark of God in ſolemn Proceſſion into the Hill of Sion. *But unto every one of us* (ſaith the Apoſtle in the fore-cited place, which contains the Evangelical myſtery parallel to this Hiſtorical relation,) *is given grace according to the meaſure of the gift of Chriſt. Wherefore he ſaith when he aſcended up on high he led Captivity Captive, and gave gifts unto men. Now that he aſcended, what is it but that he deſcended firſt into the lower parts of the Earth. He that deſcended is the ſame alſo that aſcended up far above all Heavens, that he might fill all things. And he gave ſome Apoſtles, and ſome Prophets, and ſome Evangeliſts, and ſome Paſtors and Teachers; for the perfecting of the Saints, for the work of the Miniſtry, for the edifying of the Body of Chriſt. Till we all come in the unity of the Faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the meaſure of the ſtature of the fulneſs of Chriſt.* Epheſ. 4. v. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13.

3. From this improvement of the Pſalmiſts literal ſenſe and myſtical interpretation of his practice, which no good Chriſtian will deny to be authentick as being made by the Apoſtle, the diligent Reader may eaſily find out the myſtical or prophetical ſenſe of the *verſes* following in the 68. *Pſalm*, ſo far as they concern the Article of our Saviours Aſcenſion, or the propagation of the Kingdom of God, which followed upon it. To take the clear view of the myſtical ſenſe of the *verſes* mentioned, the Reader with me muſt take his riſe from the literal ſenſe, which is two-fold; the one containing an hiſtorical expreſſion of what was to be acted for the preſent by *David* and his attendants, when he brought the Ark into Mount *Sion*; the other a relation or retro-aſpect unto the ſolemnities uſed by *Barach* and his attendants, in their triumph over *Siſera*. So it followeth, *They have ſeen thy goings, O God, even the goings of my God, my King in the Sanctuary.* Theſe words are characters or notes of the ſolemn proceſſion of the Ark, for whilſt the Ark or Sanctuary did go, or march unto Mount *Sion*, the God and King of *Iſrael* did go with it and in it; and in this Proceſſion *the ſingers went before, the Players on Inſtruments followed after, amongſt them were the Damoſels playing with Timbrels. v.* 25. The ſolemnity of ſinging in Gods ſervice was more compleat in *David*'s time, than it had been in the days of *Moſes*, or of the Judges; yet Songs and Muſick they had then in their ſolemn Proceſſions or gratulations, and Damoſels playing upon Timbrels, as it is evident out of *Exod.* 15. *Judges* 5. and other ancient Sacred Hiſtories. Though ſuch Proceſſions at this day, (ſuch is the alteration of times and ſeaſons) would be as unſightly to us modern Chriſtians, whether Proteſtants or Papiſts, as it would be to an Engliſh Proteſtant to ſee the conſecrated Hoſt or Body of our Lord, whilſt carried

about in ſolemn Proceſſion, attended with a Maurisk-dance, or other like Gamboles. But the burthen of the Song uſed by *David*, was that, *v.* 26. *Bleſs ye God in the Congregation, even the Lord from* (*or ye that are of*) *the Fountain of* Iſrael. For not *Judah* only but the reſt had their Portion in the Son of *Jeſſe, for there is little* Benjamin *with their Ruler, the Princes of* Judah *and their Council, the Princes of* Zebulun, *and the Princes of* Nepthali. *ver.* 27. Theſe Tribes with their Governours in all probability did give *David* beſt attendance in this great ſervice done to the Ark, or rather to the God of *Iſrael* that dwelt in it, as ſome of them likewiſe had been principal aſſiſtants unto *Barak*, highly commended for their ſervice by *Deborah*; *Out of* Ephraim *was there a root of them againſt* Amaleck, *after thee* Benjamin *among thy people. Judg.* 5. *ver.* 14. After a ſharp tax of ſome other Tribes for their great backwardneſs in the ſervice of God, ſhe adds, *Zebulun* and *Nepthali*, *were a people that jeoparded their lives unto the death in the high places of the field. ver.* 18. In the firſt Proceſſion of the Ark. *Numb.* 10. All the Tribes with their Rulers did attend it, ſo did they not *Barak* in the Battel of the Lord againſt *Jabin* and *Siſera*; The excellent ſervices of theſe Tribes, mentioned by *David* in this Proceſſion with the Ark to Mount *Sion*, did prognoſticate or portend, that when the true Ark was exhibited, that is, when the God of their Fathers ſhould come and dwell, and walk among them in the midſt of them, as *Moſes* had promiſed, his chief attendants ſhould be theſe Tribes commended by *Deborah* and *David*. Chriſt Jeſus himſelf the God of *Iſrael*, whom *David* and his Fathers worſhipped, was of the Tribe of *Judah*, *Paul* of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, *Peter*, and *Andrew*, and moſt of the other Apoſtles or prime Diſciples, were of the Tribe of *Zebulum* and *Nepthali*, and made more than Princes of their Families, his witneſſes and Embaſſadours, not to the end of the Earth, but to the ends of the World.

4. Some of the Ancients, and among the reſt St. *Auſtin*, if my memory fail not, think they have found out St. *Paul* charactered in the fore-cited Prophecy, *there was little* Benjamin *their Ruler, &c.* And aſſuredly 'twas not a matter of meer chance or fancy, that this great Apoſtle of the Gentiles ſhould have his name changed from *Saul* unto *Paul*, a name borrowed as ſome think from *Sergius Paulus*, and *Paulus* in the Latine ſignifies a little one. And this was a name better befitting this great Apoſtles diſpoſition after his calling than the name of *Saul*, which was the name of the firſt King of *Iſrael*, and one of the greateſt of his Tribe. That *Saul* was little in his own eyes before he was King, but great after, whereas this Apoſtle *Paul* was little in his own eyes, but great in the eyes of the Lord after he was made Ruler of the people; but to wave this conjecture of the Ancients, and not to diſpute the reaſon why *Benjamin* ſhould be called *little* by *David* in that Catalogue, wherein he had the precedency in Order of *Judah*; moſt other paſſages throughout this 68. *Pſal.* from the 19. *ver.* are eminently prophetical. *Bleſſed be the Lord who daily loadeth us with benefits, even the God of our ſalvation. He that is our God is the God of ſalvation, and unto God the Lord belong the iſſues of death. ver* 19, 20. Theſe are characters of God incarnate, or made Man, or of the man Chriſt Jeſus, made ſalvation it ſelf, and of this Jeſus raiſed from Death: for from this title the iſſues of death or deliverance from it belong to him as his peculiar: More apparently are thoſe paſſages *ver.* 31. &c. literally meant, at leaſt exactly fulfilled of Jeſus Chriſt

after his Reſurrection and Aſcenſion to his holy Hill, or Heavenly Sanctuary. *Princes ſhall come out of* Egypt, Ethiopia *ſhall ſoon ſtretch out her hands unto God; Sing unto God O ye Kingdoms of the Earth: O ſing praiſes unto the Lord. To him that rideth upon the Heaven of Heavens, which were of old. Loe, he doth ſend out his voice, and that a mighty voice. Aſcribe ye ſtrength unto God, his excellency is over* Iſrael, *and his ſtrength is in the Clouds. O God thou art terrible out of thy places; the God of* Iſrael *is he that giveth ſtrength and power unto his people. Bleſſed be God*, ver. 31, 32. &c.

5. As for the Prayer conceived firſt by *Moſes*, afterwards aſſumed by *David* after the removal of the Ark [*Let God ariſe let his enemies be ſcattered, let them alſo that hate him flee before him*] and all thoſe menaces of fearful judgments upon Gods Enemies, pronounced by *David* in this *Pſalm* as Appendices to it; theſe were never ſo exactly fulfill'd, either of the *Cananites*, *Moabites*, *Philiſtims*, or other Enemies of *Iſrael* whiles the material Ark did remove from place to place, or ſetled in *Jeruſalem*, as they have been of the Seed of *Abraham* and of *Jacob*, ſince their God did ariſe from death in our nature, which he conſecrated to be the true and living Ark of God. Nor can the truth of Gods promiſes unto *Abraham*, *David*, or their Seed, no not according to the literal ſenſe of the Prophecies which concern them, be any way impeached by taking his puniſhing hand from their heads, and laying it more heavily upon his ſometimes choſen people. For ſeeing they became the ſworn Enemies of the God of their Fathers revealed in the Ark of his fleſh, the fore-mentioned Prayer or imprecation of *Moſes* and *David*, was more literally and punctually directed againſt them, than againſt *Amalek*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, *&c.* For theſe, whether we take them jointly or ſeverally, were no greater Enemies of God than other Heathen Nations were, ſave only in this, that they were, greater Enemies to his choſen people the Seed of *Jacob*, by reaſon of their vicinity as bordering upon their Coaſts, which always nurſeth quarrels between Nations diſ-united in Soveraignty, or form of Government; whereas the Jewiſh Seed of *Abraham* which had been ſometimes Gods Elect people, without occaſion given became the immediate Enemies of their God, and for his ſake more bloody perſecutors of the Gentiles, yea of their own brethren according to the fleſh, after they with the Gentiles had become his choſen people. Now *Moſes* his Prayer, or *David*'s imprecation did not aim at the perſons of men, of what Nation ſoever, but at their malicious qualifications or enmities againſt God, whether direct or indirect; ſo that ſince the Seed of *Abraham* became the Enemies of God and his Chriſt, they may be more truly ſaid to have daſhed againſt the Pſalmiſts or *Moſes* curſe, than it to have falled upon, or overtaken them; and yet for all this as we learn from St. *Paul. Rom.* 11. that other Prayer of *Moſes* when the Ark reſted, ſhall bear date again, ſhall be fulfilled for the good of theſe yet caſt aways. *When the Ark reſted* Moſes *ſaid, return O God, to the many thouſands of* Iſrael. Numb. 10. 36. This ſtrange devolution of Gods mercies and judgments from one people to another, making the down-fall of one Nation to be the advancement of another to his free grace and mercy, (not the points of Election and reprobation, as there hath been a miſt caſt upon them by unſkillful Controverſers, whereas St. *Paul* had left them clear enough,) was that βάθος, Whoſe deeper conſideration did extort that pathetical ejaculation from him. *O the depth of the riches both*

both of the wiſdom and knowledge of God, how unſearchable are his Judgments and his ways paſt finding out, &c.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

That the manner of our Saviours Aſcenſion was more clearly fore-ſeen by Daniel *than by* David, *and moſt exactly fore-ſhadowed by matters of fact in Moſaical and other ſacred Hiſtories: A parallel between* Solomon's *Conſecration of the Temple, and our Saviours Conſecration, or ſanctifying of himſelf, and his Heavenly Sanctuary.*

WHether *David* did diſtinctly apprehend the manner of our Saviours Aſcenſion, and propagation of his Dominion over all things in Heaven and Earth, both which he did fore-tell and fore-ſhadow by matter of fact and ſervice done to the Ark; or whether he did at all fore-gueſs, or ſuſpect the turning of Gods heavy hand upon his Seed and *Jacob's* Seed according to the fleſh, is a point not altogether out of queſtion, were it fit to be inquired into. But (as hath been * obſerved heretofore) our belief or right apprehenſion of the truth of divine myſteries, doth not depend upon their knowledge or apprehenſion which did fore-tell or relate their prefigurations, but on the contrivance of divine, unerring, all-ſeeing providence, by whoſe inſpiration and ſecret inſtinct, both the Prophets and Evangeliſts did both ſpeak and write. But be the former doubt concerning *David*'s apprehenſion of theſe myſteries, waved or determined as it may be; this we know and may reſolve, whatſoever in the former *Pſalm* was fore-told or fore-ſhadowed by *David*, concerning the manner of our Saviours Aſcenſion or propagation of his Kingdom, was more clearly fore-ſeen by *Daniel*, and as punctually fore-ſhadowed by matter of fact in Moſaical Hiſtories: To begin with the teſtimony of *Daniel* which was meerly prophetical, a pure viſion. *And I beheld in viſions by night, behold one like the Son of Man, came in the Clouds of Heaven and approached unto the ancient of days, and they brought him before him. And he gave him Dominion, and honour, and a Kingdom; that all people, Nations, and Languages ſhould ſerve him, his Dominion is an everlaſting Dominion which ſhall never be taken away: and his Kingdom ſhall never be deſtroyed.* In that he ſaith he was like unto the Son of Man, this doth not import that he was not truly Man, or only like to Man, but that more glory was due unto him than to any meer Son of Man; and that he was the true Son of that ancient of days unto whom he was brought: And as our Apoſtle ſaith, *that being in the form of God, and equal unto God, yet he was found in the likeneſs and ſhape of man,* that is, as eſſentially like to Man as like to God. The Prophet deſcribes his preſentation to his Father, by the Angels and Cœleſtial Powers attending him, which our Evangeliſt relateth not, becauſe (haply) this could not be ſeen by waking and mortal eyes, but only by viſion or rapture of ſpirit. The ſame Prophet likewiſe deſcribes the manner of his Aſcenſion, as exactly as if he had been a waking ſpectator of it with the Apoſtles and Diſciples.

* *In the ſeventh Book.* Sect. 2. Chap. 16.

2. But to reſume the Prophets words: *Behold, ſaith the Prophet, one like the Son of man came in the clouds of Heaven, and approached unto the ancient of days.* He doth not ſay he was brought up in the clouds of Heaven, for the motion was his own: He was the agent or mover, as well as the party moved in this Aſcenſion. So the Evangeliſt ſaith, Acts 1. 9. *And when he had ſpoken theſe things, while they beheld he was taken up; for a cloud took him out of their ſight, and whilſt they looked ſtedfaſtly towards Heaven as he went; Behold two men ſtood by them in white apparel which alſo ſaid, ye men of* Galilee, *why ſtand ye gazing up into Heaven. Emphaſim habent verba hæc, videntibus illis:* It was remarkably ſaid that he was taken up, *his Diſciples looking on*; for this imports, as ſome of the Ancients obſerve, that Chriſt did aſcend by little and little, as it were by certain ſteps, that he might feed the eyes, and refreſh the Souls of his Diſciples. He was not *raught* up as *Elias* was, who had but one witneſs, nor as Saint *Paul*, who had no witneſs beſides himſelf, ſcarce himſelf a witneſs of his rapture, for whether he were taken up *in the body, or out of the body, God knows* (ſaith he) *I cannot tell.* But our Saviour went by the power of his omnipotency: he deſcended when he would, and when he would aſcended, appointing what ſpectators or witneſſes it pleaſed him, with the place, the time, the very day and hour.

3. As Saint *Luke*'s deſcription of our Saviour's Aſcenſion is a compleat explanation of *Daniel's* Viſion: ſo is *that viſion*, of the myſtical ſenſe of Moſaical or other Hiſtories, concerning the Ark or Tabernacle. For the unfolding of this point we are to take the fore-mentioned *prenotion* for our *rule*, to wit, that the Ark of the Covenant wherein God was ſaid to dwell, was but a Type or ſhadow of the humane nature of Chriſt, in which the Godhead dwelleth bodily, σωματικῶς, The other branch of this prenotion is as clear, that the Tabernacle which *Moſes* erected in the Wilderneſs, in which he placed the Ark, was but a petty model of that Cœleſtial Tabernacle into which Chriſt is entred, of which the Temple built by *Solomon* was ſomewhat a fairer draught; yet no more than a little map. Now immediately after *Moſes* had finiſhed the work of the Tabernacle, *A Cloud covered the Tent of the Congregation, and the glory of the Lord filled the Tabernacle*, Exod. 40. ver. 34. &c. *More expreſly*, Numb. 9. v. 15. *And on the day that the Tabernacle was reared up, a cloud covered the Tabernacle, namely the Tent of the Teſtimony; and at even there was upon the Tabernacle, as it were, the appearance of fire until the morning.* The moſt memorable hiſtory to this purpoſe is, 1 *Kings* 1. ver. *When* Solomon *had aſſembled all the Elders of* Iſrael, *and heads of the Tribes, to bring up the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord out of the City of* David *to the Temple*, ver. 1. *And it came to paſs when the Prieſts were gone out of the Holy place, that the cloud filled the houſe of the Lord; ſo that the Prieſts could not ſtand to miniſter becauſe of the cloud; for the glory of the Lord had filled the houſe of the Lord*, ver. 11. The Son of God, in whoſe *breaſt* as he is the Son of *David*, the Covenant made with mankind is regiſtred moſt exactly, and kept ſafer than the Tables of the firſt Covenant were in the Ark when it was brought into the Temple, had his Throne and Sanctuary prepared of old, or to uſe our Apoſtle's dialect, *non erat hujus ſtructuræ*, they were not Thrones or Sanctuaries made with hands; yet to be Conſecrated by the blood of our High Prieſt; and being thus prepared, *A cloud did cover this living Ark of God and High Prieſt*, upon the day that he was to enter

into the holy place: After the cloud took him from his Diſciples ſight, he filled the everlaſting Tabernacle with his Glory, being more reverently adored by all the Hoſt of Heaven, than he had been either by *Solomon*, or the Elders of *Iſrael*, when they brought the Ark of his Covenant into the Temple, or by his Apoſtles after his Reſurrection.

4. At the ſame time wherein the Ark was brought by the Prieſt into the moſt holy place; *Solomon* kneeling before the Altar of the Lord, firſt Bleſſed God, and Conſecrated the Temple by that Divine Prayer never to be forgotten by good Chriſtians. And as ſoon as he had ended his Prayer, he roſe up, and bleſſed the Congregation of *Iſrael* with a loud voice, ſaying, *Bleſſed be the Lord that hath given reſt unto his people* Iſrael, *according to all that he promiſed; there hath not failed one word of all his good promiſes which he promiſed by the hand of* Moſes *his ſervant*, 1 Kings 8. ver. 56. *&c.* His Prayers to God and Bleſſing of the people, are more than parallel'd by our Saviours Prayers for his own Conſecration, and the Spiritual Bleſſings thence to be derived upon his Apoſtles, *John* 4. 14. *&c.* One part of *Solomons* Prayer when he Bleſſed the people was this; *Let theſe my words wherewith I have made ſupplication before the Lord, be nigh unto the Lord our God day and night, that he maintain the cauſe of his ſervant, and the cauſe of his people* Iſrael *at all times, as the matter ſhall require*, ver. 49. *That all the people of the earth may know that the Lord is God, and that there is none elſe*, ver. 6. This part is rather accompliſhed than parallel'd by our Saviour, *John* 17. *I pray for them, I pray not for the world, but for them which thou haſt given me, for they are thine*, ver. 9. *And for their ſakes I ſanctifie my ſelf, that they alſo might be ſanctified through the truth. Neither pray I for theſe alone, but for them alſo which ſhall believe on me through their word; that they all may be one, as thou Father art in me, and I in thee, that they alſo may be one in us: That the world may believe that thou haſt ſent me*, ver. 19. 20, 21.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Into what place or part of Heaven our Saviour did aſcend, or in what manner he ſitteth at the right hand of God, are points not ſo fit to be particularly inquired after, nor ſo apt to be proved or determined by Scripture, as the other Articles of our Creed.

BUT however *He* whoſe prayers were always heard, did thus pray for his followers a little before his Agony and bloody Paſſion, and beſtow his ſolemn bleſſing upon them immediately after his Reſurrection and before his Aſcenſion: Yet the extraordinary Bleſſings which he prayed for and promiſed in his Fathers name, were not really conferred until he was actually enthronized; but ſhortly after *ſhowred* down in abundance upon his Apoſtles and thoſe that believed through their report. So he fore-told them when he was ready to aſcend. *Behold I ſend the promiſe of my Father upon you: But tarry ye in the City of* Jeruſalem *until ye be endued with power from on high*, Luke 24. 49. The exhibition of the bleſſings here promiſed was, *Acts* 2. ver. 32, 33, 34. *This Jeſus hath God raiſed up whereof we are all witneſſes. Therefore being by the right hand of God exalted, and having received of the Father the promiſe of the Holy Ghoſt, he hath ſhed forth this which ye now ſee and hear. For* David *is not aſcended into the Heavens; but he ſaith himſelf, the Lord ſaid unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand until I make thy foes thy footſtool.* When he ſaith *David is not aſcended into Heaven,* this muſt be underſtood of his Aſcenſion thither in body, and this *negative* he had ſtrongly proved before. But whether *David*'s Soul had aſcended, or was carried into Heaven before this time, this place doth neither warrant us to affirm or deny. *David*'s Soul, before this, was in a place of bliſs, in Heaven it ſelf, not *in limbo:* But whether in that Heaven, or that part of Heaven, into which our Saviour did now in body aſcend, is more queſtionable than determinable. Some good Writers with great probability, and equal modeſty affirm that Chriſt did now aſcend in body far higher than the manſions of bliſs appointed for the Saints, Prophets, Apoſtles, *&c.* or for Angels of the higheſt rank. And to this purpoſe is that of our Apoſtle alledged by them, *Epheſ.* 4. 10. *He that deſcended is the ſame alſo that aſcended up far above all Heavens, that he might fill all things;* and other like places wherein he is *ſaid to be exalted above all powers and principalities.* Some grave * Poſtillers or diſcreet Preachers would perſwade us, that Chriſt's Throne of Majeſty was pitched, *in luce inacceſſa,* in that region of light and bliſs which is inacceſſable to any meer creature man or Angel, as being reſerved for the peculiar manſion of the inviſible God and Father of lights, and for his Son both God and man enthronized as King and Prieſt on his right hand. But whether the exaltation of the Son of God unto the right hand of his Father far above all Powers, Dominions, and Principalities, do include a ſuperiority, not of ſoveraignty or dominion only, but withal of place according to local diſtance, or a ſupereminent Throne of Majeſty, if the *Lutheran* will not be too cholerick, or *Maldonates* aſſociates too cenſorious, may be in fitter place ſoberly debated.

* Amongſt others *Didacus Tanguas.*

2. But however the one or other of theſe may be affected, the beſt is, we need not be too curious in theſe points, eſpecially with men apt to quarrel about phraſes or expreſſions. Other Articles concerning Chriſt we are bound to believe diſtinctly and explicitely, according to the plain literal, or grammatical ſenſe of the words, wherein the Evangeliſts and Apoſtles have expreſſed them, without the vail of any Rhetorical trope or allegory. And ſtrange it is not, if our belief of other Articles, or knowledge of them be literally required; ſeeing the matter contained in them is ſenſible and comprehenſible to reaſon ſanctified by grace: As his conception; although it were wrought immediately by a ſupernatural cauſe; albeit the manner of it were miraculous: yet for ſubſtance it was *univocally* the ſame with our Conception: He was as truly and properly conceived as we are conceived: He was as truly made of the ſubſtance of his Mother, as we are made of the ſubſtance of our Parents; or as *Adam* was made of the Earth: He was as truly and as properly born as we are born: He was really and as properly Circumciſed as any other Child of *Abraham* was: He ſuffered truly and as properly as any man can ſuffer: he was as truly and as properly crucified dead & buried and roſe again, as any man ever was crucified dead and buried, or can riſe again. But for the place whither he aſcended, or for the manner of his ſitting at

the right hand of God, theſe cannot be ſo diſtinctly conceived by us, becauſe they are not in ſuch proper terms expreſt by the Holy Ghoſt, but are wrapt up in a vail of legal ſhadows or repreſentations. Concerning the place whither he aſcended, we know in general that it was a place of joy, of bliſs and glory; but which place the Apoſtle himſelf could not better repreſent unto us, than by the *ſanctum ſanctorum*, or the moſt holy place in the Tabernacle or Temple. *This hope we have* Heb. 6. 19. *as an anchor of the ſoul both ſure and ſtedfaſt, and which entreth within the vail, whither the forerunner is for us entred, made an High Prieſt for ever after the Order of* Melchiſedech. So St. *John* emblazons the glory of Chriſt by the Pontifical attire and Robes of *Aaron*, as likewiſe he doth the beauty of Chriſts Kingdom by the Feaſt of Tabernacles.

3. The beſt and ſafeſt means for conceiving aright, at leaſt for not conceiving amiſs, of theſe two Heavenly myſteries, is not by critical ſcanning the literal ſenſe or importance of the Prophets words in their deſcriptions of them, but by ſincere practice of thoſe known duties whereto our belief of theſe unknown myſteries bind us. The moſt general and neceſſary duty whereto we are bound by belief of our Saviours Reſurrection and Aſcenſion into Heaven, is that of our Apoſtle. *Coll.* 3. *ver.* 1, 2, 3, 4. *If ye then be riſen with Chriſt ſeek thoſe things which are above, where Chriſt ſitteth on the right hand of God. Set your affections on things above not on things on earth: For ye are dead and your life is hid with Chriſt in God. When Chriſt who is our life ſhall appear, then ſhall ye alſo appear with him in glory. Mortify therefore your members which are upon the earth, fornication, uncleanneſs, inordinate affection, evil concupiſcence and covetouſneſs which is idolatry, for which things ſake the wrath of God cometh on the Children of diſobedience.* But if theſe works of the fleſh be mortified by the ſpirit; the ſpirit of God, having gotten poſſeſſion of our hearts, doth organize them, and frame a true model of the Heavenly Sanctuary within our Breaſts, albeit we cannot expreſs our affectionate conceits, or experimental repreſentations unto others. Chriſt is preſent with us, or in us by this renovation of our mind, or by imprinting theſe Heavenly affections in our Souls, by following love, gentleneſs, meekneſs, temperance, patience, *&c.* Chriſt is really faſhioned in us, not by converting any ſubſtance into his ſubſtance, or by real converting his ſubſtance into ours, but by converſion of our earthly affections into the ſimilitude of his Heavenly affections: Our affections being thus converted, Chriſt hath his Throne and Habitation in our hearts, ſo anſwering to his Heavenly Throne, as the light of the Sun gathered in ſome round body apt to reflect his beams, or to be penetrated by them, doth reſemble the Sun which really penetrates and enlightens them. For effecting this real converſion of our affections into the ſimilitude of his affections, no other preſence of Chriſt is either neceſſary or expedient, beſides the preſence of his ſpirit, by which ten days after his Aſcenſion, he enabled his Diſciples to conceive aright of theſe Heavenly myſteries, and to convert others unto the truth of his Goſpel.

4. That Chriſts body ſhould deſcend from Heaven unto us, or be bodily preſent by tranſubſtantiation, or ſome other manner as ſome conceive, we have no reaſon to hope nor warrant to believe; to lift up our bodies unto Heaven we have no poſſibility; but to lift up our hearts and ſpirits unto our Lord now placed in his Heavenly

Throne, we have peremptory precepts many. But how ſhall we lift them up, or what power have we to lift them up? Not ſo much I confeſs as we have to caſt our ſelves down before his Throne, but caſting our ſelves down before him, which we cannot perform without his preventing and aſſiſting grace, *we have a ſure promiſe that he will lift us up.* We are no where to my remembrance commanded to pray to God that he would caſt us down, and yet bound to pray that he would give us grace to caſt our ſelves down. As often then as we meditate upon this Article of Chriſts Aſcenſion or ſitting at the right hand of God, let us beſeech God and him, that the Prieſts may truly exhort their charge, his people, *to lift up their hearts*, and that the people may as truly anſwer *we lift them up unto the Lord:* And that we may all jointly ſing that Hymn in reverence and true devotion, *With Angels and Arch-Angels, and with all the Company of Heaven we laud thy glorious name O Chriſt, evermore praiſing thee and ſaying, holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hoſts, Heaven and Earth are full of the Majeſty of thy Glory, Glory be to thee O Lord moſt high.* Amen.

CHAP. XL.

How the time of our Saviours Aſcenſion into Heaven, upon the fortieth day after his Reſurrection from the Grave, was prefigured by the ſign of the Prophet Jonas, *with the expoſition of that ſign given by our Saviour.* Mat. 12. 39, 40.

ONE thing more I ſhould have ſaid in the former Treatiſe, but now muſt commend it to the Reader's obſervation: And 'tis this, that many of thoſe Prophetical paſſages, ſpecially in the *Pſalms, of bringing great things to paſs by the right hand of the Lord*; have been, are, and ſhall be moſt punctually fulfill'd of, and in the Son of God incarnate, ſince he was placed at the right hand of God the Father. That his placing there includes an extraordinary eminency of power, more than hath been formerly manifeſted, the *Lutheran* I am ſure doth not, and I hope others cannot deny. Two ſpecial manifeſtations of the power of the right hand of God, were exhibited not long after his Aſcenſion. The firſt Spiritual, as the deſcending of the Holy Ghoſt from which time the Holy Catholick Church bare date, or began to be *in eſſe.* The other was the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and the diſperſion of the rejected relicks of *Abraham*'s Seed throughout the Nations.

2. The circumſtance of the time wherein he aſcended, which is the only point left to be diſcuſt, is plainly ſet down by the Evangeliſt St. *Luke. Act.* 13. The Queries upon it are two. The firſt, how it was prefigured: The ſecond, what it did portend.

3. For the reſolution of both theſe Queries, there can be no firmer ground than the explication of a ſacred Text uttered by our Saviour himſelf. *Math.* 12. *v.* 38, 39. *&c. Then certain of the Scribes and of the*

the Phariſees anſwered, ſaying, Maſter, we would ſee a ſign from thee. But he anſwered and ſaid to them, an evil and Adulterous Generation ſeeketh after a ſign, and there ſhall no ſign be given to it, but the ſign of the Prophet Jonas. *For as* Jonas *was three days and three nights in the Whales belly; ſo ſhall the ſon of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth.*

4. But yet for any help we have from moſt Interpreters, the explication of this Text is in it ſelf more difficult than moſt of the former alledged for our Saviour's Reſurrection and Aſcenſion. Who ſo will read, as many ancient or modern Expoſitors, as *Maldonat* had done, will haply ſubſcribe to his cenſure of ſuch as he hath read. So far was any of them from clearing this paſſage, that not one beſides *Hilarius* did in his judgment touch the principal difficulty contained in it. And he that ſhall read this learned Writer's Comments upon this place, will perhaps not condemn my * opinion of him delivered in former meditations. But my deſire is rather to explicate his and other Interpreters meaning, whom he diſlikes, than contradict them; and to rectifie the parallels intended by them between Types or Figures of the Old Teſtament and their accompliſhment in the New.

* Nunquam ineptè ſæpius acutè rarius exquiſitè.

5. The principal difficulties in our Saviour's parallel are; *Firſt*, what manner of ſign it was which the Adulterous Generation ſought for. The *Second*, To what purpoſe he gave them ſuch a ſign as they did not ſeek after. Our Saviour before, and his Diſciples after this time had given the Jews one and other many miraculous ſigns: How then doth he ſay that no ſign ſhall be given them, beſides the ſign of the Prophet *Jonas?* Some are of opinion that theſe Scribes and Phariſees deſired ſome ſuch glorious ſign from Heaven as *Elias* and *Samuel* had ſhewed, and that our Saviour ſhould put them off with ſuch an anſwer as the *Muſcovite* did a Neighbour Prince, who to pacifie his anger, had ſent him a curious Cœleſtial Globe; [*Tu mihi cœlum mittis redde terras de quibus contendimus*] The Scribes and Phariſees, as theſe Writers think, demand a ſign from the Heavens above, and our Saviour gave them one from the earth or waters below. But if they had demanded a ſign to prove his Divinity, as theſe Writers think: The ſign of *Elia*'s Aſcenſion had been more illuſtrious and effectual to this purpoſe. *Maldonat*'s reſolution of this difficulty is, that our Saviour ſpeaks not of a ſign to perſwade them as they ſought, but of a ſign to condemn them, and that our Saviour uſeth (as he doth in many other places quoted by this Author) an elegant ambiguity. That the men of *Nineveh's* repentance at *Jonas* Preaching, was an infallible Argument of theſe Jews future condemnation, or a ſign which left them altogether unexcuſable for not repenting after our Saviour's Reſurrection from the dead, no Chriſtian can deny. But whether this ſign was given them for their condemnation, rather than for confirming their belief, or for provoking them to repentance, we may well doubt; and *Maldonat*, if he had been conſtant to his poſitions elſewhere, muſt acknowledge the latter branch of this diviſion to have been more probable. His anſwer (though) to ſpeak the truth, brings us out of a blind by-path into a fairer way, which leads us directly to a labyrinth of diſputations, concerning the cauſe and manner of theſe Jews rejection, into which at this time I will not enter.

Vide Petrum Ramum in ſcholiis Mathematicis. lib. 1.

6. The true meaning of our Saviour's words conſidered with references unto former paſſages, I ſhould conceive to be, as if he had ſaid, "Albeit I have done ſuch works, as none but the Son of God "could have done amongſt you, ſuch as would have cheared *Abra-* "*ham*'s heart to have ſeen; yet this Adulterous Generation, or de- "generate kind of men which boaſt themſelves to be the Seed of "*Abraham*, demand a further ſign; but though I ſhould give them "all the ſigns poſſible in the Heavens above, or in the Earth beneath, "or in the water under the earth, there could be no ſign like to the "ſign of the Prophet *Jonas*. Go therefore and ſee what that means, "or expect the fulfilling of it by the event; otherwiſe the men of "*Nineveh* ſhall condemn you, for they repented at *Jonah*'s Preaching, "yet was the ſign which God had given them by his deliverance from "the Whale, no ſign in compariſon of that which I give unto you: So that our Saviour's words do not exclude all other ſigns either given by him, or by his Apoſtles, but only argues that no ſign for their inſtruction or future ſafety could be given in compariſon of this; ſo they would diligently enquire after the meaning of it. But ſeeing they did not, whom the meaning of this ænigmatical fore-warning did moſt, or in the firſt place (at leaſt) concern: Let us of this age, whom it much concerns to take inſtruction from their folly, as far as we are able, redeem their negligence in this particular enquiry.

7. When our Saviour ſaith, *As* Jonas *was three days and three nights*, &c. *ſo the Son of man.* This note of ſimilitude, ὥσπερ, according to the ordinary rate of ſpeech implies, that the Son of man ſhould be fully as long in the belly of the earth, as *Jonas* had been in the belly of the Whale. Now the time of *Jonas* durance there is ſo punctually expreſt, *Jon.* 1. [*Now the Lord had prepared a great Fiſh to ſwallow up* Jonah, *and* Jonah *was in the belly of the Fiſh three days and three nights*] that any ordinary Reader will conceive it ſhould contain three natural days, as from *Friday* in the morning, until the Sun-riſing, or dawning on *Munday*; or from *Friday* at night, until *Monday* at night, that is, the whole courſe of three natural days. But thus long it is evident our Saviour did not remain in the Grave: For he was interred on the ſixth day towards the Sun-ſetting, and roſe again the firſt day with the Sun, or a little before it; ſo that the longeſt time of his impriſonment in the Grave, was but ſo many hours as he had been weeks in the womb, thirty ſix, or thrice twelve in the one, and thirty ſix, or thrice twelve in the other. The difficulty propoſed then, whether as it concerns the time of *Jonas* his abode in the belly of the Whale, or of our Saviour's in the womb of the earth, cannot be clearly reſolved by that conſtruction which Lawyers ſometimes make, *in favorabilibus*, that is, for the greater part of three days; nor by that Synecdoche which we allow in ordinary caſes; as if a man would prove that his Friend had been in the City to attend the Court three days together; it would not be expected that he ſhould make *Affidavit*, to prove that he had been three whole days from morning to evening: It would ſuffice that he had been in the City ſome part of every one of the three days; or that he had attended the Court at competent hours in every one of the three days inſtanced in; as ſuppoſe *Wedneſday*, *Thurſday*, *Friday*. The true reaſon of all ſuch legal allowances of Synecdoches, as Grammarians and Rhetoricians term them, is grounded upon that unqueſtionable rule of Reaſon or Logick. *Ad veritatem indefinitæ propoſitionis adſtruendam*

dam ſufficit veritas unius vel alterius particularis. He that ſaith the *Athenians* were Learned men, is not bound to prove this univerſal, that all the *Athenians* were learned; it were enough to give pertinent inſtance in ſome few; for he that covenanteth to pay his day-labourer as his Neighbours do, is not bound to pay them as much as any of all his Neighbours do, if he make as juſt payment as any one or two of his good Neighbours do to their hirelings; this in legal conſtruction will acquit him from breach of Covenant; Now times and ſeaſons, days, weeks, and hours, have their univerſal or indefinite *extenſe* or limitations, as well as men, or other things numerable or meaſurable. That may be truly ſaid to be this days work which is done, or wrought upon any part of this day currant. And according to this Synecdoche or juſt allowance, our Saviour may in legal or logical conſtruction be truly ſaid to be in the womb of the earth three days and three nights; that is, in ſome part of *Friday*, all *Saturday*, and in ſome part of *Sunday*. But this Synecdoche will not either by legal or logical allowance reach unto three nights: that he was two entire nights in the Grave is, *de fide*, a point of Faith, but no point of Faith or probability that he ſhould be in the Grave any leaſt part of any third night.

8. May we not then believe that he was three days and three nights in the belly of the earth? By all means we muſt. *Maldonate* acutely diſcovers the original of others error, or rather of the difficulty which had perplext ſo many of the Ancients (who made it greater, than in his opinion it needed to have been) to be this, that they made their calculations according to the ſcale of other Nations or Languages, not by the Hebrew computation which doth not oppoſe day unto night, but take day and night for one natural day. His obſervation is true, and helps in part to ſalve the truth of the literal ſenſe, if he had given the true reaſon of this their account: But yet under correction, the inſtances which he brings from the Hebrew account of the faſting of *Moſes* and *Elias* (both which are expreſſed to have faſted 40 days and 40 nights) do rather prejudice than clear the true meaning of our Saviour's Prediction [*That he was to continue three days and three nights in the belly of the earth*] For certainly *Moſes* and *Elias*, and ſo our Saviour in the Wilderneſs did faſt as well forty nights as forty days, or forty natural days compleat, without any Synecdochical abatement either of one day or night; whereas from the three days and three nights wherein our Saviour foretold he was to continue in the womb of the earth; we muſt abate the one half of a natural day, beſides the ſpace of one hour, or one hour and an half at the moſt. This abatement being fully made, he did continue in propriety of ſacred dialect in the Grave, three days and three nights, if we would meaſure his Divine Prediction by the moſt Ancient and original ſcale of the Hebrew accompt which *Moſes* uſed throughout the Hiſtory of the Creation.

9. Briefly, the three days and three nights in the 12 of *Matthew*, are equivolent to three of thoſe evenings and mornings, which made up half of the ſix natural days wherein the World was created. The evening we know was in order of time before the morning, whence it is that the *Hebrews* begun their natural day from the veſpers or twilight; that which we call *Saturday* night; was to them the beginning of the firſt day of the week; our *Sunday* at night the begining of their ſecond; *Munday* at night of the third; *Tueſday* night

of their fourth; *Wedneſday* night of their fifth; *Thurſday* night of their ſixth; *Friday* night of their ſeventh day or Sabbath. *Moſes* in his deſcription of the ſix days of the Worlds Creation, gives the true hint for interpreting our Saviour's words as we have done, when he ſaid, *The evening and the morning were the firſt, ſecond, and the third day*, &c. For this is all one as if he had ſaid the Heaven and the Earth were created in ſix days and ſix nights; and albeit he made no mention of any evening or morning of the ſeventh day wherein God did reſt from his work: Yet may we not think but that day conſiſted of the ſame parts whereof the other ſix days did, only the viciſſitude of the evening and morning is omitted in the deſcription of that day, to repreſent the everlaſting Sabbath whereof it was a Type, wherein is no night; as the Genealogy of *Melchiſedech*, in reſpect of Predeceſſors or Succeſſors, is not mentioned by the ſame *Moſes*, becauſe the Holy Ghoſt, by whoſe direction he wrote, would have him brought in without Genealogy; becauſe he might reſemble the eternity of our High Prieſt the Son of God. From theſe premiſes we may ſafely conclude, that when our Saviour fore-told he ſhould be three days and three nights in the belly of the earth; this is all one as if he had ſaid, he ſhould be three evenings and mornings in the womb of the earth. The concluſion being granted, the former Synecdoche is in this caſe moſt allowable; for 'tis evident that our Saviour was interred in the ſixth evening and morning, that is, on *Friday*, which was the ſixth day of the week, according to the *Hebrews* accompt, before the ſetting of the Sun, or the evening following, which was the beginning of the ſeventh natural day or Sabbath; during all which as well the whole evening as the morning, he reſted in his Grave, at leaſt until the dawning of the firſt day; during whoſe evening or night preceding, he likewiſe reſted there. So that he was in the womb of the earth in part of the ſixth evening and morning, or ſixth night and day, and all the Sabbath as it conſiſts of night and day, and all the whole night ſucceeding the Sabbath, and part of the morning following, for he did not ariſe till after the break of day, or till the Sun begun to approach the Horizon.

10. This form of accompting the week by day and night, or by evening and morning, doth more lively character the ſucceſſion of times or viciſſitude of ſeaſons, than if we ſhould meaſure the ſame ſpace either by nights alone, or by days alone; as when *we* Engliſh deſcribe the ſpace of a compleat week by ſeven nights, or the ſpace of half a month by a fortnight, or of a year by three hundred, threeſcore, odd days, and minutes. But this by the way, the Reader may find more for his ſatisfaction in good Commentators upon theſe words of *Daniel*, Chap. 8. ver. 26. *And the Viſion of the evening, and the morning which was told, is true*, &c.

11. But to return unto my task, which is in the unfolding of our Saviours Prediction in the 12 of *Matthew*. That as many other Propheſies hath his peculiar myſtical ſenſe, whoſe explication muſt be grounded upon the former literal ſenſe, as it hath been now explain'd. For that he ſhould be interred in the Grave in part of the ſixth day, and there remain in the reſidue of it, and all the Sabbath or ſeventh day, and for a great part of the firſt day, or of the firſt evening and morning, wants not a peculiar, yea a triple myſtery. For the illuſtration whereof, it will not be amiſs to premiſe the ſweet harmony between the ſix days of the Worlds Creation; by the Conſecration,

Death and Paſſion of *Him* by whom it was firſt made. As there was a week of Creation which could not be fore-ſhadowed by any time precedent: So there was a ſolemn week appointed for Redemption fore-ſhadowed, partly by the week of Creation and Gods reſt from his works; partly by the week of *Aarons* Conſecration, and his accompliſhment of it upon the eighth day. To parallel the acts or works of every day, whether of the week of the firſt Creation, or of the week of *Aaron*'s Conſecration, with the like acts or works of *hebdomadæ ſanctæ*, or the week of mans Redemption by our Saviours Conſecration, would be a work more difficult to the undertaker, whether by Pen or Preaching, than profitable to the Auditor or Reader. It ſhall ſuffice me to exhibit the Evangelical *Cycle* from the firſt day of our Saviours Conſecration, which was the firſt day of the week following (taking the day as oppoſed to night or evening) or of the time interjacent betwixt the great Feaſt of the Paſſion, and the Pentecoſt following.

12. Upon the 1. day of that week wherein our Redemption was wrought, our Saviour came in triumphant manner into *Jeruſalem*, not only to fulfil the Propheſie of *Zachary* before * expounded at large, for that might have been fulfilled at any other time or day for its ſubſtance) but to teſtifie withal that he was the true Paſchal Lamb appointed for the Sacrifice of that great Feaſt, that Lamb of God which came to take away the ſins of the world. For upon that very day of the month *Abib*, were it the tenth or ninth, in which our Saviour came to *Jeruſalem*, ſaluted with *ecchoing* cries of *Hoſanna the Son of David*, was the legal Paſchal Lamb according to firſt inſtitution of the Paſover, brought out of the fields unto the place appointed for the publick Aſſembly, with greater pomp perhaps, and ſolemnity preſcribed by cuſtom, than was expreſly required in the Law. Upon the fifth day of this ſacred week, being (as I take it) the 14 of the month *Abib*, our Saviour being to be offered in Sacrifice at the time wherein the Paſchal Lamb was eaten by ſeveral Familes, did eat the Paſover with his Diſciples, and pre-occupated the uſual day for eating the Paſchal Lamb, upon neceſſity. In the night following, which was the evening of the ſixth day, he was apprehended and arraigned; in the morning of the ſame day condemned by the Jews, and upon their ſolicitation adjudged by *Pilate* to be Crucified, and executed by the Roman Souldiers. In the ſixth day, or which is all one, the ſixth evening and morning of the firſt week of times *ſucceſſion*; God is ſaid to have finiſhed the works of Creation by making the firſt man. In the ſixth day, or in the ſixth evening and morning of the week of our Saviours Conſecration, *He* by whom the world was made, did ſolemnly declare the work of our Redemption to be accompliſhed, in reſpect of any labour, work, or pains, to be further undertaken by him: For ſo far his ſolemn Proclamation upon the Croſs extends, *conſummatum eſt*. And ſo he went into his reſt upon the ſame day, about the ſame hour wherein God was ſaid to reſt from all his works of Creation; that is, in the cloſe of that day, a little before the evening of the ſeventh day or Sabbath.

* In the eight Book of theſe Comments. Chap. 18.

CHAP. XLI.

A Parallel between the day wherein Adam *is thought to have been caſt out of Paradiſe, with the day wherein our Saviour was Crucified: And between the firſt day of the Worlds Creation and our Saviours Reſurrection.*

THere is a tradition or rather a received opinion avouched by many good Authors in their ſeveral Writings, that *Adam* the firſt Man ſhould fall and forfeit his Eſtate in Paradiſe upon the ſame day wherein he was Created. The opinion it ſelf we cannot diſprove nor juſtly ſuſpect to be a meer conjecture, becauſe we know not what warrant the firſt or immediate Authors of this Doctrine had to commend it to Poſterity. But their language (I take it) is much miſtaken by ſome latter School-men; the firſt Authors meaning or expreſſion of it, muſt be limited or rather extended to the ſame ſenſe or conſtruction as hath been before * obſerved in the like words of *Daniel. Chap.* 7. That *Belſhazer* was ſlain in the ſame night wherein (after his carouſing in the bouls of the Sanctuary) the hand-writing was ſeen upon the Wall, or that other 2. of *Kings*, that *Senacherib*'s mighty Army was diſcomfitted upon the night immediately following that day, wherein he ſent that blaſphemous meſſage unto *Hezekiah*, or the day wherein *Iſaiah*, returned his meſſage to the good King. In both places the ſame night cannot be underſtood of the ſelf ſame natural day and night, but of the ſame night or day, after the revolution of one year or more. In like manner the firſt man, according to the tenor of the former received opinion, did fall upon the ſame day wherein he was Created, yet not upon the ſame day numerically, individually, or identically taken, but upon the ſame day after the revolution of a week at leaſt or more, that is upon the ſixth day, and thruſt out of Paradiſe before the Sabbath enſuing, for his ſtealth or preſumptuous uſurpation of the forbidden fruit. Upon the ſame day after revolution of many years, the Son of God, or ſecond *Adam*, now conſecrated to be a quickning ſpirit, did reſtore the Sons of the firſt *Adam* to their Inheritance which their Father had loſt, by giving a true natural Son of the firſt *Adam*, a Thief by practice, *liverie de ſezin*, or actual poſſeſſion of the Cœleſtial Paradiſe. The bequeſt or legacy was punctual and ſolemn. *Amen dico tibi hodie mecum eris in Paradiſo, Verily I ſay unto thee this day ſhalt thou be with me in Paradiſe.* Upon the ſixth day of the firſt Week, or Week of Creation, or viciſſitude of times, *Adam*'s body was taken out of the ſubſtance of the earth: Upon the ſame ſixth day was the body of the ſecond *Adam* the Son of God, ſhut up into the bowels of the earth after he had commended his ſpirit into his Fathers hands which had given it him. That temporal curſe denounced againſt the firſt *Adam* [*In the day wherein thou eateſt thou ſhalt die the death*] was exactly now fulfilled in the ſecond *Adam*. For in the ſixth day of the week of his Conſecration he died the death of the Croſs, and was delivered to the earth whence the firſt man was taken; only he was not to be reſolved to duſt, but reſted there without corruption. For as God had reſted the Seventh day from his works of Creation though not of Preſervation; ſo the Son

* *In the ſixth Book upon the Apoſtles Creed.*

* Chap. 19. v. 35. *And it came to paſs that night, that the Angel of the Lord went forth and ſmote* &c.

Son of God was to reſt from all his labour or toil upon the ſeventh day of the week of his Conſecration, not only to bleſs and ſanctify that day and make it his own, but withal to hallow the Grave or the Womb of the Earth (whence all fleſh was taken, and by the courſe of nature muſt return) by his ſweet reſt and preſence in it. So ſaith St. *John. I heard a voice from Heaven ſaying, Bleſſed are the dead which hereafter die in the Lord, even ſo ſaith the ſpirit, for they reſt from their labours and their works follow them. Rev.* 14. *ver.* 13. Their ſleep or quiet reſt in the Grave thus hallowed by our Saviours Death and reſt in it, becomes the Evenings or Veſpers of their everlaſting Sabbath.

2. The night immediately following the legal Sabbath wherein our Saviour did reſt from all his Labours, was part of the firſt Evening and Morning, or of the firſt natural day of the Week: His Reſurrection upon that day, and at that time of the day, and at that ſeaſon, implieth a two-fold myſtery, or the accompliſhment of two remarkable divine Oracles: Firſt, that of *Gen. Chap.* 1. *ver.* 1, 2. *In the beginning God Created the Heaven and the Earth, and the Earth was without form and void, and darkneſs was upon the deep.* The darkneſs made the Evening, and the ſeperation of the light from darkneſs made the Morning of the firſt natural day. *God* (ſaith *Moſes*) *divided the light from the darkneſs, and called the light day, and the darkneſs he called night, and the Evening and the Morning were the firſt day.* As was the condition of this viſible World or formleſs Earth, before the Creation of light, or the diviſion betwixt it and darkneſs, ſuch altogether was the condition or ſtate of the intellectual World before it was new made or redeemed by the Son of God. The corrupted Maſs of Mankind was overſpread with darkneſs, and covered with the Mantle of Death, but this long darkneſs became more palpable than that of *Egypt*, during the time of the Son of Gods ſurprizal, and his incloſure in the Region of Death. Theſe were the hours wherein it was permitted the powers of darkneſs to domineer, but theſe powers were conquered, and the darkneſs diſpelled by his Reſurrection from Death, which was on the ſame day, and at the ſame hour, wherein God the Father by him did firſt divide darkneſs from light. From this hour of his Reſurrection, the night is gone and the day is come, as many as believe in him raiſed from Death, and adore the Son of Righteouſneſs, who as the Apoſtle ſaith, *having aboliſhed death, brought life and immortality to light, they are the Sons of God, Heirs of Glory; but ſuch as love darkneſs more than the light of his Goſpel, they muſt remain the Sons of darkneſs and of death.* All this and more, is implied in the circumſtance of the time and place which the day and hour of his Reſurrection had in that holy Week, being the firſt hour of the firſt day. The other myſtery is implied in the circumſtance of the time and place which the day of his Reſurrection held in that ſolemn Feaſt of unleavened bread. *2. Tim.* 1. 10.

3. So it fell out by the ſweet diſpoſition of Gods ſpecial Providence, that the day of our Saviours Reſurrection, ſhould for that year fall upon the ſecond day of the Feaſt of unleavened bread, or the morrow after the Sabbath of that great ſolemnity. Now on that preciſe day the *Iſraelites* were peremptorily bound by a ſtrict Law to offer up the firſt fruits, as ears and blades of Corn unto the Lord, *Lev.* 23. 10, 11. *When ye be come into the Land which I give unto you, and ſhall reap the Harveſt thereof, then ye ſhall bring a ſheaf of the firſt*

firſt fruits of your Harveſt unto the Prieſt, and he ſhall wave the ſheaf before the Lord to be accepted for you; on the morrow after the Sabbath the Prieſt ſhall wave it. From this peculiar reference or parallel of the circumſtance of time between the day of our Saviours Reſurrection, and the day appointed for this legal Feaſt of offering the Ears of Corn, The analogy or parallel between the Type and the ſubſtance is thus: As the uſe of the Corn was not allowable to the people, until ſome ears or blades of the ſame kind were offered up in Sacrifice by the Prieſt unto the Lord: So neither could the Seed of *Adam* or of *Abraham*, or of any man elſe (*ſeeing all had been ſowen in corruption*) be either holy or acceptable to the Lord, or partakers of his Table or preſence, or put on incorruption, until the High Prieſt of our Souls the Son of God had offered a Sacrifice of the ſame kind, to wit, a body ſubject to like mortality as ours are until it was conſecrated to glory and immortality by the ſufferings of Death.

4. All were ſanctified, all were reconciled to God by this one oblation of himſelf as the firſt fruits of them that ſleep. Yet even ſuch as were upon the day of his Reſurrection really ſanctified, and actually reconciled unto God, (the very Apoſtles themſelves,) were not made up or wrought into one body, or loaf till fifty days after, not until that very day wherein the new reaped Corn made into Bread, was ſolemnly offered and preſented to the Lord. *Lev.* 23. 15, 16, 17. *And ye ſhall count unto you from the morrow after the Sabbath, from the day that ye brought the ſheaf of the wave offering, ſeven days ſhall be compleat, even unto the morrow after the ſeventh Sabbath, ſhall ye number fifty days, and ye ſhall offer a new meat offering unto the Lord, ye ſhall bring out of your habitations two wave-loaves of two tenth deals; they ſhall be of fine flour, they ſhall be baken with leaven, they are the firſt fruits unto the Lord.* The one Holy Catholick Church, and Communion of Saints which we profeſs in our Creed, did not begin to be *in eſſe* (as by Gods help it ſhall appear hereafter,) or bear true life, until the effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt; which is the Soul of the one Holy Catholick Church, or of the myſtical Body of Chriſt: And that was upon the fiftieth day incluſively from the day whereon the ears of Corn, or ſheaf of blades was offered unto the Lord. On that fiftieth day the Holy Church received the firſt fruits of the ſpirit, it being likewiſe another ſolemn day appointed for the legal offering up of the firſt fruits.

4. Thus much of the accompliſhment of the Type of *Jonas*, his impriſonment in the belly of the Whale, and of the myſteries contained in thoſe three ſpecial days and nights, or evenings and mornings wherein our Saviour was in the Womb of the earth, and the time of his riſing again. But the two former Queries. Firſt, what our Saviour abode forty days on the Earth from his Reſurrection to his Aſcenſion, or which is all one, what the ſign of *Jonas* did portend to this evil and adulterous Generation of the Jews. Secondly, how the ſpace of his forty days abode upon the Earth after his Reſurrection was prefigured; are points worth the diſcuſſion, and for ought I know will make the fitteſt Period of this long work concerning the Knowledge of Chriſt and him Crucified.

CHAP. XLII.

That the ſentence proclaimed againſt Nineveh *by the Prophet* Jonas, *was in a full meaſure executed upon the adulterous Generation of the* Jews; *not believing or repenting at our Saviours preaching.*

THat a ſtate ſo ſtrong and mighty as *Niniveh* was then, when *Jonas* was ſent unto it, ſhould upon theſe or the like brief Summons of a foreigner [*Yet forty days and* Niniveh *ſhall be deſtroyed*] be ſo deeply ſtricken on a ſudden with extream fear of death and ruine: Or that a Court ſo diſſolute, luxurious, and proud as that Court was, ſhould ſo readily change their ſoft rayment into Sackcloth, and laying aſide their perfumes and ſweet Odours, as the Text ſaith the King himſelf did, may well ſeem a greater wonder to a Reader *qui ad pauca reſpicit*, than God almoſt at any time had wrought in *Iſrael:* But the ſtrangeneſs of the ſudden change perſwades, or rather aſſures me, or any diligent Reader, that the conſtant fame of *Jonas*, his miraculous deliverance or eſcape out of the Whales belly, had come before him into *Niniveh*, and made way for the efficacy of his preaching or due entertainment of his Embaſſage. And as *Naaman* the *Syrian* from the experiment of his ſtrange recovery of his health, brake forth into that acknowledgment, *Now I know there is no God in all the World except in* Iſrael: So theſe *Ninivites* did collect, that he who had delivered *Jonas* from the danger whereinto he had caſt him, was able to kill and to give life to whom he pleaſed: And as they dread his anger for tranſgreſſions paſt, ſo they conceive hope of mercy upon their true repentance and amendment: But however, it was not ſo ſtrange that *Niniveh* upon *Jonas* ſummons ſhould ſo quickly repent, as wondrous that the Jewiſh Nations ſhould not repent after this ſign of the Prophet *Jonas* was ſo peremptorily and punctually given them by him that was far greater than *Jonas*, *by a Prophet of their own*, according to their apprehenſion in their calmer thoughts, *mighty in word and in deed.* The ſpecial points wherein the *Ninivites* condemn this preſent Generation of Scribes and Phariſees are, firſt their unpartial diligence in examining the truth of the miracle wrought on *Jonas*. Secondly, their readineſs upon teſtification of it, to believe Gods Judgments and his Mercies; of which the one did impel or drive, the other gently lead or draw them to repentance.

2. But that which the Apoſtle ſaith of the Jews in general, was remarkably true of this evil and adulterous Generation in this particular. They had moſt grievouſly diſpleaſed God, by putting his only Son to moſt cruel Death, and after they had thus grievouſly diſpleaſed God, they became contrary to all men, to the moſt grievous ſinners of other Nations; and in ſpecial to theſe *Ninivites* which muſt riſe or ſtand up in Judgment againſt them. The *Ninivites* upon *Jonas* his preaching or embaſſage, being uſhered or countenanced by the fame of his miraculous deliverance, repented in Sackcloth and Aſhes. To have repented in a more ample, more deep, or better

manner than the *Ninivites* did, this preſent Generation of the Jews had motives many, all in themſelves, or abſolutely more forcible than theſe Heathens had. Firſt, to ſearch more unpartially after the truth of that great miracle wrought by and upon our Saviour Chriſt, being fore-ſhadowed by the deliverance of the Prophet *Jonas:* He who was much greater and had been in greater danger than *Jonas* was, fore-told them almoſt in the beginning of his prophetical function, when he ſaid unto them, deſiring of him a ſign why he did thoſe things, he gave them this ſign. *Joh.* 2. 19. *Deſtroy this Temple and in three days I will raiſe it up.* But this was a kind of riddle unto them, and ſo it was to his Diſciples till after his Reſurrection, for he meant it of the Temple of his body: But this riddle or ænigmatical prediction, he vouchſafed at this time to explicate or unfold, not to the vulgar or common ſort of people, but unto the Scribes and Phariſees, who were the moſt curious Criticks or Cavaliſts of the Law and Prophets, and of the Ceremonies, Types or Shadows contained in them, provoking or inviting them withal by this Preamble, [*There ſhall no ſign be given to it but the ſign of the Prophet* Jonas] diligently to obſerve the parallel between the Type or Shadow exhibited in the Prophet *Jonas*, and the body or antitype to be exactly accompliſhed in himſelf. Some at leaſt of the Scribes, of the Phariſees and Elders, ſaw him die or lingering in the pains of death upon the Croſs: All or moſt of them, and of this adulterous Generation, had the manner of his Death both for circumſtance and ſubſtance, teſtified unto them by authentical witneſſes. And to prevent all poſſible occaſions of falſe rumors or impoſtures which might be procured or attempted by his followers, they provided a band of Souldiers to watch or guard his Corps in the Sepulchre, during the time prefixed by him for his Reſurrection. All this notwithſtanding, he who commanded the Whale to reſtore the Prophet *Jonas* whom ſhe had ſwallowed up in the Sea, did now command the Earth or hard Rock wherein our Saviours Sepulchre was made, to yield up this her Priſoner within three days and three nights after his burial; within the time limited and prefigured by *Jonas* his impriſonment in the fiſhes belly; and to yield him up not unto the Earth or Sea, but unto Heaven whence he deſcended. The Sea was his and he prepared the dry land, both Sea and Land, and all that are in them and upon them, were abſolutely and equally at his command and diſpoſal, and ſo was the Heaven of Heavens it ſelf. *The earth now trembled at his rebuke*, and men of War were affrighted at the ſight or preſence of his Heavenly Meſſengers: If theſe Roman Souldiers or all their Legions had offered the leaſt reſiſtance to his perſon or to his Reſurrection, theſe Heavenly Souldiers would have fought for him and for his Kingdom, which now began to be propagated through the World, though it was told the Roman Deputy it was not of this World.

And for fear of him the Keepers did ſhake and became as dead men. Mat. 28. 4.

3. All the circumſtances which beſides theſe mentioned might be alledged, were they put together and preſſed home, might well occaſion an half Chriſtian, or diligent Reader, or unpartial obſerver of times and circumſtances, rather to ſuſpect the truth of the Evangelical ſtory, than fully perſwade him that it were poſſible, either for the Jews to attempt the ſubornation of the Roman Souldiers to teſtifie ſo groſs an untruth as they did, or for them to yield upon

any terms to ſo foul a Temptation. But whether we reſolve this ſpirit of contradiction in theſe Jews unto their own unrelenting ſpleen and malice, or unto divine infatuation, or reſpectively unto both; it would be a task more eaſie than ſafe to parallel their ſtupidity and ſubtle diſpoſition with the like or worſe blindneſs in many, which verily believe the truth of our Saviour's Reſurrection, with the circumſtances, and would be very ready to confirm their belief of it, and moſt particular points of Faith with their blood. For the light and evidence of Divine Truth can hardly ſuffer a total eclipſe in any man profeſſing Chriſtanity, no, not in men of ſpleen-bittten brains; yet many fearful partial eclipſes it ſuffers in theſe men, in reſpect of the particulars at which their ſpleen doth ariſe or interpoſe its diſmal ſhade, whilſt they are maintained or illuſtrated by others, whoſe good parts they envy, or whoſe perſons they hate; but of this Argument much hath been ſpoken before in other Meditations, and more, if God permit, may be added in a Treatiſe promiſed, as the Reader may obſerve in the Preface prefixed to the firſt two Books of theſe Commentaries.

4. But for the *Jews*, which upon the ſight or uncontrolable fame of our Saviours Miracle had traduced him for a conjurer or ſorcerer; it was no new wonder in them,either not themſelves to believe, or to perſwade the Roman Souldiers (being firſt half blinded with bribes) to believe or ſuſpect that his Diſciples might uſe ſome means more than commendable Arts or natural Skill could afford them, either for aſtoniſhing or deluding their ſenſes, or ſurpriſing their wits. However, this of the Prophet *Jonas* being the laſt ſign or forewarning which this evil Generation was to expect from our Saviour, the conſequence of their non-obſervance, or not repenting after the exhibition of it, was moſt contrary to this exemplary pattern of the *Ninivite*'s obſervance of *Jonas* embaſſage, by turning to the Lord in ſackcloth and aſhes. *Judah* was now become more contrary to our God, than either her Siſter *Samaria*, or than *Aſſyria* or *Nineveh* had been; and Gods ways became more contrary unto her, and to her Children. The *Ninivites* repenting within the forty days limited for this purpoſe, God repealed the ſentence which he had pronounced againſt them, although *Jonas*, who proclaimed it, did murmur or grumble at it. For he expected that the Lord, whoſe mouth and meſſenger he was, ſhould at the forty days end declare him to be a true Prophet by putting his ſentence in execution: The Son of God expects as long for the repentance of theſe Jews, which doubtleſs would have pleas'd him much better than their deſtruction: But ſeeing they would not repent within the forty days, between his Reſurrection and Aſcenſion, the ſentence proclaimed by *Jonas* againſt *Niniveh*, proceeds in fulleſt meaſure againſt this wicked and adulterous Generation, or degenerate Seed of *Abraham*.

5. But ſhall we be concluded from theſe premiſes, to ſay that *Jeruſalem* and *Judah* were deſtroyed immediataly upon our Saviours Aſcenſion? No: but this we may ſafely ſay, that from the day of his Aſcenſion, which was the fortieth day after his Reſurrection, both the City and Nation did, *ipſo facto & jure*, incur the ſentence of woe denounced againſt *Niniveh* by *Jonas*. And we may further add, that the deſtruction both of City and Temple, the deſolation

lation of *Judæa*, and miſerable diſperſion of the Jews throughout the Nations, became more neceſſary and more inevitable, than heretofore they had been; not for the indefinite ſubſtance only of the woe denounced, but the very meaſure of their miſery did daily by the like neceſſity, increaſe both for intenſive decrees and for extenſion, eſpecially in reſpect of the number of perſons which did incur the ſentence or decree pronounced againſt them, and of the time or durance of the matter of woe denounced in it. Yet were none of theſe neceſſary, but by their continuance in their Fore-fathers ſins, and by not repenting of them, and by the daily increaſe of their own and their Childrens ſins.

6. During the time of theſe forty years after our Saviours Aſcenſion, the City and State had a poſſibility of being freed, *à tanto*, though not *à toto*; though not ſimply from deſtruction, yet from ſuch fearful deſolation as afterwards befel them. But continuing as impenitent all theſe forty years, as they had done for the forty days before his Aſcenſion; the ſentence within forty years after his Reſurrection, began to be put in execution, according to the ſtrict tenor of our Saviours Prediction, *Luke* 19. 41, 42, 43, 44. During the time of theſe forty days, Gods Judgments did lay ſiege againſt *Jeruſalem*; but the Son of man, Chriſt Jeſus, yet converſing as man here upon earth, did bear off the puniſhments due to their iniquity, as *Ezechiel* intitled, and in Type the Son of man had before prefigured, *Chapter* 4. 6. *Thou ſhalt bear the iniquity of the houſe of* Judah *forty days, I have appointed thee each day for a year.* See *verſe* 1. 2. And thus at the end of forty years after our Saviours Reſurrection, (allotting a year for every day of his abode on earth) the City and Temple were deſtroyed. This Calender of a day for a year, was no new or uncouth account to this people, either in the days of *Ezechiel*, or at the time of our Saviours Aſcenſion; it was a Calender of Gods own making, as we may read, *Numb.* 14. 33, 34. *Your Children ſhall wander in the Wilderneſs forty years, and bear your whoredoms until your Carcaſes be waſted in the Wilderneſs, after the number of the days in which ye ſearched the land, even forty days (each day for a year) ſhall ye bear your iniquities, even forty years, and ye ſhall know my breach of promiſe. I the Lord have ſaid it, I will ſurely do it unto all this evil Congregation that are gathered together againſt me in this Wilderneſs, they ſhall be conſumed, and there they ſhall dye.* The people were gathered againſt God, when they were gathered againſt *Joſhuah* and *Caleb*, and bad ſtone them with ſtones, *verſe* 10. And the Glory of the Lord which then appeared in the Tabernacle of the Congregation before all the Children of *Iſrael*, had now more perſonally and viſibly appeared in the man Chriſt Jeſus, and yet how oft were they ready to ſtone him to death? The former people for their rebellion were to die in the Wilderneſs without hope of ſeeing the promiſed land.

7. For the rebellion of this latter Generation (ſpecially after the Glory of God was now revealed by his Reſurrection) *Jeruſalem* according to *Micah*'s Propheſie *was to become an heap of ſtones, and* Sion, *the beauty of the whole Nation, was to be plowed like a field, and the mountain of the houſe, which was the glory of* Sion, *was to become as the high places of the Foreſt, a more ghaſtly Wilderneſs than that*

wherein their Fathers wandred. The cauſe of Gods plague denounced, *Numbers* 14. was that Generations credulity to believe the report of the other Spies concerning the land of *Canaan*, contrary to the good report which *Caleb* and *Joſhuah* had made of it. And the cauſe why this Generation were to dye of a more fearful plague in *Jeruſalem*, and why *Jeruſalem* was to become *an heap*, was their diſtruſt unto the promiſe concerning the Kingdom of Heaven, (whereof the land of *Canaan*, in her higheſt proſperity, was but a map) avouched by *John Baptiſt* the Preacher of Repentance, and by Jeſus the Son of *David*, which had viewed it, and preſented the fruits of it unto them. And for this their diſtruſt, as their Fathers had wandred forty years in the Wilderneſs, and never admitted to the land of *Canaan*; ſo this rebellious Generation had forty years time before they were caſt out of the earthly *Jeruſalem*, never to be admitted into new *Jeruſalem* which came down from Heaven.

CHAP. XLIII.

That place of Zachary, Chap. 14. ver. 3. *expounded, ſhewing that God did fight with the Gentiles againſt the Jews, as formerly he had done with the Jews againſt the Gentiles. How the forty days of Chriſt's abode upon earth after his Reſurrection was fore-told.*

THIS wrath of God againſt *Jeruſalem*, was fore-told by the Prophet *Zachary*, Chap. 14. ver. 1, 2, 4. *Behold the day of the Lord cometh* (ſaith the Prophet) *and the ſpoil ſhall be divided in the midſt of thee*; that is, her enemies ſhould not come againſt her, as *rievers* or *boothalers*, which dare not ſtay to divide the ſpoil where they catch it, but as full Conquerours, as it followeth. *ver.* 2. *For I will gather all Nations againſt* Jeruſalem *to battel, and the City ſhall be taken, and the houſe rifled, and the women raviſhed*, &c. The contexture of this Chapter (as the moſt Learned Commentators upon it do confeſs) is very perplext, and yet in my opinion made ſo, partly by the ſomnolency of Tranſlators, and incogitancy of Interpreters, or paraphraſtical Expoſitors of it. Leaving the diſcuſſion of moſt particulars in it, unto the learned Criticks, or ſacred Philologers; I ſhall endeavour to unfold one perplexity, or knot, which hath been rather drawn cloſer, or caſt harder by moſt modern Interpreters than *Euſebius*, or the Ancient Greek Writers did leave it. The knot or rub is in *ver.* 3. [*Then ſhall the Lord go forth and fight*, בגוים *amongſt, or in the midſt of the Nations*] and ariſeth from the ambiguous or various importance of the Hebrew Particle or Prepoſition *Beth*, which in compoſition admits as great a multiplicity of oppoſite or contrary ſenſes, as the Latine prepoſition *in*, or the Greek particle *alpha* doth, both which are ſometimes *Privative*, or purely negative, ſometimes vehemently *Affirmative*: as in that or other like ſpeech, *quod dixi indictum volo*; the word *indictum* is a meer negative and equivalent to *non dictum*, and implies a revoking or repealing of what was ſaid; otherwhile the ſame *indictum* implies a peremptory declaration or denunciation, be it of war or controverſie, *&c.* The Greek *Alpha* admits more variety, ſometimes it is ϛερητικὸν, a *Privative* or pure negative, as τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἄδωρα δῶρα gifts no gifts; ſometime ἐπιτατικὸν, an *Augmentative*, as ἄξυλος ὕλη, a very thick wood, or a wood full of trees, ſometimes again more than ſo, an *augmentative or intenſive implication* of the contrary, or that which it ſeems to deny; as ὁ ἄνομος, is not only a lawleſs man, or one that knows not the Law, but one extremely oppoſite to all good Laws; the Epitheton or Synonymum to ὁ ἀντίχριστος the greateſt enemy of Chriſt or of his Laws. The Hebrew Particle or Prepoſition ב ſometimes equivalent to על contrary, or againſt; ſometimes no more than *cum*, *in intra*, or *infra*, within, or amongſt, as in that ſpeech of *Balaam*, *Numb.* 23. ver. 23. *There is no enchantment* [*bejacob*] moſt now render it *againſt Iſrael*, though ſome heretofore have rendred it, *There is no enchantment to be found in Iſrael.* The ſenſe in the vulgar Latine is ambiguous, becauſe it is uncertain whether *Iſrael* be the accuſative or ablative caſe; if the accuſative, as ſome expreſs it, *in Iſraelem*, it may be as much according to the Author of the vulgar Latines meaning, as *adverſus Iſraelem*, againſt *Iſrael*, which is the moſt probable ſenſe of that place. However, the moſt uſual ſignification of the ſame Particle is no more than the Latine *in*, or *intra*, or other variations of it, according to the nature of the ſubject wherein it is uſed. The like variation of the Hebrew *beth*, eſpecially when it is prefixed to the Infinitive mood, ariſeth from the different parts of time unto which it refers; as in the title of the third *Pſalm*, intitled unto *David*, בברחו מפני אבשלום -- that is, *verbatim in ipſo fugere, vel fugiendo*, or *dum fugeret*, in his flying or in his flight, or, as our Engliſh renders it, when he fled from his Son *Abſolon*. But in that petition of *Naaman* the *Syrian*, for abſolution from the Lord (unto whoſe ſervice he tyed himſelf by vow, by the mouth of his Prophet) the ſame Particle, though a prefix to the Infinitive mood, hath another aſpect, neither to the time preſent or future, but to the time paſt; *In this thing the Lord pardon thy ſervant beboa* Adoni, not *when my Maſter goeth*, but in that, *when my Maſter hath gone into the houſe of* Rimmon, *he hath leaned on my hand, and I have bowed my ſelf in the houſe of* Rimmon, that is, I worſhipped in the houſe of *Rimmon, the Lord pardon thy ſervant in this thing.* That this was a ſupplication for ſins paſt, not a diſpenſation for doing the like, is apparent from the Prophets anſwer unto it, *go in peace*, which was the ſolemn form of abſolution uſed by the Ancient *Hebrews*, and by our Saviour himſelf. When the ſame particle *beth* denotes a place or perſon, it is equivolent to the Latine Adverb *intus*, or *in*, as *bemidber* is no more than *in*, or *within* the wilderneſs. And ſo to truſt *Baihovah* or *Laihovah*, is no more nor leſs than to truſt in the Lord. The ſame particle *beth* in many other places is equivalent to the particle *le*, and in this ſenſe it muſt, both from the neceſſity of the matter, and from circumſtances precedent and conſequent be taken in this 3 *verſe*. I will fight *in*, or *amongſt*, not *againſt* theſe Nations.

2. As in the place of the Pſalmiſt, *Pſalm* 74. ver. 14. *Thou haſt broken the head of* Leviathan *in pieces, and gaveſt him to be meat to the*

the people לציים *in the Wilderneſs.* The ſame particle *le* is much as *in* or *within*, for by the people in the wilderneſs, the Pſalmiſt means ſuch ravenous land-creatures as Wolves, Foxes, and the like, or amphibious, as uſe to prey upon the Carcaſſes, or bodies forſaken by the Sea wherein they were drowned, or caſt upon the ſhore, as *Pharaoh* and his mighty Hoſt were, whoſe death, beſides the ſtrangeneſs or ſuddenneſs of it, was diſgraceful and terrible to all Spectators. For לציים is equipollent to *bemidber* in its formal ſignification, only the word denotes a more ſolitary and dry place than the Wilderneſs doth, which, perhaps, was the reaſon why the ſeptuagint tranſlate this place, τοῖς λαοῖς Αἰθίοψι, to the *Æthiopian* people; whether by that they underſtood men or Crocodiles, or other like monſters of *Æthiop* or *Africk* is uncertain. *Arias Montanus* renders it, *populis ſolitudini colis*, which for ought I know, may ſignifie men ſomewhat more monſtrous than the *Cannibals*, which fed upon mens fleſh, but whether on men caſt upon the ſhore or no, I cannot tell. To omit other importances or ſignifications of this Hebrew particle *beth*, it muſt be taken in a ſenſe equivalent to the particle *le*, or to the Latine, *cum, in*; or *pro*, in this place of *Zachary*, Chapter 14. ver. 3.

3. And I cannot but wonder at the incogitancy or over-ſight of that moſt learned and ingenuous Writer *Ribera*, who having ſo fair hints and good directions as *Fuſebius* and other Ancients alledged by him, for levelling this paſſage made rugged by Latine Interpreters or Tranſlators, forſakes the dexter ſenſe which the Greeks had given, and embraceth the ſiniſter ſenſe of the Latines: The ſeventy Interpreters had rendred the original. Καὶ ἐξελεύσεται Κύριος, ϗ παρατάξεται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐκείνοις, καθὼς ἡμέρᾳ παρατάξεως αὐτοῦ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ πολέμου, *He, to wit, the Lord will commend in chief, and order the Battel of the Nations which he had gathered againſt Jeruſalem:* For queſtionleſs he did not call, or gather them againſt *Jeruſalem* to fight for it againſt them, but for them againſt it. *This verſion* of the original is moſt conſonant to that Prediction of the Prophet *Iſaiah* 63. 10. *He became their enemy, and* הוא נלחם בם *fought againſt them.* The full and juſt Paraphraſe of the whole *verſe*, is in plain Engliſh thus; The Lord will as remarkably ſhew himſelf to be the Lord of Hoſts, or the Lord mighty in Battel by fighting for the Nations againſt *Jeruſalem*, as he formerly had done by fighting for *Iſrael* againſt *Pharaoh* and his Hoſts, or for *Gideon* againſt the *Madionites*; for *Barak* and *Deborah* againſt *Jabin* and *Siſera*, or in other like famous Victories which he procured for his people; unto ſome one or other of which, moſt Interpreters refer theſe words, *As in the day of Battel, Zachary* 14. 3. But the adequate or compleat object of the literal ſenſe is not one or two, but all the famous Victories which the Lord of Hoſts had beſtowed upon his people. And he that will diligently peruſe *Joſephus* Hiſtory of the Jewiſh Wars, eſpecially the ſixth Book, may find as many pregnant documents of Gods diſpleaſure and powerful hand againſt the Jews, and of his peculiar temporal favour towards the Nations, under the conduct of *Titus*, as had been ſhewed in any one age againſt the Nations, on the behalf of *Iſrael* or the Jews.

3. It hath been obſerved before, that the beſt Commentators upon moſt Propheſies in the Old or New Teſtament, are ſuch Hiſtorians as did leaſt remember or underſtand them, or had no other

aim or intention, ſave only to relate matters of fact unpartially. The beſt Commentary that the ordinary Reader ſhall eaſily find upon this fourteenth *Chapter* of *Zachary*, is the fore-mentioned Hiſtory of *Joſephus* (*lib.* 6.) and the beſt *Mercury* or director that I can commend unto him, for finding out the accompliſhment of this Propheſie according to the literal ſenſe, by the events or occurrences recorded in that Hiſtory, is *Danæus*, who beſides the literal explication, is in this particular moſt Orthodoxal for the moral ſenſe of the Prophet, concerning Gods gracious goodneſs unto theſe *Jews*, in fore-telling ſo long before; from what place the City ſhould be aſſaulted, and by whom, and in what manner taken. The place from which the City was firſt aſſaulted, and the Defendants moſt prejudiced, was clearly fore-told by this Prophet, *ver.* 4. *And his feet ſhall ſtand in that day upon the Mount of Olives, which is before* (or over againſt) Jeruſalem *on the Eaſt, and the Mount of Olives ſhall cleave in the midſt thereof toward the Eaſt and toward the Weſt*, &c. This part of the Propheſie concerning *the feet of God*, which were to ſtand upon the Mount of Olives, was never before ſo literally verified as in the day of our Saviour's Aſcenſion. Many ſtrange miraculous reports are extant, concerning the print of our Saviour's feet, which continued more than four hundred years after his Aſcenſion, (if we may believe Traditions anciently recorded) and poor Travellers are made to believe that the print continues the ſame unto this day. But to let theſe Traditions paſs, *tanquam via navis in mari*, certain it is, that whilſt our Saviour's feet did, as upon the day of his Aſcenſion, ſtand upon the Mount of *Olives*, the feet of that God of whom the Prophet there ſpeaks, did ſtand upon it. Now the time allotted for the Jews repentance being expired, and peace not made with him before his Aſcenſion, the very duſt of his feet, much more the print of his feet, did remain as a witneſs againſt them. At the ſame time was that other paſſage of the Prophet, *ver.* 3. *Then ſhall the Lord go forth*, to wit, out of *Jeruſalem*, literally fulfilled. If his feet had not ſtood upon the Mount of *Olives* as a witneſs againſt them, the Roman Army had never ſtood there to execute his wrath upon them. For to omit Allegories or forced interpretations concerning the cleaving of the Mount of *Olives* mentioned by the Prophet, their conjecture is more than probable, who think the Propheſie was literally verified, when the Romans beſieged the City, and caſt their Trenches upon the Mount of *Olives*. The time was now come that the Nations were to tread *Jeruſalem* under their feet, and the *Jews* which were Chriſts Enemies, were to become his footſtools. Theſe be the iſſues of his ſetting his feet upon the Mount of *Olives*, as it concerns *Jeruſalem* and the *Jews*. Unleſs the Lord of Hoſts had ſet his feet upon Mount *Olivet* to fight for the Nations againſt *Jeruſalem*, it had never come into *Titus* his head to give command or directions, nor into his Souldiers hearts to put his directions conceived by himſelf (contrary to the ſeveral adviſements of his counſel of War) in execution, by raiſing that mighty wall mentioned by *Joſephus* (*l.* 6. *cap.* 13.) in the ſpace of three days. His relation concerning the raiſing of that Wall, would have been to me incredible, or a *lying wonder*, unleſs the Prophet *Zachary* had fore-told it, *ver.* 4. *And the Mount of* Olives *ſhall cleave in the midſt thereof, toward the Eaſt, and toward the Weſt, and there ſhall be a very great valley, and half of the Mountain ſhall remove toward the North, and half of it* *toward the South.* The Wall, without queſtion, was not of ſtone, for to have attempted that had been a madneſs, but at the moſt, *de ceſpite vivo*, of earth and turf. Now the digging up of ſo much earth as would ſuffice to make a Wall of that height, and ſo many furlongs in length as *Joſephus* deſcribes, would neceſſarily cauſe or occaſion ſuch a valley as the Prophet deciphers.

4. It is well obſerved by *Danæus*, and ſo I preſume by many others, that *Jeruſalem* ſhould be diſtreſſed and expoſed to ruine from that place wherein her Rulers had apprehended her Native King and Supreme Lord, as a Malefactor with ſwords and ſtaves; and that her Lord and God ſhould make her a more miſerable prey to the Roman Souldiers, than they had made his Son and his followers to the Roman Deputy, or ſuch as were under his command. But to parallel the miſeries which befel *Jeruſalem* and her Children by the rules of divine retaliation, according to all that ſhe had done unto her Lord and King, or to ſet the exact proportion between *Jonas* his fore-warning to *Nineveh*, [*Yet forty days and* Nineveh *ſhall be deſtroyed*] and our Saviour's fore-warning unto *Jeruſalem* [*As* Jonas *was three days and three nights*, &c.] and the iſſues or executions of both fore-warnings; the one upon *Jeruſalem* for her perpetual non-repentance; the other upon *Nineveh* for returning to her vomit about forty years after her repentance, within the forty days prefixt by *Jonas*, would require a large volume. Thus much for the preſent muſt ſuffice for anſwer unto the former of the two *queries* laſt propoſed; to wit, what our Saviour's abode forty days here on earth, after his Reſurrection, did portend.

5. The ſecond was, how theſe forty days of his abode here on earth, after his Reſurrection, were fore-pictured or fore-told.

6. This ſecond query is in part already anſwered in the explication of the ſign of *Jonas*, for as he expected forty days what ſhould become of *Nineveh*, ſo our Saviour did reſpite the ſolemn declaration of *Jeruſalem*'s doom as many days. Nor can I miſlike their opinion, who think that the forty days intervenient betwixt the hour of his Reſurrection and Aſcenſion, were prefigured by his forty days faſting in the Wilderneſs after his Baptiſm, as that queſtionleſs was by *Moſes* faſting forty days and forty nights in the Mount. *Moſes* did then bear, as himſelf doth witneſs, the iniquities of the people, to wit, as in the Type; but our Saviour, as well in that long faſt after his Baptiſm, as in the forty days after his Reſurrection, did bear their and our ſins really, and according to the myſtical and compleat meaning of *Moſes* words.

7. But if we ſhould deſcend unto more exact ſearch of the particular circumſtances of time, as it includes the day of his Reſurrection and Aſcenſion, with the other thirty eight days intervenient; theſe were moſt punctually and admirably fore-ſhadowed and repreſented by the day of his firſt birth from the womb, and by the day of his Bleſſed Mothers Purification, and his Preſentation in the Temple in *Jeruſalem*.

8. Inaſmuch as all the firſt-born are called holy unto the Lord, and God requires them expreſly of his people, *Exod.* 22. 29. *The firſt-born of thy Sons ſhalt thou give unto me.* This did imply that

there ſhould be ſome one firſt-born amongſt them that were born of women, in whom the light and life of Holineſs, that Holineſs it ſelf, of which all the legal titles of Holineſs were but ſhadows or glimmerings, ſhould reſide or be incorporated as light in the body of the Sun. Now that Jeſus the Son of *Mary* was this firſt-born in whom the true and compleat Holineſs did thus reſide, the Holy Ghoſt did declare or proclaim by the mouth of *Simeon*, at that very time wherein our Saviour, according to the Law of the firſt-born, was to be preſented unto the Lord in his Temple, to wit, the time of his Mothers Purification. *Simeon* (ſaith Saint *Luke*) *came by the ſpirit into the Temple, and when the Parents brought in the child Jeſus, to do for him after the cuſtom of the Law, then took he him up in his arms, and bleſſed God and ſaid: Lord, now letteſt thou thy ſervant depart in peace according to thy word, for mine eyes have ſeen thy Salvation, which thou haſt prepared before the face of all people, a light to lighten the Gentiles; and to be the glory of thy people* Iſrael. *And* Joſeph *and his Mother marvelled at thoſe things which were ſpoken of him: And* Simeon *bleſſed him, and ſaid unto* Mary *his Mother: Behold this Child is ſet for the fall and riſing again of many in* Iſrael, *and for a ſign which ſhall be ſpoken againſt.*

9. They good Souls came not to the Temple with any ſuch intent or expectation, but to obſerve the Law of the firſt-born male, as Saint *Luke* tells us, *Chap.* 2, 22, 23, 24. *And when the days of her Purification were accompliſhed according to the Law of* Moſes, *they brought him to* Jeruſalem *to preſent him to the Lord (as it is written in the Law of the Lord, every male that openeth the womb ſhall be called holy to the Lord) and to offer Sacrifice according to that which is ſaid in the Law of the Lord, a pair of Turtle Doves, or two young Pigeons.* The ordinary offering which the Law in like caſe did require was a Lamb, as you may read, *Levit.* 12. 6. yet with this expreſs diſpenſation, that if the party were not able to offer a Lamb, two Turtle Doves, or two young Pigeons ſhould ſuffice. The Bleſſed Virgin, whether by reaſon of her Husband's poverty, or (as I rather think) by reaſon ſhe was delivered of her Son in a ſtrange place, without the Country or Province wherein ſhe dwelt, was content to uſe the benefit of this diſpenſation.

10. But though our Saviour had this peculiar prerogative of the firſt-born, that he was moſt holy unto the Lord, and although, as he ſaid at his Baptiſm, it became him to fulfil all legal Righteouſneſs; yet it is queſtionable whether he were redeemed as other firſt-born were. The Sacrifice mentioned by Saint *Luke*, was ordinary at every womans Purification, whether the child brought forth were male or female. As for our Saviour of all firſt-born, he only needed no legal Redemption, becauſe he was deſtinated from his birth not to be redeemed, but to be offered up in Sacrifice for the Redemption of others. And in this he did fulfil that legal rite or ſhadow of redeeming thoſe uſeful creatures which were by the Law unclean, by the Sacrifice of ſuch as by the Law were accounted clean. Ex. 13. 11, 12.

11. But was he exempted by any more peculiar right from the Law of Redemption, than the Bleſſed Virgin his Mother was from the Law of Purification? To this demand it might be anſwered, that the Bleſſed Virgin was not free from all taint of original ſin as he was.

But this reply or anſwer being admitted, it would be a foul Hereſie, or worſe than ſo, to ſay that ſhe was either legally or naturally unclean, during all or any part of the time of her ſeparation from the Sanctuary or holy Aſſembly, for ſhe was free from any actual ſin in the time or manner of her conception, and from all legal uncleanneſs either in her travel, or for forty days after it. Otherwiſe that Holy One which was born of her might have been conceived, or brought forth or nouriſhed by her milk in her uncleanneſs, which to avouch or conceive were foul blaſphemy. Was her obſervation then of the Law concerning Purification, either a will-worſhip, or affected work of Supererogation? Rather an excellent pattern or exemplary rule of obedience unto all the Sons and Daughters of *Adam*, that deſire, or intend to be the Sons and Daughters of *Abraham*. The rule is, that even ſuch of either ſex as know themſelves not to be conſcious of the occaſions, nor much liable to the temptations which publick Laws, or ſacred Canons ſeek to prevent or reſtrain from burſting out into matter of fact, ſhall do both wiſely and religiouſly if they ſubmit themſelves to the obſervance of ſuch decrees or injunctions as are uſeful or needful for moſt other men to obſerve. For it well becomes & behoves the moſt ſtrong and ſound members of any body natural or civil, of Chriſt's myſtical body eſpecially, to ſympathize, thus far at leaſt, with unſound or decaying parts of the ſame body, as to reſtrain themſelves from uſing that liberty, which they for their own parts might ſafely enjoy, were the object or matter prohibited void of danger unto other members of the ſame ſociety, which have more forcible temptations to the contrary, or want skill or knowledge how to uſe their general liberty.

12. But to conclude the point laſt propoſed, and with it this preſent Treatiſe. When the Evangeliſt ſaith that the *Bleſſed Virgin*, with conſent of her betrothed Husband, *brought her Son into the Temple according to the Law of* Moſes: It is clear that ſhe did not come to preſent her ſelf, or him in the Temple, before the fortieth day from his birth. For ſo the tenor of the Law concerning the firſt-born males is, that his Mother ſhould be ſeven days unclean, to wit, unto the day of her Sons Circumciſion, and thirty three days after it, accounting the day of his Circumciſion for one of theſe days.

13. The parallel before propos'd lies directly between theſe four points or terms of proportion: The firſt, The day of our Saviour's Birth from his Mothers womb. The ſecond, The day of the Bleſſed Virgins Purification, or the ſolemnity of his Preſentation in the Temple. The third, The day of his Birth from the Grave, or of becoming the firſt fruits of them that ſleep. The fourth, The day of his Preſentation to his Father in the Heavenly Sanctuary, or of his Enthronization both as King and Prieſt. Upon the fortieth day after his Birth, from the womb of the Bleſſed Virgin, *Simeon bleſſed* Mary *and* Joſeph; *and* Hannah *the daughter of* Phanuel *a Propheteſs, coming at that inſtant into the Temple, gave thanks likewiſe unto the Lord, and ſpake of him to all them that looked for redemption, Luke* 2. 34, 38. Upon the fortieth day after his birth, from his Maiden-grave, the Propheſie of *Simeon* and *Hannah*, and their Thanksgiving to the Lord, were more exquiſitely accompliſhed, than can by any mortal voice or pen be expreſt. *As* the legal Sabbath was to the Lords day, *ſo* was the fourth day of the firſt week, on which the Sun, Moon, and Stars were created, but the veſpers unto the new

creation, wherein the Lord of Glory and Son of Righteouſneſs was placed in his Supercœleſtial Sphere. On the firſt day of that week in which he aſcended, that joy of the fourth day of the firſt Creation deciphered by *Job, The morning Stars did ſing together, and all the Sons of God* (the Holy Angels, and Archangels, *Cherubims* and *Seraphims*, Principalities and Powers) *did ſhout for joy*, was accompliſhed. The ditty or manner of their Song, or joyful ſhout is unexpreſſible, uninveſtigable. God grant we may in this mortal Pilgrimage ſo demean our ſelves, as that we may be able to ſtand before the Son of man at his ſecond coming unto judgment, and be capable and docile to learn our parts in that Heavenly ditty or ſong, wherewith the Church Triumphant did entertain him at his Aſcenſion.

FINIS.

II. Tome. Errata.

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THE
WORKS
OF THE
Reverend, Learned, and Pious
DIVINE
THOMAS JACKSON, D. D.
Sometime Preſident of *Corpus Chriſti* Colledge in *Oxon.*

The *THIRD VOLUME.*

In which is Contained,

I. *A Treatiſe of Chriſts Exerciſing his Everlaſting Prieſthood, Mans Freedom from Servitude to Sin effected by Chriſts ſitting at the Right Hand of God, and there Officiating as a moſt compaſſionate High Prieſt in behalf of Sinners.*

II. *Of Chriſts Seſſion at the Right Hand of God and Exaltation thereby; of his being made Lord and Chriſt; his coming to Judge both the quick and the dead*, &c.

III. *The Holy Catholick Faith and Church; to which is adjoyned a Treatiſe of Chriſtian Obedience being part of his Twelfth Book, which makes his Commentary on the Creed compleat: Never before printed.*

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REGIA
GEORGIUS D.G. MAG. BR. FR. ET HIB. REX F.D.
J.P.
Sc.

A TREATISE OF

The Primæval eſtate of the Firſt Man. Of the Manner how Sin found Entrance into, and is Propagated in the World. Of the Nature of Sin. Of our Firſt Servitude to it. Of that poor Remnant *of* Free-will *left in the Sons of* Adam, *with directions to uſe it aright, and how we are ſet Free by the Son of God. Of Mortification. Of the right uſe of Reaſon, or Rules of Art, for determining doubts in Divinity,* &c.

Cardanus in Lib. De Utilitate ex adverſis capienda.

IT was a very wiſe ſaying of One, who (if we may approve *Julius Scaliger's* Cenſure of him) was none of the Wiſeſt Doctors, *Tractare res Humanas nôrunt Plurimi, æſtimare Pauciſſimi.* To attain unto a large meaſure of Skil or Cunning, whether in contriving or managing Mundane or meerly Humane Affairs, is a matter more eaſie or more common, then to be able to ſet a juſt Price or Eſtimate, whether upon the things or Works themſelves, or upon the Artificers Skil in Contriving or working them. This *Maxim* is altogether as true, and ſomewhat more Improveable in Buſineſſes Sacred, eſpecially in ſuch as have been heretofore handled in part, and come now to be further diſcuſs'd. The Firſt Part of the KNOWLEDGE of JESUS CHRIST and of Him Crucified, Raiſed from the Dead, *&c.* is a great deal more eaſily learned, then the Second, unto which theſe preſent Meditations are addreſt. The Firſt Part of this Heavenly *Knowledge* conſiſts principally in the diſplay of the *Harmony* between the Prophetical, and Evangelical Writings, or the Parallels between Matters of *Fact* recorded in the Old Teſtament, and the *Events* anſwering in Proportion to them in the New, already exhibited, and further to be accompliſhed before the end of this World, or in the World to come.

The general Contents or full Scope of this whole Work.

2. The Second Part of the KNOWLEDGE of CHRIST conſiſts in the True Eſtimate or Experimental Valuation of his Death and Sufferings; of his Reſurrection from the Dead, and Exerciſe of his Everlaſting Sa-

cerdotal Function. To this later part of the Knowledge of Chriſt and him Crucified, *&c.* that Knowledge which in Philoſophy, or in other Sciences we call *à Poſteriori*; that is, which we gather from the *Effect*, or learn by Experience, doth anſwer in a true kind of ſubproportion. Unto this Second Part of the Knowledge of Chriſt, ſomewhat more is required then hath been expreſſed in the Former Part; betwixt which and thoſe Scientifical Concluſions in Sciences which we call *à Priori*, there is perfect *Analogy* or Correſpondency; Somewhat, or a great deal more, then ſuch Knowledge of God and of his Providence, as moſt of the School-men or Hiſtorians, whether Eccleſiaſtical or Secular, do preſent unto us.

Cyprian. *The knowledge of our ſelves, the beſt method to know God or Chriſt.*

3. *Ut Deum cognoſcas* (ſaith an Ancient and Pious Father) *Teipſum priùs cognoſce*: vve muſt learn to know our ſelves before vve can attain unto the true or perfect knowledge of God, vvhether as He is our Creator, our Redeemer, or our Sanctifier. And this true knowledge of our ſelves hath a double Aſpect, the one unto the *Eſtate from which*, the other unto the *Eſtate into which* vve are fallen. The chief, if not the only Reaſon, Why the God-head or Eternal Son-ſhip of Chriſt Jeſus, is, in this laſt Age, queſtioned; Why his Meritorious Satisfaction for the Sins of the World, is by ſome flatly denied, is, Becauſe the Parties this way peccant, or ſuch as can with Chriſtian patience or without diſguſt, read or hear their Diſcourſes, do not know themſelves either in the *Individual*, as they are Mortal Men and tainted vvith many Actual Sins, or in the *General*, as they are the Sons of *Adam*. They underſtand not the Prerogatives that Man had in his firſt Creation above other Creatures; nor yet trouble their thoughts, How that vvhich They and We call *Sin*, found firſt Entrance into the World; How it hath been propagated throughout all Mankind; or vvhat be the ſpecial Properties, the true Effects, or Power of it. Now without the Knowledge or ſerious Conſideration of all theſe Points, it is impoſſible for Us, for any Man, to take a true, much leſs a full or competent Eſtimate of Chriſts Sufferings upon the Croſs; or of the Efficacy of his Reſurrection from the Dead; of the Fruits of the Spirit, vvhich he promiſed to all his Followers, upon his Aſcenſion into Heaven, and ſitting at the Right Hand of God the Father.

SECT.

Sect. I.

Of the Firſt Mans Eſtate, and the Manner How He loſt it. How Sin found Entrance into the World. Of the Nature of Sin. How it was, and is, propagated unto Adam's *Poſterity.*

CHAP. I.

Of the Primæval Eſtate of the Firſt Man, and of the variety of Opinions about it.

More Contention then Contradiction about the Firſt mans Eſtate.

1. ABout the Prerogatives or Præeminences of the Firſt Man, over and above all others, which by Natural Deſcent have ſprung from him, a great variety of Opinions there is, ; more then is about the Limitation or Extent of the Prerogative Royal in moſt Kingdoms Chriſtian, as now they ſtand. But the ſeveral Opinions contained within this great and ſpacious variety, concerning the Eſtate or Prerogatives of the Firſt Man, are (in my Opinion) very compatible: Few or none of them contradict others. And it is the Part of Divines by Profeſſion, not to ſow any ſeeds of contention between the Authors or Abetters of ſeveral Opinions, which in their nature imply no contradiction. Yea in times Ancient and unpartial, it hath been accounted one ſpecial part of Prieſts or Profeſt Divines, to ſollicite or Mediate for Compromiſe between Parties at difference, whether in Matters Civil or Criminally Capital; much more to Endeavour for Reconciliation of Opinions or Controverſies properly belonging to their own profeſſion.

2. Now it is confeſſed by all good Chriſtians, that the Firſt man was made, in, or according to, the Image of God, which made him. But wherein this *Image of God*, or the Live Copy of it exhibited in the Firſt Man, did properly or chiefly conſiſt, is a Probleme wherein Many good Writers, both Ancient and Modern, do ſomewhat Vary. Some would have the Prerogatives, which did reſult from the likeneſs of God imprinted upon the Firſt Man, to conſiſt principally in that *Power* or *Dominion* which He had over all other viſible or ſublunary Creatures. But though it be true of theſe preſent times as it was of former, That *Dominium non fundatur in Fide, id eſt*, Kings and Supream Governours have their Right of Dominion over their Subjects or Inferiors, albeit ſuch Kings and Governours, have not at any time been true Chriſtians, or have degenerated from ſuch Chriſtian faith as they have ſometimes profeſſed or maintained: yet without all controverſie, that Soveraignty or Dominion, which the Firſt man had over all other viſible Creatures, was founded upon that Integrity of ſoul, or Righteouſneſs inherent, which He loſt. Since the Firſt Man and his Succeſſors, became Corrupt in all their waies; that Primæval Dominion which the Firſt Man had, did ceaſe by Degrees to be ſo entire, as once it was: Nor is there any Hope to have it fully reſtored unto any Soveraignty, or private Members of any Soveraignty or Kingdom in this Life. Nor are all they, which well agree in this

General [*That the Firſt Mans Similitude with his Maker, did radically and punctually conſiſt in Righteouſneſs and Integrety of Soul and Body*] at ſo fair accord among themſelves, Wherein this Righteouſneſs or Integrity did properly or formally conſiſt; or of what Rank or Order it was.

CHAP. II.

Wherein the Righteouſneſs of the Firſt Man did Conſiſt.

Original Righteouſneſs no ſupernatural Grace.

1. MAny Great Divines or Doctors heretofore have been, and ſome, or rather many, to this day, there be, who peremptorily determine, and would perſwade Others, either by their Authority, or by Reaſon, to believe; That the Righteouſneſs of the Firſt Man did formally conſiſt in a peculiar *Grace, Supernatural*, even to Him. If this Opinion were true, the ſame Grace ſhould have been more then Supernatural to his ſucceſſors; ſuppoſing that they continued by natural propagation, in the ſame State and Condition wherein the Firſt Man was Created. To maintain this opinion; That the Righteouſneſs or Integrity of the Firſt Man did conſiſt in a *ſupernatural Grace*, the Romiſh Church (ſpecially ſince the publiſhing of the Canons of the Trent Councel) is deeply engaged. For unleſs this *Poſtulatum* or Suppoſition be granted; Many Dogmatical Reſolutions which the whole Chriſtian World, is, by the Romiſh Church bound to believe *ſub pœna Anathematis*, that is, under penalty of that Churches ſolemn Curſe or everlaſting Damnation, cannot poſſibly, or with any Mediocrity of Probality be maintained. The Points of Belief which from this *Poſtulatum* or Suppoſition, [*That the Righteouſneſs wherein the Firſt Man was Created, was a Grace Supernatural*] might with ſome probability be maintained, are principally theſe.

Of the Inconveniencies which will follow upon the affirmative Opinion.

2. Firſt, That, *Sin*, which we and the Romiſh Church call *Original*, ſhould be no more then a meer *Privation* of Original Juſtice, that is, of that Image of God wherein the Firſt Man was Created. But the Ingenuous Reader will perhaps demand, what further Inconvenience will follow upon the yielding or granting of the former *Poſtulatum* or Suppoſition unto them?. This in the Second place; That *Adams* Succeſſors whether immediate or intermediate unto the worlds End ſhould have a greater meaſure of that which they call *Liberum Arbitrium* or Free-will, then the word of God doth acknowledge; or any Ingenuous Man, that will ſubjugate his Reaſon to be Regulated by the written word, or Ancient Rules or Canons of Faith, can allow or approve. This deduction following is clear by Rules of Reaſon, *viz.* [“If the Righteouſneſs of the Firſt Man did conſiſt in a *Grace Supernatural*, or in any quality additional to his conſtitution, as he was the Work of God: This Grace or Quality might have been, or rather, was loſt, without any Real wound unto our Nature; Or without any other Wound, then ſuch as the *Free-will*, or right uſe of Reaſon, or other Natural parts (which after the loſs of this ſuppoſed *Supernatural Grace* or Quality were left) might inſtantly have cured, or yet may cure.] Or in other terms (more Scholaſtical perhaps) Thus: “If the Integrity or Righteouſneſs of the Firſt Man, were loſt, only, *demeritorie*, by way of Demerit, without any phyſical or working cauſe of its expulſion, or without any wound made in our nature, by ſuch poſitive cauſe: The ſame righteouſneſs which the Firſt Man had, might have been regained by the right uſe of Reaſon which was left unto him, or of thoſe natural faculties which he had *pro primâ vice* abuſed. From theſe pre-

miſſes the neceſſary conſequence will be this; That the ſatisfaction of our Lord Chriſt, for ſin (original at leaſt) had been ſuperfluous. And according to this *Tenet*, the Opinion of the Socinians would be more tollerable, and more juſtifiable, then the Doctrine of the Romiſh Church, ſo far as it concerns the Valieu or Efficacy of Chriſts Sufferings, or Satisfaction by his Merits, or Juſtification by works, rather than by faith, eſpecially works of the Moral Law, or obſervance of thoſe two great Commandments, *To love God above all; and, our Neighbours as our Selves:* or of that other, *Whatſoever you would that men ſhould do unto you, even ſo do unto them.*

3. Laſtly, if all or any of theſe Opinions were granted, to the Church of *Rome*: we of Reformed Churches ſhould be concluded to yield; That *Adams* poſterity, or as many of them as are, or ſhall be, juſtified, were to be *Formally* juſtified by inherent Righteouſneſs; that is, they have, or might challenge, abſolution, from the firſt ſentence denounced againſt *Adam*, by way of legal plea or ſatisfaction. The deduction or *remonſtration* of this demonſtrative inference, is clear to any Artiſt, to any reaſonable man, unleſs his Reaſon be overgrown by faction, or by mingling of paſſions with his underſtanding. The Remonſtration of this demonſtrative inference, is thus: It is *in confeſſo*, and more then ſo, an undoubted *Maxim* ſubſcribed unto by the Church of *Rome*; That the grace which is infuſed by and from our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, is a *ſupernatural* quality, or a qualification more ſoveraign, then the firſt grace which God the Father beſtowed upon the Firſt Man. Now, if that Grace were a *ſuperaddition* to his *Nature*, or Conſtitution, as he was the work of God; the loſs of this Grace or quality could not have made any wound in the humane Nature, which the leaſt drop of that Grace, which daily diſtilleth from the ſecond *Adam*, might not more then fully cure. Yea, ſuch grace would ſublimate our Nature ſo cured, unto an higher pitch or fuller meaſure of Righteouſneſs, then that which was beſtowed upon our Father *Adam*. In reſpect of theſe and many other Reaſons, which might be alledged, all ſuch Congregations or Aſſemblies of Chriſtian Men, as have departed, or have been extruded, out of the Romiſh Church, ſtand deeply engaged, to deny, that the Righteouſneſs of the Firſt Man was a Grace or quality ſupernatural.

CHAP. III.

Whether Original Righteouſneſs were a quality Natural, or a mean betwixt Natural and ſupernatural.

1. TO affirm that, the Righteouſneſs wherein the Firſt Man was created was a gift rather Natural then ſupernatural, would be no *ſolœciſme*: no aſſertion any way more incongruous, then many Reſolutions of the Roman Doctors in like Caſes are: no groſſer blemiſh or deeper *impreſſion* then might eaſily be ſalved or wiped off with that diſtinction, uſual amongſt them, in other the like or rather the ſame Caſes: [That the righteouſneſs wherein *Adam* was created was natural, *quoad terminum productum, non quoad modum productionis; A natural Endowment in reſpect of the eſſential quality produced; albeit the manner of producing it were ſomewhat more then ſupernatural.*] But this is a diſpute which for the preſent ſhall be waved, becauſe the Original difference betwixt us and them may be more punctually ſtated, and the Queſtions dependent on it, may be more clearly reſolved from theſe *Poſtulata*, or preſumed *Maxims*: Firſt, [*That* God

The true ſtate of the Queſtion propoſed.

God did make the Firſt Man after his own image.] Secondly, [*That the Firſt Man being ſo made, was righteous and juſt.*] Neither of theſe are denied by any. The ſtate of the Original Controverſie unto ſuch as are diſpoſed to have it plainly propounded in conſtant or unfleeting Terms, is thus; “[Seeing Man was made after the image of God, and beeing ſo made, was juſt and righteous; *Whether there were two works of God, or two diſtinct effects of his work of Creating the Firſt Man in righteouſneſs and in his own image: And whether the one of them was terminated to his own image imprinted in man, and the other to his original juſtice.*] If theſe two expreſſions made by *Moſes* of *Gods image* and *mans righteouſneſs*, expreſs or include no more then one and the ſame work of God, or effect of his work in man: The loſs of Original juſtice or *defacing* of Gods image enſtamped upon him, was more then a meer privation, and neceſſarily preſuppoſeth a poſitive Cauſe in our Firſt Parents, and a poſitive Effect wrought by that cauſe whereunto the privation of Original juſtice was Concomitant or rather Conſequent. Whatſoever Controverſie may be moved concerning the Cauſe or manner how this Effect was wrought: *the effect it ſelf was a deadly wound in our Nature*; a multitude of wounds, all by Nature or any endeavour of Nature or performances of ſuch *Free-will* as was left to mankind after theſe wounds were once made, altogether incurable, without the help or aſſiſtance of *better Grace* or endowments then were beſtowed upon the *Firſt Man.* The cure of theſe wounds wholly depends upon that grace whoſe Being and beſtowing the Second *Adam* did merit from the Father of Lights, or from the Divine nature or Deity.

2. To win the Aſſent of every Rational Chriſtian man unto the former part of this determination; [*That Original juſtice did conſiſt in that image of God wherein the Firſt Man was created, and did not imply any other work of God whether precedent or conſequent, beſides the ſpecial work of his creation:*] no other Argument is either neceſſary or ſo available, as the taking of the words of *Moſes*, where he deſcribes the manner how the *Firſt man* was Created, into ſerious conſideration. For *Original Juſtice had more Eſſential dependance upon the image of God in Man, then Rotundity hath with a Sphere, or Globoſity with a Globe.* Now in the making of a *Sphere* or body perfectly round, there be not two works, nor two diſtinct effects of the Artificers skill; one in making a *Round-Body*, another in making *Rotundity.* And it is a groſſer Solœciſm in Divinity to ſay or think, that the *Image of God* in man was One work of God, and *Original Juſtice* Another, then it would be to maintain that the *Rotundity* of a *Sphere*, and the *Sphere*, are two works of the ſame hand, ſeverally intended by the Artificer which makes the Sphere.

Original Sin more then a meer Privation.

3. To evince the latter part of the former Aſſertion; [*That Original ſin is more then a meer Privation; more then a meer want of Original Juſtice; a multiplicity of wounds or diſeaſes in our nature:*] any man living which hath ſo much memory or reaſon as to reflect upon his own diſpoſition or untowardlineſs in his childhood; or skill to contemplate the Eſtate or condition of poor Infants, will eaſily ſubſcribe unto that *great Roman Naturaliſts* judgment or obſervations, in his *Preface to the ſeventh book of his natural Hiſtory*, to be inſiſted upon hereafter, when we come to treat of the *Symptomes* or properties of ſin Original. The next Enquiry according to the Method propoſed is, *How Sin did enter into the World.*

Pliny.

CHAP. IV.

Of the manner how Sin found Entrance into the Works of God, and did ſeize upon all mankind, the Man Jeſus Chriſt only excepted.

No Creature from the firſt moment of its Creation was altogether impeccable.

1. THe higheſt *Offer* of any which I have read for the reſolution of this *Problem,* is that inquiſition made by ſome School-men [*An dari poſſit creatura impeccabilis*] ſo they render the Greek ἀναμάρτητος.] The problem in diſtinct and plain Engliſh is thus. [*Whether it be poſſible according to the Rules of Reaſon, that any created ſubſtance ſhould be from its creation totally ſecured or abſolutely freed from all poſſibility of falling into ſin.*] Some of the Ancient and moſt Orthodoxal Fathers of the Church, as their opinions are alledged by ſome School-men, ſtand for the Negative Part of this Problem, to wit, [*That it is not poſſible for any meer Creature to be from the moment or firſt time of his creation altogether impeccable, or ſecured from all poſſibility of falling into ſin.*] But whether the reaſons or expreſſions of theſe Ancient Fathers will reach home, or amount unto the *Tenents* of ſuch School-men, as avouch not only their reaſons, but Authority, is not ſo clear; but that the diſcuſſion whether of their Authorities, Meanings, or Expreſſions, might breed more quarrels then the School-men have already begun. However; The diſputes already moved about this *Point*, muſt in the firſt place be reſtrained to meer Creatures rational, that is, to Angels and Men. *The Rational Creature, or ſon of man, who is likewiſe the Son of God, muſt be exempted from this enquiry.* And this *Additional* muſt in the ſecond place be admitted; [*Whether it were poſſible that any man or Angel could be perpetually freed from all poſſibility of falling into ſin, and have been withall from the firſt moment of his creation intrinſecally juſt and righteous.*

2. That Men and Angels might (by the Power of God, or ſpecial contrivance of his Providence) have been ſecured from all poſſibility of falling into ſin, is a Poſition amongſt rational men unqueſtionable: But it is not ſo, whether men or Angels being ſo ſecured from all poſſibility of ſinning could have been intrinſecally or formally righteous, or by the eternal rules of Juſtice and Equity it ſelf, truly capable of everlaſting puniſhments or torments, or of joy and happineſs everlaſting. The *Negative part* of this *Problem* is in my judgement far more probable then the *Affirmative.* For if the *Firſt man*, or Angels which fell, had been either by the power of their Almighty Creator, or by the the undefeatable contrivance of his wiſdom, abſolutely freed from all poſſibility of ſin from the firſt creation unto this day, they could neither have deſerved any great blame or praiſe by continuing after this manner righteous or conformable to the divine nature for integrity of life. The caſe of the *Firſt man*, if he had lived to this inſtant without ſin by ſuch contrivance or neceſſitating guidance of Gods providence, had been the ſame, as if the child whiles his maſter leads his hand ſhould write a *Fair Copy*, being otherwiſe unable to caſt a letter aright when his maſters hand ſhould be taken off from his. Now if the Child or young Clerk ſhould not in good time learn to caſt his letters or draw his lines aright, he could not pretend any title to commendation or reward, how well ſoever his work were performed; the whole praiſe would of right belong unto the *manuduction* or guidance of his Maſter. But if the young Clerk growing ſtronger, ſhould diſturb or wreſt the hand of his guide awry, or not ſuffer him to rule his hand as before he had done: by thus doing he would deſerve both blame and correction.

3. Our father *Adam* in his *Firſt Eſtate* had a great deal more power

to regulate his own thoughts and actions by the ordinary Guidance of Gods Providence, then a child hath either to caſt his Letters or draw his Lines aright by the ſight of a *Copy* or ordinary direction of his maſter. Yet this ſame *Firſt Man* had a power withall to neglect the guidance, or ſlight the directions of his Creator; a power much greater to do both theſe wayes amiſs, then a child hath to refuſe or reſiſt the Manuduction of his writing-Maſter. By the *Firſt womans* ignorance or contempt, through her husbands negligence and inadvertence to that *Firſt and Great Commandement*, which was given to both of them [*Of the tree in the middle of the garden, ye ſhall not eat*, &c.] that which we call *Original ſin*, or the main root of all ſins, found entrance into the viſible world, that is, into the nature of man. The extract of what we have ſaid, or have to ſay, Concerning this point, is very well ſet down by St. *Auſtine* and ſome others of the Ancients; [*That the Firſt Man was truly endowed with a Free-will or power, not to have ſinned at all: That if he had uſed this power aright, or implored the aſſiſtance of his Creator in competent time, for ſo uſing it; he ſhould have been endowed with a perpetual immunity from ſin*; that is, *Albeit he was not from his Creation either by nature or by ſupernatural endowment utterly impeccable; yet by the aſſiſtance and benignity of his Gratious Creator, he might have attained unto ſuch a perpetual eſtate or immunity from falling into ſin.*]

The queſtion about merit of works, no way concerns the Firſt man *in his primæval Eſtate.*

4. Suppoſe he had preſerved or imployed the *Talent* concredited unto him at his firſt creation, aright: ſhould the ſuperaddition or crowning of his *Firſt Eſtate* with perſeverance, have been a meer gift of grace, or rather a kind of merit? This is a queſtion not very pertinently moved by ſome School-men, and the Contradictory to their determination more inconſiderately maintained by ſome modern Diſputants or Logical Criticks. For ſeeing *Adam* received that *great Talent* concredited to him in his creation, not abſolutely; or to uſe it as he pleaſed, but at his peril, or under expreſs penalty, that if he miſ-imployed it, or contemned his Commandement which beſtowed it upon him, he ſhould dye the death: it is no way improbable, that if he had improved his Talent for ſome competent time, that the ſtate wherein he was created ſhould have been hereditary to him and his; not by ſuch *free Grace* as is beſtowed upon us under the Goſpel, but by the way of Merit *de congruo*; though not according to *Commutative*, yet to *Diſtributive Juſtice*, rather then by *meer Mercy* or benignity. But this opinion I vent not with any intention to move or abett diſputes or controverſies already moved about this curious Queſtion; but rather perſwade the Reader, that all queſtions concerning the *Merits of works*; or of perſeverance in that *Grace* by which all good works are wrought, muſt be reduced, or confined to the eſtate or condition of mankind ſince *Adams* Fall. Of which Queſtion thus *ſtated* or limited, I ſhall (I hope) be able to give the Reader, or any that will ſoberly diſpute or confer with me in it, better ſatisfaction, *Vivâ voce*, then this *Treatiſe* without digreſſion will permit me to do. The principal Points in it, or which I had in my thoughts, either to proſecute or propoſe, are theſe following.

The Firſt man *was neither neceſſitated to continue good, nor to become Evil.*

In the 2 *Part.* 2 *Sect. Chap.* 13, &c. *of the Attributes.*

Firſt, That albeit the *Firſt man* were by vertue of the Creation righteous and juſt, yet were neither his perſeverance or non-perſeverance in this righteouſneſs abſolutely *neceſſary*; both of them *poſſible*. That both were poſſible hath been declared at Large both in the ſixth Book of Commentaries upon the Creed: unto which I refer the *Ingenuous Reader*, where he may find this propoſition (as I take it) demonſtrated; [*That to decree or appoint a mutual or reciprocal Poſſibility between our firſt Parents perſeverance or non-perſeverance was Facible to the Omnipotent Creator, becauſe*

cauſe it neither implies nor preſuppoſeth any Contradiction in Terminis.] And whatſoever effect or prænotion anſwerable unto it implies no Contradiction either in it ſelf or to the Goodneſs of the Divine Nature or Deity, is Facible by Power Omnipotent: That is, the Almighty Creator might have decreed, or yet may decree it when he pleaſeth.

The Second *Principle* or *ſuppoſition* in this place to be handled is; [*Whether the Almighty Creator did* de Facto *decree or ordain that neither the Perſeverance or non-perſeverance of the Firſt Man or of our Firſt Parents, ſhould be abſolutely Neceſſary, but contingent.*] Or, in other terms thus; [*That the Eſtate or condition wherein they were created might have continued to this day for them and their ſucceſſors undefeatable.*] That their Perſeverance or the perſeverance of their Poſterity in the ſtate of Righteouſneſs wherein they were created, was not neceſſary by any Divine Ordinance or decree, is clear from the Event; becauſe the *Firſt Man* and the Firſt woman did fall *de Facto* from the Eſtate wherein they were created, which neither of them could have done, if their Firſt Eſtate had been by vertue of the Almighties Decree or any ordinance from him *Immutable*, or abſolutely *Neceſſary*. But can it be as ſtrongly proved, That the fall of our firſt Parents, or their eating of the *Forbidden Fruit*, did not proceed from any neceſſitating Decree, or undefeatable contrivance of the Almighty Creators Wiſdom? To perſwade men which have not their ſenſes exerciſed in points of Logical or Scholaſtick diſputes, that the *Fall* of our Firſt Parents was not *neceſſary*, no, not in reſpect of the Divine Decree or ordinance, would be a harder task, then to prove that their Perſeverance was not in reſpect of that Decree, neceſſary. That our Firſt parents did fall from their Eſtate, is a *Queſtion of Fact* of which every honeſt good man may be a competent Judge, at leaſt able enough to reſolve himſelf. But whether it was as poſſible for them not to have fallen, as it was to fall, is *Queſtio Juris*, or more then ſo, a point of Metaphyſical or Theological diſquiſition; wherein it would be very hard to find a *Grand-Jury* of Profeſt Divines in any one County almoſt throughout this Kingdom, which could be competent Judges or fit Inquiſitors: Not that they want either skill or induſtry for interpreting ſacred Scripture, which is the only true rule of Faith and manners, aright; but for want of skill or memory in *Secular Arts*, how to examine or determine what *Conſequences* or inferences are conſonant or diſſonant to the undoubted *Rule of Faith*, or to the unqueſtionable *Maxims* contained in it. For deciding or waving ſuch controverſies as are emergent not ſo much out of the ſence of Scriptures, as out of ſuch *Inferences* or *Conſequences* (whether negative or affirmative) as contentious or unreſolved ſpirits would faſten upon it, *Recta ratio*, that is, Reaſon regulated by Rules of unqueſtionable Arts or Sciences, is the moſt competent Judge. That there is but one God and one Lord; That the only God is a *God* of *Goodneſs* and willeth no wickedneſs, are poſitive points of Faith and Chriſtian Belief; Fundamental *Maxims* in Theology. To diſpute or move any queſtion directly about the truth or limitation of theſe *Maxims*, would be a branch of Infidelity, or which perhaps is worſe, an approach to Blaſphemy.

CHAP. V.

Of the Right uſe of Reaſon, or Rules of Art for determining Controverſies in Divinity, whereof the Sacred Scripture is the ſole Rule.

Of the uſe of Arts in diſcuſſing Controverſies in Theology.

1. BUt admit this *Maxim* [*There is but one God, and he a God of Goodneſs, no Author or abettor of evil*] were undoubtedly believed by all: Yet this inference or Conſequence might be (as it hath long time been) controverſed; Whether he that avoucheth [*This only God to have decreed the Fall of the* Firſt Man *to have been neceſſary or inevitable,*] might be demonſtratively convinced to make him the Author and Cauſe, the only Cauſe of the *Firſt Mans* ſin, and of all the ſins which neceſſarily iſſue from it, or from the Nature of man corrupted by it. For the full reſolution of this Queſtion, the *Sacred Scriptures* are not the ſole competent Judge or Rule. Nor doth the determination of it belong to the Cognizance of ſuch as are the beſt Interpreters of *Sacred writ*, for the true Grammatical or Litteral ſence of every propoſition contained in it. This Caſe muſt be reſerved to the Schools of *Arts*, or to the certain Rules of true *Logick* and *Philoſophy*, which are the beſt guides of Reaſon in all diſcurſive faculties. But here I am engaged to do that which in other caſes I have endeavoured to avoid; that is, to make repetition of two great *Problems* in the Science or Faculty of Theology, heretofore in their ſeveral places handled, and in ſome enſuing meditations to be hereafter inculcated. The firſt Problem is [*In what ſenſe or with what limitations the Scripture is held by all reformed Churches, to be the only Rule of Faith:*] The Second, [*In what ſenſe or how far it is true, that* Recta ratio, *Reaſon rectified or rightly managed, may be admitted a competent Judge in Controverſies belonging to the Faculty of Theology.*]

2. To the Firſt Problem [*In what ſence the Scripture is held by us to be the ſole and competent Rule of Faith and manners,*] I have no more to ſay for the preſent, then hath been long ago publiſhed in the ſecond book of theſe *Commentaries* upon the Apoſtles Creed, Sect. 1. Chap. 11. The ſum of all in that place delivered, is, to my beſt remembrance, *This:* No *Chriſtian* is bound to admit or receive any *Doctrine* or propoſition, as an *Article* of his *Faith*, unleſs it be contained in the *Old or New Teſtament*, either *Totidem verbis*, or may be Concludently or *Demonſtratively deduced* from ſome *Sacred Maxim* or propoſition expreſly contained in the Canonical Books in the Old & New Teſtament. Such *Maxims* as are expreſly and plainly contained in Scripture, Every Chriſtian Man is bound to believe abſolutely. But ſuch propoſitions or Concluſions as may be demonſtratively inferred from Canonical unqueſtionable *Maxims*, they are only bonnd abſolutely to believe which have ſo much uſe of *Reaſon* or skill in *Arts*, as may enable them clearly to diſcern the *Neceſſity of the Conſequence*, or concludent *Proof* of the *Deduction*. The ignorant or illiterate are only bound to believe ſuch Deductions *Conditionally*, or to practiſe according to their Teachers inſtructions, with ſuch *Reſervation*, or under ſuch Conditions as have been expreſſed in the ſecond and third Book of theſe Commentaries.

See the ſecond Book, chap. 2. & chap. 4, &c.

3. But what *Propoſitions*, though expreſly contained in Scriptures, be *Negative* or *Affirmative*; *Univerſal, Indefinite, Particular*, or *Singular*; Or how any or all of theſe be *Convertible*, whether *Abſolutely*, by *Accident*, or by *Contrapoſition*; or how to Frame a perfect *Syllogiſm* out of them; Theſe or the like are points which the Holy Ghoſt, who ſpake by

the Prophets and other Pen-men of Sacred and Canonical Writ, did never undertake or profeſs to teach. The diſcuſſion or determination of Queſtions of this nature muſt be had from the *Rules of Reaſon*, *ſublimated or regulated by good Arts* or faculties. And for the betterring or Advancing of Natural Reaſon in this ſearch, the moſt learned or moſt ſanctified Chriſtian this day living, ſhould be very unthankful to the only Lord his Redeemer and Sanctifier, if he do not acknowledge it as an eſpecial Branch of his All-ſeeing Providence in raiſing up unto the World ſuch *Lights of Nature* and Guides of Reaſon as *Ariſtotle*, *Plato*, and others of the *Ancient Philoſophers* were. True Reaſon in whomſoever ſeated, Whether in the *Natural* or *Regenerate* man, unleſs it be advanced and guarded by ſuch Rules of Arts, as theſe *Sages of the old World* have by Gods Providence invented or bettered, can be no fit Judge; but being ſo advanced and guarded, is the moſt Competent Judge of Controverſies in Divinity; of ſuch *Controverſies*, I mean, as ariſe from *Conſequences* or Deductions, made by way of uſe or application out of the uncontroverted *Maxims* of ſacred Writ. And if we would ſequeſter *Grammatical or Rhetorical Pride*, and partiality to the ſeveral Profeſſions wherein reſpectively men glory, we might eaſily diſcern, all or moſt of thoſe unhappy Controverſies which have ſet the Chriſtian World for theſe late years in Combuſtion, to have been hatched, maintained, and nouriſhed by ſuch *pretended Favorites of the Spirit*, as either never had faithfully Learned any true Logick, Philoſophy or ingenuous Arts, or elſe had utterly forgotten the Rules which they had learned or heard, before they begun to handle Controverſies in Theology, or entertain diſputes about them.

Obliquity can have no other Cauſe beſide that which is the Cauſe of the Act whence it neceſſarily reſults.

4. The *Hypotheſis*, for whoſe clearer diſcuſſion theſe laſt *Theſes* have been premiſed, is this; [" *Whether it being once granted or ſuppoſed, that the Almighty Creator was the Cauſe either of our mother* Eves *deſire*, *or of her Actual Eating of the Forbidden Fruit, or of her delivery of it to her huſband, or of his taking and eating it, though unawares*; *the ſame Almighty God muſt not upon like Neceſſity be acknowledged to be the Author of all the Obliquities which did accompany the poſitive Acts*, *or did neceſſarily reſult from them.*] This is a Caſe or *Species Facti* which we cannot determine by the *Rule of Faith*: It muſt be tried by the undoubted *Rules of Logick*, or better Arts. Theſe be the only *perſpective Glaſſes* which can help the *Eye of Reaſon* to diſcover the truth or neceſſity of the Conſequence; to wit, [*Whether the Almighty Creator, being granted to be the Cauſe of our Mother* Eves *firſt Longing after the forbidden Fruit*, *were not the Cauſe or Author of her ſin.*] Now unto any Rational man that can uſe the help of the forementioned *Rules of Arts* (which ſerve as proſpective *Glaſſes* unto the *Eye* of *Reaſon*) that uſual Diſtinction between the Cauſe or Author of the *Act*, and the Cauſe or Author of the *Obliquity* which neceſſarily enſues upon the Act, will appear at the firſt ſight to be *Falſe or Frivolous*; yea, to imply a manifeſt Contradiction. For *Obliquity*, or whatſoever other *Relation*, can have no *Cauſe* at all, beſides that which is the *Cauſe* of the *Habit*, of the *Act* or *Quality* whence it neceſſarily reſults. And in particular, that conformity or ſimilitude which the *Firſt Man* did bear to his Almighty Creator, did neceſſarily reſult from his ſubſtance or manhood, as it was the work of God, undefaced. Nor can we ſearch after any other true Cauſe of the Firſt mans confirmity to God, or his integrity, beſides him who was the Cauſe of his manhood, or of his Exiſtence with ſuch qualifications as by his Creation he was endowed with. In like manner whoſoever was the cauſe whether of his coveting or eating of the *Tree in the middle of the Garden*, was the true Cauſe of that *Obliquity* or crooked de-

viation from Gods Law, or of that *deformity* or diſſimilitude unto God himſelf, which did neceſſarily reſult from the *Forbidden Act or deſire.* It was impoſſible there ſhould be one Cauſe of the Act, and another Cauſe of the Obliquity or deformity, whether unto Gods Laws or unto God himſelf. For no *Relation* or *Entity meerly relative* (ſuch are *obliquity* and *deformity*) can have any other Cauſe, beſide That which is the Cauſe of the (*Fundamentum* or) Foundation whence they immediately reſult. It remains then that we acknowledge the old *Serpent* to have been the *Firſt Author*; and *Man* (whom God created male and female) to have been the *true poſitive Cauſe of that Obliquity or deformity which did reſult by inevitable Neceſſity from the forbidden Act or deſire, which could have no Neceſſary Cauſe at all.* For the Devil or old Serpent could lay no abſolute neceſſity upon our *Firſt Parents Will,* which the Almighty Creator had *left Free to eat or not to eat of the Forbidden Fruit.* That they did *de Facto*, eat of it, was not by any *Neceſſity*, but meerly *Contingently*, or by abuſe of that *Free-will* which God had given them. Briefly, to ſay or think that our Firſt Parents were neceſſitated by the *Divine Decree* to that *Act* or any part of that Act or deſire, whence the Firſt ſin did neceſſarily reſult; or to imagine that the Act or deſire was neceſſary in reſpect of *Gods Decree*, is to lay a deeper and fouler charge upon the Almighty, *That holy One*, then we can, without ſlander, charge the Devil withal.

Much wrong done to worthy Writers by unſkilful Apologizers for their harſh expreſſions.

5. *Charity* binds me to impute the harſh *Expreſſions* of ſome good *Writers*, and wel-deſerving of all reformed Churches; Yea, the *Errors* of the *Dominicans* or other Schoolmen (which were more faulty then *Zwinglius* or his followers in this point) rather unto *Incogitancy* or want of Skill in good Arts, then unto *Malice* or ſuch malignancy as the *Lutheran* long ago had furiouſly charged upon the *Calveniſt*; as if they had choſen the Devil, not the Father of lights, maker of heaven and earth, to be their God. And I could heartily wiſh that *Pareus* had not entered into that Diſpute with *Becanus* about this Controverſie: But ſeeing I cannot obtain my wiſh, I muſt be ſorry that he came off no better then he did, eſpecially for *Calvins* Credit, or for his own. I did not believe the relation of the conference which I read long ago in *Caniſius*, until I read the like ſet forth by * *Pareus* himſelf; wherein he profeſſeth, that he likes better of *Cardinal Bellarmines* opinion then of *Calvins*, Concerning the Controverſies or Queſtions about the *Firſt Cauſe of ſinning.* But were it any part of my preſent task, I could eaſily make it appear, even by the Teſtimony and Authority, or which is more, by the concludent Arguments of ſome learned *Jeſuites* themſelves; That Cardinal *Bellarmin*, and many others of *Aquinas*'s followers, do make God to be the Author of Sin, by as clear infallible Conſequence, as either *Zwinglius* or *Piſcator* have done. And he that would diligently peruſe *Aquinas*'s writings, and in particular his reſolution of that Queſtion, [*An detur Cauſa Prædeſtinationis,*] may find him as ſtrait-lac'd as *Calvin* was; one and the ſame girdle would be an equal and competent meaſure for both their Errors. The beſt Apology that can be made for Either, muſt be taken from

* Tum *D. Serarius*: Scimus Veſtros ita diſtinguere, quod non improbamus. *Calvinus* vero in ſcriptis ſuis omnem Dei permiſſionem in peccatis ſimpliciter rejicit: Et opera malorum, etiam quoad malitiam, efficaciæ Dei tribuit: atque ſic Deum Authorem Peccati manifeſtè facit. *Ego verò*: Utrum hæc ſit *Calvini* ſententia quam Vos Ei tribuitis, poſtea videbimus. Jam accipio, quod datis, Noſtros, quos Calviniſtas vocatis, eo modo, quo dixi, diſtinguere; Quódque diſtinctionem noſtram non poteſtis improbare. Hinc verò evidentèr conficitur, *Calviniſtas*, quos vocatis, Deum peccati Autorem nequaquam facere: Ac proinde falſam eſſe *D. Becani* Minorem, quòd *Calviniſtæ* faciant Deum Autorem peccati: eóque & Concluſionem eſſe calumnioſam, quòd *Calviniſtarum* Deus ſit Diabolus.

Ibi *D. Serarius*, pro ingenio ſuo intelligens nodum: Ergo, inquit, deleatur illud—*ſtarum*: Erit tamen Diabolus *Calvini*, ſi non *Calviniſtarum* Deus. Quo dicto *D. Becanus* ſubrubeſcens, cum Socii ingenuitatem improbare non auderet, ſubjecit & ipſe: Benè, deleatur —*ſtarum*; Manebit tamen Deus *Calvini* Diabolus. Tum *Ego*, dextra eis præbita, pro tanta liberalitate gratias agens, Satis mihi nunc eſt, inquam, quòd fatemini, —*ſtarum* delendum eſſe, ut jam non *Calviniſtarum*, ſed *Calvini* Deus, ſecundum Vos, ſit Diabolus. *Pareus Act. Swalbacen. Parte 1. Coll. 2. De Autore Peccati.*

from the Roman Satyriſts charity, *Opere in longo*, *fas eſt obrepere ſomnum.* *Calvin* and *Aquinas* were *Homines* πολύγραφοι, that is, ſomewhat more then Authors of long works; Authors of many various works in reſpect of the ſeveral ſubjects or arguments: which is the beſt apology that *Janſenius* could make for S. *Jeroms* contradicting of himſelf in ſeveral works; as *Eſpenſeus* doth the like for Saint *Auſtin*.

6. But of *that Pardon which learned Men that wrot much and handled many much different matters may juſtly challenge*, *ſuch as ſtand to be their followers* (though afar off,) *are no way Capable*. Men, I mean, who having other ordinary works or vocations to follow, do buſie their brains and abuſe their Auditors or Readers with idle and frivolous Apologies for thoſe ſlips or errors of *worthy Writers* which ſtand more in need of ingenuous cenſure, of mild interpretation or *Correction*, then a *Juſtifiable Defence*. More there have not been (as I hope) nor more peccant in this kind in any of reformed Churches, then *In this Church of England*, though not *Of it*. Some *Treatiſes* I have read and heard for juſtifying the Eſcapes or ill expreſſions of *Calvin* and *Beza*, by improving their words into a worſe and more dangerous ſenſe, then they themſelves meant them in, or their Followers in the Churches wherein they lived, did interpret them. Had theſe *Unſcholaſtick Apologizers* been called to a ſtrict account or examination of their Doctrine by the *Rules* of *Art*, this haply would have bred a new Queſtion in our Schools; [*Whether to attribute ſuch Acts or decrees unto God as they do, and yet withal to deny that they concludently make him the Author of ſin doth not argue as great a meaſure of Artificial Foppery*, *or* (which is more to be feared in ſome) *of Supernatural Infatuation, as it would do of impiety, to reſolve dogmatically* in Terminis terminantibus, *That God is the Author of Sin.*]

CHAP. VI.

The uſual diſtinction between the Act and obliquity of the Act, can have no place in the firſt oblique Act of our firſt Parents.

The Illuſtration of the forementioned diſtinction retorted upon ſuch as uſe it.

1. THe former Queſtion or *Probleme* might juſtly be allowed in any Academical *Act* or commencement, albeit the Anſwerer or Defendant were furniſhed with no other grounds or occaſions of his *Theſes* beſides that uſually avouched Diſtinction between the *Act* and *Obliquitie* of the Act; ſpecially if the *Diſtiction* were applyed unto the *Firſt Sin* of our *Firſt Parents*. In that ſin whether we refer it to our father *Adam*, or to our mother *Eve*, the *Act* and the *Obliquity* are altogether as unſeperably annexed, as *Rotundity* or roundneſs is with a *Sphere* or moulded Bullet. And to imagine there ſhould be one Cauſe of the *Act*, and another of the *Obliquuty* or ſinfulneſs of the *Act*, would be as groſs a *Solœciſme*, as to aſſign or ſeek after any other Cauſe of the *Rotundity* or roundneſs of a *Sphere* or Bullet, beſides him that frames the one or moulds the other: or as it would be to enquire any other Cauſe of the equality between two bodies before unequal, beſides him that makes the quantity to be of one and the ſame ſize or ſcantling; or of the ſimilitude between the Fleece of a black ſheep, and of a white ſheep perfectly dyed black, beſides the *Dyer*. Now the ſimilitude betwixt that which is perfectly dyed black and that which is black by nature, doth inevitably reſult from the *Dyer* without the intervention of any other Cauſe imaginable. Eaſie it were to produce a volume of like inſtances in the works of nature, or of mens works and practiſes upon them; all of them concludently enforcing the

reſolution of the former *Probleme* to be allowable in Schools, by moſt perfect and abſolute *Induction*, if *Arts* or *Sciences* were once ſo happy as to have none but true and accurate *Artiſts* to be their *Judges* As indeed they are the ſole competent Judges in like Caſes, and Judges they are within theſe precincts as Competent, as the Reverend Judges of this or any other Land are in Cauſes Civil, Municipal, or Criminal.

2. Admit then a man were found guilty of murther by a *Jury* of his honeſt Neighbours upon the *Authentick Teſtimonies* of two or three witneſſes, which had ſeen him run his Neighbour through the body in ſome vital part, or to cleave his head in two, and a *Philoſopher* or Phyſitian ſhould undertake to *arreſt the Judgment* or make *Remonſtrance* to the the Judge, that the Delinquent arraigned, and convicted by the *Jury*, was not the true or immediate Cauſe of the others death, upon theſe or the like allegations out of his own faculty; *That death properly conſiſts in the diſſolution of natural heat and moiſture, whereas the party arraigned did never intend to make any ſuch diſſolution, or to terminate his Action to the point of death, but onely to thruſt his ſword through him or to knock him in the head, which Actions can have no direct* Terme, *beſides the* Ubi *or Term of local motion:* Can we imagine that any Judge could be ſo mild as not to cenſure ſuch an *Apologizer* for a ſaucy *Artificial Fool* or a *Crack'd-brained Sophiſter?* And yet this *Apology* is not, cannot be in vulgar judgments ſo Cenſurable of Artificial folly, as the former *Apology* for ſalving the Eſcapes, Errors, or ill Expreſſions of ſome Learned and *Pious Men*, by nice diſtinctions betwixt the *Act*, and the *Sinfulneſs of it*, in our Firſt Parents Caſe, was. For there is not ſo immediate, or ſo abſolute or neceſſary connexion between death and the deadlieſt wound that can be given to any man, as there is between *Acts* peremptorily forbidden by the Law of God, and the *Obliquity* or ſinfulneſs of them. For there is not, neither is it poſſible there ſhould be, any minute of time, or, which is leſs then the leaſt part of a minute, any moment of time, betwixt ſuch *Acts*, and the *Obliquity* reſulting from them. Both of them come together, both in reſpect of order of time, and of nature, by abſolute indiſpenſable *Neceſſity*: Whereas between death and wounds given meritorious of Capital puniſhment, there uſually is a diſtance of time, and oftentimes no abſolute or unpreventable neceſſity, that the one ſhould follow within a year and a day of the other.

3. But the beſt *Method* to convince ſuch as Invented or uſed the former *Diſtinction*, of groſs error and ſomewhat more then ſo, will be to retort their own Illuſtrations or juſtifications of it, upon themſelves; as I have learned by ſucceſsful Experience upon ſome learned *Ingenuous Students* which have revoked their own opinions, and reclaimed others upon the reading of my meditations upon this argument in another Dialect. One of the moſt uſual *Illuſtrations* or intended corroborations of the former diſtinction is borrowed from a Man, that rides a Lame or halting horſe. Such a rider, ſay they, (eſpecially if he ride with ſwitch and ſpur) is the Cauſe why the horſe goes or runs as faſt as he can, but not the Cauſe of his lameneſs or of his halting. Of his lameneſs, ſuppoſed he was lam'd before, the Rider (I confeſs) is no Cauſe; yet of his actual halting down-right, or of the increaſe of the lameneſs which will follow upon the unſeaſonable riding or over-riding, he is the only Cauſe. For if the poor Beaſt might have reſted his bones when he was enforced to trot or gallop, he would not have halted at all at that time, nor would he have been ſo grievouſly lame, as by ſuch unſeaſonable uſage he is. But this inſtance or *Illuſtration*, ſuppoſe it were not much amiſs in reſpect of

In ſolenni Lectione.

men now living, can no way ſute or fit the *Queſtion* concerning the ſin of our firſt Parents. For *Adam* at his creation was no way lame or defective either in ſoul or body, before he taſted of the forbidden Fruit. Now if the Almighty Creator had been the cauſe of this *Act*, he had been as true a Cauſe of the *Firſt ſin*, or of *Adams* halting in his ſervice; as he that beſtrides a ſound and luſty horſe, and runs him upon the ſpur in a rugged and ſtony ground, or in a deep way, is of the lameneſs, of the death, or any diſeaſe which enſues ſuch deſperate riding.

Many commit more groſs Idolatry with their own fancies, then the Heathen did with their Idols.

4. To imagin that God ſhould deal ſo hardly with the Firſt *Adam*, as to give him a Law which he intended to make him break, and yet to puniſh him with death for the breach of it; Or that the *Second Adam*, the wiſdom of God ſhould ſend wiſe men and Prophets to *Jeruſalem*, to the intent or End that *She* ſhould ſtone or put them to death; or for this purpoſe, that their bloud ſhould in later dayes be required of Her, (as ſome in our times have publickly taught) is an *Imagination* in it ſelf much worſe and more dangerous then the erection of *Images* (though Roman-wiſe) in Reformed Churches; A greater Abomination then any Idol of the Heathens. For Images or Idols are but the External Objects of, or enticements unto groſs Idolatry. Nor was it the Carpenter or Statuary that did make the Heathen gods or Idols: Who then? *Qui colit, ille facit*; He or they alone turn Images or Pictures into Idols or falſe Gods, which worſhip or adore them. But the former *Opinion* or imagination, whether in reſpect of God, as he was the *Firſt mans* Creator, or of the wiſdom of God, as he is *our Lord and Redeemer*, is Intrinſecal and *Formal Idolatry*, or Idolatry in the *Abſtract*, without any external *Object* to dote upon, or to entice men to beſtow worſhip upon it. The Heathens committed Idolatry in their Temples, or in their houſes: but this *Idolatry* is committed *within* his *Brain* that entertains it: The Eſſence of it formally conſiſts in the *Reflection of the Imagination upon it ſelf*, or in the complacency which men take in ſuch Reflections; if any man happily (which I much doubt) can be delighted with ſuch imaginations. The very height of Heatheniſh Idolatry, as our Apoſtle inſtructs us, *Rom.* 1. 23, &c. *did conſiſt in changing the glory of the uncorruptible God, into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beaſts, and creeping things.* Now if the wiſdom of God had ſent wiſe-men and Prophets unto the Jews, unto the End that *Jeruſalem* ſhould be deſtroyed, and righteous bloud required of them, His weeping over *Jeruſalem* had better reſembled or expreſſed the diſpoſition of a *Crocodile*, then the Nature either of God or any good Man. Nor was it greater Idolatry in the Heathen, to change the glory of the uncorruptible God into the Image or likeneſs of a *Crocodile*, as the Egyptians did; then it is to aſcribe the properties of this noyſome beaſt, or any ſuch diſpoſition, as the *Hiſtorical Emblem* of the *Crocodile* doth repreſent, unto the *Son of God*, who came into the world, not to deſtroy or hurt, but to ſave ſinners, and to be conſecrated to be *the * Author of Everlaſting Salvation to all that obey him.* Theſe *Two Branches* of Idolatry; *The One* planted in the Egyptian, who worſhipped the Crocodile for his god; *The other* in ſuch as worſhip or nouriſh ſuch ſiniſter imaginations (of the Son of God) as have been ſpecified; differ no more, then the way from *Athens* to *Thebes*, doth from the way from *Thebes* to *Athens*.

Qui fingit ſacros, auro vel marmore, vultus,
Non facit ille Deos; qui colit, ille facit.
Martial.

* Heb. 5. 9.

The original occaſion of the former errors or ill expreſſions.

5. The main head or ſource original whence all or moſt of the harſh expreſſions whether of reformed writers, or of Roman Catholiques; whence all the aſperſions which both or either of them indirectly, or by

way of neceſſary conſequence, caſt upon our Lord Creator and Redeemer, naturally iſſue, is that *Common or Fundamental Error,* That *all things,* (the changes and chances of this inferior World not excepted) are *neceſſary in reſpect of God,* or of his irreſiſtible Decree: That nothing, *not humane Acts,* can be *Contingent,* ſave only with reference to Second Cauſes. Now *if there be no contingency in humane Acts, there neither is, nor ever was, nor ever can be, any Free-will in man.* The original of this common Error; [*That all things are neceſſary in reſpect of the Divine Decree;*] hath been ſufficiently diſcovered in the ſixth book of theſe Commentaries upon the Apoſtles Creed, Sect. 2. Chap. 12. Where the Reader may find the Truth of this Propoſition or Concluſion clearly demonſtrated; [*That to Decree a Contingency in ſome works or Courſe of Nature, in humane Acts eſpecially, was as poſſible to him unto whom nothing is impoſſible, as it was to decree a Neceſſity in ſome others works or Courſes of Nature.*] As for inſtance; To Decree or conſtitute that our Father *Adam* ſhould have a *Free power* or Faculty either to eat or not to eat of the Forbidden Fruit, doth imply no Contradiction; and therefore was abſolutely poſſible to the Almighty Creator ſo to ordain or Decree. But many things (as the obſervant Reader will except) are poſſible, which are not probable, or never are brought into Act. True; Yet that the Almighty Creator, did *de Facto,* or actually decree, a *Mutual Poſſibility* of *Adams* Falling and not Falling, or between his Fall and Perſeverance, hath been in this preſent Treatiſe, and in ſome others demonſtrated from the Article concerning *The Goodneſs of God* or his Gracious providence, by ſuch Demonſtration, as the Caſe now in handling, is capable of: that is, by *Evident Deduction* of the Contradictory Opinion, to this *Impoſſibility, That God otherwiſe was the only Cauſe of our Firſt Parents ſins, and of all other ſins which neceſſarily iſſue from their ſins; unleſs it be granted and agreed upon, that* Adam's *Falling or not Falling ſhould both be alike poſſible; that neither ſhould or could be neceſſary either to the Firſt or Second Cauſes.* To deny that God did ordain or conſtitute a true and *Facible Mean* between the *Neceſſity* of *Adam's Perſeverance* in the State wherein he was created, and the *Neceſsity* of his *Falling* into ſin, *i.e. a mutual Poſsibility* of *Falling* or not of *Falling* into ſin, would imply as *Evident a Contradiction* unto, or impeachment of his *Goodneſs,* as it would do to his *Omnipotency,* if any man ſhould peremptorily deny that the Conſtitution or *Tenour* of ſuch a *Decree* were poſſible to his *Almighty power.* To ſay, God could not poſſibly make ſuch a *disjunctive Decree,* or ſuch a *Tenour of mutual poſsibility* betwixt things Decreed, as hath been often mentioned, would be a groſs *Error,* yet an error (I take it) not ſo dangerons, as to deny that he did *de Facto* make ſuch a *Decree.* For our *Gracious Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier is doubtleſs more jealous to have his Goodneſs impeached or ſuſpected, then to have his Almighty power queſtioned.*

6. Thus much of the main general *Query,* Concerning the manner how ſin (or that evil which we call *Malum culpæ*) did find Firſt entrance into the works of God, and in particular into the nature of Man: from the firſt moment of whoſe creation, he and all the reſt of Gods viſible works, had this *Elogium* or commendation, that they were *Exceeding Good:* No entrance of ſin into the works of God, into man eſpecially, was poſſible, without the Incogitancy or Inadvertency of a Free Cauſe or Agent. The *true nature of the firſt Sin* and of its hainouſneſs, did eſpecially conſiſt in this, that whereas our gracious Creator had endowed our *Firſt Parents* with a *Power* or faculty to *Do well,* exceeding well; and given them good encouragement to perſevere in ſo doing, they ſhould ſo incogitantly

and quickly abuſe this power, and the *Divine Concourſe* or aſſiſtance that did attend it, to do that which was evil; that which the Lord their Creator had ſo peremptorily forbidden them to do, under commination of a dreadful puniſhment to enſue upon the doing of it. The difficulty or main *Query* which remains (all that hath been ſaid being granted) is principally this: [*How this one ſinful Act of our Firſt Parents could poſſibly produce an Habit of ſin, or that which is more then an Habit, an unmoveable cuſtome of ſin, or an Hereditary diſeaſe of ſinfulneſs throughout all the ſucceſſions of the ſons of* Adam, *to the worlds end.*] The ſecond *Query* (yet in the firſt place to be diſcuſs'd) is this, [*Wherein the nature of that hereditary diſeaſe which we call Sin Original doth properly conſiſt.*] The third, [*How this hereditary diſeaſe doth bring all mankind into a true and proper ſervitude to ſin, and by ſin, unto Satan,* &c.] In the diſcuſſion of this and many other difficulties depending upon it, I ſhall endeavour to obſerve that *Rule* which *Chemnitius* in many of his works hath commended to the obſervation of every Student in Divinity; and his Rule is this: *To ſtate all Queſtions upon thoſe places of Scripture out of which they are naturally emergent, or out of thoſe paſſages, upon whoſe miſtakings or non-obſervance of them, many Theological controverſies were firſt occaſioned, and are to this day abetted or maintained with eagerneſs of diſſenſion.* To begin firſt with that moſt heavenly diſcourſe of our Saviour, *John* 8. 30, *&c.*

Sect. II.

Of the Properties or Symptoms of Sin Original, and of the nature of Sin in general.

CHAP. VII.

Containing the State of the Controverſie, or Debate betwixt our Saviour and the Jews, John 8. 30, *&c.*

JOHN Chap. 8.

Verſe 30. *As he ſpake thoſe words, many believed on him.*
31, *Then ſaid Jeſus unto thoſe Jews which believed on him, if ye continue in my word, then are ye my diſciples indeed.*
32. *And ye ſhall know the truth, and the truth ſhall make you free.*
33. *They anſwered him, We be* Abrahams *ſeed, and were never in bondage to any man: how ſayeſt thou, Ye ſhall be made free.*
34. *Jeſus anſwered them, Verily, verily, I ſay unto you, Whoſoever committeth ſin is the ſervant of Sin*
35. *And the ſervant abideth not in the houſe for ever: but the Son abideth ever.*
36. *If the Son therefore ſhall make you Free, ye ſhall be Free indeed.*

A Paraphraſe on John 8. *verſ.*34,&c.

1. WHether that Reply or *ſawcy interruption*, verſ.33. [*We be* Abrahams *ſeed, and were never in bondage to any man: How ſayeſt thou, ye ſhall be made Free:*] was made by thoſe Jews, whom our Evangeliſt avouches did believe on him, *verſ.*30. or by ſome other By-ſtanders, hath been diſcuſs'd in a Sermon lately delivered, which by Gods aſſiſtance ſhall be annexed to the Diſcuſſions following, which better befit the *Preſs* or the *Schools*, then the *Pulpit*. So that I muſt take my *Riſe* from our Saviours

Rejoynder to that former ſawcy reply, *verſ.* 34. *Verily, verily, I ſay unto you, Whoſoever committeth ſin*, &c. The fore-cited ſentence of *Cyprian*, doth here again opportunely interpoſe it ſelf; *Ut Deum cognoſcas, teipſum prius cognoſce: That thou mayeſt know God aright, firſt learn to know thy ſelf.* The advice is as true and fitting to our preſent purpoſe, *Ut Chriſtum cognoſcas, teipſum prius cognoſce*: There is no better way or Method to know *Chriſt* as *He is in ſpecial our Lord God and Redeemer*, then by knowing or underſtanding *our ſelves* to be *ſervants*, and wherein that *ſervitude* conſiſts, from which we are redeemed. That we are by nature *ſervants unto ſin*, you will require no further proof, nor can there any other be found better, then our Saviours own Authority: *Verily, verily, I ſay unto you, Whoſoever committeth ſin is the ſervant of ſin.* The *Aſſertion* is *Emphatical*, and as peremptory as plain. But concerning the *Extent* or *Limitation* of it, there may be ſome Queſtion made, or Scruple caſt in by the ordinary Hearer or Reader. For ſeeing as *Solomon* long ago hath taught us *Ex cathedra*, *There is no man that ſinneth not*: and our *Apoſtle* to like purpoſe: *If we ſay that we have no ſin, we deceive our ſelves, and there is no truth in us*: Then if it be univerſally true which our Saviour here ſaith [*whoſoever committeth ſin is the ſervant of ſin*:] the very *Redeemed* of the Lord, the beſt of his Saints here on earth may ſeem concluded to be *ſervants to ſin*; ſeeing he that ſinneth, doth commit ſin. The *Argument* is ſomewhat *captious* and would be ſtronger, if *To commit ſin* were a *verb* of the *preſent Tenſe*, and were to be no further extended. But the word in the *Original*, is not a *verb*, but a *participle* of the *preſent Tenſe* πᾶς ὁ ποιῶν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, not, πᾶς ὃς ποιεῖ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν. And *participles* of that Form (as every young Student in the Greek tongue, Eccleſiaſtick eſpecially, well knows) are according to *Hebraiſms* moſt frequent in the Greek Teſtament, fully *Equivalent to Latin Verbals*. *Vinum appetere*, that is, *to call for a cup of wine*, any ordinary man may without impeachment to his ſobriety, or cenſure of temulency: But to be *Homo appetens vini*, is in the Latin Tongue, a full Character or expreſſion of a *Wine-bibber* or a Drunkard. So that πᾶς ὁ ποιῶν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν is as much, as if he had ſaid in Latin, *Operarius iniquitatis*, which is the beſt expreſſion of the Hebrew פעל און: Not every one that committeth a ſin, or more ſins then one; but every one that is a *Committer of ſin*, or a *Worker of Iniquity* is the *Servant of ſin*. And ſuch all of us are by Nature, and ſo continue until we be redeemed by the *Free Grace of Chriſt*, from the Dominion of ſin and Tiranny of Satan. But before we can come to know the manner how we are *made Free* by the Son of God: we muſt (as it hath been intimated before) firſt know, wherein our *ſervitude* to ſin doth conſiſt. And this we cannot well know without ſome prenotion, or deſcription at leaſt, of the *properties or conditions of ſin eſpecially original.* To omit the diſtinction of *ſins* of *Omiſſion and Commiſſion*, there be of ſin generally or indefinitely taken (I dare not ſay divers kinds, but) divers *ſtems*, roots, or branches. The Firſt root of ſin, was *the ſin of the Firſt man*, which was both an *Actual* and *Habitual* ſin in him: The ſecond is, *Sin Original*, which is *more then an Habit*; an *hereditary diſeaſe* of our Nature, altogether incurable, ſave only by the *Free Grace* of the Son of God. Over and above both theſe roots or *ſtems*, there be other branches, as ſome *Sins Habitual*, which are acquired or produced by ſuch precedent *Actual ſins* as we freely and frequently commit, without any neceſſity impoſed upon us, by the inhabitation of *Sin Original* in our Nature.

CHAP

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Sin of the Firſt Man, *And of* Sin Original *which was derived from him:* Of Sins Actual, *and the difference betwixt them.* *That of* Sin Original *the* Heathens had *a natural notion.*

1. Concerning the *Actual Sin* of the *Firſt man* and the *Habit* which it produced in himſelf, I have not much more to ſay then hath been ſaid before; to wit, that *neither could have any neceſſary Cauſe*, but a Cauſe contingent only, or a free Agent. Nor is there (I take it) indeed any other Cauſe of *Actual or Habitual ſins, Præter Diabolum ſeducentem, & Hominem liberè conſentientem*, that is, *Beſides the Devil who ſtill laboureth to ſeduce or tempt us, and mans Free conſent or voluntary yielding to his temptations.*

2. Between *Sin Original* which is the *Effect*, and the *ſin* of the *Firſt man* which was the *Cauſe of it*, || ſome have accutely obſerved *This Diſtinction: That the Perſon of the Firſt man by his ſin corrupted our Nature; and our Nature being corrupted by him, corrupts all our Perſons that come by Natural Deſcent from him.* Unto which they add; *that Every one of us by committing Actual ſin, doth corrupt or pollute his Perſon.* But whether any *Perſon* beſides our Father *Adam*, do or may by frequent Commiſſion of Actual ſins, without any *Neceſſity* derivable either from our *Firſt Parents ſin*, or from the *Effect* of it, which is *Sin Original*, corrupt or pollute the *Nature* of ſuch Perſons as lineally deſcend from him, is a point capable of Queſtion, and worthy of more accurate diſcuſſion, then my Abilities afford, or my years will permit me to beſtow any long or ſerious ſtudies in. Such as are or ſhall be diſpoſed to handle this or any of the former Queſtions propoſed, more exquiſitely, muſt make their entrance into this Search by the ſame plain way which I intend to follow: that is, to gueſſe at the *Cauſe* by the *Effect*; or at the *Nature* or *Eſſence* of *Sin Original*, by the known *Properties* or *Symptomes* of it. And in this plain Search an Obſervant *Student* ſhall hardly find ſuch fair hints, or good helps from the *School-men*, Ancient or Modern, as he may from ſome *School-Boyes*, or at leaſt from ſome *Good Books* which they uſually read, and better remember then the *School-men* do.

Adams First Sin *did pollute our* Nature: *Our* Actual Sins *pollute our* Perſons.
|| Vid. Locorum Theologicorum Compendium, Pro *Scholis Wratiſlavienſibus* concinnatum.

The pregnant teſtimonies of Heathens, Poets, Naturaliſts, *&c. concerning* ſin Original.

3. As for the *Subſtance* or Reality of that which we call *Original Sin*, though unknown to them by that name, and of our Natural *Servitude* to ſin, a ſerious Divine may find more ſolid and lively * Expreſſions in ſome Heatheniſh *Naturaliſts*, or in the Roman *Orator*, or Ancient Latin *Poets*, then he can do in the great *Maſter of the Sentences*; in *Aquinas* (though Sainted as much for Learning as for Sanctity, by the Romiſh Church;) or in their Followers, or ſuch as Comment upon their Writings. And no marvel, if ſo it be, ſeeing *the Naturaliſt* (as his profeſſion leads him) *hunts after the Truth upon a Freſh-unſoyled Scent*, alwayes inſiſting upon thoſe which we call the *Firſt Notions*: whereas the *School-men*, the Later eſpecially, have been delighted to draw all Doubts or *Quaries* about the moſt ſolid Points in Divinity, or matters moſt capable of Philoſophical Expreſſions, into *ſecond Notions* or Terms of Art, or Artificial Fabricks of words: as if they meant to rend or reſolve ſtrong and well

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* *Terence. Andr. Act. 1. Sc. 1 Ingenium eſt Omnium Hominum à labore proclive ad libidinem.*

Hor. Serm. l. 1. Sat. 3.

Nec natura poteſt juſto ſecernere iniquum
Dividat ut bona diverſis, fugienda petendis.

Ovid: Metam. l. 7.

Me trahit invitam nova vis; aliudq; Cupido,
Mens aliud ſuadet. Video meliora proboq;
Deteriora ſequor.

Hor. Epiſt. 8. lib. 1.

Quæ nocuere ſequar; fugiã quæ profore credam.

Parallel to that of S. Paul, *Rom.* 7. 21, 22, 23.

Ovid. Am. 1.

Nitimur in vetitum ſemper cupimúſque negata:
Sic interdictis imminet Æger aquis, &c.

Parallel to Rom. 7. 8, 9. *Mans ſervitude to ſin is well ſet down, by* Horace, *Serm. Lib. 2. Sat. 7. and in* Perſius. *Sat. 5. v. 75, &c. conſonant to* John 8. 34. *And that in* Perſ. 2. *Sat. v. 60.*

O curvæ in terris animæ, & cœleſtiũ inanes!
Quid juvat hoc, Tẽplis *noſtros immi tere mores,*
Et bona Diis *ex hac ſcelerata ducere pulpa?*

Is parallel to Pſ. 50. 21. *Thou Thoughteſt wickedly that I was ſuch an One as thy ſelf.*

woven Stuff into ſinall and raveled threds; to intangle themſelves and their Readers in perpetual *Fallacies*, *A rebus ad voces*. *Nitimur in vetitum ſemper, cupimusque negata*, was a Good Leſſon which the *Facile Roman Poet* had not learned by *Hear-ſay* or got by Rote; but had got it by *Heart* from a good inſtructor, as willing and ready to teach us as him; that is from undoubted *Experience* of his own or other mens diſpoſitions or affections. This *good Poet* with ſome other of his profeſſion, and other *Heathen Orators or Philoſophers*, have excellently obſerved, that *The nature of man was farther out of tune or frame; had greater diſcord or contrariety of inclinations within it ſelf, then the Nature of any other living thing beſides.* But unto the Nature or Reality of that which Divines call *Original ſin* the Roman *Naturaliſt (Pliny I mean)* in his Proæme to the ſeventh book of his Natural Hiſtory, ſpeaks moſt fully and moſt appoſitly. The paſſage is (for ought I know) well tranſlated into our Engliſh. Or if ought be amiſs, the Latin Reader may correct or amend it by the Latin Copie hereto annexed.

Iſa. 1. 3.
Jer. 8. 7.

Mundus, & in eo terræ, gentes, Maria, Inſulæ, inſignes urbes, ad hunc modum ſe habent. Animantium in eodem natura, nullius prope partis contemplatione minor eſt, ſiquidem omnia exequi humanus animus queat. Principium jure tribuetur Homini, cujus cauſâ videtur cuncta alia genuiſſe natura, magnâ & ſevâ mercede contra tanta ſua munera: ut non ſit ſatis æſtimare, Parens melior Homini, an triſtior Noverca fuerit. Ante omnia unum animantium cunctorum alienis velat Opibus: cæteris variè tegumenta tribuit, teſtas, cortices, coria, ſpinas, villos, ſetas, pilos, plumam, pennas, ſquamas, vellera. Truncos etiam arboreſque cortice, interdum gemino, à frigoribus & calore tutata eſt. Hominem tantùm nudum, & in nuda humo, natali dies abjicit, ad vagitum ſtatim & ploratum, nullumque tot animalium aliud ad lachrumas & has protinus vitæ principio. At Herculè riſus, præcox ille & celerrimus ante quadrageſimum diem nulli datur. Ab hoc lucis rudimento, (quo, ne feras quidem inter nos genitas) vincula excipiunt, & omnium membrorum nexus: At Homo infœliciter natus jacet, manibus pedibuſque devinctis, flens animal cæteris imperaturum: & à ſuppliciis vitam auſpicatur, unam tantum ob culpam, quia natum eſt. Heu dementiam ab iis initiis exiſtimantium ad ſuperbiam ſe genitos. Prima roboris ſpes, primumque temporis munus quadrupedi ſimilem

Thus as you ſee, we have in the former Books ſufficiently treated of the univerſal world, of the Lands, Regions, Nations, Seas, Iſlands, and Renowned Cities therein contained. It remaineth now to diſcourſe of the living Creatures compriſed within the ſame, and their natures: a point doubtleſs that would require as deep a ſpeculation, as any part elſe thereof whatſoever, if ſo be the ſpirit and mind of man were able to comprehend and compaſs all things in the world. And to make a good entrance into this treatiſe and Hiſtory, methinks of right we ought to begin at *Man*, for whoſe ſake it ſhould ſeem that Nature produced all other creatures beſides: Though this great favour of hers, ſo bountifull and beneficiall in that reſpect, hath coſt full dear. In ſo much, as it is hard to Judg, whether in ſo doing ſhe hath done the part of a kind mother, or an hard and cruel Step-dame. For firſt and formoſt, of all other living Creatures, man ſhe hath brought forth all naked, and clothed him with the good and riches of others. To all the reſt given ſhe hath ſufficient to clad them every one according to their kind: as namely, ſhels, cods, hard hides, pricks, ſhagge, briſtles, hair, down, feathers, quils, ſcales, and fleeces of wooll. The very trunks and ſtems of trees and plants, ſhe hath defended

facit. Quando Homini inceſſus? Quando vox? Quando firmum cibis os? Quamdiu palpitans vertex, ſummæ inter cuncta animalia imbecillitatis indicium? jam morbi, totque medicinæ contra mala excogitatæ, & hæ quoque ſubinde novitatibus victæ. Cætera ſentiri naturam ſuam, alia pernicitatem uſurpare, alia præpetes volatus, alia ire, alia nare: Hominem nihil ſcire ſine doctrina, non fari, non ingredi, non veſci: breviterque non aliud naturæ ſponte, quàm flere. Itaque multi extitere, qui non naſci optimum cenſerent, aut quàm ocyſſimè aboleri. Uni animantium luctus eſt datus, uni luxuria, & quidem innumerabilibus modis, ac per ſingula membra: uni ambitio, uni avaritia, uni immenſa vivendi cupido, uni ſuperſtitio, uni ſepulturæ cura, atque etiam poſt ſe de futuro. Nulli vita fragilior, nulli rerum omnium libido major, nulli pavor confuſior, nulli rabies acrior, Deniquè cætera animantia in ſuo genere probè degunt: Congregari videmus, & ſtare contra diſſimilia: Leonum feritas inter ſe non demicat: ſerpentum morſus non petit ſerpentes: ne maris quidem belluæ ac piſces, niſi in diverſa genera, ſæviunt. At Herculè Homini plurima ex homine ſunt mala.

ed with bark and rind, yea and the ſame ſometimes double, againſt the injuries both of heat and cold: Man alone, poor wretch, ſhe hath laid all naked upon the bare Earth, even on his birth-day, to cry and wraule preſently from the very firſt houre that he is born into this world: in ſuch ſort, as among ſo many Living Creatures, there is none ſubject to ſhed tears and weep like him. And verily to no babe or Infant it is given once to Laugh before he be forty days old, and that is counted very early and with the ſooneſt. Moreover ſo ſoon as he is entred in this manner to enjoy the Light of the Sun, ſee how he is immediatly tyed and bound faſt, and hath no member at liberty; a thing that is not practiſed upon the yong whelps of any beaſt among us, be he never ſo wild. The Child of man ſo untowardly born, and who an other day is to rule and command all other, lo how he lyeth bound hand and foot, weeping and crying, and begining his Life with miſery, as if he were to make amends and ſatisfaction by his puniſhment unto Nature, for his only Fault and treſpaſſe, that he is born and brought into the world. O folly of all follies, ever to think (conſidering this ſimple beginning of ours) that we were ſent into this world, to live in Pride and carry our head aloft! The firſt hope that we conceive of our ſtrength, the firſt gift that time affordeth us, maketh us no better yet then four-footed beaſts; how long is it ere we can go alone? How long before we can prattle and ſpeak, feed our ſelves, and chew our meat ſtrongly? What a while continueth the mould and crown of our heads to beat and pant, before our brain is well ſettled; the undoubted mark and token that bewrayeth our exceeding great weakneſs above all other creatures; What ſhould I ſay of the infirmities and ſickneſs that ſoon ſeize upon our feeble bodies: What need I ſpeak of ſo many medicines and remedies deviſed againſt theſe Maladies: beſides the new diſeaſes that come every day, able to check and fruſtrate all our proviſion of phiſick whatſoever? as for all other Living Creatures, there is not one, but by a ſecret inſtinct of nature knoweth its own good, and whereto he is made able: Some make uſe of their ſwift feet, Others of their flight wings: Some are ſtrong of limes: Others are apt to ſwim, and practiſe the ſame: man only knoweth nothing unleſs he be taught; He can neither ſpeak, nor go, nor eat otherwiſe then he is trained to it: And to be ſhort, apt and good at nothing he is naturally, but to pule and cry. And hereupon it is, that ſome have been of this opinion, That better it had been, and ſimply beſt for man, never to have been born, or elſe ſpeedily to die.

None but we do ſorrow and wail, none but we are given to exceſs and ſuperfluity infinitely in every thing, and ſhew the ſame in every member that we have. Who but we again are ambitious and vain glorious? Who but we are covetous and greedy of gathering good? We and none but we deſire to Live long and never to die, are ſuperſtitious, careful of our ſepulture and burial, yea, and what ſhall betide us when we are gone; Mans life is moſt frail of all others, and in leaſt ſecurity he Liveth: No Creature Luſteth more after every thing then he: None feareth like unto him, and is more troubled and amazed in his fright: and if he be ſet once upon anger, none more raging and wood then he. To conclude, all other Living Creatures Live orderly and well, after their own kind: We ſee them flock and gather together; and ready to make head and ſtand againſt all others of a contrary kind: The Lions, as fell and ſavage as they be, fight not one with another: * Serpents ſting not Serpents; nor bite one another with their venomous teeth: Nay the very Monſters and huge Fiſhes of the Sea, war not amongſt themſelves in their own kind: But, believe me, Man at mans hand, receiveth moſt harm and miſchief. Thus far *Pliny.*

* *Juvenal. Sat.* 15. *v.* 145.

Senſum à cœleſti dimiſſum traximus arce—.
Sed jam Serpentum major concordia. Parcit
Cognatis maculis ſimilis ſera. Quando Leoni
Fortior eripuit vitam leo? quo nemore unquam
Expiravit aper majoris dentibus apri?
Indica tigris agit rabida cum tigride pacem
Perpetuam: Sævis inter ſe convenit urſis—.
Aſpicimus populos quorum non ſufficit iræ
Occidiſſe hominem, ſed pectora brachia vultum
Crediderint genus eſſe cibi. Quid diceret ergo
Pythagoras, quo non fugeret, ſi hæc monſtra videret?

Like Pſal. 49. 20. *Man being in Honour*——*is become like the Beaſts that periſh.*
Iſa. 1. 3. *The Ox knows*—— *Iſrael knows not.*
Jerem. 8. 7. *The Stork,* &c.

Heathen Naturaliſts *hold better Conſort with the Primitive Church concerning the nature of* Sin Original, *then the* Socinians *do.*

4. We have no reaſon ſufficient to Perſwade us to believe or to ſuſpect that this great *Naturaliſt* did ever peruſe any part of the *Book of Grace*, not ſo much of it as is contained in the *Hiſtory of Moſes*, much leſs ſuch paſſages in it as concern this *point*, as are comprehended in the *Prophets*, in the *Evangeliſts*, or in *S. Pauls Epiſtles.* Or if any man have better reaſons then I have to beleive or ſuſpect that he might read them all, or the moſt part of them. It would notwithſtanding be a groundleſs ſurmiſe to imagine, that he had been *Catechized by Chriſts Apoſtles or their Deputies*; or that he had received any ſpiritual *Grace*, either by *Baptiſm* or *Impoſition of Their hands.* Now albeit we ſuppoſe or grant, that he had read the *Books of Moſes* or ſome paſſages in the *Prophets*, but deny (what I think no man will affirm) that he was *Baptized* or made partaker of Grace by Chriſt: the *Cauſe* is clear that he could have no better guid for ſearching after, or finding out thoſe *Orthodoxal Truths* or Notions which he hath moſt Elegantly expreſt, then *Recta Ratio*; that is, the right uſe of Reaſon, which Nature, though corrupted in him, had not utterly extinguiſhed but much weakened. And here I can rather *wiſh*, then *pray*, that this man had lived in this *age*, or might be reſtored to Life again, to encounter thoſe *Semi-Chriſtians* which contend for the Soveraignty of *Recta Ratio*, as if *it* were the only *Guid* or Rule of *Chriſtian faith.* But albeit I dare not pray, nor can I hope to hear *Plinie* ſpeak to this or any other good purpoſe in this Life: Yet I verily beleive, that the writings which this *Uncatechized Heathen* hath left, and he himſelf ſhall riſe up in Judgment againſt thoſe proud *phantaſtick Spirits*, which have been baptized in the name of Chriſt, and Catechized in the fundamental Points of *Chriſtan faith*, do either flatly deny or captiouſly queſtion, Whether our *Nature* were ſo deeply tainted with that *Sin* which we call *Original*, or ſo far deprived of *Freedom* or power to reſtore our ſelves to our *primæval ſtate* of *Nature*; as that the Death and Reſurrection of a *Redeemer more then meer man*, and his Everlaſting Preiſthood, were neceſſarily required for freeing us from the bondage of Satan.

Com.III.

S. Auſtin *not the Firſt that did maintain Original ſin.*

5. Seeing this *Modern Sect* of men, as *Pelagius* their Father (whoſe errours concerning the ſtate of the *firſt man* and of *Sin Original*, have been mightily improved by them) have been, and are ſuch notorious *Trewants* in the *Book of Nature*, and ſuch *Schediaſtick Surveyors* of the *Book of Grace*, as none have been or can be beſide; and ſuch as in their *ſceptical contrivances* hold it a part of *Policy* or ſtate, to draw all or moſt ſuch forces of *Reaſon* as *Nature* or *Grace* had implanted in their breaſts, to guard their *Brains*, or fortifie the inventions of their *Fancies*: It is not to be expected that they ſhould much regard the Unanimous conſent of the *Orthodoxal* and *Primæval Church*. Some of this *Sect* are well contented to oppoſe the conſent of ſuch *Antiquity* (as in other points they ſlight) againſt thoſe who reverence the memory of the Ancient *Martyrs* or *Fathers*, eſpecially before S. *Auſtins* time. Others of them are not aſhamed to accuſe this great and Learned *Father* for being the *Firſt Author* of that Doctrine which we maintain Concerning the Nature of *Sin Original*. Now to preſs them with his *Authority*, whom they accuſe as an *Author* of *Errour*, would be bootleſs. Wherefore waving his Authority for the preſent for being any competent Judge or Advocate in this Controverſie, No ingenuous or ſober man can except againſt him, as an unfit *Witneſs* in this Cauſe, concerning the *Tenents* of the *Ancient Church*; or againſt others whom he produceth as witneſſes beyond all Exception, which either *Pelagius* himſelf, his Followers, or the *Manichees* could have taken againſt them in his time.

Neque enim ex quo eſſe cæpit Manichæi *piſtilentioſa doctrina, ex illo cæperunt in Eccleſia Dei parvuli baptizandi,* Exorcizari & exufflari, *Ut ipſis myſteriis oſtenderetur non eos in regnum Chrſti niſi erutos a tenebrarum poteſtate transferri. Quid autem dicam de ipſis divinarum ſcripturarum tractatoribus, qui in* Catholica Eccleſia *floruerunt? Quomodo hæc non in alios ſenſus conati ſunt vertere, quoniam ſtabiles erant in antiquiſſima & robuſtiſſima fide; non autem novitio movebantur errore. Quos ſi colligere & eorum teſtimoniis uti velim, & nimis longum erit, & de* Canonicis autoritatibus, *à quibus non debemus averti, minus fortaſſe videbor præſumpſiſſe quam debui, Veruntamen ut omittam beatiſſimum* Ambroſium, *cui* Pelagius, *ſicut jam commemoravi, tam magnum integritatis in fide perhibuit teſtimonium, qui tamen* Ambroſius *nihil aliud defendit in parvulis, ut haberent neceſſarium* Medicum Chriſtum, *niſi Originale Peccatum. Nunquid & glorioſiſſimæ coronæ* Cyprianus *dicetur ab aliquo, non ſolum fuiſſe, ſed vel eſſe potuiſſe* Manichæus, *cum prius iſtic ſit paſſus, quàm illa in orbe Romano peſtis apparuit, & tamen* in libro de Baptiſmate parvulorum *ita defendit Originale peccatum, ut propterea dicat, & ante octavum diem, ſi neceſſe ſit, Parvulum baptizari oportere, ne pereat. Quem tanto vult intelligi ad indulgentiam Baptiſmi facilius pervenire, quanto magis ei dimittuntur non propria, ſed aliena peccata. Hos iſte audeat dicere* Manichæos, *& antiquiſſimam* Eccleſiæ *Traditionem iſto nefario crimine aſpergat, qua* Exorcizantur, *& ut dixi,* Exufflantur *parvuli, ut in regnum* Chriſti *à poteſtate tenebrarum, hoc eſt Diaboli & Angelorum ejus eruti transferantur:* Aug. l. 2. de nuptiis & concupiſcentia, cap. 29.

CHAP. IX.

Of the properties or effects of Sin Original, *known by the light of* Nature *and by* Scripture.

The Property of Original ſin is to Luſt after things forbidden by the Law of God and of Nature.

1. ENough it is to perſwade any reaſonable man, That * *Original Sin is not a meer privation*, or a proportioned ſhadow of Being, without a Reality anſwering to it; ſeeing that in man (the Note or Character of whoſe diſtinction from, or excellency above all other viſible Creatures, is the uſe of Reaſon) there uſually is ſuch a *Lethargy*, or ſlothful deadneſs to do that which the very Law of Nature or Reaſon doth dictate unto him or command him to do; and ſuch an eager proneſs or appetite to do thoſe things which the Law of Reaſon or of Nature forbids him to do; and thoſe things with greater Eagerneſs, which the ſame Law of Reaſon or other poſitive Laws derived from it, moſt peremptorily and upon ſevereſt penalties forbid him to do. It hath been obſerved by many *Authors*, that the Unnatural ſin of *Parricide*, (wilful Murther of Father or Mother, or of Superiour Kindred) did not become rife or frequent amongſt the Romans until they had upon particular ſad accidents enacted a publick Law, and ordained a ſpecial kind of torment for tranſgreſſors in this kind. *Lucius Oſtius* was the firſt amongſt the Romans that did commit this Unnatural ſin: And He lived almoſt ſix huudred years after the City was founded; a little after the ſecond Punick War. Some good ‖ Writers aſcribe the long abſtinence from this unnatural ſin, unto the wiſdom of *Romulus* their Founder who enacted no Law againſt, much leſs appointed any peculiar kind of death unto this Crime, which He expected ſhould never be committed by His Poſterity. Certain it is, that *Solon*, for the like reaſon, did not ſo much as mention this Crime in His (otherwiſe) moſt ſevere Laws. But this obſervation was taken from the Heathen Romans in times ancient and far more remote, and doth not (as happily will be objected) hold in theſe times or places wherein we live. Yet the Ingenuous and Learned French † Hiſtorian (who meddles with the Hiſtory of his own times only) tells us, that the like unnatural ſin towards Children or Infants did never come to ſo high and far-ſpreading a *Flow* in the great City of that Kingdom, until *the State* or Parliament had erected a peculiar *Court* to be held, for examination or trial of ſuch Cruel Mothers as ſought to ſalve the breach of one Commandment by the violation of another; to cover the ſhame of their own wantonneſs, by murthering the tender fruits of their folly: as if the *Dam* which the Law had ſet for repreſſing or ſtopping the Courſe of this bloody ſin, had but provoked the ſtream or Current to ſwell higher and greater; to overbuſt all obſtacles or inhibitions which the Laws of God, the Laws of Nature, and of the Kingdom, had ſet againſt it.

2. Again, why *Pulpit-pride*; why *Clergy-cunning*, inſolency, or malice ſhould grow into a *Proverb* throughout moſt Chriſtian Kingdoms or Provinces, as if theſe or like tranſgreſſions in our profeſſion, were of ſuch a ſcantling as could hardly be matched by the Laity; I cannot give a more

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‖ *See* Plutarch *in the Life of* Romulus; Laertius *in the Life of* Solon; *and* Tully *in His ſecond Oration*, Pro Roſcio Amerino: *who gives the true Character or Expreſſion of that ſpeech of* Laertius. Διὰ τὸ ἀπελπίσαι, *untowardly rendred by the* Latin *Interpreter*—— Καὶ μέχρι χρόνων πολλῶν ἔδοξεν ὀρθῶς, ἀπογνῶναι τὴν τοιαύτην ἀδικίαν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἔδρασε τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν ἐν Ῥώμῃ σχεδὸν ἐτῶν ἑξακοσίων διαγενομένων. Ἀλλὰ πρῶτος μετὰ τὸν Ἀννιβαϊκὸν πόλεμον ἱστορεῖται Λούκιος Ὄστιος πατροκτόνος γενέσθαι. Plut. in Rom. p. 32. Ἐρωτηθεὶς (*Solon*) διὰ τί κατὰ πατροκτόνου νόμον οὐκ ἔθηκε, Διὰ τὸ ἀπελπίσαι, ἔφη: Diog. Laert. l. 1. *in* Solone. Is (Solon) cùm interrogaretur, Cur Nullum ſupplicium conſtituiſſet in Eum, qui Parentem necâſſet, reſpondit, ſe id neminem facturam putâſſe. Sapienter feciſſe dicitur, cùm de eo nihil ſanxerit, quod antea commiſſum non erat, ne non tam Prohibere, quàm admonere videretur. *Tull. Orat. 2. Pro Sext. Roſcio Amerino.* † Thuanus.

probable reaſon (if the imputation be true, or the occaſion of the Proverb juſt) then this; That *Men of our profeſſion*, who are *Gods peculiar Inheritance, are bound by the Laws of God to more ſtrict obſervance of our Saviours præcepts concerning Humility, Meekneſs, Brotherly-love, and Charity, or peaceable diſpoſition towards all*; *then ordinary Men. or men of other Callings or profeſſions are*. And we know whoſe ſaying it is, That *if we do not continue as we are by the place wherein he hath ſet us* (the *Salt* of the Earth, and *Light* of the World;) *We ſhall become the moſt degenerate, unprofitable members of the Land and Church wherein we Live.* And if the whole *Tribe* were to bear *peculiar Arms* (as ſome other ingenuous Profeſſions do;) No *Device* could ſo well befit us as *Jeremiah*'s *two Baskets of Figs. Then ſaid the Lord unto me. What ſeeſt thou* Jeremiah? *and I ſaid, Figs; the good Figs very good; and the evil very evil, that cannot be eaten they are ſo evil. Jer.* 24.3. The bad Figs were the Emblem of the diſobedient refractory, as the good Figs were of the obedient and believing Jews in the Prophet's time: both parts of the *Emblem* are as applyable to the Sons of *Levi* in our daies. *Such of this Tribe as ſuffer ſin to reign in their Mortal bodies, are generally the worſt of ſinners:* Such as mortifie the works of the fleſh by the ſpirit, by prayer, and other good ſervices of God, and ſeek their *Freedom* or manumiſſion by the Son of God, Working out their Salvation with fear and trembling, are the *Beſt of all Gods Saints* on Earth.

The proper effects or Symptoms of Sin Original, *deſcribed by S.* Paul.

3. But the greateſt part of the *Induction* hitherto made for finding out the properties or *Symptoms* of *Sin Original*, will be excepted againſt, eſpecially by ſuch are as meer ſtrangers to their own *Breaſts*, or diſpoſitions of their hearts; becauſe the particular obſervations or *Experiments* whereof the *Induction* conſiſts, have been made by the Heathen, or related by *Authors not Canonical.* But the *Exception* will *voyd* it ſelf, if we ſhall make it clear to men altogether unexperienced of themſelves; that the like *Experiments* or obſervations have been made and more fully expreſſed by one whoſe *Authority is Canonical*; whoſe *Teſtimony* of *Experiments* made in himſelf and taken by himſelf, is moſt *Authentick*: it is S. *Paul.* That *Sin Original* was in the world before the *Law was given*, is clear from this Apoſtle *Romans* 5. 13. *For until the Law, ſin was in the world: but ſin is not imputed when there is no Law.* So our Engliſh, and moſt other Modern tranſlations, render the Greek ȣ̓κ ἐλλογεῖται; None of them altogether ſo well as it might be rendred: Better thus; [*There is not, there cannot be any true eſtimate or full reckoning made of Sin, where there is no Law to give the * Charge.*] And again *ver.* 20. *Moreover, the Law entred that the offence might abound.* This abounding of the offence whereof he ſpeaks, was the iſſue or effect, τὸ πέρας: not τὸ τέλος, the *End* or Final Cauſe why the Law was given: For ſo the *Law-giver* might be ſuſpected to have been the *Author of ſin*, or at leaſt of the increaſe or abundance of it in the world. The Apoſtles meaning is, that *the Law was given as a preparative Phyſick or medicine*, to let ſuch as were ſick of ſin (as all were before the Law was given) underſtand, in what danger they were; or, to give them notice of the abundance of corruption which was ſo deeply ſeated in their Nature, that it could not be throughly purged by the Law, which only ſet ſin a working, that men might ſeek more eagerly after a *Better medicine*, to wit, *Faith in Chriſt*. That this was our Apoſtles true meaning in this place is apparent from the *Parallel-paſſages* to theſe: *Romans*, Chap. 7. 7. *What ſhall we ſay then? is the Law ſin? God forbid: Nay I had not known ſin* (that is, I had not taken true notice of the meaſure or danger of it) *but by the Law: for I had not known Luſt, except the Law had ſaid, Thou ſhalt not Covet.* The Law to which theſe words refer, is the tenth Commandement:

* *The Syriack reads it,* Uſq; enim ad Legem, peccatum, quum eſſet in mundo, non reputabatur peccatum, propterea quòd non erat Lex. *That is,* Sin, though it were in the world until the Law, yet was it not reputed *or* reckoned for ſin until the law was given. *But if it be true which the Apoſtle ſaith; that ſin* raigned *unto* death *until the Law: I hope it was* imputed with a Witneſs.

wherein the Coveting of ſome few particulars, as of our Neighbours Wife, or of his goods, is only expreſly forbidden: But ſin taking occaſion by this *Negative Commandment*, wrought in our Apoſtle (as he himſelf teſtifies) all manner of *Concupiſcence*; *for without the Law Sin was dead*: that is, He did not feel the Motions or *Paroxyſmes* of ſin, until the Law was laid unto him, as a *preparative Medicine* unto better *Phyſick*. And again *ver.* 9th. *I was alive without the Law once, but when the Commandement came, Sin revived, and I dyed.* And again, *ver.* 11, 12, 13. *Sin takeing occaſion by the Commandement, deceived me, and by it ſlew me. Wherefore, the Law is Holy, and the Commandement Holy, and juſt and good. Was that then which is good, made death unto me? God forbid: But ſin, that it might appear ſin, working death in me by that which is good; that ſin by the commandement might become exceeding Sinful.*

It is a Point obſervable and fully parallel to our Apoſtles doctrine; *That the Eaſtern part of the world did rather loath then long after Circumciſion, Until our Saviours Reſurrection and the Apoſtles peremptory forbidding the practiſe of it.* From the former doctrine of our Apoſtle I have learned ſatiſfaction to a *Probleme* which had often and long Perplexed my thoughts. The *Probleme* was this: Why Men, Unto whoſe care and fidelity a man might ſafely commit his Fortunes or his life upon their honeſt word, became moſt careleſs and unfaithful in matters whereto they are punctually tyed by oath? The reaſon is, Becauſe the interpoſition or obligation by oath, is as the coming of a Law which provokes the Corruption of Nature, whoſe longing or luſt after things forbidden rather then it ſhould be unſatisfied, draws men otherwiſe morally honeſt, to become like wayward intemperate Patients, which rather chooſe to nouriſh the longing humours of the diſeaſe or infirmity, then to obſerve the preſcription of the Chirurgeon; ready to pull off the plaiſter though with the live-skin or fleſh, rather then to endure the working of it for a moment.

4. But here ſome have Queſtioned, *Whether this Chapter be meant of the Regenerate or Unregenerate Man?* A *Captious Interrogatory*; if Regeneration were but one *Act*, or a reſultance of ſome *few Acts* or Conflicts between the Fleſh and the Spirit. But ſeeing *Regeneration, in true Theology, includes Acts almoſt numberleſs, or a Combat ſomewhat longer, then Mortification doth*: This Chapter, *if we ſpeak of Chriſtians*, muſt be Meant, not of the Man truely Regenerated or perfectly Mortified, but of a Man, *Inter Regenerandum*, during the intermediate *Acts or conflicts* betwixt the beginning and Conſummation of his * Regeneration. Or if we ſpeak of *One that believes the Old Teſtament* better then the New, as of a Jew or Mahumetan: it cannot be meant a *Lawleſs Man*, but of a man under the *hammer of Gods Law* given by *Moſes*. For there muſt be a Laying of ſome Law or Other, to the heart, before the *Conflict* here mentioned can begin; or Sin inherent, be ſo Provoked, as our Apoſtle tells us, it is.

* *See the* 9th. *Article of the Church of* England.

Why Sin Original is more provoked by the Negative, *then by the* Affirmative Precepts.

5. He that will diligently peruſe our Apoſtles forementioned Paſſages *Rom.* 7. in the Language wherein he wrote, will eaſily obſerve with me, That *the occaſion which Sin took* By the Law to deceive him (as it doth yet to deceive us;) was from the *Negative Precepts* or Commandements of the Law; not from the *Poſitive or Affirmative*. Now why the *Negative Precepts*; that one eſpecially, [*Thou ſhalt not Luſt; Thou ſhalt not Covet*;] ſhould a great deal more provoke or more forcibly revive the ſeeds of *Original Sin* inherent in us, then the *Affirmative Precepts* uſually do; the *Reaſon* is *Evident*; becauſe, nothing is nominated or propoſed unto us in the *Affirmative* Precepts, but that which in its nature is truely and ſincerely Good, without

the mixture of Evil: And being ſuch, is more apt to revive or quicken the *Notions* of the Law of Nature, or Reaſon, or thoſe *Reliques of Gods Image* which remain in our Nature ſince our Firſt Parents fall; then to *Enlive* the ſeeds of ſin, or to provoke our inclinations unto Evil. On the contrary; In every *Negative Precept* there is a *Propoſal* or repreſentation of thoſe things, which be in their *Nature truly Evil*; and therefore moſt apt to incite or provoke our natural Inclinations unto the evil forbidden, or to enrage the Reliques of our firſt Parents ſin inherent in Us; after the ſame manner and for the ſame reaſon, that the repreſentation of red Colours (without any other Provocation given) is, to provoke or ſtir the bloud of Beaſts or Cattle, which are of a more pure or ſanguine Conſtitution. Thus ſome tame Beaſts (as Bulls or Kine) are apteſt to turn mankeen upon ſuch as are cloathed in bright red, or Scarlet. And a grave *Learned* || *Hiſtorian* ſometimes *Chronicler to* Charls *the 5th.* in an Epiſtle of his to his Friend, relates a ſad accident of a *Bear*, which had never been obſerved to have raged upon Any: yet being let looſe from her Cage, and having opportunity to have exerciſed her rage upon Others, *did ſingle out a Courtiſan* of *Spaniſh* progeny, whom ſhe did as cruelly tear in pieces as if ſhe had been Robbed by her of her whelps; wearing upon that day a garment of ſomewhat a darker colour then the *Scarlet* or bright red, and ſo much the more apt (as * *Philoſophers* teach us) to provoke or enrage this or other Ravenous Creatures, which be of more dusky and melancholy bloud. And the † Author of the firſt *Book of Maccab.* Chap. 6. v. 34. relates a warlike Practiſe for encouraging the *Elephants* to fight more fiercely againſt their Enemies, by repreſenting, or (as it ſeems) ſqueazing the *Bloud of Grapes* and Mulberries in their ſight or view.

6. Now the ſight of ſemblable Colours can have no greater force or efficacy to ſtir up the Bloud of Creatures like unto them, then the ſolemn propoſal or repreſentation of ſins prohibited hath to provoke or enrage the *Reliques of Sin Original*, or to procure the *Fits* or *Motions* of it, without the aſſiſtance of *Grace* by Chriſt to reſtrain them. And I cannot perſwade my ſelf, that ſome ſins (not to be named) could ever have been, or yet could be ſo frequently practiſed in *divers Regions* which have ſubmitted themſelves unto the diſcipline of the Romiſh Church; to all her Canons and conſtitutions; ſave only from the repreſentation or expreſſion of the nature of ſuch ſins in thoſe loathſome and abominable *Interrogatories*, which Romiſh Prieſts uſe in taking *Auricular Confeſſion*.

|| Scortum Hiſpani generis lepidum, ut ferebatur, & formoſum, mula, ut Romæ meretrices cum Amatoribus ſolent, animi gratia geſtabatur. Hæc cum veniſſet ad Thermas Diocletianas, Vivarium ferarum ingreſſa, nec contenta cicures vagantes Spectâſſe, precibus contendit & ægrè impetrat à belluarum Magiſtro, ut ingenti urſo cavea ſeparatim incluſo, ſed quem conſtabat in Neminem antea deſæviiſſe, exitum aperiret. Facta poteſtate urſus erumpit, mulam terrefacit, excuſſam mulierculam, Cæteris, qui aderant, diffugentibus, invadit, dictoque citius ſtrangulat, & contrito capite primùm avulſa ubera, deinde natem alteram devorat, unguibus & dentibus laceratam. Efferatam beſtiam exiſtimo, colore coccineæ veſtis, quam induerat miſella, ſpeciem ſanguinis Præferentem. *Sepulveda Epiſt. lib. 2. ep. 15.*

* *See Scarmilion De coloribus.*

† Τοῖς ἐλέφασιν ἔδειξαν αἷμα σταφυλῆς καὶ μόρων, τοῦ παραστῆσαι αὐτοὺς εἰς πόλεμον.

CHAP. X.

Containing ſuch Deſcription or Definition of Original Sin *as can be gathered from the Effects or Properties of it before mentioned.*

Sin Original, ſuch a diſeaſe of the Soul as the Dropſie or other like diſeaſes are of the body.

1. FRom theſe Diſcuſſions of the Properties or *Symptomes*, we may frame this or the like Deſcription of *Original Sin* it ſelf; "That it "is ſuch a *Diſeaſe* of the Soul, or ſuch a corruption of the *Humane nature*, "as the *Dropſie* or other like corrupt Humours are of the Body: The one

ſort includes a thirſt or longing after ſuch things as are forbidden them by the *Phyſitian of their Bodies*; The other an appetite or hunger after ſuch dyet as is in ſpecial prohibited by the *Phyſitian of their Souls.* And all diſeaſes (we know) are dangerous wherein the Longing of the corrupt humour or matter which breeds them, is much greater then the Longing or appetite of Nature; eſpecially if we give ſatisfaction to ſuch intemperate deſires or appetites.

2. Or if the Reader deſire more then a Deſcription (that is) ſome competent Definition of *Sin Original*: the beſt which for the preſent I can exhibit, is this; [*That it is a poſitive Retinency of the Fleſh or corrupt Nature of man againſt the Spiritual Law of God, eſpecially againſt the Negative precept; being firſt occaſioned or rather cauſed by the tranſgreſſion of our Firſt Parents, eſpecially from the intemperate Longing of our Mother Evah after the forbidden Fruit.*] For as our Apoſtle inſtructs us, 1 *Tim.* 2. 14. Adam *was not deceived, but the Woman Being deceived Was in the tranſgreſſion*; that is, more deeply in the tranſgreſſion then the Man: becauſe ſhe ſeduced him to eat the forbidden fruit, as the Serpent had done her; Or as the fleſh or *ſenſitive part* of our Nature doth yet often ſeduce the *Reaſonable Will* to yield her tacit or implicit conſent unto ſuch Actions as they have expreſly reſolved upon or undertaken, without conſulting *Reaſon* or the *maſculine part* of our Nature.

3. From this *Firſt Tranſgreſſion* of our Firſt Parents; from the birth of *Cain* unto this preſent day or hour, the forementioned *Obſervation* of the *Roman Poet* [*Nitimur in vetitum ſemper, cupimuſque negata*;] was never out of Date, but continued ſtill in full force and ſtrength amongſt all the Sons of *Adam* throughout their ſeveral generations; unleſs perhaps in ſome few, who by *ſpecial priviledge* or peculiar Grace, have been redeemed from the raign or dominion of Sin from the womb or from the time wherein they begun to know the difference bewteen good and evil. *Our bleſſed Saviour* (who was no mere Son of *Adam*, but the true and onely Son of God) was abſolutely Free from the womb, from his Conception as man, *from all tincture of ſin Original*, from all inclinations to attempt or deſire any thing that was evil or forbidden by the Law of God.

4. Now the *Nature, Properties*, and *Conditions* of *Sin Original* being ſuch as have been deſcribed; it is eaſie to be conceived, how potent it is to conquer us, and to bring us into *Servitude* unto it ſelf and unto Satan; Or how it is that very ſnare, or a great part of it, whereby ſuch as oppoſe the truth, are *taken Captive by the Devil* (as our Apoſtle ſpeaks) *at his will or pleaſure*, 2 *Tim.* 2. 26. But of this point hereafter.

CHAP. XI.

Containing the Reſolution of the main Difficulty propoſed, to wit, How the Firſt Actual Sin *of our Firſt Parents did produce more then a* Habit *of Sin, an* Hereditary diſeaſe *in all their Poſterity.*

The eating of the Forbidden Fruit, did pollute or poyſon the nature of man.

1. THe cheif Difficulty (at leaſt as ſome make it) is, How the *Firſt Sin*, whether of our Father *Adam*, or of our Mother *Evah*, or of both, could poſſibly produce a perpetual *Habit* of ſin in themſelves, or an *Hereditary corruption* of the Humane Nature, propagated from them throughout all generations. This difficulty (though) cannot be preſſed or drawn unto any *Contradiction* to the unqueſtionable rules of Reaſon or true *Philoſophy*. The full and cleer Solution of it only ſurpaſſeth the reach of

Reaſon meerly natural, or of *Philoſophy* not enlightened by *ſacred Hiſtory* or *Moſaical Relations* of the eſtate wherein man was created. Surely if *Pliny* or ſome other Naturaliſt had been ſo happy as to have diligently peruſed and beleived the *Oracles of God* delivered by *Moſes*, *Gen.* 1, 2, and, 3, &c. We *Chriſtians* this day Living might have had more ſatisfactory Reſolutions for clearing this point, then we can gather from the *School-men* or many of the *Ancient Fathers*,*Some *School-men* do think that our Nature was corrupted by the poyſonous breath of the old Serpent in his conference with our Mother *Evah*. I neither know nor remember whether they have any ground of this conjecture from true antiquity? or whether it be a *Maſterleſs* peice of their own coyning. The conjecture or phanſy it ſelf is for this reaſon Leſs probable, becauſe the Nature of our Father *Adam*, who held no parlie with the old ſerpent, was no leſs corrupted then the Nature of his conſort *Evah*. Other good writers are of opinion, that the fruit of the *Tree of knowledg of good and evil* was for its ſpecifical quality *of a poyſonous Nature* both to the Soul and body; at Leaſt, apt to taint or corrupt both: and the firſt mans nature was tainted by taſting or eating of it: For of it he did eat as much as *Evah* did, if not more, though ſhe ware more in the tranſgreſſion, becauſe ſhe had Plucked it from the tree. And I cannot conjecture any ground why any ingenuous Reader of the ſacred Story ſhould peremptorily reject this opinion, which I (for my poor talent in Divinity) hold in ſome better eſteem then a meer or probable conjecture. No *Article* of Chriſtian Faith it is (though we ſhould ſuppoſe Faith it ſelf to be no more then an Opinion) yet to be admitted into the Liſt of *pie Credibilia*, or to be ranked amongſt ſuch opinions, as may be more piouſly and more ſafely beleived then peremptorily rejected or derided. The conſequence of this Opinion or Suppoſition is, That *Adam did become his own executioner*, Or as the *Canoniſts* ſpeak, *incidere in Canonem*, did abſolutely inflict that Puniſhment upon himſelf, unto which his Creator had but conditionally ſentenced him. *Gen.* 2. 17. *But of the Tree of the knowledg of good and evil, thou ſhalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou eateſt thereof, thou ſhalt ſurely dye.* There was no *Neceſſity* Laid upon him by his Creator that he ſhould eat of it: but ſuch a peremptory reſtraint or Command to the contrary, that whenſoever he did eat of it, Death ſhould neceſſarily follow. And ſo it did; for *Mortality* and corruption did enter into his Nature with the Fig or Apple which he taſted, not only upon the ſame *day* wherein he taſted it, but in the very ſame *moment*. And the ſame mortality and corruption are propagated to all his Sons from the firſt moment or point of time wherein they begin to be his Sons. Or more breifly, the *Forbidden fruit*, of what ſort ſoever it were, *did as truly beget* or bring forth corruption and *Mortality* in our Nature, *as Adam did beget Cain*, or *Evah* bring him forth.

* Gregorius de Arimino.

2 But it may be (and I preſume will be) Objected, That not the *Forbidden fruit* only, but the whole *Tree* whereon it grew, root and branch, were immediately created by God, before *Adam* could taſte or eat of it. And if it were for ſpecifical quality poyſonous, or did neceſſarily taint the whole humane Nature, being once taſted of: How can either Fruit or Tree be conceived to be any part of Gods ſix-days-works, all of which were *very good*? Or how ſhall we ſalve, or be able to maintain that *Maxim* of the wiſe *Man* [*God did not create death*,] ſeeing he did create that poyſonous Fruit, by which our Nature was deadly poyſoned? *Facilis Solutio*, the anſwer is ready: Albeit deadly poyſon be not *Good* to him that takes it, yet, that there ſhould be poyſon, or herbs and fruits in their nature poyſonous, as well medicinal or wholſom, is, and from the beginning was very *Good*. *Good* likewiſe it was; *exceeding Good*, that the *Firſt man* ſhould have

Objections that are or can be made againſt the former Reſolutions, anſwered.

Wiſd. 1. 13.

have Death as well as Life propoſed to his *Free or unneceſſitable choice.* So the whole fault was in himſelf; no part in the fruit which God had forbidden him to eat. For he by thus eating of it did chuſe death before life. And however the fruit, which we ſuppoſe to have carried deadly poyſon with it into his body, were immediately created by God: Yet that of the Prophet is more remarkably true of our Firſt Parents, then of *Iſrael* unto whom it was directed, *Perditio tua ex te*; *O Adam, thou waſt the cauſe of thine own* and of our *deſtruction*: But of our ſalvation in and through the promiſed ſeed, Our gracious Creator is the *ſole Cauſe* and Author. Again, Albeit *Adam* did exceeding ill in chuſing death before life: yet *This* in the Conſequence, by ſpecial diſpenſation of divine Mercy, was *Good* for us. Our Nature was not ſo much wounded or made worſe by that *unhallowed Food*, as our perſons are bettered and our eſtate amended by the *new Covenant* in Chriſts bloud; unleſs we abuſe thoſe Talents which our Gracious Creator and Redeemer hath given us, as *Adam* did his. Were Free choice left unto us which now are living; Whether we would accept that eſtate or condition of life wherein *Adam* was created, or that which is granted us by the new Covenant in Chriſts bloud: He ſhould commit as great a folly as our Firſt Parents did, that would not embrace the *later Condition* and refuſe the *former*.

3. But for the former *Difficulty*, How more then a *Habit* of ſin; an *Hereditary diſeaſe* of nature, ſhould be produced by one or two *Acts*, I am afraid ſome men make it ſeem a great deal greater then it is, more by their own incogitancy then by any poſitive Argument that can be brought to enlarge or preſs it further, then at the firſt ſight it appears to every young Student. Firſt, theſe men take it not into conſideration that our *Firſt Parents* might commit more *Actual ſins then that One* often mentioned, before the corruption of nature was propagated to their Succeſſors. Beſides, The *Alteration of their dyet*, change of dwelling and air, might depreſs their nature, and diſpoſe them to a deeper degree of Mortality and Corruption then they were ſubject unto when they were firſt driven out of Paradiſe. And Paradiſe for ought we know, or can poſſibly object to the contrary, might, for many conveniencies and conducements to preſervation of health whether of body or mind, exceed all other habitations, as far as Princes *Palaces* do common Gaoles. What further impreſſions other occurrences beſides theſe mentioned, intervenient between our *Firſt Parents* Grand-ſin and the birth of *Cain*, of *Seth*, or others of their Children, from whom all the Kindreds of the earth Lineally deſcended, might make in the nature propagated from them; or what effects or *Symptoms* our mother *Evahs Longing* after the forbidden Fruit might leave in her ſelf or in her Children, is unknown to us: yet a Point to be conſidered by ſuch as think it ſcarce poſſible for *one Act* to produce an *Habit*. This we know in general; That the eager Longings of Mothers, or diſtaſtes or affrightments taken by them, do often imprint many hereditary diſpoſitions in their Children. And from this original, all or moſt of thoſe ſtrange *Antipathies* unto meats or drinks in themſelves good and wholſome, and unto other Live or Liveleſs creatures no way noyſome, do (as Learned Phyſitians reſolve us) naturally iſſue. Yet no *Antipathies* in private families can be ſo perpetually hereditary, as thoſe *inclinations* unto Evil, or *Antipathies* unto goodneſs, which proceeded from the Firſt Well-head or ſpring of our Nature, to wit, from our mother *Evah*: That being once corrupted, could not but corrupt the whole current. As for *Evahs* Luſting after whatſoever other unlawful pleaſures, her *Longing* after the Fair-ſeeming Fruit of the *Tree of Knowledge*, we may hence

gather to have been very intemperate and exuberant beyond the ordinary ſize of unruly appetites; in that, *Holineſs with ſobriety* is more ſpecially at Leaſt under more expreſs condition required unto the ſalvation of the weaker ſex, as our Apoſtle hath it, 1 *Tim* 2. 15. *Notwithſtanding, ſhe ſhall be ſaved in Child-bearing, if ſhe continue in faith and charity, and holineſs with ſobriety.* And ſo is abſtinence from ſome peculiar ſins, or from Occaſions of temptations to ſuch ſins as their Progenitors have been moſt prone unto, more peremptorily required in their Children, then in other Men whoſe Anceſtors or Progenitors have not been tainted with the like ſins, nor obnoxious to like temptations.

Whether all branches of ſin Original do neceſſarily ſpring from our firſt Parents Sin.

4. But here if any man be otherwiſe minded or diſpoſed to contradict what I have ſaid or ſhall briefly ſay concerning this point, I profeſs I ſhall not be willing to debate the *Probleme* any further with him. Only I muſt for mine own part proteſt, that there never yet aroſe any doubt or queſtion between me and my moſt retired thoughts; Whether there may not be and are ſundry particular Branches of ſin or natural inclinations unto Evil, propagated from intermediate Parents unto their Children or Families for many Generations, which do not by any *Natural Neceſſity* grow out of that *Original Stem* or Root of Corruption, whereof all of us are partakers by the *Fall* of our Firſt Parents. Yet I would intreat the Reader to take this conſideration along with him; That ſuch Hereditary ill diſpoſitions or inclinations to ſome peculiar vices as we mean, may abate, remit, or revive and be improved through ſeveral ſucceſſions or collateral Lines of the ſame *Stem*, unto which they are (for ſome generations) Hereditary, or finally expire, after the ſame manner that ſimilitude of bodily Lineaments, feature, or viſages doth vary, alter, or expire in many Ancient families: Some Children being more true pictures of their Great Grand-fathers, or Grand-fathers or great Uncles, then of their immediate Parents: Others again more like their immediate Parents, then to any of their Anceſtors, whether by Father or Mother. Concerning the Cauſe or manner How ſimilitudes of feature, of bodily Lineaments or viſages do or may abate or remit in the firſt or ſecond Deſcent, and revive in third or fourth; this the Reader muſt learn from Philoſophers or Phyſitians, as *Ariſtotle* or *Galen*, which of purpoſe have ſearched into this ſecret of Nature. For illuſtration of the manner, how hereditary indiſpoſitions of the heart or affections may abate, revive, or expire in the ſeveral Deſcents of families, the determination of that moral Probleme [*An nobilitas generis deſinat in uno vitioſo?*] will be pertinent.

Vid. inter alios Franciſcum Valleriolam in com. in Hippocr.

Now that *Nobility* of Bloud, or thoſe inclinations unto *Heroical vertues* for which ſome Ancient Families have been famous, do not neceſſarily ceaſe or expire through the vitiouſneſs of one Succeſſion, was a point determined in the Schools when I firſt knew them. And experience may teach a Long-liv'd Obſervant man, that *Two* vitious or lewd Succeſſors do not oftentimes ſo abate or utterly *dead* thoſe ſeeds of vertue which were propagated to them from their Anceſtors, but that they may revive, or be improved in the *Fourth Generation* or Deſcent. The abating, reviving or expiring of them depends moſt upon their Education: And ſo doth the abatement or improvement of *Original Sin* or inclinations unto Evil. Even *that Corruption* of Nature which we neceſſarily draw from the loſs of *Paradiſe*, is not equal in all the ſons of *Adam*, though it be moſt true; That every one of us is as truely *tainted* with *it*, as any Other. Again, though it be *univerſally true*; That all men are by Nature Sinners; all deſtitute of the Grace of God: Yet it is no part of this *Univerſal truth*; to deny That ſome Race or Brood of Men are from their birth or Conception, much more by Education, more graceleſs then Others are. And yet for ſuch as have the leaſt meaſure of ſin, whether *Original*, *Habitual*, or *Actual*; Or for men as we term them, of *Sweet Diſpoſitions* or Good nature, it is as impoſſible to be freed from *Natural Servitude* unto ſin, without the *Special Grace* of God in Chriſt, as it is for the greateſt Sinners or moſt Graceleſs Brood of Men. The beſt of us, even after the participation of Grace in ſome degree, have a greater meaſure of one or other kind of ſin, then we take notice of, or then we can Learn from moſt Profeſſors of Divinity, which have purpoſely undertaken to Decypher the nature and haynouſneſs of it.

CHAP. XII.

Containing the true and ſolid Definition *of Sin, whether* Original *or* Acquired *by vitious Acts or diſpoſitions.*

Illyricus *his Definition of* Sin Original *how far blamable, how far Commendable.*

1. The beſt attempt that I have read or heard to this purpoſe, was made long ago by *One* who hath been ſo buffeted on both ſides, which he ſought to teach or inſtruct, as would make an ordinary Souldier in our Chriſtian warfare afraid either to be his *Second* or to come unto his Reſcue, *Flaccius Illyricus* I mean; a man moſt happy in *Political* undertakings and atchievments, which were rather below then beyond his profeſſion: Yet in his Treatiſe concerning the *Nature* of *Original Sin*, or the nature of ſin in general, *Two wayes* unfortunate: *Firſt*, In that he was not ſo profound a Philoſopher or exquiſite Artiſt, as it were fitting Every Divine, which will undertake to handle this part of Divinity, or others which have connexion with it, ſhould be: *Secondly*, In that he was a better Philoſopher and more exquiſite Artiſt by much, then ſuch Divines, whether in reformed Churches or others, which have taken upon them to rectifie or confute his Errors. Theſe for the moſt part run a wider Byaz on the left hand towards the *Nominals*, then he doth on the right hand from the *Real Philoſophers or Divines*. This man went the right way to his work, and begun it like a good Artiſt, by defining or diſplaying the Nature or Eſſence of *Original Righteouſneſs*, before he entred into that diſpute Concerning the Nature of *Original Sin*, or unrighteouſneſs. He rightly and upon demonſtrative grounds denies *Original Righteouſneſs* to be any quality *ſupernatural*, any Accident or property adventitious to the humane nature; if we conſider *that* in the Eſtate wherein *it* was firſt created. Nor did he commit any error (much leſs incur any cenſure of Hereſie) by avouching *Original Righteouſneſs* to have been the *Eſſential form* of man, if he had expreſs'd his meaning with this addition, or limitted his expreſſions thus; [*As the Firſt Man was the work of God, or conſidered as he was created in His Image.*] For (as I am forced often to repeat) there were not in mans Creation *Two works* of God really diſtinct, either in order of *nature* or in reſpect of *time*; nor ſo diſtinct, as that *The One* might be imagined to be the Nature of the firſt man, or of Gods image in Him; *The Other*, a Coronation of his Nature, or image of God, with a Grace or righteouſneſs ſupernatural. For *Righteouſneſs original*, to ſpeak properly, could be no other work or Effect imaginable, ſave only the Reſultance of that image of God wherein our Nature was firſt moulded. And this Reſultance was as immediate unto, and as unſeperable from the image of God wherein the firſt man was created, as *Roundneſs* is from a perfect *ſphere*, or well moulded bullet; or as *Equality* is from *Identity of quantity*: Of none of which there can be two diſtinct Cauſes or Operations.

2. To make the *Image of God* or that Righteouſneſs, which by immediate neceſſity reſulted from Gods image or work, the *ſubſtance*, nature, or Eſſential form of man, *quâ talis*, as he is a man; would be a groſſe Error or grievous *Solœciſm* in philoſophy: For ſo Adam ſhould not have been the ſame individual Party or Perſon after his Fall, which he was before. And this Error in *Philoſophy* uncontroul'd, would neceſſarily *induce* a more dangerous *Hereſie in Divinity*, to wit; [That the ſame party which was made righteous by God, ſhould not be puniſhed for loſing this Righteouſneſs, but ſome other for him] By the ſame reaſon the *Humane Nature* it ſelf, which is now polluted by ſin, ſhould not be ſo much as *ſpecifically the ſame* with that which God did in the beginning create; Our Nature as now it ſtands, ſhould be wholly a work or Creature of the Devil.

3. But this Good writer, I mean *Illyricus*, *iterum & identidem*, often and again diſclaims all Opinion or thought conceived by him of any *Specifical change* of the Eſſence or nature of mankind, from the firſt Creation to the worlds End; or of any *Eſſential Change* or Deſtruction of the *Individual Nature* or perſons of our *Firſt Parents*, Yet his Expreſſions of his meaning ſometimes may ſeem to infer either a change of Nature or a deſtruction of the *two Individuals* firſt created by God. It may be that *Opinion* of ſome late philoſophers [*principium Individuationis eſt à materia; that, The root of Individuation or diſtinction of one particular Perſon from another was wholly from the Matter, not from the Form, which is the principal part of every mans Eſſence or perſon;*] was imbraced by him. But ſeeing he utterly diſclaims the former Concluſions or Inferences, which ſome would put upon him: it would not be ingenuous to charge him with them upon *Conſequences*, not of his own, but of other mens making. The Learned and ingenuous Reader will eaſily excuſe him from this *One Error* in Philoſophy, ſeeing he hath taught ſuch as will be taught by him ſo many good *uſeful Leſſons*, as no Divine (which I have read) in modern Churches hath taught more, for avoiding *Sceptical* or meerly *Dialectical*, and making *ſolid* and *Theological Definitions* in ſubſtantial or Fundamental points of *Divinity*. For no *Definition* of *Sin* eſpecially, or of *Free-will* or other Controverſie depending upon their Determination, can be truly *Theological* or ſuch as a profeſſor of *Divinity*, if he be a true *Artiſt*, can brook; unleſs it be truly and ſolidly *Philoſophical*.

The Difference between meerly Dialectical *and* philoſophical *or* Theological *Definitions.*

4. The difference between a *Nominal* or meerly *Dialectical*, and a true *Philoſophical* or Phiſical Definition of one and the ſame *Real Effect*, affection, or propertie, is Excellently ſet down in ſundry Treatiſes by the *Great Philoſopher*, If this queſtion [*Quid eſt ira? what is that which we call Wrath or Anger?*] were propoſed to a meer *Logician*, or *Dialectical Grammarian*: His anſwer is upon his tongues end; *Ira eſt appetitio vindictæ: Wrath or Anger is a deſire or appetition of revenge.* But this is only λόγος ὀνοματώδης, *a* meer Expreſſion what the *Word* doth ſignifie; or at the Beſt but οὐσιώδης a Definition only of the *Abſtract Eſſence* of the *Accident* or Affection. But if the ſame queſtion were propoſed to a true *philoſopher*, to a good *Naturaliſt* or Learned *phiſitian*, his anſwer would be; *Ira eſt ebullitio ſanguinis circa cor*; Wrath or *Anger* is in truth and indeed neither leſs nor more then the *boyling of the blood about the heart*: This is the only root or Real Cauſe whence Anger immediately growes. Yet if we would take a full *Definition* of this moſt unruly paſſion (which is the uſual Commander in cheif, of greateſt Commanders) it muſt be This, according to the rules of Art; *Ira eſt appetitio vindictæ propter Ebullitionem ſanguinis circa cor; Wrath or Anger, is an appetition of revenge cauſed by the boyling of blood about the heart*, And from this *Definition* Every good *Moraliſt*, (ſuch all

true *Divines* ſhould be, and ſomewhat more) may Learn in part how to curb or tame This *unruly Beaſt*: according to the old proverb, *Equo ferocienti ſubtrahendum pabulum*; by abſtaining from all Cholerick meates, and by withdrawing himſelf from all probable occaſions, which by one ſenſe or other may ſet his beſt blood on boyling.

5. He that ſaith, An *Eclipſe* is the privation of light in the moon or other heavenly ſtarr, ſpeakes properly Enough: For this the *Eſſential Definition* of that which we call an *Eclipſe*, whether in the Sun or in the Moon: Yet but a *Nominal Definition*, which every young Scholar or Academick may Learn out of his *Lexicon*. What more then is required to a *Philoſophical* or *Real Definition* of an *Eclipſe*, whether in the Moon, Sun, or other ſtars? Nothing beſides the aſſignation of the *Real Cauſe* by which this defect of light is wrought, whether in the Sun or Moon. The *Real Cauſe* of this privation of Light in the Moon is the *Diametral interpoſition* of the ſhadow of the earth between the Moon and the Sun, from whom as from the Fountain of Light, this ſecond *Light* or *Governeſs* of the night doth borrow its Light or Splendor. Albeit of theſe two *Definitions*, the *Grammatical* or *Nominal* be moſt proper: Yet the *Cauſal*, (though taken alone as Philoſophers uſe to expreſs it) is moſt *Real* and more ſatisfactorie. An *Eclipſe in the Moon is the interpoſition of the Earth betwixt the Sun, and it*: The *Eclipſe of the Sun is the interpoſition of the body of the Moon betwixt the Sun, and us*, that be inhabitants of the Earth. Hence we may Learn that however the *Nominal* or *Eſſential Definition* of an *Eclipſe*, whether in the Sun or Moon or other Star, that is, a *Privation of Light*, be One and the ſame: Yet we may Learne more from the *Cauſal Definition* of either of them, then we can from the *Nominal Definition* of both. In an *Eclipſe* of the Sun there is no defect or Privation of Light in it: We inhabitants of the Earth onely are deprived of the light or Luſtre of this glorious ſtar, by the interpoſition of the body of the Moon between it, and our bodily ſight. Whence we may truly inferr, that the body of the Moon is in it ſelf as impenetrable by Light, or as uncapable of *Tranſmiſſion* or free paſſage of Light through it, as the body of the Earth is; That the ſurface only of this great ſtarr is capable of Light by reflection, as a Globe of ſteel or other ſolid Body, whoſe ſurfaces are ſmooth and Equable: It doth not, it cannot tranſmit Light, or ſuffer it to be transfuſed through it after the manner of glaſs. Yet if we ſhould give a perfect and abſolute *Definition* of an *Eclipſe* in the *Moon*, we muſt add the Abſtract or *nominal Definition* of the *Eclipſe* unto the *Real* or philoſophical: As thus; *The Eclipſe of the moon is a true and real privation of light or ſplendor, not in reſpect of us only, but in it ſelf; cauſed by the interpoſition of the body of the Earth, which hindereth the tranſmiſſion of light which it borrows from the Sun. But the Eclipſe of the Sun is only a privation of our ſight or view of it, occaſioned or cauſed by the interpoſition of the dark body of the Moon betwixt this glorious Starr and fountain of light and our eyes.*

6 The main buſineſs wherein *Illyricus* is ſo Zealous, was to baniſh all ſuch *Nominal or Grammatical Definitions* as have been mentioned out of the precincts of *Theologie*, and to put in continual *Caveats* againſt the Admiſſion of *Abſtracts* or mere *Relations*, into the *Definition* of *Original ſin*, or of that Unrighteouſneſs which is inherent in the man unregenerate. And however St. *Auſtin*, *Aquinas*, and *Melancthon* ſay in effect as much as *Illyricus* did, if their meanings were rightly apprehended or weighed by their Followers: Yet his Expreſſions of the *Nature*, *Cauſe* and *properties* of *Original Sin* were to his own, and ſo they are to my apprehenſion more clear, more full and real, then any *Definitions* of *Aquinas* or *Melancthon*,

Even where they ſpeak moſt fully according to their own principles, unto this point. *Aquinas*(as this Author quotes him)ſome where grants, *Originale peccatum non eſſe meram privationem juſtitiæ originalis*; *that Original Sin is not only a meer privation or want of Original Righteouſneſs, but a poſitive or forcible inclination contrary to it.* *Melancthon* with many Others of the moſt Learned writers which have been in the *German or French* Church ſince *Luther* began to renounce the Romiſh Church, acknowledg and Define the *ſame Sin* to be ἀταξία a *Diſorder* of our faculties and Affections, or which is more, a *Depravation* of our nature; Or in other tearmes, whether Greek or Latin, fully equivalent unto theſe. Wherein then doth this ſingular writer (as ſome do cenſure him) either differ from, or go beyond *Aquinas*, *Melancthon*, or Others? all of whom reſpectively grant as much, and ſome of them more then is included in the *Definitions* or deſcriptions of Sin, forecited out of *Aquinas* and *Melancthon*.

7. *Illyricus* defines *Original Sin* not by the "*Abſtract*, but by the *Con*"*crete*, as thus: *Original Sin is the Nature of man corrupted, or the Affections or faculties of our ſouls and bodyes diſordered and depraved &c.* He no where defines it to be the *Nature*, the *Subſtance*, or *Faculties* of men *abſolutely* conſidered, or without Limitation; Yet to be *All theſe ſo farr as they are depraved and corrupted*, or transformed out of that Image of God which was ſeated in them by Creation, into the image or real ſimilitude of Satan. In man conſidered as he was the work of God or made after his image, there was an exact *Harmony* or conſonancy of Will unto the Law and Will of God; an exact *Harmony* of Faculties and Affections amongſt themſelves, and a ſweet ſubordination of them unto the reaſonable will or conſcience, whil'ſt that held conſort with the will and Law of God. But by the Firſt Mans Fall or wilful tranſgreſſion, all parts of this *Harmony* are loſt: The ſenſitive deſires, Faculties, or Affections are at continual jar and diſcord amongſt themſelves. The beſt conſort they hold is to fight Joyntly againſt the Reaſonable Soul and Conſcience or ſpiritual part of our nature; eſpecially ſo far as it holds any Conſort with the Will of God. His *Definition* then of Sin by the ſubſtance or *Nature* of man *as that is depraved or corrupted*; and the *Definitions*, of other Writers which define it to be the *Depravation of our Nature*: or the difference between him when he defines it by the Faculties or parts of our nature as theſe are diſordered or inſtamped with the image of Satan, and other Divines, who define it, to be an *Ataxie* or diſorder of the *Affections* and *Faculties*, if we calculate their ſeveral Expreſſions aright, they come all to *one Reckoning*: there is no more material queſtion or real difference betwixt them, then if we ſhould diſpute, whether *Three times four, or four times three*: Or *two times ſix, or ſix times two, do better expreſs or decipher the number of twelve*; Or whether *Harmony* be a Conſonancy of true voices or ſounds; Or true voices or ſounds perfectly Conſonant.

CHAP. XIII.

Calvin and Martyr &c. *conſent with* Illyricus *in the* Deſcription *of* Original Sin: *How far* Sin Original *may be ſaid to be the* Pollution of the whole Nature *and Faculties of man, or the* Faculties of man as they are polluted.

* *The opinion of* Calvin *and* Martyr *concerning the nature of* Original *or acquired* Sin.

1. BEſides many Other good Writers, * *Calvin* and *Martyr* in their *Definitions* or deſcriptions of *Sin* in the unregenerate man, conſort ſo

well with *Illyricus*, that he that will condemn any *One* of them, will be concluded not to acquit either of the other *Two*: He that approves *One* of them, cannot but approve the *Other*, if he either underſtand himſelf or them.

Calvinus *definit* Peccatum Originale *eſſe naturæ pravitatem ac corruptionem: ac mox exponens ſe, dicit: Imo tota hominis natura quoddam eſt peccati ſemen: ideo non odioſa & abominabilis Deo eſſe non poteſt. Quæ profectò ipſiſſima ratio formaque peccati originalis eſt, & ipſam certe eſſentiam hominis peſſimam deſcribit.* Martyr *quoque ſuper Rom. definiens* Peccatum Originale,*eamque definitionem explicans, non obſcurè id ponit in ipſa mala Eſſentia hominis: dicit enim totum hominem corruptiſſimum eſſe: definit verò inquiens: eſt ergo peccatum totius hominis naturæ depravatio à lapſu primi parentis in poſteros traducta, & per generationem,*&c. *Et mox definitionem explicans, inquit; In hac Definitione omnia genera* Cauſarum *habentur: pro* materia *aut ſubjecto habemus omnes hominis partes aut vires.* Forma *eſt earum omnium depravatio,*&c. *En! audis,ei,*originale peccatum *complecti etiam ipſas hominis partes ac vires,*quatenus *ſunt corruptæ ac depravatæ.* Illyricus *in libello cui Titulus* Γνῶθι Σεαυτὸν, &c. Baſileæ *impreſſo, anno* 1568. *pag.* 140, *&* 141.

Calvin defines *Sin Original* to be a Pravity and Corruption of nature: and preſently, explaining himſelf, ſaith; yea the whole nature of man is a *Kind of Seed of ſin*: and therefore cannot but be odious and abominable to God,which truly is the very *Form* (Eſſence or Definition) of *Original ſin*,and deſcribes(or deſcries) ſurely the Being of man to be very Evil. And *Martyr* upon the *Rom.* Defining *Original ſin*, and explaining that definition, manifeſtly places it in the *Evil eſſence of man*;for he ſays, That, *The whole man is moſt Corrupt.* And then defines it Thus. Sin is the *depravation* of the whole nature of man, tranſmitted to poſterity from the *Fall* of our Firſt Parents,and by Generation, *&c.* And then, opening the Definition, he ſays: In this *Definition*,are found all *Kinds* of *Cauſes.* For the ſubject or *Matter* we have, *All the parts or powers of man.* The *Form* is *the Depravation of them all.* Lo!you ſee,according to Him(*Martyr*) *Sin Original* comprehends the parts and powers of man *ſo far forth* as they be corrupted and depraved. *Illyricus* in a *book* intituled *Know thy ſelf.*

2. But theſe *Definitions* or Deſcriptions though (for ought I know, or have to except againſt them) they may be moſt *Orthodoxal* for their truth or ſubſtance: yet the right *Limitation* of them or of *the ſubject* defined, is not free from further Queſtion, as *Firſt*: Whether the *Subject* of them be *Sin Original*, or *Acquired*, as one or both of them are ſeated in the Natural or *unregenerate man*, or as they are inherent in part in the *Beſt Men after their Regeneration*,or Purification of their hearts by Faith. If every Part, if every *Faculty* or member of the *Humane Nature* be from the womb tainted with this *Foul Leproſie*: it will be ſomewhat hard to conceive, how any Part or Faculty ſhould be abſolutely freed from all degrees of corruption by *Regeneration*; unleſs we grant, that *All are in ſome meaſure* freed from it, and acknowledge ſome *Reliques* of *Sin Original* to remain in every part or Faculty of the man truly *Regenerate*, or renewed in the ſpirit of his mind. It may in the *Firſt place* be conceived that *the Mind or Conſcience of men ſo renewed, may be throughly cleanſed, not only from the guilt, but from the real ſtain or pollution of ſin, and yet the fleſh or whole ſenſitive parts or faculties of the ſame man, ſtill lodge ſome* Reliques *of* Original Corruption *in them; though in a* Lower *degree or* Leſs *meaſure, then the ſame Corruption dwelleth in the Conſcience or Spirit of the unregenerate*

or *Natural man.* Or if we grant the *Mind* and *Conſcience of ſanctified men* to be yet ſubject to ſome *Tincture or Reliques* of Corruption: Yet theſe we muſt acknowledge to be ſo weak and feeble that they cannot hinder or diminiſh the *Raign or Soveraignty* of the *Spirit* over the fleſh, by which the Yoak of *ſervitude* unto Sin, or ſlavery unto Satan (unto which all men before Regeneration are by Nature ſubject) is utterly broken. If we conſider Man as he was firſt moulded by God, he was for *nature*, *ſubſtance*, and *Faculties* of his ſoul, like a ſound Inſtrument well ſtring'd and better tuned. But by eating of the Forbidden fruit, and loſs of Paradiſe, his very ſubſtance was corrupted and deprived of Life Spiritual: and all his Powers or Faculties not only corrupted, but diſtuned. Our Nature by Regeneration is Reſtored to Life ſpiritual, yet not to perfect health and ſtrength ſo long as we carry this burden of Fleſh and Mortality about with us. By the ſame *Spirit of Regeneration* the Powers or Faculties of our ſouls, and our ſenſitive Affections, are better tuned then they were before: yet not ſo ſound or well tuned as in the Firſt Creation they were, but like to *Aſymmetral* or harſh voices which never hold conſort with ſounds or voices truly *Harmonical*; or like to thoſe which we call *Falſe-ſtrings* in a ſtringed Inſtrument, which by no skill either of him that tunes or handles it, can be brought to bear a part in exact *Harmony*: Both ſuch voices and ſuch ſtrings will ſtill retain ſome jarring ſound or diſcord in an accurate and obſervant Muſicians ear; though much leſs when the ſtring is *ſtricken open*, or upon a Lower *ſtop*, or the voice taken at a lower *Key*, then when they are ſtretched higher. For with the height of either ſound, the diſcord or Diſ-harmony is ſtill increaſed.

Whether ſin Original or Acquired have an influx into every act of the Humane Soul.

3. But when *Calvin*, *Martyr*, and *Illyricus* make *Original Sin* to be the *whole Nature of Man* and all his Faculties, *ſo far* as they are *corrupted* and tainted; I know not whether their meaning were, that there is no Action or thought of man, though Regenerate, into which this Corruption of Nature or Taint of ſin hath not ſome Influx; or whether they did actually or expreſly mind this or other like *Inference*, when they exhibited unto us the former *Definitions* of Sin. For my ſelf, as I make no queſtion but that *The Bleſſed Virgin* her ſelf was by nature the Daughter of *Adam*, and therefore not ſo abſolutely free from her Conception, as her Son our Saviour was: So I am afraid to avouch or think, that either *Sin Original* or *acquired* (it being ſuppoſed that ſhe had ſome *Reliques* of both in her) ſhould have any influence into, or commixture with that *Good Thought* or Actual conſent which ſhe yielded to the *Angel Gabriel*, Luke 1. 38. *Ecce Ancilla domini*, &c. *Behold the hand-maid of the Lord*, *be it unto Me according to thy word.*

4. But theſe are *Niceties* which I would not have touched, had it not been that *Some* (whom I name not) have gone too far in oppoſition to the *Papiſt* or *Pelagian*: unto whom, *Others*, by coming too near, have fallen much wide or ſhort of the Truth. My aim and intention (as I often profeſs) is not to take upon me either by voice or pen to inſtruct ſuch as are or take themſelves to be *pro modulo viatorum* perfectly Regenerated, much leſs men altogether certain of their own *Perſonal Election* or Salvation. The utmoſt of my endeavours is to direct my ſelf; and the height of my deſires in this work, is, to adviſe Others what we are to do for our ſelves, or what is to be done for us after *Baptiſm* or *Confirmation*, that we may be *throughly Regenerated*, or which is in effect all one, make our *Election ſure*. We are, I take it, in the Firſt place to *Calculate the number* of our ſins, and to meaſure or *weigh the Body* of Sin inherent in us, whether by Nature, or invited by our ſelves; (not by a corrupt worldly *Dialect*,

but) according to the ſcales or *Standard or Sanctuary.* And to this purpoſe no man hath given better hints or directions then *Illyricus.* For as he often obſerves and well illuſtrates; In the *Dialect* of our *Saviour* himſelf, of his *Apoſtles* and *Evangeliſts*, whatſoever is repugnant to the Law of God, or abominable in his ſight, is accounted Sin: and ſo are not *Accidents* or meer *Abſtracts* or *Relations* only, but ſpecially the very ſubſtance or Nature of man, *ſo far* as that is polluted or corrupted with Sin, or wrought and transformed into the image of Satan. Now though it be true which was ſaid before, that in exact *philoſophical or Theological Calculation*, the *Definitions* of Sin given by S. *Auſtin*, *Calvin*, *Martyr*, *&c.* and *Illyricus*, come in the Iſſue to One and the ſame reckoning: yet to vulgar or ruder Apprehenſions, *Illyricus his Definitions* which for the moſt part are *Cauſal*, but eſpecially his illuſtrations of them out of Scripture, are far more dilucide and more powerful to work upon our affections, and to encourage our ſpirits to undertake our *Chriſtian Warfare* againſt the Old Man or body of ſin.

Illyricus *his Illuſtrations of* Sin *more, Conſonant to Scripture, then* Calvins *or* Martyrs.

5. To what purpoſe were it to tell unletter'd or ordinary men, that the *Old Man* or body of Sin which we are to crucifie or mortifie, is ἀταξία or ἀνομία, *inordinatio* or *depravatio*; unleſs we could perſwade them that theſe were names of *Giants*, and paint them with far more hands, then *Briareus*; with ten times more heads and mouthes, then *Cerberus* or *Geryon* had; and with more ſnakes inſtead of hairs upon their heads then *Meduſa*, (according to Poetical Pictures) is emblazoned with: or make ſome repreſentation of them in more ugly and horrible ſhape, then the Devil and Infernal Fiends are pictured by old Monks and Fryers in their Books and Legends: Albeit even theſe be but *ſilly repreſentations* of infernal powers, with whom even *Chriſtian Children* after they come to the uſe of Reaſon, are to wage war, as *Oecolampadius* ſomewhere excellently obſerves. For every man to whom God hath given Grace or power to *Reflect upon his Younger Years*, or to ſurvey his own Heart, His Affections, or Inclinations either paſt or preſent: may reſpectively find a more exquiſite Live Image of Satan within himſelf, then any Painter can make. Though few or none in this Age be bodyly poſſeſſed with a Legion of Devils, yet moſt men either by Nature, ill breeding, or bad Company, if they would rightly examin Themſelves, their Actions, their Paſſions, or projects by the Rule of Scripture, might eaſily diſcover *more then a Legion* of unruly, lewd, or vain *Thoughts*, of unhallowed *Deſires* or vitious *Habits*: ſuch as are *Malice*, *Pride*, *Envy*, *Uncharitableneſs*, *&c.* which daily plead or fight for the *Soveraignty* of the Law of Sin or Luſts of the fleſh, over the Dictates or motions of the *Law of the mind* or Spirit. And theſe are the true and moſt exquiſite pictures or images of the Diabolical Nature. And it was a wiſh or prayer worthy to be written with the point of a *Diamond* (as I have ſeen it written) though in no ſacred place, *Lord deliver me from my ſelf.* His meaning which wrote it (I take it) was, that he might be delivered from vitious or unruly *Thoughts* or *Habits* or other like Souldiers of Satan, which every man before *Mortification* of the *Fleſh* or *Renovation* by the *Spirit*, doth ſuffer to be Lodged, or Billeted in his Breaſt.

6. For *Concluſion*, to give the Intelligent Reader a more full *Definition* of Sin or of the old *Man* which we are to Crucifie: It is, or contains all the *works* of the Fleſh or *Inclinations* contrary to the *Law or Spirit of God*, neceſſarily reſulting from our Nature or ſubſtance ſince it was corrupted in our firſt Parents, by the ſubtilty or power of Satan as the Efficient Cauſe, ſtill Labouring to obliterate the Image of God wherein we

were created, and to mould us into his own likeneſs; to the end that he may withdraw us from the Service of God which is *perfect Freedom*, and make us everlaſting Slaves to himſelf and his Infernal Aſſociates.

7. Likely it is I ſhould have Slighted *Illyricus* as much as Many Other of my profeſſion do, upon a prejudicial *Noiſe* or *Cry* raiſed againſt Him: At leaſt I ſhould not have taken that care and pains in peruſing and examining His Opinions which I have done, unleſs the Book or Treatiſe had been long ago commended to a Learned Freind of mine, upon very high Tearms, by that Reverend and *Great Divine Doctor Feild* then Dean of *Glouceſter*.

Sect. III.

Of *Servitude* unto Sin: Who be properly *Servants* unto *It*, and by *It* unto Satan.

CHAP. XIV.

That even thoſe Jews which did in part Believe in Chriſt, were true Servants *unto Sin.*

John 8.31. *Then ſaid Jeſus to thoſe Jews which beleived on him, If ye continue in my Word, then are ye my Diſciples indeed.*
32. *And ye ſhall know the Truth, and the Truth ſhall make you Free.*
33. *They anſwered him, We be* Abrahams *ſeed, and were never in bondage to any man: How ſaieſt thou, ye ſhall be made Free?*

1. AS We rightly gather, that part of mans body to be moſt corrupt, Unſound, or Ulcerous, which is moſt afraid of the *Chirurgions* hand or inſtrument, which muſt heal or cure it: So theſe Jews may hence be truly convicted to have been as our *Saviour* cenſures them, truly *Servants unto Sin*; or in S. *Peters* Expreſſion, *Servants of Corruption*, in that they are ſo *Touchie* and *jealous* of the very mention of being *made Free:* Albeit our Saviour (if you mark his proceſs) doth handle them as warily and tenderly as any skilful Chirurgion could do the moſt dangerous ſores or ulcers of his moſt impatient Patients. For he did not ſay, *If you continue in my word, then are ye my Diſciples indeed, and I will make you Free.* Although if he had thus ſaid, he had ſaid the Truth. For HE it is and HE alone that muſt make all the Sons of *Adam Free*. But as he had an *Eagles Eye* to diſcover their hidden ſore and a *Lyons Heart* to unrip or Launce their ſore unto the quick: So he had likewiſe the Third property of an Excellent Chirurgion, to wit, a *Ladyes hand*, to touch them gently and tenderly. He tells them the Truth, but in a placid and moſt inoffenſive manner, by ſoft and gentle degrees; *If ye continue in my word, then are ye my Diſciples indeed. And ye ſhall know the Truth, and the Truth ſhall make you free.* And who could be offended or unwilling to be made *Free* by the Truth, but ſuch as were deſperately ſick of Falſhood and Corruption? Such and ſo affected were theſe Jews which did in part believe on our Saviour. For they had no ſooner heard him making mention *of being made Free*, though by the Truth, but they inſtantly returne this repyning and impatient Anſwer. *We be* Abrahams *Seed and were never in bondage to any man: How ſayeſt thou, ye ſhall be made Free.*

A paraphraſe upon John 8. *ver.* 31. 32, 33. &c.

2. Many good *Interpreters* do queſtion the Truth of their Anſwer, as whether they were not at this very time in *Bondage* to the Romans. And *Tullie* in his Oration *pro Flacco*, (whoſe crime was aggravated, for that he had alienated or detained ſome Gold which had been gathered towards the adorning or beautifying the Temple at Jeruſalem,) to Elevate or leſſen that conceit which many Romans had of the Nation of the Jews, as of a People better beloved of the Gods, then other people were, objects little leſs unto them, then (as they apprehend) our Saviour in this place doth; to wit, *that they were in bondage to the Romans*: or at leaſt (if they were not in bondage) they were more beholding to the Clemency of the Romans, that did not make them *Servants*, having lately conquered them then unto the Favour of their God or Gods, which had ſuffered them to be conquered. For it was an unqueſtionable Prerogative of the Conquerors in thoſe daies, to bring all ſuch as wilfully or deſperately reſolved to try their Cauſe in battle with them, into Civil *Servitude* or bondage if ſo they Pleaſed. They held it no ſin, but rather a matter of Curteſie or kindneſs to exchange death, which by title of war was due unto the Conquered, for *Servitude* or Civil Bondage.

The Jewes in our Saviours time were no ſlaves *unto the Romanes either de* jure, *or* de Facto.

3. But to do theſe Jewes no wrong: Their Anſwer unto our *Saviour* was not altogether ſo falſe, as *Captious*, ſeeing it conſiſts of two parts, *Both Negative*: The one *de Facto*, That *they were not Servants*; That they *never had been in bondage unto any man.* And this Part of their *Anſwer* may well ſeem *Falſ*, if they extend the meaning of it unto the time of *Abraham* or *Jacob.* For *Jacobs* ſeed or poſterity was in bondage unto the *Egyptians* The Condition of the whole Nation under the *Babylonians* or *Chaldaans* was little better. But it may be, That they intended their *Anſwer* only in reſpect of themſelves or their own times: And ſo it is True, that they were not *de Facto* in Bondage to the Romans, or to any Man. For the Romans ſuffered them to enjoy the Priviledges of *Free-Men*? to uſe the Liberty of their own Laws, though with ſubjection or ſubordination in many points, unto the Laws of the Romans.

4. The other part of their Anſwer was *de Jure*; and this was moſt true; That being the Seed of *Abraham*, they could not juſtly (eſpecially ſo long as they continued in their native Country) be made Servants or Bondſlaves by the Romans, in that they had a more *juſt Title* unto the *Land of Promiſe* by being the ſeed of *Abraham* and Sons of *Jacob*, then the Romans themſelves had unto the Kingdome or Empire of *Italie*, or unto *Rome* it ſelf. The mighty God, and Supream Lord and Sole Poſſeſſor of Heaven and Earth, had given the Land of *Canaan* unto *Abraham* and to his ſeed, by more expreſs *Covenant* and peculiar *Title*, then the Kings of Nations had to their Crowns or Scepters: All which notwithſtanding they hold immediately from the ſame God. The attemps or practiſes of other Nations againſt this people were alwaies fruſtrate and void in Law, even by the Law of God; ſave only in Caſe that he were diſpleaſed with them, and ſuffered ſuch as hated them to be Lords over them. In which caſes they were to be no Longer in Civil Subjection unto others, then till they returned to him by Repentance, confeſſing their Sins and the Sins of their Fore-fathers; Thus doing, their *Charter* for free enjoying the Land of *Canaan*, was ſo *Abſolute*, ſo durable and ſtrong, that no authorized cuſtomes of Men or Nations could prevail or Præſcribe againſt it. So that the matter of their Anſwer in reſpect of *Civil Servitude* or bondage was abſolutely True *de Jure*; and *de Facto* too, if they meant it, or we reſtrain it unto the time wherein they were under the Goverment of the *Romans*.

The forementioned Jews were true Slaves *unto Sin:*

5. But how true ſoever both waies it were, It was altogether impertinent, nothing at all to the purpoſe or *Point* in queſtion, For our *Saviour* no way intended to object, nor doth His ſpeech any way imply, any *Civil Servitude*, or that they were, or ought to be, or had been at any time *Servants unto men*; but only that they were *Servants unto Sin*, which indeed was the worſt Maſter, that they or any man could ſerve. Thus much his Reply unto their impertinent Alligation, expreſſely and Emphatically avers, *Verily verily I ſay unto you whoſoever committeth Sin is the ſervant of Sin.* And though by Title of Law, as well Divine as Humane, he be, whoſoever it is, a King or Lord over others in reſpect of Civil *Servitude* or Dominion: Yet till he be *Freed* from the Dominion of Sin, he hath the Condition or property of a *Servant*. What is that? Our Saviour tells us in the next words; *The ſervant abideth not in the houſe for ever*, that is, He hath no *Right* nor *Intereſt* in the *Houſe* wherein for the preſent his abode or continuance is, but only *durante Domini bene-placito*, ſo long as it ſhall ſeem good unto his Maſter, and no longer: *But the Son* (ſaith our Saviour) *abideth in the houſe forever*; becauſe the Inheritance belongs to him. This Saying or *Maxime* of our *Saviour* is grounded upon the *Civil Cuſtomes* or Law of Nations, concerning the Right or Priviledge of the Son or *Firſt-born*, in reſpect of *Servants*; but is moſt remarkably true of the Son of God: He is the *Only Son*, the *Only Heir*, not *Apparent only*, but the *Only Heir poſſible* of that Houſe, whoſe Builder and maker is God. In that He is Gods *Only Son*, He is the only *Lord*, the *Only Heir* of *All things* that were builded, that were created by Him; Not Free only in his Perſon, but indued with full Power and Authority to make all others *Free*, that ſeek unto him. And this his Power is ſo abſolute and plenarie, that without him none can be truly and indeed ſet *Free*; For ſo he himſelf concludes, *If the Son therefore ſhall make you Free, ye ſhall be Free indeed.*

CHAP. XV.

Containing the General Heads of this whole Treatiſe: And of the Diſtinction *betwixt* Slaves, *and thoſe which we call* Hired Servants, *or Apprentices, or Free-borne Perſons in their nonage.*

1. THat we may underſtand our own Eſtate by *Nature*, and the inheritance whereunto we are intitled by *Grace*, better then the Jews did, we are to diſcuſs theſe *Three Points:*

Firſt, Wherein Civil Bondage or Servitude doth conſiſt; Or, What be the Properties wherein Servants differ from Free-men:

Secondly, What Proportion or Analogie *Servitude* to Sin hath unto *Civil Servitude*; And whether ſuch as our Saviour ſaith are truly *Servants unto Sin*, be more truly and properly *ſervants*, then ſuch as are *Legal* and *Civil Servants.*

Thirdly, the manner How the Son of God doth ſet us *Free* from the Bondage or *Servitude* of Sin.

Of the Condition of ſlaves and Hired Servants.

2. *Servitude* is oppoſed to *Freedome*: And we cannot well know what it is to be a *Servant*, unleſs we firſt know what it is to be a *Free-man*, We do not mean a *Free-man* of this or that *Corporation*, but a *Free-man* ſimply, or one that is *Free* by Birth or condition of Life. Every one in this ſenſe is ſaid to be *Free*, that hath Right or power to diſpoſe of himſelf, of his Children, of his Lands or Goods, or of his own Actions or Imployments,

ments. Every one likewiſe is a *ſervant*, that being come to full years is deprived of this Right or power to diſpoſe of himſelf, of his Lands, of his Goods, of his Actions or imployments either in whole or in part. As for *Children* or ſuch as are under Years, though born to be Lords over others, yet whileſt they are under years, they are properly *neither Free-men nor Servants*: Although as the Apoſtle teacheth us, *Gal.* 4. 1, 2. they, participate more of the Nature of *Servants* then of *Free-men*: *Now I ſay that the Heir as long as he is a Child, differeth nothing from a Servant though he be Lord of all, but it is under Tutors and Governours, until the time appointed of the father.* For this Reaſon, one and the ſame word in the Original is promiſcuouſly uſed for Children and for Servants, becauſe Neither of them are at their own diſpoſals, but at the diſpoſals of their Guardians or maſters.

3. According to the ſeveral Extents of this want of Power or Right to diſpoſe of themſelves, of their Actions or imployments; Or rather, According to the Extent of others Right or Power to diſpoſe of them in all theſe, there be ſeveral *Degrees* of *Servitude*, and divers *ſorts* of *ſervants*. Some, as the great Philoſopher in his *Politicks* would have it, are *Servi à Natura*; " were *framed by nature only to ſerve*, or to be at other mens diſpoſals, as not being able to diſpoſe of themſelves. Such as had ſtrong *Bodies* but weak *Brains* were in his judgment more fit to be governed by Others, then to govern themſelves. But this kind of *Servitude* is improper. For *Omnis ſervus eſt alicujus Domini ſervus*; *Every Servant is the Servant of ſome particular Lord or Maſter,* whoſe Intereſt, whether in his Perſon or imployments, muſt be grounded upon ſome *Special Title*. Such as by Nature are deſtitute of wit or Reaſon, do not thereby become *Servants*, unleſs we ſhould ſay, they were every mans Servants, that are diſpoſed to imploy them. And this *Priviledge* they have of others, That they are not capable of any Contract or Legal Title, by which they may make themſelves, or be made *This* or *That mans Servants*: And being *no mans Servants* they can be *no ſervants*.

Qui ubique eſt, nuſquam eſt, *He that is every where, is no where.*

4. Though our Engliſh [*Servant*] be derived from the Latin *Servus*: yet ſervants in our Engliſh tongue we call many, which a good Latiniſt would rather call *Famuli* then *Servi*: being indeed *Servants*, that is, at other mens diſpoſals' but in part only, not in whole; whom for Diſtinction ſake we call *Apprentices* or *Hired Servants*: Over whoſe Actions or, Imployments their Maſters during the time of their hire or *Apprentiſhip*, have full right and Intereſt; and Authority likewiſe over their Bodies or Perſons, to correct or puniſh them, if they take upon them to diſpoſe of their Actions or Imployments otherwiſe then for their Maſters Behoof, or as they ſhall appoint: But over their Perſons, their Bodies, their Goods or Children, their Maſters have no Right nor Intereſt. They may not take upon them by our Laws to diſpoſe of Theſe, as they do of their Day-Labourers or bodily Imployments. Yet are theſe properly called *Servants*, as having made themſelves ſuch, or are ſo made by their Parents or Guardians, upon ſome Contract, or by ſome *Branch or Title of Commutative Juſtice*, in which there is alwaies *Ratio dati & accepti*, ſomewhat given and taken, that binds both the Parties: As in this particular caſe, The *Maſter gives* and the *Servant receives* meat, drink, and wages; And in Lieu of theſe Benefits received, the *Servant* yeilds up, and the Maſter receives a Right or intereſt in his bodily and dayly Labours, and a Power to diſpoſe of theſe. Yet are they *Servants* (as we ſaid) only *in part*, not *meer ſervants*.

5. *Meer* Servants, (or *ſervants abſolutely* or in whole) were ſuch as the Latines called *Mancipia*, ſuch as we call in Engliſh *Slaves* or *Bondmen*; or ſuch as ſometimes out of a ſuperfluity of ſpeech or expreſſing our ſelves, in our Native Dialect, we term *Bondſlaves*. For a *Slave* is as much as a *Bondman*: and no Bondman can be any more then a ſlave. A *Bondſlave* is a Name which hath no Reality anſwerable or fully commenſurable unto it. Unto this ſtate on Condition of life, that is of being a ſlave or *Bondman*, no man is bound or ſubject by *Nature*; No Man will willingly or voluntarily ſubject himſelf. Such as heretofore have been, and in divers Countries yet are, Servants in this ſenſe, were made ſuch by others from a pretended right or Title of Conqueſt, and were called *Mancipia quaſi manu capti*, becauſe they had been taken in War, and might by rigour of juſtice, at leaſt by rigour of *Hoſtile Law*, be put to Death; as men convicted of Rebellion by taking Armes. Now the Price of their Redemption from death, was loſs of *Civil Liberty* as well for themſelves as their Poſterity. Theſe were truly and properly called *Servi*, according to the native *Etymologie* of this name in Latin, *Servi quaſi Servati*: They were again wholly and meerly *Servants*, according to the utmoſt extent of the Nature, and of the Real Conditions or properties of Civil *Servitude*: that is, Their Lords or *Maſters* had an *abſolute right* or intereſt not only in their *Bodily Actions* or imployments, but over their very *perſons*, their Bodies, their Children, and whatſoever by any Title did belong unto them. The Intereſt, Power or Dominion which Maſters by the Civil Law or Law of Nations, had over their *Servi* or *Mancipia*, their *ſlaves* or *Bondmen*, was altogether ſuch, and as abſolute, as a *Free-holder* hath over his own Inheritance or *Fee-ſimple*; that is, a power or Right not only to reap or take the Annual Fruits or Commodities of it, but full Right to *Let* or *Set* for *Term* of years, or to alienate or ſell the Property: For ſo were *Bondmen* and their Children bought and ſold, as Lands and Goods or Cattle are with us. All the Right, Dominion, or Intereſt which Maſters with us have over their *Servants* or *Apprentices*, is only ſuch as a *Tenant* or Leaſ-holder for ſome limited time or Term of years, hath over the ground or ſoyl which he payeth Rent for: that is, a Right or *Property* in the *Herbage*: a right or power to reap the Fruits or increaſe of it during the time of his Covenant, but no right to alienate or ſell ſo much as the *Earth* or *Gravel*, much leſs to alienate or make away the *Fee-ſimple* or Inheritance, which is ſtill reſerved unto the Owner. Thus the Bodies or perſons of hired *Servants* are their own: Their minds and Conſciences are *Free*, even during the time of their *ſervice*. But the Uſe or imployment of their *Bodies in Services Lawful* and ingenuous, is their *Maſters*: So are the *Services* of their wit, for accompliſhing with care and diligence what by duty they are bound to perform.

CHAP. XVI.

That the former Difference of Servitude *or Diſtinction of* Servants *is ſet down and allowed by God himſelf.*

1. THis *Difference* of Servitudes or Diſtinction of *Servants* is expreſly delivered in Holy Scripture, allowed and approved of by God himſelf, *Levit.* 25. 39, &c. *If thy Brother that dwelleth by thee, be waxen poor, and be ſold unto thee, thou ſhalt not compel him to ſerve as a Bond-ſervant. But as an hired ſervant, and as a Sojourner, he ſhall be with thee,* *and*

A Paraphraſe upon Levit. 25, 39, *&c*,

and ſhall ſerve thee, unto the year of Jubilee. And then ſhall he depart from thee, both he and his Children with him, and ſhall return unto his own Family, and into the poſſeſſion of his Fathers ſhall he return. For they are my Servants which I brought forth out of the Land of Egypt, they ſhall not be ſold as Bond-men. From this place theſe two points are clear: *Firſt*, That if an Iſraelite were waxen poor or in debt, he might Lawfully ſell or alienate the uſe of his own or of his Childrens bodily imployments unto his Brother, for the maintenance of his and his Childrens lives, or for the diſcharge of his debt, until the year of *Jubilee*, but no longer: But to ſell the bodyes or perſons of himſelf or of his Children was not permitted by the Law of God: Nor might any Son of *Abraham* or *Jacob* buy or ſell any of their Brethren, though willing to ſell themſelves or their Children. But on the contrary, If through neceſſity, that knows no Law, any Son of *Jacob* ſold himſelf unto the Heathen: or in caſe he and his Children had been ſeized upon for debt: his Kinſmen or Brethren were to redeem him, or at leaſt not to ſuffer him to ſerve any longer then the year of *Jubilee*. And during that term he was to ſerve only as a hired Servant, and not as a Bond-man. From this Law if they had no other Reaſon, the Jews here ſpoken of might ſafely plead; “That inaſmuch as they were *Abrahams* ſeed, they neither were nor could be in bondage unto any man *de jure*. The reaſon why the Lord would not have them to be in bondage unto any man, is in the Law expreſſed, *Becauſe they were His Servants by a Peculiar Title*; becauſe he had redeemed them from the bondage and thraldome, unto which the Egyptians had *de Facto*: not *de Jure*, moſt unjuſtly brought them.

2. *Secondly*, from this Law it is clear, That God did both allow and authorized the Iſraelites and ſeed of *Abraham*, to have Bond-men of the Nations round about them, or of the ſtrangers that ſojourned amongſt them, that they might bequeath the very bodies and perſons of them and their Children, as an inheritance and poſſeſſion unto their Sons and poſterity for ever, *ver.* 45,46. That is, They had the ſame *Title* or intereſt in them: the ſame abſolute power or *Dominion* over them, as they had over their Lands, their Goods, or Cattle; that is, power to alienate or ſell them or their Children, for their beſt commodity at their pleaſure. Of this *ſecond ſort of Servants* or Bondmen, which were in *Bonis alterius*, the goods or poſſeſſions of their Maſters, are our Saviours ſpeeches in moſt *Parables* to be underſtood, wherein mention is made of *Servants* without diſtinction. So we read, *Mat.* 18, 25. *That the Lord of that ungracious Servant, which would not forgive his Fellow an hundred pence, commanded him to be ſold, and his Wife and Children, and all that he had, and paiment to be made.* Our *Saviours* ſpeech, though it be a *Parable* rather then an *Hiſtory*, is grounded upon an Hiſtorical or poſitive truth: He ſpeaks according to the common Cuſtome of thoſe times and places, by which not only the *Servants* themſelves and their Children, but whatſoever they had gathered together, were wholly at their Lords or Maſters diſpoſing. For as we ſay, *Superficies ſequitur ſolum*; He that is Lord or owner of the ſoyl or ground becomes thereby Lord and owner of the Houſe, which another man builds upon it: So in like caſe, He that is Lord of another mans perſon or body, doth thereby become Lord of all his goods, or whatſoever he may be thought to poſſeſſe. But ſo it is not with hired ſervants amongſt us; for in as much as their bodies or perſons are *Free*, and are no part of their Maſters goods or poſſeſſion, they may be true Owners, Lords, or Poſſeſſors of whatſoever they got either by their own induſtry, or what otherwiſe may fall unto them by deed of gift, by death of friends, or the like.

Wherein Bond-men *and hired* Servants *do in divers points agree.*

3. But though Bond-men and hired *Servants* do in other points differ, yet in many they agree. Moſt *Maxims* whether Legal or Moral, which are true of the one, are true likewiſe (though in different manner or proportion) of the other. As for Example, When our Saviour ſaith, *No man can ſerve two Maſters, but he ſhall either love the one or hate the other; or lean to the one, and deſpiſe the other:* This ſaying in many caſes may be ſpecially and more remarkably true of *Slaves* or Bond-men; yet very true of hired *Servants*. For every man is ſo far truly and properly a *Servant*, as he is at another mans diſpoſal. And every man is ſo far truly and properly a Lord or Maſter over another man, as he hath right or power to diſpoſe either of his body or of his actions or Labours. Now in as much as the Maſter of an hired *Servant* or Apprentiſe hath as abſolute right or intereſt in his actions, his Labours, or imployments, as the Maſter of a *Slave* or Bond-man hath in the actions or imployments of his Bond-man: it is as impoſſible for the One, as for the other, to execute the will and pleaſure of two men that differ in their particular imployments or deſigns. It is the duty of a faithful *Servant* to execute not his own will, but the will and pleaſure of his Maſter. But if ſo it happen that two Men or more may concur or conſent to imploy One and the ſame Man in the ſelf ſame buſineſſe and ſervice: then, as we ſay, *Many ſtones make but one Load*; and many things of ſeveral weight but one burden: So in this caſe, two or three, or more Men thus concurring in the ſame deſigns, make but one *Maſter*. But faithfully to execute the wils of men that differ in their Deſignes, or fully to ſatisfie two or more men that have ſeveral and ful Intereſts in one mans actions and Labours, is as impoſſible, as for a body to move two contrary wayes at once.

How Bondmen or Hired Servants *are differenced from* Freemen.

4. The moſt General and moſt *Eſſential property* wherein both ſorts of *Servants* do univocally agree, by which they formarly differ from a man abſolutely *Free*, is thus gathered by *Tullie*, *Liber eſt qui vivit ut vult*; He is Civilly Free (for that was the cheif *Freedom* that he knew, and the *Freedom* whereof we now do treat) *that may live or do as he will in matters of Civil Paſs or commerce*. And by Contrary, He is a *Servant*, that in matters Civil, *non vivit ut vult*; that either cannot do as he would, or oftentimes muſt do as he would not. Or to give the *very Radical point* of difference betwixt the *Maſter* and the *Servant*, of what rank ſoever the *Servant* be; we are firſt to know wherein they agree. Both of them Eſſentially agree in This, in that they have a reaſonable will or deſire to do themſelves good. For, ſuch as God hath deprived of the uſe of Reaſon, whether by Nature or from their birth, or by ſubſequent miſchance or Accident, are neither capable of Dominion nor *Servitude*; They can neither properly be *Maſters* nor *Servants*. He that is a *Free-man* or Maſter, in thoſe things wherein he is *Free* or a Maſter hath not only *Voluntatem propriam* but *Arbitrium proprium*; not only a reaſonable Will or deſire to do himſelf good, but withal a power or Faculty to diſpoſe of his time, of his actions or imployments for compaſſing or attaining the good which he deſires. The *Servant* whilſt he is a *Servant* hath no *Arbitrium proprium*, no Right or power to diſpoſe of himſelf or of his actions or Labours, for compaſſing or atcheiving that good, which, in that he is a reaſonable Creature, he can as truly affect or deſire as his Maſter doth. Any Maſter or Man that is *Free*, if at any time he find himſelf Melancholy or miſaffected in body or mind, may allot what hour or hours of the day he pleaſe for the Exerciſe of the body or Recreation of his mind, and make choice of what company, of what ſport or recreation he pleaſe; ſo it be Civil and ingenuous, or ſuch as the Law doth either approve, or not condemn: But this may not a *Servant* doe without his Maſters eſpecial leave or licence. For ſeeing his Ma-

ſter hath as good Right or intereſt in his actions or Labours, as he that payeth rent for grounds, or hire for an Horſe, hath in the uſe of both, during the times of their hire: It is a branch of the ſame fraud or Couzenage in a *Servant*, either to alienate or convert his Actions or Labours to any other end then to his Maſters behoof, as it is in a man that takes money of Another for his Lands or Grounds, and yet will reap part of their annual fruits or commodities; The ſame offence in a *Servant* to miſſpend that time in play, ſport, or idleneſs which ſhould be ſpent in his Maſters imployments, as for a man to take Intereſt for money lent, and not ſuffer the Party to enjoy it wholly during the time for which he paid intereſt.

5. *Again*, An hired *Servant* may as truly and lawfully deſire to encreaſe that power, ſtock, or means which he hath either gotten by his ſervice, or hath been left him by his Freinds; as his Maſter in like caſe may do. But he may not uſe; it is unlawful for him to uſe the ſame means for encreaſing his portion, that his Maſter may do. For *Firſt*, He cannot without wrong to his Maſter take ſo much time for *contriving* his own profit or commodity, as his Maſter without wrong to any man, may do. Or *Secondly*, Though he had time enough to contrive his ends: yet can he not without wrong to his Maſter have time enough or take liberty to *practiſe* the means for effecting or accompliſhing what he hath contrived: As he may not without his Maſters leave frequent Markets or meetings, where gainful bargaines or opportunities of increaſing his meanes are to be had.

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CHAP. XVII.

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Servitude to ſin, *the moſt proper kind of* Servitude.

1. FOr the truth of this Concluſion, [*Whoſoever committeth Sin is the Servant of Sin*] no further or better proof (as hath been præmiſed) can be expected, then our Saviours *Authority.* But in what ſenſe this *Concluſion* is true : Or Whether ſuch as commit Sin, be *truly* and *properly* termed *Servants,* or *Servants* only in a *Metaphorical* or borrowed ſenſe, ſome happily will make Queſtion or doubt, For mine own part I make none, as being from many Particulars ſufficiently inform'd; That ſuch of our Saviours Speeches as not unto ordinary Hearers only, but unto many good Interpreters ſeem only borrowed or Metaphorical, have for the moſt part a more exquiſite Literal and *Concludent ſenſe*, then the ſame words or ſpeeches have in common Language or in ordinary faculties or vulgar *Arts* : And ſuch a *Metaphiſical ſublime Concludent ſenſe*, His words that ſpake as never man ſpake, alwaies have, when his ſpeeches are *Doctrinal* and Aſſertive; as his words are *Joh.* 8.34. moſt *Univerſal*, moſt *Peremptory* and *Dogmatical, Verily, Verily, I ſay unto you &c.*

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3. And S. *Peter*. 2. Epiſtle. 2. Chap. having ſharply taxed ſuch *Carnal Goſpellers* as had forſaken the right way and followed the way of *Balaam*, which Loved the wayes of unrighteouſneſs, brands them with this note or Character, *That whileſt they promiſe Liberty unto others they themſelves are the Servants of Corruption*. And this Aſſertion he ratifies by this reaſon or Doctrinal Principal, *Of whom a man is overcome*, *Of the ſame he is*

brought into Bondage. This reaſon toucheth the very root of *Bondage* or *Servitude* properly ſo called, which had no other Title to its *Firſt being* or introduction into the World, beſides the right or title of victorie or Conqueſt. Now to be ſubdued or vanquiſhed againſt their Wills, though in a doubtful or bad Cauſe, is not ſo meritorious of ſlavery or bondage, as to ſuffer our ſelves through our ſloath, through our Cowardize, our ſupine negligence, or treachery to be overcome in a true, a juſt, a neceſſary, eſpecially in a Religious Cauſe. He to whom men yeild themſelves *Servants* by betraying or not defending ſuch Cauſes; though he love the *Treaſon* whereby he gain's the victorie, will uſe the *Traytor* or party vanquiſhed by him, but as a *ſlave* or Bondman.

4. The Firſt and *Radical Point* of difference betwixt a *Servant* and a *Free man* in matters civil, was before ſet down, and it was this: A man that is Civily *Free* hath not only *Voluntatem propriam,* a reaſonable will to deſire his own good, or a *Freedom* of conſultation to contrive the means how this good may be attained; but withall a *Right* or power to diſpoſe of himſelf, of his time, of his bodily Actions or imployments for executing his intentions or Conſultations. The *Servant* hath the like Reaſonable *Will* to deſire his own good; a Natural *Power* or Faculty to deliberate or conſult by what means the good which he requires may be attained; but no *Right* or power to diſpoſe of himſelf, of his time, of his bodily Labours, of his actions or imployments for executing his deſires, or deliberations: for in all theſe he is at his Maſters diſpoſal. Now the want of this power or liberty to proſecute their own contrivances, makes *Servants* for the moſt part more ſlow and more dull in their deſires, and more unapt to contrive the means for compaſſing what they deſire.

The meaſure of *tranſgreſſion* of the Law of God, the only true meaſure of Servitude.

5. From this Difference between *Servitude* and *Freedome* or Servants and Freemen in matters Civil and Politick, it is but a ſhort Cut and eaſie paſſage, to diſcover the right Difference betwixt *Servitude,* and *Freedome,* in matters moral and ſacred. *Sin* (as the Apoſtle ſpeaks) *is the tranſgreſſion of the Law.* And every Tranſgreſſor of the Law, to wit, of the Moral Law of God: that is, every ſuch Tranſgreſſor, as we call *Malefactor* or *Offendor;* Every one that delights in tranſgreſſion or hath no power to reſiſt temptations to tranſgreſs, is truly and properly the *Servant of Sin. Rectum* (ſaith the Philoſopher) *eſt menſura ſui & obliqui: A right Line is the meaſure of that which is crooked as well as of that which is ſtraight.* Now the right Line or *Rule* by which as well our deſires as our Actions muſt be framed, by which the Obliquities of both muſt be diſcovered or cenſured, is the Moral Law of God. This is the only *Rule* by which the height or degrees as well of our *Freedome* as our *Servitude,* muſt be meaſured. For want of this *Rule* to direct them, the wiſeſt among the Heathens have either much erred in the Definition of Liberty or *Freedome,* or at leaſt come far ſhort of the truth in defining it. *Quid eſt Libertas niſi poteſtas vivendi ut velis? what is Liberty or freedome* (ſaith Tullie) *but a Power or Facultie of living as we would?* But this Definition or deſcription of Libertie or *Freedome* is very defective and Lame, like a ſentence without the Principle Verb, or a Body without a Soul. Mans Will in the ſtate of corruption or ſince *Adams* Fall, is no competent *Rule* for Humane Actions: It ſelf muſt be regulated by the Law of God, whether poſitive or Eternal. The very life and ſpirit of perfect *Liberty,* in whomſoever, is, *poteſtas volendi quod lex divina jubet* that is, *a Power or Faculty of willing that, which by Gods Law we ought to will.* And this power or facultie being ſuppoſed as the *Soul: poteſtas vivendi aut agendi quod volumus,* that other *power,* which *Tully* only mentions, *of living or doing as we will or*

Wherein the beſt of the Heathens did erre, as well in their Definitions of Liberty as of Happines

**In Paradoxis.*

deſire, is but the *Body* of true *Freedome* or Liberty. So that he only is a true and perfect *Freeman*, that hath both the *Body and Soul* of perfect *Freedome*: that is, *tam poteſtatem volendi quod deceat*, *quam vivendi ut vult*, as true a power to will what he ought, as to do what he will. *So much as man hath of this Freedome*, *ſo much and no more he hath of true happineſs.* Some *Philoſophers* there were, which defined *Happineſs* after the ſame manner that *Tully* defined *Liberty*. *Him they accounted* Happy *which lived according to his own Will.* But *God forbid* (ſaith S. *Auſtine* Epiſt. 121. *ad probam,*) *that we ſhould take this for Goſpel. Quid ſi enim nequiter velit vivere? For what ſhall we think if a man were diſpoſed to Live Wickedly* or *naughtily? Nonne tanto miſerior eſſe convincitur*, *quanto facilius mala ejus Voluntas impletur? May he not hence be convinced to be ſo much the more miſerable*, *by how much it is more eaſie for him to accompliſh his naughty will?* And therefore this opinion (as the ſame father avoucheth) was rejected by ſuch *Philoſophers* or wiſe-men, as were without knowledg of the only wiſe immortal God. For, One of thoſe *Philoſophers* or *wiſe men* (ſaith the ſame Father) *Vir Eloquentiſſimus* (whether he meant *Cicero* or *Seneca*, or ſome other I know not) condemns the former Opinion as an *Hereſie* in Philoſophy, and gives this Reaſon for it: *Velle enim quod non deceat, idipſum miſerrimum: Nec tam miſerum eſt, non adipiſci quod velis, quàm adipiſci velle, quod non oporteat: To will that which a man ought not to will, is the greateſt miſery that can befal a man: Nor is it ſo great a miſery not to atcheive what we deſire, as to deſire to atcheive, or endeavour to compaſs that, which we ought not to deſire.*

Auguſt. Epiſt. 121.

6. *Quid tibi videntur hæc verba*, (ſaith the ſame Father unto his Freind to whom he wrote this Epiſtle) *nonne ab ipſa veritate per quemlibet hominem dicta ſunt? What, do you think, were not theſe words derived from the Fountain of Truth, by what Conduit or channel ſoever they have been brought unto us?* Therefore we may ſay of this *ſaying*, as *S. Paul* doth of a Prophet or *Poet* of *Creet*, whoſe ſentence did pleaſe him, *Teſtimonium hoc verum eſt*, *this Teſtimony is true*, and worthy the receiving. And from this ſaying that *Reverend Father* concludes, *Ille igitur beatus eſt, qui omnia quæ vult habet, nec aliquid vult quod non decet*; *He is truly happy that hath all things which he deſires to have, being diſpoſed to deſire nothing which he ought not.* This Concluſion is as neceſſary and true in the argument whereof we treat: *He only is a true and perfect Free-man, which hath a power or Freedome to deſire nothing but what he ought, and a power or Freedom to diſpoſe of himſelf, and of his endeavours, for attaining or compaſſing what he thus deſires.* So that *this Freedome conſiſts in the ſervice of God*: and that conſiſts in a ſubmiſſion to his Will, and in reliance upon his moſt abſolute Power to accompliſh whatſoever he will, or Whatſoever He ſhall think fitting for us to will or deſire at his hands.

7. As abſolute *Happineſs*; So abſolute *Freedome* is only in God. *Both* are Eſſential only unto him: that is, He only cannot be deprived either of *Happineſs* or of *Freedome*, by any other: Nor can he be willing to deprive himſelf of them. *Non Deus volens iniquitatem Tu es*, ſaith the Pſalmiſt, *Pſal.* 5. *Thou art not a God, that canſt will iniquity*, as the Gods of the Heathen did. It is as impoſſible for our God to make ſuch Laws, or to grant ſuch diſpenſations with his own Laws, as the God of *Rome* and Roman Catholicks, the Pope doth; as it is for this God of Rome, to make himſelf the God of Heaven. He cannot diſpence with the Law forbidding marriage betwixt Uncle and Neice: He cannot make Laws to authorize murther. It is the *Firſt* Part of his happineſs, to be able to Will only that

which is Good, Juſt, and Holy: the *Second*, in that he hath abſolute power to do whatſoever he will in heaven and earth.

8. Men and Angells in their firſt Creation had a true image of this their Creators Happineſs and *Freedome.* And this image of their *Freedome* did conſiſt in a power or faculty of *Willing* only ſuch things as were good and pleaſing to their Creator: Secondly, in a power or faculty of *Framing* their inferior deſires or appetites of Senſe, and of ſquaring all their actions and endeavours according to the Rectitude or Rule of their Reaſonable will. But this *Power* or faculty, wherewith both Men and Angells at their Firſt Creation were endued, was in reſpect of *both* its *objects* or branches, as well in reſpect of *willing* only that which was *Good*, as of their *ability to do what they would*, mutable or *contingent*: It was not Eſſential to them, as to God. Though Man by Right of Creation was truly *Free*: Yet he had a true poſſibility of loſing his *Freedome*; a greater poſſibility of ceaſing to be a *Freeman*, then of ceaſing to be a *man*. As he was created after Gods image, he was actually and truly indued with *Freedome*; But as he was a man created of nothing, he was capable of *Servitude*: And by his folly or wilful preſumption he brought himſelf and his poſterity into *Bondage* unto Satan: Who by the like but greater preſumption and more wilful abuſe of his *Free-will* or power over himſelf, did bring himſelf and his Confederate Angels into greater and more deſperate *Servitude* unto ſin and wickedneſs, then he could draw our firſt Parents unto; albeit he drew them into true and proper *Servitude*, and to this day draws all ſuch as ſeek not *to be ſet Free by Chriſt in this acceptable time which is allotted here on Earth*, into abſolute, compleat, and deſperate *Servitude*; into ſuch an irrecoverable eſtate as he and his Angels are in.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the ſeveral branches of Servitude *unto ſin.*

1. THe principal *Branches* or ſtems of this our *Servitude* unto Sin, are *Four.* The *Firſt*, an *Impotency* or want of power of doing that which we would, or a neceſſity of not doing that which Reaſon and our own Conſcience tells us to be Good, or that which the word of God expreſly requires at our hands, as a due Service unto our Creator and Redeemer. The degrees or *Latitude of this branch* muſt be taken from the neceſſity of the duty or precept Commanding obedience, and from the degrees of our impotency or want of ability to do what is commanded, which ſometimes grows into a Neceſſity of Non-performance. The *Second* branch of our *Servitude* conſiſts in a *neceſſity* of doing what we would not: that is, of doing that in the *Particular*, which we utterly diſlike in the *General*; as being contrary to the Rule of Reaſon, or to the dictate of our Conſciences in our ſober and retired thoughts, or contrary to the expreſs word of God, which ought to be the Rule as well of our Actions as of our wils and deſires. Of theſe two branches of Servitude is that of the Apoſtle, *Rom.* 7. 14. 15. *For we know that the Law is ſpiritual: but I am Carnal, ſold under Sin. For that which I do, I allow not: for what I would that do I not; but what I hate, that do I.* And verſ. 19. *For the good that I would, I doe not: but the evil which I would not, that do I.*

The degrees or Latitude of the Firſt, Second Third, *and* Fourth *Branches of* Servitude *unto ſin.*

2. The *Third branch* of this *ſervitude* unto ſin conſiſts in an *impotency* or want of ability to will or deſire thoſe things which we ought to deſire.

The *Root* of this branch is *Ignorance*, either of thoſe good things which may be known by natural light of Reaſon, or by the word of God. Of this *branch of ſervitude*, or of *ſervants* of this rank or Condition, is that of the Apoſtle eſpecially true and intended by him, *That they have their minds darkened, and the eyes of their underſtanding blinded, through the ignorance that is in them.*

Eph. 4. 18.

3. The *Fourth* and laſt *Branch*, which is likewiſe the worſt, conſiſts in a *Neceſſity* of Willing and deſiring that which we ought not to deſire or will. Againſt this branch of *ſervitude*, or men thus affected, is that *Woe* of the Prophet in particular denounced; Eſay 5. 20. *Wo unto them that call evil good, and good evil, that put darkneſs for light, and light for darkneſs, that put bitter for ſweet, and ſweet for bitter.* Of this *Third* and *Fourth Branch* is that of the Apoſtle, *Eph.* 4. 19. *Who being paſt feeling, have given themſelves over unto Laſciviouſneſs, to work all uncleanneſs with greedineſs.*

4. The *Third Branch*, or impotency of willing that which we ought, or that which we are in duty bound, not only to will, but to do, is ſuch an *Infirmity* of the Soul, as we ſee in ſome mens bodies, which have loſt not only their *digeſtive Faculty*, but all appetite of wholſome *Food*. This *Fourth* and laſt *Branch* which conſiſts in a *Neceſſity* of willing that which we ought not to will, is like to that diſtemper of body which Phyſitians call the *Pica* or the *Malacia*, that is, a ravenous Appetite or greedy Longing after ſuch things as are Loathſom and unnatural.

5. All theſe *Branches of Servitude*, but eſpecially the *Firſt* and the *Third*, are *Two-fold*; either *Natural* or *Acquired*. Or to ſpeak more properly; The *Roots* and *Firſt ſeeds* of them are natural and hereditary from our firſt Parents: The *Nutriment*, the *Growth* or increaſe of them is for the moſt part from men themſelves, not from *Adam*: Theſe are acquired or purchaſed by ill Education or breeding, by lewd Company or bad Cuſtomes. Never was there any ſon of *Adam* but upon Examination might have found himſelf oft-times indiſpoſed, unapt, or altogether unable, to do many things which in the *General* he approved as *Good*, and in his retired thoughts he deſired to do; and for the not doing of which, when opportunity ſerved, and occaſions required, his wakened Conſcience or after-thoughts would often check him. Never was there any ſon of *Adam*, whoſe Conſcience upon a review or Examination of his actions, would not accuſe or condemn him for doing many things, which in better Mood he deſired not to do, and ſuch things as he had promiſed to himſelf and his own Conſcience, if not to others, not to do.

Theſe Branches of Servitude unto ſin either natural or acquired.

6. But this *Neceſſity* of doing many things which in their ſober mood they reſolve not to do, or of doing them in ſuch a high meaſure and degree as oft-times they are done, is not *hereditary* to any ſon of *Adam*. This is a *neceſſity* which men bring upon themſelves, either by frequenting lewd Company, or by bad Cuſtom, or at leaſt have it brought upon them, not by *Adam*, but by the bad example or ill inſtructions of their immediate Parents or Overſeers. As for the *Fourth Branch of ſervitude*, which conſiſts in a *Neceſſity* of willing or deſiring thoſe things which men ought not to deſire; this of all the reſt is leaſt *hereditary*: For it includes a degree of *Iniquity* with which we cannot charge our Father *Adam*. He indeed ſought to mince or mitigate his offence after he had wilfully committed it: and thus to do was a greivous fault or offence: But we never read, nor have we any reaſon to ſuſpect, that he did delight or glory, either in this or in any other Sin; or uſe his ſins paſt as an advantage or *Riſe* to mount himſelf to Sin. We do not read that *Cain* did glory in the

murther of his Brother *Abel*; or that *Judas* did make himſelf merry with the price of bloud: Both of them were *Servants* unto Sin, and by ſin unto Satan. Their *Servitude* unto Sin in general was hereditary, and neceſſarily derived unto them, as it is naturally unto all us, from our father *Adam*. But neither was the One a *Murtherer* or Fratricide, nor the other a *Traytor* by *natural deſcent* or inheritance. *Judas* became a *Traytor* by making himſelf as baſe a *Servant* or vaſſal to Covetouſneſs; yet not ſo great a ſervant to the one or other Sin, as thoſe which delight and glory in theſe or the like Sins. For though the *Scripture hath concluded all under ſin*, as well the Jew as the Gentile; Though the beſt of men, as the Scripture teacheth us, be by *Nature* the *Servants* of ſin: yet we read of ſome whom the Scripture hath branded with this Mark, *that they have ſold themſelves to work wickedneſs or do miſcheif*. And theſe are *ſlaves* to Sin, and Bond-men unto Satan by a double *Title*; the *One* by *natural deſcent* or inheritance; the *Other* by their own *voluntary Acts*, as it were of bargain or Sale. *Cain* and theſe Jews mentioned, *John* 8. which perſecuted our Saviour, becauſe his works were good and theirs were evil, were not only the Sons of *Adam*, (though that were enough to make them *Servants* of Sin;) but as our Saviour tells them in the 44. verſe of that 8. Chapter, *They were of their father the Devil.*

7. But to deſcend unto a more particular ſurvey of *Every Branch*, beginning with the *Firſt* and *Second* which are for the moſt part coincident, and ſo mutually wrapt together, that we cannot truly handle the one but we muſt touch the other. For, The *Firſt* (as hath been ſaid before) conſiſts in an *impotency* or impoſſibility of doing that which we oft-times deſire to do, and approve as good. And this impotency or impoſſibility doth ordinarily proceed from, or draw after it a *neceſſity* of doing that which we deſire not to do, and which in our better thoughts we altogether condemn as naughty, and unfitting to be done.

How far the Teſtimonies of the Heathen are Authentick for the truth of this Doctrine delivered

8. Some meaſure of theſe *Branches* was clearly diſcovered by the wiſer and more ſober ſort of the *Heathen*. And the men which were moſt ſubject to either, were adjudged by them to be true and proper *Servants*; *Slaves* in a higher degree and larger meaſure, according to a more baſe and odious *ſlavery*, then ſuch as by Legal *Title* were *ſlaves* or Bondmen; unleſs theſe alſo were equally ſubject to the like baſe conditions or lewd diſpoſition of mind. However, This lewd diſpoſition of mind, or corruption of manners and affections, whether in Bondmen or in their Maſters, was adjudged by the very *Heathen* to be more baſe and *ſervile*, then the Legal eſtate or condition of known *ſlaves* or Bondmen. But before I acquaint the Reader with the opinions of Heathens in this point, I muſt requeſt him not to miſtake my meaning or intention, as if I eſteemed the *Veredict* or *Teſtimony* of the beſt *Philoſophers* amongſt them, to be in themſelves of any credit or Authority in matters ſacred, in myſteries of Faith or Divinity. I would rather requeſt him to conſider with me; That many teſtimonies, which are of no credit in themſelves, nor can borrow any Authority from their Authors, may be notwithſtanding of very good uſe for the confirmation of better Authority, or for the diſcovering or bolting out the truth: whoſe Authority by what means ſoever once diſcovered, or from whomſoever it do proceed, is alwaies great and ought to prevail, as in the end it certainly will prevail againſt ignorance and error, in whomſoever they be found, though patronized by men, otherwiſe of extraordinary parts and deſerved Authority. For example, The teſtimony of a known Lyar, whoſe Oath we would not take for *ſix pence*, is good and lawful againſt himſelf, A notorious Theif or Melefactors own confeſſion, eſpecially if it

be deliberately made, and judicially taken, is a Conviction as ſufficient and Authentick, as the diſpoſitions of two, or three, or more, moſt honeſt men. Now the ſame Law or reaſon of the Law, which in ſome caſes admits the teſtimony or confeſſions of diſhoneſt men for legal proof, will warrant us to admit the opinions, but eſpecially the reaſons of *Antient Heathens*, which never knew the true God, nor Jeſus Chriſt whom he had ſent, for ſufficient and Authentick Teſtimonies to convince the *Athieſts* of latter times, or ſuch as live without God in this preſent world, or ſuch amongſt us, as having much better means then the beſt of the *Heathen* had, to know God and his Chriſt, yet live altogether without any true fear or love of Either, and in as little ſenſe or feeling of their own natural *Servitude* or preſent bondage unto ſin, as the rudeſt or worſt ſort of *Heathen did.*

9. Yet further, Albeit the wiſeſt and beſt ſort of Heathen Philoſophers lived in *Bondage* unto Sin, and died *Servants* of corruption: yet did they not alwaies ſpeak out of the corruption wherewith their very Souls were tainted. Many things they ſpeak and wrote out of the Law of nature *written* (as our Apoſtle teſtifieth, *Rom.* 2, 15,) *in their hearts.* By the Light of which *Law likewiſe*, they did many things contained in the *written Law* of God: For, not having *that Law*, as the Apoſtle there ſaith, *they were a Law unto themſelves.* Now as the teſtimony or confeſſion of a notorious Malefactor voluntarily and judicially made againſt himſelf, is ſufficient to condemn that Judg or Juror, of injuſtice or partiality, that would not take it for a legal proof or conviction: ſo ſhall the Allegations or collections of the *Heathens*, which were themſelves ſervants unto ſin, be of Authority enough to condemn us of a worſe crime, unleſs upon their informations we make more particular and exact enquiry; *Firſt*, into the *ſervile Eſtate* or Condition wherein we were born and in which, until our regeneration, we ſtill continue; *Secondly*, into the meanes by which we may be redeemed from the ſame Eſtate or condition. Now the means by which we muſt be redeemed, the moſt Learned amongſt the *Heathens*, after long ſearch, guided in part by the *Light of Nature*, could not diſcover. But as in other caſes, ſo in this; *when they ſeemed to be wiſe, they became Fools*: Then they ſought to ſet themſelves *Free* by Rules of Art or Philoſophy from one or *Few* branches of this *ſervitude*, they intangled themſelves Faſter in ſome others.

10. It was a Beam of Truth, a ſtep or approach to *Freedome* rightly diſcovered by * *Tully, ſi ſervitus ſit, ſicut eſt, Obedientia fracti animi, & abjecti, & arbitrio carentis ſuo, Quis neget omnes Leves, omnes Cupidos, omnes denique Improbos eſſe ſervos?* "If ſervitude (ſaith he) be (as no man, "even in the moſt ſtrict proper and legal ſenſe, can make any more of it "then) the obecience of a broken or crazed abject mind, deprived of all "power or right to diſpoſe of it ſelf or of its own Actions: Who can deny "all inconſtant vain men, all Covetous, generally all Wicked men to be "truly ſervants? To preſs his *General reaſon* a little further, and to draw it from the very *Firſt Root* or ſpring of *ſervitude* properly ſo called: All men, as well the wicked, as the vain or unconſtant, have a deſire to be *Happy*: For *Happineſs* is the mark whereat our intentions aim, but of which moſt men in their Courſes fall much wide or ſhort. For in as much as we cannot attain unto the *End*, but by the *Meanes* (or mean) which are *uſeful* for attaining that *Happineſs* which we moſt deſire: Partly thorough our natural weakneſs, but eſpecially thorough ſatans cunning, theſe uſeful *Meanes* intercept moſt of our time, moſt of our pains and endeavours, which ſhould be reſerved for purchaſe of the *End*. For ſo it is with moſt

*In Paradox Ὅτι πάντες Σοφοὶ Ἐλεύθεροι, &c.

of us by Nature, as with young unexperienced or Careleſs *Apprentices or Factors*, who finding ſome extraordinary contentment in the *Firſt Inne* they come at, ſpend moſt of their time and money there, which ſhould have been ſpent at the *Fair or Mart* for which they were Bound. The ſpecial *Means* whoſe uſe is *Neceſſary* to the attaining of that *Happineſs* which we moſt deſire, are ſpecially *Three*; *Delight of Mind*, *Contentment of the Body*, and *Competency of Wealth*. Now albeit in our Firſt Aims or intentions, we deſire not *Theſe For Themſelves*, nor in any Extraordinary Meaſure: yet ſuch is the Frailneſs of our *Nature*, that, Whatſoever things we much Accuſtome our ſelves unto, they will at length *Plead* * *Cuſtome*, or preſcribe a kind of Right or Intereſt in our Affections, Actions and Endeavours. And *The greater Right* or Intereſt, the deſire of *Wealth*, of Bodily *Pleaſures*, or *Delights of the Mind*, gain in our Affections in our Expence of time, in our thoughts or imployments; *the leſs Power* or Ability we have to do that which in the *General* we moſt deſire to do; the greater * *Impoſſibility* we bring upon our Selves of doing thoſe things which are moſt available to the attainment of true *Happineſs*. *And to be thus indiſpoſed or diſenabled to uſe our beſt wits or beſt Endeavours for purchaſing that Pearl which we moſt Eſteem, is a true and Natural Branch of Servitude and Bondage.*

* *See Chap.* 21. §. 5, S. Auſt. Confeſſ. l. 8. c. 5. *Sayes, I was bound not in Gaolers Irons, but by my own* Iron-will *The enemy had made a chain of that. My perverſe* Will *became* Luſt. *Luſt ſerved, became a* Cuſtome. *And Cuſtome let alone, became* Neceſſity. *In a Chain made up of theſe Links, Lay I, a poor and miſerable Slave to Sin.——. Therefore, Give the water no paſſage.* Eccleſ. 25. 25. *Let every one that names the name of Chriſt ſtand (aloof) off from iniquity,* 2 Tim. 2. 19. *Let not Sin enter the Firſt Dore of Senſe (Eye or Ear or &c.) not the ſecond of Phanſie; nor the third of Underſtanding, nor the fourth of Will; Leaſt it break out into Act. And One Act will produce Two, and Two Four, and ſo it will double infinitely, and ſoon bring the Heart to be as hard as the Nether-Milſtone, the Anvil or the Adamant, obliterating very principles of nature and Grace; and implanting ſuch reprobate and debauched Notions (rather fictions) of mens own corrupt minds, as ſhall ſerve their Turns and Luſts, and at Laſt drown them in perdition. See* Jer. 13. 23. Rom. 2. 5. Eſay 5. 20. *See Chap* 31. §. 5.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Excellent Notions *which* Tully, *and ſome* Heathen Romans *of Lewder life then He, had, of* Servitude unto Sin, *or vice.*

1 THis *Roman Orator* had ‖ obſerved Some of Great Birth and place, to ſpend much of their means in buying *Curious Pictures*, *Statues*, or the like; and much of their time in contemplating and admiring the skill of the *Artificer*. Theſe He cenſures as *Servants unto Toys and Fooleries.* Yet if one ſhould ask theſe men that had thus enthral'd themſelves unto their idle *Fancies*, Whether they did not in heart deſire to be truly *Happy*, they would have anſwered that they deſired *Nothing ſo much*; *nothing elſe*. Now he that by his own Confeſſion deſires nothing ſo much as to be truly *Happy*, is by the light of *Reaſon* and Rule of *Nature*, bound to will nothing beſides *Happineſs*, ſo much as that which comes neareſt unto it, or is moſt available for the purchaſe or attaining of it. And who then but a *Slave* or vaſſal to his own Fancy, or *one whoſe Fancy had made a Fool of him*, could ever hope or imagine, that a Living man could be made

Several ſorts of Servitude *obſerved by* Tully, *in* Paradox, Quod ſoli ſapientes liberi; Stulti, Servi.

‖ *So had* Horace, *in* Damaſippus. Serm. l. 2. Sat. 3.

——quærere amabat,
Quo vafer ille pedes laviſſet Siſyphus ære:
Quid Sculptum infabrè, Quid fuſum durius eſſet.
Callidus huic Signo ponebat millia centum, &c.——
Inſanit veteres ſtatuas Damaſippus emendo.
Serm. l. 2, *Sat.* 7.
Tu cum *Pauſiaca* torpes inſane tabella——.
——Ego cum *Fulvi Rutubæque*,
Aut Placideiani contento poplite miror
Prælia, Rubrica picta, aut carbone: velut ſi
Revera pugnent, feriant, vitentq; moventes
Arma viri ——
Epiſt. 6, *lib.* 1.
I nunc, argentum, & marmor vetus æraque & artes
Suſpice: Cum gemmis Tyrios mirare Colores
Juvenal. Sat. 8, *v.* 103.
Et cum *Parrhaſii* tabulis, Signisque *Myronis*
Phidiacum vivebat ebur, nec non *Policleti*
Multus ubiq; labor, raræ ſine *Mentore* menſæ.
See Sat. 11. *v.* 92. *and* 120. *Sat.* 14. *v.* 305.

made *Happy* by gazing on Liveleſs Pictures, or admiring Images of the Dead? But if this Queſtion had been diſtinctly put unto them, happily they would upon deliberation have denied, that they did ſeriouſly hope to become *Happy* by this practiſe, in which notwithſtanding they moſt delighted. Herein then they were moſt unhappy, moſt miſerable, true and proper *Servants*; in that by inconſiderate accuſtoming themſelves unto theſe or the like unneceſſary delights or fruitleſs Fancies; they had utterly diſenabled themſelves from living ſuch a Life, as at the firſt they moſt deſired to live, and yet moſt deſire, that they could live; but are not able, as having alienated the Uſe of their *time*, of their imaginations, of their *underſtandings*, of their beſt *Endeavours* from the *Service of Vertue*, or ſerious ſtudy of true *Wiſdome*, in which, *Happineſs* by their own acknowledgments did properly conſiſt.

2. Others, the ſame *Tully* in his time had obſerved, who, though they were Noble-men by birth, yet were ſlaves or *Servants* in a more baſe kind of *Servitude* and bondage, then the former; *Servants* according to the ſecond Branch of *Servitude* before mentioned. "Shall I ever count him a *Freeman* (ſaith "he) over whom a Woman beareth rule? One who "ſuffers his *Miſtreſs* to impoſe * Laws upon him? "If ſhe ask, he muſt give: If ſhe call, he muſt come: "*Ego verò iſtum non modo Servum, ſed nequiſſimum* "*Servum, etiamſi in ampliſſima familia natus ſit, ap*"*pellandum puto.* This heathen by light of Nature and help of Art, had diſcovered and made obſervation of that *General Truth*, which our Apoſtle delivers, *Rom.* 6. 16. *That unto what deſire ſoever a man doth yeild himſelf*, or conſecrates his principle time, his actions or imployments, he makes himſelf a true and proper *Servant unto it.* The deſire of † *Honour*, of *Superiority* or Soveraignty over others, which ſeems to be the moſt *Free*; yet even this, as by inſtance he proves, is a hard, and imperious, and cruel *Miſtreſs* unto him that entertains her beſt. Not One of an Hundred that hunts after Honour or Preferment, but hath more then ten Maſters to One, for every ſervant that he keeps. As for the inordinate deſires of wealth, of Lands or inheritance; they are no parts of a * *Freeman*, but the properties of a baſe or ſluggiſh *Servant*. But which is worſt of all; After exceſſive deſires have got the victory over our ſouls they bring in a new Lord or cruel Maſter worſe then themſelves, that is, *Fear or Terrour*, ariſing from the *Conſciouſneſs of Sin*, into which there is no exceſſive or immoderate deſire, though it be of things in themſelves not unlawful but will in the end plung our Souls, when we ſhall as one day we muſt, call our Souls unto an Account for our Expence of time and imployments.

Theſe and the like *Paradoxes*, (as *Tully* himſelf did foreſee they would be eſteemed no better) were *Dogmatically* avouched by ‖ *Horace* in the age following, under the Perſon of a *Roman ſlave* or Bondman.

* *Juvenal. Sat.* 6. *v.* 213.
Nil unquam invita donabis conjuge: vendes
Hac obſtante nihil: nihil, hæc ſi nolit, e-
metur,
Hæc dabit affectus: ille excludetur amicus
Jam ſenior, cujus barbam tua janua vidit.

† *Juvenal. ib. v.* 55. (næ
Quoſdam præcipitat ſubjecta potentia mag-
Invidiæ; mergit longa atq; inſignis honorum
Pagina———
———qui nimios optabat honores,
Et nimias poſcebat opes, numeroſa parabat
Excelſæ turris tabulata, unde altior eſſet
Caſus, & impulſæ præceps immane ruinæ.

Perſius. Sat. 5. *v.* 176.
Jus habet ille ſui Palpo, quem ducit hiantem
Cretata ambitio? vigila & cicer ingere largè
Rixanti populo———.

* *Father of a* Mad man: *ſayes* Horace. *Serm. l.* 2. *Sat.* 3. (adite
Dum doceo inſanire omnes, Vos ordine
Danda eſt Hellebori multo pars maxima
avaris.
Neſcio an Anticyram ratio *illis* deſtinet om-
nem &c.

See Hor. Serm. l. 1. *Sat.* 1, *And Juvenal. Sat.* 10. *v.* 10.
Sed plures nimia congeſta pecunia cura
Sarangulat———.

‖ Horace *his live* Characters *of true* Slaves, *Serm. l.* 2. *Sat.* 7.
See Perſius *his imitation of* Horace, *in This (as he doth in other paſſages, very much) Sat.* 5. *v.* 85. *&c. In his Dialogue betwixt* Dama *a ſlave (lately) and a* Stoick.
D. Liber ego. Sto. Unde datum hoc ſumis, tot
(ſubdite rebus? (laxat
An *Dominum* ignoras niſi quem vindicta re-
———intus, & in jecore ægro
Naſcuntur *Domini*———.
(*ſc. pigritia, avaritia, libido, ambitio à quibus*)
———Duplici in diverſum ſcinderis hamo.
Huccine an hunc ſequeris? ſubeas alternus
oportet.
Ancipiti obſequio *Dominos*; alternus oberres.
Nec tu cum obſtiteris ſemel, inſtantique ne-
garis.
parere *Imperio*; *Rupi jam vincula*, dicas.
Nam & luctata Canis nodum abripit; at ta-
men illi, (tenæ
Dum fugit, à collo trahitur pars longa ca-
See his Dialogue (there v. 161.*) between* Davus *and* Chæreſtratus, *taken out of* Menander.

Com.III.

Davus (whom this witty *Poet* brings in, Acting the one part of a *Satyrical Dialogue* with his Maſter, according to the Ancient cuſtome of the Romans, by which their *Slaves* were authorized to uſe Liberty of ſpeech more then Civil, in their *Saturnal or December Feaſts*) firſt taking this *General* as granted, *That all men, at leaſt the Romans were true ſlaves*, divides them into *Two Sor*[illegible] or kinds.

Pars hominum vitiis gaudet conſtanter, & urget
Propoſitum: pars multa natat, modò recta capeſſens,
Interdum pravis obnoxia. Sæpe notatus
Cum tribus annellis, modo lævâ Priſcus *inani;*
Vixit inæqualis, clavum ut mutaret in horas:
Ædibus ex magnis ſubitò ſe conderet, undè
Mundior exiret vix libertinus honeſtè.
Jam mœchus Romæ, jam mallet doctus Athenis
Vivere: Vertumnis, quotquot ſunt, natus iniquis.
Scurra Volanerius, *poſtquam illi juſta Chiragra*
Contudit articulos, qui pro ſe tolleret atque
Mitteret in pyrgum talos, mercede diurnâ
Conductum pavit. Quanto conſtantior idem
In vitiis, tanto levius miſer ac prior illo,
Qui jam contento, jam laxo fune laborat, &c.——
————---*ſi nuſquam es forte vocatus*
Ad cœnam, laudas ſecurum olus: ac, velut uſquam
Vinctus eas, ita te felicem dicis, amaſque,
Quòd nuſquam tibi ſit potandum. Juſſerit ad ſe
Mecænas ſerum ſub lumina prima venire
Convivam. Nemon' oleum feret ocyus? ecquis
Audit? cum magno blateras clamore, fugiſque
Milvius; & ſcurræ tibi non referenda precati
Diſcedunt. Etenim fateor me dixerit ille
Duci ventre levem: naſum nidore ſupinor:
Imbecillus, iners, ſi quid vis, adde, popino. &c.——
——*O toties ſervus! quæ bellua ruptis*
Cum ſemel effugit, reddit ſe prava catenis?
Tune mihi Dominus, *rerum imperiis hominumque*
Tot tantiſque minor? quem ter vindicta quaterque
Impoſita, haud unquam miſera formidine privet?
————————*eripe turpi*
Colla jugo liber. Liber ſum; *Dic age. non quis.*
Urget enim Dominus *mentem non lenis, & acres*
Subjectat laſſo ſtimulos, verſatque negantem.
Tu, mihi qui imperitas, aliis ſervis *miſer, atque*
Duceris ut nervis alienis mobile lignum. &c.
————————*Adde quod idem*
Non horam tecum eſſe potes; non otia rectè
Ponere: teque ipſum vitas fugitivus & erro;
Jam vino, quærens, jam ſomno, fallere curam,
Fruſtra. Nam comes atra premit ſequiturque fugacem.

4. The *Firſt* ſort did conſtantly delight in ſome one or few vices: The *other* being of better Birth were fluctuant between Vertue or Civil Honeſty and baſe vices.--- *Modo recta capeſſens Interdum pravis obnoxia, &c.* He inſtanceth in one *Priſcus* who was never Uniform to himſelf, much leſs con-

formable to any conſtant Rules of good Life; ſometimes wearing *three Rings* on his Left hand, with other *Cognizances* of his *Gentility*, or ingenuous Birth; ſometimes not ſo much as *one Ring* upon either hand, nor obſerving any other Garb or token of *Gentility*. Oftentimes having touched at ſome great Senators or Noble-mans Houſe in a Robe befitting his calling, would inſtantly change his habits, and hide himſelf in ſuch baſe houſes as no cleanly *Liberty* (that is, as we ſay, a *Free-man of the Firſt head*) would willingly be ſeen to go in, or come out of. For the other Part of this Slaves diviſion of men, he inſtanceth in one *Volenarius* an *old Sinkanter* or Gameſter and Scurrilous Companion by profeſſion, who was ſo delighted in this accuſtomed trade of Life, that after the Gout had ſo hammered and bemaul'd his joints, that he could not ſo much as finger a Pair of Dice, did hire a Slave to take them up and throw them for him. This man, in this *Slaves* opinion, was ſo much leſſe wretched or baſe then the former *Gentleman Priſcus*, by how much he was more uniform to himſelf, and more conſtant in his wonted courſe of Life; whereas the other was perpetually toſſed between contrary inclinations, as if he had been ſometimes ſo hard tyed that he could not but ſtand upright; oftner let looſe, to fall foul or groveling.

5. The *Hypotheſis* or iſſue of this ſawcy *Theſis* or Generality was this; That the *Gentleman Priſcus* did repreſent his Lord and *Maſter*, as *Volanerius* did *Davus* himſelf; who by his own acknowledgment was conſtantly addicted to one or two of his Maſters bad qualities, yet a ſervant but to one Lord beſides his Belly; Whereas his Maſter had ſubjected himſelf to many unruly *Appetites* and enormous deſires, all contrary to the *Dictates* of his own Reaſon or *Conſcience* in his more private and retyred thoughts. So much of the *Law of Reaſon* and of *Nature* was implanted in this his Maſter, that he could highly commend the manners and practiſes of the *Ancient Romans*: And yet if any good ſpirit did invite or move him to follow their example, he was as ready to kick at the motion or the practiſe in *Particular*, as he had been to commend the pattern ſet him, by the Ancient *Romans*, conſidered only in the General. Being not invited by his betters abroad, a moderate homely diſh of broath, of herbs, &c, was moſt applauded by him; and his family free from moleſtation. But if *Mecænas* or any other great *Potentate* had upon ſhort warning invited him to ſupper, he inſtantly declared himſelf, to be a *Slave* both to his *Belly* and to his *Superiors*; and a *Tyrant* withal to his *Servants*; chiding one for not bringing him *Oyl*; beating another for not bringing him *water* or other preparatives, with more ſpeed then could in reaſon be expected. from theſe and the like Inductions *Davus* concludes his *Maſter* to be more then a Slave or ἔμψυχον Ὄργανον an inſtrument indued with Life and motion; a meer ἄψυχον ὄργανον or *Wooden picture of a man* which had no Maſtery over his own motions or reſolutions, having ſubjected his Will and Reaſon to dance attendance upon every Great mans will or pleaſure, like a puppit upon a ſtring, which, it hath no power to wag or move, but is moved upon it at the pleaſure of the Maſter or practiſer of this kind of childiſh ſport. The reſt of this *Slaves arguments* (all concludent) to prove his *Maſter* or ſuch men as he was, to be more *ſottiſh Slaves* then himſelf: the Reader may find breifly ſet down in the eight book of theſe Commentaries, Sect. 2. Chap. 7. page (in *Quarto*) 63.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Fruitleſneſs *of the former* Notions *in the beſt* Heathens.

Horace *and* Tully *both true* Servants *though they knew not to whom.*

1. BUt what did it boot this *Satyriſt* to know all this, or to mark the moſt of the Romans his Countrey-men to be indeed true Servants? *He himſelf laid nothing of all this to Heart.* The beſt uſe we can in diſcretion preſume to be made of this Obſervation, was to make himſelf and Others merry; ſetting down his obſervations by way of Play or Enterlude. He lived, and for ought we know, dyed an *Epicure*, not in *Practiſe* only, but in *Opinion*; One that accounted it the greateſt part of miſery or *Servitude*, to be wedded to one kind of Bodily Pleaſure, or carnal delight. And the greateſt *Happineſs* he aimed at, was to be *Free* to taſt and try all kind of *Pleaſures*, ſo far as they were not hurtfull unto his body.

2. As for *Tully*, though he handled his matters a great deal more gravely and ſoberly, and were much better in Opinion: Yet in the iſſue of his diſcourſe He ſeems rather to chang his *Maſter*, then any way to ſet himſelf *Free*. He was not indeed ſuch a *Servant* to his own Imagination or Fancy, not ſuch a *Servant* to Covetuouſneſs, to Luſt, perhaps not to Ambition or ſuperiority of Dominion, as He obſerved the moſt other Romans to be: Yet he was a greater *Servant* to *His Own Will*, then others were to their inferior deſires. His very *Will* it ſelf was in *Servitude*, as having no Rule to rectifie it, unleſs it were the *Roman Lawes* which though in many particulars they were Good: Yet Such as were too much addicted unto the intire Frame of them, Or ſuch as gloried in the wiſdome or Excellency of them, were brought unwittingly to exerciſe Enmity againſt God, and his *Annoynted Chriſt*. Such as the *Romans* accounted their *Godlieſt Patriots* or Common-wealths-men, were alwaies the *Greateſt Enemies* unto the *Jews* or profeſſors of *Moſes Law* before our Saviours time, as unto the *Chriſtians* after our Saviours death. God in his juſt judgments did ſend them ſuch cruel Kings as *Tiberius*, and *Nero*, becauſe they were ſo cruelly bent againſt the *Profeſſors of his Goſpel*. What could it advantage theſe or any other *Heathens* to know themſelves to be in *Servitude* not knowing unto whom they were in *Servitude*, or whoſe *Servants* they were *de Facto*, nor by whom they were to be made *Free*? Some good *Notions* they had of *vice* or of Sin: But of *Satan* or his wicked Angells they had not ſo much as heard; or at leaſt what they had heard of them, they accounted but *Toys* or Fables. And that which was the Root of their miſery, and ſtrongeſt bond of their *Slavery* was, that they worſhipped *Feinds or Devils*, as if in their opinion they had been Gods, becauſe able to do them bodily harm or bodily good. Now *in offering Sacrifices* (as our Apoſtle ſaith) unto *Devils*, they did ſolemnly and publickly profeſs them to be their *Lords and Maſters*. So that they were not only profeſſed *Servants unto Sin*, but profeſſed *Servants unto Satan*. In worſhipping them and doing them *Service*, they did that which was worthy of ſtripes; and were to be beaten, yet with fewer ſtripes then the wicked *Jew*, or ſuch as confeſs Chriſt to be their Lord, and yet will not learn to deny ungodlineſs. For theſe *Heathens* did not know, that they had ſuch a *Lord or Maſter*; whom they were bound to *ſerve*: And not knowing him to be their *Maſter*; how was it poſſible that they ſhould know his *will*? But we acknowledg him to be *our Lord*; we know his *will*; we know the end of his coming into the world

was to deſtroy the *works of Satan.* Now *if we ſhould labour to build up that which he came to deſtroy;* we ſhall prove our ſelves not only to be *ſervants to ſin,* and by Sin *Servants* unto Satan; but profeſſed *Enemies* and *Traytors* unto *Chriſt.*

3. Our Saviours *ſentence* is Univerſal; *Whoſoever committeth Sin is the ſervant of Sin.* As you ſhall think or meditate upon the ſame, let me requeſt you to take this addition or Supplement into conſideration with it; Whoſoever is the *Servant* of Sin, is the *Servant,* the Slave or Bondman of Satan. Let no man therefore flatter himſelf with this or the like Conceit; *That becauſe he profeſſeth Chriſt to be his Lord, he cannot therefore be ſo true a Slave and Bondman unto Satan, as the Idolatrous Heathen were,* which offered ſacrifice unto him. They did indeed unwittingly, implicitely, and really acknowledg him to be their *Lord,* and themſelves his *Servants,* by paying *Rent* or Tribute unto him. But ſuch as deny all ſuch *Rent* or *Service,* may make him their *Lord,* and themſelves his *ſlaves* or Bondmen, by *Preſcription* or continual poſſeſſion.

Many that call Chriſt Lord *true* Servants *to Satan.*

Vid. *Salvianum l.* 6.

4. The *Heathens* which offered ſacrifice unto *Bacchus,* as to a ſuppoſed God of riot or Good Fellowſhip, or a Patron of Boon Companions, did indeed offer ſacrifice and do ſolemn ſervice unto Satan and his Angells the Authors, the Favourers and Furtherers of all riot and exceſs. Now if, any that calls himſelf a *Chriſtian,* or is a *Chriſtian* by Calling or profeſſion have been as long accuſtomed to the like riot or exceſs, or take as great delight in this Sin, as they did, which offered ſacrifice unto *Bacchus:* he is as true and proper a *Servant* unto Satan, as they were. For Satan did deſire the ſacrifice or other Service but as an *Homage,* Rent, or Tribute, whereby he hoped to gain the poſſeſſion of their Souls, or a right or Intereſt in their actions or imployments, a power of diſpoſing or commanding their affections, which offered him ſacrifice or payed him tribute. Now if he have gotten the like intereſt in their actions or imployments, or the like command over their affections, which profeſs themſelves to be Chriſtians; they are his by poſſeſſion or occupation: He needs no ſacrifice or ſolemn Tribute from them, which, as we Say, *He holdeth in his own hands.* Breifly, The Heathens which offered ſacrifice unto *Bacchus,* unleſs by this Cuſtome they brought themſelves to be in *Servitude* unto the ſin of drunkenneſs; were not more greivous ſinners, nor greater Bondmen unto Satan, then *Chriſtians* are which are in greater *Servitude* unto this loathſome Sin.

5. Such of the Heathens as worſhipped *Venus* as a ſuppoſed Goddeſs, or Patroneſs of Love and wantonneſs, did indeed and in the iſſue Worſhip Satan and his unclean Spirits; which are the Authors, the Nouriſhers and Maintainers of all bodily filthineſs and uncleanneſs. *If any which profeſſeth himſelf to be a Chriſtian, be as much given over unto wantonneſs and uncleanneſs as the Heathens were, which Worſhipped* Venus; *He is as true and abſolute a Slave to Satan as they were, and ſhall be ſure to have his wages (without repentance) as truly and fully paid him, as the other ſhall.* The leaſt and beſt wages which he payeth for the uſe of their actions or imployments during this ſhort and brittle life, is an endleſs and never-dying death.

6. Such of the *Heathens* as offered ſacrifice unto *Pluto* whom they ſuppoſed to be the God of Riches or of wealth, *Lord Paramount of Gold of Silver,* of all kind of Metals, or whatſoever elſe was contained under the ſurface of the Earth, did indeed Worſhip Satan and his infernal powers. And the ſacrifice which they offered, and other Solemn ſervices which they did unto him, ſhall be as evidences againſt them, at the Laſt

Tom. III.

Day, that was his *Servants*, as a pledg or earneſt to bind them to accept his wages. If any *Chriſtians how Preciſe or Devout ſoever* they ſeem to be, though daily *Frequenters of Publick Prayers*, though *diligent Hearers of Sermons*, be as Covetous, as great Oppreſſors of their poor Brethren, as unconſcionable in their gettings, as unſatiable in their deſires of gain, as the Heathens were, which thought to purchaſe Wealth by ſacrificing unto *Pluto*: the bond of their *Servitude* unto Satan is altogether as firm and ſtrong; their *Servitude* or bondage it ſelf altogether as hard, as great and dangerous, as the *Servitude* or bondage of the Heathens were, And whileſt they are in *Servitude* unto Satan, whatſoever they profeſs or make ſhew of, they cannot be the *Servants* of God or Chriſt. For *no man* (as our Saviour tells us *Mat.* 6. 24) *can ſerve two Maſters, for either he will hate the one and love the other; or elſe he will hold to the one and deſpiſe the other. Ye cannot ſerve God and Mammon.* But what doth he mean by *Mammon?* wealth or riches only? Certainly a part *of his meaning* is, That every covetous man; that every one which is extraordinarily careful for gathering things of this Life; Every one that minds moſt his gain or getting of riches, is a *Servant* to his riches, or to his deſires of them. The *other part of his meaning is*, that He which is a *Servant* to his deſire of riches, is a *Servant* likewiſe unto him, whom the Heathens called *Mammon*, and worſhipped as a ſuppoſed God of riches: For [e] *Mammon* in the *Syriack* Tongue is as much as πλοῦτος in the *Greek.* Albeit we Chriſtians know and beleive, that there is no ſuch God or Lord of wealth, and that there is but *One God and One Lord*, who is the Lord and owner as well of the Earth and things in it, as of the Heavens: Yet have we no reaſon but to think, that the *Infernal Spirits* have their ſeveral *Wards* or *Quarters.* Some of them have better skill or more experience in humouring Covetous and *Wordly* minded men; Others in humouring or enticing *Wantons*; Others have more skill and experience in alluring men unto *drunkenneſs*; *& quam unuſquiſque novit artem, in eâ ſe maximè exercet*: They Quarter themſelves according to their ſeveral skills or experience, into ſeveral Regiments. Some keep watch and ward over *Covetous men*, and preſent unto them all opportunities of making unlawful gain, or of over-reaching their Brethren in bargaining. The cheif of this ward or *Regiment*, or perhaps the whole Regiment it ſelf, is called *Mammon.* Other lye *Leigers* about ſuch as are more prone to *Wantonneſs.* Their cheif care or imployment is to preſent them with all opportunities or allurements unto Pleaſure. Other lye as *Agents in Taverns* or Tipling-houſes: And their care and imployment is, to provoke men to *Exceſs*, and to ſuch other Enormities or breach of Gods Commandments, as accompany exceſs of drinking.

7. Now this me thinks ſhould be a great Motive to deterr or dehort any man, from yeilding Obedience to his own deſire of what tranſitory Good or Pleaſure ſoever, if he would but conſider, That, *in yeilding Obedience to his own deſires, he becomes the ſervant of ſome ſin or other*; and that in becoming the *Servant of any ſin* whatſoever, he becometh the Bondman or *ſlave of Satan*: who hath one bad property which no other Maſter how cruel or deviliſh ſoever, beſides himſelf, hath; and That is, *To plague or torment them moſt, which have done him moſt continual and faithful Service*, And yet even this *Diabolical Diſpoſition* of his, becomes the faithful *Executioner* of Gods *Juſtice*. For every degree of their *ſervice* done to Satan, doth include in it a like degree or portion of *Treaſon* or Infidelity towards *Chriſt*. And it is Juſt and holy on Gods part, though Satanical and Deviliſh on Satans, to recompence ſuch, as have done Satan in this World greateſt ſervice, with the greateſt portion or meaſure

of vengeance in the world to come. All of us have ſome one or other of this Infernal Crue daily attending on us, hourly watching or dogging us in all our deſigns or projects throughout our whole Courſe of life.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the manner *How Satan brings men to be his* Slaves.

1. IT was truly ſaid by *One*, had his meaning been as truly taken, *Nemo ſponte malus; No man is wittingly a naughty man*, at leaſt, no man deſires to be ſuch. For whether *Original corruption* be wholly derived from *Adam*, or whether we draw it in part from our immediate Parents, No man (I am perſwaded) was ever by Nature or by corruption *meerly Original*, of diſpoſition ſo wicked and ungracious, as that he did or could *directly deſire, intend, or affect* to be unnatural or diſobedient to his natural Parents; to be contumacious or rebellious towards Magiſtrates or other ſuperiors, whom the Law of God commands him to obey and honour. *Corruption meerly Original impels no mans Reaſonable Will* to deſire or affect to be an Adulterer, a Drunkard, a Murtherer, or an Intemperate perſon; It impels no man to deſire or affect to be a Theif; to be a perjured infamous or envious perſon, or to be a notorious offendor, or criminous Tranſgreſſor of the ſecond Table, or of Laws agreeable to it. There is no man but is naturally (I mean by the bent or inclination of corrupt Nature it ſelf) more unwilling to be tainted either with theſe mentioned, or with any other like crimes, forbidden by the ſix laſt commandments, then he that is *Free-born*, is, to be ſubject to the Legal Eſtate or condition of a *Servant*. And yet the moſt of men in the iſſue, or in ſome part of their Courſe of life, become ſubject to ſome one or other of theſe Crimes mentioned. The moſt part of men have their wits and affections uſually and cuſtomarily imployed in ſome one or other part of Satans *Service*, in ſome buſineſſes, which in the end brings them to be ſuch men as they do no way deſire to be; that is, either unnatural, diſobedient, cruel, intemperate, fellonious, perjured, or envious perſons; men in whoſe Souls Satan hath purchaſed a greater Intereſt, over whoſe deſires and affections, foul and unclean ſpirits have gotten a greater Command, then earthly Lords or Maſters have over their bodies, or bodily Labour of their *Servants*; a *Power* or Command to make them forbear thoſe things which their minds or Conſciences do moſt approve; a *Power* to impel them unto thoſe Courſes which they ſometimes moſt abhorred; and over ſome, a *Power* to change or invert their Wills or deſires, even to make them willing to continue and increaſe their *Native ſlavery* and miſery.

Plato.

Nemo ſponte malus. *How far true.*

2. The means and manner by which Satan gets this *Power and Soveraignty* over mens Souls, are the very ſame with the meanes and manner by which bodily and earthly Lords or Maſters gain a Title or Intereſt in the bodily labours or imployments of ſuch as by this intereſt once gotten, become their *Servants*. No man is naturally willing, or deſirous to be another mans *Servant*; All men rather deſire to be *Free*. Yet inaſmuch as all men naturally deſire the continuance of bodily life and health, and neither life nor health can be maintained or continued without food and rayment, and other neceſſaries: Hence it is, that the more inbred and deeplier rooted deſire of life and health, doth overſway the natural deſire of *Liberty* and *Freedome* in all ſuch as are not provided of things neceſſary

for the maintenance of this life, not able to ſatisfie their natural deſire of meat, drink, or apparel otherwiſe, then by reſigning or making over their bodily imployments or labours to ſome other mens uſe, which in lieu of theſe will ſatisfie their former natural deſires of food and rayment and afford them means neceſſary to hold Soul and body together.

3. The *Original or Fundamental Temptation* by which Satan draws men into this ſnare of *Servitude* or bondage ſpiritual, is by enlarging or improving their deſires, not of things ſimply evil, but of things either natural, or indifferent; that is, for their kind or quality not unlawful. Theſe deſires being improved unto the Full, or unto ſome exceſſive Meaſure, do by long Cuſtome or continuance, require ſatisfaction by as ſtrong a Law of* Neceſſity (at leaſt as importunately) as our natural deſires of food or rayment do. The more exceſſive or exorbitant any deſire is, the more impatient it is of repulſe. It is as impoſſible for a greedy or *Ravenous Appetite* to be ſatisfied with a ſpare or moderate Diet, as for a moderate appetite to be ſatisfied without any food at all. A vain *Fantaſtick*, that takes proud Cloathes to be *Part of* H*imſelf*, is as deſirous of change of ſuits or coſtly apparel, as a poor man is of apparel it ſelf, or of ſuch ſtuff as is ſufficient to keep out could and wet. An *Ambitious Spirit* is not ſo well content with an Ordinary place or rank amongſt *Free-men*, as an ingenuous mind will be with the eſtate or condition of an hired *Servant*; if no better by meanes fair and honeſt be likely to befall him. *A Man apt to over-prize himſelf*, and Jealous withall of Contempt, of wrong or of groſs abuſe, is not ſo eaſily appeaſed with ſtreams of bloud, as a calm and gentle ſpirit is with an ingenuous acknowledgment of wrongs done, or with a curteous anſwer for wrongs ſuſpected. The deſire of wealth or wordly goods, after it hath once exceeded its lawful bounds, becomes as unſatisfiable as * Hell. It enlargeth it ſelf by often ſatisfaction, and of all earthly and mortal things, it knows no ſtint or period of grouth, but grows ſtrong and luſty by waxing old.

The Original Temptation by which men are drawn to Satans ſlavery.

* *See Chap.* 18. *laſt* ¶

* Eſay 5. 8. Hab. 2. 5.

Hor. Epiſt. 6. *l.* 1.

Mille talenta rotundentur, totidem altera porro;
Tertia Succedant, & quæ pars quadret acervum.

Perſius Sat. 7, *Fine.*

Vende animam Lucro, mercare, atque excute Sollers
Omne latus mundi.——
Rem duplica; Feci. Jam triplex, jam mihi quarto
Jam decies redit in rugam Depunge ubi ſiſtam.

See Juvenal. *Sat.* 14. *v.* 110, &c. 326, &c.

Sume duos Equites, fac tertia quadringenta
Si nondum implevi gremium, ſi panditur ultra:
Nec *Cræſi* fortuna unquam, nec *Perſica* regna
Sufficient animo, nec divitiæ *Narciſſi.*

4. *None of theſe deſires* of meat, of drink, of apparel, of ſatisfaction for wrongs done or ſuſpected, of honour, riches, or preferment, are *in themſelves* or for their quality *unlawful.* Their *unlawfulneſs* conſiſts only in their *exceſs.* But even the beſt of theſe or like deſires, being improved beyond its meaſure, will for its private ſatisfaction, *betray the Soul* which gives it harbour, into Satans hands. He doth not, He need not tempt any man directly to be a Theif, a Robber, or a Murtherer. *For* (as S. James tells us Chap. 1. 14.) *Every man is tempted* (to theſe and the like crimes) *by his own Concupiſcence,* And our *Concupiſcences and ſenſual deſires are alwayes encreaſed by Cuſtome.* He that hath long inured himſelf to exceed either in quality of meat or drink, or to fare deliciouſly, deſires only to ſatisfie his appetite, or to obſerve his delightful *Cuſtom*: So theſe may be ſatisfied, He hath no deſire to be a *Theif*, to be a *Cheater*, or Couzener. But *rather then his untemperate appetite ſhould be unſatisfied*, He will take himſelf to ſome other part of *Satans Service*; and adventure on *Theft* or *Murther*, or any other breach of Gods Commandments.

5. Satan in his firſt *Onſets* tempts no man to be an Extortioner, a griping uſurer, or a Tormenter of men in their eſtates, by the *Engine of money,*

money. The firſt advantage which in this part of his *Service* he gets over mens Souls, is from occaſions given by men themſelves. It is a point of wiſdome wherunto *Solomon* by the example of the *Ant* (others by the example of the *Bee*) adviſeth us, to lay up in Summer againſt Winter; to be well provided in Youth againſt Old age. The forecaſt it ſelf is not amiſs; It is no trangreſſion of our Saviours precept, *Be not careful for to morrow*: Yet is the *practiſe dangerous*, unleſs it be guarded with a *watchful care*, That this proviſion, whether of money or other external meanes neceſſary for the ſupport of life, do not *be-ſpeak our ſouls For Themſelves*, or divert our deſires from the *end*, for which at the Firſt we only did and ſtill ought to deſire them. The *Fundamental* and moſt tranſcendent Fallacy, by which men ſuffer themſelves to be deceived, is by ſuffering thoſe things which by the Law of nature or Gods ordinance are appointed only as *Meanes* uſeful for attaining ſome better *end*, to intercept our deſires of the *end* which is *Good in it ſelf*, and to be deſired *For it ſelf*, and the *Means* only to be deſired for *It*. And our deſires being once intercepted or diverted from the *end* unto the *Meanes*; the meanes likewiſe take up our *Principal Care* and cheif imployments. As for *example*; Food and rayment are by God ordained as *Meanes* uſeful for preſerving this mortal life, but as things not abſolutely *good*, nor to be deſired *For themſelves*: For in that better life we ſhall have no need, no uſe or deſire of them. Yet in this life we ſee many ſo far tranſported with the deſire of them, as if life had been given them only to eat and drink, or to wear gay apparel, as if they had not received theſe bleſſings of God, to the end that life and health might be preſerved by them. This Diverſion of mens deſires from the right *end* (from the comfort of life and old Age) unto the ordinary *means* thereunto deſtinated, is more eaſily wrought by *Money and Coyne*, then by any other external *Meanes* whatſoever. The Reaſon is plain, becauſe *Money* by Cuſtome and Conſent of Nations is made as the * *Common meaſure of all Commodities* or External Meanes for ſupport of life: It hath more power over mens deſires, then all other meanes external have; becauſe in a ſort, it contains all others in it. He that hath ſtore of it, may have ſtore of any other ordinary commodities he pleaſeth. And for the ſame reaſon, that old Saying is moſt peculiarly true of *Money*, † *Creſcit amor nummi quantum ipſa pecunia creſcit The love of money ſtill increaſeth as the money increaſeth.* Now after the love of it be grown ſo exceſſive, that men begin to deſire it *For it ſelf*, it brings a neceſſity upon them of deſiring it. So that this is laid as a *Principle* or *Maxim* of Law, *Facias Rem*; *Their Stock of money* MUST *be increaſed*: And this is the *Hypotheſis* or ſuppoſition *Rectè ſi poſſis*: If by fair meanes it may be increaſed, it is well; * *Si non, Quocunque modo Rem.* if not; by any meanes whatſoever, let it be increaſed. *Oportet habere.*

Why money *hath the greateſt command over moſt mens deſires.*

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* *Hor. Serm. Lib. 2. Sat. 3.*

——Omnis enim res,
Virtus, Fama, Decus, divina humanaq; *pulchris*
Divitiis parent: quas qui conſtruxerit, ille
Clarus erit, fortis, juſtus, ſapiens, etiam Rex,
Et quicquid volet.——

Epiſt. 6. Lib. 1.

Scilicet uxorem cum dote, fidemque & amicos,
Et genus, & formam, *Regina Pecunia* donat:
Ac bene nummatum decorat *Suadela Venuſque.*

Ariſt. Ethic. Nicom. Lib. 5. Chap. 5.

——νόμισμα γίνεται πως μέσον. Πάντα γὰρ μετρεῖ—. διὸ νόμισμα καλεῖται—. πάντα ποιεῖ σύμμετρα—. νόμισμα οἷον ἐγγυητής ἐστιν ἡμῖν. Nummus ſponſor eſt, vel, Fide-juſſor. *Eccleſ. 10. 19. Money anſwereth All Things.*

Juvenal. Sat. 3.

Protinus ad cenſum; de moribus ultima fiet
Quæſtio: quot paſcit ſervos, quot poſſidet agri
Jugera? ——
Quantum quiſque ——.

† *Juvenal Sat. 14. v. 141.*

—— ——Ergo paratur
Altera villa tibi, cum rus non ſufficit unum.
Et proferre libet fines, majorque videtur
Et melior vicina ſeges; mercaris & hanc, &
Arbuſta, & montem.

Hor. Serm. l. 2. Sat. 6.

——O ſi Angulus iſte
Proximus accedat, qui nunc denormat agellum:
O ſi urnam argenti Fors quæ mihi monſtret-

* *Hor. Epiſt. 1. Lib. 1.*

Juvenal. Sat. 14. v. 178.

——nam dives qui fieri vult
Et citò vult fieri: Sed quæ reverentia Legum?
Quis metus aut pudor eſt unquam properantis avari?

1 Tim. 6. 9. *They that will be Rich, &c.*

6. Though all the *Faculties* of the Humane Soul, are by *Adams Fall* become like an *Inſtrument out of Tune*: Yet are no mans affections ſo ill ſet by *Corrupt Nature*; no mans deſires ſo far miſplaced, but that he can *wiſh* every mans *Good word* rather then his *Ill word*; and had rather to be a *Benefactor* then an *Oppreſſor*, ſpecially if he be of a diſpoſition free and bountiful. Yet if Satan can once impel or allure men thus diſpoſed, to *overlaſh in Bounty*, or ſtretch their deſires of getting *Praiſe* by doing good to others beyond their means or abilities: he gets a Command over their diſpoſitions or affections, and can enforce them to do him *ſervice* in that kind which by nature they moſt abhor. For, waſtfulneſs or † *Prodigality is the mother of Avarice*, of Violence, and oppreſſion. Even vanity and ſuperfluity, (Things without ſubſtance, and ſuch as can yeild no nutriment to any thing elſe; no profit to ſuch as nouriſh them) being once confirmed by Cuſtome, will require Satisfaction with as great eagerneſs and extremity, as any other deſires, whether natural or acquired. And this is the *Miſery of Miſeries*, the very *Dregs of Slavery*, when a man which in his firſt practiſe and Courſe of Life intended *Bounty* and *Liberality*, ſhall be enforced to ſuck the bloud of the Poor and Needy, for ſatisfying vanity, or feeding others in their ſuperfluity. How many thouſand of poor Souls throughout this Kingdome in our daies, have ſcarce had fleſh to cover their Bones, for maintaining the outſide of Others pride? for garniſhing the Surface of undecent Bravery?

† Creverunt & opes & opum Furioſa Cupido:
Et cum poſſideant plurima, plura petunt.
Quærere ut abſumant, abſumpta requirere Certant.
Atque ipſæ vitiis ſunt alimenta vices:
Ovid. Faſtor. l. 1.

Ambitious deſires *draw men into the worſt* ſlavery.

7. But no kind of Creature in the iſſue, or through their whole courſe of life, is farther tranſported from its intended *end*, then the *Ambitious* or aſpiring mind. The *Port* which this *Bravado* is bound for, at His firſt ſetting forth, is, *Superiority*, Rule, or Dominion over others, perhaps his Equals by Birth, and for good qualities his far Betters. But ere he can attain to this *Heaven of Happineſs*, as he eſteems it, *He muſt* † *couch down* like *Iſſachar*, *between two burdens*, and take *Chams* Curſe upon him for his *Viaticum* or Loading in his way or journey. He muſt be a *Servant to Greatneſs*, though in deſpight of Goodneſs, a Vaſſal to the diſpenſors of that Honour which he ſeeks; (though theſe be vaſſals to Baſeneſs or other bad Qualities;) a *Slave* unto the Corruption of Time, and in a prepoſterous imitation of our *Apoſtle*, *he muſt become all things unto all men* and even enforce himſelf (againſt the bent of proud affections) to fawn upon ſuch as can feed him with hopes of Honour, to lenifie the rotten ſores of their *Ulcerous conſciences* with a ſmooth and flattering tongue. If he be a *Clergy-man* or Meſſenger of Chriſt that is tainted with this Humour: he muſt become more then a *Balaam* to every *Balak*; ſuch a one as *Balaam* would have been, if the Angel had not withſtood him: He muſt ſet himſelf to bleſs where God hath curſed, and to curſe where God hath bleſſed. There is no part of this *Servitude of Sin* or Satan ſo irkſome as this; to an Ingenuous ſpirit, or to a mind fraught with any internal worth, but eſpecially with the knowledge of Chriſt and Him Crucified: No *Slavery* of the Soul ſo odious to God; none that includes greater *enmity* or *Antipathy* to the Wiſdome and *Son of God*; none that includes greater affinity with Satan. This unquenchable deſire of *Honour* falſly ſo called (as ſome *Philoſophers* from due examination have determined the queſtion) commands all other Affections whatſoever, even Love it ſelf, whether towards Parents, towards Wife or Children, Kindred, or Country. And *by this affection of ambitious pride Satan hath often commanded the greateſt Commanders*, in more vile and deteſtable Services, then he can impoſe

† *See* Horace 6. *Epiſt*, *lib.* 1. Si fortunatum &c.

upon the moſt vile and moſt abject Creatures living. Unto this *Idoll*, or to ſo ſmall a peice of it, as may be inſhrined in ſome *One great Mans Breaſt*, whole *Legions*, whole *Armies* of men for whom Chriſt ſhed his Deareſt Bloud, have often been *ſacrificed*; For whoſe *Burnt-offering*, goodly towns and Cities have been ſet on fire. What abſolute command Satan gets over mens Souls, in which *ambitious* deſires come to their full height and growth may eaſily be calculated from thoſe deteſtable *Services*, into which Satan (by ſo little a ſprig of this Forbidden Tree, as many Chriſtians would not ſuſpect to bear any forbidden fruit) did impel *Pontius Pilate*. This man thought in his Conſcience that our *Saviour was innocent*; that he was more *then a man*, and was exceedingly willing to have ſaved him from death: And yet Satan works him, not to do as *Pilate* himſelf would, but as Satan would have him to do. *Pilate*, ſaith the Evangeliſt, *ſought to releaſe him*: *but the Jews cryed out ſaying; if thou letteſt this man go, thou art not* Cæſars *freind. For whoſoever maketh himſelf a King, ſpeaketh againſt* Cæſar. And when *Pilate* heard that ſaying, he proceeds to ſentence: And when the cheif Preiſts further proſecuted their wonted form, *we have no king but Cæſar*. He delivered Jeſus unto them to be crucified, *John* 19. *v.* 12, 15, 16. To have corrupted this man by *bribes* or *gifts*, to have given wrong ſentence againſt our Saviour, had been impoſſible for theſe Jews. Satan himſelf had not command or Intereſt in his *ſervice* by this *Title*. The only poſſeſſion or Intereſt he had in him to this purpoſe, was not ſo much *deſire of new or greater Honour then he had*, as *Fear of diſgrace* or diſreſpect with *Cæſar*: if when the mutinous Jews proteſted, *They had no King but Cæſar*; he ſhould ſuffer a man to live, that was accuſed, and in ſome ſort convicted, to have ſuffered himſelf to have been Entitled *King of the Jews*. Though this *Ambition* was not great; yet it expoſed him to deſperate, baſe, and deteſtable *Servitude* or bondage. It is not half ſo baſe or ſervile to be an *Hang-man* or other more contemptible Miniſter or Executioner of publick Juſtice, as it is to be the inſtruments or Miniſters of greateſt *Cæſars* in condemning the Innocent, or ſentencing ſuch to death, as have no waies deſerved it. If *Pilate* had taken courage to protect *this juſt* and *holy one* againſt the malicious calumnies of the Jews; Gods providence no doubt had protected and ſheilded *Pilates* breaſt from the violence of *Pilates* own right hand: Whereas he after having loſt *Cæſars Favour* which he ſought by theſe unjuſt meanes to retain, did out of the apprehenſion of his diſcontent or diſgrace make away himſelf, as the *Eccleſiaſtical* * *Hiſtory* tels us. Such are the beſt rewards that Satan beſtows upon his *Servants*: though miſerable and ſhameful death be rather the earneſt and pledges only of the wages which he never payes to his Servants till after death, when he hath got their Souls into his cuſtody.

* Euſebius (*Engliſh*) Book 2. ch. 7.

8. If the deſire of any *Honour*; If the *Fear* of any *Diſgrace* or diſreſpect with men, were in themſelves or of their own kind *Abſolutely Good*: or were any *Honours* to be deſired *For Themſelves*; or ſuch, that their Exceſs could not draw us into Satans *Servitude* or bondage: then certainly deſire of being members of Gods Viſible Church, or fear of being caſt out of it as *Hereticks*, were of all Secondary Meanes or deſires, the moſt ſafe. But through deſire of yeilding Abſolute Obedience to Gods *Viſible Church*, and through immoderate Fear of being by the *Church* diſgraced or Excommunicated, Satan hath twice drawn a great part of Gods people, ſuch I mean as profeſs the knowledge of God and of his anointed Chriſt, into a *Slavery* or bondage more deteſtable and greater by a threefold meaſure, then any *Slavery* or bondage into which he was able to draw the moſt wicked and moſt Idolatrous Heathen, ſince the firſt Re-

The dangerous Slavery *into which the* Romiſh Church *hath brought her ſelf.*

volution of time, affording him opportunity of Temptation. The *Firſt notorious or famous Conqueſt* that Satan got over the *viſible Church*, was in the dayes of our Saviours pilgrimage here on Earth; The *Second*, over the viſible *Romiſh Church* within theſe later years, wherein they have reſumed the *Title* or Prerogative which the *Jewiſh Church* did ſtifly challenge, but with lamentable ſucceſs for ſome years after the firſt and ſecond Deſtruction of the *Temple* at *Jeruſalem*. The *Title* which that *Church* did challenge, but with greater moderation then the preſent *Romiſh Church* doth, was the *Abſolute Infallibility* of the Churh repreſentative, that is, of the cheif Preiſts and Elders. Yet this *Abſolute Infallibility* the Jewiſh Synagogue did never confine unto the boſome of the *High Preiſt* either ſitting in *Moſes Chair*, or when he entred into the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, but to the *Sanedrim* or Common Council of the Preiſts and Elders, whereof the high Preiſt was a more Principal then neceſſary member.

9. The improvement of this *Jewiſh Hereſy* and *Slavery* to Satan, throughout the *Patriarchate of Rome* hads it *Original* from an *Ambitious Errour* in that *Church* through ſucceſſion of times not very Ancient, *by laying challenges to all Gods promiſes made to his Univerſal or Catholick Church as to her own Peculiar Prerogative*. And as if this had not been enough: the ſucceſſors of theſe deſperate Challengers have contracted the *Catholick Church* (which in their Language is all one with the Church of *Rome*) unto the *Pope* and his *Cardinals*, or as they term it, the *Sacred Conſiſtory*. Some later *Canoniſts* and *Paraſites* to the *Pope*, *Jeſuits* eſpecially, have laboured to drive the *Univerſal Church* (like a *Camel* through a needles eye) into the *Popes Breaſt alone*, whenſoever he ſhall deliver his ſentence *ex Cathedra*; as if, as well all Gods promiſes as *Bleſſings* promiſed to his *Catholick Church* were, The One to be diſpoſed of, The Other to be diſpenſed by him, as by Chriſts ſole *Vicar general* or Vice-Roy here on Earth. But theſe poſitions, ſome *Interimiſts* or Labourers for Reconciliation betwixt the *Church of Rome* and of *England*, will hapily reply, are but the Opinions of private men, not maintained or taught by the *Catholick Church*. Yet none of them, whether *Cardinals*, *Jeſuites*, or *Caſuiſts*; whether *Preiſts* or *Laicks* of inferiour rank will or dare deny, that the *Infallible Guidance* of the Holy Ghoſt for Leading Chriſts *Church* into the truth, is immediately annexed to the *Roman Church* Repreſentative, that is, to all ſuch *councils* or Aſſemblies of Chriſtian men as are called by the *Pope* as *Chriſts Vice-Roy*, and approved of by him and his *Aſſiſtants*. The *Neceſſary conſequence* of this poſition is, That, No one *Council* which hath been called by the *Pope* and approved by him did ever heretofore Erre, or can Erre hereafter.

He meanes W. Laud. *The* RR. *Lord Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury his Book.*

10. The former miſ-interpretation of Gods Promiſes made unto the *Univerſal Church* (that is, as Romaniſts ſay, unto the Church of *Rome*) is excellently refuted by the Author of that *Matchleſs Peice* heretofore annexed to *Doctor Wites* Learned Anſwer to the *Jeſuit Fiſher*, ſince publiſhed by the *Author* of it, in his own Name, with many Learned and Pious additions: Of all which I have no more for the preſent to ſay, then this; *Reſpondent Ultima Primis*. Both the Firſt and Second Edition are worthy their Author. And this is more then I know otherwiſe how to expreſs. The Firſt Edition I had the happineſs to peruſe when I had finiſhed this Treatiſe of *Servitude to Sin*, for my private uſe, and for the benefit of ſuch as were committed to my *Paſtoral Charge*, and had entred upon an other Treatiſe Concerning *Chriſtian Obedience*, for preventing the ſpreading infection of a *Peſtilent Book* diſperſed through the *Northern* parts of this *Kingdome*, ſet forth by a *Jeſuite* under this Sawcy Title,

The Prelate and the Prince. And for preparing the *Antidote*, I found Good Directions and Ingredients from the forementioned Author.

11. But ſuppoſe the reſt of the *Church* be diſpoſed to Beleive this Doctrine of the *Popes Infallibility.* Wherein doth the *matchleſs Slavery* of the Romiſh Church unto Satan in reſpect of *Jews* or *Heathens* punctually conſiſt? In *This* eſpecially, That if any *Council*, wherein the Biſhop of *Rome* or *Patriarch of the Weſt* (as his Stile ſometimes was) had any principal Intereſt or Prerogative either in calling or confirming it, have erred: the preſent *Pope* and his *Adherents*, whether *Preiſts*, or *Laicks*, are Bound by ſolemn Oath, and under a dreadful *Curſe*, to make up the Meaſure of their Fore-Fathers *Errors*, Negligences, Ignorances or other enormous ſins and iniquities, whether committed againſt the Rule of Faith, or againſt the Law of God. For all which they are alſo Bound by their own *Doctrine* and *Liturgy* to beg Pardon; as well for their Fore-Fathers Tranſgreſſions as for their own, in reſpect of what is paſt; and to pray for the prevention of the like, in times to come: Now this is the Greateſt *Yoke of Slavery* that Satan durſt or could attempt to Lay upon the neck of *Chriſts Church Militant* here on Earth; albeit he could by ſubtilty prevail to place his *Primogenitus*, (that is, ſuch an Antichriſt as many in the *Romiſh Church* conjecture ſhall hereafter come) that is, a Man begotten by the *Devil* of a Woman or Daughter of the Tribe of *Dan*, as *Chriſts Vicar-General* in S. *Peters Chair.* If any ſuch Antichriſt ſhall hereafter ariſe: the *Meaſure* of Perſonal Iniquity may be greater then any Popes, or the Papacy hitherto hath been: but the *Kind* muſt be the ſame. A worſe or more deſperate kind of iniquity or An*tichriſtianiſm* then this late mentioned, cannot be imagined. The End of Chap. 21.

IT was the Authors Faſhion, moſtly, to preach upon ſuch Texts as might ground the matter that he intended after to Treat upon in his writings; and ſo to wave his Sermons into the Body of his Diſcourſes or Tracts, as occaſion required. The Studious Reader knowing This, and obſerving, 1. A paſſage at the Beginning of the Second Section (page 17. the ſeventh Chapter of This Book) which promiſes to annex to theſe Diſcuſſions [A Sermon, about That Sort of Jews which made that Sawcy Reply to Chriſt (verſe 33. John 8.] *whether they were Such as (verſe 30.) were ſaid to* Beleive on him, *or No.*] *And then, 2. Taking notice of the Title of the 14. Chapter (it begins the third Section, page 39.) which is [That even thoſe Jews which did in part* Beleive *in Chriſt, were true* Servants *unto Sin*] *He will ſee the Reaſons that procured the Inſertion of theſe two Sermons or Tracts enſuing, here, at this Place. As being conceived moſt neerly allied to the matter preceding, and more accommodate to the Readers Uſe, who (as is probably preſumed) if he had but only been reminded of This in the Margin, before he had proceeded to read the fourth Section, would firſt have ſought out and read theſe two Diſcourſes; in Caſe they had been deferred and placed in the Rear of this Book.*

Tom. III.

CHAP. XXII.

A Poſtil or ſhort Diſcourſe upon our Saviours words, *John* 8.36.

If the Son therefore ſhall make you Free *ye ſhall be* Free Indeed.

The Connexion of This verſe with The precedent.

1. THis verſe is inferred by way of *Concluſion* from the verſe Precedent [*The Servant abideth not in the houſe for ever; But the Son abideth for ever.*] The Difficulties emergent be *Two*; The *Former*, Concerning the true Senſe and meaning, or at leaſt the Limitation of the Antecedent, to wit, [*The Servant abideth not in the houſe for ever, &c.*] The *Other*, Concerns the Inference or Connexion betwixt This Antecedent and the Concluſion, [*If the* Son *therefore, &c.*]

The Opinion of The Ancient Fathers.

Some of the beſt note amongſt the Ancient or middle rank of Interpreters, as *Cyril*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Theophylact*, and *Euthimius*, are of opinion that our Saviour in theſe words, [*The Servant abideth not in the houſe for ever,*] did intend either to *Prevent* or *Anſwer* the ſecret *Objection* or Reply, which the Jews did or might have made unto his Former *Concluſion*, verſe 34. *Whoſoever commiteth Sin*, (or whoſoever is a worker of ſin,) *is the Servant of ſin.* Unto this Aſſertion the Jews, (as theſe good Authors think) might have anſwered thus: “ Admit we daily incur ſome “ degree or other of *Servitude unto ſin,* yet we have uſual and daily means “ to blot out the ſtain of ſin, and to *Free* us from thraldom, and *Final Servitude* unto ſin and Satan. There is no Queſtion but the Jews did account the Sacrifices, which *Moſes* did inſtitute, fully ſufficient and Effectual for both theſe Prupoſes. Yet that they did herein erre, that theſe ſacrifices inſtituted by *Moſes* could not *Free* them from this *Servitude* of ſin, our Saviour (as the forecited Good Authors think) proves from this Reaſon “ *Moſes* was but a *Servant* in the houſe of God, and no *ſervant* hath “ power to *Free* himſelf, much leſs to ſet others *Free,* from the yoke of “ *Servitude*, or to ſecure his Eſtate in his Maſters houſe. But *Maldonate* the Jeſuit thinks that place Heb. 3. ver. 3. 4. 5. and 6. did deceive theſe *Good Fathers*, or at leaſt that they miſ-applied Saint Pauls Compariſon betwixt *Chriſt* and *Moſes* unto this preſent Argument. For our Saviour, (ſaith this Learned Jeſuit) ſpeaks of an other kind of *ſervitude* in this place, then Saint *Paul* ſpeaks of in the third to the Hebrews, and of a *Servitude* unto which *Moſes* was not Subject. For *Moſes* is commended in the third to the Hebrews, and elſe where is *Termed The Man of God,* not, *a ſervant to ſin* or Satan.

Maldonat's *Cenſure of Their Opinion.*

2. Not to Queſtion the Solidity or Pertinency of this Jeſuits Exceptions againſt the Interpretation of the Ancients: I muſt confeſs his Opinion is very Probable, and their Interpretation ſomewhat far fetched, if not forced; and ſuppoſed *That* for its *Ground*, which hath not much Probability in it ſelf, to wit, That theſe Jews either would confeſs, or by way of ſuppoſition admit, that they were *ſuch ſervants to ſin*, or Tranſgreſſors of the Law, as to become thereby the *ſervants* or ſons of Satan. For they preſume in the words following, that by being the Children

of *Abraham*, and by their Obſervance of *Moſes Law* they were the *Sons of God.* This learned Jeſuit prefers the Interpretation of *Leontius* (a man otherwiſe of mean Note, in compariſon) before the joynt interpretation of the fore-cited *Famous Fathers.* Our Saviour, (ſaith *Leontius*) intended only to *Prove* what is *Inferred* here in this 36. *verſe*; That none beſides *The Son* can have power to ſet men *Free*, becauſe *The Son only remains in the houſe for ever.* Unto this Interpretation *Maldonate* adds his own, that every *Servant* had need to be ſet *Free* by Authority, becauſe no *Servant* hath any Right or *Title* to continue for ever in *the houſe* wherein he lives, or to be the owner or poſſeſſor of any other, it being ſtill in his Maſters power either to ſell him, or to turn him out of his houſe, or to diſpoſe of him at his Pleaſure. If ſome *Servant* continue in his Maſters houſe for ever, or to his dying day, yet this fals out ſeldome or by chance: whereas our Saviour frames his Argument from that, which uſually happens or for the moſt part. All agree that by *The Houſe* in this place, the *Church of God* is principally meant, in which the Son of God remaines for ever, in which no *Servant* unleſs he become *a Son*, can remain but for a ſhort time. For though ſinners and *Servants to Sin* may remain in the true viſible and *Militant Church* during this life, ſo mingled with the ſons of God, as they cannot, by men, be diſcerned from them, yet after death (as *St. Cyril* ſaith) they are caſt out into utter darkneſs, unleſs during this life, they be ſet *Free from the Servitude of Sin*, from which none but the Son of God can *Free* them, becauſe *He only is the Heir and Lord of Gods Houſe*; He only hath power to grant or deny *Freedome* unto what *Servants* he pleaſeth.

He preferrs One Leontius *before the Fathers.*

The Words relate unto the Story of Agar *and* Iſhmael,

3. This is the *Summ* of that Connexion, which the beſt Interpreters Ancient or Modern make of the former verſe, and of theſe words of my *Text.* Unto this I may add. That *Theſe*, as moſt other *Speeches* of our Saviour, have *Reference* unto ſome *Hiſtorical Relation or matter of Fact* contained in the Old Teſtament. And that this ſpeech or paſſage hath *Special Reference* unto the *ſtory of Agar and Iſhmael.* And ſo the *Antecedent* [*The* Servant *abideth not in the houſe for ever*] though grounded but upon *One Particular Inſtance*; yet *that Inſtance* or Example, being related in the *ſacred ſtory* as a *Type* or Picture of what was to come, will inferr our Saviours intended *Concluſion* much better and more forcibly, then a full *Induction* of other *Inſtances* and Examples not related in Scripture, not framed or intended by the ſpirit of God for Types and ſhadows of things which were to come. This Univerſal Negative [*No ſervant abideth in the houſe for ever*] will not ſo forcibly inferr this Particular Concluſion [*Ergo, No ſervant of ſin can abide in Gods houſe for ever*] as this Particular Inſtance [*Iſhmael did not abide in Abrahams houſe for ever*] Inferrs, This Concluſion, [*Therefore the Jews, which thus conteſted with our* Saviour, *were not to abide in the houſe of God for ever.*] So that, if it be lawful to *Paraphraſe* upon our Saviours words, their *Ful Meaning* is, as if he had ſaid thus. " Do you think your ſelves *Free* from the ſervitude "and wages of ſin, becauſe ye are the ſeed of *Abraham?* So was *Iſhmael*, " whom Abraham once intended for his Heir, who lived a long time in " Abrahams houſe, but, being the Son of a Bondwoman, he was by Le" gal Condition but a *ſervant*, and therefore not to live in it for ever, but " to be caſt out by Gods appointment as it is written. *Gen.* 21. 10. *Caſt " out this Bond-woman and her Son, for the Son of this Bond-woman ſhall not " be heir with my Son, even with Iſaac.* Theſe were the words of *Sarah* for a while, diſpleaſing unto *Abraham*, until God did ratifie them by Interpoſition of his Authority: And thus is your Caſe.

The Senſe of The Text.

4. For albeit theſe Jews, with whom our Saviour here Diſputes, were the ſons of *Abraham* by *Sarah,* (and ſo the Progeny of *Iſaac*:) yet ſo long as they mockt and perſecuted the true ſeed of *Abraham,* whoſe coming into the world *Iſaac* did prefigure, cleaving unto the Teſtament given upon Mount *Sinai* (or *Agar*) in Oppoſition to the Teſtament given upon Mount *Sion,* they became ſons of the Bond-woman, (as the Apoſtle inferrs, *Gal.* 4. 24. to the end of the chapter) ſubject to the ſame Conditions in matters Spiritual, that *Iſmael* was ſubject to in matters Temporal. The expoſition of that *Allegory*, Gal. 4. 24. you have heard * before at large. The Apoſtles Concluſion is the very ſame with our Saviours here in my *Text,* to wit, that *This People* were to be caſt out of the *Houſe of God,* as *Iſhmael* was caſt out of *Abrahams* houſe. That whileſt they remained in it, they remained only as *Servants* or ſons of the Bond-woman, not as the *Free-born* ſons of the heavenly *Jeruſalem.* Of which Society none are capable, ſave only ſo far as they are ſet *Free by the Son,* who is the Builder and maker of this Houſe of God, as the Apoſtle tells us, *Heb.* 3. 3, 4, 5, 6. ***For this man was counted worthy of more Glory then*** Moſes, ***in as much as he, who hath builed the houſe, hath more honour then the houſe. For every houſe is builded by ſome man, but he that built all things is God.*** And Moſes ***verily was faithful in all his houſe*** as a Servant ***for a Teſtimony of thoſe things, which were to be ſpoken after. But*** Chriſt as a Son ***over his own houſe,*** whoſe Houſe ***are we, if we hold faſt the Confidence and the rejoycing of the Hope firm unto the end.*** But the beſt is, we need not ſtand long or Curiouſly upon the meaning of the *antecedent,* or manner of the *Inference* ſeeing we beleive (as we are in duty bound) that our bleſſed *Saviour* was, a ***Prophet moſt True*** and moſt *infallible,* as well in every *Concluſion* or Propoſition, which he uttered, as in the *Premiſſes,* whence he *Inferred* them, or in the manner of the *Inference.* It ſhall ſuffice us then to faſten our *Beleif* upon the Concluſion, ***If the ſon therefore ſhall ſet you*** Free, ***Then ſhall ye be*** Free ***indeed.***

** See Book 7. Sect. 2. chap. 12. §. 2. And Treatiſe of the Catholick Church. Book 1. ch. 10. more largely.*

CHAP. XXIII.

The Second Diſcourſe, or Sermon upon our Saviours words.

S. JOHN 8. 36.

If the Son therefore ſhall make you **Free,** ***ye ſhall be*** **Free indeed.**

That, That ſowre Reply to Chriſt [We ***be*** Abrahams ***ſeed, &c.***] ***was made by thoſe very Jews which are ſaid*** (***verſe*** 30) to Beleive ***on Him.*** And, ***That men which for a while*** Believe, ***may in Temptation*** (***or ſtrong aſſaults of paſſions***) ***Fall away.***

The Coherence. 1. These words contain *One of the Moſt Remarkable Paſſages*, and of beſt uſe for *ſurveying* the reſt of that long *Dialogue* between our Bleſſed Lord, and a great aſſembly of the Jews of divers ſorts and Qualities. The *Dialogue* continues from the twelth verſe of this Chapter unto the End. The former Part from verſe the twelfth to the thirtieth contains ſo many and ſo Profound myſteries concerning the Eternity of *Chriſts God-Head* and of his miſſion, &c. from his Father to this people; That for the preſent I muſt apply that *Saying* which the woman of *Samaria* directed to our Saviour, unto my ſelf. *The well is deep and I have nothing wherewith to draw,* neither ſtrength of Body, of mind, or skill; nor opportunity, if theſe were greater, to preſent ſo much of it as I could perhaps draw for mine own uſe, clear and perſpicuous to the major part of this Audience in a ſhort diſcourſe. Let it ſuffice then I pray, to acquaint you with the *Vent*, or *Out-burſt* of this deep Fountain of Life, which none of theſe Jews could *Sound* the one half of the *Way*, though all *Catechiz'd* by the Lord of Life himſelf. The Iſſue of this *Catechiſm* from verſe the twelfth you have verſe thirtieth. *As he ſpake theſe words many beleived on him.* A Good Iſſue of ſo Gracious a Sermon, concerning the Fountain of Life; had his Auditors had the Grace to have followed the Clear Current of it, not mingling it with their own muddy paſſions as in the very firſt Iſſue or Out-burſt they did. For our Saviour had no ſooner uttered thoſe words of comfort to the Jews which *Beleived* on him: *If ye continue in my word then are ye my Diſciples* Indeed: *and ye ſhall know the truth, and the truth ſhall make you* Free, verſe 30. *and* 32. But ſome of his Auditors (whoſoever they were) Tartly Reply, *We be* Abrahams *ſeed and were never in Bondage to any man: how ſayeſt Thou, ye ſhall be made Free?* verſe 33. Unto this paſſionate *Reply* or impertinent Interruption, our Saviours *Rejoynder* is Calm and meek, but fortified with a double ſeal of Truth, 'Αμὴν, 'Αμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, *Verily, Verily, I ſay unto you, whoſoever committeth Sin is the ſervant of Sin*; *and the ſervant abideth not in the houſe for ever, but the Son abideth for ever*, verſe 34, 35. Thus by following the Current of the former words I am fairly arrived at my *Text*: (it being our Saviours own Inference out of his former Aſſertions,) *If the Son therefore make you Free, &c.*

Which ſort of Jews made that Paſſionate reply to Chriſt: Beleivers or others.

2. But before I can conveniently unfold the *meaning* of our Saviours former ſpeeches, or the connexion betwixt my *Text* and *Them*, I muſt breifly diſcuſs a *Queſtion* naturally emergent out of the 33. verſe, to wit, whether the paſſionate *Reply* or interruption [*We be* Abrahams *ſeed and were never yet in bondage unto any, &c.*] was made by thoſe Jews which (in the thirtieth verſe) are ſaid to have *Beleived on Him*, or by ſome other Auditors which did not *Beleive* on him at all, but were at leaſt for the time being meer By-ſtanders at this debate? Some of the choiſeſt Commentators upon this Goſpel, are of Opinion, that the forementioned *ſowre Reply* [*We be* Abrahams *ſeed, and were never in bondage to any man*] was returned by the Jews which for the preſent did *not Beleive.* Yet the greater part of more Judicious and diſcreet Interpreters of our Saviours diſcourſe in this Chapter, or of S. *Johns* Relation of it, take it as granted, *That the Reply was made by thoſe very Jews which* (verſe 30) *Beleived on him.* And unto any Rational man, ſpecially, well converſant in Scriptures (or well experienc'd in his own or other mens *Affections*.) it will upon ſhort examination appear, that the Contradictory Opinion of *Cardinal Tollet* and ſome others could never have found Enterance, much leſs any ſetled habitation or reſt in any Learned Mans Judgement or Apprehenſion unleſs

Some Interpreters ſay Unbeleivers.

More for Beleivers

leſs they had been firſt ſurprized by that General Incogitancy or common Errour from which many plauſible *Pulpit-men*, and ſome otherwiſe moſt acute Divines have taken occaſion; The *One ſort* to deceive their Hearers, *The Other* not to diſcover the deceitfulneſs of their own hearts. Neither of them take it into due conſideration, that, This Word, *Belief*, *is not a Term indiviſible*, but admits of many *Degrees* as well for the certainty of the * *Aſſent* or Apprehenſion, as for the *Radication* of the Truth (rightly apprehended) in their *Hearts* or Center of their affections.

* *This Great Author in his Firſt Book,* 1 *Ch. Defined* Faith *by an* Aſſent. *If any think amiſs of that, let him pleaſe to take notice that* Saint Auſtin *did ſo too.* Ipſum credere nihil aliud eſt quam cum *Aſſenſione* cogitare I. Lib. de prædeſtinat. Sanctorum. *Cap.* 2. *Tom.* 7.

3. Though *recta Ratio* be not the *Rule of faith* nor any competent *Judge* of Divine *Myſteries*; yet it is a very Competent *Witneſs* or Informer. Now to any Reaſonable or well Experienc'd Man, it is Evident; *That there may be and oft-times are many true Apprehenſions of Objects or Truths to be Beleived whether Moral or Divine, which may make deep Impreſſion not in the Brain or Fancy only, but upon our* † *Affections, whileſt theſe are Calm and unprovok'd, and yet both the Apprehenſion and Impreſſion quickly vaniſh upon the Starting or Provocation of Contrary Fancies or Affections.* To begin with Obſervations moral. He that ſhould have ſeen *Alexander Pheræus* * Weeping-Ripe at the repreſentation of a Forrain and perhaps a fained *Tragedy*, and ſo Affable withal as to excuſe his departure from the Stage unto the principal Actor, might eaſily have miſtaken him to have been of the ſame mettal and mould that *ordinarily* * *Good men are*; a man rather of a Gentle and melting, then of a Flinty and ſtony heart; whereas his *Apology* or Excuſe did abundantly witneſs the Contrary. His *Apology* was, that he did not depart becauſe he miſliked the Actor, whom by a private meſſenger he requeſted to go on with his play; but for ſhame or fear if he ſhould be eſpied to *ſhed Teares* upon the Stage at the ſight of a Forrain *Tragedy*, he ſhould move new Diſcontents or deriſion from his Subjects, ſeeing he had ſpilt moſt of the Noble bloud of *Theſſaly* with *Dry Cheeks*, without mingling ſo much as one Tear with it. What might be the Reaſon why this man ſhould be ſo Courteous or tender-hearted in Jeſt, and ſo cruel and doggedly-heard-hearted in earneſt? *Hecuba and Andromache*, (whoſe Tragedy he did then behold) had been dead many years before, and could not provoke his Affections. That Proſperity wherein they ſometimes had lived, could not have been ſo great an Eye-ſore unto him as the Repreſentation of their laſt miſery was: whereas if *Priamus*, *Hector*, with all their families had been then living and ſtanding in oppoſition to his heady wilful Deſignes; The Tyrant would have made no ſcruple of Conſcience to have ſacrificed them all quick to his ravenous and vaſt deſires, though in the Flames of *Troy* it ſelf, without the help of one tear from his eyes to quench them.

† *Was it not ſo with* S. Peter, *when He ſaid, he would* Die *rather then Deny Chriſt? and in thoſe who would have made Chriſt a King,* John, 6. 15. *and ſoon after raged againſt him.*

* Proverb.

Ἀγαθοὶ δ' ἀειδάκρυτοι ἄνδρες.

————————Molliſſima corda
Humano Generi dare ſe natura fatetur,
Quæ lachrymas dedit: Hæc noſtri pars optima cenſus.
Plorare ergo jubet cauſam Lugentis Amici.
Naturæ imperio geminos cum funus adultæ
Virginis occurrit, aut terra clauditur infans.
Juvenal, Sat. 15. *v.* 132.

Inſtances of Strange Altering of Affections.

4. A notable inſtance of the like Alteration of preſent Affections or inconſtancy in forward Reſolutions upon new Propoſals, we have in that *Famous Mutiny* of the Commons againſt the *Senate of Capua.* The ſtorm was violent for the time, but quickly allayed by the ſubtilty of one *Pacuvius Calavius*, a man of good place, and popular: who having long ſought to win both the Senate and People to his Diſpoſal, took firſt Opportunity upon this Occaſion to make his Game by playing (as we ſay) both with the Stock and Cards dealt. Firſt he pretends to the Senators, that he was in as great danger as any of them were; and yet would free them all, ſo they would give him leave to act his Part. Having perſwaded the Senators to ſhut themſelves up in the Porch of their Houſe of Aſſembly, and deliver their Keyes to his Cuſtody, He inſtantly carries them to the Commons, telling them they had now a fair Opportunity to be revenged of the Senate, to puniſh every man amongſt them according to his deſerts without any danger of Bloud-ſhed to themſelves: But adds this Advice withall, that ſeeing they muſt of neceſſity have a Senate or Council of State, they would not depoſe or puniſh any of the preſent Senators, before they had nominated a fitter man in his place. After Two or Three had been propoſed by ſome few Ring-leaders, the major part of the *Mutineers* did reject them upon this Allegation, that ſome of them *they did not know*, others *they knew too well*, and ſo in Concluſion were content to ſubmit themſelves to their Ancient Senators rather then to ſuch new Ones as were commended unto them by their *Ring-leaders.*

5. *Machiavels Aphoriſm* or Animadverſion upon this Story, is, *That the vulgar or Common People are of weak Judgements in Generalities, but Judges competent enough in Particulars.* The Obſervation is not amiſs, and ſo far as it is not amiſs, will better befit the Iſſue of this Diſpute between our Saviour and the Jews, then it doth the Senate and Commons of *Capua.* The Exact Truth is; That not only Vulgar Perſons or *Plebeians*, but even Wiſe and *Learned men* muſt needs err in Judgement or Apprehenſion, whileſt they weigh either their preſent Diſcontents or Grievances, or their Perſwaſions or Good-Liking of men, or their *Belief* of wholſom Doctrine without a *Counterpoiſe.* So long as theſe men in *my Text* (of which divers no doubt were more then vulgar or Plebeians) did hear our Saviour Diſpute with the learned Phariſees about the *Eternity of his Perſon* and Authority delegated unto Him as *Man* from God the Father: They like well of Him, and could be content to become *His Patients* rather then their great *Rabbins Schollars:* But as ſoon as this heavenly *Phyſitian* began to come neer the *Sore* whereof they were dangerouſly ſick, before he did directly touch it, they *kick* at his *Medicine.* Pride of heart and *Confidence* in their *Prerogative* of being *Abrahams Seed*, was the *Impoſthume* whereof without ſpeedy help they were ready to periſh. Now our Saviour had no ſooner promiſed to ſet them *Free* or Cure them; but they preſently flie in his Face, as if he had upbraided them with *Slavery.* For to be made *Free* is peculiar to *Servants*; Slaves, or Bondmen. Hence they *Reply* to this Purpoſe. *We be* Abraham's *Seed, and though Conquer'd by the Romans, yet are we not made Slaves, or brought into Bondage by them*; How ſayeſt thou then, *ye ſhall be made Free?* The manner of the *Regeſtion* ſeems to imply, that *they had now begun to be ſorry* that they had ſo far *Believed* on him, or given that Reſpect unto him which immediately before they had done.

The Jews lik'd Chriſt dearly well till he touched their Sore.

6. But this *Revolt* our Saviour did foreſee, and gave them a *Caveat* to prevent it, verſe 31. where he ſaith not, as ſome zealous Profeſſors

have in his Name miſtaught their Auditors in our dayes [*If once ye* * *Believe in me, ye cannot fall away from me*] But, Thus he taught them Expreſly [*If ye continue in My Word then are ye my Diſciples* ἀληθῶς] So that it is *One thing to believe in Chriſt*; Another, *to be truly his Diſciples*: One Buſineſs to *Believe his Doctrine*, Another to *Continue in his Word*, that is, *To perſevere in true Faith, and maintainance of his Doctrine unto the End.* Nor is it perhaps all one *To be made Free by the Truth*, and *To be ſet free indeed*, ὄντως, which (I take it) includes ſomewhat more then ἀληθῶς, *a Reality or ſolidity of Truth.* All theſe Gradations are Litterally, and Emphatically implyed in the plain Grammatical Senſe and meaning of our Saviours Speech from verſe 30 to the words of my *Text*, and more apparently in the next verſe following. *I know that ye are* Abraham's *ſeed, but ye ſeek to kill me, becauſe my word hath no place in you.* Theſe words were not directed to the altogether *Unbelieving* or Contradicting Jews, with whom he had diſputed from verſe 12. to the 29. They neceſſarily refer unto thoſe Jews which had *Believed in Part*, and afforded the *Aſſent* of the Brain unto his Doctrine, but left no place for his word in their *Hearts*, Theſe being full ſtuft with corrupt Affections, as with Pride, Ambition and Hopes of Earthly Pomps and Dignities from their expected *Meſſias.* When he ſaith [*Becauſe my word hath no place in you*] We are to underſtand *No place of Reſidence* or *Permanent Habitation*; although it had found ſome Entrance into their Fancies. Or will ye have a further Reaſon, why his *Word*, that is, *The Fundamental Point or Myſtery of Faith*, which he had lately taught, had *No Place in them?* Take it in his own words, *I ſpeak That* (ſaith our Saviour) *which I have ſeen with my Father, and ye do that which ye have ſeen with your Father*, v. 38. He had granted them before to be *Abraham's ſeed*, but now expreſſeth his *Meaning* to be, that they were a kind of *Abortivate* or ill thriven *Seed, no true Sons* or children of *Abraham.* But as yet they did not fully underſtand whom he meant by *His Father*, or whom by *Their Father.* And for this Reaſon they only reſume the ſame *Reply*, which they had made before, verſe 33. *Abraham is our Father*, ſay They, verſe 39. without adding any Gall unto it. But our Saviours *Rejoynder* is not altogether the ſame, but ſomewhat more ſmart and full. Before, he had granted them to be *Abrahams Seed*, but now, he denies them to be *Abrahams ſons*, in the later part of the ſame 39. verſe, *If ye were* Abrahams *ſons, ye would do the works of* Abraham, *But now* (verſ. 40.) *ye ſeek to kill me, a man that have told you the truth --- This did not* Abraham. And again verſe 41. he intimates unto them, who was *their True Father*, that was *neither God nor Abraham.* Who then was their True Father, or whoſe children were they indeed? This he tells them plainly, 44. *Ye are of your Father the Devil, and the luſts of your father ye will do: He was a murtherer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, becauſe there is no truth in him*; That is, by not abiding in the *Truth*, or that Image of God wherein he was created, he loſt all *Seeds of Truth*, and became a meer Lyar and the Father of Lyes. And ſo theſe Jews were in the *Truth* whileſt they *Believed* on Him who was *the True Son of God*, yet did not *Abide* in it, after he had told them, *the truth ſhould make them Free.* And out of this ſwelling Pride of Heart they enter *Odious Compariſons*, that they were *Sons of God* in an equal or better manner, then he was. And in Concluſion, after he had told them, that they were as yet the ſons of the Devil, that is, men of murtherous minds and envious to the Truth; they anſwer him boldly and glory in their Anſwer too. *Say we not well that thou art a Samaritan and haſt a Devil?* verſe 48. And if a Samaritan, then no Son of God, but a Conjurer or ſervant of the Devil.

* *If any ſay; It is not* True Belief *if it fade or fail. They may be Told, That if they put Perſeverance into the Definition of* True Faith, *they null the Queſtion, and make it, whether Faith that cannot fail, may fail.*

7. Thus you have heard to *what height of Contradiction To the Truth,* to the *Son of God,* (who is The Truth and The Life of the world) and *to their own Profeſſion*, Men *in Part Believers* may be drawn , by Indulgence to their own corrupt Affections , ſpecially of Pride, Ambition, and Covetouſneſs ; all which onght to be and muſt be renounced before they can be ἀληθῶς μαθηταὶ χριςοῦ, *True Diſciples of Chriſt.* And here I cannot but wonder why men converſant in Scriptures, or Experienced in their own or others Affections and conditions, ſhould move any Queſtion, whether thoſe which thus unmannerly conteſted with our Saviour throughout the later part of this Chapter, were the ſame men which in the 30th verſe are ſaid, *To have Believed on Him.* And I wonder the more, becauſe every ſerious Reader, much more the Learned Interpreters of this Chapter, might have obſerved many like Animadverſions or Obſervations of this our Apoſtle and Evangeliſt concerning the diſpoſition of the Jews, which *in Part, or upon fair Occaſions Believed on Chriſt.* I ſhall for the preſent Inſtance only in *Two like places*, of which The One is a *Parallel*, the Other *more then a Parallel* to the Revolt or backſliding of theſe Believing Jews, verſ. 31. The One place is an *Overture or Preſage* ; The Other contains the *Fulfilling or Accompliſhment* of our Saviours Propheſie or Prediction of thoſe mens Diſpoſition which entertained him with the often fore-mentioned Diſpute, from verſ. 31. to the end of this Chapter. The *Overture* or *Parallel* we have *John* 2. *verſe* 23,&c. *Now when he was at* Jeruſalem *at the Paſſover on the Feaſt day*, *many Believed in his Name, when they ſaw the Miracles which he did.* May we hence conclude or ſafely collect that theſe men were Ἀληθῶς μαθηταὶ, *Truly his Diſciples*, or *Believers indeed,* ὄντως : Although it be unqueſtionably True (for the Evangeliſt affirms it) *That they did Believe in his Name ?* If we ſhould make this conſtruction of the Evangeliſts meaning in that Place (that is, that Thoſe Men were *Truly Diſciples*, *Believers indeed*) his words immediately following would irrefragably confute us. For although *They did Believe in his Name* , yet *He did not Believe Them :* or to uſe the Apoſtles words, verſe 24. οὐκ ἐπίστευεν ἑαυτὸν αὐτοῖς, That is, as our Engliſh renders it, *He did not commit himſelf unto them.* And why would he not *commit himſelf* unto their Truſt, ſeeing *They Believed* on him? The Evangeliſt Reſolves us in the next words, *Becauſe he knew all men, and needed not that any ſhould teſtifie of man , for he knew what was in man.* And knowing all men, he knew the Diſpoſition of theſe men to be ſuch, that although they did for the preſent *Believe in his Name* ; upon preſentation of *Diſcontent* , or denial of ſatisfying their deſires or hopes of Earthly Dignities, they would revile him as the *Believers* in my *Text* did, and maliciouſly contradict his Doctrine ; or if Opportunity ſerved , *Betray* him into his enemies hands , or at leaſt offer him ſuch violence , as was offered him in the laſt verſe of this 8th Chapter. *Then took they up ſtones to caſt at him*; Ἰησοῦς δὲ ἐκρύβη, that is, *He made Himſelf Inviſible to their ſight, and went out of the Temple,* going through the midſt of them, καὶ παρῆγεν οὕτως, *and ſo avoided their attempted Violence,* becauſe the hour was not yet come wherein he was willing to ſuffer Violence.

Two Inſtances of the like or worſe Recoyls and Revolts of the Jews.

8. But this dangerous diſeaſe of the Jewiſh Nation , or the particular indiſpoſition of ſuch as in the ſecond and eight chapters of this Goſpel are ſaid to *Believe in him,* did not come to ſo *Perfect a Criſis*, that others beſides Chriſt himſelf who knew *What was in man*, could take Notice of it, until that Paſſover wherein he was betrayed by *Judas*. At the beginning of this Great Feaſt moſt of the ſeed or Progeny of *Abraham* by *Iſaac* not Inhabitants of *Judæa* only , but whereſoever Scattered

The Second Inſtance of Jewiſh Revolt from Chriſt : or rather Turning clean Counter.

through other Nations or Provinces, did *Believe in his Name* after a better manner; and expreſt their *Belief* and Obſervance to him in far higher Terms then thoſe men to whom my *Text* refers, or thoſe mentioned by S. *John* Chap. 2. or any other Ordinary Aſſemblies had done before. And this they did without Contradiction of any ſave of the Scribes and Phariſees, Prieſts and Elders. Scarce any King or Emperour whether Chriſtian or Heatheniſh, ſince the world began, was entertained with ſuch lofty Gratulations from ſo many mouths and hands at once, as our Saviour ſome three or four dayes before he was betrayed. The Triumphant Salutations which had been tendred to *David* by *Judah* and *Iſrael* at his Coronation, were but a Model of the loud Echoes of *Hoſanna to the Son of David, Hoſanna in the Higheſt, Bleſſed be the Son of David that cometh in the name of the Lord,* and other Expreſſions of this peoples Joy when our Saviour (according to the *Prophecy*) came into *Jeruſalem.* What was the reaſon of their *Unparallel'd Exaltation?* only *Their Belief* of the late Miracles, which he had wrought upon *Lazarus* and ſome other Private men, and their hopes that he would do *Greater Wonders* then theſe for their Good and for the *Glory of their Nation*; As *Firſt* to deliver them from the preſent *Roman yoke*; and *afterward* to make them *Lords* of the *Nations,* through which they were ſcattered. But after he had by his Fathers appointment rendred himſelf to the High Prieſt and Elders without a Blow Given (beſide that which *Peter* gave to *Malchus*) and ſubmitted himſelf to the *Roman Deputy* without Reſiſtance; They begun to caſt doubts in their minds, and thought, that he, who could not, or would not defend himſelf from ſuch violence, was not able or would not be willing to protect, much leſs to advance them unto Greater Dignities. And ſo, by Degrees within a ſhort ſpace the very ſame Parties of *Exultant Believers in Him,* became *Cruel Perſecutors of Him*; Changing their late joyful *Hymns* of *Hoſanna to the Son of David* into ſad *Madrigals* of *Crucifige, Crucifige,* Let him be crucified, Let him be crucified like a ſlave. And thus the whole Nation almoſt did remarkably fulfill our Saviours prediction of theſe Jews mentioned, verſ. 44. of this Chapter, *Ye are of your father the Devil, and the luſts of your father ye will do: He was a murtherer from the beginning, and he abode not in the truth.* Hereby we may know them to have been the Devils own ſons, in that when *Pilate* had propoſed unto them, *Him,* whom they had lately confeſſed to be the *Son of David,* with *Barabbas* a notable thief and a murtherer, they importunately ſolicite with open mouth, The *deliverance* of *Barabbas,* by Interpretation, the *ſon of the Father,* and the *Execution* of Jeſus their Saviour, and chang'd their late *Belief* and *Allegiance* profeſſed to Chriſt who is *Truth it Self,* and ſon of God, unto the ſervice of the Father of Lyes.

9. The Reſultance of that which hath been ſaid (or, if you will, the main *Stem* unto which all the forementioned ſcattered Seeds of Truth afford Nutriment) is *This*; That, *Men in part Believers, or to their own apprehenſion zealous and ſound profeſſors of Chriſtian Faith, may be as yet Servants to Sin, and by ſuch Service Slaves to Satan.* The uſeful Branches ſpringing from this Stem are Theſe: *Firſt,* to know the Nature, Condition or Properties of our Natural Lord and Maſter, to wit, *Sin Original,* whether Hereditary meerly, or as by us improved. The *Second,* To know our own Condition or Eſtate, or wherein our *Servitude to Sin* doth properly conſiſt. *Thirdly,* The Degrees or Manner how we are, or may be made *Free indeed* by the Son of God. But with theſe Branches I dare not meddle for the preſent, the beſt uſe which can be made of this ſhort

Remnant of time will be to Reflect by way of uſe or Application upon that which hath been ſaid.

The Application.

|| *This Sermon is ſuppoſed to have been preached at* Oxford *in A Time of Gods Viſitation by the Plague of Peſtilence.*

10. Were this Queſtion propoſed to this preſent or any other Congregation throughout *This* || *City*, Punctually in theſe Terms, [Whether do ye Love God, and his Anointed Chriſt with all your hearts and with all your ſouls?] we ſhould find but a very few, if any at all, which would not as willingly ſubſcribe unto *This*, as unto that ſolemn Covenant made by them or by others for them to this Effect at their Baptiſm. Nor will Chriſtian charity permit us to *Suſpect*, much leſs to *Deny*, that they did make this *Recognition* heartily and unfeignedly according to their preſent *Apprehenſions* or Perſwaſions of their *Belief*, ſpecially if they made it in the calm of their unprovoked Affections. But if we ſhould caſt in that *Counterpoiſe*, which our Saviour himſelf hath given us for the due Examining of our Apprehenſions or Perſwaſions of our Love and Loyalty towards Him: moſt of us might juſtly dread leſt that Hand-writing againſt *Belſhazzar* [*Mene*, *Mene*, *Tekel*, ---] might as well be appliable to our ſelves, as it was to him. Fear we might leſt our Apprehenſions or Perſwaſion of our *Belief*, of our Love and Loyalty towards Chriſt would prove a great deal too Light, if we ſhould weigh them (as we ought) by the *True Scale of the Sanctuary*. One Counterpoiſe there is which would quickly recal or check our forward Apprehenſions or Boaſtings, and that is given us by our Saviour himſelf in this Goſpel, Chap. 14. verſ. 15. 23, 24. If ye love me keep my Commandements. And again, Chap. 15. verſ. 10. If ye keep my Commandements ye ſhall abide in my love. How many may we find who in diſtreſs or danger, whether by Sea or Land, ſpecially in grievous ſtorms or ſickneſs will ſeriouſly purpoſe and *Reſume* that Branch of their *Vow in Baptiſm, To forſake the Devil and all his works, the Luſts of the Fleſh, the Pomps and vanities of this wicked world:* And yet the ſame Men being reſtored to health and probable ſafety, will, of Late zealous Profeſſors and ſolemn votaries, turn *Gaderenes or Gergeſites*, ready upon new Opportunities or Provocations of untame Deſires, to wiſh Chriſt to depart out of their Coaſts, rather then His Reſidence in their Hearts or Brains ſhould give a continual check to their ſwiniſh appetites or Brutiſh Fancies. And thus to do, is not to keep, but to violate Chriſts Commandments, which whoſoever doth not keep as well in *This Particular* of *mortifying the works or Luſts of the Fleſh*, as in other Duties, doth not truly *Believe* in him; ſhall not, without hearty Repentance, or new Purification of the heart and ſpirit, either ſee God, or be partaker of Chriſts Kingdom.

11. Another *Precept* of Chriſt there is *more General* then the *Former*, [Whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do unto you, even ſo do unto them, for this is the Law and the Prophets.] So far is the whole Chriſtian world (as we call it) from keeping this Commandment, that the *Practiſes moſt Contrary to it, are ſo Univerſal*, and ſo violent, as that both the *Caſuiſts*, and profeſſed *Interpreters of Scriptures* have almoſt *loſt the true meaning of it*; at leaſt have utterly neglected the extending or branching of it into uſeful Rules of Good life, or for bringing forth the *Fruits of the Spirit*. And which is worſe, ſuch learned and pious men, as have undertaken the Cure of ſouls, and have been ſolemnly ſworn to the faithful Execution of Paſtoral Charge, dare not preſs the Obſervance of this Great Commandment upon their Flock which daily and hourly moſt ſhamefully tranſgreſs it; partly by the uncontroled Practiſes of ſtubborn people, partly by Authorized Rules in Courts of Juſtice. No Prophet of the Lord dare ſpeak his mind, or interpreter of the Goſpel or

ſpiritual Governour dare put his Commiſſion from Chriſt in Execution, unleſs ſuch as are reſolved to ſuffer a *Martyrdom* from their flock, or from the Profeſſors of the one or other Law eſtabliſhed throughout this Kingdom. Without Reference to any particular *Cauſe* or *Perſon*, I dare boldly pronounce *in the General, That not the Twentieth Part of Tedious Suits or Vexations in Law, or other Grievances or oppreſſions would either be ſet on foot by the People, or ſuffered to be proſecuted by men in Authority, if the* Fear *of God,* Belief *in Chriſt,* Loyalty *to their Soveraign Lord, or Good* Affection *to their Country, were planted in Either of them, truly or indeed.*

12. The General *Neglect* of this great Commandment *of doing as we would be done unto*, in former times of our ſecurity and Peace hath been alwayes *Dangerous*; But the *Violation of it in theſe Times of Mortality, of Calamity and more then wonted danger of worſe to enſue, is Prodigious.* For preventing the Execution of Gods Judgements threatned for our *Violation of This* and other Commandments of Chriſt, I muſt entreat all Sorts of men that hear me this day in the ſame words for ſenſe and meaning, which a Zealous and Learned Father ſometimes uſed in like caſe. *Parcite* Regi, *Parcite Regno, parcite Populo Anglicano, parcite Animabus Veſtris.* If there be any true Love and Loyalty in us towards our Gracious Soveraign Lord and his Royal Iſſue; any good Affection towards our Native Country, or to our ſouls, Let us abate our wonted Pride and Luxury, our wonted Covetouſneſs. Let us not think it ſufficient to abſtain from Unjuſt, Unchriſtian Vexation and Oppreſſion of our Neighbours, unleſs we ſeriouſly account that meaſure of Contentment (of our deſires of what kind ſoever) which heretofore hath been *Lawful*, to be in theſe times *more then moſt Unexpedient.* To uſe that Plenty of Diet or meaſure of Recreation, but eſpecially that Benefit or Advantage of Laws, for advancing our ſelves or increaſing our Fortune, which heretofore we have done, perhaps without ſin; Let This alſo in theſe times be eſteemed *Impious*, or a ſin not to be *Expiated* without hearty Repentance and extraordinary Performance of works of Mercy. The End of the Second Sermon.

Dan.4.27.

13. * But the more we labour further to unfold this Argument of our *Natural Servitude unto ſin*, the faſter we ſhall draw another *Knot*: or, the more we preſs the ſeveral Branches of this *Servitude* upon the Conſcience of the Unregenerate or not well ſanctified man, the greater Perplexity we ſhall Create unto him in another Part of *Theology*, whoſe Knowledge is altogether as Neceſſary and as uſeful, as our Experience of *Natural Servitude unto ſin* is. The Knot or perplexed Difficulty is; *What Kind or what portion of Freedom of Will, is, or can be Compoſſible with Abſolute Servitude unto ſin in the Unregenerate or Unſanctified man.*

* *The Authors Connexion of the 21 Chapter to the 4 Section, as it was before Theſe two Sermons were inſerted.*

SECT.

SECT. IV.

Of that *Faculty of the Reaſonable Soul* which we commonly call *Free-will.* Of the *Root* and ſeveral *Branches* of it, in the Generality. What Branches or Portion of this *Free-will* is in the *Man* altogether *Unregenerate*, or in debauched or heinous Sinners.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of the Difficulties of the Controverſies Concerning Free-Will, *with the Reaſons why They have troubled the* Church *ſo long.*

1.

IF we ſhould abſtract this *Problem* from the Difficulties wherewith it may ſeem to be intangled by the former diſcourſes Concerning our *Servitude to Sin*, and conſider it only in its own Nature and Eſſence: this Queſtion alone hath miniſtred more matter of intricate Diſputes, then any other controverted Point in *Theology*. He that hath leiſure, skill, and opportunity to take an accurate *Hiſtorical Survey* of the true State, (or rather of the Inſtability or ill ſtated Tenour) of this Point ſince the death of our Saviours *Apoſtles* or other *Canonical Writers* of the *New Teſtament*, will eaſily diſcover that the Diſputes about it *Pro and Con* have been like to a *pair of Scales* which never came to any Permanent Stay or conſtant Settling upon the right *Center*, but have one while wagled this way, another while that way. The *Orthodoxal Truth* concerning this Point, as it was taught by our *Saviour* himſelf and by his *Apoſtles*, and maintained by thoſe who did immediately ſucceed them, is; *That there was no other State or Fatality in Humane affairs or events, ſave only This, That ſuch as ſought after Glory and Immortality by well doing, ſhould undoubtedly be rewarded according to their Works*; that all ſuch as continue in impious or ungodly courſes, ſhall treaſure up Wrath againſt the Day of Wrath, and bring a Neceſſity upon themſelves of being Everlaſtingly tormented.

The main Point about Free-Will, *ſcarce well ſtated in any Age ſince the* Apoſtles *times.*

2. The *Stoicks* firſt, and after them the *Manichees* did oppoſe this *Heavenly Doctrine*, by maintaining a ſtrange and more then *Brutiſh Opinion*, which had been hatched before our Saviour Chriſt was born, to wit, *That all Effects* or Events whether contrived by men, or otherwiſe projected by Nature it ſelf, *did fall out by* an Indiſpenſable and Unconquerable *Neceſſity*. The *Neceſſary Iſſue* of this Doctrine (as was apprehended by all *Chriſtian antiquity*) did amount thus high, *That all thoſe Exhortations to repentance, to ſanctity or to newneſs of life, and to the practiſe of Good works Moral or Spiritual* (whether theſe were given to us men, by our Saviour Chriſt, or by his Apoſtles) *had been better directed to Horſe or Mule* (or other more Docile Reaſonleſs creatures) *then unto the unregenerate Man*, from whom to take away all *Freedom of Will* (as *Fate* or *Neceſſity* doth) were to make him a *Degree Lower*, and place him in an Eſtate or condition of life much worſe, then the moſt fooliſh or moſt noiſom Reaſonleſs Creatures do, by their Creators Bounty, enjoy.

See S. Auguſt. 1 *Tom.*3. *Books de lib. Arb. &* 7 *Tom. L. de lib. Arb. & Gra.c.*2. Quomodo jubet Deus, ſi non eſt *Liberum Arbitrium.*

3. The *Ancient Fathers* of the firſt and beſt Ages, *Juſtin Martyr*, *Origen*, *Athanaſius*, *Nyſſen*, *Jerom*, &c. did ſo zealouſly intend the Extirpation of this *Hereſie*, or rather *Heatheniſh Infidelity*, which neceſſarily deprived men (whether regenerate or unregenerate) of all *Freedom* of *Will* in what Action ſoever, that they ſeldom mentioned the Uſe or neceſſity of *Grace*, for performance of Actions truly Good. For this (as ſome have well obſerved) was impertinent to the Queſtion then only agitated betwixt Them and Graceleſs men, *Stoicks*, I mean, or *Manichees*. They only ſought to fortifie the *Sentence Contradictory* unto theſe *Blaſphemous Tenents* concerning the *abſolute Fatality* of Humane Actions, whether Good or Bad. Now *Pelagius* having obſerved, that ſuch of theſe *Reverend Fathers* as lived and writ before him, did ſay little or ſometimes nothing for *Magnifying of Grace*, but exceeding much and very well for eſtabliſhing ſome kind of *Free-Will* in men, more then is to be found in beaſts, took hence Occaſion to exalt *Free-will* and depreſs *Grace*; even whileſt the Controverſie was, about the Concurrence of *Gods Free-Grace*, and mans *Free-will*; a Point not thought of amongſt Chriſtians in Primitive Times; it being then taken as granted by all, that however *Free-will* be Neceſſary [illegible] to ſalvation (a Quality without which a man is neither capable of Reward nor Puniſhment) yet the only *Cauſe of mans Redemption* from *Servitude to ſin*, or of Salvation by ſuch Redemption, was the *Free-Grace* of God, as it iſſues from the *Sole Fountain of Life and Grace, The Man Chriſt Jeſus, God Incarnate.*

S. Chryſ. 1. *Tom. Hom.* 62. *Orat.* 2. *de Fato*, ſayes, that A *Fataliſt* cannot be ſaved.

Tolle *Liberum Arbitrium*, non erit *Quod*; Tolle *Gratiam Liberam* non erit *Quo*, Salvetur.
Tolle Liberum Arbitrium quomodo Deus judicabit?
Tolle Gratiam quomodo Salvabit mundum?
Epiſt. 1. *ad Valentin. Tom.* 7. *S. Auguſtini*

4. *Pelagius* having drawn the one Scale of this Diſpute ſo far awry on the one ſide, did provoke certain *Moncks in Africk* (whoſe Founder or principal Benefactor was one *Valentinus*) to wreſt the other Scale as far amiſs on the other ſide, and to jump with the *Stoicks* or *Manichees* Opinion. This ſtirred up the ſpirit of that moſt *Learned Father* of thoſe times (I mean for rational or Scholaſtick diſputes) S. *Auſtin*, to attempt the drawing of a *Middle Line* between theſe *Two Extravagancies* or Extremities, which he oftentimes performed with a ſteady and conſtant hand, yet ſometimes, too often (if ſo it had pleaſed the Lord) did faulter. Since his death, not only the fore-mentioned Difficulty concerning *The Compoſſibility of Gods Free-Grace and mans Free-Will*, but the very true and punctual meaning of this *Learned Moderator*, hath been by his Followers, whether Fathers, Schoolmen or Others, ſo *meanly Tufted*, and ſo unskilfully hunted after, as a man that would take pains to read them may fitly apply that Conceit, which a pleaſant wit entertained, of a *Text forſaken by the Preacher* or profeſt Handler of it, to the true State of the main Queſtion concerning *Freedom of Will*; that is, *a march Hare might have ſit upon it and never have been ſtarted for all the barking and bauling of Contrary Factions or oppoſite Sectaries*; ſome Three or Four (not ſo well eſteem'd or ſeconded as they deſerved) only excepted.

5. One Principal Reaſon of ſo little Speed and leſs good Succeſs in this Search, hath been; becauſe the moſt of ſuch as have undertaken this Task, uſually took no more of the main Controverſie into due conſideration then did lie juſt under their *Level*, or between them and the Scope at which they aimed. And that was if not *only*, yet *principally* the *Confutation of others Errors* or Heretical Doctrine: an attempt which ſeldom finds any good Atchievance, unleſs it be managed with much diſcretion, with moderation of paſſions or affections. Nor will this ſuffice

unleſs the Party thus qualified be enabled with Good Literature, diſtinctly to ſet down the true and Poſitive Grounds of that Truth, about whoſe meaning or extent, Queſtions uſually ariſe; or to reſolve the ſeveral Branches of Controverſies moved, into their firſt Stems, roots, or ſeeds. He that will adventure to write or ſpeak of *Election*, *Reprobation*, or *Predeſtination*, before he be ſo well inſtructed in the Grounds of *Philoſophy* both Natural and Moral, as to underſtand the *Nature*, *Properties*, and ſeveral *Stems* of *Free-will*, or to make ſearch after all or any of theſe, before he cleerly know what *Neceſſity* and *Contingency are*; *wherein they differ*, or *how they ſometimes intermingle*, or the one of them grow into the other, ſhall (as too Many in our times have done) ſo Croſs-ſhackle himſelf with *Ramiſtical Pot-Hooks or Dichotomies*, that he ſhall be inforced either to ſtumble or enterfere at every ſecond or third ſtep. For avoiding this inconvenience, into which I had from my Youth obſerved many otherwiſe Learned Writers (through want of skill in true and ſolid *Logick*, but eſpecially in *Philoſophy*) to fall, I have premiſed what I hope was rightly conceived concerning the forementioned Fundamental Points of * *Fate*, *Neceſſity*, and *Contingency*. And by help of thoſe *principles* as clearly as the matter would ſuffer heretofore diſcuſs'd at large, I truſt I ſhall be able to treat of this preſent Argument of *Free-Will*, and hereafter of *Predeſtination* ſo far as is fitting (or ſhall be permitted me by Authority) Conſequently to mine own Grounds or Poſitions, without enterfering or ſtumbling in my courſe; without croſſing or trenching upon any point of *Catholick Faith* or Orthodoxal Doctrine.

* *See His ſixt Book of Com. or Attributes. Part.2. Sect.2.*

CHAP. XXV.

Of the divers Acceptions or Significations of Freedom *or* Freeneſs: *And of the ſeveral ſorts or Degrees of* Freedom *in Creatures* inanimate, Vegetable, Senſitive, *and* Rational.

Of Freedom *in creatures inanimate, as it is oppoſed to* Inforcement.

1. FReedom or *Freeneſs* in our Engliſh tongue ſometimes imports no more then *ſpontaneum* doth in *Latin*. And according to this Senſe or ſignification, every thing is ſaid to be done *Sponte*, or *freely*, or *freely to come to paſs*, which is done or comes to paſs by the proper or Natural Inclination of any bodily Subſtance, Whether it be endowed with life, or ſenſe, or with motion only. Thus we ſay, the Water hath a *free Courſe*, or runneth *freely* when it runs that way which Nature inclines it, without any Let or Hinderance, or without any Artificial or External Help to draw, move, or impel it. *Freedom* in this ſenſe is oppoſed only to *Coaction*, to *Conſtraint*, or *Inforcement*. As when water is drawn or impelled to ſuch a courſe, which left to it ſelf it would not take, we ſay it is a *forced Stream* or Current; not a *free Stream*: & ſo we call thoſe *Grounds forced*, which bring forth little or no fruit, without great labour, toyl or coſt, unto ſuch as Till or dreſs them. And in this ſenſe the Latin word *Liberum*, unto which onr Engliſh *freedom* or *liberty* doth more properly and directly anſwer, then unto the Latin *Spontaneum*, is ſometimes uſed, to wit, as it is oppoſed only to *Coaction* or Inforcement: So a *Poet* deſcribing the happy eſtate of the world in the *Golden age*, ſaith, -- *Ipſaq; tellus Omnia liberius nullo poſcente ferebat. The earth did bring forth all things neceſſary or expedient for the uſe or comfort of man freely*: that is, *Of its own accord*, without the Labour, induſtry, or provident dreſſing of man. Thus, This, and Other

* *Of that Age. Ovid. Met. Lib.* 1.

Ipſa quoque *immunis*, raſtroque intacta, nec ullis
Saucia vomeribus, *per ſe* dabat omnia Tellus ——
Mox etiam fruges Tellus inarata ferebat:
Nec renovatus ager gravidis canebat ariſtis.

See Horace his Arva Beata. Epod. 16.

Reddit ubi Cererem tellus inarata quotannis, *&c.*
Illic injuſſæ veniunt ad mulctra capellæ, *&c.*

* Poets ſpeak of the *Golden Age*, from ſome *Broken Notions* or Traditions of mans *Firſt Eſtate in Paradiſe*, and of that Eſtate wherein the world and all things ſhould have continued, if Man had not fallen. But this Temper of the Earth is much altered, or rather inverted by the fall of man. Moſt men (it may be) have heard or read of that Anſwer which an *Ancient Philoſopher* made to this Queſtion; [*Why Nettles, Thiſtles, and other like weeds ſhould grow ſo faſt in ſuch abundance, of their own accord; when as flowers, herbs, or comfortable fruits did not grow at all, or ſeldom come to any good proof without the extraordinary pains or skill of man?*] The beſt Anſwer which the *Philoſopher* could make was this; [*That the Earth was a Natural and Kind Mother unto Nettles, weeds, and graſs; but a Step-mother only to Flowers, Herbs, or Fruit.*] Now the Anſwer, though for thoſe times held witty, was no way ſatisfactory. For a man might have further asked him; "why the Earth ſhould be a "kind mother & loving nurſe to weeds; and a hard or cruell Step-mother "to herbs or Fruits? Unto this Queſtion the youngeſt Child amongſt us that is rightly *Catechized* in the Grounds of Religion, or hath but read the three firſt Chapters of the firſt *Book of Moſes*, may give a more full and ſatisfactory Anſwer, then the wiſeſt *Philoſophers*, without the *Principles* of *Chriſtian Religion*, could do. The Cauſe then or reaſon is from the *Curſe* wherewith God curſed the Earth for mans Tranſgreſſion, *Gen.* 3.17, 18, 19. *Becauſe thou haſt eaten of the tree, of which I commanded thee, ſaying, thou ſhalt not eat of it: curſed is the ground for thy ſake: In ſorrow ſhalt thou eat of it all the dayes of thy life. Thorns alſo and Thiſtles ſhall it bring forth to thee: and thou ſhalt eat the herb of the field. In the ſweat of thy face ſhalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground.* But though the *Heathens* could not know this *Story* by Light of *Nature*: yet thus much being revealed or made known unto them, they might eaſily have gathered; That if the Earth was thus accurſed for Mans ſake, the Nature of man was firſt accurſed or corrupted: As in very deed this prepoſterous and untoward inclination of the Earth to bring forth weeds *Freely* and plentifully, and good Fruit hardly or by Conſtraint or *Coaction*, is but an *Emblem* or viſible Picture of the untoward and corrupt diſpoſition of mans heart to bring forth the Fruits of the Fleſh *Voluntarily*, Freely and plentifully; whereas it doth not, it cannot bring forth the *Fruits of the Spirit*, without the skill and Husbandry of Him that made it. We have the ſeeds of ſin and iniquity planted in us by Nature; and they fructifie and increaſe by our ſloth and negligence. As for the fruits of Righteouſneſs, the Seeds of them muſt be ſown in us by the *Spirit of God*: And being ſown, they do not grow up and proſper without his Extraordinary Bleſſing upon his own plants, and his Servants Labours. Though *Paul may plant, and Apollo water, yet it is God only that gives the increaſe. I am the Vine* ſaith our Saviour *John* 15. 1.) *and my Father is the Husbandman: And* (as the Apoſtle, 1 Cor. 3.9. ſpeaks) *we are his Husbandry.* So that *in Reſpect of the Fruits of Righteouſneſs and Works Spiritual, mans Nature is not free according to this Firſt Acception or* Senſe of *Freedom*; that is, as it was oppoſed unto *Coaction*: But in reſpect of the Fruits of the Fleſh our corrupt Nature is moſt *Free*; Theſe it brings forth of its own accord more *Freely* and more plentifully then the Earth (which God hath curſed for mans ſake) doth Nettles, Thiſtles, or any worſe kind of weed. And yet *the more Freely our Nature brings forth the Fruits of ſin, the more deeply it is ſtill tainted with*

the Servitude of Sin. So that *Freedom* and *Servitude* in ſome caſes, at leaſt in reſpect of divers Objects, are not Oppoſite, but Coincident or Compatible in One and the ſame ſubject or Perſon.

Of the Radical Difference *between Creatures* Inanimate *and* Vegetables.

2. This kind of *Freedom* which is only oppoſed to Coaction or Inforcement, though it be truly and properly in Creatures Inanimate and void of life: yet it is in an higher degree in creatures *vegetable* or *ſenſitive*. Inanimate or liveleſs creatures have their inclinations ſo ſet by * Nature, that no contrary inclination can be implanted in them by Cuſtom: As if you move a ſtone every hour of the day upwards, it will ſtill move its ſelf as *freely* and as ſwiftly downwards, as it did at the firſt. We cannot work any inclination or propenſion in it, either to move it ſelf upwards, or to be more eaſily moved by us. But *Vegetables* of what kind ſoever, Graſs, Corn, (or weeds which grow up with them) Herbs or plants; albeit they have no *Freedom* or power at all to move themſelves out of the places wherein they grow: yet have they a *Natural Faculty* to increaſe themſelves, or be augmented by the benignity of the Earth wherein they grow, and the influence of moiſture and heat from Heaven; A capacity withal, which ſtones or other inanimate Creatures have not, to be much bettered both in growth and quality by the induſtry or skilful husbandry of man. Another degree or rank of *Animate* or Living Creatures there is, which the *Grecians* call ζωοφυτὰ, and the *Latins* as well as they can expreſs the *Greek*, Stirp-Animalia, (or Plant-Animalia) that is, *Living Creatures in ſome reſpects beſt reſembling meer Vegetables; in others, Senſitives, which we call Animalia.* The moſt of this rank live in the Sea, as Oyſters, Cockles, Muſcles, or other duller kinds of Shel-fiſhes, which herein agree with meer *Vegetables*, in that they can hardly move themſelves out of their places, as from the Rocks or Sands wherein they breed, and yet have a Senſe or feeling of their proper Nutriment, or of its want; which meer *Vegetables* have not; and a Motive power within themſelves (anſwerable to this ſenſe of pain or pleaſure) of opening or ſhutting their mouths, or thoſe inſtruments of ſenſe by which they ſuck in their food or nutriment. Some Land Creatures there be (if we may believe good Writers without our own Experiments) that hold the ſame Correſpondency between meer *Vegetables* and *Senſitive Creatures*, which the fore-mentioned Shel-Fiſhes or Sea-Creatures do. To omit the reports of the *Ruſſian Lamb* or other like Senſitives which are faſtened to the Earth out of which they grow: It hath been in my hearing, and in a Solemn Audience avouched by as great a *Philoſopher* and *Divine* as any that have written of the *Weſt Indies*; That there is a kind of herb or Plant about *Portrico*, which though it cannot move it ſelf out of its place, yet hath as nimble and wily motions within it ſelf; as great a Command over its own Branches, to decline ungrateful touches, as any perfect *Senſitive* Creatures have, which are tied to a certain Station or ſetled Footing.

* *Ariſt. Eth. Nicom. Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 1. Ουδὲν τῶν φύσει ὄντων ἄλλως ἐθίζεται· οἷον ὁ λίθος φύσει κάτω φερόμενος, οὐκ ἂν ἐθισθείη ἄνω φέρεσθαι, οὐδ' ἂν μυριάκις αὐτὸν ἐθίζῃ τις ἄνω ῥιπτῶν· οὐδὲ τὸ πῦρ κάτω —

Of the difference betwixt Vegetables *and* Senſitives, *and their motive power.*

3. Creatures truly *Senſitive*, (that is, ſuch as far exceed *Vegetables* or the ζωοφυτὰ) beſides the Senſe of pain in want or indigence of food, or the pleaſure they take when it is in competent meaſure afforded them, have a *Power* (ſome greater ſome leſs) to *Move* themſelves out of their places, and to ſeek their *Nutriment*; and after ſatisfaction made to hunger, to betake themſelves unto places moſt convenient for their Reſt or Sleep. This Capacity of ſenſe, whether of pain or pleaſure, or of motion to enjoy the one and avoid the other, is in every *Senſitive* Creature, even in the worm or ſnail in ſome degree or other, but not Equal in all. Some are moſt ſwift in their Motions, though much defective in other ſenſes, as Flies, Gnats, Beetles, or other meaner *Volatile* or flying Creatures which are not capable of durable pain, nor of Memory to avoid

ſuch pain as they are capable of; being apt to be quelled with ſuch light blows or touches, as cannot annoy ſtronger *Senſitives* or Four-footed Beaſts. Amongſt the more perfect or ſtronger ſort of *Senſitives* or Brutes, ſome are indued with better Memory, or Dexterity of Exerciſing their ſenſes or motive Faculties, then we men are. But the beſt of meer *Senſitive* Creatures, eſpecially ſuch as are by nature tame, or apt to be tamed, as Horſes, Hounds, Hauks, *&c.* although they have no other *freedom* then that which is oppoſed to *Coaction*: yet are their Inclinations alterable by Cuſtom, as *Lycurgus* made proof and Demonſtration to the *Lacedemonians* by his two * whelps of the ſame kind; whoſe inclinations by nature were the ſame, yet Both much altered by breeding or training.

*Plutarch De Liberis Educandis. Et in Laconicis Apophtheg.

4. Wherein then do we *Reaſonable Creatures* exceed the beſt of theſe docile *Senſitives?* In this, That albeit they exerciſe their Faculties of ſenſe or motion more dexterouſly and more ſagaciouſly by inſtinct of nature, and have a greater aptneſs to perceive approaching danger, or to receive impreſſions or occurrences from wind and weather, then men have: yet have they no power, no *freedom* at all to *reflect* upon ſuch Occurrences or Impreſſions; much leſs to Calculate or weigh them aright, but an excellent Capacity only to entertain them as they are offered. Thus ſheep and other cattel; divers ſorts of birds or fouls of the air do often unwittingly *Prognoſticate* the alteration or change of weather by their voice or motions, before wiſer men or *Aſtronomers* can take juſt notice of it, ſave only by Their motions, voices, or geſtures.

Of the true difference betwixt meer Senſitive *and* Reaſonable *Creatures.*

5. Now as *Senſitive* Creatures do far exceed meer *Vegetables* in ſenſe of pain and pleaſure, and in the motive Faculty: ſo the *Reaſonable* Creature doth far exceed the beſt and moſt docile *Senſitives* in a Faculty or Power peculiar to himſelf alone amongſt all viſible or Corporeal Subſtances, That is, in a *Power to Reflect* upon what he hath ſeen, heard, or felt, or remembers, either concerning motions or impreſſions made by or within himſelf, or in any other part or member of this viſible world. A *Power* or Faculty Likewiſe Every ſon of man who hath attained unto the uſe of Reaſon, hath, to number ſuch Occurrences as have befallen himſelf, or ſuch as he hath obſerved to befal others, or to have happened (however) within his memory, and a further *Branch* of the ſame *Reflective power* or Faculty to *Calculate* and weigh them with their *Circumſtances* whether of Time or Place, and to *Compare Occurrences paſt*, or matters obſerved before with Occaſions or *Occurrences preſent*, and out of the Conſideration of both, to make Obſervations or *Preſages* of what by probable Conjecture may enſue.

6. From this *Reflective power* or Faculty and Branches of it, all of them being *peculiar to man*, amongſt all viſible or middle-world-Creatures doth that *freedom of Will* immediately Reſult: the ſearch of whoſe ſeveral *Branches*, whether growing by *Nature*, and bettered by Gods ſpecial *Providence*, or immediately implanted or ingrafted by *Grace*, is the principal *Subject* of the Treatiſes following.

7. The *Firſt Root* of this kind of *freedom*, as it is *Mans peculiar* above all other viſible Creatures, is, That *Reflective power* before-mentioned upon his Obſervations, whether made upon the diſpoſitions or *Docility of Senſitive Creatures* wild or tame, or upon the *ſuggeſtions* or Operations *of his own ſenſes*, or that part of thoſe Faculties of his Soul or Body, in which he is rather a *Senſitive Contradiſtinct* to *meer Senſitives*, then any way *ſupereminent* to them. Now there is not, at leaſt there ought

not to be, any ſcruple or Queſtion; Whether every man which hath attained to the uſe of Reaſon or of ordinary diſcretion, have not the ſame Power or Faculty to correct or improve his own natural Diſpoſitions or *Senſitive Inclinations*, which *Lycurgus* practiſed with good ſucceſs upon his *Two Whelps* of the ſame kind. No Queſtion again there is or ought to be, Whether Parents or other Inſtructers have not the like Power to correct or alter the inclinations of Children in their Minority or Nonage, by good Diſcipline or Education. Whence if we ſhould grant that *poſtulatum* or ſuppoſition which *Galen* that great *Philoſopher* and *Phyſitian* with much diligence hath endeavoured to Demonſtrate, [*Mores animi ſequuntur temperamentum Corporis: that the manners or diſpoſitions of men unto moral vertues or vices, neceſſarily depend upon the Temperature of the body:*] Yet can it never be evinced or made Probable, that the Peculiar Temperature of any mans body, may not be altered by the forementioned *Reflective power* which every man hath, and may exerciſe over his own ſenſes, humours, or manner of diet; or to ruminate upon the Advertiſements given him by *Philoſophers* or *Phyſitians*, either for correcting his inordinate appetites or diſpoſitions, or for improvement of ſuch ſeeds of vertue as are in ſome degree or other, by nature implanted in men or Children of the worſt Temperature of Body. And though *Galen*, for ought we know, *did dye uncured* of that *Erroneous* or *Heretical Opinion* which was the ſcope of his Book, or of that diſtemperature whether of body or of mind which did breed that Opinion: Yet a Late Learned * *Commentator* hath ſo *cured his Book*, that ſober young Students may peruſe or viſit it without danger of infection from it.

* *Baptiſta Perſona.*

8. But the *Principal*, if not the only *Stem* of the fore-mentioned *freedom*, conſiſts in mans *Power* to *Reflect* upon his own *Rational Thoughts* or projects. And this Power or Faculty no man, no power on earth can alter or take from another, how mean ſoever. For it is truly ſaid, if it be rightly applied, that *Thought is free*, *not from puniſhment*, if we think amiſs, For *the Searcher of Hearts* will judge the moſt Secret Thoughts: but *free from Coaction*, from conſtraint, or inforcement. We may be commanded or inforced to *Do* what another will have us to *do*: but we cannot be compelled to *think* what another would have us *think*; or to *Will* what they would have us to *Will*. They may Propoſe ſome *particular* unto us being in it ſelf very *Good* and agreeable unto our deſires: yet the *Goodneſs* of it, unleſs we pleaſe, cannot conſtrain or enforce us to deſire it for that time. If we want ſome other *particular Good* of the ſame kind to *Counterpoize* or withdraw our Deſire from it, the very *Goodneſs of the free exerciſe of our own Will*, will ſuffice. The very *Trial* or Experiment of this our Freedom and Power to abſtain from many things in themſelves deſireable, and with which moſt men are tempted and overſwayed, is oft-times more *pleaſant, then any particular Senſitive Good.*

9. This is all I had to ſay Concerning ſuch ſeveral Kinds or Degrees of Freedom or Power in viſible Creatures, or of Free-Will a Faculty Peculiar to man, as may be Learn'd from the Book of Nature. All theſe ſeveral Sorts or degrees of Freedom hitherto expreſſed in *Engliſh*, are anſwerable to that which the *Latines* call *Spontaneum*, *Liberum*, or *Libera Voluntas*. But whether *Liberum Arbitrium*, an Expreſſion (uſed by many good Latin Writers) of the *Greek* αὐτεξούσιον, be a *Style* whereof men in this Life be capable; Or what *Ranks* of Men be Capable of *It*, is a Point which cannot be determined without Examination of the Properties of *free Cauſes* or *Agents*.

CHAP. XXVI.

Containing the Definition *and* Properties *of* Free Cauſes *or* Agents *properly ſo called.*

Freedom *or Liberty of Choi ce.*

1. C*Auſa Libera eſt, qua, poſitis omnibus ad agendum requiſitis, poteſt agere vel non agere.* This *Definition* of a *Free Cauſe* ſo far as it concerns *Man,* whether Regenerate or Unregenerate, is *Orthodoxal* and Sound; but not ſo *Orthodoxal* and ſound in reſpect of all *free Agents*, at leaſt not ſo unqueſtionable in reſpect of *Them.* For there is in all *free Agents* an *Agency* as well *Immanent* as *Tranſient.* *That we call* (as our betters before us have done) *an Agency Immanent*, Which produceth no Effect, ſave only in the Agent. But every true *Cauſe* whether *Free* or *Natural*, is always preſumed able to produce ſome *Effect Extra Se,* which ſhall not be terminated *Within its Self*, but ſuch as doth or may appear in the Viſible Book of the Creatures.

Agen-cie { *Immanent.* *Tranſient.*

Concerning this Definition, *See* Victoria *in His* 13. Reflection, *upon that of* Ecclus. *c.* 15. Deus ab initio conſtituit hominem, & reliquit illum in manu conſilii ſui.

2. The *Omnipotent Agent* or Supreme *Cauſe* of *Cauſes*, throughout all Eternity can work or not work *Whatſoever*, *Whenſoever*, it pleaſeth him, without any *Matter Praexiſtent* to his Work, or any *Condition requiſite* or prærequired to his working. He *freely*, that is, without Neceſſity, made all things of *Nothing,* without any Counſellor or Adviſer either for propoſing or ſolliciting, much leſs for Limiting or preſcribing the Lawes or manner of all *ſecondary Cauſes* workings, or of the Effects poſſible to be wrought by them. The *Bounds* or Limits of all *Secondary Agents* Operations, are *Neceſſity* and *Contingency.* Such *Agents* as by the Lawes reſpectively given unto them by the Supreme *Agent* and Lawgiver, are ſaid to produce their Operations by *Neceſſity*, or by Determination to *This* or *That purpoſe* and to no other, cannot without *Sollecisſm* be accounted or called *free Agents* or *Cauſes.* The premiſed *Definition* then [*Cauſa libera eſt quæ poſitis omnibus ad agendum requiſitis*, &c.] muſt be reſtrained to the *Angelical* and *Humane Nature.* Neither of theſe two Natures or *Agents* can produce any Real Effect *Extra Se, Without Themſelves,* unleſs they have ſome *Matter præexiſtent* to work upon: nor any *Immanent Action Within themſelves,* without ſuch Concomitancies or Aſſiſtancies as are requiſite to the Uſe or Exerciſe of their natural *Freedom.* So that both of them are only ſo far *free* in their Actions or Choices, as the *Omnipotent Creator* ſhall permit or give them leave to uſe or exerciſe their natural *Freedom.* Now their Natural *Freedom* as it is oppoſed to that which we call *Spontaneum* or *Lubency* in *Vegetables* only, or meer *Senſitive* Creatures, is but a Branch (as hath been intimated before) of Contingeney ; ſo that we cannot annoy and hurt *the One*, but we muſt annoy and hurt *the Other.* *Id contingens eſt, quod poteſt eſſe vel non eſſe*; *That, onely in true Philoſophy and Divinity is properly contingent , which heretofore ſo hath been, as it might not have been ; or hereafter may as well not be , as really be , or come to paſs.* So far then is that *Vulgar*, but lately received opinion [*That nothing is contingent , ſave only in reſpect of Second cauſes*] from all ſhew of Truth or Probability ; that all things indeed beſides the *Supreme Agent* or Cauſe of Cauſes, ἰὸν, are in reſpect of Him, *contingent.* For HE alone being Abſolutely , Independently and Uncontroulably *free* in all his Actions, had an Abſolute *Freedom* either to Create , or not to Create this World as now it is; an Abſolute *freedom* Likewiſe to endow Angels or men with ſuch a *freedom* as now they have, that is, a *Power*

The Former Definition *reſtrained to the* Angelical *and* Humane *Nature.*

Contingentia eſt duplex ; Intrinſeca, ex Electione ; Extrinſeca ex caſu, orta. *See* Suarez Metaphyſ. Diſp. 19. Sect. 10. Num. 4.

of Contingency in their Operations, or rather of producing *Effects Contingent*, that is, ſuch Effects as have been ſo produced by them as that they might not have been produced, or may hereafter (alwayes preſuppoſing the Limitation or moderation of the Supreme Cauſe or Agent) be produced or not produced.

Free-Will *of Two ſorts.*

3. This kind of *Freedom* is of *Two Sorts*, or rather hath two Branches: It is either of meer *Contradiction*, or of *Contrariety*. Or in other Terms, it is either *Quoad Exercitium*, or *Quoad Specificationem*. As for Example: *It is Free* for us to walk or not to walk in the morning. And if we reſolve not to walk, not determining vvhat elſe to do; this is *Libertas Contradictionis*, or *quoad Exercitium*. It is likewiſe *Free* for us to read or not to read: And after we have reſolved to read ſome Book or other, it is *Free* for us to make choice of ſome Godly Treatiſe, or of ſome laſcivious Pamphlet. In chooſing the one and refuſing the other, we are ſaid to do *Freely Libertate Contrarietatis*, or *quoad Specificationem*.

4. All the *Controverſie* amongſt Divines is about the *ſecond kind of Freedom*, which is oppoſed to *Neceſſity*. About this, the Queſtion is, *Whether it be common to every Rational or Intelligent Nature:* Or if in ſome *Degree* or other it be common to all; how far Communicable to every ſuch Nature, according to their ſeveral ſtates or Conditions?

5. Without prejudice to other mens Opinions, which we rather ſeek to Reconcile and to be reconciled unto, then to Contradict or to be Contradicted by them; Our *firſt Aſſertion* ſhall be This. [*There is no Rational or Intelligent Nature, but is Free according to the ſecond Kind of Freedom:* (that is, It is *Freed* from all Neceſſity of doing or not doing of what it doth or doth not) in Reſpect of ſome Acts, Operations, or Objects.] This Aſſertion we take as granted out of the grounds of *Philoſophy*. For this *Freedom* whereof we treat, is one of the moſt *Eſſential*, if not the very Firſt and *Radical prerogative* which Reaſon hath above Senſe.

6. Our *ſecond Aſſertion* ſhall be This: [*The moſt Excellent Intellectual Nature, the very Excellency of Nature, Eſſence and Intellection, is not Free with this freedom of Indifferency or Option in reſpect of every Object.*] God Almighty himſelf is not *Free* with this kind of *freedom*, to Act or intend Good or Evil. The *Infinity of his Tranſcendent Goodneſs*, or (which is all one) the Immenſity of his All-Sufficiency, abſolutely exempts him from all Temptation or Poſſibility of intending harm to any of his Creatures which are capable of wrong. In that he is the *Infinite fountain of Goodneſs Moral*, he cannot be the Author or Abetter of any thing which is Morally Evil: Nay the very beſt Operation that can be aſcribed to the Almighty Father (to wit, the Eternal Generation of his only Son) is not *Free* in the *ſecond* but only in the *former ſenſe* above mentioned. He was begotten of the ſubſtance of his Father before all Worlds, by *Neceſſity* more then Natural. And He that from Eternity thus begat Him, doth ſo infinitely and Eternally Love his only Begotten Son, as he can never ceaſe to Love him, or begin to hate Him. So that the Almighty Himſelf in reſpect of his Love to his Only Son, was never *free* according to either Branch of *freedom*, mentioned, to wit, either with the *freedom* of *contrariety* or *contradiction*. But (as the Apoſtle ſaith) *Of his own Will begot he Us with the Word of Truth:* We are his Sons by Adoption, not by Nature, nor by any *Neceſſity* Equivalent to that which is Natural. It was more *free* for him to adopt or not to adopt us, then it is for any Father to appoint his Heirs or Executors, or to *Eſtate* or diſpoſſeſs his Children.

7. In as much as *Goodneſs* is the *Eſſential Object* of our heavenly Fathers moſt *Holy will*; it is moſt Eſſential and moſt *Neceſſary to Him,* to *Will nothing*, but that which is *Good:* Yet is *He* not hereby either *Eſſentially* or *neceſſarily* tied to will *This* or *That* Particular Good. All things that are truly Good were created by *Him:* Nor was it *Neceſſary* that he ſhould create *theſe particulars* and no others. Yea, it was *free* for him to create or not to create any thing at all. So then within the *Sphere of Goodneſs*, He is *Liberum agens*, an Agent moſt *free*. It was *free* for him to create or not to create us: It is *free* for him to preſerve or not preſerve us; yea to preſerve or deſtroy us: It is *free* for him to Elect or not to Elect us, or to deſtinate us to Life or Death Eternal. *He woundeth and he maketh whole: He giveth* Life *and taketh it away at his pleaſure: He bringeth down unto the grave, and raiſeth up the Dead again:* || "He *freely* beſtows his Bleſſings on "*whom* he will, *when* he will, and in *what meaſure* he will. It was *free* for him *to Decree* or *not to Decree* any thing concerning us: Nor hath he Decreed any thing for us or againſt us which may be prejudicial to his *Eternal Liberty.* For if his ſuppoſed *Decrees* ſhould *Neceſſitate* His Will in thoſe Particulars wherein it was abſolutely and from Eternity *free,* he ſhould *freely* make himſelf or his *Will*, Mutable: whereas we are bound to Believe that *His Will is immutably free*; or that the very *freedom* of his Will is Immutable.

|| Spiritus eſt ubi vult, ſua munera dividit, ut vult: Dat cui vult, quod vult, quantum vult, tempore, quo vult.

8. The *Angelical Nature* was created *free* in reſpect of Good and Evil. Every *Angel* had a *Two-fold Power* or Poſſibility: *One* of continuing in Goodneſs or in the ways of Life; *Another* of diverting from it to the ways of Death. Satan and his Angels have loſt all *freedom* in reſpect of Goodneſs in the Wayes of Life, but not all *freedom Simply.* For albeit they have no *poſſibility* left them, of doing or willing any *Good:* yet have they *manifold poſſibilities* of doing ſeveral *Evils*; more *free* to Sin, then before. They have brought a *Neceſſity* upon themſelves of intending nothing but that which is hurtful to the Sons of men: but they do not *Neceſſarily* intend *This or that particular Hurt* which they do *de Facto*, and no other: nor do they ſo *Neceſſarily* hurt *This or That particular Perſon* at This Inſtant, but that it was poſſible for them to let him alone, and to hurt ſome other. Some or more (it may be) of this infernal Crew are alwayes attending our Publick or Private Meetings, *eſpecially about ſacred Affairs or Devotions.* The only End of their coming is to diſhonour God, and to do miſchief unto Man. In reſpect of *this End* indefinitely taken they are *not free*, unleſs with that kind of *freedom* which is oppoſed only unto *Coaction:* Both Branches of this End they intend ſo willingly, that they cannot ceaſe to intend them, or to will the Contrary.

No Agent Free *in reſpect of* All: *Every Rational Agent* Free *in reſpect of* Some Objects.

9. Yet notwithſtanding this *Neceſſity,* they have *Freedom* left to cull or chuſe out the *Parties* whom they mean to tempt: And after they have determined on the *Party,* they have *freedom* left to make choice of the *particular Temptation*; as whether to ſollicite them to *Pride,* rather then to *Luſt,* whether to provoke them to *Anger* or to ungodly *mirth,* A true *freedom* likewiſe they have (after the choice of temptation made) to continue, or change their *Baits,* to proſecute, or give over their *particular* preſent Projects.

10. The *Angels* which kept their *Firſt Station* when the Rebellious did forſake it, have ſince by Gods Providence loſt all *Freedom of Will to do Evil*; but with increaſe of their *freedom* in doing well. A *Neceſſity* is Laid upon them of ſerving God and him only, yet not hereby *neceſ-*

neceſſarily conſtrained or wrought, no, not by the Incomprehenſible and Sweet Contrivance of the *Divine Decree*, to do Him this *Particular Service* at this time and no other; not *Neceſſarily* enjoyned by Gods Will or their own, to abide ſo long in this place as they do, and no longer or ſhorter while. Their *Intentions* towards man are alwayes *Good*, yet not *Neceſſarily* bound to do that *Determinate Good* which they do to this man and no other. To make choice of the *Party* whom at this inſtant they eſpecially mean to Protect, is as *Free* for them as it is for us, among a multitude of Beggars to make choice of ſome one or two, on whom to beſtow our Benevolence. Now in the diſpenſing of *Alms* to the needy, or bequeathing *Legacies* to our friends, we are (I take it) *Free*, not only from *Neceſſity* of *Coaction* or conſtraint, but alſo *Free* from ſuch *Neceſſity* as by virtue of the Eternal *Decree* is Inevitable.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of the Difference betwixt Servitude *and* Freedom *in* Collapſed Angels, *and* unregenerate men: *and of the inequality of* Freedom *in reſpect of divers* Objects *and degrees in* Natural men.

What Free-Will *in the* Natural *or* unregenerate *Man.*

1. BUt before we come to ſpeak of the Unregenerate Mans *Free-will* and its proper Subject, we muſt lay this Charge upon the Reader, not to interpret or rather miſtake us, as if we Queſtioned; Whether Man were able to do *Any Thing* or no without Gods *Concourſe* or Aſſiſtance; or any *Spiritual Good Thing* without *Grace*. We only ſeek [what kind of *Freedom* or Poſſibility of avoiding Evil, or doing better, or leſs Evil then oft-times we do, is appointed to man by the *Immutable Decree.*] If this *Decree* allow or permit us any *Freedom of Will* in theſe Points: they wrong mankind much, and the Divine nature more that ſeek either by *Nice Diſtinctions* utterly to take it from us, or by Timorous Scrupuloſities to quell or weaken our ſpirits or induſtry in uſe of It. This Point alſo I would commend to every Readers Conſideration; That between a *meer natural man*, and a *Man utterly forſaken of God*, there is a *Mean* or Difference; yea perhaps a greater Difference (in reſpect of the end of theſe inſuing Quæries, to wit, the ſalvation of mens ſouls) then is between the State of a man Utterly forſaken of God, and of Satan and his Angels.

2. In reſpect of *Good and Evil* the *Humane Nature* in the Firſt Creation was as truly and as properly *Free*, as the *Angelical*. The *Firſt Man* was Like his Creator truly and *inherently Good*, indued with *Power of doing Well*: But *this his Power was matched with a Poſſibility of doing Evil*. And by his *Free* and wilful *Reduction* of this *Power into Act*, He and his Children have utterly loſt all *Poſſibility* of doing Well. By nature, All of us are the Children of Wrath; the *Servants of ſin* from our birth: Nor can we be *Freed* from this *Servitude* till we be made the Sons of God by the *Grace of Adoption*.

3. But though this *Tenent* of Reformed Churches be moſt true, to wit, That the Humane Nature before Adams *Fall* was as truly *Free* as the Angelical, and that all the Sons of men ſince his *Fall* are as truly ſubject to ſin as the collapſed Angels: yet neither was our *Freedom* before his *Fall* equal to Angelical *Freedom*, nor this *Servitude* of ſin in us ſo great, as that which is in the Devils. For not to ſpeak of the Elect

or ſuch as are certainly deſtinated to ſalvation; the State of *Cain* (the Father of Reprobates) before he ſlew his Brother *Abel* (though we conſider it with reference to the Eternal Decree of Reprobation) was not ſo deſperate, as the Eſtate of the old Serpent. For God certainly did never uſe that mild and gentle Language either to Satan or his Angels, which he did to *Cain* a little before he ſlew his Brother. *And the Lord ſaid unto* Cain, *why art thou wroth? and why is thy Countenance fallen? If thou doeſt well ſhalt thou not be accepted? and if thou doeſt not well, ſin Lieth at the dore: and unto thee ſhall be his deſire, and thou ſhalt rule over him*, Gen. 4. 6, 7. Howbeit if at any time it had pleaſed the wiſdom of God to make Loving *Profers of Impoſſibilities* to his Creatures Choice: Satan and his Angels by rule of Retaliation, had been the fitteſt Subjects of ſuch *Profers*, becauſe it is their continual Practice to delude mankind in their miſery, with fair promiſes of thoſe things which either they are not able, or never purpoſe to perform.

4. But ſeeing the ſons of men (until they be redeemed by Chriſt) and wicked Spirits are both alike *Servants to Sin*, though their *Servitude* to it be not Equal: the Queſtion is [*Wherein the Inequality of their Servitude conſiſts?*] The Depth of the Angels *Fall* was by the Eternal Rule of Juſtice proportioned to the Height of their knowledge and Happineſs when they ſtood. Now their Firſt Station was much higher then mans; the one in Heaven, the other in Paradiſe. And as they ſinned more wilfully and haughtily: ſo they continued more wilful and ſtubborn in the courſe of ſin, then man. The *Neceſſity* which they brought upon themſelves is *Two fold:* Firſt, a *Neceſſity* of doing alwayes that which is in its Own Nature Evil; Secondly, a *Neceſſity* of doing ſuch evil, with *poſitively evil intentions.* It is their delight to Countermand Gods Laws; to make his Negative Precepts their Affirmatives; and his Affirmatives their Negatives. And knowing much better then moſt men do, with what particulars God is more ſpecially offended: they tempt every man, (as opportunity ſerves) to do thoſe things wherewith he is moſt offended. To tempt ſome men unto groſſe, foul, or baſe ſins, they ſee it bootleſſe, Nevertheleſſe in as much as no man can be without ſome ſin or other; they ſollicite all to be like themſelves in one ſin at leaſt, that is, in *Impenitency.* And to be finally Impenitent for the leaſt ſin, is more offenſive to the Goodneſſe and Mercy of God, then all other ſins that can be by man Committed.

5. But ſome happily will thus far plead for *Baal* or *Belzebub* and his Followers; that many good Turns are done by them to ſome men. Yet even their beſt Favours or greateſt Benefits are worſe then a biting uſurers kindneſſe. Unto this man they may lend Wealth; to that man health; to a third procure eaſe from pain, or uſe of Limbs: but all this with purpoſe to get the Eternal inheritance of their ſouls.

The Unregenerate *ſin not, in every* Action, *againſt men.*

6. The *meerly Natural* or unregenerate man in ſome actions ſin not at all againſt their Neighbours or Fellow-Creatures, to whom oft-times they heartily do that Good; which they truly intended. And in ſuch Actions, *their Offence* (in reſpect of Gods Law) is to be accounted (as I take it) *Privative* onely, no way *Poſitive.* *Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Anacharſis,* perhaps *Diogenes* himſelf and many other Heathen, would have done as the good Samaritane did, to any Paſſenger or Citizen of the *Great City.* Now the Samaritans Action was not againſt Gods Law, though not altogether according to his Law. Neither the Intention nor Performance in Like deeds of mercy done by Heathen or meer natural men, are void of evil, becauſe the Doers are never affected

cted with that Sincerity of Heart, or with thoſe Bowels of Compaſſion which Gods Law requires, much leſſe with thoſe *Referencies* which are due unto Gods Glory. Yet if any man be of Opinion, that the Heathen or unregenerate man doth *Poſitively* and actually ſin againſt Gods Laws in the Beſt works that he can do, I will not contend with him. For albeit I think my Former Aſſertion to be true; yet is it not my purpoſe to take the truth of it for any Ground of the inſuing Diſcourſe Concerning the proper ſubject of *mans Free Will.*

The Unregenerate *man hath a true* Freedom *in doing* Evil.

7. Suppoſing it were moſt true, That the beſt of unregenerate men do *Poſitively* and actually ſin againſt Gods Law in every Action that they do: Yet this ſhall no way infringe our Firſt Aſſertion which is this: *The unregenerate man hath a true Freedom of will in the Choice of thoſe particular Evils, into ſome one or other of which he neceſſarily fals.* For as the Abſolute Impoſſibility or want of *Freedom* to do evil, doth not bereave the Almighty of abſolute *Freedom* in doing Well: So neither doth the unregenerate mans *Impoſſibility* of doing Good, ſtrip him of all *Freedom* in doing Evil. Though he cannot but do Evil, or do every thing that he doth, amiſſe: yet is there no *Neceſſity* that he ſhould do ſo great Evil, as oft-times he doth; or do it ſo far amiſſe as he doth. Few men have any power or *Freedom* of Will not to be angry when they are provoked; nor to allay their anger ſo ſoon as they ought, after it be once, upon what Termes ſoever, kindled. Yet even ſuch as *Neceſſarily* ſin this ſin of unadviſed Anger in ſome degree or other do not thereupon neceſſarily commit Man ſlaughter, Murther, or Blaſphemy. Many men have power or *Freedom of Will* in ruling their tongues which have no *Freedom* or power to ſtay the boyling of the heart in anger. Many again in their paſſions have a *Free Power* over their hands, which have none over their tongues. Many that can hardly hold their hands in heat of anger, have a *Freedom of will* not to ſtrike with edge-tools or weapons that may make deadly wounds.

8. Every Unregenerate man at his firſt arrival at the Uſe of Reaſon is *Free* in reſpect of the height or Extremity of thoſe very ſins unto which he is either by General Corruption of nature or Peculiar Diſpoſition of body, moſt ſubject. It is not *Neceſſary* that he which is by Nature, Education and Dyet, moſt prone to wantonneſs, ſhould delight in Adultery, or to be overtaken with temptations to Unnatural Luſts. Into Acts or Crimes whether for their kind unnatural or Prodigious, or for degree extreamly evil, no natural man did ever *Neceſſarily* fall, *niſi Neceſſitate ex Hypotheſi*, that is, unleſs it were for abuſing that *Freedom of Will*, or choice which naturally he hath in Ordinary evils, in things Moral or Indifferent. But by ſinning in a higher Degree, or oftner in any kind then the corrupted eſtate of Nature or Sin meerly inbred did *Neceſſitate* us unto, we exempt our ſelves from the Protection of Gods ordinary and wonted Providence: And thence exempted we naturally fall into an Eſtate or diſpoſition of mind moſt unnatural, and bring a * *Neceſſity* upon our ſelves of ſinning extreamly. Finally, without Gods Special Grace, the beſt of us ſin in every Action: without the guidance of his Fatherly Providence we ſin extreamly againſt Every divine Commandment.

Juvenal. Nemo repente fuit turpiſſimus.

* *See Chap.*18. *laſt Parag. and Chap.*21.*Parag.* 3,4,5.

9. All of us at the Firſt uſe of Reaſon have a true *Freedom of Will* in avoiding ſuch Occaſions or Opportunities to ſin, as being not avoided but Voluntarily and *Freely* affected, draw a *Neceſſity* upon us of falling into foul and grievous ſins. It was perhaps impoſſible for *Ægiſthus* to avoid Adultery, ſo long as he betroathed himſelf to Sloth. But it was not

impoſſible for him (nor for any) to have avoided this diſeaſe; or at Leaſt, to have been divorced from it, after he had been betrothed to it. The *Poet* in my Opinion gave us a truer Cauſe of this mans fault, then thoſe *Divines* poſſibly can, which make all Events *Neceſſary* or unavoidable in reſpect of Gods Decree:

Quæritur Ægiſthus *quare ſit factus Adulter?*
In promptu cauſa eſt; deſidioſus *erat.*

10. Suppoſing his ſlothfulneſſe had been no ſin in its ſelf, yet would it be a grievous ſin in us to ſay, that the Almighty did *Decree* he ſhould be ſlothful, that he might become an Adulterer; or be an Adulterer, that he might become a Reprobate, for manifeſtation of his Glory. His ſlothfulneſſe in true Divinity was the true and *Neceſſary* Cauſe of his Filthineſſe: But of his ſlothfulneſs there was no *Neceſſary Cauſe* but a *Cauſe Contingent* onely. The onely Cauſe it had was the ill uſe of that *Freedom* which he had in doing amiſſe, or avoiding Occaſions of doing greater evil. Now to uſe our *Free will* further amiſſe then is *Neceſſary*, is meerly *Contingent*; no way *Neceſſary*. Albeit he could do nothing as he ought: yet he might have done leſs ill in being imployed in ſome honeſt Vocation or Lawful Exerciſe, then by giving himſelf over to Pamper, Eaſe, and Sloth. In Lawful imployments we are commonly freed from all other ill Gueſts, beſides our ſelves; *In Living Idlely or doing nothing, we make our very hearts, our brains, and ſouls like Empty Rooms for the Infernal Spirits to ſet up Shop in.* the Poets Obſervation is very uſeful for all, but *moſt Peculiar* for Younger Students, and expreſſed in Terms to their Liking;

To uſe Free-will *extreamly amiſs, is not* Neceſſary *but* Contingent.

Hor. Epiſt. 2. *Lib.* 1.

Si non ante Diem librum cum lumine poſcas,
Invidiâ vel amore vigil torquebere; ſi non
Intendas animum ſtudiis, & rebus honeſtis.

If Men would give ſome Divine Precepts or Sentences, full Poſſeſſion of their *Morning Thoughts*; theſe would ſerve as ſo many Armed Men to keep out the ſuggeſtions of the Devil, the World and the fleſh, from entring into their Hearts.

11. To hold this *Freedom of Will* in avoiding Occaſions or motives to ſin, is moſt agreeable to the Doctrine of the Reformed Churches. All which (if I miſtake not) permit a *Moderate and lawful Uſe of Vows*, not onely to men already ſanctified or in the eſtate of Grace, but unto all ſuch as deſire to avoid ſin and the *Motives* thereunto, that they may be ſanctified. In theſe *two Points* I hope we ſhall all agree: *Firſt*, That we may not Vow any thing which is not in our Power. *Secondly* That the avoidance of Occaſions or Motives to groſs or known ſins is one of the moſt proper and moſt ſafe Objects of ſolemn *Vows*.

12. Some of our Wiſe and Godly Founders of Colledges, which died before Reformation begun, do not tye us by oath, never to tranſgreſs in matters of Manners or Crime: But to undergo puniſhment for breach of good manners they ſtrictly tye us *Virtute Juramenti.* What is the reaſon? Surely that which we ſaid before: They well knew, that to undergo ordinary puniſhment, as loſſe of Commons, or the like, was in *our Power*, and Conſequently juſt matter of *Vow*: But to avoid all actions puniſhable was not (as they foreſaw) in *our Power*; No part of the Object of our *Free-will*: and therefore they made it no Branch of that Solemn Vow which we make to God for Obſervation of their Statutes.

13. Now as it is Lawful to Vow ſtrict Obſervance of outward means either uſeful for avoiding groſſer ſins, or for repenting for them once

committed : So God upon diligent and faithful obſervance of our *Vows* in theſe or the like ſubjects, doth not only free us from being led into grievous temptations, but ſo enlargeth our *Freedom of Will* in other Points, that by the aſſiſtance of his Gracious Providence we gain ſome Power over our own deſires and affections, which before we had not. This cannot ſeem ſtrange in the courſe of Nature, eſpecially if we conſider it as ſubject to Gods Favourable Providence. For ſeeing our carnal appetites or affections are alwayes nouriſhed and ſtrengthened by External Occaſions or Opportunities, they muſt needs be ſtarved or weakned by Subſtraction of this their Nutriment. And the weaker they are, the better hand the ſpirit or Conſcience gets over them ; the eaſier they are to be tamed and nurtured.

14. Many men have not the Power to abſtain from Dainties when they are ſet before them, or when they are invited to taſte them : And the more yielding they are to ſuch invitations, the greater Liberty will their Appetites take, and leave them leſs Power to abſtain from riotous Feaſting. But until *Long Cuſtom* hath brought forth a worſe diſpoſition then we bring with us from our Cradles : it is far more *Free* and Eaſie for us to abſtain from Houſes of unhallowed Mirth (or Good-Fellowſhip, as they are termed) then to abſtain from thoſe Courſes which are uſually followed in them, after we be once accuſtomed to them, *In reſpect of every Negative Precept of things forbidden, it is always More Eaſie to avoid the First* * *Occaſions, then to reſiſt inſuing Opportunities.* And the more Careful we are in avoiding *Firſt Temptations*, the more Capable we are (as was before intimated) of Gods *Peculiar Providence* to ſhield us from the aſſaults of Satan. Not that the leſs Abuſe of our *Free will* in Evil or in avoiding Occaſions that lead unto it, can *Merit* any ſuch Favour ; but the Extream Abuſe of ſuch *Free-will* as we have, Exempts us from thoſe Priviledges which Gods Infinite Bounty beſtows on us.

* *This is manifeſt in that Great Example and Champion of Chaſtity,* holy Joſeph. *Who durſt not ſtay to ſtruggle for his Garmēt (though it cōcerned him highly to have got away that which he knew would be made a Cloke for his Miſtreſſes ſin, and a Colour of His :) but haſted and fled. Chuſing rather to leave behind him a ſeeming Argument of his Guilt, then by longer ſtay (or Reaſoning after thoſe two Arguments,* of Wrong done a Good Maſter, *and* Sin againſt a Good God, *would not diſſwade) to incur a Real Danger of becoming Guilty. Even ſo it is commanded,* 2 Tim. 2. 22. Fly away from Luſt. *We may and muſt reſiſt the Devil and fight it out againſt Him : but for Luſt, the only way is (as when the houſe is on fire) Avoidance and Flight. Haſte away, Eſcape for thy life, (and Thy Souls Life) Look not behind Thee, nor ſtay ; leſt the fire overtake thee, and ſo thou be conſumed in Flame.*

What portion of Freedom *is in ſuch as Sin Extreamly.*

15. But let us take a man which hath been ſo far from avoiding, that he hath been alwayes induſtrious in ſeeking out Occaſions to tranſgreſs ; a man that by continual entertainment of all Opportunities to ſin, hath yielded up his ſoul to many foul and grievous ſins : What *Freedom of Will*, what choice of means for working Mortification or amendment, can be imagined to be left in ſuch a Man ? ſhall we ſay he hath *Freedom of Will inter Mala ?* This were *Deſtruere Suppoſitum.* We will rather ſuppoſe him to have ſo far abuſed that *Free-Will* which men naturally have in doing Evil ; that of *Two*, of *Three*, of *Four*, or more *Evils* propoſed together, he would be ready to chuſe *The very Worſt* ; alwayes prone to imbrace thoſe Opportunities with greateſt ſpeed, which lead to greateſt miſchiefs ; One, *Cui, è malis, id maximè placet, quod eſt maximum.* Is there any Method or place for medicine to this diſeaſe? *The wicked* (ſaith the Prophet) *are like the troubled Sea, when it cannot reſt, whoſe waters caſt up mire and dirt. There is no peace ſaith my God to the wicked,* Eſay 57. 20, 21. Now as the moſt dangerous and turbulent ſeas do not rage when the winds are calm : So neither do the wicked

ſome

come out their ſhame, when Actual Temptations or provocations ceaſe. And in as much as Occaſions and Opportunities do not at all times preſent themſelves: Even he that hath no power to reſiſt the leaſt temptation that offers it ſelf, nor *Freedom of Will* to refuſe the greateſt Evil, and chuſe the leaſt when both are actually proffered, may in the Ceſſation of Actual Temptations, *Reflect* upon his former Acts, and take a ſurvey of his life paſt; eſpecially if he be thereto occaſioned or perſwaded by a diſcreet Admonitor, one that will not affright him *with the Marks of Reprobation.* The firſt Branch of *Freedom*, or rather, the very root of *Free-Will* in every Reaſonable Creature, is ſeated in this Power of *Reflexion upon its own Acts.* This is *the Firſt Point* or Property, wherein Reaſon doth exceed Senſe. Now he that hath but this Branch of *Freedom*, to Calculate his former Acts; hath with it a Power to *Charge his Soul* with the heavy burthen of his ſins. The Conſcience will alwayes be ready in quiet thoughts to accuſe the Fleſh, and urge the Soul to bear Teſtimony againſt it. And the ſoul or Conſcience once brought to loath or diſlike ſome ſpecial ſins is thereby made more *Free*; apt to bewail all other ſins whatſoever, whether Actual or Original. Unleſs *David* had been throughly ſtung with the Conſcience of murther or Adultery, that ſweet Confeſſion had never found ſuch perfect vent as it did: *Behold I was ſhapen in iniquity, and in ſin did my mother conceive me*, Pſal. 51. 5. Every Creature on whom the Creator hath beſtowed any ſenſe or feeling of pain or pleaſure, hath Power to imploy ſome motive Faculty, for avoiding things grievous or hurtful, or for attaining things pleaſant and uſeful for bettering their preſent Eſtate. And if man have any ſenſe or feeling of his heavy burthen, he cannot but in ſome ſort or other deſire to be releaſed from it. Upon this Principal, is that Exhortation of our Saviour, Grounded: *Come unto me all ye that Labour and are heavy Laden, and I will eaſe you*, Mat. 11. 28.

16. So then albeit there be a true *Freedom of Will* in all the ſons of *Adam*, (which are not utterly or finally forſaken of God:) yet is not this *Freedom* the ſame in all, neither in reſpect of its *Objects* or *Acts*, nor in reſpect of its *Degrees* or Strength. Some have a Competent Meaſure of *Liberty* to avoid Occaſions or external Motives to known ſins; but either no portion of like *Liberty*, or a very Little One, to reſiſt ſuch temptations to foul ſins, as come upon them unexpectedly. Others have a Competent Meaſure of like *Freedom* to reſiſt Temptations or Opportunities to groſs ſins, but little or none at all to bewail their natural miſery, or to beat down their inbred Pride by Contemplation of Sin Original, or by Reflecting upon ſins of Omiſſion, or Poſitive Acts of ordinary Tranſgreſſion. Others again which had deprived themſelves of all *Freedom* for avoiding Occaſions, or reſiſting Temptations to certain ſins; have a Larger meaſure of *Freedom* then others have, to be humbled under Gods Mighty hand; which is *in Order the Firſt*, and by diſpoſition of the Divine Providence, the moſt Available means for attaining *Mortification*; which muſt be the *Subject* of the next *Diſcourſe*; wherein I muſt follow my Method propoſed, to wit; To diſcuſs the true meaning of thoſe Scriptures wherein the Difficulties or Queſtions Concerning this Duty are properly ſeated, To begin with that of our Apoſtle, *Rom.* 8. 11.

SECT. V.

Of the Great Duty of *Mortification* : And of the *Uſe of Free-Will* for performing it.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the General Contents which concern the Duty of Mortification ; *And which be the* Special Works of the Fleſh *we are to* Mortifie.

ROM. Chap. 8. Verſ. 11.

But if the Spirit of him that raiſed up Jeſus from the dead, dwell in you : he that raiſed up Chriſt from the dead, ſhall alſo quicken your mortal bodies, by his ſpirit that dwelleth in you.

Verſ. 12. *Therefore Brethren, we are Debters ; not to the Fleſh, to live after the Fleſh.*

Verſ. 13. *For if ye Live after the Fleſh, ye ſhall dye : but if ye through the ſpirit do Mortifie the deeds of the body, ye ſhall live.*

A brief Paraphraſe upon Rom. 8.12, &c.

1. THis Portion of Scripture is more fit to ground the Connexion of what goeth before or cometh after it, from the beginning of this eighth Chapter unto the end, then to receive any Bounds or Limitation which it is capable of, from any Reference to other Paſſages, either for the plain and full *Grammatical*, or for the *Moral* and *Theological* Senſe. The Grammatical Conſtruction of the twelfth verſe (though for ſo much as ſome of our Modern Tranſlations ſuggeſt unto us, it afford but One Proportion, and that a Negative, [*We are debters not to the fleſh :*] yet) according to the Original Character or full Conſtruction, it contains *Two Emphatical Propoſitions* the *One Affirmative*, the *Other Negative*. The Affirmative, 'Οφειλέται ἐσμὲν, *Debters we are* ; and Debters for a greater Sum, then all Mankinds either Real or Perſonal Eſtates in this world are able to diſcharge. The Negative, *Debters we are in no wiſe either in whole or part unto the Fleſh*, unto which we owe nothing beſides Revenge or *Mortification* of It, that is, by delivering it up Captive to the Spirit, unto whom we owe more then our temporal Eſtate here on Earth, our very Souls. The ἐξήγησις or full Declaration of both Propoſitions follows, verſ. 13. *For if ye live after the fleſh, ye ſhall dye :* this is the unſupportable debt which the fleſh hath brought and ſeeks to bring upon us : *But if ye through the Spirit do mortifie the deeds of the body, ye ſhall Live* for ever. This is a greater Boon then we can deſerve ; as much as we can deſire ; more then we can make any part of requital for.

2. For ſtating Caſes of Conſcience (not for dealing betwixt man and man, but) betwixt the Judge of Quick and Dead, and our own Souls, I know no portion of Scripture whether in the Old or New Teſtament of better or more frequent Uſe then This thirteenth verſe. Let ſuch as are ſo minded maintain *Tenents* already ſet on Foot, or multiply

Queſtions to the worlds End about the *Certainty* of their *Perſonal Eſtate* in Grace, or Final Salvation, or beſtow their *Marks* and Tokens whether of Abſolute Election or Reprobation as they pleaſe : yet unto honeſt hearted Chriſtians, or ſuch as deſire ſo to be, there can be no Sign or token of Salvation either Firmer in its ſelf, or more Certain to them, then the right Computation of their conſtant Progreſs in the *Mortifying of the Fleſh* by the Spirit.

The Firſt Queſtion or Examination of our Progreſs in this Duty, is to know ; [*What be the deeds of the Fleſh or Body, which we are to Mortifie ; And, How far we are to mortifie them ?*]

The Second ; [*How the fleſh is Mortified by us ; How by the Spirit ?*]

The Third, which happily will intermingle it ſelf here and there with the firſt and ſecond Quæries, is, [*The Limitation of theſe Two Propoſitions : If ye live after the fleſh, ye ſhall die :* But *if ye through the ſpirit do Mortifie the deeds of the body, ye ſhall live.*]

3. Touching the Firſt Point, [*What be the deeds of the Fleſh or Body, which we are to Mortifie :*] They are ſet down by our Apoſtle, *Gal.* 5. 19, 20, 21. *Now the works of the Fleſh are manifeſt, which are theſe, Adultery, Fornication, Uncleanneſs, Laſciviouſneſs, Idolatry, Witchcraft, Hatred, Variance, Emulations, Wrath, Strife, Seditions, Hereſies, Envyings, Murders, Drunkenneſs, Revellings, and ſuch like.* It ſhall ſuffice by the way to note in a word that the *Fleſh* or *Body* is ſometimes taken for the *Fleſhly Nature* or Bodily Subſtance it ſelf : Sometimes for the *Corruption of the Fleſh* or Nature corrupted. And in this *Later Senſe* it is to be taken in *This Place.*

This word, Fleſh, *ſometimes ſignifies our Bodily ſubſtance ; ſometimes, our Corrupted Nature.*

4. That we may the better underſtand this Duty of *Mortification* by Sounding the Bottom of it, we are in the firſt place to take it into ſerious Conſideration, That the words by which our Apoſtle here expreſſeth the *Works* or *Deeds of the Fleſh*, are not to be meaſured according to that *Carnal Conceit* or Groſſe Senſe, which the Fleſh it ſelf alwayes partial for its ſelf, it ready to ſuggeſt ; but according to the *Scale of the Sanctuary.* When He ſaith, *Adultery, Fornication, &c.* are the works of the Fleſh we muſt not underſtand *Only thoſe Acts* of Adultery or Fornication, which come under the Cognizance or Cenſure of Courts, Civil, or Eccleſiaſtick ; not the *Fruits* or Bloſſomes ; But *The very Firſt Seeds of theſe Sins* ; all Inclinations of the Fleſh or Secret deſires of the heart, of this Kind. This Art or Method of meaſuring theſe words, or the ſins comprehended under them, our Saviour hath taught us, *Mat.* 5. 27. 28. *Ye have heard that it was ſaid by them of old time, thou ſhalt not Commit Adultery : But I ſay unto you, that whoſoever looketh on a Woman to Luſt after her, hath committed Adultery with her already in his Heart.* When he reckons *Laſciviouſneſs* amongſt the works of the Fleſh we muſt not reſtrain this word to *Actual Laſciviouſneſs*, or Laſciviouſneſſe in attempt : We are to extend it to every Degree of this ſin in Word or Thought ; to every Motion of the Tongue, of our Heart, or Senſes, by which either the Ears or Senſes of others, or our own Souls or Conſciences may be polluted. When he ſaith, *Idolatry* is a work of the Fleſh, we muſt not take *Idolatry* onely for the Viſible or External Act of Adoration profered either to Creatures or their Images : It comprehends All inordinate Affection of the heart to any Creature. For to love Money more then God, then our Neighbours, or more then Equity or juſt dealing, is a Branch of the *Idolatry* here mentioned by our Apoſtle. For ſo he interprets himſelf, *Eph.* 5. 5. *For this ye know, that no whoremonger, nor unclean perſon, nor Covetous man who is an Idolater,*

Idolater, hath any inheritance in the Kingdom of Chriſt and of God. Again, when he reckons *Murther* amongſt the Works of the Fleſh, *We muſt not meaſure This monſter onely by ſuch Pictures of it, as are drawn in Bloud :* For even *Hatred, Wrath, Strife,* and *Sedition,* are true Lineaments or live Limbs of this Gyant. *Ye have heard* (ſaith our Saviour) *it was ſaid by them of Old Time thou ſhalt not kill, and whoſoever ſhall kill, ſhall be in danger of the Judgment : But I ſay unto you, That whoſoever is angry with his Brother without a cauſe, ſhall be in danger of the Judgment : And whoſoever ſhall ſay to his Brother* Racha, *ſhall be in danger of the Councel: But whoſoever ſhall ſay,* Thou Fool, *ſhall be in danger of Hellfire,* Mat. 5. 21, 22. Laſtly we are not to take the works of the Fleſh (albeit we take them in the groſſeſt ſenſe) for thoſe Acts, Habits; or Accuſtomances onely, which are ſeated in the Fleſh or Bodily part of man, but for thoſe Acts or Inclinations which are accompliſhed in the Operations or Exerciſes of the Reaſonable Soul. For if we mark the Apoſtles Words ? not *Witchcraft* and *Idolatry* only, which are uſually accompliſhed in ſome External or Bodily Act, but even *Hereſie* it ſelf is expreſly mentioned amongſt the works of the Fleſh : and yet is *Hereſie* the proper off-ſpring of the ſupreme Faculty of the Humane Soul, that is, of the Intellective Faculty or Underſtanding. The moſt dangerous *Hereticks* have been alwayes men of great underſtanding, and for wit, acute and ſubtile. Nor are we to reſtrain this word *Hereſie* to profeſt Opinions, or Errors expreſly maintained or ſubſcribed unto. We are to extend the Apoſtles meaning unto the *Firſt Seeds* or *Roots* of this ſin, as to *Emulation,* to *Affectation of applauſe,* to *Secret pride of heart,* or hearty deſire of *Vain Glory* or Excelling others. Theſe are the General Seeds of the moſt Groſſe Sins here mentioned, and therefore our Apoſtle in the Concluſion of this fifth Chapter to the *Galatians,* ſtrikes at the very Root : *Let us not be deſirous of vain glory, provoking one another, envying one another,* If we harbour theſe or the like deſires, though ſecretly in our breaſts, they will, as Opportunity ſerves, betray us to the Groſſeſt Sins here mentioned, as to *Murther,* to *Hereſie,* or the like. Now not of theſe groſſeſt ſins only, as Murther, Adultery, Hereſie, or Idolatry ; but of their *Firſt Seeds* or Roots, our Apoſtle forewarns theſe *Galatians,* as he had done in times paſt, *that they which do ſuch things ſhall not inherit the Kingdom of God,* Gal. 5. 21. And who then ſhall Inherit this Kingdom ? For who is he is not ſubject to ſome one or other of theſe Miſdemeanours or perverſe Inclinations ? who is he that doth not either conſent to unlawful Luſt, or entertain deſires of Applauſe or of Excelling others, or doth not often either Envy or Emulate his Equals, or Betters ? True it is, that no man can ſay, *His Heart is Clean* in reſpect of theſe Acts, or inclinations unto them. Shall no man therefore (ſeeing no man is altogether Free from theſe) Enter into the Kingdom of Heaven? God forbid. It is one thing to *Do* ſuch things according to the ordinary Uſe and conſtruction of this Phraſe in our vulgar Language ; another thing *to be a Doer of them,* or *to make theſe Miſdoings the chiefeſt of our Doings,* which is the meaning of the Holy Ghoſt in this and like Sayings. So when it is ſaid, *He that doth ſin is the Servant of ſin :* the meaning is, he that is a *Doer* of that which is ſinful, is the *ſervant of ſin :* But ſo is not every one that ſinneth, for there is *no man which ſinneth not.* It is well obſerved by *Maldonate* the Jeſuite, that this word, to *Do* in the Hebrew Dialect, includes not the *preſent Act* or *Operation* onely, but the *Habit* or Cuſtome of Doing. There is no man which ſometimes *Doth not.*

ſome of the works here mentioned by our Apoſtle. And yet there is No Man which hath *Mortified* the Fleſh, or ſeriouſly intends this work of *Mortification*, that *Habitually* or cuſtomarily *Doth Any* of The Works by him mentioned. But this Point will come more fitly to be handled in diſcuſſing the *Second Branch* or Member of the Firſt of our *Three General Enquiries*, propounded in the fore part of This Chapter, which was, [*Concerning the Extent of this Precept or Duty*; or how far we are to *Mortifie* the *Deeds* of the Body that we may Live.]

CHAP. XXIX.

How far the Duty of Mortification *is* Univerſal; *How far* Indefinite.

Mortification Univerſal in reſpect of *mens Perſons, not ſo* in reſpect of *the Duty* to be performed.

1. THE Queſtion concerning the *Extent of this Duty*, is Twofold. *Firſt*, it is to be conſidered in Reſpect of the *Perſons* whom this Duty of *Mortification* concerns. *Secondly*, in reſpect of the *Duty it ſelf*, or matter injoyned. Many Propoſitions there be, which are *Univerſal* in reſpect of the *Perſons*, and but *Indefinite* in reſpect of the *Thing it Self* or matter propoſed. As contrariwiſe, other Propoſitions or Precepts there be, which are of *Univerſal* Extent in reſpect of the *matter* propoſed or Duty injoyned, and but *Indefinite* in reſpect of the *Perſons* whom they concern. *In reſpect of the Matter propoſed or Duty injoyned in this Place, this Propoſition is not Univerſal.* No man is tied under the ſtrict Penalty of damnation to an *Univerſal* or *Total Mortification* of the Fleſh. Unto a *Mortification of all the Deeds of the Fleſh* Every man is bound; But not to a *Total Mortification of every Work of the Fleſh in reſpect of All the Degrees* of it; for ſo, no Fleſh ſhould be ſaved. But of the Limitation of this Propoſition in reſpect of the *Duty it ſelf*, we ſhall have better occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. In reſpect of the *Perſons* which are to perform this Duty; The Precept is *Univerſally and abſolutely true of* ALL that are indued with Reaſon, and are capable of inſtruction. ALL *are bound to* MORTIFIE *the Deeds of the Fleſh without Exception of any mans Perſon.* Kings are as ſtrictly bound under pain of Damnation to perform *This Duty*, as the Subjects are; and ſubjects as ſtrictly bound under the ſame penalty, as Magiſtrates are. For God is no accepter of Perſons. And Gods Will which is the Rule of Faith, will not warrant any man of what degree ſoever, to preſume upon any Exemption from the *Duty it ſelf*; no not to hope for a Diſpenſation.

Vid. Victor. Relect. 13. pag. 642, &c.

2. 'Tis a Queſtion well moved by ſome *Schoolmen*, *Ad quid teneatur homo cum primùm venerit ad uſum rationis? What is the firſt Duty or Conſideration whereunto Every one is tied after he once come to the uſe of reaſon?* Their Anſwer for the moſt part is not ſo pertinent or ſatisfactory, as the Queſtion is uſeful. And no place of Scripture affords a fitter Anſwer to the Queſtion propoſed, then theſe words of S. *Paul* do. For ſeeing (as He ſaith) the *works of the Fleſh are manifeſt*, and (as we may adde) in a manner *Evident* to every mans Senſe: Every one when he firſt comes to the uſe of Reaſon, may with more Facility or leſs Obſervation apprehend the truth and neceſſity of This Duty, then he can do many other Precepts of life which in their rank and order are neceſſary likewiſe unto Salvation. No point of Belief is more Evident or ſenſible to the natural man, then the Corruption or imperfection of

his nature. Some meer naturaliſts (ſuch I mean as knew no other Article of Chriſtian Faith) have delivered their minds in a manner Orthodoxally concerning this point, to wit, About *The General Deficiency or imperfection of Nature in Man.* No Chriſtian man which ſees thus much, but ſees withall the Enemies againſt whom he is to fight; and may from Experiments in himſelf anſwerable to this Rule of our Apoſtle, perceive a Neceſſity laid upon him, either of killing them, or of being killed by them. Beſides the apprehenſion of this Neceſſity (which ordinarily inſpires Cowards with Valour) Every Chriſtian ſtands ingaged by SOLEMN Vow made in Baptiſm, to undertake this Fight. For the Firſt Branch of THAT TRIPLE Vow, is, *To forſake the Devil and all his Works, the Pomps and Vanities of this wicked World, and all the ſinful Luſts of the Fleſh.* The Duty of *Mortification* here injoyned conſiſts in the Performance of this Part of our Vow. And ſeeing this is the firſt Service unto which we are ingaged by that *Solemn Vow*; the Anſwer to the Queſtion propoſed by the School-men muſt be this: *The firſt Duty whereunto every man is tied when he comes to the uſe of Reaſon, is, the Conſideration of this Duty, and the undertaking of Chriſts Battel againſt the Devil, the World and the Fleſh.* The firſt March or progreſs, or rather the firſt Preparation to this Battel, is, the ſerious Apprehenſion of the Neceſſity of *Mortification*.

3. Howbeit even *This Preparation* is, though not directly or in expreſs Terms, yet by neceſſary Conſequence or in Effect, denied by the *Romiſh Church*, and by ſome others who have profeſſed themſelves Members of the preſent *Engliſh Church.* For, All they in Effect deny or gainſay the Neceſſity or Univerſality of this Duty, who teach, that *Original Sin* is utterly taken away, or that our Regeneration is inſtantly and fully wrought by the Sacrament of Baptiſm. That Children rightly baptized are truly regenerated by the Spirit of God, we deny not. And in Caſe Being ſo Baptized they die before they come to the uſe of Reaſon or apprehenſion of *This duty* here injoyned, yet ought we not to doubt of their Salvation, becauſe they have been baptized, and by baptiſm made partakers of Regeneration in ſuch a Meaſure as is requiſite and ſufficient to their Salvation whileſt they are Infants. But that *Original ſin*, the Luſts of the Fleſh, or the Old Man ſhould be *utterly extinguiſhed* or killed in them before their Death, we muſt deny; Otherwiſe we ſhall Contradict our Apoſtle in this place, and overthrow the Foundation or Ground whereupon this Precept, or the Neceſſity of this Duty, is built. Now the Ground or Foundation of this Duty is this: That *All men* unto whom this precept, is directed (and directed it is to ALL that are Capable of his meaning) have ſundry deeds of the Fleſh, ſundry Reliques of the Old Man in them. And if either *Original ſin*, the Reliques of the Old Man, or Luſts of the fleſh, be to be *Mortified* in *All*, when they firſt come to the uſe of Reaſon: they could not be utterly aboliſhed or dead before. For to kill or *Mortifie* that which is already dead or without all ſenſe or motion, is impoſſible.

Original ſin *not utterly extinguiſhed by* Baptiſm.

4. If *Original ſin*, or the Old Man with his members be utterly extinguiſhed in young Infants by Baptiſm; I demand, how poſſibly they could revive in the ſame Parties after they have put off Infancy or Child-hood, or as ſoon as they come to the uſe of Reaſon. For theſe being killed or extinguiſhed before, they cannot revive themſelves. Or if children by Baptiſm were reſtored unto that State of Innocency which our Parents once had: this Innocency could not be loſt without

ſome Actual Tranſgreſſion, like unto that tranſgreſſion, by which our firſt Parents loſt their Innocency or Juſtice Original. Actually to trangreſs after the ſimilitude of *Adam*, Infants, whileſt Infants, cannot. For *ſuch Trangreſſion conſiſts in a ſiniſter choice of the Will*; or in the ill uſe of Reaſon. And all ill Uſe of the *Will* or underſtanding, preſuppoſeth an Uſe of Reaſon, which cannot be in Infants. Again, there is no Neceſſity, that all Children ſhould actually tranſgreſs when they firſt come to the uſe of Reaſon, if before that time they had been Freed from all *Original Corruption* or Reliques of the Old Man by Baptiſm. For to lay a *Neceſſity of ſinning* actually, upon any that had been *Freed* from all *Original ſin*, or reſtored to the ſtate of Innocency which *Adam* had, were to make God the Author of ſuch Actual Sin. *Adam* himſelf did not actually ſin upon any *Neceſſity*, but Voluntarily and *Freely*. If the *Firſt Sin* had not been an *Actual ſin*; or if that Actual ſin had been committed upon *Neceſſity*: not *Adam*, but God had been the Author of it. Certain then it is, that This Duty of *Mortification* is neceſſary in reſpect of ALL, without any reſpect of Perſons. Every one at their firſt Arrival unto the Uſe of Reaſon, or at their Paſſage out of Infancy into Youth, are under *This Yoke*, which is no *Evangelical Counſel*, but a Peremptory Precept. And if This Duty neceſſarily concern ALL at that time: ALL muſt of neceſſity have Original ſin or ſome Reliques of the Old man in them, yea ſuch ſtrong Reliques as will impell them to ſome Actuall Sin or other, or to ſome tranſgreſſion of ſome of Gods Commandments, when they come unto the Uſe of Reaſon; Otherwiſe *This Duty* or precept could not *Univerſally* concern ALL without Exception. For by the Contrary Doctrine, ſome at leaſt, when they firſt come to the Uſe of Reaſon, ſhould have no Deeds of the Fleſh, which they were bound to *Mortifie*. Moſt of the *Romans* unto whom our Apoſtle here writes, had been Baptized after they had come to years of diſcretion. And Baptiſm without all queſtion had been as Effectual in them, as it hath been in any other ſince: yet our Apoſtle ſuppoſeth ſome Deeds of the Fleſh to be in ALL of them, (Even in ſuch as had latelieſt been waſhed in the Laver of Regeneration) which were to be *Mortified* in them. So that *Baptiſm is rather a Sacramental Conſecration of us to undertake this Fight with the works of our Fleſh, or corruption of our nature, then an utter Extinction or abſolute drowning of theſe Enemies.*

5. Another neceſſary *Corollary* or Conſequence of this Doctrine there is not uſually obſerved by Modern Controverſors; and it is This: [*That the ſame meaſure of Regeneration which ſufficeth Children or Infants dying before they come to the uſe of Reaſon, will not ſuffice ſuch as attain to the uſe of Reaſon, or years of diſcretion.*] For if it did or could, they might be ſaved as Infants are, without performance of this Duty of *Mortification*. One of theſe Two muſt neceſſarily be granted, as *Either*, that Children or Infants are not ſo thorowly ſanctified or regenerated as is neceſſary to Salvation, before the hour of their death, (which no man to my remembrance hath taught:) *Or elſe*, he that affirms them to be truly regenerated or ſanctified in their Infancy, muſt yield to us in This; That ſuch Children or Infants as have been formerly regenerated in a meaſure ſufficient to their Salvation, out-grow this of meaſure Regeneration or ſanctification after they come to the uſe of Reaſon or years of diſcretion, as they do their apparel or clothes which were fit for them whileſt they were Infants. And no queſtion but the Old Man, after we come to the uſe of Reaſon, grows ſtronger and ſtronger

in all of us, untill we abate his ſtrength, and *Mortifie* his members by the Spirit. Wherefore, Leaving Children or Infants unto the Spirit of God alone who doth Regenerate them by Baptiſm, and preſerve them in the State of Grace, without our Miniſtery of Preaching; *This Precept is a Precept of Working Faith:* The Duty here injoyned is a Duty Neceſſary unto *All* that are of years fit to be inſtructed, or of Capacity to underſtand the Scripture or Rule of Faith expounded to them. Let us then take his words into a *Second Conſideration. If ye live after the fleſh, ye ſhall, die.* He ſaith not; If ye *have lived* after the fleſh, ye ſhall die: for this had been rather a certain Prognoſtick of death, then any medicinal Advice or Preſcript unto his Patients. One man there was (and no more) who was *Firſt Good and afterwards Bad:* this was the *Firſt Adam.* Another there is (and no more) who was *Never Bad, alwayes Good:* this is the *Second Adam, Chriſt Jeſus bleſſed for ever.* Of all the reſt, that is moſt true, which a Father hath, *Nemo unquam bonus, qui non antè fuit malus; No ſon of Adam ever proved Good, who was not ſometimes Bad* The Apoſtles Saying is in this Caſe true: *Firſt is that which is natural, then that which is ſpiritual.* We, Even the Elect them ſelves, were the ſons of *Adam,* before they were the Sons of God in Chriſt. All or moſt have lived after the Fleſh, before they come to live after the Spirit. Thus much our Apoſtles *Second Propoſition* will infer: *If ye through the ſpirit do mortifie the deeds of the body, ye ſhall Live.* Inaſmuch as *Mortification* of the Fleſh is neceſſary to *All*: it is preſuppoſed that *All* have a Fleſh which may be *Mortified,* or a Life of the fleſh; ſeeing nothing can be *Mortified*, but that which hath Life in it.

Of the Nature of the Fight with our own Bodies *in General.*

6. Again, our Apoſtle ſaith not, *If the Deeds of the Fleſh be Mortified in you by the Spirit, ye ſhall Live.* For ſo we might happily have dreamed of a *Mortification* already wrought in us, or to be wrought in us without our Conſent or Endeavours, as well whileſt we are aſleep as whileſt we are awaking; Or we might conceive it to have been ſo wrought by the Spirit in our Cradles, as we might preſume to paſs the time of our youth in play and paſtime; Or we might hope to have it ſo fully accompliſhed by the ſame Spirit alone, in our youth or maturity; as we might ſpend our Old Age in ſleep, without ſetting a Careful Watch over Works or thoughts. His words, if we obſerve them, are thus: *If ye through the Spirit do Mortifie the Deeds of the Fleſh ye ſhall Live.* So then we ſee, *The Fleſh muſt be Mortified,* and *Mortified* it muſt be *By Us*: Every man muſt *Mortifie* his own Fleſh, although he cannot *Mortifie* it but through the *Spirit.* It is *The Spirit alone* which giveth Victory: yet this doth not Priviledge us from being his Souldiers. It is *The Spirit of God,* which works in us The Will and the Deed: yet this doth not Licence us to be Idle. Fight we muſt, not with our own ſhadows but Every man with his own Body; not with a Body already dead or *Mortified,* but a living Active Body, that may be *Mortified.* And this diſadvantage we have, that our Adverſaries are got within us before we are aware of them; ſo that we cannot fetch ſuch fierce blows at them, as may kill them at once, or as we ſay, out of hand. Sometimes our Adverſarie lies ſo cloſe, that we can hardly hurt him without danger of hurting our ſelves: As ſome by offering too much violence to their bodies, have enſnared their own ſouls. *But this is no Uſual Fault of this Age, or of this Nation.*

7. Howbeit, for the Reaſons ſpecified and the like It is not ſo in this Combate (which Every man muſt entertain between *himſelf,* and *his*

his own Fleſh ; or between his *Spirit*, and his *Body* :) as it is in Duels, or ſingle Combates, *In quibus aut cita mors venit, aut victoria læta* ; in which, one half hour brings forth either certain death or certain victory to the Combatant : Nor as it is in pitch'd Battels, in which, one day is the making or marring of whole Nations or mighty Kingdoms which have been many years in growing. This our Warfare is like unto a ſtrait and Lingring Siege, in which Patience and perpetual Vigilancy are no leſs requiſite then preſent Valour or ſtrength of Arms, eſpecially on the behalf of the party beſieged. *Animus uniuſcujuſq; eſt unuſquiſq;* : *Every mans Soul is Himſelf.* And every mans Soul is more ſtrictly begirt and environed by his Body, then any City can be by any Army. The Gates of his Senſes are alwayes open to let in ſuch Objects or Temptations as take part with the *Fleſh*. Herein This warr with our ſouls is unlike unto Ordinary Sieges ; in that the party beſieged may ſooner ſtarve or bring under the Party beſieging, then be ſtarved or brought under by him, ſo the beſieged will be watchful. Let us take into our Conſideration what One of the moſt Expert Souldiers in this kind, which ever fought under Chriſts Banner (one that had a long time ſerved in both Camps, firſt fighting ſtoutly for the Body or Fleſh, and afterwards more victoriouſly for the Spirit) hath left regiſtred for our Inſtruction : *So fight I not as one that beateth the air : But I keep under my Body, and bring it into ſubjection : leſt that by any means when I have Preached to others, I my ſelf ſhould be a Caſt-away*, 1 *Cor.* 9. 26. If ſo ſtout a Champion after ſo many years Service in the Camp of Chriſt, was not ſecure of the Adverſary which he carried about with him : how dare ſome Freſh-water-ſouldiers ſay (or what truth is there in their ſayings) That they have made full Conqueſt of their Adverſarie, and are moſt *moſt certain of their own Salvation*, before they know what Certainty means, Or which be the Several branches of it. But of this Point, if God permit, elſewhere.

It will be uſeful for the Reader to Know, that if he pleaſe he may read more about This Subject of Mortification *(either now, immediately before he proceed to the* 30 *Chapter, or after the reading of the* 35 *Chapter ; or of this whole* 5 *Section :) in the* Appendix, *at the end of this Book. In which, The* Third General Enquiry *Propoſed, Chap.* 28. Sect. 2. [*Touching the* Limitation of the Two Propoſitions, *If ye live after the Fleſh ye ſhall die. If ye——mortifie—ye ſhall live.*] *And promiſed Chap.* 35. *Sect.* 10. *is handled.*

CHAP. XXX.

Containing the true Rule for examining our Perſwaſions concerning our Eſtate in Grace.

Our Progreſs in Mortifying *Our Selves, the beſt Rule for knowing our Eſtate.*

1. IN the mean time it will not be amiſs for every man to Examin himſelf by *This Rule* of our Apoſtle, concerning the *firſt Branch of Certainty*, that is, a *Moral Certainty* or ſtrong *probability* that he is in the *State of Grace* or Regeneration. *If ye live after the fleſh, ye ſhall die* ; This is the Rule. Doth any man amongſt us Spend moſt of his time in revelling or drinking, in ſtrife or variance, or in jeſt or merriment ? If ſuch a man have any ſeeds of Faith, though Moral, it will aſſure him for the Preſent, that he cannot be ſo much as *morally certain* of his regeneration. The beſt Advice which for the time being can be given him, is, ſo to mingle his *Hope* with *Fear*, as that *Fear be Predominant*. If otherwiſe his Hope in this caſe ſhall bear down Fear, or be not born down by it, there is no other likelyhood

but that his *Hope* will grow into ſtiff *Preſumption*; and ſtiff Preſumption will exclude Repentance, on which Hope, if it be ſure, muſt alwayes be grounded.

2. But moſt mens Conſciences perhaps can truly tell themſelves, that they do *Mortifie* the Deeds of the Body. Here is Juſt ground of *Hope* and *Moral Certainty*, if this Teſtimony of the Conſcience be ſincere. Howbeit even here again, is place for Advice. And the beſt Advice that I can give to any in this Caſe is, that he do not ſeek to *Buy with one Weight* and *Sell with another*, but plant his *Hopes* and diſplant his *Fear* by One and the ſame Rule or Line. The Rule for the planting Hope and preventing Deſpair, is this: When our Apoſtle ſaith, *Gal.* 5. 21. *He that doth ſuch things* (any works of the Fleſh by him there mentioned) *ſhall not inherit the Kingdom of God:* we are to take the Value or weight of *This Word* [DOTH] not by the preſent Acts or Operations, but from the *Uſual Practiſe*, Habit or Cuſtom of doing them. Continual approved Practiſe, of the leaſt ſins there named by him, excludes from Grace. This is the Weight or Scale by which men are willing to ſell, or to put off Fear or Deſpair: But they muſt remember withall to be as ready to *Buy with the ſame Weight*; that is, as ready to meaſure their Hopes or entertain the Certainty of their Eſtate in Grace, by the *ſame Scale*. The Apoſtle ſaith: *If ye mortifie the deeds of the body, ye ſhall live.* From *This General Propoſition* Moſt Hearers of the Word will be ready to Aſſume: But I (God be thanked) *do mortifie the Deeds of the Body* by diligent hearing the word Preached, by frequent receiving of the Sacrament: Ergo, *I ſhall live.* But here we are to conſider, that as other words implying Action, ſo this word [*I do Mortifie*] in the Language of the Holy Ghoſt (ſpecially in thoſe places whereto Gods promiſes are annexed) is not to be reſtrained to the *Interpoſed Acts* or interrupted Operations of the Spirit, but directly imports the *Habit*, the Cuſtome, or aſſiduous *Practiſe of Mortification*. If in This Senſe we *Do mortifie* the Deeds of the Body; that is *if we make This Work the Chief of our Doings*; if moſt of our Care and Induſtry be addreſſed to the perfecting of this Work: then our *Aſſumption* or minor Propoſition is Good and the *Concluſion* will follow, if not *Certitudine Fidei*, by the Certainty or Full Aſſurance of Faith, yet by *Certainty more then Moral*; by an Aſſurance of Hope. But if we *Mortifie* the Deeds of the Body only *Now* and *Then*, or *by Fits*; Or if we intend this work but ſlightly, or (as it were) upon the *By*: Then our former *Aſſumption* [*I do mortifie the deeds of the Body,*] is *Impertinent*, and will ſooner bring forth *Preſumption*, then any *Aſſurance of Hope* or Moral Certainty of our Eſtate in Grace. For Concluſion of this Point; Let every one of us take heed not to meaſure our Hopes of Regeneration, or Degrees of *Mortification*, by our readineſs or deſire to hear the Word Preached, until we have examined our ſelves; Whether *This deſire in us be a deſire of the Spirit, or of the Fleſh?* Or, Whether it proceed from *True Religion*, or from *Humour or Faſhion of the place?* Certainly, if this deſire in many, were from the ſpirit, or from true Religion, it would be more Uniform, and like it ſelf in the Practiſe; They would be as ready, at leaſt in ſome good Meaſure or Proportion, to frequent Publick Prayers, as to go often unto Publick Sermons. *For the Faith of Chriſt can be had no more with Reſpect of Chriſtian duties, than with Reſpect of Perſons.* And the ſame Authority whether Divine, or Humane or Eccleſiaſtick from it derived, which injoynes us to hear The

Word Preached, doth more ſtrictly injoyn us to frequent Publick Prayers, ſpecially in ſeaſons wherein we are ſpecially required by Authoritie to thank God for our manifold deliverances from the Meſſengers of his wrath. But from what cauſe ſoever our deſire of hearing the word Preached proceedeth : Our backwardneſs in frequenting publick Prayers, without all doubt, ariſeth from ſome workes of the Fleſh, or Reliques of the Old-man which muſt be Crucified.

3. *They that are Chriſts* (ſaith our Apoſtle Gal. 5. 24.) *have crucified the fleſh with the affections and Luſts.* Take we heed, that none of us argue thus ; *I am Chriſts :* therefore *I have crucified the Fleſh with the Affections and Luſts.* The Apoſtles meaning is, that the ſafeſt way for us to know whether we be Chriſts or no, is from this Experiment within our ſelves, *if We have crucified the Fleſh with the affections and Luſts.* But what doth he mean when he ſaith [*The Affections and luſts muſt be Crucified?*] Doth he require an utter Extinction or *Total Mortification* or abſolute death of all carnal Affections and paſſions, before we can be aſſured that we are Chriſts ? No. Such a *Total Mortification* cannot be hoped for in this Life. We are ſaid to be Crucified to the world, or to have the Fleſh with the Affections Crucified in us, *Firſt*, By *Profeſſion* or Conſecration : So all that are Baptized into Chriſt Jeſus, are ſaid to be *Dead* to Sin, yea to be *Buried* with him by Baptiſme, Rom. 6. 2, 4. *Secondly*, we are ſaid to be Crucified unto the world, or to be Mortified to the Fleſh, not by Profeſſion only, or Reſolution, but *by Practice :* and this Crucifying or *Mortification* admits of many Degrees.

Mortification *and* Crucifying, *Terms not* Indiviſible, *but of Large Extent.*

4. *Crucifying* taken in its proper Senſe was a moſt Lingring kind of Death or Torture. And men were ſaid to be crucified from the very Firſt Moment of their nayling to the Croſs, albeit the conflicts betwixt life and death were many and ſtrong for divers houres after. Now it is not to be expected that any of us will be as eager or violent in Crucifying our own Fleſh, as the Jewes were in crucifying our Saviour. Seeing the Party to be crucifyed in us is Part of Our Selves, we cannot but uſe it more mildly and gently, then the Romans did ſuch as they crucified for Malefactors ; whom they would not ſo violently have handled, unleſs they had firſt adjudged them for no members, or but for rotten and putrified members of their Body Civil. The leſs violent the conflict is between the Spirit, and the Fleſh, or betwen the Old Man, and the New, the longer will the Old man live in us ; the more frequent and ſenſible his motions will be. And finally, *as he was born with us : ſo he will die with us* ; hardly before us. Yet may, *we be truly ſaid to have Crucified the Old-man with the Affections and luſts, from the very Firſt Time, wherein we begun to nayl them to the Croſs of Chriſt* ; if ſo we ſtill watch them, and ſeek to quell their Motions by the Spirit. They are dayly crucified by Gods Children, and yet are daily reviving.

5. As often as we receive the Sacrament of the Euchariſt with due Preparation : Every remembrance or Meditation of Chriſts Death upon the Croſs, if it be wrought or managed by the ſpirit, will be as the faſtning of *A New nayl* into the Old Man or Body of Sin, which we carry about with us. We cannot think of Chriſts Death, or of the Cauſes of his Crucifying aright, but every thought will be a degree of weakening or enfeebling the Old-man, whom we muſt by this and the like means dayly weaken, otherwiſe he will be our Deſtruction.

CHAP. XXXI.

How the Fleſh is *Mortified* by *Us*; How by the *Spirit*?

This was the Second General, *propounded* Chapt. 28. *And the parts of This* Inquiry *be Three:* Firſt, *In what Senſe* WE, *whom this Duty concerns, can be ſaid to* Mortifie *the Deeds of the Body?*

The Second: *By what Spirit we are to* Mortifie them: *By the* Spirit of God, *by our* own Spirit, *or by* Both?

The Third: *The Manner and Order of* The Spirits Working *or of* our working by the Spirit?

1. THe *Firſt Point* is moſt material, and of moſt uſe in reſpect of Modern Controverſors. If *Mortification* be (as I think none upon better Conſideration will deny) a *True part of our Converſion*, How can *We* be ſaid to *mortifie* the Body or Fleſh, unleſs we may be ſaid to *Convert Our Selves*; which is a Doctrine that Few will like of, as being prejudiced by Contrary *Tenents* much imbraced by men, deſervedly well approved of by all or moſt Reformed Churches. For Reſolution of this Doubt, we are in the Firſt place to conſider; That *Regeneration*, *Converſion*, or *Mortification* are *Terms* in their proper Nature *Indefinite*, and ſo uſed by the Holy Ghoſt. The Actions or Qualifications comprehended, eſpecially under *Converſion* and *Mortification*, are not of one Rank. There is a *Converſion Spiritual*, and a * *Converſion only Moral*: There is a *Mortification* likewiſe either meerly * *Moral*, or truly *Spiritual*. The *matter* ſignified or imported by theſe words, *mortification* and *converſion*, whether Moral or Spiritual, is *not Indiviſible*. Whence it is, that we often deceive our ſelves and others, by giving one and the ſame Anſwer to All or Moſt Queſtions that are or can be moved concerning theſe Duties. That may be true of *mortification* or Converſion (whether ſpiritual or moral) taking it in *ſome Degree*, which is altogether falſe if we apply it to the ſame Qualification or Duty taken or conſidered according to another Degree. Thus much they better ſaw then conſidered, who have entertained Diſpute *pro* or *con*, in that Queſtion. [*An Homo in prima Converſione ad Deum ſit merè Paſſivus? Whether man in his firſt converſion be meerly paſſive?*] The Iſſue would be eaſier, ſhorter, and more certain, if the ſame Queſtion were propoſed thus [*An Homo quoad primum gradum converſionis ſit merè paſſivus? Whether man be meerly paſſive in the firſt degree or degrees of his converſion or mortification?*] For mine own part, as I acknowledge *many degrees of converſion*, and many precedent Motions to true and compleat *mortification*; So I ſhould think the moſt men Living, that are throughly converted and truely *mortified*, to be *meerly paſſive*, *not in the Firſt, Second, or Third Degree only, but in All or moſt of the intermediate degrees of mortification*, which are precedent to the Habit of it, or rather to the Gift of Perſeverance in it: And being once *Habitually mortified, we are in a ſort Active*.

Seeing to Mortifie *implies an* Action *How Man can* Mortifie *his Fleſh*.

* *Converſion, or, Mortification Spiritual and Moral.*
* *See the Note at the end of this Section: or of Chapt.* 36.

2. But if in the Firſt, Second, or ſubſequent Degrees of *mortification* we be *meerly paſſive*: How ſhall we avoid *That imputation* which is laid upon our Church by the *Romaniſts*? The Imputation is This: [That albeit we grant men to be *mortified*, and require the Duty of *mortification* at mens hands: yet we acknowledge them not to be Men, but meer *Stocks* in the Acts or Interims of their Converſion or Mortification.]

To this we anſwer; That although we be *meerly Paſſive* in the Acts of *Mortification:* yet are we not *paſſive* after the ſame manner that Stocks and Stones, or Creatures meerly Senſitive are *paſſive.* Nor are Creatures indued with ſenſe, *paſſive* after the ſame manner, that ſtocks and ſtones or creatures without ſenſe, are. There be *paſſives* inanimate, *paſſives* ſenſitive, and reaſonable *paſſives* or Patients. Every Faculty of Senſe *is meerly paſſive* in reſpect of its proper Function or Senſation: And yet the ignobleſt Faculties of ſenſe are in *ſome ſort Active*, that they may be *ſenſitively paſſive*, or paſſive after another manner, than ſtocks and ſtones or things inanimate, are. The Senſe of Touching, which of all the five External Senſes is moſt ignoble and leaſt Active, may notwithſtanding be leſs Paſſive, or more or leſs capable of pain, by the Activity or motion of the body. But of the more Noble Senſes the Maxime is moſt true; *Sentire eſt pati*; All *Senſation is a kind of Paſſive or ſuffering.* And it is generally reſolved in Schools, that, *Viſio fit intromittendo, non extramittendo*; Sight or Viſion (although it be the moſt noble external Senſe) is not made by *Extramiſſion* or ſending out of the Rayes or Beams of the Eye, but by *Impreſſion of the Object* ſeen, and *Impreſſion is a paſſion.* So that Sight it ſelf conſiſts in Paſſion; and the Eye it ſelf in reſpect of its proper Function, is *meerly paſſive:* and yet he that will ſee the Sun or other Objects viſible, muſt be content to open his eyes, not to wink; yet to wink or open the eyes is no *paſſion*, but an Action. He that deſires to ſee Objects obſcure or leſs Viſible, muſt *Intend the Optick Nerves*, otherwiſe he ſhall not be ſenſitively Paſſive. And He that deſires to hear well, eſpecially if he be afar off, muſt be content to *Liſten:* and Liſtning includes an Intenſion of the Organ or Inſtrument of hearing, an *Action* in the Hearer, that he may be ſenſitively Paſſive. He that ſpeaks is the Agent or Actor: And yet how pleaſant ſoever his ſpeech be, the Hearer muſt be Active to find him Ears. Now *Faith is as the Eye-ſight of the Soul* and underſtanding; and yet *Faith* (as the Apoſtle ſaith) *comes by hearing.* Our *Mortification*, or Converſion, which is a work of Faith, is never wrought without ſome ſenſe or feeling. And in theſe works, if they be ſpiritually performed, the Spirit of man is as *meerly paſſive*, as the bodily Eye is in the ſenſe of Sight, or the Ear in the Act of Hearing; But *meerly paſſive* after a more remarkable manner in the *Firſt Degrees of Mortification* or Converſion, than in their Accompliſhment. The Reſolution then of the former doubt, is This: *We are meerly paſſive in the Degrees or works of Mortification or Converſion: We are not meerly paſſive; we muſt be Active in ſome works, by the Providence of God preſuppoſed for accompliſhment of theſe works*, or for his accompliſhing theſe works in us by the Spirit.

In what ſence we are ſaid to be Paſſives *in our* Converſion.

3. For Illuſtration of that which in this Point may be eaſily conceived by all, without offence (as I hope) to any. We will take for *Inſtance* or *Example*, a man whoſe heart hath never found any internal Comfort of the Spirit, a Deſpiſer of the means which lead to Grace: *A Young Man* Every way as diſſolutely Bent, as his years and Experience will permit him. This man upon ſome lothſome Concomitants which follow riot, or upon ſome grievous miſchance that hath befaln him or his Friend in an unruly place upon the *Lords-Day*, abjures the like place and company for a while: And being not able or unaccuſtomed to be alone, reſolves to make trial whether he ſhall ſpeed better by repairing at times ſeaſonable unto the *Lords Houſe.* In thus reſolving and in thus repairing to the Church, he is not *meerly Paſſive*, but *an Active.* This is no Work of true *Faith*, no Degree of true Converſion or *Mortification* ſpiritual; yet a Motion by Gods Providence preſuppoſed or rather pre-

required to his future Regeneration or Converſion. He is *Active* Likewiſe in Lending his Ears with ſome tolerable attention, unto the Preacher. The *Theme* whereupon the Preacher (without any notice of this Parties Diſpoſitions or Occaſions) doth inſiſt, we will ſuppoſe to be that portion of Scripture which was the means of St. *Auſtins firſt Converſion* to Chriſtianity, without any choice made by Him, but preſenting it ſelf (in reſpect of his preſent thoughts or purpoſe) by meer Chance. The *Theme* which firſt wrought his Converſion, as he himſelf in His Confeſſions acknowledgeth, was Rom. 13. 13, 14. *Let us walk honeſtly as in the day, not in Ryoting and Drunkenneſs, not in Chambering and Wantonneſs, not in ſtrife and Envying: But put ye on the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and make no proviſion for the fleſh, to fulfill the Luſts thereof.* A diſcreet methodical application of ſuch Doctrines as this Text affords, would much move any diſſolute *Young-Mans* heart, which had been impelled or drawn upon the former preſuppoſed Occaſions, to hear theſe Words opened or diſcourſed upon without his choice and beyond his Aym or expectation. And in this ſuppoſed Motion or relenting of his heart and Conſcience, the Party moved is a *meer paſſive.* In thus fitting the diſcourſe to his former Life or Cogitations, *the Preacher* himſelf is Gods *Inſtrument*, not the *Agent.* He had no Suffrage in the choiſe of his Text, at leaſt in ſuiting it to this Particular Occaſion, much leſs any hand or finger in the Iſſue or Succeſs: Both theſe are wholly from the diſpoſition of Divine Providence.

Confeſſ. 8. lib. 12. cap.

4. But now that the Parties Heart is touched by theſe or the like Occurrences, unexpected either by this Patient or by his Phyſitian, doth he ſtill remain as *meerly paſſive* as he was, in the accompliſhment of his *Mortification* or Converſion? Surely, the thoughts of a meer *Natural Civil* or *Moral* man, are *Free* and *Able to Reflect* upon thoſe Motions in reſpect of whoſe Production his beſt Faculties are *meerly paſſive*; *Free* and able to *Reviſe* and work upon thoſe Occurrences and Diſpoſitions of divine Providence, on which he did not ſo much as think, before they ſet his thoughts on working. But ſuppoſing him to be thus *Able*, thus *Free* and willing to *Reflect* upon his former thoughts, and to *Reviſe* what lately hath befaln him; Are ſuch *Reflections* able (without Gods *Special Grace* infuſed) to produce any farther Degree of *Mortification* or Converſion? Or is the Party thus affected *meerly Paſſive*, or a *Co-agent* with the Spirit of Grace in the Production of ſuch farther Degrees of *Mortification* as ſhall afterwards be produced? He is in my Opinion a *meer paſſive* in the Production of all Degrees which ſhall be produced, untill his Converſion or *Mortification* ſhall be accompliſhed. Are then ſuch *Reflections* upon his former ways, or Reviſes of what hath befaln him for them, to no purpoſe? No man I think will avouch this. But if to any, to what good purpoſe do they ſerve, ſhall they make him a more *Towardly paſſive* in the next good Motions (which it ſhall pleaſe God to put into his heart) than he was in the former? Shall he by often thinking upon his former Courſes, or by abſtinence from evil Company be enabled ſo to qualifie his Heart, that the ſame or like touches of Gods Providence ſhall mollifie or affect it more at the *Second time*, than they did at the *Firſt*, or at the *Third* more than at the *Second*, or at the *Fourth* more than at the *Third?* I know no harm, I cannot conceive the leaſt ſuſpition of danger in this or the like *Aſſertion*, ſo long as we ſtill acknowledge him to be no more then a *meer paſſive*, in all the Degrees of his Converſion or *Mortification.*

Men muſt be in ſome ſort Active, *that They may be* Towardly Paſſive *in the work of* Mortification.

5. Notwithſtanding how harmleſs ſoever this *Aſſertion* be in it ſelf, I can be content to relinquiſh the uſe of it, rather then any good Chri-

ſtian ſhould be offended with it, or put into doubt, leſt it come too near *Popery* or other *modern Hereſie*. But he that ſhall deny me the Liberty of thus Expreſſing my ſelf, ſhall give me leave to retain *This Concluſion*: [He which is diligent in *Reflecting* and ruminating upon what hath befallen him, by *Gods ſpecial Providence*, upon the firſt or ſecond time wherein he hath been impelled to take notice of it, ſhall be ſure to have his heart more deeply touched with the ſame or like Occurrences the third or fourth time, then he which hath been alwaies negligent to Ruminate or Reflect upon ſuch Invitations or Admonitions, as by Gods Providence have been tendered unto him.] In reſpect of our Purpoſe (which is only to leave ſloth or negligence without Excuſe) it is all One, whether a man after the firſt Degree of *Mortification*, may *Poſitively* and actually concur to make himſelf *Amore, Towardly paſſive*, againſt the next Touch of Grace or Document of Gods Special Providence, or whether, his Heart remaining ſtill at the *ſame paſſive Bent* which it had when it was firſt touched by Grace or ſpecial *Call* of Gods providence. God be pleaſed to multiply the Active means of *Mortification* or to make their Contrivances and diſpoſition more remarkable and effectual than they were before. This is moſt certain, That he which will not take ſuch *Warnings* as God ſhall ſend him, into his ſerious Conſideration, ſhall bring this *Two-fold Inconvenience* upon himſelf: *Firſt*, his Soul ſhall be every day then other more unapt to be wrought unto Repentance, or to have *Mortification* wrought in it, by ſuch Means as formerly would have wrought it. *Secondly*, God in juſtice will deprive him of ſuch ordinary Means or Motives to *Mortification*, as before he had. Mans extream want of all Ability, ſo to prepare or mollify his own heart, as it may be *more towardly paſſive* than it hath been, cannot diſinnable God from multiplying his Bleſſings, or from Granting Grace ſufficient to mollifie their hearts, which are not able to mollifie themſelves, yet have been diligent according to that Ability which they have, to reflect and ruminate upon his Providence Summoning them to Repentance; alwaies diligent and ready to acknowledge their own inſufficiency, and out of this acknowledgment more earneſtly to ſollicite his *Grace* and Favour for enabling them to do better.

In what ſenſe we are ſaid to work out our own Salvation.

6. So then mans Endeavours are not available, not of force, to produce *Mortification* ſpiritual: yet are they *Two wayes neceſſary*; *Neceſſitate Præcepti, & Neceſſitate Medii*, by a *Neceſſity of Duty*, and by a *Neceſſity of Means*, that ſpiritual *Mortification* may be accompliſhed in us. And becauſe man by the aſſiſtance of Gods ſpecial Providence (without the concourſe of ſanctifying inherent Grace) is enabled to do ſomewhat, which being done, his Converſion or *Mortification* ſhall undoubtedly be accompliſhed; therefore are we ſaid to *Mortifie the Body*; and not ſo only, but *to make our Election ſure*; yea; to * *work out our Salvation*. For ſo the Apoſtle ſpeaks. Phil. 2. 12. But how are we ſaid *to work out our own ſalvation? Non Formaliter ſed Conſecutive*: in ſuch a Senſe as we ſay, *One Mans Riſing, is anothers Fall*: Or, The Ruine of one or more great Families is the Raiſing of others: Or as 'tis ſaid in *Philoſophy*, *Generatio unius, eſt Corruptio alterius*: *i. e.* not *Formerly* or properly (for Generation and Corruption are Oppoſites) but by way of Conſequence: For inaſmuch as *The one is the Neceſſary Conſequent of the other, The One is ſaid to Be the Other*. And thus when the Apoſtle wills us *to work out our own Salvation with fear and trembling*, he gives the reaſon in the next words; *For it is God that worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleaſure*. Phil. 2. 13. So that God truly and properly worketh all, as

* *Or rather*, induſtriouſly to labour for our own Salvation: μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρία κατεργάζεσθε.

as well the *Will* as the *Deed*: yet it is his Good Pleaſure to work *Both* only in *them which work with fear and trembling,* as being moſt affraid to neglect ſo great Salvation as God is ready to work in them, and for them. And becauſe God never fails to work ſalvation in them and for them that are diligent in ſeeking it,or affraid to neglect it: therefore they are ſaid to *Work out their own Salvation*, not properly or *Formally*, but *Conſecutivè*: that is, Salvation is the *Neceſſary Conſequent* of their working, or doth neceſſarily follow upon their work, *Not* by any force or Efficacy of their Work, or *by any natural Connexion, but meerly by Gods Appointment* or Decree. The very ſame phraſe in the Original our Saviour uſeth unto the people, Joh. 6. 27. Ἐργάζεσθε μὴ τὴν βρῶσιν τὴν ἀπολλυμένην, ἀλλὰ τὴν βρῶσιν τὴν μένουσαν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, ἣν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὑμῖν δώσει· τοῦτον γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ ἐσφράγισεν ὁ θεός. Which words can bear no other Conſtruction, then that which we have made of St. Pauls words Phil. 2. 12. no other Interpretation, then our Engliſh hath already made: *Labour not for the meat which periſheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlaſting life.* And ſo the Vulgar Latin doth not render them verbatim, *Operamini Cibum*, but *Operamini Cibo*; Not, *Work that meat*, but *work for that meat*. For if *That Meat* which endureth to eternal Life, muſt be given by the Son of God; If *This Meat* be the *very Body and Bloud* of the Son of God: it cannot be the proper *Effect* of any mans work, or any *Merit* of man: but the *End* or conſequent of our Labours or endeavours; and yet we are ſaid *to work This Meat* in the ſame ſenſe that we are ſaid to work our Salvation, viz. *Conſecutivè*, becauſe God doth infallibly make us partakers of it, if we diligently ſeek after it or labour for it.

7. By the right uſe of this *Diſtinction*, we may reconcile many places of Holy Scripture, which ſeem repugnant one to another; as Likewiſe qualifie many Speeches, whether of the *Fathers* or ſome Good *Modern Writers*, which otherwiſe would ſeem harſh and offenſive. *Who can ſay* ſaith Solomon Prov: 20. 9. *I have made my heart clean?* This Interrogation is in all mens judgement Equivalent to this Univerſal Negative; [*No man can ſay, I have made my heart clean,*] Howbeit the Pſalmiſt, Pſal. 73. 13. ſaith, *Verily, I have cleanſed my heart in vain.* There is no Contradiction between this *Pſalmiſts* Particular Affirmative [*I have cleanſed my heart*;] and *Solomon*'s Univerſal Negative [*No man can ſay, I have cleanſed my heart.*] *Solomon* ſpeaks of the *Internal purification*, which is the proper Effect and ſole work of Gods Spirit: The *Pſalmiſt* ſpeaks *of his own Labours or Endeavours* that his heart might be thus purified by the ſpirit of God: He then did cleanſe his heart *Conſecutivè*, *non Formaliter*. *Every one* (ſaith S. *John*) *that hath this hope in him, purifies himſelf, as he is pure*, 1 Joh. 3. 3. This place perhaps ſome will ſay is meant of men Regenerate only, ſeeing they only have that hope whereof the Apoſtle here ſpeaks. Many other ſuch places of ſcripture there be, in which we are ſaid, and ſometime Commanded to *Purifie our ſelves*: as *Jam*. 4. 8. *Cleanſe your hands ye Sinners, and purifie your hearts ye double minded.* This place cannot be meant of men truely regenerate: For even Sinners and double minded men, (ſuch as men regenerate are not) are commanded to cleanſe their hands and to purifie their hearts. Many other places likewiſe there be, wherein *this purifying of the heart*, is wholly aſcribed unto God. *God* (ſaith St. Paul, Act. 15. 9.) *put no difference betwixt us and them, purifying their hearts by Faith.* Not this *Purification* only, But all other Good Works are ſaid to be wrought by God, as Eſay 26. 12. *Lord thou wilt ordain peace for us: for thou alſo haſt wrought all our works in us*, or *for us*. And our Saviour ſaith, John 15. verſe 5. *Without me ye*

can do nothing. Both parts of our former *Diſtinction* are included in that of St. Paul, 2 Tim. 2. 21. *If any man purge himſelf from theſe, he ſhall be a Veſſel unto honour, Sanctified, and meet for the Maſters Uſe, and prepared unto every good work.* His ſpeech is, if we mark it; [*He ſhall be made a Veſſel unto honour, if he purge himſelf.*] He doth not ſay; [He ſhall be enabled to make himſelf a Veſſel of Honour.] Nor doth he in propriety of ſpeech, or as we ſay *Formally* or *Efficiently* purge himſelf: But, in that he doth thoſe things, whereupon, this *Purification* by Gods Spirit doth immediately follow, *Man is ſaid to purge himſelf.* And ſo are we in this place of St. Paul, Rom. 8. ſaid, *to mortifie the deeds of the body by the Spirit,* when we do thoſe things whereupon this *Mortification* doth immediately inſue, not by any *Merit* or *Cauſality* of our works, but by Gods *meer Grace,* by the *Councel* of his Holy and irreſiſtible Will, by the *Determination of his Eternal Decree,* by which it hath pleaſed him to appoint the *One* as a Neceſſary *Conſequent* of *The Other*; to wit, Spiritual *Mortification* or life it ſelf, as the Iſſue of our endeavours *to Mortifie the Fleſh.* This kind of Speech is uſual not in Scripture only, but in other Good Writers, and in our common Dialect. So *Tully* tells us of a Romane Orator, who for want of skill in Civil Law, *Petiit revera ut cauſa caderet*; made a Motion, that he might Looſe his Cauſe. This *Motion* he did not make directly or *Formally:* His meaning is, that if his Motion had been granted, he muſt by *Neceſſary Conſequent,* have loſt his Cauſe. Thus when we ſee a man Look Old, whom we know to be much younger then our ſelves, we uſually ſay; *You make me an Old Man:* Not hereby meaning that he hath brought Old-Age or Gray Hairs upon us by any trouble or vexation, but that he who is much younger then we, being apparently Old, we muſt by *Conſequence* be old. So that he *makes us Old,* not *Efficiently*; but only by *Conſequent* truly argues us to be Old. According to this *Analogy* of Speech by which he is ſaid *to make us Old,* whoſe Age doth truly argue us to be Old, is that Propheſie litterally meant of *Jeremiah,* which was punctually or formally fulfilled in God or his Chriſt. Jer. 1. 10. *See I have this day ſet thee over the Nations, and over the Kingdomes, to root out, and to Pull down, and to deſtroy, and to throw down, to build and to plant. Jeremiah* did never Levy an Army or incite any people to take Arms for the Depoſition of their preſent Governour, or for the Alteration of any ſtate: yet in as much as He foretold the Extirpation of Some Kingdomes, and the Erection or Plantation of Others; And in as much as what he foretold did certainly come to paſs, he is ſaid to have *Done* that which did *Follow upon his Predictions,* though many years after his Death. And in the ſame Senſe we are ſaid to *Mortifie the Fleſh,* to *cleanſe our Hearts*; to *work out our Salvation*; yea to *make our Election ſure,* when we do thoſe things whereupon our *Purification* or *Mortification* ſhall be wrought, though many years hence; and alwaies wrought by the Omnipotent Power of that *Decree* by which thoſe Kingdomes were overthrown, & others erected in their place, whoſe Erection or Ruine *Jeremiah* had foretold. Now to inquire, How Man, or his *Free-will,* doth co-operate with Gods ſpirit, in the Firſt, Second, or Third Act of his Converſion, is, to my Apprehenſion, a Queſtion not Inextricable only, but as Impertinent, as to make a *Philoſophical* or *Political* Search, How *Jeremiah* did concur with God in the Deſtruction of the *Babylonian*; Or *Eſay* with the ſame God, in the Erection of the *Perſian Empire.* Or more punctually to our preſent purpoſe: how He that ſhould open another mans mouth that were unable or unwilling to open it himſelf, and yet ſo deſperately ſick, that unleſs he took ſome Phyſical Receipt to remove the matter of his diſeaſe or to revive his ſpirits, he ſhould certainly die, might be truly ſaid to ſave his Life: yet not to ſave it *Efficienter*, by way of efficiency, but by *Conſequence*: that is, becauſe the Phiſick, which without opening his mouth could have no Operation, did revive or reſtore his wonted health. And in this ſenſe *Lydia* may be ſaid to have ſaved her own Soul by way of *Conſequence,* becauſe ſhe opened her ears unto St. *Paul*'s Doctrine; and heard him with attention: which being done the Lord opened her heart to feed upon the Word of Life, the only Phiſick of her ſoul. So that the Word of Life, or Chriſt who is the *Eternal Word of God*, did Immediately and *Formally* open her heart, and ſave her ſoul: But unleſs ſhe had opened her ears whileſt Chriſt did knock at theſe doors of her outward ſenſes by St. *Paul*'s voice, Chriſt had not come into her heart, to have entertained her at his *Spiritual Banquet*, as ſhe did *Paul* and his Company with bodily Food.

Act. 16. 14.

CHAP. XXXII.

Whether Mortification *and* Converſion *may be ſaid to be* Ex Præviſis Operibus; *though* God Alone *do properly* Mortifie *and* Convert *us.*

1. BUt be it as we have ſaid; That we are ſaid to *Mortifie* the Deeds of the Body, in as much as we do that *Morally* which being ſo done, God doth work *mortification* Spiritual in us; All is not ſo well as might be wiſhed. For this *Reſolution* ſeems to breed another *Difficulty* of greater Danger; or rather, to eſtabliſh a rejected *Error*. For, hence it may ſeem to follow that Mortification Spiritual is *Ex præviſis Operibus*; from the works which we do, or which God foreſees that we ſhall do. And if the accompliſhment of Spiritual Mortification be *Ex præviſis Operibus*; then Life it ſelf here promiſed ſhould Likewiſe be *Ex præviſis Operibus*, by our *Works*, or from Gods *Foreſight of our Works*. And if either *mortification* or Spiritual Life be *Ex præviſis Operibus* then our *Election* Likewiſe ſhould be *Ex præviſis Operibus*, by our *Works*, or at Leaſt from Gods Foreſight of our *Works*: eſpecially if that be true, which before hath been delivered; That none of Years and diſcretion, are in the Eſtate of the *Elect*, but ſuch as have truly *mortified* the Deeds of the Body; and that all ſuch as have thus truly and throughly *mortified* the Deeds of the Body, are in the Eſtate of the *Elect*. What ſhall we ſay then? that *Election* is *Ex præviſis Operibus*, by our works *or from Gods Foreſight of our Works?* This is a *Bugbear Indeed*, by which many of Gods Children (ſo I account them) have been, and are much affrighted; but of which they ſhall not need to be afraid, if they will give us leave to unmask it. For being unmasked, it will appear to be of the ſame Viſage and Countenance that their own Doctrine is of: and a great deal more Conſonant to their own main Principles, then many other Principles or Concluſions, unto which they ſeek to conſort it. And unmask it we may with This *Diſtinction*. *Mortification, Vivification*, or *Election*, may be ſaid or conceived to be *Ex præviſis Operibus*, *by our works or from Gods Foreſight of our works*, Two wayes: Either *tanquam ex Cauſa aut Titulo*, as from the Efficient Cauſe or Moral Title unto theſe Graces; or, *tanquam ex termino aut objecto non explicante Contradictionem*, as from the *Term* or *Object* unto which Gods Decree for producing the works of Spiritual Mortification (by which

The main Objection *againſt the former Doctrine fully anſwered.*

our *Election* is made ſure) is Terminated. To ſay that *Mortification* or *Election* ſhould be, *By*, *or from our works in the Former Senſe*, that is, from our works as from any *True Cauſe* of their production, or, as from any *Merit* or *Title*, that *They* may be produced in us, is an *Error indeed* deſervedly rejected by moſt Reformed Churches. To ſay, that *Mortification* or *Election* it ſelf, is *By our works or from our works in the Second Senſe*, that is, *tanquam ex Termino*, *as from a Term* or Object without whoſe Preſence or Coexiſtence God doth not work or accompliſh our *Mortification* by his Spirit, nor admit us into the Eſtate of the *Elect*; This is *no Error*, but an *Orthodoxal Doctrine* void of all danger. For it being granted, (which is as much as can be demanded) that *Mortification* Spiritual is a work of *Creation*, and proper only unto God; yet even *Creation* it ſelf, taken in the ſtricter Senſe, was *ex Termino præviſo*, from ſome *Term*, though not out of any *Cauſe* or matter præexiſtent. For when we ſay, that God *Created* the heavens and earth of *Nothing*, that is, out of no *matter præexiſtent*; we neceſſarily include, that this *Nihilum* or *Nothing*, was the *Negative Term* of this *Creation*. Logical Poſſibility, that is, whatſoever includes no Contradiction is the Object of Omnipotency; and *Creation* it ſelf is the Reduction of ſuch poſſibility into Act or Real Effect. If there had been any thing beſides God, præexiſtent to this work of *Creation*; or unleſs *Nothing* had been præcedent (not præexiſtent) to all things that *are* or have Exiſtence, there could have been no ſuch *Creation*, as we believe there was, of the heaven and of the earth; or, of the Firſt Maſs, out of which all things were made.

2. But Herbs and Graſs were not made out of meer *Nothing*, as the Heaven and Earth were. For they were made of the Earth, as it is, Gen. 1. 11. *God ſaid Let the Earth bring forth Graſs, the herb yielding ſeed, and the fruit tree yielding fruit after his kind.* He did not in this ſort ſay, *Let Nothing bring forth the heavens and the earth:* For ſo *Nothing* ſhould have been *Something*. Or if God had made herbs and graſs after the ſame manner that he made the heavens and the Earth, we could not ſay, that they had been made of the Earth: For ſo the Earth ſhould have been *Nothing*. And yet the making of graſs and herbs out of the earth, was a true and proper *Creation:* becauſe, although God did make them of the Earth; yet he made them not of the earth *Tanquam ex materiali Cauſa*, as of their true material Cauſe, but of the earth *tanquam ex Termino poſitivo*, as of the Term or Object, unto which his Creation of them had Reference; that is, He did not decree to make them until the earth was made: Or, he did not determine to make them, but out of the Earth; not of the Water or other Element; as he made the Fiſhes of the water, not of the earth. So that graſs was made of the earth; and fiſhes, of the Sea, not as of any Cauſe concurrent to their making or production, but *tanquam ex Termino aut Objecto præviſo*. The Whales and great fiſhes which God created on the fift day, were not from the time of their Creation ſo much as a material Cauſe of the Fry or Spawn which proceeded from them, until God beſtowed his Bleſſing upon them, ſaying: *Be fruitful, and multiply, and fill the waters in the Seas*. The Effect of this Bleſſing was a true and proper *Creation:* For hereby they became in their kinds Efficient and material Cauſes. And from this *Bleſſing* they received the firſt Poſſibility of Propagation or Continuance of their kind, by ſucceſſion or generation of the like. Admit then our *Mortification* as well as our *Vivification*, is a work of *Creation*; God createth life in Baptized Infants: And this production of life ſpiritual in them, is like unto the Creation of the Heaven and Earth, or of the Firſt Maſs,

Vid. Eraſtum Diſput. contra Paracelſum.

that is, not *ex prævisis operibus*; neither by their works, nor from Gods Foreſight of their works. Thus much the Romiſh Church confeſſeth in the prayer uſed at the Burial of Infants Baptized; *Omnipotens & mitiſſime Deus, qui omnibus parvulis Renatis fonte Baptiſmatis, dum migrant à ſæculo, ſine ullis Eorum meritis vitam illico largiris æternam, ſicut animæ hujus parvuli hodiè credimus te feciſſe. --- Ex Rituali Romano Pauli Quinti, impreſſo Antuerpiæ.* 1635.(*in* 8. *Ex Offic. Plantiniana Moreti*) *in Officio Deſunctorum. De Exequiis parvulorum. pag.* 244. In this *Creation* there is no * *Qualification* or diſpoſition precedent, either by way of *Title*, or by way of *Term* or Object. Or if we grant any Term or Object of this creation, it muſt be the *Entity* of the Infant, or its *Capacity* of Baptiſm, or the *Baptiſm* it ſelf.

* *Quere if it be not otherwiſe in a Pagan of years, coming to Chriſtianity. Without* Baptiſm *either* Obteined *or* Deſired *He cannot be ſaved. And Baptiſm he may not have without* Qaliſications *preparative,* profeſſed *to the Church, that he may be admitted to it. And* Real *in his Soul that he may have* Rem Sacramenti, *that is, become partaker of the* Inward and Spiritual Grace.

How it is ſaid, All things were created of Nothing.

3. But as it was the Almighty Creators pleaſure, nor to make herbs until he had made the earth; nor fiſhes, until he had made the ſea, out of which he made them *tanquam ex termino*, as of a poſitive Term or Object præexiſtent, though not poſitively concurring to their Creation or Co-working with him: So (as we ſuppoſe) it was his pleaſure, not to work *mortification*, or to create Life in ſuch as are capable of Reaſon, until ſome works which he requires, be done by them; albeit the beſt works which any can do, be as little Conducent by way of *cauſality* or Title to the production of Life or *mortification* Spiritual, as the Red Earth was to the Creating of *Adam*, or *Adam* in a dead ſleep was, to the Creation of *Eve*. *Adam* was the ſole work of God, and ſo was *Eve*, though made of *Adam*; as well as the heaven and the earth were the ſole works of God. And ſo is our *Election*; ſo is our *New Life*; ſo is our *Mortification* ſpiritual, as truly and intirely the work of God, though not wrought without ſome works of ours præexiſtent; as the Creation of Life in Infants is Gods work, although they have no works præexiſtent. And as *Adam*, though *Eve* was made of him, had no more ſhare with God in her *creation*, than *Nothing* had with Him in the *creation* of the heavens and the Earth: So neither have we, after we have done the works required to *mortification* any greater ſhare or Title, of *Cauſality* in the production of Life or *mortification* Spiritual, than Infants have in their Regeneration.

4. It may be *Objected*, That the works prerequired by us to *mortification* ſpiritual, are more truly *Ours*, than any Action that can be imagined as requiſite in the heavens for Creation of the Sun, Moon, or Stars; Or in the Earth for the Creation of herbs and trees. 'Tis true; Some Actions are required in us, * that Grace may be created in us; yet not to make us more capable naturally of Grace, but to make us *meer paſſives* not uncapable of it, or not *poſitively contradictory* to his Majeſty or eternal Equity. Man from the beginning had a *Freedom of Will* to deprive himſelf of ſuch Bleſſings, as God in his Bounty had provided for him. Our firſt Parents by the Abuſe of their *Free Will* betwixt Good and Evil, made themſelves uncapable of any Bleſſing or Reward from Gods *Juſtice* or meer *Bounty*: yet were they not hereby made uncapable of his *Infinite mercy*. Nor are his Poſterity made uncapable of it by Sin meerly Original, but by abuſe of that *Free-Will* which is left them as the proper Fruit of Sin Original, that is, a *Free-Will to do Evil*. We have a Power or *Freedom* left us to make our ſelves more uncapable of Gods Mercy, than

* *See the 2d. note at the end of this Sect. chapt.* 36.

we were in *Adam*; no Power at all to make our ſelves more Capable of it; it is God alone which increaſeth this Capacity in us. That of St. *Auſtin* is notwithſtanding moſt true in reſpect of all that are come to years of diſcretion; *Deus qui fecit te ſine te, non ſalvabit te ſine te*; God which made thee without any endeavours of thine own, will not ſave thee without thine own endeavours. And yet the beſt of our endeavours are but to keep our ſelves in the ſame ſtate wherein we were when we had no works, no endeavours, that is, when we were Infants. And happy is he that doth not by lewd endeavours or ill works, evacuate the Fruits of Baptiſm in himſelf. For him that doth finally ſo (Caſſate or) *Void* them, it had been better if he had never been baptized, if he had never been born. For by fruſtrating the hopes which he had in Baptiſm, he makes himſelf more uncapable of Gods mercy for having the Spirit of Life created in him, than the Earth was of Gods Power to have Man created of it.

CHAP. XXXIII.

By what Spirit *we are ſaid to* Mortifie *the Deeds of the Body.*

Of the difference betwixt the Spirit of God, *and the* Spirit of Man.

1. IF the deeds of the Body or Fleſh muſt be *mortified* by the *ſpirit of man*: then man hath not only *Freedom of Will* but *Liberum Arbitrium*, an Ability to *Mortifie* his own Fleſh, or to *Free* himſelf from the *ſervitude* of the Fleſh. *Theſe* and the *like Inconveniences* have perſwaded ſome, to attribute this whole work unto the *ſpirit of God*, which is able to do all things without the Coagency or Conſort of the *ſpirit of Man*. But thus to avoid the former *Inconveniences*, is but as if a man having found a Way out of a Thicket of *Thorns*, ſhould inſtantly intangle himſelf in the Briars. For it is not ſo great a *Solæciſm*, to ſay; *That the ſpirit of Man, or man himſelf ſhould be an Agent in this buſineſs.* As to Affirm *That*, whence it would follow, that *The ſpirit of God ſhould in this work of Mortification, be mans Inſtrument.* For that which Man worketh *by the ſpirit*, Man is more properly ſaid to work it, then *the Spirit*. Now our Apoſtle ſaith that we muſt *mortifie the deeds of the Body*: And he that *Mortifieth* is the *Agent*: That by which we work this *Mortification*, is but our *Inſtrument*. And better it were to ſay, That *the ſpirit of Man* ſhould be *mans Inſtrument* in this work, rather than *the ſpirit of God*.

2. It were according to our *Former Principles* eaſily anſwered, that *We, by Our ſpirit, Mortifie* the Deeds of our Bodies *Conſecutivè*, *non Formaliter aut Efficienter*, that is, not by any Efficacy in us, or Influence derivable from us: The Spirit of God muſt directly work or Effect it. But though this be *True*: yet is it not *Punctual* to the point propoſed. For by this Anſwer the *ſpirit* here meant ſhould only be the *ſpirit of man*: For by *this ſpirit* only we work our *Mortification Conſecutivè*. That which the *ſpirit of God* doth work in us, it works *Directly*, *Immediately*, *and Entirely*: and in producing its proper Effects it hath no Partner or Co-Agent. It may notwithſtanding be yet further replied, that we muſt *Mortifie* the Fleſh by the *ſpirit of God*, not as by any *Inſtrumental Cauſe* ſubordinate to us, but in ſuch a ſenſe as we ſay; Inferiour Magiſtrates do the Acts of the Magiſtracy by the Kings or Supreme Magiſtrates Authority, unto which they and their Magiſtracy are ſubordinate.

Thus ſome good * Interpreters upon this place ſay, that we muſt *mortifie* the Fleſh *by our own ſpirit*, but, by our *own ſpirit*, as it is *ſubordinate* to the *ſpirit of God*: and conſequently to this Aſſertion it muſt be granted, that this *ſubordination* of our *ſpirit* to the *ſpirit of God*, is in this place neceſſarily included or preſuppoſed, though not expreſſed by our Apoſtle. All this (for ought I know) may be moſt True and *Orthodoxal*, but withal too *General*. For, Inferiour or ſubordinate Magiſtrates are more properly ſaid to be the *Agents*, Even in thoſe things which they do by the Authority and warrant of the Superiours: whereas the *ſpirit of God* is not only the *Author* or ſole *Authorizer*, but the *principal Actor* or Agent in this work of *mortification*. For a more particular and punctual Reſolution of the Queſtion propoſed, we are to unfold the divers acceptions of theſe Words or Terms, to wit [*THE SPIRIT*] and [*MORTIFICATION*.]

3. There is the *ſpirit of God*, and there is the *ſpirit of man*: Both of them have their ſeveral and divers Importances in Scripture. The *ſpirit of man* may be conſidered as it is in the *Natural man*, or in the man altogether unregenerate; and *This ſpirit* is at *Enmity* with God: or, in the *man* as yet unregenerate, yet *in the way to Regeneration*. And *the ſpirit of this man* is *privatively oppoſite* to *the ſpirit of God*; ſo, as Darkneſs is to Light; Blindneſs to Sight; or Death to Life. There is *a ſpirit* likewiſe in the man *Regenerate*, the ſame for Subſtance with *the ſpirit* of the *Natural man*; the ſame for Subſtance that it was in himſelf before Regeneration, but altered in Quality: And, *This ſpirit*, though it ceaſe not to be in man, yet it is not uſually called, *The ſpirit of Man*, as being no way oppoſite unto *the ſpirit of God*, but Subordinate unto it; ſo Subordinate unto it, that it is called, *The ſpirit that is of God*, and ſometimes, *The ſpirit of God*.

4. Theſe diverſe Acceptions of the word [*SPIRIT*] as likewiſe the Diſtinction or Oppoſition between *the ſpirit of God*, and *the ſpirit of man*, are ſet down by our Apoſtle, 1 Cor. 2. from the ninth verſe unto the end of the Chapter. *What Man knoweth the things of a man, ſave the ſpirit of man which is in him? Even ſo the things of God knoweth no man, but the ſpirit of God.* verſ. 11. He doth not ſay, the ſpirit of God *which is in God*, or *with* God. And when he ſaith, [*What man knoweth the things of man, ſave the ſpirit of man?*] he ſuppoſeth there is even in the Natural and unregenerate Man, *a ſpirit*, able to diſcern the ſecret thoughts and imaginations of his heart, though blind and ignorant in the things concerning God. Again, when he ſaith [*the things of God knoweth no man:*] he excludeth the Natural man only, or the man to whom God hath not imparted the Gifts of *the ſpirit*. For ſo he hath ſaid verſe 9. *Eye hath not ſeen, nor Ear heard, neither have entred into the heart of man the things which God hath prepared for them that love him.* Into *What Mans* heart have they not entred? Or unto *What Man* doth this Negative belong? Only to the Natural or unregenerate Man. For ſo he adds, verſe 10. *But God hath revealed them unto us by his ſpirit: For the ſpirit ſearcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God.*

5. What *ſpirit* is this which ſearcheth all things, Even the deep things of God? the *ſpirit of God* which is *without Us*, or which communicateth knowledge and reveals things hidden unto us? If *this ſpirit* were here meant, How ſhould thoſe *deep things of God* be revealed unto us? Revealed to us they cannot be, unleſs they be known by us: and known by Us they cannot be, but by *the ſpirit* which is in us. So he adds more expreſly, verſ. 12. *Now we have received not the ſpirit of the world*,

* *Paſqualius.*

(that is, the Spirit which is of man) *but the Spirit which is of God, that we might know the things that are freely given to Us of God.* If by *the Spirit* which we have received, we know the things which are freely given to us of God: *This Spirit* muſt be made *Ours*; it muſt be *One* with *Our Spirit*; it is not *the Spirit of God* which is *Without Us*, or which works our Regeneration, but the Spirit by which we become formally Regenerate and Spiritual. And punctually to this purpoſe the Apoſtle having ſaid verſ. 14. *The Natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are fooliſhneſs unto him: Neither can he know them* (ſo long as he remains a Natural man) *becauſe they are Spiritually diſcerned:* he adds by way of oppoſition, verſ.. 15, 16. *But he that is Spiritual judgeth* (or *diſcerneth*) *all things, Yet He himſelf is judged of no man. For who hath known the mind of the Lord, that he may inſtruct him? But we have the mind of Chriſt.* When He ſaith [WE *have the mind of Chriſt*] he includeth ALL ſuch as He was, that is, All men truly Regenerated by *the Spirit,* whom God hath inſtructed to diſcern the things of God. By [*The mind of Chriſt*] the Apoſtle meaneth the ſelf ſame thing that he did, by *the Spirit of God.* Between the *mind of Chriſt* communicated unto us, and the *Spirit of God* communicated unto Us and received by Us, there is no difference or diſtinction: The importance of both Speeches is the ſame. Our mind being changed from Evil to Good, or from minding of Carnal things to the minding of Spiritual things, is called, *The mind of Chriſt by participation,* and ſo likewiſe *The Spirit of God by participation.* But *the Spirit of God* which communicates this Mind or Spirit unto us, or by which we are ſaid to receive it, hath not alwayes the ſame Importance: Between the Importances there is *no Diſſention,* yet *a Diſtinction.* Sometimes by *the Spirit of God,* God the Spirit or *God the Holy Ghoſt is meant,* who in a peculiar manner is ſaid to *ſanctifie* Us, to Regenerate Us, to Quicken Us, to work *Mortification* in Us. Sometimes again by *the Spirit of God* is meant, *The Spirit* which is in Chriſt, which is the Fountain from whence all gifts of *the Spirit* are immediately derived unto us, though the derivation be immediately wrought by the Holy Ghoſt. And when the Apoſtle ſaith, that we have *the mind of Chriſt:* this Mind of Chriſt which we have received, ſuppoſeth *a Mind or Spirit* in Chriſt which participates it unto us, or from which we receive it by Participation. We may not imagine a *Tranſmigration* or *Tranſmiſſion of the Spirit* which is in Chriſt from Him to Us, but a *participation only.* God hath anointed him with the Oyl of gladneſs above his Fellowes. God giveth not *the Spirit* by meaſure, to him. From the fulneſs of *this Spirit* in him, we receive *Grace for Grace*; Albeit this Grace be diſtributed or Portioned out unto Us by the Holy Ghoſt. Chriſt ſends *the Spirit of Mortification* or Regeneration into our hearts as the Fountain or Conduit head doth the water into a City: The Holy Ghoſt prepares our hearts to receive *this Spirit* of Chriſt, and brings it unto Us, after ſuch a manner as He that makes the *Aquaducts* or Conduit Pipes, doth convey water into a Town or City, otherwiſe deſtitute of good water.

6. But what doth the Apoſtle mean by the *Spirit of man*, as it is Contradiſtinct or oppoſite to *the Spirit of God?* the whole *Reaſonable Soul* or Form of man by which he is diſtinguiſhed from other Creatures? Or *ſome principal part* which hath leaſt commixture with the Fleſh, or Body, that which we commonly call the *Conſcience?* This part of the Soul even in the unregenerate man oft times diſallowes ſuch things as are entertained by the Reaſonable Soul, and condemns ſuch Actions as are undertaken by Reaſon, and managed with Extraordinary Underſtanding. *When*

the Gentiles (ſaith our Apoſtle) *do by Nature the things contained in the Law, they ſhew the work of the Law written in their hearts, their* CONSCIENCE *alſo bearing witneſs, and their thoughts accuſing or elſe excuſing one another*, Rom. 2. 14, 15. In this Accuſation or *Proceſs* in the very Heathen, there is a Combate or Conflict between the *Spirit* and *the Fleſh*, or between *the Mind* and the *Affections*.

7. But may not the ſame part or Faculty of the Reaſonable Soul diſallow or Condemn at one Time the ſelf ſame things, which at another time it well approves? If it may, there is no neceſſity of Diſtinction between *the Soul*, and *the Spirit*. But if there be any Conflict between Reaſon it ſelf, and *the Spirit*, at one and the ſame time; there muſt needs be a Diſtinction betwixt them. Now it ſeems that even whilſt the Reaſonable Soul doth contrive miſchief, or give her Conſent to things unjuſt or unexpedient, whilſt it hatcheth Hereſie, the *Conſcience* doth ſecretly check it, and endeavour to reſtrain it. And this, *Conſcience* could not do, unleſs it were in ſome ſort diſtinct from that Reaſonable part or Faculty of the Soul which is indued with *Freedom of Will*. For there can be no Conflict but between two different Parties or Capacities.

8. This is moſt conſequent to *Plato*'s *Philoſophy*, and to true *Theology*. For as the Platonicks diſtinguiſh between the *Soul* and the *Mind*: So our Apoſtle diſtinguiſheth between the *Soul of man*, and the *Spirit of man*: 1 Theſſ. 5. 23. *And the very God of Peace ſanctifie you wholly: and I pray God your whole ſpirit and Soul and Body, be preſerved blameleſs unto the coming of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* Our Sanctification is not entire or univerſal in reſpect of the *Parts*, (univerſal it cannot be in reſpect of all *Degrees*) until the *Soul* as well as the *Spirit*, until the *Body* as well as the *Soul* be thus ſanctified as our Apoſtle wiſheth. Every part of man muſt be *in Part* or in ſome good meaſure ſanctified. But before this entire or whole *Sanctification* can be wrought, there muſt be a *Mortification* of the Body or of the Fleſh: and under *The Fleſh* (as hath been obſerved before) *The Reaſonable Soul with its beſt Faculties, is uſually comprehended* by our Apoſtle. Howbeit we do not read of any *Mortification* of the *Spirit* but of *Renovation*, *Vivification*, or Quickening of it.

The Spirit *of* man *is not ſaid to be* mortified, *but* Quickened *by the* ſpirit of God.

9. What ſhall we ſay then? That the Spirit or conſcience of man is altogether free from the contagion of the *Fleſh*? that it ſtands in no need of *Mortification*? St. *Paul* tells us, of ſome men, whoſe *Conſcience being Weak is defiled*. But the *Conſcience* in his Language perhaps is not altogether the ſame with *the Spirit*: But the *Syntereſis*, in all likelihood, *is*. And again He tells us, that there be men *of corrupt minds, and deſtitute of the truth, which ſuppoſe that Gain is Godlineſs*, 1 Tim. 6. 5. And we read of a *ſoundneſs of mind*, 2 Tim. 1. 7. But that defilement or corruption of *the Spirit* or mind, ſeems by our Apoſtle not to be *Ordinary*. However *the mind* or conſcience may be polluted by the contagion of *the Fleſh*; yet are they not ſo radically polluted, as the Fleſh is. *The Fleſh is the ſeat of the diſeaſe*. The *Idiopathy* (as Phyſitians ſpeak) is in *the ſoul*; the *Sympathy* only in the *ſpirit* or Conſcience: So that *if the deeds of the Fleſh be mortified, there needs no peculiar Cure or Mortification of the ſpirit*. So it falls out in diſeaſes of the Body. If the *Protopathy* be cured, the *Sympathy* will fall of it ſelf: As many are vexed oft times with great Aches or pains in the Head; Some with fits of the *Epilepſie* or Falling-ſickneſs, when as the root of the diſeaſe is in the Stomack. In theſe Caſes there needs no peculiar Phiſick for the Head: But cure the Stomack, and the Head will recover without further medicine. From this *Analogy* or proportion betwixt the diſeaſes of the Soul, and of the body,

1 *Cor.* 8. 7.

body, it is (I take it;) that *we are not injoyned to mortifie the ſpirit.* For the Apoſtle ſuppoſeth, that the Fleſh being *mortified*, the Cure is wrought, without any peculiar *mortification* of the *ſpirit* diſtinct from it. Or rather, he ſuppoſed and knew, that the *mortification* of the Fleſh could not be wrought without *Renovation* or Quickening of the *ſpirit*. For though it be true which ſome Moraliſts ſay, *Mens deprecatur ad optima*, that, *The ſpirit or conſcience doth as it were intreat and counſel Malefactors themſelves unto that which is Good*: Yet the *ſpirit* and conſcience of the beſt men before they be renewed by the *ſpirit of God*, doth perform this work but *Weakly*, *ſleightly*, or *cowardly*. And the Reaſon, why the *ſpirit* or conſcience of men, of good men in reſpect of others, is ſo defective in this performance of its proper Function, is only becauſe it is overborn, or kept under, or in part corrupted by carnal Affections or contrary inclinations of the Body or fleſh, which for this Reaſon, muſt be *mortified.* Therefore the Apoſtle, when he exhorts to *put off the Old Man which is corrupt through the deceitful Luſts*; injoyns them to *be renewed in the ſpirit of their mind.* Epheſ.4.22,23.

10. There is a *Twofold Mortification*: The *One* conſiſts in the weakning, deading, or benumming of carnal Affections or Deſires: The *Other* is always wrought and perfected by a Poſitive Purification of the Heart, or Fountain whence the Affections flow. A man may ceaſe to be unchaſt or Laſcivious by Age or other caſual Impotency: So may a man ceaſe to be drunk; by ſome diſeaſe or diſtaſt. Another may ceaſe to be Ambitious, or have his Ambitious deſires benummed or weakened, as being either bereaved of opportunities to raiſe his Fortunes, or diſinabled to follow his Suits or hopes of Preferment. *Mortification is then perfect, when the Affection it ſelf is as it were reſcued from the Carnal Deſires or Delights wherein it was involved, and is won or trained to the ſervice of the Spirit.*

CHAP. XXXIV.

Containing the Manner *and* Order *of The* Spirits Working, *or of* Our Working by The Spirit.

Whether the Cure of mens Souls be wrought by Contraries, *or* Symbolicals.

1. THe Queſtion remains [*How theſe* Two *ſorts of mortification are wrought by The Spirit or by Us*] To this Diſquiſition concerning the Cure of the Soul, there is a Queſtion very Pertinent amongſt the *Phyſitians* of the Body. One ſort ſays, *Omne Remedium fit per Contrarium*: The Others ſay, *Omne Remedium fit per Simile.* The Difference betwixt them may be eaſily reconciled with the *Diſtinction* of the *Infirmities* and Diſeaſes which are to be cured, or of the *Subject* whereunto the ſaid Medicine may be ſaid to be *Like*, *Diſlike*, or *Contrary*.

2. The Medicine may be ſometimes *Contrary* to the *Matter* of the Diſeaſe, but *Like* unto the *Nature* oppoſed. Sometimes again, the Medicine may be *contrary* to the *Nature*, but *Agreeable* with the *matter* of the Diſeaſe wherewith Nature is oppoſed. Some Diſeaſes properly conſiſt in meer weakneſs of Nature or Languiſhment of Spirit: and theſe muſt be cured *per ſimile*, by adminiſtration of ſuch Diet or Receipts as may immediately comfort the Fountain of Life, which conſiſts *in Calido & Humido*, in moderate heat and moiſture. As for this reaſon, *Hot waters* to men in *Swounds* are fitteſt; and warm Broths or Cordials,

to men otherwiſe Feeble or deprived of heat and moiſture. Other Diſeaſes conſiſt either in Exceſſive Heat, or abundance of Bloud: and theſe muſt be cured *by the contrary*: as by opening a Vein, or by cooling Diet, or medicines. Too much fulneſs of body cannot be holpen, but by abſtinence, or Evacuation. “However both ſorts of *Phyſitians* agree, that “when all is done *Nature is the beſt Phyſitian*; and that is the beſt Phyſick which ſets Nature Free, to exerciſe her own ſtrength; or Strengthens her to expel noiſom humours, which cloy or moleſt her. But oft times it falls out, that Nature cannot be thus freed of bad Humours which are ſetled in the Body, without adminiſtration of ſomething that is *Contrary* unto Nature, but *Conſorteth* ſo well with the humours which oppreſs her, that *Nature* being inforced to expel this *In-mate* or New-Comer, doth with the ſame force expel a ſecret or domeſtick Enemy which had aſſociated himſelf unto it: As ſometimes the Law cannot proceed againſt ſecret Enemies of the ſtate, until they be drawn to aſſociate or joyn themſelves to other apparent forrain Enemies, with whom they periſh or are expelled their Native Country together with them. Again, although the conflict be alwaies moſt eager and keen between *Natures moſt Contrary*: yet that which every *Contrary* Agent doth in the firſt place aym at, is, not utterly to deſtroy its Oppoſite, but to make it like it ſelf; albeit the one often come to deſtroy the other by ſeeking to make it grow like it ſelf. The heat of the fire doth not directly aym or ſtrike at the cold in the water, but ſeeks to communicate its own heat unto it: and the heat produced in the water, doth immediatly and directly expel the cold, and at length conſume the ſubſtance of water.

3. For better explicating *the Manner*, how both kinds *of Mortification* are wrought by *the ſpirit*; Or how they are wrought by the *ſpirit of God*, how by the *ſpirit of man*, or by the *ſpirit which is in Man*; Or how by *Contraries*, How by *Similitude*: we are in the firſt place to conſider *Three Eſtates* or Conditions *of Men*: The *Firſt*, of the Natural Man; that is, of him which as yet is in no ſort partaker of the *ſpirit of God*, which hath had no touch or feeling of its Operation in him or upon him. The *Second* is, of men which have been partakers of *the Spirit*, but, as we ſay, *in Fieri*, not *in Facto*; Such as feel the motions of Gods Spirit whileſt it moves them; that is, they are partakers of its Motions or touches, but not of its *Reſidence* in them, or of any Permanent Impreſſion made upon them. The *Third ſort*, is, of men made partakers of the *ſpirit in Habit*, that is, (as the Apoſtle ſpeaks) they have the *ſpirit dwelling in them*, and are enlivened and enquickened by it. The manner how *Mortification* is wrought in theſe *Three ſeveral ſorts* or Conditions of men by *the ſpirit*, is not the ſame. In the *Firſt ſort*, the *Cure* is commonly *Begun* by the *Contrary*, but alwaies *Finiſhed* by *Aſſimulation*. God ſometimes weakens the inclinations of the natural man againſt his will, without Conſent of his own *ſpirit*. Some men are prone to offend or to ſurfet of the fleſh unto death, by the abundance of health, or too Lively plight of Body; and theſe God in mercy ſometimes viſits with grievous ſickneſſes, for preventing the diſeaſes which would otherwiſe grow upon them. *And many Natural men* (*as a* * *Heathen confeſſeth*) *being thus viſited, firſt begin ſeriouſly to think themſelves but men, ſubject to miſery and Mortality; and that there is a God or Divine Power, which is the Author and Giver of Life.* Others are prone to incur danger of death, by abundance of Wealth; which the more it abounds, the more it commonly increaſeth the diſeaſe: For *Creſcit amor nummi quantum ipſa pecunia creſcit*; as money or wealth increaſeth, ſo ordinarily the Love of it increaſeth. And theſe God oft times in mercy

How the Cure *of the Soul is wrought in ſeveral* ſorts *or Conditions of men.*

* *I think he means* Pliny Junior *in that excellent* 26. *Epiſtle, Lib.* 7. *See the note in the end of Ch.* 36.

mercy viſiteth with loſs of Goods, or with ſome other croſs or affliction which either deprives them of opportunities, or deters from the means of increaſing wealth. And this is a part of the Cure, or a preparation to it, and is uſually wrought by *Contraries*. Others are prone to incur hardneſs of heart by Pride and over-prizing of themſelves; And theſe God oft times viſits with diſgrace, with Contempt or Scorn of others. Now the Rule is *General*, That if the Parties thus viſited or cured in Part by *Contraries*, duly compare their Viſitation with their ſins, which in Juſtice have procured it; *the Spirit* gets great advantage of the Fleſh, and is more capable and ſenſible of the Motions or Impulſions of Gods *ſpirit*. Howbeit man himſelf and *the ſpirit of Man* in this firſt Cure or Part of *Mortification*, is *meerly Paſſive*. And it is well if by often ruminating or reflecting upon what hath befa'n him by the Providence of God, and by the ſenſe or feeling of the impulſions of *His ſpirit*, he can content himſelf to be *meerly Paſſive*, or a Towardly Patient in the next Degrees of his *Mortification* or Converſion, which are ſtill wrought by *the ſpirit of God* as by the Agent or efficient cauſe.

4. From theſe Obſervations the Reſolution of the Former Queſtion, ſo far as it concerns the *Man unregenerate*, is eaſie and perſpicuous. The Queſtion was [*How this Mortification is wrought by the ſpirit of God which is without us, but alwayes aſſiſting us*; *How by the ſpirit of Man*, or by the ſpirit which is in Man, though partaker of the ſpirit of God?) The Anſwer is; *So much of the Cure as is wrought, is wrought by the ſpirit of God, as Preſent to man but not in man, as by the only Agent* or Efficient Cauſe; For that is the Efficient which begins and continues the motion: *The ſame Cure is wrought by the ſpirit which is in Man, as by the Immediate and Formal Contrary*: that is, it is Formally wrought by the *ſpirit* which is in Man, as by *an Agent per Emanationem*, as it is moved by *the ſpirit of God*: So the Native Cold is expelled out of the water by the Fire as by the only Agent or Efficient: And yet the ſame Cold is immediately and Formally expelled by the Heat which the fire produceth in the water, as by a Formal and Incompatible Contrary. The only End or Immediate Effect at which every Natural Agent directly ayms, is the Aſſimilation of the Subject whereon it works unto it ſelf. And this Aſſimilation is wrought by introducing the like quality into the ſubject unto that by which the Agent or Efficient worketh: As the firſt thing which the Fire ſeeks to Effect, is, to produce Heat in the Water: but the heat once produced, expels the Cold, as immediately and as formally, as the depreſſion or pulling down one ſcale, lifts up the other. The manner how this *Mortification* is wrought in us by *the ſpirit of God*, is the very ſame: The immediate and direct Effect at which it directly aimeth, is, *The transformation of our ſpirit* into the ſimilitude of the *ſpirit of Chriſt*: And this conſiſts in the Production or Creation of the *ſpirit of Grace*. The *ſpirit of Grace* being produced in us, Or *our ſpirit* being touched by the *ſpirit of Chriſt*, as the Steel is by the Adamant, formally expels or abateth the Luſt of the Fleſh. And when the Fleſh is thus truly *mortified* by the Spirit, that Sanctification of which the Apoſtle ſpeaks, 1 Theſ. 5. 23. is wrought in us.

5. The firſt Part of this Cure (as was ſaid) is wrought by *contraries*: that is, by Freeing *the ſpirit* of the unregenerate Man from the burden of the Fleſh, which overmaſters it, or inticeth the Soul to ſuch Practiſes as the *ſpirit* diſlikes. And from this burthen of the fleſh *the ſpirit of God*, or his peculiar Providence, doth free the Soul, or *ſpirit of Man*, by laying ſome one kind or other of Bodily affliction upon him, which is more diſpleaſing to his Nature, then the Former Motions of the Fleſh

were pleaſant. But the *Spirit of Man* thus Freed in part from the burthen of the fleſh wherein it lay ſmothered or much oppreſſed, cannot ſo perfect *Mortification* begun, as Nature freed by Phyſick from oppreſſing humours, digeſts the Reliques or remainder, and by digeſting them, recovers health and ſtrength. What advantage then doth accrue unto *the ſpirit of man* by weakening the Inclinations of the fleſh? Much every way. For, the fleſh being thus weakened, the *ſpirit* doth hereby become more *towardly paſſive* then it was before, more apt to be moved by *the ſpirit of God*, and by ſuch motions more capable of Spiritual Cure. Every Motion of *our Spirit* by *the Spirit of God*, doth abate or weaken the inclinations of the Fleſh: and every ſuch abatement or degree of weakening the Fleſh, is a degree of *Mortification*.

6. Theſe firſt degrees of *Mortification* are commonly wrought by interpoſed fits or motions of the *ſpirit of man* produced by *the ſpirit of God*. The men that are partakers of them have liberty or reſpite in the mean time to reflect upon them; and by thus reflecting upon them or by taking them into ſerious conſideration, are enabled, to avoid ſuch external occaſions as ſtrengthen the inclinations of the fleſh, and to cut off their food and nutriment. For albeit the *ſpirit of man* be in the firſt cure *meerly paſſive*: yet it is not *ſo paſſive* as ſtocks and ſtones or other ſenſleſs Creatures are: It hath a true ſenſe or feeling of the motions put upon it, or produced in it, by *the ſpirit of God*. Nor is the *ſpirit of man* ſenſible only of ſuch motions, in ſuch ſort as Flyes or Gnats or other imperfect ſenſitive Creatures are of bodily motion; that is, ſenſible only for the preſent without any remembrance of what is paſt, or conſideration of the like to come. Partly from the memory of former motions, which have been put upon it; Partly from the repreſentation or conſideration of the like apprehended by it, as *poſſibly future* or approaching, the *ſpirit of man* though it cannot move or expel the inclinations of the Fleſh by way of *proper agency* or Efficiency, is yet able ſo to counterſway them, as that they cannot exerciſe their intended motions, or accompliſh their attempts.

7. This is the Apoſtles Doctrine, *Gal.* 5. 16, 17. *This I ſay then, walk in the ſpirit, and ye ſhall not fulfil the Luſts of the Fleſh.* He doth not ſay; ye ſhall not be oppoſed or aſſaulted by the luſts of the fleſh: for (as in the next words is included) the fleſh will ſtill attempt the execution or exerciſe of its motions. For, the *fleſh* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *luſteth againſt the ſpirit, and the ſpirit againſt the fleſh, and theſe are contrary the one to the other; So that ye cannot do things that ye would.* That is, the fleſh can neither do the things that it intendeth to do, nor *the ſpirit* produce thoſe effects which it wiſheth and much deſireth; no more then Heat can produce its proper effects, when it is overmatched (in the ſame Subject) with Cold; or then Cold is able to produce the proper effects thereof, whileſt it is attempered or Counterſwayed by Heat. Now *the Spirit* whereof our Apoſtle ſpeakes in this place, is *the Spirit of man*, at leaſt *the Spirit which is in man* though in part renewed by *the Spirit of God*. For, as the Apoſtle ſpeaks, the Fleſh and the Spirit here meant, are Contrary: And *it is the nature of Contraries to be in one and the ſame Subject*: And it is the true property of Contrary inclinations to move and ſway upon one and the ſame *Centre* or point of reſt or Dependance. Otherwiſe, how ſtrong ſoever the one Contrary be, it could not counterſway nor counterpoyſe the other. The

point or *centre* whereupon the inclinations of the *fleſh* and *ſpirit* do move or ſway, is the *Soul* which ſometimes inclines more unto *the ſpirit*, ſometimes more unto *the fleſh* or carnal affections. The whole work of *mortification* is but a putting off the Old-man and putting on the New. The more the inclinations of the Fleſh are weakened, the more apt is the *ſpirit of Man* to be moved, impelled, or ſtrengthened by *the ſpirit of God*; And the more apt it is to be moved by *the ſpirit of God*, the more eaſily and readily will the inclination of the Fleſh or Old-man be weakened by it. So that there is a *Continual reciprocation* betwixt the weakening of the fleſh, and the ſtrengthening or renewing of the ſpirit. In every ſeverall act or motion of *Gods Spirit*, by which the *ſpirit in man* is renewed or quickened, the *ſpirit of man* thus aſſiſted by the *Spirit of God*, gets a *double advantage* of the fleſh: *Firſt*, it directly weakens the inclinations of the fleſh or old-man, and by weakening them, gains further poſſeſſion or intereſt in the Affections, wherein the luſts or deſires of the fleſh were ſeated. *Secondly*, The *ſpirit of man* being revived and quickned by *the ſpirit of God*, doth not only counterſway or curb the fleſh, but withall doth purifie the Soul, or the fountain of the affections, and in the next conflict uſeth the ſervice of the Soul and inferiour affections to conquer and expel the remainder of carnal deſires or concupiſcence, or at leaſt doth keep them under that they connot make head or open rebellion as it were to depoſe *the ſpirit* of its Soveraignty, after once it hath gotten it; Specially if men which have proceeded thus far in this conflict, be wary and vigilant, alwayes remembring that their greateſt ſtrength conſiſts in *imploring* the aſſiſtance of *the ſpirit of God*, in *waiting* his approach, *and attending* his motions. But let no man think he hath got the victory over the Fleſh, or hath performed this duty of *Mortification* as he ought, until the deſires or inclinations of the Fleſh be *mortified* by the vivification or quickening of the affections wherein they were ſeated: or until *the ſpirit* and Soul of man renewed (as hath been ſaid) by *the ſpirit of God* have won the Soul and Affections unto their ſide or part.

CHAP. XXXV.

Wherein the Accompliſhment of Mortification, *or, of Converſion unto God, doth properly Conſiſt.*

Some Reliques of the Imege of God in man, which are not in Devils.

1. After this Preparative to *Mortification* thus begun by *the ſpirit of God* or by his peculiar Providence, the whole Cure conſiſts in the aſſimilation of transformation of *our ſpirit* into the ſimilitude or likeneſs of *the ſpirit of God*: and this is wrought by *the renewing of Gods Image* in us. Some Reliques there be of Gods Image in the natural man, the like whereof are not in Devils: and theſe are ſeated in *the ſpirit* or *Syntereſis*. Howbeit theſe in themſelves are no better then dead ſtocks or roots until they be revived by *the ſpirit of God* and ſecret influence of his Graces: but ſo renewed they naturally diffuſe the influence of life into the ſtemms or branches. The ſoul and body of the whole man are ſo quickened by them, as the branches or ſtemms in the ſpring time revive by the return of ſap from the root: Both are quickened and revived by *the ſpirit of God*, and by the ſweet diſpoſition of his Providence, as trees, as herbs, graſs, and other Vegetables are by the Sun, by the ſweet influence of Heaven,

and by the moyſtned Earth whereby the roots are immediately cheriſhed.

2. This *Vivification* or renewing of *the ſpirit in man*, is immediatly wrought *per ſimile*; as our animal or vital ſpirits in ſwounds are revived by the ſpirit of wine or other comfortable water. *Firſt.* The Reliques of Gods Image or implanted rules of conſcience, have more immediate ſimilitude with *the ſpirit of God* or of Chriſt, than the inferior faculties of the ſoul or body have. And yet theſe reliques of Gods Image or rules of Conſcience being true parts or native branches of the *ſpirit of man*, ſymbolize better with the ſoul and body of man, then this *ſpirit of God* which worketh this *mortification*, doth. So that albeit the *ſpirit of God* or his preventing Grace doth alwayes begin this *mortification*, without any operation or co-agency of the *ſpirit of man*; And albeit the *ſpirit* of man be a *meer paſſive* in all the motions by which it ſelf is renewed and quicken'd : Yet after it be not only moved, but thus *touched* and quickened by *the ſpirit of God*, *Actus agit*; it works, not only by counterſway or renitency. but it diffuſeth the influence of life and grace which it ſelf receiveth entirely from the *ſpirit of God*, throughout the inferiour faculties of the ſoul : It takes the place or room of ſo much of the luſts of the fleſh, as it expels; And as well in the expulſion of the luſts of the fleſh, as in taking poſſeſſion of the Body wherein they were ſeated, it uſeth the ſoul as the *Medium deferens*, as the *mean* (at leaſt) for communicating life to the fleſh or body. And by this diffuſion of the *ſpirit* of life or influence of Grace throughout the faculties or affections of the Soul, the *ſecond part* or accompliſhment of *Mortification* is wrought, which (as was ſaid before) conſiſteth in the *reſcuing* or winning of the natural affections from the fleſh unto the *ſpirit*.

3. For better underſtanding the manner how this accompliſhment of *mortification* is wrought, we are to conſider, that albeit the *luſts* of the fleſh are *ſimply evil* : yet the *affections* wherein they are alwayes ſeated, are in their nature *neither ſimply good nor ſimply evil*, but of an indefinite or indifferent temper between moral goodneſs and that which is morally evil. They become good or evil, or at leaſtwiſe, more or leſs evil, according to the ſeveral marks at which they aym, or the diverſity of the objects on which they beſtow themſelves, or of the iſſues which they find. True it is, that the *fountain of our affections* is ſo *tainted by Original corruption*, that no affections or deſires, as they iſſue from the heart of the natural collapſed man, are pure or free from ſtain or ſin : yet they become more or leſs filthy or criminous according to the courſe or current which they take. The fountain of the firſt mans affections was clear and pure : yet were his deſires polluted by the vent or iſſue which they took; as a ſtream or Rivulet which takes its original from a pure Rock, doth inſtantly loſe its original purity by falling into a muddy Channel, or running through a filthy ſink, eſpecially if the Current by ſtoppage or other external cauſe, do reciprocate upon the fountain or ſpring. On the contrary, the water which ſpringeth out of a moſs or quagg, becomes purer and clearer by taking its courſe through a Rock or Gravel. It being granted then that the very fountain of our affections or deſires is polluted, and unclean; the *mortification* whereof we ſpeak, is then truly wrought, when the natural affections wherein the luſts of the fleſh are ſeated, are recovered or diverted from the *courſe of the fleſh*, and won unto the *Conduit of the Spirit*. The fleſh or deeds of the

body muſt be *Mortified*; But this *mortification* muſt be wrought, not by *mortifying* or deſtroying, but firſt by purifying, then by quickening or reviving the natural Affection, wherewith the Luſts of the fleſh do mingle, as mire or filth doth with water which falls into it, or as bad humours do with the blood.

4. Laſciviouſneſs is reckoned by St. Paul amongſt the works of the fleſh: And Mary Magdalen who had been Notoriouſly wanton and Laſcivious, had this member of the Old man truely *Mortified* in her without enfeebling or benumming the *Affection of Love* it ſelf, which was as ſtrong in her as ever it had been, but ſet upon its right mark, and imployed in the Service of the Spirit. *She ſtood* (ſaith the Text) *at our Saviours Feet behind him weeping, and began to waſh his Feet with tears, and did wipe them with the haires of her head, and kiſſed his feet, and annointed them with the oyntment.* Luk. 7. 38. Thus ſhe did becauſe ſhe Loved much: And ſhe Loved much, becauſe many ſins were forgiven her. Her Wanton Love or rather the wantonneſs of her love was truely *Mortified* by the vivification or Quickening of Spiritual Love in her: For the Love of the fleſh was *mortified* by the Love of the Spirit.

The accompliſhment of Mortification *conſiſts not in* deading *but in* winning the Affections *unto the Spirit.*

5. Amongſt other Deeds of the Body, amongſt all the Luſts of the Fleſh, Pride or Ambition is the moſt dangerous, and muſt be *Mortified by the Spirit.* But wherein doth the true *Mortification* of it conſiſt? Not in Negatives; not in an Abſolute diſeſteem of all Honour, or diſclaiming all deſire of Praiſe or reputation. For this may ſtand with *Stoical ſtupiditie*, or *Cynical ſloth*, or naſty proud contempt of the world: which kind of temper hath leaſt affinity with that *mortification* which becomes a Chriſtian: For *this* requires, that the affection it ſelf remain entire for the ſervice of *the Spirit*, Rom. 6. 19. The affection out of which Pride or Ambition groweth (as a *Wen* out of a comely Body) is a deſire of Praiſe or Honour. Neither is *all deſire of any Honour*, nor the exceſſive deſire of ſome Honour a work or luſt of the Fleſh, or any branch of Pride or Ambition, which properly conſiſts in the *immoderate deſire of that Honour which is from men.* This indeed is a luſt of the fleſh or carnal concupiſcence, which muſt be *mortified.* And the beſt Method for the *mortification* of this deſire, is by raiſing the eſteem or price of that *Honour which cometh from God.* This deſire muſt have the predominant ſway in our heart, before we can be true Believers. So our Saviour teacheth us, John 5. 44. *How can ye believe which receive honour one of another, and ſeek not the honour which cometh from God, only?* Now without true *belief* there can be no true *mortification.* The ſame Spirit which worketh Faith or *belief* in us, doth with it and by it, give us the true eſteem of *that honour which cometh from God, alone.* The true eſteem of *this honour* being imprinted upon our ſoul and ſpirit, doth increaſe the deſire of it. And as the deſire of it is increaſed, Pride and Ambition (which is but a deſire of that Honour which is from Men or from the world) muſt needs decreaſe, and by thus decreaſing be truly *mortified.*

6. Another moſt dangerous work of the Fleſh is Covetouſneſs. The *mortification* of this work or member of the *old-man*, doth not conſiſt in a retchleſs Temper, or neglective content in living from hand to mouth, without any provident care for times future: for this *is ſottiſhneſs.* The deſire of riches is not a ſin but a natural affection, which muſt not be *mortified*, that is, not deſtroyed, but revived and quickened.

ened. Wherein then doth covetouſneſs conſiſt? Not *ſimply in the deſire of riches*, but in the *exceſſive deſire of ſuch riches* as periſh, or of ſuch other meanes or neceſſaries of Life, as are leſs worth then Life it ſelf. The Affection or Deſire of riches is not to be quelled, but to be diverted from its muddie Channel, by the Spirit of *Mortification*. This ſpirit of Life doth draw or conduct our deſires that way which the Lord of Life commands them to take; that is, to ſeek after Riches, but after *Riches of another kinde: Lay not up for your ſelves treaſure upon Earth, where moth and ruſt doth corrupt, and where theeves break through and ſteal. But Lay up for your ſelves treaſure in heaven, where neither moth nor ruſt doth corrupt, and where theeves do not break through and ſteal.* Mat. 6. 19. 20. By the Parable Likewiſe of the *unjuſt Steward*, and that other of the *Talents*, we are commanded to imitate, or rather to out-ſtrip the Uſurer or cunning Bargainer for worldly Commodities, in diligent care and watchful obſervance for increaſing this Heavenly Treaſure; in being as wiſe and careful in doing good to others, as Worldlings are in doing good unto themſelves. No man offends in being vigilant and careful but in imploying his witts and care for gaining tranſitory Wealth, which is leſs worth then his life or ſoul; whereas this bodily Life it ſelf is well loſt or laid to pawn, for gaining Treaſure in Heaven.

7. Drunkenneſs is a work of the Fleſh which muſt be *mortified*. The Affection whence this Loathſome ſtream doth ſpring, is a deſire of mirth or pleaſure. For no man directly deſires to be *Drunk*. All men naturally deſire to be *merrie*, as having an internal ſpring of delight or mirth in themſelves, which naturally deſires an iſſue or vent; otherwiſe, the Soul and Spirit becomes *ſodden in Melancholy*. Hence it is, that many mens Affections deteſting this *Melancholy* humour, be drenched in this Filthy ſink or puddle of *Drunkenneſs*, which *is but a Siniſter or prepoſterous Iſſue of inbred Mirth*. The true *Mortification* of this *monſter* is not to be ſought by quelling or weakening the Affection whence it ſprings, but rather by giving it another Iſſue or vent. Thus much is implyed in our Apoſtles advice. Eph. 5. 18. *Be not Drunk with wine wherein is Exceſs, but be filled with the ſpirit, ſpeaking to your ſelves in Pſalmes and Hymns and ſpiritual ſongs, ſinging and making Melody in your heart to the Lord.* Our Apoſtle here ſuppoſeth, that *the ſpirit of God*, which alone worketh the *Mortification* of this ſin and other Luſts of the fleſh, although he deteſts all drunken ryotous mirth, is not a dull ſpirit of *melancholy*. It delighteth much in its own muſick, alwaies deſirous to hear pleaſant ſongs of its own ſetting. And there is no means ſo Effectual for drowning drunken mirth, as a full conſort of the muſick of this ſpirit; *Beatus populus qui ſcit Jubilationem hanc.* Bleſſed are the People That can rejoyce in Thee O Lord.

8. Thus it is plain how this Cure muſt be wrought by Contraries, and yet *per ſimile*, by the *Like* too. The Luſts of the Fleſh muſt be *Mortified by the Spirit*, and yet theſe are Contraries. But if we deſcend unto Particulars: Ambition or deſire of honour, muſt be *mortified* by deſire of honour. Covetouſneſs which is a deſire of Riches, muſt be *mortified* by the deſire of Riches. Drunkenneſs which is a Deſire of Mirth, muſt be *mortified* by a deſire of Mirth. Immoderate carnal Love muſt be *mortified* by exceſſive Love of Chriſt and of things Spiritual. Between the Deſires themſelves there is as true *Similitude* as is between the ſeveral currents of water which iſſue from the ſame ſpring or fountain; but as perfect a *Contrarietie* between the Objects and iſ-

ſues of the deſires, as there is between the ſeveral waters of the ſame fountain, whileſt the *One* runs in a pure rock or conduit pipe, and *the other* into a ſink or puddle.

9. To Conclude then; *The ſpirit of God* doth firſt purifie the Fountain of our Deſires, that is, *the ſpirit or Conſcience of man.* The *ſpirit of man* being thus quickened and purified, doth by direction and aſſiſtance of the ſame *Spirit of God,* divert the current of his Deſires, and give a new vent or iſſue to his Affections. And the Deſires or Affections by this diverſion of their Current, receive a further Degree of Purification from the Ocean or Sea into which they empty themſelves, that is from Heaven and the heavenly Lights on which they are ſett. Between the Current of our Deſires or Affections thus purified by *the ſpirit of God,* and the Cœleſtial Objects whereon they are ſet, there is ſuch a Reciprocation or mutual recourſe, as it were between *a ſtream of pure water* and a *Sea of Nectar*; the ſtream or ſpring ſtill falling into the ſea, and the ſea ſtill ſweetning the ſtream by reflowing upon it. The *ſpirit* of Chriſt which knowes no bounds or Limits; which is more boundleſs then the Ocean, delights in our Deſires or Affections whileſt they are ſet upon heavenly things. And the more his *ſpirit* is delighted in our Deſires and Affections thus emptying and pouring out themſelves, the more he purifies and ſweetens them by the influence of his Gratious *Spirit.* Yet are not any mans Affections ſo throughly ſweetned by the *Spirit* of Grace in this Life, as not to retain ſome permanent Tincture or mixture of the Fleſh. Howbeit, every man is Throughly *mortified,* in whom the *ſpirit* of Chriſt hath gotten the Soveraignty over the Fleſh, and won the better part of the natural Affections, to its ſervice. But whether this Soveraigntie being Once gotten, may not *Finally* or for a time at leaſt be loſt, I leave it to the determination of the Schools. My application for the preſent ſhall be from the words of the Son of Syrach Ecclus. 38. 25, 26. Though the book be *Apocryphal,* yet his obſervation in this place is *Canonical*: Σοφία γραμματέως ἐν ἐυκαιρεία σχολῆς, *The wiſdome of Learned men cometh by opportunity of Leiſure,* or (as ſome read) *by right imployment of his vacant time. And he that hath little buſineſs ſhall become wiſe. How can he get wiſdome that holdeth the Plough, and that glorieth in the Goad, that driveth Oxen and is occupied in their Labours, and whoſe* * *talk is of Bullocks,* Or, *of the breed of bullocks?* His verdict concerning Handy-Crafts-Men, is for the moſt part true of Men full of that which we call *Book-Learning*: or imployed in matters of Government of State: Would to God it were not too true of many, that have little Buſineſs. In reſpect of this private learning every one of us, Eſpecially in theſe times, have Books enough of our own, ſo we would ſequeſter ſome competent times or vacant ſeaſons for ſerious peruſing them. Every mans courſe of life and dayly Actions, are the beſt Books for this Learning. And no man can ſo well read them, as his own Spirit and Conſcience. Herein then conſiſts the Wiſdom of him that *is* in part, and deſires to *be* A Better Chriſtian: *Firſt,* in careful *Obſerving* the Touches of Gods puniſhing or chaſtiſing Hand: *Secondly,* in *Reflecting* upon the motions of his Spirit: *Thirdly,* in duly *Examining* Every day, What advantage the Fleſh hath gotten againſt the Spirit, or the Spirit againſt the Fleſh. All this being done, the beſt imployment of all theſe Talents which God commits unto our truſt, muſt be in acknowledging our whole ſtrength to be from God, and in conſecrating our beſt endeavours by continual Prayer for the aſſiſtance of his Spirit. In this Laſt Point we are *Active,* yet Active only

* Καὶ ἡ διήγησις ἀυτοῦ ἐν ὑιοῖς ταύρων.

to the end that we may be *towardly paſſive*, that we grieve not the *good ſpirit of God* by which our ſanctification muſt be wrought. *He will not forſake us, unleſs we forſake him firſt.* But as water which hath been heated by the fire congeals the ſooneſt after it be taken off, and removed from it: So they which have felt the motions of Gods Spirit, and have been in ſome meaſure *mortified* by it, freez the ſooneſt in the dregs and luſts of the fleſh; and have their hearts extraordinarily hardened, if once they forſake him, or ſo grieve him, that he ceaſe to renew or continue his former Motions. *But he that will give his heart to reſort early to the Lord that made him, and will pray before the moſt high, and will open his mouth in prayer, and make ſupplication for his ſins: When the great Lord will, he ſhall be filled with the ſpirit of underſtanding*, Eccl. 39. 5, 6. Oh how much better had it been for us to have had our hearts filled with *this ſpirit, the ſpirit of comfort*, than to have our dwellings, as now they are, poſſeſſed with grief and heavineſs; and the whole people inraged with *jealouſies*, with *furious zeal*, and diſcontent! Now all this is come upon us for no one ſin more; more for this one, then for all the reſt, I mean our negligence in frequenting the Houſe of God at thoſe times, or our ill imployment of thoſe vacant times, which authority had ſequeſtred and ſet apart for Solemn Prayer and Thankſgiving.

10. But here the Reader will remember, and perhaps challenge me either of forgetfulneſs, or of breach of promiſe, for not diſcuſſing the *third general* propoſed, which was, The exact *limitation* of theſe *two propoſitions*, [*If ye live after the fleſh ye ſhall die: If through the ſpirit ye do mortifie the deeds of the body ye ſhall live.*] My *Apologie* muſt be this: That having taken ſome more pains in this point, then in the reſt concerning *mortification*; I find the *limitation* ſo inwrapt with the true ſtate of the queſtion [concerning *Election* and *Reprobation*] that I cannot touch the one, but I muſt handle the other: and for this reaſon have *deferr'd*, not *forgotten*, the determination of the *third point*, until I have finiſhed what I have long conceived, of the points concerning [*Election, Reprobation* or *Predeſtination*] points as I have often intimated in publick Meditations, of more eaſie and facile reſolution, then moſt other Controverſies in Divinity; if ſo we would take theſe terms [*Election, Reprobation, &c.*] as we ought to do, in their *paſſive* or *concrete ſenſe*. But if we take them in the *active* or *abſtract ſenſe*, or, as they are *Acts in God*, their determination is to mankind, even to General Councils, altogether impoſſible; yea to attempt this work is either an undoubted Spice of *phrenetical pride*, or an infallible ſymptom of *Divine infatuation*.

Chapt. 28. *Number.* 2.

See the Appendix *at the* End *of this Book.*

CHAP. XXXVI.

Containing the Scope or Summe *of what hath been ſaid concerning* Free-Will *and the* Service *of it in the Duty of* Mortification.

1. THe utmoſt Ayme or Final Cauſe of all theſe former Diſcuſſions was, to make them an *Introduction* unto the *ſecond part of the Knowledge of Chriſt* and of him *crucified*, and of his *Reſurrection* from the dead, and *ſitting* at the right hand of the Father: that is in a word, How he doth ſet us *free indeed* from the *ſervitude* of ſin and Satan. The *ſecond end* and moſt immediately ſubordinate to this purpoſe was, to provoke or rouz up our ſpirits to ſhake off that ſlumber which hath poſſeſſed

Needleſs Speculations about Free-will, *&c. Chief Occaſions of our Negligence in good Practiſes.*

ſeſſed a great part of the Chriſtian World ; ſpecially ſince thoſe *unfortunate Controverſies* betwixt the *Jeſuits* and *Dominicans*, and the like betwixt the *Lutherans* and the *Zwinglians* or *Calviniſts*, ſet forth of late in a new dreſs betwen the *Arminians* and the *Gomariſts*, have ſo contentiouſly been debated. The only iſſue of which debates amongſt the learned, hath been to bring their Auditors or Readers to a Gaze or *Stand*, and to cauſe them to make a ſiniſter uſe of that *maxim* in Law, *Lite pendente nihil fit* ; whilſt the Controverſie has been under debate nothing has been done, even in duties moſt neceſſary to their Salvation. Both parties, how great ſoever the diſagreement betwixt them hath been, have agreed too well in this reſolution, *aut otioſos eſſe, aut* (quod pejus eſt) *nihil agere* ; *either to be altogether idle*, or (which is worſe) *to take a great deal of pains to no purpoſe*, in reading much and reſolving to do nothing, until the Controverſie betwixt *Grace* and *Nature* were fully determined, and the *Bounds* or *Meer-ſtones* betwixt Gods part and Mans part be ſet forth, that we might punctually know, what he is willing or would be pleaſed to do, and what we may and ought to do for working out our own Salvation, or for being made *Free indeed* by the ſon of God.

2. The *Points* uſeful for clearing this buſineſs are but *two*. And both of them have been handled before. The *Summe* of the *former* in brief was this. [What *Freedom of will* may be conceived compatible with abſolute *ſervitude* to ſin and Satan ?] *The anſwer* in Brief * was This : That without ſome portion of *Free-will*, even in the natural and unregenerate man, all the *Admonitions* given by our Saviour in the eighth of St. *Johns* Goſpel unto the Jews, or afterwards by his Apoſtles to both Jews and Gentiles, had been much better beſtowed on bruit Beaſts whether wild or tame, nay even upon ſtocks and ſtones, then upon men. For the true reaſon, why bruit Beaſts or other Creatures cannot be Servants, is, becauſe they are not endowed with *Reaſon*, or (which is all one) with ſome *Free-will*. Every civil Servant or Slave hath as *Free a Will* as his Maſter hath ; Sometimes a great * deal more Free. The eſſential difference betwixt them is this ; That a Servant hath no *Liberum Arbitrium*, no power or Arbitrement to diſpoſe of his own Actions or imployments according to his own *Free will* or choice, but according to the *Free will* or appointment of his Maſter. Briefly and more *punctually* thus : It were impoſſible there ſhould be any ſuch *Servum Arbitrium* or true *ſervitude* unto ſin, as *Luther* contended for, where there is not *Libera Voluntas*, ſuch *freedom of Will* as we now treat of. And this was all that *Eraſmus* did conclude, or (I take it) did intend to make good againſt him. It was an overſight in *Luther* and in moſt of his Followers (learned *Chemnitius* only excepted) not to diſtinguiſh *inter liberum Arbitrium & liberam Voluntatem. Vid. Chem. Comm. in Melan. de Libero. Arbit. Sive* (*ut Chemnitius agnoſcit Luculentiorem eſſe Titulum*) *de Viribus Humanis.*

** See chap.24.*

** See the notes at the end of this chap.*

3. The *ſecond uſeful Point* is, to know [What branch of *Free-Will* either the Natural man before he come to profeſs Chriſtianity ; or Chriſtian children baptized, are bound in the firſt place to exerciſe ?] To this *the anſwer* is eaſie, and hath already been given before ; * That every Chriſtian Child or other capable of being catechized, are in the firſt place bound to exerciſe that part of *Free-will* whereby mankind is radically and primarily diſtinguiſhed from bruit beaſts, that is, the *Freedom* or power *of reflecting* upon their own thoughts or actions, or upon others advice or counſel for caſting off the yoke of *ſervitude* to ſin. Now the greater impotency or want of power any man finds in himſelf to

** Chap. 25. & ch. 29.*

to ſet himſelf *Free*, or to do well, the greater Opportunity and better Motives he hath to beſeech God and the Son of God our Saviour Chriſt, to ſet him *Free*, and to enable him to do thoſe things which being done he ſhall be ſet *Free*. For the Queſtion is not, nor ever ought to have been made, [Whether we have any *Free-Will* or power to make our ſelves *Free*, but; Whether we have a *Free-Will* or ſome Ability to do thoſe things, which being done, we ſhall be made *Free*, which being left undone, we have no Hope or probable Aſſurance that we ſhall be made *Free Indeed* by the Son of God.]

4. Let Every one that is called a Chriſtian and is not aſhamed of the Croſs of Chriſt or of Baptiſm in his name, account it an open ſhame or *Scandal* both to his *Perſon* and *Profeſſion:* either to deny or ſuſpect that he hath not the ſame meaſure of *Free-Will*, (or a greater) which *Naaman* the Syrian had, when he came to the Prophet. Now he had a true *Freedome of Will* or choyce of harkening or not harkening to Good Counſel. The one Branch he exerciſed in not obeying the Prophets Command: The other he practiſed in harkening to his Servants Advice or Counſel. And it went better with him that he did ſo: For otherwiſe he might have gone home a more grievous Leper then he came, and made himſelf uncapable of the Miracle wrought upon him by God alone. Let us likewiſe account it a ſhame to ſuſpect, that we have not the ſame *Freedom of Will*; which the Widow of *Sarepta had.* Now ſhe had a true *Freedom of Will* or choice, either to relieve or not to relieve the Prophet out of her ſmall ſtore. If ſhe had not relieved him, ſhe and her Child might have died for hunger within few daies after. But ſhe making choice of the better part of ſuch *Freedom of Will* as ſhe had, was with her Child preſerved alive by miracle. Let ſuch as be *Servants* to ſin, as ſhe was then, when the Prophet came to her, uſe that Portion of *Free-Will* which they have, either as well or not further amiſs, then ſhe did hers: And the Lord (no doubt) will work as great miracles in and upon their Souls, as he did upon her poor pittance of oyl and meal. Let not any man that profeſſeth himſelf the *Servant* of Chriſt, be more prone to *Tempt God by Diſtruſting*, then to *Try his Goodneſs by practiſing* the Like works of mercy and charity, as that poor Widow did.

5. Even ſuch amongſt us are moſt converſant and buſieſt in the medling or market-way to Gain or Preferment, and by their ſeveral Trades or *Callings* which they have made choyce of, more obnoxious then other men are, to the temptations of the Prince of this world, will ſcorn to be ſuſpected not to have as much *Free-Will*, or Good Nature, or as good affection towards Chriſt and his Goſpel, as the Romane Souldiers or Publicans had unto John Baptiſts Perſon, or his Doctrine of Repentance. And a *Freedome of Will* or ability they certainly have, as well to be contented with their wages or Fees, and to deal Conſcionably, as to exact more then their due, or to oppreſs others by bribery, extortion, or unjuſt exactions. If they make choice of practiſing this later Branch of ſuch *Free-will* as they have: this is but to take *Earneſt* mony to become hired *Servants unto Mammon.* If they make choiſe of that part of *Free-will* which *Zacchæus* did practiſe, that is, to be Charitable, Liberal to the poor, and to make ſuch *Reſtitution* as he did, to thoſe whom they have wronged: then they ſhall be made Children of *Abraham*, or (which is more) true *Servants* of God, and of Chriſt, *whoſe Service is perfect Freedom.*

6. Again, albeit not many of us (ſcarce Ten in any Age ſince the Apoſtles Times) have any *Freedome of Will* or ability to determine or exa-

Tom. III.

A brief Rule *for right ſtating the Queſtions concerning the* Concurrence *of* Grace *and* Free-will.

mine the Controverſies about the power of *Grace* and *Nature*; about *Juſtification* or *Election*; yet even the meaneſt amongſt us have a *Freedom of Will*, either to ſay or not to ſay their dayly Prayers or Devotions; and a like *Freedom of Will*, to frequent or not to frequent the Solemn Prayers of the Church, and to hear them either negligently, or attentively; and a Capacity withall to underſtand the meaning of them, being expounded unto them by their ordinary Paſtors or Catechiſts, whom I could wiſh to make this, one ſpecial work of their Function.

7. For Concluſion, I ſhall commend to every Readers or Teachers Meditations, that Prayer of the Church appointed to be read (amongſt others) in the ſecond Service. [" Prevent us, O Lord in all our doings " with thy moſt gracious favour, and further us with thy continual help, " that in all our works begun, continued, and ended in thee, we may glo- " rifie Thy Holy Name, and finally by thy mercy obtain everlaſting Life, " through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.] In the Firſt part of this *Godly Prayer* we have the ſtate of the Queſtion concerning the *Concurrence of Grace and Free Will*, more pithily and more plainly ſet down, than in any Controverſie-writers, whether in the Romiſh or Reformed Churches. The ſum is, that without Gods Preventing Grace, or peculiar diſpoſition of his Favourable Providence, we cannot do any Good Works at all, though but Civilly or Morally Good, (as a Learned Jeſuit acknowledgeth) nor any works *Spiritually Good* without Gods aſſiſtant *Grace* or Gifts of the Spirit inherent in us. This is that which is in the ſame Prayer Better expreſſed by " The furtherance of his continual help. In the later Clauſe of the ſame Prayer [" That in all our works begun, continued and ended in thee, " we may glorifie thy holy name, and finally by the mercy obtain everlaſting Life,] we have all (I am perſwaded) that the Romiſh Church would have ſaid concerning the *Neceſſity of good Works*, Whether unto Salvation or Juſtification; and all again that the Proteſtants have ſaid or can ſay, againſt the Romiſh Church, concerning *Juſtification by Faith only*, without works. When we Pray, *that we may glorifie Gods Name by our good works*; this argues their *Neceſſity* unto Salvation, if not to Juſtification. And when we pray, that after we have glorified Gods Name by our good works, *we may attain Everlaſting life, by Gods mercy in Chriſt, and through Chriſt*: this is an Argument moſt concludent, that we muſt not relye upon, or put our Confidence in the beſt works which we do, though we do them continually; but in *Gods Mercies*, and Chriſts *Merits only*. And this is the Full and Lively Expreſſion of our Apoſtles meaning, when he ſaith: *We are Juſtified by Faith in Chriſt alone.* Finally, Let all of us remember this *Leſſon*, that when it is ſaid, *We are to renounce Good works in the Plea of Faith*, or all Truſt or confidence in our Selves, or in our Merits or Works: This muſt always be underſtood, of the *Good works which we have done*, not of the *good Works which we have left undone*, much leſs of Works which we have done amiſs. We muſt (as our Saviour inſtructs us, *Luke* 14. verſ. 26. and in many other places) deny our ſelves and forſake all, before we can be truly his Diſciples. And we muſt be truly his Diſciples, before we can be made *Free by Him indeed*, as is apparent from the words of our Saviour heretofore recited, *Joh*. 8.36. Let us therefore beſeech him which quencheth not ſmoaking Flax and cruſheth not a bruiſed Reed, to plant in us *Good Intentions* to grow by his Aſſiſting *Grace* into *Good Deſires*; and good Deſires, into firm and conſtant *Reſolutions* of doing that which is good and acceptable in his ſight; and finally to Crown our beſt endeavours wrought in us by his *Grace* with everlaſting Life and *Glory* through *His Mercy in Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.* Amen, Amen.

The End of Chapt. 36. *and of the* Fift Section.

Some

Some Notes of the Publiſhers, relating to ſeveral Chapters preceding.

T*Hough I hope the Strong and Learned will not boggle at thoſe Terms* [Converſion Moral, Mortification Moral] *in the* 31. *Chapter; Yet my heart miſgives me that* They *may be taken to Scandal by ſome* Scrupulous *but Wel-minded and* Pious Reader. *And therefore though what follows (of the Authors in that Chapter,* &c.) *might well quiet ſuch Readers mind (and aſcertain him that there is* no Snake, *nor other Brood of the old Serpent, Latent under* Thoſe Herbs) *yet ſhall I out of my poor Talent, Contribute a poorer Mite towards his Satisfaction; though only by caſting an handful of duſt into the Scale, which may make ſome addition to the number, none at all to the weight of what the Author himſelf hath already there ſpoken to* that Point.

* 1. *We ſee what power* Art *hath over* Nature *as to Materials* Inanimate. *The Potter over foul Clay; The Cutter over hard Stone; The Carver or Carpenter over knotty Carkaſes of Trees (which the Axe hath reduced to the capacity of Stones;) the Finer and Founder over Oar and Mettals: firſt to work, prepare, and purifie them; afterwards of them to make, at pleaſure, veſſels of honour or of baſeſt uſe; to ſhape them into figures of Beaſts or Men, (not to ſay of Gods, though* κατὰ μίμησιν *or Æquivocal* * *Gods only; and yet hath beſotted man adventured upon that Contradiction alſo; Iſai.* 44. 10,&c.) *Which Forms or New Qualities introduced; (rather educed* E Potentia materiæ ſive Naturali ſive Obedientiali, *or perhaps only diſcovered by the Artiſt, who ſeems to adde nothing to what was in the matter before) give us cauſe to think, and ſay, There is a ſtrange* Alteration, Change, *Tantùm non* Converſion *wrought in thoſe Subject Materials. And now I have led the Reader thus far out (if yet it be* Out) *of his way, let me carry him one Stones-caſt further; and it is to ſhew him* Socrates's Meditation *partly mixt of* Admiration, *at the ſingular Care of Artiſts, partly of* Indignation *at the ſtrange negligence of Men: that* Thoſe *ſhould be ſo ſcrupulouſly careful to make their ſtatues ſo like unto men, and that* Theſe *ſhould be no more careful, leaſt by their own ſloth they ſhould become (as* Theocritus *calls them)* σύκινοι ἄνδρες, *like unto ſtatues. This Conſideration the* Satyriſt *has improved, and fixt upon his* Gilded Gallant, *whom, having nothing good in him but his Parents-Bloud, nor any thing like good about him but Cloaths, Wealth, and Relations, he thus taxes.* Juven. *Sat.*8.*v.*53.

* Hor. Serm. L.1.Sat.8.
Olim truncus eram ficulnus, inutile lignum, Cum faber incertus ſcamnum faceretne Priapum, *Maluit eſſe* Deum; Deus *inde ego.*

Diog. Laert. Lib.2.

> *Hic petit Euphraten armis induſtrius. At Tu*
> *Nil niſi* Cecropides, *Truncóque ſimillimus* Hermæ;
> *Nullo quippe* alio *vincis diſcrimine, quàm quòd*
> Illi *marmoreum Caput eſt,* Tua *vivit imago.*
> That poor-man's vertuous, Thus, and So; But you
> Are *meer-ſheer-Pedegree,* Hermes's Statue:
> 'Twixt which and you there's no'ther difference,
> Save that It ſayes *nothing,* you ſpeak *Non-ſenſe.*

But though Mercuries *ſtatue, according to this account, had a little the Worſe, yet had* Memnons Effigies *ſomething the Better of Him; at leaſt, if that was true which* Tacitus *(in* 2. *Book of Annals) reports of it, that* (Radiis icta ſolaribus vocalem ſonum reddidit, *in* Plain *Engliſh, I dare not ſay,* True) *It ſpoke; and if it did, we may not count the words leſs then* Apollo's Oracles.

* *See the Lord* Verulam'*s Nat. Hiſtory. Cent.* 6.

* 2. *A power equal to, rather greater then the former, hath Induſtry and Culture over the next rank of Naturals,* Vegetables. *This is ſeen in ſuch effects as ſpring from the Artificial modelling and qualifying of Plants, far otherwiſe then they by nature were, or then, if left to themſelves and let alone, they would have been. Art hath made barren Trees fruitful, ſowre fruits ſweet, and crooked Plants ſtreight. Art can form even* Theſe (*whoſe peculiar Tendencies, till they be ſuperſeded, incline more powerfully then the former, quite another way) into better reſemblances or features, then nature left to its courſe would have produced. It can alter or better* them *ſo much from what* they *were or would have been, as may give us reaſon enough to give the ſame Attributes of* Change, Alteration, Converſion, *and that with more proper Verification, to* Theſe, *then to* Inanimates. *And ſurely he that carefully Reads the* 11. *Chapter to the* Romans, *and ſees what uſe the* Holy Ghoſt *hath made of the Art of* Ingraffing *in general, (yet muſt it not, though much to our preſent advantage, be diſſembled, that the* Metaphor *is highly improved there, and that the* Antitype *of Ingraffing is ſupernatural or contrary to nature; as, that an* Evil Ciens *ſhould be inoculated into a* Good Stock, *and by vertue thereof be changed into the Goodneſs of the Stock; the practiſe of Art being to graff a* Good Ciens *upon an* Evil Stock *which ſhall meliorate, over-rule, and change the ill juyce of the* Stock *into the nature of the* Imp) *will not grudge ſuch Effects as are wrought by the Art of Ingraffing, to be intitled ſo.*

* Plutarch. de Solert. Animal.

Ep. 30. L. 4.

See the Story in Aul. Gellius lib. 5. *cap.* 14.

* 3. *But what a largeneſs or latitude of Power, Humane Induſtry hath over the* Memory, *the* Imaginative, *and* Loco-motive *Faculties of* Senſitives, *is moſt abundantly manifeſt.* 1. *In the Training of* Horſes *even to admiration, as hath been ſeen in our Time.* 2. *Of* Oxen, *as thoſe at* Suſæ *in* Babylon, *which after they had gone ſo often or ſo many* Turns *for water, could not with ſtrokes be forced to ſtir one foot more upon that Account.* 3. *In the Tutoring of* Elephants; Pliny *in his Nat. Hiſt.* 8. *l.* 3. *c. tells it upon the report of a credible* Roman, *that ſaw an Elephant write a ſentence of* 30. *or* 40. *Letters.* Suetonius (*in* Galba) *tells of a* New Shew *or Sight*, Elephas Funambulus, *one that danced upon the Rope.* Seneca *Epiſt.* 85. *ſays,* Domitores-feras docent pati jugum,---uſque in Contubernium mitigant. Leoni manum inſertat Magiſter, oſculatur Tigrim cuſtos, Elephantem minimus Æthiops jubet --- ambulare per Funem. 4. *In the diſciplining of* Dogs.* Plutarch *ſays that himſelf ſaw a* Dog *at* Rome *imitate a* Mimus (*or Mountebank*) *counterfeiting a man taking poiſon, ſickning, dying, and reviving at his juſt* Cues, *all in a very punctual* Decorum. 5. *Of* Fiſhes; *to come when they are called by Name, ſays* Martial. *The Fingers-ends of the hand that writes* This, *have been ſucked by Fiſhes uſed to be call'd and fed, to which they would come as faſt as Pigs or Chickens.* 6. *In the rare teaching of* Birds (ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν) *to ſpeak,* noſtra verba conari; negatas ſequi voces. *Biſhop* Jewel, *part.* 2. *Fol.* 126. *truly cites* Cælius Rodoginus'*s* 3. *Book* 32. *ch. reporting that* Cardinal Aſcanius *had a* Popin-Jay *that could Articulate the whole Apoſtles Creed by Rote or Syllable. But, of that power or Command that Man hath even over the very* Appetite *of Bruit beaſts, whether* Iraſcible *or* Concupiſcible, *Experiments are frequent. Beſides what is above toucht on out of* Seneca, *touching the Cicuration--* Feræ manſueſcere juſſæ, *of the* Tigre *and of the* Lion; *The rare Exchange of Courteſies paſſed between* Androclus *and the Lion, that made the people of* Rome *cry out*, Lo here the Man that Cured the Lion, here the Lion that entertained the Man! *may well go for an inſtance of a kindly* Converſion. Leo homini homo, *is better far then* Homo homini Lupus. *As that for the* Iraſcible, *ſo this next for the* Concupiſcible. *The Ravenage or voracity of Dogs is ſuch, that the exorbitance of a diſeaſed appetite in man, is there-from denamed*, Caninus Appetitus. *Out of it,* Poets (*wiſe men in their Generations*) *frame Proverbs.*

Nec Canis à Corió unquam deterrebitur uncto. *Hor.*
—— χαλεπὸν χορίων κύνα γεῦσαι.
—Κὴ γὰρ ἐν ὕπνοις Πᾶσα κύων ἄρτως μαντεύεται. Theocrit.

Yea the word of God has made the Proverb, Canis ad vomitum, *Canonical. Yet may the* Appetite *of this Creature, Enormous even to a Proverb, be ſo conquered and habited by nurture and cuſtome, (rather Diſſuetude) that it ſhall have ſome Lineaments of that Temperance, which the* Pugiles *or* Athletæ *of old uſed, to maintain their Bodies in Pancratical Plight for Maſteries at all Points; and which St.* Paul *thought worthy his notice, and uſed as a Motive to provoke Chriſtians to practiſe in an Heroical degree, and for attaining a Crown incorruptible. Let* Horace's *Verſes go for a* Rule:

Militat in Sylvis Catulus venaticus, ex quo
Tempore cervinam pellem Latravit in aula. *Epiſt.* 2. *l.* 1.

And let Lycurgus *his practiſe go for an* Example: *who took two whelps of one Litter, or as ſome told it, one an* Hound, *the other an* Houſe-Cur: *This latter he trained up in hunting: the Hound-whelp he kept in the Kitchin continually at Trough: by which ſeveralty of Nurture the Nature of* this *became wholly diſprincipled, whereas* the others *by conſtant training and reſtraint was advanced unto a degree of Generoſity which naturally it had not. In ſhort, as if they had changed Streins, The Cur became an Hound, the Hound turn'd Cur perfectly. Now the effects of nurture in theſe, (this Inoculation of better Sciences in Animals) muſt have a name, and without harm I hope (rather better then both the former) may paſs under the title of an* Alteration, Change, or Turning. *Or if theſe be thought Terms too good, Let it be called* A Turkizing of Senſitives.

Plut. de Liberis educ. & Lacon. Apoph.

4. *From theſe aſcend we to the fourth Rank of Eſſences, The Rational; which adds a* Diadem of Excellency *to the three degrees above mentioned, being an* Approach *unto the Nature Angelical and Divine. Now,* 1. *In as much as the Human Body partly agrees with the firſt Rank, of Materials* Inanimate; *So can Art partly uſe it, as it uſes them; to frame (rather to modifie the Frame of) it into great Variety: the Head thus, the Noſe ſo, and other ductile Parts; as is ſeen and read, after other Faſhions.* 2. *Art can do ſomething to the* Body *anſwerable to what Gardiners do to Plants. If our Bleſſed Saviours words* Matth. 6. 27. *deny all Poſſibility of adding Procerity or Talneſs to the Stature, yet as the* Lord Verulam *notes, to make the Body Dwarfiſh, Crook-ſhouldred (as ſome* Perſians *did) to recover ſtreightneſs or procure ſlenderneſs, is in the power of Art. But* 3. *much more Conſiderable Authority has it over the Humours; either ſo to impel and inrage them, that like furious ſtreams they ſhall daſh the Body (that Bottom wherein the precious Soul is embarqued) againſt dangerous Rocks, or run it upon deſperate Sands; or ſo to attemper and tune them, that they ſhall become like calm waters, or harmonious Inſtruments for vertuous Habits, introduced by wholſome* Moral Precepts, *to practiſe upon. It is ſcarce credible what ſervice the* Noble Science of Phyſick *may do unto Moral* (yea to Grace and Chriſtian) *Vertue, by Preſcribing dyet to prevent, or Medicine to allay the Fervors and Eruptions of humours, of Bloud, and of that* Irriguum Concupiſcentiæ, *or,* ὁ τεῦχος τῆς γενέσεως, *Eſpecially if theſe Jewels (their* Recipe's) *light into* Obedient Ears. *The Raſcal* * *Hiſtories amongſt the Heathen had the device (of a Fibula) to coerce Luſt; and this Care they took to ſave their Voices, not their Souls.* || *The* Athenian *women to keep themſelves chaſt, againſt their* Theſmophoria, *did be-ſtrow their Beds with the Herb* *Ἄγνος, *or* Vitex. *Their profeſt* Athletæ *did wear Plates of Lead upon their Reins, to prevent the Illuſſions of phanſie, or bluſhful accidents of ſleep. The* Ægyptian * *Prieſts abſtained wholly from Salt, as having in it an* Urtica, *or Incentive of Salacity. Some Religious ſingle perſons uſe* Saccarum Saturni *as a friend to*

Chaſtity

* *Martial Juvenal.*
|| *Pliny Nat. Hiſt. l.* 24. *c.* 9.
Dioſcorides l. 1. *c.* 135.

Plut. Sympoſ. l. 5. Fine.

Chaſtity. Who knows not, that to be without Apparel *was not* nakedneſs *or ſhameful, till forbidden Diet made it ſo? St.* Auſtin *notes, That* Situs membrorum *ſhews* Ordinem vitiorum; *Sins of the Belly begets ſins of Luſt.* Monſtrum eſſet Libido ſine Gula, *ſays* Tertullian. *Wiſely therefore did* Pythagoras *rank his Præcepts (of Diet) in ſuch order.*

Magna pars Libertatis eſt venter bene moratus. Sen. Epiſt. 123.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἴσθι. κρατεῖν δ' ἐθίζεο τῶνδε,
Γαστρὸς μὲν πρώτιστα, καὶ ὕπνου, λαγνείης τε.
Εἰθίζου δὲ δίαιταν ἔχειν καθάρειον, ἄθρυπτον.
First watch thy *Belly,* Secondly thy *Sleep,*
Thirdly thy *Luſt.* Pure Thinning *Diet* keep.

And this he kept himſelf, being of the Primitive Diet, abſtaining wholly from Fleſh; and becauſe of ſome Reſemblances (which Lucian * *takes notice of) from ſome ſorts of Pulſe alſo; For which,* Horace Ser.l.2. Sat.6. *Smiling, calls,* Faba Pythagoræ Cognata. *This I ſuppoſe true; But if any man long to ſee it gainſaid, Let him ſee what one* Ariſtoxenus *(had it been* Philoxenus *that* Gluto nobilis, *I ſhould more have ſuſpected it) ſays, in* Aul. Gel. l. 4. c. 11.

* *In his Dialogue called,* Βίων πρᾶσις.

All theſe fore-mentioned helps of bettering Nature, are within Her Loweſt and Middle Region of Diet *and* Medicine. *Step we up into her Third Story and ſee what Remembrances we find there, of thoſe rare Effects which* Moral Precepts *have wrought (correſpondent to Inoculation in Plants) not only in Towardly, but upon depraved Inclinations, whoſe* Biaſſes *and corrupt* Bents *have been ſo altered thereby, that their Affections have been taught to Hunt Counter for pleaſure, and ſeek Delights in difficulties and Dureſſes; to take contentment in denying themſelves Content; and with much pleaſure to deteſt* Pleaſure *(that* Sorcereſs, *which as* Ariſtotle *obſerves, is born with us, incorporate and ingrained in us, being ſuckt in with our firſt milk:)* Deſpectare procul, *to look down upon it with ſcorn, as upon the* Covering of their Feet, *or an Excrement of Nature; to reckon it not only as a* Nullo *or Cypher that multiplied mans Account, but as a meer* Vacuum, *or* Nothing. Καὶ γὰρ αὐτῆς τῆς ἡδονῆς καταφρόνησις ἡδυτάτη, *ſaid* Diogenes. (*Laert. lib.6.*) Omnis voluptas pro *Nihilo* Deputanda eſt, *ſaid,* Tully: *and his Reaſon is,* quòd cum præterierit, perinde ſit ac ſi nulla fuiſſet.

---Gaudet Patientia duris, Lætior eſt quoties magno ſibi conſtat Honeſtum. Claud.
---Vitanda eſt Improba Siren Deſidia. Hor.

I ſhall now prove this by Inſtance; and that I may imitate Nature (which non facit Saltum) *I will do it firſt in Younglins, whoſe* Age *defines Them by* Appetite, *they being but few degrees in nature removed from* Wilde Aſſes Colts. Plutarch (*in* Lacon. Apoph.) *tells of a* Spartan Stripling *that had ſtoln a (young Thief or) Fox-Cub; which being ſought and he ſearcht, as it lay preſt within his clothes near his Body, did ſo gnaw his bowels, that he died on't. This the poor* Man *(the nearneſs to his End and his great Tolerance name him ſo) endur'd with all imaginable Conſtancy, according to the Diſcipline of his Country, never the leaſt quelching at it, ſaying,* It was better to dye, then by crying to be diſcovered. *Another,* Ex eodem Ludo, *fighting with his Compeer, was by him wounded to the death; yet when he heard his friends threaten death to the Killer.* O Do it not, *ſaid he,* for 'tis unjuſt. I had a Venie or 'Bout for it, and the Intent, though not the Hap, to kill him. *I expect to hear; Both theſe did* uti bono animo in re mala. *Was not this Vertue better placed then (at leaſt in the* General) *in that Child whoſe office was, as I remember, at* Alexander's *ſolemn Sacrifice, (to be* Δαδοῦχος, *that is) to hold a Torch? The melted wax dropt, and burnt, and flam'd upon his fleſh ſomewhile, yet did he (as his Rules of Reverence obliged him) endure this Torment with ſuch Conſtancy as that he never the leaſt chang'd Poſture, nor I think Colour for it.*

Let us now look up higher and take out ſome Graver Examples. Socrates *confeſſed to the wonder of all, that* Zopyrus the Phyſiognomer *ſaid True,* *when he Stigmatiz'd rather then Character'd him* (*not to his Credit*; *namely*) *for A* Man of Vile Affections; I was ſo inclin'd indeed; *ſaid that Saint and Martyr of Nature,* But Philoſophy, Philoſophy, that hath quite alter'd me. *Equal to this his* Chaſtity *was his* Charity *towards his Accuſers*; *but far above the ordinary ſize of that Vertue with us. What one is there amongſt the higher ſorts of* Chriſtians (*as they be call'd and would be thought, who, though not ignorant of the Meaſure or purport of that Glorious and* Holy Name, *that it not onely carries* an Olive Leaf *in the mouth, but is wholly made up of Oyle, and ſignifies a man compoſed of Honey and Balm, of Love and Meekneſs; that does not in Point of Self-Revenge, bow down his Soul to that* moſt Accurſed Principle *of the firſt Murderer, and of* Cain *his Firſt-begotten Son in Bloud? Yea that would not think it a ſhame to be thought affraid or unwilling upon Occaſion to Subſcribe to it with his hand or ſword in Letters of Bloud: as it ſhould be printed.*

Eſt vindicta Bonum vita jucundius ipſa.

Yet does the poor purblind Ethnick Satyriſt *me-thinks heartily deteſt it, reaſon right againſt it, and prove it to be no better then the Qualm or Ferment of a Female Spirit.*

Nempe hoc indocti! quorum præcordia nullis
Interdum aut Levibus videas flagrantia Cauſis:
Quantulacúnque adeo eſt Occaſio ſufficit Iræ.
Chryſippus non dicit idem, nec mite *Thaletis*
Ingenium, dulcique *Senex vicinus Hymetto*,.
Qui partem acceptæ ſæva inter vinc'la Cicutæ
Accuſatori nollet dare——. Quippe minuti
Semper & infirmi eſt animi, exiguique voluptas
Ultio. Continuò ſic collige, quod vindictâ
Nemo magis gaudet quam Fœmina——.
Juven. Sat. 13. *v.* 180.

Sweet is revenge, ſweeter then life it ſelf!
The rude Aſſertion of ſome waſpiſh Elf,
Made all of Tinder, Touchwood, Sulphur, Ire,
Who at each puff or ſpark, fures, flaſhes fire,
And thunders out, My right hand is my God;
Vengeance is mine; My ſword's my Iron Rod,
Dubbs My-ſelf judge, my will law; right or wrong;
Wounds; bloud; kill or be kill'd; hell heaven's a ſong.
Bear an Affront? rather Damnation.
Chryſipp *ſaid no ſuch word, nor* Thales, *nor*
Saint Socrates *made all of Honey, for*
Though he durſt dye, and ſmiling drink the Cup of
Chill Hemlock, yet durſt he not wiſh one ſup of
It in's Accuſers heart; Good health *to Him*
He drunk in Cup of Charity *full brim.*
Revenge is Cow'rdize, below Man. Revenge is
Th' Abortive Luſt or Longing of She-Twinges.

And yet to do right to that Sex, and in memory of a moſt Tender Mother, I know not whether Livia *or* Auguſtus *deſerved greater praiſe for a moſt Solemn remarkable piece of Pardoning mercy.* Seneca *tells it Curiouſly; I thus.* L. Cinna *conſpired againſt* Auguſtus, *who had not only forgiven the Enmity of war, but regiven him his Eſtate, and conferr'd Honours upon him, to the Envy of his own Party. The time, place, partners, manner of the plot was diſcovered to Auguſtus, who intended to revenge it.* Livia *ſeeing him Troubled, comes to him, Saying,* Sir, Will you once take a Womans Counſel?

De Clem. lib. 1. cap. 9.

Then truly forgive him; it may do you Good; the Plot being known, it cannot hurt you. Auguſtus *thanks* Livia *for playing the Advocate; ſends for* Cinna, *clears the room, and makes him ſit down by him, injoyns him no other Puniſhment, but with Silence and Patience to hear an Excellent Speech of above two Hours long ſetting forth his fault and* Cæſar's *mercy, diſmiſſes him with theſe words; I gave thee Life before as an Enemy, now I give it thee a Traytour. Let us henceforth be Friends, and vye;* Vtrum Ego meliore fide vitam tibi dederim, an tu debeas. *This was partly the effect of that Charm which* Athenodorus *gave* Auguſtus *againſt Anger: To ſay over the* 24 *Letters. I cannot forbear to mention an Example or Two more out of* Seneca. 1. *Among other* Athenian Ambaſſadours *that came to* Philip *of* Macedon, Demochares (*for his ill Tongue ſurnamed* Parrheſiaſtes) *was one.* Philip *treated them very benigly, asking them what courteſie they wanted that was in his power?* Demochares, *with moſt prodigious Barbarity, unexpectedly anſwered; That* Philip *might do the* Athenians *a great kindneſs, if he* pleaſed to hang himſelf. *The hearers gnaſht their Teeth for Indignation, But the King quieted them, and diſmiſt him ſafe, only bidding his Fellows tell their Maſters of his courtly Faculty in Complements. The* 2. *of* Diogenes *the Stoick. He was reading a Lecture* about Anger, *when lo, on a ſudden comes in an impudent Youth, and ſpits in his Face: thinking perhaps to try, whether himſelf had learn't what he Taught; as he had indeed, for not moved at all he ſaid,* I am not yet, but I begin to doubt whether I ought not to be angry at this. *A* 3. *was* Cato Minor, *who when* Lentulus *in the Face of the Court, moſt contumelioſly ſpit in his face, ſaid no more then this;* Affirmo, Lentule, falli eos qui Negant te habere Os. *St.* Baſil. 1.Tom.24.Hom. *Tells this of one* Pericles: *A* Circumforaneus *Baſe Fellow rail'd on him bitterly for a whole day together, This he indured with much patience, and with more kindneſs lighted him home at night.* 2. *Of* Euclide *of* Megara: *A man in his rage ſwore he would kill him; He ſwore again, that if he did, he would take it patiently, forgive him, and be reconciled unto him.* 3. *Of* Socrates, *who having ſuffered a Fellow with great Patience to beat his Face black and blew, did no more but lay upon the Spots a Paper inſcribed,* ὁ δεῖνα ἐποίει. *This Deed of his, ſays St.* Baſil, *was* ἀδελφὸν, *neere of Kin to that Duty enjoyned by our Saviour;* To him that ſmites thee on the one Cheek--- *As the former two to Chriſt's other Precept,* Do good to them that hate you---. *And ſure from* Socrates *did* Plato (*in* Crito) *learn that Axiom* of peace, οὐδαμῶς δεῖ ἀδικεῖν, οὐδὲ ἀδικούμενον ἄρα ἀνταδικεῖν. *He has hurt himſelf in wronging me; I will not hurt my ſelf by wronging him, ſaid* Epictetus. Non ut in Beneficiis honeſtum eſt, merita meritis repenſare, ita injurias injuriis, Illic vinci turpe eſt; hic vincere. Inhumanum verbum eſt (& pro juſto receptum) Ultio.-. Qui dolorem regerit, tantùm excuſatius peccat. *Sen.*

See Seneca. de Ira.l.3.

Cap.38.

De Ira. lib.2. Cap. 32. Lipſ. Not.

Our next Inſtance ſhall be Themiſtocles, *the turpitude of whoſe youth was branded by his Fathers Abdication of him, and executed by his poor Mothers hanging her ſelf for grief at his leud courſes, yet was this young man ſo reformed by* Philoſophy *that he became the* beſt bloud *of Greece.* Clariſſimus virorum Graii ſanguinis, *ſays V. Max. l.6.c.9. & the* Centre *upon which did ſway the Reciprocating hopes & deſpairs of* Europe *and* Aſia. *We mention'd before* Pythagoras's *rules for diet; Thoſe he laid as the grounds of moral Vertue: Upon theſe with good ſucceſs, he raiſed fair ſtructures of* Juſtice *and* Moderation, *yea ſome* ναΐδια *of* Religion *to. That Precept of his,* Σέβου ὅρκον Fear an Oath; *made ſuch an Impreſſion upon* Clinias Pythagoricus, *one of his Schollers, that when, in a Suit depending before the Judges, he might by taking a true and juſt Oath, have freed himſelf from a fine of three Talents, he choſe rather to pay down the mulct, then by ſwearing truly to avoid it. He held not ſo much mony ſo much worth*

worth as to call God to witneß and judge about it. Nec *Deus* interſit niſi Dignus vindice nodus Inciderit-——.*Whether every Reader will think this worthy his Notice, I know not, This I know*, S. Baſil *thought it worthy His. See his* 1.Tom.Hom.24. De legend.Libr.Gentil.

Another of his precepts was Μετὰ φωνῆς εὔχεσθαι Let your prayers be Vocal *I ſuppoſe he was not ignorant, that God could hear* Mental Prayers: *and that he conſidered not the Angels, who can underſtand words, but not thoughts. His Deſign then was*;

Toliere de Templis murmurque humileſque ſuſurros--.
O ſi nunc Patrui præclarum funus! & O ſi *See* Perſius,
Pupilli! *Nerio* jam tertia ducitur Vxor. Satyra.2.

To teach men to put up to God Pure Prayers; *not ſuch as they would ſhame that Honeſt Men, nay the vileſt of men, ſhould hear.* Quæ niſi ſeductis nequeas committere Divis. *Such as were fit for none but Devils to be of Counſel or Advocates in. Such as* Horace, Epiſt. 16.Lib.1. *Deteſts and derides thus.*

——--Pulchra *Laverna*,
Da mihi fallere; da *ſanctum* juſtumque videri:
Noctem peccatis, & fraudibus objice nubem.
Laverna *Fair! teach me the Holy cheat;*
Though Goat or Wolf, to ſeem Saint Lamb, and bleat
To Gild Sin, cloud, or juſtifie Deceit.

In ſumme, His meaning was to teach men Aperto vivere voto; So to ſpeak to God as if men heard; (*To which other Philoſophers have added another clauſe;*) So ſpeak to Men as in Gods hearing. Seneca Lipſii. Epiſt. 10. Macrob. Saturnal. l.1. *And for this we have the Authority of* Clemens Alexandrinus Stromat. Lib. 4. Fine. *Theſe for* Religion, *the next for* Juſtice.

Seneca 7. l.de *Benef.* 21.c. *has a ſtory of a* Pythagorean *that had bought a pair of ſhooes* upon Truſt, *and at length coming to pay for them, found the Shoomaker dead and the Shop ſhut up; whereupon he went whom ſhaking the money in his Hand, and well pleas'd with the chink of it, as who ſhould ſay,* this is clear gain: *But Lo ſuddainly his heart ſmote him for having joy'd in ſuch a poor but unjuſt Thing, back he ſpeeds to the Shop, ſays to himſelf,* Ille tibi vivit, Tu redde quod debes: *and ſo put the money in through a Crevice or the Key-hole of the dore, laying this,* Nomine pœnæ, *as a* Fine *or Amercement upon himſelf for his evil Covetize, and to teach himſelf,* Ne alieno aſſueſceret, *hereafter not to long for other mens Goods. Chriſtian Reader look about and find me ſuch faith here in this our Iſrael.*

And for matter of Moderation, *how happy his Endeavours were, See* Juſtin (20. *Book.*) *The* Crotonians *being vanquiſht by the* Locreans *deſperately caſt of all Practiſes of Vertue, Military or Moral. And but for* Pythagoras *had been quite over-run with Luxury. He, having travail'd through* Ægypt Babylonie, *and* Lacedæmon, *and Learnt the Laws of* Minos Lycurgus. *&c. did, with them, and his own Authority added to them, ſo indefatigably plye that people; that at laſt, what by prayſing* Frugality *as the* Mother of all Vertue, *what by inveighing againſt Luxury, and numbring the ſad Examples of Cities deſtroyed thereby: exhorting ſometime the graver ſort of Women to Modeſty and Dutiefulneß, ſometime their Youth to ſoberneß and Induſtry; prevail'd ſo much by this aſſiduity of diſcourſing, that the* Women *were perſwaded to leave off all wearing of Gold, to caſt away all their Ornaments of Dignity as filthy enſignes of Luxury, to bring them all into Juno's Temple, and there conſecrate and leave them. Their youth alſo he reduced to an excellent temper, as may be collected from the Cure he wrought upon the women whom he taught to forget their* beloved Ornaments. *And here I cannot* *forbear but I muſt appeal to my Reader and ask him ſadly and ſeriouſly whether he thinks that if* S. Chryſoſtom, *or* S. Auſtin *were now here alive again upon earth, and ſhould deſire him to pick out and point unto them, the beſt (as he thought) of thoſe our Cities that moſt flagrantly* profeſs Chriſtianity, *wherein they might hope with moſt probability of ſucceſs to attempt the like Cure of vanity either in Women or Men; he could promiſe thoſe Holy Fathers any hopes that they ſhould ſpeed ſo well amongſt* Chriſtians, *as* Pythagoras *did amongſt the* Crotonians. *Whether he thinks, that at* this Time (*this juncture, or rather this fracture, of Time: when at Gods chiding, the Springs of water are ſeen, the foundations of the World are diſcovered; when his wrath being kindled, yea not a little, he hath ſtained the Pride of Glory, and ſtill calls aloud to weeping, and to mourning, and to baldneſs, and to girding with Sackcloth,* Iſai. 22. 12. *when Spots, and paint, and powder, Glorious and ſtrange Array, ſeem to be as* Ominous *to men, as the Gilded Horns and Ribbons were to the white Oxen that were ſuddenly to be ſacrificed) They could perſwade any Ten wanton Young-men but to obſerve that Rule of the Apoſtle preſcribed women;* whoſe adorning, let it not be that outward, of plaiting Hair, wearing Gold, or donning Apparel, but the Dreſs of the Inner man, the heart and Spirit, with ornaments of Grace. *Or any Five Daughters of Sion that walk (according to* Ovid's *Rule) with* Stretched-out-necks, *to cover themſelves* Decently (*as thoſe Fathers ſhould judge, or as themſelves, or their Mothers had judged ſometime* Decent.) *Though they ſhould be allowed to do it with the moſt precious Riches of the Eaſt, Silk, and Pearl, and the Gold-plate of* Vphaz. *Yet was* Affected Curioſity *of Hair and Dreſs in men, ſo monſtrous, even in the ſight of that Monſter of Mankind** Caligula, *that he put a Young Gentleman to Death for it,* Munditiis ejus, & cultioribus capillis offenſus. *And* nakedneſs *ſo odious in the ſight of modeſt Heathen women, that* Clemens Alexand. Strom. 4. l. *reports it in praiſe of a certain* Mulier Lyſidica, *who,* δι' ὑπερβολὴν αἰδοῦς, *uſed to go into the Bath, with her clothes on.*

And yet I fear, (or phanſie) ſome Reader that could not do This, *would grudge to allow the* Crotonian Reformation *the Honour to be ſtyled a* Moral Converſion. *Will be then allow that Title to our next inſtance? Which I will commend, that though few do imitate, yet ſome may admire it. It is of* Polemo *the debaucht* Athenian Ruffian, Perditæ luxuriæ adoleſcens, *ſays* Val. Max. l. 6. c. 9. *who upon a time having made an end of his accuſtomed All-night Revels by that time of the Morning that* Xenocrates *was at his Moral Lecture in the Schools, and having occaſion, as it fell out, to paſs that way, ſtruck into the School, with deſign rather to jeer and affront the Grave Philoſopher now buſie at Lecture, then to learn any thing of him. He ſeeing* Polemo *come in ſuch a pickle as a* Pernox Convivator *muſt needs be, and beſides, in a prodigious æquipage and Garb of* Luxury, *crown'd with Roſe-buds, and hung with all the imaginable Fanes, Labels, and Swadling-bands of Phanſie, compos'd his Countenance to the utmoſt dimenſions of Gravity, remov'd his diſcourſe (whereupon he was when* Polemo *came in) into the Theme of* Temperance, *and this he purſu'd with ſo much Sweetneſs, Power, and Eloquence (without taking any notice of him whom he moſt thought on) that this Younker began firſt to ſtartle as one wak'd out of a Trance, then to look up towards* Xenocrates *as ſoberly as he could, next he ſtole his Garland off his head, and laid it from him, after that, he pull'd his Arms in under his Cloak, and other wayes expreſt what effect that Morning Lecture had upon him; in ſum, he went out of the School a clean* other man, Mutatus Polemo, *chang'd even to a Proverb, and turn'd ſo conſtant a Student and good Proficient in Morality, that he ſucceeded his Maſter in his School.*

* Seneca de Ira l.2. c. 33.

*See S. Aug. Tom. 7. l. 1. Contr. Julian Cap. 7. & 4. & Epiſt. 130. *and more places, where he takes notice of* Polemo.

—— Hic vir, hic eſt quem quærimus; *but where ſhall we find the like amonſt Chriſtians? An hundred of our ſorry Lectures ſcarce produce one ſuch Convert, I mean* Like *and* Such *in proportion to the means of Grace tendred in Jeſus Chriſt.*

—— quæro, faciaſne quod olim
Mutatus Polemo, ponáſne inſignia morbi,
Faſciolas, cubital, focalia? potus ut ille
Dicitur ex collo furtim carpſiſſe coronas,
Poſtquam eſt impranſi correptus voce Magiſtri.

*Hor. Ser.l.*2 *Sat.* 3.

This Cure Xenocrates *wrought upon another (upon many diſadvantages) but you'l ask perhaps, had the Phyſitian heald himſelf? Yes, it ſeems he had got an excellent Magiſterium or* Ἁγνιστικὸν *againſt that Epidemical putrid Hereditary diſeaſe of mankind,* Luſt. Phryne (*that* Nobile Scortum Athenienſe, *as* Val. Naxim l. 4. c. 3. *calls her*) *had laid a wager with ſome of her Cuſtomers, that ſhe would conquer* Continence *and this* Philoſopher *both at once. To him ſhe comes at an opportunity not ordinary, when the man was* Bene potus (*perhaps this ſignifies not what ill it ſounds, but onely Plenitude*) *uſes all the immodeſt Arts and Modes ſhe had to allure him; It may indanger the modeſty of ſome ſort of Readers, to write what ſhe did, though it moved him no more then a Dead man; in ſhort, ſhe did tempt him to the utmoſt, yet was not He tempted, but received this Teſtimony of Chaſtity, from Harlotry it ſelf; That he was invincible.*

I preſume the Objection, *that this was a* natural Deadneſs, *no* Mortification Moral; *a cold Palſie fit of Age, no voluntary Continence. I ſay then,* 1. *They be weak Authors that report it to us, and ſo admire it themſelves.* 2. *Sure, they were both wiſer and honeſter, then to commend unto Poſterity, Impotency in ſtead of exemplary Vertue.* 3. *He ſeem'd as free from the proper vice of old Age, as from that of Youth.* Plutarch *tels it of him, that he refuſed fifty Talents ſent him by* Alexander *the Great, with this excuſe or reaſon return'd,* Διὰ φιλοσοφίαν Ξενοκράτης οὐκ ἐδεῖτο πλούτου. Philoſophie *had taught him, not to contract or amaſs wealth, but to ſhrink up his deſires.* 1. Orat. de Fort. Alex. M.

So had it taught others. 1. Crates *the Rich and Noble* Theban, *who caſt two hundred Talents of Silver into the Sea; or as ſome ſay, into the common Bank, upon condition, that if his ſons were Idiots, they ſhould have it again. If* Philoſophers, *he reckon'd they would not need wealth, and then it ſhould be given to the People. This ſame* Crates, *when* Alexander *askt him if he would have his Country repair'd, ſaid no; Another* Alexander *would come and ſpoil it again. But he had a Country* ἀνάλωτον τῇ τύχῃ, *Built upon poverty and contempt of Honour, which none could impair.* 2. Ariſtippus, *who, though none of the ſtrict ones, is ſayd to have caſt his Gold into the Sands of* Libya. Diog. Laert. Lib. 6.

—— Quid ſimile iſti
Græcus Ariſtippus? qui ſervos projicere aurum.
In media juſſit Libya, quia tardius irent
Propter onus Segnes —— *Hor. Serm. l.* 2. *Sat.* 3.

3. *So had* Philoſophie *taught* Epicurus *himſelf. For though he kept his Eſtate (thinking that* Pythagoras's *community was a ſign of diffidence, not of Friendſhip) and very handſomely diſpoſed of it by Will after Death: Yet was he content with ſo ſmall a proportion (the total of his Pleaſure in a manner conſiſting of a Garden, and freedom from Pain.) That* Juvenal *thought his* Quantum *worthy to be made the Standard of Moderation or Competency.* D. Laert. 10. Lib.

—— Menſura tamen quæ
Sufficiat Cenſus, ſi quis me conſulat, Edam.

In quantum Sitis, atque fames, & frigora poſcunt;
Quantum *Epicure* Tibi parvis ſuffecit in hortis: *Juven. Sat.*
Quantum *Socratici* Ceperunt ante Penates. 14. *Fine.*

And well he might propoſe him for an example; for Laertius *ſayes, that this Man ſo defam'd through all the World for a Beaſt, was content with bread and water for the firſt, and with Cheeſe for the ſecond Courſe. And* Stobæus *brings him in bragging of the luſhious pleaſure he found in ſuch Chear:* Βρυάζω τῷ κατὰ σωμάτιον ἡδεῖ, ὕδατι ϗ ἄρτῳ χρώμενος. —— *So does* Seneca, Epiſt. 2. *quote him triumphing and pronouncing*, Honeſta res eſt Læta paupertas. *And beſide other great ſtore of ſuch wholſome Senſes of his, ſtuck thick in many other Epiſtles, in the* 18. *and* 20. *he exhorts* Lucilius, Imaginaria paupertate ſe exercere ad veram; redigere ſe ad parva unde cadere non poſſit; præoccupare tela fortunæ, *to ſet apart three or four, or more dayes together for Faſting, and to do it in good earneſt, with ſo ſlender and courſe fare, and courſer Cloathing*, ut non ſit Luſus, ſed experimentum. Liberaliora ut ſint alimenta carceris; *that a Goal could not worſt him. In a word, ſo to bear himſelf, to deſcend ſo low, that Fortune it ſelf, doing its worſt, could not pinch him; but that he might with the plain wiſe man* Ofellus, *who it ſeems had indur'd* (Dura Belli) *all the conſequences of War, challenge her and ſay,*

Sæviat, atque novos moveat Fortuna tumultus:
Quantum hinc imminuet? quanto aut ego parcius, aut vos
O pueri nituiſtis, ut huc novus Incola venit? *Hor. Ser. l. 2. Sat. 2.*

And all this he does from the Precepts of divers noted men, and from the monthly Practice of ſome others, and amonſt theſe of Epicurus *who had ſuch ſet dayes of Faſting.* Certos habebat dies ille magiſter voluptatis Epicurus, quibus maligne famem extingueret --- non toto Aſſe paſceretur ——. *And as his life ſo his death ſeems to have been a very Calm. For lying,* In officina voluptatis, *in torments of the Stone ready to expire, after fourteen dayes patience, he writes to* Idomæneus, Beatiſſimum hunc & ultimum diem ago---.

Seneca Epiſt. 66, & 92.
Laert. l. 10.

Bonum tuum quid? Animus purus, Æmulator Dei —. Sen, Ep. 124.

Epict. Arrian. L. 2. c. 14.
κατὰ δύναμιν ἐξομοιοῦσθαι θεοῖς.
Ὡς θεοῦ ζηλωτὴν πάντα ποιεῖν ϗ λέγειν.

To conclude; if Plato's *Philoſophy was as it pretended, an Aſſimilation to God, it was a Moral Converſion, or furbuſhing up of the poor Relicks of Gods Image remaining in the conſcience of the Natural man. If it was a meditation of Death, it was a moral Mortification. Now whether this was a main branch both of His and others, I refer my ſelf to their Books, eſpecially to* Seneca's, *which have whole ſwarms of good Adviſements, ſuch as theſe;* Magna res eſt, & diu diſcenda, cum adventat hora illa inevitabilis, æquo animo abire. Tu mortem, ut nunquam timeas, ſemper cogita. *Ep. 30. which in ſanctified Tranſlation, is, He that will not fear death muſt dye daily.* Quando dabitur omnibus oppreſſis affectibus hanc vocem emittere vici? quem vicerim quæris? non Perſas ---- ſed avaritiam ---- metum mortis, qui victores gentium vicerit. *Sen. Ep.* 71.

Let there be no ſtrife about Words, or Names. Till we have agreed to coyn better new ones, let us keep the old. Converſion is a kind of Protean term, fitted, in various Analogie to Logick, Phyſicks, Ethicks, not appropriate to Theologie; and may in good equity be Predicated on ſome of the foreinſtanced moral Changes. So may Repentance. Non tanti emam pœnitere, *ſaid* Demoſthenes. Quem peccaſſe pœnitet pene eſt innocens, *ſays* Seneca *the Tragedian*. Scelerum ſi bene pœnitet, Eradenda tibi ſunt prava cupidinis elementa, *ſays* Horace. Μετάνοια, τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀρχή, *ſaith* Hierocles. *It cannot be denyed but ſome of the aforeſaid acts were acts of ſelf-denial, actual forſaking all.* Uliſſes's *tying himſelf to the Maſt (or the Moral of it) methinks is a kind of* Taking up his Croſs: *yet ſhould I not dare to call it ſo, but that the phraſe* σταυρὸν ἐκφέρειν, *is uſed in* Plutarch. de ſera Num. Vindicta.

Carm. l. 3. Ode. 24.

Nor is Mortification a term peculiar to Divinity. There is a vicious Mortification;

cation; to kill or caſt out one vice by another, more contrary to Gods Law then to it ſelf. As Prodigality with Covetize; Libertiniſm with Schiſm; Preſumption with Deſpair: and è contra. *So a leſs vice with a greater; as to put off Pride in apparel, and cloath our ſelves with ſpiritual Pride. To dead the appetite and quicken the affections. As ſome Weeds or Vermin deſtroy others; and Devils will go out upon compact.* Qui in Agone decertant ab omnibus continent, ut corruptibilem coronam accipiant; à cujus tamen vana cupiditate non continent. Hæc enim cupiditas vana ac per hoc prava, vincit in eis, & frænat alias cupiditates, propter quod dicti ſunt continentes, S. Auſtin. *There is a ſuperſtitious Mortification. Such, or worſe, a degree of Suicidium, was* Baals *Prieſts cutting and lancing, and ſuch like as is ſaid to be uſed ſtill by ſome, not Chriſtians, in remote parts. Such is that of ſome few Chriſtians, who think they do God ſervice in making the body unſerviceable.* S. Pauls *practice was,* 1. ὑπωπιάζειν, τὸ σῶμα, *To take all fair hold or advantage to throw and keep it down (as Wreſtlers do the bodies of their Adverſaries) leſt* Iniquitas Calcanei *danger to ſupplant us in our Race for the prize. And* 2. Δουλαγωγεῖν. *To make the body tributary or ſervant; yet ſo, that the Brute might have the uſe not the exceſs of his Maſters Crib; might be ſtrong, to labour, though not to luſt. But far more, God knows, are* Ventris Mancipia, *Slaves that pay tribute of all Creatures in kind, to their Belly;* χαλεπῷ δεσπότῃ φόρους ἀπάγοντες, *as St.* Baſil *ſayes,* Hom. 24.

7. To. Lib. 4. c. 3. Cont. Jul.

And ſubſervient to S. Pauls *end, there is a medicinal Mortification. Narcoticks in this kind might be uſeful. Any bodily pain* (Dolor) *is a good Phyſical help againſt ordinary Paroxiſms of Luſt. So is labour or taking pains*, Otia ſi tollas ——. Ἔρως σχολαζόντων ἀσχολία, *ſaid* Diogenes; *and if love be the buſineſs of Holyday men, or idle Perſons; honeſt imployment is a fit Pin to drive it out.*

Laſtly, there is a moral Mortification by rules of Reaſon; for ſurely Reaſon is not diſenabled by being a Forma Informans, *or in the ſame ſoul and ſubject with ſenſe; that it cannot maſter the lower ſoul in Man, as well as it can do the Appetite of Bruits, where, at beſt, it reſembles but an aſſiſtent or external form.*

I have yet one thing to do, and that is, to Amoliſh the ſuſpition of prayſing, much more of vending what has been long abroach, ſuch ſpoyling Philoſophy, as in its Eſſence includes Enmity to the ineffable and Free ſaving Grace of God in Chriſt Jeſus. My anſwer to them that examine me, anent that Point, is This. If the Apologizer offend, who will make a defence for him? If I build up what I pretend and ought to deſtroy, I make my ſelf a double Tranſgreſſor; having as bountifully as many others been offer'd, and daily needing more extraordinary influx of Grace then any other does. Lord keep thy ſervant from Prides and Preſumptuous ſins.—— He that once dares ſay with Mezentius, Dextra mihi Deus eſt; *or the Epicurean Porker,* Animum æquum mî ipſe parabo: *My own right hand ſhall bring Salvation; will ſoon fall from one wickedneſs to another; from truſt in himſelf, to deny or defy God; into an impudent mind or Giant-like temper, to cry as* Seneca *ſays* Caligula *did to* Jove *when it thundred,* ἤ μ᾽ ἀνάειρ᾽ ἢ ἐγὼ σε. *The Lord God of Gods he knoweth, and let all* Iſrael *know, that though I have cut up in the Wolds of Gentiliſm, and layd together a Turff or two; it is not with intent to make an Altar thereof, much leſs to proclaim them for ſuch Sacrifices wherewith God is well pleaſed. Yet if any will ſay that I have put Fire thereon, and that they ſee it flame; I aſſure them I will make no other uſe of the Aſhes, but to make a Lee to beſprinkle and beſmart my own and the eyes of ſuch other ſluggiſh Chriſtians, leſt whilſt we ſleep theſe Philoſophers get Heaven before us. I have ſcraped up theſe Cruſts or limbs of Antiquity to try,* εἴ πως παραζηλώσω μου τὴν σάρκα, *if by theſe fooliſh people, or*

De Ira lib. 1. in fine.

Ex cinere Ethnicorum fiat Lixivium Chriſtianorum.

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or natures Wiſe men, I might anger my own fleſh into a godly Jealouſie or Emulation to outſtrip them, as far in proportion as our Means excel theirs. And if I have not rather done it for Fear of this thing, that theſe poor Ghoſts or Corpſes of Vertuous Heathen, as well as Perſons, ſhould riſe in Judgment and condemn us Chriſtians, who care not to adorn our holy Profeſſion, with ſuch, not in any degree of proportion ſuch good Works as the Primitive Chriſtian Worthies did. From whoſe Heroical Degrees of Vertue we are degenerated, as far as Pigmies are from the Gyants of old. Not by reaſon of any wane or decay of the Grace of God, as if that were feebler now, then, when, coming forth as a Bridegroom of Beauty or Gyant of ſtrength, it begun firſt to Reign through righteouſneſs, or was at firſt ſhed abroad in the hearts of the Faithful; But, that we, a Generation of Formal ſinful men, by making God to ſerve with our ſins, and his Spirit to 'tend and wait till we were pleaſed to be weary of them, have grieved that holy Spirit, and what by receiving the Grace of God in vain, what by turning it into Laciviouſneſs, have vext and quencht the ſame.

To do theſe gentle Vertues right then, and give them their due; for it is not fit, Virtutes invertere. *Many, moſt, almoſt all the forementioned, were good for the Matter, Subſtance, Bulk, being the things of the Law. Many of them were ſparklings of the light of Nature, which like Glow-worms made ſome ſhew in the night: in* Tertullians *Hyperbole,* Teſtimonia animæ naturaliter Chriſtianæ. *Dictates or notions of Conſcience, the humane Spirit or Lamp of the Lord,* Satisfac conſcientiæ, non famæ, ſequatur mala dum bene merearis, Sen. de Ira. l. 3. c. 41. *Theſe Egyptian Jewels were ornaments to the Perſons that wore them, and worth our borrowing and poliſhing, and conſecrating towards the adorning of the Tabernacle. They had ſome good influence upon the Generations and Communities where they were acted. And as they were not effected without Gods good Providence (as S.* Auſtin *obſerves, that all the various diſpoſitions or temperaments of men are not) ſo they paſſed not without ſome notice taken by his Bounty, or temporal Reward given them by God. And at the great Day of Recompenſes ſhall have conſiderable allowance or abatement, as to degrees of Puniſhment;* Minus enim Fabricius quam Catilina punietur, non quia iſte bonus, ſed quia ille magis malus; & minus impius, quam Catilina, Fabricius, non veras virtutes habendo, ſed à veris non plurimum Deviando. *So S.* Auſtin, *and Mr.* Hooker *of* Cambridge, *has, to my remembrance a very ſad ſaying to that purpoſe, and not to be gainſaid; The Pagan and the Philoſopher ſhall have a cool ſummer Parlour in Hell in compariſon of the Debauch't Chriſtian. But we have a ſurer Word of the Great Prophet* —— ; *It ſhall be more eaſie for Sidon and Sodom, two ſinks of ſin, then for Corazin and Capernaum, two deſpiſers of Grace. O that we could believe what ſtrange unconceivable Confuſion will ſeaze upon the Belial Chriſtian, when he ſhall ſee the Queen of the South and men of* Nineveh *condemn the Jew; and hear the* Pythagorean *and* Epicurean *(impannelled into one Jury) ſentence the graceleſs vile Chriſtian. When we ſhall ſee Chriſtians damn'd, for cheating one another, out of* Tullies Offices; *and ſubtile Seraphical Schollars for ill manners, ſentenced without Book, out of the Law written in the hearts of Analphabet Idiots: when it would be counted a favour, far above* Dives's *deſire, if God would grant it,* Sit anima mea cum Philoſophis. *All which (in effect) ſhall be, if we be not more free from Vice, or not better Virtued, then theſe forementioned Philoſophers were; whoſe works, as they were done and raiſed up, ſo are their writings preſerved by Gods Providence to yield us provoking Examples to imitate, and by the help of Gods Grace to outſtrip and excel. The Phariſees were Faſters, Prayers, Sabbath-keepers, abhorred Idols, Tythed ſtrictly, and I think reverenced the Sanctuary; far, I am ſure, far excelled the Ethick Horoes, yet*

Apol. C.17,

Contra Jul. Pelag. Lib.4. Cap.3.

Ibid.

yet except the righteouſneſs of us Chriſtians exceed theirs, our portion ſhall be with thoſe Hypocrites, as theirs was with others.

And that we may the better know what we have to excel, take notice; that ſome Heathens were Excellent, did their work, cum Intuitu; *with an Eye to God, though* θεῷ ἀγνώστῳ *and to the Immortality of the Soul. And they that ſometimes doubted of both, reaſon'd well. I'le reckon that the Soul is Immortal, ſaid* Tully; *That's the ſureſt way. If it be ſo, I ſhall meet the Mortaliſt, and tell him he was deceived, if it be not, he ſhall never tell me ſo. Either there is a God, or* Democritus's *Atomes; ſaid* Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. *If there be a God, his Providence will take care of me and the reſt of the World, I will depend upon him. If nothing but Chance; who would care for ſuch a World where all things fall out at Adventure.* Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 4. *wonders at* Epicharmus's *expreſſion:* With the pure Soul it ſhall go well after death.

Ar. Epict. l. 1. c. 14. *ſhut doores; draw Curtains! ye are not alone. God is within.*

And as to the particular End; many of their Actions were Right. S. Aug. T. 3. de Spir. & Lit. c, 27. *ſays, There were ſome Facts of the Heathen,* Quæ ſecundum juſtitiæ regulam non ſolum vituperare non poſſumus, verùm etiam merito recteque laudamus. *S.* Jerom. in Ep. ad Gal. Cap. 1. *ſays more, that ſome were done,* vel ſapienter, vel Sancte. *As to Honour Parents, give Alms, do as they would be done to.* Non tamen hæc tribuens dederim quoque cætera----. *I muſt take heed, leſt while I do theſe vertues civil right, I ſacrilegiouſly wrong the Grace of God. I therefore (yet proteſting my lothneſs to judg thoſe that are without; eſpecially in any thing that looks like goodneſs:) thus tax theſe gentile Vertues.* 1. *They were ſick of divers Privative Defects. The Spring was foul (not waſht with the water that iſſu'd out of Chriſts ſide) not purifi'd by Faith; which is the* πρώτη σωτηρίας νεῦσις, *in his* Judgment who is held one of the Gentiles beſt Friends. Faith animated, and acting by Love. Some of their Love was but a kind of* Dilectio Babilonica, *as St.* Auſtin *ſays, That which made the* Decii, mori pro patria, *was (not Charity inſpired* ἄνωθεν, ἀλλ' ἐπίγειος; *) but ſuckt from the Breſts and ſweetneſs of their native Soil. Some of their Vertues were* Hybridæ, *ſpurious Mungrels, begot by Vices. S.* Auſtin *ſays, Covetize made ſome prudent, temperate, valiant, Induſtrious,* Per mare pauperiem ——, *yea in ſome things juſt. Some but Apes of true Vertue, like the Circumciſion us'd by Nations not in Covenant. Some were monſtrous, made up of Contradictions to their own Rules.* Diogenes *was content with a little; yet held, Sacrilegde lawful, and Mans-fleſh Mans-meat. Like Rowers, they lookt one way and went another.* 2. *Moſtly they fell ſhort of the End: the great univerſal right End; Gods Glory. Thoſe few that aim'd at any mark above the Moon, did but feel after the moſt Conſpicuous Being, whoſe Inviſibilities are manifeſt.*

See Voſſ. Hiſt. Pelag. l. 3. Part. 3.

* Clem. Alex. Strom. L. 2.

l. 4. Cont. Jul.

As, many of their Eys were dimme, ſo few were ſingle, or of right Intention. Yet by the Bye, ſome thought of ſchooling the Ey, or making a Covenant with it. Pericles *rebuk'd* Sophocles *for an Ey full of Adultery, when he gaz'd upon ſtrange Beauty,* Oculos etiam caſtos habere decet. 2. *As they were faulty in their Principle and End, ſo were they in their Rule. They did things of the Law not Legally; Good not well:* ἃ δεῖ οὐχ ὡς δεῖ. *Alas! they were a Law to themſelves,* Non taliter omni Genti, *they had not the knowledg of Gods Law. The Conſequence is plain, Their* Bona *were not* Beatifica. *Their labours do not follow them, ſo that theſe men ſhall be bleſſed in their doings. I know 'tis ſaid uſually, They were but* Splendida peccata. *I ſhall not ſay, They were* ὅλως φαῦλα, *becauſe I think otherwiſe: nor ſhall I Contradict it, becauſe uſe has given authority to ſay ſo.*

Val. Max. L. 4. c. 3.

This I ſhall ſay though, That we Chriſtians have both infinite Obligation and incouragement, to maintain, to be chearful and ready to every good work, to abound

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abound in the work of the Lord, knowing that our Labour is not in vain in the Lord: That not a Cup of Cold water (Sans Coſt of Fire, only warm'd with Charity) not a thought or wiſh that ſprings out of a pure heart ſhall looſe it's reward. Knowing the Miraculous Nature of Faith, that like a Spiritual Elixer, it transforms the Loweſt Act of Drudgery that the poor Moor of the Kitchin can do in fear of God and Obedience to Man, into an Acceptable remunerable divine Sacrifice.

See Herberts Poems. Tee Elixer.

Now for a Cloſe to this long Note; I will but name 2. or 3. of our Chriſtian worthies which will not Commend us of this preſent Age; but will ſhine all theſe Twinkling Starres of Ethnick Glories, into night: and ſhame, and ſhrink them into nothing. For number they be none, in Compariſon of our Chriſtian Kalender: every day in the year, Except the Kalends of January, having, I think more Martyrs then the ſtories of all Ages have, Noted Philoſophers. Againſt the three Youths inſtanc't pag. 134. I put in the Scale; 1. Epagathus that young noble Advocate of Chriſtians, and Martyr. 2. Origen who within the years of Childhood was Martyr'd in voto: and when his Mother kept him naked to keep him alive, incouraged his Father, by pen, to ſuffer. At 18. year old was Catechiſt at Alexandria. And as all the world knows, cut off his Right-Foot for the Kingdome of Heaven. 3. Ponticus, a Youth of fifteen, bitterly tormented. I could caſt in Attalus with his Iron Chair; Maturus, and Sanctus (men of their own names) tortured and beheaded. And Women too, Potamiæna, Blandina, Biblis, and St. Baſils 40. Martyrs in a ſevere froſt put into a pond, and then burnt. Holy Barlaam outvies the Torch-bearer in Kind. Val. Max. l. 3. c. 3 ſays he held a Cenſer and that a Cole burnt his fleſh till it ſmelt. St. Baſil, in his Homilie of him, ſays that St. Barlaam let the Incenſe by violence put in, burn and drop through his hand, and would not ſhake it off, leſt he might ſeem to do it to the Idol. Againſt Polemo's, ſet St. Auſtins Converſion: and the 3000. at one Sermon of a poor Fiſhermans. Againſt Xenocrates's Chaſtity ſet Joſeph's, and Ephræm Syrus's, who being tempted by a Woman, untempted her thus. Carry me, ſaid he, into ſuch a place, naming the open Market-ſtead in the City of Edeſſa, where this fell out; that all the World may ſee what we do, els I ſhall not Conſent to your deſire. The woman ſtartling at this and anſwering, That it would be an open ſhame to do ſuch a thing in the ſight of men, The holy man reply'd, if ſhe was afraid of the Eyes of men, how much more ought ſhe to fear and ſhame to do it in the ſight of God; which Correption of his made ſuch an impreſſion upon the Woman, that ſhe, of a Concubine became a Convert. See here a ζωγραφία, a Live Draught of Vertues. The other was only, as St. Baſil terms it σκιαγραφία τις τῆς ἀρετῆς, yet ſuch a ſhadow as may be to us Beneficial: And Compared to the New light of our Modern Good works, is a pillar of Fire.

Euſeb. l. 5. c. 1. c. 10. l. 6. c. 2.

Se Set. Greg. Nyſſ. in vita S. Ephr.

The 2. Note relating to Pag. 113. [Some Actions are required in us, that Grace may be Created in us,] I might ſave my ſelf a labour of ſaying any thing to this Point, by referring my Reader to this Authors Soul-ſearching Treatiſe of Juſtifying Faith. 3. Sect. p. in quarto 278. where he ſhews, that, This beleiſe of ours [That Faith is the Sole gift of God, wholly infuſed, not in part acquired by us:] ſhould rather quicken then quell Chriſtian Endeavors for attaining it. As this Beliefe, that God alone infuſes the Soul into the Embrio, incourages them that intend to be Parents (according to the Tenor of Pſal. 128. Appointed by our Church to be uſed at marriages) to enter the Holy eſtate and aſcend the undefiled Bed. And the Compariſon ſuits well, thus. As God who can raiſe Children from the Rock, does not infuſe the Rational Soul into Stones and Statues, but into organiz'd Bodies; ſo doth he not ordinarily beſtow Grace on every Reaſonable Soul, but on ſuch only as have a paſſive Idonietie thereto. And as thoſe Parents, upon whoſe Off-ſpring depends the

And to his treatiſe of Unbeleiſe. §. 6. ch. 49. 50. pa. in 4to. 437

Nurſing of Gods people, are tyed to be more Cautious then others; Even ſo they that attribute the moſt to that Fundamental Grace of Faith (none can give enough to it; The Solifidian that gives it moſt in words; in deeds takes moſt from it) are moſt obliged to teach men to uſe all poſſible means, to ſeek the beſt Inſtruments of believing, planters, waterers, helpers of Faith; above all, to ſue to God to give the Increaſe: to chear men up to work out their Salvation with fear and trembling, becauſe it is God that works both will and deed.

Philip.2.13.

Yet ſhall I add de proprio, *A word, to thoſe that have ſcarce the patience to hear of any thing prerequired in man unconverted, that Grace may be Created in him. My Argument with ſuch an Adverſary, is this. Let us take a* Polemo, *that is,* pro tempore, à Ganeo; non tantum illecebris, ſed ipſa infamia Gaudens. *Upon this man, we deſire the work of the Lord by our Miniſtery may be proſperous. We muſt either tell him that there is* ſomething *required of him in this preſent ſtate, unconverted as he is, and ſo ſet him a Task; or that* nothing *at all is expected from him. Theſe two be Points Contradictory Diametrally, there is no Mean betwixt them. I ſay, that of this man Something is required. The firſt,* minimum quod ſic, *is Reflecting upon his own actions, and the Law writ in his Conſcience. Next I would Apply ſome of Gods words ſpoke by the Prophets to ſome ſinful people or perſon; as* Iſai. 1. 16. *Waſh you, make you clean, put away the Evil of your doings---, Ceaſe to do Evil, learn to do Good---, or that of* S. James 4 8. *Draw nigh to God---. Cleanſe your hands ye ſinners, and purifie your hearts ye double minded. And would affirm, that theſe words ſignified ſomething, were (not Empty noiſes, but) Precepts; and if Precepts have ſome Duty correſpondent to be performed by him to whom I laid them; which is,* quod quærimus; *that I would have done. My Adverſary muſt ſay,* nothing *is to be done; It's no purpoſe for me to exhort, or him to Try, nothing can be done to purpoſe. Now what will the poor Patient ſay? men are naturally inclined to believe them that moſt eaſe and pleaſe their natures beſt. The leaſt Conſequent of this Doctrine that he will or can make, and that if he were a* Good *natur'd man too, will be This; why then I will betake my ſelf to a Negative Idleneſs, wrap my body in my arms, ſit ſtill, and wait the Good hour when Grace ſhall breath upon me. A 2. will ſay, Go to then, I will eat my meat with joy, and take my portion of the things of this life, till Taſts of a Better drop into my mouth from heaven. A 3. may perhaps do worſe; Wend to a Tavern or worſe place, and make work for Grace, with a Graceleſs Deſperate hope, that the more he ſins, the more Grace may, when it Comes, abound; that* quò ſceleratior eò gratiæ vicinior. *If my Adverſary ſaies nay; he muſt abſtain from Lewd Courſes; we are half agreed: is not that part, the ſame with Eſay's, Ceaſe to do evil? If he maintain his Concluſion; I have no more to ſay, but to enter an Appeal to God, and this proteſtation, to Man, according to the Senſe of this Author; That I diſclaim all ſuch diſpoſitions, preparations, Endeavours, as, Cooperating to the production of Grace after the manner that Temperate behaviour concurreth to produce the Habit of Temperance; or that natural qualities do, to produce Forms meerly Phyſical. And this will quit me from Pelagianiſm or Popery; But he ſhall never be able to free himſelf from the Errours of the Stoick or Manichees that holds it indifferent, what works a man does before he be regenerate.*

Or, I would read to him the 18. of *Ezekiel.*

The 3. Note refers to P.119. [As a Heathen man Confeſſeth.] I conceive he means Pliny Junior, *and therefore I have cauſed that 26. Epiſt. of his 7th. Book, to be inſerted here, being loth to Charge the Margin with it there.* C. Plinius Max. ſuo S. Nuper me cujuſdam amici Languor admonuit, Optimos eſſe nos dum infirmi ſumus. Quem enim infirmũ aut avaritia aut libido ſollicitat? non amoribus ſervit, non appetit honores, opes negligit, & quantulumcunque, ut relicturus, ſatis habet. Tunc Deos, tunc hominem eſſe ſe, meminit. Invidet nemini, neminem miratur, neminem deſpicit: ac ne ſermonibus quidem malignis aut attendit, aut aliter. Balnea imaginatur & fontes ——. Innoxiam beatamque deſtinat vitam. Poſſum ergo, quod pluribus verbis, pluribus etiam voluminibus Philoſophi docere Conantur, ipſe breviter tibi mihique præcipere; ut tales eſſe Sani perſeverimus, quales nos futuros profitemur infirmi. Vale.

4. *Note relates to p.* 128. [*Every Slave hath as free a Will as his Maſter: Oft, a great deal more free* ——.] Seneca l. 3. de Beneficiis. c. 18. 19. 20. *has a deal to this purpoſe.* Errat ſiquis exiſtimat ſervitutem in totum hominem deſcendere. Pars melior ejus excepta eſt; Corpus adſcriptum Domino, mens ſui juris, libera, Comes cæleſtibus exeat. *Epiſt.* 31. Animus bonus, Deus in humano Corpore. Hic tam in ſervum poteſt cadere, quam in Rom. Equitem. Quid eques Rom. quid libertinus, quid ſervus? nomina ex ambitione aut injuria nata. *And* Epiſt. 47. Ego non miniſteriis ſervos æſtimabo, ſed moribus. Servus eſt; ſed liber animo. Servus eſt; imo Conſervus. Servus eſt; quis non? alius libidini ſervit, alius avaritiæ, Ambitioni alius. Dabo Conſularem aniculæ ſervientem; divitem ancillulæ; nobiles juvenes mancipia mimorum: ſuperbos oſculantes manus ſervorum Alienorum. Stultus—. Equum Empturus ſtratum tantum & frænos—. Stultiſſimus qui hominem ex conditione quæ veſtis eſt, æſtimat. *The Spartan Youth, uſed this freedom prepoſterouſly when ſtomaching the diſingenuity of his Maſters command (to give him an Urinal) he went up to the Garret and threw himſelf headlong.* * Diogenes *aſſerted this liberty even while he was a Priſoner to the Pirate* Scirpalus, *and in* Crete *upon ſale to* Xeniades *the fine Corinthian* [εὐπάρυφος] *whom he deſired to be ſold unto; ſaying (for ſo he gueſſed, ſeeing him paſs by, in ſuch a Dreſs or Garb)* ὅυτος δεσπότου χρήζει, *That man needs a Maſter. As before he had bidden the* Præco, *cry, Who will buy a Maſter? Saying, That he knew how to Rule men; and ſo it ſeems he did: for* Xeniades *that bought him, made him Tutor to his Sons, and Ruler of all his Houſe; and joyed ſtrangely in the Bargain, ſaying,* 'Αγαθὸς Δαίμων εἰσελήλυθε, *that ſome good* Genius (*or Angel*) *was come into his Houſe: and when* Diogenes's *friends would have redeemed him, he ſayd they were Fond men: Lions were not Servants to their Keepers; Keepers were Servants to the Lions. And; That Servants obeyed Men-maſters, but ill Maſters were worſe Servants, to Luſt. So a Spartan (in* Plut. Lac. Apoph.) *ſuffered not the Bellman to cry, Who will buy a Slave,* 'Ανδράποδον; ὦ κατάρατε ——. *Thou curſed wretch (ſayd he) Cry, Who will buy a Captive?* 'Αιχμάλωτον; Joſeph *may be ſold and ſerve.* Naamans *Maid may be Captive or taken; but Slavery in Grain cannot be without Vice; nor Genuine Freedom with it.*

See Macrob. Sat. *l.* 1. *c.* 7.

*Laert. lib. 6.

Read Epictetus Arriani, *and ſee the Freedom of a Servant.*

5. *Note refers to Chap.* 8. *p.* 19. *&c. laſt Marginal Note. Heathens Teſtimonies of Original Sin.*

Nam vitiis nemo ſine naſcitur: Optimus ille eſt
Qui minimis urgetur —— denique teipſum
Concute, numqua tibi vitiorum inſeverit olim
Natura ——. *Hor. Serm. l.* 1. *Sat.* 3.
Damnatos tamen ad mores natura recurrit;
Fixa & neſcia mutari. *Juv. Sat.* 13. *v.* 240.
Parcendum Teneris, nondum implevere Medullas
Nequitiæ mala nativæ —— *Idem Sat.* 14. *v.* 216.
Unicuique dedit vitium natura creato. *Propert.*

Its true indeed, Ariſtotle *ſays in his* 3. *Book* de Anima, *that the Humane ſoul is like a white Paper, or Table-Book that has nothing written in; and in the* *ſecond* Ethic. *that* ἀγαθοὶ ἢ κακοὶ ὐ γινόμεθα φύσει. *but that we are born, as it were, in an Indifferency or middle Temper. Yet this in all Reaſon can but be meant of Moral habits, or Perſonal qualifications, which are to be got only by Cuſtome. And the care he would have taken for Young ones Education* [δεῖ ἦχθαι πως εὐθὺς ἐκ νέων, ὡς ὁ πλάτων φησίν, ὥστε χαίρειν τε ϗ λυπεῖσθαι οἷς δεῖ· ἡ γὰρ ὀρθὴ παιδεία αὕτη ἐστίν.]*Shews that he was affraid of ſome ſecret Byaſs or Taint, and chiefly that of pleaſure, which he calls* πάθος ἐγκεχρωσμένον τῷ βίῳ; ὃ ἐκ νηπίου πᾶσιν ἡμῖν συντέθραπται.

S. Auſtin, 7. Tom. 4. l. contra Jul. c. 12. *Quotes* Tully *in his third Book* de Republica. *Complaining*, Hominem non ut à matre, ſed ut à noverca, natura, editum in vitam; corpore nudo, fragili, infirmo; animo autem anxio ad moleſtias, humili ad timores, molli ad Labores, prono ad libidines; in quo tamen tanquam obrutus quidem divinus ignis ingenii & mentis. *And in* Hortenſius, *Thus.* Quis niſi gurges —— ? quis bona mente præditus non mallet nullas omnino nobis a natura voluptates datas? *And afterward thus; That ſoul and body were put together as a living man and a dead.* Sophocles *cenſures Luſt, as a raging Tyrant, ſaying,* Libenter profugi illinc tanquam ex aliqua furioſa Dominatione, *Val. Max. l.* 4. *c.* 3.

6. *Note, to p.* 23. *He that minds to ſee more of the Ancients Opinions, about Original ſin, let him read S.* Auſtin, Cont. Julian. l. 1. *where divers Fathers be Cited about that Head.*

7. *Note, to Ch.* 9. *p.* 24. *the Margin.* Seneca de Clement. l. 1. c. 23. Videbis ea ſæpe committi quæ ſæpe vindicantur. Pater tuus (*Claudius*) plures intra quinquennium Culleo inſuit, quam omnibus ſeculis inſutos accepimus. Multo minus audebant liberi nefas ultimum admittere, quamdiu ſine Lege crimen fuit. Prudentiſſimi viri maluerunt velut incredibile ſcelus & ultra audaciam poſitum præterire, quam, dum vindicant, oſtendere poſſe fieri. Itaque parricidæ cum lege Cœperunt, & illis facinus pœna monſtravit --- Natura Contumax in Contrarium atque arduum nitens. *And ſo* Seneca de Benef. l. 3. c. 16. *ſayes,* Nulla virum habet (fœmina) niſi ut adulterum irritet.

Quod licet ingratum eſt, quod non licet, acrius urget.
Quicquid ſervatur cupimus magis; ipſaque furem
Præda vocat ——

8. *Note, to p.* 72. *The Story of* Alexander Pheræus *is in* Plutarchs 2. Orat. de Fortun. Alexand. Magni.

9. *Note, to p.* 73. *The Story of* Pacuvius Calavius, *is in* Livies 23. Book, *or as ſome count*, Decad. 3. l. 3,

10. *Note, to p.* 80. *The words of S.* Chryſoſtom *toucht in the Margin, (if they be ſurely his) are theſe,* ὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, ὐκ ἔστι τὸν εἱμαρμένῃ προσέχοντα δυνηθῆναι τῶν ὐρανῶν ἐπιτυχεῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ ὐκ ἔστι δυνηθῆναι τὴν γέενναν ϗ τὴν κόλασιν ἐκφυγεῖν.

11. *Note, to p.* 81. Ipſaque Tellus ---. *They be* Virgils Georg. l. 1.

Ante Jovem nulli ſubigebant arva Coloni.
Nec ſignare ſolum, aut partiri Limite Campum
Fas erat: in medium quærebant, ipſaque Tellus
Omnia liberius nullo poſcente ferebat.

All theſe refer to the Five precedent Sections: which the Reader, if he pleaſe, may take for the whole tenth Book. And reckon what follows betwixt this and the Eleventh, for the Appendix *ſpoken of by the Author, in the* 35. *Chapter; and mentioned in the Marginal note there. Or elſe he may count on, as, for the better help to memory, it is placed, and becauſe of the orderly diſpoſition and nearneſs of the matter coming moſt patly and fitly in, it is numbered, the Sixth Section of the Tenth Book.*

AN APPENDIX,

OR,

Sixth Section.

Concerning the Limitation *of theſe* Two Propoſitions, *Rom.* 8. 13. *If ye live after the fleſh ye ſhall dye ; if through the Spirit ye do Mortifie the Deeds of the Body, ye ſhall live.*

1. BOth *Propoſitions* are (as we ſay) *Hypothetical* or Conditional, and if either ſhould be denied or queſtioned, the only courſe which the *Schools* (which are the *high Courts of Reaſon* for judging of Arguments) afford, would be to plead theſe *Categorical* or abſolute *Propoſitions.* [*Whoſoever lives after the fleſh ſhall dye*] [*Whoſoever mortifies the Deeds of the body through the Spirit ſhall live.*] And our *Apoſtle* himſelf, ver. 6. had premiſed Two abſolute *Categorical Propoſitions*, to infer or prove theſe two *Conditional Propoſitions* in the Text. For ſo he ſaith [*To be carnally minded is death*, but [*to be ſpiritually minded is life and peace.*] Now albeit he hath added no *Quantity* to theſe Two *Categorical Propoſitions*; yet in that he ſaith ; *To be carnally minded is death , and to be ſpiritually minded is life.* This *Infers*, That Death is the *Neceſſary Conſequent* of Carnal living ; and Life likewiſe the *Infallible Conſequent* of being ſpiritually minded. And it is an *Infallible Rule of Reaſon*, That [Any Propoſition, betwixt whoſe Parts the Connexion is Neceſſary , is Equivalent to an Univerſal, although it be delivered in Terms Indefinite, or without addition of any Quantity.] So that when our Apoſtle ſaith ; *To be carnally minded is death* ; *To be ſpiritually minded is life* ; his Speech is altogether as full, and more Emphatical, then if he had ſaid : *Whoſoever lives after the fleſh ſhall dye. Whoſoever through the Spirit mortifies the Deeds of the Body ſhall live.* Howbeit, Theſe Two *Propoſitions* in the Text, thus Reduced to *Categoricals*, and Rendred *Univerſal by a Note* or Sign of ſuch Quantity ; are *Univerſal* only in reſpect of the *Perſons*, whom this duty of *Mortification* concerns ; *Univerſal* they are not, but *Indefinite*, in reſpect of the Duty enjoyned, or Matter propoſed.

All muſt mortifie: though not totally.

The limitation ſet out in three Negatives.

2. To find out ſome more diſtinct (limit or) *Limitation* of them, in reſpect of the *Matter* propoſed, we are to begin, as in the like Caſes the *Method* requires, from *Negatives*. The firſt *Negative* is this. [Though all men after they come to years of diſcretion, be neceſſarily tyed to *Mortifie* the Fleſh, yet no man is tyed under pain of damnation to an abſolute or *Total Mortification of it.* This is impoſſible in this life. Though *ſin* (as the Apoſtle ſpeaks) be the *Sting of death*, and Carnal intentions be the Arrows or darts of Satan ; yet is not every Carnal thought, or every degree of minding the fleſh, ſo deadly in the iſſue unto the Soul, as the *Parthian Arrows* were to mens Bodies ; for they carried death upon their points, and gave it poſſeſſion of every body, whoſe skin they brake ; *Fatumque in ſanguine ſummo eſt* ; They let Death in at the leaſt breach, whereat blood could come out. But every moment of life led after the fleſh doth not thus *Neceſſarily* bring forth the death here meant. The ſecond *Negative* is this. [It is not every Degree or Part of *Mortification* that will ſuffice to bring forth the Life here meant.] For he doth not ſay, if ye *have Mortified* the deeds of the body, but if ye *do Mortifie* the deeds of the Body ye ſhall

live. Theſe two *Negatives* are as the two *Tropicks,* betwixt which the *Limitation* of the former *Propoſition*, in reſpect of the *Matter* propoſed, or Duty enjoyned, is wholly Situate. It is a *Poſitive Mean* between them; ſomewhat *Leſs* then any Abſolute or Total *Mortification*; Somewhat *more* then every Degree or Practiſe of *Mortification:* yet all this is but *Indefinite.* This *Poſitive Mean* betwixt the former *Negatives* muſt of neceſſity be either ſome kind of *Mortification* for *Quality* more precious then the *Mortification* which moſt men ordinarily affect or practiſe: or ſome Greater Meaſure of the ſame *Mortification*, whereof moſt men are partakers at ſome times.

3. As Great mens quick Goods are preſumed to be of a better kind or breed, then the like goods of their poor neighbours (for *Noblemens Geeſe* as the Proverb is, *are Swans.*) So there be ſome, who will have all *Qualifications* whether of Life or Practiſe, all *Acts* of Duty or Performances to be of a better kind or rank in the *Elect,* then they are in *Others.* And in theſe mens *Dialect* or Divinity, the Anſwer to the propoſed *Querie* were eaſie, and would be *This.* They which *Mortifie* the deeds of the body in ſuch ſort as the *Elect* do, they certainly ſhall Live, for the *Elect* do truly *mortifie* them, albeit not *in ſo full a meaſure.* And as *Belief,* ſo *Mortification*, in *Them* eſpecially, how little ſoever it be, ſo it be *True*, will ſuffice unto Salvation. But in the Divinity which I have learned, the points of *Election* and *Reprobation* are to be determined of (if at all they may be determined of) by the Reſolution of other more General and more facile *Queries.* They are prepoſterouſly brought to the Determination of any other Difficulties. Always the Reſolutions of the Generals muſt be *Introductions* to the Reſolution or clearing of more Special Difficulties. Special Difficulties can be no Introduction to the Reſolution of General *Queries.* Now this duty of *Mortification*, and the tranſgreſſion of it, to wit, *Living after the fleſh*, are far more General, then the eſtate of *Election* or *Reprobation.* Seeing, as I am often forced to repeat, it is but a little point of mankind, a ſmall portion of men (which are partakers of the Word or Sacraments) which are for the preſent contained under either part of *This Diviſion*, either in the State of *Election* or *Reprobation.* But under this Diviſion of *Living after the fleſh* or *after the ſpirit*, all are comprehended. Again, in as much as we our ſelves are all imployed in this Work of *Mortification* , we may have more certain Experiments of our progreſs in this Duty, then we can have of our eſtate of *Election*, which is meerly the work of God; we have no finger, no imployment in it. The truth is, *Only they* who have *mortified* the deeds of the body in ſuch a *meaſure*, as our Apoſtle here requires, are in the ſtate of *Election. Only they* who have made up ſuch a *meaſure* of ſin, or *Living after the fleſh*, as induceth the Sentence of death here mentioned, are in the abſolute ſtate of *Reprobation.* So that the Poſitive *Mean* between the two former *Negatives* muſt be taken from the *meaſure*, not from the Specifical *Quality* or nature of *Mortification.* The very phraſe or Character of our Apoſtle [If ye live after the fleſh ye ſhall dye; but, if through the Spirit ye mortifie the deeds of the Body, ye ſhall live] Neceſſarily includes a *Perſeverance* in either kind. A perſeverance there muſt be in this duty of *Mortification*, before we can have full and perfect Intereſt in this Promiſe. Without *Perſeverance* or continuance in this *life of the fleſh*, none are inevitably ſentenced unto the death here denounced againſt all that live *after the fleſh.*

Points of Election, &c. are not to determine, but to be determined by more general points.

All are not Elect, or Reprobate. But all live after the fleſh, or after the Spirit.

4. But even *Perſeverance* it ſelf is a Term *Indefinite* and illimited; it admits, though not altogether ſo many determinate degrees or portions, as *Mortification* doth (for there muſt be ſome ſet degrees of *Mortification*,

fication, before there can be any perſeverance in *Mortification*) yet a great many Degrees or parts. And all the degrees of Perſeverance are meaſurable by continuance of Time. Some there be who require a Perſeverance in *Mortification* unto the hour of death, before a man can be infallible Heir of the bleſſing here promiſed. They ſay of *This* and the like bleſſings or Prerogatives promiſed, as *Solon* did of *Happineſs* or *Felicity*; —— *Dicique beatus Ante obitum nemo ſupremàque funera debet.*

No man can be ſaid to be thus *Happy,* as to be in the aſſured ſtate of life, until he hath perſevered in this Duty of *Mortification* unto death. And in this *Tenour* many of Gods Promiſes ſeem to run. As when it is ſaid, *He that continues to the End, he ſhall be ſaved, &c.* This *Limitation,* though true, is not ſatisfactory to the Point in queſtion. This *Negative* is true [He that doth not Perſevere in this duty of *Mortification* unto the end of his Life, can have no Intereſt in this promiſed Life.] But this being granted, it may be further queſtioned: Whether a man may not have the Gift of *Final Perſeverance* infallibly collated upon him by the Vertue of this Promiſe, before he come neer to the End of his mortal life? Whether ſome may not have it collated a longer time before, ſome a ſhorter time, ſome not until the laſt day of their life or hour of death?

A double Inquiry about Perſeverance.

5. This point again admits of a *Double Inquiſition.* The one, *De certitudine Objecti,* the other, *De certitudine Subjecti.* The one concerns the Certainty of the *Object* or gift of *Perſeverance* it ſelf; as whether this gift be immutably beſtowed upon any man before his death, The other concerns the certainty of our Apprehenſions or perſwaſions that this Gift of *Perſeverance* is, or may be beſtowed upon us in particular. Or, if any man in this life can be thus certainly perſwaded, the laſt Querie is, By what Degree or kind of certainty he can be aſſured, that he ſhall finally *Perſevere* in this Duty of *Mortification,* or that he ſhall ſo *Perſevere* in it, as he ſhall not *finally fall from Grace.* To begin with the firſt *Branch* of this Inquiry, to wit, Whether the gift of *Perſeverance,* or certain eſtate in Grace, may be infallible or immutable in this life. Our firſt Propoſition ſhall be this. [There is a degree or meaſure of *Mortification* (beſt known unto God) which may be obtained before the hour of death, by ſome later, by others ſooner, unto which whoſoever doth attain, he is not onely actually inſtated in this Promiſe of life, but *confirmed in Grace,* and endued with the Gift of *Perſeverance.*] The Meaſure is not the ſame to all; Some may be *confirmed in Grace,* before they attain unto the ſame height of *Mortification,* which others muſt exceed. *To whom much is given, of them much ſhall be required.* The ſecond Propoſition is this, [There is a Degree or Meaſure of *living after the fleſh* (beſt known unto God) which may be made up in this Life, by ſome ſooner, by others later, which Meaſure whoſoever doth make up or go beyond it, doth hereby become lyable to the Sentence of death hereby denounced, and falls into the ſtate of *Reprobation.*] The truth of both Propoſitions may be inferred from the Analogy of Faith or points of Doctrine heretofore delivered concerning the Certainty or continuance of publick weal or proſperity, and the certainty or Infallibility of ruine and deſtruction to States and Kingdoms. *Saul*'s Kingdom was upon the point of being perpetually confirmed unto him, 1 *Sam.* 13. 14. but by his folly and diſobedience, his own ruine, and utter Depoſition of his Line, became inevitable and irrevocable. The *Rule* often mentioned in other Treatiſes, was *General.* That Bleſſings promiſed to any Nation, whilſt they were *only promiſed,* not *confirmed by Oath,* were but *mutable* and Conditional, and the Promiſe revocable. That Curſings likewiſe, only denounc'd by way of *Threat,* not ratified by *Oath*; were but *conditional,* were evitable,

See his Sermons upon 2 Chron.6.39. And upon Jer. 26.19. preach't before the King.

evitable, and the ſentence revocable. That Plagues or Bleſſings denounc'd by Oath were Inevitable, unpreventable; Inſtances were then given in *Saul*; and in the Children of *Iſrael*, which were cut off by Oath from entring into the Land of Promiſe, as others were aſſured by Oath that they ſhould enter into it.

Promiſes or threats without Oath Revocable: under Oath irrevocable.

6. Now albeit the Interpoſition of Gods Oath was alwayes an Infallible Argument, that the Thing, which he did ſwear (were that matter of Promiſe or of Threat, bleſſing or curſing) was Immutable; yet the Interpoſition of the Oath, did not firſt make mens Eſtates, whether in his Promiſes or in his Threats, to be Immutable; but rather declare them to be ſuch. Their Eſtates were the one way or the other Immutable, before the Lord did ſo declare them, and Immutable their Eſtates alwayes became, not by any ſpecifical Qualities of the Duties performed, or of the Iniquities committed by them; but by the *Juſt meaſure*, or full Degrees, whether of dutiful Obedience or of diſobedience and Tranſgreſſion. The beſt Argument in this caſe we can uſe muſt be drawn from the *Type* unto the *Antitype*, from the Legal Shadow unto the Evangelical Body. This kind of Argument our Apoſtle hath warranted, and in a manner fully drawn unto our hands, *Heb.* 3. 7. *Wherefore as the Holy Ghoſt ſaith, to day if you will hear his voice, harden not your hearts*, ver. 13. *But exhort one another daily whilſt it is called to day* (i.e. whilſt there is time left for repentance) *leſt any of you be hardened through the deceitfulneſs of ſin; for we are made partakers of Chriſt, if we hold the beginning of our confidence ſtedfaſt unto the End*; μέχρι τέλους: what *End* doth he mean? The *End* or utmoſt Period of Life? This End may be comprehended under this phraſe; which notwithſtanding is not neceſſary to be reſtrained unto this End: For ſo the Inſtances alledged by the Apoſtle, would not conclude his main Allegation; yea, they include the contradictory to this reſtraint: thus much at the leaſt, that ſome, of whom he ſpeaks, were confirmed in the promiſe, and declared to be ſo confirmed by Oath; others of them were ſentenced by Oath unto death without revocation or appeal, long before the end of life or approach of death. *Some when they had heard* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *did provoke, howbeit not all that came out of Ægypt by Moſes*, ver. 16. Not all that were above twenty years old; for *Caleb* and *Joſhua*, being at that time forty years of age, did enter into the Land of Promiſe after all the reſt, which were above twenty, had periſhed in the Wilderneſs. But the Apoſtle further demands, with *whom was he grieved forty years? Was it not with them which had ſinned, whoſe carkaſſes fell in the Wilderneſs? And to whom ſware he, that they ſhould not enter into his Reſt? but to them that believed not; ſo we ſee what they could not enter in becauſe of unbeliefe*; He ſaith not, they did not enter in becauſe of unbelief, but they could not enter in becauſe of Unbelief. This argues that the poſſibility of entring in was utterly cut off, and *we know it* was ſo cut off *becauſe the Lord had ſworn* they ſhould not enter in. But what was the true or adequate cauſe why they *could not enter in*, or why their former poſſibility of entring in, was utterly cut off? The Apoſtle mentioned only two; *Unbelief* and *Sin*. But are his words only to be underſtood of *ordinary Sin*, or *ſimple Unbelief?* or was their any *ſin* or *unbelief* for *ſpecifical Quality* ſo deadly as could utterly exclude them from all poſſibility of entring in? Or, do theſe Termes though indefinit in themſelvs, neceſſarily include a certain *meaſure* or high *degree* of *Unbelief* or *Sin*. This point may beſt be reſolved by the *Hiſtorical* relations of *Moſes*, whereunto our Apoſtles diſcourſe throughout the whole 3. *Chap. to the Heb.* hath ſpecial reference; and on which his exhortation or main argument is wholly grounded. This Story is ſet down at large,

Of Promiſes or threats without or under Oath: See his 7 Book C. 13. and 9 Book Ch.18.

large, *Numb.* 14.21. *As truly as I live (ſaith God to Moſes) all the earth ſhall be filled with the glory of the Lord.* This is the *expreſs form of the Oath.* The contents of the ſame Oath, or the Articles, unto which God *ſwears*, are ſet down at large in the words following, in which likewiſe the *meaſure* and quantity as well of their *poſitive ſin* as of their *unbelief* is emphatically expreſſed. *All thoſe men which have ſeen my Glory, and my Miracles which I did in Egypt, and in the Wilderneſs, and have tempted me theſe ten times, and have not hearkened unto my voice ; ſurely they ſhall not ſee the Land, which I ſware unto their Fathers, neither ſhall any of them that provoked me ſee it.* They had ſeen, or known by certain relation, *ten ſeveral mighty Wonders*, which God had wrought in *Egypt* upon *Pharaoh*, upon his Land and people. Now the contempt and neglect of ſo many Wonders, beſides the Miracles which he had wrought for them in the Wilderneſs, argue a great meaſure of *diſobedience* or *unbelief*, a great meaſure of Omiſſion or neglect of this duty of *Mortification* which is neceſſary to *all* ; a great meaſure of life ſtubbornly led after the *Fleſh* ; Howbeit *their ſins were moſt grievous*, which had ſeen the good Land, which God had promiſed by Oath unto their Fathers, as is clear from *Numb.* 14.36,37. *The men which Moſes ſent to ſearch the Land, who returned and made all the Congregation to murmur againſt him by bringing up a ſlander upon the Land, even thoſe men that did bring up the evil report upon the Land, dyed by the Plague before the Lord :* and ſo they dyed before their brethren, which had given credit unto their report, and out of their *Unbelief* did murmur againſt their God. Howbeit even theſe, with all the reſt above twenty years old (except *Caleb* and *Joſhua*) were utterly cut off, from all poſſibility of entring in, before the time or hour of their death ; yea they dyed before their *ordinary times* for this their Provocation ; as is emphatically expreſt, *ver.* 34, *Ye ſhall bear your Iniquities forty years. And you ſhall know my breach of Promiſe* ; that is, the Revocation of the Bleſſing promiſed.

7. That *Caleb* and *Joſhua* had their eſtate or Intereſt in the ſame promiſe irrevocably confirmed unto them, long before their time of their entring into the promiſed Land, may be gathered from the Exception interſerted in the Oath; for the Lord had ſworn that none of the reſt ſhould enter in beſides *Caleb* and *Joſhua*. This Exception in ordinary conſtruction ſeems to include, that the Lord did *Poſitively ſwear*, That theſe *two* ſhould enter into his Reſt. Howbeit this Exception alone is but a Preſumption, or a proof not concludent without favourable Conſtruction, and as Lawyers ſay, *Favorabiliora ſunt amplianda* ; Favourable promiſes are to be taken in the ampler ſenſe. But thus we may not interpret Gods promiſes without warrant from Him. That Gods meaning in the former clauſe or exception concerning *Caleb* and *Joſhua* was to be taken in this Favourable and ample Senſe, we have a further Poſitive and Concludent proof from the Petition which *Caleb* exhibited unto *Joſhua*, and *Joſhua* granted, *Joſh.* 14. 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13. *Thou knoweſt* (ſaith *Caleb* unto *Joſhua*) *the thing that the Lord ſaid unto Moſes the man of God concerning me and thee in Cadeſh Barnea; Moſes ſware in that day ſaying, Surely the Land whereon thy feet have troden, ſhall be thine Inheritance and thy Childrens for ever ; becauſe thou haſt wholly followed the Lord my God. And now behold the Lord hath kept me alive as he ſayd theſe forty and five years, even ſince the Lord ſpake this word unto Moſes, whilſt the Children of Iſrael wandred in the Wilderneſs ; and now lo I am this day fourſcore and five years old ; As yet I am as ſtrong this day, as I was in the day when Moſes ſent me : as my ſtrength was then*, even ſo is my *ſtrength now for War, both to go out and come in : And Joſhua bleſſed him, and gave unto Caleb the Son of Jephunneh Hebron for an Inheritance.*

Num. 14.30.

Such is the Force and Efficacy of Gods Promiſe confirmed by *Oath*, that it not only kept *Caleb* alive, but in the *ſame ſtrength and Activity of body* till 85. years, in which he was at 40. years. It was as Remarkable in preſerving his life and ſtrength, as it was in bringing mortality upon others. Yet was not his Promiſe ſo confirmed by *Oath* unto all that were excepted from the Plague denounced by *Oath*, as it was unto *Caleb* and *Joſhua*. For all that were under twenty years old were excepted from the plague denounced by *Oath*, yet were they not all aſſured by *Oath*, that they ſhould enter into the Land of Promiſe. The Exception of *Them* in the *Oath* only, reſerves that Poſſibility or that Intereſt, which their Fathers had in the Promiſe as Entire to them as it was at the firſt. Their *Eſtate* was but *Conditional*, and held as it were the *Mean* between the eſtate of *Caleb* and *Joſhua*, which was confirmed by *Oath*, and the eſtate of their Forefathers, which were excluded by *Oath*. For ſo *Moſes* ſaith unto the Tribe of *Reuben* and *Gad*, whoſe diſobedience and backſliding he feared, Numb. 32. 14. 15. *Behold ye are riſen up in your Fathers ſtead an increaſe of ſinful men to augment yet the fierce anger, of the Lord towards Iſrael; For if ye turn away from after him, he will yet again leave them in the wilderneſs, and ye ſhall deſtroy all this people. Moſes* in this ſpeech ſuppoſeth, that theſe men were not ſo Immutably intereſſed in Gods Promiſe, as *Caleb* and *Joſhua* were: *Theſe men ſtood in need of Repentance, and their Repentance is Specified*, Verſ. 16, 17, 18.

But was this Decree of God concerning *Caleb* and *Joſhua* terminated to their *Individual Entities*, or Inſeperably annexed unto their Perſons before they were born, or did it ſuppoſe ſome *Meaſure* or Degree of *Belief* or *Obedience* in them? Yes, As the others Excluſion by *Oath* did preſuppoſe an extraordinary *Meaſure* of Diſobedience and *Unbelief*: So the Ratification of the ſame Promiſe unto them by *Oath* did preſuppoſe a *Meaſure* more then ordinary of *Belief* and *Obedience*. Thus much is included in the reaſon of their exception from the Common Plague, Numb. 32. 12. *For they have wholly followed the Lord:* which Speech is likewiſe reſumed by *Caleb*, Joſh. 19. 9.

Three Points cleared.

8. So then theſe *Three Points* be clear. *Firſt*, That ſuch as had Gods Promiſe for entring the into Land of *Canaan*, were cut off from all Intereſt in this Promiſe, as appears from the words recited, Numb. 14. 34. *Ye ſhall know my breach* or Nullification *of my Promiſe;* for Gods Promiſe could not be Nullified or Revoked, unleſs it had been ſincerely and really made unto them. *The Second*, That this Promiſe was not only Revoked or Nullified, but that the Parties to whom it was made, were utterly cut off from all Hope of Poſſibility of having the like Intereſt in the Land of Promiſe renewed unto him, albeit they ſought the renewing of it with Tears, and teſtified their repentance with hazard of their lives. This point is clear from Numb. 14. 39, 40, 41. *So when Moſes told all theſe ſayings unto all the children of Iſrael, the people mourned greatly, and they roſe up early in the morning, and gate them up into the top of the mountain, ſaying, lo we be here, and will go up unto the place, which the Lord hath promiſed, for we have ſinned. And Moſes ſaid, wherefore do ye now tranſgreſs the Commandment of God? But it ſhall not proſper; go not up, for the Lord is not among you, that you be not ſmitten before your enemies.* The event did prove his words true: For when they preſumed to go up unto the hill top, then the *Amalekites came down and the Canaanites, which dwelt in that hill, and ſmote them, and diſcomfited them even unto Horma, Numb.* 14. 43, 45. *Deut.* 1. 41. *The Third Point.* That the General Promiſe wherein *All the* people had a true Intereſt, but from which *moſt* of them were utterly cut off,

was irrevocably ratified and confirmed unto *Joſhua* and *Caleb* upon their *Perſeverance* in *Belief* and *Obedience.* The like Ratification of Gods Promiſe upon the like Occaſion, we have in the Hiſtory of *Abraham. Firſt*, He had Gods Promiſe that he ſhould be the *Father of many Nations,* that he ſhould poſſeſs the land of *Canaan*, but this Promiſe preſuppoſed or prerequired a *Meaſure* or Degree of *Obedience* in *Abraham* ; for he was to forſake his kindred and his Fathers houſe at Gods Commandement, before he could claim intereſt in this Promiſe. He had likewiſe fought the Battle of the Lord, before this Promiſe was further ratified or enlarged by the *Solemn Bleſſing* which *Melchiſedeck* beſtowed upon him in the Name of the *Moſt High God.* Yet even unto this *Meaſure* of Obedience Gods Promiſe was not Irrevocably Terminated, the bleſſing promiſed was not as *yet* ſo Immutable as it afterwards became. To what meaſure of Obedience then was it ſo *Immutably* terminated? To his *Obedience* in offering up his only ſon *Iſaac*; upon this Fact the former Promiſes were ſolemnly confirmed by *Oath*, and being ſo confirmed the Bleſſings promiſed could not be recalled or repealed. By this laſt *Meaſure* of *Belief* or Obedience, that Scripture was fulfilled which ſaith, *Abraham believed God, and it was counted unto him for Righteouſneſs*, as St. *James* inſtructs us, Chapt. 2. 23. As this Fact was the Accompliſhment of *Abrahams* former *Obedience* ; ſo the Interpoſition of Gods *Oath* upon this Fact was the Full or *Final Ratification* of Gods former Promiſes made unto *Abraham.*

Every Degree of Mortification *an approach to the Final* Ratification *of the Promiſe.*

9. *Now all theſe things* (as the Apoſtle in the like Caſe ſaith) *happened unto them for Enſamples or Types, and they are written for our admonitions, upon whom the ends of the world are come: wherefore let him that thinketh he ſtands, take heed leſt he fall*, 1 Cor. 10. 11, 12. The ſpecial Points of our Admonition or Inſtruction from the former *Types* or *Examples* may thus be gathered by warrant or Imitation of the Apoſtles Argument in the like caſe. Whoſoever doth in any ſort *Mortifie* the Deeds of the body, hath a true intereſt in this Promiſe, [*ye ſhall Live.*] Every ſubſequent Degree of *Mortification* is a Degree or approach unto the *Final Ratification* of the Promiſe. The Bleſſing promiſed notwithſtanding is not Irrecoverably ratified, the Gift of *Final Perſeverance* in this Duty, is not immutably eſtabliſhed, until we attain unto a certain *Meaſure* of *Mortification*, anſwering in proportion unto the *Meaſure* of *Abraham's* Obedience, when he offered up his ſon *Iſaac*, or unto the obedience of *Caleb* and *Joſhua*, when the Lord ſware unto them that they ſhould enter into the Land of *Canaan.* Again, every Degree or Portion of Life led *after the fleſh*, is a Degree or Approach unto the Sentence of death here denounced; [*If ye live after the fleſh, ye ſhall die.*] The further we go on in the wayes of the Fleſh, the more we endanger our Intereſt in the promiſe of Life, the more obnoxious or liable we become to the Sentence of death. Howbeit the Sentence of death becomes not Irrevocable, until we come unto a full *Meaſure* of Diſobedience, in following the wayes of the Fleſh, anſwering in proportion unto the *Meaſure* of their Diſobedience or *Unbelief*, who were cut off from all Poſſibility of entering into the Land of Promiſe: Again, as theſe Diſobedient men did make up the full *meaſure* of their *Diſobedience*, before they made up the full meaſure of their days, and as *Caleb*, *Joſhua*, and *Abraham*, did attain unto the *meaſure* of *Belief* and Obedience, unto which Gods Bleſſings were immutably annexed by *Oath*, long before they came unto the End of their Life: So likewiſe we may come unto that *Meaſure* of Diſobedience, or *living after the Fleſh*, unto which the Sentence of death is inevitably awarded, before we ceaſe to be in the Fleſh; and on the other ſide we may attain to the *Meaſure* of *Mortification*, whoſe neceſſary

Conſequent is an *Immutable* Eſtate in Life Spiritual, before we come to the End of our Bodily Life. And unto this Point ſome may arrive ſooner, others later, according to the Fervency of their Endeavours, or victorious Conſtancy in the Service of God.

The Objection anſwered.

10. The only *Objection,* that is, or can be made againſt this Reſolution or Determination in the point propoſed, was intimated before; the whole ſtrength of it relyes upon thoſe places of Scripture, wherein it is ſaid, *He that continues unto the End, ſhall be ſaved:* or, *We are partakers of Chriſt and his Promiſes, if we Continue the Beginning of our Confidence ſtedfaſt unto the End,* But though it be True, that no man, which falls off from the *Spirit* unto the *Fleſh,* before the End of his Bodily Life, can be partaker of the promiſes; yet is it never ſaid, That no man is, or can be ſo confirmed in Grace before the End of his life, that he cannot *Totally or finally fall.* As for that Speech frequent in Scripture, [*He that continues unto the End,* &c.] it doth not ſo punctually point out the *End of Life,* as it doth *the End* or juſt *Meaſure* of this Duty here injoyned, μεχρὶ τέλους, or εἰς τὸ τέλος in the Language of the Holy Ghoſt ofttimes ſignifies as much as *ad victoriam*; and denotes that point of time wherein we get that *Victory* or *Conqueſt* over the Fleſh or other enemies of the Spirit. And the Apoſtles words, Heb. 3. 14. may well bear this Interpretation: *if we hold the beginning of our Confidence ſtedfaſt unto the End:* That is, unto the End or full *Meaſure* of our Confidence. And all the glorious promiſes which are made unto ſuch as continue *unto the End,* are as often made and conceived in this *Tenour, To him that overcomes.* So it is Revel. 3. 5. *He that overcometh, the ſame ſhall be cloathed in white raiment, and I will not blot out his Name out of the Book of Life, but I will confeſs his Name before my Father and before his Angels.* And again, verſ. 12. *Him that overcometh will I make a Pillar in the Temple of my God, and he ſhall go no more out, and I will write upon him the Name of my God, and the Name of the City of my God, which is New Jeruſalem; which cometh down out of heaven from my God*; And the writing of this name of *Jeruſalem,* which cometh down from heaven upon men, imports, it ſhall be thus written whileſt they live here on earth, or whileſt it comes down to them, not when they aſcend in ſoul unto it. And when St. *Paul* ſaith, that the names of *Clement* and other his Fellow-Labourers were *written in the Book of Life,* Phil. 4. 3. Queſtionleſs his meaning is, that they were ſo written in it, that they ſhould never be blotted out, and yet were they ſo written, long before they died. *I ſaw* (ſaith St. John) *the dead ſmall and great ſtand before God, and the Books were opened, and another Book was opened, which is the Book of Life; and the dead were judged out of thoſe things that were written in the Books according to their works,* Rev, 20. 12.

But although men in this Life may attain unto an *Immutable eſtate of Grace,* yet many finally miſs of this *Eſtate,* becauſe they know not where to find themſelves, or in what *Eſtate* or Condition they ſhould for the preſent rank or eſteem themſelves.

The diviſion of all mankind into Elect and Reprobates, not Right.

11. Some there be, which either *Expreſly,* or by *Inevitable Conſequence* of what they expreſly affirm, divide Mankind as formally into *Reprobates* and *Elect,* as Philoſophers do *Subſtances* into *Corporeal and Incorporeal.* By this kind of *Diviſion* (were it ſound and Orthodoxal) every man from his birth unto his death ſhould be either a *Reprobate,* or One *Elect.* Now were *this Doctrine* true, We that are Chriſts Meſſengers ſhould be at a *Non-plus,* either for adminiſtring Comfort to our hearers in trouble of Conſcience; or for preventing and aſſwaging Preſumption in ſuch, as are not conſcious of any groſſer Sin, or not dejected by the Thundring Threats of Gods Law.

The Truth is; There be *Three Eſtates* or Conditions of Men, not only in General, but of every man in particular, which finally attains unto Salvation,

Firſt, The *Eſtate* or Condition of Man as he is the ſon of *Adam.* For every man, as he is the ſon of *Adam*, is the ſon of wrath.

Second, The *Eſtate* or Condition of Man as he is reconciled to God, and admitted into the Priviledge of his Son, by *Baptiſm*, or ingraftment into his *Myſtical Body*, the Church.

Third, the *Eſtate* or Condition of Compleat *Regeneration*, or of *Election.*

The firſt *eſtate* or condition is the *Terminus à quo.* Eternal Salvation, or admiſſion into the Everlaſting State of Bliſs, is the *Terminus ad quem* of every True Chriſtians progreſs. The *Two Eſtates Intermediate*, that is, the *Eſtate of the Sons of God in General* by Baptiſm, and the *Eſtate of Election*, which we have in this Life, are the Two ſeveral Degrees or ſteps of our Progreſs in Chriſtianity.

Four Eſtates of men in general.

But in as much as all men be not at all times, either in the *Eſtate* of *Election* or *Reprobation*, and yet all in the end become either Sheep or Goats: we muſt obſerve *Four Eſtates* of men in General.

The Firſt, The Eſtate of the Sons of Wrath.
The Second, The Eſtate of *Reprobates.*
The Third, The eſtate of the Sons of God, by *Adoption*, or *Baptiſm.*
The Fourth, The eſtate of the *Elect*, or compleatly *Regenerate.*

12. That there is a Difference between the eſtate or Condition of the *Sons of Wrath*, and the eſtate of abſolute *Reprobation*: A Difference likewiſe between the eſtate or Condition of the *Sons of God*, and the eſtate or Condition of the *Elect*, may be demonſtrated from the ſeveral Eſtates or Conditions of the Firſt Man. *Adam* in his Firſt eſtate was the *Son of God*, yet not then in the eſtate of *election*, for ſo he could not have faln ſo foully as he did. After his *Fall* he was in the State or Condition of a *Son of Wrath*; Yet not in the eſtate or condition of abſolute *Reprobation*, for ſo he could not have attained unto the eſtate of *election* or *Salvation.* So then every *Reprobate* is the *Son of Wrath*, but every *Son of Wrath* is not a *Reprobate.* Every *elect* Perſon, or every man after Election is *the Son of God*, but every *Son of God* is not in the number of the *elect.* The Award allotted to every one of theſe eſtates, is either an Act of *Mercy* or of *Juſtice* Divine. But unto the *Individual Nature*, or Perſons of Men, no effect of Juſtice or Mercy can be awarded: And therefore the *Individual entity or Nature of Man cannot be the Immediate Object of the Divine Decree.* No part of miſery can be determined upon any man, or Decreed againſt him, before he be the *Son of Wrath* or a *Reprobate*; For God doth never puniſh where he is not diſpleaſed, and diſpleaſed he cannot be with our meer Natures. Now to be *the Son of Wrath* in the loweſt degree, ſuppoſeth ſome work of *Satan* wrought in the party, which is the *Son of Wrath*; *That* only makes him the *Son of Wrath.* *Adam* could not have become the *Son of Wrath* unleſs he had ſuffered the Devil to deface Gods work in him, and to inſtamp his own image upon him. No ſon of *Adam* could have been born the *Child of Wrath*, unleſs this work and Image of *Satan* had been propagated unto him by inheritance from his Father *Adam.* Now, if to be the *Son of Wrath* in the loweſt degree preſuppoſe ſome Work of *Satan*, the the eſtate or Condition of *Reprobation* alwayes includeth or preſuppoſeth a greater meaſure of *Satans works*; and unto this work, not unto mens Perſons or *Individual Natures*, is the Irrevocable Sentence of *Reprobation* awarded.

13. To be the *Son of God* includeth or preſuppoſeth more then the meer *Nature*, eſſence, or Individual ſubſtance of Man. What more doth it include? It alwayes includes ſome work of God wrought in the *Nature*, either as an *Emanant effect* or Reſultance of his Creation; or ſome work of God produced in man after his Birth, Conception, or Creation. *Adam* by Creation was the *Son of God*, becauſe he was created juſt and good. And albeit there were not *two Creations*, One of *Adams Nature*, Another of his *Righteouſneſs*; Yet was his *Righteouſneſs* a thing Diſtinct from his *Nature*; Otherwiſe *Adam* by his *Fall* had not ceaſed to be the *Son of God*. For after his *Fall* he remained the ſame man he was for *Nature* and Subſtance, but not the ſame man he was for *Quality*. It was then his Firſt Qualification, to wit, his *Righteouſneſs*, by which he was made the *Son of God*, and it was the loſs of this Qualification, which made him the *Son of Wrath*. His *Nature* or ſubſtance was no part of the *Object* of the Divine Decree; not capable either of Reward or Puniſhment, but according to the *Two former Qualifications*. In every Son of *Adam*, which in time becomes the *Son of God*, there muſt be a Creation or new Production of *Righteouſneſs* by the birth of the *Spirit*, beſides his birth or Conception *Natural*, by which he becomes a *man*. In every *Elect Perſon* there muſt be a greater work of God, a greater meaſure of *Regeneration* or of new birth, then that by which he is firſt made the *Son of God*. *And this Meaſure of Righteouſneſs or of Regeneration is the Immediate and Formal Object of the Eternal Decree*; or of that Eternal Rule of Divine *Mercy* or bounty, by which the Immutable *Eſtate* of *Election* or of Grace is awarded. The Point then is clear as the Sun; That neither the Decree of *Election* or *Reprobation* are terminated to the *Nature* or *Individual Subſtance* of men, without reſpect or relation to their works or Qualifications. The works of *Satan* are Eſſentially and formally included in the *Object* of *Reprobation*: the Works *of God* to be wrought in man, not for man only, are Eſſentially and Formally included in the *Object of abſolute election*.

Election and Reprobation look upon Qualifications.

14. That which the Authors or Favourers of the Contrary Opinion (I am perſwaded) would have ſaid, or ſhould in reaſon ſay for their abſolute *election* or *reprobation*, is only This; That albeit the works of God be eſſentially included in the Object of the eternal *election*, as the works of *Satan* are in the Object of eternal *Reprobation*: yet God did ſo abſolutely Decree to work theſe works, which are required to the Object of *election*, that it was *neceſſary from eternity* they ſhould be wrought in all the Veſſels of *election*. And that he did from Eternity ſo Abſolutely Decree to ſuffer *Satan* to work thoſe works, which are included in the Object of *Reprobation*, or thoſe works which makes men *Veſſels of wrath fitted to deſtruction*, that this Qualification or Temper could not poſſibly be avoided. This indeed is *One* of the *Two* main *Queſtions*, which only ought ſeriouſly to be diſcuſſed between the *Arminians* and their *Oppoſites*, all the reſt are but *Word-Bates*, or Verbal Quarrels, ariſing from ambiguous or Unſcholaſtick expreſſions of their Opinions or Conceipts.

The firſt Queſtion is already diſcuſſed, and is, Whether men in this life ordinarily do, or may attain unto an *Immutable eſtate of Grace*: that is, whether their *election* until the hour of death be *Abſolute*, or but *Conditional*.

The *Second*, which now remains to be diſcuſſed, is, whether this *abſolute eſtate of election or Reprobation*, during the time of this life being granted, the attaining unto the one eſtate, or falling into the other, be from *eternity neceſſary*: ſo *neceſſary*, that no man which hath faln or ſhall fall into the *abſolute eſtate of Reprobation*, hath had, or hath, any Poſſibility to avoid his Fall. Or again, vvhether every man that now is in the *Abſolute Eſtate* of *Election*, were ſo deſtinated to the ſame Eſtate from Eternity, that no Occurrences Poſſible could prevent it. If the *Arminians* would yield to the *Church of England* in the *Former*, I think no true *Member* of the *Church of England*, would much diſſent from them in the *Latter*: vvhich may be expreſſed in *Terms* perhaps more perſpicuous, Thus: Whether God, in his Fore-ſight of all mens Natures, did ſet apart or deſign *ſome Individual eſſences* or Natures, with purpoſe to frame & fit them to be *Veſſels of Honour* vvithout Poſſibility left for them to frame themſelves to be *Veſſels of diſhonour ?* And whether he did, by the ſame Foreſight or Inſpection, ſet apart or deſign *Other Individual Natures* or *Subſtances* to be *Veſſels of wrath* or diſhonour, without any Purpoſe or Will to Frame or Faſhion them to be *Veſſels of Election ?* To diſcuſs both Queſtions, firſt in *Theſi*, then in *Hypotheſi*; that is, *Firſt*, whether *Election* it ſelf were *Abſolutely Neceſſary* from eternity. *Secondly*, Whether the *Election* of this or that man, were *Abſolutely Neceſſary* from the hour of his birth or conception, or rather begins to be *Neceſſary*, from his *progreſs in Grace*, or from his Plenary and *full Converſion* unto God, which ſometimes, and in ſome men, is not accompliſhed before the hour of death?

A Sorites.

15. No mans *Election* or deſignment to the *Immutable ſtate of Grace* can be more *Neceſſary* from eternity then his *Reconciliation* is. No mans *Reconciliation* unto God the Father can be more *Neceſſary* from eternity, then his Intereſt is in the Pardon purchaſed by the Son of God. No mans Intereſt in this Pardon can be from eternity more *Neceſſary*, then was the death of the Son of God. The death of the Son of God was no more *Neceſſary* from eternity, then the Fall of *Adam* was. The Fall of *Adam* neither was nor could not be from eternity more *neceſſary*, then the Firſt Sin or Tranſgreſſion was. The *Conſequences of theſe Truths are moſt neceſſary*, moſt immediate. If *Adam* had not tranſgreſſed Gods Commandment, he had not fallen into the ſtate of Gods Wrath and curſe. If *Adam* had not fallen into Gods Wrath or curſe, the Son of God had not become accurſed, had not died. If the Son of God had not died for us, our Pardon had not been purchaſed. If our Pardon had not been purchaſed, there had been no Reconciliation of mankind unto God the Father. If there had been no *Reconciliation* of mankind to God the Father, there had been no *election* in Chriſt. So that though it be moſt True, that Chriſt was *Agnus occiſus ab origine mundi*, the Lamb ſlain from the beginning of the World, yet was it not neceſſary from eternity, that this Lamb ſhould be ſlain; For Chriſt's death was no more neceſſary then *Adams* death or Tranſgreſſion was. Now no man, I hope well adviſed, will affirm, that God did deſtinate *Adams* Tranſgreſſion as a *neceſſary Means* that Chriſt ſhould dye, for ſo he ſhould make him the Author of ſin in *Adam*, before he became the Fountain of Mercy in Chriſt. The Truth then is; That *Adam* having ſinned, not of neceſſity, but *Freely*; God, out of his *Free Mercy* and Compaſſion towards mankind, did deſtinate the *Incarnation*, the *Death* and *Paſſion*, of his only Son, as the *Only Means* of our Redemption, and Reconciliation to himſelf. And did likewiſe Deſtinate the Conſecration of his Son (by his death) unto his *everlaſting Prieſthood*, as the only means for the accompliſhing of our Redemption, that is, for making our *election ſure and abſolute.* As Chriſts Prieſthood is then moſt unchangeable and moſt *neceſſary*, yet was it not *neceſſary* from eternity that he ſhould be made a Prieſt by the ſuffering of death: So our eſtate of *election* in him is moſt Abſolute and *neceſſary* after we attain unto it; yet was it not neceſſary from

eternity that we ſhould attain unto it; not abſolutely neceſſary that any ſhould attain unto it, but *neceſſarily* only upon *Suppoſal* of *Adams* Tranſgreſſion (which was no way *neceſſary*, but *Free* and Contingent:) and of Gods infinite wiſdom and mercy in ſending Chriſt Jeſus our Lord.

16. If no mans Deſtination or deſignment to the Abſolute State of ***election*** in Chriſt were abſolutely ***neceſſary*** from Eternity, but *neceſſary* only upon the Suppoſals laſt made, which were not *neceſſary*; much leſs was the Deſignment of any mans ***Individual nature*** or Perſon to the abſolute State of ***Reprobation*** or damnation abſolutely *neceſſary* from Eternity. Damnation, as all grant, is the end of Sin, or rather an endleſs miſery, into which no man can fall but by ſin, whence if this endleſs miſery had been abſolutely *neceſſary* from Eternity or Decreed by God as the Goal of any mans courſe of life; the means likewiſe, or only way by which men come unto this end or Goal muſt have been by a like degree of *neceſſity* deſtinated and decreed by God; and the only way or means, by which men come unto this end, is ſin: So that God, by this Opinion or Doctrine, ſhould have been as immediate a *Cauſe of Sin* and Death, as he is of the Puniſhment of ſins, or of non-Repentance for ſins, committed. And this is ***Contrary to the fundamental Principles of Chriſtianity*** of ***Religion it ſelf:*** By both which we are taught, that God, as a Righteous Judge, is the ſole Author of the Decree or Sentence againſt impenitent Sinners, but no Cauſe at all, no Author of their ſins or Impenitency, and therefore *no Cauſe*, much leſs any ***neceſſary*** *Cauſe* of any mans Falling into the Abſolute ſtate of ***Reprobation.*** Our Saviour Chriſt, as then deſigned to be the Future Judge of quick and dead, did pronounce that ***Woful Sentence*** againſt ***Judas***, and againſt him alone for ought we read; ***It were good for that man if he had never been born.*** We may hence ſafely conclude, that *Judas* from that time was in the abſolute State of *Reprobation*, and had now deſerved (without hope of Pardon) this fearful Sentence as having now reſolved in his heart without Remorſe or Compunction, to betray the Son of God into the hands of ſinners. He became an *Abſolute Reprobate* by reſolving to betray the Son of God; he did ***not reſolve*** to betray the Son of God, becauſe he was an *abſolute Reprobate* from Eternity or from his birth. He was not liable to this woful Sentence from his birth or in his Infancy; for if it had been better for him from his birth or from his calling to the Apoſtle-ſhip, not to have been born at all, or not to have been ſo called; God howſoever moſt gracious and good in himſelf, had not been good or gracious to ***Judas*** in giving him Being, in making him an Apoſtle, ſeeing it had been much better for him not to have been either a Man or an Apoſtle, if from the time of his Birth or Apoſtleſhip he had been inevitably deſigned to the abſolute eſtate of ***Reprobation***, to a greater meaſure of everlaſting puniſhments then other men ordinarily are. But the truth is, the greater meaſure of his ***puniſhment*** did preſuppoſe a greater meaſure of his ***unthankfulneſs***, and the greater meaſure of his unthankfulneſs (in reſpect of other men) did preſuppoſe a greater meaſure of Gods Favour and goodneſs towards him, in giving him birth and being in the days of his Sons Incarnation, or in calling him to the Fellowſhip of his *Apoſtles* or *Ambaſſadours.* And thus we come ***a Theſi ad Hypotheſin*** from the general Speculative Truth, unto the Particular Uſe or Application.

Judas not Reprobated from Eternity.

17. All of us do (I am perſwaded) unfeignedly acknowledge our ſelves to have been by Natural birth the *Sons of wrath*; and to be the *Sons of wrath*, includes in it ſome work of *Satan*, wrought not in *Adam* only, but in our *Nature*, which we derive from him; and *this work of Satan is Twofold:*

Com.III.

Satans work two-fold, Sin, and Curſe

Twofold: *Sin Original*, and *the Curſe* thereunto annexed; This Latter Part, to wit, the Curſe, muſt be diſſolved by *Faith*, as by the inſtrument: *For he that believeth not*, ſaith S. John Chap. 3. ver. 36. *ſhall not ſee life*, *but the wrath of God abideth on him*, that is, It was upon him from his *Firſt Being*, and reſts upon him until it be removed by *Faith in the Son of God*. Now in that this work of *Satan* (that is, the Curſe due to Sin Original) is removed by *Faith* in the Son of God, the Son of God is the Principle cauſe or Agent which removes it by his *Sacerdotal* or Princely Bleſsing upon our *Miniſterial Act* or Function of Baptiſm. It is a Truth unqueſtionable (eſpecially in the Doctrine of the Church of England) that as many, as are *Baptized*, are, *from* their Baptiſm, and *by* their Baptiſm tranſlated from the Eſtate or Condition of Sons *of wrath*, to the Eſtate or Priviledge of *the Sons of God*. This Doctrine of our Church is neceſſarily grounded upon the Saying of our Apoſtle *Gal*. 3. 27. *As many of you, as have been baptized into Chriſt, have put on Chriſt.* Now it is impoſſible that any ſhould put on Chriſt and not receive him. *And to as many as receive him* (ſaith S. John Chap. 1. ver. 12.) *to them he gives Power* (*Right or Priviledge*) *to become the Sons of God.*

18. But here ſome will demand, If all that are Baptized become the *ſons of God*, do they not all likewiſe by this new birth become *heirs with Chriſt?* Yes, *all that are Sons are likewiſe Heirs*, but not therefore un-diſinheritable, becauſe heirs; not therefore in the eſtate of *abſolute election*, becauſe they are in the eſtate of the *ſons of God*, or heirs with Chriſt by Baptiſm. For many, whom God hath graciouſly accepted for his ſons; many, who during the time of their Infancy have enjoyed the eſtate or Priviledge of the *ſons of God*, may in riper years turn *Prodigal* ſons, and diſinherit themſelves; and none can be diſinherited but he that hath been in the eſtate or Condition of an Heire; or until with *Eſau* he have *ſold his birth-right*. Both parts of this Aſſertion, [That all that are *Baptized* in their Infancy, become the *Sons of God*, and during their Infancy do *live to God*.] 2. That Sin even in ſuch, may *revive*, and wound, ſome greivouſly, others mortally,] are included in our Apoſtles diſpute, Rom. 7. 9. *I was once alive* (ſaith the Apoſtle,) *without the Law: but when the Commandement came ſin revived, and I dyed.* Doth he ſpeak this of *himſelf only* or of *all men* without exception or reſtraint that were without the Law? *Not abſolutely of all* Men that were without the Law, for ſo the Gentiles, which were not under the Law, which knew not God, nor his Lawes ſhould have been ſo alive, as the *Apoſtle* there ſaith, he ſometimes was; becauſe they were more without the Law, then he at any time was. *Nor doth he ſpeak this of himſelf alone*, but of all ſuch as he was; That is, of all ſuch, and only ſuch, as were the *Seed of Abraham*, and had been circumciſed the eight day, and by Circumciſion became under *the Law*, though for the preſent without the Law. So that as *Baptiſm* now, ſo *circumciſion* then did free the Children of *Abraham* from the curſe of the Law; did Tranſlate them from the eſtate or Condition of the *Sons of wrath*, to the Condition or Priviledge of the *Sons of God*. But did the *Apoſtle* or his Brethren which were made alive by *Circumciſion* in their Infancy, continue in the ſame eſtate of Life until their mortal Lives end? No, The Apoſtle expreſly adds, *But when the Commandement came, Sin revived, and I dyed.* So that ſin, before the Commandement came, was dead: and revived when the Law came. And the *Apoſtle* before the ſame point of time was alive; but then dyed. When then did the Commandement come, which by its coming did bring life to ſin, and death to this our Apoſtle, and ſuch as he was? It is an *Obſervation of very good Uſe*, which *S. Baſil* hath to this purpoſe

in his Comment upon the firſt Pſalm : Ἐπειδὰν δὲ ὁ λόγος ἡμῶν συμπληρωθῇ--, *When our Reaſon comes once to ripeneſs or perfection, that is fulfilled which is written : Adveniente mandato revixit Peccatum, when the Commandement comes, Sin revives.* For when ſuch as have ſubmitted themſelves to the Law of God come to the uſe of Reaſon, or to take their Eſtate into Conſideration, they begin to examine their Conſciences by the Law of God ; and ſin, which was before *Inherent*, though quiet, being called in Queſtion, grows deſperate and rebellious againſt the *Law*, by which it is examined ; againſt the *Judge*, which condemns it ; and againſt the *Party* which calls it in Queſtion. The Extract as well of our *Apoſtles* ſpeech, as of *S. Baſils* Obſervation upon it, confirms the Truth, which was before delivered in *the Treatiſe of Mortification* ; That the ſame meaſure of Regeneration, which ſufficeth during the time of Infancy or Childhood, ſufficeth not to ſave the ſame Parties when they come to Uſe of Reaſon or Conſideration ; for then the Commandement comes upon us, a Commandement to *Mortifie the deeds of the Fleſh by the Spirit*, to enter the *Liſts* or Combate with ſin reviving in us which will certainly kill us, unleſs we mortifie it, as it reviveth in us ; or quell it as it rebells againſt us. So that the eſtate or Condition of ſuch as have been baptized, after once they come to the uſe of Reaſon, is an eſtate different from their eſtate in their Infancy or Childhood ; an eſtate likewiſe different ordinarily from the Abſolute eſtate of *Election*. But of this eſtate, and of our Chriſtian demeanour in it, I ſhall now only ſay thus much in Generall. This *Mortification of the Fleſh*, which our *Apoſtle* injoynes, Rom. 8. 13. is that *Reaſonable Service*, which the ſame *Apoſtle* requires, Rom. 12. 1. *I beſeech you therefore brethren by the mercies of God, that you preſent your bodies a living ſacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your Reaſonable Service.* But why a *Reaſonable Service* ? In oppoſition to the Service of the Law, which did conſiſt in the Sacrifice of Buls and Goats and other *Reaſonleſs Creatures*, which yet were offered by the holy men of God in Teſtification of their Faith, or Expectation of the promiſed *Meſſias*. This *Reaſonable Service* or *Mortification* of the Fleſh muſt be performed by us in Teſtification of our Belief, that he hath accompliſhed the Sacrifices of the Law by the Sacrifice of himſelf. Again ; this ſacrifice or offering of *Our ſelves*, that is, of *Mortifying* our Brutiſh or unreaſonable affections by the Spirit, is a great deal more acceptable to God, then the offerings, which the *three Kings* or *Wiſe men*, offered unto our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. They offered *Gold*, *Myrrhe*, and *Frankincenſe* in teſtimony or acknowledgment that the child then born was *the King of the Jews.* But in as much as we know that *we are not redeemed with ſilver and gold, but with the precious bloud of Chriſt as of a Lamb without blemiſh*, we cannot either *Symbolize* with the Sacrifice of our High Prieſt, or attain to that live-*Sympathie* with him by the offering of *ſilver*, *gold*, or any other kind of offering, beſides the ſacrifice of a *broken and contrite ſpirit.* If, as He offered himſelf by the *eternal Spirit* to God the Father for us, So we again offer up our ſelves to him by *Mortifying our earthly man by the Spirit* ; then his Blood, (as the Apoſtle ſpeaks, Heb. 9. 14.) ſhall throughly *purge our Conſciences from dead works to ſerve the living God*, and finally cleanſe us from all our ſins. Unto this *Reaſonable ſervice* or offering up of our ſelves, We were conſecrated by Baptiſm, and bound by ſolemn vow then made ; and if we continue conſtant in performing this *Vow* after we come to riper years, we ſhall continue in the ſtate or condition of the *Sons of God*, which we had by *Baptiſm* ; and by con-

See S. Baſil's words at the End of this Chapter.

Chap. 29. *n.* 5.

Aurum, Thus, Myrrham, Regiq; Hominiq; Deoq; *ſays, Juvencus an old Poet, and Father that lived An. Chriſti* 330.

This was a Sermon preacht upon the Epiphanie, *as I take it.*

tinuance or Progreſs in this eſtate we ſhall arrive at the *Immutable ſtate of grace*, or *abſolute election*; For, the *end* of the Son of Gods appearance or manifeſtation, was, that he might thus *lead us on from ſtrength to ſtrength until we appear before our God in Sion*.

The Doctrine of Mortification (and the conſequences thereof) were it thus Taught, and Laid to the Conſciences of Chriſtian People as a main Part of their Baptiſmal Vow, and preſſed home as a Duty that concern'd their everlaſting Salvation, would, by Gods Bleſſing, be likely to prove fruitfull, as indeed it is uſefull. For ſomewhat to enlarge that which hath been Toucht on, in the foregoing Chapter, this may be more particularly conſidered.

The uſe of the former Doct. to condemn ſloth: to prevent preſumption and deſpair.

Firſt, It leaves Sloth and Negligence in this *Good Duty* and of ſo high Concernment, clean without excuſe.

Secondly, Being rightly applyed it ſerves as an *Antidote* both againſt Preſumption and Deſpair.

20. There is no way to make a Coward Hardie or Reſolute in fight, but by putting him upon ſome manifeſt exigent or apparent Neceſſity either of killing his Adverſary, or of being killed by him. So long as there is hope to eſcape by Flight, or *Non-appearance*, it is a matter almoſt impoſſible to make a Timorous ſpirit try his ſtrength or ability. The foes or enemies with whom we are here enjoyned to fight, are our own *Bodies*, or, our own *Fleſh*, which ſtill fighteth againſt our ſoules; from whoſe aſſaults there is no poſſibility of flight. There is an apparent Neceſſity layd upon us either of killing *the Deeds of the Body* or of being more then killed by them. For if we *Live after the fleſh*, or ſuffer the works of the Fleſh or deeds of the Body to live or raign in us, *we ſhall dye* the death of the Soul. Did we truely apprehend the Neceſſity of this choyce, how were it poſſible for us to deferre this Conflict with our own fleſh for *one Moment*.

21. Some notwithſtanding there be which ſee in part this *neceſſity of dying, by living after the fleſh*, and yet ſubmit ther wills and affections unto the deſires and luſts of the Fleſh, as *Men Condemned* by Law do their Bodies to the Officers of Juſtice or Executioners. This, *Theſe* poor ſouls do; Some out of Conſcience, becauſe they hold it unlawful to reſiſt Authority; Some out of weakneſs, as being not able to prevail, if they ſhould ſtruggle with Authority. But neither of theſe motives can have place in the former caſe. For *firſt*, the Conflict or Reſiſtance of the Fleſh is not only Lawful but neceſſary; *ſo neceſſary*, that if after our promiſe in Baptiſm and participation of the word and Sacraments we neglect the undertaking of this war *with our own bodies*, we are in the ſame caſe that Souldiers are, which after they have received Preſſe-mony and good pay, run from their Colours. We juſtly incurre the Sentence of everlaſting death, by not ſeeking to put the Deeds of this mortal Body to death. We become perpetual ſlaves to Satan, by refuſing to fight with ſin, which is Chriſts enemy, and Satans Agent.

22 Nor can we pretend that our endeavours to *Mortifie* the Deeds of the Body are hopeleſs, or vain, becauſe *we are not able of our ſelves to think a good thought*, much leſs to give good ſucceſs to our beſt endeavours. For the *Apoſtle* (as you heard before) enjoynes *us to work out our ſalvation with fear and trembling*, that is, as men afraid to be idle or ſlothful for *a moment*; even for this Reaſon, *Becauſe it is God that worketh in us both the Will and the deed*. And though the ſame Apoſtle hath elſewhere ſaid, *That it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of*

God that ſheweth mercy; yet it is *a general rule* in Divinity, *Finis dicendorum eſt ratio dictorum*, our *Apoſtles ſpeech* muſt be taken from the *end or General Scope* at which he aimed. To what *end* then doth our *Apoſtle* give us the former or like *Rule?* To the *end* that we ſhould not will or deſire our *mortification*, nor run with alacrity towards the Goal; which in every Epiſtle he ſets before us, to wit the *mortification* of the Fleſh and life of the Spirit? or rather to kindle our deſires to *work*, and ſtir up our alacrity in *working*, yet ſo, as we ſtill rely not upon our works or indeavours, but meerly upon the *good will and mercy of our God.* He that ſaith, *It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that ſheweth mercy*, did never ſay, that it was not the good will or pleaſure of God to ſhew *mercy unto all*, that abandoning all other waies run with what ſpeed and alacrity they can unto his Mercy. He that ſaith, *God will have mercy upon whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardneth*; did never ſay, that was Gods Will to harden any which deny themſelves and their own doings, and wholy betake themſelves to his Infinite Goodneſs. His meaning (ſure) in that place is, that as God will have mercy on none that ſeek ſalvation by works or other prerogatives of the fleſh, ſo he will harden none that put their confidence, not in their works, but in his mercy.

See Chap. 41. and 42.

23. The Summe of all that can in this Point be ſaid, is; That no man can be partaker of the promiſe of Life, but he that faithfully ſeeks for *Mercy* in Chriſt Jeſus. And no man can faithfully ſeek for mercy in Chriſt, but he that ſincerely renounceth his own works and merits. And no man can ſincerely and truly renounce his own works and merits, but he that is induſtrious and laborious in theſe works of *mortification here enjoyned.* Hypocrites and ungodly perſons will be ready in the day of Tryal, *to deny all hopes of ſalvation by works, or confidence in merits.* But, as was intimated before, *No man can be truly ſaid to renounce thoſe good works, which he hath left undone, but thoſe works which he hath done.* No man can truly deny himſelf but he that exerciſeth himſelf in theſe works of *mortification.* We cannot poſſibly know our own impotency or want of ſtrength to perform theſe works of *mortification* as we ought, unleſs we make proof or trial of our ſtrength in working them as we can. The more we try our ſtrength, the more inſufficient ſhall we find our ſelves; and the better experience we have of our own inſufficiency, the more earneſtly will we (if we do as we ought for our own good) crave the aſſiſtance of Gods Spirit: the more faithfully will we rely on Chriſt, who is our ſtrength and the Rock of our Salvation, and ſo not preſume.

Chap. 36. Paragr. 7.

24. Again, The *former Doctrine is uſeful to prevent deſpair* in the dayes of Temptation; Albeit we find our Tranſgreſſions of this precept to be great and many. Our Apoſtle ſaith not, *if ye have lived after the fleſh ye ſhall dye*; for ſo no fleſh ſhould be ſaved. But his words are; *if ye live after the fleſh, ye ſhall dye.* If any man find his Conſcience burdened with an heavy load of the works of the Fleſh, let him not take the frights, no nor the ſcars of Conſcience wounded by ſins paſt, or the impreſſions by ſin preſent, as undoubted marks of *Reprobation*; yet let him call to mind, as often as he finds himſelf prone to the works of the Fleſh, *that he may fall into Reprobation before he be aware*, if he continue ſecure in that Courſe of Life, which formerly he hath taken; let him withall remember, that *Præterita non nocent ſi præſentia non placent.*

On the other ſide; is there any man whoſe Conſcience can truly inform

form him that he hath ſincerely laboured to *mortifie the deeds of the Body?* his Faith upon this Information will aſſure him that he is in the way of Life, and that in *patient continuance in well-doing,* he ſhall be a *Veſſel unto honour, and* make *his election ſure.* But let not any man hence Conclude that he is already in the *Immutable ſtate of Grace.* For our Apoſtle doth not ſay, *if ye have mortified the deeds of the body by the ſpirit, ye are in the Immutable ſtate of Life*; but he ſaith; *if ye mortifie the Deeds of the Body, ye ſhall live*: that is, *if ye Continue to Mortifie the deeds of the Body,* God will *Continue* the bleſſing and means of life unto you, yea *Confirm* you in the Immutable State of Life and ſaving Grace.

25. If any man liſt to examine himſelf, whether he be *in the ſtate of Election* or *Reprobation,* let him meaſure or moderate his perſwaſions of the one or other Eſtate, by his proficiency or negligence *in this duty of Mortification.* Otherwiſe to be prepoſſeſt with ſtrong perſwaſions of being in the *Immutable State of Grace or Election,* before we have *given all diligence to make our election ſure, by performing this Duty of Mortification,* is the readieſt or moſt compendious way that Satan yet hath found out, to caſt men into *a Reprobate Senſe,* that is, to make them without ſenſe or feeling of their ſins: or which is worſe, to miſperſwade them, that *thoſe very Deeds,* whileſt done by *Them,* are *no ſins,* or *ſins of Infirmity only,* which being done by *Others* are even in their Judgements groſſe and *Capital ſins.* The Method, by which Sathan works this miſperſwaſion in men (ſtrongly perſwaded of their own *Immutable ſtate of Grace,* before their due time) is Immutable and Infallible. For it is an Infallible Rule in Logick and Nature; That, *An Univerſal Negative may be Simply converted.* If no rich man (whilſt a rich man) can be a begger, then no begger (whilſt he is a begger) can be a rich man. If no covetous, no proud, no envious, no ſeditious or uncharitable man, no doer of any of thoſe works of the Fleſh mentioned by S. Paul, Gal. 5. can enter into the Kingdom of heaven; Then no man, whoſe entrance into it is immutably determined, can be a covetous, an envious, ſeditious or uncharitable man. Whence, if a man be once perſwaded, that his entrance into the Kingdome of heaven, or his eſtate in Grace is unchangable, he cannot poſſibly perſwade himſelf, or be perſwaded by others, that he is a covetous, proud, envious, ſeditious or an uncharitable man, albeit he do all the works that a covetous, proud, envious, ſeditious or uncharitable man doth.

26. Laſtly, although it be the ſafeſt way to examine our *Eſtate in Grace* by our diligence in *this duty of mortification*; yet I muſt admoniſh men not to examine their proficiency or progreſs in performance of this duty by *meer Abſtinence from* the works of the Fleſh, which they ſincerely diſlike or condemn in others. I know we condemn the *blind obedience of the Roman Catholicks,* that are ready to do and believe as the Church commands them, without examination, as a work of the Fleſh, of which we are Freed; yet this doth not argue that we have *mortified* this work of the Fleſh, this *blind Obedience,* unleſs our Conſciences can truly inform us that we are ready to obey the Church our Mother in things lawful, or in things, which upon diligent examination are not Evill, but Indifferent.

We likewiſe condemn, as wel the *affected Ignorance* of the Romiſh Catholick, in that, though he may, yet he regards not to hear the Word preached in a Language that he knows, as his *blind Devotion,* in that he cannot be content to make his Prayers, or to hear publick Prayers in a Language that he underſtands not, for works of the Fleſh. In both theſe we do well: yet are neither of *theſe works* truly *mortified* in us by the Spirit, unleſs we be as ready and zealous to joyn with the Congregation in *publick Prayers of the Church* celebrated in a known Tongue, as we are to hear or read Sermons. The Miniſters muſt preach, that the people may know how to pray aright in private, And the people muſt joyn with them in *Publick Prayers appointed by the Church*, that both may practiſe according to the Rules of Life delivered whether by the word read or preached. The *Communion of Saints*, or that part of it, which can be had betwixt Saints here on earth, doth ſpecially conſiſt, in the Unity of Faith, and of Prayers publickly celebrated according to the Common Rule of Faith.

A Note referring to Fol. 161. Line 1. and to Marg. Note 1.

Μακάριος οὖν ὃς ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδῷ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν οὐκ ἔστη. Τὸ δὲ, [οὐκ ἔστη] τί ἐστιν; ὅτι ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας ὄντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὔτε ἐν κακίᾳ ἐσμὲν, οὔτε ἐν ἀρετῇ· (ἀνεπίδεκτος γὰρ ἡ ἡλικία τῆς ἕξεως ἑκατέρας) ἐπειδὰν δὲ ὁ λόγος ἡμῶν συμπληρωθῇ, τότε γίνεται τὸ γεγραμμένον, [Ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς ἐντολῆς ἡ ἁμαρτία ἀνέζησεν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπέθανον·] ἐπανατέλλουσι γὰρ λογισμοὶ πονηροὶ ἐκ τῶν παθῶν τῆς σαρκὸς ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν ἐντικτόμενοι. Τῷ ὄντι γὰρ ἐλθοῦσα ἡ ἐντολὴ, τουτέστιν ἡ διάγνωσις τῶν καλῶν, ἐὰν μὴ κατακρατήσῃ τοῦ χείρονος λογισμοῦ, ἀλλὰ συγχωρήσῃ ὑπὸ τῶν παθῶν ἐξανδραποδισθῆναι τὸν λογισμὸν, ἀνέζησε μὲν ἡ ἁμαρτία, ἀπέθανε δὲ ὁ νοῦς νεκρὸς γενόμενος τοῖς παραπτώμασι.

S. Baſil. 1. *Tom.* (*Pariſ.* 1638. *Græco-Lat.*) *Fol.* 113. *Comment. in Pſal.* 1.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

A Sermon Preached on St. *SIMON* and *JUDE'S* Day, 1629.

JUDE Verſe 4.

For there are certain men crept in unawares, which were before of old ordained to this Condemnation, ungodly men, turning the Grace of our God into Laſciviouſneſs, and denying the only Lord God, and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

The Scope of the Epiſtle.

1. THe End and Scope of this Epiſtle you have ſet down in the third Verſe. And it is, *in brief*, to exhort theſe his Flock or Charge, *To contend earneſtly for the Faith, which was once delivered to the Saints.* The Word *ONCE* is Emphatical, and imports thus much; That the Rule of Faith had been *Once for all delivered* unto them, ſo full and ſo compleat, that if they would hold cloſe to it, and uſe it as the *Rule of Life*, they ſhould need no other additions, or increaſe of new points to be believed

The occaſion of writing

Two ways of denying God.

ved or practiſed. The ſpecial occaſion, which he had to write unto them, for this end and purpoſe, was, becauſe there were *certain ungodly men crept in* to their Society, which did overthrow or contaminate that Rule of Faith, which had been *delivered unto the Saints.* But how they did overthrow it, is not expreſt in particular. Moſt certain it is (for St. *Jude* expreſly affirms it) *that they did deny the only Lord God, and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* Now to deny God or Chriſt, there be but *two ways* poſſible: either by *Opinion* and Doctrine, or by matter of *Fact* and Practiſe. And theſe men it ſeems did *both wayes* deny God, and his Chriſt, though not directly and expreſly, yet by neceſſary and unavoidable conſequence. But wherein they did deny God and Chriſt, ſhall be toucht in the Uſe and Application.

Two points of Doctrine handled.

The Doctrinal *Points* to be diſcuſſed are *Two,*
Firſt, *Unto what Condemnation they were of Old ordained.*
Secondly, *How, or in what manner they were ordained unto it.*

See the 1. note at the end of this Chapter.

God ordains no man to ſin.

God is no leſs holy and juſt then powerful.

2. “There is *An Engliſh Note* upon this Place, A very ſtrange One, “yet gathered as it ſeems from ſome good Writers, who did not ſo “clearly expreſs themſelves in their Comments upon this Place as might “have been deſired, and yet are far worſe underſtood by many of “their Followers, then they meant. *The Engliſh Note* ſeems to imply, “that theſe men were *ordained to trouble the Church,* or to follow thoſe “lewd Opinions or Practiſes, whereby the Church was troubled, and “the Faith of many brought into manifeſt hazard. Yet to ſay, that any man is *ordained by God* to this or the like end, will be very harſh to any Chriſtian ears, and was (I am perſwaded) either a branch of their Hereſy, which are here ſaid to be *ordained to Condemnation*; or a Branch of the ſame Root, worſe then any Hereſie, which they maintained. And yet to ſay, *That Men are ordained to trouble the Church,* to be ungodly, and to deny Chriſt, is but the *neceſſary conſequent* of their Opinion, who hold, *That all things, every action of Man, even ſinful actions, are ſo ordained and determined by God, that they cannot come to paſs otherwiſe then they do in the Individual; either for the Matter and Subſtance, or for the circumſtance of the action.* Thus to write and thus to ſpeak, ſome are emboldened, becauſe nothing can fall out without Gods *Foreſight,* yea without his *Co-operation*; For in him *all things* living do *live,* all things endued with motion do *move, and have their being.* And in that nothing can be done without him, in that he is *Omnipotent,* and ſupporteth the world by the Word of his Power; they do not collect amiſs that they cannot lay a load to heavy upon him. But they ſhould conſider, that ſeeing he is *Holy and Juſt*; no leſs holy and juſt, then he is *Powerful,* they may lay that upon him, which is a great deal too foul for him to bear. The fouleſt aſperſion, that can be caſt upon his *Holineſs,* is to make him the *Author of ſinful Actions*; To ſay or think *he did ordain men to trouble the Church,* or *to be* (as theſe men were) *ungodly Perſons, deniers of Chriſt.*

See the 6. chapter.

3. To avouch in plain terms, That *God is the Author of ſin,* is, as moſt confeſs, a dangerous Hereſie, a ſign of a *darkned mind* in ſpiritual knowledge. And yet the blindneſs or ignorance would be more groſs, if any man ſhould grant the *Antecedent,* and deny the *Conſequent.* That is, if one ſhould grant, that God did ordain any man to perſecute the Church, to turn his *Grace into wantonneſs*; and yet withall deny that God in thus doing ſhould be the cauſe and *Author of ſin.* “He that is “Author or Cauſe of any Action which is eſſentially evil, or, univerſal- “ly inſeparable from evil, is the author and cauſe of all the evil which

“ is inſeperable from the action, even in that he is the cauſe of the action. “ For that which they call the *Obliquity* of the Action, or *Malum formale*, *Formally evil*, can have no other cauſe at all, then that, which is “ the cauſe of the action, from which this *formal evil* is unſeparable. So that if Gods *Ordinance* be the neceſſary cauſe of ſuch an Action, to wit, of *troubling the Church*, the ſame *Ordinance* muſt be the cauſe of the *obliquity* or evil, which is annexed unto it. *Satan* and wicked men ſhould be but cauſes inſtrumental at moſt; that is, ſuch a cauſe as the ſword is of the murther, which a man commits with it. So that the Caſe is clear, that if to *trouble the Church with lewd opinions* be a ſinful action, then God who is no Author of Sin, did never ordain men unto that action; For whatſoever God doth ordain or decree, he is the author of it. Theſe Inferences will admit no Plea or Traverſe amongſt ſuch, as are inſtructed in the Fundamental Rules of Art or Nature: For all do grant, that which they call *obliquity*, or *formal evil*, to be a *relation*, that is, ſuch an entity, or *being* unto which no action can be immediatly terminated; it hath its being only by concomitance or reſultance from ſome other effect, which hath a direct and immediate cauſe. Of this nature are Equality or Inequality of bodies; ſimilitude or diſſimilitude. Now it is impoſſible that man or Angel, or any cauſe whatſoever, ſhould produce an equality between two bodies formally unequal. by any other means then by altering the quantity of one or both; or to make one body diſlike unto another but by altering their qualities. Altogether as *impoſſible* it is to produce an *obliquity* or crookedneſs in mens wayes, by any other means then by producing thoſe actions, which are *in their nature perverſe* and crooked. He which is the cauſe of ſuch actions in the individual, is the cauſe of that crookedneſs or obliquity, which is inſeparably annext unto them.

God is Author of that which he ordaineth.

4. That *God is not the cauſe*, not the Author of ſuch Actions, or that ſuch actions are not neceſſary in reſpect of his Decree, *Chriſtianity* it ſelf or the Rule of Catholick Faith binds us to believe, as firmly, as that there is a *God*, who is the Author or Fountain of Goodneſs. Hence ſaith St. James, Cap. 1. ver. 13. *Let no man ſay when he is tempted, he is tempted of God, for God cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth he any man unto evil; but every man is tempted when he is drawn away of his own luſt, and inticed.* And unto this inconvenience of being tempted by his own luſt, man was not ſubject until he was beguiled by Satan; nor could this great tempter work evil in man immediatly or directly, but only by tempting or inticing him to that action, to which evil was unſeparably annexed, that is, to *taſte of the fruit*, which God had *forbidden*. The Tempter knew, that if he could intice our firſt Parents unto this action, there was no poſſibility of ſhedding the obliquity or formal evil from it, which was eſſentially annext unto it. Now if God had ordained man to this individual action, or to the condemnation which was due to this action, without poſſibility of avoiding it, his *Ordination* had been a more true cauſe of the firſt mans ſin and of his death and ours, then Satan was. For *Satan* had no power either natural or permitted him by God, to make any ordinance or decree for man, no power either given or permitted to lay a neceſſity of ſinning upon our firſt Parents. All that he was able, or permitted, to do, was only by way of temptation or inticement. *Adam*, as all grant, had a *freedom of will* in reſpect of *Satan* or any inticement, that he could propoſe unto him: But Freedom of Will he could have had none in reſpect of *Gods decree* or Ordination, if it were true that God had ordained him to eat the forbidden fruit. For the Rule

is moſt certain, *That God is the Cauſe and Author of whatſoever he ordains men to do*; and hence we read, *that God hath ordained us to good works*, to *newneſs of life*, to the performance of all thoſe duties, which are commanded. But we never read in Scripture (and let it never be read in any other Book, but with indignation; let it never be ſpoken or thought upon by any Chriſtian, but with deteſtation) *that God ſhould ordain men to walk in the wayes of Cain*, or to tread in the paths of ungodlineſs. The concluſion then is firm and ſound, *That theſe men here mentioned in St.* Jude. *were not ordained to trouble the Church, but ordained, and that of old, unto that condemnation which is due, to ſuch as trouble the Church, or to ungodlineſs*; And that is a fearful condemnation as St. *Jude* expreſſeth it, ver. 13. *For to them* (ſaith he) *is reſerved the blackneſs of darkneſs for ever.* And if this were reſerved unto them, or for them, they were firſt ordained unto it; the Sentence was already paſt upon them, albeit the Execution be deferred until the *Judgment of the great day*. But unto this condemnation they were ordained, becauſe they had *followed the ways of Cain*, and *run greedily after the error of Balaam*, as St. *Jude* tels us, ver. 11. But far be it from us to think that they were ordained to follow the wayes of *Cain*, who was the firſt troubler of the Church, that they might be condemned. And thus much of the *firſt point*, *what condemnation* is here meant, or unto what they *were ordained*; That was not to trouble the Church, but to *everlaſting torments* for troubling the Church by wicked Lives and lewd Opinions.

The concluſion of the firſt point.

The ſecond Point.

5. The Second General was *What Ordination is here meant*, or in what manner theſe men are ſaid to be *ordained* to this *Condemnation*. Many take it as granted, that, *Ordination to everlaſting death*, is, the very ſame that *Reprobation* is; Yet if this were a time, or this a place fitting for diſcuſſion of this point it might be eaſily made to appear, that although *Reprobation* include ſurely an *Ordination to death*, yet every ordination to death doth not include *Reprobation*; For Ordination to life and Predeſtination, and Ordination to death and Reprobation, differ as much as *Genus* and *Species*, as a Reaſonable Creature doth differ from a Senſitive Creature. But to let this paſs; This place of St. *Jude* is, in the opinion of many good Writers, Equivalent to that of St. *Peter*, 1. Ep. 2. Cap. 8. ver. *They ſtumble at the word being diſobedient, whereunto alſo they were Appointed.* But for that place, it is ingenuouſly and diſcreetly expounded by a late Engliſh Writer in his Comments upon that Epiſtle. And it were to be wiſhed, that his Expoſition were ſincerely imbraced, by ſuch as had the man in eſteem while he lived, and are much beholding to his writings (eſpecially upon this Epiſtle) ſince he dyed. I ſhall only now give you notice that *the Original word* in this place of S. *Jude*, rendred by *ordained*, is not the ſame with *that* in St. *Peter*; *That* is ἐτέθησαν, and is well rendred *Appointed.* Nor is it the ſame with that of St. *Paul*, Act. 13. 48. *As many as were ordained* (ἦσαν τεταγμένοι) *unto eternal Life, believed.* S. *Judes* word here is προγεγραμμένοι, that is, as ſome render it, *Præſcripti*, preſcribed; Of whom it was forewritten to this condemnation. But as *Beza*, *deſcripti*; that is, as men deſigned, taxed, or *proſcribed* to this condemnation. It includes then an *Ordinance* or ſomewhat more, to wit an *Ordinance upon Record*: but in what Record? In Gods everlaſting *Book of death?* or may we ſay that he hath *ſuch a Book?* It is evident that there be *more Books then* One, out of which men ſhall be Judged at the laſt day, according to their works, as St. *John* tells us, *Rev.* 20. 12.

I ſuppoſe he means Mr. Byfield *who is far from the Rigidneſs of ſome in that point.*

The 2. General ſubdivided.

The Points then remaining to be diſcuſſed are *Two. Firſt,* in what Senſe theſe men are ſaid to be *fore-ordained to everlaſting death*, or in what Senſe men are ſaid to be *Reprobated*, from everlaſting, or *from Eternity?*

The *Second*, Whether our Apoſtle in this place did expreſly and punctually mean *Gods eternal Decree of Reprobation*, or ſome other ordination to death?

See the 37. *Chap.* Numb. 16. and Pharaoh's hardning.

6. In handling the firſt Point, I ſhall only explicate that which I have elſewhere delivered, to wit, *That albeit, whoſoever is reprobated, is reprobated from eternity; yet no man at the time of his Baptiſm is a Reprobate; few or none are born in that eſtate or condition; but ſuch as finally periſh do fall into it.* The Caſe may be made clear by divers Inſtances, wherein men, even by humane Lawes, may be ſentenced to death or other puniſhment *before they be born*, and yet at the time of their birth, or within ſome few dayes before their death or puniſhment, be no more liable to the Sentence of the Law, then other men are. For unto death or other grievous puniſhment there is required for the moſt part, as well the *Sentence of the Judge*, as the Sentence of the Rule or Law. And yet in ſome peculiar Caſes, no more is required then the Sentence of the *Law* or Rule, which was made and given many hundreds of years before the Party was born, which is ſentenced by it. Every one that committeth murther is lyable to death by the *Law*; But beſides the Sentence of the Law, or the Rule, which is General to all, there is required the *S*entence of the *Judge* to apply the Law to this Particular; and before he give Sentence, there is further required a *Formal Proceſs*, not only for proof of the *Fact* it ſelf, but of the *Quality* of it. And until this Proceſs be obſerved, the Judge himſelf may not give Sentence although he himſelf ſaw the Fact committed. Nor may the Party be executed or put to death by any, until the Judge have given Sentence. He is condemnable before the Jury paſs upon him, but not condemned when the Jury finds him guilty, until the Judge paſs ſentence upon him. But if a private man ſhall take up Arms againſt his Soveraign Lord, or the ſtate wherein he lives, he is rebellious *Ipſo jure*, he is a Rebel by *Law*, there needs no other Trial or Formal Proceſs, beſides the Evidence of the *Fact*. The *Martial* or *General* is only to put the Law in Execution, and the Party thus rebelling is ſentenced to death by the Law, which was in force many hundred of years before the party offending was born, who notwithſtanding is not lyable to this Sentence of death till he commit the *Fact*, at *which* the Law doth *immediatly* ſtrike, not at his *Perſon*. Again, there is ordinarily required to ***Excommunication***, not only *Sententia Juris*, but *Sententia Judicis*; Though the *Canon*, by which he is Excommunicated, were made Long before, yet he that offends againſt the *Canon*, is not forthwith Excommunicated by it, until he be refractory or contumacious. The Judge may *admoniſh* before he give Sentence, and without his ſentence *judicially* given the party is not excommunicated by the *Law*. But ſome peculiar Caſes there be, wherein a man may ſtand *Immediatly excommunicated* by the law or *Canon*, without the ſentence of the Judge: there is no place left for Admonition or recanting. The Fact being once proved, either by witneſſes or by its own Evidence, the Judge hath no more to do, but to read the *Canon*, and to pronounce that *the party hath fallen upon it*. So that he is ſaid, to be excommunicated by the Law or *Canon*, which was made perhaps a thouſand years before he was born, and yet not born an excommunicate perſon, or in the ſtate of excommunication; into this eſtate he falls by doing ſome Fact or other, at which the Rule or *Canon* doth immediately ſtrike, without further Proceſs or Conviction. Now in as much as the Sentence was given before he was born, it cannot be denied but that he was

Sententia Judicis, & Sententia Juris.

excommunicated *before he was born*, and yet had not been excommunicated at all. unleſs he had done that Fact which requireth *Excommunication by the Law.*

7. Some Founders of Colledges appoint a Proceſs or Formal Proceeding againſt Offenders, even in groſſer Crimes: as for *Adultery*, *Murther*, *manifeſt Perjury*, or the like, before any man can be expelled for theſe and the like Crimes. Such as they appoint Judges muſt give Sentence *Viva Voce*, upon the examination, not of the Fact only, but of the Quality of the Fact; as whether it be *Scandalous* in ſo high a degree, as deſerves *Amotion* without further *Admonition* or expectation of amendment. And every one that is in theſe Caſes amoved or expelled, is expelled by his *preſent Judges,* not immediately by his *Founder* or his Statutes; though the Judges muſt proceed according to their intent or meaning. But in caſe any of the ſame ſociety, the very *Governours* themſelves, ſhould obtain a Licence or Diſpenſation for their Oath, there needs no ſentence of any Judge, there is no place for Admonition or Traverſe: becauſe the *Founders* themſelves, even when they made theſe Laws and Statutes, inflicted theſe puniſhments upon all ſuch as in this kind tranſgreſs their ſtatutes. Now upon whomſoever the *Founder* of any Society, which died ſome two or 300. years ago did inflict the puniſhment of Expulſion by vertue of this preſent Statute, he did inflict it before the party offending was born: and yet this puniſhment had not at all faln upon him, unleſs he had committed that Fact, which the Founder in his life-time did thus ſeverely cenſure, whenſoever it ſhould by any of his Society be committed. Now in this caſe we may truly ſay, that the party thus offending doth * *expel himſelf* by committing that Fact, for which he was expelled by his *Founder.* The Founder then expels him before he was born, without any reſpect unto his *Perſon*; For no Law-giver makes any Decree or Law againſt any mans *Perſon*, but againſt mens *Miſdemeanours*; but the party cannot be ſaid to expel himſelf before he doth daſh againſt the inflexible Law or ſtatute.

* *See the Note at the end of this Chapter.*

8. And if no *Law-giver* on earth, how partial ſoever, make any Capital Decrees againſt any mans perſon; Far be it from us to think, that the *Eternal Law-giver*, who is himſelf the Everliving Rule of *Juſtice* and Equity, ſhould ſentence any mans *Perſon* to everlaſting death; albeit whoſoever is ſentenced to everlaſting death, be ſo ſentenced from *Eternity*, becauſe God himſelf, who is *Eternal*, is the very Rule or Law, a *Law or Rule inflexible*, which cannot alter, and yet rewards every man according to all his wayes and works; not according to his *Perſon* or *Individual* Nature. Whoſoever then is *reprobated* by God, is *reprobated* by him before he be born, even from *eternity*; and yet no man Baptized is born a Reprobate, or becomes ſo until he reprobate himſelf by committing thoſe ſins, or rather that meaſure of ſin, unto which the *eternal Law-giver* did, before all Times, award final excluſion from the Benefits of Chriſts Death and Paſſion. Now unto ſuch *ungodly men*, as St. *Jude* here ſpeaks of, this Award was allotted from *eternity,* and thus they were *ordained to Condemnation*: but their *Perſons* were not created or made to ungodlineſs. Taking them as now they are, there was a Neceſſity from Eternity that they ſhould periſh; but there was *No neceſſity* from eternity that they ſhould be ſuch *ungodly men* as now they are. This neceſſity did accrue in time, they wilfully and freely brought it upon themſelves.

Thus much of the *Firſt Part* of the *Second General*, to wit, In what *ſenſe* it is true, *That whoſoever is reprobated, or ordained to everlaſting death in time, was ſo reprobated or ordained from eternity.* The meaning is, that the *Law*, or Rule, by which he is reprobated, or ordained to death, hath no beginning of Date, it was unchangeably ſet from *Eternity*. Yet was this *Law* or Rule an *Immanent act*, that is, conteined in him only who is *Eternal*, it did not produce any Real effect anſwerable unto it, either *for* the creature before he was made, or *in* the creature after he was made, until he have made up that *meaſure of Sin*, unto which everlaſting death was by this Eternal living Rule awarded. But the meaſure of ſin being made up, then (as the Lawyers ſpeak) *Judicium tranſit in rem judicatam*, that is, the eternal Law or ſentence produceth a Tranſient effect in the Creature ſo qualified, and that is an *Ordination Paſſive*, the beginning of that death which ſhall have no end.

Second part of the ſecond General.

9. The *Second Part* of the *ſecond General*, which was the laſt Doctrinal point, was; Whether St. *Jude* in this place, be to be underſtood of *Gods eternal deſign or Ordination* unto death, or of ſome *written Ordination* or Ruled Caſe, which did as truly fit theſe men, taking them as now they are, as it did other *ungodly perſons of old*, againſt whom the Sentence of Condemnation here meant was denounced or declared by other of Gods Embaſſadours. That theſe *ungodly men* here in St. *Jude* were *Fore-ordained to this Condemnation* the word προγεγραμμένοι doth litterally and clearly evince: but whether this Fore-ordination were in St. *Jude*'s intent or meaning a Fore-ordination from *eternity*, the litteral importance of the word πάλαι *of old*, doth make it queſtionable, or rather puts it out of queſtion that he did *not* ſo mean. For it is an Adverb of Time and never reaches to my obſervation, ſo far as ἐν ἀρχῇ, or ἀπ' ἀρχῆς; is not ſo much as if he had ſaid, in the Beginning or from *the beginning*; much leſs doth it amount unto ſo much as if he had ſaid before *all worlds*, or *before the foundation of the world was laid*; which words or the like, do import *Eternity*. And unto this litteral Importance or ſignification of the word πάλαι, The material or real Circumſtances do fully accord: Both do fully witneſs that he ſpeaks only of ſome Fore-ordination made or declared in the compaſs of Time, as ver. 11. *Wo unto them, for they have gone in the way of Cain, and run greedily after the errour of Balaam for reward, and periſhed in the gainſaying of Core.* This *Wo* denounced, takes Date only from the Time of their *following the ways of Cain*, of *Balaam* and *Corah*. God did not ordain either from *eternity*, or by any written Sentence upon Record, That theſe men by name, ſhould go on in the *ways of Cain*, ſhould run after *the error of Balaam*, ſhould *periſh in the gainſaying of Corah*. But now that they had viſibly followed the wayes of theſe wicked men, they were προγεγραμμένοι Fore-ſentenced, or Fore-ordained to the ſame condemnation which had faln upon *Cain*, *Balaam*, and *Corah*. The Sentence or Judgement declared of old againſt theſe Three, was as a *Ruled caſe* for the condemnation of theſe men that St. *Jude* ſpeaks of; they had incurred the Sentence of condemnation given of old, as we ſay; *Ipſo Facto*: that is, by doing the ſame things which *Cain*, *Balaam*, and *Corah* had done. And St. *Jude*, whether by the Spirit of Revelation, or by Evidence of their Facts themſelves, doth but declare or pronounce that theſe ungodly men had faln foul upon that immovable Rule or Canon, which had formerly been declared againſt *Cain* and *Corah* and his Confederates.

10. That theſe men now were in the ſame ſtate, wherein *Cain* and *Corah* were after they had committed theſe Foul ſins for which they were condemned, our Apoſtle takes it as granted, verſ. 12, 13. *Theſe are ſpots in your feaſts of Charity when they feaſt with you, feeding themſelves without fear: clouds they are without water, carried about with winds, trees whoſe fruit withereth, without fruit, twice dead, plucked up by the roots; raging waves of*

of the Sea, ſoming out their own ſhame, wandring ſtars, to whom is reſerved the Blackneſs of darkneſs for ever. He ſpeaks of them as of Reprobates or men ordained to condemnation. For being in the ſame ſtate or condition, for the Quality and meaſure of their ſins, that *Cain*, *Balaam*, and *Corah* had been, they were ***Fore-ordained*** with them to the ſame condemnation; and this their ***Fore-Ordination*** was upon Record in all that *Moſes* or others had written concerning Gods judgements upon *Cain*, upon *Balaam*, and *Corah*. That our Apoſtle means ſuch a ***Fore-Ordination*** upon Ancient Record we gather from the 14. verſe. ***And Enoch alſo the ſeventh from Adam propheſied of theſe, ſaying; Behold the Lord cometh***, &c. If ***Enoch ALSO*** did *propheſie* of them, then *ſome other beſides* Enoch had propheſied of them. So had ***Moſes***, who relates Gods judgements upon *Cain*, propheſied of their judgements, who followed the ***wayes of Cain***; and in foretelling Gods fearful Judgements upon ***Corah, Dathan***, and ***Abiram***, he foretold the condemnation of all ſuch as followed their ways, and were ***Fore-ordained*** to the like condemnation in their condemnation; But more expreſly ***Fore-ordained*** of old unto the ſame condemnation by ***Enochs*** Propheſie, which was more ancient then ***Moſes*** his writings, although *Moſes* mentioned it not. The form of his Propheſie, or of his judgements denounced againſt all ungodly men, was upon Record in our Apoſtles time in a Book, called ***the Book of Enoch***, unto which, or ſo much of which, as concerns this place, ***St. Jude gives*** Authentick teſtimony, verſ. 14, *&c.* ***Behold the Lord cometh with ten thouſand of his Saints, To execute judgement upon all, and to convince all that are ungodly among them of all their ungodly deeds, which they have ungodly committed, and of all their hard ſpeeches, which ungodly ſinners have ſpoken againſt them.*** This Propheſie was litterally meant and in particular directed againſt the ungratious ſeed of ***Cain***, and other ſuch ungodly men of the Old World, as did oppoſe or malign the Church of God, then ſeated in the poſterity of ***Seth:*** of which ***Enoch*** was a principal member, a man of high place or dignity; but the ſame Propheſie was litterally meant of theſe ungodly men, which did oppoſe the Church and deny that Lord, which ***Enoch*** foretold ſhould come to ***give judgement upon all ſuch, as continue in ungodlineſs.*** And though this Propheſie were verified, or in ſome meaſure fulfilled in the ungodly men of the Old World; yet was it more exactly fulfilled in theſe ungodly men here in St. ***Jude***, and ſhall be fulfilled again upon all ſuch as they were, unto the worlds end; and all, in whom it is, or hath been, or ſhall be fulfilled, are by it ***Ordained*** to the Condemnation here meant; and St. ***Jude*** having perfect notice that theſe ungodly men had followed the wayes of ***Cain***, and of ***Corah***, doth but pronounce or declare them to be lyable to the Condemnation foretold by ***Enoch***. But whether all of them were at this time in the abſolute State of ***Reprobation***, that is, irreverſibly ordained to everlaſting death; or whether the Gate of Mercy, and Way to Repentance, were everlaſtingly ſhut up againſt all of them, That we leave to the eternal Judge, ſeeing the 22. verſe mentions Compaſſion for ſome, and making a difference.

The Book of Enoch. Of it, See Tertul. De Cultu Fœm. Lib. 1. Cap. 3. and the Annot. upon that place.

The Jews higheſt Excommunication taken from *Enoch*'s words.

11. However, This Propheſie of ***Enoch*** was ſo famous and ſo Authentick in the Jewiſh Church before St. ***Jude*** wrote this Epiſtle, that their ***GREAT AND FEARFUL EXCOMMUNICATION*** was conceived in the very Form of Words, which St. ***Jude*** here, out of ***Enoch***'s, uſeth. And as ***Writts*** amongſt us have their name or Title from the Firſt and Principal words contained in them, as ſome are called ***Sub Pœna***, ſome ***Niſi prius***, &c. ſo the greateſt and moſt fearful Excommunication, which the Jewiſh Church did uſe, was called ***THE EXCOMMUNICATION OF DOMI-***

DOMINUS VENIET. *THE LORD SHALL COME.* St. *Paul*, as we read, Rom. 9. 3. *did wiſh* that he himſelf might be, *Anathema*, one excommunicated or ſeparated from Chriſt *for his* Countrey-men, or *kinſmen according to the fleſh.* But he did not wiſh himſelf to be *Anathema Maranatha* for their ſakes. This kind of *Anathema* or Excommunication, though he confidently denounceth againſt all ſuch in the Church of *Corinth*, as did *not love* their Saviour. *If any man*, ſaith he, 1 Cor. 16.22. *love not the Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, *let him be Anathema Maranatha*; that is, all one as if he had ſaid; “Let that Sentence which *Enoch* firſt denounced againſt all ungodly and wicked men, eſpecially againſt all Blaſphemers of “God, of Chriſt, or the wayes of the truth, fall upon him whoſoever he be, “that after ſo many miracles wrought in Chriſts name, and ſo great manifeſtation of the truth, revealed in his Goſpel, *doth not love the Lord*, “which hath redeemed him. So then all in the Church of *Corinth*, that did not at this time *love Chriſt*, were excommunicated, or *ordained of old* to that condemnation by the ſentence, which *Enoch* had given in General: and St. *Paul* only declares them *Incidiſſe in Canonem*, to have fallen under that Fearful ſentence of Condemnation. Thus far of the *Two Doctrinal* Points propoſed, as firſt, ***What condemnation it is whereunto theſe men were ordained.*** Secondly, ***In what manner they were ordained of old.***

12. Now for Application, let us inquire what ſpecial ſins they were, by which they fell under this Sentence firſt denounced by *Enoch* againſt the ungodly men of his time; or denounced by God himſelf againſt *Cain*, or by his ſervant *Moſes* againſt *Corah.* One Principal Sin was, to *Deſpiſe Dominion, and ſpeak evil of Dignities*; that is, of men in high place or Authority whether in Church or Commonwealth, verſ. 8. And this ſin he aggravates from the contrary behaviour of *Michael the Archangel*, even towards the *Devil* himſelf, who had no dignity or dominion but uſurped, verſ. 9. ***But theſe men ſpeak evil of thoſe things, which they know not: and what they know naturally as bruit beaſts, in thoſe things they corrupt themſelves.*** Now as we know the form *or figure* of the ſeal, which we ſee not, by the impreſſion or ſtamp which it leaves in the wax or paper. So ſome men there be in our time, who expreſs that Character, which St. *Jude* hath put upon theſe ungodly men, as fully in their daily talk and converſation, as if St. *Jude* had fitted it for them, or expreſt them by name. Such there are, that bring railing accuſations againſt their Betters, againſt all of what rank or place ſoever in the Church, which diſſent from them in Opinions concerning ***Election or Reprobation***, or the Tenour of Gods Decree; being points, which they underſtand not; and yet ſpeak evil of them that ſeek to rectifie their Errour. But in things which are plain and eaſie to be underſtood, which the very heathen knew by light of Nature; as in points of ***Obedience to their lawful Prince***, or to ſuch as are in Authority under him, in theſe (ſhall I ſay as our Apoſtle ſays?) ***like bruit beaſts they corrupt themſelves:*** Sure I am they are more bruitiſhly ignorant, then the ancient heathen *Romans*, or then the Modern *Turks*, or moſt Modern *Infidels* are. Another ſpecial branch of theſe mens ungodlineſs was the ***Turning the Grace of God into wantonneſs:*** and what do they elſe, that trouble themſelves and their neighbours with intricate diſputes, how the *Grace of God doth co-operate* with man in his Converſion or Regeneration; and yet in the mean time violate the bond of peace and charity by their uncivil rude behaviour, and ſcurrilous manner of ſpeech and writing. But it is no marvel if they ſow diſcord amongſt Chriſtian men, who bend the ſtrength of their wits and pens to (nurſe or) *Courſe* a Faction betwixt Gods *Grace* to his *Elect*, and his *Goodneſs* towards *All*; eſpecially to whom he vouchſafeth the

The Application.

How ſome deny Chriſt.

the Uſe of his Sacraments. Now to deny Gods infinite *Goodneſs*, or to cut the wings of his mercy ſo ſhort as ſome men do, is to *deny the Lord God*, and that in a worſe manner (for matter of Opinion) then theſe men here in St. *Jude* can be convinced to have done. But do they likewiſe deny the Lord Chriſt? Surely they deny him to be the *Lord Redeemer of Mankind, by denying that he payed the ranſome for ALL*; eſpecially for *ALL that are Baptized* in his Name. For if Chriſt did not pay the Ranſome for *ALL that are baptized* in his Name, Then is he not their Lord by right of *Redemption*, as well as by right of *Creation*: that is, then he is no otherwiſe Lord of them, then he is of Devils; for even of them he is Lord by right of *Creation*; and if Chriſt be no otherwiſe Lord of ſuch as are baptized in his name then he is of Devils, then we are falſe witneſſes of Chriſt, when we teach ſuch as are baptized, ſuch as ſhall be admitted unto Baptiſm to *believe* in Chriſt as their *Redeemer*. Again, were it true that Chriſt did dye for the *Elect only*, then no man could be more ſure that Chriſt did pay the Ranſome for his ſins, and that he hath purchaſed the remiſſion of his ſins, then he is, that he is in the number of the *Elect*. Now no man is bound to believe, no man may ſafely believe at his *Firſt Admiſſion* into the Church, that, he is in the number of the *Elect*; that is, in the number of ſuch as ſhall not *Finally Periſh*. If then we ſhould teach men or children, that Chriſt died *only* for the *Elect*, we ſhall leave no poſſible *Mean* between Infidelity and Preſumption; for if we teach them that Chriſt died *only* for the *Elect*, they muſt remain in the eſtate of Infidels and Unbelievers, untill they believe that they are of the number of the *Elect*. And if we teach them to begin their Belief in Chriſt at this Point, That they are of the number of the *Elect*, then both they and we fall into the very dregs of their Hereſie, whom St. *Jude* here ſaith were *fore-ordained to condemnation*. This was the very Root of their ungodlineſs. And for this reaſon St. *Jude* in the very next verſe unto the Text puts the Church (to whom he wrote his Epiſtle) in remembrance of that which had been before delivered unto them; to wit, that albeit God had delivered All the People out of *Egypt*; yet afterwards he deſtroyed ſuch as *believed not*, that is, ſuch as continued not in their Firſt Belief. This then was the Sum of the *Faith once delivered unto the Saints*; that they were all delivered by Chriſts death, from the ſlavery of *Satan*, and that this deliverance was as truly ſealed unto them by the bloud of Chriſt, as the deliverance of the *Iſraelites* out of *Egipt* was by the bloud of the *Paſchal Lamb*. Yet for all this they muſt not preſume, that they could not or ſhould not finally periſh, ſeeing *God deſtroyed many in the wilderneſs, which he had delivered out of Egypt*. Our Apoſtle then, if we follow his directions, puts us into the *Middle* or ſafe *Way* between the contrary extreams of *Reprobation* or *Election*, and the Mean or *Middle Way* is, That *A Great Part of men, which have been Baptized, are neither in the one State nor in the other*: But, as hath been before declared in the laſt fore-going Chapters.

See the third Note at the end of this Chapter.

NOTES.

1. R*Elating to this* 38. *Chapter, Folio,* 166. *To thoſe words of Paragraph* 2. [There is an Engliſh Note upon this place, A very ſtrange one.] *This Note is to be found in the Impreſſion of a Quarto Bible, of a Black Engliſh Letter, printed at London, Anno Dom.* 1598. *By the Deputies of* Chriſtopher Barker. *And it runs thus.* [*The Text.*] Of old or-

dained to this Condemnation.] [*The note* [e] *He confirmeth their heart againſt the Contemners of Religion and Apoſtates, ſhewing, that ſuch men trouble not the Church at All-adventures, but are appointed thereunto by the Determinate Counſel* [*of God.*] *Thus it is in that Edition; Though in ſome Bibles with Notes, ſince printed, ſome words, or part of that Note is omitted.*

2. *To Fol.* 170. *To* Thoſe words *in the* 7. *Paragraph of this* 38. *Chapter.* [The Party thus offending doth expel himſelf ——.] *The Heathens had a Notion very remarkable, That the Gods were deſirous to ſhew mercy; at leaſt to be quiet, and not to have their juſtice provoked, by the ſins of men.* Cœlum ipſum petimus Stultitia: neq; per noſtrum patimur ſcelus, Iracunda Jovem, ponere fulmina, *ſayes Horace, Carm. lib.* 1. *Ode* 3. *It is a Complaint uſual with* Salvian, *in his Books de Gubern. Dei. That though God were loth to puniſh, yet men did* exigere & extorquere ut perirent; *And that they did* vim facere, manus inferre pietati Divinæ, & omni peccatorum ſcelere quaſi omni telorum genere miſericordiam Dei expugnare. *And yet for all this complain'd of Gods ſeverity: whereas,* nos nobis, nos accuſandi ſumus. Nam cum ea quibus torqueamur admittimus, ipſi tormentorum noſtrorum autores ſumus.—— Unuſquiſq; noſtrum ipſe punit, & ideo illud Propheticum ad nos dicitur: *Ecce omnes vos ignem accenditis, & vires præbetis Flammæ, Ingredimini in Lucem ignis veſtri & flammæ quam accendiſtis.* Totum namq; humanum genus hoc ordine in pœnam æternam ruit, quo ſcriptura memoravit. Primùm enim accendit, poſteà vires ignibus præbet, poſtremò flammam ingreditur quam paravit. Quando igitur primùm ſibi homo æternum accendit ignem? *ſc.* cum primùm peccare incipit. Quando autem vires ignibus præbet? Cum utiq; peccatis peccata cumularit. Quando verò ignem æternum introibit? quando irremediabilem jam Omnium Malorum ſummam Creſcentium delictorum iniquitate Compleverit. Sicut Salvator noſter ad Judæos ait: *Implete menſuram patrum veſtrorum——. And in his ſeventh Book.* Quicquid actum eſt, peccatis, non Deo aſcribendum: quia rectè illi rei factum aſcribitur, quæ ut ita fieret, exegit. Nam & Homicida cum à judice occiditur ſuo ſcelere punitur: Et Latro aut Sacrilegus cum flammis Exuritur, ſuis criminibus concrematur. *This agrees with the Rules of Civil Law;* Qui cauſam dat damni ipſum Damnum dediſſe videtur. Qui ſceleratum Conſilium cepit, exinde quodammodo ſua mente punitus eſt. *So the Emperours* Severus *and* Antoninus (*in L.*34. *D. de Jure Fiſci:*) *Reſcripſerunt Aſclepiadi;* Ipſe te huic pœnæ ſubdidiſti. *Ex quo notant D. D.* Eum qui delinquit, hoc ipſo præſumi voluiſſe obligare ſeſe ad pœnam ei delicto præſtitutam. (*See* Macarius *his* 4. *Homily, where he Cites* Rom. 2. 5. *Thou --- treaſureſt up to thy ſelf wrath --- & Hom.* 12. *Interrog.*5.) *Yea ſure; moſt Certain it is, That every One which commits any ſin, together* with, *yea in the very Commiſſion of that ſin, enters an Obligation, and forfeits himſelf to the very ſame puniſhment which the Divine Juſtice hath inflicted or awarded unto that ſin, in the Examples recorded in Holy Scripture.* Achan *bound himſelf to appear in the* Valley of Achor *or* Trouble, *by the very taking of the wedge and cloaths, which were indeed no other then the Earneſt of thoſe wages which were there paid unto him.* Ahab *and* Jezabel *by ſeizing on* Naboth *and his Vineyard forfeited their blouds to the Dogs.* Gehezi *brought back the* Syrian Leproſie *wrapt up in the Raiment,* &c. *Even ſo!* Holy, and True, and Righteous are Thy Judgements O Lord: who would not fear Thee, O King of Nations, *which haſt Ordained that an Inordinate mind ſhould not only* Breed *and bring forth, but* Be *a puniſhment, an Executioner, a Witneſs, and a Judge unto it ſelf. This laſt Obſervation*

Salv.Lib.1.

Lib.4

Iſa.50.11.

Mat.23.32.

Salv.Lib.7.

ſervation is (partly) St. Auſtin's. *That which follows is a Heathen's.*

Exemplo quodcunq; malo Committitur, ipſi
Diſplicet Authori. Prima eſt hæc ultio, quòd, ſe
Judice nemo nocens abſolvitur; improba quamvis
Gratia fallacem Prætoris vicerit urnam, &c.

See Juvenal's 13. *Satyre.*

The 3. *Note (taken out of the Authors writings) relates to Fol.* 174. *at the* 2. *Marginal Note. Some deny all* Baptiſmal Grace; *Others grant, that* ſome Grace *is given to Infants in Baptiſm, but reſtrain it only to* Infants Elect. *So they expound the* Church-Catechiſm, *which teaches children to believe,* [*That as Chriſt redeem'd them and all Mankind; ſo the Holy Ghoſt doth ſanctifie them and all the* Elect People *of God.*] *But who can think that our Church meant to teach Children, at the firſt Profeſſion of their Faith to believe, they were* Elect, *that is,* ſuch as cannot finally periſh? *This was to teach them their Faith backwards, to ſeek heaven by deſcending from it. St.* Paul; *nay, The Angels that have kept their firſt Eſtate almoſt* 6000 *years could not reach higher. Yet would our Church have every one, at his firſt Profeſſion of Faith, believe, that he is* One of the Elect people of God. *Thoſe RR. Fathers that compoſed the Catechiſm, and our H. mother that did Authorize it, did in charity preſume, that every one which would take upon him to expouud that Catechiſm, or other Principles of Faith, ſhould firſt know the* Diſtinction *between* Elect, *that is, ſuch as cannot periſh, and the* Elect People of God: *or, between* Election *unto Gods ordinary* Grace *or means of Salvation,*and Election unto Glory. *Every Nation or Company of men when firſt converted from Gentiliſm to Chriſtianity,became an* Elect people, *a choſen Generation; that is, they and their ſeed were made capable of Baptiſm, receiv'd an Intereſt in Gods Promiſes,* &c. *which Heathens whileſt Heathens could not have. All of us are in Baptiſm thus far ſanctified, that we are made true Members of the* Viſible Church,*qualified for hearing the Word, receiving the Sacrament of Chriſts Body and Bloud, and all other Benefits of Chriſts Prieſtly Function that are committed to the Diſpenſation of his Miniſters here on earth. Out of* This *the Reader may eaſily Pick what is Pertinent to that place, Fol.* 174.

A Note Relating to the Chapter following.

THis *Learned Author, in the year* 1628. *Publiſhed his ſixth Book of Comments upon the Creed; or, his* Treatiſe of the Divine Eſſence and Attributes. *Immediately whereupon, Mr.* H. Burton *taking offence, Publiſhed his Book ſtyled* Iſraels Faſt, *Perhaps he might preach ſome part of it at the* Faſt *held in the Beginning of the Parliament cald that year. In the* Epiſtle Dedicatory *prefixt to that Book, he hath* The words *cited in the following Chapter.*

See Iſraels Faſt *Printed in the year* 1628. *which is owned by* Mr. Burton's *Name ſub-printed; Though neither the Printer, nor the Place where it was printed be ſet down. See alſo* The Narration of Mr. H. Burton his Life *written by* Himſelf; *and Printed in* London 1643. (*The Printers name is not there ſet down*) *in the fiſt Page of which Book, he owns The Book ſtyled* Iſraels Faſt, *and ſays it was publiſhed at a General Faſt.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Dr. *JACKSON'S VINDICATION* of himſelf : written above twenty years ago.

OR,

A Serious Anſwer to Mr. Burtons *Exception taken againſt a Paſſage in his Treatiſe of the Divine Eſſence and Attributes.*

AGainſt *A Treatiſe of the Divine Eſſence and Attributes* lately publiſhed by me, *ſome Exceptions have been taken*, *many ſought*; as if it did open a Gap unto *Arminianiſm.* And yet I have not had the happineſs to know, either what *Points of Arminianiſm* they be which I am ſuſpected to favour, of the *particular Propoſition in that Treatiſe*, upon which the Indefinite or confuſed Suſpition is grounded. Only thus far, I have been beholden unto *One man* that it hath pleaſed him to avouch a quarrel againſt *one paſſage* in my Book, with ſubſcription of his Name. And it is expected by ſome (but by few of my good Friends) that I ſhould give him a *ſerious Anſwer.* For my own part, I have ever held it, a point, not of Folly only, but of Cowardiſe and Inhumanity, to accept a Challenge from a man, deſperately ſet to waſte his ſpirits, to ſpend his ſtrength to wound himſelf, and the Cauſe he undertakes; by a long and furious fight with his own ſhadow; before he can find the way into the appointed Field. Wherefore leaving him with his Aſſiſtants, and Abettors to wraſtle or combat with their own imaginations, which (as I ſee) will find them *Play enough*, and make the Enemies of that Religion which they would profeſs (if they knew how) too much ſport; I ſhall crave leave, *Firſt*, To unfold this mans Notorious Falſification of my Aſſertion. *Secondly*, to ſhew the Orthodoxal Truth of that Aſſertion which he falſifieth, with the dangerous and Unchriſtian Conſequences of the Propoſition contradictory unto it. *Thirdly*, To make it appear how deeply it concerns every Loyal member of the Church and Commonweal of England (eſpecially ſuch as are engaged with me to maintain the Religion which we all profeſs, againſt the Doctrine of the Church of Rome) to prevent the further ſpreading of that rigid Doctrine of *abſolute Reprobation*, as it is held by moſt, if not by all, which have hitherto excepted againſt the forementioned *Treatiſe of the Divine Eſſence and Attributes.*

Three things propoſed.

2. The firſt Exception, which to my knowledge was taken againſt it, was in a Book entitled, *Iſraels Faſt*, dedicated to the *Royal Joſhua, and Loyal Elders of Iſrael* now happily aſſembled in Parliament. In the Epiſtle before that Book, he hath *Verbatim*; Theſe Words; ["Theſe Neutralizers, or Popiſh Arminians, or Arminian Papiſts, or " what you will, under the name of the Church of England, dare vent " any Arminian Hereſie. As in a Book lately printed, by Authority " too, there is This moſt Blaſphemous Arminian Hereſie; *That there is a* " *Goodneſs Objective, In the Creature, which in order of nature is precedent*

"to the *Act or exerciſe of Gods Will*; thus, by neceſſary conſequence making the *Creature a God*, having a Self-being, Independent, but only upon Gods bare Preſcience, upon which, and not upon that Supream Cauſe of Cauſes Gods Will, he hangeth the Being, and well-being of all the Creatures.] And in the Margin of that Epiſtle juſt over againſt the words laſt quoted, he hath theſe words alſo. [Gods eternal and bleſſed *Will*, Providence, Wiſdom, Free Grace, Glory, and conſequently his whole Eſſence overturned by an *Arminian Trick*, and that alſo backed with abuſed Authority.]

3. If the exhibiter of this complaint will acquit himſelf from a double ſlander, he muſt (as I conceive, the courſe of all Juſtice requireth) prove theſe *two points* following.

Firſt, That the Propoſition which he chargeth with moſt *blaſphemous Arminian Hereſie*, is, or hath been maintained by *Arminius* or ſome Arminian.

Secondly, That the ſame Propoſition hath been uttered, or maintained by me.

That *Arminius*, or any *Arminian*, did ever in writing, or otherwiſe, deliver or mantain that Propoſition which this Objector hath cenſured for a moſt *blaſphemous Arminian Hereſie*, is more then I know, more then I can ſuſpect, and more (I think) then the Author of this Accuſation can prove; unleſs his meaning be, that any abſurd or blaſphemous Opinion, may juſtly be fathered upon *Arminius*, or aſcribed unto the *Arminians*. And if this be his meaning he will prove himſelf to be a more Groſs Arminian Heretick, then thoſe whom he only ſuſpects, (but proves nothing) of moſt *blaſphemous Arminian Hereſie*. For I never heard or read that Propoſition which he chargeth with moſt *blaſphemous Arminian Hereſie* delivered by any, ſave only by the Author of the forementioned *Epiſtle to the Royal Joſhua, and Loyal Elders of Iſrael*.

4. "This *Propoſition* following, I acknowledge to be mine, and have avouched it in *A Treatiſe of the Divine Eſſence and Attributes*, Chap. 13. Par. 4. Pag. in quarto 149. *As there is a Logical Poſſibility preſuppoſed to the working of the Almighty Power: ſo there is a Goodneſs Objective precedent in order of* Nature *to the Act or exerciſe of his Will.* That either this *Logical Poſſibility* which is preſuppoſed to the working of the *Almighty Power*, or the *Objective Goodneſs* which is *precedent in order of Nature to the Act or exerciſe of Gods will* ſhould be *IN THE CREATURE*, I never writ, I never ſaid, I never was ſo uncharitable as to think, that any man in his right wits had ever ſaid or writ it untill I read it in the forecited Epiſtle, without any Diſtinction of Letter, Point, or Parentheſis, to notifie whether theſe words [*IN THE CREATURE*] were conteined in my Propoſition, or inſerted by the Author of that Epiſtle, out of ſome Probable Collections from Words, or Circumſtances precedent, that my meaning was as he doth make it, though my words were not ſo as he relates them.

5. That the Author of this Epiſtle might conceive ſuch a Propoſition, Charity may attribute it to his Ignorance in matters handled in that Chapter, wherein my former Propoſition is contained. But why he ſhould inſert theſe words [*In the Creature*] into the Propoſition by me delivered, Chriſtian charitie it ſelf, which is not ſuſpitious, which *Believeth all things*, that may without imputation of folly be believed, cannot attribute it to his Ignorance, but to his Paſſion, or to his to much credulitie unto others, who ſuggeſted the former Propoſition unto him, as

worthie of a Parliamentarie Cenſure, or to his zeal to have me cenſured as one of the *Achans that trouble Iſrael*. But what he can ſay for himſelf in excuſe of this palpable Falſification of my words, I leave to them who haue juſt cauſe and full Authoritie, to examine him. That there could be any *Goodneſs in the Creature*, before the Creature was, or had actual being no man did ever avouch. That any creature could poſſibly have Actual Being, or Goodneſs Actual, or exiſtent in it without ſome Precedent Act of *Gods will*, I had expreſly denyed in the Propoſition immediatly precedent to the Propoſition which the Author of the Epiſtle hath falſified, by inſerting theſe words [*In the Creature.*] He might by the like Omiſſion of the Propoſition precedent, (without any Interſertion or falſification) have proved this Propoſition to be *Davids*, [*There is no God.*] For this Propoſition is expreſly ſet down by *David*, Pſal. 14. 1. *Non eſt Deus*. And this Propoſition would well pleaſe an Epicure or Atheiſt, if he took not the words precedent into conſideration with it. [*Dixit inſipiens in corde ſuo, non eſt Deus.*] The Fool hath ſaid in his heart, there is no God. And when I ſhall avouch the Propoſition wherewith he chargeth me, otherwiſe then with this addition [*An ignorant or unwiſe man hath ſaid it, or laid it to my charge.*] Let me be cenſured for a Fool; for a Blaſphemer, or what you will.

6. The Propoſition delivered by me is ſo clear. that no Artiſt, if he be a Chriſtian, can deny it. The Propoſition conſiſts of theſe *Two Parts*.

Firſt. *There is a Logical Poſſibility preſuppoſed to the working of the Almighty Power.*

Secondly, *There is an Objective Goodneſs precedent in order of nature to the Act or exerciſe of Gods Will.*

Againſt the firſt part, I do dot hear of any exception made or taken: yet to make it plainer unto thoſe, who are not willing to except againſt it, I will explicate the meaning of it in a particular inſtance.

The Firſt Man was made of the earth, by the working of the Almighty power: and the earth whereof he was made was by the ſame power made of nothing. Both were made by the working of the Almighty Power, within the compaſſe of theſe 6000. years Current. But before Time had any Being, even from Eternity, there was a *Logical Poſſibility*, That the Earth might be made of Nothing; and that Man might be made of the Earth. He unto whom nothing is impoſſible, He unto whom *all things are poſſible*, did know the making of both to be *Logically Poſſible* (that is, to imply no Contradiction) before he made them; much better then we know that they were made by him. For this we know, and muſt believe, that the Almighty Power worketh nothing, maketh nothing without Fore-knowledg, not only of it, as *Poſſible*; but as *Future*.

Not the Creation of *Man* only, but the Creation of *Man after Gods own Image* was *Logically poſſible* (that is it did imply no Contradiction) from Eternitie. The Poſſible Creation of Man after this manner, was the Object of Gods Power, before he ſaid, *Let us make Man after our own Image and ſimilitude*. This was the Act or Exerciſe of Gods Power or Will. For the power whereby he is able to do all things, never worketh without ſome Act or exerciſe of his Will. For as the Apoſtle ſaith, Epheſ. 1. 11 *He worketh all things after the counſel of his own will.*

The Second part of the Propoſition was [*There is a Goodneſs Objective precedent in order of nature to the Act or exerciſe of Gods Will.*] For further declaration of This Truth, I added *This Propoſition.* Unto ſome things conſidered as *Logically poſſible*, this *Goodneſs Objective* is ſo eſſentially annexed, that if it be his Will to give them actuall Being, they muſt of neceſſity be *Actually Good*; nor can he that can do all things, will their contraries. For example, The Creation of man after *Gods own Image* was Logically poſſible from eternity, and was the Object of *Gods Power*, of his knowledge, and Will, before man was thus created. Now unto this poſſibility of mans Creation after Gods Image (which was objectively in Gods knowledg from eternity) there was a *Goodneſs* alſo objective, ſo eſſentially annexed, that whenſoever God ſhould be pleaſed to make man after this Pattern he was of neceſſity to be *actually Good*.

7. Not to conceal any part of my meaning in this 13. Chapter. Unto the former Propoſition [The creation of man after Gods image was *Logically Poſſible* before the Act or exerciſe of Gods Will, before the working of his Almighty power, by whoſe concurrence man was upon the ſixt day created.] I will adde theſe Propoſitions following.

1. To create Man after Gods own Image, and not to create him good, was never *Logically Poſſible*; it could be no Object either of Gods Almighty Power or Will. This Propoſition had no Objective Truth in his Foreknowledge, whoſe Knowledge is Infinite, whoſe Power is Omnipotent, whoſe Will is Irreſiſtible.

2. The Act or exerciſe of Gods Omnipotent Will was the true Cauſe, the only cauſe, why man was created after his Image. But, that man being created after his Image, ſhould be good, the Act or exerciſe of Gods Will or Omnipotent Power were not the cauſe.

3. The connexion between the Image of God, and that goodneſs which was in Man created after his image, (albeit we conſider this connexion as poſſibly future from Eternity) was eſſential and eternal, and was the Object of Gods eternal Preſcience or foreknowledg, which in order of nature is precedent to the Acts or exerciſes of Gods Will.

4. Gods Will, or the Act or exerciſe of Gods Will, is the Cauſe why man was made, why being made Good he was tyed to the obſervance of Gods moral Law; not the Cauſe why mans Obſervance of the Moral Law was or is in its nature good.

5. The end of the Moral Law, or of Precepts Evangelical, is to frame us to a conformity with our heavenly Fathers Nature; to be *holy as he is Holy*. Gods Will declared in the Moral Law, and working in us both the Will and the Deed to obſerve it, is the Cauſe by which we are made conformable to the Divine Nature: but Gods Will declared in that Law enacted, is not the Cauſe why our conformity to the Divine Nature is good; He rather wills us to be conformable to his Nature, to his Will; That is, to be *holy, as He is Holy*, becauſe ſuch conformity was eſſentially, and eternally good. All Goodneſs in the creature, whether actually exiſtent, or conſidered as poſſibly future, is unſeparable from this conformity, or conſonancy to infinite and eternal goodneſs, which is the infallible Rule of all created goodneſs, the eternal Rule, from which the Acts or exerciſes of Gods Will, either in making, in preſerving, or governing the creature, take their validity *Objective Being*, or Logical Poſſibility of Being, is oppoſed to *Actual Being*, or exiſtence; *Goodneſs Objective* is oppoſed to *Goodneſs Subjective*, that is to goodneſs actually inherent, or exiſtent in any ſubſtance. In the Divine and Infinite Eſſence, nothing is or can be *Subjectively*, all things are in him *Objectively*, and were ſo in him before they had Actual Being. And if all things had an *Objective Being* in him before they were, then the *Goodneſs* of every creature which is good, had

an *Objective being* in him, before it could have any *Subjective being* in the creature. The Beautie of *Solomons* Temple, whilſt it ſtood, was *Subjectively* in the materials rightly proportioned and adorned, but *Objectively* in the Spectators or Surveyors eye. The ſame Beautie was *Objectively* in the Architects Brain or Fancie, before it could be either *Subjectively* in the material Temple or building, or *Objectively* in the Spectators eye. In like manner, Juſtice, or goodneſs Original was *Subjectively* in the firſt Man after his Creation, but was *Objectively* in God before the Firſt Man was created.

8. Yet if another man had written, That there was an *Objective Goodneſs in the Creature precedent to the Act or exerciſe of Gods Will*, I ſhould not have had the malitious wit or invention to have charged him, as the forecited Author hath done me, with the overthrowing of any *Divine Attribute*, or with *making the Creature a God*, or with *blaſphemous Arminian Hereſie*. Charitie would rather have moved me to make this conſtruction of his words, [" If we conſider theſe Three; *Man*, the *Image of God*, *Goodneſs*, as all of them were *Objectively* in God before "they had any actuall being; Gods Image might be ſaid to be in the "Man, and Goodneſs in Gods Image, in ſuch a ſenſe, as every *Attribute* "is ſaid to be *in the ſubject of a propoſition* abſtract from ſenſe.] He that ſaith *Socrates* is a reaſonable creature, muſt acknowledge reaſon to be in *Socrates*. The connexion between the Subject, and the Attribute in Abſtract Propoſitions, is Eſſentiall, and Eternall. So neceſſarie and ſo eternal was the Connexion between Man made after Gods Image (or ſo conſidered) and Goodneſs; that whenſoever it ſhould pleaſe God to give this Subject [*Man after his Image*] actual Being, the Attribute likewiſe, to wit, [*Goodneſs*] was of neceſſitie to have actuall Being or Coexiſtence with its Subject, without intervention, or interpoſition of any other cauſe. If, beſides the Act or exerciſe of Gods Will, by which man was created after his Image; any other Act or exerciſe of his Will, had been neceſſary, or uſeful to make him actually Good: then Goodneſs or Juſtice original ſhould not have been Natural, but Supernatural to the Firſt Man; which no good Proteſtant may grant. The Firſt Mans Goodneſs ſo long as it continued, was continued by preſervation of Gods Image in him, and cannot be renued, otherwiſe then by renovation of the ſame Image in him: ſo that *the Goodneſs of God is the Rule of Goodneſs*; the Ideal Form or patern of Goodneſs in the Creature. The Act or exerciſe of the Divine Will makes no creature morally or ſpiritually good, but by making it conformable unto his own Goodneſs. This and no other was my meaning in that 13. Chapter, and this my meaning, as I thought, was ſufficiently expreſt by me, and is ſo acknowledged by ingenious and underſtanding Readers.

9. If any man be diſpoſed to except, either, againſt any Particular Propoſition in this 13. Chapter, or againſt my Generall declaration, in what ſenſe *Gods Will* is ſaid to be *the Rule of Goodneſs*; I ſhall requeſt him poſitively to ſet down the Propoſition Contradictory to any Propoſition of mine, which in that Chapter he thinketh to be Erroneous. And if he can Concludently draw any ſuch dangerous Conſequence out of the Propoſitions avouched by me, as I ſhall do out of his, I faithfully promiſe to retract what I have ſaid. But untill I ſee better Proofs then this objector brings any, I reſt confident, that howſoever ſome Divines of our Times, will be ready to Contradict this Propoſition [*All things are not Good, only becauſe God willeth them; but God willeth ſome things becauſe they are Good.*] Whiles this controverſie is only betwixt him

Nihil in bonis numerandum niſi quod per ſeipſum ſit Laudabile, i. e. ſponte ſuâ poſſit laudari Tull. de Leg. L. 1. p. 163. quod a. laudabile ſponte ſuâ, illud ante & ſine præcepto bonum & Laudabile.

him and me, in this particular; yet I ſhall be ſure to find the ſame man to contradict himſelf, and to confeſs as much as I here avouch, whenſoever he ſhall have occaſion to diſpute with the *Jew*, or to aſſign the difference between the *Ceremonial* and the *Moral Law*, or the Reaſon why *the one* is to be perpetually obſerved, *the other* not ſo.

The ſhedding of innocent Blood was evil, before any Law was made againſt it, before Gods Will was declared to the contrary.

Cain did ſuffer puniſhment for the Fact, before any poſitive Law, and before any Act of Gods Will declared, to prohibit it. The ſhedding of innocent blood then was not evil becauſe it was forbidden, but it was afterwards peremptorily forbidden, becauſe alwaies Evil. *Cains* enterpriſe againſt his innocent brother, was *Objectively Evil*, before there was any man that could commit this or the like enormity. Charity, Peace, Brotherly Love, are Good, not only becauſe God hath commanded them, or willed us to follow them; but God by his Law doth will and command us to follow after theſe things, becauſe they were alwayes good, even before he willed or commanded us to follow them. The time will never be wherein Innocency, Brotherly Love, Charity, Peace, and loving Kindneſs, ſhall be as diſpleaſing to God as Murther, Hatred, Malice, Cruelty, and Uncharitableneſs hitherto alwayes have been. He cannot enact a Law either to authorize theſe or the like practiſes, or to prohibit the contrary virtues. But in as much, as Rites, and Ceremonies, Sacrifices, Circumciſion, *&c.* which God ſometimes did will and command men to obſerve, were only good, becauſe God did will and command them: Hence it is that they are now abrogated, and their uſe inverted without any change of Gods eternal Will, or of his divine Nature. The Negative Precepts concerning Rites and Ceremonies, have been turned into Affirmatives, and the Affirmatives into Negatives; becauſe the One containeth no other Goodneſs, nor the Other any Evil in them, which did not intirely depend upon Gods poſitive Will to command or forbid them. And ſeeing *His Will* though moſt immutable, is immutably *Free*, though not to do Good or Evil, yet *Free* to make that which is not in its nature or eſſentially Good, to be good for one Time or Seaſon, not for another; and that which is not in its nature, or eſſentially Evil, (but of an indifferent nature) to be ſometimes Good and ſometimes Evil; therefore hath he made the Omiſſion of ſome Ceremonies to be as Good, in latter times, as their obſervance was in former; and the Obſervance of others to be as evil, as their former Neglect, or contempt were under the Law, or from the Date of Gods firſt Covenant with *Abraham*, until the Ratification or publication of the New Covenant made in Chriſt. *The uncircumciſed manchild* (ſaith God to *Abraham*, Gen. 17. 14.) *whoſe fleſh of his foreskin is not circumciſed, that ſoul ſhall be cut off from his people.* But ſeeing the obſervance of that which is here commanded, was only good, becauſe it was thus peremptorily willed, commanded, or required by God, not *objectively good* from eternity; the obſervance of the ſame thing commanded, is now as dangerous, and diſpleaſing to God, as the neglect or Non-obſervance of it in *Abrahams*, in *Moſes's*, in the Prophets times had been. Hence is that wiſh of our Apoſtle, *Gal.* 5. 12. *I would they were even cut off that trouble you*, that is, I would that they which preſs Circumciſion upon you, and upon your children, might be ſentenced according to Gods Law enacted againſt ſuch as during the firſt Covenant did omit or neglect it.

10. Partly from ignorance of this *Diſtinction* between the nature of things commanded and forbidden by the *Moral* and *Ceremonial Law*, partly from ignorance why obedience to the Law of Ceremonies was ſo ſtrictly enjoyned, and the neglect of it ſo ſeverely puniſhed, oft times by Gods immediate hand : the Jews were drawn to place as great Sanctity in the obſervance of Rites and Ceremonies, as in ſincere obedience to the Moral Precepts. This was one main root of their Hypocriſie, a ſin from which it is ſcarce poſſible any hearer of the Word ſhould be free, unleſs he be taught to put ſome difference between the nature of things *Good* and *Evil*, of things commanded and forbidden, beſides the Will or authority of the Commander. If the Acts or Injunctions of Gods Will were the only Rule of Goodneſs, and had not eternal Goodneſs rather for their Rule, it would be hard to avoid the *Stoical* error, that *all ſins are equal ;* beſides a kind of *Fatality* in humane affairs, worſe then *Stoical*.

The *Turks* acknowledg Gods Will to be *a rule of goodneſs*, as ſoveraign as the author of the forementioned Epiſtle doth ; to be ſuch *a Cauſe of Cauſes* as he would have it. But being ignorant, or not conſidering that there is an *immutable goodneſs* precedent to the act or exerciſe of Gods Will ; a Goodneſs whereof his Will, however conſidered, is no cauſe ; For it is *Coeternal to his Will*, to his Wiſdom and Eſſence : they fall into groſly abſurd errors. And conſequently unto this their ignorance, or to the common error, that all things are good only becauſe God willeth them, they ſometimes highly commend, and ſometimes deeply diſcommend, the ſelf ſame practiſes for quality and circumſtances with as great vehemency of zeal and ſpirit, and with as fair proteſtations of obedience in all things to Gods Will, as any other men do.

For *Selimus* to attempt the depoſition of his Father, was in their Divinity a good and godly act. For *Bajazet* to take arms againſt his brother, was an abominable impiety. What was the reaſon? *Selimus* his attempt found good ſucceſs ; for he prevailed againſt his Father, and this was an argument that it was Gods Will, that he ſhould ſo do. But *Bajazet* miſcarries in his attempt againſt his brother, and his diſaſter was a proof ſufficient that God was diſpleaſed with his attempt, it was not his will that he ſhould proſper. And ſeeing his will is the only rule of goodneſs, ſeeing he did predeſtinate theſe two Princes, as he did *Jacob* and *Eſau*, the one to a good end, the other to an evil ; the ſelf ſame fact or attempt was good in the one, but wicked in the other. We all condemn it as an error in the Turk, for meaſuring the difference between good and evil, by the event. But even this errour hath an Original which is worſe. They therefore meaſure all good and evil by the event, becauſe they aſcribe all events (without exception) to the *irreſiſtible Will of God*, and think that nothing can fall out

Injecta fortè *Bajazetis* mentione, cœpit *Chiauſſus* in eum inclementiùs invehi, quod arma ſumpſiſſet contra fratrem. Ego contrà dicebam videri mihi miſeratione dignum, cui inevitabilis neceſſitas impoſita eſſet, aut capiendorum armorum, aut certæ peſtis ſubeundæ. Sed cum *Chiauſſus* nihilominùs execrari pergeret. Vos, inquam, immanis facinoris reum facitis *Bajazetem*. At *Selimum*, hujus Imperatoris patrem, qui non modò contra patris voluntatem, verùm etiam ſalutem arma tulit, nullius criminis arguitis. Rectè, inquit *Chiauſſus*, nam rerum exitus ſatis docuit illum, quod fecit divino feciſſe inſtinctu, & cœlitùs fuiſſe prædeſtinatum. Tum ego, ſi hoc more agetur, quicquid, quamvis peſſimo Conſilio ſuſceptum, ſi benè cedat, rectè factum interpretabimini, & Dei voluntati adſcribetis, Deum facietis authorem mali, nec quicquam benè aut ſequiùs factum, niſi ex eventu pendetis. Sumus aliquandiu in hoc ſermone commorati, cum uterque non ſine animorum & vocis contentione, quod propoſuiſſet defenderet. Collecta utrinque plura ſacræ ſcripturæ loca, Nunquid poteſt vas dicere figulo, Cur me ita finxiſti ? Indurabo cor *Pharaonis*. *Jacob* dilexi, *Eſau* odio habui, atque alia ut veniebant in mentem. *Auger. Busbequ. Epiſt.* 4.

Ex quo ſatis conſtitit, non Avi miſericordia eò uſque Nepoti parcitum, ſed ex opinione quæ Turcis inſedit, ut res quocunque conſilio inſtitutas, ſi benè cadunt, ad Deum auctorem referant. Propterea quamdiu incertum fuit, quem exitum *Bajazetis* conatus ſortirentur, abſtinendas ab infantis injuria manus *Suleimannus* ſtatuit : ne ſi poſtmodùm res meliùs vertiſſet, obniti voluntati Dei voluiſſe videretur. Sed nunc illo extincto, ac veluti divina ſententia damnato, cauſam eſſe non putabat, cur filio diutiùs parceretur, Ne malum ovum ex malo corvo relinqueretur. *Ibidem.*

otherwiſe then it doth; becauſe every thing is irreſiſtibly appointed by Gods Will, which in their Divinity is ſuch a neceſſary, Cauſe of Cauſes, and by conſequence of all Effects, as the Author of the ſaid Epiſtle would have it to be. *Whoſoever he be, whether Jew, Turk or Chriſtian, which thinks that all Events are ſo irreſiſtibly decreed by God, that none can fall out otherwiſe then they do, muſt of neceſſity grant, either that there is no moral evil under the Sun, or that Gods will* (*which is the Cauſe of Cauſes*) *is the only Cauſe of ſuch evil.*

11. But is the like ſin or error expreſly to be found in *Iſrael*? Do any make the ſame Fact for nature, quality and ſubſtance, to be no ſin in one man, and yet a ſin in another? or to be a little ſin in one man, and a grievous outcrying ſin in another? Though they do not avouch this of rebellious attempts againſt Prince and State, or of other like publick Facts, Cognoſcible by humane Law; yet the Principles of *Prædeſtination*, commonly held by them and the *Turk*, draw them to the like Inconveniences, in transforming the immutable Rule of Goodneſs into the ſimilitude of their partial affections in other Caſes.

The Adultery and murther, which *David*, committed, had been grievous ſins in any other man, but in *David* being predeſtinated, they were but ſins of infirmity: ſins, by which the outward man was defiled, not the inward man. Such a ſin was inceſt, in *Lot*; ſuch are all the ſins committed by the *Elect*. And ſo were all the ſins of the *Elect remitted* before they were committed. But the Queſtion is, Whether God did ſo abſolutely decree the remiſſion of any mans ſin from eternity, as that their remiſſion was from eternity, abſolutely neceſſary. If God did abſolutely decree that the ſins of the *Elect* ſhould be *remitted*, then he did abſolutely decree that they ſhould be *committed*. For even in Gods eternal Foreknowledge of all things that fall out in time, the *Commiſſion* of ſins hath precedency of their *Remiſſion*; and if their *Remiſſion* were in reſpect of his Foreknowledg or decree, abſolutely neceſſary, their *Commiſſion* was as neceſſary. It is impoſſible there ſhould be any *Remiſſion* of ſins, without a preſuppoſal of their *Commiſſion*. Yet are the former Concluſions not muttered in corners, but maintained as part of that holy doctrine which hath been delivered unto us by the maſters of *Iſrael*, approved by the beſt writers in reformed Churches.

Sin not remitted before committed.

Theſe and the like Doctrines are held in ſo precious eſteem, that if the lawful Paſtor ſeek to root them out where they have been planted by others, or to prevent their growth or ſpreading, he ſhall be traduced for an *Arminian*; and as they hope, be ſo cenſured by the high Court of Parliament. But my hope is, that no *Loyal Elder of Iſrael* ſhall ever ſo far forget himſelf, as either to attempt, or ſeek to have thoſe and the like Concluſions ratified by our great *Joſuahs* Royal conſent. Sure I am theſe are no branches of that *Ancient, Catholick, Apoſtolick Faith*, of which we acknowledge our Soveraign Lord to be the *defender*: and God grant that he may ever defend and keep it pure and undefiled from theſe and the like Concluſions, that it may defend him and his people from their adverſaries.

12. Yet to ſeek the correction of theſe and the like *Concluſions*, though malapertly maintained by ſome of the Flock againſt moſt of their Paſtors, or the puniſhment of thoſe which ſo maintain them, until the *Principles* from which they naturally iſſue be checkt or inhibited, were but Tyranny. Theſe here related are the leaſt, not the worſt part of thoſe noyſom branches which ſpring from this one root. [*That Gods irreſiſtible decree for the abſolute Election of ſome, and the abſolute Reprobation*

tion of others, is immediately terminated to the Individual Natures, Subſtances, or Entities of men, without any Logical reſpect or reference to their qualifications.] This *Principle* being once granted, what breach of Gods moral Law is there, whereon men will not boldly adventure, either through deſperation or preſumption, either openly, or ſecretly? For, ſeeing *Gods Will*, which in their Divinity, is the only Cauſe, why the one ſort are deſtinated to death, the other to life, is moſt immutable, and moſt Irreſiſtible; and ſeeing the *Individual entities*, or natures of men, unto which this irreſiſtible Decree is reſpectively terminated, are immutable: let the one ſort do what they can, pray for themſelves, and beſeech others to pray for them, they ſhall be damn'd; becauſe their *Entities* or *Individual Subſtances* are unalterable. Let the other ſort Live as they liſt, they ſhall be ſaved, becauſe no corruption of manners, no change of morality breeds any mutability or change in their *Individual Natures* or Entities; unto which Gods immutable Decree is immediately terminated. Whatſoever become of good life and manners, ſo the *Individual Nature* or Entity fail not, or be not annihilated, ſalvation is tied unto it, by a neceſſity more indiſſoluble, then any chains of Adamant.

13. This Aſſertion [*Whoſoever was elected from Eternity, was never the child of wrath, ſave only in the eſteem of men*] I found delivered in certain papers at my firſt entrance upon my Paſtoral charge in the Town of *Newcaſtle*, written by one that had been a great *Rabbi* in ſome private Conventicles in and about that Town. And for the refuting of this Opinion, and the Principles out of which it doth moſt neceſſarily follow, it was preſently conceived by ſome of my Auditors, that I went about to refute the Doctrine of all *Reformed Churches*, concerning *Election* and *Reprobation*. And amongſt the Doctrines of *Reformed Churches*, which it was vehemently ſuſpected, I went about to refute, this was expreſſed for one [*That the ſins of the Elect or Regenerate, were remitted before they were committed.*] A doctrine which for my part I dare not charge any one reformed Church with, though ſome in reformed Churches have ſtifly maintained the *Principle* out of which this *Concluſion* will neceſſarily follow: and ſome few have in expreſs terms delivered the *Concluſion*; but ſo hath not, to my knowledge, any reformed Church, or entire Congregation, (beſides the *Familiſt*, to which, this errour properly belongs.) The *Council of Dort* hath expreſly delivered the contrary: ſo have others which write againſt the *Arminians*. But in this Point a Reverend and Learned Paſtour in the City of London hath ſaved me a Labour.

The falſe *Principle* from which both theſe *Concluſions*, [1. The ſins of the *Elect* are remitted before they are committed. 2. Whoſoever is *Elected*, being elected from Eternity, never was, never could be, never can be the child of wrath.] will moſt neceſſarily follow, is the forementioned Errour; which ties or terminates Gods Eternal and irreſiſtible Decree for the abſolute *Election* of ſome, and the abſolute *Reprobation* of others, to the *Individual Natures*, perſons or Entities of men elected or reprobated. But to omit (for the preſent) the queſtion concerning ſuch *abſolute Election*; not the moſt Tyrannical Law-giver, that to this day hath breathed on earth, did ever declare himſelf to be ſo far the ſon of the Devil, as to make ſolemn decrees againſt mens perſons, without reſpect, or reference to their Qualifications. It is the property of the enemy of mankind to delight in mans puniſhment, as he is a man or a reaſonable creature: to deſire to have any man as he himſelf now is, but ſometimes was not a veſſel capable only of vengeance or punitive juſtice, altogether uncapable of Gods free bounty, mercy, or favour. And ſeeing this moſt

Honourable Court of Parliament now happily aſſembled to make wholeſome Lawes, doth not intend to make any Punitive Lawes or Decrees (ſpecially capitally punitive) againſt any mens Perſons or Nature, but againſt mens ill Qualifications and Miſdemeanors; I am confident that every member of it doth firmly believe, that our heavenly Father did never make any ſuch Decree, or Law. Again, ſeeing God hath revealed his good Will and pleaſure to be this, *To reward every man according to all his wayes*, I ſhall find no oppoſition or Contradiction to this Concluſion (as I hope) among good Chriſtians; [*God did from eternity decree to every man, not according to his Individual Nature, but according to his wayes, his works, or qualifications, which he did no leſs certainly foreſee, then he did his Individual Nature.*] He hath decreed from eternity to reward the wicked and ungodly, for their wicked works, according to the inflexible Rule of his immutable Juſtice: and to reward the penitent ſinners (though ſometimes children of wrath) not *for* their works, yet *according* to their works or qualifications: and ſo to reward them not by the Rule of his *Juſtice*, but out of his *meer Mercy*; or out of that moſt Free and Gracious Bounty, which gave us all Life and Being, when we were not, and therefore could not by any Works deſerve the leaſt of all his Bleſſings.

14. If to maintain theſe *Concluſions* be *Arminianiſm*, I profeſs my ſelf not to know (*in theſe particulars*) wherein the *Arminians* differ from the *Orthodox*, and Ancient Church. But if *Arminius* and his followers have taught or maintained any other *Concluſions*, by which the leaſt tittle may be derogated from *Gods Free Mercy* and *Grace*; by which any thing beſides death, or Non-deſerts, may be aſcribed to mans *Works* or *Free-Will*, I no way partake with them in *thoſe*, and the like errours. I ſhall in good time, by Gods aſſiſtance, make it appear that I truly acknowledge both Gods *Mercy* and *Grace* towards men; and mens ſins, the beſt mens ſins and unthankfulneſs towards God, to be much greater, then he doth or can acknowledge either of them to be, whoſoever he be, that ſhall hold the *Contradictory* to any *Concluſion* in this Chapter, for which I am accuſed of *Arminianiſm*, or to any Principal *Concluſion* maintained in my Book of the *Divine Eſſence and Attributes*, or to any *Concluſion*, which I have delivered, or ſhall deliver, concerning *Election* or *Reprobation*.

15. The Imputations laid upon me by the Author of the Epiſtle are heavy and grievous, if they could be proved; however *moſt injurious*, being made ſo publick before I heard of them, or could prevent their ſpreading. Yet for my own part, if it were in my power to cenſure him, my reſolution ſhould be like to that of a Civilian: when the Queſtion was propounded to him, [*An liceat meretrici quæſtum facere.*] His reſolution as I remember, (for it was long ſince I read it in *Bodin*) was to this effect, *Peſſimè facit, quòd artem meretriciam exercet, ſed meretrix cum ſit; non malefacit quod ex arte quam exercet quæſtum facit.* The Author of the Epiſtle hath much wronged himſelf and me, in ſuffering himſelf to be ſo far miſled with the doctrine of Abſolute *Election*, and *Reprobation*, as it ſeems he is. But being thus far miſlead by it, and wedded unto it, his practiſe in ſlandering me, without any relentance which as yet I hear of, is but Conſequent to his doctrine, if he were throughly examined upon it. And he that ſhould puniſh him for his ſlander, and not condemn his doctrine, ſhould do me ſmall right, and ſhould do him as much wrong, as he that ſhould puniſh a Scholar for holding a falſe *Concluſion*, without queſtioning or diſproving the *premiſſes* from which it neceſſarily follows. For it is as impoſſible for him that thinks himſelf to be in the Immutable eſtate of Grace, or *Election*, or is certainly

perſwaded of his Salvation before his time, to ſuſpect, much leſs, to recant any lewd practice, or dangerous Errour, whereinto he may fall, until he renounce his Opinion, or his Immature perſwaſion of his own Eſtate; as it is for any Sholler to revoke a falſe *Concluſion* which ſtill maintains the erroneous *Premiſſes*, out of which it neceſſarily follows.

16. The Point then to be proved is, [*That the juſtification of ſlander, how virulent ſoever, and indulgence to corrupt affections once implanted, do as neceſſarily follow upon Immature and prepoſterous perſwaſions of mens Immutable eſtate in Grace, or Election, as any Concluſion doth out of its natural Premiſſes.*] Now the Truth of this Point may be made as clear as any Rule of Art or Reaſon can make the truth of any other. For it is a Rule of nature, tried & approved by Art, a fundamental Principle in both their Schools, that *An Univerſal Negative may be ſimply Converted*, as thus: If no man can be a ſtone or an inanimate creature, then no ſtone or inanimate creature can be a man. The Scripture which is the Rule of Faith, gives us theſe *Univerſal Negatives*; No Adulterer, no Covetous perſon, no Idolater, no Murderer, no Slanderer or virulent Railer, can inherit the kingdome of God. Theſe *Univerſal Negatives* being granted and believed; Nature and Art, and common Reaſon, muſt admit of their Converſions. No man that muſt enter into the kingdom of heaven, no man that is truly certain of his ſalvation, can be an adulterer, can be a covetous perſon, can be a murtherer, can be a ſlanderer, or virulent reviler of his brethren. Now if any man which believes himſelf to be in the immutable ſtate of *Election* (ſo certain of his ſalvation, that if he inſtantly die, he ſhall inſtantly go to heaven) ſhall happen to do the ſame things, that Adulterers do, that Covetous men do, that murderers, ſlanderers, or virulent revilers do, it will be impoſſible for him to ſuſpect himſelf of being an adulterer, of being covetous of being a ſlanderer or reviler, ſo long as his former perſwaſion concerning his *Abſolute Eſtate* of Salvation, &c. is not recalled. For if he muſt enter into the kingdom of heaven whenſoever he dies; if this be a part of his Belief, he cannot believe or ſuſpect that he is a doer of thoſe things, which whoſoever doth, cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven. Thus, as the preſumed *Abſolute Infallibility* of the viſible *Romiſh* Church, for the time being, doth lay a neceſſity, upon their Succeſſours, of freezing in the dregs of their Predeceſſours errours: ſo this Immature Perſwaſion of mens *particular Eſtate in Election*, Grace, or Salvation, doth lay a like neceſſity upon ſuch, as are overtaken with it, of having their hearts hardened with Hypocriſie, with ſecurity, or ſecret indulgence to their corrupt affections. And for this reaſon amongſt others, did the ſage and Reverend *Reformers* of the Church, wherein we live, worthily admoniſh that the Points of *Election* and *Predeſtination*, are to be warily thought upon, they are no fit Themes for every mans private meditations, much leſs fit ſeeds to be promiſcuouſly ſowen in every Congregation by any Seeds-man.

17. Had any man in this Kingdom of how diſtempered behaviour ſoever, ſo he had been ſeaſoned with the knowledge of ingenuons Arts or civil education, ſlandered me in his Cups, or Paſſions, amongſt private or common friends, ſo deeply and upon ſo groſs miſtaking, as the Author of the Epiſtle hath done, ſlandered me unto the higheſt Authority on earth, his heart in his ſober thoughts would have ſmitten him long ere this, and I ſhould have had ſome ingenuous ſatisfaction voluntarily tendered from him. But from men miſlead with wild zeal unto the Doctrine of *Abſolute Election and Reprobation*, as it hath of late years been taught

by ſome, and from men jealous of others (as if they were *Arminians*) that in this point diſſent from them, I can expect no voluntary ſatisfaction, but rather continuance of the like; unleſs I could diſſwade them from their Doctrinal Error. For whileſt this veil is ſpread over their hearts, envious or malicious ſlander, whileſt it exonerates it ſelf upon ſuch, as they ſuſpect for *Achans* and *Arminians*, will be interpreted *zeal*; violent paſſions will be taken for the *Power of the Spirit*, ſuch naſty Solœciſmes or rude ſcurrility, as would ſeem loathſome to heathen Artiſts, will go current with themſelves and their aſſociates for ſanctified eloquence; and ſo will ignorance in Philoſophy or School-Divinity be applauded for holy Simplicity.

But ſeeing their tongues and pens are their own, ſeeing they have caſt off the yoke of obedience, and begin to proclaim, not mutter [*with our tongues we will prevail, we are they that ought to ſpeak*, and print Books, *Who is Lord over us?*] Let them uſe what language they pleaſe, the Print-houſes in this interim poſſeſſed, and imployed by them, ſhall but exerciſe my patience, as ſome (I hope) by uſurpation, not by juſt Warrant, pulpits, here and there, ever and anon, for theſe three and twenty years have done; during which time, whileſt ſuch *Schediaſticks* as theſe have preached of abſolute *Election* or *Reprobation*, I ſtill have prayed, *Father, forgive them, for they know not what they ſaid.* And ſo I ſuppoſe many more of my profeſſion in this Kingdom have done. God in the mean while hath enlightened the hearts of many, by our prayers and miniſtry to ſee their error, and hath made me a witneſs of many mens ſorrow for being miſled. And whenſoever the veil ſhall be taken from the heart of ſuch now living in this land, as ſtill maintain that *Rigid Doctrine*, their ſorrow and compunction will be no leſs, then the ſorrow and compunction of thoſe *Jews* which had (through ignorance) conſented to the crucifying of the *Lord of Glory*.

18. The practiſe of the *Jews* was in the iſſue more deſperate, then men in this age, no leſs zealous of that which they apprehend for truth, can have opportunity to attempt. But the errour which led the *Jews* to that deſperate practiſe againſt the Son of God is no way impaired, but rather enlarged by ſome *Chriſtians* of theſe times. Our onely comfort is, that however the common errour of both times be rather ſtrengthened then any way enfeebled by ſuch in our times as nurſe it, yet is it neither ſo general, nor ſo inveterate in this land, as it was in the Jewiſh nation before their final deſtruction. The Governours of our Church and State, the learned Paſtors, or conformable Laity, are not ſo infected with it, as the Phariſees, Scribes, and Elders in *Judea* were in our Saviours time. Their exceſſive pride and Hypocriſie made them ſo extraordinarily impatient of reproof and contradiction, and their extraordinary impatience of reproof in matters of practiſe, and of contradiction in point of opinion, hatched that cruel and murtherous hate againſt *the Son of God*. The ſetled matter of their deadly malice was pride, and hypocriſie of heart; that wherewith this corrupt matter was continually fed; was paſſionate zeal to maintain the *Abſolute Election* of their Nation, and the *Abſolute Rejection* of the Gentiles; humorous perſwaſion of their own *immutable eſtate in Gods promiſe*, firſt occaſioned or ſtrengthened by reflecting upon the accurate reformation, which (to their ſeeming) they had made of their forefathers Idolatry, of Sabbath-breaking, and other palpable tranſgreſſions of Gods Law. But however, cruelty and fury have no ſuch Objects to practiſe upon in theſe latter days as the *Jews*, and as the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* had: yet is not bodily death a more Uſual effect of peſtilent feavers then

ſlander, perſecution, cruelty, and murderous hate are in all ages, of ignorant zeal, pride, and hypocriſie. Nor do putrified or malignant humours, more uſually breed peſtilent feavers, or other dangerous diſeaſes, in mens bodies; then immature perſwaſions of their own *Immutable eſtate in Grace*, or indigeſted reſolution concerning *abſolute Election or Reprobation*, do hatch pride and hypocriſie in mens ſouls. And the moſt infallible Symptome of pride, and hypocriſie, is Jealouſie of being contradicted, by ſuch as contradict them not, or impatiency of meer Logical Contradiction, without gall or bitterneſs, in point of Opinion. Another Accidental Improvement of the Jews murtherous hate againſt *our Saviour*, was the hotneſs and blindneſs of their zeal to *Moſes*'s writings. Yet were not *Moſe,*'s writings in higher eſteem with them, then *St. Paul*'s Epiſtles are deſervedly with us. And would to God, ſome amongſt us did not further miſtake or pervert his ſcope and aim in that 9. Chapter to the Romans, then the Jews did *Moſes*'s meaning.

But the Parallel between the *Jewiſh* miſperſwaſions of love and *zeal* to God and his ſervant *Moſes*, and the miſperſwaſions of many Modern Chriſtians preſumed love to our Saviour and his Apoſtles, is elſewhere * handled in the general, and ſhall by Gods aſſiſtance be further proſecuted in ſome particulars. My purpoſe for the preſent is, to ſhew how nearly it concerns my ſelf, and all that ſeek to prevent the Reſubmiſſion of this people unto the *Roman* yoke, to beware of peremptory reſolutions concerning *Abſolute Reprobation.*

* *See his Treatiſe of Juſtifying Faith, Sect.* 2. *Ch.* 14. *page in quarto,*245.

19. It was well obſerved by *Oecolampadius*, that the ordinary Pictures of God, or of his enemy, were no good Books, for inſtructing Laymen or Children in the nature of God or of Sathan. The trueſt repreſentation that can be made of God, would be to teach them, *what truth is*, what *Mercy*, what *Love*, or *Goodneſs* is. The beſt Picture that can be taken of Sathan, would be the true Characters of Falſhood, malice, hatred, cruelty, envy. Yet by this Good Authours leave, however Sathan be the Father of lies, the Authour of malice, the hatcher of envy and hatred, the Complotter of cruelty; yet can he not ſo truly and properly be called falſhood it ſelf, envy it ſelf, hatred it ſelf, cruelty it ſelf, in the abſtract, as God is ſaid to be *Truth it ſelf*, *Love it ſelf*, *Mercy it ſelf, and Goodneſs it ſelf.* For though falſhood, hatred, envy, cruelty, &c. *be now become Natural* to the old Serpent, yet were they *adventitious to his prime nature* and ſubſtance; he was not from the beginning inveſted with theſe or the like habits. But if the opinion of ſome men amongſt us concerning *abſolute Reprobation* were from above, He, whom we profeſs to be the Almighty Creatour of heaven and earth, ſhould be as truly and properly falſhood it ſelf, hatred it ſelf, cruelty it ſelf; as he is Truth it ſelf, Love it ſelf, Mercy it ſelf, Goodneſs it ſelf. The Branches of the Doctrine concerning *Abſolute Reprobation*, which bear this Fruit are (to omit others for the preſent) ſpecially theſe *Two*. The *Firſt*, That the manifeſtation of Gods puniтive Juſtice, was a part of the Object of Gods Primary Will, and an exerciſe of his Will, as directly, as immediately, and as irreſiſtibly intended by him in the Creation; as the manifeſtation of his Goodneſs and Bounty, or reſervation of his mercy to ſuch as ſhall be ſaved, was. The *Second*, That God from Eternity did as truly hate all thoſe who periſh, without reſpect or refe-

Puerorum major pars neſcit quid ſit Deus, quid Sathan, quid bonum, quid malum, idq; firmiter credo. Neq; talis Deus.vel Sathan, quemadmodum pictores in tabellas,aut parietes pingunt. Si noſti quomodo Deus miſericors ſit,benignus, mitis, manſuetus, Longanimis, patiens, juſtus, *&c.* verè Deum agnoſcis, per illas enim res propriè, quid ſit Deus diſcimus. E contrario Sathan nihil aliud eſt, quam immiſericordia, odium, invidia, homicidium, mendacium, irriſio proximi, & omne malum. Oecolamp. concione ad adoleſcent. pag. 349.

reference to their works or qualifications, as he did love thoſe who ſhall be ſaved.

Now if the number of ſuch as periſh, be much greater then the number of ſuch as ſhall be ſaved; and if the ſame God did from eternity as truly hate the greater ſort of men, as he did love the leſs, without all reſpect or reference to their works or qualifications; if he did out of his eternal hatred, as peremptorily decree the endleſs torments of the *One*, as he did the everlaſting happineſs of the *Other*: Theſe *Concluſions of the Lutherans* (avouched by them, in ſome *Catechiſmes* (which I have ſeen) before the name of *Arminius* was heard of in theſe parts) will neceſſarily follow, *viz.* That ſuch as maintain this rigid doctrine of *Abſolute Reprobation*, do not believe in, or acknowledge, the ſame God, which the *Lutherans*, with all antiquity, acknowledge: for they acknowledge their God to be Truth, Mercy, Love, and Goodneſs; whereas the ſtiff maintainers of *Abſolute Reprobation* confeſs their God, to be hatred, and Cruelty it ſelf. Now to acknowledge one and the ſame God to be Truth, Love, Mercy & Goodneſs it ſelf in reſpect of ſome; and in reſpect of others, to be falſhood, hatred, cruelty it ſelf, is a groſſer Hereſie or Transformation of the Deity, then was the Hereſie of the *Manichees*, which acknowledge *Two Gods*, or independent Originals of all things; the *One* as Fountain of all *Goodneſs*, the *Other*, the Authour of all *Evil*. For avoiding theſe and the like *Concluſions*, no evaſion or obſervation hath been or can be pretended, by ſuch as make the *Entity or Individual Natures of men the Formal Objects of Reprobation*, beſides this One, *viz.* That Gods Will is ſo the Rule of Goodneſs, that if he will the death of all that dye without reſpect unto their works or Qualifications, this muſt be Good. If he be pleaſed to hate the greater Part of mankind without all reference to their Qualifications, the hatred of them muſt be as good, as his Love of thoſe few which ſhall be ſaved. And the Apoſtle did adviſe them to reſt upon this anſwer, when he ſaith, *O man! who art thou that diſputeſt againſt God; ſhall the thing formed ſay to him that formed it, why haſt thou made me thus? hath not the Potter power over the clay*, &c. But whether this Uſe of our Apoſtles Doctrine in that place, be according to his meaning, or whether any *Concluſion* can be drawn from that Chapter which may make for *abſolute Election or Reprobation*, is elſewhere examined. By that which hath been ſaid, it may appear; that ſuch in this Land as ſtifly hold the *Tenet of abſolute Reprobation* (which the Chriſtian world beſides hath for the moſt part forſaken) have ſome reaſon, though no juſt cauſe to queſtion the truth delivered by me, in what ſenſe Gods Will is ſaid to be the Rule of Goodneſs. For unleſs they can diſprove my Tenet, (which God be praiſed hath ſtronger Supporters then my weakneſs can afford) they muſt either revoke their errour, or admit God to be more then the Author of ſin, as truly ἡ πονηρία, as ὁ ὤν; as properly *ſin it ſelf*, as *Being it ſelf*, or life it ſelf. And yet if they could perſwade the ignorant that Gods Will is the Rule of Goodneſs in ſuch a ſenſe as they would make it; the Inconveniences which the *Lutherans* object, would be rather for a while removed, then cleerly avoided; They might be preſt upon them again, with greater force and advantage, with this addition they maintain the *Turkiſh Opinion* concerning Fate and Providence. And upon this Ground only (as I conceive) do the *Lutherans* inſtile the *Calviniſts*, Limbs of *Gog*, or of the *Eaſtern Antichriſt*. But the beſt is, that of ſuch who at this day do not diſclaim the name of *Calviniſts*, the moſt and beſt learned diſlike the opinion of *Abſolute Reprobation*, and ſo I hope in good time will every faithful Paſtor in the Church of

See Chapt. 42. *Numb.* 9. 10.

England, and every Loyal Elder *In this our Iſrael.* For admit we could make full proof unto the Congregations committed to our Charge, that *Papiſtry* is, as ſome have enſtiled it, the *Ocean of Hereſies*; that the *Abſolute Infallibility* of the *Pope* or Conſiſtory exceeds the mixture or combination of all other particular Hereſies which have been; that the Idolatry which the *Roman* Catholicks from the belief of the *Pope* or Churches abſolute Infallibility are inforced to commit and practiſe, doth equalize the Idolatry of thoſe heathens which ſolemnly worſhipt the Devil; yet all this being proved by us, and firmly believed by our flocks, would be of ſmall force or ſway, to retain underſtanding men in their Allegiance to their *Soveraign Lord*, or in obedience to the Laws Eccleſiaſtick or Civil of this Kingdom, if once the Doctrine of *Abſolute Reprobation* might be faſtened upon the Church of England, or be embraced by her Learned Paſtors or Governours. For ſo they might as concludently prove us to be as groſs Hereticks as we ſay they are; and evince our Churches doctrine to be as Blaſphemous as theirs is Idolatrous.

To have *this Rigid Doctrine* generally embraced or acknowledged by us, or at leaſt to have the World believe that it were generally acknowledged by us, is the very Thing, and the main buſineſs which the Factors for the *Romiſh Church* for theſe many years have earneſtly ſollicited. This is the very net wherein *Sathan* hopes to catch this Iſland: he hath ſet the *Jeſuites* to ſpread and hold it, and when opportunity ſerves to draw it. And the *Jeſuites* as they have long uſed our Pulpits and Print-houſes, ſo they attempt to uſe ſome in our *Parliaments* as their Podders, to drive us into it. Their prey they know muſt needs be great, if they can bring us into theſe ſtreights, or put a neceſſity of this hard choiſe upon us. Whether were better to live in obedience to a Church, which adores wicked and naughty men, Devils incarnate (for ſuch ſome of their Popes have been) as Gods on Earth; or to hold communion with that Church or ſociety of men, which makes the God of heaven, the Almighty Creatour of all things Viſible and inviſible, much worſe then an Incarnate Devil, yea then any wicked Spirit, or then the Devil himſelf, can without ſlander, be conceived to be.

Iſaiah 58. 4. ***Behold, ye faſt for ſtrife and debate, and to ſmite with the Fiſt of wickedneſs; ye ſhall not faſt as ye do this day, to make your voice to be heard on high.***

CHAP. XL.

A Paraphraſe upon the Eleven firſt Chapters of *Exodus*; with uſeful Annotations, Obſervations, and Parallels.

ALbeit the Ancient *Heathens* (however they came by them) had many excellent *Notions*, and ſome Exquiſite *Diſcourſes* upon thoſe Notions, of *A Divine Providence*, which even to their apprehenſion did uſually over-reach and control all *Politick Projects* of greateſt *Princes*: Yet, ſuch *exquiſite Maps*, or Live-Patterns of the *Only Wiſe Gods proceedings* in Counter-plotting the ſubtleſt contrivances of mightieſt Princes, or of the profoundeſt Profeſſors of myſteries of State, or other ſubordinate Projectors; as the *Hiſtory of Joſeph* (wherewith *Moſes* concludes the Book of *Geneſis*) or the *Hiſtory of Pharaoh* (wherewith the ſame *Moſes* begins the Book of *Exodus*) the beſt of the Heathens had none. Nor may this preſent Age expect any equal; though every Age (in one Kingdom or other) afford ſome matter of Hiſtory like unto them, *Quoad veritatem, licet non quoad menſuram.* With the Hiſtory of *Joſeph* I am not at this time to meddle, any further, then as it may lead me or inſtruct me to take a more exact ſurvey of *Gods* Proceſs with *Pharaoh*, or of *The manner how*, or of *The means by which* He hardened him.

3. So long as that great, and (in his kind) Religious *Pharaoh* lived, (whoſe life, and proſperous eſtate of the Kingdom whereof he was Lord, *Joſeph* by *Gods* good Providence, and peculiar inſtructions, had both preſerved and advanced;) nothing went amiſs with the Stemmes of *Jacob*: All of them from the higheſt to the loweſt fared well for *Joſeph*'s ſake: and (which was more then all the matter of their welfare) the *Egyptians*, amongſt whom they ſojourned, did not envy or repine at their proſperity; at leaſt they durſt not profeſs any enmity or attempt to wreak their malice (if they had conceived any) againſt them. The freſh memory of *Joſeph*'s good deſervings, at the Kings, Princes, and Peoples hands, did prevent all practiſes of Hoſtility or repining cruelty (though but intended againſt them) ſo long as that *Pharaoh*, which had ſo well rewarded *Joſeph*, and had him in ſo great eſteem, did ſway the Scepter of *Egypt*. But it ſeems that this gracious King died about the ſame time that *Joſeph* did, or rather before him. For *Moſes* inſtructs us, Exod. 1. 8. *There aroſe a new King which knew not Joſeph* (that is, either had no *Memorial Record*, or took *no notice* how well he had deſerved both of the King and Kingdom of *Egypt*.) *And he ſaid unto his people, Behold The people of the children of Iſrael are greater and mightier then we*, &c. *Joſephus in his ſecond Book of Judaical Antiquities* informs us, (and his information will much advance the true value of the *Literal Senſe* of the *Sacred Context* according to the Original) that this latter *Pharaoh*, or new King, mentioned by *Moſes*, *Chap.* 1. *verſ.* 8. was of another Line; no Son or Heir unleſs by Adoption of that great *Pharaoh*, and grand Patron of *Joſeph*, but at the beſt of ſome *Collateral Line*. Now whether it were out of Real Fear, or out of Pride of heart, or Popularity: This New King to give ſome Document in the beginning of his Reign, of more care and wiſdom for maintaining and advancing the welfare of the Natives, then his Predeceſſor had practiſed, (who had placed his ſpecial favours upon forraigners and ſtrangers) thus reſolves with himſelf, and propoſeth his reſolution to his Councel of State or War. *Come let us work wiſely with them, leſt they multiply, and it come to paſs that if there be war they joyn themſelves alſo unto our enemies, and fight againſt us, and get them out of the Land*, verſe 10.

The *Firſt Project* of this new King was to keep the *Iſraelites* from Mutiny (whereunto their number might, as he thought, provoke or tempt them) by laying the yoke of ſervitude and hard labour upon them. But perceiving that the more he did preſs them, the more they multiplied and grew ſtronger; *his ſecond project became more cruel*: for it was to deſtroy, or put the Males of *Iſrael* out of this world as faſt and as ſoon as they came into it.

Neither of theſe *Two Projects were any part of Gods Ordination or Deſign*: Both were ſuggeſted to this proud King, by Gods enemy, who is the father of all Bloudy Politicians, and chief maſter of all unhallowed Policies. However the entertainment of this Satanical ſuggeſtion, and the putting of it in execution by Royal Authority and Command, was an *Inchoation* or rather a large meaſure of that *Ordination* or *Coaptation* of this Kingdome and State to *that deſtruction* whereof our Apoſtle ſpeaks, *Rom.* 9. 22. *What if God, willing to ſhew his wrath, and to make his power known; endured with much long ſuffering the veſſels of wrath fitted to deſtruction.*

The Infant-killer, and Hardned, two ſeveral Pharaohs.

3. But that new King which deviſed all the forementioned evils againſt the children of Iſrael, was not the Subject of that Obduration mentioned by our Apoſtle, and recorded by *Moſes*, from *Exod.* 7. unto the 11. For that bloudy King, which cauſed all the Males of Iſrael to be caſt into the river, died before God appeared to *Moſes* in the Buſh; as is evident from *Ex.* 2. 23. *And it came to paſs in proceſs of time, that the King of* Egypt *died, & the children of* Iſrael *ſighed by reaſon of the bondage,* &c. and is expreſly avouched by *Joſephus in his ſecond Book of Jewiſh Antiquities*, Chap. 5. However, this other *Pharaoh* becoming Succeſſor to that cruel King mentioned *Exod.* 1. 8. not in Place only, but in Cruelty and oppreſſion: the wickedneſs and wrongs practiſed by the *former Pharaoh* and his ſubjects, are charged upon *the Second* and his people; becauſe they were bound by the Law of God, and by the Law of Nature to have given better Satiſfaction to the Iſraelites then they did; ſo much at leaſt as *Moſes* in his *firſt meſſage* to *Pharaoh,* Exod. 4. did demand. And this *Pharaoh*'s heart to whom he was ſent, was more capable of, or rather more fitly diſpoſed to that Obduration which befel him; becauſe he could not be ignorant of the ill-ſucceſs which his Predeceſſors cruel intentions againſt the Infant-Males had found. It was the former *Pharaohs* main Project to deſtroy the Hebrew-Males, and in the heat of this perſecution *Moſes* is born, but hid for three months from *Paraoh*'s Firrets, (or Bloud-hounds rather) by his Parents. This providence in his parents was not from ſecret Inſtinct of Nature, but from True Faith, or Supernatural Revelation, as our Apoſtle inſtructs us, *Heb.* 11. 23. “By Faith Moſes when he was born, was hid “three months of his parents; becauſe they ſaw that he was a proper child, “and they not afraid of the Kings commandment.

4. *Joſephus* tells us that the Occaſion which *Pharaoh* took to murther all the Hebrew Males, was from a conſtant Fame or Prænotion ſuggeſted unto him by a Secretary of State; That about this time there ſhould an Hebrew Male be born that ſhould work wonders for the good of his People: and their good could not be diſlinked from the Egyptians harms or loſſes; although no better fortune were to befal them, then their ſafe eſcape out of the Land without any juſt revenge upon their Oppreſſors. Some Prænotion or Revelation of that (which *Joſephus* ſaith) had been made to *Moſes* his Parents, and Believed by them; and made them the more careful, Firſt, to hide him, then to commend to Gods Providence in an Ark of Bulruſhes, floting down the River, to which it is probable they knew *Pharaoh*'s Daughter did uſually reſort. Their wiſdom in the contrivance was more then Natural; a true work or ſuggeſtion of *Faith*; the diſpoſition of all Occurrences to effect their hope beyond their expectation, was an *Extraordinary Act of Gods peculiar Providence*. After the Adoption of *Moſes* to be the ſon of *Pharaoh*'s Daughter, we read not of the continuation of the former Butchery: Nor is it probable it ſhould continue after *Moſes* came to *years of Proof*, enabled to give pregnant Documents of his worth as well in Martial as in Civil affairs. Whether he were intended and deſigned (as *Joſephus* tells us he was) to be Heir unto

Antiq. Lib. 2. Chap. 5.

unto the Kingdom of Egypt; (this cruel King having no child beſides his *merciful* Daughter; nor ſhe any Child of her Body;) we dare not peremptorily avouch or gainſay.) Or whether *Moſes* did that *Pharaoh* (whoſe Daughter had ſaved his life) that Admirable ſervice in ſubduing the *Ethiopians*, as *Joſephus* in the ſame Place relates, be believed or waved; Probable it is, that either by This or ſome Other great Service done by him in Egypt or for the Egyptians; it was foreſhewed, ſo as his Brethren might have underſtood, That God had ſome great work in hand to be wrought by Him, beſides the meer killing of the Egyptian that had wronged one of the Hebrews.

But whatſoever good Intentions this *Pharaoh* had towards *Moſes* for his Daughters ſake before he killed the Egyptian; it is evident that he hated him extreamly afterwards for this very Fact; and that *Moſes* for fear of his diſpleaſure left Egypt, and ſojourned many years in *Midian*, Exod. 2. 15. *Now it came to paſs in proceſs of time*, (ſaith the ſacred Story, verſ. 23.) that the King of Egypt (that King whoſe Daughter had ſaved *Moſes*'s life; yea the ſame who ſought to ſlay *Moſes* for killing the Egyptian) *died*: But the great and grievous oppreſſion of the poor Iſraelites did not die with him; *mutarunt Dominum, non ſervitutem*; they were freed from this one cruel Oppreſſor, but not from cruel Oppreſſion: For there aroſe another Tyrant as bad or worſe then This under whoſe heavy yoke, "The children of Iſrael ſighed, by reaſon of the "bondage, and they cried, and their cry came up unto God, by reaſon of "the bondage. And God heard their groaning, and God remembred his "Covenant with *Abraham*, with *Iſaac*, and with *Jacob*. And God looked upon the children of Iſrael, and God had reſpect unto them, *Exod.* 2. 23, 24, 25. Unto *This latter of the Two Bad* Pharaohs, who had no ſpleen againſt *Moſes* in particular, as being perhaps unknown unto him by face, is *Moſes* commanded to addreſs himſelf as a *ſpecial Meſſenger* from the *Lord God of their Fathers*; who appeared unto him after a ſtrange manner in *Mount Sinai*, as is expreſſed at large, *Exod.* 3. *Moſes* after much Reluctance undertakes this Service, *volens nolens*: And juſt Cauſe he had to fear, (as the event did ſhew) *Firſt*, that his own Brethren the Seed of *Jacob*, would hardly believe his *Report*, or yield Obedience unto his Commiſſion: *Secondly*, that after his Brethren were perſwaded that God had ſent him unto them, it was (as he foreſaw) very incredible that *Pharaoh* would give any Credence, either to him, or to the Elders of Iſrael, whether jointly or ſeverally imployed in this Great Buſineſs.

5. That full meaſure of Induration or hardneſs of heart which afterwards fell upon this ſecond *Pharaoh*, was no otherwiſe wrought by God, then by reiterated, gentle, and civil Checks of that unhallowed Reſolution begun by his Predeceſſour and continued by him. In the moſt of *Moſes*'s Meſſages unto him, *God* (whoſe Embaſſadour *Moſes* was) did adviſe or command him to do as in juſtice and equity he ought to have done; but no way neceſſitate him to do as he did. The *Tenor* of *Moſes*'s Advertiſements unto him was; *Firſt*, to relinquiſh all former Reſolutions or intendments of *oppreſſion* unto the *Iſraelites*. And *Secondly*, to make ſome equitable ſatisfaction for the wrongs formerly done unto them. All this *Pharaoh* might have done: and all this any wiſe man, which had feared God and hated Covetouſneſs, would have done. But for this *Pharaoh*, as he was (no doubt) wiſe enough for worldly buſineſs, ſo he was exceeding proud, exceeding covetous; and by theſe qualities, To-God-ward, moſt unwiſe. So that *his Pride and Covetouſneſs did directly and immediately harden his heart.* On Gods Part we may not imagin or ſuſpect any other

Cauſality of hardening him, beſides the Propoſal of thoſe Conditions unto him, whoſe Performance he knew was very *Incompatible*, though not *Incompoſſible* with haughty Pride or tenacious Avarice. The only *Neceſſity* which God in his all-ſeeing Wiſdom put upon him, was, either to break his Reſolution and work a Relentance or releaſe of thoſe cruel Practices and oppreſſions towards the Iſraelites which Pride or avarice had put him upon; or elſe, to be hardened by his wilful Continuation of his Firſt Reſolution at that *high Bent*, at which it ſtood when *Moſes* was firſt ſent unto him.

6. To deſcend to a more Particular Survey of the Pride and avarice of theſe two *Pharaoh's*. We are to take our *Hint* or *Riſe* from that Paſſage ſet down by *Moſes*, *Exod.* 1. 10. "Come on, let us deal wiſely with them, "leſt they multiply, and it come to paſs, that when there falleth out any "war, they joyn alſo unto our Enemies, and fight againſt us, and, ſo get "them up out of the Land: This was the utmoſt of the former *Pharaoh's* fear in the beginning of his Project againſt them. But what Cauſe had he to fear their departure out of the Land, ſeeing they could not carry with them the Lands & poſſeſſions which his Predeceſſor, *Joſephs good Lord & Patron*, had beſtowed upon them? Surely this haughty Prince did politickly foreſee, that the recovery of theſe poſſeſſions to the Egyptians, or Confiſcation of their perſonal Eſtates, could not be ſo beneficial unto him as the poſſeſſion of their Lives and bodily Service: for even theſe, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, were accounted *In bonis ipſius*, as his proper goods and Chattels. *Now to be Lord of ſo many ſlaves (for under this Title he challenged them) was a greater Revenue, then any Prince beſides himſelf in thoſe times had*; & a great deal more, then all the Land of *Goſhen* which the *Iſraelites* then poſſeſſed was worth. And this Revenue he ſaw would grow greater every day, albeit his Predeceſſors cruel Project againſt the Male-children had ſucceeded according to his intention: for the Female Sex would ſtill have multiplied; and theſe he thought to be a ſecure poſſeſſion, as being not likely to make inſurrection againſt him, or to become confederates in war with his Enemies. Nor is it probable that either of the two *Pharaohs* ever intended the extirpation of the males any further, then that they might have enough to propagate ſuch a perpetual generation or ſucceſſion of ſlaves, ſo competent in number as the Egyptians might eaſily maſter them.

7. This Attempt had been leſs dangerous, and the cruel Practiſe leſs wicked againſt any other People under heaven, then againſt the Seed of *Abraham* and of *Iſaac*, becauſe theſe were *the Lords own Inheritance*; *His peculiar Charge*. This People when they were firſt invited into *Egypt*, was ſcarce an *Oligarchy*; a ſmall Congregation of men indued with no other power or juriſdiction, but only ſuch as every Father of a Family hath over his Children and Grand-children and theirs. And this Juriſdiction after *Jacobs* death was divided amongſt his ſons: Every one of them was a Patriarch, that is, *a Chief* over his own Tribe or *Clan*. Nor had theſe Twelve Patriarchs any Civil or Coercive Power one over another, or reſpectively over their ſeveral Families, after they ſetled in *Egypt*, but as the King and State of *Egypt* would permit or allow of. Not any power at all to make any War whether offenſive or defenſive; or Leagues of Peace with any other Nation. Free-men notwithſtanding they were *de jure*; and this new King of *Egypt* which knew not *Joſeph*, (much leſs conſidered upon what *Title* of deſervings *Jacob* and his Sons were permitted to enjoy a Competent meaſure of the Land of *Egypt*) did moſt unjuſtly attempt to put the yoke of ſlavery

upon their necks. Yet how to right themſelves they knew not; as having no ſuperiour Lord on earth unto whom they might appeal from *Pharaoh.* But the more deſtitute they were of any help from earth, the more eaſie and ſpeedy entrance their Prayers found into heaven; their tears and cries were accepted of the Lord God of their Fathers for more then *Legal Appeals.*

8. But from the time of His appearance to *Moſes* in the *Buſh* (which was after the firſt hard-hearted *Pharaoh*'s death) the Lord himſelf vouchſafed to become their King; not in general only (as he is *Lord* of all Lords, and *King* of all Kings, and People throughout the World) but in a Proper and peculiar manner. Whatſoever Authority or Power of Juriſdiction the Kings, or Supreme Majeſties of other Nations or Soveraignties did exerciſe, or by Divine permiſſion and Ordinance of Providence do now exerciſe over their people, (as Power of Life and death, or of making Lawes, or Leagues; whether of Peace or War with other States;) all theſe and the like Prerogatives the Lord of heaven and earth did reſerve immediately unto himſelf alone, over the Seed of *Jacob* and of *Abraham his Friend.* Upon the Lords Reſervation of this Royal Power entire unto himſelf. *Moſes* is delegated to be his *Embaſſadour* unto the King and State of *Egipt*, and conſtituted his Deputy or *Vice-Roy* over *Iſrael.* Nor ſhall the Reader whether Chriſtian or other be ever able to underſtand the Literal or Punctual meaning of the Hiſtory of *Exodus* to the 14. chapter, or of thoſe places in *St.* Paul*'s Epiſtle to the Romans* which refers unto that Hiſtory, unleſs he take *This Rule or principle* along with him whil'ſt he reads them, viz. [*That all the Meſſages which Moſes delivered to* Pharaoh *from God, and all the Anſwers which* Pharaoh *returned by him were true and formal Treaties of a Legal and Solemn Embaſſage.*] The Law of Nature and of Nations was never ſo accurately obſerved by any Embaſſador as it was by *Moſes* (whileſt he exerciſed this Function) in his many *Treaties* with *Pharaoh.* One Principal, if not the only Fact, that can come within the ſuſpicion of Injuſtice on *Moſes*'s part, was the ſpoiling the *Egiptians* of their Jewels. But if we conſider what inſufferable wrongs the King and People of *Egipt* had done unto this People of God, which had now become His Peculiar Subjects or his *proprietary Lieges*; This Fact even by Courſe of Humane Law, or Law of Nations, was more juſtifyable, then Royal Grants of Letters of Mart, or other like remedies againſt ſuch other Nations as have wronged their Subjects, or ſuffered them to be wronged by any under their command without reſtitution when they ſolemnly, or by way of Embaſſage demanded it, are. Whatſoever the *Hebrew* women had borrowed of, or taken from the women of *Egipt*, they took and did poſſeſs it *Repriſaliorum jure, by the Law of Repriſal*, that is, by way of *ſpecial Warrant* granted by God himſelf as he was now become not only this peoples *God*, but their King in Special.

This warrant for ſpoiling the *Egiptians* not by any ſtrong or violent hand, but with their own Conſent we have Regiſtred, Exod. 3.21, &c. *And I will give this people favour in the eyes of the* Egiptians*: and it ſhall come to paſs that when ye go, ye ſhall not go empty: But every woman ſhall borrow of her neighbour, and of her that ſojourneth in her houſe, jewels of ſilver, and jewels of gold, and raiment: and ye ſhall put them upon your ſons and upon your daughters, and ye ſhall ſpoil the Egiptians.*

9. In all this time, or in all the inſtructions given by God to *Moſes*, *Exod.* 3. there is no mention of Gods purpoſe or menacing to harden *Pharaoh*, but only a Divine *Prediction* that *Pharaoh would not let the children of Iſrael go*; and yet be at length as willing to let this people of God

depart, as *Pharaoh*'s people ſhould be to beſtow their Jewels, and other rich *Preſents* upon them.

Moſes's *miracles Letters of Credence.*

The Miracles which *Moſes* was for the preſent and afterward authorized and enabled to work, both in the ſight of his own people, and in the preſence of *Pharaoh* were, as *Authentick Letters of Credence*, legible enough to the *Egiptians*, that the *Lord of Hoſts* had deſigned him unto this Embaſſage, and given him power to command all the hoſts of reaſonleſs creatures, to fight for *Iſrael* againſt the *Egiptians.* All the ſeveral Armies of inferiour creatures, which brought the many enſuing plagues upon the *Egiptians*, were but as ſo many fingers of that mighty hand, by whoſe ſtrength God had lately foretold *Moſes*, that *Pharaoh* would in the iſſue be content to let the *Iſraelites* depart upon fair terms, out of his Land.

10. The former *Pharaoh* and his Predeceſſor (according to the apprehenſion of their proud imaginations) had played the Foregame ſo cunningly againſt the ſeed of *Jacob*, that this preſent or later *Pharaoh* at leaſt thought himſelf ſure of winning the *Sett*, or of drawing the whole *Stake* about which the controverſie was: and that was the preſent liberty, or perpetual thraldom of *Iſrael.* Now God inſtructs his Embaſſador *Moſes* to play the After-game with ſuch skill and circumſpection, that unleſs *Pharaoh* would give over in good time, he ſhould be ſure to loſe his own life, and the life of his Princes, or chief Commanders in War, beſides the loſs of every Firſt-born Male in Egypt, whether of man or beaſt; beſides the loſs of the greateſt part of that years revenue of the whole land of Egypt. *Pharaoh* in all this proceſs demeans himſelf, firſt, like a bold, then like a wilful chaſing Gameſter, who after once he hath begun to *Vye* upon or provoke his adverſary, reſolves to *Revye* upon him, and to provoke him further when the game is deſperate: as will further appear in his Anſwer to every ſeveral Meſſage delivered unto him from God by *Moſes* and *Aaron.*

11. The Sum or Abſtract of the fourth Chapter contains *Moſes* his debate with God, or humble entreaty to be ſpared from this *great Service*, in reſpect of his ſlowneſs of ſpeech, and inſufficiency (as he took it) to be his Embaſſador. And in this mind he continued until God Himſelf did over aw him by his Authority, and yet withal gently perſwade him by Reaſon. *Then the Lord was very angry with Moſes, and ſaid, Do not I know Aaron thy brother the Levite that he himſelf ſhall ſpeak? for lo he cometh alſo forth to meet thee, and when he ſeeth thee he ſhall be glad in his heart. Therefore thou ſhalt ſpeak unto him and put the words in his mouth; and I will be with thy mouth, and with his mouth, and will teach you what you ought to do. And he ſhall be thy ſpokes-man unto the people: and he ſhall be, even he ſhall be as thy mouth, and thou ſhalt be to him as God*, Chapter 4. 14, 15, 16. The Reaſon which ſpecially moved *Moſes* to undertake this Service, is expreſſed verſ. 19. *For the Lord had ſaid unto Moſes in Midian, Go, return to* Egypt *: for they are all dead which went about to kill thee: Then Moſes took his Wife, and his Sons, and turned toward the Land of* Egypt, *&c. The inſtruction* for his Embaſſage undertaken upon theſe Motives, follows, verſ. 21, 22, 23. *And the Lord ſaid unto Moſes, when thou art entred and come into* Egypt *again, ſee that thou do all the wonders before* Pharaoh, *which I have put in thine hand: but I will harden his heart, and he ſhall not let the people go. Then thou ſhalt ſay to* Pharaoh, *Thus ſaith the Lord,* Iſrael *is my Son, even my Firſt-born. Wherefore I ſay to thee, let my ſon go, that he may ſerve me: If thou refuſe to let him go, Behold, I will ſlay thy Son, even thy firſt-born.* This paſſage contains the firſt mention either of Gods purpoſe or Prediction to harden the heart of *Pharaoh.*

12. Up-

Exod. 4. 27.

12. Upon *Moſes* and *Aaron's meeting in the Mount of God*, not by humane compact or contrivance, but by Gods ſpecial appointment; and upon the ſight of the miracles which God enabled *Moſes* firſt to work in private; the people of *Iſrael* believed *that the Lord had viſited the children of Iſrael, and had looked down upon their tribulation:* And upon this Belief, *they bowed down and worſhipped:* Exod. 4.31. Now upon this Conſent and obedience unto their Propoſal, *Moſes* and *Aaron* went and ſaid to *Pharaoh* (like Embaſſadors of ſtate) *Let my people go, that they may celebrate a feaſt unto me in the wilderneſs. And* Pharaoh *ſaid, who is the Lord, that I ſhould hear his voice and let Iſrael go? I know not the Lord, neither will I let Iſrael go*, &c. *Chap.* 5. 12. Unleſs the former *Bent* of *Pharaoh*'s pride and avarice had taken occaſion to enlarge and ſtiffen it ſelf from this fair Meſſage delivered unto him; he would not have returned that haughty ſupercilious Anſwer unto *Moſes* Gods Embaſſador & *Aaron* his Interpreter; " [Moſes and Aaron, why cauſe ye the people to ceaſe from their works? " get you to your burdens, *chap.* 5. *v.* 4.] Nor was his Choler or Superciliouſneſs only againſt *Moſes* and *Aaron*, but againſt the whole People of Iſrael; on whoſe behalf God had made them his Embaſſador: " For, *Pharaoh* " ſaid furthermore, behold, much people is now in the Land, and ye make " them leave their burdens. Therefore Pharaoh gave commandement the " ſame day unto the Task-maſters of the people, and to their Officers, ſay- " ing, Ye ſhall give the people no more ſtraw to make brick (as in time 'paſt) but let them go & gather them ſtraw themſelves. Notwithſtanding lay " upon them the number of brick which they made in time paſt, diminiſh " nothing thereof: for they be idle, therefore they cry, ſaying, Let us go to " offer ſacrifice unto our God. Lay more work upon the men and cauſe them to do it, and let them not regard vain words, *Chapt.* 5, *verſ.* 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

13. That which did moſt diſcourage *Moſes* from having any more to deal with *Pharaoh*, was his Experience of his uninclinable diſpoſition to any good Motion which he could make on the behalf of Gods People. And this diffidence or backwardneſs in *Moſes*, received Nutriment from the way-ward and grumbling diſpoſition of the Iſraelitiſh People againſt him and *Aaron*, after *Pharaoh* had given them a peremptory charge to perform the ſame task, which they had done before when they had allowance of ſtraw from the Egyptians. " Then the Officers of the children of " *Iſrael* ſaw themſelves in an evil caſe, becauſe it was ſaid, Ye ſhall dimi- " niſh nothing of your brick, nor of every days task. And they met *Moſes* ' and *Aaron*, who ſtood in the way as they came forth from *Pharaoh*: & they ' ſaid unto them, The Lord look upon you, & judge, becauſe you have made ' our ſavour to be abhorred in the eys of *Pharaoh*, and in the eyes of his ſer- ' vants, to put a ſword in their hand to ſlay us, *Verſe* 19, 20, 21.

After the Lord had given *Moſes* more ſpecial *Inſtructions* and new Encouragements, *Chap.* 6. *verſ.* 1. and laid a ſtronger Tie upon him and *Aaron*, to deliver his Meſſage unto *Pharaoh*, then he did upon *Pharaoh* to obey it; [*And the Lord ſpake unto* Moſes, *ſaying, Go in, ſpeak unto* Pharaoh *King of Egypt, that he let the children of Iſrael go out of his land: and* Moſes *ſpake before the Lord, ſaying, Behold, the children of Iſrael have not hearkened unto me: how then ſhall* Pharaoh *hear me, who am of uncircumciſed lips? and the Lord ſpake unto* Moſes *and unto* Aaron, *and gave them a charge unto the children of Iſrael, and unto* Pharaoh *King of Egypt, to bring the children of Iſrael out of the land of Egypt, verſ.* 10, 11, 12, 13.] Yet this Charge doth not altogether charm *Moſes* his muttering; for he takes up, as it ſeems the ſame *Note* again, *verſ.* the 30. *Then* Moſes *ſaid before the Lord, Behold, I am of uncircumciſed lips, and how ſhall* Pharaoh *hearken unto me?* But perhaps this laſt *Clauſe* might be a *meer Repetition* of the former, interſerted by *Moſes*, the writer of this Story, rather then a *Reiteration* or reſumption of the former *Complaint*, or matter of grievance. Unto this Conjecture I ſhould the more incline, had not the Lord given *Moſes* a *Second Encouragement* much different from the former, immediatly after Repetition or Reſumption mentioned, *Chap.* 6. *verſe* laſt. For ſo it follows in the next words, *Chapt.* 7. *verſ.* 1, 2. "Then the Lord ſaid "to *Moſes*, Behold, I have made thee *Pharaoh*'s God, and *Aaron* thy bro-"ther ſhall be thy Prophet. Thou ſhalt ſpeak all that I command thee, "and *Aaron* thy brother ſhall ſpeak unto *Pharaoh* that he ſend the chil-"dren of *Iſrael* out of his land. Here was a great *Incouragement* to undertake ſo hard a Service. But what *Incouragement* could either *Moſes* or *Aaron* take from the next paſſage of Gods *Inſtructions* or *Declaration* of His will unto them? *verſ.* 3. [*But I will harden* Pharaoh'*s heart, and multiply my miracles and my wonders in the Land of Egipt.*] This is a *Queſtion worth the asking*; and the *Reſolution of it worth conſidering*: For that which moſt diſcouraged *Moſes* from obeying the Lords commands, was his ſuſpicion or preſumption that *Pharaoh* would not hearken to him, nor regard his Signs, as Equivalent to *Letters of Credence.* How then ſhould he take heart and courage by knowing that perfectly which before he did but ſuſpect or fear, to wit, that *Pharaoh* would not, or that he could not hearken unto him? Now thus much *Moſes* could not but know from Gods own Declaration of his purpoſe to harden the heart of *Pharaoh*, *verſ.* 3, 4, &c. And this *Queſtion* will beget a *Second*, on whoſe Reſolution the clearing of the main difficulty will moſt depend. This *Second Queſtion* or Quæry is; [" What manner of Hardening the Lord meant in the fore-cited 3. "*verſe?* Whether he meant a *Poſitive*, and direct Hardening by way of "*Neceſſary Cauſality*, or Phyſical Determination of *Pharaoh*'s Will or "Spirit unto obſtinacy, or unrelenting ſtubbornneſs (at leaſt from the "Date of Gods fore-mentioned Declaration of his will unto this purpoſe) "or a *Privative*, or ſome other way?]

See Chapt. 42. *Numb.* 4.

14. *This Queſtion is ſo Captious, that it is uncapable of any One Punctual Anſwer, whether Affirmative or Negative.* The beſt is, that the whole *Knot* may be clearly diſſolved by diſtinguiſhing the Differences of *Times* or ſeveral *Treaties* between *Moſes* and *Pharaoh.* In reſpect of the three or four laſt Signes, and the Treaties upon them, This *Affirmative Anſwer* is Punctual, [*Pharaoh's heart was poſitively hardened by God, or rather infatuated by means extraordinary and altogether unuſual, unleſs in two or three like extraordinary Caſes.*] In reſpect of the 5. or 6. firſt ſigns or miracles wrought by *Moſes* and *Aaron* in the ſight of *Pharaoh*, This Negative Anſwer is as punctual; [*Pharaoh's heart was not hardened by God either poſitively or directly, much leſs irreſiſtibly.*] The Means or manner how his heart became hardened, were but ordinary; only by *Moſes* his *propoſal* of ſuch *Conditions* unto him, as his proud heart was naturally averſe from; and by preſſing him to grant them in ſuch a manner, as would provoke his avaritious mind to reſiſt or deny them. The true Tenor of Gods former Speech to *Moſes* is but this: "If Pharaoh will not hearken unto thee nor let my people go upon "the ſight of the firſt ſigns & wonders which thou ſhalt be enabled to work "before him and his people: let not this diſmay thee, or make thee give "over thy charge: for the longer he is or ſhall be in yielding, the greater "will be thy victory, and his Caſe the harder: For aſſure thy ſelf in the end "he ſhall be willing to let you go; both he and his people ſhall intreat you "to be gone out of their Coaſts: I will multiply my Signs ſo faſt upon them, "that Egypt and all other Nations ſhall be taught to know, who is the "Lord even the Lord God of the Hebrews and of Iſrael.

This is the *Anſwer* to the former *Queſtion* propounded in the 13 *Paragraph.* What incouragement could either *Moſes*?

15. But

Com. III.

All the Diſcouragements that *Moſes* had either from Pharaoh, from the Egyptians, or from the Iſraelites, are cured by *This* that God would break through all difficulties, He would lay his hand on Egypt, and bring forth his Armies, and make the Egyptians, &c. know, that *He was the Lord.* See Exod. 7. ver. 4, 5.

15. But more particularly to reviſe the *Characters* of Moſaical Expreſſions, How *Pharaoh*'s heart upon the ſight of *Moſes* his ſigns and miracles, became hardened by ſeveral degrees. Upon the exhibition of the *firſt Wonder*, which was the turning of *Aarons Rod* into a Serpent, it is thus written, *c.* 7. *v.* 13. *So* Pharaoh'*s heart was hardened,* ויחזק לב פרעה *and he harkened not to them as the Lord had ſaid.* This Phraſe [*Pharaoh*'s *heart was hardened*] may refer more properly to *Aaron* then unto *God as the Agent*, if the ſpeech be to be conſtrued *perſonally:* or otherwiſe, to *Aarons Rod*, or to the *ſign* & *wonder* it ſelf: in which (to ſpeak with due reverence unto the truth) there was no ſuch extraordinary force as would have inclined an *unregenerate mans heart* though by nature & habit no way ſo ſtubborn as *Pharaoh*'s was, to have yielded forthwith to *Moſes* requeſts or demands; ſeeing the Magicians of Egypt did the like. This only may be ſaid (& it is all that can be ſaid to the contrary) that the devouring of the Magicians rods turn'd into Serpents, by *Aaron*'s *rod* firſt ſo turn'd, was very *ominous*, ſo *ominous* as the *obſervation* of it could not but either mollifie or harden *Pharaoh*'s heart; as perhaps it did both according to the ſeveral times or viciſſitudes of reflecting upon it. For his heart and deſires being once drawn a little from their natural *Bent* (by the ſight of this Wonder) but not fully broken, muſt either ſtand at the Point to which they were drawn or return with greater violence to their former ſtation. The Lord ſpeaking in His own *Perſon* to *Moſes*, verſ. 14. ſaith not, *I have hardened* Pharaoh's *heart*, but Pharaoh's *heart is hardened*; *he refuſeth to let the people go:* which can imply no other hardening then ſuch as did reſult or rebound upon the ſight or conſideration of the wonder. Upon the exhibition of the *ſecond Sign*, to wit, the turning of the waters of Pooles and Rivers into bloud, which was ſomewhat more fearful then the former; *Moſes* his expreſſion of *Pharaoh*'s diſpoſition is *Imperſonal*, verſ. 22. *And* Pharaoh'*s heart was hardened.* And it was no extraordinary wonder that his heart ſhould be hardened again, in ſuch a ſenſe or after ſuch a manner as it was upon the ſight of the *firſt Wonder*; ſeeing the Magicians or Sorcerers did the like: Thus much only may ſeem extraordinary or to carry a great deal of odds on *Moſes* and *Aaron*'s behalf, in that this plague could not be removed by any Magicians ſpell or skill in ſorcery; but only by *Moſes*'s prayers unto God. This might well have wrought *relentance* in any *ordinary heathen Prince*, which had but the *patience* to take the *circumſtances* into *conſideration.* But the *holy Ghoſt* (to my apprehenſion) gives the true reaſon why, & by what means *Pharaohs* heart was at this time hardened, v. 23. *And* Pharaoh *turned & went into his houſe, neither did he ſet his heart to this alſo.* And his not ſetting his heart to *this wonder* with its circumſtances, did bring a neceſſity upon him to have his heart hardened in ſome further degree then it had been with the *firſt wonder*. But *Pharaoh* (as we read) was more terrified with the ſight of the Frogs; which notwithſtanding the Egyptian Magicians did by ſorcery produce, or at leaſt which *Pharaoh* their Maſter was perſwaded that they did produce.

But the *production* could not be without his help; nor the *perſwaſion* but by his permiſſion or ſufferance, who had enabled *Moſes* to do this ſtrange work: In which *This* is moſt remarkable, that *Pharaoh* ſhould ſo earneſtly entreat *Moſes* and *Aaron* to remove this plague, or to confine the Froggs unto the River onely, *verſe* 8. *Then* Pharaoh *called for* Moſes *and* Aaron, *and ſaid, Intreat the Lord that he may take away the Froggs from me, and from my people, and I will let thy people go, that they may do ſacrifice unto the Lord.* And *Moſes* is as ready to grant, as *Pharaoh* was earneſt to requeſt this Favour of him, *verſe* 9, 10, 11. *And* Moſes *ſaid unto* Pharaoh: *Glory over me*; (that is, you ſhall command me.)

me.) *When ſhall I intreat for thee, and for thy ſervants, and for thy people to deſtroy the froggs from thee and thy houſes, that they may remain in the river only? And he ſaid, To morrow. And he ſaid, Be it according to thy word, that thou mayſt know that there is none like unto the Lord our God. And the froggs ſhall depart from thee, and from thy houſes, and from thy ſervants, and from thy people: they ſhall remain in the river only.*

But this relentance in *Pharaoh* was but like the Devils vow to turn Monk in a languiſhing Fit, but as ſoon as the Fit was off him (as the Fable is) he turned to his wonted *Byas,* and became, and ſo continues, an erranter knave then he was before: For ſo it follows, *verſe* 15. *But when Pharaoh ſaw that there was reſpite, he hardened his heart, and hearkened not unto them as the Lord had ſaid.* This cannot be underſtood ſave only of ſuch an *Indirect* or *Concomitant Obduration* as hath before been expreſſed, that is, a Reſumption of his former proud and avaritious Reſolutions; the Reſultance of which could be no other but a meaſure of Induration ſo much greater then the former that had befallen him, by how much the ſight of the Froggs had mollified his heart more then the two former wonders had done. Yet doth not *Pharaoh* upon the ſight of any of theſe three, bewray ſuch a ſtubborn wilfull diſpoſition, as he did upon the exhibition of the *Fourth Miracle,* which his Enchanters did plainly confeſs ſurpaſſed their ſkill, *Chapt.* 8. 18, 19. *And the Magicians, did ſo with their enchantments to bring forth lice, but they could not: ſo there were lice upon man and upon beaſt. Then the Magicians ſaid unto Pharaoh, This is* THE FINGER OF GOD: *And Pharaohs heart was hardened, and he hearkned not unto them as the Lord had ſaid.* The finger of God then was remarkable in *Working the Miracle* which the Magicians could not; but no way remarkable in *hardning Pharaoh*: Nor is it either ſaid or intimated, that the *Finger of God did harden Pharaohs heart, but Pharaohs heart remained obſtinate: and he hearkned not unto them as the Lord had ſaid, verſe* 19. His not hearkening unto them, was the cauſe of his Induration.

16. But this *Miracle* of the lice was to *Pharaoh* more loathſome, then terrible: And for this reaſon haply he did not either ſo fairly or ſo earneſtly intreat *Moſes* and *Aaron* to pray for him, as he had done upon the ſight of the Froggs: and as he ſtraight way after did upon the noyſome experience of the miraculous ſwarmes of Flies, ver. 21, 22, 23, 24. And ver. 25. *Then Pharaoh called for Moſes and Aaron and ſaid, Go, do Sacrifice unto your God in this Land.* The offer is ſo niggardly that *Moſes* diſdains to accept of it, cannot ſo much as hear it without ſuch Indignation as is expreſt ver. 26. *It is not meet to do ſo: for then we ſhould offer unto the Lord our God that which is an abomination unto the Egyptians: Lo, can we ſacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians before their eyes and they not ſtone us?* Notwithſtanding all the former Documents of Gods power and wiſdom in ſtill over-reaching *Pharaohs* ſkill or Potencie; Yet the *Caitiffe* out of covetouſneſſe ſeeks to drive his bargain as low as may be. For when *Moſes* was peremptory to go three dayes journey into the wilderneſs to ſacrifice; *Pharaoh* yeilded ſomewhat more then he had done in the fomer *Grant,* to wit, that they might go into the wilderneſs: but (as if he had known neither what to ſay nor what to do) he inſtantly limits his Commiſſion, ver. 28. *And Pharaoh ſaid, I will let you go that you may ſacrifice unto the Lord your God in the wilderneſs: But go not far away.* And (as if that had been the leaſt part of his preſent intentions) he adds immediately, and as it were with the ſame breath, *Pray* or *Intreat for me.* And ſo *Moſes* did, as it follows,

ver. 29. but with this *Canonical* and peremptory *Monition* [*but let* Pharaoh *from henceforth deceive no more, in not ſuffering the people to ſacrifice unto the Lord.*] Upon his fraudulent contempt of this peremptory *monition* the Lord begins to deal more ſeverely with him and to proceed unto ſentence, and that a more dreadful one then had befallen him, if he had not dealt ſo deceitfully, as he did at this turn alſo; for it follows, ver. 32. *Yet* Pharaoh *hardened his heart at this time alſo, and did not let the people go, Moſes* in his next Treaty repeats the ſum of his firſt Embaſſage unto him; and preſſeth him, by thronging new plagues upon him, to come to his tryal, Chap. 9. ver. 1, 2, 3. *Then the Lord ſaid unto* Moſes, *Go in unto* Pharaoh *and tell him, Thus ſaith the Lord God of the Hebrews, let my people go that they may ſerve me: for if thou refuſe to let them go, and wilt hold them ſtill; Behold, the hand of the Lord is upon thy cattel, &c.* This word *Ecce*, as in moſt other places, is here a *ſpecial Character* of the ſpeedy execution of the Plague that was threatned, and of the remarkable manner how it was executed, ver. 4. *And the Lord ſhall ſever between the cattel of Iſrael and the cattel of* Egypt, *and there ſhall nothing die of all that is the Childrens of* Iſrael. *And the Lord appointed a ſet time ſaying, To morrow the Lord ſhall do this thing in the Land. And the Lord did that thing on the morrow: and the cattel of* Egypt *died; but of the cattel of the children of* Iſrael *died not one*, ver. 5, 6. *Pharaoh*'s experience of the former Plagues fore-told by *Moſes*, and accompliſhed in his own ſight did perſwade him ſo far to believe his Prediction of this, that he ſent into Goſhen to know the truth of that part of it: *And behold there was not one of the cattel of the Iſraelites dead*, v. 7. And yet as it follows in the ſame verſe, *The heart of* Pharaoh *was hardened, and he did not let the people go.*

17. All or moſt of the former ſigns were reſpectively rather more noyſome and terrible, then detrimental unto *Pharaoh* and his people. We do not read before this time of the death or deſtruction of any uſeful creatures, beſides of Fiſhes when the waters were turned into blood, And this calamity was neither ſo grievous nor ſo univerſal, as the murrain of cattel was. It extended only to that part of the River, or thoſe waters that were nigh to *Pharaohs* Court: otherwiſe the Magicians or Inchanters could have had no place to practiſe their skill in. But this murrain of the moſt uſeful creatures, was very general: Nor would the Magicians have attempted the like, if it had been apprehended as facible by them; ſeeing both the *Egyptians* and themſelves ſhould have been greater loſers by the practiſe of their own cunning. But ſeeing this Plague did not infect *Pharaohs* coffers or treaſure Cities, (which the *Iſraelites* were enjoyned to build, or to prepare materials for their building) nor yet *Pharaohs* Chariots or Stables: hence haply it is that he is not ſo much affected with the wonder, as he had been with ſome of the former. And yet becauſe this wonder did give little or no check unto his proud ſtubborn thoughts, the Lord inſtantly and without further *Commiſſion* (as being now in *Proceſs* of Sentence) commands *Moſes* to bring another Plague upon the *Egyptians* more terrible and noyſome then any of the reſt had been, ver. 8. *Then the Lord ſaid unto* Moſes *and unto* Aaron; *Take to you handfuls of the aſhes of the furnace*, &c. *And they took aſhes of the furnace and ſtood before* Pharaoh; *and* Moſes *ſprinkled it up toward heaven: and it became a boyl breaking forth with blains upon man and upon beaſt. And the Magicians could not ſtand before* Moſes, *becauſe of the boyls: for the boyl was upon the Magicians and upon all the Egyptians*, ver. 10. 11. Whether *Pharaoh* did reſume or continue his former reſolutions without any relentance, the

Text is ſilent; but expreſs enough to this purpoſe, That the Lord did from this time harden the heart of *Pharaoh* after a more extraordinary manner then it had been hardened before: for ſo the words do run, ver. 12. *And the Lord hardened the heart of* Pharaoh, *and he hearkened not unto them, as the Lord had ſpoken unto* Moſes.

But what was it that the Lord had ſpoken unto *Moſes?* Or where did he ſpecially ſpeak to this purpoſe? The place whereto theſe words [*As the Lord had ſpoken unto* Moſes] do punctually refer, is, as our Engliſh margin directs us, Exod. 4. 21. *And the Lord ſaid unto Moſes, when thou goeſt to return into Egypt, See that thou do all thoſe wonders before Pharaoh, which I have put in thine hand: But I will harden his heart, that he ſhall not let the people go.* In moſt of the former Treaties between *Moſes* and *Pharaoh*; or in the relation of the ſucceſs or effect of his ſpeech or works, this Epiphonema or Cloſe comes often in. [*That* Pharaoh *hearkened not to* Moſes *and* Aaron *as the Lord had ſpoken.*] But in none of them beſides this preſent is it ſo expreſly added, that [*the Lord did harden the heart of* Pharaoh, *as he had ſpoken unto* Moſes.] This different Character of this Cloſe from the reſt, gives us to underſtand, or intimates at leaſt, *That this plague of blaines was the firſt of all the plagues in which the Lord did harden the heart of* Pharaoh *after any extrordinary manner.*

But after what manner did he now harden it? Not by Infuſion of any bad Qualitie or new unhallowed Reſolutions; but *by giving him up to his own luſts*, or by leaving him more open and expoſed to the temptations of Sathan then he had been. From this time and not before, doth That of our Apoſtle, Rom. 9. 17. [*For this very purpoſe have I made thee ſtand, that I might ſhew my powen in the*:] Commence, or begin to take place. Now thus to *infatuate Pharaoh* or ſuffer him to infatuate himſelf after he had ſo often hardened his own heart and ſlighted Gods forewarnings, was a true *Act of juſtice*; and withall a prognoſtick that the juſt Lord was now purpoſed to deſtroy him. So the heathens out of their broken Speculations of Divine Providence, have obſerved: *Quos Jupiter vult perdere, prius dementat*: Infatuation is commonly the Uſher of fearful deſtruction.

God in all this, deals no otherwiſe with *Pharaoh*; then *Pharaoh* had done with the poor oppreſſed Iſraelites, immediately after the delivery of *Moſes* firſt Embaſſage unto him. *Pharaoh*, upon this occaſion (as was obſerved before) ſeverely exacts the ſame *Tale* of bricks after he had prohibited the Task maſters to afford them any ſtraw, which they performed before when they had plenty of ſtraw allowed them. The Lord in like maner requires but the ſame obedience of *Pharaoh* after he had deprived him of underſtanding, and of the ſweet influence of his ordinary general Providence; which he had required of him before, or at the exhibition of the firſt ſigns or wonders. And this only is it which miniſtred the occaſion or matter of that queſtion made by our Apoſtle, *τί ἔτι μέμφεται;* *why doth he yet chide?* unto which I have no more to ſay for the preſent then may be found in the Treatiſe upon that place, Rom. 9. 19. See Chapter 42. of this Book, Number. 6.

18. But to finiſh this preſent Survey of the *Moſaical* Story concerning this proud and fooliſh *Pharaoh*: it is a witty Character which * *Joſephus* hath made of his humorous wilful diſpoſition: That after he had ſeen and in ſome meaſure felt three or four ſeveral plagues, he had a kind of itching humour, or longing deſire to have more variety of experiments, in the like kind. This the diligent reader may with me eaſily

* Καὶ ὥσπερ πλειόνων παθημάτων φύσεις βουλόμενος μαθεῖν, οὐκ ἐπὶ ἐφίει τοῖς περὶ τὸν Μωϋσῆν τὴν ἔξοδον, &c. *Lib. 2. Antiq. Jud. Cap. 5.*

obſerve; That upon his ſight of the firſt ſigns, and experiments of the Plagues which did accompany them; he demeaned himſelf like a proud Phantaſtick Humoriſt, and did many waies bewray ſuch a temper as it was impoſſible for him to become wiſe untill he had abandoned his former diſpoſitions or reſolutions. But after the Plagues of the Murrain of cattell and of the blaines upon the Inchanters themſelves; this proud Phantaſtick falls into a Phrenzie and fares like a diſtracted Bedlam, and raves as if his brains had been blaſted by the fumes or ſteames of his cauterized heart or ſeared conſcience : Witneſs thoſe Paſſages following, Exod. 9. 27. *And* Pharaoh *ſent and called for* Moſes *and* Aaron *and ſaid unto them; I have ſinned this time, the Lord is righteous, and I and my people are wicked. Intreat the Lord (for it is enough) that there be no more mighty thundrings and hail; and I will let you go, and ye ſhall ſtay no longer.* Now albeit *Moſes* after he had promiſed him to remove this Plague, did foretel him that he would not be ſo good as his promiſe, ver. 30. [*But as for thee and thy ſervants, I know that ye will not yet fear the Lord God*:] Yet, as it followeth ver. 34. *When he ſaw the rain and the hail and the thunder were ceaſed, he ſinned yet more and hardned his heart, he and his ſervants.* And again, Chap. 10 ver. 7. After his ſervants upon the ſight of the Plague of the Locuſts, did thus boldly intreat him; [*How long ſhall this man be a ſnare unto us? Let the men go, that they may ſerve the Lord their* God:*knowſt thou not yet that Egypt is deſtroyed?*] Though he yeild to their requeſt in part, yet he inſtantly faulters, ver. 8. *And* Moſes *and* Aaron *were brought again unto* Pharaoh:*and he ſaid unto them, Go, ſerve the Lord your God: but who are they that ſhal go? And* Moſes *ſaid, we will go with our young and with our old, with our ſons and with our daughters; with our flocks & with our herds will we go: for we muſt hold a feaſt unto the Lord. And he ſaid unto them, let the Lord be ſo with you, as I will let you go and your little ones. Look to it for evil is before you.* Not ſo, *Go now ye that are men and ſerve the Lord: for that you did deſire: and they were driven out from* Pharaohs *preſence.* The like raving *Fit* or Phrenetical Symptom you may obſerve in him, ver. 16, 17. *Then* Pharaoh *called for* Moſes *and* Aaron *in haſt, and he ſaid, I have ſinned againſt the Lord your* God *and againſt you*:*Now therefore forgive I pray thee my ſin only this once, and intreat the Lord your God, that he may take away from me this death only.* Now though *Moſes* did remove this plague : yet upon his freſh entreatie for *Moſes* to remove another Plague, to wit, of palpable darkneſs, he turns unto his vomit again. ver. 24. 25. *And* Pharaoh *called unto* Moſes, *and ſaid Go ye, ſerve the Lord : only let your flocks and your heards be ſtayed: let your little ones alſo go with you. And* Moſes *ſaid, thou muſt give us alſo ſacrifices and burnt offerings, that we may ſacrifice unto the Lord our* God, *&c.* And ver. 28. Pharaoh *ſaid unto him, Get thee from me : take heed to thy ſelf, ſee my face no more : for in that day thou ſeeſt my face, thou ſhalt dye* : A ſpeech more fooliſh then proud, to come from a man whom the Lord had ſo much impoveriſhed, and ſo often humbled; and given ſufficient proof of his Power to bring farre greater Plagues upon him.

19. Though his heart had been thus often hardened; yet is it not become ſo flinty, but that the ſlaugher of his own, and of every Firſt-born Male in *Egypt*, did make deeper impreſſion upon it, then any of the former Plagues had done. The mighty *Out-cry* which followed upon this ſad and woful ſpectacle to be ſeen in every houſe, did ſo far awake the drowſie ſpirits amongſt the Egyptians, even of ſuch as had no children to mourn for; that they joyned in Petition with the reſt to have the Iſraelites fairly diſmiſſed : and were ready to make them a

Golden bridge ſor their ſpeedier paſſage out of *Egypt*. From this time and not before were the Women and Maids of *Egypt* willing to beſtow their jewels and ear-rings upon the Iſraelitiſh women; that they might woo their men and children to depart with ſpeed. Thus then, that which the Lord had indefinitely promiſed unto *Moſes* from his firſt inſtructions given unto him, **Exod.** 3. 21. was not accompliſhed till this laſt Plague was exhibited. Nor was the like prediction of hardening *Pharaoh*, **Exod.** 4. 21. put in execution, before the *Plagues* of the *Murrain* of Cattel and of *Blains*, **Exod.** 9. 12.

20. But from this *Mollification* of *Pharaoh* and of his peoples hearts by the ſlaughter of the Firſt-born, there did reſult a more ſtrange *induration* then at any time before had befallen them. Of all the infatuated reſolutions which either King or People had adventured upon; the purſuing of the Iſraelites with ſuch a mighty army or ſtrong hand, after they had fairly intreated them to depart out of their coaſts, may well to every indifferent Reader ſeem *the moſt ſtupid*. And ſo the *Author of the Book of Wiſdom* cenſures it, Chap. 19. 3. *For whileſt they were yet mourning and making lamentation at the graves of the dead, they added another fooliſh Device, and purſued them as Fugitives whom they had intreated to be gone.* Yet *Joſephus* a grave and ſagacious Hiſtorian gives the intelligent Reader good hints, that even this effect or Phrenetical Symptom of Divine Infatuation, was but ſuch as hath ſeiſed upon worldly wiſe Princes and Stateſ-men in former Ages; And hereafter may be inflicted upon more. The greateſt varietie of Miracles or Wonders in any one Age experienced, is ſcarce ſufficient to make up a perfect *Induction*, to perſwade ſuperſtitious, prophane, or wilful Spirits, of Gods abſolute Power to effect; or of his Wiſdom, to contrive the like in every kind. Moſt men are prone by nature to make ſuch Collections, as the ſervants of the King of Syria did : *Their Gods are Gods of the hils, therefore they were ſtronger then we : but let us fight againſt them in the plain, and ſurely we ſhall be ſtronger then they, &c.* 1 King. 30. 23. The undoubted Experiments of the forecited ſigns all done in *Egypt*, might well perſwade *Pharaoh* and his People, That *The Lord God of the Hebrews* was more skilful in producing wonders, then the Gods which the Magicians of *Egypt* ſerved, were; that *Moſes* under him had a greater command over the wind and water; *over* the ayre and clouds; over the duſt of the earth, and over all the hoſt of reaſonleſs creatures; then either the King, the Princes, or Prieſts of *Egypt* could ever procure from their Gods; a more Soveraign Authority over Flies, then Baal-zebub had. All this being granted they might notwithſtanding thus *Reaſon* in their hearts. " who knows whether all this power was given unto *Moſes* to " be exerciſed only within the *Meridian, or Climes of Egypt* : or whe" ther his *Commiſſion* might extend over *Paleſtina* and *Madian*? The " *Egyptians* at leaſt preſumed that *The Lord God of the Hebrews* had not given *Moſes* ſuch a great command over the armies or hoſts of men as the King of *Egypt* had; becauſe the *Iſraelites* (they knew) had no skill in Feats of arms; no Captains of Infanterie; no Cavalrie at all, no weapons or engins of war, offenſive eſpecially, amongſt them : Of all which the *Egyptians* had abundance; plentie of Magazines full of them.

21. Upon theſe or the like preſumptions or vain collections, they became fool-hardy, and deſperatly reſolute to be avenged upon the children of *Iſrael*; for all the miſeries, harms and loſſes which *Moſes* and *Aaron*, their chief leaders had brought upon them : whereas *The*

Lord God of the Hebrews had at this time purpoſed, ſolemnly to declare to all the world, That vengeance belonged unto him alone, and that he would repay it upon thoſe who had beſt deſerved it, that was upon the *Egyptians*; who for a long time by many waies and in divers kindes had wronged the *Iſraelites*, who at no time had wronged them. As for the *Egyptians* loſs of Cattel, and of Grain; or for their bodily annoyances by frogs, by blains, *&c. Theſe were the juſt Awards of Gods Punitive Juſtice upon Pharaoh* and his ſervants for part of the wrongs which they and their Predeceſſors had done by bringing them into undeſerved Bondage.

But *The Lord God of the Hebrews* had not as yet called this preſent *Pharaoh*, or *the State of Egypt* to an exact reckoning or ful account for making away ſo many Infant-Males of the *Hebrews* by drowning them in the river, or other like cruel Practiſes againſt them. Now, that the *Egyptians* might become the chief Executioners of Gods vengeance upon themſelves for the ſhedding of innocent blood, he gave them over to their own *proud Phanſies*, to their own *vain imaginations* or preſumptions of good ſucceſs by purſuing the *Iſraelites*, whom they had upon fair terms requeſted to depart out of their Land. And of all the *Hardenings* or *Infatuations* which had poſſeſſed the heart of *Pharaoh* and his Councel of State, his was the greateſt and ſtrangeſt, That they ſhould adventure to give the *Iſraelites* fierce Chaſe after they ſaw, or might have perceived the *Red-ſea* to open her boſom to give the children of *Iſrael* Paſſage. All this was the *Lord God of the Hebrews* his doing, that the blood of the *Hebrew* Infants might be required of the *Egyptians* κατ᾽ ἀντιπεπονθὸς, according to *the Law of Retaliation*, or moſt exquiſite Rule of *Punitive Juſtice*.

This preſent *Pharaohs* Predeceſſor (whether his Father or no I know not) with the advice of his Councel of State and Warr, had deſigned the poor *Hebrew Infants* as a *Prey* to the fiſhes or other ravenous water-creatures. Now the righteous *Lord God of the Hebrews* makes this proud *Pharaoh* his Succeſſor in the height of his ſtrength; and his mighty Army and States men, a *Prey* not only to the fiſhes and Sea-monſters, but a *viſible booty* to the promiſcuous ſorts of ravenous creature which inhabit the wilderneſs, *Pſalm.* 74. 14. *Thou brakeſt the heads of Leviathan in pieces, and gaveſt him to be meat to the people inhabiting the wilderneſe.*

See the 9. *Book of Comm. upon the Apoſtles Creed*, Chapt. 43. Numb. 2.

22 He that would in vacancy from other buſineſſes diligently peruſe the Hiſtorie of *Exodus* from the *firſt Chapter* to the *twelfth*, may find many fair, and unto this day *freſh maps* of Gods patience, and long-ſuffering toward ſinners; of his mercy and loving kindneſs towards his ſervants, ſpecially to the Oppreſſed; and many live durable Pictures of his Juſtice punitive upon obſtinate incorrigible Tranſgreſſors; but no *Type* or ſhadow of *Peremptory Abſolute Reprobation : Not one Clauſe is there in all this long relation which looks or can be wreſted that way:* no not in the Conſtruction or Paraphraſe which the *Author of the Book of Wiſdom* makes upon it; A man (I muſt ever acknowledge) of an excellent contemplative Spirit; *as full as the Moon* in points of high ſpeculation of Gods general providence in governing the world : and yet a man when he comes to diſcuſs the different manner of Gods dealing with the righteous, (theſe in his language are *the Seed of Abraham*) and the wicked Heathen; ſo far from being *Canonical* that he is ſcarce *Orthodoxal :* often by *Fits* exhibiting certain *Criſes* to the obſervant Reader that he was in ſome meaſure inſe-

cted with that diſeaſe, whoſe cure St. *Paul* did ſo earneſtly wiſh unto his Country-men the *Jews*. The radical Diſeaſe common to the whole *Jewiſh* Nation of that time, and to this learned Author (whom for this reaſon alone, were no others alledged by the learned *Rainolds*, I ſhould conjecture to be *Philo Judæus*) was this; "[That becauſe they were "*The Seed of* Abraham, *they were the only righteous ſeed:* and however the "Lord God of their Fathers did often chaſtiſe and correct them; yet "all his corrections were *Filial*; that he would not, or could not at a-"ny time plague them, as he had done the unrighteous Heathens; or "puniſh them with like blindneſs of mind or hardneſs of heart, as he had done the *Egyptians*.] The *Receipt* or medicine given by *our Apoſtle* for curing *this Diſeaſe* in his Country-men then living, and for preventing the like in after Ages whether in *Jew* or *Gentile*, we have ſet down, Rom. 9. 18. *Therefore hath he mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth.* The Extract or *Quinteſſence* of which *Aphoriſm* is This; ["That the Lord was not ſo tyed by *Oath or Promiſe* unto *Abra-*"*ham* but that he might and would harden the hearts and blind the eyes "of his ſeed after the ſame manner he had done *Pharaohs* and the *Egyp-*"*tians*; if at any time they ſhould become as obſtinate as *Pharaoh* and "his People had been; or hearden their own hearts by indulgence to "their lewd affections, or by neglect andcontempt of Gods forewarn-"ings; ſpecially, theſe being ſeconded by ſigns and Wonders no leſs "admirable, then *Moſes* had ſhewed in *Egypt*.

Philo Judæus, *Author of the Book of Wiſd.*

23. To harden the ſeed of *Abraham* even by *Sarah*; or to ſuffer them to harden their own hearts after a ſtranger manner and for a longer ſpace then the *Egyptians* were hardened, upon ſuppoſal or diſcovery of the like(though leſs) pride of heart,obſtinacy or contempt of Gods Embaſſadors; could be no prejudice to Gods Oath to *Abraham*; no impeachment of promiſed Loving-kindneſs unto *David*, but rather a *Conſtat* to all the World, *That the God of* Abraham *was no accepter of Perſons: but that in every nation, who feareth him and loveth righteouſneſs ſhall be accepted*, Acts 10. 34. And by the authentick Rule of Contraries, every Nation; all and every one of any Nation that deſpiſeth him and worketh unrighteouſneſs ſhall be rejected by him: And they above others moſt obnoxious to grievous temptations and induration, who had better-oportunities to know him and greater motives to fear and love him; and out of love towards him to do that which is right and good both in his ſight, and in the ſight of men. This was the ſtate or condition of *the Seed of Abraham* from time to time after their deliverance out of *Egypt*, ſpecially after the building of the ſecond Temple and rebuilding it by *Herod*.

24. The principal point remaining only to be touched upon by me, but which I would commend to the ſerious conſideration and accurate ſifting of other Students in Divinity,is," A *Parallel* between the cruel op-"preſſion and ſtubborneſs of *Pharaoh* and his people in *Moſes*'s time and "a little before; and the ingratitude,ſtubborneſs, and malitious cruelty "of the *Jews* towards Gods people and his Embaſſadors for their good, in the dayes of *our Saviour* and his *Apoſtles*. Equality of cruelty, ingratitude, or contempt of Gods Meſſengers in the *Jewiſh* Nation,muſt needs by the Rule of Juſtice,induce an Exceſs of induration or infatuation upon them.

A parallel, betwixt Pharaohs Cruelty towards the Jews; and the Jews cruelty towards Chriſt and his Apoſtles.

To draw the *Parallel* aright. After the firſt cruel *Pharaoh* had begun to oppreſs the *Iſraelites* and murther their Infant Males, *Moſes* is born and deſign'd by God to be his Ambaſſador unto *Pharaoh* for his Peoples releaſe from bondage. Upon the continuance of this oppreſſion by the *ſecond Pharaoh*, which the former had begun, The Lord ſaid, *I have ſurely ſeen the affliction of my people which are in* Egypt, *and have heard their cry, by reaſon of their Task-maſters : for I know their ſorrows*; *and I am come down to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians, and to bring them up out of the Land, unto a good Land and a large, unto a land flowing with milk and honey*, Exod. 3.7, 8. The Seed of *Abraham* was no leſs grievouſly oppreſſed by the *Romanes*; and by *Herod* the Great their Deputy. And (which is worſt of all) their own Governours laid heavy burdens of conſcience upon them : Many of them were tormented in body, if not in ſoul, by the Devil. The depth as well of the Peoples as of the Governours miſery was, That they did not perceive or rightly apprehend the danger of their diſeaſe. In commiſeration of all theſe and other parts of their affliction, *The ſame Lord God* which had appeared to *Moſes* in the Buſh, and teſtified that he was come down to ſee the affliction of the *Iſraelites* under *Pharaoh*, did now the ſecond time deſcend from heaven to earth to viſit the affliction of his people under the *Romanes* and their Governors; ſhewing his Commiſſion to this purpoſe by many ſigns and wonders, much greater and more gracious then *Moſes* had wrought in *Egypt*; moſt of them reſpectively exhibited in the ſight of the *Phariſees, Prieſts, and Elders* and of all the people, but with worſe ſucceſs in reſpect of them, for whoſe good they were purpoſely and eſpecially wrought, then *Moſes* his miracles had found in *Egypt*. The *Egyptians* ('tis true) did not hearken unto *Moſes*, nor hold his miracles in that eſteem which they deſerved : but to perſecute, to ſtone, or otherwiſe to ſlay or murther *Moſes*, we do not read of any attempt made by them, until after he had departed with Gods People out of *Egypt*. Whereas the Scribes and Phariſees with the Prieſts and Elders upon the more frequent ſight of our Saviours Miracles did not only harden their own hearts, but wrought the people (otherwiſe well inclined unto his Doctrine) to ſuch an hardneſs of heart, that they perſecuted *The God*, or *Great Angel of the Covenant*, who had appeared to *Moſes* in Mount *Sinai*, unto a bloody ignominious death : and (which doth aggravate the ſin) ſought the releaſe of *Barabbas* the Murtherer, that is, by name and quality, the *Son of their Father* the Devil, whileſt he ſtood in competition with the only Son of God for enjoying the benefit of that Boon, which by the indulgence of the *Romanes* was granted to them at every Feaſt of the Paſſover, in remembrance of their Fathers deliverance out of *Egypt*.

25. More fooliſh again by much theſe Scribes and Phariſees with their complices were, then the *Egyptians* in *Moſes*'s time had been; in that they perſecuted (as far as in them lay) the Lord God of their Fathers after his departure out of this World, by procuring a watch or guard to be ſet about his grave, ſeeking thereby to ſtop his paſſage, which he had foretold, from death to life. But he in the mean time gives evident proof, that he had greater power and more ſoveraign command over the earth, over the rocks and grave it ſelf, then *Moſes* had over the waters of *Egypt* or the Red-Sea, which *Moſes* (by vertue of his power whoſe Embaſſador he was) did command to ſwallow up the *Egyptians* alive. *This ſecond Moſes* or Great Prophet like unto him, after his death commands the rocks to cleave aſunder, and the earth and grave to give up their dead. No marvel if, after the *Jews* had thus wilfully and deſperately hardened their own hearts, the Lord God of their Fathers have hardened their hearts after a ſtranger manner

then he did the hearts of *Pharaoh* and his People, and for a longer ſpace; even to this preſent day.

Beſides all other odds of circumſtantial conſiderations from our Saviours fore-warnings or admonitions, the meaſure of that blindneſs or induration which poſſeſſed theſe later *Jews*, did moſt juſtly accrue from neglect of that *peremptory monition*, which *Moſes* their Lawgiver had given them, *Deut.* 18. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19. *The Lord thy God will raiſe up unto thee a Prophet from the middeſt of thee, like unto me, unto him ſhall ye hearken. According to all that thou deſireſt of the Lord thy God in* Horeb, *in the day of the Aſſembly, ſaying, Let me not hear again the voice of the Lord my God, neither let me ſee this great fire any more, that I die not. And the Lord ſaid unto me, They have well ſpoken that which they have ſpoken. I will raiſe them up a prophet from among their brethren like unto thee, and will put my words in his mouth, and he ſhall ſpeak unto them all that I ſhall command him. And it ſhall come to paſs, that whoſoever will not hearken unto my words, which he ſhall ſpeak in my name, I will require it of him.*

A Parallel betwixt Moſes *and* Chriſt Jeſus.

26. Here were a fit place, and fair Occaſion to inſtitute a *Parallel*, or decypher the ſimilitude between *Moſes*, and *Jeſus the great Prophet*, as the people did often enſtile him: a point whereunto I have ſpoken ſomewhat in the *Third Book of Comments upon the Apoſtles Creed*, Chap. 11. The diligent Reader I know may find much more for his better ſatisfaction in many learned Commentators upon the 18. of *Deuteronomy*, and the 3. of the *Acts*; and amongſt others, in the learned *Gualter*, who is not in this point ſo prolix as in moſt other of his Comments, upon the *Acts*. At this time, and in this place theſe *Two Circumſtances* only preſent themſelves to my Memory, which I ſhall commend to the ingenious Readers view. The *Firſt*, That *Moſes* was born at that very time wherein the *Pharaoh*, which then ruled over *Egypt*, had a deſign to make away all the *Hebrew* Infant-Males, being thereunto ſollicited or provoked (as *Joſephus* tells us) by the ſuggeſtions of his *Secretary*, upon a Prenotion or Fame (which he had heard or learned God knows from whom, or by what means) that there ſhould about that time ariſe a Prophet, or more then a Prophet, which ſhould work great wonders for the good of the *Hebrews*, or *Iſraelites* his kinſmen according to the fleſh, which could not be effected, *Rebus ſic ſtantibus*, As the caſe ſtood then, without dangerous prejudice to the *Egyptians*. Upon the like jealouſie occaſioned by more then a publick Fame, an authentick prenotion, That there ſhould about the latter end of *Herods* raign, ariſe *A Star in Jacob, a true King of the Jews*: the bloody Tyrant cauſed all the Males of *Judah* and *Benjamin* about *Bethlehem* which were under two years, to be cruelly murthered; and yet left the *true King of the Jews, the Heir of David, the Flower of Jeſſe, and Hope of Iſrael* untouched.

The *Second Circumſtance*, or remarkable ſimilitude between *Jeſus* and *Moſes*, was this: *Moſes* after the firſt cruel *Pharaohs* death, was commanded by God to return into *Egypt* his native ſoil, upon aſſurance given him that they were dead that ſought his life. *Joſeph* is warned in a dream, or Divine viſion by night to return with *Jeſus* and his Mother out of *Egypt* into the land of *Iſrael, Becauſe they were dead that ſought the young childs life*, to wit, *Herod* and his complices. But my aim in this place (of which I hope I have not fallen much wide or ſhort) was to ſet the *Parallel* aright between the *induration* or infatuation of the *Egyptians*, in *Moſes* his dayes; and the *Excæcation* of the *Jews*, after

Mat. 2. 20.

their contempt of our Saviours miracles, and more then prophetical monitions.

The Kalender made by the learned *Author of the Book of Wiſdom* for the oppoſite Fates or Deſtinies of the *Egyptians* and of the *Jews*, began in his own time, and ſhortly after our Saviours Reſurrection to be out of Date; and more then ſo quite inverted. *Verſâ tabulâ currebant qui modò ſtabant*; the lot or deſtiny which this good *Author* aſſigned unto the ungodly *Egyptians*, did fall upon his preſumed *holy Ones* the *Jews* his Countrey-men: [*Unto theſe the deſtroyer gave place and was afraid of them: for it was enough that they only taſted of the wrath. But as for the ungodly, wrath came upon them without mercy unto the end: for he knew before what he would do*, Wiſ. 18. 25. and 19. 1.] Of the *Jews* ſaith St. *Paul*; *They pleaſe not God, and are contrary to all men, forbidding us to ſpeak to the Gentiles that they might be ſaved, to fill up their ſins alway: for the wrath is come upon them* εἰς τὸ τέλος *to the uttermoſt, or to the end.* The *Author of the Book of Wiſdom* Whoſoever he were, *Philo* or ſome other, did ſlide or draw himſelf into a *twofold* Error, only by overſtretching two undoubted *Canonical* Truths: He had rightly obſerved that as the *Canaanites*, ſo the *Egyptians* were an accurſed ſeed from the beginning, as being the off-ſpring of *Cham*; and that the children of *Iſrael* were a ſeed two wayes bleſſed, as being the Progeny of *Sem* and faithful *Abraham*. Wherein then did he erre or fail in his *Collections? Firſt*, in that he preſumed the curſe derived from their Father *Cham*, ſhould be perpetually upon the *Egyptians: Secondly*, that the bleſſing derived from *Sem* and *Abraham* unto their ſeed, ſhould be abſolutely everlaſting. Our *Apoſtle* St. *Paul* partly by obſervation, but eſpecially by the Spirit of Propheſie, did know or fore-ſee that the Seed of *Sem* and of *Abraham*, ſhould fall into a greater meaſure of *induration* to continue for a longer time, then that which had befallen the Seed of *Cham* or the *Egyptians:* Yet did he not hence collect, or occaſion us to think, that this curſe upon his Countrey-men the *Jews* ſhould be either univerſal or perpetual; but *to continue only until the fulneſs of the Gentiles were come in.*

Rom. 11. 11.

Neither doth he intimate that this bleſſing upon the Gentiles, ſpecially the ſons of *Japhet*, which were heirs in *reverſion* unto the bleſſing beſtowed upon *Sem*, ſhould continue unto the worlds end; but rather to determine with the recalling of the Jews whoſe reſtauration (it is probable) ſhall be wrought or occaſioned by the *infatuation* or obduration of the *Gentiles*, which through their ingratitude and contempt is likely to become more grievous then the induration either of the *Egyptians* in *Moſes* dayes, or of the *Jews* after our *Saviours* death.

27. If we would look upon the Face of Chriſtendom at this inſtant; How ſmall a portion of it ſhall we find not either beſmeared with its own blood or disfigured with wounds and ſcars or other like ſigns of more then *Jewiſh infatuation:* and, which is of all the reſt the moſt *ominous Præſage* or Symptom, the hearts of moſt Princes and Stateſ-men are ſo addicted to their own politick reſolutions, that if Gods true Embaſſadors, though Prophets raiſed for this purpoſe from the dead, ſhould take upon them to forewarn them as boldly as *Moſes* did *Pharaoh*, to ſubmit themſelves unto *the Lord*; they ſhould find more harſh entertainment in ordinary Aſſemblies, then *Moſes* did in *Pharaohs* Court; as bad as our *Saviours Apoſtles and Diſciples* found in *Jeruſalem* or in *Jewiſh* Synagogues. The beſt excuſe or apology which beſt Divines or Preachers of the Goſpel throughout moſt *Chriſtian* or other Nati-

ons, can make for their backwardneſs or want of boldneſs to deliver Gods Meſſage unto greateſt Princes or other Stateſ-men, will be this; That ſeeing the Spirit of Prophecy is now taken from them, they may not take upon them to uſe the boldneſs or animoſity which *Moſes* and *Aaron* and other ancient Prophets did, even in the preſence of greateſt Princes. One duty notwithſtanding the Miniſters of the Goſpel or *Chriſts* Embaſſadors may duly practiſe, without danger, in the middeſt of his perverſe and crooked Generation in every State and Kingdom; a duty which we of *this Church and Kingdom* are ſpecially bound to perform, that is, to pray and intreat the ſame *God and Lord Jeſus Christ* which hardened King *Pharaohs* heart, to remove his Plagues from all Chriſtian Kings and Stateſ-men, as alſo from Turkiſh Mahumetan, or heatheniſh Princes; and to uſe theſe and the like parts following of our *Engliſh Letanie or Liturgie*, more then thrice a week, as we are injoyned, twice at leaſt every day evening and morning either in our publick or private Devotions; *From all blindneſs of heart, from pride, vain glory, and hypocriſie, from envy, hatred, and malice, and all uncharitableneſs, &c. From hardneſs of heart, and contempt of thy word and commandements, Good Lord deliver* not only all *Chriſtian Kings*, but even ſuch Kings as *Pharaoh* was by *Profeſſion*; and take from all *Jews, Turks, Infidels and Hereticks all ignorance, hardneſs of heart and contempt of thy Word, and make us all One Flock, under One Shepheard,* Jeſus Chriſt the great Biſhop and Shepheard of our Souls. Amen.

CHAP. XLI.

SALVATION ONLY FROM GODS GRACE.

Or, An Expoſition of *Rom.* 9. 16.

So then, it is not of him that willeth, *nor of him that* runneth, *but* of God that ſheweth mercy.

THeſe words (as every obſervant Eye may ſee) bear the Stamp and Form of a *Concluſion* or Collection; containing matter for its *Truth* as unqueſtionable, and of as large *Extent* for good *Uſe*, as any *Maxime* in this whole diſcourſe. This *Illative* being turned into a ſimple *Aſſertive*, *Non eſt volentis neq; currentis, &c.* is as the *Axis* whereon the whole *Doctrinal part* of this *Epiſtle* revolves. But taking *this Verſe* as it here lyes (being both a *Principle* and a *Concluſion*) the Liſts of my Inquiry into it at this time (by Gods aſſiſtance) ſhall be but *Two*: *Unde infertur? Quo refertur?* 1. *From what Premiſſes it is gathered.* And 2. *To what End it is referred*; *Or, To what Uſe or purpoſe in the Apoſtles intent it is ſpecially applyable.* Two Inquiries.

The *Premiſſes* whence it is gathered firſt well *ſounded*, will rectifie our aim or Level at the *Scope* whereto it is directed: And the *End* or ſcope being known, will eaſily impart the right *Uſe or Application.* Amongſt many *Uſes* whereto theſe words may ſerve, it is not the leaſt, That their juſt *Extent* once rightly taken will ſerve as a juſt meaſure or ſcantling to notifie and unfold the contents of many δυσνόητα in this Chapter, which have been as much perverted as any places in all St. *Pauls Epiſtles*; becauſe they have been the common *Themes* of every illiterate vocaliſt or rural Scholar.

2. It is (I take it) agreed upon by all, (at leaſt it will be denyed by none) that the principal *End* of this *Epiſtle* is, to eſtabliſh theſe *Romanes*, (whether *Jews* or *Gentiles* by Progenie) in that *Faith* wherein they had been inſtructed. And by the *Line* or Level which is directed to this *End*, muſt the Argument of this preſent *Chapter* (as of all the reſt) be ſquared. The *Materials* here handled differ ſomewhat from the former; but *Modus conſiderandi*; their Reference or Aſpect to the propoſed *End*, is the ſame. What the *Apoſtle* in this place here inſerts, either concerning the *hardening of Pharaoh*, the *Reprobation of the Modern Jews*, or free *Election* of their Fathers, is purpoſely inſerted for under-propping or fortifying his *Former Aſſertion*; [*That Juſtification or Salvation muſt be ſought by Faith only without Works.*] To perſwade the truth of this our *Aſſertion*, no particular Allegations of Authorities or reaſons can ſo much avail with an ingenuous Auditor, as his own diligent peruſal of the 10. and 11. *Chapters*; *in which*, the reſumption of his former argument, is, to clear-ſighted men more evident, then the continuance of it, is *in this*: And with his former Doctrine, in thoſe *two Chapters* reſumed, he intermingles powerful admonitions to the *Gentiles* to make their *Election Sure*; unto which purpoſe the *Original and manner of the Jews Rejection*, is in this *Chapter* premiſed. And He that ſhall pleaſe in his more retired thoughts, unpartially to ſurvey the *Connexion* which the 10. and 11. *Chapters* with the laſt part of this 9, have with the former, ſpecially with the 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8. The ſtream or Current of the Diſcourſe will evidently bewray it ſelfe to be the ſame: howſoever it may ſeem (a little before and after *This* 16 *Verſe*) to run a cloſe way, or under ground; yet ſo as the opening of it is apparent verſe 30. *What ſhall we ſay then? That the Gentiles which followed not after righteouſneſs have attained to righteouſneſs: But Iſrael hath not attained to righteouſneſs, becauſe they ſought it not by faith, but as it were by the works of the Law. Verſe* 32

3. The faireſt *Connexion* of this 9. *Chapter* with the former, in my opinion, is This: “The *Apoſtle*, having in the later end of the for-“mer Chapter confidently avouched the *Infallible Aſſurance* of their “hopes which renouncing *Works* ſeek *Salvation only by Faith in* “*Chriſt*; and his heart having been dilated with joy and exulta-“tion of ſpirit in contemplation of their happineſs, is, in the re-“bound, more deeply touched with ſorrow for the *Jews* his “countrey-men and kinsfolk according to the fleſh: The lamen-“table Iſſue of whoſe excellent Prerogatives, and ſtrange miſcar-“riage of their extraordinary pains and zealous care in obſer-“ving the Law, might well have daunted the late converted *Gentiles*; “to whom he writes; and in mens eſteem, much impaired the ſtrength “or all former aſſurances which he had given them; unleſs he had “further manifeſted the *true Original of the Fall* or rejection of Gods anti-“ent people. This unfained ſorrow for their miſery is ſo much the great-“er, (as every good mans in like caſe would:) by how much their *means* “of well doing had been the *better*; their *Approach* to true happineſs, *near-*“*er*; and their *Intereſt* in Gods promiſes more *peculiar* then other mens

were. It little moves us to ſee a lazy unthrift come to be a begger: But to ſee a man extraordinarily induſtrious in his *Calling*, not to thrive, or utterly to overthrow himſelf and his poſterity, by ſome one wilful humour, is grief to every other man that can take pains for his living. *This Original* of our *Apoſtles* ſorrow is expreſly intimated by himſelf, *Chap.* 10. *Ver.* 1, 2.

Brethren, my hearts deſire and prayer to God for Iſrael is, that they might be ſaved : for I bear them record, that they have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge. And in the 11. *Chapter*, he tels us *Gentiles* (what *Moſes* before had told theſe *Jews*;) That whenſoever they ſhould turn again to the God of their fathers, they were to have *Precedencie* of all other people in the world, in his Everlaſting and unchangable Love. *I ſay then; Have they ſtumbled that they ſhould fall? God forbid. But rather through their Fall, ſalvation is come unto the Gentiles, for to provoke them to jealouſie. Now if the Fall of them be the riches of the world, and the diminiſhing of them, the riches of the Gentiles, how much more their fulneſs?* ver. 11. 12. And again ver, 28, 29. *Concerning the Goſpel, they are Enemies, for your ſake : but as touching the Election, they are beloved for the fathers ſake; for the gifts, and calling of God are without repentance.* And would it not greive any zealous ſoul that loves the memorie of his fathers? to ſee them ſo farre eſtranged from their God, who is not altogether eſtranged from them, but alwayes ready when *theſe Prodigals ſhall returne* unto him, to embrace them as his dear Sons.

Theſe are *Points* whoſe contemplation in our Apoſtle was deeper then our ſhallow witts can rightly *ſound*; and did caſt him out of ſuch an *Extaſie* of joy into ſuch a ſuddain *Trance* of ſorrow, that he had no leaſure to expreſs the *Cauſes* of it in the beginning of this ninth Chapter, but is fain to reſerve it to the beginning of the tenth. The very depth of ſorrow had ſwallowed up the very ſtream or current of his diſcourſe, and cauſeth him to begin thus abruptly : *I ſay the truth in Chirſt, I lye not, my conſcience alſo bearing me witneſs in the Holy Ghoſt, that I have great heavineſs, and continual ſorrow in my heart : For I could wiſh that my ſelf were accurſed from Chriſt, for my Brethren my kinſmen according to the fleſh : who are Iſraelites; to whom pertaineth the Adoption and the Glory, and the Covenants, and the giving of the Law, and the Service of God, and the promiſes; whoſe are the Fathers, and of whom as concerning the Fleſh, CHRIST came, who is over all, GOD, bleſſed for ever, Amen.* He concludes his ſorrow as though he had ſtill prayed for them whileſt he ſorrowed.

If it be further demanded what *Peculiar occaſion* he had to be overtaken with theſe ſuddain Pangs of ſorrow, rather in *this place* (the beginning of this ninth Chapter) then any other; the *Special occaſion*, as I intimated before, was, the preſent Opportunitie or neceſſitie of anſwering an *Exception*, which from the Rejection of theſe *Jews*, might have been taken againſt thoſe confident *Aſſertions* wherewith He had concluded the former. And being to anatomize their wounds, for others inſtruction, unto the quick ; the ſight of their grievouſneſs could not but make his heart to bleed.

4. Againſt his former *Aſſertions* (he ſaw) the *Gentile* or *Iew* late converted would be ready *thus to object*, "If *they* of whom *Chriſt* according to the fleſh came; If *They* for whoſe miſcarriage *Chriſt* in the dayes of his fleſh was more ſorrowfull then thou canſt be : yet *They*, notwithſtanding all theſe *Prerogatives* and peculiar *Intereſts* in Gods

“ promiſes, are fallen away and utterly ſeparated from God: Where
“ is the *infallibility of our aſſurance.* What is the ground of thy boaſt-
“ ing? that *neither death nor life, nor things preſent, nor things to come,*
“ *nor Angels, nor Principalities, nor Powers, nor height, nor depth, nor*
“ *any other creature ſhall be able to ſeparate us from the love of God which is*
“ *in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord?* Rom. 8. 38, 39. Have we any warrant
“ thus to perſwade our ſelves beſides *Gods Word?* any better Aſſurance
“ then his *Promiſe?* and ſeeing theſe *Jews* thy Country-men, as thou
“ often inculcates, had *both theſe* in as ample manner and Form, as we
“ can expect: if *neither* took effect in *them,* why may not *both* want
“ their effects in *us?* With this *Objection* the *Apoſtle,* (if we duly mark
the *Cloſure* of his proteſted ſorrow for the *Jews* Fall) directly meets, ver. 6. *Not as though the word of God had taken none effect.* It was in his eye when he fell into the former Trance; out of which awaked, he falls in hand with it afreſh again.

5. The more often and more ſeriouſly we read *the Doctrinal Part of this Epiſtle to the Romanes,* or of thoſe other to the *Galatians* and the *Hebrews,* the juſter occaſion we ſhall have alwaies to admire our *Apoſtles* skill, as well in *right applying* the *Typical Prænotions or Ænigmatical Portendments of the Old Teſtament to the Events in the New,* as alſo in *making uſe* of whatſoever by the *Jews,* or any on their behalf, could be *objected,* for eſtabliſhing the truth which he maintained againſt them. For inſtance at this time, take only *the manner of his Retorting the former Objection;* wherein this whole Chapter, and the other two following are wholly ſpent. *The manner is thus:* “ It is true; the *Jews* my kinſmen, who
“ had greater *intereſt* in Gods Love and Promiſes, then any people
“ beſides them hitherto have had; as great as any after them can expect
“ are become caſt-awaies. But ſpend your thoughts not ſo much in
“ wondring at this, as in conſidering, that the only cauſe of their Fall,
“ was no other, then *ignorance of this Doctrine* which I now teach be-
“ ing formerly taught by the Law and the Prophets. Be ye not there-
“ fore partakers with them in this their Error: and ſo Gods promiſes
“ ſhall undoubtedly take effect in you; for he hath ordained that their
“ Fall ſhall be the means of your eſtabliſhment.

The ignorance of theſe his Country-men was not *Ignorantia puræ negationis;* but *pravæ diſpoſitionis,* an ignorance rooted in *carnal pride,* the off-ſpring of another pernicious Error. They thought it ſufficient to ſalvation, that they were *Iſraelites* and the ſeed of *Abraham:* herein moſt groſly ignorant and more inexcuſable then the Heathen; ſeeing the Scripture had plainly given them to underſtand, that *they are not all Iſrael, that are of Iſrael, neither all Children that are of the ſeed of Abraham;* for *Abraham* had *Iſhmael* and many other children beſides *Iſaac:* and yet the Lord had ſaid to *Abraham, In Iſaac ſhall thy ſeed be called.* The *Myſtical or Evangelical ſenſe* of which words in our Apoſtles expoſition ver. 8. is this, *They which are the children of the fleſh, theſe are not the children of God: but the children of the Promiſe are accounted for* the Seed. The true and Orthodoxal Conſtruction of this *Apoſtolical Declaration* (upon *Moſes*'s words) if we apply it unto the *Romanes to whom,* or unto our *ſelves for whoſe good,* he wrote it, and refer it to the End by him intended and ſuppoſed throughout this whole Diſcourſe is as much as if he had ſaid, “ Stand not ye upon the Prerogatives of the fleſh,
“ as my rejected Country-men have done, but betake your ſelves
“ wholly to Gods promiſes as *Abraham* did, and ye ſhall undoubtedly
“ remain the choſen ſeed of *Abraham* and Children of God. His aſſer-

tion (or Aſſurance) is the ſame in effect with that of St. John Chapt. 1. ver. 12, 13. *As many as received him to them he gave power to be the ſons of God, even to them that believe on his name : which were born, not of bloud, nor of the will of the fleſh, but of God.* Nor doth our Apoſtle either here or in any other part of his writings once intimate any other Cauſe of theſe *Jews Rejection*, beſides that hereditary diſeaſe, whereof the *Baptiſt* foreſaw their beſt teachers dangerouſly ſick, and for whoſe prevention he preſcribes a wary dyet, whileſt he offers the medicine of baptiſm unto them. *When he ſaw many of the Phariſees and Sadduces come to his Baptiſm, he ſaid unto them ; O Generation of Vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come? Bring forth therefore fruits meet for Repentance, and think not to ſay within your ſelves, We have Abraham, for our Father : for I ſay unto you that God is able of theſe ſtones to Raiſe up Children unto Abraham*, *Mat.* 3. 7, 8, 9. Had they ſtedfaſtly relyed upon Gods Power manifeſted in the miraculous birth of *Iſaac* and the mightie increaſe of his Poſteritie, as they did upon *this glorious Title* of being *Abrahams and Iſaacs ſeed*, they might have been ſons not of *Abraham* only but of *God*. And no place of Scripture, in my obſervation, warrants us to think, that they were excluded by any *Immutable Decree* or *irrevocable Act* of Omnipotencie from thus relying on Gods Power, or from following Abrahams foot-ſteps. Let us not then, I beſeech you, in a matter of ſo great conſequence *Preſume to underſtand above that which is written*, or to make a further *Reſolution* of mens *reprobation*, then our Apoſtle hath done. And the *firſt and only cauſe* into which he reſolves the *rejection* of the *Jews*, as from the *concluſion* of this diſcourſe, ver. 32. is apparent, is, *That they ſought ſalvation not by Faith but by works* ; not by relyance on Gods Power or Promiſes, but by Confidence in theſe Carnal Prerogatives.

6. As it is dangerous to aſſign any cauſe of *reprobation* without warrant of Scripture, ſo is it a Prepoſterous Preſumption to pronounce their Perſons *reprobated* or *accurſed*, whom the Scripture hath proclaimed for *Bleſſed*. Yet ſome in our times (unleſs my memory fail me) have ranked *Iſhmael* amongſt the *reprobates* ; when as *Moſes* had regiſtred the Grant of *Abrahams* Petition for him, *As for Iſhmael I have heard thee, Behold I have bleſſed him.* Gen. 17.20. Now *Abraham* doubtleſs did pray in Faith ; and his Faith queſtionleſs did as well reſpect the Kingdom of God and his righteouſneſs, as the bleſſings of this Life. Yea his Prayer for him was conceived in that very form, which I have learned from ſome too rigid in the doctrine of reprobation) is the true character of Gods Elect and Choſen. And for juſtifying their obſervation of this uſe of *the Phraſe* in other Places of Scripture, they alledge this petition of *Abraham*, *O that* Iſhmael *might live before thee :* Gen. 17.18. which is, as if he had ſaid, " O that thou wouldeſt take *Iſhmael* to be thy ſervant, "and admit him into thy favour. Juſt *Abraham* prayes for, and the Almighty grants, *Iſhmales* admiſſion into that preſence of God, from which *David* deſires he might not be caſt out. Pſal. 51. 11.

7. But whatſoever became of *Iſhmael :* Our Apoſtle forſaw the proud *Jew* would *except* againſt *this inſtance* (as they did againſt the like of our Saviours, John 8. 41. We *are not born of fornication* ;) " *We* are *Abrahams* ſons, not by the Bondwoman, but by Sarah ; and " why then *twit'ſt* thou us with *Iſhmael? His rejoynder* followeth in the " next words, to this effect : " *Eſau* was *Iſaacs* Son by *Rebecca*, concei" ved at the ſame time, and born before your Father *Jacob*, who notwithſtanding got the bleſſing of birthright from him. Was *Eſau* therefore

fore an accurſed Reprobate? God knows; I cannot tell: The bounds of my *preſent enquirie* is to what end or uſe *this inſtance* is brought by our *Apoſtle*; and how it inferrs the *Concluſion* here in this 16. verſe. Now from our *Apoſtles* principal intent or ſcope we can gather no other pertinent uſe of his inſtances (in *Eſau* and *Jacob*) ſave only *this*; That God in his all-ſeeing wiſdom did by theſe *Types* myſtically forewarn their Poſterity, (as *John Baptiſt* his Meſſenger, and his *Son our Lord and Saviour* expreſly and literally afterwards did) not to ſtand on their Genealogie, their Birthright, or other Prerogatives, wherein fleſh and bloud, *Abrahams* ſeed above all others, were apt to boaſt; but wholly to betake *themſelves to his Promiſes*.

The Circumſtances which evince and juſtifie *this Obſervation*, are remarkably contained in the *holy Stories*, whereto our *Apoſtle*, as his manner is, briefly and *in Tranſcurſu* referrs us; that we might ſee the *truth* which he taught, with our *own* eyes, and *Rear our Faith* upon the ſame Foundations from which his faith had been raiſed. *Abraham*, after God had promiſed him [*I will make of thee a mightie Nation: In thy ſeed ſhall all the Nations of the Earth be bleſſed*] did yet ſuſpect leſt all this might be fulfilled in his heir by Adoption, though by Birth a ſtranger, and by condition a ſervant; untill the Lord made a fuller Declaration of his meaning. Gen. 15. 4. *This* (*Eliezyr*) *ſhall not be thine heir, but he that ſhall come forth of thine own bowels, he ſhall be thine heir.* After all this, *Sarah* complains, *Behold now the Lord hath reſtrained me from bearing.* And *Abraham*, hearkening to her counſel, which this diſtruſt had ſuggeſted, took *Hagar* her maid to wife, hoping the former promiſe might be accompliſhed in her Off-ſpring, as it is Gen, 16. *Abraham* (to ſpeak with Reverence of his Infirmitie) did herein miſtake the Tenour of Gods promiſe, as he had done once before: And to rectifie his error, God further explicates his meaning in promiſing *Iſaac*. Gen. 17. 15. &c. Now, that which our *Apoſtle* would have us ſpecially to obſerve, is, That the Almighty in thus croſſing righteous *Abrahams* Will and purpoſe, firſt to make *Eliezer*, then *Iſhmael*, his heir; did hereby give poſteritie to underſtand, They were not to relye on the Will of man or any Inventions of fleſh and blood for attaining the bleſſing, but meerly on *His Will* revealed, who is able and willing to effect his promiſe, though by means more miraculous then was *Iſaacs* birth, or (to uſe S. *John Baptiſts* words) though it were by raiſing up children out of ſtones to *Abraham*.

8. *Iſaac* alſo had a greater longing to beſtow his birth-right upon *Eſau* his eldeſt ſon, then to eat of his Veniſon: for he ſent him out to catch it, to the end he might bleſs him with greater chearfulneſs: And *Eſau* was more forward to gratifie his old fathers deſire, then was his brother *Jacob*. Yet, that poſterity might alwayes bear in memory, the bleſſing did neither depend on *Iſaacs willingneſs to beſtow it*, nor on *Eſau's Running to deſerve it of his father*, but wholly and meerly on Gods purpoſe; *Rebecca*, to whom his purpoſe was long before make known, findes a meanes to derive the *Birth-right* to her Younger ſon, while the Elder was ranging abroad to compaſs it. It ſeemes, ſhe had not imparted the *Oracle* to old *Iſaac* before Or He perhaps had forgotten it, untill the Event call the meaning of it to his memory: And this perchance may be the reaſon, why he is ſo patient of Circumvention by his wife, as now perceiving it to be the Lords doing. However, the Lord before the children were born; before they had done either good or evil, had told *Rebecca* their mother,

That the Nation which ſhould ſpring from *the Elder ſhould* be the weaker, and *ſerve* the off-ſpring of *the Younger*, And from this intimation ſhe wiſely gathered, that the Birth-right or Bleſſing was, according to the Tenour of Gods **Free Donation**, to be conveyed unto the Younger. Had not this purpoſe of the Almighty been revealed before the children had been born, before either father or mother could have had any reaſon to affect the one more then the other; *Jacobs* poſterity (as they have been too fooliſh and arrogant) would have boaſted, That either their father *Jacob*, or his mother *Rebecca* which loved him more then his brother *Eſau*, had better obſerved thoſe rites and cuſtomes wherein they placed righteouſneſs, then *Iſaac* or *Eſau* had done; and that God upon theſe motives had beſtowed the birth-right or bleſſing upon *Jacob* before *Eſau*. And to no other purpoſe, for ought I can by *Analogy of Scripture* conceive, ſave only to prevent this pride and hypocriſie in the *Jew*, or to leave it without excuſe, doth our Apoſtle note that Circumſtance of the Story, *before they were born, or had done good or evil.*

9. But as this takes away the former *Reply* or Apology: ſo it breeds *a new Objection*: for did not God by his Law allot the Firſt-born a double Portion, and give him in every reſpect the Preeminence of his brethren?

If this Law were juſt and right, were it not unrighteouſneſs in God to bereave *Eſau* of his Birth-right or other Prerogative before he had offended the Law or the Law-giver, *before he had done good or evil?* No; He beſtowed a greater inheritance upon *Eſau*, then either his Father *Iſaac* or his brother *Jacob* lived poſſeſſed of, greater then by any cuſtomary Lawes of Nations he could lay claim unto. And the Firſt-born among the ſons of *Jacob* were bound to bleſs him for his goodneſs in allowing them a *double Portion* in bleſſings temporal: But he had forewarned them as well by his own *practiſe in Jacobs* Caſe, as by his *Inſtructions given to Moſes*, not to ſeek his ſpecial Goodneſs by *Plea of Law* or by cuſtom of Nations; not to urge *his own* Law concerning Bleſſings temporal, to Over-rule his Will in beſtowing Bleſſings Spiritual. All then which our Apoſtle meant in his *Reply* to this *Objection* [*Is there unrighteouſneſs with God?*] is no more in effect, then *This*: "God hath reſerved it as an *E-*"*ternal Prerogative* to himſelf, *To have mercy on whom he will have mer-*"*cy; and to have compaſſion on whom he will have compaſſion*, not on them "whom the preſent ſons of *Jacob* think worthieſt of mercy and com-"paſſion, becauſe they are *Abraham's ſeed*, or becauſe they being Gen-"tiles, love their Nation, and build them Synagogues. *Corah* and *Dathan* with their *Complices*, becauſe ſome of theſe men deſcended from *Levi* as *Moſes* and *Aaron* did, others from *Reuben Jacob's* eldeſt ſon, thought themſelves men as holy and juſt, at leaſt as capable of Gods Favour and Graces as *Moſes* was; But Gods judgement of them was far otherwiſe. And when man hath done what he liſt, or what he can, God will uſe his own judgement and not his, in the diſpoſing of mercy and judgement; for he *worketh all things according to the counſel of his Will*; (Whatſoever the devices of mans heart be) *That muſt ſtand.* So then, *it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that ſheweth mercy.*

10. What is not *of him that willeth?* what is not of *him that runneth?* Neither *Election*, nor *Salvation*, nor any *Spiritual Grace* thereto tending. The Propoſition is *Univerſally Negative*; neither *Firſt Plantation*, nor *Increaſe*; neither the *Beginning*, *Middle*, or *Ending*, nor any other part of any ſpiritual bleſſing is in the Power of Man: All and every Part is from God alone that ſheweth Mercy.

Tom. III.

The Second Enquiry.

And ſo I come to the ſecond Inquiry, *To what end or purpoſe this univerſal Aſſertion is referred*; The diſcuſſion whereof will juſtifie my interpretation of former Paſſages: For ſurely our Apoſtle intended no more in the Premiſſes, then is contained in the main Concluſion, *Non eſt volentis*, &c.

Is it then to no purpoſe, what End the man, as yet unregenerate, propoſe to his Will; whether good or bad? Or after the End propoſed, skils it nothing what choiſe he make of Means? Or after choiſe of Means, no matter how he proſecute them, whether careleſly and ſlothfully, or with diligence and alacrity? Suppoſe we were to preach to a Congregation of which the moſt part were not (for ought diſcreet Charity could preſume) in *the State of Grace*, nor aſſured of their ſalvation, and yet deſirous to uſe the *Means* for attaining this *Aſſurance*; ſhould we from this Doctrine tell them? all were one in reſpect of their Converſion or Regeneration, whether they confeſſed one God or no; whether they ſware by his *Name* in Truth and judgement, or uſe it raſhly, and vainly; whether they prophane the Sabbaths, or religiouſly obſerve them; whether they run to ſuſpicious houſes, or repair to the Temple? whether they be willing to hear a laſcivious ſong or a Sermon; Common talk, or *Common Prayers* upon Feſtival or ſolemn dayes? Or doth the undoubted truth of this Doctrine, to wit, [*Jacob was elected before he had done good or evil*] ſufficiently warrant us to make *this Uſe* of it to an *unregenerate Audience?* " Seek ye neither to do good nor evill till ye be elected; for do " ye what ye can, if *Gods Will* be to convert you, ye ſhall be converted " at the time appointed; if it be not his *Will* to have you converted, do " what you can you ſhall never be converted. No Miniſter of God that underſtands himſelf, but would be more afraid of *theſe Conſequences*, then *Moſes* was of his *Rod* when it was turned into a ſerpent. And yet unleſs *thoſe Inferences* be true, Every *Will*, every *Purpoſe* and endeavour of man, is not Excluded by the former *Univerſal Negative* from being available as *Meanes ordinarily neceſſary*, but onely from being *Meritorious Cauſes of Regeneration*, or Legal Titles to Election. Some *Will*, and *ſome kind of endeavours* are in their kind as effectual, as others are idle and impertinent, or demeritorious of Gods Grace to convert vs.

See Chapt. 32.

11. If we conſider (in heart) that the principal and laſt *End* of our *Apoſtles* endleſs Pilgrimages and indefatigable labours in the Goſpel, was to gain multitudes of ſouls unto Chriſt; that the *means* ſubordinate to this End, was to encourage all without exception to come, and to ſhew them the way (as he doth in this *Epiſtle*) by which they muſt come, to wit, *not by works, but by Faith*: We ſhall much wrong St. *Paul*, and our own ſouls more, if we apply theſe words, *It is not of him that willeth*, &c. to any other purpoſe, or ſtretch them further then thus; " Every man " muſt ſincerely and truely renounce his own will, that he may unfeignedly ſubmit himſelf to *Gods Will*: Every man muſt utterly revoke his own " wayes and abandon thoſe courſes wherein fleſh and bloud moſt delight, that he may run (as we ſay) with *Might and Main* to Gods Mercies, and freely denying himſelf, wholly betake himſelf unto them. Or taking the whole Propoſition, [*It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that ſheweth mercy.*] It's all one as if he had ſaid; " It is to no purpoſe what ye *will*, or whether ye *run*, unleſs ye run unto Gods promiſes made in Chriſt: By proving moſt excellent in any other courſe of life, though in the excellent knowledge of the Law, unleſs withal ye bend your courſe unto this mark which

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“ I ſet before you, you may make your ſelves ſuch as God hath decreed to “ harden; for as *he ſheweth mercy on whom he will ſhew mercy*; So *whom he* “ *will he hardeneth.*

12. But doth this *Concluſion* of the *Apoſtle's* any way import, that God ſhould deny mercy to any that unfeignedly ſeek it? It rather implies, that he ſhews mercy to all ſuch, in abundance. The Principal and moſt *Pertinent Senſe* of *Gods Word* urged by our *Apoſtle*, as they reſpect *Moſes's Petition* concerning himſelf, is this; “ *Where I ſhew mercy* “ *I will ſhew mercy to the purpoſe.* For when he had told *Moſes*, that he would proclaim His Name before him, his *Firſt Titles* are, *The Lord, The Lord God, merciful and gracious, long-ſuffering, and abundant in goodneſs and truth, keeping mercy for thouſands, forgiving tranſgreſſion, Iniquity and ſin*, &c. *Viſiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children*, &c. *Exod.* 34. 6. This *Senſe* well fits our *Apoſtles Inſtance* in *Jacob* and *Eſau*; For God was merciful unto *Eſau* whom he bleſt, and made a Father, at leaſt, of one conſiderable Nation; but exceeding merciful unto *Jacob*, becauſe his purpoſe was to give the world a manifeſt proof of his extraordinary Goodneſs, in him; as he did of his ſeverity in hardening *Pharaoh*, who had made up the meaſure of his fore-fathers iniquity, which God (as in the former place he had ſaid to *Moſes*) did viſit upon him. But of this Inſtance concerning *Pharaoh*, and the ſimilitude which the Apoſtle borrowes from the Potter, we ſhall ſpeak, if God permit, hereafter. *See Gen.*36.

13. If we put the former Verſes and the words of this Verſe, together, our Apoſtle ſaith neither more nor leſs in them, then *our Saviour* implyed in that Speech, *Whoſoever he be of you that forſaketh not all that he hath, he cannot be my Diſciple.* And not being his Diſciple, it is impoſſible he ſhould find mercy: Or, profeſſing himſelf to be his Diſciple, and not willing to learn this Leſſon of *denying himſelf*, (the latter end ſhall be worſe then the beginning; that is) he ſhall be hardened. *See Chap.* 42. *Numb.* 9.

But ſhall all that truely forſake themſelves be aſſuredly his Diſciples, and find that mercy which God promiſed unto *Moſes*? Yes, Chriſt hath promiſed to all without exception; “ There is no man that hath left “ houſe, or brethren, or ſiſters, or father, or mother, or wife or chil- “ dren, or lands for my ſake and for the Goſpels, but he ſhall receive an “ hundred fold in this life, and in the world to come eternal life. *Mark* “ 10. 29, 30.

14. But if there be a poſſibility for All unfeignedly to flye unto Gods mercies; and if All that flye unto them ſhall undoubtedly find them, and make their *Election* ſure; how is not election *ex Prævisis operibus*, ſeeing to flye unfeignedly to Gods mercies, is truly a *Work*, yea an induſtrious Work. *See Chapt.* 32.

Now to make works neceſſary or ordinarily available to our Firſt Converſion, may ſeem a point of *Popery*, if not a degree of *Pelagianiſm.* To this purpoſe ſome ſons of our common Mother would interpret My meaning ſhould I utter this Doctrine in ſome publick Audience. Howbeit, in *truth* and verity there is no doctrine under heaven with which my former *Aſſertion* may better ſtand, then with the Doctrine of the *Engliſh Church*: No Tenet or Principle of any other Religion whatſoever that can ſo directly clear the former *Objection*, as doth the *Fundamental Article* of that Religion which is profeſſed by all the Reformed Churches; Do not all theſe expreſly teach, “ That men “ are Juſtified by belief in Chriſt without works? Now let any man

This was a Sermon preached in C. C. C. Chappel in Oxon, 20. or 30. years ſince.

rightly anſwer an Argument uſually made by the *Papiſts*, and as commonly denied by every *Proteſtant*; and I ſhall make his *Anſwer* as well fit the former *Objection*, or any inconvenience that can be pretended againſt the former *Aſſertions*. The Argument uſed by our Adverſaries, is; [*Works of Faith are true Works: and to believe in Chriſt is a true work of Faith. Now if we cannot be juſtified but by believing in Chriſt, it is impoſſible we ſhould be juſtified Without good works.*]

The Anſwer, to this Captious Syllogiſm, moſt uſed by the Reformed Writers, is, *Fides juſtificat, non quà Opus, ſed Relativè.* I like their *Meaning* well; but their *Manner of Expreſſing* is not ſo Artificial as it might be, and therefore more Obnoxious to Exception. I would Anſwer (as I take it) more appoſitely to the ſame effect; [*To renounce all works and ſeek ſalvation only by Plea of Mercy, is the proper and Formal Work of Faith, and therefore is eſſentially included in the Act of Juſtification; not included in the Univerſality of Works, which are excluded from juſtification.*]

Did not Prieſts (as the Proverb is) forget that they had been Clerks: Or rather could great Clerks in Divinity remember what they had learned when they were Puny Artiſts; the former *Objection* or the like could never have troubled them; the Form of it (drawn into *Mood and Figure*) being ſo childiſhly Captious, as would be exploded out of the Schools of Arts, ſhould it be ſtood upon in good earneſt. If ſuch Divines as urge it moſt ſhould come into our *Per-vices*, and apply it to matters there diſcuſſed, thus;

Omne viſibile eſt Coloratum.
Omis color eſt viſibilis. Ergo,
Omnis color eſt coloratus.

I hope a meaner Artiſt then this Nurſery (God be praiſed) hath any, would quickly cut off their progreſs with a *Diſtinction* of *Viſibile ut quod, & viſibile ut quo*; and ſhew that the *Major*, though univerſally true of every Subject or body that may be ſeen, did not, nor could not comprehend *Colour it ſelf* by which they are made viſible, and by whoſe Formal Act they are denominated *colorata*. The *Fallacy* of the former *Objection* drawn into *Mood and Figure*, is the ſame, but more apparent;

Every Will or Work of Man muſt be utterly renounced from the Act of Juſtification or Converſion.

But to deny our ſelves and renounce all works, is a Work;

Ergo, *This work muſt be excluded from the ſuit of mercy, as no way available. Cujus contrarium verum eſt.*

Seeing *This is opus quo renunciamus*, the Formal Acts by which all works muſt be renounced; This Work muſt of Neceſſity be included in the ſuit of mercy, & is always precedent to every mans *firſt Converſion*, whoſe calling is not extraordinary. Neither may we that are Miniſters of Gods Word and Sacraments, preſume to give any man hope of being converted without this work or Act. Unleſs we thus diſtinguiſh between *Works* and *Renouncing of Works*, and grant in man before his effectual Vocation or Converſion, *as true a poſſibility* to do the *One*, as *want of ability* to perform the *Other*, we ſhall ſet the ſouls of our hearers in a perpetual *Backwater*, or cauſe them to flote Ambiguouſly as it were between the main Current of ſacred Scriptures and the ſtream of ancient Interpreters, both graciouſly inviting all to Gods mercy; and the fierce Current of modern opinions which deny all poſſibility of running (in any ſort) to Gods mercy before Grace infuſed do draw us. The unſeaſonable overflow of Which newly-out-burſt doctrine throughout our Land, doth more miſchief to mens ſouls, then the ſummer floods do to their fields. But if we give that *Vent* or iſſue to this *Eddye* or Whirlpool which the former Diſtinction naturally implies, we ſhall let our Auditors or Hearers at liberty to take ſea-room enough: And the breath of Gods ſpirit plentifully diffuſed throughout the whole current of His Word, will, as a gentle gale, impel them forward unto that haven, where-unto theſe preſent meditations are bound, which only affords ſafe harbour unto all that ſeek to arrive at it, be they never ſo many.

15. Inſtead of an exhortation, You my Brethren, that are annointed to preach Gods mercy to the people, give me leave to propoſe that counſel which I follow my ſelf. Seeing the iniquity of the times wherein we live, will not ſuffer us to perſwade our ſelves that the moſt part of thoſe to whom we preach, are *in the ſtate of Grace*, Let us make this account, that there is a far greater neceſſity laid upon us to teach the means, How men may be brought into the ſtate of Grace, then to frame *Characters* whereby they may know themſelves to be (what indeed they are not) *Gods Elect Children*. It is the chief myſtery of the Miniſterial function to ſet unto the work of Converſion aright, and to impel men thoſe wayes, to which each diſpoſition is moſt inclinable. Now I know not how it comes to paſs, but queſtionleſs by the infinite Wiſdom and never ſufficiently admired *Goodneſs of our God*, that there is no object of Belief, of whoſe truth the unregenerate man can have ſuch ſtrong Hiſtorical or Moral perſwaſions as of the Points now delivered: No Practiſe whereto they can with like Facility or hope of ſureneſs be ſwayed or wrought, as unto *Denyal of themſelves, and Deſire of his Mercy*. Do ye demand of me a Reaſon of this *Aſſertion?* It is plain and palpable to your own ſenſes: That which diſinables them for performing any Good, and makes them uncapable of all other ſaving Truths, is, by *Divine Providence* made a *Natural Ground* of theſe perſwaſions; *Their very dulneſs is as a ſpur to incite alacrity in theſe duties.* Every mans Conſcience that hath any touch of moral honeſty, any ſenſe of good or evil, will throughly inſtruct him, that the more impotent and unable he is to follow that in practice which his mind approves, the deeper ſenſe he may have of this his Impotency, and ſurer arguments of the ſlavery of his unregenerate Will. Now it is *the infinite mercy of God* not to exact more of any, then they are able to do before their Converſion: that is, not to exact any thing of them that is *truly good*; or if you will, *any thing which doth not in its own nature deſerve Hell*: And yet *His Infinite juſtice* requires of all that they ſincerely and heartily, though but *Morally*, acknowledge and bewail this their *natural Impotency* or want of ability to do any thing that is good, before they can be converted or inabled to do better. The not uſing of this *Natural capacity*, whereby collapſed man only exceeds devils in natural goodneſs, or rather comes ſhort of them in nautral iniquity, is that which makes all that hear the Goſpel and obey it not, inexcuſable. But ſhall all that uſe this Capacity right be aſſured to have it filled with Grace? Yes: the Spirit hath ſealed their Aſſurance, *Draw neer to God, and he will draw neer to you. Caſt down your ſelves before the Lord, and he will lift you up.* So then, we have better abilities or opportunities to caſt our ſelves down then to lift our ſelves up: And the Lord hath a more ſpecial hand in lifting us up, then in caſting us down. Our Impotency to walk uprightly, our natural proneneſs to all manner of evil, and the weight of our actual ſins, do much help and in a manner impel us (ſo we would not be wilful) to caſt our ſelves down before the throne of Grace, by whoſe power only we muſt be lifted up, without any help or indeavour of our own. Herein I muſt

Iſa. 1. 16.
Jam. 4. 10.

muſt commend the *Anti-Lutherans modeſty*, for not calling St. *James* his Authority in queſtion, albeit his teſtimony in this Point makes more againſt him, then it doth againſt the *Lutheran* or other *Proteſtants* in the Point of *Juſtification*: And it is good wiſdome for him ſo to do, at leaſt it were bootleſs for him to do the contrary, ſeeing our Saviour hath ſaid no leſs, *Come unto me all ye that labour, and are laden, and I will give you reſt*, *Matth.* 11. The greater our labour is, the heavier our load, or the more weary we grow under it; the readier we are to run with better ſpeed to Chriſt, unto whom the feeble, blind, and lame were moſt frequent and moſt earneſt Supplicants. And our coming to him conſiſts not either in ſtrength or agility of body, but in the frequency of Supplications and depth of groans. It was his ſaying; *They that are whole, need not the Phyſitian but they that are ſick.* We muſt feel our ſelves ſick at the heart, before this our heavenly Phyſitian will begin his Cure, or uſe his Skill by applying the Medicine of ſaving Grace.

16. Is it then impoſſible for the unregenerate Man to feed his infirmity, to be morally perſwaded of the Souls immortality, or to be ſomewhat affrighted with terrour of conſcience? or ſo affected, It is impoſſible to implore his heavenly Phyſitians help with as great care and diligence as he would an Earthly Phyſitians preſence to ſave his body in a dangerous ſickneſs?

It were rather impoſſible that any, who is not an abſolute Atheiſt, (ſuch as it is ſcarce poſſible for any man to be) ſhould be ſo ſlothful and careleſs in coming to Chriſt as the moſt part of men are; were they not (through our ſloth or ignorance, or through our factious skill and induſtry that ſhould inſtruct them) led on as it were in a drowſie dream to imagine, that Gods mercy would either come unto them without ſeeking, or that it were impoſſible for them to do any thing, before it apprehend them, that might infallibly avail for the finding of it, or rather for being found and imbraced by it. The natural man is not ſo unnatural to himſelf, as not to deſire eaſe in true ſenſe of actual pain; or exemption from danger, which his ſoul doth dread: Nor is he ſo Brutiſh as to think himſelf not beholding to him that in theſe Caſes is able and willing to afford him Comfort. It is the *Duty* and ſhould be the *Care* of us, whom that *Great heavenly Phyſitian* hath appointed to viſit his Patients, *Firſt*, to work a ſenſe and feeling of that natural Infirmity, whereof the *Great Naturaliſt* was (without an Inſtructer) very ſenſible. *Secondly*, to confirm their Belief of *this Article*; That no preſent Fee or hope of praiſe amongſt men, can make any earthly Phyſitian half ſo ready to cure their bodies, as he that out of his *Free Bounty* made their ſouls, is at all times to repair them, ſo they would but implore his *Omnipotent Mercy* with as true and hearty affections, as they do the help of their bodily comforters in diſtreſs.

Pliny. See Chap. 8.

CHAP. XLII.

GOD'S
Juſt Hardening of PHARAOH,
WHEN
He had filled up the meaſure of his Iniquity:
OR,
An Expoſition of Rom. 9. 18,19,20,21,22,23,24.

Therefore hath he mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth.

Thou wilt ſay then unto me, Why doth he yet find fault? For who hath reſiſted his will? &c.

THe former part of this *Propoſition* here inferred by way of *Concluſion*, was avouched before by our Apoſtle, as an undoubted *Maxim* ratified by Gods own voice to *Moſes*. For he ſaid to *Moſes*, *I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy: and I will have compaſſion, on whom I will have compaſſion*, Exod.33.19. The true ſenſe and meaning of which place I have before declared in *unfolding* the 16. Verſe of this Chapter, ſo that the later part of this eighteenth Verſe, [*Whom he will he hardeneth*] muſt be the Principal Subject of my preſent diſcourſe.

The *Antecedent* inferring this part of this *Concluſion*, is Gods Speech to *Pharaoh*, Exod.9.16. *Even for this ſame purpoſe have I raiſed thee up, that I may ſhew my power in thee, and that my Name may be declared throughout all the Earth.* The *Inference* is plain; ſeeing Gods power was to be manifeſted in hardening *Pharaoh*.

2. The *Points of Inquiry* (whoſe full diſcuſſion will open an eaſie paſſage to the difficulties concerning *Reprobation* and *Election*, and bring all the contentious Controverſies concerning the meaning of *this Chapter*, to a brief perſpicuous iſſue) are eſpecially *Four*.

1. The *Manner* how God doth harden.
2. The *Pertinency* of that *Objection* [*why doth he yet find fault? for who hath reſiſted his will?*] and the *Validity* of the *Apoſtles anſwers*.
3. The *Logical determination* of this Propoſition, [*Whom he will he hardeneth:*] What is the *proper Object* of Gods Will in hardening.
4. What manner of *Diviſion* this is, [*He will have compaſſion on whom he will have compaſſion; and whom he will he hardeneth.*]

For the right opening of all *Four difficulties*; the *Explication* of the ſingle *Terms*, with their divers Acceptions, ſerves as a Key.

The *Termes* briefly to be explicated are *Three*.

1. *Gods Will*.
2. *Irreſiſtible*.
3. *Induration*, or hardening.

The Principal Difficulty or *Tranſcendent Queſtion*, is, *In what ſenſe Gods Will, or Induration* may be ſaid to be *irreſiſtible*, [*whom he will he hardeneth.*]

Gods Will.

3. Not to trouble you with any curious *Diſtinctions* concerning *Gods Will*: (this is a ſtring which in moſt * meditations we were inforced to touch. Albeit *Gods Will* be moſt truly and indiviſibly *One*, and in indiviſible unity moſt truly infinite and immutable: yet is it *Immutably free*, Omnipotently able to produce plurality as well as unity, mutability as well as immutability, weakneſs as well as ſtrength, in his creatures. By this one, infinite, immutable *Will*, he ordains that ſome things ſhall be *Neceſſary*, or that *this* ſhall be at *this time* and no other. And ſuch particulars he is ſaid by an extrinſecal denomination from the *Object*, to will by his *Irreſiſtible Will*. The meaning is, the production of the *Object* ſo willed, cannot be reſiſted, becauſe it is *Gods Will*, that it ſhall come to paſs, notwithſtanding any reſiſtance that is or can be made againſt it. If any particular ſo willed, ſhould not come to paſs, his *Will* might be reſiſted, being ſet only on this.

* See Attributes, 1. Part. Sect. 2. Chapt. 15. & 2. Part. 2. Sect. Chapt. 18, &c.

In what ſenſe or in reſpect of what Objects, *Gods Will* is ſaid to be *Irreſiſtible*.

By the ſame immutable and indiviſible *Will*, he ordained that other Events ſhould be mutable or *Contingent, viz.* that of more particulars propoſed, *this* may be as well as *that*; the *Affirmative* as well as the *Negative*. And of particulars ſo willed, no one can be ſaid to be willed by his *Irreſiſtible Will*. If the *Exiſtence* of any *one* ſo willed ſhould be *neceſſary*, his will might be reſiſted; ſeeing his Will is, that they ſhould not be *neceſſary*. Each *Particular* of this kind, by the like denomination from the thing willed, he may be ſaid to *will* by his *Reſiſtible Will*. The whole συζυγία or *Liſt* of ſeveral poſſibilities, or the indifference betwixt the particulars, he *wills* by his *Irreſiſtible Will*.

The *Pſalmiſt's Oracle* (Pſal. 5.) is univerſally true of all perſons in every age; of *Adam* ſpecially before his Fall; *Non Deus volens iniquitatem tu es*: God doth not, he cannot will iniquity. And yet we ſee the world is full of it. The Apoſtles ſpeech again is as univerſally true; *This is the will of God, even your ſanctification, that every one of you ſhould know how to poſſeſs his veſſel in honour*, 1 *Theſſ*. 4. 3. God *willeth*, and he ſeriouſly and earneſtly *willeth* ſanctity of life in our ſelves, uprightneſs and integrity of converſation amongſt men; and yet behold a *Vacuum* in this little world in the ſons of *Adam*, whom he created after his own image and ſimilitude. So then, he neither *wills* mens goodneſs, nor *nills* their iniquity by his *Irreſiſtible will*. He truly willed *Adams* integrity, but not by his *irreſiſtible Will*: For ſo *Adam* could not have fallen. What? ſhall we ſay then, that God did will *Adams* Fall, by his *irreſiſtible will*? God forbid; For ſo *Adam* could not but have ſinned. Where is the mean or *middle Station*, on which we may build our faith? The immediate Object of *Gods irreſiſtible Will*, in this Caſe was *Adam*'s Free-will, that is, *Poteſtas labendi*, & *poteſtas ſtandi*: Power to ſtand and power to Fall. By the ſame *Will* he decreed *Death*, as the Inevitable *Conſequent* of his Fall; and life, as the neceſſary and unpreventable *Reward* of his perſeverance. Thus much briefly of *Gods Will*, in what ſenſe it is ſaid to be *reſiſtible* or *Irreſiſtible*.

What it is to harden.

The nature and property of an *hardened heart* cannot in fewer words better be expreſſed, than by the *Poets Character* of an unruly ſtubborn Youth.

Cereus in vitium flecti, monitoribus aſper. Hor. de Arte.

It is a conſtitution or temper of mind, as pliant as wax, to receive the impreſſions of the *Fleſh*, or ſtamp of the *Old Man*; but as untoward as flint or other ragged ſtone, to admit the Image of the *New man*.

The

The firſt General: The manner how God doth harden.

The firſt General.

4. THe Difficulty is, [*In what ſenſe God can be truly ſaid to be Author of ſuch a Temper.*] The *Propoſition* is of undoubted truth, whether we conſider it as an *Indefinite*, [*God doth harden*;] or as a *Singular*, [*God hardened Pharaoh*;] or in the *Univerſality* here mentioned, [*God hardeneth whom he will*:] The *Apoſtles* meaning is, that, *God can harden whom he will*, after the ſame manner he hardened *Pharaoh*.

Concerning the manner how God doth harden, The *Queſtions* are *two*.

1. Whether he harden *Poſitively*, or *Privatively only*.
2. Whether he harden by his *Irreſiſtible Will*, or by his *Reſiſtible Will only*.

To give one and the ſame Anſwer to either demand without diſtinction of times or perſons, were to entangle our ſelves (as moſt Writers in this Argument have done) in the Fallacy, *Ad plures Interrogationes*.

God doth not harden all men, or any man at all times, after the ſame manner.

Touching the *Firſt Queſtion*, ſome good Writers maintain the univerſal Negative [*God never hardens poſitively, but privatively only*;] only by ſubſtracting, or not granting Grace or other means of repentance: or by leaving nature to the *Bent* of its inbred corruption. *Vide Lorinum in verſ. 51. cap. 7. Act. Apoſt. pag. 322. Colum* 1. Others, of as good note and greater deſert, in *Reformed Churches*, better refute *this defective Extreme*, then they expreſs the *Mean* between it and the *contrary extreme* in exceſs: with the maintenance whereof they are deeply charged, not by *Papiſts* only, but by their brethren. How often have *Calvin* and *Beza*, &c. been accuſed by *Lutherans*, as if they taught, *That God did directly harden mens hearts, by infuſion of bad qualities*: or, *That the production of a reprobate or impenitent temper were ſuch an immediate or formal Term of his poſitive action, as heat is of calefaction, or drought of heat.* But if we take *Privative* and *Poſitive Induration* in this ſenſe, and ſet them ſo farr aſunder; the *Diviſion* is altogether imperfect: the *former member* comes as farr ſhort of the Truth, as the *Latter* overreacheth it. *God ſometimes hardens ſome men neither the one way nor the other*; that is (as we ſay in Schools) *datur medium abnegationis* between them. And perhaps it may be as queſtionable, whether God at any time hardens any man *merè privativè*; as it is, whether there can be *Peccatum puræ omiſſionis*, any ſin of meer *Omiſſion*, without all mixture of *Commiſſion*. But with this queſtion here or elſewhere we are not diſpoſed to meddle; being rather willing to grant what is confeſſed by all or moſt, That he ſometimes hardens *privativè*, if not by meer ſubſtraction of Grace, or utter denyal of other means of repentance; yet ſo eſpecially by theſe means as may ſuffice to verifie the truth of the *Propoſition* uſually received; or to give the denomination of *Privative hardening*.

God ſometimes hardens *privatively only*.

God uſually hardens *poſitively*; but not by his *Irreſiſtible Will*.

But many times he hardens *Poſitivè*; not by infuſion of bad qualities; but by diſpoſing or inclining the Heart to goodneſs, that is, by communication of his favours, and exhibition of motives more than ordinary repentance, *not that he exhibits theſe with purpoſe to harden*: but rather to mollifie and organize mens hearts for the receiving of Grace. The natural effect or purpoſed iſſue of the *Riches* of Gods Bounty, is to draw men to repentance. But the very attempt or ſway of means offered, provokes hearts faſtned to their ſins, to greater ſtubborneſs in the *Rebound*. Hearts thus affected *treaſure up wrath againſt the*

The manner of Gods poſitive hardening.

day of wrath in a proportioned meaſure to the *riches of bounty* offered but not entertained by them. And *ſuch a Cauſe* as God is of their *treaſuring up of wrath*, he is likewiſe of their *hardening;* no direct, *no neceſſary cauſe* of either: yet a Cauſe of both, more than *privative*, a *poſitive cauſe by conſequence* or Reſultance; not *neceſſary*, or neceſſary only *ex Hypotheſi*. Means of repentance ſincerely offered by God, but wilfully rejected by man, concur as poſitively to induration of heart, as the heating of water doth to the quick freezing of it, when it is taken off the fire and ſet in the cold air. Both theſe Actions, or rather both theſe qualities of heat and cold, have their proper influence into this effect. If a Phyſician ſhould miniſter ſome phyſical drink unto his Patient, and heap clothes upon him with purpoſe to prevent ſome diſeaſe by a kindly ſweat; and the Patient throughly heated, wilfully throw them off: *both* may be ſaid *poſitive cauſes* of the cold, which would neceſſarily enſue from both actions; albeit the *Patient* only were the true *moral Cauſe*, or the only blame-worthy Cauſe of his own death or danger following. Juſt according to the importance of this ſuppoſition or ſimilitude, is the cauſe of hardening, in many caſes, to be divided betwixt God and man.

The *Iſraelites* did harden their own hearts in the wilderneſs; and yet their hearts had not been ſo hardened, unleſs the Lord had done ſo many wonders in their ſight. In every wonder his purpoſe was to beget *Belief:* but through their wilful unbelief, the beſt effect of his greateſt wonders was induration and impenitencie. Now as it ſuits not with the Rules of good manners for *Phyſicians* to tie a mans hands (of diſcretion or place) leſt he may uſe them to his own harm: ſo neither was it conſonant to the *Rules of eternal equity*, that God ſhould neceſſitate the *Iſraelites* Wills to a true Belief of his wonders, or mollifie their hearts againſt their wills; that is, *He neither hardens nor mollifies their hearts by his Irreſiſtible Will; nor did he at all will their hardning, but rather mollification.*

Pharaoh was hardned by *Gods Irreſiſtible Will.*

5. All this is true of Gods ordinary manner of hardning men, or of the firſt degrees of hardning any man. *But* Pharaohs *Caſe is Extraordinary.* “ *Beza* rightly infers againſt *Origen* and his followers; “ that this *hardening* whereof the Apoſtle here ſpeaketh, was *Irreſiſtible;* that the party thus hardened was uncapable of repentance; “ that God did ſhew ſigns and wonders in *Egypt*, not with purpoſe to “ reclaim but to harden *Pharaoh*, and to drive him headlong into the “ ſnare prepared for him from everlaſting. All theſe *Inferences* are plain. Firſt, that the Interrogation [*Who hath reſiſted his Will?*] is equivalent to the univerſal negative, *No man, no creature can at any time reſiſt his will.* That is according to the interpretation premiſed, *Whatſoever particular Gods Will is to have* neceſſary, *or ſo to be, as the Contrary or Contradictory to it ſhall not be; the Exiſtence of it cannot be prevented or avoided.* Now that God did in this peremptory manner will *Pharaohs* hardening, is evident from the *Emphaſis* of that meſſage delivered unto him by *Moſes*, Εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ, *Even for this very purpoſe*, and for no other end in the world poſſible, *have I raiſed thee up, that I might ſhew in thee my power:* and his power was to be ſhewed in his hardening. For, from the Tenor of this meſſage, the Apoſtle infers the latter part of this Concluſion in the Text, *Whom he will, he hardneth;* yea he ſo hardneth as it is impoſſible they ſhould eſcape it, or his judgments due unto it.

In all theſe Collections *Beza* doth not erre. Yet was *Beza* (with reverence

rence be it ſpoken) more fowly to blame then this *filthy Writer*, (for ſo it pleaſeth him to entitle *Origen*) in that he referrs theſe threatnings, [*For this very purpoſe have I raiſed thee up, that I may ſhew my power in thee*] not only unto *Pharaohs Exaltation to the crown of Egypt*, (as I think *Origen* did, but we need not, we may not grant) but to his *Extraction out of the womb*; yea to his *firſt Creation* out of the duſt: as if the Almighty had moulded him by his *Irreſiſtible Will*, in the eternal *Idea* of Reprobation, before man or Angel had actual Being: as if the onely end of his Being had been to be a *Reprobate* or *veſſel of wrath*. *Beza's* Collections to this purpoſe (unleſs they be better limited, then he hath left them) make God, not only a direct and *poſitive Cauſe*, but the immediate and *only* Cauſe of all *Pharaohs* tyranny; a more direct and more *neceſſary Cauſe* of his butchering the *Iſraelites* infants, than he was of *Adams* good actions, during the ſpace of his innocencie. For of thoſe, or of his ſhort continuance in the ſtate of integrity, he was no *neceſſary*, nor immutable *Cauſe*; that is, *he did not decree that* Adams *integrity ſhould be immutable*. But whether Gods hardening *Pharaoh* by his *Irreſiſtable Will*, can any way inferr, that *Pharaoh* was an *Abſolute Reprobate*, or born to the end he might be hardned, we are hereafter to diſpute in the *third Point*. All we have to ſay in this place, is this: If as much as *Beza* earneſtly contends for, were once granted; the *Objection* following, to which our Apoſtle vouchſafes a double *anſwer*, had been altogether as *unanſwerable*, as impertinently moved in this place. Let us then examin the *Pertinencie of the Objection*, and unfold the *Validity of the Anſwers*.

Whether Pharaoh were an abſolute reprobate, or created to be Hardened.

The ſecond General Point, concerning the Pertinencie of the Objection.

6. WHy doth he yet find fault? τί ἔτι μέμφεται; or *Why doth he yet chide?* with whom doth he find fault? or whom doth he chide? All that are reprobates? doth he *only* chide them? is this all that they are to fear? the very worſt that can befall them? were this ſpeech to be as far extended as it is by moſt Interpreters, no queſtion, but our Apoſtle would have intended the force and acrimony of it a great deal more than he doth; thus far at leaſt: [*Why doth he puniſh? why doth he plague the Reprobates in this life, and deliver them up to everlaſting torments in the life to come; ſeeing they do but that which he by his Irreſiſtible Will hath appointed?*] Or ſuppoſe the Greek μέμφεται, might by ſome unuſual *Synecdoche* (which paſſeth our reading, obſervation or underſtanding) include as much or *more* than we now expreſs [*all the plagues of this life and all the torments which befall the reprobates in the life to come:*] yet it is queſtioned what [Ἔτι] hath here to do? It muſt be examined whence it came, and whither it tends. It naturally deſigns *ſome definite point or ſection of time, and imports particulars before begun and ſtill continued:* it can have no place in the immoveable Sphere of eternity, no reference to the exerciſe of Gods everlaſting wrath againſt *Reprobates in General*.

See Lib. 7. Ch. 19. Numb. 4, 5, 6.

That the *Objection* propoſed hath reference only to *Pharaoh*, or to ſome few in his Caſe; not all that periſh or are reprobated.

7. Theſe *Queries* which here naturally offer themſelves, (though for ought that I know, not diſcuſſed by any Interpreters) have occaſioned me in this place, to make uſe of a *Rule* more uſeful than uſual, for explicating the difficult places of the *New Teſtament*. The *Rule*

is this; [*To ſearch out the paſſages of the old Teſtament with their hiſtorical Circumſtances, unto which the ſpeeches of our Saviour and his Apoſtles have ſpecial Reference or Alluſion.*]

Now this Interrogation [Τί ἔτι μέμφεται;] was conceived from our Apoſtles meditations upon thoſe expoſtulations with *Pharaoh*, Exod. 9. 16. *And in very deed for this cauſe have I raiſed thee up, for to ſhew in thee my power, and that my name may be declared throughout all the Earth.* Ἔτι οὖν σὺ ἐμποιῇ; *And yet exalteſt thou thy ſelf againſt my people,* or *oppreſſeſt thou my people, that thou wilt not let them go? Chap.* 10. *verſ.* 3. ἔτι μέμφεται, *he yet chides* and threatens him again, *how long wilt thou refuſe to humble thy ſelf before me? Let my people go, that they may ſerve me. Elſe if thou refuſe to let my People go, behold to morrow I will bring the Locuſts into thy coaſts.* That which makes moſt for this interpretation, is the hiſtorical circumſtance of time and manner of Gods proceeding with *Pharaoh*. For this Expoſtulation, whereunto our Apoſtle in this place hath reference, was uttered after the *ſeventh wonder* wrought by *Moſes* and *Aaron* in the ſight of *Pharaoh*; upon which it is expreſly ſaid, that *The Lord hardened the heart of* Pharaoh, *that he hearkened not unto them.* Whereas of the five going before, it is only ſaid, *That* Pharaoh *hardened his heart*, or, *his heart was hardened*, or, *he ſet not his heart to the wonders. The Spirits* Cenſure likewiſe of *Pharaohs* ſtupiditie, upon the *firſt wonder*, may be read *imperſonally*, or be referred to the wonder it ſelf, which might *poſitively harden* his heart in ſuch a ſenſe as is before expreſſed. Nor is it to be omitted, that upon the neglect of the *ſeventh wonder*, the Lord enlargeth his Commiſſion to *Moſes* and his threats to *Pharaoh*. *Exod.* 9. 13, &c. *Thus ſaith the Lord God of the Hebrewes, Let my people go, that they may ſerve me. For I will at this time ſend all my plagues upon thine heart, and upon thy ſervants, and upon thy people; that thou mayeſt know that there is none like me in all the earth. For now I will ſtretch out my hand that I may ſmite thee and thy people with Peſtilence, and thou ſhalt be cut off from the earth:* or, as *Junius* excellently rendreth it; *I had ſmitten thee and thy people with peſtilence,* when I deſtroyed your cattel with murrain, *and thou hadſt been cut off from the earth,* when the boyles were ſo riſe upon the *Magicians:* but when they fell, *I made thee to ſtand*; (for ſo the Hebrew is *Verbatim:*) to what purpoſe? that thou ſhouldeſt ſtill ſtand out againſt me? nay, but *for this very* purpoſe [*That I might ſhew my power and declare my name* more manifeſtly *throughout all the earth, by a more remarkable deſtruction, than at that time ſhould have befallen thee.*]

See Chap. 40. Numb. 15.

The true *Occaſion* of the former *Objection.*

8. This brief ſurvey of theſe hiſtorical Circumſtances preſents unto us, as in a Map, the juſt *Occaſion*, the due force and full extent of the *Objection* here intimated (*in tranſitu*;) *Thou wilt ſay then unto me, why doth he yet find fault?* As if ſome one on *Pharaohs* behalf had replyed more expreſly thus: *God indeed had juſt cauſe to upbraid* Pharaoh *heretofore, for neglect of his Signs and Wonders: for it was a foul fault in him not to relent, ſo long as there was a poſſibility left for him to relent. But ſince God hath thus openly declared his Irreſiſtible will to harden him to deſtruction,* Τί ἔτι μέμφεται; *Why doth he chide him any longer? Why doth he hold on to expoſtulate more ſharply with him than heretofore, for that which is impoſſible for him to avoid? For is it poſſible for him to open the door of repentance, when God hath ſhut it? or to mollifie his heart, whoſe hardening was now by Gods decree irrevocable?*

I have heard of a *Malepert Courtier*, who, being rated of his *Soveraign*

Lord for committing the *third murther*, after he had been graciouſly pardoned for two, made this ſaucy Reply: *One man indeed I killed; and if the Law might have had its courſe, that had been all. For the death of the ſecond and of the third, your Highneſs is to anſwer God and the Law.* Our Apoſtle being better acquainted then we are with the forementioned Circumſtances of time, and with the manner of *Pharaohs* hardening, foreſaw the malepert *Jew* or *Hypocrite* (eſpecially when *Pharaohs* Caſe came in a manner to be their own) would make this or the like *ſaucie Anſwer* to God; *If* Pharaoh, *after the time, wherein by the ordinary courſe of juſtice he was to dye, were by Gods ſpecial appointment not only reprived, but ſuffered to be more out-ragious then before, yea imboldened to contemn Gods Meſſengers; the enſuing evils committed by him, and the miſeries which by his ſtubbornneſs befell the Egyptians may ſeem to be more juſtly imputed unto God, than unto him; at leaſt, the former expoſtulation might ſeem now altogether unſeaſonable.*

The Apoſtles *firſt Anſwer* to the former *Objection* explicated.

9. To this *Objection* our Apoſtle oppoſeth a *two-fold Anſwer:* Firſt, *he checks the ſaucineſs of the Replicant; Nay but O man who art thou* ὁ ἀνταποκρινόμενος, [*qui Deo reſpondes,*] ſaith the *Vulgar: Beza,* (as he thinks) more fully [*qui reſponſas Deo;*] our *Engliſh* better then both, [*that replyeſt againſt God.*] The juſt and natural *Value* of the *Original doubly compounded word* will beſt appear from the circumſtances ſpecified. *Firſt,* God by *Moſes* admoniſheth *Pharaoh* to let his people go: But he refuſeth. Then God expoſtulateth with him, *As yet exalteſt thou thy ſelf againſt my people that thou wilt not let them go?* The *Objection* [τί ἔτι μέμφεται;] made by the Hypocrite, is as a *Rejoynder* upon Gods *Reply* to *Pharaoh* for his wonted ſtubbornneſs; or as an Anſwer made on his behalf, or others in his Caſe, unto the former Expoſtulations. For ἀνταποκρίνεσθαι is *Reſpondenti reſpondere,* to *Rejoyn upon a Reply* or *Anſwer.* Now this *Rejoynder* (to ſpeak according to the Rules of modeſty and good manners) was too ſaucie, out of what mans mouth ſoever it had proceeded. For what is man in reſpect of God? any better then an artificial body in reſpect of the Artificer that makes it? or then an earthen veſſel in reſpect of the Potter? Now if we might imagine a baſe veſſel could ſpeak (as Fables ſuppoſe Beaſts in old time did) and thus expoſtulate with the Potter; [*When I was ſpoiled in the making, why didſt thou rather reſerve me to ſuch baſe and ignominious uſes, than throw me away; eſpecially when others of the ſame lump are fitted for commendable uſes?*] it would deſerve to be appointed yet to more baſe or homely uſes. For a By-ſtander that had no ſkill in this facultie; for the *Potters Boy* or Apprentiſe thus to expoſtulate on the *Veſſels* behalf with his Father or Maſter, would argue ignorance and indiſcretion. The Potter at leaſt would take ſo much authority on him, as to reply; *I will appoint every veſſel to what uſe I think fit; not to ſuch uſe as every idle fellow, or malepert Boy would have it appointed.*

Now all that our Apoſtle in *this ſimilitude* intends, is, that we muſt attribute more unto the Creators ſkill and wiſdom in diſpenſing mercy and judgment, or in preparing *veſſels of wrath,* and *veſſels of honour,* than we do unto the *Potters* judgment in diſcerning clay, or fitting every part of his matter to it's right and moſt commodious uſe. Yet in all theſe, *The Potter is Judge,* ſaith the Author of the Book of *Wiſdom.* That very veſſel which miniſtred the matter of this ſimilitude to our Apoſtle, Jer. 18. 4. was ſo *marred in the Potters hand,* as he was inforced to faſhion it again to another uſe than it was firſt intended for. That it marred in the firſt making, was the fault of the clay. So to faſhion

Wiſdom 15. 7.

it anew, as neither ſtuffe, nor former labour ſhould be altogether loſt, was the Potters ſkill. And ſhall we think our Apoſtle did intend any other *Inference* from this Similitude, then the Prophet from whom he borrows it, had made to his hand? *O houſe of Iſrael, cannot I do with you as this Potter, ſaith the Lord? Behold, as the clay is in the Potters hand, ſo are ye in mine hand, O houſe of Iſrael, Jer.* 18. 6.

10. The true and full Implication is thus much and no more; “ Albeit God ſought to prepare them to glory, yet had they a poſſibility “ or liberty utterly to ſpoil themſelves in the making. Howbeit, if ſo “ they did, he was able to form them again, to an end quite contrary “ unto that whereto he firſt intended them. So the Prophet explicates himſelf, verſ. 9, 10.

And here we muſt requeſt our Reader alwaies to remember, that the Apoſtle compares God, not to a Phrantick, or Phantaſtick Potter, delighted to play tricks to his loſs; as to make a veſſel ſcarce worth a *groat*, of that piece, which with the ſame eaſe and coſt, might be made worth a *ſhilling*; only to ſhew his *Imperial Authority* over a piece of clay. He Imagineth ſuch a Potter as the Wiſe man did, that knows a reaſon why he makes one veſſel of this faſhion, another of that; why he appoints this to a baſe uſe, that to a better: albeit an unſkilful By-ſtander could perhaps diſcern no difference in the ſtuff or matter whereof they are made.

The ſumme then of our Apoſtles intended *Inference* is this; “ As it “ is an unmannerly point for any man to conteſt, or wrangle with a “ ſkilful Artificer in his own faculty, of whom he ſhould rather deſire ‘ to learn with ſubmiſſion: ſo it is damnable preſumption for any creature to diſpute with his Creator in matters of Providence, or of the “ worlds regiment; or to debate his own caſe with him thus; *Seeing all of us were made of the ſame Maſs, I might have been graced as others have been with wealth, with honour, with ſtrength, with wiſdom, unleſs thou hadſt been more favourable to them then to me.* Yet that which muſt quell all inclination to ſuch ſecret murmurings, or preſumptuous debates, is it our ſtedfaſt *Belief* of his Omnipotent *Power* or abſolute *Will*? No: but of his infinite *Wiſdom, Equity and Mercy*, by which he diſpoſeth all things, even mens infirmities or greateſt croſſes to a better end in reſpect of them, (ſo they will patiently ſubmit their wills to his) than they could hope by any other means to atchieve.

In what ſenſe Gods *Will* is ſaid to be the abſolute infallible Rule of equitie, or juſtice.

11. Gods Will to have mercy on ſome, and to harden others, or howſoever otherwiſe to deal with men, is in *this ſenſe* moſt abſolute [*Whatſoever we certainly know to be willed by him, we muſt acknowledge without examination, to be truly good. Whomſoever we aſſuredly believe it hath been his Will to harden, we muſt without diſpute, believe their hardning to have been moſt juſt.*] Yet thus to believe we were not bound, unleſs it were a *Fundamental Point* of our *Belief*, that this his moſt *abſolute Will* hath juſt reaſons (though unknown to us) why he hardeneth ſome, and ſheweth mercy unto others; yea ſuch *Ideal Reaſons*, as when it ſhall be his pleaſure to make them known to us, we ſhall acknowledge them to be infinitely better, and more agreeable to the immutable Rules of eternal equity (which indeed they are) then any earthly Prince can give, why he puniſheth *this* man, and rewardeth *that*.

Vide Coppen in Pſ. 36. v. 7. Col. 388. B. C. D.

The contrary *In-conſequence*, which ſome would inferr out of our Apoſtle in this place, is the natural, true, and neceſſary *Conſequence* of a miſconſtruction which they have made of another moſt Orthodoxal Principle, [*Gods Will is the only Infallible Rule of goodneſs,*] that is, in their

Expoſition, *Things are good only, becauſe God doth will them*; When as in truth, his *Will* could not be ſo infallible, ſo inflexible, and ſo ſoveraign *a Rule* of *Goodneſs*, (as all muſt believe it to be, that think themſelves bound to conform their wills to his) unleſs abſolute and immutable goodneſs were the eſſential *Object* of this his moſt Holy *Will*. Wherefore though this *Argument* be more than *Demonſtrative*; [*It was Gods Will to deal thus and thus with mankind, therefore they are moſt juſtly dealt withal.*] Yet on the other ſide, this Inference is as ſtrong and ſound; [*Some kind of dealings are* in their own natures *ſo evidently unjuſt, that we muſt believe, it was not Gods Will to deal ſo with any man living.*] *Abraham* did not tranſgreſs the bounds of modeſty in ſaying to God. *That the righteous ſhould periſh with the wicked, that be far from thee. Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?* Yet were Gods Will the Rule of goodneſs *in ſuch a Senſe* as ſome conceive it; or our Apoſtles meaning ſuch in this place as many have made it; *Abraham* had been either very ignorant or immodeſt in queſtioning whether Gods Will concerning the deſtruction of *Sodom* (lovingly imparted to him, *Gen.* 18.) had been right or wrong: whether to have ſlain the righteous with the wicked had been unjuſt, or ill beſeeming the great Judge and Maker of the world.

See Chapt. 39. Numb. 9. of this tenth Book. and ſee Attributes 1. part. Sect. 2. Chap. 13.

Howbeit to have ſlain the righteous with the wicked would have been leſs rigorous, leſs unjuſt, then to harden men by an *inevitable neceſſitating decree*, before they had voluntarily hardned themſelves, or *unneceſſarily brought* an impenitent temper or *neceſſity* of ſinning upon themſelves. And for this cauſe, we may ſafely ſay with our father *Abraham*; *Thus to harden any whom thou haſt created, that be far from thee, O Lord*. Far be it ever from every good Chriſtians heart to entertain any ſuch conceit of his Creator.

The Apoſtles *ſecond* Anſwer to the former *Objection*.

12. Albeit this *Firſt Anſwer* might ſuffice to check all ſuch captious Replies, as hypocrites here make: yet, as our Apoſtle in his *ſecond anſwer* imports; we need not uſe the benefit of this General *Apologie* in *Pharaohs* Caſe. The reaſon or manner of Gods juſtice and wiſdome in hardening and puniſhing him, is conſpicuous and juſtifiable by the *Principles of equity* acknowledged by all. For *Pharaoh* and his confederates were veſſels of wrath ſealed up for deſtruction. Hell (as we ſay) did yawn for them, before God uttered the former expoſtulations: perhaps from that very Inſtant, wherein he firſt ſent *Moſes* unto him. It being then granted, that God (as we indeed ſuppoſe) did from the plague of *murrain*, or that other of *boiles* poſitively and inevitably harden *Pharaohs* heart; and after he had promiſed to let the Iſraelites go, infatuated his brain to wrangle with *Moſes*; Firſt, whether their little ones; afterwards, whether their flocks ſhould go along with them: yet to reſerve him alive, upon what condition or termes ſoever, (though to be hardned, though to be threatned, though to be aſtoniſhed and affrighted with freſh plagues, and laſtly to be deſtroyed with a more fearful deſtruction, than if he had dyed of the peſtilence, when the cattel periſhed of the murrain) was a true Document of Gods lenity and patience, no impeachment to his Juſtice; a gentle *Commutation* of due puniſhment, no rigorous *Infliction* of puniſhment not juſtly deſerved.

For what if God had thruſt him quick into hell in that very moment wherein he told him, *Ad hoc ipſum excitavi te, For this very Purpoſe have I reſerved thee alive, that I might ſhew my power in thee?* No queſtion but as the torments of that lake are more grievous than all the

So the *Septuagint* expreſſeth the ſenſe of the Hebrew phraſe καὶ ἕνεκεν τούτου διετηρήθης.

the plagues which *Pharaoh* ſuffered on earth: ſo the degrees of his hardening (had he been then caſt into it) had been in number more, his ſtrugling with God more violent and ſtubborn, his poſſibility of repentance altogether as little as it was after the *ſeventh plague*, if not leſs. But ſhould GOD therefore have been thought unjuſt, becauſe he continued to puniſh him in hell after poſſibility of repentance was paſt? No; *Pharaoh* had been the only Cauſe of his own Wo, by bringing this *neceſſitie* upon himſelf, of oppoſing God and repining at his judgments without poſſibility of repentance. All is one then in reſpect of Gods Juſtice, whether *Pharaoh* having made up the meaſure of his iniquity be irrevocably hardened here on earth, or in hell. To reſerve him alive in the ſtate of mortality, after the ſentence of death is paſt upon him, is no rigour, but lenity and long-ſuffering; although Gods plagues be ſtill multiplyed on *Egypt* for his ſake, although the end of his life become more dreadful, than by the ordinary courſe of Gods Juſtice it ſhould have been, if he had dyed in the *ſeventh plague*.

13. Another reaſon why God without impeachment to his juſtice doth ſtill augment *Pharaohs* puniſhment, as if it were now as poſſible for him to repent, as once it was, is intimated by our Apoſtle to be *this*; that by this lenity towards *Pharaoh*, he might ſhew his wrath and declare his power againſt ſuch ſinners as he was, that all the world might *hear and fear*, and learn by his overthrow not to ſtrive againſt their Maker, nor to dally with his fearful warnings. Had *Pharaoh* and his people died of the peſtilence or other diſeaſe, when the cattel periſhed of the murrain, the terror of Gods powerful wrath had not been ſo manifeſt and viſible to all the world, as it was in overthrowing the whole ſtrength of *Egypt*, which had taken armes and ſet themſelves in battel againſt him. Now the more ſtrange the Infatuation, the more fearful and ignominious the deſtruction of theſe *veſſels of wrath* did appear unto the world; the more brightly did *the riches of Gods glory* ſhine to the *Iſraelites*, whom he was now preparing for *veſſels of mercy*; the hearts of whoſe poſterity he did not ſo effectually fit or ſeaſon for the infuſion of his ſanctifying Grace, by any ſecondary means whatſoever, as by the perpetual memory of this glorious victory over *Pharaoh* and his mighty Hoſt. But this faithleſs generation (whoſe reformation our Apoſtle ſo anxiouſly ſeeks) did take all theſe glorious tokens of Gods extraordinary free love and mercy towards their Fathers, for irrevocable Earneſts or Obligements to effect their *Abſolute Predeſtination* unto honour and glory, and to prepare the Gentiles to be *veſſels of infamy* and deſtruction. Now our Apoſtles earneſt deſire and unquenchable zeal to prevent this dangerous preſumption in his Country-men, enforceth him in ſtead of applying this *ſecond Anſwer* to the point in *queſtion*, to advertiſe them for *Concluſion*, that the *Egyptians Caſe* was now to become *theirs*; and that the Gentiles ſhould be made *Veſſels of Mercy and Glory* in their ſtead. All which the Event hath proved moſt true. For have not the ſons of *Jacob* been hardened as ſtrangely as *Pharaoh* was? Have they not been reſerved *as ſpectacles of terror* to moſt nations, after they had deſerved to have been utterly cut off from the earth, yea to have gone quick into hell: Nor have the *riches of Gods mercy* towards us *Gentiles* been more manifeſted by any *other* apparent or viſible *document*, than by ſcattering of theſe Jews through thoſe Countries, wherein the ſeed of the Goſpel hath been ſown.

See the 1. Book. Chap. 24. and 27, &c

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The third General Point propoſed, concerning the Logical determination *of this Propoſition* [whom he will he hardeneth :] *or, concerning the immediate or proper* Object *of the* Induration *here ſpoken of.*

14. PHaraoh, we grant, was hardened by Gods *Abſolute Irreſiſtible Will.* Could *Beza*, can *Piſcator*, or any other Expoſitor living enforce any more, out of the *literal meaning* of theſe texts? Whether granting thus much, we muſt grant withall (what their followers, to my apprehenſion, demand) that *Pharaoh was an abſolute Reprobate from the womb*; or, that he was by *Gods Irreſiſtible Will* ordained to this hardening, which by Gods *Irreſiſtible Will* did take poſſeſſion of his heart, *is the Queſtion* to be diſputed. They (unleſs I miſtake their meaning) affirm: I muſt even to death, deny. Willing I am to put my life in queſtion with my Opinion; upon condition I may enjoy the ancient priviledge of Prieſts, *to be tryed by my Peeres*, which (God wot) muſt be no great ones. I will except againſt no man, of what profeſſion, place, or condition ſoever, either for being my Judge, or of my Jury, ſo his brains be qualified with the ſpeculative Rules of *ſyllogizing*, and his heart ſeaſoned with the doctrine of the *ninth Commandement*, which is, *Not to bear falſe witneſs againſt his Neighbour*, againſt his knowledg.

15. To avoid the *Sophiſtical Chinks* of ſcattered Propoſitions, wherein *Truth* often lyes hid, in *Rhetorical* or *popular* diſcourſe, we will joyn iſſue in this *Syllogiſm*.

‘ Whatſoever God from eternitie decrees by his irreſiſtible Will, is ‘abſolutely neceſſarie, and inevitable, or impoſſible to be avoided.

‘ God from Eternity decreed to harden *Pharaoh* by his Irreſiſtible Will.

‘Ergò, The hardening of *Pharaoh* was abſolutely neceſſary, and ‘ impoſſible to be avoided.

And if his hardning were inevitable, or impoſſible to be avoided, it will be taken as granted that he was a Reprobate from the womb; *Damnatus antequàm natus*, the abſolute child of eternal death, before he was made partaker of mortal life.

A diſcovery of the Fallacy wherewith *Beza* and others have in this argument been deceived.

The *Major Propoſition* is a *Maxim* not queſtioned by any Chriſtian, Jew, or Mahumetan. And out of it we may draw another *Major* as unqueſtionable, but more immediate in reſpect of the Concluſion propoſed; [*Whomſoever God decrees to harden by his* Irreſiſtible Will, *his hardening is abſolutely inevitable, altogether impoſſible to be avoided.* The *Minor*, [*Pharaoh was hardned by Gods* Irreſiſtible Will] is granted by us, and (as we are perſwaded) avouched in *Termes Equivalent* by our Apoſtle. The difference is about the *Concluſion* or *connexion* of the terms; which without better *limitation* then is expreſſed in the *Propoſition* or *Corollarie* annexed, is looſe and *Sophiſtical.*

16. Would ſome brain which God hath bleſt with natural perſpicacitie, art and opportunitie, vouchſafe to take but a little paines in moulding ſuch *fitt Caſes* for the *Prædicates*, as *Ariſtotle* had done for the *Subjects* of *Propoſitions*, (though thoſe we often uſe not, or uſe amiſs) thoſe ſeeming *Syllogiſmes* whoſe ſecret flaws clear ſighted judgements can hardly diſcern by light of arts, would crack ſo fouly in the framing that blear eyes would eſpie their ruptures without ſpectacles. It ſhall ſuffice me at this time to ſhew how groſly the *Syllogiſme*, propoſed failes in one *fundamental Rule* of all *Affirmative Syllogiſmes*, The Rule is *Quæcunque conveniunt cum aliquo tertio, inter ſe conveniunt.* All other Rules concerning the *quantity of propoſitions*, or their diſpoſition in cer-

Tom. III. tain *Mood* and *Figure*, ſerve only to this end, that the convenience or Identity of the *major* and *minor* with the *medium* may be made apparent. This being made apparent by Rules of Art, the *Light* of Nature aſſures us, that the *Connexion* between the *Extremes* is true and indiſſoluble.

Now this *identity* or *unity* (for that is the higheſt and ſureſt degree of *convenience*) is of three ſorts; *of eſſence*, *of quality*, *of quantity or proportion*, under which is comprehended the *identity of time*. Whatſoever is truly called one and the ſame, is ſo called in one of *theſe reſpects*. And all theſe *identities* may be either *ſpecifical* (or common;) or *numerical*, *mixt* or *ſingle*. Moſt *fallacies* ariſe from ſubſtitution of one *identity* for another. As he that would admit that propoſition for true of *ſpecifical identity*, which is moſt true of *numerical*, might be cheated by this *ſyllogiſm*;

I cannot ow you the ſame ſum which I have paid you.
But I have paid you ten pounds in Gold.
Ergo, *I do not ow you ten pounds in Gold.*

The *Negative* included in the *major* is true of the ſame *individual* or *numerical ſum*; but not of the ſame *ſpecifical*. For ſuppoſe twenty pounds in gold were due; the one moiety might be paid, and the other yet owing. But men of common underſtanding are not ſo apt to be deceived in matters of money or commodity with captious collections of this kind, as unable to give them a punctual ſolution. Every Creditor in his own caſe would be ready to give this or the like ſufficient practical anſwer: ‘I do not demand my ten pounds which are already paid; but the other ten pounds which are yet behind: that is (as a *Logician* would ſay) the ſame ſum *ſpecie*, which hath been paid, may yet be owing; not the ſame *numero*: or, the ſame ſum by *equivalence*; not the *ſame individual* coyns.

17. But the intruſion or admiſſion of one *numerical identity* for another of different kind, is not ſo eaſily diſcerned in matters not ſo diſtinguiſhable by common ſenſe; eſpecially if the *relative* or *antecedent* be in ordinary diſcourſe promiſcuouſly matched with both, and that *conjunctim* or *diviſim*. The *numerical identity* included betwixt the *relative*, [*whatſoever* and *whomſoever*, *quis*, *quicquid*, *quæcunque*, *&c.*] and their *antecedents* whether expreſſed or underſtood, is ſometimes an *identity* of *eſſence* or nature only; ſometimes of *quality* only, ſometimes of *quantity* or *proportion* only: ſometimes of eſſence, quality and quantity or proportion: ſometimes of *eſſence* and *quality*, but not of *quantity*; ſometimes of *quality* and *quantity*, but not of *eſſence*.

“Theſe *Rules* are univerſally true, [Whereſoever the Minor propoſition is charged with an *identity* of *quality*, *quantity*, *time* or *eſſence*, wherewith the Major is not charged:] or, *è contra* [*Whereſoever* the *Major* is charged with any one or more of theſe identities, from which the *minor* is free: the Syllogiſm, if it be affirmative, muſt needs be falſe, and tainted with the *Fallicy* of *Compoſition.*]

Of the former Rule that *vulgar example*, becauſe beſt known, is moſt fit.

Quas heri emiſti carnes, eaſdem hodiè comediſti.
At heri emiſti carnes crudas.
Ergo, *Hodiè carnes crudas comediſti.*

The *identity* included between the *Relative* and the *Antecedent* in the *major propoſition*, is an *identity* of *eſſence* or *ſubſtance* only. The *minor* includes another *identity*, of *quality*, which cannot be admitted in the *concluſion*; becauſe not charged in the *major*. Had the *Aſſumption* been thus;

[*At heri emiſti carnes ovillas.*] The *concluſion* would rightly have followed; Ergo, *Carnes ovillas hodiè comediſti*; For this is a part of *eſſential unity.*

The Fallicy is the ſame backwards and forwards;

Quas hodie comediſti carnes, eaſdem heri emiſti.
At hodiè toſtas comediſti.
Ergo, heri toſtas emiſti.

Examples of Fallacies againſt the latter *Rule* are more frequent in moſt mens writings, than vulgarly known. This for one.

'The ſame ſound which once pleaſeth a judicious Muſicians conſtant 'ear, will pleaſe it ſtill.

'But this preſent voice or ſound, which is now taken up (*ſuppoſe a 'young Quiriſter were ſinging*) doth pleaſe his Maſters ear.

'*Ergò*, It will pleaſe it ſtill, to the very fall.

The *major* ſuppoſeth an exact *identity* not of *eſſence* or *quality* only, but of *proportion*: otherwiſe it is falſe. For the articulate ſound may be *numerically* the ſame, as being uttered with one and the ſame continued breath. The voice likewiſe may be for its *quality*, ſweet and pleaſant: but ſo weak and unartificial, that it may reliſh of flatneſs in the fall; and ſo looſe the proportion and conſonancy which in the beginning or middle it had with a judicious *Muſicians* ear, or internal *Harmony.*

The *Object* of *divine approbation or reprobation* is not the *individual abſtract humane nature.*

18. The form of this following fallicy is the ſame;

'Whatſoever the eternal and immutable Rule of goodneſs once ap-'proves as juſt and good, it alwayes ſo approves. For in that it is immutable, it is ſtill the ſame; and if the object remain the ſame, the approbation muſt needs be the ſame.

'But the eternal and immutable Rule of Juſtice once approved the 'humane nature, or the corporeal reaſonable creature, as juſt and good.

'*Ergo*, It alwayes approves at leaſt the humane nature, or reaſonable 'creature, as juſt and good.

The *Concluſion* is evidently falſe, albeit we reſtrain it to the ſame individual humane nature, or reaſonable creature which immutable goodneſs did actually approve. What is the reaſon? or where is the fault? in the connexion. The *Major* includes an exact *identity* not of *eſſence* or *ſubſtance* only: but of *quality*, or rather of *conſonancy* to the immutable Rule of goodneſs. And whiles this *identity* of *quality* or *conſonancy* laſts, the Rule of goodneſs cannot but approve the *nature* thus *conſonant*: otherwiſe it ſhould be mutable in its judgment, or approbation. The *minor* propoſition ſuppoſeth the ſame *identity* of *quality* or *conſonancie*, but not the *continuance* of it. And therefore the *Concluſion* is only true of that time, wherein the *identitie* of *conſonancy* remained entire. That is in few words; Though the humane nature continue ſtill the ſame; or though *Adam* were ſtill the *ſame man*, yet he was not ſtill *one and the ſame in reſpect of divine Approbation.* For that ſuppoſeth an *Identity* of *quality*, of juſtice and goodneſs. As theſe alter; ſo it alters.

The *Old Man* and *New* ſuppoſe not *two* diſtinct *perſons* and yet the rewards of joy and pains everlaſting are allotted to them.

The *Syllogiſm* laſt mentioned would be unanſwerable, were their doctrine not *fallacious* or rather altogether falſe, which would perſwade that every *Entity*, *Nature*, or *Creature*, *qua talis*, as ſuch is good and approveable by the Creator. Was it then the *humane nature*? No but the *humane nature ſo qualified* as he created it, which he approved. And whatſoever other nature is ſo qualified as *Adams* was when he aproved it, hath ſtill the ſame approbation from the immutable *Rule* of *goodneſs*, which he had: Becauſe the *conſonancie* to the *Divine will* may be the ſelf ſame in natures *numerically* diſtinct, The *Syllogiſm* in which we ſtated the ſeeming endleſs Controverſie, laſt, hath all the faults which theſe two laſt fallacies had, and a great many more. The *Syllogiſm* was this;

‘Whatſoever God from eternity hath decreed by his irreſiſtible will, is inevitable. Or thus;

Whomſoever God from eternity reproves or decrees to harden by his *irreſiſtible Will*, that mans reprobation or induration is inevitable.

But God from eternity reproved *Pharaoh* and decreed to harden him by his *irreſiſtible Will.*

Ergo, *Pharaohs* reprobation or induration was inevitable.

The *major* ſuppoſeth an *identity* not of perſon only, but of *quality*: yea *of degrees of quality*. For as the immediate *object* of divine approbation is juſtice, conſonancy or conformity to the immutable *Rule* of *goodneſs*: ſo the *immediate object of reprobation* or induration, is not the abſtract *entity* or *nature of man*; but the *nature miſ-qualified*, that is, unjuſt or diſſonant from the *Rule of Goodneſs*. And according to the degrees of injuſtice or diſſonancy, are the degrees of *divine diſlike*, of *divine reprobation* or induration. The *minor propoſition* includes not only an *identity* of *Pharaohs perſon*, but ſuch a meaſure of injuſtice or diſſonancy, as makes him lyable to the eternal *Decree of reprobation* and induration by Gods *irriſiſtible Will.* But it ſuppoſeth not this *identity* of ſuch bad qualities, or this full meaſure of iniquity to have been alwaies in him. Without alteration of his perſon or nature, he was ſubject to great variety of qualifications: and each qualification capable of divers degrees, and different diſproportion with the *eternal and unchangeable rule of goodneſs*. And therefore the *minor propoſition*, albeit eternally true, yet is eternally true only with reference to thoſe points of time, wherein *Pharaoh* was ſo qualified.

‘No univerſality can infer any more particulars than are contained ‘under it: and all theſe it neceſſarily inferrs. An *univerſality of time* cannot infer an *univerſality* of the *Subject*: nor can an *univerſality* of the *ſubject* infer an *univerſality of time*. This Collection is falſe; ‘God from eternity foreſaw that all men would be ſinners. *Ergo*, He foreſaw from ‘eternity, that *Adam* in his integrity ſhould be a ſinner. The *inference* in the former *ſyllogiſm* is as bad; ‘God decreed to harden *Pharaoh* from eter‘nity. *Ergo*, He decreed to harden him in every moment of his life. Or, ‘*Ergo*, He was a reprobate from his cradle. This *concluſion* rightly ſcanned, includes an *univerſality of the ſubject*, that is, all the ſeveral objects of divine juſtice, which are contained in *Pharaohs* life, not one particular only. Whereas *Pharaoh* in the minor *propoſition*, is but one particular or individual object of induration, or of the *divine decree* concerning it.

19. And thus at length we are *arrived at that point*, whence we may deſcry the *occaſions*, by which ſo many writers of good note have miſſed the right ſtream or current of our Apoſtles diſcourſe, and gravelled themſelves and their Auditors upon *By-ſelves*. All this hath been from want of conſideration, ‘That albeit *Pharaoh* from his birth unto his death, ‘were but one and the ſame individual man; yet was he not all this while, ‘one and the ſame individual object of Gods decree concerning mercy ‘and induration. The difference betwixt theſe we may illuſtrate by many parallel reſemblances. Suppoſe that *Scepter* (whoſe pedegree *Homer* [*Iliad. Lib.* 2.] ſo accurately deſcribes) had in that long ſucceſſion, loſt ſome part of his length; this had broken no ſquare nor bred any quarrel, *whether it had been the ſame Scepter or no.* Yet if the firſt and laſt owners ſhould have ſold or bought Scarlet by this one and the

Albeit *Pharaoh*, was alwaies *One and the ſame man*: yet he was not alwaies *one and the ſame object* of the divine Decree.

That *Pharaoh* in the Syllogiſm propoſed is no ſingular but an *indefinite* Term.

ſame *Scepter*; they ſhould have found a great alteration in the meaſure. So then, it is *one thing* to be one and the ſelf-ſame *Standard*; and *another thing* to be one and the ſelf-ſame *Staff* or *Scepter*. The leaſt alteration in length or quantity that can be, doth alter the *identity* of any *meaſure*: but not the *identity* of the material *ſubſtance* of that which is the *meaſure*. The ſame grains of barly which grow this year, may be kept till ſeven years hence; But he that ſhould lend gold according to their weight this year, and receive it according to their weight at the ſeven years end, ſhould find great difference in the ſums: though the grains be for number and ſubſtance the ſame, yet their weights are divers. Or, ſuppoſe it be true which is related of the *Great Magore*, that he weighs himſelf every year in gold, and diſtributes the ſum thereof to the poor; and that he had continued this cuſtom from the ſeventh year of his age: yet cannot there be half the difference betwixt the weight of one and the ſame Prince in his child-hood and in his full age, (after many hearty prayers to make him fat) as is between the different meaſures of *Pharaohs* induration within the compaſs of one year.

Therefore this Argument, [‘ *Pharaoh* was hardened after the ſeventh ‘plague by Gods irreſiſtible Will: *Ergo*, He was an irrecoverable reprobate from his child-hood] is to a man of underſtanding more groſs, than if we ſhould argue thus; [‘ The great *Magore* diſtributed to the poor ‘five thouſand pounds in gold in his fortieth year: *Ergo*, He deſtributed ‘ſo much every year, ſince he began this cuſtom of weighing himſelf in ‘gold.] For as he diſtributes unto the poor, not according to the *identity* of his perſon, but according to the *identity* or *diverſity* of his weight: ſo doth the *immutable rule of juſtice* render unto every man, not according to the *unity of his perſon*, but according to the *diverſity* of his work. Unto the ſeveral meaſures of one and the ſame mans iniquities, ſeveral meaſures of *induration* (whether *poſitive* or *privative*) are allotted from eternity. But *final induration by Gods irreſiſtible Will*, or irrecoverable reprobation, is the juſt recompence of the full meaſure of iniquity; or (as the Prophet ſpeaks) to harden thus, is *to ſeal up iniquity to deſtruction*, without hope or poſſibility of pardon.

Q. Whether he mean, Dan. 9. 24.

20. Theſe *two Propoſitions* are of like eternal truth; [‘ God from eternitie decreed by his irreſiſtible will to harden *Pharaoh* having made up ‘the full meaſure of his iniquity:] and [God from eternity did not decree by his Irreſiſtible Will, that *Pharaoh* ſhould make up ſuch a meaſure of iniquitie.] For, he doth not decree iniquitie at all, much ‘leſs full meaſures of iniquitie. And yet unleſs he ſo decree, not iniquitie only, but the full meaſure of it; *Pharaohs* Induration or Reprobation was not *abſolutely neceſſary*, in reſpect of Gods eternal Decree. For it was *no more neceſſary*, than was the *full meaſure of iniquitie* unto which it was due. And that (as hath been ſaid) was *not neceſſary*, becauſe *not decreed by* Gods *Irreſiſtible Will*; without which, *neceſſity* it ſelf hath no title of being.

From theſe deductions I may clear a debt, for which I ingaged my ſelf in my laſt publick meditations. My promiſe was then, to make it evident, that theſe two Propoſitions, 1. [‘God from Eternitie decreed ‘to harden *Pharaoh* by his Irreſiſtible Will;] 2. [‘God from Eternitie ‘did not decree to harden *Pharaoh* by his Irreſiſtible Will,] might eaſily be made good friends, if their Abettors would ceaſe to urge them beyond their natural diſpoſitions. For in their natures, they are *Indefinites* not *Singulars*. Both, in a good ſenſe, may be made to tell the

That the contention concerning *Pharaohs* induration hath no contradiction for its ground. See Attribut. 1. part. Ch. 15. Numb. 7.

the truth. But a wrangler may work them Both to bear evidence for error. [*God from eternitie decreed to harden Pharaoh by his Irreſiſtible Will.*] Tis true of Pharaoh *ſo miſqualified* as *Moſes* found him perhaps when he brought the firſt, at leaſt, when he brought the Seventh Meſſage to him. But falſe of *Pharaoh* in his Infancie, or not laden with ſuch a meaſure of Iniquitie, as by the Divine Decree was from Eternity Sealed up for death. [‘God from eternity did not decree to hard‘en *Pharaoh* by his irreſiſtible Will,] is true of *Pharaoh* in his infancie or youth : but falſe of *Pharaoh* after his wilfull contempt of Gods *Summons* by ſignes and wonders.

The *Concluſion* of the *Syllogiſm* propoſed *indefinitely taken*, is moſt *true*: but univerſally taken is altogether falſe.

21. *Beza's Collection* upon this place, is grounded upon the *Indefinite Truth* of this *Affirmative* ; [‘ God from eternity decreed to harden *Pharaoh.*] But he extends this *indefinite* Truth beyond its compaſs. For he makes it an *Univerſal*, in that he terminates the *irreſiſtible decree* to every moment of *Pharaoh's* life without *Diſtinction* of *Qualification.* And it may be, he was of opinion, that as well each ſeveral qualification as each different meaſure of *Pharaoh's* hardening or impenitency, did come to paſs by *Gods Irreſiſtible Will.* His Error, into which the greateſt Cleark living (eſpecially if he be not an accurate *Philoſopher*) might eaſily ſlide, conſiſts originally in confounding *Eternitie* with *Succeſſive Duration ;* and not diſtinguiſhing *Succeſſion* it ſelf, from *things durable or Succeſſive.* He, and many others in this argument, ſpeak as if they conceived that the *neceſſary Coexiſtence of eternitie with time* did neceſſarily draw every mans whole courſe of life, *Motu quodam raptûs*, after ſuch a manner as *Aſtronomers* ſuppoſe that the higheſt *Sphere* doth move the lower; whereas, if we ſpeake of the courſe, not of *Pharaoh's natural*, but *moral life*; it was rather an Incondit *heap* or confuſed multitude *of durables*, than *one* entire uniform *duration.* And each *durable* hath its diſtinct Reference to the eternal Decree. That which is eternally true of *one*, was not of all, much leſs eternally, true of *another.* Eternitie it ſelf, though immutable, though neceſſarily though indiviſibly co-exiſtent to *All*, was not ſo indiſſolubly linked with *Any*, but that *Pharaoh* might have altered or ſtayed his courſe of life before that moment, wherein the meaſure of iniquitie was accompliſhed: But in that moment he became ſo exorbitant, that the *Irreſiſtible Decree* of induration did faſten upon him. His Irregular motions have ever ſince become irrevocable ; not his *Actions* onely, but his *Perſon*, is carried headlong by the everlaſting revolutions of the unchangable decree, into everlaſting unavoydable deſtruction.

22. The *Propoſition* or Concluſion propoſed, [*Pharaoh was hardened by Gods irreſiſtible will*,] indefinitely taken is true from all eternitie, throughout all eternitie ; and therefore true from *Pharaoh's* birth unto his death : but not therefore true of *Pharaoh howſoever qualified*, or of all *Pharaoh's Qualifications* throughout the whole courſe of his life. For ſo the *Propoſition* becomes an *Univerſal*, not only in reſpect of the *Time*, but of the *Subject* ; that is of all *Pharaohs* ſeveral qualifications. The ſenſe is, as if he had ſaid, [‘ God from eternity decreed to harden *Pharaoh*, ‘ howſoever qualified, as well in his infancy as his full age, by his irreſiſti‘ble Will: and thus taken it is falſe. The *inference* is the ſame with the fore-mentioned, [‘ *Adam* in Gods foreknowledg was a ſinner from eternity ; ‘ *Ergo*, *Adam* was alwayes a ſinner ; a ſinner before he ſinned, during the ‘ time of his innocency:] or with this, ‘ God from all eternity did decree ‘ by his irreſiſtible will, that *Adam* ſhould die the death; *Ergo*, He did de‘cree by his irreſiſtible will, that *Adam* ſhould die as ſoon as he was crea‘ted, or be a ſinner all his life long.

To reconcile theſe *two Propoſitions* aright, '[God from eternitie de-'creed by his Irreſiſtible Will that *Adam* ſhould dye,] [God, from eternitie did not decree by his irreſiſtible Will that *Adam* ſhould die,] otherwiſe than we have reconciled the *two* former. [' God from eterni-'ty decreed to harden *Pharaoh* by his Irreſiſtible Will ;] [' God from 'eternity did not decree to harden *Pharaoh* by his irreſiſtible Will,] no Writer I preſume will undertake. The only reconciliation poſſible, is this, ' [God did decree by his Irreſiſtible Will, that *Adam* ſinning ' ſhould die :] [God did not decree by his irreſiſtible Will, that *Adam* not ſinning ſhould dye,] nor did he decree by his *Irreſiſtible Will* that *Adam* ſhould ſin, that he might die. For (as we ſaid before) God did neither decree his Fall, nor his perſeverance by his *Irreſiſtable Will*. And his death was no more inevitable than his Fall. Nor was *Pharaoh*'s final *Induration* more inevitable, than the meaſure of iniquitie to which ſuch *Induration* was from eternitie awarded by Gods *Irreſiſtible Will*. Of *Pharaoh* thus conſidered, the *Concluſion* was true from eternitie; true in reſpect of every moment of *Pharaohs* life, wherein the meaſure of his iniquitie was or might have been accompliſhed ; though it had been accompliſhed within three years after his birth. And this accompliſhment preſuppoſed, the *Induration* was moſt inevitable, his *Final Reprobation* as irrecoverable, as *Gods Abſolute will* (taking *abſolute* as it is oppoſed to *disjunct*) is *irreſiſtible*.

In what ſenſe the *Concluſion* propoſed may be ſaid *univerſal*; *univerſalitate temporis* as to *Pharaoh*.

23. The ſame *Propoſition*, in reſpect of Reprobation, is univerſally true *Univerſalitate Subjecti*, that is, of every other perſon ſo ill qualified as *Pharaoh* was, when God did harden him. [*Whoſoever ſhall at any time, become ſuch a man as Pharaoh was then, is a Reprobate from eternitie by Gods Irreſiſtible will.*] And ſeeing no man is exempted from his Juriſdidiction, he may *harden whom he will*, after the ſame manner that he hardened *Pharaoh*, although *de facto* he doth not ſo harden all the Reprobates;) that is, *he reſerves them not alive for examples to others, after the ordinary time appointed for their diſſolution.* Nor doth he tender ordinary meanes of repentance unto them after the door of Repentance is ſhut upon them. God in his infinite wiſdom hath many ſecret purpoſes incomprehenſible to man; as, ' Why, of ſuch as are equal offenders, 'one in this life is more rigorouſly dealt withal then another. Why ' of ſuch as are equally diſpoſed to goodneſs Moral, one is called before ' another by his irreſiſtible calling. That thus to diſpenſe of mercy and juſtice in this life, doth argue no Partialitie or *reſpect of perſons* with God, is an argument elſe where inſiſted upon.

In what ſenſe the *Concluſion* propoſed may be ſaid to be *univerſal*, *univerſalitate ſubjecti*.

See his Treatiſe of the *Signs of the Time* ; the third, or, moral part of it.

24. The *Point* whereupon we are now to pitch is this Indefinite. [' Men uſually are called, elected, Reprobated, or hardened by Gods 'Reſiſtible will before they be called, Elected, reprobated, or hardened by his irreſiſtible will.] All theſe terms are *indefinite*, and according to their different meaſures as truly *mutable* as *Immutable* from Eternitie ; or, as in other * Meditations we have ſhewed ; There is a *State* of *Election* under *promiſe*, and a State of Election under *Oath*, of which the latter only is Abſolutely *immutable*. The like we may ſay of *Reprobation :* it is either under general *Threat*, or upon *Oath* ; the *Former* is *mutable*, ſo is *not the Latter*. No man living ſhall ever be able to make his *inference* good : [' *Pharaoh* was abſolutely reprobated from eternitie, that is, ' His reprobation was immutable from eternitie; Ergo, † *Pharaoh* 'in his Youth or Infancie was a Reprobate.]

* See, Ch. 37. Numb, 5.6. See 9. Book, Ch. 18. &c.

† Whether granting that *Pharaoh* was a reprobate from eternity we muſt grant withal that *Pharaoh* was a reprobate in his middle-age, youth, or infancy.

To inferre the *Conſequence* propoſed, no *Medium* more probable than this can poſſibly be brought ; ' *Pharaoh* from his infancy to his full

‘ age, was alwaies one and the ſelf-ſame man; *Et de eodem impoſſibile eſt idem affirmari & negari.* The *Conſequence* notwithſtanding is no better than this following: ‘ The laſt Eclipſe of the Moon was neceſſary from ‘ the beginning; *Ergo*, The Moon was neceſſarily eclipſed in the firſt ‘ quarter, or in the prime; Becauſe the Moon being of an incorruptible ‘ ſubſtance, hath continued one and the ſame ſince the firſt Creation. But unto this *Conſequence* every *Artiſt* could make reply, that the proper and immediate ſubject of the *Eclipſe* is not the *Nature* or *Subſtance* of the *Moon* howſoever conſidered; but in certain oppoſition to the *Sun*. So that albeit *this Propoſition:* [*The Moon ſhal be eclipſed*] be true and neceſſary from everlaſting: yet it is neceſſary, yet it is, true only of the *Moon* in ſuch *Diametral oppoſition* to the *Sun*, that the *Earth* may cover it with her ſhadow as with a mantle. Whenſoever it is in ſuch *Oppoſition* it is neceſſarily *Eclipſed*. Whenſoever it is not in ſuch *oppoſition* to the *Sun*, it cannot poſſibly by the courſe of nature be *Eclipſed*.

25. It is in like manner true which we have often ſaid, that the proper and immediate *Object* of the eternal *Decree*, concerning Induration or *Reprobation*, was not *Pharaoh's Individual Entitie* or *Eſſence*: but *Pharaoh* charged with a certain meaſure of iniquitie, or ſeparation from his God. Granting then that *Pharaoh's* Subſtance from his infancie to his full age was one and the ſame, as incorruptible as the Moon: yet the degrees of his declination from the inchangeable *Rule of Juſtice*, or of his oppoſition to the Fountain of mercy and goodneſs, might be more than are the degrees of the *Moons* aberration or elongation from the *Sun*.

Now the Alſeeing providence did more accurately calculate each work, each word, each thought of *Pharaoh* and their oppoſition to his goodneſs, than *Aſtronomers* can do the motions of the *Moon* or *Planets*. And will he not make his payment according to his calculation? *Tu, Domine, noſti, utrum radix ſit dulcis, an amara, de qua foris pulchra folia emittuntur: Tu judex interius meliùs ipſe noſti, & etiam medullas radicum ſubtiliùs, perſcrutatis, & non ſolùm intentionem, ſed radicis ejus medullam intimam diſertiſſima tuæ lucis veritate colligis, numeras, intueris, & conſignas, ut reddas unicuiq; non ſolummodo ſecundum opera vel intentionem ſed etiam ſecundum ipſam interiorem abſconditam medullam radicis, de quâ procedit intentio operantis.* Auguſtin. in Soliloqu. Cap. 14. pag. 142. So that in *One* and the ſelf ſame *Pharaoh* there might be *more ſeveral Objects* of the eternal decree, than are minutes or ſcruples in forty years motion of the *Moon*. Not the leaſt varietie or alteration in his courſe of life, but had a proportionate *Conſequent* of reward or puniſhment allotted to it from all eternitie, by the *irreſiſtible decree*. Unto *Pharaoh* then having made up the full meaſure of his iniquitie, *irreſiſtible induration* and unrecoverable Reprobation was, by the vertue of this *eternal decree*, altogether *neceſſary* and inevitable. But unto *Pharaoh*, before this meaſure of iniquitie was made up, neither *induration* nor *irrecoverable reprobation* was ſo *neceſſary* or inevitable. ‘ To think the ‘ unchangeable Rule of Juſtice ſhould award the ſame meaſure of in‘ duration or reprobation unto far different meaſures of iniquitie, goes ‘ deeper than the dreggs of heatheniſm: it is a doctrine which may not be vented where any Chriſtian ear is preſent.

26. The former Reſemblance is fully Parallel to our Reſolution in all other points, ſave only in this, that the eternal decree did not ſo neceſſarily direct or impel *Pharaoh* to make up the full meaſure of his iniquitie, as it doth direct and guide the courſe of the *Moon*, till it come in full and *Diametral oppoſition* to the *Sun*. Therefore this

Similitude will not follow, ‘As the *Moon*, though at this time ‘not Eclipſed; yet holds that courſe by the unchangeable decree, which in time will bring it to be *in Diametral oppoſition* to ‘the *Sun* and by conſequence to be *Eclipſed:* So though *Pharaoh* in his infancy was not reprobated or hardened by Gods irreſiſtible Will; yet was he by the eternal decree ordained to ‘ſuch reprobation or induration, without poſſibility of altering his ‘courſe, or avoiding that *oppoſition* which his full age had unto divine goodneſs.

As every true convert or regenerate perſon may ſay with him in Saint Ambroſe, *Ego non ſum Ego*; I am become another man: ſo might it be truly ſaid, in a contrary ſenſe, *Pharaoh ſometimes was not Pharaoh* When he was a child, he ſpake as a child, he thought as a child: His mouth was not opened againſt God: his mind was not ſet on murther. To have ſeen the *Iſraelitiſh* infants ſtrangled or expoſed to the mercileſs flouds, would more have affected his heart, being young and tender, than afterwards it did his daughters. Nor was that cruelty, which in his full age he practiſed, ſo contained in his infancy, as poyſon is in the ſerpents egge. It did not grow up by kind or *neceſſity* of his natural temper; much leſs was it infuſed by *Gods irreſiſtible Will:* but acquired by voluntary cuſtom. ‘The ſeeds of it were ſown by ‘his own ſelf-will: ambitious pride was the root: politick jealouſie ‘was the bud: tyranny and oppreſſion, the fruit. Neither was it neceſſary by the eternal decree, that this corrupt ſeed ſhould be ſown: or that being ſown, it ſhould proſper and bud; or that after the budding, it ſhould ripen in malignity. During all this progreſs from bad to worſe, the immmediate *Object* of Gods immutable and *unreſiſtible Will* was mutability in *Pharaoh*. But this progreſs which was not *neceſſary* by any eternal decree or law, being *de facto* once accompliſhed, his deſtruction was inevitable, his induration unreſiſtible, his reprobation irrecoverable, by the eternal and uncontroulable decree.

That *Pharaoh* in his youth or infancy was not excluded by Gods *irreſiſtible Will* from poſſibility of repentance.

27. ‘That *Pharaoh* in his youth or infancy was not ſuch an object of ‘Gods irreſiſtible Will for induration, as in his full age he became, may be thus demonſtrated.

‘No man whoſe ſalvation as yet is truly poſſible, is utterly excluded ‘by Gods *irreſiſtible Will* from ſalvation.

‘But the ſalvation of *Pharaoh* in his youth or infancy was truly poſſible.

Ergò, *Pharaoh* in his youth or infancy, was not excluded, by Gods *irreſiſtible Will*, *from ſalvation.*

Therefore, ‘He was not then the object of Gods irreſiſtible Will for induration.

The *major* is evident from the expoſition of the terms. For God is ſaid to Will that only by his *irreſiſtible Will*, which hath no poſſibility to the contrary. The *neceſſity* of it likewiſe may be made evident by *the Rules of Converſion*; ‘No mans ſalvation that ſtands excluded by Gods ‘irreſiſtible Will from ſalvation, is truly poſſible: *Ergò*, No man, whiles ‘his ſalvation is poſſible, is utterly excluded, by Gods *irreſiſtible Will* ‘from ſalvation; or, which is all one; ‘No man whiles his ſalvation is ‘poſſible is either hardned or reprobated by Gods *irreſiſtible Will:* or in *Latin* more perſpicuouſly thus, *Nullus per irreſiſtiblem Dei voluntatem à ſalute excluſus, eſt ſervabilis:* Ergo, *Nullus ſervabilis* (*id eſt, quandiu ſervari poteſt*) *eſt à ſalute excluſus per irreſiſtibilem Dei voluntatem.* No argument can be of ſuch force or perſpicuity as is this *primary Rule* of *Argumentation :*

[*Negativa univerſalis ſimpliciter convertitur.*]

The *Minor*, [*Pharaohs* Salvation in his Youth or Infancy was truly poſſible,] is as evident from another *maxim* in divinity; *Quicquid non implicat contradictionem, eſt poſſibile.ſive objectum Divinæ potentiæ.* Now what contradiction could it imply to ſave this child, *ſuppoſe Pharaoh*, more than it did to ſave another; for example, *Moſes?* Unleſs we will ſay, that *Pharaoh* was made of another mould, or a creature of another *Creator*, than *Moſes* or other children are. To ſave *Pharaoh*, as a ſon of *Adam*, could imply no contradiction: for ſo, no fleſh could poſſibly be ſaved. If to ſave *Pharaoh* after he had committed many actual ſins and follies of youth, did *imply any contradiction*, what man of years (in this age eſpecially) can hope for pardon?

28. It will be *replyed*, that albeit to ſave *Pharaoh* in his youth or infancy did *imply no contradiction in the object :* and therefore his Salvation was not *abſolutely in it ſelf impoſſible :* yet it being ſuppoſed, that God from eternity decreed to harden him and deſtroy him by his *irreſiſtible will*; it muſt needs imply *a contradiction* in Gods decree or will to ſave him; and by *conſequent*, his Salvation was impoſſible *ex hypotheſi.*

This Anſwer is like a Medicine which drives the Malady from the outward parts whereto it is applied unto the heart. *It removes the difficulty into a more dangerous point.* For we may with ſafety infer, 'That God did not 'decree by his irreſiſtible will to exclude *Pharaoh* in his youth or infancy 'from poſſibility of Salvation: *becauſe*, to have ſaved *Pharaoh* in his 'youth or infancy was in it ſelf not impoſſible, as implying no contra'diction.

Whatſoever is abſolutely poſſible to God, is always alike poſſible to him.

For Gods eternal decree can never prejudice the eternal liberty of his omnipotency. Whatſoever in it ſelf is poſſible, yea whatſoever is not abſolutely impoſſible, is abſolutely poſſible to God from eternity: and whatſoever is once poſſible unto him, can at no time become leſs poſſible to him. The Evangeliſts Rule: [*Non eſt impoſſibile apud Deum omne verbum*] would fail even in its proper, and native ſenſe, if that, which is abſolutely poſſible could become impoſſible to God, though by interpoſition of his own decree.

The moſt abſolute Monarch on Earth may impoveriſh his eſtate, or weaken his power by his own voluntary Grants: but it is the prerogative of Omnipotency, that it cannot be prejudiced or impaired by any decree, or act, though of its own making: for alwaies acting it never paſſeth any act; whence (as elſewhere is proved at large) it doth not, it cannot oblige, or bind it ſelf, being eternally free, and uncapable of any bound or limit. They that ſpeak or think of the eternal decree (of reprobation or election) as of an irrevocable act long ſince paſt, not freely concurrent to every action, to every thought of men throughout their ſeveral ſucceſſions, make eternity ſubject to change, and mortality the ſubject of immutability.

No alteration in the object can make any thing leſs poſſible to God then it was, unleſs it be ſuch an alteration as implies ſome contradiction in the object which before was not implyed in it.

Unleſs we grant the former propoſition ['whatſoever is or was abſo'lutely poſſible to God, is eternally alike poſſible to him, notwithſtand'ing any decree, that can be imagined to the contrary;] we muſt of neceſſity admit a change: *either* in the omnipotent *power*, as being leſs able ſince the date of this ſuppoſed abſolute decree, then before, to produce the ſelf ſame effect, viz. the ſalvation of *Pharaoh* in his youth or infancy: *Or*, in the *object of his power*, and this were *deſtruere ſuppoſitum.* For if the object be changed, another comes in his place, it ceaſeth to be what it was and continueth not the ſame: if ſo it did, the poſſibility of it would be the ſame in reſpect of the unchangeable power unto which nothing is impoſſible.

In *Bodies natural*, ſo long as the *paſſive diſpoſition* or capacity continueth the ſame, the ſame *effect* will neceſſarily follow; unleſs the efficacy or the application of the agent alter. *Idem ſecundum idem, ſemper natum eſt producere idem:* He which is alwaies the ſame without poſſibility of alteration in himſelf, is at all times equally able to do all things that in themſelves are not impoſſible. And no man, I think, will ſay that *Pharaohs* election in his infancy was in it ſelf more impoſſible than his own reprobation was. And he that thinketh his own reprobation was in it ſelf impoſſible, cannot think himſelf ſo much bound to God, as he maketh ſhew of, for his infallible election.

29. If from the former propoſition, ‘Whatſoever is abſolutely poſſible to God, is alwaies poſſible to him, a man ſhould thus aſſume; ‘To have ſhewed mercy to *Pharaoh* was abſolutely poſſible to God, and hence conclude; *Ergo*, ‘It is poſſible to God, to ſhew mercy on ‘him at this inſtant: the *Illation*, whatſoever the *Aſſertion* be, includes the ſame *fallacy of Compoſition*, which was before diſcovered in the *Syllogiſm*,

Quas emiſti carnes, eaſdem comediſti;
Sed crudas emiſti: Ergo, *&c.*

For *Pharaoh*, though unto this day, one and the ſame reaſonable ſoul; yet is he not one and the ſame object of Gods eternal decree for hardning or ſhewing mercy. To ſave any man of Gods making, implies no contradiction unto that *infinite Power* by which he was made. To ſave any man that hath not made up the full meaſure of his iniquity, implies no contradiction to his *infinite goodneſs*, no impeachment to his Majeſty: it is agreeable to his mercy. To ſave ſuch as have made up the full meaſure of their iniquity, alwayes implies a contradiction to his immutable *Juſtice*. And all ſuch, and (for ought we know) only ſuch, are the *immediate objects* of his eternal-abſolute, and *irreſiſtible Will* or purpoſe of *reprobation*. But when the meaſure of any mans iniquity is made up, or how far it is made up, is only known to the all ſeeing Judge. This is the ſecret wherewith fleſh and blood may not meddle; as being eſſentially annexed to the prerogative of eternal Majeſty, belonging only to the Cognizance of infinite wiſdom.

The fourth General Point concerning the Extent *or nature of this diviſion, He will have mercy on whom he will have mercy; and whom he will he hardneth.*

As ſome do loſe the uſe of their native tongue by long travelling in forrein Countries: ſo minds by too much poring on the Rules of Logick, or too much accuſtomed to the Logicians Dialect, without which there can be no commerce with Arts and Sciences, oft times forget the Character of ordinary ſpeech, in matters of civil and common uſe.

In Arts or Sciences, diviſions ſhould be either formal by direct predicamental line, as that, [‘Of creatures indued with ſenſe, ſome have reaſon, ſome are reaſonleſs:] or at leaſt ſo exact, that the ſeveral members of the diviſion ſhould exhauſt the whole, or *integrum* divided. As if a *Geographer* ſhould ſay, [‘Of the inhabitants of the earth, ſome

‘ are ſeated on this ſide the Line, others beyond it, or juſt under it;] the diviſion were good: but very imperfect if he ſhould ſay, [‘ Some ‘ are ſeated between the Tropick of Cancer and the Artick circle; others ‘ betwixt the Tropick of Capricorn and the circle Antartick: for a great many are commodiouſly ſeated betwixt the *Tropicks*, (as experience hath taught later ages to reform the errour of the Ancient:) and ſome likewiſe betwixt the *Polar circles* and the *Poles*.

This *Diviſion* is not *formal*, not ſo exact as is required in arts.

But in matters arbitrarie and contingent (as matters of common uſe for the moſt part are) to exact alike formal or accurate diviſions, is ridiculous; eſpecially when as well the members of the diviſion as the dividend it ſelf, are terms indefinite. As if a man ſhould ſay of men, [‘ Some are extraordinarily good, ſome extraordinarily bad;] or of Academicks, [‘ ſome are extraordinarily acute, ſome are extraordinarily ‘ dull;] though every one will grant the diviſion to be indefinitely true, yet no man almoſt would acknowledge himſelf to be contained under either member; as the moſt part of men are not indeed. Or if one ſhould ſay, ‘ Every Prince ſheweth extraordinary favour to ſome of his ‘ ſubjects, and ſome others he maketh examples (or ſubjects) of his ſeveri‘tie; who could hence gather, that no part or not the greateſt part were left to the ordinarie courſe of juſtice, or to the priviledges common to all free denizons? Now we are here to remember what was premiſed in the entrie into this Treatiſe; ‘ That albeit Gods will be moſt ‘ immutable, yet is it immutably free, more free by much than the changeable will of man. So are the objects of this his Free-will more arbitrary, than the deſigns of Princes. The objects of his will in this our preſent argument, are *mercy* and *induration*: and theſe he awards to divers perſons; or to the ſame perſons, at divers times, according to a different meaſure. Whence, if we take theſe terms, in that extraordinary meaſure which is included in this diviſion, the moſt part of men, with whom we ſhall uſually have to deal, do not fall within either member. The *proper*, perhaps the *only ſubjects* of this *diviſion* it ſelf in *Moſes* time, were the *Iſraelites* and *Egyptians*: in our Apoſtles time, the *caſt-away Jews*, and ſuch of the *Gentiles* as were forthwith to be ingrafted in their ſtead. If we take *mercy* and *induration* in a leſſer meaſure, according to their lower degrees or firſt diſpoſitions, ſcarce any man living of riper years but hath devolved from the one part of this diviſion unto the other, oftner then he hath eaten, drank, or ſlept. Chriſts Diſciples (ſaith Saint *Mark Chap. 6. v. 52.*) ‘ had not conſidered the miracle of ‘ the loaves, becauſe their hearts were hardened; yet ſhortly after to be *mollified*, that Gods mercy and Chriſts miracles might find more eaſie entrance into them. Our habitual temper is, for the moſt part, mutable: how much more our actual deſires or operations? And whatſoever is mutably good or mutably evil in reſpect of its acts and operations, (which are ſometimes *de bono*, ſometimes *de malo objecto*) hath its alternant motions from ‘ Gods decree of hardning, towards his de‘cree of ſhewing mercy, and *è contrà*.

That moſt men are not comprehended under either member of this *diviſion*.

One and the ſame man according to the diverſity of *time* or *qualification* may be the true and proper *ſubject* of both parts of this *diviſion*.

31. The doctrine contained in this paſſage of Scripture will never ſound well for the right ſetling the affections and conſciences of ſuch as be Novices in faith, until they be taught to run this diviſion upon the ſame ſtring:

‘ Haſt thou been enlightned and taſted of the heavenly gift, made ‘ partaker of the Holy Spirit? Thy ſin is great, and thou art found a deſpiſer of the riches of his bountie, unleſs thou embrace theſe illuminations as undoubted pledges of his favour, and aſſured teſtimonies of his good purpoſe to make thee heir of eternal life. Worthy thou art to be numbred among thoſe perverſe and wayward *Jews* whom our Saviour compares to children playing in the market, if while theſe Good motions and exultations of ſpirit laſt, thou giveſt not more attentive ear (than he that danceth doth to him that pipeth or harpeth) unto that ſweet voice of thy heavenly Father encouraging thee in particular as he did ſometimes the hoſt of Iſrael, *Oh that there were ſuch an heart in thee alwaies, that it might go well with thee for ever.*

But eſchew theſe and the like inferences as cunning *Sophiſmes* of the great Tempter, that old and ſubtile Serpent, 'I thank God I have felt the 'good motions of the Spirit, I perceive the pledges of his good purpoſe 'towards me: but his purpoſe is unchangeable: Therefore is my Election 'ſure enough, I am a ſealed veſſel of mercy, I cannot become a veſſel of 'wrath. If ſuch thoughts have at any time inſinuated into thy heart, or be darted upon thee againſt thy will; remember thy ſelf in time, & thus repel them: 'If God harden whom he will; if his Will be immutably and eter'nally free; it is as free for him to harden me as any other. And conſider withall, that albeit thou canſt not make or prepare thy ſelf to be *a veſſel of mercy:* yet thy untimely preſumption, if it continue long, in the end will make thee, as in the beginning it doth prepare thee, to be a *veſſel of wrath.* This was the diſeaſe whereof the whole Nation of the *Jews* did periſh.

Doeſt thou ſee thy Brother, one baptized in the name of Chriſt, go on ſtubbornly in his wicked courſes? thou doſt well to threaten him with the ſentence of death. Yet limit thy ſpeeches by the Prophets Rule, *Jerem.* 18. Pronounce him not for all this, an *abſolute Reprobate* or irrecoverable veſſel of wrath: give him not forthwith for dead; but rather uſe double diligence to prevent his death, and tell him, 'If God 'ſhew mercy upon whom he will ſhew mercy, if this his Will be eternally 'free: it is as free for him yet to ſhew mercy upon ſuppoſed Caſtawaies 'and to harden uncharitable and preſumptuous Phariſees (for the pre'ſent manifeſtation of his glory) as it was for him to reject the Jews and 'chuſe the Gentiles.

Finally, this *Diviſion,* though we take *Mercy* and *Induration* according to their *Indefinite,* or loweſt meaſure, is not more univerſally true in reſpect of the *Innumerable Subjects* or parties unto whom it may fitly be applyed, then it is in reſpect of the *Time,* wherein it may be applyed to any determinate Individual Subject, which hath not made as yet, either the *Full Meaſure* of his iniquitie up to the brim; or his *Election* immutably ſure. Of all and every Perſon and Subject not thus qualified it is univerſally true; 'He hath mercy on whom will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth. In reſpect of every particular and determinate perſon not thus qualifyed it is univerſally true; 'He hath mercy 'when he will have mercy, and when he will he hardeneth. And he hardeneth at no time ſooner then when men (what men ſoever) are moſt confidently preſumptuous of his mercy, or untimely ſecure of their perſeverance in faith or continuance in his favour.

32. Perhaps the ingenuous, and hitherto indifferent Reader, will here begin to diſtaſt theſe laſt Admonitions, and for their ſakes, moſt of our Reſolutions, as prejudicial to a commonly received doctrine concerning the *Certainty of Salvation.* And I muſt confeſs that upon firſt ſight they may ſeem ſuſpicious, in that they ſuppoſe our Election to be not only uncertain in reſpect of our apprehenſions, but mutable in its nature. But if it pleaſe him either to look back into ſome paſſages of the former diſcourſe, or to go along with me a little further; I ſhall

That this doctrine delivered is no way prejudicial to the *certainty of ſalvation;* but rather directs us how to make our *Election ſure.*

ſhall acquaint him (though not with a ſurer foundation, yet) with a ſtronger frame or ſtructure of his hopes, than he ſhall ever attain unto by following their rules, who, I verily think, were fully aſſured of their own ſalvation,but from other grounds than they have diſcovered to us.

Surer foundation can no man lay, than that whereon both parties do build, to wit, *the abſolute immutability of Gods decree or purpoſe.* Now admitting our apprehenſions of his Will or purpoſe *to call, elect* or *ſave* us, were infallible: yet he that from theſe foundations would rear up the edifice of his faith, after this haſty manner, [‘Gods purpoſe ‘to call, elect and ſave mee, is immutable; *Ergo*, my perſent calling ‘is effectuall, my election already ſure, and my ſalvation moſt im‘mutable,[becomes as vain in his imaginations, as if he expected that walls of loom, and rafters of reed covered with fern, ſhould be able to keep out Gun-ſhot; becauſe ſeated upon an impregnable Rock.

For firſt, who can be longer ignorant of this truth than it ſhall pleaſe him to conſider it? That Gods purpoſe and Will is moſt immutable in reſpect of every object poſſible: that mutability it ſelf, all the changes and chances of this mortal life, and the immutable ſtate of immortality in the life to come, are alike immutably decreed by the eternal counſel of his *immutable Will.* Now if mortality and mutability have precedence of immortalitie, in reſpect of the ſame perſons, by the immutable *tenor* of his irreſiſtible decree: can it ſeem any paradox to ſay? [‘*That* ‘mans eſtate whether of election or reprobation is even in this life ‘uſually mutable, before it come to be Immutable, and that by vertue ‘of the ſame inalterable decree. Or, That ordinarily there ſhould ‘be in every one of us as true a poſſibility of living after the fleſh, as ‘of living after the ſpirit; before we become ſo actually and compleatly ‘ſpiritual, as utterly to mortifie all luſts and concupiſcences of the fleſh.] Until (then) our mortification be compleat and full, we may not preſume all poſſibility of living after the fleſh to be finally expired and utterly extinct in our ſouls. And whether this poſſibility can be in this life altogether ſo little, or truly none, as it ſhall be in the life to come, after our mortal hopes are ratified by the ſentence of the almighty Judge, I cannot affirm, if any man peremptorily will deny it; nor will I contend by way of peremptorie denial, if it ſhall pleaſe any man upon probable reaſons to affirm it.

33. But if to ſuch as finally periſh, no true or reall poſſibilitie of repentance during the whole courſe of this mortal life, be allotted by the everlaſting irreſiſtible decree; in what true ſenſe can God be ſaid to allow them a time of repentance? How doth our Apoſtle ſay, that *the bountifulneſs of God doth lead* or draw *them to repentance,* if the dore of repentance be perpetually mured up againſt them by his Irreſiſtible will?

If in ſuch as are ſaved, there never were from their birth or Baptiſm any true or reall poſſibilitie of running the wayes of death; the fear of Hell, or the declaration of Gods juſt judgements (if at any time they truely feare them) is but a vaine imagination, or groundleſs Phanſie, without any true cauſe or reall occaſion preſented to them by the immutable decree. Or if by his providence, they be at any time brought to fear hell,or the ſentence of everlaſting death:yet hath God uſed theſe but as bug-beares in reſpect of them though truly terrible to others. And Bug-bears, when children grow once ſo wiſe as to diſcern them from true terrors, do ſerve their parents to very ſmall purpoſe.

For mine own part, albeit I fear not the ſtate of abſolute reprobation, yet ſo conſcious am I to mine own infirmities, that I would not for all the hopes, or any joy, or pleaſure which this life can afford, abandon all uſe of the fear of hell, or torments of the life to come. But whatſoever the Tenor of my eſtate in mine own apprehenſion heretofore hath been, for the preſent is, or hereafter may be, I am (and I think ſhall ſo continue) abſolutely perſwaded, that the abſolute impoſſibilitie, whether of Apoſtaſie from Faith profeſſed, or of becoming true and Stedfaſt profeſſors, is the uſual Succeſſor, as hier by Conqueſt, of mixt poſſibilitie of becoming as well veſſels of wrath, as veſſels of mercy; *and è contrà.*

34. Upon this reall poſſibilitie of becoming *veſſels of wrath*, doth our Apoſtle ground thoſe admonitions, *Hebr*, 3. 12. 13. 'Take heed 'brethren, leaſt there be in any of you an evil heart of unbe'leif, in departing from the living God: But exhort one another 'daily, while it is called to day, leſt any of you be hardened through 'the deceitfulneſs of ſin. And again, Chapt. 4. v. 1. Let us therefore 'fear leſt a promiſe being left us of entering into his Reſt, any of you 'ſhould ſeem to come ſhort of it. Theſe and the like admonitions frequent in the *Prophets* and the *Goſpel*, ſuppoſe the men whom they admoniſh, to be as yet not abſolutely reprobated, but in a mutable ſtate; or in a ſtate ſubject to a mutual poſſibilitie of becoming *veſſels of wrath*, or *veſſels of mercy*; and by Conſequence, not altogether uncapable of that height of impietie unto which only the eternal and immutable decree hath allotted abſolute impoſſibilitie of repentance, or of ſalvation.

Upon the true and reall poſſibilitie of becoming *veſſels of mercy* ſuppoſed to be awarded by the eternal and Irreſiſtible decree to all partakers of the word and Sacraments, doth S. *Peter* ground that exhortation, 'Brethren, give diligence to make your calling and electi'on ſure: for if ye do theſe things, ye ſhall never fall. For ſo an en'trance ſhall be miniſtred unto you abundantly in to the everlaſting 'kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Ieſus Chriſt: 2 *Peter*, 1. 10, 11. The end of this exhortation was to bring his Auditors unto that full growth in grace and good works in this life, unto which abſolute impoſſibilitie of *Apoſtaſie* is as irreſiſtibly aſſigned, by the eternal and immutable decree, as final induration or impoſſibilitie of repentance is unto the full meaſure of iniquitie.

35. In what proportion theſe two contrarie poſſibilities may be mixt in all or moſt men, before they arrive at the point of abſolute impoſſibility either of *Apoſtaſie* or of repentance, we leave it to every mans private conſcience to gueſs or examine *groſſo modo*, and to infinite and eternal wiſdom exactly and abſolutely to determine. Unto whoſe examination we likewiſe in fear and Reverance referre it, whether the impoſſibilitie of repentance be abſolute or equal in all that periſh; or the impoſſibilitie of *Apoſtaſie* be abſolute and equal in all that are ſaved, at one time or other, before they depart hence: or whether the mutual poſſibilities of becoming *veſſels of mercy* or *veſſels of wrath*, may not, in ſome degree or other, continue their combination in ſome men until the very laſt act or exerciſe of mortal life.

But unto one and the ſame man until he come to one of theſe two full points or periods, God alwaies ſpeakes, (whether by his word preached or otherwiſe by his peculiar providence) as unto two: becauſe every ſuch man hath ſomewhat of the fleſh, and ſomewhat of the ſpirit. For men as they are the ſonnes of *Adam* are carnal; and Gods words are all ſpiritual, and alwaies leave ſome print or touch behind them, whereby the ſoul, in ſome degree or other, is preſently either hardned, or preſently mollified; or at leaſt diſpoſed to mollification or induration. Continual or frequent calcitration againſt the edge of this fierie ſword breeds a *Callum* or compleat *hardneſs*; or (as the Apoſtle ſpeaks) it *ſeares the conſcience.* But where in entreth, it cauſeth the heart to melt, and makes way for abundant mercie to follow after.

36. Men as yet not come to a fulneſs either of iniquitie, or of growth of Faith, are but children in Chriſt: and God ſpeaks to his children, while they are children, as wiſe and loving parents do to theirs. Now if a kind loving father ſhould ſay to one of his ſons, whom he had often taken playing the wag, *Thou ſhalt never have pennie of what is mine;* and to another whom he obſerved to follow his book or other good exerciſes well pleaſing to him, *Thou ſhalt be mine heire:* a man of diſcretion would not conſtrue his words (though affectionately uttered) in ſuch a ſtrict ſenſe, as Lawyers would do the like Clauſes of his laſt Will and Teſtament; but rather interpret his meaning thus; that both continuing in their contrary courſes, the one ſhould be diſinherited, and the other made heire. Though God by an Angell or voice from heaven ſhould ſpeake to one man at his devotions, *Thou ſhalt be ſaved;* and to another at the ſame time blaſpheming, *Thou ſhalt be damned:* his ſpeeches to the one were to be taken as a good encouragement to go forward in his ſervice; his ſpeeches to the other, as a faire warning to deſiſt from evil: and not as ratifications of immutabilitie in either courſe, not as irrevocable ſentences of ſalvation or damnation in reſpect of their individual perſons, but in reſpect of their preſent qualifications in whomſoever conſtantly continued. *Saul* the Perſecutor was a reprobate, or *veſſel of wrath:* but *Paul* the Apoſtle, a Saint of God, a *choſen veſſell,* It is univerſally true; *The ſeed of Abraham* or *Iſrael* was Gods people: and yet it is true, that the Jewes (though the ſeed of *Abraham* and ſonnes of *Iſrael*) were not partakers of the promiſe made to *Abraham.* For they became thoſe *Idumæans,* thoſe *Philiſtines,* and thoſe *Egyptians,* againſt whom Gods Prophets had ſo often threatned his judgements, whom they themſelves had excluded from Gods temple. One principal cauſe of their miſcarriage was their ignorance of the *Prophetical language,* whoſe threats or promiſes are alwayes immediately terminated, not to mens *perſons,* but to their *qualifications.* In their *Dialect,* only true *Confeſſors* are truly *Jewes;* every *hypocrite* or *backeſlider* is a *Gentile,* an *Idumæan,* a *Philiſtine.* None to whom God hath ſpoken by his prophets, were by birth ſuch obdurate *Philiſtines,* as had no poſſibilitie of becoming *Iſraelites* or true *Confeſſors.* The children of *Iſrael* were not by nature ſo Unregenerate ſonnes of *Abraham* as to be without all poſſibilitie of becoming *Amorites.*

37. The true ſcantling of our apoſtles up-ſhot, [*He will have mercy upon whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardneth,*] rightly taken, reacheth exactly to theſe points following, and no farther.

Firſt, to admoniſh theſe *Jewes* by Gods judgements on *Pharaoh,* not to ſtrive with their Maker, not to neglect the warnings of their peace, upon preſumption that they were *veſſels* of *mercy* by inheritance: ſeeing they could not pretend any priviledg able to exempt them from Gods general juriſdiction of *hardning whom he would,* (as well of the ſonns of *Abraham* as of the Ægyptians,) or of diverting thoſe beames of glory which had ſhined on them, upon ſome other nation.

It, ſecondly, reacheth to us *Gentiles*, and forewarns all and every one of us, by Gods fearful judgements upon theſe *Jews*, not to tie the immutabilitie of his decree for *election* unto any hereditarie, amiable national diſpoſition, much leſs unto the *Individual entities* of our perſons, as if it were like a chain of Adamant to draw us out of the womb into the grave, out of the grave into Paradiſe. Our Apoſtle makes a quite contrarie *Uſe* of this *Doctrine*, his *diviſion* of *hardning* and *ſhewing mercy* holds true (as hath been declared) in one and the ſame perſons; and every one of us, for this reaſon, is bound alwayes to faſten one eye as ſtedfaſtly upon *Gods ſeveritie* towards the *Jew*, as we do the other upon the *riches of his glory and mercy* towards our ſelves, ‘For if he ſpared not the natural branches, let us take heed leſt he alſo ‘ſpare not us, who have been hitherto the *Flower* and *Bud* of the *Gentiles*. ‘Behold therefore the goodneſs and ſeveritie of God: on them ‘which fell, ſeveritie; but towards thee, goodneſs, if thou continue ‘in his goodneſs: otherwiſe thou ſhalt be cut off. And they alſo, if ‘they bide not ſtill in unbeleiſe, ſhall bee grafted in: for God is able ‘to graft them in againe. The one aſpect breedeth *feare*, the other bringeth forth *hope*: and in the right counterpoiſe of *hope* and *feare* conſiſts that uprightneſs of mind and equabilitie of affections, without which no man can direct his courſe aright unto the *Land of promiſe* This manifeſtation of Gods mercy to one people or other, after a kind of equivalent viciſſitude perpetuated from the like revolution of his ſeveritie towards others, was the object of that profoundly divine contemplation, out of which our Apoſtle awaking, as out of a pleaſant ſleep, cryes out, ‘O the depth of the riches both of the wiſdome and ‘knowledge of God! how unſearchable are his judgements, and his ‘waies paſt finding out? *Rom.* 11. 33.

38. He that deſires to have his heart filled with ſuch a meaſure of joyful admiration as will ſeek a vent in theſe or the like unaffected ſerious exclamations, muſt feed his thoughts with contemplation of *divine attributes*; ſpecially with thoſe of *infinite duration or eternitie*, *of infinite wiſdom*, *of infinite goodneſs* and *love* to man. In all which I have adventured to tread a path for others to correct or follow upon trial; being aſſured of this, that without the knowledge of theſe generalities, nothing can be ſaid to any purpoſe in the particulars thus farre proſecuted, or in the like to be proſecuted more at large, when God ſhall grant leaſure aud opportunitie.

39. Theſe preſent diſquiſitions (though ſeeming curious, as the reſolution is truly difficult) have a vulgar and immediate uſe; yet not ſo vulgarly plain or common to all, as profitable to every particular Chriſtian not fully perſwaded of the certainty of his ſalvation.

The ſpecial aim of my meditations in this argument is, firſt, to deter my ſelf and others from all evil waies whatſoever; but eſpecially from thoſe peculiar and more dangerous ſins, which make up the full meaſure of iniquitie with greateſt ſpeed: Secondly, to encourage mine owne ſoule and others with it, to accompliſh thoſe courſes unto which the immutabilitie or abſolute certaintie of *election* it ſelf (which muſt in order of nature and time goe before our infallible apprehenſions of it) is inevitably predeſtinated by the eternal and irreſiſtible decree.

Theſe exhortations are more fit for popular ſermons, that ſuch points as hitherto have been diſcuſſed: whoſe diſcuſſion nevertheleſs hath ſeemed unto me very expedient, as well for warranting the particular uſes which I purpoſe (if God permit) to make out of the chapters following, as for giving ſuch ſatisfaction to my beſt friends as God hath enabled me to give my ſelf, concerning the Apoſtles intent and meaning in this ninth chapter.

40. If what I have ſaid ſhall happen to fall into any mans hands, which hath a *logical* head, and bears a friendly heart to truth (though otherwiſe no friend to me : yet) I preſume he will not be ſo uncharitable towards me, as to ſuſpect that I have intended theſe premiſſes to infer any ſuch diſtaſtful concluſions as theſe ; ‘ That election ſhould be *ex* ‘ *fide aut operibus prævisis*, for our faith or works ſakes ; That any man ‘ ſhould be more than meerly paſſive in his firſt converſion ; That the ‘ working of ſaving grace might be reſiſted; or laſtly, ‘ That in man be‘ fore his converſion, there ſhould be any ſpark of free will remaining, ‘ ſave only to do evil. Whoſoever will grant me theſe two Propoſitions [‘ That the unregenerate man hath a true freedom of will in doing evil,] and [‘ the eternal Creator a freedom of will in doing good :] I will engage my ſelf to give him full ſatisfaction, that no difference betwixt *Reformed Churches* concerning *prædeſtination* or *reprobation*, is more then verbal, or hath any other foundation beſides the ambiguity of unexplicated terms. The errors on all ſides grow only from pardonable miſtakings, not ſo much of truth it ſelf, as of her proper ſeat or place of reſidence.

C. Reader,

THis laſt Diſcourſe was publiſhed without the Authors conſent or knowledge; as he ſays, Book 9. chap. 12. margin. He that will compare, ſhall find very conſiderable meliorations in *this* now printed after an exact Copy : which alſo had a ſolemn Dedication prefixed. I feared theſe late Revolutions might have made the ritual publiſhing it prejudicial to the H perſons. Therefore have I placed it here, as in the Dark behind a Curtain ; where the Reader may have the ſame benefit, Though the Authors Friends have not either the honour intended, or the accidental prejudice.

To the two Noble Gentlemen, his much honoured Friends : Mr. *R. S.* and Mr. *E. S.* ſons to the *R. H. L. S.* The Bleſſings of this Life, and of the Life to come be multiplied.

Noble Sirs,

T*Here is no Argument in Divinitie, wherein every Soul that earneſtly ſeeks Salvation (or the avoidance of damnation,) ought in reaſon, to be more deſirous of ſatisfaction, than in the point of* Eternal Election *and* Reprobation. *Nor are Scholaſtick diſputes concerning theſe points in themſelves ſo dangerous, as they are made by ſuch as are more apt to abett Contentions ſet on foot, than able rightly to examine, whence the quarrel firſt began, upon what terms it ſtands, or how it may fitly be compoſed. In ſearching out the true ſenſe and meaning of whatſoever it hath pleaſed God to reveal, there can be no offence : in the manner of the ſearch we often offend. Diligence and accurate pains are alwaies commendable, as in every other Subject, ſo in this, wherein* Curioſity *is only dangerous : Howbeit* *whereſoever curioſitie of ſearch is dangerous, peremptory reſolutions (whether negative or affirmative) muſt needs be pernicious, ſeeing ſuſpenſion of Aſſent in difficult or controverſed caſes, is a property no leſs eſſential to true Faith, than firm adherence to divine truth known and acknowledged. And if the blame were beſtowed, in that proportion it hath been deſerved, amongſt the ſeveral Commentators upon the Scriptures prefixed to theſe diſcuſſions: the heavieſt burden would lye, not upon ſuch as make new Queries, but upon ſuch as have taken upon them to give abſolute determinations without accurate ſearch of the Apoſtles meaning: prepoſterouſly ſeeking to comprehend what they ſhould admire, and endeavouring to ſtir up affected admiration of that which every* Novice *might fully comprehend, were their reſolutions in this argument as orthodoxal, as they are peremptory.*

The end of theſe preſent queries is to find out a middle way how to maintain ſome principal concluſions of Reformed Churches (ſpecially concerning the ſervitude of mans Will; *the* nullity of merits *or of works foreſeen, and the* irreſiſtible efficacy of ſaving Grace:) *without aſſociation of thoſe* rigid premiſſes *which latter ages have invented for their maintenance, as* Aſtronomers *of old did* Epicycles, *and* Copernicus *of late the* motion of the Earth *for ſalving their Cœleſtial* Phænomena. *To pick quarrels with* antecedents *of good uſe, whereas the fault lies only in the* inference, *is a fault too common to Controverſie-writers in every age. And thus to ſpight an erroneous* Concluſion, *the foundations of many uſeful truths are often overthrown, and new falſe* principles *brought in their place, which will bring forth dangerous errors by faultleſs conſequences.*

I have often been enforced to ſeaſon my retired thoughts with ſighs or tears, whiles I beheld the factious oppoſitions of forraign Reformed Churches abetted, animated, and propagated by men whom God had placed as Byſtanders or unpartial Umpires; and bleſſed with all opportunities of making peace amongſt others, ſo they themſelves had been the ſons of peace. The parties here meant were Engliſh Divines, men freed by Gods eſpecial providence from all vicinity of publique adverſary or ſuch politick provocations as their forraign brethren were often miſled with. Some, or rather a great many, of no mean note have held it as a matter of conſcience, and affected it as a choice fruit of zeal, to preſs thoſe rigid opinions *upon their Auditors which the firſt Authors of them would never have conceived or quickly would have abandoned if they could with ſafe conſcience have ſubſcribed unto the* Engliſh Liturgie. *And in every truth this peculiar ſymptom of the crazed and ill-tempered Presbytery (I mean zealous adherents to* rigid Tenants of Reprobation) *hath been an eſpecial motive to withdraw many hands and pens from ſubſcription to our* Common-Prayer-Book *or* Book of Homilies. *It was a ſubject of much ſadder contemplation to ſee (as who ſees not that hath not reſolved to wink at the ſolœciſms of his good friends?) many Divines, well fitted and engaged for better imployments, become anxious ſollicitors for the admiſſion or rather intruſion of that very error into Reformed Churches, whoſe extirpation in the Synagogue, the prevention of whoſe propagation throughout the Churches of the Gentiles by him planted, was a great part of his labours who in ſacred labours, was more plentiful than any, than all his fellow Apoſtles.*

The attempt for this intruſion found no ſuch furtherance from the pretended Title of Ancient Orthodoxal Truth *as from preſent oppoſition to modern errors; As if the parties of whom I ſpeak had held it an Aphoriſm of ſacred Policy, to entertain any Heatheniſh, Jewiſh or Turkiſh Fugitives, able to do ſervice againſt the* Lutheran. *That ſundry Writers of greater note and name than here to be named by me, have (out of oppoſition to the* Lutheran) *given more ſuſpition of concurrence with the Stoick, the modern Turk, or Jews that* *lived in our Apoſtles time, than the* Lutheran *doth of any concurrence with the* Papiſt *or other Heretick whatſoever : I ſhall be able to inform him that will friendly and privately debate this ſeeming* Paradox *with me, whether by writing or by word of mouth. But, as the world now is ſet, openly and publickly to confront a countenanced error, would breed greater diſſention between brethren in profeſſion and affection, then the unſeaſonable publication of truth, (ſpecially by ſo mean a meſſenger of truth as myſelf) could recompence :*

Dum furor in curſu eſt currenti cede furori

It is one thing to give the way unto ſuch fierce oppoſitions as daily meet us, and another to be carried headlong with them or to follow them, as their Patrons too often follow Princes Courts, that is, as we ſay afar off.

Whilſt I was an Artiſt I liked the old Preſcript well [Loquendum cum multis, Philoſophandum cum paucis.] *The medicine a little corrected, is not much amiſs in Divinity.* [Theologizandum cum paucis, non loquendum contra multos] *unleſs it be unto ſome few, and thoſe no parts of the multitude or vulgar ſort, either for judgment or affection. Amongſt my choiſeſt acquaintance and moſt reſpected friends, I had no choice left, in competition with your ſelves, to whom in all congruity, I rather ought, or more ſafely might communicate, what I conceive of this or other like points of Divinity more neceſſary to be enquired into by ſuch as are intelligently ingenious, than expedient to be publiſhed or communicated without diſtinction of Times and Perſons. For of my choiceſt meditations heretofore, either publiſhed or privately peruſed, I have ever liked the impreſſion much better, whileſt I lookt upon it in your diſpoſition and converſation, than whileſt I read it in mine own papers, or from the Preſs.* Vos eſtis Epiſtola mea : *of all my labours in the Miniſtery I have reapt no comfort like to this : That it hath pleaſed God to uſe me ſometimes as a waterer of thoſe precious ſeeds unto which he himſelf hath given plentiful encreaſe : and to with-hold any thing, that my conſcience tells me may yield wholſome nouriſhment, (though but rudely and homely dreſſed (as this ſmall preſent is) unto thoſe ſacred Plants which the right hand of our heavenly Father hath planted in your breſts, were to rob my ſelf of my chiefeſt joy. Thus I have adventured in a Caſe (as it is commonly apprehended) of great danger to be your Taſter, being more willing (as I know you are perſwaded of me) to drink the deadlieſt bodily poyſon that could be miniſtred unto me, than willingly to infect your ſouls with any poyſonous doctrine. Howbeit I proffer not theſe brief Receipts as Mountebanks do their druggs, or Tradeſmen their wares upon Oath or confident Aſſeverations, but rather refer them to the farther trial of your leſs partial more judicious taſte, faithfully promiſing on my part all readineſs to recal, amend, or alter whatſoever upon better examination ſhall be found amiſs ; whether in the* Matter, *the* Method, *or* Manner *of ſpeech.*

And upon theſe Terms I intereſt you by theſe preſents in other Treatiſes of this Argument, all which I have purpoſely conſecrated as a Memorial Pledge *of thoſe kind references which heretofore have been betwixt us, of that reſpect which I will ever bear unto your perſons ; and of the honour due (from me eſpecially) to your virtues. VALETE.*

From my Study in
Corpus-Chriſti Colledge,
Jan. 1. 1619.

Yours ever in all Love
and obſervance

THOMAS JACKSON.

SECT.

SECT. VII.

A Treatiſe concerning the Acts or Exerciſes of the *SON* of *GOD* his everlaſting Prieſthood.

OR,

Conteining the Manner or Meanes by which the Son of God, through the continual Exerciſe of his everlaſting Prieſthood in his heavenly Sanctuary, doth now De Facto, *ſett* Free indeed, *all ſuch as ſeek for the working out of their own Salvation with fear and Trembling.*

CHAP. XLIII.

1. THe Manner how the *Sonnes of Adam* are ſet *Free* by the *Sonne of God*, hath been in part heretofore, or rather the Firſt part of this *Freedom* hath been declared at larg in the Eighth Book of theſe Commentaries, Sect. 2. Chap. 6. &c. Amongſt other *Qualifications* of the Son of God incarnate for deſtroying the works of the Divel, it was a *Special One*, That he ſhould take upon him the *Form of a Servant*, to the End he might without any wrong to His Perſon, or any injuſtice done upon his Humane Nature by God the Father, Dye the death of a *Servant*, that is, the Death of the Croſs, and by ſuch death and ſufferings pay the full Ranſome of all Mankinds Redemption and ſet us all *Free de jure*. The main buſineſs yet remaining to be diſcuſs'd is [*Concerning the Manner, the ſeveral Waies or Means by Which he doth de Facto ſett Free indeed (that is, Perfectly;) All ſuch as ſeek to work out, or rather induſtriouſly labour for the working of their own Salvation with Fear and Trembling.*] That is, (I take it) with ſuch *Fervent prayers* and Supplications to God the Father *through Him*, and by *Him*, as He tendred for Himſelf in his *Agonie*, or in the dayes of his *Conſecration* to that *Everlaſting prieſthood* which he now exerciſeth in the *Heavenly Sanctuary*, where he now *ſitteth at the right hand of God the Father*.

2. With the *Manner* of Chriſts ſitting at the Right hand of the Throne of Majeſtie I am reſolved not to meddle in this Book; the *Manner* of his ſitting there being no *Article* of our Faith, nor any of the moſt uſefull *Appertenances* (as I conceive it) to that *Grand Myſterie of his exaltation as Man* above all Powers and Principalities. St. *Auſtin's* anſwer unto *Dardanus* who (as farr as my reading ſerves me) firſt moved that *Curious Queſtion* which of late hath much troubled the Church; [*Whether Chriſts ſitting at the Right hand of God the Father include any UBIQUITARY PRESENCE of his Humanity*] doth very will ſatisfie me and I intreat the ingenous Reader, it may (for this time) ſuffice him: till it pleaſe God that he ſee more.*

See the ninth Book, Sect. 6 Chap. 39.

* In the 11. Book, not yet printed.

The ſum of this *reverend Fathers* Anſwer is, ‘That the *Seſſion* of Jeſus Chriſt the Son of God *at the right hand* of the Throne of Majeſty is ‘to be extended neither further nor ſhorter then to the place, or hea‘venly places, whence he ſhall *come to judge the Quick and the Dead*. From much better Authority then St. *Auſtin's*, or any Viſible Church repreſentative here on Earth, either *in*, or *ſince* his time, we are taught and enjoyned to believe, That the Son of God by whom the world was made, ſitteth now in *Our Nature* at the right hand of the *Almighty Creator* and that this his Seat, is in the Heavenly Sanctuaries which are not made with hands (as the firſt Tabernacle in the wilderneſs, and as the Temple at *Jeruſalem* were ;) that He ſitts there as the *High Prieſt of our Soules* continually exerciſing his Function for accompliſhing the Redemption or *Freedom* of all ſuch as are Capable of it ; giving all men a *Competent Time*, (the definite extent whereof is only known to God and to himſelf) for their Repentance and Converſion unto him. Only thus much we know indefinitely, that there he ſhall Sitt as our High Prieſt *until* the *Enemies* of his Goſpel and deſpiſers of his Prieſthood be made his *Footſtool* ; that is, until the iniquity of the retchleſs part of mankind, and the number of ſuch as are predeſtinated unto eternal life be accompliſhed. This Glaſs being run he will appear *as King* to give Royal Sentence upon all ſuch as ſhall be alive at his coming, or have been dead before, and render to every man according to his Works. Thus much we may learn from our *Apoſtle in the eighth and ninth Chapters of that Divine Epiſtle to the Hebrews*, which I have propoſed as my Guide or Mapp for my ſafe Conduct through this Treatiſe *Concerning the power and continual Exerciſe of Chriſts Prieſthood in his heavenly Sanctuary.*

CHAP. XLIV.

The Coherence of the eighth Chapter to the *Hebrews*, with the ſeven preceding, and two following.

The Exact Proportions *or* Parallels, *Betwixt the* Mundane Tabernacle *with the two Sanctuaries therein, and the* Cœleſtial *with thoſe in it; betwixt the Manner or Rites in the Conſecration of the One and the other: Betwixt the High Prieſts of the Old Teſtament, and Chriſt our only High Prieſt of the New: intimated in This, explicated in the following Chapters.*

HEBR. CHAP. VIII.

Verſe 1. *Now of the things we have ſpoken this is the Summe, we have ſuch an High Prieſt who is ſett on the Right hand of the throne of Majeſtie in the Heavens.*

Verſe 2. *A miniſter of the Sanctuary and of the true Tabernacle which the Lord pitched, and not Man.*

1. These words have a *double Reference* ; The *One*, unto that which he had ſaid in the ſeven Chapters Precedent ; the *Other*, unto ſome Paſſages following in this eighth, ninth, and tenth, &c. Of the *doctrinal parts* of the ſeven Chapters precedent, and of the *Myſteries* contained in them, it hath been my Lot to treat in former Bookes of theſe Commentaries, and as the matters handled in them did miniſter occaſion, upon a great part of the firſt Chapter, upon ſome principal paſſages in the ſecond and third ; upon the moſt part of the fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh, the Reader may find what I did conceive to be moſt uſefull for his inſtruction or meditation, in the ſeventh, eighth, and ninth Bookes of the Commentaries.

2. The *Places* whereunto the Firſt Verſe of this Eighth Chapter hath *more ſpecial Reference*, are the foure firſt verſes of the firſt Chapter, *God who at ſundry times, and in divers manners ſpake in times paſt unto the Fathers by the Propets, hath in theſe laſt dayes ſpoken unto us by his ſon, whom he hath appointed heir of all things by whom alſo he made the worlds. &c. Who when he had by himſelf purged our ſinnes ſate down on the right hand of the Majeſtie on high: being made ſo much better then the Angels, as he hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name then they. &c.*

But unto which of the Angels ſaid he at any time ſit on my right hand, untill I make thine enimies thy footſtool? ver. 13. *Another place (whereunto the ſame words* Chap. 8. 1. *referre, moſt to be obſerved as a principal Pillar of our* Beleif *concerning the heavenly Sanctuary wherein Christ ſits on the right hand of God) is that*; Chap. 6. ver. 19, 20. *Which hope we have as an Anchor of the ſoul both ſure and ſtedfaſt, and which entereth into that within the vail, whither the fore-runner is for us entred, even Jeſus made an High-Prieſt for ever after the order of Melchiſedeck.*

3. With this laſt paſſage of Chap. 6, the *Myſteries* contained in the in the 8, 9, and tenth chapters do moſt immediatly accord. *Myſteries* I am bold to ſtyle them, (though ſome interpreters make them no more then *Metaphors*, or unhandſome *Rhetorical Tropes*) becauſe the matters contained in them are expreſſed in *Divine Allegories*, which (as hath been obſerved before) do herein farre exceed Allegories meerly Rhetorical or concerning matters Secular, in that they alwayes afford *Concludent Proof*, that is, true Arguments of Real Proportions. The Principal *Termes* or Real *Subjects of Proportions* in the 8, and ninth chapters of this Epiſtle are theſe following; *The Earthly or mundan Tabernacle, and the Cœleſtial; The Two Sanctuaries contined in the earthly tabernacle, and the two heavenly ſanctuaries which in proportion anſwer to them: The ſeveral manner of dedication or Conſecration of all theſe ſanctuaries: The ſeveral manner or rites uſed in the dedication of all theſe ſanctuaries: The diſtinct offices of the High Prieſt, and Ordinary Prieſts of the old Teſtament or Coveant, and of the Only High-Prieſt of the New.*

4. In the earthly Tabernacle framed and pitched by *Moſes*, and ſo likewiſe in the Temple of *Jeruſalem* projected by *David* but finiſhed and conſecrated by *Salomon* his ſon there were *Two Sanctuaries* or *Holy Places: One*, into which the Ordinary Prieſts were by precept to enter every day; The *Other* into which it was lawful for none ſave for the *High-Prieſt* alone to enter, and that but *Once every Year*. Now this earthly or mundane Tabernacle (which contained theſe two Sanctuaries) being erected by Gods ſpecial Command unto *Moſes*, according to the Patern which had been ſhewed him in the mount; it is a clear Caſe from our *Apoſtles* Authority and Expoſition of *Moſes*, that, *Both theſe Sanctuaries* or Holy Places made with hands, were but *Types* or ſhaddowes of two Sanctuaries, not made with hands but prepared or Created by God himſelf in the Heavens. ‘Every High Prieſt is ordained ‘to offer gifts and ſacrifices, wherefore it is of neceſſitie that this ‘Prieſt have ſomwhat alſo to offer; For if he were on earth he ſhould ‘not be a Prieſt, ſeing that there are Prieſts that offer Gifts according ‘to the Law: who ſerve unto the example and ſhaddow of Heavenly ‘things, as *Moſes* was admoniſhed of God when he was about to make ‘the Tabernacle. For See (ſaith he) that thou make all things accor‘ding to the Patern ſhewed to thee in the mount. Heb. 8. 3. 4. 5. Theſe words contain a *Fundamental Principle*, which were yet exactly ſurveyed; and a *Profound Myſterie*, which, were it *well ſounded* would guide us to the diſcovery of many more throughout this Epiſtle, and afford much variety of admirable Conſequences to every Learned, or how ever, matter in ſtore, of Admiration to every Ingenuous Reader.

5. To give ſome Hints unto the one, and directions unto the other: The *heavenly Sanctuary* repreſented by the *moſt Holy place* (or that which they call *Sanctum Sanctorum*) in the earthly Tabernacle or material Temple, as is evident from our Apoſtle, Chap. 1. Was that heavenly Sanctuary whereunto our High Prieſt Chriſt Jeſus is entred

Once for all, and wherein he continually exerciſeth his *Everlaſting Prieſthood. And after the ſecond Vail,* (*was*) *the Tabernacle which is called the Holieſt of all, which had the golden Cenſer and the Ark of the Covenant overlayed round about with gold, wherein was the golden pot that had manna, and Aarons rod that budded, and the Tables of the Covenant and over it the Cherubims of Glorie ſhaddowing the Mercy-ſeat: of which we cannot now ſpeak particularly. Now when theſe things were thus ordained, the Prieſt went alwayes into the firſt Tabernacle; accompliſhing the ſervice of God, but into the ſecond went the High Prieſt alone once every year, not without bloud, which he offered for himſelf and for the errors of the people. The Holy Ghoſt this ſignifying, that the way into the Holieſt of all was not yet made manifeſt* (that is, not yet opened, but cloſe ſhut) *while as the firſt Tabernacle was yet ſtanding.* Heb. 9. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8.

6. But unto whom was the way into the *Moſt Holy Place* ſo ſhut? unto men only as unto *Enoch* and *Elias,* or unto the ſouls of Patriarchs, of prophets or of other Saints deceaſed? or unto all beſides the ſon of God, the holy Angels not excepted?

CHAP. XLV.

That the Souls of Righteous Men, Abraham, *&c. were in a Bliſsfull heavenly manſion before; But after* The Kingdom of Heaven *was perfectly ſet up and* open to all Believers By *Chriſts placing* As man *at the Right-Hand of God, Their Condition was Bettered.*

1. WEre not the ſouls of righteous men, of abraham, of David, of Patriarchs, of prophets in a place of Bliſs or in heaven it ſelf before our Saviour's Aſcenſion thither? I make no Queſtion but they were eſtated in ſome *Bliſſeful heavenly Manſion.* For it is not to be ſuſpected that *Abraham* from the day of his death was not as near unto the throne of Majeſtie, and in a place of as great Happineſs as the Penitent Malefactors ſoule was admitted into, ſome few howers after his torments upon the Croſs were ended. Now the place whereunto he was in ſoul admitted the ſame day he dyed, was a *True Paradiſe,* not that Terreſtrial *Paradiſe* which *Adam* loſt; much leſs any Region under the Earth, or concavity in the Earth, as ſome have imagined that which they call *Limbus Patrum* to be: but that *Cœleſtial Manſion* which the Firſt earthly *Paradiſe* did repreſent: *That,* into which *Adam,* if he had not forfeited his eſtate in the firſt *Paradiſe,* ſhould in good time, it may be, have been tranſlated in Body. That *Abraham* was in a place of *Bliſs,* and of reward or Recompence according to the righteouſneſs of his ways, is clear from the Parable of *Lazarus,* whoſe ſoule was carryed by the *Angels,* not into any *Subterraneal Vault* (of which or like places the holy *Angels* are no officers or attendants) but into *Abrahams Boſome.* So all Engliſh Tranſlations render that place without any diſſent or diſcord to the Greek or Latine; from neither of which, notwithſtanding, this ſenſe or ſignification of the word can be concludently inferred. For *Sinus* in Latine or κόλπος in Greek do ſignifie or import as well that which we call in Engliſh a *Bay,* a ſafe *Rode* or Harbor for ſhips, as a *Boſome.* And with the warrant of the moſt learned and Punctual Interpreters of the Scripture amongſt the Greek Fathers, that place, Luke 16. ver. 22. [Ἐγένετο δὲ ἀποθανεῖν τὸν πτωχὸν, καὶ ἀπενεχθῆναι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ Ἀβραάμ·] May be rendred thus, that *the ſoul of Lazarus was carried or waſted*

wafted by the angels into the Bay of Abraham, that is, into ſome one of thoſe heavenly places wherein the ſouls of *Abraham* and other righteous men did reſt, as ſhips in a ſafe Bay or Harbor, freed from all dangers of wind and other annoyances, expecting time or opportunitie to arrive or to be tranſported into the *Royal Seat* or Haven of bleſſedneſs, (which, as hath been ſaid) was *not open* or paſſable untill the *King of glorie* did enter into it. So that *Abraham* and many others were bleſſed in ſoul in thoſe heavenly Harbors into which they were wafted or ſafely conducted by the *Angels*, but did not, but poſſibly could not, receive the accompliſhment of ſuch bliſs, as the humane ſanctified ſoul, though ſeparated from the body is capable of, until the Son of God did enter into the *holy place* not made with hands; that is, not till his *Aſcenſion* both in Body and Soul into the higheſt Heaven; not before his Enthronization in his Seat of Majeſtie at the Right-hand of God the Father.

2. The truth of this laſt Aſſertion [*Albeit Abraham were in a bleſſed Haven: yet the Anchor of his Hopes did not approch the true Seat of Bliſs before our Saviours Aſcenſion*] may be inferred from our Apoſtle, Heb. 6. 19, 20. *This hope we have as an anchor of the ſoul both ſure and ſtedfaſt* (ἀσφαλῆ τε καὶ βεβαίαν) *and which entereth into that within the Vail, whither the fore-runner is for us entred, even Jeſus, made an high prieſt for ever after the order of Melchizedeck.* As alſo from another place much miſtaken by ſome of the *Ancients* and not well tranſlated by many modern Interpreters, Heb. 11. 39, 40. *All theſe* (of which number *Enoch Abraham*, and *Moſes* were three principal ones) *having obtained A Good Report through Faith received not the promiſe, God having provided ſome better thing for us that they without us ſhould not be made perfect.* That is, ſhould not be *Conſecrated* to be *Kings* and *Prieſts*, before ſuch of the faithful as lived at the time of our Saviours Aſcenſion were *Conſercated* with them. And in this ſenſe that of St. *Ambroſe* (with whoſe Expreſſions of this *Myſterie* many in our times have been altogether cauſeleſly much offended) [*when thou hadeſt overcome the ſharpneſs of death thou dideſt open the kingdon of heaven to all Believers.*] ought to be taken. Nothing can be more plain or more Concludently proved from our Saviours own words and his Apoſtles Comments on them, than this, That, *The Kingdom of Heaven* it ſelf was not *Erected*, was not eſtabliſhed untill that *Jeſus*, whom the Jews had Crucifyed, was made both *Lord and Chriſt*, and placed as Man at the Right Hand of his Father.

3. To dilate further upon this point for this Preſent I dare not, leſt I ſhould loſe my way, or forget to return to the other Paralled propoſed, to wit, [*What heavenly Manſion or Sanctuary the firſt Part of the earthly Tabernacle, or Court, whereinto the ordinary Prieſts went every day, did repreſent or foreſhaddow?*] I ſhall not treſpaſs againſt any *Article of Faith*, or Rule of interpreting Scriptures, nor I hope offend any ingenuous Conſcience, by delivering my Opinion in a point wherein the Scripture (as I conceive) is ſilent, or which can neither be enforced upon Us as any part of Chriſtian belief, nor Be refuted by any Rule of Faith To my apprehenſion of our Apoſtles meaning, Heb. 8. ver. 5. *That place* or Manſion in the heavenly Tabernacle wherein *Abraham*, *Lazarus* &c. did reſt, before *The Kingdom of heaven* was ſet *open to all Beleivers*, was That place or Court which *Atrium Sacerdotum*, the Court of the Prieſts in the firſt Tabernacle or in Salomons Temple, did Picture out unto us. Or, if the ſouls of the Faithful were not admitted into *That Place* before Chriſts death: we cannot allot a Lower or Outermer Manſion in heaven it ſelf than that, which *Atrium Congregationis*, that is, the

Tom. III.

Court of the Congregation in Salomons Temple, whereinto the Congregation of Iſrael which were no Prieſts were admitted and taught by the Prieſts, did repreſent. However it be, *That heavenly Manſion* or Sanctuary, which in proportion truly anſwered to the Sanctuary or Court of Prieſts in the material Temple, was no *ſuch happy Seat of Bliſs, before Chriſts Death, as it was made by it.* For by his *Bloud* it was finally *Conſecrated* or dedicated to be what now it is, *a True Temple,* which was the Second Parallel propoſed.

CHAP. XLVI.

A Parallel betwixt the Rites of Dedicating *the Tabernacle, the Veſſels, &c. with* Bloud of Beaſts; *And of* Conſecrating *the Heavenly Places with the moſt* Precious Blood of Jeſus Chriſt.

1. THe Place or Station for drawing this Parallel aright is Hebr. 9. *Neither was the firſt Teſtament dedicated without Bloud. For when Moſes had ſpoken every precept to all the People according to the Law; he took the bloud of Calves, and of Goates, with water, and Scarlet wooll and Hyſſop, and ſprinkled both the Book and all the people, ſaying, This is the blood of the Teſtament which God hath enjoined unto you. Moreover he ſprinkled with bloud both the Tabernacle and all the veſſels of the Miniſterie. And almoſt all things are by the Law purged with Bloud, and without ſhedding of bloud is no Remiſſion, Ver,* 18, 19, 20, 21, 22. All this he ſpeaks, according to the plain *Litteral Senſe* of the Law, concerning the Purifying or Conſecrating of the Earthly Tabernacle with its Veſſels or Implements. The *Myſtical Senſe* or meaning of the *Matters of Fact* or Practiſes performed by *Moſes* and *Aaron,* when they conſecrated the firſt Tabernacle with the *bloud of Bullocks and Gotes,* &c. is litterally explained unto us by this our *Apoſtle* in the verſes following. *It was therefore neceſſary that the patterns of things in the heavens ſhould be purifyed with theſe, but the heavenly things themſelves with better ſacrifices than theſe, ver.* 23. Theſe words admit no *Metaphors* or *Tropes*, but have their proper and *Real Logical Senſe.* The Argument is moſt punctually Concludent; [*The Similitude or patterns of heavenly things were purified with bloud: therefore the heavenly things themſelves, that is, the Cœleſtial Tabernacles were to be purged and conſecrated with the bloud of Chriſt our high Prieſt which is now entred into them for our Sanctification and final Redemption.*] To inquire what ſhould become of all our Saviours bloud whether ſhed in his Agonie or upon the Croſs, will ſeem I know *A Curious Queſtion*, ſpecially to ſlothfull Students in Divinitie. On the otherſide, it would argue a drowſie Fancie either voluntarily to imagine, or to be by others perſwaded, *That his moſt Precious bloud* being ſhed in ſuch abundance ſhould be like water ſpilt upon the ground, either ſwallowed up by the dry earth, or mingled with duſt, or diſperſed by the heat of the Sun and reſolved into vapours. Seeing every drop of it was truely *The bloud of God:* It can be no Sin to ſuppoſe, nay to believe, that *All of it was by his death, made, as his Body now is, Immortal;* that *All of it was preſerved entire and ſincere, and brought either by his own immediate power, or by the Miniſtery of his holy Angels into thoſe heavenly Sanctuaries, which were to be CONSECRATED by it, to be the Seats or Manſions of everlaſting bliſs unto all true Believers, and thus brought in at the time of his Entrance into Paradiſe in ſoul,* though not in Body, which was immediately after he had commended his Spirit unto his heavenly Father.

2. If unto all that hath been ſaid in this Argument, I ſhould further add, That the moſt precious blood of the Son of God which was ſhed for the Ranſom of our Sins in the *Garden* or upon the *Croſs*, and brought into the Celeſtial Tabernacle upon his death (whether reunited to his Glorified Body or glorified in it ſelf and preſerved apart from his body) doth ſtill retain an everlaſting Efficacy for the daily Purifying of our hearts and working Sanctification in us; I preſume the Intelligent or ingenuous Reader will interpret this *Aſſertion* rather for a *Point of ſpeculation*, not much thought upon by others, then any *Paradox* or *Heterodoxal Doctrine* of my own Invention. But of the true Vertual preſence, or Real Operation, of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt upon our Souls, in ſo great diſtance as is between the moſt high and moſt holy Celeſtial Sanctuary and theſe material Temples here on earth, wherein we Celebrate and Solemnize the memorie of his Death and paſſion, more punctually and more fully, if God ſhall be pleaſed to give leave, hereafter. All which I have here affirmed or intimated will uncontrollably follow from our Apoſtles Doctrine in this Epiſtle, and from other Paſſages of his Fellow Apoſtles. To begin with that of Heb. 9. 11. &c. *Chriſt being come an High Prieſt of good things to come, by a greater and more perfect Tabernacle not made with hands, that is to ſay, not of this building; neither by the blood of Gotes and Calves, but by his own bloud, he entred in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us. For if the blood of Buls and of Goates and of the aſhes of an heifer ſprinkling the unclean, ſanctifieth to the purging of the fleſh; How much more ſhall the blood of Chriſt, who through the Eternal Spirit offered himſelf without ſpot to God, purge your conſcience from dead works to ſerve the living God?* in this paſſage we have the true *Myſtical* or *Prophetical Senſe* of ſundry *Moſaical Rites* or ſacrifices plainly decyphered without *Metaphor* or Figure; the very Literal Hiſtorical or Civil ſenſe, of ſome of which, or of the Legal Precept which injoynes, or of the Rule for right uſing them, but a few Chriſtian Writers have duly conſidered or rightly underſtood. It ſhall ſuffice me to inſiſt upon the *Parallel* between ſuch *Moſaical Rites* as I underſtand with their right uſe or End, and the *Evangelical Myſteries* fore-pictur'd by them.

In the 11. Book.

CHAP. XLVII.

Before the fuller Draught of that Parallel (If the blood of Buls—and the aſhes of an Heifer—. Much more the Blood of Chriſt—) *treated on in the two next Chapters; The Apoſtles Tranſlating the Hebrew word* (*Berith*) *by* [Διαθήκη,] *is ſhewed to be, not a meer* Alluſion, *but of ſtrict* Proprietie.

1. THe Height and Depth of the *Myſteries* contained in theſe two verſes, Hebrews 9. 13, 14. cannot in this life be truly ſounded. And before I can ſurvey the *Surface of the Parallel* intended by our Apoſtle, I muſt endeavour to charm the Tongues and Pens of ſome ſawcie *Criticks* in theſe laſt Ages: Such for the moſt part are meer *Grammarians*, or men in whom Grammatical ſkill is too predominant. For of this Light kind of Learning that of our Apoſtle *Scientia inflat*, as *Ludovicus Vives* ſomewhere well obſerves, is moſt punctually or peculiarly true. And the man whoſe *Brain* is full of this ſkill, and whoſe *Breaſt* is empty of Morality or other ſolid and ingenuous Literature, is like a Pinnace ballaſted with Cork or ſome lighter Stuff bearing the Sayl of a Gallioun or Carack.

rack. And if this meer Verbal ſkill be matched with ſome ſleight Dialectical Terms, as with *Second Notions* or *Dichotomies*, theſe ſerve as Engines to ſet words, Dictated by the Holy Ghoſt, or the ſeveral ſignifications of one and the ſame word, at Oppoſition one to another; whereas they admit only ſome *Difference*, no way oppoſite but ſubordinate, or truly *Concordant.* Some of this Crue in the Romiſh Church (with whom I dare not avow that None in the Reformed Churches are participant,) have been ſo bold as to impeach the Author of this Divine Epiſtle (if not directly, yet by Neceſſary Implication) either of Ignorance in the Hebrew Dialect, or of ſuch fancies or delight to play with words, as have been too frequent in theſe Later Ages. For ſo they ſay that *St. Paul* (or who ever he were that was the Author of this Epiſtle) doth play with the *Hebrew* [*Berith*] when he tranſlates it, in this ninth Chapter or elſewhere, by the Greek [Διαθήκη] which primarily and properly ſignifies a *Teſtament* or diſpoſition of goods or inheritance bequeathed; whereas *Berith* doth punctually and formally ſignifie a *League* or *Covenant.*

2. All this notwithſtanding argues onely *ſome Diverſity* in the Signification or Interpretation of the words, no *Real Difference* or Oppoſition of the matter ſignified by them; no more (if ſo much) then is between *a Living Creature endued with Senſe*, and, A man or *Senſitive Creature endued with Reaſon.* Now though every Creature endued with ſenſe be not a man or reaſonable Creature, yet every man Eſſentially is a Creature endowed with ſenſe. The Connexion between theſe two words which ſome Criticks have ſet at Variance, to wit, between a *Covenant* and a *Teſtament*, is altogether as Eſſential and Formal as the former betwixt *a Man* and *a Senſitive Creature:* for albeit every *Covenant* be not truly and formally a *Teſtament*, yet every *Teſtament* truly ſo called, eſſentially is or includes a true and proper *Covenant.* So that one and the ſame word [*Berith*] in ſome places of the old Teſtament imports no more than the *Genus* or General ſignification, to wit a *Covenant:* In other places it neceſſarily imports a *Teſtamental Covenant*, and muſt be rendred, as the Apoſtle here doth, by Διαθήκη, that is *a Laſt Will or Valid Teſtament.* Our bleſſed Lord and Saviour (I beleive, and thoſe which impeach our Apoſtle in this place will not I hope, deny) did underſtand the meaning of the Hebrew [*Berith*] as it is uſed in that *Great Covenant* with the Iſraelites (whereof *Moſes* by Gods appointment was the mediator) Much better then any modern Grammarian Critick does. Now our Saviour inſtructs us that the *Covenant*, made by *Moſes* betwixt God and the Iſraelites, was a true and proper *Teſtament. This Cup* (ſaith he in the Inſtitution of the new Covenant) *is the new Teſtament in my bloud, which is ſhed for you.* And if this *new Covenant* (as *Ieremie* inſtyles it) were truely and properly a *Teſtament:* then queſtionleſs the *old Covenant* which God made with his people in the Inſtitution of the Paſſeover, & renewed by *Moſes* in the wilderneſs, was a *Teſtament* truly and properly ſo called, and ought to be tranſlated by the Greek Διαθήκη. All the Covenants which God made with his people whether concerning the Bleſſings of this life, or of the life to come were but Introductions, Parcels or Appendices unto the old and new Teſtaments.

3. Wherein then doth a *Teſtament* properly ſo called, exceed a naked *Covenant?* There may be, and uſually are many *Covenants* wherein there is no Free *Donation* of either partie Covenanting, but a mutual Reddition of *Quid pro Quo*, or (as ſome Civilians ſpeak) *Ratio dati & accepti:* And ſuch a Covenant or Act of *Commutative Juſtice*, cannot properly be conceived betwixt God and man or other creature: None of

which are able to give their Creator any thing which was not his own before,or which was not received from him by *Free Gift*.Every *Laſt Will* or *Teſtament* includes or preſuppoſeth a *Free Donation* of ſome Goods or Lands &c. by the Teſtator, though often times upon *Covenant* or ſubſequent Condition of Executing or performing the *Will* or *Teſtament*:otherwiſe the Legatee, or Executor, may forfeit his Eſtate or Intereſt in the Goods freely Bequeath'd unto him. And of this nature are both the old & new *Teſtaments*.Neither of them was *Abſolute* in reſpect of all that had Intereſt in the Bleſſings bequeath'd; which howſoever they were moſt freely bequeath'd,did tie ſuch as had Intereſt in them unto performance of ſuch *Conditions*, as being neglected or contemned by them might deprive them of the Inheritance or bleſſings bequeath'd. The Bleſſings bequeathed by *Moſes* (Gods Embaſſador both to *Pharaoh* and to his people: or,as the Apoſtle inſtyles him,*the Mediator of the old Teſtament*) were *Firſt*, The Deliverance of the ſons of Jacob from *Ægypt*; *Secondly* the inheritance of the Land of *Canaan*.The Bleſſings,bequeathed by the *Mediator of the new Teſtament* and ratified by his Blood, were, the Deliverance of mankind from the powers of darkneſs, and the inheritance of the kingdom of Light.

4.The *Parallel* between the Inſtitution of the *Paſſeover* and of the *Lords Supper*; or of the two Inheritances bequeathed, the one by *Moſes*. the other by *Chriſt*, is ſo plain that it needs no Comment. It only requires a diligent Reader or Hearer; or what is wanting on the ordinary Hearers part may be ſupplied by every ordinary Catechiſt before the receiving of the Sacramental Pledges. One point yet remaines more pertinent to the unfolding of our Apoſtles meaning.[Heb.9.ver.15. *And for this cauſe he is the Mediator of the new Teſtament, that by means of death, for the redemption of the tranſgreſſions that were under the Firſt Teſtament,they which are called might receive the promiſe of Eternal Inheritance. For where a Teſtament is, there muſt alſo of neceſſity be the death of the Teſtator. For a Teſtament is of force after men are dead: otherwiſe it is of no ſtrength at all while the Teſtator liveth.*] And it is this:As the *Iſraelites* did not enter upon the inheritance, or take poſſeſſion of the Land of *Canaan*, till after *Moſes* the *Teſtator* or *Mediator of the old Teſtament*, was dead: ſo neither was the *Kingdom of Heaven* our everlaſting inheritance *ſet open* to all or any Beleivers untill Chriſt Jeſus,the *Teſtator* or *Mediator* of the *new Teſtament*, was crucified, dead, buried,and rayſed again to immortal Glory. Since which time,as is the King,ſo is the Kingdom or inheritance bequeathed; ſo is the Teſtament it ſelf,being ſealed by his bloody death; *All and every of them, Truly Everlaſting.*

CHAP. XLVIII.

The Parallel between the moſt Solemn Services of the Law and The One Sacrifice of Chriſt. And,The high præeminence and efficacie of This *in compariſon of* Thoſe.*The Romaniſts Doctrin*[*that in the Maſs Chriſts Body is Identically Carnally preſent, and that there is a proper Sacrifice Propitiatorie offered*]*derogates from the Abſolute Perfection of Chriſts offering himſelf once for all.*

1. THe principal Termes of proportion in this *Parallel* which ſerve as ſo many ſeveral *Kens* or Markes for the right ſurvaying of it, are The ſervices of the Law, or the Offices of Legal Prieſts, and the Perpetual Function of our High Prieſt, The ſervices of the Law where-

in our Apoſtle inſtanceth, are the Principal and moſt Solemn Sacrifices, which were injoyned to the Prieſts after the order of *Aaron*. the *One Sort* whereof were *Anniverſaries*, as of Bullocks, and Gotes and to be offered every year upon *the day of Attonement*, and ſo to be offered from the Firſt Erection of the *Tabernacle* in the wilderneſs, ſo long as the Law of Ceremonies was *de Jure* to continue, until our Saviours death upon the Croſs: ſince which time all bloody Sacrifices have loſt their *Legal Vſe*. The *Other* ſervice was That Sacrifice of the *Red Heifer*, and the Conſecration of water by the ſprinkling or mingling her Aſhes; which perhaps was not Anniverſary, nor often put in practice from the time of *Moſes* his Death until the Aſcenſion of our Saviour into heaven.

Now our Apoſtle takes it as granted, that if theſe *choice Sacrifices*, of *Attonement*, and of the *Red Cow*, were altogether unſufficient to purifie the Hearts and Conſciences, or the Souls and Spirits of ſinful men; the Ordinary or meaner ſacrifices of the Law were much more *unſufficient* to all ſuch purpoſes as the Sacrifice of our high Prieſt was *All-ſufficient* and moſt Efficacious for. The *Eminency* of Chriſts bloody Sacrifice upon the Croſs (in reſpect of all Legal ſacrifices of what rank ſoever) conſiſteth, *Firſt* in the Efficacy which it had and hath for Remiſſion of all ſins committed againſt the Moral Law of God; that is, of all ſuch ſins as immediately pollute the reaſonable Soul and Conſcience. The leaſt degree of ſuch Purification no Legal Sacrifices could immediatly effect, reach, or touch. To what Uſe then did they directly ſerve? or what was the proper *Effect* unto which they were immediately terminated? That was the Purification of mens Bodies from meer Legal uncleanneſs; that is, from all ſuch negligences, Ignorances, or Caſual Occurrences as not being expiated by the Prieſt did exclude the parties ſo offending from the Tabernacle of the Congregation; Or (as our Apoſtle ſpeaks) to *Purifie* them for ſuch *uncleanneſſes of the fleſh*, as did but foreſhadow or picture the *uncleanneſs of the ſoul*, or the dead works of ſin, All which, being not expiated by a more excellent Prieſt then any was after the other of *Aaron*, will exclude all from entring into the heavenly Tabernacle.

2. Such Legal uncleanneſs, as did exclude the Parties polluted with it from the Tabernacle of the Congregation, was many ways contracted; as by touching of the dead; by eating of Meats forbidden by the Law; or by not eating meats allowed of by the Law according to the Rule or Preſcript for ſuch Ceremonial Services; or by the like Omiſſions or Practiſes which were not in their own nature or *to all men* ſinful, but ſinful in the *Seed of Jacob* only, to whom they were *Evil only becauſe forbidden*, not *forbidden becauſe they were evil* in their own nature. Even in regard of ſuch ſhadows or Typical Offices for Purifying men Legally unclean, the beſt and moſt ſolemn Sacrifices of the Law (though offered once at leaſt every year, and otherwiſe as often as dayly Occaſions or Occurrences did require) were no way ſo efficacious or Effectual, as the *One Sacrifice* of the Son of God offered by himſelf but *Once* for all, is for the perpetual *purifying* of our Souls from the *Dead works* of ſin, and for our *Conſecration* to the everlaſting ſervice of the everliving God, which is that *Freedom indeed* wherewith his only Son hath promiſed to *ſet all ſuch Free*, as Believe in his Name and *Abide in his word*, John 8.

3. The Eminencie of Chriſts Prieſthood and Sacrifice, above the Prieſthood and Services of the Law is deeply wronged by the Doctrine and Practiſe of Secular and Regular Roman-Catholick Prieſts, as they do term themſelves; and ſo is our Apoſtles Doctrine in the ninth and tenth Chapters to the Hebrews, more peremptorily contradicted by them

then it was by the Incredulous or unbelieving Jews, in his life time. The *Weſtern AntiChriſt* (ſo the *Lutherans* diſtinguiſh them) hath in this particular ſo farr outbid the *Antichriſt of the Eaſt*, that if ὁ ἄνομος ὁ ἀντίχειστος, that *Law-oppoſer* or *man of ſin* were to be followed cloſe with *Howant-Cry*, or his Footſteps to be traced for theſe nine hundred years, by the Chriſtian Kingdoms or States, the Chaſe and Cry would ſooner fall into *Rome* or *Trent* then into *Conſtantinople*; though *That*, no queſtion, be now the ſeat of *Gog and Magog* or of the *Eaſtern Antichriſt*. That *Contradiction of Sinners*, which our Saviour Chriſt did *indure* here on Earth, Heb. 12.3. improved by the *Roman Church* in later dayes, againſt all ſuch as rightly believe in him, ſpecially againſt ſuch as duly adminiſter his holy Sacraments, many with its improvement be concludently inferred by the *Tenents* and daily *practiſes* of that *Church, both* which are as punctually and as fully contradictory to the Doctrine of the Author of this Epiſtle, Chap. 9. and. 10. and to many other principal *Maxims* of Chriſtian Religion, as any Doctrine, Tenent, or Practiſe can be one to another. *For the Law having a ſhadow of good things to come, and not the very image of the things, can never with thoſe Sacrifices which they offered year by year continually, make the Comers thereunto perfect. For then would they not have ceaſed to be offered, becauſe that the worſhippers once purged ſhould have had no more conſcience of Sins. But in thoſe ſacrifices there is a remembrance again made of ſins every year. For it is not poſſible that the bloud of Bulls and Gotes ſhould take away ſins, &c.* Heb. 10. 1, 2, 3, 4. *By the which we are ſanctified through the offering of the body of Jeſus Chriſt* ONCE FOR ALL. *And every Prieſt ſtandeth daily miniſtring and offering oftentimes the ſame ſacrifices which can never take away ſins. But this man* (or rather this *Prieſt*) *after he had offered* ONE SACRIFICE for ſins for ever, *ſat down on the right hand of God, from henceforth expecting till his enemies be made his footſtool. For by one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are ſanctified. Whereof the holy Ghoſt alſo is a witneſs to us: for after that he had ſaid before, this is the Covenant that I will make with them after thoſe days ſaith the Lord: I will put my Laws into their hearts, and in their minds will I write them: aud their ſins and iniquities will I remember no more. Now where Remiſſion of theſe is, there is no more offering for Sin*, ver. 10. to 18.

4. The force of our Apoſtles *Inference*, and the very Pith of his Diſcourſe throughout theſe Paſſages, preſented to the Readers View, doth more punctually refute the Doctrine of the *Romiſh Maſs*, then it did the *Contradicting Jews*, or other Blaſphemers of Chriſts Name and Office, either before or ſince this Divine Epiſtle was written. *The Pith and Marrow of all his Arguments conſiſts in This*; That even the beſt of Legal Sacrifices of ſervices (were they bloudy or unbloudy) were altogether Unſufficient to Purifie the Conſcience, could never take away ſin; Becauſe *They were to be Reiterated*, the beſt and moſt ſolemn of them every Year, and many of them every Day, others as oft as Caſual Occaſions did require. Now if this Argument be Concludent (as no Chriſtian can denie it to be) againſt the Jews which pleaded for the *Sufficiencie* of Legal Sacrifices, it will conclude *a fortiori*, or with a πόσῳ μᾶλλον Heb. 9. 14. againſt the abſolute Perfection or Sufficiencie of our Saviours Sacrifice of himſelf (ſuppoſing that it ſhould be as the Romaniſts teach.) Thus much it will inevitably inferre, according to the Peremptory Canons of the *Roman* Church, which plainly teach, and under pain of damnation injoyn all Chriſtians to believe, that Chriſts Body and blood *That very ſame Body, that very ſame blood* which were *once offered* by himſelf upon the Croſs, are daily offered by the Maſs-Prieſt. Or, as if this

Tom. III.

were not enough, to out-vie the Jewiſh Synagogue in the Sin of Contradiction to Chriſt, they adde, that every ſuch offering *is a propitiatorie Sacrifice* as well for ſome that be dead, as for the living. And I think ſuch Oblations as they make, do the one ſort as little good or as little harm as they do the other, unleſs they ſollicite the Prieſt to make this kind of Attonement for them. But to ſuch ſollicitors or Executors of ſuch Sollicitations both Doctrine and practiſe muſt needs create as great danger as any Hereſie, or Branch of Contradicting Infidelitie hath done or can do to the mainteiners of it. This Branch of the Roman Churches Doctrine doth as punctually Contradict that Fundamental Doctrine, Heb. 9. 13 [*If the bloud of Bullocks and Goats, &c.*] as it doth the forecited Paſſages, Heb. 10.

5. But the authorized practiſe of conſecrating their *Holy water* for remiſſion of ſins and Sanctification, is moſt palpably Contradictory to our Apoſtles meaning, or to the meaning of the holy Spirit in that other Inſtance of the *Water of Sprinkling*, wherein the Aſhes of the *Red Cow* were *Special Ingredients*, and gave the vertue and Tincture unto it, for purifying men from ſuch Legal uncleanneſs, as the beſt Ceremonies of the Law and *This water* in ſpecial was Conſecrated for. The Law for the Conſecrating *This water*, and the Uſe or Ends for which it was Conſecrated we have *Numb.* 19. The miſtaking of which place, and the groſs miſuſe of the like water ſolemnly conſecrated by that *Canonical Authoritie*, which the Romiſh Church doth challenge over all other *Churches*, is ſet down in ſuch plain terms, that no honeſt hearted *Roman Catholick* ſpecially of the *Engliſh, Scotiſh, Netherlandiſh* or *German Nation*, if he be able to read the New Teſtament in his own Native Language, but he will be either heartily ſorry for *Alexander the fifth* who made this Canon, or at leaſt aſhamed that their Forefathers ſhould approve it, or that it ſhould be practiſed by their Inſtructers, if they would permit them to have the reaſon of the *Canon* or Decree rightly tranſlated into a Language which they underſtand. The *Canon* with the Gloſs upon it is here tranſcribed in the ſame words wherein it was firſt conceived and publiſhed. *In Decreti 3. part. de Conſecrat. diſtinct. 3. C. 20. prout habetur in Corpore Juris Canonici, Juſſu Gregorii* 13. *Lugd. impreſſo, Anno* 1618.

6 *Aquam ſale* u *conſperſam populis benedicimus, ut eâ cuncti aſperſi ſanctificentur,* x *& purificentur. Quod & omnibus ſacerdotibus faciendum eſſe mandamus.* Nam *ſi cinis vitulæ* y *ſanguine aſperſus populum ſanctificabat,* a *atq; mundabat,* b *multo magis aqua ſale aſperſa diviniſq; precibus ſacrata populum ſanctificat atq; mundat. Et ſi ſale aſperſo per Heliſæum* c *Prophetam ſterilitas aquæ ſanata eſt, quanto magis divinis precibus ſacratus* † *ſal ſterilitatem rerum aufert humanarum, & coninquinatos* d *ſanctificat, mundat, atq; purgat, & cætæra bona multiplicat, inſidias diaboli avertit, & à Phantaſmatum verſutiis homines defendit ?*

Sic ſe habet Gloſſa in hunc locum.

Aquam Sale] *Hæc eſt decima pars diſtinſt. Secundùm* Jo. de Fant.

CASUS. *Queritur cur aqua cum ſale benedicatur ? Et reſpondetur, ut eâ homines aſperſi ſanctificentur. Cum enim in vetere Teſtamento cinis vitulæ ſanctificabat, & ſal per manum Heliſæi Prophetæ ſanavit ſterilitatem aquæ, multò magis aqua cum ſale benedicta omnia conſperſa purificat.*

u ¶ Aquam Sale] *Quia per aquam confeſſio, per ſalem amaritudo ſignatur & morſio unde hæc eſt miſtura unde geminus procedit partus, diviſio ſc. delictorum, & ortus virtutum & bonorum operum* 32. q. 1. c. Cum renuntiatur. *Hæc deſignata eſt per miſtionem Judæ, qui confeſſio dicitur ; & Thamar, quæ amaritudo dicitur ; (unde Phares diviſio, Zaran ortus, geminus ſc. partus provenit.* HU.

Hu, ſtands for Hugo Card.

x ¶ San

x ¶ Sanctificentur] *Quæritur quomodo aqua benedicta dicatur populum ſanctificare vel mundare.* ADDITIO. *Ad hoc poteſt reſponderi ſecundum id quod no: Su.* ea diſt. 2. c. Signum, in glo. 2. verſ. propter humilitatem, *&c. aliâs illa gloſſa ponitur*, ea. d. c. inſtitutio. ARCH.

Arch. for Archidiaconus, ſu. for ſupra, in. for infra. See Ch. 50. Num. 1.

y ¶ Cinis vitulæ] *Hiſtoria legitur in Levitico, quòd decimâ die Septembris tollebat ſacerdos de proprio vitulam rufam trimam & immaculatam quæ nondum portaverat Jugum, & immolabat eam pro peccato ſuæ domus: & hircum quem ſumebat ab univerſâ multitudine, immolabat pro peccato populi: Pelles & carnes & fimum vitulæ, & Hircum comburebat extrà, & cinerem ſervabat: & inde per totum annum fiebat aſperſio aquæ quâ purificabantur immundi de quibuſdam quæ in lege immunditiæ dicebantur: ut putà, ſi aliquis tetigiſſet cadaver hominis mortui vel Sepulchrum, erat immundus uſq; ad diem ſeptimam: & hâc a quâ mundabatur.*

a ¶ Sanctificabat] *Tunc ſanguis vitulæ fuit remiſſio peccatorum, ut* 12. q. 2. c. Gloria.

b ¶ Mundabat] *A venialibus. Su.* diſtinct. 50. c. in Capite. in. diſt. c. 4. nequaquam. *Nam ſacrificiis venialia delentur. Su.* d. 2. c. cum omne de pœn. diſt. 3. c. de quotianis. *Nam ſi qua tunc habebant, mortalia erant.* de pœn. diſt. 6. ca. 1. Circa medium. *PER HELISÆUM.*] *Hiſtoria legitur in lib. Reg. qà. cum Heliſæus eſſet in eremo, venerunt ad eum viri civitatis & dixerunt: Ecce habitatio hujus civitatis optima eſt, ſicut tu ipſe benè noſti, ſed aquæ peſſimæ ſunt & ſteriles. At ille ait: Afferte mihi vas novum, & mittite in illud ſalem: & ait: Dicit Dominus, & ſanavi iſtas aquas, & non erit ultrà in eis mors neque ſterilitas. Sanatæ ergo ſunt aquæ illæ uſq; ad diem hunc juxta verbum Heliſæi quod locutus eſt Dominus.*

c ¶ Per Heliſæum] *Inde eſt quod cum aqua exorcizatur dicit ſacerdos:* [Deus qui per Heliſæum Prophetam ſalem in aquam mitti juſsiſti, *&c.*]

d ¶ Et Coinquinatos] *venialibus tantùm.*

7. But wherein did the *Roman* Church ſo groſly miſtake the meaning of the Holy Ghoſt in that inſtance of the *Red Heifer*, *Heb.* 9. v. 13. Or, to what miſchievous inconvenience doth her practiſe unto this day, upon this miſtake amount? To no leſs inconvenience, to no lower degree of Antichriſtian Impiety then this, that the Legal Prieſts with their Ceremonies or Sacrifices ſhould be truer Types of every Maſs-Prieſt, whether of higher or lower rank, and of their ſervices, then of *Chriſt Jeſus* our high Prieſt, or of his everlaſting Sacrifice, and perpetual Function. Both which were and are performed by him in his own Perſon, not by any Deputies or Vicars. But to me it is no wonder, if that Church do make *Aaron*, *Eleazar*, and their Succeſſors rather Types of Maſs-prieſts then of Chriſt: ſeeing (as hath been obſerved before) they make *Melchiſedeck* himſelf (according to whoſe *Order* the ſon of God only was to be conſecrated *high-Prieſt*) a more lively Type of meaneſt Maſs-prieſts, then any true adumbration or ſhadow of Chriſt Jeſus; and the Service of the Maſs-prieſts at the Altar to be the accompliſhment of *Melchiſedecks* Prieſthood.

8. Had then the Anniverſary ſacrifices of Buls and Goats upon the Day of Attonement no reference or relation to the Sacrament of Chriſts Body and Bloud? Nor the water of ſprinkling mingled with the aſhes of the *Red Heifer*, no ſemblance with the Sacramental water of Baptiſm? Yes doubtleſs, both theſe Ceremonies had ſpecial Reference unto, and exact ſemblance with theſe two *Bleſſed Sacraments*: And yet were both of them ſhadows or Types only of Chriſts *Bloudy ſacrifice upon the Croſs*, and of the perpetual exerciſe of his *Everlaſting Prieſthood*, ſince he aſcended into his heavenly Tabernacle. Chriſt Jeſus only and his everlaſting Prieſt-hood is the very *Body or Solid ſubſtance* of all Legal Rites or ſervices: And of this

Body, the Anniverſary ſacrifices, whether of Attonement or others, were true Types or ſhadows. And of the ſame Body or ſubſtance, the Sacraments of his Body and Bloud, and of Baptiſm are ſomewhat *more then Types*; True Repreſentations of what is paſt, aſſured Pledges of all the Bleſſings promiſed to the Fathers and Patriarchs in the old Teſtament, and actually exhibited in a better manner, then they were to them, unto all Believers, ſince his entrance into the moſt *Holy Place*.

CHAP. XLIX.

That The *Forraign mainteiners of the more then* Fatal Irreſpective Rigid Decree *make Chriſt Jeſus rather a meer* Sacrifice *Then a True* Everlaſting Prieſt *acting for us, and daily working out our Reconciliation to God. So do ſuch as teach* [That the ſins of ſome were Remitted before they were Committed.] *Of the Super-Excellency of Chriſts Prieſthood and one Sacrifice in compariſon of* The Aaronical *Pr. and the many Services thereof.*

1. BUt here I muſt expect this or the like *Reply* from ſome *Interimiſts* or ſuch peaceable men as deſire a reconciliation betwixt *Ours* and the *Romiſh* Church: “If to celebrate the Sacrifice of the Maſs, that is, *So* to offer up Chriſts Body and Bloud or whole Chriſt upon the Altar, be a branch of Antichriſtianiſm or an implicit denial of Chriſts Everlaſting Prieſthood: will you undertake to acquit the reformed Churches (as you term them) from the like ſin or Sacrilegious opinions, or from robbing Chriſt of his Greateſt Honours *as He is Man*, which are, to be *King, Prieſt and Judge?* For any intire Reformed Churches or Chriſtian Soveraignty, whoſe *Publick Confeſſions* or authorized *Catechiſmes* it hath been my hap to Read, I know not one that is this way faulty: Nor do the bittereſt adverſaries of the *Gallican*, *Switzerland*, or *German* Churches, lay Antichriſtianiſm to the charge of their autorized *Canons* or Conſtitutions, Albeit they indict a great number of private Writers, Paſtors or Teachers in *Germany*, *France*, and *Switzerland*, many in *England* and more in *Scotland* for being devoted Members of the *Eaſtern Antichriſt*; the height of whoſe *Hereſie* or Infidelity, they place in the *Maintenance* of *That more then fatal irreſpective Decree*, in reſpect of *Which* all things (Chriſts death it ſelf not excepted) *be ſaid*, ſo *to* fall out, as that they could not fall out otherwiſe or be prevented.

2. For ſuch *private Writers* as have gone too far in the Points mentioned, in what Chriſtian Church ſoever they be, I leave them to anſwer for themſelves and for thoſe whoſe doctrine they follow. My purpoſe is only to requeſt my Brethren of the *Church of England* (however for the preſent they ſtand affected in theſe points) to take it into more deep and Logical Conſideration then hitherto it hath been taken by Engliſh Preachers or Writers; “Whether according to *Forrain Rigid Tenets* of Predeſtination, or of Gods abſolute irreſpective Decree for Election and Reprobation, (which came to us Engliſh at the third hand, as from *Zwinglius*, &c. which They had at the firſt, from *ſome ancient Romiſh Schoolmen*,) it be poſſible for us or them to maintein by any rational way; That our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt either now is, or hath been a true *Prieſt* or *Sacrificer*, rather then a *meer Sacrifice* predeſtinated from Eternity for taking away the ſins of the Elect only? Or whether ſuch, as They term *Elect from Eternity*, needed any Prieſt at all beſides God the Father who did deſtinate his Onely Son to be a Sacrifice or

“a mean neceſſary (though ſubordinate) for effecting the principal or “utmoſt end of his Decree; to wit, his own Glory by the ſalvation of “the Elect? My poor Capacity for theſe 34. years wherein I have lived a Miniſter, or Prieſt, of the Church of *England*, could never, nor yet can find any tolerable anſwer, or Evaſion, to free, ſuch as maintain the often-mentioned *Rigid Decree*, from theſe *Two Imputations*. *The One*, That they cannot truly or by any rational way acknowledge Chriſt to be a *Prieſt* after the Order of *Melchiſedeck*: The *Other*, That they cannot acknowledge him to be properly inſtiled ſuch a *Judge* as in our Creed we profeſs him to be. They will at length be enforced to borrow a more fit expreſſion of his Office from our Siſter-Nation, and inſtile him to be the *Doomeſter* or *Doomeſman* of the Quick and of the Dead; that is, *an Inferiour Officer*, which hath no hand or Vote in the courſe of Juſtice for Life and Death, but only a power or delegated authority to read or pronounce the ſentence which the Judge or Chief Officer of State had written before; though not ſo long before or in ſuch indeleble Characters, as the *Doom*, which our Saviour Chriſt ſhall pronounce upon Every man at the Great day of his appearance, was written in the Life-books of life and death everlaſting. My exhortation unto every man amongſt us which believe in his name, ſhall be, that of the Learned and pious *Hemingius*: “That we ſeek not our aſſurance of Faith or hope *in Parcarum* “*Tabulis*, which were irreverſibly written before any part of the world “was made (if we may believe ſome heathen Poets or Stoicks) but in Gods “promiſes made to *Abraham*, and to be performed by *Jeſus Chriſt* as he “is now our High-Prieſt and King, and as the Supream Judge of Quick and Dead.

3. Having thus far endeavoured to *ſever the droſs* or wipe off the Aſperſions (or ſuch meaner ſtuff) as have been caſt upon, or mingled themſelves with that *Golden Foundation* laid by our Apoſtle *Hebr.* 9. My next Addreſsment muſt be to *Dilate* or *Diduct* the Precious Metal contained in it, or in the *Third Parallel* propoſed. The *Parallel* was between the anniverſary *Sacrifices of Attonement*, the Sacrifices of the *Red Cow*; and the *One Sacrifice* offered *Once for all* by our *Everlaſting High-Prieſt*. His Sacrifice is truly inſtiled *Everlaſting*, not for this reaſon alone, that it was of *Infinite value*, or a full price for purchaſing the *Everlaſting Redemption* of man-kind; but in this reſpect alſo, that it hath an *Everlaſting Efficacy* for the daily remiſſion of actual ſins, for purifying the Hearts and Conſciences of all ſuch as in Faith daily pray unto the Father in the name and mediation of his only Son, who is likewiſe rightly inſtiled an *Everlaſting Prieſt*, not in regard onely that he is now altogether *immortal*; but more eſpecially, in that he perpetually executeth the Office of the High Prieſthood, by making *Continual Interceſſion* for us, and by accompliſhing our Reconciliation unto the God-head. *All things are of God who hath reconciled us to himſelf by Jeſus Chriſt, and hath given to us the Miniſtery of Reconciliation: to wit, that God was in Chriſt reconciling the world unto himſelf, not imputing their treſpaſſes unto them, and hath committed unto Us the word of Reconciliation*, 2 Cor. 5. 18, 19. *This* Reconciliation *Quâ Deus nos ſibi reconciliavit*, was wrought by *Chriſt* whileſt he went about on earth doing good, and by his ſufferings upon the Croſs, *&c.* *The Other* part of our Reconciliation, or Reconciliation taken in the *Paſſive Senſe*, *Quâ nos Deo reconciliamur*, is daily wrought in true Believers by this our *High-Prieſt*; and ſo wrought by the continuated participation of his Spirit, by the interpoſed renovations or nouriſhments of that Grace which immediatly deſcends to us from the ſweet influence of

this Sun of righteouſneſs, now ſitting more Glorious (by much) in his heavenly Tabernacle then the viſible Sun in its Sphere. And of *This Part* of Reconciliation, or of Reconciliation in the *Paſſive Senſe,* muſt that of our *Apoſtle* be underſtood.

Now then we are Embaſſadours for Chriſt, as though God did beſeech you by us, we pray you in Chriſts ſtead to be reconciled to God. For he hath made him, to be ſin for us, who knew no ſin, that we might be made the Righteouſneſs of God in him, 2 Cor. 5. 20,21.

4. He that deſires to gueſs aright at the Eminency of Chriſts *Prieſthood* and Sacrifice, in reſpect of the *Aaronical* or *Legal* Services, or to take ſuch an indefinite Eſtimate of both, as may *advance* his Meditations upon *The knowledge of* Chriſt *crucified, and aſcended into the heaven of heavens,* may follow the Scale ſet by *Aſtronomers* betwixt the ſpace of Local diſtances on earth, and the ſpace of the higheſt Cœleſtial Orbs or Spheres, which anſwer in proportion to them; always allowing a greater *Exceſs of Proportion* between the Excellency of *Chriſts Prieſthood,* beyond *Aarons* or *Melchiſedeck's,* then Aſtronomers allot betwixt the ſpace of ſo many *Degrees* in the heavens and ſo many *miles* on earth.

5. The *Legal Prieſts* or ſacrificers were, at the ſame time and by ſucceſſion, *Many,* their Sacrifices or *Services* were, both for their kinds or matter, and for the ſolemn manner of their offerings, *More.* The ſeveral kinds of their ſacrifices and Solemnities, I leave unto the Readers ſearch, this being an Argument whereof many have written copiouſly enough in moſt modern Churches. It will be enough for me to obſerve or call thus much to the Readers Remembrance, that all the Offices or Services of Legal Prieſts were fully accompliſhed in the *conſecration of the Son of God* to be our *Everlaſting High Prieſt*; That all their Offerings and Sacrifices (whether bloudy or unbloudy, whether of Vegetables as of herbs, or green Ears of corn, of meal, of loaves; whether anniverſary, or upon ſpecial occaſions) were more then accompliſhed in his Own Once offering of himſelf. The *All-ſufficiency* of this his Oblation of himſelf will beſt appear from the due conſideration of the *Multiplicity* of the former ſacrifices, and the often Reiteration of them. Of bloudy ſacrifices ſome were reiterated *Every day,* others *Every year,* or in *Set Feſtivals,* or upon *Special Occaſions* for private Perſons: And this laſt ſort of ſacrifices or Offerings were to be reiterated ſo often as Occaſions or Occurrences did interpoſe. No one ſacrifice could purifie the ſame party, though peccant only againſt the Law of Ceremonies, from his Legal uncleanneſs for any more Turns then One. Every *Recidivation* or Relapſe into the ſame ſin or error was to have a *new Purification.*

6. Now if it were poſſible to calculate, *Firſt,* The multitude of ſins, and of ſinners againſt the Moral Law of God, in compariſon of ſuch as did ſin againſt the Law of Ceremonies; *Secondly,* The exceſſive number of ſins committed by every particular Chriſtian man; *and bear this truth in mind,* that there needs no other ſacrifice either for ſin or ſinners beſides *That One of Chriſt himſelf upon the croſs,* the Influence of whoſe infinite value is daily and hourly communicated to all ſuch as ſeek ſalvation by him: The *Super-excellency* of this our *High-Prieſt,* and of his ſacrifice, in reſpect of all Legal Prieſts and ſervices, will farr ſurmount the compaſs of the Higheſt Heavens or Orbs imaginable, in compariſon of the leaſt ſenſible part of the Earth.

7. But ſome *New-ſtarted Opinions* there be, which take away much matter of *Admiration* in this *great Subject* of Divine Meditation, and dull the ſpirits of otherwiſe well-minded men, in the ſearch after the virtue of

Chriſts *Everlaſting Sacrifice and Prieſt-hood.* Of theſe *new Opinions*, One ſpecial One is (for I muſt not here touch upon the reſt) [That the ſins of ſome men, of all the Elect, were remitted before they could be committed:) An Opinion void of all Reference to any pious uſe or practiſe; *A Speculation moſt untrue, prodigiouſly abſurd.* For no actual ſin by whomſoever committed, can be remitted to men living here on earth, otherwiſe then by ſome *new Influence* from the Everlaſting Sacrifice of Chriſt or (as our *Apoſtle* ſpeaks) without the *ſprinkling of that bloud, Which ſpeaketh better things then that of Abel,* Heb. 12. 24. As much as I here intimate, that paſſage of St. *John* (if it be rightly ſcanned) will clearly evince. *If we ſay that we have fellowſhip with him, and walk in darkneſs, we lye, and do not the truth: But if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowſhip one with another; and the bloud of Jeſus Chriſt his Son, cleanſeth us from all ſinne. If we ſay that we have no ſin, we deceive our ſelves and the truth is not in us.* 1 Joh. 1.6,7, 8.

Juſtification Conſiſts not in one indiviſible Act.

8. So then, even ſuch as walk in the light, ſtand in need of *Cleanſing* by the *bloud of Chriſt.* And with Reference to this place (as I conceive) that Maxim of St. *Auſtin*, well approved of by the beſt Reformed Writers, was firſt conceived by him [*Our Juſtification conſiſts in the perpetual Remiſſion of ſin.*] But an errour there is, which I know not when it did firſt creep into the world, but creep in it did by the Incogitancy, or Indiſtinct Notions of ſome Late Writers [*That Juſtification is but one Act, never to be reſumed, or reiterated.*] This *Aſſertion* may be true in reſpect of *That Juſtification, Quâ Deus nos juſtificat*, or of Juſtification taken in the *Active Senſe* as it concerns God; For, *no act of his can be reſumed or reiterated, nor admit any interpoſitions or Interims of time.* But if we ſpeak of *Juſtification in the Paſſive Senſe*, or as it is an Effect wrought in our ſouls by the ſpirit of *Chriſt*, there may be and are many Acts, many *Reſumptions* or Renovations of the ſame Act or Effect; All being wrought in us by *Interpoſitions* or ſeveral *Interims* of time. Our Natural bodies do not require ſo many *Refections* of meat and drink for continuation of life, of health, and ſtrength, as the *Faith by which the juſt do live,* and other ſpiritual Graces which accompany Faith in the Purification of our ſouls, do admit, yea require *Refections* ſpiritual. Of theſe refections or refreſhments of Faith or other Graces, ſome are obtained by our daily *Prayers:* others, being like extraordinary feaſts or banquets, are wrought *in the participation of Chriſts Body and Bloud,* ſo often as we receive that bleſſed Sacrament as we ought to do. But the moſt of us which enjoy the Liberty of Chriſtian Lawes do not receive it *ſo often* as we ought; Fewer *as they* ought. And whoſoever receives it unworthily receives it too often, if he ſo receive but once. Unto the worthy Receivers of the Sacramental pledges of Chriſts *Body* and Bloud, how often ſoever and how many ſoever receive them, the Bloud of Chriſt, though but once ſhed, becomes a Perennal unexhauſtible *Fountain of life everlaſting.* But of the right interpretation of our Saviours Teſtament or Inſtitution of this bleſſed Sacrament, more at large by Gods aſſiſtance, in the Article of the *Holy Catholick Church.* In the mean time *Two Prayers* there be commanded by the *Church our Mother*, to be uſed in the Viſitation of the Sick at the Adminiſtration of the Sacrament unto them; Both which, *mutatis mutandis*, I would Commend to every piouſly minded Chriſtian's Meditations (or to every profeſſed Chriſtian that deſires to be ſuch) both before and after he preſent himſelf at the Lords Table, though he ſo preſent himſelf in perfect health of body and mind.

1. *O Lord look down from heaven, behold, viſit, and relieve this thy Servant. Loook upon him with the Eyes of thy mercy, give him comfort and ſure confidence in thee, defend him from the danger of the Enemy, & keep him in perpetual peace and ſafety, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.* Amen.

And 2. *O moſt merciful God, which according to the multitude of thy mercies doſt ſo put away the ſins of thoſe which truly repent, that thou remembreſt them no more, open thine Ey of mercy upon this thy ſervant, who moſt earneſtly deſireth Pardon and forgiveneſs. Renew in him. (moſt loving Father) whatſoever hath been decayed by the Fraud and malice of the Devil, or by his own carnal will and frailneſs. Preſerve and continue this ſick member in the unity of the Church, conſider his contrition, accept his tears, aſſwage his pain as ſhall be ſeen to thee moſt expedient for him. And foraſmuch as he putteth his whole truſt only in thy mercy, impute not unto him his former ſins, but take him unto thy Favour through the merits of thy moſt dearly beloved Son Jeſus Chriſt.* Amen.

CHAP. L.

The Rarity of that Rite of Conſecrating the Water of Sprinkling *by the Aſhes of the Red Heifer, an Emblem of* Baptiſm *and the* Singularity *thereof. Our Churches meaning in ſome expreſſions at the Adminiſtration of that Sacrament.*

1. But although the frequent Uſe of the Sacrament of Chriſts Body and Bloud be needful or neceſſary by Precept, and a Means much available for ſtrengthening of Faith, or for repairing thoſe decayes or ruines which the ſubtilty of Satan works in our ſouls; yet the *reiteration* of the *Sacrament* of *Baptiſm* is neither neceſſary nor allowable, much leſs commendable for ſuch purpoſes. And the *Rarity*, or rather *Singularity of it*, was to my apprehenſion, *Emblematically prefigured by the Sacrifice of the Red Heifer*, or the *Water of ſprinkling*, which was Legally ſanctified or conſecrated by her aſhes. The Law concerning this kind of Purification is not to be found (I take it) in *Leviticus*, at leaſt not in that 16. Chapter wherein the Law of the Sacrifice of attonement is punctually ſet down; however the forementioned *Gloſſary* upon the *Romiſh Canon* for conſecrating *Holy water*, either through negligence, or ignorance, or both, avouch that place for it. If the ſacrifice of the *Red Heifer* had belonged unto the feaſt of attonement, it muſt have been reiterated once every year, wheras the *Hebrew Antiquaries* affirm; that this ſolemnity was not uſed *above ten times* during all the time of the *Law of the Tabernacle, or Temple.* And whether it were *ſo often* uſed may be queſtioned, becauſe there is no Law or Precept for the *Continuation* of it, but only for the uſe of the water of ſprinkling (being once conſecrated by it) ſo often as the occaſion ſpecified in the Law did require.

See Chap. 48. Numb. 6.

2. But unleſs the frequent uſe of the water, ſo mingled with the aſhes, did waſt or exhauſt the aſhes of that one ſacrifice, which *Eleazar* not *Aaron* was commanded to offer, Theſe might have been preſerved without putrifaction for a longer time then the Law of Ceremonies was to endure. For *Aſhes* (as good Naturaliſts tell us) being well kept are immortal, or *an Emblem* of Immortality. But it may be that as ſoon, or as often, as the Aſhes of any ſuch ſacrifice were, by frequent uſe of the water of ſprinkling, exhauſted or waſted, the Legal Prieſts were bound by the Law mentioned to offer another for conſecrating the water of ſprinkling whoſe uſe was to continue as long as the reaſon mentioned in the Law did indure.

3. The chief uſe or End of the water of ſprinkling mingled with the Aſhes of this ſacrifice, was to purifie ſuch as had made themſelves Legally unclean, or had caſually faln into ſuch uncleanneſs. One branch of this *uncleanneſs* was the touching, or being touched by any *Dead Corps.* And unto this uſe of the water of ſpringling mentioned, *Numb.* 9. 11. that of our Apoſtle, *Heb.* 9. 14. hath ſpecial *Reference* more then *Alluſion. How much more ſhall the Bloud of Chriſt purge our Conſciences from DEAD works?* That this Legal ſacrifice for Sin was an exquiſite Type of Chriſts Bloudy Death and ſufferings, or an exact picture of his bloud, wherewith the heavenly Sanctuary or Holy places were purified, (although the bloud of this Legal ſacrifice, were not brought into the Earthly Sanctuary) no good Writers which I have read either deny or queſtion. That the *Water of ſprinkling* conſecrated by the aſperſion of the Aſhes of this Legal Sacrifice, did truly reſemble the water of Baptiſm, by which we are waſhed from ſin, and conſecrated unto God as clean perſons, that is, made members of his Church here on earth, is ſo evident in it ſelf, that it needs no *Paraphraſe* or Laborious Comment upon the fore-cited Law. Yet to this purpoſe the learned Reader may find much pertinent matter, in *Chytræus his Comments upon the Book of Numbers,* and in many others. It will be more needful or better ſuiting with my intentions in this place, to prevent the captious exceptions which ſome Anti-Papiſts have heretofore taken and now reſume againſt the expreſſions of our *Publick Liturgy* in that part of it which concerns the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm.

> “ *Almighty and Everlaſting God, which of thy great mercy diddeſt ſave* Noah *and his Family in the Ark from periſhing by water, and alſo diddeſt ſafely lead the children of* Iſrael *through the Red Sea, figuring thereby thy holy Baptiſm; and by the Baptiſm of thy well-beloved Son Jeſus Chriſt, diddeſt ſanctifie the floud* Jordan *and all other waters to the myſtical waſhing away of ſin. We beſeech thee for thine infinite mercies that thou wilt mercifully look upon theſe Children, Sanctifie them and waſh them with the Holy Ghoſt; that they being delivered from thy wrath, may be received into the Ark of Chriſts Church, and being ſtedfaſt in faith, joyful through hope, and rooted in charity, may ſo paſs the waves of this troubleſome world, that finally they may come to the Land of everlaſting life, there to reign with thee world without end, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord,* Amen.
>
> *Seeing now, dearly beloved Brethren, that theſe children be Regenerate and graſted into the body of Chriſts congregation, let us give thanks unto God for theſe Benefits, and with one accord make our prayers unto Almighty God, that they may lead the reſt of their life according to this beginning.*
>
> *We yeild thee hearty thanks, moſt merciful Father, that it hath pleaſed thee to regenerate this Infant with thy holy Spirit, to receive him for thine own Child by adoption, and to incorporate him into thy Holy congregation, and humbly we beſeech thee to grant, that he being dead unto ſin and living unto righteouſneſs, and being buried with Chriſt in his death, may crucifie the old man and utterly aboliſh the whole body of ſin, that as he is made partaker of the death of thy Son, ſo he may be partaker of his Reſurrection, ſo that finally with the reſidue of thy Holy congregation, he may be Inheritor of thine everlaſting Kingdom, through Chriſt our Lord,* Amen.

4. It is no part of our Churches Doctrin or meaning, that the *waſhing or ſprinkling* infants bodies with Conſecrated water ſhould take away ſins by it's *own immediate* Vertue. To affirm thus much implies as I con-

ceive a Contradiction to that Apoſtolical Doctrin. *The like figure whereunto even Baptiſm doth alſo now ſave us, (not the putting away the filth of the fleſh, but the anſwer of a good Conſcience towards God) by the reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt, who is gone into heaven,* &c. 1 Pet.3.21. The meaning of our Church intends no further then thus; That if this Sacrament of Baptiſm be duly adminiſtred, the blood, or bloody Sacrifice of Chriſt: or (which is all one) the influence of his ſpirit doth alwayes accompany, or is *concurrent* to this ſolemn Act. But whether this Influence of his ſpirit or Vertual preſence of his body and blood be either immediatly or only terminated to the ſoul and ſpirit of the party Baptized, or have ſome vertual influence upon the water of Baptiſm as a mean to convey the Grace of Regeneration unto the ſoul of the party Baptiſed, whileſt the water is poured upon him, is *Too Nice* and curious a Queſtion in this Age for ſober Chriſtians to debate or contend about. It may ſuffice to believe that this *Sacramental Pledge* hath a *Vertual preſence* of Chriſts Bloud or ſome Real Influence from his Body Concomitant though not Conſubſtantiated to it, which is prefigured, or ſignified by the waſhing or ſprinkling the body with water.

5. But it will be, or rather is *Objected*, but only by privat or ſome ſawcy ſpirits; That if the Doctrin of our Church were true and ſound, then all that be rightly Baptized ſhould be undoubtedly ſaved, being once waſhed or cleanſed from their ſins. *The Objection* were of ſome force, if the Church of *England* did hold or maintain ſuch Doctrin or *Tenets*, as they do which make or favour it, to wit, *That the ſins of the Elect only are remitted by Baptiſm, or, by the Sacrament of Chriſts Body and Blood*: or, *That ſins once remitted cannot be remitted afreſh*; or that *the Party which is once pordoned for his ſins, before committed, cannot afterwards be condemned.* The Orthodoxal Truth is, That albeit the Original Sin of Children truly Baptized in the name of Chriſt, or the actual ſins of young or elder men ſo Baptized, and the ſins of their fore-fathers (ſo far as it concerns men of riper years to repent them of both) be ſo truly remitted in Baptiſm, that *neither young men nor old may be Baptized again*; yet the *Aſtipulation of a good conſcience*, wherein the internal Baptiſm (as St. *Peter* tels) doth conſiſt, may and ought by the Law of God and of Chriſts Church, to be reiterated.

And this *Aſtipulation* of every Chriſtian, male or female, though baptized after they have paſſed their Nonage for Civil Contracts, ought to be reſumed or re-acknowledged ſo often as they intend to receive the Sacramental pledges of Chriſts Body and Bloud, either privately or in the publick Congregation. But for all ſuch as have been baptized in their Infancy, the Perſonal Reſumption or Ratification of that VOW, which their Fathers and Mothers in God, did make for them at the *Sacred Laver*, is to be exacted of them *Ore tenus*, in ſome publick Congregation, before they can be lawfully admitted to be publick Communicants of Chriſts Body and Blood.

6. There is then no default or defect in the Church of *Englands* Doctrin or Lawes concerning Baptiſm, or *Confirmation* of ſuch as have been baptized in their infancy. But I dare not avouch ſo much for juſtifying the men unto whom the Execution of theſe Lawes is eſpecially commended, whether they be of Lower, of higher, or of the higheſt Rank. It hath not been my hap to peruſe very many Preſentments of Church-Wardens or Inferiour Prieſts in *Viſitations*; Yet of thoſe few or any, whereof I have had ſome Cognizance, I have obſerved but a *very few*, or ſcarce remember any tendred againſt the *Parents*, or ſuch as were *Sureties* for Infants at the *Sacred Font*, for not bringing them at convenient

Though Baptiſm may not be reiterated, yet The Aſtipulation of a good Conſcience (or the Enquiring to God) may daily, and muſt often be renewed. No Child or Infant Baptized may or ought to be admitted unto the Sacrament of Chriſts Body and Blood before he have in his own perſon ratified that VOW, which his Sureties or ſpiritual Guardians did make for him at the *Sacred Font*, where Chriſt is as truly preſent as at the Sacrament of the Altar, as ſome term it.

venient times to be *Confirmed*, or bleſſed by the *Biſhop of the Dioceſe*, or againſt inferiour Miniſters for not Preparing thoſe, the Cure of whoſe ſouls was immediatly committed to them, to receive the *Confirmation* of their Faith, by the *Benediction of the Dioceſane*; much leſs againſt *Dioceſanes* themſelves for not executing their office in this *Great Service* of the Church either in their own Perſons, or by their *Suffraganes*.

7. Whether the ſolemn Baptizing of all Infants, which are the children of preſumed Chriſtian Parents throughout this Kingdom, without ſolemn *Aſtipulation*, that they ſhall at years of diſcretion perſonally ratifie their *Vow* in baptiſm in publick, in ſuch manner as the Church requires, be not rather more Lawful or more tolerable then Expedient, I leave it with all ſubmiſſion to the conſideration of *Higher Powers*. In the mean time I ſhall every day bleſs my Lord God, as for all others, ſo in particular for this Great bleſſing beſtowed upon me, that I was in a Convenient Age, in a happy time and place, preſented by my Sureties in Baptiſm, to ratifie the *VOW* which they made for me, and to receive the *Benediction* of the *Biſhop of the Dioceſs*, being firſt inſtructed in the *Churches Catechiſm* by the Curate of the Pariſh, from whoſe Lips (though but a meer Grammar, Scholer and one that knew better how to read an *Homilie* or to underſtand *Hemingius* or other Latine *Poſtills* then to make a *Sermon in Engliſh*) I learned more good Leſſons, then I did from many popular Sermons: and to this day remember more, then men at this time of greater years ſhall find in many late applauded *Catechiſms*.

CHAP. LI.

Inordinate Libertie of Propheſying *brought Errours into the Church, diſgrac'd, and hindred the* Reformation.

ALbeit the *Reverend Fathers* of our Church, and their *Suffraganes*, ſhould uſe all poſſible care and diligence for performing of all that is on their parts required; yet without ſome better conformitie of *Catechiſms*, and reformation of ſuch as write them, or preach Doctrines conformable to them, there is ſmall hope, that in ſuch plentie of Preachers as now there are, *this work of the Lord* ſhould proſper half ſo well as it did in thoſe TIMES and in thoſe *Dioceſes*, wherein there were ſcarce ten able Preachers beſides the *Prebendaries of the Cathedral Church* under whoſe *Tuition*, in a manner, the reſt of the *Clergie* were. I well remember, and I cannot but remember it with joy of heart, that the *Synods* in that *Dioceſſe* wherein I was bred did conſtantly examine the Licenced Readers how they had profited in learning, by their Exerciſes, which they did as duly exhibit unto the *Chancellor*, *Archdeacon*, &c. as they did their Orders or their Fees. Such as had profited well were Licenced to Preach once a month or once a quarter, having certain Books appointed from whoſe Doctrine they ſhould not ſwarve, but for the moſt part tranſlate. The Authors then in moſt eſteem, were *Melancthon Bullinger*, *Hemingius* (eſpecially in *Poſtils* and other *Opuſcula* of his) or other Writers, who were moſt conformable to the *Book of Homilies*, which were weekly read upon ſevere penaltie.

2. But ſince the *Libertie of Propheſying*, was taken up, which came but lately into the *Northern Parts* (unleſs it were in the Towns of *Newcaſtle* and *Barwick*, wherein *Knox*, *Mackbray*, and *Udal* had ſown their Tares) all things have gone ſo croſs and backward in our Church that I cannot call the Hiſtorie for theſe fortie years or more to mind, or

expreſs my obſervations upon it, but with a *bleeding heart.* The *firſt Declination* from the Ancient Church was, Concerning the *Death and Paſſion of our Saviour Chriſt*; of which the forward Zelots, or rigid Reformers of Popiſh merits did make more malitious and ſcandalous *Uſe upon Uſe* then the Papiſh themſelves, or other Hereticks, did of any doubtfull or difficult Place of Scripture. The people were in a manner taught to believe that, τὸ *Credere*, to believe this *Article* was ſufficient to Salvation, live they in the mean time how they liſt. *This fooliſh Doctrine* did begin and propagate it ſelf in *Germanie*, before *Melancthon* did correct *Luther*, or as *Chemnitius* thinks, did record his own Recantation. But the infection in the mean time did ſo farr overſpread the Church of *England* before it heard of the remedie, that it moved *Sir Thomas More* to lay aſide jeſting, and deplore the miſeries of his times in earneſt, to ſee men given over to Revelling, Bouzing, or drinking or to other worſe vices, and yet continue Confident that the *ſufferings* and *Paſſions of Chriſt* ſhould fully pay the ſhot, or diſcharge the reckoning how great ſoever it were.

3. It was but an *Implicit Branch of the former Error, which at the firſt did not* break forth in expreſs Terms to teach men to believe *Secundum* πληροφορίαν, with full *Aſſurance of Faith*, that Chriſt dyed for *them in particular*, before they had any aſſurance that Chriſt dyed for *All men.* A *ſtrange concluſion*, which they ſought to cover or overſhadow with a more dangerous branch of the ſame Error, to wit; That every man was to have *Fiduciam*, or full aſſurance of his own *Eſtate in Grace* or intereſt in Chriſt, *not from Gods General promiſes* made in Him, but from ſpecial *or Particular Faith.* This was that *unfortunate Doctrine* which gave ſuch Scandal to the beginning of Reformation in *Germanie*, that not three hundred *Bellarmines*, not ſo many *Valentia's*, or other learned Jeſuites which have lived ſince, could ever withdraw the tenth part ſo many from Reformed Religion, as *Dr. Heſſils* did with-hold from embracing it by exagitating this *Senſual Doctrine* as he ſtyles it, as if it had been conceived or maintained of purpoſe, that, ſome profeſſing Reformation might continue and encreaſe, their drunken and voluptuous, Others their laſcivious and wanton kind of life; and yet be as ſure of their *Perſonal Salvation* as either *St. Peter* or *St. Paul* were during their Pilgrimage here on Earth. This was that *Ginne* or *Nooſe* which Satan ſought to draw upon them, as knowing that he had this kind of people at greater command, then ever he had any beſides. For (as is intimated in ſome former meditations publiſhed, and in ſome Others in due time to be communicated to Learned and Pious Readers) *There is not, There cannot be any poſſible Evaſion out of this ſnare, but by recanting the former Opinions or Errors themſelves.* For every Novice in Arts hath Learned, that every *Univerſal Negative Propoſition* may be Converted *Simpliciter.* Now the Scripture gives us this Univerſal Negative, again and again; ‘ That *no Adulterer, no Covetous Perſon, no Slanderer or Reviler of his Neighbours, no Seditious or Rebellious Spirit ſhall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.* The other *Univerſal Negative* which they deliver up as their Deed and Writing unto the Father of Lies, and of all wicked cunning, is *This*, That *no Man which muſt of neceſſitie enter into this Kingdom, though he dye this day or to morrow, can be an Adulterer, a Covetous Perſon, a Slanderer or Reviler of his Neighbour, or carrie a Seditious Rebellious or Traiterous Spirit to his King and Countrie.* Now by this *Nooſe or Gin* which they have caſt for themſelves, the Great Tempter can draw or lead them to all manner of miſchief and Hypocriſie to envenome their

thoughts with malice and ſlander,with Treaſon,Sedition,and Diſloyalty and yet aſſure them,that they are no Slanderers,no Traytors,&c.but Zealous & Godly perſons,*becauſe they muſt enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.*

The Laſt & *worſt branch* of the former bitter *Root*,is an *Aſſertion* which I never read in any forraign writer, but of late ſet down in *Terminis Terminantibus* by ſome Engliſh *Zelots*; whoſe ſtudy and practice it hath been either to improve or malignifie Forraign Errors. The improvement of the former Errors, which Outlandiſh Writers did rather not take into conſideration then maintain, is, *The Diviſion* of all Mankind into *Two Sorts*, that is,into *Elect* and *Reprobate.* An Error I confeſs which can do no great harm upon ſuch Sawcy Malepert *Vocaliſts* as have the gift to let the Word of God run as faſt out at their mouths, as it comes into their brains either by the Ear or Eye. But if it enter once into the thoughts of a Sober Conſcientious Spirit, whoſe brain and heart have dayly entercourſe or Commerce,it is impoſſible but it ſhould put him into a *Dangerous Perplexity*,either of being careleſly *Preſumptuous*, or of falling into utter *deſpair.* Experiments of this later evil have been more frequent in our Church,and in theſe times,then in any other Church or times before us.

4. For Concluſion of this *Tragical Conſideration*, I would requeſt all ſuch as ſit in judicature, ſpecially in Cauſes Criminal, to call to mind, or ſuffer Me to be their Remembrancer, of a *Grave ſaying* delivered by a great *Prælate* in the high Court of Parliament, *That Severitie without inſtruction is a kind of Tyranny.* More particularly my humble requeſt is, that with good leave I may put ſuch in mind as judg ſeditious, turbulent, or enormous practiſes (or Cenſure *Fellones de ſe*) that they ſhall mightily condemn themſelves by judging them, unleſs they be as forward withall to quell the *Erroneous Doctrine* (whether by Laws Eccleſiaſtical or Civil) whence the former Practiſes ſpring, *As* that kind of Sedition, Stubborn diſobedience, diſloyalty, *Scandalum Magnatum*, or privie Conſpiracie, under whoſe heavie burden this State and Church doth now ſigh and groan. Theſe and divers other like Branches of the Divels ſervice, are as true and proper *Effects*, or natural iſſues, of the forementioned prepoſterous *Belief*, or Doctrine of *Special faith* or *Diviſion of* all Mankind into *Two Sorts*; as Chriſtian Charitie, Humilitie, Obedience, Penitencie or Contrition of Spirit, are of the true and welgrounded *Belief* of Jeſus Chriſt and of him Crucified

5.The beſt inſtructions that can be given for rectifying the former Errours,is that of our Apoſtle,Rom.4.(*Though we follow the Interpretations or Hints of thoſe Writers whom theſe* Zelots *moſt admire.*) *He ſtaggered not at the promiſe of God through unbelief: but was ſtrong in Faith, giving glory to God, and being fully perſwaded, that what he had promiſed he was able alſo to perform And therefore it was imputed to him for Righteouſneſs. Now it was not written for his ſake alone;that it was imputed to him,But for us alſo to whom it ſhall be imputed, if we believe on him that raiſed up Jeſus our Lord from the dead, who was delivered for our offences, and was raiſed again for our Juſtification. Vers.* 20, 21,22, 23, 24, 25.

CHAP. LII.

That *Juſtification* Conſiſts not in one *Single Act.* In what Senſe, *Fides eſt Fiducia*, is True.

1. MUſt we then with the *Romiſh Church*, admit of a *Firſt* and *Second Juſtification*? *One*, By Chriſt's Death; *Another*, By his Reſur-

rection from the Dead? or Two Imputations of his *Righteouſneſs*? Surely neither *Juſtification*, nor *Imputation* of Chriſts Righteouſneſs Conſiſts in *One Single Act*; both admit divers *Degrees* or *Parts*: or rather, contain *a Long Proceſs*. The beſt way to aſſoyl the Difficulty propoſed will be *Firſt*, to ſet forth the proper effects or Duties of our *Belief*, as it is terminated to Chriſts *Death* and Sufferings. *Secondly*, the Proper Iſſues or Effects of our *Belief* of his *Reſurrection* from the Dead. We believe that by his Death our ſins, even the ſins of the world, were taken away. That *Adam*, and *All* that came of Him, were thus far redeemed by Him, as to be ſet *Free de Jure*, from the Bondage of Satan, and purchaſed as a peculiar people to himſelf. Thus we often read, that we are *redeemed by his blood, ſhed on the Croſs*; that is, By that *One Sacrifice* of Himſelf, *the Ranſom of Mankinds Redemption was fully payd.* Of this all men are bound to have *full Aſſurance*, and in reſpect of this General, tis truly ſaid, *Fides eſt Fiducia*, Faith is a Confidence in the Blood of Chriſt. And thus firmely *Believing*, our Faith is imputed or reckoned to Us for Righteouſneſs, as it was to *Abraham*

2. But many may be Redeemed from Captivity, & yet have a deſire to continue in the Land or Territories of their former Captivitie, or no great deſire to be tranſported out of it, into a ſafer ſoyl. Some, with *Gryllus* in the *Poet*, deſire rather to continue *Swine*, then to be Re-tranſformed into the *Image of God*. And unto Theſe, *Chriſts Death* is not available *ſhall not be imputed*, unleſs it be to their greater Condemnation. But from the General *Confidence* that Chriſt hath redeemed us from the bondage of Satan, and Curſe of the Law; the Church our Mother hath wiſely and piouſly ordained, that all profeſſing *Chriſtianitie*; yea Infants born of Chriſtian Parents, or Others expoſed by their incredulous Parents, to the Tuition of the Church, ſhall be forthwith tranſported out of the Hemiſphere of darkneſs into the Sphere of Light, to be viſibly ingrafted into the myſtical Body of Chriſt. The Duty, whereto all ſuch, as are thus tranſported, are bound, is, to promiſe and *Vow* Obedience unto Chriſt as to their ſole Lord and Redeemer, *To forſake the Divel and all his workes, the pompes and vanities of this wicked world, and all the ſinful luſts of the fleſh, and to fight manfully under Chriſts Banner unto their lives end*, that is, to *take up their Croſs and follow him*; and as he dyed for them, ſo to be ready to lay down their lives for the brethren, if need require, in his ſervice; or to uſe our Apoſtles words *Phil.* 2.5. *To put on the ſame mind which was in Chriſt Jeſus, who being in the form of God, thought it no robbery to be equal with God: but made himſelf of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a ſervant, and was made in likeneſs of men, and being found in faſhion of a man, he humbled himſelf and became obedient unto death, even the Death of the Croſs.* Vers: 6, 7, 8. Another not altogether ſo diverſe, as rather the ſame immediate and formal Effect of our Belief in Chriſts bloody Sacrifice on the Croſs, is, *Dayly to offer* up the ſacrifice of a broken Heart, of an humble and contrite ſpirit. And for offering this Sacrifice, every man muſt in part be his own *Prieſt*, and *Confeſſor*, that he may be partaker of the bleſſing and Grace of the High Prieſt of our ſouls, from his Heavenly Sanctuary where he ſits at the right hand of God.

CHAP. LIII.

Chriſts Parable (12.*Math.*43.&c.)applyed. Two degrees of *Reconciliation:* the firſt *Active* (or but meer-*Grammatically Paſſive:*) The other *Real-Paſſive.* So correſpondently, *Two Branches of Juſtification:* The *One* from Chriſts *Death,* The *Other* from the benefit of his *Prieſt-hood* dayly participated to us.

1. TO proceed thus farr in the *Knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt,* and of *Him Crucified,* and in the practice of Chriſtian Duties Concomitant to ſuch *Knowledge,* is more, I am afraid,(or rather fully perſwaded,) then moſt of ſuch as take upon them to ſeal Aſſurance to themſelves and to others, of their ſalvation,(by Markes and Tokens of the *Elect,* of their own coyning) have rightly got by Heart. And yet to reſt ſecure, upon theſe Grounds, though learned by heart, of their *perſonal Salvation* or irreverſible Eſtate in Grace or in Gods Favour, doth open a gap unto *helliſh Hypocriſie,* which our Saviour himſelf hath commanded us to beware of or rather to ſhut it out, as it is in that parable, *Mat.* 12. 43, 44, 45. *When the unclean ſpirit is gone out of a man, he walketh through dry places ſeeking reſt, and findeth none. Then he ſaith I will return into my houſe from whence I came out; and when he is come, he findeth it empty ſwept and garniſhed: Then goeth he, and taketh with himſelf ſeven other ſpirits more wicked then himſelf, and they enter in and dwell there, and the laſt ſtate of that man is worſe then the firſt: Even ſo ſhall it be alſo to this wicked generation.*

For the right application of this Parable to the Jews, with whom our Saviour there diſputes, as alſo unto men of this and former Ages, I refer the Reader to *Janſenius* and *Maldonate* in their Learned Comments upon this place, but eſpecially to *Janſenius.*

2. Thus much is ſufficient to our preſent purpoſe, and thus much is moſt clear; That it is not the *Sweeping or garniſhing of the heart,* or emptineſs of ſuch vices, as do raign in the hearts of Infidels, and give Satan poſſeſſion of them,(all which may be wrought by the ſerious conſideration of Chriſts death, Paſſion, and by the imputation of his Merits) that can ſecure us from further aſſaults of Satan to our final deſtruction. Rather, for us to preſume upon theſe without *Experiments,* without a continual Guard upon our own ſouls, is but as if a man having beaten his adverſaries out of his houſe ſhould ſet up his ſtaffe, or ſword, or other inſtrument of war without the door to entice his enemie by this opportunity to make forcible entrance when he is leaſt aware. To what End then doth the *Contemplation* of Chriſts death or the *Imputation* of his merits ſerve us? Do theſe beget no portion or degree of any Certaintie of our Eſtate in Chriſt, or of Salvation? Yes, they always bring forth a *Certainty* though not of *Faith,* yet of *Hope,* that God in his Good time will accompliſh theſe good beginings, and crown them with more then a *Moral,* with an *Experimental certainty* or aſſurance of our Eſtate in Grace. For Regulating our perſwaſions in this point, there can be no better *Rule* then that of our Apoſtle, Rom. 5. *Therefore being juſtified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whom alſo we have acceſs by Faith into his Grace wherein we ſtand, and rejoyce in hope of the Glory of God,* ver. 1, 2. And again more fully, ver.8,9, 10,11. *God commendeth his love towards us, in that whileſt we were yet ſinners Chriſt dyed for us. Much more then, being now juſtified by his*

his blood we ſhall be ſaved from wrath through him. For if when we were enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son, much more being reconciled, we ſhall be ſaved by his life. And not only ſo, but we alſo joy in God through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whom we have now received the attonement. The Ground then of our *Hope*, or of ſuch *Certaintie* as we can attain unto in this life, is our *Reconcilaition* to God, of which our Apoſtle ſpeaks more fully and divinely, 2 Cor. 5. *If any man be in Chriſt, he is a new Creature; Old things are paſt away; behold, all things are become new: and all things are of God, who hath reconciled us to himſelf by Jeſus Chriſt & hath given to us the miniſtery of Reconciliation, to wit, that God was in Chriſt reconciling the world unto himſelf not imputing their treſpaſſes unto them, and hath committed to us the word of reconciliation*, ver 17, 18, 19. But if this *Reconciliation* were ſufficient for our *Certainty* of Salvation, what need were there of a *ſecond Reconciliation*, or a ſecond part (at leaſt) of the ſame *Reconciliation*, which our Apoſtle preſſeth upon us, ver. 20. 21. *Now then we are Ambaſſadors for Chriſt, as though God did beſeech you by us; we pray you in Chriſts ſtead to be reconciled to God: For he hath made him to be ſin for us, who knew no ſin, that we might be made the righteouſneſs of God in Him. The firſt part of Reconciliation is Active*, or at the moſt part, but a *Grammatical paſſive.* As a man is ſaid to be *Called* when he is ſummoned to appear, though he make no perſonal Appearance: ſo are we ſaid to be *Reconciled* to God, when pardon for our ſins is proclaimed, though before we could take notice of it. The *Second Reconciliation* is a *Real paſſive*, and includes a *Turning unto the Lord by Acceptance of our Pardon*, and by ſerious purſuing the Allowance of it. The *former part of Reconciliation* is wrought by meer *Imputation* of Chriſts death and merits; the *ſecond* is wrought partly by *Imputation*, but eſpecially by *Real Participation* of Grace from Chriſt, and gifts of the ſpirit. *Theſe are They* that muſt defend and guard our ſouls, againſt the re-entry or Re-poſſeſſion of Satan and wicked ſpirits, whether by fair or forcible means.

3. Anſwerable to the *Two Sorts* or Degrees of *Reconciliation*, there are *Two Sorts* or two Branches of *Juſtification*: The *One* by meere *Imputation* of Chriſts Death and Paſſion, which was once wrought for all, at his Conſecration to His *Everlaſting Prieſt-hood*: *The Other*, by *Participation* of his Grace, or Operation of his *Prieſthood*, ſince his Reſurrection and Aſcenſion. During the time of Legal Sacrifices, whether for ſins againſt the Ceremonial or Moral Law, the People were bound upon new occaſions, to bring new Sacrifices unto the Prieſt, and he bound to offer them up unto the Lord for their Reconciliation or Attonement. For us Chriſtians to think or conceive of more Sacrifices for ſin then *One*, that was *Once* offered for all, were to deny Chriſt, or the Efficacy of His *Everlaſting Prieſthood.* But as for the Sacrifices of prayers, prayſes or thankſgiving for what is paſt, or ſupplications for the aſſiſtance of Chriſts Spirit for the time to come, Theſe we are bound to offer up to God by Chriſt more frequently then the Jews could offer up their bloody Sacrifices, or then the Prieſts could attend this ſervice, which they were to attend only at certain houres or Solemn Times, becauſe they were but mortal men and could not perform their Office, εἰς τὸ διηνεκὲς, or διὰ παντὸς. But Chriſt ſince his Reſurrection and Aſcenſion, is not only *an Everlaſting High Prieſt*, but both exerciſe this his Function without Intermiſſion. *Every Prieſt ſtandeth dayly miniſtring, and offering oftentimes the ſame ſacrifices which can never take away ſins. But this* (Prieſt) *after he had offered one Sacrifice for ſin ſat down on the right hand of God For ever.* So the *Syriack* reades, and *Points* it,

much better then the *Ordinary Engliſh* doth, or the *Greek*, as may appear from a Parallel place, Hebr. 7. 3 μένει ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸ διηνεκὲς, *He remaineth a Prieſt for ever.*

4. Briefly, though every ſin, perhaps every Groſs ſin, which we commit, after our Juſtification by the Reſurrection of Chriſt, and reall Participation of his Grace, doth not work a *Total Interruption* in our Eſtate, or Intereſt in him; yet every ſuch ſin doth work a decay or diminution of Grace, or ſome extinguiſhment of the Spirit of Life: both which muſt be repayred by the Efficacy or Exerciſe of his *everlaſting Prieſt-hood.* None is *ſo juſt* whether by *Imputation* of his merits, or by *encreaſe* of Grace, but may and muſt be dayly *more juſtifyed*; So that the Son of God doth ſet *us free*; *Firſt*, by his ſufferings upon the Croſs; *Secondly*, by the Laver of Baptiſm and by Participation of his Life and Spirit; and *Laſtly*, he will ſet us *Free indeed* at the Reſurrection of the Juſt, when we ſhall be tranſlated into that heavenly houſe or manſion wherein he abideth for ever.

5. Thus much of the *Knowledg of Chriſt*, and of him *Crucified*, and of the exerciſe of his *everlaſting Prieſt-hood*; Points, wherein I could wiſh to take more pains, though to the waſting of my bodily Spirits, upon Condition I could perſwade a great part of the *Clergy* of this Kingdom, not to make Chriſt Crucified and raiſed from the Dead, a *meer By-ſtander* in moſt of their Diſputes concerning *Election, &c.* as if he had ſhed his precious blood to no other purpoſe, ſave only the purchaſe of *their own Salvation*, or the Eternal Excommunication or Damnation of others. Now whether I have juſtly charged them with denyal of *Chriſts Everlaſting Prieſt-hood*, or of his Abſolute Dominion or Final Judicature, I here *ſolemnly appeal* unto him in that great Day when he ſhall come (as I verily believe, He ſhall) to judge the Quick and the Dead; To reward every man according to all his works, whether his *Writings, Sayings, or Actions.*

C. Reader,

THE main Work of the ſixth Section was to prepare and clear the way for The Exerciſe of Chriſts Everlaſting Prieſthood, *by amoving that Great Mountain of the* Rigid Decree, *which, in the Authors judgment, did obſtruct the general approach to the Throne of mercy, and the iſſues of Grace flowing thence: It making Chriſt a meer* Spectator; *at moſt an Inſtrument to* Execute *a Decree paſſed before all worlds, and no* Actor, Advocate, or Interceſſor. *This following eighth Section treats of* Certain Errors *which though ſome of them do not wholly Evacuate or null, yet do all of them diſparage and Entrench upon the* virtue *and* Efficacy *of Chriſts Prieſt-hood. Some of them were toucht before; here they are more fully handled.*

SECT.

SECT. VIII.

CHAP. LIV.

Three Errors Diſparaging *Chriſts Prieſt-hood.*

1. The *Novatian*, denying the *Reception of ſome Sort of Sinners.* 2. A Late Contrary Error, affirming, *That every Sin which ſome ſort of men commit is pardoned before it be Committed.* 3. The *Romiſh Doctrine of the Maſs* giving ſcandal to the Jew. All of them Reſpectively derogating from the Infinite *value* or Continual *Efficacie* of *Chriſts everlaſting Prieſt-hood.*

THe *Firſt Error* in this kind which did grow into an Hereſie was that of *Novatian*, *Qui negavit lapſis pœnitentiam*, who would not have Backſliders or Revolters from *Chriſtianity*, to be upon any Terms or teſtifications of repentance, re-admitted into the Church, or made partakers of *Abſolution.* This *Hereſie*, (as all others) took its *Original* from a *plauſible Truth* or practiſe of former times. The *truth is*, that in thoſe times wherein men profeſſing *chriſtianitie* were every day called unto the *Fierie Tryal*; This Backſliding or *relapſe* unto Idolatry or outward Profeſſion of Idolatrie, even after Baptiſm, was ſo riſe, that the Church would not admit any ſuch as had thus revolted unto the Eſtate or *condition of Penitentiaries*, nor give them *Abſolution* upon private teſtifications of ſorrow for their *Revolt.* Now if *Novatian* did only deny *that* unto ſuch backſliders or *Revolters*, *which* the *Church* in her pureſt times, would not Grant them; why was he condemned by the Church in Ages following for an *Heretick?* if his *opinion* were an *hereſie*, why was not the *Practiſe* of the *antient Church Heretical?* Some Grave and Learned late Writers, would have the *Novatians hereſie* not preciſely to conſiſt in that he denyed *Abſolution*, or *Communion with the Church* unto *Revolters*, but in that he maintained, That the *Church* had no right or Power to grant *abſolution* unto ſuch Backſliders as *Cornelius* then *Biſhop of* Rome (with the Advice and conſent of his *Clergie*) did grant unto; *but* that this was a *Caſe reſerved* to God himſelf.

That ſuch Backſliders or Revolters might at the point of death be *Abſolved*, *Novatian* himſelf had once ſolemnly profeſt. But after *Cornelius*, his Competitioner for the *Biſhoprick* of *Rome* (being preferred to that Dignity) had authorized this Practiſe he begun to ſet abroach his Error (whatſoever that were) and to accuſe *Cornelius*, and his adherents as Authors of *Hereſie* and Novelties in the Church. Had this *Novatian* been conſtant to his former *Tenets*, and Profeſſion, made, before *Cornelius* was choſen *Biſhop of Rome*, againſt him; he could not have denyed either of theſe *two Points of Truth:* Either that God had mercy in ſtore, for *Revolters* from Chriſtianity when they did repent; or, the *Churches* Power to grant *Abſolution*, or other comfort ſpiritual, unto thoſe to whom ſhe might out of *charitable diſcretion* preſume God was merciful, or to whom God had not forbid her to ſhew mercy or compaſſion. For Chriſt had commanded her to be merciful, as her Heavenly Father is merciful.

But it were too much Charity to preſume, that a man, of ſuch a

proud

had power to *abſolve* them upon ſuch ſignifications of repentance as belonged unto her *Cognizance*. Nor can we without breach of Charity think, that either *Novation* or any other Heretick in thoſe times, would be ſo groſs as to deny the *Churches power* to *abſolve* men from any ſin, from which they were perſwaded *God* had or would *abſolve* them. And it is a clear Caſe that the *Novatians* did ground their Errour, or Contradiction to the *Church* wherein they lived, upon that place of the Apoſtle, *Heb.* 6. 4, 5, 6. *It is impoſſible for thoſe who were once enlightened, and have taſted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the holy Ghoſt, and have taſted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, if they fall away, to renue them again unto repentance; ſeeing they crucifie to themſelves the Son of God afreſh, and put him to an open ſhame*: & grounding their Error, or maintaining it, by this place, it is evident, that they held *Lapſos*, or *Revolters from Chriſtianity unto Heatheniſm, to be in the ſame eſtate, which modern Divines conceive all ſuch to be in as ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt.* But of the true meaning or extent of the *Apoſtles* words in the forecited place, or how the abſolute unpardonableneſs of ſin againſt *the holy Ghoſt*, may be thence concluded, I have nothing for the preſent to ſay. It ſufficeth to know that this *Error of the Novatians*, was by the *ancient Church*, wherein they lived, *Condemned* for an *Hereſie*. Yet hence it will not follow, that their Hereſie (in the judgment of them which condemned it) did properly or preciſely conſiſt in denying the *Churches authority to abſolve ſins* of what kind ſoever; but rather in avouching *this particular ſin of Apoſtaſie or revolting from Chriſtianity, to be in it ſelf unpardonable*, or uncapable of Repentance. If it had been in it ſelf *unpardonable*, or ſo adjudged by the *Primitive Church*: *Novatian* had been no Heretick, in withſtanding *Cornelius Biſhop of Rome* and the particular Churches which conſented with him, or in denying to admit the *Revolters from Chriſtianity* unto the eſtate or Condition of *Penitentiaries* in the Church; or in refuſing to give them *Abſolution*, or to hold *Communion* with them, after they had voluntarily, or otherwiſe, obſerved ſuch a courſe of Life, as the Church had appointed for *Penitentiaries*.

That the *Ancient Church* did neither admit open *Revolters* to enter into this Courſe or Rule of life, nor *Abſolve* them after they had Voluntarily, though moſt ſtrictly (to the eys of men) obſerved it, doth no way argue that the Church in which *Cornelius* lived, (or which lived after him) did err, much leſs incur the Cenſure of hereſie which *Novatian* objected unto them, in admitting open Revolters unto the eſtate and *Condition of Penitentiaries*, or in abſolving them from their ſins after performance of ſuch religious duties, as were by the Church required of men admitted into that eſtate or *Condition*.

The Primitive Church did hold both to be lawful but not expedient for the preſent Times.

2. The *Primitive Church* did deny unto *Revolters*, Both theſe Favours [1. *Admiſſion to the ſtate of Penitentiaries.* 2. *Abſolution upon their good behaviour after teſtification of repentance*] only *de Facto*; not *de Jure*. The *Church* in later times did only alter the *Practiſe* or diſcipline (as is to be preſumed) upon good cauſe or conſideration. And to conclude or limit the Authority of the preſent *Church* only by *Matter of fact*, or practiſe of the *Church* in former times, is matter of *Hereſie*, at leaſt of *Schiſm* And this it may be was a *Branch* (but not the *Root*) of *Novatian's Hereſie*. His *Radical Errour* or Hereſie was, in juſtifying the practiſe of the former *Church*, and in *Condemning* the reſolution of the *Church* wherein he and *Cornelius* lived, by the fore-cited place of our Apoſtle, Heb. 6. Or, by his miſinterpretation of it, that God would not be merciful unto ſuch as in time of perſecution had denied *Chriſt*, and either by word or practiſe approved the rites of the Heathens: This *Sin* of Revolt in-

deed was a foul and grievous ſin, yet not a-like foul and grievous in all that were guilty of it. But Even the fouleſt ſin that can be imagined is but a work of the Devil, and there is no work which the Devil can work in man ſo foul, which the *Son of God*, who was *manifeſted to this purpoſe that he might diſſolve the works of the Devil*, is not able to diſſolve. Only the full meaſure of ſin, or of obſtinate continuance in foul and grievous ſins is excluded from repentance, or other benefits of Chriſts Paſſion. Nor is the ſin againſt the *Holy Ghoſt*, for its kind or quality unpardonable, but becauſe it is always a *Symptom* of the full meaſure of ſin, or of obſtinate and unrelenting continuance in ſome ſinful courſe of life.

3. But even this *Fundamental Truth* [*That no ſin for its nature or quality is unpardonable*] through the bad diſpoſition of men hath yielded Nutriment to an errour ſo lately ſprung up, that it is not as yet condemned for an hereſie, though in it ſelf as damnable as *Novatian*'s Error was. The Error is this, [*That Every ſin which ſome ſort of men commit, is pardoned before it be committed,*] for ſo the Authors or mainteiners of this Errour argue.
“ If every ſin, eſpecially every groſſer ſin, which the *Elect* or men regene-
“ rate do commit, were not forgiven, through the Merits of Chriſts *Paſ-*
“ *ſion*: The *Elect* themſelves or men regenerate may *Totally* or *Fi-*
“ *nally fall from Grace*, ſeeing every ſin in its nature deſerveth Everlaſting death. But that the *Elect* or men regenerate may either *Totally* or *Finally fall from Grace*, or be for the preſent in ſtate of condemnation, is the utmoſt Abſurdity or inconvenience, which, in Divinity, they ſeek to bring their Oppoſites unto.

Not to trouble the Church with diſcuſſion of the *Antecedent*, [*Whether the Elect or regenerate may fall from Grace either totally or finally*] the *Argument* or *Conſequence* is worth the *traverſing*, to wit, [*Whether it being granted, that neither the Elect nor men regenerate can fall from Grace, we muſt by neceſſary Conſequence grant, that the ſins which men Elect or regenerate do after their regeneration commit be actually or in particular forgiven before the actual Commiſſion of them:*] or, [*Whether it were not much better to grant, That men Regenerate may fall from Grace, then that their ſins be in particular forgiven before they be actually committed by them; If the Connexion of theſe two were ſo infallible, that there were a neceſſity of granting both, by granting one.*] Unto this *Query* our *Anſwer* is, That if the impoſſibility of *falling from Grace* after regeneration cannot be mainteined without Suppoſal or *Grant, That their Sins are forgiven before they be committed*; or that God hath as it were *antedated a Pardon* for them in particular, from the hour of Chriſts paſſion; the medicine would be much worſe than the diſeaſe for which it is ſought. This very Conceipt or perſwaſion, that our ſins ſhould be forgiven before they be committed, will do the ſoul which harbours it greater harm *then a Total falling from Grace* could do it. For *a Total falling from Grace*, doth neither argue nor occaſion juſt deſpair of pardon upon repentance; whereas the miſperſwaſion or prejudicate opinion, *that our ſins are pardoned before they be committed*, will neceſſarily puff up our ſouls with preſumption, whoſe ſwelling impoſtumations are no leſs deadly then the wounds of deſpair. Though moſt *Popes* with their followers, blaſphemouſly teach, that with what Facts ſoever God himſelf at any time hath diſpenſed, every *Pope*, for the time being, may diſpenſe with the ſame; and that he may pardon every ſin ſo far and in ſuch manner, as God the Father and God the Son have pardoned the like: yet ſome latter *Popes* upon ſuit made to them have made a *Demur*, whether God at any time ſince the Creation, did grant a Pardon or diſpenſation for any Fact before it was committed, which without pardon or diſpenſation was unwarrantable, or in its nature damnable. And upon this ſcruple or Demur have denied to *Ante-date any diſpenſation for thoſe* Facts or practiſes which their predeceſſors had condemned for heinous ſins, unto thoſe perſons whoſe welfare and ſecurity from temporal danger they much tendred, and unto whom they ſhewed themſelves willing to grant a Pardon for thoſe very practiſes *poſt factum*, which they would not pardon or diſpence withall before they were committed. *So that to deliver it as a point of Orthodoxal Doctrin, that God doth freely and abſolutely pardon any particular ſins, even of his Elect and deareſt children before they be committed by them, is an Errour which tranſcends, the Licentiouſneſs of Popery; a Licentiouſneſs which for degrees and malignity exceeds the contrary rigorous Novatian errour, which denies poſſibility of Pardon unto ſome groſſer ſins, as unto Relapſe unto Idolatry.*

4. Yet is this licentious Errour but a particular branch, and not the worſt branch of that Fundamental or radical Errour before mentioned, which makes, or ſtrives to make the *Individual Nature ſubſtance* or *Entity*, that is in one word, the *Bare perſons* of men, the *Immediate Object* of the Omnipotent irreſiſtible and immutable *Decree*, concerning *Election* and *Reprobation*. The manner how this *Licentious Errour* of *Ante-dating Pardons* for ſins, ſprings from this poyſonous Root, is conſpicuous and palpable. *Firſt* the *Decree of God*, as all grant, is altogether *immutable* and *irreſiſtible*: and *Secondly*, the *Individual Nature* or Eſſence of every man, that is, his particular perſon, is, though not irreſiſtible, yet indiviſible and *immutable*, It changeth not with the conditions or diſpoſitions of men. For though a man of a young Saint become an old Devil, though of a civil ſober and peaceable man he become a riotous, unruly, ſeditious man, yet he ſtill remains the *ſame perſon* he was: he cannot plead in Courts of humane juſtice, that it was another party, not he, which committed the miſdemeanors for which he is queſtioned. Though his qualities or conditions alter, yet his Subſtance or Perſon alters not; whence, if *Gods immutable decree of Reprobation or Election* were Immediately terminated unto mens *Individual Natures* or Subſtances, that is, if he had abſolutely decreed to reward ſome particular men with everlaſting Bliſs, and others with everlaſting miſery, without reſpect unto their works; this *Conſequence* would be immutable, infallible, irreſiſtible. "Let the one ſort live as they liſt, "in Adultery, Theft, and Murder, they ſhould be ſaved. Let the others "do what they can, ſell all that they have and give it the poor, faſt and "pray moſt dayes in the week, they ſhould be damned; yea the Evil deeds "of the one ſhould be forgiven before they were committed; the others "good works or abſtinence from evil works, ſhould not be capable of "pardon; for as *Election* unto life Eternal, if it were terminated to mens "perſons (without reſpect unto their works) doth include not only a *general Ante-dated Pardon* for all the ſins they can commit, but priviledgeth them alſo from all queſtion; ſo doth *Reprobation* include an utter ex"cluſion from all hope of Pardon, what courſe of life ſoever they take, "if ſo be it were Terminated to their Perſons or Entities without reſpect unto their works.

See his *Anſwer* to Mr. B.

The Orthodoxal Truth then is, that God hath decreed to reward every man according unto all his works, not according to the foreſight of his individual Nature or Perſon. And though it be true, that it is impoſſible for any man to fall from the eſtate of *Election* into the eſtate of *Reprobation*, and as impoſſible for any man to aſcend or be tranſported from the eſtate of *Reprobation* unto the eſtate of *Election*: Yet is it not alike impoſſible for him that is for the time preſent in a *Middle State* betwixt both, that is, a man capable of Gods promiſes in Chriſt and yet lyable to his Judgements, either to proceed unto the eſtate of *Election*, or to fall into the ſtate of *Reprobation*. There is a neceſſity that every *Elected man* ſhall be ſaved, that every *man Reprobated* ſhall be damned, but no like neceſſity by the Eternal decree, that *This* or *That* particular man ſhall attain to the ſtate of *Election*, or fall into the ſtate of *Reprobation*. Their works or meaſure of working whether well or ill, their faith or want of faith, the meaſure and manner of both, are not ſo immutable or unchangeable as their natures or perſons are, Now *Gods immutable Decree* doth infallibly reward them according to the meaſure, manner, or quality of their works, or of their faith or infidelity. For albeit the Works or Acts of mans Faith be Mutable, yet Gods purpoſe of rewarding every man according to his works or different meaſure of faith or infidelity is moſt Immutable.

5. But albeit God do not Ante-date any pardon in particular for the ſins of the *Elect*, is it ſafe hence to conclude that he is not more favourable unto them than unto other men? or doth his peculiar favour to *them*, (being granted,) conclude him to be an accepter of Perſons? ſurely it would; if we did maintain that his *Eternal Decree* for ſhewing peculiar favour and mercy towards the *Elect*, did reſpect only mens Perſons or Individual ſubſtances; But, laying *this Foundation* [*That God from Eternity hath decreed to reward every man, not according to the previſion of his Individual Manhood or ſubſtance, but according to all his works* :] Gods peculiar favour may without imputation of partiality or acceptance of perſons, be extended not to the *Elect* only, but unto all that are *within the Covenant*, unto all that without Hypocriſie or ſiniſter reſpects, have ſubſcribed unto it. Yet though this peculiar favour be to be extended to all within the *Covenant*, we may not deny, but that it reaches the *Elect* in an extraordinary meaſure; for ordinarily none are admitted into the number of the *Elect*, which have not done ſome works which others, not of that number have not done. And if God out of his free bounty reward not the men, but their works, more bountifully, then he doth the works of other men, whoſe perſons are not within his *Covenant*, whoſe works are not ſo capable of bounty: he cannot hence be conceived to be a *Reſpecter of Perſons*, but *an accepter of ſuch in every Nation as work Righteouſneſs*, or do leſs evil then others do. The works which St. *Peter* requires *to the making of our Election ſure*, are all in their Nature and quality Good, all, parts of righteouſneſs; and though we cannot do them aright; yet ſuch as hope to be partakers of Gods peculiar favour, muſt be induſtrious in doing them. But not theſe works only, but even our ſubſcription unto the *Covenant of Grace*, our Profeſſion of being Chriſts Diſciples, is a work capable of mercy, of peculiar favour (in reſpect of others which neglect this *Covenant*) though *No work meritorious of Grace*, or of better abilities to proceed in Chriſtianity; nor are the beſt works of the *Elect* in their nature ſuch.

Gods graciouſneſs to the Elect, and his reſpect to their good works.

6. *Firſt*, the good Works which He doth that is *within the Covenant* are more capable of reward then the like works of men which are without the *Covenant*: and yet the good works of the *Elect* are more capable of reward then the beſt works of him that is only *within the Covenant*, not in the ſtate of *Election*, not confirmed in Grace. *Secondly*, the good Works of men *within the Covenant* do facilitate their progreſs towards Grace, and lengthen their poſſibilities of being confirmed in Grace. The good works of the *Elect* do more then ſtrengthen their preſent eſtate in Grace, they make them capable of greater Glory, then others *Elect* are, which work not after the ſame manner, or meaſure as they do. But leaving the *E-*

lect and their works to God who only knows them ; the good works of ſuch as are *within the Covenant*, though as yet not confirmed in Grace, do in ſome degree ſhelter them from danger of *final Apoſtaſie* or of excluſion from Grace. The more good works ſuch men have done, the better fruits of Faith they have ſhewed , the firmer they ſtand in the day of temptation, wherein the Fruitleſs hearer ſhall fall. Thus much is included in the Cloſe of our Apoſtles words, Heb. 6. verſ. 7, 8. *The Earth which drinketh in the rain that cometh oft upon it, and bringeth forth herbs meet for them by whom it is dreſſed, receiveth bleſſing from God. But that which beareth thorns and bryars is rejected, and is nigh unto curſing, whoſe end is to be burned.* Theſe Hebrews had come as near to that ſhelf, upon which others had made ſhipwrack of faith, as any men ſince have done, which have eſcapt it. And if they had been to be judged by men according to their preſent Facts , they had incurred that *dreadful ſentence of final Rejection* or Reprobation which the Apoſtle there denounceth againſt backſliders. What then was the *Sheet-anchor*, which, in our *Apoſtles Divinity*, did hold them from ſtriking againſt the immoveable Rock of Reprobation ? the merits of their former works? So ſome great Profeſſors of *Romiſh Divinity*, do teach in their *Lectures de Reviviſcentia meritorum*, that is, of the *Revival of merits, being dead or abated by Relapſe or Backſliding.* This *Title* they ground upon this very *Text of Scripture*, being otherwiſe groundleſs, as they themſelves confeſs. The words of the Apoſtle are, ver. 9, 10. *Beloved, we are perſwaded better things of you, and things that accompany ſalvation, though we thus ſpeak. For God is not unrighteous, to forget your work and Labour of Love, which ye have ſhewed towards his Name, in that ye have miniſtred to the Saints, and do miniſter.* Had it been any injuſtice in God to have forgotten their former works ? if it had, their works were truly *meritorious*, or capable of reward by plea of juſtice. For *that work unto which reward without injuſtice cannot be denied, is meritorious*, or worthy of the reward ; yet the *Apoſtle* implies, that *God ſhould have been* ἄδικος *unjuſt*, If he had had ſo utterly excluded theſe *Hebrews* from entring into his *Reſt* , as he did their Forefathers from entring into the land of Promiſe. For albeit their later works had been much like their forefathers, yet their former works had been much better. But in what ſenſe doth the *Apoſtle* ſay, οὐκ ἄδικος *God is not unjuſt ?*

7. This word *Injuſtus*, is ſometimes no more then *non benignus* , or *non miſericors* , that is , *not bountiful*, or not *merciful*, to ſuch, as are in miſery. Though works of pity, of bounty, be not works of juſtice or equity, yet ſometimes he that ſhews pity or favour, though in Caſes wherein the poſitive Law of God requireth Juſtice or ſevere execution, if the caſe come before the Magiſtrate, is ſaid to deal *juſtly*, that is, *not rigorouſly, not hardly*. So the *Holy Ghoſt* (when he gives the reaſon why *Joſeph* did not ſeek publickly to be divorced from his eſpouſed wife *THE BLESSED VIRGIN*) ſaith, he did thus reſolve, becauſe he was *a Juſt Man*, that is a *Courteous and mild-hearted man :* Not *a juſt man according to ſtrict and Legal juſtice.* For by the poſitive Law of God, the crime which he ſuſpected, was puniſhable not with divorce only, but with death. If *Joſeph* then in reſolving to put away his eſpouſed wife privately, did the part of a *juſt and upright man*, he had been ἄδικος, that is, an *unjuſt man in our Apoſtles ſenſe*, if he had reſolved to uſe the remedy or benefit of the Law. Yet can no man be ſaid ſtrictly or properly to be unjuſt for uſing any lawful remedy, but *non benignus*, or *non mitis* ; he may be ſaid *to deal rigorouſly*, or hardly, or uncourteouſly in uſing the extremity of the Law. To apply this Diſtinction to *the Point* in queſtion : If God had excluded theſe *Hebrews* from entring into his *reſt*, after they had accompliſhed ſuch

See Book 9. Chap. 12. Numb. 3.

a meaſure of works as the Apoſtle there intimates, he had not been *ſo merciful* and *bountiful* unto them, as the Scripture teacheth he is to all, he had not ſhewed himſelf *ſo gracious a Lord*, nor given ſuch incouragements to his other ſervants, of not being weary of well-doing, as he always uſeth to do. Briefly, when the Apoſtle ſaith, οὐκ ἄδικος, *the Phraſe in the Original* is as much as if he had ſaid, *ſo far is God from being unjuſt, that you ſhall find him a moſt gracious and loving Father: ſo far will he be from forgetting your works and labour of Love, ſo far from cutting you off from entring into his Reſt, that he will remember you with his beſt bleſſings, even with the bleſſing of Salvation, however your late backſlidings have deſerved the contrary.*

8. But however, God be a Gracious and loving Father to all that call upon him, to all that are *within his Covenant*, but eſpecially to his *Elect*: albeit this his Graciouſneſs conſiſts in the not imputing or in remitting of their ſins, yet is there not the leaſt ſin, which any *within his Covenant*, or which any of his *Elect* do commit, whoſe *Pardon* muſt not be ſought for, after the Commiſſion of it, and muſt actually be obteined; otherwiſe they ſhould dye in their ſins; for though the Son of God did take away the ſins of the whole world, by his ſufferings upon the Croſs: yet were no mans ſins ſo taken away by him, or ſo diſſolv'd as that he from that time did ceaſe, or yet doth ceaſe to *diſſolve* them; whenſoever they are committed, and their *diſſolution*, by repentance ſought for. Unleſs he did *yet diſſolve the works of the Devil* in us, unleſs he did *yet in peculiar manner* remit ſins; even our petty ſins, would inchain us unto the ſervitude of Satan. St. *John* no way excludes the *Elect*, but ſpeaks to men regenerate, albeit not to them alone, when he ſaith, *If any man ſin we have an Advocate with the Father Jeſus Chriſt the Righteous.* 1 *Joh.* 2. 1. Now the Office of an *Advocate* is to plead his *Clients* Cauſe before his Judge, as either for Juſtice, if his Cauſe be good, or for mercy or mitigation of Juſtice, if his *Client* be delinquent, God we know is as well a God of Juſtice, as of mercy, and hath as well one ear open to the *Accuſations* which are brought againſt us, as another attentive to the *Interceſſions*, which are made for us. Satan is our profeſſed Adverſary, and, after he hath inticed us to do his work, he never ceaſeth to ſollicit the Execution of Gods Juſtice or vengeance upon us. Not the beſt of Gods Saints may at any time plead their own cauſe, or joyn this Iſſue with him. “*Lord let Juſtice be awarded* “*with ſpeed, either for us or againſt us; either let our Adverſary be condem-* “*ned for accuſing us falſely, or let us be condemned with him, if we have done* “*unjuſtly.* This were to become not our own *Advocates* (which yet were preſumption) but to turn Satans Sollicitors even to ſupplicate for wo and vengeance upon our own ſouls. *David* hath taught us the *Form of our Plea* with God, even whileſt we ſtand upon beſt terms. *Lord enter not into Judgement with this thy ſervant for no fleſh is righteous in thy ſight.*

9. But will the Almighty Judg of all the world be ſo unmindful of his Great *Attribute*, as to deny Execution of Judgement upon ſuch as have deſerved it, being thereunto ſollicited and importuned by his profeſſed Adverſary? or will *The Son of God* be ſo partial as to plead for their acquittal which confeſs themſelves *guilty of the Crimes Objected*? To this we *anſwer*:

1. God hath *Two Covenants*, *One* of Juſtice, *Another* of Mercy. And albeit God The Father ſhould do *us* no wrong, no injuſtice, but do *Himſelf* right, if he did, upon Every accuſation, inſtantly Condemn us: yet ſeeing *His Only Son*, hath by a full and allſufficient price, purchaſed a Reconciliation for us; *He* may maintein *the Plea of Juſtice*, even before the Almighty Judge, againſt our Adverſary, for us:

Or, (having ſatisfied *the Juſtice of God* for all the ſins of mankind) *He* may *Remove our Trial* from *the Bar of Juſtice* to *the Throne of Grace* and mercy. 2. Neither *God the Father* could deny *Execution* of Juſtice upon us, nor could *God the Son* plead ſo much as for our *Reprival*, if we ſhould ſtand upon our own integrity, or our own Juſtification: ſo that Our *Confeſſion* of Guilt is ſo far from doing us prejudice, that it is a moſt neceſſary Condition of our Acquittal.

If God the Father then at any time (as hitherto at all times he hath done) defer the execution of Juſtice upon us, which our adverſary daily ſollicites againſt us, he defers it at the *Plea* or *Interceſſion* of this our *Advocate*; not for our own ſakes. And it is *worth the noting*, that as the reaſon why the *Pſalmiſt* will not have us joyn iſſue with our adverſary in point of Juſtice, is, becauſe *No fleſh is righteous in Gods ſight*; ſo our *Apoſtle*, to ſhew that our *Advocate*, though *partaker with us of fleſh and blood*, is *Exempted* from this *Univerſal Negative*, enſtiles Him by the name of *Jeſus Chriſt the righteous*. If he were not righteous, even in Gods ſight, He could be no fit *Advocate* to ſtand betwixt us and Gods Juſtice, to avert his Judgements from, and draw down his mercy and bleſſing upon us.

But in reſpect of what ſins, is *Jeſus Chriſt the Righteous* ſaid, to be our *Advocate*, an *Advocate* even for the *Elect* and regenerate? Is he their *Advocate*, only in reſpect of ſins, committed *before their regeneration*, or *before their Confirmation in Grace?* or an *Advocate* alſo for the remiſſion of thoſe ſins which they have committed *after their regeneration* by Baptiſm, or *after the increaſe of Juſtifying or Sanctifying Grace*, whether procured by receiving of Chriſts Body and Blood or by other means? If our *Advocate* he were only in reſpect of ſins committed *before Baptiſm*, or of ſins inherent by nature, the *Apoſtle* had not ſaid, *If any man ſin we have an Advocate*, but if any *man hath ſinned he hath an Advocate*, or *Interceſſion is already made for him by his Advocate*. The *title* which he beſtowes upon his Diſciples [*Little children*] argues them to have been, in his eſteem, men regenerate, and more free (as he hoped) from ordinary ſins, then other men, at the leaſt he wrote unto them, to the end that they ſhould not ſin after they had been cleanſed from their ſins, but yet he adds [*if any man ſhall hereafter fall into any ſin, We*, (He ſaith not *YOU*; as taking himſelf included in the number of thoſe which ſtood in need of *Advocation*) *have an Advocate with the Father Jeſus Chriſt the righteous.*] This implies that Chriſt doth not ceaſe to execute the *Office* of an *Advocate* for the regenerate, ſo long as they live here on earth. For it is not the Office of any *Advocate*, to plead for the remiſſion of thoſe ſins, which are already remitted, or from which he knows his *Clients* to be *clear* exempted, before they have committed them. If then the ſon of God make interceſſion for the ſins of the *Elect* or regenerate, whileſt they live here on earth, their ſins are not remitted, until *He* have made interceſſion for them, nor doth *He* intercede for actual ſins till after they be committed.

10. However if the Son of God be our *Advocate* only unto God the Father, whether in reſpect of ſins paſt or now preſent, *He* as *an Advocate*, doth only *plead* our *Pardon*, It is *God the Father*, then, which *muſt grant* the *Pardon*; and if every ſin be a work of Satan: the pardoning of ſin is the *Diſſolution* or the deſtruction of the work of Satan: How then is it ſaid that *the Son af God doth deſtroy or diſſolve the works of Satan in us?* As the Almighty Father is ſaid to have made the world, for *he ſpake the word and it was made*, yet he made it by *the Eternal Word his Onely Son*: ſo albeit the Father likewiſe, do give the *Fiat* or *Warrant*, that our ſins

It is the *Advocate's* office to *plead* for pardon: The *Judge* which hath *Power*.

1 Joh. 2. 1,2.

ſins may be remitted, or that the works of Satan may be *diſſolved* in us, yet they muſt be *diſſolved* by the Son, as immediately by the Son as the world was created by the Son. For this reaſon the *Apoſtle* in the forecited place doth not content himſelf with the only Title of *Advocate*, but adds withal, ***that he is the Propitiation for our ſins, and not for ours only, but for the ſins of the whole world.*** He ſaith not, (though that be moſt true) *He hath made the Propitiation for our ſin*; leſt haply any man ſhould hence collect that all his ſins were forgiven before they were committed, becauſe the *Propitiation* was made for them before they were committed. For albeit the Propitiatory Sacrifice was of value infinite and all-ſufficient for the full ranſom of the World: yet is it not ſufficient for us which believe, that *Chriſt* died for us, to look only upon the ***Propitiation*** which he then *Made* for us (for that is paſt) but upon himſelf as he ***ſtill continues the propitiation*** for our ſins; ſo ſaith the *Apoſtle*, ***He is the propitiation for our ſins***; not only an *Advocate* to plead for us unto his Father, that our ſins may be remitted, but this requeſt being granted, he is withall the *High Prieſt* which muſt remit them; and not our high Prieſt only, but the *Propitiation* by which Every work of Satan in us muſt immediately be diſſolved. Again, though all unto whom St. ***John*** wrote this Epiſtle, were not regenerate, yet it is certain that all ſuch as walk in the light are regenerate; yet ſaith St. ***John*** Chap. 1. 7. ***If we walk in the light as he is in the light, we have fellowſhip one with another; and the bloud of Jeſus Chriſt his Son*——**, what hath it done? ***Cleanſed us from all our ſins.*** Though that be in a good ſenſe moſt true, yet our *Apoſtle* doth not *So* ſpeak, Leſt haply ſuch as had attained unto this Communion of Saints, or participation with the Children of Light, being thus far cleanſed by Chriſts bloud, might take occaſion to think, that all their ſins, aſwel thoſe that are to come, as thoſe that were paſt, were already pardoned by him, or that they were as truly cleanſed from the guilt of ſins future, as of ſins already committed and paſt. But the *Apoſtle* (making himſelf one of the number to whom he ſpeaks) ſays, ***If WE walk in the light, the bloud of Jeſus Chriſt cleanſeth us from all ſin***, that is, it never ceaſeth to cleanſe the *Elect* or Regenerate from the ſins which they never ceaſe, in ſome meaſure or other, to commit or harbour in them. And if there were not a perpetual Remiſſion of our ſins, or if this cleanſing us from our ſins by the bloud of Chriſt were not as perpetual and continual as our Commiſſion of ſin is, our Caſe, even the Caſe of men Regenerate, would be Lamentable. So far is it from truth, that the ſins of any man be forgiven before they be committed, or that any man is by the bloud of Chriſt actually cleanſed from thoſe ſins which as yet have not actually polluted his ſoul and conſcience, that, as bad Diet caſts men into a Relapſe of thoſe diſeaſes from which they had been lately cured, ſo the ſins which we commit this hour, will call our former ſinnes to remembrance in Gods ſight, until theſe later as well as the former be actually forgiven, or until we be actually cleanſed from theſe later by the bloud of *Chriſt.* I ſhould now proceed unto the manner how the Son of God doth diſſolve thoſe works which Satan worketh in us after Baptiſm or Regeneration, or how we are actually cleanſed from ſin by his bloud.

The Error of the ſacrifice of the Maſs.

11. But here again I find the Truth beſet with *Two Errors or Extremes*, *One Poſitive*, or an *Hereſie* maintained by the Romiſh Church, which in *effect* denies the *infinite value* or everlaſting ***Efficacy*** of *Chriſts* bloudy Sacrifice upon the Croſs: The *Other Extreme* is an ***Incogitancy*** of ſome men which magnifie the everlaſting ***Efficacy*** or infinite *value* of

Chriſts Bloody Sacrifice, not too much (for ſo they cannot) but amiſs: they make it everlaſting *after ſuch a manner*, or rather make *ſuch uſe* or application of its everlaſting *Efficacy* or infinite *value*, to themſelves and to their hearers, as makes his *Everlaſting Prieſthood*, to be uſeleſs or needleſs. To begin with the Firſt Error or Extreme.

Is it poſſible, that, *That Church which challengeth the Title of Catholick as her own peculiar, ſhould deny the moſt Fundamental Article of Catholick Faith*, as is the everlaſting *Efficacy* or infinite *value* of Chriſts Bloody Sacrifice?

In expreſs terms, or directly, ſhe doth not deny it, Her Advocates dare not profeſs the denyal of it. For ſo moſt of their Faction whom they lead blindfold, would forſake them, as Hereticks and Aliens from the Antient and Orthodoxal Church. Yet the more ſtifly the greateſt Scholars in that Church deny the imputation or Charge which we lay upon them; the better proof we ſhall gain from them, that they are the men, which, as the Apoſtle ſaith, are given over *to believe Lyes*; that they are the men, on whoſe ſouls the *ſpirit of deluſion* hath ſeized; If we ſhall decypher the impreſſion or *Character of that ſpirit* ſo clearly, that every one, which is not ſworn to their Faction, whether *Jew, Mahumetan, or Heathen*, or other more indifferent, though but indued with *Common Reaſon*, may run and read it. Let us ſee then how they expoſe the greateſt Myſteries of our Salvation, unto the juſt ſcorn and deriſion of the *Jew, Mahumetan, or Heathen*, without poſſibility of Apology for their manifeſt contradicting the *Principles* not of *Chriſtianity* only but of *Common Reaſon*. Thus you may imagine any *Jewiſh School-Boy* or young Artiſt Catechized in the Rudiments of his own Religion would oppoſe the greateſt Rabbines in the Romiſh Church. ‘We of the ‘Jewiſh Nation once had our ordinary Prieſts which offered ſacrifices ‘daily in the Temple, we had our high Prieſt which went into the *moſt ‘holy place* once a year, with the blood of the Anniverſary and ſolemn ‘ſacrifices; ye Chriſtian Catholicks (ſo ye term your ſelves) teach ‘your hearers, as your *Apoſtle* hath taught you, that the beſt ſacrifices ‘which our Fathers uſed were but *Shadowes* fore-ſignifying the taking a‘way of ſin, they did not, they could not take away ſins, or cleanſe the ‘conſciences of ſuch as offered them; And why could not our ſacrifices ‘take away ſin? your Apoſtle gives this Reaſon, *becauſe they were often ‘offered*, Heb. 10. ver. 1. 2. &c. *Ye Chriſtian Catholicks* have your ‘high Prieſt, who, as ye ſay, offered himſelf up in bloody ſacrifice unto ‘God for your ſins; was this his ſacrifice perfect, or was it not? Did it take ‘away ſins more perfectly then the ſacrifices which our Fathers uſed, or ‘did it not? ye ſay, *It did*, we ſay *It did not*, it could not: if your ‘*Apoſtles Principles* or Expoſitions of Scriptures be true, and your practiſe ‘not falſe or unlawful. Your Prieſts (as you confeſs) ſtand daily mini‘ſtring and offering the ſame ſacrifice, which your high *Prieſt* did offer ‘and therefore by your Apoſtles argument againſt us, and by your pra‘ctiſe this ſacrifice can never take away ſin: It is more the ſame ſacrifice ‘than the ſacrifices of the Law were, And yet it is offered oftner and in ‘more places than any Legal ſacrifices were.

12. Some devoted to the Romiſh religion will perhaps ſay in their hearts; the Doctors of our Church know well enough how to untye theſe knots, which the *Jews* caſt; albeit ſo learnedly and ſo ſubtilly, that no unlearned man can perceive how they untye them. If men will thus believe or rely upon their Teachers ſkill without any true experiment of it we cannot help it. Yet if you will believe me upon the *faith of a Chriſtian*, I never yet could ſee any Romiſh Writers which leaves

not

not the *former knot* worſe then he found it, after he had uſed all the pains and ſkill he had not untwiſt it. The wiſeſt and moſt learned of them uſually let it ſlide away without medling. Many of you perhaps have read what the Rhemiſts in their Notes upon the tenth to the *Hebrews*, have attempted. To make you believe that all is looſe: The *Apoſtle* (ſay they) *ſpeaks of the ſacrifices of the Law, not of the ſacrifice of the Maſs.* It is true indeed, he ſpeaks of the ſacrifices of the Law, for he proves them to be unperfect, unſufficient: but he proves them to be unſufficient by ſuch a Reaſon as will conclude more ſtrongly, not only againſt the ſacrifice of the maſs, (if ſo the ſacrifices of the Maſs, were as lawful as the Legal ſacrifices ſometimes were, or the Reiteration of it, not more abominable in the ſight of God, then the reſtauration of Legal bloody ſacrifices at this day would be:) But againſt Chriſts bloody ſacrifice upon the † Croſs, alſo. The *only Reaſon* by which the *Apoſtle* proves the beſt kind of Legal ſacrifices, even whileſt they were lawfully uſed and according to Gods appointment, to have been altogether unſufficient for taking away ſin, is, becauſe they were to be *often offered*: Now *every particular muſt be proved by an univerſal*, and *A true univerſal Rule or Principle includes the ſame reaſon in every particular.* The *Apoſtle* could not prove the *Legal Services* to have been *imperfect* for this *Reaſon*, that they were *often offered*, unleſs this *Univerſal* were true and taken by him as granted, [*That no ſacrifices or ſacrifice of what kind ſoever which is often offered can be perfect or ſufficient to take away ſins.*] This *univerſal reaſon* the *Apoſtle* takes as granted by *Light of Nature* and Common Reaſon, and ſo frames his *Argument* from the Authority of *Scriptures*, and the conſonancy of *Common reaſon* or light of nature, ver. 15. The *Holy Ghoſt ALSO is witneſs*, &c.

† He means if it needed to be often offered.

It is as idle and as frivolous a ſhift wherewith the ſame Rhemiſts ſeek to put off their ignorant Readers when they tell them, that, *Chriſts body was but once offered up in a bloody manner, but may and ought to be often offered up in a bloodleſs manner.* The very root and ground of this diſtinction if you examine it by our Apoſtles Argument, includes a confeſſion or acknowledgment of the CRIME or HERESIE which we object unto them, to wit, that the bloody Sacrifice of the Son of God, is not by their doctrine of infinite value, nor of force and virtue everlaſting, but infinite only *ſecundum quid,* (*i.e.*) infinite in the Nature of a bloody ſacrifice, not ſo ſimply infinite as to exclude all other ſacrifice or offering for ſin. For if it had been of value infinite, or All-ſufficient to take away ſin whileſt it was offered up in a bloody manner, there had been no more offering, either required or left for ſin, whether a bloody or a bloodleſs offering, whether after a bloody or a bloodleſs manner; for if *Once offered* it were in the nature of an offering infinite, it neceſſarily took away all other offerings, or manner of offering for ſin.

A Note Relating to the precedent Chapter.

EUſebius, Socrates, *and* Theodoret *amongſt the Greeks:* Primaſius *and* Auſtin *amongſt the Latines do not diſtinguiſh betwixt theſe two Ominous names*, Novatus, *and* Novatianus. *But St.* Cyprian, *in his* 49. *Epiſtle, ſhews plainly that they were of two diſtinct perſons, though agreeing too well in Schiſm and Hereſie.* Novatus *was an* African (*new Monſter,*) *a Presbyter in the Church of Carthage, (where S.* Cyprian *was Biſhop)* vir ſui nominis; *for he was* Rerum novarum ſemper Cupidus, *diſobedient to his Biſhop, ſpightful againſt the* Order, *unnatural to his Father (who dyed for hunger and lay too long unburied) unfaithful to the Orphan, the Widdow, the Church-ſtock, unkind to his wife, whom he made to miſcarry with a kick.* (Damnat ſacrificantium manus ipſe nocentior pedibus, *ſays S.* Cyprian.) *Thus qualified, fearing Excommunication, He fled to Rome, and joyned with* Novatianus *a Roman Presbyter, who was, about that time, brewing his Schiſm againſt* Cornelius *Biſhop of* Rome: *Theſe Two were the Ringleaders of the Sect of the* Cathari. *See S.* Cyprian. *Epiſt.* 49. (*and Epiſt.* 51. 52.) *with* Rigaltius *his Notes.*

CHAP. LV.

From the Text. Heb. 10. *ver.* 1, 2. 16, 17. *And from this* Maxim, [*That Chriſt's One Sacrifice of himſelf was* of Value abſolutely Infinite;] *it follows not, That ſuch as* worſhip God in Spirit, *or, ſuch as are received into* the Covenant of Grace *have their ſins remitted before they do commit them.*

That Doctrine makes Chriſt's Reſurrection uſeleſs (in reſpect of us) and Baptiſm needleſs. Legal worſhippers Conſcious; and their ſins remembred in ſuch a ſort as Evangelical worſhippers are not. The vaſt Oddes betwixt Chriſt's One Sacrifice *and the* Many Legal. *We muſt diſtinguiſh betwixt the* Infinite value *and* Infinite vertue *of Chriſts ſacrifice.*

The precious Effects of H. Baptiſm, and the Euchariſt, flowing from the Efficacy of Chriſts Sacrifice and Prieſthood. *How Legal Sacrifices, &c, did prefigure Chriſt's.*

An Objection made.

1. BUt unto men which have not their Senſes exerciſed in the Prophetical and Evangelical Writings, or in the Harmony betwixt them; the words of the *Apoſtle in that tenth Chapter* to the Hebrews, ver. 1, 2 16, 17. do miniſter ſome ſcruple.

His words, ver. 1, 2, are theſe. *The Law can never, with thoſe ſacrifices which they offered year by year continually, make the commers thereunto perfect; For then would they not have ceaſed to be offered, becauſe the worſhippers, (that is, ſuch as were obſervers of the Legal worſhip only;) ſhould have had no more conſcience of ſin.* From this *Oppoſition* between the condition of Gods people under the *Law*, and the Condition of his people under the *New Covenant*, that is, of ſuch as worſhip him *not by legal Sacrifices, but in the Spirit*, it may ſeem to be concluded, that ſuch as are within the *Covenant of Grace*, or *worſhip him in ſpirit*, have their Sins remitted before they can commit them, or as ſoon as they begin to worſhip God, not by *Legal ſacrifices*, but *in the ſpirit*. For if the ſins of men thus qualified were not remitted before they were received into the *Covenant of Grace*, or at leaſt at the time when they were thereunto admitted, they ſhould at leaſt have as much (if not more) *Conſcience of ſin*, as the *legal worſhippers had.*

Fortified.

2. The *Scruple* or Queſtion, which the words of the Apoſtle, ver. 1, 2. do miniſter, may be fortified or Augmented from the ſame *Apoſtles Inference* ver. 17, *And their ſins and iniquities will I remember no more.* This is the *Privilege* of ſuch as are within the *New Covenant*. Now, if according to the *Tenor of this privilege*, God will no more remember their ſins and iniquities who are comprized within the *New Covenant*, the cauſe or controverſie may ſeem concluded, that God will neither puniſh their ſins, nor queſtion them for them. For all puniſhment of ſin, all

inquiſition after ſin, doth include or preſuppoſe a Remembrance or Cognizance of the ſins for which men are puniſhed or queſtioned.

Reinforced.

Both theſe *Scruples* may receive ſtrength or Countenance from that general *Maxim* unto which we willingly ſubſcribe [*That the bloody ſacrifice Whereby this new Covenant was made and ratified, was of value abſolutely infinite, for taking and putting away ſins.*] And how could it poſſibly be of *value infinite* for taking away ſins, unleſs the ſins of all, all their ſins for whom it was offered, were by it taken away or remitted; *So* taken away that they ſhould be no more remembred in Gods ſight, that *They ſhould have no more Conſcience* (or horrour) *of ſin?*

Anſwered.

3. The clear and unqueſtionable *Points of truth,* included in the *Apoſtles words,* are but *Two.*

The *Former*, That the *Legal Worſhippers* were conſcious of ſin in ſuch a ſort as the *Evangelical worſhippers*, or men comprehended under the *new Covenant*, are not conſcious.

The *Second*, that God did remember the ſins of ſuch as were under the *former Covenant*, after ſuch a manner as he doth not remember their ſins who are under the *New Covenant of Grace.* But for *the Diſtinct meaning* of the *Apoſtle*, that is, how farr the *Legal worſhippers* had a conſciouſneſs of ſin; how farr the *Evangelical worſhippers* have none? In what ſort, meaſure, or manner, God did remember the ſins of his people under *the Old Covenant*, and not remember the ſins of his people under *the new Covenant of Grace*, we can have no better ſcantling, no more indifferent ſtandard, than the words of the ſame *Apoſtle* in the ſame tenth Chapter, ver. 3. But *in thoſe ſacrifices* (to wit which were offered by the Law,) *there is a remembrance* (or commemoration) *of ſin made every year.* But werein did this *Annual* Remembrance or *Commemoration* of ſin conſiſt? The Law, as the *Apoſtle* elſewhere ſpeaks, was but a *School-maſter unto Chriſt;* and the *Leſſons*, which this *School-maſter*, did the Annual, or other, bloody ſacrifices eſpecially, teach, were theſe: ‘That the men, by whom or for whom theſe bloody ſacrifices were of‘fered, had deſerved, and as often as they offered them did deſerve, ‘to be tormented and mangled as theſe ſacrifices were. That the ‘*Butchery* of *Them* was *but Favorabilis commutatio pœnæ, a favourable ex‘change or deverting the puniſhment* from themſelves upon theſe bruit ‘Beaſts: That whiles the fire under Gods Altar did continue, Gods Wrath ‘againſt ſin and ſinners was not appeaſed, nor could be appeaſed by this ‘kind of bloody ſacrifices. All this the yearly and daily offering of bloody ſacrifices, did clearly teſtifie unto the conſciences of ſuch as offered them. And that ſo often as God required theſe ſacrifices, he did *call their ſins unto remembrance*, and as it were by matter of Fact proclaim unto the world, that as yet, his wrath againſt ſin was not could not be appeaſed, by theſe or the like kind of Sacrifices. But inaſmuch as the Law, though in it-ſelf imperfect (and therefore could make nothing *perfect*) was yet an *Introduction to a better Hope*; the continual reiteration or repetition of theſe bloody ſacrifices did teach ſuch as uſed them aright, to expect a more ſufficient bloody ſacrifice, which ſhould fully appeaſe the wrath of God, and Teſtifie unto mens conſciences *that he did remember their ſins no more*, in ſuch ſort as during the time of the Law he had done; that is, there ſhould be no more exchange or commutation of puniſhment, no *ſolemn remembrance* of ſin, by any ſacrifice (of what kind ſoever) for ſin, but *this one ſacrifice* ſhould ſuffice for all.

4. That we may aſcend by degrees unto the *infinite value* and *everlaſting*

Efficacy of the ſacrifice of the *ſon of God*, we are in the firſt place to conſider the odds or difference between this only Sacrifices and the ſacrifices of the Law. The odds or differences between them may be reduced unto theſe *Two Heads: Firſt*, To the Diverſity of their immediate Effects *Secondly*, To their different Efficacy or proportion for effecting the ſeveral Ends to which they were eſpecially deſtinated. 1. The *Immediate effect* of the bloody ſacrifices of the Law, was to cleanſe or purifie the offerers from ſins commited againſt the Law of Ceremonys, and this (as the Apoſtles termes it) was a *Purification* or *Sanctification according to the fleſh*. Howbeit, this Sanctification was a ſhaddow or picture of that purification of the Conſcience or Sanctification of the Spirit, which was to be effected by the bloody Sacrifice *of the Son of God*. 2. The ſacrifices of the Law were no way ſo Powerfull or ſufficient for effecting *the Sanctifying of the fleſh*, as the Sacrifice of the Son of God is for effecting the Sanctification of the ſpirit and Conſcience. There was *no one kind* of Legal ſacrifices, which might make a full attonement for all ſins or ſinners againſt the Law of Ceremonies, for every different ſin or legal uncleanneſs they had (for the moſt part) a different kind of ſacrifice, or offering. And if a man had been this day cleanſed by ſacrifice from ſome particular ſin or legal uncleanneſs, and had fallen again unto the like to morrow, the blood of the former ſacrifice could not ſtead him the ſecond time: Every particluar relaps into the ſame ſin, was to have a particular offering or freſh Sacrifice, though of the ſame kind with the former.

5. The *infinite value* of the Bloody Sacrifice of the *Son of God*, may from this imperfection of the legal ſacrifices, be diſtinctly apprehended if we conſider, that not the *Jew* only but the *Gentiles*, one and other, were Enemies and rebells againſts God, all by nature the ſons of wrath & perdition, and yet the ſavour of reconciliation for all that then were, or afterwards ſhould be (albeit this world ſhould continue a million of years) was purchaſed *by this one bloody Sacrifie*, as by a juſt and full price. What ſins ſoever any man had committed, they did not prejudice his *Intereſt in the pardon* purchaſed; it was univerſal in reſpect of all ſinners, and in reſpect of all ſins; The Almighty Father's wrath againſt mankind, was by this *Only ſacrifie* ſo well appeaſed, ſo fully ſatisfied, that he is ready to receive all into the favour and *Privilege of ſons*, which will with due reverance accept of the *Pardon* offered and ſue it out by ſuch meanes as he hath appointed. Now this *Univerſal Favour for all men*, to whom nothing but vengeance was in Juſtice due, could not poſſibly be purchaſed by any Sacrifice, which was not *of Value abſolutely infinite*. But to grant an abſolute *Pardon*, not only for all ſins paſt, before the acceptanee of the *Pardon*, but for willfull obſtinacy or continuance in ſin or rebellion after ſo Gratious a Proclamation of *Pardon*, could be no *Effect* of Gods infinite Mercy, no *Fruits* of Chriſts infinite Merits. For, infinite merits cannot benefit men altogether unqualified or uncapable of them. And mercy infinite muſt retain the nature of mercy; it reacheth not beyond the proper Object of mercy: And *the proper Object of mercy, is penitency or ſorrow for Miſdemeanors paſt or preſent*. Willful continuance or obſtinacy in exorbitant courſes or contempt of mercy offered, is the Object of Juſtice or indignation.

6. But beſides the *infinite Value*, we are to acknowledge the infinite or *everlaſting efficacy*, or *operative virtue* of this bloody Sacrifice of the Son of God. Want of diſtinguiſhing between *theſe two* hath occaſi-

oned many errours or overſights in Divinity: That there is a *diſtinction* to be put betwixt them, we may thus conceive. Suppoſe the Son of God, immediately after he had payed the ranſom for our ſins, or in that inſtant in which he ſaid, *conſummatum eſt*, all is finiſhed, had depoſed or layed aſide the humane nature, in which he was conceived and born to the end and purpoſe that he might dye in it (or according to it,) his offering or Sacrifice had been of value infinite, in that it could purchaſe ſo *univerſal a Pardon* at Gods hands for all ſinners, and for all ſins. Yet if he had laid aſide the humane nature immediately after his ſuffering, *The everlaſting efficacy* of this infinite Sacrifice had been cut off. Now beſides the infinite price of our redemption which was then paid when Chriſt ſaid *conſummatum eſt*, another End of his aſſumption and retaining the humane nature, was, that we might be partakers of *the everlaſting virtue* of his Sacrifice and *Prieſthood*. And herein doth this Sacrifice truly differ from the ſacrifices of the Law, from all ſacrifices whatſoever, in that we obtain remiſſion of ſins by it, and through it, not only as it was once offered, but by the *real communication* of its virtue unto our ſouls. If there were any uſe or need of a ſecond, third, or reiterated offering of it, the *virtue* and *efficacy* of it could not be imagined to be perpetually everlaſting or unceſſant, but endleſs or unceſſant only by viciſſitude or turn, in ſuch a ſenſe as we ſay, *the Moon ſhall be Eclipſed to the worlds end*; Yet is it not eclipſed at all times, but at ſome ſpecial times, throughout all Ages of the world. But if both the *value* of the Sacrifice be truly infinite, and the *virtue* of it everlaſting without interruption or diſcontinuation, more Unceſſant than the *motion* of the heavens, or the *reſt* of the earth: The often offering of the Sacrifice, after what manner ſoever, is ſuperfluous and blaſphemous. ‘The true reaſon then, why the ‘Body of Chriſt is not, or ought not to be often offered, is, not becauſe ‘all our ſins were actually remitted by the once offering of it, or remit‘ted before they were committed: but becauſe the ſubſtance or matter ‘of the ſacrifice, is of the ſame force, at this day, to remit ſins, that it ‘was of, whileſt it was offered. *For his humane nature was conſecrated by death and by his bloody Paſſion, to be a ſacrifice of everlaſting virtue, to be the continual propitiation for our ſins.*

Chriſts Reſurrection, our baptiſm needleſs; if ſins be remitted before they be committed.

7. If either the actual ſins of all men, or the ſins of the *Elect* in ſpecial, had been ſo remitted by Chriſts death as ſome conceive they were, that is, abſolutely pardoned before they were committed; there had been no end or uſe of Chriſts Reſurrection in reſpect of us; no need of Baptiſm: yet was baptiſm, from the hour of his reſurrection, neceſſary unto all that did believe in his death and reſurrection. The urgent and indiſpenſable neceſſity of baptiſm, eſpecially in reſpect of actual believers, is not any where more Emphatically intimated, than in St. *Peters* Anſwer to the *Jews*, Whoſe hearts were pierc't with ſorrow that they had been the cauſes of Chriſts death. They, in this ſtound or ſting of Conſcience demand, *Men and brethren what ſhall we do?* and Peter *anſwered them, Repent and be baptized Every one of you, In the Name of Jeſus Chriſt, for the remiſſion of ſins. And they that gladly received the word, were Baptized the ſame day.* Acts 2. 37, 38, 41. Theſe men had been deeply tainted with ſin, not original only, but with ſins actual of the worſt kind: guilty they were in a high degree of the death of the *Son of God*, yet had they as well their actual as their original ſins remitted by *Baptiſm*. It is then unſound and imperfect Doctrine, that ſin original only is taken away or remitted by Baptiſm;

for whatſoever ſins are remitted or taken away by Chriſts death, the ſame ſins are in the ſame manner remitted and taken away by Baptiſm into his death; actual ſins are remitted in ſuch as are guilty of actual ſins, when they are baptized, though only ſin Original be actually remitted in thoſe which are not guilty of actual ſins, as in Infants. No mans ſins are actually remitted, before he be actually guilty of them.

8. The *Queſtion* is, how either ſin original is remitted, or how any work of Satan is diſſolved by baptiſm, And this *Queſtion* in the General is rightly reſolved, by ſaying, *They are remitted by faith.* But this general *Reſolution* ſufficeth not, unleſs we know the *Object of our Faith* in this particular. Now the *particular Object* of our Faith, of that faith by which ſins (whether by baptiſm or otherwiſe) are remitted, is not our *general belief* in Chriſt: even our belief of Chriſt dying for us in particular, will not ſuffice; unleſs it include our belief of the everlaſting *virtue* of his bloody Sacrifice, and of his everlaſting *Prieſt-hood* for purifying and cleanſing our ſouls. No ſins be truly remitted unleſs they be remitted by the *Office* or exerciſe of his *Prieſthood*; and whileſt ſo remitted they are not remitted by any other Sacrifice then by the ſole *virtue* of his body and blood, which he *once offered for all*, for the ſins of all. It is not the virtue or efficacy of the conſecrated water in which we were waſhed, but the *virtue* of his Blood which was once ſhed for us, and which by baptiſm is ſprinkled upon us, or communicated unto us, which immediately cleanſeth us from all our ſins. From this everlaſting *virtue* of this his bloody Sacrifice, Faith, by the miniſtery of baptiſm is immediately gotten in ſuch as had it not before. And in ſuch as have Faith before they be baptized, the guilt of Actual ſins is remitted by the exerciſe or Act of Faith, as it apprehends the everlaſting *efficacy* of this ſacrifice, and by the prayer of faith, and ſupplication unto our High Prieſt. Faith then is as the mouth or appetite by which we receive this food of Life, and is a good ſign of health, but it is the food it ſelf received, which muſt continue health and ſtrengthen ſpiritual life in us; and the food of life is no other then Chriſts Body and Blood, and it is our *High-Prieſt* himſelf, which muſt give us this food.

Baptiſm, ſaith *St. Peter*, 1 Pet. 3. 20. *doth ſave us:* what Baptiſm doth ſave us? *not the putting away the filth of the fleſh* (yet this is the immediate effect of the water in baptiſm) *but the anſwer (or ſtipulation) of a good conſcience towards God.* But how doth this kind of Baptiſm, or this *concomitant* of Baptiſm, ſave us? The Apoſtle in the ſame place tells us, *by the reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt:* The *anſwer or ſtipulation of a good conſcience*, includes an illumination of our ſpirits by the *Spirit of God*; a qualification, by which we are made ſons of Light, being before the ſons of darkneſs. But, That by this qualification we become the ſons of light; That this qualification is by baptiſm wrought in us; That by this qualification however wrought in us, we are ſaved from our ſins; All this is immediately from the *virtue of Chriſts Reſurrection.* That is, as you have heard before, he was conſecrated by the ſufferings of death to be an everlaſting Prieſt, and by his reſurrection from death, his body and blood became an everlaſting Propitiation for ſins, an inexhauſtible Fountain of Grace, by which we are purified from the dead works of ſin.

9. It is true again, that in the Sacrament of Chriſts body and Blood, there is a propitiation for our ſins, becauſe *He* is *really preſent* in it, who is the propitiation for our ſins. But it no way hence follows, that there is any *propiatory ſacrifice* for ſin in this Sacrament. He becomes the pro-

pitiation for our ſins, he actually remits our ſins, not directly and immediately by the Elements of Bread and Wine, nor by any other kind of *localpreſence* or *compreſence* with theſe Elements, than is in *Baptiſm.* The *Orthodoxal Antients* uſe the ſame language, for expreſſing his *Preſence* in Baptiſm and in the Euchariſt; they ſtick not to ſay, that Chriſt is *preſent* or *latent in the water*, as well as in the *Elements of bread and wine.* Their meaning is, that neither of theſe Elements or ſenſible ſubſtances, can directly cleanſe us from our ſins by any virtue communicated unto them or inherent in them, but only as they are pledges or aſſurances of *Chriſts peculiar preſence* in them, and of our true inveſtiture in Chriſt by them. We are not then to receive the Elements of bread and wine only in remembrance *that Chriſt died for us*, but in remembrance or aſſurance likewiſe *that his body which was once given for us, doth by its everlaſting Virtue preſerve our bodies and ſouls unto everlaſting Life, and that his blood, which was but once ſhed for us, doth ſtill cleanſe us* from all our ſins, from which in this life we are cleanſed, or can hope to be cleanſed. If we then receive remiſſion of ſins or purification from our ſins in the Sacrament of the Euchariſt (as we alwaies do when we receive it worthily;) we receive it not immediately by *the ſole ſerious remembrance of his death*, but by the *preſent efficacy or operation of his body*, which was given for us, and of his blood which was ſhed for us.

10. The reaſon why the blood of Bulls and of Goats had no longer force or efficacy to cleanſe men, though but from ſins againſt the Law of Ceremonies, then whileſt they were offered, was, becauſe their blood was corruptible blood, and did periſh with the uſing. *But we are not redeemed*, ſaith St. Peter, *with corruptible things, as ſilver, and gold, but with the pretious blood of Chriſt, as of a Lamb without blemiſh or without ſpot.* One part of the pretiouſneſs of his blood is, that it is far more incorruptible then ſilver, gold, or other pretious metal, and the leſs corruptible any metal is, the more pretious it is; and the more pretious it is the more uncorruptible. 1 Pet.1.18.

Though Chriſt then was truly mortal when he died for us, yet the blood that he ſhed forth for us at his death, did not become like water ſpilt upon the ground, which cannot be gathered again; it did not vaniſh or conſume as the blood of Legal Sacrifices did; as his Body ſo his Blood was, not to ſee or feel corruption: not a drop of blood which was ſhed for us, whether in the Garden or upon the Croſs, but was the blood of the *Son of God*; but was ſhed by him, as willing at this price to become the everlaſting High-Prieſt of our ſouls: and not a drop of blood which was ſo ſhed did ceaſe, or ſhall ever ceaſe to be the blood of the *Son of God.* His ſoul and body we know were diſunited by death: yet were neither of them diſunited from his Godhead or Divine Perſon. His body whileſt laid in the grave, was ſtill the Body of the *Son of God*, as ſtill retaining *perſonal union* with his Godhead: So was his ſoul, ſo was his blood, the ſoul and blood of the *Son of God*, as being indiſſolubly united to his Divine Perſon. Though his blood, whileſt it was ſhed or poured out, did loſe its Phyſical or Local Union with his body, though one portion of it were divided from another, yet no drop of it was divided from his infinite Perſon. And that which the *Romiſh Church* would transfer unto each ſeveral crum of Bread or drop of Wine in the Euchariſt, is Originally and properly true of the ſeveral drops of diviſibilities of Chriſts Blood which was ſhed for us; whole Chriſt was in every one of them, indiviſibly in every one of them God was, the Godhead was and is perſonally united to all of them.

11. Whether all and every portion of his Bloud which was then ſhed, were, by the power of the Godhead, recollected and re-united to his Body, as his Body was to his Soul at the reſurrection, we cannot tell; God knows. But this we know and believe, that the ſelf ſame bloud which was then ſhed, whether it were gathered together again, or remain'd diſperſed, whether it were re-united to his glorified Body or divided from it, is ſtill united to the Fountain of Life, to the Godhead in the Perſon of the Son. And being united to this Fountain of Life (who dwelleth in it, as light within the body of the Sun) it is of *Efficacy everlaſting*; it hath an immortal power or force to diſſolve the Works of Satan in us, as well thoſe which he worketh in us after Baptiſm as before. The *Vertue* of it, to cleanſe and purge us from our ſins (of what kind ſoever) is, at this day, as ſoveraign, as if it had been ſprinkled upon our ſouls, whileſt it iſſued out of his body. It is impoſſible it ſhould loſe its *Vertue* in or upon our ſouls, unleſs we firſt loſe our intereſt in it, which we cannot loſe but by abandoning the ways of light, and polluting our ſouls with the Works of darkneſs. For ſo long *as we walk in the light, the bloud of Jeſus Chriſt the Son of God, doth cleanſe us from all our ſins.* 1 Joh. 1. 7.

See Chap, 46. Numb. 2.

12. This preſent *Efficacy* of Chriſts body and Bloud upon our ſouls, or *real Communication* of both, I find as a truth unqueſtionable amongſt the *Ancient Fathers*, and as a *Catholick Confeſſion.* The Modern *Lutheran* and the modern *Romaniſt* have faln into their ſeveral Errors concerning *Chriſts preſence* in the Sacrament, from a common ignorance; neither of them conceive, nor are they willing to conceive, how Chriſts body and bloud ſhould have any *Real Operation* upon our ſouls, unleſs they were ſo Locally preſent, as they might *Agere per contactum*, that is, either ſo purge our ſouls by *Oral Manducation*, as Phyſical Medicines do our bodies (which is the pretended uſe of *Tranſubſtantiation*) or ſo quicken our ſouls, as ſweet odours do the Animal ſpirits, which were the moſt probable uſe of the *Lutheran Conſubſtantiation.* Both the *Lutheran* and *Papiſts* avouch the authority of the *Ancient Church* for their opinions, but moſt injuriouſly. For more then we have ſaid, or more then *Calvin* doth ſtifly maintain againſt *Zuinglius* & other *Sacramentaries*, cannot be inferred from any ſpeeches of the truly *Orthodoxal* or *Ancient Fathers*; They all agree, that we are immediately cleanſed and purified from our ſins by the bloud of Chriſt; That his humane Nature by the inhabitation of the *Deity*, is made to us the inexhauſtible Fountain of life. But about the particular manner how life is derived to us from his human Nature, as whether it ſends its ſweet influence upon our ſouls only from the heavenly Sanctuary wherein it dwels as in its Sphere; or whether his bloud which was ſhed for us, may have more immediate Local preſence with us, they no way diſagree, becauſe they, in this kind, abhorred curioſity of diſpute. As for *Ubiquity* and *Tranſubſtantiation*, they are *the two Monſters of Modern Times*, brought forth by ignorance and maintained only by Faction.

And thus much *of the infinite value and everlaſting Vertue of Chriſts ſacrifice in compariſon of Legal ſacrifices. The next Query is, How the everlaſting Efficacy of his Sacrifice, or of his Prieſthood was prefigured by Legal Sacrifices or purifications for ſin.*

13. The Legal ſacrifices, as all agree, did generally foreſhadow *Chriſts Only* and *All-ſufficient Sacrifice.* But in as much as they were corruptible, and their vertue tranſient, and by reaſon of their corruption and tranſient vertue were often to be reiterated: they could not be ſo much as true

ſhadows either of his offering of Himſelf *once for all*, or of the *Everlaſting vertue* of his *Only Sacrifice once offered*. Their imperfection, corruption, or tranſient vertue, did ſerve as foils to ſet forth the glory and ſplendor of his everlaſting Sacrifice, and moſt perfect offering. Of all the *Legal Sacrifices* which preſent themſelves unto my former obſervation, or preſent memory, there is one kind only which can bear the true ſhadow or ſerve as a *Model* of the Everlaſting *Efficacy* of *his only Sacrifice* once offered for all. And that was the ſacrifice of the *Red Heifer*, Numb. 19. and the Legal Uſe which GODS People under the Law were to make of Her Aſhes.

The correſpondency between the effects of the *Aſhes* of this ſacrifice and of the bloud of Chriſt is gathered by our Apoſtle, *Heb.* 9. *verſ.* 13, 14. *If the Aſhes of an Heifer, ſprinkling the unclean, ſanctifieth to the purification of the fleſh: how much more ſhall the bloud of Chriſt, who through the eternal ſpirit offered himſelf to God, purge your conſciences from dead works to ſerve the living God.* But wherein did this ſacrifice picture out the *Everlaſting Efficacy* of the Bloud of the Son of God, in more peculiar manner then other Legal ſacrifices did?

14. *Firſt*, in that all ſuch as were legally unclean by touching a Corps or Grave, by comming into a Tent wherein a Corps lay unburied, or ſuffering the veſſels in ſuch a Tent to be uncovered, were to be purified by the *Water of ſprinkling* which was qualified or conſecrated to this purpoſe by the Aſhes of the *Red Cow or Heifer*: and as often to be purified by this water as they ſhould incur this Legal uncleanneſs. And yet the ſacrifice of this beaſt was not to be offered ſo often as this people did incur theſe kinds of legal uncleanneſs. Thus much is Evident from the practice of the Jewiſh Church during the time of the Law.

For this water of purification was often every year, oft-times Every month to be ſprinkled upon ſome one or other of this people, oft-times upon one and the ſame man within one and the ſame year, even as often as he ſhould by chance, or negligence incur any of the former branches of uncleanneſs. Yet was not this ſacrifice, whoſe aſhes were ſtill to be mingled with the water of purification, to be offered once every year, in every Age, or in many Ages.

The Sacrifice of the *Red Heifer*, as the *Jews* confeſs, was but nine times offered during the time of the Law; *Once* by *Eleazar Aaron's Son* in the Wilderneſs. And this Sacrifice was not reiterated until the deſtruction of *Solomon's* Temple, that is, not during the ſpace of a thouſand years and more. It was the *Second Time* offered by *Ezra* after this peoples Return from Captivity, and but ſeven times after, unto the deſtruction of the ſecond Temple. And this *Fooliſh Nation* ſince that time hath not preſumed to offer it, but expects the offering of it the tenth time by their *King Meſſias*. Thus is the faithleſs Synagogue, by Gods providence, the Keeper, not of the Sacred Oracles only written by *Moſes* and the Prophets, but even of thoſe *Traditions* which teſtifie the ſum and truth of theſe Oracles, to wit, *that this legal ſacrifice, amongſt the reſt, was to be accompliſhed in their Meſſias*. He was indeed to ſet the Period to this Legal Rite, and to all the reſt, not by offering them after a Legal Rite or manner, but *by offering up himſelf* inſtead of them all, *once for all*, in bloudy ſacrifice, in whoſe *infinite Value* and *Everlaſting Efficacy* all other ſacrifices or offerings for ſin, were ſo terminated or ſwallowed up, as Land-rivers or Currents of waters are in the Sea. But what circumſtance have we from the written Text, that this ſacrifice was not to be ſo often offered, as this people had occaſion to uſe the

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ſhadows either of his offering of Himſelf *once for all*, or of the *Everlaſting vertue* of his *Only Sacrifice once offered.* Their imperfection, corruption, or tranſient vertue, did ſerve as foils to ſet forth the glory and ſplendor of his everlaſting Sacrifice, and moſt perfect offering. Of all the *Legal Sacrifices* which preſent themſelves unto my former obſervation, or preſent memory, there is one kind only which can bear the true ſhadow or ſerve as a *Model* of the Everlaſting *Efficacy* of *his only Sacrifice* once offered for all. And that was the ſacrifice of the *Red Heifer*, Numb. 19. and the Legal Uſe which GODS People under the Law were to make of Her Aſhes.

The correſpondency between the effects of the *Aſhes* of this ſacrifice and of the bloud of Chriſt is gathered by our Apoſtle, *Heb.* 9. *verſ.* 13, 14. *If the Aſhes of an Heifer, ſprinkling the unclean, ſanctifieth to the purification of the fleſh: how much more ſhall the bloud of Chriſt, who through the eternal ſpirit offered himſelf to God, purge your conſciences from dead works to ſerve the living God.* But wherein did this ſacrifice picture out the *Everlaſting Efficacy* of the Bloud of the Son of God, in more peculiar manner then other Legal ſacrifices did?

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the Prophet *Zachary.* For having in the twelfth Chapter verſ. 10. propheſied of the *piercing of the Son of Gods moſt precious Body by the Jews,* (for which when God ſhould open their eyes to ſee the truth, they ſhould lament and mourn) he explicates the Uſe or End to which the Divine Providence had deſtinated this their malicious cruelty, Chapter 13. 1. *In that day there ſhall be a Fountain opened to the houſe of David, and to the inhabitants of Jeruſalem, for ſin and for uncleanneſs.* By this offering of himſelf *Once for all*, by this opening of his *pretious Side*, he hath conſecrated all that are *Sanctified*, and all that are ſanctified are ſanctified by it: Yet not actually ſanctified or actually conſecrated by his Bloud before it be ſprinkled in our hearts by Faith. And to inſtruct us that the *Legal Water of ſeparation* or ſprinkling did foreſhadow the *Bloud of Chriſt*, the Apoſtle termes it, *The bloud of ſprinkling. Heb.* 12. 24.

CHAP. LVI.

The Efficacy *of Chriſts* Sacrifice, *and the* Uſe *of his* Prieſt-hood, *Two diſtinct ſeveral Things.*

Wherein the Exerciſe *of his* Prieſt-hood *doth conſiſt. How it was foreſhadowed.* Ordinances *effectual by vertue of Chriſts* Preſence. *Vertual Preſence is a* Real preſence.

1. SUch as *deny* the Everlaſting Efficacy of *Chriſts Sacrifice*, may be preſumed likewiſe to *deny* the *Uſe* of his Everlaſting *Prieſthood.* Howbeit all ſuch as grant the everlaſting *Efficacy* of his *Sacrifice* cannot hence be concluded to *admit* the everlaſting *uſe* of his *Prieſthood.* For theſe be *Two diſtinct Points* of our Belief. If Belief in Chriſts death or in the Everlaſting *Efficacy* of his ſacrifice, were all that we are bound to believe, we were not bound to acknowledge any other *Act* of his *Prieſthood* beſides the *offering up of himſelf* in Sacrifice; But by this *one Act* of his *Prieſthood* he was conſecrated to be an *Everlaſting Prieſt.* And if he be an *Everlaſting Prieſt* he ſtill executes the Office or *Function* of an High Prieſt. And it is our Duty, the *Chief Point* of our Religion, to ſupplicate unto him as to *The Only High Prieſt of our Souls,* that he would make us partakers of his Everlaſting Sacrifice, as we ſay, *Ex Officio,* by exerciſing the Office or Function of an *High Prieſt.*

The Queſtion is, *Wherein the Function or exerciſe of his Prieſthood doth conſiſt?* To this we anſwer, *Firſt,* Negatively; That it doth not conſiſt in the often offering up of himſelf by his Prieſts or Miniſters here on Earth; For if he were on Earth, ſaith the Apoſtle, Heb. 8. 4. *he ſhould not be a Prieſt.* This argues, that he exerciſeth his *Prieſthood* in the heavenly Sanctuary, not in Temples made with hands. So ſaith the Apoſtle more expreſly, Heb. 9. 24. *Chriſt is not entred into the holy places made with hands, which are the figures of the true, but into heaven it ſelf, now to appear in the preſence of God for us. Nor yet that he ſhould offer himſelf often, as the high Prieſt entreth into the holy place every year,* ἐν ἅιματι ἀλλοτρίῳ, *with bloud of others. For then muſt he often have ſuffered ſince the foundation of the world: but now once in the end of the world hath he appeared to put away ſin by the ſacrifice of himſelf.*

The truth then is, as you have heard before, that Chriſt by his bloudy Sacrifice upon the Croſs, was conſecrated to be an *Everlaſting Prieſt.* And that this Conſecration was not accompliſhed until his Reſurrection from the dead. For it is not conceivable that he ſhould be an *Everlaſting Prieſt*

Prieſt before he became an *Immortal man*, and by his riſing, *&c.* opened the Gate of Everlaſting life. After he was thus conſecrated by death, and by the reſurrection from the dead, to be an *Everlaſting Prieſt after the order of Melchiſedeck*, he was not to offer any ſacrifice: nor do we read that *Melchiſedeck* offered any. Wherein then did *Melchiſedeck's* Prieſthood conſiſt? *Only in the dignity of Authoritative bleſſing.* He was, (ſaith *Moſes*) *the Prieſt of the moſt high God, and he bleſſed Abraham, and ſaid, Bleſſed be Abraham of the moſt High God poſſeſſour of Heaven and Earth.* St. *Cyril* in his Parallel betwixt *Chriſt* and *Melchiſedeck*, ſpeaks more expreſly, and reads the Text more punctually for the Opinion of Reformed Churches, then we our ſelves for the moſt part, do.

See Book 9. Ch. 9. [illegible]

See the [illegible] at the end of this Chapter.

2. *This exerciſe of Chriſts ſpiritual Prieſthood* in the heavenly Sanctuary, was foreſhadowed by ſundry ſervices and ſacrifices of the Law, By that Solemn *Attonement* which the *High Prieſt* made in the *moſt holy place*: and, as we have often ſaid, by the ſacrifice of the *Red Heifer* alſo; Albeit that ſolemnity did prefigure him likewiſe in the *Act of his Conſecration*, or deſignation to his heavenly Sanctuary. This *Heifer* was ſlain by another without the Camp, in *Eleazars* ſight, and yet *Eleazar* the Prieſt was to ſprinkle the bloud of this ſacrifice *before the Tabernacle of the Congregation*, that is, *with his face towards the Sanctuary*, on which unleſs he did conſtantly look whileſt he did ſprinkle the bloud, the ſervice was fruſtrated, as the *Jews* ſay. This teſtified that the *validity of this Act* or the purification intended by it, was to be expected *from the Sanctuary*; Chriſt likewiſe was ſlain by the hands of ſinful men without the City. And yet though ſlain by them, *he offered himſelf by the eternal Spirit.* And whether by *This eternal ſpirit*, or by his ſpirit (as man) or by both; certain it is, that by the *Spirit*, he ſprinkleth the bloud of the *new Covenant* upon us, and prepareth a way for us to the heavenly Sanctuary. As the people under the Law might not enter into the Congregation, nor the *Prieſts into the Sanctuary* until they had been purified from their uncleanneſs by the water of ſprinkling: ſo neither could we or any of Gods people have acceſs unto the *moſt holy Place* or heavenly Sanctuary until the way were prepared for us, by the bloud *of the Son of God*, nor until we be ſprinkled and purified with his bloud. *Having therefore brethren boldneſs to enter into the holieſt by the bloud of Jeſus, by a new and living way which he hath conſecrated for us, through the vail, that is to ſay, his fleſh. And having an high Prieſt, over the houſe of God, Let us draw neer with a true heart in full aſſurance of faith, having our hearts ſprinkled from an evil conſcience, and our bodies waſhed with pure water*, Heb. 10. 19, 20, 21, 22. He conſecrated *the Way* it ſelf, by his *Bloudy ſacrifice* upon the Croſs: from the very moment in which the Vail did rend aſunder, the door was opened and *the Way* prepared. But we muſt be qualified for walking *in this way*, and for entring into this heavenly *Sanctuary*, by the preſent exerciſe of *his everlaſting Prieſthood*, which is a *Prieſthood of bleſſing*, not of *ſacrifice.* And yet he bleſſeth us by communicating the *vertue* and efficacy of his everlaſting Sacrifice unto our Souls.

Heb. 9. 14.

This participation, and this *Bleſſing* by it, the full expiation of our ſins, we are to expect from his heavenly Sanctuary.

3. *God ſaith the Apoſtle*, *Hebrews* 6. 17. *willing more abundantly to ſhew unto the heirs of promiſe the immutability of his Counſel*, ἐμεσίτευσεν ὅρκῳ, *interpoſed himſelf by an oath* (or, word by word) *he mediated by an Oath.* The Tenor of this Oath, as you have heard before, was, *That he would requite Abraham as we ſay in kind*; That as *Abraham* was then willing to offer up his Son, his only Son *Iſaac* in bloudy ſacrifice unto him: So he would offer or give His only Son for *Abraham* and for all ſuch as ſhould follow

See Book 9. Ch. 19.

See Book 8. Chap. 30. and Book 9. Chap. 17.

low his *Example of Faith and obedience.* It was in the ſame promiſe (confirmed by oath) implyed, That *This only Son of God* ſhould be the ſeed of *Abraham*; that in this one ſeed of *Abraham all the nations of the earth ſhould be bleſſed.* That for the derivation of this *Bleſſing* upon all the Nations upon Earth, this ſeed of *Abraham* ſhould be made a *Prieſt* after the order of *Melchiſedeck. The hope in this Promiſe, thus confirmed by oath to Abraham*, is by the Apoſtle in the ſame 6. Chapter verſ. 19. termed, *an Anchor of the ſoul Both ſure and ſtedfaſt.* But why an *Anchor, ſure and ſtedfaſt?* Becauſe *it entreth into that within the vail*, to wit, into the *Heavenly Sanctuary*, which was prefigured by the *Moſt Holy Place* within the material Tabernacle or earthly Sanctuary, into which none might come beſides the High Prieſt, nor he ſaving *once a year*, and then *not without Bloud*; For he was to purifie or ſanctifie it by the bloud of the ſacrifices which were offered without the Camp or Congregation upon the day of the Attonement. And thus *The Son of God* being crucified without the City of *Jeruſalem*, did by his *Bloud then ſhed enter into the heavenly Sanctuary, and even purifie it by his bloud.* Heb. 19. 23, 24. But what doth our hope apprehend within the vail? The Apoſtle tells us *Heb.* 6. 20. *Even Jeſus made an high Prieſt after the order of Melchiſedeck*; that is an high prieſt *to bleſs us in the Name of the Moſt High God*, to make us bleſſed, even bleſſed as the Sons of God, or ſuch as he himſelf, as man, is, that is, Kings and Prieſts unto our God. That this his Prieſthood is a *Prieſthood of Bleſſing*, and offereth the *Bleſſing* promiſed unto *Abraham* to all the Nations of the Earth, aſwel unto the *Gentile* as unto the *Jew* (though in the firſt place unto the *Jew*) St. *Peter* witneſſeth *Acts* 3. 25, 26. *Ye are the Children of the Prophets, and of the Covenant which God made with our Fathers, ſaying unto* Abraham, *and in thy Seed ſhall all the Kindreds of the Earth be bleſſed. Unto you* FIRST *God having raiſed up his Son Jeſus, ſent him to bleſs you, in turning away every one of you from his iniquities.*

4. Yet ſeeing he entred not into the heavenly Sanctuary without bloud, ſeeing he purified Even Heaven it ſelf by his Bloud; We may not expect the *Bleſſing* promiſed unto *Abraham* otherwiſe then by the *Vertue* of his Bloud, nor may we expect that his Bloud or *Vertue* of it ſhould be communicated unto us, otherwiſe then by the *Exerciſe* or *Office of his everlaſting Prieſthood*, unto which he was conſecrated by his bloud. He now works the like *Cures* in our *ſouls* by the *Vertue of this Prieſthood*, which he wrought in mens *Bodies*, whileſt he lived here on Earth, *by the Vertue or preſence of his Prophetical Function.* We may Baptize with water in his Name, and with water ſanctified by his Bloud: yet unleſs he baptize with *the Spirit* ſent from his heavenly Sanctuary, and ſay unto every one whom we Baptize, as he did unto the Leper, *I will, be thou clean*; our waſhing is but in vain, our whole Action is but a Ceremony. We his Prieſts or miniſters may upon *Confeſſion* made unto us either in *General*, or in *Particular*, *Abſolve* his people from their ſins; for this Authority he hath given us [*whoſe ſins ye remit they are remitted, whoſe ſins ye retain they are retained.*] Yet unleſs He by his ſpirit, or ſweet influence of Grace, ſay unto the ſoul, whom we *Abſolve*, as he ſometimes did unto the man ſick of the Palſie, *Be of good chear thy ſins be forgiven thee*; Our *Abſolution* is but a *Complement*; although without our Abſolution he do not in this ſort Abſolve his people oftentimes from their ſins. We may *Conſecrate the Elements* of Bread and Wine, and adminiſter them ſo conſecrated as *Undoubted Pledges* of his Body and Bloud, by which the *new Covenant* was ſealed, and the *General Pardon* purchaſed: Yet

unleſs

leſs he grant ſome *actual Influence of his ſpirit*, and ſuffer ſuch *Vertue* to go out from his *Humane Nature* now placed in his Sanctuary, as he once did unto the woman that was cured of her Iſſue of Bloud; unleſs this *Vertue* do as immediately reach our Souls as it did her body, we do not *Really* receive his Body and Bloud with the Elements of Bread and Wine. We do not ſo receive them as to have our ſins remitted or diſſolved by them: we do not by receiving them become *of his fleſh and of his bones*. We gain no degree of *Real Union* with him, which is the Sole Uſe or fruit of his *Real Preſence*. Chriſt might be *Locally Preſent* as he was with many here on earth, and yet not *Really preſent*. But with whomſoever he is *Vertually Preſent*, that is, to whomſoever he communicates the Influence of his Body and Bloud by his ſpirit, he is *Really Preſent* with them, though *Locally Abſent* from them. Thus he was *really preſent* with the woman, which was cured of her bloudy iſſue, by touching the hem of his garment. But not ſo *really preſent* with the multitude that did throng and preſs upon him, that were locally more preſent with him. She did not deſire ſo much as to touch his *Body* with her hand, for ſhe ſaid in her ſelf, *If I may but touch the Hem of his garment I ſhall be whole.* And yet by our Saviours interpretation, *She did touch him more immediately then they which were neerer unto him*, which thruſt or thronged him. And the reaſon why ſhe alone did more immediatly touch him then any of the reſt, was, becauſe *Vertue* of healing, did go out from him to her alone. It is true then (for our Saviour ſaith it) *her Faith did make her whole*, and yet ſhe was made *whole by the Vertue which went out from him:* this was the fruit or effect of her Faith, or rather the Reward or Conſequent of her Faith. In like ſort, as many as are healed from their ſinnes, whether by the Sacrament of baptiſm or the Euchariſt, are healed by *Faith relatively* or inſtrumentally. Faith is as the Mouth or Organ, by which we receive the Medicine: but it is the *Vertual influence* derived from the Body and Bloud of Chriſt which properly or efficiently doth cure our ſouls and diſſolve the works of Satan in us.

This woman, as St. *Matthew* relates the ſtory, had ſaid within her ſelf, *if I may but touch the hem of his garment I ſhall be whole:* She wanted either the opportunity or boldneſs to touch the fore-part of his garment, or to come into his ſight or preſence. Yet he then knew, not only, that ſhe had touched the Hem of his Garment, but what ſhe had ſaid within her ſelf, and out of his knowledge of this her faith and humility, he did pronounce and make her whole. Now it is but one and the ſame *Act* of one and the ſame Divine Wiſdom, to know the hearts and ſecret thoughts of men afar off and near at hand. And therefore a matter as eaſie, for *the Son of God*, or for *the man Chriſt Jeſus in whom the Godhead dwelleth bodily*, though ſtill remaining at the right hand of God, to know the hearts and ſecret thoughts of all ſuch as preſent themſelves *at his Table* here on earth, aſwel as he knew the ſecret thoughts of this woman which came behind him. What need then is there of his *Bodily Preſence* in the Sacrament, or of any other preſence then the influence or emiſſion of vertue from his heavenly Sanctuary unto our ſouls? He hath left us the conſecrated Elements of bread and wine, to be unto us more then the hem of his garment. If we do but touch and taſte them with the ſame faith by which this woman touched the hem of his garment, this our Faith ſhall make us whole, and ſtanch the running iſſues (and cleanſe or cure the leprous ſores) of our ſouls, as perfectly as it did this womans iſſue of bloud.

But of *Chriſts Preſence* with us (eſpecially in the B. Sacrament of his Body and Bloud) we ſhall take occaſion to ſpeak ſomewhat more, in Handling the *Article* of *his Sitting at the right hand of God*, which may perhaps give the Reader ſome degree of ſatisfaction; and Line out the *Right Mean* betwixt *Conſubſtantiation* and *Tranſuſtantiation*; or between the *Romaniſt* and the *Lutheran*, at leaſt between the *Lutheran* and other reformed Churches.

A Note relating to the precedent Chapter; Firſt Paragraph, or Numb. 1. Thoſe words, St. *Cyril* in his Parallels, &c.

I *Conceive the Author means St.* Cyrlli's (*Comments or Strictures*) *upon* Geneſis: *and in them* This Place, *or* Theſe words, [προσπάγει ξ, ϗ Μελχισεδὲκ βασιλεὺς Σαλὴμ ἐξήνεγκεν αὐτῷ ἄρτους ϗ οἶνον——] *and in* Theſe words *his Eye was fixt upon* [ἐξήνεγκεν] extulit, *or* protulit, *it is not* [προσήνεγκεν] obtulit. *That is*, Melchiſedeck brought out, *or* Carried forth, *not* OFFERED *Bread and Wine.* Cyrill. Alex. Tom. 1. Glaphyrorum Lib. 2. Pariſ. Edit. 1638. Fol. 47.

To which I may add, that the ſame S. Cyril *in the ſame Book, pag.* 62. *ſays, That* Melchiſedeck, ἐξεκόμιζεν ἄρτους ϗ οἶνον. *i. e.* (*according to* Sylburgius, Suidas, *and* Heſychius.) Procuravit, Adornavit, Exportavit, Commeatum Commodavit; *not* obtulit *as* Andr. Schotus *tranſlates it there. And again, p.* 63. ἱερέα-προσάγοντα ἄρτους ϗ οἶνον. *i. e.* apportantem, afferentem, *not* offerentem *as the ſame* Schotus *tranſlates it alſo. But it is the* Roman Ingenie *to catch at this place. So* Maldonate, *to deſpight* Calvin, *corrects the Magnified Vulgar Latin, altering it, to,* —— & erat Sacrificans -- *but partially, for his Criticiſm Being given, it will amount to no more, then,*— erat miniſtrans ——. *See this Authors* 9. *Book, Chap.* 10. *Where he cites* Philo Judæus. *Lib.* 2. *S. leg. Allegor. Making* Melchiſedeck's bringing forth Bread and Wine *not an Act of Piety and Religion*, *but of Hoſpitality; Oppoſite to* Ammons *Churliſh niggardlineſs, who afforded not* (*the poſterity of* Abraham *in their travel*) *Bread and Water.*

SECT

SECT. I.

Of *Chriſts Sitting at the Right-hand of God.* Of the *Grammatical Senſe* of the words, and of the *Real Dignity* anſwering thereto.

CHAP. I.

Of the *Grammatical Senſe* of the words: And whether they be meerly Metaphorical.

Heb. 10. ver. 12.

But this man, after he had offered one Sacrifice for ſins for ever, ſate down on the right hand of God. From henceforth expecting till his Enemies be made his foot-ſtool.

1. Albeit the *Right-hand* be more worthy then the *Left*, yet ſome (rather deſirous to ſhew their reading, then to edifie their Readers or hearers) have made Queſtion, *Whether it be a note of greater dignity to have place on the Left-hand, or on the Right, near to the Fountain of honour or ſupream Majeſty.* But all the *Inſtances*, which they bring, or can be brought, for pre-eminence of place on the *Left-hand*, are but as *Calenders* out of date, or as Aſtronomical Obſervations, purpoſed for Eaſtern Meridians, but miſ-applied to them of the Weſt. Whatever the Rites or Faſhions of other Nations were, the Church of God or Land of *Jury*, in which God was only known, had no ſuch cuſtome. Now the Tenour of this Prerogative here mentioned, muſt be valued by the *Scales of the Sanctuary*, not by the Heraldry of Forraign Courts. Even in thoſe Countries, wherein the Attendance on the *Left-hand* of Princes was more honourable then on the *Right*; the only ground of the Subjects power or dignity ſo attending, was, the Imbecility of *the Prince*, who ordinarily could not defend himſelf ſo well on the *Left-ſide*, as on the *Right*. And as *our uncomely parts have more comelineſs beſtowed upon them*; ſo the weaker ſide of greateſt Princes had more need of valourous and truſty Champions. And though Princes in all Ages have been prone to honour, and Grace their ſpecial Favourites with place of more honourable attendance, yet the warlike Princes of Ancient times, made choice of men moſt truſty and valourous for their Favourites. But the *Almighty*, unto whoſe future deſigns the Rites and Cuſtomes of the Kings of *Judah* were (haply) præfaſhioned, needs no Defendant, no aſſiſtant, either on the *Right-hand*, or on the *Left*. The former occaſion of imbecility, or need of Defendants being ſet apart, as the *Right-hand* is ordinarily more worthy then the *Left*, ſo to be on the *Right-hand* of Supream honour is ſimply more honourable, then to be on the *Left*; ſpecially according to the Cuſtome of the *Jews*. The *Sons of Zebedee*, or their Mother, or both, were not ignorant in reſpect of the General matter, but in the particular Form, or Manner, or Circumſtance of their Petition; when they deſired that *the one might ſit on their Maſters Right-hand, and the other on the Left in his Kingdome*. To *ſit by him* in his Kingdome, was, to their apprehenſion, and according to the

See Gen. 43. 13, 14, 17.

cuſtome of their Native Country, a greater Dignity then to *ſtand by him*, or to go *in and out before him.* To *ſit on the Right-hand*, was affected by the Mother, as a place of præcedence for her Elder Son, and therefore rankt in the former place in her Petition. She ſaith not, *That the one may Sit on the Left-hand, and the other on the Right*; but *that one may ſit on the Right-hand, and the other on the Left*, Mat. 20.21. That to ſit on the *Right-hand* of Majeſty, was the greateſt honour, whereof any Subject, or inferior Prince in *Jury*, was capable, may be gathered from the honour which *Solomon* did unto his Mother *Bathſheba*, 1.*King*.2.19. The King *roſe up to meet her, and bowed himſelf unto her, and ſate down on his Throne and cauſed a ſeat to be ſet for the Kings Mother, and ſhe ſate on his Right-Hand.* Nor hath the *Royal Pſalmiſt* any better place for the Spouſe, whoſe *Dignity* he ſought to emblazon, *Pſal.* 45.9. *Kings daughters were among thine honorable women, upon thy Right-Hand did ſtand the Queen in a veſture of gold of Ophir.* To have the power of ſuperiors on the *Right-hand*, or for the enemy to have the *Right-Hand*, is, in ſacred Heraldry a ſign of victory or preeminence, whether in Civil or Warlike proceedings. The greateſt plague, and root of curſes, which ***David*** did wiſh unto the enemies of his God, and which did afterwards fall on *Judas* the greateſt enemy of ***Davids Son and Lord***, was, that ***the wicked might be ſet over him***, and that *the adverſary might ſtand at his Right-hand*, for ſo he knew that he ſhould be ***condemned, when he was judged***, and that ***his praiers ſhould be turned into ſin***, Pſal.109.6,7. The ſureſt Anchor of ***Davids*** Confidence, was, Gods being *on his Right-Hand*, Pſal. 16.8. ***The Lord is at my right-hand, Therefore I ſhall not*** ſlide or ***fall.*** And the final Conſummation of all the happineſs which he hoped for, whether in his own perſon, or in the perſon of his *expected Son the Meſſias*, was, to be placed at the *Right-Hand* of God. ***In thy preſence is fulneſs of joy, and at thy right-hand there are Pleaſures for evermore***, Pſal. 16.11. And ſo will it be found at the laſt day; when the ***Son of Man*** ſhall ſet the Sheep on his *Right-hand*, and the Goats on the *Left*: and ſhall ſay to them on his *Right-Hand*, Come ye Bleſſed——. But to them on the *Left*, Go ye curſed———, *Mat.*25. 33. &c.

2. So then, ***This Article of Chriſts ſitting at the right-hand of God***, is as *A Trophy of his victory* gotten over death, and over all the temptations of the World, and the Devil, whileſt he lived on earth; and a certain *Prognoſtick of his final Triumph* over all his ſucceeding enemies: for he muſt ***ſit at the Right-Hand of God, until all his enemies be made his foot-ſtool.*** But, before we come to decypher the *Real Dignity* here deſcribed, it may be queſtioned, whether the ***Deſcription*** it ſelf be meerly ***Metaphorical***, or ***Symbolical***; that is, a language borrowed from the viſible cuſtomes of men without any real ſenſible Similitude between the things ſignified by the ſame words? That this Phraſe of ***Sitting at the right-hand of*** *God* is a meer borrowed ſpeech, moſt Divines do hold; giving us withal this *General Rule*, That ***no Corporeal*** Subſtance, ***Quality, Habit, or Geſture, can be attributed unto God otherwiſe then ἀνθρωποπαθῶς***, that is, *by a kind of Poetical Fiction, or Figurative ſpeech, borrowed from the faſhions of men.* The proper ***Logical Subject*** notwithſtanding of this *Rule* or ***Maxim***, muſt be the ***God-head, or Divine Nature in the Abſtract***: It holds not ſo truly of God, or at leaſt of every Divine Perſon. The Divine Nature or God-Head, is Simple, Pure, and Immixt: The God-Head hath neither eyes, nor eares, nor body, much leſs can there be in it any Diſtinction of *Right-Hand or Left*; yet may we not deny but the ***Son of God***, who is truly *God*, hath eyes and eares, feet and hands, *Right-hand*,

and *Left-hand*, and all the parts of the humane Body, which any perfect man hath. His *Blood*, though humane Blood, is as truly the *Blood of God*, as of Man. His Blood the blood of God, his Body the body of God, in ſuch a ſenſe, as neither the body, nor blood of any other creature are ſaid to be Gods, whoſe all things are in heaven and earth. His Fleſh, and Blood, and all the parts of his humane Body, are the Fleſh, Blood, and parts of God in as ſtrict and proper ſenſe, as our hands are ſaid our own; that is, by ſtrict and *perſonal propriety*. The Son of God hath fleſh and blood, hands, and feet in ſuch a ſenſe, as God the Father, or God the Holy-Ghoſt hath not.

3. But when it is ſaid that *Chriſt ſitteth at the Right-hand of God*, this muſt be underſtood of God the *Father*, not of God the *Son* for ſo it is expreſſed in the *Apoſtles Creed*, that *The Son of God, who was crucified, dead, and buried, and who roſe the third day from the dead, now ſits at the Right-hand of God the Father Almighty.* Now if God the Father hath no Body, no *Right-hand* or *Left-hand*, as God the Son hath; the caſe ſeems clear, that *Chriſts ſitting at the right-hand of the Father* muſt needs be *a ſpeech meerly metaphorical*, borrowed from the cuſtome of earthly Princes, to be placed at whoſe *Right-hand* is the greateſt honour that can be to their cheif Peers or Subjects. This is moſt certain, if we ſpeak of the Nature or Eſſence of the *God-head*, or of the Divine Perſon of the Father. Yet all this hinders not, why the Divine Majeſty, or Perſon of the *Father*, who is every where Eſſentially preſent, may not be more Conſpicuouſly preſent (in reſpect of created ſights) in ſome *viſible heavenly Throne* then in any other place. The *Father* (for ought we know) may have a *diſtinct Throne*, and the *Son* an other, or they may have diſtinct manifeſtations of Glory upon the ſame Throne, *Rev.* 3,21. To confine the preſence of God the Father, of God the Son, or of God the Holy-Ghoſt, to *any viſible Throne*, were a groſs Hereſy. But that there may be *Real Emblems*, or Repreſentations, of the *Bleſſed Trinity* in heaven, as conſpicuous and ſenſible to bleſſed Saints and Angels, as the repreſentations, which have been made of them to Gods Saints, or people here on earth, who can conceive improbable? The repreſentations or pledges of the *Bleſſed Trinity* have been divers. *Daniel* ſaw the Glory of the *Father* ſhadowed by the *Ancient of daies*, the Glory of the *Son*, repreſented by the ſimilitude of *the Son of man*. At our Saviours Baptiſm there was *A voice from heaven*, as an audible Teſtimony of the diſtinct perſon of the *Father*. Chriſt as *Man*, was the conſpicuous ſeat or Throne of *God the Son*; and the *Dove*, which appeared unto *John*, a viſible pledg of the *Holy-Ghoſt*. And may not the Church Triumphant have as punctual repreſentations or pledges of this Diſtinction no leſs ſenſible, though more admirable, then the Church militant hath had here on earth?

It is probable that there are *diſtinct Throns* in Heaven.

4. It is not then altogether ſo clear that this Title, of *Chriſts ſitting at the Right-hand of God the Father*, is borrowed from the Rites or cuſtomes of the Kings of *Judah*; as it is queſtionable, whether this Rite or cuſtome amongſt them were not framed after the Pattern of the heavenly Thrones or repreſentations of cœleſtial dignities; ſo we know the earthly Sanctuary was framed according to the Patern of the heavenly Sanctuary. *Our Fathers had the tabernacle of witneſs in the wilderneſs, as he appointed, ſpeaking unto Moſes, that he ſhould make it according to the faſhion that he had ſeen, Act.* 7.44. Exod. 25.40. And our Apoſtle ſaith, Heb. 8.5. *Thoſe ſerved unto the Patern or ſhadow of heavenly things, as Moſes was warned by God, when he was about to finiſh the tabernacle. See (ſaith he) that thou make all things according to the patern ſhewed to thee in the mount.* But it may

be the patern ſhewed to him in the Mount, was but a *ſhew*, or Mathematical Draught of the material *Tabernacle*, which he was to erect; and yet is ſtiled an *heavenly patern*, or heavenly thing, becauſe it was repreſented from heaven by God himſelf; yet ſo repreſented without any real Tabernacle anſwerable to it in heaven. I could ſubſcribe to this interpretation, if the *Apoſtles Inference*, *Heb.* 9. 23,24. did not prove or preſuppoſe ſomething more. *It was then neceſsary that the ſimilitude of heavenly things ſhould be purifyed with ſuch things, but the heavenly things themſelves (are purifyed) with better ſacrifices then theſe; for Chriſt is not entred into the holy places made with hands, which are ſimilitudes of the true Sanctuary, but is entred into very heaven, to appear now in the ſight of God for us.* But hath he the whole heavens for his Sanctuary? or is there as real a Diſtinction of places, or Manſions in the heavens, as there was of *Courts* or *Sanctuaries* in the material, or in *Solomons* Temple? *We have ſuch an high Preiſt* (ſaith Saint *Paul*) *as ſitteth at the right hand of the throne of the majeſty in the heavens, and is a Miniſter of the Sanctuary, and of the true tabernacle*, which *the Lord pitched, and not man*: and, *Eph.* 1.20. The father of glory ſet him at his own right hand, ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις, in the heavenly places. Some Diſtinction, between the Throne of Majeſty, and Chriſts humanity, was apprehended ſurely by Saint *Steven*, Act. 7.55. *He being full of the Holy-Ghoſt, looked ſtedfaſtly into Heaven, and ſaw the Glory of God, and Jeſus ſtanding at the right hand of God*: the Object of his ſight was ſurely Real, not a meer viſion in the air, for *he ſaw the heavens open*, and by their opening found opportunity to prie with bodily eyes (but bodily eyes extraordinarily enlightned by the Spirit of God) into heaven it ſelf, and to take a veiw of the land of Promiſe, and the *Sanctuary pitched* in it. The Divine Eſſence, or Perſon of God the Father, he could not ſee; and yet *he ſaw the Glory of God*, and *Chriſt at the Right-hand of this Glory*. But he ſaw Chriſt *ſtanding*, and not *Sitting*, as here it is ſaid. All is one, It is the height of *Chriſts Exaltation*, that *He* hath the preeminence to ***Sit upon his Throne*** in the immediate preſence of *God the Fathers Glorious Throne*. But this prerogative of ***Sitting*** upon his Throne, doth not tye him to ſuch perpetual *Reſidence*, that he may not *Stand* when it pleaſeth him; and it ſeems it was at this time this great *Judge* his pleaſure to *Stand*, as a *Spectator* of his bleſſed Martyrs Combat, and for the preſent, as a *Witneſs* againſt theſe his malicious Enemies, which afterward were to be made *his* Foot-ſtool. Now was that of the Pſalmiſt, *Pſal.* 102. 19. verified, *He hath looked down from the height of his Sanctuary, out of the heaven did the Lord behold the earth.*

Heb. 8.1,2,

5. But if *Chriſt* have a *Viſible Throne* or Sanctuary in heaven, how is it true, which Saint *Steven* ſaith, *Act.* 7.48,49. *The moſt high dwelleth not in Temples made with hands, as ſaith the Prophet: Heaven is my Throne, and earth is my foot-ſtool, what houſe will you build for me, ſaith the Lord? or what place is it that I ſhall reſt in? hath not my hand made all theſe things?* And if God dwell not in any Sanctuary which he hath made, how can he have any *Viſible Sanctuary* in heaven? For even the heaven of heavens, every creature, whether viſible or inviſible, are the works of Gods hands. To this, the *Anſwer* is eaſie, when the Prophet ſaith, *God dwelleth not in Temples made with hands*, he excludeth only *the works of mens hands*, not all created Thrones or Sanctuaries made immediately by God himſelf. For, as the Apoſtle ſaith, *Heb.* 8.2. *Chriſt is a Miniſter of the Sanctuary, which the Lord hath pitched, and not man.* And, Heb. 9.11. *Chriſt, being come a high Preiſt of good things to come, by a greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands; that is, not of this building* &c.

See Mr. *Mede*, Places ap-Propriate.

Thus much of the *Grammatical*, or *Literal* meaning of theſe words. As for this Opinion of *Diſtinction of Thrones in heaven*, as I dare not boldly avouch it, ſo I am afraid peremptorily to deny it. For, *Peremptory Negatives in Divine Miſteries oft-times ſway more dangerouſly unto infidelity, then Affirmative Paradoxes do to Hereſy.* The Affirmative, in this Myſtery, is (in my Opinion) more ſafe and probable then the Negative. However, *The point*, which all of us are bound abſolutely to Beleive, is, *That this Article of Chriſts ſitting at the right-hand of God*, doth contain the height of his Exaltation, *far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but alſo in that which is to come*, Eph. 1. 20. ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ὑπερύψωσε *God* (ſaith the Apoſtle. *Phil.* 2. 9.) *hath very highly exalted him, and given him a Name which is above every Name, that at the Name of Jeſus every knee ſhould Bow*---&c. And ſeeing every other *Article* in this Creed is conceived in literal diſtinct termes; I ſee no reaſon why we ſhould beleive *this article* (*of Chriſts ſitting at the Right-hand of God*) alone, ſhould be repreſented unto us in *Termes Poetical*, or meerly *Metaphorical.* Howbeit, *Chriſts ſitting at the Right-Hand of God the Father, according to the Literal meaning of theſe words, doth by way of* Real Emblem *import, that Chriſts Humane nature is exalted far above* Angels,*&c. which are often ſaid to* Stand *or* Attend *before, or about the Throne of God*, but not to ſit on his Throne or at His Throne or at His Right-Hand, For unto *which of them ſaid He at any time, Sit on my Right-Hand*---? Heb. 1. ver. 13.

CHAP. II.

Of the *Real Dignity* contained in *This Article*; viz. *The Exaltation of Chriſt* That Chriſt was exalted, both, *as the Son of God*, and *as the Son of David.*

1. THe *Dignity of this Name*, and the *Reality of Dignity* anſwering unto it, is further ſet forth in the Firſt Chapter to the Hebrews *ver.* 3, 4, 5. *He* (ſate down, or) *ſitteth on the Right-Hand of the Majeſty on High* (or in higheſt places) *and is made ſo much more excellent then the Angels, by how much he hath obtained a more excellent Name then they. For, unto which of the Angels ſaid he at any time, Thou art my Son, this day begat I thee? And again, I will be his father, and he ſhall be my Son?* But if theſe two Scriptures were literally meant, as moſt Divines grant, the one of *David*, the other of *Solomon*, why may not the Title of *Gods Sons* agree as literally to *Angels* as to *David* or *Solomon*? Though theſe two *eminent Princes*, as Gods Vicegerents on Earth, were *Solo Deo minores*, yet was *David* in the height of his Greatneſs too low, and *Solomon* in the amplitude of his Royalty too litle, to be (in all points) *full peeres* to the meaneſt Angel that attends Gods Throne. And yet were not both of them too great to be but Maps or Models of Evangelical Excellencies. It was the height of both their Excellencies to be ſhadows or Types of that Son of *David*, concerning whom the Lord had ſworn by his Holyneſs, (a moſt faithful Oath from which he would not ſhrink; *Pſal.* 132. 11. and *Pſal.* 89 3, 4, 35, 36,) that He ſhould endure ſtable for ever, and that his Throne ſhould be as faithful a witneſs in Heaven, as either Sun or Moon. Selah. All the Royalty, Power, or proſperity, which *David* or *Solomon* enjoyed, were but as pledges or erneſts, for the time preſent, of that mighty power and excellency wherewith the Son of *David* was (after that, in the fulneſs of time he had humbled himſelf) in the fulneſs of Glory to be inveſted.

But, as we ſay, *Homo pictus eſt Homo*, and no man ſaith, *Leo vivus eſt Homo*; A Dead Corps or picture of man, doth better brook the name of man, then a Live Lion or other creature indued with ſenſe: So *David* and *Solomon*, in that they were Types of Chriſt, might be more capable of being ſtiled *Gods Sons*; or, of being begotten to that Earthly Empire, which was the Map or ſhadow of his only begotten Sons eternal Inheritance, then the Angels were. The greateſt Angels of God (whoſe preſence *David* did reverence as Gods Embaſſadours) are ſervants to the *Son of David*. For ſo the *Apoſtle Heb.* 1.6. interprets that of *Pſalm.* 97. *ver.* 7. *Let all the Angels of God worſhip him.* No marvel then if *David* (when he ſaw as much of his Glory, as he or ſome other *Pſalmiſt*, Pſal. 97. did) inſtile him *his Lord*, *Pſal.* 110.1. That all the Glory and *Dignity*, which the *Apoſtle* ſeeks to ſet forth by the Teſtimony of the *Pſalmiſt*, Pſal. 45.6, 7. Pſal. 102.25,26. is comprehended in *this Article* of *Chriſts Sitting at the Right-hand of God*, The Apoſtle ſuppoſeth, *Heb.* 1.13,14. For ſo he coucludes, by way of an *Epiphonema*, (the ſum of all, which he had ſaid before;) *unto which of the Angels ſaid he at any time, ſit thou at my Right-hand until I make thine enemies thy foot-ſtool? Are they not all miniſtring ſpirits, ſent forth to miniſter for their ſakes, which ſhall be heirs unto Salvation?* It is a *Doctrine full of comfort*, that the Bleſſed Angels, the Powers and Principalities celeſtial, one and other, ſhould be at the command of this our *High-Preiſt*, who can compaſſionate our eſtate much better then any of them can. As they had a *Charge* given concerning him in the daies of his humiliation here on earth; So he now being aſcended up to his Father, gives them the ſame *Charge* over us, to *preſerve us in all our waies.* It is on our part required, that we make *His Waies,* Our Waies; otherwiſe we have no juſt aſſurance of the *Angels vigilancy* over us. But have they this *Charge* over *all of us?* or only over ſome *few* that are predeſtinated unto Salvation? The *Apoſtle* ſaith, *All of them are ſent forth to miniſter to ſuch as ſhall be heirs of Salvation*, and *All of Us*, whom God hath called and made partakers of his Word and Sacraments, are ***under the promiſe***, and in the eſtate of the *Sons of God*; and *if we be ſons*, *then are we heirs*: yet *Hæredes præſumpti*, ***non apparentes***, Heirs Preſumed, not Heirs Apparent unto Salvation. To be *Heirs Apparent*, is proper to the predeſtinate only, or to the Elect. But of the *Doctrine* and *Uſe* concerning *Angelical Protection* and miniſtry for our good, elſewhere. It ſhall ſuffice to give you notice by the way, that this laſt quoted place *Heb.* 1. 14. doth evidently refute *a Curious Diſtinction* of *Orders* amongſt the Angels, as if ſome were *Angeli aſtantes*, others *miniſtrantes*: One Order of Angels that *ſtand in the preſence of God*; becauſe the Angel *Gabriel* gives himſelf this *Title*, *Luke* 1. 19. And another Order of miniſtring *Angels*; whereas our Apoſtles ſpeech is general, that *All the Angels* (and under this univerſality he comprehends even the moſt noble Order of heavenly creatures) *are miniſtring ſpirits*, *ſent forth for our good.* If they, which are ſaid in Scripture to *ſtand before God*, be either *Angels* or created ſubſtances inferior to *the Son of God*, they are ſometimes, at leaſt by courſes, *miniſtrantes*, miniſtring ſpirits. So that to *ſtand before God*, or to *miniſter for our good*, is no true note of any *Diſtinction of Order* betwixt Angels, but only of the viciſſitude of their ſervice. They, which are to be *ſent forth*, *ſtand in the preſence of God* to receive their inſtructions, and at their return, *ſtand* before God to deliver the effect or iſſue of their Embaſſage.

Job 1.6.

2. But as divers writers in the *Romiſh Church*, not balancing other places of Scripture with *this Place* of our *Apoſtle* laſt cited, have fram'd a needleſs *Diſtinction* of Orders amongſt the Angels: So ſome others, op-

poſite enough to them, offend no leſs by weighing this place alone. For ſo far hath the miſapprehended Doctrine of *Predeſtination*, and *Certainty* of their own Eſtate in Salvation, miſſwaded ſome, as they have not been affraid to affirm, That *the Angels are in ſome ſort inferior to themſelves*, becauſe *They miniſter to them* as they are *Heirs of Salvation*, *Miniſters* they are indeed, yet not to us, but to God or Chriſt, though for our good; So is every *Magiſtrate*, ſo is every *Paſtor* in his place; yet God forbid that inferiors ſhould hence collect, That their *Magiſtrates and Paſtors* ſhould be *inferior* to all them, for whoſe Good they are *Miniſters*.

See Mr. *Mede* upon 1 *Cor.* 4.1.

3. The next *Point* to be examined is, the *Extent of this our High Preiſts Exaltation*; about the bounds or limits whereof, the Controverſies are more then any Difficulties in the Rule of Faith do miniſter: (but not ſo many as men of raſh and audacious underſtandings make;) and the moſt of them proſecuted with greater vehemency of contention, then the ſpirit of ſobriety, which ſhould be in every good Chriſtian, will approve. The *Queſtions* of more profitable Uſe, are generally *Two*; The *Firſt* concerns the *Logical Subject of Chriſt's Exaltation* comprehended in this Title, of *Sitting at the Right-Hand of God*, and the like: And the iſſue is this, *Whether Chriſt be exalted only as he is the Son of David*, *or as he is the Son of God?* or *according to both his natures*, *as well Divine*, *as humane?* The *ſecond Query* is, about the *Extent or Limits of the exaltation of his humane Nature.* The *one queſtion*, as logicians ſpeak, is about the *Extent* or limit of the Subject; The *other* about the *Extent* or limit of the *Attribute*. That *Chriſt was exalted* according to his *Humane Nature*, or as he was the *Son of David*, all Chriſtians agree. But that he ſhould be exalted as *God*, or according to his Divine *Nature*, which is abſolutely infinite, may well ſeem *impoſſible* for the *matter*, and for the *phraſe* very *harſh*. Howbeit, this is avouched by many Orthodoxal and worthy Divines. And if *Chriſt* be, as moſt Proteſtants avouch, *Our mediator, ſecundum utramque Naturam*; according to *both natures*, why may he not be ſaid to be *Exalted* according to *both natures?* Yet a Difference there is, which will disjoint this Conſequence; For to be a *Mediator* betwixt two, doth not neceſſarily include any *Defect* or inequality in the party mediating, in reſpect of the parties between whom he is a *Mediator*. Whereas to be *Exalted* doth neceſſarily include, or preſuppoſe, ſome *Lower Degree*, from which he is *Exalted to an higher*. And if *Chriſt*, according to his *Divine Nature*, be alwaies equal to God the Father; he was, and is, and ſhall be *abſolutely infinite*. And *Abſolute Infinity* cannot admit of any Degrees, ſpecially of *Exaltation*. This neceſſarily argues, that *Chriſts divine nature* could, in it ſelf, receive no degree of Diminution, or *Exaltation*. If then according to his Divine nature he was *exalted*, this *Exaltation* was not by any Real Addition of Dignity to his *Nature*, but only *quoad nos*, in reſpect of us. And it is (perhaps) *one thing* to ſay, that Chriſt was exalted according to his *Divine Nature*; *Another* to ſay, That Chriſt was *Exalted as he was the Son of God*. However, thus much we are bound to beleive, and thus much we may ſafely ſay, That *Chriſt as God*, *was Exalted* in the ſame ſenſe or manner, that he was humbled *as God*. Now, that the Son of God, who was as truly God, as God the Father; truly equal to God the Father, did truly *humble himſelf unto death, even to the death of the Croſs*; was in the firſt Chapter of our Eighth Book, deduced out of the *ſecond to the Philippians*. Nor did he humble himſelf only according to his *Humane Nature*, for *he humbled himſelf*, not only by his life and death here on earth, but *by taking the Humane Nature*, in which united

Chriſt was exalted according to both Natures.

he was humbled. The *Humane Nature* could not be humbled by being united to his *Divine Nature*, but rather *Exalted*. So that the firſt and *Prime Subject* of his humiliation was, if not his *Divine Nature*, yet his *Divine Perſon*. The Perſon of the Son of God was humbled by his *Incarnation* or *Conception*, by his *Birth*, by his *Life*, by his *Death* and *Paſſion*. And for every degree of his humiliation, there is a correſpondent degree of his *Exaltation*, by his *Reſurrection*, by his *Aſcenſion* into heaven, and by his *Sitting at the Right-hand of God the Father*. In what ſenſe our Apoſtle ſaith, He was *humbled* according to his *Divine Perſon*, hath been diſcuſſed at large before. The ſum was this; If he, that *thought it no Robbery to be equal with God*, had been at any time pleaſed to have aſſumed a body or created ſubſtance into the unity of his infinite Perſon, ſuch Glory and honour was unto that his body or created ſubſtance due, as exceeds the Glory and honour of all other bodies, or created ſubſtances infinitely more then any creature can poſſibly exceed another. And yet we know that the *Son of God*, who was from Eternity equal to his Father did *in the fulneſs of time* aſſume into the unity of his Divine Perſon, a Body and Soul ſubject to all the infirmities (ſin only excepted) that humane nature is capable of: And by aſſuming ſuch a body, and by expoſing it to all the miſeries of mortality, *The Son of God was truly ſaid to be humbled*: and the *Degrees* of his humiliation were as many and large, as are the *Degrees* by which his immortal glorified Body doth exceed his mortal Body; as many and large as are the Degrees of honour, and Excellency betwixt that *Royal Preiſt-hood* which now he exerciſeth; and the *Form of a Servant* wherein he appeared. So that not only the *Humane Nature of the Son of God*, but the *Son of God in his Humane Nature*, *is truly exalted* according to all the degrees of his former Humiliation. But is this all that we are bound to beleive, or may ſafely acknowledg concerning the exaltation of Chriſt, both as he was the *Son of God*, and as he was the *Son of David*.

4. If this were all, then his *Exaltation* as the *Son of God* ſhould meerly conſiſt in the Abdication or putting off the *Form of a Servant*. It could not include, or preſuppoſe, any poſitive Ground of any new and Real Attribute, but only a Relation to his former humiliation. Some good Divines (as well Ancient as Modern) ſuppoſe, that albeit man had never ſinned, yet ſhould the *Son of God* have been incarnate; that is, have taken our nature upon him; yet our nature not humbled or obnoxious to death but alwaies clothed with Glory and Immortality. For Illuſtration or *Example* ſake; Suppoſe that the *Son of God* had taken a humane body altogether as glorious as now it is, from the very firſt moment of its aſſumption into the unity of his Divine Glorious Perſon; Could the aſſumption of ſuch a body, how glorious ſoever, or how perpetual ſoever its glory had been, have added any leaſt Degree of *Exaltation* unto the *Son of God*; It could not. There had been indeed an *Exaltation* of the Body ſo aſſumed, but none of the nature or Perſon aſſuming it. How then is the *Son of God* ſaid now to be *exalted*, by his Bodily Aſcenſion into Heaven, or by his *ſitting at the Right-Hand of the Father* in our nature, wherein he was formerly humbled? Take the *Reſolution* plainly thus. God the Father had remained as glorious as now he is, although he had never *created* the world. For the creation gave much even all they had, to things created it gave nothing unto God, who was in *Being* infinite; yet if God had created nothing, the *Attribute of Creator* could have had no real Ground, it had been no real *Attribute*. In like manner, Suppoſe the *Son of God* had never condeſcended to take our nature upon him, he had remained as glo-

rious in his Nature and Perſon, as now he is; yet not glorified for, or by, this Title or *Attribute* of *Incarnation*. Or ſuppoſe he had not *humbled himſelf unto death* by taking the *Form of a Servant* upon him; he had remained as glorious in his nature and Perſon, and in the Attribute of *Incarnation*, as now he is: but without theſe glorious Attributes of being *our Lord and Redeemer*, and of being the *Foutain of Grace and Salvation* unto us. All theſe are *Real Attributes*, and ſuppoſe a *Real Ground* or Foundation; and that was, *his humbling himſelf unto death, even unto the death of the Croſs*. Nor are theſe Attributes only Real, but more Glorious, both in reſpect of God the Father, who was pleaſed to give his only Son for us; and in reſpect of God the Son, who was pleaſed to pay our ranſome by his humiliation, then the Attribute of Creation is. *The Son of God then, not the Son of David only, hath been Exalted ſince his death, to be our Lord, by a new and Real Title, by the Title of Redemption and Salvation.* This is the Sum of our Apoſtles Inference concerning our Saviours *Exaltation*, Phil. 2. 11. *That every tongue ſhould confeſs that Jeſus Chriſt is the Lord unto the Glory of God the Father.* To ſhut up this Point; Though *Chriſt Jeſus* be both our *High-Preiſt* and Lord not only as he is the *Son of David*, but as he is the only begotten Son of *God*, and ſo begotten from all Eternity: yet was he neither *begotten a Preiſt* nor *Lord* from all Eternity, but *made a Preiſt*, and *made a Lord* in time. *The Word of the Oath* (ſaith the Apoſtle, *Heb.* 7. 28.) *which was ſince the Law, maketh the Son a Preiſt, who was conſecrated for evermore.* And in the very ſame Chapter, wherein this word of the *Oath*, or uncontrollable *Fiat*, for making the *Eternal Word*, an *Everlaſting Preiſt*, is contained; this *Peculiar Title of Lord is firſt inferred*: For ſo that 110*th.* Pſalm begins: *Jehovah ſaid to my Lord, Sit thou at my Right-hand, until I make thine enemies thy Foot-ſtool.* Not that *Adonai* importeth leſs Honour or Majeſty, then *Jehovah* doth; as the *Jews* and *Arians* ignorantly and impiouſly collect; but with purpoſe to notify, that this Title of Lord, or *Adonai*, was to become as peculiar to *Jehovah the Son of God*, as the Title of *Cohen* or *Preiſt*. But this Title of *Lord*, as peculiar to *Chriſt*, will require, and doth well deſerve, a peculiar diſcourſe; and the place allotted it, is in the beginning of the Second Section.

5. Now for *Uſe*, or Application; Theſe enſuing Meditations and Conſiderations offer themſelves. What branch of ſorrow, of bodily affliction, or anguiſh of Soul or Spirit, can we imagine incident to any degree condition, or ſort of men, to any ſon of man at any time, unto which the waters of Comfort may not plentifully be derived from this inexhauſtible Fountain of Comfort compriſed in *This Article of Chriſts Sitting at the Right hand of God the Father Almighty?* No man can be of ſo low, dejected or forlorn eſtate, for meanes or freinds, *re* or *ſpe*, either by birth or by misfortune, but may raiſe his heart with this *Conſideration*, that it is no ſervitude or beggery, but freedome or riches, to be truly entitled A *Servant to the Lord of Lords, and King of Kings*; to whom *Angels and Principalities*, as Saint Peter *ſpeakes* (even thoſe Angels and Principalities, to whom not Kings and Monarchs, but even Kingdomes and Monarchies are Pupils) are ſubject, and his fellow ſervants. Or in caſe any poor dejected Soul ſhould be ſurprized with diſtruſt or jealouſie, leaſt his Lord, in ſuch infinite height of *Exaltation* and diſtance, ſhould not from heaven take notice of him thrown down to earth; let him, to his comfort conſider; that the *Son of God*, and *Lord of Glory* (to the end he might aſſure us, that he was not a *Lord* more *great* in himſelf, then *gracious* & *loving* unto us) was pleas'd for a long time to become a *ſervant* before he would be

made a *Lord*; and a Servant ſubject to multitudes of publick deſpights, diſgraces, and contempts; from which ordinary ſervants, or men of forlorn hopes are freed. If he willingly became *ſuch a Servant* for thee, to whom he owed nothing, wilt not thou reſolve to make a vertue of neceſſity, by patient bearing thy meanneſs or misfortunes for his ſake, to whom even Kings owe themſelves, their Scepters, and all their worldly glory? But though it be a contemplation full of comfort to have him for our Supreme Lord and Protector, who ſometimes was a Servant cruelly oppreſſed by the greateſt Powers on earth, without any Power of man to defend or protect him; yet the ſweet ſtreams of joy and comfort, flow more plentifully to all ſorts and conditions of men from the *Attribute of his Royal Preiſt-hood.* To be a *Preiſt,* implies as much as to be a *Mediator* or *Interceſſor* for averting Gods wrath, or an Advocate for procuring his Favours and Bleſſings. * And what could comfort her ſelf, wiſh more for her children (ſuppoſe ſhe had been our mother) then to have *Him* for our perpetual *Advocate* and *Interceſſor at the Right-hand of God,* who is equal to God in Glory, in Power, and immortality; and yet was ſometimes more then equal unto us in all manner of anguiſh, of greivances and afflictions, that either our nature, ſtate, or caſual condition of life can be charged with. † Albeit he knew no ſin, yet never was the heart of any the moſt greivous ſinner, no not whileſt it melted with penitent teares and ſorrow for miſdoings paſt, ſo deeply touched with the fellow-feeling of his brothers miſeries, of ſuch miſeries as were the proper effects or fruits of ſin, as the heart of this our *High-Preiſt* was touched with every mans miſery and affliction, that preſented himſelf with prayers unto him; his heart was as fit a Receptacle for others ſorrows of all ſorts, as the eye is of colours. *Who was weak, and he was not weak? who was greived, and he burned not?* who was afflicted and he not tormented?

See 8. Book Chap. 15.

See 8. Book Chap. 11.

6. There be *Two* more ſpecial and remarkable *Maxims* of our *Apoſtles* for our comfort; *The One,* Heb. 2.10. That *Chriſt was conſecrated to his Preiſt-hood through afflictions:* And conſecrated through afflictions more then ordinary, through the ſufferings of death and torments *more then natural*; to the end that being *thus conſecrated* he *might become a merciful and faithful High-Preiſt*; a Preiſt not only able to ſanctify our afflictions to us but to conſecrate and annoint us through patient ſuffering of afflictions, to be *more then Conquerors*, even *Kings and Preiſts to our God.* So he ſaith Rev. 3.21. *To him that overcometh will I give to ſit with me in my Throne, even as I overcame, and ſit with my Father in his Throne.* The *Other* remarkable Speech of our Apoſtle is, *Heb.* 5.8. *Albeit he were the Son, yet he learned obedience by the things which he ſuffered.* Being *infinite* in knowledge *as he was God*, and of moſt *perfect* knowledge *as he was man,* he could learn nothing by converſing here on earth with men, but only *Experience* of Godly Greif and ſorrows for our follies and impieties. Such ſorrows were the proper fruits of our Sins: we brought them forth, and he did taſt the bitterneſs of them. *This then is our comfort, That whatſoever he could learn on earth, he cannot poſſibly forget in heaven*; we have, and ever ſhall have him, whileſt he is in heaven and we on earth, *An high Preiſt, which will be touched with compaſſion of our miſeries.* The end of his coming down from heaven, and his inveſtiture in the *Form of a Servant,* was that he might be *Conſecrated through afflictions* here on earth, to be a *merciful and faithful High-Preiſt,* and *Mediator between God and man.* And this Conſecration, which was the end of his coming down, being accompliſhed; the end of his *Aſcenſion* into heaven, and of his *Sitting at the Right-hand of God* in our nature, was, that he might make *interceſſion* for us, out of

See 8. Book Chap. 14.

the freſh, and never failing memory and *Experience* of his own former greif and ſorrows for our ſins. And what good thing is it then, which he will not ask of his Father for us? And what is it, that our heavenly Father for his ſake will not give us? Nothing in heaven or earth, if we ask it in Faith, and as we ought.

CHAP. III.

In what Senſe *Chriſts Humane Nature* may, in what ſenſe it may not be ſaid to be *Infinitely exalted.* The *Queſtion* concerning The *Ubiquity of Chriſts Body* handled.

1. THe *Article of Chriſts Sitting at the Right-hand of God*, in the conſtruction which all make of it, containes, *The height of his Exaltation.* And highly *Exalted* he was; if not according to both Natures, the *Divine* as well as the *Humane*; yet as properly *Exalted* as he was the *Son of God*, as in that he was the *Son of David.* When we ſay he was truly *Exalted*, and truly *Humbled*, as he was the *Son of God*; our meaning is, That the true and *Prime Subject*, as of his *Humiliation*, ſo of his *Exaltation*, was not only his *Humane Nature*, but his *Divine Perſon.* Yet when we ſay, that his *Divine Perſon* was the proper *Subject* of his *Humiliation* and *Exaltation*, we mean, as we ſay in the Schools, *Subjectum Attributionis*, not, *Subjectum Inhæſionis.* His *Humiliation* and *Exaltation* are *Real Attributes*, and the proper *Subject* of theſe *Real Attributes*, was, not only his *Humane Nature*, but at the leaſt his *Divine Perſon.* Yet are they *Really Attributed* to him without any *Real Alteration*, or internal change, either in his *Divine Nature*, or *Perſon.* His *Divine Perſon* was not leſſened *in it ſelf* by his humiliation; nor was it augmented *in it ſelf* by his Exaltation. And yet *it* was *Really humbled*, and *really exalted.*

See Book 8. Chap. 1.

2. His *Humane Nature* is not only *the true and proper Subject of his exaltation*, but it is withal *Subjectum Inhæſionis.* His *Exaltation in it*, or *according to it*, includes a true and *Real Change* in it ſelf, not only *in reſpect of us*, or of the Titles which we attribute or aſcribe unto *it*: His *Humane Nature* in his Humiliation was clothed with *Mortality*, as with its inner Garment, and had the *Form of a Servant*, as an outward Veſture upon it. In his *Exaltation* he put off *Both*, and cloathed the *Humane Nature* with his *Immortality*; and covered and adorned his Immortal Nature with the *Robes* of endleſs *Glory* and *Majeſty.* This Real Alteration and internal Change all do grant. The *Queſtion* only is concerning the *Bounds*, or Limits of that Glory, Majeſty, and of other Gifts, and Graces according to all which his *Humane Nature* was really and internally changed and *exalted.* But ſhall we take upon us to ſet *Bounds* to the Glory, Power, and Majeſty of the Son of Gods *Humane Nature*? God forbid. One thing it is to ſet *Bounds* unto them, Another to acknowledg that they are abſolutely *Boundleſs* and illimited.

The difference about the *Ubiquity* of Chriſts body rather Verbal then Real.

3. Here I muſt be inforc'd to touch a Sore or Breach in the Church of God, which happy were it for *reformed Religion*, had it been made up or Cemented with their bloud which firſt did make it, or being made did ſeek to make it wider; I mean *the bitter Controverſy, between the Lutheran, and other German and Helvetian Churches.* How eaſily this breach, concerning the *Manner of Chriſts preſence in the Sacrament*, might have been made up, when it firſt appeared, I refer myſelf to the teſtimony of *Bucer*, in whoſe Judgment, it was rather an *Appearence only of a Breach*,

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then an *Apparent Breach*: If the *Lutherans Meaning* had been as accurately examined, as their words, or manner of expreſſing it were. But without diligent examination it was eaſie for others to miſtake their *meaning*, whenas *Peter Martyr*, a man otherwiſe as moderate as Learned, did lay thoſe opinions to the *Lutherans* charge; which, as his dear Freind *Bucer* (who tendred his ſeven years ſervice for making a Freindly Comprimiſe in this Controverſie) ſeriouſly proteſts, he never could perceive that any *Lutheran* Miniſter did maintain. Nor did he write otherwiſe to *Peter Martyr*, then out of diligent examination of their own writings, and as in his own Conſcience he was perſwaded: for he thus ſubſcribes another Letter of the ſame Purport, ſent to the *Italian* Churches: *Ita ſentio & in hac ſententia opto venire ad Tribunal Domini.* The Ancienr *Lutherans*, it ſeems, affected a language of their own, or a liberty to expreſs their meditations concerning the Dignity or *Exaltation* of *Chriſts Humane Nature* after another manner, then the ancients had done, or many Modern Writers could well brook. And this Liberty being denyed them, eſpecially by the Churches of **Switzerland**, they ſought in the iſſue, to draw or *tenter* their matter to that frame of ſpeech, which they had not ſo warily conceived; And ſo at length, *the factious induſtry of ſome German Court-Divines did hatch a Theological endleſſe quarrel, out of a verbal and Grammatical Controverſy.* It fell out ſo in the oppoſition of theſe *German Princes* and their *Courts*, as it doth between the Factions of rank *good-fellows* and nice *Preciſians* in *Colledges* or Corporations: the one ſort alwaies provoking the other to be more *Prophane*; and then taking occaſion by the increaſe of their prophaneneſs to be more irregularly *Preciſe*. Both parties being by their daily Bandyings far worſe, then being ſundred they would have been: Whileſt in the mean time *true Religion, and ſober Devotion ſuffers on both hands* betwixt them. Thus, upon the *Lutherans* Hyperbolical manner of expreſſing the *Exaltation* of *Chriſts Man-hood*, the *Helvetian* Churches took occaſion to grant a leſs meaſure of Dignity then was fitting; and the leſs they granted, the more the *Lutherans* ſtill added to the advancement of his *Humanity*, or the miraculous manner of his *Bodily preſence in the Sacrament*; as if they had thought themſelves bound in conſcience to make a Super-allowance for the others Arrears or detractions, as they at leaſt conceiv'd. And thus they miſſed; Truth oft-times lies betwixt diſagreeing Parties, as it were offering it ſelf to be ſurveyed by unpartial by-ſtanders, or ſorrowful Spectators of cauſeleſs ruful broyls betwixt brethren.

To add any *Excellency* to Chriſts D*ivine Nature*, by derogating from his *Humanity* we cannot: for being infinite, *It* cannot admit of any addition. And to derogate any thing from his *Humanity*, whereof it is, or (for ought we know) may be capable, from *that ſpecial Union*, which it hath with the D*ivine Nature*, we dare not. For this were to derogate from, or deny the *Power of God.* But doth he derogate any thing from Chriſts *Humane Nature*, that denies it to be *Infinitely Exalted*? *It may be he doth*, that doth deny the *Exaltation* of his *Humane Nature* (ſince his *Aſcenſion*, and *ſitting at the Right-hand of God the Father*) to be in *Any ſort Infinite.* The divers acceptions of *Infinity*, or diverſe branches of *it*, to mans apprehenſion, are almoſt infinite; more by many, then are fit to be diſplayed or mentioned in this place. It ſhall therefore ſuffice, *Firſt* to ſhew, *In what ſenſe we muſt deny Chriſts Humane Nature, to be infinitely Exalted*: And this muſt quaſh the Laviſh *Hyperboles* of ſome modern *Lutherans.* Secondly, *In what ſenſe Chriſts Humane Nature may be ſaid to be, or at leaſt may not be denyed to be, Infinitely Exalted.*

4. *Chriſts Body* may be conceived to be *Abſolutely infinite*, or to be *Actually Infinite only, but not abſolutely*; or to be *Potentially Infinite only.* To be *Abſolutely infinite, or to be Infinite Simply in Being, is proper to God, who is Very Being it ſelf:* and as he hath no Cauſe of *Being*, ſo he can have no limits or bounds of *Being*, either for number of ſeveral ſorts of *Being*, or for degrees of ſeveral perfections. What kind of Perfection ſoever we can conceive to be in any created ſubſtance, that we muſt acknowledg to be Infinitely greater in him. Again, me may conceive an *Actual Infinity of Being*, only in *One* or *Two kinds*; As in reſpect of *place*, of *Strength or Power.* And though God be not *Infinite*, only in reſpect of theſe *Two Branches* of *Being*, yet he *Only* is *Actually Infinite* according to theſe *Two Branches* of *Infinity.* The One we call his *Immenſity*, the other his *Omnipotency.* No created ſubſtance can actually be every where at once. No creature can be Omnipotent, or actually Infinite in ſtrength; for ſo it ſhould be as ſtrong as God, though not ſo wiſe cr Eternal as God. Now upon Theſe *Two Branches of Divine Infinity*, that is, upon his *Immenſity* and *Omnipotency*, the modern *Lutheraus* make the *Humane Nature* of Chriſt to incroach as a Real participant, or equal ſharer with the *Divine Nature* or bleſſed Trinity, if we may judge of their *meaning* by their *words*, or of their intended *Concluſions*, by their *premiſſes* expreſly avouched and ſtifly maintained. After their Doctrine of Chriſts *Real preſence in the Sacrament* by *Conſubſtantiation*, began to be impugned and ſhaken, the latter *Lutherans* ſought to ſupport it by a *New Buttereſs* or pillar, which the Ancienter did not rely upon in this Argument, and that was the *Ubiquity* of Chriſts Body, or Humane Nature. Indeed if Chriſts Body were *every where* preſent, it ſhould be *Conſubſtantially preſent in the Sacrament*; But ſo it ſhould be preſent in many other places, where none of the Ancients did ever imagine it to be, where no good Chriſtian is bound to ſeek it.

Chriſts body is not every where.

5. But to hunt out their *Meaning*, at leaſt the *Truth*, concerning which, their *Meaning* I hope is better then their *Expreſſion*; When they ſay, *Chriſts glorified Boay is every where*, They grant it to be in *Heaven*, They ſhould then in the *Firſt place* tell us, whether, in heaven, it be not as viſible and conſpicuous to Angels and Saints, as it ſhall be to all men at his coming to judgment? *Secondly*, Whether this Viſibility of it, doth not include a viſible or comprehenſible *Diſtinction of parts* in it, as of his Head from his Feet, or his Right-hand from his Left. This I preſume they will not deny; for Chriſt ſhall only viſibly change the place of his Reſidence, not the ſubſtance, Form, or faſhion of his Body, when *he ſhall come from the Right-hand of God, to Judge the quick and the dead.* This being granted, when they ſay, *Chriſts Body is every where*, They ſhould in *the Third place* tell us, Whether it be *Every where* according to this *Diſtinction of Parts or no. Si id Chriſti*, If that of Chriſt, which they hold (as ſomewhat of Chriſt beſides his Divine Nature, they hold) to be *Every where*, have *no Diſtinction of Parts*: Let them call it what they liſt, it is not in any Language (beſides their own, and the Modern *Romiſh* Churches) a *Body*; as having no proporties of a Body. If they will be content to deny all *Diſtinction of Parts* in *That of Chriſt*, which they make to be the Subject of this *Ubiquitary preſence*, we ſhall be content to take this their Real denyal, for an approach to a *Comprimiſe*, or agreement. If they will call that *A Body*, which we would call *A Spiritual Influence*, or a *Virtual preſence*, (ſo we may know what they really mean by this word *Body*,) let them enjoy their Dialect, If they admit a *Diſtinction* of Parts in that, which they call *Chriſts Body*, and which they

make the Subject of this *Ubiquitary preſence*, they ſhould tell us, whether it be *Every where preſent according to every part?* or whether it be *Every where preſent according to all its parts reſpectively?* As whether the Hands of Chriſt be *Every where*, his Heart *Every where*, his Head *Every where*? or whether there be no place in the world wherein ſome Part of Chriſts Body or Humane Nature is not; yet ſo, that they will have his Head to be in *one* part, his Feet in *another*, his Right-hand in a *Third*, and his Left-hand in a *fourth* place or dimenſion of this viſible world. If they ſay, *Chriſts Body is, in this Latter ſort, preſent every where*, they make him a Giant, not ſuch a Man as we conceive him to be; they do not *Exalt*, but rather *Extend* him according to his humane *Nature*, the intire frame of whoſe body no Man ſhall ſee, no not at the day of judgment, and yet (by this Tenent) according to ſome parts of his *Humane Nature*, he ſhall be Conſubſtantially preſent with the Damned in hell. If they ſay that *Chriſts whole body is intirely every where*, or *every part of it every where*, then either he hath no Right-hand, or his Right-hand is in his Left; either he hath no Humane Body, or elſe his whole Body is in his little Finger. But to be after this manner intirely *Every where*, is proper only unto God.

A *Lutheran* Syllogiſm.

6. It may be we ſhall hit their meaning better by tracing their footſteps. Thus then they proceed: *The Right-hand of God is Every where: Chriſt according to his Humane Nature ſitteth at the Right-hand of God.* Ergo, *Chriſt according to his humane Nature ſitteth every where;* And if his Seat according to his Humane Nature be *every where*, his Humane Nature is preſent *every where*, for Seſſion or Reſidence, according to his Humane Nature includeth his Preſence according to his Humane Nature. *Firſt*, admitting the *Major* [*The Right-hand of God is every where*] were abſolutely true; according to the literal meaning of this *Article*, they ſtand bound by the Rules of Logick to rectify the *Minor*, and make it thus; [*But Chriſt according to his Humane Nature is the right hand of God*] And if Chriſt according to his humane Nature be the Right-hand of God, then if the Right-hand of God be *Every where*, it would directly and *perpendicularly* follow, that Chriſt is *Every where* according to his Humane Nature. But, this(*i. e.* the words of the minor) they will not ſay; Now the *Minor* not being thus rectified, the *concluſion* muſt be corrected and inſtead of ſaying [*Chriſts humanity is every where;*] it muſt be taught to ſay, [*that Chriſts humanity, or Chriſt according to his humane Nature, Sitteth at that, or by that which is every where.*] *Secondly*, If we take that *Definition*, which ſome good Divines make of *Chriſts Sitting at the Right-hand of God the Father*, that is, [*to be a perſon equal to the Father, by whom the Father doth immediately Rule the world, but the Church eſpecially*,] the Inference will be a *Fallacy à rebus ad voces*. The *Connexion* between the *Termes*, howſoever placed, will be no better, then if a man ſhould nail a peice of ſolid timber at the one end to the Air, and at the other end to the water. *Laſtly*, If by the *Right-hand of God*, in this place be Litterally meant, *A viſible or comprehenſible Throne, wherein the God-head is after the like* (but a far more glorious) *manner conſpicuouſly preſent*, as *it was in the Ark of the Covenant here on earth*: then the *Major propoſition*, on which the whole ſtructure of Chriſts *Ubiquity* according to his Manhood depends, will be a great deal too narrow; for, the *Right-hand of God the Father Almighty*, taken in this ſenſe, is not *Every where*. That Glory of God at whoſe *Right-hand* Saint *Steven* ſaw *Chriſt ſtanding*, was not on earth, but in heaven, nor in every place of heaven, but in that place only, where *he ſaw the heavens to open, and on which he fixed his eyes.*

A *Lutheran* Objection, that proves, *aut nihil aut nimium.*

7. But they further add, *That Chriſts Humane Nature is glorified with that Glory, which he had with the Father before the world was made.* Now *that Glory* doubtleſs was *no created* Glory, but Glory uncreated; and if uncreated, then queſtionleſs *Infinite*; and if this Glory wherewith his Humane Nature is glorified, be *Infinite*, then his humane Nature is *Infinitely exalted*, or exalted to a *Real communication of all the Divine Attributes*, as to be *every where*, to be *Omnipotent* &c. To this ſome *Anſwer*; *Chriſts Divine Nature or Perſon*, may in that place, *John*. 17.*ver* 5. be ſaid to be glorified after the ſame manner that it was *exalted*. But, though it be true, that Chriſt meant *the Glorification of his Divine Perſon* in that place, yet this no way contradicts the *Glorification of his Humane Nature*, but rather ſuppoſeth it. For his *Divine Perſon* was glorified by the glorification of his *Humane Nature*; that is, The world ſhould not have known the Glory of the Son of God, or of him as their *Lord and Redeemer*, unleſs this *Glory* had appeared in his Manhood or *Humane Nature*. Now if the *Humane Nature* were glorified with *that Glory, which was before the world*, it was glorified with an *uncreated Glory*: And *uncreated Glory is abſolutely Infinite*. If this *conſequence* were ſound, the *Firſt Branch* of it would be *This*, That *Chriſts Humane Nature was glorified with Infinite Glory before the foundation of the world*; and ſo the *Concluſion* ſhould contradict the *Article of Chriſts incarnation in time*; as alſo the whole courſe of his Humiliation here on earth. The ſame Arguments which they bring to prove the *Glory* of his *Humane Nature* to be *Infinite* in reſpect of place or *power*, will prove his *Humane Nature* to have been *Infinite* and glorious in reſpect of its *Duration*; or *Chriſt as man* to be ſo Coeternal with God the Father, or elſe they prove juſt nothing at all. That *Real communication of the Divine Attributes*, which they ſo eagerly contend for, is but a Dreame, or Fancy, which could not poſſibly have come into their brains, but either for want of Logick, or of Conſideration. The root of their Error is, that they diſtinguiſh not between the *uncreated Glory*, (which is the Incomprehenſible Fountain, by participation whereof Chriſts Humane Nature is immediately glorified) and the *Participation* or Communication of it. The *Glory of the God-head*, which dwelleth *Bodily in Chriſt*, is *Infinite*. But it is not Communicated to *Chriſts Humane Nature* according to its *Infinity*; The Communication of it, or the Glory communicated is Created, and therefore finite. The Sun truly and Really communicates his light unto the Moon, and we properly ſay, That the Moon is enlightened or made glorious by the light of the Sun; yet will it not hence follow, That the Light Communicated or imparted to the Moon, is equal to the light of the Sun, which doth communicate it or, impart it: much leſs will it follow, that the glory wherewith *Chriſts Humane Nature* is glorified, ſhould be equal to that *Glory of the God-head* which doth communicate or impart Glory unto it; or from which, all the Glory, which it hath above other Creatures, is derived. To conclude this Point; The beſt Frame, whereunto the *Lutherans* Arguments in this Controverſie can be drawn, is this; *The Glory of God is infinite*; *Chriſt as Man is glorified by the Glory of God*: Ergo, *His Glory as Man is infinite*; Yet the *connexion* is not as good as this following, *The light of the Sun doth by his preſence make the day*; *but the Moon is enlightened by the light of the Sun*: Ergo, *The Moon by preſence of its light makes the day.* Sooner ſhall the *Lutheran* turn night into day, by this or the like Sophiſm, then prove *that Real communication of the Divine Attributes to Chriſts Humane Nature*, which he dreams of; As, *that Chriſt as Man ſhould be Really preſent every where, or Omnipotent*; *becauſe the glory of*

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God wherewith he is glorified, is every where; or becauſe the Power or Right-hand, by which he is ſtrengthned, is a Power Omnipotent, Omnipotency it ſelf. Thus much of that *Abſolute Infinity*, or *Infinity in Act*, unto which Chriſts humane Nature was not *Exalted*; and yet it was *Exalted* in ſome ſort *Infinitely* above all other created ſubſtances: and ſo *Exalted*, or at leaſt declared to be ſo *Exalted*, ſpecially, by the *Aſcenſion of it into Heaven*; *and by its Sitting at the Right-hand of God the Father.*

8. That is *Infinitum actu*, or actually Infinite, *Extra quod nihil eſt*; which is ſo perfect and compleat, that nothing in the ſame kind can be added unto it: That is *Infinitum potentia*, or potentially infinite, unto which ſomewhat may ſucceſſively be added without end or ceaſing. Thus *Philoſophers* have taught; that, *In continuâ quantitate non datur minimum*; *in diſcretâ, non datur maximum.* There is not the leaſt quantity, but is diviſible into infinite parts. There is no member ſo great, but may ſtill be made greater by Addition; and albeit *Addition* were made every moment unto the worlds end, yet the *Product* could not be actually infinite; ſome number might be added unto it, which as yet is not contained in it. In this manner the participated power or Glory of God, or the participation of this power or Glory may be infinite. The participation of this power or Being, may every moment, whileſt the world laſteth, or whileſt immortal creatures continue in being, be greater then other, and yet never come to be ſo great, but that it may be augmented or bettered; and *that, which may be augmented or bettered, connot be actually infinite.* The leaſt parcel of earth could not ſubſiſt without the participation of Gods Power or being, and the leaſt or dulleſt part of the earth, which participates of his Being, doth in a ſort *infinitely exceed Nothing*, or that which is not. Nothing could have any Being, but by participating of his Being, who is infinite. No power beſides Infinite Power could out of *Nothing* produce *Something.* Trees, and plants, and other works of the fourth and fifth dayes creation excel the earth; Beaſts of the field excel them; Man excelleth the beaſts of the field, and the Angels excel man in nobility and dignity of being; And yet the moſt excellent amongſt the Angels is but a Participation of Gods Power or Excellency; and as Divines collect, God hath not made any creature ſo excellent, but he may make it more excellent every day then other; yet (this ſuppoſed) ſhould not the excellency of it be *Actually infinite*, becauſe it may be ſtill bettered; Yet may *that*, which is not *actually infinite in any one kind*, or according to any one branch of *Infinity*, actually contain greater Excellency or Perfection in it, then the Addition of perfection unto ſome other creature, though by ſucceſſion infinite can attain unto. And thus *Chriſts Humane Nature*, by reaſon of the *Perſonal Union* which it hath with the *Godhead*, or with the Son of God, contains greater Excellency in it of divers kinds, then any other created ſubſtance not ſo united, though the faculties or perfections of it were continually bettered, could reach unto.

9. But, omitting *the dignity of Chriſts humane Nature* in the general, it will be a more profitable ſearch to examin the particular Effects or Efficacy which his *Humane Nature*, now exalted, hath in reſpect of us. Theſe may not be meaſured, much leſs limited, by other mens moſt noble Faculties or perfections. The moſt dull ſight on earth may ſee as far as the Sun or Starrs; and the moſt quick ſight cannot ſee beyond them. No mans eye-ſight can pierce through the thickeſt clouds much leſs through the Heavens above, or through the rocks here on earth. Though thus to do, were abſolutely impoſſible to man, or any other creature endued

with ſight; we might not hence thus collect, *Chriſts glorified eyes are humane eyes, as ours are; created eyes as ours are, Therefore He cannot with theſe bodily eyes look down from heaven, and behold what is done, or lyes hid in the moſt ſecret corners of the earth*; or that his faculty of hearing, becauſe a created faculty, cannot apprehend all the blaſphemies, or oathes, even the moſt ſecret murmurings of his enemies either againſt him, or his Church Or, admitting any Saints eyes, already glorified in body in heaven, could, by viſion of the Divine Nature, ſee all things that are done in earth; or that his eares could hear all the Conference that paſſeth in this Kingdome for ſome one day: yet this excellency of his outward ſenſes being ſuppoſed, his internal or intellective faculties were not able to diſtinguiſh betwixt every thing ſo heard or ſeen, or to cenſure every word or deed as it deſerves. Nor could his memory perhaps perfectly retain what for the preſent he apprehends or conceives. Yet may we not hence argue, ***Chriſts intellective Faculties are but Humane,*** (not divine) ***Ergo, he cannot diſtinctly and infallibly Judge or cenſure every thing he ſees or hears, or infallibly retain the Records of his Judgment or cenſure inviolate and entire unto the day of Judgment.*** Bound we are rather to beleive, that Chriſt *as Man* or with his humane eyes, ſees all our wrongs, and *as Man* hears all our prayers, and takes notice of all our doings; Or, that he, who as Man ſhall be our Judge, is in the mean time an Eye-witneſs of all our miſdeeds or well doings, an Ear-witneſs of all our ſpeeches good or bad. Nor may we again, by ***broken Inductions,*** gathered from the effects or Efficacy of natural bodies, or created ſubſtances upon other bodies, take upon us to limit or bound the Efficacy of Chriſts *Body* upon the bodies or ſouls, which he hath taken to his protection. We may not collect, that *Chriſts Body,* becauſe comprehended within the heavens, can exerciſe no real Operation upon our bodies or ſouls here on earth; or that the live Influence of his glorified humane Nature may not be diffuſed through the world as he ſhall be pleaſed to diſpenſe it, or to ſow the ſeeds of life iſſuing from it, ſometimes here, ſometimes there.

See Book 10, ch.55, and 56.

10. This ***Real*** though ***Virtual Influence*** of Chriſts Humane Nature is haply that, which the ***Lutherans*** call the ***Real Ubiquitary preſence of Chriſts Body. Luther*** himſelf ***never denyed Chriſts very body or Humane Nature, to be comprehended within the heavens***; and yet he ***affirmed*** it to be ***preſent with us in ſuch a manner, as the ſound is preſent with us, which is really made or cauſed a great way from us.*** And we may not deny *This Real Influence* or Virtual preſence of Chriſt, to be in a manner *Infinite*; or at leaſt to extend it ſelf to all created ſubſtances, that are capable of it, in what created diſtance ſoever they be from *his body*; whoſe Reſidence we beleive to be in the higheſt heavens, at the Right-hand of God. This kind of *Infinity* of his preſence can ſeem no *Paradox* or improbable Imagination to any good Chriſtian, that will but raiſe his thoughts above the earth by this or the like Experiment of Nature. Albeit this bodily Sun, which we daily ſee, were much further diſtant from the earth, then now it is, yet could we eaſily conceive it to be of force and Efficacy enough to enlighten the earth, whereon we dwell, and thoſe cœleſtial Spheres, which are, or might be, as far above it, as it is above the Center. And in the greateſt diſtance we can imagin it is, or might be, diſtant from the earth; it would give life and vigour to things vegetable, or capable of vital heat. It were a ſilly Argument to infer, that becauſe the hotteſt fire on earth, cannot impart his heat to bodies 10 miles diſtant from it, therefore the Sun cannot communicate vital heat and Comfort to vegetables more

then ten-hundred-thouſand miles diſtant from it: *This Inference* notwithſtanding is not ſo fooliſh in *Philoſophy*, as *This* following is in *Divinity*. *The Son cannot quicken trees or herbs, which have loſt their root and ſap*; Ergo *the Sun of Righteouſneſs, or Chriſts Humane Nature, in which the Godhead dwelleth bodily, cannot quicken the dead, or raiſe up our mortal bodies to immortality*. The only ſure *Anchor* of all our hopes for a joyful *Reſurrection* unto the life of Glory, is the *Myſtical Union*, which muſt be wrought here on earth, betwixt *Chriſts Humane Nature* glorified, and our mortal or diſſoluble nature. The *Divine Nature* indeed is the *Prime Fountain of Life* to all, but, though inexhauſtible in it ſelf, yet a fountain whereof we cannot drink, ſave as it is derived unto us through *the Human Nature* of Chriſt.

11. Although it be moſt true which *Tertullian* (*in the* 17. Chapter *of his Apology*) hath obſerved, *That even thoſe Heathens, which adored* Jupiter Capitolinus, *and multiplied their Gods according to the number of the places wherein they worſhipped them, when they were throughly ſtung with any greivous affliction or calamity, were wont to lift up their eys and hands, not to the* Roman *Capitol, but to heaven* it ſelf; *as knowing that, by inſtinct of nature, to be the ſeat or Throne of Divine Majeſty*, And *the Hill from whence came their help*: Yet (notwithſtanding the truth of this Obſervation, and the profitable uſe, which that *Father* there makes of it) it was an Extraordinary Favour of God unto the *Iſraelites*, that they were permitted and inſtructed to worſhip God in his Sanctuary, and to preſent their devotions towards the Ark of the Covenant, or the Mercy-ſeat, before which they might adore him in ſuch manner and ſort, as they might not in any other place, or before any other creature. They knew, much better then the heathen, that Gods Throne of Majeſty was in heaven, and yet were to tender their devotions unto him as extraordinarily preſent in his Temple or Sanctuary here on earth. For as our bodily ſight doth ſcatter or dazle, without ſome ſenſible Object, to gather and terminate it; So our cogitations, though of heaven and heavenly things, do float or vaniſh without ſome determinate and comprehenſible Object, whereon to faſten them. Now, albeit the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, wherein Gods People only were to worſhip, were long ſince demoliſhed; yet the Sanctuary, wherein they were to worſhip, God, is rather tranſlated or advanced from earth to heaven, then deſtroyed; For *it was Gods Preſence, that made the Temple*; and *That* is more extraordinary in *Chriſts Body* (which the Jews deſtroyed, but which he raiſed again in three daies) then ever it had been in *Solomons* Temple; in the Glory of whoſe goodly ſtructure and manifeſtation of Gods Glory in it, the true *Iſraelites* did much rejoyce, and the later *Jews* too much boaſt and glory. But *this Prerogative* we have in reſpect of the ancienteſt and trueſt *Iſraelites*, that, ſince the vail of the Temple was rent, we may at all times (reflecting upon that modell the Scripture hath imprinted in our minds) look within the vail, and behold the Ark or mercy ſeat, and uſe the moſt holy Sanctuary, or inner place made with hands, as a *Perſpective Glaſs* or inſtrument for ſurveying the heavenly *Sanctuary, which God hath pitched and not man. This hope have we* (ſaith St. Paul, Heb. 6. 19.) *as an anchor of the Soul both ſure and ſtedfaſt, and which entreth into that within the vail, whither the fore-runner is for us entred, even Jeſus made an high Preiſt for ever after the order of Melchiſedeck.* He is gone before us into the Sanctuary to make perpetual interceſſion, who before had made an everlaſting attonement for us here on earth. He is now become to us the Temple of God, the Ark of the Covenant, the Propitiatory, or mercy-ſeat, the fulfilling

of all things: and unto him, now placed in his Sanctuary at the Right-hand of God, we are not only to direct our *Cogitations* or devotions, but to tranſmit our *affections* to the Divine Nature by him. The Son of God after he had ſuffered in *Our Fleſh* (and made a full ſufficient ſatisfaction for all our ſins) did in *our nature* riſe again, did in *our nature* aſcend into heaven, and in *our nature* ſitteth at the Right-hand of God, not only to gather our ſcattered *contemplations* and broken notions of the God-head, but withal to draw and unite our *affections* unto him, which otherwiſe would flagg, droop, or miſcarry, if we would direct them to heaven at large, or to the incomprehenſible Majeſty of the Godhead, without *a known Advocate* or Interceſſor to preſent them, and to return their effects or iſſues. Hence ſaith our *Apoſtle* Coloſ. 3. 1. *If ye be riſen with Chriſt,* that is, if you ſtedfaſtly beleive that Chriſt, who was the Son of God (and as incomprehenſible for his Divine Nature as God the Father, to whom he was equal) did dye in your fleſh and comprehenſible nature, and in the ſame nature did riſe again from the dead, *then ſeek thoſe things, which are above; where Chriſt ſitteth at the Right-hand of God: Set,* (or ſettle or faſten) *your affections on things above, not on things on the earth.* And as we are to ſettle our deareſt *affections on him,* ſo are we to direct our *prayers unto him* in his heavenly Sanctuary.

12. That we may direct our prayers unto *the Bleſſed Trinity* according to the Rule of Faith (which is the firſt Degree of *praying in Faith*) take, for the preſent, theſe *ſhort Directions.* The *Firſt and Fundamental Object of Beleif, as Chriſtian, is the acknowledgment of the Bleſſed Trinity.* And by this Beleif we acknowledge ſuch a *Diſtinction of Perſons,* or Parties, between *God the Father, God the Son,* and *God the Holy-Ghoſt:* that God the *Father* doth Perſonally, and in propriety of Perſon, exact Satisfaction for all the offences committed againſt the God-head or Bleſſed *Trinity:* and that the *Son* of God doth by like Perſonal Propriety, undertake to make Satisfaction and Reconciliation for us. He it is that doth avert the wrath of God from us, and inhibit the proceedings of Divine Juſtice againſt us. We are then in the *firſt place* either expreſly or implicitly to direct our prayers to God the Father, that he would be pleaſed to forgive us our ſins, to be reconciled unto us, and beſtow ſuch bleſſings upon us, as he hath promiſed to ſuch as ſhall be reconciled unto him. In the *Second place,* either expreſly or implicitly, we are to beſeech him to forgive us our ſins, to be reconciled and bleſs us for the merits of his only Son, who hath made ſatisfaction for us. This is a Point, which every Chriſtian is bound expreſly to beleive, that God the *Father,* doth neither forgive ſins, nor vouchſafe any Term or Plea of Reconciliation, but only for the merits and Satisfaction made by the ſacrifice of the *Son of God, who by the eternal Spirit offered himſelf* in our humane nature upon the Croſs. In the *next place,* we are to beleive and acknowledge, that as God the Father doth neither forgive, nor vouchſafe Reconciliation, but for the merits and ſatisfaction of his *only Son;* ſo neither will he vouchſafe to conveigh this or any other bleſſing unto us, which his Son hath purchaſed for us, but only *through his Son;* not only through *him as our Advocate* or *Interceſſor,* but through him as our mediator, that is, through *His Humanity, as the Organ* or Conduit, or as the only bond, by which we are united and reconciled unto the Divine Nature. For although the *holy ſpirit* or third Perſon in *Trinity,* doth immediately and by Perſonal Propriety, work faith and other ſpiritual graces in our Souls, yet doth he not by theſe ſpiritual Graces unite our ſouls or ſpirits immediatly unto *himſelf,* but unto *Chriſts human nature.* He doth as it were till the ground of our *hearts,* and make it fit to

receive the ſeed of life; But this ſeed of Righteouſneſs immediately flows from the Sun of Righteouſneſs, whoſe ſweet influence likewiſe it is, which doth immediately ſeaſon, chiriſh and ripen it. The Spirit of life, whereby our Adoption and Election is ſealed unto us, is the Real participation of *Chriſts Body*, which was broken, and of *Chriſts Blood*, which was ſhed for us. This is the true and punctual meaning of our Apoſtles ſpeech, 1. *Cor.*15.45. *The firſt man* Adam *was made a living Soul*, or, as the Syriack hath it, *Animale Corpus*, an enlivened body; *but the ſecond Adam was made a quickening Spirit*; and immediatly becometh ſuch to all thoſe which as truly bear his image by the Spirit of Regeneration, which iſſues from him, as they have born the image of the firſt *Adam* by natural propagation. and this again is the true and punctual meaning of our Saviours words, *John.* 6.63. *It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the fleſh profiteth nothing; the words that I ſpeak unto you are ſpirit and life.* For ſo he had ſaid in the verſes before, to ſuch as were offended at his words, *what if you ſhould ſee the ſon of man aſcend up where he was before?* The *Implication* contained in the *Connexion* between theſe two verſes, and the precedent is this; That *Chriſts Vertual preſence*, or the influence of life, which his Humane Nature was to diſtil from his heavenly Throne, ſhould be more profitable to ſuch as were capable of it, then his *Bodily preſence*; then the *bodily eating* of his fleſh and blood, could be, although it had been convertible into their bodily ſubſtance. This diſtillation of life and immortality from his glorified Humane Nature, is that, which the Ancient and Orthodoxal Church did mean in their Figurative and lofty ſpeeches of *Chriſts Real preſence* or of *eating his very fleſh*, and *drinking his very Blood* in the Sacrament. And the Sacramental Bread is called *His Body* and the Sacramental Wine *his Blood*; as for other reaſons, ſo eſpecially for *This*, that the vertue or influence of his bloody Sacrifice, is moſt plentifully, and moſt effectually diſtilled from Heaven unto the worthy Receivers of the *Euchariſt*: And unto this Point and no further will moſt of the Teſtimonies reach, which *Bellarmin* in his Books of the Sacraments or *Maldonat* in his Comments upon the ſixth of Saint *John*, do quote out of the Fathers for Chriſts *Real preſence by Tranſubſtantiation*; or which *Chemnitius*, that Learned *Lutheran*, in his Books, *De duabus in Chriſto naturis*, and *de Fundamentis ſanæ doctrinæ*, doth avouch for *Conſubſtantiation.* And if thus much had been as diſtinctly granted to the Ancient *Lutherans*, as *Calvin* in ſome places doth, the controverſie between the *Lutheran* and other Reformed Churches, had been at an end when it firſt begun; Both Parties acknowledging Saint *Cyril to be the fitteſt Umpire in this Controverſie.*

Beſides what may be found in *Cyril* of *Alex. See Cyril Hieroſol.* in Catecheſ. Myſtag. 1,3,4.

The end of the Third Chapter.

A Tranſition of the Publiſher's.

I*T muſt not be diſſembled, that I had no* Intimation, *much leſs* Commiſſion. *of the Author's to Inſert the* Two following Chapters, *herein this place. Yet beſides, that I knew not of any fitter place where to diſpoſe of them, I had theſe* Reaſons *ſo to do.*

1. *I held it fit, that His* Powerful Diſputes *againſt the Church of* Rome. *about* The Lords Supper *in the fourth Chapter*, *and about* another Point *in the fifth*, *ſhould immediately follow his Learned* Argument *with the* Lutheran.

2. The ſequence *ſeems very Methodical, The Subject of the fifth Chapter. being.*

being, partly, About Chriſts Exaltation, *by becoming the Cheif Corner-Stone* (*cut out of the Rock or quarrey by his* Reſurrection *from the new Sepulchre, lifted up by his* Aſcenſion; *and placed at the Cheif Corner by his* Sitting at Gods Right-hand) *and partly, about* The Union *of Chriſt with true Chriſtians*; which Union, *is, both a Conſiderable part of the fourth Chapter, and was happily touched upon in the Cloſe of the Third.*

3. *In caſe any Reſtive Soul, ſhould; perhaps ſome faint Dejected Spirit having read* Chriſts Great Exaltation, *may ſay,* Who ſhall aſcend into Heaven? that is, to bring Chriſt down from above. *Such an one, beſides the quickenings he may hear from other Remembrancers* (*Saint* Peter *telling us, that we are pilgrims here; and Saint* Paul, *that we ſeek a Country, and look for a City;* Jeruſalem *that is Free; and that being Fellow-Citizens with the Saints, and of Gods houſ-hold, our Converſation or Trafficks is to be in heaven, for thoſe things which are above, where Chriſt ſitteth at Gods Right-hand, &c.*) *may receive mighty encouragement by Experimenting the Contents of theſe two next Chapters,* The avowed neer approach and Intimacy of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with the Believing and Receiving Chriſtian. The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart, *When the holy Sacramental pledges be in the mouth, and Faith in the heart,* The Word, the Eternal Word *that was made fleſh, is nigh indeed. For,* Verily, Verily—He that eateth my Fleſh, and drinketh my Blood, dwelleth in Me, and I in Him.

CHAP. IIII.

A Paraphraſe upon the ſixth of St. John. *In what ſenſe Chriſt's fleſh is ſaid to be truly Meat, &c. What it is, To eat Chriſts Fleſh, and drink his Blood. Of eating and drinking Spiritual, and Sacramental; And whether of them is meant,* John 6.56. *Of Communion in one Kind, and receiving Chriſts Blood* per Concomitantiam. Tollet's *Expoſition of Chriſts words* [*Except ye eat*—And *drink*——] *by Disjunction, turning* And *into* Or, *Confuted. And Rules given for Better Expounding like places.* How Chriſt dwells in us, *and we in him. The Application. All which be ſeaſonable Meditations upon the Lords Supper.*

John 6.56.

He that eateth my Fleſh, and drinketh my Blood, dwelleth in Me, and I in Him: Or abideth in me, and I in him.

1. SEeing theſe words contain the Grand *Myſtery of Godlineſs,* not only of *God manifeſted in the fleſh,* but of *God ſtill with us,* yea *dwelling in us,* and ſeeing they are withal the Concluſion or Centre of our Saviours long diſpute with the murmuring Jews: It will be neceſſary to unfold the cheif Contents of this Chapter. At the tenth verſe you may read, how our Saviour had ſatisfied five thouſand hungry ſouls, with five barley loves and two fiſhes; and filled twelve baskets with the fragments: upon the Experience of this ſtrange wonder, this great multitude ſought to *make him their King.* A good Project, I muſt confeſs, if we value it onely by the uſual meaſure, or aime of popular Elections. What people would not be willing to have ſuch an one for their King, as were able to feed a whole Army without Contribution, Tax or Toll from them; without any further toil, and care, either on their part or his, then giving of thanks, and diſtribution of extemporary proviſion by his Miniſters? "But beſides this Politick motive, they had a *Prenotion,* that *their expected*

* Hiſt.lib.5. So Suetonius in veſpaſ.

Viz. At his Reſurrection, and aſcenſion. See Book 9. Chap.39.

‘*pected Meſſias or King, ſhould enter upon his Kingdome at the Feaſt of the* ‘*Paſſover*, a little before which time, this Miracle was wrought. And ‘it was a received Opinion (as * *Tacitus* telleth us) *that there ſhould a great* ‘*King, about this time ariſe in Judah.* Nor did this people err much in the circumſtance of time, wherein their *Meſſias* ſhould be enthron'd in the Kingdome of *David*, for ſo he was, at, or ſoon after, the Paſſover following. But they utterly miſtook the nature of his Kingdome, and the manner of his Reign. Yet in that they ſought to make this *man* (for *ſo*, and *no more then ſo*, they conceived him to be) their King it is more then probable that they took him for their expected *Meſſias*. And indeed upon ſight of the Miracle which he had wrought, they expreſly confeſs ſo much, *ver.*14. *This is of a Truth, That Prophet which ſhould come into the World.* But, ſeeing neither his Kingdome was of this world, nor was he to be inſtated in it by the voices and ſuffrages of men; he who knew all times and ſeaſons, knew this was not the time of his Coronation, and therfore *when he perceived that they would come and take him by force to make him a King, he departed again into a Mountain himſelf alone*, ver.15. And his Diſciples, being for the preſent diſcharged of their attendance, croſt the ſea without him to *Capernaum*, which was the place of his and their abode, *ver.* 16,17. The people which had been more then Eye-witneſſes of the former miracle, having obſerved that he could not come to *Capernaum*, where the next day they found him, by ſhip or boat, demand of him, *ver.* 25. *Rabbi when cameſt thou hither?* The ſtrange manner of his coming thither before them, did (it ſeems) no leſs affect them, then the former miracle, though neither did affect them as was fitting: for ſo our Saviour plainly tells them, *ver.*26, *Verily, Verily, I ſay unto you, ye ſeek me, not becauſe ye ſaw the miracles, but becauſe ye did eat of the loaves and were filled.* These were the ſame men which ſaw the miracle; but, *in ſeeing it they did not ſee it*, that is, they did not in heart conſider, that he had fed their bodies with corporal bread, to no other end, ſave only to ſtir up the Appetite of their Souls after celeſtial food. So our Saviour teſtifies unto them, *ver.*27. *Labour not for the meat which periſheth, but for that meat which endureth to everlaſting life, which the Son of man ſhall give unto you, for him hath God the Father ſealed*; that is, he was to be a King of Gods appointing, not of theirs.

See St. *Cyril Alex.* in his Gaphyr. on Exodus.

2. Now albeit the former miracle of five loaves, and two fiſhes, had extorted that confeſſion from them, before mentioned, *Of a truth this is that Prophet which ſhould come into the world*; yet this Reproof of our Saviour's, provokes them to queſtion the validity of their former verdict: for they demand a further *ſign* of him, before they will acknowledge that he was indeed *the* Great *Prophet*, or one, whom they might beleive was ſent from God; for ſo they ſay, *ver.* 30,31. *What ſign ſheweſt thou then that we may ſee and beleive thee? What doſt thou work? Our Fathers did eat Manna in the deſert, as it is written, he gave them bread from heaven to eat.* The queſtion at laſt comes to this iſſue, *Whether the Manna* which *their* Fathers did eat in the wilderneſs, were the true bread of life, or bread from heaven, better then which they were not to expect. Our Saviour maintaines the negative, *ver.* 32,33. *Verily, Verily, I ſay unto you,* Moſes *gave you not that bread from heaven, but my Father giveth you the true bread from Heaven: For the bread of God is he which cometh down from heaven, and giveth life unto the world.* All this they can well brook, *in Theſi*, or General, for ſo they reply, *ver.* 34. Lord *evermore give us this bread.* But when our Saviour comes from the *Theſis* to the *Hypotheſis*, or from the General Doctrine which they ſo well approved, to make this particular Application,

cation, *I am the bread of life ; he that cometh to me ſhall never hunger, and he that beleiveth on me, ſhall never thirſt*, ver. 35. They leave their queſtioning, and fall to murmuring, taking a ſudden occaſion, or ſtrange hint of offence at his perſon or Parentage. Whereas before they were forward to make him their King, they now reply, *Is not this Jeſus, the Son of Joſeph, whoſe Father and Mother we know? How is it then that he ſaith, I came down from heaven?* verſ. 42.

Of the inconſtancy of Vulgar affections See Book 10 Ch.23.ſ.71

3. Thus, their fathers had murmured againſt *Moſes* and *Aaron* in the wilderneſs, one while for want of bread, *Exod.* 16.2. accounting their eſtate in Egypt much better then their preſent condition in the wilderneſs. Another while they murmur for water, *Exod.* 15.24. and again *Ex.* 17.3. *Wherefore is this that thou haſt brought us up out of Egypt to kil us and our children, and Cattle with thirſt?* Thus they murmured againſt *Moſes*, whom they had ſeen to work ſo mighty wonders. And thus their fooliſh poſterity murmured againſt Him, whom (for the former miracle) they had acknowledged, the *great Prophet* whom God had promiſed to *raiſe up unto them like unto Moſes in all things*, and therefore like unto him in *this*, in that he endured their *murmurings* againſt him with greater patience and meekneſs, than *Moſes* did; albeit they had no ſuch occaſion of murmuring as their forefathers had, For their Fathers murmured in their hunger or thirſt, whereas this great *Prophet*, had prevented this occaſion of murmuring, by feeding them plenteouſly before they had ſought to him for food. That which *Moſes* ſaith unto the murmuring Iſraelites, *Exod.* 16.8. was now exactly fulfilled; *The Lord* (ſaith he) *heareth your murmurings which you murmur againſt him; and what are we? Your murmurings are not againſt us, but againſt the Lord.* Theſe *Jews* murmur againſt the Son (as they ſuppoſe) of *Joſeph*, and *Mary*; leſs weening that in murmuring againſt him they did perſonally murmur againſt the Son of God, then their Fathers did when they murmured againſt *Moſes*, that they had murmured againſt their God. But the ſame Lord which heard their murmurings then by the mediate preſence or infinite knowledge of his God-head, hears them now with *the eares of man*, as immediately and as ſenſibly, as *Moſes* heard their Fathers murmur. Now, as God in the wilderneſs, though he heard their Fathers murmurings, did yet grant them their deſire; [*at evening ye ſhall eat fleſh, and in the morning ye ſhall be filled with bread, and ye ſhall know that I am the Lord your God.* Exod. 16. 12.] So the ſame Lord now, albeit this fooliſh People murmur againſt him to his *face*, (not for denying, but for proffering them the true food of life) is ſo far from chiding them as *Moſes* did, that he preſſeth them, to make tryal of his bounty, and to accept his proffer, with greater vehemency of words, yet with more meekneſs of language, than *Moſes* did at any time uſe. *Murmur not* (ſaith he) *amongſt your ſelves*, ver. 43. &c. *I am that bread of life, your Fathers did eat Manna in the wilderneſs and are dead. This is the bread which cometh down from heaven*, that *a man may eat thereof and not dy, I am the living bread that came down from heaven*, if any *man eat of this bread, he ſhall live forever: and the bread that I will give is my fleſh, which I will give for the life of the world.* 48, 49, 50, 51. And here again they increaſe their murmuring, for they ſtrove among themſelves ſaying, *how can this man give us his fleſh to eat?* ver. 52. Thus, as their Fathers tempted God in their hearts by *asking meat for their Luſt*, Pſ. 78. 18. ſo have their poſterity. They ſought him out, that they might have their bellies filled with corporal bread, and yet when he had given them *this* in great abundance, by means miraculous, they will not beleive that he is able to give them what he promiſeth, *bread from heaven, or his fleſh to eat* (which is the bread or ſtaff of life.)

life.) So incredulous their Fathers had been, that after the ſight of many miracles in Ægypt, they would not truſt him in the wilderneſs; after the experience of one miracle in the wilderneſs, they would not truſt him for a ſecond. *They ſpake againſt God, they ſaid, can God furniſh a table in the wilderneſs? Behold he ſmote the Rock, that the waters guſhed out and the ſtreams overflowed, but can he give bread alſo, can he provide fleſh for his people? therefore the Lord heard this, and was wroth; ſo a fire was kindled againſt Jacob, and anger came up againſt Iſrael, becauſe they beleived not in God, and truſted not in his ſalvation*; But now this *Salvation* of God, even God himſelf made their *Jeſus*, or Salvation (for all is one) is come neerer unto this later people: and yet they will not beleive him, they will not truſt in him. Yet his anger is not preſently kindled againſt them for not beleiving: The more they doubt, the more they queſtion, the more they murmur or ſtrive; the more he preſſeth the neceſſity of eating his fleſh, upon them, firſt Negatively, *Verily, Verily; I ſay unto you, except ye eat the fleſh of the Son of man and drink his blood, ye have no life in you* then Affirmatively, *Who ſo eateth my fleſh and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life, and I will raiſe him up at the laſt day.* verſ. 53, 54. And laſtly, he gives the reaſon, as well of the negative as of the affirmative, *For my fleſh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed,* verſ. 55. So that in him, theſe Jews were to expect the fulneſs of the *Body* of all thoſe *contentments* for whoſe ſhadows their Fathers ſo greedily longed in the wilderneſs, and for want of which, they ſo murmured againſt *Moſes*, as theſe men now do againſt the *Lord*, which appeared to *Moſes*, for giving them aſſurance of them.

4. In what ſenſe *Chriſts fleſh* is ſaid to be truly *Meat*, and *his Blood* to be truly *Drink*, I have ſhewed elſewhere. The ſumme was this. *His fleſh is Meat indeed, his blood is drink indeed, non Formaliter ſed Eminenter*; meat indeed and drink indeed, not in reſpect of the natural qualities of corporal meat and drink, for theſe muſt be ſwallowed, concocted, digeſted, and finally converted into our bodily ſubſtance. That *Chriſts fleſh* according to theſe qualities, is *truly meat*, or *his blood truly drink*, the Romiſh Church doth not avouch. For if his body ſhould be concocted or digeſted, or converted into our bodily ſubſtance, it ſhould ſuffer corruption. And to be ſwallowed only and not concocted, is no property of meat or drink. *Chriſts Fleſh* then is ſaid *truly meat*, and *his blood drink indeed, in reſpect of the End* whereto all manner of food is deſtinated. The beſt end of all bodily food, is to preſerve or continue bodily life. And that is the beſt food or diet, which moſt effectually procureth this End. Howbeit bodily life cannot be firſt given or implanted by the beſt bodily meat that is, but only continuated or preſerved: But *Chriſts fleſh* was given not only to continue *life*, but *to give life unto the world*: it is the *root* of life, as well as the food of life; If we ſpeak of life ſpiritual or Everlaſting, which only is *life indeed.* And in as much as his fleſh and blood are the rootes and fountaines of this kind of life, the one is moſt truly ſaid to be meat *indeed*, the other moſt truly, *drink indeed*. That is meat and drink more effectual and more neceſſary for the attainment of everlaſting life, than bodily food is for life temporal. Again, Temporal or bodily life cannot be continued or preſerved otherwiſe than by the corruption or deſtruction of the bodily meat which preſerves it. But *Chriſts fleſh and Blood preſerve* life ſpiritual or *our ſoules and bodies unto everlaſting life*, becauſe they are incorruptible and cannot be changed, be not ſo much as ſubject to alteration. Now if all other meat beſides this, muſt ſuffer corruption and loſe its nature before it can become a cauſe or

John. 6. 32, 33. 41, 48, 50. &c. 1. Cor. 15. 45.

So the Church Leiturgy, in the words of miniſtration.

meanes of preſerving bodily life; Such meat cannot be truly ſaid *to remain in us*; much leſs can we be ſaid *to remain* or *abide in it.* But *of Chriſts fleſh and blood*, he himſelf here ſaith it; *he that eateth my fleſh and drinketh my blood dwelleth in me and I in him*: and for this reaſon *his fleſh is meat indeed, and his blood is drink indeed*, the only meat and the only drink which men ſhould hunger and thirſt after. Other meats and drinks ſhould be ſought for, yea life bodily it ſelf ſhould be deſired, only to this End, that by the prolonging of it, we might be partakers in greater meaſure of this meat and drink, which preſerves the Body and Soul unto everlaſting life.

5, *The Queſtions then to be diſcuſſed are Two.*

Firſt, *What it is to eat Chriſts fleſh, and drink his blood?*

Secondly, *What it is for Chriſt to Dwell*, or abide, *in us*, and *us to dwell*, or abide, *in Him?*

All agree that there is *A Twofold eating of Chriſts Body,* and *A Towfold drinking of his blood.* One meerly *Sacramental*, and another, *Spiritual.* Which agreement notwithſtanding, There ariſeth, *A Third Queſtion*; viz. *What manner of eating Chriſts fleſh and drinking his Boood, is, in this place, either only or principally meant.*

Three Queſtions.

For the Reſolution of this *Queſtion* we are breifly to explicate each member of this *Diviſion*, viz. 1. *What it is to eat Chriſts Body and drink his Blood Sacramentally onely.* 2. *What it is to eat his Body and Drink his Blood Spiritually.*

Firſt then; *All that are partakers of this Sacrament*, *eat Chriſts Body, and Drink his Blood ſacramentally*: that is, they eat that Bread which *Sacramentally* is his Body, and drink that Cup which *Sacramentally* is his Bloud, whether they eat or drink faithfully or unfaithfully. For, *All the Iſraelites* 1 Cor. 10. *Drank of the ſame ſpiritual Rock, which was Chriſt* Sacramentally: *All* of them were partakers of his preſence, when *Moſes* ſmote the Rock. Yet, with *many of them, God was not well pleaſed*, becauſe they did not *faithfully* either Drink or participate of his preſence. And more diſpleaſed he is with ſuch as eat Chriſts Body and Drink his bloud unworthily, though they eat and drink them Sacramentally: For eating and drinking *ſo onely,* that is, without faith, or due reſpect, they eat and drink to their own Condemnation, becauſe they do not *Diſcern*, or rightly eſteem Chriſts Body or preſence in the H. Sacrament.

May we ſay then, that Chriſt is *Really preſent* in the Sacrament, as well to the unworthy as to the faithful receivers? Yes, this we muſt grant yet muſt we add withal, that he is *really preſent* with them in a quite contrary manner; *really preſent* he is, becauſe *virtually preſent* to both; becauſe the operation or efficacy of his body and blood is not *Metaphorical* but *real* in both. Thus the bodily Sun, thouth locally diſtant for its ſubſtance' is *really preſent* by its heat and light, as well to ſore eyes, as to clear ſights, but *really preſent to both, by a contrary Real operation*; and by the like contrary operation, it is really preſent to clay and to wax, it really hardeneth the one, and really ſofteneth the other. So doth Chriſts Body and Bloud, by its inviſible, but *real Influeuce*, molifie the hearts of ſuch as come to the Sacrament with due preparation; but harden ſuch as unworthily receive the conſecrated Elements. If he that will hear the word, *muſt take heed how he heares*, much more muſt he which meanes to receive the Sacrament of Chriſts Body and Blood, be careful how he receives. He that will preſent himſelf at this great marriage Feaſt of the Lamb without a wedding garment, had better be abſent. It was alwaies ſafer, not to approach the preſence of God manifeſted or exhibited

See Book 10. f. 301, & 308.

extraordinary manner (as in his Sanctuary or in the Ark) then to make appearance before it in an unhallowed manner, or without due preparation. Now when we ſay, that Chriſt is ***really preſent*** in the Sacrament, our meaning is, ***that as God*** he ***is preſent in*** an extraordinary manner, after ſuch a manner, as he was preſent (before his incarnation) in his Sanctuary the Ark of his Covenant; and by the Power of his God-head thus extraordinarily preſent, he diffuſeth the vertue or operation of his Humane Nature, either to the vivification or hardening of their hearts, who receive the Sacramental Pledges. So then a man by eating Chriſts Body *meerly Sacramentally* may be hardned, may be excluded from his gracious preſence. But no man hath Chriſt dwelling in him, by this manner of eating his fleſh, and drinking his bloud, unleſs withal he eat the one, and drink the other *Spiritually*. The Eating then of Chriſts body, and drinking his bloud, ***meerly Sacramentally***, is not the eating and drinking here meant.

Eating and Drinking meerly ſacramental, not meant in St. *John*.6.56.

6. They are ſaid to eat Chriſts fleſh and drink his Bloud *Spiritually*, which rightly apprehend his Death and Paſſion; which by Faith meditate and ruminate upon them, making application to themſelves as well of the great danger, which may enſue upon the neglect of ſuch great benefits as he hath purchaſed for them: as of the ineſtimable good, which alwaies accompanies the right eſteem, or contemplation of his Body which was given for them, and of his Bloud which was ſhed for them. He which thus eateth Chriſts Fleſh and drinketh his Bloud *by Faith*, although he do not (for the time preſent) eat his Body, or drink his bloud *Sacramentally*, hath a true intereſt in this promiſe, [*He that eateth my Fleſh, and drinketh my Blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him,*] ſo he do not neglect to eat his Body and drink his Bloud *Sacramentally*, when occaſion requires and opportunity ſerves. So that *Spiritual eating and drinking Chriſt by Faith, is the true preparative for the worthy receiving of his Body and Bloud Sacramentally.* He that doth not ſo prepare himſelf for the receiving of his Body and Bloud, doth receive him unworthily whileſt he receives him *Sacramentally*. The main *Queſtion* is, *Whether Chriſts words be to be underſtood at all of Sacramental eating and drinking, or of Spiritual eating and drinking only.*

The 3. or main queſtion.

Beza's Obſervation.

7. Many there were, and yet are in reformed Churches, which deny this place to be meant of *Sacramental* Eating. But, as *Beza* (amongſt others) well obſerves, they which deny this place to be meant at all of *Sacramental* eating, err no leſs then they do, which reſtrain it only to *Sacramental* eating. Their error (which deny it to be meant at all of *Sacramental* eating) is ſo much the worſe, becauſe it gave advantage to our adverſaries of the *Romiſh* Church, which want no wit to work upon all advantages given. To omit others, *Janſenius* and Dr. *Heſſels* (two of the moſt exquiſite expoſitors of Scriptures, and moſt Judicious Divines which the Romiſh Church had after the Reformation was begun by *Luther* and *Zuinglius*, and proſecuted by *Calvin*) expreſſely deny *our Saviours diſpute in this Chapter*, with the Jews, to be meant at all of *Sacramental* eating and drinking. The Reaſon which enforced theſe two great Divines, to ſlight the Authority of moſt writers in their own Church, and to *wave* the authority of moſt ancient Fathers, (which it is evident do underſtand this place of *Sacramental* eating and drinking) was, becauſe they ſaw no poſſibility how to maintain the peremptory decrees of the Councels of *Conſtance*, and *Baſil*, concerning Communion under one kind, if the words of our Saviour, *ver.*53. of this Chapter, be to be underſtood of *Sacramental* eating and drinking. For it is granted by all, that the conſecrated

Janſenius and *Dr. Heſſels* his opinion.

bread is *Sacramentally* his body, not his Bloud; and that the Cup is *Sacramentally* his Bloud, not his Body: And yet our Saviours words are expreſs, *Except ye eat the fleſh of the Son of man, and drink his bloud, ye have no life in you.* So that all which hope to have life, muſt *Sacramentally* drink his Bloud, as well as eat his fleſh, if this place be meant of *Sacramental* eating That evaſion, which moſt of our modern Prieſts and Jeſuits uſe for eluding, rather then anſwering this Objection, was too palpable in the Judgment of theſe two great Divines, as it ſince hath ſeemed to others of that Church, which yet maintain that the former words of our Saviour, are to be underſtood of *Sacramental* eating Chriſts fleſh, and drinking Chriſts Bloud. The evaſion of modern Prieſts and Jeſuits is, that he which *Sacramentally* receives Chriſts Body, under the *ſhape* or *form*, of Sacramental bread, doth with it receive his bloud *per concomitantiam, by way of concomitancy*, becauſe there is bloud contained in his body which they thus receive. But this cannot ſatisfy any Romiſh Divine, which underſtands himſelf, or the Ancient Doctrine which that Church pretends to follow. For this device of receiving Chriſts Bloud in the bread *per concomitantiam*, was but a late invention, little above 200. years before *Janſenius* or *Heſſels* lived. And the newneſs of this imagination or invention (which was generally applauded in the Romiſh Church in his time) was one ſpecial motive, why that *Reverend Paſtor of Bleſſed memory, Mr. Gilphin*, did diſclaim the Romiſh Churches Doctrine in the Point of Tranſubſtantiation, as Biſhop *Tunſtal* his Uncle before him had done.

Secondly, Admitting the bread were turned into Chriſts very Body, and after this converſion, had bloud in it as truly as fleſh and bones, yet all this would not ſalve the *literal ſenſe* of our Saviours words in the 53. verſe, if the eating and drinking which he there ſpeaks of were *Sacramental.* For ſuppoſe a man ſhould feed upon raw fleſh, or upon fleſh which had viſible or material bloud in it, we might ſay indeed that he did eat bloud, *per concomitantiam, by way of concomitancy*, becauſe the fleſh which he eats had bloud in it: but no man would ſay, That he did drink bloud *per concomitantiam.* For *eating and drinking are two diſtinct Acts, and incompatible at one and the ſame time.* He that eateth fleſh with bloud in it, doth not eat the fleſh and drink the bloud whileſt he only eats, but eats both together, the one as principally, the other as an appurtenance, if he eat as a man, and not as Swine do draugh, which is no more an eating then a drinking. Or if a man ſhould drink bloud mingled with ſome ſmale portions of fleſh, we might ſay, He did drink fleſh *by way of concomitancy*; but no man would ſay that he did eat bloud *per concomitantiam*, albeit there were fleſh in the blood which he drinks for he drinks both together he doth not eat either. And for theſe reaſons *Pope Innocent* expreſly denies that he which eats Chriſts body, whileſt he only eats it, doth drink his bloud. In his fourth book *Myſter. Evangel. Legis ac Sacramenti Euchariſt. Chap.*20. *Edit. Venet. in quarto.*

Vid. *Tollet* in 6. Joh. Annot. 26.

8. The only refuge which the moſt Learned in the Romiſh Church ſince *Janſenius*, and *Heſſels* dyed, have found out for anſwering the former Objection of Reformed Writers, is, That the words of our *Saviour*, *Except ye eat the fleſh of the Son of man*, And *drink his bloud*, *ye have no life in you*; are to be Expounded *disjunctively*; as thus, *Except ye eat the fleſh of the Son of Man*, Or *drink his bloud*, *ye have no life in you.* The uſe or Corollary of this Expoſition, is, That if Chriſtian people do Sacramentally *Either* eat Chriſts fleſh, *Or* drink his bloud as they ought, that is, with due preparation, this will ſuffice;

Com. III.

By this Expoſition, one might as well Communicate by Receiving only the Cup as the Bread only.

ſeeing, as they pretend, there is no Divine precept which enjoynes all Chriſtian *People Sacramentally* to receive Chriſts body and blood *under both kindes*: Nor all *Preiſts*, but only ſuch as do *Officiate* or *Conſecrate.* The Precept of Inſtitution, *Bibite ex hoc omnes*, *Drink ye all of this*, was punctually directed (as they alledg) to our Saviours Apoſtles only, who were at this time made Prieſts, and authorized to miniſter Chriſts Body and blood after his death. Yet were they not (by their leave) at this time *Sacerdotes conficientes.* Our Saviour Chriſt himſelf did Conſecrate both the Bread and Wine, the Apoſtles were as much inferior to him, as the meaneſt Ley-people are to the greateſt Prieſt in the Romiſh Church, to the Pope or *ſummus Pontifex* himſelf. But the further Diſcuſſion of *this Point* belongs more properly to the words of the Inſtitution. The *other Point* of expounding it, by *vel*, or of ſhuffing in *Or* for *And*, belongs to the *Cognizance* of the 53. and 56. verſes. To juſtify this expoſition, Cardinal *Tollet* would perſwade us, *That S. Johns Greek Text is full of Hebraiſmes, and there is nothing more familiar with Moſes, or with other ſacred Hebrew writers, then to uſe* And *for* Or, Et *for* Vel. And he brings divers inſtances to this purpoſe: As for Example, that in *Exod.* 21. 17. *He that curſeth Father* And *mother*, *ſhall ſurely be put to death.* So it is word for word in the Hebrew, and yet our Engliſh Tranſlation, as well as the Vulgar Latin, renders the Original thus, *He that curſeth father* Or *mother*, *ſhall ſurely be put to death.* And it would be an ungodly Evaſion for any Magiſtrate, not to cenſure him as a Tranſgreſſor of this Law, which curſeth his father, albeit he do not curſe his mother; or which curſeth his mother, albeit he do not curſe, but rather bleſs his Father. But muſt the true interpretation of ſuch as are to judge according to this Law, be derived from the peculiar phraſe, or dialect of the Hebrews? No, this was Cardinal *Tollet's* Errour; for the Rule of Interpretation (ſo the Matter or Circumſtance be the ſame) would hold as true in any Dialect or Language whatſoever.

The queſtion then is, What certain general Rule we have, when, or in what caſes, the conjunctive particle [*And*] doth produce this, or the like *disjunctive ſenſe*, or may warrant this, or the like Expoſition of this Law. [*He that curſeth Father* And *Mother*, *ſhall ſurely dye*; *that is, he which curſeth* Either *Father* Or *Mother, ſhall ſurely dye.*] For the like Expoſition; the Rules are Two, One General and infallible Rule is this.

A Rule to know when *And* may be changed into *Or.*

Whenſoever the particle And, *doth couple not two parts of one and the ſame propoſition, but two intire propoſitions together*, [*That which is thus conjunctively affirmed of two propoſitions coupled together, muſt be disjunctively expounded of either propoſition divided one from the other.*] Now when it is ſaid, *He that curſeth Father*, And *Mother ſhall dye*, there be two intire propoſitions coupled together by this particle *And*, implicitely; the explicit ſenſe or Reſolution of which ſpeech is this, *He that curſeth his Father ſhall ſurely* die; *And he that curſeth his Mother ſhall ſurely* die. And if both theſe propoſitions conjunctively taken, be true, this disjunctive will be as true, *He that curſeth either Father or Mother ſhall* die.

A ſecond rule when *And* muſt be turned into *Or.*

Secondly, the Rule is univerſally true; *When two incompatible attributes, are conjunctively avouched of one and the ſame ſubject in one and the ſame propoſition univerſally taken, the particle* And *in this caſe muſt be reſolved into the particle* Or, *when the univerſal propoſition or ſubject of it is divided into its parts. Quæ dicuntur conjunctim de genere, dicuntur diviſim de ſpecie.* As for example, the Philoſopher deſcribing the native property of quantity, ſaith *maximè proprium eſt quantitati, ut ex ea dicantur res æquales & inæquales.* But in as much, as equality and inequality, are *incompatible*, if we apply them to *the ſame particular things* which are compared together for quantity; hence it is, that every particular ſubſtance, which is compared to, or meaſured with another, muſt either be equal or unequal unto it. That one and the ſame particular ſubſtance ſhould be both equal and unequal to another for quantity, is impoſſible. So the Philoſopher ſaith, (and it is a natural truth, which none can deny) that *the living or ſenſitive creature* univerſally taken, is *rational and irrational*; but becauſe one and the ſame living creature, cannot be both rational and irrational, when we deſcend to particular living creatures, we cannot ſay that any of them is *both* rational *and* irrational, but *either rational* or *irrational*. Yet in as much as every particular living creature, is either endowed with reaſon, or not endowed with reaſon; the *living creature* univerſally taken, that is, as it comprehends every particular living creature, muſt be *both* rational and irrational: For, *Quicquid dicitur diviſim de Speciebus, dicitur conjunctim de genere.*

9. To give ſuch a direct and punctual anſwer to the Cardinals inſtance out of Exod. 21. 17. [*He that curſeth father and mother ſhall dye.*] as may ſatisfie all the reſt which he brings or can be brought to like purpoſe; we ſay, as was intimated before, there be two intire propoſitions. 1. *He that curſeth his father ſhall dye.* 2. *He that curſeth his mother ſhall dye*: and the Explication or unfolding of theſe two propoſitions is disjunctively ſet down by our Saviour himſelf Mat. 15. 4. *He that curſeth father* or *mother ſhall ſurely dye.* But there are not two propoſitions, but one propoſition in this Text, *He that eateth my fleſh and drinketh my blood dwelleth in me and I in him.* He doth not ſay here or elſwhere, *He that eateth my fleſh dwelleth in me and I in him, and he that drinketh my bloud dwelleth in me and I in him.* Nor is this disjunctive any where in ſcripture expreſt, *That he which eateth Chriſts fleſh*, or *drinketh his blood, dwelleth in Chriſt and he in him.* That inſtance which the Cardinal would wreſt to juſtifie his interpretation of our Saviours *words* in the 53. and 56. verſes, doth make againſt him. His inſtance is, 1 Cor. 11. ver. 27. *Whoſoever ſhall eat this bread or drink the cup of the Lord unworthily, is guilty of the body and blood of the Lord.* For in as much as **S. Paul** had ſaid before, verſ. 26. *that as often as we eat this bread and drink this cup, we ſhew the Lords death till he come*, it will neceſſarily follow, that albeit we eat the bread not unworthily, and yet (put ſuch a Caſe), drink the cup unworthily, we become guilty both of his Body and Blood, becauſe in both we ſolemnize the memory of his death: and he that ſhould both eat the bread and drink the cup unworthily, is twice guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord; As he that curſeth *both* father and mother is worthy of double death, becauſe he that curſeth *either* Father or Mother is guilty of death. Nor can it be alledged that the ſeveral parts of this propoſition, *he that eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me*, are incompatible, or cannot be performed at one and the ſame ſacramental action by one and the ſame man: or that they are to be univerſally, or collectively underſtood of the whole Church, as conſiſting of Preiſts and Laicks, and not diſtributively of every man: and therefore to ſeek a disjunctive ſenſe of theſe words to this or like effect, *He that eateth my fleſh*, or *drinketh my bloud, dwelleth in me and I in Him*, is to ſeek a knot in a *Bulruſh, or a Diviſion in Unity.*

Again, The form of our Saviours ſpeech, *ver.* 53. is *exceptive* [*Except ye eat the Fleſh of the Son of man, and drink his bloud, ye have no life in you.*] The form is the very ſame, as if we ſhould ſay, *Except a man honour* *his Father and Mother, his ſeed ſhall not long proſper upon earth*; Now, it would be impiouſly abſurd to make this conſtruction of that Commandement, *except a man honour* Either *his Father*, or *his Mother*, *his ſeed ſhall not long proſper upon the earth*. And no better then *Thus*, is the Conſtruction which Cardinal *Tollet* or his followers make of our Saviour's words in the 53. *ver.* Our Saviour had told them before, that *he was the bread of life which came down from heaven*; And preſſing the Belief of this Point upon them further, (not by *diviſion*, but by *addition*) he addeth, *ver.* 51. That *The Bread* which he meant *was his fleſh*. And when the Jews, *ver.* 52. ſtrove about this; He further adds, *ver.* 53. *Verily, Verily--Except ye eat —— and drink----ye have no life in you.*

10. But beſides the former plunge, whereto the beſt Scholars in the Romiſh Church are put, in juſtifying their practiſe for Detaining the Cup from the Laity, if *This Chapter be meant of Sacramental eating*, there is another Difficulty, which neither the late Device of Drinking Chriſts Bloud *per concomitantiam*, nor the Cardinals interpretation of *ver.* 56. by *Diſjunction*, will any way touch, much leſs ſatisfie.

A difficulty ariſing from the words, if literally meant of Sacramental eating.

And the *Difficultie is this*, If theſe words be literally meant of *Sacramental* eating and drinking, their literal ſenſe muſt be as plain, and as void of all Trope or Metaphor, as the words of the inſtitution related by Saint *Matthew*, Chap. 26.26. are by them ſuppoſed to be. Now when *Chriſt* ſaith in Saint *Matthew*, *That the Bread is his Body*, this ſpeech, in the literal ſenſe (as they contend) inferreth a *ſubſtantial* change of the *Bread* into the ſubſtance of his body. Now our Saviours words are in *this place* as plane and as certain, as in *that*. *He* avoucheth again and again that *He is the bread of life*, *that the bread which he will give is his fleſh*, *that his fleſh is meat indeed*, *that his bloud is drink indeed*. Now, if the ſacramental bread, in St. *Matthew*, cannot literally be ſaid to be his body unleſs it be converted into the ſubſtance of his body, then cannot Chriſt himſelf literally be ſaid to be bread, unleſs his ſubſtance be converted into the ſubſtance of bread. His fleſh cannot *literally* be ſaid *meat indeed*, unleſs it be really and ſubſtantially converted into *meat*; his bloud cannot be ſaid *drink indeed*, unleſs it be really tranſubſtantiated into drink; if they grant theſe words to be meant of Sacramental eating, or to be equivalent to the words of the Inſtitution. Now to deny theſe words to be meant of *ſacramental* eating is every way leſs expedient for reformed Churches than for the Romiſh. And yet to reſtrain them either to *Sacramental* eating onely, or to *Spiritual* eating excluding ſacramental, is worſt of all. We are therefore to conſider, that *ſacramental* eating and *Spiritual* eating are not *oppoſite* or incompatible, but *ſubordinate*. Our eating of Chriſts, body and drinking of Chriſts Blood are then compleat, when they are Sacramentally ſpiritual, or ſpiritually ſacramental. For as *Calvin* excellently obſerves (albeit ſuch as profeſs themſelves zealous followers of him either do not underſtand him, or do not ſecond him) *to eat Chriſts body and drink Chriſts bloud* [*Sacramentally*] *is more then to believe in Chriſt, more than to have our faith awaked or quickened by the* Sacramental *pledges*. For no man can *ſpiritually* eat Chriſt, but by beleiving his death and *paſſion*; yet *ſacramental* eating adds ſomewhat to ſpiritual eating, how quick and lively ſoever our faith be whileſt we eat him only ſpiritually. For though our faith were in both the ſame, as well for degree as quality; yet the *object* of our faith is not altogether the ſame, at leaſt the *union* of our faith unto the ſame *object*, is not altogether the ſame, in *ſacramental* and in *ſpiritual* eating. Chriſts body and bloud are ſo preſent in the ſacrament, that we receive a more ſpecial influence from them in uſe of the ſacrament than without it we do; ſo

do; ſo

ſo we receive it worthily, or with hearts prepared by *ſpiritual* eating precedent, that is, by ſerious meditation of Chriſts Death and Paſſion. It is not all one, either not to think on Chriſts death and paſſion out of the ſacrament, or to think on them negligently or not reverently, and to receive the ſacrament of his body and blood unworthily, negligently or irreverently. Now as the effects or conſequence of the unworthy Receiving the Holy Sacrament is more Dangerous then the Effects or Conſequence of not eating Chriſt *Spiritually*, or of Careleſs Meditation upon Chriſts death and paſſion; ſo the Effect of Sacramental Receiving worthily and faithfully performed, is a greater refreſhing to the Soul, then the Effect of Receiving him *Spiritually* onely, though reverently and as becomes us. Now unto the reverent and worthy Receiving of Chriſts Body and Bloud *both waies*, that is, both *Spiritually* and *Sacramentally*, as being the moſt complete performance of the *Condition* required, is the *Promiſe* of our Saviour moſt immediately annexed; *He that* So *eateth my fleſh and drinketh my Bloud* Dwelleth in Me and I in Him. The meaning of *which promiſe* was the *Second Point* propoſed *Paragraph the* 5. and ſhould be next handled, but that the *Application* here deſireth to be inſerted.

The Application relating to the firſt General.

11. What hath been ſpelled apart, let us now put together. He that intends aright to eat Chriſts fleſh and drink his Bloud *Sacramentally*, to his Souls Health, muſt come prepared by a right and worthy receiving of Both, *Spiritually*. Now we *Spiritually* eat Chriſts Fleſh, and Drink his Bloud, as often as we reverently, and faithfully meditate upon Chriſts Death, and remember it aright. And this we do, when we take a true *Eſtimate of our ſelves*, and of *his death* and ſufferings for us. For this is both duely to *examine our ſelves*, or our own ſouls; and rightly to Eſteem or *Diſcern the* Lord's Body. To *Diſcern his Body* from the Bodies of other men, we cannot; unleſs we believe and acknowledg it to be *The Body of the Son of God, The Body of God Bleſſed forever:* as was ſhewed at large before in other Tracts, and in the fore-part of this Book. And this we may do, and yet not rightly eſteem that Love which Chriſt ſhewed unto us, in offering his body and bloud, in reſpect of the love of others which would perhaps adventure their bodies, and ſhed their bloud for us.

Two *Duties.*
1. To examine our ſelves.
2. To Diſcern The Lords Body.

12. To remember *A good Turn* done by a friend, and not to value and prize it as we ought, is rather to forget then to remember his Friendlineſs. Now no man can rightly prize the Death of Chriſt and the benefits thereof, unleſs he truly believe that *Chriſt dyed for him.* But is *Every one* bound to believe *This?* Yes. He that doth not believe *This*, doth not believe *that Chriſt is the Meſſias*, or the Redeemer of the World. *To doubt of This, is a Degree of Infidelity; to deny it, is more then Hereſie, a point of Jewiſh Infidelity.* Yet to believe thus much, and no more, doth not immediately make a good Chriſtian, or worthy receiver of the Holy Sacrament. What more then muſt every one beleive? That Chriſt dyed for him *in particular?* certainly he muſt. Nor doth the belief of *This* make him ſure of his Salvation. *Every one* muſt believe *that Chriſt dyed for him in particular*, that he may be a worthy Receiver: And *Every One* muſt worthily receive this Holy Sacrament, that is, worthily Remember Chriſts Death, that He may make his Election ſure.

Of the firſt part of mans Redemption, or the Ranſom paid *for all.* See Book 5. Ch 5.

But in what ſenſe muſt Every one believe *that Chriſt died for him in particular?* not *Excluſively*, as if he dyed not for others as well as for him. For this *were to have the Faith of Chriſt with reſpect of Perſon.*; without charity, and contrary to Reaſon. For if *every one* muſt believe *that*

Chriſt died for him in particular, then *every man* muſt believe that Chriſt dyed for *all men* as well as for him. Otherwiſe, ſome men ſhould be bound to believe an untruth. But if he dyed for all men, how is he ſaid to dye for thee and me *in particular*? Very well; *Thus.* Though He dyed *for all* as well as for thee or me, yet did he not dye *partly* for thee, and *partly* for me, and *partly* for others, but *intirely for every one.*

13. *Plato* (as *Seneca* in his 6. Book *De Beneficiis. Cap.*18. tels us) thought himſelf obliged in kindneſs to one that had Tranſported him over a River without paying his *Fare*; he reckoned it *Poſitum apud Platonem officium*: But when he ſaw others partakers of the ſame Benefit, he Diſclaimed the Debt. Hence *Seneca* draws This Aphoriſm; *It is not enough for him that will oblige me unto him, to do me a good Turn, unleſs he do it, as to my ſelf directly*: *non tantum mihi ſed tanquàm mihi.* If upon the like conſiderations, or to the end that they may think themſelves obliged to the Son of God more then other men are, ſome in our daies have taught, That Chriſt did not only ſuffer all *for them*, but *as for them in particular*; all others, (being not ſuch as they deemed themſelves to be, that is, not *truly Elect*) being excluded from the Benefit of his ſufferings: This is the beſt Uſe, and moſt Charitable conſtruction that can be made of ſo unuſeful and uncharitable a Doctrine. Though, to gather any *good Uſe* from it, is as impoſſible as to reap Figgs of Thiſtles.

Howbeit, as well as they who hold *That Chriſt dyed for the Elect only*, as they which teach, *That he dyed for all*, muſt beware, leſt they miſ-apply *That Rule of Seneca's*, touching ordinary benefits or Common courteſies, unto that Extraordinary loving kindneſs of Chriſts ſufferings: *Quod debeo cum multis, ſolvam cum multis*; That which I owe amongſt others, I will not pay alone. His meaning is, That for common Benefits he is only bound to pay his ſhare or portion. Far be it from any one that nameth the Name of the Lord Jeſus, to reaſon thus in his heart or ſecret thoughts. *Chriſt died for the many hundreds of thouſands now living, and for the more hundreds of ten thouſands late or long ſince dead, as well as for me; therefore I owe him love and thankfulneſs, but* pro rata; (*ſuppoſe the exact number was certainly known*) *I am but to acknowledge ſuch a part of his ſufferings to have been undertaken for me, as I am of that great multitude. Every humane ſoul is indebted to Chriſt for the whole, not every ſingle man for his part of mans Redemption.* That which St. *Bernard* ſpeaks in a Caſe not altogether the ſame, is moſt true of the Benefits of Chriſts ſufferings; *Nec in multitudinem diviſa ſunt, nec ad paucitatem reſtricta*: If Gods love to mankind be infinite, and if the value of Chriſts bloud or ſufferings be truly infinite (as they truly be) they cannot be *divided* amongſt many, much leſs can they be *reſtrained* to ſome few; *both* theſe being againſt the nature of Infinity. And if the value of Chriſts ſufferings cannot be divided into parts, *Every one* muſt acknowledge, that He paid an infinite price for his Redemption in *Particular*. A price leſs then infinite could not have Redeemed any one of us, and a price more then infinite could not be given for all. If Chriſt became a *ſecond Adam*, to dye and ſuffer for *redeeming man*, he dyed and ſuffered for all *men*, for *every man*, albeit the number of men which proceed from the firſt *Adam* could be Infinite. Had it been the Will or Purpoſe of the Son of God, to have taken upon him the Form of a Servant, immediately upon the Firſt Woman's ſin of Diſobedience, his ſufferings for her could not have ſufficed, unleſs they had been of value infinite: And being of value infinite for her, they had been of the ſame value for every living Soul that iſſued from her to the Worlds end.

If then, the price he laid down for thee were infinite, that is, without meaſure or Bounds, thy Love and thankfulneſs to Him muſt be without Stint or limit. Though He died for others as well as thee, yet art thou bound to love Him no leſs, then if he had died for thee alone. Thus muſt Thou think of Chriſt's Death and Paſſion if thou remember it aright: And as often as thou Readeſt, Heareſt, or makeſt Confeſſion with thy Lips, *That Chriſt's Blood was ſhed for thee*, make this Comment or Paraphraſe in thine heart, *He ſhed his whole Blood for me, every drop that fell from Him, either in the Garden or on the Croſs, or elſwhere, was poured out for my ſake, for me* in particular. Yea, every one which hears of Chriſt is bound to beleive that he dyed *for him*, amd *as for him*, that the benefit of his Paſſion redounds *& mihi, & tanquam mihi*: and charity, if it ſpring from Faith, will teach us to exclude none from Title to the benefits of Chriſts Death and ſufferings.

14. This doctrine of *Chriſts dying for all*, of His purpoſe to diſſolve the works of Satan *in all*, I am bold to profeſs in every place where Chriſt's Name is called upon, in every place where I have or may have opportunity to make Chriſt known: The bolder, becauſe it ſets forth, not only the Love and *Mercy*, but the *Juſtice* of God, a great deal more, then the contrary Doctrine can do. It makes mans ſinfulneſs and *unthankfulneſs* appear much greater, then by the contrary Doctrine can be apprehended or acknowledged. Beſides, it makes, *our Miniſtry* of preaching more uſeful then otherwiſe it could be. For, if we grant *That Chriſt dyed only for the Elect*, we might acquit ourſelves with ſafety of Conſcience from the burden of preaching or Catechizing, ſave only in thoſe Congregations which we know to be of the number of the Elect, or men already regenerate. Howbeit even in reſpect of *Them*, our preaching could not be ſo uſeful, as it would be harmful to others. We could but teſtifie *that* to the Elect which they already know, that is, that they ſhall be ſaved. But if once we teach that the Elect only or ſome few (perhaps one of a Thouſand, not one of five hundred) have any intereſt in Chriſts ſufferings, every man which is not as yet regenerate nor in the ſtate of Election, would forthwith conclude, that it is a thouſand to One (more then five hundred to one) that he can receive no benefit from Chriſts ſufferings, having no intereſt in the everlaſting inheritance purchaſed by them. And were it not much better to be ſilenced, then by our preaching to put ſuch ſtumbling blocks in their waies whom we are ſent to call unto Chriſt? For we are not ſent *to call the righteous*, or men already regenerate, *but ſinners to repentance*, to the ſtate of regeneration.

Three uſes of the Doctrine, that Chriſt paid the Ranſom for all.

Hovv true ſoever in the Event it may prove, That but a fevv ſhall be ſaved in reſpect of them that periſh, though the moſt part of men do dye in their ſins, yet their blood ſhall be required at their hands, who have taught: that they could not be ſaved, that Chriſt did not dye, did not ſuffer for them. But if we teach, as God in his Word hath taught us, That Chriſt Dyed and ſuffered for *all men*, no man can doubt whether Chriſt dyed for him or no; and not doubting that Chriſt dyed for him, he need not Deſpair of Salvation by him: we leave him without excuſe for not repenting and ſeeking Chriſt.

Joh. 1.29.
2Cor 5,14,15.
Heb.2.9.
2 Pet.2.1.

Again, this ſame Doctrine ſets forth the Glory of God much more then the other can. For albeit Gods mercies unto One man be truly infinite, or rather infinite in themſelves, yet, if according to this infinity they be extended *unto all*, they are extenſively much greater. If God had created only theſe inferior Elements, and man; their creation would neceſſarily infer the infinity of his power (for without infinite power nothing could have been made of *Nothing*) but yet his praiſe or glory would not have appear'd ſo great in the creation of Earth and Water, as it doth in the creation, not of them only, but of the whole heavens with all their Hoſts and furniture. The more Gods creatures be, the greater be his praiſes, for this Tribute he ought to receive from all of them, for their very *Being*. In like manner, though the Redemption of one or ſome few men, do truly argue the value of his ſufferings to be truly infinite; yet the more they be for whom he dyed, the more is his glory, the greater is his praiſe: For all are bound joyntly and ſeverally to laud and magnifie his Name for the infinite price of their Redemption.

15. Laſtly, ***This Doctrine*** is ſo neceſſary for manifeſting the juſt meaſure of their unthankfulneſs which periſh, that without *This* we cannot take ſo much as a true Surface of it; not ſo much as the leaſt Dimenſion of Sin. Some there be which tell us, "*that we had power in* Adam *to glorifie* "*God, but, that ſinning in* Adam, *our ſin is infinite, becauſe againſt an infinite* "*Majeſty: For ſo it is, that the greater the party is whom we offend, the greater alwaies the offence is.* And thus by degrees they gather, that every ſin againſt the infinite Majeſty of God deſerveth infinity of Puniſhment. But, albeit, the degrees of ſin, which accrue from the degrees of Dignity in the Perſon whom we offend, be ſucceſſively infinite; yet becauſe theſe Degrees are indeterminate, every man, which hath any skill at all in *Arguments of Proportion*, muſt needs know, that it is impoſſible for the wit or art of man to find out the true ***Product*** of ſuch Calculatory Inductions, or to conjecture unto what ſet meaſure of ingratitude, theſe infinite degrees will amount. It is not the ten-hundredth-thouſandth part of any ſin that can be truly notified unto us by inferences of this kind. How then ſhall we take the true meaſure of our Sinnes, or the full Dimenſion of our unthankfulneſs? From the Great Goodneſs of God in our Creation, and the unmeaſurable Love of Chriſt in our Redemption. If God in our Creation (*as the Pſalmiſt ſaies*) did make us but little lower then the Glorious Angels, that they might afterward crown us with Glory everlaſting: if, when, through the firſt mans folly we had loſt that Honour; he made his *Onely Son* for a little while, for 33. years ſpace, lower then the Angels, that he might exalt Him above all Principalitie and power, and in *Him* recrown us with Honour and Glory equal to the Angels, Their Sin is truly infinite *their unthankfulneſs is unexpreſſible*, and juſtly deſerveth puniſhment everlaſting, who voluntarily and continually deſpiſe ſo great Salvation which by Chriſt was purchaſed for them. No Torment can be too great, no anguiſh too Durable, becauſe no Happineſs could be in any degree comparable, much leſs equal, to that which they refuſed, though treaſured up for them in that inexhauſtible fountain of happineſs Chriſt Jeſus our Lord, our God, and our Redeemer.

See Book 8.

To conclude this meditation: It is a thing moſt ſeriouſly to be conſidered, That though Gods mercies in Chriſt can never be magnified too much, yet may they be apprehended amiſs: And, that, as it is moſt Dangerous to ſink in deep waters wherein it is the eaſieſt to Swim; ſo, the more infinite Gods mercies towards us are, the more deadly ſin it is to Dally with them, or to take incouragement by the Contemplation of them to continue in Sin. *The contemplation of their Infinity is then moſt ſeaſonable, when we are touched with a feeling of the Infiniteneſs of our ſins.* In that caſe, we cannot look upon them, but we ſhall be deſirous to be partakers of them, and that upon ſuch Termes as God offers them, *the forſaking of all our Sinnes.* Proverbs 28.13.

Dangerous to Dallie with Gods mercies.

16. But is this all that thou art to remember, when thou art, by Spiritual eating and drinking Chriſts fleſh and blood, a preparing thy ſelf for Sacramental and Spiritual receiving him together in The Lords Supper? is it enough to acknowledge, that he payed as great a Ranſome for thee as he did for all Mankind in general? *No! This is but the firſt part of thy Redemption*: and this firſt part of thy redemption was intirely, and allſufficiently, and moſt effectually wrought for thee, before any part of thy body was framed, before thy Soul was created: it was then wrought for thee without any endeavour or wiſh of thine: No more was required at thy hands for this work, then was required of thee for thy creation. But there is a *ſecond part of thy Redemption*, of which that ſaying of *A Father*, is true, *Qui fecit te ſine te, non ſalvabit te ſine te*, He that made thee without any work or endeavour of thine, will not ſave (will not Redeem) thee, without ſome, endeavour at leaſt, on thy part.

What then is *the ſecond part of the Redemption*, which we expect that Chriſt ſhould yet work in us and for us? or what is the endeavour on our parts required that he ſhould work it in us and for us? *The ſecond part of our Redemption*, which is yet in moſt of us to be accompliſhed, is, *The mortification of our bodies*, the diminiſhing the Reign of ſin in them; in a word our Sanctification or Ratification of our Election. Theſe are wholly Chriſts works, the ſole works of God, for *it is He that works in us both the will and the Deed*: and yet are we commanded to *work out our own Salvation; to make our Election ſure*. But how ſhall we do this, which is wholly Gods work? or what are we to do, that theſe works may be wrought in us? Beſides the renewing of the Aſtipulation or anſwer of a pure Conſcience, and Reſumption of our BAPTISMAL VOW, heretofore mentioned; we are to humble our ſelves mightily before the Lord, by a meek acknowledgement of ou vileneſs, and ſincere confeſſion of our ſinnes. And if we *ſo* humble our ſelves, *He that giveth Grace to the humble will lift us up*; *if we confeſs our ſins, he is faithful and juſt to forgive us our ſins, and to cleanſe us from all unrighteouſneſs*: not only to remit and cover our iniquities, but to purifie our hearts, and renew our ſpirits and minds, that they ſhall bring forth fruits unto holineſs. We are to call upon God by the prayer of faith and perſeverance: *Turn thou us Good Lord, and ſo ſhall we be turned; Speak but Thou the word, and Thy Servants ſhall be whole.*

See Book 10. Chap.31.

Book10.C.5

A Second *Duty* to examine our ſelves.

17. Thus we may eſteem of Chriſts love to us, and yet not examin or judge our ſelves as we ought before we eat This Bread and drink This Cup. To examin and judge our ſelves aright, requires theſe *Two meditations*, or *Two parts of one and the ſame meditation*. Firſt, How far we are guilty of Chriſt's Death by our Sinnes. But this falles under the former Meditation, That Chriſt Dyed for *us all*, not only *all* joyntly conſidered, but for *every one in particular*, or as alone conſidered: and if he dyed for *every one in particular*, or as alone conſidered, then every one may and muſt thus judge, *Then were all dead*, and every one in particular was a true cauſe of His Death. And this Meditation will make eaſie way to the Second, or *ſecond part of the ſame Meditation*, which is This: *Wherein*, or in what reſpects, *every one of us doth wrong Chriſt Jeſus more*, or may do him more wrong *then they did, which actually wrought his Death*: that is, then *Annas* and *Caiaphas*, then the Scribes and Phariſees, then the Prieſts and Elders that plotted and conſpired it, did.

But, doth any man which Profeſſes Chriſtianity at this day, wrong Him more then *Annas* and *Caiaphas*, and their aſſociates did? Yes, a great many! All that both daily and hourely do that which is more againſt *his moſt*

Holy will, then all that *Annas* and *Caiaphas*, and the Roman Souldiers did unto *Him*, wrong *Him* more then they did in putting *Him* to Death. “*The only Rule for meaſuring any perſonal wrong, is the oppoſition which the act or practiſe beares or includes unto the will or liking of the party which is diſpleaſed or wronged.*

To apply this to our preſent purpoſe. *Annas* and *Caiaphas* and their complices, did our Saviour more wrong, then *Cain* did *Abel* his innocent Brother, when he took away his life. For, Death, eſpecially a violent Death, was as bitter unto Chriſt, as man, as it was to *Abel*. So were the revilings, the ſlanders, and the defamations which the people (by the inſtigation of the Prieſts, Scribes, and Phariſees) caſt upon him, moſt diſpleaſing to His Humane Will. Yet were all theſe perſonal wrongs more unpleaſant to his moſt Holy Will as he was *The Son of God*, then unto his Humane Nature, then unto his diſpoſition or affection, as *He was the Son of David.* And albeit he ſuffered nothing which his heavenly Father had not fore-determined, yet he that would excuſe his perſecutors from doing him wrong, were worſe then an Infidel. Neither will this excuſe us from doing him greater wrong then theſe his perſecutors did, if we do thoſe things which are more diſpleaſant to Him, more contrary, not only to his *Divine*, but even to his *Humane Will* and Nature now Glorified in Heaven, then all the wrongs which Satan and his inſtruments did unto him, whilſt He lived here on earth; whilſt He was partaker of mortality with us.

18. But what do we? or what can we do more diſpleaſant to *His Holy Will*, then what they did, who maliciouſly accuſed *Him*, who more maliciouſly ſought his condemnation, who after His Condemnation, did more maliciouſly, and Inhumanly treat, and perſecute Him, then any Barbarian would do a Malefactor which had yeilded himſelf to a Legal Trial?

Surely, if we do thoſe things which *He* is more unwilling we ſhould do, then He was to ſuffer all the indignities which the Scribes and Phariſees could put upon Him, then all the torments which the Roman Laws could inflict upon Him; we wrong Him much more, then either the Jews or the Roman Souldiers did. For he did not ſuffer, either the torments which ſeazed upon Him, whilſt He was upon the Croſs, or in the garden, becauſe *He* could not avoid or reſiſt them, but becauſe he was more willing to ſuffer all theſe, then a greater inconvenience, which ſhould have befallen all and every one of Us, unleſs theſe miſchiefs (as the world accounts them) had befallen Him. *The inconveniences which He ſought to prevent by voluntary undergoing theſe Calamities, were, the Dominion or Reign of Sin in us, and our Servitude unto Satan by this Reign of Sin. For, for this purpoſe was the Son of God manifeſted, that he might Diſſolve* or Deſtroy *the works of the Devil*. And His manifeſtation did contain, not only his incarnation, But His Exemplary perſecution, His Death and Paſſion, which he was more willing to undergo, then to ſuffer the works of Satan, in any one of us, to be undiſſolved. If we then ſhall hold on his ſide, or ſeek to keep him in, whom Chriſt came to caſt out; or ſhall build again that Babel which Chriſt came to deſtroy; if we take part with Satan, as all thoſe do, which do thoſe things whereby the works of Satan may be maintained or augmented, whereby the Reign or Soveraignty of Satan may be confirmed or inlarged, we do thoſe things which are more diſpleaſing to Chriſt, then his Death and Paſſion was. And by doing ſuch things (according to the former Rule) we wrong *Him* more then they did, which did conſpire or Complot His Death, then they did, which put Him to that moſt cruel ignominious Death: For He was more willing to ſuffer *that Death*, to ſuffer all the indignities, that the Devil or world could put upon Him, then to ſuffer us, any one of us, to live and dye in our ſins, and in the ſervitude and power of Satan. Thus much by way of Application, as relating to the *Firſt General*; Proceed we now to the *Second General He ---Dwelleth in me, and I in Him.*

The Second General.

19. *Dwelleth in Me, and I in Him*: Or *abideth in Me and I in Him.* The word in the *original* varies it's ſignification according to the circumſtances of matters handled. Sometimes it ſignifies no more then to *abide* or *remain*, though but for an Hour or two. Sometimes it neceſſarily imports as much as our *Engliſh* Expreſſeth in the *Text*, that is, *A dwelling or manſion.* From this real difference of the matter and circumſtance, *the word* μένω is by our *Engliſh* one while expreſt (as here it is) by *Dwelling*, another while by *Abiding* or *remaining*, within the compaſs of one Period. For Example; *John.1.ver.39. Johns two Diſciples ask our* Saviour, *Rabbi,* ποῦ μένεις; *where doſt thou dwell? And he ſaith unto them; come and ſee. They came and ſaw where he dwelt*; Ἦλθον καὶ εἶδον ποῦ μένει· καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ ἔμειναν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, *and abode with Him that day.* Though the word in the Original be in all *three places the ſame*, and though the Tranſlators had twice rendered it by *Dwelling*, yet in the third place, they do not ſay, *And they Dwelt*, but, *They* abode *with Him that day.* Every *Dwelling* includes an *Abiding*, but every *Abiding* doth not include or imply a *Dwelling*. *Dwelling* implies a conſtant or frequent place of *Abode*; and ſomewhat more then ſo, a place of known or profeſſed *abode*, no lurking hole, or ſculking-place. All theſe circumſtances concur to juſtify the Tranſlation of the Original word here rather by *Dwelling*, than by *abiding*. For *Chriſts abiding* in us (if we ſo eat his fleſh and drink his blood as he preſcribes) is *conſtant*, is *frequent*, and *perpetual*. And whilſt he abides in us, our abiding in him is not only conſtant and frequent, but the known, or profeſſed place of our abode (and it is the beſt profeſsion to be of his houſhould). It is he that feeds us in time of peace, and he is our Tower of defence in time of war, the Rock of our Salvation, whileſt we are beſet with death and danger. *Be thou to me*, ſaith the Pſalmiſt, *Pſal.* 71. 3. *my ſtrong habitation, whereto I may continually reſort; thou haſt given commandement to ſave me, for thou art my Rock, and my Fortreſs.*

Though a man be in the Houſe as *the Dweller*; The Houſe may be in the Man, as the right owner, poſſeſſor, and houſhoulder.

But that Chriſt is the Rock of our Salvation, of our habitation in diſtreſs is a point which needs no further proof, no amplification. Yet ſeeing he is *our dwelling place*, the Rock of our Habitation in whom we dwell; *How can he be ſaid to dwell in us?* An houſe may be ſaid to be in the City, but may we ſay that the City is in the houſe? men dwell in Houſes or Tents, but was it ever heard that Houſes or Tents did dwell in men, that are the Lords and owners of them? The branch may abide in the tree; So may the Graft in the Stock, but who would ſay, That the Tree abideth in the Branch or the Stock in the Graft? How then is it ſaid, That the *Rock* both of our Salvation and Habitation, the *Sanctuary* of our Souls in all diſtreſs doth dwell in us? How can he, who is the root of *Jeſſe (the root of David* Rev. 5. 5.) The True Vine which Gods own Right-Hand hath planted, abide in us, who are but wild ſlips lately ingrafted into the Stem from which the natural Branches were broken off?

Two Difficulties.

20. The *Difficulty* ariſing from this Doubled Compariſon, though really but One, muſt be handled in Two.

Firſt, *How Chriſt may be ſaid to dwell in us, and we in Him.*

Secondly, *How he may be ſaid to abide in us, and not we in Him onely.*

This mutual Inhabitation and Reciprocal abode or In-Being, *is very myſtical and admirable Yet may our apprehenſion of it be facilitated, by obſerving ſome reſemblances thereof in other things, far different. To name that Firſt which is worſt. That poſſeſſion of the body of man, which evil Spirits did uſurp, in our Saviours time, is in H. Scriptue oft ſet down in termes denoting the Evil Spirits being in the man, Matth.*12 45. They enter in and dwell there, *and Ch.*8.31. If thou caſt us out, ſuffer us to go into the Herd of Swine. *And Acts* 19.16. The man in whom the evil Spirit was. *Yet doth* S. Mark, *Chap.*1.23. *and Chap.* 5.2. *expreſs this in the Original, as if the man was in an Evil ſpirit:* ἄνθρωπος ἐν πνεύματι ἀκαθάρτῳ. Logick *and* Philoſophy *tell us, that* The whole *is in the* parts, *and the* parts *in the whole; whether it be a* Totum Potentiale, *or* Univerſale (*as* Genus, *which is in the* Species; *and the* Species *likewiſe in the* Genus:) *or whether it be* Totum Collectivum; *ſo the City is in the ſeveral Families or Houſhoulds and theſe again are in the City. Some Good Divines have taken notice of that ſpeech or expreſſion,* Enter thou into thy Maſters Joy; *as importing the wondrous amplitude thereof: it is ſuch, as cannot be comprehended or contained within him, but he muſt enter into it. Yet ſure, that Joy doth both* Satiate the Soul *and Repleniſh the Body of him that enters into it. He is, as if we could ſuppoſe a large Veſſel of Chryſtal or tranſparent Gold let down into a Sea of Nectar or living waters. But the expreſſions of Scripture about* God the Father his being in Chriſt, and Chriſt in Him, and in us, and of our Being in Him; and of Chri[illegible]d his Holy Spirit being in us, *is various: Eſpecially, In* S. *John. Chap.* 14. *verſes* 10,11,16,17,20,23. *and perhaps more eaſie to be experimented by the Chriſtian Union with God, then to be explained in words more eaſie then the texts themſelves.*

Joh.17.11,21 22,23,26.

21. *The propoſed difficulties* muſt have their *proper Solutions*: *the former* from the explication of that *Great Attribute of Chriſt*, to wit, that *He is the cheif corner-ſtone* &c. The *other Difficulty* referrs to that *Metaphor* of the vine and the *Branches*, or of the ſtock and the Grafts.

The former difficulty explained.

Chriſt is compared unto a *ſtone* or *Rock*, and we unto living Stones built upon it, in reſpect of the ſtrength and firmneſs of the foundation and ſtructure of Gods Houſe or Temple.

He is, again, rightly compared to the vine, to an Olive or other more fruitful tree, and we unto Branches or grafts (not ſpringing from the Root, but ingrafted into it) in reſpect of our growth in Him, and of the diffuſion of his virtue into us and through us.

That we are built upon Chriſt (as the *Apoſtle* ſaith *Eph.*2 20.) this doth argue that *we dwell in him*, that He is the Rock of our habitation. In that we are built *on him*, as on the Chief Corner-ſtone: not under Him only, as He is *Summus angularis Lapis*, the Cheif Stone at the Top, *but upon Him* as *Lapis imus*, the firſt foundation ſtone too, and that a *Living ſtone*, which was cut out of the Mountain without Hands, and which was to grow into a Mountain filling the whole earth; This inferrs, *That he muſt dwell in us.* For the ſtone, which *Daniel* ſpeaks of, did not become a great Mountain ſo great a mountain as ſhould fill all the earth, by addition or by heaping or building one ſtone upon another, but by the growth of life; that is, by increaſe or augmentation of the ſame ſtone. Did this ſtone then increaſe or grow from ſmall beginnings unto a mountain, overſpreading the whole earth? If this we ſay, the rock of our Salvation or habitation muſt receive increaſe of life, and become a greater habitation or dwelling place in this laſt Age than he had been in any former. But how ſhould this be true? ſeeing he is, and was the rock of ages the rock on which the world it ſelf is founded the rock by which the earth it ſelf which ſupporteth all other rocks, is ſupported. *Heb.* 1.3.

22. *Such a rock he was from eternity as he is God*, not as he is man. *As man*, he was firſt as a little ſtone, yet a growing ſtone, for *he grew in wiſdome, and ſtature, and favour with God and man*, Luke 2.52. As God he could not be the corner-ſtone which God had promiſed to lay in Sion. Yet was Chriſt, who was both God and man, *That Stone which was layd in Sion.* And as he, which was both God and man, did ſuffer for us, was rayſed again the third day from the dead, not according to his God-head, but according to his man-hood: So was he (the ſame Chriſt, which was both God and man) the ſtone layd in Sion, not according to his God-head, but according to his man-hood. This gives us the ordinary interpretation of the Prophet Eſay *Chap.* 28.16. but *A late interpreter* of propheſies or viſions, hath obſerved an *Hypallage*, or inverſion in theſe words, not infrequent in the Prophets, familiar, (as he alledgeth) to the *Hebrew* writers, ſuch an inverſion as *Grammarians* obſerve in that of the *Poet*,

In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas
Corpora——.

That is, *Formes changed into new bodies*, for *bodies changed into new formes.* Thus ſaith *this late interpreter*, when the prophet ſaith, *mitto lapidem in Sionem, I lay or place a ſtone in Sion*, the meaning is, as if he had ſaid, *I lay or found Sion, the Spiritual Sion or new Jeruſalem in a Stone, or cheif corner ſtone elect and precious.* But whether this be the grammatical or literal ſenſe of the Prophet, I leave for Criticks in the Hebrew dialect to determine. Both conſtructions, the ordinary and this Critical, are true, and compatible; both in reſpect of the matter, are neceſſary: Chriſt God and man was layd in *Sion*, as a ſure foundation ſtone, as *Imus angularis Lapis*, as the loweſt corner ſtone, unto which S. *Peter*, for precedency of time (ſo far we yeild unto his primacy) was firſt annexed. *Peter* was the firſt living ſtone, which was Built upon this foundation ſtone: the other *Apoſtles* were layd, not upon *Peter*, but upon the ſame foundation ſtone, whether one after an other or all together, we will not diſpute. However, all that believe as *Peter* and the other *Apoſtles* did, or ſhall ſo beleive unto the worlds end, are immediately laid upon the ſame foundation ſtone, not one upon another, no one of them upon *Peter*, or upon any other *Apoſtle*; *their union or annexion unto Chriſt, is as immediate as Peters was*, and is or ſhall be, as indiſſoluble as his was to Chriſt, albeit, their growth be not ſo great, nor for quality ſo glorious. The beſt inſcription of this edifice thus immediately erected upon the ſame ſtone, would be that of the Poet, *Creſcit creſcentibus illis.* As the number of living ſtones, which are laid upon this foundation ſtone increaſe, ſo the foundation or corner ſtone which God did promiſe to lay in *Sion*, doth ſtill increaſe. As every particular living ſtone increaſeth or groweth from a ſtone into a pillar of this houſe of God; from a pillar in the houſe of God, unto a Temple of God; ſo this foundation ſtone, that is, Chriſt as man, ſtill groweth, ſtill increaſeth, not in himſelf, but in them. For they grow by his growth in them, or by Diffuſion of Life from him into them.

Eſay 8. 14.
Rom. 9.33.
1 Pet. 2.6.

Anton. Fernandius, Cited in the next Chapter.

The *Second Difficulty* explained.

23. But though Chriſt be often called a *ſtone, a rock, a living ſtone, a living rock*, or a ſtone which being cut out of a mountain, became a Mountain which filled all the earth; yet *the manner of his growth in us*, or the manner of his inlarged habitation through the Church, may be beſt conceived by the manner of the Souls growth or diffuſion of his Vertue throughout Vegetable or ſenſible bodies, that is, through trees or plants, or through the bodies of men, of Beaſts, or ſuch as we call living creatures.

There is *a vegetable ſoul* in the *Ake-corn* when it is firſt ſet or planted; and this ſoul we may truly ſay *dwelleth* or *abideth* in the Akorn, and is the cauſe why the Akorn ſprouteth into a rod: the ſame ſoul is the cauſe why the rod or twig groweth greater, the true cauſe why this twig groweth into a Stemme, why the ſtemme grown greater, ſpreads it ſelf into branches, why every branch beareth leaf, bloſſom, or ſeed. Now the greater the ſtemme doth grow, the further the vegetable ſoul doth ſpread it ſelf; The ſame vegetable ſoul which was in the Akorn diffuſeth it ſelf into the ſtemme, into the branches, into the leaf, into the bloſſom, into the Fruit or ſeed. None of theſe could thrive or proſper at all, unleſs the vegetable ſoul did *abide or dwell* in them, none of them can thrive or proſper any longer, than the vegetable ſoul *abideth or dwelleth* in them. Thus was *Chriſt* the root out of which *S. Peter* ſprouted, the ſoul of *Peter* as he was a living or Spiritual man. He had no life but from Chriſt, he grew by Chriſt *dwelling* or *abiding* in him. And as he did grow by Chriſt *abiding* in him; So he bare fruit by Chriſts *dwelling* in him, by the diffuſſion of life, and vegetation from Chriſt. And ſo all they, that abiding in Chriſt do grow in Faith, grow by Chriſt *dwelling* in them and ſpreading his vertue through them, after ſuch a manner as the vegetable ſoul doth diffuſe it ſelf throughout the Branches which ſpring from the root or ſtemme, or through the Branches which are ingrafted or inoculated into it. And this manner of the vegetable ſouls diffuſion of it ſelf (or of its vertue) into all the Branches which are ingrafted into the ſame ſtock or root, doth better reſemble the manner of Chriſts *dwelling* in us, than the diffuſion of life or vegetation from the root into the ſtems, ſtovens or branches, which without ingraffing or inoculation naturally ſpring from it.

See Joh. 15.2, 3,4 5,6,7. where the abode is mutual.

24. But this latter ſimilitude of the Stock and Grafts, although it well expreſs the manner of Chriſts *abiding* or growing, not in himſelf, but in us, and the manner of our *abiding* or *dwelling* in him; it may ſeem to fail in this; That ordinary Stocks, howſoever the ingrafted branches be ſupported by them, and receive life and nutriment from them, yet do they not receive their ſpecifical kind of life from the ſtocks into which they are ingrafted, but ſtill retain their own native quality. As a good Apple or Pear grafted into a Crab ſtock or Thorn, doth not degenerate into a Crab or Thorn, but retains its native ſweetneſs, and beares the ſame fruit which it would have done, although it had grown up into a Tree from its own root, or from the root whereof it was a native Branch. It would be a Solœciſm to ſay, That any ſuch ſtock doth remain or *dwell* in the Graft, becauſe it doth not diffuſe its ſpecifical quality into it,. But Chriſt in this manner, *abideth* or *dwelleth* in us. He is the Root and ſtem, and we the Grafts and inſet branches, and yet he is ſaid as truly *to dwell in us, as we in him.* This argues that the manner of our ingrafting and *abiding* in him is not natural, becauſe the ſtock or Stem, is for nature and quality much better than all the Branches or Grafts which are ſupported by it: which receive life and nutriment by it. Hence ſaith the Apoſtle, *Rom.* 11.24. *That we Gentiles were cut out of the Olive tree which was wilde by nature, and were grafted contrary to nature into a good Olive tree.* This ingraftment is contrary unto nature *two waies*;

Firſt, In that the Grafts being wild by nature, without any root, or fat, or ſweetneſs in themſelves, grow better qualified then they were, by participation of the ſweetneſs of the Stock.

Secondly, In that the Stock whereinto they are ingrafted, is a good Olive; whereas the Olive tree, naturally admits no ingraftment, or inciſion, being by nature ſo fat, that it ſeems to envie or ſcorne to participate his fatneſs unto any other Branches. ***In arbore pingui non vivunt inſita,*** Grafts do not thrive or proſper in any fat tree or ſtock, ſaith ***A late Naturaliſt.*** And as an ***Hebrew Doctor*** hath Obſerved, the Olive, being the fatteſt of Trees, will admit no inciſion, nor ingraftment. Nor will any Olive Graft thrive or proſper, unleſs it be ingrafted in an hungry ſtock. That fatneſs is as peculiar to the Olive, as ſweetneſs to the Fig or Vine; beſides experience, we have the authority of Scripture, *Judg.* 9. *verſ.* 9. The trees went forth on a time to annoint a King over them, and they ſaid unto the Olive tree, Reign thou over us; But the Olive tree ſaid unto them, Should I leave my fatneſs wherewith by me they honour God and man, and go to be promoted over the trees? and the trees ſaid unto the Fig-tree, come thou and Reign over us: But the Fig-tree ſaid unto them, Should I forſake my ſweetneſs, and my good fruit, *&c?* Yet is Chriſt Jeſus the True Olive Tree, but left his fatneſs for a time, that we, being by nature wild Olives might be ingrafted into him, and being ingrafted might participate of his fatneſs and ſweetneſs, which is no other, then that whereof the natural Olive is the Embleme, to wit, ***Peace*** even the ***Peace*** of God which ſurpaſſeth all underſtanding. ***Peace*** was his Embaſſage, as the *Apoſtle* ſaith, “He is our peace, who hath made both one, and hath broken down “the middle wall of partition between us, *&c.* And came and preached “peace unto you, which were afar off, and to them that were nigh, *Eph.* 2. *verſes* 14, 17.

Joh. 14.27.
Joh. 14.63.

CHAP. V.

The Great Attribute of Chriſt [His being the Chief Corner-ſtone] *handled in the fore-going Chapter, proſecuted more amply in this. Chriſt is the* Foundation *of the Apoſtles and Prophets. How Chriſtians being built upon this* Foundation, *do grow into an Holy Temple.*

Epheſians 2. 20, 21.

And are built upon the foundation of the Apoſtles and Prophets, Jeſus Chriſt himſelf being the chief Corner-ſtone. In whom all the building fitly framed together, groweth unto an holy Temple in the Lord.

1. THe *Sum* of our *Apoſtles* ſpeech in this Chapter (whereof theſe words are the Concluſion) *is this*; “That theſe *Epheſians* who “were Gentiles by progeny, far off from God, and Aliens from the Commonwealth of *Iſrael*, had now the priviledge of Gods Saints, were fellow Citizens with them, and of the houſhold of God, as it is, *verſ.* 19. And to aſſure them of this *Priviledge* or prerogative, he adds *verſe* 20. “That they were built upon the foundation of the Apoſtles and Prophets, “Jeſus Chriſt himſelf being the Chief Corner-ſtone, *Jeſus Chriſt* was the Beſt Foundation, the only foundation, which could give this prerogative to the *Apoſtles* or *Prophets*, to be either Saints or of the houſhold of God. And he it is, that gave to theſe *Epheſians,* though by nature Gentiles; and that gives to all, whoſoever are built upon this *Corner-ſtone,* the like *Priviledge*, a priviledge or prerogative to be native parts of that Holy Temple, which *Jeſus Chriſt* came down from heaven to build here on earth.

2. The Points then to be diſcuſſed are Three.

Three Points to be Diſcuſſed.

Firſt, *What is meant by the Foundation of the Prophets and Apoſtles.*

Secondly, *In what manner Christ is ſaid to be the chief Corner-ſtone.*

Thirdly, *The manner how we are built upon the foundation here meant, or upon this Corner-ſtone, with the manner of our growth into an Holy Temple.*

First, Whatſoever be here meant by *the Foundation*, it is not reſtrained to any one Prophet or Apoſtle. The meaneſt Prophet is not excluded; *Moſes* and *Samuel* are to be numbred amongſt the Prophets here meant, they were no foundations of the reſt. Nor is *Peter* here included as the foundation of the other Apoſtles, but as a joint part of this *Foundation*, or of the Building erected upon it; whether we conſider his *Perſon* or *Doctrine*. Many Interpreters of good note, underſtand the Doctrine of the Apoſtles and Prophets, ſo ſaith *Hugo Cardinalis, Super doctrinam Apoſtolorum & Prophetarum*: But every Sound Doctrine muſt have a ſure *Foundation*. What then is the *Foundation* of the Apoſtolick and Prophetical Doctrine? *That* can be no other then the *Corner-ſtone* here mentioned; to wit, *Chriſt Jeſus God and man*. Are not the Apoſtles then true *foundations* of this building? or will not St. *Johns* words, *Rev.* 21. 14. infer thus much? *And the wall of the City had twelve foundations, and in them the twelve Apoſtles of the Lamb.* Surely neither his words, nor the circumſtance of the place, will conclude that the twelve Apoſtles were *the twelve foundations*; but only that their names were inſcribed in them. So were not, for ought we read, the names of the Prophets; nor can it be concluded, that St. *John* did mean the ſelf ſame thing, by the *twelve foundations*, that Saint *Paul* here doth by *the foundation of the Prophets and the Apoſtles.* Saint *John* deſcribes the new *Jeruſalem, as a City lying four ſquare, with twelve Gates. Three on the Eaſt, and three on the North, three on the South, and three on the Weſt, bearing the Inſcription of the twelve Tribes of Iſrael*: And having twelve Gates, it muſt needs have *twelve foundations*, that is, the whole Foundation is divided into twelve parts. The Apoſtles were in no other ſenſe the twelve foundations, then the twelve Tribes of Iſrael were the twelve Gates. Yet foundations the Apoſtles might be ſaid of this City, in ſuch a ſenſe as *Heſychius*, ſaith St. *Andrew* ſaid of St. *Peter*, becauſe he brought him to Chriſt. Thus the whole Chriſtian world, was by the Apoſtles, brought unto Chriſt as to the *only ſure foundation*, which God had promiſed to lay in Sion, or (as the Hebraiſm imports) on which, or *in which*, God had promiſed to build up *Sion*, that is, (in St. *Johns* language) the *new Jeruſalem*. Chriſt then was the *chief Corner-ſtone*, on which the Prophet foretold *Sion* ſhould be re-erected; *the foundation* on which the Apoſtles themſelves were laid: and we ſhould no way ſwerve from the meaning of St. *Paul*, if by *the foundation of the Prophets and Apoſtles*, we neither underſtand their *perſons* nor their *Doctrine*, or neither of theſe *only* or *eſpecially*, but the ſelf ſame *foundation* upon which the Prophets and Apoſtles were built, by whoſe vertue they grew to be living ſtones of this edifice: *For other foundation then this* Corner-ſtone *can no man lay*; nor did Chriſt himſelf build upon any other foundation then upon himſelf. He is *the only Foundation*, whether of the Apoſtles *perſons* or *Doctrine*. I am the bolder to commend *this Interpretation* unto you, becauſe I ſee it ingenuouſly acknowledged by a late Learned * Jeſuite, who (I think) learned it of *Thomas Aquinas*. Superædificati ſupra fundamentum Apoſtolorum; id eſt, *Chriſtum qui eſt Fundamentum Apoſtolorum.*

3. But

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* Anton. Fernand. Conimb. viſiones vet. Teſt. viſ. 2. C. 28. Gen. fol. 83. Sect. 6. num. 9. And *Benedictus* Ferdinandus Borb. Luſit. in his ſecond Tom. of Comments, upon Gen. cap. 28. Sect. 2. Num. 8. Fol. 568. ſaith, Rom. Eccleſia – eſt Turris – fundatur *in Petri confeſſione atque in Domini promiſſione* —. And a little after he cites S. *Athanaſius* (Lib. 2. De Trin.) *Optime S. Athanaſius; Unum hoc eſt immobile fundamentum, una hæc eſt felix fidei petra Petri ore Confeſſa, Tu es Filius Dei vivi*, &c.

The Second Point.

3. But *in what ſenſe is Chriſt ſaid to be the chief Corner-Stone?* In the interpretation of the Original word, I find the *Diverſity* to be greater then the *real difference.* Some tranſlate the Original [ἀκρογωνιαίου] *Summo angulari lapide, the higheſt or ſupreme Corner-ſtone,* which couples or binds the building. *Beza* will have it [*imo angulari lapide,*] *the loweſt Stone in the Corner,* which we call, *the Foundation Stone*; and which in Buildings (eſpecially conſecrated to ſacred uſe) is commonly laid with great Solemnity, and by the hands of ſome principal man, or publick Officer. And *Beza* well obſerves, that the *Greek* ἄκρον, which is the *epithite* or *title* of the *Corner-ſtone* here in the Text, doth ſignifie *both extremes* of any dimenſion, as well the loweſt as the higheſt; and he gives this good *Caveat* withal, that we are not to preſs this compariſon of Chriſt to a *Corner-ſtone* too far; no further then our Apoſtle meant it: which was, *the joyning of two walls together,* which before had been diſtant, and unſociable; to wit, the *Jew* and the *Gentile.*

Beza's Obſervation.

Now in every compleat building, there muſt be more then two walls, four at leaſt, and therefore four *Corner-ſtones,* four *imi angulares lapides,* four Foundation-ſtones, and four *Summi angulares lapides,* that is, four Supreme, or binding Corner-ſtones, and all theſe Corner-ſtones, are ſaid to be the *chief* in the building. It is evident that Chriſt is the *Firſt foundation-ſtone,* and yet may it not be denied that he is alſo the chief *Corner-ſtone* which binds the building. For in this ſenſe muſt that of the Pſalmiſt, *Pſal.* 118. 22. be underſtood: *The Stone which the Builders refuſed is become the Head-ſtone of the corner.* For if we reſpect the literal ſenſe of this Propheſie, or the ground of the *metaphor, the loweſt or foundation ſtone, being once refuſed by the Builders, cannot by the ſame Builders be layed in the foundation again,* unleſs they will pull down what they have built: But whilſt the foundation is in laying, a ſtone may be rejected, or laid aſide by the Builders, as not ſo fitting to be laid in the foundation (or to be any intermediate part of the edifice erected) and yet may come to be the fitteſt Stone for coupling or binding the building; that is, to be the ſupreme Corner-ſtone. The *Author of the Scholiaſtick Hiſtory* hath a Tradition, for whoſe authority he (perhaps) could have produced better warrant, then we can take from him, that in the building of the ſecond Temple (at whoſe conſecration, in all probability, this 118. *Pſalm* was conceived) there was *a peculiar Stone* often layed aſide by the builders, as unfitting (in their judgement) to become any part of the foundation or intermediate building, which yet afterwards proved the fitteſt Corner-ſtone, for binding or coupling together the walls erected. And the extraordinary unexpected fitneſs of this ſtone, to finiſh that building, for whoſe erection it was continually held unfit, *did miniſter hint or occaſion unto the Pſalmiſt* to ſay, *This is the Lords doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.*

But leaving the truth or probability of this *Tradition* to the ſearch of Antiquaries or Criticks, the literal or emblematical ſenſe which the author makes of the Pſalmiſt, doth well ſuit with the allegorical and myſtical, which the *Apoſtles* S. *Paul* here, and S. *Peter,* Act. 4. 11. from our Saviours mouth, have made of the *Pſalmiſts* parabolical ſpeech. For thus our Saviour Chriſt (whom God had preſented and commended to the Maſter builders of his Temple, that is, to the Prieſts Scribes and Phariſees, to the Elders and chief Rulers of the Synagogue, in the dayes of his humiliation here on earth,) was by them rejected, ſcoffed and ſpurned at, and laſtly buried in the earth, as altogether uſeleſs and unfit for building. And yet, after his Reſurrection, He became not only *imus,* but *ſummus angularis lapis,* not onely the firſt firm *Corner-ſtone* or ſupporter, but the chief and ſupreme *Corner-ſtone* too; aſwel the *finiſhing* as the *Foundation* of this ſpiritual Temple not made with hands. That Chriſt himſelf is both the *Foundation* and *finiſher*, that is, both the higheſt perfection and loweſt foundation in this building, his own interpretation of the Pſalmiſts words, *Matth.* 21. 42, 44. will neceſſarily infer. *Did you never read* (ſaith he) *in the Scriptures, The ſtone which the Builders rejected, the ſame is become the head of the corner; this is the Lords doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes? And whoſoever ſhall fall on this Stone ſhall be broken: but on whomſoever it ſhall fall it ſhall grind him to powder.* Fall upon this *Cornerſtone* they could not, but as it was the loweſt in the building. Their fall upon it could not be ſo grievous as to break their limbs, unleſs it had been laid deeper or lower then ordinary foundations or Corner-ſtones are uſually laid. And the myſtical ſenſe of our Saviours words is, that ſuch as ſpurned and ſtumbled at him, in his humility, ſhould as it were break their limbs; But that this ſtone ſhould fall upon any, this in the literal ſenſe ſuppoſeth, that it ſhould be higher then they were, ſo high placed in this building, that the fall of it ſhould not bruiſe or break their limbs, but grind their bones to powder. And thus was the *Jewiſh Nation* broken or cut off from being Gods people for their contempt of Chriſt in his humility. And not only they, but all ſuch as continue in the like contempt of his paſſion and reſurrection, ſhall by his ſecond coming to (Judgment) in glory, be ground to powder; that is, the pains of their firſt breaking by falling upon this Corner-ſtone ſhall be multiplied without end or meaſure.

Pineda on ch. 38. Job. v. 6.

To conclude this *ſecond Point*; *Chriſt is both Lapis ſummus angularis, lapis imus, primus & latiſſimus angularis*, as Pineda ſaith in, *Chap.* 38. *Job. verſ.* 6. The higheſt and the loweſt *Corner-ſtone* in this building, the center and circumference, the whole ſtrength of this city and the walls about it; ſo ſaith the Prophet *Eſay* 26. 1. *We have a ſtrong City, ſalvation will God appoint for walls, and bulwarks. Open ye the gates that the righteous Nation, which keepeth the truth, may enter in.* And again, verſ. 4. *Truſt ye in the Lord for ever, for in the Lord Jehovah is everlaſting ſtrength*, or (as the Hebrew) *the rock of ages.* As this Spiritual Temple in the Text, is a Temple not made with hands, (for God dwelleth not in ſuch Temples. *Act.* 7. 48. *Heb.* 9. 11, 24.) So Chriſt, who is the chief *Corner-ſtone* of it, is that ſtone, which *Nebuchadnezzar* ſaw in viſions by night, *Dan.* 2. v. 34. A ſtone not cut out of any quarry by hands, yet a *ſtone, which ſmote the Image upon the feet, which were of Iron and clay, and broke not them only, but the whole Image, aſwell the braſs, the Gold and Silver, as the iron and clay unto pieces.* And afterwards *became a great mountain, which filled the whole earth.* But how or when this ſtone became a great mountain, or in what manner we are ſaid to grow into an holy Temple, will better appear in diſcuſſing the *third Point* propoſed, which was, *Concerning the manner how theſe Epheſians or others are ſaid to be built upon the foundation of the Prophets and the Apoſtles, and upon Jeſus Chriſt the chief Corner-ſtone; and how they grow into an Holy Temple.*

The 3. Point propounded Paragr. 2

4. When the *Prophet* ſaith that the ſtone cut without hands did become a great *Mountain*, he ſuppoſeth, that it ſhould be a living ſtone. And when our Apoſtle here ſaith that the whole building doth *grow unto an holy temple*, it is included, that every part of this temple ſhould be a living ſtone. For growth, (ſuch growth as the Apoſtle ſpeaks of) is an effect of life. Things inanimate or without life, as material buildings, ſtones of the quarry, or any heap or congeſt, may become greater by addition of matter unto them: they cannot *Grow* un-

to greatneſs, as wanting the faculty of vegetation or Nutrition. That only is capable of *growth*, which is capable of *Nutrition*, and nothing is capable of nutrition, but that which is endowed with life. Hence ſaith St. *Peter* 1 Epiſt. cap. 2. verſ. 2, *&c.* *As new born babes deſire the ſincere milk of the word, that ye may grow thereby, if ſo be ye have taſted that the Lord is gracious.* The *Growth* then of every Chriſtian, is more then the Growth of Vegetables; for it includeth the ſenſe of taſt, we muſt *taſt* the graciouſneſs of the Lord by faith, and we muſt come unto him by Faith, as unto a *Living ſtone, diſallowed of men, but choſen of God and pretious, and coming thus unto him,* As the Apoſtle adds, verſe 5. *we alſo become lively ſtones, and are built up a ſpiritual houſe, an holy* Prieſthood *to offer up ſpiritual ſacrifices acceptable to God through Jeſus Chriſt.* Saint *Peters* inference in that place verſe ſix, ſeven, *&c.* is the very ſame with our Apoſtle Saint *Pauls* in this place; and ſo is the *Uſe* or *Application* of it *the very ſame* with that, which our Apoſtle makes in the later end of this Epiſtle. But *of the Uſe hereafter.*

It will in the mean time be very *Uſeful* for us to obſerve, “That neither St. *Paul* nor St. *Peter*, when they purpoſely handled the building of the Gentiles upon this chief *Corner-ſtone*, do mention or intimate any other *Foundation*, on which we are to be builded, before we be builded on Chriſt: *Neither of them* taught us to rely on themſelves, or on their *perſonal faith*, or their ſucceſſors Authority, as upon *ſecondary foundations*, by Union with whom (or relying upon whom) we might be grounded upon the *Prime Foundation*, which is Chriſt. *If this they had taught us, they had taught us not to believe as they believed*, and not believing as they believed, we could not poſſibly become ſuch live ſtones of this ſpiritual edifice as they were.

5. But if we muſt believe as St. *Peter* believed, muſt we not believe as the Church believes? yes! All that hope to be ſaved muſt believe as the true Church believes; and they only are the true Church which believe as St. *Peter* believed. The Queſtion is, *Who they be that believe as St.* Peter *believed?* Theſe (we ſay) are *the members of Reformed Churches*, or the Reformed Churches themſelves. *No member of the Romiſh Church can poſſibly believe as St.* Peter *did unleſs they will abandon the abſolute infallibility of the viſible Romiſh Church.* For every one which believes as St. *Peter* did, muſt have the ſame Object of Faith which St. *Peter* had. He may not believe any Article of faith which St. *Peter* did not believe: he may not ſeek, he cannot hope to be built on the ſame Foundation on which *Peter* was built, by relying upon any Authority upon which *Peter* himſelf did not rely. The manner of his union unto this *Foundation* muſt be the ſame that *Peters* was, as immediate as *Peters* Union was. What then was the proper Object of *Peters* faith? What was the *Fundamental Rock* on which *Peter* was by this faith immediately built? *That was only Chriſt the Son of man, and the Son of the living God:* And the Branches which naturally iſſue out of this Root, (or living Rock) are: “That Chriſt the Son of the living God, the Son of God the Father, was Conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, was born of the Virgin *Mary*, did ſuffer under *Pontius Pilate*, was Crucified, dead, and buried, *&c.* Did St. *Peter* believe all or any of theſe Articles by believing his own Authority? Was he founded on Chriſt by the intermediation, or interpoſition of any other *ſecondary foundation*? Was he the foundation or Rock on which himſelf was built? If we cannot believe theſe Articles, but by believing Saint *Peter* or his *perſonal faith*, to be the Rock on which the Church is built, then *Peter*,

See Book 3. Chap. 7,8. A Diſcourſe about, *Thou art Peter*, &c.

or his *perſonal faith*, muſt be to us as a *ſecond foundation*. We cannot be united to Chriſt, we cannot be builded on Chriſt, unleſs we be firſt united unto, and builded on *Peter*. But *Peter* was not builded upon himſelf, or upon his own faith; wherefore if we be builded upon *Peter* or upon *Peters* faith, we have not the *ſame Object of faith*, nor the ſame faith which *Peter* had; for neither *Peters perſon*, nor *his faith*, were any part of the *Object of his faith*. His *Authority* was no means of his Union with Chriſt.

6. *That the Object of Faith muſt be formally the very Same in all true Believers, the preſent Romiſh Church (if this were the Queſtion between her and us) could not deny.* Her greateſt Clerks do expreſly teach and maintain it *as a principle* of true Divinity. And maintaining this truth, they muſt confeſs (unleſs they will contradict themſelves) *that we muſt be as immediately united to Chriſt by Faith*, as *Peter* was, we muſt be as immediately builded on Chriſt by this faith, as *Peter* was; we muſt not be built on him, by being built upon *Peters Faith*, or upon his *ſucceſſors infallible Authority*. For ſo we ſhould have another *Object* or *Article of Faith* then *Peter* had, or his ſucceſſors have: We ſhould have another foundation then *Peter* had, as many more foundations as *Peter* hath ſucceſſors. Our Union with *them* ſhould be a part of our Union with Chriſt; Our belief of their Infallible Authority, ſhould be the chief *Bond* of this Union, ſuch a Bond or ſtay of our edification upon Chriſt as the ſtones or cement in a material building; is, between the loweſt foundation, and the intermediate Rowes of ſtone which are laid one upon another until the higheſt Row be finiſhed. And to be thus united unto Chriſt, were to make him no living ſtone, which diffuſeth life unto all that are built upon him; but a dead ſtone, or a ſtone only able to ſuport the material or dead weight which is laid upon it; there ſhould be no growth in faith, but in addition or cementing of one part unto another, until the edifice were finiſhed. Whereas our Apoſtles words are expreſs, *that all the building is fitly framed together in Chriſt, and ſo framed groweth up unto an holy Temple in the Lord*. He ſaith not, we are builded one upon another, but *builded together* in Him *for an habitation of God through the Spirit*. The Spirit by which we are builded *together* in Chriſt, or through which we become the habitation of God, is not communicated and propagated unto us from St. *Peter*, and his Succeſſors, as from intermediate Foundations or Roots. We, and all true believers, receive the influence of the Spirit, as immediately from Chriſt, or from God the Father and the Son, in the *ſame manner* as Saint *Peter* did, though not in the *ſame meaſure*. But the difference of the *meaſure* in which we receive it, or the difference of our growth in Chriſt, doth not argue a different *manner* either of our receiving it, or of growth by it.

7. But is this the worſt Practiſe of the Romiſh Church, *that ſhe adds one Article more unto our Creed*, then St, *Peter* knew, or taught others to believe; or that ſhe makes *Peters* ſuceſſors to have a Foundation which he had not ? If thus ſhe did, and no more, this were enough to convince her of *Groſs Hereſie*. But this one Article of faith, or this *ſecond foundation* of faith which ſhe pretends, is of ſuch a tranſcendent nature, that it devours all the reſt; and doth, if not overthrow the Firſt foundation of our Faith, yet which is all one, it draws us from it. For as many ſucceſſions as there be of Popes, or of *Peters* pretended ſucceſſors, ſo many ſeveral foundations there be of their faith, which ſucceſſively adhere unto them. Nor are theſe ſeveral or ſucceſſive foundations either immediately cemented, or firmly united to the *firſt Foundation*,

which is Chriſt, or one to another: They are as ſo many Rows or Piles of ſtone laid one upon another without any juncture or binding, than looſe ſand. And all that abſolutely unite themſelves to the preſent Romiſh Church, that is, to *Peters* pretended ſucceſſors, muſt of neceſſity fall off from the *Firſt foundation*, Chriſt God and man, and flote with theſe *ſecondary foundations*, to wit, *Peters* ſucceſſors, when the floods of temptations do ariſe.

The point then to be proved is this, ***That the preſent Romiſh Church***, to wit, *the preſent Pope, or ſuch as relye upon him, as a ſecond or intermediate foundation in this ſtructure, cannot poſſibly be built upon the foundation of the Apoſtles and Prophets, they cannot grow up together as living ſtones firmly united in Chriſt Jeſus, as in the Corner-ſtone.* Now the *proof* of this Point is clear, becauſe none can be built upon the Foundation of the Prophets and the Apoſtles, unleſs they abſolutely believe, as they believed, and firmly acknowledge that which they have commended unto us in their writings to have been delivered unto them by God himſelf; for ſo they expreſly teach us to believe. Believing then as they believed, we muſt believe, that albeit the Apoſtles and Prophets be not the *Foundation* here meant in the Text, yet, that they were *Maſter* Builders appointed by God for ſquaring and fitting all that lived with them, or that ſucceeded them, for this *foundation*; and that the *Rule* by which, as well the Paſtors and Teachers, as the people taught by them, muſt be fitted and ſquared for this *foundation*, is the doctrine of faith contained in their Writings. Both theſe parts of *truth*, to wit, that the Books of the Old and New Teſtament are their Writings or Dictates, and that in theſe Writings the Doctrine, or *Rule* of *Faith* is contained, muſt be abſolutely believed, and taken for unqueſtionable, before any modern Paſtors in the Church, can be fram'd or faſhioned to be true ſtones in this building. *But no man which* abſolutely *believes the preſent Romiſh Church, can have any* abſolute *belief, that the Old and New Teſtament, or the Writings of the Apoſtles and Prophets are infallibly true or contain the Word of God. The beſt belief that any Romaniſt can have is but* Conditional, *and the* Condition *is this*, If the preſent Romiſh Church (*to wit, the Pope, and ſuch as relye upon his authority*) be abſolutely infallible, *and cannot err in matter of faith.*

But it will be Replyed; In as much as the Roman Catholicks take it as a Principle moſt unqueſtionable, that *their Church cannot err*, they for this reaſon muſt believe the doctrine of the Apoſtles and Prophets concerning Chriſt to be infallible, and the Books of the Old and New Teſtament to contain the Word of God, becauſe the Church their Mother, which they firmly believe cannot err, doth tell them ſo; or, as their own writers ſpeak) becauſe the Church their mother doth *Canonize theſe books for the books of God*. This indeed is the chief advantage, which they Preſume their Lay-people have of ours, in that they believe the Churches teſtimony concerning the books of God to be infallible, and if they believe the Church to be in this point infallible, they cannot doubt but that theſe books are the word of God.

But if we look more narrowly into this *myſtery of iniquity*, and take their full meaning with us, it will further appear, that this *abſolute belief* of this preſent Churches abſolute infallibility doth overthrow or undermine the whole frame of faith. For they extend this ſuppoſed infallibility of the Romiſh Church ſo far, and make the belief of it ſo neceſſary, that without this *fundamental principle* (as they ſay) we cannot infallibly believe or know the Books of the Old and New Teſtament to contain in them the Word of God. And in avouching this, it is evident that they leave both the Authority of the Apoſtolical and Prophetical writings, and the Authority of the preſent Church, altogether uncertain, ſo uncertain, that nothing avouched by either of them can be (by their doctrine) ſo certain, as to become any foundation of their faith. If we cannot infallibly believe the Books of the Old and New Teſtament to be the Books of God himſelf, and of divine Authority, otherwiſe then by believing the preſent Romiſh Church to be infallible, let them tell us how they can poſſibly believe or prove, that the Romiſh Church, or any other Congregation of men, hath any ſuch infallible authority. This authority muſt be either believed, or known by light of Nature, or by Divine Teſtimony, or Revelation. That the infallibility of their Church can be known by the light of Nature, they do not, they dare not ſay. For that *Peter*, on whom that Church (as they pretend) is founded, was an Apoſtle of Chriſt, cannot be known by light of Nature, or by ſenſe; it cannot be infallibly believed, but by Divine Authority, Revelation, or Teſtimony. By what Divine teſtimony then do they know that *Peter* was an Apoſtle, or that the Church was to be builded on him, or on his ſucceſſors? You know they pretend that place of St. *Matthew*, Chap. 16, 18. ***Thou art*** Peter, ***and upon this rock will I build my Church***: and that of St. *Luke*, Chapter 22. 32. ***I have prayed for thee that thy faith ſhall not fail***; And yet they deny, that we can poſſibly know theſe words to be the words of God, or to have any ſuch meaning as they make of them, unleſs we will believe the Churches authority in avouching them, to be the words of God, and her interpretation of them to be infallible.

Book 2. c. 30. *Valentian* his Inchanted Circle.

But leaving them wandring in this ***Round*** or Circle, as we found them long ago, let us further conſider the manner how we are built upon Chriſt the Chief *Corner-ſtone*, and how we muſt grow unto an holy Temple in the Lord.

Anton. Farnand.

9. Chriſt (as you heard before) is not the ***Corner-ſtone*** or Foundation only, but the Temple of God: A Greater and more ſpacious Temple, then all the building which is erected upon him, which groweth up in him. We muſt be living ſtones, we muſt be Pillars in the houſe of God, we muſt be Temples of God; that is, an habitation of God ***through the Spirit***; but no Foundations, no chief ***Corner-ſtones***, theſe are ***Chriſts prerogatives***: ***Behold I have graven thee*** (to wit, the Spiritual Sion, ſaith the Prophet, *Iſa.* 49. 16.) ***upon the palms of my hands, thy walls are continually before me***: that is, as a late Interpreter of the Romiſh Church ſaith, ***I have pitched thy foundations in my hands by the wounds which I received in them.*** By whoſe ***diduction or rent, a place was opened for this future edifice to be erected in him.*** And for this cauſe Chriſt (who is the Rock) ***was every way digged into, in his ſide, in his hands, in his feet.*** The myſtery whereof is, ***that he might exhibit a firm foundation*** out of which ***the fabrick of the Church*** ſhould grow. That we then become living ſtones in this edifice, it is from our ***immediate Union*** with this chief ***Corner-ſtone***; being united to him, he is faſhioned in us: and by him faſhioned in us, we become living ſtones, growing ſtones: we grow from living ſtones to living pillars, from living pillars to living Temples, or ***habitations*** for our God. That the children of God are not only living ſtones, but from living ſtones grow into pillars, our Saviour himſelf hath taught us by St. *John Rev.* 3. 12. ***Him that overcometh will I make A Pillar in the temple of my God, and he ſhall go no more out***; ***and*** if we be pillars in the temple of God, we muſt be as immediately placed on the foundation or chief Corner-ſtone as St.

S. *Peter* or Chriſts other Apoſtles were: We muſt be as intire Temples as they were. And for this reaſon, our Saviour adds, *Upon every one whom he makes a pillar, the name of God and the name of the City of God the new Jeruſalem which cometh out of Heaven. Know ye not,* ſaith S. Paul, 1 Cor. 6. 19. *That your body is the Temple of the Holy Ghoſt?* As we ſay, the Kings preſence makes the Court; ſo it is Gods Holy Spirits extraordinary preſence in Man which makes him his Temple. And the Reaſon why Chriſt is called *The Temple of God,* is becauſe *the Godhead dwelleth in him bodily.* And for the like reaſon every one in whom Chriſt dwelleth by Faith, is, in a participated ſenſe, called, *The Temple of God.* And as viſible Cities conſiſt of ſeveral Houſes, and as the beauty of every City conſiſts in the Uniformity of Houſes well built and joyned together, ſo the Heavenly Jeruſalem conſiſts of ſeveral Temples, whoſe beauty or Uniformity conſiſts in this, that Chriſt Jeſus is the life and light of every ſeveral Temple, and that his Spirit is uniformly diffuſed through all.

10. Chriſt (as you have read before) Communicates his Titles unto his Saints, but not the *Real Prerogative of his Titles.* He is *The Rock,* ſo was *Peter* a Rock, ſo are we rocks, but not *The Rock* on which the Church is built. He is the *Chief Corner ſtone,* we are living ſtones; he is the Temple and the Prieſt of the moſt high God; and he makes us both Temples and Prieſts unto his God. So ſaith S. *Peter,* 1 *Ep. Cap.* 2. *Verſ.* 5. *Yee all as lively Stones are built up a ſpiritual Houſe, an holy Prieſt-hood to offer up ſpiritual Sacrifices acceptable to God through Jeſus Chriſt.* The Model of this Spiritual Temple and Prieſt-hood (that is, of the new Jeruſalem, and the ſervice of God performed in it) was exhibited by *Moſes, Exod.* 24. 4, 5. at the making of the firſt Covenant. *Moſes wrote all the words of the Lord, and roſe up early in the morning, and builded an Alter under the Hill, and twelve Pillars according to the twelve Tribes of Iſrael. And he ſent young men of the Children of Iſrael, which offered burnt offerings, and ſacrificed peace offerings of Oxen unto the Lord.* Immediately, after this, *Moſes* and *Aaron, Nadab* and *Abihu,* ſaw the God of Iſrael: and there was under his feet, as it were a paved work of a Saphire ſtone, and as it were the body of Heaven in his clearneſs, *Ver.* 9. The young men which he ſent to offer Sacrifices (as the beſt Interpreters obſerve) were the firſt-born of their Families. For till that time, and at that time, which was before the conſecration of *Aaron* and his Sons, it was lawful for the Firſt-born Male of every Family to execute the office of the Prieſt; this was his duty. So that every Family was as a little Pariſh-Church, and had his Prieſt to perform this Service of God. Now though all that are built *upon the Foundation of the Prophets and Apoſtles,* are not admitted to be Architects or Maſter-builders, though all be not publick Teachers or Paſtors; yet all that are, or hope to be parts of this building, have the ſame Prerogative which the Firſt-born Males of *Iſrael* had before *Aaron* was conſecrated: All muſt be Prieſts to offer up *Spiritual Sacrifices* unto God. But ſeeing we muſt grow unto an holy Temple; and growth (as was ſaid before) ſuppoſeth Nutrition, let us now ſee what is the nouriſhment by which we muſt grow from living Stones to be living Pillars, from Pillars to be living Temples, yea Kings and Prieſts unto our God.

11. The nature and quality of the *Nutriment* by which we muſt *grow,* cannot in fewer words be more pithily expreſt, then it is by S. *Peter,* 1 *Pet.* 2 *cap. Verſ.* 2. It is *the ſincere Milk of the Word:* But how good ſoever the Nutriment be, it doth not kindly nouriſh unleſs we have an ap-

Tom. III.

petite to it; Therefore the ſame Apoſtle adds ἐπιποθήσατε, *deſire, or long after, the ſincere milk of the word.* We muſt then deſire to have the *word dwell in us plentifully*, and we muſt deſire to have it ſincere, that is, pure and unmingled. Now this milk may become unſincere or mingled, ſometimes by the default of the *Paſtor* or *teacher*, ſometimes by the default of the *hearers*. The duty which concerns us *teachers* is, that we do not mingle the word, with the Traditions of men, how ancient ſoever they be. This is the fault of the Romiſh *Church*, which the Church our mother hath ſufficiently prevented by publick edicts or decrees. But many otherwiſe averſe enough from Traditions of the Romiſh or other ancient Church, oft-times corrupt it with their own Conceits or Phanſies, which will eaſily mingle themſelves with the word, unleſs we ſpeak out of premeditation, and have both art and leaſure to reviſe and examin, as well our own meditations, as the meditations or expoſitions of others whoſe help we uſe. *Since the extraordinary Gifts of the Spirit did ceaſe, there is no faculty under the Sun which more requires the help of Art and ſtudy than the expoſition of Scripture doth. It requires a greater skil then the skill of Alchimy, to extract the true ſenſe and meaning of the holy Ghoſt, from the plauſible gloſſes or expoſitions which are daily made upon them.* But how ſincerely ſoever the word may be delivered by the *Paſtor*, it may be corrupted by the *hearer*. Milk (as Phyſitians tell us) is turned into purer bloud with greater facility, than any other nutriment, ſo the body which receives it, be free from humours; but if the ſtomack or other vital parts, be ſtuft with Phlegm, oppreſt with Choler, or other corruption, there is no nutriment which is more eaſily corrupted, or more apt to feed bad humours than milk, how pure ſoever it be. Thus though the ſincere milk of the word be not only the beſt, but the only nutriment of Souls, by which we muſt grow up in faith: yet if the heart which receives it from the Preachers mouth, *ſincere*, be peſtered with corrupt affections, it doth not nouriſh; if it doth not purge or purify the corrupt humours but mingle with them, they malignify one another. The ſpecial humours, which on the hearers part, corrupt the ſincere milk of the word; and of which every one that will be a diligent hearer, muſt endeavour to purge his Soul by repentance, are ſet down by *St. Peter* in the ſame Chapter, verſ. 1. *Wherefore laying aſide all malice, all guil, and all hypochriſie, and envies, and evil-ſpeakings, as new born babes deſire the ſincere milk of the word.* We muſt firſt, (then) deſire the word *as Phyſick* to purge our Souls: That part of the word I mean, which teacheth repentance, and denial of all ungodlineſs, before we can hope to grow by the milk of it, that is, by the Comfort of Gods promiſes. Unleſs our hearts be, in good meaſure purifyed, by obedience to the General precepts, or moral duties; how ſincere ſoever the milk of the *word* preached be, our deſire of it cannot be ſincere; we ſhall deſire it, or delight in it, to maintain Faction, or ſecret Pride, not to *grow* up thereby in ſincerity of mind and humbleneſs of Spirit, which are the moſt proper effects of the *milk of the word* ſincerely delivered and ſincerely received.

SECT. II.

Of Chriſts *Lordſhip* or *Dominion.*

Phil. 2. 11.

That every Tongue ſhould Confeſs, that Jeſus Chriſt is *LORD, to the Glory of God the Father.*

Acts 2.36. *Let all the Houſe of* Iſrael *know aſſuredly, that God hath made that ſame Jeſus whom ye Crucified, both* Lord, *and Chriſt.*

Rev. 5.13. *Every Creature in heaven, and earth, and ſea, did ſay, Bleſſing, Honour, Glory and Power, to* Him that ſitteth on the Throne, *and to* The Lamb *for ever and ever.*

The *Degrees*, or Steps by which we muſt aſcend before we enter this Beautiful Gate of the Lords Houſe, are *Three*,

Firſt, What it is to be a LORD.

Second, Upon what Grounds, or in what reſpects, Chriſt is, by peculiar Title, called THE LORD.

Third, How our Confeſſion or acknowledgment of Chriſt to be *The Lord*, doth redound to the Glory of God the Father.

CHAP. VI.

What it is to be a Lord. *Though there be* many called Lords, *yet is there but* One Abſolute Lord.

1. THe Title of *Lord*, whether we take it in the *Greek*, in the *Latin*, or in our *Engliſh*, is ſometimes a *Title only of Reſpect* or courteſie: So ſtrangers uſually ſalute men of place or note, by the name of *Dominus*, or ſometimes of *Domination* it ſelf. And we uſually inſtile the eldeſt ſons of *Earles* by the title of *Lords*; And all the Sons of *Dukes*, even from their Cradles are ſo inſtiled. Not to vouchſafe them this Title, when we mention them, were ill manners or diſcourteſie. Howbeit even they which are bound to love them beſt, the very parents of their bodies, do not permit them to enjoy the *Realities* anſwering to theſe honourable *Titles*, before their full age; and for the moſt part till they themſelves have ſurrendred them by death. The *Reality* anſwering to this title of *Lord* is *Dominion*. Every one that hath *Dominion* is a *Lord*, in reſpect of that over which he hath *Dominion*; and whoſoever really is a *Lord*, is ſo inſtiled from ſome *Dominion*, which he exerciſeth. *Dominus* in Latin ſometimes goes for no more then our Engliſh word [*Owner:*] and this is the loweſt or meaneſt ſignification of the word *Lord*. The full *Extent* or higheſt value of the word *Dominus*, or *Lord*, muſt be gathered from the ſeveral degrees or ſcale of *Dominion*; as either from the *Extent* of the matter or ſubject over which *Dominion* is exerciſed, or from the *Soveraignty* of Title. *Dominion*, as *Lawyers* define it, is *A Faculty or power, fully to diſpoſe of any corporal or bodily ſubſtance, ſo far as they are not reſtrained by law.* And by how much a mans power to diſpoſe of what he hath, is leſs reſtrained by law, by ſo much his *Dominion* over it is the greater; and he, in reſpect of it, is, if not ſo much a *greater Lord*, yet ſo much more *properly a Lord*. But fitting it is, in regard of publick good, or of poſterity, that moſt mens power to diſpoſe of that, which otherwiſe by full right is their own, ſhould be in certain Caſes reſtrained. Many are *Lords* of great Lands, and may

may diſpoſe of their annual profits as they pleaſe; but yet cannot ſell, or alienate their perpetual inheritance.

Others have a more full power to diſpoſe of the houſes wherein they dwell; a power not only to let or ſet them for years, but to ſell or give away the perpetual inheritance; who yet are by Law reſtrained utterly to demoliſh or ſet them on fire, eſpecially if they be incloſed by neighbour Lodgings. The caſes are many, wherein *Dominium ſub altiore dominio eſt.* There is a ſubordination of Lordſhips or Dominions; ſome are *Mean Lords*, ſome are *Chief Lords.* Even *meaner Lords* or Owners are not to be denyed the titles of *Lords*, albeit they cannot alienate the Soil, whereof they are Owners, without licence of the Chief Lord; much more are chief or higher Lords to be ſo reputed, becauſe their Dominion or power to diſpoſe of their own Lands is leſs ſubordinate; howbeit in ſome caſes limited by the rule of Law. And this reſtraint, in how few caſes ſoever it be, hinders their greatneſs from growing into abſolute *Dominion:* Lords they are, but not *abſolute* Lords. This is a *Title* peculiar to *Kings* or *Monarchs*, who are ſo called only in reſpect of their *own Subjects*, or of their *own Lands.* No meer mortal man ſince *Adam* was Lord of the whole Earth, or bare ſoveraignty over all men or bodily ſubſtances. And the greateſt of men have been ſubject or inferiour to Angels.

2. To leave other diviſions of *Dominoin* to Lawyers; all *Dominion* is either, *Juriſdictionis* or *Proprietatis;* A power of Juriſdiction, or a right to the Property. The former branch of *Dominion*, is exerciſed only over men or reaſonable creatures, which only are capable of *Juriſdiction paſſive*, or of *Government.* The later branch which we call *Dominion of property*, for the moſt part reſpects things corporal. Howbeit, even men or reaſonable creatures are ſometimes ſubject to *both Branches of Dominion*, but in different meaſure, according to the ſeveral rites or cuſtomes of divers *Ages*, *Nations*, or *People.* Such as the Latins call *Servi* or *Servuli*, ſlaves (or ſervants properly ſo called) were *in bonis Domini*; they were the goods or poſſeſſion of their Maſters. Theſe bodily Lords had not only *Dominion of Juriſdiction over*, but *Dominion of property to their Perſons.* No Law did reſtrain their Maſters from diſpoſing of theſe Servants as they pleaſed; as either to exchange, give away, or ſell, them and their Children. The poor Servants did oftentimes *mutare dominum, non ſervitutem*, change their Lords, without any exchange or alteration of their ſlavery. Sometimes the *Romans* had, and ſome other Nations at this day have, *Dominium vitæ & necis*, power or dominion to kill, maim, or wound their Servants without any reſtraint or control of Law. But this abſolute power to diſpoſe of their Slaves or Servants was afterwards by the *Roman* Law inhibited. Lords and Maſters of private Servants were lyable to the ſentence of publick Law, if they did uſe intollerable cruelty or ſeverity towards their Slaves. But, by the Laws of moſt Chriſtian Nations, this *abſolute Dominion* of Lords over their Servants (and conſequently this kind of ſubjection and ſlavery) is taken away. For every Chriſtian is an *Iſraelite* or *Hebrew*, and ſomewhat more. All are in reputation *the Sons of Abraham.* Now the poſitive Law of God, before our Saviours time, did exempt the Sons of *Abraham* by the free Woman from ſlavery. The Kings of *Judah* might not make bondmen of their Brethren the Sons of *Jacob.*

See Book 8. Ch. 7. And Book 10. Chap. 15. 16.

3. Albeit we retain the name of *Maſters* and *Servants*, yet neither are the one ſort properly called *Domini*, nor the other *Servi.* A Maſter with us is no more then *Pater-familias* amongſt the Latines; and thoſe whom we call Servants, are *famuli.* Every Father of a Family hath *Dominium*

minium *Juriſdictionis*, a right or power of Juriſdiction over his Family, but not *Dominium proprietatis*, not right or power of property in their perſons. Howbeit, even this power or Dominion of *Juriſdiction* is limited, as well by the Laws of God, as of Man. No Father of his Family may correct any of his Family as he pleaſeth, but in ſuch caſes, and ſo far as the Law will permit: And according to the different condition of the parties, over whom the Father of the Family hath this power of *Juriſdiction* or correction, muſt the exerciſe of it be alwayes tempered: No Husband or Maſter of a Family may exerciſe the ſame power over his Wife, which he doth over his Children. No man by the Law of nature ought to uſe his Children, as his Servants, or Apprentices; unleſs they be *ſuch* by eſtate or condition of life. Nor can a Maſter of a Family, which is of a more ingenuous or generous profeſſion, put his Servants or Apprentices, which are of the ſame profeſſion, upon ſuch ſervices, as a Maſter of ſome inferiour Trade or Profeſſion may put his Servants to. A Merchant may not imploy an Apprentice to that Profeſſion, in ſuch works and ſervices, as are proper to, and well befitting a Tinker or Cobler, or ſome other inferiour Crafts-man, or day-labourer. Howbeit, every Maſter of an Apprentice or hired Servant hath a right or power, not only of *Juriſdiction* or of government, but of *property*, though not over his Servants *body* or *perſon*, yet over his *bodily labours* or imployments. Apprentices or Servants, which are as free born, and of Parentage as good, perhaps better, then their Maſters, have no power to diſpoſe of their own Labours or imployments, but muſt herein follow their Maſters directions and appointment; and in caſe they alienate their induſtry from their Maſters ſervice, though to their own profit, without his leave, they are ſubject to his power or *Juriſdiction*; he may authoritatively admoniſh, chaſtiſe, or otherwiſe require ſatisfaction for wronging him by miſ-expenſe of time, or in that power or intereſt which he hath *by Covenant* in their labours or imployments. Yet may not any Maſter of a Family puniſh a Servant as he pleaſeth, or as his paſſion ſhall ſuggeſt, but ſo far only as the Law ſhall permit: For every Maſter of a private Family is under the power or *Dominion* of the publick Magiſtrate, and ſubject, if he be a *Chriſtian, to Eccleſiaſtick Cenſure*, in caſe he tranſgreſs the manner or meaſure of the puniſhment, which the Law of God or of Man doth permit him to exerciſe only within his Family. Nor may any Maſter exact thoſe ſervices or bodily imployments of his Servants or Apprentices at all times, or upon all dayes, which at ſome times, or upon moſt dayes, he may. If a Servant ſhould refuſe to labour in his ordinary vocation upon the *Lords day*, though commanded ſo to do by his Maſter, the Maſter hath no lawful power of *Juriſdiction* over him, no power to chaſtiſe him for ſuch refuſal; becauſe the Maſters right or power to diſpoſe either of his own, or of his Servants imployments for that day, is inhibited by the Law of God, and of his Church, which hath *Dominion of Juriſdiction* in thoſe caſes over Maſters.

4. The iſſue of theſe Generalities concerning *Lordſhip* or *Dominion*, is this. 'Though there be many which are called *Lords* and *Maſters* (and 'many there be which really and indeed are ſuch) yet is there in truth, 'but *One abſolute Lord*, whether we ſpeak of the Lordſhip or Dominion 'of *propriety*, or of *Juriſdiction*, and that is *God*. For by right or title of Creation he hath more abſolute power over all his creatures, then any creature, then abſolute *Kings* and *Monarchs* (as we call them) then any chief *Lord* hath over his Lands or Goods, over any thing which they can call theirs; whether by gift, purchaſe, or inheritance. For whatſo-

ever by theſe, or any other means is theirs, as Money, Goods, or any other bodily ſubſtance, they did not make any parcel or matter of the ſubſtance of it, but only acquired a right or title to it being made. As they cannot create or make any thing out of nothing, ſo can they not utterly deſtroy or annihilate any thing created or made. The height of all created Power is onely to amend or marr the faſhion of things, and this is but permitted; yea even the *permiſſion* it ſelf preſuppoſed, this power is ſtill ſubordinate in the exerciſe of it, to an higher power. But God doth found his right of *Dominion over all things*, or his power to diſpoſe of them and of their appurtenances, *in their very radical Being*. This is his ſole Gift. Nor is His *power* or *dominion* only more Soveraign, or *intenſively* greater over the moſt noble bodily ſubſtance that is, then any creature can have over the leaſt thing that is; but it extends alſo unto thoſe ſubſtances, which are not ſubject to man, or any creatures *dominion*. He hath a more Soveraign Title of dominion over the Souls and Spirits of Kings and Monarchs, over the bleſſed Angels under whoſe Guardianſhip the greateſt Monarchs are, then they have over their meaneſt Vaſſals.

So that *His dominion* extends beyond the definition given by Lawyers, which comprehends only *things corporal*, but meddles not with *cæleſtial ſubſtances*, or *ſpiritual*, as *Angels*, which are not ſubject to the *Juriſdiction* of Princes, nor can they be impriſoned in their Coffers. Men, as they could not make themſelves, ſo neither can they by their valour, wit, or induſtry, gain or create a title to any thing, which is not Gods, and whereof he is not abſolute *Lord* before and after they come to be *Lords*, and *owners ſubordinate* of it. They cannot move their bodies, nor imploy their minds, but by his free donation; nor can they enjoy his freeſt gifts, but by his concourſe or co-operation. He hath a *Dominion of property* over their ſouls, yea an abſolute *dominion*, not of *property* only, but of uncontrollable *Juriſdiction* over their very *thoughts*, as it is implyed, *Deut.* 8. 17, 18. He doth not only give us the ſubſtance, which we are enabled to get, but gives us the very power, wit, and ſtrength, to get or gather it; Not this power onely, whereby we gather ſubſtance, but our very *Being*, which ſupports this power, is his gift; and unleſs our *Being* be ſupported and ſtrengthned by *his power ſuſtentative*, we cannot ſo much as think of gathering wealth or getting neceſſaries, much leſs can we diſpoſe of our own endeavours for accompliſhing our hopes, deſires, or thoughts. To conclude then, All we have, even we our ſelves are Gods by *abſolute Dominion*, as well of *property* as of *Juriſdiction*. There is no Law in Heaven or Earth, that can inhibit or reſtrain his *abſolute Power* to diſpoſe of all things as he pleaſeth; for he works all things by the *Counſel of his Will*, and *He onely is Abſolute Lord.*

But *abſolute Lordſhip* or *Dominion*, how far ſoever extended, though over *Angels*, *Powers*, and *Principalities*, from this ground or univerſal Title of *Creation*, is intirely, joyntly, and indiviſibly common to the Bleſſed *Trinity*. For ſo St. *Athanaſius* teacheth us; *The Father is* LORD, *the Son is* LORD, *and the Holy Ghoſt is* LORD (abſolute Lord, as well in reſpect of *Dominion*, as of *Juriſdiction*) *and yet not three Lords, but one Lord*; and if but *One Lord*, then the Lordſhip or Dominion is *One* and the ſame, alike abſolute either for *intenſive Perfection*, or *Extenſion*, in the Son as in the Father, in the Holy Ghoſt as in the Son. Yet it is well obſerved by a Judicious *Commentator* upon St. *Pauls* Epiſtles, that to be LORD is the proper Title or Epitheton (in St. *Pauls* Language) of *Chriſt the Son of God* both God and Man, and Emphatically aſcribed to him even in thoſe paſſages, wherein he had occaſion expreſſely to mention the *diſtinction of Perſons* in the Trinity. As where he ſaith, *The Grace of our* Lord *Jeſus Chriſt, the Love of God* (he doth not ſay, of *God the Lord,*) *and the fellowſhip of the holy Ghoſt*, (without addition of this title of *Lord*,) *be with you all.* And ſo in our *Apoſtles Creed* we profeſs to *Believe in God the Father Almighty*, without addition of the title [LORD] and ſo in *God the Holy Ghoſt*, not in the *Lord the Holy Ghoſt*, but in *Chriſt our Lord.* Which leads to the *Second Point* propoſed in the Entrance to this *Second Section.*

CHAP. VII.

In what reſpects, *or upon what grounds* Chriſt *is by* peculiar Title *called* The Lord. *And Firſt, of the* Title *it ſelf. Secondly, Of the* Real grounds *unto this* Title.

1. CONcerning the name of *Lord*, there is no verbal difference in the *Greek*, or *Latin*, whether this name or *Title* be attributed to *God the Father* (as oft it is) or to *God the Holy Ghoſt*, unto the bleſſed *Trinity*, or unto *Chriſt* God and Man. Yet in the *Hebrew* there is a difference in the very *Names* or words. The Name *Jehova*, which is uſually rendred Κύριος, *Dominus*, or *Lord*, is alike common to every perſon in the Holy *Trinity*, as expreſſing the Nature of the *God-Head*, [*he that is being it ſelf*;] Howbeit, even this *Name* is ſometimes in peculiar ſort attributed unto *Chriſt*. But that *Chriſt*, or the Son of God, is in thoſe places perſonally meant, this muſt be gathered from the *Subject*, or ſpecial circumſtances of the matter, not from the *Name* or Title it ſelf. But the name *Adonai*, which properly ſignifies Lord or King, as Βασιλεὺς in Greek doth (implying as much as the *Pillar*, or *Foundation of the People*) is the *peculiar Title* of the *Son of God*, or of God incarnate. And for attributing *this Title* unto Chriſt as *his peculiar*, the Apoſtle St. *Paul* had a good warrant out of the *Prophetical Writings*, eſpecially the *Pſalms*, which he queſtionleſs underſtood a great deal better then many great Divines, and accurate Linguiſts have done his writings, or the harmony betwixt the *Pſalmiſts*, and his *Evangelical Comments* on them. This *Title of Lord* [*Adonai*] is uſed moſt frequently in thoſe *Pſalmes*, which contain the moſt pregnant Prophecies of Chriſt, or the *Meſſias* his exaltation. *Pſal.* 2. 2, 4. *The Kings of the earth band themſelves, and the Princes are aſſembled together againſt the Lord and againſt his Chriſt. But he that dwelleth in the heavens* (doubtleſs he means the ſame *Jehova*) *ſhall laugh.* Yet he doth not ſay, *Jehova*, but Adonai, *the Lord ſhall have them in diriſion.*

The Reality of *Dominion* anſwering to this Title of *Lord*, whereunto the *Meſſias*, againſt whom they conſpired, was exalted, is more fully expreſſed in the ſame Pſalm, *Verſ.* 8, 9, 10. *Ask of me, and I will give thee the Heathen for thine inheritance, and the ends of the Earth for thy poſſeſſion. Thou ſhalt cruſh them with a Scepter of Iron, and break them in pieces like a Potters Veſſel. Be wiſe now therefore ye Kings, be learned ye Judges of the Earth: ſerve the Lord in fear, and rejoyce in trembling. Kiſs the Son* (the Son doubtleſs of Jehovah) *leſt he be angry, and ye periſh in the way, when his wrath ſhall ſuddenly burn; Bleſſed are all they that truſt in him.* And ſo again, *Pſal.* 45. which is as it were the *Epithalamium*, or marriage ſong of Chriſt and his Church: The Prophet exhorts the Spouſe to do, as Chriſt willed his Diſciples to do, and as *Abraham* had done at Gods command, *Forget thine own people, and thy Fathers houſe, ſo ſhall the King have pleaſure in thy beauty, for he is the Lord; reverence or worſhip him, Verſ.* 10, 11. And again, *Pſal.* 110. wherein Chriſts everlaſting Prieſt-hood is confirmed by Oath, it is ſaid, *Jehovah ſaid to my Lord* [*Adonai*] *ſit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy foot-ſtool.* But may not the Jew thus Object; that ſeeing our Chriſt or their expected *Meſſias* is enſtyled *Adonai*, not *Jehovah*, in theſe very places, wherein his *Exaltation* or ſupreme *Dominion* is foretold: That therefore he is not truly God, as *Jehovah* is? To this Objection our Saviours Reply to the *Jews* (which had anſwer'd him rightly, that the *Meſſias* was to be the *Son of David*) is unanſwerable and moſt ſatisfactory. If the expected *Meſſias* were not to be the *Son of God*, and truly God the ſupreme Lord, as well of the dead as of the living, why did *David in ſpirit call him Lord*, before he was the *Son of David?* It is a point to be obſerved, that the *Jews* in our *Saviours* time did not, or could not deny, that this *Pſalm* was literally meant of their expected *Meſſias*, albeit the later Jews ſeek to wreſt it (but moſt ridiculouſly) ſome to *Ezekiah*, ſome to *Abraham*.

But that the word [*Adonai*] is of no leſs value or importance then *Jehovah*, but only imports *Jehovah, or God incarnate*, or the *Meſſias* his exaltation to be *Lord or King*, may be evinced againſt the Jew; for that the ſame ſacrifices of praiſe and thankſgiving, which *One Pſalmiſt* ſolemnly offers unto *Jehovah*, *Another Pſalmiſt* (or perhaps the ſame) doth alike ſolemnly offer up to [*Adonai*] or to the expected *Meſſias*, in another Pſalm. As *Pſal.* 57. (which is a Prophetical Song of *David*, and contains the Exaltation of his God and Lord) *Exalt thy ſelf O God above the Heaven, and let thy glory be upon all the Earth, Ver.* 5, 11. This Prophecy was then punctually fulfilled, and *Davids* Prayer or requeſt ſigned by the mouth of God, when our Saviour after his Reſurrection ſaid; *All power is given to me in Heaven and in Earth; go therefore, and teach all Nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, Mat.* 28. 18. Unto this *Jehovah* or God, whoſe Exaltation he foreſaw, and heartily prayed for, and unto whom he had directed his prayers, *Ver.* 1. He offers the Sacrifice of praiſe, *Ver.* 9. under the Title of *Adonai: I will praiſe or confeſs thee among the people, O Lord, I will ſing unto thee among the Nations.* The very ſelf ſame Sacrifice *David* offers unto the ſame God, under the title of *Jehovah, Pſal.* 108. 1,2,3,4,5. *O God mine heart is prepared, ſo is my tongue. I will ſing and give praiſe. Awake Viol and Harp, I will awake early. I will praiſe thee O Lord among the people, I will ſing unto thee among the Nations. For thy mercy is great above the Heavens, and thy truth reacheth unto the Clouds. Exalt thy ſelf O God above the Heavens, and let thy glory be upon all the Earth:* which laſt words, were twice repeated in the 57 Pſalm.

See Matth. 16. 16, 19.

Two *Fundamental points* collected, by collating Scripture with Scripture.

2. *Theſe Fundamental Points of Faith* are clear from this collation of Scripture, *Firſt, That Adonai, or Lord, was the known Title of the Meſſias*, whom the Jews expected in our Saviours time; and this was the reaſon that the *Phariſees* had not a word to anſwer or rejoyn unto our Saviour, when he avouched, that the *Meſſias* was to be *the Son of God*, becauſe *David in Spirit called him* [*Adonai*] *Lord*, Mat. 22. 45. *The ſecond; That he that was Adonai, or the Meſſias, was likewiſe* Jehovah, *truly God*, becauſe *David* did not in ſpirit only call him Lord, but did in ſpirit worſhip him, as *his Lord and God*, with the beſt ſacrifice that he could deviſe, as appears from *Pſalm* 57. 8.

“ A great part of the *Book of Pſalms*, even all thoſe paſſages (if my
“ obſervation fail me not) without exception, which mention the ex-
“ traordinary manifeſtation of Gods glory, or his exaltation as *King*,
“ run the ſame way, and as it were pay Tribute unto the infi-
“ nite *Ocean of Gods Mercy*; firſt manifeſted in our *Saviours Exaltation*
“ to the right hand of God. The more remarkable Paſſages are theſe. *Pſal.* 97. *ver.* 1. *Jehovah reigneth, let the earth rejoice, let the multitude of the Iſles be glad.* Whileſt *Jehovah* was onely known in *Jury*, the multitude of the Iſles or Nations, had no ſpecial reaſon to be glad, for *Judah was then his Sanctuary and Iſrael his dominion*; but after God had given our *Saviour Chriſt the utmoſt parts of the earth for his poſſeſſion*; that is, after our *Saviours Aſcenſion* into Heaven, and the effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt upon his Diſciples, enabling them to preach the Goſpel of the Kingdom unto all Nations, the *multitude of the Iſles*, the whole Earth had reaſon to rejoyce: Then was that fulfilled, which followeth in that *Pſal. ver.* 6. *The Heavens declare his righteouſneſs, and all the people ſaw his Glory.* That this *Pſalm* is literally meant of *Chriſts Exaltation to be Lord of Lords*, and of his *Inauguration to his everlaſting Kingdom*; The Apoſtle St. *Paul, Heb.* 1. 6. puts out of queſtion amongſt all Chriſtians; *when he bringeth in his firſt begotten Son into the world, he ſaith, Let all the Angels of God worſhip him*; ſo the *Pſalmiſt* had ſaid in this 97. *Pſal. ver.* 7. *Confounded be all they that ſerve graven Images, worſhip Him all ye Gods*; or as the *Septuagint* (upon which our Apoſtle often Paraphraſed) *Worſhip him all ye Angels of God.* The matter or ſubject of *this Pſalm* is almoſt the ſame with *Pſal.* 2. Both of them contain Propheſies concerning the Declaration of *Chriſt* to be the *Son of God.* And from this harmony between this 97. and the *ſecond Pſalm*, and from the common *Prenotion* or Rule of interpreting Scriptures, known to the Learned or unpartially obſervant in thoſe days, the *Apoſtle*, adds that Preface unto his Teſtimony; *when he bringeth in his onely begotten Son into the World:* He ſuppoſeth that the Learned among his Country-men ſhould or might have known that both theſe Prophecies were to be punctually fulfilled upon the *Exaltation of the Meſſias*, or of thoſe times, wherein God ſhould be manifeſted in the Fleſh.

The Exaltation of *Jehovah* as King, is that Kingdom of Heaven which S. *John Bapt.* preached, to be then approaching.

3. Yet ſome conjecture that our *Apoſtle, Heb.* 1. 6. hath reference rather to *Deut.* 32. *ver.* 43. in the *Greek* Tranſlation, then unto the 97 *Pſalm* in the *Hebrew*. The words indeed in the Greek or *Septuagint* are the very ſame, though in the *Hebrew* not the ſame by any Equivalency of the literal ſenſe. *At nec ſic quidem malè.* There is a *variety* of ſenſe, yet no *diſcord*, but rather a full and perfect *Conſort* between the *Literal* and *Grammatical* ſenſe of the *Hebrew*, and the *myſtical* and *real* ſenſe, which the Greek or *Septuagint* in both places expreſſeth. Firſt, The 97 *Pſalm* (as many others are) is a Poetical deſcant upon *Moſes* his divine Prophetical Song, *Deut.* 32. And the 70 Interpreters (whether out of ſome *Prenotion*, or out of the admirable Concord between that ſong of *Moſes* and the 97 *Pſalm*, or out of a divine *Inſtinct*, wherewith (as St. *Auguſtine* is of opinion) they were impelled ſometimes to interſert a more expreſs meaning of the Holy Ghoſt, then an ordinary Commentator could out of the *Hebrew* have obſerved; whether this way, or that way moved, they) have given the ſame Paraphraſe upon *Deut.* 32. *ver.* 43. which our Apoſtle hath made upon *Pſal.* 97. *ver.* 7. which is no other then the *Septuagint* had made before, but literally more conſonant to the *Hebrew*, then their Paraphraſe upon *Deut.* 32. is.

The Septuagint *Deut.* 32. 43. reconciled with *Pſal.* 97. 7.

But more probable it is, that our *Apoſtle* did aim at the 97 *Pſal.* then at the forecited place of *Deut.* becauſe the other Teſtimonies following in that *Hebr.* 1. 8, 9. are evidently taken out of the Book of *Pſalmes*: *unto the* SON, *he ſaith*; O GOD, *Thy throne is for ever and ever, the Scepter of thy Kingdome is a Scepter of Righteouſneſs. Thou haſt loved righteouſneſs, and hated iniquity, wherefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oyl of gladneſs above thy fellowes.* This Teſtimony is evident in the 45 *Pſal. v.* 6, 7. So is that other *Heb.* 1. 10, 11, 12. expreſly contained in *Pſal.* 102. *Thou Lord in the beginning haſt eſtabliſhed the earth, and the heavens are the works of thine hands; They ſhall periſh, but thou doſt remain, and they all ſhall wax old, as doth a garment; And as a veſture ſhalt thou fold them up, and they ſhall be changed; But thou art the ſame, and thy years ſhall not fail.*

The former teſtimony is perhaps *Typically Prophetical*, and may in ſome ſort concern *Salomon* according to the literal ſenſe, but *Salomon* only as he was a Type of that *Son of David*, who was likewiſe to be the *Son of God.* But the character almoſt of every line in the hundred and ſecond *Pſalm*, teſtifies, that the *Pſalmiſt* in this grievous complaint had more then a *Typical* repreſentation, ſuch a diſtinct and clear viſion of *Chriſt's Glory* and Exaltation as the Prophet *Eſay Chap.* 53. had of his humiliation in our fleſh or humane nature. The Title of this *Pſalm* is, *A prayer of the afflicted, when he ſhall be in diſtreſs, and powr forth his meditations before the Lord.* And; *The only fountain of comfort to all afflicted in body or ſoul is the Exaltation of Chriſt the Son of God in our fleſh or nature.* That, which muſt ſweeten all our bodily ſorrows or afflictions, even the bitterneſs of death it ſelf, whereof this *Pſalmiſt*, and the people of God in his time, had taſted, muſt be our meditation upon that, and the like ſpeeches of our Apoſtle; *If we ſuffer with Chriſt, we ſhall alſo reign with him.* And for your comfort in all diſtreſs, I cannot commend any fitter matter of meditation to you, then is contained in this 102 *Pſalm*, and in the 2. 4. and 12. Chapters to the *Hebrews.* This *Exaltation of Chriſt to be Lord*, is alike clearly fore-propheſied, *Pſalm* 99. and *Pſalm* 145. as every obſervant Reader may of himſelf collect.

See Chap. 2. §.5. and ch. 3. §. 11.

The Grounds of Chriſts *Title* to be *Lord.*

4. The more extraordinary and more ſpecial *Grounds* or *Baſes* whereupon this *Title of Lord, as it is peculiar to Chriſt*, is erected, are theſe. Firſt, *Chriſt* is in peculiar ſort called *The* LORD, becauſe it was *God the Son*, not God the Father, or God the Holy Ghoſt, who did perſonally pay the ranſom of our Sins; and this he fully payed by offering up part of our nature, made his own, in a bloody Sacrifice to the Father. *Servants* we were by creation of our nature, not onely to God the Son, but to God the Father, and to God the Holy Ghoſt, to the Divine nature or bleſſed *Trinity*: But we had ſold our ſelves, for enjoying the pleaſures of the fleſh, unto Gods adverſary: And albeit we could not by any compact or Covenant, whether implicit or expreſs, made with Satan by our firſt Parents, or by our ſelves, alienate our ſelves from Gods *Dominion* of *Juriſdiction* over us; yet we did renounce his *Service*, and that Intereſt which we had in his gracious protection as he was our *Lord*, and alienate unto his enemy that property or diſpoſal of our imployments, which by right of creation intirely belong'd to God. God, after our firſt Parents Fall, was no otherwiſe our *Lord*, then any King is Lord over Rebels, Traytors, Murtherers; or of others, who by their miſdemeanors may alienate their allegeance from him, and exempt themſelves from his gracious protection, but not from his power or *Dominion of Juriſdiction for he is the miniſter of God, for executing vengeance upon ſuch.*

Our firſt Parents had declared themſelves to be Traytors, and we had continued a race of Rebels againſt our God and Creator, without all hope of being reſtored unto Gods favour and ſervice, unleſs ſatisfaction were made for our tranſgreſſion, and means purchaſed for eſtabliſhing us in a better eſtate, then the eſtate of *Servants*, which we had by the gift of Creation. Now, not onely our redemption from the eſtate of Slavery unto Satan, but all the means for our further advancement (after our ranſom was paid) were purchaſed by *the Son of God:* And that, which moſt advanceth the *peculiar Title of Chriſts Dominion and Lordſhip* over us, was the price which he gave for us: *For we were not redeemed with corruptible things, as with ſilver and gold* (though men with theſe, and things more corruptible then theſe, do purchaſe the real title of *Lords*, and exerciſe the dominion of Lords over Lands or Servants ſo purchaſed) *but we were redeemed by the precious blood of Chriſt, as of a Lamb undefiled and without ſpot,* 1 Pet. 1. 18, 19. Blood is the moſt precious and deareſt part of mans body, and greater love we cannot teſtifie unto our deareſt friends, then by ſpending our blood for them. Loſſes we value none ſo deeply as forgetfulneſs, ungrateful neglects, or contempt from them for whoſe ſakes and credit we have been content (ſpecially out of ſincerity of love and ſober reſolution) to ſhed our blood: Never was any blood either ſo copiouſly ſhed, or out of the like ſincerity of love, or ſobriety of reſolution, as Chriſts blood was ſhed for all and every one of us; This blood did immediately iſſue from his Man-hood, whereof it was a true and lively part; yet was it the *blood not of Man onely, but of God:* whence if we conſider either *our own miſerable eſtate*, being then the enemies of God, or *his dignity* that made Attonement for us; What real portion, branch, or degree of ſervice can we imagin anſwerable to this *Soveraign Title of Lord*, which *Chriſt* hath not more then fully purchaſed over all that are partakers of fleſh and blood?

Other grounds of Chriſts Title to be the *Lord*.

5. Yet, Beſides *this Ground or Title of Chriſts peculiar Lordſhip*, or dominion over us, there is another, more forcible to command our moſt chearful ſervice, unleſs our hope be quite dead, or the affection of *love* utterly extinguiſhed in us: For, *Chriſt* by his precious blood did not onely purchaſe our Freedom from the Slavery of Satan; but being ſet free, doth by the everlaſting efficacie of this blood once ſhed, both waſh and nouriſh us, not as his *Servants*, but as the *Sons* of his and our heavenly Father. Sin and ſlavery was the *Terminus à quo*, the condition or ſtate from which he redeemed us; but the end of our redemption from theſe, was to inveſt us *in the liberty of the Sons of God.* The height of all our hopes in the life to come, is, to be *Kings and Prieſts* as he is; but in the mean time we are or may be, live members of *his Glorious Body*; and being ſuch, he hath a more *peculiar right of Dominion* over us, over all that pertain unto his Church, then by right of Creation he hath as *God*, then by right of Redemption or Attonement he hath as *God and Man:* For, That part of our nature, that fleſh and blood which he took of his Mother, was his by a more *peculiar Title* and real property, then it was God the Fathers or the Holy Ghoſts; and we by myſtical and ſpiritual union with that part of the humane nature, which he aſſumed into the Unity of his Divine Perſon, are *His*, at leaſt *He* by this union is our *Head and Lord*, by a more ſtrict and proper Title, then God the Father or God the Holy Ghoſt is: By the former *Title of Redemption* or ſatisfaction made for us, he is our *Lord*, and we his ſervants: By this *Title of myſtical Union* with him, he is the *Bridegroom* or *Head*, the Church is his Spouſe; and being Head of the Church,

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every member of it is bound (as God by the *Pſalmiſt* exhorts the Spouſe, *Pſal.* 45.) *to worſhip him as our Lord and God*, for the husband is Lord of the wife. He bought all our ſouls being in the ſtate of Aliens or bond-ſervants, and after cleanſed and purified them, that they might be eſpouſed to him, and finally preſented to his Father: He hath *purchaſed the Church of God* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *with his own blood*, Acts 20. 28. And again, *Eph.* 5. *Chriſt gave himſelf for the Church, that he might Sanctifie it, and cleanſe it by the waſhing of water through the word: That he might make it unto himſelf a glorious Church* &c. ver. 25, 26, 27.

CHAP. VIII.

What our Confeſſion *of* Chriſt *to be* The Lord, *importeth, and how it redounds to the* Glory of God the Father.

Revel. 5. 13.

1. Every *tongue* muſt *confeſs that Jeſus Chriſt is Lord, our Lord, by a peculiar real Title.* To this *Confeſſion* every ſon of *Adam*, to whom God hath given the uſe of the tongue, is bound *de Jure*; but many ſons of *Adam*, to whom God hath given the uſe of the tongue, do not *confeſs* ſo much *de Facto:* The *Jews* with their tongues flatly deny him to be *the Lord*, or their promiſed *Meſſias:* The *Turks* and *Mahumetans* confeſs him to be a *Lord of Chriſtians*, but deny him to be *The Lord, The chief Lord under God the Father*; This title of *Chief Lord* they aſcribe to *Mahomet*, and under his right they pretend a title of dominion over *Chriſtendom.* The *Heathens*, which know not God, do not ſo much as queſtion whether he be a *Lord*, or whether *He* or *Mahomet* be under *God the chief Lord.* But as for us Chriſtians, we all, to whom God hath given the uſe of the tongue, do *confeſs him to be The Lord:* As for thoſe, to whom the uſe of the tongue is by the courſe of nature, and Gods ordinary providence denyed, others for them do ingage themſelves at Sacred Baptiſm, that they, when God ſhall grant them a heart to underſtand and a tongue to ſpeak, ſhall confeſs him to be *the Lord*; and to be unto them *their Lord.* And in caſe they dye before they come to poſſeſs the uſe of their hearts or of their tongues, the Church or pariſh, wherein this profeſſion of faith was made on their behalfs, are bound to profeſs thus much for them. And as God (no doubt) accepts the prayers of the Church wherein they are baptized, for them, which cannot ſo much as ſpeak to men, much leſs pray to *God* or to *Chriſt*, *That they may be admitted into his viſible Church, and be reputed as members of his myſtical body:* ſo doubtleſs he will accept the prayers of the Church, and of every faithfull member of the Church wherein they live and dye, that they may be accepted into the Church Triumphant, and to us inviſible: albeit they never attained unto the uſe of the tongue; or, when as the Lord, which gave others this bleſſing, hath taken it from them: For even of the tongue, or of the uſe of the tongue, that of *Job* is moſt true, and to be reſumed by all, as well by the dying as by the living: by him for his own part; and by the living on his behalf: *the Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away, bleſſed be the name of the Lord*, Job 1. 21.

2. Thus every tongue is bound *de Jure* to confeſs that *Jeſus Chriſt is the Lord; that Lord*, whom *Job* ſo long before did *confeſs.* But though every tongue of men throughout the world, every tongue of

Chriſtians, of Jewes, of Mahumetans or Infidels ſhould from their birth *confeſs* thus much; would this be enough for that acknowledgment, which here is required, that *Jeſus Chriſt is the Lord?* or would ſuch acknowledgment of every tongue be ſufficient to pay that tribute, which is due unto the *Glory of God the Father*, from this *Confeſſion*, which is here required, that *Jeſus Chriſt is the Lord?* No, it is not the *Confeſſion* of every tongue that will ſuffice, albeit the acknowledgment or *Confeſſion* of every tongue be *de jure* required. In this ſpeech, [*Every tongue muſt confeſs*, &c.] there is a *Twofold Univerſality* included. The *One*, *of the Parties thus confeſſing* or acknowledging; The *Other*, *of the Duties* or ſervices to be performed by every party thus acknowledging *Chriſt to be the Lord.*

An *univerſality* of *Duties* as well as of *Tongues* is included in this Confeſſion.

To begin with *the Former:* when the *Apoſtle* ſaith, *That every tongue muſt confeſs that Jeſus Chriſt is* THE LORD; You muſt take this *Univerſal note* to be equivalent to that phraſe ſo often uſed (in the Book of the *Revelation*) by the *Evangeliſt* and *Apoſtle*; [*all nations and Kindreds, all people and Tongues*] *every one*, *of all Sorts*, *of the Sons of Adam*, *are bound*, de Jure, *to confeſs*, "That Jeſus Chriſt the ſon of God, and the "ſon of man, conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, born of the virgin *Mary*, "is THE LORD, of the Dying and of the Living, of the Quick and "of the Dead. As for all ſuch as do not either in heart or tongue, or in both, either by themſelves or by others for them, truly acknowledge *Him* in this life to be *ſuch a Lord*, they *ſhall* acknowledge *Him* to be *ſuch A Lord* after their Reſurrection from death, of which likewiſe *He is Lord.*

3. But the acknowledgment of *Every Tongue*, or of every one, to whom God hath vouchſafed either a tongue or the uſe of the tongue, will not ſuffice to find him *a Gracious Lord* at the reſurrection from the dead, and at the day of finall Judgment. There muſt be, (as is ſaid) an *Univerſality* as well *of duties* and ſervices to be performed by every particular perſon to whom God hath given an heart to underſtand, as an *univerſality of tongues* or lips, which are to make this *confeſſion*. The *real language of every heart* will be ſufficient for every one in particular, whom God hath deprived or denied the uſe of the tongue. But unto him, to whom God hath given an underſtanding heart, and the uſe of the tongue alſo, the hearty prayers and gracious words of others in his behalf will not ſuffice, unleſs God by their praiers do frame his heart to believe, and move his tongue (if God have given him the uſe of the tongue) *to confeſs that Jeſus Chriſt is the Lord. Corde creditur ad juſtitiam, ore fit confeſſio ad ſalutem.* "If thou ſhalt confeſs with thy mouth the Lord Jeſus, and ſhalt "believe in thine heart, that God hath raiſed him from the dead, thou "ſhalt be ſaved. For with the heart man believeth unto righteouſneſs, "and with the mouth confeſſion is made unto Salvation, Rom. 10.9,10.

The *Univerſality* or extent of this Belief or *Confeſſion*, in reſpect of the *parties* whom it concerns, is moſt fully expreſt in the verſe following. For the Scripture ſaith, Eſa. 28.16. "Whoſoever believeth on him ſhall (not "make haſte, or) not be aſhamed. And again Joel 2.32. *Whoſoever calleth on the name of the Lord* (whether he be Jew or Gentile) *ſhall be ſaved.* Thus you ſee, that there is an *univerſality of the parties* or perſons, which are bound *de Jure* to make this *Confeſſion*, and an *Univerſality* of comfortable promiſes unto all ſuch as make it as they ought; that is, not in *tongue* onely, but with the *Heart*; not in *heart* onely, if God have given them the uſe of the heart and of the tongue, or his bleſſings of memory and underſtanding.

4. That (beſides this *univerſality of perſons confeſſing Chriſt* with their tongues to be *the Lord*) there is an *Univerſality or Totality of duties* to be performed by every one that *confeſſeth Chriſt to be the Lord*, is evident from *Jeſus Chriſt our Lords own mouth*, Luke 6. 46. *Why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not the things, which I ſay?* This ſpeach infers thus much at leaſt, *That though all other, both Jews and Gentiles; even every tongue throughout the world, had* confeſſed *as much as theſe his preſent Diſciples (of which ſome were temporary, ſome perpetual Profeſſors) did; yet this would not ſuffice to make them capable of the reward univerſally promiſed to his* true Diſciples *and ſervants: That this* confeſſion, *though made by* every tongue beſides, *was not ſufficient to make* any particular man *capable of the reward (promiſed to all his true ſervants, that are capable of his words and ſayings) which was not ready and willing to* do *them.* That every one, which heard his ſayings, and was willing to do them, was truly capable of all the bleſſings, which he promiſed, is clear from his words following, ver. 47, 48, 49. *Who ſo cometh to me, and heareth my ſayings, and doth them, I will ſhew you to whom he is like: He is like a man which built an houſe, and digged deep, and laid the foundation on a Rock: And when the flood aroſe the ſtream brake violently upon that houſe, and could not ſhake it, for it was founded upon a Rock.* But *he that heareth and doth not, is like unto a man, that without a foundation built an houſe upon the earth, againſt which the ſtream did beat vehemently, and immediately it fell, and the ruine of that houſe was great.* But our Lord and Saviours mind is by himſelf more fully expreſt to this purpoſe, Matth. 7. 21. *Not every one that ſaith unto me, Lord, Lord, ſhall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, But he that doth the will of my Father, which is in heaven.* The limitation of theſe words, as well for their *negative as affirmative extent*, is this: *That neither every one, nor any one of them, which ſhall* confeſs onely with their tongues *that he is the* Lord, *ſhall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.* This limitation of the Negative, or rather our *Aſſurance of Faith*, that this *negative* is thus far to be extended, is manifeſt from the verſe following. For to propheſie in the Name of Chriſt, is more than to *confeſs* with the tongue onely that *Chriſt is Lord.* To caſt out Devils in the Name of Chriſt is more then to prophecy in his Name: To do many works of wonder in Chriſts Name is more than to caſt out Devils in his Name. For to caſt out Devils indeed is a wonderful work, and yet but One of thoſe wonderful works, which then and for many years after were done in Chriſts Name, by ſuch as (although they did call *Chriſt, Lord, Lord,* as he truly is *the Lord of all*) were not Chriſts true ſervants, not ſuch as Chriſt will take notice of or approve as better, but rather reject as worſe then Infidels, in that laſt and dreadful day, when he ſhall call his ſervants (whether *de jure*, or *de facto*) to a final account. For ſo it is expreſſed in the words following, ver. 22, 23. *Many will ſay unto me in that day* (and the more the better, ſo their plea were good) *Lord, Lord, have we not propheſied in thy name, and in thy name have caſt out devils, and in thy name have done many wonderful works? And then will I profeſs unto them, I never knew you*; that is, I never approved of you, but rather diſapproved you and your works, as worſe then the works of heathens, or heatheniſh workers. For unto the Heathens, as Heathens, he hath not ſaid, that he will ſay in the laſt day, *Depart from me Ye Workers of iniquity*. That the Affirmative extent of his words, to ſuch as ſhall not onely with their tongues confeſs, but in heart and practice acknowledge him to be *the Lord*, is as large and ample as his former threatnings

to ſuch as either in deed and facts deny him, or with their tongues and lips do not confeſs him to be *the Lord*; his promiſe in the next words, ver. 24. will give us full aſſurance. *Therefore whoſoever heareth theſe ſayings of mine, and doth them, I will liken him unto a wiſe man, which built his houſe upon a rock.* And thus you ſee, The words of our Lord and Saviour (confirmed by the mouths of two Authentick witneſſes, St. *Matthew* and St. *Luke*) do warrant the truth of theſe two Univerſals, *That never a one of ſuch, as onely with the tongue confeſs him to be the Lord, ſhall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven: That every one, which in heart confeſſeth him, though with tongue he cannot confeſs him to be the Lord, ſhall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven:* For every one which doth the will of his Father which is in heaven (and the doing of this his heavenly Fathers will here, is not an act of the Tongue, but of the heart, and of the affections) ſhall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, which is the place and ſeat appointed for all Chriſts true Servants, and onely for them. The onely queſtion then remaining is, *What this Will of his heavenly Father is? what it is to do it?*

5. *This will of His heavenly Father* is either *General*, whatſoever is expreſſed in the Ten Commandments, in the moral Law, or in the Prophets; or more *Special*, as it is revealed in *Chriſt* or by Chriſt: Did *Chriſt* then give us a *New Law*, or other precepts, then God by *Moſes* had done? Or did he give us (as the Church of *Rome* ſaith) *Evangelical Counſels as Additionals unto the Law?* In no wiſe: Chriſt taught no other things, then his *Apoſtles* after his reſurrection did preach; and his *Apoſtles* taught no other things then *Moſes* and the *Prophets* had taught, *Acts* 26. 22. But theſe they taught after *another manner*, then the Scribes and Phariſees did, then the ordinary Expoſitors of the Law and the *Propheſies* had done.

The ſame *will* of God is declared by *Moſes* and the *Prophets*, and by *Chriſt*; but more fully by *Chriſt*.

So that *Gods will* concerning man, was more fully declared by *Chriſt*, then it was by *Moſes* or by the Prophets; the very true meaning of *Moſes* himſelf and of the Prophets was more fully revealed and clearly manifeſted unto mankind in Chriſt, then it was to *Moſes* himſelf or to the *Prophets: Unto me* (ſaith our *Apoſtle, Epheſ.* 3. 8, 9, 10.) *who am leſs then the leaſt of all Saints, is this grace given, that I ſhould preach among the Gentiles the unſearchable riches of Chriſt: And to make all men ſee what is the fellowſhip of the myſtery, which from the beginning of the world hath been hid in God, who created all things by Jeſus Chriſt: To the intent that now unto the Principalities and Powers in Heavenly places might be known by the Church the manifold wiſdom of God.* And by this more full declaration of *Gods Will* in *Chriſt*, we Chriſtians are tyed unto more ſtrict obſervance of His Will known, then men were tyed unto before *Chriſt* was declared to be *the Lord*; Admitting the Services to be the *very ſame*, yet the ſame ſervices are now due under a *double Title:* They are due to God the *Father* by right of *Creation*, and due to *Chriſt* as he is *Lord*; For God the Father is to be honoured not onely in himſelf, but in Chriſt.

6. God, when he gave the moral Law to *Iſrael*, uſeth this Preface, *I am the Lord thy God, which brought thee out of the Land of Egypt:* This was his peculiar right or Title unto Iſrael, and the Precept grounded upon this Title follows, *Thou ſhalt have no other Gods but me.* But you may remember how it was foretold by the Prophet *Jeremy*, Jer. 23. 7, 8. *That it ſhould no more be ſaid, the Lord liveth, which brought the children of* Iſrael *out of* Egypt; *But the Lord liveth, which brought up the ſeed of the houſe of* Iſrael *out of the North Land:* Or (according to the prime Grammatical

The firſt *Inſtance* how Chriſtians are bound more ſtrictly to obey now, then *Jews* were before Chriſt.

Mal. 4. 2.
Matth. 4. 16.
Luke 2. 32.
John 1. 6.

What ſervice of men is forbidden, 1 *Cor.* 7. 23.

matical ſenſe of the word principally intended by the Holy Ghoſt) *out of the Land of darkneſs*; and This was fulfilled *onely in Chriſt:* So that *He*, who was *the Lord of Iſrael* by right of redemption from *Egyptian* bondage, is now become *the Lord* of every Language, of every Nation and Kindred by a more peculiar Title, by right of *redemption from the Powers of darkneſs*, and from Hell it ſelf: Hence ſaith our *Apoſtle*, 1 Cor. 8. 5, 6. *Though there be that are called Gods, whether in heaven or in earth (as there are Gods many and Lords many) But to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whom are all things, and we by him:* As the Iſraelites are forbid to have any other God, beſides *the Lord*, which brought them out of the Land of *Egypt*; ſo are we Chriſtians forbid to have any Lords or Maſters beſides Chriſt: So ſaith our Saviour, *Matth.* 23. 8, 9, 10. *Be not ye called Rabbi, for one is your Maſter, even Chriſt; call no man your father upon the Earth, for one is your Father which is in Heaven:* And he repeats the former *Caveat*, *Neither be ye called Maſters, for one is your Maſter, even Chriſt.* He that forbids them to be called Maſters over others, doth likewiſe forbid them to be ſervants to other Maſters beſides himſelf: And this Duty is more fully expreſt by our Apoſtle, 1 *Cor.* 7. 23. *Ye are bought with a price, be not ye the ſervants of men.* He no way forbids bodily ſervice, but rather enjoyns ſuch as were ſervants (properly ſo called, that is ſlaves or bond-men) to continue in their calling, *ver.* 20, 21. as knowing bodily ſervitude not to be incompatible with Chriſtian liberty, no not with the Liberty of the Sons of God: *He that is called in the Lord, being a ſervant, is the Lords free-man; likewiſe he that is called, being a Free-man, is Chriſts ſervant:* What ſervice of men then doth Chriſt or his Apoſtles forbid? *The vaſſalage of our reaſon or underſtanding, or the ſubmiſſion of our conſciences to the pleaſures or ſervices of men, or of the corrupt times wherein we live: Thus to alienate our ſervice from Chriſt to any mortal men, is (whether you liſt to call it) a branch of Sacriledge or Idolatry, if not more groſs, yet certainly more deadly in all ſuch as confeſs Chriſt to be their Lord, then the worſhipping of ſtocks and ſtones was either in the Heathen, or in the Iſraelites themſelves, before Chriſt was declared to be the Son of God, and ſolemnly proclaimed to be the Lord.* To give you another Inſtance how Gods Will is more exactly done by Real Confeſſion of Chriſt to be THE LORD.

A ſecond inſtance of obedience more ſtrictly enjoyned Chriſtians, then it was the Jews.

7. *This is the Will of God*, ſaith the Apoſtle, 1 *Theſſ.* 4. 3. *Even your ſanctification, that you ſhould abſtain from fornication, that every one of you ſhould know how to poſſeſs his veſſel in ſanctification and honor; not in the luſt of concupiſcence, even as the Gentiles, which know not God.* To this duty the *Iſraelites* were as truly tyed as we *Chriſtians* are: It was (as the Apoſtle intimates) a neceſſary branch or fruit of the true knowledge of God, a ſervice due unto him, as he was the Creator; But unto this ſame duty, the *Iſraelites* were not bound by ſo many ties, as we *Chriſtians* are: It is required of us by a *ſtrict peculiar Title*, not onely by our knowledge of God as our Creator, nor by our acknowledgment of Chriſt to be *the Lord*, as this Title of *Lord* hath relation onely unto ſervants; he may and doth exact this duty at our hands, not onely by right of *Redemption*, or by paying the ranſom for our ſins upon the Croſs, but by right of *Eſpouſals*, or by Title of *Lord*, as he is the *Head* and Husband of his Spouſe, the Church: No motive can be ſo forcible to deter men from tranſgreſſing this *negative Commandment*, or for incouraging them to do *Gods Will* in the *affirmative part* of the former Commandment; as that of our Apoſtle, 1 *Cor.* 6. 13, 14, 15. *Now the body is not for fornication,*

but for the Lord, and the Lord for the body: And God hath both raiſed up the Lord, and will alſo raiſe up us by his own power: Know ye not that your bodies are the members of Chriſt? ſhall I then take the members of Chriſt and make them the members of an harlot? God forbid: And again, ver. 20. *Ye are bought with a price, therefore glorifie God in your body, and in your ſpirit, which are Gods.*

See the 10 Book *Ch.* 39. *pag.* 185.

8. It was well obſerved long ago by *Oecolampadius*, that children were taught amiſs to know the nature of God, or of his Enemy, by vulgar pictures or Repreſentations: For ſo the faſhion was long before, and continued till his time, to picture God, or the *bleſſed Trinity*, in ſome fair and beautiful form, and to paint the Devil in ſome foul, loathſom, or ugly ſhape. And this good Writer to correct their errour, well admoniſhed, as well the parents as their children, *That if they would learn to know what God was, they muſt firſt be taught to know what* Goodneſs *is, what* Juſtice *is, what* Mercy *is, what* Bounty *or loving kindneſs is:* And if they deſire to know what manner of creature the Devil is, who is the chief enemy of God, they ſhould firſt be taught to know what malice is, what filthineſs is, what loathſomneſs is, what villany or treachery is. For Satan is but a Compoſt of theſe, or an extract of all that children or their parents acknowledge for evil: Howbeit, if either children or parents could be taught to know what *Juſtice* is, what *Mercy* is, what loving kindneſs is; or if they could be taught to know that God is, what all theſe are, even *Juſtice it ſelf*, even *Mercy it ſelf*, loving kindneſs it ſelf, wiſdom it ſelf; or Wiſdom, Juſtice, Mercy, and loving kindneſs it ſelf truly infinite; yet his wiſdom, his mercy, and loving kindneſs would be to us incomprehenſible, unapprehenſible, even in that theſe *Attributes* in him are infinite: We could have no true or lively *apprehenſion*, either *ſpeculative* to inform our underſtandings what were good and ought to be followed; or *moral*, to enable and qualifie our hearts and affections to imitate or expreſs that pattern of goodneſs, or ſo much of it as we apprehend in God, if we ſhould look upon theſe *Attributes* as they are in God the Father only, or in the Divine nature: But as he that cannot look upon the Sun in its ſtrength or brightneſs, or at the noon day, may take the *model* of it in the water, or in the Moon at full: So we that cannot behold the glory of Divine Majeſty in the Godhead, may ſafely behold the Map or Model of his incomprehenſible Goodneſs in *the Man Chriſt Jeſus:* All *His* actions and endeavors were with ſuch wiſdom ſet and bent upon mercy, on goodneſs, on loving kindneſs, that every one which ſaw, and duly conſidered his manner and courſe of life here on Earth, might collect that he truly was (as himſelf avouched) more then the *Son of man*, the very *Son of God* himſelf, who is good and gracious to all: For *Chriſt* as Man, *went about doing good to all*, doing hurt to none. Now (as the Son of *Syrach* ſaith, *Ecclus*. 22.3.) *That an evil ſon is the diſhonor of his father:* So it will follow by *the Rule of Contraries:* That a wiſe or good ſon is the honor of his father: So *Solomon* hath ſaid in expreſs terms, *Prov*. 10.1. *A wiſe ſon maketh a glad father, but a fooliſh ſon is the heavineſs of his mother:* Now Chriſt, as we know, is called, *The Wiſdom* of the onely wiſe immortal God, *his beloved Son, in whom he is well pleaſed:* And well pleaſed with him he is, for that he is *the honor of his Father:* And as *Chriſt* by *confeſſing God*, and by real expreſſion of his Goodneſs in his life and actions, did truly glorifie his Father, as he himſelf expreſly avoucheth, *John* 17. *So all that really confeſs Chriſt to be the Lord*; that is, *all which throughly expreſs the Map or Model of his Goodneſs in their lives and converſations, do truly glorifie God the Father.*

9. Briefly then, *Every tongue truly and rightly confeſſeth Chriſt to be the Lord*, that obſerves his Commandments, or that obſerves the Commandments of God more ſtrictly and more religiouſly then others do, who although they profeſs they honour God, yet do not honour him as *the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, or do not honour *Jeſus Chriſt as his onely Son:* This is that *ſpecial Will* of the Father which is in heaven, and that which muſt be done by all which mean to enter into Heaven, that every one which *honoreth the Father, ſhould alſo honor the Son*, Joh. 5. 23. *Honor the Son* they muſt, not *in words* or title only, but by performance of *real Service:* Every one that thus honoreth the Son, doth hereby glorifie God the Father: Hence ſaith our Savior, Matth. 5. 16. *Let your light ſo ſhine before men, that they may ſee your good works; and glorifie your Father which is in heaven.* And again, *Joh.* 15. 1. Our Savior compares *himſelf* to the *Vine*, and his Father unto *a Husbandman*, which expects the fruit of his vineyard: So that the end why the Son of God did deſcend from heaven, why he was planted and took root here on earth, was that the Sons of *Adam*, or *Abraham*, might be ingrafted *in him*; and the End of our ingrafting *in him* was, that we might bring forth fruit unto his * Father.

* So Chriſt ſaith, *Joh.* 15. 8 *Herein is my Father glorified, that you bring forth much fruit, ſo ſhall ye by my Diſciples.*

See how *Salvian* anſwers the like Objection in his 5 Book, *De Providentia.*

But *What comfort* is it to have Chriſt *Our Lord*, if by *Allegeance to him*, we be more ſtrictly bound to do *the will of God*, then thoſe which do not acknowledge *Him their Lord?* I Anſwer: 1. It is a credit (by conſent of Nations, and repute of men naturally wiſe) if not A Real Comfort, to have him *Our Lord*, who governs his people by the *moſt excellent and equitable Laws:* Such were *thoſe* which the Son of God gave the *Jews: What are theſe now refined in the Goſpel?* All men naturally deſire happineſs: As by thoſe Laws God directed the *Jews*, ſo by theſe he diſciplines Us, *for our Good*; ſeeking occaſion or Title in our obedience, to exerciſe his bounty, by rewarding us for doing good to our ſelves and others at his command: *He that ſins againſt the Laws of Chriſt* (doth it, *in Sui damnum*) *ſins againſt his own ſoul*; and by ſtraying from them, goes out of that way which only can lead him to the happineſs he deſireth. 2 *It is comfort* that *our Lord* rules not with rigour, but maſters his Dominion with Equity: *Novit figmentum noſtrum*, having *Himſelf* been compaſſed with the infirmities of mans nature (*all but ſuch as did proceed from ſin, or lead unto ſin*) he can, by acquaintance and experience of them, tell, both how willing the ſpirit, and how weak the fleſh of miſerable Mortals be, and ready is he to give allowance accordingly. But Thirdly, Here is *comfort indeed*, That as JESUS CHRIST the Righteous is our Lord; ſo He is *The Lord our Righteouſneſs*; ſo is He *our Solicitor*, *our Advocate*, our moſt compaſſionate High Prieſt, who, *ex officio*, negotiates on our behalf, by mediation and interceſſion with the Father, for pardon of all our tranſgreſſions, negligences, ignorances; both of all ſins committed, and duties omitted, or performed untowardly and amiſs: He made *One Propitiation* by his death, and he lives for ever to make interceſſion for us. Yea, ſo gracious is This our Lord, that he ſeems, in a manner (during this Acceptable Day, or time of Grace) to lay aſide The Title and Dignity of Lord, and to put on The Affection of a Prieſt, perpetually to make interceſſion on our behalf, *for Remiſſion of ſins paſt*, (Rom. 3. 26.) and for Grace, whereby for the future *we may ſerve God acceptably, with reverence and godly fear:* Seeing then we have ſo great an High Prieſt, *Let us hold faſt our Profeſſion*——— And *let us come boldly to the Throne of Grace, that we may obtain mercy, and find grace to help in time of need.*

Deut. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

See the Application, *Ch.* 2. §. 5, 6. *f.* 317.

Worthy is THE LAMB *that was ſlain, to receive Power, and Riches, and Wiſdom, and Strength, and Honor, and Glory, and Bleſſing*, Revel. 5. 12. *And* THE LAMB *ſhall overcome them, for He is* LORD OF LORDS, *and* KING OF KINGS, Rev. 17. 14.

SECT. III.

Of Chriſts coming to Judgement.

2 *Cor.* 5. 10. For we muſt all appear before the Judgement Seat of Chriſt; That every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad.

Acts 17. 30. *But now, God commandeth all men every where to repent; becauſe he hath appointed a day in which he will judge the world in righteouſneſs, by that man whom he hath ordained, whereof he hath given all men aſſurance, in that he raiſed him from the dead.*

Daniel 7. 9.

Rom. 14. 9. *To this end Chriſt both died, and roſe, and revived, that he might be* Lord *both of the dead and of the living. —We ſhall* All *ſtand before the Judgment Seat of Chriſt. —Every knee ſhall bow to me, and every tongue ſhall confeſs to God.*

Revel. 20. 12.

CHAP. IX.

THE *Firſt Words* contain an undoubted *Maxim*, or *principal Article of our Faith*; yea, ſuch a *Plurality of Articles of Chriſtian Belief*, that I could not chooſe fitter, for continuation of my former Argument, concerning *Chriſts Lordſhip or Dominion*: And *His Dominion* (as was ſaid before) was *A Dominion* both of *Property* and of *Juriſdiction*: We are his ſervants, not our own Men (as we ſay) we may not diſpoſe of our own ſouls, or bodies, much leſs of our bodily imployments or endeavours, as We pleaſe, but as He pleaſes: Or in caſe we wrong him, by alienating the imployments of our bodies, or of our ſouls from his ſervice, who hath the full Dominion of Property; we cannot exempt our ſelves from his Dominion of Juriſdiction, to which all fleſh is lyable without Appeal. Now of his Dominion of Juriſdiction, or of his Royal Power over us, the Exerciſe of Final Judgment, is the Principal part: And of this Judgment the general Sum or Abſtract is contained in 2 *Cor.* 5. 10.

An Advertiſement concerning H. Scripture.

Before I enter upon the Particulars therein contained, I am in General to advertiſe, " That albeit the Scripture be ſuch A Compleat Rule " of Chriſtian Faith, That neither thoſe which are appointed to inter- " pret the Scriptures ought to propoſe or commend any point or do- " ctrine as an Article of Faith, unto others; nor are others bound to believe any thing as a Point of Faith, unleſs it be either expreſſy con-

Experiments in *Nature*, and in *our ſelves* or Conſciences, confirm the Truths of H. Scripture.

“ tained in the Scriptures, or may out of the expreſs teſtimonies of them, be deduced by infallible Rules of Reaſon and Art: Yet *in the things believed, becauſe contained in Scripture, there is a Difference* to be obſerved. Some things we believe without any Ground at all beſides the meer Authority of Scriptures: Other things we believe from the Authority of Scriptures too; yet ſo, as we have the truth, which the Scriptures teach concerning them, enſealed unto us by Experiments anſwering to the Rules of Scriptures. And theſe Experiments be of two ſorts; Either Obſervable in the general Book of Nature, and courſe of times; or Obſervable in our ſelves. Of this later rank are the Articles of the Godhead, of the Creation, of Divine Providence, of Original Sin, of Final judgment, and of Life and Death everlaſting.

The Being of a Godhead or Divine Power, the very Heathens, which knew not Scriptures, did in ſome ſort believe: of Gods Providence, and of Judgment after this life, the Heathens likewiſe had divers Notions, which were as rude materials or ſtuff unwrought: The frame or faſhioning of which Notions into true and Chriſtian Belief, cannot otherwiſe be effected then by the Rules of Scripture, which are The Lines, by which the ſtructure or edifice of Faith muſt be ſquared or wrought. Now whatſoever the Heathens without the help of Scriptures, or Divine Revelations, did believe or conceive concerning the Points mentioned, Every Chriſtian man, which doth believe the Scriptures, though but by an hiſtorical Faith, may much better believe and conceive by the help of Scriptures, albeit his affections be not as yet ſanctified by the Spirit of Grace; although he be but in the Eſtate of a meer Moral or Natural man; ſo he be not delivered up unto a Reprobate ſenſe.

The *Branches then of my Meditations, concerning this Grand Article of Chriſts coming to Judgment, ſhall be in general Theſe.*

Five General Points.

Firſt, *Of the Natural Notions, which the Heathens had, and which every natural man (ſo his Conſcience be not ſeared) may have Experienced in himſelf, of a Final Judgment after this life, or of a Recompence according to his wayes or works.*

The Second, *By what Authority of Scriptures, the Exerciſe of this Final Judgment is appropriated to Chriſt.*

The Third, *The manner of Chriſts coming to Judgment.*

The Fourth, *The parties that are to be Judged, to wit, the Quick and the Dead.*

The Fifth, *The Sentence or Award of this great Judge; and that is Everlaſting Life, or Everlaſting Death.*

Thus you ſee, *Three Principal Articles of Our Creed*, to wit, *This, of Chriſts coming to Judge the quick and the dead*; and the Two laſt; viz. *The Reſurrection of the body*, and *The life everlaſting*, are ſo link't together, that they cannot be ſo commodiouſly explained in ſeveral, as they may be in this propoſed Link or Chain.

CHAP. X.

Of the Natural Notions, *which the* Heathens *had, and the* Internal Experiments, *which every true* Chriſtian *may have, anſwering to theſe* Notions *of a* Final Judgment.

Heathen Notions, of Two Sorts.

1. THe Notions, which the Heathens had of a Judgment to paſs upon them after this life, were of Two Sorts; Either Implicite

and Indirect; ſuch as give better Teſtimony to us, then they made of it to themſelves; or Direct and Expreſs, though indefinite and imperfect, and mingled for the moſt part with ſome errour. And theſe Later are moſt frequent in the ancient heathen Poets; Many of whoſe Teſtimonies to this purpoſe are ſo Expreſs and direct, that they may well ſeem to have been taken from ſome ſcattered Traditions of that truth, which God had revealed unto the Patriarchs before the Law was written, or from the written Law it ſelf, which it is probable *Plato* with ſome other Philoſophers and Poets had read, at the leaſt received at the ſecond hand. However, “unleſs the truth concerning this point delivered in Scriptures had been imperfectly implanted in mens hearts by nature, theſe meer natural men could not have ſubmitted their Aſſent or Opinions unto it.

The *Pythagorean* Notion.

That not the ancient Poets onely, but the ancient Philoſophers had an expreſs Notion of pains or torments, which the wicked after this life were to ſuffer, we may gather from *Ariſtotle*, *Poſter. lib.* 2. *cap.* 11. For ſo he tells us, that the *Pythagoreans* did aſſign this *final cauſe of thunder*, *namely, to terrifie ſuch as were reſerved in infernal priſons.* And in aſſigning this Final Cauſe of thunder, whoſe Material and Efficient Cauſe with its properties they were not ignorant of; they did acknowledge an Higher Guide or Governor of theſe natural Effects then nature her ſelf. We may perhaps rectifie this Notion by ſaying, *The Thunder was created by this Guide or Governour of Nature, rather to terrifie ſuch as live here on earth, that they come not into theſe infernal priſons.* And to avoid or prevent their coming into them, Nature her ſelf, which taught *Pythagoras* this Philoſophy, might teach all, *That there can be no means ſo ſafe or ſo compendious, as the making of our peace with that divine Power, who ſpeaks to men in this terrible language. The thunder of his power* (ſaith *Job*, cap. 26. 14.) *Who can underſtand?* But the leſs we underſtand It in Particular, the better we underſtand Him to be a Terrible Judge. That this Notion, which the thunder did ſuggeſt to the *Pythagorean Philoſophers* of the Divine Power, as avenger of Evil, was not a Philoſophical Phancy, but *implanted by Nature in the heart*, may be further evinced; for that the thunder did imprint the like fear in ſuch as in words or opinion did deny the Divine Providence, or ſought to ſhake off all conceit of future Judgment. Witneſs the Emperor *Caligula*, who ſo demeaned himſelf in his Empire and tyranny over others, as if he never looked to be called to any account for his Regencie; and yet this man (as *Suetonius* tells us) would riſe from the table, when it thundred, and oft times for fear run under his Bed; He knew himſelf exempt from the cenſure or controll of man, and had enough about him to inſtruct him in the natural cauſes of thunder; and yet by this ſtrange fear he did acknowledge a ſuperior Judge, from whoſe preſence or apprehenſion he ſought to hide himſelf, as Malefactors do themſelves from the eyes or hands of earthly Judges, or from the miniſters of civil Juſtice.

2. But might not this ſtrange fear ariſe rather from ſome peculiar diſpoſition in *Caligula*, then from any *inſtinct of nature*, univerſal to all ſuch as he was, upon the like or equivalent Summons or admonitions? From whatſoever diſpoſition we can imagine this ſervile or ſlaviſh fear ſhould proceed, it was a timorous diſpoſition, and could not have wrought or inclined ſuch men, as he was, unto ſuch manifeſt documents of imminent fear, but from a feeling conſciouſneſs of a foul and beaſtly life: For he was a man that in other caſes had gotten as full a *Conqueſt over his*

Conſcience, as any Man, Prince or Subject, in this life can poſſibly get. He had with much care and coſt lull'd his conſcience with variety of all pleaſures incident to ſenſe or earthly affections, into ſo dead a ſleep, that no voice of man, though Embaſſador from God; no voice of God (known to men) beſides this terrible voice of his *thunder*, could have awaked it. But amongſt ten thouſand ſuch as he was, that is, of ſuch as for the moſt part have lived as beaſts, and for this reaſon could deſire to dye like beaſts, without any account or reckoning how they had ſpent their Lives; it will be hard to find one, that in ſome or other particular did not give *A true Criſis or proof of this Truth*, which now we teach (that is, of a *Judgment* after this life) *by nature implanted in their hearts*; albeit moſt of them in words would not confeſs it: albeit many of them uſed their own and their Paraſites wits by natural reaſons to overthrow or enervate the force of it. But as in Caſes of civil Juſtice, the unwitting acknowledgment of ſome material or pertinent Circumſtances, drawn from ſuch, as otherwiſe ſeek to conceal or ſmother the Main truth (upon which they are directly examined) is with intelligent Judges, of more force, then one or two voluntary teſtimonies of men ſuſpected to be *Acceſſaries* in the buſineſs, or partial favourers of the principal Actor: So in this controverſie betwixt God and our own Conſciences, The unwitting practiſes (or paſſionate expreſſions made in ſome extremity) of ſuch heathens, as either denied or knew not the truth of a *Final Judgment*, do give more powerful and more authentick teſtimonies for it, then either the authority or expreſs teſtimony of other heathens, which did expreſly or directly affirm it. (ſave only ſo far, as their teſtimony was grounded upon the like inſtinct of nature, or implanted *Notion*, which did move the others to confeſs it indirectly or in practiſe, although in words they did deny it, or not confeſs it) do for it; or then the avowed denials of any more debauched Heathens in their Jollity do againſt it.

3. “In many Caſes as well natural and moral as divine, there may be “a real and ſolid truth, or ground of truth in the practiſe, without any apprehenſion of it in the practitioner; oft times with oppoſition “to it in his Conceipt or Opinion. Moſt men, when they deſire to call things forgotten to mind, will rub or ſcratch the *back part* of their head. The Ground or Reaſon of their Practiſe is from Nature her ſelf. which hath placed the faculty of memory in that part of the brain, or at leaſt in ſome other part, betwixt which and that which they ſo handle, there is ſpecial intercourſe. Howbeit moſt men obſerve this practiſe or cuſtom by meer inſtinct of nature, without ſo much as once queſtioning or thinking whether their faculty of memory be ſeated in the brain or in the breſt. And ſome perhaps do uſe this cuſtom, being of a contrary opinion, viz. *That the memory is ſeated in the fore-part of the Brain.* But their manifeſt conformity to others in this cuſtom, will in any indifferent Moderators Judgment prevailingly preſcribe againſt their Opinion. Few there be again ſo deſtitute of natural reaſon, but would be able as occaſion requires, or exigents impel, to give warmth to ſome things that were cold, and to cool other things that be hot, by blowing or breathing upon them. Yet this cuſtom is practiſed by moſt out of meer inſtinct of nature, without thought or queſtion. how ſuch two contrary effects, as heat and cold, could poſſibly iſſue from one and the ſame mouth or breath. There is a true and real cauſe of this diverſity or contrariety in the effects, and a true reaſon in nature, how they are wrought, albeit this cauſe or reaſon be, neither in whole nor in part, ap-

prehended by ſuch as practiſe it with ſucceſs. Yea of ſuch as have their ſenſes exerciſed in the ſtudy of Philoſophy, ſcarce one of five there is, but if he ſhould on the ſuddain be put thus to practiſe by rule of *Art*, would fail of his purpoſe, more, then ſuch as thus practiſe by meer *inſtinct of nature*; or would be as far to ſeek, if he were put to give the true reaſon of it, as the poor *Pilgrim* in the *Fable* was, who being kindly entertained by a Satyr, which had found him blowing his fingers for extremity of cold in the woods, was unkindly thruſt out of his houſe, only for ſeeking to cool his broth with the ſame breath, wherewith he had warmed his fingers.

4. But in what practiſes or reſolutions in the heathen was this divine truth of a *Judgment* after this life neceſſarily included? *The particulars are many*, but moſt of them may be reduced unto *this General. As many of the heathens as either eſteemed the love of virtue, honeſty, or godlineſs more dear then this mortal life with its appurtenances temporal*; *or as many of them as did abhor the practiſe of any villany or impiety more than death*; *whatſoever they themſelves did expreſly ſay or think concerning this Article of Final Judgment in particular, did by theſe practiſes or reſolutions give authentick teſtimony unto it.* Now that virtue or honeſty were to be more eſteemed then this mortal life, with all the commodities of it, the moſt part of heathen *Philoſophers* (beſides the Sect of *Epicures*) did grant and maintain. The *Stoicks* went further in the eſteem of moral virtue, then any *wiſe Chriſtian* will do in practiſe, then any *good Chriſtian* ought to do in opinion: (but of their errors or Hyperboles anon.) *Ariſtotle* the Prince of Philoſophers grants, that there is ἁπλῶς ἀγαθόν; that ſome things be *abſolutely good*, ſo good that a man ought to love them more than life, or rather to abandon life than their practiſe. Some things again he grants *abſolutely evil*; So evil, that a man ought rather to chuſe death then adventure upon them; ſuch are Treaſon againſt our native Country, Inceſt, Perjury, &c. This great Philoſopher, in expreſly granting thus much, is neceſſarily concluded by his own Principles to grant *a life after this life ended much better then this*; and a death, or an eſtate of life much worſe than death, to ſuch as have lived and died diſhoneſtly. Nor is he thus far concluded only by his own Principles, but by the very Principles of Nature, whoſe chief Secretary he was. For every thing that hath *Being*, doth by an indiſpenſable Law of nature deſire the continuance of ſuch *Being* as it hath; but moſt of all of its *Well-being* or bettering of its preſent eſtate. Now if mans hopes or fears were terminated in this life (as needs they muſt with this life be terminated, unleſs we grant a Judgment after death, or an award of the evils which men fear, or of the good things which they hope) every man were bound in reaſon and by nature to ſeek the preſervation or continuance of his own life before all things in the world beſides. Nothing were to be eſteemed worſe then a bodily death, nothing ſo good as continuation of bodily life with health and competency. Much better it were to be a part of this viſible world, then utterly not to *Be*. To avoid or put off this *utter not-Being*, ſo long as were poſſible, no deviſe could be diſhoneſt, no practiſe amiſs. We do not blame bruit beaſts for making what ſhift they can for maintaining or ſaving their lives; no means, which they can uſe to this end onely, are by us accounted foul; for as we ſay, *they do but follow kind*, or do as nature directs them: But what is the reaſon why in thus doing they do not amiſs, nor deſerve blame? Becauſe nothing can be ſo ill to them as death, nothing ſo good as life: But for a man to transform himſelf into a Beaſt,

or to continue beaſtly or filthy practiſes, for continuance or preſervation of his bodily life; this the very Heathens did deteſt as unnatural, baſe, and odious: What was the reaſon? they ſaw by light of nature, that man had better hopes then beaſts are capable of, as it were wrapped up for him in the conſtant practice of honeſty and vertue, and was capable withal, of greater evil which might accrew from a diſhoneſt and filthy life, then any evil that is incident to the nature of beaſts; yet did not that *Good* which good men did aim at, either in practice of virtue, or by declining vice, alwayes betide them in this life, in the Judgment of moſt Heathen.

5. Two things there were, which moſt later Heathens (not the *Stoicks* onely) did highly extoll in *Regulus*; the one, That he *did prefer the love of his Country, before the contentments of this life*, which he might have enjoyed in plenteous manner. The other, *That he did prefer a lingring and cruel death, before the ſtein or guilt of perjury:* For being in hold or durance amongſt the *Carthaginians*, he was remitted to *Rome*, upon oath, That if he did not effect what they had given him in charge to treat for, he ſhould return again to *Carthage*, and undergo ſuch puniſhment as they ſhould think fit to inflict: It was in his power to have effected with the *Romans* that, which the *Carthaginians* did deſire; but he would not uſe his power to perſwade, but rather to diſſwade the *Romans* from condeſcending to their enemies deſire, becauſe he ſaw it would be prejudicial to their Commonweal and poſterity, though advantageous to him in particular: But he accounted it rather loſs then gain, as well to himſelf as to the *Roman* State, to ſave the life, though of ſome worthy Peer as he was, by breach of Oath or Perjury; and in this reſolution he returned unto the *Carthaginians*, although he knew they reſolved to put him to cruel and lingring torture. The *Obſervation* upon this reſolution of *Regulus* (which will generally ſerve for all the like, by what Heathen ſoever practiſed or commended) is briefly *This: No humane practiſe or reſolution can be truly commendable, but onely ſo far as it helps to make the Practitioner a better man then he was before, or could continue to be, without ſuch practiſe.* Was *Regulus* then a better man by this practiſe, then without it he could have been? Or did it truly propagate or continue that goodneſs which before he had? If he by doing this did not continue his former goodneſs, or become a better man, his commendations are unjuſt; the Fact it ſelf was not truly commendable, was no argument either of reaſon or wit in the Practiſer, or of honeſty in the Reſolution: If by this *Reſolution* he became a better man then before he was, or without it could have been, ſomewhat of *Regulus*, did, after the accompliſhment of this fact, remain to receive the due reward of this *Reſolution*, as either his ſoul, his body, or both: For every *real Accident* or Attribute, neceſſarily ſuppoſeth a *real ſubject* to ſupport it; and if no better doom had been reſerved for *Regulus*, then that which the *Carthaginians*, his chief Judges on earth, did award him, he could not poſſibly either have continued or bettered his well-being by undertaking it; it was altogether impoſſible for him to become a better man by this practiſe, by which he doth utterly ceaſe to be a man, if his hopes had been terminated with this mortal life, or if he had not remained capable of reward or puniſhment after death.

That very thing was, even by the verdict of the Heathen, highly magnified in *Regulus* (a wiſe States-man and good *Patriot*) which in a bruit Beaſt, of what kind ſoever would have been accounted, and that juſtly, more then unreaſonableneſs, a very madneſs: For no beaſt, unleſs it be altogether mad, will evidently expoſe it ſelf to death. That which exempts *Regulus* his witting expoſing of himſelf to a more cruel death then any ſober man could find in his heart to put a dumb beaſt unto, from cenſure of Folly, was, The managing of his undertakings by *Reſolution* and *Reaſon:* And all the *reaſon* that he had thus to reſolve, was, That he hoped not utterly to periſh as beaſts do, although certain he was to die. Beaſts, which run upon their own deaths, are therefore accounted mad, becauſe by death they utterly ceaſe from being what they were: For them to deſire death, is to deſire their utter deſtruction, which they could not deſire, but ſeek by all means poſſibly to avoid, unleſs they had firſt put of all common ſenſe, wherein the height of their madneſs conſiſts: *Regulus* was therefore accounted *manly reſolute*, and *reſolutely wiſe*, for that in chooſing rather to die, then to live with ſtain of perjury, or taint his ſoul with breach of oath; he did not deſire his own deſtruction, but the continuation of his well-being, or bettering his own or his Countries eſtate: And this his deſire or reſolution (which ſuppoſeth another ſentence after this life ended) the Heathens which ſo highly magnified his reſolution did ſubſcribe unto as good, and fit to be imitated by all honeſt men and true Patriots, albeit perhaps moſt of them were unwilling to be his *ſeconds* in like attempts, when the matter came to the trial.

6. Nor did the **Romans** only commend this Reſolution in *Regulus*, whoſe Memory for well deſerving of that Commonweal, they had in perpetual Reverence: But other Heathens which did deteſt the very name of *Chriſtians*, and eagerly ſought the extirpation of Chriſts Church on earth, did as much admire and commend the like in *Chriſtian Biſhops: Two memorable ſtories* very appoſite to this purpoſe, come to my mind; the one related by St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, the other by St. *Auſtin. Nazianzens* ſtory is of Biſhop *Marcus Arethuſus*, who was ſentenced to a cruel death and torture by *Julian* the Emperor, unleſs he would at his own coſt and charges build up an Idol Temple, which he had cauſed to be pulled down: After that his perſecutors had brought the damages required at his hands ſo low, that if he would be content to give but an *Angel* (or ſome ſmall piece of Gold currant in thoſe times) to the re-edifying of the Temple which he had deſtroyed, he ſhould live; yet he perſevered ſo conſtantly in his former *Reſolution*, which was not to give ſo much as a peny by way of Contribution for building up any houſe of Iniquity) that his Perſecutors were aſhamed to take life from him.

S. *G. Nazianzen*'s ſtory of Biſhop *Marcus Arethuſus*, is in his third Oration; or former Invective againſt *Julian.*

Saint *Auguſtine* (in his Tract againſt Lying) tells us of Biſhop *Firmus*, who, being preſſed to bewray another *Chriſtian* Brother (whoſe death (or Turning) the Heathens earneſtly ſought, having ſtrong preſumptions that *This good Biſhop* knew where he was) after many torments, and threats of more, with great conſtancy refuſed: All the words that they could wreſt from him, were theſe, *Mentiri non poſſum, I cannot lie;* (and yet he muſt have lyed, if he had denyed that he knew where *the Party was* whoſe life they ſought:) *But as I cannot lie, ſo I cannot become a Traytor or Bewrayer of my Brother; do what you will or can unto me.*

S. *Auſtins* ſtory of Biſhop *Firmus.*

Metaphraſtes hath a ſtory of *Anthimus* Biſhop of *Nicomedia*, partly like *This.*

This conſtant Reſolution, as Saint *Auſtine* teſtifies, did ſo turn the edge of his Perſecutors malice into admiration and reverence of his integrity, that they diſmiſt him with honor: Howbeit, there had been no wit or praiſe-worthineſs in the practiſe, unleſs the Practiſer had expected ſome better Sentence after Death (to which he did thus conſtantly expoſe himſelf) then the applauſe of theſe Heathens, which he could not hope for, which he did not expect. And the heathens in commending and admiring his conſtancy and integrity, did, though *faintly or unwittingly*, yet *neceſſarily* ſubſcribe unto the truth of his hopes or belief of a *Judgment after death*; as alſo unto that *Oracle* of *God* delivered by his Apoſtle, that *ſeeing Chriſt hath laid down his life for us, we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren*, 1 *John* 3. 16. At leaſt we ought to expoſe our ſelves to bodily death, rather then ſuffer them to be put upon the hazard of death eternal: As it is likely *this Good Biſhop* feared, leſt he ſhould hazard this poor Chriſtian ſoul, whoſe death or Turning the Heathens ſought, being not ſo certain of his Reſolution as of his own but doubtful whether he would not deny *Chriſt*, or renounce the *Chriſtian Faith*, rather then ſuffer ſuch tortures, as he now felt, or expoſe himſelf to ſuch a violent and cruel death, as they threatned him with.

The opinion of the Stoicks

How *Virtue* is a *Reward* to it ſelf.

7. Again, The moſt wiſe and learned among the heathen *Philoſophers* did place *Felicity* or true happineſs in the *conſtant practiſe of Virtue*, as in Temperance, Juſtice, Wiſdom, &c. The *Stoicks* were ſo wedded to this Opinion, that they held *virtue to be a ſufficient recompence to it ſelf*, at what rate ſoever it was purchaſed or maintained; though with the loſs of life, and limbs, with the moſt exquiſite and lingring tortures, that our ſenſes are capable of. They eſteemed *Regulus* more happy even in the middeſt of his torments, then his perſecutors were or could be in the height of their mirth and proſperity, or in the perfect fruition of their health, or beſt contentments of their ſenſes or underſtandings; Yea, ſo far they went, that they judged *Regulus* to perpetual happineſs, albeit he had been perpetually or everlaſtingly ſo tormented as for a time he was. But *This is more* (as was formerly intimated) *then any good Chriſtian is bound to believe*: nay, we are bound to believe the contrary. For ſo St. *Paul* (who was more virtuouſly conſtant then *Regulus* was in his profeſſion; more then virtuouſly, Religiouſly conſtant in all the ways of Godlineſs) tells us, 1 *Cor.* 15. 19. *That if in this life only we had hope* (that is, were quite without hopes of a better life, then this preſent is) *we* (Chriſtians, ſuch good Chriſtians as he himſelf was) *were of all men the moſt miſerable.* The Heathen then (the *Stoicks* eſpecially) did well and wiſely in acknowledging Felicity to conſiſt in Virtue; in acknowledging Virtue to be a full recompence to it ſelf, in reſpect of any temporary evil or puniſhment, that could be oppoſed unto it. They wiſely reſolved in holding them more happy which did ſuffer torments for a good Cauſe, then they which made it a part of their pleaſure or happineſs to torment them: Yet it is not poſſible that the entire and uninterrupted poſſeſſion, or the undiſinheritable tenor of virtue compleat, ſhould alwayes in this life, be a ſufficient recompence to it ſelf, or able to countervail all the coſts or grievances wherewith the moſt virtuous, or moſt Godly men that live, may in this life be charged. Virtue then or Godlineſs is in this life a ſufficient recompence to it ſelf *ſpe* only, not *re*; ſo far as it is the *only Way* to our union with *God* or with *Chriſt*, who is to all the ſons of *Abraham* (as he profeſſed himſelf to *Abraham*, *Gen.* 15. 1.) their *exceeding great reward.* Nor could true Happineſs conſiſt in Virtue, if our hopes or fruition of it might be terminated with this life. In what ſenſe then is *Felicity* ſaid to *conſiſt* in *Virtue?* Only ſo far as our aſſured hope of a better life after death is unſeparably annexed, and indiſſolubly wedded unto the conſtant practice of Virtue and Godlineſs in this life. Without Aſſurance of *this hope*, that *Magnificent Confidence*, which the *Stoicks* put in Virtue, was

but *a vain imagination* in reſpect of themſelves: And for this reaſon, albeit all of them were more then *Chriſtians*, Hyperbolical *Chriſtians* in their ſpeculative commendations of Virtue, yet many of them were in practice as cowardly, as other heathen. And no marvel, ſeeing it is *This Hope* which muſt ſtrengthen other Graces of God in us, and enable our ſpirits to counterſway the contrary inclinations of natural fear of death, or torments in the day of tryal. *Caſt not away your confidence* (ſaith the *Apoſtle*) *Heb.*10.35,36. *Which hath great recompence of reward. For ye have need of patience, that after ye have done the Will of God, ye might receive the promiſe.* And again *Hebr.* 12. *ver.* 1, 2. *Let us lay aſide every weight, and the Sin which doth ſo eaſily beſet us; and let us run with patience the race that is ſet before us; looking unto Jeſus the Author and finiſher of our faith; who for the Joy that was ſet before him endured the croſs, deſpiſing the ſhame, and is ſet down at the right hand of the throne of God.* As to encourage our ſelves to do well with hope or conceit of *meriting* any thing at Gods hand, is pride and preſumption (a natural branch of Popiſh Superſtition:) So not to ſtrengthen our ſelves, or quicken our patience in the ſuffering of any bodily evils that for *Chriſt's* Cauſe can befall us, with *Hope of Reward*, or certain expectance of a better Sentence to be pronounced by a ſupreme Judge, is but a branch of the blind *Stoicks* Affection, or of his forced and affected Zeal to *Virtue*. And it is no better then a *Stoical Doctrine* or errour, which ſome have taught, that we are to do good meerly for goodneſs ſake, *ſine intuitu mercedis*, without any eye or reſpect to our reward or recompence. It is an errour, if it be perſiſted in, ſo much more dangerouſly heretical in *Divinity*, then theirs was in *Philoſophy*; by how much we are more deeply bound, then they were, not to ſever thoſe things, by *Nicities or ſpeculative Diſtinctions*, which God hath indiſſolubly conjoyned, and whoſe conjunction *the Son of God* himſelf, whileſt he lived on earth, hath by his practice and example ratified unto us. And St. *Paul* delivers it as a point of uſeful doctrine to the *Theſſalonians*, 1 *Theſ.*4.13. to *comfort themſelves* againſt the terrors and aſſaults of death (whether made upon themſelves, or upon their friends) with *hope of a reſurrection* to a better life. Now it were impoſſible for any man to comfort himſelf with *this hope*, without intuition or reſpect *unto this great reward*, that God hath to beſtow on men. For greater reward he hath none to beſtow then *Life eternal*; nor is man capable of any like unto it. But of this Point more fully, when we come to the laſt point propoſed, to wit, *The Sentence* or *Award of this Final Judgment*.

Gen. 15. 1.
Hebr. 11. 26.
Philip. 3. 14.
Hebr. 12. 2.
Rom. 2. 7.

8. But now to ſhut up *the Firſt Point*, concerning the *Natural Notions* which the heathens had (and The internal *Experiments*, which every true *Chriſtian* may have anſwering to theſe *Notions*) *of a Final Judgment*. The ſum of all is compriz'd by our *Apoſtle*, Rom. 2. 14, 15, 16. whoſe words are a full confirmation of what hath been before obſerved concerning the Heathens. (——*When the Gentiles, which have not the Law, do by nature the things contained in the Law; theſe, having not the Law, are a Law unto themſelves, which ſhew the work of the Law written in their hearts; their conſciences alſo bearing witneſs, and their thoughts the mean while, accuſing, or elſe excuſing one another) In the day when God ſhall Judge the ſecrets of men by Jeſus Chriſt according to my Goſpel.* It was no part of our *Apoſtles* meaning, that the Conſciences of theſe heathens ſhould not give in their Evidence or accuſations until the day of *Final Judgment*? No: their *Evidence* ſhall in that day appear more full and publick, *when God ſhall Judge the ſecrets of the heart*;

Notions of *Good* and *Evil* as freſh as thoſe of true and falſe.

but even in *this ſecreſie of the heart*, there was an *Evidence*, though private, yet full enough to themſelves, of a *Judgment* to come. The *Apoſtles* ſpeech is diſtributively univerſal : every mans thoughts do accuſe or excuſe him for all his own deeds reſpectively. And no marvel, ſeeing *the Notions of good and evil are as naturally implanted in our ſouls, as the Notions of truth and falſhood*; *And children* (*ſo ſuch as have the Tuition of them would be careful, ſo their parents were not more delighted to ripen their wits, then to ripen the ſeeds of morality*) *might as ſoon be taught to put a difference betwixt things ſacred and prophane, as between the right hand and the left.* But this is our miſery, that theſe *Notions of good or evil* are ſooner corrupted and choked, then our *Notions of truth and falſhood.* Yet however, The working of Conſcience cannot utterly be choaked or deaded in any, although the voice of it be oft times unheard, although moſt men ſeek to ſtifle it.

9. The Internal Experiments which certifie the Chriſtian of a Judgment to come, be ſo frequent and forcible, that pains will be better ſpent in perſwading men to take notice of them, then in a long diſcourſe of them. It is the chief wiſdom of a Chriſtian, the very life of Chriſtian Sobriety, not to exceed ſo much in mirth, though honeſt, harmleſs and in ſeaſon; nor in the frequency of any buſineſs, though indifferent and lawful; as not to allot *the ſecrets of our hearts* and conſciences ſome ſet hours and *times for Audience.* Multiplicity of buſineſs without interpoſition of vacancies to this purpoſe, is but like perpetual noiſe and clamor in a Court of Juſtice; and not to uſe ſome retired Interims for examination of our ſouls, is but as if men ſhould continually laugh or brawl, whileſt the Officers of the Court injoyn peace or ſilence. *So often then as we ſhall perceive our Conſcience either expreſly to check us, or inwardly to work, let us ſtill call to mind, that it now is* in Executione Officii; *and its Office is, to be our Remembrancer of that which our Apoſtle admoniſheth us,* 1 Cor. 11.31. *If we would judge our ſelves, we ſhould not be judged.* In this Judgment or examination of our ſelves, Nature her ſelf would teach us thus much, ſo we would be obſervant of the Proceſs; That ſeeing *Conſcience is not onely the Lamp of the Lord, but alſo a part of our ſelves, a principal Ray or beam of our ſouls*, it could not be ſo ſuſpicious of our actions, or ſo inquiſitive after every circumſtance that may make againſt us when we do evil, unleſs it were *deputed by a ſupreme Judge* to bring us to a Judgment, and either in this life to acquit us, by perſwading us to Judge our ſelves, or in that laſt day to accuſe and condemn us. It would teach us again, That albeit there be a *General day for final Judgment* appointed, wherein *Chriſt* himſelf ſhall ſit as Judge; yet he every day holds, or calls, *A private Seſſions* within our breſts, wherein *Conſcience ſits his Atturney or Deputy.* Again, let us ſtill remember that albeit the work of the Law be written in our hearts (ſo it was in the hearts of the very heathens:) that albeit we give Conſcience *full Audience* and leave to examine us by the Law of God, whether written in our hearts, or in the ſacred Book; yet is it but a ſmall part of our accounts, which we ſhall be able to read in the Regiſter of our own Conſciences, in reſpect of what is to be found written in that *Book* or Scrowl, which ſhall be opened and unfolded in the day of *final Judgment*, *Rev.* 20.12. Howbeit, even *ſo much*, as every man (which will diligently hearken to his own Conſcience) ſhall in this life be able to read and hear diſtinctly, will make deep impreſſion in his heart, and wound his very ſpirit: And (as *Solomon* ſpeaks) *a wounded Spirit, who can bear?* rather, *who can heal it?* None but he that ſhall be our Judge. Yet may we not look that when he ſhall come to judge all,

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*Rom.*2.6,7, &c.

11. The beſt *uſe* which the Heathens (*as meer Heathens*) made of ſuch *Notions*, as nature had implanted in them of a future *Judgment*;

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The *Checks* & *Gratulations* of our Conſciences, be taſts or pledges of the *Two-fold award* that ſhall be given at the laſt day.

10. Yet is not this apprehenſion of our actual and daily ſins, or the ſmart or ſting of conſcience ſo perpetually unceſſant in any one of us, but that we may feel or perceive ſome interpoſed gleams of joy and comfort, *ſome Gratulations* of our Conſciences for buſineſſes ſincerely managed by us, or for thoſe particular actions, or good deeds, which in reſpect of ſome one or other circumſtance, we have done amiſs; but for their ſubſtance, well and with a good intention, and without a ſiniſter reſpect to our own private temporal ends, or to the prejudice of others with whom we live. So that no man, unleſs he be much wanting to himſelf, can want undoubted *Experiments* in himſelf of a future and *Final Judgment*; or of the *Two-fold ſentence*, which in *it* ſhall be awarded to all, according to the diverſity of their wayes: As often then as any of us ſhall feel the ſting, or perceive the check of our conſciences for the evils we have done, let us take this irkſomneſs or indiſpoſition of our minds and ſouls, not for a meer effect of natural Melancholy (though that perhaps may concur as a cauſe to increaſe onr heavineſs) but rather take altogether, as a *Criſis* of that diſeaſe growing upon our ſouls; which unleſs it be cured by our heavenly *Phyſician* in this life, will prove incurable in that laſt and dreadful day, and will bring upon us perpetual *weeping, and wailing, and gnaſhing of teeth*: If our *Conſciences* again at any time ſhall *Congratulate* us for well doing, we make take theſe Congratulations or Applauſes of our ſouls and ſpirits, as ſo many undoubted pledges or earneſts of that unſpeakable and unceſſant joy, which the ſupreme *Judge* ſhall award to all, that by conſtancy in well-doing acknowledge him for their *Soveraign Lord*, and expect him as their *ſupream Judge*: If we ceaſe not to continue theſe good actions or performances, he will not ceaſe to renew the undoubted pledges or earneſts of eternal Joy unto us daily: For ſo S. *Paul* ſaith, *He will render to every man according to his deeds: To them, who by patient continuance in well doing ſeek for glory, and honor, and immortality, eternal life: But unto them that are contentious, indignation, and wrath, tribulation and anguiſh*, &c.

Rom. 2.6,7, &c.

11. The beſt *uſe* which the Heathens (*as meer Heathens*) made of ſuch *Notions*, as nature had implanted in them of a future *Judgment*;

The Heathen Notions of a final Judgement vaniſhed like dreams.

or rather their miſapplications of what nature did rightly ſuggeſt unto them, to this purpoſe, cannot better be reſembled then by the uſe or applications which men naturally make of *Dreams :* Now of *Dreams*, ſome are vain and idle, as ariſing onely from the *Garboils of the Phantaſie* (moſt frequent in men ſick or diſtempered) or from ſuch thoughts, diſcourſes, or ſpeeches, as we have entertained by day, or been entertained with for ſome ſhort time before : Of theſe *Dreams*, and of their ſerious obſervation, that of *The Son of Sirach*, *Eccl.* 34. 1, 2, 3. is moſt true. *The hopes of a man void of underſtanding are vain and falſe*; *and dreams lift up fools. Who ſo regardeth dreams is like him, that catcheth at a ſhadow, and followeth after the wind. The viſion of dreams is like the reſemblance of one thing to another, even as the likeneſs of a face to a face.* Howbeit, even ſuch *Dreams* may be reſolved into ſome natural Cauſes precedent. Nor do men fail in the apprehenſion of particulars repreſented (which is alwayes more lively by night, then by day) but in the application or compoſition of ſuch repreſentations whileſt they dream : This commonly is as imperfect or monſtrous, as if one ſhould be able to name his Letters right, but not able to ſpell or make a ſyllable otherwiſe then by rote or gueſs; or apt to put thoſe ſyllables ill-favouredly together, which he had ſeverally ſpelled not much amiſs.

Like to mens apprehenſions of theſe *Dreams* were moſt ſpeculations of the Heathens concerning the truth, or manner of a *final Judgment*, or *future Reſurrection*; whoſe indefinite *Notions* Nature had implanted in their hearts. So vain and idle they were for the moſt part in their Collections or applications of what they conceived, that no more credence was to be given unto their particular ſpeculations or doctrine, then unto a ſick mans apprehenſions of his preſent *Dream*. But however many of them did write and ſpeak of a future *Judgment*, more out of Art and imitation of others, then out of any ſolid Experiments; yet was it not poſſible that the wits of all or moſt of them, of the Antients eſpecially, ſhould have been ſet a working in this Argument, without ſome undoubted and experienced impulſions of nature ſeeking to lead or drive them upon that Truth, which we Chriſtians are expreſly taught by a *Better Maſter* then Nature.

A Diſcourſe about dreams.

12. Other *Dreams* there be, which are reputed *natural*, whoſe obſervation is very uſeful; becauſe they have real Cauſes in nature, and alwayes exhibit either a true *Criſis* or notice of mens preſent eſtate of body, or ſome right *Prognoſticks* of ſome diſeaſe growing upon them, whoſe original or progreſs is to their waking thoughts unſenſible or unapprehended, Howbeit, the right interpretation or ſignification of ſuch ſuggeſtions or intimations, as nature gives to men in *Dreams*, is uſually unknown, or much miſtaken for the preſent, by the parties, to whom they are immediately made by nature; They muſt be expounded or Judged of by the *Phyſician*, or *Philoſopher*. Some men, no way diſtempered or diſquieted in thought, have *dreamed*, that ſome part of their Legs or Arms have been turned into a ſtone, or into an Icie ſubſtance. The apprehenſion or compoſition was vain and falſe; yet not without a true and obſervable *Cauſe*. The *Phyſician* did by the relation of the circumſtances perceive (as the Event did prove) a cold humor beginning to ſettle in that part of the body, whoſe transformation was repreſented in the *Dream*; and gather'd withall, that the humor not thence removed would breed a numneſs or oppreſſion of the nerves in that part. Others oft times *dream* (not from any thoughts or diſcourſes to that purpoſe)

poſe) that they are flying in the air, or can jump from one place to another, further diſtant then any man can conceive it poſſible for himſelf, or other terreſtrial creatures to leap or ſkip. The *Philoſopher or Phyſician* knows this, or the like repreſentation made in ſleep, not occaſioned from any late waking thoughts, to be a token of a clean ſtomack, of pure blood, or lively ſpirits. Others, I have heard of, in the midſt of their quiet ſleep, have ſuddenly cryed out as if they had been ſtabbed under the ribs. Themſelves after they awaked, and ſuch as heard them before they were awakt, knew the conceit or apprehenſion to be altogether falſe, yet not vain or idle *in reſpect of the Cauſe* or obſervation. The ſkilful Phyſician, from this their miſ-apprehenſion, rightly apprehended a ſalt humor violently diſtilling upon the lungs, ready to breed a dangerous Conſumption, whoſe removal would have been more difficult, had not Nature given this imperfect advice or forewarning for the ſpeedy prevention of it: This ſecret advice, or forewarning of Nature, was ſo much the more to be credited, becauſe no occaſion of any quarrel, no thought or diſcourſe tending to the repreſentation of any ſuch fear, had preſented it ſelf to the waking thoughts of the party thus dreaming for a long time before: Every real occaſion of joy or fear, the very leaſt annoyance or pleaſance, that can befall our bodies in night-ſleep or ſlumber (as the *Philoſopher* long ago obſerved) is apt to miſ inform our *Common ſenſe* (or Judicative faculty) being now ſurpriſed by ſleep, with repreſentations or conceipts of the greateſt delight or fear that is of the ſame kind with that which is really repreſented; as if a drop of ſweet flegm do diſtill upon the ſwallowing place, it raiſeth an apprehenſion of honey, or other ſweat meat, to which the taſt of the party thus dreaming hath been accuſtomed; and from this Original, hungry men in their ſleep feed their Phantaſies with apprehenſion of pleaſant Banquets. Abundance of choler oft times raiſeth an apprehenſion of ſome great fire: And nothing more common then for men, troubled with flux of Rheum from the brain, to dream of drowning, or danger by floods or water: The leaſt oppreſſion of the motive faculty, will occaſion the *Ephialtes* or *Gigas*, that affection which we commonly call *The Mare.* In all theſe and the like affections, *Nature doth her part*, however *the Parties* to whom he ſecretly ſuggeſts theſe ſigns or tokens of their bodily eſtate or conſtitution, do for the moſt part groſly erre in their conſtructions of them, until they be rectified or better inſtructed by the *Phyſician* or *Philoſopher*, who only know the natural cauſes of ſuch repreſentations by ſleep, which is as a falſe glaſs, wherein every thing appears much greater to the Phantaſie, then in nature it is, or would appear to our vigilant ſenſes.

13. In like manner the beſt apprehenſions or collections which the Heathens made of thoſe Real *Notions*, which are by nature implanted (of a *Final Judgment*) were erroneous; their Doctrinal ſpeculations or expreſſions, were no better then an ignorant mans apprehenſion of his natural *Dreams*; howbeit, even the ſpeculations of ſuch Heathens, as did moſt erre in particular, do miniſter much matter of true and uſeful Contemplation unto the *Chriſtian Divine*, part of whoſe office it is, or ſhould be, to ſearch the original of others errors, whoſe rectification muſt be made by the *Scripture*, which is the Rule of Life; without whoſe Aphoriſms or directions, the apprehenſion of natural Notions or Suggeſtions (even when they work moſt ſtrongly) would lead or puſh *the Phyſicians of ſouls themſelves* into Hereſie.

Though *Heathen Notions* were like *Dreams*; Chriſtian Divines may ſee *realities* of *Truth* in them.

Touching *Epicurus*. See *Book* 10.

Of all the Sects of *Heathen Philoſophers* the Sect of *Epicures* did ſeek moſt earneſtly to exempt themſelves from the *Juriſdiction*, and their actions from the Cognizance of *A divine Providence*; yet could they not ſo dead the working of the *Notion of it* in themſelves, or hood-wink their own underſtandings ſo cloſe, as not to apprehend or obſerve the working of it in others. *Epicurus* himſelf, albeit he placed felicity in the moderate pleaſures of this life (though not in bodily pleaſures onely, for he was not ſo groſs as to exclude the delights or pleaſures of the ſoul or mind, but rather required a competency of bodily pleaſures for the fruition of this delight:) yet, however he failed in his apprehenſions of felicity; or in his application of thoſe good Leſſons, which Nature did ſuggeſt unto him, he found himſelf tyed by bond of Conſcience to obſerve the *Law of Nature:* The *Original* of his poſitive error, was an ignorance or blindneſs common to him and moſt Heathen in ſome degree or other, in not being able to diſcern the *corruption of nature* from *Nature her ſelf*; or to diſtinguiſh between the ſuggeſtions or intimations of *Nature*, as it ſometimes *was*, and univerſally might have continued; and the particular ſuggeſtions or longings of *Nature, as it was corrupted* or tainted in himſelf or others, more or leſs in all. It was a Principle of his Doctrine, as *Seneca* tells us, *That Nature* (which he profeſt to follow as his guide) *did abhor all vice or wickedneſs:* It ſeems, he held thoſe courſes or habits of life only vicious, which we *Chriſtians* account natural or prodigious vices; as Tyranny, Cruelty, or exceſſive Luxury. And *ſuch vices as theſe*, the moſt Heathens (whom corruption of Nature did lead blindfold into many grievous ſins, and caſt ſuch a miſt before their eyes, as made unlawful pleaſures appear unto them as parts of true happineſs) did by the light of Nature deteſt, as contrary to the unapprehended Remnants or Reliques of Gods Image yet inherent in them, though mingled with Corruption, or much defaced with the Image of Satan.

How *Epicurus* did collect, *That nature deteſted Vice.*

See the conference betwixt *Dionyſius* and *Damocles*, *Tull. Tuſcul. Lib.* 5. And *Philip Comines* of *Lewis* the eleventh.

See *Wiſdom* 17. *ver.* 11. See *Juvenal. Sat.* 13.

But from what *Grounds of Nature* or Experiments did this Author or firſt Founder of the Sect of *Epicures* collect, that Nature did deteſt all wickedneſs: Thus he did reaſon and collect: *Quia ſceleratis etiam inter tuta timor eſt: Becauſe he ſaw ſuch as had polluted their Conſciences with wicked and prodigious practiſes, to live in fear, even whileſt they ſeemed to have ſafety her ſelf for their guard againſt all external Occurrences, whoſe probable aſſaults or annoyances, humane Policy could poſſibly forecaſt.* And none more ſubject to this *ſlaviſh fear*, which their Conſciences did inwardly ſuggeſt, then ſuch as for their greatneſs and confidence in Tyranny and Cruelty were moſt terrible to others. What was it then, which theſe men did ſo much fear? No other men, nor any revenge that man could attempt upon them: What then? *The company of themſelves, or ſolitary conference with their own Conſciences:* Yet no mans conſcience can make his heart afraid, unleſs the conſcience it ſelf be firſt affrighted: What is it then which the conſciences of ſupream earthly Judges, or Monarchs abſolute by right of Conqueſt, can ſo much fear in the height of their temporal ſecurity? The *Cenſure* (doubtleſs) *or check of ſome ſuperior Judge:* If this fear had been vain, or but a ſpeculative Phanſie, it could not have been *univerſal* or general in all or moſt wicked men, ſpecially in ſuch as were by nature terrible and ſtout, and wary withall to prevent all probabilities of danger from men. Yet was this *check of Conſcience*, or this unknown *Doom* or Cenſure (which Conſcience, whileſt it checkt the hearts of wicked men, did ſo much fear) ſo univerſal and conſtant, that *Epicurus*, a man of no ſcrupulous Conſcience, did obſerve it to be implanted by nature in all; and upon this obſervation did ground his former general Principle, *That nature her ſelf did abhor or deteſt wickedneſs:* The ſuggeſtion then or intimation of a future *Judgment* was natural; but the apprehenſion or conſtruction which *Epicurus* made of theſe ſuggeſtions, was but ſuch as ordinary men make of repreſentations in natural *Dreams*, before they be throughly awaked, or before they conſult the *Philoſopher* or *Phyſician*. The *Chriſtian Truth*, which nature in theſe Heathens (being in reſpect of any ſupernatural uſe or end of her own ſuggeſtions, altogether dumb) did ſeek by theſe ſigns or intimations to expreſs, was *that Leſſon* which the *Author of nature*, and great *Phyſician of our ſouls* hath expreſly taught us, *Fear not them, which after they have killed the body, can do no more; but fear him who is able to caſt both body and ſoul into Hell fire; yea, I ſay unto you, fear him*, Matth. 10.28. Luke 12. 4.

14. As the wicked amongſt the Heathens could not by any earthly Guard or greatneſs, exempt themſelves from that *Dread and Fear*, which their corrupt Conſciences did internally ſuggeſt: So that *confident Boldneſs*, which the integrity of conſcience doth naturally ſuggeſt unto every man in his laudable actions, was ſometimes repreſented by the more civil and ſober ſort of Heathens, after a manner more magnificent, and in a meaſure more ample, then it uſually is by moſt *Chriſtians:* Their expreſſions or conceipts of ſuch confidence, as integrity of conſcience doth arm men withal, did as far exceed our ordinary apprehenſions of it, as the repreſentations of natural Cauſes working within us, which are made unto us in ſleep or dreams, do our waking apprehenſions of the like workings or ſuggeſtions of nature. *Si Fractus illabatur orbis*, (ſaith *Horace*, a profeſt Diſciple of *Epicurus*, Carm. Lib. 3 Ode. 3.) *impavidum ferient ruinæ: Albeit the Heavens ſhould rend aſſunder above his head, and this inferior world break in pieces about his ears, yet a man of an intire and ſound conſcience would ſtand unmoved, unaffrighted, like a pillar of braſs or marble, when the roof which it ſupporteth were blown away or fallen from it:* This Hyperbolical expreſſion of that *Confidence*, which integrity of Conſcience in ſome meaſure alwayes affords, was in this Heathen (if he had been put upon the tryal) but as the repreſentation of a mans bodily eſtate made in a *Dream*, whoſe true cauſe is unknown unto the Dreamer. As in men that dream, ſo in this *Heathen Poet*, the apprehenſion of that which Nature did truly and really ſuggeſt, is moſt full and lively; but full and lively in *both*, without Judgment, without true uſe or right application: That *Confidence* then is the *companion of a good Conſcience*, is a truth implanted by Nature, and freely acknowledged by the oppugners *of Divine Providence*. But *from what original* or fountain this truth ſhould iſſue, or *to what comfortable Uſe* it might ſerve, were points which Nature could not diſtinctly teach; or points at leaſt, which the meer natural man without help of Scriptures, or inſtructions from thoſe Heavenly *Phyſicians* of the ſoul, whom God hath appointed Interpreters of this Book of life, could not learn: *But we Chriſtians know and believe, that when the Heavens ſhall be gathered as a Scroul, when the Elements ſhall melt with heat, and when the earth ſhall be removed out of his place; that even in the midſt of theſe terrible ſpectacles,* ſuch as have their Conſciences purified by Faith, *ſhall lift up their heads for joy, as knowing theſe and the like to be undoubted* Prognoſticks *or forerunning ſigns of their* Redemption drawing nigh *unto them* A *Criſis* (rather a kind of Firſt-fruits) of this *Holy Confidence*, was moſt remarkably

See *Horace Epiſt. Lib.* 1. *Epiſt.* 1. —*Hic murus aheneus eſto, Nil conſcire ſibi*—

*Pſalm.*3.6.and 23.4. and 27. 1. and 46.1. *Prov.*28. 1. *Wiſd* 5. 1.

atteſted to have been in the Primitive Chriſtians. So *Antoninus* the Emperor (as in our 1.*Book*, *chap.* 24. out of *Euſebius* his 4. *Book* of *Hiſt. Eccleſ. chap.* 13. we did obſerve) did report of *Them* to the *Aſiaticks*, who ſlandered and perſecuted *them : Take notice, ſaith he, of the late and daily Earthquakes, compare our eſtate with theirs ; They* (he means Chriſtians) *have more confidence to God ward then you have.*

15. This was *The ſolid Truth*, whoſe liveleſs Lineaments, or obſcure Picture, nature had drawn unto the Heathen in the former indefinite *Notions* or Suggeſtions : *The beſt fruits of a good conſcience, the principal end why we are to ſtudy and labor for the preſervation of our Conſciences void of offence towards God and man, throughout the whole courſe of our life, is, that we may be enabled in that laſt day to ſtand without horror or confuſion before the Son of Man.* As peace of conſcience breedeth confidence ; ſo *the onely Fountain whence this peace of conſcience can iſſue, muſt be our reconciliation to that ſupreme Judge*, whoſe doom or Cenſure the Conſciences of meer natural men, implicitly or by inſtinct of Nature dread ; albeit they cannot apprehend the expreſs manner of the Judgment to come, or who it is that ſhall be Judge : Both theſe, and all like points which are neceſſary unto true Chriſtian Faith, muſt be learned out of the Book of Life.

Thus much of the *Firſt General*, viz. Heathen Notions of a Judgment to come, *&c.* we proceed to the *ſecond*, according to the method propoſed in the ninth Chapter.

CHAP. XI.

By what authority of Scripture the Exerciſe of *this* Final Judgment *is appropriated* unto our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

That there was to be a *Judgment*, was known to the *original world*

1. THat there was to be a *Judgment general to all*, but moſt terrible to the wicked and ungodly, was a *Truth* revealed before any part of the *ſacred Books* now extant were written : But if it be a Revelation more ancient then the written *Canon*, what warrant can we have to believe it beſides *Tradition ?* Is then *Tradition* a ſufficient warrant for us to believe unwritten verities, or Revelations made to Gods Saints for many thouſand years ago? It is not, unleſs the *Tradition* be expreſly avouched by ſome *Canonical Writer* ; But then *it*, or rather *the Vouchers* authority concerning the truth of the *Tradition*, is to be believed : So that our Belief in this Point, muſt be reſolved into a *written verity*, or a parcel of *Canonical Scripture.*

It was foretold by *Enoch.*

The Revelation concerning the final *Judgment*, whereof we now ſpeak, was made to *Enoch* before the Flood : The Avoucher of this Revelation is St. *Jude, ver.* 14,15. *And* Enoch *alſo the ſeventh from* Adam, *propheſied of theſe, ſaying, Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thouſand of his Saints ; To execute Judgment upon all, and to convince all that are ungodly among them, of all their ungodly deeds, which they have ungodly committed, and of all their hard ſpeeches, which ungodly ſinners have ſpoken againſt him :* Beſides the authority of St. *Jude*, which makes this *Tradition* to be no more a meer *Tradition* , but *Canonical Scripture* ; we have other more *ſpecial grounds* to believe that *Enoch* did thus Propheſie, then we have to believe any other pretended Revelations, which are not contained in Scripture.

The truth and certainty of this Judgment denounced by *Enoch* was ſo publickly and notoriouſly known , that the Hebrew Church before our *Saviours* incarnation, did begin the *Writ or Inſtrument of their Great and terrible Excommunication* with the firſt words of *Enochs* Propheſie, *Dominus veniet*, the Lord ſhall come. As if they meant to bind the party whom they excommunicated (beſides all other puniſhments or infamies) over to *this Grand Aſſize.* But is there in this Propheſie any particular character of Chriſt? Any pregnant intimation that this *Great Judge* of the world ſhould be the *Second Perſon in the Trinity*, rather then *The Firſt?* In the words themſelves there is *no peculiar Character of Chriſt*, ſave only in *The Title* LORD; which (as we ſaid before) *is peculiar to Chriſt*; *whether it be in the Original expreſt by the word* Jehovah, *or* Adonai; *whenſoever Judgment, or viſible exerciſe of Juriſdiction Regal, is the ſubject or matter of the prophetical diſcourſe*, as in this Propheſie of *Enoch* it is. Beſides this *Character* in the words of the Propheſie, the Prophet himſelf, *Enoch*, was a lively Type of Chriſt the great Prophet, in the very ground of his Title to *Lordſhip* and *Juriſdiction.* Enoch *was tranſlated that he ſhould not ſee death*; *but before his tranſlation had this teſtimony, that he* Pleaſed God; *Hebr.* 11.5. Before his Tranſlation he denounced this *Wo* or Curſe againſt all, that continue in ungodlineſs, fore-warning the world withall, that the *Lord himſelf*, whoſe Embaſſador he was, ſhould come to put his Embaſſage in execution. *The congruity of the Fact or Type with the Body fore ſhadowed implies, that this Propheſie was then to be fulfilled, after the Prince of Prophets had been tranſlated, as* Enoch *was from earth* (but in an higher degree then *Enoch* was) *into heaven it ſelf.* And albeit before his tranſlation he had a more ample Teſtimony then *Enoch* had (*this is my Beloved Son in whom I am well pleaſed*) yet was he not made *Lord, and King, and Judge*, till after his Reſurrection and Tranſlation. From *that time*, the Angels and Principalities, and Powers, even all the Hoaſt of Heaven intimated by *Enoch*, became (by that Title) ſubject unto him. That *Chriſt* is that very *Lord*, againſt whom thoſe ungodly men whom *Enoch* mentions, did ſpeak ſuch bitter words; our *Apoſtle St. Paul*, though obſcurely, yet *fully* implies, in the concluſion of his firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, *chap.* 16.22. *If any man love not the Lord Jeſus, let him be* Anathema μαρὰν ἀθὰ, that is, Let him be accurſed or excommunicated with that *Great and terrible Excommunication* μαρὰν ἀθὰ; that is, *the Lord ſhall come*; for ſo they call their *Excommunication*, as we do *Writs*, by the firſt words of the Writ or Inſtrument; and theſe were the firſt words of *Enochs* Propheſie; *Veniet Dominus, The Lord ſhall come.* The full meaning or implication of the *Apoſtle* is; That *whoſoever doth not love the Lord Jeſus, ſhall be liable to all the Judgments or Woes denounced by* Enoch *againſt the hard ſpeeches of ungodly Sinners, which they have ſpoken againſt their Lord and Judge.*

See Book 10. Chap. 38. num. 11.

Enoch a lively Type of Chriſt.

2. That God is Judge of all the Earth, that there ſhall be a *final Judgment* generally awarded to all the Inhabitants of the Earth by God himſelf; the places of the old Teſtament are infinite. I ſhall only touch the principal or more pregnant teſtimonies to this purpoſe. To begin with the Firſt. *Gen.* 18.22. *When the men turned their faces from thence, and went towards* Sodom, Abraham *ſtood yet before* The Lord, *and drawing neer, he ſaid*; *wilt thou alſo deſtroy the righteous with the wicked? ver.* 23. And again, *ver.* 25. *To ſlay the righteous with the wicked, and, that the righteous ſhould be as the wicked, that be far from thee*; *Shall not* The Judge of all the Earth *do right?* Thus he ſpake in the caſe of *Sodom*, whoſe Judgment this Lord and Judge of all the earth was then ready to put in execution. Now this Judgment of *Sodom* was but as a Private and Particular Seſſions to give the world an undoubted

Teſtimonies of the Old Teſtament, That *God*, That *Chriſt* ſhall be *Judge* pledge of that General and Terrible Judgment, which muſt be given upon all ſuch as they were, by the ſame Lord's viſible appearance, before whom *Abraham* did now appear as Advocate or Interceſſor for theſe men of *Sodom*. So St. *Jude* inſtructs us, ver. 6,7. *And the Angels which kept not their firſt eſtate, but left their own habitation, he hath reſerved in everlaſting chains under darkneſs unto the Judgment of the great day. Even as* Sodom *and* Gomorrah *and the Cities about them, in like manner, giving themſelves over to fornication, and going after ſtrange fleſh, are ſet forth for an example, ſuffering the vengeance of eternal fire.* There were Three in number which then appeared unto *Abraham* under the ſhape and likeneſs of men; yet to his apprehenſion more then Men, Angels of the Lord, or the Lord Himſelf in a Trinity of Angels repreſenting the Bleſſed Trinity; in which, as *Athanaſius* tells us, there are *not three Lords, but one Lord*; Yet, though there be but *one Lord Jehovah*, and though the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt be This One Lord; yet (as we ſaid, Chap.6,7.) The Son of God is *Adonai* or κύριος, *The Lord or Judge by peculiar Title*; and by ſuch perſonal Right, as God the Father, and God the Holy Ghoſt is not Lord and Judge: And for this reaſon, albeit there were Three that appeared to *Abraham*, yet *Abraham* directs his ſpeech unto *One*, as unto his *Lord*; and this *Lord* did vouchſafe his anſwer unto *Abraham* after the men which appeared unto him turned their faces thence, and went towards *Sodom*.

See Book 7. Chap.36.

Other Teſtimonies to this purpoſe are moſt frequent in the book of *Pſalms*, *Pſal.* 50. 1, 2, 3. *The mighty God, even the Lord, hath ſpoken, and called the Earth from the riſing of the Sun unto the going down of the ſame. Out of* Sion *the perfection of beauty God hath ſhined. Our God ſhall come, and ſhall not keep ſilence: a fire ſhall devour before him, and it ſhall be very tempeſtuous round about him.* And ver. 6. *And the heavens ſhall declare his righteouſneſs, for God is Judge himſelf.* Pſal. 93. 1, 2. *The Lord reigneth, he is clothed with Majeſty, the Lord is clothed with ſtrength, wherewith he hath girded himſelf: The world alſo is eſtabliſhed, that it cannot be moved. Thy Throne is eſtabliſhed of old, thou art from everlaſting.* Every Throne or Tribunal is eſtabliſhed for execution of Judgment: But this Throne, though eſtabliſhed of old or from Eternity, yet was not the Judgment, for which this Throne was eſtabliſhed, executed from eternity, or ſo executed at any time before the Date of this Pſalm, as the *Pſalmiſt* expected in due time, or at the end of time it would be. And the Author of the next Pſalm (whether the ſame or ſome other) conceives a ſolemn prayer for the ſpeedy execution of that Judgment, which was to proceed from the former *Throne*, which had been eſtabliſhed from everlaſting, and to be executed by that God, to whoſe honor the former Pſalm was conſecrated. *O Lord God* (ſaith the Pſalmiſt, *Pſal.* 94. 1, 2, 3, 4.) *to whom vengeance belongeth, O God, to whom vengeance belongeth, ſhew thy ſelf; lift up thy ſelf, thou Judge of the Earth; render a reward to the proud. Lord, how long ſhall the wicked, how long ſhall the wicked triumph? how long ſhall they utter and ſpeak hard things? and all the workers of iniquity boaſt themſelves?* To omit other teſtimonies to the like purpoſe; This one Obſervation is general to all; *As the* Meſſias, *who was firſt promiſed, and but Promiſed only, to* Adam, *was afterwards Promiſed by Oath to* Abraham, *and to* David, *and by them to all mankind; So this future general Judgment, which was firſt revealed, for ought we read, to* Enoch, *afterwards known to* Abraham, *and to* David, *and to the* Pſalmiſts (*were they one or more*) *was afterwards confirmed by the Oath of God himſelf unto the Prophet Eſay, Cap.* 45.

It was revealed by degrees, That Chriſt ſhould be Judge.

45. *ver.* 22, 23. *Look unto me, and be ye ſaved, all ye ends of the earth; for I am God, and there is none elſe. I have ſworn by my ſelf, the word is gone out of my mouth in righteouſneſs, and ſhall not return; that unto me every knee ſhall bow, every tongue ſhall ſwear.*

3. All theſe Teſtimonies are Concludent, that God is Judge of all the earth, and that there ſhall be A final Judgment executed by God himſelf. But the Point wherein the Reader (as I ſuppoſe) expects ſatisfaction, is, From what authentick Teſtimony of Scripture it is, or may be made as clear and evident, that *This final Judgment ſhall be perſonally executed by the Son of God, or by the Man Chriſt Jeſus.* As much as to this purpoſe can be required is avouched by our Apoſtle St. *Paul*, *Rom.* 14. 11. *It is written; as I live (ſaith the Lord) Every knee ſhall bow to me, and every tongue ſhall confeſs to God.* The written Teſtimony which he avoucheth, is That before laſt cited, *Eſay* 45. 23. And from this Teſtimony he infers theſe Two Concluſions, the Former, ver. 10. (which is the ſame with 2 *Cor.* 5. 10.) *We ſhall all ſtand before the Judgment ſeat of Chriſt*; The Later, ver. 12. *So then every one of us ſhall give an account of himſelf to God.* The Iſſue or Corollary of both Concluſions is, That *Jeſus Chriſt is that Lord and God, which had interpoſed his Oath unto the Prophet* Eſay, *that every knee ſhould bow unto him.* This Iſſue of both Concluſions, Rom. 14. is more fully expreſt, *Phil.* 2. 9, 10, 11. *Wherefore God alſo hath highly exalted him, and given him a Name, which is above every name, that at the name of* JESUS *every knee ſhould bow, of things in heaven, and things on the earth, and things under the earth: and that every tongue ſhould confeſs that Jeſus Chriſt is Lord to the glory of God the Father.*

Two *Concluſions*, one *Corollary.*

But for more full ſatisfaction, ſome here may juſtly Demand: *Whether* St. Paul *did make this interpretation of the Prophet* Eſay *by ſome new Revelation of the Spirit made in particular to him, unknown to moſt others before that time? Or whether the interpretation of the Prophet* Eſay, *and of other like prophecies which he made, were literally and really included in the prophecies themſelves, and ratified by the General Analogy of Faith, or by the Common Rule of interpretation in thoſe times ſufficiently known to the learned, whoſe eyes were not blinded with paſſion, nor prejudiced with partiality to their own Sects or Factions?*

To this we Anſwer, that St. *Paul's* Interpretation of the Prophet was really included in the literal ſenſe of the Prophecy, and the literal ſenſe or conſtruction, which he made of the fore-cited paſſage in the Prophet *Eſay*, and other Prophets, was warrantable by the Common Rule of Interpretation ſufficiently known in thoſe times.

The Rule is General; *That all thoſe places of the old Teſtament, which intimate either a new manner of Gods governing the world, or a beginning of his reign over all Nations, or of being made Lord and King, or of ariſing to Judge the earth, muſt be meant of God incarnate, that is, of the Son of God begotten before all worlds, and begotten again from the dead.* For as the Son of God by his death and reſurrection became our Lord by a peculiar Title; So he was from the ground of the ſame *Title* appointed Judge of quick and dead by a peculiar and perſonal right. This is more often and more Emphatically intimated by our Saviour Chriſt, and by his Apoſtles, then obſerved by many of their profeſt Interpreters. Firſt by St. *Peter*, Acts 10. 40, 41, 42. *Him God raiſed up the third day, and ſhewed him openly, not unto all the people, but unto witneſſes choſen before of God, even to us, who did eat and drink with him after he roſe from the dead. And he commanded*

An uſeful *General Rule.*

manded us to preach to the people, and to teſtifie, that it is he, which was ordained of God to be the Judge of the quick and the dead. And again by St. *Paul,* Acts 17. 30, 31. *And the times of this ignorance God winked at, but now commandeth all men every where to repent: becauſe he hath appointed a day, in the which he will Judge the world in righteouſneſs, by that man, whom he hath ordained; whereof he hath given aſſurance unto all men in that he hath raiſed him from the dead.* But more fully by the ſame St. *Paul,* Rom. 14. 9. *To this end Chriſt both died, and roſe, and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living.* In this Collection from the Prophet *Eſay* he ſaith no more, then our Saviour hath done, *John* 5. 21, 22. *For as the Father raiſeth up the dead, and quickeneth them, even ſo the Son quickeneth whom he will For the Father Judgeth no man, but hath committed all Judgment unto the Son.*

Chriſts Anſwers to the Jews were but Comments upon the Prophets.

4. But the Former Queſtion ſtill revolves upon the ſame Center that it did before. The Point or Center is This; *Whether St.* Peter, *or St.* Paul, *or whether our Saviour himſelf did deliver the doctrine fore cited from that authority only, which was delegated to them from God, within that compaſs of time, wherein they did converſe with men here on earth? or whether the doctrine, which they then delivered, were fully ratified by Divine Authority revealed and written before? To this we Anſwer, that our Saviour Himſelf in all his Anſwers to the* Jews *did but Comment upon, or expound thoſe Texts of holy Scripture, which he had put into his Prophets mouthes long before he himſelf had ſpoken with the mouth of man.* One of the moſt pregnant Texts of the Old Teſtament is *Pſal.* 82. 1, 2. *God ſtandeth in the congregation of the mighty, he judgeth among the Gods: How long will ye Judge unjuſtly, and accept the perſons of the wicked? I have ſaid ye are Gods; and all of you are children of the moſt High; but ye ſhall die like men, and fall like one of the Princes: that is, like any Princes amongſt the Heathen:* And dying and falling thus, they could not expect that they were to riſe again to Judge others, but rather to be Judged by God himſelf, or by him that was the *Son of the moſt High in another manner then they were:* who though he were to die as man, yet did he not ceaſe to be the Son of God by his death: Yea, He was declared to be The only Son of God with Power, by His Reſurrection from the Dead. And out of this hope of his future reſurrection, the Pſalmiſt for Concluſion, being as it ſeems oppreſt with corruption of Judgment, appeals unto the ſupreme Judge as well of the dead as of the living. *Ariſe, O God, Judge the earth, for thou ſhalt inherit all Nations,* ver. 8. He doth not ſay, Thou *doſt* inherit all Nations, or thou *art already* ſet in Judgment; but *ariſe O God to Judge the earth, for thou ſhalt inherit all Nations. So that the ground or Title of his univerſal Juriſdiction or Judicature is his Inheritance of all Nations, and his Title of Inheritance over all Nations bears date, or began to be* in Eſſe *from the day of his Reſurrection;* as you heard before out of St. *Paul, Rom.* 14. And was before him expreſly foretold by the Prophet *David, Pſal.* 2. 7, 8, 9. *I will declare the Decree; the Lord hath ſaid unto me, Thou art my Son; This day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermoſt parts of the earth for thy poſſeſſion, Thou ſhalt break them with a rod of Iron; thou ſhalt daſh them in pieces like a potters veſſel.* This Decree was executed, this promiſe performed, when, All Power in Heaven and Earth was given unto Chriſt: *Matth.* 28. 18.

5. To omit all further variety of Teſtimonies; No other Article in

our Creed is, or can be ſo authentickly teſtified, as This One Article of Chriſts coming to Judgment is. Beſides that it was expreſly and diſtinctly foretold by the Prophets, and the fulfilling of their propheſies expreſly avouched by the Evangeliſts and the Apoſtles, the Truth of it was in ſpecial manner ſealed by the blood of this Great Judge himſelf. The only matter of death, which the malicious wit of his enemies could invent or pretend againſt him, was from his voluntary Confeſſion of this Article, in the ſame Form or Terms wherein we profeſs our Belief of it. For, as you may read *Matth.* 26.59. After the High-Prieſt and Elders had found, that the Witneſſes ſuborned againſt him did not agree in their teſtimonies, or elſe (which is more probable) that their teſtimonies, though well agreeing, did not amount to any matter Capital: the High-Prieſt ſeeks to intangle him in his own Anſwers to This Interrogatory: ***I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou be The Chriſt, the Son of God***, ver. 63. Our Saviour confeſſeth the Article or Interrogatory; For ſo much is anſwered, at leaſt in the next words, ***Thou haſt ſaid it, Nevertheleſs I ſay unto you, Hereafter ſhall you ſee the Son of Man ſitting on the right hand of Power, and coming in the Clouds of Heaven.***

A main Branch of *That Good Confeſſion*, which Chriſt witneſſed, was, *His Title to be Judge.*

This Adverſative Particle [*Nevertheleſs*] hath much troubled ſome Interpreters; and ſome, to eaſe themſelves of further trouble, would have it be no Adverſative, but an Affirmative: As to their apprehenſions the *Hebrew Ac* (whereof the *Greek* πλὴν in this place is the expreſſion) in many places of the Old Teſtament, is an Affirmative, no Adverſative Particle.

The Adverſative Particle *Nevertheleſs*.

But it were eaſie to ſhew them wherein their Obſervations fail. The difficulty of the Conſtruction in this place may be Two wayes ſalved; either 1. by filling up this *Hiatus* or chink in St. *Matthew*, with the words of our Saviours anſwer, which St. *Luke* relates: Or 2. by borrowing this Adverſative Particle from St. *Matthew*, and adding it unto St. *Luke*'s Relation.

Unto the former Queſtion; ***Art thou the Chriſt?*** Our Saviour in the morning anſwered, ***If I tell you, you will not believe***, Luke 22.67 And it is probable our Saviours words related by St. *Matthew*; ***thou ſayeſt it***, include as much, as if he had ſaid; ***Thy Conſcience tells thee, though thou wilt not hearken to it, nor believe it, that I am Chriſt the Son of God; but howſoever you will not now believe it, nevertheleſs hereafter you ſhall be inforced to acknowledge it. Hereafter ſhall ye ſee the Son of man ſitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the Clouds of Heaven. Then the High-Prieſt rent his clothes, ſaying; he hath ſpoken blaſphemy; what further need have we of witneſſes?*** Indeed if the matter which he confeſſed had been truly Capital, his own confeſſion, being made before a competent Judge, had been a ſufficient and full conviction without any further witneſs. But there was nothing in his Anſwer which, according to theſe High-Prieſts Rules or Principles, could bear ſo much as the leaſt colour or appearance of any Crime, much leſs of Blaſphemy; unleſs their hearts had been infected with malice againſt his Perſon.

They now condemn him of Blaſphemy in their own Court, And yet immediately after they accuſe him of Treaſon in the *Roman* Court, for ſaying he was the ***King of the Jews:*** Their accuſation in both was ſo groſly malicious, that it did plainly reverberate or reflect upon themſelves; For if to be ***King of the Jews*** were Treaſon againſt the *Roman* State, then the High-Prieſts and Elders with all their complices were traytors; becauſe they expected their ***Meſſias*** to be a temporal

The blaſphemous and treacherous Jews condemn Chriſt of Treaſon and Blaſphemy.

King, greater then *Cæſar.* But ſuch is their malice againſt *Jeſus of Nazareth*, that rather then he ſhould be acknowledged for their *Meſſias*, they would make their *Meſſias* a traytor, and their own doctrine concerning him to be treaſon. Rather then they will acknowledge *Jeſus of Nazareth* to be the Son of God, or the *Son of man, appointed to be the Judge of quick and dead*, they will make their *Meſſias* to be a Blaſphemer , and the Prophets doctrine concerning his Perſonal Office to be blaſphemy : for if the vail of malice hadbeen removed from their hearts, or if they had not looked upon our *Saviours Anſwer* through it, there is no branch or part of this Anſwer, which was not diſtinctly and expreſly foretold by the Prophets. As, *That their expected Meſſias ſhould be both the Son of God, and the Son of Man, and the Judge of all the earth*; Firſt, *David* had ſaid of their *Meſſias*; *Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footſtool, Pſal.* 110.1. Here was the Seat of his Judgment prepared at the right hand of Power. His Coming likewiſe in the clouds as *the Son of Man to the Antient of dayes* to receive this Power and Juriſdiction is expreſly foretold by *Daniel*, Chap. 7. ver. 13. And was it not now full time that God, as the *Pſalmiſt* before had prayed, *Pſal.* 82. 8. ſhould *ariſe to Judge the earth*, when as malice had ſo far perverted the Judgment of the children of God, of *Moſes* and *Aarons* Succeſſors, that they had adjudged the *Son of God* to death for avouching himſelf to be the *Judge of the quick and the dead.*

The Application.

6. The Particular Duties, whereunto the Belief of this Article doth unpartially bind all, may be preſt upon the ſoul of the Reader with better opportunity, when we come unto the later *General branches* propoſed; *viz.* the Proceſs or Sentence. The moſt general fruit which this Second Branch affords , is Comfort in oppreſſion, or when Judgment either publickly, or in our own particular is perverted.

So God took away the Author of this Book ſome 16. or 17. years ago.

Tully, that famous Orator and great States-man , ſeeing his Country laws and priviledges overthrown, and his Country brought into Slavery by *Auguſtus*, writes unto the Emperor, that he for his part would leave this world, and prefer a complaint againſt him unto the *Decii* and *Curii*, Antient Romans which had laid down their lives for the Liberty of their Country long before. Thus to deſire rather to die, then to behold the evil, which was likely to befall that goodly and flouriſhing Common-weal, was not amiſs, not (in it ſelf) *unchriſtian.* For ſo God in mercy takes away good and merciful men before he begins to execute his ſevere and publick Judgments upon any Land , leſt they ſhould ſee the evil to come. And out of the ſtrength of this good deſire perhaps it was, that *Tully*, albeit he had been noted for timorouſneſs in his proſperity, did entertain a violent death with manly and Chriſtian-like Courage. But alaſs, what a miſerable comfort was it , which he could hope for from *Decius* or *Curius*, or from any of his deceaſed Predeceſſors, whom he knew not where, or in what eſtate to find? With what conſtancy and patience would this man have maintained a juſt Cauſe, ſpecially his Countries right, whether by living or dying, if his heart had been fraught with belief or hopes of finding *ſo wiſe, ſo gracious, ſo upright and powerful a Judge, as we acknowledge Chriſt Jeſus the Son of God to be.* If he be for us, what can be againſt us? If he be pleaſed to heal us, what wounds can hurt us? If he acquits us, what Sentence or condemnation can prejudice us? The *Heathen Poet* and *Epicurean Philoſopher* had obſerved;

Integer vitæ ſceleriſque purus,
Non eget Mauri jaculis nec arcu : &c.

Horace Carm. lib. 1. *Ode.* 22.

That there could be no weapons, whether offenſive or defenſive, ſo uſeful, as integrity of life, and ſoundneſs of Conſcience. *He that was thus armed, needed no other armour or weapons.* This was but a dreaming apprehenſion of that Confidence, which our Apoſtle deduceth from its true original, *Rom.*8.*ver.*31.*to*37. *In all theſe things we are more then Conquerors.*

7. I know a great many ready to derive this Confidence from the doctrine of Election or Predeſtination. I do not herein diſſent from them: And I could wiſh they would not herein diſſent from me; But think, that “their perſwaſions of their own Election and Predeſtination are but vain “meerly Jewiſh, unleſs in all their troubles and oppreſſions they become “like unto their ſupream Judge in theſe two Points: *Firſt* in the *Integrity* “or uprightneſs of the Cauſe, for which they ſuffer oppreſſions or “grievances: *Secondly*, in ſuffering grievances though openly wrongful “with Meekneſs and Patience. A Leſſon moſt neceſſary for theſe times, though hard to learn in this and neighbour places; Many (I dare not ſay all, or moſt part) of whoſe Inhabitants are of that diſpoſition and education, that they neither know how to entertain wholſom Juſtice or Government, with that obedience and reſpect which they owe unto it; nor can brook any injuſtice or error in judgement, though executed by their lawful Magiſtrates or Superiors, without intemperate ſpeeches, undecent oppoſition, or unmannerly *Cenſure.* Yet let me tell them that this proneneſs to *ſpeak evil of Dignities* and Dominions, whether Eccleſiaſtick or Temporal, is one of thoſe grievous ſins, whereof, as St. *Jude* intimates, the *ſupream Judge* will take ſpecial notice in that day; and the harbourers of it, without repentance, ſhall have a large portion of the wo or curſe denounced by *Enoch*: There is no ſin for its quality, more oppoſite to *Juſtice*, or that can more provoke a juſt and gracious *Judge*, then intruſion into his Office without Warrant or Commiſſion; and yet ſo they all do, that without Warrant will become Magiſtrates, or Cenſurers, or Judges of others. Such as affect the name of *zealous Profeſſors* in our times, cannot more directly impeach themſelves of *Groſs Hypocriſie*, then by nurſing this *cenſuring humor* in themſelves, or applauding it in others, whileſt they profeſs to believe *this Article* of appearing before the Judgment ſeat of Chriſt: The *Belief* whereof, were it true or ſound, would not ſuffer *this cenſorious humour*, of all others whatſoever, to lodge in the ſame breſt with it, as being moſt directly oppoſite unto it, moſt incompatible with it.

It is likely this was preach'd at *Nawcaſtle*, where he was Vicar divers years.

Nor did our Apoſtle St. *Paul* himſelf know any other Medicine or poſſible cure of this *Malady*, then the preſſing *this Article* upon ſuch as were tainted with it: *Who art thou* (ſaith he, *Rom.*14.4.) *that judgeſt another mans ſervant? to his own Maſter he ſtandeth or falleth:* What more would you have ſaid (or have left un-ſaid) to ſuch, as take upon them to judge or cenſure their lawful Magiſtrates and Paſtors? And again, *verſ.* 10. *Why doſt thou judge thy brother? or why doſt thou ſet at nought thy brother? ſeeing we ſhall all ſtand before the judgement ſeat of Chriſt*; and *verſ.* 12. *So then every one of us ſhall give an account of himſelf to God:* As for the Magiſtrate or ſuch as have taken the charge of ſouls upon them, they muſt give an account to God, not of themſelves only, but of others committed to their charge; but their flock or inferiors are not bound to give account of them; and for this reaſon, ſhould in conſcience be more ready to be directed or cenſured by them, then to direct or judge their Actions.

8. The *former Point* might paſs without further Addition or Annotation, were it not that a late *Divine* of deſerved note, ſeems to deny the place

The literal meaning of *Dan.* 7. 13. enquired.

avouched, *Dan.* 7. 13. to be *literally meant of a Final judgement* ; of *which*, if it were not *literally* meant, our *Saviours Allegation* of it was not concludent ; nor ſhould the conviction of the High Prieſt, for giving wrong Judgement upon our *Saviour*, be ſo notorious and manifeſt as we ſuppoſe it to be, and at the laſt day it will appear : The prejudice of one modern Divines authority in a *Negative* of this nature cannot be great, eſpecially ſeeing this Negation is grounded only upon an inconſiderate or careleſs *Inference : This place of Daniel* (ſaith he) *is literally meant of Chriſts aſcending to his Father, and of his inveſtiture in the Kingdom of Heaven :* This no man denies. And neceſſary it was that he ſhould aſcend into Heaven, and be eſtabliſhed in his Throne, before he came to the accompliſhment of *juriſdiction Royal* ; ſuch is the exerciſe or execution of *final judgement :* The Argument then will hold much better *Affirmatively*, then *Negatively :* The forecited place of *Daniel* is literally meant of *Chriſts Aſcenſion* and Enthronization ; *Ergo*, it is principally meant the execution of *Final judgment*, of ſuch a Judgment as is to reverſe or rectifie whatſoever hath been wrongfully done or adjudged by the moſt potent Monarchs or ſupream Tribunals of the earth : So it is expreſly foretold, *Dan.* 2. 44, 45. That this *Kingdom*, whereof the *Son of Man* did take poſſeſſion, ſhould deſtroy or break in pieces the *Babylonian*, the *Perſian*, the *Macedonian*, and the *Roman Monarchy*, with all their appurtenances and attendances, or reliques : *And in the days of theſe Kings ſhall the God of Heaven ſet up a Kingdom, which ſhall never be deſtroyed, and the Kingdom ſhall not be left to other people, but it ſhall break in pieces and conſume all theſe Kingdomes, and it ſhall ſtand for ever : Foraſmuch as thou ſaweſt that the ſtone was cut out of the Mountain without hands, and that it brake in pieces the Iron, the Braſs, the Clay, the ſilver and Gold ; the great God hath made known to the King what ſhall come to paſs hereafter, and the dream is certain, and the interpretation thereof ſure.*

To omit all Queſtion, how Chriſts Kingdom here foretold, being not erected till the *Roman Monarchy* was at the height, ſhould deſtroy the *Babylonian*, the *Perſian*, or the *Macedonian* Monarchy, all which three were in the wane before the *Roman* was *Creſcent* ; Certain it is, that the *Roman* Monarchy being at the height when Chriſt aſcended, was to be deſtroyed by him, yet not deſtroyed at his Aſcenſion. The Caſe then is clear, that the forementioned Propheſie of *Daniel* cannot be terminated by the time of our *Saviours* Aſcenſion, but is to be extended to all ſucceeding ages, yea after time ſhall be no more. If the Kingdom whereof *Chriſt* at his Aſcenſion took poſſeſſion, be for duration everlaſting, for power moſt Soveraign ; ſo abſolute and independent, that all other Kingdomes which have been, are, or ſhall be, depend on it, and are reſponſible to it ; the execution of all judgement, whether paſt or to come, whether temporal or eternal, muſt either be ratified or reverſt, or immediately awarded by *This Everlaſting King.*

Polanus his reſtriction of *Dan.* 7. 13. to *Chriſts Aſcenſion.*

Polanus himſelf, (the principal Author or Abettor of the former Opinion, *viz. That the place of Dan.* 7.13 *is not literally meant of Chriſts coming to judgement*) grants, That the Kingdom whereof Chriſt at his Aſcenſion took poſſeſſion, ſhall be *conſummate in the life to come, and not before* ; And in granting thus much, he is concluded to grant withal, that the former places are *principally or conſummately* meant *of Chriſts coming to judge the World* and to tranſlate the Kingdom of God begun here on earth, into the Heaven of Heavens ; in which, ſo tranſlated, all ſhall be Kings, all ſhall be Judges, all ſhall be perpetual Laws unto themſelves ; there ſhall be no place for after Judgement, eſpecially for any ſentence of condemnation.

9. To let the former miſ-interpretation of the Prophet *Daniel* paſs as a private error, or overſight rather, which wants the general conſent, as well of the *Roman* Church, as of the *Reformed*; it is now (God be praiſed) on all hands agreed on, and acknowledged by the beſt learned of both *Churches*, that *many places of the Old Teſtament are literally and truly meant both of Chriſts firſt coming in humility to be judged of men, and of his ſecond coming in glory to give Judgement upon the world*: And not of theſe two Periods of times only, but of all the times intermediate or interjacent: Howbeit, of theſe times only *Inchoativè*; *conſummately*, finally, or punctually of the life to come, which takes beginning from the *laſt Judgement*. That this place of *Dan.* 7. is *Inchoativè* meant of *Chriſts firſt coming*; that is, that it firſt began literally to be verified then, but ſhall not be conſummated or fulfilled until th eelſt Judgment, or in the life to come, is acknowledged and well obſerved by a late learned *Jeſuit*: And this Interpretation being proffered by a man of that profeſſion, I entertain the rather, becauſe it affords us a facile and commodious interpretation of all or moſt of thoſe places (whether in the Old Teſtament or in the New) which the *Romiſh* Church, the *Jeſuits* in ſpecial inſiſt upon, for the glorious Prerogatives of the *viſible Church*, and of the viſible *Roman* Church above all Churches viſible.

One Propheſie may in the literal ſenſe have two verifications; yea, contrary ſenſes, *lib.* 7. *cap.* 17.

How many inſtances ſoever or places they bring, whether general for the *viſible* or militant Church, or for the glory of the *Roman* Church in ſpecial; this *One Anſwer* will give ſatisfaction to all; "They are meant "of the viſible or militant Church *Inchoativè*, but of the Church trium"phant, *Conſummativè*; They are meant of the viſible or militant Church "*indefinitely*; that is, ſome particular members of the viſible Church, "have undoubted pledges or earneſts of thoſe glorious promiſes in this "life, which notwithſtanding ſhall not be either univerſally, punctually, "or ſolidly accompliſhed, ſave only in the members of the Church tri"umphant.

An anſwer to all Texts brought for the *Rom*: Churches great Glory; by diſtinction, *Inchoativè* and *Completivè*. See *Chap.* 12. §. 8.

Chriſts Church (whether we conſider it as militant or triumphant) is an eſſential or integral part of his Kingdom; and as his Kingdom, ſo his Church, hath its firſt Plantation or beginning here on earth: Both have a right or intereſt in the glorious promiſes made to the Church univerſal; neither Church nor Kingdom here on earth can have entire poſſeſſion of the bleſſings or prerogatives promiſed, until it be given them by the *Great King* at the day of *Final Judgement*. Of this rank is that propheſie, *Jer.* 31. 34. *And they ſhall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, ſaying, know the Lord; for they ſhall all know me from the leaſt of them unto the greateſt of them; ſaith the Lord; for I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their ſin no more.* This place (no man denies) was literally verified in the Effuſion of the *Holy Ghoſt* upon our *Saviours Aſcenſion*; But ſhall not be punctually and ſolidly fulfilled until the day of Judgment be paſt: Then the true members of *Chriſts Church* ſhall neither need Tradition, nor the written Word; they ſhall be all immediately taught of God, and have his Laws moſt perfectly and indelibly written in their hearts. *The gates of hell ſhall not*, then, in any wiſe *prevail againſt them*, not ſo far as to annoy their bodies or interrupt their peace and happineſs. Of this intire happineſs and perfection the Church Militant had a pledge or earneſt in the effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt, and all that be true Members of *Chriſts Church*, have a ſuperficial draught or picture of this entire happineſs in their hearts. But Chriſt at his Aſcenſion was ſo far from annulling the uſe of preaching, or teaching one another, that as the Apoſtle tells us, *Epheſ.* 4. 11, 12, 13. *He gave ſome Apoſtles, and ſome*

An Expoſition of Jerem. 31. 34.

Prophets, and ſome Evangeliſts, and ſome Paſtors and Teachers, (more extraordinary, then any had been during the time of the Law) *for the perfecting of the Saints, for the work of the Miniſtry, for the edifying of the body of Chriſt, till we all come in the unity of faith, &c.*

10. Thus to interpret the propheſies of the Old Teſtament concerning the Church indefinitely taken, can Paradox, ſeeing the predictions of our Saviour himſelf concerning his Kingdom muſt of neceſſity be thus interpreted; witneſs that Prediction (to omit others) *Matth.* 16. 27, 28. *The Son of man ſhall come in the Glory of his Father with his Angels, and then he ſhall reward every man according to his works. Verily I ſay unto you, there be ſome ſtanding here, that ſhall not taſt of death till they ſee the Son of Man coming in his Kingdom.*

The latter part of this Prediction, or the Experiment anſwering unto it, was exemplified in *Peter, James* and *John*, within ſeven dayes after: For theſe three were ſpectators of his Transfiguration in the Mount; And his transfiguration was but a repreſentation or exemplification of that glory wherein he ſhall appear in the day of Judgment, when he ſhall give theſe Apoſtles, and all that ſhall obey his precepts, full poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of God prepared for them. But albeit theſe three *Apoſtles* had not only their eyes, but their ears true witneſſes of *his glory, as of the glory of the onely begotten Son of God* (for ſo it is ſaid, *Matth.* 17. 2. *His face did ſhine as the Sun, as his raiment was white as the light*; and *ver.* 5. *A bright cloud overſhadowed them, and behold a voice out of the cloud, which ſaid, This is my well-beloved Son, in whom I am well-pleaſed, hear him*:) Yet miſerable men had they been for all this, if their hopes or expectations had been terminated or accompliſhed with this tranſient glorious ſpectacle or voice: Both the voice and the ſpectacle were but earneſts or pledges of that everlaſting joy or happineſs, which they were to expect in the perpetual fruition of the like ſights or ſounds in the life to come.

Of this ſort or rank is that Propheſie of *Eſay* 2. 4. *And he ſhall judge among the Nations, and ſhall rebuke many people; and they ſhall beat their ſwords into Plow-ſhares, and their ſpears into pruning-hooks: Nation ſhall not lift up ſword againſt Nation, neither ſhall they learn War any more.* There was at the birth of that great *Judge*, a glimps exhibited of this univerſal Peace, which ſhall not be univerſally eſtabliſhed before the laſt and final *Judgement*: All the Nations of the Earth were quiet and free from any noiſe of War when he came firſt into the World: For *Janus* his Temple was then ſhut; And after he ſhall be revealed again unto the World from Heaven, there ſhall be neither Death, nor Famine, nor the Sword. Howbeit, even the deareſt of his Saints, which have lived ſince his firſt Birth, were to endure a perpetual *War* in their Pilgrimage here on earth; and the end of their War is to make them capable of this everlaſting peace.

Mal. 3. 2. meant *Inchoative* of Chriſts firſt coming, *Completive* of his ſecond.

11. Another Prediction of his *coming to Judgement* there is, which muſt be interpreted according to the *former Rule*; that is, *Inchoative*, or in part *of his firſt coming* to viſit us in humility, and to inſtruct the World; but *Completive*, or fully, of *his ſecond coming* to Judge the World, *Mal.* 3. 2, 3. *But who may abide the day of his coming? and who ſhall ſtand when he appeareth? For he is like a refiners fire, and like fullers ſope: And he ſhall ſit as a refiner or purifier of ſilver, and he ſhall purifie the ſons of Levi, and purge them as gold and ſilver, that they may offer unto the Lord an offering in righteouſneſs.*

So certain and ſo general is the *former Rule* of interpretation, that not this prediction of *Malachi*'s only, and the like of other Prophets; but the fulfilling of them related by the *Evangeliſts*, cannot rightly be interpreted without the help of *this Rule*: For inſtance, to lay *this Rule* unto *St. John Baptiſt's* ſpeech, *Matth.* 3. 10, 11, 12. *Now alſo the ax is laid unto the root of the tree: Therefore every tree which bringeth forth not good fruit, ſhall be hewn down and caſt into the fire: I indeed Baptize you with water unto repentance; but he that cometh after me, is mightier then I, whoſe ſhoes I am not worthy to bear, he ſhall Baptize you with the holy Ghoſt, and with fire: Whoſe fan is in his hand, and he will throughly purge his floor, and gather his wheat into the Garner: But will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire.* This Prediction cannot be exactly fulfilled until the *Final Sentence* be given and put in execution: And yet within 43. years after his Baptiſm by *John*, there was a manifeſt and lively repreſentation exhibited to the World of his ſecond coming unto judgement; and this repreſentation was exhibited upon the Nation of the *Jews*: The full accompliſhment whereof ſhall at his *ſecond coming* (and not before) be univerſally and exactly accompliſhed in all Nations, and Languages, and People: *Wherein then doth this repreſentation of final Judgment, which at his firſt coming was exhibited in the Jewiſh Nation, punctually conſiſt?* In this eſpecially. "There was ſuch a notorious & manifeſt *Criſis* or diſtinction between the *Elect and* "*Reprobate* of the *Jewiſh Nation*, or ſeed of *Abraham* at his firſt coming, as "in no Nation or People had been experienced before, nor ſhall be experienced in any before the day of *Final Judgement*, in which, this diſtinction of *Elect* & *Reprobates* ſhall not be only *univerſally* manifeſted, but ſolemnly declared in reſpect of all mankind: Every *ſon* of *Adam* ſhall in that "day be irrevocably marſhalled or ranked, either amongſt the abſolute *Reprobates*, or *abſolute Elect*: In the one or other rank of which eſtates, neither "all nor moſt of every Nation or Church are at all points of time in the *Interim* to be accounted, no not in reſpect of Gods *Eternal Decree*: Nor may the Verdicts or Aphoriſms, whether of our Saviour himſelf, or of his Apoſtles after his death, concerning *Election or Reprobation*, be extended to other times or Nations in the ſame meaſure or Tenor, wherein they were verified and experienced in the Nation of the *Jews*, at, or upon our Saviours firſt coming. Thus far to extend them in reſpect of all Times or Nations were to tranſgreſs the *Analogy of Faith*, or received Rules of Interpreting Scriptures; and to diſſolve the ſweet and pleaſant Harmony, between the Law and the Goſpel, or between the *Evangeliſts* and the *Prophets*.

By *firſt coming*, he means *His coming* to judge and puniſh the *Jews: The coming* ſpoken of *John* 21. 22.

Such a diſcrimination of *Elect* and *Reprobate*, as was then, may not be lookt for till Doomſ-day.

See *Book* 10. *chap.* 37, 38.

And thus far of the *ſecond Point*; in handling whereof, divers paſſages have intruded themſelves, which are not impertinent to the *third Point*.

CHAP. XII.

Of the manner of Chriſts coming to Judgement, which was the *third General propoſed in the ninth Chapter.*

1. IT is ſaid in the former Propheſie of *Daniel, chap.* 7. *ver.* 13. that *One like the Son of Man came in the clouds of Heaven unto the Ancient of days.* The literal fulfilling of this Prophetical viſion is recorded, *Acts* 1. 9. *And when he* (to wit Chriſt the Son of Man) *had ſpoken theſe things, whilſt they beheld, He was taken up, and a cloud received him out of their ſight*: But whither he was carried in the Cloud which received him, they could not diſtinctly ſee: Their bodily eyes could not ſee ſo much by day, as had been revealed to *Daniel* in viſion by night: But admit that this cloud did

Dan. 7. 13. fulfilled. *Acts* 1. 9.

did carry him into the preſence of *the Ancient of dayes*, or of *God his Father*: What is this *manner of his going into Heaven*, unto *the manner of his coming to judge the Earth*, which is The Point in hand? Certainly much! for ſo the Angels, *verſ.* 11. admoniſhed his Diſciples, which ſtedfaſtly beheld the manner of his Aſcenſion: *Ye men of Galilee, why ſtand ye Gazing up into Heaven? This ſame Jeſus, which is taken from you into Heaven, ſhall ſo come in like manner, as you have ſeen him go into Heaven*: But ſhall the *manner* of his coming to Judge the World, be in every point like unto the *manner* of his aſcending into Heaven? No! then it ſhould not be ſo terrible, as we believe it ſhall be. The chief parts then of this ſimilitude are theſe *Two*.

The manner of Chriſts going up to Heaven, ſhewed the manner of his coming to Judge the Earth.

The Place or Term *from which* Chriſt ſhall come to Judgment.

The Firſt, *As he did locally and viſibly go into Heaven, ſo he ſhall locally and viſibly come to judge the Earth.*

The ſecond, *As he was received into Heaven in a cloud, ſo he ſhall come to Judge the World* (as he himſelf foretold the High Prieſt, and his Complices, *Matthew* 26. 64.) *in the clouds of heaven.*

The literal meaning of both places, and the intent and purpoſe, as well of the Angels as of our Saviour in this prediction, infers, *That this Son of man, whom they now beheld with bodily eyes, was that very God, whoſe glorious Kingdom and Reign the Pſalmiſt deſcribes*, Pſal. 104. 3. *Who layeth the beams of his chambers in the waters, who maketh the clouds his chariots, who walketh upon the wings of the wind. Who maketh his Angels Spirits* (or the Spirits his Angels) *his Miniſters a flame of fire.* So they will appear when they attend him coming to Judgement, which will be in flaming fire.

In all the manifeſtations of Chriſt to be the Son of God, The Cloud is ſtill a Witneſs.

Firſt, In his Transfiguration upon the Mount. *A Cloud did overſhadow him*; and out of the Cloud this teſtimony was given him by God the Father, *Matth.* 17. 5. *this is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleaſed; hear him.*

2. Whileſt he aſcends to God his Father. *Acts* 1. 9. *A Cloud receives him.*

And 3. When he ſhall come from heaven, or from his Fathers preſence, to judge the earth, he ſhall have a Cloud for his Canopy.

For more particular Deſcription of the manner of his Coming, the next Point is; *From what place he ſhall come?* Now it is expreſly ſaid in our Creed [" That *Chriſt Jeſus our Lord*, who was conceived by the holy Ghoſt, born of the *Virgin Mary*, ſuffered under *Pontius Pilate*, was " crucified, dead, and buried, deſcended into hell, who the third day " roſe again from the dead, aſcended into heaven, and there ſitteth at " the right hand of God, *ſhall thence come to judge the quick and the dead.*] But this word [Thence] is of ambiguous Reference. It may be referred in general either to the *Heavens*, into which he aſcended, or unto the *Right hand of God*, or *unto both*. Certain it is, that he ſhall come from *Heaven* as viſibly and locally, as he aſcended thither. Yet whether he ſhall come *from the Right hand of God*, is queſtionable, but not by us determinable, unleſs it be determined already in the firſt Chapter of this Book, what is literally meant by *The Right hand of God*, either in the Creed, or in thoſe places of the New Teſtament; out of which This Article is taken. If Chriſts Body (as *Lutherans* did contend, Chapt. 3. §. 6.) be every where; or, if by the *Right hand of God* only the *Power of God* be literally meant, as many other Proteſtant Writers take as granted, or leave unqueſtioned; then Chriſt cannot be ſaid *to come from the right hand of*

God; for it is impoſſible that Chriſt ſhould come, or that there ſhould be any *true motion from that which is every where.* Neither can it be ſaid, nor may it ſo much as be imagined, that Chriſt ſhould depart from the *Power of God*, which (wherefoever he be as man) doth accompany and guard him, But if by the *Right hand of God*, at which Chriſt ſitteth, be literally meant *A viſible and glorious Throne*, then Chriſt may be ſaid as truly and *locally to come from thence*, as from heaven, *to Judge the Quick and the dead.* At leaſt His Throne may remove with him. Now that by the *Right hand of God*, at which Chriſt ſitteth, A Viſible or local Throne is meant, I will at this time add only one Teſtimony unto the reſt heretofore avouched in the handling of that Article, which is more literally concludent then all the reſt; and it is *Heb.* 12.2. *He endured the Croſs, deſpiſing the ſhame, and is ſet down at the right hand of the Throne of God.* Not at the *right hand of his own Throne, but at the right hand of the Throne of God* the Father.

To what Place Chriſt (probably) ſhall come.

2. For perfecting this Map or Survey of Chriſts coming to Judgment already begun; would it not be as pertinent to know The Place unto which he ſhall come, as the Place whence he comes? By the Rules of Art or method, this laſt Queſtion would be more pertinent then the former. But ſeeing the Scriptures are not in this point ſo expreſs and punctual as in the former, we may not ſo peremptorily determine it, or ſo curiouſly ſearch into it. This is certain, That Chriſt after his deſcending from heaven, ſhall have his Throne or Seat of Judgment placed between the heaven and the earth in the air over-ſhadowed with clouds; But over what part of the earth his throne ſhall be thus placed is uncertain or conjectural; at the moſt but probable.

Many notwithſtanding, as well Ancient as Modern, are of Opinion, *That the Throne or ſeat of Judgement ſhall be placed over the Mount of* Olives, *from which Chriſt did aſcend*; and This (for ought we have to ſay againſt it) may be A Third Branch of the fore-mentioned ſimilitude betwixt the *manner of Chriſts aſcending* up into heaven, and *of his Coming to Judgement*; that is, *As he was received in a cloud into heaven over Mount Olivet, ſo he ſhall deſcend in the clouds of heaven, to judge the world in the ſame place.* But the Teſtimony of Scripture, which gives the beſt Ground of probability, and a Tincture at leaſt of moral certainty to the former opinion or conjecture, is that of ***Zach. cap.*** 14. *verſ.* 3,4. ***Then ſhall the Lord go forth, and and fight againſt thoſe Nations*** (to wit all thoſe Nations, which have been gathered in battel againſt *Jeruſalem*, and theſe in the verſe precedent were *all Nations*) *as when he fought in the day of battel. And his feet ſhall ſtand in that day upon the Mount of* Olives, *which is before* Jeruſalem *on the Eaſt, and the Mount of* Olives *ſhall cleave in the midſt thereof toward the Eaſt and toward the Weſt, and there ſhall be a very great Valley, and half of the Mountain ſhall remove toward the North, and half of it toward the South*, &c. This place albeit (perhaps) in part it were verified in the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, yet may it be alſo literally meant of the Laſt General Judgment, in which the reſt of the propheſie following ſhall punctually and exactly be fulfilled.

See Book 9. Chap. 43.

3. But to leave theſe Circumſtances of Place, from which, and unto which Chriſt ſhall come, and utterly to omit the Circumſtance of Time, which is more uncertain. *The moſt uſeful branch of the Third General Point propoſed, is to know or apprehend the Terrible manner of his Coming. Knowing therefore the terror of the Lord* (ſaith our Apoſtle, 2 *Cor.* 5. 11.) *we perſwade men.* His Speech is very Emphatical and Significant; an Aphoriſm of Life, unto whoſe Truth every experienced Phyſitian

of the ſoul will eaſily ſubſcribe. For but a few men there be (eſpecially in theſe later times, and theſe muſt be more then men; in ſome good meaſure *Chriſtian Men*) whom we can hope to perſwade unto Godlineſs by the Love of God in Chriſt our Lord; Albeit we ſhould ſpend our brains in drawing the picture or proportion of the Love exhibited in Chriſt, or give luſtre or colour to the proportion drawn by the Evangeliſts, with our own bloud. But by the Terror of the Lord, or by decyphering of that laſt and dreadful day, we ſhall perhaps perſwade ſome men to become Chriſtians, as well in heart as in profeſſion, by taking Chriſts Death and their own Lives into ſerious conſideration.

Two Senſes chiefly apt to receive the impreſſions of Terror. Terrors of Sounds, and Terrors of Sights.

Now of Terror or dread there be two Corporeal Senſes more apprehenſive then the reſt, which are apt rather to ſuffer or feel, then to Dread the evils, which befal them; The Two In-lets by which Dread or Terror enters into the ſoul of man, are the Eye and the Ear. All the Terrors of that laſt day may be reduced to theſe Two Heads: To the *ſtrange and unuſual Sights*, which ſhall then be ſeen, and unto the *ſtrange and unuſual Sounds or Voices*, which ſhall then be heard. If we would ſearch the Sacred Records from the fall of our firſt Parents until our reſtauration was accompliſhed by *Chriſt*, or until the Sacred Canon was compleat, *The notifications or apprehenſions of Gods extraordinary preſence, whether they were made by voice, or ſpectacle unuſual, have been fearful and terrible to fleſh and bloud*; though much better acquainted with Gods Preſence then we are.

When our firſt Parents heard but the Voice of *the Lord God walk in the garden, in the cool of the day*, they *hid themſelves from his preſence amongſt the trees of the Garden*, Gen. 3. 8, 10. *When* Gideon (*Judg.* 6. 22.) *perceived that he which had ſpoken unto him* (albeit he had ſpoken nothing but words of comfort and encouragement) *was the Angel of the Lord*, Gideon *ſaid, Alas O Lord God, becauſe I have ſeen an Angel of the Lord face to face.* The iſſue of his fear was Death, which happily he conceived from Gods word to *Moſes*, *Exod.* 33.20. *Thou canſt not ſee my face, for there ſhall no man ſee me, and live.* But to aſſure *Gideon*, that he was not compriz'd under that univerſal ſentence of Death denounced, by God himſelf, to all that ſhall *ſee him face to face*, the Lord ſaith unto him, ver. 23, 24. *Peace be unto thee; fear not; thou ſhalt not die; and Gideon* (for further ratification of this Priviledge or diſpenſation) *built an altar unto the Lord, and called it* Jehovah Shalom, *that is, the Lord ſend peace*; or the Lord will be a Lord of peace unto his ſervants. Yet could not this aſſurance, made by the Lord himſelf unto *Gideon*, exempt his Succeſſors from the like or greater fear upon notice of Gods extraordinary preſence. For ſo *Manoah* (*Samſon's* father) after long conference with the Lord, after he knew that it was an Angel of the Lord, which had brought the Meſſage to him of *Samſon's* birth, ſaid unto his Wife, *Judges* 13.22. *We ſhall ſurely dye becauſe we have ſeen God. But his wife ſaid unto him, if the Lord were pleaſed to kill us, he would not have received a burnt offering, and a meat offering at our hands; neither would he have ſhewed us all theſe things, neither would he at this time have told us ſuch things, as theſe, ver.* 23. So then Gods extraordinary preſence is terrible even to his ſervants, to fleſh and bloud without exception, though in the iſſue it will prove comfortable to ſuch as truly fear him, and faithfully rely upon his promiſes. St. *Peter* long after this time was a man leſs conſcious of many grievous ſins, then moſt of us alive this day are, yet not upon any ſight or ſpectacle of Gods Extraordinary Preſence; but only upon an inſtinct or ſecret apprehenſion of his Peculiar Preſence in Chriſt as man, notified unto him by the miraculous draught of fiſhes which he took by his direction and command, cries out; *Lord depart from me: for I am a ſinful man*, *Luke* 5. 8. And St. *Paul* before his converſion *fell to the earth* upon a ſuddain glimpſe or repreſentation of that glorious light, wherein Chriſt ſhall appear at the laſt day, *Acts* 9. 3, 4. And after he had heard *A voice* ſaying unto him (though in no extraordinary manner for terror) *Saul, Saul, why perſecuteſt thou me?* He trembling and aſtoniſhed at the name of Jeſus, ſaid, *Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?* v. 6. No marvel if St. *Paul*, being conſcious of perſecution intended by him againſt Chriſts Church, and having by Fact and Reſolution declared himſelf to be Chriſts Enemy, were thus affrighted at the Sight and Voice; when as *St. Peter*, *St. James*, and *St. John*, after long and peculiar familiarity with Chriſt, and after many gracious promiſes made unto them of Gods ſpecial protection over them, were thrown down to the earth with a more placid and comfortable Voice, then that, which *St. Paul* heard. The Voice, which they heard out of the cloud, was this, *This is my well beloved Son, in whom I am well pleaſed; hear ye him.* And when they heard it (ſaith the text, *Matth.* 17. 6.) *they fell on their faces, and were ſore afraid*; until Chriſt *came and touched them, and ſaid; ariſe, and be not afraid.* This ſtrange dejection of theſe three great Apoſtles at ſo mild and gentle a Voice, yet a Voice uttered from the extraordinary preſence of God, gives us a Remarkable Document or grounded Obſervation of the truth of that ſaying of *St. Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 15. 50. *Now this I ſay brethren, that fleſh and bloud cannot inherit the Kingdome of God, neither doth corruption inherit incorruption.* Chriſt had told theſe Three, *Matth.* 16. 28. that they ſhould *ſee*, not *God*, but *the Son of man coming in his Kingdom.* *Peter* had a deſire to have inherited that joy, wherewith his heart was raviſhed at the ſight of our Saviours Transfiguration, which (as you heard before) was but a repreſentation of his coming in glory to Judge the world; and out of this deſire he ſaid, *Lord, it is good for us to be here: if thou wilt, let us make here three Tabernacles; one for Thee, one for* Moſes, *and one for* Elias. Yet as ſooon as he heard the Voice, the Antipathy between ſinful fleſh, and the fruition of Gods preſence (or the inheritance of that Kingdom of Chriſt, which was then repreſented) begun to ſhew it ſelf. And what ſhall We do then, which are conſcious of more grievous ſins, then *St. Peter*, *St. James*, or *St. John*, then were? unto whom both the Spectacle of Chriſts glorious preſence, and the Voice or Sound, which in that day ſhall be heard from heaven, will be far more terrible then any manifeſtation of Gods preſence, whether made by Voice or Sight unto our Firſt Parents, unto *Gideon*, unto *Manoah*, or unto any of his Apoſtles recorded in Scripture.

A view of the terrible Spectacles and Sounds preceding Doomſday.

4. Let us now take a view of ſuch repreſentations or deſcriptions of the Terrible ſpectacles which ſhall be ſeen, and of the Terrible Voices or ſounds, which in that laſt day ſhall be heard, as Gods Prophets or Evangeliſts have framed to us.

Theſe repreſentations are of Two ſorts, either Charactered out unto us in meer Words, or in Matters of Fact hiſtorically related.

To begin with the *Terrible Spectacles*, which ſhall appear before the laſt day, or at the leaſt before the Proceſs or Judgment begin. Theſe are moſt punctually expreſt by the Prophet *Joel*, *Chap.* 2. 30, 31. *And I will ſhew wonders in the heavens, and in the earth, bloud and fire, and pillars of ſmoak, the Sun ſhall be turned into darkneſs, and the Moon into bloud, before the great and terrible day of the Lord come.* And *Joel* 3. 15, 16. *The Sun and the Moon ſhall be darkned, and the Starres ſhall withdraw their ſhining. The Lord ſhall alſo roar out of* Sion, *and utter his voice out of* Jeru-

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ſalem, *and the heavens and the earth ſhall ſhake.* The terrors here foretold were really repreſented by the firſt deſolation of *Judah*, and deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* by the *Aſſyrians* and *Chaldeans*, whoſe approach to execute Gods Judgements upon that land and people was propheſied of, by this Prophet, in the beginning of this ſecond Chapter; yet ſo fore-told by him, as the Plagues there threatned might by Repentance have been prevented; So could not the Terrors fore-told in the Second Propheſie; at leaſt the Prophet expreſſeth no means for averting theſe fearful ſignes in the heavens and earth. This later Propheſie is in particular exemplified by our Saviour; *Matth.* 24. 27, 29,30. *For as the lightning cometh out of the Eaſt, and ſhineth even unto the Weſt; So ſhall alſo the coming of the Son of man be. Immediately after the tribulation of thoſe dayes ſhall the Sun be darkned, and the Moon ſhall not give her light, and the Stars of heaven ſhall fall, and the Powers of the heavens ſhall be ſhaken. And then ſhall appear the ſign of the Son of man in Heaven; and then ſhall all the Tribes of the Earth mourn, and they ſhall ſee the Son of man coming in the clouds of Heaven with power and great glory*: Both the Propheſie of *Joel*, and this prediction of our Saviour were in part fulfilled, ſhortly after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* by *Titus*, by the burning of the Mount *Veſuvius* in *Campania*, a Province of *Italy*; the manner and effects whereof, how fearful and terrible they were, not to *Rome* only or *Italy*, but to a great part of *Africa*, to *Egypt*, to *Syria*, and to *Conſtantinople*, with the Countries adjoyning, and how conſonant they were unto the Prophet *Joels*, and our Saviours Prediction, may be gathered from *Dion*, in his 66. and 68. Books; and from other *Roman* Heatheniſh Writers of thoſe times: But however the world had a general warning of the laſt *Judgement*, in that fearful Spectacle, yet may we not deny that the like or more fearful Spectacles ſhall be again exhibited, upon, or immediately before our *Saviours ſecond coming.*

See Book 1. *Chap.* 24. *Sect.* 4,5,&c.

From St. *Peters Comments* upon the forecited Propheſie of *Joel*, *Acts* 2. 20. there ariſeth *A Queſtion*; The Prophet ſaith, as the Hebrew word imports, that theſe ſignes ſhould be exhibited *before the great and terrible day of the Lord.* St. *Peter* ſaith, They ſhall be exhibited before the great and *Conſpicuous*, or *notable* day of the Lord: So indeed the 70 *Interpreters*, whoſe Tranſlation St. *Peter* follows, renders the Hebrew [*Hannora*] not as the Latines do, *horrendum*, or *tremendum*, but ἐπιφανῆ, *Conſpicuous*: And the reaſon why they ſo render it, as ſome later Criticks think, was becauſe they took the Original word to be a Derivative, or Branch of the Hebrew word *Raah*, which ſignifies, *To ſee*; and ſo the Object of it ſhould be only ſome viſible apparition or matter of Sight; whereas the later and more accurate Hebritians, take the ſame Hebrew word to be a Branch of the root *Jarah*, which ſignifieth to Fear, or Dread; and for this reaſon render it not the *viſible or conſpicuous day*, but the *terrible day of the Lord.* But there is no neceſſity of conceiving any error, either in the 70. Interpreters concerning the derivation of the Hebrew word [*Hannora*] or of any alteration of Rules (concerning the right derivation of words) between the Ancient and Modern *Hebritians*: For the Greek word, ἐπιφανὲς, which our Engliſh renders, *Notable*, or *Conſpicuous*, is, as Grammarians ſay, *Mediæ ſignificationis*; that is, General, to any ſtrange or uncouth apparitions in the Heavens; whether they be apparitions of Horror and Dread, or only of Lightſomneſs, or good *hope*: *Every man prayed*, ſaith the Author of the ſecond of *Maccabees*, *chap.* 5.4. that the *apparition might turn to good*: Yet was the Apparition then exhibited Prodigious and fearful.

The terrors on monnt *Sinai*, Types of the Terrors of Doomſday.

5. But the moſt lively repreſentation of the laſt Judgment, as well for matter of fearful Spectacle, as for matter of Terrible Sound, was exhibited immediately by God himſelf, at the promulgation of the Law upon Mount *Sinai*: *And it came to paſs on the third day in the morning, that there were thunders, and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the Mount, and the voice of the Trumpet exceeding loud, ſo that all the people that were in the Camp trembled: And Moſes brought forth the people out of the Camp to meet with God, and they ſtood at the neather part of the mount: And mount Sinai was altogether on a ſmoak, becauſe the Lord deſcended upon it in fire; and the ſmoak thereof aſcended as the ſmoak of a Furnace, and the whole Mount quaked greatly*, Exod. 19. 16, 17, 18. Our Apoſtle, *Heb.* 12. 21. addeth (which is not in the Old Teſtament expreſt) *So terrible was the ſight, that Moſes ſaid, I exceedingly fear and quake*: And if *Moſes* the Man of God did ſo exceedingly quake at this Sight, Who ſhall be able to ſtand without trembling and quaking at the like?

But ſhall Chriſts appearance at the laſt day be like to this fearful Sight at the giving of the Law? Yes, and a great deal more terrible. What Comfort then doth the Goſpel of Chriſt afford us Chriſtians more, then *Moſes* his Law did the Iſraelites? The Law being given in this Terrible manner, did prognoſticate or portend their fearful end which ſhould adhere unto it, or ſeek ſalvation by it without the interceſſion of a Mediator, who was to be the Author and Fountain of a better Meſſage, and more gladſome tidings from Heaven to all ſuch as ſhall ſeek Redemption by him, or Abſolution from the curſe of the Law.

This is the Prerogative of the Goſpel, as it ſtands in oppoſition to the Law, and this Prerogative is proſecuted at large by our Apoſtle in that Chapter, *Hebr.* 12. But the benefit of this Prerogative is not abſolutely Univerſal, but Conditional. It extends only to ſuch as ſhall ſhew better obedience unto Chriſt and to his Goſpel, then moſt of the Iſraelites did to *Moſes* and to his Law: To ſuch as contemn or diſobey the Goſpel, Chriſt ſhall appear a more dreadful and terrible Judge in the laſt day, then he appeared unto *Iſrael* in Mount *Sinai*: This point of Doctrine is fully proſecuted by our Apoſtle, *Heb.* 12. 25, 26, 27. *See that ye refuſe not him that ſpeaketh; for if they eſcaped not, who refuſed him that ſpake on the earth, much more ſhall not we eſcape, if we turn away from him, that ſpeaketh from heaven; whoſe voice then did ſhake the earth; but now he hath promiſed, ſaying,* Yet *once more,* I *ſhake not the earth only, but alſo heaven: And this word,* Yet once more, *ſignifyeth the removing of thoſe things that are ſhaken, as of things that are made, that thoſe things which cannot be ſhaken may remain:* God (as a learned Father obſerves) did call his people at the giving of the Law unto the *mountain then burning with fire*, to teſtifie unto the world what our *Apoſtle* ſaith in the concluſion of Chapter 12. *That he is a conſuming fire* unto the obſtinate Tranſgreſſors of his Laws; and that fire and ſmoke, that burning, blackneſs, darkneſs, and tempeſt, ſhall be the everlaſting portion of all ſuch, as ſhall not be found in Chriſt at the day of Judgment, nor then abſolved by him from the curſe of the *Law*.

A *ſpecial Obſervable*, It was Chriſt that ſhook the earth at the giving of the Law.

6. *The Point* which I would commend to *the Reader's* more ſpecial conſideration, out of the 26. *verſe* of this *Chapter*, is, *That it was the voice of Jeſus Chriſt the Mediator of the New Covenant, which did ſhake the earth at the giving of the Law:* The Apoſtle takes it as granted from the Common Rule of Interpretation, well known in thoſe times, that the ſhaking of the Earth then, was an Emblem or token of *the mutability of the Law*, and of *the unſtability of the Earth* or viſible World it ſelf. The

Earth being then ſubject to ſhaking or motion, did thereby teſtifie it ſelf to be obnoxious unto ruine and deſtruction: And in that (after this terrible *commotion of the Earth* at the giving of the Law, when *the Mountains*, as the *Pſalmiſt* ſpeaks, *Pſal.* 114. 4. *skipped like rams, and the little hills like young ſheep*) God again, by the Prophet *Haggai, chap.* 2. *verſ.* 6. denounceth, That *yet once more* he would ſuddenly *ſhake the heavens, and the earth, and the ſea, and the dry land*: This intimates unto us, that the *ſecond commotion* of the Heavens, and of the Earth (which was to be *once*, and no more) ſhould finally accompliſh that which was fore-ſhadowed or repreſented by *the former commotion of the Earth* at the giving of the Law: This *ſecond commotion* ſhall bring the Heaven and Earth to ruine, and put an end to all things mutable; or (as our Apoſtle ſpeaks) it includes the *removing of thoſe things that can be ſhaken, that thoſe things which cannot be ſhaken may remain*; that is, that there may be a world everlaſting: That which the Prophet *Haggai* intimates more darkly, the Prophet *Eſay* had expreſt more plainly, *chap.* 34. *verſ.* 4. *And all the hoſt of heaven ſhall be diſſolved, and the heaven ſhall be rolled together as a ſcroul, and all their hoſt ſhall fall down, as the leaf falleth from the Vine, and as a falling fig from a fig-tree.*

The ſame viſion was more lively and clearly made unto St. *John*, *Rev.* 6. 12, 13, 14. *And I beheld when he had opened the ſixth Seal, and lo there was a great Earthquake, and the Sun became black as Sack-cloth of hair, and the Moon became as bloud: And the Stars of heaven fell unto the earth, even as a fig-tree caſteth her untimely figs, when ſhe is ſhaken of a mighty wind: And the heaven departed as a ſcrowl, when it is rolled together, and every mountain and Iſland were moved out of their places.*

The dreadful ſounds that will be heard at Doomſday.

7. But that which ſhall add life and ſpirit to all theſe, is, *The terrible Voice or ſound*, which ſhall then be heard, ſummoning all fleſh to appear *before the judgement ſeat of Chriſt*: As it was the Voice of Chriſt, which did ſhake the earth at the giving of the Law; ſo ſhall the Voice of Chriſt (but a Voice more terrible then That) produce this terrible commotion here mentioned, in the Heavens and in the earth: For as St. *Paul* inſtructs us, 1 *Cor.* 15. 52. *The trumpet ſhall ſound, and the dead ſhall be raiſed*, &c. And again, 1 *Theſſ.* 4. 16. *The Lord himſelf ſhall deſcend from Heaven in a ſhout, with the voice of the Archangel, and with the trump of God, and the dead in Chriſt ſhall riſe firſt.* The Terror of this Voice to ſuch as ſleep not in Chriſt, may be gathered from the power or efficacy of it, which is more fully expreſſed by St. *John*, *Rev.* 20. 13. *The ſea gave up the dead which were in it, and death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them, and they were judged every man according to their works.* This Univerſal efficacy of his Voice is expreſſed by our Saviour, *John* 5. 28, 29. *The hour is coming, in which all that are in the grave, ſhall hear his voice, and ſhall come forth; they that have done good unto the reſurrection of life; they that have done evil, unto the reſurrection of damnation.*

Clavius.

Another Author tells, that *the Birds fell to the Earth* upon a great ſhout given by a multitude in an Army, or at ſome great ſolemnity.

Some late Hiſtorians and Aſtronomers, relate a natural Eclipſe of the Sun ſo terrible in *Spain*, that the Crows and other Fowls of the air, ſeeking as it ſeems to flie from it, were ſo affrighted with the ſudden encreaſe of darkneſs about mid-day, that they fell down to the earth in a deadly aſtoniſhment: What tongue then can expreſs the Dread and Horror, which the terrible apparitions at that day ſhall produce in all ſuch as have lived and died in incredulity or ſecurity of the Judgement which ſhall follow them; in all on whom that day ſhall come, as ſuddenly (without any better obſervation or preparation for it) as the fore-mentioned Eclipſe of the Sun did upon the reaſonleſs Fowls of the Air? Or if you deſire

ſire a further deſcription of the Terror, which ſhall then fall upon the Inhabitants of the earth, even upon the moſt intrepid and undanted, in reſpect of any ordinary terrors; then take it from St. *John, Rev.* 6. 15, 16. “And the Kings of the Earth, and the great men, and the rich men, “and the chief Captains, and the mighty men, and every bond-man, and “every free-man, hid themſelves in the dens, and in the Rocks of the mountains; and ſaid to the mountains, and to the rocks, fall on us, and “hide us,——.

Thus much was diſtinctly likewiſe fore-told, and Prophetically ſet forth by the Prophet *Eſay, chap.* 2. 11, *&c.* That neither St. *Johns* words nor the Prophet *Eſays* are Hyperbolical, but are Literally meant by them, and really and punctually to be fulfilled, is clear from our Saviours Interpretation of the Prophet *Eſay*, and the like paſſages of other Prophets, at his going to the Croſs, *Luke* 23. 30, 31. *Then ſhall they begin to ſay to the mountains, fall on us; and to the hills, cover us; for if they do theſe things in a green tree, what ſhall be done in a dry?* Howbeit this terror ſhall not meerly proceed from theſe terrible Spectacles and Sounds which ſhall be Antecedent to the Final Judgement, but from the Sight of Chriſt placed in his ſeat of Judicature. So St. *John* (in the forecited place, *Rev.* 6. 16.) tells us, That the affrightment and dread that ſeized upon the great men of the Earth did ariſe from ſeeing the face of him that ſate upon the Throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb.

The *Proceſs* of the final Judgment.

8. Having thus ſhown the Terrors antecedent to the Proceſs, we go on to the Proceſs it ſelf. That takes beginning from the Manner of Chriſt's Coming and approach; or from His Appearance, as he ſhall ſit in Judgement. He ſhall come from Heaven, or from the Right hand of the Throne of God, where he now ſitteth, to execute Judgement, in the open air, or in that region wherein the clouds have their Rake. The Manner of his Progreſs or approach ſhall be Swift; and, as before hath been intimated, to our apprehenſion Violent. For at his coming to Judgement, and not before, ſhall the Prophet *Eſay's* Prayer or Wiſh be accompliſhed; *Oh that thou wouldeſt rent the heavens, that thou wouldeſt come down, that the mountains might flow down at thy preſence. As when the melting fire burneth, the fire cauſeth the waters to boyl; to make thy name known to thy adverſaries, that the nations may tremble at thy preſence: When thou didſt terrible things, which we looked not for, thou cameſt down, the mountains flowed down at thy preſence,* Eſay 64. 1, 2, 3. But becauſe S. *John* intimates (in the fore-cited place) that the chief cauſe of Terror, was the ſight of him that ſate upon the Throne; we ſhall *firſt* conſider, how his Throne or Preſence is deſcribed in the Old Teſtament: *Secondly*, how theſe Deſcriptions or Repreſentations are decyphered or charactered out unto us (by more then parallels) in the New.

Of this Rule ſee *Chap.* 11. *Sect.* 9.

Now all the Propheſies or Predictions, which to this purpoſe can be produced, muſt all be interpreted by the Rule heretofore given; that is, “However they may be *literally* meant or verified of ſome former times, or “events, yet they are verified or meant of them *Inchoativè* only: They are “not, they cannot be *Completivè* applied to any other time or times, beſides the day of Final Judgement, or the world to come, which ſhall enſue upon it: The terror of his Throne, and of him that ſitteth thereon, is deſcribed, *Dan.* 7. 9, 10. “I beheld till the Thrones were caſt down, “and the Ancient of days did ſit, whoſe garment was white as ſnow, “and the hair of his head like pure wool; his Throne was like the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire. A fiery ſtream iſſued and came “forth from before him, thouſand thouſands miniſtred unto him, and

“ ten thouſand times ten thouſand ſtood before him: the Judgement was “ ſet, and the Books were opened.

The Fiery Wheels are Emblems of his ſuddain approach, or of the ſwiftneſs of his Judgements to overtake his Enemies: Though the Viſion was new and uncouth, yet the branches of the things ſeen or revealed unto *Daniel*, were known before unto Gods Prophets; His Seat or Throne was prepared of old; ſo ſaith the *Pſalmiſt*, *Pſal.* 9. 4. “ Thou haſt maintain- “ ed my right and my cauſe, thou ſateſt in the Throne judging right: And again, *verſ.* 6, 7. “ O thou enemy, deſtruction is come to a perpetual end, “ and thou haſt deſtroyed Cities, their memorial is periſhed with them: “ But the Lord ſhall endure for ever, he hath prepared his Throne for judgement. [See *Pſal.* 96. *verſ.* 10, 13. And *Pſal.* 98. *verſ.* 8, 9.] But *Daniel* ſaw more ſeats, and Thrones then one, albeit he mention (as perhaps he ſaw) none ſitting in them: This, as one wittily commenteth upon this place of *Daniel*, is an Emblem of the Law, which was an Emptineſs or *vacuum* in reſpect of the Goſpel; and as all things elſe in the Law prefigured or forepainted, were ſolidly accompliſhed in the Goſpel: So theſe Seats, which are here indefinitely repreſented unto us by *Daniel*, without any ſpecification of their number, without intimation of any ſitting on them, are pictured unto us by St. *John*, with 24. Elders ſitting upon them, *Rev.* 4. 4. *And round about the Throne were* 24. *ſeats, and upon the ſeats I ſaw* 24. *Elders ſitting, and clothed in white raimant, and they had on their heads Crowns of Gold:* Our Saviour had ſaid unto his Apoſtles, *Matth.* 19. 28. that *They ſhould ſit upon twelve ſeats, judging the twelve Tribes of Iſrael.* And twelve Heads of the Tribes of *Iſrael*, or the like number of Select Ones, who lived under the Old Teſtament, may make up the number of 24. That as all the Truths of both Teſtaments will conſummately be fulfilled, ſo the Saints of Both may then be moſt perfectly united in the Church Triumphant.

9. But to proceed to ſuch other Repreſentations as are to be found in the Scripture: This manner of Chriſt coming to Judge the earth, or of his appearance in glory, was repreſented unto *Moſes* and to the Iſraelites, *Exod.* 24. 10, 17. “ The ſight of the glory of the Lord, was like devou- “ ring fire on the top of the mount, in the eyes of the children of Iſrael: And this fire had devoured them, if they had approached the mountain, or Gods preſence, without Gods invitation: *But* Moſes *and* Aaron, Nadab *and* Abihu, *and* 70. *of the Elders of Iſrael went up, and ſaw the God of Iſrael, and there was under his feet as it were a paved work of a* Saphir *ſtone, and as it were the body of Heaven in its clearneſs: And upon the Nobles of the children of Iſrael he laid not his hand.*

This was a peculiar Priviledge or diſpenſation: Alſo they ſaw God, and did eat and drink, and in this day repreſented the ſtate of the Elect; which, notwithſtanding the terror of that laſt day, ſhall be invited by Chriſt, and be admitted to eat and drink with him in his Kingdom. But this diſpenſation during the time of the Law was not granted to all Iſrael, but to *Moſes* and *Aaron*, *Nadab* and *Abihu*, and to the 70. Elders or Nobles of Iſrael only; unto all the reſt, whom God did not vouchſafe to invite, the Spectacle, though ſeen afar off, was Terrible; ſo terrible that they durſt not approach unto it. So ſhall the coming of the Son of Man be to all the kindreds of the earth, which have not hearkened to his ſweet and loving Invitation here on earth: All ſuch as have neglected them, or make their appearance before him without a garment or habit in ſome ſort ſuitable to the Marriage, unto which they have been invited, ſhall be everlaſtingly excluded and caſt into utter darkneſs, where ſhall be nothing but weeping, and wailing, and gnaſhing of teeth: But the thred which I am now to follow, is the forementioned Propheſie, *Dan.* 7. *verſ.* 9.

10. Now, whether *in the viſion of the Ancient of days, God the Father were perſonally repreſented*; or whether *it were a repreſentation of the Godhead or Divine Power only, as it is indiviſibly in the Bleſſed Trinity, without any note of Perſonal difference*; or whether *at the laſt day there ſhall be any diſtinct repreſentation of Chriſts ſitting at the right hand of the Father*; or whether *The Throne of the Son of God ſhall then only appear*; are *Queſtions* which I will refer wholly to the Schools. It ſufficeth us to believe and know, that *the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all Judgement*, eſpecially this Final Judgement, *to the Son*; and that the SON OF MAN ſhall then appear in the *Glory of his God-head*, in Glory equal to *God the Father.*

What manner of appearance this ſhall be, and how the world ſhall be affected with it, we are now to inquire ſo far as is fitting, taking the deſcription of it from Gods written word. And haply, leſt we ſhould conceive of God the Father, as more ancient for dayes, then the Son, (which Transformation of the Divine Nature the pictures of the Bleſſed Trinity ſeen and allowed by the *Roman* Church, do naturally and inevitably ſuggeſt to the unlearned) Saint *John* doth deſcribe the Son of Man, or that glory wherein the Son of God and the Son of Man ſhall then appear, much after the ſame manner, that *Daniel* had done the Ancient of Dayes, *Dan.* 7. 9, 10. The deſcription of the Son of God and of the Son of Man taken by St. *John*, is, *Rev.* 1. 13, 14, 15, 16. *And I ſaw in the midſt of the 7. Candleſticks one like unto the Son of Man, clothed with a garment down to the foot, and girt about the paps with a golden girdle. His head and his hairs were white like wooll, as white as ſnow, and his eyes were as a flame of fire. And his feet like unto fine braſs, as if they burned in a furnace, and his voice as the ſound of many waters. And he had in his right hand ſeven ſtars, and out of his mouth went a ſharp two edged ſword, and his countenance was as the Sun ſhineth in his ſtrength.*

You have heard before out of the ſeventeenth of St. *Matthew*, that St. *Peter*, *James* and *John*, when they were ſpectators of his transfiguration, (which was but a repreſentation of the Son of Mans coming in his kingdom) when they heard *the voice out of the cloud, fell on their faces, and were ſore afraid*, until he came and *touched them, and ſaid, ariſe, be not afraid.* This ſight or viſion of his glory, *Apoc.* 1. 17, 18. was more terrible then the Voice which they then heard. *When I ſaw him* (ſaith St. *John*) *I fell at his feet as dead, and he laid his right hand upon me, ſaying unto me, fear not, I am the firſt and the laſt, I am he that liveth, and was dead, and behold I am alive for evermore, Amen, and have the Keys of hell and of death.* The exerciſe of this great Power, and of the Keys ſhall not be fully manifeſted until his glorious appearance in Judgment. The like deſcription of the Son of man in his Glory, we have, *Apoc.* 19. 11, 12. “And “I ſaw heaven opened, and behold a white Horſe, and he that ſate upon him was called Faithful and True, and in righteouſneſs he doth “judge and make war. His eyes were as a flame of fire, and on his head “were many crowns. Now albeit in this verſe Chriſt be called Faithful and True, as being the ſole and full Accompliſher of our Belief in Gods promiſes, yet theſe Titles are no way ſufficient to expreſs his dignity. To ſhew us that his glorious Majeſty is altogether unexpreſſible by Man or Angel, it is expreſly added by St. *John* in the next words, *And he had A Name written, that no man knew, but he himſelf.* And yet, *ver.* 13. it

Chriſts Exerciſe of the power of the Keys of Hell, and Death, not fully manifeſted till Doomſday.

is ſaid, *His Name is called, The Word of God.* This is not that Name which no man knew beſides himſelf, for St. *John* knew him by this Name when he wrote his Goſpel; and this is a name which doth more fitly, and more fully expreſs the Majeſty, Glory and Power, wherein he ſhall at the laſt day appear, then the former attributes of Faithful and True, or any other Name that is given unto him in the Word of God: This contains all the reſt. And they much diſparage this Name, and much eclipſe the dignity contained in it, who reſtrain it only unto his Fidelity in fulfilling or performing Gods Word to his Elect, or to the Execution of Gods judgements upon their Enemies; Though all this be included in it, as it followeth verſ. 15. *And out of his mouth goeth a ſharp ſword, that with it he ſhould ſmite the Nations*, *and he ſhall rule them with a rod of Iron, and he treadeth the wine-preſs of the fierceneſs and wrath of Almighty God. And he hath on his veſture, and on his thigh a name written*, KING OF KINGS, *and* LORD OF LORDS.

The great Excellencies of Chriſts Name, *The Word.*

11. But both theſe Deſcriptions of St. *John*, you will ſay, are Emblematical, and not to be underſtood according to the Letter; at the leaſt Chriſt ſhall not at the day of Judgment viſibly appear in this Form and Habit, or with a ſharp Sword in his mouth. The Real Power and Dignity, which is painted out unto us by this Emblem, is already exemplified, and ſhall be further exemplified in defending His Church in general, or advancing the eſtate of the forlorn Jewiſh Nation before that great and terrible day, wherein he ſhall ſet a period to all wars and contentions, to all exerciſe of hoſtility againſt his Church.

The *Real Dignity* emblemed in the *Sharp Sword going out of Chriſts mouth*; is, Defender of his Church.

The power of Chriſt here deſcribed by S. *John* (the exerciſe whereof is not yet accompliſhed, but ſhall as ſome Interpreters think, be remarkably verified before the laſt day, in advancing the Jewiſh Nation, and executing vengeance upon their perſecutors) was moſt divinely diſplayed by *Moſes* in that his excellent Song, *Deut.* 32. 41, 42. and in particular repreſented in an Emblem or character, like to that which *St. John* ſaw. *If I whet my glittering Sword, and my hand take hold of judgment, I will render vengeance to mine enemies, and will reward them that hate me. I will make mine arrows drunk with bloud (and my Sword ſhall devour fleſh) and that with the bloud of the ſlain and of the Captives*, &c. But however this propheſie may be remarkably verified in the calling of the *Jews*, yet the Majeſty and Power, which is pictured out unto us in theſe *Emblematical deſcriptions*, whether made by *Moſes* or St. *John*, ſhall not fully be accompliſhed or exemplified before the laſt day; At that laſt Day, and not before, ſhall the full importance of his former Name be made known; then he ſhall manifeſt himſelf to be the OMNIPOTENT and ETERNAL WORD.

but is the importance of this Name, or Emblem by which the power of it is Emblazon'd; to wit, his Sharp and Glittering Sword, any where literally expreſt in the Apoſtles writings? It is moſt fully and moſt emphatically, *Heb.* 4. 12, 13. Vivus eſt Sermo Dei, *The word of God is quick and powerful, and ſharper then any two edged Sword*, &c. Yet is it queſtioned by ſome (whoſe names I conceal) whether by *The Word of God* in that place, the Eternal Word himſelf be literally and directly meant; or whether St. *Paul* by *The Word of God*, means the ſelf ſame that St. *John* doth in his Goſpel, *v.* 1. *In the beginning was the Word.* And again, *v.* 14. *The Word was made fleſh.* It is a very weak Exception, which ſome, otherwiſe learned Interpreters of this Epiſtle, and powerful in the Word of God, have made unto the contrary. The ſtrength of their Exception is this, *Becauſe the Author of that Epiſtle no where elſe enſtiles the Son of God, The Word of God.* But to this Exception the Anſwer is very eaſie: *Becauſe the Author of that Epiſtle had no where elſe the like occaſion thus to enſtile him.* And the ſame exception,

Whether St. *John*, and St. *Paul*, by *The Word of God*, mean our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

were it warrantable, might be taken againſt the literal meaning of St. *John*, or againſt the ordinary-interpretation of the firſt Verſe of his Goſpel; becauſe St. *John* no where elſe, beſides in the two Verſes before mentioned, enſtiles the Son of God by the ſame name; nor doth any other Evangeliſt beſides St. *John* enſtile him by this name at all. Now becauſe this paſſage of St. *Paul*, *Hebr.* 4. is miſinterpreted by divers, and not fully interpreted by any, that I have read, and yet, being rightly or more fully interpreted, will give beſt light unto the Manner of Chriſts Proceſs in Judgment, I cannot better beſtow my pains and time then in the Explication of thoſe words, *Vivus eſt Sermo Dei*, or *vivum eſt verbum Dei*: *The Word of God is quick and powerful*, &c.

An Explication of *Heb.* 4. 12, 13.

12. If by *The Word of God* in this place, The Son of God, God bleſſed for ever, be not literally and moſt directly meant; the full meaning of the Apoſtle muſt be reſtrained either to the Word of God written, or ſpoken by his Ambaſſadors. Now that the Word of God whether written or preached (or both written and preached) cannot be the direct and compleat ſubject of the Apoſtles Aſſertion in theſe two verſes, the former Arguments or exceptions againſt this interpretation will clearly evince, if we retort them *Thus*. Such glorious Attributes as are in theſe verſes aſcribed unto the Word of God, are no where elſe, either in this Epiſtle, or in the Old Teſtament, or in the New, attributed to the Word of God, either as written or preached; no, not to it as preached by the Son of God himſelf; Therefore this place cannot be fully or compleatly meant of the Word of God either Written or Preached. No other beſides the Son of God, can be the direct or principal Subject of the Literal and aſſertive ſenſe in any propoſition in theſe two verſes contained. Yet do we not deny that both verſes may in ſome ſort be literally meant of the Word Preached or Written, *Pro modulo*; that is, ſo far as the Word Written or Preached hath reference or *Analogy* to the Eternal Word, or to his Power here deſcribed. For the Son of God is ſeldom, if at all, enſtiled *The Word of God*, without importance of ſome tranſcendent relation to the Word of God Written or Preached. And from this affinity, which the Word Written or Uttered hath with the *eternal and unutterable Word of God*, the Word Written or Preached may have ſome ſhare or portion, as it were by Reverſion, in the Attributes here aſſigned unto *The word of God*.

The Word writ or preached, not only nor chiefly meant, *Heb.* 4. 12.

But the compleat Subject either of the Firſt Propoſition, *The Word of God is lively*; or of the ſecond, *The Word of God is powerful*; or of the third, *The Word of God is ſharper then any two edged Sword*: the Word Written or Preached cannot be: Nothing can be beſides God himſelf, or that Word which St. *John* ſaith, *was in the beginning*, in whom was life, and whoſe *life was the light of men*.

Nor are the peculiar and ſpecial Attributes of God any where in Scripture ſet forth in a more full and Majeſtick Character of words then in theſe words of St. *Paul*.

The propoſitions are in number ſeven or eight. The Subject of all the propoſitions, ὁ λόγος, THE WORD, is the ſame. And for this reaſon, if any of theſe Attributes be literally meant of the Son of God, or of the Son of God only *Completive*, all the reſt muſt be compleatly meant of him. He only it is, *Qui tanti menſuram nominis implet*, who rightly fills the Importance of this Title, λόγος, or Word, in that place. Admit then the Word Written or Preached may truly be ſaid to be *quick and powerful*, and in ſome ſort, not *more ſharp*, *but more piercing*, *then any two edged Sword* (for a Sword with one edge may be as ſharp as a Sword with two edges, but not ſo piercing;) but admit the Word of God preached

ched might be more piercing then any Sword, yet could it not properly be ſaid to be a *diſcerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart*, or that *there is no creature, which is not manifeſt unto it*; nor can it poſſibly be imagined to be the Logical Subject of the two laſt Propoſitions: for the Apoſtle plainly ſpeaks of a living perſon; *Neither is there any creature, that is not manifeſt in* HIS SIGHT, *but all things are naked and open unto the eyes* OF HIM, πρὸς ὃν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος, that is, as our Engliſh renders it, *with whom we have to do*; as *Beza* and *Calvin* had before better expreſſed it then *Eraſmus*, who renders it, *of whom we ſpeak*; or then the Vulgar Latin, *ad quem nobis eſt ſermo*; Of which Latin I know not how to make good Engliſh. But the Syriack of all moſt fully. *All things are opened unto the eyes of him, to whom men muſt render an account.* Every one that hears the Word preached muſt give an account of the Word which he hears; but this account we muſt not, we cannot give unto the Word, preached but unto him whoſe Words they are which we hear, or from Whom the Word preached muſt derive all the efficacy, force and power which it hath.

The full meaning of the Original, if any be diſpoſed to have it fully rendred in the Original tongue, is as much as, ᾧ ἐσμὲν ὑπεύθυνοι, *cui à nobis reddenda eſt ratio, to whom we muſt render our final account*; ſuch is the uſual importance of the word [λόγος] in matters civil, or of contract or covenant. So ſaith *Athanaſius* in his Creed; at his coming to judge the quick and the dead, *all men ſhall riſe again with their bodies, and ſhall give* ACCOUNT *for their own works.* And our Apoſtle ſuppoſeth that this account muſt be given by every one, before he receive his doom for *things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad.*

13. So then all men muſt be ὑπεύθυνοι, muſt *reddere rationem*, render a final account of their own works; And we Chriſtians in ſpecial of the Word of God read or preached unto us, how far it hath fructified or miſcarried in us. And this account, or λόγον, we muſt render τῷ λόγῳ, to the Eternal Word or Son of God, by whom God made the World. But albeit St. *Paul* by the word [λόγος] *Hebr.* 4. mean the ſelf ſame Perſon, or party, whom St. *John* doth in the firſt of his Goſpel; yet may we hence diſcover a further Notion or importance of the ſame word [λόγος] as it is the peculiar Title of the Son of God, then was before (*Book* 7th. Chap. 26.) expreſt in handling that Point [*how the word was made fleſh*] or why the Son of God was called THE WORD.] The Reaſon was, not only becauſe he was the Speaker of the Trinity, or the Declarer of Gods Will unto men, nor becauſe he was the main Object of all Gods word, whether revealed to *Moſes* or the Prophets; but ſpecially or moſt principally, *for that he was the expreſs Image of God the Father*, or Verbum internum, *the full expreſſion of the Wiſdom, Power and Majeſty of the Father*; And withal more then the Ideal Patern, according to which all things were made. For though he be the full expreſſion of the power and wiſdom of his Father, as he is *his only begotten Son* from all eternity, yet are not all things, which are made by him, or can be made by him, a full expreſſion of his power or wiſdom. *He was begotten not made, by his Father, and therefore equal to him.* The world was made by Him, not begotten, and therefore far inferior to him. He is a patern, or λόγος of all things that are made; but a patern that cannot be paralleld by them. As he was the patern, or λόγος, by whom the world was made, and ſo conſidered by St. *John*; So is He the patern or exemplary Rule of all the Laws, which God hath given to man, whether written in their hearts, or in the Book of Grace, or of Nature; The Rule or patern of all the words which God hath ſpoken to men by his Apoſtles,

by his Prophets, or by this λόγος or Son himſelf. And, according to this Notion or importance of the word [λόγος] he is by St. *Paul* called, ὁ λόγος, unto whom all men muſt *reddere* τὸν λόγον, render an account of their words, of their works, and of their thoughts: he being in all reſpects the moſt compleat Rule or Exemplar by which all words, all works and thoughts, for which men are to make account, are to be valued or cenſured; the only μέτρον, or exact meaſure of all approbation or diſprovement of the accompts to be made, or of the words, works, or thoughts, for which we are to render account. From this Notion or importance of the word [λόγος] we may take a true Notion or ſcantling of the Attributes or titles given to the Word of God by S. *Paul*, *Heb.* 4. and how well they conſort with the Word Written or Preached, as it hath reference to this Eternal Word. The Word of God written or Preached, although in it ſelf it be more powerful then any two edged ſword; yet, as it is managed or weilded by us his weak Inſtruments, is but as a good ſword in an infants hand; but though as uttered by us it doth not exerciſe its ſtrength upon our hearers, yet doth it not utterly periſh or loſe its efficacy; but every word ſpoken in his Name, though for the preſent it have no ſuch ſucceſs as we could wiſh, yet it is not altogether ſpoken in vain, it returns unto him whoſe Word it is; and in his mouth or preſence the Word preached by us becomes like *Scanderbegs* ſword in *Scanderbegs* hand, and ſhall in the laſt day recover ſtrength and force from the powerful appearance of this Eternal Word, or λόγος. *So that all the glorious Attributes given by St.* Paul *unto* The Word of God, *are* primarily *and principally* true of the Eternal Word, *yet* ſecondarily *and leſs principally of the* Word preached *with reference unto him.*

14. The *Word preached* is not altogether dead, but lively, and quick, and powerful in its operation; and ſhall at the laſt day be more piercing then any *two edged ſword*, and *divide between the ſpirit and the ſoul.* A two edged ſword may cut the bones, and divide the joynts and the marrow, it may divide the ſoul from the body, or at leaſt ſend the ſoul out of the body before the time by the courſe of nature allotted. But between the *ſoul and the ſpirit* no material ſword can make diviſion. The moſt piercing ſword, though it hath (as the Original imports) *two mouths to devour*, yet *eyes* it hath none to diſtinguiſh between the parts which it divides; but cuts as it falls, or as it is directed by the eyes and hands of him which wields it; But *The Word of God*, here principally meant ſeeth all the particles, betwixt which it makes diviſion; it is a *diſcerner* or Judge *of the thoughts and intents of the heart*, how ſecret ſoever they be, how inſeparable ſoever they be from the ſoul or ſpirit; though our inward parts be covered with skin, with fleſh and bones, yet are they naked and as it were *anatomized* (for ſo the Original imports) unto the eyes of this λόγος, to whom we are to render our account.

In the firſt creation he was not only ὁ λόγος, the live *Idea* or patern, unto whoſe Image men and Angels were created, and of whoſe Excellency the whole world, and all the creatures in it, are but ſcattered and broken expreſſions; but withal, λόγος δημιουργὸς, the framer or maker of all things viſible and inviſible; for *God the Father* made all things by this λόγος, without any inſtrumental help or ſervice, after a more excellent & expedit manner, then (ſhould we *ſuppoſe*, or could we imagine ſuch a thing) any *Architect* or skilful Artificer, that could be ſuppoſed able to frame or make a material building, or other work of his profeſſion, without any manual labour, without any materials or inſtruments, beſides the pattern or exemplar, which he conceives in his mind or imagination. In the diſſolution of this world, or in the erection of the world to come, which ſhall take beginning from the day of our final accompts, the ſame λόγος, or *Eternal Word of God*, ſhall manifeſt himſelf to be, not only the live *Idæa or patern of Gods moral or eternal Law*, by which all mankind ſhall be judged, and our accompt either finally approved or diſproved; but to be withall λόγος ζῶν ϗ ἐνεργὴς; A *Law* endued with *Life*, with *wiſdom* and *power*: Nor ſuch a Law only, but a *Living*, *Wiſe*, *Omnipotent Judge*. All theſe Attributes, or the things ſignified by them, with all the reſt, that can be required in a *Law*, a *Rule*, or *Judge*, are in *Him* undivided, and according to the *Infinity of perfection*. Yet that we may the better conceive the infiniteneſs of his perfection, as *Law* and *Judge*, it will not be amiſs to conſider of *theſe Attributes ſeverally*, as they are found amongſt us.

15. *Every good Law is a kind of ſilent Magiſtrate or Judge; and every good and perfect Judge or Magiſtrate is a ſpeaking Law.* So they ought to be. But theſe *two Perfections* ſeldom meet in the Government of any well ordered Commonweal, or Church on earth. In ſome Nations the written *Laws* be tolerably good, or comparatively very good, but the *Magiſtrates* for the moſt part either ignorant in the *Laws*, or unexperienced in applying their true intent and meaning to meet with every tranſgreſſion; or ſo manacled with *Golden Fetters*, that they have no great liſt or dexterity to put what they know in execution. In other places the Magiſtrates or *Judges* are learned and ſincere laws to themſelves, and fit *Laws*, for others to be ruled by, were not their good purpoſes reſtrained or pinioned by harſh and obſolete *Laws*, or not well conſorting with the times wherein they live.

This Jargon between wiſe and wholſom *Laws*, and unskilful or corrupt *Magiſtrates*; or between religious, wiſe and induſtrious *Magiſtrates*, and imperfect, partial, or naughty *Laws*, hath been in moſt Ages and Nations ſo common, that many accurate *Politicians*, or Obſervers of the courſe of Juſtice, have brought the *main Queſtion* concerning all State Government to this ſhort iſſue, and ſubmitted it to the touch and trial of learned diſpute, *Whether it be better to be governed by a dead and ſilent*, or *by a live and ſpeaking Law?* That is, whether were moſt expedient for all or moſt States, that the written Law ſhould be above the ſupream Magiſtrate, or Majeſty; or the ſupream Magiſtrate or Majeſty of every Nation above the written Laws? But admitting that every Nation had Laws as perfect as the wit of man could deviſe, ſuch as would give contentment to every member that were to be governed by them, and *Magiſtrates* to put ſuch Laws in execution as ſincere, as wiſe, as well experienced, as induſtrious, as couragious as any in former times have been, or can in this life be expected; yet the moſt perfect or abſolute Law that can be made by man; that can be written, though made by *God himſelf*, could not be able to put it ſelf in execution, or to recompence every tranſgreſſion as it deſerves. Nor can the wiſeſt, the moſt ſincere and induſtrious *Magiſtrate* poſſibly know every tranſgreſſor of the *Law*, or every miſdemeanor committed within a little Province or Corporation. And albeit the *Magiſtrate* only can give life to the *Law*, yet can no *Magiſtrate* give life to any *Law*, or put it in execution according to the *Rule of Juſtice*, unleſs he know the tranſgreſſor & the quality of his *tranſgreſſion*. And for *this reaſon, even thoſe States which have comparatively the beſt Laws, and the wiſeſt Magiſtrates, admit, or rather require and authorize Informers.* And after the Information given, the *Magiſtrate* muſt proceed *ſecundum allegata & probata*, according to the information given by legal and competent witneſſes. Now to make the *Informers & Witneſſes* always ſincere, the beſt *Laws & Magiſtrates* are not able.

The *Law* of God indeed is a *Law* moſt perfect, moſt infallible, but no *living Rule* to ſee and diſcern every tranſgreſſion againſt it, no *ſpeaking Rule* to give information or teſtimony againſt the tranſgreſſors of it, much leſs a *living Judge* to reward or puniſh every obſerver or tranſgreſſor of it. But all the perfections, that can be imagined in any *Law*, in any *Informer*, in any *Witneſs*, in any *Judge* or manager of Juſtice are eminently and moſt perfectly contained in *This Word*, or λόγος, *with whom we have to do*, or, *to whom we are to render our accompt*, without any tincture or admixture of their imperfections. And thus they all are in him moſt perfect, not by way of *Union* or *Unition*, but according to moſt perfect and indiviſible *Unity*.

Moſt high Perfections implyed in ὁ λόγος.

As all things were made by him without help or inſtrumental ſervice; So all the thoughts, all the words and works of men are immediatly known unto him without any *Prompter* or Informer, and every man ſhall be judged by him according to all his works without any Advocate or aſſiſtant. As he is the expreſs Image or full expreſſion of his *Fathers Perſon*, and himſelf as truly God as his Father is; ſo he is the μέτρον or *menſura omnium*, the exact meaſure of every thing, that can be known, that can be done, ſpoken, or thought, and the juſt recompence of all deſerts. He containes an exact proportion or diſproportion to every thought, word, or action, that hath proceeded from the heart and mind of man; an exact proportion of every thought, word, or deed, that held conſort with the *Law of the mind* or of the *ſpirit*; an exact diſproportion to every rebellious motion, that hath been conceived by the *Law of the fleſh* againſt the *Law of the mind*; and even in this reſpect he is called ὁ λόγος, or λόγος λόγων; for ſo the *Original word* oft times imports as much as proportion, or an exact meaſure by which all proportion or conſonancy, all diſproportion or diſſonancy may be known or notified: As, if the *Baſis* or *Diapaſon* be ſound and good, every *Note* or ſound of the ſame inſtrument doth notifie the meaſure of its conſonancy or diſſonancy to it by its own ſound. And in this ſenſe he is, λόγος ζῶν καὶ ἐνεργὴς, a *living* meaſure or proportion. And every thought or ſecret inclination of man, that is conſonant to this living Rule or Law, hath more then a Geometrical proportion, a *live proportion* or ſympathy with him. And we ſhall need no other bliſs and happineſs, then a true *Sympathy* and conſort with him. Every thought or inclination of the fleſh, that is diſſonant to this living Rule, or λόγος, include, more then a dead diſproportion, a *live Antipathy* to his purity; and according to the meaſure of every mans diſproportion or *Antipathy* to this living Rule ſhall the meaſure of his wretchedneſs or infelicity be. In all theſe, and many other reſpects is the *Son of God* enſtyled ὁ λόγος, as he is the Judge of quick and dead.

16. But doth the *Intent* or *Inference* of the Apoſtle in that fourth *Chapter to the Hebrews*, lead us unto any ſuch apprehenſion or conſtruction as hath been made of his Attributes? It doth, if we look not, as the Jews did, only into the *dead Letter*, but dive into the *live ſenſe* or meaning of the *Spirit*, or of the *Apoſtle* himſelf: His principal ſcope or aim was, to admoniſh his hearers, and in them all, that confeſs *Chriſt* to be the *Son of God* and their Redeemer, to be vigilant and careful whileſt it is *called to day*, that they do not incur Gods high diſpleaſure, or provoke his ſentence of utter excluſion from that *Eternal Reſt*, whereof that *Reſt* which *Joſhuah* brought the *Iſraelites* unto, when he gave them poſſeſſion of the land of *Canaan*, was but the *Map* or ſhadow. The *Iſraelites* without exception had a promiſe of entring into the land of *Canaan*, and under it a promiſe of entring into a better *Reſt*. *But the word preached*, ſaith the Apoſtle verſe 2. *did not profit them, not being mixed with Faith.* The fooliſh poſterity of thoſe rebellious Fathers, which were excluded *by oath* from entring into the land of *Canaan*, and were conſumed in the wilderneſs,

miſdeemed, that *Gods* promiſe of bringing that Nation into the land of their *Reſt* had been accompliſhed in the conqueſt of it by *Joſhuah*, or in continuance of like victorious ſucceſs unto themſelves. And by this conceit, and by the diſobedience (which this conceit brought forth) againſt the *Son of God revealed*, the moſt of this Nation, ſince his manifeſtation in the fleſh, have lived and died in a more miſerable eſtate then their Fathers did, which died in the widerneſs. For neither *Chriſtian charity*, nor the *Analogy of Chriſtian faith*, will permit us to ſay or think, that all the *Iſraelites*, which were excluded by *Oath* from entring into the land of *Canaan*, or of their promiſed *earthly reſt*, were alſo utterly excluded from entring into the Kingdom of heaven. They, as well as we, were to render an accompt, unto *This Eternal Word*; for he it was which ſpake to *Moſes* in Mount *Sinai*, but was not then manifeſted in the fleſh; nor was the Article of his incarnation expreſly or explicitly known to all or moſt that received benefit by it. The accompt which they were to make, was not ſo punctual, nor their examination ſo ſtrict. For that, which St. *Paul* ſaith of the ancient *Heathens*, holds true in proportion of the ancient *Iſraelites*. *God* (ſaith he) *winked at theſe times of ignorance*, Act. 17. 30, 31. *but now commandeth all men every where to repent*, *becauſe he hath appointed a day, in which he will judge the world in righteouſneſs.* But was not this day appointed in theſe times of *ignorance*, at which God *winked?* Yes, before them; but not ſo fully declared, nor the manner of it ſo diſtinctly known, as ſince *Chriſts Reſurrection* it hath been. From this difference of times, and from the different condition of men living ſince *Chriſts Reſurrection*, and from the diverſity of the account, which they muſt render, in reſpect of them which lived before it, St. *Paul* makes that inference Hebrews 4. 11. *Let us labour therefore to enter into that reſt*, *leſt any man fall after the ſame example of unbelief* (*or diſobedience.*) The *Iſraelites* fell in the wilderneſs for their diſobedience to *Gods word written or ſpoken*; they did not ſo immediately treſpaſs againſt this λόγος, or Word, which ſince hath been made fleſh, as all unbelievers and diſobedient men ſince he was made fleſh.

Now to fortifie this inference he addeth, verſ. 12. *Vivus eſt ſermo Dei*, *The Word or* λόγος, *to whom we are to render an accompt*, *is quick and powerful*, *more piercing then any two edged ſword.* So far from winking at the ignorance of theſe times, *that all things are naked and open unto his eyes. His countenance* (as Saint *John* ſaith) *was as the Sun ſhineth in his ſtrength.* Rev. 1. 16. *and his eyes as a flame of fire*; verſ. 14. unto his eyes thus opened, when the Judgment ſhall beſet, *the Books*, as Daniel ſaith, *were opened*, Dan. 7. 10. And this Propheſie is unfolded by St. *John*, *Rev.* 20. 12. *And I ſaw the dead*, *ſmall and great*, *ſtand before God*, *and the Books were opened*, *and another Book was opened*, *which is the Book of life*, *and the dead were judged out of thoſe things*, *which were written in the Books according to their works.*

The *Books* to *be opened* at *Chriſts* coming.

17. This is the next part of the *Proceſs*; and by the *Books* which are *opened*, the beſt Interpreters, Ancient and Modern, underſtand the *Books of Conſcience*, which until that day ſhall not be unfolded, or become fully legible, no not unto them which *keep theſe Books*, though every man have one of them, or at leaſt an exact *Copy* or Exemplification of them. For it may be that the *Authentick Copy or Regiſter* of every mans Conſcience is treaſured up in this *Eternal* λόγος, and their *Copies* ſhall become legible by his appearance. Many actual ſins, many ſecret thoughts, or evil words, have been daily practiſed or entertained by us, which leave no print or impreſſion in our Phantaſies of their paſſage. The memory of many

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groſs ſins, which for the preſent make deep impreſſion, daily wears out or decays to our apprehenſions; their print or Character in ſome being defaced or obliterated by new ones more groſs; *as* if a man ſhould write in Capital Letters upon a paper already written in a ſmaller Character and more obſcure. In others, the *Records of Conſcience,* though in themſelves legible, ſo they would look into them, are wrapt up in multiplicity of buſineſs. But when the *Judge* ſhall appear in his Glory, *the Book* ſhall be fully opened, the Character or impreſſion of every ſinful thought or action ſhall then become legible; not a ſyllable of what we have ſpoken to our ſelves ſhall be loſt; and every letter and every ſyllable which hath not been waſht away or purified *by the Bloud of the Lamb,* ſhall be as a *ſtigma*, or brand to the Soul and Conſcience, wherein it is found, and ſhall fret as an incurable *Gangren*, or Canker. Every ſeed of Corruption, whether propagated from our firſt parents, or ſown by our ſelves, which ſeemed to lie dead without all motion, unleſs they be truly mortified by the ſpirit, ſhall at the appearance of the *Sun of Righteouſneſs* begin to quicken and grow ripe in a moment. And albeit theſe ſeeds be as many in number as the ſand, though our whole fleſh or bodily man be more full of them, then any fiſhes ventricle is full of Spawn, yet the leaſt of them ſhall grow for its malignant quality into a Serpent, and ſting the ſoul and body, wherein it bred like an Adder. Theſe are the beſt fruits, which they that daily *ſow unto the fleſh*, ſhall then *reap of the fleſh*, even *corruption,* ſorrow, and torments incorruptible and unſufferable, yet perpetually to be ſuffered by them. But of the quality and perpetuity of theſe pains hereafter by Gods aſſiſtance, when we come to the *Award* or Sentence.

18, Now to conclude; Albeit this ὁ λόγος, this *Eternal Word of God*, before whoſe Judgment Seat we muſt appear, and to whom we are to render our final accompt, were made fleſh, to the end and purpoſe that the very words of God immediately uttered by himſelf, which formerly ſo uttered, did ſound nothing but death and deſtruction to fleſh and bloud, might become the very food of life, being thus diſtilled and uttered by an Organ of fleſh; yet ſuch they are only unto ſuch as receive him, and are purified in ſoul and conſcience by them. *To ſuch as received him,* ſaith S. *John*, *he gave this priviledge to become the Sons of God*, Joh. 1. 12. *But every man* (ſaith the ſame St. *John*, 1 Epiſt. cap. 3. ver. 3.) *that hath this hope in him, purifies himſelf, even as he is pure.* As for the diſobedient, and ſuch as wallow in filthineſs, the preſence or voice of God, though he appear or ſpeak unto us in our nature, ſhall not be leſs dreadful to them, then it was before the word was made fleſh; but rather his appearance in our nature ſhall add terror and dread to his voice and preſence. And therefore it is remarkably added by St. *John*, Rev. 6. 16. that the diſobedient *ſhall ſay unto the Mountains and Rocks, fall on us, and hide us from the face of him that ſitteth upon the Throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb.* For though the wiſdom of the Fleſh did alwayes include an Enmity unto the purity of the *Divine Nature*, yet this Enmity or *Antipathy* is moſt directly againſt the innocency and integrity of the Lamb; It is under the ſame *Kind* with the Enmity of the womans ſeed and the Serpents, nor ſhall the malignity of it fully appear or come unto a perfect Criſis until the Lamb appear in Judgment, *He* is now a *Lamb* mild and gentle, and eaſie to be entreated by all ſuch, as ſeek to become like him in innocency and purity of life, but ſhall in that day manifeſt himſelf to *be the Lion of the Tribe of Judah*, to execute vengeance upon all ſuch as have abuſed his patience and long ſuffering by continuance in beaſtlineſs, or enmity to Lamb-like innocency and purity. He ſhall then appear an inflexible *Judge*, bnt yet continues a merciful and loving High-prieſt to make interceſſion for us. *Seeing then* ſaith St. *Paul*, *Heb.*4.14, *&c.* (and it is his Concluſion of his former deſcription of him, as our Omnipotent All-ſeeing Judg) *that we have a great High-prieſt, that is paſſed into the heavens, Jeſus the Son of God* (this is a Title more mild and comfortable then the former of λόγος, *The Word of God*) *Let us hold faſt our profeſſion. For we have not an High-prieſt, which cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, but was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without ſin. Let us therefore come boldly unto the throne of* Grace, *that we may obtain mercy, and find grace to help in the time of need.* This *Time of need, is the day of judgement, or time of death.*

But whereby ſhall we make juſt proof and trial, whether *we hold our profeſſion faſt or no?* By no other means then by the preſerving the integrity and purity of our Conſcience: For we do not truly acknowledge or believe him to be our *High-Prieſt*, unleſs we ſuffer him, whil'ſt it is called *to day*, to cleanſe and purifie our Conſciences. *If our heart condemn us not*, ſaith St. *John*, 1 Joh. 3. 22. *then have we confidence towards God.* To ſhut up all with that of the Prophet *Malachi*, ch. 3. 2, 3. which is fully Parallel to the former place of St. *Paul*, *Heb.* 12. 12, 13. *He ſhall ſit as a refiner and purifier of ſilver, and he ſhall purifie the Sons of Levi, and purge them as gold and ſilver, that they may offer unto the Lord an offering in righteouſneſs.* So then they muſt be *Sons of Levi*, (that is, men conſecrated unto the ſervice of the Lord) and, even in this life, as *gold and ſilver* (though mingled with droſs) which hope to eſcape that laſt and *Fiery Tryal.* And ſuch as hope to be made Kings and Prieſts unto our God for ever, muſt in this life be careful and diligent to practiſe upon themſelves: daily preſenting unto Him, Firſt, ***The Sacrifices of God, a troubled and broken Spirit***, (breathing out Prayers, and ſending forth Tears:) and then ***Their Bodies*** a Living Sacrifice, holy and acceptable. And Laſtly, ***The Sacrifice of Praiſe***, that is, the calves or fruit of the lips; withall, not forgetting to do good, and to communicate, for *with ſuch ſacrifices* God is well pleaſed.

19. The uſe of all that is ſaid in this *whole third Section*, concerning Chriſts coming to Judgment, is moſt flagrantly ſet down in Powerful and moving Expreſſions by St. *Peter*, 2 Epiſt. 3. Chap. And the ſhort of his *Three Inferences, is this; Beloved, I ſtir up your pure minds by way of remembrance—, knowing that there ſhall come in the laſt dayes ſcoffers, walking after their own luſts; and ſaying,* where is the promiſe of his coming—? *---But the Lord is not ſlack concerning his promiſe--, but is long ſuffering to us-ward, not willing that any ſhould periſh, but that all ſhould come to repentance. And the day of the Lord will come as a Thief in the night ---.* Seeing *then that all theſe things muſt be--, What manner of perſons ought we to be in all holy converſation and godlineſs; looking for, and haſting to the coming of the day of God?* Seeing *that ye look for theſe things, be diligent that ye may be found of him in Peace, without ſpot and blemiſh; and account that the long ſuffering of the Lord is ſalvation. Ye therefore,* Seeing *ye know all theſe Things before, beware, leſt ye alſo, being led away with the Error of the wicked, fall from your own ſtedfaſtneſs: But grow in Grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour* JESUS CHRIST; *To him be Glory both now and for ever.* AMEN.

S. Ambroſe's *Creed.*

Lord Jeſus, We believe that *Thou* ſhalt come to be our Judge. We therefore pray Thee help thy ſervants whom thou haſt redeemed with thy moſt precious bloud. Make them to be Numbred with thy Saints in Glory Everlaſting.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

Of the Reſurrection of the Dead.

OF *The Five General Heads*, *Propoſed* in the ſo oft mentioned *ninth Chapter*, we have (after a ſort) diſpatched *The Firſt Three.* The *Fourth* was, *The Parties to be judged*; viz. *The Quick and the Dead.* Of Thoſe that ſhall be found alive at the Coming of our Lord. I ſhall ſay no more then *This* (Till I come to the fift *Head*, touching the *Final Award* :) *The one Diſtinction* ſhall ſtand with great boldneſs, and with joy lift up their heads, that they (being caught up in the Clouds) may meet the Lord in the air, and ſo be ever with the Lord. *The other* Retchleſs and moſt wretched part of mankinde, ſhall, but all in vain, cry to the Hills to fall upon them, and to the Rocks to cover them from His eyes, to whom night and Hell are manifeſt. Of thoſe that ſleep in the Duſt, *The Dead in Chriſt ſhall riſe firſt*, and having happily paſſed the Judgment of Diſcuſſion, ſhall be amazed at the ſtrangeneſs of their own ſalvation ſo far beyond all they looked for. Then ſhall *The Dead in ſin* be raiſed alſo; to receive the dreadful ſentence of *Our moſt worthy Judge Eternal*, and to put on ſuch immortality as ſhall only make them Capable of The Wages of Sin which is eternal Death, or Endleſs vivacity unto Torments. The proof of the *Reſurrection of Both theſe*, is our next Deſign.

Pſal.32. 1.

CHAP. XIII.

1 Cor. 15. 12, 13.

Now if Chriſt be preached that he roſe from the Dead, How ſay ſome among you that there is no reſurrection of the Dead? But if there be no reſurrection of the Dead, then is Chriſt not riſen.

Job 19. verſ. 25.

I know that my Redeemer Liveth, and that he ſhall ſtand at the later day upon the earth. And though after my skin worms deſtroy this body, yet in my fleſh I ſhall ſee God. Whom I ſhall ſee for my ſelf, and mine eyes ſhall behold, and not another, though my Reins be conſumed within me.

Ezekiel 37. 4.

O ye dry bones hear the word of the Lord. Behold, I will cauſe breath to enter into you and ye ſhall live, &c.

Joh. 5. 28.

Marvel not at This! for the hour is coming, in which all that are in the Graves ſhall hear His voice, *And ſhall come forth; They that have done Good to the Reſurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the reſurrection of Damnation.*

John 9. 24.

Martha ſaid, I know that he ſhall riſe again in the Reſurrection at the laſt Day. Jeſus ſaid, I am the Reſurrection and the life, &c.

The Belief of This Article of the Reſurrection, *of High concernment; malignantly oppugned by Satan and his agents: needs and deſerves our beſt Fortification. The Heathen had* implicit Notions *of A Reſurrection. The Obſtacle of* impoſſibility, *removed, by Proof of This Concluſion*; [*That though all things were Annihilated, yet God is able to retrieve or recover* The numerical ſame.

Com. III.

I. SO admirable is the Conſtancy of the Celeſtial Bodies, in their courſes, that every *unuſual Spectacle* in the heavens, be it but the appearance of a Comet in the air, or of two Suns, whereof the one is in the air, not in the heaven; doth alwayes imprint a Terror or amazement in the inhabitants of the earth. Whence if we could out of a ſerious apprehenſion of both, rightly compare the face of the heavens, as now it is, with that ſtrange alteration deſcribed by St. *John*, Rev. 6. 12, 13. *As that the pale Moon ſhall be turned into* Bloud; *that the* Sun, *which now dazles our eyes with its brightneſs, ſhall become as* black as a ſackcloth of hair; *or that the* fixed ſtars, *which have continued their March from East to Weſt without check or controll for almoſt* 6000 *yeares (and yet have kept their ranks without any declination to the right hand or to the left) ſhall then begin to reel and ſtagger like ſo many drunken men, and* fall to the earth, like as when a figtree caſteth her green figs, being ſhaken of a mighty wind: The very cogitation of this ſudden change or confuſion would make death ſeem a welcome Meſſenger, and loſs of life and external ſenſes a gainful exchange, if by their loſs we might be exempted or acquit from thoſe fearful *Sights* wherewith the *eyes*, or from thoſe hideous *noyſes*, wherewith the *eares* and hearts of all then living ſhall be filled. But moſt men hope for, or at leaſt expect a diſſolution of this ſenſitive life before the appearance of that great and terrible day. And this very imagination or conceipt, that all our ſenſes ſhall be locked up by death, the ears utterly deprived of hearing, the eyes of ſight; that the whole body even the heart it ſelf, being beſtript of all feeling or motion, ſhall put on a thick covering of ſad earth; doth for the moſt part, benum our ſenſes, enfeeble our faith, and dead our apprehenſions, either of *the Terrours of that day*, or of *the joyes*, that ſhall enſue unto all them that do eſcape them. Whilſt we think of death, or of their eſtate which have been long dead, and conſumed in the grave, we ſay in our hearts, not as the *Pſalmiſt* did, *Lord ſhall the dead praiſe thee?* but ſhall the dead *fear* thee, O Lord? ſhall ſuch as deſcend into the pit, are covered with duſt, and reſolv'd into rottenneſs, be affrighted with thy voice; or ſtand amazed at thy appearance? *Thus then, as there is no Article of Chriſtian Faith more available to make men live a Chriſtian life, then this Article of the laſt general Judgement; So there is no branch, either of this general, nor any other Article of Chriſtian Faith in particular, which requireth more fortification, whether from the ſtore-houſe of the book of Nature, or from the book of Grace, then this point of the Reſurrection doth.* This the *Hold*, which *Satan* the ſworn enemy of our ſouls eternal peace and welfare, ſeeks by all means to ſurprize, and ſubvert, and unto whoſe ſpeedy ſurprizal, or utter ſubverſion, fleſh and bloud have been in all Ages moſt prone to yield their conſent and furtherance. As *Chriſt Crucified* was the main *ſtumbling-block to the Jew:* So the preaching of his *Reſurrection*, and of our hopes of a joyful *Reſurrection* by the power and vertue of *His*, was the main rock of offence, of Contradiction, or gain-ſaying to the Infidels or irreligious Heathens. *When the Athenians*, ſaith S. *Luke Act.* 17:32. (theſe were the moſt civil and learned people amongſt the Heathen) *heard of the Reſurrection of the dead, ſome mocked: others ſaid, we will hear thee again of this thing.* The reſt of his Learned and Philoſophical diſcourſe, all of them heard with attention: and would he have ſpoken more, they would have been willing to have heard him longer upon any other Argument; But their entertainment of this *Treatiſe of the Reſurrection* was generally ſo rude, ſo unreſpective on their parts, 1 Cor. 1. 23.

and ſo unwelcome to him, that he immediately departed from them. Howbeit, God did not leave the truth delivered by him, *even in this point*, without competent teſtimony; for *Denis* of *Areopagus*, and a woman named *Damaris*, with ſome others, did believe *Paul*; But theſe were but a few in reſpect of them that did not believe, or did mock him. Now it is a Rule undoubted; *that The ſame motives or temptations, which drew the Heathen to contradict or oppugn the truth, will abate or weaken the Aſſent of Chriſtians unto the ſame truth unleſs they be removed by diſcovery of their original error.*

Three Errors about the laſt Judgment.

2. The *Errors* concerning the *Final Judgment* (in general or indefinitely conſidered) are ſpecially Three. The *Firſt of ſuch as denied the Divine Providence* over men, or did confine it to this tranſitory life without expectation of any account or reckoning to be made after death. And theſe were but few among the ancient Heathens; to wit, the ſect of *Epicures*, whoſe opinion Was refuted by the verdict of moſt other Heathens, and by the contradiction which the denial of the Divine Providence did include unto the opinions of the *Epicures* themſelves.

See *Tully de Senectute.*

The *ſecond groſs Error* or branch of infidelity concerning the Final Judgment was, *The denial of the Immortality of the human ſoul*; And this was accounted an Hereſie or impious opinion by the moſt, and hath been exquiſitely refuted by the moſt learned amongſt the Heathens.

The *third Error* or branch of infidelity *concerning the Final Judgment*, *was, The denial, ignorance, or doubt of the Reſurrection of the body, or of the whole man as conſiſting of body and ſoul.* And *this Error* in ſome degree or other was moſt general to all the Heathen. All ſuch as denied either the *Divine Providence*, or the *Immortality of the Soul*, all ſuch as doubted or were ignorant of either of theſe truths, did likewiſe deny, or were doubtful or ignorant of the *Reſurrection of the body.* But on the contrary, neither all, nor moſt of ſuch as did deny, or were ignorant, or doubtful of the *Reſurrection of the body*, did either deny or were ignorant or doubtful of the *immortality* of the ſoul.

But no marvel if the Heathens, which did not doubt of the *immortality of the ſoul*, were altogether, or for the moſt part, ignorant of *the Reſurrection of the body*, whenas in this *Church of Corinth*, which God had viſibly graced with many excellent gifts of the Spirit, there were ſome, a great ſort too many, which ſaid, *There was no Reſurrection of the dead*, and the *Theſſalonians*, a people docile and apt to take the impreſſion or moſt lively character of *Chriſtianity*, a people excelling other *Chriſtians* in brotherly love, were ignorant, in part, of this great Myſtery, and from their ignorance or ſcant meaſure of knowledge in it, did *mourn* beyond meaſure for their dead, 1 *Theſſ.* 4. 13, *&c.* Of theſe *Corinthians* and *Theſſalonians*, and of the Heathens, that of our Saviour unto the *Sadduces*, *Matth.* 22. 29. is moſt true. *They therefore erred becauſe they knew not the Scriptures, nor the Power of God*

Two Points propoſed.

We are then, *Firſt*, To remove that *Obſtacle of Impoſſibility*, which is pretended from Nature, and may ſeemingly be argued by *natural and Philoſophical Reaſons.*

Secondly, To ſet down the *manner of the Reſurrection*, and the poſitive Proofs of it out of the Scriptures or Word of God.

3. Albeit none of the Heathens did expreſly acknowledge ſuch a *Reſurrection* as we believe; although the moſt of them were ready to deny it when it was propoſed unto them; yet many of them had diverſe *implicit Notions* of it. There were, though not in any one ſect of their Philoſophers, yet in divers Sects, ſuch ſcattered Reliques or Fragments

of this *Eternal Truth*, as, being skilfully put together, will repreſent more then moſt *Chriſtians* conceive of it.

Pythagoras his broken *Notion* of a Reſurrection.

The *Firſt* Fragment or *implicit Notion* of it was; That ancient Opinion fathered upon *Pythagoras*; *That the ſouls of men after their departure from their proper bodies, did (according to their ſeveral demeanors) enter into* bruit Beaſts, *or other creatures.* The ſouls of men which had been given to ſpoil and raven, were in this Philoſophers opinion, to be impriſoned in the bodies of Wolves, of Lions, or Tygers. Such as had been given over to beaſtly pleaſures, were to take up their habitations in the bodies of Swine. The ſouls of others leſs harmful, yet ſtupid and dull, had their tranſmigration allotted by this Philoſopher into Sheep or Calves. This *Metempſychoſis*, or flitting of mens ſouls into the bodies of beaſts, is deſcribed by *Ovid in the* 15. *of his Metamorphoſis*, ſeeking to give ſome countenance to his Poetical fictions from *Pythagoras* his Philoſophical opinion plauſible in ancient times. And from this conceit or opinion it was; that *Pythagoras* and his followers did abſtain from eating of any fleſh, whether of Birds or Beaſts, and laboured by all means to perſwade others to like abſtinence, leſt by killing or devouring them, they might indeed kill or devour their deareſt friends, kinsfolks, or neighbours.

See *Juvenal* 15. Sat. v. 174.

Mandere vos veſtros ſcite, & ſentite colonos.

The ſouls of vertuous or good men, or of better ſpirits, did in this Philoſophers opinion, either go into ſome place of happineſs, or elſe return into ſome humane body again; So as one and the ſame man might be often begotten, born, or die. Thus *Pythagoras* himſelf thought that *Euphorbus* his ſoul was come into his body, that he himſelf had been preſent at the ſiege of *Troy* in the ſhape and likeneſs of him that was called then *Euphorbus*; whoſe body was turned to duſt long before any part of this *Pythagoras* his body was framed. And in the confidence of this opinion or imagination, he laid claim unto *Euphorbus his Shield*, as the right Owner of it.

This Opinion or Imagination, though groſs and fooliſh, doth yet include *Theſe two Branches of Truth.*

The Solid truth extract out of *Pythagoras* his Opinion of Tranſmigration.

Firſt, That *Animus cujuſque eſt unuſquiſque*, The ſoul or mind of man is the man himſelf.

And *Second*, that the Soul remains *in Being* after the Body or viſible part (which is but as the Caſe or Husk) be diſſolved.

Both Theſe, *Tully* had Collected (as he profeſſes in his Book, *De Senectute*) from the followers of *Pythagoras*, of *Socrates*, and *Plato*. *Theſe Both*, he, (or the Perſon he makes Speaker there (repeats in his piece, *De Somnio Scipionis*. --- Tu vero -- ſic habeto, *Te non eſſe mortalem, ſed corpus hoc*; nec enim is es, quem forma iſta declarat, ſed *mens cujuſque is eſt quiſque*, non eâ figura quæ digito monſtrari poteſt. Deum te igitur ſcito eſſe --.

Yet were it poſſible (or had God to whom all things are poſſible ſo appointed) that one and the ſame immortal ſoul of man ſhould have its habitation in two, three, or more, diſtinct bodies; they ſhould not be ſo truly *many men*, as *one and the ſame man*; for the unity or Identity of mans perſon depends more immediately and neceſſarily upon the unity or Identity of the ſoul, then upon the unity or Identity of the body. This progreſs of one and the ſame ſoul through divers bodies, was not (in the opinion of ſuch as firſt conceived or nurſt it) to continue for ever. For *Pythagoras* did not deny an eternal Reſt unto mens ſouls after this pilgrimage or progreſs were ended. Now this progreſs or pilgrimage, as ſome avouch, was to endure but unto the production of the third or fourth Body.

Vid. *Forcatulum. lib.* 1. *pag.* 87, 90.

4. From

Points wherein Heathens held Conſort with Chriſtianity.

4. From *Pythagoras* and the *Druides* (whom *Pythagoras* did rather follow then teach) *Plato* did not much differ. All of them in ſome Points hold good conſort with *Chriſtianity*; In theſe eſpecially.

Firſt, *That the ſoul of man doth not periſh with the body, from which it is by death diſſolved.*

Secondly, *That it ſhould go well with ſuch as lived well, and ill with ſuch as lived amiſs, after the diſſolution of ſoul and body.*

But how often one and the ſame ſoul by *Plato*'s opinion might become a widower, how long it might ſo continue, or with how many ſeveral bodies it might ſucceſſively match, we will not queſtion.

In this and the like particulars *Pythagoras* and *Plato* might many wayes err without any groſs inconſonancy to their general principles. And one of *Plato*'s general Principles was, *That the humane ſoul was in the body* tanquam nauta in nave, *after ſuch a manner as the Maſter Mariner is in the ſhip to direct and guide it.* And as a Mariner may without loſs undertake the government of divers ſhips ſucceſſively, ſo one and the ſame reaſonable ſoul might guide or manage ſundry bodies. In the opinion of *Pythagoras* or *Plato*, diverſity of actions, of manners, of diſpoſitions did no more argue diverſity of human ſouls or ſpirits, then variety of muſical ſounds in various Wind-inſtruments (as in the *Sackbut*, *Cornet*, *Shalm*, or *Trumpet*) doth argue diverſity of breath, or of Muſicians. One and the ſame Muſician may wind them all ſucceſſively, and yet the muſick ſhall be much different, becauſe of the diverſity of the inſtrument. In all theſe opinions they did only *err*, *not knowing the Scriptures.* They did not err againſt, at leaſt their error includes no oppoſition unto, *the Power of God.* For if it had pleaſed him thus to place the ſoul in the body, or to take it out of one body, and put it into another, as theſe *Philoſophers* dreamed, ſo it might have been, ſo it muſt have been. Nor did their error include any denial of the *Power of God*, but rather an approach or ſtep to the diſcovery or acknowledgment of it, againſt modern Atheiſts.

The opinion of the *Genethliaci.*

Others there were, who held a παλιγγενεσία, that is, a *Regeneration* or new production of one and the ſame man again. Theſe were the *Genethliaci*, or *Nativity-Caſters*; of whom St. *Auguſtine* (out of *Varro*) ſpeaks, *Lib.* 22. *De Civitate Dei*, *Cap.* 28. The time which (as That Father there ſays) they prefixed for this παλιγγενεσία, or re-production of the ſelf-ſame men, which formerly had been, was 440. years. Though (as you will ſoon ſee) other Authors make it far above that proportion. This particular errour of theirs, took its original from an errour common to moſt Philoſophers, whoſe generally affected cuſtom it hath been, to aſſign ſome *External cauſe of every External or viſible Effect.* And ſome modern *Aſtrologers* make the heavens ſuch total cauſes of Sublunary Effects, that if the *poſition* and *conjunction* of ſtars ſhould poſſibly come to be the ſelf-ſame again, as they formerly have been, the ſelf-ſame bodies ſhould be produced again, which formerly had been. And 16000 years (I take it) in the account of theſe ancient Aſtrologers, did make up the full period or circuit of all celeſtial motions. Now it is a general *Maxim* in Philoſophy, *Idem, ſecundum Idem, ſemper producit Idem.* If the influence of the ſtars were the full and total cauſe of the Sublunary Effects, it would follow directly, that when the conjunction of Stars which affords this influence, returned the ſame again which it had been for 16000 years ago (or years more or fewer) the Sublunary Effects or events ſhould be the ſame, as they then had been, and the ſame men which had formerly died, ſhould revive again.

This Error of the *Genethliaci* may facilitate the Chriſtians Belief of Gods Power.

3. The G*enethliaci did foully err in imagining the ſtars or hoſt of heaven, to be the adequate or total cauſes of Sublunary Effects or alterations.* They

might err again in calculating the courſe of the Stars: and (for ought I know) they did err in denying, or not avouching the *Immortality of the ſoul*. But herein they come the neareſt to us *Chriſtians* in this *Article*, *That they held it poſſible, and agreeable to Nature, for one and the ſame body, for one and the ſame man, conſiſting of body and ſoul, which had been diſſolved for many thouſand years before, to be reſtored to life again.* But whereas they thought the conjunction of ſtars to be the full and total cauſe of ſublunary effects, let us ſuppoſe *Gods Will*, or *Powerful Ordinance*, to be the *ſole* cauſe of all things, and there will be no contradiction or impoſſibility in nature, why the ſelf ſame men which have been, may not be again, albeit they had died more then 5000. years ago. For *His Will*, as it is more *powerful* then all the influence of ſtars, ſo is it more truly *One* and the ſame then any conjunction or aſpect of ſtars can be; yea *His Will* or *His Power* was the true immediate or total Cauſe of the Matter of every thing, as well as of its form or ſoul; The true cauſe likewiſe of the conjunction of the ſoul and body.

6. It being then admitted that the *Genethliaci* did deny the *Immortality* or perpetual duration of the reaſonable Soul; which to deny is a groſs hereſie in *Chriſtianity*; yet this *Errour* in them was more pardonable by much, then the *Inference* which ſome *Chriſtians* make; who *holding the Immortality of the ſoul*, hold it withal to be an *Antecedent* ſo neceſſary for evincing the future *Reſurrection* of the body (or reſtauration of the ſame man who dies) that if the ſoul were not immortal, there could be no reſurrection of the body, no Identical reſtauration of men that periſh and are conſumed to duſt. They which deny the *Immortality* of the ſoul, do *therefore err becauſe they know not the Scriptures*, nor the *Will of God* revealed in them concerning the ſtate of the ſoul after death. For if the ſoul of *Chriſt, as man*, were (as we muſt believe it was) of the ſame nature that our ſouls are of; if his ſoul did not die with his body, our ſouls ſhall not die with our bodies.

Some *Chriſtians* err as much as the *Genethliaci*.

Now Chriſt at the very point of death or diſſolution of ſoul and body did commend his ſoul into his Fathers hands. And *God the Father* took a more ſpecial care of his ſoul then either *Nicodemus*, or *Joſeph of Arimathea* did of his body. That God likewiſe did take the ſouls of the faithful into his cuſtody at their departure from their bodies, our Saviour long before had taught us in his Anſwer to the *Sadduces*, *Matth.* 22. 31, 32. *As touching the reſurrection of the dead, have you not read that which was ſpoken unto you by God, ſaying? I am the God of* Abraham, *and the God of* Iſaac, *and the God of* Jacob. *God is not the God of the dead but of the living.* And as St. *Luke addeth*, *Chap.* 20. *verſ.* 38. *All live unto him:* not alwaies in their bodies, but *alwayes in their ſouls*, which always expect a ſecond conjunction or re-union to their proper bodies. And Saint *Stephen*, when his perſecutors did deſtroy his body, commends his ſoul into Chriſts hands, as Chriſt had done His Soul into the hands of his Father. So that no man can doubt of the Immortality or perpetual duration of the ſoul, unleſs he be altogether ignorant of *theſe*, and *many* like paſſages in the Scriptures. But they which deny *all poſſibility of the Reſurrection*, or Identical reſtauration of the ſame man to bodily life (in caſe his ſoul were mortal, or might utterly ceaſe to be with the body) do err, not only out of ignorance of the *Scriptures*, or of *The Will of God* revealed in Scriptures; but this their ignorance ſuppoſeth an ignorance or denial of the *Power of God*. For *God*, who is *able out of ſtones to raiſe up children unto Abraham*, is no leſs powerful perfectly to reſtore *the ſelf ſame* body and ſoul which now are, and really to repreſent the *ſelf ſame* man which now is, albeit both body and ſoul ſhould, at his death, not only die, but be utterly annihilated; that is, although no more either of body or ſoul did remain after death then was extant before thē firſt Creation of all things. Now before the firſt Creation, there was not ſo much as a particle or leaſt portion either of mans ſoul or body; For all things were created out of Nothing; and all things might be created the ſame again that now they are, albeit they were by Gods power, or by ſubſtraction of his influence totally reſolved into nothing.

7. All theſe *Propoſitions* following are moſt true.

Three principal *Propoſitions.*

1. *That as God did make all things of nothing, ſo he is able, if it ſhould pleaſe him, to reſolve all things into nothing.* This is eſſentially included in the *Article of Omnipotency.*

So is this *Second* likewiſe; *Although all things created were reſolved into nothing, God is able to make them again the ſelf ſame ſubſtances that they ſometimes were, or now are.*

So likewiſe is this *Third*: *Albeit the bodies of men be not utterly reſolved into nothing when they die, but into the Elements, of which they conſiſt or are compounded; as into the Earth, Air, Water,* &c. *yet every mans body, at the day of final appearance before our Judg, may be Numerically the ſame that now 'tis.*

All theſe Propoſitions are Objectively Poſſible, that is, they imply no Contradiction in Nature; and not implying any contradiction in nature, they are the proper Objects of Omnipotent Power. That is, *God is able to work all theſe Effects in nature, which unto Nature, or natural Cauſes are impoſſible.* But that either the ſouls or bodies of men ſhall be annihilated or reſolved into nothing, we are not bound to believe; becauſe the Scripture doth no where teſtifie *Gods Will* or purpoſe ſo to reſolve them. Their annihilation or diſſolution, their re-production or re-union meerly depends upon the *Will or Powerful Ordinance of God.* And albeit the *Reſurrection* of one and the ſame man may be *demonſtrated to be in Nature poſſible*: Yet, That this Poſſibility ſhall be reduced into Act; That every man ſhall undoubtedly riſe again in the body, to receive that which he hath done in his body: Or, with what manner of body for qualifications they ſhall ariſe, This cannot be taught by Nature, but muſt be learned or believed from Scripture.

To begin with the Second Propoſition [*Although all things created were reſolved into nothing, God is able to make them again the ſelf ſame numerical ſubſtances, that they ſometime were, or now are.*]

That there is a *Logical Poſſibility* preſuppoſed to the working of Gods Power. See Book 10.

For Proof of this Propoſition, I take as granted; *That all things, which by Creation took their beginning, had a true Poſſibility of being numerically what they were, before they actually were*: otherwiſe it was impoſſible for them *actually to have been.* Now this Poſſibility (allotted to every thing before it be) of being *numerically what it is* (or hath been) was not limited unto *This or That ſet Point* or tract *of time,* but was of it ſelf, indifferent unto all times, from eternity. All the Co-exiſtence, which any thing created hath with *this* or *that* part of time, is not from any eſſential dependence which it hath on this or that time, but meerly from the *Will or Pleaſure of the eternal* Creator, who hath appointed *to every thing a ſet time* or ſeaſon. *The ſelf ſame men* which now are, might have been an hundred years ago; or, if their birth or production had been deferred till a hundred years after this preſent time, they might by their Creators appointment be *Then the ſame men* that now they are. Their *Actual Being* in this Age, doth not take away the *Poſſibility* either of being before this Time or after it: For *Poſſibility* is perpetual, and at all times reducible into Act, whenſoever it ſhall pleaſe the Creator to appoint or allot

The bringing *Poſſibility* into *Act,* doth not impair Gods Power, but ſhews the exerciſe of it, *pro hac vice* See *Sect.* 9.

it *actual Being* or exiſtence. The Reduction of *Poſſibility* into *Act* (which is the perfection thereof) doth not prejudice or diminiſh the Creators Power of doing the like again; though the doing of it once makes it *impoſſible* that the doing it again ſhould be the firſt time or *Turn* of doing it. The omitting or forbearance to bring *Poſſibility* into Act, in the time paſt, doth not lapſe it more then *pro illâ vice.* It leaves us this *poſſibility*, now truly to ſay; *That which was not done a thouſand years ago might have been then done, and the like or ſame may yet be done by the Power Almighty.* As every body indued with Colour is always viſible, though there be no eye preſent to look upon it (for it is therefore truely viſible, in that any creature indued with ſight may actually ſee it ſo often as it ſhall pleaſe to look upon it:) So every thing which implies no contradiction in nature, is always truely Poſſible; and therefore Eternally Poſsible, becauſe the *Eternal* may give it *actual Being* or exiſtence at all times, when it pleaſeth him. *This Poſsibility is at all times the object of his Omnipotent Power.* as viſibility is of ſight; and, as whatſoever is viſible may at all times be ſeen by a clear eye; ſo whatever is poſſible may at all times be done or made by God.

These differ, as Addition and Subſtraction.

8. It is evident, That *God by his Power* hath given all things, which now are, or heretofore have been, actual Being; that is, he hath created them. *Creation is the making all things of Nothing: Annihilation is the reducing of any thing that hath been made, into Nothing. Both acts are proper only unto the Omnipotent Creator.* Suppoſe then ſome man or Angel had been annihilated by his Omnipotent Power a thouſand years ago: It is yet *as poſsible* for the ſame man or Angel to be made again, as it was for him to be made at the firſt. And *the Reaſon* is this; *Annihilation could take nothing from him, ſave only that which Creation gave him.* But *Creation* only gave him Actual Being or Exiſtence; Therefore annihilation only takes away actual Being or exiſtence, not the Poſſibility of Being; for that he had before he could be created. Seeing then *Creation* did not give man or Angel Poſſibility of Being, which was eternally included in the Creators Power; Annihilation doth not diſſolve or deſtroy this Poſſibility, but leaves it only, as Creation found it. And whilſt the Poſſibility remains the ſame, it is ſtill the ſame *Object of the ſame Omnipotent* Power, and may as eaſily be reduced into Act a thouſand years hence, as it was in the firſt Creation.

To make this Probleme more plain by *Demonſtrating it upon a particular. Adam* the firſt man was Created upon the 6. day from the beginning of time, wherein the heavens and earth were made *of nothing.* Now no diſtinction of time, which did then begin to be; no ſecret power or vertue of time, which is but a circumſtance of things that are) could either hinder or limit the *Creators Power* for creating of *Adam* upon the firſt day, or give any furtherance to his power for creating him upon the ſixth day, rather then upon the twelfth or 13. day from the beginning of the Creation. Admitting his Creation had been deferred until the twelfth day, this deferring of his Creation could have been no let or hindrance why he might not have been *the ſelf ſame man* which was created the ſixth day. As if any man ſhould caſt a Bullet in the ſame mould at twelve of the clock which he had purpoſed to caſt at eight, but did defer the caſting of it till that time, either upon pleaſure, or interpoſition of other occaſions; that delay would no way argue the bullet moulded at that time not to be the very ſelf ſame which it would have been, if it had been caſt four hours before, or four hours after.

The *Models* of all things created, or poſſible to be created, are more

certain

certainly, & more conſtantly contained in the *Almighty Creators Power or Wiſdom,* then any *Models* which man can make, are in mans power and ſkill. And ſo are all the creatures likewiſe more exactly anſwerable to the *Models* contained in *his Power & Wiſdom,* then any bullet or other materials can be to the mould, wherein they are caſt. Difference of time or delay of their production can breed no difference at all in the things produced, ſo long as every one is produced according to that exact *Model,* or exemplary form which it had in God from eternity. According to this patern or *model,* the firſt man (as Scripture tells us) was created upon the ſixth day: Suppoſe the ſame Creator had annihilated him upon the eighth day; This *annihilation* ſuppoſed, there is no impoſſibility or difficulty imaginable, why he might not upon the twelfth or thirteenth day have been created again the ſelf ſame man he was upon the ſixth day; ſeeing it was poſſible for God to have deferred his creation till that day, and yet to have created him *the ſelf ſame individual perſon,* that was created upon the ſixth day.

9. Neither the exerciſe of *Gods almighty power* in creating *Adam* upon the ſixth day, nor the ſuppoſed exerciſe of the ſame power in annihilating him the eighth day, could breed any prejudice to the poſſibility of being created the ſelf ſame man upon the twelfth or thirteenth day, which he had been from his firſt creation to his annihilation. Indeed to ſay, *That Adam, being created the ſixth day, and ſuppoſed to be annihilated upon the eighth day, & created again upon the twelfth or thirteenth day ſhould be then firſt created, would imply a contradiction.* But it is one thing to ſay, *there be two creations,* another to ſay; *there be two diſtinct creatures,* or two diſtinct ſubſtances created. *A man might be twice created, and yet not be two diſtinct creatures, but numerically and identically one and the ſelf ſame man which he was, as perfectly one & the ſelf ſame man, as if he had been but once created, or had continued from his creation without any interruption of his duration or exiſtence.* This implies no more contradiction in nature, then to ſay; that the King may create one and the ſame man twice *Earl* or *Duke,* or make him often *the ſame Magiſtrate.* The *office* or dignity may be the ſelf ſame, albeit there be ſome *vacancy* or interruption in the *adminiſtration* or duration of it. As if a man was depoſed of his office and dignity at the end of the firſt year, and reſtored again at the end of the ſecond year; this would imply a *diverſity of creation* or advancement, *no diverſity at all in the office* or dignity, unto which the ſame perſon is twice advanced. Now *Gods power* over all his creatures, either utterly to annihilate them, or to interrupt them in their actual exiſtence or duration, & to create them in the ſelf ſame or better eſtate again, is far greater and more ſoveraign then any *Princes* civil power to advance or depoſe his ſubjects, or to reſtore them intirely to their former dignities. Admit then, *That God had reſolved the firſt man Adam into nothing at the very firſt inſtant, wherein he did eat the forbidden fruit, with purpoſe not to create him again until the laſt trumpet ſhall ſound to Judgment; the Terror of that day ſhould make as deep impreſſion in him then firſt reſtored to life and ſenſe again, as if he had ſuffered him to live but one day, and had called him at even unto Judgment or a final accompt as terrible as in that laſt day it ſhall be to all that die in their ſins.* This whole time of vacancy or ceſſation from *actual being* for almoſt ſix thouſand years would not have ſeem'd ſo long to him at his reſurrection, as a night paſt over in a dead ſleep is to a malefactor, which had murthered his Father in the evening, and is drawn to the execution as ſoon as he awakes in the morning.

Thus much of Gods Power in general to raiſe up the ſelf ſame men again, which have been long dead, or, by ſuppoſition, more then dead, utterly reſolved into nothing. Now if we muſt acknowledg it as an *eſſential Branch of the Almighty Creators Power* to be able to raiſe up or create *the ſelf ſame men* again, although they had been annihilated or turned to nothing, we muſt needs acknowledg it as a fruit or *effect of the ſame Power*, to re-unite every mans ſoul and body again at the laſt day; ſeeing the ſoul (as *Chriſtian Faith* doth teach us) doth ſtill remain the ſame it was, the body being not utterly annihilated or conſumed to nothing, but only reſolved into duſt, or into the *Elements*, of which it was firſt made. *Sed quomodo, inquis, diſſoluta materia exhiberi poteſt? Conſidera temetipſum O homo, & fidem rei invenies. Recogita quid fueris antequàm eſſes*, utiq; nihil; *meminiſſes enim, ſi quid fuiſſes. Qui ergo nihil fueras priuſquam eſſes, idem nihil factus, cum eſſe deſieris, cur non poſſes eſſe rurſus de nihilo ejuſdem ipſius Auctoris voluntate, qui te voluit eſſe ex nihilo? Quid novi tibi eveniet? qui non eras, factus es: cum iterum non eris, fies. Redde rationem, ſi potes quâ factus es, & tunc require, quà Fies. Et tamen facilius utiq; fies, quod fuiſti aliquando, quia æque non difficile factus es, quod nunquam fuiſti aliquando——. Quæcunq; te materia, deſtruxerit, hauſerit, aboleverit, in nihilum prodegerit, reddet te; ejus eſt nihilum ipſum, cujus eſt totum.* This is the ſum of *Tertullian*'s Collections, *Apolog*. cap. 48.

10. This *power of God* to create man of *nothing*, and to create every one the *ſelf ſame man* he was, albeit he had been annihilated or turned into *nothing*; The *School Divines* of the *Romiſh Church* acknowledg, & with great ſubtilty of wit and ſtrength of Argument prove out of the *Article of Gods Omnipotency*, unto which all poſſibility meerly logical, (or which implies no evident contradiction in nature) is alwayes ſubject and obedient. But of this, as of moſt other Orthodoxal Doctrines or Principles of Faith, wherein we hold communion & conſort with the *Roman Church*, the modern Advocates of that Church, the *Jeſuits* eſpecially, make a very malicious & Siniſter uſe. The moſt learned amongſt the modern *Jeſuits*, being preſſed by our Writers with the groſs abſurdities & ſcandalous inconveniences, which neceſſarily follow upon their doctrin of *Tranſubſtantiation*, or of *Chriſts local circumſcriptive bodily preſence in the bleſſed Sacrament*; fly to this doctrin of *Gods Almighty Power*, wherby he is able to create one and the *ſelf ſame* individual Subſtance again and again, as oft as it pleaſeth him, as to their laſt hold & refuge. Their only hope is, that *this general Doctrin* being made plauſible by them, they ſhall be able to make their quarrel juſt, not in it ſelf, but upon expected advantage; if any of our Writers ſhould be ſo forward (as in divers other Caſes ſome have been too forward) to deny their antecedents, when as they ſhould traverſe the inference or concluſions, which they labor with ſubtilty to infer from plauſible & orthodoxal premiſſes. Howbeit this antecedent [*That God is able to create the ſelf ſame man or bodily ſubſtance again, & again, & as oft as it ſhall pleaſe him*] no Proteſtant Writer (to my obſervation) hath yet denied, none as I hope, will ever deny. But ſuch is our adverſaries confidence of Chriſts promiſe to St. *Peter*, *I have prayed for thee, that thy faith ſhall not fail*, Luke 22.32. & of the Popes authority, as of *Peters* pretended Succeſſor in this promiſe; that whatſoever doctrin the Pope ſhall deliver *ex Cathedra* (as he hath done this doctrin of *Tranſubſtantiation*) for a point of Faith, they think God bound in Juſtice to uſe his abſolute & omnipotent power to make it true. For if the *Pope* or the viſible *Romiſh Church* could poſſibly err in this or any other point of faith, *God* (by their doctrin) ſhould fail in the performance of his former general promiſe, which undoubtedly he will not do, ſo long as he hath power to make his promiſe good, or to make the viſible Churches interpretations true and juſtifiable; to the

The Jeſuit makes a Siniſter uſe of this Truth touching the Power of God.

preſervation of whoſe *infallibility* he hath (as they teach) bound himſelf by ſolemn promiſe.

11. But, *The Queſtion* betwixt us and them, concerning *Chriſts local or circumſcriptive Bodily preſence in the Sacrament*; is not, whether *God* can make one and the ſame body, to be, at one and the ſame time, in divers places; or whether He can create one and the ſame body again in every hour, or in every place, as ſhall ſeem good to him; But whether *it be his will to uſe this his power?* Or whether *his will thus to do, be ſo fully revealed* in Scripture, as that we are bound to believe, *That he doth or will make Chriſts very Body and Blood to be locally preſent in every place where, and at all times when, that bleſſed Sacrament ſhall be celebrated.*

This we deny; & the former principle or antecedent [*That God is able to create the ſelf ſame body as often as it pleaſes him*] will never infer their intended concluſion. Not to queſtion what God can do; we further add [*For Chriſts body, or whole Chriſt God and man, to be bodily preſent, by this means, in many places at once, or in all places at all times wherein that bleſſed Sacrament ſhall be celebrated, is one of thoſe things, which, according to their rules as well as ours, cannot be done, as implying an evident Contradiction in nature:*] It may not be believed nor imagined, becauſe *God did never bind any man to believe ſuch an impoſſibility, or Contradiction, as is involved in this doctrine.* It is altogether without the compaſs of the moſt miraculous work, which God hath at any time wrought, or ever promiſed to work. All the former Inſtances or Caſes poſſible, concerning Gods Power *to make one & the ſame man again after he had been annihilated*, are moſt unlike to their intended concluſion. All the former inſtances or ſuppoſitions are free from all color or ſuſpition of contradiction in nature. This ſuppoſed creation of Chriſts Body often ſince his death, implies as many and as manifeſt contradictions, as there have been maſſes in the *Romiſh Church.*

Not only theſe aſſertions, but the diſſimilitude alſo of the caſe in queſtion, to the former caſes, will be immediatly made clear from the very definition of creation. *To create a body is to make it of nothing*; and to make the ſelf ſame body which formerly had been, but is reſolved into nothing out of nothing again, is but a ſecond exerciſe of his creative Power; and whatſoever God before hath done, he his able to do the ſame again. But the Body of Chriſt they acknowledge to be immortal, and abſolutely exempted, not only from annihilation or reſolution into nothing, but from all danger of Corruption or diminution.

Again, whatſoever is Created, whether at the firſt, ſecond, or third time, hath no actual being until it begin to be by creation: Now to make *that very thing begin to be, or to begin to be out of nothing*, which already actually *is, is ſomething, is immortal*, & more glorious then any other creature, implies a manifeſt contradiction. But Chriſts Body they grant to be immortal ſince his reſurrection, more unalterable then the heaven of heavens, ſo immortal that it can never ceaſe to be what it is; therefore it is impoſſible that it ſhould begin to be by a new creation, or be created again. For that which is created, or may be created again, muſt firſt be reſolved into nothing, or ceaſe to be, before it can be created again (ſeeing creation is the making of that which is not, out of nothing) or be made again by means miraculous. If then Chriſts Body be locally preſent in the Sacrament, it muſt either be created again, & this ſuppoſeth either annihilation or diſſolution of it; or elſe it muſt be brought out of the heavens into the Prieſts hands; or elſe the preſence of it in many places muſt be created: but local Preſence is altogether uncapable of creation, for it is a meer relation, which can neither be created nor made, but reſulteth from, or followeth upon the motion (of things created) from one place to another, or from their creation or beginning to be in that place, wherein they are ſaid to be created.

The ſeveral Shifts of Romiſh Writers to maintain their Doctrin of Tranſubſtantiation.

12. So it fares with our Adverſaries in this Argument, as it doth with Boot-halers or night-riders which have caught an unlawful prey, being hotly purſued by the right owners. Now their manner is to divide the ſpoil and their company, that they may carry one part one way, and another part another way; that ſo whilſt one is purſued, others may eſcape without purſuit or reſcue of the prey. Through the ignorance or careleſneſs of Gods people, which ſhould have kept a better watch over their own ſouls, the *Romiſh* Prieſts had made a gainful prey by tranſporting the native ſenſe of our Saviours words in the inſtitution of the Sacrament to juſtifie the doctrine of *Tranſubſtantiation.* And ſince they have been purſued by reformed Writers, as cozeners and cheaters of Gods people, ſome of them run one way, ſome another; Some of them ſeek to maintain Chriſts *local preſence or Tranſubſtantiation* by the former doctrine of Gods Almighty Power, which is able to create one and the ſame body often: Others ſeek to maintain the ſame doctrine, and carry away the prey by the manner of *Angelical motion* from one place to another in an inſtant or moment of time. And if they could draw ſuch as purſue them into theſe ſtraits and ſubtilities, they hope to make their part good againſt ſuch, as are not much converſant in the School-mens nice diſputes concerning the nature or motions of Angels, or know not the difference between the nature and motions of Spirits and ſpiritual bodies. Others ſeek to maintain the ſame doctrine by the *infinity of diviſible quantities*; (as if it were poſſible for a flies wing to overſpread the whole earth, as a hen doth her chickens:) And that Chriſts Body may, by this kind of Infinity, be in many places at once, in as many as God ſhall appoint: hoping by this means to caſt a miſt before the eys of ſuch Readers, as know not the difference betwixt real material or ſubſtantial, and a mathematical or imaginary quantity. But all theſe fictions or ſuppoſitions they caſt forth only to offer play unto their adverſaries, or to gain ſome time for invention of new ſhifts. None of them dare pitch upon any or all of theſe wayes or imaginations, or put the Caſe upon this iſſue, *Whether any of them be in nature poſſible or agreeable to the Analogy of Faith:* The only point wherein they agree is, the ſubmiſſion of their judgments or imaginations to the Authority of the Church; which is no better agreement, then if amongſt a multitude of unlearned men, one of them ſhould maintain, that *ſnow is white*, another *black*, another pawn his eſtate that it is *blew*, and a fourth that it is *green*, and yet in the end *refer themſelves to be tried by ſome Philoſopher*, which had written of the nature of Snow in a language that none of them underſtands, whoſe books they know not where to find. For what the Church is that cannot err, or of whom it conſiſts, the *French* and *Italian* Catholicks do not agree. Or if we take the Church for the *Trent Council* confirmed by the *Pope*, the *Jeſuits* themſelves cannot agree about the meaning of it in this point. Divers of them do in Effect deny any *Tranſubſtantiation* in this Sacrament; albeit that Council under pain of curſe enjoyneth all Chriſtians to believe, *That there is a true Converſion of the bread into the ſubſtance of Chriſts Body, and of the wine into the ſubſtance of his Blood,* and that *this converſion is rightly called Tranſubſtantiation:* So that in fine, the *unity*, whereof the children of that Church do ſo much brag, is not an unity of *faith* or belief, but an unity of *faction* or conſpiracy for their own gain; ſuch as may be between the *Jews*, the *Turks*, the *Heathens*, and the *Arrian hereticks* which denied the Divinity

of Chriſt,to rob or ſpoil the Orthodoxal or true Catholick Chriſtians.

13. Moſt men have often read; All almoſt have often heard of a *twofold Reſurrection.* The *one from death in ſin,* unto newneſs of life: The *other from bodily death,* unto glory and immortality. *The ſecond* Reſurrection is the *End* of our whole life here on earth; the *firſt* Reſurrection from death in ſin to newneſs of life, is the *mean* moſt neceſſary for attaining this joyful & happy *End.* Now as the *ſecond* Reſurrection from bodily death unto glory, is the *end* of the *firſt* reſurrection from ſin to newneſs of life: So is the *firſt* reſurrection the *end* of the bleſſed Sacrament, or ſolemn commemoration of *Chriſts* death till he come to Judgment. And although the *Omnipotent Power of God,* by which all things were created of nothing, be the moſt prime and powerful Cauſe of the *ſecond reſurrection;* yet of our reſurrection unto that glory & immortality, whereof *Chriſt* is now poſſeſt, *Chriſt,* as man, is not only the *Idæal or Exemplary,* but the *immediate efficient,* or working Cauſe alſo: Howbeit the power of his efficiency or working, as man, be derived from the *Omnipotent Power of the Godhead dwelling in him bodily.* But unto the real participation of this *all powerful influence* from *Chriſts humanity,* by which the dead ſhall be quickned, by which theſe mortal bodies ſhall be colathed with glory and immortality, *the bodily or local preſence of Chriſt* is not required by the *Romiſh Church.* It doth not hold it neceſſary, that all or any body, which ſhall be quickened or raiſed to glory, ſhall firſt ſwallow *Chriſts* Body, or be touched by it. Of *Angelical miniſtery* or ſervice for gathering the diſperſed reliques of mens bodies, which have been diſſolved by death, ſome uſe there ſhall be in the laſt day, as ſome *Romaniſts,* with divers *Antients,* think: but no uſe at all of any Maſs-Prieſt to make *Chriſts Body* to be locally preſent unto all, that ſhall be quickened by it. There ſhall be no need then of *Tranſubſtantiating* Sacramental bread into *Chriſts Body,* or wine into his blood for giving life unto thoſe, that have been long dead, or for effecting that change, which ſhall be wrought in the living; Now, if by the meer *virtual preſence of Chriſts Body and Blood,* the men which have been long dead, ſhall be reſtored to perfect life & immortality; ſhall not the ſouls of all, which receive him in the ſacrament by Faith and true repentance, be raiſed to newneſs of life by the ſame *virtual preſence,* without any *local touch of His Body,* but only by that *ſweet Influence,* which daily iſſueth from this Sun of righteouſneſs now placed at the *Right hand of God* as in its proper ſphere. *This manner of Chriſts preſence, of his real preſence in the Sacrament, to wit, by powerful Influence from his Humanity, our Church did never deny;* nor doth *God the Father, or Chriſt the Son* deny this *Real Influence* of life unto any, that hunger & thirſt after it in the Sacrament.

Of Chriſts virtual influence. See Book 10. ch. 55. 56.

CHAP. XIV.

1 COR. 15. 36, *&c.*

But ſome will ſay, *How are the dead raiſed up?* and, *With what body do they come?*

Thou Fool! That which thou ſoweſt is not quickened except it die, &c.

That this Argument, drawn from Seed ſown, *is a concludent Proof of the* Reſurrection *of The Body.*

THe Queſtions are Two; Firſt, *How the dead ſhall be raiſed?* The ſecond, *With what bodies ſhall they come forth?*

The former imports thus much; *How is it poſſible that the dead ſhall be raiſed?*

The *Corinthian Naturaliſt* his Two curious Queſtions.

raiſed? Or, it being admitted that it is poſſible for the dead in ſome ſort or manner to ariſe to life; *the next branch* of the ſame *Queſtion* is, *in what particular manner they ſhall* de facto *ariſe?* as whether by *Gods creative Power*, by which he made all things of nothing; or by his *conſervative Power*, by which he preſerveth all things that are, in their proper *being*; or advanceth them to an higher eſtate or better tenure of *being?*

The *ſecond Queſtion* or Quæry is, *With what kind of bodies ſhall the dead ariſe?* Whether with the ſelf ſame bodies wherein they died? Or if not every way the ſame, what alteration or change ſhall be wrought in them?

St. *Pauls* firſt Anſwer to both Queſtions.

Unto both theſe Queſtions our Apoſtle vouchſafeth but this one Anſwer, ἄφρον, σὺ ὃ σπείρεις οὐ ζωοποιεῖται, ἐὰν μὴ ἀποθάνῃ· *O Fool! that which thou ſoweſt is not quickened, except it die.*

An Objection againſt the Anſwer in point of Charity.

But this Anſwer may ſeem in the firſt place to break the rule of *Chriſtian charity:* For many of theſe *Corinthians*, though in this point of the reſurrection erroneous and ignorant, were yet *Chriſtian*, though *weak brethren*; and the Law is general: *he that ſhall ſay unto his brother*, THOU FOOL, *ſhall be guilty of Hell fire*, Matth. 5. 22.

The Anſwer to that Objection.

The Rule indeed is General, if this or the like opprobrious ſpeech be hatched out of malice, leavened wrath, or invetered hatred. *But this ſentence they do not incur, out of whoſe mouthes theſe or the like ſpeeches iſſue by way of juſt* reproof *or* inſtruction; *as from a Maſter to his Scholars, or from a Lord to his Servants, in points wherein they err, and are to be corrected or inſtructed by him. In theſe caſes, or upon theſe occaſions, their cenſure paſſeth rather* upon the folly, *then* upon the perſons *of them, whom they ſo chaſtiſe, correct, or ſeek to inſtruct.* And it is not altogether impertinent which ſome have noted upon that place, *That our Apoſtles cenſure doth not aim at any particular or determinate perſon*, but it is indefinitely directed *to all* thoſe, which ſeriouſly make the former queſtions, either concerning the *poſſibility* of mens ariſing from the dead, or the *particular manner how* this reſurrection ſhould be wrought, or *with what bodies* they ſhould come forth.

A ſecond objection in point of ſufficiency.

But many ſuch, as will confeſs his reaſon or argument to be free from breach of *Chriſtian charity* or good manners, will *queſtion* the *logical* ſtrength or pertinence of it. The ſtrength or efficacy of it, is queſtionable upon theſe points; As firſt, *How the dayly experiment of ſeed-corn, which firſt dies and is quickened again, can infer the Fundamental concluſion by our Apoſtle intended*; to wit, *the reſurrection of mens bodies*, which have been dead and rotten for many hundred years, and their Reliques diſperſed into ſo many ſeveral elements, or places, that if the ſeed-corn which men ſow, were but diſperſed into half ſo many places; the husband-man ſhould in vain expect an increaſe, or his ſeed again. Secondly, *admitting this yearly experiment of the ſeed dying and reviving were of force ſufficient to inforce our belief of the former concluſion, that the bodies of men dead may be raiſed to life again, yet the manner or ground of his inference would be impertinent, if not contradictory to the principal concluſion intended by him, which we are bound explicitly to believe.* For it is not enough to believe that the bodies of men, which are committed to the grave, ſhall not utterly periſh, but be quickned again, (as the corn which is covered with the ground:) but we are bound further to believe, *That every man ſhall ariſe with his own body*, with the ſame very body, wherein he lived, that he may receive his doom *according to that which he hath done in the body, whether it be good or bad.* This concluſion is not included in the *Apoſtles inference* or experiment drawn from the corn, which groweth out of the putrified ſeed: for he expreſly affirms in the 37. ver. *that the body, which ſpringeth out of the ground, is not the ſame ſeed that is ſown.*

2. In

The Anſwer to this objection.

2. In *Anſwer* to the former difficulty, ſome good *Commentators* there be, which grant that our *Apoſtles inſtance* in the ſeed, which firſt dies and is afterwards quickned, is not a *concludent proof* or forcible Reaſon, but rather a *ſimilitude* or exemplification; and it is the property or character of ſimilitudes or examples, *illuſtrant, non docent*, they may illuſtrate the truth taught, they do not teach or confirm it. *Tertullian* with other of *the Fathers* have diverſe illuſtrations or exemplifications of the reſurrection in the courſe of nature; out of all which it would be hard to extract a full *Concludent proof. Lux quotidiè interfecta reſplendet*, The light dayly vaniſheth and recovers brightneſs again; darkneſs goes and comes by an interparallel courſe to the removal of light. *Sidera defuncta reviviſcunt.* The ſtars dayly ſet, or fall, and riſe again. The ſeeds of vegetables do not fructifie until themſelves be diſſolved and corrupted. All things ſublunary are preſerved by periſhing, their reformation or renewing ſuppoſeth a defacing. Many of theſe and like obſervations, taken out of *the book of nature*, may ſerve as *emblemes* or *devices* for emblazoning or ſetting forth our hopes or belief of the *reſurrection*; But *concludent proofs* they cannot be, unleſs we grant that *the Book of nature* hath by Gods appointment, *Types*, or ſilent *Prophecies* of Divine Myſteries, as well as hath the *book of Grace*. But ſhall we ſay or believe that the *Apoſtles inference* in this place is only *emblematical* or *allegorical*? or rather a *Phyſical or Metaphyſical concludent proof*? A proof, not only againſt ſuch as acknowledg the truth of the Old Teſtament or written word of God, but a proof (ſo far as it concerns the poſſibility of a reſurrection) contained in *the book of nature*? His concluſion, he ſuppoſeth, might by obſervant Readers be extracted out of the inſtance or experiment which he brings. For unleſs out of the inſtance given in the Corn, which firſt dies and afterwards is quickened the Poſſibility of the reſurrection, of ſuch a reſurrection as he taught, might concludently, be proved; they which doubted of, or denyed this truth, had not incurr'd the cenſure of folly, they had not deſerved the Title or name of fools. But not to be able to read that which was legible in their own books, that is, in the works of nature, was a childiſh folly; a folly, which in men of years and diſcretion could not proceed but from inſufferable incogitancy or negligence. If we examine the *Apoſtles inference* according to the Rules of true Philoſophy, which never diſſents from true Divinity, his inſtances are concludent, his argument is an argument of proportion, *a majore ad minus*, from the greater to the leſs. All the difficulty is in framing or ſetting the terms of it aright.

Exceptions againſt the Proof.

3. All the exceptions, which are taken againſt *his proof*, are reducible to this *one general Head*; *That he argues, or makes his inference, from the works of nature unto a work ſupernatural*, or *from the generation of vegetables ordinary in the courſe of nature, unto the Reſurrection of our bodies, which can be no work of nature, no generation; but a work as ſupernatural as Creation.* But they which thus Object, ſhould conſider that thoſe works, which we term works of nature (as generation of vegetables, the increaſe of the earth, the fruit of trees, and the like) are not in our Apoſtles Philoſophy any way oppoſite to the works of God, or to works miraculous & ſupernatural. This propoſition is in his Divinity, and in true Philoſophy, moſt certain; [*Whatſoever nature works, God doth work the ſame:*] and he works the ſame immediately, though not by himſelf alone, for nature worketh *with him*, though immediately *by him*. But the former propoſition is not convertible; that is, we cannot ſay, *that God works nothing without the coagency of nature*, as we ſay, *that nature worketh nothing without the cooperation or Power of God.* Nature worketh nothing, cannot poſſibly work without

The Exceptions anſwered.

without the power & direction of God; God worketh many things, ſince the world was made by him, or nature created by him, without the aſſociation or co-operation of nature, or any cauſes natural. And *the works which he worketh by himſelf alone, either without the aſſociation or interpoſition of cauſes natural, or contrary to the ordinary courſe of nature; are properly called works miraculous or ſupernatural*; and *miraculous* they are called, not becauſe they alwayes argue a greater or more immediate exerciſe of Gods Power, then is contained in the works of nature; but in that they are unuſual, and without the compaſs of ordinary obſervation. *Sometimes thoſe works, which are truly miraculous, may leſs participate of the Almighty Power, then the uſual works of nature do.* It was a true miracle, that the Sun ſhould *ſtand ſtill in the vale of Aialon*; but not therefore a miracle in that it did argue a greater manifeſtation of Gods power, then is dayly manifeſted in the courſe of nature or works of other creatures; But a great miracle only in that it was ſo *rare and unuſual.* The dayly *motion* of the *Sun* about the earth, if we ſearch into the true and prime cauſes of it, includes a greater meaſure or more branches of the *Almighty Creators Power*, then the ſtanding ſtill of the *Sun*, did in the dayes of *Joſhua*, or the going back of it did in the dayes of *Hezekiah.* For in our *Apoſtles divinity*, Act. 17.28. *We live and move and have our being* in God; that is, all things that are have their being *in him*, and *from him*; their being is but a participation of his *infinite being.* The life of all things living, is but a participation or ſhadow of his Life; The *motion* of all things that move, is but the participation of *his power*: ſo that when the Sun did ceaſe to move or ſtand ſtill in the dayes of *Joſhua*, it was partaker only of *his power ſuſtentative*, or of that power by which he ſupporteth all things; It ceaſed to move only by meer ſubſtraction or ceſſation of *his motive power*, by whoſe virtue or influence it dayly, like a *Gyant* runs his courſe. Thus dayly to run its courſe it could not, without a poſitive force or power communicated unto it from *the Creator in whom* (*as* the Apoſtle ſpeaks) it moves. But it ceaſed for a while to move, without any poſitive force or power to inhibit or reſtrain its courſe; But, as we ſaid, by meer ſubſtraction of that power, by which it moves. So long as it continues its courſe, it both moves and hath its Being in God, and it is partaker of two branches of his Almighty Power. But when it ſtood ſtill, it only had its Being in him. The influence of the other branch of Power was intercepted. Now the Argument drawn from thoſe works, which we call, The works of nature, unto works miraculous or ſupernatural, would in this caſe hold *a majore.* *He that dayly makes the Sun to compaſs the world, i able to ſtay its courſe when he pleaſeth.*

Works truly miraculous may have a leſs ſhare of Gods Power then uſual works of nature.

4. A miracle likewiſe it was, and a great one too, that *the three Children* ſhould be untouched in the midſt of the flaming furnace: yet neither was there a greater nor more immediate poſitive effect of *Gods power* in the reſtraint of that fire then, then was in the ſuſtaining other fire, which at other times devoured the bodies of his Saints, *the holy Martyrs*, who loved not their lives unto the death, but gave them up for the teſtimony of the Lord Jeſus: For, Without the co-operation or concourſe of Gods power, the fire could not have touched their bodies. Wherein then did the Miracle recorded in *Daniel*, and experienced in the three children, properly conſiſt? Not ſo much, if at all, in fencing their bodies from the violence of the flame, by impoſition or infuſion of any new created quality into their bodies, as *in ſubſtracting or withdrawing his ordinary co-operation from the fire*, whoſe natural property is to conſume or devour bodies combuſtible; ſuch as the bodies of the *three*

Children by nature were. The only cauſe, why the fire did not burn them, was, the ſubſtraction or withdrawing of Gods co-operative Power, without whoſe ſtrength or aſſiſtance the hotteſt furnace, that Art or experience can deviſe, cannot exerciſe the moſt natural operation of fire. For as the ſubſtance of the fire cannot ſubſiſt, or have any place in the Fabrick of this univerſe, unleſs it be ſupported by Gods power ſuſtentative; So neither, whilſt it ſubſiſts or hath actual being amongſt Gods creatures, can it work or move without the aſſiſtance of *Gods co-operative or all-working Power. In Him both theſe Powers are one; both,* as he is, are infinite: But as communicated unto his creatures they are not altogether *one,* but *two* participated branches of his infinite power. And in the burning of the *Martyrs,* or in other deſtructions made by fire; both branches, as well of his ſuſtentative, as of his co-operative power, are manifeſted; Whereas in the preſerving of the three Children from the violence of the flaming furnace, the one branch only; to wit, His Power ſuſtentative was communicated to the fire; the other branch, to wit, the participation of his co-operative or working Power, was, for the time being, lop't off from the body or ſubſtance of the fire. Now this withdrawing of *his co-operative Power* from the fire, was a true document or proof that *he is the God and guide of nature.* That without him the fire, even whilſt it is for nature and ſubſtance moſt compleat, cannot perform the proper work or exerciſe of its nature. The neceſſary *conſequence* of which *proof* or experiment is this; *That he is the Author or fountain as well of all the works or exerciſes of natural cauſes, as of natural bodies or ſubſtances themſelves.* And if we conſider his Power, not in it ſelf, but as communicated to his Creatures or natural Agents, it is and ought to be acknowledged greater in thoſe works which we call works of nature, and of which we have dayly experience; then it was in either of theſe two Miracles before mentioned. Both of them were for this Reaſon only *Miraculous,* in that they were moſt unuſual, & without the circuit of any experiment or obſervation in the courſe of nature before the times wherein they hapned.

See this Authors Sermons, printed at Oxon. *Anno* 1637. *pag.* 39, 40.

5. To raiſe Mens Bodies out of the Grave, or out of the Elements into which they have been diſſolved, is far more unuſual, then to raiſe up Corn out of putrified ſeed; and in this reſpect the reſurrection, which we hope for, muſt be acknowledged a work more Miraculous and wonderful, then the yearly ſpringing or Corn, of fruits, of herbs, or graſs. But may we ſay in this Caſe as in the former, that the Power of God is no leſs, but rather greater, in theſe ordinary works of nature (as in cauſing herbs, fruit, or corn to ſprout or fructifie with advantage of increaſe) then it ſhall be in the reſurrection of the dead; which is a work, not of Nature, but miraculous and ſupernatural; a work in which natural Cauſes ſhall not be entertained nor imployed by God? No: there ſhall be a manifeſtation of greater Power, then either of Gods *ſuſtentative* power, by which all things, that were created, are ſtill preſerved; or of His *co operative* Power, without whoſe participation nothing, which is ſo preſerved, can work at all, or perform the exerciſes of its proper nature. The Power indeed, by which He Preſerveth all things, is the ſelf ſame Power, by which He made all things out of nothing. *The Preſervation of things that are, is but a continuation or proroguing of the firſt Creation.* As all things are made of nothing; ſo would they inſtantly return into nothing, were they not continually ſupported and preſerved by the ſelf ſame power, by which they begun to Be, when they were not. Creation and preſervation differ only *in ſenſu connotativo,* only in relation, not in ſubſtance, *Creation includes a Negation of Being before;* For all things, that are,

took their beginning by Creation. *Conſervation ſuppoſeth a beginning of things that are, and includes a Negation of their returning into nothing.* Theſe Two Negations being abſtracted or ſequeſtred, the Creation of all things and their Conſervation, are as truly and properly the ſame Power or work of one and the ſame party, as the way from *Athens* to *Thebes*, and from *Thebes* to *Athens* is the ſame.

But if the Continuation of things, that are, be a Creation; or if the ſelf ſame *Almighty Power* be ſtill manifeſted in the preſervation of things temporal, that was manifeſted in the firſt Creation, what greater power can be manifeſted in the reſurrection from the dead, then is daily manifeſted, and ought to be acknowledged in the preſervation and daily increaſe of herbs, of fruits, of corn ſown, and ſpringing out of the earth? Or if any greater power ſhall be manifeſt *in the reſurrection from the dead*, then is daily experienced in theſe works of nature, how ſhall we juſtifie our *Apoſtles Argument* in this place to be an *argument of proportion* or an *argument* (as we ſaid before) *from the greater to the leſs*, or *an argument à pari*, from *The like Caſe or Inſtance?* The *argument* indeed would directly follow; *He that is able to make men live again, that have been dead for a thouſand years, is alſo able to quicken the corn in the next month, which died the laſt month.* This kind of argument would be as clear, as if you ſhould ſay, That he, that is able to make ready payment of a thouſand pounds, may ſoon and eaſily pay an hundred. But you would take it as an impertinent or indiſcreet allegation to ſay, I know this man is able to pay you an hundred pounds, therefore I would perſwade you to take his bond for a thouſand. But our apoſtles argument in this place may ſeem leſs probable, and it is, at leaſt to appearance, but Thus; *God dayly raiſeth up corn within a year after it is ſowen.* Ergo, *he ſhall raiſe up* Adams *body, which was conſumed to duſt five thouſand years ago.*

6. To frame the Apoſtles argument, which is an argument of Proportion, aright, you muſt take his Principles or grounds into your conſideration. Now he firſt ſuppoſeth, and takes it (as all good Chriſtians ought to do) for granted, that *God doth give that body unto every ſeed with which it ariſeth or cometh out of the ground.* The increaſe of things ſown or planted, is not, in his Language or Philoſophy, the meer Effect or gift of Nature; For even *Nature her ſelf, or whatſoever ſhe hath to beſtow, is the gift of God.* That which Philoſophers call Nature, is in true Divinity nothing elſe, but *The Law which God hath ſet to things natural*, or ſubject to change or motion. Now he which made this Law, whether for guiding bodies ſublunary or celeſtial, can diſpenſe with it at his pleaſure. He ſometimes inhibits the ordinary courſe of the Law of Nature by ſubſtraction, as it were of his Royal Aſſent; or by ſuſpending the concurrence of his Operative Power; And ſometimes again he advanceth the ſtate of things natural, by creating or making a New Law unto the manner of their Being, or of their Operations; that is, he changeth their Qualities though not their Natures or Eſſences. Thus much preſuppoſed or premiſed, our Apoſtles Inference is as firm and ſtrong, as it is Emphatical; *Stulte! Tu quod Seminas——. O Fool! that which* THOU *ſoweſt is not quickened, except it dy &c.* The force or Emphaſis may be gathered thus. *If God doth give a body unto that ſeed, which thou ſoweſt for thine own uſe and benefit, much more will the ſame God give a body to the ſeed, which* He Himſelf *doth ſow, much more will he quicken it after it had been dead; ſeeing the End, why he ſowes it; is not thy temporal benefit or commodity, but His own immortal glory.*

When God did enact that ſevere Law, from which death natural takes its original, *Duſt thou art, and to duſt thou ſhalt return*; the intent or purport of that Law was not, that man by returning to duſt ſhould utterly or finally periſh, and be for ever as if he never had been: What then was the intent or purport of this Law? That mans body ſhould be committed unto the earth, as ſeed is committed to the ground; that as the corn, which ſprings out of the earth, returns to earth again, and is ſtill raiſed up with advantage and increaſe unto the Sower: So the bodies of men, after that by the firſts mans folly they became corruptible and certain to ſuffer corruption (whether in the earth, in the air, or in the Sea) might be raiſed again, but not to corruption; that God may receive the ſeed, which is ſown with *increaſe of glory to himſelf*; this increaſe of glory being rooted in the increaſe of their happineſs, by whoſe immortality he is immediately glorified. *Thus much of the former difficulty, to wit, how our Apoſtles inſtance or experiment in the work of nature doth infer his intended concluſion, to wit, the future Reſurrection from the dead. And from the ſolution of this former, the ſecond may eaſily be aſſoyled.*

The ſecond Difficulty urged.

7. The ſecond Difficulty was; *How this Inſtance or Experiment of the Corn dying, and being quickened again, can fit or parallel the Reſurrection of the body, ſeeing the Corn, which is quickened, or ſpringeth up, is not* the ſame body, *which was ſown? Whereas it is a Point of our Belief, that the ſame numerical bodies which die and return to duſt, or are reſolved into aſhes or into the Elements, of which they conſiſt, ſhall be raiſed up at the laſt day.* For if the Body raiſed up were not the ſelf ſame that died, the Body which died, ſhould not be partaker either of pain or joy everlaſting, but another Body ſhould be tormented or glorified inſtead of the Body which died; Every man ſhould not receive reward or puniſhment *according to that, which he had done in the body*; or at leaſt this reward or puniſhment ſhould not be received in the ſame Body, in which he had done ill or well.

Aquinas his Solution true but impertinent.

Aquinas, a great School-man in his time, labours to aſſoyl the propoſed difficulty by framing the Apoſtles argument thus. *If Nature can repair that which dies,* Idem ſpecie, that is, *If nature can make it to be of the ſame kind it was, though not the ſame numerical body it was* (as he that ſows Wheat reaps Wheat, not Rie or Barley, though not the ſelf ſame grains of Wheat, which he ſows;) Then *The God of Nature and Creator of all things ſhall raiſe up the bodies of men, which are his ſeed and proper husbandry, the very ſelf ſame which they were, not the ſelf ſame for kind or ſpecifical Unity, but the ſame individuals.* Of all the bodies, which have died, not one ſhall miſcarry, not ſo much as a hair of any mans head, or any leaſt part of his body ſhall finally periſh.

The Authors Solution of the former Difficulty.

But though all this be true, yet is it impertinent, it fals not within the compaſs of our Apoſtles inference in this place, who neither affirms, nor denies, nor took it ſo much as into his conſideration, whether the Corn which ſprings up, be the ſame individual nature or ſubſtance, which did putrifie and die in the ground. The utmoſt circumference of his conſiderations or thoughts extends no further then thus; *That the Body which God doth give to every ſeed, is not for quality the ſame, which was ſown; for it was ſown bare corn without blade, husk, or ear, & loſeth that corpulency or quantity, which it had: But it ſprings not up bare Corn.* The new life, which it gets in the womb of the earth, is cloathed with a freſh body capable of nouriſhment & growth; of both which it was uncapable whilſt it was ſevered from the ear wherein it grew, or after the ſtalk was cut down. And this change or alteration in the Corn ſown and ſpringing up doth well fit the change or alteration, which ſhall be wrought in our bodies at the reſurrection,or laſt day.Our bodies by death become more uncapable of nouriſhment then the corn ſevered from the ear or cut down;for they are utterly deprived of life, of ſenſe,of motion, in all the interim between the day of their diſſolution and the laſt day. By the reſurrection they ſhall not only recover life, ſenſe and motion, but the life which they get ſhall be indowed with immortality; the bodies ſhall be clothed with glory.

This change of our mortal bodies into immortal is much greater,then the moſt plentiful increaſe,which any ſeed doth yield.One ſeed or grain may in ſome ſoils bring forth thirty,in others ſixty, in others a hundred; but immortality added to the life of the body is an increaſe in reſpect of this mortal life, which now we lead, inexpreſſible by any number. The life of *Methuſelah* is not comparable to it,albeit the years which he lived on earth,were multiplied by the dayes contained in them,and both multiplied again by all the minutes and ſcruples contained in the dayes and years which he lived. And yet after this increaſe of life our bodies ſhall be the ſame they were,for *nature and eſſence*, but not the ſame for qualities or capacities, whether of joyes or pains. In theſe reſpects they ſhall differ far more,then any corn growing doth from the ſeed,from which it ſprings.And this *difference of qualities, between the bodies* which die, *and ſhall be raiſed again, was all that our Apoſtle ſought or intended to illuſtrate or ſet forth by that ſimilitude which he uſeth. Thou ſoweſt not the corn which ſhall be; that is, not the ſame corn for quantity, for quality*, for vigour of life; nor ſhall mens bodies be raiſed again to ſuch a life only, as they formerly had, or to ſuch a corruptible eſtate as that, wherein death did apprehend them, but to a life truly immortal.

The *Corinthian* Naturaliſts ſecond Queſtion.

The anſwer to this Queſtion.

8. The ſecond queſtion propoſed, by the Corinthian Naturaliſt, was, *with what bodies ſhall the dead come forth or appear?* And the direct Anſwer to this Queſtion is included in the former ſimilitude; (ſo much inſiſted on before, as that it needs not to be repeated here:) the effect of it is this; *That they ſhall come forth with bodies much more excellent then thoſe, with which they deſcended into the grave.*

And of this general anſwer, included in the ſimilitude of the Corn, or Seed ſown, all the exemplifications following unto verſe 45. are native branches.

39. *All fleſh is not the ſame fleſh, but there is one kind of fleſh of men, another fleſh of beaſts, another of fiſhes, and another of birds.*

40. *There are alſo celeſtial bodies, and bodies terreſtrial; but the glory of the celeſtial is one, and the glory of the terreſtrial is another.*

41. *There is one glory of the Sun, another of the Moon, and another glory of the Stars; for one Star differeth from another in glory.*

42. *So alſo is the reſurrection of the dead; it is ſown in corruption, it is raiſed in incorruption:*

43. *It is ſown in diſhonour, it is raiſed in glory; it is ſown in weakneſs, it is raiſed in power.*

44. *It is ſown a natural body, it is raiſed a ſpiritual body. There is a natural body, and there is a ſpiritual body*, &c.

Thus much of the poſitive force of our Apoſtles argument drawn from the ſimilitude of the Corn, which by the Law of Nature muſt die before it be quickned and receive increaſe.

9.But of this ſimilitude it is no native branch or part, whether the corn which dies being ſown, do riſe again the next year for vital ſubſtance or life,the ſame,which it was whilſt it was contained in the blade or ear, the year before ; certainly it is not *the ſame for Corpulency*, for matter or quantity.But whether the ſeeds of life or *ſpirit of corn* do not remain *the ſame by continuation*, though in divers bodies or matter, our *Apoſtle* diſputes not,nor do I diſpute.This is a curioſity,which cannot be determined in the Pulpit without appeal unto the Schools. The vital ſpirit or eſſence of the *Corn* may be ſo far *the ſame* in the corn which is ſown, and which is reaped, that,if we ſhould for diſputation ſake, ſuppoſe or imagine, what ſome have dogmatically affirmed, to wit, *That the corn ſown were endowed with ſenſe or feeling*, were capable of pleaſure or pain; the pleaſure,which it formerly enjoyed might be renewed,increaſed,or multiplied with increaſe or multiplication of its bodily ſubſtance ; ſo might the pain,which it had felt before it was ſown, be renewed and increaſed after it were quickned again, if any ſort of corn were appointed,as ſome men are, to torture and puniſhment. Now albeit we muſt believe, that mens bodies after the reſurrection ſhall be the very ſame for ſubſtance which they were before death,yet are we not bound to believe that they ſhall be any further the ſame, then that every man which died in his ſins, may in his body feel an infinite increaſe of thoſe miſeries which he had deſerved;and in ſome ſort felt whileſt he lived on earth.Or,that every man at the laſt day may reap an infinite increaſe of thoſe joyes and comforts, of which in this life he had ſome taſts or pledges whilſt *he ſowed unto the ſpirit.*For, as the *Apoſtle* elſewhere ſpeaks,*he that ſoweth unto the fleſh,ſhall of the fleſh reap corruption*;a ful crop of all the miſeries incident to mortality, but miſeries more then mortal,miſeries everlaſting and never dying.And he that in this life *ſoweth unto the ſpirit*,ſhall at the *reſurrection,of the ſpirit reap life*,but a life *immortal* without end, without annoyance or interruption of joy.

Again,they extend the former *ſimilitude* too far, which from it would gather, that as there is a natural force or previal diſpoſition in the corn ſown,by which,as by a ſecondary cauſe or inſtrumental mean,it is quickned and increaſed ; So there be natural ſeeds of life in the putrified reliques of mens bodies,or remnants of the matter diſſolved, out of which life immortal ſhall ſo ſpring, as the blade doth out of the ſeed which is ſown only by the *ſuſtentative or operative power of God*,by which all things are ſupported,or enabled to produce their natural effects.For although it be true,that the works which we aſcribe *to nature*,are wrought *by God*, or by continuation of the ſame power, by which they were firſt created and ſet a working ; yet the *reſurrection* of mens bodies ſhall not be wrought by the mere continuation of *this power* ; There muſt be *more then a conſervation* of their matter, *more then an uſual co-operation* with the Elements, out of which they are raiſed, there muſt be even *a new creation* of their bodies;yet not *a creation of them out of nothing*, but out of the ſcattered fragments of their matter;ſuch a creation as the works of the fifth and ſixth day were, when God commanded the *ſea or water to bring forth fiſhes in their kind*,and the *earth to bring forth trees or plants in their kind.*Theſe were not effects of nature, or of that power only, by which the Sea and earth were from the firſt day preſerved ; but here was a *new creation* out of that, which Philoſophers properly term *the matter* ; that is,the *common mother* of generation or corruption. And thus God at the laſt day ſhall command not the *earth* only, but the *Sea* alſo with the other Elements *to give up their dead.*Rev.20.13.Laſtly,they extended *this ſimilitude* too far,which hence imagined, that as the *corn* often dies and is often quickned,and dies again ; So, by the doctrine of *Chriſtians*,there ſhould

See Book 10. Fol.112.

ſhould be a death after the *reſurrection*,and *a reſurrection* after death or ſuch a continual viciſſitude between life and death,as is between light and darkneſs.

This *objection* is punctually reſolved by *Tertullian in the* 48.*Chapt. of his Apology.* The ſum of his anſwer is; *That ſo it might be, if the Omnipotent Creator had ſo appointed; for he is able to work this continual interchange, or viciſſitude of life and death, as well in mens bodies, as in the bodies of corn ſown or reaped ; or as he doth the perpetual viciſſitude of light and darkneſs in the two* Hemiſpheres *of the world; but he hath revealed his* Will *to the contrary.* And the reaſon is not the ſame (but rather contrary) in Gods crop or harveſt, as it is in the crops or harveſts of mortal men: As men in this life are mortal, ſo is their food or nutriment; and for this reaſon their nutriment muſt be ſupplied by continual ſowing and reaping. But *Gods is immortal*,and ſo ſhall the crop of his harveſt be. Our *reſurrection* from the dead is his general crop or harveſt; and this needs to be no more then *One*; becauſe our bodies,being once raiſed up to life again ſhall never dy; but enjoy *immortality* in his preſence. *Heaven is his Granary*, and what is gathered into it cannot periſh or conſume.

The general uſe of this Doctrin.

10. The general *uſe of this Doctrine* is punctually made to our hands by our *Apoſtle* in the laſt verſe of this Chapt.*Therefore my beloved brethren be ye ſtedfaſt, unmovable, alwayes abounding in the work of the* Lord,*for as much as you know, that your labour is not in vain in the Lord.* And more particulary,1 Theſſal 4. 13. &c. *I Would not have you ignorant, brethren, concerning them which are aſleep, that ye ſorrow not even as others which have no hope*, &c. The *Apoſtle* there doth not forbid *all mourning* for the dead,but the manner of mourning only; *that they mourn not as they which have no hope*,no expectation of any *reſurrection* after death. Nature will teach us, as it did theſe *Theſſalonians*, to mourn for the death of our friends and kindred. And our *belief of this Article* will give us the true mean, and preſcribe the due *manner or meaſure* of mourning.Our *ſorrow* though natural and juſt, yet if it be truly Chriſtian and ſeaſoned with Grace, will ſtill be mingled with comfort and ſupported by hope. To be either impatient towards God, or immoderately dejected for the death of our deareſt friends, whoſe bodies God hath in mercy committed to the cuſtody of the earth, of the ſea,or other Elements;is but *A Symptome of heatheniſh ignorance(or* infidelity)of this Article,*A barbariſm in Chriſtianity.*

If we of this Land ſhould live amongſt *Barbarians*, whom we had taught to make bread of Corn, and accuſtomed to the taſt of this bread as unknown to their forefathers, as *Manna* at firſt apperance was to the *Iſraelites*,but not acquainted them with *the myſtery of ſowing and reaping:* they would be as ready in their hunger or ſcarcity of bread to ſtone us,as the *Iſraelites* were to ſtone *Moſes* in their thirſt,if they ſhould ſee us offer to bury that corn in the earth,with which their bowels might be comforted : yet if they were but ſo far capable of reaſon as to be perſwaded or we ſo capable of truſt or credit with them as to perſwade them, that there were no poſſibility left either to have bread without ſupply of corn, or for corn to increaſe and multiply, unleſs it did firſt dy and putrifie in the ground ; hope of a more plentiful crop or harveſt would naturally incline them to brook the preſent ſcarcity with patience, and to be thankful towards ſuch, as would ſo carefully provide for them.

Now, beſides, that *the ſouls of the righteous are in the hand of God*; the committing of their bodies to the grave is but as *a ſolemn preparation of ſeed for a future crop or harveſt.* If in theſe premiſſes we do rely and truſt in God, our ſorrow and heavineſs for the dead, though it may endure for a while, will be ſwallowed up in comfort? our mournful tears and weeping will be ſtill accompanied with praiſes and thankſgiving unto him, that hath ſo well provided from them that live in his fear, and dy in his favour.

11. But as this Doctrine adminiſtreth plenty of comfort in reſpect of friends deceaſed; ſo it ſhould move us to make choice of ſuch only for our deareſt friends, as we ſee inclined *to live in the fear of the Lord.* Or, if we have prevented our ſelves and this advice, in making ſuch choice, yet let us never be prevented by others for making the main and principal end of our friendſhip or delight in any mans company to be this; *A ſerious ſtudy and endeavour to prepare others, and to be prepared by them, to live and dy in the Lord.* As there is no greater comfort in this life, then a faithful and hearty friend; So can no greater grief befal a man at the hour of death, then to have had a friend truſty & hearty in other offices and ſervices, but negligent and backward in cheriſhing the *ſeeds of faith, of love,* or *fear of the Lord,* or other proviſion of our way-fare towards the life to come. No practiſe of the moſt malicious, or moſt inveterate or moſt provoked foe, can breed half ſo much danger to any man, as the affectionate intentions of a carnal friend, alwayes officious to entertain him with pleaſant impertinences, which will draw his mind from the fear and love of God, and either divert or effeminate his cogitations from reſolute pitching upon the means and hopes of *a joyful reſurrection* to everlaſting life.

Chriſtians ſhould chuſe ſuch friends as have ſhare in the Firſt, and hopes of the ſecond Reſurrection.

Even to minds and affections already ſweetned with ſure hope of that life to come, *what grief* muſt it needs breed in this life, if he be a loving husband, to think he ſhall be by death eternally divorced from the company of his deareſt conſort? Or, if he be an affectionate friend, to conſider that the league of mutual amity in this life (never interrupted, but ſecured from danger of impairment whilſt their pilgrimage laſts here on earth) ſhould be everlaſtingly diſſolved after the one had taken up his lodging in the duſt? that all former deareſt kindneſs ſhould not only be forgotten, but be further eſtranged from performance of any common courteſie, then any Chriſtian in this life can be in regard of any *Jew,* or *Turk,* or any *Jew* or *Turk* from them? For what *Jew* or *Turk* is there, that would not be ready to relieve a Chriſtian with ſome *off-fals from his Table,* whom he ſees ready to pull the fleſh off his own arms to ſatiate hunger? yet this is more then the moſt loving Husband may do unto his deareſt Wife; then a Father may wiſh to his Son; or any Friend that *dies in the Lord,* may do unto another after death, unleſs they both repair to *one Home,* and be not divided by that Gulf, which was ſet between *Dives* and *Lazarus.*

You know the Story; how that *Lazarus* was not permitted to miniſter ſo much as a drop of water unto *Dives* to cool his tongue. Nor ſhall the Father, which *dies in the Lord,* be permitted to do or wiſh ſo great a kindneſs unto the Son; nor the Husband to the Wife, which *live and dy in their ſins.* What remedy then can be preſcribed for preventing the juſt occaſions of this grief? but that Husband and Wife, Father and Son, Mother and Daughter, and others linkt in any bond of love and friendſhip, do mutually labour to wain each others Affections from earth and earthly things, and each lend other their helping hand to faſten their *affections on things that are above where Chriſt ſitteth at the right hand of God.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

The Objections of the Atheiſt, *and the Exceptions of the* Naturaliſt, *Both, put fully Home, and as fully Anſwered. The falſity of the Suppoſals and Paradoxes (rather then Principles) of the* Atheiſt, *diſcovered; and made even Palpable by ocular demonſtration, and by Inſtances in bodies vegetant and ſenſitive. A Scruple that might trouble ſome pious mind, after all this, ſatisfied. A ſhort Application of the Doctrine contained in the whole Chapter.*

The *Atheiſt's* Exception.

1. BUt here the *Atheiſt will except, That the former reaſons are concludent only in caſe the whole ſubſtance or bodily part of man be annihilated.* That indeed, which is annihilated, is as if it had never been, and is as capable of Creation as it was at the firſt, or at the time when it was nothing; For *creation makes that to be which is not*; and that is moſt properly ſaid *to be created*, which is *made of nothing* or without any matter or ſtuff pre-exiſtent. But thus it is not in the bodies of men that are dead; theſe are not annihilated or reſolved into nothing: the matter of them ſtill remaineth, though not in the ſame place or ſhape, but ſome part of it in this body, ſome part in that.

Of a mans body which died twenty years ago, ſome part is changed or transformed into the nature of earth, ſome part reſolved into vapors or exhalations; Some part into groſſer moiſture, whereof other live creatures are produced: No part of it returns into meer nothing. Whatſoever bodily ſubſtance hath been by God created out of nothing, hath all its reliques one where or other ſtill remaining; And the very leaſt fragment of the meaneſt of them is a great deal more then nothing.

The Naturaliſt his Demand.

And here the ſubtil Naturaliſt coming in, demands, *What poſſibility can be conceived, that the ſelfſame bodies, which were conſumed a thouſand years ago, ſhould be intirely reſtored again?*

This ſuppoſed Reſtauration *muſt either be by a new Creation; or it muſt be only by a* Recollection *or gathering together of the reliques or matter, which have been diſperſed and ſcattered through divers places, and transformed into ſo many ſeveral bodies.*

2. That the bodies, which have been diſſolved, ſhould at the laſt day be made *the ſelfſame they were by a new Creation*, (properly ſo called) ſeems impoſſible. For every body muſt have its proper and immediate Matter, and no body can be created without the Creation of ſuch a Matter. The ſoul of man may be created in the Body without creation of the Matter whereto it is annexed, becauſe the ſoul is no material ſubſtance; But the creation of a bodily or material ſubſtance eſſentially includes a Creation of the Matter, and this Matter may be either created before *the Compound*, into which it is afterward formed; (as the Body and Matter of the firſt Man was created out of the earth, before it was wrought by the breath of God into a living or ſenſitive ſubſtance:) or this Matter may be concreated with the body or compound, whoſe matter it is.

Thus the Fiſhes in the Sea, and the Plants in the Earth were each of them created by one intire creation; there was not one creation of their proper Matter, and another of their proper Form. The bulks or ſtems of trees were not made or created out of the earth before the vegetable or vital faculty was infuſed into them; Both were made at once.

The ſeveral branches of the *difficulty in this argument* may be framed

thus:

The Naturaliſts Objections framed into a Body.

thus: *If the bodies of men, which have been reſolved into duſt (perhaps into as many ſeveral bodies, as there be men now living) muſt all be created again; and every one created again the ſelf ſame it was; Then either the matter muſt be the ſelf ſame, which it was; or elſe it muſt have ſome new matter equivalent, or of the ſelf ſame uſe or ſervice in reſpect of the ſoul, unto which the former matter had been, and this new matter* (not altogether *the ſame* but *the ſame* by *Equivalencie*) *is, or is to be, united.*

That the ſelf ſame *matter* which was in a mans body when he died, ſhould become the ſame again by a new creation *ex nihilo*, implies a Contradiction; For that very material ſubſtance, which was in *Adam* at his death, is not to this day annihilated; not the leaſt ſcrap or fragment of it, but is now exiſtent in ſome body or other. And that, which at this very hour actually is or exiſteth in ſome other body, cannot at this very hour *begin to Be*, cannot at this very hour *be made of nothing*, becauſe it ſelf already *is ſomething*. If the *matter* of *Adams* body (which we ſuppoſe not to be utterly annihilated) could be created again whiles it ſo continues, it ſhould be *exiſtent*, and not *exiſtent*, it ſhould *begin to be*, and *not begin to be*, at the ſame point of time. Both which imply a manifeſt Contradiction; and all Contradictions, though in matters meerly ſpeculative, are as contrary to the *Unity and truth of the Godhead*, as diſſimulation, fraud or cozenage are to *the Holineſs of God. To make both parts of a Contradiction true, falls not under the Object or exerciſe of His Almighty Power.*

See Chap. 13. Sect. 11.

It is the very nature of the Matter not to be *unum & idem*.

If then the Body of *Adam* cannot be created the ſame it was, unleſs the ſelf ſame *matter*, whereof his body was firſt made, be reſtored; it is clear that the *ſelf ſame matter* cannot be intirely reſtored by Creation, unleſs thoſe bodies wherein it is, be firſt annihilated or turned into nothing: For whilſt they remain ſomething, or rather, whilſt the *matter* which was in *Adam* remaineth in them, the ſame *matter* being ſomething in them, cannot properly be Created again, or begin to Be out of Nothing.

The Anſwer to the Naturaliſt his Objections.

3. But, that the Body of *Adam* ſhould be at the laſt day the ſame it was when he died, by Recollecting or putting together the ſelf ſame material parts whereof his ſoul was poſſeſt at her departure from the body, is not impoſſible. That the bodies of all men ſhould at the Reſurrection become the ſame they were, by this means, not by Creation of new bodies, or by new creation of any bodily ſubſtance or new *matter* out of nothing, the Heathens (it ſeems) did conceive to be the Opinion of the ancient Chriſtians, when the Goſpel of Chriſt (concerning the *Reſurrection of the body*) begun to be preſt and preached among them, For to diſprove Chriſtians Belief of this Article, or at leaſt to defeat Chriſtians of their hopes of a bodily Reſurrection to a better life, their heathen perſecutors, did burn their bodies unto aſhes, and afterwards ſow their aſhes, ſome in the waters, * ſome in the air, or expoſe them to the blaſts of boyſterous winds; hoping by theſe practiſes to find *the God of theſe Chriſtians* a cumberſome work, before he could accompliſh what they profeſt he had promiſed unto them concerning the *Reſurrection of the ſame bodies*, and of rendring to every ſoul the ſame material portions, whereof it was ſometimes ſeized. But whether the malicious heathens did punctually oppoſe theſe practiſes unto the aſſertions of the Chriſtians, as if from their mouths they had heard that the *Reſurrection of the body ſhould be accompliſhed by Recollection of all the particles*, into which it had been reſolved (through what Elements ſoever they had been in long tract of time diſperſed;) or whether theſe Heathens did thus practiſe upon the Chriſtians bodies out of their own imaginations, as not conceiving any other means poſſible, by which every man might ariſe with his own body, I find not upon Record.

*See the Epiſtle of the Churches of *Vienna* and *Lyons* to the Bretheren of *Aſia* and *Phrygia*, in *Euſeb.* Hiſt. 5. Book. 1. Chap. *ad finem*.

There is much *good morality* to be learned from the contemplating the mixtures and ſeparation of metals.

Some of the ***Antient Fathers*** in their Arguments againſt the Heathen, or in their Apologies for ***This Article of our Faith***, ſuppoſe the Reſurrection of the body ſhall be accompliſhed by the Recollection of the Reliques or Fragments, into which each ones body hath been diſſolved. And to this purpoſe uſe divers Similitudes or illuſtrations drawn from Gold-ſmiths, or Refiners of Metals, who by their Art or Myſtery can extract the fragments of Gold or Silver out of any other metal or body, with which they are mingled. Howbeit ***other of the Fathers***, and ſometimes ***the ſame Fathers***, which uſe theſe Similitudes or illuſtrations, principally rely upon ***Gods Creative Power***, by which he made all things out of Nothing, or by which he multiplieth or advanceth things, that have ſome actual Being, unto a more excellent and more plentiful kind of Being.

It was an exerciſe of the ***Creative Power*** to turn Water (in an Inſtant) into Wine; to multiply ***five loaves and two fiſhes*** unto the ſuſtentation of more then ***five thouſand men***, beſides the fragments remaining, which were ten times more then the proviſion it ſelf. And in thus reſolving the poſſibility of every mans Riſing with his own Body, into ***the Power of God***, whereby he is able either to make all things out of ***nothing***, or to make ***one thing out of another*** by means miraculous & far ſurmounting all force of natural Agents, the antient ***Fathers*** did wiſely. For admitting (what no Chriſtian can deny) that Gods Skill or Knowledge to recollect all the ſeveral parcels of every mans body (which way ſoever diſperſed) doth infinitely exceed the moſt exquiſite Skill of any Mineraliſt or Refiner in ſevering one metal from another, and in wedding and uniting every parcel, fragment, or remnant, of what kind ſoever, with others of its own kind: Yet this Infinite Skill or Knowledge in Recollecting or uniting the ſeveral parts of mens bodies, which have been diſſolved by death, could not ſuffice to the ſupportance of that truth, which in this Article we all believe, againſt the aſſaults of the ***Atheiſts***; unleſs this infinite Skill or Knowledge were ſeconded with an ***infinite Creative Power***.

The *Atheiſts* wilie (but not wiſe) *Objection* againſt the poſſibility of a Reſurrection by Recollection of Reliques.

4. Againſt the ***Recollection of all the Reliques*** or fragments of mens bodies, the ***Atheiſt*** or ſubtil *Naturaliſt* would thus Object. ***All Chriſtians do not die a natural death, all come not to the Sepulchres of their Fathers, many periſh in the Sea, and the bodies of many, which thus periſh, are quite devoured by fiſhes, Sea monſters, or other inhabitants of the Sea; and the fiſhes which thus devour even Chriſtian men, are again devoured by other men, and thoſe men again which have fed on fiſhes which devoured men, become a prey unto other fiſhes, and theſe fiſhes are taken again and eaten by men: The men, that eat theſe fiſhes, may*** (ſaies He, and we may ſuppoſe they do) ***become a prey unto the*** Canibals, ***a barbarous and monſtrous people, which feed as greedily upon mans fleſh as any Sea-monſter or ravenous land Creature would feed on theirs. Now the matter or bodily ſubſtance of every man that is devoured by fiſhes or other inhabitants of the Sea, is turned into the matter or bodily ſubſtance of the devourer. The matter again of every fiſh, that is eaten by man, is converted or changed into the matter or ſubſtance of that man which eats it. The*** Canibal ***would not ſo greedily feed upon mans fleſh as he doth, unleſs he were truly nouriſhed by it; and nouriſhment is the converſion of the matter or ſubſtance eaten into the matter or ſubſtance of him that eateth it.***

Now if the Reſurrection of every man with his own body, with the ſame body, from which his ſoul was by death divorced, did only, or principally conſiſt in the Recollection or re-union of the ſame material parts or reliques which were diſſolved by death, it would be a hard point to reſolve or ſatisfie the ***Atheiſt*** or incredulous ***Naturaliſt***, how it were poſſible that every man ſhould have the ſelf ſame Body that he had at the hour of death.

Tom.III.

The ſame Objection re-inforced.

To twiſt the difficulty harder, according to the *Atheiſts* ſuppoſitions (which are not impoſſible, nor in ordinary conjecture improbable.)

From what creature ſhall the firſt mans body, which the fiſh devoured be challenged? Or what creature ſhall the *Almighty* injoyn to make reſtitution of his intire matter? Shall the *Almighty* injoyn the fiſhes of the Sea to caſt up the morſels of mans fleſh, which they have eaten, as the *Whale* did *Jonas*? But it is ſuppoſed, that the bodily ſubſtance or matter of the man, was converted into the ſubſtance or bodies of the fiſhes, which did eat him; for God did not preſerve either the life or bodily matter of men devoured by fiſhes, as he did preſerve *Jonas*. Shall the mans body then be repaired out of the matter or bodily ſubſtance of the fiſhes, which did eat him? But that (as the *Atheiſts* ſuppoſe, and is not in it ſelf improbable) other men have eaten and turned it into the matter and ſubſtance of their bodies. And theſe men again have been eaten by other fiſhes, or by ſuch Land-monſters as the *Canibals*. Shall the firſt then or ſecond mens bodies be repaired out of the bodily ſubſtance or matter of theſe later men, which have eaten the fiſhes that eat the former, or out of the bodies of *Canabals*, which have eaten them?

The Queſtion then remains; *How the bodies of thoſe men ſhall be repaired? or from what Elements ſhall the Reliques or diſſolved fragments of their bodies be recollected?* Seeing their bodies alſo have been either immediately devoured by *Canibals*, or mediately by other men, which have eaten the creatures, that have devoured the former men? The *Canibals*, which devoured men muſt, by this *Article of Chriſtian Faith*, ariſe again with their own bodies, not with the bodies of other men whom they have devoured; *how then is it poſſible for every man to ariſe with his own body*, ſeing the bodies of many men, at leaſt the reliques or fragments into which they are diſſolved, have been ſwallowed up by ſome one ravenous creature, and ſome one *Canibals* humane body may ſucceſſively be the Tomb or Sepulcher of many mens bodies?

And here me-thinks that queſtion, which the *Sadduces* put unto our Saviour concerning the woman which had been married to ſeven brethren, one after another, might be more punctually propoſed concerning the women of *Samaria* or *Jeruſalem*, which in the extremity of ſeige did make their hunger-ſtarved ſtomacks the grave or *Sarcophagus* of thoſe tender Infants, whom they had lately conceived in their womb, and brought forth with joy.

The Queſtion by the *Sadduces* was thus propoſed, *Which of the ſeven brethren ſhould have the woman to wife at the Reſurrection, ſeeing ſhe had been wife ſucceſſively to all the ſeven?*

The *Atheiſt* or Naturaliſt would propoſe his Queſtion thus; *Whoſe ſhall the bodies of the Infants (which their mothers devoured) at the day of the reſurrection be? ſhall they belong as appurtenances to the bodies of their mothers, of which they were (though moſt unnaturally) made natural or material and ſubſtantial parts a little before theſe cruel mothers died? But then the Infants ſhould have no bodily ſubſtance, they could not ariſe with their own bodies. Or ſhall the reliques of the bodies, which their mothers ſwallowed, be drawn or extracted (as a refiner doth gold out of droſs, or ſilver out of baſer metal) out of the ruines of their mothers bodies? but ſo their mothers ſhould ſeem at the reſurrection to want part of their bodily and much pined ſubſtances, which they had at the ſeparation of their ſouls and bodies: Their bodies, by this ſuppoſition, cannot be the ſame they were when they died.*

5. This Difficulty might by many like Inſtances be both increaſed and inlarged; but the ſame Anſwer, which our Saviour gave unto the

Sadduces, Matth. 22. 29. will ſufficiently ſatisfie the *Atheiſts* Objection, though not the *Atheiſt* himſelf. *He therefore errs, becauſe he knows not the Scriptures, nor the Power of God.* We may further add; *In theſe Collections he therefore errs, becauſe he knows not the Paſſive obediential Power or capacity of nature,* as ſubject and obedient to the *Active or all-working Power of God.*

The Atheiſts Objection anſwered: It hath Two Loops.

How cunningly ſoever the aforeſaid or the like knot may be caſt by the Naturaliſt, it hath *Two Loops*, by which it may eaſily be looſed, by which it doth in a manner unlooſe or untie it ſelf.

Firſt Loop.

Firſt, The *Atheiſt* takes that as granted, which he can never prove nor make probable out of the courſe of Nature; to wit, that when one living creature devours another, as when fiſhes devour men, or men feed on fiſhes, or when one man eats another, the whole matter or bodily ſubſtance of the creature devoured ſhould be converted into the matter or bodily ſubſtance of the eater or devourer. *This never falls out in the whole courſe of nature.* Of the moſt nouriſhing live creature that is, ſome part or fragment is not fit for nutriment; Not the greedieſt fiſh that is can ſo intirely devour a man, but ſome part of his bodily ſubſtance will diſſolve into the water, air, or ſome other element or mixt bodies; ſo will ſome part of the fiſhes or live creatures which men eat alwayes diſſolve into ſome other bodily ſubſtance, beſides the ſubſtance of the man which eats them. So that *notwithſtanding all the former ſuppoſed tranſmutations*, or all that can be in like caſe ſuppoſed, ſome part of every mans body ſtill remains; not converted into the ſubſtance of any other bodies, but into the air, earth, or water: And out of theſe reliques and remainders, every mans body may be raiſed again, and raiſed again the ſelf ſame it was, but in a condition much advanced and improved for the Better. As a great tree grows out of a ſmall and ſlender root by *the Creators Power*, by that Power, which made the earth to bring forth trees moſt perfect in their kind in an inſtant; So the leaſt fragment of mans body, which remains either in the earth, in the water, or in other Elements, may in a moment grow into an intire or perfect body. And this manner of the Reſurrection of one and the ſame body, not by an intire recollection or gathering together of all the material parts whereof the ſame body did ſometimes conſiſt; but by the Improvement or Multiplication of ſome one or few principal portions of the body which hath been, ſeems moſt agreeably to our Apoſtles Inference in this place, of which hereafter.

The Second Loop of the Atheiſts Objection.

6. Secondly; All the Objections of the *Atheiſt* or Naturaliſt againſt this Article are grounded upon *another ſuppoſition taken by them as granted, which notwithſtanding in true Philoſophy is apparently falſe.* And their falſe Ground or Suppoſition is this; *That unto the Identity or Unity of the ſame vegetable or ſenſitive body* (be it the body of a man, of a beaſt, or of a tree) *the Unity or Identity of the ſame material parts is neceſſarily required.*

An Ocular Demonſtration that the Atheiſts principles or ſuppoſals be Falſe.

The *groſneſs of this Paradox* or falſe ſuppoſition will appear from the very explication of the *Terms.* The *demonſtration of its falſhood may be made ocular* and palpable out of any vegetable or live body, wherein the *Atheiſt* or Naturaliſt can make Inſtance; but moſt apparently in the Oak, which is the longeſt a dying of any tree; in the Hart or Raven, which are the longeſt liv'd amongſt the beaſts of the field or fowls of the air. An Oak, albeit it ſtand four hundred years, or unto whatſoever height or greatneſs in that time it grows, is ſtill the ſame tree or vegetable body, which it was at the firſt plantation: yet the Material Parts of it, cannot be altogether, or for the moſt part, the ſame that they were. The whole Matter or bodily ſubſtance of it, when it was firſt ſet, was not the thouſandth part of that bodily ſubſtance, which after three hundred years growth, it hath; And of the *matter*, which it had, when it was but a yard high, it is not imaginable that any one part, ſo much as a pins head, ſhould be remaining the ſame it was, after it come to be twenty yards in height and a yard in thickneſs. It could not grow in height or breadth, unleſs ſome parts of the *matter*, which it firſt had, did daily exhale or evaporate, and new *matter* come into *their* places.

Augmentation and growth, in vegetables, neceſſarily *ſuppoſeth nutrition*; and *nutrition includes a daily decay of nutriment gotten*, or of the matter whereof the body conſiſts, & a new ſupply or reparation of the *matter* or ſubſtance loſt or waſted by preparation of ſome new nutriment.

A Raven likewiſe is the ſelf ſame Fowl when it is ready to die for age, that it was, when it was firſt hatched; but the *matter of it cannot poſſibly be the ſelf ſame*; it is not conceivable that ſo much as an inch of *the ſame matter*, which it had when it was firſt hatched, ſhould continue in it, *the ſame* till death. For its natural heat doth perpetually conſume or waſte ſome part of its matter or ſubſtance; and its blood, without perpetual nouriſhment by new food or mattter prepared, would be dried up by its natural heat; For life conſiſts in *calido & humido*, in heat and moiſture, and cannot be continued in any live creature without continual nutriment, more then the fire or flame can be preſerved without fewel. Nor could the life, or natural heat, wherein life ſpecially conſiſts, ſtand in ſuch perpetual need of nutrition or new matter whereon to feed, unleſs there were a continual diſſolution of ſome *material parts*, which vaniſh or exſpire out of the body, though not ſo viſibly, yet as certainly, as fume or ſmoak doth out of the fewel, wherewith the fire or flame is fed. Unleſs there were ſome precedent diminution or waſting of the material parts in mans body, there could be no proper growth or augmentation of the whole body, or of every part; For if every leaſt particle did remain the ſame it was, as well for quantity as for quality, the whole body could not be augmented in every part, but it muſt be as great again as it was before after every ſuch growth or Augmentation. For there can be no Augmentation or growth in any part otherwiſe then by addition of ſome ſenſible nutriment: Now if every leaſt part be augmented by addition of ſome new or ſenſible matter or ſubſtance, the addition, which is made unto every leaſt part, would be as great as the part, to which it is added: For it is ſuppoſed that every leaſt part is augmented, and augmented it cannot be, but by addition of ſome other ſenſible body, which cannot be leſs, then the leaſt part ſenſible of a body; or of a ſenſible body.

7. But if we grant, as the truth is, that the material parts of the body augmented remain not the ſelf ſame to day, which they were yeſterday or a week ago, but are ſtill fluent & waſting, *other material parts* coming into their place with ſome addition of quantity, ſo as the addition in bodies growing by daily nutriment be ſtill greater, then the waſt or diminution. The manner of natural growth or augmentation may be eaſily conceived. And it was a truth of nature excellently expreſſed by the great *Philoſopher*; *Aucto toto augetur quælibet pars etiam minutiſſima: Whenſoever the whole body is augmented, every leaſt part is augmented.* As if the whole body in the ſpace of a year be augmented by the quantity of a palm or a ſpan, the thouſandth part of the body muſt be augmented by the thouſandth part of a palm or ſpan. But thus the whole body (as the ſame *Philoſopher* obſerves) is in every part augmented *non quoad formam ſed quoad materiam*. And his reaſon is *quia materia eſt in perpetuo fluxu*; becauſe the material parts of mans body are perpetually fluent, alwaies de-

caying and alwayes repaired. It is a *maxim* again of the ſame *Philoſopher*, that, *Auctum manet idem numero*, that every vegetable body being augmented (how long ſoever the growth or augmentation laſts) is *numerically the ſame* it was.

The caſe then is clear out of the *Book of Nature*, (by which the *Atheiſt* or Infidel will only be tryed) That, the body or bodily life of man, how long ſoever he live, remains *one and the ſame* from his birth unto his death albeit the matter of which his body is compoſed, and wherein his life is ſeated, do not remain the ſame. As the face or image of the Sun remains the ſame in a water or river, albeit the parts of the water, in which it is imprinted, do not continue the ſame, but as one portion of water ſlideth away, another comes in its place, altogether as apt to take the impreſſion or picture of the Sun as the former; Or as the light continues one and the ſame in a lamp, albeit the oyl, which preſerves its light, do continually waſte; For one drop or portion of the ſame oyl, or of new oyl poured in, is as apt to continue the light, as the former drops were, which are waſted. The light then remains the ſelf ſame, albeit the oyl continually waſte: So that unto numerical Identity of the ſame light, the numerical unity or Identity or the ſame portion of oyl is not required, cannot poſſibly be had. It ſufficeth that the oyl or matter, which feeds the lamp, be the ſame by *Equivalencie.* By theſe and many like unqueſtionable inſtances in nature the *Atheiſts* or Infidels ſuppoſition is altogether falſe, to wit, That, *unto the Reſurrection of the ſame body, or unto the reſtauration of the ſame bodily life, the Identity of matter, or of material parts, which it formery had, is neceſſarily required.* I adde, that, This *Identity or unity of matter* is leſs needful unto the numerical unity or Identity of mans body, becauſe the ſoul of man, amongſt all other vegetables, is only immortal, and remaineth the ſame it was after it be ſevered from the body.

8. Taking then the *firſt ſuppoſition of the Atheiſts* as True; Suppoſe the bodily matter of ſome men to have been altogether or *intirely tranſubſtantiated* or changed into the bodily ſubſtance of ſome other men, and that two or three of ſuch men might have the whole bodily ſubſtance of ſome other man, or child, in their bodies when they died: it is *no probable Argument or forcible Objection*, to ſay, *This man, or child, whoſe bodily ſubſtance is ſuppoſed to be converted into the ſubſtance of other men. cannot ariſe again with the ſame body, which he had, becauſe he cannot have the ſame matter which he had, unleſs the other loſe ſome part of the matter, which they had in them when they died.* Suppoſe the material parts of every man were utterly annihilated when they died, yet their bodies may be made the ſelf ſame again, which they were, not only by Creation of new matter out of nothing, but out of any matter or Elements præ-exiſtent, ſo prepared and proportioned to their individual nature or bodily life, as the former was. For, *the numerical unity or individual entity of every nature conſiſts in the unity or proportioned correſpondencie to that modell, whereto the Almighty Creator did frame it.*

To conclude then; ſeeing the *Reſurrection of the ſame bodies* wherein we die, muſt be wrought by the Power of God, it is fitting that we refer *the particular manner, how our bodies ſhall be intirely reſtored*, unto God himſelf. We will not diſpute whether the Reſurrection of every man in his own body ſhall be wrought, *de facto*, by recollecting of the duſt, into which men are turned; or of the ſame material parts which every man had when he died; or whether it ſhall be wrought by Creation of ſome new matter, or only by preparing ſome other Elementary matter præ-exiſtent, and working it into the ſame individual temper or conſtitution, into which our bodily food or nutriment was wrought, whilſt we lived. It ſufficeth to have ſhewed, that *every man may ariſe with his own body by any of the former wayes*; or partly by one, partly by another.

Laſtly, the *Recollection of the ſame material fragments* or reliques, into which our bodies are diſſolved, is no more neceſſary by the *Principles of Nature* or true *Philoſophy* unto the conſtitution of the ſame bodies (at the day of the Reſurrection) which before have been, then the recollection or regreſs of the ſame matter or nutriment, whereof our blood or fleſh was made, or by which our life was preſerved in childhood, is unto the continuance or conſtitution of the ſame life, fleſh, or blood in old age. The life of every man in old age is the ſame, the body the ſame, the fleſh the ſame, the blood the ſame, which it was it childhood; albeit the blood or greateſt part of our bodies in childhood was made of one kind of nutriment, and the blood, which we have in mature or old age be made of another, much different nutriment. Yea albeit we alter our food or diet every year, yet our bodies remain ſtill the ſame, every finger the ſame, whilſt it continues in the body, and whilſt this bodily life continues. For albeit the nutriment be of divers kinds, yet nature or the digeſtive faculty works all into one temper, and this temper continues the ſame in divers portions of the matter which is continually fluent, and the ſame only by *Equivalencie*.

Now, if nature by Gods appointment and co-operation can work divers kinds of food or nutriment into the ſame form or conſtitution, it will be no improbable ſuppoſal to ſay, that, *The God of nature can work any part of the Element of water, of ayre, or of earth, any fragment or relique of Adams body into the ſame individual form or mould, wherein the bodily life of the man, that ſhall be laſt dead before Chriſts coming to Judgment, did conſiſt.* Yet will it be no hard thing for God to make *Adam* the ſelf ſame body, wherein he died, out of the reliques of this mans body.

To work this mutual exchange between the material parts of ſeveral mens bodies without any hinderance or impeachment to the *numerical Identity of any mans body*; or without any prejudice to this truth, [*That every man ſhall ariſe with his own body*] which, we Chriſtians believe, is impoſſible to nature, or to any natural cauſes; they can be no Agents in this work: yet it is no wayes impoſſible (for it implyeth no contradiction) for nature thus to be wrought and faſhioned by the Creator and preſerver of mankind. In avouching thus much, we ſay no more then ſome (I take it) meer *Philoſophers* have delivered in other Termes. *Quicquid poteſt prima cauſa per ſecundam, idem poteſt per ſe ſola. Whatſoever the firſt cauſe doth by the inſtrumental Agencie or ſervice of ſecond cauſes, the ſame he may do by his ſole Power, without the ſervice, of any inſtrumental or ſecond cauſe.* Now God, *by the heart, by the Liver* and by the *digeſtive faculty*, as by cauſes inſtrumental or ſecondary, doth change the ſubſtance of herbs, of fruits, of fiſh, of roots into the very ſubſtance of mans body, without diſſolving the unity of his bodily life; and therefore, if it pleaſe him, may change the material parts of one man into another mans body or ſubſtance, without the help or inſtrumental ſervice of the nutritive or digeſtive faculty, or any other inſtrumental cauſe; All this he may do immediately by *His ſole Power*; *But whether it be His Will ſo to do or no at the laſt day, be it ever reſerved with all reverence and ſubmiſſion to his infinite wiſdom alone.*

The ſcruple incident into an ingenuous mind.

9. One ſcruple more there is, wherewith ingenuous minds and well affected may be ſometimes touched. The doubt may be framed, Thus. *Although it be moſt true and evident from the Book of nature, that the natural or digeſtive faculty of man doth preſerve the unity of bodily life intire by di-*

verſity of matter or nutriment, yet the living body ſo preſerved is one and the ſame by continuation of exiſtence *or duration. His dayes, whilſt natural life continues, are not cut off by death, he doth not for a moment ceaſe to be what he was: But when we ſpeak of Reſurrection from death, when we ſay the dead ſhall ariſe with their own bodies, here is a manifeſt interruption of bodily life, or of mans duration in bodily life. His body ceaſeth to be a living body as it was. And therefore if he muſt live again in the body,* the body *to which his ſoul ſhall be united at his Reſurrection, may be called his own body, becauſe it ſhall be inhabited or poſſeſſed with his immortal ſoul, but how ſhall it be* The ſame body: *which he formerly had; ſeeing the exiſtence or duration of him, or of his ſoul in the body, is divided by death; and diviſion deſtroyeth unity? This leaf or paper is one, yet if we divide it in the middle, it is no more one but two papers.*

The queſtion then comes to this ſhort and perſpicuous iſſue. *Whether the* uninterrupted continuance of duration *or exiſtence, or unity of time, wherewith the duration of mans life is meaſured, be as neceſſary to the Unity or Identity of his bodily Nature or Being, as Unity or Continuation of Quantity is unto the Unity of Bodies diviſible or quantitative.* The determination or Judgment is eaſie. The Book of Nature being Judge, it is evident; *That Unity of Time or continuation of mans life, without interruption, is but Accidental to the unity of bodily nature or being.* It is a *circumſtance* only, no ſuch *part of the Eſſence* or nature, as continuation or unity of quantity is of the unity of bodies diviſible; for time and quantity are by nature diviſible, whereas the nature of man, or other things, that exiſt in time, is *indiviſible.* It is true, Diviſion makes a plurality in things that are by nature diviſible, but not in natures indiviſible. Every thing that is diviſible, though it be *unum actu*, yet it is *plura in potentiâ.* In that it may be divided, it is not purely, ſimply, or altogether *one*, but may be made two or more. And whilſt it remains *one*, it is one by conjunction of parts. The entire ſubſtance of any natural body as it is diviſible or ſubject to dimenſion, cannot be contained under one part of quantity, but part of it is contained under one part of quantity, part of it under another: For *Omne quantum habet partem extra partem*, and in that regard is diviſible. The whole ſubſtance diviſible cannot ſubſiſt, but in the whole quantity or meaſure.

The higher and lower parts of a tree or pillar have no unity betwixt themſelves, but as both are united to the middle parts. If it be divided in the middle, the union and unity is loſt; after the diviſion made it is not one but two; one diviſion makes it two, two diviſions make it three. But in bodies ſenſible or vegetable, conſidered as parts of the nature or eſſence of ſuch Bodies, the caſe is quite otherwiſe. A man is the *ſame man, the ſelf ſame bodily ſubſtance* or vegetable this year, which he was three years ago; and his bodily ſubſtance this year is not therefore one and the ſame with the bodily ſubſtance which he had three years ago, becauſe it is one with the bodily ſubſtance, which he had the laſt year; but intirely one and the ſame in all: We cannot ſay, that *part* of his bodily nature was exiſtent in the firſt year, *part* in the ſecond year, and *part* in the third year, for his whole bodily nature was intirely in the firſt year, and in every part and hour of the firſt year: The ſame bodily nature was intirely in every hour of the ſecond year, and ſo in every hour of the third year. For though mans body be diviſible in quantity; though his duration be likewiſe diviſible; yet his bodily nature is indiviſible, and intirely the ſame in every moment of its own duration. And for this Reaſon, *Although death may make a diviſion or interruption in its duration*

tion or exiſtence; *yet it makes no plurality or diviſion in its nature:* in what part of time ſoever his nature gets new exiſtence, it is intirely and indiviſibly the ſame it was.

10. The former Inſtance drawn from the *Diviſibility of a body* ſubject to quantity or dimenſion would hold much better Thus. *As one part of ſuch a body being ſeparated from the reſt,* (*ſuppoſe a branch or ſlip of a tree being united to another tree by inoculation or ingrafting*) *remains the* ſelf ſame *ſubſtance it was, though it now exiſt not in the ſame tree, but in another:* So the bodily ſubſtance of man, though cut off by death from the company of the living, and ſevered from all co-exiſtence with the things which now are, may be the ſelf ſame ſubſtance which it ſometimes was, although it get no co-exiſtence with the things which now are, but with the ſubſtances which ſhall be many hundred years hence; it may be at that time the ſame which formerly it was, as truly and properly, as if it had continued its co-exiſtence or actual being with the things which now are, or actually ſhall be, till it be again. As a ſlip or branch taken from a tree in *France*, and ingrafted in a tree in *England*, is as truly & properly the ſame branch it was, as if it had continued ſtill united to the ſame tree, wherein it did firſt grow. In this later Caſe there is only *A ſeparation of place*, *a plurality only of Unitions*, or Co-exiſtences of the ſame branch with divers trees, no *plurality of branches*.

Suppoſe God had cut off *Adams* dayes on earth at the inſtant wherein he did eat the forbidden fruit, and deferred his replantation in the Land of the living again until theſe times wherein we live; here had been a ſeparation of him from thoſe times, wherein he lived many hundred of years; here had been a plurality of times, wherein he lived, a plurality of his Co-exiſtences with divers times, and with divers men, no plurality of humane natures in *Adam:* His nature might have been *one and the ſame* as truly, and as indiviſibly *one and the ſame* in theſe times diſtant one from the other by the ſpace of five thouſand years, as if he had lived from his firſt creation till the ſounding of the laſt trump unto Judgment. And thus much of the Exceptions or Cavils made by Atheiſts or Infidels againſt *This Article of the Reſurrection*; *In which we Chriſtians believe, That every man ſhall ariſe with his own body, the ſame bodily ſubſtance, which he had or was whilſt he lived here on earth.*

11. And now for Application or Concluſion; let us here ſuppoſe that the *Atheiſt*, as he makes himſelf worſe then a beaſt whilſt he lives on earth, could hope to make himſelf equal to beaſts in his death, or to be transformed into a ſwine. Imagine he ſhould endeavour to drown his immortal ſoul in a Tavern, or to bury his bodily natural Eſſence in the Stews; ſuppoſe his body might, by *Venus* fire, or other loathſom fruits of filthy luſt, be diſſolved into aſhes, and the aſhes of it be diſperſed through all the winds: Imagine his bones might in ſome filthy puddle be reſolved into ſlime, and become the food or nutriment of crawling toads, or of other more venomous creatures; The purſuit of theſe his fearful deſperate hopes could nothing avail him, they would be at beſt but as pledges of greater ſhame and miſery to befall him; *The powerful hand of his Almighty Judge* will raiſe him up at the laſt day with the ſame body, which he had expoſed to all this ſhame and miſery, with the *ſelf ſame body for nature and ſubſtance*, but not the ſame for quality or durability; For it ſhall after death be ten thouſand times more capable of pain, then in this life it was of pleaſure. All his bodily pleaſures came to an end before he came to an end of his bodily life: *Theſe alwayes die before he dies that hath wedded himſelf unto them.* But his pain ſhall never die, his pains

though deadly ſhall never come to an end. Theſe are the endleſs fruits of that mans ſhort dayes on earth, which wholly miſpends his time in fooliſh bodily pleaſures or noyſom luſts. But for the ſouls of the Righteous (whatſoever become of their bodies after death) *They are ſtill in the hands of God*, they are wholly at his diſpoſal; whether thoſe Bodies wherein they dwelt do fall by the enemies ſword, or come unto their graves in peace, whether they become a prey unto the beaſts of the field, to the fowls of the Air, or to the fiſhes of the Sea. And let us, whilſt we live, eſtabliſh our ſouls with this Doctrine of our Apoſtle; And alſo lay that ſaying of *Tertullian* (recited before, chapter 13. §. 9.) unto our hearts; *Conſidera teipſum, O homo, & fidem rei invenies; Recogita quid fueris, antequam eſſes, utique nihil:* Conſider thy ſelf, O man, and thou ſhall find the undoubted truth of what we teach; recall to mind, if thou canſt, what thou waſt *before thou waſt*, and thou ſhalt find that thou wert *nothing*. *Qui non eras, factus es; cum iterum non eris, fies.* There was a time when *thou waſt not*, and yet there was a time wherein *thou waſt made*; and albeit the times be now coming, wherein thou ſhalt *not be*, yet ſhalt thou *be made again*. All times are alike to God; His Power to make thee again cannot be reſtrained by thy weekneſs or *not Being*; it cannot be ſhortned by any length of time; All of us that now are, all the Generations that hereafter ſhall be, *muſt appear before the Judgment Seat of Chriſt, that all may receive in the body according to the things done in the body, whether they be good or bad. For he ſhall recompence every man according to all his works*; Yea, ſo recompence, That both thoſe which now deny it, and thoſe that now believe and confeſs it, ſhall from experience then ſay; *Verily there is a Reward for the Righteous; Doubtleſs there is a God that judgeth the earth.*

CHAP. XVI.

1 COR. 15, 16, 17, 20.

16. *For if the dead Riſe not, then is not* Chriſt *raiſed.*
17. *And if* Chriſt *be not raiſed, your faith is vain, you are yet in your ſins,* &c.
20. *But now is* Chriſt *riſen from the dead, and become the Firſt-fruits of them that ſlept.*

The Apoſtles Method *in proving* The Reſurrection peculiar, *and yet artificial. His way of mutual or reciprocal* Inference *both* Negative *and* Aſſertive, *juſtified; and ſhewed, That both theſe* Inferences, *naturally ariſe, and may concludently be gathered from the* Text, *and from the* Principles *of Chriſtian Belief. Wherein the witneſs (falſe upon ſuppoſition, verſe* 14, *and* 15.*) ſhould conſiſt. That Philoſophical Principle* [Deus & natura nihil faciunt fruſtrà] *divinely improved. Gods ſpecial and admirable works have ever, A Correſpondent; That is, ſome extraordinary rare End. How ſin is taken away* by Chriſt's death: *How by His Reſurrection. How we are juſtified* by Chriſt's Reſurrection. *How we may try our ſelves, and know,* Whether we rightly believe this Article, Of the Reſurrection of the Dead, or No.

1. That the *Reſurrection* from death to life is *in nature* poſſible, (as implying no Contradiction) though *unto nature*, or any *natural*

Agent moſt impoſſible, hath been diſcuſſed at large before. That there ſhall, *De Facto*, be a *Reſurrection* unto Glory, meerly depends upon the *Will and Pleaſure*, or *powerful Ordinance* of God; who, as we believe, is able to effect whatſoever *His Will* or Pleaſure is ſhould be wrought. And our *Belief of this Reſurrection* unto Glory muſt be grounded upon *His Will* and pleaſure revealed in Scriptures.

How *Gods Will* and Pleaſure to raiſe up the Dead in Chriſt, to an endleſs immortal and moſt happy Life, hath been clearly revealed by his Prophets in The Old Teſtament, I have ſhewed other where: and any one, of ordinary obſervation in Reading the Scriptures and Commentators, may Collect. Eſpecially, taking Example and light, from our bleſſed Saviour his managing *that Text, Exod.* 3.6. [*I am the God of Abraham*, &c.] in his Argument with the Sadduces, who both denied the *Reſurrection*, and diſputed (as they thought ſubtilly and irrefragably) againſt it: And obſerving the great dexterity of St. *Peter in the ſecond*, and of St. *Paul* in the *thirteenth* of the *Acts*, in proving the Reſurrection of Chriſt out of the *Pſalms*, and out of the Prophet *Iſaiah*: and how fitly St. *Paul* in the 54. and 55. verſes of this Chapter, makes application of the Prophecie of *Hoſea* (Chap. 13. v. 14.) unto the proper matter and ſeaſon wherein it ſhall *Conſummative* be fulfilled.

I ſhall here make ſuch obſervations as naturally ariſe from the verſes before recited; and from other verſes in that Chapter; wherein, *The Apoſtle* uſeth *ſuch a method* or manner of Argument, to prove the Reſurrection from the Dead, as neither *Moſes* nor any *Prophet* had uſed before. They indeed foretold and fore-ſignified reſpectively, that *Chriſt* ſhould die and riſe again: and that all, which believe in him, ſhould be raiſed to a life immortal with him. But the *Connexion* betwixt theſe two *Aſſertions* (which we are bound *ſeverally* to believe from the authority of *Moſes* and the *Prophets*) as *That Chriſts Reſurrection from the grave ſhould be the* neceſſary Cauſe *of our Reſurrection*; or, That *our future Reſurrection ſhould neceſſarily infer Chriſts Reſurrection from the dead*; or, *that the denial or doubt of our Reſurrection ſhould infer a denial or doubt of his Reſurrection*, is more then can eaſily be gathered out of *Moſes* or the *Prophets*.

This *mutual Inference* of the ones Reſurrection by the other, whether *Negatively* or Aſſertively, was *firſt made* by our *Apoſtle* in this place, at leaſt in *expreſs Terms*, though *implicitely* made by our Saviour before.

Our Apoſtle in making this *mutual Inference*, ſeems in the Judgment of ſome, to tranſgreſs or violate the *Laws of Argumentation* generally agreed upon in the *School of nature*, which notwithſtanding he elſewhere and uſually more exquiſitely obſerves, then any *Naturaliſt* doth.

Vide Gloſſam & Hugonem *in hunc locum.*

The *Inferences* made by our *Apoſtle* are radically and generally Two. The One Negative, *Per Reductionem ad impoſſibile, aut abſurdum:* The other Affirmative, by Poſitive Proof.

The Negative hath many branches:

The firſt is, ver. 13. *If there be no Reſurrection of the dead, then is Chriſt not riſen.*

The Second ſprings out of this, in the 14. ver. *And if Chriſt be not riſen, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is alſo vain.* And yet of this their Faith One Branch was, *Their belief in Chriſts death* and paſſion.

The Third Branch ſeems to ſpring out of both theſe, verſe 15. *Yea and we are found falſe witneſſes of God, becauſe we have teſtified of God, that he raiſed up Chriſt, whom he raiſed not up, if ſo be that the dead riſe not.*

The Firſt Branch is reſumed again by our Apoſtle in the ſixteenth verſe: and the Second likewiſe in the ſeventeenth, with this Addition, that

If Chriſt be not raiſed, then ſuch as believe in Chriſt are yet in their ſins. And ver.18. Then *they which are fallen aſleep in Chriſt are periſhed*; not only fruſtrated of their hopes of the life to come, but deprived or couzened of ſuch pleaſures or contentments of this life, as the unbelievers injoy, and without loſs or detriment might injoy, if the dead were not to be raiſed up; or if Chriſt were not already raiſed from the dead. For he ſaith, *ver.* 19. *If in this life only we have hope in Chriſt, we are of all men moſt miſerable.*

The affirmative inference is contained in *ver.*12. (and 20.) *Now if Chriſt be Preached that he roſe from the dead, how ſay ſome among you, that there is no Reſurrection from the dead?* This interrogation reſolved into an Affirmative, imports thus much; *If we truly Preach, and you truly believe, that Chriſt was raiſed from the dead, then we muſt of neceſſity Preach, and you of neceſſity believe, that there ſhall be a general* Reſurrection *of the dead, and that ſuch as die in* Chriſt *ſhall be raiſed up to immortal Glory. And this affirmative is expreſly aſſumed by our Apoſtle*, ver.20. *But now is Chriſt riſen from the dead, and become the firſt fruits of them that ſlept. And afterward, by him powerfully re-inforced, as may be ſeen, in the* 21, 22, *and* 23. *verſes.*

How St. *Pauls* inferences may be collected.

That this is our Apoſtles intent and meaning there can be no queſtion; All *The difficulty is, how either the* Negative *inferences or inconveniencies which he preſſeth upon ſuch as deny the Reſurrection of the dead, or the affirmative points which he chargeth theſe Corinthians, and in them, as us, undoubtedly to believe, can be concludently gathered from the principles of our belief.*

2. To begin with the Negative Inferences, and in particular with the third Branch, *ver.*15. Yea, and *We are found falſe witneſſes of* God, &c. *Let us examine wherein did, wherein could, the falſhood of this* Teſtimony *conſiſt.*

Some perhaps would reply, that, *We are not to ſay any thing* of God (*though not unbefitting his Majeſty,*) but that which is moſt true. We are not indeed; ſo far as we know and believe: But albeit we fail in that we ſpeak of him, yet this is not enough to convince us of bearing falſe Teſtimony of Him. To ſay or ſpeak that of any which we take to be the Truth, and to ſay it, not with purpoſe to calumniate or ſlander, but rather to his praiſe or commendations, is not to bear falſe Teſtimony of him, much leſs againſt him; albeit we be out of charity miſtaken in that which we ſay of him. Admit then, That the Apoſtle had been in ſome errour concerning *the Reſurrection*, when he firſt taught the Romans and theſe Corinthians; That, As Chriſt was raiſed from the dead to life immortal, ſo we alſo in good time ſhall be raiſed to the ſame or like immortal life; and, that as he, So we alſo, ſhould be raiſed by the immediate power of God, his ſuppoſed miſtake in the latter, could not convince him of bearing falſe Teſtimony on Gods behalf, ſeeing that which he ſaith concerning the Reſurrection of others (beſides Chriſt) from the dead, doth tend to Gods glory. For to bear falſe Teſtimony of or againſt any, Doth alwayes include ſome matter of imputation, of aſperſion, or prejudice; Whether we bear ſuch teſtimony of God or of man.

What imputation or prejudice was it then to affirm, *that God had raiſed up Chriſt from the dead*, if there were no general Reſurrection of others from the dead? or wherein doth the falſhood of the teſtimony, which our Apoſtle ſeeks to avert from himſelf, punctually conſiſt? Did it conſiſt in ſaying, *That he raiſed up Chriſt, whom he did not raiſe up, if ſo be the dead riſe not?* The Apoſtle doth not ſuppoſe it as queſtionable(much leſs ſimply deny it)*That God did raiſe up Chriſt from the dead*; but only deduceth his adverſary to *this inconvenience or abſurdity, that if the dead were not raiſed up, then Chriſt was not raiſed, and that he had born falſe witneſs of God in ſaying that he had raiſed up Chriſt*. So that,*The ground of the falſe Teſtimony lies in the denying of others Reſurrection from the dead.* Yea to avouch *that God did raiſe up Chriſt from the dead* (although the fact were true and unqueſtionable *that God did raiſe him up,*) were in our Apoſtles Divinity to lay an imputation or ſlander on God, *if ſo be that ſuch as believe in Chriſt, and die in Chriſt, ſhould not be raiſed up* unto bliſs and glory: Better it were (or at leaſt leſs evil) in our Apoſtles Judgment,to deny *that Chriſt was riſen from the dead,* then granting *This*,to deny *The Reſurrection of ſuch as ſleep in Chriſt*.For to grant the former and to deny the Latter, were to caſt an imputation or folly upon God, and an aſperſion of impoſture upon the Son of God Chriſt Jeſus our Lord. What imputation then is it unto God, or how doth this Aſperſion riſe,and fall upon Chriſt or his Apoſtle,by granting that Chriſt was indeed raiſed up; and yet denying, that the dead ſhall be raiſed up again?

A Philoſophical *Maxim* advanced and much improved.

3. It is a *Maxim in Philoſophy* generally acknowledged if not firſt conceived by the heathens:[*Deus & natura nihil fruſtra Faciunt,God and nature work nothing in vain.*] From this principle ſuch of the heathens as knew not God,ſuch as denyed His providence, or knew not how to diſtinguiſh him or it from nature,held it an impiety or prophaneneſs, to ſlander nature either of Errour in her working, or of folly in producing effects to no good end or purpoſe. Some there were, which did queſtion whether Monſters (as children,which are born with two heads,with more Toes or fingers then are uſual, &c.) were not *Errata naturæ*, errours, imperfections or overſights of nature. But they finally reſolve,that albeit ſuch events might fall out by the errour, or contrary to the intentions or indeavours of *That particular nature*, wherein theſe miſfigurations were found; yet they were intended by a more General nature, and intended by it to ſome good uſe and purpoſe: As,commonly,prodigious births do portend ſomewhat, whoſe knowledge is uſeful and good for others. Now the Heathens erred in aſcribing that, to general or univerſal Nature, which was peculiar unto God,who is the Author, Moderator, and guide of Nature, whether general or particular.

And if by general or univerſal nature they meant no other thing, then we do by the guide and God of nature, *Mentem teneant, Linguam corrigant*,their meaning was good,but their expreſſion of it much amiſs. This we know, that God doth ſuffer or cauſe nature oft times to miſcarry in her courſe or projects for ends beſt known to himſelf. No man is born blind, or deaf, or dumb, without ſome errour or defect in that particular nature,whereof, or by which, his body is framed. All theſe and the like effects are beſides the intention, or contrary to the endeavour of nature, which alwayes aims at the beſt. Hence our Saviours Diſciples; as we read, *John* 9. *ver*. 2. *When they ſaw a man, which was blind from his birth, asked of their maſter; who did ſin, this man or his parents, that he was born blind?* They had not moved this Queſtion, unleſs by light of nature they had known, that blindneſs from his birth, was contrary to the ordinary and common courſe of nature; though not contrary but conſonant, to the *Will of God* in this particular. For it is more then probable that they had read, though then perhaps they did not actually remember, *who made the dumb or the deaf, him that ſeeth or the blind? Have not I the Lord?* Exod. 4. 11. God, they likewiſe knew, did for ſome good end or juſt cauſe, either ſuffer or cauſe nature to miſcarry in this man; And they likewiſe knew ſin to be a juſt cauſe of many miſcarriages in the humane nature. And hence they queſtion, *Whether God had puniſhed this man with blindneſs from the birth for his own or for his parents ſins.*

But they themſelves did erre in collecting, That extraordinary blindneſs had befallen him, either for ſome extraordinary ſins of his own, or of his parents, and this error our Saviour rectifies ver. 3. *Neither hath this man ſinned, nor his parents*; that is, *neither of them were more extraordinary ſinners then others were,* who neither were blind themſelves, nor had children that were blind from the birth. The true cauſe of this defect in natures work in framing this man; the true reaſon why he was born blind (as our Saviour expreſſeth in the next words) was, *that the works of God ſhould be made manifeſt in him.* So true it is, which the heathens had obſerved. [*Deus & natura nihil fruſtrà faciunt.*] It was not in vain, nor to no purpoſe, that nature did not effect or accompliſh her work in this poor man; for by this means, Gods works in him were more manifeſt to himſelf and others, then if he had been born with Eagles eyes. He was not only cured miraculouſly of his native blindneſs, but the eyes of his underſtanding by this miraculous cure were opened and enlightned to ſee more for his ſouls health, then the learned Scribes and Phariſees did, in whom neither nature nor Art had been defective.

4. *Galen*, that great Phyſician and curious ſearcher into all the ſecrets of the humane nature, had well obſerved, That there is no part nor parcel in the whole body of man, which hath not its proper uſe. And from contemplation of this undoubted Truth; he was inforced to acknowledge, what otherwiſe he ſeemed to deny, *Divinum Opificem*, *A Divine Artificer* or worker, even of the leaſt and moſt contemptible parts of mans natural body. And of *This work of God*, though much defaced by our firſt parents ſin, he gave the like *verdict* that God himſelf did of all his works; That *every part of mans body was good, exceeding good, and admirably framed to its proper uſe or function.* The moſt artificial works of man, of the moſt exquiſit, and moſt induſtrious Artificer, will alwaies admit ſome errours and defects; no work of man is good in its kind; That is the beſt, which hath the feweſt faults or overſights, or is adorned with the feweſt impertinent or unuſeful beautifications; Whereas the works of nature, even the defects of particular nature, are uſeful and profitable for the ſetting forth of Gods glory, and for procurement or advancement of the publick good. Now if the ordinary works of nature (which be likewiſe the works of God, be never vain, idle, or impertinent; but have a correſpondent uſe or End, to which without errour they ſerve; *Much more muſt the extraordinary works of God be preſuppoſed to have ſome ſpecial End or extraordinary uſe, as proportionable to them, as the end or uſe of ordinary works of nature are to the ordinary operations or indeavours of nature.* Now our Apoſtle ſuppoſeth, *That our Saviours Reſurrection from the dead, was an extraordinary work of God*; The moſt remarkable work of God, that had been manifeſted to the world; *and by neceſſary conſequence, it muſt have an effect or end moſt remarkably correſpondent unto it*; and what was that? *The reſurrection of ſuch as live and die in Chriſt*; or rather the manifeſtation of Gods glory and unſpeakable goodneſs in their Reſurrection unto immortal glory and happineſs.

5. The former principle [*Deus nihil fruſtrà facit*] being thus far im-

proved (*That all Gods ſpecial and admirable works tend to ſome ſpecial and admirable uſe and purpoſe:*) both parts of our Apoſtles mutual inference; as well the Negative; [*If the dead riſe not, then is not Chriſt raiſed,*] as the Affirmative; [*If Chriſt be raiſed, then ſhall the dead ariſe*] will appear to be as firm and ſound, as the mutual Inference of the Cauſe from the Effect, and of the Effect from the Cauſe; or as firm and ſound as the mutual Inference of the Final Cauſe by the Efficient, and of the Efficient by the Final. Albeit to ſpeak properly, and in the exact terms of the Schools; *The neceſſity of the Efficient Cauſe depends upon the neceſſity of the End; The End makes the Efficient to be neceſſary; The Efficient doth not make the End to be neceſſary. The immediate proper Effect of the Efficient is not the End or final Cauſe it ſelf, but* Medium proximè deſtinatum ad finem, *ſome Mean immediately deſtinated to the end; without which the End or ſcope, at which Nature in her operations aimed, cannot be obtained.*

If one ſhould aſk why man and other terreſtrial creatures have Lungs, when as fiſhes (as moſt men and more probably think) have none?

The reaſon were good, and the anſwer ſatisfactory, to ſay, That man and other like creatures ſtand in need of Reſpiration, and ſo of Lungs to temper or cool their blood, with whoſe exceſſive heat or diſtemper life otherwiſe would quickly be choaked. The preſervation then of life is the End or Final Cauſe, why man and other like creatures have Lungs. But why life ſhould be preſerved no Cauſe can be given in nature; This is a Principle preſuppoſed. Howbeit of reſpiration or breathing, without which the life of man cannot be preſerved or continued, the Lungs are the true and proper Efficient Cauſe.

This Mutual Inference is good, *Quicquid pulmones habet, reſpirat; Quicquid reſpirat, pulmones habet.* Whatſoever creature hath lungs, hath alſo the benefit of breath or reſpiration; This is an Argument from the Cauſe. And whatſoever hath the benefit of breathing or reſpiration hath lungs; This is an Argument from the Effect. And again Negatively; Whatſoever hath no lungs, hath no benefit of breath or reſpiration. Whatſoever hath not the benefit of reſpiration hath no Lungs.

In St. *Pauls Divinity*, The manifeſtation of Gods Glory and Goodneſs in the Redemption of man, is the End or Final Cauſe of all the Articles which we believe concerning *Chriſt as God and man*; of which, even for this reaſon, we are to ſeek no further Cauſe or reaſon. But the manifeſtation of this His Goodneſs being preſuppoſed as made neceſſary by *His Omnipotent Will*; The Mutual Inference between the Son of Gods Incarnation, or between the ſeveral parts of his Sacerdotal or Regal Function, and the ſeveral parts of our Redemption, will be as perſpicuous and firm, as any Inference included in the former or like Inſtances.

Firſt, unleſs Gods Will and Pleaſure had been ſet to manifeſt His Goodneſs in the Redemption of mankind, the Son of God had not been Incarnate, had not Died, had not been Raiſed from the dead. The manifeſtation of Gods Glory in our Redemption was the true Cauſe why the Son of God was to be incarnate: His Incarnation was not the Cauſe why Gods Goodneſs was to be manifeſted, or why His Will and pleaſure was ſet to redeem us. For This (as we ſaid) is the Final Cauſe, and can have no other Cauſe of its neceſſity; but rather impoſeth a neceſſity upon other Cauſes ſubordinate, as upon *Chriſts Incarnation, Paſſion and Reſurrection.* But however Chriſts Incarnation was not the Cauſe why Gods Glory and Goodneſs was to be manifeſted in our Redemption; yet the actual manifeſtation of Gods Goodneſs in our Redemption, and our Redemption it ſelf is procured by the Incarnation and Sacerdotal function of Chriſt, as by a true and proper Efficient Cauſe.

And we may ſafely Infer: Firſt, That unleſs the Son of God had been incarnate, Gods Goodneſs to us had not been ſo admirably manifeſted.

Secondly, Unleſs the Son of God had become man, man could not have been delivered from the fetters and chains of ſin, much leſs reſtored to his firſt dignity.

And yet more; in that the Son of God became man, this is an Argument evident to us from the Effect, that man by ſin had become the Son of Satan: Sin then was the cauſe of Chriſts Incarnation, and Chriſts Incarnation is the cauſe or means of our deliverance or Redemption from ſin.

Again, Unleſs man by Sin had become the ſervant of ſin and bond-man of Satan, the Son of God had not taken upon him the Form of a Servant. But in as much as the Son of God was found in the true Form of a Servant, this is an Argument from the Effect, evident to convince our conſciences that we Sons of men were by nature the ſervants or bond-men of Satan.

Laſtly, Unleſs the wages of ſin, and of our Service done to Satan by working the works of ſin, had been death; the *true and natural Son of God* had not been put to death. Our ſins then, and the wages due to our ſins (that was death) were the Cauſes of his death. And in that he truly died *for us*, This is an *Argument* evident from the *Effect*, Therefore, *we were dead in our ſins.*

Be it ſo! Yet ſeeing the *Son of God* died for our ſins before he was raiſed from the dead, how ſaith our *Apoſtle* in the 17. verſe, [*If Chriſt be not raiſed ye are yet in your ſins?*] Could theſe *Corinthians* or any others be ſtill in their ſins after their ſins were taken away? Or will any man deny that their ſins were taken away by Chriſt's death at the very inſtant of his ſouls departure from the body, or when he ſaid *Conſummatum eſt*, it is finiſhed? What was finiſhed? The work which he undertook; and that was the *Taking away of our ſins*, or the work of our Redemption. Now if this work were finiſhed, when our Saviour Chriſt ſaid, *It is finiſhed*, theſe *Corinthians* ſins were taken away *before Chriſts Reſurrection.* And if ſin by Chriſts death had been actually and utterly taken away, our *Apoſtles Inference* in this place had been unſound, none had remained in their ſins, albeit Chriſt had not riſen again. *Sin then, even the ſins of the world were taken away by Chriſts death, but not actually and utterly taken away.* If ſin had been *ſo taken away* by Chriſts death, there had been no ſuch neceſſity of *Chriſts Reſurrection* from the dead, as our *Apoſtle* here preſſeth upon the *Corinthians*, not as matter of *Opinion*, but as a *Fundamental Principle of Faith.* It remains then to be declared, *In what ſenſe, or how far, ſin was taken away by Chriſts death; In what ſenſe it hath been, or how far it ſhall be taken away by his Reſurrection.*

See Chap. 4. Sect. 12.

7. Firſt then Chriſts death was a Ranſome all-ſufficient for the *ſins of the world*, the full price of redemption for all mankind throughout the world from the beginning to the end of it. But did not many, who died before Chriſt, die in their ſins? They did; yet He was promiſed to our firſt Parents, *To the end, that even theſe might not die in their ſins.* How theſe come to forfeit their Intereſt in the Promiſe made to *Adam*, and to all that came after him, *That we leave to the Wiſdom of God.* Of this we are ſure, *That the Wiſdom and Son of God did die for all men then living, and for all that were to live after unto the worlds end.* And in as much as he dyed *for all*, he is ſaid *to take away the ſins of all*; that is, he payed the full *Ranſome for the ſins of all*, and purchaſed *A General Pardon*

at his Fathers hands; and he himſelf by dying became an *univerſal inexhauſtible ſoveraign Medicine for all ſins, that were then extant in the world, or ſhould be extant in man until the worlds end.*

Chriſts death ſaid to take away ſin, in a Twofold Senſe.

So then by his death he took away the ſins of the world in a Twofold Senſe.

The Firſt.

Firſt, *In that he payed the full Ranſome for the ſins of all men.* Whatſoever ſins were paſt could be no prejudice to any, ſo they would imbrace Gods Pardon ſealed by Chriſts death, and proclaimed by his Apoſtles and Diſciples after his death. In this ſenſe we may ſay, The Kings General Pardon takes away all offences and miſdemeanors againſt his Crown and Dignity, albeit many afterwards ſuffer for ſuch Miſdemeanors, only, becauſe they do not ſue out their Pardons, or crave allowance of them.

The Second Senſe.

Chriſt is ſaid again *to take away the ſins of the world* by his death, *in as much as by his death he became the univerſal and ſoveraign medicine for all mens ſins.* But many died in *Iſrael,* not becauſe there was no *Balm in Gilead*; as many do amongſt us, not ſo much for want of good Phyſick or ſoveraign Medicines, as for want of will to ſeek for them in due time; or for wilfulneſs in not uſing Medicines profered unto them. So then, it will not follow, That no man dies in his ſin ſince Chriſts Death; Albeit we grant that the ſins of all were taken away by his death. For *They were not ſo taken away, as that men might not reſume or take them again*; *And the greateſt condemnation, which ſhall befall the world, will be*; *That when God had taken away their ſins, they would not part with their ſins*; *That when God would have healed them, they would not be healed.*

The Benefits punctually ariſing from Chriſts Death, and from His Reſurrection.

But *had theſe* Corinthians *been any further from having their* ſins taken away by Chriſts death, *if Chriſt had truly died for them, and yet but only died for them, and not riſen again?*

Yes! Though Chriſt had died for All, yet all had died in their ſins, if He had only died, and had not been raiſed again. This Inference is expreſly avouched by our Apoſtle in the 17, and 18, verſes; *If Chriſt be not raiſed, then they alſo which are fallen aſleep in Chriſt are periſhed*; and yet he ſuppoſeth that they believed in Chriſts Death.

But though the Inference be moſt true, becauſe avouched by our Apoſtle, yet is it not Univerſally, but Indefinitely true: How far, and in reſpect of what ſins, or in what degree of periſhing, it is true, That is the Queſtion.

8. *Chriſt was delivered,* ſaith the Apoſtle (his meaning is, *He was delivered unto death*) *for our ſins, and he was raiſed again for our Juſtification, Rom.*4.25. Are we then Otherwiſe Juſtified by His Reſurrection, then we are by His Death? So our Apoſtles words import: And if otherwiſe Juſtified by His Reſurrection then by His Death, Then are our ſins Otherwiſe taken away by vertue of His Reſurrection, then by vertue of His Death they were taken away. What ſhall we ſay then? That Chriſts Death did not Merit all the benefits, which God had to beſtow upon us? God forbid! all this notwithſtanding, *We do not receive all the Benefits,* which God for his Deaths ſake beſtows upon us, by believing *only in his death*; But even *This benefit of our Juſtification we receive more immediately by our Belief of his Reſurrection from the dead.*

This is the doctrine of our Apoſtle even in that place, wherein he handles the doctrine of Juſtification by Faith alone, or by the Imputation of Chriſts Righteouſneſs, *Ex Profeſſo*; as, *Rom.* 4.23,24. *Now it was not* *written for his ſake* (to wit, *Abrahams*) *alone, that it was imputed to him; but for us alſo, to whom it ſhall be imputed, if we believe on him, that raiſed up Jeſus from the dead.* And he gives the Reaſon, why our Belief of this Article ſhould be imputed unto us (in the next words) Seeing *he was delivered* to death *for our offences, and raiſed again for our Juſtification.* Howbeit even *This Belief of His Reſurrection is a Grace or Bleſſing of God, which Chriſt did merit by His Death; yet a Grace conveighed unto us by the vertue of His Reſurrection, or by Chriſt himſelf, by His Reſurrection, exalted unto glory in his humane nature.*

Had Chriſt only *died*, and not *riſen again*; Though we had not come in Hell, yet we had never come out of the Grave.

We were Juſtified by his Death, in as much as The Pardon for our ſins was by it purchaſed, and the hand writing or obligation againſt us cancelled. If Chriſt then had only dyed for us and not riſen again, we might by Belief in his Death have eſcaped the Second Death or everlaſting pains of hell. We ſhould notwithſtanding, as our Apoſtle here ſuppoſeth, have been detained perpetual priſoners in the grave. Our bodily or corporal being ſhould have been utterly conſumed by the firſt Death, without hope of recovery or reſtitution. And ſo far as the firſt Death had dominion over men, *ſo far had theſe Corinthians remained in their ſins.* So long as the firſt Death remains unconquered, ſin remains. Now if Chriſt had not been raiſed from the dead, the firſt Death or death of the body, had remained unconquered. Belief in Chriſts death could not utterly have freed them from all the wages of ſin; For death of the body is in us part of the wages of ſin; and it was to Chriſt part of the burden of our ſin. But in as much as Chriſt is riſen from the dead, and raiſed to an immortal life, over which bodily death hath no Rule or dominion, but muſt be put in abſolute ſubjection to Him; all that truly believe ſuch a Reſurrection are juſtified not only from the eternal guilt of ſin, not only freed from everlaſting death; but are made heirs by adoption unto a life, over which death ſhall have no power. So then *by Chriſts Death we are freed from the everlaſting Curſe; by his Reſurrection we are made free Deniſons of the heavenly Jeruſalem*, heirs by promiſe of an everlaſting and moſt bleſſed life. And thus far all that are partakers of the Word and Sacraments are ſaid to be juſtified by his Reſurrection; that is, they are bound to believe, that as He died for their Sins to redeem them from the ſecond death; ſo he roſe again for their further Juſtification to free them from the death of the body: He therefore roſe from the dead, that we, by believing this Article, might receive the Adoption of the Sons of God.

But yet there is a further degree of Juſtification, that is, an Actual Abſolution from the Reign or Dominion of ſin in our Bodies, which is never obtained without ſome meaſure of Faith or Sanctifying Grace inherent; albeit the true uſe and end of ſuch Grace and Faith inherent, be, to ſue out the Pardon, for our ſins in particular; not by our works or merits, (which are none) but meerly and ſolely by the Free-Grace and Favour of God in Chriſt. True it is, that even this Gift of Faith, by which we muſt ſue out our Pardon in particular, and ſupplicate for the Adoption of the Sons of God, was purchaſed by Chriſts death; nor may we ſue for it under any other Stile or Form then *propter merita Chriſti, for the merits of Chriſt.* Yet after this plea made, we may not expect to receive this bleſſing otherwiſe, then *per Jeſum Chriſtum, through or by Jeſus Chriſt, who was raiſed from the dead.* This Grace, this Faith, and whatſoever other bleſſing of God, which Chriſt by his death hath merited for us; whatſoever is any way conducent to our full and final Redemption, deſcends immediately from the *Son of God* exalted *in his humane nature*, as from its proper Fountain. He was conſecrated by his death (*and his Conſecration was accompliſhed by his Reſurrection*) to be an inexhauſtible fountain of life and ſalvation to all, that truly believe in his death and Reſurrection from the dead.

Thus we are fallen into the Affirmative Inference [*If Chriſt be riſen from the dead, then ſuch as die in Chriſt ſhall be raiſed from death to immortal Glory.*] The ſame Almighty Power, by which Chriſt was raiſed unto glory, ſhall be maniſeſted even in theſe our mortal bodies: [*But now is Chriſt riſen from the dead, and is become the firſt fruits of them that ſlept.*]

9. The Inference or implication is; That ſeeing Chriſt, whoſe mortality was clearly teſtified by his death, was raiſed up to an endleſs and immortal life, Therefore ſuch as die in Chriſt (whatſoever in the mean time become of their bodies) ſhall be raiſed up to the like life, againſt which death ſhall never be able to make any attempt or approach. For as the Apoſtle ſaith, *Rom.* 11. 16. *If the firſt fruit be holy, the lump is alſo holy; and if the root be holy, ſo are the branches.* But we are to remember that there were *Two ſorts of Firſt fruits* appointed by the Law; the One of the firſt corn that was reaped, being ground and made up into loaves, which were offered at the feaſt of Pentecoſt; And unto this ſort of Firſt fruits the Apoſtle, *Rom.* 11.16. hath Reference.

Two ſorts of Firſt fruits appointed by the Law.

The other was the offering of green corn when it firſt begun to bud or ear; And unto this ſort of Firſt fruits our Apoſtle here in the twentieth verſe, hath Reference. Chriſt then is the root, and we are the branches; he is the Firſt fruits, and we are the after-crop and harveſt. Now as the offering of the Firſt fruits; that is, of the green corn, was the hallowing of the whole crop; So the Reſurrection of Chriſt from the grave was the hallowing or conſecration of theſe our mortal bodies unto that glory and immortality which ſhall be at the final Reſurrection. If God did accept the offering of the Firſt fruits, it was a pledge unto his people, that he would extraordinarily bleſs the after-crop with large increaſe; his people might with confidence expect a joyful harveſt. To maniſeſt the meaning or fulfilling of this Type or legal Ceremony in our Saviour; *He was raiſed up from the dead upon that very day in the morning, wherein the Firſt fruits of green corn were by the Prieſts of the Law offered unto God.* His reſurrection (as was ſaid before) was the accompliſhment of his *conſecration to the prieſthood after the order of Melchiſedec*; His preſentation of himſelf to his Father as our High-Prieſt, and as the Firſt fruits from the dead, *was the moſt acceptable offering or ſacrifice that ever was offered unto God*; a matter of greater joy and triumph to all the inhabitants of Heaven, then *Iſaac's* ſafe return from the intended ſacrifice was to *Abrahams* family, or then *Joſephs* advancement in *Egypt* was to old *Jacob.* Now if the Firſt fruits from the dead were thus acceptable unto God, we cannot diſtruſt but that the after-crop ſhall proſper, and ſhall be gathered by the Angels of God (when the time of ripeneſs ſhall come) into everlaſting habitations. However in the mean time it be ſown, it ſhall be reaped in Glory, and poſſeſs its glory in immortality.

This Article then of Chriſts Reſurrection from the dead, and of his becoming the Firſt fruits of them that ſleep, is the ground or root of all our Apoſtles Inferences from verſe 35. to the end of this chapter, concerning the Reſurrection, or the eſtate of their bodies, that ſhall be raiſed to life: but of theſe we have ſpoken at large before: The ſum of all is intimated by our Saviour himſelf, *John* 12. 23, 24. *The hour is come, that the Son of man ſhould be glorified. Verily I ſay unto you, except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone, but if it die it bringeth forth much fruit.* Thus much likewiſe was foretold by the Prophet *Eſay* in that Evangelical Prophecy, *Eſay* 53. 10. *When thou ſhalt make his ſoul an offering for ſin, he ſhall ſee his Seed, he ſhall prolong his dayes, and the pleaſure of the Lord ſhall proſper in his hand.* Now *this pleaſure of the Lord* was *our full Redemption.*

See Paragraph the 7th.

10. To conclude this point: Albeit our Sins were taken away by Chriſts death in both the Senſes before mentioned; and albeit in this life we be Actually Juſtified, that is actually acquitted from the guilt of ſins paſt by Belief in Chriſts Death and Reſurrection; and freed likewiſe from the rage and tyranny of ſin by Participation of his Grace, and Inhabitation of his Spirit in us; yet ſhall we not be Abſolutely and Finally Juſtified, that is freed from all Reliques of ſin inherent, until we be made partakers of his Glory, This muſt be the Accompliſhment of our Juſtification by Faith in this life: And it is no Paradox or ſtrange opinion to ſay, that *We ſinful men ſhall be finally Juſtified by utter extirpation of ſin out of our nature at our laſt Reſurrection:* When as Chriſt himſelf, in whom ſin never took any root, much leſs bore any branch; into whom no ſeed of ſin did ever fall, is ſaid to be Juſtified by His Reſurrection from the Dead, that is, acquitted from all burthen of our ſins.

But where is Chriſt ſaid, in this ſenſe, to be Juſtified? In the 1 *Tim.* 3. 16. *Without controverſie, Great is the myſtery of godlineſs; God was manifeſted in the fleſh, and Juſtified in the Spirit.* To omit all other interpretation of this phraſe, St. *Paul* means the very ſelf ſame thing by ſaying, *Chriſt is Juſtified in the Spirit,* that St. *Peter* means when he ſaith, *He was quickened in the Spirit,* 1 *Pet.* 3. 18. Both mean, That *he was Juſtified or freed, by the Spirit or Power of the God-head, from death* or *any other further burthen of our ſins. Chriſt,* ſaith St. *Paul, Heb.* 9. 28, *was once offered to bear the ſins of many, and unto them that look for him, he ſhall appear the ſecond time without ſin unto ſalvation:* that is, to free us from the power of death, and all burthen of ſin, from which he himſelf was freed at His Reſurrection. So then, it is in its time and place moſt true, which the Romiſh Church doth moſt untruly teach; that *there is a Juſtification by inherent righteouſneſs.* But this Juſtification cannot be had, may not be expected in this life; it cannot be accompliſhed in us until that Change be wrought, whereof our Apoſtle ſpeaks, verſe 51. of this Chapter. This Final Juſtification by this bleſſed Change, is the full Effect or Final iſſue of Chriſts Reſurrection from the dead: he that doth not believe this future change or final iſſue of Chriſts Reſurrection, doth bear falſe Teſtimony of God, or againſt him, even whilſt he ſaith, that he believeth that Chriſt was raiſed from the dead. For to grant Chriſts Reſurrection from the dead, and to deny or doubt of this Final Juſtification or Abſolution of all true believers in his Reſurrection, from the reliques of ſin, is to caſt an Aſperſion upon God himſelf, as if he had wrought this great work of Chriſts Reſurrection, *fruſtra;* that is, to no Uſe or End correſpondent to ſuch a mighty Ground-work or Foundation.

11. Every man then is bound to believe, *That all true Believers of Chriſts Reſurrection from the dead ſhall be undoubted partakers of that endleſs and immortal glory, unto which Chriſt hath been raiſed.* But no man

is bound to believe *his own Reſurrection in particular unto ſuch glory*, any further or upon more certain terms, then he can (upon juſt and deliberate *Examination*) find, that he himſelf doth truly and ſtedfaſtly believe *this Fundamental Article of Chriſts Reſurrection from the dead.* Now if it were certainly determined and agreed upon by all, *what it were truly and ſtedfaſtly to believe this Article*, all the controverſies concerning the *Certainty of Salvation*, or *Irrevocable Juſtification*, in this life, by Faith, would determine themſelves, and be at an end. But of the *Examination of our Faith*, or of its truth, ſincerity, or ſtrength, we ſhall have fitter occaſion and more full time to ſpeak in unfolding of the laſt part of the *Article of Chriſts coming to Judgment*; that is, the manner of the Proceſs in the Award of final Sentence.

How we may try our ſelves. See Book 10. Chapt. 28.30.

In the mean time it ſhal ſuffice to admoniſh the Reader, *That he rate not the truth, or meaſure the ſtrength* of his Belief in *this main Article of Chriſts Reſurrection*, only by the ſtrength of his perſwaſions of its Speculative and General Truth; ſpecially, *in the abſence of temptations* to the contrary, or whiles it is oppoſed to the exceptions of *Atheiſts* or *Infidels*, which deny or oppugn it. How then muſt the truth or ſtrength of our Belief or Faith *in this Article* be meaſured? *Only by our ſtedfaſt and conſtant practiſe of the Special Duties, whereunto the belief of it doth bind all profeſſors of it.* Now the Special Duties, whereunto the Belief of it doth bind us, are ſuccinctly and pithily ſet down by our Apoſtle, *Col.* 3. 1, 2. *If then ye be riſen with Chriſt, ſeek thoſe things which are above, where Chriſt ſitteth at the right hand of God; ſet your affections on things above, not on things on earth, &c.* And verſe the 5th, *Mortifie therefore your members, which are upon earth, fornication, uncleanneſs, inordinate affection, evil concupiſcence, and covetouſneſs, which is Idolatry.* And verſe 8. *Put off theſe, anger, wrath, malice, blaſphemy, filthy communication out of your mouth, Lie not one to another, ſeeing that ye have put off the old man with his deeds.* All of us have put off the old man by profeſſion and Solemn Vow at our Baptiſm; and a double Wo or Curſe ſhall befall us, unleſs we put him off in practiſe and reſolution; and labour to *put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the Image of him that created him.*

The particular Limbs of this New man are ſet forth unto us by our Apoſtle, verſe 13, 14. *Forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, if any man have a quarrel againſt any, even as Chriſt forgave you, ſo alſo do ye: And above all theſe things put on Charity, which is the bond of perfectneſs.* The particular Duties required of men and women according to their ſeveral conditions or ſtates of life, (as of Wives to Huſbands, and of Huſbands to Wives; as of Children to Parents, and of Parents to Children; of Servants to Maſters, and of Maſters to Servants) are ſet down by the ſame Apoſtle in the verſes following unto the end of the Chapter.

Now we muſt be altogether as certain that we do truly, ſincerely, and conſtantly perform theſe duties which are by our Apoſtle in this place required (whether as General to all Chriſtians; or ſuch as concern particular eſtates of life) as we are of This general, [That whoſoever doth truly mortifie the deeds of the body and perform the other duties here required ſhall be undoubted partaker of the Reſurrection unto Glory] before we can be certain *certitudine fidei*, by certainty of faith, of our ſalvation or Reſurrection unto glory in particular.

12. Doth any amongſt us upon the examination required, before the

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Tom. III.

receiving of the Sacrament, find himſelf extreamly negligent or generally defective in performance of theſe duties? *Let not ſuch a one take his negligence paſt, as any ſign or undoubted mark of reprobation*; yet would I withall adviſe him not to approach the *Lords Table* without *a wedding garment*, without a ſincere and hearty ſorrow for his negligences paſt, without a ſincere hearty deſire of doing better hereafter. If conſciouſneſs of former negligence in theſe duties, or of practiſes contrary unto them, be ſeaſoned with ſorrow and hearty deſire of amendment; the *point* whereon I would adviſe ſuch a man for the preſent to pitch his faith, ſhall not be his own *Election*, nor *the certainty of his preſent and future eſtate in Grace*, or Real and infallible Intereſt in Chriſt his Reſurrection; But upon that Character or deſcription of our Saviour, given by the Evangelical Prophet, *Eſay* 42. 3. and experienced upon Record by the Evangeliſt St. *Matthew*, *Matth.* 12. 20. *That he quencheth not ſmoaking flax; that he will not ſhake the bruiſed Reed:* Remember, that as the Second Reſurrection unto glory, muſt be wrought by vertue of Chriſts Reſurrection from the dead; ſo the firſt Reſurrection, from the dead works of ſin unto newneſs of life, muſt be wrought by *the participation of his Body which was given, and of his Blood which was ſhed for us.* Remember that by his death and paſſion he became not only the Ranſom, but the Soveraign Medicine for all our ſins; A Medicine for our ſins of wilfulneſs and commiſſion, to make us more wary not to offend: A Medicine for our ſins of negligence and omiſſion, to make us more diligent in the works of piety; And the time and place appointed for the receiving of the body and blood of Chriſt, is the time and place appointed by Him, for our cure. Heal us then, O Lord, and we ſhall be healed. Thou, O Lord, *who haſt aboliſhed death, and brought life and immortality to light through the Goſpel*; Enliven and enlighten our hearts by thy Spirit; and in them, thus enlightned, kindle a love of doing thy Will; bring good intentions to good deſires; and good deſires to firm reſolutions: and confirm our Reſolutions with conſtancy and perſeverance in thy ſervice. *Amen.*

Almighty God, which haſt given thine only Son to die for our Sins, and to riſe again for our Juſtification; *mercifully grant, that we both follow the example of his patience, and be made partakers of his Reſurrection, through the ſame Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.* Amen.

Almighty God, give us Grace ſo to caſt away the works of Darkneſs and put on the Armour of light, now in the Time of this mortal life, in which thy Son Jeſus Chriſt *came to viſit us in great humility; that at the laſt day when he ſhall come again in his Glorious Majeſty to judge both the Quick and the Dead, we may riſe to the life immortal, through him who liveth and reigneth with Thee and the Holy Ghoſt now and ever.* Amen.

The End of the Fourth Section.

SECTION V.

Of the Article *of* Everlaſting Life.

A Tranſition of the Publiſhers.

WE *are now, by the Good hand of God upon the Work, arrived at* The Fifth Section: *A very Conſiderable Part of this Eleventh Book. The* Subject matter *of this Section (according to what was cut out, by the* Method *propoſed in the oft mentioned* Ninth Chapter) *is*, The Final Doom, Award, or Sentence of Life and Death, *which, The King of Glory,* our moſt worthy Judge Eternal, *ſhall reſpectively pronounce and paſs upon all, at that Dreadful and yet Joyful Day of Judgment; when he ſhall deal and diſtribute Palms and Prizes, Crowns and a Kingdom, to the little (or, in Compariſon the leſs) Flock, or Sheep ſet at his Right hand, for whom ſuch good things were prepared from the Foundation of the world: But utter Extermination to the* goats *on the Left hand, whom he will ſend accurſed into Everlaſting Priſons, there to be tormented in that fire which was firſt prepared (not for them, but) for their Tempter and tormentors the Devil and his Angels.*

I confeſs, our Great Author cloſes not with the Point *of* Everlaſting life, *till he come to the Twentieth* Chapter. *But I thought my ſelf bound here to inſert the Three* next Chapters, *viz. the* 17, 18, *and* 19, *for theſe reaſons following.*

1. *Becauſe they be Three, and the* Firſt *Three of Thirteen* Excellent and moſt Elaborate Tracts *all in order compoſed upon* The ſixth Chapter to the Romans: *and pity it was to ſever them from the* Other, *with which they ſo well conſort and ſute.*

2. *If I had left out* Theſe *Three, I ſhould not only have done prejudice to the Author and his work, but to the Reader (and his Content or benefit) who will find, that theſe Three Chapters are as comely and as uſeful Introductions to his Rich Diſcourſes about the* Domus Æternitatis, *the two ſeveral long Homes of all mankind; as any* Propylæa *or* Areæ *can poſſibly be to any two Houſes of this Worlds Building.*

3. *The Doctrine delivered in theſe Three* Next Chapters *is ſo promotive and incentive of Chriſtian Piety, and ſome of it ſo Homogeneal to the enſuing Tracts, that they could not be more fitly placed then before the* Diſcourſes *about the* Final Award or Sentence.

4. *It is my Judgment; That had this learned Author left none other, Theſe Thirteen Treatiſes put together would make a very* Excellent Compend of Chriſtian Inſtruction.

CHAP. XVII.

ROMANS 6. Ver. 21, 22, 23.

21. *What fruit had ye then in thoſe things, whereof ye are now aſhamed? for the end of thoſe things is Death.*
22. *But now being made free from ſin, and become ſervants to God, ye have your fruit unto holineſs, and the end everlaſting life.*
23. *For the wages of ſin is death: but the gift of God is eternal life, Through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.*

The Connexion *of the fifth and ſixth Chapters. A* Paraphraſe *upon this Sixth. The Importance of the Phraſe* [Dead to Sin.] *No Chriſtians in this life ſo dead to ſin as to come up to the Reſemblance of* Death Natural. *True Chriſtians* Dead to Sin *in a proportion to* Civil Death. *All Chriſtians (at leaſt all the* Romans *to whom St.* Paul *writes did ſo) in Baptiſm profeſs themſelves* Dead to Sin; *and vow* Death to Sin *by a true Mortification thereof. All have in* Baptiſm *(or may have) a* Talent of Grace *as an Antidote and Medicine againſt the deadly infection of Sin; as a* ſtrengthening *to make us victorious over ſin.*

Three Motives *to deter us from the* Service of Sin. 1. *It is* fruitleſs. 2. *It is* Shameful. 3. *It is* Mortiferous.

Two Motives *to engage us in* Gods Service. 1. *Preſent and ſweet* Fruit *unto Holineſs.* 2. *Future Happineſs.*

The Model or Scope of the whole Chapt.

THeſe three verſes being the Cloſe or binding of all the reſt in this Chapt. or as the *Solid Angle* in which there is a punctual and full Coincidence of all the former Lines, I muſt be inforced to exhibit unto the Reader *A Model or Abſtract* of the Whole, before I can ſhew him the true *Connexion* or *References* between theſe later, and the foregoing verſes. And the Model or Abſtract of the whole Chapter is this.

Our Apoſtle had given up this Concluſion as the main Aphoriſm or Reſultance of the fifth Chapter, ver. 20. 21. *Where ſin abounded, Grace did much more abound.* That *as ſin had raigned unto death, even ſo might grace reign through righteouſneſs unto eternal life by* Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. Now whether it were to check that prepoſterous Inference which ſome had already made of this Doctrine, when firſt it was delivered unto them (for it was delivered before he wrote this Epiſtle:) or whether it were to prevent the making of it, upon the reading of the former Chapt. our Apoſtle propounds that Objection, (which either had been or might be made againſt the former Doctrine) in the beginning of this Sixth Chapter; and he propounds it by way of Interrogation. *What ſhall we ſay then? Shall we continue in ſin, that grace may abound?* And he gives the Anſwer unto it in the ſecond verſe, by an *Abſit, God forbid:* That is, far be it from us, far be it from every Chriſtian thus to reſolve, thus to infer, ſay or think. And to ſhew the abſurdity of that inference, he adds this Reaſon; *How ſhall we that are dead to ſin live any longer therein?*

But this Refutation may ſeem to participate more of *Rhetorical Paſſion* or indignation, then of ſound and *Logical Reaſon*; an artificial Evaſion rather then a concludent Proof. For theſe *Romans* might have demanded of him: what juſt fear is there that we *ſhall*, what poſſibility that we *can* live any longer in ſin, if, as you ſuppoſe, *we be already dead unto it?* Only prove what you ſuppoſe or take as granted, *that we are already dead to ſin*, or that ſin is dead in us, and we ſhall make juſt proof that we *neither do, nor can* live any longer *in it*, that *it doth not*, neither ſhall it live in us.

Of death to ſin.

2. All the Queſtion then is (and a Great Queſtion it is, upon whoſe true reſolution, the reſolution of all the queſtions or difficulties which are emergent out of this and other Chapters depends:) *In what ſenſe every true Chriſtian is ſaid to be dead to ſin;* as St. *Paul* ſuppoſeth all theſe *Romans* were, which were true members of the true viſible Church.

A natural and a civil death.

Of death, there be but two ſorts or kinds uſually known or acknowledged; *The one a Natural*, the other *a Civil Death.* He that is dead according to a

Natural Death, is utterly deprived of all ſenſe or motion; he cannot feel, he cannot taſte, he cannot ſmell, ſee or hear; his heart pants not, his lungs ceaſe to ſend forth any breath. And *according to this kind of death Saint* Paul *himſelf could not be accompted dead to ſin:* Sin was not ſo fully mortified or put to death in him, but that it had its Motions in his inward parts; and theſe Motions he by experience felt.

But there is a civil as well as a natural death, and many are ſaid to be civilly dead whoſe natural life is yet ſound and entire. Thus men which are condemned or ſentenced to dy, are ſaid to be dead in Law, albeit the execution or taking away of their natural life be a long time deferred. The like we ſay of men which have been free-born, but afterwards fall into ſlavery or bondage. Both theſe ſorts of men are ſaid to be dead in Law, or to be ſubject to civil death, becauſe they cannot do or make any legal act either to the benefit of their friends or poſterity, or to the prejudice of their enemies. Of any civil contract or legal deed they are as uncapable, as he that is naturally dead is of breathing, ſenſe, or motion. And according to this acception or importance of death, *Every one in whom the reign or dominion of ſin is broken, in whom the fleſh is made ſubject to the ſpirit, is truly ſaid to be dead to ſin:* that is, in every man thus qualified, ſin is put unto a civil, though not unto a natural death.

But neither is this civil death the death here punctually meant by Saint *Paul*, when he ſaith, *How ſhall we that are dead to ſin live any longer therein?* For he ſpeaks not of *ſuch a death to ſin*, as was peculiar to himſelf or to ſome few? but of *ſuch a death* as was common to all theſe Romans, and to every true member of the viſible Church. He doth not ſuppoſe (nor was it imaginable) that all of them to whom he wrote, were *thus actually dead to ſin*; or that ſin did not, or could not raign in ſome of them; at leaſt it may and doth to this day raign in many which have by baptiſme been admitted into the viſible Church: whereas *Our Apoſtles Reaſon equally concerns all that are baptized.* All and every one of them are in his ſenſe and meaning in this place, *dead to ſin*; and yet are not all of them *dead to ſin*, or *ſin dead to them*, or in them, either by *a natural or civil death.* In all of them ſin retains ſome life or being, in many of them it ſtill retains its Soveraignty or Dominion. How then are all of them, how are all of us, that have been baptized, *dead to ſin?* Thus in the firſt place.

Death to ſin is vowed by us in Baptiſm.

3. *All of them did ſolemnly promiſe and vow to mortifie the deeds of the body, as we now do.* But ſo may others do which never meant to be baptized. It is true; and therefore the full and only reaſon, why theſe Romans (one and other) were reckoned *as dead to ſin*, was not becauſe they had promiſed or *vowed to mortifie the deeds of the fleſh*, or to put ſin unto a *civil death*, that is to break the Raign or Dominion of it: For thus to promiſe or thus to vow without ſufficient means or probable hopes, ſuch hopes and means as *by nature they could not have* to perform what they thus vow, were preſumption, a tempting of God, and provocation of Satan, to take that opportunity which they themſelves offer, to aſſault them. To compell all that come unto the *Sacred Laver*, to undertake that *treble vow* (which is and hath been alwayes ſolemnly made and undertaken, either by the parties themſelves, which are to be baptized in caſe they be of years, or by their ſureties) were the part rather of a cruel Stepdame than the office of a loving Mother, unleſs the Church our Mother which exacts this vow of all and every one, could give full aſſurance to all and every one of her ſons, that God in baptiſme for his part never failes to give means ſufficient for quelling the reign of ſin,

for mortifying the deeds of the body. Means (I mean) *ſufficient not in themſelves only, but ſufficient to every one of us*, unleſs we will be defective unto our ſelves.

Means alſo of dying to ſin received in baptiſm.

Now add this Reaſon unto the former, and you have the *true and full meaning of our Apoſtle* when he ſaith, *that all that are Baptized are dead to ſin*; that is, Firſt they are *dead unto it by ſolemn vow or profeſſion*. Secondly they are ſaid to be *dead unto ſin, or ſin to be dead in them*, in as much as they in Baptiſm receive an Antidote from God by which the rage & poiſon of it might eaſily be aſſwaged or expelled, ſo they would not either receive that grace or means which God in Baptiſm exhibits unto them ‘ in vain, or uſe it amiſs. So we may ſay that any popular diſeaſe is quelled ‘ or taken away, after a ſoveraign remedy be found againſt it, which ‘ never fails, ſo men will ſeek for it, ſeaſonably apply it, and obſerve that ‘ Dyet which the Phyſitian, upon the taking of it, preſcribes unto them.

Of baptiſmal Grace.

4. Some in our times there be (and more I think than have been in all the former) which deny all *Baptiſmal Grace*. Others there be which grant *ſome Grace* to be conferred by Baptiſme, even unto infants; but yet theſe reſtrain it only to infants Elect. And *This* they take to be the meaning of our *Churches Catechiſme*, wherein Children are taught to believe [*That as Chriſt the ſecond Perſon in the Trinity did Redeem them and all mankind? So the Holy Ghoſt* (*the third Perſon*) *doth ſanctifie them and all the Elect People of God.*]

But can any man be perſwaded that it was any part of *Our Churches meaning*, to *teach* Children when they firſt make profeſſion of their Faith, to believe, that they are of the number of the *Elect*, that is, of *ſuch as cannot finally periſh?* This were to teach them their Faith backwards, and to ſeek the Kingdom of Heaven not *Aſcendendo* by aſcending, but *Deſcendendo* by deſcending from it. For higher then thus Saint *Paul* himſelf in his greateſt perfection could not poſſibly reach; no, nor the bleſſed Angels which have kept their *Firſt ſtation* almoſt theſe 6000 years. Yet certain it is, that *Our Church* would have every one at the very firſt profeſſion of his Faith, to believe that he is *One of the Elect People of God*.

Difference betwixt the Elect and the Elect people of God.

But thoſe *Reverend Fathers* which did compoſe that *Catechiſm*, and the *Church our Mother* which did approve and authorize it, did in charity preſume, that every one which would take upon him to expound this *Catechiſm* or other principles of Faith, ſhould firſt know *the Diſtinction* between *the Elect*, that is, ſuch perſons as cannot periſh, and the *Elect People of God*: or between *Election* unto Gods ordinary *Grace* or means of ſalvation, and *Election unto eternal glory*. Every People or Nation, every company of men, when they are firſt converted from Gentiliſm to Chriſtianity become an *Elect People*, a choſen generation or company of men that is, they and their ſeed after them are made capable of Baptiſm, receive an *Intereſt* in Gods promiſes made unto us in Chriſt, which the heathens *whilſt they continue heathens* cannot have. And all of Us are in Baptiſm thus far ſanctified, that we are made true members of the *viſible Church*, qualified for hearing the word, for receiving the Sacrament of Chriſts Body and Blood, and whatſoever *Benefits of Chriſts Prieſtly Function*, are committed to the diſpenſation of his Miniſters. And thus far ſanctified by Baptiſme, no man can be but by the Holy Ghoſt. Our Apoſtle ſaith, 1 *Cor.* 7. 14. *That the unbelieving Husband is ſanctified by the believing wife: and the unbelieving wife is ſanctified by the believing Husband elſe were your children unclean, but now they are holy.*

So that he attributes an holineſs unto the children of believing Parents by which they are more capable of Baptiſme then the children of unbelieving Parents are. And of this holineſs by which they are capable of Baptiſme, all children are partakers, although but one of their Parents, whether father or mother, do believe: much more are the children of believing Parents to be reputed holy, or ſanctified after baptiſm, by which alwayes *ſome Gift of the Holy Ghoſt* is conferred upon them. For even that holines which was communicated or derived unto them from their Parents before they were baptized, or by which they became capable of Baptiſme, was conferred upon their Parents by Baptiſme.

5. Whether *This gift* or Qualification wherewith *The Holy Ghoſt* is ſaid *to ſanctifie all the Elect people of God*, be, or include in it, the *Grace of Regeneration*, I will not diſpute. That infants are by Baptiſm regenerated we may not deny; unleſs we will take upon us to put another ſenſe upon the *Articles of our Church*, than they will naturally bear. But whether ſuch as were baptized when they came to years of diſcretion (as moſt of theſe Romans were) did in Baptiſm receive the *Grace of Regeneration*, or were forthwith regenerated; *That* I leave unto the Schools. It ſufficeth us to know the true meaning of our Apoſtle in this place. And this it is, 'All of us in baptiſm receive *a gift or Talent* which by nature we ' had not, we could not have. For the uſe of this talent we ſhall be called 'unto a ſtrict accompt. And when this accompt ſhall be taken, it ſhall go 'harder with thoſe which either have abuſed it, miſ-imployed it or not u'ſed it, than with the Gentiles, Heathens or Infidels which never received the like. *For to whom more is given, of them more ſhall be required.*

And unleſs their means to vanquiſh Satan the world and the fleſh had been greater than the meer natural man had any, the juſt Lord would not puniſh them more ſeverely than he doth the heathen or meer natural men for ſuffering themſelves to be vanquiſhed by his enemies. They which deny any *grace* or *talent* to be always given in baptiſme; or affirm *this Talent* to be given only to ſome few which are of the number of the Elect; either do not underſtand or do not call to mind what baptiſm is. Now *Baptiſm on our part is an Aſtipulation or promiſe*; (1 *Peter* 3.*ver.*21.) *And it is no leſs on Gods part.* It is a mutual Covenant or Aſtipulation between God and us. And in every Covenant or Aſtipulation there is *Ratio dati et accepti*, ſomewhat given and ſomewhat taken. The giving is properly on Gods part, the taking on ours. For in true and proper terms we cannot give any thing to God, becauſe all we have even we our ſelves, are his by double right, by right of creation and redemption. Yet it is his pleaſure that we in baptiſm ſhould ſincerely and heartily ſurrender that unto him which is his own, even our ſelves, our ſouls, and bodies. And he upon this ſurrender or vow, if it be ſincerely made, doth give to us that which was not ours, even his only ſon with all the benefits of his death and paſſion. All of us put him on in baptiſme, though not all in the ſame degree; and we may reſt aſſured, that God would never preſs us in baptiſme, to fight under the banner of his Son, unleſs he were ready to furniſh us with ſtrength, with weapons, and skill to fight his battails. So we will (as our Apoſtle exhorts us) *yield our members unto his ſervice*, he will teach our hands to war, and our fingers to fight, and every faculty of our body and ſoul to do their part.

In Baptiſm, there is a mutual Aſtipulation, or promiſe between God and man.

6. *The* Abſtract or Briefe *of our apoſtles diſcourſe in this chapter is to ſtir up that Gift of God in theſe Romans which they had received in baptiſm; or which is all one, to animate or incourage them to imploy that talent, which God in that ſacrament had concredited unto them, unto his glory.* And this his *Ex*

hortation is grounded upon their profeſſion of *dying to ſin* which they had made in baptiſm; or upon the aſſurance of Gods ſpirit in the ſacred War, ſo we will take heart and courage to undertake the fight. There is not one branch of this exhortation from the ſecond verſe of this chap. to this one and twentieth, but is rooted in one of theſe two conſiderations, or joyntly in both. That *all of us in baptiſm are dead to ſin* (in that ſenſe which we have ſhewed before) that is, *by ſolemn vow, or by profeſſing our death unto it*, our Apoſtle inſers *ver.* 3. and not only *dead* but *buried*. And both this *death* and *burial* unto ſin was ſolemnly profeſſed not by *word or vow* only, but by *matter of fact* or viſible ceremony then uſual in baptiſm; for every one that was baptized (ſeeing all that were baptized were of good years, and ſtrength of body to undergo this ceremony,) were *ter demerſi in aquis*, their whole bodies were plunged thrice in the water to repreſent their *vowed death and burial* unto ſin. This *ternal demerſion* of their bodies, as ſome collect, was not only to repreſent *the holy and bleſſed Trinity of the divine Perſons* in whoſe names they were baptized; but withall to repreſent the *three ſeveral dayes* wherein Chriſt lay buried in the grave. *Therefore* ſaith the Apoſtle, *we are buried with him by Baptiſm unto death, that like as Chriſt was raiſed up from the dead by the glory of the Father: even ſo we alſo ſhould walk in newneſs of life*, ver. 4.

Ceremonies uſed at Baptiſm and the meaning thereof.

7. The meaning of the former Ceremony was, and ſo of Baptiſm to this day, is, *That as Chriſt did leave the burthen of our ſins, and put off the form of a ſervant, which for our ſakes he undertook, in the grave: ſo we by baptiſm and burial into his death, ſhould put off the old man or body of ſin and be raiſed unto newneſs of life, and become partakers of his reſurrection unto glory.*

This raiſing unto newneſs of life by the Sacrament of Baptiſm was repreſented by the ſafe Aſcenſion of their Bodies out of the water in the which they had been thrice plunged. And of our Reſurrection unto glory, we receive the pledge or earneſt, when we receive the *grace of regeneration*, that is the Grace which enables us to walk in newneſs of life. And this is called the *firſt reſurrection*, without which no man ſhall be partaker of the *ſecond unto glory*. Now that all ſuch as are truly *buried with him by baptiſm into death*, that is, all ſuch as obſerve and perform *their vow* made in baptiſm ſhall undoubtedly be partakers of his reſurrection unto glory, the Apoſtle inferrs ver. 5. *For if we have been planted together in the likeneſs of his death; we ſhall be alſo in the likeneſs of his reſurrection*, and ver. the ſixth. *Knowing this that our old man is crucified with Him that the body of ſin might be deſtroyed, that henceforth we ſhould not ſerve ſin. For he that is dead, is free from ſin*, ver. 7. that is, He that is *dead to ſin* in this life, is freed from the life or reign of ſin. For it is obſervable that he doth not ſay, if we have been *planted together in his death*, but if we have been *planted together in the* likeneſs *of his death*. It is not required that we ſhould die the death of the body as Chriſt did, but to die as *Iſaac* did, in the ſimilitude and figure of his death; that is, we ſhould die to ſin, or crucifie that ſin in us, for which Chriſt was crucified. And as it is not required that we ſhould die the death of the body in baptiſm: ſo is it not to be expected that we ſhould forthwith be raiſed unto that glory whereunto he roſe, but to be raiſed *unto a ſimilitude* or likeneſs of it; that is, unto newneſs of life, which is the *firſt reſurrection*. And of this reſurrection we ſhall not fail to be actual partakers by virtue of baptiſm, if we be rightly *implanted into the ſimilitude of his death*: for ſo the Apoſtles words are, *If we have been planted together in the likeneſs of his death, we ſhall be alſo in the likeneſs of his reſurrection.*

But what is it to be σύμφυτοι *planted together?* or with whom are we planted? we Gentiles together with the Jews? So ſome conjecture. But the more ancient and better expoſition is, that we are σύμφυτοι with Chriſt, *planted together with Him;* yet not ſo planted together with him as one tree is planted together by another (*Arbor inter* or *juxta Arbores*) each having its ſeveral root. But as Chriſt was planted by his death and burial, and conſecrated to be the root of life; So we likewiſe ſhould be planted by baptiſm in Him *to die to ſin*, and being ſo planted in his death, to be partakers of his reſurrection unto life: As the implanted graft which loſeth leaf and ſap and (to outward view) life alſo in winter, with the branch or ſtock into which it was planted, doth recover all again when the root ſends back the ſap at the Spring or the reſurrection of the year.

8. This is that which our Saviour himſelf had ſaid, *John* 15.4,5, *As the branch cannot bear fruit in it ſelf, except it abide in the vine, no more can ye except ye abide in me. I am the Vine, ye are the branches: he that abideth in me, and I in him, the ſame bringeth forth much fruit; for without me ye can do nothing.* That is, ye have no root in your ſelves, and therefore no life but as you are planted in me, the Vine. Now this Vine was opened in his death upon the Croſs, and planted in his burial: and from him ſo planted, *That* of the *Pſalmiſt, Pſ.*85.11. was fulfilled, *Righteouſneſs did grow out of the earth*; and we being ingrafted or inoculated into him thus planted, become true branches of the ſame Vine. Branches we are, but *without root in our ſelves:* all the life we can hope for muſt be derived from His root.

And the very ſum and proper effect of our belief in his death & reſurrection, is ſet down by our Apoſtle *ver.*8.9,10,11. *Now if we be dead with Chriſt, we believe that we ſhall alſo live with him. Knowing that Chriſt being raiſed from the dead, dieth no more, death hath no more dominion over him. For in that he died, he died unto ſin once: but in that he liveth, he liveth unto God. Likewiſe, reckon your ſelves alſo to be dead indeed unto ſin: but alive unto God through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.*

So then if all which are baptized are *dead to ſin* by *ſolemn vow*; every one muſt know it to be his *duty to mortifie his earthly members*; but none are bound to believe that they are already *actually dead* to ſin, becauſe they are baptized. The ſum of our Apoſtles exhortation in the *twelfth verſe*, is, *Let not ſin therefore reign in your mortal body, that ye ſhould obey it in the luſts thereof; neither yield ye your members as inſtruments of unrighteouſneſs unto ſin: but yield your ſelves unto God, as thoſe that are alive from the dead, and your members as inſtruments of righteouſneſs unto God.*

The height of our hopes in this life, is, to put ſin unto a *civil death*, that is, to bring the fleſh in ſubjection to the ſpirit. And this we may and ought to hope for; So ſaith the Apoſtle, *v.* 14. *Sin ſhall not have dominion over you, for ye are not under the Law, but under Grace.* And Grace is able to give us that victory over ſin which the Law could not, if we will ſubmit our ſelves unto the regiment of Grace, and not preſume of Gods favour in conſciouſneſs of ſin. This is that which the Apoſtle rejects with the like indignation (*v.* 15.) as he had done the former imagination *of continuing in ſin that grace might abound. What then? ſhall we ſin becauſe we are not under the Law, but under grace? God forbid. Know ye not that unto whom ye yield your ſelves ſervants to obey, his ſervants ye are to whom ye obey: whether of ſin unto death, or of obedience unto righteouſneſs?* His meaning is, that albeit they were by baptiſm tranſlated from the regiment of the Law unto the regiment of grace: yet if by preſuming upon Gods grace or favour they continue in ſin, they ſhall ceaſe to be Gods ſervants, and become again the ſervants of ſin.

The Regiment of the Law and of Grace.

9. It

Com. III.

Proſpers Obſervation.

9. It is the Obſervation of *Proſper* (an Ancient writer) upon this place, *That as no man can ſerve two maſters; So every man muſt ſerve one of theſe two, either ſin or righteouſneſs; God or Satan: and he that is a ſervant to the one, is exempted from the ſervice of the other. He that is a ſervant of righteouſneſs is freed from ſin, and he that is a ſervant unto ſin, is rather exempted; then freed from the ſervice of righteouſneſs.* Both are avouched by our Apoſtle, but with this difference, that *being* made *free from ſin, they* were made *the ſervants of righteouſneſs;* but when they were the ſervants of ſin, they *were free,* not *from righteouſneſs,* but *to righteouſneſs:* that is they did righteouſneſs no ſervice, *de facto,* but uſed their freedom rather to wrong it.

But *God be thanked* (ſaith our Apoſtle ver. 17.) *that ye were the ſervants of ſin. A ſtrange kinde of ſpeech!* The Phariſee indeed did thank God, that he was no extortioner, no covetous perſon, nor tainted with ſuch ſins, as he thought the Publican was; but we never read that any Phariſee, Publican, or other did thank God that he was an extortioner, or that he was a grievous ſinner, nor would God queſtionleſs accept of ſuch thanks: For he expects no thanks but for the good which he doth unto the Children of men. Now to be a covetous Perſon, to be an extortioner, to be a ſervant to ſin, are things which have no goodneſs in them, therefore no works of God, no part of his doings. How then doth the Apoſtle ſo ſolemnly thank God on theſe Romans behalf, that they *were* the ſervants of ſin; or is this his thankſgiving to be referred only to the later part of that 17. verſe; *But ye have obeyed from the heart that Form of doctrine which was delivered you.* This indeed was worthy of thanks: yet not this alone. The form of thankſgiving refers as properly and punctually to the firſt part of the verſe [*God be thanked, that you* were *the ſervants of ſin*] as it doth to the later part, [*But you have obeyed the form of doctrin, which was delivered unto you.*]

And in the firſt place, it refers *to their former ſervitude unto ſin.* For though God were not the Author of their ſervitude to ſin, as he was of their obedience to the Doctrine of life; *Yet his goodneſs did turn their former ſervitude to ſin, the very worſt deed which they had done, unto their good.* For take them as now they were, it was better for them that they had been the ſervants of ſin, than not to have been ſo. God, you muſt conſider, at this time required the ſervice of righteouſneſs at their hands. And he that hath been a diligent ſervant to an hard and cruel maſter, from whom he could not in reaſon expect any recompence worth his toil, is thereby well enapted and trained to be diligent and faithful in the ſervice of a gentle loving and bountiful Maſter. Such was the caſe and ſtate of theſe Romans. They had done extraordinary kindneſs for a long time unto ſin, and this their ſervice was not only loſt in reſpect of times paſt, but very dangerous in the future. Upon this known caſe or experiment among men, doth our Apoſtle ground thoſe forcible exhortations in the verſes precedent, which he moſt ſtrongly concludes with the words of the 21. verſe. *I ſpeak* (ſaith he ver. 19.) *after the manner of men, becauſe of the infirmity of the fleſh: for as ye have yeilded your members ſervants unto uncleanneſs & to iniquity, unto iniquity:* even ſo now yield *your members, ſervants to righteouſneſs, unto holineſs. For when ye were the ſervants of ſin, ye were free to righteouſneſs:* that is, you did acknowledg no ſervice due unto it. The implication which he expreſſeth not is this: 'Being now become the ſervants of righteouſneſs, do as little ſervice unto ſin, as when 'you were its ſervants, ye did to righteouſneſs, acknowledge none to it, for none is due to it, eſpecially from you.

10. But in the 21. verſe, if you mark his placing of the words well; he puts the caſe home. *What fruit had ye then of thoſe things, whereof ye are now aſhamed?* What fruit had ye *then*, at *that time* when ye did them with greedineſs? If the ſervice of ſin at any time were fruitful, it is queſtionleſs then, whilſt it is a doing. For this *Dalilah* hath the trick to wipe off all ſhame from her Lovers faces, whilſt ſin is in the action or motion. But our Apoſtle proves this ſervice of ſin to be fruitleſs, *even then*, becauſe now, when theſe motions were paſt; it makes them aſhamed.

Nor is the ſervice of ſin fruitleſs, only becauſe it bringeth forth ſhame, but therefore more then *ſhameful*, full of danger and dread becauſe the ſhame which it bringeth forth, is alwayes the Harbinger or fore-runner of death. For ſo the Apoſtle adds, *for the end of thoſe things is death.* Theſe are the beſt fruits of their ſervice to ſin; and ſin it ſelf is more then fruitleſs, becauſe the beſt fruits which it ſeems to bring are poiſonous. But now theſe Romans are called unto the ſervice of a far better maſter; one from whom they have ſomewhat *in re*, but much more *in ſpe*; a bountiful earneſt, for the preſent, of an invaluable recompence and future reward, ver. 22. *But now being free from ſin, and become ſervants to God, ye have your fruit unto holineſs, and the end everlaſting life.*

And finally he binds all his former exhortations with this undoubted aſſertion; *For the wages of ſin is death: but the gift of God is eternal life, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.*

Thus you have ſeen *The duty whereunto we ſtand bound by our Baptiſm.*

And it is *twofold.* 1. To forſake the Divel, the world, and the fleſh; and ſecondly to betake our ſelves to the ſervice of God.

The motives to withdraw us from this ſervice of ſin, *are three.* The ſervice of it, firſt, is *fruitleſs*, 2. it is *ſhameful*, 3. it *cauſeth death:* to wit, a moſt ſhameful bitter and endleſs death.

The motives to draw us unto the ſervice of God, are *two.* 1. The *preſent fruit* which it yieldeth, *viz.* the peace of conſcience, or that righteouſneſs which is the flour and bloſſom unto holineſs. 2. *The final reward*, which is a moſt bleſſed life without end. *The firſt three motives* to withdraw us from the ſervice of ſin, are as it were linked or mortized one into another. The very *fruitleſneſs* of Sins ſervice ſhuts up into *ſhame*; and the *ſhame* arreſting or ſeazing upon the ſinner is no other then the very Harbinger, Fore-runnner or Serjeant of Death.

CHAP. XVIII.

Rom. 6. 21. *What Fruit had ye then in thoſe things whereof ye are now aſhamed? For the end of thoſe things is death*, &c.

Of the fruitleſneſs of Sin. Of the ſhame *that follows and dogs ſin, as the ſhadow doth the Body. What* ſhame *is. Whence it ariſeth; and what Uſe may be made thereof. Of Fame, Praiſe, and Honour. Satans* Stales, *Falſe* ſhame *and Falſe* Honour. *The Character of both in Greek and Latine. Of* Pudor, *which is alwayes* malè Facti, *of* Verecundia, *which may ſometimes be,* de modo rectè Facti. Periit vir cui Pudor Periit. Erubuit, ſalva res eſt.

1. WE are here to ſpeak ſomewhat to *the Firſt Point*, which was the fruitleſneſs *of Sin*; of which more afterwards.

It was an *ancient ſaying* of a good Writer, *præſtat otioſum eſſe quam nihil agere:* it were better to ſit ſtill and do nothing, then to buſie, and weary our ſelves to no purpoſe. A ſhame it is in it ſelf, but commonly the beginning of a far greater ſhame, to ſpend our time without any fruit. And if we could perſwade a man that for the preſent he labours in vain; that for the future he can expect nothing but weariſom trouble for his long pains, it would be enough to make him (if he have any wit) aſhamed of what he hath done; more then enough (unleſs he be impudent) to make him give over what he hath begun. Yea he is not a wiſe man, that doth not forecaſt ſome probable hopes or gainful iſſues of his labours before he begin them. So our Saviour tells us, *Luke* 14. 28. *For which of you intending to build a Tower; ſitteth not down firſt and counteth the coſt, whether he have ſufficient to finiſh it? Leſt haply after he hath laid the foundation and is not able to finiſh it, all that behold it, begin to mock him, ſaying: This man began to build, and was not able to finiſh.* If want of forecaſt to go through with a work which in the beginning promiſed fruit, be a ſhame, or expoſe men to ſcorn or mockery; what is it to begin and continue thoſe works, whoſe accompliſhing or finiſhing is more fruitleſs then the firſt beginning? So that the ſervice of ſin is in this reſpect *ſhameful*, becauſe it is *fruitleſs*. But if you obſerve our Apoſtle well, he doth not infer, that the works of ſin are ſhameful becauſe they are *fruitleſs*, but, that they are *fruitleſs* becauſe they are ſhameful. Shame, and that a poſitive ſhame, is the natural fruit or iſſue of all ſervice to ſin; and not every kind of poſitive ſhame; but a ſhame accompanied or ſeconded with death.

That the Apoſtles argument may have its full weight or ſway upon our ſouls, we are in the *firſt place* to examine *what ſhame properly* is. *Secondly, What manner of death it is which is the wages of ſin.*

Of ſhame what it is, and whence ariſing.

2. *Shame is a fear of ſome evil to enſue*; Or an impreſſion of ſome evil preſent; the fear of whoſe continuance is more grievous than any preſent ſmart. But though all ſhame be a fear or ſenſe of evil, yet every fear or ſenſe of evil doth not cauſe ſhame. Men naturally fear the loſs of goods, but, as our Saviour intimates, *Mat.* 6. 25. moſt naturally the loſs of their lives. Yet if our goods be taken from us by violence, we are not aſhamed of it: the expectation or ſufferance of this evil cauſeth only ſorrow or grief to us, it cauſeth ſhame to him that doth it. There is no man almoſt, but feareth a violent and undeſerved death; yet if ſuch a death be ſet before him, it cauſeth only ſorrow or heavineſs of heart, a dejection of ſpirit, no ſhame or confuſion of face: *Such as die guiltleſs are rather comforted then confounded at the ſight or preſence of others.* That evil, whoſe ſight moveth pity and compaſſion in others, cannot breed ſhame to him that ſuffers it. *Shame then is a fear of ſuch evil only, which conſiſts in diſgrace* or loſs of reputation, and is oppoſed to honor, fame, or praiſe. Now the deſire of honor, fame or praiſe is the ſtrongeſt motive, the ſharpeſt ſpur to animate men (eſpecially of better Spirits) to undertake any danger, to undergo any evil, that is free from diſgrace, or not charged with ſhame. His rule in the general was exceeding good, though miſ-applied to him, and to his followers Caſe; *Præſtat per virtutem emori, quam per dedecus vivere.* It is better to die with credit, then to live with ſhame. And this wrought ſo deeply with him and his Souldiers, that never any died with greater reſolution then they did; Though all were ſlain, yet every man fell in his own rank. But many *Romans* and other Heathens, leſs furious then *Catiline* and his Souldiers were, have voluntarily ſubmitted themſelves to the lingring

See *Ariſtotle* Rhet. l. 2. cap. 6. Ethic. Nic. lib. 4. cap. 15.

gring tortures of death without any other motive to undergo or endure them, beſides the deſire of Fame and Honour. Now the deſire of Fame cannot be ſo ſharp a ſpur to make men adventure upon noble Enterprizes, though full of danger; but the fear or apprehenſion of Shame will be as ſtrong a Curb to withdraw them from lewd and naughty courſes. And if the Miniſters of the Goſpel, who are Gods Embaſſadors; or the Magiſtrate, who is his Deputy, had no other Hank or Curb over men committed to their charge, then This: this alone would be ſufficient to keep the moſt of them from groſs exorbitances or outragious Courſes, did not Satan, the world and fleſh, ſtill ſet up their *Stales* or counterfeit pictures of ſhame to drive men the contrary way to that whereto we ſeek by repreſentation of true Shame to draw them.

Satans Stales; falſe honor, and falſe ſhame.

3. The Heathen Poet could vantingly ſay, That none but Fools were either lifted up with falſe Honour, or dejected with ſlanderous Infamy.

Falſus Honor juvat, & mendax Infamia terret; Hor. Epiſt
Quem? niſi mendacem & mendoſum? —— L.1.Ep.16.

But it is a ſad truth whereof we daily have experiment; That *The main Conflict in our Chriſtian warfare, is between that honour which one man ſeeks to receive from another, and that Honour which cometh from God alone: Between the fear of ſhame and diſgrace from men, and that diſgrace or ſhame which is the Award of Divine Juſtice.* Painted Honor and counterfeit Shame ſtill *command in chief* (as it were by Courſe) for the fleſh, the world and the Devil. Nothing is truly ſhameful, but *malum culpæ*, but that which is evil or diſhoneſt and againſt the Commandements of God. The only conſtant Rule for knowing what deſerveth ſhame, what not, is the Decalogue, or ten Commandements. But this is *A Rule* which will not be eaſily applied unto particulars, otherwiſe then by way of Catechiſm; and by this way, God willing, it may be had hereafter. In the mean time, for thoſe that be Parents of Children, or Fathers of Families, One of the beſt Catechiſms which they can read unto their Children or other Relations in private, the beſt preparation to the more immediate grounds of Religion which they can plant in any committed to their charge, would be, To inure them to modeſty whilſt their affections are plyable; To teach them both by Word and Example, *of what things they ought to be aſhamed, and wherein to rejoyce or glory.*

Ariſtotle in the ſecond of his Ethicks gives this up as the Brief or Compend of right Education: ———χάιρειν καὶ, λυπεῖσθαι οἷς δεῖ, ἡ γὰρ ὀρθὴ παιδεία ἄυτη ἐστίν· And *Siracides* ſets down (in the 41. Chapter of Eccleſiaſticus) A large Catalogue or Roll of thoſe things whereof it is a ſhameful thing not to be aſhamed: And another ſmaller Table of ſuch things whereof men ought not to be aſhamed, in the 42. If thoſe that are *in parendi ſortem geniti* and ſhould be under diſcipline, be ſuffered to ſhake off this Curb or bridle (modeſty or fear of ſhame) whilſt they are young, not onely Parents and Maſters, but Magiſtrates and Miniſters ſhall find them paſt Rule and Government, when they grow elder and ſtronger. There is no loſs can happen to man in this life ſo grievous as the loſs of ſhamefacedneſs and modeſty, eſpecially in youth.

Shame and Modeſty.

4. That diſpoſition of mind which in our Engliſh we call Shame and Modeſty, or Shamefacedneſs, hath two Characters in the Greek; αἰδὼς and αἰσχύνη; The former, the Latines expreſs by the word *verecundia:* the later by *Pudor*. This difference the Grammarians obſerve between

them, that the former, *verecundia*, is ſometime *recte facti*, there may be a modeſt fear, at leaſt for the manner of doing that which in it ſelf is not evil, but not ſo comely, the circumſtances of time and place, eſpecially the place of our betters being conſidered; *Pudor* is alwayes *male facti*. We are not or ought not to be aſhamed but for that which is evil. So that *Pudor* is oppoſed to moral filthineſs or naughtineſs, as *verecundia* is to unſeemlineſs, or uncomlineſs: both of them agree in the general, both are *A fear of ſome cenſure*; but *Pudor*, or Shame, is, *metus vituperii, a fear of reproach or infamy for doing that which in it ſelf is evil.*

That diſpoſition which the Latines call *verecundia* was incident to man in his firſt and pure eſtate; The very Angels cover their faces at the preſence of God. And ſo no doubt but Children ſhould have born an awful and modeſt reſpect unto their Parents, and have been afraid to do thoſe things in their preſence, which done out of their preſence had not been evil or unſeemly. But that which the Latines call *Pudor*, had found no entrance into our nature unleſs ſin had made it One. Our nature had been ſufficiently guarded by its Original Integrity againſt juſt fear of infamy or diſgrace. But taking our nature as now it is polluted with ſin, and ſtained with filthineſs, the fear of diſgrace or infamy is no prejudice, but rather an advantage to it. It is a qualification which makes men more capable of Rule or Government then any reaſonleſs creature is; none of which are capable of this qualification.

5. The life of Government or Juriſdiction conſiſts in the right diſpenſation of *Pœna and Præmium*, that is, of puniſhment and reward. And *in every well governed Common-wealth, Fame and Honour are the top branches of reward; wealth or bodily contentments are but ſupporters unto it.* Many, otherwayes well ordered Common-wealths, might erre (as moſt Heathen Common-wealths did) in defining what true Honour was, or wherein true honour did conſiſt. They did not erre in determining honour as the chief reward or Crown of well doing. Nor did they erre in making diſgrace or infamy, as the ſpecial branch of puniſhment. Mulcts, or loſs of goods, loſs of life, or bodily torture, come but in the ſecond or third place: Fear of infamy and hope of Honour were of themſelves ſufficient to keep moſt men within the compaſs of civility, or moral goodneſs, were it not generally true in all Common-wealths, which *Solomon* had obſerved in his times *Prov.* 28 4. *That they which forſake the Law do praiſe the wicked*; and ſo St. *Peter* tells us, 1 *Pet*.cap.4 v.4. *That ſuch as walked in the wayes of the Gentiles, in laſciviouſneſs luſt, exceſs of wine, ryotings, banquettings and abominable idolatry, did think it a ſtrange thing, that theſe late Converts to whom he wrote this Epiſtle, did not run with them to the like exceſs.* And for this cauſe, as he adds, *they ſpeak evil of them*; that is, they put all the ſhame they could upon them.

As then, ſo now; Every ſociety of lewd or naughty men, have their uſurped cuſtoms, which are equivalent with them to Laws: have their Parliaments whereby, (wo unto them! *Eſay* 5. 20.) they attempt to alter or invert the Law of God, and the Law of nature; to eſtabliſh evil for good, and to diſgrace goodneſs, as if it were evil.

What courſe of life, what branch of lewdneſs more infamous by the Law of God then ryot or drunkenneſs? a vice ſo ſhameful, that the Fathers eye muſt not pity it in his Children that are tainted with it, but even their natural Parents, as well the Mother as the Father, are bound by the

Law of God (*Deut.* 21.20,21.) to inform againſt them, to accuſe them before the Magiſtrate, leſt the ſhame and ſin ſhould reflect upon themſelves by connivance. And by the ſame Law the publick Magiſtrate is bound upon the accuſation of their Parents to put them to an ignominious death. And yet there is a generation of men outwardly profeſſing the knowledge of God, and of Chriſt, which ſeek to put ſhame and ignominy upon all ſuch as will not run with them to the like exceſs: which have their Laws and Rules for authorizing and cheriſhing this lawleſs and unruly cuſtom.

God again by his written Law, and by his Sentence againſt *Cain,* awards death and ſhame to murtherers: And yet *the ſeeds of this accurſed ſin are more then legitimated*; *ranked amongſt the eſſential parts of honour*; made as the very touch and tryal of Gentry, by men which eſteem it a greater ſhame to indure the breath of a verbal Lie from anothers raſh mouth, then to tell or deviſe an hundred real Lies, or to outface a truth by falſe oaths. And by this corrupt cuſtom, which goes currant for a ſoveraign Law amongſt braver Spirits (as they account themſelves) the obſervance of Laws divine and humane (which forbid all private Revenge, all reſolutions to kill or be killed) is branded with the infamy of *Cowardiſe*; *A terrible bug-bear,* but to ſuch only as are Men in maliciouſneſs, but Children in Knowledge. For it is a ſign of the greateſt Cowardiſe that can be, to be affrighted at the noiſe of vain words, or to forſake the Fortreſs upon a falſe Alarm, or repreſentation of counterfeit Colors: As theſe, ſo every other vice hath its Baud or Advocate to give it countenance, and to diſgrace the contrary vertue.

6. The old Serpent which beguiled the firſt Man by the firſt woman, works ſtill upon the weaker veſſel, and makes it his inſtrument to foyl the ſtronger. He is not ignorant that this *maſculus pudor*, as the *Philoſopher calls it,* this virile or manly fear or ſhame, whereby youth is naturally reſtrained from ſhameful courſes, cannot eaſily be vanquiſhed, but by ſuborning this effeminate or womaniſh fear of worldly or popular diſgrace to betray it, as *Dalilah* did her Husband *Samſon*. And the expelling of *this maſculine* by this *womaniſh fear of diſgrace* or reproach, is as the putting out of the eyes of diſcretion, whereby we diſcern good from evil. So that Satan leads them up and down at his pleaſure as the *Philiſtines* did *Samſon* after he had loſt his bodily eyes by the cutting off his hair.

We have a Saying or Proverb rather; *Paſt Shame, paſt Grace.* The Heathens had the like Obſervation, ſave only that they knew not what *Grace* meant. They had no uſe of the word [Grace] in that ſenſe, which is moſt common, and yet moſt proper with us.

A Child or man paſt Grace is, with us, as much as *Filius perditus*, A Son of perdition; Such an one as *Judas* was, who yet was not *paſt Grace,* that is, not irrecoverably loſt, until he became impudent and obdurate in ſin. Now it was the obſervation of one, and he was none of the preciſeſt amongſt the Heathen,

Illum ego periiſſe dico, cui quidem periit pudor.

I give that man (ſaith *Plautus*) for loſt, which hath loſt modeſty, or is paſt ſhame. Our *Common Proverb*, and the *Saying* of this *Poet* have this ſure Ground in true Divinity; *That want of modeſty, or a face uncapable of ſhame ſuppoſeth a great meaſure of iniquity in the breſt.* That which we call a *Brazen face* hath alwayes for its *Supporter* an Iron ſinew, or a brawny heart, *Jer.* 3.3. and 5.3. and 6.15. and 8.12.

7. As nothing paſſeth into the underſtanding but by the gates of

ſenſe: So the true belief of that which God threatned unto ſin, and that was death, is uſhered into the heart of man by ſhame and confuſion of face. The firſt impreſſion of Gods threatnings unto our firſt Parents was made upon this part. And all the Sons of *Adam* even unto this day, either have or might have a pledge of that which *Moſes* relates concerning their and their eldeſt Sons hiding themſelves and going out from the preſence of the Lord. To this day it is true, *Qui male agit odit Lucem*; an evil conſcience flies the light or preſence of men; And the face commonly bewrayes the heart; as he ſaid,

Heu quam difficile eſt crimen non prodere vultu?

It is an hard matter not to confeſs a crime, or the truth, although the mouth be ſilent. Yet as ſome men by long cuſtom in ſin degenerate into *Atheiſts*, and ſee no reliques of Gods image (wherein they were created) in themſelves, although the notion of a Godhead or Divine Power be naturally ingrafted in all: So, though *ſhame* and bluſhing be moſt natural to man when he doth evil; yet ſome by long continuance in ſin, ſhake off this vail or covering of their nakedneſs. Such they are of whom *Jeremy* ſpake in the Old, and in the New Teſtament St. *Jude* ſpeaks, ver. 10. *Men that are prone to ſpeak evil of thoſe things which they know not: but what they know naturally as bruit beaſts, in thoſe things they corrupt themſelves*; and become as impenetrable by ſhame, as bruit beaſts whom God hath deprived of reaſon. He that is not ſubject to this paſſion participates more of the nature or diſpoſition of collapſed Angels then of collapſed man. The Devils (we read) do *tremble* at their belief or apprehenſion of Gods Judgments. We do not read that they are *aſhamed* of the evil which deſerves it; as our firſt Parents were. It is true (though) that they through want of awful reſpect or reverence unto the divine Majeſty were the Authors of ſin, and propagators of ſhame to their poſterity. All of us are prone to think that they deſerved ill, not of God only but of us: and yet the truth is, that we lay a great deal more blame upon them then they deſerved. They indeed were the firſt, yet not the greateſt ſinners. Many of their poſterity in this quality go beyond them: all of us imitate them too well in their ſin, but not in being aſhamed when we ſin.

8. They had but one Commandement given by God; and having tranſgreſſed that, their Conſciences did accuſe them; their very looks and geſtures gave evidences againſt them. We tranſgreſs all Gods Commandements, and one and the ſame Commandement over and over, God onely knows how often; yet are not dejected, are not confounded, but bear out ſail, as if there were no danger: Though *every thing which God in his written Law hath prohibited, is a branch of the forbidden tree.* He hath as peremptorily forbidden all *To have any Gods but him*; *to worſhip any graven Image*; *to take his Name in vain*, as he did our firſt Parents to taſte of the *Tree of good and evil:* Yet even ſuch as would be held the only true Catholiques, *Worſhip Images:* and ſuch again as would be accounted the pure Worſhippers of God in truth and ſpirit, worſhip their own *Imaginations*; and transform the unchangeable nature of the Deity, into unfit ſimilitudes. Little Children amongſt us are mighty Swearers; and nothing more common in publique or private, then to take Gods holy Name in vain, to abuſe it more groſly then the Jew or Heathen could, who knew not God incarnate. And all this they do without any ſign of ſhame. Women rail upon, revile and curſe one another in the open ſtreets, until their faces grow red indeed, but with a redneſs which betokens no ſhame, which bears no tincture

of bluſh, but rather of revenge and malice boyling in the heart, or of heat in their tongue, ſet on fire by Hell. But theſe for the moſt part are of the meaner and baſer ſort. Others there be, as far tranſported with miſguided *Zeal* from that modeſty which becomes their Sex; and this *Zeal* they offer up as ſtrange fire unto God without bluſhing, taking the Prieſts office upon them; to be more then Teachers, cenſurers of their Teachers: ſwiſt to hear any doctrine that ſhall contradict the publick voice of the Church, alwaies liſtening after the whiſperings of ſuch private Spirits, as invert the *Tenor* of the Goſpel, no leſs then the old Serpent did the firſt Commandement which God gave unto mankind. God had ſaid unto them, *Gen.*3. ver.3. *Ye ſhall not eat of the tree of the knowledge of Good and Evil, neither ſhall ye touch it, leſt ye die.* But the Serpent whiſpers, ver.4,5. *Ye ſhall not ſurely die. For God doth know, that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes ſhall be opened: and ye ſhall be as Gods, knowing good and evil.* A plauſible Comment to her which was now giving the raines to her longing appetite. As plauſible a doctrine it is to many of her Daughters to meddle with the marks of Election and Reprobation, ſecrets which God hath reſerved unto himſelf. Points full of great difficulty and greater danger, and wherein ſuch as have waded fartheſt, have (as I ſaid before) inverted the *Tenor of the Goſpel.* For it is the perpetual voice of the Goſpel [*If thou believe, thou ſhalt be ſaved: if thou believeſt not, thou canſt not be ſaved.*] The very ſum and final reſolution of the doctrine of *Election*, as it is vulgarly taught, is this: [*If thou muſt be ſaved, that is, if thou be of the number of the Elect or predeſtinated, thou ſhalt believe; If thou be not of the number of the Elect, thou canſt not believe.*] To liſten after ſuch whiſperings as theſe, the weaker Sex take from their Mother *Eve*; but to be confident or preſumptuous upon ſuch miſinterpretations, or to be cenſurers of their Superiors, this they learn not from their Mother *Eve*, but from her falſe Teacher. This is a prodigious diſpoſition in Women, whom the Apoſtle commands *to learn in ſilence with all ſubjection*, but *will not ſuffer them to teach, or to uſurp authority over the man*, 1 *Tim.*cap.2.ver.12. This ſilence and modeſtie is injoyned them as a Pennance for their Mother *Eves* tranſgreſſion, ver.13,14. *For Adam* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *was firſt formed, then* Eve: *And* Adam *was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the tranſgreſſion. Notwithſtanding ſhe ſhall be ſaved* (σωθήσεται δὲ διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας) *by the promiſed Seed: If they continue in faith and charity, and holine with Sobriety.* Theſe are the means to make their Election ſure.

9. All of us both men and women are too prone to imitate our firſt Parents in doing that which is evil and forbidden by the Law of God. And ſeeing better cannot be expected, it were well if we could as truly imitate them, in being aſhamed of the evil which we have done. They no ſooner knew that they were naked, but they ſought a covering for their nakedneſs of fig-leaves: but this would not ſerve: *For when they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden: they hid themſelves from his preſence amongſt the trees.* All of us have an experimental pledge of this which *Moſes* relates concerning them in our ſelves, unleſs we choke or ſtifle the inſtinct of corrupted nature, by long cuſtom or continuance in ſin. That our conſciences do accuſe us; that the ſight of men whom we know or ſuſpect to be conſcious of our miſdoings deject us; both theſe argue, that we muſt appear before a Judge, even before that Judge from whoſe preſence our firſt Parents hid themſelves; at whoſe appearance we ſhall be confounded, if we come before

him polluted with ſuch blots and ſtains as our ſouls are aſhamed ſinful men (ſuch as our ſelves are) ſhould look upon. For even that redneſs or bluſhing which appears in mens faces upon conſciouſneſs of their infirmities or miſdeeds,is but a maſk which our ſouls do naturally put before them, as being afraid leſt others ſhould ſee the ſtain or blemiſh of ſin.

As our firſt Parents ſought to hide themſelves from God after they had tranſgreſſed his Commandements: So Offenders hide themſelves from his Deputies or Vicegerents on earth, not only for fear of puniſhment, but for ſhame. And if we ſhould give you the real or phyſical Definition of ſhame, *It is no other then the ſtriving of Nature to hide the Stain of our ſouls by ſending our blood into the face or viſage.* And men do but ſecond this dictate of Nature, when they put their hands or other covering before their faces. So *Diſarius* one of the Diſcourſes in *Macrobius* (*Saturn. lib. 7. cap.* 11.) ſaith: *Natura pudore tacta ſanguinem ante ſe pro velamento tendit.*

Thus both corrupted nature,and we our ſelves ſeek to hide our ſouls from the view of others, albeit we cannot diſcern the inward ſtain or filth of ſin,but are rather in love with her painted pleaſures: But when he ſhall appear,that knew no ſin in himſelf, and yet knows all the ſecrets of mans heart: it is no vail of fleſh,no die of nature, no covering of the viſage with blood,that will avail ſuch as continue to do thoſe things whereof they are or ought to be aſhamed, or which they are afraid that others ſhould ſee or know. They ſhall then deſire the Hills for a vail, and the Rocks and Mountains for a covering to their ſhame,but in vain, for perpetual darkneſs ſhall be their habitation, and their preſent ſhame and confuſion of face ſhall then appear to be the harbinger or fore-runner of death.

CHAP. XIX.

ROMANS 6. 21.

What fruit had ye then in thoſe things whereof ye are now aſhamed? &c.

We are many wayes ingaged to ſerve God rather then to ſerve ſin, though ſin could afford us as much fruit and reward as God doth. But there is no proportion, no ground of Compariſon betwixt the fruits of ſin and the Gift of God. The Caſe ſtated betwixt the voluptuous ſenſual life and the life truly Chriſtian. Satans method; and Gods method. A Complaint of the neglect of Grace,

1. THe Scope of our Apoſtles whole diſcourſe in this Chapter is to deter us from the ſervice of ſin; and by the help of Superabounding Grace, and Hope of an exceeding great Reward, both to encourage and engage our beſt Endeavors unto the ſervice of God. His Motion or Argument was reaſonable, albeit ſin (or he that is the Author of ſin) were able to afford us as much fruit,or as full a recompence,as the ſervice of God doth.

There is no man amongſt us of this Church,I preſume, but doth abhor the Hereſie of the *Manichees*, which was in part this, *that we were beholding to another God for our bodies then unto Him which made our ſouls.* Yet if their abominable doctrine were (for diſputation ſake) ſuppoſed is *true:* We could not be by any right ſo ingaged unto the ſervice of this imaginary god, as unto the ſervice of the *True God*, which made our ſouls and doth purifie them by his Word and Sacraments: For we are not debters to the fleſh, but unto the God of the Spirits of all Fleſh we are. Debters indeed unto the only God which made both our bodies, and ſouls, and ſpirits: He may challenge our ſervice by double right.

Firſt, by the right of Creation; which we had ſhamefully violated by alienating our Allegeance unto his Enemy.

Secondly, by right of Redemption; for he that made us all, hath redeemed us all; and if we continue ſervants unto ſin, we do not only violate that antient or former *Bond* which we owed unto him by right of Creation, but that *ſecond Bond*, whereby we ſtand bound unto him by right of redemption. And tranſgreſſors we ſhould be, and moſt unthankful wretches, if we did not cheerfully and ſincerely betake our ſelves unto his ſervice, albeit the reward or recompence, which he hath promiſed and will perform, were but equal to the fruits or pleaſures of ſin.

Our ſervice is due to God upon ſeveral Titles.

But the truth is, that ſo far they are from all equality, that there is *No Proportion* between them. *The wages of ſin, are leſs then nothing, compared to the reward of righteouſneſs, which is more then all things elſe that can befall us.* For not to *Be* at all, never to have had any *Being*, were better then to ſuffer the death here meant: So that death and life, eſpecially everlaſting death and everlaſting life, cannot come into any Ballance. That which is worſe then *nothing*, or not Being (ſo is everlaſting death) cannot be compared with any thing that is Good, much leſs with the perfection of goodneſs (ſuch is everlaſting life) which containeth all goodneſs, whereof we can imagine our nature to be capable.

2. The only Compariſon then muſt be, between the ſervice of ſin and the ſervice of righteouſneſs, in reſpect of our preſent eſtate, or during the time of this mortal life. And ſo (if you mark it) our Apoſtle hath *Two Motives* to withdraw us from the ſervice of ſin; and *Two* to draw us to the ſervice of righteouſneſs.

The ſervice of ſin and Righteouſneſs compared in regard of this preſent Life.

The *firſt Motive* to withdraw us from the ſervice of ſin, is, that it is *fruitleſs* and *ſhameful* for the preſent.

The *Firſt Motive* again to ſway us unto the ſervice of righteouſneſs, is the *preſent fruit* which we have unto Holineſs, and between *theſe two* there may be ſome Compariſon, if we ſequeſter them from the other *two*, to wit, from life and death everlaſting.

To ſequeſter the ſervice of righteouſneſs altogether from the hope of everlaſting life; or the ſervice of ſin altogether from the fear of everlaſting death, is a thing, if not impoſſible, yet not warrantable, as was ſhewed before in the 10. Chapt. For thoſe things which God hath conjoyned man may not ſever. Yet we may ſo far ſever them, as God permitted them to be ſevered in the wiſer Heathen. The very Heathens felt a kind of Compunction or ſting of conſcience upon the commiſſion of groſſer ſins, which did ſuggeſt a kind of tacit fear, but of what evil to come they expreſly knew not. They had again a kind of joy, or grateful Teſtimony, or congratulation of ſpirit or conſcience upon the practiſe of things honeſt and comely: And this joy did kindle a ſecret hope or incouragement to go forwards in thoſe courſes; but it burſt not out into a flame, it wanted the light or guidance of divine truth. For both this *fear* and this *hope* they had without any expreſs *hope* of everlaſting life, or expreſs *fear* of everlaſting death. However the wiſer or more moderate ſort of them did prefer the practiſe of vertue or ſuch piety as they knew before the wonted pleaſures of this life.

See *Chapter* the tenth.

Yet this their greateſt *Philoſophers* did not do, without the Contradiction of ſuch as were given over to bodily pleaſures. And this oppoſition of ſenſual men may ſeem to have ſome Ground of Reaſon, even from the Rule of Faith it ſelf, if we had no more expreſs hopes of everlaſting life, or more diſtinct fear of everlaſting death, then they had.

For ſhall we not think that the eſtate of *Dives* was much better then the eſtate of *Lazarus* in this life, wherein *Dives* received pleaſure, and *Lazarus*, pain? Now pleaſure is much better then pain; And if ſuch a life as *Dives* here led, afforded pleaſure, how was it *Fruitleſs*, ſpecially in reſpect of *Lazarus* his life, which was full of pain? Indeed in reſpect of a life ſo charged with pain as *Lazarus*'s was, or with ſuch vexations and dangers as the life of Saint *Paul*, and other more eminent Saints of God in the primitive Church were: That Saying of our Apoſtle is moſt true, 1 *Cor.* 15. 19. *If in this life onely we have hope in Chriſt, then are we of all men moſt miſerable.* His meaning is; *That if bodily death might have put an unqueſtionable end to all the Controverſies betwixt him and his perſecutors, there had been no gain but loſs rather in the prolongation of his life.* But when men truly profeſſing *the power of Chriſtianity* may be devout, be religious, *be obedient* without danger of perſecution, the caſe is altered. So that our *Apoſtles ſaying* doth not concern the peaceable and proſperous eſtate of Chriſtians, but *the iniquity of thoſe times* and of ſuch Times as thoſe.

The emptineſs and vanity of ſinful pleaſures.

3. But we muſt conſider that there is a great deal of difference between *contradicting infidelity*, or expreſs denial of the ſouls immortality or the Reſurrection of the body, and ſuch an implicit or indiſtinct *notion* of ſome recompence for well-doing, and puniſhments for ill doings, as the wiſer Heathens did acknowledge. Such of them as conſtantly acknowledged but thus much, though not without interpoſition of ſome doubting or diſtruſting fits concerning the ſouls immortality, without any *notion* at all of the bodies Reſurrection, did fully accord with our Apoſtle in this place. *That the ſervice of ſin*, or (to ſpeak in their language) *a voluptuous life, was altogether Fruitleſs.* So the Roman Orator tells us. *Omnis voluptas pro nihilo putanda eſt, quod cum præterierit perinde ſit ac ſi nulla fuiſſet. All pleaſure is to be accompted as nothing worth, becauſe when it is once paſt, it is as if it had never been; that is, it leaves no fruit behind it: it is at the beſt but as a bloſſom or bud which withers or falls away before the fruit be ſet: and a bloſſom without hope of fruit is altogether fruitleſs, and of no eſteem.* Thus he ſpake of *Voluptas*, that is, of pleaſure of the body: but he alwayes mainteined the contrary concerning *Gaudium*, which we call the pleaſure or joy of the mind, or the *inward teſtimony of a good Conſcience.* In this Point, the ſame *Roman Orator* (with *Seneca* and divers other Heathen *Poets and Philoſophers*) did accord aſwell with *Solomon*, as in the other ſentence he did with St. *Paul*, to wit, *That a good conſcience was a continual Feaſt.* See the tenth Chapter of this Book. And See *Tullie de Finib. Lib.* 2. *& De Senectute. And his Paradoxes.*

4. But I know what a more diſſolute Heathen then *Tullie* was; or a voluptuous Chriſtian or carnal Goſpeller would at this day object; that they are acquainted with greater bodily pleaſures then the Heathen *Philoſophers* or preciſe *Chriſtians* have experience of; And for this reaſon will appeal from us as incompetent Judges. And I confeſs it is true! A diſſolute or voluptuous man whether Heathen or Chriſtian, oftimes enjoyes for a ſpace, ſome greater pleaſures of the fleſh, then any civil or modeſt man can do. And this was the miſery or ignorance of the beſt ſort of Heathens (which did excuſe them *a Tanto*, though

not *a Toto*;that is,in reſpect of us,not ſimply) in that they did not know or ſuſpect an inviſible Adverſary which deals with us as a *cunning Quackſalver*,or crafty *Mountebank*;one that ſecretly corrupts our dyet, and by degrees inſenſible brings many diſeaſes upon us, *That he may gain credit or eſteem by giving us ſome preſent eaſe or pleaſant remedy, though never any perfect cure.* And yet the Heathen *Philoſpher* had obſerved, that moſt of thoſe pleaſures of the body or fleſh,by which men are ſpecially drawn from the practiſe of vertue,or moral honeſty,were uſually apprehended, to be much greater then they truly were; both, becauſe moſt men look upon their faces or approaches in coming towards them; not upon their departure or back parts at their going away:and becauſe,*they are the remedies* or preſent abatements of ſome grievous diſeaſe,which it were much better not to have,then to ſtand in need of any medicine how pleaſant ſoever.

He that is cured of a deep wound or ſore,feels more eaſe or pleaſure when it growes toward the healing then he ſhould have done in that part if it had continued whole. Yet who would long for a wound to find ſuch eaſe and contentment?

He that is ſick of a burning feaver will take more pleaſure, for the time being,in drinking a cup of cold water; then a man in perfect health would do in a draught of the pleaſanteſt wine. Yet who would chuſe to be ſick to enjoy ſuch pleaſure? There is (I take it) no greater pleaſure of any ſenſe then cooling moiſture in the extremity of thirſt.But it is a greater miſery to be put unto this need or exigence. So is it with all diſſolute or voluptuous men.Take them for the preſent,as they are overgrown in diſſoluteneſs and intemperancy; and it is a great pleaſure for them to have their deſires ſatisfied:But *it is a kind of Hell in the mean time to be peſtered with ſuch deſires which are alwayes more permanent and more durable then their ſatisfactions,or contentments can be.* Beſides, that the eaſe and remedies which for the preſent they find,do in the iſſue increaſe and malignifie the nature of their diſeaſe.

And if they had been once acquainted with the true delight and pleaſures of a moderate and ſober life, they would loath their deſires as much as a man that knows what health is,would diſlike the momentany pleaſures of the ſick.

Gods Method, and Satans Practiſe.

5. That commendation which the Governor of the marriage feaſt of *Canaa in Galilee* did give the Bridegroom, in compariſon of ordinary Inn-keepers or wine-drawers in his time, may ſerve to ſet forth the difference between the ſervice of righteouſneſs, and the ſervice of ſin: or between the *contrary Method* which our Lord and maſter, and the prince of this world obſerve in rewarding their followers.*Every one* (ſaith the Governor of the feaſt,*John* 2.10.) *doth at the beginning ſet forth good wine,and when men have well drunk then that which is worſe.* This is the very picture or image of Satans practiſe: *But thou* (ſaith the ſame governour of the feaſt unto the Bridegroom) *haſt kept the good wine until now*: that is,until the cloſe of the feaſt.And this is the Type or Emblem of our Saviours *Method*.

To apply it more plainly. The Devil ſtill labours to glut men in their beſt dayes with the ſweeteſt pleaſures or contentments of the body: and when he hath made them drunk,or brought upon them an unquenchable thirſt or longing after the like,then he vents his ſnuffes or refuſe upon them, and plyes them untill they drink the very dregs of Gods wrath. *But our Saviour keeps his beſt fruits unto the laſt*, and by his firſt bleſſings doth but as it were prepare & qualifie our corrupted nature to be every day then other more capable of better. And as of Satans malice and miſchief, ſo of his mercy and goodneſs there is no end to ſuch as embrace them, untill they bring us to an endleſs and moſt bleſſed life.

Holineſs bitter in the root or beginning, but ſweet in the Fruit.

The beginnings of ſin are alwayes pleaſant, at leaſt, ſin puts us to no pain in producing the habit or cuſtome of it, becauſe it is *implanted in us by nature.* But that which one wittily ſaid of good Arts or learning, is moſt true of the ſervice of righteouſneſs. *Radices amaræ, fructus dulces.* The root or beginning of it is commonly unpleaſant, becauſe it cannot be ingrafted into our corrupted nature, but as it were by *inciſion*: but the growth of it is pleaſant, and the fruits to ſuch as are exerciſed therein, moſt ſweet and wholſome.

This is in effect the very ſame, that *Siracides* ſaith, (perhaps himſelf had experimented) *Ecclus.* 4.17. *At the firſt wiſdom will walk with a man by crooked wayes, and bring fear and dread upon him, and torment him with her diſciplin, until ſhe may truſt his ſoul, & try him by her Laws. Then will ſhe return the ſtraight way unto him, & comfort him, and ſhew him her ſecrets.*

For planting a firm Reſolution in us to endeavor the performance of thoſe duties, whereto our Apoſtle in this place exhorts us: It is an *excellent motive* which another Heathen *Philoſopher*, *Muſonius*, a Greek, as I take it, commended to his Scholars, (and *Cato* urged the ſame to his ſouldiers at *Numania*) *If* (ſaith he) *you beſtow your pains in the ſtudy of virtue and goodneſs, the pains will go away as faſt as they come, but the virtue or goodneſs will abide with you: But if you take delight or pleaſure in that which is evil, the pleaſure will vaniſh, the evil will habituate it ſelf, and incorporate it ſelf in your nature from which it may be more eaſily repelled, then ejected after it hath taken poſſeſſion.*

See *A. Gellius* lib.16.cap. 1.

Now to review honeſt pains or labors paſt, is a thing grateful to our memory; a good fruit in it ſelf of labors paſt, if they were not otherwiſe fruitful. But the regretting remembrance of time miſ-ſpent in the purſuit of fruitleſs or unlawful pleaſures, is irkſome, is tedious, is loathſome, even to corrupted nature. Thus far and further ſome of the Heathens did run parallel with our Apoſtle in this place. What manner of men then may we think theſe *Philoſophers* would have proved as well in *practiſe* as *ſpeculation?* if their ſpeculations had been ſeaſoned or ballanced (as ours are) either with the certain hope of everlaſting life by perſeverance in well-doing, or with fear of an everlaſting death for continuance in doing evil; And yet we ſay that even the beſt works, the beſt endeavors and ſpeculations of theſe Heathens, were but *ſplendida peccata, more neat and handſome ſins.* God grant that moſt of our own works or ſpeculations may prove much better.

6. Whilſt I compare the induſtry of theſe Heathen *Philoſophers*, in imploying thoſe poor Talents which were beſtowed upon them, with the ſluggiſh and decrepit temper of this age, wherein the plentiful revelation of Divine truth, to them unknown, becomes but barren: methinks the *Epigrammatiſts* Caſe might be a fit Emblem for the world as it ſtood affected, whilſt civility aud good literature were but young, and as it is now diſpoſed, whilſt it hath all experience and helps of former ages. The Tenor of the *Epigrammatiſt's* complant was thus.

Pauper eram juvenis, ſenio confectus inerti
Sum locuples; miſerè ſorte in utraq; miſer.

Whilſt I was young and able to enjoy the contentments which wealth affords my fortunes were mean and my eſtate but poor: But now wealth is fallen upon me when I have one foot in the grave, and know no uſe of it: So that in both ages, in both Fortunes I am a miſerable man.

But why the revelations of Divine Truth are ſo plentiful in this dull, this old and ſleepy age of the world, which will not make right uſe of them, when as they were ſo rare and ſcant in thoſe times and Nations which in all humane probability would have uſed them much better: this is a depth or *Abyſſus* which may not be dived into. Only this we are bound to believe in General; that the only wiſe immortal God, whoſe Judgements are unſearchable, and his wayes paſt finding out, hath reaſons *in themſelves moſt juſt*, though known to himſelf alone, why he thus diſpenſeth his bleſſings: and ſuch reaſons as ſhall appear not only moſt juſt, but moſt admirable unto us, when we ſhall know, as we are known.

Our fruitleſneſs in Holineſs to be imputed only to our own ill uſe of the Talent of Grace given us.

7. If in the mean time our Conſciences tell us, that we our ſelves; or common report informs us, that many of our brethren fall ſhort, not of our calling only, but even of thoſe Heathens in the knowledge or practiſe of many moral duties required of both; let us not make the *final Reſolution* of this defect into the Eternal and *Irreſiſtible Decree*, or into the want of means of Grace for doing either better or leſs amiſs, then we do. For even thoſe Heathens which had not half the ordinary means, nor any portion of theſe ſpecial gifts which we have received, did much better then moſt of us do. Oh ſay not! oh think not! *That even this want of Grace or neglect, or ill imployment of thoſe talents which God hath given us, are to be imputed either to* Adam's Fall, *or our pollution in him.* Adam's Fall *indeed was the only Cauſe why we ſtood in need of Grace or means extraordinary for our recovery: but neither His* Fall, *nor any* Preterition *of our perſons or individuals which have fallen in him, are either the only or the principal cauſe, why we are deſtitute of that meaſure of Grace, which is not, but ſhould be in us; or of our preſent unbelief or misbelief.*

The true Cauſe of all theſe, is, Our non-imployment, *or miſimployment of our Talent, which we have received in Baptiſm; or our abuſe of that favour or mercy which God for his part in Baptiſm ſincerely hath plighted unto us.*

But now that we have not only ſhamefully Broke, but almoſt perpetually broken *That Vow* which we made to God in baptiſm, are we in the ſame eſtate that *Adam* was? Or is this Covenant no better then that which God made with him? Yes: He had no promiſe of being renewed by repentance, if he ſhould fall from his firſt eſtate. The *firſt Covenant* being once broken was not to be renewed, but a *ſecond* to come in its place; And into this *Covenant* we entred by baptiſm. And though the Sacrament of Baptiſm or the viſible ſign of it may not be iterated, yet the Aſtipulation or anſwer of a good conſcience to God may and ought to be renewed, and at no time more fitly or opportunely then at the receiving of the Sacrament of Chriſts body and blood.

One *ſpecial Uſe of this Sacrament* in the primitive Church (in the times of perſecution) was to reſume or ratifie the Vow made in baptiſm, as appears by *Pliny the ſecond*, who had the Chriſtians in *Bithynia* in examination upon the meaning or intent of this *Sacrament*. For the *very name of it* was ſuſpitious to the *Roman* State. And that very *Preparation* which is required of all which mean to be partakers of the Sacrament may be reduced to theſe *Three Heads*.

Plin. Epiſt. lib. 10. Ep. 97.

Three Heads of preparation to the holy Sacrament.

Firſt, To arraign, accuſe and judge our ſelves, for our former frequent neglect of our *Vow in baptiſm*.

Secondly, To requeſt *Abſolution* and pardon of God, which no man humbly and ſeriouſly doth, but he ſolemnly Promiſeth amendment of what is paſt.

Thirdly, To implore the ſpecial aid or aſſiſtance of Gods Spirit for better performance of our *Vow* and of what we now promiſe. And all this only for the merits of Chriſt, and through the efficacy of his *Body* and *Blood*. I will conclude with that of the *Pſalmiſt*. *Vovete, & vota reddite Jehovæ.*

CHAP. XX.

ROMANS 6. 21.

——21. *For the end of thoſe things is Death.*
——23. *For the wages of ſin is Death.*

The firſt and ſecond Death *Both literally meant*, The wages of Sin. *Both deſcribed, Both compared, and ſhewed, How and wherein the* Second *Death exceeds the* Firſt. *The greater deprivation of Good, the worſe and more unwelcome death is. Every member of the Body, every faculty of the Soul the* Seat and Subject *of the* Second Death. *A Map and Scale: The Surface and Solidity, of the* Second Death. *Pain improved, by* inlarging the capacity of the Patient, *and by* intending *or* advancing *the* activity of the Agent. Three Dimenſions *of the ſecond Death:* 1. Intenſiveneſe. 2. Duration. 3. *Un-intermitting* Continuation *of Torment.* Pœna Damni & Senſus, *Terms Co-incident. Pains of the Damned* Eſſential *and* Accidental. *Juſt to puniſh momentany ſin with pain eternal. The reflection and revolution of thoughts upon the ſinners folly*, The Worm of Conſcience.

1. DEath and life have the ſame *Seat and Subject*. Nothing dieth unleſs it firſt live: and *Death* in the general is *an extinction of life*. *Death* in Scripture is *two wayes taken*.

Firſt, For bodily Death, which is the *firſt death*.

Secondly, For the Death of both Body and Soul, which is called the *Second Death*.

Both are are here literally meant, both are the wages of ſin.

The *former Death* is common to all; excepting ſuch of the Godly as ſhall be found alive at Chriſts coming to Judgment; they ſhall not die but be changed.

Of Bodily Death or the First Death.

Firſt then of *bodily death*; and *ſecondly* of *ſupernatural* or the ſecond *death*, and wherein it exceedeth the firſt death.

The Oppoſition between *bodily death* and *bodily life* is meerly privative; ſuch as is between light and darkneſs, or between ſight and blindneſs. And this death muſt be diſtinguiſhed according to the degrees of life of which it is the privation.

Of life the degrees be three. The firſt of meer *Vegetables*, as of trees, of plants, of herbs, or whatſoever is capable of growth or nouriſhment. The *ſecond* is of Creatures indued with ſenſe. The *third* is the *life of man*, who beſides ſenſe, is endued with reaſon. The reaſonable life includes the ſenſitive, as the ſenſitive doth the life vegetable. Whatſoever bodily creature is endowed with reaſon is likewiſe endowed with ſenſe. But many things which are endowed with ſenſe are uncapable of reaſon. And again, what creature ſoever it be which is partaker of the *life ſenſitive*, is partaker likewiſe of *vegetation*, of growth or nouriſhment. But many things which are nouriſhed and grow, as trees, herbs, plants, graſs and corn, are uncapable of the life ſenſitive; and yet even theſe are ſaid to die, as they properly do when their nutriment fails. But albeit the firſt beginning of mans life in the womb be only *vegetative*, not *ſenſible* or *reaſonable*, yet no man dieth according to this kind of death only. For ſuch as fall into an *Atrophie* (which is a kind of death or privation of the nutritive faculty;) yet are they not to be accounted as dead ſo long as they have the uſe of any ſenſe, no nor after they be deprived of all outward ſenſes: ſo long as their hearts do move, or their lungs ſend out breath. So that *the bodily death of man includes a privation of ſenſe and motion.* This difference again may be obſerved in the degrees of bodily death.

2. Trees and *vegetables* alwayes die without pain, ſo do not man and beaſt. For that both of them are endowed with ſenſe and motion, both of them are capable of pain. And pain if it be continued and extream draws ſenſitive death after it. Nor can this death approach or find entrance into the ſeat of life but by pain. And in as much as this kind of life is ſweet, death which is the deprivation of it, is alwayes unpleaſant and terrible unto man; not only in reſpect of the pain which uſhers it in, but in reſpect of the loſs of vital ſweetneſs which it brings with it. The pains of dying may be as great in beaſts as in man; ſo is not the loſs of that goodneſs which is contained in life; for reaſonleſs creatures perceive it not. A memory they have of pains paſt, a ſenſe or feeling of pains preſent, and a fear of death, when it approacheth. But no fore-thought or reckoning of what follows after death. This is proper to the reaſonable creature. Now this *Fore-thought* of what may follow after, makes death more bitter to man, then it can be to reaſonleſs creatures. And amonſt men, the more or greater the contentments of life have been, and the better they are provided for the continual ſupply of ſuch contentments, the more grievous is the conceipt or fore-thought of death natural unto them. The ſummons of death are uſually more unwelcome to a man in perfect health, then to a craſed body. So it is to a man of wealth and credit, more then to one of a forlorn eſtate or broken fortunes. So ſaith *Eccleſiaſticus, Chap.* 41. 1. *O death! how bitter is the remembrance of thee to a man that liveth at reſt in his Poſſeſſions? unto the man that hath nothing to vex him, and that hath proſperity in all things? yea, unto him that is yet able to receive meat?*

Yet is not the loſs of life, of ſenſe, or the foregoing of worldly contentments the *only cauſe* why men naturally fear death. For though it deprive them of all theſe, yet doth not the death of man conſiſt in this deprivation. The body loſeth all theſe by the divorce which death makes betwixt it and the ſoul. But ſeeing the ſubſtance of the ſoul ſtill remains: the greateſt fear which can poſſeſs a natural man, is the future doubtful eſtate of the ſoul after this diſſolution. Many which never hoped or expected any re-union or ſecond marriage between the ſoul and body, after death had once divorced them, had yet a true *notion* that the ſoul did not die with the body: and out of this conceit ſome were more afraid of death then any brutiſh or reaſonleſs creature can be.

Deſire of death or ſelf *Homicide.*

Some other few became as deſirous of it, as Priſoners, which hope to ſcape, are of a *Gaol delivery*; and thought it a great freedom (eſpecially in their diſcontented melancholy paſſion) to have the keys of this mortal priſon in their own keeping, to be able to let their ſouls and life out at their pleaſure. But though it be univerſally true, that the corruptible body during the time of this life, is but a walking priſon, or moveable cage unto the immortal ſoul; yet the ſoul being long accuſtomed to this priſon, doth naturally chuſe to continue in it ſtill, rather then to be uncertain, whither to repair after it go hence.

That ſome Heathens have taken upon them to let their ſouls out of their bodies before the time appointed by courſe of nature, or doom given upon them by their ſupream Judge: This was but ſuch a deluſion of Sathan, as one man ſomtimes in malice puts upon another. For ſo oft-times a ſecret enemy or falſe friends hath perſwaded others to break the priſon whereto they were upon preſumption rather then on evidence of any *notorious fact* committed, to make them by this means unqueſtionably liable unto the puniſhment of death, which without ſuch an eſcape they might have eſcaped. For any man wittingly & willingly to ſeparate the ſoul and body which God hath joyned, is *A damnable preſumption*, an uſurpation of God's own office or Authority.

To ſollicit or ſue for a divorce betwixt them is not ſafe for any, ſave only for ſuch as have *Good Aſſurance* or probable hopes; that when they are diſſolved they ſhall be with Chriſt. Now the ſouls of ſuch as dye in him, have no deſire to return unto the former priſon of the body. But ſuch as have not in this life been eſpouſed unto him, would chuſe rather to remain in, or to return unto, their former priſon then to be held in cuſtody by their ſpritual enemies. Their eſtate for the preſent is worſe then the ſufferance of bodily death: being charged, both with perpetual ſufferance and expectation to ſuffer the ſecond death.

Of the ſecond Death wherein it exceeds the Firſt.

3. And this death differs more from the *Firſt death* then *inter numerandum*; that is, more then in order of accompt, or rank of place. What then is not the ſecond death a privation of life? Yes; it is all this, and ſomewhat more beſides. Every vice includes a privation of the contrary virtue, and is a great deal worſe then want of virtue. So every ſickneſs includes a privation of ſome branch of health, and is much worſe then a *Neutrality*, or middle temper (if any ſuch there be) between health and ſickneſs. So doth the *Second death* include an extream contrariety to life and all the contentments of it. Blindneſs is a meer privation of ſight; and the eye which cannot ſee is dead in reſpect of this branch of life, and this death or deprivation of this ſenſe is only matter of loſs. The eye or ſubject of ſight (oft-times) after the loſs of ſight, ſuffers no pain; no more doth the ear after it becomes deaf: nor the ſenſe of feeling after it be numm'd. A man ſtricken with the palſie feels no ſmart in that part which it poſſeſſeth. Whilſt any part of our body is ſenſible of pain, it is an argument that it is yet alive, not quite dead: And yet is all pain rather a branch of death, then of life. For much better it were to dy the firſt death then to live continually in deadly pain. No man but would be willing to looſe a tooth, rather then to have it perpetually tormented with the tooth-ach. Now the *ſecond death* is no other then a perpetual living unto deadly pain or torture.

Bodily death, or *not being*, is not ſo much worſe then life natural with all its contentments, as the *ſecond death*, is worſe then *the firſt*, or the bodily pains which can accompany it. The parts or branches of the *firſt death* are altogether as many as the parts of life natural. The ſeat or *ſubject of the ſecond* death is larger. There is no member of the body or faculty of the ſoul, whether ſenſitive or rational, which becomes not the ſeat or ſubject of the ſecond death. *As this death is the wages of ſin, ſo it is for* Extention *commenſurable unto the* body of ſin. Now there is no part or faculty in man which in this life hath been free from ſin: And whatſoever part or faculty hath in this life been polluted with ſin, becomes the ſeat and dwelling place of *the ſecond death*. Whereſoever ſin did enter, it did enter but as an *Harbinger* to take up ſo many *ſeveral Rooms* for that death. Who is he that can ſay, that luſt hath not ſometimes entred in at the eye? that the ſeeds of luſt, of envy, of murther, and of other ſins have not taken poſſeſſion of the ear; that his tongue or taſte hath not given entertainment to ryot gluttony and exceſs in meat and drink? That his ſenſe of ſmell hath not been ſometimes a pander to theſe and the like exorbitances? And *the other fifth or groſs ſenſe of Touch is as the common bed of ſin*; for it ſpreads it ſelf throughout all the reſt, and is the foundation of every other external ſenſe.

4. To give you then *a true map of the ſecond death*, and more then a Map of it, or of their eſtate that are ſubject unto it, we cannot exhibit The *Map* with the true *ſcale* for meaſuring the *Region of death* with the miſerable eſtate of its inhabitants, is thus.

Nature and common *Experience* afford us *theſe general un-erring Rules.*

A double Reaſon of the vehemency of pain or torment in the ſecond death.

That, *all pain and grief are improved by one of theſe two means; or by both.*

As *Firſt*, by enlarging the capacity of every ſenſe or faculty which is capable of pain or diſcontent. *Secondly*, by the vehemency or violence of the object or agent which makes the impreſſion upon the paſſive ſenſe or capacity..

One and the ſame *Agent* aſwell for quality, as for intention of its active force, doth not make the ſame impreſſion upon different ſubjects though both capable of impreſſion. As one and the ſame flame and ſteam of fire hath not one and the ſame effect on iron, ſteel, and wax; though all of them be in the ſame diſtance from it. *Quicquid recipitur, recipitur ad modum recipientis:* How powerful ſoever any *Agent* be, the *Patient* can receive or retein no more of its power then it is capable of. Again, how capable ſoever the *Patient* be of any violent impreſſion: yet the capacity of it, is not filled unleſs the force of the Agent be proportionable unto it. And though it be able to receive never ſo much; yet it is true again, *Nihil dat quod non habet, nec plus dat quam habet:* No creature, no *Agent* whatſoever, can beſtow any greater meaſure whether of good or evil, whether of pain or pleaſure, then is conteined within the ſphere of its activity.

From theſe unqueſtionable *Principles* this *Univerſal Concluſion* will undoubtedly follow: *That all exceſs, or full meaſure of pain, of grief, or woe, of every branch of* malum pœnæ, *muſt amount from the improved capacity of the ſenſe or faculty, which receives impreſſion, and from the ſtrength and potency of the Object which makes the impreſſion.*

5. There is no human body which is not by nature capable of the *Gout*; yet ſuch as are accuſtomed to courſer fare, to moderate dyet, and hard labour, are leſs capable of this diſeaſe then ſuch as cheriſh and pamper the ſenſe of taſte and touching. What is the reaſon; Daintineſs of diet improves the capacity of the ſenſe of feeling, and makes it more tender, and ſo more apt to receive the impreſſion of noiſom humours, and the ſame daintineſs or exceſs of delicate fare, is more apt and forcible to to breed plenty of forcible and peircing humours, then courſer fare or moderate dyet is. For the ſame reaſon, he, whoſe ſenſe of ſmelling, or taſt, is by natural diſpoſition of Body or by accuſtomance, more ſubtle or accurate will be more offended with loathſome ſmells and naſty food then he which hath the ſame ſenſes, by a natural diſpoſition, more dull, or more diſ-uſed from delicate odours, or dainty meats. And a muſical ear accuſtomed to melodious conſorts, will be more diſpleaſed with jarring or diſcording ſounds, then he which hath the ſame ſenſe of hearing unpoliſhed by Art, or accuſtomed to ruder noiſes. The

more accurate a mans ſight is by natural diſpoſition, or the more inſight a man hath in the Art of limning or painting, or the more accuſtomed he is to view freſh colours and proportions, the more impatient he is to behold unſightly Objects or deformed proſpects. And according to the increaſe of unſightlineſs or uglineſs in the object, his offence, or grief doth ſtill grow and increaſe. The *Rule then is general, That the diſcontent, the grief or pain of every one of the five outward ſenſes, ſtill accrues from the capacity or aptitude of the ſenſe to receive ingrateful impreſſions : And from the potency or efficacy of the Agent to make ſuch impreſſions.*

The ſame Rule holds as true in our internal faculties or ſenſes. A man by natural diſpoſition of immoderate appetite for meat and drink is far more tormented with the ſame want of them, then a moderate or leſs greedy appetite is. And this ſenſe, which is *none of the five*, hath this peculiar property, that it is tormented with its own Capacity, without any agent or object to inflict pain upon it. The meer want of food is more grievous to it, then any poſitive pain that can befal it, by any external Agents.

To a man (again) of a curious Phanſie or accurate Judgment, an ignorant or ſlovenly diſcourſe, is more unpleaſant, then to an illiterate man; or to one of duller capaciy for wit.

To an ambitious or popular man, the leaſt touch of diſ-eſteem or jealouſie of diſreſpect, is more bitter then an open affront or diſgrace unto an honeſt upright heart which looks no way but one, to that which *leads* to truth and honeſty. And he that labors to improve this appetite of honour or popular eſteem, doth but ſollicit the multiplication of his own woes. For ſeeing *Honor eſt in Honorante*, honor is ſeated in them that do the honor, not in them that are honored, ſeeing popular applauſe depends upon the breath of the multitude, the man that ſets his mind upon it, doth but as one that expoſeth his naked body to the laſh or ſcourge, or at the beſt to others courteſie. A man that much mindeth his gain, and hath his ſenſes exerciſed in cunning bargainings, takes the loſs of opportunity or fair advantage to increaſe his wealth, more deeply to heart, then another man whoſe mind is weaned from the world doth his very want or penury. So that, though the want or loſs of the one be much greater then the others : yet the Capacity of his appetite or deſire of gain is much leſs, and therefore no way ſo apt to receive the impreſſion of diſcontentment or grief from the ſame occurrences or occaſions which torment the other.

6. *Now to put all theſe together*; Let us ſuppoſe one and the ſame man to be immoderately deſirous of worldly honours and riches: And by this means of an extraordinary Capacity for receiving all thoſe parts of grief or ſorrow, which can accrue from loſs of goods, from contempt, diſgrace and ſcorn; and yet withall, as capable of, and as much inclined to, all the pleaſures of bodily ſenſes, whereby his Capacity of pain or torture may be improved to the uttermoſt. Let us alſo ſuppoſe or imagine the ſame man to be daily expoſed to all the temptations, to all the vexations that his bodily ſenſes or internal faculties are capable of, from the occurrences or impreſſions of objects moſt ingrateful; as to be daily cheated, daily diſgraced, to have his eyes filled with ghaſtly ſights, his eares with hideous noiſes, his ſmell cloyed with loathſome ſavours, and his taſt vexed with bitter and unpleaſant meats, or rather poiſon which cannot be digeſted; and his ſenſe of touch daily infeſted with deadly pain; his appetite of meat and drink daily tormented with hunger and thirſt *And from a man in this woful eſtate and piteous plight, we may take the* ſurface or

firſt dimenſion of the ſecond death, but not the *Thickneſs* or *Solidity* of it. *That* we muſt gather thus; *firſt by Negatives.* How capable ſoever a mans bodily ſenſes may be of pain or pleaſure, or his internal faculties of joy or ſorrow: yet it is generally true in this life; *Vehemens ſenſibile corrumpit ſenſum:* The vehemency or exceſſive ſtrength of the Agent or ſenſible Object doth corrupt or dead the ſenſe. Huge noiſes, though in their nature not hideous, or for quality not diſpleaſing, will breed a deafneſs in the ear. And though light be the moſt grateful object that the eye can behold: yet the too much gazing upon it, or the admiſſion of too much of it into the eye will ſtrike it with blindneſs. Long accuſtomance unto dainty meats doth dull the taſte and take away the appetite. Likewiſe too much cold, or too much heat, doth either diſſolve or benum the ſenſe of feeling: and a man may looſe not the ſmelling onely, but even the *common ſenſe*, or Animal Faculty by ſtrong perfumes, much more by loathſome and abominable ſmells. There is not one of the five outward ſenſes, but if its proper object be too violent, or too vehement, may let in death to all the reſt. A man may be killed without a wound; either at the eye, or at the ear; at the noſe, or at the mouth: ſo he may be by the ſenſe of hunger or thirſt, without any weapon or poiſon, only by meer want of food. The *Gangrene* (or other like diſeaſe which works only upon the ſenſe of touch or feeling) brings many to an end without any forraign enemy. Some have died a miſerable death by cloſe impriſonment in a naſty priſon, without violence to any other ſenſe ſave only to the ſenſe of ſmelling. Many have died of ſurfets, though of delicate, and in their kind, wholſome meats. *Regulus* that famous Roman Senator did die as miſerable a death, as his enemies could deviſe againſt him, without any other inſtrument of cruelty, beſides the force or ſtrength of the moſt grateful object, which the eye can behold; that is, of the ſun: unto whoſe ſplendant beams his eyes were expoſed without the maſk or ſhelter of his ey-lids, which his cruel enemies (for increaſing his pain and lingring torture) had cut off.

Others again, which wanted no contentment either of the outward or internal ſenſes, have died through meer grief and ſorrow, firſt conceived, either from loſs of goods or friends; or for fear of diſgrace and ſhame; and ſome through exceſſive and ſuddain joy. So that in this life, it is univerſally true, and undoubtedly experienced in all the bodily ſenſes; and moſt other faculties of the ſoul: *Nullum violentum eſt Perpetuum.* There is no grief, no pain or ſorrow, whether inflicted by external Agents; or whether it breeds within us, or be hatched by the reflection of our own thoughts upon others wrongs, or our own overſights or miſdeeds; but if it be violent, or exceſſive, it becomes like a raging flame, which both devours the ſubject whereon it exerciſeth its efficacie, and puts an end to its own *Being*, by deſtroying that fuel which fed it.

The duration or Eternity of the *ſecond death* and pains of it.

7. This then is the property of the *ſecond death*, and the miſerable condition of ſuch as muſt receive the wages of ſin; That after the Reſurrection of the body; the capacity, aſwell of the bodily ſenſes, as of other faculties, are ſo far improved, ſo far inlarged; that no extremity of any external Agent, no virulency of any diſeaſe which breeds within them, no ſtrength of imagination or Reflection upon what they have in time paſt fooliſhly done, or what they ſuffer for the preſent, or may juſtly fear hereafter, can either diſſolve or weaken their paſſive capacities or ſtrength to indure the like. *Every faculty becomes more durable then an* Anvil *to receive all the blows that can be faſtned upon them*, and all the impreſſions how violent ſoever which in this life would

in an inſtant diſſolve or dead them. So that *the ſecond death*, as is ſaid before, is *a life or vivacity* continually to ſuſtain deadly pains.

The Dimenſions of this death may be deduced to theſe three heads.

Firſt to the *intenſiveneſs of the pain or grief*, which is more extream then any man in this life can ſuffer, becauſe the capacities of every ſenſe or paſſive faculty are in a manner infinitely inlarged; and ſo is the ſtrength or violence of external Agents, and *the ſting of conſcience* or perplexed thoughts wonderfully increaſed.

Secondly, to the duration of all thoſe puniſhments, for it is a death everlaſting.

Laſtly to the unceſſant perpetuity of theſe everlaſting pains; for they are not inflicted by fits, but without all intermiſſion though but for a moment. There is not an ill day and a good, not an ill hour and a good, not an ill minute and a good, not an ill moment and a good, in hell; All times are extreamly evil; variety of torments bread no eaſe. Thus much appeared by the *Parable of the rich glutton*, who could not obtain ſo much of *Abraham* as a drop of water to cool his tongue; which if it had been granted could not have effected any intermiſſion or interciſion of pain, nor any abatement, for the preſent, which would not have inraged the flame as much in the next moment. So that ſuch as ſuffer the *ſecond death* know not how to aſk any thing for their good, becauſe indeed nothing can do them any good, but all things, even their own wiſhes conſpire unto their harm, and increaſe their wo and miſery.

8. Some, taking occaſion from this *Parable* have moved a queſtion, not much neceſſary; *whether the fire of hell be material fire or no*; that is, ſuch as may palpably or viſibly ſcorch the body, and torment the outward ſenſes. Sometimes this fire is deſcribed by a flame, as in the *Parable* of the rich glutton; ſometimes by the blackneſs of darkneſs, as in Saint *Jude*. It is not the flame or viſibility of this fire which argues it to be material; the flame is leaſt material in our fire. And palpable it may be though not viſible; But with this queſtion I will not meddle, being impoſſible to be determined without ſight or experience, which God grant we never have. It ſhall ſuffice therefore in brief to ſhew, how this fire, or rather the pains of the ſecond death are decyphered or diſplayed in Scripture.

Now, As the joys of Heaven are ſet forth unto us under ſuch *Emblemes* or repreſentations, as are viſible or known unto us; and yet we do not believe that they are formally or properly ſuch as theſe ſhadows or pictures repreſent, but rather eminently contain the greateſt joyes that by theſe repreſentations we can conceive or imagine: So we are bound to believe, That the pains of Hell, are at leaſt, either properly and formally ſuch as the Scripture deſcribes them to be, or more extream and violent, then if they were ſuch as the characters which the holy Ghoſt hath put upon them, do without *Metaphor* import or ſignifie. More extream they are then fleſh and blood in this life could endure for a minute; For as fleſh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of Heaven: ſo neither can they endure or inherit the kingdom of Satan: there muſt be a change of this corruptible nature before it be capable of theſe everlaſting pains. So much the deſcription of it in holy Scripture doth import.

See M. *Mede* on *Pro.* 21.16. *Of the valley of Rephaim.*

The firſt, and that a *Terrible deſcription of it*, is, *Eſai.*30.33. *Tophet is ordained of old, yea for the King it is prepared; the pile thereof is fire and much wood, the breath of the Lord like a ſtream of brimſtone doth kindle it.* The like, but more terrible hath Saint *John*, *Rev.* 20. 10. *The Devil that deceived them was caſt into the lake of fire and brimſtone, where* *the Beaſt and the falſe Prophet are, and ſhall be tormented day and night for ever and ever:* and as he adds *ver.* 14. *This lake of fire is the ſecond death.* And Saint *Jude* tells us that, *The deſtruction, of* Sodom *and* Gomorrah, *and the cities about them, is ſet forth as an example, or type of this eternal fire*; that is, ſuch fearful torments as that people ſuffered for a moment, the damned ſhall ſuffer in hell eternally. The ruines of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, and the dead ſea or brimſtone Lake, wherein, neither fiſh nor other creature liveth, was left unto all future ages, to ſerve as a map or picture of that lake of fire and brimſtone which Saint *John* mentions, that is, of Hell. Now the very ſteam of ſuch a Lake would ſtifle or torment fleſh and blood to death in a moment; the outward ſenſes are not capable of its firſt impreſſions.

9. Some *School-men* have moved *A more pertinent Queſtion, whether this puniſhment of ſenſe* (which (or the inſtrumental mean of which) is thus deſcribed unto us, by a Lake of fire and brimſtone) *be greater or leſs then the Pœna damni*; that is, Whether their impriſonment or confinement to Hell, and their ſubjection to tormenting Fiends, be worſe then their Excluſion out of Heaven, and the perpetual loſs of Gods joyful preſence. The moſt *Reſolve*; That *Pœna damni*, the loſs of Gods preſence is *of the two, the worſe*. And certain it is, that it cannot be leſs; ſeeing, that, *Everlaſting Life*, which is *The Gift of God*, and Crown of Holineſs, is, at the leaſt, ſo much better, as the *ſecond death* or pains of hell are worſe, then this mortal life. But, if I miſtake not, the *Members* of this Diſtinction concerning *the puniſhment of loſs*, and *the puniſhment of ſenſe by pain*, are not altogether *Oppoſite*, but *Co-incident*, The very conceit or remembrance of this infinite loſs, and of their folly in procuring it, cannot but breed an inſufferable meaſure of grief and ſorrow unto the damned, which will be fully equivalent to all their bodily pain. And this fretting remembrance, and perpetual reflection upon the folly of their former wayes, is, as I take it, *That Worm of Conſcience* that never dies. But of this hereafter.

Pœna damni and *Senſus* Terms ſubordinate.

The miſerable eſtate of the damned, or ſuch as ſhall ſuffer the *ſecond* death, may be reduced to theſe *two Heads*: to *Puniſhment Eſſential*, or to *Puniſhment Accidental* or concomitant. The *Eſſential Puniſhment* comprehends both *Pœna damni*, and *Pœna ſenſus*: The poſitive pains of that brimſtone Lake; and the *Worm of Conſcience* which gnaweth upon their ſouls. The *Puniſhment Accidental* or concomitant, is that *Loathſomneſs of the Region* or place wherein they are tormented, and of *their Companions* in theſe torments.

In this life, that *Saying* is generally true:

Solamen miſeris Socios habuiſſe doloris.

It is alwayes ſome comfort to have Conſorts in our pain or diſtreſs. But this *Saying* is out of date in the Region of death; the more there be that ſuffer theſe pains, the leſs comfort there is to every one in particular. For there is no concord or conſort, but perpetual diſcord, which is alwaies ſo much greater, by how much the parties diſcording are more in number: And to live in continual diſcord, though with but ſome few, is a kind of Hell on earth. And thus much in brief of the *ſecond death*, wherein it exceeds the *Firſt*.

10. If any one that ſhall read this ſhould but ſuſpect or fear that God had inevitably ordained him unto this death, or created him to no better end then to the day of wrath: This very cogitation could not but much abate his love towards God, *Whom no man can truly love*, unleſs he be firſt perſwaded, That *God is good and loving, not towards his Elect only*

but toward all men, towards himſelf in particular. But this opinion of *Abſolute Reprobation*, or ordination to the day of wrath, I pray may never enter into any mans brains.

But fleſh and blood, though not polluted with *this Opinion*, will, if not repine and murmur, yet perhaps demur a while upon another Point more queſtionable, to wit; *How it may ſtand with the Juſtice of the moſt righteous Judge to recompence the pleaſures of ſin in this life, which is but ſhort, with ſuch exquiſite and everlaſting torments in the life to come*: Specially ſeeing the pleaſures of ſin are but tranſient, neither enjoyed nor purſued but by interpoſed *Fits*, whereas the torments of that Lake are unceſſantly perpetual, and admit no intermiſſion.

The uſual *Anſwer* to this *Quære* is: That every ſin deſerves a puniſhment infinite, as being committed againſt an infinite Majeſty. But ſeeing this anſwer hath no ground or warrant from the *Rule of Faith*, in which neither the *Maxim* it ſelf is expreſly contained, nor can *it* be deduced thence by any good Conſequence; we may examine it by the *Rule of Reaſon.* Now by the *Rule of Reaſon* and proportion, the puniſhment due to offences *as committed againſt an infinite Majeſty*; ſhould not be puniſhment *infinite for time* and duration, but *infinite for quality* or extremity of pain whiles it continues. If every minute of ſinful pleaſures in this world ſhould be recompenced with a thouſand years of Hell-pains, this might ſeem rigorous and harſh to be conceived of him, that is, as infinite in Goodneſs as in Greatneſs, as full of Mercy as of Majeſty. But whatſoever our thoughts or wayes be, *his wayes we know are equal and juſt*; moſt equal, *not in themſelves only*, but even *unto ſuch* as in ſobriety of ſpirit conſider them.

See *Chap.* 4. *Sect.* 15. And *Attrib.* 1. *part.* & 2. *part.*

But wherein doth the equality of his wayes or juſtice appear, when he recompenceth the momentany pleaſures of ſin with ſuch unſpeakable everlaſting torments? It appears in this: *That he ſentenceth no creatures unto ſuch endleſs pains, but only ſuch as he had firſt ordained unto an endleſs life: ſo much better at leaſt then this bodily and mortal life, as the ſecond death is worſe then it.* Adam *had an immortal life (as a pledge or earneſt of an eternal life) in poſſeſſion; and had not loſt it either for himſelf or us, if he had not wilfully declined unto the wayes of death, of which the righteous Judge had fore-warned him. Now when life and death are ſo ſet before us, as that* Hold *is given us of life; to recompence the wilful choice of death with death it ſelf, this is moſt equal and juſt.* And if the righteous Lord had ſentenced our firſt Parents unto the *ſecond death* immediately upon their firſt tranſgreſſion, his ſentence had been but juſt and equal; their deſtruction had been from themſelves. Yet, as all this had been no more then juſt, ſo it had been leſs then juſtice moderated or rather over-ruled by mercy. Now inſtead of executing juſtice upon our firſt Parents, the righteous Lord did immediately promiſe a gratious redemption; and as one of the *Antients* ſaid, *Fœlix peccatum quod talem meruit Redemptorem*, is was a happy ſin which gave occaſion of the promiſe of ſuch a Redeemer.

See *Chapt.* 4. *Sect.* 12.

II. But did this extraordinary mercy promiſed to *Adam* extend it ſelf *to all?* or to *Adam only?* or to *ſome few* that ſhould proceed from him? Our *publick Liturgie*, our *Articles of Religion*, and other *Acts of our Church*, extend it *to Adam* and *to all* that came after him. But how the Nations whom God as yet hath not called unto the light of his Goſpel, or whoſe fore-elders he did not call unto the knowledge of his Laws given unto Iſrael; how either Fathers or Children came to forſake the mercies wherein the whole humane nature in our firſt Parents was intereſted, is, *A Secret known to God*, and not fit to be diſputed in particular. This we are ſure of in the *General*, That God did not forſake them, *till* they had forſaken their own mercies. But for our ſelves; All of us have been by Baptiſm re-ordained unto a better eſtate then *Adam* loſt: Now, if upon our firſt, ſecond, third, or fourth open breach or wilfull contempt of our *Vow in Baptiſm*, the Lord had ſentenced us unto everlaſting death, or given Satan a Commiſſion or warrant to pay us the wages of ſin, this had been but juſt and right; *his wayes* in this, *had been equal*, becauſe *our wayes were ſo unequal.* But now he hath ſo long time ſpared us, and given us ſo large a time of repentance, ſeeking to win us unto his love by many bleſſings and favours beſtowed upon us: This (as the Apoſtle ſpeaks) is the riches of his bounty; certainly exceeding great mercy, much greater then juſtice; even mercy triumphing againſt judgment. Now if after all this, we ſhall continue to provoke him, and defer our repentance, *turning his Grace into wantonneſs*, making the plentifulneſs of his word the nurſe and fuel of *Schiſm and Faction*, no judgment can be too great, no pain too grievous, either for *Quality* or for *Continuance*.

Poſſibility of repentance.

12. The Doctrine of ſuch *Catechiſts* as would perſwade or occaſion men to ſuſpect, that God hath not yet mercy in ſtore, or that there is no poſſibility for all that hear the word, to repent, to believe, and be ſaved; whatſoever it do to the Authors and followers of it in this life, it ſhall in the life to come appear even to ſuch as periſh to have been erroneous. *For, one ſpecial branch of their puniſhment, and that wherein the puniſhment of ſuch as hear the word and repent not, doth ſpecially exceed the puniſhment of the Heathen or infidels, ſhall be their continual cogitation, how poſſible it was for them to have repented: How poſſible for them? how much more poſſible for them then for infidels to have been ſaved.* The bodily pains of Hell fire ſhall be (as is probable) equal to all; but the *worm of Conſcience*, which is no other then the reflection of their thoughts upon their madneſs in following the pleaſures of ſin, and neglecting the promiſes of Grace, ſhall be more grievous to impenitent Chriſtians.

Worm of conſcience.

A true Scale or ſcantling of theſe torments we may take from the conſideration how apt we are to grieve at our extraordinary folly or *Retchleſneſs* in this life; whether that have turned to the prejudice of our temporal eſtate, of our health, or bodily life, of our credit or good name. There is not a man on earth but if he would enter into his own heart, might find that he had many times committed greater folly then *Eſau* did, when he ſold his Birth-right for a meſs of pottage. He ſet his Birthright (that is his Intereſt in the *Land of Canaan*) on ſale, without the hazard of that inheritance which God had elſewhere provided for him; for he became Lord of *Mount Seir*. He did not contract for his own impriſonment or captivity: but we daily ſet Heaven to ſale, and hazard our everlaſting excluſion from Gods preſence, for toyes leſs worth, at leaſt leſs neceſſary for us, then bodily meat was for *Eſau* in his hunger. And yet by ſuch fooliſh bargains we enter a Covenant with death, and contract (though not expreſly, yet implicitly) for an everlaſting inheritance in Hell. Now unto ſuch as thus live and die without repentance, the moſt cruel torments that can be imagined, cannot be ſo grievous, as the *continual cogitation*, how they did bind themſelves (without any neceſſity laid upon them) to receive the wages of ſin, by receiving ſuch baſe earneſt as in this life was given them.

13. A more exact Scale of the reward for this their folly; we have in *Two* Fictions of the Heathen, The one is *That of Siſyphus* his unceſſant labour, *in rolling a huge ſtone*, which ſtill turns upon him with greater

force. The other is of *Prometheus*, whoſe liver (as they imagined) was continually gnawn upon by a *vultur* or *Cormorant* without waſting the ſubſtance of it, or deading its capacity of pain. The *continual reflection*, of ſuch as periſh, upon their former folly, is as the rolling of *Siſyphus*'s ſtone, a grievous labor, a perpetual torment, ſtill reſumed by them, but ſtill more and more in vain; for no ſorrow bringeth forth repentance there. And every ſuch *Reflection* or Revolution of their thoughts upon their former wayes, is *The gnawing of the worm of Conſcience*, more grievous by much unto their ſouls, then if a vultur ſhould ſo continually gnaw their hearts.

CHAP. XXI.

ROMANS 6. 22, 23.

But now ye have your fruit unto Holineſs, and the end everlaſting life. The Gift of God is Eternal Life through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.

Eternal Life *Compared with this preſent Life: The ſeveral* Tenures *of Both. The method propoſed. The inſtability of this* preſent Life. *The contentments* of it *ſhort: and the capacities of man, to injoy ſuch contentments as this life affords, narrower. In* the life to come *the capacity of every faculty ſhall be inlarged. Some ſenſes ſhall receive their former contentments only* Eminenter; *as if one ſhould receive the weight in Gold for droſs: Some* Formaliter. *Joy Eſſential and Joy Accidental.*

1. THe *Point* remaining is, that, *This Eternal Life which is the Crown of Holineſs, is ſo much better then this preſent life, and its beſt contentments, as the ſecond death is worſe then this preſent life, however taken at the beſt or worſt.* Now both ſorts of life and death may be compared either in reſpect of their proper *quality* or of their *Duration*. That, in reſpect of *Duration* or continuance, this good and happy life, which is the Crown of Holineſs, and that miſerable death, which is the wages of ſin, *are equal*, no Chriſtian may deny, may ſuſpect; for both are endleſs. That this life was endleſs, that ſuch as are once poſſeſſed of it, ſhall never be diſpoſſeſſed of it, even *Origen* and his followers did never queſtion, who notwithſtanding did deny, that this death which was oppoſed unto it was abſolutely endleſs, though in Scripture often ſaid to be everlaſting: For *That* in their interpretation was no more then to be of exceeding long continuance. But this Hereſie hath been long buried in the Church, and his ſin be upon him that ſhall ſeek to revive it.

The Method then which we mean to obſerve is this:

Firſt to ſet forth the *excellencie of everlaſting life* in reſpect of this life preſent.

Secondly to unfold the *Reaſons*, why neither the hope of everlaſting life, nor the fear of an endleſs miſerable death do ſway ſo much with moſt Chriſtians, as in reaſon they ought, either for deterring them from the fruitleſs ſervice of ſin, or for incouraging them to proceed in holy and godly courſes, whoſe end is everlaſting life. In this later we ſhall take occaſion to unfold the *Fallacies* or *Sophiſms* which Satan in his temptations puts upon us, with ſome brief rules or directions how to avoid them. A work queſtionleſs of much uſe and fruit, though handled by a few, either ſo ſeriouſly or ſo largely as the matter requires.

In comparing this life with the life to come, we are *in the firſt place* to ſet forth the *different Tenures* of them. *Secondly*, to compare the *ſeveral joys* or contentments.

2. *This preſent life even at the beſt is in compariſon but a kind of death.* For as the Heathen *Philoſopher* had obſerved, it is alwayes *in fluxu*, like a ſtream or current, it runs as faſt from us as it comes unto us. *That part* of our life which is paſt (ſaith *Seneca*) is, as it were, reſigned up to death; *That part* which is yet to come, is not yet ours, nor can we make any ſure reckoning of it. *That part* which we account as preſent, is equally divided between death and us: Not unconſonantly to that of *David* *Pſalm* 103. 15. *The dayes of man are but as graſs; He flouriſheth as a Flower of the Field. As ſoon as the wind goeth over it, it is gone, &c.* Or to that of *Job*; *Man that is born of a woman, is of few dayes and full of trouble: he cometh forth like a flower, and is cut down, he fleeth alſo as a ſhadow and continueth not.* The Addition or *Comment* upon this, in our *Liturgy*, is, *That in the midſt of life we be in death*; that is, we die as faſt as we live. The firſt part of our life is the beginning of our death; and death it ſelf differs from life, but as the *Point* doth from the *Line* which it terminates, or as the line doth from the ſurface, or the ſurface from the body whoſe ſurface it is. *Mors ultima linea rerum eſt.* The whole courſe of our life is full of interpunctions, or *Commaes*; death is but the *Period* or full point.

Take it at the very beſt, it is in reſpect of *true life* or *ſtedfaſt Being*, but as the Reflex or Image of a ſtar in a flowing ſtream. The ſeat or ſubject of life doth not continue the ſame it was, no not for a moment; it is but one by continuation, or freſh ſupply of the like; As an Army is ſaid to be the ſame which conſiſts of the like number of men, though moſt of the Commanders and Souldiers of the firſt *levy* be ſlain. So *Darius* the *Perſian* had a Legion which they called *Immortal*; becauſe it was continually ſupplied with the like number of new Souldiers, when the old ones failed. For the ſame reaſon, ſome have compared the life of man unto a Lamp, which burneth ſo long as it hath ſupply of oyl, but is preſently extinguiſhed when the oyl doth fail. And indeed as the oyl and light is to the Lamp, wherein the one is contained, the other ſhineth; ſo is the natural heat and moiſture unto the ſoul, eſpecially as to life ſenſitive. But when this corruptible ſhall have put on incorruption, *our ſouls ſhall then be in our glorified bodies, as light is in the ſtars, in their proper ſphere.* Our life ſhall be one and the ſame, not by continuation or ſucceſſion of bodily parts. So as this firſt life, and that other life which we expect, differ *for their Tenure and manner*, as the repreſentation or figure of the Sun in the water, and the Sun in its ſphere. The *Tenure* of the one is fluent and tranſitory, The *Tenure* of the other is ſolid and permanent. And proportionable to this difference of their *Tenures* or durations, are the different joyes or contentments. If all the poſſible contentments in this life (ſuppoſe they were far more in number then they are) were put together, they could not equalize the Contentments of one minute in the life to come.

Cœl. Rodigin. lib. 8. cap. 2 & lib. 25. cap. 1

The unſatisfaction of our deſires in the contentments of this preſent life.

3. Our deſires in this life are vaſt, and our capacities to enjoy the good of what we deſire but narrow and ſlender. They conſort no better then a *decrepit gluttons eye* or appetite with his digeſtive faculty. Now it is a miſery to have vaſt or ſtrong deſires, and not to be able to give them ſatisfaction; moſt miſerable to take thoſe courſes which exclude them from poſſibility of ſatisfaction. Hence an Heathen *Philoſopher* took the want or *Emptineſs of this miſery to be the compleat Sphere of true happineſs*: and out of this conceit defined a happy man, briefly this: *Beatus eſt qui vivit*

See *Book* 10. *Chap.* 17.

The hearts deſire is True Happineſs.

vit ut vult : He is happy or bleſſed which hath all the contentments that he deſires or wiſhes. But, St. *Auſtine* tells us that another Heathen (whom he names not, but whoſe ſaying he often applauds) corrected this *Definition* thus; *Beatus eſt qui vivit ut vult, modo nihil velit quod non debet :* He is a happy man that hath all that he deſireth; ſo he deſire nothing but what he ought to deſire. And certain it is, that the former *Definition* without this Correction, comes far ſhort of that true happineſs, which is contained in everlaſting life, or which all men *by nature confuſedly deſire.* For a man in this life may have every thing which in this life his heart deſires, and yet not have *his hearts deſire. This* no man can have in this life : nor doth the meer natural man find the way or entrance to it. See *Chriſts* Anſwer to *Johns* Diſciples, pag. 17.

Solomon had tried as great variety of particular contentments as any man living can project unto himſelf : and yet after long experience of every particular that he could propoſe unto himſelf, gives up this general verdict, *Vanity of vanities, all is vanity, and vexation of mind.* Yet is this vanity ſeated in the unſetled and fluctuant deſires of man, not in the things themſelves which he deſires; for theſe have their right Uſe, ſo they be referred to their proper End, which is no other then true happineſs; and no man can have *his hearts deſire* until his heart do pitch and ſettle on this, as its Center.

Hence ſome would Define True happineſs to be *Plenitudo deſideriorum:* the full ſatisfaction of our deſires. This all ſeek after without ceſſation: and ſome print, ſome *Sent* or reliſh of it, we find in moſt deſires of it. Somewhat there is in the right uſe of every Creature, which would lead us the right way unto it, did we not run *Counter*, ſtriving to make up a full meaſure of joy by the abundant fruition of theſe materials wherein we delight. Whereas the delight and contentment which we find in any Creatures ſhould turn our thoughts from them unto the inexhauſtible fountain whence all the goodneſs that we find in them or in our ſelves, is derived. The nearer we draw to him, the neerer we are to true happineſs: truly happy we cannot be until we injoy his preſence. *Irrequietum eſt cor noſtrum ad te Domine, donec quieſcat in te.* Our hearts are reſtleſs in the purſuit of happineſs, until they reſt in thee, O Lord.

4. The firſt ſtep to happineſs which we can make, is, to be perſwaded, *That true happineſs cannot be obtained in this life.* Our *Senſes* are uncapable of the *Accidental joyes* or *concomitant glory* which attend this happineſs. And our Reaſonable Soul, how magnificently ſoever *Philoſophers* ſpeak of its nature, is more uncapable of *Eſſential joy* and happineſs; That conſiſts *in the Fruition or enjoyment of the Divine Nature*, which is, Happineſs it ſelf.

All the Contentments of this life will ſerve to no other uſe then to be as a Foyl *to ſet forth the happineſs of the life to come.* All the Contentments poſſible of this life are entertained either by our *bodily Senſes*, or by *the internal faculties of our Souls.* Now by the diſcovery of the imperfections of ſuch Contentments, we may aſcend by degrees to ſome competent Scale or view for diſcovering the perfection of Joyes in the Life to come.

The imperfection of all Contentments incident to this life, diſcovers it ſelf theſe *Two Wayes.*

Firſt, The ſeveral capacities are too narrow and feeble in themſelves to give entertainment to any portion of ſincere and true joy : the very beſt Contentments, which here they find in any Object, are mingled with dregs.

Secondly, The ſatisfying of one capacity defrauds another of that meaſure of contentment whereof in this life it was otherwayes capable. And commonly the ſatisfying of the baſer faculty, or meaneſt capacity doth deprive the more noble faculty of its due. Men given to their bellies, or ſolicitous in purveying for the groſſer ſenſes of taſte or touch, defraud the ſenſe of ſight which is the gate of knowledge, and the ear which is the ſenſe of diſcipline, of their beſt Contentments. For as the old ſaying is, *Venter non habet aures: The belly hath no ears.* And too much inſight in the means which procure bodily pleaſures doth blind or darken the *Common ſenſe.* Others not ſo ſolicitous to feed the belly with meat, as the ear with pleaſant ſounds, or the eye with delightful ſpectacles, do by both means rob the reaſonable ſoul of her beſt ſolace, and as it were *block up theſe ports* and havens, by which proviſion ſhould come into her.

Every Handy-craft or Art of huſbandry requires an ordinary capacity, not of the Common ſenſe only, but of the underſtanding. And yet ſuch as have their minds exerciſed in theſe and the like imployments, are thereby diſenabled for bearing Rule or Government over more civil and ingenuous men; as may be collected from the wiſe Son of *Sirach*, *Ecclus.* 38. from the 25. to the 33. Even amongſt the capacities or faculties of the reaſonable ſoul there is not that harmony or concord which were requiſite for her better contentment. Some men in a manner freed from the ſervitude of their outward ſenſes, and able to command their ſervice for contemplation; by too much contemplating upon one ſort of objects, make themſelves uncapable of reaping that delight, which other objects would more plentifully afford to theſe Contemplators. Some by ſtudying the Mathematicks too much do benum their apprehenſive faculties or capacities of prudence or civil knowledge. Others whiles they ſeek to give too much ſatisfaction to their deſires or capacities of civil wiſdome, or *humane Prudence*, do infeeble their capacities and ſtarve their deſires of *divine Myſteries* or ſpiritual underſtanding.

Quite contrary it is in the life to come.

The Full ſatisfaction of all ſenſes and Faculties in the Life to come.

Firſt, The capacity of every ſenſe or faculty is improved to the uttermoſt; and no object ſhall intrude or offer it ſelf, but ſuch as are able to give, ſeverally, full Contentment without ſatiety.

Secondly, The Harmony or Conſent between the ſeveral Capacities and deſires of every Senſe and Faculty is moſt exact: the ſatisfying of one doth no way prejudice, but rather further another. Every one is apt to bear its part for making up of that full harmony which is required to true happineſs.

And, For thoſe groſſer Senſes of *Touch and Taſte* with the Appetite of meat and drink: All the pleaſures in this life wherewith they are commonly overtaken are (as we ſaid before) medicines of diſeaſes, *rather* than any true Contentments.

The firſt degree or ſtep to happineſs, is, To be freed from thoſe diſeaſes wherewith they now are peſtered. For though it be a miſery for a man to want food when he is an hungry, or drink when he is thirſty, or rayment when he is cold, or needs it for ornament; yet, we all conceive it to be a far greater happineſs to injoy continual health and livelineſs, without either hunger or thirſt, or to have perfect comelineſs without clothing or rayment. And for this reaſon that branch of happineſs, which conſiſts in ſatisfying the Capacities of *theſe Senſes*, is in Scripture deſcribed by *Negatives*: As *there ſhall be no hunger there, no thirſt, no grief, no pain.* Theſe are the *Symptomes* of thoſe *groſſer Senſes* in this life, which in the life to come ſhall not enjoy the pleaſures or Contentments which are contrary to theſe annoyances (as we ſay) in *kind*, but *by a happy Exchange:* by ſuch an exchange, as he that turns lead into ſilver, doth forego a great deal of droſs or baſer metal, but gains that which contains the full value of it in a ſmall weight or compaſs.

Of all and every one of the bodily Contentments we can poſſibly imagine, the very immortality of glorified Bodies, as for quality, more then the *Quinteſſence* or Extraction. It containeth health and chearfulneſs of Spirit, with all the pleaſures that accompany them (as we ſay) *Eminenter*; that is, *As one pound weight of Gold fully contains in its worth many hundreds of lead; ſo one Moment of immortality, the leaſt weight of glory we can imagine, is worth a full Age of all the health and happineſs, that can be had on earth.* Inſtead of material food which periſheth with the uſe, and whoſe fulneſs doth alwayes breed ſatiety, the appetite of meat and drink ſhall be continually ſatisfied with the *Tree of Life*, which (or rather, the *Emblem* or Type of which) our Firſt Parents were not admitted to touch in Paradiſe.

6. When the *Sadduces* captiouſly demanded, Which of thoſe ſeven brethren ſhould have that woman to his wife in the world to come, which had been ſucceſſively married to all the ſeven? Our Saviour anſwers; *The children of this world marry and are given in marriage: but they which ſhall be accounted worthy to obtain that world, and the reſurrection from the dead, neither marry nor are given in marriage; neither can they die any more for they are equal to the Angels.* What then ſhall ſuch as have enjoyed the comfort of wedlock be utterly deprived of that comfort in heaven, which was allotted to *Adam* in Paradiſe, even in the ſtate of innocencie? They ſhall not have it *in kind*; for ſeeing fleſh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of Heaven, there ſhall not be there any *Two in one fleſh*: but in lieu of this comfort, ſuch as obſerve the Commandements of *Chriſt* ſhall be more neerly eſpouſed and joyned in ſpirit unto *Chriſt*. *For as man and wife make one body: ſo he that is joyned unto the Lord is one ſpirit* , 1 *Cor.* 6. 17. This is the conſummation of *that Great Myſtery* which is here begun on earth, and whereof, the firſt marriage in Paradiſe was but the viſible ſign or ſhadow; This is the very perfection of all pure and chaſt love.

As for thoſe other *purer Senſes* of *Sight* and *Hearing*, they ſhall enjoy their former Contentments, both *Eminenter* and *Formaliter*, both *in kind*, and by happy exchange. Though enabled they ſhall be, to ſee far more glorious ſights, and to hear more heavenly ſounds then in this life they could either hear or ſee: Yet ſhall they not be diſenabled to ſee the ſame ſights or hear the ſame ſounds which ſometimes in this life they did. But theſe they ſhall hear and ſee with infinite more delight and joy, becauſe the Capacity of theſe ſenſes ſhall be improved as far as life it ſelf is improved, which of mortal becomes immortal.

The light was truly heavenly which did ſhine about St. *Paul*, and the voice was heavenly which ſpake unto him, as he was journeying towards *Damaſcus*; but the light did ſtrike him blind, and the voice aſtoniſhed him. What was the reaſon; Being yet in the fleſh, *his Senſes were not capable* of theſe celeſtial impreſſions.

But this you will ſay was a judgment upon St. *Paul*, becauſe he was *yet a Perſecuter:* So was not St. *Peter* when he ſaw our *Saviours Transfiguration* upon the Mount. This was but a glimpſe of that glory which ſhall be revealed; and yet it ſo overcharged his ſenſes that it put him in a manner beſides himſelf, beſides his wit or underſtanding: for he knew not what he ſaid, when he ſaid; *Let us make here three tabernacles; one for thee, and one for* Moſes, *and another for* Elias. Only this he was ſure of in the general, *That it was good being there*; or that if he ſhould alwaies have been, as for the preſent he was, he ſhould have been a moſt happy man; ſpecially of his capacity to receive or entertain what he then heard or ſaw, had been any way proportionable unto them. Saint *Paul* likewiſe after his converſion was ſo Rapt in ſpirit with the Celeſtial words which he heard, that it ſeemed he knew not whether *he were in the body, or out of the body* when he heard them; that is, whether he were locally preſent in Paradiſe, whence thoſe words were ſpoken; or whether his ſpirit were Elevated to hear them in ſuch diſtance; whether of the two it was, certainly ſuch words they were that they could not be uttered by him, or be made known unto others. 2 *Cor.* 12.4. And as the *words* were unutterable, ſo the *joyes* which then poſſeſſed him were unexpreſſible by any known ſimilitude or reſemblance. O how great then ſhall thoſe joyes be, when the ſenſe of hearing ſhall be as capable of theſe Celeſtial voyces, as it now is of earthly? when our ſenſe of ſight ſhall be as fitly proportioned to *the ſpectacles of paradiſe*, as it is now unto the ſtars of the firmament? when all our faculties ſhall be as capable of Celeſtial influences, as they are now of ſublunary impreſſions?

7. Briefly, all the joyes or contentments of *The life to come*, even compleat happineſs it ſelf, may be reduced to theſe *Two*; Firſt to *joy or happineſs Eſſential.* Secondly to *joy or happineſs* concomitant or *Accidental. Of both in their order*, and how they are ſet forth unto us in Scripture. Joy or happineſs *Eſſential* conſiſts in the fruition of Gods preſence.

But ſeeing the Deitie or Divine nature is every where preſent, is it not now preſent with us on earth? ſure it is; but we are far from it. A light or candle may be preſent to a blind man, and yet he as far from enjoying any comfort of its preſence, as if it were put under a buſhel at the *Antipodes. Such is the caſe of all whoſe ſins have made a ſeparation betwixt their God and them*; He is preſent with them, preſent in them, but they are further removed from *the comfort of his preſence* then the *Center* of the earth is from the Higheſt Heavens. The three children were in the fiery furnace, but it made no impreſſion upon them, they felt no ſmart or pain from it, becauſe the heat of it did not *enter into them.* Thus the *Divine Nature* or eſſence doth incompaſs all, good and bad, more truly then the furnace did their bodies: yet, he that could withdraw the force or influence of heat from the fire, can likewiſe *withhold the joy* or comfort *of his preſence* from ſuch as love him not. But whereſoever it is, it is the fountain of all joy and happineſs: and ſhall any man be in the fountain of joy and happineſs, and ſhall this fountain be in them, and they not made happy by it? Yes; it is not enough that the fountain of happineſs is in them, they muſt *enter* into the joy of this *Fountain*, before they become happy by it. Now that ſervant which hath once *entred into his maſters joy*, needs no other external contentment or object to ſatisfie the particular capacities of ſenſe, or of any internal faculties. For as the *Being* of every creature is contained in the *Omnipotent* nature, in a more excellent manner then in it ſelf: ſo all the goodneſs or comfortable influence which the creatures can communicate unto others, is contained in a manner far more excellent in Gods infinite goodneſs, which is likewiſe more communicative, then any finite goodneſs can be. *This infinite goodneſs dwelleth in Chriſt bodily*; the ſpirit of all joy and gladneſs is given unto him, but without meaſure. It *pleaſed God, that in him ſhould all fulneſs dwell*; That as we in this life *from his fulneſs receive grace for* *grace*, ſo, in the better life or life to come, we ſhould receive *joy for joy*; that is, joy upon joy without ceaſing, without end, even as much as we ſhall be capable of, yea above all that we are able to deſire or conceive.

8. *Our life*, ſaith the Apoſtle, *Coloſſ.* 3. 3. *is hid with Chriſt in God: when Chriſt who is our life ſhall appear, then ſhall ye alſo appear with him in Glory.* All, as many as have their fruit unto Holineſs in this life, have the pledge, the earneſt, or the *Cocket* of the next; But *the life it ſelf*, whereof Holineſs is the pledge or *Cocket*, *is treaſured up in Chriſt*; and may not be delivered unto us, until we be changed; until he appear in glory unchangeable. Whileſt we ſee not him, we ſee not our ſelves, or that life which is treaſured up for us in him.

This ſight is deferred or reſerved until his appearance; Then this ſight ſhall grow into a perfect taſte. So ſaith the ſame Apoſtle, 1 *Cor.* 13. 12. Now *we ſee through a glaſs*; that is, indiſtinctly, or as we ſee a truth lockt up in a Riddle: *But* then, *When that which is perfect ſhall come*, then *ſhall we ſee face to face. Now* (ſaith the Apoſtle of himſelf) *I know in part, but then ſhall I know even as I am known.*

Saint *John* hath the like myſtery more fully: 1 *John* 3. 2. *Beloved, now are we the ſons of God; and it doth not yet appear what we ſhall be; but we know that when he ſhall appear, we ſhall be like to him, for we ſhall ſee him, as he is.* From all theſe places, but chiefly from the laſt, it is apparent, *That the fulneſs of our joyes and happineſs is from the viſion or ſight of God in Chriſt.* And hence is this Sight by the learned; and ſuch as have inſight in theſe myſteries, called, *Viſio Beatifica, the Bleſſed viſion*, or the viſion which makes us happy: yet happy it makes us, in that, by it, *we become like unto him who is moſt happy*, bleſſed, yea bleſſedneſs it ſelf. This is Saint *Johns* inference, *we ſhall be like him, for we ſhall ſee him as he is*; that is, not *through* a glaſs, *but in a glaſs*. Our underſtanding or intellective faculty is as a Glaſs wherein this viſion is made. Now *the underſtanding*, as the *Philoſopher* obſerved, *is as a glaſs*, apt to receive the impreſſion of all things intelligible: And (as he imagined) could not be perfected, could never underſtand its own nature aright; until *it were made all things*, until it had received the images or ſtamps *of all things*. And hence it is, that the more men know, the more they deſire to know. The knowledge of many particulars doth but excite our imbred deſire of knowing more; and this deſire can never be ſatisfied, until we know all things. Now to know all things ſucceſſively, or one after another, is impoſſible. It was the complaint of the father of the Phyſicians, *Ars longa, vita brevis.* The true knowledge of any Art or Science, or the ſubject of it, is long in getting, whereas mans life is ſhort. There is *no end*, ſaith *Solomon, of writing many books; and much reading* (which is but the hunting after knowledge) *is a wearineſs unto the body.*

Hippocrates.

9. But it being taken as poſſible, or as granted; *That we could come to know the nature of all things* which we ſee, hear, or read of; that we could be as prompt and perfect in this viſible book of nature, as we are in the firſt elements of the eaſieſt book that can be printed for us; that we knew the nature of Heaven, of earth, and of every creature in them, as diſtinctly as children do one letter from another; and the nature of mixt bodies, as well as they know the juſt value of letters or ſyllables put together: *yet could not ſuch knowledge make us happy.* For theſe things how perfectly ſoever known, could not infuſe any new life into us; could not make us partakers of any greater joy or goodneſs then is in themſelves. But in the life of glory our ſouls become living poliſhed glaſſes, wherein the Divine nature, wherein Chriſt God and Man, may be

ſeen *as he is:* and he is *truth it ſelf*, *life it ſelf*, and *goodneſs it ſelf*; and we are transformed into the ſimilitude of *all theſe* his Attributes.

There is no picture-maker that can expreſs either the colour or proportion of a mans body or countenance ſo exactly as theſe do themſelves in a true glaſs: It receives the true image and ſimilitude of any thing viſible, as more eaſily, ſo more exactly then wax doth the ſtamp and character of the ſeal. For, *That* receives only the *Mathematical Form*, or figure, without the matter or any real quality. As a golden ſeal leaves no tincture of gold, nor a ſeal of braſs any property of braſs, in the wax, but only the figure; Whereas *a glaſs* beſides the figure or proportion receives the colour, but no other real quality.

But the eye, *which is a kind of living glaſs*, takes ſome tincture, not of the ſhape or colour only, but of other real qualities or properties of things ſeen. By looking on *Green* or *Azure* the eye is much refreſhed; becauſe the natural conſtitution of it reſembles theſe moſt. Yet finds it not the like contentment either in colours too ſad or too bright, becauſe theſe have leſs affinity with its native temper. Nor is *the effect* or efficacy of colours ſeen, terminated only in the eye, though the eye ſees them; *That* reacheth unto other internal faculties, unto the very *Seat* or *Center* of the Affections. The impreſſion which colors perfectly red (as ſcarlet of the ancient die) make upon the eyes of living creatures which abound in blood, doth ſtir the blood, and inrage their ſpirits to fight, when as otherwiſe they would be quiet. *And to the end they might provoke the Elephants to fight, they ſhewed them the blood of grapes and mulberries.* 1 *Mac.* 6.34. And ſome good *Philoſophers* have obſerved, that Bears or other creatures which abound with Melancholick blood, are more inraged at the ſight of colours more dark then ſcarlet, or perfect red; So that the eyes of living creatures which ſee things as they are, *not through a glaſs*, but *in themſelves* as *in a perfect glaſs*, are apt to take others impreſſions beſides the figure proportion or colour of thoſe things which they ſtedfaſtly behold.

See *Book* 10. *Chap.* 9.

10. *There is no creature in the world more apt to receive the ſhape or figure of another, then man, in his firſt creation, was to receive the image or likeneſs of his Creator*, who hath no figure or ſhape whereby he may be viſibly repreſented, as the ſeal is in the wax, or as a mans face is in a glaſs. *He is infinite in all his Attributes, and his infinity cannot be repreſented, muſt be admired.*

The ſimilitude (though) of his goodneſs, or of his righteouſneſs, wherein happineſs conſiſts, was truly repreſented in the Firſt man; for he was created Juſt and holy, and wanted nothing to his happineſs, *ſave only perſeverance in that righteouſneſs, wherein he was created.* But he ſtained his ſoul with ſin; And ſo far as it was ſtained with ſin, it was more apt to take the image of Gods adverſary, who was the Father of ſin, the author of all iniquity which men commit: (And ſo we all are by nature, more apt to take this image of the wicked one:) then the pureſt glaſs is to receive the image, the proportion, and colours of men that look upon it; more apt to take the impreſſion of his bad qualities, then the eye of any living creature is to take the impreſſion of any quality which ſhall be preſented unto it.

But as *the firſt Adam was made a living ſoul*, ſo the *ſecond Adam was made a quickning Spirit*; *A ſpirit of life* to revive the Reliques of Gods image in mens ſouls; And by the reviving of them, to expell or blot out the expreſſions of Satans image in them. All this he doth *in part* even in this life in ſuch as fear and love him. And in *Theſe Two*, to wit, in the *Reviving* of Gods image in us, and in the *Expunction* and wiping out the ſtain of ſin (which is no other then the image of Satan) doth our *Regeneration* conſiſt. And by the *ſpirit of Regeneration* we ſee in part, we know God in part; but *after that which is perfect is come*, that is, when Chriſt ſhall appear in glory, and we ſhall be changed, *Then ſhall that which is imperfect be done away*; *then ſhall* our ſouls be as a glaſs, clear and poliſhed, apt to receive the image of God wherein we were created in a far better manner then the ſoul of our firſt Progenitor in his integrity was.

11. We know God by Hear-ſay in this life; we ſee him not: or if we ſee him *in part*, in his word; yet *this* is but like the ſight of things a far off; it makes too little impreſſion upon our ſouls; it works too ſmall alteration in our affections. *Our ſight is not effectual until it grow into a kind of Taſt.* *Adam* was indued with life, with knowledge, with righteouſneſs, but his life, his knowledge, and righteouſneſs were changeable. The *life it ſelf*, and the *light of the world* was in the Son of God, *John* 1.3. *And now dwelleth bodily in Chriſt*, who is God and man: and when he ſhall appear, the life which is in him ſhall be imprinted on us; we ſhall be partakers of the life which is unchangeable.

And as he is *life*, ſo is he *light it ſelf*, light unchangeable.

And when we ſhall ſee him as he is, our knowledge, ſhall from this viſion, be as He is, without poſſibility of change, without decay or diminution. God, *ſaith the Apoſtle*, is Love; and *when we ſhall ſee him as he is*, we ſhall become like him in *this Attribute* alſo; that is, as his Love to us was everlaſting without beginning; ſo our love to him ſhall be unceſſant, unchangeable without ending. And what expreſſion of true happineſs can be more full, then *to be everlaſtingly beloved of him who is Love it ſelf*, and to love him everlaſtingly?

The fruition of all things which we deſire, or love, cannot be ſo much as the fruition of him, who, as *he is all things elſe, ſo is he love it ſelf.* And (as was ſaid before) although we have all things elſe which our hearts deſire, yet till we enjoy his preſence we cannot have *our hearts deſire*: we cannot have the accompliſhment of our love until we enjoy his preſence who is love it ſelf. But ſome will aſk, *What ſhall we do that we may enjoy the comfort of his everlaſting love and preſence?* The *Pſalmiſt* hath told us in few words, *Pſal.* 37.4. *Delight thou in the Lord, and he ſhall give thee thy hearts deſire.* But how ſhall we delight in him whom we have *not ſeen, or how ſhould we love him whom we know not?*

We muſt take notice of our love to God who is inviſible, from the experience of our love unto our brethren whom we have ſeen: we cannot aſſure our ſelves that we delight in *him*, unleſs we delight in *his Saints* that are on earth. This is the Importance of Saint *Johns* words; *He that loveth not his brother whom he hath ſeen, how can he love God whom he hath not ſeen?*

12. Theſe are the *uſual Marks or Tokens* whereby we are taught to know the truth of Our love towards God, and of Our Allegiance to Chriſt. But many there be, who call themſelves *Brethren*, which have no other bond of brotherhood then *Simeon* and *Levi* had. Many there be which boaſt in *the Communion of Saints* which have no other Union then ſuch as *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram* had, an Union in Conſpiracie againſt *Moſes* and *Aaron*; againſt the viſible Church and her Governors.

The Papiſts will tell you, that *the Communion of Saints* is amongſt them in their Church: So will the *Browniſts* and other *Separatiſts*: So will ſuch as live amongſt us, and yet complain of the burthen of Ceremonies in our Church. And how ſhall men (the unlearned eſpecially) know *which of all theſe*, or whether *any of theſe* are the true *Brethren of Chriſt*, or *the Saints* in which we are bound to delight? This, as will be replied, *you may know by their delight in hearing the word*; for *he that loveth God loveth his word*; he that delights in God delighteth in his word. Yea! but many delight in the *outward letter of the word only*, or in the word as it is interpreted by Teachers of their own Faction, or after their own Fancie; men, either not able to diſcern the Evidence of truth, or not willing to have it manifeſted unto them. And how then ſhall any man know whether he love the Lord, whether he delight in the Lord, by delighting in any of their Societies, which pretend themſelves to be *Chriſts Brethren*, to be *Gods Saints*?

Surely, *there is a better way then all theſe to delight aright in the Lord*, and to know that we delight in him: and yet a way made known unto us by *Gods Word*: A way, A direct and plain way, which we can not follow but by ſincerely delighting in his Word.

The Word of God doth tell us, (and all ſorts or Sects of men confeſs it) that *God is love*, that *he is righteouſneſs*, that *he is holineſs*, that *he is the God of all* peace, that *he is good to all*, that *he is merciful and long-ſuffering*. Now he that in theſe things doth imitate God; he that is charitable and loving *to all*; he that is merciful and beneficial *to all*, ſo far as his means will ſuffer him: he that deals juſtly and truly with his neighbor; he that doth delight in ſo doing, *he doth truly delight in the Lord*; and the Lord in his good time ſhall give him *his hearts deſire*.

As there is a *ſincerity of Converſation* required towards men, ſo likewiſe there is a *Purity of heart* and Conſcience towards God; and *he that delights in this*, or ſeeks after this, *doth delight in the Lord*, and he only ſhall truly know *that he delights in the Lord*, or, *that his hope is ſtedfaſt*. For *every one*, as St. *John* ſaith, *that hath this hope*, to wit, of ſeeing God as he is, *doth purifie his heart, as he is pure*: And our Saviour ſaith (as a bleſſing to the pure in heart) that *they ſhall ſee God*. They ſhall ſee him in this Life *in his Word*, and in his *works*; and in the life to come they ſhall ſee him *as he is*, and be partakers of everlaſting life, which is the Crown of purity and holineſs.

CHAP. XXII.

ROMANS 6. 22, 23.

But now ——— *ye have your fruit unto holineſs, and the end everlaſting life.*
——— *The gift of God is eternal life through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.*

Of the Accidental Joyes *of the Life to come.* A particular Terrar *or Map of the Kingdom prepared for the Bleſſed Ones, in a* Paraphraſe *upon the* Eight Beatitudes, *or the Bleſſedneſs promiſed to the* Eight Qualifications *ſet down in St.* Matthew, *Chapter* 5. Eternal Life *the ſtrongeſt obligation to all Duties.* Satans *Two uſual wayes of Tempting us: Either* Per Blanda, *or* per Aſpera.

1. BUt, if in the next life, we enjoy *His Preſence*, who is *Life it ſelf*, who is *Love it ſelf*, who is *All in All*, at whoſe right hand is Fulneſs of pleaſures for evermore; What need is there of any Acceſs, of *Accidental* or Concomitant Joyes? It is true! There is *no need* of them,

for

Accidental joyes.

for ſo they ſhould not be *Accidental.* Therefore are they called *Accidental* becauſe ſuch as enjoy Gods Preſence might be fully happy without them. So God himſelf is moſt happy in himſelf, he is *Happineſs it ſelf.* Yet even in this, that he is *Goodneſs it ſelf*, that he is *Happineſs it ſelf*, he communicates both Goodneſs and Happineſs to his Creatures, ſo far as they are capable of them, not by any Neceſſity, but freely. And when it is ſaid, *that when we ſhall ſee him as he is, we ſhall be like him*, part of this likeneſs doth herein conſiſt, that we ſhall communicate this Goodneſs and happineſs to others, ſo far as they are capable of it. So that the *Accidental* or Concomitant *Joyes* of the life to come (whoſe Eſſence conſiſts in the Fruition of God, as he is Love, although *ſuper-abundant*, yet are they not *ſuperfluous.* There is no waſte, there is nothing poured out from one, which ſhall not be received (in the ſame meaſure or manner) by another.

But wherein do theſe Concomitant or *Accidental Joyes* conſiſt? Eſpecially in theſe *Two Particulars.*

The Beauteous Place.

Firſt, In the *Glorious Beauty* of the Place, which is called *Sedes Beatorum*, the *Seat or Manſion of the Bleſſed.*

The Holy Company.

Secondly, In the *Society* or company of ſuch as are ſo ſeated and made partakers of that *Eſſential Bleſſedneſs*, which conſiſts in the ſight and *viſion of God*, as he is *Happineſs* it ſelf. For *Viſio amati eſt fruitio.* This is that which the Schools call *The Fruition or enjoying of Gods preſence.* Now, that either the *Place* or the *Society* of Saints and Angels, can add (or confer any thing) to our happineſs, this proceeds from Gods ſpecial preſence in Both.

Firſt in regard of the Place, or Seat of the bleſſed

2. To begin with *The Place or Seat of the Bleſſed*; How pleaſant ſoever our *Seat* on earth may be, yet this world it ſelf is but *Vallis lachrymarum*, A valley of tears, wherein ſome ruful ſpectacles are daily preſented to our eyes; wherein ſome woſul news or unpleaſant ſounds poſſeſs our ears. To hear and ſee what we now daily hear and ſee, though we were ſpectators only, but no Actors, would abate our Joy, would be an Alloy to our preſent happineſs. Hence it is, that St. *John* deſcribing the *Accidental Joys* of the life to come, ſaith, *Rev.* 21. 1. *I ſaw a new heaven and a new earth, for the firſt heaven and the firſt earth were paſſed away, and there was no more Sea.* And again ver. 4. *God ſhall wipe away all tears from their eyes, and there ſhall be no more death, neither ſorrow, nor crying, neither ſhall there be any more pain, for the former things are paſt away.* His meaning is, not only, That no man there ſhall have occaſion to cry; or that no ſorrow or pain ſhall breed there; But that there ſhall be no ſorrow, no cry there, by way of *Sympathie*; that is, no ungrateful ſound or ſpectacle ſhall approach their dwelling in the holy City, which he deſcribes at large in the ſame Chapter, verſe 11. unto the end. The Compaſs and Form of it you have, ver. 16. *It lyeth four ſquare, the length as large as the breadth, twelve thouſand furlongs*; *and the building of the wall of it was of Jaſper, and the City was pure gold, like unto clear glaſs.* Verſe 18. &c. Thus he deſcribes *The Beautiful Materials of the Place*, by the moſt glorious and moſt precious materials, which this world affords. And yet that is true of this Deſcription, which the Apoſtle ſaith of the Rites and Ceremonies of the Law; *The gates of pearl*, and *the ſtreets of gold tranſparent as glaſs*, are no better then *ſhadowes of the good things to come*, which are treaſured up in that heavenly Kingdom for all ſuch, as love Chriſt Jeſus, and the glory of his coming.

Now though it be true, that in Gods houſe there be many Manſions; Yet is not the Beauty or Glory of them appropriated to one, nor diviſible amongſt ſome few, but alike Common to all: One hath not the leſs comfort There, becauſe another hath more. Thoſe *Two quarrelling Pronounes*, ***Meum*** and ***Tuum***, ſhall be excluded thence as common *Barretters*. One cannot ſay to another, *This part of this glorious Kingdom is mine; That is yours*: for every one, that ſhall be accompted worthy to be an heir of that Kingdom, ſhall be as Intire an Heir, as if he were ſole Heir. So it is not amongſt the Kings of the earth; the greater Dominions one hath, or the further he extends them, the leſs he leaves unto his neighbors.

There is ſome ſmall Reſemblance of the Condition *of the Bleſſed Ones* in Heaven, to be found in our Hearing, ſight, and knowledge of things which we have here on earth: A great multitude may hear a ſpeech, and every one hear all. No man hath leſs comfort from the light or heat of the Sun by anothers injoying it (unleſs he purpoſely ſtand between the Sun and him.) No man is prejudiced, but rather furthered by another mans extraordinary knowledge, ſpecially of matters heavenly, and not diviſible into parts. Howbeit here is a vaſt difference, whilſt we live on earth; even when there is no matter of prejudice to any other, but rather of benefit or advantage to many; yet there is matter too much of envy; for that breeds within mans ſelf, it comes not by infection from without. But ſo it is not in the place of bliſs, in the heavenly City, into which no unclean thing, no unclean thought, ſpecially no envy, no uncharitableneſs ſhall enter.

In regard of the Company there.

3. As is the *Place*, ſo is the *Company or Society*. *Every one is Loving*, *Every one is Lovely*, All be Sons of Peace; their Love and Peace is mutual. *Ye are come unto Mount* Sion, *and unto the City of the Living God*, *the heavenly* Jeruſalem; *and to an innumerable company of Angels. To the general Aſſembly and Church of the Firſt-born, which are written in heaven*, *and to God the Judge of all, and to the ſpirits of juſt men made perfect, and to Jeſus the Mediator of the new Covenant, and to the blood of ſprinkling*, Heb. 12. 22, &c.

There is no Queſtion (at leaſt there ought none to be) but that the *Eſſential Joy* or bleſſedneſs of the life to come ſhall not be *Arithmetically Equal*, that is, the meaſure of it ſhall not be one and the ſame in all; for every man ſhall be rewarded according to his wayes. The *Eternal Life* which is *the Gift of God*, is the *Award*, not of *Commutative* Juſtice, nor of *Diſtributive*; though, if ſo it were, it ſhould be awarded according to *Geometrical Proportion*: But it is an *Act of mercy* or bounty, and being ſuch, there is no Queſtion, but, *he that loved God more in this world then others, ſhall have a greater proportion in his love*. No Queſtion but he, which hath received a greater *Talent*, and hath imployed it as well or better, then he that hath received leſs; ſhall have a greater reward; And he which hath been more faithful in his Maſters ſervice; or he in whom the Kingdom of Grace hath entred further in this life, ſhall enter further *into his Maſters Joy*, ſhall partake more fully of the Kingdom of Heaven. And according to the leſſer or greater meaſure of *Eſſential happineſs*, ſhall the meaſure of their expreſſions of joy or thankſgiving be. And yet the Joy, which amounts from their mutual expreſſions, ſhall be equal and the ſame to all. For though every one cannot ſo fully expreſs his joy or thankſgiving as another doth: yet he that comes ſhort of others in this expreſſion, ſhall joy, even in this, that God is more or better glorified by another, then by himſelf: and ſuch is the diſpoſition of theſe heavenly inhabitants, that, ſo Gods name be truly glorified by all, they reſpect not by whom it be *comparatively* moſt glorified. There are no *Envious Compariſons* there, ſeeing every one of them hath his full portion in that publick and common joy, which amounts from their joynt expreſſions of thanksgiving. The Ditty of their ſong is the ſame, and no man there ſhall be either deaf or ſilent.

4. This *Inequality of Eſſential Joy, and this equality of joy Accidental*, cannot (to my apprehenſion) be better repreſented, then by A Chorus, or Quire of voyces well ſkilled and practiſed to hold perfect conſort. Amongſt a great number thus qualified, it cannot be expected that every one ſhall have either the like clearneſs or ſweetneſs of voice, or the like command over his voice, that another hath. Nor can he, that hath the beſt natural voice, or beſt ſkill in ſinging, impart or communicate either his voice or ſkill unto others, which ſing in conſort with him; and yet every one is partaker of the ſweetneſs of anothers voice as well as of his own. The conſent or harmony is alike to all that have muſical ears; And a man, even in this life, is oft-times more delighted to hear another man then himſelf ſing either alone or in conſort: but moſt delight in a full Chorus *A Choir* or conſort. After this manner, the bleſſed Saints and Angels ſhall not impart any part of that *Internal joy* or happineſs, which ariſeth from the *Fruition or viſion of the God of Love*, unto another; nor ſhall he have any need of it, as we ſay, *at the ſecond hand:* for every one ſhall have as much of it within himſelf as he is capable of.

But of that *external joy*, which reſults from their joynt conſort in ſinging praiſe and glory unto God, every one ſhall be partaker, and the more they are, the greater ſhall be every ones portion of this delight or joy. And thus much of *life Eternal*, and of the *bleſſedneſs* which is contained in it, or is the property of it: whether it be *Bleſſedneſs Eſſential or Concomitant*.

The Eight *Beatitudes. Matth.* 5.

5. Yet ſome there be, which give a more particular *Terrar*, or diſtinct *Map* of this heavenly life or Kingdom, *out of the fifth of Saint Matthews Goſpel.* And many *Excellent Diſcants* upon our Saviours words in that place, you may find, in Authors Ancient and Modern, in all ſuch as Comment upon the *Eight Beatitudes* (as they call them.) Yet whilſt you read or hear them take this *Memorandum* with you, *That there are not eight ſeveral Beatitudes diſtinct one from another, for all are contained in this one word, to wit, Eternal life, which is but one and the ſame*; the joy or happineſs, which is the property of it, is the ſame: it hath not eight ſeveral branches, albeit our Saviour pronounce this bleſſedneſs eight ſeveral times.

What then? Are theſe, but ſo many *Tautologies* or repetition of one and the ſame thing? God forbid we ſhould ſo think or ſpeak of him, who ſpake as never can ſpake! Or is there a myſtery in the Number of eight? None queſtionleſs in the abſtract number. *All the myſtery* (if it be to be termed a myſtery) *is in the Reference of one and the ſame Bleſſedneſs to eight ſeveral qualifications, without which no man ſhall be partaker of the life to come*; and to *eight ſorts of men*, unto whom according to their ſeveral qualifications or conditions One and the ſame *Bleſſedneſs* comes more welcome under one *Style* or *Title*, then it would do under another, eſpecially whilſt it is proferred, not as preſent or *In re*, but as future and *In ſpe*, as a thing far off whilſt it is yet under promiſe.

The firſt Beatitude poor in Spirit

6. The *Firſt Promiſe* of this Bleſſedneſs, is, unto ſuch as are *poor in Spirit*; that is, to men free from ſecular ambition, to men of an humble mind. The greateſt grievance, which men thus qualified and affected, in this life ſuffer, is, that they are in a manner trod upon by others, & for the

moſt part excluded from rule or Juriſdiction; inferiors to all, ſuperiors to none. And if they be as *poor in wealth*, as *ſpirit*, there is a kind of neceſſity laid upon them for continuing ſuch. For his Obſervation is not yet out of date. *Pauper eris ſemper ſi pauper es Æmiliane, Munera non dantur nunc, niſi divitibus. If a man be once poor, he ſhall be alwayes poor; for no man grows rich by gifts, but he that is able to give.*

Now to encourage ſuch as already are *poor in ſpirit* to continue this Reſolution, and to arm their humility with conſtancy againſt all the ſecular inconveniences or grievances, wherewith it is charged; *The Bleſſedneſs* of the life to come is promiſed to them under the name or Title of a *Kingdom. Bleſſed are the poor in ſpirit, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven, Matth.*5.3. that is, they are nearer to life eternal, to true happineſs and glory, them ambitious or aſpiring minds, which have not a deſire only, but oft-times means and opportunity to attain to honor and dominion over others here on earth. This Affection of *Poorneſs in Spirit*, is the firſt degree and ſtep to *Bleſſedneſs*; And with Reference to this, ſcarcity of means or external poverty is for ſome men more expedient then wealth; For though many be humbled, which are not humble, yet few are humble which have not been firſt humbled by ſome croſs or affliction.

Second Beatitude for Mourners.

7. But many are poor in ſpirit, which have no extraordinary occaſion to ſpend their dayes in mourning. Unto ſuch as truly mourn, the very conceit or mention of pomp or jollity is ungrateful. To provoke them to mirth, until *nature have her Forth*, is unſeaſonable, a kind of ſin: To tell them of a Kingdom, were all one as to mock them; yet none there are, who truly mourn, which do not ſeriouſly deſire *Comfort*, though it be but in mourning with them. And for this reaſon it is, that unto ſuch as mourn, our Saviour promiſes the *bleſſedneſs of the life to come*, not under the ſtyle or title of a *Kingdom*, but under a title more grateful, and that is *Comfort.* Ver. 4. *Bleſſed are they that mourn, for they ſhall be comforted*; So they mourn not as thoſe that have no hope, ſo they murmur not, nor repine at Gods providence. As for mourning it ſelf, it is a branch of evil, a kind of puniſhment or chaſtiſement, no way pleaſant for the preſent. Comfort in the Sacred *Dialect*, includes abundance of good things, as appears by *Abrahams* anſwer unto *Dives*, Luke 16.25. *Son remember, that thou in thy life time receivedſt thy good things, and likewiſe* Lazarus *evil things, but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented.* The very joyes of heaven could not have been ſo ſweet to *Lazarus*, unleſs in this life he had wanted Comfort.

The third Beatitude to the meek ſpirited ones.

8. Many again have juſt occaſion to mourn, and whilſt theſe occaſions laſt do not tranſgreſs in the manner of their mourning: they repine not at God; are not malicious againſt the men, which find them matter to mourn for: and yet for all this are not *of ſo meek a ſpirit*, as every Good Chriſtian, when occaſion or exigences of time require it, ſhould be.

This Qualification includes ſomewhat more, or ſomewhat beſides *Poorneſs in ſpirit*, or *humility*, or *patience in mourning. Meekneſs is a moderation of anger in ſome ſpecial Caſes*; ſuch a Temper as our Saviour requires in his Followers, when he commands them *to turn the right cheek to him that ſmites them on the left; and to be willing to redeem their peace with a troubleſome neighbor, that would take away the coat, though it be with the loſs of the cloak alſo.* Now this kind of Temper expoſeth men to many kinds of Inconveniencies hard to be digeſted by fleſh and blood. Many otherwiſe humble and ingenuous, when they are toucht (as we ſay, in their *Coppy-hold*, or) in their inheritance, will take courage and boldneſs, ſometimes more then were fitting, though neceſſary, if they

See *Chapt.* 11. *Sect.*7.

be reſolved to defend their own, without reſpect to the occaſions or exigences of time. For, *facies hominis in cauſa propria tanquam facies Leonis.* A mans face or preſence in his own cauſe is as the face of a Lyon. And he that cannot take his own part in his own cauſe, and ſet the *beſt Foot forwards*, may eaſily be turned out of houſe and home. And yet there is no true Diſciple of Chriſt, but muſt expect to have his patience exerciſed in this kind, to be injuriouſly vexed and moleſted by *Others* for that which is not *Theirs*.

Now *he that in this Caſe will not vex or moleſt others again, nor himſelf, he is truly meek*; and unto men thus qualified, or to encourage all to be thus qualified, the *Bleſſedneſs* of the life to come is promiſed not under the *Title of a Kingdom*, or of *Comfort*, but under the *Title* moſt contrary to the courſe and cuſtom of this world, wherein *Meekneſs is commonly Accurſed* with loſs of their own poſſeſſion; But, *Bleſſed*, ſaith our Saviour, *are the meek, for they ſhall inherit or poſſeſs the earth*; or *the Land: even that good Land*, where there is no *Ejection*, no diſ-inheriting of ſuch as are poſſeſſed of it, and therefore are the meek bleſſed, becauſe Meekneſs or quietneſs is the Way or Title to get Poſſeſſion thereof.

The Fourth Beatitude, to Thoſe that hunger and thirſt after righteouſneſs.

9. But the *poor in ſpirit* may have more honor then they can deſire; ſo may *ſuch as mourn* have as much *Comfort*; and the *meek* as large and durable an Inheritance, as their hearts could wiſh: But if this were all, they could not be ſatisfied. Every one of theſe have in this life *their ſeveral Thirſts or Longings*; As he that mourns thirſts after Comfort; the *poor in ſpirit* and the *meek hunger* and *thirſt* after their Contentment in ſome kind or other; But without all hope of ſatisfaction, unleſs they hunger and thirſt after ſomewhat elſe beſides theſe particular contentments. Man in his firſt eſtate was created righteous; and unleſs there be a longing after that Righteouſneſs, which our firſt Parents loſt, whatſoever we gain or get beſides cannot ſatisfie our deſire either *In Re* or *In Spe*. Hence ſaith our Saviour in the Fourth place, *Bleſſed are they that hunger and thirſt after righteouſneſs, for they ſhall be ſatisfied.* There is a thirſt after honor, preferment and eaſe; and there is *Auri ſacra fames*, an unquenchable hunger after Gold and Pelf; but this cannot be ſatisfied; all theſe are tortures to the ſoul wherein they harbour. For though honor be Gods: though *gold and ſilver*, as the *Prophet* ſpeaks, *be his*; yet *he is not theſe*, theſe are not the ſame that *He is*: but (as we ſaid lately) *God is righteouſneſs, He is Peace, He is Love, He is mercy*, and therefore whoſoever delights in theſe, he truly delights in the Lord, and ſhall aſſuredly have *his hearts deſire*; he only ſhall be ſatisfied.

The Fifth Beatitude to the merciful.

10. But, *no man in this life doth, or can delight in theſe works as he ought*: the moſt righteous man that ever lived on earth, if God ſhould enter into Judgment with him, could not be abſolved from the ſentence of the Law; and ſo long as he ſtands unabſolved, or uncertain of his *Abſolution*, he cannot be ſatisfied, he cannot have his hearts deſire, he alwaies ſtands in need of *mercy*. And *mercy* he ſhall have that is merciful. For it is *Remarkable*, that this qualification of mercifulneſs, is the *only qualification* or condition, which is *rewarded in kind*: in this we moſt perfectly reſemble the goodneſs of God.

Hence ſaith our *Saviour*; *Bleſſed are the merciful.* But why are they bleſſed? Not becauſe they ſhall receive *a Kingdom*, not becauſe they ſhall poſſeſs *the Land*, not becauſe *they ſhall be ſatisfied*, *but becauſe they ſhall obtain mercy.* Without the exceeding mercy of God no man can enter into the Kingdom of Heaven; neither into the Kingdom *of Grace* in this life, nor into the Kingdom of *Glory* in the life to come; and he that means to enter in at the *Gate of mercy*, muſt bring his *Ticket*, or rather his * ***Counter-part indented*** with him; *he muſt be merciful as his heavenly Father is merciful*; otherwiſe he ſhall be excluded.

* See Maſter *Medes* notion of θεμέλιον καλὸν, upon *Pſal.* 112.6.

Righteouſneſs towards God, if it were poſſible to be ſevered from mercy towards man, could not ſuffice.

6. Beatitude to the Pure in heart.

11. But that, which comes neareſt to true bleſſedneſs it ſelf, is ***Purity of heart.*** This contains the ***Root***, whereof *Holineſs* is the *fruit*; *that Holineſs*, whoſe End is ***Everlaſting life.*** Now he that deſires to keep ***this purity of heart***, muſt deprive his eyes of many pleaſant ſights, and his ears of many delightful ſounds, and every ſenſe of thoſe particular contentments, wherein ***the world*** moſt delighteth. But in lieu of this loſs, he hath *A bleſſing* promiſed, not only of this life, but of the life to come. In the life to come ***he ſhall ſee God*** as he is, face to face; and in this life he ſhall ſee him as through a glaſs; and ſo he ſhall ſee him in his *Word* and in his Attributes: And the beſt knowledge that in this life can be had, The knowledge of God and of his Attributes, without transforming the ***Divine nature*** into the ſimilitude of our corrupt affections: ***is***, To ſee his *Righteouſneſs* and ***Juſtice*** without derogation from his *Mercy* or *Goodneſs*; or, to ſee him to be goodneſs it ſelf, and mercy it ſelf, without any diminution of his Juſtice: To ſee ***his gracious and peculiar favour towards ſome, without ſuſpition or imagination of rigour or cruelty towards others***; To know him to be ***love it ſelf, without admixture of hatred towards any thing that he hath made.***

7. Beatitude to the Peace-makers.

12. It is this ſight of God, or this apprehenſion of this uniformity between his Attributes, which muſt transform us into ſuch a ſimilitude of his divine nature, as in this life can be had; that is, ſuch as may make us ***the children of peace.*** This is the immediate fruit ***of purity of heart***; And unto men thus diſpoſed ***to preſerve peace*** as for their own particulars, and to make peace between ſuch as are at variance; the *bleſſedneſs* of the life to come could not be promiſed under a more grateful Title, then under the ***Stile or Title of being called the Sons of God.*** And under this ſtile it is promiſed, ***ver.*** 9. ***Bleſſed are the peace-makers, for they ſhall be called the ſons of God.***

Patience and reſolution in ſuffering for righteouſneſs

13. Yet ***all theſe qualifications*** were not ſufficient, unleſs they be accompanied with a firm and conſtant reſolution ***to ſuffer perſecution***; all the perſecution that fleſh and blood can in this life deviſe againſt them, rather then they ſhould forego their ***humility***, their ***mourning***, their ***meekneſs***, their ***love of righteouſneſs***, their ***mercifulneſs***, and ***purity of heart*** towards God. There muſt be a greater love of all theſe qualifications here mentioned, then of our ſelves, otherwiſe we ſhall be uncapable of the leaſt portion of the ***Bleſſedneſs*** here ſo often promiſed. This ***patience in ſuffering, or conſtant reſolution to endure perſecution, is the very girdle or tie of all other Chriſtian vertues***; and for this reaſon it is twice repeated, ***Bleſſed are they that ſuffer perſecution, for righteouſneſs ſake, ver.*** 10. And again, ***ver.*** 11. ***Bleſſed are you, when men ſhall revile you, &c.***

14. Many may be forward to ***ſuffer perſecution, yea to effect it***; but as he ſaid, ***Res ingenioſa eſt eſſe Chriſtianum***, It is a matter of extraordinary wit, to be a true Chriſtian; unto true Martyrdom there is required not only ***ſobriety of ſpirit***, but of ***Judgment***; for none can be a ***Martyr***, but he that ſuffers for Righteouſneſs ſake, or for ***Chriſts ſake***, who is ſuch a fountain of righteouſneſs, as the ſun is of light. Now to diſcern true righteouſneſs from pretended, or to ſever ***Chriſts Cauſe*** from our own particular Intereſt or engagements, is a point of extraordinary ſkill. Whereas it is an eaſie matter to pawn our fame or credit, our very lives

in maintenance of that, which we have boldly avouched to be true and juſt. None were more forward to ſacrifice themſelves for their Religion, then were the Jews, which yet blaſphemed the name of Chriſt, and the wayes of truth; after they had crucified the Lord of truth and of glory; none more forward then they to raiſe up perſecution againſt the Apoſtles and Diſciples in every City; and albeit many of them were put to cruel and ignominious deaths for their ſtiff adherence to *Moſes* Law, as they imagined; yet *Martyrs* they were not, becauſe they died not for *Moſes* ſake, nor for his ſake for whom *Moſes* wrote; but for maintenance of their own perverſe opinions and affections: For though they abhorred the Idols of the heathen, yet they committed more abominable ſacriledge, then the Heathens did; for of all kinds of Idolatry or Sacrilegious worſhip the moſt untoward and leaſt to be pittied, is, when men are prone to ſacrifice themſelves to their own pride or head-ſtrong ignorance.

15. The truth is, that no man can *ſuffer perſecution for righteouſneſs ſake*, but he that is a follower of righteouſneſs, and a ſon of peace. No man can ſuffer perſecution for *Chriſts* and the Goſpels ſake, but he that hath learned of *Chriſt* to be humble, and meek. And for this reaſon, happly it is, that unto ſuch as ſuffer perſecution, whether in their body, or good name (ſo they ſuffer it for *Chriſts* name) the bleſſedneſs of the life to come is promiſed. Firſt, *under the ſame Style or Title, that it was unto the poor in ſpirit*; He had ſaid of theſe *ver.* 3. That theirs *is the kingdom of heaven*; and of thoſe *ver.* 10. *Bleſſed are they that are perſecuted for righteouſneſs ſake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.*

As alſo ſecondly, under the *ſame Title* that it is promiſed to *the meek*, of whom he had ſaid, *ver.* 5. *Bleſſed are the meek, for they ſhall inherit the earth.* And unto ſuch as are reviled and perſecuted falſly for his ſake he addeth, *verſe* 12. *Rejoyce and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven.*

16. And thus hath our *Saviour* taught us the *Uſe and Application* of all that hath been delivered *concerning Eternal Life*; And the *Uſe* or *Application* of it is as *General* and large, as are the Commandments of God. There is no duty enjoyned, whereunto the hope or belief of this *Eternal Reward* doth not enable and bind us. *This was the firſt Leſſon* our *Saviour taught after he entred upon his Prophetical function*; *and it is the laſt Article in our Creed.* It is as *Chriſt* himſelf is, *Imus, angularis lapis, & ſummus:* It is both the foundation ſtone, and that which bindeth all the building, nor need we be afraid to do well *Intuitu mercedis*; with reſpect to recompence or reward; ſeeing *Chriſt himſelf*, when he firſt begun to Preach the *glad tydings of the Goſpel*, did make no promiſe of reward ſave onely to ſuch as *continue in well doing*, or *ſuffer evil* with patience. And his Apoſtle St. *Paul*, exhorting us to cheerfulneſs in well doing, and patience in ſuffering, propoſeth the like hope of reward; making *Chriſt Jeſus* himſelf a patern for us to follow.

Eternal Life the ſtrongeſt motive and obligation to all duty.

See *Chapt.* 10. *Sect.* 7.

Wherefore ſeeing we are alſo compaſſed about with ſo great a cloud of witneſſes, let us lay aſide every weight, and the ſin, which doth ſo eaſily beſet us, and let us run with patience the race that is ſet before us. Looking unto Jeſus the Author and finiſher of our faith, who, for the joy that was ſet before him, endured the Croſs, deſpiſing the ſhame, and is ſet down at the right hand of the Throne of God, Heb. 12. 1, 2.

Nor is it poſſible for fleſh and blood to reſiſt either *their proper Enticements*, or the temptations of Satan; much leſs to vanquiſh this tempter, by any other means, then by ſerious medidation upon the *ſeveral Rewards* propoſed ***unto ſuch as ſhall overcome***; and of the ſeveral puniſhments, which are threatned and ſhall be awarded unto all ſuch ***as forſake the field***, and neglect the ſervice of God. And though it be true, that we muſt obtain this ***victory by the ſpirit of God***, yet one ſpecial means, by which the ſpirit of God obtains this victory for us, is by repreſenting and imprinting ſuch puniſhments, or plagues as are dreadful and fearful even to fleſh and blood: ſo that the fleſh muſt be affrighted and deterred from, or forth of the wayes of ſin, ***by the wages of ſin***; And the ſpirit of God, which is in man, muſt be daily animated and encouraged by the hope of heavenly joyes, whoſe very nature and quality is ſpiritual. ***The fleſh or ſenſitive part cannot truly apprehend the joyes of the ſpirit; nor is the ſpirit ſo capable or ſo apprehenſive of deadly puniſhment or pain, as the ſenſitive or animal part is.***

1 Cor. 10.

17. To branch this *Uſe* or ***Application***, which our Saviour makes of this point, into his ***proper particulars.*** Though it be true, that all of us are the ſeed of rebellious parents, and have gone aſtray from the womb, as well by ſins of omiſſion, as of commiſſion: yet that which the heathen ***Philoſopher*** long ſince obſerved, if it be candidly interpreted, and with ſuch charity as becometh ***Chriſtians***, is likewiſe true, ***Nemo ſponte malus:*** No man in his firſt aim and intentions deſires to be diſobedient, ſeditious or factious, to be an Adulterer, or Murtherer, a Fornicator, a Thief or perjur'd man, or to look upon his neighbours conveniences with an envious or malicious eye.

See *Book* 10. *Chap.* 21.

The motives Satan uſes to withdraw us.

The means, by which Satan tempts us, or by which our natural affections ſway us to do theſe things in particular, as to be diſobedient, ſeditious, factious, or ſervants to other lewdneſs, are generally ***Two: Per blanda, aut per aſpera***; by propoſing ſome things unto us, which reſpectively either promiſe ſome contentment to our ſenſes; or threaten ſome loſs, ſome pain or vexation. This viſible world, and the things which we ſee or know by ſenſible experiment, are ***as Satans Cheſs board***; which way ſoever we look or turn our thoughts, he hath ſomewhat or other ſtill ready at hand, to give our weak and untrained deſires the ***Check***; and to hazard the loſing of our ſouls and bodies.

But ***Faith*** (as the Apoſtle ſpeaks) ***is the evidence of things not ſeen***; And ***the things that are not ſeen*** (as the Apoſtle ſaith) ***are eternal***; and theſe are for ***number*** ſo many, and for ***worth*** ſo great, that if we be as vigilant and careful to play our own game, as he is to play his; for every ***Check*** which he can give us, we may give him the ***Check-mate.*** And this advantage we have of him, that whereas he uſually tempts us but ***one way*** at one and the ſame time; that is, either by hopes of ſome ſenſual contentment, or by fear of ſome temporal vexation, loſs, or pain; we may at the ſame time reſiſt his temptations ***Two wayes:*** both by propoſal of ſome ***ſpiritual good or reward***, much greater then the particular ſenſible contentment, and by repreſentation of ſome ***ſpiritual loſs*** or fear, much more dangerous, then any evil, wherewith he can threaten or deter us from performance of our duty.

19. If he tempt us to ***exceſs*** in meat and drink, which is commonly the root, whence other branches of Luxury or ſenſuality ſpring; we may counterpoize this temptation; ***Firſt***, with that hunger and thirſt, and other torments incident to this appetite of ſenſe, in the life to come; And in the ***ſecond place***, by our hopes of our celeſtial food, or full ſatisfaction of our hunger and thirſt, ſo we will but ***hunger and thirſt after righteouſneſs.*** And ſo again if he tempt us to other unclean pleaſures of the fleſh; we may give our inclinations the ***check***, by propoſing

unto them our *aſſured hope* of enjoying the ſociety of immaculate Angels, and of our eſpouſal to *the immaculate Lamb Chriſt Jeſus* in this life, and of enjoying his preſence in the life to come. And again we may controul our natural inclination to this branch of lewdneſs, by ſerious meditation on that *Divine Oracle*; *Adulterers and Whoremongers God will Judge*; and judging condemn them to everlaſting fire prepared for the Devil and his Angels.

20. If Satan ſhall tempt us to an immoderate deſire of Riches, the counterpoize to this temptation is likewiſe *two fold: Firſt,* There is a promiſe of treaſure in Heaven, to ſuch as ſeek after it more then earthly treaſure; and this is a treaſure not chargeable with the like carking care in getting it, nor ſubject to the like inconveniencies after it be gotten: for, there *neither ruſt nor moth doth corrupt, nor do theeves break through and ſteal.* Beſides, the heaps of riches even in this life are fruitleſs; for as our Saviour ſaith in another place, though a man have riches in great abundance, yet *his life doth not conſiſt in them.* Ten thouſand talents cannot adde one minute to the length of his dayes; whereas the heavenly treaſures art the crown of life. Or if the hope of theſe heavenly treaſures cannot overſway mens thirſt or longing after earthly treaſures; you may joyn to this, the weight of St. *James his Wo* againſt this ſin, *Chap.* 5.1,2,3. *Go to now ye rich men! weep and howl for your miſeries, that ſhall come upon you: your riches are corrupted; and your garments moth-eaten; your gold and ſilver is cankred; and the ruſt of them ſhall be a witneſs againſt you.*

But if this were all, a rich worldling would reply, that he would keep his gold and ſilver from ruſt. This he may do perhaps, whilſt he is alive, but more then he can undertake after it once come unto *Plutus his cuſtody*; Therefore St. *James* adds, *the ruſt of it ſhall eat your fleſh as fire:* or, if this be but a *Metaphor,* he ſpeaks no Parables, but plainly, in the words following: *ye have heaped treaſure together for the laſt dayes. Behold the hire of the labourers, which have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, cryeth, and the cries of them, which have reaped, are entred into the ears of the Lord of Sabbaoth.*

21. Again, if Satan tempt us to do thoſe things, which we ought not to do, *for the favour*; Or to leave thoſe things undone which we ought to do, *for the fear* of great ones; *the ſacred Armory* affords us weapons ſufficient to repell *Both temptations.* The *Firſt* is that pithy ſentence of St. *Paul: ye are bought with a price, be not ye the ſervants of men.* The *Second* is that of our Saviour, *Fear not them, who after they have killed the body, can do no more: but I will tell you whom ye ſhall fear, one that can deſtroy both body and ſoul in hell fire, yea, I ſay unto you, fear him.* Briefly, in all aſſaults Satan hath only *Weapons Offenſive,* as fiery darts; he hath none *Defenſive:* But if the word of God, as our Apoſtle ſpeaks, dwell plentifully in us, we have both the ſhield and buckler to repell his darts, and the ſword of the ſpirit to chaſe him away: but this word muſt plentifully dwell in us; we muſt entertain it in our *hearts* and *conſciences,* not only in our lips and tongues; nor let it run out of our mouthes faſter then it comes into our ears.

CHAP. XXIII.

ROMANS 6. 23.

For the wages of ſins is death: but the Gift of God is Eternal life through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.

The Philoſophers *Precept,* [*Suſtine & Abſtine*] *though good in its kind, and in ſome degree uſeful, yet inſufficient. True belief of* the Article of the everlaſting life and death, *is able to effect both abſtinence from evil-doing, and ſufferance of evil for well-doing. The ſad effects of the* Misbelief *or* Unbelief *of this* Article *of life and death eternal. The true belief of* it *includes* a taſte *of both. Direction how to take* a Taſte *of death eternal, without danger. Turkiſh Principles produce effects to the ſhame of Chriſtians. Though Hell fire be material; it may pain the ſoul. The Story of* Biblis. *The* Body *of the* ſecond death *fully adequate to the* Body of ſin. Pariſienſis *his Story. A general and* uſeful Rule.

The Philoſophical Precept, *Suſtine & Abſtine*, imperfectly good.

1. THe heathen *Philoſopher*, which knew no tempter beſides himſelf, no temptation but ſuch as the dayly occurrences of what he heard or ſaw, or by ſome ſenſe of the body had experience of, did acknowledg as much as hath been formerly delivered out of Gods word: to wit, *That men are uſually miſdrawn to do thoſe things* in particular *which* in general *they deſired not to do; and to leave thoſe things undone, which in the calm of compoſed affections they deſired to do, either by the hope of ſome bodily pleaſures, or by fear of ſome bodily pain.*

And unto this two-fold inconvenience he preſcribed this brief Receipt, ἀνέχȣ ϗ ἀπέχȣ That men (in youth eſpecially) ſhould accuſtome themſelves to *abſtinence* and *ſufferance*; to *abſtinence from evil,* and to *ſufferance of evil*; that is, unto abſtinence from unlawful pleaſures, which we call *malum culpæ*, or evil of ſin; and to endure with patience *malum pœnæ*, the evil of pain, or of ſome loſs, rather then hazard *the quiet of conſcience*, by doing that which is evil or unlawful; or by not doing that which is good, ſpecially when we are thereto required.

But this *brief receipt* or *diet of the Soul*, without ſome other addition, will rather ſerve to *condemn* us Chriſtians, then *enable* us to live a true and Chriſtian life: The *receipt* though is good in the *general*, but *defective* in theſe *particulars*.

Firſt, unleſs he knew more of Gods Will, or of the myſteries of Chriſtian Religion, then we know any means by which he could poſſibly know either, being an Heathen; he was ignorant of many evils, from which he was bound to abſtain; and altogether as ignorant what thoſe *good things* were, for whoſe love he was to ſuffer *malum pœnæ*, the evil of pain, loſs or grievance, rather then diſclaim them.

Secondly, Albeit he had known what was to be done, what to be left undone; yet being ignorant of this main Article of Chriſtianity, to wit, *of a Life everlaſting*, which is the reward of well-doing, the Crown of Holineſs; and of an *everlaſting Death*, which is the wages of ſin, and iſſue of unlawful pleaſures: His receipt of *Suſtine & Abſtine* was altogether as fruitleſs and vain, as if a Phyſician ſhould preſcribe a *Doſis* or *Recipe* to his Patient, of ſuch Simples or compounded Medicines, as cannot be had in this part of the world, but muſt be ſought for at the *Eaſt* or *Weſt-Indies*, or at the *Antipodes*, whence there is no hope they can be brought before the Patient be laid in his Grave: The *Medicine which he preſcribes, is no where*

Belief of this Article will work obedience.

to be found but in the Word of God: The Simples whereof it is compounded, can grow from no other root or branch, then from *The Articles of everlaſting life, and everlaſting death.* The *belief of the one, is the root of abſtinence* from ſinful or unlawful pleaſures: The *belief of the other,* is the root of Patience or ſufferance of *malum pœnæ,* or of ſufferance for well-doing: Howbeit, to ſpeak exactly, both parts of his *receipt* may be had from the belief either of *everlaſting life,* or *everlaſting death,* but moſt compleatly from the belief of both.

The manner how thence they may be gathered, is expreſſed by our Apoſtle St. *Paul,* Rom. 8. 16. &c. *The Spirit it ſelf beareth witneſs with our ſpirit, that we are the children of God: And if children, then heirs, heirs of God, and joynt heirs with Chriſt; if we ſuffer with him, that we may be alſo glorified together; for I reckon that the ſufferings of this preſent time, are not worthy to be compared with the glory that ſhall be revealed in us,* &c.

2. *If all the ſufferings of this life, be not worthy of the glory which ſhall be revealed in us, as the rule of Faith* teacheth us; then conſcience, and reaſon it ſelf binds us, to ſuffer all the perſecutions or grievances which can be laid upon us, rather then hazard our hopes, or forfeit our intereſts in the *glory that ſhall be revealed* in all ſuch, as with patience ſuffer perſecution, or other temporal loſs or detriment for the truths ſake. And *this hope of glory is as the root whence Chriſtian patience or ſufferance muſt grow. So is the fear of everlaſting death, the root of our abſtinence from evil, or of repentance for former want of this abſtinence:* This is the ſame Apoſtles Doctrin, 2 *Cor.* 5. 10. *For we muſt all appear before the Judgement ſeat of Chriſt, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad. Knowing therefore the terror of the Lord, we perſwade men.* To what doth he perſwade men? *To do thoſe things* which are good, and which being done ſhall be rewarded, *not in Judgement, but in mercy* and loving kindneſs; *Thoſe things* by which we ſhall be reconciled unto God.

But were not theſe *Corinthians* reconciled to God before our Apoſtle thus perſwaded them? Yes; ſo ſaith the Apoſtle, 2 *Cor.* 5. 18. *God hath reconciled us to himſelf by Jeſus Chriſt.* And when our Apoſtle, and thoſe to whom he wrote, were reconciled unto God through Jeſus Chriſt; we that are now living were by the ſame means reconciled unto God? *For, God was in Chriſt reconciling the world unto himſelf.* Now if the *world,* that is not *this* or *that man,* nor this or that generation of men, but *all generations, the world of mankind* were reconciled unto God, when our Apoſtle wrote *this Epiſtle,* yea when Chriſt offered himſelf upon the Croſs, what need is there of any further reconciliation? For that which God doth, he doth moſt perfectly, moſt compleatly.

3. It is true; Our reconciliation was moſt perfectly, moſt compleatly wrought on Gods part by Chriſts death upon the Croſs, he payed the full price of our Redemption, of our reconciliation; nothing may or can be added thereto. Yet *a reconciliation there is to be wrought on our parts,* though wrought it cannot be, but by the ſpirit of God and wrought it is not ordinarily, but by the miniſtry of men, as Gods Deputies or Embaſſadors. So the Apoſtle adds, ver. 19. *God hath committed to us,* to wit his Miniſters, *the word of reconciliation. Now then we are embaſſadors for Chriſt, as though Chriſt did beſeech you by us, we pray you in Chriſts ſtead be ye reconciled to God.* So then *God hath reconciled us* all unto himſelf from the hour of Chriſts death, and yet *every one of us, for his own particular, muſt be reconciled to God* by the Miniſtry of his Embaſſadors: And the efficacy of their Miniſtry is demonſtrated by working true repentance in us. The

Of reconciliation Active, or Grammatically paſſive only, and reconciliation really paſſive, See Book 10 Fol. 267, and 278.

means again,by which they work this true repentance,muſt be by repreſenting the *terror of the Lord*, or, as our Apoſtle ſaith, *Act.*17.30.by putting them in mind of the laſt and dreadful day. *The times of this ignorance* (to wit, of the old world before Chriſts death) *God winked at*; *but now commandeth all men every where to repent, becauſe he hath appointed a day, in which he will judge the world in righteouſneſs, by that man whom he hath ordained, whereof he hath given aſſurance unto all men,in that he hath raiſed him from the dead.* Thus you ſee how *the terror* of the laſt day, or *fear of everlaſting death* muſt work in us *an abſtinence* from evil, or repentance for evil paſt, as the *hope* of *everlaſting life* doth work patience and *conſtancy in perſecution.*

Yet both parts of *that brief receipt,Suſtine & Abſtine,*may be effected by our ſerious meditation upon either branch of our belief concerning life & death everlaſting: For,if *all the ſufferings of this life be not worthy of*,or equivalent unto *the glory,which ſhall be revealed in us,*we muſt needs be worthy of,and obnoxious to everlaſting death,if we do not with patience ſuffer perſecution in this life,rather then hazard our hopes of *life eternal.*

Again; if the ſufferance of everlaſting death be much worſe, then the ſuffering of all perſecutions poſſible in this life, our not repentance at the *terror of it*,doth make us uncapable of everlaſting life. Our hopes of avoiding it by repentance,if they be ſound and firm,will animate,and in a manner impell us to follow the wayes of life,to bring forth fruits worthy of repentance.

4.Seeing then we are thus invironed on the right hand and on the left, having the *hopes of eternal life* ſet before us to encourage us to conſtancy and reſolution; and are ſo ſtrongly beſet with inevitable *fear of everlaſting death*, if like faint hearted ſouldiers, we ſhould retreat, or revoke *our vow in baptiſm*,may not the Lord in Juſtice take up that complaint againſt us,which ſometimes he did againſt *Jeruſalem* and *Judah*? *What could I have done more for my vineyard, that I have not done unto it?* Other means to make men either *good men*,or *good citizens*,the old world knew none, nor could the wit of the wiſeſt Law-givers deviſe any beſides *pœna, & præmium*,reward and puniſhment. Now, what Kingdom, or Commonwealth had either ſo bountiful rewards,or ſo dreadful puniſhments propoſed unto them,as we Chriſtians have? What then is the reaſon, why we of all others are more defective in good duties, moſt fruitful in evil, leſs obſervant,or more deſperate tranſgreſſors of our Princes Laws, then the ſubjects or Citizens of any other well governed Kingdoms ever were? how often do we pawn our hopes of everlaſting life upon leſs occaſions, then *Eſau* did his birth-right, and ſet Chriſt our acknowdged Lord and Redeemer *to ſale* at a lower price, then Judas did?

The original of this our deſperate neglect or contempt muſt either be *misbelief* or *unbelief* of the reward promiſed to well-doing, or of the puniſhment threatned to evil doers. And it would be a point very hard to determine, *Whether, of ſuch as make any conſcience of their wayes*, eſpecially ſince the reformation of religion,*more have miſcarried through misbelief*,or *through unbelief of this great Article of our Creed*, everlaſting life & everlaſting death.Our misbelief,for the moſt part,concerns the *article of everlaſting life.* Of *everlaſting death*,we are rather unbelievers then misbelievers.

Misbelief alwayes includes a ſtrong belief: but the ſtronger our belief,the more dangerous it is,if it be wreſted or miſplaced;& the worſt way we can miſplace our belief of heavenly joyes,is,when we make our ſelves *certain of our ſalvation* before our time; or rank our ſelves amongſt the *elect* or *heirs* not *diſinheritable* of the heavenly kingdom, before *we have made our election ſure.*

5. As the abſolute *infallibility* of the preſent Romiſh Church doth make up the meaſure of heatheniſh Idolatry or iniquity: So the *immature belief* of our own ſalvation or election, doth make up the meaſure of *Jewiſh* or *Phariſaical hypocriſie*. The manner how it doth ſo, is this. *If no covetous, if no ſacrilegious perſon, if no ſlanderer of his brethren, or reviler of his betters, can enter into the kingdom of heaven* (as it is certain they cannot, until they repent:) then, no man, which is *certain of his ſalvation*, can perſwade himſelf, or be perſwaded that he is, a covetous, or ſacrilegious perſon, that he is a ſlanderer of his brethren, or a reviler of his betters; and hence the *concluſion* ariſing from the *premiſſes* is inevitable; that albeit ſuch men *as preſume of their election* or ſalvation before their time, before they be throughly ſanctified, do all that covetous or ſacrilegious men do, be continual ſlanderers or malicious revilers of their brethren, yet it is impoſſible that they ſhould ſuſpect much leſs condemn themſelves of theſe crimes until they correct their former errors, and rectifie their misbelief or preſumption of their immutable eſtate in grace. Yea, their error, not being corrected, makes them confident in theſe wicked practiſes, and cauſes them to miſtake hatred to mens perſons, or envy to others good parts, for zeal to Religion; and ſtubbornneſs in Schiſm and faction, for Chriſtian charity or good affection unto truth. And if any man of better inſight in the *ſtratagems of Satan*, ſhall go about to detect their error or convince them by ſtrength of *reaſon grounded upon Scripture*, that their miſ-perſwaſions do branch into blaſphemy, and can bring forth no better fruit then *Phariſaical hypocriſie*, yet they uſually require his pains, as that young *Spaniſh ſpark* did the Phyſician, which had well nigh cured him of a deſperate Phrenſie; no ſooner had he brought him to know what he was indeed, *no more then a page*, though to a great *Duke, or Grandee of Spain*, but the youth, in ſtead of a *Fee*, or thankful acknowledgment, began to revile and curſe the Phyſician, for bringing him out of a pleaſant dream of golden mountains, much richer then *the King of Spain* had any; it ſeemed as a kind of hell unto him, to ſee himſelf to be but a Page, who in his raving fits had taken upon him to create Dukes and Earls, and to exerciſe the Acts of Royal Authority. Very much like him in *Horace*, Epiſtol. Libr. 2. Ep. 2.

> ——*Fuit haud ignobilis* Argis,
> *Qui ſe credebat miros audire Tragœdos,*
> *In vacuo lætus ſeſſor plauſorque Theatro:*
> *Hic, ubi cognatorum opibus curiſque refectus*
> *Expulit helleboro morbum bilemque meraco,*
> *Et redit ad ſeſe; pol! me occidiſtis amici*
> *Non ſervaſtis, ait, cui ſic extorta voluptas,*
> *Et demptus per vim mentis gratiſſimus Error.*

But with the originals of misbelief (beſides what is ſaid in our *fifth Book of Comments upon the Creed*) in this particular, we ſhall have fitter occaſion to meet hereafter: And the greater part of men amongſt us (I am perſwaded) offend more in unbelief then in misbelief.

Infidels of two ſorts.

6. And by Unbelief (leſt we ſhould be miſtaken) we underſtand ſomewhat leſs then the loweſt degree of Infidelity. Now of Infidels there be two degrees or ranks, *Infideles Contradictionis*, and *Infideles puræ Negationis*: He is an Infidel in the former ſenſe, that contradicts or oppoſeth the truth of Scriptures, eſpecially concerning *Everlaſting Life* and *Everlaſting Death*; and ſuch Infidels, I preſume, there are none amongſt us: He is an Infidel in the later Senſe, that doth not believe the truth of Scriptures, or cannot give a Reaſon of his Faith: or one that neither thinks of

Heaven or Hell; and ſuch Infidels there be almoſt in every Congregation. But an Unbeliever a man may be, although in the general he believe whatſoever the Scripture ſaith concerning the *reſurrection of the body*, or *life and death everlaſting*, unleſs withall he lay this his belief to heart, unleſs he have a true eſtimate, as well of the reward propoſed to good deeds, as of the puniſhment propoſed to evil doers.

It was a wiſe Saying of one, that was not the wiſeſt Doctor in his time: *Tractare res humanas norunt plurimi, æſtimare pauci:* Many there be, that have skill enough in humane affairs, that want no wit to atchieve the ends which they propoſe to themſelves; and yet but a few which know how to eſteem or prize the ends at which they aym, aright. And of all our Errors and Defects, there be but *Two General Roots*: The firſt, an overprizing of ſecular ends or contentments: The ſecond, An undervaluing of matters Heavenly, ſpecially of life and death everlaſting.

Cardanus.

Two Roots of Errors.

The true Reaſon why many, who can diſcourſe well of Heavenly matters (and can give a reaſon of their belief, ſufficient to convince the gainſayers of the truth which they believe) are not ſo able to take or give the true eſtimate of the things believed, is much what the ſame with that which Philoſophers aſſign, *Why young men are no fit Auditors of moral Philoſophy*, or why they prove not ſo good Proficients in this ſtudy, as in other Arts and Sciences. To learn the Mathematicks, as Arithmetick, or Geometry, young men or children are as apt as men of mature age: And in natural Philoſophy they find no difficulty, ſave only want of Experience, which is never attained unto in juſt and full meaſure, without length of time, or competent number of years. Howbeit, in the former Studies though all their life time were youth, men might attain to the ſame meaſure of experience, in the ſame courſe of time or number of years that they could if all their life were mature age. But ſo it is not in moral Philoſophy: What is the reaſon? The Philoſopher tells us, *It is, becauſe young men, or men whoſe affections are unſetled, can have no taſte of moral goodneſs, or of the ſweetneſs of true virtue:* And as his Maſter before him had obſerved; *Omnis vita guſtu quodam ducitur*, we muſt have a taſte or reliſh of good or evil, or elſe we ſhall neither follow the one, nor eſchew the other, with that conſtancy, with that life and courage, which is required to virtue or Morality. *We may do many good things which a good Chriſtian ought to do, and yet not live a Chriſtian life: As* Herod *did* (Mark 6. 20.) *who feared and obſerved Saint* John Baptiſt *as a holy Juſt Man, and heard him gladly, and when he heard him did many things: yet cut off his head.*

7. To lead a Chriſtian life, is more then to be a meer Moral Man, although it alwayes includes Morality in it: And whatſoever is required to a moral life, That and more is neceſſarily required to a Chriſtian and Godly life. ‘And ſeeing the framing of a true Chriſtian Life, depends ‘very much upon the true belief of this Article of everlaſting Life, and ‘everlaſting death; the moſt effectual Method which Gods Ambaſſadors can uſe to this end, muſt be, to exhibit a true taſte or reliſh of ‘the Goodneſs contained in the one, and of the Evil comprized in the ‘other. And this is the Method, which by Gods aſſiſtance, I mean to follow.

Unbelief of this *Article* cauſe of unchriſtian careleſs life.

Firſt, to ſet down directions whence or by what means we may take a taſte or reliſh (without danger to our ſouls) of everlaſting Death.

And *Secondly*, How the like taſte or reliſh may be had of everlaſting life; or at the leaſt how we may frame unto our ſelves a true, (though a ſhort) meaſure, by which we may, by diligent meditation, take a better Eſtimate of *Both*, then moſt men do.

I will begin with *the means how to eſtimate everlaſting death*, becauſe it is much eaſier to have ſome taſte or relliſh of it, then of everlaſting Life.

There is no evil which a man in this life doth ſuffer, no pain or grief, but may in ſome ſort ſerve a diligent meditator to take a view or eſtimate of the horrors of the ſecond death. But alwayes the greater the evil is, which we have ſuffered or have experience of, the more fit meaſure it is, for calculating the endleſs miſeries of the Second Death. And, *The very cogitation or remembrance of ſuch particular evils as we have actually ſuffered or have experience of, will be more effectual to withdraw us from thoſe means or practiſes, which procure them; then the repreſentation or contemplation of evils in their nature far greater, but of which we have had no Taſt or experience.*

8. A Memorable Experiment in this kind we have recorded by *Juſtin* (and other good Writers) of thoſe *Scythians*, which had waged war ſo long in *Aſia*, that their Wives, growing weary of their abſence, did marry with their ſlaves or bond-men; And their ſlaves being willing to defend the poſſeſſions, which they had uſurpt, took arms againſt their maſters at their return; But were quickly routed without ſtroke of Sword, or dint of Lance, or other uſual weapon of war. In ſtead of theſe, their Maſters charged them on horſ-back with whips in their hands, with ſucceſs according to their own fore-caſt or expectation. Of hurts or wounds made by Sword or Lance, as they wiſely did fore-caſt, their ſlaves had formerly had no experience; they never had felt the ſmart or grief of either; but their backs had been accuſtomed to the ſcourge or laſh, and the very ſight of theſe weapons, reviving the memory of their former ſmart, more affrighted them on a ſuddain, then any terror of war beſides could have done. To have tried their courage or fortunes, either by puſh of Pike, or dint of Sword, they would have been more forward then wiſer men. *Dulce bellum inexpertis.* Want of experience in this kind would have made them, *for the firſt brunt* at leaſt, more inſolent and fool-hardy; whereas the very ſight and noiſe of the whip, whereof they had ſo often taſted, did preſently dant them, and make them ſeek their ſecurity from it by confuſed flight. The Hiſtorical Truth of this Relation, and good ſucceſs of their Stratagem, is ſealed unto us in the publick Coin of that Country, *whoſe ſtamp to this day is a man on Horſe-back with a whip in his hand.*

9. It would be a great comfort to us, that are Gods Embaſſadors, if we could but perſwade men to be as afraid to wrong or deface the monuments of men deceaſed, as the modern *Turks* are to offer the leaſt indignity unto *ordinary papers ſcattered in the ſtreets*; or to be as careful in preſerving *the Goods of the Church*, as theſe Infidels are to preſerve the leaſt ſcrap of paper that would otherwiſe periſh.

What is the reaſon why they are ſo careful in theſe Toyes, and we ſo negligent in matters of ſuch moment, and the like?

They have a *Tradition* (whether received from *Mahomet* himſelf, or from his Succeſſors their Mufties, I know not, but a Tradition they have) which they ſtrongly believe, *That before they can enter into ſuch a heaven as they dream of, they muſt paſs over a long iron grate red hot, without any other fence to ſave their naked feet from ſcorching, ſave only ſo much paper as they ſhall preſerve from periſhing.* Now of the pains or tortures, which the violent heat of Iron produceth in naked bodies, they have a kind of feeling or experience. The conceit or Notion of this pain is freſh and lively, and works more ſtrongly upon their affections, then the dread of hell fire doth upon many Chriſtians, albeit there is no Chriſtian, which doth not believe the fire of hell to be everlaſting; whereas the *Turk* thinks this his *ſuppoſed Purgatory* to be but temporary, and between pains temporary and pains everlaſting there is no proportion. How then comes it to paſs that this ſuperſtitious fear of pains but temporary, ſhould ſo far exceed our true fear or belief of pains unceſſant and everlaſting? Many, which truely believe there is a Hell, whoſe fire never goeth out, yet conceive this fire to be an immaterial fire, a fire of whoſe heat or violence they have no ſenſe or feling in this life, a fire altogether unknown unto them: And as no man much deſireth that good, which he knoweth not, how great ſoevet it be; ſo no man much feareth that evil, whereof he hath no ſenſe or feeling, no experimental knowledg, whereby to meaſure the greatneſs of it, but only believes it confuſedly or in groſs; and hence it is that the acknowledgment or belief of ſuch a fire, how great ſoever it may ſeem to be in the *General abſtract* conceit, is but like a *ſpacious Mathematical body*, which hath neither weight nor motion, which can produce no real effects in the ſoul or affections of man. For this reaſon I have alwayes held it a fruitleſs pains, or a needleſs curioſity to diſpute the Queſtion, *Whether the fire of hell be a material fire or no* that is, ſuch a fire as may be felt by bodily ſenſes; ſeeing moſt men conceive no otherwiſe of things immaterial or ſpiritual, then as of *Abſtract Notions*, or of *Mathematical Magnitudes*. As the determination of this Queſtion (were it poſſible in this life to be determined) would be fruitleſs. So the chief reaſon, which ſome have brought to prove the *Negative*, to wit, *That it is not a material fire*, is of no force in true *Philoſophy*, much leſs in *Divinity*.

10. Their *chief Reaſon* is This; *That if hell fire were a material or bodily fire, it could not immediately work upon the ſoul which is an immaterial or ſpiritual ſubſtance.* But let them tell us, how it is poſſible, That the ſoul of man, which is an immoral ſubſtance, ſhould be truly wedded to the body or material ſubſtance; and I ſhall as eaſily anſwer them, That it as poſſible for the ſame ſoul to be as really wrought upon by a material fire. As poſſible it is for material fire to propagate death without End to both body and ſoul; as it is for the immaterial or immortal ſoul to communicate life without end to the material ſubſtance of the body. For the bodies of the damned ſhall never ceaſe to be material ſubſtances, and they ſhall live to everlaſting pains by a life communicated unto them from their immaterial and immortal ſouls. And as the bodies do live continually, by reaſon of their continual union with their living immaterial ſouls; ſo the ſoul may dy *the ſecond death* continually, by its union with, or impriſonment in, material but everlaſting fire. Or if any man be of opinion, that hell fire is no material fire, or hath no reſemblance of that fire, which we ſee and know, yet let him believe that it is a great deal worſe, and that the greateſt torture, which in this life can come by fire, is, though a true, yet but an imperfect ſcantling of the torments of the life to come, and the danger will be leſs.

The Story of *Biblis.*

Of this opinion were the Antients, and this conceit or notion of hell fire did in ſome, bring forth very good effects. So *Euſebius* in *his Fifth Book and firſt Chapter of his Eccleſiaſtical Story*, tels of one *Biblis*, a woman, which had profeſſed Chriſtianity, but was ſo danted with the cruel perſecutions of *Chriſtians*, that ſhe renounced her profeſſion, and was brought unto the place, where the Chriſtians were executed, with purpoſe to withdraw others from conſtancy in their profeſſion by her expected blaſphemy againſt Chriſt & reproachful aſperſions upon Chriſtians. But the very ſight of thoſe flames, wherein the Martyrs were tortured, did throughly awake her out of her former ſlumber; her very fear, or rather conceit of ſuch torments, which they for the time ſuffered, did afford her a meaſure or ſcantling to calculate the incomparable torments of hell fire, which, being now awaked, ſhe began to bethink her ſelf, that ſhe muſt ſuffer them without hope of releaſe, if ſhe ſhould deny Chriſt or renounce her calling; and thus *expelling the leſſer fear by the greater*, ſhe reſolutely profeſſed her ſelf to be a true Chriſtian in heart, and ſo contrary to the expectation of the perſecutors, and her own former reſolution increaſed the number of the *glorious Martyrs*, and incouraged others after her to endure the Croſs.

11. But albeit the Scripture uſually deſcribes the horrour of the *ſecond death* by a *fire*, which never goeth out; or by *a lake* of fire and brimſtone; and ſo deſcribes it either becauſe that fire is of ſuch nature and quality, as theſe deſcriptions literally, and without *Metaphor*, import or becauſe theſe are the moſt obvious and moſt conſpicuous repreſentations of the pains and horrours of hell, which fleſh and blood are generally moſt acquainted with, and moſt afraid of: yet many other branches of pains and tortures there be, beſides thoſe, which *fire*, of what kind ſoever, can inflict; and of theſe ſeveral pains, moſt men reſpectively may have as true a relliſh or ſenſible repreſentation, as they can have of hell fire. You have read before, that as there is in this life *A body of ſin*, which hath as many members, as there be ſeveral ſenſes, or ſerveral faculties of the ſoul: So there is a *body of the ſecond death, every way proportionable to the body of ſin.* The extreamity or deadlineſs of all the pains, diſcontents, or grievances, which are incident to any bodily ſenſe, or faculty of the ſoul in this life, are contained either *Formaliter*, that is, as we ſay, in kind, in the body of the ſecond death; or *Eminenter* that is, either in a worſe kind, or in a greater meaſure, then in this life they could be endured, though but for a minute; and yet muſt be endured everlaſtingly in the life to come, by all ſuch as in this life do not mortifie the *whole body of ſin*, or have it not mortified in them.

See Chap. 20.

Motives from meditation of eternal death, according to general or more particular taſtes of it.

Now as of bodily medicines, ſome be General, or as Phyſicians call them *Catholica*, ſuch as equally reſpect the whole body; Others *Topical*, that is ſuch as are framed to ſome *ſpecial part* or member; So likewiſe of the *Medicines* or Receipts, which the meditation upon this *Article* of *Everlaſting death* affords; ſome are General, and indifferently reſpect every ſpiritual diſeaſe; and ſuch are the Conſideration of the *worm which never dieth*, and of the *fire which never goeth out.* Others there be, which in *ſpecial* reſpect particular diſeaſes of the ſoul, and are to be applyed, as time and occaſions require, unto the ſeveral members or affections of the *Old man.* Some of theſe particular medicines are more effectual to cure luſt, or Amorouſneſs; others more effectual to quell gluttony or drunkenneſs; Others to take down pride or vanity. That which in reſpect of one man, or his ſpecial diſeaſe, is leſs effectual, may be more effectual and more ſoveraign in reſpect of another. That which is in it ſelf of leſs efficacy comparatively, may make deeper impreſſion and work more ſtrongly upon ſome mans peculiar diſpoſition, then the greateſt and moſt terrible object, that can be preſented to his ſenſe or to his belief.

Pariſienſis his ſtory.

12. *Pariſienſis*, (a learned and judicious Divine in his times) tels us of a Gentleman of his ſpecial acquaintance, which had long warred with the old man or body of ſin, and taken the advice of his confeſſors or ſpiritual Phyſicians for obtaining the victory over the fleſh; yet found himſelf too weak to encounter with *luſt or amorouſnes*, an affection, which ſtill received ſtrength or courage from the ſight of beauty; until at

length *he procured a dead ſcull of one of the moſt beautiful creatures which his eyes had beheld*, and by uſing *this Relique of the firſt death*, as a *Memorandum* for repreſentation of *the ſecond*, he was throughly cured of this diſeaſe; which, without cure, would have brought that death upon him. The ſame cure or medicine every man that is ſubject to the like diſeaſe cannot hope for, may not attempt: but every one, that truly believes this *Article of everlaſting death*, may have a peculiar medicine more effectual to this purpoſe. Though every one cannot have a *Skeleton* or deaths-head to look upon with his bodily eyes, yet *Faith* (as the Apoſtle ſpeaks) being *the evidence of things not ſeen*; every one, that hath the eyes of his mind enlightned with the leaſt beam of true faith, may ſee and conſider; that albeit there be no dead ſculls or Skeletons in Hell, yet the very ſight or preſence of living creatures there, of ſuch as were their moſt amiable and pleaſant conſorts in this life, ſhall be more loathſome then any ſpectacle, then any reliques of the firſt death, which the Grave or Charnel-houſe can afford them. And unto this peculiar diſeaſe, or to the mortification of this particular member of the old man, no meditation or conſideration of any branch of the ſecond death can be more powerful, *Then the Cogitation of the ghaſtlineſs of that place, and of its Inhabitants.*

13. I have read, of a young Gallant, which came upon ſecular reſpects, as upon affinity or old acquaintance, to viſit his friend being of a quite contrary diſpoſition, one of a ſtrict and auſtere life, whether upon choice or neceſſity, I now remember not: but after a long and prophane diſcourſe of the Gallant, which the other would not much interrupt, as well knowing, that prophaneneſs *ægreſcit medendo*, grows alwayes more deſperate by unſeaſonable contradiction or importunate perſwaſions. However, at the *cloſe* or leave-taking, in ſtead of a *Complement*, this religious man requeſted the prophane Gallant to carry this ſhort Saying in his memory for his ſake.

Putredo & vermis operimentum eorum;

That there was a hell prepared for prophane men; and that worms and rottenneſs ſhould be to them for a covering in ſtead of cloathing. And this brief Receipt wrought more effectually with him, then if the general terrours of hell had been rung into his ears thrice a week in a large diſcourſe, or preſented to his eyes in a picture of them. And the reaſon why this brief *Memorandum* wrought ſo with him, was, *becauſe one ſpecial branch of his ſenſuality, was his exceſſive or immoderate delight in ſweet perfumes, and ſoft raiment.*

A ſeaſonable leſſon collected out of *Job* 21. *Iſa.* 14. *Ecclus.* 19.

14. To inſtance in more particulars of this kind would be long and tedious; *the General Rule* for all is brief. *There is no bodily ſenſe or faculty, which is capable of, or accuſtomed to, exceſſive pleaſures or extraordinary carnal contentments, which doth not thereby become as capable of the contrary pain or diſcontentment.*

Quem res plus nimio delectavere ſecundæ,
Mutatæ quatient. *Hor. epiſt. lib.* 1. *epiſt.* 10.

The greater a mans delight hath been in any worldly proſperity, the greater will his grief or diſconſolation be, when the oppoſite branch of adverſity falls upon him. Man, by natural conſtitution, as the *Philoſopher* obſerves, is more ſenſible of pain, then of pleaſure; matter of pleaſure or contentment little moves us, unleſs, it be in ſome exceſs or quantity more then ordinary. But of the leaſt degree of pain, or ſmalleſt portion of matter of diſcontentment we are moſt ſenſible. Hence was that Saying of the *Poet*; *Nocet empta dolore voluptas.*

If every dram of pleaſure were to be purchaſed with the like quantity of pain, eſpecially incident to the ſame ſenſe or faculty, there is no man ſo ſenſual or voluptuous, but would be quickly weary of his courſe of life. If ſuch as are miſled by the curioſity or *vanity of the eye*, might have free choice of all the moſt pleaſant ſpectacles, which this ſenſe or other faculties which receive contentment by it, could wiſh to look upon for a whole day together, all this variety could not recompence one hour of ſuch Torture as *Regulus* ſuffered by this ſenſe alone. If ſuch as are miſled by the *ſenſe of Taſte*, might have *Dives*'s fare, or the moſt exquiſite meats and drinks, which this preſent world affords; all this variety could not countervail the extremity of hunger and thirſt for one week. And yet that *Maxim* of the Wiſe man, *in quo quiſque peccat, in eo punietur*, In that wherein a man moſt ſins, by the ſame he ſhall be puniſhed, holds moſt true in the life to come, and is moſt exactly verified in the ſenſes or inſtruments of unlawful pleaſures.

The *Rule of Retaliation*, that is, of ſuiting puniſhments to the nature and quality of ſins committed, which is often manifeſted in this life in reſpect of groſſer or out-crying ſins, ſhall be moſt ſtrictly obſerved, when God ſhall finally render to every man according to all his wayes. He that hath offended moſt by the *vanity of the eye*; ſhall be eſpecially puniſhed in the eye: He that hath ſpecially offended in the *ſenſe of touch or taſte* ſhall be moſt tormented in the inſtruments of the ſame ſenſes: and ſo it ſhall be in every other particular ſenſe or faculty, wherein ſin hath lodged or exerciſed his dominion. The hint of this *general Rule* or Doctrine is given unto us by our *Saviour* in the Parable of the rich Glutton: the principal crime, wherewith he is expreſly taxed, was, *his too much pampering of the ſenſe of taſte without compaſſion of his poor brother*, whom he ſuffered to die for hunger. And the only puniſhment which is expreſſed by our *Saviour*, is the ſcorching heat of his tongue, which is the Inſtrument of taſte, and his unquenchable thirſt without ſo much hope of comfort, as a drop of cold water could afford him, though this comfort were earneſtly begged at the hands, or rather at the finger of *Abraham*, who in his life time had been open-handed unto the poor, a man full of bounty, mercy and pity. But theſe are works, which follow ſuch, as practiſe them here on earth, into heaven, they extend not themſelves unto ſuch as are ſhut up in that everlaſting priſon, which is under the earth.

*Rev.*18.5,6,7.

CHAP. XXIV.

ROMANS 6. 23.

The wages of Sin is death: But the Gift of God is Eternal Life through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.

The Body of Death *being proportioned to the* Body of Sin; *Chriſtian meditation muſt apply* part to part: *but by Rule and in Seaſon. The Dregs or Reliques of Sin be* The ſting of Conſcience; *and* This *is a Prognoſtick of the* Worm of Conſcience, *which is chief part of the* Second Death. *Directions how to make right uſe of The* fear *of the* Second Death, *without falling into* deſpere; *and of the* Hope *of* Life *eternal*, *without mounting into* preſumption: *viz.Beware* 1. *Of immature perſwaſions of Certainty in Salvation.* 2. *Of this Opinion*, That all men be at all times either in the Eſtate of the Elect or Reprobates. 3. *Of the* Irreſpective Decree, of Abſolute Reprobation.

The uſe of the Taſte of Death *and pleaſures. The Turkiſh uſe of Both. How Chriſtians may get* a Relliſh of Joy Eternal *: by peace of Conſcience, Joy in the Holy Ghoſt, and works of Righteouſneſs,* Affliction *uſefull to that purpoſe.*

1. SEing the *Body of the Second Death* is in every part proportionable to the *Body of Sin*, which, not mortified, doth procure it: The *Art of Meditation* upon the one branch of this *Great Article*, (*viz.* Everlaſting Death) muſt be thus aſſiſted or deduced.

Firſt, By right fitting or ſuiting the ſeveral members or branches of the *Second Death* unto the ſeveral members of the *Body of ſin.* The force or efficacy of this Medicine depends eſpecially upon the right *Application* of it: And the right *Application* conſiſts in counterpoizing our hopes or deſires of unlawful pleaſures, with the juſt fear of ſutable Evils. Now, as the fear of thoſe evils, whereof we have a diſtinct or comprehenſive notion hath more weight or force upon our affections, then the fear of evils far greater in themſelves, but of which we have only an indiſtinct, confuſed, or general notion (ſuch as a man blind from his birth may have of colours, which in the general he knows to be ſenſible qualities, but what kind of qualities in the particular he cannot know:) So, of thoſe evils, whereof we have a ſpecial or diſtinct notion, thoſe have the greateſt ſway upon our ſeveral corrupt affections, which are moſt directly contrary to our particular delights or pleaſures, which accompany the exerciſe or motions of the ſame affections. So, as the chief, if not the only means to mortifie the ſeveral members of the *old man* or *body of ſin*, is, to plant the fear of thoſe particular evils *in the ſame ſenſe or faculty*, by whoſe peculiar delights or pleaſures we find our ſelves to be moſt uſually withdrawn from the wayes of life. For, the fear of any evil diſtinctly known, though in it ſelf more weighty, doth not ſo directly or fully counter-ſway any delight or pleaſure, unleſs it be ſeated in *the ſame particular ſubject* with it, and move upon the ſame *Center*. Curioſity of the eye, is not ſo eaſily tamed with any other fear as with fear of blindneſs. Luſt or delight in the pleaſures of the fleſh are not ſo forcibly reſtrained by any other fear, as by fear of ſome loathſome diſeaſe, or grievous pain incident to the Inſtruments or Organs of ſuch pleaſures. Pride and Ambition ſtand not in ſo much awe of any other puniſhment, as of ſhame, diſgrace, or diſ-reſpect.

Meditations of the ſecond death to be fitted to ſeveral parts of the body of ſin for the mortifying of it.

2. But how good ſoever the *Medicine* be, it is either dangerous or unuſeful, unleſs it be applied in due ſeaſon. The ſame Phyſick hath contrary effects upon a full and a faſting ſtomack. And as a great part of the Art of Huſbandry conſiſts in the obſervation of times and ſeaſons, wherein to ſow or plant: So a great part of this divine Art of Meditation depends upon our knowledge or obſervance of opportunities beſt fitting the plantation of this fear of particular evils, which muſt counter-ſway our inclinations to particular pleaſures. This muſt be attempted (as we ſay) *in cold blood*; and in the *Calm* of our affections; or in the abſence of ſtrong temptations, which ſcarce admit of any other Medicine or reſtraint, ſave only *flying to the Force of Prayer.* It was a wiſe *Caveat* of an heathen, that as often as we call thoſe pleaſures or delights of the body or ſenſe, whereof we have had any former experience, to mind, we ſhould not look upon them as they did preſent themſelves, or *came towards us*; for their face or countenance is pleaſant and inticing; But if we diligently obſerve them in their paſſage from us, they are ugly and loathſome, and alwayes leave their ſting behind them. And as the ſeveral

Ariſtotle.

delightful Objects of every particular outward ſenſe meet in the internal Common ſenſe or Phantaſie: So the Dregs or Reliques, which every unlawful pleaſure at his departure leaves in the ſenſe or faculty, wherein it harboured, do all concur to make up the *Sting of Conſcience*; And the Sting of Conſcience (unleſs we wittingly ſtifle the working of it) doth give the trueſt repreſentation of the *Second Death*, and makes the deepeſt impreſſion of hell pains, than in this life can generally be had.

3. There is no man (unleſs he be given over by God to a reprobate ſenſe) whoſe heart will not ſmite him either in the conſciouſneſs of groſſer ſins, unto which he hath in a lower degree been accuſtomed, or of uſual ſins, though for the quality not ſo groſs. Now if men would ſuffer their *Cogitations to reflect* upon the regretings, which alwaies accompany the accompliſhments of unlawful deſires (as frequently and ſeriouſly, as they in a manner impel them, to reflect upon thoſe inticing Objects, which inflame their breſts with ſuch deſires) theſe cogitations would awake *the natural Sting of Conſcience*, and *This* being awakened or quickned, would not ſuffer them to ſleep any longer in their ſins; For the ſmart or feeling of the *Sting of Conſcience* is as ſenſible and lively a *Prognoſtick of the Worm, which never dieth* (which is the chief part of the *ſecond death*) as heavineſs of ſpirit, or grudgings, are of Fevers or other diſeaſes, which without preventing Phyſick or diet do alwayes follow them.

4. But this *Prognoſtick of the ſecond death*, or this fear of hell pains (which the *Sting of Conſcience* alwayes exhibits) muſt be warily taken, and weighed with Judgment. The right obſervance of them (as every other good quality or habit) is beſet with *Two* contrary *extremes*; The one in *defect*, The other in *exceſs*. *The defect is Careleſneſs*, *The exceſs*, *Deſpere*, or too much dejection of mind.

See *Chapt.* 10. *Sect.* 9, 10.

The intimations or *Prognoſticks*, which the *Sting of Conſcience* exhibits of *death ſpiritual*, are often miſtaken from the effects of bodily melancholy, and the beſt medicine for melancholy is pleaſant ſociety or mirth. Out of this miſtaking, moſt men prevent that Compaſſion, which is due to their own ſouls, after ſuch a manner as *Jewiſh* parents did prevent their natural pity towards their children, when they ſacrificed them unto *Molech*; by filling their ears with the loud ſound of wind Inſtruments, leſt the ſhrikes of the Infants (whom they incloſed in an Image of hot glowing braſs) by entring in at their ears might move their Jewiſh hearts to pity. And moſt men, leſt they ſhould be ſtung with grief of ſpirit or conſcience, ſeek to ſtifle their firſt murmurings and repinings either with unhallowed, or unſeaſonable mirth.

Others by ſeeking to avoid this common extreme, often fall into the contrary, which is of the *Two* the worſe; to wit, *Deſpere*, or too much dejection of ſpirit.

That which the Heathen obſerved of grief in General, is moſt true of this Particular, the grief of a Wounded Spirit. *Dolori ſi fræna remittas, nulla materia non eſt maxima.* If we let looſe the reins to grief or ſorrow, the leaſt matter or occaſion of either, will be more weighty then we can well bear. Mans unbridled *fancy is as a multiplying Glaſs*, which repreſents every thing, as well matter of ſorrow as of pleaſure, in a far greater quantity, then it really hath. And unleſs our Cogitations or ſad remembrances of ſins paſt be moderated with Judgment and diſcretion, they will appear to our fancies, like *Cains* tranſgreſſion, *greater then can be forgiven*, or then we can hope that the God of mercy will forgive. For holding the *right mean* betwixt theſe *Extremes*, *Careleſneſs* and *deſpere*, there is no means ſo effectual as to be rightly inſtructed in the *hope of everlaſting Life.*

Life, and Fear of *everlaſting death. Immature or unripe hopes of the One ingendereth careleſneſs or preſumption*; *ſo doth erroneous fear of the other bring forth deſpere.*

He that is perſwaded that every one alwayes is in the *Eſtate of the Elect* or of the *Reprobate*, cannot avoid the one or other extreme: And the only remedy to prevent deſpere or being ſwallowed up with grief, either in the conſciouſneſs of groſſer ſins lately committed, or whiles we reflect upon ſins paſt, is to purge our ſelves of *that Erroneous Opinion* concerning *Abſolute Reprobation*, or irreverſible ordination to death, before we were born, or from the time of our ſecond birth by baptiſme.

Avoid here the preſumptuous perſwaſion of cert. in ſalvation and the conceit of Abſolute reprobation. See *Ecol.* 10. *Chap.* 37. 51.

5. To purge our brain or fancie of *this opinion*, let us take the form and Tenor of the *Final ſentence* into conſideration; which we may do without digreſſion or diverſion. Both branches of this ſentence we have *Matt.*25. The firſt branch, *ver.*34. *Then ſhall the King ſay unto them on his right hand, Come ye bleſſed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world*; he doth not ſay, *before all worlds*, though this in a good ſenſe is true, moſt true, if we ſpeak *of Gods deſign or Act*; *for all his Acts* or deſigns *are* as he is, *Eternal*, without beginning: ſo are not the things deſigned or enacted by him: they take their beginning in time, or with time. The Kingdom prepared for Gods people was prepared when the world was made, not before; ſo good and gracious was our God, that he did not make man or Angel until he had prepared a place convenient for them; take them as they were his creatures, or workmanſhip, and they were all ordained to a life of bliſs. Paradiſe was made for man, and it may be after man was made, but the Heaven of Heavens was prepared for man before he was made, and made for the Angels, if not before they were made, yet when they were made. But the Sentence of death, *ver.*41. runs in other *Tenor*; *Depart from me ye curſed into everlaſting fire*; he doth not ſay *prepared for you* from the foundation of the world, but *prepared for the Devil and his Angels.* Thoſe immortal ſpirits, which now are devils, were ſometime Angels; God made them ſo; They made themſelves devils. Now hell fire was not prepared for them, whilſt they were Angels, not from the foundation of the world, but from the time, wherein of Angels they became Devils: Nor are men at all ordained to it, until of men they become Satans Angels. And as Satan and his Angels (the ſpirits which fell with him) continue the *ſelf ſame individual ſubſtances*, which they were, when God firſt created them; yet are *no way the ſame, but quite contrary for quality* and diſpoſition; ſo the place whereto they are confined, may be for ſubſtance, ſpace, and dimenſion the ſame it was at the firſt creation, but not the ſame for quality; it became a priſon or place of torment when Satan and other ſpirits, which fell with him, of Angels made themſelves Devils. Satan (as ſome think) brought that fire wherein he and his Angels ſhall be tormented, into the bowels of the earth, when *he fell like lightning from heaven.* However, if the Angels had not ſinned, there had been no hell, no tormenting fire: and unleſs men become the Devils Angels, they ſhall not be caſt into hell fire. *God doth not ordain men to be Satans angels*, but men continuing his ſons or ſervants, God ordains them to take their portion with him.

Purge our Brains of The Erroneous Opinion of the Irreſpective *Decree.*

So that if we remove the opinion of *Abſolute Reprobation*, or of irreverſible ordination of mens perſons unto death, before they were baptized or born; or if men would be confirmed in faith, that no ſuch Sentence or Decree is gone out againſt them whilſt they have either will, deſire, or opportunity to call upon God through Jeſus Chriſt for remiſſion

Meditations or a Taſte of Eternal death here, fits us better for a taſte of eternal life hereafter.

of ſins, whether by confeſſion of them, or by abſolution from them upon ſuch confeſſion, or by receiving the Sacrament of Chriſts body and blood, no danger can accrue from the frequent meditation of *everlaſting death*, or from ſuch repreſentations of the horrours of it, as the often reflecting upon our ſins paſt, and the working of the *Sting of Conſcience*, upon ſuch reflections, will preſent unto us.

6. Another *excellent Uſe*, and that a *Poſitive One*, there is of theſe meditations. For no man ordinarily can have a *true Taſte* or relliſh of Eternal Life, but he, which hath had ſome *Taſte* or grudging of everlaſting death. The Senſe, or Taſte, or Overture of the *ſecond death* doth make the leaſt relliſh of the *ſecond reſurrection* unto Life to ſeem more ſweet and pleaſant. Now it is the relliſh or ſecret intimation of Celeſtial joyes, which muſt animate and incourage us to undertake all the dangers or diſcontents, wherewith the way unto the heavenly *Canaan* (the land of promiſe and of our reſt) is beſet. The moſt forcible Reaſons, which the Divineſt Orator can uſe, or the beſt words, wherewith he can apparel his reaſons or perſwaſions, are but vain, unleſs he can with them or by them inſtill this ſecret taſte or relliſh unto mens ſouls. All the deſcriptions, which the Leaders of the *Gaules* could make, of the pleaſures or Commodities of *Italy*; all the news or reports which they could deviſe or cauſe to be made in their publick meetings, as it were upon our *Royal Exchange*, could not ſo much animate their followers to adventure upon the ſtrait and difficult paſſages over the *Alpes*, as did the taſte of the *Italian Grape*. And that, which did eſpecially aggravate the *Iſraelites Daſtardy* for not undertaking that ſacred war, whereunto God had called them, againſt the *Canaanites*, the *Amorites*, and the *Hittites*, &c. was the ſight of *thoſe Grapes*, which, ſuch as were ſent to diſcover that good Land, had brought from *Eſchol*. Their unuſual greatneſs, which all the hoſt might have ſeen; and their extraordinary relliſh, which many did or might have taſted, was a pledge or aſſurance of the truth of Gods promiſes concerning the fertility or pleaſantneſs of that Land. For as we ſay *Ex ungue Leonem*; The terrour of the Lion, which we never ſaw, may be taken from his paw: Or as *Pythagoras* did take the juſt quantity of *Hercules* his body by the print of his foot; ſo might the *Iſraelites* have taken the true eſtimate of the Land of *Canaan* from the unuſual quality and extraordinary quantity of that bunch of grapes, which their mutinous ſpies or Intelligencers could not deny to be the native fruit of that ſoil. But of the *Iſraelites* diſobedience and daſtardy, and what both theſe and the ſlanderous reports, which their ſpies or intelligencers did raiſe of that good Land, myſtically import, we ſhall take occaſion, if God permit, hereafter to handle.

7. Such a pledge as theſe *Iſraelites* had of Gods promiſes concerning the Land of *Canaan*, we may have, and muſt have of the pleaſures of the *Celeſtial Canaan*, before we become valorous in our undertakings for it. And if we once attain to a true *Taſte* or relliſh of its gooodneſs; the leaſt portion of it will ſerve as a true meaſure to notifie the incomparable exceſs of *thoſe joyes* in compariſon of any earthly pleaſures or annoyances, the one or other of which, and nothing beſides them, can occaſion our diverſion from the wayes, which lead unto them.

The force which the Taſte of experienced pleaſures hath upon mens ſouls.

The force or efficacy, which experienced pleaſures or contentments have upon mens ſouls or affections, *Mahomet* and his ſucceſſors too well foreſaw, and ſo by a known repreſentation of a counterfeit heaven, and by a real and experienced taſte of imaginary or feigned pleaſures in the life to come, did make their followers more zealous and confident

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dent in propagating their Empire and Religion, then either Chriſtian Preachers or Magiſtrates can make their Chriſtian people. The obedience of Turkiſh children to their parents,of their greateſt Nobles to their Soveraign,of their ſouldiers to their Commanders,of inferiour Commanders to their Superiors or Generals, far exceeds any obedience,which we Chriſtians uſually perform to our Superiours in what kind ſoever. One Erroneous principle notwithſtanding they have, *That all things are ſo decreed by God as nothing can fall out otherwiſe then it doth: and from this* prejudicate conceipt,when opportunity ſuggeſts fair hopes unto the ſon of obtaining his fathers Crown,they account it no ſin,but a religious Act, for the ſon to depoſe the father,as preſuming it is Gods Will thus to have it, whenſoever he offers opportunity. But when there is no hope to gain a Crown by rebellion,no intimation given by the ſigns of the time, that God will proſper their attempts againſt their Superiors, there is no ſubject in any Chriſtian Kingdom , that will accept the greateſt dignity , whereto his Soveraign Lord can advance him, with ſuch Loyal reſpect and ſubmiſſion,as the ſons or grand-children of their Emperours will imbrace the ſentence of death,though no way deſerved, only in obedience to his deſigns and pleaſure. There is no malefactor amongſt us , though openly convicted of capital crimes, that will ſubmit himſelf to the ſentence of the Law,with that cheerfulneſs of mind, or unregreting affections, as their inferiour Commanders or common ſouldiers will ſurrender their lives into their Superiors hands, be the ſervice whereunto they appoint them never ſo dreadful or deſperate.

See *Book* 10. *fol.* 183.

8 Now the great motives by which Turkiſh Prieſts or their Magiſtrates work this abſolute ſubmiſſion and compleat obedience in inferiors,is either *fear of Hell* or torments after this life in caſe they ſhall diſobey; or *hopes of Heaven* if they continue loyal and obedient; and yet the hell, which they fear,is no way ſo terrible as that Hell,with whoſe torments we dayly threaten the diſobedient: Their hopes of heaven are nothing ſo glorious,as thoſe hopes,which God promiſeth,and we profeſs we believe them to be the reward of our obedience to our God, to our Prince, and to his juſt Laws, whether Eccleſiaſtick or Civil. Whence then doth this great difference or odds ariſe between their obedience and ours? From no other root then this. *They propoſe unto their followers ſuch an heaven, ſuch contentments after this life,as they may have a true taſte or reliſh of in this life,* by whoſe multiplication the incomparable exceſs of future contentments in reſpect of preſent,may by ordinary capacities be eaſily taken. There is no delight or pleaſure, which men in this world can take in the daies of plenty,ſecurity,and peace; no pleaſures of the outward ſenſes, of touch or taſte,which they do not hope to enjoy in far greater meaſure in heaven without annoyance,interruption or diſturbance, then their Emperour or Grand Segnior in this life can do. The meaneſt amongſt them perſwades himſelf he ſhall have more conſorts or concubines,then their Luxurious Emperors have, all more beautiful then any earthly creatures can be.There is no delight again in war or feats of arms, which their Common ſouldiers hope not to enjoy,without danger or defatigation of their bodies, in far greater meaſure, then the greateſt Commanders or Generals of their Armies do.And being thus perſwaded with this *Two-fold perſwaſion*, Firſt, *That Obedience to Superiors doth merit heaven:* Secondly, *That the joyes of heaven are for nature and quality the ſame with ſuch earthly pleaſures* and contentments, which they have taſted, but infinitly exceed them for quantity and duration; To perſwade them, to lay down this life in hope of attaining the life to come,by obedience to their

Emperours, or in love to their Religion, is a matter of no greater difficulty, then to induce a Merchant to lay out an hundred pounds ſterling in his own Country; upon ſuch aſſurance as this world affords, to receive ten thouſand pounds either in the ſame coyn, or in valuable commodities in another Country by way of return or bill of exchange.

9 But as for us Chriſtians, albeit our *hopes* of heaven be far more glorious then theirs can be; albeit our *Faith*, which is the ground of our hopes, be moſt firm and ſound (whereas their belief of ſuch a heaven as they hope for, is but grounded upon the ſand) yet in as much as the moſt part of Chriſtians have no diſtinct conceit or notion of the heavenly joys, which they hope for, but believe them only *in general* or in groſs to be exceeding great; their *Faith* is in a manner but *dead*, their *Hopes* have no operations upon their affections, they do not ſway them to conſtancy in any honorable adventures or undertakings for the heavenly *Canaan*. We, that be Gods Embaſſadors may ſpend our ſpirits and our breaths, and be anſwered only with Religion conſiſting in words, or with a zeal of *hearing* Gods Word, not of *doing* it. The Caſe of moſt Hearers is much what like to the Caſe of a man extreamly ſick and oppreſt with diſtempered humors. There is no man ſo ſick (unleſs he be poſſeſt with deep melancholy or a frenzie) but will acknowledge *in the general*, that ſuch a Diet, as his Phyſician preſcribes him, is good; that ſuch meats, as he ſeeth men in health to feed upon with delight, are pleaſant and uſeful for preſerving health. But preſs him to make his words good by his practiſe *in particular*, and you ſhall find a *Real Contradiction*; thoſe meats which out of his former experience he acknowledgeth to be ſweet and pleaſant, are to him in this diſtemper and indiſpoſition of body, bitter and abominable. The beſt Diet, which the *Phyſician* can preſcribe him, is nothing ſo welcom to him, as thoſe meats and drinks, which the diſtempered humor longeth after. And albeit you urge him with the authority of *Hypocrates*, *Galen*, or other famous Profeſſors of Phyſick, yet you ſhall not perſwade him to follow their Counſel, until he have in ſome meaſure recovered *his Taſte*; and the only means to recover *it*, muſt be, by the removing the noxious humor, wherewith it is oppreſſed. Yet ſuch as are bodily ſick have had ſome Taſte and experience of wholſom food in the time of their health: for bodily health ordinarily goes before bodily ſickneſs. But, *The ſpiritual diſeaſes of our Conſciences have precedencie of ſpiritual health; we all are ſoul-ſick from our birth, even in the womb.* And for this reaſon it is, That to work a *Longing* in us after a ſpiritual health, or to bring us in love with true ſpiritual food, is a matter of far greater difficulty, then to bring a man bodily ſick unto a liking of wholſom bodily food. We may perſwade men *in the General* That the joyes of heaven infinitely exceed all the pleaſures of this life; And thus far they will eaſily believe us; But without ſome *Taſte or reliſh of them*, no man will ſet his heart to ſeek after them.

The Taſte or true relliſh of eternal joyes how gained.

10 For us to give men, or men to take *A True Relliſh* of them, it is not (ordinarily) poſſible, until our heart and conſciences be in ſome good meaſure diſburthened of fleſhly luſts, of worldly deſires; or freed from minding earthly matters. The ordinary Phyſick, which God doth uſe in working this *Firſt Cure*, is ſome Croſs, affliction or chaſtiſement. Every Croſs or branch of affliction, which in this life can befall us, is in the intention of Gods providence, as a peculiar Medicine to purge our ſouls of ſome one vain delight or other.

The uſe of affliction to that purpoſe.

Now, *If we would ſeriouſly ruminate upon the particular afflictions, which befall us, or ſuffer the ſting of conſcience to have its work whenſoever our* *hearts do ſmite us ; This would be a good preparation for the recovery of our ſpiritual Taſte ;* without whoſe recovery, we cannot be purified according to the purification of the Sanctuary.

But, ſay the Lord hath laid no croſs, no affliction upon us, yet this is a Diet ſo neceſſary for the ſoul, *That every one, in caſe the Lord do not, muſt afflict his own ſoul* ; that is, he muſt ſometimes humble himſelf in faſting and prayer ; For this, in the language of *Canaan, is to afflict the ſoul:* without ſuch exerciſe voluntarily undertaken (not as meritorious or profitable in themſelves, but as uſeful for enjoying of our ſelves, and the gaining of free and retired thoughts) our *ſpiritual Taſte* is not uſually recoverable ; or, being in ſome meaſure recovered, cannot be preſerved.

But you will aſk, Wherein doth this *ſpiritual Taſte* conſiſt ; what is the object of it ? or that which anſwers unto it, as bodily food doth unto bodily taſte ? or What is the beſt dyet for recovering of it ?

This you are to learn from our Apoſtle, *Rom.* 14. 17. *The Kingdom of God is not meat and drink* ; it neither conſiſts in our uſe or abſtinence from theſe : what is it then ? *Righteouſneſs, peace, and joy in the holy Ghoſt.* Theſe words (if you mark them) are well placed : Firſt *Righteouſneſs ;* Then, *Peace* ; laſtly, *Joy in the holy Ghoſt.* For as the Prophet had ſaid long before, *Opus juſtitiæ pax* : Peace, the peace of conſcience towards God, towards men, and with our ſouls and affections, is the reſultance or work of righteouſneſs, as it is oppoſed unto iniquity. For, *There is no peace to the wicked, ſaith my God, Eſai.* 57. 21. *Joy* there may be without this peace or ſerenity of conſcience ; but no *Joy in the holy Ghoſt* without it. *Peace* of conſcience is as the firſt *Taſte* or ſmell of eternal reſt ; The firſt ſign or Symptome of ſpiritual health reſtored. *Joy in the holy Ghoſt* is to the ſoul as that chearfulneſs or livelineſs, which accompanieth perfect health, is unto the body. Righteouſneſs, or its works, are as the food or dyet, by which this ſpiritual health and livelineſs of the ſoul is procured.

That Taſte is the peace of conſcience and joy in the holy Ghoſt, to which the working of righteouſneſs is neceſſary.

11. So then he that deſires to have a true *Taſte of the heavenly gift,* or *of the powers of the life to come,* muſt enure himſelf to the works of righteouſneſs, of that *Univerſal Righteouſneſs,* whoſe practiſe is commended unto us in the Affirmative and poſitive precepts of the firſt and ſecond Table. It is not enough to abſtain from the evil works prohibited in the *Negative precepts* of both Tables. This abſtinence is as the matter or privation of that true righteouſneſs, whereof peace is the work or fruit. Howbeit even this *Inchoative Righteouſneſs,* or imperfect *Embryon* of it, is ſeldom or never framed and conceived without ſome chaſtiſement or correction ; which are as gentle Remembrancers of the horrours of the *ſecond death.* Nor is this *Inchoative* or privative *righteouſneſs* alwaies framed by chaſtiſements or ſuch remembrances, but, *by patient ſuffering of them,* or by embracing them, as ſo many tokens or pledges of our heavenly Fathers providence and loving care over us. Hence ſaith our Apoſtle, *Heb.* 12. 7. *If you endure chaſtiſement, God dealeth with you as with ſons ; for what ſon is he, whom the Father chaſtiſeth not ?* Surely no gracious or beloved ſon : ſo the ſame Apoſtle had ſaid, *ver.* 6. *Whom the Lord loveth he chaſtneth, and ſcourgeth every ſon, whom he receiveth.* Sons then he hath whom he doth not receive, becauſe they will not endure chaſtiſement or receive correction from him with ſubmiſſion and patience. Theſe he gives over as degenerate and loſt ſons. And *there is not a more fearful ſign of Gods diſpleaſure toward men, then his long ſuffering of them without chaſtiſement. If ye be without chaſtiſement* (ſaith the Apoſtle, *Heb.* 12. 8.) *whereof all are partakers, then are ye baſtards and not ſons* : But if all be partakers of it, how can any be without it ?

The work of righteouſneſs univerſal obedience.

The uſe of affliction or chaſtiſement to that purpoſe.

Yes, they are without chaſtiſement, which will not *patiently ſuffer it*; which will not embrace it as a pledge of their heavenly Fathers love, and theſe are *baſtards*. What is that? A baſtard is a ſon, but (in the language of men;) unlawfully begotten. Hath God any ſuch ſons or children? God forbid! All are his ſons, all are his children by right of creation, and by right of Redemption; and both theſe are lawful titles of Father-hood and dominion over us. *Baſtards then they are, who refuſe chaſtiſement, in this ſenſe only, that they are ſtubborn and diſobedient, or miſaffected towards the Father of mankind*: They imagine him not to be ſo kind and loving to all his ſons, not to themſelves in particular, as earthly parents are to their lawfully begotten children. This is that imputation which our Apoſtle ſeeks to avert from God, or rather that ſuſpition, which he ſeeks to remove from all, *who call him their Father*, and that by an Argument, as the Schools ſpeak, *a Fortiore*, ver.9,10. *Furthermore, we have had Fathers of our fleſh, which corrected us, and we gave them reverence: ſhall we not much rather be in ſubjection unto the Father of ſpirits and live? For they verily for a few dayes chaſtened us as ſeemed good unto them* (ſometime perhaps without actual intendment, or expreſs fore-ſight of any good unto us) *but he*, to wit, our heavenly Father, *chaſtiſeth us for our profit, that we might be partakers of his holineſs.*

12 The End of his chaſtiſement is alwayes This; That we may ſerve him in Righteouſneſs, and have our fruit unto Holineſs, whoſe *End is everlaſting Life*. And *One chief part of our Righteouſneſs conſiſts in the patient ſubmiſſion of our ſelves unto his chaſtiſements.*

The firſt part of Righteouſneſs in reſpect of what Law ſoever, is, not to tranſgreſs the Law:

The ſecond is, to ſubmit our ſelves unto the penalty, which the Law inflicts, in caſe we tranſgreſs it.

To plead the *former part* of this Righteouſneſs, in reſpect of Gods Law, we cannot; To perform the *ſecond part* of it we are bound upon pain of loſing our right of ſons. The penalty of diſobedience to it, or refuſal of chaſtiſements in this life, is *The woful eſtate of baſtards* or of Sons diſinherited.

The ſum of that, which hath been ſaid concerning our meditation of the *ſecond death* (eſpecially as this Meditation is *A Preparative* to the works of Righteouſneſs or of Holineſs) is excellently comprized by our Apoſtle, *Heb.*12.11. *Now no chaſtening for the preſent ſeemeth to be joyous, but grievous; nevertheleſs, afterwards, it yieldeth the peaceable fruit of righteouſneſs, unto them, which are exerciſed thereby.* The burnt child, as we ſay, dreads the fire; and he is more then a child, a very Infant, or witleſs child, which will not avoid the ſcorching flames of it, by the experience which he hath of its heat. Now there is no chaſtiſement, no correction, that is grievous for the preſent, but ought to be as a *Gentle Remembrancer* unto us of hell pains, or ſuch a fair *Caveat* for avoiding them, as the experienced heat of viſible and known fire (unto him that ſtands neer it) is of the harms, which it would procure, if he ſhould be caſt into it. And if we would make this or the like uſe of all the croſſes and afflictions, of all the bodily pains and grievances, of all the perplexities of mind or conſcience, which in this life we ſuffer, we ſhould be more careful then we are to avoid the temptations, by which Satan ſeeks to draw us into that everlaſting fire, which is prepared for him and his angels. This abſtinence from evil is the *Firſt branch* of our patience in affliction; The *ſecond* is the fruit of righteouſneſs.

But I ſuppoſe the Reader will deſire a *further Taſte*, Firſt, *Of the peace* *of Conſcience:* Secondly, *Of that joy in the holy Ghoſt* wherein the Kingdom of heaven conſiſts. And the Explication of theſe *Two great Points* follows in the next Chapter.

In the Interim, the beſt Uſe, which can be made of the Doctrine hitherto delivered, is made unto our hands by our Apoſtle himſelf, *Heb.* 12.12, 13, 14. *Wherefore lift up the hands, which hang down, and the feeble knees: and make ſtraight paths for your feet, leſt that, which is lame, be turned out of the way, but let it rather be healed. Follow peace with all men, and holineſs, without which no man ſhall ſee the Lord. Looking diligently leſt any man fail of the grace of God; leſt any root of bitterneſs ſpringing up trouble you, and thereby many be defiled. Leſt there be any Fornicator or prophane perſon, as* Eſau, *who for one morſel of meat ſold his birthright. For ye know that after when he would have inherited the bleſſing, he was rejected, for he found no place of repentance, though he ſought it carefully with tears.*

CHAP. XXV.

ROMANS 6. 22.

But now——— ye have your fruits unto Holineſs and the end everlaſting Life, &c.

The Coldneſs of our Hope *of* Life Eternal *cauſeth deviation from the wayes of Righteouſneſs, and is cauſed by our* No-Taſte *or ſpiritual diſrelliſh of that* Life. *The work of the Miniſtery is to plant* this *Taſte, and to preſerve* it *in Gods people.* Two Objects *of this* Taſte: 1. Peace *of Conſcience.* 2. Joy in the holy Ghoſt. *That* Peace *may beſt be ſhadowed out unto us in the known ſweetneſs of Temporal Peace. The Paſſions of the natural man are in a continual mutiny. To men that yet have no experience of it. The nature of* Joy in the holy Ghoſt *may be beſt exemplified by that chearful gladneſs of Heart which is the fruit of Civil Peace. It is the* Prerogative of man *to Enjoy himſelf and to poſſeſs his own ſoul. In the knowledge of any Truth there is* Joy. *But* True Joy *is only in the* Knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt *and of ſaving Truths. The Difference betwixt* Joy *and* Gladneſs *in* Engliſh, Greek *and* Latin.

1. THe very *Hope* of *Life Eternal* would be of it ſelf ſufficient to counterpoize all the *pleaſures*, and all the grievances incident to this mortal life (by *the one* or *other of which* our ſouls and affections are withdrawn from purſuit of that happy and bleſſed life, which hath its beginning here on earth, but hath no End in Heaven;) were the Belief of *it* firmly rooted in our ſouls. If any man ſwerve from the wayes of righteouſneſs, whether in the *General courſe* of his life, or in *particular Acts*, it is through want of *this Hope* either in the *Act* or in the *Habit.* The want of this *Hope* in the Habit proceeds from habitual want of our *ſpiritual Taſte:* The want of the ſame *Hope* in *particular Acts* proceeds from the interruption of this *Taſte* in ſuch as ſometimes have been partakers of it.

The chief part then of our Miniſtery is, *Firſt,* To plant *This Taſte: Secondly,* To preſerve *it* in our hearers. In *theſe Two* conſiſts *Tota Ars Medendi;* the whole method of ſpiritual Phyſick. The objects of our *ſpiritual Taſte* are *Peace* and *Joy in the holy Ghoſt;* for in *theſe two* conſiſts the Kingdom of God (as was obſerved before out of *Rom.* 14.17.) Without *Righteouſneſs,* there is no *Peace;* Without *Peace* of conſcience, there is no *Joy.* Firſt (then) of *Peace:* Secondly of *Joy.*

2. Under the name of *Peace*, All bleſſings ſpiritual are included: *It is the Fruit of Righteouſneſs*, and *the Root or ſtemme of Joy*. The beſt tydings, which the Angels could bring unto the people at our Saviours birth, were tydings of *Joy*; And in their *hymn*, after they had aſcribed *Glory to God*, they declare the Original of this *Joy* to be *Peace* on earth, and Good-will towards men. The beſt Legacy which our Saviour had to beſtow upon his Apoſtles before his death (after he had, as it were, made his *laſt Will and Teſtament*) was *Peace*, *John* 14.27. *Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you; not as the world giveth give I unto you, Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid.* And at his firſt appearance to his Diſciples being aſſembled together after his Reſurrection, he came and ſtood in the midſt of them, and ſaid, *John* 20. 19. *Peace be with you.* And after he had ſhewed them his hands and his ſide, he ſaid to them again, *Peace be unto you, ver.* 21. The ſame *Salutation* is recorded by Saint *Luke, Chap.* 24.36. And this *Salutation* is continued to the Church as the ſum and brief of all good things which we can deſire for our ſelves or wiſh to others. *Peace be to this Houſe and to all that dwell in it*, Be the very ſolemn words, which, *The Prieſt* going to viſit the ſick, is by the appointment of our Church, *to take with him*, and *to ſay* when he enters into the ſick perſons houſe. And this (I ſuppoſe) is injoyned, not ſo much with reference to *The like form of Salutation* commonly uſed among the Jews, as, either in *Imitation* of that *Form of Bleſſing* preſcribed by our Saviour; or (rather) in obedience and obſervation of that Precept given by Him (*Matth.* 10.12. *Luke* 10.5.) *Salute the Houſe ye enter into*: and, *Say, Peace be to this Houſe*. And ſo likewiſe (by the Churches appointment) we conclude our prayers, *The Peace of God* (that is) The *Peace* wherein the Kingdom of God conſiſts) *which paſſeth all underſtanding keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge of God and of his Son Jeſus Chriſt, &c.* The Form of this *Bleſſing* is taken from our Apoſtle, *Phil.* 4.7. And therein we do but pray for that which the Apoſtle promiſeth (in Gods name) to the *Philippians*.

How the Peace of God paſſeth all underſtanding.

3. But if this *Peace* (as our Apoſtle there ſpeaks) ſurpaſſeth all underſtanding, how ſhall we ſeek after it or diſcover the nature of it? or the nature of that joy in the holy Ghoſt, which is the fruit of it? Or is this *Peace* and this *Joy* (one, or both of them) that *New Name* (written in the white ſtone *Rev.* 2.17.) Which Chriſt promiſeth to give to him that overcometh, which no man knoweth ſaving he which hath it? For *Anſwer*, we ſay, This *Peace* ſurpaſſeth the underſtanding of all men, who are not acquainted with it; But if it muſt *keep our hearts and minds, through Jeſus Chriſt*, ſure we muſt have an experimental knowledge of it; we muſt feel and perceive it. So in effect the *Prophet Eſay* had ſaid, Eſay 64. 4. *Eye hath not ſeen, nor ear heard, neither have entred into the heart of any man the things which God hath prepared for them which love him.* But all this is to be underſtood of the *Natural Man*, or of the man as yet not partaker of the ſpirit of regeneration. For as the Apoſtle tells us, 1 *Cor.* 2.10. *God hath revealed theſe things even unto us by his ſpirit; for the ſpirit ſearcheth all things, yea the deep things of God.* And again, ver. 12. *We have received, not the ſpirit of the world, but the ſpirit, which is of God; that we may know the things, that are freely given to us of God.* The ſame ſpirit gives us a true relliſh of that Peace whence theſe joys do ſpring.

4. But if ſuch as have the *Taſte* or Relliſh of it know it better by experience, then they can by any *Map* or deſcription of it; How ſhall we perſwade ſuch as do not know it to ſeek after it? Or what deſcription ſhall we make of it, to bring them in love with it? The beſt Deſcription,

which we can make of it, muſt be taken from *the known ſweetneſs of Temporal Peace*, which is but the Emblem or ſhadow of it. And the ſweetneſs of Civil peace is alwaies much better known, much better eſteemed *Carendo, quam Fruendo*, by ſome interpoſition of want, then by continual fruition of it. *A conſuetis nulla fit paſſio.* We of this land, which have longer enjoyed Civil Peace without interruption, then any Nation in the world beſides, have not ſo true a relliſh of the ſweetneſs of it, as moſt of our neighbour Nations, which, within theſe few years have often felt the bitterneſs of war, as well domeſtick or Civil, as Forraign. Neceſſary therefore it will be for us, which neither have ſeen or felt the enemies Sword for theſe Threeſcore years and more, to uſe ſome *Fiction of War* for right conceiving the ſweetneſs even of *Civil Peace*.

This was written 30 years ago, or more.

Imagine then we lived in ſuch a Land or State, as the State of *Iſrael* was in the dayes, *wherein Eſaias* prophecied, or in the dayes *whereof* he prophecied, Ch.9.v.19,20. *Through the wrath of the Lord of hoſts is the Land darkned, and the People ſhall be as the fewel of the fire, no man ſhall ſpare his brother: And he ſhall ſnatch on the right hand, and be hungry, and he ſhall eat on the left hand, and ſhall not be ſatisfied, they ſhall eat every man the fleſh of his own arm*; *Manaſſes* ſhall be ready to devour *Ephraim* his brother Tribe, and *Ephraim*'s intentions againſt him ſhall be as cruel, and yet both, like *Simeon* and *Levi*, brethren only in miſchief and cruelty, ſhall conſpire to ruinate *Judah* the ſoveraign Tribe of that people.

Thus imagine the Port Towns in this Kingdom were noyſom neighbors to one another by ſea, one Shire or Province ready to make inroads or invaſion upon another: or every mans hand in the ſame Town or Shire to be lift up againſt his neighbor, or that a mans worſt enemies were of his own houſe: So many Servants, Inmates or Sojourners, ſo many Theeves; the children ready to rob and ſpoil their parents without hope of redreſs by ordinary proceſs of wholſome Laws; Might ſtill overcoming Right.

Beſides all this, imagine a forraign potent Enemy lying ſtill in wait to take all advantages, which theſe civil broils or inteſtine diſſentions afford for ſubduing the whole State or Nation, for bringing the Nobles into Captivity, for putting ſuch, as made reſiſtance, unto the ſword; to put their children to death before their parents eyes, and to abuſe the bodies of the wives and daughters of ſuch as put themſelves upon their courteſie.

If, unto a State or Kingdom in this diſtreſs or perplexity through civil diſſention and domeſtick broils, any hope of *Peace* and unity amongſt themſelves could be truly ſuggeſted, how beautiful would the feet of ſuch as brought theſe glad tydings be? And if theſe hopes were ſeconded with anſwerable ſucceſs, I leave it to your mature conſideration, what publick joy and exultation would enſue; Every man would be ready to bear his part in that ſong,

Nulla ſalus bello; pacem te poſcimus omnes.

Of Civil diſſention there can no good come; the very mention of war would be as the rubbing of an unhealed wound or bleeding Scar: *Dulce nomen pacis*, the very name of *Peace* would enſweeten our thoughts, ſeaſon our cogitations, and adde ſtrength and courage to our mutual endeavors for the eſtabliſhment of it.

5. Now though civil and inteſtine broyls are much worſe then open war with a forraign Enemy; yet the moſt perfect patern of miſery, which we can frame unto our ſelves, as effects of civil diſſentions within any City or Kingdom, is but a *Model* or picture of that inteſtine war, which every man (if we take him in the ſtate of nature, or before he be reconciled

The Tumult and diſcord of Paſſions in a natural man

See *Book* 10. *Fol.*55.
See *Hor.Serm. Lib.*2. *Sat.*7.
See *Perſ.Sat.*5

to God through Chriſt) may find within himſelf, within his own ſoul and affections. For, *Every Man is a little World* or Common-wealth, and the leſs the ſtate or ſoveraignty is, wherein civil diſſention is bred and nouriſhed, the more grievous it is. It is more dangerous when fire doth kindle in the ſame ſtreet or neighbor-houſes, then when it kindles afar off, though in the ſame Town; but when the houſe wherein we dwell is ſet on fire, the danger is greateſt. But moſt bitter and grievous is that diſſenſion or diſtraction, which is bred and nouriſhed in the *ſame breſt*, as either between the affections and paſſions, which lodge in the ſenſitive part; or between them and the reaſonable ſoul or conſcience; or the perpetual conflict between the fleſh and the ſpirit. Now, *The affections and paſſions of every diſſolute ill nurtured man* (as the Heathen Philoſopher had obſerved) στασιάζουσι, *are in continual mutiny* amongſt themſelves. *Immoderate deſire or hope of gain ſwayes the one way, and the like deſire of other carnal contentments, which cannot be procured without coſt or charge, ſwayes the contrary way. The love of reſt and eaſe inclines the ſoul one way, and deſire of credit and fame another; hopes or opportunities of ſatisfying luſt are ſtill encountred with fear of ſhame. Ambition hales the ſoul upwards*, and *fear of loſs or danger draws it downwards:* So that *the ſoul of a man*, not *yet reconciled to God, is ſtill (as it were) upon the Rack*; One while it takes pleaſure in the good things, which it ſelf injoyes; and the more it takes delight in theſe, the more it is tortured with envy againſt others, which injoy the ſame or like good things in a greater meaſure. Or if it were poſſible for a natural man to compoſe or huſh theſe mutinies between his ſeveral affections, or to draw all his paſſions or deſires unto one head or bent, yet *this Peace* of the affections and paſſions among themſelves, unleſs the *Conſcience* were included in it (which it never can be in the natural man) is but *A Diſhonorable Peace*, and that is much worſe, then an honorable war. Better it were that a mans deſires or paſſions ſhould band each againſt other, then that all of them ſhould with joynt force band againſt the ſpirit or Conſcience. This would be but as a conſpiracie of common Souldiers againſt their Leaders, or as a league or confederacie of Slaves againſt their Lords, or of Subjects againſt their Soveraign and their Magiſtrates; Or ſuch a peace as the *Roman Orator* did diſſwade the *Romans* from. *Pax cum Antonio non eſt pax ſed pactio ſervitutis*; To make peace with *Mark Anthony* a turbulent and ſeditious Peer, was but to condition for their Slavery.

6. Whether then our affections, our deſires or paſſions, be at enmity one with another; or, whether being at peace one with another, they be not in ſubjection unto reaſon or conſcience (as they never are in a man not reconciled to God, or in a man, which follows not the wayes of righteouſneſs:) Every branch of the one or other enmity within a mans ſelf, doth as it were make a *Breach* for the common enemy to enter at, who wants no ſkill, no induſtry, no vigilancy to work upon all opportunities or advantages, for bringing both body and ſoul, both the reaſonable and the affective part, both the fleſh and the ſpirit into everlaſting ſlavery. No foreign Enemy, not the *Turk* or *Mahumetan*, can harbor ſuch cruel intentions againſt any Chriſtian State or Kingdom (no not in his paſſions or furious mood) as this adverſary, Satan, doth againſt us all, Chriſtians, Jews, or Turks, even when he complies with us, or ſeems to be at peace, and promiſeth the beſt contentments, which he is permitted to beſtow upon his followers. It was *his Catechiſm* unto *Judas* to cover his murtherous intentions with a fawning kiſs; The Maſter knew this leſſon much better then the Scholar did, and can practiſe it with more Art

and Skill upon Chriſts Scholars, then his Scholar *Judas* did upon our Lord and Maſter. Of this civil diſſention or inteſtine war between the ſeveral affections of our ſouls, or between them and our ſpirits and conſciences, and of the danger which by this diſſention (unleſs it be timely appeaſed) may certainly accrew unto the whole nature from the common adverſary, Every man may have a ſenſible experiment in himſelf, ſo he would in vacant and ſequeſtred hours unpartially take the information of his own ſpirit and Conſcience: and the reflection or ruminating upon the inconveniences of theſe civil diſſentions or inteſtine wars within our own ſouls, will kindle in us a deſire of *ſpiritual Peace*, and a reſolution to follow the wayes, which lead unto it; And theſe are the *Works of Righteouſneſs*. Such as are not yet at *Peace* with God; many whoſe affections are not at *Peace* one with another, nor with their own Conſciences (which ſhould command in chief) may be ſafe or free from any *preſent* evil, from any wound *as yet* given by this adverſary; But no man living can be ſecure from *future* danger or miſery, until he be thus far at leaſt entred into the Kingdom of God, as that he hath ſome impreſſion or relliſh of that *Peace*. His ſoul and ſpirit muſt be brought in ſubjection to the Spirit of God; ſo muſt his affections or deſires be ſubject to his reaſonable ſoul or ſpirit, before he can know *this Peace by experience*, or taſte the fruit of it, which is, *Joy in the holy Ghoſt*.

Of joy in the Holy Ghoſt.

7. But, *Wherein doth this Joy in the Holy Ghoſt conſiſt*; Seing it is the iſſue or fruit of Spiritual Peace; The nature of it cannot be better exemplified (ſpecially to ſuch as know it not by experience) then by that known joy of heart or gladneſs, which is the fruit of civil or *temporal Peace*: And the fruits of this Peace are pithily deſcribed by the Prophet, *When every man may ſit under his own Vine, and under his own Fig tree*; that is, (to give you the importance of this Proverbial ſpeech in plain Engliſh) *When every man may reap the fruits of his own labors or imployments, or of the labors, imployments, or increaſe of other Creatures, which God hath put in ſubjection to him; when he may ſo reap them without moleſtation, without danger of annoyance.* It is not the poſſeſſion of Lands, of Wares, or other good things whatſoever we are lawfully entitled unto, but the *quiet Fruition* or enjoying of them, which fills our hearts with gladneſs: To have a full Flock, and to de deprived of the milk and of the increaſe of it; to have a goodly Vineyard, and to be debarred from gathering the grapes of it, is matter of ſorrow and grief, *A principal calamity of War*: But to enjoy theſe and the like commodities, without danger or moleſtation, is a ſpecial *Comfort of temporal or civil Peace*; And in as much as no man can truly injoy thoſe good things (which he poſſeſſeth or hath right unto) but in time of *civil Peace*; Hence it is, that under the name of *this Peace*, all good things Temporal are contained, for without Peace we cannot enjoy them.

And this is the *Prerogative of man above all viſible Creatures*, that the fruit which other ſuch Creatures do bring forth, they do not bring it forth unto themſelves, but unto man, and for his uſe either mediately or immediately. The Fields yearly bring forth graſs, or other wild herbs, for the food of other living Creatures; but even thoſe Creatures, with their fruits or increaſe, ſerve for the uſe of man: *Quicquid acquirunt, acquirunt Domino.* The Sheep being nouriſhed by the graſs of the Field, yields his yearly fleece, not ſo much for his own uſe, as for the uſe of Man: The Bees in Summer gather honey, but man is principal partaker of the ſweetneſs of it. Theſe and other like ſenſitive Creatures, how much ſoever they multiply and increaſe, are never *their own*, but *their owners* ; that is, ſome one or other *Mans* : yet not their Owners, unleſs it be in time of *Civil Peace*. Contention, whether it be by open Hoſtility of War, or by courſe of Law, alwayes deprives men of the fruition or enjoyment of thoſe good things, which are their own, though not alwayes of the poſſeſſion of them : By Peace only we enjoy thoſe things, which are our own by right of Title and Poſſeſſion ; ſo that *Civil or temporal Peace, is the onely nurſing Mother of civil or temporal joy or gladneſs.*

8. But albeit every one, the meaneſt amongſt us, could not only quietly poſſeſs, but peaceably enjoy this whole viſible world (ſuch as it is) or another as great as this is, and all the good things contained in them; yet (*as our Saviour tells us*) Our *life doth not conſiſt in theſe*: And what gain or profit could there be in poſſeſſing the whole world, in enjoying all the good things contained in it, if we ſhould loſe the enjoyment or poſſeſſion of our own ſouls ? To poſſeſs and enjoy the fruit of all other creatures labours, is the *Prerogative of man*, the onely remainder of that *Dominion*, which the Lord gave him over all other creatures in his firſt creation; But to *enjoy himſelf is mans peculiar :* and is the effect of his reconciliation to his God, and the well-ſpring of true Joy. Other creatures may, by mans permiſſion, reap the fruits of their own labours, as the *Bee* in winter may eat the honey, which it makes in the Summer, though perhaps not ſo ſweet unto it ſelf as it is unto man, for whoſe uſe and ſervice he unwittingly makes it. But no viſible creature beſides man can poſſibly *enjoy it ſelf*, or its own ſoul and faculties. Senſe and feeling many other creatures beſides man have; *Sed non ſentiunt ſe ſentire.* The *fowls of the Air*, the fiſhes of the Sea, the *Beaſts* of the field, and the *Bee*, (which beſt reſembles man, as he is *A ſociable creature*) do reſpectively (at *leaſt*) hear and ſee, feel and taſte, but yet, *have no true ſenſe or* eſtimate *of their own ſenſes*, as wherein they exceed Graſs, Trees, or Vegetables, or wherein they come ſhort of man. So that *man only is capable of enjoying himſelf, and his own ſoul* and faculties, and *yet not qualified for enjoying himſelf and his own faculties, until the former Peace, the peace of conſcience be in ſome meaſure wrought in his heart.* His ſenſitive affections, deſires and paſſions, muſt be firſt ſubjected to Reaſon and Conſcience: his reaſon, his conſcience, and ſpirit muſt be ſubjected unto the ſpirit of God, before he can poſſeſs his ſoul in patience ; and he muſt poſſeſs his ſoul with patience before he can *Taſte of that joy which is in the holy Ghoſt*, before he can bring forth the fruit of holineſs, whoſe End is everlaſting *Life*. The *Taſte* of this fruit or *Joy* is the only pledge or aſſurance of that endleſs *Joy*, which is prepared (for ſuch as love God) in heaven.

No man can truly enjoy himſelf until he be reconciled to God.

9. The *Vine* bringeth forth much pleaſant fruit ; So do the trees of the Garden ; but they *enjoy it not* ; when it is ripe, it falleth from them : or their owners reap it. But *this Joy*, which amounts from the quiet or peaceable *poſſeſſion of our own ſouls*, it grows within us, it ripeneth within us, it multiplieth and it ſweetneth within us, no man can, *and God will not*, take this joy from us. How fruitful ſoever we may be, yet we are but unprofitable ſervants, leſs profitable to our Lord and Owner, then the Trees of the Garden or Forreſt are to us; yet how unprofitable ſoever we are to him, he continues moſt gracious unto us, and permits us to reap and enjoy the fruits of all theſe good things, which he himſelf alone doth ſow and plant, doth water and cheriſh, and give encreaſe unto, within our hearts and ſouls. Were it poſſible for the huſbandman or Vine-dreſſer, ſo to infuſe the life of ſenſe into the Vine, as it might continually taſte the ſweetneſs of that fruit, which it beareth, and wherewith, as the Scripture ſaith,

it cheereth the heart of man, *How full would it be of gladneſs ?* both root and branch would be as full of mirth and gladneſs as they are of life and ſap. How much more graciouſly doth God deal with thoſe that hearken to his word, and obey the motions of his Spirit? We being by nature more dead unto the *Fruit of holineſs*, and more deſtitute of *ſpiritual Life*, then the *Vine* or *Fig-tree* is of the *Life ſenſitive*, he infuſeth a new ſenſe or Taſte into our ſouls, & makes them more fruitful then the Fig-tree, which is never without fruit, either ripe or green; and makes us withall *ſenſible partakers* of the ſweetneſs, of all the Fruit, which *his ſpirit* bringeth forth in us; and from the Taſte of this *Fruit of holineſs* ariſeth that *joy* and *Gladneſs of ſpirit*, which is the pledge and earneſt of eternal life.

10. But have we this *Joy* whilſt we ſojourn here on earth in our ſelves or in our own ſouls, or in Chriſt only? So we be fraught with the *Fruit of Holineſs* we have this *Joy* as truly *in* our ſelves, as we have the *Fruit*; Though we have neither, *of* our ſelves, or *from* our ſelves. We have *Both* in our ſelves, in ſuch a manner, as the Vine branch hath both *Life* and ſap *in* it ſelf, though both originally *from* the Root. So long as the Vine branch continues in the Vine, it is really partaker of the life and ſweetneſs of the Root. The ſimilitude is our *Saviours*, *John* 15.1.&c. *I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman: Every branch that beareth not fruit in me he taketh away; and every branch that bareth fruit he purgeth it, that it may bring forth more fruit. Now ye are clean through the word which I have ſpoken unto you*; for it is *The word* which purgeth us, and maketh us apt to bear fruit *in our ſelves* ſo long or we are *in Chriſt*. For ſo he addeth, *ver*.4. *Abide in me, and I in you; as the branch cannot bear fruit in it ſelf except it abide in the vine, no more can ye except ye abide in me. For I am the vine, ye are the branches; he that abideth in me, and I in him, the ſame bringeth forth much fruit*, *ver*.5. And where there is *Much Fruit*, there is *Plenty of Joy*. For, contrary to the cuſtome of other husbandmen or vine dreſſers; the ſweetneſs of the Fruit redounds not to the Vine-dreſſer, but to the branches that bear it. The fruit is wholly ours; The glory is only Gods. For ſo he adds, *ver*.8. *Herein is my Father glorified*; (he doth not ſay *profited*) *that ye bear much fruit*. The more we bear, the more we are benefited, the more God is glorified by us; for no man can truly glorifie God, until his heart and ſpirit be cheered with that joy, which is the fruit of peace, and holineſs. *God*, as the Apoſtle tels us, *did never leave himſelf without a witneſs*; All the good things, which the Gentiles received, even whilſt they walked in their own wayes, were ſo many witneſſes of his Goodneſs; though they perceived not, it was he that did them good, *that gave them rain from heaven and fruitful ſeaſons, filling their hearts with food and gladneſs*, *Acts* 14.16,17. He doth not ſay with *food* and *joy*: for, *joy properly taken, hath its ſeat in the mind and ſpirit of man*; nor is it there placed without the ſpirit of God: whereas, *the gladneſs* whereof the Apoſtle there ſpeaks, may harbour in the inferior or affective part. This difference, which we now obſerve between joy and gladneſs in our *Engliſh*, The *Greek writers* curiouſly obſerve between ἐυφροσύνη and χαρὰ, ſo do the Latines between *Lætitia* and *Gaudium*. Every bleſſing of God though but a bleſſing temporal, is matter of gladneſs even to ſuch as know not or acknowledge not God to be the Author of ſuch bleſſings; but *True joy alwayes preſuppoſeth the knowledge of God in Chriſt, and ſome acquaintance with the ſpirit*.

The Difference betwixt Joy, and gladneſs.

11. As it is ſaid in this 22. verſe that the *end* or iſſue of the fruits of Holineſs is *eternal life*, ſo our Saviour tels us *John* 17.3. *that the ſame eternal life*, is the effect or iſſue of the *knowledge of God, and of Jeſus Chriſt*,

True knowledg of God in Chriſt neceſſary to this joy.

whom he hath ſent. Theſe two then do reciprocate; without the knowledge of God and of Chriſt, there is no peace of Conſcience, no fruit of Holineſs, no joy in the Holy Ghoſt; and yet the Greater meaſure of ſuch fruit we have, the more we ſhall abound in the knowledge of God, and of his Son Jeſus Chriſt, in the knowledge of whom, this *Joy in the Holy Ghoſt*, which can be had in this world, and *life eternal* in the world to come, doth conſiſt.

So that the only way to attain unto *this joy*, wherein the Kingdom of God doth conſiſt; is to be rightly inſtructed in the knowledg of God, whoſe the Kingdom and glory, is, and of Jeſus Chriſt who is *Our King*, even the King of glory.

A joy in the knowledg of any ſort of Truths.

There is a kind of ſecret joy in the knowledge or contemplation of every truth or true principle, though of ſecular and humane Arts. And no marvel; for as *God is Righteouſneſs*, and *Holineſs, it ſelf*; So he is *Truth it ſelf*. The truth of all *ſciences*, is as truly derived from *that Truth which He is*, as that *Righteouſneſs* and *Holineſs*, whereof his Saints are made partakers, is from his *Holineſs* and *Righteouſneſs*. Now that *joy*, which ſome heathen Philoſophers or Artiſts did reap from contemplation of ſome Truths and Principles, in themſelves but dry and barren, did oft-times more then counterpoize that inbred delight or pleaſure in other ſecular vanities, which uſually miſ-way us Chriſtians to folly and lewdneſs; yea this Joy did ſometimes bring their ſouls into a kind of Rapture or forgetfulneſs of life natural or ſenſitive with their contentments. Many of them in hope to find out the Cauſes of the Ebbing and Flowing of the Sea, of the Ecliſpes of the Sun and Moon, of other appearances in the heavens, and the like, have been more abſtemious and moderate in their dyet, and ſpent more time and hours in obſerving the motion of the Stars, and in peruſing *Every leaf of the Book of nature*, or of Gods viſible creatures, then we beſtow in faſting and praying, or in meditation upon *The great Myſtery of godlineſs, God manifeſted in* the Fleſh; and if they happened to ſatisfie themſelves in theſe points of truth, which they moſt ſought after, the Expreſſions of their Joy, and ſometimes of their thankfulneſs to their Gods, were oft-times more hearty and cheerful, then moſt of us can give any juſt proof of, for all the benefits which God hath beſtowed upon us by his Goſpel. So * one of them having found that Mathematical Principle concerning *the equality between the Square of the baſe, and of the ſides of a Rect Angled* Triangle; did offer up preſently a Magnificent ſacrifice to the Gods or divine powers, from whom he conceived this revelation came unto him. * Another having after long ſearch diſcovered how much pure Gold the Gold-ſmith had taken out of the *King of Scicilies Crown*, and made up the weight of it with ſilver cunningly mixed, was ſo over wrought with joy, that he ran (inſtantly out of the Bath naked as he was, forgetting his cloths) crying, εὕρηκα, εὕρηκα, I have found it, I have found it out.

The *Philoſophers* Rapt with Joy in Contemplation and Invention.

12. And ſuch as at their vacant times are able but to try the concluſions which theſe men have found out, or to contemplate the truth and uſe of thoſe unfailing principles in the *Mathematicks*, or in *Natural Philoſophy*, which they have diſcovered, may hence reap more pure delight and ſincere joy, then the enjoyment of all things temporal, without ſuch contemplation, can afford. Yet the moſt admirable principles or ſureſt

Much more Joy in the knowledg of ſaving truths.

[* The former of the Two Philoſophers was *Pythagoras*: The later was *Archimedes*. Of both, ſee *Plutarch* in his Book intituled, *Non poſſe hominem ſuaviter vivere ſecundum Epicurum.*]

concluſions, of humane Sciences are not ſo good, at beſt no better then meer ſhadows of thoſe *ſolid Truths*, which are contained in the *Myſtery of godlineſs*. Even the Law it ſelf, which God gave unto his People by *Moſes*, is but a picture of that intire truth, which is contained in *the knowledge of God, and of his* Chriſt. Hence ſaith our Evangeliſt, *John* 1.17. *The Law was given by Moſes, but grace and truth came by Jeſus Chriſt.* What ſhall we ſay then? was there no truth in the Law, which was given by Moſes? God forbid! It was a Law moſt true; Yet the truth of it was but a Picture of that *live ſubſtance of Truth*, which is contained in the Goſpel, or rather in *the knowledge of Chriſt*. *If we did only deſire that* joy *or delight, which naturally ariſeth from the, contemplation of the agreement between the principles and concluſions in the ſame Art or Sciennce*; *The whole world beſides, (though we had the perfect knowledge of it) could not yield that plenty of pleaſant ſpeculations, which the Harmonie or conſent between the* Types or Figures of the old Teſtament, *and the live ſubſtances anſwering unto them* in the New, *or which the known accompliſhments of the Prophetical predictions, exhibit in Chriſt, to all that will ſeriouſly meditate on them.* What madneſs is it then to be in love, or to dote either on ſhadows in the book of nature, or in the pictures of the Law, and to nelect the live Feature of that ſubſtantial truth which preſents it ſelf unto our view in the Goſpel of Chriſt? The moſt exact knowledge that can be had in the book of nature or in humane Sciences doth alwayes end in contemplation: it is but like muſick which vaniſheth with the motion, it leaves no permanent mirth behind it. Whereas the contemplation of the *Myſtery of godlineſs* (ſo it be frequent and ſerious) doth alwayes imprint and inſtill the ſweet influence of life and joy into our ſouls.

The knowledge of humane Sciences, as it may be comprehended by the wit of man; So it is terminated with this life: But the knowledg of Chriſt, or rather Chriſt himſelf (who is the ſubject of divine knowledg) is an inexhauſtible fountain of truth, whoſe Current ſtill, even in this life, increaſeth as our capacities to receive it increaſe, and ſo ſhall increaſe in the world to come without ſtint or reſtraint. For the fruit or iſſue of it, as you heard before, is everlaſting life, and that is a life, which hath a beginning here on earth, but ſhall have no end in heaven.

An Advertiſement to the Reader.

Though it was told the Reader before, (Book 10. Fol. 67.) That it was the practiſe of this Great Author, Firſt, *To deliver in Sermons that matter which he intended afterwards to weave or form into the Body of his printed Diſcourſes:* Yet the Tenor of the laſt precedent and the next following chapter ſeems to require, that the Reader be re-minded of The Same here again. And withall, it be ſignified, That, The *Epocha* or Commencement of Theſe Tracts muſt be pitched thirty or more years *Retro*, as may be Collected out of a Paſſage in the twenty fifth Chapter. And laſtly, that the Place, where theſe Tracts (when they were Meer Sermons) were preached, was *the Famous Town of New caſtle upon Tine*, where our Author was *A moſt Exemplary, Careful and Pious Vicar* (but how proſperous or ſucceſsful, God only knows) for divers years together.

CHAP. XXVI.

ROMANS 6. 22.

But now——ye have your fruits unto holineſs, and the end everla-ing Life, &c.

Whether the Taſte of Eternal Life *once had may be loſt. Concerning* Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt. *How temporal Contentments, and the pleaſures of ſin coming in competition, prevail ſo, as to extinguiſh and utterly dead* The Heavenly Taſte, *either by way of* Efficiency *or* Demerit. *The Advantages diſcovered, by which a* Leſſer Good *gets the Better of a* Greater.

1. THe *Fruits of Holineſs* (as hath been ſaid) are *peace* and *joy in the Holy Ghoſt*; and in the fruition of this Peace and Joy, conſiſts that *taſte of eternal life*, which in this world can be had. And this taſte muſt be perfected and eſtabliſhed by the knowledg of Chriſt, and him crucified. Which knowledge hath been the main ſubject both of my private Meditations, and of my labors publiſhed in the ſeventh book of Commentaries upon the Creed.

How this taſte of eternal life is preſerved.

We are now to inquire, how this *taſte of eternal life* muſt be preſerved. *The Rule* is moſt true in the *general*; *That it muſt be preſerved and perfected by the ſame means, by which it was firſt planted*, and that is, *by the knowledg of Chriſt*. So that it is but one queſtion how the knowledg of Chriſt may be perfected in us, and how this taſte of eternal life may be preſerved. The next particular ſubordinate unto this general, is, *by what means ſuch as either have, or might have had, the taſte of eternal life, come to be deprived of it*.

A great queſtion not impertinent to this inquiry hath been of late; *Whether faith or grace being once had may be loſt, or whether loſt only for a time, or for ever*.

Of queſtions touching falling from Grace.

But, as I have often told you, there is more contention about this point amongſt modern Writers, then contradiction between their opinions; if they would calmly and diſtinctly expreſs their meaning.

That from *ſome degree of Faith*, or from *ſome kind of grace* a man may fall, no man denies. That no man can fall from the grace of election or predeſtination, I do not queſtion. And further then this, it is not ſafe for any to be peremptory in any poſitive aſſertion; not fit to diſpute without or beyond theſe Liſts. As for ſuch as take upon them to diſpute this or the like queſtion, in theſe terms: [*Whether a man may fall from ſaving Grace*] they bring it in the end to an iſſue untriable in this life, at leaſt on their parts. For admit it for a truth (which ſome do queſtion) that a man may be certain (*certitudine Fidei*) by the certainty of Faith, of his preſent eſtate in ſaving Grace; Yet no man knows anothers heart; he hath no taſte or experimental knowledge of thoſe gifts and graces, which God beſtows upon others: yet unleſs he know the nature and quality of thoſe gifts and graces, wherewith others are indowed, as he doth the nature and quality of thoſe graces, wherewith his own heart is ſeaſoned; it will be impoſſible for him to determine, whether the Graces, which God hath beſtowed upon him, be for their nature or ſpecifical quality the very ſame with thoſe, which others have had, and finally loſe them. Yea, whether the Grace, whereby one man is finally ſaved, be for ſpecifical quality the ſame with that, by which another is ſaved. Only this we know and believe, *That whoſoever is ſaved, is ſaved only by the free grace of God,* not as it is a *quality inherent in us, but as it unites us unto Chriſt,* who is the Author and Fountain of all heavenly Gifts and Graces. As for the particular manner how God doth work *in us,* or *by us*; methinks the Obſervation of the Wiſe King might long ſince have put a Period to all the curious diſputes of this Age. So he ſaid, *Eccleſ.* 11. 5. *As thou knoweſt not what is the way of the ſpirit* (by the Spirit, I take it he means, *Vis Formatrix*) *nor how the bones do grow in the womb of her, that is with child: even ſo thou knoweſt not whether ſhall proſper, either this or that, or whether they both ſhall be alike good.*

2. Wherefore, to wave all theſe and the like curious Queſtions, which rather breed Contention then Edification, we will build this Diſcourſe upon theſe two ſure Foundations.

The *Firſt, That the Illumination of our minds and Spirits, that the Taſte of the heavenly Gift, the participation of the Holy Ghoſt, the relliſh of the good Word of God, and of the Powers of the Life to come, are all of them true Graces of God through Jeſus Chriſt.*

The *Second, That from theſe Graces ſome men have fallen, and may yet fall both totally and finally.*

The former Principle, to wit, That the participation of the Holy Ghoſt, the Taſte of the heavenly Gift, *&c.* are Graces of God through Jeſus Chriſt; none but a *Pelagian* will queſtion.

The *Second,* That from theſe Graces a man may fall both totally and finally, no Chriſtian ſhould queſtion. For, it is ſuppoſed by our Apoſtle, *Hebr.* 6. 4, 5, 6, 7. For no man falls into the ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, but he which hath had theſe Graces, and is fallen from them. But ſhall we hence conclude, that every one, which hath had the taſte of the good Word of God, and of the powers of the life to come, and loſeth it for a while, or for a long time, doth thereby fall into the Sin againſt the holy Ghoſt? God forbid! *It is not every falling away from theſe Gifts and Graces, but a falling from them into Apoſtacy,* which makes up the meaſure of that irremiſſible ſin. It is not every ſin, but the ſin of blaſphemy againſt the Holy Ghoſt, which is unpardonable. And blaſphemy againſt the Holy Ghoſt alwayes includes a ſlanderous diſpoſition againſt the wayes of truth, a renunciation of Chriſt as their Redeemer, and a back-ſliding either into Atheiſm, Judaiſm, or Mahumetaniſm.

See the Authors Opinion more fully about *Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt.* Book 8. Chap.3. which Book, though publiſhed 21. years ſince, I ſuppoſe, was written after This.

Now many there be, who live a diſſolute and ungodly life, whoſe practiſes are as bad as may be, which yet do not ſlander the way of truth, which do not ſo much as wiſh in heart, much leſs profeſs themſelves to be Jews, Turks, or Mahumetans, rather then the Diſciples of Chriſt. Nor do all, which ſlander Chriſt, and his profeſſion fall into this unpardonable ſin, but only ſuch as have taſted of his Goodneſs, and afterwards fall from him, and ſpeak and think contumeliouſly of him, and of the Religion, which he hath taught us.

3. The whole Hoſt of *Iſrael* (ſome few excepted) did murmur againſt God and againſt his Servant *Moſes*; yet all that murmured were not cut off from ſeeing of that Good Land, but only thoſe, which had ſeen his wonders in *Egypt*, at the red Sea, and in the wilderneſs; and, being of years to lay them to heart, provoked him *ten times*, that is, as often as they had ſeen them. As the rejection of thoſe murmuring *Iſraelites* from the Land of *Canaan*, was a Type of ſuch as are Reprobated from the Kingdom of Heaven: So the ſin of thoſe, that were ſent to view the Land, was a peculiar Type or ſhadow of *the ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt*. Theſe men, after they had ſeen this good and pleaſant Land, after they had taſted the fruits of it, brought a malicious ſlander upon it, that it was a Land, which ate up its own Inhabitants, that it was not worth the pains and danger, which they were to undertake in encountering the *Anakims* and others, which were much ſtronger then they, and would not be put out of their own poſſeſſions, but by ſtrong hand and much blood on both parts. In this manner, if any man, after God hath endowed him with *the heavenly Gift*, and with *the Taſte of the Powers of the Life to come*, ſhall ſo far fall away from Chriſt, as to think that the promiſes of that Bleſſed Life are not worthy of that ſpiritual warfare, without which it cannot be obtained; unworhy of that ſincerity and integrity of life, which is peremtorily enjoyned all that ſeek after it; And in this reſolution, rather, in this want of true Reſolution, *forſake the Church of God* and *deſpite the Spirit of Grace*, he by thus doing, falls into *this irremiſſible ſin*. But as our Apoſtle ſaith unto theſe *Hebrews*, ſo may I ſay of you, *I hope better things of you*; yea I am perſwaded that all and every of you are free from this ſin. None of you can pretend ignorance of the wayes of Life: Let me therefore exhort you in the words of our Apoſtle, *Hebr.* 6. 11. 12. *This we deſire, that every one of you ſhew all diligence to the full aſſurance of hope, unto the end: that you be not ſlothful followers of them, which through faith and patience inherit the promiſe.* Or, as St. *Peter* ſpeaks, *Give all diligence to make your election ſure:* Not by way of Syllogiſm, but by good Practiſe and Converſation.

4. Reaſon not thus with your ſelves;
He that hath once taſted of ſaving Grace cannot loſe the taſte of it.
But I have taſted of ſaving Grace:
Therefore I cannot loſe the Taſte of it.

To prevent the uncertain or tickliſh iſſue of ſuch Collections, Remember,

Firſt, That God doth not promiſe the Kingdom of Heaven to ſubtil diſputers, but to faithful practiſers.

Secondly, Conſider how eaſie a matter it will be for Satan, when temptations ariſe, to ſhake all the joynts of the former Syllogiſm, and to diſſipate and break the *Major Propoſition* [*He that once taſted of ſaving Grace cannot loſe it*] into ſhivers. For, *That* (in any ordinary or intelligible ſenſe) is *ſaving Grace*, from which, if a man do not fall (or loſe the taſte of it) he ſhall be ſaved, without addition of any other Grace beſides that, which it is ſuppoſed he hath. Is it then apparent, that a man may *fall from that Grace*, or loſe the *Taſte of that Grace*, in which, if he did continue, or not loſe the *Taſte* of it, he ſhould be ſaved? Yes! This is as clear as the day light. For whoſoever doth continue in the *Participation of the Holy Ghoſt*, or doth not loſe *the Taſte of the heavenly Gift*, or *of the Powers of the World to come*, ſhall never periſh, ſhall be ſaved. Impoſſible it is that any man ſhould enter into the eſtate of death, or of reprobation, ſo long as he hath the Taſte of the life to come implanted in his heart and ſpirit: and this is for nature and quality *ſaving Grace.* But ſome that have *taſted of this Grace*, do utterly loſe the *taſte* of it, and ſo *fall from Grace* in it ſelf ſufficient to ſave their ſouls. For though all that loſe *this taſte* do not *ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt*; yet no man can *ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt* until he loſe *this taſte*, and yet no man can loſe *this taſte*, but he that hath had it.

The Concluſion then is moſt *pregnant*, that it is more poſſible, or a ſhorter paſſage, for a man to *fall from ſaving Grace*, or to loſe the *taſte of it*, then to ſin *againſt the Holy Ghoſt.* The moſt uſeful meditations then will be to diſcover the Means, whereby ſuch as once have had the *taſte of the heavenly Grace*, do come to loſe it, with their ſeveral degrees, and theſe are divers.

5. *Firſt*, It is to be ſuppoſed that God doth by his Spirit infuſe *this taſte* into mens ſouls, not continually or unceſſantly, but, as we ſay, by Fits or Turns: This *taſte of the powers of the Life to come* is ſometimes *Tranſient*; we cannot have it when we liſt; but muſt expect Gods providence, and attend his pleaſure, for the renewing of it, and crave the aſſiſtance of his Spirit, for producing it, by humble ſupplication and prayer. *Want of the due eſteem of it whilſt we have it, negligence in the duty of prayer and other Godly exerciſes, doth deprive us of it, when we might have had it renewed in us*; God doth not promiſe that any ſhall injoy this pearl beſides ſuch as diligently ſeek after it: And when they have found it (*or rather when it hath found them*) do duly prize it. And as this Taſte of eternal life is often for a time loſt, or much prejudiced by meer negligence in ſacred duties, ſo it may be choaked and ſtifled by errors or miſperſwaſions, which inſinuate themſelves into mens thoughts or phantaſies, after they have been partakers of it.

They only enjoy and keep this Taſte, that diligently ſeek after it and truly prize it.

Many there be, which will unfeignedly acknowledg that the pledg or *Earneſt of Eternal Life*, which they have received, is of more worth and value then all the pleaſures or contentments of this world, which can oppoſe or counterſway the deſires of it; And yet the ſame men (through the ſleights and ſubtilty of Satan) play but the Sophiſters with their own ſouls; Thus Aſſuming or Reſolving; That albeit *the taſte of the heavenly Gift* be more to be deſired, then all the temporal contentments, which are incompatible with it; yet *the Taſte* of theſe heavenly joyes, and the contentments of this life, which may be enjoyed with it, are better then it alone; for One good how little ſoever, being added to another how great ſoever, makes ſome addition of goodneſs.

The danger of ſeeking to enjoy worldly Contentments, together with this heavenly Taſte.

See this Fallacy in *Ariſtotles Rhetor.*

Thus many covetous men, and oppreſſors will eaſily be perſwaded, that they may increaſe their temporal eſtate without any forfeiture of their eſtate in Gods ſpiritual bleſſings. The ambitious or aſpiring mind thinks he may glorifie God more by his high place or dignity in Church or Commonwealth, then by continuing a private and retired life. As for the drunkard, the glutton, and the laſcivious man, they ſeldom are perſwaded that they may continue their wonted courſes and enjoy the *Taſte of the heavenly* Gift. And for this reaſon, many that have been ſubject to theſe ſins, have been more eaſily won to the love of truth and of ſaving grace, then the Proud, the Covetous, the Ambitious or envious men are, becauſe the one in his ſober thoughts fore-ſees the danger and acknowledgeth his ſins, whereas the other rejoyceth continually in his courſes without ſuſpition of danger.

6. Or if the covetous or ambitious mind ſometimes ſuſpects his wayes, yet being ingaged to purſue them, leſt he might be thought to have varied in his courſe of life, the beſt repentance, which he uſually attains unto is but like his in the *Poet*,

Id primum, ſi facta mihi revocare liceret,
Non cœpiſſe fuit; cœpta expugnare Secundum eſt.

If I were to begin the world again, I ſhould happily make choice of another kind of life, but being engaged, the next point is to make the beſt of that courſe of life, which I have choſen. And yet the more he makes of it, the worſe he ſpeeds in it in the *main chance*, the more he prejudiceth the *Habitual* or *Actual Taſte* of Eternal life; for the more we are accuſtomed to any courſe of life, the more we delight in it and are weaned from it with greater difficulty. And yet we muſt be weaned even from the world it ſelf before we can rightly *Taſte* the *ſincere milk* of the Goſpel, or be capable of that *ſtrong meat*, which is contained in this *Article of eternal life*, and others concerning Chriſt, by which *The Taſte of this life* muſt be fed and nouriſhed. So that of all ſins, pride, covetouſneſs and Ambition are the moſt dangerous; both, becauſe they be of more credit or leſs infamy in the world; and becauſe they multiply their Acts the moſt and work unceſſantly.

Taſte of unlawful pleaſures deads and looſeth the heavenly Taſte.

But though it be for the moſt part as true of theſe times, wherein we live, as it was in the dayes of our Saviours converſation here on earth, *that Publicans and open ſinners are oftentimes neerer to the Kingdom of heaven*, then many, which live a more ſober or civil life, but yet are covetous, vain-glorious, or envious, as the Scribes and Phariſees were; yet there is no man, that ſets his heart *to Taſte of any unlawful pleaſures*, though of thoſe pleaſures, which in his ſober thoughts he condemnes, but doth hereby weaken or *dead his Taſt of the food of Life*, and make himſelf ſubject to former temptations, whenſoever they ſhall aſſault him. However in the abſence of temptations they may ſeem unto themſelves and unto others to repent, yet when freſh ones ariſe, they uſually come to the ſame vent, at which the affections of that inceſtuous wanton in the Poet broke out when ſhe ſaid,

——*Deniq; non poſſum innoxia dici.*
Quod ſupereſt multum eſt in vota, in crimina parvum.

I am an offender already, and if I ſhall go on but a little, this may give greater ſatisfaction unto my deſires, then it can adde unto the meaſure of my ſin. But voluntarily to give ſatisfaction to any unlawful deſire or wiſh, upon theſe or like reſolutions, is much worſe then the deſire it ſelf, how bad ſoever that be; and may with ſpeed make up a greater meaſure of ſin in a moment, then that, which had been long in gathering before.

7. It is agreed upon amongſt the *Moraliſts*, that every vicious or unlawful *Act* doth diſpoſe the ſoul of man unto the vicious Habit or Cuſtome, whereunto ſuch vicious *Acts* do tend; and after the *Habit* or cuſtome be by many *Acts* produced, every following *Act* (ſpecially if it be undertaken deliberately and out of choiſe) doth adde a kind of weight unto the habit once produced, or *a ſtiffneſs of bent* or ſway unto the faculty or propenſion wherein the cuſtome is ſeated. The more men addict themſelves to any practiſe, or the longer any cuſtome in evil is continued, the more apt they are to be ſwayed with leſſer temptations, then could have moved them amiſſe before ſuch cuſtome or practiſe.

Thus much the heathens had obſerved by light of nature; and what they ſpeak of morally *Vicious Habits* or cuſtomes, is moſt true of wicked or ungodly practiſes or cuſtomes; for beſides this; that every ſinful Act (ſpecially if it be committed out of deliberation or choice) doth increaſe the ſtrength of the Habit or implanted deſire, whence it flows it doth withall provoke *God who is the giver of every good and perfect gift, the only preſerver of men from ſin* and wickedneſs, both to revoke thoſe good gifts, which he hath given them, and to withdraw the influence of his reſtraining Grace from them; according to the Tenor of our Saviours words, *And from him that hath not, ſhall be taken even that which he hath:* And thoſe once being taken away,

Tunc vaga proſiliet frœnis natura remotis.

Our natural corrupt deſires run further ryot on a ſuddain, then, whilſt we were in the courſe of nature, they ordinarily did, or could have done; and become ſo far exorbitant, that men either loſe *the Taſte of the heavenly Gift altogether*, or cannot be reclaimed by it, without the aſſiſtance of ſome *new Grace* or *heavenly Gift*.

Unlawful pleaſures and ſinful acts deſtroy the heavenly taſte both by Efficiency and Demerit.

A queſtion there is amongſt the School Divines, *whether any actual ſin, how groſs ſoever, can expell or extinguiſh grace by natural efficacy* (as cold expelleth, or moyſture quencheth, heat) *or only by way of Demerit.* That by way of *demerit*, vitious Acts may quench *this taſte of eternal life*, all do grant; that is, 'They may and do provoke God, who is 'the giver of all Grace, either to withhold that Grace, which otherwiſe he would beſtow upon ſuch men, or to take away ſuch Graces 'from them, as he hath already beſtowed upon them. But that any vicious Acts or Habits ſhould expel Grace after the ſame manner, as one vicious moral habit doth expel the contrary virtue (as drunkenneſs doth expel ſobriety, or as intemperance in any kind doth temperance) this ſome great School-men deny or queſtion. But, leaving theſe curious and inextricable diſputes, we will hold our ſelves only to ſuch uſeful Queries as fall under our former Aym or Level.

8. *The moſt uſeful querie* in this caſe is, *Whether it be ordinarily poſſible, that the Taſte of the heavenly Gift, or of the powers of the life to come* (where it hath been once planted) *can be prejudiced by the propoſal of any temporal contentment, whilſt they ſtand in actual competition, or whilſt we deliberate whether the purſuit of the one be to be preferred (for the preſent) to the other.* That any man, which hath any True Notion or relliſh of *Eternal Life*, ſhould be ſwayed to follow the wayes of Death, otherwiſe then through incogitancy, or want of actual conſideration, may juſtly ſeem moſt improbable, if not impoſſible. For he that truly apprehends or relliſheth the ſweet *Fruits of holineſs*, the *Peace of Conſcience*, *Joy in the Holy Ghoſt* (or if any other pledge there be of Eternal Life) cannot but acknowledge, that *theſe* are more worth then any temporal Contentment, which can come in Competition with *them*. Now it is a meer madneſs to make choice of a *leſſer Good before a Greater*, ſo long as it is actually apprehended or acknowledged to be Greater: there muſt be a defect or intermiſſion in the precedent Deliberation before any man can be overtaken with this kind of madneſs. Carnal contentments we apprehend or relliſh by our natural faculties; *Peace of Conſcience* or ſpiritual joy are apprehended or relliſhed only by *Grace*; and theſe *two ſeveral apprehenſive Faculties are as the two Scales* in a Balance: Whence it may ſeem as impoſſible for one that hath a true apprehenſion or relliſh of *ſpiritual Good* to be over-ſwayed to the contrary evil with any temporal contentment, which for the preſent can be preſented to his

How worldly pleaſures and temporal contentments come to prevail againſt the taſte of Eternal life.

Faculties natural, and *Grace*, Two Scales.

deliberation, as for a greater weight being put in the one ſcale of the balance to be over-poized by a leſſer weight put in the other.

The *Compariſon*, I confeſs, if it be rightly weighed, will hold moſt exactly: If the *Scales be even or equipendent*, and the *Beam* or Balance be equally divided, it is impoſſible that a leſſer weight put into the one Scale ſhould counterpoiſe a greater; But in Caſe the beam or balance be unequally divided, that is, if one part be longer then the other, a leſſer weight put in that Scale, which hath the longer part of the balance, will over-poize a far greater weight put into the other Scale.

9. This was an uſual kind of Couſenage in ancient times, practiſed by ſuch as ſold coſtly wares, and was excellently diſcovered by *Ariſtotle in his Mechanical Queſtions*. The truth of his diſcovery is moſt apparent in the *Ancel Weight* or Balance (which moſt of you have ſeen) wherein one pound weight put upon the one end of the Balance, will counterpoiſe a ſtone weight put upon the other end. And the inequality between the ſeveral portions of the ſame beam or balance may be ſuch, that a ſtone weight being put upon the one end will fetch back a hundred ſtone weight being put upon the other.

From this *experimental Principle* did the great Mathematician, *Archimedes*, ground that Aſſertion, which ſeemed a Paradox. *Da ubi conſiſtam, & devolvam terram*. If he might chuſe his diſtance or ſtanding place he would roul the whole earth about by his own ſtrength. As imagine the Line (which goes from the Center of the earth unto that part of the heavens, which is above our heads, and through it) were as firm and ſtrong as a pillar of braſs or ſteel, the ſtrength of one mans arm placed in the higheſt Heaven, or in ſuch a place, as this Mathematician deſired to have footing in, might poize or turn about the whole earth and all the creatures in it.

The former diſcovery of falſhood in viſible and material balances is clear to ſenſe, and may be demonſtrated to reaſon; but the heart of man is more deceitful then any balance, and the deceit of it was never diſcovered either by the Mathematician, or by the Philoſopher, nor is it diſcernable without diligent circumſpection to a mans own ſelf. The deceit in the General herein conſiſts, 'That, Albeit, the apprehenſive 'Faculties, by which we diſcern ſpiritual Joy, and temporal Content'ments, be, to our ſeeming, as equally ſet as any two Scales in a balance 'can be, or though our actual apprehenſion of matters ſpiritual be for 'the preſent more lively and quick, then our apprehenſions of tempo'ral contentment: yet our habitual propenſion or cuſtomary inclina'tion to ſome temporal pleaſures or delights may be much greater then 'our propenſion or inclination to any ſpiritual good. And yet this exorbitant propenſion or inclination unto things temporal, may be inſenſibly contracted, and the ſtrength for a long time not apprehended, not ſuſpected by us. As bad humors gather (unwittingly to us) in our bodies, and grow to a deadly or deſperate iſſue before we apprehend any danger: ſo may our propenſions or affections, to ſome earthly vanity or other, increaſe and multiply, before we apprehend their ſtrength or ſtifneſs. And in this Caſe alone, when our natural propenſions or affections to any temporal Contentment, exceed our propenſions to *ſpiritual Joy or Peace of Conſcience*; a temporal and *momentary good* being propoſed to our *Actual or deliberate choice*, may over-ſway the greateſt ſpiritual Good, which we can for the preſent oppoſe unto it; ſuch a Good, as before this temptation did ariſe, we would have choſen before any temporal Contentment, which we did actually apprehend, or could think of.

10. If it be further demanded, *Whether in this Caſe a leſſer Good may be choſen before a Greater*; or *whether this can happen without ſome ſpice of madneſs?*

We ſhould frame our Anſwer by the former Compariſon between a leſſer weight and a greater being put into the *even Scales* of an *unequal ballance*: That the leſſer weight ſhould over-poize the Greater it were unpoſſible, unleſs the propenſion of that part of the Balance, wherein the leſſer weight is put, did further exceed the propenſion of the other part, wherein the greater weight was put, then the greater weight doth the leſſer, ſuppoſing they were to be weighed not in *even Scales* only, but in an *equal ballance*. If the greater weight (or material to be weighed) have the ſame *Proportion* to the leſs, that *Six* hath to *Four*, and the one part of the Ballance, wherein the leſſer weight is put, have the ſame *Proportion* of length or propenſion, which ſix hath to four, neither ſhall over-poize other. But if the propenſions of the ſeveral parts of the ſame balance have the ſame proportion that *Seven* hath to *Four*, Four Pounds put in the one ſcale will over-poize Six pounds put in the other. By the greater propenſion you are to underſtand not a greater declination or lower pendence of the one ſcale in reſpect of the other, but a greater facility or aptitude to be declined or moved downwards.

The *Philoſopher* had long ago obſerved, that *Circuli majores ſemper moventiores*, The greater compaſs the wheel hath, the more apt it is to be moved. and being once moved it moves more ſwiftly then a leſſer. And for the ſame reaſon the longer part of the ſame *Diameter* or beam in a Balance is more propenſe or apt to be moved then the ſhorter part though the weight or ſtrength which poizeth doth, be equal. For it moves not only by virtue of its one weight or ſtrength which poizeth it, but by the virtue of his own propenſion or inclination to be moved. Every further degree of its propenſion or inclination to be moved falls into the ſame reckoning with the weight or ſtrength, which moves or poizeth it.

The *Caſe is the ſame* in the Queſtion propoſed between *A Greater and a Leſſer Good*, as between temporal Contentment and ſpiritual Joy, conſidered in the General; or between their ſeveral Branches. We muſt not compare the Objects or matters of the ſeveral Contentments only; for ſo it is evident that a leſſer Good is uſually choſen before a Greater: But we muſt conſider the Objects as they jump or meet with our propenſions or inclinations to them.

Now albeit any branch of ſpiritual *Goodneſs* may be actually apprehended as *much the better* before come to actual Competition or counterpoize with ſome temporal Good; yet if our propenſion to any branch of temporal good be greater then our propenſion to the contrary ſpiritual Good; the propenſion to the temporal good, when it meets with a ſutable Object, and opportunity to embrace it is ſo Actuated and enlived *by it*, that it breaks out into a deſire; and the goodneſs of our deſire doth ſo intermingle it ſelf with the fore-apprehended goodneſs of the thing deſired that they concur as exactly to make up the ſame meaſure of Goodneſs, as a Crown of gold and a Crown of ſilver do to make up the ſame ſum of money. Whence, if Our deſire or propenſion to any temporal Contentment be greater then our propenſion to the former *ſpiritual Good*; the goodneſs of the Object deſired being added unto it will over-ſway our inclination to the *ſpiritual Good*; and however in the abſence of tempting Objects we eſteem the *ſpiritual Good* to be much greater then any temporal Contentment, yet the goodneſs of the deſire or propenſion to any temporal contentment, if it be exceſſive, after once it come to joyn with a leſſer actual Good, will ſway our choice to that which is worſe, although there be no defect in the preſent Act of deliberation.

Moderating of worldly deſires and natural affections neceſſary for gaining and preſerving the heavenly taſte.

11. *Theſe Diſcuſſions* though unto ſome they may ſeem too Curious, yet are they uſeful, and give us the true meaning of our Saviours Advice or Precept unto all that deſire to come unto him. *If any man,* ſaith he, *Luke* 14. 26, 27. *come to me and hate not his Father and Mother, and Wife and Children, and Brethren and Siſters, yea and his own life alſo, he cannot be my Diſciple: and whoſoever doth not bear his croſs, and come after me, he cannot be my Diſciple.* And again, after two Similitudes and Parables premiſed, the one, *Of a man intending to build a houſe*; The other, *Of a King going to make war againſt another King*; he concludes in the ſame words, ver. 33. *So likewiſe whoſoever he be of you, that forſaketh not all that he hath, he cannot be my Diſciple.* This is the firſt reckoning or account, which a Chriſtian muſt make before he undertake that Sacred War againſt the Prince of this world, or before he conſecrate himſelf to be *a ſpiritual Temple unto the Lord*; otherwiſe he undertaketh both enterprizes raſhly and unadviſedly.

But wherein doth *this Forſaking of Father and Mother, and all that we have conſiſt?*

The Anſwer to this *Querie*, is, Firſt *Negative*, then *Affirmative*.

Firſt, It doth not conſiſt in the abdication or abandoning of our ſecular Callings; not in caſting off all care of our Father and Mother, and other Friends; not in ſelling of all that we have, though with intention to give it to the poor. *Wherein then?* In the limiting or moderating of our affections or deſires unto theſe or other things temporal. A mountain of gold could not have ſwayed ſo much with St. *John*, as thirty pieces of Silver did with *Judas*; ſo unequally was the ballance of his heart ſet, that this ſmall ſum being put as it were in the one ſcale, did over-poize his Lord and Maſter, who was the fountain of all ſpiritual Graces, being put in the other ſcale. It was not then the weight of the money, but the Exceſs of his deſire and propenſion to money, which made him ſo foully to miſcarry.

The whole art or skill of a Chriſtian conſiſts in theſe two points. Firſt, *In examining or finding out the ſtrength or ſway of his affections unto things temporal.* And ſecondly, *In abating or weakning their ſtrength, or in weaning his ſoul from ſuch deſires.* This is that, which the Scripture calls *the Circumciſion of the heart*, and that is no other then a putting off, of all ſuperfluous or impertinent deſires, or a lopping or limiting of our natural deſires that they extend not beyond our compaſs. *A Grain* of Faith or ſpiritual Grace may ſway more in a man of moderate deſires, then an *Ounce* of the ſame faith or Grace can do in a man of immoderate or vaſt deſires. *The firſt fruit of Grace is to moderate our deſires or affections*; this is the only way to become rich in Faith and rich in Grace. Thus much the heathen *Philoſopher* had obſerved; that *the way to be truly rich was not to make continual addition to our wealth or coyn, but by ſubſtraction or abatement of our deſires of it.* Unleſs we uſe the ſame Method in matters ſpiritual, we can have no certainty of our ſalvation, no aſſurance of our ſetled Eſtate in Grace; albeit our apprehenſions of Eternal Life through Chriſt be quick and lively; albeit our zeal to the profeſſors of the truth be ſtrong and fervent.

Seneca.

Though it be moſt true, which St. *John* ſaith, that, *Greater is he, which is in us, then he which is in the world,* that is, *Chriſt Jeſus is much ſtronger then*

then the Divel; yet unleſs, we hold our deſires and propenſions to things temporal within compaſs, and keep our ſelves within the bounds, which he hath ſet us, we have no aſſurance of his protecting of us againſt his adverſary, who is much ſtronger then we are, or can be, without his *ſpecial Protection.*

Watchfulneſs and ſobriety alſo are neceſſary.

But ſay we have ſet a ſhort period to our deſires of things temporal, and brought our natural affections into a tolerable ſubjection unto the ſpirit of Grace, *Are we hereby freed from danger*, or from ſuffering prejudice in our *ſpiritual Taſte of Eternal Life?* No! Beſides that moderation of our natural deſires or affections, in which *The forſaking of all* that we have, conſiſts, there is required a *perpetual watchfulneſs* over all our waies: *we muſt carefully look to every particular ſtep*: For, as a Judicious Divine hath well obſerved, albeit, he, which is thus far a Chriſtian in heart, be endowed with the extraordinary Graces of the Spirit, be like a man of an able and active body well armed and skilful in the uſe of his weapons; yet even ſuch a man may quickly take the ſoil, if his adverſary encounter him upon a ſlippery ground: For this reaſon, as there muſt be *an Habitual forſaking of all that we have*, leſt otherwiſe our own concupiſcences do tempt and betray us; ſo there muſt be *a perpetual watchfulneſs* to prevent all advantages, which the great tempter never ceaſeth to ſeek out againſt us. Hence is that other precept of our *Saviour* ſo often inculcated by himſelf, and by his Apoſtles. *Be ſober and watch; watch and pray continually*, &c. Without *ſobriety* there can be no *watchfulneſs*; And this *ſobriety* conſiſts, not only in the moderation of our meat and drink, or other pleaſure of the ſenſe, but *in the government of our very thoughts and ſpeeches.* It includes *a maturity of Judgment* and deliberation in all our reſolutions and undertakings: It is no leſs oppoſed to reſtleſs or haſty furious paſſion, then to habitual exceſs in any other kind whatſoever. For,

Sobriety conſiſts not only in temperance of meat and drink but in Ruling our thoughts and words.

Celeritas ſemper malis conatibus addita Comes,

Unruly or *prodigious Acts* are for the moſt part uſhered by raſhneſs. A leſſer weight if it move ſwiftly, or be violently thrown, will ſway more, and give a greater blow, then a far greater weight, which moveth ſlowly or with leſs violence. The ſwiftneſs of Motion or violent paſſions will miſſway our inclinations or propenſions, though in themſelves moderate, as far as the ſettled weight of an habituate inclination or Cuſtome.

Now abeit we be commanded *to be ſober and watch, to watch and pray continually*, yet this being an *affirmative Precept*, *Obligat ſemper, non ad ſemper*, though it alwaies binds us, yet it doth not bind us to all times alike. The due obſervance of it is more ſpecially required at thoſe times which are ſet a part by Gods law, as the Sabbath is, or at thoſe times, which are by the Church conſecrated for religious meditations and performances, ſuch as is this inſtant time of *Lent*; if I ſhould term it the *Holy time of Lent*, I ſhould, with ſome men, incur the cenſure of ſuperſtition, ſeeing all times are alike holy. Be it ſo! if we conſider them in themſelves: yet the time of *Lent*, being ſequeſtred or ſet apart by the Church, thoſe feaſtings or merry meetings, which in the ſeaſon of Joy lately paſt, were not unlawful, if the like ſhould be practiſed or exerciſed in *it*, would convince the practiſers of prophaneneſs.

I know there is a *Doctrinal Error* too well entertained in many parts of this Kingdom, which much hinders the due obſervance of *this Time*; but ſo it doth the performance of many other neceſſary duties. The *Error is this; That humane Laws, or Laws Eccleſiaſtick made by the Church do not bind the Conſcience.* This Doctrine hath been maintained by ſome worthy and Orthodox Paſtors in this Church without any Error, if there meaning were rightly conceived. But what they conceive not amiſs is ſo expreſſed, that it hath occaſioned many to erre foully, not in Doctrine only, but in *Practiſe*. Their meaning I know is no more then this; *That no man doth ſin or wound his Conſcience, but by tranſgreſſing ſome Law of God.* This *in Theſi* is moſt true: Yet let me requeſt you to remember or conſider (what hath been told you before in the controverſie between us and the Romiſh Church concerning *Chriſtian Obedience and Loyaltie to Princes*;) that however no man can ſin but by tranſgreſſing Gods Laws; yet an Eccleſiaſtick or humane Law, being made this year for reſtraint of our liberty in things indifferent, may make the ſame Act or practiſe to be a tranſgreſſion of Gods Law, which the year or years before had been no tranſgreſſion of it. But the Law concerning the obſervation of *Lent*, as well in reſpect of dyet, as of frequenting the houſe of God, is not of this or the laſt years ſtanding; it hath the warrant and cuſtome of the *ancient Church*, and the higheſt authority of this Kingdom to give it countenance. And whilſt either the Church, or Laws of the Kingdom do enjoyn you to do theſe things, which in themſelves are not unlawful, in *obeying them you obey Gods Law, which commands obedience:* in diſobeying them you diſobey the Laws of God, which forbid diſobedience to the higher powers. If then you will obey the Laws, ſpecially where they command faſting, or abſtinence, or devotion in publick, God will bleſs your private devotions, and your uſe of meat and drink the better.

CHAP. XXVII.

ROMANS 6. 20.

For the wages of ſin is Death; but the Gift of God is Everlaſting Life, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.

About the Merit *of Good Works. The* Romaniſts Allegations, *from the force of the word* Mereri *amongſt the Ancients; and for the* Thing it ſelf, *out of Holy Scriptures. The Anſwers to them all reſpectively: Some prove* Aut nihil aut nimium. *The different value and importance of Cauſal particles:* For, Becauſe, &c. *A difference between* Not worthy *and* Unworthy. *Chriſts ſufferings though in Time finite, of value infinite. Pleaſure of ſin ſhort, yet deſerves infinite puniſhment. Bad works have the Title of* Wages *and* Deſert to *Death; But ſo have not good works to Life Eternal.*

The final Recompence of our doings good or bad.

1. Death (as was expreſſed in the 21. verſe) is the End of ſin, and *Life eternal* (as you have it ver. the 22.) is the *end of Holineſs*, or of the ſervice of God. The *proof of both Aſſertions* you have in this 23. verſe, becauſe *Death is the wages of ſin*, and *Life eternal the Gift of God*; the *laſt* and *beſt Gift*, wherewith he crowneth ſuch *as ſerve him in holineſs and righteouſneſs*. Now the final recompence or reward, (whether that be good or bad) is the End or Period of all our wayes or works. Herein then doth *life and death everlaſting* only agree; that as well the *one* as the *other*, is the End or iſſue of mens ſeveral wayes or courſes here on earth. Yet theſe ends are contrary the one to the other; and ſo are the wayes, which lead unto them. The only way to the One is Righteouſneſs and Holineſs; the ready way unto the other is ſin and wickedneſs. But how-

ever *ſin* be injuſtice, and the *author of ſin* be moſt unjuſt; yet herein they both obſerve the Rule of Juſtice, that they pay their ſervants their wages *to a mite*: and unleſs the righteous Judg did moderate their cruelty, they would pay their ſervants more then is their due. But doth not the *Juſt Judg* deal ſo with his ſervants? Yes: he payes them *more then is their due*; yet this he doth without injuſtice; for he rewardeth them, not according to the Rule of *Juſtice*, but, according to his *Mercy and Bounty*. To puniſh men *beyond their deſert*, is injuſtice: But to Reward men *above their deſerts*, is no way contrary to Juſtice, but an Act of mercy triumphing over Juſtice.

But hath Juſtice no hand, no finger in diſtribution of the Final Reward of Holineſs?

This is or ſhould be the brief iſſue of that great Controverſie between the Romaniſts and Reformed Churches: *An bona opera renatorum mereantur vitam æternam.* Whether the Good Works of men regenerate do deſerve or merit eternal life. And it is a very Good Rule, which a Great Champion of Reformed Churches hath given us, *To reduce all Controverſies to thoſe places of Scripture, wherein they are properly ſeated, and out of whoſe ſenſe or meaning they are emergent,*

Chemnitius's Rule.

To handle them (eſpecially in Pulpit) upon other occaſions, or to go out of our way to meet with them, is but to nurſe Contention. And of all the places in Scripture, which are brought either *Pro* or *Con* for the Merit of Works, none is more pertinent, none more fit to be diſcuſſed, then this 23. verſe of *Rom. 6.*

Thoſe Anſwers, which are often given by Romaniſts unto other places of Scripture (alleadged by our Writers) will appear impertinent, if they by rightly examined by our Apoſtles Concluſion in this Chapter.

Our Method in handling this Controverſie ſhall be this.

Firſt, To ſet down the arguments brought by the Romaniſt for eſtabliſhing the Merit of works.

Secondly, To preſs the ſenſe and meaning of our Apoſtle (in this 23. ver, of *Rom.6.*) againſt them.

Thirdly, To joyn iſſue with them, or to ſet down *The true ſtate of the Queſtion,* not only betwixt us and them; but *between the juſt Judge, and our own ſouls* and Conſciences.

The Romaniſts Allegation: from the force of the word *merit.*

2. *Firſt,* They alledge ' That the word *Merit* is *frequent in the antient* '*Fathers of the Church,* and that albeit the ſame Word be not ſo *frequent* '*in the Scripture,* yet the *matter* it ſelf, which *the Fathers* expreſs by ' the word [*mereri*] is often intimated or neceſſarily implyed in *Terms* '*Equivalent*; And if we agree upon the *Matter,* it is but a vanity to wrangle about Words. '

Both points of their Allegation deſerve the ſcanning.

Hor, de Arte.

To the Firſt, Concerning the word [*mereri,* or *to merit*] in the Latine Fathers; we reply, that as Coyns or metals inſtamped, ſo Words do change their value or importance in different Ages, and in ſeveral Nations: Cuſtom hath as great authority in the one Caſe, as Soveraign power hath in the other. *Mereri, to merit,* imports as much (in the antient ſecular Roman or Latine Writers) as to deſerve that which we ſue for, or attain unto or to have a *juſt Title* unto it: So a Souldier is ſaid to *merit* his pay, a ſervant his wages, and good States-men or Commanders in warre, their honours. But unto this pitch or ſcantling the *Eccleſiaſtick writers,* as St. *Auſtine, St. Jerome*; or later, as St. *Bernard,* do not extend the word *Merit: Mereri* (according to their meanings) is no more then *Aſſequi,* that is, to attain or get that, which men deſire. So *Turonenſis* brings in a blind man ſupplicating to an Holy Man of his time, in this form [*Ut poſſim per preces tuas mereri viſum* ;] that I may merit my ſight through your prayers. In which words, the word *Mereri*, to *merit*, can imply no more, either in the poor mans meaning, or in this Hiſtorians, then *Aſſequi*, to get or obtain, For no man can *merit* any thing by anothers prayers: If theſe could properly *merit* or deſerve any thing at Gods hand, the *merit* ſhould be his, whoſe prayers God vouchſafed to hear ; not his, for whom he prayed.

The ſame word *Mereri*, with ſome Writers, doth not import ſo much as *to obtain* or get any thing at Gods hands, by vertue of our own or others prayers, but only *to be an Occaſion* or *Condition*, without which, that, which befals us, though not deſired by us, ſhould not have befallen us. So, (as we ſaid before) one ſpeaks of *Adams* ſin, *Felix peccatum quod talem meruit redemptorem.* O happy ſin, which merited ſuch a Redeemer ! Now there is nothing in the world, which could leſs deſerve any benefit at Gods hand then ſin, which yet was the Occaſion or Condition, without which the *Son of God* had not been incarnate, at leaſt had not been Conſecrated through Affliction to be our Redeemer. No Act or work of God, no not the firſt work of Creation, was of more free Gift or bounty (as the Romaniſts grant) or leſs *merited* (either *de Condigno*, or *de Congruo* by any work of ours) then the work of our Redemption. So that the word *Merit*, how often ſoever it be uſed by the *Antient Latine Fathers*, carries no weight to ſway us to any conceipt of *True Worth* in our Works for the purchaſing of eternal life.

The Romaniſts ſecond proof of *Merit*.

3 But what if the Holy Ghoſt ſpeak thus, in *Formal* or Equivalent *Terms* as that *Eternal life is the wages or ſtipend of our works*, or that our *Works are worthy of the Kingdom of Heaven*, or of the life to come; Shall we not ſubſcribe unto him ; Yes we will, if the Romiſh Church can prove unto us, that *He* thus ſpake or meant. Now that he thus ſpeaks or means, they endeavor thus to prove ; *Firſt*, from all thoſe places of Scripture, in which *Eternal life is ſaid to be* μισθὸς or *Merces*, that is, a *reward* or *ſtipend.* Now our Saviour himſelf thus ſpeaketh, *Matth.* 5. 11, 12. *Bleſſed are you when men ſhall revile you, and perſecute you and ſhall ſay all manner of evil againſt you falſely for my ſake: Rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is your Reward in Heaven ; for ſo perſecuted they the Prophets which were before you.* From *this* and the like places, they labor to infer, that the patience of *Martyrs* is *meritorious* of Eternal Life.

The Anſwer.

To this and the like places, the Anſwer is eaſie : The Greek μισθὸς, and ſo the Latin *Merces*, imply no more in the Language of the Holy Ghoſt, then our Engliſh word, [*Reward*] And hence the fruit or iſſue of our paines, ſo it be gratefull to men, though no way deſerved, is called μισθὸς. So our Saviour ſaith, that the very *Hypocrites* (which do all their works to be ſeen of men, if they gain applauſe) have their *Reward.* Yet no man will ſay, that a diſſembler or hypocrite doth deſerve or merit this Reward, but rather puniſhment. And *Rewards*, we know are ſometimes *given freely, out of meer bounty and liberality*, as well as by way of *deſert* or *merit*. Yea, it is not *properly a Reward*, unleſs it be a Gratuity or Largeſs. That which a man works for upon Covenant, or that which he receives by way of hire, is not a *Reward* but a juſt *Pay* or *Stipend* ; and though it be moſt true, *that God renders to every one according to all his wayes* ; yet in propriety of ſpeech, he is ſaid to *reward* none, but thoſe whom he remembers in mercy and bounty. For ſo it is ſaid, *Heb.* 11. 5. *He that cometh to God muſt believe that he is, and that he is a Rewarder of them that ſeek him* ; not ſo of ſuch as ſeek him not, for them he puniſheth; and no branch of puniſhment is any branch of Reward.

This then we learn from our *Apoſtle*, That *the firſt thing to be believed in all ages*, is this, *That there is a God:* The *ſecond*, That *this God is a Rewarder of thoſe that ſeek him.* This truly infers, That *His Reward is worth the ſeeking after*, whether it be beſtowed upon us in this, or in the life to come: but it doth not infer, that our ſeeking after it, is *meritorious*, or worthy of the leaſt of his Rewards. And though Eternal Life be the *Beſt and Laſt Reward* of ſuch as ſeek God, yet it is not the *Only Reward* that he beſtowes on them that ſeek him: yea he beſtows Eternal Life, or the Life of Glory upon none, upon whom he doth not firſt beſtow the *Reward of Grace. The Kingdom of Grace is but the Entrance into the Kingdom of Glory.* And when we teach *new Converts* to pray in the firſt Place for *The Kingdom of Grace*, and to pray for it, as the Reward or Gift of God. Yea and the Romaniſts themſelves do grant, that no man can merit the Kingdom of Grace, which is properly the *Reward* of ſuch as ſeek God; ſo that all their Arguments, which they draw from this *Topick*, that *Eternal* Life is called *μισθὸς* or *Merces*, and may therefore be *merited* by us, are altogether groundleſs: All of them conclude, *Aut nihil aut nimium*, either nothing at all, or a great deal too much; As, *That the Firſt Grace may be merited*, which they themſelves deny.

The Rom. third Argument.

4. Their next chief *Topick* is, that *Our works or endeavors are ſaid to be* worthy *of Eternal Life*, and that in Canonical Scriptures. To this purpoſe *Cardinal Bellarmine* citeth that of our Saviour, *Luke* 10. 7. *Dignus eſt operarius mercede ſua. The Laborer is worthy of his hire.* But I am perſwaded that he took this upon truſt from ſome idle or ignorant Scholer, whom he had imployed to take teſtimonies for his preſent purpoſe. If his leiſure had ſerved him to look upon the Circumſtances of the Text with his own eyes, he might clearly have ſeen, that our Saviour there ſpeaks *not of Eternal Life, or of the Reward or Gift of God*, but of that Hire, which is due unto the Preachers of the Goſpel from ſuch as are inſtructed in the Goſpel.

The other Teſtimonies alledged by him, are more Pertinent, though not Concludent; And they are in number *Three.*

Bellarmine his Reaſons.

The Firſt is, *Luke* 20. 35. *But they that ſhall be accounted* Worthy *to obtain that world, and the reſurrection from the dead, neither marry nor are given in marriage.*

The ſecond is, 2 *Theſſ.* 1. 4. *We our ſelves* (ſaith he) *glory in you in the Churches of God for your patience and faith in all your perſecutions and tribulations that ye endure, which is a manifeſt token of the righteous Judgment of God, that ye may be counted* Worthy *of the Kingdom of God; For which ye alſo ſuffer.*

The third is, *Revel.* 3. 4. *Thou haſt a few names even in* Sardis, *which have not defiled their garments, and they ſhall walk with me in white, for they are* Worthy.

This laſt Teſtimony affords them *A new Topick* or Frame of Arguments, which they draw from this and the like places, wherein *The works or righteouſneſs of the Saints are aſſigned as True Cauſes, Why* they enter into the Kingdom of heaven. So our Saviour ſaith in the Final Sentence, *Matth.* 25. 34. *Come ye bleſſed of my Father inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.* FOR *I was an hungry, and ye gave me meat: I was thirſtie, and ye gave me drink; I was a ſtranger, and ye took me in; naked, and ye cloathed me; I was ſick, and ye* *viſited me*; *I was in priſon, and ye came unto me.* This is as much (ſaith *Bellarmine*) as if he had ſaid: *Ye are* Therefore *bleſſed of my Father, ye ſhall* Therefore *enter into the Kingdom of Heaven*, Becauſe *ye have done theſe and the like good Works out of your Love and Charity towards me.* Now if theſe works be *The Cauſe*, *Why* they enter into the Kingdom of Heaven; and if thoſe of *Sardis* were to walk with him in white robes, *Becauſe* they were *Worthy*; The Controverſie may ſeem Concluded; *That Good Works are meritorious of heavenly Joyes, or of Eternal Life.*

The Cauſal Particles [*For, Becauſe*, and the like] imply not merit of Works. **And** ſee more of them Book 8. Chap. 15.

5. To the *latter Objections* or frame of Arguments drawn from theſe and the like places, *For I was an hungry and you gave me meat*, &c. *Calvin* makes Anſwer; *That theſe and the like particles* [Quia, Etenim, For, *or* Becauſe] *do not alwayes import or denote* The true Cauſe *of things, but ſometimes only the* Order *or connexion betwixt them.* But, However this may be *True*, it is not ſo *Punctual*; but that *Bellarmine* and others take their advantage from it, as having the Authority of the *Grammar Rule* againſt it. For the *particles* uſed, in all the places alleged by them, are *Conjunctions* not *Copulative* or Connexive but *Cauſal.* And it may ſeem harſh to ſay *That ſome conjunction cauſal doth not import a cauſality.* It is true; Yet ſometimes, they import *no cauſe at all of the thing it ſelf, but onely of our knowledge of it.* Oft times again, they import *no Efficacious cauſalitie of the thing it ſelf*, but only *Cauſam ſine qua non*, that is, ſome neceſſary means or condition without which the Prime and *Principal cauſe* doth not produce its *Effect.*

To give you *Examples* or *Inſtances* of both theſe *obſervations.* If there ſhould come into *This* or the like *Corporation*, A ſtranger, who knows not any Magiſtrate by ſight, he would ſay, *ſurely this is the chief Magiſtrate*, Becauſe *all others give place unto him*, becauſe *the Enſigns of Authority are carried before him.* Here the word, *Becauſe*, muſt neceſſarily denote *A true cauſe, but not the cauſe why he is the chief Magiſtrate* (for that is only his true and juſt *Election*:) What *cauſe* doth it then denote? *The cauſe of his knowledge* of him to be the chief Magiſtrate. Thus, when we come to the knowledge of the *cauſe by the Effect*; *The Effect is the cauſe of our knowledge of the cauſe*: As others giving place unto him, or the carrying of the Enſigns of Authority before him, is not the *cauſe* why this or that man is the chief Magiſtrate for the time being, but rather, his being the chief Magiſtrate *is the cauſe* why all others give him place, and why the Enſigns of Authority are born before him. Yet theſe and the like *Effects* are the true *cauſe* or reaſon of a ſtrangers knowledge of him to be the chief Magiſtrate.

And by *this Rule* we are to interpret that ſaying of our Saviour *many ſins are forgiven her, for ſhe loved much.* In which ſpeech it may not be denied, but that the Particle, *For*, imports *A true cauſe*; yet *no cauſe of the thing it ſelf*, to wit, of her love. For this were utterly to reverſe or thwart our Saviours meaning, which was no other then this; *That the forgiveneſs of her ſins was the cauſe of her love*: ſo was not her Love *the cauſe* of the forgiveneſs of her ſins, which by our adverſaries confeſſion being of *Free Grace*, and of the *Firſt Grace* which was beſtowed upon her, could not be *merited* or *deſerved.* Howbeit the manner of expreſſing of her love by waſhing his feet with her tears, and wiping them with her hairs, was *The true cauſe* of every underſtanding or *Obſervant mans knowledge*, that many ſins were forgiven her; and unleſs ſhe had an apprehenſion of her manifold ſins thus freely forgiven her, ſhe could not have loved him ſo much, or made ſuch expreſſion of her Love.

6. Sometimes again, this Particle, *For*, or *the like cauſal ſpeech*, imports only a ſubordinate or *inſtrumental cauſe*, or *A neceſſary* means or *condition* required, without which, the *Poſitive*, the *Principal* and *only efficacious cauſe* (eſpecially if it work freely) doth not produce its intended Effect. To *put the caſe home*, in this preſent buſineſs. Suppoſe a great and potent *Prince* out of his own meer motion and free grace ſhould proclaim a pardon to an Army of Traytors and Rebels which had in Juſtice deſerved death: if a man ſhould aſk *What is the cauſe* or reaſon why the Law doth not proceed againſt them? no other *cauſe* could be aſſigned. beſides the gracious favour of the Prince. But if one ſhould further aſk, *Why the pardon being freely promiſed to all*; *the principal malefactors* (*it may be*) *are pardoned, or reſtored to their blood or advanced to dignities, whereas others which were included in the ſame pardon are exiled* or put to death? The ſpeech would be proper and in its kind *Truly cauſal,* if we ſhould ſay, *the one part ſubmitted themſelves and craved allowance of their pardon, whereas the other ſtood out and rejected it.* For it is to be preſumed, that no Prince being able to quell his rebellious adverſaries will ſuffer any to enjoy the benefit of a General Pardon (how freely ſoever it be granted) unleſs they ſubmit themſelves unto it, and crave the benefit of it, with ſuch humility as becomes malefactors or men obnoxious. Much leſs will he reſtore any to blood, or advance them to dignities, whom he knows or ſuſpects ſtill to contique ill affected or diſloyal in heart. So then the not-ſubmiſſion or continuance in Rebellion is *The true and Poſitive Cauſe* why the one ſort enjoy no benefit of the *General Pardon*, but are more ſeverely dealt withall for rejecting the Princes Grace then they ſhould have been dealt withall if no Pardon had been granted. The humble ſubmiſſion of the other, and their penitence for their former miſdeeds, is *Cauſa ſine qua non*, that is, a neceſſary means or Condition, without which the Prince (how gracious ſoever) would not ſuffer them to enjoy the benefit of their Pardon, would not reſtore them to their blood, would not advance them to greater dignities.

This is the very *Caſe of Adam* and all his ſons. All of us were *Traytors and Rebels* againſt the *Great God and King of Heaven*, who is better able to quell the whole hoſt of mankind than any Prince his meaneſt Rebellious ſubjects; yet it pleaſed him to pardon us more freely then any earthly Magiſtrate can do a malefactor. If then the reaſon be demanded, *Why any of mankind are ſaved? Why they are reſtored* unto their blood, and advanced to greater dignity *then Adam* in Paradiſe enjoyed? no other *true cauſe* can be aſſigned of theſe *Effects* beſides *The meer grace and mercy of the Almighty Judge.*

But if it be further demanded *Why ſome of mankind enjoy the benefit of this Pardon, and inherit Eternal Life? Why others are ſentenced to everlaſting death:* When as the *free Pardon* with its benefits were ſeriouſly and ſincerely tendred *to all*? The *Anſwer is Orthodoxal* and True; *Becauſe* ſome in true humility accepted of the *Pardon* and craved allowance of it: whereas others rejected it, and ſleighted ſuch Proclamations or ſignifications of it, as the God of mercy and compaſſion had given out, not to *this* or *that man only*, but *To all the World.* So that the Omiſſion of thoſe good works which our Saviour mentions in the *final ſentence*, is *the true cauſe* why the wicked are excluded from all benefit of it. The performance of the ſame works (as feeding of the hungry, viſitation of the ſick, &c.) is the *Inſtrumental cauſe, or means ſubordinate to the Principal cauſe*, why Chriſts ſheep are ſuffered or admitted to enjoy the benefit of the ſame *free Pardon*; but *no cauſe at all* why the Pardon was proclaimed, or why the Kingdom of Heaven was prepared for them; *For that was prepared for them from the Foundation of the world*, before they had any Actual Being, before they could *merit* any thing at the hands of men, much leſs at the hand of God, either *de Congruo* or *de Condigno:* For all *merit* ſuppoſeth ſome precedent work, and every work or operation preſuppoſeth Actual Being.

The *Freeneſs of the Pardon* excludes not all qualification; but rather requires ſincere performance of good duties.

7. But how freely ſoever, the General pardon be iſſued out, or the Kingdom of Heaven be either promiſed or really beſtowed (and it is as freely beſtowed or given as it is promiſed) the free gift, or beſtowing of it is ſo far from excluding *all Qualifications* in the parties on whom it is freely beſtowed: that *it neceſſarily requires a ſincere performance of thoſe good duties*, which are ſpecified in the *Final ſentence*; *Come ye bleſſed of my Father, for I was an hungry and you gave me meat*, &c. Now if to ſuffer ſtubborn malefactors to enjoy the benefit of a gracious Pardon cannot ſtand with the *Majeſty of an earthly Prince*; much leſs can it ſtand with the *infinite Majeſty of the Eternal Judge* to permit impenitent ſinners to enjoy the benefit and the full redemption purchaſed by Chriſt, or to inherit the Kingdom of Heaven: Both becauſe no unclean thing can enter there, and becauſe as the Redemption is a Redemption from the ſervice of ſin to the ſervice of righteouſneſs; ſo the Pardon is only a Pardon to ſuch as repent and forſake the Sin Pardoned. *This anſwer* to their later *Topick* or Frame of Arguments (for our Admiſſion into Eternal Life) drawn from the Cauſal Form of ſpeech, will bring forth a punctual Anſwer to the other *General Head* or Root of Arguments, taken from thoſe places of Scripture, wherein is ſaid, that *We are accounted worthy of Eternal Life.*

For in all the places alledged by them, *This Phraſe* or form of ſpeech [*To be worthy*] includes no more, *then to be ſo qualified, as we ſhall not be accounted Unworthy* of Gods mercy or free Pardon through Jeſus Chriſt. All that ſhall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, muſt be ſuch as *Deus dignabitur*, that is, *ſuch as God ſhall vouchſafe or deign to accept in mercy*, or not accompt altogether *Unworthy* of his *Free Pardon* purchaſed by the *merits of Chriſt*, or of the benefits of it, which are alwayes actually beſtowed, not only *For Chriſts merits*, but *in* Chriſt and *through* Chriſt, that is, as freely beſtowed without any *merits* of ours, as they were firſt promiſed.

The *Greek writers* (eſpecially their *Eccleſiaſtick writers*, who moſt accurately follow the true ſenſe and Character of the New Teſtament, which was firſt written in Greek) accurately diſtinguiſh betwixt μὴ ἄξιος, and ἀνάξιος, and οὐκ ἄξιος. To this purpoſe there is an Eccleſiaſtick *Canon* in the Greek Church, which commends the ingenuity of ſuch as ſhall acknowledge themſelves to be μὴ ἄξιοι, that is, as we ſay, *not worthy* of the dignities, whereto they are preferred; But if any man ſhould ſay he were ἀνάξιος, that is, *Unworthy* of ſuch preferment, the *Canon* takes it as a preſumption, that he is not to be admitted unto it, or as a part of Conviction, that he deſerves to be deprived of it. Now to be οὐκ ἄξιος in the language of the Holy Ghoſt, is ſomewhat more, then to be ἀνάξιος, that is, to be in *no wiſe worthy* of the preferment, which he ſeeks for, or enjoyes. This is the phraſe which *Paul* and *Barnabas* uſe unto the ſtubborn Jews; *Acts* 13. 46. *But ſeeing you put the word of God*

God from you. and Judge your ſelves to be Unworthy (οὐκ ἀξίους) *of eternal life, Lo we turn unto the Gentiles.* Theſe Jews then, to whom they ſpake were *unworthy*, that is, *altogether Uncapable* of Eternal Life, whereof the Gentiles were, in this ſenſe, thus far *Worthy*, that they were not *altogether Uncapable* of that free mercy and *Pardon*, which was firſt tendred to the Jews. And this excluſion of the Jews, and admiſſion of the Gentiles unto everlaſting life, or unto the means or pledges of it, was but the accompliſhment of our Saviours Parable, *Matth.* 22. *ver.* 8. *Then ſaith He to his ſervants, the wedding is ready, but they, which were bidden, were not Worthy. And it is worth your noting*, that in Two of *Cardinal Bellarmines* forecited Allegations, the *One, Luke* 20. *ver.* 25. The *Other*, 2 *Theſſ.* 1. 4. is ſaid, not ſuch as *are Worthy*, but ſuch as ſhall be, or *are accompted Worthy* of everlaſting life; that is, ſuch as ſhall be ſo *accompted* or accepted, not for their own ſake, or for their *merits*, but *ſo accompted* and *accepted for and through the merits of Chriſt*, or for his imputed righteouſneſs; for to ſay, *That Chriſts righteouſneſs is imputed to us*, is all one, as to ſay, *his righteouſneſs ſhall go upon our accompt*, or *that we ſhall not be uncapable of his Merits.* For the word, *to Impute*, is as much (in ſtrict propriety of ſpeech) as *to be admitted upon an accompt.* Thus much of the Objections made by the Romiſh Church, and of the Anſwers unto them, which was the Firſt General propoſed.

Works not properly meritorious but indeed Unworthy of eternal life.

8. The Second was, *The Confirmation of the Doctrine joyntly maintained by all reformed Churches*, which (for the preſent) we ſhall confirm from One place of Scripture (only, beſides the Words of the Text, *Rom.* 6. 23.) and that is, *Rom.* 8. 18. *I reckon* (ſaith the Apoſtle, or I give it up as upon an account) *that the ſufferings of this preſent time, are* Not Worthy [οὐκ ἄξια] *to be compared with the glory, that ſhall be revealed in us.*

If any Works of men Regenerate were Meritorious or Worthy of Eternal Life, Theſe, by our adverſaries confeſſion, ſhould be the ſufferings of Holy Martyrs, ſpecially of ſuch Glorious Martyrs as St. *Paul* was; Yet Theſe he ſaith are not Worthy to be compared unto, or, are of no Worth in reſpect of the glory, that ſhall be revealed in us.

But if the precious names of thoſe in *Sardis*, that is, the Saints there, were to walk with God Becauſe they were Worthy, how ſhall the ſufferings of St. *Paul* or of St. *Peter* be held Unworthy οὐκ ἄξια in no wiſe Worthy, or moſt unworthy of the glory, which was to be revealed in them? For this includes as much, if not ſomewhat more, then to walk with Chriſt.

The Anſwer is ready: The Sufferings of the Saints were not Unworthy in reſpect of Gods Free Grace or Mercy; not Unworthy of enjoying the benefit of his free Pardon, for all ſhall be excluded from it, that are Unworthy of it.

But the grievous and moſt patient ſufferings of the Apoſtles themſelves are here adjudged by our Apoſtle to be altogether Unworthy of the Glory that ſhall be revealed, in reſpect of Gods Juſtice; Or if he ſhould enter into Judgment with them, after theſe three branches of Grace, Faith, Hope and Charity, had fructified in them.

But have they no Anſwer to this Objection? Yes, *Cardinal Bellarmine* (the only man, which ever that Church had for traverſing the Teſtimony or verdict of Scriptures, alleadged by our Writers) hath Two in ſtore, or rather two branches of one and the ſame anſwer. His Anſwer in General is this: *That our Apoſtle in this place*, Rom. 8. 18. *doth ſpeak* *of the Subſtance of works done by juſt and holy men, not of the abſolute Proportion between them and the glory, which ſhall be revealed.* If we reſpect the Subſtance of their works, they are not equal, (for the one is momentany or temporal, and the other eternal) to the reward or gift of God which is eternal life or glory; yet, ſaith he, there is a true or juſt Proportion between them.

9. To put a Colour upon this Diſtinction, he gives Inſtance; *Firſt*, in the ſufferings of our Saviour, which were but temporary, and no way comparable *for duration of time* with the everlaſting pains of hell, which without his ſufferings we all ſhould have ſuffered; and yet his temporary ſufferings did make a full and juſt ſatisfaction for the ſins of men, which deſerved everlaſting torments. For what was wanting to the duration or continuance of his ſufferings, was ſupplyed by the dignity of his perſon, which ſuffered them: In like ſort (as he would have it) the worth or dignity of that charity, from which the ſufferings of Martyrs, or other good works of juſt and holy men do proceed, may make up that defect, which they apparently have in reſpect of their ſhort duration or continuance.

His Second Inſtance is; that the pleaſures or contentments of ſin are in no wiſe comparable to the everlaſting torments of hell, which yet theſe momentary pleaſures juſtly deſerve for the contempt of God and his commandements, and thus (as he would have us believe) the good works of Saints, though but few and ſhort, may, through the vertue of Grace or Charity, as juſtly deſerve eternal glory.

How Chriſts temporal ſufferings were of infinite merit.

10. But as his Anſwer in General is Sophiſtical, ſo the Inſtances which he brings to prove it are moſt impertinent, and, if they be well ſcanned, moſt pregnant for Us againſt him.

To the Firſt, we reply, as all Divines agree, That Chriſts ſufferings, though but temporary for duration, and for quality not infinite, did make a full ſatisfaction for the ſins of mankind, becauſe the Perſon of the ſufferer was truly and abſolutely infinite; his ſatisfaction or the value of his ſufferings were truly infinite, *Non quia paſſus eſt infinita, ſed quia paſſus eſt infinitus: Not becauſe he ſuffered infinite pains, but becauſe He, who ſuffered thoſe grievous and unknown pains, was truly infinite.* But neither the perſons of the Saints, which ſuffered martyrdom, nor any pains, which they ſuffered, or good works, which they did, had any juſt Proportion to Infinity; and therefore could not be Meritorious of eternal Glory (which is for duration infinite) either in reſpect of their perſons, or of their charity, which queſtionleſs was much leſs then Chriſts love and charity towards us, as man, though this was not ſo abſolutely Infinite, as the love and charity of his Godhead. So that this Inſtance is not only impertinent, but altogether unadviſed; and the Reader may well wonder how ſuch groſs and ſomnolent incogitancie could poſſibly ſurpriſe ſo wary a man, ſo great a Scholar as *Cardinal Bellarmine* was.

Why the pleaſures of ſin, though temporary, deſerve eternal puniſhment.

His Second Inſtance though it include no ſuch groſs incogitancie, as the former, nevertheleſs it is involved in an error, too common, not only to the Romaniſt, but to many in reformed Churches. For the pleaſures of ſin, though but temporary, deſerve eternal death (betwixt which and them (in themſelves conſidered) there is no juſt proportion;) But the True Reaſon, why they juſtly deſerve this death, is, becauſe men by continuing in ſin, and by following the pleaſures of it, do reject or put from them the promiſes of Eternal Life, betwixt which and everlaſting death there is a juſt proportion. And when Life and Death everlaſting are propoſed unto us, the One out of Mercy, the other out of Juſtice, it is moſt Juſt dealing with God, to give ſuch as chuſe the pleaſures of ſin before the Fruits of Holineſs, *the native iſſue of their choice*: But it could not have ſtood with the Juſtice of God to have puniſhed our firſt Parents tranſgreſſion with everlaſting death, unleſs out of his Free Bounty and liberality he had made them capable, not of a temporal only, but of an everlaſting life.

But now that *Adam* hath ſinned, and made himſelf and his poſterity ſubject unto everlaſting death, doth not this Original Sin or every Actual Sin, which iſſueth from it, deſerve everlaſting death?

Yes, they do; and would inevitably bring death upon all, without intervention of Gods Mercy or Free Pardon made in Chriſt. But this free Pardon being preſuppoſed, and being proclaimed unto the world, it is not *Sin Original*, or the *Poſitive ſins of men* in themſelves conſidered, which bring everlaſting death upon them, *but their wilfull neglect or ſlighting of Gods mercy promiſed in Chriſt* (or of the means, which God affords them for attaining this mercy) which leaves them without Excuſe or Apology; or which *makes up the full meaſure* of their iniquity.

This is our Saviours Doctrine, *John* 3. 17. *God ſent not his Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be ſaved.* From what original then doth the condemnation of the world proceed? Our Saviour tells us, ver. 19. *This is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkneſs more then light, becauſe their deeds were evil.* It is not then the works of darkneſs in themſelves conſidered, but conſidered *with mens love unto them* or delight in them, that doth induce a neglect or hate of light, which brings condemnation upon the world. Now if the works of darkneſs or pleaſures of ſin, which are but momentany, do not *in themſelves* procure everlaſting death, albeit they proceed from Sin Original, much leſs ſhall the good Works of Gods Saints, albeit they proceed from Grace, procure or deſerve everlaſting life. For the Grace by which we do them, is from God, not from our ſelves, but the evil works, which we do, are our own, God hath no ſhare in them. So that the *Height* or *Accompliſhment of ſin* conſiſts *in the neglect* or contempt *of Eternal Life*, and the neglect hereof could not be ſo heynous, if this life could be deſerved by us, or if it were awarded to us out of Juſtice, not out of meer Mercy and Grace.

11. This difference betwixt the Title, which *Bad works have to Death*, and the Want of Title, which the *Beſt works have to Life Everlaſting*, is moſt ſignificantly expreſt by St. *Paul*, *Rom.* 6. 23. *The wages of ſin is death*, ſaith He, and wages are merited, are never detained without ſome interruption of the courſe of juſtice; But *Eternal Life* is not the wages of holineſs, but *the Gift of God.* And if in any ſort it might be deſerved or merited; the Apoſtle, queſtionleſs, would have ſaid, it had been, if not ὀψώνια *the wages*, yet μισθὸς, the *Reward of Holineſs.* But in as much as this word *Reward* ſometimes includes *Rationem dati*, ſomething given as well as taken, not alwayes a Reward of meer bounty, therefore the Apoſtle doth not ſay, it is the *Reward of Holineſs* or the *Reward of God*; Nor doth he ſay, it is, δῶρον, which properly ſignifies *A Gift*, for Gifts, though freely given in kindneſs, and not by Covenant, may be mutual, and may include a kind of *merit de congruo*; as we ſay, *One Kindneſs requires another like*; but our Apoſtle, to prevent this conceit of Merit, uſeth a word, which in its true and proper ſignification is incompatible with the conceit of Merit: he calleth life eternal χάρισμα τοῦ θεοῦ, that is, as the vulgar Latine renders it, *Gratia Dei*, the Grace of God.

CHAP. XXVIII.

ROMANS 6. 23.

——*But the Gift of God* (or, The Grace of God) *is Everlaſting Life, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.*

Whether Chariſmata Divina (*that is*) *The Impreſſions of Gods Eternal Favor may be* merited *by us. Or whether the Second, Third, and Fourth Grace, and Life Eternal it ſelf may be ſo. About Revival of Merits. The Text* Heb. 6. 10. [God is not unjuſt, &c.] *expounded. The Queſtions about* Merits *and about* Juſtification *have the ſame Iſſue. The Romiſh Doctrine of* Merit *derogates from Chriſts* Merits. *The* Queſtion (*in order to practiſe or Application*) *ſtated betwixt God and our own ſouls. Confidence* in merit, *and too Haſty perſwaſion*, *that we be* The Favorites of God; *Two Rocks. God, in puniſhing Godly men, reſpects their former Good Works.*

Of the word Gift or Grace.

1. T*He Gift or Grace of God.* This word *Grace* is ſometimes taken for *The Favour of God*, which in the Greek is, χάρις, ſometimes it implyes the *Stamp or Impreſſion of this Favour* in us; and this, in the Greek, is expreſt by the word χάρισμα, uſed here by St. *Paul*; That *The Favour of God* cannot be *merited* by any works of man, is out of Queſtion. For it was the Favour or *Free Grace of God*; which gave our firſt Parents *Being*; which continues their poſterity here on earth. And neither our firſt Parents nor any of their poſterity could deſerve or *merit* their Being. This *Favour of God*, is, as he is, without Beginning, without Change: But ſo is not τὸ χάρισμα, which is the Impreſſion or Effect of this Eternal Favour in us. It hath no Being in us before we Be: And after it be inherent in us, it admits of Alteration or Change in us.

The Queſtion then is, *Whether the Effects or Impreſſions of Gods eternal Favour to us, may be deſerved or merited by us?* Or, ſeeing the Degrees or Parts of Grace inherent be many, it is Controverſed between the Romiſh Church and us, *Whether any parts of this Grace can be deſerved or merited by us.*

Whether the Grace of God, or the Effects of his Eternal Favour can be merited by us.

That the Firſt Grace (that is, The firſt ſtamp or impreſſion of Gods Favour towards us) cannot be merited by us; They Grant. For the Firſt Grace (as ſome of them ſay) is *Fundamentum meriti*, The Foundation or ground-work of all Merits: *Et fundamentum meriti non cadit ſub merito.* Every Merit is precedent to the thing merited: But there can be no Merit precedent to the Firſt Grace, which is the Root, the Ground or Original of all Merits: But the Second, Third, or Fourth Grace, or Degrees of Grace, may (in their divinity) be merited, through the Virtue or Excellency of the Firſt Grace or Firſt Degree of Grace, ſo we uſe that as we ſhould.

Between the Firſt Degree or Seed of Grace ſowen in our hearts by the finger of God, and the Full Growth or increaſe of it there is, as *Cardinal Bellarmine* alleadgeth, a *True proportion*, though *no Equality*: And therefore there may be ſome *Ground of Merit* for *the increaſe of Grace*, though not for *the firſt beginning of it.* Indeed if *Grace* did grow in us as trees or plants do from the firſt ſeed, without any great care or operation of him that plants them, and if it did thus grow without any interruption or default on our parts, there might be *ſome pretence for merit*, or ſome probability at leaſt, that the fruits of *Grace* ſo growing ſhould be *Ours*, or ſo far *Ours*, as we are our ſelves; Becauſe we are the ſoil, wherein the *firſt ſeeds of Grace* were ſowen. But if it be God, not we our ſelves, that gives the increaſe, if it be God that ſends *Paul* to plant, and *Apollos* to water the ſeeds which he hath ſowen in us; if it be He that made us and not we our ſelves; *All the fruits of Grace are his* by propriety, not Ours; but only ſo far as he ſhall ſuffer us to enjoy them, by continuance of the ſame Gracious *Undeſerved* favour, by which he hath made us, and by which he ſowes the *firſt ſeeds of Grace* in us.

2. But *Grace* (being ſowen or planted in us by his immediate hand; without any Co-operation on our parts)

non——*Creſcit occulto velut arbor ævo*,

doth not grow up in us as well-thriving plants out of their proper ſeed without ceaſing or interruption, though by degrees unſenſible; for ſometimes it decreaſeth, oft-times it ſuffers many interruptions in its growth by our default or negligence. And is it poſſible, that we ſhould *deſerve or merit* the increaſe or fruits of that *Grace*, whoſe growth (in ſpring) is oft-times blaſted or hindred through our negligence or wilful default? This *They* do not ſay; This (in congruity of Reaſon *They* cannot ſay,) *Who* deny, that Grace once implanted in us cannot be diſplanted, can admit no interciſion in its ſubſtance or *Being*; however it may admit interruptions in its growth, or ſome decay or waning. But the Romiſh Church with her Advocates willingly grant, *That Grace truly inherent in men, and inherent in ſuch perfect meaſure as inables them to fulfill the moral Law of God, may be utterly loſt, may be expelled by mortal or deadly ſin; and yet may be recovered again, but loſt or expelled it cannot be without the default or negligence, without ſome mortal default or negligence of him, who had it in his cuſtody.* And yet being ſo loſt, they hold, *the like Grace*, may be gotten again, and *the Grace ſo gotten* and recovered they call *The ſecond Grace*, and if it be twice loſt and ſo recovered, it is *The third Grace*. The *Queſtion* then is, *How the ſecond, third, and fourth Grace is or may be recovered by us*; whether by way *of Merit or deſert*, or only *of Gods free Mercy* and favour.

The *firſt Grace* being loſt (though loſt it cannot be without their default that had it) *the ſecond Grace* (in their Divinity) may be *merited de Congruo* in congruity. And this is *A ſtrange Tenet, that ſeeing the* Firſt Grace cannot be merited *by any works of ours, either* de Condigno *or* de Congruo (*that is, either out of the* true worth *of our works, or out of any* Congruity *or proportion, which is between them and* Grace) *the* ſecond Grace *ſhould be at all* merited, *when the* Grace, *which is the* Foundation of this merit, *is utterly loſt*; *this is all one, as if they ſhould ſay; The fruit may be good or fair, when the Root or Tree, which bears it, is dead; or that the Roof may ſtand, when the foundation is taken from it; or that any Accident may remain without a ſubſtance*; Yet *thus to hold* they are inforced, if they will ſpeak conſequently to their other *Tenets* or Poſitions concerning *the merit of works* done out of Grace or Charity. For many of their Arguments, which they bring for confirmation of their *merits* in General, do either conclude, That the *Second Grace* may be *merited* or awarded by the courſe of Gods juſtice, not of mercy only; or that the *Apoſtaſie* into which they ſhould otherwiſe fall, may be prevented by the vertue or efficacy of their former works of charity; or elſe they conclude nothing at all for any *merit*.

3. The *Eſpecial*, or (as ſome think) the *Only* place of Scripture, which can with probability be alledged for the *Revival of Merits*, after the *Grace*, from which theſe *merits* did ſpring, is utterly extinguiſhed, is that, *Heb.* 6. 9, 10. *But beloved we are perſwaded better things of you, and things that accompany ſalvation, though we thus ſpeak.* In the former verſes the Apoſtle had threatned them with the danger of that *Irremiſſible ſin*, which they call *The ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt*, into which no man can fall but by forſaking the works of his *Firſt Love*.

What then is the Reaſon, that our Apoſtle doth hope ſo well of theſe back-ſliding Hebrews?

Gods Juſtice and righteouſneſs in rewarding us does not imply the *merit of our works*.

He grounds his hopes (as the Advocates for the Romiſh Church contend) not ſo much upon Gods *Free mercy* or Favour, by which only the *Firſt Grace* was beſtowed upon them, as upon *Gods Juſtice*: And if his hopes be grounded upon *Gods Juſtice*, more then upon his *Free Mercy* or Favour; Then, the Recovery of their former eſtate, or the prevention of that Apoſtaſie, into which they were falling, was more *from the merit of their former works*, then from *Gods Free Mercy or Grace*. Now, That the Apoſtle did ground his hopes of their Recovery, upon Gods Juſtice, they take it as proved from the tenth verſe: *For God is not* unrighteous *to forget your work and labour of love, which ye have ſhewed towards his name, in that ye have miniſtred to the Saints, and do miniſter.* Theſe words ſeem to import, That if God at this time ſhould have caſt them off, *He had not been juſt* and right in his Judgments; and *if* it had been any *injuſtice* in God at this time utterly to have forſaken them; Then, their perſeverance in ſuch Grace as was left them for the *Recovery of ſuch Grace* as they had loſt, was *out of merit* or deſert, and perhaps meritorious of the Recovery. For every man doth deſerve or properly *merit* that, which without injuſtice, or unrighteouſneſs cannot be detained from him. This is the moſt plauſible argument, which they bring for the *Revival of Merits*, after Grace be loſt or decayed; and if *merits may revive* after *Grace* be loſt, then queſtionleſs, *Whiles Grace continues without interruption* or interciſion, men may *merit more degrees* or increaſe *of the ſame Grace*, and ſo Finally, Everlaſting Life, which is here ſaid to be the *Grace of God*.

I have been bold to put this Argument, drawn from our Apoſtle, *Heb.* 6. as far *home* as any Advocate for the Romiſh Church hath done or can do, Becauſe the true and *punctual Anſwer* unto it will eaſily reach all other Arguments, which they can draw from the like *Head* or *Topick*, as when it is ſaid, *God ſhall reward us in righteouſneſs*, or as a righteous, Judge, &c.

The divers acceptions of *Juſtice* or *righteouſneſs*.

4. *To this Place I Anſwer*, That the word δίκη in Greek, or *Juſtitia* in Latine doth ſometimes import *ſtrict or legal Juſtice*, as it is oppoſed to mercy, favour, or loving kindneſs. Sometimes again it imports *univerſal Goodneſs*, or all the branches of Goodneſs. So the heathen had obſerved, that *Juſtitia in ſeſe virtutes continet omnes*, that Juſtice univerſally taken did comprehend all vertues in it. And in this ſenſe, A loving or friendly man is ſaid to be *A Juſt or righteous man*. So the Holy Ghoſt ſpeaks of *Joſeph*, the betrothed Husband of the Bleſſed Virgin, *that being a Juſt man, he was not willing to make her an example, but was minded to put her away privily*; though he found her with child, between the time of her Eſpouſal and the time appointed for her marriage, yet not with child by himſelf. Now ſo long as he was ignorant that ſhe had conceived *by virtue of the Holy Ghoſt*, it had been no *injuſtice*, but rather a branch of *Legal Juſtice*, to have made her an example, to

have had her ſeverely puniſhed ; for ſo the Law of God in this Caſe (as he yet underſtood the Caſe) did not only permit, but ſeemed to require. And to preſent a fact puniſhable by the Law of God is alwayes lawful and juſt: Yet this was no part of that Juſtice or righteouſneſs, which the Holy Ghoſt commends in *Joſeph*, when he ſaith, *he was a juſt man.* To be *Juſt* then in his Dialect (*in this Caſe*) was to be *A loving, a friendly and favourable man*; And if the Romiſh Church would take *Righteouſneſs in the ſame ſenſe* in thoſe places, wherein it is ſaid, that *he ſhall reward the Saints as a righteous Judge*, and crown them with Glory; their *Conceit of merit* could find no ſupportance from thoſe Teſtimonies of Scriptures, which they moſt alledge for it.

But, To the former place in the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, it is further to be noted. That our Apoſtle doth not ſay there, though it be moſt true, ὁ γὰρ μὴ δίκαιος; *The God you have to deal withall, you cannot ſay, is not juſt*; but οὐκ ἄδικος, *he is not unjuſt.*

As there is a great difference between *not worthy* and *unworthy*, ſo is there betwixt *not juſt* and *unjuſt.* When our Apoſtle denies God to be *unjuſt*, this Negative is *Infinite*, and doth include all other branches of Gods Goodneſs, beſides that Juſtice by which he renders to every man his due; It ſpecially importeth in our Apoſtles meaning, *his favour or loving kindneſs*, or his unwillingneſs to take the advantages of Law, or ſtrict Juſtice, againſt theſe *Hebrews*; or a willingneſs not ſo much to remember their preſent miſdeeds or back-ſlidings, in his Juſtice, as to remember their former works (which were much better then their preſent) in mercy, favour and loving kindneſs.

Should ſuch a thing be, our *meriting* derogates from *Chriſts merits.*

5. But whilſt they thus contend for the *merit of works done by Grace*; do they not derogate from the *merits of Chriſt*, who is the only fountain of all Grace?

We ſay, They do.

But *They Reply*, They do not; but rather magnifie the *merits of Chriſt* more then we do who deny the *merits* of Saints. For Chriſt, as they alledge, did not only merit Grace for us, but this alſo, that *we by Grace might truly Merit.* Now *grace* it ſelf, and the *merit of grace*, is a more *Magnificent Effect of Chriſts Merits*, then *grace* alone.

Here is a Double Effect of Chriſts Merits, by their Doctrine; whereas we admit but *a ſingle One.* Thus they reply. But if the *One* of thoſe two effects, which they imagine or conceive, doth derogate more (in true conſtruction) from the *merits of Chriſt*, then the ſuppoſal or admiſſion of it can add unto them; We attribute more unto his *merits* by the admiſſion of *One ſingle Effect only*, to wit, *meer grace*, then they do by acknowledgment of *Two*, to wit, *grace it ſelf*, and *the merit of grace*, in us. But the more we are to *merit by grace* for our ſelves, the leſs meaſure of *merit*, we leave unto Chriſt; For as that which he *merited* for us, is not *ours*, but *his*; ſo, that which we *merit* for our ſelves, is *not His*, but *Ours.* The *merit of grace* ſuppoſeth a Fulneſs or *Fountain of grace*, and *Fountain of grace there is no other but Chriſt himſelf*; nor is there any *Fulneſs of grace* but in him only: For *of his fulneſs* (as the Evangeliſt ſaith, *John* 1.16.) *we all have received grace for grace*, that is, *grace* upon Grace. Every degree or greater meaſure of *Grace*, which *we* receive, doth flow alike immediatly from the fulneſs of this *inexhauſtible Fountain of grace* without any ſecondary Fountain or Feeders. *Grace* doth not grow in us as Rivers do, which although they have one main ſpring or fountain, yet they grow not to any greatneſs without the help of ſecondary Fountains, or concurrenc of many

See the fourth Book, Chap. 11. 16 &c. About *merit* and juſtification: The place, perhaps related to in the next paragraph.

ſprings or feeders. *Grace* doth ſo immediately come from Chriſt, as the Rivers do from the ſea; *Increaſe of Grace* doth come as immediatly from Chriſt, as the increaſe of Rivers from rain, or as the increaſe of light in the waxing Moon comes from the Sun.

Of *Juſtification*, the doctrin whereof is corrupted by the doctrin of *Merit.*

6. The *ſtate of this Queſtion* concerning *The merits of works*, comes to the ſame iſſue with that other *Great queſtion* concerning *Juſtification*; *As whether it be by faith alone*, *or by faith and works.* The Romiſh Church grants, that *we are juſtified by faith in Chriſts blood or merits*, *Tanquam per Cauſam efficientem*, as by a true efficient Cauſe; ſeeing all the *Grace*, which we firſt receive, is beſtowed upon us for *Chriſts ſake.* But they hold withall, *that it is the Grace which for Chriſts ſake is beſtowed upon us*, *by which we are formally juſtified*, that is, *As water poured into a veſſel doth immediatly expell the air*, *which was in it before*; *ſo the infuſion of* Grace for the merits of Chriſt *doth expell ſin*, *whether Original or Actual*, *out of our ſouls.* And this (in their Language) is *The remiſſion of ſins*, for the attaining whereof *There needs no imputation of Chriſts righteouſneſs after Grace be once infuſed.*

The formal Cauſe of every thing requires ſome efficient or Agent for the production or reſultance of it; but being once produced or exiſtent, it excludes the interpoſition or intervention of any other Cauſe whatſoever for the production or exiſtence of its formal Effect. To produce heat in the water it is impoſſible without the Agency or Efficiency of fire; but the water being made ſcalding hot by the heat of fire, will heat or ſcald the fleſh of man or other living creature although it be removed from the fire, although it work only in its own ſtrength or of the heat inherent in it. Thus, ſay the Romaniſts, that *grace cannot be produced in us but by the vertue and efficiency of Chriſts merits*, *but being by them once produced*, *it doth juſtifie us immediatly by the ſtrength and vertue of it inherent in us*, *and by the ſame ſtrength and vertue working in us it doth produce its formall effect*, *to wit*, *the increaſe of grace*, *and laſtly eternal life.*

But if this Doctrine of theirs (ſo far as it concerns *Juſtification* or the Remiſſion of ſins) were true, then this inconvenience (as I have elſewhere ſhewed) would neceſſarily follow, *That no man already after this manner juſtified could ſay or repeat that Petition in our Lords Prayer*[*Forgive us our treſpaſſes*, *as we forgive them that treſpaſs againſt us:*] without a mockery of God or Chriſt. For if our ſins be *formally remitted by the infuſion of grace*, and if *by the infuſion of the ſame grace we be formally juſtified*, the only true meaning of *this Petition* is in true Reſolution, This; *Lord make us ſuch*, *or remit our ſins after ſuch a manner*, *that we ſhall not ſtand in need of thy remiſſion or forgiveneſs of them*, *or that we ſhall not ſtand in need of the mediation of thine only Son:* For if they be remitted immediatly by *grace*, ſo long as this *grace* endures, all mediation is ſuperfluous, is impoſſible.

This *Inconvenience* is farther improved by *the ſame Doctrine* ſo far as it concerns the *merits of works* done in charity; And prophanes *thoſe Two other Petitions* in the ſame our Lords Prayer [*Thy Kingdom come*; *Thy will be done in earth*, *as it is in heaven:*] no leſs then their *Doctrine of Juſtification* doth that Petition [*Forgive us our treſpaſſes as we forgive them that treſpaſs againſt us*,] For if works done by *grace* or charity could truly *merit* eternal life, the effect of all the three Petitions ſhould be but this, *Lord let thy Kingdom of Grace ſo come unto us*, *Lord let thy will be ſo done by us here on earth*, *that as we have been long debters un-*

to thee for giving thine only Son to die for our ſins, and for the purchaſing of the Firſt Grace *unto us*, *ſo let us by* this grace *be inabled to make both* Thee *and* Him *debters to us by the* merit of this grace, *and debters in no meaner a ſum then the retribution or payment of Eternal Life. For if that life can be merited by our works, then God doth owe it unto us for our works*; And if it be due unto us by *merit* or by debt, then it is not, as our Apoſtle hath it in this 23. verſe, *the gift of God*, or τὸ χάρισμα, as the Original hath it, *the Grace of God*; The Apoſtle might as well have ſaid, that *Eternal Life was as truly the wages* of our righteouſneſs, *as death is the wages* of our ſin.

And ſo the beſt Scholars in the Romiſh Church do grant he might have ſaid. *What then is the Reaſon why he did not ſay ſo?* Of this they give us *This Reaſon. Inaſmuch* (*ſay they*) *as the* Firſt grace, *by which we* merit *the Kingdom of heaven, is freely given us without any* merit *precedent, therefore the Kingdom of heaven it ſelf or life eternal, although it be truly* merited, *yet is called by our Apoſtle* The gift of God, *not the* ſtipend *or* wages of God. In giving this Reaſon they ſpeak very conſequently to their former Poſition, *that we are juſtified by Chriſt only, as by the Efficient Cauſe,* but immediatly and *formally* juſtified *by grace inherent* in us, though *merited* for us by Chriſt. But would to God they would learn at length to ſpeak as conſequently to the truth delivered here, *Rom.* 6. 23. verſe, by our Apoſtle, as they do to their own *Tenets*, or to the *Canon* of *the Trent Council* concerning Juſtification, which *Tenet* or *Canon* neither *Calvin* nor *Chemnitius*, *which examined that Canon,* could more punctually have croſſed after it was made, then our Apoſtle here in this verſe did almoſt 1500. years before it was made: For he doth not ſay that *Eternal Life is the grace of God* διὰ τὸν Χριστὸν *for Chriſts ſake, or for his merit,* which might denote only the *efficient Cauſe*; but, that it is; *the Grace of God* ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν *in* or *through* Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. This imports not the *efficient* only but the immediat and next Cauſe of this *gift of God*, it excludes the interpoſition or intervention of any Cauſality whatſoever beſides Chriſt.

And thus much here, Of the ſtate or iſſue of the controverſie betwixt us and the Romiſh Church concerning merits;

The *Appendix* or ſecond Branch whereof (according to the order propoſed in the twenty ſeventh Chapter, Section 1.) was; *The ſtate of this very Queſtion, Betwixt God the righteous Judge of All, and our own ſouls or Conſciences,* or if you will, betwixt our Conſciences and us. And this being rightly ſtated, will put into our mouthes *That true confeſſion* which every Chriſtian ſoul muſt make, ſo often as it ſhall become *A Petitioner* unto God who made it.

7. This we know, and all do grant, *That God made the Firſt Man righteous.* Whether this Original righteouſneſs were a ſupernatural Grace or no, is A queſtion betwixt us and the Romiſh Church, and it hath been touched by us, if not throughly handled in the very entrance or begining of the tenth Book. Certain it is, that it was *A Grace*, and either a part of mans *Being* (or of our nature, as it was the workmanſhip of God;) or A Grace conferred upon our nature with its Firſt *Being*: And A Grace, which could no way be Merited either *De condigno, or de congruo. Their very Firſt Being was the meer gift of God.* So were all the Qualifications and Graces wherewith it was indued. Suppoſe man had continued in this firſt eſtate, this had been but a continuance of that free Gift of God, which was beſtowed upon him with his beginning.

If he had been advanced or tranſlated to a better or more perfect eſtate, this likewiſe had been a new Free Gift or Grace of God, which could not be Merited by man: For his very Firſt Eſtate was more worth, then all the Labor and endeavors, which God required at his hands for the preſerving of it; ſo that he was ſtill indebted unto God as well for every moment or hour of life in ſuch an happy eſtate, as he was for his firſt Creation; and if he had been advanced to any better eſtate, this had made him a new Debter unto his Maker, it had been more then A Continuance of the former Debt. The utmoſt iſſue or beſt effect of all his endeavors could only have made him Capable or not unworthy of the Continuance of Gods Favour and grace, which he moſt freely extends to all, that do not make themſelves Unworthy of them: That the Firſt Man then was endowed with grace, this was *Gods ſole Work*: That he made himſelf unworthy of this *Firſt Grace*, and ſo loſt it, this was *his own work*. Yet after he had made himſelf and his poſterity thus Unworthy of the *Firſt Grace*, God beſtows a *Second* upon him, the *Grace of Redemption*, and this Grace could not be merited by him; it was *A more Free gift of* God, then his firſt Creation was; That was *an Act or gift of his Bounty*, this latter, was *An Act of his abundant Mercy*. Bounty extends it ſelf to ſuch as are *not worthy* of it; but Mercy reacheth to ſuch as are moſt *unworthy* of Bounty, to ſuch as deſerve the ſeverity of punitive Juſtice. What ſhall we ſay then? that the *Second grace*, which was promiſed to mankind in the womans ſeed, though it cannot be merited by any, yet being freely and actually beſtowed upon them, may merit the Continuance of it, the Increaſe of it, or advancement to a better Eſtate?

8. To be freed from the *Sentence of Death*, which was denounced againſt our firſt Parents is an extraordinary Grace or Bleſſing of God, and *This Bleſſing we all receive by the Grace of Baptiſm:* and *this Bleſſing* we all enjoy ſo long as we continue in Grace; and the longer we enjoy this Grace or bleſſing, the more ſtill we are indebted to our Gracious God, than they are, which never rceive it, which want it.

Now it is not poſſible that we ſhould *merit* any thing at Gods hands by the long enjoyment of that bleſſing, which the longer, or in greater meaſure we enjoy, the more ſtill we are indebted unto him, that gives it. *To what uſe or end then doth this Grace ſerve? Only to make us more indebted to God, then we were for our natural Being?* Nay! But to make us ſee the miſery of our Firſt Eſtate better then we could poſſibly ſee it whilſt we continued in it, and to enable us to make a better and more thankful acknowledgment of our Debt to God for all his bleſſings, then without *this Grace.* (or this bleſſing of Redemption) we poſſibly could do. Let the Advocates then of the Romiſh Church extoll the excellency of Grace unto the Skies or Heavens, whence it deſcends, we will not in this contradict them, but only to requeſt them to conſider, that the more excellent Grace in it ſelf is, the greater ſhould their condemnation be, that make no better uſe of it then they do, if God ſhould enter into Judgment with them. And certainly that man hath received but a mean portion or Talent of Grace, which ſees not his accounts to God to be much encreaſed, if God ſhould call him to a ſtrict account for not imploying his Talent, or not ſtirring up that Grace of God, which is in him.

9. But ſuppoſe we did *ſtir up this Grace*, or ſuffer our ſelves to be *ſtirred up by it* to good works, to what uſe or end doth our fruitfulneſs in Good Works ſerve? To this end only, *that we may not be found unworthy*

either of the Continuance of Gods Gracious Favour, or of the Continual Increaſe of it.

To acknowledge the Firſt Receit of Grace to be the ſole work of God, and yet to aſcribe in part the Increaſe of it to our own Merits, or right uſe of it, is no more then the Phariſee confeſt, when he ſaid, *Lord, I thank thee that I am not as other men are, nor as this Publicane.* Here was a true acknowledgment, that he received *this Grace* (by whoſe good uſe he thought himſelf better then other men) freely from God. But in making this Compariſon, he gloried as if he had not received it; or, as if, having received it, he was not ſo great a Debter unto God, as the Publicane was, nor liable to the ſame Account for his ſins paſt or preſent. Queſtionleſs this Phariſee had been partaker of better Grace, at leaſt of better means of ſalvation, then the Publican had been. And if this conceit of his own worth, in compariſon of other men, had not polluted his works, there is no Queſtion but that he had been more righteous then the Publican, yet the Publican went home more juſtified then the Phariſee; not for the worth of any good works, which he had done, but by unfeigned acknowledgment of his own Unworthineſs, if God ſhould have entered into Judgment with him.

That Form of Prayer or acknowledgment, which the Publican made, would at this day well beſeem even thoſe, which have received a greater meaſure of Grace, then either he or the Phariſee had done; even thoſe, which have been more fruitful in Good Works, then both of them were. Or if the Publican be no fit perſon for ſanctified men to imitate; certainly the Prophet *Daniel* is a fit one; and yet his confeſſion of his own unworthineſs, if God ſhould have dealt in Juſtice with him, was more pathetically humble, then the Publicans was, *Dan.* 9.8,9. *Oh Lord, to us belongeth confuſion of face, to our Kings, to our Princes, and to our Fathers, becauſe we have ſinned againſt thee; to thee, O Lord our God, belongeth mercies and forgiveneſſes, though we have rebelled againſt thee.* He placeth no part of his Confidence in the Merit either of his prayer or faſting, which yet were both excellent works proceeding from charity, and excellently performed by him: but how excellently ſoever theſe Duties be performed by him or any, they neither can Merit ought for their own worth in themſelves, nor from the vertue of Gods promiſes, for all his promiſes are promiſes of Mercy, and he that ſeeks for mercy, though promiſed by God, muſt ſincerely and ſeriouſly renounce all works, even the beſt works which he hath done; that is, he muſt diſclaim all Merit or confidence in works, otherwiſe he cannot take hold of Gods promiſes of mercy, but ſolliciteth God to deal in juſtice with him.

How works are excluded from Juſtification.

10. And yet here I muſt requeſt the Reader to call that to mind, which hath been often inculcated before, that whenſoever our Apoſtle excludes all works from Juſtification or Election, he is to be underſtood only of Confidence in works, or Conceit of Merit. He excludes not their Preſence, but neceſſarily requires it to our Juſtification, as to the making of our Election ſure, He only denies any Cauſal Efficiency in them for procuring theſe or the like bleſſings of God; leaſt of all, for obtaining of eternal life, unto which Good works are moſt neceſſary. For our Apoſtle takes it as granted, that we muſt deny our ſelves before we can do any good works; but we muſt do good works before we can renounce them, and we muſt renounce them in all our ſuits and pleas, ſpecially for thoſe bleſſings, which God, out of his Free

Grace and Mercy promiſed us. A Doctrine, which would to God ſome late Writers of Reformed Churches had taken into ſerious conſideration, whilſt they earneſtly pleaded for the Free Grace of God in our Election. For ſo they would never have taught us, as (to my apprehenſion) they do, that our *Election* to Eternal life is a more free grace of God then the *donation* of Eternal life it ſelf, then which, as no bleſſing of God is more Great, ſo none can be more Free. But the abſolute Freedom of the Gift doth no way exclude but rather require *ſome Qualifications in the Donee:* and for this Reaſon it is, that the practiſe of Good works is in ſpecial ſort required for the attaining of Eternal Life; Becauſe *That* is the greateſt and moſt Free Act of Grace, which *The God of Mercy* hath to beſtow upon us: in reſpect of *it* our beſt deeds are *moſt unworthy*, and the leſs *worthy* they are, the more unfeignedly they are to be renounced: And ſeeing our Apoſtle, when he excludes works from any plea of mercy, doth only exclude *Confidence* or *Conceit of Merit* in them; in whatſoever ſenſe he excludes them from Election or Juſtification, he excludes them in an higher degree of the ſame ſenſe, from the Donation of eternal Life; Otherwiſe that could not be (as our Apoſtle ſaith) τὸ χάρισμα τοῦ Θεοῦ, *the Free Gift of God.*

Two rocks to be avoided here, *Confidence in* merit of Works, and *Præmature conceit* or preſumption of our Election.

11. But as in all other points of Controverſie betwixt Us and the Romiſh Church, ſo in this ſpecially concerning *Merits*, I am alwayes jealous of both *Readers* and *Hearers*, leſt whilſt they hear one Error refuted, they take occaſion to run into the Contrary. For preventing this inconvenience in this preſent point *I muſt Requeſt* all in the *Firſt Place* to Obſerve, that *Both of us fully agree in* this General, *that God is a Rewarder of them that ſeek him*; and no man can truly ſeek him, but by a true and lively working Faith. The Queſtion betwixt us is only this; *Whether God Reward ſuch as ſeek him according to the Rule of Juſtice, or according to the Rule of his boundleſs Mercy*; or whether our works (his Grace and promiſe preſuppoſed) be *worthy of* his Reward, or only make us *not altogether unworthy* or *not uncapable* of his Mercy.

The *Second Point* which I would commend to all mens *Conſideration* is This, that as our Apoſtle in the fore-cited place, *Heb* 6. doth not ground his hope of thoſe *Hebrews* recovery upon Gods Juſtice, ſo he doth not ground it upon the *Infallibility* or immutable eſtate of their Election. He doth not ſo much as intimate that they could not poſſibly fall, becauſe their perſons were Elected, for this was more then either he or they knew, more then moſt men can poſſibly know, more then any man in their Caſe may ſafely perſwade himſelf. He that makes his *perſonal Election* the only *Anchor* of his Faith, in ſuch temptations as theſe *Hebrews* at that time were overtaken with, ſhall fall into as bad, perhaps a worſe, Error, then if he held, That his Good works formerly done might *merit* his Recovery unto his former eſtate, ſo he will but addreſs himſelf to do the like.

This Conceit of merit (though we take men in their beſt eſtate, or when they are leaſt conſcious of groſſer ſins) *is a Symptom of heatheniſh pride or ignorance.* For the Heathens thought they could make the Gods or divine Powers beholding unto them. But to ſtay our ſelves in the conſciouſneſs of grievous ſins lately committed upon perſwaſions of our *perſonal Election*, is the moſt dangerous root of Hypocritical Pride that can be planted in our corrupt nature.

Now any Symptom or Branch of Pride or vain-glory is leſs deadly then *the Root of Pride*, vain-glory or phariſaical hypocriſie. Far be it from any of us to think, that the like ſin committed by a man regenerate doth not deſerve worſe at Gods hands, then if it had been committed by an unregenerate or meer natural man, becauſe he thinks himſelf to be of the number of the Elect; For if this ſin or tranſgreſſion be for *Subſtance* the ſame, the ***Circumſtances*** make it a great deal worſe in a regenerate, then in a meer natural man. That ſaying of the heathen *Satyriſt* or Cenſurer of ill manners holds as true in Divinity as in Morality :

Omne animi vitium tanto conſpectius in ſe
Crimen habet, quanto major qui peccat habetur.

The crime or fault is ſo much the greater, by how much the party offending is in his own eſteem or others better qualified.

12. From what Original is it then, that the righteous Judge doth oft-times leſs puniſh the ſins of men, which have lived a godly life, then he doth the like ſins in men not as yet regenerate, or in men that have been altogether barren of good works? the true Reſolution of this Probleme or Queſtion muſt be taken from that *general rule or Maxime*, That God will render to every man according to all his wayes either in Juſtice or in mercy. Now albeit God alwayes puniſh the ungodly in this life *Citra condignum* in leſs meaſure then they deſerve, becauſe his mercy and long ſuffering inhibits the execution of his punitive juſtice; yet he alwayes rewards the good works which we do, *Ultra condignum*, far above their deſervings; for albeit the beſt works, which we can do, *deſerve no reward at all*, yet his infinite goodneſs will not ſuffer the leaſt good works, which we do, to go without his Reward. Rewarded we ſhall be either with ſome *Poſitive Bleſſing* or with the Mitigation of ſome puniſhment, which our evil works had juſtly deſerved. From this Original it is, that albeit the bad works of men regenerate, or endowed with grace, do *weigh* heavier in the ſcale of Gods Juſtice, then the like works of men unregenerate do; yet they do not *ſway* ſo much, becauſe whiles he weighs the bad works of men regenerate in the ſcale of his juſtice, he weighs the good works, which they have formerly done, in the ſcale of his mercy and bounty. But as for ſuch as have lived a lewd and godleſs life, and have made themſelves unworthy of his mercy, their groſſer ſins are weighed in the ſcale of his Juſtice without a Counterpoize, and therefore do ſway the further, and nearer towards hell, albeit for their nature and quality they be not more heynous, then ſome offences of the regenerate. So that God is no Accepter of perſons, albeit in this life he puniſheth the ſame ſin more grievouſly in one, then in another; for this he doth not with any reſpect unto their perſons, but with reſpect unto his own mercy, whereof the one ſort are Capable, the other are altogether unworthy. And this was the true meaning of our Apoſtle, and the ground of his Hope or good perſwaſion of theſe Hebrews *Chap. 6, ver. 9, 10. But we are perſwaded better things of you, and things that accompany ſalvation. For God is not unrighteous to forget your works and labour of love which ye have ſhewed towards his name, in that ye have Miniſtred to the Saints, and do Miniſter.*

CHAP. XXIX.

ROMANS 6. 23.

——*But the Gift of God is Eternal Life, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.*

Three Points. 1. *Eternal Life* the moſt Free Gift *of God both in Reſpect of The* Donor *and of The* Donee, 2. *Yet doth not the Soveraign Freeneſs of the Gift exclude all Qualifications in the Donees: rather requires better in them then others which exclude it or themſelves from it.* (*Whether the Kingdom of Heaven was prepared for all or for a certain number.*) 3. *The firſt Qualification for Grace is to become as little children. A parallel of the conditions of Infants: and of Chriſtians truly humbly and meek.*

1. THe *Points remaining* to be handled are *Three.* The *Firſt* is in part touched before: That Eternal Life is not only *The gift of God*, or as the *Vulgar* renders the Original *Gratia Dei*, but τὸ χάρισμα τοῦ Θεοῦ, *The gift of God* κατ᾽ ἐξοχὴν, that is (as if you would ſay) *The Gift of Gifts*, the *greateſt Gift*, and the *Freeſt Gift*, that God hath to beſtow on mankind *for*, *in*, or *through* Chriſt Jeſus our Lord. *The ſecond*; that, The Abſolute Freedom or graciouſneſs of this Gift doth not exclude *all Qualifications* of works or inclinations to good works, but only *confidence* in works.

The third is, *The Qualification* required in all ſuch as hope to receive *this Gift*; or, *The manner* how they are to work out their own ſalvation, that they may be capable, or at leaſt not Totally uncapable of this *free gift*.

Eternal life a moſt *Free Gift of God.*

To *the firſt*, That Eternal Life is *the gift of gifts*, or the moſt free or Gracious Gift, that God hath to beſtow on man, may be eaſily proved from the *Conditions* required in a *free gift.* And *Theſe are two.* *The firſt* reſpects the eſtate or condition of the *Donor*, as that he be not tied by any neceſſity either *natural*, *moral*, or *politick* to beſtow his benevolence. The *ſecond condition* reſpects the *Donee*; And it is *Abſentia*, if not *Carentia meriti*; Being without, if not a want of deſert or merit: In *both reſpects* Life Eternal is τὸ χάρισμα τοῦ Θεοῦ, that is, *The moſt excellent and moſt undeſerved gift, that can be given.*

That it is *freely given* without any conſtraint or *Tie of neceſſity, is clear*; For no operations of the moſt Holy and *Bleſſed Trinity* beſides the Eternal Generation of the *Son of God*, and the Eternal Proceſſion of *the Holy Ghoſt*, have any *Natural neceſſity* in them. Theſe be operations of the Divine *nature:* all extraneous things are works of Gods divine *will* and pleaſure. God, who worketh all things, worketh all things elſe *according to the Counſel of his Will*; that is, he *ſo worketh* them, he *ſo preſerveth* and ordereth them, as it was free for him from eternity *not to make them, not to preſerve* them, *not ſo to order them*, as he doth. He was when the world was not, and might ſo have continued. And this clearly evinceth that there was no *Natural neceſſity*, why he ſhould create the world, or any thing in it; for ſo the world ſhould have been, as he is, eternal without beginning. Nor was there any *moral neceſſity*, that he ſhould create the world, or man, or Angel; for none could have impeached him of injuſtice or unkindneſs, or of other tranſgreſſion of any Law or Rule, if he had never given them ſuch *Being*, as they have. Nor was there any *politick neceſſity*, that he ſhould create the world or man or Angel, in whoſe

Gods infinite Freedom.

creation he had no reſpect to any private end; he gained nothing by their *Being*; the beſt of them are but unprofitable ſervants.

2. It was *free* then for God to create or not to create man: but as it was his pleaſure to create him; ſo it was *neceſſary* that man being created by him, he ſhould be created good and righteous. Suppoſe then the Firſt man had continued in his firſt Eſtate, that is, righteous and good; his righteouſneſs could have *merited* nothing of God, much leſs eternal Life. It was as *free* to God to have annihilated him, or to have reſolved him into nothing, as it was to make him of nothing. Indeed to have puniſhed him with everlaſting death, unleſs he had wilfully, and through his own default, loſt his *Original righteouſneſs*, could not have ſtood with the righteouſneſs or goodneſs of God. There was a *moral neceſſity* that his Creator ſhould not puniſh him with everlaſting death, unleſs he had tranſgreſſed his Law, and made himſelf *unworthy* of everlaſting life. But the firſt Man did wilfully and freely (that is, without any neceſſity) tranſgreſs the Law of his God, and make himſelf, and his poſterity *unworthy* of eternal life. That God upon this tranſgreſſion did not inſtantly puniſh him with everlaſting death, this was *An Act of the Free Grace* and mercy of God: thus he might have done without any impeachment to his Juſtice, without any diſparagement to his *Goodneſs*.

That unto man thus ill deſerving he made *A Promiſe of Redemption*, and of Reſtitution to a better Eſtate, then he loſt, this was *An Act of his Mercy* and gracious goodneſs; a more *free Act* then his firſt Creation; For that was not deſerved and therefore *Free*; But not ſo *Free* as the Promiſe of his Redemption, after he had juſtly deſerved the contrary, to wit, condemnation unto everlaſting death. But this Promiſe of Redemption through the *Womans Seed* being *freely* made; is not the performance of it on Gods part neceſſary? Is he not bound by promiſe to beſtow his Grace on all them, to whom he promiſed Redemption? Though he be Debtor unto no man, yet he is *Faithful in himſelf* and cannot deny himſelf, or not perform, what he hath promiſed. It is true; if the parties to whom he promiſeth do ſo demean themſelves as they ſhould, or as by the *Second Covenant* they ſtand bound. But who is he can make *this Plea* with God? Who is he, that can truly ſay, there was any neceſſity at that time when the promiſe was made to our firſt Parents in the *Womans Seed*, that he ſhould be begotten or born, or that he was ſuch a child of promiſe, from the time of *Adams Fall*, as *Iſaac* was? And if there were no neceſſity then, that he ſhould be born, what neceſſity is there that he ſhould be partaker of Grace after he is born? Or what neceſſity is there, that after *the Grace of Baptiſm* received he ſhould come to be of the number of the Elect? No man can plead *any worth or merit* in himſelf for the receiving of Grace; or *any neceſſity*, whereby God is tyed by promiſe or otherwiſe to beſtow Grace or perſeverance in Grace upon him in particular.

The true way of laying hold on General Promiſes.

Theſe and the like Favours muſt ſtill be ſought for by the *Prayer of Faith*; that is, by unfeigned acknowledgement *of our own unworthineſs, and of Gods Free Mercy*, not only in making the Firſt Decree concerning mans Redemption, but in continual diſpenſing the Effects of the ſame Decree, or the means of our Salvation: This is the only way, To lay hold upon the General Promiſe.

3. It was no Contradiction in *Cardinal Bellarmine* (as ſome conceive it) after he had ſtrongly diſputed for *Merit of Works*, thus to conclude, *Tutiſſimum eſt*, *It is the ſafeſt way to place our Confidence in the Merits of Chriſt*. This Reſolution of his will truly infer, that albeit the Queſtion

concerning *Merits* were doubtful, yet we Proteſtants take the more uſeful and ſafer way, and the way which *Cardinal Bellarmine himſelf* in his Devotions, and, as I hope, on his death bed, did take.

Yet admit his Doctrine concerning *Merits*, had been true *indefinitely* taken; There had been no contradiction between his *Premiſſes* and *Concluſion*; For many things, which are unqueſtionable in *Theſi*, or in the General, are doubtful or uncertain in *Hypotheſi*, when we come to make particular Application. This Doctrine is moſt true in *Theſi*, *That God is faithful in all his promiſes*, that *he cannot deny himſelf*, or *falſifie his promiſe*; Yet it is not ſafe for Thee or Me thus to infer: that *God cannot deny eternal life to us in particular*, becauſe he hath promiſed it as ſincerely to *Thee* or *Me*, as to any others: The abſolute and unchangeable Fidelity of God will not infer (how ſtrongly ſoever we believe it) *That either Thou or I are faithful for the preſent*; or ſhall *continue faithful unto the End*, or until our final victory over the divel, the world, and the fleſh; which is the True Importance of this Phraſe [*To the End*] in many places of Scripture.

It follows not; *God cannot deny himſelf*; ergo, *I am in, and ſhall perſevere in the ſtate of Salvation.*

Now Gods promiſe of eternal Life is not immediately terminated *To any mans Perſon* or *Individual Entity*, but *unto ſuch as continue faithful unto the End*, or *unto ſuch as overcome*; as you may obſerve in many places of Scripture; eſpecially, in the ſecond and third Chapters of *The Revelation of St. John.* Now it is a great deal more eaſie for a man to aſſure himſelf that he is faithful for the preſent, or victorious in reſpect of inſtant temptations, then to aſſure himſelf that he ſhall continue victorious in reſpect of temptations that may befal him. And yet in reſpect of the deceitfulneſs of our own hearts, it is not ſafe for moſt men to make it as an Article of their Faith, or point of abſolute Belief, that they are ſo faithful for the preſent, as that God cannot deny Eternal Life unto them, though not in reſpect of their Merits, yet in reſpect of his Promiſe, if they ſhould inſtantly depart this life; So that ſuch as have as full and perfect Intereſt in the Promiſes of God, as others have, may forfeit their Intereſt, as well by Immature Perſwaſions or Preſumptions, *that they are of the number of the Elect*, as by conceit of Merit or Confidence in works. Both perſwaſions are dangerous, becauſe both prejudice the *free Mercy* and *Grace of God* in beſtowing eternal Life, or in diſpenſing the means required unto it. The Romiſh Church ſaith, it was Free for God to give us Grace (or ability to do the works of Grace) or not to give it; but this Grace being Freely given, and the works performed, it is not Free, but Neceſſary in reſpect of Gods Juſtice, to give eternal Life as the Reward of Works. Others, oppoſite enough to the Papiſts, ſay, that it was Free for God to Elect, or not to Elect us unto eternal Life: but being Elected, it is not Free for God to deny eternal Life unto us; For this, in their language, were to deny himſelf, or falſifie his promiſe. Yet by their leave, *If we were thus Elected from Eternity, it was never Free for God to Elect or not to Elect us:* and ſo eternal Life ſhould not be the Award of Gods Free Mercy and Grace as *now preſent*, but an Act of his Fidelity or promiſe paſt, before we had any being, before the world was made. But if God had not the ſame *free Power* at this day to Elect or not to Elect any man now living, or not the ſame *free Power* to ſhew mercy on whom he will, and to harden whom he will, which it is ſuppoſed once he had, he ſhould not have the ſame Power over us, which the *Potter hath over his Clay*, which is at his free diſpoſal, not only before he works it, but while it is in working.

Equally dangerous to confide in *Merit*, and to preſume of *Election*.

See Book 10. Chap. 42.

I may conclude this Point with **Cardinal Bellarmines**, *Tutiſſimum eſt* ‘It is the ſafeſt way, the only way, abſolutely to rely all our life ‘time upon Gods Free mercy and Grace, and to make continual ſupplications unto God the Father through Chriſt, that as he hath prepared ‘a Kingdom for us from the foundation of the world, ſo he would prepare and fit us for it: For without preparation or fit Qualification, we are not capable of it; and thus we come unto the *Second Point* propoſed.

The Free Gift of eternal life excludes not due Qualifications in the raceiver.

4. The *Second Point* (to which the Third is annexed or ſub-joyned) was, ‘That the Abſolute Freedom of this Gift doth not exclude all ‘Qualifications in the parties, on whom it is beſtowed, but rather requires better qualifications in them, then can be found in others, which ‘exclude it, or make themſelves uncapable of it.

The Truth of this Aſſertion you may eaſily conceive by this one Inſtance or Example. Suppoſe you, that are Governors of this * Corporation, ſhould *Found* (as God put it in your hearts to do) a Goodly *Hoſpital* or *Almeshouſe* at your own proper coſt and charges, the Gift would be moſt Free, a Gracious Gift or Foundation; and yet no man would conceive that the doors of that houſe, though moſt *Freely Founded*, ſhould be as open, or the good things belonging to it as Free for theeves and robbers for Bauds or Panders, for ſturdy and lazy Beggars, as for the halt and lame, for the aged and impotent, or as for men of decayed eſtate by Caſualties, as for widdows or Orphans; not ſo free or open, for perſons ſo qualified, but otherwiſe, haughty and proud, as for Widdows or for decayed perſons that were pious, humble, modeſt and ingenuous. He ſhould wrong you much, that ſhould conceive, that you did intend only to have the number filled up, though it were by ſuch as the Poet deſcribes, but in a verſe ſomewhat better;

* This was preached at *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine*.

Qui numeri eſſent, & fruges conſumere nati.

That is, by perſons good for nothing, but only to devour Gods bleſſings To admit all ſorts of people promiſcuouſly into *ſuch a Foundation* without reſpect of any *Good Qualification*, would be an Act of Prodigality or impiety, rather then of *Free Bounty* or Gracious Charity. And can you imagine or ſuſpect that *the moſt juſt and righteous Judge*, the only wiſe immortal God, who requires no more of us, then that *we ſhould be perfect as he is perfect*, that we ſhould be bountiful as he is bountiful, and merciful as he is merciful, doth not more conſtantly obſerve the *Rules of his eternal Equity*, Bounty and Mercy, then we can obſerve our Saviours *Rules*, which are but the *Copy* of them, albeit we made this our chief care and only ſtudy; *Thus to do*, is natural unto him, not ſo unto us: we cannot imitate the paterns, which He ſets us, without much difficulty and many interruptions. We may Freely beſtow our Alms or Rewards, but we cannot *qualifie* the parties that are to receive them; we may prepare good things for them, but we cannot prepare their hearts to receive them well or worthily. But God doth not only prepare the Kingdom of Heaven for us, but muſt alſo prepare us for it: otherwiſe as our Apoſtle ſpeaks, Heb. 4. 1. *We ſhall come ſhort of the promiſe which is left us for entring into his reſt.* And no man can come ſhort of the promiſe or of the bleſſings promiſed, but he that had a true Intereſt in the promiſe, or he for whom the bleſſing promiſed was prepared.

For whom was the Kingdom of heaven prepared?

5. What ſhall we ſay then, that any, for whom the Kingdom of Heaven was prepared from the Foundation of the world, ſhall finally miſs of it, or be excluded from it, at the end of the world? ſo our Apoſtle in the fore-cited place evidently ſuppoſeth.

Was is then prepared *for all*, or *for a Certain number?*

A curious and tickliſh Queſtion: Yet about which if any Contention have grown or may grow, this cannot ariſe but only from the malice, ignorance, or incogitancy of the men, which diſpute and handle it. For between *theſe two Propoſitions* themſelves [*The Kingdom of Heaven was prepared for all*; *The Kingdom of Heaven was not prepared for all*;] there is no Contradiction, if men would not look upon them through ſome imperfect Logical Rules, which hold true only in ſome Caſes or Subjects: If we ſhould ſay [*That the Kingdom of heaven was prepared for the ſelf ſame man* (Saint Peter for example) *from Eternity*; And, *The kingdom of heaven was not prepared for the ſame* Saint Peter *from Eternity*:] we ſhould ſay no otherwiſe then the Holy Ghoſt hath taught us. There is no more Contradiction between the Affirmative and the Negative, then if one ſhould ſay [*The inhabitants of this town are rich*; *The Inhabitants of this town are not rich*, but poor.]

See the 10. Book *Chap.* 42.

The Rule is general; that *Betwixt an Indefinite Affirmative, and an Indefinite Negative there is no Contradiction.* Now though Saint Peter were all his life time *One and the ſame Individual man for Perſon*, if we conſider him only as he ſtands in the *Predicament of ſubſtance*, yet he was not all his life time *One and the ſelf ſame Object in reſpect of Gods decree of mercy or Judgment*, or for the preparation of Eternal life. To affirm this were to contradict the Holy Spirit, whoſe unqueſtionable *Maxim* it is; that *God renders to every man according to all his wayes.* Now if Saint *Peters* wayes and works were not at all times the ſame, *he was not at all times the ſame individual Object of Gods Decree.* God had One Award for him whil'ſt he denied his Maſter, or diſſwaded him from under-going the Croſs for us; and Another Award for him whil'ſt he reſolutely confeſt Chriſt before Princes, though certain to undergo the Croſs himſelf for ſo doing.

6. But where doth *The Spirit of God* teach us this *Logick*, or thus to diſtinguiſh? *Matth.20.ver.23.Mark 10.40.* The ſtory is plain, ſave that the one *Evangeliſt* ſaith, *It was the mother of Zebedees children*; The other ſaith, *that the ſons themſelves* (to wit, *John* and *James*) came with this Petition unto our Saviour, that *The one might ſit on the right hand, the other on his left hand in his Kingdom.* And it is plain out of Saint *Matthew*, that the Petition was as well exhibited by the *ſons*, as by the *mother*; as it is likewiſe plain by our Saviours Reply; and his *Interrogation*: *ye know not* (ſaith he) *what ye ask*: *to drink of the cup, whereof he did drink, and to be baptized with the baptiſm wherewith he was baptized* he grants was poſſible for them, though perhaps in another ſenſe then they conceived, when they anſwered his Interrogatory. However, *to ſit on his left hand or on his right hand*, as he finally concludes, *was not his to give, but was to be given to them, for whom it was prepared by his Father.*

But hence ariſeth *A Dilemma Captious* at the firſt ſight; for, *If the Kingdom of heaven were prepared for theſe two Apoſtles, then it was his to give them*; *for he muſt give it to them, for whom it is prepared*; and ſo he gave it to the *Thief upon the Croſs*: Or if the Kingdom of Heaven *were not prepared for them from the beginning of the world*, they might not, they could not enter into it. *What ſhall we ſay* then; that *James* and *John* did never enter the Kingdom of heaven; God forbid! the very phraſe and Character of our Saviours Speech, and the circumſtance of the Text ſhould (me thinks) call that Logical Diſtinction to any mans mind, that had ever learned it, or known it before; if not teach ſuch, as knew it not, to make it.

Humility a neceſſary qualification.

The *Diſtinction* I mean of *Senſus diviſus* and *compoſitus*, which indeed is the *only Diſtinction* for reſolving many difficulties in Divinity, for the Reſolution of which, many other impertinent and unartificial ones have been, and,are daily, ſought out. The meaning of the *Diſtinction* in this particular is this, ‘If we conſider *James* and *John* with their ‘*preſent Qualifications*, it is true that the Kingdom of Heaven was not ‘prepared for them, they could not enter in at the ſtrait gate, that leads ‘unto it,untill their preſent ſwelling humor of ſecular ambition or pride ‘was aſſwaged;for God from eternity had excluded pride and ambition ‘from any inheritance in the Kingdom of his Son. But this bad habit ‘or diſpoſition being laid aſide and the contrary (wherewith as yet ‘they were not inveſted) to wit, true humility, being put upon them, ‘the Kingdom of Heaven was prepared for them , and prepared for ‘them thus qualified from the Foundation of the world. Our *Saviours Anſwer* unto them imports no more then *Saint Peter* doth, when he ſaith, *Deus dat gratiam humilibus, ſed reſiſtit ſuperbis. God giveth grace to the humble, but reſiſteth the proud*; and ſo your *Saviour* repels their Petition for the preſent,becauſe it did proceed from ſecular pride; and from this particular took occaſion,not only to teach *James* and *John*,but the other Ten alſo,*the neceſſity of humility*,as a qualification without which no man ſhall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven,either into the *Kingdom of grace* in this life or into the *kingdom of glory* in the life to come.

7. For albeit the *other Ten* did much miſlike this ambitious humour of *James* and *John*;yet (as one obſerves) that, *Diogenes Calcavit faſtum Platonis cum majori faſtu*:So the *Ten Apoſtles* bewray more then a ſpice of the like ambitious humour in themſelves by the manner of their miſlike or indignation at the Petition of *James* and *John*. Unwilling they were to give place and precedence unto them, albeit they were their Lord and Maſters kinſmen; *when the ten heard it* (ſaith Saint *Matth.* 20. 24.) *they were moved with indignation againſt the two brethren; but Jeſus called them unto him and ſaid, ye know the Princes of the Gentiles exerciſe dominion over them, and they, that are great, exerciſe authority upon them. But it ſhall not be ſo among you: but whoſoever will be great among you, let him be your miniſter: and whoſoever will be chief among you, let him be your ſervant, Even as the ſon of man came not to be miniſtred unto, but to miniſter and to give his life a ranſom for many.* The ſame Leſſon had been taught them twice before; As, *Mark.* 9. 34. *By the way they had diſputed amongſt themſelves, who ſhould be greateſt: and he ſate down, and called the twelve and ſaid unto them, If any deſire to be firſt, he ſhall be the laſt of all,and ſervant of all; and he took a child, and ſet him in the midſt of them, and when he had taken him in his arms, he ſaid unto them, whoſoever ſhall receive one of ſuch children in my name, receiveth me, and whoſoever ſhall receive me, receiveth not me, but him that ſent me.* This admonition you ſee doth equally concern all the Twelve: not *James* and *John* alone. The *Tenor* of the admonition is this; that *no man is fit for the Kingdom of heaven, unleſs he become as a child, unles, he receive it as a child*, that is, unleſs they better affect a humble and childiſh diſpoſition as well in themſelves, as in others, then any pre-eminence or worldly dignity. Thus much our Saviour expreſly taught them, *Mark* 10. 23. *They brought young children unto him, that he ſhould touch them and his diſciples rebuked thoſe, that brought them. But when Jeſus ſaw it, he was much diſpleaſed, and ſaith unto them; Suffer the little children to come unto me,and forbid them not: for of ſuch is the Kingdom of God.Verily I ſay unto you whoſoever ſhall not receive the Kingdom of God ar a little child, he ſhall*

The third Point.

not enter therein:and he took them up in his arms,put his hands upon them, and bleſſed them. Thus he treated them, not with reference to their Individual Perſons, but to their Qualifications; hereby giving his diſciples to underſtand, that all ſuch as ſeek to be actually bleſſed by him, whatſoever their Parentage, or other Prerogatives be they muſt be ſo qualified, as theſe children were; not ſo qualified, they are not capable of the Kingdom of Heaven. We muſt ſo demean our ſelves towards our heavenly Father, out of knowledge and deliberation, as little children do themſelves towards their earthly parents out of ſimplicity or inſtinct of nature. In reſpect of *malice* towards God or man we muſt be as little children,but in *knowledge* of our own infirmities or more then childiſh impotency, we muſt be men.

The Qualification for receiving this Free Gift.

8. To parallel the Conditions or properties of *little children by nature* with the properties of *the children of God by ſupernatural Grace.* The *very Impotency* of little children,whilſt they learn to go,includes a power at leaſt a proneneſs to fall, though it be in the ſink or channel; but no power at all either to raiſe themſelves, or to make clean their garments from ſuch ſtain or filth, as they have contracted by their fall. In this property we agree too well with them; for as St. *Auſtine* ſaith, *Sufficit ſibi liberum arbitrium ad malum,ad bonum non.* We have a Liberty or Freedom of will to defile our garments by falling or back-ſliding after Baptiſm; but no Freedom of will, no power of our ſelves to riſe again unto newneſs of life. The Knowledge, wherein we muſt in this Caſe exceed little children, muſt be out of the conſciouſneſs of this our Impotency or infirmity to frame our Petitions unto God with the Prophet, *Pſal.*51. 2. *waſh me throughly from my iniquity, and cleanſe me from my ſin*; And again, ver. 10. *Create in me a clean heart O God, and renew a right ſpirit within me: caſt me not away from thy preſence, and take not thy holy ſpirit from me.*

Again,Little Children, though they be ſet upon their feet, after their Fall, they are not able to ſtand upright, although they adventure not to go, unleſs they be ſupported by their nurſes,or other helper; and it is our Apoſtles advice unto *ſuch as ſtand,* to *take heed leſt they fall.*

But is this circumſpection in their power after Grace received?

No;no more then it is in the power of Little Children to keep themſelves from falling.

To what end then doth this Admonition ſerve?

To make us more careful by the knowledg of this our infirmity continually to uſe that or the like prayer, *Prevent us, O Lord, in all our doings with thy gracious favour, and further us with thy continual help.*

It we truly acknowledg our ſelves to be but *Little Children,* we cannot but know, that without his preventing Grace we muſt ſtill wallow in our natural filthineſs and uncleanneſs, that without his Concomitant Grace we cannot ſtand, and that without his Subſequent Grace we can make no progreſs towards eternal Life: All our doings muſt be begun, muſt be continued, and ended in him by his Grace; otherwiſe we ſhall fail of the end here propoſed unto us by our Apoſtle.

Again,*little Children* are ſenſible of hunger or want of Food,yet cannot provide it, cannot be their own carvers of it, cannot take it, unleſs it be reached unto them. We then become in ſome degree the children of God, when we feel a want of ſpiritual Food, or when we hunger and thirſt after righteouſneſs, but power we have none after Grace received to give ſatisfaction to this hunger and thirſt after good things: The beſt knowledg that in this Caſe we have, is, *To Beg Food Convenient* at our heavenly Fathers hands in that or the like Form of Prayer, *Give us this day our daily bread.* And thus to beg it out of full aſſurance, that he is more ready to hear our requeſts, then any earthly Father is to give his children bread, or any earthly Mother to give her ſucking Infants milk when they cry for it; For ſome Mothers are unnatural, others may forget their children, but ſo will not God forget his, ſo they be *children in malice*, not in the *Knowledge* of his Goodneſs.

Little Children again if they be expoſed to cold, or heat, or any other danger, that may accrew from hoſtile or ravenous creatures, have no power or ſtrength to defend themſelves, all that they can do is but to cry for help from others.

Now the ſpiritual and Ghoſtly enemies of every Child of God, and the dangers, whereto they daily expoſe themſelves, are more in number, then the bodily dangers, whereof little Children are capable; Leſs able we are, though endowed with ſome meaſure of Grace, to reſiſt the Devil, who goeth about like a roaring Lion ſeeking whom he may devour, then a ſucking child to withſtand a Bear or Wolf, that ſhould come upon him. To what end then doth God beſtow his Grace upon us, if with this we cannot defend our ſelves, as with a weapon? Only to this end, that we ſhould daily pray for his ſpecial protection, as his Son hath taught us: *Lord lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil*, ſpecially from the Autor of evil; *for thine is the Kingdom, the power and the glory*. Thou only art able to ſubdue and conquer the Prince of this world, and to deſtroy him, who hath the power of death.

Laſtly, albeit we muſt exceed Little Children in the acknowledgement of our infirmities, and though our capacities to conceive theſe and the like forms of prayer be greater then theirs, yet in reſpect of moſt particulars we are in this too like Little Children, that *we know not how to pray*, or aſk thoſe things, which for the preſent we ſtand moſt in need of. And in this point our Knowledge muſt exceed theirs, that we muſt have a knowledge of this infirmity; and out of the conſciouſneſs of it pray more fervently unto our heavenly Father, that he would teach us how to pray, or hear the ſupplications of his Spirit for us, whoſe language we perfectly underſtand not: and not to indent with him for other particulars, but only to grant us what he knows to be beſt for us, and moſt available, though not for our preſent occaſions, yet for the attainment of Everlaſting life. Until we learn this leſſon of Humility and meekneſs, which *The Son of God* himſelf ſo often commends unto us by his own Example, by Precept, and Inſtances, we ſhall find no true Reſt unto our ſouls; we ſhall not have that *Full Aſſurance of hope unto the end*, whereof our *Apoſtle* ſpeaks, *Heb.* 6.

9. But is this Qualification of becoming like Little Children alone ſufficient?

No: he that ſaith, *Whoſoever receiveth not the Kingdom of heaven as a little child ſhall not enter therein*, hath alſo ſaid, *Matth.* 5. 20. *Except your righteouſneſs ſhall exceed the righteouſneſs of the Scribes and Phariſees, ye ſhall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.*

Doth he Inſtance in them, as in the moſt wicked men, that were?

So his Inſtance ſhould not have been ſo pertinent, at leaſt his Admonition not ſo peremptory.

The *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, if they had not thought ſo of themſelves, were the moſt righteous men then living; they were the only *Preciſians* of thoſe times, and obſerved many Rules of righteouſneſs more exactly then moſt men now living do any.

Why Chriſt inſtanceth in the Scribes and Phariſees.

Wherein then did they come ſhort of the promiſe?

By making Extraordinary Conſcience of ſome neceſſary duties, and little or none at all of others.

The old Serpent deceived them, as he doth many Chriſtians to this day, by that *Fallacy* or *Sophiſm*, which we call *A Dicto ſecundum quid ad ſimpliciter*, that is, in uſing their known zealous obſervance of ſome good duties as an Argument, that they were *ſimply* and *abſolutely* more righteous then other men, ſpecially then thoſe, whom they ſaw groſs tranſgreſſors of ſome Commandements, which they made conſcience of. They did acknowledge, that they had received many Graces from God, for which they *thanked* him; but yet *they gloried, as if they had not received them*, and this polluted all their works.

Turkiſh mercy.

A good man, ſaith *Solomon*, *is merciful unto his beaſt.* This property of Good men is in the *Turks*, for they are more compaſſionate towards their dogs, more careful for begging them benevolence of ſtrangers and paſſengers, for feeding them in the open ſtreets, then moſt Chriſtians are for the relief of their poor brethren; yet is that property of wicked men, which *Salomon* in the ſame place deſcribes, more remarkable in them. Their mercies are cruel; for out of this compaſſionate affection towards dumb creatures they will be ready to kill a Chriſtian man, if he chance to wrong or harm them. It is a good thing then to be zealous of good works; but unleſs this zeal be uniform, that is, unleſs it proportionably, if not equally, reſpect good works of every kind: *partial or deformed zeal will bring forth compleat Hypocriſie.*

See the diſcourſes following upon that precept, *Do as you would be done to.*

10. But it is an eaſie matter to tell men, that their zeal muſt be uniform and unpartial; the point wherein ſatisfaction will be deſired is this: How this uniformity of zeal in good works muſt be wrought and planted in men? This men muſt learn from that fundamental Rule of our Saviour. *Whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do to you ſo do to them: for this is the Law and the Prophets.* All of Us deſire or wiſh, that, not *this* or *that man* only, but that every man ſhould deal juſtly, friendly, and kindly with us; ſhould think or ſpeak well of us, whilſt we do or intend well; ſhould Judge charitably of us when they know nothing to the contrary, and cenſure us charitably, if we chance to do amiſs. The Rule of practiſe then in brief is this; that *we make payment by the ſame meaſure, by which we borrow*; that is do good, as occaſions or abilities ſerve, to every man as he is a man or our fellow creature; though in more abundant meaſure unto ſuch, as are our Chriſtian brethren, and of the ſame Church and Religion. To be charitable in word, in deed, in thought, towards all, even towards ſuch, as deſerve puniſhment or cenſure.

Another branch of the ſame Rule is this; If any have really ſhewed themſelves kind unto us, to do unto them as they have done; If any have dealt rigidly or unkindly with us, not to do as they have done, but as we deſired they ſhould have done unto us; for our deſires to be well dealt withall are juſt; but ſo were not their dealings with us: And why ſhould we make other mens unjuſt dealing with us, rather ther then our own juſt deſires of being friendly dealt withall, the Rule of our future actions, or dealings with the ſame men? For God will judge us by the former Rule, the Tenour whereof is this, *not to do as we have been done unto*, ſpecially if we have been unjuſtly dealt withall, *but to do to every man, as we deſire they ſhould have done unto us.* The ſame Rule may be yet further extended thus; we muſt do to every man not only as we deſire that every man ſhould do to us; but as we deſire that

God ſhould do to us, or for us: So when we pray that God would forgive us our treſpaſſes, we muſt be ready to forgive them,that have treſpaſſed againſt us. If we deſire that God would relieve us in diſtreſs, comfort us in ſorrow, or ſuccour us in need, we muſt be ready to relieve our neighbors in their diſtreſs, to ſuccour and comfort them (as we are able) in time of need; not thus (in ſome good meaſure) qualified, we do not pray in faith,our prayers are not truly religious; For as St.*James* tells us, Chap. 1. verſe the laſt. *Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this; to viſit the fatherleſs and widdows in their affliction, and to keep himſelf unſpotted of the world.*

CHAP. XXX.

MATTH. 25. 34,&c. 41. &c.

Then ſhall the King ſay unto them on his Right hand, Come ye bleſſed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. FOR I was an hungred, and you gave me meat, &c. Then ſhall he ſay alſo to them on the left hand, Depart from me ye curſed—— FOR, I was an hungred and ye gave me no meat; I was thirſty and ye gave me no drink: I was a ſtranger——, ſick, and in priſon, &c.

Two General Heads of the Diſcourſe. 1. *A* Sentence. 2. *The* Execution *thereof. Controverſies about the* Sentence. *Three Concluſions in order to the Deciſion of thoſe Controverſies.* 1. *The Sentence of Life is awarded* Secundum Opera, *not excluding* Faith. 2. *Good works are neceſſary to* Salvation: neceſſitate præcepti & Medii: (*And to* Juſtification *too*; (*as ſome ſay*) quoad præſentiam, non quoad efficientiam. *The Third* (*Handled in the next Chapter*) *Good works though neceſſary, are not* Cauſes of, *but the* Way to, *the Kingdom. Damnation awarded for Omiſſions. St.* Auguſtines *ſaying* [Bona Opera ſequuntur Juſtificatum, &c.] *expounded. St.* James 2. 10. [He that keeps the whole Law and yet offends in one Point,&c.] *expounded. Why Chriſt in the final Doom inſtances only in works of* Charity, *not of piety and ſanctity. An Exhortation to do good to the poor and miſerable; and the rather, becauſe ſome of thoſe Duties may be done by the meaneſt of men.*

1. THis portion of Scripture is divided, by our Saviour himſelf, into Theſe *Two Generals:* the firſt, *A Sentence*, which, *for the matter*, is *Two-fold; Come ye bleſſed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you*, verſe 34. &c. And again, ver. 41. *Depart from me ye curſed into everlaſting fire prepared for the Devil and his Angels.* But many *Sentences* are given, which are not put in *Execution!* Yet this being the *Final Sentence*, that ſhall be given upon *all men*,and upon *all their works*, there is no queſtion, but it ſhall be put in *Execution.* If *reaſon*, grounded upon *Scripture*, be not ſufficient to inforce our *belief*, as well concerning the *Execution* of the *Sentence*, as the Equity thereof, we have an *Expreſs Teſtimony* of the *Judge himſelf* for the *certainty* of this *Execution*, ver. 46. *And theſe* (to wit, *the Goats*, which were placed on his left hand, that is,all workers of iniquity or fruitleſs hearers of the word of life) *ſhall go away into everlaſting puniſhment, but the righteous into life eteral.*

Two Generals.
1. A ſentence and that Two-fold.
2. The Execution thereof.

Controverſies about the Sentence.

The *Sentence* it ſelf, hath (by the perverſneſs of mans will, or by the curioſity of ſome wits) been made the matter of many controverſies, eſpecially in latter times: Of which we ſhall deliver our *Opinion*, as it ſhall fall out, in the proſecution of the *Poſitive Truth*, which we are bound to believe.

The *Poſitive Truths*, which I could commend unto the Readers meditation are *Three*.

Three Poſitive verities or Concluſions.

The *Firſt*, That *Life everlaſting ſhall be awarded, Secundum opera*, or that *all men ſhall receive their final doom according to their Works*.

The *ſecond*, which will neceſſarily follow upon this; *That good Works are neceſſary to ſalvation*, or to the inheritance of this Kingdom here promiſed.

The *third*, *That good works are neceſſary to our admiſſion into this Kingdom*, Non tanquam *Cauſa* regnandi, ſed quia *Via* ad regnum, *not as meritorious Cauſes*, for which this kingdom is by right due to us, or to any, *but as the neceſſary Way* or path, by which all ſuch, as ſeek to enter into this Kingdom, muſt paſs.

To begin with the *Firſt Point*; That *the Final reward or retribution ſhall be Secundum opera, according to mens works*.

2. About *this Poſition*, Controverſie between us and the Romiſh Church there needed to have been none; unleſs ſome in that Church had been more deſirous to open a gap to new contentions, then ready to bring the controverſies already ſet on foot, to a *Tryable Iſſue*, by reducing them to ſome Point of Contradiction.

But *ſome of good Note* in that Church for learning and moderation, have left *this Animadverſion* upon Theſe words of *Saint Matthew*, *That this place alone doth ſufficiently evince, that the Final Award or retribution ſhall be made* Secundum Opera, non Secundum Fidem, *according to* works, *not according to* Faith. That God ſhould render to every man, either in this life, or at the laſt day, according unto his works, yea according to all his works, we never denied, For *Solomon* had long ſince ſaid as much, in his prayer to God. 2 *Chron.* 6. 30. Yea all *works*, even the moſt ſecret *works*, thoſe of the heart not excepted, ſhall have their *Proper Award*, and every man ſhall reap according to that he hath ſowen; Whether he hath ſowen unto the fleſh, or unto the ſpirit. But that this *Final Retribution* ſhould be made, *Secundum Opera*, *non Secundum Fidem*, according to works *only*, not according to *Faith*, we cannot grant, without contradiction to the truth delivered by our Saviour and *Saint Paul*. For *Faith* and *Works*, by both their Doctrines, are ſo ſtrictly linkt together, that if the *Final Retribution* be made according to mens *works*, it muſt likewiſe be awarded according to mens *Faith*. And unleſs the Advocates of the modern Romiſh Church, had been diſpoſed to follow thoſe Hypocrites againſt whom *Saint James* diſputes in his ſecond Chapter (in their notions or apprehenſions of *Faith*) more then *Saint James*, yea more then *Saint Paul*; Nay more then our Saviour himſelf: they could not be ignorant of that contradiction, which is implied in their Aſſertion, *That the Final Retribution is made according to* Works, *not according to* Faith. *Know ye*, ſaith our Apoſtle, *Gal.* 3. 7. *that they which are of faith, the ſame are the children of Abraham*: ſo *Abraham* is called *The father of the faithful*; And none can be *his ſons* or children, but by propagation or participation of his faith. Our Saviour ſaith unto the Jews, *John* 8. 39. *If ye were Abrahams children, ye would do the works of Abraham*; And if they had done the works, they ſhould have had the *Reward of Abraham*. Yet, as the Apoſtle ſaith, *They that be of faith are bleſſed with faithful Abraham.*

See the Fathers cited by this Author in his fourth Book Chap. 11. &c. about the inſeparableneſs of Faith and Works.

So then it is true, that God rewarded *Abraham* according to his *Works*, and yet withall according to his *Faith:* yea he was therefore rewarded with bleſſing according to his *works*, becauſe his works were done in *Faith*, or becauſe *he was faithful in his works*.

But do theſe Romaniſts which ſay, that we ſhall be rewarded according to *Works*, not according to *Faith*, as evidently contradict their pretended Patron *Saint James*, as they do *Saint Paul?* They do, without Queſtion; if we look into his intent and ſcope in that very place, from which they ſeek to magnifie *Works* above *Faith*, as well in point of *Juſtification*, as in reſpect of *ſalvation* or Final Retribution.

3. *Was not Abraham our Father* (ſaith *Saint James*, Chap. 2. 21.) *juſtified by works, when he offered Iſaac his ſon upon the Altar?* Yet the ſame Apoſtle doth not deny, but rather ſuppoſe, that *Abraham* offered up *Iſaac* by *Faith*; for ſo he adds ver. 23. that by *this work, that Scripture was fulfilled, which ſaith, Abraham believed God, and it was imputed to him for righteouſneſs. If this Scripture* were fulfilled by *this work*, then *Abrahams Faith did work in this work*, or rather, *did work this work*; it was his *working Faith* or belief, which was imputed unto him for righteouſneſs; and it was impoſſible, that *Abraham* ſhould be rewarded according to this *work*, and not be rewarded as well according to his *Faith*, as according to his *Work*. Indeed if *Abraham* had profeſt only in General, *That he did believe God and his word, but had ſtarted back from this or the like Service, which God had enjoyned him, he had not been* juſtified.

But why not *juſtified?* only becauſe he had no *works?* nay, rather, becauſe, not having ſuch *works* as God required at his hands, his *Faith* had not been ſound and perfect; and his *Faith* being not ſound and perfect, had not been imputed unto him for righteouſneſs. Now the Scripture plainly affirms, and St. *James* takes it as granted, that *Abraham's belief*, not his *works*, was imputed to him for righteouſneſs.

Albeit *Saint James* doth ſay, that the *Belief was perfected by the work*, yet all the perfection was the perfection of his *Faith*; the uſe and End of his *work* or of his *Tryal* was to perfect or ſtrengthen his *Faith*; as we ſay *exerciſe of body doth perfect or confirm health*; but it will not therefore follow, that *Exerciſe of body is better then health*, ſeeing all the perfection, that it hath, is at the ſervice of health. So far was this *work* of *Abraham*, by which *Saint James* ſaith *his faith was perfected*, from being a diſtinct perfection from the perfection of his *faith*, that *Saint Paul* includes the very *Work* in his *Faith*, *Heb.* 11. 17. *By faith Abraham, when he was tryed, offered up Iſaac.* The reaſon why he aſcribes this *work* unto his *faith*, is given ver. 19. *He accounted that God was able to raiſe him up from the dead, from whence alſo he received him in a figure.* It was a *Great and difficult matter for Abraham* to believe, that he ſhould become *the Father of many nations*, *Rom.* 4. 18. *Not to conſider his own Body being now about an* 100. *years old, neither yet the deadneſs of Sarahs womb.* But it was *a greater work* after he had received *Iſaac* (upon the thred of whoſe life the bleſſing promiſed, *Gen* 15. 5. *of being the Father of many nations* did wholly depend) to offer him up in ſacrifice: this was more then to believe *in hope, againſt hope*; The ready way (for ought that humane wiſdom, or any experience, till that time manifeſted unto the world, could inform him) to cut the very throat of all his hopes or future bleſſings. But how great ſoever *this work* were, the ſtrength, by which it was wrought, was meerly the ſtrength of his *Faith*; ſo the Apoſtle ſaith, *Rom.* 4. 20. *He ſtaggered not at the promiſe of God* *through unbelief, but was ſtrong in faith giving glory to God, and being fully perſwaded, that what God had promiſed, he was alſo able to perform, and therefore was it imputed to him for righteouſneſs.* So that if any man do not *the works* of *Abraham* it is becauſe he hath not *the faith of Abraham*; Impoſſible it were for any man that hath the ſame meaſure of *Faith*, which *Abraham* had, not to do the like *works*, which *Abraham* did. What meaſure of *works truly good* any man doth, ſo much, or ſo great a meaſure he hath of *true Faith*; And ſo far as any man is *Rewarded according to his works*, he is likewiſe rewarded according to his *Faith.*

We may extend that Saying of our Saviour (though ſpoken then, but to one man) unto all and every man [*According to their faith ſo ſhall it be done unto them.*] And our Saviour in the Parable next before *This Sentence*, expreſly avoucheth; that the Final award or retribution ſhall be according to *Faith*; *Matth.* 25. 23. *Well done thou good and faithful ſervant, thou haſt been faithfull over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.* No man ſhall be rewarded for any *Works*, unleſs they were the *Works of Faith*, or done in *Faith.* To ſpeak properly it is the *Fidelity of our works*, or our Fidelity in Working, which ſhall be rewarded. As for thoſe Hypocrites, againſt whom St. *James* diſputes (and from whoſe *Notion* or Conceit of *Faith* the Romiſh School-men, for the moſt part, take their *Deſcription of Faith*) they had altogether as little of *Abrahams Faith*, as they had of *Abrahams Works*; For if they had been partakers of *Abrahams faith*, then, as our *Apoſtle* infers, *Gal.* 3. 7. *They had been the ſons of Abraham*; and if they had been *the ſons of Abraham*, they would (by our *Saviours* Inference) *have done the works of Abraham.* Such *faith* as they made brags of, could not juſtifie them, becauſe it was a *dead and fruitleſs faith*, devoid of *works.* Such *works*, as the Romiſh Church doth magnifie in oppoſition to *faith*, can neither juſtifie, nor receive any Reward, becauſe they are no *faithful Works*; but rather like ſeeming fruits without any Root. They put their *works* upon their *faith*, as we do ſweet flowers upon dead Corpſes. Neither can give life or perfection to others. The beſt *Cenſure* that Chriſtian Faith or Charity will permit us to give of their doctrine *Concerning the nature of faith and works*, is This; That albeit, they all profeſs to believe that, which their Church believes, yet the moſt of them do neither believe nor practiſe as the Church (in theſe points) teacheth. Their ignorance in this particular is much better then their knowledge of moſt of the reſt.

But to conclude the *firſt Poſition*; Becauſe ſome of *our Writers* exclude all *works* from the work of Juſtification, ſome Roman Writers (I dare not ſay all) ſought *to be even with them* by excluding *faith* from ſharing with *works* in the Final Award or retribution. For beſides this *Eagerneſs of extream Oppoſition* or deſire to be *contrary* unto us, it is not imaginable what could move any learned Writer amongſt them to Affirm that this *final Retribution ſhall be according to Works*, and *Deny* it, According to *Faith.*

Good works neceſſary to ſalvation.

4. About the *Second Poſition* there is no Controverſie betwixt us and the Romiſh Church; we hold *Good works to be as neceſſary to ſalvation as they do*; As *neceſſary* according to *both Brances of Neceſſity.* *Neceſſary* they are, *Neceſſitate præcepti*, and neceſſary likewiſe *Neceſſitate medii*; *neceſſary* by Precept or duty, for God hath commanded us to do them, he hath redeemed us to the end that we ſhould ſerve him in righteouſneſs and holineſs. But many things, which are in this ſenſe *neceſſary*,

in that their Omiſſion doth neceſſarily include a breach of Gods Commandement, and by conſequent a ſin, do not alwayes induce or argue a Forfeiture of our Eſtate in Grace, or utter excluſion from the Kingdom of heaven: For this Reaſon we ſay, That *Good works are neceſſary*, not only *Neceſſitate præcepti*, by way of Command, but *Neceſſitate medii*, as the way and means, ſo *neceſſary* to ſalvation, that without the practiſe of them, no man can be admitted into the Kingdom of Heaven. *Through the Omiſſion of Good works, many do forfeit that Intereſt, which they truly had in the promiſes of everlaſting Life.*

Omiſſion of Good Works forfeit our intereſt in the promiſes.

In the *promiſe it ſelf*, all that are partakers of the Word and Sacrament, all that acknowledge the Word revealed to be the way unto everlaſting life, have ***A true Intereſt.*** Of *the pledge* or earneſt of the bleſſing promiſed, that is of juſtifying or ſanctifying Grace, none are partakers, but ſuch as are fruitful in *Good works*, according to the means or abilities, which God hath beſtowed upon them.

Whether it be poſſible for ſuch as are once eſtated in Grace to give over the Practiſe of *Good works*, that here we leave to ſuch as deſire to exerciſe their wits in the controverſies about Falling from Grace: (and the rather becauſe we have ſpoke a word of that Point in the 26. Chapter of this Book.) Let them determine of the Categorical Affirmative or Negative as they pleaſe: This Conditional is moſt certain: [*If it be poſſible for him, that hath Grace or Faith (in what meaſure ſoever) inherent, to give over the practiſe of Good Works; he ſhall thereby forfeit his preſent eſtate in Gods promiſes and defeat his hopes of inheriting the Kingdom of God.*] *Whoſoever* (ſaith our Saviour) *ſhall break one of theſe Commandements and ſhall teach men ſo, he ſhall be called the leaſt in the Kingdom of Heaven; but whoſoever ſhall do, and teach them, the ſame ſhall be called great in the Kingdom of Heaven. For I ſay unto you that except your righteouſneſs ſhall exceed the righteouſneſs of the Scribes and Phariſees, ye ſhall in no caſe enter into the Kingdom of Heaven*, *Matth.* 5. 20. Yet did theſe Scribes and Phariſees many Good Works, and made conſcience of many Duties, which many Preciſe Ones in our dayes do not trouble their Conſciences withall. This notwithſtanding, Theſe Scribes and Phariſees did exclude themſelves from the Kingdom of Heaven (as here eſtabliſhed on earth) by leaving other Good Works (altogether, or for the moſt part) undone, which the Law of God did no leſs require at their hands. Even the Good Works, which they did, were not well done by them, becauſe they were not done in Faith; they never came ſo near unto the Kingdom of Heaven, as to acknowledge Chriſt for their Lord; much leſs to be partakers of thoſe Gifts and Graces of the Spirit, which after his Aſcenſion were beſtowed on men.

Nor ſhall all they, which were partakers of thoſe Gifts, and which did ſtill acknowledge him for their Lord, enter into the Kingdom, which is here prepared for ſuch as *continue in well doing*. So ſaith our Saviour, *Not every one that* ſaith *unto me Lord, Lord, ſhall enter into the Kingdom, but he that* doth, &c. *Many will then ſay, Lord, Lord, have we not propheſied in thy name? and in thy name have caſt out devils? and in thy name done many wonderful works? And then will I profeſs unto them; I never knew you; Depart from me ye workers of iniquity*, Matth. 7. 21, 22.

Damnation awarded for *Omiſſions*.

5. But, in this place, We ſee the Sentence is not awarded for Poſitive Works of iniquity, but for *Omiſſion of the duties of charity*; He ſaith not, *Depart from me ye curſed into everlaſting fire prepared for the*

Devil and his Angels, Becauſe ye have oppreſſed the poor and ſtranger; or, *for that ye have robbed the Fatherleſs and made a prey of the widdow.* Theſe indeed are works of iniquity, and deſerve Excluſion from the Kingdom of Heaven.

But is it a Work of iniquity, *not to work at all?* As not to give meat unto the hungry? Not to give drink unto the thirſty? Not to cloath the naked, or lodge the harbourleſs? Yes, even *theſe Omiſſions* deſerve Excluſion from the Kingdom of Heaven: Either by their connexion with ſins of oppreſſion, becauſe it is ſcarce poſſible that any which hear Chriſts promiſes ſhould be barren of good Works, unleſs they were too fruitful in the works of impiety and oppreſſion; or rather becauſe, as our Saviour elſewhere infers, that, *Not to ſave mens lives, when means and opportunities is offered, is to kill*; Not to feed the hungry, is a bloody ſin; Not to cloath the naked, is as the ſin of Oppreſſion.

The Doing of ſome Good Works cannot excuſe men for the Omiſſion of others which be as neceſſary; To propheſie in Chriſts name is a Gracious Work; to caſt out Devils is a Work of greater Charity and comfort to the poſſeſſed, then to viſit the priſoners; and yet ſuch as have done theſe and many other wonderful Works ſhall not be admitted at the Laſt Day.

Beſides the Goodneſs of the Works which we are bound to do, there muſt be an Uniformity in them; Otherwiſe they are not done in *Faith.* Now the ſame *Faith* and belief, which inclines our hearts to works of one kind, will incline them to the practiſe of every kind, which we know or believe to be required at our hands by our Lord and Maſter. That even the beſt Works of mercy, or moſt beneficial unto others, are not acceptable unto God; unleſs they be done out of *Faith* and obedience to our Maſters Will, is clear from our Apoſtles *Verdict of Enoch*, *Heb.* 11. 5. *Before his tranſlation*, ſaith our Apoſtle, *he had this teſtimony, that he pleaſed God*; For ſo it is ſaid *Gen.* 5. 24. *that he walked with God*; the *way*, by which he walked, was his Good Works and Converſation, but *The Guide of this way and his works was his Faith.* So the Apoſtle infers, *without faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe God*; *for he that cometh to God muſt believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them, that diligently ſeek him*, ver. 6. As God is the Author of goodneſs, yea goodneſs it ſelf; ſo we cannot come unto him by any other way, then by doing good to others; yet that, which muſt make even our beſt Works pleaſing to him, muſt be our Belief in him, and in his goodneſs, and that he is *A bountiful Rewarder* of all that do good;

The good Works even of the Heathen, and of ſuch as knew neither him nor his Providence; of ſuch, as in ſtead of him worſhipped falſe gods, were rewarded by him; but with rewards and bleſſings only Temporal: He was their Rewarder; but not himſelf their Reward. This was the Peculiar of *Abraham* his friend, and of *Abrahams* children, that is, of all ſuch, as do the works of *Abraham* out of the Faith of *Abraham*, that is, out of a lively apprehenſion and true eſteem of his goodneſs; Unto all ſuch he himſelf hall be *merces magna nimis*, or *valdè magna*, Their exceeding great Reward. Unto men thus qualified, and only unto them, it ſhall be ſaid, *Come ye bleſſed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.* This Kingdom ſhall be a Kingdom of everlaſting bliſs; and yet the greateſt bleſſedneſs of this Kingdom ſhall conſiſt in the fruition or enjoying of the preſence of this Everlaſting King, who is goodneſs it ſelf; the participation of whoſe goodneſs is the very Life and Eſſence of that happineſs, which all deſire, but none ſhall attain, beſides ſuch as do His Will by well doing. To be ſeparated for ever from his preſence is the ſcourſe of all the miſery, which ſhall befall the damned or accurſed.

The Romaniſts wreſting *Hebr.* 11.6. to maintain merit of Works.

But from this place of our Apoſtle, *Heb.* 11. 6. The Romaniſt (alwayes ready like the ſpider to ſuck poiſon from ſuch flowers in this garden of God as naturally afford honey to ſuch as ſeek God) labours to infer, as he doth out of the words of the text, *That the Everlaſting Kingdom here promiſed is the juſt Reward of our good works*, and is as properly *merited*, as everlaſting death is by the Omiſſion of the works here mentioned, or by the Poſitive Works of iniquity. So that I ſhould here according to my propoſed *method* proceed unto the third point, That *theſe good works, how neceſſary ſoever they be, are neceſſary only Tanquam via ad regnum, non tanquam cauſa regnandi, only as the Way and Means, which lead unto this Kingdom, not as the cauſes of its preparations for us, or for our admiſſion unto it.* But for the preſent, I chuſe rather to make ſome uſe or Application of what hath been ſaid concerning *The neceſſity of Good Works*, then to diſpute of their Efficacie or Cauſality for attaining this Kingdom, intending to touch that a little more in the next Chapter, though with reference to what I have ſpoken in the 27. and 28. Chapters.

The third Poſitive truth mentioned §.1. handled Chap. 31.

6. You ſee that Good Works done in Faith (or, which is all one, a Working Faith) are abſolutely neceſſary unto ſalvation. But are they as neceſſary to Juſtification? If they be; how is it ſaid by St. *Auſtine*, and approved by the Articles of the Church of *England*; *Bona opera ſequuntur hominem juſtificatum, non præcedunt in homine juſtificando?* Good works follow Juſtification; they do not go before it. This Orthodoxal Truth only imports thus much, *That no man can do thoſe works, which are capable of the promiſes before he be inabled by God to do them; and that this ability to do them is from the Gift of Juſtifying Faith.* Now every one that hath this Faith in his heart is ſaid to be Juſtified, that is, abſolved from the Guilt of ſins paſt, and freed from the Tyranny and Dominion of ſin, by receiving this pledge or earneſt of Gods mercy: and in this ſenſe is Juſtification taken by St. *James*, when he ſaith, *a man is juſtified by works*, that is, He is not to be accounted *the Son of faithful Abraham*, nor may he preſume upon his own Actual Juſtification or eſtate in Grace, until he be qualified and enabled to do the Works of *Abraham*. In the ſame ſenſe is Juſtification taken by St. *John*, *Rev.* 22. 11. *Qui juſtus eſt juſtificetur adhuc; Let him that is righteous be righteous ſtill, or more juſtified. And in this ſort Children or Infants are ſaid to be Juſtified by the Infuſion of Faith. The practiſe of Good Works is not required to their Juſtification before they come to the knowledge of good and evil. But neither is the apprehenſion or actual Belief of Gods mercies in Chriſt required of them; Though they be juſtified and ſaved for the Merits of Chriſt and through his blood, as we are.* Yet is not the Rule for Application of theſe Merits, the ſame in them and in men of years and diſcretion: (Though, with ſome abatement or allowance, it holds in ſuch as are converted to Chriſt upon their death beds; Theſe muſt apprehend Gods mercies in Chriſt, reſolve to do Good Works; and leave teſtimony of ſorrow for their paſt negligence in doing Good Works: For in ſuch as are endued with knowledge of Chriſt, and are enlightned to ſee their miſerable eſtate by nature, the ſelf ſame Faith which apprehends Gods mercies in Chriſt, cannot be idle, it will be working

that which is good and acceptable in the ſight of God. In vain it ſhall be for them to ſue for mercy at Gods hands through the Merits of Chriſt, unleſs for love to Chriſt (whoſe Merits for them and Goodneſs towards them, Faith apprehends) they be ready to do the works, which he hath commended unto them. For (as you heard before) *not every one that ſaith unto him, Lord, Lord, ſhall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, but he that doth the will of his Father, which is in Heaven*; and his Fathers Will is, that we do thoſe things, which he here commands.

But another ſpecial Branch of the ſame Will is, *That when we have done all this, we faithfully acknowledge our ſelves to be unprofitable ſervants.* This our Plea for mercy (as men altogether unworthy for our beſt Works ſake to be partaker of Gods Goodneſs or of everlaſting bliſs) is that juſtification, which St. *Paul* ſo much inſiſts upon in moſt of his Epiſtles: and unto This Juſtification, that is, to our good ſucceſs in making this Plea, Good works are neceſſary and uſually Precedent; or, as it is uſually taught by Good writers; Good works are neceſſary *quoad preſentiam*, (to juſtification) *non quoad efficientiam:* Their *preſence is neceſſary to Juſtification, their Efficacy or efficiency is not neceſſary*; for as you have heard before, and ſhall afterwards (*Chap.* 31.) hear; meritorious efficiency they have none.

7. But let us ever remember, as I often put the Reader in mind, when it is ſaid, *We muſt renounce all our works in the Plea of Juſtification or ſuit of Pardon for our ſins;* This muſt be underſtood Of thoſe good Works, which we have done, not of thoſe, which we have left undone; For theſe are not ours. Theſe, the Hypocrites and unbelievers will be ready to renounce. He alone truly renounceth his Works, that doth Good Works, and yet when he hath done them, puts no truſt or confidence in them, and ſeeks not to improve them ſo far as to make them *meritorious*, but wholly relies upon *Gods mercies in Chriſt*, appealing from the *Law* unto the *Goſpel.* Nor is it *every ſort* of Relyance upon *Gods mercies in Chriſt*, but *A faithful* and ſtedfaſt relyance, that can avail; and *no man can faithfully rely upon Chriſts merits, but he that is faithful in doing his Fathers Will.*

8. But is this Neceſſity of good Works to be equally extended to all ſorts of Good works? So ſaith *Saint James, Chap.* 2. 10, 11. *Whoſoever ſhall keep the whole Law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all; for he that ſaid, do not commit adultery, ſaid alſo, do not kill. Now if thou commit no adultery, yet if thou kill, thou art become a tranſgreſſor of the Law.* His meaning is, *That albeit we are diligent in many points of Gods ſervice, yet if we wittingly diſpenſe with our ſouls in other parts of it, this is an Argument that we Truly and faithfully obſerve no part. For, if we did obſerve Any part of his Commandments, out of Faith or ſincere obedience to Gods Will, we would obſerve, as much as in us lies, every branch of his Will revealed.*

See this Authors Treatiſe of *Juſtifying Faith*, or fourth Book. Chap. 15.

For as true Faith will not admit προσωποληψίας Reſpects of Perſons (which was the fault in the beginning of that Chapter taxed by St. *James*, and gave occaſion to the *Maxim* or principle in the words laſt cited) ſo doth it exclude all πρόσκλισιν Partiality to Gods Commandments or branches of His Will revealed; *If we love and prize one, we muſt love and value all:* We may not love and reſpect One and neglect another. This is the true intent and meaning of the Apoſtle, which ſome (to the wounding of their brethrens weak conſciences) have extended too far, who ſay expreſly (or at leaſt are ſo defective in expreſſing themſelves, as they occaſion others to think) *That if a man either poſitively or more grievouſly tranſgreſs in breach of Gods* Negative Precepts, *or often fail in performance of ſome* Poſitive Duties *commanded by him, it is all one as if he had tranſgreſſed all Gods Commandments.*

A Siniſter expoſition of *Saint James* 2. 10.

This is more then can be gathered from St. *James* in this place; or from any other part of Gods word, which only condemns *Partiality* to Gods Commandments. Now a man may treſpaſs oftner and more grievouſly againſt ſome one, or more of Gods commandments (whether *Negative* or *Affirmative*) then he doth againſt others, and yet do all this, not out of any paſſionate affected *Partiality* towards Gods Commandments, or for want of uniformity in his *Faith* or Affections towards Chriſt; but only out of the *Inequality* of his own natural or acquired inclinations to ſome peculiar ſins or vices in reſpect of others. Some men, as well before Regeneration or knowledge of Chriſt, as after, may be naturally, or out of cuſtome, more prone to wantonneſs, then unto covetouſneſs. Others again by natural diſpoſition or bad cuſtome, may be more prone to covetouſneſs, to ambition, or unadviſed anger, then unto wantonneſs. Others again by bad education may be more prone to raſh oathes or cauſleſs ſwearing then to any the former vices. One ſort, after their regeneration, or after they come to make Conſcience of their wayes, may offend more often and more grievouſly againſt the third Commandment, then againſt the ſixth or ſeventh. Another ſort may offend more grievouſly againſt the ſixth Commandment [*Thou ſhalt not kill*] then againſt the ſeventh [*Thou ſhalt not commit adultery.*] A third ſort, ſuch as are by natural diſpoſition or cuſtome given to wantonneſs may offend more grievouſly againſt the ſeventh Commandment, then againſt the ſixth. A fourth ſort, more peculiarly prone to covetouſneſs or ambition may offend more grievouſly and more often againſt the laſt Commandment [*Thou ſhalt not covet,*] then againſt any of the former. And yet none of them fall under that cenſure of *Saint James*; *Whoſoever ſhall keep the whole Law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all.* For they may all reſpectively offend in ſome one part, or few points, not out of any *Partiality* to Gods Law or Commandments, but out of the *Inequality* of their particular or peculiar diſpoſitions to obſerve them.

Their deſires or endeavours to obſerve thoſe duties, which they more neglect, may perhaps be *Greater*, then their deſires or endeavours to obſerve thoſe, wherein they are leſs defective. However this may fall out; Yet this *Rule* is certain, that, *Whoſoever truly obſerves any or more of Gods Commandments out of* Faith *and ſincere obedience to* his Will; *as his love and zealous Obſervance of thoſe commandments, in whoſe practiſe he finds leſs difficulty, increaſeth, his proneneſs to tranſgreſs the other, from whoſe obſervance he is by nature or cuſtome more averſe, will ſtill decreaſe: his* Poſitive diligence *or care to practiſe thoſe duties, which are not ſo contrary to his natural inclinations, will alwayes in ſome proportion or other raiſe or quicken his weak deſires or inclinations to obſerve thoſe duties, which he hath formerly more often and more grievouſly neglected or oppoſed.*

9. But ſome happily will here demand why our Saviour in this place of St. *Matth.* 25. 34. &c. (ſeeing all *Good works* are neceſſary unto Salvation) ſhould inſtance only in works of one kind, that is, in *works of Charity* towards others, and not in works of *Piety* and *ſanctity*, as in faſting and praying? It is an *Excellent obſervation*, (and ſo much the

Why Chriſt inſtances in works of *Charity* rather then of *Piety*.

the more to be eſteemed by us, in that it was) made by *Janſenius*, a learned Biſhop, not of Reformed, but of the Romiſh Church, that; *However faſting, and other exerciſes of mortification, be duties neceſſary in their time and place, yet God is better pleaſed with us for relieving and comforting others in their affliction (be it affliction of body or of ſoul) then for afflicting our own ſouls and bodies:* And as for faſting, *One good Uſe of* it is, *To learn by our voluntary want of food truly to pity and comfort others, which want it againſt their wills*; we then *truly faſt*, or our faſt is then truly religious, when we faſt, not for thrift or ſparing, or for the health of body, but that what we ſpare from our ſelves we may beſtow (not ſparingly but chearfully) upon our needy brethren. So the Prophet inſtructs us, *Eſai.* 58. 5, 6, 7. *Is it ſuch a faſt, that I have choſen? a day for a man to afflict his ſoul? is it to bow down his head as a bul-ruſh, and to ſpread ſackcloth and aſhes under him? wilt thou call this a faſt, an acceptable day to the Lord? Is not this the faſt, that I have choſen? to looſe the bands of wickedneſs, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppreſſed go free, and that ye break every yoke? Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor, that are caſt out, to thy houſe? when thou ſeeſt the naked, that thou cover him, and that thou hide not thy ſelf from thine own fleſh.* Again, *Faſting* is uſeful or expedient only at ſome certain times and ſeaſons: *Theſe duties* here mentioned *Matth.* 25. 34. &c. are at all times neceſſary, they are never out of ſeaſon; they are (upon the reſpects laſt mentioned) moſt ſeaſonable when we *Faſt*, and yet in ſome ſort more ſeaſonable when we *Feaſt*. For feaſting of our ſelves or of the Rich, *being unmindful of the poor and needy is to bring a curſe upon our ſelves, and upon our plenty:* As we ſee it ſet forth in the parable of *Lazarus* and *Dives. See Prov.* 22. 16. *Luke* 14. 13.

St. *Auſtine* obſerves, that, the duty of praying continually is not literally meant of praying alwayes with our lips, nor of multiplying ſet hours of Devotion; but *Omne opus bonum*; *Every good work is a Real Prayer*, ſpecially if we conſecrate our ſelves to it by prayer. The continuance of Good works begun and undertaken by prayer, is a continuation of our prayers; So that by *Praying often*, and *doing Good to others continually*, we may be ſaid to obſerve or fulfill that precept *Pray continually.*

10. As we cannot more truly imitate, or expreſs our Saviour's diſpoſition in more ſolid Characters, then by the practiſe of theſe duties (for *he went about doing good, healing all that were oppreſſed*) ſo are there no Duties, which are ſo eaſie for all to imitate him in, as theſe are: None can plead exemption for want of means or opportunity to practiſe them: For though ſome be ſo needy themſelves, that they cannot clothe the naked or feed the hungry, yet may they viſit the ſick, or reſort to ſuch as are in Priſon. As every one in ſome kind or other may be the object of his neighbors charity, ſo may every one be either Inſtrument or Agent in the doing thereof. The rich may ſtand in need of viſitation, or of their Neighbors Prayers, either for continuance or reſtauration of health; and *they* cannot want other, on whom to exerciſe their charity: For, as our Saviour ſaith, *Pauperes ſemper habebitis vobiſcum*, You ſhall alwayes have the poor amongſt you: And who knows, whether the Lord in mercy hath not ſuffered the poor in theſe places to abound, that the rich, or men of competent means, might have continual and daily occaſion to practiſe theſe Duties here continually enjoyned. We of * this place cannot want ſoil to ſow unto the Lord; For,

*About *New-caſtle* upon *Tine* where theſe were preached.

as the former *Parable* imports we ſhall not want occaſion to put out the *Talent* wherewith God hath bleſt us, to advantage: So *Solomon* ſaith, *He that hath pity on the poor, lendeth to the Lord, and look what he layeth out, it ſhall be payed him again*, Prov.19.17. What greater *Incouragement* can any man either give or require, to the performance of this ſervice, then that which *Our Lord and Maſter* hath given to all, which either truly love him, or eſteem of his love? What can the Eloquence of man adde to this *Invitation* in this place? What better *Aſſurance* could any man require, then the ſolemn promiſe of ſo powerful and gracious a Lord? Or what greater *Reward* or Bleſſing could any man expect to have aſſured unto him, then that which our Saviour here aſſures us? Whatſoever we do to the poor and diſtreſſed, he will interpret it as done to himſelf, and really ſo reward it.

And with Reference to this Laſt Day of Final Retribution, did the *Pſalmiſt* ſay, *Pſal.*41. *Bleſſed is the man that provideth for the ſick and needy, the Lord ſhall deliver him in time of trouble:* Sickneſs, Death, and Judgment, are Critical dayes of Trouble.

But I know it will be Objected, that, The greateſt part of the poor, which dwell and ſojourn amongſt us, are not ſuch *Little Ones* as our Saviour here ſpeaks of, that is, not *his Brethren:* Men or Children they be, which for the moſt part draw near unto him with their lips, when they hope to receive an Alms through his Name, but are far from him in their hearts; more ready at moſt times, and upon no occaſion, to abuſe his Name with fearful Oathes, then to call upon it in Prayer, in Reverence and Humility. Would God the matter *Objected* were not too true! However, The truth of it doth not ſo much excuſe the *Contraction*, as it doth exact the *Extenſion* of your bowels of compaſſion towards them.

The worſe the poor be, the more we may be charitable unto them.

11. Seeing for them alſo Chriſt ſhed his blood; their ignorance of *Chriſt and his goodneſs*, ſhould move us all to a deeper touch of Pity and Compaſſion towards them, then ſight of their bodily diſtreſs, of their want or calamity can affect us with: And this deep touch of Pity or Compaſſion, would raiſe our ſpirits to an higher point of ſervice unto *Chriſt*, then any relief or ſupply of their bodily wants can amount unto. You may (if you will for Chriſts ſake be pleaſed to do it) diſtribute ſo unto their bodily neceſſities, as you may lay a neceſſity upon their ſouls of coming to the ordinary knowledge of Chriſt, and of Gods mercies in him towards man. You may by authority put the Precept of our *Apoſtle* in execution; *Such as will not work, let them not eat*; or ſuch as will not work the ordinary works of God, that will not labour to be inſtructed in his fear and in his Laws, let them not be partakers of your Bounty and Pity.

All neglect of the poor is ſin: This ſpiritual neglect, *is a ſin exceeding ſinful.*

To conſtrain the poor, the halt, and lame, to enter into the Lords houſe were a matter eaſie; if, as the Law of God and man requires, none were permitted to remain amongſt us, but ſuch as were confined to ſome certain dwelling or abode, where they might live under the inſpection or cure, as well of Civil, as of Eccleſiaſtick Diſcipline. And conſider with your ſelves, I beſeech you, how either the Civil or Eccleſiaſtick Magiſtrate will be able to anſwer the great King at the laſt day, through whoſe default (whether joyntly or ſeverally) many children have been by Baptiſm received into Chriſts Church, and yet permitted after, to live ſuch a roving and wandering life, that no Tie can be laid upon them to give an account of their Faith or Chriſtian converſation to any Church or Embaſſador of Chriſt. But as *Bodies*, while they are in motion, are in no place, though they paſs through many; ſo theſe wandering *Meteors* are *of* no Church, though they be *in* every Church. If I ſhould in private perſwade You Magiſtrates to ſeek ſome Redreſs of this Enormity, and blemiſh to the Government of this place, I doubt I ſhould be put off with the Exception, to which I could not eaſily reply; *That you have better experience then I, or others of my opinion or profeſſion have; And out of that experience ſee greater difficulties, then we can diſcern.*

But now having expreſs warrant from our Saviour's words, and this Fair opportunity of *Time* and Place, You muſt give me leave to reply unto you, as an ingenious and learned Scholar once did to a *Chriſtian Emperour*, which pretended greater difficulties in a good work, which he commended to his Princely care, then you can do in this; Yet a work not altogether ſo neceſſary nor ſo acceptable unto God, as this work would be. *In rebus piis aggrediendis nefas eſt conſiderare quantum tu potes, ſed quantum Deo fidis qui omnia poteſt. Think not, when you are about works of Piety, ſo much of your own Ability (or weakneſs;) but examine how much you rely and truſt in Almighty God, who is able to do exceeding abundantly above what we conceive or think.*

CHAP. XXXI.

MATTH. 25. 34. 41.

Come ye bleſſed of my Father——, FOR I was hungry, and ye gave me meat: I was thirſty,——.

Go ye curſed——, FOR, I was an hungred and ye gave me no meat, I was thirſty,——.

Janſenius *his obſervation and diſputation* [*About merit*] *examined*; *and convinced of contradiction to it ſelf and to the Truth. The definition of* Merit. *The State of the Queſtion concerning* Merit. *Increaſe of Grace no more* Meritable *then the Firſt Grace. A Promiſe made* Ex mero motu, ſine Ratione dati & accepti, *cannot found a Title to* Merits. *Such are all Gods promiſes*, Iſſues of Meer Grace, Mercy *and* Bounty. *The Romaniſts of kin to the Phariſee: yet indeed more to be blamed then He. The objection from the Cauſal Particle*, FOR, *made and anſwered.*

Janſenius his Obſervation.

1. AGainſt ſuch as deny the *merit* of humane works, *Thus much*, ſaith *Janſenius* (an ingenuous and learned Biſhop though a Papiſt) *is diligently to be obſerved, That* Chriſt *in this place deputes this Kingdom to the righteous FOR, their works ſake; hereby giving us to underſtand, that Life Eternal is beſtowed upon them FOR their works, by which the righteous Merit Life Eternal, even as the wicked by their evil works Merit everlaſting puniſhment.*

The only ground or reaſon of this Aſſertion is; *For that our Saviours Form of ſpeech in both Sentences is the ſame, and Cauſal in both. As he ſaith unto the wicked, Depart from me ye curſed into everlaſting fire; FOR, I was an hungred and you gave me no meat*, &c. ver. 41, 42. *So he ſaith unto the righteous, or them on his Right hand*, v. 34. *Come ye bleſſed of my Father inherit the Kingdom prepared for you, FOR, I was an hungred, and you gave me meat*, &c.

Yet leaſt any man ſhould except againſt him, as diſſenting from the Doctrine of Chriſt elſewhere delivered, and from the Apoſtolick and Catholick Church, *By which, Our ſalvation is aſcribed to Gods Grace and mercy*; he adds *this ſalve* to the wound which he had made: *Non tamen Sic meritis noſtris putetur dari vita æterna*, &c. *Let no man think that life eternal is ſo beſtowed upon our merits, as All may not be given to the mercy of God, from which we have our good works or merits.* He grants withall, *That the ſalvation of the Righteous depends upon Gods Bleſſing and Predeſtination, upon which likewiſe their Good works depend, Leſt any ſhould* glory *in himſelf*; A ſin forbidden, by Gods Prophet, *Jer. 9. ver. 23.*

A Catholick verity.

That *All then is to be attributed to Gods mercy*, that *no man may glory in himſelf, or in his works*, is true, Our enemies, in this Point, being Judges; is confeſſed by *our Adverſaries*, even in this place, from which they ſeek to eſtabliſh Merits. And This we may conclude is *A Point of Catholick Doctrine* taught by *Chriſt, Prophets* and *Apoſtles*, ſtedfaſtly imbraced by all *Reformed Churches*, and expreſly (in words) acknowledged by the *Romiſh Church.* With *this Point* of *Catholick Faith* we mingle no Doctrine, no Opinion, which may but queſtionably pollute or defile it; We avoid all occaſions of incurring the leaſt ſuſpicion of contradicting it; and for this cauſe *We abandon the very name of Merit*, as now it is *uſed* (or rather *abuſed*) by the Romiſh Church: Although in *ſome Ages* of the Church it were an indifferent and *harmleſs Term, Mereri* importing no more (as was ſhewed, Chapter,27.) then, *to Get* or *Obtain*.

The definition of *merit*.

But *Merit* in the language of the modern Romiſh Church [*Eſt actio, cui juſtum eſt, ut aliquid detur*,] is, *An action or work, to which* (*ſomething or*) *any thing is due*, by Rule of Juſtice. Yet doth the Romiſh Church not only Enjoyn the Uſe or Familiarity of this name in this Senſe or ſignification, but Require the Aſſent of Faith unto the Reality Expreſſed by it.

2. The *Points* then, which lie upon that Church to prove (if ſhe will acquit her ſelf from polluting the holy Catholick Faith, are Two.

The One; That *this Doctrine of meriting heaven by works doth not contradict the former part of Catholick doctrine acknowledged by her*, to wit, that *All is to be aſcribed to the mercy of God*: that *no man ought to glory in himſelf, or in his works*.

The other; That *this Doctrine of merit is taught by the Holy Ghoſt*, *as either by Chriſt himſelf by his Prophets, or Apoſtles*; for ſo it muſt be taught, if it be impoſed as an *Article of Faith*, although we could not convince it to contradict the Former, or any other *Article of Faith*.

Firſt then, *of the ſtate of the Queſtion*, or Point of Difference betwixt us.

Secondly, *Of the Refutation of their Opinions.*

Thirdly, *The Anſwer to the Objection*, which they frame out of the *Cauſal Particles* in this Text, Matth. 25. 34, 41.

The ſtate of the Queſtion.

3. That the Doctrine of *Merits* doth not contradict the Catholick Doctrine, which aſcribes our ſalvation *wholly to the mercy of God*; *Janſenius* ſeeks to juſtifie by *this One Reaſon*: For that the Romiſh Church doth acknowledge thoſe *Good Works*, (wherein ſhe placeth *Merits*) to proceed from the *Mercy of God*. But *this ſpeech of his* [*Habemus bona opera à miſericordia Dei*: By or from the mercies of God we have our Good Works:] is Indefinite; that is, It is uncertain how far this man himſelf, or any of his profeſſion, do acknowledge Good Works to proceed from the Mercy of

God. If he had ſaid, that *All our Good Works are wholly from God*, this had agreed well with both branches of his Former Concluſion; As Firſt, *That All were to be given to the mercy of God*; And Secondly, *That no man might glory in himſelf or in his works*. But if his Speech had been thus far extended, it would have left no room for merits; whereas the Doctrine of Merits muſt have place in all the writings, that come from the Roman Preſs, albeit perhaps the Writer himſelf had aſſigned them none. But if either *All our Good Works* be not from God; or if *All of them* be from God *Quoad Originem*, only as they are in the Root; but not as they are in their Growth and perfection; Then there may perhaps ſome place be left for Merit. So much of them, as proceeds from our ſelves and not from God, might be accounted our own; but yet being ours, there is no neceſſity, that God ſhould reward them with everlaſting life.

Conſider three things.

For the clearer underſtanding of our adverſaries meaning, and *the State of the Queſtion* betwixt us and them, we may conſider, *Firſt*, the Root or Faculty; *Secondly*, the Stemme or Habit of meritorious works. *Thirdly*, the Fruit, or works themſelves, or the exerciſe or practiſe, of, or according to, their Habit. The Root or Faculty whence works truly good do ſpring (as moſt of the Romiſh Church now acknowledge) is *Grace infuſed*. And this Infuſion of Grace (by which men in their Divinity are firſt juſtified) they acknowledge to be wholly from God. And in that they acknowledge the *Firſt Grace*, or *Root of Good Works* to be *wholly from Gods mercy*, they conſequently deny that it can be *merited*. 'Tis a *Maxim* in their modern Schools, as we ſhewed before, that, *Fundamentum meriti non cadit ſub merito, The Foundation of merits cannot be merited*. And this *Foundation of merits is the Firſt Grace*, by which man is firſt juſtified: But after this Grace be once infuſed, the Uſe of it depends upon mans Free-will: He that uſeth this Talent well, or not amiſs, ſhall have more given him. This Overplus the Romiſh Church aſcribes to the Merit of Works: And by the habitual and conſtant uſe of Grace, and Free-will, Life Eternal it ſelf (by their Doctrine) may be properly merited. We acknowledge that whoſoever doth not hide the Talent of Grace, but imploys it aright, ſhall certainly receive increaſe of Grace from God, and be partaker of joy according to the meaſure of his Works, though not for his Works ſake, or for his right uſe of Grace.

Increaſe of Grace no more merited then the Firſt Grace.

4. We ſay the Increaſe of Grace is no more from any Works or Merits of Works, then the Firſt Grace it ſelf is. The inheritance of Eternal Life can no more be purchaſed by the fulleſt meaſure of Grace, or greateſt perfection of Works (that in this life can be attained unto) then the Firſt Grace can be purchaſed by Works. That the Firſt Grace is not given for our Works, is not procured by them, the Romiſh Church now acknowledgeth.

This beginning of *Grace or foundation of merits* they confeſs that they receive from the ſole bleſſing or Predeſtination of God. And ſo ſay we *All increaſe of Grace; the Preparation of this Kingdom for us, our Preparation to be capable of it, our admiſſion into it, are the Effects likewiſe of Gods Predeſtination, and the Fruits of his mercy*; Yet not ſo, as that his *Mercy* or Predeſtination doth impoſe any neceſſity upon the men. for whom this Kingdom is prepared: We deny not a *Freedom of will* in this Preparation, but the *Merit of our Free-will*. A *Freedom of will* we have to neglect or deſpiſe the ordinary means, by which *Grace* is beſtowed; A *Freedom* likewiſe to hide or not imploy thoſe Talents, or bleſſings, which God hath already beſtowed upon us. If we do evil, or imploy theſe Talents amiſs, the evil is wholly our own,

About *Free-will*. See an elaborate Treatiſe, Book X. Ch. 24. &c.

the miſcarriage is wholly our own: If we do well, or imploy them aright, *This is Gods Work*, and not ours; or not ſo ours, as that we may hence *challenge any Reward as due* unto us. No man can do well, unleſs he be enabled firſt by God to do well; and the more he is enabled by Gods Gifts and Graces beſtowed upon him, the more he is bound to God. Nor can we ever in this life be ſo thankful unto God for Gifts already received, as we ought to be. The leaſt increaſe of Grace after the *Firſt Grace* given, exceeds the greateſt meaſure of our ſervice or thankfulneſs; if we could impartially eſteem or rate them by their proper worth or weight. So that the more Grace we receive from God, or the better our works are, the more ſtill we are indebted to him that inables us to work:and as our debt to him increaſeth, ſo our Title,to *Merit* any thing at his hands (queſtionleſs) decreaſeth.

To conclude then;

A Syllogiſm.

That which creates a new Title of bond or debt unto God from us, cannot poſſibly be the Ground-title of merits (that is, Of any debts or dues from God to us:)

But Grace (not the Firſt Grace only, but all increaſe of Grace) *doth ſtill create or found a new Title of Debt from us to God*;

Therefore, Neither the Firſt Grace, nor any increaſe of Grace can be Fundamentum meriti, *any Foundation or Ground-title unto merits:*

But rather, ſeeing *Merits* include a Debt or due from God to us, he that moſt aboundeth in *Grace*, which is the *Free Gift of God*, will be moſt ready to diſclaim all *Merits*.

If there be not *Ratio Dati & Accepti* A promiſe is no Ground of merit.

6. But if Works (it may be, ſome of the Romiſh Church will ſay) cannot deſerve Everlaſting Life, in themſelves, or as they are wrought by us; yet may they deſerve it, in as much as God hath promiſed Life eternal to all that continue in well doing. But that Good Works ſhould deſerve Eternal Life, Only upon ſuppoſal of Gods promiſe, ſome of the greateſt Scholars (I will not ſay of the beſt men amongſt them) will not yield. But to take them at their Beſt; As when they ſay, that *Good works do merit as much as God hath promiſed to Reward them with*; This is too bad. For to merit, in their language, is a great deal more then to be Rewarded; it includes a Reward *due* unto the works wrought, not meerly given out of the mercy or bounty of him that promiſeth.

The Rule is General; *Whatſoever any man hath Intereſt in by promiſe, it muſt be expected, ſued for, and accepted upon the ſame Terms, that it is promiſed*; unleſs between the promiſe made and the performance of it, we can oblige the party promiſing by ſome real ſervice that may be profitable unto him more then was included in the Conditions to which the promiſe did ty us: To do more then is Covenanted and promiſed, ſo it be behoof-ful for either party, eſpecially, if it be profitable to the Rewarding party, deſerves a Reward in Equity, though not in Law, at his hands to whom it is behoof-ful. If the party, which promiſeth us a good Turn, receive any thing from us in lieu or conſideration of what he promiſeth, he is tyed in Law to perform his promiſe; and is a debter till he perform it: The *performance is not a meer courteſie or bounty, but an Act of Commutative Juſtice*. The *Aſſuming* of a ſhilling may bind a man to the payment of many pounds. Whereſoever there is *Quid pro quo*, or *Ratio dati et accepti*, ſomething as well given as taken upon mutual promiſe, there is an *Act of Commutative Juſtice*; And whereſoever there is not *Ratio dati et accepti*, Somewhat given as well as taken, there can be nothing due in *Juſtice*. From this *ground* ſome great Schoolmen in the Romiſh Church deny *Juſtice commutative* or that branch of Juſtice, which is the Rule of all matters of bargain or ſail, to be properly in God, becauſe there cannot be *Ratio dati & accepti*, *any mutual giving* or *taking between God and his creatures*; For he gives us all that we have or can have; we cannot poſſibly give him any thing which he hath not. And for this reaſon albeit he were purpoſed to beſtow the greateſt meaſure of *grace* upon us, that any creature is capable of, this could not include any *grace of merit*; for ſtill *the more place Grace hath in our hearts*; *the leſs room there is for Merit*.

True it is; that our Lord and Saviour did *merit* heaven at his Fathers hands for us; but the ground and foundation of this *his merit*, was, not only the fulneſs of *grace* in him as man, but that he being in the Form of God, the Son of God, equal to his Father, did humble himſelf and become man for us, and did his Father ſervice as man; he therefore did *merit* all graces for us, becauſe he was *the Son of God*, not by Adoption, or creation, but by Eternal Generation. To be *the Sons of God* by Adoption, or to be made his ſons by Grace, is a bleſſing beſtowed on us, for the which we become Debters to God the Father and ſervants to God the Son; ſo deeply indebted to both, that albeit we ſhould do ten times more then we do, we ſhould ſtill be unprofitable ſervants; we could not make the leaſt *recompence* for that, which he hath done for us.

The manner of the Apoſtles Interrogation, *Rom.* 11. 35. *Quis prior illi dedit?* who hath firſt given to him? includes an *univerſal negation*, No man hath given ought to God; No man can give any thing unto him. And if none can give any thing unto him, none can receive any thing from him by way of *merit* or valuable conſideration, but of meer mercy and free Bounty.

7. If we would ſcan the *Tenor* of all Gods promiſes made unto us in Scripture, with ſuch accurateneſs as Lawyers do Tenures of Land; we ſhould find, that he *only promiſeth to be merciful and bountiful unto us*; whether we limit his promiſes to the *firſt grace*, which we receive from him, or extend them to *all after-increaſe of Grace*, or to the accompliſhing of all bleſſings promiſed in this life by our admiſſion unto life eternal in the world to come. Now if *Mercy and Bounty be the compleat Object of all his promiſes*, then may we not expect performance or accompliſhment of his promiſes as a *Juſt recompence or merit* for any ſervice, which we do him, but only as the Fruit or effect of his mercy or loving kindneſs.

If a loving earthly father ſhould allot his ſon a liberal Penſion before he could in modeſty ask it, or in diſcretion expect it, and promiſe him withall, that if he did imploy this preſent years Penſion well, he would allow him more liberally for the next year following; in this caſe, how well ſoever his ſon did either demean himſelf, or uſe his preſent Penſion; yet ſeeing the whole profit did redound unto himſelf, not unto his Father; the more bountifully his Father deals with him in the years following, the more ſtill he is bound unto him. An ingenious or gracious ſon would not *challenge* the ſecond or third years Penſion as *more due* unto him by *right* or *merit*, then the firſt, albeit he had his Fathers promiſe for theſe two years, which he had not for the firſt: For the Fathers promiſe was only to be good and bountiful unto him, ſo he would be dutifully thankful for his bounty. Now to expect a *challenge* that by way of *right* and *merit*, which is promiſed meerly out of *favour* or loving kindneſs, and upon condition of dutiful demeanour,

nour, is *a tranſgreſſion of duty*, an high degree of unthankfulneſs, eſpecially from a ſon unto the father. For every ſon by the Law of God and nature owes obedience and reſpect unto his Father; and though there be *no mutual bond of Obedience*, yet is there *a bond of mutual duty* between an earthly father and his ſon; at leaſt the father as well as the ſon owes obedience unto Gods Law, and Gods Law enjoyns every father unto kind uſage of his ſon, ſo he challenge it not by way of debt or *merit*, but in love, humility, or obedience.

But on our heavenly Father no bond of Obedience, of debt, or duty can be laid; what good ſoever he doth unto us, it is meerly from his *free Mercy* and loving kindneſs. It was his meer goodneſs to Create us; to give our Firſt Parents ſuch *Being*, as once they had. This Firſt *Being* could not be *merited*, nor doth any Romaniſt affirm it could. Having loſt that goodneſs, wherein we were created, it was more then *meer Goodneſs*, the *abundance of mercy*, to make us any promiſe of Reſtauration to our *firſt blood and Dignity*. And after this promiſe made, it is but the continuation or increaſe of the ſame abundant mercy to *beſtow the Grace of Adoption* upon us; and no more it is then a continuance or Overplus of this abundant mercy, *to increaſe* this Grace of Adoption in us, yearly, dayly, and hourly. Laſtly to crown this continuance of his Grace and mercy towards us with an everlaſting Kingdom, is but an abundant exceſs of the ſame mercy and loving kindneſs, out of which he firſt promiſed the Grace of Adoption, and dayly increaſed it. *Si merita noſtra aliquid facerent, ad damnationem noſtram veniret. Non venit ille ad inſpectionem meritorum, ſed ad remiſſionem peccatorum. Non fuiſti, & factus es: Quid Deo dediſti? malus fuiſti, & liberatus es: Quid Deo dediſti? Quid non ab eo gratis accepiſti? merito &* Gratia *nominatur, quia gratis datur.*

Briefly, in that *Gods Mercy and Goodneſs* is abſolutely infinite, it can admit of no External Motive or inducement, either for beſtowing the *firſt Grace* upon us, or for increaſing it, or for the perpetuation of it: we may deſerve or *merit* the withdrawing of his mercies from us, or the decreaſe of his bleſſings; but deſerve or *merit* their increaſe we cannot; for *merit* ſuppoſeth more then a *motive* or inducement; it neceſſarily includeth a Tie or *Obligement*; whereas no obligement or inducement can be laid upon infinite goodneſs, whoſe continuation and increaſe is likewiſe ſucceſſively infinite (without all period or reſtraint) unto all ſuch, as do not *merit* or provoke the ſubſtraction or diminution of it.

How the Papiſts and Phariſee agree in this point: rather how they exceed him.

8. Difference in this point of *merit* between the doctrine of the modern Romiſh Church, and the Doctrine, or rather the conceipt of the *Phariſee*, I, for my part, could never conceive any, ſave only *ſecundum magis & minus*, A difference of defect and Exceſs. The nature and quality of their opinions and conceipts is the ſame. The exceſs of pride or ſelf conceipt of their own *works* and of their *worth*, is on the Romaniſts part, not on the Phariſees. The Phariſees were men of more ſtrict life, then moſt either of the Romiſh or Reformed Churches now living be. They abſtained from many Enormities, in which the Publicans with whom they lived, did wallow; They were zealous followers of many *good works*, which the Publicans did not ſo much as approve, much leſs practiſe, leaſt of all practiſe with zeal and conſtancy. But were they therefore nearer to the Kingdom of heaven here promiſed? or were they more juſtified by their *works*, then the Publicans were, which did not work? The *Parable of the Phariſee and Publican*, Luke 18. doth wit-

neſs the contrary. *I tell you*, ſaith our Saviour, verſe 14. *this man went down unto his houſe rather juſtified then the other*, to wit, the *Phariſee*. What was it then, that made the *Phariſee* more uncapable of juſtification, then the *Publican?* want of works! No! As he alledgeth (and no man could diſprove his allegation) *He faſted twice in the week, and gave Tithe of all, that ever he poſſeſt.* What then? Only *the opinion of merits*, or over-weening conceipt of the *worth* of theſe his *Poſitive works*, or of his abſtinence from groſs and mortal ſins.

But it may be, he aſcribed all this to *His own Free Will*, not to the favour and grace of God? Not ſo! *For* if we compare him with the modern Papiſts in *this point*, we are bound in conſcience to pronounce the ſame ſentence of them, that our Saviour did of the *Phariſee* and the *Publican.* The *Phariſee, that very Phariſee, which our Saviour ſaid was leſs juſtified then the Publican, is more juſtifiable then any modern Romaniſt, which believes the doctrine of* merits, *as now it is taught*; *or deſpiſeth our Church, as leſs holy then the Church of* Rome, *for denying the merit of works.* For even this *Phariſee*, albeit he thought himſelf a great deal better then the *Publican*, yet did he not aſcribe this to himſelf, or to his *free-will*; for ſo he makes his confeſſion, ver. 11. *God I thank thee, that I am not as other men are, Extortioners, unjuſt, adulterers, or even as this Publican.* In ſaying *thus*, he did acknowledge not only his *poſitive good works* (as faſting and paying tithes) but his *Abſtinence from evil*, as from extortion, *&c.* to be *from God:* For *he thanks* him that he was not an extortioner; and his ſolemn Thanks include an acknowledgment, that it was his gift whom he thanks, that he was no extortioner, no unjuſt or adulterous perſon. That the *Phariſee* did conceive as the Romaniſt doth, that the *firſt Grace*, by which he began to be more obſervant of Gods Laws, then the Publicans, or other men, were, was *only from God*; and that the *increaſe of this Grace*, or his proficiency in good life and works was from himſelf, or the effect of his Free-will, this is more then can be laid unto his charge; For he ſaith not, *God I thank thee that thou haſt converted or reclaimed me from ſo ſinful paths, as this Publican walks in:* To have ſaid thus much, and no more, might have left a ſuſpition, that he did acknowledge the *firſt Grace* of his converſion to be Gods meer Gift, not ſo the *Second* or *Third Grace*; or the increaſe of *Grace*, or his proficiency in good Life. But now he ſaith [*God I thank thee that I am not as other men are, nor as this Publican*;] This includeth an acknowledgment, that all the perfection, whereof until this very day he deemed himſelf poſſeſt, was *from God*, was his *free-Gift*, So that it would be very hard to faſten any part of the doctrine of *merits*, which is now ſtifly maintained by the Romiſh Church, upon this *Phariſee.*

Seeing then he boaſts of nothing, which he doth not acknowledge that he had received from God, *wherein doth his pharaſaical pride or conceit, or* (as the *Evangeliſt* ſtiles it) *his Truſt in himſelf, conſiſt?* Only in that *he glories in Gods Graces, as if he had not received them*; in that he was not humbled by that *Grace*, which by his own acknowledgement, *he had received from God*; therefore is he leſs juſtified then the *Publican.* So then *the true End and uſe of all our works, of all the Graces, which God beſtows upon us in this life, is to teach us true humility, and to work out our ſalvation with fear and trembling*; as men that ſeek for the Kingdom of Heaven, not *by Works*, much leſs as *due to our works*, but by acknowledgement of *Gods meer Mercy*, and our own unworthineſs.

Many, which in words diſclaim the doctrine of *Merits* (as, for ought I know, this *Phariſee* did) may ſecretly truſt in themſelves, or in their *Merits ;* but none which make the doctrine of *merits* a point of belief, as the Romaniſts do, but muſt of neceſſity *truſt in themſelves*, and in their *merits*, as this *Phariſee* did: Hence ſaith St *Auguſtine*; *Vis excidere a gratia? jactes merita. Wouldſt thou fall from Grace; Boaſt of thy merits.*

The Objection drawn from the Cauſal particle *For* in the text framed; and anſwered.

9. All that they have to Object againſt us from this place, is from the Form of our Saviours Speech. *Inherit the Kingdom of God prepared for you, FOR, I was an hungred, &c.*

The Form of it is Cauſal ; and it neceſſarily imports ſome Cauſe ; as either the Cauſe of the Preparation of the Kingdom; or of the righteous their Admiſſion into it. Otherwiſe, the ſame form of ſpeech, ver. 41. *FOR, I was an hungred, and you gave me no meat,* ſhould not import the true Cauſe, why the wicked are ſentenced to hell. But the Proteſtants (ſay they) generally grant, that this particle, γὰρ, *FOR*, ver 41. doth import, that the true Cauſe, why the wicked are condemned to hell, is, *The Omiſſion of theſe works*: and hence they inferre, that *the true Cauſe* why the righteous are admitted into heaven, is the performance of thoſe Works, which the wicked neglected ; and that our Saviour did note out this Cauſe unto us in the manner of his ſpeech ; *Inherit the Kingdom prepared for you, FOR, I was hungry, and you gave me meat, I was naked, and ye clothed me.* Hence ſaith *Janſenius The righteous do* merit *eternal life by their Good works, as the wicked do everlaſting puniſhment by their bad works.* This is his *Note* upon the words ; and the only Ground or Reaſon of this Inference is, Becauſe the Form of our Saviours Speech is *One and the ſame* in both Sentences, as well in the *Sentence of Life,* as in the *Sentence of Death.*

Janſenius his Argument.

The Author his Anſwer.

But though the Phraſe or manner of ſpeech be the ſame, will *Janſenius* therefore ſtand to the Inference or Obſervation, which he makes upon them, viz. *That the Good works of the righteous are altogether as true cauſes of inheriting the Kingdom of heaven, as the bad works of the wicked, or their Omiſſion of good works are of their damnation to hell ;*

That this was his meaning, any honeſt plain dealing man that ſhould read him only upon thoſe words of this Text, would eaſily be perſwaded: howbeit, in the *Proceſs* or *Sentence* againſt the wicked, ver. 41. he expreſly unſayes the moſt part of that, which he here ſeems to ſay ; being thereto inforced by the Real circumſtances of *the Text.* He ingeniouſly acknowledgeth, what *Origen* and *Chryſoſtom* had obſerved before him, That our *Saviour* ſaith unto thoſe on his right hand, *Come ye bleſſed of my Father* : but unto thoſe on his left hand, though he ſay, *Depart ye Curſed*, yet he ſaith not, *Ye curſed of my Father.*

This implyes, as *Janſenins* acknowledgeth, *That God the Fath[illegible] is the Author and Donor of everlaſting bliſs ; but every one that doth wickedly, is the Author of his own Wo, or curſed eſtate.* God then, not our works, is the Cauſe of our Bliſs or Salvation : Mens evil works, not God, is the Cauſe of damnation.

Again, in the other *Sentence* of Condemnation, our Saviour doth not ſay, *That the everlaſting puniſhment is prepared for unrighteous men,* but *for the Devil and his Angels.*

What doth this in the Judgment of *Janſenius* imply?

Firſt, That the condemnation of men is not ſo to be aſcribed unto the Ordinance of God, as mens ſalvation is: For God created no man to the end, that he ſhould periſh: but men by their *free-will*, or wilfulneſs in ſin, do make themſelves liable or obnoxious to thoſe torments, which principally *were prepared for the Divel and his Angels.* For this Reaſon, ſaith the ſame *Janſenius*, *Chriſt* doth not ſay, *that the Kingdom, unto which he cals the righteous, was prepared for the Good Angels, as the fire is Prepared for the Divel and bad Angels,* leſt we ſhould hence collect, that men might by *Good works deſerve or merit* the ſociety of Good Angels after the ſame manner, that they do *merit* the company or fellowſhip of evil Angels or Divels. For, as he adds, *The merits or Good Works of men do not depend only upon our free will, but they iſſue from the Grace and bounty of God:* And our Saviour (as this Author concludes) in ſaying *That this Kingdom was prepared for the righteous ſince, or from, the foundation of the world*; and in ſaying, *hell was not prepared for wicked men* but *for the Divel and his Angels,* doth hereby give us to underſtand, That the ſalvation of the righteous is to be aſcribed unto the *mercy of God*, and the condemnation of the unjuſt, not unto God, but unto their own iniquity.

10. But doth not this *plainly contradict* his Former Aſſertion upon the Text, when he ſaid [*Juſti ſuis operibus merentur vitam æternam*, ſicut *impij ſuis operibus æternum merentur ſupplicium: That the righteous deſerve eternal Life by their works, as well, or after the ſame manner, that the wicked by their works deſerve hell?*]

All that can be ſaid for him, or for his Acquital from contradicting himſelf, is; that *he put no ſet Quantity to his Firſt propoſition*, but leaves it Indefinite: a fault common to the Romaniſts, that they may have ſome excuſe for their palpable Contradictions. To ſay [That Good Works deſerve Heaven, even as bad Works deſerve hell] and to deny, [That the one deſerves Heaven as well as the other deſerves hell] ſeems to imply a Contradiction. Yet if any man ſhould preſs *Janſenius* too farre upon theſe tearms, he hath this Evaſion; *Non omnino ſimiliter merentur*; The one doth not merit Heaven *altogether* by the ſame manner, that the other doth merit Hell; becauſe mens Good Works or Merit do not depend only upon the Freedom of Will. But this favourable conſtruction being permitted or allowed him; yet to ſay, as he doth, That *the beſt works of men* (how much, or how little ſoever they depend upon mans Free-will) do in any ſort, either in whole or in part, *merit the Kingdom of Heaven*, this directly contradicts his former Aſſertion, that *Totum deputandum eſt miſericordiæ Dei*, That *all* is to be imputed to the Mercy of God: *Quod totum eſt a Deo, non poteſt vel in parte aſcribi meritis noſtris*; That which is wholly from Gods mercy, cannot ſo much as in part or at all be aſcribed unto our merits. For what is the Reaſon why the firſt Grace cannot (in their doctrine) be Merited? is it not, becauſe it is *wholly* from the mercy of God? now if this Kingdom of heaven or mans ſalvation be *wholly* from the mercy of God, it cannot no more be Merited by any increaſe of Grace or Good Works, then the Firſt Grace it ſelf can be Merited.

11. But what ſhall we punctually anſwer to the Grammatical Inference drawn from *the form of our Saviours ſpeech*; *Inherit the Kingdom* &c. *FOR I was an hungred and you gave me.* The uſual Anſwer is, that this Conjunction or Illative, *For*, *Becauſe*, and the like, do not alwayes denote the Cauſe of the thing it ſelf, but ſometimes only the Conſequence of what is ſpoken. But ſeeing the Form of this ſpeech is, as Grammarians ſpeak, Cauſal; to ſay that a Conjunction Cauſal doth not alwayes import ſome Cauſe, were to deny Principles, and affirm that the Grammar Rule were to be corrected. But admitting that this Conjunction doth always import ſome Cauſe; it will not hence follow, that it al-

See the 27th *Chapter of this Book*, where this Argument is moſt fully anſwered, and that with ſome variation of what is here.

wayes imports the Real Cauſe of the thing it ſelf which is known, But oftentimes the Cauſe only of our knowledge of it. Again ſuch Cauſal Particles do not alwayes import ſome Efficacious Cauſality, but only *Cauſam ſine qua non*, ſome neceſſary means, or condition, without which the prime and principal Cauſe (eſpecially if it work freely) doth not produce its intended effect.

To give you Examples or inſtances of theſe Obſervations If a ſtranger coming into a City ſhould ſay; ſurely yonder Gentleman is the chief Magiſtrate, becauſe the ſword is born before him; No wiſe man would hence collect, that the bearing of the ſword before him is *The Cauſe*, why he is the chief Magiſtrate; For, his lawful Election, *is The Cauſe* of that, and that is the Cauſe why the ſword is born before him. Yet may we not for this reaſon deny, that the former ſpeech doth neceſſarily import a *Cauſe*; for, the bearing of the ſword before him is the *True Cauſe of his knowing him* to be the chief magiſtrate. And in as much as we oftentimes come to know the *Cauſe by the Effect*, this word, *For*, or other *Conjunction* Cauſal doth oft-times point out the *Effect*, rather then the *Cauſe* of the thing it ſelf. So it doth in the ſpeech of our Saviour, *Luke* 7. 45. *Wherefore I ſay unto thee, her ſins, which are many, are forgiven, for ſhe loved much. However ſome Romaniſts*, whoſe delight it is to ſet *Chriſtian Charitie and faith* at odds; would hence collect, that Charitie is the Cauſe of the forgiveneſs of ſins; yet their greateſt Scholars acknowledg their error or overſight, and ingenuouſly acknowledg (their underſtanding being convinced by the evidence of truth) that *This womans Love was not the Cauſe*, why her ſins were forgiven; but, that the *Free forgiveneſs of her ſins*, which were many, was the *True cauſe*, why ſhe loved ſo much: however her extraordinary love being teſtified in ſuch ſolemn ſort, was a *true Cauſe* or reaſon, by which all that ſaw her might know, both, that her ſins had been many, and that ſhe had an internal feeling or apprehenſion of their forgiveneſs. And the true reaſon, why the *Phariſee* did neither bear ſuch love unto our Saviour, nor exhibit the like ſigns of reſpect unto him, was becauſe he did not feel himſelf ſick, much leſſe did he feel or apprehend the cure of ſickneſs, as the woman did. For if he had known either the meaſure of his own ſins, or that our Saviour was *the Phyſician of his ſoul*, he would have given better Teſtification of his love and reſpect unto him, then he did by a Complemental Invitation of him.

12. To inſtance again; If of two parties equally ſuſpected of Felony a man admitted to hear their examination or tryal ſhould ſay? *This is the thief, For, Two competent witneſſes have given evidence againſt him*, no man would hence infer, that the evidence, given in againſt him by two honeſt men, was the *Cauſe* why he was a thief, and yet was it the *true Cauſe*, why he knew him to be the theif.

Every Revelation or authentick Declaration of any truth before unknown is the true Cauſe of our knowledge of it, but not of the Truth it ſelf: for that is the *cauſe* why the Declaration or our knowledge of it is true. Now amongſt ſuch as profeſs *Chriſt*, and call him *Lord*, it is unknown to us who be the true heirs of this heavenly kingdom, who be not: but in the day of Final Judgment, in which all ſhall be Judged by their *works*, the ſheep ſhall be known from the goats; and the firſt certain knowledge, which we ſhall have of this difference, ſhall be from *The Declarative ſentence of the Judg*, who cannot erre; and his *Declaration*, as you ſee, ſhall be made *according to their works:* The ones performance of the *Good works*, here mentioned, declared and teſtified by the Judge, ſhall be the *True Cauſe, by which men and Angels ſhall know them*

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to be heirs of the everlaſting Kingdom; the others Omiſſion of the like *works*, teſtified likewiſe by the ſame *Judge*, ſhall be the *true cauſe, by which we ſhall know them to be altogether unworthy of Gods favour* or mercy, moſt worthy of everlaſting death. We ſhall then truly know, that the one ſort are crowned, as Saint *Cyprian* ſaith, *according to Gods Grace*, and that the other are condemned *according to Juſtice:* That the ones omiſſion of *good works* is *the true Cauſe* of condemnation, and that the others performance of *good works* is not the *Cauſe* of their ſalvation, but the *Declaration* only, or a *Teſtimony* that they are the Sons of God, and that they did *good works* by the ſecret Operation of *the ſpirit of Grace* in them. And thus much, if you obſerve it, is implyed in the Reply or Anſwer of them that be ſaved, to their Judge; *Lord, When ſaw we thee an hungred*, &c? So far they ſhall be from conceiting their works to be meritorious, or worthy of eternal bliſs, that they ſhall be ready to diſclaim them, as not worthy of it; ready to blame their ſluggiſh backwardneſs or want of chearfulneſs to have done much better, ſeeing what they did unto their poor brethren (as now they perceive) ſhall be ſo graciouſly accepted; that Chriſt in his Throne of Majeſty will acknowledg that he takes them as kindly, as if they had been done unto himſelf.

The Caſe is the ſame, as if a Gracious Prince of his own free motion and goodneſs ſhould proclaim a general Pardon to a multitude of Rebels, Thieves and Traytors, ſo they would accept of it, and make their peace with their honeſt neighbors whom they have wronged. All of them in ſhew accept the Pardon, but ſome of them in the *Interim* ſecretly practiſe treaſon or diſturb the publick peace. If at the general Aſſize, or at their Arraignment, the Judge upon certain notice of their ſeveral demeanors, ſhould ſay to the one ſort, I reſtore you to your former ſtate and dignity, *Becauſe* ſince the Proclamation of your Pardon you have demeaned your ſelves as becomes Loyal Subjects and thankful men: And to the other, you I condemn to death, *Becauſe* you have abuſed your Soveraigns Clemency: No man would aſcribe the reſtauration of the one unto their good demeanor, in the *Interim* betwixt the getting of their Pardon and their Arraignment, but unto the Princes Clemency: Albeit the condemnation of the other were wholly to be aſcribed unto their miſdemeanors, not unto any want of Clemency in the Prince, towards them. The good demeanor of the one could but be at the moſt, *Cauſa ſine qua non*, A neceſſary Condition, without which the Princes Clemency in his Pardon expreſt, could not profit them. And ſo we ſay of Good works; They are *Cauſæ ſine quibus non*, neceſſary *Conditions* or *means, without which* no man ſhall inherit the Kingdom of Heaven; but no Poſitive or meritorious Cauſes of our inheritance in it.

To conclude; If any one ſhould ask me, *Why all men that profeſs they believe in Chriſt ſhall not be ſaved*, Albeit Chriſt died for *All*; albeit the *Pardon* General be proclaimed to all? The beſt Cauſe or Reaſon I could render, would be This; *Becauſe*, All, that profeſs they believe in Chriſt, do not *truly believe in Him*; For, if they did, They would be careful to maintain Good Works, and glorifie God by being fruitful in them.

The End of the Fifth Section

The ſixth SECTION.

A Tranſition of the Publiſhers.

WE *have by Gods Good bleſſing, diſpatched* The main of this Book, *the Five firſt* Sections; *ſo many Commentaries or Expoſitions of ſuch Points or* Articles of Chriſtian Faith, *as are moſt proper (by way of Dread and Terror) to awake the* Conſcience *and ſtirre the* Affections: *To perſwade men to reflect ſeriouſly upon all their Actions or Omiſſions, Failings or Atchievements; and to prepare themſelves for that Account which muſt ſhortly be Rendred* To God the Judge of all, *who will reſpect no Perſons nor endure Pretences. If theſe have their kindly perfect work, They will Produce,* Judging our ſelves, *to prevent the Judgment of the Lord;* Repentance, *and* Reſtitution of all things; Circumſpect walking *for the Future*, and paſſing the *Remnant of our Pilgrimage here in Fear.*

To inrich the volume, and to benefit the Reader, *I have thought good to annex this* ſixth Section, *which is* A Collection of ſuch Sermons *of* this Authors, *as I conceive likely to prove moſt* effectual *to the ends above mentioned; and be moſt* proper *not only for this* Place *in the Body of His works, but for theſe* Times *alſo; which may perhaps be ſtartled, to ſee their preſent ſins ſo flagrantly reproved many years ago by one who knew not any of their perſons that commit them.*

Our great Author had in his Eighth Book and third Chapter ſadly complained of ſome, that made this Great Rule of Charity, Equity and Juſtice, [*Do as you would be done unto*;] This Law of nature and Precept of our Law-giver; *A noſe of wax, A very* Lesbian *Leaden Rule.*

He had more ſadly complained in his Tenth Book, Chapter 23. That not only the Practiſe *of this* Tranſcendent Rule *was extinct amongſt men, But that the very* Senſe *of it was (if not utterly loſt among the Learned,* Caſuiſts *or* Expoſitors, *yet) moſt ſhamefully decocted, and Piteouſly ſhrunk up, for want of improving and deducing it into ſeveral pipes and Branches of Good Life.*

Laſtly, in the 29 *Chapter of this Book, amongſt other uſeful things concerning* this Rule, *He told us,* That God would Judge the world by it.

So then, This next Diſcourſe (*I mean the three Sermons upon this Text*) *Comes not in unſeaſonably! And I hope* the next but One *will follow* this *as ſutably as a ſilver Thred can follow a needle of Gold. And I ſhall endeavour to pick, chuſe, and ſo place the reſt, that* the Reader *ſhall not deny their Conſequencie to the five precedent Sections treating,* Of Chriſts Power, to raiſe the Dead, to judge the quick and dead, and finally to ſentence Both, according to the things done in the Body be they Good or Bad. *At which day, God ſend this preſent ſinful Generation* (and amongſt them my Soul) *A Good deliverance; and in order thereto, a Timely unfeigned Repentance, eſpecially of their applauded and avowed tranſgreſſions. This for Jeſus ſake, who is our Ranſom, would be our Peace, and ſhall be our Judge. Amen.*

The firſt Sermon upon this Text.

CHAP. XXXII.

MATTH. 7. 12.

All things, Therefore; whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do unto you, even ſo do ye unto them, For this is the Law and the Prophets.

Prov. 20. 22. *Say not thou, I will recompence Evil; Wait on the Lord and He ſhall ſave thee.*

Prov. 24. 29. *Say not, I will do to him as he hath done to me, I will render to the man according to his work.*

The miſery of man, of the wiſeſt of men, in their Pilgrimage to be wanderers *too. The ſhort way to Happineſs. The pearl of the Ocean, The Epitome, Eſſence, Spirits of the Law and Prophets*; Do as you would be done unto. *The Cohærence. The Method. Chriſt advanceth* This dictate of nature *into an Evangelical Law; Fortifies it, and gives us proper motives to practiſe it. Two grounds of Equity in this Law.* 1. Actual Equality of *all men by* nature. 2. *Poſſible equality of all men in Condition.* Exceptions *againſt the* Rule. *Anſwers to thoſe Exceptions. This Rule forbids not to wage or invoke Law, ſo it be done with Charity. Whether nature alone bind us to do good to our enemies. God hath right to command us to love them.* Plato'*s Good Communion. The compendious way to do our ſelves moſt Good, is to do as much good as we can to others.* The Application.

The miſery and miſtakes of man.

IT is; whether thou liſt to term it, A folly, or, A Calamity, incident to all ſorts of men, that, when they take a perfect Survey of all their former courſes, they find their wandrings and digreſſions far larger then their direct proceedings. The more excellent the End is whereat we aim, the greater (commonly) is our Error, the more our By-paths from the right way that leads unto it: Becauſe, *The greateſt Good is* alwayes hardeſt to come by. Thus, ſuch as hunt moſt eagerly after the knowledge of Beſt matters (ſeeing the Beſt are worſt to find) after natures Glaſs is almoſt run out, and moſt of their ſpirits ſpent; whilſt they look back upon their former labors, like weary Paſſingers that have wandred up and down in unknown coaſts without a Guide deſirous to ſee the way they miſſed, in a *Map*, when they come to their Journeys end, begin to diſcern what Toyl and pains they might have ſaved, had they been acquainted with ſuch good Rules and directions at the firſt as now they know. Nor have we ſo great cauſe to be aſhamed of our folly, as to bewail *The common miſery of our nature*, ſeeing the wiſeſt among the ſons of men either for Civil knowledge or ſpeculative learning, *Solomon himſelf* had almoſt loſt himſelf in this Maze: never finding any other iſſue of his Tedious courſe but only this [*All is vanity and vexation of Spirit:*] Until he had almoſt come to the End of his dayes; Then, he found out *That ſhort compendious way of godly Life, Eccleſ.* 12. 13. *Let us hear the End of all: Fear God, and keep his Commandments, for this is the whole duty of man. In this is contained all we ſeek.*

The ſhort or ſum of mans Duty.

2. Had *Solomon* in his younger dayes fixed his eyes upon *this Rule* which he hath left us, as the Mariner doth his upon the Pole or other Celeſtial ſign, he might have arrived in half that Time at that Haven which He hardly reached in his old Age, after continual danger of Shipwrack by his wandring to and Fro.

But howſoever *This fear of God* and our obſervation of his Commandments be the *Readieſt*, the *ſafeſt*, and the *ſhorteſt* Cut, that *Solomon* knew, unto that *True Happineſs* which all men ſeek, but moſt ſeek amiſs: yet theſe Commandments cannot be kept unleſs they be known; And known they cannot be without good ſtudy and induſtry either in reading or hearing the word Life. The life of man is ſhort, And *The Text of the Law* wherein the precepts are contained is long: The *Commentaries* of the Prophets and ſacred *Hiſtories* neceſſary for the Expoſition thereof are voluminous and large: The true ſence or meaning of either, in ſome points not eaſie to be found out, unleſs we be well inſtructed how to ſeek it; ſo as what the Jeſuite ſaith *abſolutely*, but, falſly of all Scripture, is *Comparatively* true of *This* advice of *Solomons*: *It is a plain and eaſie way, a light of mans life, after it be once well learned, but it is hard to Learn without a good Guide to direct us.* Wherefore behold a greater then *Solomon, Chriſt Jeſus himſelf directs us*, in One, and that a very ſhort Line, unto that Point whereunto the large diſcourſes both of *The Law* and the *Prophets* do as it were by the *Circumference* Lead us: *Whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do unto you, even ſo do ye unto them; for this is the Law and the Prophets:* that is, The Sum of the *Law and the Prophets is contained in this ſhort Rule.*

3. Becauſe our *Saviour* gives it, we may *believe it*; that this is *the beſt Epitome* that ever was given of any ſo large a Work: Or rather, not an Epitome of the Law and the Prophets, but *the whole Subſtance* or *Eſſence* of the Law and the Prophets Herein all their particular Admonitions are contained, as Branches in their Root. Out of the practiſe of *this Principle* or Precept, all the Righteouſneſs which the Law and the Prophets do teach will ſooner ſpring, and flouriſh much better, then if we ſhould turn over all the Learned Comments that have been written upon them, without the practiſe of this *Compendious Rule*.

This *Abridgement* is a Document of His Art that could draw a Camel through the eye of a Needle, that ſpake as never man ſpake.

Sure then if any place of Scripture, beſides thoſe which contain the very Foundation of Chriſtian Faith, as Chriſts Incarnation, Paſſion, or Reſurrection, be more neceſſary to be learned then other, then is *this* moſt neceſſary and moſt worthy the Practiſe: Seeing all Doctrines of good Life, of honeſt and upright Converſation are derived hence, as *particular Concluſions* in Arts and Sciences from their *Cauſes* and *Principles*.

4. For any Coherence of theſe words with any precedent or conſequent, we need not be ſollicitous. It ſufficeth to know, *They are a principal part of our Saviours Sermon upon the Mount*; in which He delivered the true meaning of the Fundamental Parts of the Law, purging *the Text*, from the corrupt Gloſſes of the Scribes and Phariſees. Every Sentence therein is a Maxim of Life, and as it were an intire compleat

Body of it ſelf, not a limb or member, of any other particular Diſcourſe. Every *full Sentence* of it, *This Main Rule* eſpecially, may be anatomized by it ſelf, without unripping any other adjoyning. For which Reaſon, ſome Learned have thought, that St. *Matthew* was not curious to relate every ſentence in that Rank and Order as it came from our Saviours Mouth: but ſet them down, as any one would do all the memorable good ſentences he could call to mind (of a good Diſcourſe read or heard) placing that perhaps firſt which was ſpoke laſt, or that laſt which was ſpoke in the middeſt.

The Coherence.

Yet if (as in Deſcription of Shires, men uſually annex ſome parts of the Bordering Countries) any deſire to have the Particular words or Speeches of our Saviour, whereunto this Illative [*Therefore*] is to be referred; he muſt look back unto the fifth Chapter of this Goſpel, ver. 42. *Give to him that asketh of thee, and from him that would borrow turn thou not away.* For ſo St. *Luke* (who is more obſervant of our Saviours method in this Sermon then St. *Matthew*) in the ſixth Chapter of his Goſpel, verſe 30, 31. Couples theſe two Sentences together, which St. *Matthew* had ſet ſo far aſunder. And immediately after the words of the Text he infers by Arguments, that Duty of loving our Enemies (which he had ſet down the precept for, before, verſe the 27.) though St. *Matthew* place both Duty and Argument immediately after the Sentence before cited, *viz.* [*Give to him that asketh*, &c.] So that this Precept [*Whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do unto you*, &c.] as is moſt probable, came in, between the matter of that 42, and 43, verſe of that fifth Chapter.

And yet it might be repeated again in the latter end of that Sermon by our Saviour: At leaſt, for ſome ſpecial Uſe or Reaſon placed there by St. *Matthew*: becauſe, being the Foundation or Principle whence all other Duties of Good Life are derived, it ſeems the Evangeliſt would intimate thus much unto us, That of all our Saviours Sermon, which contained the very Quinteſence of the Law, this was the ſum; And for this Reaſon he adds that Teſtimony (concerning the Excellency of this Rule) which St. *Luke* omits, namely, *That in it is contained the Law and the Prophets.*

The Authors Method.

5. The Method which I purpoſe, by Gods Aſſiſtance, to obſerve, is This.

Firſt, To ſet down the Truth and Equity of the Rule it ſelf [*Whatſoever ye would that men*, &c.] with the Grounds or Motives to the practiſe thereof.

Secondly, To ſhew in what ſenſe or how far the Obſervation of it is, *The Fulfilling of the Law and the Prophets Doctrine*; with ſuch Exceptions as may be brought againſt it.

Thirdly, Of the Means and Method of putting this Rule in practiſe.

It was A Saying of the Father of Phyſicians, *Natura eſt Medica*; let Phyſicians do what they can, Nature muſt effect the Cure. The Phyſician may either ſtrengthen Nature when it is Feeble, or eaſe it from the oppreſſion of Humors; But Nature muſt work the Cure.

This is, in proportion, true, for matters of Morality or Good Life. *Natura eſt optima Magiſtra*; All that the beſt Teachers can perform in natural or moral Knowledge, is but to help or cheriſh thoſe natural Notions or Seeds of Truth and Goodneſs which are ingrafted in our Souls. Art doth not infuſe or pour in, but rather ripen and draw out, that which lay hid before. And it is the ſkill of every inſtructor to apply himſelf to every mans nature, and to begin with ſuch Truths as every one can eaſily aſſent unto, as ſoon as he hears them; albeit without help of a Teacher he could not have found them out himſelf. And yet the more eaſily we aſſent to any Truth, the leſs we perceive how we were moved thereto: and the leſs we perceive it, the more ready we are to imagin that we did more then half move our ſelves, or that we could have found out that by our ſelves which we have learned of others. Whereas in truth there is nothing more hard then to ſpeak to the purpoſe, and yet ſo (in matters of Morality and Good Life) as every man of ordinary capacity, ſhall think, upon the hearing of it, that he could have invented or ſaid the like.

> ——*Vt ſibi quivis*
> *Speret idem: ſudet multum, fruſtraque laboret*
> *Auſus idem*——. Hor. De Arte P.

This, as the Great Rhetorician ſaith, is the ſureſt token of a perfect Orator.

6. For this Reaſon, He that knew what was in man, better then man did what was in himſelf; He that ſpake as never man ſpake, and taught as never man taught, doth ground his Doctrine of good Life and Manners upon ſuch Evident Principles as his very Adverſaries could not deny, (whereunto any civil natural man would aſſent, albeit he could not have found them out;) and illuſtrates it by ſuch plain and natural Similitudes, as every man of ordinary capacity might conceive. As here in this place; This Rule it ſelf [*Whatſoever ye would, &c.*] is a Principle of nature; at leaſt the Negative of it [*Quod tibi fieri non vis alteri ne feceris;*] is ſo.

The Uſe or Conſequence of the Rule (though) *That to obſerve this ſhould be the fulfilling of the Law and the Prophets,* none could have drawn, unleſs our Saviour had firſt told us ſo. And yet the Deduction or derivation of all moral Precepts (as I hope will appear) is eaſie to find, ſince he hath taught us to ſeek it. Seeing then, He that ſpake as never man ſpake, and taught as never man taught, doth ground his Doctrine upon ſuch Principles as were in us by nature; I ſhall take leave to imitate Him (*quantum, Deum mortalis poſſum*) and to ſhew the Equity and Truth of this Precept; *Firſt,* as it binds us by Nature: and *Secondly,* as it binds us in Chriſtianity. Or *Firſt,* as far as the equity of it may be gathered by natural Reaſon; Then *Secondly,* as it is ſet down in holy Scripture.

7. That *This is a Dictate of the Law of Nature,* is evident from the confeſſion of the Heathen and meer natural men. *Severus* the Emperor, albeit no Chriſtian, yet as ſome report of him, did like beſt of the Chriſtians for their good Life, becauſe they moſt practiſed this Rule. And the Negative of it, [*What you would not have others do unto you, do not you to them,*] ſeemed ſuch an excellent Ground of Civil Juſtice and honeſt dealing, that he cauſed it to be written in the places of Civil Juſtice or Courts of Judgment, as we do the Sentences of the Law or Commandments in our Churches: which he would not have done (or ſhould have done to ſmall purpoſe) unleſs he had known the Rule had been written before in every mans heart, ſo men would look into them. And ſuch amongſt us (I am perſwaded) as know not whether this ſentence be in the Law of God or in the Goſpel of Chriſt, or no; or ſuch as little think whether it be there or no, if they ſee one inſult over another in diſtreſs, deal hardly with a ſtranger, or laugh at anothers miſery, or the like, will naturally uſe this or the like Reaſon to diſſwade him:

If you were in their caſe you would not be well pleaſed with this Uſage; Do (in Gods name) *as you would be done unto.* The force of which and other like Reaſons is grounded upon this Rule or Principle of Nature. Nor is there any man that hath (as we ſay) *any good nature in him*, albeit ignorant in moſt points of Religion, but will in his ſober mood be much moved with ſuch Reproofs; and however he may ſeem little to be affected with them whilſt he is in the heat of paſſion, yet his own Conſcience, after his paſſion ceaſeth, will ſecretly condemn him for ſo doing.

8. *The Grounds of Equity in this Rule are two* (though the one be ſubordinate to the other.

Two grounds of this Rule, or Law of Nature.

Firſt, *The Actual equality of Nature in all men:* For though there be difference or diſtinction of men by place, pre-eminence, or dignity; yet *in Nature* all men are equal, all alike ſubject to corruption and Calamity.

Secondly, *The poſſible equality of condition amongſt all men.* For ſeeing the Beſt men are but men, what is one mans Caſe may be anothers, becauſe *his Nature*, much more *his Eſtate* or Condition is ſubject to change. *No Prince* was ever ſo firmly eſtabliſhed in his *Throne*, but might be pulled down thence to lie with Beggars in the Duſt. Antient Times yielding more frequent examples of the Circumrotation of this Sphære or Wheel of mutability, their obſervations to this purpoſe were Rife. *Quod cuiquam contigit, cuivis poteſt.* Whatſoever hath befaln any man, good or bad, might befall any one of all.

Et ſubito eſt Irus, *qui modo* Crœſus *erat.*

One turn (as the Heathens would have ſaid) of Fortunes Wheel might raiſe up Beggars or Servants to the Throne, and bring down Monarchs to the Duſt.

From this *Actual Equality of all men by Nature*, and this *Poſſible Equality of all men in Condition*, was it, that even among the Heathen he was thought inhumane, no natural man but a Monſter, that would not be affected with anothers extraordinary miſery.

The former of theſe two (in natures not extreamly depraved) doth work a *Sympathy* or Fellow-feeling of others miſery; and *the Latter*, that is, Poſſibility of ſuffering the like, doth work *Fear* of doing the evil intended, or *Penitency* after it be done. Likeneſs or Identity of nature cauſeth Sympathy or Fellow-feeling in bruit Beaſts: if one pant for Grief, others of the ſame kind will be affected with it. Ignorant and ſimple men do many things by inſtinct of nature: whereof Philoſophers only know the Reaſon. And even in ſuch as did not expreſly know this Rule, Nature her ſelf did oft-times work and ſhew by the Effects, that it was hidden in their hearts.

Cyrus.

Thus *Cyrus*, when he had condemned *Cræſus* his conquered Enemy to be burnt, only calling to mind, what a Potent Prince he had lately been, and as unlikely to have come to that end as himſelf was before the victory gotten, was afraid (as the Hiſtorian notes) leaſt ſome like plague might have come upon himſelf, and ſo pitying himſelf rather then the other, he recalled the Sentence.

Scipio.

From the ſame Reaſon did that *noble Roman* weep amain, when he ſaw *Carthage* the Enemy City of *Rome* ſet on fire, though by the Senates Decree: as if he could have wiſhed that her flames might have been quenched with his and other Romans Tears. The preſent Calamity of that late famous and mighty City, put him in mind, That *Rome* her ſelf, though then ſitting as a Queen that knew no ſorrow, might one day be as bright with fire as for the preſent ſhe was with Glory. Yet was the difference betwixt *Cyrus* and *Crœſus*'s eſtate as great, betwixt *Rome* and *Carthage* greater, then can ordinarily be found between man and man. *Cyrus* was Conqueror, and had gotten the ſtrength of a mighty Kingdom to his former by his Enemies Fall. And *Rome* had never the like occaſion to be ſecure as ſhe had by *Carthages* deſtruction, which ſtanding would never ſuffer her to be quiet, being the only City of all the world that was able to give Her check.

Thus, could we but conſider, That, *whoſoever we be, we be but men*; *whatſoever our eſtate be, it is but Humane*, ſubject to chance and obnoxious to change; Nature would tell us, that whatſoever is evil whileſt done unto us, is evil alſo to be done to others: And ſeeing there is no evil which we can do to others, but the like may be done unto us, we ſhould be as unwilling to do any evil at all to others, as we are to have any done to us. For Nature it ſelf doth (as it were of courſe) ſuggeſt a fear of being done to, as men have done to others. Hence ſprings that *Negative precept. Quod tibi fieri non vis alteri ne feceris.*

Again, whatſoever is good whilſt it is done to us, the ſame is Good whileſt done to others in like caſe; nay, as good to them as unto us. And ſeeing *All Good is to be deſired*, we ſhould be as deſirous to *do good* to others as to *have good done* to our ſelves. Yea, ſeeing, according to the mind of Chriſt, *Beatius eſt Dare quam accipere*, *Acts* 20. 36. *to do good* is better then *to have good done* to us, (as every action is better then Paſſion) we ſhould therefore be more deſirous of that. And hence riſeth the Affirmative Precept, *Do as you would be done to.*

Even the Heathen knew, that, *it was better to give then to take.*

Quas dederis ſolas ſemper habebis opes:

It was more to have a Conſcience fraught with the memory of Good Turns done, or benefits beſtowed on others, then to have ſtore of poſſeſſions or goods, and yet therewith to do little or no good.

Exceptions againſt theſe two Rules.

9. Yet are not theſe *Two Rules* ſo plain and evident unto natural Reaſon; but natural paſſion and ſelf-love will find exceptions againſt them.

There is no man will deny that *theſe Rules* were very Good in the old World or Golden Age: or that they be Good now if all men would be content to obſerve them alike. But he ſhall be ſure to live by the loſs that reſolves to do better to any others, then it is likely any will do to him. Nay, many in their heat of diſcontent at others bad uſage of them, will not ſtick quite to invert *this Rule*, and think that it is juſt and right, at leaſt no wrong, to uſe others as they have been uſed themſelves. (Thus I have known ſome uſe more ſeverity towards their inferiors, then did well agree with their natural diſpoſition, only, becauſe they had been ſeverely uſed by others whileſt they were inferiors.) And this they think not amiſs, ſo they do it with no ill mind, but only, becauſe they would not be the *onely men* that ſhould be noted and marked as fit to ſuffer abuſe and wrongs whilſt their equals go Scot-free. Thus ſundry ſhut up from others by reaſon of infection have ſought to infect others, only becauſe they would have companions in their miſeries, albeit it was not Man, but God that brought that Bodily Evil upon them. And thus many rude and barbarous Beggars (being denied harbor or relief of ſuch as might afford it them) through a conceit of their own forlorn eſtate, will ſeek to make others as poor, or more miſerable then themſelves, only that they may have ſome to be their equals or inferiors.

The like ſuggeſtions of evil and wrong in ſome degree or other, will every mans Paſſions preſent unto his thoughts: yet who ſo is but naturally wiſe, either will not hear them, or (if this be too hard to put them off, becauſe paſſion is ſo familiar and intimate with the ſoul) will not give ſentence until he have heard Reaſon ſpeak, which would oppoſe him Thus.

The Anſwer to the former Exceptions.

10. When thou waſt hardly and deſpightfully uſed by others (ſuppoſe abuſed in perſon, diſgraced in ſpeech, or indamaged in Goods, &c.) did they well or ill that ſo did uſe thee? If well, why waſt thou moved therewith? Why doſt thou complain? Or rather why wouldſt thou not be ſo well uſed again? If evil they did, why ſeekeſt thou then to imitate them in the evil which thou hateſt? for if it were evil in them whilſt it was done to thee, then will it be evil in thee whilſt thou doſt the like to others: Yea, perhaps much worſe in thee, becauſe, thou having ſuffered the like wrong before, thou better knows what an heynous Fact it is to do the like. For none knows, none poſſibly can know, ſo well what a grievous ſin oppreſſion is, as he that hath been violently oppreſſed by others. None can ſo diſtinctly perceive what an odious offence ſlander, defamation or ſcurrility is, as he that hath been ſcourged by ſcurrilous Tongues, or wronged in his good Name by falſe accuſers, ſly informers, or envious whiſperers. Generally, the nature and quality of all evil that happens to one man from another, is much better known by ſuffering then by doing it. For he that does it firſt, perhaps ſcarce knows well what he doth; he ſees the nature of it but (as it were) afar off; But he that ſuffers it feels it, at hand, and knows it by experience.

Now the greater we know any evil to be, and the more feeling touch we have of the nature and quality of it, the more grievous is our ſin if we practiſe the like. Wherefore he that hath been moſt hardly dealt withall, ſins moſt, if he deal ſo with others; for he doth that to others which he is moſt unwilling ſhould be done unto himſelf: becauſe he beſt knows the ſmart of the evil, and according to his unwillingneſs of having the like done to himſelf will the ſmart of the ſting of Conſcience be for doing ſo to others.

Some perhaps, or ſome mens Paſſions would here Reply; *Theſe reaſons hold true, if we ſhould ſo uſe them that never did us wrong, as others have wrongfully uſed us; but if the party that uſed us ill come in our way, we do him but right, if we uſe him juſt ſo as he hath uſed us: For Juſtice it ſelf conſiſts in Equality;* εἰκε πάθοι τὰ δ' ἔρεξα δίκη ἰθεῖα γένοιτο, *and if we pay him but in the ſame meaſure that he did mete to us, he is juſtly dealt withall.*

Its true indeed! he is but juſtly dealt withall; becauſe he is but done to as he had done to others. So a thief or murderer is but juſtly dealt withall if he be hanged: yet if every man that hath his goods ſtoln ſhould do this which is but right unto a Thief; or if every man that hath his friend or brother ſlain ſhould but do that which *is due* and ſhould be done unto a murderer, not expecting the Judges ſenſence, both might do themſelves great wrong in doing that which was but right and due to the offenders reſpectively. And ſo ſhall every one wrong his own ſoul and conſcience, that will prevent him in his judgments to whom vengeance belongeth (by taking Revenge into his own hands) and not expect his good leaſure, by lawful and publick means.

The Law of Nature is, *Do As thou wouldſt be done to:* not *As thou haſt been done to, againſt thy will.* For whatſoever was evil in another whilſt done to thee, is evil in thee whilſt thou doſt the ſame to him. Thy fact is as his fact: and thy ſin as his ſin; The evil is one and the ſame. Only thou maiſt alledge; that he was more prone to do the ſame evil, becauſe he did it without Provocation, and thou doſt it provoked: that is as much as to ſay, he hath overcome thee in evil, but thou alſo art overcome of evil, the evil hath overcome that which is good in Thee, Thy paſſion overbears thy Reaſon and Judgment: which is ſuch an offence againſt the Law, of nature, as it would be againſt the Law of this Land, if a Tumultuous multitude ſhould take the Lawes (as we ſay) into their own hand and execute malefactors without the Judges or Magiſtrates conſent.

11. *What then*(will ſome ſay) *ſhall I pocket up every wrong? ſhall I make my ſelf a Butt or mark for all to ſhoot at? ſhall I proſtitute my perſon to abuſe, my good name to ſlander, my goods to ſpoil without redreſs?* God forbid! For vengeance is Gods and he will repay; and he hath Powers on earth which bear not the ſword in vain. If it be an open injury, by whoſe example if it ſhould go unpuniſhed, others might be imboldened to do the like, and if the preſent offendant might thereby grow inſolent or retchleſs, likely to do the like again to others as well as to thee, Thou doſt no way Tranſgreſs, rather *Two ways* obſerve *This Rule of natures Law*, if thou ſolicit his chaſtiſement at the *Lawful Magiſtrates* hand. *Firſt*, Thou ſhalt teach the offender *the practiſe of this Rule*, which, before, he knew not or neglected, though bound thereto as well as Thou. For, when the Magiſtrate ſhall inflict upon him ſuch puniſhment as ſhall be more grievous to him then the wrong that he did was to thee, he will be as carefull to avoid the doing as thou art to avoid the ſuffering of the ſame or like injury. This is *The Rule of Publick puniſhments*, That they ſhould alwayes be ſuch as the Party offending would be as unwilling to ſuffer, as the party offended is to endure the wrong. *Secondly*, ſeeing all men naturally deſire ſecurity from danger, loſs, or diſquietneſs, and for this End wiſh that all private Diſturbers of Publick Peace might either be amended or cut of; Thou ſhalt do to others (whom thou haſt more reaſon to reſpect then the party offending) as thou wouldſt deſire they ſhould do for thee in the like caſe; if thou ſeek for juſtice at the publick Magiſtrates hand, whoſe Duty it is to provide for all mens ſecurity and Peace. Yea, though perhaps thou do to this man offending as thou wouldſt not be done to in like caſe, yet ſhalt thou do to a great many others, to all honeſt men, as thou wouldſt that they ſhould do to thee in the like Caſe,

More exceptions againſt that Rule and Anſwers to them.

This Rule muſt be underſtood of a *Regulated Will.*

Thou canſt not but conſider that other mens caſes may be thine own, and couldſt be willing, that if they had the like occaſion of complaint and could make legal proof of wrong done, they ſhould proſecute their cauſe for thine and others ſecurity from the like. For theſe Ends and purpoſes to proſecute any injury done by any private perſon before a Publick Magiſtrate, or wrongs done by an inferior Magiſtrate before his *lawful Superior*, is but juſt and right, a Duty whereunto we are bound by the law of nature, if the party offending be inſolent and ſtubborn, likely to hold on his wonted courſe, unleſs reſtrained by the Magiſtrate. But if the offence be private betwixt thee and thy neighbour, not likely to redound to any further publick Harm; if it was an offence of infirmity, or proceeded from ſome natural unruly paſſion for which he is afterwards heartily ſorry: then thou art bound in conſcience to remit it. For if thou conſidereſt thine own infirmities, thou canſt not but find thy ſelf obnoxious, to like paſſions, and that thou

Rigid cenſuring a Pronoſtick of falling.

maiſt at one Time or other be as far overſeen, and yet couldſt wiſh in thine heart that ſuch thine eſcapes or overſights ſhould not be proſecuted to the uttermoſt, but rather be pardoned upon ſubmiſſion or penitency. And experience doth teach us, that ſuch as are too rigid or auſtere cenſurers of other mens infirmities, do oft-times fall into the like or worſe themſelves; even into ſuch as they are otherwiſe leaſt inclined unto (but, in that they are men, the ſons of ſinful *Adam*, they are in ſome degree or other inclined unto any evil;) And therefore whilſt they proſecute ſuch as upon infirmity or paſſion fall into ſome Enormous crime, as if they were not men but monſters or Noxious creatures of another kind, their judgment is juſt, if they themſelves fall into the like, that they may know themſelves to be *but men*, not altogether free from paſſion and infirmities. *Vide interpretes in 7.cap. St. Matthæi, v.* 1. See *Plinies epiſt. lib.* 9.*epiſt.* 12.

Q. If nature alone bind men to do good to their enemies.

12. *Thus far* natural Reaſon may lead us in our ſober thoughts, *That we ſhould not do any harm to others becauſe we would not have any other do harm to us*; or that we ſhould forbear to proſecute the infirmities of others, becauſe we would have others bear with our own. But yet if we conſult *nature alone*, it may ſeem doubtful, *whether a man be bound by her Lawes to do good unto his enemy*; as to relieve him in diſtreſs, to defend him in danger or the like: This *Rule of nature* may ſeem not to bind men hereunto. For many men oft-times would chuſe to ſuffer great loſs rather then to be beholden to their enemy: ſometimes rather to ſtarve for hunger, then to be upbraided with his Benevolence: or to incur evident danger of Death, rather, then it ſhould be ſaid, *That his deadly enemy had preſerved his life.* He that is thus minded (the ſalvage and Giant-like ſpirit would ſay *Bravely minded*) may in the Jollity of his reſolution think himſelf no way bound to do his enemy any good, of whom he looks for none; nay, of whom he would receive none, though it ſhould be thurſt upon him. Yet natural Reaſon and conſcience (ſo this man would hear them ſpeak and abide their cenſure) would condemn him, if he refuſed to do good unto his enemy. *The Rule is* miſ-applyed by paſſion: for nature and Reaſon bid us, *That we ſhou'd do that to every man which we would have any man do for us*; not to do that to *this* or *that* man which we expect from them alone. Now, there is no man ſo wilful, unleſs he be witleſs alſo, but would be relieved in diſtreſs, delivered from danger, and warranted from loſs, albeit not by *this* or *that* man whom he diſliketh, yet by ſome one or other whom he likes better. Wherefore, ſeeing Reaſon teacheth us, *That to do good to others*, as they are men, *is good in it ſelf*, it teacheth us (ſo we would learn of it) to do good unto whomſoever. For why ſhould enmity (or our enemy) hinder us from doing that which our conſciences approve for good. If thy enemy be of that ſtrange temper above deſcribed, and one that would ſcorn to be beholden to thee; *Steal* thy good in upon him, and do him good ſo as that he ſhall not know from whom it came. Thou art bound to miniſter comfort to him, as a compaſſionate and cunning Phyſician doth Phyſick to a melancholick or diſtempered patient. But thou wilt ſay, *ſo I ſhall loſe all my thanks for all my pains and coſt.* I anſwer by asking Thee, is the honour (or thanks) that cometh from God alone, of no value? The Heathen could ſay to his friend *We are each to other Theatrum ſatis amplum* a Theater ſufficiently large for matter of content and contemplation. By doing *So* thou ſhalt be ſure to gain *The Teſtimony of a good* Conſcience. And herein thou maiſt juſtly triumph over thine enemy, in that thou art better aminded towards him,

then thou couldſt expect that he would be towards thee. Theſe are the beſt terms of compariſon that thou canſt ſtand upon with thine enemy, if thou canſt truly, ſay, *That thou art A better man then he:* and if, *the mind be the man* then he is truly and properly ſaid to be *The better man*, that *is better aminded towards all men, in as much as they are men.* This is the perfection and goodneſs of men as they are *Civil and natural* men: and this is that *Law of nature*, which St. *Paul* ſaith, *Rom.* 2. 14. 15. was written in the Gentiles hearts. *For when the Gentiles which have not the law*, that is, not the written Law of God, *do by nature the things* of the law (or contained in the Law) *theſe having not the Law are a law unto themſelves: which ſhew* the effects of *the Law written in their hearts, their conſciences alwayes bearing witneſs, and their thoughts accuſing one another or elſe excuſing.*

13. but however the Heathen had this *Fundamental Law* of nature, *This Root of Righteouſneſs* (as without offence I hope I may term it, becauſe it was a *Relique of Gods image* in them) with many branches of it, ingrafted in their hearts; yet, as their conſciences might *acquit* them for performing many particular duties which it injoyned, ſo might they *accuſe* them for negligence in more.

For neither did they practiſe ſo much as they knew to be good, nor did they know all that to be good which *This Rule* might have taught them to be ſuch. And albeit, the better ſort of them will riſe up in Judgment againſt us, and may condemn even the beſt ſort of Chriſtians (as the world counts them) now living; Yet moſt of them we may ſupoſe (eſpecially in later times) were as negligent hearers of *natures Lore*, as we are of the Doctrine of Grace. *God*, as the Apoſtle ſaith, *Rom.* 1. had *given ſome of them over to a Reprobate ſenſe*, That ſeeing they would not practiſe what they knew for good, they ſhould not know Good from Bad. And as the learned obſerve, when mankind had like Retchleſs unthrifts corrupted their wayes and like ungrateful Tenants to their Landlord, Or undutiful ſubjects to their Prince, had cancelled the Original inſtruments of their inheritance, Or copy of that Law by which they were to be tried, dayly defacing and blotting it by their foul tranſgreſſions and ſtain of ſins: it pleaſed *The Lord* in mercy to renew it once again in viſible and material Characters ingraven in ſtone, adding to it the commentaries of Prophets and other Holy men, that ſo his people might once again copy out that Covenant whoſe Original they had loſt: (the written law being but as the ſampler or drawn work which was to have been wrought out by the law of nature;) and imprint it again in their hearts by meditation and practiſe. Yet once again the people of the Jews (unto whom this written Law was committed) did by their falſe interpretations and Hypocritical gloſſes corrupt the true ſence and meaning of *Gods Law*, as the nations before had defaced *the Law of nature* by their fooliſh imaginations and conceited ſelf-love. Nevertheleſs, as ſin did abound in man, ſo did Gods grace and favour ſuperabound. For, when both *the Law of nature* was almoſt wholly loſt among the *Gentiles* (drown'd in Gentiliſme, as the Latin tongue is in the Italian) and the *Jews* (who ſhould have allured others by their good example and continual proſperity (had they continued faithful in obſerving it) to obſerve the *written Law of God*,) had quite corrupted it: God ſent his *Only Son* in the *nature of man* and *Form of a Servant*, by infuſion of Grace into mens hearts, to revive the dead Root of *Natures law*, when it was almoſt periſhed; and alſo to purifie and cleanſe *Gods written Law*, from the falſ interpretations of the Scribes and Phariſees, which he performs in this ſeventh Chapter and in the two precedent. So our Savious ſaith, Chap. 5. v. 17. *Think not that I am come to deſtroy* (or diſſolve) *the Law or the Prophets: I am not come to deſtroy them, but to fulfil them.*

How Chriſt fulfilled the Law.

But how did *Chriſt* come to fulfil the Law? Only by his own *Righteouſneſs* and example?

No, not ſo only; but *by propoſing unto us the true ſenſe and meaning of the moral Law:* which, all that were to be his followers, were to fulfil in a more ſpiritual and better manner then either the beſt of the Heathens, or the moſt ſtrict Sect of the *Jews* of that time, did. For they had abrogated the force and ſenſe of ſundry Commandements, and ſtood more upon the letter then the meaning of the Law. Wherefore he adds, verſe 20. *I ſay unto you, except your righteouſneſs exceed the righteouſneſs of the Scribes and Phariſees, ye ſhall in no wiſe enter into the Kingdom. of* Heaven. It is evident then, from our Saviours words, that both the righteouſneſs commanded in the *moral Law*, and in the *Prophets*, muſt be fulfilled *in better meaſure by Chriſtians* then it was either by the Scribes or the Phariſees; and that the beſt and moſt eaſie way of fulfilling both the Law and the Propets is the practiſing of this Rule, *Whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do unto you, do ye ſo unto them, For this is the Law and the Prophets.*

14. Let us ſee then what we have more from *His Doctrine* then from Nature for the *Right Practiſe* of this *Royaleſt Rule.* By *Chriſts Doctrine* we have *both* the *Grounds* of the former Precept (which Nature afforded us) better fortified and confirmed unto us; And alſo have *Motives* or inducements, which may ſway *Reaſon* againſt *Paſſion* to the practiſe of the ſame *Rule*, more certain and infinitely greater then the Heathen or meer natural man had any. (I muſt requeſt you to call to mind what ſaid before;* That the Ground of this Precept, was, *The Equality of all men by nature.*) The Heathen knew this full well, *That all men were of one kind, all mortal, all capable of reaſon, & conſequently of right and wrong.* And from this knowledg, even ſuch among them as held no creation, no dependence of man upon the Divine Power, did often ſhew commendable effects of this Law written in their hearts in ſundry duties of Good neighborhood (as we ſpeak) & civil kindneſſes: As for any Affinity or Bonds of ſociety between man and man, at leaſt between men of divers Countries, more then is between beaſts of the ſame kind, moſt of them acknowledged none; nor did they acknowledg as much affinity betwixt Creatures of any kind as we do that acknowledg all things to have one Creator. Herein then is *Our Equality* and Affinity greater, that we all acknowledg one God for our Father, who is in a more peculiar ſort the Creator of every man, then of any other corruptible Creature.

* See §. 8.

Again, All we Chriſtians acknowledg One Chriſt for our Head, of whoſe Body we are Members; hence ariſeth another *Peculiar Equality*, from the equal price of our Redemption which was all one for the Rich and poor, for the Little and Mighty Ones of the Earth. This God pre-figured in the Law, *Exod.* 30. verſe 11, 12, 15. *Afterwards the Lord ſpake unto* Moſes: *When thou takeſt the ſum of the Children of Iſrael after their number, then they ſhall give every man a Redemption of his life unto the Lord, when thou telleſt them, that there be no plague among them when thou counteſt them. The Rich ſhall not paſs, and the poor ſhall not diminiſh from half a ſhekel, when he ſhall give an Offering unto the Lord for the Redemption of your Lives.*

From *this ſtrict Dependency* of all men upon one and the ſame Creator and this *Equality* and Brother-hood which we have in one Father, doth our Saviour *Chriſt*, Luke 6. v. 36. draw that precept *Of loving our Enemies:* which he makes as it were an *eſſential property* of all ſuch as truly acknowledg One God. Not that all men were not bound thereto, and might have known ſo much by nature, but that it was a greater ſhame and more prepoſterous ſin, in ſuch as did acknowledg *one God*, not to perform that Duty. The Conſciences of the Gentiles, as S. *Paul* ſaith, might *ſecretly accuſe them:* But the Others words and ſpeeches did bear *open Teſtimony* againſt them, if they neglected ſo to do; ſo ſaith our *Saviour Chriſt* immediately upon the words of the Text,—— *For if you love them which love you, what thank ſhall you have? for even the ſinners love thoſe that love them.* —— *And if you do good for them which do good for you, what thank ſhall ye have? for even the ſinners do the ſame. And if you lend to them of whom you hope to receive, what thank ſhall ye have? for even the ſinners lend to ſinners, to receive the like. Wherefore love ye your enemies, and do good, and lend looking for nothing again, and your reward ſhall be great, and ye ſhall be the children of the moſt High: for he is kind to the unkind and to the evil.*

15. This further confirms what out of the principles of Nature was formerly gathered, to wit, that where it is ſaid, *Whatſoever you would that men ſhould do unto you, do ye ſo unto them:* The meaning is not, *What ye would have* this *or* that *man do unto you, do ye ſo unto* the ſame *man*; but rather thus, *Whatſoever ye would that* any man *ſhould do unto you, do ye the like in like caſe* to every man, *in that he is man*, in that he is your fellow Creature, in that he is the Son of your heavenly Father, be he otherwiſe friend, or foe. Yet further, we *may*; nay we *muſt* inlarge this Precept, if we will have the full meaning of it, Thus, *Whatſoever ye would ſhould be done unto you, whether by* Man, *by* Angel (*or any other of Gods miniſtring Spirits or procurer of mankinds good*) *or by God himſelf, That do* to every man *becauſe every man hath God to his Father, who as He hath a care and providence over all, ſo is it his will that every Creature under him, all men eſpecially that call him* Father, *ſhould be his Miniſters in procuring and furthering any others good, of whom this our heavenly Father vouchſafes to take care and charge.*

A lively Embleme of this Duty we have in the Ravens feeding of *Eliah*, being deſtitute of all ordinary means of Food; If we conſider the nature of this Bird, none more ravenous, none more greedy of the Prey then it: yet becauſe *the Lord feeds the young Ravens, when they call upon him*, being otherwiſe deſtitute of ordinary relief from their Dams or old Ones (as both *Ariſtotle* and *Plinie* obſerve; and the *Pſalmiſt* alludes to it in that ſpeech) therefore, the Lord commanded them to afford the like help to *Elias* being forſaken or rather perſecuted by the King and his Officers, who ſhould have yielded him houſe and harbour; and from their example we ſhould learn the practiſe, *to do for others, as either the Lord hath done*, or, we expect he ſhould *do for us*.

Thus much I ſay is fully and directly included in our Saviours Deductions and Concluſions drawn from this principal Rule, albeit ſo much be not fully expreſt in his words; eſpecially if we obſerve the Greek phraſe only: But the language (whoſe manner of Dialect the Evangeliſts retain though writing in the Greek Tongue) will very well bear, and our Saviours words *Luke* 6. 36. verſe enforce as much, *Be ye therefore merciful as your H. Father is merciful:* and in the 6. of *Matth.* v. 14. He tells us, that if we look for mercy at Gods hand, we muſt ſhew mercy *unto men*; not to our friends or brethren by kindred or Nation, *but unto men*. The place is ſo much the more worth our obſervation, becauſe he adds no Expoſition or Comment to any one Petition in all the Lords Prayer, ſave only that He gives this Note upon that [*And forgive us our treſpaſſes as we forgive them that treſpaſs againſt us*;] his Note is this, *If ye forgive men their treſpaſſes, your heavenly Father will alſo forgive you*; —— *But if you do not forgive men their treſpaſſes, no more will your heavenly Father forgive you your treſpaſſes.* Wherefore, as we deſire God to forgive us our Treſpaſſes, though we have been his Enemies, ſo muſt we be ready to forgive our Enemies: and as we deſire all good of him; ſo muſt we be ready not only to forgive, but even to do any good to our enemies. If he be our enemy deſervedly, we ſhould therefore do him good that we might make amends for the occaſion offered: if our Enemy he be without any juſt occaſion given by us, we ſhould conſider, that this voluntary enmity in him is the work of Satan, but he Himſelf, *as man*, is our fellow Creature, the workmanſhip of Gods own hand, *God made him man*, but the Devil made him an Enemy: And we ſhould ſeek by all means poſſible to diſſolve the works of Satan, and to repair the handy work of God: that is, we ſhould love his perſon, and ſeek to reform his vice; we ſhould overcome his evil with our good-will to him: if he be hungry we ſhould give him meat; if thirſty, drink; as the Apoſtle commands. In ſum, we muſt feed Him, but ſeek to ſtarve *his humor*, by ſubſtracting all occaſions of exaſperating his mind, and ſeeking occaſions to do him good; ſo, the heat of his malice having nothing to work upon, will by little and little, die, as fire goes out when the fewel fails.

Rom.12.20.

16. For a Friends ſake that has endeared us to him for many, of whom we yet expect more kindneſſes, we think it good manners to tolerate many things, which otherwiſe we would not. And ſhall not Chriſtian Faith and true Religion teach us much more to remit all for Gods ſake, of whom we have received our ſelves, our very bodies and ſouls and all that we have? of whom we yet expect much more then we have received, even everlaſting life and immortal bodies to be crowned with Glory? What if our Enemies have ſought to take away this miſerable and mortal life? God freely gave it us, who likewiſe at his pleaſure may juſtly challenge it. And if we cannot juſtly complain if he ſhould take it from us, is it an hard Precept that he wills us not to revenge, yea not to complain by way of revenge, of ſuch as would but could not take it from us?

The Lord may as juſtly command us to forbear all deſire of revenge, all complaint of ſuch as would take away our Life, as he himſelf can take it.

That they would ſo have done, was their own, That they could not do ſo unto us, is the Lords doing, to whom we owe all thankfulneſs for preſerving it, and this may be the beſt occaſion of ſhewing our thankfulneſs, if we for his ſake forgive ſuch as ſought to take away our Lives. Nay if we would but examine *this Precept* by *exact Reaſon* (paſſion ſet aſide) in as much as God hath freely given us life, he might moſt juſtly command us not to murmur againſt ſuch as ſhould take it from us. For who can appoint him his Time? or who can refuſe any for his Executioner whom the Supream Judg of Heaven and Earth ſhall permit? But in as much as God hath preſerved our lives which our Enemies ſought, he may juſtly command, and we muſt obey him, ſo commanding, to do any good unto them that ſought our evil. God is a more *abſolute Lord* over the lives of *Kings* and *Princes* then they are over their Lands or goods; he hath a more abſolute intereſt in all mens actions and affections then any man hath in his own goods or fruits of his ground. Now what Lord or Maſter is there that would indure ſuch a ſervant as would not beſtow his goods or benevolence on whomſoever it pleaſed him to appoint, albeit he were his ſervants enemy? If this we refuſe, and yet acknowledg our ſelves to be Gods ſervants, may not God juſtly ſay unto us? *Ex tuo ipſius ore judicaberis.* If any refuſe to ſet his affections on whom ſoever God ſhall appoint him, to imply his actions for whoſe good it pleaſeth him, albeit he be our open enemy. How much more ought we to do it if we conſider the Hope of reward in the life to come?

17. Thus you ſee *the firſt ground of this Precept* drawn from *the equality of all men by nature*, improved, and forſeited by the Doctrine of Faith, that is, by *the acknowledgment of One Father and Creator*, and yet may it be further confirmed, if we conſider *what Affinity*, nay, *what Conſanguinity* we all have *in Chriſt*, and, *what he hath done for us.*

We are (ſaith the Apoſtle, if we be Chriſts) *fleſh of his fleſh, and bone of his bone.* Our conjunction with him (if we be or would be conjoyned with Him) although it be ſpiritual and myſtical, yet is it a true, a real and lively conjunction. He is a true and lively Head; we are true and lively members of him,and one of another: And muſt have as true a fellow feeling one of anothers harms or ſorrows,as one part of our own body hath of the pain of another. No body Politick ever on earth,not the moſt united in place, in Laws, cuſtomes or any other Bond of Civil Society whatſoever, had, or can have the like union, or ſo near conjunction, as all that are members of Chriſts myſtical Body truly have; as all that profeſs themſelves members thereof ſhould in practiſe teſtifie that they have: otherwiſe, *as the Lawyers ſay, Proteſtatio non valet contra factum.* It is in vain to profeſs thou art a Chriſtian, in vain to proteſt thou art a true Profeſſor or Proteſtant, if thy deeds and reſolution, if thy practice do not ſeal the truth of thy profeſſion or Proteſtation: for not doing this (as the *Apoſtle* ſaith) thou ſhalt confeſs Chriſt and Chriſtianity with thy lips, but deny both Him and it, in thy deeds and in thy practiſe: and ſo thou ſhalt be judged, not according to thy *ſayings*, but according to thy *works* and reſolution, or omiſſions of working.

Would you know then what ſome of the Heathen have thought of the duties of every member in a body Politick? *Plato* in his fifth Book, *De Republica*, hath a compariſon to this purpoſe. If a man receive a wound in any part, as in his foot or hand; or have but ſome pain or grief in his finger, we will not ſay, *That his hand or foot is wounded, or that his finger feels pain*; But, *The man himſelf hath ſuffered a wound in his hand or foot*; That *he himſelf hath a great pain*; &c. For albeit the pain or grief ſpring firſt from *this* or *that part*, yet it overflows and affects the whole body; The branches of it ſpread throughout all parts: and every part is worſe becauſe one part is ſo ill. Yea every part forbears its natural function or recreation in ſome meaſure, for the eaſe of this; The head wants it ſleep, other parts their reſt, by reaſon of the ſpirits recourſe thither, as ſo many comforters ſent from them to viſit their ſick friend or fellow member. In like manner *Plato* thought it meet, that in every City or Common-weal, as often as any good or harm did happen to any Citizen or Free-denizon thereof, it ſhould not be counted *that* mans good or harm only, but the good or harm of the *whole* City; and every member thereof ſhould be alike affected. If *this* the Heathens by meer light of nature could diſcern to be the duty of the meer natural man, what tongue of man or Angel can expreſs in Terms befitting ſo high A myſtery, *what brotherhood, what fellowſhip, what ſympathy*, and what affection ſhould be between the members of Chriſts Body? for no ſociety like this; no fellowſhip like to that in Him.

This union exceeds all other much more then the union of one part of our heart with another doth the union of the heart with the foot. Doubtleſs our Saviour ſpake according to the *duty*, if not according to the *cuſtome* of honeſt hearty neighbors, in the good old world, in the Parable of the loſt *ſheep* and *groat*; His rejoycing for the recovery of his ſtrayed ſheep, was not his alone but his neighbours alſo. Her ſorrow for loſs of her money, was not only *hers* but her Goſſips, as after the finding it, her joy was theirs too.

It is worth the conſideration, and I beſeech you to conſider; what a madneſs it would ſeem to a wiſe man, if becauſe the finger did ake or pain him, a mans head or heart and inward thoughts ſhould preſently reſolve to cut it off, or vex it more becauſe it did vex them. Yet ſuch is our malice and madneſs, if, becauſe our brother or fellow member in Chriſt (ſo we muſt account all that Communicate with us in the ſame Sacraments) doth vex or torment us, we ſhould thereſore reſolve to vex and torment him again. This is a Symptome of ſuch helliſh Phrenzie as the Poet deſcribes;

Ipſe ſuos Artus lacero divellere morſu Certat.

As monſtrous and pitiful a Spectacle to the eyes of Faith, as it would be to the eyes of the Body to ſee, as we have heard of ſome (hanged quick in irons) ready to ſtarve for hunger, and deſtitute of hopes of other food to eat the fleſh of their arms to ſatisfie their gnawing entrals. So monſtrous is their ſin, ſo miſerable their eſtate, that to ſatiate their revengeful minds, or to wreck their imbred ſpite, do harm, vex or torment their Fellow-members in Chriſt. *If you bite and devour one another*, (ſaith the Apoſtle, *Gal.* 5. 16.) *ſee that ye be not conſumed one of another.* His meaning is, 'Whoſoever doth vex or harm his brother, ſhall feel the ſmart of it himſelf one time or other, as certainly as the heart or ſoul that wounds or cuts an outward member ſhall feel the ſmart or want of it. And again, that whoſoever yields any comfort to his diſtreſſed or comfortleſs brother, ſhall as certainly be partaker of the good he does to him, as the heart, which directs or the hand which applies the medicine to any ill-affected part, ſhall find eaſe and reſt by the mitigation of the ſickly members pain.

18. Would you then know the moſt certain compendious way to do your ſelves moſt good? ſeek as far as in you lies to do good to all other men: ſeek not your own good ſo much as the good of others; or rather ſeek your own good eſpecially by the means of doing good to others. Conſider, that there is *a great reward* promiſed to ſuch as do good to others; but there is no promiſe made for doing good to our ſelves. If we ſeek to inrich our ſelves or advance our eſtate, we have our reward if we obtain riches or advancement: but if we relieve thoſe that be in neceſſity; if we aſſiſt or direct into good wayes, thoſe, that for want of means may be tempted to ill courſes, To this double good work (which both relieves the Body and reſcues the ſoul) there is appointed a great reward. There is a reward promiſed to ſuch as relieve the poor; none to ſuch as inrich themſelves. There is a reward promiſed to ſuch as comfort the broken hearted, none to ſuch as ſolace themſelves with mirth and paſs their Time in pleaſures. There is a reward for thoſe that raiſe up them that fall, none to them that being in competent eſtate, ſeek to advance themſelves. If ſuch as ſeek riches get riches; if ſuch as ſeek advancement get advancement, *verily* they have their full reward: But if they get or ſeek it to the prejudice of their poor brethren, their ſin is grievous; And our *Saviour Chriſt*

pronounceth a Wo unto them, *Luke 6. 24. Wo unto you that are rich for you have received your conſolation.* Is this the condition of all ſuch as be rich? no; but of ſuch rich ones as regard not (underſtand not) the poor, Of ſuch as ſeek to enrich themſelves more then to relieve others. *Wo be to you that be full*, to wit, when others are hungry and you give them not to eat. *Wo unto you that laugh*, to wit, in time of Publick calamity and wo, when you ſhould mourn with your brethren that do mourn; for thus not doing unto them as you would be done unto in the like caſe, God ſhall do that to you which you would not, and give them their hearts deſire: God will turn their mourning into joy, and your laughter into tears.

A Falſe Balance, ſaith *Solomon*, *is abomination to the Lord*, *but a perfect weight pleaſeth Him*, *Pro.* 11. 1. Now to be more deſirous to do good to our ſelves then to others, is as it were to buy with a greater meaſure and ſell with a leſs: For even this practiſe were no couſenage in Huckſters and marketters, unleſs the Balance of their hearts and minds were unequally ſet before, that is, unleſs the meaſure of their deſire of private gain were greater then their deſire of doing good to others.

This is the point wherein their own Beam differs from, or diſagrees with Gods Balance hung up in their conſciences,
Love thy neighbor as thy ſelf.
Do as you would be done unto.

God that tryeth the very heart and reins doth weigh all our ſecret thoughts more exactly and curiouſly then we would weigh Gold: and by how much we are more deſirous to *receive good* from others then to do *Them Good* ſo much more ſhall we want of our hearts deſire.

This is the ſecond point wherein the Doctrine of Grace exceeds the Law of nature.

The Heathen had a ſurmiſe or fear that ſome like evil might befall them as they had done to others; yet was not their expectation of puniſhment ſo certain, but they thought it might be, and often was, prevented with policy; or if they eſcaped unpuniſhed in this life, they thought themſelves ſafe enough: whereas we certainly know and believe that God will certainly bring all to equality: and it ſhall go worſt with them that go unpuniſhed in this life: for uſually his puniſhments in this life bring men as it were to a compoſition with their adverſaries, both teaching them to do as they would be done unto, and to repent for the wrongs they have committed: but ſuch as paſs this life unpuniſhed and impenitent are arreſted at their firſt entry into the other, they fall immediately into the Jaylors hands from whence there is no Redemption.

19. Thus much of the *Firſt Point* (according to the method propoſed §. 5.) that is, *Of the equity of the Precept*, and *of the Grounds* or *motives which might incite us to the performance of it*, either drawn from the *Law of Nature*, or from the *Law of Grace*, the Holy Goſpel.

Of the *Second Point* (that is, In what ſenſe *The Obſervation of it is the fulfilling the Law and Prophets*, or, How *The Command it ſelf contains the Sum of the Law and Prophets*;) afterward.

The Application.

Here only for *A Ground to Application*, I take it as granted; *That* natural Reaſon *and the* written Law *teach every man what is good for himſelf and whereon to ſet his deſires.* And this Rule of Nature and Precept of our Saviour binds every man to further his Neighbor or Fellow Creature in all ſuch deſires, that is, *Generally in all deſires* which pertain either unto the neceſſary ſupplies or comforts of this life, or to the hopes and means of attaining the life to come.

Unto what part of *the Affirmative Precept*, it is moſt requiſite I ſhould exhort you; or from what part of the *Negative* I ſhould diſſwade you, I cannot tell: becauſe I am ignorant in what part of the one you are defective, or in what part of the other you moſt exceed. *In both* (*no doubt*) *we all offend:* both, In not doing to others (in ſundry caſes) as we deſire it ſhould be done to us; and alſo, in doing that to others which we would not have them to do to us.

Two eſpecial Breaches of this Law of Nature I have obſerved (ſo far as my experience reacheth) and have heard noted by others to be almoſt general throughout the Land.

The one, in not affording our diſtreſſed brethren that comfort for the ſupport of this life, which in their caſe we would deſire.

The other, in procuring their undoing or grievous loſs by our greedy deſires of enlarging our own eſtates, advancing our ſelves, or increaſing our wealth and commodity.

For *the Firſt*, None of us can be ignorant, how in our times, *Sometimes the Famine*, *oft times*, nay *alwayes for this ſeven or eight years paſt*, *the Plague* of Peſtilence hath raged one where or other, throughout the Land. The grievouſneſs of that Malady albeit we know not fully, yet that we know it in ſome ſort, and eſteem of it as a grievous malady, *A Plague indeed ſent from God*, our fear of it when it is near unto us doth ſufficiently witneſs: and from the meaſure of our own fear or care to avoid it, we may gather how deſirous we would be of any comfort, if it ſhould ſeize upon us: Of *any comfort* I ſay, either bodily to eaſe the pain by *Lenitives*, or to prevent the laſt danger of it by Phyſick and good Diet. Or if in theſe we could have no Hope, the leſs we had in them, the more deſirous would we be of ſpiritual comfort under the wings of the Almighty. The leſs help, Art, or Nature, or men themſelves could afford us, the more earneſtly would we deſire hearty prayers for ſuccor and comfort from the Almighty. It would much ſtrengthen our Faith & Hope, to know that others did joyn with us in fervent prayers for mercy; and it would much leſſen our bodily grief and diſcontent of mind, to know that they did bear a part with us: it would abate our ſorrow to know that they did abate their wonted mirth and jollity as in compaſſion to us. The *Saying* is moſt true;

Solamen miſeris ſocios habuiſſe doloris:

But the ſolace is moſt comfortable, when men do willingly and not by conſtraint ſhare with us in our miſery: for then they take as it were part of our burthen from us, and put it upon their own ſhoulders: So as that which is moſt heavy and grievous whilſt it is only laid upon one or ſome few, becomes very light and eaſie when it is divided and laid upon many willing to communicate in the burden.

Theſe and many like, but more effectual Arguments, all of us could plead for our ſelves, if we were in this or any other kind of miſery. But who is he of a thouſand that would lay half of this to heart when ſorrow lies heavieſt upon his poor diſtreſſed brethren? I know not how men in this place are affected; but elſewhere for the moſt part, if they be ſo mindful of their diſtreſſed brethren, as to relieve their wants and furniſh them with the neceſſaries of this life, they think it almoſt a work of ſuper-erogation: and if they ſhould not be commended for it at firſt, they would be more ſlack to do the like again.

But that they ſhould afflict or pinch themſelves for others penury: That they ſhould abate their ordinary mirth for others ſorrow, is an ungrateful Doctrine, almoſt a Point of Puritaniſm. Or if ſome be thus well minded towards their neighbors or allyes they think they have ſufficiently diſcharged their duty: They think this Precept of our Saviour extends it ſelf no further then the Statutes of the Land, binding them to do good (ſuch good as they would have done to them) only to the men of their own or the next Pariſh. As for the miſeries of ſuch as are afar off, the ſound of them enters not into their ears; their ſighs and groans move not their hearts.

If we ſhould tell the people of one Shire or Country, That they ought to mourn and lament, to faſt and pray for the afflictions of others ſome forty miles off, or in the utmoſt confines of another Country in this Realm, They would be ready (I am afraid) to laugh at our folly, and count us as uncivil as any voluntary diſturbers of their ſports. But here I truſt I may be bold to ſay as much as the Lord hath ſaid, whoſe word requires, at leaſt as much, I think much more then I have done.

20. Conſider (I beſeech you) What was their ſin to whom *Amos* pronounceth the dreadful *Wo*; *Amos* 6. 1. *Wo to them that are at eaſe in Sion!* Why? What harm was there in this? May not men take their eaſe? Yea, when the Times ſo permit. But now their *Brethren of Samaria* were diſquieted by their Enemies; eaſe, which before was good, was now unſeaſonable and prepoſterous, becauſe not conſorting with their Brethrens Eſtate.

They lie upon Beds of Ivory and ſtretch themſelves upon their Beds, and eat the Lambs out of the Flock, and Calves out of the Stall. What of all this? Doth any man keep a Flock, and eats not of the milk thereof? Doth any man plant a Vineyard and not eat of the Fruit thereof? Yea, of all or any the increaſe thereof at his pleaſure? Yet is not all kind of eating (of moderate eating) fit for every ſeaſon, There is a Time as well of Faſting as of eating and Feaſting. Herein then was their ſin, that they did not ſympathize with their brethren, who were either pined for hunger or fed with the bread of Affliction.

They ſing (ſaith the Prophet) *unto the ſound of the Viol; they invent to themſelves Inſtruments of Muſick like David.* Why? Could they have followed a better Example? Not if they had followed it aright: for *Davids* Muſick was invented to praiſe the Lord. And *Yet* (as the Sons or Daughters of *Sion* might have replyed) *partly to delight himſelf and his friends.* It may be ſo! Where is the point of difference then? *There is a Time to be ſad*, ſaith *Solomon*, and *a Time to be merry*; *a Time to weep and a Time to laugh.* Every thing hath its *appointed Time*, and every thing out of his Time is prepoſterous and evil. If *David* did ſolace himſelf with pleaſant mirth, it was becauſe proſperity flouriſhed in thoſe Times; he did not uſe it when news was brought him of *Saul* and *Jonathans* Death, nor when the Angel of the Lord had ſmitten his people with the Plague of Peſtilence. Thoſe againſt whom *Amos* ſpeaks did ſin, in that they had their pleaſant muſick whilſt their brethrens miſeries did call them to the houſe of mourning. Theſe had their delightful Ditties, whilſt their brethren were ready to ſing the Lords Song in a ſtrange Land.

Pſal. 35. 13.
Eſai 22.12.
Ezek. 21.10.

This was it that did ſo diſpleaſe the Lord, that they were ſo deſirous to pleaſe themſelves with theſe or any other delights, whilſt his heavy wrath was upon their neighbor Countries. *They drink Wine in Bowls and annoint themſelves with the choice Ointments, but no man is ſorry for the afflictions of Joſeph.* This was a grievous ſin in *Judah*, that they were not ſorry for the affliction of *Iſrael*, that is, of the *ten Tribes*. It was a grievous ſin in the Princes and Nobles, that they did not mourn and lament for the miſeries of the mean and common people. *Therefore ſaith the Lord, now ſhall they go Captive with the firſt that go captive, and the ſorrow of them that ſtretch themſelves is at hand.* So certain it is, That God will make their miſery greateſt, that will not equalize themſelves in publick Calamities to their Brethren.

The Second Sermon upon this Text.

CHAP. XXXIII.

MATTH. 7. 12.

Therefore, all things whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do unto you, do ye even ſo unto them; For this is the Law and the Prophets.

The Second General (*according to the* Method *propoſed, Chap.*32.*Sect.*5.) handled. *This Precept* [Do as ye would be done to:] *more then Æquivalent to that* [Love thy neighbor as thy ſelf:] *For by* Good Analogie *it is Applicable to all the Duties of the firſt Table which we owe to God for our very Being and all his other Bleſſings in all kinds beſtowed on us. Our* deſires to receive *Good things from God, ought to be the meaſure of our* Readineſs to return obedience to his will, *and all other duties of dependents upon his Grace and Goodneſs. God, in giving* Iſaac, *did what* Abraham *deſired: And* Abraham *in offering* Iſaac *did what God deſired. Two Objections made and anſwered.* 1. *That* This Rule *may ſeem to eſtabliſh the Old* Pythagorean *Error of Retaliation, and the new One of* Paritie in Eſtates. 2. *That the Magiſtrate in puniſhing offendors (it ſeems) in ſome Caſe muſt of neceſſity either violate this* Rule *or ſome other.*

How this Precept (*Do as you, &c.*) containeth all the *Second Table.*

THat *this Precept* [*Do as ye would be done to*] doth contain as much as that Other [*Thou ſhalt love thy neigbor as thy ſelf*] is evident to every man at the firſt ſight. For, that we deſire either to have any good or no evil, done unto us, it is from the love we bear unto our ſelves. And if we could be, as deſirous to do all good, and as unwilling to do any evil unto others, as we are to have the one done, the other not done, to our ſelves; our love to Others, and Our ſelves would be equal. And if we love others (or our neighbors) as our ſelves, then we have fulfilled the Law. So St. *Paul* ſaith, *Rom.*13. 8. *Owe nothing to any man, but to love one another, for he that loveth another hath fulfilled the Law; for this, Thou ſhalt not commit adultery. Thou ſhalt not kill. Thou ſhalt not ſteal. Thou ſhalt not bear falſe witneſs. Thou ſhalt not covet. And if there be any other Commandment, it is briefly comprehended in this ſaying, even in this, Thou ſhalt love thy neighbor as thy ſelf.*

But here ariſeth a Queſtion, concerning the extent of theſe words [*If there be any other Commandment.*]

The Frame or Form of Speech is Univerſal, and may ſeem to import thus much, *If there be any other Commandment whatſoever.* Notwithſtanding the beſt Interpreters uſually reſtrain it thus, *If there be any Commandment of the ſecond Table, it is comprehended in this ſhort ſaying,* *Thou ſhalt love thy neighbor as thy ſelf:* Whereas St. *Paul* had here reckoned up all the Commandments of the Second Table, ſave *only one* (which indeed is rather the *Medius Terminus* or coupling of the Firſt and Second Table, as much belonging to the one as to the other) that is *Honour thy Father and thy Mother.*

More fitly might the ſame words be reſtrained thus; *If there be any other commandment, whether one of thoſe Ten mentioned,* **Exod.** 20. *or elſwhere in the Law* which concerns the duty of man to man, *be it One, or be they more, they be contained in This ſaying, Love thy neighbour as thy ſelf.* But as for our duty towards God, or thoſe four Commandments of the Firſt Table; they may ſeem no way comprehended in the former *Saying*; and this reſtraint may, it ſeems, be gathered from our Saviours Doctrine, *Matth.* 22. *ver.* 37. For being asked *which was the greateſt Commandment in the Law?* He anſwered, *Thou ſhalt Love the Lord thy God with all thine Heart, with all thy ſoul, and with all thy mind; This is the firſt and great Commandment:* As if he had ſaid, *This is that Commandment which contains in it moſt of the Reſt; or all that concern our duty towards God;* But there is *A ſecond like unto it,* Thou ſhalt love thy neighbour as thy ſelf, *and on theſe two commandments hang the whole Law and the Prophets:* Hence as ſome collect, our Saviour in my Text, ſaith not, *This is the* whole *Law and the Prophets;* But, *This is the Law and the Prophets:* becauſe *This precept,* to their ſeeming, is but equivalent unto *That, Thou ſhalt love thy neighbour as thy ſelf;* which is but *One* and the *leſs of the Two,* on which hangeth the *whole Law and the Prophets?*

2. Yet may it be further Queſtioned, *In what ſenſe Theſe Commandments are ſaid to be Two?* as whether they be, as we ſay, *Primò diverſa;* as diſtinct as the Commandments of *Murther* and *Theft;* neither of which is any way included in the other, or dependent upon it: Or whether they be only ſo diſtinguiſhed as the *Old Teſtament* and the *New;* that is, as is ſaid, *Novum Teſtamentum velatum eſt in veteri, & vetus Revelatum in Novo:* The New Teſtament is in the Old, but invailed; and the Old, revealed in the New: ſo we may ſay, That, the firſt and great Commandment, Of loving God with all our heart, and all our ſoul, is implicitly contained in the ſecond, of loving our neighbours as our ſelves: and the ſecond again expreſly or impulſively contained in the former.

Thus much is certain that no man loves his neighbour aright, unleſs he love him for Gods ſake whom He loves above all and whoſe love commands all other love. In this ſence ſaith S. *James, whoſoever ſhall keep the whole law beſides, and fail in one Commandment* (that is wittingly and willingly; or if he would grant himſelf an Indulgence or diſpenſation of breaking that one) *He is guilty of all.* Why of all? St. *James* adds; *He that ſaid thou ſhall not commit Adultery, ſaid alſo, thou ſhalt not kill.* His meaning is, *He that gave one commandment gave all:* and therefore, he that breaks one willingly and wittingly, keeps none truly and ſincerely; becauſe He obſerves them not, in as much *as God commanded them* to be kept, for then He would be deſirous to obſerve all alike: or if he ſhew divers effects of love unto his neighbour, theſe proceed not from the love of God, for that would command all his Affections, and every effect of love as well as One. He can expect no reward of God as the fruit of ſuch love, becauſe it is not throughly rooted in the entire and ſincere Love of God. So that their *Reaſons,* who reſtrain *this precept* only to the *ſecond Table,* admit a double exception.

Firſt, It is not proved by them, that *This Precept* is *adæquate*, or only but *æquivalent* to that, *Love thy neighbour as thy ſelf.*

Secondly, If it were, yet the fulfilling of *This* might be *Interpretativè* the fulfilling of the Law, ſeeing no man can love his neighbour, but he muſt love God above all.

3. It is as true again that no man can love God, unleſs he love his brother alſo; ſo ſaith St. *John*, 1 *Epiſt. ch.* 4. *ver.* 20. If any man ſay *He loves God and hate his brother, he is a lyar: for how can he that loveth not his brother whom he hath ſeen, love God whom he hath not ſeen?* So that our love to God muſt be the motive or incitement for us to love our neighbour: and yet the ſame love of God muſt be *perfected and made compleat* in us by practiſing love for his ſake upon our neighbours. So ſaith St. *John*, *ver.* 11. *If God ſo loved us, we ought alſo to love one another; no man hath ſeen God at any time.* As if he had ſaid, *We cannot direct our love immediatly to God himſelf, becauſe He dwelleth in light that none can attain unto; but our love muſt be beſtowed upon our neighbours, that is, upon men, in whom His Image ſhineth, and loving them in Him and for His ſake, we love him more then them:* and this is it which St. *John* ſaith in the ſame place, *If we love one another God dwelleth in us and his love is perfect in us.* And in like ſort, when we do to men as we deſire they ſhould do unto us (becauſe this is a Duty acceptable to God, and proceeds from the love we bear to him) we do not only perform our duty towards men, but alſo our duty towards God. So that *This Rule* rightly practiſed, is the whole Law and the Prophets, and in effect equivalent to thoſe Two Commandments, *Love God above all*; and thy neighbour as thy ſelf: as appears out of the former Collections. But is more evident, if we obſerve the *Former Extent* or expoſition of it, which was thus ——*Whatſoever ye would ſhould be done unto you, either by God or Man*, That *do to all men as they are your fellow creatures, for your Creators ſake.* Or if we would further ſearch out the exact Temper and conſtitution of mind whereat this precept aims, in conſiſts (as I may ſo ſpeak in Æquilibrio:) *in the æquipoiſe of our deſires of doing and receiving good*, whether the Good be to be directed immediately unto God or to our neighbours for his ſake. That is, we ſhould be *as ready* to glorifie Gods name both ſecretly, with our hearts, and by outward profeſſion and practiſe of good Deeds, *as we are deſirous to receive* any bleſſing or benefit from him.

So Chriſt ſaid to St. *Peter*: *Loveſt thou me? Feed my Sheep.* So David ſaid to God. Pſal. 16. *My goodneſs extendeth not to thee: But to the Saints that are in earth, and to the excellent in whom is all my delight.*

And thus it is evident that the exact performance of this Precept would be the *exact fulfilling of the Law and Prophets*; that the performance of every part of this duty ſincerely, in ſome, though not in *perfect meaſure*, is in like ſort, the fulfilling of the Law, *Quoad perfectionem vel integritatem partium*, as the Schools ſay, though not *quoad perfectionem Graduum:* that is, obſerving this Rule (as it hath been expounded) we ſhall obſerve *every Commandment or part* of the Law, though none of them in that *perfect and exact meaſure* which we ſhould; but performing *the former*, the Blood of Chriſt Jeſus ſhall cleanſe us from all our guilt of ſin whereto we are liable, if God ſhould enter into judgment with us for not performing of *the later.* Thus you have ſeen how this precept doth directly concern both the *Firſt and Second Table.*

See St. *Aug. De Civ. Dei. Lib.* 10. *Cap.* 4. and 15. *Cap.* 22. and *Lud. vives's Comment.*

4. Yet further! That even that love and duty which we owe unto our neighbours doth *Collaterally* likewiſe reſpect every Precept of the Firſt Table: for we are bound by this love we owe one to another, every one according to his calling, opportunity and ability, to inſtruct another in the knowledge of every precept, whether of the Firſt or Se-

cond Table, or any other part of the Law, and to incite one another to the performance of the ſame, and to dehort from their Breach or Tranſgreſſion. So ſaith the Lord, *Lev.* 19. *v.* 17. *Thou ſhalt not hate thy brother in thy heart, but thou ſhalt plainly rebuke thy neighbor and ſuffer him not to ſin,* not to tranſgreſs any of Gods Commandments whatſoever.

The ſum of all is this. The Law of Nature, and the Law of God, teach every man to know what is good for himſelf; and thereupon to fix his deſires: and this Rule of Nature, whoſe practiſe is here enjoyned by our Saviour, binds every man to be as willing to further his Neighbor or Fellow-Creature in purſuit of any lawful good, as he is deſirous of the ſame himſelf; whether theſe deſires be of things pertaining to this life, or to the hopes and means of obtaining the life to come.

An Objection againſt this precept thus improved & expounded.

Yet againſt this Precept it may be Objected, That it may ſeem to eſtabliſh the *Pythagorean Retaliation*, which was ſuch an error in *Philoſophy*, as the preſent error of the *Anabaptiſts* is in *Religion*. Both of them tending to an *Equality of all ſorts of men.* So may *this Rule* ſeem at firſt ſight to make *all men Equal.* For if every man muſt do to others as he would be done unto; Then, muſt the Maſter perform the like duties to the ſervant as he expects from him; ſo muſt the Prince unto his Subjects, the Magiſtrate to ſuch as are under him; the Father to the Son, &c.

There be ſome common Grounds which will ſerve to Anſwer other Objections which may be made;

As firſt, Whatever ye *would, &c.* muſt be underſtood of a *Regulated Will, A Will* not tainted with any inordinate ſelf-love or ſinful deſires.

Secondly, It muſt be interpreted with *A Salvo* to all Gods other Commandments, They muſt ſtand as God has ſet them, reconciled to one another, and not be ſet at variance by our exorbitant *wills or* affections.

Thirdly, It muſt not be extended to the diſſolving of Order, and diſparagement of Dignities or Powers ordained by God.

But this Objection may have its proper Solution *two wayes.*

An Anſwer to the Objection.

Firſt, The meaning of the Precept is not, that we ſhould do *the ſelf ſame to every man in every eſtate,* which we expect he ſhould do *to us, living in that eſtate wherein we are;* For ſeeing there is an *Inequality of Eſtates,* there muſt be alſo an *Inequality* or diverſity *of Duties* belonging to thoſe ſeveral Eſtates.

The meaning then is thus, *Whatſoever you could wiſh that men ſhould do unto you, ſuppoſing you were in the ſame eſtate they are in, that you muſt do to them now they are in that eſtate.* Thus the *Greateſt Monarch* on earth, in as much as He is but man, and might have been or may be yet ſubject to anothers pleaſure, muſt ſtoop to this conſideration, *what uſage he would expect of his Prince if he himſelf were a Subject;* and he muſt afford the ſelf ſame to them. So muſt the Father likewiſe conſider what uſage he did expect of his Parents, and the like he muſt afford unto his children. So likewiſe muſt every Inferiour ſeriouſly conſider with himſelf, what reſpect he would deſire of his Inferiours were he in place of Authority, and the ſelf ſame he muſt afford unto ſuch as are his lawful Magiſtrates; Otherwiſe (beſides the evil of confuſion) if either Superiour or Inferiour uſe other leſs reſpectively or more contemptuouſly, then they would be content withall, themſelves, the Righteous Judge will reduce all to equality. Thus St. *Paul* teacheth, *Coloſ.* 3. *ver.* 20. *Children* (ſaith he) *obey your parents in all things for that is wellpleaſing to the Lord:* and verſe 21. *Fathers provoke not your children to* *anger.* And concerning ſervants he ſaith more expreſly, *Eph.* 6. *ver.* 5. *Servants be obedient unto them that are your maſters according to the fleſh; not with eye-ſervice as men pleaſers, but as the ſervants of Chriſt, doing the will of God from the heart: and ye maſters* (as it followes in the 9. verſe) *do the ſame things unto them, putting away threatning, and know that your maſter alſo is in heaven, neither is there reſpect of perſons with him.* If either ſervants would uſe their maſters otherwiſe then they would be uſed if they were maſters, or maſters uſe their ſervants otherwiſe then they would be Uſed if they were ſuch, God will bring a more miſerable ſervitude on the One and continue it on the other.

From theſe places of St. *Paul*, we may likewiſe frame a *Second Anſwer* to the former *Objection*, Thus. If we compare men in their ſeveral eſtates wherein they live, wherein they are, not wherein they may be, then this mutual Duty of *doing as we would be done unto* muſt not be paid (as we ſay) *in Kind*, but in *Proportion.*

The Rule is this; ſeeing all men delight in comfort and contention of mind, and only that is ſuch which is truly good in reſpect of the party which deſires it, every man ſhould be deſirous to do that good to others which is beſt befitting his eſtate wherein he may take true comfort and beſt content. Seing great perſonages take great comfort in honour and ſerviceable reſpects, inferiours ſhould with a good mind give Honor to whom Honor is due; and they ſhould be as ready, though not to Honor their inferiours, yet to afford them that wherein they have more delight, as in relieving the poor and needy by Hoſpitality; in countenancing others of competent eſtate in their commendable courſes; in protecting them from wrong; or (in a word) according to the Exigence of their ſeveral ſtates or occaſions.

A Second Objection.

6. Again it may be objected, That *this Rule* however we interpret it; muſt be violated by the Publick Magiſtrate in inflicting puniſhment upon Offenders. For many a man that hath deſerved Death according to Poſitive Laws, will naturally, and that I think without offence, be moſt deſirous of life, and would make earneſt ſuit for his releaſe.

The Queſtion is, *Whether the publick Magiſtrate in this Caſe ſhould do as he would be done unto if he were in the like Caſe.* For it may ſeem, that either he muſt trangreſs the Poſitive Laws to which he is ſworn; or violate this *Law of Nature* which is more ſacred then any Poſitive Law.

The *Anſwer* is eaſie, from that which hath been ſaid before. No publick Officer is here to propoſe unto himſelf this one man or Malefactors Caſe, but rather the Common-wealths, or ſuch in it as deſerve better, and yet might be further endangered, by Malefactors eſcaping unpuniſhed, if his Caſe were theirs, he would be deſirous to have the Law executed, and therefore muſt afford them this their juſt deſire, if it be in his power, otherwiſe ſuch pity finds oft times at Gods hands the reward of Cruelty.

A notable Example whereof we have in *Alexander de Medices*, the firſt of that Family that took upon him to be the *Prince of Florence*, but not ſo willing to execute Juſtice as to uſurp Authority. He, contrary to his Country Laws, granted pardon to a Murtherer at one of his neer Kinſmans Requeſt, who afterwards willing to purchaſe Fame by freeing his Country from his Kinſmans *Duke Alexanders* Tyranny, uſed the former Malefactors help in killing the Duke which had given him life at his requeſt.

7. But to return to that we were upon, when theſe Objections croſſed

our way: God weighs our ſecret thoughts more exactly then we can do bodies groſs and ſenſible. As the Balance is juſt in our ſight, when both ends are even, and both alike apt to be equally moved with equal weights; ſo are our thoughts in Gods ſight, juſt, when we are as *apt to do good, as ready to receive it.*

Mens affecti-ons are right balanced, when they be as ready *to do*, as *to re-ceive good.*

We may deſire or receive good either from men or from God, and we may return good reſpectively to both; kindneſſes (as we ſay in kind) to men; Duties of obedience, praiſe, and thanks &c. unto God. To men we may repay good either for their own ſakes, or becauſe we would deſire good from them in like caſe; or elſe, becauſe we expect good from God. The equality of our conditions as men, as fellow-creatures, or brethren in Chriſt, bindes us to afford the ſame meaſure of good to others; not which they have meaſured to us but as we deſire they ſhould do to us if we were in their caſe. *Every man knows his own deſires, and therefore cannot be ignorant what he ſhould do.* If they have dealt ill with us, we may not in any caſe deal ſo with them; for we were unwilling to receive ill, and therefore ſhould be as unwilling to repay it; and the rather, for fear God do to us as we do them; Becauſe in ſo doing we took his office into our hands. If they have done us any good, we are more ſtrictly bound to repay them in larger meaſure then we received it; becauſe we were prevented by them: As in a Balance even ſet, the Rebound doth alwayes exceed the firſt *ſway* or motion; ſo in repaying ſuch good to our brethren, as God hath graciouſly dealt to us, we ſhould exceed the former proportion; becauſe we are bound to diſtribute to their neceſſities, ſo is not He to ours. And alwayes the freer the Gift is, the greater ſhould the receivers thankfulneſs be.

This was that which aggravated the unthankful ſervants offence, that ſeeing his maſter had freely forgiven him, yet he would not forgive his fellow ſervant. (*Mat.* 18. 23.) We are in many reſpects bound moſt ſtrictly, to render unto God himſelf according to his reward. (It was *Hezekiahs* ſin that he did not ſo. 2 *Chro.* 32. 24.) *Firſt*, becauſe he hath prevented us with his bleſſings; he gave us *Being* before we could deſire it; and with it He gave us a deſire of continuing it. *Secondly*, he gave it Us of his meer freewill and abundant kindneſs: And therefore in all equity we are bound, *Firſt* to render what poſſibly we can *unto Him*, and that with greater alacrity and cheerfulneſs then unto man for his ſake; as Reaſon teacheth us, to perform our perſonal duties and ſervices to our Parents, Patrons, and Benefactors with greater care and forwardnes, then ſuch offices as for their ſakes we owe to their Followers or Favorites. Hence may we deſcry the equity of thoſe *two main Commandments* on which the whole Law and Prophets depend: [*Love God above all; and thy neighbor as thy ſelf.*] All the ſervices of worſhip, of praiſe, thankfulneſs or the like, which we return immediately to God himſelf, belong unto the *Firſt Table.* All the duties we perform to men, either becauſe we have received, or could deſire like kindneſs from them; or becauſe we expect ſome greater matters from God, belong unto the ſecond Table, It remains we ſee how this Rule doth direct our thoughts for the true practice of every particular commandment: *What I omitt, your own meditation may eaſily ſupply.*

8. None of us (as in charity I perſume) is ſo ignorant of God or his Goodneſs, but often prayes that he would continue his bleſſings of life and healeth unto us: deſiring withall, that he would do ſome other good unto us, which yet we want, Could we in the next place take a perfect meaſure of our own *deſires* of what we want, whilſt they

are freſh, and at the height, and withall duly weigh *thoſe Bleſſings* of life and health, conſidering the full and ſole dependence they have on the good-will and pleaſure of our God; the *ſtrength* of the one and *weight* of the other, could not but impell and ſway our minds to performance of ſuch duties towards God, as his Law and *this rule* of Reaſon require. Theſe are good Beginnings of ſuch performances, as this Rule requires. But here we uſually commit a double overſight.

A double overſight.

Firſt, We do not weigh bleſſings received as duly and truly as we ſhould. For who is he, that truly conſiders what life is, till he come in danger of death? Or how pleaſant health is, till he be pained with ſome grievous ſickneſs, wound, or other malady? Or if we come by ſuch occaſions duly to eſteem of life and health, or other bleſſings already injoyed; or to take a true meaſure of our *deſires* of what we want, whilſt *they* are freſh and at the height; yet either we apprehend not or we conſider not, what abſolute and intire dependance the beginning or continuance of benefits received, or the compleating of others deſired, have on the good-will and pleaſure of our God. We think we are in part beholden to our Parents for our Life, to our Phyſician, to our ſtrength of nature or good diet, for recovery of health; to our own wit or friends for obtaining ſuch things as we deſire. Theſe or like conceits ariſing from ignorance of Gods providence, or want of faith in his goodneſs, are as ſo many props or ſtayes that hinder the weight of *his beſt bleſſings*, or the ſtrength of *our deſires* of further good, to have their *full ſhock* upon our ſouls and minds. Otherwiſe, the true conſideration or feeling of their dependence on Gods will and pleaſure would ſway and impel us, to do our duty to him with the ſame alacrity we deſire good from him; to love him with all our heart, with all our ſouls, with all our ſtrength: yea, we would be as deſirous to do his will and pleaſure, as we are to obtain the things that pleaſe us: as unwilling any way to diſpleaſe him, as we are to forgo any thing we have from him. As willing to conſecrate our lives and actions to his ſervice, as we are to injoy life and uſe of limbs.

If a Land-lord ſhould command his *Tenant at will* to do him ſuch a buſineſs, perhaps to go on ſome *errand of importance* for him, or elſe he ſhould go without his *Tenement*; but promiſe him a better if he did it faithfully; The ſweetneſs, as well of what he injoyed, as of the Reward he looked for, would diſperſe it ſelf throughout his thoughts, and ſeaſon his labour with chearfulneſs, and make all his very pains ſweet unto him. But if he had lately received an *Eſtate for Lives*, and could not hope for any further good ſhortly to come from him although perhaps he would do what his Lord bid him, leaſt he ſhould be upbraided with unthankfulneſs: Yet his ſervice would be but faint and cold in reſpect of the former; like his that wrought (as we ſay) *for the dead horſe*.

This may ſerve to ſet forth the difference betwixt the faithful or true believers, and the unfaithful or unbelievers heart in the performance of *this great Commandment*.

The unbeliever, although he acknowledge in ſomt ſort, That he received all he hath, and muſt expect all he hopes for from God; and in this reſpect muſt do what God commands: yet, if at any time he do his Will, it is without all Devotion or Chearfulneſs: partly, becauſe he thinks the bleſſings he looks for muſt be gotten by his own indeavors; and ſuch as he hath, have been improved by his own good husbandry; nor doth he fear that the Lord ſhould diſpoſſeſs him of life or health, but there will be time enough to gain or renue his Favour, before *his Leaſe* (as he takes it) of life, of health and proſperity be run out.

The faithful man ſtedfaſtly believes and knows that God is the Lord and giver of life; that he kils and makes alive, that he wounds and alone makes whole? that we have no hold of either, but only during the Term of his will and pleaſure:he firmly believes all the threatnings of his Law; as, that either God will puniſh ſinners with ſudden and unexpected death, ſaying unto them as he did unto the rich men in the Goſpel, *Thou Fool! this night ſhall thy ſoul be taken from thee:* or elſe ſuffers them to injoy life, and health, and other bleſſings to their greater condemnation. He believes likewiſe all his promiſes to the righteous; to ſuch as do his will. Whence, as well the Goodneſs of all the Bleſſings he injoyes (life, health, wealth, and eſtate) as of thoſe which he hopes for, whether in this life, or in the life to come, do as it were provoke a deſire in him of worſhipping God and doing his will, equal at leaſt to his deſire of either having preſent bleſſings continued or greater beſtowed upon him. His joy in prayſing God and keeping his Laws, is greater then in the injoying of life, of his ſoul, his ſtrength or other endowments. His life is good to him becauſe it is from God; His ſoul is good becauſe he *knows* (and as it were *feels*) it to be created by God: his health ſeems good, becauſe it ſprings from him who is *The Fountain of Salvation.* He loves theſe becauſe they are good; But he loves God above all, becauſe he is better then all, even then the beſt of all his bleſſings. Theſe are only Good,becauſe they are ſeaſoned with a ſpice or ſavor of Gods Goodneſs.

Good things are only pleaſant, whilſt they relliſh of Gods Goodneſs.

Now as it recreates an hungry man to *ſmell* meat, but much more to *taſte* it; ſo it is a matter to be more deſired, to *taſte the Goodneſs of God* (as the *Pſalmiſt* ſpeaks) then to enjoy the ſweet Savour or Fragrance of him in his Creatures. And we beſt *taſt* the Goodneſs of God. by doing His will and pleaſure; as our *Saviour* ſaith, *John* 4. 34. *My meat is to do the will of him that ſent me, and to finiſh his work.*

As we do deſire our Spirit at the hour of death ſhould return to God not only becauſe he *gave it*, but becauſe alſo he is our *Bliſs*; ſo even in this life, the ſweeteſt joy that can be found,is,when we are lifted up in Spirit to behold and *taſt* the Goodneſs of God; when we can ſay, with the Bleſſed Virgin, *My ſoul doth magnifie the Lord.* We ſhould never deſire Him to do us any Good, but with an *inſtant Return* of a more earneſt deſire, to be inabled to do what he would have us do; to love him above all, and all other things for his ſake.

Having our thoughts and deſires thus compoſed, although we have not the particular things we deſire, yet ſhall we have *our Hearts deſire:* becauſe we delight in the Lord, who alone can ſatisfie our hearts,otherwiſe unſatiable. Whereas the wicked, albeit he get poſſeſſion of what he moſt deſired, yet hath he not his hearts deſire: becauſe the deſire of it was (like a good arm, as we ſay, caſt away; being) ſet upon a wrong Object, not on the goodneſs of his God, nor on his bleſſings for his ſake, but for themſelves. *He ſetteth his eyes upon that which is nothing* (*Prov.* 23. 5.(and ſo cannot ſatisfie. This gives witneſs to the truth of what the Pſalmiſt ſaith. *Pſal.* 37. 16. *A ſmall thing that the righteous hath is better then great riches of ungodly.* To the godly, The loving kindneſs of the Lord is better (not only then all the means of life, but) then the life it ſelf: his ſoul is ſatisfied as it were with marrow and fatneſs, and his mouth praiſeth God with joyful lips.

Prov.16.8.

As *Saint John* ſaith, *we cannot love God whom we have not ſeen, unleſs we love our brother whom we have ſeen*; So neither can we delight in God who is a Spirit, unleſs we firſt delight (purely, and a right) in his bleſſings, which are ſenſible and agreeable to nature; For, it is true in this ſenſe, *Firſt is that which is natural and then that which is ſpiritual.* And the more we delight in them; ſo we duly conſider *they are his bleſſings*, and that as well the continuance of them, as of our ability to delight in them, depends upon His pleaſure; the more ſtill we delight in Him.

10. It is an excellent Rule which *Solomon* hath given in this caſe. *Remember thy Creator in the dayes of thy youth, while the evil dayes come not, nor the years approch, wherein thou ſhalt ſay, I have no pleaſure in them.Eccleſ.*12.1.To *be a Creator*,in *Solomons* Language, imports as much as to be the maker of our Bodies and ſouls, the Sole giver of all things wherein we can delight, and ſole Author of all the abilities and faculties which make us apt to take delight therein; ſole diſpoſer of all opportunities that bring about the matters wherein we moſt delight. And, *To remember our Creator*, in his Language alſo is, diligently and continually to ponder theſe things, and to be affected or moved with them according to their weight and importance. But why doth he charge us *to remember God, in the dayes of our youth?* Becauſe in that age we are apt to take greateſt delight in our ſelves, or any thing truly delightful; our ſpirits being then moſt freſh and lively; ſo that the meaſure of our delight; whether in our ſelves, or in things without us, being then truly taken, would impell us to a equal delight in Him that was Author and Creator of Both, and to correſpondent Gratulation: whereas deferring of this Remembrance or notice of our Creator till old age come upon us, wherein life growes to be a burden,and the wonted delights of life either irkſom or inſipid (unpleaſant or without all taſte or relliſh) our thankfulneſs for them will be but faint; our gratulation worthleſs,our devotion cold and lumpiſh.

See the 6. *Book*, 2 *part chapt.* 11.

The former due eſtimate of our Creators goodneſs being planted in youth, our delight in him would grow as our bodily abilities for all natural performances did decay; we might truly ſay with the Apoſtle, *when I am weak then I am ſtrong:* and with the Pſalmiſt, *They ſhall bring forth more fruit in their Age*, &c.

11. Thus it was with *Abraham*; he had feared God in his youth, and obeyed him in his Mature age; and though he obtained a ſon by miraculous means in his old age: yet was he not more *joyful* at his birth and growth, then *ready* to give him again to God in his beſt age. He did unto God, in this particular, as God had done to him; nay he did as he deſired God ſhould do to him: and God did to him above what he could deſire, becauſe he was ſo ready to do what God commanded him: He took and offered *Iſaac* his ſon, his only ſon, in whom both he and all the nations of the earth, as he hoped, ſhould be bleſſed; and God in lieu of this his obedience and thankfulneſs, promiſeth, and in the fulneſs of Time ſendeth, *his only ſon in whom he was well pleaſed*, to aſſume *Abrahams ſeed*, and to offer himſelf in ſacrifice for the ſins of the world; a ſacrifice for a bleſſing to all mankind. Thus, if we ſhew our ſelves truly thankful for bleſſings paſt, God gives us, over and above what we could deſire: do we but what he would have done by us, he doth more then we could wiſh ſhould be done for us.

As he offered *Iſaac* his only Son whom he loved in hope to receive him again in a joyful Reſurrection, ſo muſt we offer our deareſt affections, our chief deſires; yea our bodies and ſouls in ſacrifice to him, in hope to receive them glorified and crowned with immortality in the life to come: This is to love God with all our heart, with all our ſoul, with all our ſtrength.

There ſhould be *the ſame mind in us which was in Chriſt Jeſus.* He laid down his life for us, and we ſhould be willing *to lay down ours for our Brethren,* which is the chief and moſt Tranſcendent part of the ſecond Table: but much more ſhould we be willing to offer our lives, or conſecrate our ſelves to his honour and ſervice; to offer our ſelves in ſacrifice to him when he requires, not only in remembrance of what he hath done for us, which we would not for ten thouſand lives but he had done, but in reſpect of *Future Hopes,* which, it were better we had never been, then they ſhould not be accompliſhed.

We look he ſhould in the laſt day acquit us from the accuſations of Satan the great Accuſer; and in the mean time give Teſtimony of us, as his faithful ſervants, to his Father. The duty which we owe to Him, is, in this life to be witneſſes of the truth he taught: to teſtifie unto the world, *that he hath appeared,* by our lives and converſations anſwerable to His; by our readineſs to ſuffer poverty, exile, diſgrace, or ignominious death for defence of His Laws: to fear him whether in life or death.

Titus 2. 11.

A Duty ſemblable to every deſire. See §. 13.

12. To every thing we can deſire of God, there is *a ſemblable Duty* to be performed by us; without whoſe performance we cannot pray to Him *in Faith.* To *pray in Faith,* is *to be ſo ſurely perſwaded of Gods Benignity,* as to be ready to render up all that he requires of us; to abſtain from thoſe things which we know to be offenſive to him; *eſpecially,* from ſuch as have any particular repugnance to that we ſeek. If we expect God ſhould provide for us as for his children, we muſt honor and reverence Him as an *Almighty and everlaſting Father.* If we deſire he ſhould protect us, we muſt fear him as our *Greateſt Lord.* *A ſon honoureth his Father and a ſervant his maſter: If I then be a Father where is my Honour? and if I be a maſter where is my fear? ſaith the Lord of Hoſts unto you.* Mal. 1. 6. *If ye offer the blind for ſacrifice is it not evil? and if ye offer the lame and ſick is it not evil? offer it now unto thy Prince; will he be content with thee, or accept thy perſon? ſaith the Lord of Hoſtes: and now I pray you pray before God that he may have mercy upon us:* This hath *been by your means, will he regard your perſons? ſaith the Lord of Hoſts.* No! they did not *pray in Faith?* For *ſo to pray, preſuppoſeth a fidelity in the diſcharge of duties appointed for their calling.*

God for his part never changeth. *I am the Lord, I change not,* Mal. 3. 6. As if he had ſaid, *This is my nature and eſſence, to be immutable,* And therefore, *Ye ſons of Jacob are not conſumed.* For ſo they had been, unleſs his mercies had continued the ſame; But to do them that good they deſired, or to deal as graciouſly with them as he had done with their fathers, he could not (if with Reverence I may ſo ſpeak) becauſe of their infidelity or unbelief (for which cauſe the Evangeliſt ſaith, Chriſt could not work many miracles amongſt His Countrymen *Matth.* 13. 58.) *From the dayes of your Fathers you are gone away from mine Ordinances, and have not kept them.*

Pſ. 78. 38.

Now there muſt needs have been a change in God if he had dealt as bountifully with this back ſliding Generation as with their Godly Predeceſſors that had been ſtedfaſt in his Covenant. But let them be as their fathers were, and He will be to them as he was to their Fathers; For he is no accepter of perſons, but rewardeth every one according to his works. Wherefore he ſaith, *Return unto me and I will return unto you,* ver. 7. But they were ſo far from returning, that they would ſcarce acknowledg their ſin. For *they ſaid, wherein ſhall we return?* They ſhould have done unto their God accordingly as they deſired he ſhould do to them. They deſired *the Lord* ſhould bleſs them as *Moſes* had ſpoken, *In the City and in the field*; *in the fruit of their bodies and in the fruit of their grounds*; *in the fruit of their cattel, and in the increaſe of their kine, and in the flocks of their ſheep*, Deut 28. 4. But God at this time had done to them (in ſome ſort) as they had done to him. *They had robbed him in tithes and offrings*, ver. 8. *Therefore were they curſed with a curſe*, ver. 9. Notwithſtanding, if they would deal better with him, he aſſures them he will deal better with them. *Bring ye all the Tithes into the Storehouſe, that there may be meat in mine houſe, and prove me herewith, ſaith the Lord of Hoſtes if I will not open the windows of Heaven unto you, and pour you out a Bleſſing without meaſure:* And *I will rebuke the Devourer for your ſakes, and he ſhall not devour the fruit of your ground*; *neither ſhall the Vine be barren in the field, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts. And all nations ſhall call you bleſſed, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts.*

As he that had wrong'd his brother was the forwarder to repine againſt *Moſes*, ſo *the words* of ſuch in this people, as had moſt robbed and ſpoiled God. *were moſt ſtout againſt him.* They ſaid, *It was in vain to ſerve God.* And *what profit is it that we have kept his Commandments?* And *that we have walked humbly before the Lord of Hoſts? Therefore they accounted the proud bleſſed even they that work wickedneſs are ſet up*; *and they that tempt God, yea they, are delivered.* It is not likely that they would thus ſpeak *with their mouthes*, for ſo they ſhould have had no occaſion to demand as they did. V. 13. *What have we ſpoken againſt thee?* But, that they thought in their hearts, *That God did not reſpect them according to their deſerts*, or that his Bounty had not been ſo great to them as to their Fathers. If they ſaid not, they thought with *Gideon*, *Ah my Lord! if the Lord be with us, why then is all this come upon us? and where be his miracles which our Fathers have told us? and ſaid, did not the Lord bring us out of Egypt? But now the Lord hath forſaken us and delivered us into the hand of the Midianites.*

He thought this change was in God, not in himſelf, or in his Countrymen. As moſt men at this day think, that God is not as ready to hear our prayers as he was to hear the *Iſraelites*, or the Fathers in the primitive Church. When as the reaſon why he hears them not, is, becauſe we are not ſo ready to do *His will.* If we perform any obedience to his Laws, it is, for the moſt part, ſuch as thoſe murmurers did: we offer unto him either the vile, or the lame, or elſe but half that which is due: and yet perſwade our ſelves we deal bountifully with him too. In fine, we do ſo much as ſerves to ground a Pharaſaical conceit of our ſelves, not ſo much, or not ſo ſincerely, as may induce *our God, who knows our hearts*, to think well of us; We do not ſo to him as we deſire he ſhould do to us; for we deſire that he ſhould bleſs us above the ordinary means of humane forecaſt or procurement, but we adventure not any practice injoyned by him further then we ſee good probability for; whereas, the Honour and Glory we owe unto Him, as our Father and our King, as the Lord our God, is *to hope above hope*, to rely upon his providence that proſpereth beyond all poſſibility of good ſpeed that we know, can foreſee or imagine. *He that will ſave his life*, as our Saviour ſaith, *muſt reſolve to loſe it.* That is (according to the equity of *this Rule*) whoſoever deſires God to beſtow upon him that immortal and far better Life, muſt be in heart and mind reſolved to reſign this mortal life into his hand, whenſoever he ſhall demand it. Oft-times we come to loſe this mortal life it ſelf, by too much charineſs or intemperate deſires to keep it. Such as fear death more then Gods diſpleaſure, oft-times incur both; when as he that neglects all care of life, by Gods extraordinary

See St. *Baſil de* 40. *Martyr.*

extraordinary mercy and care hath his life given him for a prey. As it is ſaid to *Baruch.* * *Jer.*45.5. Or as it is promiſed by God in the fore-cited third of *Malachi*, ver. 16. *Then ſpake they that feared the Lord every one to his neighbor* (to wit, to honour the Lord as he required) *and the Lord hearkened and heard it, and a book of Remembrance was written before him, for them that feared the Lord and that thought upon his Name: And they ſhall be to me, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts, in that day that I ſhall do this, for a Flock, and I will ſpare them as a man ſpareth his own ſon that ſerveth him. Then ſhall you return and diſcern betwixt the righteous and the wicked, betwixt him that ſerveth God and him that ſerveth him not.*

* See the Sermons upon that Text. Chap. 35, 36.

13. By the equity of the *ſame Rule* we gather, that he which deſires God ſhould bleſs him with extraordinary riches (that is, ſend him ſuch riches as ſhall be a bleſſing unto him, for to many they are a curſe) muſt reſolve, as *Solomon* ſpeaks, *to caſt his bread upon the waters*, to be open ſo more open-handed to the poor, then he can ſee any probability in humane reaſon how it ſhould hold out, referring the iſſue to God, who will bleſs us over and above that we can deſire or can procure by ordinary care, ſo we in ſincerity of heart, not out of vain oſtentation, be liberal and bountiful over and above the *Rate* of our ordinary means.

If we deſire God ſhould ſend down a ſecret bleſſing upon our ſtore, we ſhould do alms ſo ſecret that the left hand ſhould not know what the right hand gave. He that will honour the Lord with his ſubſtance, ſhall have his Barns filled with abundance, *Prov.* 3.9. And the reaſon why many a poor mans ſtore is not extraordinarily increaſed, as the Sareptan Widows was, is, becauſe, out of their penury they do not miniſter to others that are in greater neceſſity then themſelves; eſpecially to ſuch as are dear in Gods ſight, as his Prophets or Meſſengers. We may not perhaps deſire that God ſhould work ſuch a miracle in our dayes, *For the manner*, but he can and will give as extraordinary increaſe by meanes ordinary, though not uſual: For his promiſe is ſtill the ſame, *Firſt ſeek the Kingdom of Heaven and the righteouſneſs thereof, and all thoſe things*, which the world cares for, *ſhall be added unto you.*

God bleſſeth not us Miniſters with ſuch ſtore of temporal things as we deſire, becauſe we miniſter not ſpiritual things to you in ſuch meaſure as he commands: And God bleſſeth not you with ſuch ſtore of ſpiritual inſtruction as you do or ſhould deſire, becauſe you are backward in miniſtring temporal things to Gods Honour.

To conclude, as we muſt be *perfect* as God is perfect (though not *ſo perfect* as he is *perfect*) ſo muſt we do to him as we deſire he ſhould do to us, though not in the ſame meaſure.

If we deſire Glory *and* Immortality of him, *which is the participation of his Divine Nature*, we muſt firſt be holy, as He is holy. If we ſeek for bodily health, we muſt uſe temperance and abſtinence in our Diet.

You need not fear as if this Doctrine came near Popery. *That we muſt do that which is Good, ere we obtain that which we deſire of God*, is the Doctrine of *Our Church*, in the *Collect* appointed for the fourteenth Sunday after *Trinity*.

ALmighty and everlaſting God, Give unto us the increaſe of Faith, Hope, *and* Charity: *And that we may obtain that which thou doſt* promiſe, *make us to* love *that which thou doſt* command: (*eſpecially make us to love the great Commandments of loving Thee, O Lord, above all, with all our hearts, with all our ſouls, with all our ſtrength; and our neighbors as our ſelves:*) *Through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. Amen.*

Tom. III.

The Third Sermon upon this Text.

CHAP. XXXIV.

MATTH. 7. 12.

Therefore, all things whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do unto you, do ye even ſo unto them, &c.

The Impediments that obſtruct the Practiſe of this Duty, of Doing to others as we would have done to our ſelves, *are chiefly Two.* 1. Hopes and deſires *of attaining better eſtates then we at preſent have.* 2. Fears *of falling into worſe. Two ready Wayes to* the Duty. 1. *To wean our ſouls into an* Indifferency, *or vindicate them into a* Liberty *in reſpect of all Objects.* 2. *To keep in mind alwayes a perfect Character of our own Afflictions and Releaſes or Comforts.* Two Inconveniences *ariſing from accerſite greatneſs or proſperity.* 1. *It makes men defective in performing the* Affirmative part of this Duty. 2. *It makes them perform ſome part of the* Affirmative *with the violation of the* Negative part *thereof. A Fallacy diſcovered. An uſeful general Rule.*

1. THe *third Point* propoſed (*Chapter* 32. §. 5.) was, *concerning the beſt means and method of putting this Rule in Practiſe.* And we ſhall the ſooner find out *Theſe,* if we can diſcover thoſe *impediments* which uſually either diſable or detain men from *doing to others as they would be done unto themſelves.*

The original and principal *Impediment* of this practiſe, is, becauſe we *cannot,* or *will not, or do not,* ſufficiently and impartially propoſe other mens *Caſes* as our own. And this falls out oft-times, becauſe we are ignorant what our own deſires would be in many *Caſes*; and therefore having *no Rule* within our ſelves we cannot practiſe *This* to the behoof of others. It is ſeen by experience that ſuch as have the freſh prints or bleeding ſcars of any calamity upon themſelves, will be moſt compaſſionate to others ſuffering the like. The reaſon is, Theſe men cannot but propoſe other mens afflictions as their own; They know well what they themſelves have deſired to be done unto them in like calamity: and according to the full meaſure of their own deſires, ariſeth an Alacrity and readineſs to relieve others. The ſight or notification of other mens miſeries, caſts them as it were by a Relapſe into a Fit of their own: ſo, as they are afflicted whilſt others are tormented, and for this Reaſon are drawn by *Sympathy* to do to others, as it hath been, or as they deſired it ſhould have been, done to them; to bring themſelves out of their preſent pain.

Thus far nature doth lead us without any actual Intention of mind, or conſideration of performing this duty as injoyned us either by the Law of *Nature* or of *Grace.* And if we would, as they ſay, but *let nature work,* it would teach us more particulars of every kind, and how to propoſe every mans Caſe (of like nature) as our own. But ſuch is our natural folly, that we learn not many of theſe leſſons; but only ſuch as experience teacheth us. Herein then is the difference between the fooliſh, and men ſpiritually wiſe. Experience in the one ſets nature a working. In the other, Reaſon, aſſiſted by Grace, from one or two experiments draws general Rules.

2. The impediments which hinder us either in taking a true *eſtimate* of our deſires, or performing that to others which we our ſelves would deſire, are theſe. *Our eager Deſires either of being in better eſtate then we are*; or *our Fears of being in worſe*. Theſe are ſuch ſowre door-keepers as will not ſuffer any other mens deſires or notifications of their miſeries to enter into our ſouls, or to make any impreſſion upon them. If our ſouls or affections were neither inclined much *this way* nor *that way*, but ſtood *at the Puſh*, The bare ſight of any others affection whether joyful or ſad would poſſeſs us with the like. But whilſt our ſouls are faſt tyed and led captive by ſome one deſire or other unto ſome one Object or other (as commodity, pleaſure, honour, advancement or the like,) they cannot eaſily be drawn any other way. Yea oft times the propoſal of others miſeries, makes ſouls ſo affected, cleek the faſter hold; becauſe they apprehend, that to relieve or ſupply thoſe, would (in ſuch proportion) leſſen and weaken the means of effecting what they deſire and have purpoſed to effect. Thus if one that hath ſet his ſoul on riches ſee his brother pinched with want and penury, he ſtreight imagines, that poverty is the mother of miſery, and the more he gives, the nearer he ſhall bring himſelf to poverty; and this incites his deſire both of increaſing and retaining what he hath already got, that ſo he may be the better fenced againſt poverty, which he fears coming upon him as an armed man. If he ſhould part but with a peny, or ſome ſmall tribute, he thinks himſelf *quite undone*, *crying like the miſer in* Horace,

Quod ſi comminuas vilem redigatur ad aſſem.

So likewiſe the ambitious man if he ſee one cruſhed or kept down for want of means, he is not ſo much affected with his Caſe, as ſeeks to prevent (if it were poſſible all poſſibility of) the like in himſelf, and ſo ſeeking, hales all to himſelf, never conſidering by whoſe wants his increaſe of honour ſhall ariſe. If unto theſe you oppoſe one that relies upon Gods providence, and ſeeks to content himſelf with what is preſent, rather then to entertain great hopes for the future; or one that thinks not, how much better eſtate then he many others have, but thanks God it is ſo well with him, and knows it may be worſe; his mind is eaſily moved to a fellow-feeling of others calamity, becauſe it is not faſtened to contrary hopes, but ſtands rather in ſuſpenſe and more inclinable to expect a meaner, then to hope for a better eſtate.

The beſt means to put the duty in practiſe.

3. The *beſt Method* therefore for right practizing of *This Rule* will be, *To keep our ſouls as clear as the apple of our eye*; to view all eſtates, but not to be dazelled with the glory of any: To Frame our hearts ſo as they may take impreſſion from any other mans eſtate, good or bad, but not to ſuffer the deſire of any to incorporate in them. For as, when the colour of any object is inherent in the ſight, it hinders the impreſſion of all others; ſo the deſire of any ſenſible Good, if it be incorporate in our hearts, will hinder us in the Eſtimate of far better, and make us unapt to Sympathize with our Brethren. *I may do all things* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *but I will not be brought under the power of any thing*; that is, he would ſo love all ſenſible good, as upon occaſion to be content to hate it; he would not faſten his deſires upon it, for ſo it ſhould command him, not he uſe it. He knew to uſe the world as if he uſed it not, he knew how to abound and how to want. The former Reſolution was the Root of thoſe branches of *this Duty*; *who is weak and I am not weak? who is offended and I burn not?* His preſerving himſelf free, vvas that vvhich made him as apt to take the impreſſions

of others affections, as the eye is to take the ſhapes of viſibles. Hence was it that he could *become all unto all*, being not in ſubjection to any thing: *Et mihi res, non me rebus ſubmittere Conor.* But we who have not attained to this liberty of mind, nor can altogether caſt off this yoke of ſervitude, but have our ſouls as it were overcharged with many unneceſſary delights and worldly deſires, had ſo much the more need of counterpoizes to bring them back to their *Æquilibrium*, to ſuch a ſtate of *Indifferencie* as may eaſily be inclined to compaſſion.

Keep an exact Regiſter or Calendar of our Good and evil dayes.

4. There is no man I think of riper years but hath taſted afflictions at one time or other of divers kinds; and hath been acquainted with comforts of as many. The true Character of both ſhould be throughly imprinted in our minds whilſt they are freſh; and daily renewed by meditation or propoſal of the ſame or like. If we could truly take and ſo retain the true meaſure and eſtimate either of our grief in calamity or comfort upon Releaſe, Theſe would ſerve us as ſo many *Keyes* or tunes of ſongs gotten by heart, ſo as we ſhould no ſooner hear another ſound the like *Note* but preſently we ſhould conſort with him: and if his caſe were mournful we ſhould eaſe him by participation of his ſorrow, and ſeek remedy for it as if it were our own. He that never had experience of calamity, his miſery is the greater; and he ſhould do well to make it the leſs, *by going to the Houſe of mourning.* Meditation will work whatſoever Experience doth, *Gutta cavat Lapidem, &c.* Others tears, would we be much converſant among the mourners, would pierce at length even hearts of ſtone.

The *Former method* was that which the Lord himſelf ſo oft inculcates to the *Iſraelites, Remember that ye were ſtrangers, &c.* He expected that the remembrance hereof ſhould make them like affected to ſtrangers and apt to mourn with them as they had done for themſelves, and to afford ſtrangers ſuch comforts as he had afforded them.

This Precept was five or ſix times at the leaſt repeated to them. And not only they that had lived in a ſtrange Land, the Land of *Ægypt*, but their poſterity were bound to celebrate for ever the memorial of their fore-fathers eſtate. For this Reaſon whilſt they reaped Gods benefits in the Land of Promiſe, they were to leave ſomewhat for the poor and for the ſtranger, as it is expreſly commanded four ſeveral times, *Lev.* 19. 9. and 23. 22. and 25. 3. and *Deut.* 24. 19.

All which Laws are not ſo far yet aboliſhed, but that we may, upon our deliverance from any grief, miſery, or deſtruction, conſecrate ſome part of our goods, endeavours, or imployments, to comfort ſuch as are any where viſited with the like, and by the ſolemnity of ſuch Acts to renew the decaying memory of Gods mercies towards us: So doing, God will remember us with like mercies again. But if we ſuffer his mercy to ſlip out of our minds, by neglecting our brethren ſtanding in need of ſuch comfort, we ſhall cry and not be heard, when calamity ſhall come upon us, like the unclean ſpirit with more then thrice doubled force.

Surely, either This, or ſome practiſe Æquivalent to this; is as neceſſary to us as to the *Iſraelites.* For we are all ſubject to that πληθώρα, whereof the Lord ſo often fore-warned *Iſrael.* Even ſuch as ſeem moſt upright, when once they wax fat, ſpurn with the heel, and caſt the memories of their miſeries and Gods former mercies behind their Backs. *Thou art fat, thou art groſs, thou art laden with fatneſs*, ſaith God to *Iſrael*, *Deut.* 32. 15. *Therefore he forſook God that made him, and regarded not the ſtrong God of his ſalvation.* Yet did *the Lord* look that *Iſrael* ſhould have proved upright.

What vvas the Reaſon that he waxed thus full and fat?

Only becauſe he did not uſe that Exerciſe which *God* appointed to keep him under, and his heart from being lifted up. *Deut.* 8. 11. *Take heed*, ſaith the Lord, *leaſt when thou haſt eaten and filled thy ſelf, and haſt built goodly houſes and dwelt therein, and thy beaſts and thy ſheep are increaſed, and thy ſilver and thy gold is multiplied; and all that thou haſt is increaſed; then thy heart be lifted up, and thou forget the Lord thy God which brought thee out of the Land of Egypt; out of the houſe of Bondage.*

The daily and lively Repreſentation or Recognition of this their eſtate ſhould have been as uſual to them as their meat and drink; yea, as it vvere, their thankſgiving before and after meals. Their viſitation of others with mercy and kindneſs, ſhould have been as a perpetual Homage for their Redemption. Theſe practiſes would have kept the Childrens minds at the ſame equable temper which their fathers were at, upon their firſt deliverance. And leaſt any man ſhould think this people to have been by nature more groſs, and ſo more ſubject to this diſeaſe, then vve our ſelves are, let us conſider how eaſily all conceit of former calamity vvill ſlip out of our minds without ſuch *ſolemn Recognition* of it.

5. The nature of any Good is better perceived, *Carendo quam fruendo.* And for this reaſon men in adverſity can too well remember former proſperity. Thus the *Iſraelites* were no ſooner hungry in the vvilderneſs, but fall a longing after the fleſh-pots of *Egypt*. *Extremity of want adds ſo many degrees of Goodneſs to things indifferent or ſcarce tolerable in their kind!* What would their murmurings have been? Or how ill vvould they have brooked this exchange, if they had been fed with delicates from *Pharaoh*'s Table? But the nature of any evil is never throughly known but *Patiendo.* And for this cauſe, fulneſs or proſperity expells the conceit of vvant, as groſſer bodies do air out of ſuch places as they are infuſed into: Unleſs there be a viciſſitude or change, if not laid upon us by *the Almighty*, yet voluntarily undertaken; by renouncing the uſe of vvhat we might injoy, or by uſing proſperity as if vve uſed it not: and ſometime in our greateſt proſperity by viſiting the Houſe of Mourning, and taking or renewing acquaintance vvith the Children of Affliction. *Bleſſed is the Rich,* ſaith the Son of *Sirach, which is found without blemiſh, and hath not gone after Gold, which hath been tried thereby and found perfect, &c. Ecclus.* 31. 8, *&c.*

Ecclus. 11. 25, 27.

Thus proſperity obliterates all former print or mark of adverſity, even in ſuch as deſire no greater things then at preſent they enjoy; that they cannot do to others in adverſity, as they would be done unto. Becauſe they know not what the meaſure of their own deſires vvould be. What men do not actually apprehend as evil, or are not touched vvith, they cannot have any deſire to redreſs in themſelves, much leſs can they relieve or comfort ſuch, of vvhoſe miſeries they have no ſenſe or *intelligent conſideration.*

Pſal. 41. 1. *Beatus qui intelligit ſuper pauperem.*

For theſe Reaſons and others formerly mentioned, thoſe men are more unapt, or more averſe from *Commiſeration*, that are ſtill in chaſe or purſuit of greater wealth, honour, or preferment. The putting on of a better Eſtate puts away all memory of their own former; and all reſpect to other mens preſent miſeries: For when hopes are ſped and delights ſtrong, the good obtained puts, as it were, a new tincture or die upon the mind.

That theſe are the natural effects of ſuch as long after growth and promotion, might eaſily be proved by Induction, if the enumeration of particulars, which theſe our times have afforded, were ſafe. It fares ſo with ſuch men in the exchange of fortunes or eſtates, as it doth in change of Diet. Such as find good reliſh in courſeſt fare (whilſt they be in ſtrait condition) uſed to a better, without intermiſſion, though but for ſome ſhort ſpace, have no taſt at all of the former. And afterward uſed to a more fine and curious Table, begin to loath or not to like that which wrought out the Reliſh of the firſt; and ſo on by degrees until they come to that paſs, that they can reliſh nought but dainties. So is it with many in our dayes; who in their younger years could for the affinity of their fortunes have ſympathized with the pooreſt ſoul that goes from door to door; Theſe a little promoted, *know not what the petitions of the poor, mean*; they are ſtrangers to their very language: They cannot conceive what their own deſires would be in ſuch an eſtate. The ſuppoſal of ſuch mens caſes for their own, is *A Suppoſition of impoſſibility.* Advanced yet a little higher; they forget what they late have been; and are now further from taking notice of any inferior, living in that Rank from which they lately roſe, though their *ingenuous Brother*, perhaps their better every way (unleſs we value them as men do Sheep or Oxen, by the price of money which they are worth) then they were at their firſt Riſe, from renewing acquaintance with the meaneſt.

Two great inconveniencies of wealth and greatneſs unduly ſought.

6. The ***Inconveniences*** ariſing from this kind of proſperity be Two.

Firſt, It cauſeth a ***great Defect*** in the performance of the Affirmative part of this Precept [***Do as you would be done to.***] They cannot perform it *in Chriſtian ſort*; that is, with inward alacrity or cheerfulneſs; but only outwardly and for faſhion ſake, unleſs it be to perſons of their own Rank, whoſe evils and calamities they can apprehend as their own.

Secondly, which is the worſt of evils that can be imagined; whilſt they perform ſome Branches of the ***Affirmative Precept***, that is, whilſt they ſeek to pleaſure others in their eager deſires of preferment, or ſuch things wherein they would be pleaſured again, they bring a neceſſity upon themſelves of tranſgreſſing ***the Negative part of this Precept***, that is, *Of doing that to others which they would not have done unto themſelves, if they were in their Caſe.* I am perſwaded, That the miſeries which fall upon the inferior ſorts of men, by the mutual deſires of great men to do one to another, as they would be done unto; (that is, by pleaſuring one another in their ſuits of honour, preferment, or inlarging their eſtates;) are more then all that God doth otherwiſe lay upon ***them*** in this life. Many thouſands whom God never curſed, are by theſe means forced to ſeek their bread in ſtony places. And is it poſſible that any man can perſwade himſelf, that if he were in ſuch poor mens Caſes he ſhould be well pleaſed with their dealings, who ſeek to enlarge their ſuperfluities by the certain diminiſhing of other mens neceſſaries for life? And yet who is he almoſt that thinks he doth not obſerve ***this Precept*** well enough, if he be willing to do another man ***as good a Turn*** as he expects from him, although he know not to whoſe harm it may redound? If no determinate perſon, for the preſent feel the ſmart, they think Conſcience hath no cauſe to cry. As if ***God Almighty*** did not ſee as well what evil will hereafter inſue as what is preſent; and did not puniſh immoderate deſires which neceſſarily bring on with them publick Calamities, as well as outragious but private Facts.

7. With this Fallacy, ***A Dicto ſecundum quid ad Simpliciter***, we uſually deceive our ſelves in the performance of ***this Duty.*** We think it

ſufficient,

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See Fol. 582.

ſufficient, to do as we have been done to, or if we do to ſome *one* or *few* as we expect from them, or as we could deſire to be done unto if their Caſe were ours. Whereas, we ſhould examin it, not from our Affection to *This* or *That* man, but by our *Indifferencie of receiving and Returning* good towards All. Oft times to do one man good may be conjoyned with ſome others harm whom we have more reaſon to reſpect. And here we may quickly miſtake in the propoſal of their *Exigence* as our own. *If you fulfill the Royal Law according to the Scripture, which ſaith, Thou ſhalt love thy neighbor as thy ſelf, ye do well*, ſaith St. *James*, Ch. 2.4. *But if ye regard perſons, ye commit ſin, and are rebuked of the Law as Tranſgreſſors.* The Apoſtles Diſcourſe in that place, infers as much as I have ſaid. And his meaning is,that which *our Saviour* had taught in the Parable of the *Samaritan:* That *every man*, as man, *is our neighbor*;and therefore *this Duty* of loving others as our ſelves;and doing as we would be done unto, was to be performed to all alike, *without reſpect of perſons*; For that which we are to reſpect, is, *the Exigence of their eſtate*. So much is *Formally and Eſſentially* included in *the Duty it ſelf*. Not that we may not be more ready to do good to one man then to another, for this we may do without reſpect of Perſons. Do good to all, but *eſpecially to ſuch as are of the Houſhold of Faith*. The Object of *this Duty* is man, *as man*, in his lawful deſires. Our love then or readineſs of doing good muſt be increaſed, according to the juſt exigences of their deſires, where *Theſe are equal*, our deſire of doing good may be augmented according to particular reſpects of nearneſs,&c. as, *To a Chriſtian before a Turk*, to an *Engliſh man* before another. For if we muſt love others as our ſelves we muſt be moſt ready to reſpect that in others which we(*in a Regular Way*) deſire ſhould be moſt reſpected in our ſelves.

Now (next to eternal happineſs) life and the neceſſities thereof we moſt reſpect. And if we ſtand in danger of loſing the one, or ſuffer want of the other, we deſire that *thoſe main Chances* (as we ſay) may be ſecured before we begin to hunt after pleaſures or ſuperfluities. If then we muſt *Do to all men* as we would be done unto,without reſpect of perſons, that is, excluding none; we muſt firſt relieve the neceſſities of ſuch as want, and tender the life of ſuch as are in ſickneſs or danger; and then if occaſion require, we may requite or deſerve kindneſſes in matters of innocuous pleaſure, as in feaſting, ſporting, furthering mens advancements, or the like. Otherwiſe, to reſpect the pleaſuring of a *Dear Friend in theſe*, before *the Relief of an Enemies neceſſities* is prepoſterous and a breach of the Law, Becauſe it is *to have reſpect* of perſons.

8. The *Rule is General* in all *Chriſtian duties*. *Our affections muſt be directed to the Adæquate Object* (as we term it) *and ſet, not more upon one part then another, but upon every eſſential part alike.* Or, if any increaſe of affection or liking be to be made, it ſhould alwayes proceed from the increaſe of *ſome Exigence eſſentially included* in the right *Motive* or Ground of our affection, or from ſome *Actual Intention of that Quality* or Property in ſome part of the Object which is the *Modus Conſiderandi*, or,which is the allurement or Term of our deſires or affections. Otherwiſe ſetting our affections more upon one part than upon another, *for ſome Extrinſecal or Accidental Reaſons* not included (as we ſay) *in modo Conſiderandi*, in the *Formal Reaſon* or property of the Object, the obſerving of our duty in that part, doth uſually inforce a Defalcation or breach of it in ſome other; juſt as uneven and irregular zeal to one or ſome few Commandments doth alwayes produce a diſpenſing with or neglect of the reſt.

Such mixt deeds are like a Linſy-wolſey Garment; or plowing with an Ox and an Aſs yoked: or ſowing miſcellan.

Enſe Thyeſtæo pœnas exegit Oreſtes.

Oreſtes, in ſeeking to Revenge his Fathers unnatural violent Death, did no otherwiſe then he himſelf vvould have given the Son of his Body in charge, if he had lyen upon his Death-bed. But yet he ought this honour to his cruel and adulterous Mother, to have let her die at leaſt by ſome others Hands; not to have imbrued his own in her blood; not to have taken life from that body from which he received life. The Poets Cenſure of his Fact is acute.

Mixtum cum pietate nefas, dubitandaque Cædis
Gloria maternæ laudem cum crimine penſat.

A righteous man, ſaith *Solomon*, *is merciful to his beaſt*; *but the mercies of the wicked are cruel.*

Pity upon dumb beaſts is commanded in the Law (eſpecially to ſuch as do man ſervice.) And he that is merciful unto them upon a true reſpect, in as much as they are partakers vvith us of Life and ſenſe, and communicate vvith us in our more general nature, will be more merciful unto man his fellow-creature; but much more unto his brother in Chriſt; moſt of all to his fellow members in any civil and Chriſtian Society: For all theſe are included *eſſentially* in the Object of *this duty*, of loving our neighbor as our ſelves. Theſe are nearer bonds of brotherhood and neighborhood: and the more ſuch bonds vve have, the more vve are Neighbors.

See Chap.29. §.9.Fol.582.

9. The modern Turks are very obſervant of this *Rule of Solomon* in one part, for no man vvas ever more merciful to his beaſt then they are to ſome domeſtick creatures; but not upon ſuch motives, or conſiderations as are directly contained in the complete Object of true pity and mercy: for they are ſo fooliſhly affectionate to Dogs, that for a ſmall harm done to them, they will not ſtick to kill an honeſt man: ſuch cruelty is in their mercy: It may juſtly be denominated from the Object, A dogged Pity.

Theſe *Rules* or *Caveats* (Beloved in our Lord) *Firſt*, Of reſpecting the Exigencies of mens lawful deſires; *Secondly*, Of not doing to ſome one man as we vvould have done to us vvithout conſideration what may befall another vvhich vve vvould not have befall us; This again, Of doing according to the *Eſſential grounds* or motives of performing this duty: As they concern all (for inlarging the affections, and directing any Readineſs to do good to others) ſo do they *moſt of all* concern ſuch as have the overſight of our ſouls; ſuch as are put in truſt vvith the diſpenſation of the good things belonging thereto, amongſt ſuch as have a common right to them. They eſpecially ſhould have a care that they do not more affect One then another, in beſtowing of any publick Favours, but according to the *Exigence* of their eſtates, or according to their obedience and performance of the publick conſtitutions by which they live. As this concerns all ſuch Societies, ſo moſt of all, Societies of Students. For ſuch as are given to Attick ſtudies, are uſually ſubject to Attick affections; *Qui vult ingenio cedere rarus erit.* Every exceſs of favours in ſuch Caſes, is a Teſtimony of exceſs of worth in thoſe things vvherein they can hardlieſt brook compariſons. Hence,

I ſuppoſe this was preached at St. *Ma.* in *Oxon.*

——Manet alta mente repoſtum
Judicium Paridis ſpretæque injuria formæ.

As the wound is deep and grievous, ſo is it very dangerous in ſuch as live daily together in one houſe, and meet at one diſh: for living apart the vvound might quickly cloſe, and heal vvithout a ſkar; whilſt the ſight of his *Æmulus* or competitor, doth rub and grate upon his ſore, and cauſeth ſuch bitter Exulcerations, as oft bewray their inward grief or diſdain in outward geſtures: yea oft times I am affraid have cauſed His wounds to bleed afreſh by whoſe ſtripes we were healed, and by whoſe blood which was ſhed for us we hope to be cleanſed.

Thoſe perſons who are of this diſpoſition muſt needs be intreated to ſtudy *moderation of Deſires*; and to think of others better then their ſelves, at leaſt of ſuch as are in place before them. And *you that are in place of Authority*, unto whoſe care and truſt the diſpenſation of the good things of *this place* are left, let me in the Bowels of Chriſt Jeſus beſeech you (even as you will anſwer it at the laſt day) *not to have the Faith of our glorious Lord Jeſus Chriſt in reſpect of perſons.* I ſpeak chiefly to the ſons of *Levi:* Let me beſeech *you* (for a Cloſe) to remember what was our Father *Levi* his praiſe; or rather what the Commendation of his *Function in the Abſtract*; what was the Foundation of his Peace; the Ground of Gods Covenant of mercy and long life with him; was it not this? as *Moſes* tells us, *Deut.* 33. 9. *He ſaid unto his father and to his mother,* I have not ſeen him; *neither knew he his brethren, nor acknowledged his own children: for they obſerved thy word, O Lord, and keept thy Covenant.*

They ſhall teach Jacob *thy Judgments and* Iſrael *thy Law. They ſhall put incenſe before thy face and the Burnt-offering upon thine Altar.*

Lord! Let thine Urim and thy Thummim be ſtill with thine Holy one. Bleſs O Lord *his ſubſtance, and accept the work of his hands:* ſmite through the Loines of them *that riſe againſt him and of them that hate him that they riſe not again.* Amen.

The Former Sermon upon this Text.

CHAP. XXXV.

JEREM. 45. *v.* 2.

Thus ſaith the Lord——unto thee, O Baruch,

Verſe 3. *Thou didſt ſay, wo is me now! for the Lord hath added grief to my ſorrow: I fainted in my ſighing and find no reſt.*

Verſe 4. *Thus ſhalt thou ſay unto him——, Behold that which I have built will I break down, and that which I have planted will I pluck up, even this whole Land.*

Verſe 5. *And ſeekeſt Thou great things for thy ſelf! ſeek them not: For behold I will bring evil upon all Fleſh, ſaith the Lord: But thy life will I give unto thee for a prey in all places whither thou goeſt.*

Little *and* Great *Termes of Relation. Two* Doctrines. *One* Corallary. *Times and occaſions alter the nature of Things otherwiſe Lawful. Good men ſhould take the help of The* Antiperiſtaſis *of bad times to make themſelves Better.* Sympathy *with others in miſery, injoyned in Scripture; practiſed by Heathens: Argia, and Portia. The* Corollary *proved by Inſtance, and That made the* Application *of the* Former *doctrine.*

Nothing is called Little or great but in Compariſon with other things.

1. IT is as true in matter of deſire, as in materials ſubject to ſight, or other bodily ſenſe; *Magnum aut parvum non dicitur, niſi cum reſpectu.* The different bounds of Great and Little cannot be determined but by their References; The leaſt Body that is, is not little in reſpect of the ſeveral parts, whereunto it may be divided. No *Part* can be ſaid *Great*, in reſpect of *the whole*, whence it is taken. Of the largeſt Country in *Europe* we may ſay; *Quota pars terrarum?* Little *England* is a competent ſtyle for our native Country compared with *France*, *Spain*, or *Germany*. And yet *Armorica* with reference to *England* is truly inſtiled Little *Britain*. Within the leſs of theſe two Provinces, it would be matter of no long ſearch to find Huge Mole-hills, and ſuch petty hills as cannot deſerve the name of Mountains.

And in the Revolutions of times, the exigence of ſome peculiar ſeaſons may truly argue Extraordinary favours in ordinary Gifts; large bounties in ſmall Donatives: yea great exceſs as well in the matter as in the manner of ſuch deſires, as at other times would come ſhort of mediocrity.

For a man deſcended, and qualified ſo well as *Baruch* (to whom this meſſage was here directed) to ſet up his ſtaff at a Levites lodging door, reſolved to live contented with a poor bed, a ſtool, and a Candleſtick in a corner of ſome Country village; may with Reference to *modern* Practiſes ſeem to argue rather great moderation of deſires, then any immoderate deſire of great matters. But ſuch are the ſtreights, whereinto *Jeruſalem*, and *Juda* his native Country, now are brought; That to uſe the whole Latitude of his lawful wonted liberties, were to tranſgreſs the bounds of Religious diſcretion; yea, to outrage in licentiouſneſs. So heavy were the burthens, which the Lord had laid upon the mothers neck, that for her beſt born ſons not to ſtoop at her dejection, bewrayes in them a ſtubborn ſpirit of untimely ambition.

Lev.23.27.

2. The leaſt quantity of food that could be aſſigned, was more then this people might lawfully take during the time of their ſolemn faſts. And the meaneſt external contentments, which *Baruch* at this inſtant could affect, muſt needs be deemed *A great matter*, becauſe too much in theſe dayes of publick ſorrow and diſcomfort. All he ſought for, was to be freed from the danger, diſgrace, and ſcorn of *Great Ones*, in whom he ſaw matter, ſtore, of Juſt reproof, but little hope of amendment. And who will be forward to procure his own harm, by free ſpeeches, without probability of doing others good? *Baruch* had once adventured to read all the *Woes of* this Propheſie in a ſolemn aſſembly of all ſorts; A taſk, which with fair pretence of conſcience might eaſily have been avoided by him; *If reading the word of God* (as he found it penned by others) *might in no Caſe go for preaching*. Unleſs the Lord had hid them; he for reading, and *Jeremy* for indicting; had been uſed, perhaps, as the Roll was, wherein this burthen was written, Now the Roll, *Jehoiakim* King of *Judah* did cut with his pen-knife, and after caſt it into the fire, till it was conſumed; *Jerem*. 36. 23. But though the paper were ſubject to the flame; as Chriſts body (to uſe *Theodorets* application of this Type) was unto death: yet the word of the Lord endures for ever. And this is the word of the Lord, which came to *Jeremy*, and which *Baruch* was to preach (after the King had burnt the Roll and the words, which *Baruch* wrote at the mouth of *Jeremy*;) *Take again another Roll, and write in it all the former words, that were in the firſt Roll, which Jehoiakim the King of Judah burnt.*

And thou ſhalt ſay to Jehoiakim the King of Judah; Thus ſaith the Lord;

Thou haſt burnt this roll, ſaying: why haſt thou written therein ſaying, that the King of Babel ſhall certainly come; and deſtroy this land and ſhall take thence both man and beaſt, &c.

The occaſion of *Baruchs* complaint.

3. *Baruch*'s late perſecution, and hard eſcape (for being the impriſon'd prophets hand and mouth, in notifying the Contents of the former Rolls unto Prince and People) might well make him ſhrink at writing or preaching this latter (being purpoſely repleniſhed with the addition of many like words to the former) becauſe more perſonally directed to *Jehoiakim.*

Out of the abundance either of grief and ſorrow during the time of his Latitation from the Kings Inquiſitors, or out of preſent fear leaſt the Tyrants rage might be enlarged againſt him for undertaking this ſecond Charge impoſed upon him by *Jeremy*; or (as it is likely) upon both occaſions, did he utter thoſe Complaints regiſtred in the third verſe of this Chapter. *Wo is me now! for the Lord hath laid ſorrow unto my ſorrow: I fainted in my mourning, and I can find no reſt.*

But why ſhould it grieve him not to find, what the Lord had commanded him not to ſeek? for this is the Tenor of the meſſage, which *Jeremy* was to deliver unto him: *The Lord ſaith thus. Behold that, which I have built, will I deſtroy: and that which I have planted, will I pluck up, even this whole Land. And ſeekeſt thou great things for thy ſelf? Seek them not, &c.*

Two Doctrines, or two Propoſitions.

4. The ſum of what I principally have, or would have, obſerved out of the words of this Text, may be compriſed in theſe Two Propoſitions.

1. *The deſire of a faithful man, ſpecially of a publick Miniſter, muſt alwayes be ſuited to the condition of the times wherein, and of the parties with whom he lives.*

2. *In times of publick calamity, or deſolation, the bare Donative of life and liberty is a priviledge more to be eſteemed, then the prerogative of Princes.* Or in other Terms, thus. *Exemption from general plagues, is more then a full recompenſe for all the grievances, which attend our miniſterial charge, or ſervice in denouncing them.*

A Corollary added to the former.

Unto the *Former*, (the truth of whoſe Doctrine muſt be the principal ſubject of my preſent meditations) I ſhall add or annex this Uſeful Corollary. *As the intemperate deſire of mirth, of pleaſure, or preferment, in the dayes of publick Calamity is in every private man prepoſterous: So where the humor is general, it is the uſual Symptom of a forlorn or dying State, or fearful ſign that God hath forſaken the land, and people wherein it raigneth. Seekeſt thou great things for thy ſelf? Seek them not, &c.*

What were the great things which *Baruch* ſought? Exceſſive pleaſure, wealth or honour? Any poſitive delight more then ordinary, or ſolace greater, then could agree with his calling? Any exemption from tax, or trouble common to all? The principal, if not the only fault, for which he was taxed by *the Prophet*, was, *his untimely deſire of ordinary eaſe, of freedom from extraordinary and thankleſs pains in ſervice diſtaſtful to the preſent State, and therefore dangerous.*

Did ever the auſtereſt founder of moſt ſuperſtitious ſtrict Orders, tie their followers to a more rigid Rule then *Baruch* here is bound unto? The *Predicant* or begging Frier may interpret his miniſterial Commiſſion in the ſtricteſt ſenſe; He does not ride, but go as bare footed as he was born, to Preach the Goſpel unto every Creature under heaven (unto ſtocks and ſtones, as St. *Francis* his Father, they ſay, hath fondly taught him.)

him.) But unto vvhich of them vvas it by Rule of Founder enjoyned? Or vvhat monkiſh Votary did ever voluntarily undertake to proclaim *Romes* final deſolation in St. *Peters Church* in the year of Jubily? Or menace downfall to red Hats, and the triple Crown in the Conſiſtory? Yet altogether ſuch, no eaſier was the taſk vvhich *Jeremy* had enjoyned *Baruch.*

Was *this Injunction* then given him by vvay of *Counſel*, or neceſſary Precept? Did he ſuper-erogate ought in undertaking? Or had he not grievouſly ſinned in refuſing this neceſſary (but hard and dangerous) ſervice? Surely a Neceſſity (not from the General Law, but from the particular Circumſtances of the time) vvas laid upon him, and a Woe had followed it, if he had not read the Prophet *Jeremies* Prophecy. The Scholar vvas not greater then his Maſter, nor his liberty more; Both their liberties vvere alike great, yet both ſubordinate, both ſubject to the diverſity of times and ſeaſons. Both were free in their perſons, both free in their actions, and choice of life: yet both abſolutely bound to vvalk as they vvere called.

Things indifferent, yea lawful things, by Circumſtances become unlawful.

5. Had not *Jeremy* as good authority as *Iſaiah* and his Fellow Prophets had, to have taken a Wife of the Daughters of his people? Doubtleſs the Law vvas one to Both, and Matrimony alike lawful to Both; *What then* did reſtrain *Jeremy* of that liberty, vvhich *Iſaiah* uſed? Nothing but inſtant neceſſity (which knows no Law) could make the uſe of the Law, unlawful to him; becauſe moſt unexpedient for the preſent. So the Lord had ſaid, *Jerem.* 16. 9. *Behold I will cauſe to ceaſe out of this place in your eyes, even in your dayes, the voice of mirth, and the voice of gladneſs; the voice of the Bridegroom and the voice of the Bride.* And ſeeing the Lord at this time had determined not to pipe unto this people; *Jeremy* had greatly offended, if he had been taken in their marriage Dances. He knew *Children were an heritage, which cometh from the Lord; that the fruit of the womb was his reward; and that in the multitude of ſons was ſtore of bleſſings;* Marriage he knew to be honorable amongſt all, but at this time unſeaſonable for him. Good ſeed is vvell ſown vvhen it is likely the Crop may ſtand, and proſper. He planteth vvell, that plants in hope to reap the fruits of his own Labours. But vvho ſowes wheat, unto the vvinter floods? or plants a vineyard for his fuel? vvhy then ſhould *Jeremy* at this time become an Huſband to beget Sons unto the ſword? Or take a Wife to bring forth Daughters to deſtruction? To this purpoſe the Lord had inhibited *Jeremy* in particular; (But *the Reaſon of the inhibition in like times is perpetually General:*) *Thou ſhalt not take thee a Wife, nor have Sons nor Daughters in this place, For thus ſaith the Lord concerning the Sons and concerning the Daughters that are born in this place, and concerning their Mothers, that bear them, and concerning their fathers that beget them in this Land. They ſhall die of grievous deaths and diſeaſes, they ſhall not be lamented; neither ſhall they be buried; but they ſhall be as dung upon the earth; and they ſhall be conſumed by the ſword, and by famine, and their carcaſes ſhall be meat for the fowls of heaven, and for the beaſts of the earth.* *Jer.* 16. 1. The Prophets and ſweet ſingers of *Jeruſalem* and *Judah*, had ſometimes brought them ſuch joyful Ambaſſages of their eſpouſals unto their God: Their Princes and people, had formerly known ſuch happy dayes, of joy, ſecurity, and peace, that for *Jeremy* and *Baruch* to have then affected this rigid courſe of life, which now they follow, vvould have been but as the taking up of a ſad or doleful *Madrigall* at a marriage feaſt, or as the acting of ſome Ominous direful Tragedy upon

a Coronation day. But ſeeing the glory is now departing from Iſrael, the Bridegroom leaving their coaſts, and their mother, whom the Lord had once betrothed unto himſelf in ſureſt bonds of deareſt love, ſtands liable to the ſentence of final divorce; The Children of the Bride-chamber (ſpecially *Jeremiah* and *Baruch*) muſt betake themſelves to faſting, prayer, and mourning. *Now* to have uſed their wonted ſolace, mirth, or feaſting, would have been all one, as if the one had piped, the other had danced (a wanton Jigg or Corranto) in the Solemnities of their mothers Funerals; or as if they had marcht together in a moriſce-dance over their fathers Grave.

6. Had that *late Fugitive*, or other his Fellow Poſtillers, learned thus to diſtinguiſh times and ſeaſons: The ſuppoſed difference between Precepts neceſſary to all; and Evangelical Counſels peculiar to ſuch as aim at Extraordinary perfection; would clearly appear to be but a Dream or imagination, which hath no root but ignorance. Their error perhaps may thus be rectified, if to diſcover the Original thereof, be enough to rectifie it.

He means ſome man that had turned to the Church of Rome.

Many *Divine Precepts* there be, from whoſe abſolute and *ſoveraign Neceſſity*, no powers on earth can plead exemption: and yet the practiſes enjoyned by them are *neither neceſſary to all, nor expedient for any, at ſome times or in ſome places:* Becauſe the Precepts themſelves may be *Disjunctive*, or oppoſite branches of ſome more General *Mandate*. It will not follow, *This* or *That man* in former Ages hath done many Good works pleaſant, and acceptable unto God, ſuch as not the godlieſt man living is bound at this time to do, *Ergo* he did ſupererogate in doing them, that is, in *plain Engliſh*, he did *more then he was bound to do*. For though (*rebus ſic ſtantibus*) no man be bound: yet every man (ſay we) ſtands bound *by the Eternal, and unchangeable Law of God to do the like: as often as the ſame external occaſions ſhall be offered*; or the like internal ſuggeſtions be made unto him by *The ſigns of the Times*, or diſpoſition of Gods providence. But here, By the *Eternal Law of God* we are not bound to underſtand only the *Ten Commandments:* The *Decalogue* (if without offence, Gods Words may be ſo compared) contains only the *Prædicamental Rules*, or Precepts of the eternal Law. Other divine precepts there be more *Tranſcendental*, which have the ſame Uſe in matters of Chriſtian practiſe or true Obſervation of the ten Commandments, as *General maxims* have in particular *Sciences*. Such a Precept in reſpect of the ſecond Table is that; *Love thy neighbor as thy ſelf*. By this precept, every man ſtands neceſſarily bound to perform *more then ordinary Charity* toward his neighbour, as often as his neighbours occaſions to uſe his charitable help are *more then ordinary*.

The ſame Uſe in reſpect of *both the Tables* hath that other Precept; *Whatſoever ye would have done to you, ſo do ye to others*. Moſt General likewiſe and moſt indiſpenſable are theſe Two mandates: *Let every man walk as he is called. Time muſt be redeemed, when dayes are evil.* And ſeeing the inhabitants of every Country ſtand bound Jointly and ſeverally to glorifie God by due obſervation of his Commandments: *The more licentiouſly others violate any one, or more negative precepts: his Children alwayes know themſelves tyed in conſcience to ſo much more ſtrict obſervance of the contrary Affirmatives, which are alwayes underſtood in the Negative.* The meaſure of their ſobriety, and devotion muſt be taken from others exceſs in Luxury and prophaneneſs.

Good men are, and ought to be moſt religious in worſt Times.

Briefly; the prohibitions, or injunctions expreſly contained in the *Decalogue*, or other parts of the *moral Law*, deſcribe the *General bounds* or limits, without which we may not, within which we muſt, continually walk. Our obſervation of Gods Providence and *ſigns of the times* will beſt direct us to ſuch particulars within thoſe Limits,as are moſt expedient for the preſent. The ſeveral exigence of every ſeaſon,and the neceſſity and conditions of the parties with whom we live, will notifie the definite meaſure or exact quantity of ſuch good offices, or performances,as the eternal Law requireth of us.

To be well inſtructed what is moſt fitting for the ſeaſon, every man muſt ask counſel of his own heart; but after his heart, examined by the Rules of the eternal Law, hath informed him what is fit and expedient, it is no matter of Counſel, but of neceſſary Precept to do it; and that in ſuch meaſure,*as the Exigence of time,of place,and perſons require*; Albeit others, which have not had the like occaſions to conſult their own hearts, be not bound to do the like. And ſome (it may be) of better *Note*, then is fitting for us to cenſure *nominatim* have been induced to miſtake ſuch neceſſary performances,as are not uſually undertaken without precedent conſultation of mens own hearts, for matter of *Counſel*, not of *Precept*.

7. Subordinate to thoſe general Precepts,[*Do as ye would be done unto: Let every man walk as he is called:*] are theſe disjunctive Precepts of the Apoſtle, *Rom.* 12.15. *Rejoyce with them that rejoyce,and weep with them that weep.* Both theſe precepts are neceſſary, both *moſt neceſſary* in their time, and place; neither neceſſary at all times and in all places, for they are incompatible. Hence ſaith *Solomon*, *Ecclef.*3.4. *There is a time to weep and a time to laugh*; *a time to mourn and a time to dance*; So then weeping and laughing, mourning and dancing, are both in their ſeveral turns, or ſeaſons expedient; but *weeping and mourning moſt ſuitable to the occaſions of moſt times, and more expedient for moſt perſons.* For *it is better to go into the houſe of mourning, then into the houſe of Mirth.* Men ſeldom mourn without juſt occaſions, and few men, but often have juſt occaſions to mourn: But many laugh when they have juſt cauſe to lament; And to conſort with ſuch in this their folly, were extream impiety; eſpecially in ſuch as *Jeremy* and *Baruch* were; in all that are *Overſeers*, or *Watchmen* over Gods flock; This made the Prophet *Jeremy*, *Chap.*9.1. to wiſh, *O that mine head were full of water, and mine eyes fountains of tears, that I might weep day and night for the ſlain of the daughter of my people.*

Thus wiſhed *Jeremy* even whilſt Jeruſalem went mad in mirth and Jollity; whilſt her children were bold and audacious to hold on more then an *ordinary Pace* in their wonted courſes from evil to worſe; becauſe they were blind and ignorant, and would not ſee *the day of their viſitation drawing on.* To men therefore endued with reaſon (more eſpecially to Chriſtian men; amongſt them,moſt eſpecially to the Preacher and Paſtor, who have Chriſt Jeſus and the Prophets for their pattern) the Precept is all one; *To mourn with them that mourn, and to mourn for them, whoſe Caſe is mournful,* Though haply not ſo apprehended by them; ſuch as *Jeruſalems* Caſe was,when our Saviour beheld it and wept, ſaying; *O that thou hadſt known at the leaſt in this thy day, thoſe things, which belong unto thy peace, but now are they hid from thine eyes*, &c. *Luke* the 19.42. As alſo at this time,when this meſſage came to *Baruch*.

8. So natural is this precept of the Apoſtle; *weep with them that weep*; that even bruit beaſts, to whom God hath given neither ſpeech nor Language, nor underſtanding to perceive the words of the wiſe,or the

Sympathy planted in Bruits.

exhortation of the eloquent, are yet ſo intelligent, ſo apprehenſive of the vocal ſigns or ſignifications of grief uttered from others of their own kind; that they may well ſeem to bear the Emblem of St. *Pauls* Practiſe ingraven in their nature. *Who is weak* (ſaith the bleſſed Apoſtle *2 Corinth.* 2.29.) *and I am not weak? who is offended and I burn not?* For what beaſt of the field ſhall groan and others of the ſame kind are not upon the hearing, like affected? which of them panteth for pain or want of breath; and others at this ſpectacle ſtand not amazed either bereft of all motion, or elſe tortured with like? He that Created all things, in number, weight, and due proportion, hath mutually framed their hearts to others groans, and ſighs, as a ſtringed inſtrument to a *voice Uniſon.* So doubtleſs were our hearts ſet in our firſt Creation, All in juſt proportion to their maker; our voices were conſonant to his word, our affections conformable to his will, all Uniſons amongſt themſelves. Until the Rector of this Quire, that ſhould have taken up this everlaſting ſong, did ſtrain too high; polluting our nature, and corrupting our inſtruments of breath (ordained only to have ſounded out praiſes to our God) by eating of that piſonous apple. Since which time the beſt of our voices have been harſh and unpleaſant in their makers ears; And beſides the harſhneſs of every one in particular; we have alwaies ſung out of tune, perpetually Jarring among our ſelves; whilſt one hath ſung, another cryed; whilſt one mourns another pipes, or dances for Joy. Yet doth the mutual bond of our affections remain ſtill greater, then any bond amongſt beaſts; we have this conſort ſet out unto us in Gods written word; *Whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do unto you even ſo do ye unto them*; for this is the effect of Gods Law, each part of which we are bound to obey; This is the ſum of the Prophets writings; each period whereof we are bound to believe. What muſick can be more pleaſant to a penſive heart; then to have others bear a full conſort with him in grief? Herein then, we do not only omit a *Precept* of Chriſt, but directly violate Gods eternal Law, yea the very *Prime* Fundamental Law of nature, in that we do not Sympathize with others, in ſuch ſort as we deſire they ſhould do with us in like diſtreſs; in that we miniſter not comfort to others with as great alacrity, and delight, as we deſire to receive it from them. Nature teacheth, and Gods Law commands, *to mourn with them that mourn*; and the *Neceſſity* of ſuch as mourn, and the true unpartial *eſtimate of our own deſires* of comfort in like Caſe, will give us the exact meaſure of our mourning.

See the Sermons upon this Text.

Our mourning is then truly harmonical, when it is for the *Quality*, *ſincere*, and for the *Quantity*, rightly *proportioned* unto the preſent neceſſitie of times, places, or perſons. And on the contrary, *then* we walk (as the *Scripture* ſpeaks) with a heart and a heart, and uſe a deceitful ballance, when our hearts are open to receive comfort or benefit from others, and ſhut or ſtraitned, to return the like; or when we receive any of theſe from God or man with our whole heart, and either repay to the ſame parties from whom we had them, or diſtribute them to others, with a faint or fained heart, without *ſuch* delight or joy in doing them good, as we take in having good done unto us. This *Eternal Rule of Equity* was *Tranſcendent*, unto that *particular ſtrict Command*, ſo often inculcated to the Iſraelites when they came into the good Land of Promiſe: viz. *Not to forget the ſtranger that lived amongſt them.*

The poſitive precept aimed at through this negative, as the *End*, or ſcope, was the *Cheerful relief of the poor ſtranger*; and the immediate

Means unto this End, was alway to remember that they themſelves had been ſtrangers in the Land of *Egypt*; Now to remember *that they themſelves had been ſtrangers* is (in the language of the holy Spirit) *ſtill to retain the perfect eſtimate of their former grief, whilſt they were ſtrangers:* to be able continually to ſound the depth of their own miſery, that it might ſerve as a *Key* to tune their hearts in juſt and full conſort to the miſerable. They did then truly remember the ſtrangers, that were within their gates, when they ſorrowed in the ſame manner for them, as they had done for themſelves: when the delight and joy that they had taken in their own deliverance from ſervitude and thraldom, was made the meaſure of their delight, and joy, in freeing others from the yoke of ſervitude, in relieving the poor diſtreſſed ſtranger that ſojourned with them. *True compaſſion is but a fellow feeling of others miſeries:* And *then only are we truly compaſſionate when their miſeries are made ours:* when (as the Apoſtle ſaith) we are weakened at their weakneſs, and burn at their offence, or grievance. Once thus affected, in eaſing them, we eaſe our ſelves; their comfort becomes our comfort; whence ariſeth our cheerfulneſs and ſincerity in doing good; for now we do unto them as we deſire they ſhould do unto us: Yea, even as we would do unto our ſelves; ſeeing the onely way to eaſe our ſelves of this preſent grief, which is by *Sympathy* in us, is by curing the *Protopathie* in them. This is equity and righteouſneſs in the ſight of God, when we afford comfort unto others, according to the ſame meaſure we our ſelves would receive it from others: or when we diſtribute Gods benefits with the like Joy to our fellow ſervants, as we receive them from him: *Delight* in receiving and delight in doing good, ought to be ſo fully reciprocal in nature and quantity, that they ſhould differ but as *via Thebis Athenas*, and *Athenis, Thebas*; or as two times three, and three times two. This is (as the wiſe man ſpeaks) truly to *keep the heart*, when we keep it ſtill in this *Æquilibrio*, not more inclined to accept, then to afford a bleſſing; not more prone to rejoyce at our own good, then to ſorrow at others harms; Not more apt to be elevated with our own promotion, then to be depreſſed by others undeſerved dejection, or diſcomfort. And albeit we were able to frame the whole courſe of our lives fully parallel to this ſtreight Rule; yet ſhould we ſtill remain unprofitable ſervants and altogether unable to ſuper-erogate. All actual, or purpoſed ſwerving whether directly or indirectly from this Level, is a declining to hypocriſie. He that cannot contract his ordinary liberty in the uſe of things pleaſant or profitable for this life, according to the Exigence or Aboading of the inſtant ſeaſon, or doth not labour ſo to frame and ſettle the habitual bent of his affections, as they may be alike free and apt to be moved with ſad occurrences, as with occaſions of joy: ſuch a man may happily often joy in his courſes, but his rejoycing cannot be in the Lord; his laughter is madneſs, his choiceſt recreation, folly; diſſimulation harboureth in his heart, miſchief is companion of his thoughts; the iſſue of his untimely mirth is grief and ſorrow everlaſting.

9. But here I know it will be replied, that this conſtitution of mind is in theſe latter times more rare, then abſolute Complexion in mens bodies or mixture *ad pondus* in bodies natural. The Replication perhaps is true, but true eſpecially for this reaſon, that every man *ſeeks great things*, greater then *Baruch* here did, for himſelf; And hearts ſtretched by deſires unſeaſonably ſuperfluous or exorbitant, to an higher ſtrain, then is fitting, can hold no conſort with their humble brethrens *affections*; They can neither be brought to any true Conſonancie with the times wherein they live, nor with their own Callings.

Howbeit we require not ſuch an exact or abſolute temper of mans heart as our Creator framed in our firſt Parents. That was the Patern, by which we muſt direct our practiſe; If our intention to imitate this patern, be ſincere; And our indeavors to accompliſh our intentions induſtrious and entire; whatſoever is wanting to our ability, The ſuperexcellency of Chriſts righteouſneſs, and merits (far exceeding our firſt Parents worth) ſhall abundantly ſupply in us, which were firſt the natural Sons of *Adam*, then degenerate Sons of the living God, now regenerate by Grace, and adopted Sons in Chriſt. But the experience of others temper in former times (though *Adams* Children as now we are, or once were) bewrayes the Complexion of our Age to be deeply tainted with hypocriſie. For this I have found (and every one may find without curious ſearch) that the very ſight, remembrance, or rehearſal of others miſeries united by the bond of Common duty, hath brought the minds of ſuch, as have bent their ears to natures diſcipline, or been well inſtructed in Civility, unto a perfect *ſympathy*, with as great facility, as men tune their voices to others pleaſant ſongs, or faſhion their bodily motions to others muſick.

Apathie; a Symptom of a graceleſs obdurate mind.

Apathie or want of Fellow feeling (to ſpeak indifferently) ***is no natural property, of the meer natural, or unregenerate man; but rather a ſymptom of a graceleſs mind, obdurate with ſelf-pleaſing humors and deſires:*** Of hearts truly mollified, with a mutual touch (though but of moral or civil Love) one takes the impreſſion of anothers woe or grief, as eaſily as ſoftened wax does the ſeal.

Numb. 32. 6. 2 Sam. 11. *Uriah.*

Thus the freſh memory of the Camp, the conſideration of the Ark of God, and *Iſraels* and *Joabs* lying abroad in the fields, makes honeſt *Uriah* (joyned with them in the common link of military life; though far diſjoyned in place) abjure with double oath the ſolace of his lawful bed.

Godfrey of *Bulloign.*

Thus the remembrance of our *Saviours* humiliation in *Jeruſalem* makes that *Noble Duke of Bulloign*, many hundred years after, refuſe to wear a golden Crown in that City, though but the lawful Guerdon of his Heroick worth; an honour well befitting his *perſon*, but not the *place*, wherein his *Lord Redeemer* (under whoſe banner he fought) had been anointed King with his own blood, ſhed by the impreſſion of a Crown of Thorns.

Are the true Parents of thoſe practiſes extant only in the book of Grace? Or are the practiſes recorded only in ſacred Story, or of Chriſtians, or ſacred Perſons only? Or have not Heathen Poets, which knew no Law beſides the Laws of Nature, and their Rules of Art, exactly painted the like paterns? Have not heathen Hiſtories, whoſe veracity is no way liable to juſt ſuſpition, related the like real practiſes of Heathen perſons?

Argia in *Statius.*

> *Non hæc apta mihi nitidis ornatibus* (*inquit*) *Thebaidos*
> *Tempora, nec miſeræ placeant inſignia formæ.* *Libra* 4.

It is the Poetical Character or Speech of the *Noble Princeſs*, uttered rather out of fear, then certain foreſight of the miſhap that might befall her Huſband, now ſetting forth unto the *Thebane war* in hope to recover his ſuppoſed right. As the *Reaſon* of her refuſing *Harmonia's Chain* (that was the *inſignia* or ornament offered her by way of gratification for gracing or furthering the preſent conſultation of war) was much what the ſame with *Duke Godfreys* refuſal of the Golden Crown; So the *Manner* of her abjuring it, was not unlike *Uriah's* Oath,

Scilicet, heu ſuperi! cum tu cludare minaci
Caſſide, ferratúſque ſones; Ego divitis Aurum
Harmoniæ dotale geram?

It was a diſhonour (in her eſteem) to be diſclaimed by *an Imprecation,* for a Princes Daughter to adorn her head, and neck, with coſtly Jewels like a Bride, whileſt her Huſband was clad in ſteel; and yet, ſo clad, every hour in peril of life. During the time of this his danger abroad; ſhe deſires no greater train at home, then would ſuffice to expel Melancholick fear; And that attire doth pleaſe her beſt, which beſt ſuted with her penſive heart, moſt likely to move her Gods to Commiſeration of her widowhood. For ſuch coſtly ornaments, as were now profer'd, ſhe thought a fitter time would be to wear them, when her Husband returned in peace with ſuch rich ſpoils from the enemies Court; And in this Reſolution well fitting her preſent eſtate; ſhe leaves them to the proud upſtart inſolent baggage; whoſe longing deſires after thoſe unſeaſonable fooleries had inchanted the poor *Prophet* her huſband to Countenance an Ominous unfortunate war, the iſſue whereof was this; that after moſt of the *Noble Argives,* ſent thither by the enemies ſword, the Prophet himſelf went quick down to hell.

This Concluſion you will ſay is falſe in the litteral ſenſe, or rather fained; but, I would to God the Fiction were not too true an *Emblem* of the moſt State-Prophets in later Ages. Such as are here repreſented, and no better, are the uſual fruits of untimely deſires, or diſcording appetites of parties united in ſtrict bond of common duty, eſpecially in men conſecrated to publick miniſtery. Alwayes they are diſpleaſing to God, in nature prepoſterous, hateful as death to civil and ingenuous minds.

10. But herein the Poet, (as the *Philoſopher* well obſerves) exceeds the Hiſtorian, for moral inſtructions. He may paint men and women, as they ſhould be not as they are; whereas the *Hiſtorian* muſt expreſs them as he finds them. Moſt Women indeed are not for their affections like this Poetical Picture of *Argia.* Yet the Carriage of *Portia*, as the ingenious Hiſtorian hath expreſt it, did far exceed it; When her Huſband *Brutus* had diſcloſed that inward grief and perplexity, by his ill reſt by night, which he had purpoſely concealed from her in his waking thoughts, ſhe takes his Concealment, as a diſparagement to her birth and education, and as a tacit impeachment of her honeſty. *Brutus* (ſaith ſhe) *I had* Cato *to my Father, and was matched into thy family not as a whore, to be thy Companion only at bed and bord, but* κοινωνὸς εἶναι ἀγαθῶν, κοινωνὸς τε ἀνιαρῶν, *to be as true a Conſort of thy miſeries as of thy welfare. I had never cauſe to complain of thy uſage, no occaſion to ſuſpect thy loving affection towards me; but what aſſurance canſt thou have of my love to thee? If I may not be permitted to ſympathize with thee in thy ſecret grief; nor bear a part in thoſe anxieties, whoſe communication might eaſe thy mind, and much ſet forth my fidelity? I know well the imbecillity of our Sex; we need no rack to wreſt a ſecret from us.* Ἀλλά τις ἔστι (Βροῦτε) ϗ τροφῆς ἀγαθῆς ϗ ὁμιλίας χρηστῆς εἰς ἦθος ἰσχὺς; *But know* (O Brutus) *that there is a ſecret vertue in good parentage, ingenuous breeding and converſation, for ſetling, and ſtrengthening the frame of our affections, even where they are by nature brickle and unconſtant. And this is my portion in theſe Pre-eminences; A woman I am by ſex, but* Cato *his Daughter, and* Brutus *his Wife.* To give him a ſure experiment (anſwerable to theſe Proteſtations) how ready ſhe could be in all misfortunes to take grief and ſorrow *at as low a Note,* as for his life he could: She had caſt her ſelf into a burning Feaver by a grievous wound

Of *Portia* ſee *Plutarch* in *vita Bruti.*

of her own making, before ſhe vented the former complaint, which ſhe uttered, ἐν ἀκμῇ ἀλγηδόνος εἶπε, in the extremity of her Fit or pangs. I may truly here apply that verſe of old *Ennius*, as the late extinguiſhed Lamp of this Univerſity once out of this Lantern in another Caſe, did. *Vos Juvenes* (ſhall I ſay?) nay verily; *Nos viri, Patres & Fratres, animos gerimus muliebres; Illaque Virgo viri.*

Was this præeminency (that ſhe was *Cato*'s daughter, and *Brutus*'s wife) of power ſufficient to arm her female heart with man-like reſolution, and true heroical conſtancy to bear the yoke of all misfortunes with her Conjugal *Mate*, and is it no Prærogative in Chriſtian men, before a Heathen woman, that they have God for their Father, and holy Church for their Mother: Chriſt Jeſus ſupream Governour of the world, the Lord of life? and Conquerour of Death and Hell, for their Brother? Is Baptiſme into his death but a naked name; that our profeſſed unity therein cannot unite our hearts in like affections? Is the effuſion of Gods Spirit but as the ſprinkling of Court Holy-water? are our daily Sermons but as ſo many *Bevers of wind*, whoſe efficacy vaniſheth with the breath that uttereth them? or hath the frequent participation of Chriſts precious body and blood no better operation on our hearts, then the exhalation of ſweet odours upon our brains? Be they no longer comfortable, then whilſt they be in taking? Are all thoſe glorious ſimilitudes of one Head and many Members, of one Vine and many Branches, but Hyperbolical Metaphors? Is our myſtical union only a meer Mathematical imagination? are thoſe or the like Prærogatives of our Calling, but like the Solœciſms of the Romiſh Church, matters of meer title, or ceremony, without reality? Beloved in Chriſt! if either we actually were, or heartily deſired, or truly meant to be true Branches of that Cœleſtial Vine; were it poſſible the ſtrongeſt boughs thereof ſhould be ſo often ſhaken, with dangerous blaſts of temptations, and we no whit therewith moved? could ſo many flouriſhing Boughs daily fade, and we hope that our Luxuriant branches ſhould alwayes flouriſh? ſhould their goodly leaves hourly fall, and we live ſtill as if we never looked for any winter? or ſhould God ſo often threaten to pluck up the vineyard, which his own right hand hath planted, and yet the dreſſers of it ſtill *ſeek after great things for themſelves*, as if they never dreamt of diſpoſſeſſion? would the moſt of us either ſeek to raiſe our ſelves as high as the higheſt room in the Lords houſe; or make it a chief part of our care how to forecaſt miſpenſe of time in merriment, gaming or other worldly pleaſures, or contentments, whilſt ſundry of our poor brethren, and fellow Prophets (perhaps in worth our betters) die of diſcontent; whilſt others younger run mad after riot abroad, leaſt they ſhould be attached by ſorrow and grief at home; whilſt others begin to expect a change, and entertain a liking of Romiſh Proffers.

Others, which have ever hated *Rome* more then death, begin to loath their lives, and ſet their longing on the Grave; deſirous to give their bodies to be devoured by the earth, which hath not miniſtred neceſſary ſuſtenance to them; as being overcharged with maintaining the unneceſſary deſires and ſuperfluous pleaſures of worſe deſervers. Or would ſo many (were they true members of Chriſt) ſuffer that flock, which he hath purchaſed with his precious blood to ſtarve for want of ſpiritual Food: *That* flock; from which they have reapt carnal Commodities in greateſt plenty?

But here I will not diſpute whether *Non-Reſidence*, or *Plurality* be ſimply unlawful : ſuppoſe in former times both had been lawful, both neceſſary, when the greateſt ſcarcity was of *Scholars* ſufficiently qualified for the miniſtry. Is it therefore *Now* as expedient? It had been once more lawful for *Baruch* to have ſought the Eaſe of a retired life, then ever it was for any man to trouble himſelf with joyning houſe to houſe, Land to Land, or Church to Church. But *now* it is unlawful: *ſeekeſt thou great things for thy ſelf?* Yet what was *his* ſeeking to theirs? or what are many of their deſerts to his? Theirs eſpecially, who have ſcarce been ſo much as ſcribes to a learned Prophet, ſcarce ever brought up in *Jeruſalem* at any *Gamaliels* feet? but only came to this our *Sion* as ſo many ſpies, to find out the weakneſs of the place, to diſcover by what devices good Statutes might be fruſtrate, and means made for conferring degrees upon Drones. And Drones having once gotten *A degree* or place in this *Bee-hive* by others perjury; will make ſhift to get ſpiritual preferment by their own. After, unto their Titles in the Schools they have gotten an *Ite Prædicate* from the Generals of our ſpiritual warfare, they make their entrance into the Church of Chriſt, juſt ſo, as if it were into the Enemies ſoyl: once inabled to compaſs a convenient Seat, they never think they were placed there as labourers in Chriſts harveſt, to gather and break the bred of life to his people; they only uſe it as a Fort or Sconce to gather ſtrength in, till they can watch an opportunity for expugning a better. And advancements into higheſt Offices in this ſpiritual Charge, go oft, not ſo much by virtues as the golden mean. Experiments are ſo riſe and frequent, that not the meaneſt *Arcadian Creature*, but lives in hope to make himſelf Lord of the greateſt dignity the Land affords; if he be once furniſhed ſufficiently for practiſe of the *Macedonian Stratagem.* This *ſeeking after great things*, eſpecially in men of ſo little worth, is at all times odious in the ſight of God, and injurious to men. But in *theſe preſent times* fraught either with examples, or fearful threatnings of Gods heavy Judgments; in theſe times wherein ſuperſtition increaſeth as a Plague growing up to quell hypocriſie and licentiouſneſs; far leſs deſires, even all unneceſſary ſeekings, are prepoſterous and abominable, and yet in all States through the Land very uſual, and being ſo, *They are Ominous:* Which was the *Corollary* propoſed. I muſt omit diſcourſe, and fall to inſtance.

The Author omits the *Second Doctrine* (to be handled in the next Sermon) and paſſeth to the *Corollary*, which he proves by Inſtance.

12. *One Age may afford ſufficient ſtore of Examples.* A curious Searcher ſhall not be able to find any diſeaſe, either more *Dangerous*, or more *General*, then this late ſpecified diſeaſe of *Baruch*, in the Chriſtian world, at that time when *the Lord* did ſo grievouſly lance the whole body of it with the ſwords and ſpears of the *Vandals*, *Goths*, *Hunnes*, and other Barbarians, ſcarce known before by name. The approach of all or moſt of them was ſo ſudden and unexpected, that a man could ſcarce imagine what other *Errand* they had to viſit theſe parts of *Europe*, ſave only to be Gods Chirurgions, in cutting of the dead and unrecoverable members of the Church. *Of what ſort or kind ſoever the ſins of any Age or People be, when ſinners once come to ſuch height or progreſs in them, as the ſight of Gods Judgments, or experience of his diſpleaſure cannot perſwade men to forſake them: It is a true Criſis of General plagues or deſolations approaching.*

A *Great Warning*; and a Greater Truth.

No ſign more deadly, then intemperate longing after unſeaſonable mirth or pleaſures, of what kind ſoever, eſpecially of ſuch, as are contrary to that courſe of life, whereunto God for the preſent calls men. For they that ſeek after ſuch things, plainly declare, That *they ſay in* *their hearts We ſhall have Place albeit we walk according to the ſtubbornneſs of our own hearts*, Deut. 29.19. *At cum dicant, Pax & tuta omnia, tunc repentinum eis imminet Exitium.*

That the General conſtitution of the Chriſtian World when the Barbarians over-ran it, was altogether *ſuch*, *as* we have ſaid (*ſuch* as this people for the moſt part *is* at this day.) *Salvianus*, A Reverend *Biſhop* of thoſe times hath left recorded. The diſeaſe of *Carthage* he thus deſcribeth. *Captivus corde, & ſenſu nonne erat populus iſte, qui inter ſuorum ſupplicia ridebat, qui jugulari ſe in ſuorum jugulis non intelligebat, qui ſe in ſuorum mori mortibus non putabat? Fragor (ut ita dixerim) extra muros, & intra muros Prœliorum & Ludicrorum Confundebatur, &c.*

Libro 6. de providentia Dei.

The like ſtupidity and intemperance the ſame Author out of his experience attributes unto one of the Chief Cities of the *Galles*, whoſe Inhabitants were ſo beſotted with drunkenneſs, that they could not ſhake it off when they were beſet with death. *Ad hoc, poſtremo, rabida vini aviditate Perventum eſt, ut Principes urbis iſtius ne tunc quidem de conviviis Surgerent, cum jam urbem hoſtis intraret.* He that made the *Sword* then to them, hath alſo made the *Plague* of Peſtilence his Meſſenger unto us; both their *Commiſſions* are of equal authority, both their *Summons* ſhould be alike dreadful, and yet what day did any die in *this City* by the Arrow of God, but as many, or more were dead drunk, or had ſurfeited of their beaſtly banquets.

See more Inſtances of Stupidity in the end of the Attributes.

Again, in *Trevers*, one of the moſt flouriſhing Cities of the *Galles*, and (as I take it) the *Reverend Biſhops* native ſoyl, ſo intemperately were the Inhabitants ſet on their wonted delights and vanities, that after their City had been *three or four times ſacked*, and did not retain ſo much as the likeneſs of what it had been; yet they are ſtill the ſame; And as if they had never ſowen unto the ſpirit, but altogether unto the fleſh; as if their ſportings and paſtimes had been the only harveſt they cared to reap, No ſooner was this ſtorm of War and blood broken up, And the beams of peace reſtored again; but they erected their ſtages even in the freſh Sent of the deadly vapors exhaling from their murthered Citizens buried in their Cities aſhes. *Pauci nobiles, qui excidio ſuper fuerant, quaſi pro ſummo deletæ urbis remedio, Circenſes ab Imperatoribus poſtulabant.* And may not we think (unleſs our Magiſtrates Religious care had been the greater to have prohibited Stage-playes in theſe dangerous times of viſitation) that a great many in this City would have adventured to have been in *Circo*, though death had been appointed to keep the Play-houſe door. Should the Stage-player, or other inſtrument of vanity, have viſited our *Suburbs* within two moneths after our *fourth, or fifth viſitation paſt*; more of better rank amongſt us, would have been more affraid of being cenſured as *Puritanes* for ſpeaking againſt them (though out of *this* place) then would have bluſhed to have been ſpectators of their lewd unſeaſonable ſportings, in places not ſo well befitting their Calling.

I will not take upon me to Cenſure this or any like Recreation, as altogether unlawful. But what time hath been for ſundry years paſt (would God this preſent did preſage much better to come) wherein the uſe of theſe, or other more unqueſtionable recreations, might not juſtly be cenſured for ſuperfluous, if not prepoſterous. And with what indignity that *worthy Biſhop* did proſecute theſe unſeaſonable vanities of his Countrymen, I refer you to his books, *De Gubernatione & Providentia*, a fit *Manual* for the volume, but in theſe times, an excellent *Cordial* for the matter. *Ludicra ergo publica Trever petis?* Art thou an Inhabitant

Salvian.

of the miſerable more then thrice ranſacked *Tryers*; and ſeekeſt thou after ſuch fruitleſs toyes, as playes? *Ubi* (*quæſo*) *exercendæ?* Where (on Gods name) wilt thou have them acted? *an ſuper buſtum, & Cineres, ſuper ſanguinem & oſſa mortuorum?* upon the Graves? upon the aſhes? upon the blood and bones of thy maſſacred brethren and fellow Citizens? The continuance of this vanity in the living did in his eſtimation, ſurpaſs the miſery and infelicity, which had befaln the deceaſed.

13. Death and the deſtroying Angel (which by their often ſoaring, and hovering over our heads had over-ſhadowed this City; and for the ſolitarineſs of theſe and like aſſemblies had ſometimes almoſt turned our day into night) have now, Gods name be praiſed for it, taken their flight another way. Yet ſhall not theſe Admonitions ſeem altogether ſo unſeaſonable now, as our ſportings were then. Though ſecured we be from preſent dread; yet may we without offence (as men that had paſſed great dangers in their night Diſtempers, or ſudden affrights) look back by day, in Calm, and ſober thoughts, upon our former wayes.

And I beſeech you, take theſe following ſpeeches, that diſtilled from that *ſage and learned Biſhops* zealous Pen, as preſervatives againſt the like dangerous times to come, not as cenſures, or invectives of mine to gall any for what is paſt. Suppoſe this *Reverend Biſhop* had lived amongſt us: how would he have *taxed* the unſeaſonable Luxuries of late times. *Go to now! O ye that are ſtrong to pour in wine*; *or ye that have verified the Proverb by your practiſe, that,* Mans life is but a Stage-play, *wherein you know to act none but the mimicks part*; *ye that make your ſelves mutual ſport by grieving or abuſing others: Go to now*, *ye that have quite inverted* Solomons *Counſel: ye that have wholly conſecrated your ſelves to the houſe of mirth, and feaſting, and hold it a hell to be drawn into the houſe of mourning: where do ye mean to celebrate your wonted ſports? where ſhall your meriments: where ſhall your pleaſant meetings be? what, in the City which the Lord ſo often hath ſmitten, which ſo often hath groaned under his heavy hand? what, even then, when the ſore did run amongſt your brethren? O fools and ſlow of heart to believe the writings of the Prophets, and frequent Admonitions of ſo many holy, and Religious men! might not nature, which nurtureth the heathen, which teacheth the beaſts of the field, and birds of the air, to know their ſeaſon, have alſo taught you how unſeaſonable your mirth, how prodigious your inſolence hath been?* What foul indignity had you offered, though you had offered it to a private man, to revell it in the room, wherein his children, wherein his wife had laid a dying? What humane heart, what civil (though unregenerate) ear could endure to hear, of one and the ſame family ſome in the midſt of bittereſt *Agonies* praying, others ſwearing or blaſpheming; ſome panting for faintneſs, or ratling for want of breath; others cackling or ſhrugging at the ſight of wanton ſporting? And dare you account them, for whom *Chriſt Jeſus* ſhed his blood, leſs dear to him, then deareſt children are to loving Parents, or wives to moſt loving huſbands? And what is this City in reſpect of him! (would God you would permit it ſo to be) But at the beſt could you imagine it any more, then the Chamber of the great King, whom neither the heaven, nor the heaven of heavens can contain? Shall not his ear, who filleth all places with his preſence; be as able to diſcern each diſſonant noiſe, or diſagreeing ſpeech, or carriage within the walls, or ſuburbs of this City as the moſt accurate Muſicians ear is to diſtinguiſh contrary Notes,

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or jarring ſounds within the compaſs of a narrow parlour? And what muſick think you will it make in his ears, or how will it ſound to thoſe harmonical ſpirits, which by his appointment Pitch about this place, when they ſhall hear, in one corner, ſome in the *Agony* of their ſouls ſending out grievous ſcreiks, and bitter out-cries; others out of their abundant heat of mirth and paſtimes filling the ſtreets with profuſe immoderate clamors? Some again praying with deep ſighs, and grievous groans? others foaming out their ſhame, in drunken, ſcurrilous or laſcivious ſongs, ſome having their hearts ready to break for grief; others to burſt their lungs with laughter?

Theſe beloved have been the abuſes in former times! which any Reverent, and zealous ſpirit that had lived amongſt us, juſtly might, and queſtionleſs would have taxt more ſharply: And yet of ſuch reproofs, the beſt of us might well in ſome meaſure have been ſharers. But theſe dangers are gone long ſince; would God the guilt of our ſins were as far removed from us; *If it remain, like times may return again.* What then remains, but, that we repent of what is paſt, and take heed of what is to come? Lord! never let the penſive ſighs, the mournful groans, or grievous out-cries of dying men be mingled with our laviſh mirth, and ſportings. O let not the ſongs of pleaſure, and the voice of death aſcend the heavens, or appear at thy *Tribunal ſeat* together, leaſt This moſt unſeaſonable diſcord ſound ſtill in thy ear until the ſound of the Angels Trumpet, ſummon us to that fearful Judgment; wherein they may laugh and we may cry, wherein their comfortleſs ſighs, and dolorous groans, may be changed into everlaſting *Hallelujahs* of joy, and peace; and all immoderate unlawful mirth, all unſeaſonable, and untimely pleaſures be terminated with endleſs grief. And as for ſuch as ſeek to raiſe the ſpirit of unhallowed mirth, and belch out their ſcurrilous Jeſts by powring in wine and ſtrong drink, even in the dayes, wherein the Lord hath called them to faſting and mourning: O that they could conſider, the time may come wherein they ſhall wiſh for one drop of that liquor for a whole day (which now they pour in hourly without meaſure) to cool their ſcorched tongues; And yet (unto their greater miſery) ſhall not be heard in ſo miſerable a wiſh; but in the continual want of this, and all other comfort, their pleaſant ſongs ſhall be turned into bitter howlings; Their wanton motions, and mimick geſtures into wailing and gnaſhing of teeth.

And as for you ***Reverend Fathers***, or you my much ***Reſpected Brethren***, to whom any charge of others either private or publick is committed: Conſider (I beſeech you) what places you bear in theſe Houſes of God: All of you in your ſeveral Charges ſuſtain the place of righteous *Job* in his Family, for your fatherly care over inferiors. Whilſt then your Sons thus banquet in their houſes, every one his day, and ſend and call their friends to eat and drink with them: Be you ſure the Lord will require at your hands, that you be ſo much more vigilant in your Callings: not only in puniſhing the Chief Offendors in this kind, as ſome of you have begun, (though this no doubt will be an acceptable ſacrifice unto God) but even in offering up your evening and morning ſacrifice for them, according to the number of their tranſgreſſions. For doubtleſs your Sons have grievouſly offended and blaſphemed God in their hearts: And therefore you muſt be ſo much the more diligent to offer up the ſweet incenſe every day. For all of us (Beloved in our Lord and Saviour) ſee the dayes wherein we live are *extraordinary evil*, and the time muſt be redeemed by our extraordinary vigilancie, ſobriety and ſanctity.

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or jarring ſounds within the compaſs of a narrow parlour? And what muſick think you will it make in his ears, or how will it ſound to thoſe harmonical ſpirits, which by his appointment Pitch about this place, when they ſhall hear, in one corner, ſome in the *Agony* of their ſouls ſending out grievous ſcreiks, and bitter out-cries; others out of their abundant heat of mirth and paſtimes filling the ſtreets with profuſe immoderate clamors? Some again praying with deep ſighs, and grievous groans? others foaming out their ſhame, in drunken, ſcurrilous or laſcivious ſongs, ſome having their hearts ready to break for grief; others to burſt their lungs with laughter?

Theſe beloved have been the abuſes in former times! which any Reverent, and zealous ſpirit that had lived amongſt us, juſtly might, and queſtionleſs would have taxt more ſharply: And yet of ſuch reproofs, the beſt of us might well in ſome meaſure have been ſharers. But theſe dangers are gone long ſince; would God the guilt of our ſins were as far removed from us; *If it remain, like times may return again.* What then remains, but, that we repent of what is paſt, and take heed of what is to come? Lord! never let the penſive ſighs, the mournful groans, or grievous out-cries of dying men be mingled with our laviſh mirth, and ſportings. O let not the ſongs of pleaſure, and the voice of death aſcend the heavens, or appear at thy *Tribunal ſeat* together, leaſt This moſt unſeaſonable diſcord ſound ſtill in thy ear until the ſound of the Angels Trumpet, ſummon us to that fearful Judgment; wherein they may laugh and we may cry, wherein their comfortleſs ſighs, and dolorous groans, may be changed into everlaſting *Hallelujahs* of joy, and peace; and all immoderate unlawful mirth, all unſeaſonable, and untimely pleaſures be terminated with endleſs grief. And as for ſuch as ſeek to raiſe the ſpirit of unhallowed mirth, and belch out their ſcurrilous Jeſts by powring in wine and ſtrong drink, even in the dayes, wherein the Lord hath called them to faſting and mourning: O that they could conſider, the time may come wherein they ſhall wiſh for one drop of that liquor for a whole day (which now they pour in hourly without meaſure) to cool their ſcorched tongues; And yet (unto their greater miſery) ſhall not be heard in ſo miſerable a wiſh; but in the continual want of this, and all other comfort, their pleaſant ſongs ſhall be turned into bitter howlings; Their wanton motions, and mimick geſtures into wailing and gnaſhing of teeth.

And as for you **Reverend Fathers**, or you my much **Reſpected Brethren**, to whom any charge of others either private or publick is committed: Conſider (I beſeech you) what places you bear in theſe Houſes of God: All of you in your ſeveral Charges ſuſtain the place of righteous *Job* in his Family, for your fatherly care over inferiors. Whilſt then your Sons thus banquet in their houſes, every one his day, and ſend and call their friends to eat and drink with them: Be you ſure the Lord will require at your hands, that you be ſo much more vigilant in your Callings: not only in puniſhing the Chief Offendors in this kind, as ſome of you have begun, (though this no doubt will be an acceptable ſacrifice unto God) but even in offering up your evening and morning ſacrifice for them, according to the number of their tranſgreſſions. For doubtleſs your Sons have grievouſly offended and blaſphemed God in their hearts: And therefore you muſt be ſo much the more diligent to offer up the ſweet incenſe every day. For all of us (Beloved in our Lord and Saviour) ſee the dayes wherein we live are **extraordinary evil**, and the time muſt be redeemed by our extraordinary vigilancie, ſobriety and ſanctity. As others double and treble the ſins of this preſent, in reſpect of former times, ſo muſt we in like proportion increaſe our induſtry, and diligence, fervent prayer, good exhortation, charitable deeds and ſacred functions. Thus would you (*Reverend Fathers*) go before us in theſe duties, as you do in dignity, God would reſtore your loſt ſons to you again; and beſides *Jobs Reſtitution* in this life, you ſhall certainly be partakers of *Daniels Bleſſing* in the life to come. For thus turning others unto righteouſneſs by your good Examples, you ſhall ſhine like Stars for ever. God grant you (Governors) *wiſe hearts*, thus to rule; And all inferiors Grace to follow your good Examples and Advice. *Amen.*

The Later Sermon upon this Text.

CHAP. XXXVI.

JEREM. 45. *v.* 5.

For Behold I will bring a Plague (or evil) upon All Fleſh, ſaith the Lord, but thy life will I give thee for a prey in all places whither thou goeſt.

The Second Doctrine (*propounded Chap.* 35. *Sect.* 4.) *handled*, 1. *In* Theſi; *Touching* the natural eſteem of life in general. 2. *In* Hypotheſi; Of the Donative of Life to Baruch, *as the Caſe then ſtood.*

That men be not of the ſame Judgment About the Price of Life, *when they be in heat, Action and proſperity, which they be of, in dejection of ſpirit and adverſity; proved by inſtances.* Petrus Strozius Alvarez De Sande.

Gods wrath *ſharpens the Inſtruments, and increaſes the Terror of Death. Life was a Bleſſing to* Baruch, *though, it ſhewed him all thoſe evils, from ſight of which, God, took away* good King Joſiah, *in favour to him.* Baruch, *as man, did ſympathize with the miſeries of his people; As a faithful man and a Prophet of the Lord, He conformed to the juſt will of God. The Application.*

1. OF the *Two Aphoriſms* deduced out of the Text, The later (left before untouched) comes now to be handled. And it is This. *In times of publick Calamity or deſolation the bare Donative of life and liberty is a priviledge more to be eſteemed, then the Prerogative of Princes.* Or in other Terms thus. *Exemption from General Plagues is more then a full recompence for all the Grievances which attend our miniſterial charge, or ſervice in denouncing them.*

Of this, by Gods Aſſiſtance, I ſhall treat without further Diviſion, or Method more acurate, then that Uſual One; κατὰ θέσιν and καθ' ὑπόθεσιν.

Firſt, Of the Natural Eſteem of Life, or Exemption from common Plagues in General.

Secondly, Of it, as the Caſe here ſtands with Baruch.

Vox populi, etiam vox Dei eſt:

It is the *voice of Nature* uttering only what is engraven by the Creators Finger in the heart of man, and of creatures otherwiſe dumb; *Life is ſweet:* and would be ſo eſteemed of all, could we reſolve to live at home, endeavouring rather to *improve* thoſe ſeeds of happines, which grace or Nature have ſown in us, then to encompaſs large or vaſt materials of forreign Contentments. But unto men whoſe deſires are once diverted from the true *End* of life unto the remote *Means* deſtinated for its procurement; unto ſuch men as have ſet their thoughts ſuch Roving Progreſſes as *Pyrrhus* did: or with the fool in the Goſpel, are not able to give their ſouls their Acquietances, until they have enlarged their ſtore houſes, and laid up goods for many years: the attaining of ſuch particulars as for the preſent they moſt ſeek after, doth rather whet then ſatiate their appetite of the like.

Hence life attended with mean appurtenances becomes either loathſome or little ſet by, becauſe the proviſion of neceſſaries actually enjoyed is as nothing in reſpect of thoſe impertinencies, which they have ſwallowed in hope, or have in continual chaſe: The want of theſe latter unto men wedded unto vaſt deſires, is more irkſome, then the poſſeſſion of them can be pleaſant; ſo that to live without them ſeems a kind of loſs.

Me-thinks *Plinies* Hyperbolical or Fabulous Narration *of the greedy wildgooſe, which plucks ſo eagerly at the roots* (of what plants I now remember not, but) *ſo fixt to the ground that ſhe oft-times leaves her neck behind her,* may be a true Emblem of ſuch mens intemperate pettiſh hopes, uſually ſo faſtened to the matters, which they much deſire, that ſooner may their ſouls be drawn out of their bodies then weaned from theſe.

Wounds, though deep and grievous, are ſcarce felt to ſmart whilſt the blood is hot, or the body in motion: No marvel then, if in the fervent purſuit of honour, gain, or pleaſure, men ſometimes ſuffer their ſouls to eſcape out of their priſon, before the flight be diſcerned.

In fine, as young Gallants for ſpeedy ſupplies of luxurious expences uſually morgage their Lands ere they know their worth: So life it ſelf is oftentimes hazarded upon light terms by ſuch as know not; *what it is to live.*

A Forward Souldier.

Petrus Strozius.

We have heard of a *Souldier* ſo farward to take the advantage, which *Chance of War* had given, that he cried out unto his Captain; *Follow and we ſhall have a day of them:* whereas a perpetual night was taking poſſeſſion of his eyes, his entrals being let out whilſt he uttered theſe words. I can more eaſily believe this of an Engliſh ſpirit, though not in print, becauſe it is upon Authentick Record, that *Petrus Strozius a famous Italian Commander,* being ſhot with a bullet of a larger ſize under the left pap, fell down dead to the ground, leaving theſe words behind him in the air; *The French King hath loſt a true and faithful ſervant:* It ſeems his heart had been too full fraught with ſwelling Conceits of his own worth.

I could inſtance in many (did the time permit) which have either encountred death with ſuch undauntedneſs, or ſuffered life to be taken from them with ſo little ado, as their Example may ſeem a juſt Temptation unto braver ſpirits, to diſeſteem the proffer here made to *Baruch*, as ſcarce worth the acceptance; unleſs the conditions were more ample then have been intimated.

See *Val. Maximus de Cupiditate vitæ.*

2. But if that be true, whereof ſome of Natures Principal Secretaries have given us notice. *In ipſo mortis articulo ſumus vitæ avidiſſimi:* Many ſuch as have ruſht upon extream danger without diſmay, or outward

ſign of fear, (could their tongues have been their hearts interpreters, whilſt their ſouls did take their farewell, or whilſt their heads were ſevered from their bodies, as *Homer* relates of his Heroicks) their laſt Ditty (I am perſwaded) would have been *Dulce bellum inexpertis*. It was well obſerved by the younger *Pliny*; *Impetu quodam & inſtinctu procurrere ad mortem, commune cum multis: deliberare vero & cauſas ejus expendere, utque ſuaſerit ratio, vitæ mortiſq; conſilium ſuſcipere & ponere, ingentis eſt animi.* For his ſick friend to weigh life (though laden with grief) and death not fully apprehended, but approaching, in ſteady calm and quiet cogitations, not ſuffering his mind to be ſo far byaſſed or caſt with the conceit of the one or other; but that the voice of Phyſician or Friend ſhould ſway his choice to accept of either, did in this *Romans* judgment argue a truly reſolute and noble ſpirit.

Epiſt. lib. 1. *Epiſt.* 22.

God ſometimes in mercy (in juſtice often) ſo appoints, that death ſhall fully attach men, before they apprehend the leaſt Terror of it; which without the ſpecial aſſiſtance of his Spirit, is one time or other, terrible to fleſh and blood without exception. That many are never heard expreſly to recal their ſtubborn reſolutions, for abandoning diſcontented or diſgraced life, doth not ſufficiently argue, they did not finally miſlike their choice. They might miſlike it when it was too late, the door of repentance being ſhut upon them, whilſt with the fooliſh Virgins they ſought for the oil of mercy to renew the decaying lamps of Life. For, albeit the unwieldy deſires of lofty minds may overturn the very foundation whereon they are built, ere notice can be taken which way they ſway; yet at the very moment of diſſolution (on which the Conceits of what they are, and what they muſt be, move upon equal terms, as upon an indiviſible Centre) they will relent. And, although they had formerly been perſwaded, that ſouls might be annihilated by death, yet *to live*, although with never ſo little, yea even *to live*, becauſe life is *ſomething*, muſt needs ſeem better, then to be utterly nothing. He that can ſee no mean betwixt the members of that diviſion; *Aut Cæſar, aut nihil*; is queſtionleſs ſubject to ſome ſtrange ſuffuſion of his internal eye ſight, or hath his hopes hoyſted with wine, the uſual bellows to enflame the heart with raſh and deſperate reſolutions.

Many, for true valor better able to win an Empire, and for wiſdom more fit to manage it then *Cæſar Borgia* (either firſt Author or chief Practitioner of this falſe Logick) have been content to beg life and liberty at their inſolent enemies hands, whoſe preſence they never did, nor ever would have feared in Battel.

3. To give you *A full Induction in One Inſtance:* It ſhall be in that *Famous Spaniſh Leader*, which had *Italy*, *France*, *Germany*, unpartial Witneſſes; and his profeſſed Enemies, profeſſed Admirers of his heroical Worth; *Alvares de Sande*; under whoſe Colours not one of his Country-men, but was more afraid to play the Coward, then to encounter the fierceſt Enemy that durſt affront him. Or leaſt this his courage might be ſuſpected to be of *Cravons* kind; or the Sphere of his valor terminated within the bounds of *Europe*; his *Africane* Exploits againſt the *Moors*, would hardly be credited by modern Souldiers; unleſs *Lanoue* a man without the reach of ſuſpition either for *Ignorance*, or vulgar *Credulity* in matters Martial, had given them undoubted Credence, & uſed this *Great Spaniſh Commanders* Performance, as an Experiment or *Probatum* to evince the truth of the ſeeming *Paradox*; Concerning *the uſe of the Pike* in war. For what Captain almoſt ſince the ancient *Romans* times would have undertaken to maintain that in the Schools as poſſible, which this

See *Lanoue* Paradox ſecond, Page 204.

Noble Spaniard proved by practiſe? To conduct four thouſand pikes over a plain of four or five miles length, in deſpight of eighteen thouſand horſe appointed of purpoſe to prevent their paſſage. Yet after ſix fierce encounters upon the beſt advantage that ſo great diſtance could afford unto his barbarous enemies, He brought his company, all ſave 80. ſafe unto the place intended; leaving ſeven or eight hundred of his aſſailants dead on the field; the reſt repulſed.

I ſhould not have given ſo much credence unto *La-Noue's* reports or diſcourſe, unleſs that *Noble Engliſh General* Sir *John Norice* (*who intitled Lanoue* to the Father of modern Wars) had put in execution the rules preſcribed by *Lanoue* for *uſe of the Pike* and harquebuſe or muſket, with better ſucceſs then either *Alvarez de Sande*, or that well trained Spaniſh band which ſlew, that Noble Peer of *France*, *Guaſton de Foix*, in that uncelebrated yet moſt *famous Retreat at Gant*, never to be forgotten by the Engliſh Nation.

Or if ſome young Gallant or hard-bred ſouldier ſhould here except againſt *Sandeus*, as the *Aramites* did againſt the *God of the Iſraelites*. It may be he was a man of an intrepid ſpirit in the field, but perhaps more faint hearted then many others of his time, to endure a lingring ſiege: I will refer ſuch to his *Defence of Gerbis*, where having brought himſelf to the common ſouldiers ſtint, as well for the quality as for the quantity of his meat, he perſwades the feeble remnant, being but one thouſand left of many, which had been conſumed by famine and ſuch languiſhing diſeaſes (as ſcarcity or homelineſs of diet uſually breed) to honour their death with the enemies blood, rather then to yield themſelves into their hands. Albeit the ſucceſs did not anſwer his Reſolution, yet the attempt was on his part ſo valorous, that the *Turkiſh General* (whoſe Tent he ſought to ſurprize by night, being) ſtricken with admiration of his worth did woo him upon honourable Terms to become ſervant to great *Solyman* his maſter, as *Solyman* himſelf afterward did upon the Fame. But he whoſe carriage for any terror or calamity of wars was thus invincible, was by a ſhort captivity (though not half ſo miſerable as the Princes and nobles of *Judah* were now to ſuffer) brought to deprecate death in humble ſort, and afterward to eſteem of life as a more welcome prey then the richeſt ſpoils of all his former victories, then the greateſt Kingdom that could have been offered him in the dayes of his proſperity.

Thuanus Lib. 26. pag. 543. colum. 1.

How eaſily *the Almighty* can teach the haughty ſtomack or intrepid heart to eſteem his favour here profer'd to *Baruch* as they ought, we need no better teſtimony (for no better can be brought) then *Busbequius* his relation of this Noble *Spaniards* miſerable perplexity, during the time of his impriſonment in *Conſtantinople*. This *Busbequius*, the *Legate* there for *Ferdinand*, being requeſted by ſome of *Sandeu's quondam* followers (now his companions in captivity) to comfort their maſter by his letters, tels us. *Ego recuſabam: quod mihi non ratio, non oratio ſuppetebat, quâ hominem tam graviter afflictum conſolarer.* It is a true and lively *Symptome* of a great ſpirits temper, whom *the Lord* begins to humble, once ſubject to the Almighties diſcipline, *which* the ſame Author hath obſerved upon this occaſion. *Erat Sandeus ingentis ſpiritus vir, ſpei abundans, timoris neſcius; ſed qui ſunt hujuſmodi, ut omnia quæ optant, ſperant: ſic poſt quam cuncta retrò ferri, et contra animi ſententiam evenire experiuntur, Ita plerunq; animis concidunt, ut non ſit facile ad æquitatem eos erigere.*

See *Busbequius* his fourth *epiſt. De Rebus Turc.*

4. Pearls are precious (and as he ſayes, *cara, auro, contrà*) though ſuch ſimple creatures as *Æſops cock*, value them lower then a grain

of barley. And life at all times is ſweet, alwayes more worth then any pleaſure, wealth, or honour (unleſs *that honour*, which cometh from God alone) however haughty cock-brains or furious hot-ſpurs eſteem it lighter then a puff of popular fame. But beſides the untimely loſs of life, or ordinary dread of violent, or bloody death (the manner how it is God grant we never know by experience) but ſo aſſuredly it is, *That, When the wrath of God once throughly kindles againſt any Land or people, it puts an unuſual terror upon the countenances of their enemies; an unuſual edge upon their ſwords: It ſharpens the Sting of natural death, and ſo envenomes the jawes and teeth of famine, and his fellow meſſengers, that the ſmart of their impreſſions, or the meer terror of their threatnings, becomes unſufferably grievous beyond all meaſure of former experience, or precedent cogitation.*

Nothing before hath been held ſo baſe; whereunto greateſt ſpirits will not then be fain to ſtoop. Nothing ſo cruel or unnatural, unto whoſe practiſe the mildeſt and lovingeſt natures will not be brought, upon *Condition*, yea upon *Hope*, nay upon *probable Preſumption*, that they might become but half ſharers in the *Donative*, which is here beſtowed on *Baruch: Thy life will I give unto thee for a prey in all places whither thou goeſt.* Not the moſt womaniſh among the weaker ſex, in this whole Land, but would preſume of ſo much manlike reſolution, as by one means or other to lay down the weariſome burthen of an irkſome life, rather then ſhe ſhould be inforced to ſeek the preſervation of it by killing them whom ſhe had lately quickened, or devouring their fleſh, whom ſhe lately brought forth with ſorrow, and dayly fed with her own ſubſtance. Suppoſe we then that thoſe mothers of *Jeruſalem*, which re-intombed their ſucking infants in their wombs, were naturally more cruel and ſavage than other women ordinarily are? No! *The Lord himſelf* hath fully acquitted them of this imputation. *The hands of the pittiful women* (ſaith the Prophet, *Lament*.4.10.), *have ſodden their own children: they were their meat, in the deſtruction of the daughter of my people.* And if *women, women* of pity, in the time of War, can thus beſtrip themſelves of all wonted bowels of compaſſion towards the tender off ſpring of their wombes, ſhall not the ſtrong man put off his valour and the valiant forget to fight? ſhall not flight be far from the ſwift, and wiſdom periſh from the Politick? *It is the day of the Lords wrath* (ſaith the Propet) *and who can ſtand, who can abide it*? Not ſuch as for any motion of fear have ſtood more immoveable then a rock, whilſt the ſtrongeſt walls of their defence have been terribly ſhaken with the enemies ſhot. The ſtronger their wonted confidence had been, the greater their horrour and confuſion, when they ſhall diſcern *the finger of God* beginning once to draw *the diſmal lines of their diſaſterous Fates*; or when with *Belſhazzar* they begin to read their *Deſtinies* in viſible but Tranſient and unknown *Characters*: then feebleneſs, wo and ſorrow come upon the mightieſt men, as upon a woman in her travel, breeding a diſſolution in the loyns and cauſing their knees, to ſmite one againſt another. The terrors of War or other affrightments, whereunto they have formerly been accuſtomed, though oft-times very great, did never appear more then finite, becauſe always known in part. But of theſe *Panici terrores* or Repreſentations, *which uſher Gods wrath in the day of vengeance*, that is moſt true, which the *Philoſopher* gives as the Reaſon, why uncouth wayes ſeem alwayes long; *Ignotum, quâ ignotum, infinitum eſt.* And as the Kingdom of God, ſo his judgments, and the terrors, which accompany them, come not by Obſervation; In reſpect of this ſudden dread or un-obſervable terror wherewith *the Almighty* blaſts their ſouls, whom he hath ſigned to fearful deſtruction, They may ſay of their adverſaries moſt furious aſſaults, as he did of his Antagoniſts moſt bluſtering words.

——Non me tua fervida terrent
Dicta ferox; Dii me terrent, et Jupiter hoſtis.

One while they ſhall ſeek for death, but it will not be found of them. Another while death ſhall preſent it ſelf to them, and they ſhall make from it, and yet in the very next moment wiſh they had entertained it. And though life abide with them ſtill, yet ſhall it not be as a *Prey* unto them, but as a Clog, their perſons being expoſed unto their enemies pleaſure, perpetually tortured either between vain hopes of eſcape & uncertain expectance of an ignominious doom, or between their deſires of ſpeedy and gentle death and the lingering grievances of miſerable & captived life. In all theſe reſpects the *Prophets* Advice is good: *ſeek ye the Lord all the meek of the earth, which have wrought his judgements, ſeek righteouſneſs, ſeek lowlineſs, if ſo be that you may be hid in the day of the Lords wrath.*

Zephaniah 2.3

The doctrine handled in *Hypotheſi.*

5. But, be it true in *Theſi*, That life in its naked ſubſtance is ſweet; That ingenuous Liberty, though mixt with poverty, is as a pleaſant ſauce to make it relliſh beter: yet who ſhall perſwade *Baruch*, as *The Caſe ſtands* with him, ſo to accept it? Nay me thinks fleſh and blood ſhould regurgitate his former murmurings upon this motion made by *Jeremy*, and interpret the Prorogation of his life, as a freſh heap of ſorrows laid unto the burthen of griefs under which he fainted. Profers made by earthly princes muſt be reſpected by their followers, though worth little in themſelves: for unto them Court holy-water muſt ſeem ſweet, although it have no ſmel of gain. But ſhall the *The King of Kings* obtrude *That* as an *Extraordinary bleſſing* upon his poor diſtreſſed ſervant, which had been adjudged, (as his own word bears Record) for a *bitter curſe* or grievous plague; from which Two Kings (the one of *Iſrael* the other of *Judah*) were not exempted but upon great humiliation and penitent tears? For, was is not *The word of the Lord which came to Elijah the Tiſhbite ſaing: ſeeſt thou how Ahab humbleth himſelf before me?* (for he rent his clothes, and put ſackcloth upon his fleſh, and faſted and lay in ſackcloth and went ſoftly) *becauſe he humbleth himſelf before me, I will not bring the evil in his dayes, but in his ſons dayes will I bring the evil upon his houſe.* Such was that Meſſage which *Hulda* the propheteſs delivered unto *Joſiahs* meſſengers. *But to the King of Judah which ſent you to enquire of the Lord, thus ſhall ye ſay to him. Thus ſaith the Lord God of Iſrael, as touching the words which thou haſt heard; becauſe thine heart was tender, and thou haſt humbled thy ſelf before the Lord, when thou heardeſt what I ſpake againſt this place, and againſt the inhabitants thereof, that they ſhould become a deſolation and a curſe; and haſt rent thy clothes and wept before me: I alſo have heard thee ſaith the Lord: Behold therefore I will gather thee unto thy fathers, and thou ſhalt be gathered into thy grave in peace, and thine eye ſhall not ſee all the evil, which I will bring upon this place.* Yet did the arrows of *Iſrael* and *Judahs* moſt inveterate enemies, the arrowes of the *Aramites* and *Ægyptians*, make violent entrance for death into both theſe Princes bodies, long before the time by ordinary courſe of nature prefixed for diſpoſſeſſion of their ſouls: How then ſhould life be unto *Baruch* as a welcome Prey, being to be fully charged with all theſe hard conditions and bitter grievances, whoſe releaſe or avoidance made untimely bloody death become A kind of gracious Pardon unto *Ahab*, and a *grateful Boon* or *Booty* to good *Joſias*? For what evil did the Lord either threaten, or afterward bring upon

An Objection.

1 *King* 21.

2 *Kings* 22. 18 19, 20.

Joſias poſterity or people, which *Baruchs* eyes did not behold? Nor did this leaſe of life and liberty here bequeathed unto him expire, till long after *Jeruſalems* glaſs was quite run out, till after her whiteſt Towers were covered with duſt, and all the cities of *Judah* and *Benjamin* laid waſt; till the King, the Princes, and nobles were led captives, or ſlain; and the remnant which War had left in *Judah*, as a gleaning after harveſt, diſperſt and ſowen throughout the Land of *Egypt*, never to be reapt but by the Sword, which even there purſues them (excepting a very ſmall number that eſcaped, *Jerem.*44.28.) And what greater evil could *Joſias's* eyes have ſeen, though he had lived as long as *Baruch*?

The Objection preſſed home.

The Difficulty therefore ſeems unanſwerable, *How life ſhould be a more grateful prey unto* Baruch, *then it might have been unto* Joſias?

The Anſwer to the former Objection.

6. But here if we rightly diſtinguiſh the *Times*, the *Perſons* and *Offices*; We may eaſily derive the violent ſhortning of good *Joſias* his dayes, and this lengthening of *Baruch's*, to ſee the evil, which *Joſias* deſired rather to be ſightleſs then to ſee. *from one and the ſame* loving kindneſs of *the Lord. Joſias* (we muſt conſider) was *The Great Leader of Gods People*, and could not but wiſh their Fall ſhould be under ſome other then himſelf.

It was a *Donative* more magnificent, then the long reign of *Auguſtus*, that being ſlain in war he ſhould go to his grave in peace. For this included his peoples preſent ſafety, whoſe extirpation had been till this time deferred for his ſake, though now at length, he muſt be taken out of the way, that the *Meſſengess* of Gods wrath, which could forbear no longer, may have a freer paſſage throughout the Land. No marvel if after thirty one years raign in proſperity and peace, he patiently ſuffered violent death, being thus graced with greater honour, then either *Codrus*, the laſt King of *Athens*, or the *Roman Decius*, purchaſed by voluntary ſacrificing themſelves for their people. Perhaps the plagues, which theſe men feared, might otherwiſe have been avoided: Or it may be, the fear it ſelf was but ſome vain deluſion of Satan, alwayes delighted with ſuch ſacrifices. But that *Jeruſalem* and *Judah*, ſtanding condemned before *Joſias's* birth, were ſo long reprieved and ſo well intreated for his ſake, we have the great Judges Sentence for our warrant. And therefore the Word of *the Lord* which *Huldah* the Propheteſs had ſent, muſt needs ſeem good to him.

It was a meſſage more unwelcome, then ſuch a death as *Joſias* ſuffered, which *Iſaias* brought to his great Grand-father *Hezekiah*, lately delivered from the *Aſſyrian*, and miraculouſly reſtored to life; but more forward to receive *Preſents* from *Berodaſh* King of *Babylon*, then to render praiſe and thankſgiving to his God, according to the *reward* beſtowed upon him. *Behold, the dayes come* (ſaith *Iſaias*) *that all that is in thine houſe, and that which thy Fathers have laid up in ſtore unto this day, ſhall ſhall be carried unto* Babylon: *nothing ſhall be left* (*ſaith the Lord.*) *And of thy ſons, which ſhall iſſue from thee, which thou ſhalt beget, ſhall they take away, and they ſhall be Eunuchs in the Palace of the King of* Babylon.

Doth he repine or mutter at this ungrateful Meſſage?

No; But with great ſubmiſſion replies, *Good is the Word of the Lord, which Thou haſt ſpoken.* And he ſaid: *Is it not good, if peace and truth be in my dayes?* Iſaiah 39. 8.

Shall we hence collect that this good King was of that wicked Tyrants mind, who, as he had ſhortned her dayes from whom he had beginning of life, ſo did he envy his *Mother Nature* ſhould ſurvive him; wiſhing the world might be diſſolved at his death, and that *Old Chaos* might be his Tomb?

God forbid we ſhould wrong the memory of ſo Gracious a Prince by the leaſt ſuſpicion of ſuch ungracious thoughts! Rather, his heart did ſmite him for ſhewing his Treaſury, his Armory, and other proviſion, wherein he had gloried too much, unto the King of *Babels* Meſſengers. This ſin he knew to be ſuch as his Father *Davids* had been in numbring the Hoſts of *Iſrael:* The plagues now threatned by his God he could not but acknowledge to be moſt juſt: and great therefore muſt his mercy toward him needs ſeem to be, in that for his ſake, who had ſo ill requited *this ſtrange Delivery and Recovery*, he would yet defer them. But ſeeing the wickedneſs of *Manaſſeh*, and the mighty encreaſe of this peoples iniquity from *Hezekiah*'s death, did earneſtly ſollicit the *Day of Viſitation*, the former adjourning of it muſt coſt *Joſiah* dear. And, Gods Arrows being fleſht in him; No marvel, if they return not empty from the blood of the ſlain, or from the fat of the mighty: *Having begun with ſo good a King*, it might well be expected, they would make an end of ſo naughty a people.

2 Chron. 32. 25,26.

This was he, of whom not the people only, but *the* Prophet hath ſaid: *Under his ſhadow we ſhall be ſafe:* As he was a ſhadow (without queſtion) of *that great Shepheard* which was to be ſmitten ere the flock were ſcattered; upon the occaſion of whoſe death, his Diſciples likewiſe ſaid, *We truſted it had been he which ſhould have redeemed Iſrael.* And for *Joſias* to become the true ſhadow, or the bloody picture of that *Great Shepherds death*, was a greater honour, then if the ſhadow in the Dial of *Ahaz* had returned backward ten degrees in token of prolonging his dayes as long as *Hezekiah*'s had been: ſpecially if we conſider, that the Saying fulfilled in the Great Prophet, was verified in him: *Of them, which thou gaveſt me, have I loſt none:* Though he were ſlain, yet his Army returned home ſafe, and he went to his grave in peace, being buried in his own Sepulcher by his Servants.

2 King. 23. 30.
2 Chron. 35. 21,24.

7. But (alas!) *Baruch* lives in an Age ſuper-annuated for any ſuch Grace or Favour, as *Hezekiah* or *Joſias* found; in a City, in which *though Noah, Job, and Daniel lived together, yet as I live (ſaith the Lord God) they ſhall deliver neither ſon nor daughter, they ſhall but deliver their own ſouls by their righteouſneſs.* And ſhall not the Word of the Lord, which *Jeremy* hath ſpoken unto *Baruch*, be good? For is it not good that when the Lord hath determined to ſend his four ſore judgements upon *Jeruſalem*; the Sword, and the Famine, and the noyſom Beaſt, and the Peſtilence, to cut off from it man and beaſt, yet his life ſhall be a prey, not unto theſe, but to himſelf? Yes, this is much better, conſidering the ſeaſon, then if he had been ſole heir to *Hezekiah* or *Joſias:* Three or four of whoſe Succeſſors, all in their turns Kings of *Judah*, he lived to ſee *led bound in chains, and their Nobles linkt in fetters of iron.* For *Baruch* (with reference unto theſe mens perſons and preſent calamity) to have ſuch an ample *ſafe Conduct*, as no Monarch living could have granted him; Licenſe to travel whither he liſted, with full aſſurance of life, was *an Honour peculiar to Gods Saints;* A Reward wherein at this time my Prophet *Jeremy* and *Ebedmelech* (which had received *Jeremy* in the name of a Prophet, miniſtring bread and water, &c. unto his neceſſities) were to be his only partners.

Ezek. 14. 20, 21.

8. But though they had liberty to travel whither they pleaſe, will they be as careleſs paſſengers without all regard of their mothers ſorrows, wherewith the Lord had afflicted her in the day of his fierce anger? *Jeremy* doubtleſs would have endured all the tortures cruel *Babylon* could have deviſed, upon condition *Jeruſalem* and *Judah* might ſtill have dwelt in ſafety. The *Galatians* were not more affectionate towards

wards *Paul*, then *Jeremy* was to the meaneſt branch, that ſprang from good *Joſias*; willingly would he have pluckt out his own, to have redeemed *Zedekiah's* eyes or to have prevented *that lamentable Farewel*, which they were to take of ſight, the barbarous maſſacre of his deareſt children. And how then can this ſhort prolongation of life be ſweet to *Jeremy* the *Aged*, or unto *Baruch the Scribe*, being now to ſee ſuch miſery fall upon their native Country, King, and people, as they might juſtly wiſh their mothers wombs had been their graves, rather then they ſhould have been brought forth to behold it? A thouſand lives had been well ſpent, upon condition ſuch calamity had never been ſeen in *Jury*; and yet the prorogation of *Baruchs* and *Jeremies* life, though certain to ſee the execution of all the plagues here threatned: (theſe becoming now at length without any fault or negligence in them, but rather by others neglect of their forewarnings, altogether *Fatal* and inevitable) is much better then a thouſand years ſpent in mirth and jollity. But would they not ſorrow day and night for the ſlain of the daughter of their people? *The Book of the Lamentations* will witneſs, *tears*, not ſweet wine, to have been the drink of him that wrote them.

And ſhall life, though it have continual ſorrow for its ſauce, be ſweet? *whoſe* heart among us would not be ſad, even full of ſorrow? *whoſe* eyes would not overflow with tears at the Tragical repreſentation of *their* diſaſters and calamities, whoſe living perſons we had alwayes honoured, whoſe memory and never dying Fame we reverence? And yet to minds deckt with more polite literature, or mollified with the Muſes ſongs, the ſecret delight, which in this Caſe ariſeth from the Poets Art and contrivance; much more from our obſervation of the ſtrange concurrence of real cauſes conſpiring to work deſigns worthy of God (whether for mercy or for vengeance) is infinitely more ſweet and pleaſant, then the profuſe mirth of laſcivious Comedies, on any other poſitive delight, whereof humane ſenſes (whether external or internal) are capable. And if with reverence any may be thereto compared, *This ſecret placid delight (which is thus accompanied with ſighs and compoſed ſadneſs) moſt perfectly reſembles the internal comfort of the ſpirit, alwaies rejoycing in tribulation.* Such truly was the joy and comfort, which *Jeremy* & *Baruch* found, who had now been admitted ſpectators twenty years & more of a true unfained *Tragedy*; whoſe *Cataſtrophe* was to contain the moſt doleful ſpectacle, the great eye of the world (ſince it firſt rolled in his ſphere, until this time) had ever beheld. Had they lookt upon the ſeveral parts of this Tragedy (the laſt Scene eſpecially) with natural eyes; the gaſtly ſight had doubtleſs inſpired them with ſome deſperate *Romane reſolution*, to have acted the like cruelty upon themſelves, as the *Babylonians* had done upon their brethren; to have ſet a full & Capital Period to all the woes (which they had written againſt this people) with their own blood ſpilt in the ruines of the Temple or mingled with the aſhes of the Altar. But now, that *the Lord* hath enlightned their hearts, to diſcern the ſweet diſpoſition of his all-ſeeing Providence, ſtill counterplotting the ſubtle Projects of man, & making the Politicians (which had accounted his Prophets ſilly fools, unexperienced Idiots or raving Bedlams) more curiouſly cunning, then the ſpider, to weave the net which he had ordained to ſpread upon them: the more they ſorrowed to ſee the deſolation of their country, the greater ſtill was their ſolace in contemplating the juſtice, power and wiſdom of their God, in accompliſhing his indignation contrary to Prince and peoples expectation, but agreeable to their predictions.

Finally, as men compacted of fleſh and blood, they could not but ſympathize with miſerable men, even their brethren, their fleſh and bones. As *faithful men* they could not but be in mind and affection conformable to *the Lord their God*, by whoſe good ſpirit their hearts were toucht, and their ſouls illuminated to foreſee the contrivance of his deſigns upon theſe his diſobedient children, which had ſo often refuſed the wayes of peace, which he would have led them in, but they would not follow.

From a double Aſpect: A twofold Sympathy ariſeth

9. From this Double Aſpect, the one of Nature, the other of Grace, and this twofold Sympathy thence ariſing, the one with their Creator, the other with their fellow-creatures; doth the Lord frame this Pathetical and forcible Charge unto *Baruch: Behold, that, which I have built, will I break down, and that, which I have planted, will I pluck up, even this whole Land, and ſeekeſt thou great things for thy ſelf? Seek them not.* The *Exegeſis* or Implication fully unfolded extends thus far: Baruch! *Wouldſt thou reap pleaſures from a Land overſpread with plagues, and drowned with ſorrow? Or ſeekeſt thou applauſe or credit among a people now become an hiſſing and aſtoniſhment to all their neighbors? Wouldſt thou eat Lambs out of the flock, or fat Calves out of the Stall, whilſt famine devours the men of war, whiles ſuch, as have fed delicately, languiſh for hunger in the ſtreets? Wouldſt thou be clothed with ſoft rayment, or crown thy head with roſes, whilſt ſuch, as have been brought up in ſcarlet, embrace the dunghill? Is it thy deſire to glad thine heart with wine, or with oyl to make thee a cheerful countenance, when as the viſage of my* Nazarites, *ſometimes purer then ſnow, and whiter then milk, is become more black than any coal? Or doſt thou affect to live at eaſe in* Sion, *to be lull'd aſleep with ſound of viols, whilſt the outcries of the maimed, captives or mothers rob'd of their children, are ready to wake the dead out of their ſepulchres? For a voice is taken up (throughout all the Cities of* Judah *and* Benjamin) a voice of bitter weeping, like that of *Rachel* mourning for her children, and refuſing comfort, *becauſe they are not. Sooner ſhall heaven fall to the earth, and the whole earth ſhrink into its Centre, then one word, my Prophets have ſpoken, ſhall fall to the ground. And now, if thou wouldſt be inſtructed; thoſe dayes, long ſince foretold by* Micah, *are approaching: The dayes,* Wherein *Sion* muſt be plowed as a field, *Jeruſalem* become an heap, and the mountain of the houſe like the high places of the Foreſt. *Thou ſeeſt whole cities, whole Kingdoms ſubject to mortality: and ſeekeſt thou to encloſe that proſperity, which they could not entertain, within thy breaſt? Albeit thou couldſt hope to live happily in the midſt of ſo great miſery as is decreed againſt thy native Country, yet what is, or hath been therein, what is it thine eyes have ſeen under the ſun, whereon thy love and liking could have been more affectionately ſet, then mine have been upon this Land and people? For, hath it not been ſung of old? Jeruſalem* is the vineyard of the Lord of Hoſts, and the men of *Judah* his pleaſant plant; *yet I (thou ſeeſt) muſt forgo mine own inheritance, and be deprived of* Jeruſalem *my wonted joy: and art thou ſo wedded to ought in it, that thou canſt not leave off to love it, and be contented to take thy life with thee for a prey to poſſeſs in whatſoever place thou ſhalt make choice of?*

10. But is *Baruch* by this *Donative* diſcharged of his former Watchmanſhip in *Jeruſalem?* No! As the propoſal of theſe Calamities ought in reaſon to wean his ſoul from wonted delights or ſeeking after great matters; ſo one ſpecial End of his not ſeeking after theſe, is, that he may be more reſolute, and diligent in denouncing Gods judgments againſt this people. The intimation of the former words may (on Gods part) be thus continued.

[¶ However I have determined to deſtroy this people, which have forſaken me; *Yet, do not thou forſake thy former Station:* repine not at thy wonted charge, but execute faithfully with alacrity that ſervice whereto my Prophet ſhall appoint thee; What though thou haſt ſeen no fruit of all thy former labours? What though *Jehoiakim* begin to rage afreſh, and this people hold on ſtill to rebell againſt thee? Hath not my ſpirit continually warred with the uncircumciſed, hearts of their forefathers? Hath not the *Great Angel of my Covenant* wraſtled from time to time with this ſtubborn and ſtiff-necked generation? *What could I have done more to my vine-yard that I have not done unto it? Howbeit at every ſeaſon whilſt I looked for grapes, it hath brought forth wild grapes;* yet hitherto have I not ceaſed, nor do I yet ceaſe to prune and dreſs it. Have the inhabitants of *Jeruſalem* at any time grieved thee or my Prophets? Or do I now ſend thee with this meſſage unto them, and am not with thee? Yes, in all thy troubles I am troubled; And what art *thou*, or who is *Jeremy?* Not againſt you, but againſt me is the rebellion of my people, for they have vexed *my holy ſpirit*; And doth this complaint well become thee? *I fainted in my ſighing and I find no reſt.* ¶]

All theſe and many like branches, which without violence to the meaning of the Spirit, might be ſpread out more at large, are virtually encloſed in the Text. The force and efficacy of the perſwaſion ariſeth more particularly from the reference, which theſe words [*Seek them not, &c.*] have to *Baruchs* repining at the meſſage enjoyned by *Jeremy*; and to that Reply of the Almighty upon his repining; *Behold that, which I have planted, will I pluck up*, &c. Which laſt words (unleſs I miſ-obſerve the native propriety of the Original) imply ſuch an Emphatical Antitheſis between the loſſes, which God and *Baruch* might ſeem to ſuffer; as that ſpeech of the Apoſtle, 1 *Cor.* 15. 36, implies, betwixt Gods ſowing and mans ſowing. Ἄφρον, σὺ ὃ σπείρεις οὐ ζωοποιεῖται, ἐὰν μὴ ἀποθάνῃ; *Thou Fool, that which* thou *ſoweſt, is not quickened, except it die.* The Implication is, *Much more ſhall that, which is ſowen in corruption by the Almighties immediate hand, be raiſed in glory.* Our Prophets words are *verbatim* thus: *Ejus, quod ædificavi, deſtructor Egomet*; Of what I have built, I my ſelf muſt be the deſtroyer: *Ejus quod plantavi, evulſor Egomet*; what was planted by me alone, I my ſelf muſt now pluck up: *Et tu quæreres grandia tibi?* As if he had ſaid. *I may not reap where I have ſown, nor gather the fruits which I have planted; and canſt not* thou *be contented to forgo thy harveſt, which thou hopeſt for, but diddeſt not ſow?* To the leaſt grain whereof thou canſt have no Title, none ſo juſt and ſoveraign, as I have to this whole Land, to every Soul that lives in *Judah*; and yet the whole and every part of this fair crop muſt be pluckt up and tranſplanted.

See Chap. 14. §. 6. Fol. 439.

11. But though the Lord at this time had thus threatned, and more than half ſhut the door of Repentance upon this ſtubborn people; yet the *Decree did not paſs the irrevocable Seal of his abſolute and unreſiſtible Will*, until ſome fourteen years after (as hath been ſhewed in former meditations out of this place.)

Quære whether he mean his Sermons upon *Jer.* 26. and other Texts printed 1637. Or, *Pharaohs Hardning*: See Book 10.

As much as I now affirm, is included in *Jeremies* words to *Baruch* at the very inſtant when he repined, *Jerem.* 36. v. 6, 7. *Therefore go thou and read in the Roll, which thou haſt written from my mouth, the words of the Lord in the ears of the people, in the Lords Houſe upon the faſting day: and alſo thou ſhalt read them in the ears of all* Judah, *that come out of their Cities. It may be they will preſent their ſupplication before* the Lord, *and will return every one from his evil way; for great is the anger and the fury, that* the Lord *hath pronounced againſt this people.*

Whether they would pray in faith or no, was *Juris controverſi*, a matter (at leaſt to the Prophets foreſight) of queſtion. But, that the Lord would repent him of the plagues denounced, ſo they would pray in faith, was *Juris liquidi*, a point whereof he never doubted.

Nor is it poſſible our hearts ſhould ever be throughly pierced with the right conceit either of our own, or of our Countries ſins, without this undoubted Perſwaſion of Gods infinite love towards all, and every one of us. Impoſſible it is for us his Embaſſadors to be armed with ſuch indefatigable Courage and diligence, as the times require; either for diſcharge of our duty, in denouncing his plagues againſt the impenitent or in averting men from impenitency, and exciting them to true repentance; until our ſouls be firmly poſſeſſed with the Prophets Doctrine, *Of Gods immutable Facility to repent him of ſuch plagues, as without our repentance are eternally and immutably decreed againſt us.*

Theſe Alternations of Gods loving kindneſs and ſeverity, towards the Same People, yea, towards the ſame Individual Perſons, are as the *Tropicks*, under which the Meſſengers of Peace muſt conſtantly run their contrary courſes; ſometime exhorting with all long-ſuffering to embrace his mercies; otherwhile ſharply reproving and powerfully threatning his fearful Judgments.

Conſtancy in truly obſerving and duly entertaining the juſt occaſions of this contrariety in the matter of our meſſage, is as the Centre, on which our ſouls being throughly ſetled, the whole Frame of our affections, whether of love unto their perſons, or of hate unto their ſins (over whom he hath made us over-ſeers) becomes *parallel* to the Almighties Will; who, though he puniſh the impenitent with death temporal and eternal, yet doth he not will their impenitencie, but uſeth all means poſſible to bring them unto true repentance.

12. It is, I confeſs, *A matter hard for fleſh and blood to conceive ſo much* as may ſatisfie this deſire of knowing *the manner*, how *Omnipotency ſhould for many generations be poſſeſſed with an eager longing after a peoples ſafety, which in the end muſt be deſtroyed.* How the great Creator of Heaven and Earth, which gave *Being* to all things by his Word, and made our ſouls immortal by his breath, ſhould be as it were in a continual childbirth of ſinful men, ſeeking to faſhion and quicken them with the Spirit of Life, and yet they, after all this travel, prove but abortive and miſ-ſhapen, *like the utimely fruit of a woman, which never ſaw the Sun*, never to be ſeen amongſt the living. But no marvel if we poor Worms of the earth, blind and naked, perceive not the force or nature of thoſe burning flames of eternal and unchangeable Love (ſuch is the very nature of our God) ſeeing they are ſeated in that glorious inacceſſible light: Yet of that eternal and glorious Sun, whoſe brightneſs no mortal eye may look upon and live, we may behold a true and perfect Module in the Ocean of mercy and compaſſion, in the watry eyes of the Son of God, with ſighs bewailing impenitent *Jeruſalems* woful Caſe. *If thou hadſt known, even thou, at leaſt in this thy day, the things that belong unto thy peace; but now they are hid from thine eyes! Luke* 19. 42. And elſewhere: *O Hieruſalem, Hieruſalem, thou that killeſt the Prophets, and ſtoneſt them that are ſent unto thee; how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not? Matth.*23. 37. If Chriſt Jeſus as truly God as man, did thus thirſt after *Jeruſalems* peace, after *Jeruſalem*, thus glutted with the Prophets blood, did thirſt moſt eagerly after his; far be it from us to think his loving kindneſs is utterly eſtranged from us, albeit our ſins have made a great ſeparation betwixt him and us. *Let us not then trifle out the time with Curious Diſputes concerning the manner of his Decree*, but rather ſeek him with all ſpeed and diligence whilſt he may be found; laying ſure hold on his mercy, *before the ſwift approach of his judgments* (violently

See the following Sermon upon *Matt.*23. 37.

haled down each day more than other, by the grievous weight of our ſins) *remove it* without the reach of ordinary Repentance.

13. It is a truth moſt delightful and comfortable to Contemplate; That, *The Immenſity of our God is as full of mercy and compaſſion, as the Sea is of water, or the body of the Sun of light.* But let us withall conſider, That the more abundant his loving kindneſs towards us, the more ſweet and fragrant his invitations have been; the more grievouſly have we provoked his fierce wrath and indignation by our continual wilfull refuſal to be gathered under the ſhadow of his wings daily ſtretcht out in mercy for our ſafety. Be we ſure God knows his own, as well as we do ours, and will not be over-reached by us. The longer we defer the renewing of his wonted favours, the dearer we muſt account it will coſt us; our ſuit at death will be more difficult. Thoſe prayers, thoſe tears, thoſe ſighs, or other attendants or concomitants of true repentance, which in times paſt would have gone for currant, will hereafter be eſteemed light or counterfeit.

And yet, alaſs! Who is he in *Court* or *Country*, in the *City* or in the *Village*, in the *Academy* or among the *Ignorant* or illiterate, that layes his own or others ſins to heart, as he ſhould? Or pours forth ſuch fervent prayers and ſupplications unto his God, as our Predeceſſors have done upon leſs ſignification of his diſpleaſure, and fewer fore-warnings of his judgments, then we have had continually theſe divers years paſt? Yea who is he amongſt all the Sons of *Levi*, that with *Jeremy* and *Baruch* hath utterly diſavowed all care or ſtudy of his own advancement or contentment, that he may intirely conſecrate his ſoul, his thoughts, and beſt imployments to his Maſters will, to take away the precious from the vile, to be as Gods mouth, to cauſe others to conform themſelves to him, not to conform himſelf to them? To ſet himſelf as a wall of braſs for this rebellious people to fight againſt; whilſt he thunders out Gods judgments againſt great and ſmall without all reſpect of perſons? Nay doth not Nobility, Gentry and Commonalty, Clergy and Laity, yea, I dare ſay it, as well *ſingula generum*, as *genera ſingulorum*, ſo mightily ſet their minds on great matters, and ſo ſtretch their inventions, either for getting more, or for improving what they have gotten to the utmoſt value, as if we would give God and men to underſtand, that we had no inheritance in that *Good Land*, wherein *The Lord* placed our Fathers. *But only a ſhort Remainder of an expiring Eſtate*, which we deſpere to renew: or, as if we would have it proclaimed in *Gath*, or publiſhed in *Askalon*, that the fear of them is already fallen upon the natural Inhabitants of this Land; now labouring only to prevent them in gathering up the preſent commodities, or to defeat them of their expected ſpoil. We demean our ſelves, juſt as the manner is, when Enemies more potent then can ſafely be forthwith entertained with battel, invade the borders of any Nation: In ſuch a Caſe tis held a point of politick huſbandry to waſte the Country round about them, leaſt it might maintain their Armies. But heretofore I have had, and elſewhere ſhall have occaſion to decypher all the ſymptoms of a dying State, either ſet down by the Word of God, or obſerved by the expert Anatomiſts of former dead bodies politick.

I ſuppoſe he means *His Treatiſe of Prodigies* or divine Fore-warnings, betokening Blood, which was loſt in his life time, and cannot yet be found.

14. My meſſage unto you *my Brethren the Sons of Levi*, is briefly this: Add not Gods anger to our Countries Curſe, which at this day, whether juſt or no, is bitter and rife againſt us; as if we were all or moſt of us like the companions of *Jeſus* the ſon of *Joſedech*, perſons *Prodigious*, but in a worſe ſenſe then they were; Perſons, that had procured

her, much, and did yet portend her, greater ſorrow; partly by our Daſtardly ſilence in good cauſes,but eſpecially by our propheſying for Rewards, and humoring the great Diſpenſers of thoſe dignities, on which our unſatiable deſires are now unſeaſonably ſet.

It was a *ſaying* amongſt the Ancient *Romans*; *Qui Beneficium accipit, libertatem vendit.* It is thus far improved in true *modern Engliſh*; He that will purchaſe preferments (Eccleſiaſtick eſpecially) muſt adventure to lay his ſoul to pawn. What remedy? Only this,to make a virtue of neceſſity. For ſo muſt every one do that means to live as a Chriſtian ought. Let us not look ſo much upon the ſiniſter intentions of corrupt minds, as upon the purpoſe of our God, even in mens moſt wicked projects.

And who knows whether *The Lord* by acquainting us with mens bad dealings in diſpenſing Eccleſiaſtical honour,do not lay the ſame reſtraint upon us his children, which he did upon *Baruch*? Without all queſtion, he abſolutely forbids us to ſeek after *great matters* in this age, in that he hath cut off all hopes of attaining them by means lawful and honeſt: And all this he doth for our good, that uſing *Baruchs* freedom, or *Jeremies* Reſolution in our ambaſſage, we may be partakers of their *Priviledge* in the *Great day of viſitation*; wherein, ſuch as in the mean time cruſh, and keep us under by their greatneſs, will be ready to give their wealth for our poverty, and change their honor for our diſgrace, upon condition they might but enjoy life with ſuch liberty and contentments as we do. Or, in Caſe they ſhorten our dayes by vexation or oppreſſion; yet faithfully diſcharging our duties, *whether we live or dye, we are the Lords.* And though they out-live us an hundred years, yet ſhall they be willing to give a thouſand, yea ten thouſand lives, if ſo many they had, ſo they might be but like us for one hour in the day of death. We need not ſearch forain *Chronicles*, nor look far back into ancient *Annales*; The regiſters of our own memories, & our fathers relations may afford examples of ſome ſons of *Levi*, men, if we rightly value their admirable worth, of place and fortunes mean in reſpect of our ſelves; which after their death (haſtned perhaps by hard uſage) have fild both this and forain Lands with their good name, as with a perfume ſweet and precious in the noſtrils of God and man, whilſt thoſe great lights of ſtate (ſo they ſeemed, whilſt paraſitical breath did blaze their fame) which had condemned them to privacie and obſcurity, were ſuddenly put out but with an everlaſting Stinch. God grant their ſucceſſors better ſucceſs, that a precious well deſerved fame may long ſurvive them.

For our ſelves (Beloved) as we all conſort in earneſt deſires and hearty prayers, that the Lord would renew his *Covenant made with Levi, his Covenant of life and peace*; ſo let us joyn hearts in this meditation: The only way to derive this bleſſing from this our father unto us his ſons, muſt be by arraying our ſelves with *Phineas* our eldeſt brothers integrity, by putting on his zeal and courage, to walk with the Lord our God in peace and equity, and to turn many away from iniquity. And now *remember them, O my God, that defile their Prieſthood, and break the Covenant of the Prieſthood, and of Levi:* Smite them through their loyns that make a prey of his poſſeſſions; and grind their heads, as thou didſt *Abimelechs* with broken milſtones from the walls, or with the reliques from the ruinated houſes; yea grind all their heads, O Lord, to powder, that grind the faces of his poor and needy children. But peace be upon all ſuch as walk according to this Rule here ſet to *Baruch*, and upon all thoſe that Love God. *To this God, The Father, The Son, and the holy Ghoſt, be aſcribed all honour and glory now and ever.* Amen.

The Publiſher, To the Readers of theſe two laſt SERMONS,

W*Ho may ſee, That this* great Author *was not affraid* Moſt *aculeatly to reprove the ſins of his own Time: nor is The Advertiſer aſhamed to ſet his ſeal to the juſtneſs of them by a full and true Publiſhing his Reproofs. Let the Lord be glorified though with our ſhame, and juſtified when he* ſpeaketh Judgment! *And (to Gods glory be it ſpoken)* This word *hath proſpered in the thing whereunto God ſent it, in ſome of the Gentry and Clergy: Yet can it not be denied but there is ſtill too great ſtore of matter of Reproof in the ſame kind. Many whoſe eſtates are ſore diminiſhed have minds ſtill ſet upon* Great Things: *whatever they have loſt,* they find pleaſure. *Had* The Author *lived to this day I am perſwaded he would have gone on with The* Holy Biſhops *complaints:* Perdidere tot calamitatum utilitates. Pacem & divitias priorum Temporum non habent; Omnia aut ablata aut imminuta ſunt: ſola tantum vitia creverunt: nihil de Proſperitate priſtina reliquum, niſi peccata quæ proſperitatem non eſſe fecerunt, &c.

Salvian. in his 6. 7. *Books de Gubern.*

Theſe are wracks indeed! To Miſs the Good which may be got by ſuffering evil, is the worſt of evils. To loſe that gain which ſhould be gotten by loſſes, is of loſſes the greateſt. But to grow worſe with ſuffering evil, is perdition it ſelf. Now if any one, of Proſperous condition, *when he reads this ſhall triumph and bleſs himſelf in his heart ſaying: We have not ſinned in devouring theſe men! I beg his Pardon: and beſeech him to read on; if he ſaw our faults in the laſt, he may perhaps ſee his own in the next. And humbly deſire leave to ſay,* 1. *A man may puniſh ſin and yet* (inter puniendum) *Commit a ſin greater then that he puniſheth.* 2. *In* theſe times, *and among the perſons promiſing* Reformation, *there hath been* Greater ſeeking after great things *and that with greater Inordination too, then was in former Times.*

Our Author complained that the Baruchs *of his time* ſought great things *by the Art of* Philip of Macedon. *Would God my Clergy Brethren (ſo I do eſteem ſuch (and none but ſuch) as were begotten to our mother by the R.R. Fathers of the Church) had not uſed the Art of* Alexander of Macedon *to make themſelves great. I muſt appeal to God and their own Conſciences, whether the Demolition of* Biſhopricks, Cathedrals, &c. *was not intended for augmenting Benefices (wherewith men, in times accounted corrupt, lived well contented) that they might ſatisfie the ſeekings of this preſent generation. But alas! What comfort can it be to this preſent that the Former Generation was ſo bad? or to the old ones that the preſent is ſo evil?* Hoc Ithacus——. *There is none that fears God, (ſure not one of thoſe that have erred in their ſimplicity) but will haſte to his prayers, That God would graciouſly pleaſe to reconcile, amend, and forgive both, and unite ſerious and Religious endeavors for the good of our afflicted Church: whoſe very Stones are ſo precious and Duſt ſo beautiful that they deſerve our Pity: yea, ſo, that if they be not ſet up again by us, they will either be tranſported to* Rome, *or conſummate by Doomſday.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVII.

The Firſt Sermon upon this Text.

ROMANS 2. 1.

Therefore, Thou art inexcuſable, O Man, whoſoever thou art that judgeſt: for wherein thou judgeſt another, thou condemneſt thy ſelf, for thou that judgeſt doeſt the ſame things.

Matth. 7. 1.
Rom. 14. 4.

From what Premiſſes *The Apoſtles* Concluſion *is inferred. The* Limitation *of* The Concluſion, *to the ſecuring of the* lawful Magiſtrate *exerciſing judicature according to his Commiſſion, and in matters belonging to his Cognizance.* David *and* Ahab *judging perſons (by the Prophets Art) feigned, did really condemn themſelves.*

The ſenſe of The Major Propoſition *improved, by virtue of the Grammar-Rule, concerning* Hebrew Participles: *and by expoſition of The phraſe. How the later Jews judging the deeds of their Forefathers; did condemn themſelves.*

1. IT is not my purpoſe now to enter a long Diſpute with the *Anabaptiſt*, or other *Sectaries*, which may ſeem to have help from this Text to oppoſe Judges and Magiſtrates; Being aſſured, that the Apoſtle who ſo warrants and eſtabliſhes *Power, exerciſed by heathens over Chriſtians*, in the thirteenth Chapter, doth not intend, the leaſt, to diſparage *it* here. It will be Taſk ſufficient for me to give the *True Extent* and *Limitation* of the Text; which ſays, *That every one that judgeth another is without Excuſe.*

The Text is a Concluſion.

The very *Firſt Word* of the *Text*, you ſee, doth bear the Stamp or Character of *A Concluſion:* Therefore *art thou inexcuſable O man.* Now, every *Concluſion* is a *Propoſition*; though every *Propoſition* be not a *Concluſion.* For, *Every Concluſion is a Propoſition inferred from ſome one or more Propoſitions more clear*; Or, *From which being granted, It will neceſſarily follow.* The firſt Queſtion is, from what *Premiſſes* this *Concluſion* in my Text is inferred. If you peruſe the whole *Former Chapter* it will be hard to find any *Propoſition* with which it hath any neceſſary Coherence or Dependence: we are therefore to look into this ſecond Chapter for the *Premiſſes*; and to conſider, that however, *in Logical or punctual School Diſputes, the Premiſſes have alwayes precedence of the Concluſion; yet in Rhetorical, Civil, Moral, or Theological diſcourſes, The Concluſion is oft times prefixed to the Premiſſes or Propoſitions whence it is inferred.* And thus it is in this Text. To draw our Apoſtles meaning into Logical or School-Form, We muſt place his Propoſitions, Thus.

Qu. From what Premiſſes inferred.

Whoſoever doth the ſame things, for which he judgeth another, is without excuſe (and doth condemn himſelf by judging them.)

But, *Every one that judgeth others doth the ſame things for which he judgeth them.*

Therefore, *Every one that judgeth is without excuſe*, (and doth condemn himſelf by Judging them.)

It were a Method brief and plain: Firſt, to ſhew the Truth of the *Major*: Secondly, the Validity of the *Minor*. But I muſt according to my intimation given, firſt ſpeak Of *The True Extent and right Limitation* of the *Concluſion*.

The Limitation of the Concluſion.

2. The Concluſion you ſee is Univerſal: [*Every one, whoſoever he be, that Judgeth is without Excuſe*, Plea, or Apology.] But may we hence infer, that all ſuch as exerciſe Judicature, whether Eccleſiaſtick or Civil are inexcuſable? Or that the Magiſtracy eſtabliſhed in moſt Chriſtian Kingdoms is unlawful, as queſtionleſs it is, if all ſuch as exerciſe Judicature be inexcuſable? No: To teach this were a kind of Hereſie. The Apoſtles Concluſion then muſt be thus far *Limited*, in Reference to the Parties judging. *It doth not involve or include All that Judge others, but ſuch as take upon them to judge others, being not lawfully thereunto called.* The Judgment, which men *lawfully called* do Adminiſter, is not theirs but the Lords, and ſo far as they exerciſe his Judgment, either in matters Civil or Eccleſiaſtick, they are worthy of Honour, no way liable to this Cenſure *of ſuch as judge others*.

Nor muſt this Concluſion be extended to Facts or Actions ſubject to the External Judicature of Courts; In reſpect of *ſuch*, an unrighteous man (ſo he be a Judge *lawfully called* and conſtituted) may give righteous judgment; and whilſt he does *ſo*, he ſhall not be condemned for judging another who deſerves judgment *In Foro Exteriore*; yet will God judge him for not judging himſelf *In Foro Interiore* (in caſe he be guilty of ſuch ſins as he judges others for, and judgeth not himſelf) whileſt he judgeth other mens miſdemeanors. For a man may be free from Humane or Poſitive Laws, and yet be a more grievous Tranſgreſſor of the Law Moral, or of the Law of Nature, then they are whom he condemns to Death, and that deſervedly, for tranſgreſſing Humane poſitive Laws: And ſuch an One is highly obliged to judge himſelf, That ſo he may, by Gods Mercy, eſcape the judgment of God.

The Extent of the Concluſion.

But, though this Concluſion do not involve *lawful* Magiſtrates moving *in their own ſphere*: yet doth it lay hold upon and include them alſo, *if they ſhall be found to exerciſe judicature in thoſe things which belong not, or are not proper to their Cognizance*, albeit, they be *in other Caſes* lawful Judges: for, in paſſing beyond their line or exceeding their Commiſſion, they put themſelves into the number, and ſo into the Condition, of thoſe that *take upon themſelves* to judge others, *having no Authority ſo to do.*

Another Limitation.

3. Again, it is not ſimply, *Every one that judgeth*; But every one which does the ſame things which he condemns in another, *that is inexcuſable* or without Plea. So the Apoſtle in the words following ſeemeth to *limit* his Concluſion, *For wherein thou judgeſt another thou condemneſt thy ſelf, for thou that judgeſt doeſt the ſame things.* Now he that doth the ſame things which he condemneth in another, is *properly* ἀναπολόγητος, that is, *Without Apology*, Excuſe or Plea. He that once grants the *Premiſſes* (or two firſt Propoſitions in a Syllogiſm) is by the Law of Diſputation, preſumed to grant the Concluſion. The Law of Reaſon will admit no *Negative Plea*. Much more doth he, which pronounceth Sentence againſt another, conclude himſelf under the ſame Sentence, by doing the ſame or like Fact which he condemneth in others. The Sentence which he pronounceth upon any other in this Caſe is more then a Premiſs or Antecedent, a Precedent or *Ruled Caſe* to his own Conviction or condemnation. Now as to make a man grant any Concluſion which he

is willing to deny or conceal, there is no way ſo expedite, as to preſs the Premiſſes upon him, from which it neceſſarily follows: ſo to bring a man to condemn or judge himſelf, for any fault or error committed by him, there is no means ſo available, as to let him ſee how he hath judged or condemned ſome others for the ſame or like Fault. *Every Sentence or judgment which a man makes againſt himſelf, is a Concluſion, and for the moſt part a Concluſion which no man is willing to grant, unleſs he be by this means drawn unto it.*

Two Inſtances (in *Ahab* and *David*) who by judging others did condemn themſelves.

Had that Prophet, of whom we read, 1 *Kings* 20. 35.. delivered his meſſage (from the Lord) unto King *Ahab*, (without any Premiſſes or Preamble) in theſe or like plain Terms, *Becauſe thou haſt ſuffered* Benhadad *King of* Syria, *to ſcape out of thine hands, he ſhall do to thee, as thou ſhouldſt have done to him*; *Ahab* would have put him to his Apology, or rather have left him inexcuſable for medling in affairs of State. But the ſame Spirit of God which gave him knowledge of *Ahabs* tranſgreſſion, and Reſolution to tax or cenſure him for it, did likewiſe teach him *The Art of Diſcretion*, for the manner of delivering his meſſage, and for the clearer Conviction of this *Unruly King*: He *firſt* diſguiſed himſelf with Aſhes upon his face, leſt the King by his habit ſhould diſcern him to be a Prophet: And making *Ahab* no party, He propoſeth the Caſe as his *own*, or as the Caſe of ſome inferior man or common Souldier, *He cried unto the King and ſaid, Thy ſervant went out into the midſt of the battel, and behold a man turned aſide and brought a man unto me and ſaid, Keep this man, if by any means he be miſſing, then ſhall thy life be for his life, or elſe thou ſhalt pay a talent of ſilver; and as thy ſervant was buſie here and there, he was gone.* Here is the Caſe, or *Species Facti*; The Kings Sentence upon it is more brief, ver. 40. *So ſhall thy judgment be; Thy ſelf hath decided it.* And the King having granted theſe Premiſſes, the Prophet knew it was too late for him to deny the Concluſion, which he immediately preſſeth upon him, *Thus ſaith the Lord, becauſe thou haſt let go out of thy hands a man whom I appointed to utter deſtruction, therefore thy life ſhall go for his life, and thy people for his people, and,* upon this Conviction, *the King of Iſrael went to his houſe heavy and diſpleaſed.*

Had the Prophet told the King the ſame Truth directly and bluntly, it might perhaps have diſpleaſed him more, but it could not have made him ſo heavy as now he was; for his diſpleaſure would have found a Vent, and ended in rage and fury againſt the Prophet. But being thus left without Apology or Excuſe, (by condemning another for a leſs fault (if it had been true) then he himſelf had really committed) his diſpleaſure or rage was ſwallowed up in ſilent heavineſs of heart.

If *Ahab* upon this Conviction had been as ready to judge himſelf by humble Confeſſion of his fault which he could not deny, as he was to condemn the diſguiſed Prophet for a far leſs, He might have eſcaped the judgment of the Lord which was here threatned, and did afterwards befall him.

By the like Sacred Art or cunning, the Prophet *Nathan* brought King *David* unwittingly to condemn himſelf by judging the rich man, which (as the Prophet feigned) had taken away his poor Neighbors Lamb, for entertaining his gueſts.

Had *Nathan* immediately and directly told this, otherwiſe Good King, as afterwards upon this premiſed Parable he did; *Wherefore haſt thou deſpiſed the Commandment of the Lord to do evil in his ſight? thou haſt killed* Uriah *the* Hittite *with the Sword, and haſt taken his Wife to be thy Wife, and haſt ſlain him with the Sword of the Children of* Ammon; the

Kings anger, which was greatly kindled againſt the ſuppoſed Rich man, which had wronged his poor Neighbor, would have kindled more fiercely againſt *Nathan*; But now that his anger againſt this ſuppoſed Rich man, was ſo truly and really kindled as it burſt forth into this Sentence denounced by ſolemn oath, *As the Lord liveth*, *The man that hath done this thing ſhall ſurely die.* The blow which he thus fiercely intended againſt a ſhadow, doth wound himſelf at the Rebound; for when *Nathan* upon the former Premiſſes makes this Concluſion, *Thou art the man, Thus ſaith the Lord God of Iſrael*, &c. He left him altogether without Plea or Excuſe, as ſtanding condemned by his own judgment upon another. And though the Prophet brought him unwittingly to condemn himſelf; yet after his Conviction he willingly acknowledged his fault; and ſo by judging himſelf eſcaped the judgment of the Lord, in part at leaſt, though not wholly.

The Facts for which theſe Two Kings did judge theſe imaginary or feigned Perſons, were not ſo hainous or ſo palpable (if they had been true) as were the Real Tranſgreſſions, of which the Prophets did clearly convince themſelves. And whoſoever doth the ſelf-ſame Facts, or Facts worſe then thoſe, for which he judgeth another, is altogether Inexcuſable, and ſtands convicted by his own Conſcience, condemned by his own mouth.

4. But, albeit This *Major* or Univerſal Propoſition be unqueſtionably true [*Whoſoever doth the ſame things, for which he judgeth another, doth condemn himſelf; becauſe the doing of the ſame Fact, doth neceſſarily draw the ſame Sentence which he paſſeth upon others, upon himſelf;*] Yet all this, how Univerſally how Unqueſtionably true it be, doth not, to my apprehenſion, make up the Full meaning of this Propoſition, πᾶς ὁ κρίνων ἀναπολόγητος; The Full Meaning according to the Original I take to be this; *Every one that is apt to Judge or Cenſure others is without Apology, without Excuſe.* The word in the Original (rendred by Mr. *Calvin*, *qui Judicas*; and in our Engliſh, *thou that Judgeſt*) is a Participle, κρίνων. And the Participles of the Greek Teſtament, or the *Septuagint*, are to be taken according to the Rate or Value of the Hebrew.

Now the Hebrew Participles (as every one that hath any inſight in that Dialect will obſerve;) *do more properly denote the Habits or cuſtom, then the tranſient Acts, and are of the ſame value with the Latine Verbals.* So the Greek ὁ ποιῶν ἁμαρτίαν, *Faciens malum*, is as much as *Factor mali*, Or *Operarius iniquitatis*, A Malefactor, or Worker of Iniquity. So in the fourth of St. *Matthew*, ver. 3. ὁ πειράζων. So 1 *Theſ.* 3. 5. ὁ πειράζων ἐπείρασε. So *Matth.* 13. 3. ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπείρειν. And ſo in this place ὁ κρίνων is more then *he that judgeth*, as much in Latine, as *Judex* or *Cenſor*, *Hee*, that is a Judge or Cenſurer.

Now as a man may *appetere vinum* and yet not be *appetens vini*, ſo may he ſometimes judge or cenſure another, and yet not be *A Judge* or *Cenſurer* of others, for that notes *the Habit* or Cuſtom, not the *Act* alone.

Now every one that taketh upon him the *Habit* or Cuſtom of cenſuring others, is without Apology or *Inexcuſable*, not only in that he takes upon him that Judicature, which God hath not appointed him to exerciſe; but, *Becauſe it is impoſſible for any man much accuſtomed to judge or cenſure others not to do the ſame things, which he Condemns in others:* (which was the effect and ſenſe of the *Minor Propoſition.*) For, as St. *James* tells us (not excluding himſelf, who queſtionleſs was one of the

The *Minor* of the foregoing *Syllogiſm.*

the beſt men then living,) *in many things we offend all.* And if we offend *in many things* and accuſtom or uſe our ſelves to cenſure *many*, or to paſs our ſentence upon *moſt things* which we ſee amiſs, we cannot poſſibly avoid the condemning of our ſelves, becauſe we cannot poſſibly avoid ſome one or other of thoſe faults, which we cenſure or condemn in others.

Again; As it is not every *Matter* for which a man may in *any ſort* be judged (as for natural parts, or buſineſſes of Art, ſuppoſe, unartificially done) ſo neither is it *every kind of judging* or cenſuring which is here meant. The Text muſt needs (at leaſt) have more ſpecial force and Reference to matters of more ſpecial weight or conſequence: (To give inſtance) in ſuch matter of *Life* and *Doctrine* as imports, or is conceived to imply, Favour or Diſ-favour with God; As that, *This man is an Elect veſſel*; *That a caſt-away or Reprobate.* Now every one doth condemn himſelf who ſo judges others in *theſe Points*, that he ſeeks to juſtifie himſelf by judging them. He ſaith in his heart, as the Phariſee did; *I thank God I am not as other men are, nor as this Publican.* The *Phariſee* had taken notice of ſome good *Evidences* or qualities in himſelf, of which he ſaw a want in the *Publican:* and of ſome ill conditions in the *Publican* from which he thought himſelf free in the particular; *Et ſic ad pauca reſpiciens facile pronunciat.* This is the ordinary ground of raſh and uncharitable judgment when men compare their own Good parts with others Bad.

5. To ſift the Original ὁ κρίνων a little further: beſides the *Multiplicity of cenſuring*, or proneneſs to judge others, *It imports a kind of Uſurped authority over others.* For whoſoever takes upon him κρίνειν *to ſentence* or judge another, hath a *ſecret perſwaſion or Conceit*, that he is better then the man whom he judgeth, at leaſt in reſpect of thoſe things for which he judgeth him. Otherwiſe, he would not judge but rather pity him or pray for him, and for himſelf leſt he fall into the like temptation. No man is fit to judge or cenſure another, but he that is able to correct or reform that fault or Error for which he judgeth him. Now *the fervent zeal of correcting or Reforming Abuſes moſt groſs and palpable, uſually miſleads men not well inſtructed in the wayes of God, into worſe errors then thoſe are which they ſeek to Reform in others.* He that will take upon him to be a Reformer of others, muſt firſt be throughly reformed himſelf, muſt be *renewed* (as the Apoſtle ſpeaks) *in the ſpirit of his mind*, enabled by *The ſpirit of God*, and by the *knowledge* of his *Providence* to ſee afar off as well as neer at hand; and to forecaſt the inconveniencies which may follow long after, as well as to diſcern miſchiefs preſent, or their redreſs.

And, When our Apoſtle ſaith, *Thou that judgeſt another doeſt the ſame things*; His meaning is not, that he doth alwayes the ſame things, *Quoad ſpeciem*, as we ſay *in kind*; or the *ſame* things for outward ſemblance; but oft-times the *ſame things by Equivalencie*, things of the like value or importance. And after this manner, Two men may do the *ſame* things, although the things done by the one, be quite contrary to the things done by the other. Every *Oppoſition to error is not a Truth*; For, Two Contrary Propoſitions, (as Logicians obſerve) may be alike falſe. And ſo may the *Reformation* of groſſeſt *Errors*, whether in matter of *Manners* or *Opinions* be altogether as bad as the Errors or Abuſes which they ſeek to *Reform*, if they alwayes ſeek the cure of the diſeaſe by contraries. *In matters of Fact* or *Manners* that *ſaying* of the *Poet* is moſt true;

Dum vitant ſtulti vitia, in contraria currunt.

Whilſt unwiſe men ſeek to avoid one vice they run into a contrary vice. And in matter of *Opinion* or ſpeculation That *Saying* of the ſame *Poet* hath been often ratified by woful Experience;

In vitium ducit culpæ fuga, ſi caret arte.

The eſchewing of one error is the high way to another, if it be done by haſty inconſiderate flight and not according to the Art and Rules of A *Sober Retreat.*

The truth of what is ſaid *before*, is plain from the Apoſtles Inſtances, *v.* 21,22. *Thou that teacheſt, a man ſhould not ſteal; doeſt thou ſteal?* This imports a committing of the *ſame* ſin in kind, for which he judged another. But when he ſaith, *Thou that abhorreſt Idols, committeſt Thou ſacrilege?* This cannot be meant of committing *the ſame ſin in kinde*, but only by Equivalency; For Idolatry and Sacrilege are contrary; The one is the fruit of ſuperſtitious zeal or blind devotion; The other of Atheiſm. But as diverſe other *Contraries*, ſo theſe Two agree too well in *One General*, that is, *in robbing God of his honor.* And for this Reaſon, As often as any Sacrilegious perſons (ſuppoſe the Jews) which robbed God in his tithes and offerings, did judge or cenſure the heathen for Idolatry, they did condemn themſelves; for they did *the ſame* or worſe. And it is *Generally True*, That *none are ſo rigid Judges, Cenſurers, or Reformers of others, as thoſe that are tainted with the contrary Crime or Fault.* And no marvel, ſeeing the unwiſer ſort of men (which are the far greater part) know no other way how to eſchew one vice but by running into the contrary. Like that Lunatick child in the Goſpel, ſometimes falling into the water, and then ſoon after, into the fire, which was a miſerable cure of the harm received in the water: Not much better is the *Reformation* which many in our dayes ſeek to make in themſelves or Others: Some, whoſe *zeal*, in youth had outrun their diſcretion, have changed that temper into Retchleſs prophaneneſs. Others from a diſſolute riotous courſe of life have been transformed into fiery zealots or Seditious Schiſmaticks.

6. In *matters ſpiritual* (whether concerning *Manners* or *Opinion*) The *natural man* is no better, no wiſer, then a natural fool in matters Civil. And many which are in part *ſpiritual*, that is, well reformed in Chriſtian Life and manners, are but *Punies* or *Novices* in matters of *Opinion* or *ſpeculation*, or of ſmall inſight in the *Sacred Art of Reforming others:*

As in War or battel the ſtrength or courage of the common Souldiers is not ſufficient, unleſs they have ſkilfull and well experienced Commanders to direct their obedience: So for the *Reformation* of groſs abuſes or palpable miſdemeanours in Church and Common-weal, the *ſpirit* of wiſdom and knowledge, the beſt gifts of Art and Learning, (which for the moſt part are reſident but in a few) are no leſs requiſite then Sanctity and integrity of Life in the multitude that are to be governed and directed by them. To give you then *the Aime and ſcope of our Apoſtle in this Chapter*, the *Jews* which lived in his time, or in the times betwixt the building of the ſecond Temple and our Saviours death, did take upon them to judge their fathers which had lived before the deſtruction of *Solomons* Temple, for tranſgreſſing the Law of God: and yet by judging them moſt deſervedly, did more manifeſtly condemn themſelves. For they did *the ſelf ſame things*, though not *in kind* or in particular, yet *the ſelf ſame by Equivalency.* And it is, if not *the only*, or whole, yet the *principal part* of our Apoſtles intention in this Chapter, to prove, *That even the moſt zealous Reformers of Religion amongſt the Jews did the very ſame things which they ſo mightily condemned in the Heathen, or in ſuch as were partakers with the Heathens in their idolatrous ſervices*; as you may gather from the ſeventeenth verſe unto the end of the Chapter.

The truth of his *General Concluſion* will appear, if we firſt ſhew, How theſe later Jews did condemn themſelves by judging their Fore-fathers; or, that they did the ſelf-ſame things or worſe.

That theſe did judge their Fathers, as we ſay, *Authoritativè*, their own ſpeeches recorded by our Saviour will plainly witneſs. *If we had been* (ſay they) *in the dayes of our Fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the Prophets*, *Matth.* 23. *v.* 29. That they themſelves did *the ſame things*, which they condemned in their Fathers, *Our Saviours Verdict* upon their hypocriſie in thus ſaying, puts out of Queſtion. *Fill ye up then* (ſaith he) *the meaſure of your Fathers; ye Serpents! ye generation of vipers! how can ye eſcape the damnation of Hell?* He did not command or impel them to fill up the meaſure of their fathers iniquity, but onely foreſaw that they were deſperately ſet *to fill it up* unto the brim. Now they could not *fill it up*, but by doing *the ſame things*, or worſe, then their Fathers had done.

7. But wherein did their Hypocriſie conſiſt? In pretending one thing outwardly to the eyes or ears of men, and concealing another ſecret purpoſe in their hearts? Did they thus ſpeak only *Ad faciendum populum*, to gain applauſe amongſt the people? Did they ſay otherwiſe then in Conſcience they were perſwaded was true? when they ſaid, *If we had lived in the dayes of our Fathers we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the Prophets*?

See Book 4. or juſtifying Faith, *Sect.*2.

No! To have ſpoken thus, and not to have thought ſo, had been groſs prophaneneſs, a branch of Atheiſm or Infidelity; whereas thoſe men, whom *Our Saviour* thus taxes, were Scribes and Phariſees, and their hypocriſie was Phariſaical.

Now Phariſaical hypocriſie, or *The Leaven of Phariſees*, hath alwayes *ſome ground of Truth*, and *a great meaſure of Zeal* (but of zeal without knowledge or diſcretion) to maintain that which it takes for truth, for its Ingredients.

The compoſition of *Hypocriſie Phariſaical.*

Theſe Phariſees (which thus ſpake, as Truth it ſelf relates of them) had this ground of truth for their perſwaſion, That if the Prophets and their Fathers had lived in their dayes, they knew themſelves ſo free from thoſe groſs abuſes which their Fathers committed, that they would have taken part with the Prophets againſt their Fathers: They had the Teſtimony of their own Conſciences, that they would rather have died themſelves then have conſented to the ſhedding of the Prophets blood upon the ſame *Motives* or occaſions which drew their Fathers to ſhed it.

How then did they make up the meaſure of their Fathers iniquity? or accompliſh their ſin in ſhedding the Prophets or other innocent blood? By their diſtempered zeal to maintain their *Rigid Reformation* of the moſt groſs and palbable abuſes, which their Fathers had committed, and for which eſpecially they had been plagued by God. The diſeaſes themſelves they knew (by Gods heavy hand upon their Fathers) to be moſt dangerous; and whilſt they ſeek to cure the ſame diſeaſes or prevent like plagues by practiſes quite contrary to the practiſes of their Fathers, they ſecretly nurſe more grievous diſeaſes, and bring more greivous plagues upon themſelves and upon their poſterity.

Two ſpecial ſins of the ancient Jews.

8. The *Two ſpecial Sins* for which their Fathers had been plagued, and which did include the moſt groſs, and moſt palpable breach of Gods Commandements that can be imagined, were *Idolatry*, and open *violation of the Sabbath*.

Theſe were ſins not only groſs and palpable in themſelves, but *ſins Tranſcendent*, ſuch as did open a wide gap or ſluce unto other ſins, as well againſt the firſt as the ſecond Table: Sins wherein they did moſt properly participate with the Heathens and Infidels. Their Idolatry exceeded the height of heatheniſh ſuperſtition; and Sabbath breach was the root of more then heatheniſh prophaneneſs.

Now that the ancient *Jews*, as well thoſe of *Judah* as of *Iſrael*, were remarkably plagued for their Idolatry, as for a grand or capital tranſgreſſion, all men know that read the Scripture. That they were likewiſe plagued in particular for the prophanation of the Sabbath; we may gather from *Nehemiah*, Chap. 13. 17, 18. *Then I contended with the* Nobles *of* Judah, *and ſaid unto them*; *What evil thing is this which ye do, and prophane the Sabbath day? Did not your Fathers thus, and did not our God bring all this evil upon us, and upon this City? yet ye bring more wrath upon Iſrael, by prophaning the Sabbath.*

Their Fathers had been ſo deeply tainted with this peſtilent diſeaſe, that their poſterity were not cleanſed from it, by ſeventy years captivity in the Land of *Caldea*, but it breaks forth again immediately upon their return unto the City and Land of their Fathers, which in their abſence had enjoyed its Sabbaths, for it had layen for the moſt part waſte and untilled.

As theſe two ſins of Idolatry and Prophanation were moſt groſs, ſo this peoples delight in them before this Captivity was great, and the more they delighted in them, the more impatient they were of reproof; and the more impatient they were of reproof, the more ſtill they were inraged againſt Gods Prophets, that did tax their perſons or oppoſe their practiſes.

Now as their plagues for theſe tranſgreſſions had been grievous, ſo their poſterity, after *Nehemiah* his time, were more zealous and ſevere in the Reformation of Idolatry, and breach of Sabbath, then of any other tranſgreſſions. So ſtrictly did they, in after times, obſerve Sabbath, that they made a Conſcience of defending themſelves againſt the violent aſſaults of their Enemies upon the *Sabbath day*, and did chuſe rather to die then *to pollute the Sabbath* by making up the breaches made in their walls or fortifications, as ye may gather, 1 *Maccab.* 2. And *Plutarch* (in his Book, *De Superſtitione*) taxes them for their Folly. (As *Juvenal, Satyr.* 14. ſcorns them for obſerving the *Reſt* of the Day.

Quidam ſortiti metuentem Sabbata patrem
Judaica ediſcunt quæ jura volumine Moſes
Tradidit arcano: Cui Septima quæque fuit Lux
Ignava, & partem vitæ non attigit ullam.)

Their Fathers ſinned grievouſly, in taking that liberty upon the Sabbath, which the Law of God had denied them. Theſe later Jews ſin in refuſing to uſe that liberty which God had in ſome Caſes allowed them, or at leaſt in applauding themſelves for their *ſtrict Reformation*, and condemning others which in matter of doctrine or practiſe oppoſed them. And this their *Fervent zeal* to maintain their own *Rigid Reformation*, did in the iſſue draw them to worſe practiſes then their Fathers had committed in their groſſeſt prophanation of the Sabbath.

The *Antient Jews* ſins. The later *Jews* Reformation.

Their Fathers were not at any time more violently bent againſt *Eſay*, *Jeremy*, or others of Gods Prophets, who taxt their ſcandalous breach of the Sabbath, then theſe later Jews were bent againſt our Saviour for not complying with them in their *Rigid Reformation* of former abuſes. Their Fathers were not more apt to perſecute the Prophets, as peeviſh diſturbers of their peace by reproving their prophaneneſs, then theſe later Jews were to perſecute our *Saviour*, for a prophane fellow or Sabbath breaker, for doing works of mercy and charity upon the Sabbath; albeit he wrought all his Cures without any manual labor or ſervile work.

9. The Antient *Jews* were ſo delighted in groſs Idolatry, *That they left the houſe of the Lord God of their Fathers, and ſerved Groves and Idols*, by a common conſent of the King and his Princes, as you may read, 2 *Chron.* 24.17. And not herewith content, they ſtoned *Zachariah* the Son of *Jehoida* their High-Prieſt to death in the houſe of the Lord, for oppoſing their practiſe, or controlling the Kings Licence, by a Countermand from the Lord, as it is ver. 20, 21. This was a *Pradigious Fact*, as the later Jews have curiouſly aggravated it, and his blood did cry for vengeance, even upon the later generation, which though they had ſo acurately *reformed* their Fore-fathers abuſes; As *Our Saviour* tells us, *Luke* 11. 51. *Verily I ſay unto you, IT*, to wit, *the blood of* Zecharias *ſhall be required of this generation.* But how did theſe Jews make up the meaſure of their Fathers ſins which ſhed *Zecharias* blood, *for diſſwading them from Idolatry?* Seeing they did deteſt this very Fact and the occaſions of it? By no other means then by *Over-prizing their Rigid Reformation; and by their diſtempered Zeal to maintain it againſt all that ſhould contradict it.* So far they ſought to root out this ſin, that they made not only all *Cauſes* but all probable or remote *Occaſions* of renewing Idolatry, to be matter of death; yea, they did rather chuſe to die themſelves, then to admit ſo much as an Image or Picture in their Temple, or upon the walls of it, though ſet up but for *Hiſtorical or Civil* uſe. So vehemently did they diſtaſte and loath the very conceit of multiplicity of Gods, that this their extream oppoſition unto *the Heathens, did ſo far miſ-ſway them* as they could not be brought to admit a *Diſtinction of Perſons in the Trinity.* How often did they accuſe our Saviour of blaſphemy, for ſaying *he was the Son of God*, or *God as well as man.*

See a following Sermon upon that Fact.

In fine, The chief matter or occaſion which they took to perſecute our Saviour unto death, was, for that he would not conſent unto them either for *doctrine* or *practiſe*, in their *Rigid Reformation* of thoſe groſs ſins which their Fathers had committed; or in their uncharitable Expoſitions of the ſecond or fourth Commandment: *He could not away with* their Sabbaths, *Iſa.* 1. 13.

To omit other places for the preſent; That one place of St. *John*, chap. 5. ſhall ſuffice. There you may read, ver. 8. that he had cured a man by his *meer word*, which had been ſick of a grievous infirmity thirty eight years togther. *But after the Jews knew that it was Jeſus which made him whole, they ſought to ſlay him, becauſe he had done theſe things on the Sabbath day.*

And when our Saviour makes this Reply, *Pater meus adhuc operatur, & ego operor*, giving them a *true Expoſition* concerning the negative Precept of the Sabbath, which did prohibit only works reſembling the works of Creation, not works reſembling Gods everlaſting preſervation of things created, *they ſought the more to kill him, not only becauſe he had broken the Sabbath; but ſaid alſo that God was his Father, making himſelf equal with God*, ver 17, 18.

Chriſts true Expoſition of the Negative part of the fourth Commandement.

10. To *Parallel* both their miſdemeanors with the Iſſues. The Fathers for love unto heatheniſh and ſenſe-pleaſing Idolatry did forſake their God and the ſervice of his houſe wherein he had promiſed to dwell. Theſe later Jews for their delight and *complacency* in their known freedom from theſe and the like particular ſins of their fathers, ſolemnly forſake and utterly diſclaim the ſame God, even, when according to his promiſe made to *Moſes*, he had his Tabernacle among them, and did walk with them (as the ancient Jews expected their *Meſſias* ſhould) in viſible manner. Their fathers ſlew their High-Prieſt in the Temple: theſe in killing Chriſt did deſtroy the Temple and Tabernacle of God; ſo his body was. Thus to forſake or diſclaim their Meſſias, they had a plauſible pretence or ſhew of truth; That he whom they ſaw to be a man, did take upon him that Authority which was proper to God alone. For ſo we read that when he ſaid to one, whom he cured of the palſie, *Be of good cheer!* thy ſins are *forgiven thee:* The Scribes and Phariſees which were then preſent, *began to reaſon ſaying, who is this that ſpeaketh blaſphemy, who can forgive ſins but God alone?* And for thus cenſuring Him they preſumed they had the warrant of God himſelf. *Iſai.* 43. 25. *I, even I am he that blotteth out thy tranſgreſſions for mine own ſake,* and will *not remember thy ſins.* It was moſt true what they from this place allege, That *God alone can forgive ſins.* But from this preſent miracle, and the manner of our Saviours converſation here on earth, and their own wicked dealing with him, if they had compared theſe with the words immediately precedent in the Prophet, *ver.* 24. they might have gathered, that *He was that only God which did forgive ſins.* For ſo the Prophet had ſaid unto *Iſrael* in the perſon of this only God, *Thou haſt made me to ſerve with thy ſins, thou haſt wearied me with thy iniquities.* This is *One of thoſe many places*, which, even by the Jews confeſſions were evidently *meant of God himſelf*, and yet were never litterally and punctually fulfilled or verified but *of God incarnate.* For God did never ſerve with this peoples ſins, was never weary with their iniquities, ſave only whilſt he took the *form of a ſervant upon him*, & bare their ſins in his fleſh or humane nature.

11. To recollect more briefly *the manner* how theſe *later Jews* did the *ſame things* for which they judged their Fathers, albeit their practiſes and diſpoſitions were for the moſt part *clean contrary*; as alſo *by what means* they were drawn to make up the meaſure of their forefathers ſins by ſhedding innocent blood; it is thus. The *antient Jews* did ſhed the blood of the Prophets, ſpecially becauſe they ſeverely taxed their Idolatry and breach of Sabbath; But the true reaſon why they ſhed their blood for taxing them, in theſe particulars, was, becauſe theſe and the like practiſes wherein they complied with neighbor Nations were *the moſt predominant and plauſible humours of thoſe times*; and did command all their other deſires or affections. Theſe *later Jews* did kill *the King of Prophets* for oppoſing the practiſes of intended Reformation; but the Reaſon why they crucified him for oppoſing them, eſpecially in the Rigid Reformation of theſe two ſins, was, *becauſe ſecret pride and deſire of applauſe, amongſt the people which profeſſed true Religion, was moſt predominant in theſe times of Reformation*, and did overſway all other deſires in the Phariſees. Both of them commit *the ſelf ſame ſins* even whilſt they follow *contrary practiſes*, becauſe both of them had made themſelves ſervants to their unruly deſires, and *would not obey the Truth*, but were inraged againſt it, whenſoever it fell croſs upon the deſire, which for the time being, was moſt ſoveraign and had the prerogative in their affections.

12. Thus you ſee, how theſe *later Jews* condemned themſelves by judging their Fore-fathers, even for the moſt abominable Facts or Errors committed by them. Let us beware leſt we condemn not our ſelves by judging theſe *later Jews*, eſpecially at this time of ſolemn remembrance of his death, wherein we are bound to examine and judge our ſelves, every man his own ſelf, not any other man of what *Religion* or *Sect* ſoever. What then? May we not ſay or think that theſe *later Jews* did moſt grievouſly ſin (more grievouſly then their Fore-fathers had done) in that they put the Lord of life to death? God forbid, that we ſhould not thus far cenſure them! But thus far to cenſure them and no farther, is not to judge them, it is ſuch a *Preparative* or *Precedent Rule* for right examining or judging our ſelves, as *Ahab*'s ſentence againſt the *Prophet*, whom he miſtook for a *Souldier*, or *David*'s againſt the ſuppoſed *Rich man*, which had taken his Neighbors Sheep, was to judge and condemn themſelves: But ſay not in your hearts as theſe *later Jews* did, *If we had lived in the dayes of* Herod *and* Pilate *we would not have been partakers with them or with the Phariſees, Scribes or Prieſts in murthering* that Juſt and Holy One.

Take we heed of condemning our ſelves by judging the later Jews.

I know there is not any amongſt you but will ſay in his heart, *I thank God I am for the preſent better affected towards Chriſt then theſe later Jews were which put him to death*, and whilſt ye thus ſay, Charity commands me to think, that you ſpeak no otherwiſe then you think, then you are verily perſwaded in heart. Yet let me intreat you, *not to make This or the like perſwaſion, any part of that Rule by which you are to examine and judge your ſelves.*

What other Rule then is there left?

Surely for examining our ſelves, whether we be greater Friends or greater Enemies unto Chriſt then theſe *later Jews* were, *There can be no other certain Rule beſides our Conformity or Non-conformity to the will of Chriſt.*

See the fourth Chapter of this Book.

Every perſonal wrong is ſo much the greater or leſs, as it more or leſs contradicts the Good Pleaſure of him that is wronged, if ſo his Will be regulated by Reaſon; or be *a Conſtant Rule of Goodneſs*, as we all believe our Saviours Will was.

That *Saying* of the *Poet* may be true, in ſome Caſes of Divinity:

Invitum qui ſervat idem facit occidenti.

He that perſwades a man, *ready to die upon good*, to live upon evil Terms, doth wrong him no leſs then he that ſhould kill him when he was deſirous to live.

Our Saviour taxes St. *Peter* more ſharply for diſſwading him from laying down his life for us, then he did the Scribes, Prieſts and Phariſees, for putting him to a lingring cruel and diſgraceful death, then he did *Judas* for betraying him. For upon this occaſion he ſaid to *Peter: Get thee behind me Sathan, for thou reliſheſt not the things that be of God, but the things that be of men.* *Peters* ſin had been as great as *Judas* his ſin, if it had been as habituated and unrelenting, or if he ſhould have gathered forces for his Reſcue. For however death (ſuch a diſgraceful cruel and lingring death as our Saviour ſuffered) was bitter unto him, and went much againſt his humane will; or however it more diſpleaſed him, that *the Jews his own people* ſhould be willing to put him to death, then the ſufferings of death did: yet he was comparatively far more willing to ſuffer the extremity of death and whatſoever they could inflict upon him beſides, then to leave the works of the Devil undiſſolved either in them or in us; either in all of us, or in any one of us. For this purpoſe, ſaith

S. *John*,

Com. III.

St. *John*, The Son of God was manifeſted that he might diſſolve the works of the Devil, 1 *John* 3. 8. What were theſe works of the Devil which he was willing to diſſolve, though it were by diſſolution of his ſoul from his body? Theſe were ſins of all ſorts, original and actual; or more punctually, thus: The main work of Satan which the Son of God came to diſſolve, and did by his death actually diſſolve for all and every one of us, was that bond of ſervitude which Satan *by right of Conqueſt* had gotten over our firſt Parents and us. All of us by right of *this Conqueſt* were born ſlaves of Satan, until the Son of God, by right of Conqueſt over Satan obtained in our fleſh, did make us again the ſervants of God *De jure*.

See Book 8.

He took away the right of Satan, and eſtabliſhed his own over us. We are his ſervants by peculiar purchaſe. Now if any man whom the Son of God hath redeemed from this ſlavery unto Satan (and thus far he hath redeemed all) ſhall return to Satans ſervice and abandon the true ſervice of Chriſt, he wrongs him more then the Jews did which put him to death; becauſe he was more willing to die for every one of us, then to ſuffer the works of Satan to be undiſſolved, or to be accompliſhed in any of us.

13. All of us even from our cradles have learned to take *up* the *Name of a Jew, as a Proverb*; and can take the boldneſs upon us (as occaſion ſerves) to cenſure the Scribes and Phariſees which put *our Lord and Saviour* to death as paterns of envy, malice, hypocriſie, and cruelty. But were not theſe very Jews as forward and free to cenſure their Forefathers (to whom they owed more reſpect then we do to them) for Idolatry, prophaneneſs and guilt of innocent blood; and thus they cenſured them without diſſimulation or affected zeal. And yet in thus judging their Fathers, they did condem themſelves, for they did the ſame things, or worſe. But you will ſay, *It is not poſſible, that we ſhould do the ſame things which theſe later Jews did, or worſe things then they did:* For, Chriſt cannot be buffeted, cannot be ſpit upon, cannot be crucified again. Yet may we do thoſe things (and would to God oft-times we did them not!) which are more diſpleaſing to him, now enthroned in Heaven, as King, then all that the Jews did unto him whilſt he was in form of a ſervant here on earth.

It was not the evil which the Jews did to him, as to their profeſſed enemy, but the evil which was in themſelves, as their *pride, envy, hypocriſie, uncharitable cenſuring of others*, which made him that made them, to be their enemy; and him that had been their Protector to fight againſt them. Theſe are diſeaſes not *Proper* to the Jewiſh Nation, but *Epidemical* and common to all Nations and places. The matter of them (as our Apoſtle in this Chapter diſputes) is alike common to all. *But the Jewiſh Nation came to their Criſis at Chriſts firſt appearance in humility.* Our *Critical Day* is not to be expected until his ſecond appearing in Majeſty and Glory: Then, nothing which lies hid in the heart, but ſhall be laid open; then and not before will all enmity betwixt the ſerpent and the womans ſeed appear. And, *in that day it ſhall be more tolerable for them which crucified him then for us; unleſs we take warning by Gods known Judgments upon them and their ſeed; to avoid thoſe practiſes and accuſtomances which wrought and ſwayed them by means ſecret and unſenſible to exerciſe enmity and hoſtility againſt their Lord, their Maker and Redeemer.*

14. And here my purpoſe was to have uſed the former Parallel betwixt the *Antient Jews* which killed the Prophets, and *the later*,

which, condemning them for ſo doing, did notwithſtanding kill our Saviour; as a *Map* whereby to ſhew you in what particulars, many in this Land, who not content with that diſcreet and *judicious Reformation* which is contained in the publick *Acts* and *Liturgie of our Church*, by their ſolicitous care and anxious zeal to be extreamly contrary unto the Romiſh Church almoſt in all things, do by judging her and her children, condemn themſelves doing the very ſame things, or worſe things then ſhe doth, and help to make up that meaſure of iniquity upon this Land which the Romiſh Religion whilſt it was here authorized had left unaccompliſhed; But for this point and others which ſerve for uſe and application of the general Doctrine hitherto delivered, this preſent time will not ſuffice. The Application ſhall be brief. Take heed you meaſure not your love to truth by your oppoſition unto error. If hatred of error and ſuperſtition ſpring from ſincere love of truth and true Religion, the root is good, and the branch is good. But if your love to truth and true Religion ſpring from hatred to others error and ſuperſtition, the root is naught, and the branch is naught; There can no other fruit be expected, but hypocriſie, hardneſs of heart, and uncharitable cenſuring others.

CHAP.XXXVIII.

The Second Sermon upon this Text.

ROMANS 2. 1.

Therefore, Thou art inexcuſable O man, &c.

1. THe Points worthy our Conſideration are Three.

Firſt, How our Fore-elders in the beginning of Reformation, and many amongſt us ſince the Reformation eſtabliſhed, did or do condemn themſelves whilſt they judge the Romiſh Church in particulars worthy of Condemnation by all.

Secondly, How the Romiſh Church in General, and many profeſſing Reformed Religion condemn themſelves, even whilſt they judge the *Jews* in Points moſt groſs and damnable.

Thirdly, How, not the Romiſh Church only, or the Jewiſh Synagogue, but many amongſt Profeſſors of true Religion, men in Opinion, Orthodoxal, evidently condemn themſelves, whilſt they judge or cenſure the very Idolatry of the Heathen.

The Points for which one Church or nation, one ſort of People or generation of men may Judg another, either concern matters of *Manners* and practiſe; or matters of *Opinion* and doctrine; or *matters mixt* that is, Errors in Opinion, which induce miſdemeanors in practiſe. If Errors there be any, which do not draw after them dangerous or ungodly Practiſes, theſe rather deſerve pity or toleration, then Rigid Cenſure. But *Doctrinal Errors*, which induce lewd practiſes, are more dangerous, more to be deteſted then the moſt groſs or lewdeſt practiſes into which ſome men fall, being not miſlead or drawn into them by *plauſible errors* or falſe doctrine. Practiſes, how groſs ſoever, if they want the ſupportance or Coun tenance of Doctrinal Rules, pollute the ſouls & conſciences of the parties peccant. they are not ſo powerful to ſeduce others. But *Miſdemeanors or perverſe Affections being countenanced by Pretence or Colour of ſacred Authority are moſt infectious.* Briefly, there is no falſe Doctrine, but it is an *Inconvenience*, whereas groſſer miſdemeanors without error in doctrine, are but *Miſchiefs*. And it is a *Maxim* received by the moſt ſage and prudent, that *Better is a Miſchief* then *an Inconvenience*, or at leaſt, *an Inconvenience is worſe then a Miſcheif.* But worſt of all is an Inconvenience, which draws Miſcheif after it; and ſuch is every Error in Doctrine, which inclines or diſpoſes men to evil practiſes, or which doth leaven or malignifie the affections of the heart naturally bad or but indifferent.

That which our Fore-elders did moſt condemn in the Romiſh Church or at leaſt that which they went about to reform, was the *Exceſſive wealth* which the Church or Clergy had gotten into their poſſeſſion, with the *Tranſcendent Authority of the Papacy*, by which they ſought to detain what they had gotten, or to gather more.

Whatever the manner of getting their wealth or Revenues was, the manner of uſing or imploying them was exceeding bad, and did deſerve, yea require a Reformation. Our Fore-elders did well in judging the *Clergy* for abuſing *Revenues ſacred*, to the maintenance of idleneſs, ſuperſtition and idolatry. But would to God they had not *condemned themſelves by judging them*, or that they had not done the ſame things wherein they judged them. Happy had it been for them, and for their poſterity, if thoſe large Revenues which they took from ſuch as abuſed them, had been imployed to pious uſes; As either to the maintenance of true Religion, or to the ſupport of the needy, or to prevent oppreſſing by extraordinary Taxes, or the like. This had been an undoubted effect of *pure Religion and undefiled before God.* But it was not the *different Eſtate* or condition of the parties, on whom *Church Revenues* were beſtowed, that could give warrant unto their *Alienation*, or which might bring a bleſſing upon their intended *Reformation*, but *the Uſes* unto which they were conſecrated, or the manner how they were imployed.

Now the *manner of their imployment*, no man, whoſe Anceſtors have been Parties in this buſineſs, will take upon him to juſtifie. Nor have the poſterity of ſuch as were at that time moſt inriched with the ſpoils of the *ſuperſtitious Church*, any great cauſe to rejoyce at their Anceſtors eaſie purchaſe. It was a practiſe juſt and right, as being authorized by God himſelf, that the *Iſraelites* ſhould deſpoil the *Egyptians* of their coſtly ear-rings and gawdy jewels. But albeit the *Iſraelites*, who were the borrowers, had better right unto them then the *Egyptians* which did lend them; yet much better had it been, If the *Egyptians* had either not lent them, or after the lone recovered them, than that they ſhould have afforded, as they did, both matter and opportunity for erecting golden Calves in *Iſrael.* And of *two Evils* it had been the leſs, if the Churches Revenues had been poſſeſſed by their firſt Owners; and not been miſ-imployed in ryot, luxury and other branches of prophaneneſs, whereby the meaſure of this Lands Iniquity was rather augmented then diminiſhed; however, the nutriment of ſuperſtition and Idolatry, was by this means abated. But be our Fore-elders fault, if not in alienating yet in miſ-imploying, *Church Revenues*; as it may be, worſe then ſuperſtition, equivalent to Idolatry it ſelf: it was in no wiſe the fault of *Reformed Religion* nor of the Reformers of it; *it muſt be charged upon the maintainers* *mainteiners of ſuperſtition:* For at the *Diſſolution of Abbies* and other *Religious Houſes*, there was *no Publick Reformation of Religion attempted*, ſave only, the denyal or Abjuration of the *Popes Tranſcendent Authority* and Reſtauration of the King unto his antient and hereditary right of Juriſdiction, in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtick. Nor was that *Boyſterous King* ſo much to blame in diſſolving material Temples or houſes (rather *abuſed* then *conſecrated* to ſuperſtition) as he was, after this Reformation (if ſo it may be called) in deſtroying ſo many living Temples of God, which ſought not the diſſolution of his Kingdom, nor any other Reformation of him and his people ſave only the clearing and purifying of their hearts and breſts (which had been conſecrated unto Gods ſervice) from the infection of *Romiſh ſuperſtition* and Idolatry.

2. Idolatry was that, which in the firſt place required Reformation, becauſe it did pollute the whole *ſervice of God*. And I think it would be hard to find any generation of Chriſtian men ſince the firſt plantation of Chriſtianity, which did more abhor idols, or adoration of images in the Church, then the firſt Reformers of that Religion which we now profeſs did: witneſs *Thoſe learned Homilies againſt the peril of Idolatry*. And yet, would to God, that many of thoſe times of high authority, and moſt zealouſly forward in the work of Reformation had not condemned themſelves by judging the Romiſh Church, or their fore Elders which lived in it. Or that our Apoſtles cenſure of the Jewes hate or oppoſition unto Gentiliſm, had not fallen as jump and fit upon the times of *Edward the ſixt*, as it did upon the times and people to whom it was firſt purpoſely fitted. Our fore Elders (eſpecially the Nobility and Gentry of thoſe times (did abhor idols no leſs then the Jews did; and yet did commit more groſs and *palpable ſacriledge*, then the Jews to my obſervation, at any time had done.

And what could it boot them to deface Images or pull down Idols in the material Churches, ſo long as by their very ſpoils, they nouriſhed that *Great Idol*, Covetouſneſs, in their own hearts: Thus to ſeek to inrich themſelves or fill their private Coffers with the ſpoils of *Abbies* or *Churches*, or by Tithes and offerings, was but to continue the practiſe of the Prelacy or Clergy, in deſtroying Pariſhes to erect *Monaſteries*: or demoliſhing leſſer *Religious houſes* to build up others more ſumptuous more Luxurious.

3. Many, at this day there be, which out of zeal, complain that the *Laws againſt ſuperſtition* and Idolatry are not ſevere enough: and there is no moderate man (unleſs of the Romiſh faction) but could wiſh, that ſuch laws as have been made for ſuppreſſing the growth of it were more conſtantly more impartially executed then they are. In all this neither of them are to blame. And yet by ſoliciting Gods cauſe and the cauſe of true Religion againſt the mainteiners of ſuperſtition and Idolatry, we ſhall but ſolicite our own condemnation, unleſs we bear a like zealous deſire and good affection for the depreſſing and rooting out of all ſacrilegious *Practiſes* or *Opinions*. And yet ſeriouſly to attempt *the Reformation* of this foul ſin, *which is Equivalent to Idolatry, and hath the ſame burthen of Gods curſe*, would be a matter (I am perſwaded) as full of difficulty and danger in this Land; as to attempt the defacing of Images in the Church of Rome, or in any Province ſubject to her Juriſdiction. But the further proſecution of this point would better befit an Audience of States-men of Parliament-men, or Lawyers, then this place or Audience. Only let me forewarn you, *That your Predeceſſors have been grievous offenders in this kind*, witneſs the ſhort revenues

or poor endowments of your goodly Churches.

4. But this ſin of ſacrilege or Church robbing hath been, though not common to all, yet in a manner peculiar to ſuch, as exerciſe the *Co-active Power of Reformation.* The Clergy, in whom the *Power directive* was, did either not at all or unwillingly partake with them in this offence; they have been and are the *Patients*, that is, the men which ſuffer wrong, not *Doers* of wrong in this kind. And if we ſet aſide thoſe Points of Romiſh Religion, which did not come to oppoſition or counterpoize with *Power Royall*, or with the *Intereſt of Potentates* or commodities of private men; *The Reformation made by our fore elders in other points of Doctrine was judicious and Religious.* They did no way condemn themſelves by judging the Romiſh Church. The judgment which they exerciſed was the judgement of the Lord. The Reformation which they intended and accompliſhed was *The Lords doing.* But many which have enjoyed the benefit of that wholſome Reformation, and of true Chriſtian liberty reſtored by it, have not ſubmitted themſelves, their opinions or Practiſes to the Laws or Rules preſcribed by it. Many have taken upon them, and yet do, not only to judge or cenſure the Romiſh Church but even *to condemn the Reformation of their Anceſtors*, as if it did to this day ſavour of the ſuperſtition from which it was ſevered: of thoſe men I only ſpeak, which out of an hatred, Antipathy or lothing the Romiſh Church, do *caſt themſelves out of all Churches, and will be members of none, unleſs they may be heads of ſome one new one of their own making*, or of ſome that hath no real patern or *Module* ſave only in their own buſie heads or brains.

A Romiſh error requiring Reformation.

5. To inſtance in ſome *particular errors* into which, the very hate of Romiſh errors hath tranſported them, *One of the moſt weighty Maſſes of Popery which required reformation* and *refining*, was, that *they made The Church*, which in their Language, was, *the body of the Clergy, a body Politick or kingdom diſtinct from the body of the Layety:* holding even Chriſtian Kings and Emperours to be Magiſtrates meerly Temporal or civil, altogether excluded from medling in affairs Eccleſiaſtick. Now this being granted, the *Suprem Majeſty* of every kingdom, State, or nation, ſhould be wholly ſeated in the Clergy: The greateſt Kings and Chriſtian Monarchs on earth ſhould be but meer vaſſals to the *Eccleſiaſtick Hierarchy;* or at the moſt, in ſuch ſubordination to it, as *Forraign Generals* and Commanders in chief are to the States or Soveraignties which imploy them, who may diſplace them at their pleaſure, whenſoever they ſhal tranſgreſs, ot not execute *their inſtructions* or Commiſſions. For this reaſon (as in the handling of the firſt verſes of the 13. Chapter of the Epiſtle to the Romans hath been declared unto you before) All the diſputes or Laws concerning the *Supremacy of Kings* or Free States within their own Dominions were to no purpoſe, unleſs this Root of miſchief and Rebellion be taken away, which makes the Clergy a body politick or Common-weal Eccleſiaſtick altogether diſtinct from the Layety-Chriſtian. Now this erroneous *Root of miſchief* hath been well removed by *the Articles of Religion* eſtabliſhed in this Church and Land, *Article the* 37. wherein, *The ſame authority and power is expreſly given to the Kings of this Realm and their ſucceſſors, which was in uſe and practiſe amongſt the Kings of Judah, and the Chriſtian Emperors, when kingdoms and Common-weales did firſt become Chriſtian.* The Law of God and of nature, will not ſuffer the *Soveraign Power* in *Cauſes Eccleſiaſtick* to be divorced from the *Supream Majeſty* of any Kingdom or free Soveraignty truly Chriſtian.

But what be the contrary Errors, into which, ſuch as take upon them to be *Reformers of the Reformation* already made, have run headlong? Or how do they *the ſame things* wherein they judge the Romaniſts? The Romaniſts (as they well obſerve) deſerve condemnation by all Chriſtians States, for appropriating the *Name* or Soveraign *Dignity* of the *Church* unto the Clergy, and by making the Prerogative of Prieſts and Prelates to be above the Prerogatives of Kings and Princes. The *Contrary faction of Reformers* not content to deprive the Clergy of thoſe *civil Immunities* and priviledges, wherewith the *Law of God*, the *Law of Nations*, and the *Fundamental Law of this Kingdom*, have endowed them; will have them to be *no true members* of the Common-weal or Kingdom wherein they live; Or at the beſt, but ſuch *Inferior members* of the Common-weal, as the Papiſts make the Layety to be of the Church; men that ſhall have no voice in making thoſe *Coercive Laws*, by which they are to be governed and to govern their flocks; yea men that ſhall not have *neceſſary voyces* in determining controverſies of Religion, or, in making Rules and Canons for preventing Schiſm. I ſhould have been afraid to believe thus much of any ſober man profeſſing Chriſtianity, unleſs I had ſeen a *A book to this purpoſe*, peruſed (as is pretended in the Frontiſpiece) by the learned in the Laws. But the Author hath wiſely concealed his own name, and the names of thoſe learned in the Laws, which are (in groſs) pretended for its Approbation; And therefore I ſhall avoid ſuſpition of ayming at any particular out of miſ-affection to his perſon, in paſſing this general Cenſure. *No man could have had the heart to write it, no man the face to read it, without bluſhing or indignation, but he that was altogether unlearned, and notoriouſly ignorant, in the Law of God, in the Law of nature, and in the Fundamental points of Chriſtianity.*

An Error of the Contrary extream, diſparaging the *Reformation.*

A Factious Schiſmatical Book, modeſtly Cenſured.

6, *All Errors* in this kind proceed from theſe *Originals.*

Firſt, The Authors of them (Charity may hope, by incogitancy or want of conſideration, rather than out of Malice) ſeek to ſubject the Clergy unto the ſame Rule unto which the Church was ſubject for the firſt 300. years after Chriſt; during which time the Kings and Emperours, under which the Chriſtians lived, were Heathens. And whilſt the chief Governours were ſuch, no Chriſtians could exerciſe *Coercive Authority*, as to *fine, impriſon*, or baniſh any that did tranſgreſs the Laws of God or of the Church. The Apoſtles themſelves could uſe no other manner of puniſhment, beſides delivering up to Satan, Excommunication, or inhibition from hearing the word, or receiving the Sacraments.

Apoſtolical and Epiſcopal Power under heathen Princes; and after Princes were Chriſtianed.

Secondly, the Authors of the former Errors conſider not, That whilſt the Church was in this ſubjection to meer Civil and not Chriſtian Power; the Lay-Chriſtians of what rank ſoever, though noble men by birth, were as ſtraightly confined and kept under, as were the Clergy. Yea the Clergy in thoſe times had greater authority over Lay-Chriſtians, then any other men had; Authority much greater over the greateſt, then any beſides the Romiſh Prelates do this day challenge over the meaneſt of their flocks. But after Kings and Emperors and other ſupream Magiſtrates were once converted to the Chriſtian Faith, their dignities were no whit abated, but gained this Addition to their former Titles, that they were held ſupream Magiſtrates in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtick: That is, they had power of calling Councils and Synods for Schiſm quelling and Hereſies in the Church;

power likewiſe to puniſh the Tranſgreſſors of ſuch Laws or Canons, as had been made by former Godly Biſhops or Prelates which lived under Heathen States; or of ſuch as the Biſhops or Clergy, which lived under their Government, ſhould make for the better Government of Chriſts Church. Unto puniſhments *meerly ſpiritual* which the Apoſtles and Biſhops had formerly, only, uſed; Chriſtian Emperors added puniſhments temporal, as impriſonment of body, loſs of goods, exile, or death; according to the nature and quality of the tranſgreſſion. But that any Laws or Canons were made by Chriſtian Kings or Emperours, for the Government of the Church; or that any Controverſies in Religion were determined without the *Expreſs Suffrages* and Conſents of Biſhops and Paſtors, though alwayes ratified by the Soveraignty of the Nation or State for whom ſuch Canons were made, no man until theſe dayes wherein we live did ever queſtion.

7. And of ſuch as queſtion, or oppoſe *Epiſcopal Authority* in theſe Caſes, I muſt ſay (as once before out of this place in like caſe I did) *If Heathen they be in heart and would perſwade the Layety again to become Heathens, their Reſolutions are Chriſtians*; at leſt their concluſions are ſuch as a good Chriſtian living under Heathens, would admit. *But if Chriſtians they be in heart and profeſſion, their Concluſions are heatheniſh* or worſe. For what Heathen did ever deny their Prieſts the chief ſtroke or ſway in making Laws or ordinances concerning *the Rites* or ſervice of their Gods, or in determining *Points Controverted* in Religion? To conclude this Point; The men that ſeek to be moſt contrary to the Romiſh Church, and are moſt forward to judge her for enlarging the Prerogative of Prieſthood beyond its ancient bounds, *do the ſame things* ſhe doth, by *Equivalency*, and run to the *ſame End* by a quite contrary way. The Romiſh Church (it cannot be denyed) makes her Popes and Prelates, with other Pillars of their Church, plain Idols. They which out of an undiſcreet and furious zeal, ſeem moſt to abhor this kind of Idolatry commit Sacrilege, and rob God of his honour, as the Romiſh Church doth. And he that robs God of his honour, doth *the very ſame thing* and no other, which an Idolater doth. Now they are ſaid in Scripture to rob God of his honour, and to commit an abomination more then heatheniſh (*for the heathen do not ſpoil their Gods*) which defraud him of his tithes & offerings, which were due unto the Preiſt for his miniſtration and ſervice in Gods Houſe. But they rob God of his honour more immediately and more directly, which deſpiſe or contemn his Embaſſadors, not in word only, but in taking that Authority from them which he hath expreſly given unto them and which is worſt of all, in ſeeking to alienate it unto them, over whom, he hath in matter of ſalvation appointed them *Guides* and *Overſeers*.

The Antient Heathens gave, (and Turks give) more to their Prieſts, then ſome profeſſing Chriſtianity do to theirs; both for *Power* and *Maintenance*.

A Precept will be in force, when pretences will be out of date.

That Precept of our Apoſtle I am ſure will ſtand good, when all Laws, or Intendments of Laws to confront it, will fail. *Obey them that have the rule over you, and ſubmit your ſelves*, *Heb.* 13.17.

What Rule doth he mean; meerly *Civil* or Temporal? No! What then; *Eccleſiaſtick?* not that *only*, but *the Rule of Government ſpiritual*, ſuch as is proper to the Biſhops of the Church; For ſo it follows; *for they* (to whom you are to ſubmit your ſelves) *watch for your ſouls, as they that muſt give an accompt*; and you are therefore to obey *that they may do their office with joy, and not with grief*; *for that* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *is unprofitable for you.*

Now, that in this plenty of preaching and frequency in hearing, The moſt hearers profit ſo little in the School of Chriſt; the true Reaſon is, for that *men do not ſubmit themſelves unto their Paſtors in ſuch ſort as they ought*, but think it his Duty or Office, *only* to preach, and their duty *only* to hear; not to be *ruled* or *governed* by him, whereas the ones preaching is vain, and the others hearing is vain, unleſs this duty of obedience be firſt planted in their hearts. *The Paſtors Grief which ariſeth from neglect or contempt of this Duty, will prove in the iſſue the Peoples Curſe.*

8. But the *main ſtream* of Popery, from which the name of *Babylon* is derived unto *Rome*, was *the abſolute infallibility of the Romiſh Church Repreſentative.*

The main Error of the Romiſh Church, *Infallibility*; both in expounding holy Scripture, and in atteſting Traditions. See the ſecond and third Books.

The branches of this ſuppoſed abſolute Infallibility were Two.

The *Firſt*, That the ſenſe of Scriptures, which that Church doth maintain or avouch concerning *Faith* or *Manners*, is alwayes Authentick, undoubted and true.

But whereas many *Points*, as well of *Doctrine* as *Practiſe*, concerning *Faith* and *Manners*, were in that Church eſtabliſhed by *Preſcription* and *Uſe*, without ſo much as any *pretence* of warrant from Scripture; They were inforced in the *ſecond place* to maintain, That the *unwritten Traditions* of the Church were of equal Authority with the Scriptures, and that *the preſent Church* was as infallible in her Teſtimony of the One, as in her Judgement of the other. The *infallible conſequence* of which ſuppoſed infallibility, *is this*, That the people were *abſolutely to believe* whatſoever that Church ſhould propound unto them, as a point of faith or practiſe commendable; and to abjure whatſoever that Church ſhould condemn for hereſie, or ungodlineſs. By *abſolute belief* or obedience, they intend a belief or obedience, not only *without condition* or ſcruple in the firſt undertaking, but without *reſervation of appeal*, upon any new diſcovery of dangers, unſeen, unſuſpected in the firſt undertaking. The Churches Authority once declared, was in their Divinity ſufficient to quell or put to ſilence, all ſucceeding Replies or mutterings of Conſcience.

Both theſe dangerous Errors were *well Reformed*; The later ſtream or puddle of Traditions, in a manner drained by this Church and State. For, *every Biſhop* at his *Conſecration* doth ſolemnly promiſe or vow, *not to propound any thing to the people* as a Point of Faith, *unleſs it be either expreſly conteined in the Scripture, or may be thence deduced by neceſſary Inference*; To bind or ty *all Biſhops* thus ſolemnly unto the obſervance of this Rule, the wiſdom of thoſe Times had theſe Reaſons: Not only to curb or reſtrain the licentious abuſe of Biſhops former Authority, but becauſe they knew that the people were in many Caſes (concerning the ſervice of God and other Chriſtian duties) bound to yield more credence and obedience to their *Biſhops and Paſtors* then unto men not called to Sacred or Paſtoral Function. It is One Thing to believe any Doctrinal Propoſition as *a Point of Faith neceſſary to ſalvation*; Another to believe it ſo far as we may ſafely adventure upon any practiſe or duty injoyned by ſuperiors, That is, to believe it, not abſolutely but conditionally, and out of ſuch belief to obey them, not abſolutely but condionally, that is, with reſervation of freedom or liberty, when either the truth ſhall be better diſcovered then now it is, or greater dangers appear then for the preſent we do ſuſpect. The obedience which we give unto *Superiors* may be *Ex Fide*, of Faith, albeit the points of doctrine, or the perſwaſions out of which we yield this obedience, be not *De Fide*, No points of Faith or neceſſary to ſalvation.

The two former Romiſh Errors *well Reformed*.

But a great many *well-meaning men* there were, who ſhortly after this *happy Reformation*, could not content themſelves to ſtand upon ſuch *ſure*

Terms of Contradiction unto the Romiſh Church, as the firſt Reformers had done; but ſought in ***this Point*** (which was indeed above all others to be abhorred) to be ***moſt extremely Contrary*** unto her.

The *Temper* and *Bounds* of the Right and Rigid Reformer.

Wherein then doth that Contradiction to the Romiſh Church (wherein the firſt Reformers of Religion did entrench themſelves;) and wherein doth the ***extream contrariety***, whereunto others, more *rigid Reformers*, if they could have effected their Projects, would have drawn this Church and Land, conſiſt?

The Romiſh Church, as you heard before, did make ***Unwritten Traditions a Part of the Rule of Faith, as ſoveraign as the written Word of God***, and did obtrude thoſe obſervances, which had no other warrant then ſuch Tradition, as altogether neceſſary to ſalvation.

The Cure of the Error, by the Right *Mean*.

The ***Firſt Reformers*** of this Error were contented to ***contradict them only in this***. And their Contradiction is expreſly maintained, partly in the ***Articles of Religion***, partly in the *Book of Conſecration of Biſhops*. The Contradiction is ***this***; ***That all things neceſſary to ſalvation are contained in Scripture***; which is all one as to ſay, ***That the Scripture is the only Rule of Faith.*** Yet did they not for all this utterly reject *all uſe of Tradition*, or Ceremonies, as you may find expreſſed in the thirty fourth Article; in which, though Rites and Ceremonies, or other cuſtoms of the Church be not injoyned in particular (as they take for granted) by God himſelf; yet obedience is due unto them in particular, and they which diſobey or tranſgreſs them in any particular are to be puniſhed or made Examples, ***leſt others be emboldened to do the like.*** And the Reaſon why they would have ſuch puniſhed (which I would requeſt you to obſerve) is, leſt their impunity ſhould miniſter offence to the weak brethren; And a man cannot give greater offence to the weak or ignorant, then by emboldening them to diſobedience, in Caſes, wherein obedience is due.

But ſoon after theſe ***publick Injunctions***, other ***private Spirits*** roſe up, which out of deſire to be ***extreamly Contrary*** to the Romiſh Church, concerning ***Traditions***, did expreſly contradict their Lawful Governors in that ***Article***.

The Error extreamly Contrary to the Romiſh Error.

The ***contrary Error*** into which they run (by ſeeking to avoid the error of the Romiſh Church) was in brief, ***this***; ***That no Chriſtian man is bound to obey ſuperiors in matters of ſacred Rite or Ceremony***, or in Duties of ordinary practiſe, unleſs their Governors, or ſuch as demand their Obedience, can ſhew them ***expreſs Authority of Scripture***; or can convince their underſtandings that God by his Word doth enjoyn them to obey ***in theſe particulars.***

But thus to oppoſe the Romiſh Church by way of *Contrariety*, is but to ſeek the overthrow of a ***Tyranny*** by the Erection of an *Anarchy*. For if the Flock or inferior members of the Church, owe no obedience unto their ſuperiors, but upon theſe Terms, then *Paſtors*, *Prelates*, yea *Kings*, ſhould owe the ſame obedience unto the meaneſt Tradeſmen or Day-labourers, that Tradeſmen or Day-labourers owe to them. For Paſtors, and Prelates, even Kings themſelves are bound to obey the Word of God by whomſoever it ſhall be manifeſted or made known unto them, and to obey it in every particular which it manifeſtly injoyns. And if obedience were not due to Paſtors, Prelates and Kings in matters concerning the ſervice of God or ſacred Rites, untill they can ſhew warrant for every particular, which they enjoyn, out of Gods word, there were no obedience at all due unto *them*, but unto Gods Word only; And every man might ſay to them as the Emperour ſaid to the *Pope*, ***Non Tibi ſed Petro.*** But ſo, the ***Sacred Rule of Faith*** and manners, ſhould be not the Author of ſuch Order as we believe it is; but an occaſion of confuſion in every Chriſtian Eſtate or Congregation.

10. But this is the happineſs of the Engliſh Church or Clergy, that all the Arguments which have been or can be brought by Factions or diſcontented ſpirits in matters of Rites, Ceremonies, or Diſcipline, do draw their ſtrength from ſuch falſe or miſtaken Principles, as if way were given to their growth, or exerciſe of their force, they could not peck the leaſt hole in the Miter or make the leaſt thirle in the *Surpellice* without working a proportionable crack or flaw in the Royal Crown; Their Authors diſobedience to Laws or Diſcipline Eccleſiaſtick would quickly induce, if opportunity ſerved, open rebellion againſt the *Prerogative Royal.*

Reaſon and Experience had taught the Heathen States-men, That it was a matter of like ſufferance or equally inſufferable to live *Ubi omnia Licita, & ubi nihil Licitum:* In A State wherein all muſt be ſubject to the *Will of One man*, and in a place where every man may do what he will. *A Tyrant is like a Ravenous Beaſt*, which devours all that comes within his Walk or Range; but, which, there are many wayes for a wiſe man to eſcape. But if a *Tyranny* once diſſolve into an *Anarchy*, *Homo homini fit Lupus*; every man *becomes* a *Woolf* unto his neighbour; Their habitations or places of meeting become but neſts of waſpes or ſerpents.

11. Let *Rome* then be accounted as it was when our Foreſathers departed from it, and as it ſtill remains the ſpiritual *Babylon.* Let the Pope be a Tyrant more cruel and barbarous then *Nebuchadnezzar* or *Belſhazzar*; yet let us remember, that when God called his people out of *Babylon*, he called them unto *Jeruſalem*, which is by interpretation the *viſion of peace*; A city, as the *Pſalmiſt*, in the *literal ſenſe*, perhaps meant, *compacted:* But in the *myſtical* or *Emblematical ſenſe*, *a* City *at unity in it ſelf.* The long Durance of an hard and forein yoke, had taught them ſubjection unto their native Governours, *Zerubbabel* their Prince, and *Jeſus* their High-Prieſt. The hatred, contempt and ſcorn, which they had endured amongſt barbarous Aliens, was a Cement to unite their hearts in brotherly affections. But we by miſimploying our peace, and ſecurity of dread from the Enemy, *have turned the Grace of God into wantonneſs*, and transformed that Chriſtian Liberty which our foreſathers purchaſed with their *Aſhes*, into ſuch Licentiouſneſs, as if we had departed out of *Babylon* to build a *Babel* in *Jeruſalem.* How have our Printing-houſes become the Cels and Arcenals of ſtrife and contention? And our *Pulpits* been made *Babels* or Towers of Confuſion? When the men which came from the Eaſt, attempted to build a Tower unto Heaven, God as you know confounded their Language, that they could not underſtand one another, and the enterprize was diſſolved, and the enterprizers were diſperſed over the face of the earth. *This was the Lords doing* and therefore it was a confuſion which did not end in Contention. Though one of them did not underſtand another; Yet we do not read, but that every man did well underſtand himſelf. But our miſery is, that every one will *over-underſtand* another when he doth not *half-underſtand* himſelf, or the matter whereof he writes or ſpeaks, and ſo raiſeth contention without an Adverſary, and builds up a *Babel* without help; making a *confuſion* without mixture of Language, only by pouring out his own ſimplicity, ignorance and malice, and making no conſcience of taking Gods Name in vain, quoting Scripture to no other end then to countenance blaſphemy, or to dazle the

In his Sermon before the King upon *Jer.* 26. he ſaith, Divide the ſins of 40. years laſt paſt into ten parts, the ſins of the Pulpit and the Preſs would be a large Tenth. See ſignes of the Times.

eyes of the unlearned, whilſt he transforms the Nature and Goodneſs of God, into worſe ſimilitudes then the Papiſts or Heathen do; One while ſpeaking againſt *Arminians*, another while unwittingly pleading for them; one Page containing a comfortable Uſe or Application, whereas in the next before and after it, he hath laid the Doctrinal Foundations of deſpair, or more then deſperate preſumption. Thus to contradict themſelves is ſo familiar and natural unto them, that they cannot endure to be contradicted by any others, which in the ſpirit of meekneſs would ſhew them the way, how they might maintain *all thoſe Concluſions*, which they ſo much labour for, and that without giving advantage *to the Adverſaries*, without diſſention or diſagreeing from themſelves.

12. *Theſe are the men that muſt be diſclaimed, as no true members of the Engliſh Church*, or at leaſt *no fit Expoſitors of her Tenets:* Otherwiſe, we ſhall be inforced to grant that our Church participates as well of *Babel* or *Beth-aven*, as of *Bethel*. I have been the bolder to inſiſt the longer upon *This Point*, becauſe ſome of good place and Authority in the Church and Common-weal take notice, That ſome unlicenſed and ſcandalous pamphlets, Schiſmatical and Seditious books, find no where better welcome or entertainment then in this Town. And wiſe men I hope will account it a work of charity rather then of cruelty to take Ratſbane from children, albeit they ſhould long after it more greedily then after any wholſom meat. Or if any be ſo ſtubborn, as not to part with this poiſon by gentle perſwaſions, the only Remedy muſt be to exclude them from communicating with others in the food of life. For us, *Dearly beloved*, let us, *in the bowels of Chriſt Jeſus I beſeech you*, content our ſelves with the Reformation already eſtabliſhed by Authority. It is no time to ſally out againſt the Adverſary in *ſingle bands* or ſcattered companies; but rather with the joynt forces of our united affections, of prayers, and endeavours; either to batter the Foundation of their Churches walls, or manfully to defend our own; keeping our ſelves within the bounds, whereunto authority hath confined us. The common Adverſaries of the Truth which we profeſs, want no ſtrength of wit, or weapons of Art, to work upon all advantages, which our ignorance, negligence, indiſcretion, or diſſention may preſent unto them. And this one great advantage they have of us, that we for the moſt part fight (as it were) *every man upon his own head*, without the advice or appointment of our chief Leaders and Commanders. So do not our Adverſaries; they have the perfect *Diſcipline of War*; And I cannot but approve his wiſh, *That either they had our vine, or we their fence.* And it is a Rule to be obſerved as well in ſpiritual welfare as in any others, yea moſt eſpecially in it;

—— Arma tenenti
Omnia dat qui juſta negat:

By denying that to our Adverſaries whereto they have fair Title out of *Gods Word*, or out of *Venerable Orthodoxal Antiquity*, we ſhall but betray the *true Cauſe* (which we maintain againſt them,) *in main and Fundamental Points*, which, if we would wiſely maintein them, are moſt defenſible. Obſerve I beſeech you what hath been ſaid unto you, and the God of wiſdom and of peace, give you underſtanding in all things profitable to your Salvation.

CHAP. XXXIX.

The Third Sermon upon this Text.

ROMANS 2. 1.

Therefore, Thou art inexcuſable O man, &c.

A Romiſh Error breeding Doubt of Salvation, *charged upon its proper evident Ground; viz. Their making The* Intention of A *Biſhop Eſſentially neceſſary to the Conſecration of A Prieſt: And the* Intention *of a Prieſt ſo neceſſary that no Sacrament can be without it. The Error of the* Contrarij *Teaching a* Prepoſterous immature Certainty of *Salvation. The* Right Mean *betwixt or cure of theſe extremities, preſcribed unto us by our Reformers of Bleſſed memory, contained in the Publick Acts of The Church.*

1. ANother *Doctrinal Point* there was maintained by the Romiſh Church, when our Fathers departed from it, which required *Reformation.* And this *Point* contains all the ſeveral *Tenets* of that Church, which did occaſion or nurſe *Doubt of Salvation* or *Perplexity of Conſcience* in every private man ſo often as he ſhould examine his *Eſtate in Grace,* his hopes or Intereſt in Gods mercy or promiſes to all.

Three Points purpoſed.

Firſt then, by Gods aſſiſtance, Of the *General Error* or that branch of it which eſpecially required *Reformation.*

Secondly, Of the *Contrary Error* or Inconveniencies into which many by Curioſity of Reformation have run.

Thirdly, Of the *True Mean,* or Orthodoxal Doctrine which the *Reformers* of our Church did hold and maintain, and have delivered unto us in the *Publick Acts* of the Church approved and ratified by the General Conſent of this Kingdom.

A Romiſh Error, cauſing Doubt of Salvation. *viz.* The Intention of the Prieſt, &c.

The Error of the Romiſh Church was *Doubt of Salvation:* with *This Error,* that Church hath been often charged by all the beſt writers of *Reformed Churches.* But ſometimes, or by ſome men in thoſe Churches, not upon ſo *Evident Ground* as it might be charged. For ſome there be which charge this Error directly upon their *Tenet* concerning *The Nature of Faith or Hope.*

But, for their Defence, if we joyn iſſue with them upon thoſe Terms, they have more to ſay, then they can have, if we charge this Error upon their *Doctrine* concerning *The Intention of the Prieſt* in the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, By whoſe hidden vertue Faith and Hope are begotten and increaſed. For, how much ſoever they may ſeem to magnifie *The Sacraments of the New Teſtament* in reſpect of the Sacraments of the Law (as, that they *confer Grace* upon the receivers of them *Ex Opere operato,* by the very Sacramental action, which the Sacraments of the Law did not,) Yet, all this being granted, no man can be more certain of his Eſtate in Grace, then he is of the good Intention of the Prieſt, which adminiſtred the Sacraments. Now this Aſſurance or perſwaſion of the Prieſts Intention can be no ſure Ground of Faith truly Chriſtian.

2. The Sacrament of Baptiſm they hold to be *abſolutely neceſſary unto Salvation*; and that, *All ſuch infants as die* without *Baptiſm are excluded from the Kingdom of Heaven.* And yet they hold withall, that *Unleſs the Prieſt, when he comes to Baptize any Infant, do intend to do what the Church* appoints him to do, *the Baptiſm is invalid* or of none effect; albeit he uſe the *Formal Words of Baptiſm*, and apply the *Sacramental element* to the body of the Infant preſented by the ſolemn prayers of the Church, or Congregation preſent. Beſides the *ſolemn Pronunciation* of the Words [*I Baptize thee in the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt*;] and the waſhing of the body in water, there muſt *be Interior mentis intentio*; the *internal Intention of the Prieſts mind*, muſt joyntly concur with the Word and Sacrament, or rather with the Holy Ghoſt, for producing the *Inviſible Grace* or Gift of the Spirit which is the proper Effect of the Sacrament. So that how well ſoever the Parents, the Friends and Neighbours aſſembled demean themſelves, at or before the performance of this *Sacred Act*, yet every Infant brought to the Sacred *Laver* may be *Two Wayes* remedileſly prejudiced by the Prieſt, to the ruine of its ſoul or loſs of ſalvation.

A Romiſh Prieſt may damn an Infant through neglect or malice: by the Doctrine of that Church.

Firſt, It may be deprived of the fruit or benefit of this Sacrament (which is by their Doctrine abſolutely neceſſary to ſalvation) by the *meer negligence* or careleſneſs of the Prieſt, as in Caſe he forget in heart or mind to intend his duty, of doing that which the Church in like Caſe uſually doth or appoints to be done; whatſoever elſe he do or ſay, all is nothing, it is no Baptiſm.

Secondly, The Infant may be ſo far prejudiced, as is ſaid, by the *malice* or impiety of the Prieſt. As in Caſe he be ſo wickedly diſpoſed, as ſecretly to ſubtract or withdraw his Intention by any interpoſed condition or Limitation though not expreſſed, the Baptiſm is invalid, or of no effect. To give you *One of their own Inſtances* or *Ruled Caſes. If one ſhould come to one of their Prieſts and requeſt him to baptize ſuch a mans child, naming his Parents, and he ſhall thus with himſelf reſolve. If this very child be brought unto me* I intend *to do to him as the Church enjoyns*; *but if any other be preſented unto me I have* no Intention *to baptize him, however I uſe the words of Baptiſm and waſh him with water.* The Reſolution of their Doctors is, that in Caſe *another child* be brought unto the Font, and *not that Individual* child for which he was firſt ſpoken unto, he ſhall have no benefit by his Baptiſm.

3. For a Prieſt to make ſuch ſecret Conditions limitations or reſervations, the Romiſh Doctors acknowledge to be a wicked and ſacrilegious part; But this is all the comfort which the Infant, preſumed to be baptized, or his Parents can have, if the Prieſt be diſpoſed to be thus malitious. That the *Intention* of the Prieſt is neceſſarily required, not only *by way of Precept*, or to the better adminiſtration of the Sacrament, but *Neceſſitate Medii*, as a means *ſo neceſſary that without it there can be no Sacrament at all*; not their School-men or private Doctors only, but ſome of their General Councils have declared. For the Council of *Florence* makes this Intention of the Prieſt to be of the very *Eſſence* of the *Sacrament: Now, Eſſentia non Suſcipit magis & minus.* If the Prieſts *Intention* be of the *Eſſence* of this Sacrament, it muſt be as neceſſary as the *Intention* of the holy Ghoſt.

See *Soto* in 4. Senten. diſ. 1. Q.5. Art. 1.

And yet their later Doctors are in this point more Rigid then the ancient were, which lived not long after the Council of *Florence*. For *Thomas of Aquine*, the great Maſter of the modern Jeſuites, required only an *habitual Intention*, his Scholars, the Jeſuites, alwayes required a *virtual Intention*, which is more then an habitual.

Again, whereas ſome of their Doctors in Ages paſt did think it a Probable Opinion, which might without Cenſure of impiety be believed, that in Caſe ordinary Prieſts were negligent or otherwiſe defective in the adminiſtration of the Sacraments, the High-Prieſt of our ſouls (to wit, Chriſt Jeſus) might or would ſupply their defect or negligence: *Zuares*, a late great Doctor in that Church, cenſures the Author of this opinion for his zeal without diſcretion. And *Soto*, another great Doctor, who was preſent at the Council of *Trent*, peremptorily denies all relief or remedy from Chriſt to any Infant, in Caſe the Prieſt will be ſo wicked, as either not to *Intend* to do what the Church doth appoint, or to withdraw his *Intention* or purpoſe to do him good by baptizing him. If the Prieſt purpoſe to remit his ſins by Baptiſm, they are remitted by Chriſt: if he purpoſe not to remit them, but to retain them, they are not remitted, but retained by Chriſt.

4. Beſides the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, which Two, the Reformed Churches only acknowledge inſtituted by Chriſt, as generally neceſſary to ſalvation, the Romiſh Church preſſeth *Three* other upon all Lay-People, as neceſſary unto their ſalvation, *Ex neceſſitate præcepti*, that is, they are bound in duty to receive them, and in Caſe they omit them when they may have them, they forfeit their intereſt in Gods promiſes. And thoſe are the Sacrament of *Confirmation*; the Sacrament of *Abſolution* upon Confeſſion; and the Sacrament of *Extreme Unction*. Theſe make a plauſible ſhew or pretence that the Romiſh Church hath greater ſtore of means for ſalvation, or for conferring Grace, then Reformed Churches have. But how well ſoever God by their doctrine hath provided for their Church, in granting it ſuch a multitude of Sacraments, and ſuch an extraordinary manner, by which their ſuppoſed Sacraments confer Grace upon ſuch as receive them: yet when all is done, they grant a *Negative* voice to the Prieſt in the diſtribution of all Sacramental Grace. And *ſuch a Negative* as is not uſual in other Caſes. For all other Governors of humane Societies, whether Eccleſiaſtick or Civil, have only a *Negative voice*, which if they do not expreſly uſe, their ſilence is interpreted for a Grant, or teſtification of their Conſent unto the buſineſs propoſed. But albeit the Prieſt profeſs his Conſent unto the Sacramental Act by pronouncing the Sacramental words: yet if he be pleaſed by ſecret Condition, or tacit Limitation to withdraw the Conſent of mind or ſpirit from his external act or words pronounced by him; the Spirit of God ſhall want his influence upon the ſouls of ſuch as receive the Sacrament. And as they grant a *Negative* unto every ordinary Prieſt in the diſtribution of Sacramental Grace unto the Layetie: So they give the like *Negative* unto the Biſhop or Prelate in the diſtribution of Sacramental Grace unto their Prieſts. For the ordination of Prieſts is in their Doctrine a Sacrament of the new Law or Goſpel; and of this Sacrament the *Intention of the Biſhop* or Prelate which adminiſtreth it, is an *Eſſential part*. If the Biſhop either through negligence or malitiouſneſs do not afford his ſecret Intention or conſent, the ordination of the Prieſt is invalid: the words pronounced by him, or impoſition of hands doth imprint no Character upon his ſoul, and without this character, he is no Prieſt.

Rom. Prieſts have a ſtrange *Negative voice.*

5. And here by the way you may inform your ſelves, why ſuch as are contented in all points to believe as the Romiſh Church believeth, have their own Prieſts or Prelates in ſuch eſteem or eſtimation as no other people beſides have their lawful Governors. The true Reaſon is, not any extraordinary worth in their perſons, but this ſtrange kinde of Power or Authority, which were it true, or where it is acknowledged to be true, might juſtly exact double honour, more then humane; even both parts of that honour, which the heathens reſpectively gave unto their ſeveral gods. Some gods the heathens honoured with *Placatory Sacrifices*, leſt being neglected, they ſhould do them harm: Other gods, whom they conceived to be the Authors or diſtributers of things good and comfortable, they adored or honoured wirh propitiatory Sacrifices. Both kinds of Sacrifices or ſervices, one and the ſame Romiſh Prieſt may wreſt from the people committed to his charge: The one, to wit, *Placatory Sacrifices*, he may exact, and the people will be ready to perform, leſt he withdraw or alienate his *Intention* from them or their children, whilſt he adminiſters the Sacrament unto them. For his malicious or fraudulent withdrawing of his Intention from the Sacrament, may procure them greater loſs or harm then the Heathen could conceive their angry or wreakſul gods could work them. The other kind of Sacrifices, to wit, *Propitiatory*, the people committed to his charge will be willing to exhibit to the Romiſh Prieſt, that he may be the more diligent, circumſpect and attentive, whilſt he adminiſtreth the Sacraments, ſeeing upon ſuppoſal or preſumption of his diligence, or Intention in this buſineſs, they hope for a greater bleſſing then the heathens expected from their good or favourable gods.

But to conclude this *Firſt Point:* If we put all theſe together:

Firſt, The *Intention of the Prelate* or the Biſhop *neceſſary* by their doctrine for conferring the *Order of the Prieſthood*, and for the *efficacie* of the Sacrament of *Confirmation.*

Secondly, The *Neceſſity* of the ordinary Prieſts *Intention* in adminiſtring the Sacrament of Baptiſm, of the Lords Supper, and of Extreme Unction, we need not be afraid or aſhamed to *Charge their Doctrine* in making the *Intention* of the Prieſt or Miniſter of the Sacrament to be an *Eſſential part* of the Sacrament, with *nurſing a perpetual diſtruſt or doubt*, not only of ſalvation or perſeverance in Grace; but with diſtruſt or *Doubt*, whether men have the *ordinary Means* for attaining unto the *Firſt* or *Second Grace*. For of theſe *Means* they can be no more certain, no better aſſured then they are of the Prieſts Intention.

The Second Point. The Remedy of *the Contrarii* as bad as the Diſeaſe.

6. The *Second Point* which I undertook to ſhew you was, *How ſome in Reformed Churches by ſeeking the Cure of this malady* (to wit, Doubt or diſtruſt of ſalvation) by the Contrary, *did conceive a doctrine which either nurſeth a* Doubt *or diſtruſt, not of ſalvation only, but of means neceſſary unto it, as bad or worſe then the former* Doubt *of the Romiſh Church or elſe occaſioneth a* Preſumption *in many which is worſe then both.* The doctrine which they conceived to be the fitteſt medicine for curing the Romiſh Malady (to wit, diſtruſt or *Doubt of ſalvation*) was *The Certainty* or *Aſſurance of ſalvation*; That *Fides* was *Fiducia*: That Faith did include a certainty of ſalvation, which if every man could aſſume, none ſhould *Doubt* or diſtruſt of ſalvation. *Miſtake me not*, I pray, *as if I did abſolutely deny or condemn* this Doctrine, which I acknowledge to be wholſome and true *in its Time and Place*, I only miſlike the miſplacing or miſ-application of this Truth. As he ſaid, *Beneficia male collocata male facta arbitror, Good offices evil beſtowed, partake more of evil*

About *this Point*, See Book 4. and Book 10. ch. 51,52,53. and Serm. on *Jer.* 26. and ſigns of the Times.

Turns then of good deeds; So may I ſay, *That the miſplacing of Truth is oft times more dangerous then a groſs Error.*

But how or wherein hath this *Doctrinal Truth*, concerning *The certainty* or *Full Aſſurance of Faith* been miſplaced by ſome Writers of Reformed Churches?

In this eſpecially, That they have taught or maintained this πληροφορία, this Full Aſſurance (or *Certitudo Fidei*, which is ſomewhat more then πληροφορία) to be *as Eſſential to the Nature of Faith*, of that Faith which diſtinguiſheth a Chriſtian from an Infidel, or a Faithful man from a Reprobate, as the *Intention of the Prieſt*, is, by the Doctrine of the Romiſh Church, to the Eſſence or efficacy of the Sacrament. Such an *Eſſential Property* would they have *This Certainty of ſalvation* to be of true Faith, that, *whoſoever doth* truly believe *muſt be Certain of his ſalvation*; and *whoſoever is not certain of his ſalvation, is no true Believer.* And to this *Point* or purpoſe that *Saying* of the Apoſtle, 2 *Cor.* 13.5. hath been alleged by many; *Know you not your own ſelves, how that Jeſus Chriſt is in you except you be Reprobates?*

Upon this Text, See Book 7. Ch. 18, 19.

The former Extent of this *Certainty of ſalvation, to All true Believers*, did give the foreſt blow to Reformed Religion, that ever it received; a wound more grievous than all our Adverſaries could have given it, had not her friends and lovers given them this Advantage.

See Book 10. Where this Author ſays, 300 *Bellarmines*, 300 *Valentines*, could not do the Proteſtant Religion ſo much harm as Dr. *Heſſels* did taking advantage of this Doctrine.

Now this *Negative* or *Excluſive* Interpretation of this place of St. *Paul*, as if all were *Reprobates* or without hope, which one time or other (after means of ſalvation have been offered) cannot aſſure themſelves of their preſent eſtate in Grace or Salvation, hath more deeply wounded the Conſciences of private men, then the conſciouſneſs of all their other miſdeeds or practiſes. And the Doctrine is for this reaſon the more to be miſliked, for that it ſpecially wounds ſuch as are of an *humble and dejected ſpirit*, and moſt afraid to offend God either by unbelief, or by miſdeeds.

7. Both parts of my *Concluſion*, to wit, That *This Doctrine admitteth either Doubt of ſalvation or Preſumption*, will be made clear, or caſt upon you, from the Confluence of theſe *two Errors* mentioned, *The One*, which makes *The Certainty of Salvation an Eſſential or reciprocal Property of Faith*; *The Other*, *which ranks all that have not this Aſſurance* or *Certainty in the ſtate or condition of Reprobates*; which is indeed but a Branch of another uſual *Error* (of which I muſt requeſt and admoniſh you to beware, in whomſoever you find it) of them, Who *divide all mankind without Limitation into two ranks, into ſheep or goats, into Elect or Reprobates.* Though this be *in due time and place* moſt true, yet it is a truth much miſplaced, if we make *this Diviſion* of all men before the hour of death, or day of Judgment.

Of this Diviſion ſee Lib. 10.

But you expect a clear Explication of the manner how theſe Two Opinions, nurſe either a *Doubt* of Salvation or *Preſumption*, which is worſe then Doubt. Take it then *Thus.* If it were a Truth to be taught, or if it be taken as true, *That whoſoever doth not attain unto the Certainty of Salvation, is none of the Elect*; or, *That of all mankind the one ſort is irreverſibly ordained to life, the other irreverſibly ordained to death.* Then, All ſuch, as have heard the Word preached, and received the Sacraments, and are not as yet aſſured that they are in the *Eſtate of Grace* or number of the *Elect*, muſt *of neceſſity doubt* whether there be any poſſibility left for them to attain unto ſuch an Eſtate; or, whether they be not in the number of Reprobates. I know the uſual *Reply* to this *Objection* is, That albeit ſome men be irreverſibly appointed to death eternal before they be made partakers of life temporal; yet becauſe it is unknown unto us who they be that be thus ordained or appointed, therefore we muſt preach the Word and adminiſter the Sacraments indifferently to all, whom we ſee willing to hear the Word or receive the Sacraments.

But all this doth no way diminiſh the former *Doubt* or diſtruſt in moſt hearers; for if it ſtill be true (as the former Doctrine ſuppoſeth) that ſome men, the far greater part of men, which hear the Word preached, are irreverſibly ordained to death, every man, which as yet apprehends not his own eſtate in Grace, or his Ordination to life eternal, cannot be Certain, muſt ſtill doubt, whether he be or ever ſhall be in the number of them, which are or ſhall be *irreverſibly ordained* to life. The Romiſh Church did never deny, but that the Prieſt may *actually* or *virtually* intend to do what the Church appoints him to do, when he adminiſtreth the Sacraments. And yet, in as much as they teach withall, *That if he do not intend to do as the Church of Chriſt appoints him to do, the Sacramental Act is void,* we hence juſtly charge their doctrine with breeding or nurſing continual Diſtruſt or Doubt of Salvation. But if we withdraw or ſubtract the *Intention* or purpoſe of God or of Chriſt, from concurring with the Word and Sacrament which we exhibit unto all, or from concurring with any part, or the greater part of men, we do neceſſarily breed a greater ſcruple, or nurſe a more dangerous Doubt of ſalvation in all men, as yet not effectually called, then the Romiſh Church doth. For *Gods Intention* or purpoſe to ſave men, is without all queſtion more Eſſential to the Efficacy of the Word preached, or of the Sacraments adminiſtred, then the Romiſh Church can conceive the *Intention of her Prieſts* to be. Beſides all this: If their *Doctrine* were true, who teach, *That all ſuch men as in the iſſue prove Goats or Reprobates, were ſuch from their birth, or irreverſibly deſtinated to death before they were born,* God ſhould with-hold or withdraw his Purpoſe or *Intention* of Salvation from far more hearers of the Word and partakers of the Sacraments, then the Romiſh Prieſts uſually do.

8. But, many (you will ſay) which hear the Word are already aſſured of their Eſtate in Grace, or of their ſalvation: And this Doctrine cannot occaſion any doubt or diſtruſt in them. It cannot indeed, whilſt they are thus perſwaded. But even this *Perſwaſion it ſelf, if it be immature*, or conceived before its time, doth ſecretly nurſe *A Preſumption*, which is far worſe then *Doubt* or diſtruſt of ſalvation: And ſometimes occaſions a worſe kind of diſtruſt or Doubt, then the former doctrine of the Romiſh Church doth. For, ſuppoſe A man, which is to day *ſtrongly perſwaded of his preſent Eſtate in ſaving Grace*, and certain of his ſalvation, ſhould to morrow or the next day fall into ſome groſs or grievous ſin, and continue in it or the like for many dayes together. If his former aſſurance remain the ſame it was; it is *No Aſſurance of Faith, No true Confidence* but Preſumption. Or, if his former Confidence or Aſſurance upon conſciouſneſs of new ſins fail or abate: The *Former Diviſion* of All Mankind into *Goats* and *Sheep*, into *Elect* and *Reprobates* will thruſt him into Deſpair. For the Conſciouſneſs of freedom from groſſer ſins, or of practiſe of good works cannot be a ſurer token of his *Eſtate in Grace* or ſalvation, then the conſciouſneſs of foul and grievous ſins is of Rejection or *Reprobation*, if it were true that every man is at all times either in the ſtate or condition of an *Elect perſon* or a *Reprobate*. For, The *Rule of life and Faith* is as plain and peremptory, that *no Adulterer, no murtherer*, no foul or grievous offender *ſhall enter into the*

Kingdom of Heaven, as it is, That all ſuch as live a godly and a ſober life ſhall enter into it.

And yet our own conſciences can give a ſurer Teſtimony that we have committed groſs and grievous ſins, then that they are cleanſed from the guilt of former ſins. Seeing the heart of man is more deceitful or more deceivable in its Perſwaſions or Judgment of its good deeds or reſolutions then in its apprehenſion of groſſer facts committed by us. And for this Reaſon I cannot perſwade my ſelf, That any man which hath any ſenſe or feeling of *True Religion* or rightly underſtands himſelf in theſe or the like Points, can, in the conſciouſneſs of groſs and fouler ſins reſt perſwaded that he is *in the ſame Eſtate of Grace* wherein he was, or in the ſame way to life. Howbeit, even in the conſciouſneſs of fouleſt ſins he may and ought to have hope that he may be renewed by repentance. And yet to have ſuch an hope were impoſſible unleſs he were perſwaded that there is a *Mean* or *middle Eſtate* or condition between the eſtate and condition of the *Elect* and the *Reprobates*.

9. But let us take a man that hath been long perſwaded that he is and hath been *in the irreverſible ſtate of ſalvation*; and is not conſcious to himſelf of any groſs or palpable ſin; or at leaſt of continuance in any ſuch ſins, ſince this perſwaſion did poſſeſs him. Yet if he have embraced *this opinion* or perſwaſion before his ſoul were adorned with that golden chain of ſpiritual vertues, which St. *Peter* requires, 2 *Pet.* 1. whether for making our election ſure *in it ſelf*, or for aſſuring it *unto us*; This immature or miſplaced perſwaſion may fill his ſoul with the ſelf ſame preſumption which the abſolute infallibility of the preſent Romiſh Church doth breed or occaſion in all ſuch as believe it; And that is, *A preſumption worſe then heatheniſh.* For though an Heathen or Infidel kill men uncondemned by law, live in inceſt, and fall down before ſtocks and ſtones, or other dumb creatures. Yet ſuch a man being called in queſtion for killing men uncondemned by Law, will not juſtifie his Action: If his inceſt be detected, he will be aſhamed of it; or being challenged for worſhipping ſtocks and ſtones, he will not allege any ſacred Authority for his warrant. But if you challenge a Romaniſt with ſome like practiſes, and tell him that he tranſgreſſeth the Law of God in thoſe particulars as groſly as the Heathens do: his Reply will be, *Though our facts be outwardly the ſame, yet our practiſes are moſt diſlike. Our practiſes cannot be againſt the Law of God ſeeing they are warranted by the authority of the Church and Pope, who is the faithfull Interpreter of Gods Laws, and cannot erre in matters of faith or practice authorized by him.*

In the like caſe, if you ſhall oppoſe a man that makes himſelf *thus certain of his ſalvation before his time*, in this or the like manner, *Sir, you are as covetous, as great an oppreſſor of the poor, as uncharitable, as malitious, as proud and envious, as are the Heathen; or others whom you condemn for Infidels and no good Chriſtians*; And preſs him with ſuch evident particulars in every kind, as would amate or appall an ingenuous Heathen, or other meer moral man that were conſcious of the like: yet you ſhall find him as *ſurely locked up in his ſins*, by this *his immature perſwaſion of his own infallible eſtate in Grace*, as the Romaniſt is by his *Implicit Belief*, or the Churches abſolute *Infallibility*. So long as this Perſwaſion laſts, *that he ſhall certainly enter into the Kingdom of Heaven*, no Meſſenger of God ſhall ever perſwade him, that he hath done, or continues to do thoſe things, which whoſoever continues to do ſhall never enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. Groſs and palpable or open ſins might happily ſhake or break this perſwaſion, how ſtiff ſoever it had been before, but ſo will not ſecret or lurking ſins. It rather animates or quickens thoſe ſecret ſins of envy, ambition, pride, or malice. And of all other fruits of this prepoſterous perſwaſion or miſplaced Truth, this is the worſt, that it makes men miſtake their malice towards men (whoſe good parts or fame they envy) to be zeal towards God, or to his Truth.

10. Unleſs Sathan had put *this Fallacie* upon ſome men in our times, it were impoſſible that they could ſleep upon the conſciouſneſs of ſuch uncivil behaviour as they uſe; or ſuch unjuſt aſperſion as they caſt upon all others, without reſpect of perſons, which diſſent from them in Opinions often diſputed between members of the ſame Church without diſſention. And of all the Points in Divinity this day controverted in any Church, or betwixt the members of any Church, there is no one that doth naturally better brook diverſity of Opinions or accurate ſifting without hazard of breaking the bond of Chriſtian peace and charity, then the Controverſie about *the Certainty of Salvation*, or of Perſeverance in the ſtate of Grace. For, Chriſtian charity would preſume that every man which hath his ſenſes exerciſed in theſe or the like *Points*, is deſirous to be *as certain of his own Salvation* or eſtate in Grace, as with ſafety of conſcience his own underſtanding or rule of reaſon will permit him, or can make him.

Such as know their own *Eſtate in Grace* by experience or otherwiſe, ſtand bound in equity, in Chriſtian charity, and in humanity, rather to pity then to exaſperate their brethrens weakneſs, which have not the ſkill or like Experience to conclude for themſelves ſo well as they do; or which doubt whether the doctrine in *Theſi* (in the General) be true or falſe. And yet we ſee by woful experience, that the *Contentions about theſe Points* have been ſo bitter and ſo uncivil, that no Papiſt or other Adverſary ſhall ever be able to ſay more againſt the *Certainty of Salvation* or mens Irreverſible Eſtate in Grace, then many ſuch as have written for it have ſaid againſt themſelves. For, if by *the Grace* which they hold impoſſible for men to *fall from*, they mean *the Spirit of wiſdom* or underſtanding in matters ſpiritual, or *the Spirit of meekneſs*, of *ſobriety* and *Chriſtian charity*; every man that hath any branch of the *Spirit of Grace* implanted in him, may conclude without ſin, that many which contend moſt earneſtly for *Abſolute perſeverance in it*, either never had this *Grace*, or elſe are totally fallen from it.

The Third Point.

11. The *Third Point* propoſed was the *Golden Mean* which the Church of *England* maintains as oppoſite to theſe *Contrary Extremes*; but moſt conſonant to the Evangelical Truth.

How *Fides* is *Fiducia*, ſee *Book* 10. *cap.* 52.

Firſt, Our Church doth acknowledge, That *Fides* is *Fiducia*, *That the very nature of that Faith which differenceth a Believer from an Infidel, or a Chriſtian from a meer natural man, doth neceſſarily include a Certainty or full Aſſurance in it.* It muſt be without *wavering*, without diſtruſt or *Doubt*.

The only Queſtion is *About the right* or orderly *placing of this Certainty of Faith* or full Aſſurance; Or *What be the Points whereon it firſt muſt be pitched.*

Theſe (queſtionleſs) muſt be *Points Fundamental*, and ſuch is that, *That the Son of God did die for us*, that he did fully pay the price of our Redemption. This, every man is *firmly* to believe, otherwiſe he builds without a Foundation. *This Certainty of Faith* or full aſſurance, you ſhall find continually preſt upon all hearers in the *Book of Homilies*, *and other Acts of the Church.*

But how ſhall every private man be fully aſſured, that Chriſt did die for him, and that he fully paid the price of his redemption?

Sure, no man can have a right or *full aſſurance* of *this Particular*, unleſs he firſt *aſſuredly* believe, *that the Son of God did die for all men*, that he hath redeemed *all mankind.* He that firmly and conſtantly believes this Propoſition, in ſome reſpect *univerſal* [*The Son of God did die for all men*] can never doubt or waver in Faith, whether he died for him, or whether he hath paid the full Price of his Redemption. He which believes the *General* by an Hiſtorical or Moral Faith, cannot chuſe but believe the *particular* by the ſame Faith. He that believes the General by a ſpiritual and true Chriſtian Faith, muſt believe the particular by the ſame Faith. If the firſt Propoſition [*Chriſt died for All men*] be, *De Fide*, The Second likewiſe [*Chriſt died for me*] muſt be, *De Fide*, too.

But how any man ſhould have *Aſſurance of Faith*, That Chriſt did die for him, or hath redeemed him, unleſs he be firſt aſſured by *Certainty of Faith*, That *Chriſt did die for all men*: This, I confeſs, is a Point which I could never be aſſured of, nor be ſatisfied in, by any that plead for *Special Faith.*

12. Sure I am, that the Church our Mother doth teach us to begin our Faith or Aſſurance from the General, *Chriſt died for All men*, *he hath redeemed all mankind.* And this General She grounds upon that Saying of *our Saviour*, *John* 3. 16. *God ſo loved the world*, *that he gave his only begotten Son*, *that whoſoever believeth in him ſhould not periſh*, *but have everlaſting life.* The Application or Uſe of this place you may find pithily preſt in the third Part of the *Homily*, *Upon the Death and Paſſion of our Saviour.*

To whom, ſaith the *Author of the Homily*, did he give his Son?

To the whole world, that is to ſay, *to Adam and to all that come after him.*

He was not given to *Adam*, nor to ſuch as come after him, until *Adam*, and all that came after him were loſt, until mankind were become his enemies. And this is that which ſets forth *The wonderful love of God unto the world*, that he would give his only Son, whom he loved, for all of us which were his enemies. *Scarcely for a righteous man will one die*, ſaith the Apoſtle, *Rom.* 5. 7. *yet peradventure for a good man*, *ſome would even dare to die. But God commendeth his love towards us*, *in that while we were yet ſinners he died for us.*

13. But when we are taught to believe that Chriſt died as well for *every one of us* as he died for any, we are bound to believe, not only that he ſhed as much blood for every one of us, as he did for St. *Peter* or St. *Paul*; but that he ſhed as much blood *for every one of us* as he did for *all men.* That he paid as great a price for my redemption, as he paid for the Redemption of all mankind. It was not the *Quantity* of his blood ſhed, but the *infinite Value* of each drop which he ſhed that did pay the price of our Redemption. Had the whole ſtream of his blood been much greater then it was, if it had been of value leſs then infinite, it could not have payed the price of one mans redemption; and of price more then infinite, his blood, whatever quantity had been ſhed, could not be for all. So that, *he did as much for thee*, as he did for *both thee and me*, as much for either of us, as he did for the whole world. His deſervings of every one of us are infinite. Were this apprehenſion or belief

See Chap. 4. *Fol.* 339.

of the infinite and undivided love of God in Chriſt *toward all and every man*, rightly planted in mans heart, it would bring forth the fruits of Love; he which is thus perſwaded of Chriſts love towards him in particular, would love Chriſt, and would keep his Commandements, would truſt in Chriſt, and in all temptations rely upon him.

14. To conclude all concerning *The right ordering or placing of that Certainty* or full aſſurance, which is conteined in our belief of Chriſts Death and Paſſion.

The firſt branch of it is, That, *God by giving his only Son for us, did give us an ineſtimable pledge of his love to us in particular.* This we muſt believe *Certitudine Fidei*, by Certainty of Faith. Upon this Foundation or Aſſurance of Faith, our Apoſtle builds another, *Rom.* 5.9,10. *Much more then being now juſtified by his blood, we ſhall be ſaved from wrath through him. For, if when we were Enemies we are reconciled to God, by the death of his Son, much more being reconciled to God, we ſhall be ſaved by his life.* And again, *Chap.* 8. 32. *He that ſpared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all; how ſhall he not with him alſo freely give us all things?*

Theſe are the Prime Seeds of true Chriſtian Faith, and muſt be undoubtedly planted in every mans heart, before he can be a fit Hearer, much leſs a Diſputer in other Points of Divinity, as of Election, Reprobation, &c. Whilſt we labour to plough up your hearts for the fit receiving of this Seed of Faith, we muſt not baulk that ſaying of St. *John*, 1 *Ep.* 3. 3. *Every man that hath this hope in him, purifieth himſelf as he is pure.* If your perſwaſions of your *aſſured Eſtate in Grace* grow up together with this *Purification* of your hearts, then are they *Perſwaſions of Faith*, not *Preſumptions*.

CHAP. XL.

The Fourth Sermon upon this Text.

ROMANS 2. 1.

Therefore, Thou art inexcuſable, O man, whoſoever thou art that Judgeſt, &c.

The Author, Chapt. 38. *propounded* Three Points. *He handled* The Firſt *in the* 38, *and* 39. *Chapt.* The Second, *viz.* [How Papiſts and Proteſtants judging the Jew, condemn themſelves;] *he omitteth, having other-where ſpoken to that Point, and Particularly, Fol.* 343.683. *of this Book. He proceeds here to* The Third Point, *viz* [How Jews, Papiſts, Proteſtants, evidently condemn themſelves, whilſt they judge the Idolatry of the Heathen.]

1. THe very worſt that the *Jew or Chriſtian* can object unto the Heathen, as *Heathen*, is the acknowledgment of many gods, or the adoring of ſtocks, of ſtones, or as *Daniel* enſtiles them, *gods of gold, of ſilver, braſs, iron, wood and ſtone.* Howbeit even this Imaginati-

on of many *gods* (or the worſhipping of many imaginary gods) was but a Transfiguration or Transformation of the *True and only God* into the ſimilitude of thoſe creatures, or viſible ſubſtances which they repreſented by the images which they worſhipped. This was the very height of heatheniſh Idolatry, as our Apoſtle inſtructs us, *Rom.* 1. 23. *They changed the glory of the incorruptible God*, that is, of the only God, *into an Image made like to corruptible man, and to birds and four footed beaſts and creeping things.* Of what things ſoever the images were which they did worſhip; they changed the glory of God into the ſimilitude of that thing whoſe Image they worſhipped; And by this means, as the Apoſtle infers, *ver.* 25. *they changed the truth of God into a lie, and worſhipped and ſerved the Creature more than the Creator, who is bleſſed for ever.* So then, the Transformation of the Divine Nature into unfit ſimilitudes, is it, which muſt give us the True Scale or Scantling for meaſuring the haynouſneſs of that ſin which we call Idolatry. *He that moſt groſly transforms, miſpictures, or changes the nature of the true and only God, is the moſt groſs Idolater; be he by profeſſion a Jew, a Turk, an Heathen, or a Chriſtian.* And it was obſerved, and excellently proſecuted, by a Great Prelate, a moſt Reverend and Learned Biſhop in this Land, That the worſhipping of Images, and the worſhipping of Imaginations, ſo the Imaginations and the Images be alike monſtrous or unfitting, come both to one Paſs.

Idolatry transforms the Divine Nature into unfit ſimilitudes.

The late R. R. *Biſhop* of *Wincheſter*, *E. Andrews* in his Sermon on that Theme.

2. In the worſhipping of Images the Romiſh Church and the Heathens do (at leaſt for the outward Act) too well agree. And in this reſpect the *Jew* and *Mahumetan*, are more averſe from the ancient Heathens, then the beſt in the Romiſh Church are. And if the ſincerity of Gods worſhip did conſiſt in *Negatives*, as in not worſhipping the Images of any living thing; the *Mahumetan* or *Jew* might have the precedency of Reformed Churches. So far are they from worſhipping Images, that they do not allow the making of Pictures, though for hiſtorical uſe. A Painter or Picture-maker is as execrable a creature amongſt them, as a profeſſed *Jew*, a *Turk*, or *Sarazen*, or worſhipper of Idols is amongſt us. Yet are the *Jews* and *Mahumetans* notorious Idolaters, in that other main Branch, or rather Eſſential Root of Idolatry, that is, in worſhipping their own Imaginations; or in obſerving the Fables or Traditions of their Anceſtors.

To omit then that Branch of Idolatry, which conſiſts in the worſhipping of Images, *we muſt examine our ſelves* (I mean we Chriſtians, whether Papiſts or Proteſtants) *By our adherence to the Root of Idolatry*, that is, the *worſhipping of Imaginations*, *or the Transformation of the Divine Nature into the ſimilitude of our corrupt deſires or affections.* This is that which gave Life and Being to the multiplicity of imaginary gods amongſt the Heathens; And the Poyſon of this Idolatry may be more malignant in others then it was or is in them, for want of vent or iſſue.

The Worſhipping of *Imaginations* the root of *Idolatry.* See the 5. *Book.*

3. We of Reformed Churches rightly cenſure it as a Branch of heatheniſh Idolatry in the Romiſh Church, in that they teach the people to make ſolemn ſupplication unto Saints deceaſed, for their Interceſſion or mediation with God or Chriſt. And under this Cenſure fall all their prayers which they make in this or the like form, *Sancta Maria, Sancte Petre, &c. Ora pro nobis.* Into this branch of Formal Idolatry they could not poſſibly ſlide, but through the other which properly conſiſts in the Transformation or changing of the Divine Nature into the ſimilitude of corruptible mans corrupt affections.

Tom.III.

Now how deeply that very Church is tainted with this Idolatry, Her own Plea for practiſing the former Branch, in praying unto Saints, will give evidence againſt them. For the beſt warrant which her Sons can pretend unto, to miſ-perſwade the multitude or vulgar, is this, *That* God is a Great King, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, *and therefore good manners requires that we do not prefer our Petitions immediately unto him, but uſe the mediation or interceſſion of deceaſed Saints, which are in greater favour with him, then we wretched ſinners are.*

Now by this very Imagination or Conceit, they transform the glorious Majeſty of the inviſible God, and of his Chriſt, into the ſimilitude of mortal men, of men though greater in power and Majeſty then other men are, yet (for the moſt part) not ſo good as they themſelves are great, not ſo inclinable to poor mens Petitions, nor ſo compaſſionate of their miſeries as meaner men are. Or if by nature, breeding, or civil education, theſe great Potentates of the world, be more affable or compaſſionate then other men are; yet are they not able to give diſpatch to half the Petitions that would be preſented unto them, if every man might be admitted to be his own ſpokeſman, or to have immediate acceſs unto their preſence. However to compare God or his Chriſt in the Audience of our prayers unto the beſt and wiſeſt Kings that ever lived on earth, or to make the manner of preferring Petitions unto Potentates, as a patern for preferring prayers and ſupplications unto the Almighty, is at the beſt but a Branch of Heatheniſm, *A manifeſt transformation of the Divine Nature into the ſimilitude of mortal man.* And the Romaniſt, both by this Practiſe and this Plea for it, doth evidently condemn himſelf in that wherein he judgeth the Heathen.

4. But would to God the Romaniſt alone did in this Particular condemn himſelf in thoſe things wherein he judgeth others, or that it were a common Error unto him, with the Mahumetan and the Jew, who though they abhor Images more then he doth, yet they commit abominable ſacrilege which is equivalent to Idolatry in transforming the nature of the true God into the ſimilitude of their own Imaginations. But beſides all theſe *I am to give you notice of ſome in Reformed Churches* (and *private Warning* as occaſion ſhall ſerve of ſome Writers in this Church where we live, but no way authorized by it) which commit the ſame error which they ſo much condemn in the Romaniſt.

Some Writers, not Papiſts, tranſform the Divine Nature.

The Romaniſt (as you heard before) transforms or changes *the nature of the incorruptible God, and of Chriſt himſelf, into the ſimilitude of earthly Kings* and Monarchs, yet not of cruel and prodigious Tyrans. But theſe Writers whom I mean, (as the *Romaniſts* object, and the *Lutherans* prove) transform the Majeſty and Glory of the immortal God into the ſimilitude of cruel Tyrans, yea of ſuch baſe and ſordid Pedants (as the meaneſt amongſt you would diſdain, ſhould have any authority over your children) that is, ſuch as delight more in puniſhing and correcting them, then to direct or amend them in learning or manners. For ſo ſome late Writers have expreſly taught, *That the Almighty maker of all things doth as immediately as primarily and directly ordain ſome men to damnation, as he doth others unto life; that he delights as much in the exerciſe of punitive Juſtice, as he doth in the exerciſe of goodneſs, mercy, love, and bounty. That as by his determinate Decree he created ſome to be Elect veſſels of Honour for the manifeſtation of his Goodneſs: So by the ſame irreſiſtible Decree, he ordains others to be veſſels of diſhonour, for the manifeſtation* *jeſtation of his Juſtice.* As if the manifeſtation of his *Juſtice punitive*, or vengeance (for that Juſtice they mean) were as neceſſary from Eternity as the manifeſtation of his Mercy and Goodneſs.

5. Theſe and the like *inconſiderate Tenets*, which I forbear further to proſecute or rehearſe, did give, if not *juſt Occaſion*, yet colourable *Pretence*, and probability unto the *Lutheran Churches*, for breaking off all League or Amity with ſome other *Reformed Churches*, becauſe, as they conceived, ***either they did not agree with them in the worſhip of the ſame God***, or transformed Gods nature into the ſimilitude of his Enemy, into hatred and cruelty it ſelf. Now the beſt way to ſtop their mouthes, or to make up *that Breach* which the Poſitions of ſome inconſiderate men have made, would be *to diſclaim their Opinions*, as the moſt learned in other *Reformed Churches* have ſolemnly done. For ſo, *that Great Light of the Heilderbergh Church*, whilſt it flouriſhed, and he with it (for Both were in a manner extinguiſhed together) being chalenged by two Jeſuites that came to viſit him, profeſſing withall, that they would uſe the *Lutheranes* weapons to make their challenge good, *For making God the Author of ſin*, did in the cloſe or iſſue ſtand upon this defence, *That however this* (perchance) might be *Calvins Error*, yet it was not *Error Calviniſtarum*, no General Error of the Calviniſts, as the Jeſuite objected. For, as for *Paræus* himſelf, albeit he could well brook to be accounted a *Calviniſt*, that is an adherer unto, or *A Maintainer of Calvines Doctrine* in other Points: yet *in this particular concerning Reprobation*, he did rather accord with *Cardinal Bellarmine* (and many others in the Romiſh Church) then with *Calvin* himſelf. That he did not ſo well like of *Calvines Opinion* in this particular, or (at leaſt) *his manner of expreſſing his Opinion*, there is no man of learning or underſtanding that wiſhes well either to the memory of *Calvin*, or to the weal of *Reformed Churches*, but will commend *Paræus* his wiſdom and ingenuity. But that *this Good Author*, ſhould like better of *Cardinal Bellarmines Opinion*, *then of Calvines*, in this Point, I for my part commend his *Ingenuity* more then his *Judgment*. For if as good a Scholar as *Bellarmine* was, would take the pains to examine his Opinion as ſtrictly as he hath done *Calvines*, it would quickly appear, to be for *Quality* the very ſame, if not worſe, however for the *Extent* it may ſeem more tolerable.

Paræus.

See Book II. *Fol.* 314.

Both of them were to blame in taking upon them to determine the *particular manner how God doth reprobate*; And it is a matter of no *Difficulty* to refute them both: But a greater *Preſumption* to determine any *third manner* diſtinct from both. 'Only this in *General*, is moſt certain, that ſeeing *Reprobation is an Ordination unto death*, no man *is reprobated but for ſin*. But, as it is not the Carpenter or Statuary, nor he that works in ſtone, in wood, or braſs, which makes an Idol, for whilſt the work is under their tools, it is an image or ſtatue only: *He which ſets it up or adores it, makes it an Idol.* So this Opinion of Reprobation how harſh ſoever, yet whilſt *Calvin*, *Bradwardine*, or perhaps St. *Auguſtine* did handle it, it was an Error only, or falſe Imagination. They who now would make it a *Fundamental Point of Faith*, or inſert it in their Catechiſmes, make it an Hereſie or worſe then an Hereſie, an idolatrous or blaſphemous Imagination.

6. But admit all of us were free from transformation of the *Divine Nature*; all of us Orthodoxal in matter of opinion concerning the Attributes of God or of Chriſt, yet all this would not free us from another branch of Idolatry as rife and luxuriant amongſt other Chriſtians

whether

Com. III.

whether of the Romiſh or of Reformed Churches, as it was amongſt the Heathens, or is at this day amonſt the Infidels: For, we may rob God of his honour no leſs then the Heathens or Infidels do, without any Idol or Image, without misforming or miſpicturing him in his Attributes. And our Apoſtle at the 22. verſe of this Chapter hath made the robbing or deſpoiling God of his honour equivalent to that branch of Idolatry which conſiſts in the adoration of Idols, *Thou that abhorreſt Idols, doſt thou commit ſacrilege*, or doſt thou rob *God of his honour*. The word in the Original extends to both, to all the branches of Idolatry. Every one which adoreth Idols, takes that honour which is due to the only true God, and beſtows it on that which is not God: Yet in ſo diſpoſing it they did offer it to a Divine power as they imagined it; They did not reſerve it to themſelves; Though ſelf-love or indulgence to corrupt deſire was the original of this Idolatry, or alienation of Gods Worſhip: the Idol was their partner.

Now if any who is called a Chriſtian, give the ſame indulgence to his own corrupt deſires, as the Heathen did, he robs God of his honour no leſs then they.

Thus the Jews, who after their return from *Babylon* detained their Tithes and Offerings, were convinced by Gods Prophets, by God himſelf, who taught his Prophets thus to convince them, of as groſs Idolatry as any Heathens had committed. For the Heathens made a Conſcience of ſpoiling their Gods, ſo did not *Iſrael*. That which their Idolatrous Fore-fathers took from the true God, they offered unto the Queen of Heaven, unto other imaginary gods and goddeſſes: the later Jews ſpare this coſt, and appropriate all unto themſelves.

Now that Idolatry which a man commits with himſelf, or the Alienation of that which is due to God, unto his own corrupt deſires, is of all others the worſt, for it is alwayes mixt with pride, or irreligion, which is worſe then ſuperſtition.

7. To make the Proof of this Aſſertion a little more clear.

Firſt, That the ſacrifices or ſolemn ſervices, which the Heathens performed unto their ſeveral gods, were but as ſo many luxuriant branches or *excreſcencies* of their own corrupt deſires, or of ſecret references to themſelves, we gather hence, That every Nation or Province did principally affect the ſervice of that god or goddeſs, which in the common eſteem of thoſe ignorant times was beſt able to ſatisfie their longing deſires, or to give a temporal bleſſing to their labours.

Though there were many which were called gods, and goddeſſes many: Yet unto the Inhabitants of the Iſle of *Sicily* there was in a manner but one goddeſs, that was *Ceres*, the ſuppoſed Patroneſs of Corn.

What was the reaſon?

The revenues of that Iſland or Province, did moſt conſiſt in the fruitfull increaſe of Corn, and hence were that people more deſirous to pleaſe, more afraid to offend this imaginary goddeſs, then any other Divine Powers. She in a manner had the monopoly of their Devotions.

The ſame Devotion and ſerviceable reſpects which the *Sicilians* profeſt to *Ceres*, the *Bæotians* (a people of *Greece*) performed to *Bacchus*, the ſuppoſed Patron or Protector of Vines. Of *Ceres* they made as ſmall account, as the *Sicilians* did of *Bacchus*.

What was the reaſon?

The chief Commodity which their Country naturally afforded, was

Wine; A good harveſt did not much advance their Fortunes, nor a bad one much impair them. Their expectation was a ſeaſonable and fruitful Vintage.

The *Athenians* eſteemed little of either of theſe gods, but held *Minerva* in more eſteem then the *Sicilians* did *Ceres*, or the *Bæotians* did *Bacchus*.

What was the reaſon?

Minerva was reputed the goddeſs of Wiſdom, the nurſe and foundreſs of thoſe Arts and Sciences, wherein the *Athenians* (their territories being for Corn and Wine but barren) did moſt delight. And ſo they might excell others in wit, in learning and politick wiſdom, they cared not much for land commodities.

See Book the fifth.

The Ancient *Gaules* (a people which inhabited that Country which we now call *France*, with the *Netherlands*, and thoſe parts of *Germany*, which are on this ſide the *Rheine*) were as peculiarly devoted unto *Mercury*, as the *Sicilians* were to *Ceres*, the *Bæotians* unto *Bacchus*, or the *Athenians* unto *Minerva* or *Pallas*.

What was the reaſon?

They were greedy of that gain which ariſeth from the exerciſe of traffique or merchandize, and *Mercury* in the fooliſh divinity of thoſe ignorant times, was a god of cunning or of wit in bargaining; a god, that, being well pleaſed, could teach them how to over-reach others, rather then to be over-reached by them.

The Inhabitants of *Cyprus* being by natural diſpoſition, & long cuſtom inclined unto wantonneſs, made choice of *Venus* for their Patroneſs.

Other Cities and Provinces, whoſe livelihood and maintenance did conſiſt (as the *Netherlands* now do) in traffick by Sea, had *Neptune* in greateſt reverence and admiration.

8. All theſe inſtances do clearly teſtifie, that the worſhipping of every Idol or of the imaginary power which is repreſented, was but an *excreſcence* or ſhute of ſome internal immoderate deſire. Now as the Schools ſay, *Ubi unum propter aliud, ibi unum tantum*; He that deſires Phyſick for healths ſake only, deſires his health rather then the Phyſick; So it is again true, He that ſacrificed to *Ceres* for a plentiful harveſt, to *Bacchus* for a fruitful vintage, or to *Minerva* or *Mercury* for wit, did indeed reſpectively ſacrifice to his own deſire of gain or of cunning wit, or to ſome one or other corrupt deſire or imagination.

Covetouſneſs (as our Apoſtle tells us, *Col.* 3. 5.) *is idolatry.* And our Saviour calls it the *Service of Mammon*, The imaginary god of riches. Whence it will by good Logick follow, that *he which is moſt covetous, is* the greateſt Idolater in this kind, that is, *the greateſt ſerver of Mammon*, albeit he do not ſerve him in or by an Idol or Image. For the *Idol* is but an *Acceſſary* to this foul ſin, the *Principal* is the internal corrupt imagination or deſire. He that can cheat without a Broker, is never a whit the honeſter man then he which uſeth his help, but rather (as the Proverb is) a more crafty knave; or as he is a more cunning thief which can ſteal without an out-putter or receiver, then he which alwaies is inforced to uſe the help of one or other: So he that robs God of his honour (whether by poſitive ſacrilege, or by detention of that from him which is his due) though this he do without an Image or an Idol to be his partner, is as great an Idolater as the Heathens were. For he ſacrificeth that unto his own Imaginations or deſires which the Heathens did unto their imaginary powers.

To come to particulars.

9. If Merchants or Tradeſmen be as greedily ſet upon their gain as the

Heathen *Gauls* were, which offered ſacrifice unto *Mercury*, they are no leſs grievous Idolaters then they were. If this corrupt affection be as immoderate in Chriſtians as it was in Heathens, it will be of like force to vvithdraw their hearts, as it was to withdraw the hearts of the Heathen from the only true God: of like force to ſway them to as grievous tranſgreſſion of the firſt and chief Commandement, as the Heathens could commit any againſt it. For impoſſible it is, they ſhould love God with all their heart, vvith any greater part of their heart, then the Heathens did, if their hearts be as ſtrongly ſet upon riches and vvorldly commodities, as the Heathens were. And ſo much of our love and heart as is withdrawn and alienated from God, is a detention or robbing him of his honour, it ſkills not much on vvhom it be beſtowed, ſo it be utterly alienated from him: The god of this vvorld vvill place it vvhere he liſt. But if the inordinate deſire of gain do mis-ſway men, by profeſſion Chriſtians, to uſe deceit in bargaining, to over-reach their Neighbors, or to vvork their own advantage out of their brethrens miſeries or neceſſities, they tranſgreſs the ſecond great Commandement as grievouſly as the Heathen did, the ſum vvhereof you know is, to love our Neighbors as our ſelves, to do to all as vve deſire to be done unto. And by the manner and meaſure of tranſgreſſing theſe two great Commandements (on vvhich the vvhole Lavv and Prophets hang) the true meaſure, as of Idolatry, ſo of all other ſins, muſt be taken.

10. If we ſhould take an unpartial ſurvey of all the ſeveral ſorts or conditions of men throughout this Land, and of their demeanors in their ſeveral callings: What root or branch of goodneſs is there wherein we can be imagined to overtop many Heathen Nations, unleſs it be in point of Faith and Opinion? But theſe we know without correſpondence in practiſe of good life, will be ſo far from juſtifying us in reſpect of the Heathens or Infidels, that they will more deeply condemn us. Covetouſneſs, deceit and violences were not more riſe amongſt private Heathens, then they are with us. If opportunity ſerve, *Homo homini fit lupus*, every one is as a ſnare or gin unto his neighbor. The Remedy which God hath appointed for this enormity are publick Laws and Courts of Juſtice. And yet if the grievances, which private men ſuffer from one another, vvere put in one ſcale, and the grievances which befall them from the corruptions of Courts appointed to do them right (whether theſe be Civil or Eccleſiaſtick) were put in the contrary Scale, it would be hard to determine, whether ſort of grievances would overpoize others. And if the remedy prove worſe then the diſeaſe, what hope of health? As for drunkenneſs, ryot and other prophaneneſs, theſe were not ſo riſe in many Heathen Nations, as they are now in moſt Chriſtian States, becauſe for the moſt part more ſeverely puniſhed amongſt them then they are with us, & yet I pray God that the ſins of the Pulpit and of the Printing-houſe may be found much lighter then the ſins of the Play-houſe or the Tavern, &c. when the great Moderator of Heaven and Earth ſhall weigh them in the Balance of his un-erring Juſtice? This is certain, that notorious delinquents almoſt in every other kind are aſhamed to juſtifie themſelves when their facts come to light; their very Conſorts will not be their Advocates, when they are proved againſt them. Whereas many popular Sermons and Treatiſes, albeit full ſtuft with Characters of more then Heatheniſh pride, hatred, malice, ſedition and ſcurrility paſs for currant amongſt the factious Conſorts, as containing rare expreſſions of fervent zeal in Gods cauſe, and of ſincere love to true Religion. And if the light of the body be dark, how great muſt the darkneſs of that body be?

11. In drunkenneſs, in gluttony, in wantonneſs, and other branches of licentiouſneſs, ſome Heathen Nations in former ages haply have exceeded us; But in this publick and far ſpreading licentiouſneſs of tongues and pens in bitter invectives againſt their brethren, in audacious libelling againſt lawful Superiors, no Age before the Art of Printing was invented could, no State or Nation ſince the invention of that Art hath exceeded or may compare with theſe times wherein, and thoſe people with whom we live.

But admit the faults or delinquencies of our time were but equal to the delinquencies of the Heathen: yet as that ancient and religious Writer *Salvianus* well obſerves, Though the vices of the Heathens and the Chriſtians were but equal, yet the ſame vices, are more criminous and ſcandalous in Chriſtians then they can be in the Heathen. If the Heathens were prophane, were covetous, were diſſolute, licentious or diſobedient, what great matter is it? they never heard of *A Redemption from this vain converſation to be purchaſed at ſo high a rate as with the precious blood of the onely Son of God*: They never were called ſolemnly to vow integrity of life and converſation, as a ſervice due unto that Lord which had redeemed them. All this we have done, and yet have left our Maſters will (which we vowed to do) altogether undone, yea continue to do the will of his Enemy with as great alacrity and fidelity as the Infidels or Heathens do.

Again, the Heathens had no expectation of any gracious immortal reward for well-doing: they feared no dreadful doom or ſentence after death, for the errors or miſdoings of this mortal life. But we ever ſince we learned the ten Commandements and our Creed, have been hedged in on the right hand and on the left, on the right hand with hopes of a moſt bleſſed everlaſting life, on the left hand with fear of an endleſs and never dying death: and yet have tranſgreſſed theſe bounds, have on both hands out-rayed as licentiouſly as the Heathens did.

Surely one ſpecial reaſon, why after ſo long, ſo much good preaching, there is ſo little practice of good life, ſo much licentiouſneſs in the wayes of death, is, becauſe we Preachers do not maintain that double hedge which Chriſt hath ſet us for keeping us in order, that is, we do not preſs the fear of death and hope of life everlaſting, ſo forcibly and ſeaſonably as we ought and might.

Now theſe meditations of everlaſting life, and everlaſting death, are the points whereunto theſe diſcuſſions upon this Text have been præmiſed. God grant you docile hearts, and me the Spirit of Grace and Underſtanding for rectifying your hopes and fears of your final reward in that laſt and dreadful Day.

CHAP. XLI.

A SERMON upon *Gen.* 42. *v.* 21. never printed before.

GEN. 42. 21.

And they ſaid one to another, [We have ſinned, or] We are verily guilty concerning our brother; in that we ſaw the anguiſh of his ſoul, when he beſought us, and we would not hear: Therefore is this diſtreſs come upon us.

§. 1. THE unnatural conſpiracy of theſe ſons of *Jacob* againſt their harmleſs brother, (the *Original* and *Progreſs* whereof, I ſhall be inforced to unrip,) is at large ſet down in the 37th Chapter of this Book. The *Means* whereby it pleaſed God to work out this *Confeſſion* and *Acknowledgment of it*, are conteined in this Chapter, and in theſe words: [*We have ſinned.*] The word *Aſham* in the Original more uſually ſignifieth the *Guilt* of ſin, then the *Quality* or Act of ſin it ſelf: as contrarily, *Chata*, doth Uſually ſignifie the Act or *Quality*, and ſeldomer the *Guilt* of ſin. The beſt Interpreters render it in this place, *Certè Rei ſumus* (truly we are guilty) and if this clauſe were fully expreſſed, it were as much as, *O nos certè Reos! Wo unto us*, *we are verily guilty!* Whether way we take it, much it ſkills not, acknowledging the *Fact*, they confeſſed the *Guilt*; nor would they at this time have confeſſed the *Fact*, had they not been overtaken with the terrifying conſciouſneſs of the *Guilt*. Again, where our Tranſlation reads, *We ſaw the Anguiſh of his ſoul*, &c. *therefore is this Trouble come upon us.* The word in the Original is one and the ſame, *Zarah*; here in the former place expreſſed by *Anguiſh*, and in the later by *diſtreſs* or trouble; which difference, though in ſenſe almoſt nothing, yet would it more fully intimate the *Means* or cauſe *of their Confeſſion*, if the ſame word were uſed in both places. The *means* or cauſe *of their Confeſſion* conſiſts in the likeneſs or *Identity* of their diſtreſs with their brothers diſtreſs: they would not hear their brother when he beſought them in the *Anguiſh of his ſoul*, and now when they are in like *Anguiſh of ſoul* they cannot be heard. The reaſon why they denied their brothers petition, was, their overhaſty jealouſie, leſt he ſhould undermine them; and this Governor (as they only apprehend him) will not hear them, being ſuſpicious they are ſpyes. Of the perſons uttering this *Confeſſion* (beſides the *Fact* it ſelf, whereof anon) I will only ſay here thus much; Albeit the Spirit of God hath noted this unto us, and ſundry other outragious Acts of theirs; yet out of theſe particulars, to Cenſure their life, or perſons in general, for *Reprobates* or men altogether void of all fear of God, were odious.

§. 2. Thus much being granted, That which for our Inſtruction (to my conceiving) ariſeth naturally out of this hainous *Fact* before committed, and now firſt acknowledged, may be comprehended in theſe

Two Aſſertions; *Firſt*, *That men* (as theſe are) *of better ſort* (ſeeing the beſt ſort of men are often wedded to ſome affection or other) *do ſometime not onely aſſent unto hainous ſins, but give them peaceable entertainment for a long time. Secondly*; *Affliction* (eſpecially affliction of like kind to that wherein we have offended) *is an eſpecial and ordinary means of breaking this league and amity betwixt ſin and our ſouls:* It breaks it in all, though not with equal ſucceſs: ſome it enforceth utterly to diſclaim it; others to repine at it: all in ſome degree for the preſent to diſlike it. The *Former* of theſe two *Aſſertions* may warn us to ſet a diligent watch over our affections, leſt they bring us acquainted with ſuch dangerous gueſts. The *Later* may teach us duly to obſerve all croſs events or afflictions befalling us, that by them we may come to the knowledge of ſuch ſins as have been before concealed, or to diſcern the hainouſneſs of ſuch ſins as we have known before in part, but not as we ſhould. Or at the leaſt, if no affliction viſit us, to ſeek ſome more ſoveraign remedy which may cure our ſouls with leſs malady.

§. 3. For the former of theſe *Two Aſſertions*, *That men of better ſort do ſometimes give admittance and long entertainment unto hainous and grievous ſins*; to ſeek proofs for it elſewhere were but to prejudice the truth herein delivered. Had the Spirit of God concealed the parentage of theſe men, who would not have judged them by this *Fact* to have been the wicked brood of curſed *Cain*, rather then the ſeed of righteous *Abraham?* For hearken, O ye ſons of *Jacob!* is not this your unrighteouſneſs, as the unrighteouſneſs of *Cain?* is not this your conſpiracy againſt your brother, as his conſpiracy againſt his brother *Abel?* How then can ye not tremble and quake for horror, leſt your brothers blood ſend up a cry to heaven for vengeance upon you alſo? you know how dear and tender this your brother is in the ſight of his parents: The comfort of *Jacob*, & ſtay of his old age, whoſe week and feeble body now growing downwards to the grave, not able to ſupport the ſoul that gives it life, but as it leans on, and is tyed to, the ſoul of the child: yet will ye go about to take his ſoul away from him? ſo may ye indeed win Titles of cruelty from *Cain*, and at one blow, purchaſe the name of murtherers both of *Father* and *Brother*. Could his ſimplicity give occaſion to any lamentable or tragical event, yet what law ſo ſtrict, as to account him capable of any miſchievous intent? what Judge ſo ſevere, as to pronounce him lyable to the ſentence of death? And will ye who are his fleſh, offer thus to ſeek his blood, onely for ſome ſpeeches of his conſtrued by your ſelves? His young and tender years might plead pardon for any ſpeech he could utter, though never ſo contumelious; or for any Fact he could intend, though never ſo treaſonable againſt a forreign Prince or Ruler; and will ye the ſons of his father (only his betters in that ye might be wiſer) wreſt matters of death from ſurmiſes of wrong ſpoken or intended againſt you? the beſt ground of your ſuſpicion, being but the voluntary relation of his dreams, which in wiſe men are oft but toyes, and if in children they be Oracles, yet had he the wit to interpret them as fore-ſhewing his riſing, by your fall, you might well imagin he could be wary enough to keep his own counſel.

§. 4. Any of theſe or many other circumſtances which eaſily might be here obſerved would ſuffice to make the hardeſt heart (not intereſted in this cauſe) to melt with commiſeration at the miſerable eſtate of this harmleſs child; and enforce the mildeſt ſpirit on earth to ſwell with indignation and anger, againſt theſe cruel murtherers; and arm mercy her ſelf to proſecute the intent with all poſſible ſeverity. But ſeeing now ſuch is his lot, as he is fallen into the hands of the parties incenſed againſt him, who will be Witneſſes, Judges, and Executioners; not all theſe, and many other circumſtances which might here be added (though never ſo artificially managed) could enforce them to let hold go of this preſent opportunity. Their ſtubborn affections, having got (as we ſay) the better end of the ſtaff, what might in reaſon ſeem of moſt force to withdraw them, they can eaſily hayl to them. Doth our father love him well? yea! Too well (God wote) as all of us can witneſs, to our great diſgrace; and as the end will prove, to our greater diſadvantage. If other choice were left, there is none of us but would be glad: but now of theſe two, chuſe which you like beſt, one we muſt; either we muſt bereave our father of one ſon amongſt ſo many, or elſe ſuffer him to bereave us all of our onely Father. Are his years but young? yet old enough to carry tales; and he that by his pratling can now purchaſe audience for whatſoever he hears ſpoken, his riper years invention will be able to win credence for whatſoever he ſhall ſpeak, though the Tenor of his ſong be but falſe deſcant upon our ſilence. Are the grounds of our ſuſpition but dreams? yea; but that is in the head by night which was in the heart by day; he may have pride enough to conceive ſuch thoughts as may cauſe aſpiring dreams, although he have not the art to keep that in his head waking, which came into it ſleeping. His wit will be greater, and his pride can not be leſs; for, where pride hath got the ſtart, it proves the property of it to hold footing, and other affections muſt follow it: and where Pride ſits Judge, and Wit the Executioner, wo be to all ſuch as will not be their vaſſals; juſt cauſe we have to diſlike his beginning, and we know not what danger may be in his proceedings. One thing we may be ſure of; we may prevent all this by his ending; For a dead mans dreams prognoſticate no mans harms. Hath not his father ſent him a deſolate way from *Hebron* to *Schechem*? and he hath wandred as dangerous a way from *Schechem* to *Dothan*: many grievous miſchances in both theſe wayes already might, and many in his return may yet befall him. Seeing then his father firſt, and ſecondly he hath expoſed himſelf unto ſuch evident danger, if we make that now to *Be*, which heretofore might well *have Been*, and otherwiſe in all likelyhood hereafter *will be*, we ſhall uſe him but a little worſe then they have done that love him beſt: which will extenuate our fault although hereafter it ſhould haply be known, which yet we can eaſily conceal. *Onely be Reſolute*, and whilſt this good opportunity ſerves us, lay hands upon him; our Father ſhall believe *ſome evil beaſt hath devoured him*. Yet why ſhould ye cloak cauſeleſs murther with a needleſs lye? If ye have reſolved to ſhed his innocent blood, ye may certifie his father truly, albeit ambiguouſly, *A company of Unruly beaſts have devoured him*. But God who preſerved a *Lot* righteous in *Sodom*, hath reſerved purer thoughts in the heart of inceſtuous *Reuben*, at whoſe requeſt (carrying a farther intent of mercy then he dare make known to his mercileſs brethren) they can be content to run over his death with haſte to his Burial. And as *Solomon* of the wicked, *they cannot ſleep unleſs they have done evil*, (*Prov.* 4.16.) So theſe wicked men more thirſting after their brothers death, then careful of the ſuſtentation of their own life; firſt ſee him ſet in a Pit, where they hope he may ſtarve for hunger, and ſo from banqueting their blood-thirſty minds they go to refreſh their hungry bodies, ſitting down to *eat the bread of wickedneſs, and drink the wine of violence.*

§. 5. Here our *Gracious God*, who turns the wicked purpoſes of men to better effects then the thoughts of man can aim at, croſſeth the good intent of *Reuben*, and by preſenting to their view a company of *Iſhmaelitiſh Merchants*, ſets up *Judah* (as it were at laſt) to cope for favor with the hang-man, ſo the *Iſhmaelites* will pay for it; and their covetouſneſs ſtreining courteſie with their cruelty, brings it down a note lower. For their better gain, they will not ſtick for once, of butchers, to become drovers, to leave killing and practiſe ſelling. Where mark, I beſeech you, the *diſtorted Rule* of ſinful mans affections. Theſe (or part of them) are *the men*, who not long ſince for their inordinate affection towards their ſiſter, did work that bloody and deſperate revenge upon the men of *Shechem*, which to effect they could then pretend, *It was an abomination* for them to give their ſiſter in marriage unto the Lords of the Land wherein they ſojourned, until they had received Circumciſion. Now, for the inordinate love they bear unto themſelves, they firſt go about to murther their innocent brother, and then (which is the height of their mercy) to make him (ſo lovely a plant of the royal ſeed of *Abraham*) a perpetual bondſlave, to be bought and ſold amongſt the baſer ſort of uncircumciſed Aliens. Thus beloved, you ſee the progreſs and height of this wicked *Fact*, too horrible to have been once intended, too dreadful to have gone ſo long time debated, and not recalled. It is an eaſie matter for us that are onely Spectators of this Tragedy, to ſit, and cenſure theſe Actors as wicked and cruel men: as the Fact in truth is moſt wicked, and moſt cruel, though the men no doubt abſolutely more merciful then moſt in our dayes. We muſt conſider, it is One thing where mercy preſented with a fit object hath free liberty to follow its own inclination; another thing where it is foreſtalled and over-matched with unruly affections: (as at large I purpoſed to have diſcourſed.) Let us give thanks to Gods gracious providence for preventing our wicked inclinations by wholeſome Laws of civil regiment, under which we were born, and the good Statutes of *Religious Societies* wherein we have been brought up, and let us not tempt God by giving the reins unto any headſtrong Affection of what kind ſoever it be.

§. 6. Of this preſent *Fact*, it may be farther demanded, whether his *abſence* might bring them to penitency, although the woful condition of his *preſence* could not move them to pity: ſome attempts there be, which are moſt pleaſant while they are in the acting, but being done, they leave in the actors a bitter ſting of contrary grief; as things far wreſted from the point whereupon they are fixed, return with greater violence unto the part moſt oppoſit. *Peracto demùm ſcelere magnitudo ejus intelligitur.* Thus haſty and outragious anger glutted with boyſterous revenge, ſometimes reſolves it ſelf preſently into tears of compaſſion, and bitter bewailing. *Alexander* in a drunken fit ſlew his favourite *Clytus*; and when he became ſober, would have kill'd himſelf. *Intellecto facinore voluit mori*; *Certè debuit*, ſayes *Seneca*. For the ſame reaſon it is, That *Raſhneſs travels commonly of Repentance:* Generally, *ſuch deſires as proceed from great paſſions, as the good they follow, ſo they themſelves melt with vehemency of their motion.* Deſires bred from conceit or phanſie, uſually over-weary themſelves by miſtaking the game which they run at. But ſeldom is it ſeen that attempts proceeding upon long and ſetled reſolutions, once ſeconded with perpetuity of ſucceſs and quiet fruition of their hopes, will eaſily conceive any ſorrow for the means whereby they have been effected, be they never ſo unjuſt or unlawful. He that hath once caſt a liking upon living by the ſpoyl, will make no conſcience of ſacrificing to his net, ſo long as his portion thereby grows fat, and his meat is plenteous: witneſſes hereof be the lewd opinions of the antient Hereticks, the fooliſh dreams of Pagans, with ſome wandring conceits of otherwiſe religious Ancients, which, all being condemned and baniſhed out of the Primitive Church, have notwithſtanding like running Fugitives, for the gain which they brought with them, been enfranchiſed, and highly advanced in the Romiſh Church; whoſe devotion is but an exceſſive deſire of honor or admiration of men; and ſo long as her gainful revenues by this means continue the ſame, it is not to be expected, that ſhe will ceaſe to burn incenſe unto her yarn, or *Moab*-like, to ſacrifice her own ſons in the maintenance of her unjuſt rebellious quarels, or juſtifying her uſurped claim to other mens kingdoms. There is not the groſſeſt error, or moſt damnable practiſe that can enter into the heart of men, which ſhall ever be recalled by that Church, ſo long as hopes of gain by her wonted merchandize are not cut off. Yea! ſo far ſhe is from recalling or diſclaiming them, that ſhe can gull her fooliſh ſons, and delude the world by glozing over the juſt deſerts of foul impiety, and helliſh villany with the glorious titles of Martyrdom or Saintſhip. Had the late miſchievous plot which had the help of later years invention to erect it ſelf far above the height of all villany that any of the ancient Poets could reach unto in feigned tragedies taken effect; or had the plotters been once throughly inſtalled in their greedy hopes, their holy but ſimple St. *Francis* for ever after ſhould have been reputed by Papiſh fraternities (birds of his own hatching) but a beggarly Saint in reſpect of that noble Fryer, who firſt invented Gun-powder: or of them which had improved his invention to the overthrowing of States and Kingdoms without ſhot or bullet. Fire and water had fought for the prerogative of his Holineſs, whether the one had deſerved better of Chriſts Church for its ſuppoſed force in chaſing away Devils; or the other for its dexterity in blowing up Hereticks. But God be praiſed, their Net is broken, and we are delivered; and in the Pit they digged for others, themſelves are fallen to be made ſuch ſacrifices as *Baal's* Prieſts can make; to purge that air by juſt effuſion of their blood which they had long polluted with the blaſphemy of their breath.

§. 7. Excepting theſe brain-ſick hopes and frantick deſires, which falſe and counterſeit religion may hatch, worſt of all others, are inbred native deſires. Where they have followed their bent, and gone far without controlment, they ſeldome take the foyl, although they often fail of their purpoſes: much leſs will they retire, when they joyn with ſuch a good, as can afford a conſtant tenure of benefit or delight, without long or weariſom interruptions. Unleſs deſires ſhrink for lack of deep and ſure foundation, the *actual poſſeſſion* of any good whilſt it continues, will faſten mens minds to an higher point of liking their purchaſe, then the hope of the ſame could incline them unto: For the good being of a permanent nature once thoroughly poſſeſt, adds more ſtrength and alacrity to our hopes or deſires for its continuance, then they had in the ſeeking the firſt poſſeſſion, or exiſtence of it. Seeing then native and inbred deſires are of all others moſt firmly ſeated (if they have matter to feed upon) there can be ſmall hope of their yielding. The only way to ſubdue them, is to ſtarve them by cutting off their proviſion. And of all inbred deſires, moſt dangerous both for the grievouſneſs of the temptations; whereunto they are obnoxious, as alſo for the continuance in the ſame, are ſuch deſires, as proceed from a ſtubborn eſteem of mens own worth, or a ſtiff inclination of holding their own, and maintaining their reputation. Men in whom ſuch paſſions have come to their full growth, muſt be more beholding to other mens modeſty, wiſdome or patience, then unto their own diſcretion or honeſty, if they live (for any competent time) free from endangering their neighbours lives, or deſerving their own ſhameful deaths.

Such paſſions as have been noted (or ſuch deſires as breed the like paſſions) were the root of this preſent miſchief. Hence grew that vehement indignation in the ſons of *Jacob* againſt their brother, partly for revealing their evil doings or ſayings, but eſpecially that he being youngeſt, ſhould lead their aged Father, by whom they were to be ruled; hence ſprung their *fretting jealouſie*, leſt he in time to come ſhould domineer as Lord over them; Now *Joſeph* is gone, they may uſe their liberty in ſpeaking without ſuſpicion of bewraying; now they hope to find old *Jacob* a more kind and loving Father to tender their good, and every way to encreaſe their fortunes, without fear of future ſubjection. If now they remember their abſent brother, this remembrance brings them in mind of their former eſtate in his preſence; and as the precedent want of things themſelves makes the real poſſeſſion of them ſweeter, ſo the ſtrong apprehenſion or imagination of their former want, much encreaſeth the conceit or eſteem of the good which men reap by their preſent fruition. Thus cannot theſe ſons of *Jacob* think of their abſent brother, but the joy at his abſence is augmented by remembring the evils of his preſence; and the greater the benefit ſeems, the readier would they be to prevent all means which might make them forget it. Suppoſe then, he were preſent, the forwarder would they be to attempt the like againſt him; and whilſt ſuch reſolutions ſtand ſtill unſhaken, what hope of repentance? And how little they had been touched with the conſcience of this hainous Fact the circumſtances of their carriage ſet down elſewhere in this Chapter, may witneſs againſt them. For men, *Galled* with the conſcience of any matter, but fit for curious wits to coin a jeſt of, much more of ſuch hainous crimes as bear the perfect ſtamp of infamy, cannot abide to touch their own ſores; much leſs will they occaſion others to ſearch into them; whereas theſe men at the 13. verſe of this Chapter, peradventure being *asked* (as may probably out of other places be conjectured) whether they had ere a Father, they add in their *anſwer*, the death of their brother which they had ſold, paſſing it over with as little care and reckoning, as they had cauſe to mention it; *We thy ſervants are twelve brethren, the ſons of one man, in the land of Canaan; and behold the yongeſt is this day with our Father, and one is not.* And that he is not, is your perpetual ſhame! yet can you ſo ſleightly run over your Fathers grief, your brothers diſaſter, and your own diſgrace!

§. 8. Hitherto beloved, the eſtate they had purchaſed by their brothers fall, ſtood firm and intire; and in preſumption thereof have they ſtood at defiance or neglect of their duty towards their Lord God; now the date of their proſperity is expired, and the *Tenor* of their fortunes changed, they begin to relent. Now *thirteen years* paſſed ſince this miſchief was conceived; in which ſpace the long ſuffering of God waited for their repentance, time long enough (a man would think) to have been ſmothered in the breaſts that bread it, unleſs they had been by ſorrow and repentance delivered of it. True it is, continual proſperity (as in many others, ſo in theſe) for a long time lulls conſcience aſleep, whoſe ſting can never dye but by repentance; [*We ſaw the an-*

guiſh of his ſoul.] It may here be demanded, why they utter this confeſſion after all of them except *Simeon* were releaſed; ſeeing their danger was greater when all were *committed*, and only one to be ſent home for their brother. It may be anſwered, *Firſt,* that after their releaſement, they were afraid of greater danger, as in the 43. Chap. and the 18. verſe; After their return they interpret their kind entertainment but a bait to entrap them, and to bring them in bondage. *Secondly*, that it is not apparent (no not probable) that this confeſſion was uttered by them after their releaſement, albeit in place coming after their releaſement, which hath more connexion with their impriſonment, and therefore (according to the method oft uſed in this ſacred hiſtory) to be immediatly placed after their impriſonment, and theſe words of my Text, being of an other rank to come after both.

The Application of what hath been ſaid of the Firſt Aſſertion.

§. 9. To receive that which hath been ſpoken for our inſtruction. We ſee Beloved, by the example of theſe men, what grievous falls the beſt ſort of men are prone unto. To theſe I might have added (if ſo either the doubtfulneſs of the *Aſſertion* had required, or the time permitted) the example of *David* and others of excellent note for their piety and religion. That many men have been free from the acting of ſuch heynous ſins, the cauſe in many might be, for that which way ſoever they ran, their courſe was ſlow; if towards him though but a ſnails pace, the Devil knew they might in time come to him: If towards heaven, he might be in hope to overtake them, without any great plotting to procure ſuch great falls, or any vehement enticements to cauſe their out-raging extraordinarily: yet dare I not deny, but ſundry of excellent ſpirits have been free from ſuch foul offences; at leaſt,after their Converſion. And many ſuch as have won admiration in the eyes of the world for their ſure footing, and never fainting ſpirits in their firſt courſe towards heaven, had the ſpirit of God been ſtoryer of their lives, we ſhould have had notice of their often trippings, their many dangerous ſlidings, and ſundry grievous down fallings; what ſhall we ſay then, ſeeing men of ſuch excellency in Gods ſervice have been overtaken with ſuch haynous offences? ſhall the like in us, becauſe men of leſſer gifts, be accounted leſs dangerous? God forbid! Hath any man ſinned in this high degree? let him not deſpair he hath the ſame Advocate theſe men had, even *Jeſus Chriſt the righteous*, whoſe righteouſneſs the beſt of men, yea their beſt actions, ſtand in need of and the worſt actions of men,moſt wicked may by Him have help and ſuccour in abundance. Is any man free from this height of ſin? ſeeing now to his ſeeming *he ſtands, let him take heed leſt he fall.* Our God and Governor, by the example of theſe men, hath given us ſufficient warning how dangerous an adverſary we are to deal withall, who thus hath foyld the valiants of Iſrael: And ſhall we who are but graſhoppers to them, provoke him to wraſtle with us? and provoke him we do, if we call not home our wandring and worldly affections? theſe are the handles without which the Devil ordinarily layes hold on no man, and to give indulgence to them, is to dare our adverſary (the Devil) to combat. Conſider we then I beſeech you, how great is the neceſſity of that precept taught us by our Saviour (therefore moſt neceſſary becauſe his precept) *Watch and pray continually leſt you enter into temptation:* Are we negligent herein? A ſlender ſearch were it to examine our ſelves only concerning *this Fact* here mentioned. This were a matter of like Folly, as if a Phyſician ſhould beſtow his whole employment in curing that diſeaſe of which his laſt Patient dyed. Nay! whoſoever is conſcious to himſelf of ſupine negligence in this precept, his affections have made a Fool of him, if he can perſwade himſelf that he is free from danger of committing any ſin. There is no affection which will not fetch over all the reſt if it be cunningly humored, as the Devil in his faculty wants no skill: nor is it any argument to ſay, I know my nature, and my thoughts are far enough averſe from ſuch outrages; for new opportunities and temptations come never unfurniſhed of new motives and unknown perſwaſions: otherwiſe thoſe *Caveats* of the temptations and ſubtile power of Sathan ſo often urged by the Holy Ghoſt, might be accounted hyberbolical ſpeeches, or allegorical bugbears. Though all be clear to day, yet unleſs we continue our evening and morning ſearch, and ſometimes ſet a midnight watch over our ſouls, the train may be laid when we leaſt think which may take hell-fire ere we be aware. Let every man therefore examine his own conſcience whether or know he hath continually ſtood upon his guard, uſing the weapons of his ſpiritual warfare, whereby the fierie darts of Sathan may be quench't.

§. 10. Not to prejudice the ſecrets of any mans conſcience, give me leave only in a generality to level at moſt of our diligence herein, by looking through the uſual carriage of the more civil ſort of men in our dayes. What argument of more force to perſwade ſuch men they ſerve God well enough, then that *Deceitful Sorites*; To live well is the end of our life; and he lives well that means no man harm; and to be honeſtly merry is to mean no man harm: thus *a primo ad ultimum*, From the one end of the year to the other; nay, would to God it were not true of too many, not true of the moſt, that from the beginning of their lives to their ending, the greateſt part of vacancy from neceſſary buſineſs, which all ſhould be beſtowed in *good doings*, were not ſpent in *good meanings*, and their *good meaning* no better then *meaning no harm*. Beloved, albeit we may perſwade our ſelves we think charitably of others (peradventure by thinking too charitably of our ſelves) yet have we no reaſon in the world to be perſwaded the Devil is ſo minded towards us, he never means us any good; and while we ſpend too much time only in *meaning* others *no harm*, he gains opportunities of doing us many a miſchief. The heart of man immediately after our Parents fall (returning to the temper of the earth whereof it firſt was framed) is but a ſtep-mother to flowers and wholeſome fruits, too fertile and kind a mother to unprofitable and hurtful weeds; let us never think our ſelves good husbands, if witting and willingly we ſow no evil ſeed there, where poyſonous weeds will grow of themſelves too faſt without ſowing; Our continual care and diligence muſt be added in ſowing and cheriſhing good ſeed being ſown, by preventing the growth of the bad, which the envious man will be watchful enough to ſow whilſt we *leaſt mean any harm*, even whilſt we are aſleep: Nor is it all our care and diligence for our ſafeties, that can make up the tenth part of his watchfulneſs for our deſtruction, whoſe ſtrength and skill are able to effect more upon leaſt advantages to our wo, then all our ſtrength and skill though armed with our double diligence, could work out for our weal. What then is our hope or what is our ſtrength? muſt not our hope be in *the keeper of Iſrael, which neither ſlumbereth nor ſleepeth?* muſt not the *Almighty God of Jacob be our ſtrength?* without the hope of whoſe power, both night and day to protect us, our beſt endeavours are to death; we have no ſtrength but to deſtruction; whoſe power to hope for in idle wiſhes without our earneſt endeavours at ſet times of ſerious invocation, were but to provoke the ſame againſt us. The greateſt ſtrength we may truſt unto, muſt ariſe from the perpetual experience of our weakneſs, the only courage we can reſolve upon, muſt be our often running unto, and invoking his ayd, who only is ſtronger then our adverſary.

§. 11. Beſides this danger, in reſpect of preſent and future times, we ſee by the example of theſe ſons of *Jacob*, in whom this ſin had lurked ſo long, in what dangerous eſtate we are yet in regard of ſins paſt, for *who can ſay my heart is clean?* or who can ſay the dayes of my youth have been ſuch, as need not the curious ſearch of riper years? Let this be the pride of Phariſees, and ſhame of Hypocrites; none here preſent, I preſume, hath kept ſo ſlender a regiſter of his life; but can remember betwixt God and his conſcience many grievous ſins. Unto this remembrance add we farther this conſideration, that not every acknowledging, not every confeſſion, or ſorrowing for ſins committed, will take away the guilt of the ſame ſins; many confeſs and ſorrow, and yet want that *Chriſtian reſolution* to proceed unto the baniſhment and utter extirpation of them: politician like, either for the quieter ſtate of mind, or leſt the eager purſuit of thoſe matters ſhould hinder their ſet purpoſes in other proceedings, they can be content to yield unto ſome toleration of their reliques in their heart, whoſe intire force is a terror to their conſcience. The beſt iſſue whereof will be this, that either when great opportunities are offered, they will make head againſt us, burſting out into more outragious Facts then before, or elſe when we ſhall come to new conflict with other ſins, the Devil will muſter their broken forces to our imagination to drive us headlong into deſpair. Conſider then I beſeech you, how neceſſary is that examination of the Apoſtle, 1 *Cor.* 11. in reſpect of former ſins; and yet beſides theſe known ſins, we muſt know, that we have been led hood-winked by our affections into many dangerous ſins, which then we knew not to be ſuch, nor yet can take notice of in particular. Yea, but will God require the examination for them alſo? Beloved, we cannot be ignorant how the ancient Chriſtians were penitent and ſorrowful for thoſe ſins they had committed being heathens; whereof they had no warning to beware, nor like means to eſchew them; whereas we have had that warning of our *Saviour* from our Cradles. It was taught us amongſt the firſt leſſons we learned of our Fathers, and told us in the firſt inſtructions given us by our mothers; beſides the continual reiteration of it by Gods miniſters, his preachers: and therefore, as the neglect of this precept hath been from time to time wilful and deſperate without all excuſe, ſo all ſuch ſins as proceeded from this neglect, though for that time unawares and yet unknown, have been nevertheleſs without all excuſe wilfully and deſperately committed; nay ſuch ſins as upon preſuppoſal of this neglect were altogether impoſſible to have been diſcerned, our conſciences will one day ſhew us to our grief, were very poſſible, yea very eaſie, to have been avoided, had we not thus riotouſly and haughtily deſpiſed the heavenly adviſe of the *wonderful Counſelor*. *We deceive our ſelves, if we look either to know, much leſs to reſiſt or avoid ſins otherwiſe then by virtue of prayer.*

§. 12. Yea but affliction ſhall teach us both; It is true indeed, ſuch is the fooliſhneſs of mans heart, that uſually he learns not this leſſon of any other beſides his old School-maſter, his *bitter experience*; but it is more then probable, that ſuch as after ſo many warnings will affect the deferring of reformation until affliction overtake them, will hardly be reformed by her correction. And God hath made us no promiſe, either when or in what meaſure he means to afflict us; the time may be ſuch, the affliction may be ſo great, as our beſt ſtrength will be unable to ſupport; we unwilling to hear what it might teach in preſent, much leſs apt or ready to receive inſtructions for our former miſdoings; let us not then defer the time of our amendment until the dayes of our afflictions, leſt our wilful delaying of our repentance proves the juſt haſtening of Gods more fierce and unſupportable vengeance. That uſual Proverb *Dies minuit dolorem*, ſaith *Tully in his Tuſculanes*, is true as well of the time going before the grief received, as of the time coming after; the reaſon of which opinion hath good ground in philoſophy: For the wiſe and ſober precogitation of enſuing evils, may temper a mans mind to receive the evil when it comes with that calm and mild diſpoſition which others leſs provident never attain unto, till after long pain and vexation, the conceit of former grief by new impreſſions and cogitations be quite worn out or much abated. Far more certain it is in Divinity, that the ſober and devout meditations of thoſe evils which may befal us in affliction may work in us the ſame affections, which affliction it ſelf, taken after the beſt receit, would in us, after the danger were paſt; for affliction it ſelf works thoſe zealous affections of acknowledging and ſorrowing for ſins mentioned by S. *Paul*, 2 *Cor.* 7. 11. for no other reaſon than this, becauſe it brings with it ſuch devout and ſober meditations. Doubtleſs *would we thus judge our ſelves, we ſhould not be judged.* Are we come to this heavenly banquet with that preparation the Apoſtle requires, and every one of us will make perſonal profeſſion of? God forbid, I, or any of us ſhould herein judge an other: let every man judg himſelf. Be it ſo then: and by the rule of theſe our wiſer cogitations, examine we our own ſelves, what have been our uſual delights in ſome ſhorter part of our life lately ſpent, likelieſt to be in freſheſt memory; and let every mans conſcience tell him, whether or no, he find not his ſoul charged with a great deal of ſtuff, which was ſweet enough in the ſwallowing, yet is now ſuch as goes much againſt this better tempered ſtomach, whoſe taſte is Faith joyned with ſobriety, whoſe appetite is earneſt deſire of amendment of life. Here then by this our preſent temper and perfect conſtitution, let us take the true meaſure of our forepaſt diſtempered diet; fixing a ſure mark upon, and when our better leiſure will permit, let us enter into ſerious account, how many ugly loathſom diſhes the Devil hath cunningly dreſt us in our dayes, putting ſuch names upon them, as he knew beſt fitting to our particular appetites. And after account taken, conſider I beſeech you, what may be the end of our intemperancy, if either we continue therein or take not ſome provident ſober courſe, to prevent the diſeaſes which may ariſe from that which is paſt, if our beſt faculties go ſtill a wandring after other objects, ſo that when bodily death, or danger ſhall approach, our imagination come to prevent our underſtanding, and fanſie fall firſt a-working upon the conceit of former deluſions, the beſt we can hope for, will be the bitter pangs and deadly gripes of a loathſome vomit; God grant we never ſurfeit unto death.

§. 13. *The ſecond Aſſertion* followeth; *Affliction, and eſpecially affliction of the like kind to that wherein we have offended, is an eſpecial means of breaking the league or amity betwixt ſin and our ſouls*; in ſome degree in all; as well in the regenerate as in the unregenerate. Firſt of *Affliction* *in general.* The reaſon why it brings men to an acknowledgment of ſin, is (as I take it) much what the ſame, or very like unto that, whereby we come to know ſundry affections of our body, yea and oftentimes the true temper of our minds, better in ſleep than we can do waking; only this difference may be obſerved, that the apprehenſions are more lively in ſleep, and the judgment reſerved till we be awake; whereas in affliction, both the apprehenſion and judgment are at once bettered. There are the ſame exagitations of humors in our bodies, and the like phantaſms waking and ſleeping; but our ſouls and ſenſes being bent another way, and fixed upon external objects, theſe inward motions whilſt we are waking, make no impreſſion. In like ſort; our conſciences (albeit in ſome men they may ſeem to be buried) are continually awaking; but our ſouls and affections being ſtill in hot purſuit of foren delights (ſuch as proſperity can preſent in abundant variety unto them) take no notice of their complaints; which, of mens ſouls ſet upon outward pleaſures, are no better accepted, than a poor mans penyleſs ſuit to a covetous Lawyer, or needy courtier, whilſt he hears the harmony of Angels ſolliciting him for the adverſe party. Both of them perhaps with that unrighteous Judge in the Goſpel, would ſuffer his importunate cry to enter into their ears, were they not otherwiſe poſſeſſed with ſweeter ſounds, better conſorting to their deſires. That our conſciences whilſt we continue in ſinning are ſtill working is hence apparent; for that ſuch men as are moſt obdurate in their ſins, and of all moſt impenetrable by the ſting of conſcience, can leaſt of all men indure to be ſolitary, or out of practical imployment; leſt their conſciences (will they nill they) enforce them to take notice of *a deep bill of debt* due unto God for damage done unto their own ſouls: and therefore to prevent this pity of their ſouls, which the out-cry of their conſciences would conſtrain them unto, they force new delights, and hunt after pleaſures, as the Jews, when they ſacrificed their children unto *Moloch*, had their loud Muſick, leſt the hearing of the outcryes of their children, ſhould move their Jewiſh hearts to commiſeration. Marvel not then, if the riches of Gods goodneſs leading us to repentance, oft cuts off all our hopes, and quite debars us of our outward delights, that our ſouls retiring home to their natural ſtation, may be acquainted with domeſtick matters, and look into their own eſtate and conſtitution. And when the ſoul is once thus retired, and kept faſt from wandring or moving the ſting of conſcience then torments her, which before could not touch her; even as men often receive a grievous wound, and never perceive it whilſt they continue in earneſt fight and vehement agitation of body, but after their hot blood retires, and their ſpirits come to their natural reſidence, extremity of pain comes upon them.

§. 14. Knowledg and wiſdome ſaith the Philoſopher proceed not from any mutation in the underſtanding, but from the ſtaying or ſetling of the ſoul; and for this reaſon ſaith he, neither the ſouls underſtanding nor diſcernment of ſenſes is ſo exact in children as in men of mature age; becauſe their wits are alwayes in motion, and full of perturbations. And as the ſame Philoſopher elſewhere ſpeaks of moral philoſophy, ſo may it be ſaid of all true knowledg: For the attaining ſuch knowledg, it skills not whether we be *young in years* or *in manners.* If we be carried away with incontinent deſires, the riper we be in years, the more babes are we in all true wiſdom; *our deſires muſt be* *be pacified ere we come to parly with reaſon*; our phanſies muſt be ſetled ere we can give ear unto underſtanding. The nimbleſt wits, and of beſt conceit, either for the employments or entertainments of proſperity, are as uncapable of any true and heavenly wiſdom as Frantick mad men are of civil inſtructions; for the motions of the one's imagination are not ſo much more inordinate and diſtracted than the others, as the others object, exceeds the object of civil prudence in difficulty of apprehenſion ſeeing then the right and perfect apprehenſion and eſteem of every object proceeds from the ſettledneſs of the ſoul and ſpirits; As the only way to bring frantick men into their right minds, is whipping, ſcourging, and binding: for ſo the imagination which hath her influence in every paſſion, being brought to keep reſidence in more places, may thereby be reſtrained from making garboyls only in the brain; ſo pleaſeth it the wiſdom of God to uſe the like means in bringing men out of their Bedlam-fits of ſpiritual madneſs, into which the deareſt of Gods children often ſlide from the height of proſperity; if he puniſh them, it is out of his tender love for their good: *By the ſame love doth he afflict them whereby he doth at other times exalt them.* He never wounds but that he may make whole; as *Elihu* ſpeaketh, *Job* 36. *ver.* 7, 8, 9, 10. *He withdraweth not his eyes from the righteous; but with Kings are they on the throne, yea he eſtabliſheth them for ever and they are exalted. And if they be bound in fetters, and holden in cords of affliction, then he ſhews them their work and their tranſgreſſions, that they have exceeded. He openeth alſo the ear to diſcipline, and commandeth that they return from iniquity.* And becauſe affliction is ſo effectual a means of turning the hearts of ſinners unto God, he addeth, in the 13. verſe. *But the hypocrites in heart, heap up wrath, they cry not when he bindeth them.* And the Lord (in the 7. of *Hoſea* ver. 14.) layeth this peculiar ſin unto *Ephraims* charge, *that they did not cry unto him with their hearts, when they howled upon their beds.* But to proceed; It was not *Affliction in general*, but *Affliction of the ſame kind* with that which they had laid upon their brother, which brought forth this acknowledgment in the ſons of *Jacob*.

§. 15. It is evident by the light of nature, that the rudiments of natures laws are written in all mens minds, and amongſt others *theſe two*; Firſt, of doing good: Secondly, of not doing wrong to others; yet partly through original corruption, the reſemblance of them is every where ſo obſcure, partly by our irregular affections they are in many ſo defaced, that in practiſe of life they ſerve for little better uſe, then an old moth-eaten duſty Map would benefit a man for his direction to travel through the countrey which it repreſents, Beſides that it repreſents not every part, thoſe parts that are whole and clear do repreſent only *in plano*; whereas he that comes to make his journey through it, finds many riſings and fallings of ground, windings and turnings with other diverſity of proſpects, which puts him quite beſides his former aim in a little way travelling. In like ſort, while we behold the general and ſpeculative rules of natures law, all things are *tanquàm in plano & abſtracto*. Ask of any man (not quite degenerate into beaſtlineſs) whether it be good to comfort the afflicted, to help the fatherleſs, or to relieve the needy? and he will anſwer you, out of the draught of natures law he carries in his head, *Doubtleſs very good and conſonant unto nature!* Thus far he can go with as great facility as a Geographer out of his Map can tell you how far it is from *Paris* to *Rome*, though he never mean to travel it. But when we deſcend unto the *particular actions themſelves*, and be thus ſollicited; lo, here's an afflicted ſoul, you might do well to comfort him; lo, there is a needy Body you might do well to relieve him; then through the interpoſition of our affections, many difficulties are diſcryed which before appeared not. Either the party on whom mercy is to be ſhewed, offends us, or elſe we have other imployments, with many like impediments, through which, our exemplary rules cannot conduct. The reaſon why we neglect to do others good, is becauſe their good includes a depriving of our ſelves of ſome good, the loſs of which is ſenſible. Notwithſtanding, when it ſhall pleaſe Cod to caſt us into their mould, be it ſickneſs, poverty or other diſtreſs, then the ſuperficial draught of natures Law which we carried in our heads is deeply imprinted in our hearts. Then we know diſtinctly by an inward feeling, and as it were by a quick and ſolid touch, how good a thing it is to be comforted in affliction, how good a thing to be relieved in want, or redeemed from danger or diſtreſs; and the ſame touch or feeling doth give us the true eſteem of the good we have neglected, when we ſuffered the afflicted to go comfortleſs, and the needy without relief. The conceit or knowledge of the former Rules now anſwer unto the real things themſelves; not as the draught or portracture unto the ſolid which it repreſents, but as the print in the wax unto the ſeal that made it. And therefore if we ſuffer not this impreſſion through negligence to decay, or fill it not up with ravenous deſires, when we ſhall ſee others afflicted in like caſe, their affliction will find the way open into our hearts, and ſo renew in us the former touch or feeling of our own miſeries paſt, that ſympathizing with them in a fellow-feeling, their grief becomes our grief: to comfort them is our comfort, eſpecially if they be of like condition with us. Hence was that of *Dido* to *Æneas*: *Haud ignara mali, miſeris ſuccurrere diſco*: being as it were one ſyllable of that precept, *Whatſoever you would that men ſhould do unto you, do unto them*, which as our *Saviour* tells us, is the *Tenor of the Law and the Prophets*.

§. 16. The ordinary diſcipline, which it pleaſes God to uſe in teaching the dull heart of man this leſſon, is the rod of Affliction. For the ſame reaſon, doth he uſe the ſame means in teaching the *Negative* precept that anſwereth to this former *Affirmative*: *Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris:* that which thou wouldeſt not have done to thy ſelf, do not thou to any other: which in general is ſomewhat more legible in the Rudiments of nature (for the Heathen oft mention *This*; in their writings, but ſeldome (or never) *The former*:) albeit for the performance of particular actions comprehended under this general precept, the natural man finds in himſelf every way as little ability as for the former. For private good being the mark which moſt men aim at, the doing of others good, can be no greater hindrance then the doing of others harm may be a furtherance to the attaining thereof; and whilſt mens minds are intentively bent upon their own private good they have a live or feeling conceit of it, but either none, or a mere ſpeculative or intentional conceit of an others harm. Scarce any man thus bent, if you aſk him, whether he could be content to be uſed himſelf as he goes about to uſe others, but would anſwer you, *Yes!* (as for that time he verily thinks he could be very well content:) *Let every man a-Gods-name uſe his beſt opportunity for his own good*; which ſayings, though anſwerable to his inward meaning, are notwithſtanding *hypocritical*; ſeeing his very inward perſwaſion and meaning, proceeding from corrupt affection, is by the Scripture phraſe mere *Hypocriſie*; and his judgment in this, as corrupt, as if the Magiſtrate ſhould adjudge a matter in controverſie to the one party, without once hearing the others plea; and both as deceitful, as if a colloguing Merchant ſhould weigh out ware without juſt weight in the one Scale. For the ſpeculative conceit of good and evil, is as the even Scales; and the feeling conceit or touch of the one without the other, is as the Scale with weight in it, to an empty Scale.

Now though we cannot be touched with a feeling of the harms we do to others, whiles we are eagerly ſet upon our own good; yet theſe outward actions (which is the cover or conteiner of the evil done) will ſtick in our minds. Whence it comes to paſs, that when we ſhall have our own cup filled with a potion of the ſelf ſame kind, and we muſt pledge them two pints for a quart; then we can take the true and perfect meaſure of the evil we have done by the evil which we ſuffer, and finding in both a juſt equality (unleſs our affections have quite obliterated the ſpeculative rule of reaſon and nature) we cannot but acknowledge Divine *Juſtice*. Whilſt that wicked Tyrant of *Bezech* (*Judg.* 1.7.) was boyſterouſly bent whether to work a beaſtly revenge for wrongs before received, or to take a cruel courſe for preventing further danger by taking arms; the depriving of many Princes of their thumbs and great toes was no more to him, then the throat-cutting or leg breaking of ſo many Fowl or Pullets to one of his Cooks; the outward action of both being one, cutting of fleſh, ſhedding of blood, and breaking of bones; but when his courſe is come, that he muſt have his own toes and thumbs parted after the ſame faſhion; then he knows diſtinctly how great pain for the preſent, and what irrecoverable loſs is contained in ſo ſhort and momentany an Action; which, being the common meaſure unto the evil he had done, and to the evil he ſuffers, he comes unto ſome knowledge of that Rule which our Saviour gives; *With what meaſure you meat unto others ſhall it be meaſured unto you again*; and ſo yields up that *laudable* acknowledgment of Gods Juſtice: *Seventy Kings having their thumbs of their hands and feet cut off gathered bread under my table, as I have done, ſo hath the Lord rewarded me.* Laudable I term this acknowledgment, not for any probabilities or ſigns of true repentance in him, for he might acknowledge Gods juſtice in puniſhing him no worſe then he deſerved, being yet perſwaded, that having thus repayed the revenge he had taken by ſuffering the like, he had diſcharged all, and made God an acquittance, never dreaming of any further debt by his juſtice to be expected: *Laudable* neverthelеſs I may call it, (and would to God of all Chriſtians herein imitated) in that for ought he knew the children of *Iſrael* had no juſt cauſe of war againſt him, yet thus uſed, being taken in war by them, he murmurs not againſt them, but aſcribes the whole event to Gods juſtice.

§. 17. Out of this known manner of Gods puniſhing did that traiterous *Achitophel* rightly *infer* (had he *Aſſumed* aright) that God would there plague the Proteſtants where they had unjuſtly (in his opinion) ſuppreſſed the Romiſh Religion. His error, I ſay, was in the *Aſſumtion*, arrogating to himſelf (like his Maſter, the man of Sin) Gods Vicegerency on earth, preſuming, that whereſoever he had ſet his diſlike, thither would the Almighty ſend his curſe; and that the eternal decree of Gods immutable juſtice ſhould condeſcend to the approving of the furious projects of his fiery paſſions. But the Lord of mercy and truth hath proved the *Conſequence* by inverting the *Concluſion* upon him and his Complices; they having firſt given a true *Antecedent* to infer it. His wiſdome and juſtice hath made that which they conſecrated as the inſtrument of their advancement by our downfall, to work their ſhameful overthrow to our comfort: his right hand hath brought to paſs, that to the publick ſpectacle of this whole Land, the Ravens of the valleys ſhould pick out the eyes of *Achitophel* and his aſſociates over the place, under which they had digged a pit for the deſtruction of Gods Church, of his Anointed, and this whole Realm.

§. 18. But to return to thoſe ſons of *Jacob*. Whilſt bitter revenge and indignation had infected their ſouls, they had quite loſt all Taſte of pity and compaſſion; The beſt conceit they could have of an others miſery, was ſuch as a rich crammed glutton hath of hunger and penury; their brother might cry and lament, and their ears therewith be in like ſort affected as at the chattering of Pyes, or ſchreeching of Owls: his diſtreſſed ſoul might imprint her anguiſh in the woful geſtures and motions of his body, and all this make as much impreſſion in their cruel hearts, as the tricks of an Ape, or fawning of a Dogg: But afterwards, the heat of their diſeaſe (whoſe original was fulneſs and plenty) being by the long famin throughout the Land of *Canaan* alay'd, and finding this old and miſerable entertainment in a ſtrange Land where they lookt for a feaſt, the cogitation of this unexpected change ſtrikes them with a ſudden fear, and being caſt down from their hopes of evaſion by earneſt intreaty and proteſtations of their innocency, fear makes entrance for ſorrow and grief, and all wanting means of ſupportance ſinking by little and little to the centre of their hearts, they come to ſound the depth of their brothers miſery: Their cloſe impriſonment ſhew's them what it was to have caſt their brother into a deſolate pit; their woful experience of this Governors implacable mind in their perplexity, gives them to know, what deep impreſſion the heavy deſigns of their impenitrable hearts had wrought in the tender heart of their afflicted brother. Finally, their miſeries ſo proportionable in quality (the odds in quantity, which was great and manifold, was altogether on their brothers ſide againſt them) what hitherto they have ſuffered for the nature of the puniſhment, they cannot but acknowledge eaſily inflicted; and juſtly do they fear, leſt their preſent miſery be farther extended, until it anſwer in every point unto the juſt quantity of the miſhaps which have ſince befallen their brother. The miſery which they had procured him was (they fear) ſeconded either with ending of his life, or beginning of his ſlavery; And they apprehend this their preſent perplexity as the forerunner of bondage, or meſſenger of death. Bondage they feared long after this, as appears out of the Chapters following; and *Reuben* in the verſe next to my Text, entertains his grief as part of Gods juſtice, making

king inquiſition for blood: That which I would thence commend to our imitation when like troubles ſhall befall us, is, *Their ſpeedy humiliation* under the powerful hand of God; they grudge not, no not in their private conferences againſt this Governor, who, for ought they knew without all cauſe of ſuſpicion lay in wait to intangle their innocency; they aſcribe all unto God, who had found out their wickedneſs. A live patern of this humiliation we have in *Judah*, who was the Author unto the reſt, of ſelling their brother, whilſt his unruly affections of anger and jealouſie had over-ſwayed his thoughts, and that opportunity of the *Iſmaelites* coming towards them, falling in the ſame ſcale, both the conceit of his brothers miſery and his aged fathers grief, are of no weight to recall his purpoſe. Now theſe affections are ſhaken off, and his mind come again to her natural ſtation, the very conceit of his fathers grief doth ſo over-ſway all ſelf-love that he offers himſelf to be a bondſlave, rather then he ſhould ſee the evil which would come upon his father by the deteining of *Benjamin* in *Egypt*; counting this as the utmoſt inconvenience that could befall him, as it is in the two laſt verſes of the 44. Chapt.

§. 19. It is true, Beloved, that *Affliction* naturally breedeth a diſlike of ſin, and that our God doth look we ſhould in heart call upon him in the day of trouble, becauſe he puniſheth for our good: Then ſurely whereſoever *Affliction* hath been, and this effect hath not followed, 'tis an evident token of a bad diſpoſition. Amongſt the many flouriſhing dayes wherewith the Lord in goodneſs hath bleſſed this Land, unto the admiration of other Countries, hath he not ſometimes propoſed unto us objects of publick calamity, to call us unto this ſorrow of heart, and unfeigned repentance? To omit the dayes of Famin, which he hath intermixed with our many years of plenty. Were there not times of late wherein ſcarce any place of note in this Land, but was ſmitten with the noyſom Peſtilence? when deſtruction walked by our doors, and death had entred in at our gates, did we then ſeek the Lord with our whole hearts? did we then ſhew as great ſigns of love towards God who onely giveth life, as we did fear of ſecond cauſes, which onely by his appointment might procure our death? Were our incontinent deſires at that time as much abridged, as the ſociety of the ſuſpected was avoided? Were we as earneſt to curb our former ambitious thoughts, or diminiſh our unneceſſary pleaſures, as we were, that the infectious ſhould be reſtrained of former liberty? Were either Prieſt or People as circumſpect in their carriage leſt they ſhould farther offend their God (in pulling down whoſe plagues and vengeance upon us, they had been ſharers by their former grievous offences) as they wiſhed others ſhould be wary of endangering them? If many ſuch were ſeen then in this City, the moſt I fear were ſuch, as were then, as deſperately negligent of the former, as they were earneſtly deſirous of the later: For, were not the moſt of us become as wanton Children, ſo long nurſed in the boſom of pleaſure, till we had learned more wit then to be weaned from her breſts, though God had then beſet them with wormwood, and mingled her ſweeteſt delights with the bitterneſs of the cup of his wrath? Look we back into the conſtitution of this whole City at that time, was it any better then ſuch a body, the moſt of whoſe members had been over gone with a dead palſie, wherein continual rubbing, and cunning handling might extort ſome motions arguing life, which ceaſed juſt then, when the Phyſician left working? Now theſe dayes are gone, may we preſume the danger of our diſeaſe is paſt? Surely had we then ſorrowed as we ſhould, our joy might now have been far greater, at leaſt far more ſecure, becauſe more ſincere. But the ſigns of our bad temper then, yield fearful prognoſtications of greater dangers to enſue; if not of like bodily plagues, yet of a worſe ſpiritual diſeaſe, unleſs we accuſtom our ſelves to a better dyet. Juſt cauſe we have to be ſorry ſtill, if for no other cauſe, yet for this, that we ſo lighly ſorrowed then: And howſoever, whilſt our heads are crowned vvith delights, and theſe dayes of health and peace frequent our dwellings, vve can afford none, or a ſcornful entertainment to ſuch cogitations, yet doubtleſs vvhen calamity ſhall come upon our heads, and afflictions take up their lodging in theſe our tabernacles, beſides the number of all our other ſins, and that vvearisom retinue vvherewith *Affliction* ſhall come attended, the conceit of this very ſin vvill then intrude it ſelf as a troubleſom gueſt, to charge our ſouls, that the Lord hath ſo viſited this Land, and vve ſo lightly have regarded it.

§.20.But to come nearer the Caſe and Curing of theſe men here mentioned in this their Affliction;Is thine innocency threatned with the deſerts of iniquity, or is it decreed that thine integrity muſt undergo the revvard of violence? yet remember thou,that as thine adverſary grieveth thee, ſo haſt thou often offended thy God, vvho ſerves himſelf of the vvrongful thoughts of men, to effect his eternal and moſt juſt deſigns. They ſhall anſwer for the vvrong they do, and ſo ſhalt thou for not ſuffering vvith patience the vvrongs of men vvhich the Almighty in Juſtice doth inflict: Humane laws and natural reaſon do teach, that injuſtice is ſeen as vvell in not being vvilling to undergo penalty for offences or vvrongs committed, as being vvilling to commit them. And ſhall vve be ſo forward to aggravate, yea to revenge vvrongs done unto us perhaps by our equals, peradventure by our betters, vvhereas vve our ſelves ſhall offer vvrong to the Almighty, if by no other offences, yet even in this, if vve ſubmit not our ſelves vvith all humility to his juſt decrees? Beloved, had vve the true conceit of our duty towards him deeply imprinted in our hearts, and would we add thereunto diligent obſervance of our daily and hourly neglects thereof; impoſſible were it, that any *Affliction* whatſoever, rightly or wrongfully procured, by friend or foe, ſuperior or equal, man or other ſecond cauſes, could ever befall us, which we might not eaſily reduce to this *Pœna talionis*. Every particular croſs would direct us to ſome particular ſin anſwerable unto it, from which the Lord in mercy would purge us. Thou wilt haply ſay, *My miſery and ſcorn hath been unjuſtly ſought by my far inferiour and inſulting enemy!* Yet remember, that *Sentence* hath been pronounced againſt thee in the higheſt heavens: deſpiſe not therefore theſe corrections, though miniſtred unto thee by the baſeſt upon earth. It was injoyned thee by the infinite wiſdom of thy Maker,and allowed of by the unſpeakable love of thy Redeemer, and why ſhouldſt thou make any curious diſpute concerning the perſon, mind, or quality of thy Executioner? or if thy working ſpirits muſt have vent, anſwer him with the Prophet *Micah*, cap.7. ver.8. *Rejoyce not againſt me, O my enemy; though I fall I ſhall riſe; when I ſhall ſit in darkneſs the Lord ſhall be a light unto me.* But ſtay thy ſoul from murmuring, and keep thy heart from boyling with revenge with that which followeth. *I will bear the wrath of the Lord, becauſe I have ſinned againſt him, until he plead my cauſe, and execute judgment for me.* Here, omitting the examination of any mans diſpoſition in his particular *Affliction*; For,as every man knows beſt himſelf what have been his private grievances, ſo his carriage in them toward God is beſt known to his own conſcience: Be it granted (which

God grant the Searcher of all hearts may find true in the day of viſitation) that all of us are free from any actual ſins of far lower rank then this here mentioned in wronging others : Yet here we ſhould conſider , who is our Corrector, even he that better knows all poſſible effects of our future thoughts to us unknown, then we can know our former actions paſt, ſuch as have proceeded from greateſt and longeſt deliberation. We ſhould call to mind who is our Phyſician, even he that faſhioned all our members, he that ſet the frame of our hearts , and knows exactly the radical temper of our ſouls. Seeing then, we hold it as a principle of our Faith, that no harm can befall us, which is not part of his correction, and all his corrections (if uſed aright) are wholeſome medicines: Though our conſciences acquit us of any like offences paſt, yet when any harms befall us, we ſhould take warning (by the manner of his puniſhment) of ſome offence ſuitable thereunto,that may follow, which once committed, would procure our greater torture. Though our preſent conſtitution (to our ſeeming) be ſo ſound and perfect, as it needs no medicine ; yet if he ſhall give us to drink of any unpleaſant cup, we ſhould by the quality of the potion, ſearch out the nature of the diſtemper ariſing. Have we been deſpightfully croſt in our earneſt ſuits, or wrongfully defeated in our faireſt hopes? we have cauſe to ſuſpect ſome ambitious (or like) humour a breeding, whereof our heavenly Phyſician would prevent us by ſubtracting of nouriſhment. Let us be wary that in this caſe, we adventure not too far againſt his preſcription, leſt it grow in time to our own ſmart, and others annoyance.

§. 21. Here our *Affections* uſually appeal to our *Conſciences*, that the deſires of our own good are free from the intention of others harms: And ſurely, methinks, it ſhould be a property of Devils (of Devils incarnate) whether principally or onely, directly or joyntly to ſet for their mark anothers miſchief. But great deſires are alwayes ſuſpicious, and wandring long unſatisfied, are infallibly dangerous. Our firſt and principal aims are alwayes at *Our own Good*; and whilſt the mark is clear and may be got with eaſe, without more ado, others may live ſecure of danger: but if we chance at our firſt ſetting out, to range long with ill ſpeed (which is great hunters after preferments uſual luck) and we come at length to light on Game worth the ſtriking ; after our deſires have their full charge of anſwerable hopes; ſo we may have any tolerable certainty of hitting where we like,it will be but a mere chance, if ſome or other miſs of a miſchief: For whatſoever in the mean time ſhall come between us and home, we will not ſtick to hazard all that comes under our Level. To abridge this diſcourſe which here had inlarged it ſelf, but that I know it more neceſſary in moſt places then in this , though ſuperfluous in no place in theſe our dayes , I will conclude the poſitive thereof with the words of the Apoſtle, 1 *Tim.*6.*ver.*9. *They that will be rich fall into ſnares and temptations, and many noyſom luſts which drown men in perdition and deſtruction*; *but thou O man of God flee theſe things, and follow after righteouſneſs, godlineſs, faith, love , patience, and meekneſs.* Now out of this poſitive truth to gather ſomewhat to ſtrengthen our reſolutions. Beloved, we live in a worthy ſociety, whoſe Foundations have not been laid in blood, nor her walls raiſed by others ruins; whoſe firſt liberal endowments, as they were not the abſtract of others overthrows, ſo God be praiſed, the continuance of her large (becauſe ſufficient) revenues are not reared out of oppreſſion. But that which may be moſt to the comfort of every particular member hereof, and may fully countervail the exceſs of many others ſuppoſed happineſs; Our entrance hereinto hath not been wrought by the entiſing meſſengers of the God of this world. The rate which here we live at, though mean perhaps, in reſpect of many our inferiors, yet herein highly to be eſteemed, that what we have hath been provided for us. Our fare, though moderate, yet ingenious; free from the upbraiding of our conſciences. We have more then ordinary ground of good aſſurance, we are not intruders but welcome gueſts, and have been hither invited by the great Maſter of the Royal Feaſt: if it ſhall pleaſe him who hath thus freely placed us here, to bid us afterwards aſcend unto ſome higher place, we may then ariſe with honour. But herein let us in the mean time honour him, by not faſhioning our ſelves unto this preſent world, nor ſeeking to advance our ſelves before he hath bidden us, *Sit up higher.* He hath given us *an happy Omen* at our firſt entrance; we have had large experience of his gracious providence; our condemnation will be the greater, if in theſe happy dayes of our peace and quiet allotted us for Chriſtian ſtudies, we learn not to proportion the reſt of our proceedings unto this good pattern, which the Lord hath ſet us in our beginnings. Wiſe was the *Wiſh* of that Heathen *Socrates*; *That he might have as much wealth, as none but an honeſt, virtuous and temperate man might bear.* And let us who have been brought up in a better Athens, frame our thoughts unto the imitation of a wiſer teacher, *that we know as well how to want*, as ſeek *how to abound.* He that hath his Reſolutions ſo rightly ſetled, as that he can get *the Habit of living well with a little*, he alone ſhall uſe proſperity with moderation. Let ſuch as have got the means of their learning at Huckſters hands, practiſe merchandiſe for their maintenance, and cope for preferment at ordinary Markets. They whoſe very firſt ſteps into the nurſeries of learning have been the treading under foot of thoſe wholeſom Laws, without which they could not have any right to the good things of that place, let them finiſh their haughty, but ill-grounded hopes, in that wo of the Prophets: *in joyning houſe to houſe, and land to land.* Such as in their firſt acquaintance with arts have uſed the Muſes for handmaids to their baſer delights, and made the pureſt parts of their ſouls bawds unto their bodies, let them account of Religion as a ſtale for other Catches, and in their ſecond and worldly wiſer cogitations uſe ſpiritual preferment, as a preparative to ſtir up their appetite, or ſharpen their deſires of ſecular pleaſures. For us (beloved) who are witneſſes to our ſelves of better beginnings; let the ſtrength and vigor of all our hopes be the firm expecting of Gods providence; let the eagereſt ſuits for preferment, be our earneſt endeavors in the continual framing of a contented mind; let the ſecure and quiet banquet of a good conſcience be the chief of our mirth; that ſo our *Feaſts of joy* may never be haunted with the curſe of the fatherleſs, nor our huntings after preferment be ever followed with the cry of blood, as in our dayes many are with the hideous out-cryes (God beſt knows) of how many thouſand ſouls ſtarved for want of heavenly food, whilſt either their greedy deſires have hindred the ſowing of the ſeed which ſhould have yielded them nouriſhment, or their unneceſſary wanton pleaſures have given occaſion of trampling it in the tender blade.

§. 22. I vvill leave to your cogitations, vvith vvhat faces theſe ſons of *Jacob* beheld their brother, having now authority to diſpoſe of them at his pleaſure, vvhom they knew they had ſo grievouſly vvronged. We all believe a greater then *Joſeph* ſhall one day be our Judge, and may any man preſume, that he cannot vvrong him? No verily! though this be the miſerable ſtate of covetous and ambitious minds, that beſides the grievouſneſs of the vvrongs vvhich they do, the conſequences of their unjuſt dealing extend unto ſo many, that they may ſeldom or never know whom they have injured moſt, yet of this one thing may they be aſſured, that the ſillieſt wretch on earth is never vvronged, but our *Saviour Chriſt* (vvho ſhall be their Judge) is alwayes a party. He himſelf hath told us, vvhere (in all reaſon) his vvords ſhould be of moſt force to deterr us, that *whatſoever hath been done unto the poor, he will take it as done unto himſelf* in that laſt day, after vvhich there vvill be no time for ſatisfaction. *Grant, Oh bleſſed Father, that the Teſtimony of a pure conſcience, and an upright life, finiſhed in the hope of our Redeemer, may protect us from ſhame and confuſion in that dreadful day. This grant, good Father, for thy Sons ſake: To whom with Thee, and the Holy Ghoſt, be rendred all Honour and Glory from this time forth and for evermore.* Amen.

CHAP. XLII.

2 CHRON. 24. 22.

The Lord look upon it, and require it.

1. THE *Sayings* of men in perfect health of mind, are then moſt pithy, and their *Teſtifications* moſt valid, vvhen their bodily limbs and ſenſes are at the vveakeſt pitch. And the *Admonitions* or *Preſages* of wiſe Governors, vvhether *Temporal* or *Eccleſiaſtick*, ſink deeper into ſober hearts, being uttered upon their death-beds, then if they were delivered upon the *Bench* or *Throne*. Theſe few words amount unto an higher Point of Conſideration, then theſe *Generalities* import. For, *They are the laſt words of a great High-Prieſt and a great Prophet of the Lord*, of a Prophet not *by General Calling* only, but uttered by him *whilſt the Spirit of Propheſie did reſt upon him*. They are the words of *Zechariah* the Son and lawful Succeſſor to *that Heroical High Prieſt*, *Jehoiada*; who had been the *chief Protector of the Kingdom of Judah*, A Foſter-Father unto the preſent King, *The Reſtorer of Davids Line*, when it did hang but by one ſlender thred, unto its *Antient Strength and Dignity*.

The Sayings of dying men remarkable.

2. *The Points moſt conſiderable in the ſurvey of this Text are Three.*

Three Points conſiderable.

Firſt, The Plain and *Literal ſenſe*, which wholly depends upon the *Hiſtorical Circumſtances* as well precedent as ſubſequent.

Second, The *Emblematical Portendment of that prodigious fact*, which did provoke this dying Prieſt and Prophet of *the Lord* to utter theſe words. Or which is all one, The fulfilling of his imprecation according to the *Myſtical ſenſe*.

Third, The diſcuſſion of ſuch *Caſes of Conſcience* or controverſed Divinity as are naturally emergent out of the *Myſtical* or *Literal ſenſe*, and are uſeful for this preſent or future Ages.

The circumſtance of Time.

To begin with the *Circumſtance of the time* wherein they were uttered; That apparently was *the dayes of King Joaſh*, Heir and Succeſſor unto *Ahaziah* King of *Judah*, who was next Succeſſor ſave one unto good *Jehoſhaphat*, by lineal direct deſcent; but no Succeſſor at all to him in vertue, or goodneſs, or happineſs of Government. For *Ahaziah* was *Peſſimi patris haud melior proles*, a very wicked ſon of a moſt wicked father, and too hard too ſay whether he or his Father *Jehoram* were the *worſe* King or more unfortunate Governour. But *Joaſh* the Orphan Son of *Ahaziah* hath the Teſtimony of the Spirit of God, *That he ruled well whilſt Jehoiada the High-Prieſt did live*, 2 *Kings* 12. 2. And his zeal to the Houſe of the Lord (recorded at large in this Chapter, as alſo in the 2 *Kings* 12. 4.) was ſo great, as more could not be expected or conceived, either of *Jehoſhaphat*, *Hezekiah*, or good *Joſiah*. And thus he continued from the ſeventh year of his Age until the five or ſix and thirtieth at the leaſt. A competent time (a man would think) for a full and firm growth in goodneſs.

But amongſt the Sons and Succeſſors of *David*, we may obſerve, that ſome begun their Reign very well and ended ill: Others, being extream bad in their beginning, did end better then the other begun. So *Manaſſes* in the beginning and middle of his Reign, filled the City with innocent blood, and died a Penitentiary. This preſent King *Joaſh* begun and continued his Reign for thirty years or thereabouts *in the ſpirit*, but ended *in the fleſh* (or rather in blood) leaving a perpetual ſtain upon the Throne and Race of *David*. This ſtrange Apoſtaſie or Revolt argues, that his fore-mentioned goodneſs and zeal unto the Houſe of the Lord was Adventitious, and not truly rooted in his own breſt. That the fair Lineaments of a pious man and noble Prince were drawn not by his own ſkill, but by the manuduction of *Jehoiada* the High-Prieſt; as Children oft-times make fair letters while their Tutors guide their hands, but ſpatter, and blot, and daſh, after they be left to their own guidance.

Jehoiada (ſaith the Text) *waxed old, and was full of dayes: an hundred and thirty years old was he when he died, and they buried him in the City of David among the Kings, becauſe he had done good in Iſrael, both towards God and towards his Houſe.*

The ſolemnization of his death was a ſtrong Argument of the reſpect and love which both Prince and People did bear unto him whilſt he lived; and much happier might both of them have been, had they continued the ſame reſpect, unto his Son and Succeſſor. But they buried their love unto *Jehoiada* and (which was worſt) the zeal which he had taught unto the Houſe of God, in his Grave. For ſo it followeth, verſe 17, 18. *Now after the death of Jehoiada came the Princes of Judah and made obeyſance to the King; Then the King hearkened unto them, and he left the Houſe of the Lord God of their Fathers, and ſerved Groves and Idols.* Yet Gods love to them doth not determine with the beginning of their hate unto the Houſe of God and to his faithful Servants. *For notwithſtanding that wrath came upon Judah and Jeruſalem for this their treſpaſs, yet he ſent Prophets to them to bring them again to the Lord; and they teſtified againſt them but they would not give ear. And the Spirit of the Lord came upon* (or cloathed) *Zechariah the Son of Jehoiada the Prieſt, who ſtood above the people and ſaid unto them, Thus ſaith God: Why tranſgreſs ye the Commandement of the Lord that ye cannot proſper? Becauſe ye have forſaken the Lord he hath alſo forſaken you. And they conſpired againſt him, and ſtoned him with ſtones at the Commandment of the King, in the Court of the Houſe of the Lord. Thus Joaſh the King remembred not the kindneſs which Jehoiada his*

his father had done unto him, but ſlew his Son, and when he died he ſaid (or, inter moriendum, dixit) *The Lord look upon it, and require it.*

3. But did the Lord hearken to him, or require his blood at the Kings and Princes hands which ſlew him?

Yes! that he did; oftner then once. For it was required of their poſterity: But for the preſent he did viſit both the King and his Princes moſt remarkably, by an unexpected Army of the *Syrians*, unto whoſe Idolatrous Rites they had now conformed themſelves, complying too well with them, and with their neighbors the Heathen, in all ſorts of wickedneſs.

But here the ***Politician*** will reply, That the *Syrians* did upon other occaſions intend to do ſome miſchief to the King, the Princes and People of *Judah*. For it was never unuſual to that Nation to vex or moleſt *Iſrael* or *Judah*;

——*Nunc, olim, quocunq; dabant ſe tempore vires:*

As often as opportunity ſerved, as often as they could ſpy advantage. And to aſſign the Probable or *meritorious Cauſes* of ſuch Plagues as befall any Nation by their inveterate enemies, unto the Judgment of God, for this or that ſin, is not ſafe; ſpecially for men not endued with the *Spirit of Prophecie.*

In many Cauſes I confeſs it is not; yet in *this particular* we need not be afraid to ſay as much as the Spirit of God or ſacred authority of his Word hath taught us. (We ſay no more, as indeed we need not, for the point is ſo plainly and punctually ſet down by the pen-man of this Book from verſe 23. to the 26. as it needs no Comment, no paraphraſe or marginal conjecture, any of which would rather ſoyl then clear the meaning of the Text.) *And it came to paſs at the revolution of the year, that the hoaſt of Syria came up againſt him, and they came to Judah and Jeruſalem and deſtroyed all the Princes of the people from amongſt the people, and ſent the ſpoyls of them to Damaſcus*, &c.

4. The *Obſervations* or plain *Uſes* which theſe *Literal Circumſtances* of this Story afford are many: I ſhall touch upon ſome principal ones.

Obſervations and *Uſes* out of the ſtory and circumſtances.

As *Firſt*; To admoniſh Kings or other ſupreme Magiſtrates to reverence and reſpect their Clergy; ſeeing *Joaſh* did proſper ſo well while he followed the advice and counſel of the High Prieſt *Jehoiada:* but came to this fearful and diſaſtrous end, firſt by contemning the warning of *Zechariah* the Chief-Prieſt, and afterward by ſhedding of the innocent blood of this great Prophet of the Lord. But this will be a common place, not ſo proper to this time and place, wherein we live: wherein there is ſuch happy accord between the ſupream Majeſty and the Prelacy and Clergy of this Kingdom, as no good Patriot can deſire more then the continuance of it.

Secondly, There lies open a ſpacious field for ſuch as affect to expatiate in *Common Places* or dilate upon that Old Maxim, *Laici ſemper ſunt infenſi Clericis*, to tax the inveterate enmity of ſecular men againſt the *Clergy*. Whoſe violent out-burſtings into *Prodigious Outrages*, did never more clearly appear then in the wicked ſuggeſtions of the Princes of *Judah*, unto infortunate King *Joaſh*, againſt this Godly High-Prieſt *Zechariah* for his zeal unto the Houſe and ſervice of the God of their Forefathers. But however the like prodigious cruelty had not been exemplified before this time, yet in many later ages, the *Prelacy or Clergy* have not come an inch ſhort of theſe Lay-Princes in working and animating Kings and ſupream Magiſtrates to exerciſe like tyranny, and oppreſſing cruelty, not upon Laicks only, but upon their Godly and religious Prieſts or inferior Clergy.

The Hiſtories almoſt of all Ages and Nations, ſince the death of *Maurice the Emperor* unto this laſt Generation, will be ready to teſtifie, whenſoever they ſhall be heard or read, more then I have ſaid, againſt the *Romiſh Hierarchy*, whoſe continual practiſes have been, to make Chriſtian Kings the Executioners of their furious ſpleen againſt their own Clergy, or neighbor Princes; or to ſtir up the rebellion of Lay-ſubjects, againſt all ſuch of their Leige-Lords or Soveraigns as would not ſubmit themſelves, their Crowns and Dignities, or (which is more) their Conſciences unto *Peters pretended Primacy*.

The ſum of all I have to ſay concerning this Point, is This; As there ſeldom have been any very good Kings, or extraordinary happy in their Government (whether in the line of *David*, or in Chriſtian Monarchies) without advice and aſſiſtance of a Learned and Religious Clergy; ſo but a few have proved extremely bad without the ſuggeſtions of covetous, corrupt or ambitious Prieſts. So that the ſafeſt way for chief Governors is, to keep as vigilant and ſtrong Guards upon their own breaſts and conſciences, as they do about their bodies or palaces.

Now the ſpecial and ſafe guard which they can entertain for their ſouls and conſciences is, *to lay to heart the Examples of Gods dealing with former Princes*, with the Kings of *Judah* eſpecially, according to the eſteem or reverence, or the diſ-eſteem which they did bear unto his Laws and Services.

5. Another ſpecial means to ſecure even Greateſt Monarchs from falling into Gods wrath or revenging hand, is, not to hearken unto, not to meditate too much upon, or at leaſt not to miſconſtrue a Doctrine very frequent in all Ages, to wit, *That Kings and ſupreme Magiſtrates are not ſubject to the authority of any other men, nor to the coercive authority of humane Laws.* The Doctrine, I dare not, I cannot in conſcience deny, to be moſt true and Orthodoxal. And for the truth of it, I can add one Argument more then uſual; That Gods judgments in all Ages or Nations, *have not been* more frequently executed by *Counter-paſſion* or *Retaliation* upon any ſort or ſtate of men then upon Kings or Princes, or greateſt Potentates which pollute their Crowns and Dignities with innocent blood (as King *Joaſh* did) or with other like out-crying ſins. As if the moſt Juſt and Righteous Lord *by innumerable Examples* tending to this purpoſe would give the world to underſtand, That *none are fit to exerciſe Juriſdiction upon Kings or Princes beſides himſelf*; and withall, to inſtruct even *Greateſt Monarchs*, that their Exemption from all Controulment of humane Laws, cannot exempt or priviledge them from the immediate judgment of his own hands, or from the contrivance of his juſt puniſhments by the hands of others as by his inſtruments, though *his Enemies Agents*.

Touching *Retaliation*, ſee the 6. Book (or Treatiſe of Gods Attributes) ſecond part, §. 4. chap. 31. page 343.

I forbear to produce more inſtances of *Divine Retaliation* upon moſt Soveraign Princes, beſides this one in my Text, which abundantly juſtifieth both parts of my laſt Aſſertion or *Obſervation*. *Joaſh* (as you heard before, and may read when you pleaſe) did more then permit, did authorize or command the Princes of *Judah*, to murther their High-Prieſt *Zachariah* in the Court of the Lords Houſe. A prodigious liberty or licence for a King to Grant, and more furiouſly executed by the Princes of *Judah*, his *Patentees* or *Commiſſioners* for this purpoſe. And yet the moſt righteous Judge of all the world, did neither animate nor authorize the Prophets, Prieſts, or Levits, or other chief men in this Kingdom to be the avengers of Blood, or to execute judgment upon the King or Princes of *Judah*.

This ſervice in Divine Wiſdom and Juſtice was delegated to the *Syrians* their neighbor Nation. And the Hoaſt, not by their own ſkill or contrivance, but by the diſpoſition of Divine Providence, did *Geometrically and exactly proportion the execution of vengeance to the quality and manner of the fact*. The Princes of *Judah* who had murthered *Zechariah* in the Courts of the Temple of *the Lords* Houſe, were all deſtroyed by the *Syrian* Hoaſt in their own Land, and the ſpoil of their Palaces ſent unto the King of *Damaſcus*. And King *Joaſh* (by whoſe authority *Zechariah* was ſtoned to death in his *Pue* or Pulpit) after the *Syrians* had grievouſly afflicted him, was ſlain in his own Palace, upon the bed of his deſired or appointed reſt, by the hands of two of his own ſervants, yet neither of them *by birth his native Subject*; the one the ſon of an *Ammoniteſs*, the other of a *Moabiteſs*; both the illegitimate off-ſpring of two of the worſt ſort of aliens from the Common-wealth of *Iſrael*.

In all this appears the *ſpecial finger of God*. But though all this were done by Gods appointment; yet may we no way juſtifie the conſpiracy of *Joaſh* his own-ſervants againſt him, though both aliens, unleſs we knew what ſpecial warrant they had for the execution of Gods judgments, which are alwayes moſt juſt. However, we have neither warrant nor reaſon to exclaim *againſt* them or their ſins, ſo far or ſo much, as by the warrant of Gods Word we might *againſt* the Princes of *Judah*, for the inſtigating of their lawſul King or Liege-Lord to practice ſuch prodigious cruelty (as hath been expreſt) upon *Zechariah* the Lords High-Prieſt; or *againſt* the diſpoſition of the ſtiff-necked Jewiſh Nation in general, *moſt perſpicuous for the Criſis* at that time.

6. But to exclaim againſt the Princes or People of that Age we need not; for their poſterity hath amplified the *curſed Circumſtances* of this moſt *horrible Fact*; and charged theſe their fore-fathers with ſuch a meaſure of iniquity as *No Orator this day living*, without their directions or inſtructions could have done. *Septies in die cadit juſtus*, *The juſt man falls ſeven times a day*, was an ancient and an authentick *Saying*, if meant at all by the Author of it, *of ſins and delinquences*, rather then of *croſſes and grievances* which fall upon them, or into which they fall, was never meant of *Groſſer ſins* or tranſgreſſions. But of that dayes work wherein *Zechariah* was ſlain theſe later Jews ſay: *Septem tranſgreſſiones fecit Iſrael in illo die.* I ſhall not over-Engliſh their meaning if I render it thus, *Iſrael that very day committed ſeven deadly ſins at once*, that is, without interpoſition or intervention of any good work or thought.

A Cluſter of Deadly Sins in the Horrible murther of *Zechariah* the High-Prieſt.

Firſt, They allege, *Zechariah* was their High Prieſt, and to kill a Prieſt, though of inferior rank, was a ſin amongſt all Nations, more then equivalent to the killing of a meer ſecular Potentate. A ſin ſometimes more unpardonable then any ſin could be committed within this Kingdom, beſides the making of Allom.

Secondly, As theſe Jews allege, *Zechariah was a Prophet*; and to kill a Prophet, was the next degree of compariſon in iniquity unto the laying of violent hands upon Kings and Princes, for he which forbids *To touch his annointed*, did alſo forbid *to do his Prophets any harm*, both are given in the ſame charge.

Thirdly, *Zechariah* was a ſecond Magiſtrate among his People: and to kill a prime Magiſtrate is more then murther: or at leaſt a mixture of *Murther* and *Treaſon*.

Fourthly, This Prieſt and great Magiſtrate (by the Teſtimony of their ſons who murthered him) was upright and entire in the diſcharge of all his Offices, and a man unblemiſhed for his life and converſation.

Fifthly, they polluted the Courts of the Lords Houſe, within whoſe precincts *Zachariahs* blood was ſhed, without ſuch reverence to the place, as *Jehoiada* his Father upon a far greater exigency, for the preſervation of *Joaſh* and his Kingdom did obſerve. For he would not ſuffer *Athaliah*, though guilty of murther of the Royal Seed, and of high Treaſon againſt the Crown of *David*, to be put to death within the Courts of the Temple, but commanded her to be killed at the Gates of the Kings Houſe, *Chap.*23.14.

Sixthly, As theſe *Jewiſh Rabbins* obſerve; Their fore-fathers polluted the Sabbath of the Lord, for on a Sabbath day (as it is probable, not from their teſtimony only, but from the Text) *Zachariah* was thus murthered.

That which makes up the full number of *ſeven* and the meaſure of their unexpiable iniquity, the *Sabbath* wherein this unexpiable murther was committed was the Sabbath of the great Feaſt of Attonement.

All theſe tranſgreſſions or deadly ſins (for every circumſtance ſeems a tranſgreſſion or principal ſin, not an acceſſary) were committed in one day or at once.

Another circumſtance theſe later *Jews* charge their fore-fathers withal, *That they did not obſerve the Law of the* * *Deer or of the Hart*, after they ſhed *Zachariah*'s innocent blood; for they did not ſo much as cover it with duſt: But this Circumſtance will fall into the diſcuſſion of the *Third General* propoſed. The ſins or circumſtances hitherto mentioned were enough to ſollicitate the Execution of *Zachariah*'s dying prayers or imprecations, *Lord look upon it, and require it.* Levit.17.13.

Another circumſtance for aggravation of this ſin (ſpecially on King *Joaſh* his part, omitted by the later *Jews*) might here be added, For that this good man, this godly Prieſt and Prophet of the Lord, *Zachariah*, was by birth and bloud of neareſt kindred (as we ſay, *Couſin Germane*) to *Joaſh*, as being the Son, by lawful deſcent, of *Jehoſhabeath* (daugher of *Jehoram*, ſiſter to *Ahaziah*, and ſo Aunt to King *Joaſh*) whom *Jehoiada* the Prieſt had to wife, 2 *Chron.* 22.11.

7. But did theſe *Aggravations* or curious Commentaries of later *Jews*, upon this and the like ſins of their fore-fathers any way help to prevent the like diſeaſes in ſuch as made them? Rather their Exclamations againſt them, and *Rigid Reformation* of them, and their affected Zeal unto the Prophets whom their Fathers had murthered, did caſt them into far worſe diſeaſes of *pride* and *hypocriſie*; whoſe *ſymptomes* were fury, madneſs and and ſplenetical paſſions, which in the iſſue brought out more *prodigious* murther, as will better appear in the Second General propoſed, which was, *The Emblematical portendment of this cruel and prodigious Fact againſt Zechariah*, or the accompliſhment of his imprecations according to the *myſtical ſenſe*.

For proof of our laſt Aſſertion or Concluſion of the *Literal ſenſe*, no better Authority can be alleged or deſired, then the authority of our Saviour Chriſt. No better Commentaries can be made, upon the *myſtical ſenſe* of the former Hiſtory, then he who was the Wiſdom of God made upon it, *Matth.*23. verſe 29. *Wo to you Scribes and Phariſees, hypocrites* (ſo he had indicted them *ſeven or eight times* in this Chapter, before; But the height or rather the depth of their helliſh hypocriſie was reſerved

ved unto this verſe; and the original thus expreſſeth it:) *Becauſe ye build the tombs of the Prophets and garniſh the ſepulchers of the righteous; and ſay, If we had been in the dayes of our Fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the Prophets, wherefore ye be witneſſes unto your ſelves, that ye are the children of them which killed the Prophets.*

What if theſe were ſo? What will follow? Muſt the children be puniſhed for their fathers ſins, or for the acknowledgment of them?

Surely no! if they had repented of them. But to garniſh the Sepulchers of the Prophets, or the righteous men, whom their Fathers had killed, was *no good Argument of their true Repentance.* So far was this *counterfeit zeal* unto the memory of deceaſed Prophets, from waſhing away the guilt of blood wherewith their fore-fathers had polluted the Land, that it rather became the nutriment of hatred and of murtherous deſigns, againſt the *King of Prophets, and Lord of life.* And to this effect the words of the Evangeliſt St. *Luke, chap.* 11. *ver.*48. would amount, were they rightly ſcann'd and fully expreſs'd. *Truly ye bear witneſs and allow the deeds of your fathers, for they killed them* (to wit, the Prophets and righteous) *and ye build their Sepulchres.* In building the Sepulchres and acknowledging their fathers ſins which killed the Prophets, they did bear Authentick Witneſs, that they were their ſons; And in not bringing forth *better fruits of Repentance* then the beautifying of their Graves, they did bear witneſs againſt themſelves, *that they were but as Graves* (as *our Saviour* ſaith in the 44. verſe) *which appear not* (or do not outwardly ſhew what is contained in them) *and the men that walk over them are not aware of them.*

8. That the Scribes and Phariſees (who were reſpectively Prieſts and Lawyers) did more then witneſs, *that they were the ſons of them which killed the Prophets*; that they did, though not expreſly, yet implicitly, more then allow their Fathers deeds, and were at this inſtant bent to accompliſh them, is apparent, from our Saviours fore-warning or threatnings againſt them, *Matth.*23.32,33. *Fill ye up then the meaſure of your Fathers, ye generation of vipers! how can ye eſcape the damnation of hell*, or the judicature unto *Gehennah*? That the Scribes and Phariſees, and *the People miſled by them*, were now prone to make up the full meaſure of their Fathers ſins, is apparent from *Matth.*23.34, and 35. *Wherefore behold I ſend unto you Prophets, and Wiſemen, and Scribes, and ſome of them ye* ſhall (or *will*) *kill, and crucifie, and ſome of them ye* ſhall *ſcourge in your Synagogues, and perſecute them from City to City. That upon you may come all the righteous blood, that was ſhed upon the earth, from the blood of the righteous* Abel, *unto the blood of* Zacharias *the ſon of* Barachias, *whom ye ſlew between the Temple and the Altar.* Verſe 36. *Verily I ſay unto you, all theſe things ſhall come upon this Generation.* Or, as it is in St. *Lukes* Narration of our Saviours Comment upon this Story, taken by himſelf or by others who heard him, in the very ſame words wherein he uttered it: *Therefore alſo, ſaith the Wiſdom of God; I will ſend them Prophets and Apoſtles, and ſome of them they* ſhall (*or will*) *ſlay and perſecute, That the blood of all the Prophets which was ſhed from the foundation of the world may be required of this Generation: from the blood of* Abel *unto the blood of* Zacharias *which periſhed between the Altar and the Temple. Verily I ſay unto you it ſhall be* required *of this Generation.* This vehement reiterated Aſſeveration litterally and punctually refers unto the words of my Text. The *Implication* or Importance is as much as if he had ſaid: *Ye Scribes and Phariſees may call to mind that when your Fore-fathers (whoſe murtherous acts ye acknowledge) did ſlay* Zacharias *the High-Prieſt, he expired with theſe words in his mouth: Lord look upon it, and require it.*

See the next Sermon upon this Text.

His innocent blood was then in part required upon King *Joaſh*, upon the Princes of *Judah*, and other cheif offenders; But ſhall now again be required in full and exact meaſure of this preſent Generation, more murtherous and bloody then their idolatrous fore-fathers at any time were.

9. What ſhall we ſay then, That this laſt Generation was guilty of the murther of *Zachariah, or to be plagued for their fathers ſins in murthering him?* This Point will come to be diſcuſſed in the *Third General.*

And however that may be determined; This Caſe is clear: that, *Theſe later Jews did make up the full meaſure of their fore-fathers iniquity*, in killing Gods Prophets; eſpecially in murthering *Zachariah*, who was the moſt *illuſtrious Type of Chriſt* the Son of God, in the Manner of his death, and for the Occaſions which theſe ſeveral Generations took reſpectively to murther *them both.*

The *ſpecial Occaſion* which their fore-fathers took to kill *Zachariah* the Son of *Jehoiada* or *Barachias* (for he bore both names, though both in effect the ſame, or one equivalent to the other) was, becauſe he taxed them for their *idolatry*, and laboured to bring them again to the worſhip of the true God.

The only quarel which the malice of the later Jews could pick againſt *our Lord and Saviour*, was, becauſe he taxed their *helliſh Hypocriſies*, which their too Curious Reformation of their fore-fathers Idolatry had bred: And taught them how to worſhip God in ſpirit and truth, not in Ceremonies or meer bodily obſervance.

Neither Generation were ſo blind as to perſecute men *whom they did acknowledge* to be immediately ſent from God. Yet were *both* furiouſly prone to perſecute ſuch as *indeed were ſent from God*, for pretending or promulging their Commiſſion from God, or taking the names of Prophets upon them, *ſo often as their doctrine did croſs their practiſes or violent paſſions.*

This later Generation of Scribes and Phariſees (after they had failed in their Proofs of any Capital matter of Fact or point of doctrine delivered by Chriſt) condemned him for anſwering *affirmatively* to this Queſtion propoſed. *Tell us, art thou the Son of God?* or, as St. *Mark* more punctually expreſſeth it, *Art thou the Chriſt the Son of the Bleſſed? Mark* 14.61. *Zechariah* (as was now ſaid) was Chriſts true Picture for *Quality*, for *Office*, and for the *Relation of Names* and kindred. For *Zechariah* was a Prophet and a Prieſt the Son of *Jehoida*, which ſignifieth as much as *The Knowledge of God*; or, as our Saviour expreſſeth the Reality anſwering to his name, *The ſon of Barachias*, that is, *The bleſſed of God.* And our Saviour was *The Son of the only wiſe God*, the wiſdom of God, and *The bleſſed of God, the very God of bleſſing*, being the *Great Prophet of God* and high-Prieſt of our ſouls.

Laſtly, the Princes of *Judah* having by glozing flattery perſwaded their King to authorize their projects againſt *Zechariah* the High-Prieſt and Prophet of the Lord, put them in execution upon the *ſolemn Feaſt of Attonement* or expiation.

The Scribes and Phariſees equal or ſuperior to theſe Lay-Princes in cruelty, importuned *Pilate* by pretended obſervance and loyal obedience to the *Roman Cæſar*, to ſacrifice *The Son of the Bleſſed* (whom they had unjuſtly condemned) unto their malice at *that ſolemn Feaſt*, which was prefigured by the *Feaſt of Expiation*, the Feaſt inſtituted in the memory of their deliverance out of *Egypt.*

CHAP. XLIII.

MATTH. 23. verſe 34, 35, 36,&c.

Wherefore, behold I ſend unto you Prophets, and Wiſe men, and Scribes, and ſome of them ye ſhall (or will) *kill and crucifie, and ſome of them ſhall* (or will) *ye ſcourge in your Synagogues, and perſecute them from City to City.*

That upon you may come (or, by which means will come upon you) *all the righteous blood ſhed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous* Abel, *unto the blood of* Zacharias *the ſon of* Barachias, *whom ye ſlew between the Temple and the Altar.*

Verily I ſay unto you, all theſe things ſhall come upon this Generation.

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2 Chron. 24. 22. *The Lord look upon it, and* require *it.*

Luke 11.51. *Verily I ſay unto you, it ſhall be* required *of this Generation.*

THeſe words (————————) were uttered by our bleſſed Lord and Saviour againſt the Scribes and Phariſees, with their Aſſociates in Blood, a little before the Feaſt of the Paſſover; Whether that Laſt Paſſoever; wherein this Lamb of God prefigured by that Solemn Feaſt (as alſo by the Death of *Abel* and his Sacrifice) was offered upon the Croſs, is or may be a Queſtion amongſt the learned, not at this time to be diſputed; But rather (if occaſion ſerve) in the explication of the laſt verſe; *Verily I ſay unto you, ye ſhall not ſee me henceforth, till that ye ſay, Bleſſed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.*

For gathering the true and full Connexion of *this Paſſage* with the former Relations, it ſhall ſuffice to obſerve; that as our Saviour *never ſpared the Scribes and Phariſees:* So at this time above others he reproves them moſt fully and ſharply. The *Matter of this Reproof, was their avarice and hypocriſie:* The *End, partly to prevent the like deſire of vain glory, with other Enormities in his Diſciples; Partly to cure* (if it were poſſible) *the Scribes and Phariſees of their hereditary diſeaſe.* Hence, whereas they moſt affected *Complemental Greetings* in publick places, or glorious Titles of *Rabbies:* Our Saviour to allay this humour, for reſpectful *Salutations* preſents them *Woes*; inſtead of glorious Titles he inſtiles them *Hypocrites:* For ſtriking at ſeven ſeveral Branches of their Hypocriſie, he ſeven times in this Chapter begins his ſpeech in this ſtyle; *Wo unto you Scribes and Phariſees, Hypocrites.*

2. The principal and moſt deadly *Branch* of this bitter *Root*, was, *Their garniſhing the Sepulchers of the Righteous, and building the Tombs of the Prophets.* In which notwithſtanding they did not ſo mightily deceive others, as their own ſouls; yet by a *Fallacy* very familiar, and apt to inſinuate it ſelf into all our thoughts. For, who is he amongſt us, but will take his love and good reſpect to Good men, whether alive, or lately dead, as a ſure Teſtimony of his own goodneſs or integrity? eſpecially in reſpect of theirs, that either have perſecuted them living, or defamed them after death? Howbeit this kind of Teſtimony, generally admitted for currant, would make way to bring *Phariſaical Hypocriſie* into Credit with our ſouls. Many we have known, either in hope of filling, or fear of emptying their purſes, pinch their bellies: But as none can be ſo miſerable, as not to deſire to fare well rather then ill, ſo he might have good chear as good cheap as bad: So, hardly can any be ſo wick-

ed, as not to like better of Godlineſs or virtue in others, then of vice, ſo the one be no more prejudicial or offenſive to him, then the other. Now the Fame or memory of godly men long ago deceaſed, or far abſent, cannot exaſperate the wicked, or malitious, nor whet their pride to *Envy*. For *Envy* (though a moſt unneighborly quality) *is alwayes conceived from neighborhood, or vicinity*. Contrariwiſe *the righteous, that live amongſt the wicked*, are (as the Wiſe man ſpeaks) *a Reproach unto them*, becauſe their works are good, and the others evil. This different eſteem of vertue preſent and abſent, the Heathens rightly had obſerved. *Virtutem incolumem odimus; ſublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi.* For as Bats and Owls joy in the Suns light after it is gone down, though it offend their eyes, whilſt it ſhines in full ſtrength and comforts all other creatures indued with perfect ſight; So can the ſons of darkneſs endure the ſons of light after their departure out of this world, albeit a perpetual eye-ſore unto them living in the ſame Age, or ſociety. Upon this humor did Sathan (that great Politician) work; putting ſuch a *Gull* upon theſe *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, as *Domitian* the Emperor did upon his Subjects. For as this Tyrant, when he purpoſed any cruelty, or murther, would alwayes make ſpeeches in Commendation of mercy, or clemency, to prevent ſuſpicion: So the old Serpent having made choice of theſe Scribes and Phariſees, as fitteſt inſtruments to wreak his ſpight upon our Saviour; firſt ſets them a work *to build the Tombs of the Prophets, and garniſh the ſepulchers of the righteous, whom their fathers had ſlain*, leaſt they ſhould ſuſpect themſelves of any like intent againſt *that Juſt one, of whom they proved the betrayers and murtherers.* Time had ſo fully detected their fathers ſins, that it was bootleſs for them to attempt their concealment. The ſafeſt, and moſt plauſible courſe to appeaſe their conſciences, was freely to proteſt againſt them; for they ſaid, *If we had been in the dayes of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the Prophets.*

Gen. 19. 9.
Prov. 28. 4.
Wiſd. 2. 12.
1 John 3. 12.

And is it credible, that men ſo ingenuous, as thus to confeſs their fore-elders ſhame, and ready as far as was poſſible, to make the dead Prophets amends for wrong done to them by their anceſtors many hundred years ago, ſhould attempt any cruelty againſt the Prince of Prophets, whom *Moſes* their Maſter had ſo ſtrictly commanded them to obey?

No; the world muſt rather believe Chriſt was not that Great Prophet, but a Seducer, becauſe ſo much hated of theſe great Rabbies, which ſo honoured the memory of true Prophets, whom their fathers perſecuted. With ſuch vain ſhews do theſe blind guides deceive the ſimple, being bewitched themſelves by Sathan with groundleſs perſwaſions of their own ſincerity, and devotion towards God, and his Meſſengers.

Of *Phariſaical Hypocriſie*, See *Book* 4. and ſecond Sermon on *Jer.* 26.

To think this hypocritical Crue ſhould wittingly and purpoſely uſe theſe devices, as *politick Sophiſmes* to colour their bad intentions, were to make us think better of our ſelves, then we deſerve, by thinking worſe of them, then our Saviour meant in that cenſure: *They do all their works to be ſeen of men.* This (according to the like phraſe moſt frequent in Scripture) doth argue the phraſe of men to be the Iſſue of their works, but not the end they purpoſely aimed or intended: For, their hypocriſie ſuppoſed a miſ-guided zeal or aberration from the mark they ſought to hit, cauſed from their immoderate deſire of honour and applauſe, which did ſo intoxicate and over-rule their minds, and like leaven diffuſe it ſelf throughout all their actions, that even the beſt works, they did, could be pleaſant only unto men, not unto God, which trieth the heart, and looks as well, that our *Intention be ſound* and entire, as that we *intend that which is good*, becauſe commanded by him. To honour the memory of *Holy men* was a good work, but ill done by them, becauſe it proceeded not from a contrite and penitent heart. To ſtint *the Cry of ſo much righteous blood*, as had been ſhed by their Anceſtors, what could it (alaſs) avail to deck the places where their bodies lay buried? That God was grievouſly offended, they could not doubt; and to think he ſhould be pacified by ſuch ſacrifices was to imagine him to be like ſinful men, which can wink at publick offences for ſome bribe given to their ſervants, or ſome toyes beſtowed upon their children. Thus to acknowledge their fore-fathers cruelty, and not to be more touched with ſorrow for it, was to give Evidence againſt themſelves, as our Saviour in the 31. verſe inſers; *So then ye be witneſſes unto your ſelves, that ye are the children of them which killed the Prophets.* Or as St. *Luke* relates the ſame paſſage; *Wo be to you, for ye build the Sepulchres of the Prophets, and your fathers killed them. Truly ye bear witneſs and allow the deeds of your fathers, for they killed them, and ye build their ſepulchres.* For not to amend that in our ſelves, which we reprove in others, but rather to aſſume liberty to our ſouls, as if we were acquitted by ſuch reproofs or corrections of their miſ-deeds, is indeed to allow, what in word we diſclaim. Had theſe Scribes and Phariſees never taken notice of their fathers ſins, they could have had no occaſion to conceit their own holines ſo highly: but now by comparing their own kindneſs to dead Prophets bones, with their fathers cruelties againſt their living perſons, they ſeem in compariſon like Saints, hence emboldened to treſpaſs more deſperately againſt the Holy One of God In this reſpect our Saviour in the words immediately going before the Text, not content with this ordinary Title of *Hypocrites*, or *blind Guides*, calls them *Serpents*, and a *generation of Vipers*. As if he had ſaid, 'Ye are children or ſeed of 'the old Serpent, the Devil, which was a murderer from the beginning, and now ye are ready to take his part againſt the *promiſed* wo'mans *ſeed*: And whereas they thought themſelves of all men moſt free from ſtain of the Prophets blood, whoſe tombs they garniſhed, our Saviour in my Text layes that eſpecially to their Charge, indicting them of all the murther committed from the beginning of the world, until that preſent time, or at leaſt till *Zachariahs* death.

3. The Indictment we muſt believe to be moſt true and juſt, becauſe framed by Truth it ſelf: But what the true meaning of it ſhould be, is not expreſſed by any Interpreter we have hitherto met with. Such as a man in reaſon would ſooneſt expect beſt ſatisfaction from (for the moſt part) paſs it over in ſilence: Others (like young Conjurers, which raiſe ſpirits they cannot lay) caſt ſuch doubts, as they are not able to aſſoil. For acquainting you with as much, as my reading or Obſervation (upon late deſires to ſatisfie my ſelf in a point ſo difficult and uſeful) have attained unto, give me leave to reflect upon 2 *Chron.* 24. 22, and to look fore-right alſo into the words of St. *Luke*, chapt. 11. verſe 51. [*Verily I ſay unto you, it ſhall be* required *of his Generation.*] Which few words include *the greateſt meaſure of righteous blood moſt unrighteouſly ſhed that ever was laid to any People or Nations charge.* And yet laid to the charge of the *Jewiſh Nation* not indefinitely taken or according to ſeveral ſucceſſions or generations, but to *the preſent Generation* of this People: and ſo laid *by One that could not erre* either *in giving of the Charge*, or *in point of Judicature* upon any matter within the Charge. For the Charge is laid *by the Wiſdom of God*, by the ſupreme Judge of quick and dead, as you may ſee from the forty ninth verſe.

Therefore alſo, ſaith the wiſdom of God, I will ſend them Prophets and Apoſtles, and ſome of them they ſhall (or will) *ſlay and perſecute, that the righteous blood of all the Prophets which was ſhed from the foundation of the world may be* required *of this Generation, from the blood of* Able *unto the blood of* Zechariah *which periſhed between the Altar and the Temple. Verily I ſay unto you, it ſhall be* required *of this Generation.*

The ſame Charge (though with ſome variation of words, yet with full Æquivalencie of ſenſe) we have in my Text, *Wherefore behold I ſend unto you Prophets, and Wiſe men, and Scribes,* &c.

But however the Charge and the Emphatical Ingemination for laying this Charge upon this Generation of Serpents in both Evangeliſts be for equivalency of ſenſe the very ſame: Yet *St. Luke* (as I take it) reherſeth the Charge in the ſelf-ſame words wherein our Saviour uttered it, *It ſhall be* required *of this Generation.* And in thus ſaying he declared himſelf to be *Vates tam præteritorum quam futurorum,* better knowing the true meaning or importance of *Zecharias his Imprecation* or Prophecy, and the time wherein it was to be fulfilled then *Zecharias* himſelf (although both an High-Prieſt and a Prophet) did, when he uttered it. The Imprecation or Prophecy of that *Zacharias* unto whom (as I ſuppoſe) the words recited out of *St. Matthew* and *St. Luke* have a peculiar Reference, are recorded the 2 *Chron.* 24. 22. *And when he died* (or as the Original hath it, *when he was a dying*, or in the very moment of death) *he ſaid: The Lord look upon it, and* require *it.*

See the Sermon upon *that Text,* immediately precedent.

The Expoſition of which words, *Firſt* according to the Literal or Grammatical Senſe, with the Hiſtorical Circumſtances precedent and ſubſequent.

And *Secondly,* according to the Myſtical Senſe, or the Emblematical Portendment of that Prodigious Fact, which provoked that Godly High-Prieſt and Prophet to utter the fore-cited Imprecation [*Lord look upon it, and require it:*] hath been the Subject of my meditations of late delivered in *A leſs and yet a greater Audience.*

The *Third General* (then propoſed, but left untouched) comes now to be handled *in this learned Auditory* upon another *Text.*

The *Former Sermon* on 2 *Chron.* 24. 22. I ſuppoſe was preached at *Court, This* at *Oxford.*

And that was, *The Diſcuſſion of ſuch Queſtions or Caſes of Conſcience as were emergent, whether out of the* Literal *or* Myſtical *Senſe of* Zacharias *the ſon of* Jehoiada *his dying words; eſpecially of ſuch as be uſeful either for this preſent or future Times.*

4. And of ſuch Queſtions the firſt is, *Who this* Zachariah *in St.* Matthew *and St.* Luke *is: Whether it be He that was ſlain* (*as is told*) 2 Chron. 24. 22. *or ſome other of that name?*

The Second, (ſuppoſing, the ſame *Zecharias* to be ment in all three places;) *Why the Wiſdom of God after he had laid the blood of all righteous men and Prophets whom their fore-fathers had ſlain; or haply whom they intended to ſlay, ſhould inſtance in* Zachariah *the ſon of* Jehoiada *or of* Barachiah, as the laſt man whoſe blood was to be *required.*

Of the Jews Calamities ſee Book 1. chap. 23. and 27.

The Third; *Whether the blood of* Zacharias, *or other Prophets or righteous men ſlain by their fore fathers, or the blood of the Son of God himſelf, or of his Apoſtles, of whom this preſent Generation were the murtherers was in ſtrict, and Logical Conſtruction of theſe words,* required *of this preſent Generation?* Or in other Terms, *thus*; Whether the murther of Our Saviour, or of his Apoſtles, plotted or practiſed by this preſent Generation, or rather the cruelties practiſed by their fore-fathers upon the Prophets and other righteous men, were the true and Poſitive Cauſe of all thoſe unparalled Plagues and Calamities which befel the *Jewiſh*

Nation within forty or more years after our Saviours death: of the deſolation of *Jewry*, & the *Jews* utter extirpation thence by *Titus* and *Adrian*.

The Fourth, *In what Caſes, or how far; the poſterity or ſucceſſors of any people or nation are liable to the puniſhment of their anceſtors ſins, or what manner of repentance is required for the known and groſs ſins of their Fathers?*

The Fifth; *Whether it were lawful for any of Chriſts Apoſtles (or other of his followers at this day) upon the like provocations as* Zacharias *had, to curſe their perſecutors in ſuch manner as he did his, upon their death beds, or when they are a dying.*

The Sixth (which might as well have been the Firſt) is; *With what Intent, or to what End,* The Wiſdom of God *did ſend Prophets, Apoſtles and Wiſe men unto this preſent Generation, or their fore-fathers: As whether to reſcue them from the plagues denounced againſt them by* Zachariah *and other Prophets*; or *to bring their Righteous Blood upon them.*

The first Question, *Who this Zachariah was.*

5. To the firſt Queſtion, *Who this Zacharias was.* Some have queſtioned whether He was *Zachariah* Coæval to *Iſaiah*, and witneſs of his Eſpouſal *Iſai.* 8.

Others there be of opinion, this *Zachariah* here meant ſhould be *Zachariah* the Prophet, whoſe Propheſie is extant in the Sacred Volume, the laſt in order but one, as he was one of the laſt in time, and propheſied about this peoples return from *Babylon.* And it is true indeed, that this prophet was the Son of *Barachiah*, as appears from the very firſt words of his Prophecy. But this opinion is obnoxious to the ſame exceptions the former is: *viz.* it is neither warranted by Scriptures, nor by any good Writer. Neither is it credible, that the *Jews* then living would kill the Prophet of the Lord immediately after their deliverance from captivity; At leaſt, the Reverence to the Temple then ſcarce finiſhed, would have made them abſtain from ſhedding his blood within the walls of it near the Altar.

Others there be amongſt the Ancients (but few later Writers of better note) which think this *Zacharias* ſhould be *John Baptiſt's* Father; what reaſon they ſhould have ſo to think I cannot conjecture, ſave only Our Saviours words in the 35. verſe [*Whom ye ſlew between the Temple and the Altar.*] This in ordinary ſpeech may ſeem to imply, that this juſt man had been killed by *this people now living*, not by their Fathers; For ſo our Saviour haply had ſaid, *Whom your Fathers ſlew, not whom YE ſlew.* But it is a Rule in Divinity, to gather our Saviours and his Apoſtles meaning by the uſual Phraſe of Scriptures, not by our common manner of ſpeech. Now it is uſual to the Prophets and Sacred Writers to lay the fathers ſins unto the childrens charge if they continue in the like, or repent not for them. And if this people now living muſt be plagued for the ancient Prophets blood; no queſtion, but they were guilty of it, and may be ſaid to have ſlain them, in the ſame ſenſe, they are endicted as guilty of it.

That our Saviour ſhould not mean *John Baptiſts* Father is more then probable, for theſe reaſons.

Firſt, His death is not mentioned in the New Teſtament; nor in any Good Eccleſiaſtical Writers

Secondly, Becauſe it no way benefits the Authors of this Opinion, but rather increaſeth the difficulty.

For if he were ſlain by *Herod* the Great, who was a Philiſtine by Parentage, why ſhould not *John Baptiſt's* death be laid to their charge being ſlain by *Herods* Son? Nay, why not our Saviours or his Apoſtles, whom he foretels they would ſhortly kill, and perſecute?

This punctually agrees with the Copy.

This plainly argues, that reaſon, why he names this *Zacharias*, was not his ſlaughter. And beſides this reaſon there is none, why we ſhould think this *zacharias* was *John Baptiſt*'s Father. As for the Apocriphal Stories or Traditions, which are pretended for this gueſs, or groundleſs conjecture, we have juſt cauſe to ſuſpect, that it rather brought forth them, then that they ſhould firſt deliver it.

Not to trouble your patience with any more Reaſons for refuting thoſe Opinions; it is agreed upon by moſt late Writers I have read, Papiſts, or Proteſtants, and by *St. Hierom* the beſt in this kind of all the Ancient, that this *Zachariah*, here ſpoken of, was the ſon of *Jehoiada* the Prieſt, whoſe death we have ſet down 2, *Chron.* 24. verſe 21. *And they conſpired againſt him, and ſtoned him with ſtones at the Commandement of the King, in the Court of the Houſe of the Lord.* In what Court it is not ſpecified, but it is moſt probable from the circumſtance of the Text, that it was in the Court, where the Prieſts offered ſacrifices, or in the place, where he inſtructed or bleſſed the people; for it is evident that *Zachariah* was ſlain in his Pue or publick ſeat appointed for inſtructing the People.

The *Temple* and the *Altar*.

And hereunto the ancient *Jews* in their Traditions accord. This is that our Saviour ſaith in my Text, that *he was ſlain between the Temple and the Altar*. By the temple we are to underſtand the outward Courts or Iles, or as we diſtinguiſh betwixt the Church and the Chancel, the body of the Temple comprehending *Atrium Iſraelis & mulierum*, the Courts, wherein the Congregation of men and women ſtood; By the place between theſe and the Altar, the Court where the Prieſts taught, or celebrated their ſervice. And ſo it is ſaid, verſe 20. That *Zachariah ſhould ſtand above the people*, when he delivered that meſſage unto them, for which they ſtoned him to death.

Why *Zachariah* called the ſon of *Barachiah*.

See Dr. *Hammonds* Notes on *Matth.* 23. fol. 125. where he cites *Joſephus* Lib. 4. cap. 19. for another *Zacharias*, killed by the *Zelots* immediately before the Siege, which puts a ſhort end to this Queſtion.

Why this *Zachariah* ſhould be called the ſon of *Barachiah*, divers Expoſitors bring divers reaſons all probable in themſelves, and each agreable with other. Some think his father (as was not unuſual amongſt the *Jews*) had two names, or a name and a ſur-name, *Jehoiada* and *Barachiah*. Others think, that our Saviour did not ſo much reſpect the uſual Name, whereby the Prophets father was called, as his Conditions, or vertues unto which the name of *Barachiah* did as well, or better agree, then *Jehoiada*, although the one of theſe cannot much diſagree in ſenſe from the other, for the one ſignifies *The knowledge of the Lord*, the other to wit *Barachiah*, *The bleſſing of the Lord*, or *Man Bleſſed of the Lord*. Well might both names befit that Famous High-prieſt, famous both for his wiſdom and piety, every way bleſſed of God, and a great bleſſing to this people: For as it is ſaid 2 *Chronicles*, chap. 24. verſe 16. *He had done good in Iſrael, both towards God and towards his houſe*, In which reſpect he was buried in the City of *David* amongſt their Kings. Admitting then *Jehoiada* either uſually had, or were for the reaſons intimated capable of theſe two Names, it is not without a ſpecial Reaſon, perhaps a Myſtery, that our Saviour in this place ſhould call *Zachariah* rather the ſon of *Barachiah*, then of *Jehoiada*, For 'the 'more bleſſed his Father was of God, the greater bleſſing he had been 'to Iſrael; the more accurſed was this ungratious people in killing his 'vertuous and righteous ſon in the Houſe of the Lord, for diſſwading them from Idolatry: And the more fully did they prefigure the ſin of this wicked generation their children, which for the like cauſe did now go about to kill the Son of God Chriſt Jeſus Bleſſed for ever. For hereafter they were to acknowledge Him to be the True *Barachiah*, as it is intimated in the laſt verſe of this chapter: *Bleſſed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord.*

Thus much of the firſt point [*Who this* Zachariah *was*] gives ſome light unto the Second.

The Second Queſtion, *Why our Saviour inſtanceth in Zachariah.*

6. And the ſecond Queſtion, [*Why our Saviour ſhould make ſuch ſpecial inſtance in, or peculiar mention of the blood of* Zachariah] is the leaſt difficult of all the reſt; and yet a queſtion not ſo eaſily anſwered, as the learned *Spaniſh Jeſuit Maldonate in his Comments upon this place* would perſwade us. His beſt Anſwer to this Queſtion ſolemnly propoſed by him, is this, *Chriſts purpoſe was only to inſtance in thoſe Prophets, whoſe ſlaughter was expreſly teſtified in the Bible, leaſt the Scribes and Phariſees might deny them to have been ſlain by their fore-fathers: Now Prophets, whoſe deaths are mentioned in Scripture,* Zacharias *the ſon of* Jehoiada *was the laſt.* We have juſt occaſion to ſuſpect his conjecture (were it true) to be impertinent becauſe the Reaſon whereby he ſeeks to confirm it, is evidently untrue. Seing *Zacharias* the ſon of *Jehoiada* was not the laſt of all the Prophets, whoſe bloody deaths are recorded in Scripture. For in the 26. chap. of *Jeremy*, There is expreſs mention of one *Uriah* the ſon of *Shemaiah* of *Kiriath-jearim,* who for propheſying againſt *Hieruſalem* was put to death (240. years after *Zachariah*) by *Jehoiachim King of Judah,* and by his Council of State and of War, and was fetcht back from *Egypt,* whither he had fled for refuge, by *Elnathan* the ſon of *Achbor* a great Counſellor of State, and other Commiſſioners for this purpoſe, unto *Jehoiachim, who ſlew him with the ſword, and caſt his dead body into the graves of the common people.* And this Prophets blood, and other indignities done unto him and to his Calling after his death, were required of that preſent Generation, of the King eſpecially: For as *Jeremy*, perhaps taking his hint from this bloody Fact, had foretold, ſo it came to paſs; that *Jehoiachim* was caſt out of *Jeruſalem,* not into the Graves of the Common people, but into the open Fields, for he had no other burial then the burial of the Aſs, or other like contemptible creature.

Zachariah the only Prophet that dyed with an Imprecation.

But however the blood (perhaps) of this Prophet amongſt many others, was to be further required of this preſent Generation; Yet *Zacharias* was the laſt, and I think the firſt of all the Prophets which at the moment of his death did beſeech God to require his blood and to revenge his death. And *this* (I take) *is the true reaſon,* why our Saviour after he had indicted the *Jews* of the blood of all the Prophets and righteous men ſhed from the foundation of the world, ſhould inſtance only in *Abel* the ſon of *Adam*, and Zacharias the ſon of *Jehoiada* or *Barachiah.* Chriſts Inſtance in *Abel* literally and punctually refers to that Dialogue betwixt God and *Cain*, Gen. 4. 10. *The Lord ſaid unto* Cain, *where is* Abel *thy Brother? And he ſaid, I know not: Am I my brothers keeper? And he ſaid, what haſt thou done? The voice of thy brothers blood cryeth to me from the ground, and now art thou curſed from the earth, which hath opened her mouth to receive thy brothers blood from thy hand.*

See Fol. 535.

But did the voice of *Zacharias* his blood cry in like manner unto the Lord after his death, or ſollicit the like curſe or vengeance upon them which ſhed it, or their poſterity as *Abels* did? yes, beſides the forementioned Imprecation, *Lord look upon it, and* require *it,* which was uttered by him, after a great part of his blood and ſpirits were ſpent, his blood ſpake as bad things, as that of *Abels*; For ſo the *Jewiſh Rabbins* (beſides that Cluſter of ſeven deadly ſins, committed by their fore-fathers at once in the murther of *Zacharias*) mention another circumſtance ſubſequent, not recorded in Scripture; or not ſo plainly, as a Chriſtian Reader without their Comment or Tradition would take notice of it; which in my Opinion doth better illuſtrate that paſſage of Scripture whereon they ground or ſeek to countenance it, then any Chriſtian Commentator hath done, *Our Fathers* (*ſay they*) *in ſhedding* Zacharias's *blood, did not obſerve the Law of the blood of the Deer or Hart:* For ſo it was commanded, *Levit.* 17. 13. *Whatſoever man there be of the children of Iſrael, or of the ſtrangers that ſojourn among you, which hunteth and catcheth any beaſt or fowl that may be eaten, he ſhall even pour out the blood thereof and cover it with duſt.* But *Zacharias* blood (though ſhed in the Temple) was not ſo covered, it was apparent. To this purpoſe they allege that of the Prophet *Ezekiel*, chap. 24. 6. *Wo unto the bloody City, Her blood is in the middeſt of her, ſhe ſet it upon the top of a rock, ſhe poured it not upon the ground to cover it with duſt: that it might cauſe fury to come up to take vengeance.*

No queſtion but the Prophets intire purpoſe was to indict *Jeruſalem* (as our Saviour doth in my Text) of all the Innocent blood that had been ſhed before his time within her Territories, and withall to note her Impudence in committing ſuch foul ſins ſo openly, without care to cover the conſpicuous marks of her own ſhame. Yet this no way argues that the Prophets did not point out ſome *memorable and prodigious Fact*, which might ſerve as an *Emblem* of her ſhameleſs careleſneſs in all the reſt. Such Alluſions to particulars ſufficiently known in their own times are very uſual in the Prophets: This is the *ſpecial Reaſon why their Writings in general are ſo obſcure to us*, why ſome of their Metaphors ſeem harſh or far fetcht, becauſe in truth their ſpeeches in theſe Caſes are not meerly metaphorical, but include Hiſtorical References to ſome famous Accidents preſent or freſh in memory. From the ſame Cauſe, all antient Satyriſts, or ſuch as tax the capital vices of their own times, are hardly underſtood by later Ages, without the Comments of ſuch as lived with them or not long after them: as our Poſterity within few years will hardly underſtand ſome paſſages in the *Fairy Queen*, or in *Mother Hubbards*, or other Tales in *Chaucer*, better known at this day to old Courtiers then to young Students.

It may be theſe murtherers ſaid of *Zachariah*, as their poſterity ſaid of our Saviour: *His blood be on us, and on our Children.* It is not likely they would be careful to cover it with duſt, or wipe the ſtain of it (whilſt freſh) out of the walls or ſtones of the Temple, becauſe they had ſolemnly forſaken the Houſe of the Lord, and made a league to ſerve Groves and Idols, willing perhaps to let the print of his blood remain to terrifie others from being too forward in reproving the King and His Council for their offences againſt God.

But whether the marks of it were left on purpoſe, or through mere forgetfulneſs of this people, God in his providence, as the Prophet intimates, ſuffered it ſo to remain, *to cauſe fury to come, and to take vengeance.* For whereas this fact, or forgetfulneſs to cover it, was in the words before attributed to *Jeruſalem*: *Her blood is in the middeſt of her, ſhe ſet it up on the top of the Rock, ſhe poured it not upon the ground to cover it with duſt*; The Prophet after intimation of the cauſe, why it ſo remained; *To cauſe fury*, &c. Immediately adds, in the perſon of God; *I have ſet her blood upon the top of a rock, that it ſhould not be covered.* Of theſe words no meaning can be rendred more natural, then this, to wit, That God did ſuffer the print of *Zachariah*'s righteous blood to remain in the Temple, as it were to ſolicite vengeance for all the reſt, that had been, or ſhould be ſhed in *Jeruſalem*; to cry unto him, as *Abel*'s did from the earth, which (as it ſeems) was not covered, certainly the voice of it was not ſmothered with duſt.

How long the ſtain of blood, eſpecially daſhed out of the body by violence, will be apparent upon ſtones, or moiſt walls, experience doth not often teach, becauſe it is uſually covered, or wiped off whilſt it is freſh. Yet ſome prints of blood have longer remained (unleſs *Domeſtick Traditions* be falſe) on ſtones, then the blood it ſelf could have done by courſe of nature in the veins that incloſed it. Albeit we may with good probability preſume, that *Zachariah*'s blood (if we conſider the manner of his death) might continue, by Gods permiſſion or appointment, far above the time that any *ordinary experience* can teſtifie.

More ſtrange it is, which *Eccleſiaſtical Writers* report of this *Prophets body*, that being cruſhed with ſtones, it ſhould be found otherwiſe intire and uncorrupt in the dayes of *Theodoſius*, which was above a thouſand years after his death. Unleſs they had greater occaſion, then I can conceive, to lie, I neither dare diſtruſt *this report* of theirs, nor the other *Tradition* of the *Jews*, by whoſe account the ſtain of *his* blood remained a greater part of two hundred years in the Temple.

However, we may (with good probability) conclude, that the *true Reaſon*, why our Saviour mentioned *Zachariah*'s death as one ſpecial cauſe of *Jeruſalems* laſt deſtruction, was not becauſe he was *the laſt*, or *one of the laſt* of the Prophets that had been murthered by the Scribes, and Phariſees fore-elders, but rather becauſe his murther was *the moſt foul prodigious fact*, that was committed in that Land, and did from the very Commiſſion of it, *portend* deſtruction to the Temple; and the *conſequents of it* fore-ſhadowed the miſeries, which were afterwards to befall the Nation. The truth of this concluſion will better appear from diſcuſſion of the third Point propoſed.

The third Queſtion.

7. And this was [*Whether the blood of* Zacharias *and other Prophets, or of our Saviour and others after him were more eſpecially* required *of this generation.*] Or [Whether this Generation and their poſterity were ſo grievouſly plagued (as we know they were) for their own perſonal offences againſt the Perſon of *the Son of God*, or for communicating with their fathers in ſhedding the blood of the Prophets and of other righteous men.]

The *modern Jews* peremptorily deny *their long exile and calamity* to have been inflicted upon them as a juſt puniſhment for putting Chriſt to death; becauſe their Fathers did not (in their judgment) therein offend.

Divers Chriſtian Writers (as it uſually falls out) refuting *this Error* of theirs, run into a contrary, aſcribing *the grievouſneſs of their memorable plagues unto their perſonal offences againſt our Saviour*, being otherwiſe free from the ſins wherein their fathers grievouſly treſpaſſed. *Maldonate* the *Jeſuit* is ſo far addicted to *this Opinion*, that he thinks our Saviour in my Text ſpake but according to *vulgar language*; As if to a Malefactor, which had eſcaped often, but is afterward taken for ſome notorious murther which cannot be pardoned, men would ſay, *he ſhould now pay for all his villanies*; not that they mean he ſhall ſuffer ſeveral puniſhments for ſeveral offences, or more grievous tortures then were due for his laſt fact alone; but that he ſhould *have judgment without mercy* & be puniſhed as grievouſly as might be, though *for it only*. Thus much then & no more he thinks our Saviour would have ſignified, *That the Scribes & Phariſees ſhould ſuffer ſuch grievous calamities for murthering* Him *and his* Apoſtles *as they might well ſeem to be plagued for their* Fathers cruelties, *howbeit they were not at all* puniſhed for *them* but only for their own. For (ſaith he) although neither they nor their Fathers had killed either Prophet, Apoſtle, or Diſciple (but Chriſt alone) they had deſerved greater plagues for killing him then are recorded, by *Joſephus*. This *laſt aſſertion* (I confeſs) is no leſs true, then *non-concludent:* for the *concluſion to be inferred* was not, *what manner of plagues they did deſerve for putting our Saviour to death*; but, *whether theſe puniſhments were* de Facto *inflicted, for putting him to death*, or for the murther of Zachariah and other Prophets, whom not their fathers only, but they had ſlain, for ſo our Saviour layeth the *Charge* of Zachariah's blood unto *them in particular, whom YE ſlew between the Temple and the Altar.*

8. A *good Auditor* muſt be able not only to give a true *Onus* or *Charge*, but withal to make right *allocations* or *deductions*; otherwiſe, he ſhall often over-reckon himſelf or wrong ſuch as are to deal with him. The like skill is required in making ſuch *calculatory arguments* as *Maldonate*, and many other good Chriſtians uſe, in aggravating the offences of *this preſent generation* of the Jews againſt *our Saviour*. Let them lay the *charge* of the later *Jews* treſpaſſes as deep as they liſt, or can; we ſhall be able to make the *deductions* or *allocations* much-what equal; ſo that *Computatis computandis*, the greateſt part or fulleſt meaſure of the blood which came now to be required of this generation muſt ariſe (as the literal meaning of my Text imports) *from the righteous blood of* Zacharias *and other Prophets unjuſtly ſhed in former Ages, and unrepented of by this preſent generation.*

They muſt lay their *charge* from the *infinite exceſs of Chriſts dignity* in reſpect of other Prophets; for, *his perſon was in Majeſty truly infinite.* We are to make the *deduction* from his infinite *power* and *facility to forgive* offences againſt himſelf or his perſon. For queſtionleſs he did as far exceed all the Prophets in goodneſs, in mercy and loving kindneſs, as he did in Majeſty and Greatneſs. And had *peculiar power* and authority to forgive ſins, and remit thoſe plagues which the Prophets had denounced againſt *Jeruſalem* and her children. Nor could the malice of his enemies againſt him be more available to procure, then his prayers and tears for *Jeruſalems* peace, were to pacifie his Fathers wrath againſt it; eſpecially for their offences againſt *his perſon alone.*

A *Paraphraſe* or *Exegeſis* of Chriſts loving and threatning expreſſions.

9. The flagrant Expreſſions of his *ſpecial Love* unto *Jeruſalem* (not yet alienated from the worſt ſort of this preſent generation) if we compare them with this *threatning fore-warning* in my Text and in the words before it, will bear this ſenſe or brook this *Paraphraſe*; *However I ſee and know you more maliciouſly bent againſt me then* Cain *was againſt his brother* Abel, *then your fore-fathers (Prince or People) were againſt* Zachariah *the ſon of* Jehoiada (*or of* Barachiah;) *however you thirſt more greedily, and more irrelentingly after my blood then the chafed Hart doth after the brooks of water: yet, whenever you have glutted your ſelves with the ſight of it poured out upon the ground: Inſtead of covering it with duſt, caſt not this foul aſperſion or ſlander upon me or it, as if either it or I did or ſhall ſolicit vengeance againſt you for the cruel indignities, which ye have done or ſhall do, either to me or to my followers when I am dead. The blood of my Apoſtles will not ſpeak ſo bad; And my blood ſhall ſpeak much better things for you, then the blood of* Abel *did for his brother* Cain, *then the blood of* Zachariah *whom your Fathers ſlew betwixt the Altar and the Temple did for the then King and the Princes or people of* Judah, *For my heavenly Father hath not ſent me, nor will I give any Commiſſion to my* Followers *or Embaſſadors*

baſſadors to curſe, but to bleſs you; not to wound and deſtroy, but rather to ſave and heal you. If your impenitency and perverſneſs have moved me to ſpeak ſeverely, or threaten you, it is ſtill for your good. Severum medicum æger intemperans facit; *Your obdurate hearts have cauſed me oft-times* (the mildeſt Phyſician that ever took cure of the body or ſoul upon him!) *to uſe tart ſpeeches unto you; yet ſhall it never provoke me to be cruel in my practice. So far am I from ſeeking your blood or harm, that my blood, which you have continually ſought, whenſoever you ſhed it, ſhall make an Attonement for you, ſhall procure a* Free and Gracious General Pardon *for all your ſins, and for all the ſins of your Fore fathers in ſhedding the Blood of Prophets ſent unto them. But when I have done all, when all is done that could be done unto* this Vineyard which my Father planted, *according to the Rules of Equity, of Mercy and Benignity, without wrong or prejudice to* eternal Juſtice; *Unleſs by* ſincere Repentance, *as well for your own ſins, as for the ſins of your Fore-fathers (wherein you have been too deep partakers with them) you ſubmit your ſelves unto my Fathers will, and with all humility crave allowance, of* that moſt Free and Gracious Pardon *which my blood ſhall purchaſe for you and for all the world beſides; The Cry of* Abel*'s and of* Zachariah*'s blood will at the laſt prevail againſt you; the blood of both of them, and of all the Prophets whom your Fore fathers have ſlain, will be* Required *of this Generation in fuller meaſure then it was of thoſe which ſlew them: and this will be a burden too heavy for you to bear; much heavier then the puniſhment of* Cain, *albeit neither my blood nor the blood of any of mine (Apoſtles or Diſciples) do come at all upon the Score or Reckoning, wherewith* Moſes in whom ye truſt, *and the Prophets whoſe Tombs and Sepulchres ye build and garniſh, will be ready to charge you in the day of your Account or Viſitation.* For if the blood of Chriſt or of his Apoſtles had been *Required* at their hands which ſhed it (methinks) this *Emphatical Ingemination, Verily, I ſay unto you, it ſhall be required, &c.* ſhould not be ſo needful and weighty as were all the words uttered by Him, *who ſpake as never man ſpake.*

A *Paraphraſe* or *Exegeſis* of our Saviours meaning or Implication.

How Chriſts death was *A Cauſe* of the *Jews* Calamities.

10. But may we from any or all theſe Premiſſes conclude, that *This preſent Generation was not puniſhed* at all *for putting our Saviour to death?* Or that his death or the indignities done unto *His more then ſacred Perſon* at or before his death, was no Cauſe at all of thoſe Exemplary Puniſhments or unparalled plagues, which fell upon *Jeruſalem* and *Judah*, upon this whole preſent generation? God forbid!

The Queſtion is not, *Whether our Saviours death was any Cauſe at all* of the exemplary puniſhments; but, *What manner of Cauſe it was*; or, *In what ſenſe they may be ſaid to be plagued for wronging him thus.*

We anſwer that the indignities done unto *Him* at his death, and at his arraignment were ſuch Cauſes of the enſuing Woes and Calamities which came upon this Generation, as *Abſentia Nautæ* is *naufragii*; The *Caſe* or *Species facti* is thus. Suppoſe a ſkilful Navigator and experienced Pilot, which had long governed ſome tall and goodly Ship with good ſucceſs in many difficult voyages, ſhould at the length either by the greedineſs of the Owner be caſheerd or inforced to leave his place; and a ſtorm upon his departure ſhould ariſe, and through want of good ſteerage or ſounding ſhould run them on ground or daſh them againſt the rocks, we may ſay without Soleciſme, that *the Abandoning or Abſence of the former Maſter or Pilot was the Cauſe of the ſhipwrack* or the loſs of men or goods, although he neither were any Cauſe of raiſing the ſtorm, nor prayed againſt them (as *Zacharias* did againſt his perſecutors) nor gave them any wrong directions before he left them.

The Son of God in a peculiar manner to the Jews *King of old.*

Now *the Son of God* from the time of his peoples thraldom in *Egypt*, but more eſpecially from the time of their deliverance thence, had been in ***Peculiar manner the King and Governor of the Jews***, in all their Conſultations of Peace or War; their only Pilot in all their ſtorms. And however, throughout their ſeveral Generations they were often grievouſly puniſhed: yet were they alwayes puniſhed, ***Citra condignum***, much leſs then their iniquities had deſerved. Briefly; by His wiſdom he preſerved them ſafe in ſuch diſtreſſes, as without his only ſkill would utterly have overwhelmed the ***State*** and ***Nation*:** And by his Interceſſion prevented the Out-burſting or fall of that hideous ſtorm, which had been ſecretly, and by degrees more inſenſible, gathering againſt them, then that Cloud which *Eliah*'s ſervant ſaw riſing out of the Sea, even from the death of *Zachariah* the ſon of *Jehoiada* and other Prophets and righteous men whoſe blood their Fore-fathers before and after his had ſhed.

But after this laſt Generation had both by expreſs words and practiſe verified that ſaying of God to *Samuel*, ***They have not caſt off thee from being King over them, but they have caſt off Me.*** That other propheſie or ſweetly mild forewarning, for which they took occaſion to ſtone *Zachariah* to death in the Courts of the Lords Houſe, was exactly fulfilled in and upon them. This Propheſie or forewarning we have, 2 *Chron.* 24. verſe 20. ***Thus ſaith God; Why tranſgreſs ye the Commandements of the Lord that ye cannot proſper? becauſe ye have forſaken the Lord, he hath alſo forſaken you.*** This Propheſie with that other of *Samuel* was moſt exactly fulfilled, ***Tam verbis quam factis male ominatis, & mala ominantibus***, when they ſolemnly proteſted before *Pilate*, ***that they had no other King but Cæſar.*** From this time, the hideous ſtorms of Gods wrath and anger againſt them, for their own ſins, and the ſins of their Fore-fathers, did daily increaſe; and at laſt were poured out in full meaſure upon them, when they had ***no Prophet nor any man that underſtood any more; no Signs or Tokens but ſuch as were diſmal***; no ***Pilot*** or ſkilful Governor to ***direct*** them, no pious Prieſt to make ***Interceſſion*** for them. For having thus ſolemnly abandoned ***The Son of God their King and Lord***; who had been their continual Sanctuary; the deſtroying Angels, who had long waited their Opportunity to put their ***Commiſſion*** in Execution, did Arreſt their bodies, delivering up ſome to the Famine, ſome to the Sword, others to the Fowls of the air and Beaſts of the field, and did ſeize upon their Land, which God had given to their Fore-fathers, for the uſe of others, ***even for the moſt wicked of the Heathens***, firſt beſtowing it upon the ***Romans***, afterward upon the ***Saracens***, and laſt of all upon the ***Barbarous Turk***, under whoſe heavy yoke the inheritance and ſome of the poſterity of *Jacob* have long groaned, and ſtill muſt groan until they confeſs their own ſins and the ſins of their Fore-fathers, and ***return unto the Allegiance of their Gracious Lord and Soveraign*** whom their Fore-fathers (this preſent generation in my Text) had crucified. But ſo returning unto him by ***true Repentance*** he will return unto them in mercy, and be as gracious and favourable to the laſt Generations of this miſerable people, as he was of old unto the firſt or beſt of their Fore-fathers. For ***in this Caſe*** eſpecially, and in this and the like ***alone***, that ***Saying*** of our ***Apoſtle***, which ſome in our dayes moſt unadviſedly and impertinently miſ-apply and confine to ***their own particular ſtate in Grace, or Gods Favour***, is moſt true, ***The Gifts of God are without repentance.*** That Lord and God whom they ſolemnly forſook hath not finally forſaken them, but with unſpeakable patience and long-ſuffering ſtill expects ***their Converſion.*** For ***which***,

Pſal. 74. 10.

Luke 4. 6.
Ezek. 7. 21, 24.
Dan. 4. 17.

Chriſtians above all others are bound to pray. Convert them *good Lord* unto the *Knowledge*, and us unto the *Practiſe* of that Truth, vvherewith thou haſt enlightned our ſouls, that our Prayers for them and for our ſelves may ever be acceptable in thy ſight, O Lord our ſtrength and our Redeemer. *Amen, Amen.*

CHAP. XLIV.

The Second Sermon upon this Text.

MATTH. 23. verſe 34, 35, 36.

Wherefore, Behold I ſend unto you Prophets——and ſome of them ye will kill, &c.
That upon you may come all the righteous blood ſhed upon the earth, &c.
Verily I ſay unto you, All theſe things ſhall come upon this Generation.

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2 Chron. 24. 22. *And as he was dying he ſaid, The Lord look upon it, and* Require *it.*

Luke 11. 51. *Verily I ſay unto you*, IT (that is, ver. 50. The blood of all the Prophets ſhed from the Foundation of the world) *ſhall be* Required *of this Generation.*

1. OF ſeveral *Quæries* or *Problems* emergent out of theſe words (propoſed unto this Audience a year ago) *One* (and that one of greateſt difficulty) was; *How the ſins* of former Generations can be *required* of later, ſpecially in ſo great a diſtance of time as was between the death of *Abel* and of *Zachariah*, and this laſt Generation which crucified the Lord of life: the Diſcuſſion whereof is my preſent Task.

See fol. 743. where this was the forth Queſtion propounded. From *Abels* to *Zachariahs* death were 3000 years from *Zach.* to theſe words ſpoken were 8. or 900.

In this diſquiſition you will I hope diſpenſe with me for want of *a formal Diviſion* or *Dichotomy*, becauſe the Channel through which I am to paſs is ſo narrow and ſo dangerouſly beſet with Rocks and ſhelves on the right hand and on the left; as there is no poſſibility for two to go on breſt, nor any room for *Steerage*, but only *Towage*. One paſſage in my Diſquiſition muſt draw another after it, by one and the ſame direct Line.

For firſt, if I ſhould chance to ſay any thing which either *Directly*, or by way of *Conſequence* might propably inferr this Affirmative Concluſion, [*That God doth at any time puniſh the children for the fathers ſins, or later generations for the Iniquities of former;*] This were to contradict that *Fundamental Truth* which the Lord himſelf hath ſo often proteſted by Oath, *Ezek.* 18. 1, 2, &c. *And the Word of the Lord came unto me again, ſaying: What mean ye that ye uſe this Proverb concerning the Land of Iſrael, ſaying; the Fathers have eaten ſour grapes, and the Childrens teeth are ſet on edge? As I live, ſaith the Lord God, ye ſhall not have occaſion any more to uſe this Proverb in* Iſrael. *Behold, all ſouls are mine; as the ſoul of the Father, ſo alſo the ſoul of the Son is mine; the ſoul that ſinneth it ſhall die.* And again, verſe the laſt; *I have no pleaſure in the death of him that dyeth, ſaith the Lord God: wherefore turn your ſelves and live ye.*

Now to contradict any Branch of theſe or the like *Proteſtations* or *Promiſes*, would be to make ſhipwrack of Faith, more dangerous then to ruſh with full ſail upon a Rock of Adamant.

On the other hand, if I ſhould affirm any thing, either directly or indirectly, which might infer any part of this Negative [*That God doth not viſit the ſins of the Fathers upon the Children, or of former Generations upon later:*] This were to ſtrike upon a ſhelf no leſs dangerous then to daſh againſt the former Rock; directly to contradict *Gods ſolemn Declaration* (in the ſecond Commandement) of *His Proceedings in this Caſe*, which are no leſs juſt and equal, then the former *Promiſe, Ezekiel* the 18. By this you ſee *the only ſafe way for paſſage* through the ſtraits propoſed muſt be to find out *the middle Line*, or *Mean*, whether *Medium Abnegationis*, or *Participationis*; or in one word, The difference betwixt this Negative [*God doth not puniſh the Children for the Fathers ſins*] and the other Affirmative [*God viſiteth the ſins of the Fathers upon the Children, even unto the third and fourth Generation*, &c.]

See a following Sermon, on 2 *Kings* 23. 26.

A Generation contains 30 years: betwixt *Manaſſeh*'s and *Joſiahs* death were about 33 years.

The Objection is hardened by taking in *Abels* Blood. *Zechariah* was ſlain 900 years, *Abel* 3800 years before Chriſt ſpoke the words of the Text.

2. But in the very firſt ſetting forth, or entry into this narrow Paſſage, ſome here preſent perhaps have already diſcovered a *ſhelf* or *ſand*, to wit, that the paſſage fore-cited, out of the *ſecond Commandement*, doth better reach or fit the Caſe concerning *Joſiah his death, and the calamity of his people*, then the preſent difficulty or Problem now in handling. For *Joſiah* was but the third in ſucceſſion from *Manaſſeh*, and dyed within fewer years, then a Generation in ordinary Conſtruction imports, after his wicked Grandfather. But if the blood of *Zachariah* the ſon of *Jehoiada*, or other Prophets ſlain in that age, or the Age after him, were required of this preſent Generation; God doth viſit the ſins of Forefathers upon the Children, after more then three or four, after more then *five times five* Generations, according to St. *Matthew*'s account in the Genealogy of our Lord and Saviour. Yet this ſeeming Difficulty (to uſe the Mariners Dialect) is rather an *Over fall* then a *ſhelf*, or at the worſt but ſuch a *ſhelf* or *ſand* as cannot hinder our paſſage *if we ſound it by the Line or Plummet of the Sanctuary*, or number our Fathoms by the ſcale of ſacred Dialect in like Caſes. For when it is ſaid in the Second Commandement, that God doth *viſit the ſins of the Fathers upon the Children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate Him:* This is, *Numerus certus pro incerto aut indefinito:* an expreſſion or ſpeech equivalent to that of the Prophet *Amos. For three tranſgreſſions of* Damaſcus, *and for four I will not turn away the puniſhments thereof. For three tranſgreſſions of* Tyrus, *and for four*; *for three tranſgreſſions of* Ammon, *and for four, &c.* Throughout almoſt every third verſe of the firſt Chapter, and ſome part of the Second. The Prophets meaning is, that all the Kingdoms or ſeveral Sovereignties there mentioned by him, eſpecially *Judah* and *Iſrael* ſhould certainly be puniſhed, not for *three* or *four* only, but for the multitude of their continual tranſgreſſions, and many of them, tranſgreſſions of a high and dangerous nature. Both ſpeeches, as well that in *Amos*, as in the *Second Commandement* (reverently to compare *magna parvis*) are like to that of the Poet,

O terque quaterque beati;

that is, *moſt happy*. So that (*unto the third and fourth generation*) may imply more then *ſeven times ſeven generations*; as many ſeveral ſucceſſions of men or families as have lived ſince *Abels* death unto this preſent day. All this being ſuppoſed or admitted, yet the *Expreſſion of Gods mercies* in the ſame Commandement *unto the children of ſuch as love him and keep his Commandements*, *is a lively Character* of that Truth which we muſt believe, to wit, *That Gods Mercy as far exceedeth his Juſtice towards men, as a thouſand doth three or four*, unleſs they deſperately make up the full meaſure of their own and their Fore-fathers ſins, either by poſitive tranſgreſſions, or by ſlighting, or not repairing in time, unto the out-ſtretched wings of his Mercy. In this Caſe they provoke or pull down the heavy ſtroak of his out-ſtretched Arm of Juſtice.

3. This difficulty in the Entry into or Bar of this narrow paſſage being cleared, we may ſafely proceed by the former way propoſed; that is, by ſearching the *Mean* or ſounding the difference between theſe two Abſolute Truths. 1. [*God never puniſheth the Children for their Fathers ſins.*] Secondly, [*God uſually viſiteth the ſins of the Fathers upon the children,* &c.]

What it is to puniſh Children for their fathers ſake.

The moſt *punctual difference* of theſe two undeniable Truths, to my apprehenſion and Obſervation, is this: *To puniſh the Children for their Fathers ſins, implies a puniſhment of ſome perſons* (be they more or few) *without any perſonal guilt in them, or actual tranſgreſſions committed by them.* And thus to do in awarding puniſhments temporary, whether Capital or Corporal (for with puniſhments everlaſting, or in the world to come, I dare not meddle or interpoſe my verdict) were open injuſtice. The ſons of Traytors or Rebels againſt the Crown and dignity of the State wherein they live, are not by humane laws obnoxious to any Corporal or Capital puniſhment, unleſs they be in ſome degree guilty of their Fathers treaſon or rebellion, not by *miſpriſion* only, but by *Aſſociation.* And however Good Laws do deprive guiltleſs Children of the Lands and Titles of honour which their Fathers enjoyed; yet are they often times upon their good demeanor reſtored to their blood, and to the lands and dignities of their Anceſtors, even by ſuch Princes as are no fit paterns of that Clemency which becometh Princes; Not ſo much as good ſoyls to ſet forth or commend the clemency and benignity of God, if we conſider it, as it is avouched by *Ezekiel* in the eighteenth Chapter. However earthly Princes may demean themſelves towards the guiltleſs or well-deſerving ſons of Traytors or Rebels, the reaſon or intendment of ſevereſt publick Laws in this Caſe provided, was not to lay any puniſhment upon the Children, but rather a Tye or Bond upon their Fathers not to offend in this high kind, ſo often as otherwiſe they would do, ſave only for the love they bear unto their Children and poſterity, or for the fear of tainting their blood, or diſhonouring their Friends and Families. Of the equity or good intendment of ſuch Laws we have the faireſt patern in the fore-cited place of *Ezekiel,* chap. 18.31,32. *Caſt away from you all your tranſgreſſions whereby ye have tranſgreſſed, and make you a new heart and a new ſpirit; For why will ye die O ye houſe of* Iſrael? *For I have no pleaſure in the death of him that dyeth, ſaith the Lord God; wherefore turn your ſelves and live ye.*

What it is to viſit the ſins of fathers, &c

4. *To viſit the ſins of the Fathers upon their Children,* alwaies ſuppoſeth ſome degree of perſonal guilt in the Children: yet ſuch a guilt or ſuch tranſgreſſions as would not be puniſhed ſo grievouſly either for *meaſure* or *manner* as uſually they are, unleſs their Fathers had ſet them bad Examples by ſinning in the ſame or like kind. But the Circumſtances or Conditions which moſt aggravate or bring the heavieſt viſitation of Fathers ſins upon the Children are theſe.

Two particulars haſtning and juſtifying the viſiting of the Fathers ſins upon the Children.

Firſt, if their Fathers have been puniſhed *citra condignum,* that is, in a leſs meaſure or lower degree then their perſonal tranſgreſſions had deſerved.

The Second, if their Fathers puniſhments have been upon *Regiſter* or *Record* ſo remarkably ſuited unto their ſins, that their Children might (as they ought) have taken notice of the occaſions of Gods diſpleaſure againſt them or puniſhing hand upon them.

To draw theſe *Generals* more cloſe unto the *Hypotheſis*, or to joyn them together by annexing ſome particular Inſtances unto them.

Few here preſent can be ſo ignorant either of domeſtick or publick *Statutes* amongſt us, but may eaſily obſerve that the *ſame offence being reiterated* or often committed by one and the ſame party, is, or ought to be, more grievouſly puniſhed for the *ſecund Turn* then for the *firſt*, more grievouſly for the *third time* then for the *ſecond*, more for the *fourth*, then for all *the three former*.

This manner of proceeding in Colledges or Academical Societies, is moſt agreeable to the Ancient Conſtitutions of this Kingdom for the manner of *Proceſſes in Courts Eccleſiaſtick*.

The not appearing upon lawful Summons in Courts Eccleſiaſtick, was for the firſt neglect, but a mulct of Twenty pence according to the Rate of money in thoſe dayes. The ſecond mulct for not appearing upon like Summons did double the firſt; and ſo did the third, and ſecond. The mulct for the fourth neglect did more then double or treble all the former. For the party thus offending the fourth time in the ſame kind, became liable to the Writ *De Excommunicato Capiendo*, without more ado. And this was an heavy puniſhment if it were executed according to *William Rufus his Conſtitutions*.

Note here
1. That God made this Covenant with them and their poſterity in ſucceſſive Generations as with one man, or one aggregate Body or Corporation.
2. It was not only a Covenant of Life and Promiſes, but of Threatnings and death alſo.
God left *Iſrael* a *Regiſter* of Good and Evil.

Now the *Covenant of Life and Death* which God made with the *Seed of Abraham*, or with the Sons of *Jacob* upon their deliverance out of *Ægypt* (afterwards, in more expreſs words, with the houſe of *David*, or tribe of *Judah* throughout their generations) is the true Patern or Authentick leading Caſe of all Juſt and Legal Proceeding, with One and the ſame Party, for often committing the ſame Offence; eſpecially in Caſe he had been ſolemnly fore-warned, whether without any puniſhment at all, or with ſome light puniſhment annexed for the firſt time. Every fore-warning makes the following offence, though in it ſelf not ſo great, a great deal more hainous and liable to more grievous puniſhment.

5. To take a more particular view of the *peculiar Aſpect*, which theſe heavenly Lights (Gods Laws I mean) had to the Seed of *Jacob*, or Kingdom of *Iſrael* and *Judah*: For in reſpect of other Kingdoms or Nations their aſpect admits ſome variation: To keep the ſeed of *Jacob* upright in the wayes of Faithful *Abraham*, the God of their fathers left them a Twofold Regiſter to be perpetually continued by his Prophets or other ſacred Writers. The One, conteining their fore-fathers good deeds and the proſperity which alwayes did attend them. The Other, of their fore-fathers groſſeſt ſins or tranſgreſſions, and of the calamities which purſued them. The former Regiſter was to encourage them to do that which was good and acceptable in his ſight. The other, to deter them from evil, from turning aſide from him and his Laws. *The manner of Gods augmenting the puniſhments* or plagues upon ſucceeding Generations, which would not take warning by the puniſhments of their forefathers, uſually runs by *the ſcale of ſeven*.

Every man that ſeeth me (ſaith *Cain*, after the Lord had convented him, for killing his brother) *will kill me*; whereas, there was not a man in the world beſides his father and himſelf; But *a mans Conſcience* (as we ſay) *is a thouſand witneſſes*: And his Conſcience did ſufficiently convict him, to have deſerved Execution, whereas there was neither Witneſs nor Executioner.

According to this Sentence engraven in this murtherous heart, did God afterwards enjoyn *Noah*, and gave it in expreſs Commandement under his hand to *Moſes* [*Whoſoever doth ſhed mans blood, by man ſhall his blood be ſhed.*] If this Law were Juſt amongſt the *Iſraelites*, why was it not executed upon *Cain the firſt Malefactor in this kind*? Nay, why doth God expreſly exempt him from it, and puniſh him with exile only? Doubtleſs this was from His Gracious Univerſal Goodneſs, which alwayes threats before it ſtrike, offereth favour before he proceed to Judgment, and mingleth Judgment with Mercy, before he proceed in rigor of Juſtice. Now **Cain** had no former warning how diſpleaſant murther was to God, and therefore is not ſo ſeverely puniſhed, as every murtherer after him muſt be. For ſo it is ſaid, *Gen.* 4. 15. *Whoſoever ſlayeth Cain, vengeance ſhall be taken on him ſeven-fold.* Yet for any of *Seths* Poſterity to have killed murtherous *Cain*, had been a ſin in its nature far leſs then for *Cain* to murther his righteous brother: yet (by Rule of divine Juſtice) to be more grievouſly puniſhed then *Cains* murther was; becauſe, *in him they had their Warnings.*

How neglect of Gods forewarnings paſt, haſtens judgments; See this Author's ſecond Sermon upon *Jer.* 26.

6. The ſame Proportion God obſerves in viſiting the ſins of Fathers upon their Children. So *in that Great Covenant of Life and Death* made with the *Iſraelites, Levit.* 26. 14, 15, 16. After promiſe of extraordinary bleſſings to the Obſervers of his Law, the Lord thus threatneth the tranſgreſſors; *But if ye will not hearken unto me, and will not do all theſe Commandements: And if ye deſpiſe my Statutes, or if your ſoul abhor my Judgments, ſo that ye will not do all my Commandements, but that ye break my Covenant; I alſo will do* this *unto you, I will even appoint over you terror, conſumption, &c.* But if for all this they will not yet turn unto him, he will plague them ſtill with the purſuit of their enemies. Nay it followeth, verſe 18. *And if ye will not hearken unto me, then will I puniſh you ſeven times more for your ſins*; and if all this will not reclaim them, theſe later plagues ſhall be *ſeven times multiplyed*, and this third plague *three hundred forty three times* greater then the firſt: and the fourth Tranſgreſſion ſhall likewiſe be multiplied by ſeven: So that the ſame Apoſtaſie or rebellion, not amended after ſo many warnings (if we may call the literal meaning to ſtrict Arithmetical Account) ſhall in the end be *One thouſand one hundred ninety ſeven times* more ſeverely puniſhed then the firſt. But it is likely, that a Certain Number was put for an uncertain.

That the viſitation of ſins of Fathers upon their Children, may be continued ſeventy Generations, even from the firſt giving of the Law by *Moſes* unto the worlds End, is apparent, from the verſes following, *Lev.* 26. 37. unto This: [*Yet will the Lord ſtill remember the Covenant made with* Abraham, *&c.*]

For not putting *this Rule* or *Law* [*of confeſſing their fathers ſins*] in practiſe, the Children of that Generation which put our Lord and Saviour to death, are puniſhed this day with greater hardneſs of heart, then the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* were. For however *They* were the *very Paterns of Hypocriſie*, yet had they ſo much ſenſe or feeling of conſcience, that they did utterly diſlike their Fore-fathers Actions, and thought to ſuper-erogate for their Fathers tranſgreſſions, by erecting the Tombs, or garniſhing the Sepulchres of the Prophets whom their Fathers had murthered or ſtoned to death. But theſe modern ſcattered *Jews* will not to this day confeſs their Fore-fathers ſins, nor acknowledge that they did ought amiſs, in putting to death the *Prince of Prophets* and *Lord of Life*. And their Fathers ſins, until they confeſs them, are become their ſins; and ſhall be viſited upon them.

How Children are bound to repent of Fathers ſins. See this Authors ſecond Sermon on *Jer.* 26.

To confeſs the ſins of their Fathers, according to the intendment or purpoſe of Gods Law, implies an *hearty Repentance* for them, and repentance truly hearty implies not only an *Abſtinence from the ſame* or like tranſgreſſions wherewith their Fathers had provoked Gods wrath, *but a zealous Deſire or Endeavour to glorifie God by conſtant Practiſe of the Contrary vertues* or works of Piety. This Doctrinal Concluſion may eaſily be inferred from the afore-cited 18. of *Ezekiel.*

7. *Sin is more catching then the Peſtilence*, and no marvel if the plagues due for it to the Father, in the courſe or doom of Juſtice ſeize on the Son; ſeeing the contagion of ſin, ſpreads from the unknown Malefactor to his neighbors; from the Fields wherein it is by Paſſengers committed, into the bordering Cities or Villages; unleſs the Attonement be made by Sacrifice and ſuch ſolemn deprecation of guilt as the Law in this Caſe appoints, *Deut.* 21. 1, 2. &c. *If one be found ſlain in the Land which the Lord thy God giveth thee to poſſeſs it, lying in the field, and it be not known who hath ſlain him: Then thy Elders and Judges ſhall come forth, and ſhall meaſure to the Cities which are round about him that is ſlain. And it ſhall be, that the City which is next unto the ſlain man, even the Elders of that City, ſhall take a Heifer which hath not been wrought with, and which hath not drawn the yoak. And that City ſhall bring down the Heifer into a rough valley, which is neither eared nor ſown, and ſhall ſtrike off the Heifers neck there in the valley: And the Prieſts the ſons of* Levi *ſhall come neer (for them the Lord thy God hath choſen to miniſter unto him, and to bleſs in the name of the Lord, and by their word ſhall every controverſie and ſtroke be tryed.) And all the Elders of that City that are next to the ſlain man, ſhall waſh their hands over the Heifer, that is to be beheaded in the valley; And they ſhall anſwer and ſay; Our hands have not ſhed this blood, neither have our eyes ſeen it; Be merciful, O Lord, unto thy people Iſrael, whom thou haſt redeemed, and lay not innocent blood unto thy People of* Iſraels *charge, and the blood ſhall be forgiven them. So ſhalt thou put away the guilt of innocent blood from among you, when thou ſhalt do that which is right in the ſight of the Lord.* The nearer unto us Actual Tranſgreſſors be, the more they ſhould provoke our zealous endeavors for performance of contrary duties; otherwiſe Gods Juſtice will in time over-ſway his mercy; and plagues, firſt procured by ſome one or few mens ſins, will diffuſe themſelves from the Actual Tranſgreſſors deceaſed unto the whole living Hoaſt, and be propagated from poſterity to poſterity, though no perſonal Actors. It is matter of death to be meer Spectators or Idle By-ſtanders, where all are bound to take their Cenſers and make Atonement.

8. But I have gone far enough in this narrow Paſſage for Clearing the Difficulties, which concern the Doctrinal part of my Text; ſo far, that we may without the help of Perſpective or Spectacles diſcover the point where it opens it ſelf into a wide Sea or Ocean of uſeful Applications for all Times, Places and Perſons: Eſpecially for ſuch as ſit at the Stern, or are any way intereſted in the Government of the great Ship of State. But the time will not ſerve me, or if it did, I never had liſt to become the States-mans Remembrancer out of the Academical Pulpit, nor to exhort or reprove Academicks in the Court or Preſence of States-men.

A ſhort Application.

The reſidue of my meſſage for this preſent is to you, (Men, Fathers and Brethren) to you eſpecially unto whom the Lord hath delegated the Government or overſight of others (including my ſelf in the number.) My meſſage ſhall be very brief, only This; That we never ſeek to maintein, either the dignity of our places or means of private gain or advantages by the examples or practiſes of our Fore-fathers or Predeceſſors. For this would be the moſt compendious way, by which the old wily Serpent could either lead or drive us, to make up the meaſure of our Fore-fathers or Predeceſſors ſins. As common charity binds us to hope the beſt of their eſtate or perſons, and not to ſpeak the worſt of their proceedings: ſo, True Charity towards our own ſouls permits us to ſuppoſe, that many things have been done ſo far amiſs by them, as by the fore-cited Laws of God, will bind us, whilſt we beſeech him to forgive us our own ſins, ſo to forgive us alſo the ſins of our Fore-fathers or Predeceſſors, that if they have oppreſſed any by fraud or violence, or by unconſcionable uſing advantages of humane Laws; that he would give us Grace *to deal our bred unto the hungry, to cover the naked with a garment:* That if they have diſhonoured Gods Name by intemperance or other *impure manner of living*, he would grant the aſſiſtance of his Grace unto our Endeavors for glorifying his Name *by ſanctity of life in his ſight*, and by integrity of converſation amongſt men. That if they have offended him by Superſtition, by falſe Doctrine or Hereſie, he would ſo bleſs our miniſterial function or other endeavors in our ſeveral Callings, that we may lead others in the wayes of truth from which they have erred or cauſed others to err.

To the Curteous Reader, An Advertiſement of the Publiſhers.

THis *Great Author (as may be ſeen Fol.* 742, *and* 743.) *had raiſed* Six Queſtions *out of the Text: and in the Two laſt paſt Sermons (or Chapters) had ſpoken to* Four, *(the firſt four) of thoſe* Six Queſtions.

To the Sixth or laſt of them, *he intended not to ſay any thing* there; *becauſe he had ſpoken* thereto *in divers places of his Writings, and namely* in the fourteenth and fifteenth Chapters of the ſeventh Book; and in his Firſt Sermon upon *2 Chronicles* 6. 39.

But he hath neither as yet here *(I mean, in the two laſt Sermons) nor elſewhere, that I can refer the Reader to, ſpoken any thing concerning the* Fifth Queſtion: *Which is* One Reaſon *why I ſubjoyn the enſuing* Fragment *or* Appendix *having ſomething in it relating to* That. *And (that I may give the Reader a punctual Account of every particular) It comes to be as a* Fragment *or* Appendix, *Thus. The Author had written a very* Large Tractate *upon* Matth. 23. 34, *&c. Out of this* Tractate, *upon Occaſion, himſelf had excerpt the two next fore-printed* Sermons. *Leaving out ſuch things as I eſteem (ſo will the Reader I hope) very worthy to be inſerted. And I chuſe rather to prejudice the Author by Publiſhing them in this way, then by ſtifling them to deprive the Reader of the Benefit and delight of them. In ſum; What follows in this* Appendix, *may by* eaſie obſervation *be referred, either,*

1. *To our* Authors Opinion *declared in anſwering* the Third Queſtion *(which, I confeſs, was* New *to me, and may perhaps ſeem to others* A Paradox:) *viz.* That our Saviours Tranſcendent Goodneſs ſo interpoſed, That His own and His Apoſtles Blood was not required of them that ſhed it.

Or 2. *To the* Fourth Queſtion, How Fathers ſins are viſited upon the Children?

Tom. III.

Or to the Fifth Queſtion; Is it lawful for any of Chiſts followers in *Zacharias* his Caſe to uſe the like Imprecation [*Lord look upon it, and require it?*]

Or laſtly, to the Sixth Queſtion; With what intent God ſent Prophets, &c. *which is proved* To be out of mercy, and to recall them from ſin, *By two very appoſit Texts. The One,* 2 Chron. 24. 19. *The Other,* 2 Chron. 36. 15.

An Appendix to the two next precedent SERMONS.

1. WE do not; God forbid we ſhould deny, *This laſt Generations perſonal offences againſt our Saviour to have been moſt heynous*, moſt meritorious of exemplary puniſhment in this life. But I know not how it comes to paſs, that many Chriſtian Writers, partly by meaſuring the grievouſneſs of the *Jews* offences amiſs; partly by deriving their plagues from a wrong root, do nurſe ſuch ſecurity in their hearers, as was in theſe *Jews*; And occaſion them to make up the meaſure of theſe later *Jews* ſins, as they did the meaſure of their Fore-fathers.

This refers to the third Queſtion propounded Fol. 743. handled Fol. 747.

In civil Juſtice we know the ſame abuſe is much greater, and more grievouſly puniſhed, whilſt offered to an Officer, though but a Petty Conſtable, then to a meer private man; greater to a Juſtice of Peace, then to a Conſtable, though greater to a Juſtice of Aſſiſe, then to an ordinary Juſtice; but Greateſt of all unto the Prince himſelf. Thus we imagine the puniſhment inflicted upon thoſe *Jews* for their offences againſt our Saviour to have been ſo much more grievous, then any puniſhment for the ſame offence againſt the Prophets, or any Temporal Prince, as Chriſt was greater and better then the Prophets, or earthly Princes.

In this ſhort Collection, notwithſtanding there be three groſs Inconſequences.

Firſt: Admitting, that every degree of dignity in the party offended (as much as can be demanded) brings forth a correſpondent degree of exceſs in the offence, ſuppoſing the matter of the offence to be (*quoad cætera*) equal: Yet, what proportion one degree hath to another, or unto what height any perſonal offence, though againſt our Saviour Himſelf, could by this reckoning amount, is only poſſible for Infinite Wiſdom to determine.

Secondly, Admitting every perſonal offence againſt Chriſt to be infinite in all ſuch as believe him to be truly God, yet the *Jews* Caſe may differ, becauſe they took him to be but Man.

Thirdly, Admitting their perſonal offences againſt him to have been the moſt grievous ſins, that ever were, or could be committed; This will not infer the Concluſion intended by *Maldonate* and others, That the plagues here threatned by our Saviour muſt wholly be aſcribed to the murthering of Him and his Apoſtles, without any Reference to the ſlaughter of Gods Prophets.

See Fol. 342. and Book 8. in quarto pag. 142.

The *Infiniteneſs of the Perſon offended makes up but one and not the greateſt Dimenſion in the body of ſin:* the Solidity or heynouſneſs of it muſt be derived from another Root. And though it be moſt true, that every ſin is an offence againſt an *Infinite Majeſtie*; yet is He, whoſe *Majeſtie is Infinite* in a manner infinitely more offended with ſome ſins, then with others.

2. Ignorance of thoſe great myſteries (*which we believe and acknowledge*) did ſomewhat mitigate the *Jews* offences, as perſonal againſt our Saviour, and excuſe their Perſons a *Tanto*, though not a *Toto*. *We ſpeak the Wiſdom of God——which none of the Princes of this world knew*; for had they known it, *they would not have crucified the Lord of Glory*, 1 Cor. 2. 7, 8. And again, *They of* Jeruſalem, *and their Rulers becauſe they knew him not, nor yet the voices of the Prophets, they have fulfilled them in condemning him, Acts* 13. 27. St. *Peter* hath avouched as much upon his own knowledge, as St. *Paul* did, in mitigation of theſe Jews offence. *And now brethren I wot that out of ignorance ye did it, as did alſo your Rulers, Acts* 3. *verſe* 17. Some rigid Accuſer of theſe hateful men would perhaps reply that they were *ignorant through their own default*. All this being granted, their fault lies properly in the true and immediate Cauſe of their Ignorance, not in that ignorance which was no otherwiſe Cauſe of their actual murther, then by not reſtraining their malice, which firſt brought forth ignorance, and then murther. What then were the true and proper Cauſes, of their malicious Ignorance? *Self-conceit of their own righteouſneſs, pride, ambition, covetouſneſs*; unto all which, as alſo to their *obdurateneſs in all theſe*, and like enormities; ſuch partial apprehenſions of their fathers idolatry and cruelty in killing the Prophets, as we have of their hypocriſie and cruelty againſt Chriſt, did concur as *Acceſſary* or *Cauſes Collateral*. Being ſo much addicted to covetouſneſs, to pride and ambition, and ſo ſelf-conceited of their own righteouſneſs in reſpect of other men, it was impoſſible they ſhould not do as they did. Theſe Collections to my apprehenſion are the ſame with that of our Saviour; *He that believeth not, is condemned already, becauſe he hath not believed in the name of the only begotten Son of God. And this is their condemnation*: What? That they went about to kill Chriſt? No; but *that light is come into the world, and men loved darkneſs rather then light*. But why did they ſo? *Becauſe their deeds were evil. For every one that doth evil hateth the light*. He that now is otherwiſe as evil, as they were before Chriſt came, would have hated him and his Diſciples, as much as they did, and is as liable, as they were to any puniſhment, which they ſuffered for their treſpaſſes againſt him. Suppoſe he had come into the world in the dayes of *Joaſh*, who put *Zachariah* to death, done the ſame works, uſed the ſame admonitions and reproofs to have recalled that headſtrong generation from Idolatry, which he did to reclaim the Scribes and Phariſees from their hypocriſie and malice; Gods Prophets, which knew their temper, would not (I am perſwaded) have been too forward *to have been their Bails* for much better behaviour towards *their Lord and Maſter*, then they had ſhewed towards themſelves his ſervants. St. *Stephens* Cenſure of this People from time to time; [*Ye do alwayes reſiſt the holy Ghoſt: As your fathers did, ſo do ye.*] gives us occaſion to ſuſpect that they were ſometimes afore Chriſts time ſo wicked, as if he had come in their dayes, they would have done as this later generation did. But theſe have killed him *De Facto*; Their ſin notwithſtanding is not hereby greater then theirs, that would have been as forward to kill him, if he had given them the like provocation. For ſo his manifeſtation in the fleſh ſhould neceſſarily have made this later Generation worſe then any former had been, and God had dealt leſs graciouſly with them in preſenting his Son unto them, then with their wicked fathers which never had ſeen him. But againſt theſe and the like neceſſary Conſequences of the former Poſition, our Saviour proteſts; *God ſent not his Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through him*

Luke 23. 34. *They know not what they do.*

Doth God puniſh men for what they would have done in ſuch and ſuch Caſes? Quære.

might

might be ſaved, John 3.17. And this ſalvation was firſt (out of love no doubt) to be tendred unto *Jeruſalem* and her children.

3. The Iſſue of theſe Deductions in brief is this; The Scribes and Phariſees did no way exceed their fathers in wickedneſs, unleſs perhaps in Hypocriſie or unwillingneſs to be reclaimed. Chriſt was a better teacher then the Prophets were, and unto us it is manifeſt, that theſe Scribes and Phariſees, which would not learn goodneſs of him, were moſt wickedly wilfull; but whether more wicked or wilfull, then any of their fathers before, or others, that lived ſince that time have been, is more then man can determine. It muſt be left to his judgment, which judgeth not as man doth, by the Event, but by clear ſight of the heart. For the ſame reaſon it cannot be reſolved, whether they that put our Saviour to death were greater ſinners then King *Joaſh* and his Princes: Only this we know and muſt believe, *That theſe later did fill up the meaſure of their Fore fathers iniquity*; that the complement of their iniquity being come, the vials of Gods wrath were poured more plentifully upon this laſt Generation, then upon any former, but ſhould not have been ſo plentifully poured upon it, unleſs *Zacharias* and the Prophets had been ſo deſperately ſlain by their fathers. And for any Argument that can be brought to the contrary, *had Chriſt been crucified, when* Zacharias *was ſlain*, *and* Zacharias *ſlain when he was crucified* (all other proper Circumſtances of each Fact (beſides this change of time) continuing the ſame) it is probable from my Text, That *Gods judgments upon this Nation, had been leſs in the former age then they were*; *and more grievous, more ſudden and terrible in the later, then are now recorded.* Nor can this Conſequence be any whit prejudiced, albeit we grant the practiſes of cruelty againſt our Saviour to have been ſeven hundred thouſand times more heynous in themſelves, then any could have been attempted againſt *Zacharias.*

According to this opinion; *Matth* 12.32. may have a very commodious Interpretation.

The deſtruction of our Saviours Enemies, upon the firſt Arreſt or ſhameleſs abuſe of *His ſacred Body*, in juſtice might, and (*without his Interceſſion*) perhaps would have been more ſudden and dreadful then *Sodom* was. Obdurate pride, unrelenting cruelty and general impenitencie for other foul ſins, as they concerned the *Whole Trinity*, or were matter of ſin againſt the *Holy Ghoſt*, he could not remit or make interceſſion for them in the dayes of his fleſh, but is to call their Authors to ſtrict account, as he is the Judge of quick and dead: But he that by vertue of his *Commiſſion, as Son of man* did freely forgive all other ſins, did (as my Text imports) remit *all perſonal offences, as they only concerned himſelf* and did not ſuffer the fruits or effects of theſe later *Jews* malice to come upon *Jeruſalems* ſcore for ſhedding of righteous blood. It was not his Will to have any, more grievouſly puniſhed for being maliciouſly bent againſt him, then they ſhould otherwiſe have been for the unrelenting habitual bent of their malice againſt whomſoever it had been ſet. Never was bitter enmity practiſed againſt any ſo little deſirous of revenge, or ſo unwilling to accuſe his enemies, as he was, for ſo he proteſts unto the *Jews* which ſought his life. *Do not think that I will accuſe you to the Father, there is one that accuſeth you, even* Moſes, *in whom ye truſt, John* 5. *v.* 45. *Moſes*, though (till Chriſt came) *the meekeſt man*, that had been *on earth*, had foretold and ſolemnly threatned thoſe plagues, whoſe execution moſt of the Prophets had ſollicited. But this *Great Prophet* beyond all meaſure of meekneſs and patience, whereof humanity, ſo but meer humanity, is capable, ſeeks by prayer, by reproof, by admonitions and exhortations, by all means juſtly poſſible to prevent them; he often forewarns what would be the iſſue of their ſtubbornneſs, which he never mentions but with grief and ſorrow of heart; he often intimates, that the moſt malicious murtherer amongſt this people was not ſo deſirous of his death, as he was of all their lives, witneſs his affectionate prayers ſeaſoned with ſighs and tears, even whiles they plotted the execution of their long intended miſchief againſt him.

4. That which firſt moved me to make, and muſt juſtifie the interpretation of theſe words here made, is *a remarkable Oppoſition* expreſly recorded in Scripture *betwixt our Saviours and his Diſciples deſires* uttered at their death for this peoples good, and the cry of *Abels blood*, and *Zachariah's dying voice, both ſolliciting* vengeance from Heaven againſt their perſecutors. *When they were come to the place, called* Calvary, *they crucified him; Then ſaid Jeſus, Father forgive them; for they know not what they do*, *Luke* 23. *ver.* 33. This *Infinite Charity*, notwithſtanding, ſome (alwayes jealous, leaſt God ſhould ſhew any token of love towards ſuch as they miſlike, or Chriſt manifeſt any deſire of their ſalvation, whom they have markt *for Reprobates*) would have reſtrained unto the Garriſon of Souldiers that conducted him to the Croſs. But Reaſons we have many to think, or rather *firmly* to believe, that he uttered thoſe Prayers *Indefinitely for all*, that either were *Actors* in this buſineſs, or *Approvers* of it, whether *Jews* or *Gentiles*: And if both his *Doctrines* and Miracles, whiles he lived on earth (as all muſt acknowledge) did, why ſhould not his *dying Prayers* in the firſt place reſpect the *loſt ſheep of Iſrael? Roman Souldiers* they were not, but *Jews* of the moſt malignant ſtamp, which martyred St. *Stephen*; yet after he had commended his ſpirit unto *Jeſus* in near the ſame terms, that Jeſus did his unto his Father, *he kneeled down, and cried with a loud voice, Lord lay not this ſin to their charge; And when he had ſaid this he fell aſleep, Acts* 7. 60. It is no ſin I hope to ſuppoſe, that *the Maſter* was every way as charitable at his death as his Diſciple. It is requiſite that he, which bids us *bleſs our perſecutors*, ſhould ſet us a more exquiſite patern, then we are able to expreſs; His prayers for his greateſt perſecutors were more fervent and unfeigned, then ours can be for our deareſt friends. St. *Stephen* in thus praying for his enemies did but imitate his Maſter, and bear witneſs of his loving kindneſs towards all. But when *Cain* had killed *Abel*, the voice of *his blood cried unto the Lord from the earth*; and the cry procured a curſe upon him; for the earth became barren unto him, and he was a fugitive and vagabond from the Land, wherein he lived before: Herein (as St. *Auguſtine* excellently obſerves) a Type of the Jewiſh Nation, who having the prerogative of birthright amongſt Gods People, for the like ſin became fugitives and vagabonds on the face of the earth, whilſt the good Land, which God gave unto their fathers had been curſt with barrenneſs and deſolation for their ſakes. And *this Cry of* Abels *blood againſt his brother, God would have regiſtred in the beginning of his book, as a Proclamation againſt all like impious and bloody Conſpiracies until the worlds end:* Whereby the *Jews*, to whom the manner of Gods proceſs with *Cain*, was ſufficiently known, were condemned *Ipſo Facto*, without any further ſolicitation of Gods judgments, then their own attempts of like practiſes. No marvel if his puniſhment foreſhadow theirs, when as never any did ſo manifeſtly and notoriouſly revive his ſin, as this Generation here ſpoken of did. *Cain* (ſaith St. *John*) *was of that wicked one, and ſlew his brother? And wherefore ſlew he him? Becauſe his own works were evil, and his brothers righteous*, 1 *John* 3. 12. *Ye are of your father the Devil* (ſaith our Saviour to theſe *Jews*) *and the luſts of your father ye will do; he was a murtherer from the beginning*; *John* 8. *v.* 44.

And why did they go about to murther him ?

Becauſe he had told them the truth which he had heard of God, *ver.* 40. And as he had taught before in the third of S. *John*, *They would not receive him*, *although he came as a light into the world, becauſe their deeds were evil.*

Moſes had foretold, That *the Great Prophet*, *was to be this peoples Brother*; and, in that they would not hearken to him, they ſtood condemned by *Moſes's* Sentence; *Deut.* 18. 18. *Whoſoever will not hearken unto my words, which he ſhall ſpeak in my name, I will require it of him*, *v.* 19.

Abel, as pleaſing God by his ſacrifice, and as being ſlain by his ungratious brother, was the *live Type of Chriſt*, as man, whoſe murther by his brethren, though moſt diſpleaſant, yet his ſacrifice was moſt acceptable unto his God. The ſame God, which in the fourth of *Geneſis* admoniſheth *Cain*, partly by threatning, partly by promiſes, *to deſiſt from his wicked purpoſes*, *doth here in my Text* as lovingly, and yet as ſeverely dehort theſe *Jews* from following his foot-ſteps, leaſt his puniſhments fall heavier upon them: And they not taking warning by *Cain's* example (to repent them of their envie and grudging againſt their brother) *the Cry not of Chriſts blood which they ſhed*, but of *Abel's*, overtakes them; for *Chriſt was conſecrated as the Sanctuary, or place of Refuge, whereto they ſhould have fled*; And *Abel* was the *Revenger of blood*, which did purſue them. So likewiſe doth the *Cry* of *Zacharias's* at his death; (for that was quite contrary to *our Saviours* and St. *Stephen's*) *When he died he ſaid; The Lord look upon it, and require it*, 2 Chron. 24 22. The preſent effect of this his dying ſpeech compared with St. *Lukes* narration of Our Saviours Admonition, affords the true Comment on my Text, *Therefore* (*ſaid the wiſdom of God*) *I will ſend them Prophets and Apoſtles, and ſome of them they ſhall ſlay*; *That the blood of all the Prophets ſhed from the foundation of the world, may be required of this generation, from the blood of* Abel *unto the blood of* Zacharias; *Verily I ſay unto you, it ſhall be required of this generation*, Luke 11. v. 49, 50, 51. The Emphatical reſuming of the Terms which *Zacharias* uſed [*It ſhall be required of this Generation*] implies as much, as if our Saviour had ſaid, *The day of vengeance and execution, which* Zacharias *ſolicited againſt your fathers for their* Apoſtaſie *from God, and their* Cruelty *towards him, is yet to come. His innocent blood, which was in part required of that wicked King and the Princes which ſhed it, ſhall be required in fuller meaſure of* this generation, *which is more bloodily minded then that was, and herein worſe then all the former, in that it will not take warning, either by* Cain's *puniſhment*, *or the calamities which befel this people for their cruelty towards* Zacharias *and other Prophets*: For the Army of the *Syrians* came with a ſmall company, and the Lord delivered a very great hoaſt into their hands, becauſe they had forſaken the Lord; So they executed judgment againſt *Joaſh*; And left him in great diſeaſes; and his own ſervants conſpired againſt him for the blood of the ſons of *Jehoiadah* the Prieſt, and ſlew him, 2 *Chron.* 24. 24, 25.

This relates to the fifth Queſtion.

5. Yet ſome there be which queſtion, *Whether* Zacharias *did not uſe theſe words only by way of Propheſie*, fearing belike, leaſt his uſing of them by way of *Curſe*, or *Imprecation*, might argue he died not in perfect charity. But ſeeing he was a Prophet, he might foreſee many reaſons unknown to us, not to pray for them, but againſt them. Or if out of the bitterneſs of his ſoul, or indignation at this graceleſs Kings ingratitude, he did thus pray againſt him, and his people; we may not condemn him of ſin, although *it would be a damnable ſin in us to imitate him in like Caſes*;

Nor is it neceſſary we ſhould think he did wiſh their eternal deſtruction, but only indefinitely deſire, that God would not ſuffer ſuch an *Execrable Conſpiracie* to go unpuniſhed, leaſt others ſhould be emboldened to do the like. And though we know not upon what motives or warrants all other Prophets of God, or Types of Chriſt, in their perplexity and diſtreſs ſo zealouſly pray for vengeance againſt their malicious perſecutors: yet we ſhould know *One true Uſe or End of theſe their uſual practiſes to be this; that the world might note the difference between them, and the promiſed Meſſias*; who though he had ſuffered greater indignities, more open ſhame, and more grievous vexations at this peoples hands, then all his fore-runners had done: yet never complains, never prayes againſt them, but for them, even whiles they crucifie him. This his *peculiar Character* argues he came into the world *not to condemn, but to ſave it.* And when his Diſciples deſire him to call down fire from heaven, as *Elias* did, he derives *his ſharp Check* from this Principle, which they ſhould have known; *Ye know not what Spirit ye are of; for the Son of God is not come to deſtroy mens lives, but to ſave them, Luke* 9. 55. Did then *Elias* or *Eliſha* his Scholar ſin in taking vengeance upon the enemies of their God? Who dare avouch it? Or if to execute vengeance were lawful to them, *as they were Prophets*, was it unlawful for *Zacharias* upon greater perſonal indignities to deſire the Lord would revenge his death? *Yet Chriſts Diſciples might not do ſo, becauſe they were to be of another Spirit*, as having a better example ſet by their Maſter at his death.

6. But whence is it, that *Zacharias*'s curſe ſhould take better effect againſt this Generation, which had never offended him, never known him, then our Saviours prayers powred out for their ſafety, whiles he offered himſelf in ſacrifice? Was it poſſible, *Zacharias*'s ſpirit of curſing and indignation ſhould be ſtronger, ſo long after his death, then the ſpirit of prayer and bleſſing was in *the Redeemer of Iſraels* living mouth? God forbid! Rather this Generation by reviving their Fore-fathers ſins, awaked Gods Juſtice to renew their plagues; and by their impenitency made themſelves uncapable of that *General Pardon*, which Chriſt had procured for all that be penitent, or would rightly uſe it: But neither did he pray, that their ſtubbornneſs might be pardoned, nor did *Zachariah*'s curſe make them ſtubborn. *Their impenitency is from themſelves*, and whiles they continue ſtubborn and impenitent, they can have *no Allowance of that General Pardon*, which they will not plead or ſtand to, as ſtanding too much upon their own integrity. Since Chriſts Death they have been perpetually puniſhed for their impenitencie, yet not puniſhed with perpetual impenitencie for putting him to death.

This relates to the third Queſtion.

But take we them, as they are in their impenitency, may we think they were thus grievouſly puniſhed for ſhedding *His Blood*, or for the blood of *Abel*, *Zacharias*, and other Prophets, unjuſtly ſhed by their Forefathers? for their perſonal hatred againſt him *as the Son of God*; or for their habitual hatred and oppoſition unto that truth which made his perſon and preſence, as it had done all the Prophets before him, ſo hateful unto them?

They were plagued queſtionleſs for that Blood which was required *of them; And that was* Zachariahs's *and* Abel's *Blood, not* Chriſts.

After the Citation of *Lev.* 26. 14. &c. and multiplication of the plagues by ſeven, This followed, relating to the fourth Queſtion.

7. That this multiplication of puniſhment cannot be meant only of the ſame perſons multiplying the ſame or the like offences, but withal of different ages or ſucceſſions, is apparent, partly becauſe it is ſpoken generally of the whole State or Nation; partly from the different *ſpecifical quality*, or extent of the plagues here mentioned, often inflicted on ſeveral genera-

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generations of the *Iſraelites*; But ſpecially from the Tenour and purpoſe of the Law it ſelf, ſtrictly enjoyning the ſcattered Reliques of this people, after execution of the laſt plague, *To confeſs the iniquity of their Fathers,* as an eſpecial Duty to be performed on their parts, and as a neceſſary mean in Gods Ordination for their Abſolution, or deliverance. And if without *Confeſſion of their fathers iniquity*, they cannot be *abſolved from their own*; their fathers iniquity not repented of, was their own; ſo was the puniſhment due unto it. *The Conſequence is evident to Reaſon*, but more evident from the expreſs words of the Text; *Ye ſhall periſh among the heathen, and the land of your enemies ſhall eat you up. And they that are left of you, ſhall pine away in their iniquity in your enemies lands, and alſo in the iniquities of their fathers ſhall they pine away with them. If they ſhall (then) confeſs the iniquities of their fathers, with their treſpaſs, which they treſpaſſed againſt me, and that alſo they have walked contrary unto me. And that I have alſo walked contrary unto them, and have brought them into the land of their enemies; If then their uncircumciſed hearts be humbled, and they then accept of the puniſhment of their iniquity. Then will I remember my Covenant with* Jacob, *and alſo my Covenant with* Iſaac, *and alſo my Covenant with* Abraham *will I remember, and I will remember the land.*

Lev. 26. 38.

Gods Covenant is with his people (whether *Jews* or *Gentiles*) and their children joyntly: *Every Child is born*, as it were, *heir to his Fathers ſins* and their plagues, unleſs he renounce them by taking their guilt upon him in ſuch hearty Confeſſion, as this law preſcribes, and patient ſubmiſſion of himſelf to Gods correction. To ſatisfie Gods juſtice for the leaſt treſpaſs committed by our Anceſtors is impoſſible; But to avert their juſt puniſhment from our ſelves, by unfeigned Converſion unto God in thoſe particulars, wherein our fathers have forſaken him, is a duty poſſible, becauſe neceſſary to every faithful ſoul. As if the father have been an unconſcionable gatherer or cruel oppreſſor, the ſon is more ſtrictly bound, then otherwiſe he were, to abound in works of mercy towards the poor; to give liberally to ſuch as need; to lend freely to ſuch as deſire rather their kindneſs then meer Alms. If the father have been a blaſphemer, or grievous ſwearer, the ſon muſt conſecrate his tongue to God, and uſe no ſpeech, but ſuch, as may miniſter grace unto the hearers. Briefly; Poſterity (beſides performance of duties common to all) muſt alwaies be zealous obſervers of thoſe precepts, which their Fore-fathers have principally tranſgreſſed. The truth of this *Inference* is warranted by that very Text of Scripture, intirely conſidered, whoſe firſt paſſages are by worldlings brought againſt it. What more common ſhelter for ſecurity in this kind? then the Prophets ſpeech: *The ſoul that ſinneth it ſhall die*, *Ezek.* 18. v. 4. But every ſoul, that ſees his fathers ſins, and ſorrows not for them, *ſins them over again.* And now, *Lo* (ſaith the Prophet) *if he beget a ſon, that ſeeth all his fathers ſins which he hath done, and conſidereth, and doth not ſuch like; one, that hath not oppreſſed any, nor withheld the pledge; one, that hath not ſpoiled by violence:* ſhall he, by not doing all, or any of theſe, eſcape Gods wrath kindled againſt his father? No; Performance of Negatives makes no man juſt: If doing none of theſe, *he hath given his bread to the hungry* (whom his father deprived of food) *covered the naked* (whom his father ſpoiled) *with a garment: And taken off his hand from the poor* (on whom his fathers hand was heavy) *if he hath not received uſury nor increaſe, but hath executed my judgments, and hath walked in my ſtatutes; he ſhall not die for the iniquity of his father,* (*ſaith the Lord*) *he ſhall live*, Ezek. 18. 14, 15, 16.

From theſe Laws thus expounded, ſpecially from that of *Gods viſiting the ſins of fathers upon their children unto the third and fourth generation:* The reaſon is plain why ſome Royal or noble families have had their *Fatal Periods* in the dayes of ſuch, as, to the ſight of men, were no way ſo haynous offenders as their fore-elders had been. With inſtances to this purpoſe, you that can read may furniſh your ſelves out of Hiſtories ſacred and moral, domeſtick and forreign. Every one of you may without reading obſerve; that many extortioners or cruel oppreſſors children, come oft-times to greater miſery then their fathers in this life ſuffered; albeit they did not ſo well deſerve it in your judgments. But if poſitive or actual tranſgreſſions otherwiſe equal be liable by the Rule of Divine Juſtice, to more then double puniſhment in the ſon, that hath had fair warnings in his father: It is very conſonant to the ſame Rule, that the ſon, albeit he do not imitate his fore-fathers in actual tranſgreſſions, ſhould ſuffer greater temporal puniſhments, then they did, *for not confeſſing their ſins*, as Gods Law requires; or not glorifying Gods name by his fidelity in contrary practiſes of charity, and godlineſs. Many children by not making reſtitution of goods ill gotten by ſome of their Anceſtors, have forfeited unto Gods hands whatſoever all had gotten. The beſt way for all to make kingdoms, or private inheritances greater in length or duration; would be to diminiſh them in maſs, or ſubſtance, by paring off what is tainted or corrupted.

See one example in the next Sermon.

But leaving theſe particulars to the Application, let us apply the doctrine hitherto generally delivered unto the point in Queſtion. We muſt conſider, that the Jewiſh Nation had many fore-warnings of Gods diſpleaſure in the Ages before *Zacharias*; That in his time, both Prince and People, the whole Nation ſtood as condemned by that his ſentence ſolemnly pronounced *Ex Cathedra*; [*ye ſhall not proſper; ye have forſaken the Lord, and the Lord hath forſaken you:*] though God, tempering his judgments with mercy, reprieved this State in hope of amendment. But of ſucceeding Princes ſome proved more groſs Idolaters then *Joaſh* had been; *viz. Ahaz:* Some ſhed more innocent blood then he had done; ſo did *Manaſſes.* And of the people more grew worſe, few better, then their fathers had been; ſuch as were better were not ſo forward to expiate the ſins of former times, as the worſe ſort were to augment them. And according as they were augmented, Gods judgments did gather and multiply by degrees againſt this people: And the ſentence ſolemnly denounced by *Zachariah*, often re-iterated in more ſevere termes by later Prophets, is executed at length according to the full meaſure of their iniquity; witneſs the firſt and ſecond deſtruction of the City and Temple, the deſolation of the Land, and captivity of the whole Nation. The whole manner of Gods proceeding againſt them, firſt in Mercy, then in Judgment; laſtly in Severity and fury is moſt directly ſet forth unto us by Our Saviour in the Parable of the Vineyard *let out to husbandmen*, whoſe eſtate in it was utterly void upon the firſt Non-payment of rent, if the Lord had dealt in juſtice with them. But though of his ſervants, or rent-gatherers they had beaten one, and killed another, and ſtoned a third; yet in merciful expectation of their amendment he ſent other ſervants, more then the firſt, and they did unto them likewiſe.

Though this iniquity exceeded the former, yet the Lords mercy exceeded both: and out of his abundant kindneſs, laſt of all he ſent His Son, ſaying, [*They will reverence my Son.*] But as mercy had abounded: ſo their ſins did ſtill ſuper-abound: For when they ſaw the Son,

they

they ſaid among themſelves, [*This is the Heir*; *Come let us kill him and let us ſeize on his inheritance:*] And as they ſaid, ſo they did; [*They caught him, and caſt him out of the Vineyard, and ſlew him.*] So fully ripe, for Juſtice was iniquity once come to this height, that they themſelves, whom this Caſe concerns, adjudge the authors of this murther uncapable of mercy. For to Our Saviour demanding of them [*When Therefore the Lord of the vineyard cometh*; *What will he do unto theſe husbandmen?*] They make Reply [*He will miſerably deſtroy thoſe wicked men, and will let out his vineyard unto other husbandmen, which ſhall render him the fruits in their ſeaſon*, Matth. 21. Luke 20.

Moſt men (I doubt not) underſtand the General meaning of the Parable. And it is in effect the ſame with the Prophets Song of his Beloved concerning his vineyard, *Eſay* 5. 1. The one is as a Paraphraſe upon the other; The hiſtories of this Nation from that time to this, is as a full and juſt Commentary upon both. *The vineyard of the Lord of hoaſt* (ſaith the prophet, v. 7.) *is the houſe of Iſrael*; *and the men of Judah his pleaſant plants*; And being reaſonable plants, they were alſo the husbandmen here meant. The fruits looked for were *Judgment*, and in ſtead of it *behold*, *oppreſſion*: *righteouſneſs*, and in lieu hereof behold a Cry. Theſe were wild grapes. If any liſt to deſcend to more particulars, by the fruitfull hill, wherein the vineyard was ſeated he may underſtand *the hill of Sion*, or *Jeruſalem*; by the Tower, the *Temple*: By the hedge the *fortifications of Hieruſalem*, begun by *David*, without which our Saviour (who is the heir meant in the Goſpel) was crucified; being ſentenced to execution within the vineyard. The judgment, which the chief Prieſt and Elders gave againſt themſelves: was by the Prophet referred unto the Inhabitants of *Jeruſalem*, and men of *Judah*. The *Tenour* of it is the ſame in the Prophet and the Evangeliſt, *I will tell you* (ſaith the prophet) *what I will do to my vineyard*; *I will take away the hedge thereof and it ſhall be eaten up*, *and break down the wall thereof*, *and it ſhall be troden down? And I will lay it waſte, and it ſhall not be pruned, or digged; But there ſhall come up briars and thorns. I will alſo command the Clouds that they rain no rain upon it*: That is, Not whiles it remained in *Judah*, whoſe mountains are now become like the mountains of *Gilboah*, accurſed for the ſlaughter of the King of Iſrael.

See St. *Chryſoſt.* upon the fifth of *Iſaiah.*

The execution of this Sentence was fitted to divers times in different meaſure, according to their unfruitfulneſs, or fertility in bringing forth wild grapes when good grapes were moſt expected.

Judahs Climacterical Seaſons.

More exactly parallel to the Parable, as it is propoſed by our Saviour, we may (beſides all other particular diſeaſes or diſtempers of this flouriſhing State) obſerve *Three principal Climacterical Seaſons.* In the firſt and ſecond it eſcapes very hardly, and dies in the laſt.

1. At the death of *Zachariah.*

The Firſt we take from *Zachariah*'s death; a Seaſon, wherein God (the men of *Judah* being Judges) might juſtly expect extraordinary fruit of his vineyard. For *Jehoiada* the High-Prieſt, father to *Zachariah*, had lately pruned and dreſt it, re-ingrafting *Joaſh*, as a forlorn Plant, into the ſtock of *David*, from which he had been for a while diſ planted by *Athaliah* the Queen Regent; through whoſe cruelty all the reſt of the Royal Branches utterly periſhed: But inſtead of grapes the Princes bring forth wild grapes. *After the death of* Jehoiada, *came the Princes and made obeyſance to the King*; *who hearkened unto them. And they left the houſe of the Lord and ſerved groves. So wrath came upon* Judah, *for this treſpaſs. Yet he ſent Prophets to them, to bring them again unto the Lord, and they teſtified againſt them*; *but they would not give ear. After all this, the*

Spirit of the Lord came upon Zachariah, *and he ſaid unto them, Thus ſaith God; why tranſgreſs ye the Lords Commandments that ye cannot proſper?* 2 *Chron.* 24. 17, 22. He ſaid no more then *Moſes* their Law-giver had expreſſed in that Divine Song, *Deut.* 32. which this people were to teach their children, that it might be a witneſs againſt them. Notwithſtanding in deſpight of *Moſes* Law, and the Spirit of the Lord, which emboldened *Zachariah* to preach it; they confirm their deſperate league with the Prophets blood, that did diſſwade it.

Of thoſe other Servants of the Lord, ſent unto them about the ſame time; we may without breach of charity ſuſpect; one at leaſt was beaten and another ſlain; Becauſe it is certain, that *Zachariah*, whoſe Father had deſerved ſo well of King, Princes and people of *Judah*, was by the Kings appointment ſtoned to death. And (beſides the Calamities of war, which befell the Land in the end of that year) the Temple, in which he died, was by his dying curſe deſigned to ruine and deſtruction. It could not be purged from guilt of his guiltleſs blood, but by that fire, which in the next generation did devour it.

Second Climacterical of *Judah* at the carrying into *Babylon.*

Yet before the approach of this Second Climacterical Seaſon; *The Lord God of their fathers ſent to them by his Meſſengers, riſing up betimes, and ſending; becauſe he had compaſſion on his people, and on his dwelling place. But they mocked the Meſſengers of God deſpiſed his words, and miſuſed his Prophets, until the wrath of the Lord aroſe, till there was no remedy* 2 Chron. 36. 15, 16, 17.

This refers to the ſixth Queſtion.

8. This affectionate deſcription of Gods tender care and compaſſion in ſending Prophets to reclaim them, argues (what Our Saviour expreſſeth in the Parable) *That he ſent more, then before.* And in the age following *Zachariah*'s death, lived all the Prophets, whoſe Prophecies are extant; But unto all thoſe (though more) they did, as they had done unto the former. *Iſaiah* (as the *Jews* confeſs) was ſlain by *Manaſſes*, *Vriah* (as you heard before) was killed by *Jehoiakim*; and *Jeremiah* ſometimes beaten ſometimes impriſoned, perpetually abuſed, during the reign of *Jehoiakim* and *Zedekiah*; And ſo at length the plagues threatned, and in part executed upon this people immediately after *Zachariah*'s death, are multiplied upon that wicked generation. The Rod of Gods warath is for faſhion the ſame, but now more ſharp and terrible. Their fathers had ſlain *Zachariah* in the Temple: And for this ſin not expiated, but continued and approved, at leaſt by like practiſes of this Generation; *The Lord brought upon them the King of the* Chaldees, *who ſlew their young men with the Sword in the houſe of their Sanctuary, and had no compaſſion upon young men or maidens, old men, or him that ſtoopeth for age, he gave them all into his hand. And all the veſſels of the houſe of God, great and ſmall, and the treaſures of the Houſe of the Lord, and the treaſures of the King and of his Princes; all thoſe he brought to* Babylon, 2 Chron. ch. 36. v. 17, 18. What are thoſe but meer enlargements of the former calamities, which enſued the Butchery of *Zacharias*? which were theſe. *It came to paſs in the revolution of the year, that the hoaſt of* Syria, *came up againſt* Joaſh, *and they came to* Judah *and* Jeruſalem, *and deſtroyed all the Princes of the people from among the people, and ſent all the ſpoil of them unto the King of* Damaſcus, 2 *Chron.* 24. 23. Some principal particulars of the ſpoils here intimated, are fully expreſſed, 2 *Kings* 12. where the reſt of this ſtory is omitted: *And* Jehoaſh *King of* Judah *took all the hallowed things and all the gold, found in the treaſures of the Houſe of the Lord and in the Kings houſe, and ſent it to* Hazael *King of* Syria, *and he went away from* Jeruſalem.

But though the *Chaldeans* had burnt the Houſe of God and the Palaces of *Jeruſalem* with fire, had deſtroyed all the goodly veſſels thereof; yet the Lord doth not utterly forſake his vineyard, his Church (*the Quire of Saints*) ſtill neſtles in the branches that are tranſplanted, whoſe off ſpring within ſeventy years is reſtored unto their native ſoyl, *Jeruſalem* repaired, the Temple re-edified, and the Land of *Judah* ſown with the ſeed of man and beaſt. After this State thus raiſed again from Civil Death, if poſterity will not believe, nor bring forth better fruits then heretofore their fathers have done; neither would they believe, though *Moſes* and the Prophets were raiſed from the dead to exhort them to repentance.

The *Third Clim. Eterical Period* of *Judah* at Chriſts coming.

For this reaſon, after their return from *Babylon* and re-edification of the Temple, God ſends no more prophets (ſave ſuch as they brough with them) until the fulneſs of time, or the *Third Climacterical Period* of this State, wherein the diſeaſe being become more deſperate; he ſent *his only Son the Heir of all things*, as knowing, that if he could not, none ever after ſhould be able to recover it. *This his Son was that Lord*, which, by his peculiar preſence, had *brought this vine out of Ægypt*, but (after he had planted it in *Judea* and let it out unto theſe husbandmen) went into a farre Country, that is, *he appeared not unto them*, as he did to *Moſes*, to *Joſhuah*, &c. until in the laſt dayes he deſcended from Heaven in the true form and ſubſtance of man to receive the fruits: He looked (at this time eſpecially) his vineyard ſhould have brought forth grapes, but it brought forth more wild grapes then before. He looked for weighty matters of the Law, and behold tithing of Mint, Anniſe and Cummin; He looked for judgment, mercy and faith; But behold, covetouſneſs, extortion, pride and cruelty; grapes more bitter then the grapes of *Sodom*; *Sourneſs it ſelf* the very *leaven of Hypocriſie*; yet upon the firſt denial of ſuch fruits, as he expected, he departs not from them, he accuſeth them not unto his Father: But (as they had two or three fore-warnings more remarkable then ordinary in ſeveral Generations of their Anceſtors; ſo) he expects a loyal Anſwer at more times of fruit, then one or two, preſenting himſelf to them for three years and more together at every ſeveral Paſsover, beſides other anniverſary ſolemnities. And yet at laſt for conſtant delivery of that Embaſſage, which he had from his father, they caught him, and condemned him in the vineyard, but carry him out of it to be crucified in Mount *Calvary*. And thus at length *Zachariah*'s Prophecy againſt *Joaſh* and his wicked Princes, and his Imprecation at his death, are fulfilled in this wicked generation; they formally forſook their God, when they cried [*We have no king but Cæſar*] and demanding *Barabbas* a murtherer (the ſon of their father the Devil;) they deſtroyed *Jeſus the Son of God*, And the Lord hath utterly forſaken them, not the Temple and City only, but the Inhabitants, but the whole race of the Jewiſh Nation, and hath let forth His Vineyard to us Gentiles. They were grown ſo rich by his bounty, that they were aſhamed to acknowledge ſo mean a man as Our Saviour, for their Lord, and Owner of the Land they inhabited. And as the Prophet foretold, *they hid their faces from him*; And therefore, as *Moſes* teſtified againſt them in his dying Song, *The Lord hides his face from them.* Darkneſs did over-ſpread the Land of *Judah* at his Paſſion, and the light of his countenance, ſince that time, hath never ſhined upon that Nation. They loſt Gods extraordinary Illumination by *Vrim* & *Thummim* (as ſome hold) at *Zachariah*'s death, (as moſt agree) at the deſtruction of *Salomon*'s Temple; but now are deſtitute of the light of Scripture, without all knowledg of Gods Word, ſince they rejected *Him,which enlightneth every man that cometh into the world*;In the very ſunſhine of the Goſpel they grope like blind men, that cannot ſee a beaten way,and muſt ſo continue throughout their generations unto the worlds end;until they ſhall unfeignedly *confeſs the iniquity of their fathers,& that they have walked contrary unto me;And that I alſo have walked contrary unto them,& have brought them into the land of their enemies*, Lev.26.40,41.

As the ſins of thoſe Jews,which rejected *the light of the world*,& *ſolemnly revolted from their King*, have been thus remarkably viſited upon their children,that will not confeſs their ſins in ſo doing,nor acknowledg him, whom they rejected, for their expected Redeemer: So were the ſins of that generation, which ſlue *Zachariah*, viſited upon this, which crucified our Saviour, becauſe they neither did truly confeſs them(but rather revive and increaſe them)nor finally admit of his Sacrifice,which was appointed for the expiation of that Prodigious Fact(as of all others) wherewith the City and Temple had been polluted. Unleſs God's mercy had warded off the ſtroke of his juſtice, *Jeruſalem* it ſelf had been made an heap of ſtones, when King *Joaſh* ſtoned *Zachariah* to death: So had the Temple it ſelf, wherein his guiltleſs blood lay uncovered, been covered with Duſt. The whole Nations plagues in rigour of juſtice might have been much greater at that time, then they have been ſince.

Now all the mercy or mitigation of Juſtice,which former Generations found,was through the Mediation of the Son of God. And ſeeing theſe later have been more refractory to this their Mediator himſelf,then were their fathers to his Prophets; ſeeing they have ſolemnly diſavowed him, and bid a defiance to his Embaſſadors; Gods mercies, which had daily ſhrowded *Jeruſalem* from his wrath, as the hen doth her young ones from the ſtorm, leave it,and her children open to his juſtice.

For Reſolution of the main Point or difficulty propoſed; The forſaking, or putting the Son of God to death, is (for ought I can gather) no direct and poſitive cauſe of all the miſeries expreſſed or intimated in my Text:*Only ſuch a Cauſe of Jeruſalems deſtruction,as the Pilots abſence is of ſhipwrack*; a Cauſe of it only in this ſenſe, that her inhabitants by forſaking him have exempted themſelves from his wonted protection; and Gods Juſtice, which had long watched his departure from the City and Temple (as Sergeants do their egreſs, which have taken Sanctuary) now attaches them, when there is none to become their ſurety, none to intercede for mitigation of Juſtice, none to hinder, why judgments heretofore alwayes abated, and oft-times altogether deferred, may not be executed upon them in full meaſure.But that their Perſonal Offences againſt their Mediator ſhould wholly, or ſpecially procure this woful doom, or come at all into the Bill of their Indictment, is (in my Opinion) no way probable. The character of his own ſpeeches, as well in my Text, or elſewere, altogether diſclaims this Aſſertion,as unconſonant to the form of wholſome doctrine.But may we ſay,that albeit his blood did not augment their plagues that ſhed it, becauſe never laid unto their charge,it may notwithſtanding exempt them and their children from hope of mercy, or mitigation of puniſhments due unto them for other ſins? Or that ſuch, as ſince his death have *pined away in their own ſins and the ſins of their fathers*,did therefore periſh,becauſe he had *abſolutely decreed* not to ſave them or grant them means of repentance? God forbid! This were more,then to ſay [*They ſtumbled that they ſhould fall.*] And in as much, as the riches of the world will be much greater by their fulneſs, then by their fall or diminution, the fault is ours, as well as theirs, that their converſion is not accompliſhed; both we and they are liable to a ſtrict account, *That we would not be gathered, when God would have gathered us.*

CHAP. XLV.

2 KINGS 23. 26, 27.

Notwithſtanding, the Lord turned not from the fierceneſs of his great wrath, wherewith his anger was kindled againſt Judah, becauſe of all the provocations that Manaſſeh *had provoked him withall.*

And the Lord ſaid, I will remove Judah *alſo out of my ſight, as I have removed* Iſrael, *and will caſt off this City* Jeruſalem, *which I have choſen, and the houſe, of which I have ſaid, my Name ſhall be there.*

Though there be a Sermon upon *Matth.* 23. 37. yet I thought it beſt to interſert This here before it.

1. THe Points to be diſcuſſed are Two.

Firſt, how the Lord might juſtly puniſh *Judah* for *Manaſſeh's* ſins, & ſins committed in his time, in the dayes of good *Joſiah* and his Sons.

Secondly, In what manner God proceeded to execute this his fierce wrath denounced againſt *Judah.*

For your better ſatisfaction in the former Point, You are to conſider, the Nature and tenor of Gods general Covenant with this people. The miraculous Bleſſings and extraordinary Curſes propoſed unto the two ſeveral wayes of Life and Death, which *Moſes* firſt had ſet before this people, are ſufficiently known, being moſt expreſly ſet down, *Levit.* 26. and *Deut.* 28. throughout the whole Chapters.

The like Covenant was renewed with *Davids* line, in the ſame tenor, *Pſal.* 89. 29, &c. *His Seed will I make to endure for ever; and his Throne as the dayes of Heaven. But if his Children forſake my Law, and walk not in my judgments; If they break my Statutes, and keep not my Commandements. Then will I viſit their tranſgreſſions with the rod, and their iniquity with ſtripes. Neverthleſs, my loving kindneſs will I not utterly take from him, nor ſuffer my faithfulneſs to fail.* Or, *Neither will I falſifie my truth.* This promiſe was abſolute for Chriſt, conditional for the other Sons of *David*: and conſiſts not in their Immunity from puniſhments, but in the aſſurance of their recovery, upon their penitency.

Levit. 26. Deut. 7. 14. and 28. Amos 3. 2.

The tenor of both Covenants then (in brief) was Thus. *Following the foot-ſteps of* Abraham *or* David, *they ſhould be bleſſed extraordinarily: Forſaking their wayes and following the cuſtomes of other Nations they ſhould be puniſhed more ſeverely then other men; yet ſo, that if in their diſtreſs they did turn again unto the Lord, for* Abraham's *and for* David's *ſake they ſhould be reſtored to his wonted mercy and favour.* So ſaith the Lord, *Levit.* 26. 44, 45. *And yet for all that* (he ſuppoſeth his plagues denounced had already overtaken them) *when they be in the land of their enemies, I will not caſt them away, neither will I abhor them, to deſtroy them utterly, and to break my Covenant with them: for I am the Lord their God But I will remember them according to the Covenant of old,* Or, *I will for their ſakes remember the Covenant of their Anceſtors, whom I brought forth out of the Land of* Egypt. And in the 42. verſe of the ſame Chapter, (*when they ſhall confeſs their iniquity before him in their diſtreſs*) He ſaith, He would *remember His Covenant with* Jacob, *and alſo his Covenant with* Iſaac *and with* Abraham.

The ſame Covenant is more ſolemnly eſtabliſhed at the Dedication of the Temple, 2 *Chron.* 6. by *Salomon.* He ſuppoſed this People ſhould be plagued for their ſins, as others were: But *yet if they turned to the Lord with all their heart, and with all their ſoul, in the Land of their captivity*; the effect of his Petition is; *That the Lords eyes ſhould be open, and his ears attent unto the prayers which they made towards the Temple which he had built.* And in this ſenſe is God ſaid *to ſhew mercy unto thouſands in ſuch as love Him and keep his Commandements:* Becauſe for *Abraham* and for *David*'s ſake, they ſtill enjoyed the aſſurance of recovering their ruinate and decayed Eſtate.

2. Yet here we are again to conſider, that the Covenant was not made *In capita*, as if it were to begin intirely *with every particular Man*; but rather with their whole Succeſſions in their ſeveral Generations. They ſtood all joyntly bound to obey the Lord their God: So as Poſterity muſt make up the Arrerages of their Fathers ryot, by their wary and diligent obſervance of thoſe Commandements which the other had broken. If the Fathers had ſinned by Idolatry, the Poſterity muſt redeem their ſins or break them off, by preaching reformation of Religion, and reſtoring the true Worſhip of God again. If the Fathers had cauſed Gods wrath upon the Land by oppreſſion, extortion and cruelty, the Children muſt divert it, by mercy, bounty and open-handedneſs towards the Poor; and by reſtitution of goods ill-gotten by their Fathers, unto their proper Owners; or by reſtoring goods rightly enjoyed, but imployed amiſs, unto their natural and right uſe. If the Fathers have tranſgreſſed all or moſt of Gods *neg.* Commandments, the children are bound to rectifie their errors, by practiſing the affirmative duties of the Law. In a word, as the Fathers offences have been greater, either in multitude, magnitude, or continuance, ſo muſt the Vertues and Piety of Poſterity, abound *in Perfection of Parts, Intention of Degrees and Duration of time.* For although it be moſt true, that *the Childrens teeth are not ſet on edge, for their Fathers eating ſour grapes, but the ſoul that ſinneth it ſhall dy*, *Ezek.* 18. Yet is not this ſo to be underſtood, but that the ſon may be puniſhed for thoſe ſins which his Father only did actually commit, if ſo he ſeek not to rectifie his errors, by inclining to the contrary Duties: For, not ſo doing, *His fathers ſins are made his by participation*, and the Curſe becomes hereditary. As he that helpeth not when he may, doth further or abet the evil done by others, and is thereby made acceſſary or part-taker of other mens ſins: So likewiſe are the children guilty of their fathers tranſgreſſions, and liable to Gods wrath cauſed by them, i they ſeek not to rectifie the ſame, by their zealous prayers, ſpeedy ſrepentance and unfeigned turning to the Lord. So is it ſaid, *Ezek.* 18. 14 *The Son that ſeeth all his fathers ſins, which he hath done and feareth, neither doth ſuch like*; but rather if the father have cruelly oppreſſed and ſpoiled his brother by violence, he feeds the hungry, and clothes the naked, and keeps all Gods Statutes, *he ſhall live.* Hence it is, that this people of God in their diſtreſs make *the confeſſion of their fore-fathers ſins as eſſential an ingredient* (or condition) *of their prayers, as the confeſſion of their own*, Dan. 9. Ezra 9. Nehem. 9. Pſal. 106. 6, 7. For this the Lord himſelf had expreſly taught them; *Levit*, 26. *For your tranſgreſſions the Land of your enemies ſhall eat you up.* And *they that are left of you ſhall pine away for their iniquity, and for the iniquities of their fathers ſhall they pine away with them alſo. Then they ſhall confeſs their iniquity, and the wickedneſs of their fathers.* Ver. 38. *Thus doing, I will remember* (ſaith the Lord) *my Covenant with*

Confeſſion of fore-fathers ſins a neceſſary Ingredient of Repentance.

Jacob, *and my Covenant alſo with* Iſaac, *and alſo my Covenant with* Abraham *will I remember, and will remember the Land.* You ſee then it is evident, that as *Adam*'s ſin remains in his poſterity, until it be taken away in Chriſt; ſo doth Gods wrath abide upon a Land, for the former Inhabitants ſins, and paſſeth from the Dead unto the Living; unleſs the Attonement be made by the ſweet incenſe of prayer and fervency of ſpirit, which is to be in every Chriſtian and ſpiritual Prieſts heart as ready upon this occaſion, as fire from the Altar was in *Aarons* hand, when he ſtayed the Plague, by ſtanding betwixt the dead and them that were alive, *Numb.* 16. 46. It is not the ſacrifice, though of the calves of mens lips, without an *humbled and contrite ſpirit*, and fervent zeal of bleſſing Gods Name by *contrary good deeds*, that can ſtay the plague and divert the wrath gone out from God againſt a Land, for her former Inhabitants their Predeceſſors ſins.

3. From theſe Principles we may eaſily gather, how Gods mercies may be abridged towards a Land or People leſs ſinful perhaps then others formerly have been for *actual tranſgreſſions*, if we conſider the ſins only of the preſent time. From the ſame Principles we may likewiſe clearly diſcern, how the full meaſure of any Lands or Peoples iniquity may be accompliſhed then, when to mens ſeeming their out-rages be nothing ſo grievous, as others before them have been, or when their Princes or Rulers are more then ordinarily religious.

Reaſons why a people leſs actually ſinful is more plagued.

Firſt, Where the tranſgreſſions of Predeceſſors have been many and grievous, and the reformation of their Succeſſors, but ſlight or imperfect: the wrath of God procured by the former, may remain ſtill, and light heavieſt upon the third Generation following, who ſhall procure it further, if they follow their Grandſires ſins, notwithſtanding their immediate Parents or Predeceſſors did in part repent, or in ſome ſort renounce their Fathers wayes. For the fruits of ſuch repentance, ſeeing it is *not total and proceeds not from a perfect and unfeigned heart*, do but as it were for a time put off the Fit or Extremity of Gods wrath: they take not away the diſeaſe it ſelf, which therefore returns to its courſe again: As the Pſalmiſt excellently deſcribes the effects of ſuch repentance. *When he ſlew them, they ſought him, and they returned and ſought God early. And they remembred that God was their Strength, and the moſt high God their Redeemer: but their heart was not upright with him: Neither were they faithful in his Covenant.* The fruit of this was, that ofttimes he called back his anger, and *would not ſuffer his whole diſpleaſure to ariſe:* This ſtayed the courſe or motion of his wrath; It did not miniſh the inclination or propenſion of the ſame. But when the former ſins burſt out again, either in them or their poſterity: his judgments drew nearer unto them then before; and his vengeance was more fierce and ſudden.

Pſal. 78. *ver.* 34.

Secondly, Where the reformation of Religion and turning unto the Lord is on the Princes parts perfect and compleat, yet the people do not inwardly repent, and with a perfect heart abjure their fore-fathers wayes: the wrath of God due unto their fathers ſins comes upon them, and is executed by taking away their good, and giving them Princes alike minded to themſelves: And ſo by little and little *they fulfil the iniquity of their fore fathers.*

A view of the Kingdom of *Judah* throughout *David. Solomon.*

4. To give you a view of theſe general undoubted Truths in the ſucceſſion of this Kingdom. Righteous *David* had left Gods mercy towards this Land and People, ſo far over-ballancing his Juſtice, that all the Idolatry which *Solomon* his ſon had ſet up (albeit Idolatry be a

moſt grievous ſin) did not any more, then bring his Mercy to an *Equipoize* with it again. But *Rehoboam*, following his Fathers footſteps in evil, not his religious Grand-fathers paths in good, pulls down Gods judgments upon his head, and firſt bears the rod of his tranſgreſſion, having more then one half of his Kingdom rent from him by his ſervant *Jeroboam*, and afterwards both he and *Judah*, which had remained with him, bear the ſtrokes of their iniquity, by the hand of *Shiſhak* King of *Egypt*, who forraged the Land, and took away the treaſures of the Temple of the Lord. But in this God did but ſhake his ſword over their heads: Theſe beginnings of plagues and judgments are but the Motions of His wrath which abides not: for his Mercy preſently retired unto the ſame point where it ſtood at *Jeroboams* revolt. Of an unwiſe father there ſprung up immediately an unrighteous ſon *Abijam*, who though he had ſometimes good ſucceſs againſt his enemies: yet as the ſequel of this Story intimates, 1 *Kings* 15. 3. he had almoſt brought Gods fierce wrath upon the Land, by following his fathers footſteps; but that the Lord as yet drew back his puniſhing hand, for Righteous *David* his great Grandfathers ſake. *For* David's *ſake did the Lord his God give him a light in* Jeruſalem, *and ſet up his ſon after him, and eſtabliſhed* Jeruſalem, *ver.* 4. This was *Aſa*, in whoſe dayes the Land had peace: for he followed the footſteps of his Father *David*, yet was there no perfect Reformation wrought in his raign; for the High-places were not taken away: And he himſelf, after good ſucceſs in victory, was infected with the *Fatal diſeaſe of Kings and Princes*, To begin to truſt too much to ſecular Policie, and grew impatient of the Lords Prophets reproof. But by his carriage and good example, ſuch as it is, and the righteous reign of his ſon *Jehoſhaphat*, is the Current of the Lords former wrath ſtopped; yet ſo, as it is ready to overflow the Land with greater violence, in the next ſucceſſion, wherein the like iniquity as had reigned in former times, ſhould burſt out afreſh again. Although *Jehoſhaphat*'s heart was upright, yet did he work no perfect Reformation. For the high places were not taken away: And as it is, 2 *Chron.* 20. 23. *The people had not yet prepared their hearts unto the God of their fathers:* Neither ſo penitent, as that they could recal Gods wrath, or bring his mercy back again unto its former ſtay: Nor yet ſo extream bad and forward in ſin, as that the Lord would not ſpare the Land and be merciful to them for religious *Jehoſhaphat* and the Righteous ſakes that lived in it. After *Jehoſhaphat*'s death, *Jehoram* his ſon reigns in his ſtead (a ſucceſſor to the Kings of Iſrael in all wickedneſs and Idolatry.) And as his life was wicked, ſo was his eſtate unfortunate, his end terrible, and his death ignominious. In his days did *Edom* make his final revolt from *Judah*, 2 *Chron.* 21. 10. *and Libnah, at the ſame time, becauſe he had forſaken the God of his fathers.* And ver. 14. *Behold* (ſaith *Elijah* to him by a letter) *with a great plague will the Lord ſmite thy people, and thy children, and thy wives and all thy ſubſtance.* And ſo Gods judgments came upon him and his children: He himſelf dies of a lingring loathſom diſeaſe without the wonted ſolemnities of Funerals. And *Ahaziah* his youngeſt ſon (all the elder being ſlain by the Arabians, 2 *Chron.* 22. 1.) is about a year after killed by *Jehu* executing judgment upon the houſe of *Ahab*. After all this were All the Royal Seed of *Judah* deſtroyed by *Athaliah*, *Joaſh* ſon of *Ahaziah* only excepted, whoſe beginnings were good; The reformation of Religion was perfect, for the external form, ſo long as *Jehoiada* the Prieſt did live, but not compleat for the number or quality of ſuch as turned to the Lord their God. For the Princes hearts were wholly ſet upon idolatry: And the King himſelf is drawn

Rehoboam.

1 *King.* 14. 25.

Abijam.

Aſa.

Vide Ecclus. c. 49. 4. All except *David, Hezekias* and *Joſias*, committed wickedneſs, for even the Kings of *Judah* forſook the Law of the moſt High, and failed.

Jehoſhaphat.

Ahaziah.

Athaliah.
Joaſh.

upon his own deſtruction by them, after *Jehoiada's* death. As his beginnings were good and godly: ſo were his later dayes idolatrous and cruel; and *Zachariah's* blood was recompenſed upon his head, and upon *Amaziah.* the head of *Amaziah* his ſon; who, though he were not (like his father) guilty as principal of actual murther in putting a Prophet to death: yet thus far by *Participation* guilty of his fathers ſin, that he is impatient of the Prophets juſt reproof: As his father killed, ſo he threatens the Prophet for reproving him for his ſins; *for taking the gods of* Edom *for his gods*, 2 Chron. 25. 14. *Have they made thee the Kings Counſellor? Ceaſe thou: why ſhould they ſmite thee? And the Prophet ceaſed, but ſaid, I know the Lord hath determined to deſtroy thee, becauſe thou haſt done this, and haſt not obeyed my Counſel.* His doom is read, and judgment followes: For he is ſhamefully foyled, 2 *Chron.* 25. 23. by *Joaſh* King of *Iſrael*, and led captive home to his own good Town of *Jeruſalem*, four hundred cubits of whoſe walls were broke down to make entrance for his triumphant enemies, in the ſight of his own people. And after his freedom bought with his own treaſure and with the treaſure of the Lords houſe; his own Subjects conſpire againſt him, and purſue him unto death, where he dies (his fathers death) by the hands of his Servants, 2 *Chron.* 25. 27. *Vzziah.* As *Amaziah* from good beginnings grew idolatrous; ſo *Vzziah* his ſon after good ſucceſs, became in his later end, ſacrilegiouſly preſumptuous. For intermedling with the Prieſts Office, he becomes liable to the Prieſts Tribunal: He is judged a Leper, and removed from adminiſtration of the Kingdom, for the leproſie wherewith the Lord had ſmitten him, 2 *Chron.* 26.

5. Thus in proceſs of time is ſtill the increaſe of ſin: either their Kings are wicked (as but two from *David* to *Hezekiah's* time which continued in good:) Or if their Kings be vertuous and religious, as *Jehoſhaphat* had *Jotham.* been, and *Jotham* ſon to *Vzziah* now is: yet in his dayes again *the peoples hearts are not prepared to ſerve the Lord*, 2 Kings 15. 35. *But the high Places were not put away; for the people yet offered and burnt incenſe in the high Places*; and ſo kept in the fire of Gods wrath, which had been long kindled againſt *Judah*, but not ſuffered to burſt out into any flame, in the dayes of righteous *Jotham*, and ſuch as by his example followed righteouſneſs. Nay, to encourage others to follow him, the Lord gave him victory over the enemies of *Judah*, *and He grew mighty, becauſe He directed His wayes before the Lord His God*, 2 Chron. 27. 6.

6. But neither did he nor any Prince of *Judah*, ſince Righteous *David*, *Ahaz.* ſo perfectly *direct*, as *Ahaz* his ſon did *pervert his wayes* before the Lord. This is the firſt that adds ſtubbornneſs to infidelity, and drunkenneſs to thirſt, as the Spirit tells us, 2 *Chron.* 28. 22. *In his tribulation did he yet treſpaſs more againſt the Lord*; (*this is King Ahaz*, ſaith the Text) you muſt expect a remarkable monſter in his dealings; *For he ſacrificed unto the gods of* Damaſcus, *which plagued him, and he ſaid: Becauſe the gods of the Kings of* Aram *helped them, I will ſacrifice unto them, and they will help me: yet they were his ruine, and of all Iſrael*, ver. 23. This people was alwayes prone to wickedneſs, even during the reign of moſt religious Kings; but are now ſo violently carried to all miſchief, having got this prepoſterous Monſter for their Governor, that as a ſhip ſailing with advantage of wind and tide, and help of oars, continues motion when ſail is ſtricken and Rowers ceaſe; ſo *Jeruſalem* and *Judah*, after *Ahaz* their Commander in miſchief ceaſed from his wicked labours, held on ſtill their miſchievous courſes, even in good King *Hezekiah's* dayes.

7. Whereas Gods threatnings had been but particular heretofore; either to the King alone, or to his Line and Houſe, or of ſome momentary deſolation upon the Land: Now God thunders out a General Deluge of Calamity to the City and People, by the Prophet *Micah*: Sion *ſhall be plowed as a field, and* Jeruſalem *ſhall be an heap, and the mountain of the houſe ſhall be as the high places of the forreſt.* Here the ſcattered clouds of Gods judgments, which had long ſoared over *Judah*, are gathered as it were into one ſhower, ready to fall upon her (as it were an Hawk ſtooping to her prey:) but that good King *Hezekiah*, and the people by his example, laid faſt hold upon his mercies, and averted his fierce wrath from them, by hearty and unfeigned prayer: *They feared the Lord, and prayed before him, and the Lord repented him of the evil, that he had pronounced againſt them.* Whiles I behold the Compleat Reformation which *Hezekiah* wrought, and the peoples will to accord with him therein; Methinks I hear the Lord wiſhing from heaven, as he did ſometimes to their fathers in the wilderneſs, *Deut.* 5.29. *Oh that there were ſuch an heart in them to fear me, and to keep all my Commandements alway, that it might go well with them, and with their children for ever. But* Hezekiah *did not render according to the reward beſtowed upon him: For his heart was lifted up, and wrath came upon him, and upon* Judah *and* Jeruſalem, 2 *Chron.* 32.*v.*25. Not that it did ſeize upon them, but that it was ready ſo ſmite. For as it follows, ver. 26. *Notwithſtanding,* Hezekiah *humbled himſelf (after his heart was lift up) he and the Inhabitants of* Jeruſalem, *and the wrath of the Lord came not upon them in the dayes of* Hezekiah, but of *Manaſſeh* his ſon, who pulled it down upon his own and his peoples heads. For as it is regiſtred, 2 *Kings* 21.3. *He went back and built the high places, which* Hezekiah *his Father had deſtroyed, and erected Altars for* Baal, *and made a grove as did* Ahab *King of* Iſrael, *and worſhipped all the Hoaſt of Heaven, and ſerved them. And,* as if he meant to thruſt the Lord out of his own Houſe, *He built Altars in it, of the which the Lord ſaid; In* Jeruſalem *will I put my Name. And he built Altars for all the Hoaſt of Heaven in the two Courts of the Houſe of the Lord,* ver. 45. And beſides theſe and many other ſins, wherewith he cauſed *Judah* to ſin, and to do evil in the ſight of the Lord, after the abominations of the Heathen, which the Lord had caſt out before them, he *filled* Jeruſalem *from corner to corner with innocent blood*, whoſe cry did fill the Courts of Heaven. So both he and his people are plagued for their grievous ſins; He is the Firſt King of *Judah* that is led into Captivity; yet upon his returning to the Lord his God he is reſtored again. But his good example doth not move his peoples hearts unto like repentance, as his former bad example had cauſed them to ſin. Wherefore albeit the Lord repent him of the evil which had befallen his perſon; yet (*Amon* his ſon and ſucceſſor imitating his fathers ſins, but not his repentance, 2 *Chron.* 33. 21.) doth he not turn away from his fierce wrath wherewith he was angry againſt *Judah*; albeit *Joſiah* his vertuous Nephew (or Grand-child) had *turned to him with all his heart, and with all his ſoul, according to all the Law of* Moſes. *Manaſſeh*'s ſin therefore is ſaid to be the Cauſe why the Lord did caſt off *Judah*, in ſuch a ſenſe as the Addition of the laſt weight may be ſaid to caſt the ſcale, which was inclined that way before, albeit reſtrained from motion by a counterpoize, until the laſt weight over-powred the Reſtraint. God's wrath remained ſtill upon the Land from *Salomons*'s and *Rehoboam*'s reign: And the weight of his judgments was daily increaſed more and more; howſoever the final execution of them was deferred, at the inſtant prayers of religious Kings and righteous people: But

Hezekiah.

Manaſſes.

2 *King.*21.16.

Anon.

now *Manaſſeh* hath made up the full meaſure of all his Fore-fathers ſins; the weight of God's Judgments hath ſo far over-grown his Mercies, that there is no hope of recovery left, unleſs Prince, Prieſt and People would fill *Jeruſalem* as full with their repentant tears, as *Manaſſeh* had with blood; and devote the whole courſe of their life, to doing good, as their Fore-fathers had ſold themſelves to work wickedneſs; which good *Joſiah* for his part performs; and ſo deads the ſtroke of God's judgments whilſts they are in motion. But his peoples hearts are not ſo ſtrongly ſet on their God. Although they joyn with him in renewing the Covenant betwixt God and them, the chief ſtrength of their zeal and fervency is ſpent in the firſt Act of Repentance, or in the Motion of their Retire to God; Their Permanent Diſpoſition and Propenſion is not firm: Their very turning unto God, is rather forced then voluntary; ſo as they hold off God's judgments only for a time. As if a man by hailing and pulling with might and main ſhould keep ſome heavy and mighty body from falling, or ſome great weight from ſwaying the full compaſs, whereas the ſolid weight of it ſtill remains the ſame, and will have full ſway when his actual ſtrength fails him. Thus they quickly become weary of well-doing, and God's heavieſt judgments take their courſe. For however it be ſaid, 2 *Chron.* 34.33. *That they did not turn back from the Lord God of their fathers, all the dayes of* Joſiah: Yet was this their cleaving to him, but compelled: It conſiſted more in the outward ſolemnity or publick faſhion, then in inward ſincerity and integrity: They did not profeſs, or openly practiſe the ſolemn worſhip of ſtrange gods; but had ſtill a longing after forreign faſhions: as appears out of the Prophet *Zephany*, who wrote of thoſe times; Chap. 1.8,9. *And it ſhall be in the day of the Lord's ſacrifice, that I will viſit the Princes and the Kings Children, and all ſuch as are clothed with ſtrange apparel. In the ſame day alſo will I viſit all thoſe that dance upon the threſhold ſo proudly, which fill their Maſters houſes by cruelty and deceit.* The corruption of both the Clergy and Magiſtracy had continued grievous from *Hezekiah*'s dayes, wherein it cried for vengeance. And this peoples repentance of theſe ſins in *Joſiah*'s dayes, was either none, or but feigned and hypocritical; as the ſame Prophet teſtifieth, Chap. 3. ver. 1,2,3,4. *Wo to her that is filthy and polluted, to the robbing City. She heard not the voice; She received not correction; She truſted not in the Lord; She drew not near to her God. Her Princes within her are as roaring Lyons; Her Judges are as Wolves in the evening, which leave not the bones till the morrow. Her Prophets are light and wicked perſons; Her Prieſts have polluted the Sanctuary, they have wreſted the Law,* And even for this peoples proneneſs to fulfill the meaſure of their Fore-fathers ſins, was good *Joſiah* removed from off the earth; leſts Gods judgments ſhould come upon *Jeruſalem* in his dayes. And no marvel, if the fulneſs of *Judah*'s ſin be accompliſhed in *Joſiah*'s dayes, though he were the moſt righteous Prince of *David*'s line. For ſin, and iniquity may ſo abound in a Land and People, that albeit *Noah, Job and Daniel lived amongſt them, they ſhould deliver but their own ſouls by their righteouſneſs.* And it is one of the beſt notes that I have ſomewhere found, *That men ſhould not lay all the blame on Princes, where States miſcarry*; ſeeing it is ſaid, that *Hoſea*, in whoſe dayes *Iſrael* was led into captivity, was either the beſt, or leaſt evil, of all the Kings of *Iſrael*, 2 *Kings* 17. *He did evil indeed in the ſight of the Lord, but not as the Kings of Iſrael that were before him, ver.* 2. Which equity of Gods judgments in like Caſes, *Franciſcus Sforza* the laſt Duke of that race in *Millain*, and the far beſt of all his kindred, except the firſt, did with humility acknowledge, before

the

Good Joſiah.

See this Author's Sermons on *Jer.* 26.

Ezek. 14.14. *Jer.* 15.

Francis Sforza.

the fooliſh Politicians School-miſtreſs Experience taught him the truth by the evidence of the event. For when his wiſe and graveſt Counſellors did humbly intreat him in the behalf of State and Country, to ſuffer at leaſt ſome proviſions to be brought up ſecretly as his own, leſt *Millain* might be delivered up to ſome Forrainer: He requeſted them to ſet their hearts at reſt; The unhappy family had run their race; and it was impoſſible, but that the bloody practiſes of his Anceſtors ſhould blot out the very name in him: A Prince though otherwiſe in *Charles* the fifths eſteem, the wiſeſt of all the *Italian* Princes in his time, yet herein indued with wiſdom in an higher rank, then the ſtatelieſt Potentates are wont to trouble themſelves withal, in that he could ſo well foreſee, *There was no counſel againſt the Lord*; whoſe Decrees concerning any Land or People, then uſually take place, when as Poſterity ſeeks earneſtly by ſecular Policie, to patch up the rents and breaches of a State decayed and ruinate by the heavy burthen of their Predeceſſors ſins. Such was the temper of *Joſiah*'s States-men and Princes, though his heart was of another metal, and had been faſhioned in another mold. Wherefore the Book of the Law, which had long laid buried, is now riſen out of the duſt, to proclaim *Jeruſalems* downfal, and *Sions* burial in her aſhes. And this ſentence of the Law now found, is ratified by the Propheteſs *Huldahs* mouth: *Gods wrath ſhall* preſently *be kindled againſt this place, and ſhall not be quenched.* But unto good *Joſiah*, who ſought the Propheteſſes, and not the Politicians advice, is this ſole comfort left. *To the King of* Judah, *who ſent you to inquire of the Lord, ſo ſhall ye ſay unto him: Becauſe thine heart did melt, and thou haſt humbled thy ſelf before the Lord, when thou heardeſt what I ſpake againſt this place, and againſt the Inhabitants of the ſame,* to wit, *that it ſhould be deſtroyed and accurſed; and haſt rent thy clothes and wept before me, I have alſo heard it, ſaith the Lord. Behold therefore I will gather thee to thy fathers, and thou ſhalt be put in thy grave in peace, and thine eyes ſhall not ſee all the evil which I will bring upon this place,* 2 Kings 22. 18.

It is ſignificantly added, *He ſhould be put in his grave in peace*, becauſe he is the laſt King of *Judah* whoſe Funeral Rites are not at their enemies diſpoſing. See the foregoing Sermon, upon *Jer.* 45. fol. 663.

8. But ſhould not his righteouſneſs have ſaved him? Or is this to be put in his grave in peace, to be ſlain by his enemies? Yes, this his burial was in peace, in that he was buried in the Sepulchres of his Fathers, and mourned for by all his people, without the moleſtation of their enemies. This was a bleſſing of peace, which none of his Sons or Succeſſors enjoyed. For of them all, not one but dies captive in the enemies Land, or in their own, without the decency of Princely funerals. And who knows, Whether *Joſiah*'s violent death was deſerved by going to battel without the Lords advice? Yea, who knows, whether the Lord did not thus ſuddenly take him away, partly to prevent the increaſe of that diſeaſe, wherewith no Prince of all the ſtock of *Judah*, but had been more or leſs infected, and which now, as it ſeemeth, was growing on him. All of them in their proſperity, began to trade in ſecular Policie, whoſe practiſe was *Jeruſalems* ruine, and *Judahs* wreck; howſoever right dear in the ſight of the Lord was the death of this holy and religious King, who if he had lived the longer, ſhould have died the oftner. His Childrens and peoples ſins are now full ripe for the ſword; and their vengeance haſtens on ſo faſt, that either he muſt ſuddenly die, or elſe ſee their manifold miſeries, far worſe then ſo many ſeveral deaths. For what pangs would it have cauſed in his tender heart, which melted even whilſt the noiſe of *Jeruſalems* curſe did but approach his ears, if his eyes ſhould have beheld the flames of Gods fierce wrath devouring her gates, and his ears had been filled with her woful out-cries in the dayes of

mourning? For *Jeremy* or *Baruch*, two Prophets ſo poor that their Forewarnings of theſe miſeries could not merit any credit with their politick generation, to live and ſee the event, was a bleſſing of God; and bare life given them a bountiful prey; But what benefit could ſo great a Prince have reaped by life? What comfort in length of dayes, to have ſeen the children of his loins, born unto higher hopes then any Princes of the world beſides, either led captive into the enemies land, or made a prey unto the birds of heaven in their own? Much better an enemies arrow ſtick once for all faſt in his ſide, then that the ſword ſhould continually pierce thorow his ſoul, whilſt he ſhould ſee his deareſt people cut down like graſs; and *Judah* the Lords incloſure laid open like a common field, to their bordering enemies ſpoil; and *Jeruſalem* his hearts joy, which the Lord had hedged and walled about, laid waſte like a forlorn vineyard, whoſe grapes were wild and naught. Yet ſuch are the dayes which immediately enſue his death: The Land is one while ranſackt by the *Egyptian*; another while made tributary to the *Chaldean*; another while forraged by the *Aramite*, *Ammonite* and *Moabite*, until it was utterly laid waſte. For judgment is here begun already at the houſe of God; and in godly *Joſiah*'s fall might the ungodly *Judah* read her Fatal Deſtiny regiſtred in Characters of blood. And doubtleſs at this ſudden unexpected end, the execution of Gods fierce and violent wrath did begin; Of the ſucceſſive degrees whereof, I ſhall, God willing, hereafter ſpeak. For the *Manner* of it, I onely note thus much now in general; That not all the wiſdom of their moſt Politick Enemies, albeit the Lord had given them liberty to have plotted this peoples overthrow at their pleaſure, could have invented ſo ready and ſure a courſe for their ſwift deſtruction, as this people themſelves (*in great policie to their ſeeming*) ſtill make choice of. Not one project which they can forecaſt, but proves an inevitable gin to intrap themſelves, and is as a fatal ſnare unto their own feet.

9. Firſt good *Joſias*, without *Warrant from God*, or his *Prophets advice*, thinks it in Policie the ſafeſt courſe, to aſſault the *Egyptian* in the confines of his Country, leſt afterwards he ſhould be enforced to defend himſelf upon harder termes, nearer to the heart of *Judah*, from his Enemy ſtrengthned with the ſpoil of her borders; ſo jealous he is of *Nechoah*'s purpoſe, which meant him no harm, that his word will not ſerve him for warrant; albeit his *words*, as the Text ſaith, *were from the mouth of God*. The iſſue of his policie, is, that he himſelf is ſlain; and *Pharaoh Necoh*, by this his unſeaſonable provocation, took a fair pretence of invading the Land after his death, and condemns it in an hundred talents of Silver, and a talent of Gold. And for the effecting of this his purpoſe, the people themſelves had given occaſion; for they (no doubt out of ſome politick purpoſe) had preferred the * *younger brother Jehoahaz* to the Kingdom: who (poor Caitiff!) in ſtead of ſwaying *Davids* Scepter in the promiſed Land, is after three months ſpace led Captive in chains (like a Bond-ſlave) into *Egypt*, whence the Lord had redeemed the meaneſt of this peoples Fore-fathers. So contrary hath *Judah* been in all her courſes, that all the glorious hopes of *Davids* Line run backwards: So far is the Calendar of *Jeruſalems* good dayes run out of date; ſuch are the revolutions of times, that this *Light* which they had ſet up for *David* hath taken darkneſs for its habitation: The Sun of their Comfort is ſet, before it came to the Meridian, and runs away out of their Hemiſphere. And in his ſtead a *Comet* ariſeth out of *Egyptian* exhalations, which portends nothing but war and blood. This is *Jehoiakim*

2 Chron. 35. 22.

* *Johanan* or *Jehoahaz.*

Jehoiakim.

kim whom *Pharaoh Nechoh*, which ſlew his father, hath now appointed to be King over this people, for his purpoſe; the ſucceſs of whoſe Raign in general the people might well prognoſticate by his life and manners: the *Epitome* of which, *Joſepus lib.* 10. *cap.* 5. hath given very pithily, in two words, *He was neither religious towards God, nor juſt towards men.* And yet beſides this, his natural diſpoſition was particularly incenſed againſt this people, for preferring his younger * brother to the Crown, and ſo more ready to wreak his ſpite, by reaſon of his dependance upon the *Egyptian*, out of whoſe Country he had the *Prophet Uriah* brought, to ſatiate his thirſt of blood: *Jer.* 26. 23. which *bloody Fact* of his, and the like (with their like ſucceſs) is the train I have purſued in theſe preſent Meditations.

* *Quære.* See 1 *Chr.* 3. 15. where *Johanan* is called the firſt-born, yet *Joſephus l.* 10 *c.* 5. in engliſh, ſays, that *Eliakim*, who is alſo *Jehoiakim*, was elder brother to *Jehouhaz*.

I will conclude them with that of *Solomon*, Prov. 28. 2. *For the tranſgreſſions of a Land, many are the Princes thereof.* And of *Judah* never a good one after *Joſiah*; ſuch they were as might ſerve to ſcourge this people, until they were caſt like Vagabonds and unprofitable Members out of that City and Land which had bred them.

10. Thus you ſee, Gods largeſt Promiſes have their limites; greateſt proſperity hath a period, and mightieſt Kingdoms have their fall. You have likewiſe ſeen, how for the uncircumciſed hearts of this people, is he ſlain by uncircumciſed hands, who had ſo throughly cleanſed *Jeruſalem* and *Judah* from all the abominations of the Heathen. The Heroical attempts of whoſe Princely reſolution and zeal in reſtoring the true worſhip of God unto this people, needs not mine, it hath the commendations of Gods Spirit, who hath been curious in calculating his particular good deeds throughout this Chapter, to have been matchleſs in *David*'s Race; and how then poſſible to be parallel'd in any other Princes Line? And what? If through the religious care and induſtry of ſome one or two Princes, whom the Lord in mercy had raiſed up as Lights unto this Land, the foggy miſts of Superſtition, Hereſie and Idolatry be driven hence? This is an *Infallible teſtimony* of Gods former love unto our Fore-fathers, no *ſure Document* of our continuance in his favour; if yet this Land and People may be taken in *the very manner* of thoſe capital Crimes, which did condemn *Judah* (his firſt-born amongſt the Nations) in the dayes of good *Joſiah*, even whilſt it was acquitted from profeſſion of Idolatry and Superſtition. What ſhall it avail us, that thoſe forreign hungry Hell-hounds, which brought Commiſſions of Charter Warrant for hunting out the good things of this Land, and made this people a prey for maintenance of the many-headed beaſt, have been long time prohibited to continue their wanted raunge, if the Princes which are left within her, be as roaring Lions, and her Judges as wolves in the evening, which leave not the bones until the morrow? What avails it that the ſecular Prieſts and Jeſuites are (would God they were) tranſported out of this Land, if her own *Prophets* be light and wicked perſons, and her Prieſts pollute the Sanctuary, and wreſt the Law? Or what ſhall it avail us, that the Light of the Goſpel doth ſhine amongſt us; *if the juſt Lord be in the midſt of us, and every morning bring forth judgment unto light, and fail not,* and yet *the wicked will not learn to be aſhamed?* Or what avails it, that we have caſt off all blind obedience to the Sea of Antichriſt, if we will not ſuffer Gods Providence to be a Rule, and Chriſts word a Light unto our paths, but walk on ſtill in the wayes of the heathens; making ſecular obſervations our chief confidence, and worldly policie, our greateſt truſt? Or what avails it to have purged our hearts from all conceit of merit, if we pollute our hands with

bribes? Or what avails it to give God the glory in all good actions, and yet daily diſhonor his name with bad dealings? I will ſpeak more plainly, What advantageth it us, to object unto the Papiſts, that they ſeek to merit heaven by their works, and ſhare with God in the honour of good deeds, if they can truly reply upon us, That the free Alms of Papiſts Founders, have been by Proteſtants ſet on ſale unto their brethren? Or that ſecular Appendices and Alliance of Spiritual men, devour a great part of that liberal maintenance, which was allotted only for Prophets, and Prophets children.

11. *Beloved in our Lord*, were we our ſelves without ſin, without theſe enormous ſins, which I have mentioned, all of us might freely attempt to ſtone that filthy Whore, and all her foul Adulterers, unto death. But ſuch of us as ſeek moſt to purge the Land of them, and ſeek not withal to cleanſe our own hearts of thoſe ſins which have procured Gods wrath againſt it, may juſtly dread, leſt we find no better ſucceſs then good *Joſiah* did; to provoke the enemy to do more miſchief then haply they meant? Miſtake me not, I beſeech you, as though I miſliked ſuch as ſollicite ſeverity againſt that Nation; yet cannot I hope, but ſome will be as jealous of me, as theſe *Jews* of *Joſiah*'s and *Jehoiakim*'s *dayes*, were alwayes of the Prophet *Jeremy*; whoſe footſteps I have reſolved to follow, through good and bad report. Give me leave to explain my meaning, thus.

As from my heart I reverence their religious labors, who have of late ſo effectually ſtirred up our Sovereigns heart to this purpoſe, and earneſtly requeſt your hearty prayers unto Almighty God, that his Holy Spirit may continually enflame his royal heart with thoſe good motions which have been kindled in it of late: ſo do I deſire from the very centre of my ſoul, both, that men of place, Authority, Gravity, Learning and Integrity of life, may proſecute it; and that young Divines (whether *young in years* or *manners*, it ſkills not) would oftentimes, even for *Sions* ſake, hold their peace, or at leaſt be wary *where* and *when* they open their mouths in this argument. For he that looks into the temper of this preſent people with a diſcreet, religious, not with a turbulent, factious eye, may eaſily diſcern that many ill tempered and extravagant invectives againſt Papiſts (made by men whoſe Perſons wanting *Authority*, as much as their *ſpeeches* do *Reaſon*,) do nothing elſe but ſet an edge upon our Adverſaries ſword; whilſt the light behaviour, and bad example of the Inveighers life, infuſeth courage to their hearts, and addeth ſtrength unto their arms. In one word, Many of our *words* in this place, increaſe the *wrath*, and many of our *lives* out of this place increaſe the *number* of that Faction.

12. *Though all of us by Profeſſion are Chriſts Soldiers, yet every Soldier is not fit for any ſervice.* Albeit I diſcourage no man; I only adviſe, that every man that means to be a valiant Soldier in Chriſt, and would do his Maſter good Service in ſo juſt a quarrel, would firſt begin to try his Valour in the Reformation of his own life, in expelling all diſſolute and inveterate luſts all immoderate and unruly deſires out of his own heart, *So ſhall the words of his mouth, and the Meditations of his heart, be alwaies acceptable in the ſight of the Lord, his only ſtrength and his Redeemer:* In whoſe ſtrength and valor alone, we muſt aſſault and vanquiſh our malicious Adverſaries. And *unleſs Reformation do, certainly judgment will begin at the Houſes of God*, at thoſe living Temples of his, which have the platforms of true Religion in them, but are not edified in good works. *Let not the Eunuch ſay, I am a dry tree.* Nor let the meaneſt amongſt

mongſt us, either in Learning, Wit, or outward Eſtate, think that he can do nothing in this caſe. For if we have but true faith, we all know, That it is not the reſolute Soldiers arm, nor the ſevereſt Magiſtrates ſword, nor the cunningeſt Politicians head, nor the Potent Cuſtom of Law, that ſets or keeps Kings Crowns upon their Heads, but the lifting up of pure hearts and holding up clean hands to him, that giveth wiſdome to the Wiſe, and Strenth to the Strong; to him which hath the Soldiers arm, the Magiſtrates ſword, the Politicians Wiſdom, all Power, all Fulneſs at his diſpoſal. Wherefore, Beloved in our Lord, If either love to God, or love to Prince; if either love to that Religion which we profeſs, or love unto thoſe pleaſant places which we inhabit, or the good things belonging to them, which we poſſeſs; If love to any or all of theſe, can move our hearts (as whoſe heart is there but is moved to ſome of theſe?) Oh let them move them in time unto repentance, that we may enjoy theſe bleſſings the longer. Let us draw neer unto our God, and he will draw neer to us: Let us cleanſe our minds, and lift up pure hands and hearts unto the Lord, for only ſuch can lay faſt hold upon his mercy, leſt our continuance in our own daily tranſgreſſions, added to the heavy weight of our predeceſſors ſins, pull down Gods ſudden judgments upon this Land, Prince, and People.

13. And as for ſuch, O Lord, as ſet their faces againſt heaven and againſt thee, to work wickedneſs in thy ſight, and hold on ſtill to fill up the full meaſure of their Fore-fathers ſins, and cauſe the overflowing vengeance of thy wrath; Lord, let them all periſh ſuddenly from the earth; and let their poſterity vaniſh hence like ſmoke, ere for their provocations wherewith they provoke thee daily, the breath of our noſtrils, thine anointed Servant, be taken in thoſe nets which the uncircumciſed daily ſpread for him.

And let us, Beloved, whom he loves ſo dearly, ſeek to fill this Land with the good example of our lives, and incenſe of our hearty prayers: That under his ſhadow, and the ſhadow of his Royal Off ſpring, we of this place, with this Land and People, may be preſerved alive from all ſtrange or domeſtick tyranny. *Amen.*

CHAP. XLVI.

MATTH. 23. verſe 37.

O Jeruſalem, Jeruſalem, *thou that killeſt the Prophets, and ſtoneſt them which are ſent to thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a Hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not.*

1. THe Sum of my *laſt Meditations upon the former verſes*, was, That notwithſtanding our Saviours *Prediction* or *threatning* of all thoſe plagues ſhortly to befall *Jeruſalem*, there was even at this time A *Poſſibility* left for this people to have continued a flouriſhing Nation; *A Poſſibility* left for their *Repentance*: That their Repentance and Proſperity was the End whereat the Lord himſelf did aim in ſending Prophets and Wiſemen, and laſtly his only Son unto them.

See the foregoing Sermon on *Matth.* 23. 34 See *Signs of the Times*, *pag.* 24.

The Former of the two Parts: [*The Poſſibility of their Proſperity and Repentance*] was proved from the perpetual *Tenor* of Gods *Covenant* with this people, firſt made with *Moſes*, afterward renewed with *David* and *Solomon*, and ratified by *Jeremy* and *Ezekiel*. The *Tenor* of the Covenant, as you then heard, was a Covenant not of *Death* only, but of *Life* and *Death*; of Life, if they continued faithful in his Covenant; of Death, if they continued in diſobedience.

The later Part of the ſame Aſſertion, *viz.* [*That this Peoples Repentance and Proſperity was the end intended by God*] was proved from that Declaration of his deſire of their everlaſting Proſperity, *Deut.* 5. 29. *Oh that there were ſuch a heart in this people, to fear me, and keep my Commandments alwaies, that it might go well with them, and their poſterity for ever.* And the like place *Pſalm* 81. *v.* 13. *Iſai* 48. 18.

Theſe places manifeſt Gods love, and deſire of this peoples ſafety; But the *Abundance*, the *Strength*, with the unrelenting *Conſtancy* and tenderneſs of his love, is in no place more fully manifeſted then in theſe words of my Text. The *abundant fervency* we may note in the very firſt words, in that his mouth which never ſpake idle nor ſuperfluous word, doth here ingeminate the Appellation, *O Jeruſalem, Jeruſalem.* This he ſpake out of the *abundance of his love.* But Love is oft-times fervent or abundant for the preſent, or whiles the Object of our love remains amiable, yet not ſo conſtant and perpetual, if the quality of what we loved be changed. But herein appears the *ſtrength* and *conſtancy* of Gods love, that it was thus fervently ſet upon *Jeruſalem* not only in her pure and virgin dayes, or whiles ſhe continued as chaſte and loyal, as when ſhe was affianced unto the Lord By *David*, but upon *Jeruſalem* often drunk with the cup of Fornications; upon *Her*, long ſtained and polluted with the blood of his deareſt Saints, which ſhe had even mingled with her Sacrifices: Upon *Jeruſalem* and her children, when (after he had cleanſed her infected habitations with fire, and carried her inhabitants beyond *Babylon* into the North-land, as into a more freſh and pure air: Yet after their return thence, and replantation in their own Land) returned with the dog to his vomit, and with the waſhed Sow, to wallowing in the mire; *God would have gathered even as the Hen doth her chickens under her wings*, &c.

2. In which words, beſides *the tenderneſs of Gods Love* towards theſe Caſt-awayes, is ſet out unto us the ſafety of his *Protection*, ſo they would have been gathered. For as there is no creature more kind and tender then the Hen unto her young ones, none that doth more carefully ſhroud and ſhelter them from the ſtorm, none that doth more cloſely hide them from the eye of the *Deſtroyer*; ſo would God have hidden *Jeruſalem* under the ſhadow of his wings, from all thoſe terms which afterward overwhelmed her, and from the *Roman Eagle*, to whom this whole generation preſent became a prey. If ſo *Jeruſalem* with her children, after ſo many hundred years experience of his fatherly love and tender care had not remained more fooliſh than the new hatched brood of reaſonleſs creatures: if ſo they had not been ignorant of his Call, that had often redeemed them from their enemies. *How often would I have gathered you, and you would not?*

Here were large matter for Rhetorical Digreſſions, or mellifluous Encomions of *Divine Love:* Points wherein many Learned Divines have in later times been very copious, yet ſtill leaving the truth of that Love which they ſo magnifie, very queſtionable. It ſhall ſuffice me at this time,

Two Points propounded.

Firſt, To prove the undoubted truth, and unfeignedneſs of Gods tender Love even towards ſuch Caſt-awayes as theſe proved, to whom he made this proteſtation.

Secondly, To unfold (as far as is fitting for us to inquire) how it is poſſible that they ſhould not be gathered unto God, nor ſaved by Chriſt, whoſe gathering and whoſe ſafety, he, to whom nothing can be impoſſible, had ſo earneſtly, ſo tenderly, and conſtantly longed after.

Theſe are Points of ſuch Uſe and Conſequence, that if God ſhall enable me ſoundly, though plainly, to unfold their truth; you will, I hope, diſpenſe with me for want of artificial Exornations, or words more choice then ſuch as naturally ſpring out of the matters handled, as willingly as the poor amongſt you pardon good houſe-keepers for wearing nothing but home-ſpun cloth. For as it is hard for a man of ordinary means to beſtow much on his own back, and feed many bellies; ſo neither is it eaſie for me and my preſent opportunities, both to feed your ſouls with the *Truth*, and to cloath my Diſcourſe with choice words, and flouriſhing phraſes. And I am perſwaded many Preachers might in this *Argument* often prove more *Theological*, ſo they could be content to be leſs *Rhetorical*. My purpoſe is not to diſſent from any of the Reformed Churches, but only in thoſe particulars wherein they evidently diſſent from themſelves, and from *General Principles* of Truth acknowledged by all that believe God or his Word.

God earneſtly deſires the converſion of ſuch as periſh: The former Pointe

3. Were I to ſpeak in ſome Audience, of *this Point*, it would be needful to dip my pen in *Nectar*, or ſweeten my voice with *Ambroſia*, to allay the harſhneſs of this Poſition, *That God ſhould ſo earneſtly deſire the converſion of ſuch as periſh.* Howbeit the ſureſt Grounds of that Charity which God requires ſhould be in every one of us *towards all* (our greateſt enemies not excepted) is *Firm Belief* of this *his unſpeakable Love towards all*, even towards ſuch as kill his Prophets, and ſtone the Meſſengers of their peace. *I exhort* (ſaith the Apoſtle, 1 *Tim.* 2. 1.) *that firſt of all ſupplications, prayers, interceſſions and giving of thanks, be made for all men; for Kings and for all that are in authority.* Yet did moſt ſuch in thoſe dayes, *oppreſs Chriſtians, and draw them before Judgment Seats*, James 2. 6. even becauſe *they did pray unto the true God for them, who did blaſpheme that worthy Name*, &c. This Duty, notwithſtanding (which was ſo odious unto thoſe great and rich men, for whoſe good it was performed) St. *Paul* tells us, *was good and acceptable in the ſight of God our Saviour*, 1 Tim. 2. 3. Why acceptable in his ſight? Becauſe (v. 4.) *he would have all men* (and therefore the ſworn enemies of the Goſpel) *to be ſaved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth*, which they now oppugned. Or, if the expreſs Authority of the Apoſtle ſuffice not, his Reaſons drawn from the Principles of Nature, will perſwade ſuch as have not quenched the Light of Nature, by ſetting not the corruptions only, but the very *Eſſence* of *Nature* at odds with *Grace*; *For* (v. 5.) *there is one God*; had there been moe, every one might have been conceived as partial for his own Creatures. But in as much as all of us have but *one Father*, his love to every one muſt needs be greater then any earthly Parents love unto their children, in as much as we are more truly *His*, then Children are their Parents. But here (as the Apoſtle foreſeeth) might be Replyed, That albeit *God be One* and the onely Creator of all: yet in as much as all of us are the Seed of Rebels with whom he is diſpleaſed, our *Mediator* might be more partial, and commend ſome to Gods love, neglecting others: To prevent this Scruple, the Apoſtle adds, *ver.* 5. that as there is but *One God*, ſo there is but *One Mediator between God and Man*, and he of the ſame Nature with us, *A Man.* But men are partial: yet ſo is not the *Man Chriſt Jeſus*; that is, *The Man annointed by the Holy Ghoſt to be the Saviour of the world.* As he truly took our fleſh upon him

that he might be a faithful and affectionate High Prieſt; ſo, that we might conceive of him as of an *unpartial Solicitor* or Mediator betwixt God and us, he took not our Nature enſtampt with any *Individual Properties*, Characters or References to any one Tribe or Kindred. Father according to the fleſh he had none, but was framed by the ſole immediate hand of God, to the end that as the eye, becauſe it hath no ſet colour, is apt to receive the impreſſion of every colour: So Chriſt, becauſe he had not thoſe carnal References which others have, but was without father, without brother, without ſiſter on earth, might be unpartial towards all, and account *every one that doth the will of his Father which is in heaven, as ſiſter, mother, and brother. Thus ſaith the Lord unto the Eunuchs that keep my Sabbaths, and chuſe the things that pleaſe me, and take hold of my Covenant: Even unto them will I give in mine houſe, and within my walls, a place and a Name better then of ſons and of daughters. I will give them an everlaſting Name that ſhall not be cut off.* Briefly, he is *A Brother* to all mankind, more loving and more affectionate then brothers of intire blood are one towards another.

Iſai. 56. 4.

4. The very *Ground* of the Apoſtles *Reaſon* thus *barred*, will of its own accord reverberate *that diſtinction* which hath been laid againſt his meaning by ſome otherwiſe moſt worthy defendants of the truth. The *Diſtinction* is, that when the Apoſtle ſaith, *God will have all men to be ſaved*, he means, *Genera ſingulorum*, not *ſingula generum*; *Some few of all ſorts, not all of every ſort. Some rich, ſome poor, ſome learned, ſome unlearned, ſome Jews, ſome Gentiles, ſome Italians, ſome Engliſh, &c.* The Illuſtrations which they bring to juſtifie this manner of ſpeech, did the time permit, I could retort upon themſelves, and make them ſpeak more plainly for my Opinion then for theirs. It ſhall be ſufficient by the way to note the *Impertinency of the Application*, ſuppoſing the Inſtances brought by them were juſtifiable by the Illuſtrations which they bring; Or, to ſhew how little it could weaken *Our Aſſertion*, although it might intercept all the ſtrength or aid *this Place* affords for the Fortification of it. For what can it help them to turn theſe words (becauſe they make towards us) from their ordinary and uſual meaning; or to reſtrain Gods Love only unto ſuch as are ſaved; when as *the Current* of it in other paſſages of Scripture is evidently extended unto ſuch as periſh? In ſtead of many words unto this purpoſe uttered by him that cannot lye, thoſe few, *Ezek.* 33. 11. ſhall content me. *As I live, ſaith the Lord God, I have no pleaſure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live, turn ye from your evil wayes. For why will ye die, O ye houſe of Iſrael?*

About this diſtinction, ſee Book 6. (or Attributes) chap. 15. and Book 9. chap. 5.

If God *will* the ſafety of ſuch as periſh, yea even of moſt deſperate ſtubborn ſinners: no queſtion but he wills *all* ſhould be ſaved and come unto the knowledge of his truth. The *Former diſtinction* then will not ſtop this paſſage. Howbeit ſome Learned amongſt the School-men, and other moſt religious Writers of later times, have ſought out *another* for intercepting all ſuccour, this or the like places might afford to the mantenance of that truth, which they oppugn and we defend. That God doth not will the death of ſinner *Voluntate ſigni*, they grant; but that he wills it *Voluntate beneplaciti*, they take as granted; That is in other terms, *God doth not will the death of him that dies by his* Revealed Will, *but by his* Secret Will. Not to urge them to a better declaration then hitherto they have made, in what ſenſe God (*being but One*) may be ſaid to have *two Wills*. That he *wills* many things which we know not; that he hath divers *Secret Purpoſes*, we grant, and believe as moſt true, indefinitely taken : But becauſe *theſe Wills or Purpoſes are ſecret*; man may not, man cannot without preſumption, determine the particular matters which he ſo willeth or purpoſeth, otherwiſe they ſhould not be *ſecret*, but *revealed* to us, whereas *things ſecret, as ſecret*, belong only unto God, *Deut.* 29. 29. In that they oppoſe *Gods Secret Will* to Gods Revealed Will, they do (as it were) put in a *Caveat*, That we ſhould not believe it in thoſe particulars whereto they apply it. For we may not believe any thing concerning the ſalvation or damnation of mankind, or the means which lead to either, ſave what is *revealed*; But this *Secret Will* is not Revealed; therefore not to be believed. Nor are we by the Principles of *Reformed Religion* bound only *not to believe it*, but utterly to *diſclaim it*. For admitting (what was before granted) *an Indefinite Belief*, that God wills many things which he keeps ſecret from us; yet we muſt abſolutely believe, *That he never wills any thing ſecretly, which ſhall be Contrary or Contradictory to that whereon his Will Revealed is ſet, or to that which by the expreſs warrant of his written Word we know he wills.* Now every Chriſtian muſt infallibly and determinately believe, *That God wills not the death of the wicked, or of him that dies*; ſeeing his written word doth plainly regiſter his peremptory determination of this Negative; therefore no man may believe the *Contradictory* to this, to wit, *That he wills the death of him that dies*: otherwiſe *this Diſtinction admitted, untwines the very bonds of mans ſalvation.* For what ground of hope have the very *Elect*, beſides *Gods Will Revealed*, or (at the beſt) confirmed by oath? Now if we might admit it but as probable, That God, *Voluntate Beneplaciti*, or, *by his Secret Will*, may purpoſe ſome things contrary to what he promiſes by his *Revealed Will*, who is he that could have, I ſay not, any *Certainty*, but any *moral Probability* of his Salvation? Seeing God aſſures us of Salvation only by his *Word Revealed*, not by his *ſecret will or purpoſe*, which, for ought we do, or poſſibly can, know, may utterly diſanul what his *Revealed Will* ſeems to ratifie. Laſtly, It is an *infallible Rule or Maxime in Divinity*, That *we may not attribute any thing to the moſt pure and perfect Eſſence of the Deity, which includes any imperfection in it*; much leſs may we aſcribe any *impurity* or *untruth*, unto that *Holy One, the Author of all truth.* But to ſwear one thing, and to reſerve a *ſecret meaning*, contrary to the plain and literal meaning profeſſed, is the very *Idæa of untruth*, the Eſſence of impious *Perjury*, which we ſo much condemn in ſome of our Adverſaries, who, if this Diſtinction might *generally paſs for current amongſt us*, might retort; that we are as maliciouſly partial againſt the *Jeſuites* as the *Jews* were againſt *Chriſt Jeſus*: that we are ready to blaſpheme God rather then ſpare to revile them: ſeeing we attribute that unto his *Divine Majeſty*, which we condemn in them as moſt impious and contrary to his Sacred Will, who will not diſpenſe with *Equivocation* or *mental Reſervation*, be the cauſe wherein they are uſed, never ſo good; becauſe *to ſwear one thing openly*, and *ſecretly to reſerve a contradictory meaning*, is contrary to the very *Nature* and *Eſſence* of the *Firſt Truth*; the moſt tranſcendent ſin that can be imagined. Wherefore, as this *Diſtinction* was lately hatched, ſo it were to be wiſhed that it might quickly be extinguiſhed, and lye buried with their bones that have revived it. *Let God be true in all his words*, in all his ſayings, but *eſpecially in all his oaths*, and let the Jeſuite be reputed as he is, a double diſſembling perjured Liar.

5. The former Place of *Ezekiel*, as it is no way impeached by this diſtinction laſt mentioned; ſo *doth* it plainly *refute* another *Gloſs* put

An odd Gloſs refuted.

upon my Text by ſome worthy and Famous Writers. *How oft would I have gathered you, and you would not*, &c. *Theſe words* (*ſay they*) *were uttered by our Saviour manifeſting his deſire* As Man. But unleſs they be more then men which frame *this Gloſs*, Chriſt as man was greater then they, and ſpake nothing but what he had in *expreſs Commiſſion* from his Father. We may then I truſt without offence take his words as here they ſound, for a better interpretation of his Fathers Will, then any man can give of his meaning in this paſſage uttered by himſelf in words as plain as they can deviſe.

Theſe words indeed were ſpoken by the mouth of him that was man, yet by a mouth as truly manifeſting the deſire and good will of God for the ſalvation of his people, as if they had been immediately uttered by the Godhead without the Organ or Inſtrument of humane voice. But why ſhould we think they were conceived by Chriſt, *as he was man*, not rather by him as the *Mediator between God and Man*, as the Second Perſon in the Trinity manifeſted in our Fleſh? He ſaith not, *Behold my Father hath ſent*, but, in his own Perſon, *I have ſent unto you Prophets and Wiſe men*, &c. Nor is it ſaid, *How often would my Father*? but, *How often would I have gathered you?* This *Gathering* we cannot refer only to the *three years of his Miniſtery*, but to the whole time of *Jeruſalem* her running aſtray from the Prophets *Calls*: from the firſt time that *David* firſt took poſſeſſion of it, till the laſt deſtruction of it. For all this time, He that was now *ſent* by his Father in the ſimilitude of man did ſend *Prophets*, *Wiſe men*, and *Apoſtles* to reclaim them, if they would have hearkned to him, or his Meſſengers Admonitions. S. *Luke* puts this out of Controverſie, for, repeating part of this ſtory, he ſaith expreſly, *Therefore alſo ſaid the Wiſdom of God, I will ſend them Prophets*, &c. And Chriſt is ſtyled, *The Wiſdom of God*, not *as man*, but as God; and Conſequently *He* ſpake theſe words, not *as man only*, but as *God*. The ſame compaſſion and burning Love, the ſame thirſt and longing after *Jeruſalems* ſafety which we ſee here manifeſted by a manner comprehenſible to fleſh and blood, in theſe words of our Saviour in my Text (or the like uttered by him, *Luke* 19. with tears and ſobs) we muſt believe to be as truly, as really and unfeignedly *in the Divine Nature*, though by a manner incomprehenſible to fleſh and blood. How any ſuch flagrant deſire of their welfare which finally periſh, ſhould be in God, we cannot conceive, becauſe our minds are more dazeled with that inacceſſible Light which he inhabits, then the eyes of Batts and Owls are by gazing on the Sun. To qualifie *this Incomprehenſible Glory of the Deity*, the Wiſdom of God was made Fleſh, that we might ſafely behold the true module or proportion of Divine Goodneſs in our Nature: as the eye which cannot look upon the Sun in his ſtrength, or as it ſhines in the Firmament, may without offence behold it in the water, being an *Element homogeneal* to its own ſubſtance. Thus ſhould *all Chriſts Prayers*, *deſires*, or pathetical *wiſhes* of mans ſaftety be to us as ſo many viſible pledges, or *ſenſible Evidences* of Gods Inviſible and Incomprehenſible Love; and ſo he concludes his *laſt Invitation* of the Jewes. *I have not ſpoken of my ſelf, but the Father which ſent me, he gave me Commandment what I ſhould ſay, and what I ſhould ſpeak; And I know that his Commandment is everlaſting life; whatſoever I ſpake therefore even as the Father ſaid unto me, ſo I ſpake.* John 12. ver. 49, 50.

Luke 11. 39.

And what ſaith our Saviour more in his own, then the Prophet had done in the Name and Perſon of his God? *Iſai.* 49. *v.* 14. *Sion complained, the Lord hath forſaken me, and my Lord hath forgotten me.* But he anſwered. *Can a woman forget her ſucking Child, that ſhe ſhould not have compaſſion on the ſon of her womb? yea! they may forget; yet will I not forget thee. Behold I have graven thee upon the palms of my hands*, &c. Theſe and the like Places of the Prophets, compared with our Saviours ſpeech here in my Text, give us plainly to underſtand, That *whatſoever Love any mother can bear to the fruit of her womb*, (unto whom her bowels of compaſſion are more tender then the fathers can be) *or whatſoever affection any dumb Creature can afford unto their tender brood*, the like, *but greater doth God bear unto his children.* Unto the *Elect* moſt will grant: But is his Love ſo tender towards *ſuch as periſh?* Yes; the Lord carried the whole Hoſte of *Iſrael* (even the ſtubborn and moſt diſobedient) *as the Eagle doth her young ones upon her wings*, Exod. 19. 4.

Earthly Parents will not vouchſafe to wait perpetually upon their children. The Hen continueth not her Call from morning to night, nor can ſhe endure to hold out her wings all day for a ſhelter to her young ones: as they grow great and refuſe to come, ſhe gives over to invite them. *But* (ſaith the Lord by his Prophet,) *I have ſpread out my hand all the day unto a rebellious people, which walketh in a way that was not good, after their own thoughts. A people that provoketh me to anger continually to my face; that ſacrificeth in gardens, and burneth incenſe upon Altars of bricks, which remain among the graves, and lodge in the monuments; which eat Swines fleſh, and broth of abominable things is in their veſſels; which ſay* (adding hypocriſie unto filthineſs and Idolatry) *ſtand by thy ſelf, come not neer unto me, for I am holier then thou*, Iſai. 65. ver. 2, 3, 4. Such they were, and ſo conceited of our Saviour, with whom he had in his life time oft to deal, and for whoſe ſafety he prayed with tears before his Paſſion.

Theſe and many like paſſages of Scripture are pathetically ſet forth by the Spirit, to aſſure us, *That there is no deſire like unto the Almighties deſire of ſinful mans Repentance, no Longing to his Longing after our Salvation.* If Gods Love, to *Judah* comen to the height of rebellion, had been leſs then mans or other Creatures Love to what they affect moſt dearly: If the Means he uſed to reclaim her had been fewer, or leſs probable, then any others had attempted for obtaining their moſt wiſhed End, his Demand (to which the Prophet thought no poſſible Anſwer could be given) might eaſily have been put off by theſe incredulous Jewes, unto whom he had not referred the judgment in their own Cauſe; if they could have inſtanced in man or other Creature, more willing to do what poſſibly they could do, either for themſelves or others, then he was to do *whatſoever was poſſible to be done* for them: *And now, O Inhabitants of Jeruſalem and men of Judah, judge I pray you betwixt me and my Vineyard; what could more have been done to my Vineyard, that I have not done to it? Wherefore when I looked that it ſhould bring forth grapes, brought it forth wild grapes?* Iſa. 5. v. 3, 4.

6. But the greater we make the Truth and Extent of Gods Love, the more we increaſe the difficulty of the *Second Point* propoſed. For amongſt women many there be that would; amongſt dumb Creatures, ſcarce any that would not, redeem their ſucklings from death by dying themſelves. Yet what is it that they can do, which they would not do to ſave their own lives? And did not God ſo *love the world that he gave his only begotten Son for it?* Yes, for the world of the Elect; I ſee not why any ſhould be excluded from the number. But to let that paſs; Gods deſire of their repentance which periſh, is undoubtedly ſuch

The ſecond Point, *How is it poſſible they ſhould not be gathered, if God ſo earneſtly will, &c.* as fol. 783.

as hath been ſaid: Yet ſhould we ſay that he hath done all that could be done for them *How chanceth it that all are not ſaved?* Was the Vineyard more barren then *Sarah?* the fruit of whoſe womb he made like the Stars of the ſky, or as the ſands by the Sea ſhore innumerable. Was it a matter more hard to make the impenitent *Jew* bring forth fruits worthy of Repentance, then to make a Virgin conceive and bear a ſon? If it were not, how chanceth it, the Word of the Lord (and that but a ſhort one) ſhould bring the One to joyful Iſſue, whilſt the other (the repentance of the Jews, and other ungodly men) after ſo many exhortations and threatnings, after ſo many promiſes of comfort, and ſo many denunciations of woes, as the Prophets, the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors have uſed, is not to this day, nor ever will be accompliſhed?

If repentance of men born and brought up in ſin be a work *altogether impoſſible*, all of us ſhould utterly periſh, none repent; if poſſible to any, ſhall it not be poſſible to the Almighty, who alone can do all things? if poſſible to him, why is not repentance wrought in all, whoſe ſalvation he more earneſtly deſires then the moſt tender hearted mother doth the life and welfare of her darling infant? Hence with *Seeming Probability*, ſome may conclude, either that Gods Love unto ſuch as periſh is not ſo great as ſome mothers bear unto their children, or elſe his *Power* in reſpect of them is not infinite. And againſt our Doctrine, perhaps, it will be Objected, That by thus magnifying Gods *Love* towards *All*, we miniſh his *Power* towards *Some*: From which to derogate ought, is in ſome mens judgments, the worſt kind of Blaſphemy; a Point as dangerous in Divinity, to ſpeak but doubtfully or ſuſpiciouſly of it, as in matter of State to determine or limit the *Prerogative Royal*. Howbeit, if no other choice were left, but a neceſſity were laid upon us of leaving either the infinite Power or infinite Goodneſs of our God queſtionable or unexpreſſed; the offence were leſs, to ſpeak not ſo much of his Power as moſt do, then to ſpeak ought prejudicial to that conceipt which even the Heathens by light of Nature had of his Goodneſs. *This Attribute is the Chief Object of our Love*, and for which he himſelf deſires to be loved moſt; and in this reſpect to derogate ought from it, muſt needs be moſt offenſive. But his curſe be upon him that will not unfeignedly acknowledge the abſolute infiniteneſs as well of his Power as of his Goodneſs. Whoſoever he be that loves his Goodneſs, will unfeignedly acknowledge, that he is to be feared and reverenced as the Almighty Creator, Preſerver, and Judge of men; and unleſs he were in Power infinite, he could not be infinitely Good. Howbeit he that reſtrains his Love and tender Mercy, only unto ſuch as are ſaved, doth make his Goodneſs leſs (at leaſt extenſively) then his Power. For there is no Creature unto which his Power reacheth not, but ſo doth not his loving kindneſs extend to all, unleſs he deſire the good and ſafety of ſuch as periſh.

7. For winding our ſelves out of the *Former Snare*, we are to conſider a *main difference* between the Love of man or other Creatures, and the Love of God to mankind. Dumb creatures alwayes affect what they moſt deſire, if it be within the precincts of their power, becauſe they have neither Reaſon nor other Internal Law of right or wrong to controll or counter-ſway their bruitiſh appetites. Man although indued with *Reaſon* & natural *Notions* of right and wrong, is notwithſtanding oft-times drawn by the ſtrength or inordination of his tender affection, to uſe ſuch *Means* as are contrary to the *Rules of Reaſon*, *Equity* and *Religion*, for pro-

curing their ſafety or impunity on whom he dotes. Howbeit, among men we may find ſome, which cannot be wrought by any promiſe or perſwaſion, to uſe thoſe unlawful courſes for the impunity of their children or deareſt Friends which the world commonly moſt approveth. Not that their love towards their children, friends or acquaintance is *leſs*, but becauſe their love to publick *Juſtice*, to *Truth* and *Equity*, and reſpect to their own integrity, is *greater* then other mens are.

A fit inſtance we have in *Zaleucus*, King of *Locris*, who having made a ſevere Law, *That whoſoever committed ſuch an offence* (ſuppoſe Adultery) *ſhould loſe his eyes*: It ſhortly after came to paſs, that the Prince, his Son and Heir apparent to the Crown, treſpaſſed againſt this *Sanction*. Could not the good King have granted *A Pardon* to his Son? He had *Power*, no doubt, in his hands to have diſpenſed with this particular, without any danger to his Perſon; and moſt Princes would have done as much as they could, for the ſafety of their Succeſſor; nor could *Priviledges* or *Indulgences* upon ſuch ſpecial circumſtances, be held as breaches or violations of Publick Laws, becauſe the Prerogative of the perſon offending cannot be drawn into Example. But *Zaleucus* could not be brought to diſpenſe with his Law, becauſe he loved Juſtice no leſs dearly then his Son, whom he loved as dearly as himſelf; and to manifeſt *the Equality of his love to all three*, he cauſed one of his own eyes, and another of his Sons to be put out, that ſo the Law might have its due, though not wholly from his ſon that had offended, but in part from himſelf as it were by way of puniſhment for his partiality towards his ſon. It were *Poſſible*, no doubt, for a King to reclaim many Inferiors from theft, from robbery or other ungratious Courſes, ſo he would vouchſafe to abate his own expences to maintain theirs, or afford them the ſolaces of the court make them his Peers, or otherwiſe allow them means for compaſſing their wonted pleaſures. But thus far to condeſcend to unthrifty ſubjects were ill beſeeming that *Gravity and Majeſty* which ſhould be in Princes. If one ſhould give notice to a Prince, how eaſie and poſſible it were for him by theſe means to ſave a number from the Gallowes: his reply would be, *Princeps id poteſt quod ſalva majeſtate poteſt*; *That only is poſſible to a Prince which can ſtand with the ſafety of his Majeſty.* But thus to feed the unſatiable appetites of greedy unthrifts, though ſuch as he otherwiſe loves moſt dearly, and whoſe welfare he wiſhes as heartily as they do that thus ſpeak for them, is neither Princely nor Majeſtical. For a King in this Caſe to do as much as by ſome meanes poſſible he his able to do, were an act of weakneſs and impotency, not an act of Soveraign power, a great blot to his Wiſdom, Honour or Dignity, no true Argument of Royal Love or Princely Clemency.

In like Caſe we are to conſider, That God albeit *in Power infinite*, yet his *infinite power* is matched with *Goodneſs as truly infinite*; his *infinite Love*, is as it were counterpoiſed with *infinite Majeſty*: And though his *infinite mercy* be as Soveraign to his other *Attributes*, yet is it in a ſort reſtrained by the *Tribunicial power of his Juſtice.* This *Equality of infiniteneſs* betwixt his *Attributes*, being conſidered; the former *Difficulty* is eaſily reſolved. If it be demanded, whether God could not make a thouſand worlds as good or better then this, it were infidelity to deny it. Why? Becauſe this is an effect of *meer power*, and might be done without any Contradiction to his *Goodneſs*, to his *Majeſty*, to his *mercy*, or *Juſtice*, all which it might ſerve to ſet forth. And this is a Rule of faith; [*That all Effects of mere power though greater* *then we can conceive as poſſible, may be done of him with greater eaſe then we can breath.*] His only Word would ſuffice to make ten thouſand worlds. But if it be queſtioned, *Whether God could not have done more then he had done for his Vineyard; whether he cannot ſave ſuch as daily periſh?* the Caſe is altered, and breeds a fallacy, *Ad plures Interrogationes.* For mans Salvation is not a work of *meer power*, it neceſſarily requires, *An Harmony of Goodneſs, of Majeſty, of Mercy and Juſtice*, whereunto the *infinite power* is in a manner ſubſervient. Nor are we to conſider his Infinite Power alone, but as matched with Infinite Majeſty; nor his Infinite Mercy and Goodneſs alone, but as matched with infinite Juſtice; and in this caſe it is as true of God as man. *Deus illud poteſt quod ſalva majeſtate poteſt, quod ſalva bonitate & juſtitia poteſt:* God can *do that which is not prejudicial to his Majeſty, to his Goodneſs and Juſtice*; And he had done (if we may believe his Oath) as much for his Vineyard as the Concurrence of his Infinite Power and Wiſdome could effect without diſparagement to the Infinity of his Majeſty, or that Internal Law, or Rule of Infinite Goodneſs whereby he created man after his own Image and Similitude.

8. God, as he hath his *Being*, ſo hath he his *Goodneſs* of himſelf; And his *Goodneſs* is his *Being*: As impoſſible therefore that he ſhould not be *Good*, as not *Be*. Man as he had his *life* and *being*, ſo had he his *goodneſs* wholly from his *Creator*. And as actual *Exiſtence* is no part, nor neceſſary Conſequent of his *Eſſence* ſo neither is his *goodneſs* neceſſary or eſſential to his *Exiſtence*. As his *exiſtence*, ſo his *goodneſs* is mutable; the one neceſſarily including a *poſſibility of declination*, or decay, the other an *inclination to relapſe* or falling into evil. As he was made after the Similitude of God, he was actually and inherently Good; yet was not his Goodneſs eſſential, neceſſary or immutable. Nor did he reſemble his Creator in theſe *eſſential Attributes* but rather in the Exerciſe of them *ad extra*.

Now that *Exerciſe* was not neceſſary but free in the Creator; for God might have continued for ever moſt Holy, Righteous and Good in himſelf, albeit he had neither created man nor other Creature. Wherefore he made them good as he was freely Good, and ſuch is the Goodneſs communicated to them in their Creation, not *neceſſary*, but *free*; and if *free*, as well including a *poſſibility of falling into evil* as an actual ſtate of goodneſs.

If then you ask, *Could not God by his Almighty power have prevented Adams eating of the forbidden Fruit?* None (I think) will be ſo incredulous as to doubt, whether he that commanded the Sun to ſtand ſtill in his ſphere and did dead *Jeroboams* arme when he ſtretched it out againſt the Prophet, could not as eaſily have ſtayed *Adams* hand from taking, or turned his eyes from looking upon, or his heart from luſting after the forbidden fruit. All theſe were *Acts of Meer Power.* But had he by his *Omnipotent Power* laid this *Neceſſity* upon *Adams* will or underſtanding or had he kept him from tranſgreſſion by *reſtraint*, he had made him uncapable of that happineſs whereto by his *infinite Goodneſs* he had ordained him. For, by this ſuppoſition, he had not been *Good in himſelf* Nor could he be capable of true felicity, but he muſt be capable likewiſe of puniſhment and miſery. The *Ground* of his Intereſt in the One, was his *actual and inherent Goodneſs*, communicated in his Creation: Nor was he lyable to the other, but by the *mutability* of his *Goodneſs* or poſſibility of falling into evil. In like manner, he that gave that known power and Vertue to the *Load-ſtone*, could as eaſily draw the moſt ſtony hearted ſon of *Adam* unto Chriſt, as *it* doth ſteel and iron. But if he ſhould draw them by ſuch a *neceſſary* and *natural motion*, he ſhould defeat them of all their hope or intereſt in that exceſſive Glory which he hath prepared for thoſe that love him. If again it be demanded, *Why God doth not ſave the impenitent and ſtubborn ſinner?* It is all one as if we ſhould ask, *Why he did not crown brute Beaſts with honour and immortality?* That thus he could do by his *Infinite Power*, I will not deny; and if thus he would do, no Creature juſtly might controll him, none poſſibly could reſiſt or hinder him. Yet I may (without preſumption) affirm, That, *Thus to do, cannot ſtand with the internal Rule of his Juſtice; Goodneſs and Majeſty.* Nor can it ſtand better with the ſame Rule to ſave all men, if we take them *as they are*, not, *as they might be*; Albeit, he have endued all with reaſon to diſtinguiſh between good and evil. For many of them *ſpeake evil of thoſe things they know not, but what they know naturally as brute beaſts, in thoſe things they corrupt themſelves.* Jude v. 10. It ſtands leſs with *Gods infinite Goodneſs* or *Power*, if we conſider them as linkt with infinite Juſtice or Majeſtie, to bring ſuch unto true happineſs, then to advance bruit beaſts to Immortality. *It is a people,* (ſaith the Prophet, *Iſai.* 27. 11.) *of no underſtanding, therefore he that made them will not have mercy on them, and he that formed them will ſhew them no favor.* God out of the abundance of his Goodneſs, Mercy and Long-ſuffering, tolerates ſuch as the Apoſtle and Prophet ſpeak of, and out of his infinite Love ſeeks by the preaching of his Word, and other means not prejudicial to his *Juſtice* and *Majeſty*, to gather them as he would have done *Jeruſalem* here in my Text. But (finally) there is a certain *Meaſure of Iniquity* which when it is full, or, *an height of ſtubbornneſs* and profaneneſs, whereunto if once they come, the ſtroke of his infinite Juſtice falls heavy upon them for wilful contempt of his infinite Mercy. That is, as he himſelf ſomewhere ſaith, *He cannot any longer endure them.*

Quære whether he mean not Jer. 44. 22.

9. *The ſuſpicions whereto theſe reſolutions will ſeem liable, be eſpecially three.*

Three Objections againſt this Doctrin.

Firſt, That they derogate from Gods extraordinary favour towards his *Elect.*

Anſwer to the firſt.

Our *Anſwer* is brief; The Offence if any there be is *taken*, not *given*; ſeeing we only affirm, *That none ſo periſh, but that they had a poſſibilitie to be ſaved.* We deny not, *That many are ſo ſaved, as it were not poſſible for them finally to periſh.* Yet ſo ſaved they are, not by Gods Infinite Power, laying a neceſſity upon their wills, but by his Infinite Wiſdom preparing their hearts to be fit Objects of his Infinite Mercy, and forecaſting their final Salvation as neceſſary by aſſenting not altogether neceſſarily unto the particular meanes whereby it is wrought; that is, in fewer Termes: *Unto their Salvation an infinite Power, or infinite Mercy* matched with *infinite Juſtice*, without an *infinite wiſdom*, would not ſuffice. To *call ſome* (how many none may determine) *extraordinarily* as he did S. *Paul*, may well ſtand with the Eternal Rule of his Goodneſs Becauſe he uſeth their *miraculous or unuſual Converſion* as a means to win others by his *uſual or ordinary Calling.* Special Privileges, upon peculiar and extraordinary Occaſions, do not prejudice ordinary Laws: albeit to draw ſuch Privileges into common Practiſe would overthrow the courſe of Juſtice. It is not contradictory then to the Rule of Gods Juſtice, to make ſome feel his mercy and kindneſs before they ſeek it, that others may not diſpere of finding it: he having aſſured all by an eternal Promiſe, That *ſeeking they ſhall find; and that they which hunger and thirſt after righteouſneſs ſhall be ſatisfied.*

Second Objection and Anſwer.

10. The *ſecond Suſpition* or Imputation, is, *That this Doctrin may too much favour Free-will.*

In Breif we anſwer, *There have been Two Extremities in Opinions continually followed by the two main Factions of the Chriſtian world*; The One, *That God hath ſo decreed all things, as that it is impoſſible ought ſhould have been that hath not been, or not to have been, which hath been.* This was the Opinion of the Antient *Stoicks*, which attributed all Events to *Fate*, and it is no way mitigated, but rather improved, by referring this *abſolute Neceſſity*, not to ſecond Cauſes or Nature, but to the Omnipotent Power of the God of nature. This was refuted in our laſt Meditations, becauſe it makes God the ſole Author of every ſin.

The *Second Extremity* is, *That in man before his Converſion by Grace, there is a freedome or abiliment to do that which is pleaſant and acceptable unto God, or an activity to work his own Converſion.* This was the Error of the *Pelagians*, and is in part communicated to the modern Papiſts, who hold a mean indeed, but a falſe one, betwixt the *Pelagians* and the *Stoicks*.

The true Mean from which theſe Extremities ſwerve, may be comprized in theſe *two Propoſitions:* The One Negative; *In Man after Adams Fall there is no Freedom of will, or ability to do any thing not deſerving Gods wrath or Juſt indignation.* The other Affirmative: *There is in man after his Fall, a poſſibility left of doing or not doing ſome things, which being done or not done, he becomes paſſively capable of Gods mercies; doing or not doing the contrary, he is excluded from mercy, and remaines a veſſel of wrath, for his Juſtice to work upon.* For whether a man will call this *Contingency in humane actions*, not, *a poſſibility of doing or not doing*, but rather *a poſſibility of acknowledging our infirmities or abſolute impotency of doing any thing belonging or tending to our ſalvation:* I will not contend with him. Only of this I reſt perſwaded, That all the Exhortations of Prophets and Apoſtles to work humility and true repentance in their Auditors, ſuppoſe a poſſibility of Humiliation and Repentance; a poſſibility likewiſe of acknowledging and conſidering our own impotency and miſery a Poſſibility likewiſe of conceiving ſome deſire not meerly brutiſh of our redemption or deliverance. Our Saviour (ye know) required not only *a deſire* of health, of ſight, of ſpeech in all thoſe whom he healed, reſtored to ſight, or made to ſpeak, but withal *a kind of natural belief* or conceit that he was able to effect what they deſired. Hence ſaith the Evangeliſt, *Mark* 6. 5. *Matth.* 13. 58. *He could not do many miracles among them becauſe of their unbelief.* Yet Chriſt alone wrought the Miracles, the parties cured were mere *Patients*, no way *Agents.* And ſuch as ſolicited their cauſe in Caſe of abſence at the beſt were but *By-ſtanders.* Now no man I think will deny that Chriſt by the Power of his Godhead could have given ſight, ſpeech or health to the moſt obſtinate and perverſe, yet by the *Rule of his divine Goodneſs*, he could not caſt his Pearles before ſwine. Moſt true it is, that we are altogether dead to life ſpiritual, unable to ſpeak or think, much leſs to deſire it as we ſhould: yet *Belief* and *Reaſon* moral and natural ſurvive, and may with *Martha* and *Mary* beſeech Chriſt to raiſe their dead brother, who cannot ſpeak for himſelf.

The third Objection.

11. The *third Objection* will rather be preferred in Table-talk, then ſeriouſly urged in ſolemn Diſpute. *If God ſo earneſtly deſire or will the life and ſafety of ſuch as periſh, his will ſhould not alwayes be done.* Why? Dare any man living ſay or think that he always doth whatſoever God would have him do: So doubtleſs he ſhould never ſin or offend his God.

Anſwer.

For never was there woman ſo wilful, or man ſo mad, as to be offended with ought that went not againſt *their preſent will*; nor was there ever, or poſſible can be any breach of any Law, unleſs the *will of the Law giver* be broken, thwarted or contradicted; for he that leaves the *Letter*, and follows the *true meaning* of the Law-givers will, doth not tranſgreſs the Law, but obſerves it. And unleſs Gods will had been ſet upon the ſalvation of ſuch as periſh, they had not offended, but rather pleaſed him by running headlong in the wayes of death.

Yet *in a good ſenſe* it is alwayes moſt true, That *Gods will is alwayes fulfilled.* We are therefore to conſider, That God may will ſome things *abſolutely*, others *disjunctively*: or that ſome things ſhould fall out, *neceſſarily*, others not at all, or *contingently*. The particulars which *God abſolutely* wills or which he wills ſhould fall out *neceſſarily*, muſt of neceſſity come to paſs; otherwiſe his Will could in no caſe be truly ſaid to be fulfilled. As unleſs the Leper, to whom it was ſaid by our Saviour, [*I will be thou clean*] had been cleanſed; Gods Will manifeſted in theſe words had been utterly broken. But if every particular which he wills *disjunctively*, or which he wills *ſhould be contingent*, did of *neceſſity* come to paſs, his whole Will ſhould utterly be defeated. For his Will (as we ſuppoſe) in this Caſe is, that neither this, nor that particular ſhould be neceſſary, but that either they ſhould not be, or be *contingent*. And if any particular, comprized within the latitude of this contingency with its conſequent, come to paſs, his Will is truly and perfectly fulfilled. As for example: God tells the *Iſraelites* that by obſerving of his Commandments they ſhould live, and die by tranſgreſſing them. Whether therefore they live by the one means, or die by the other, his Will is neceſſarily fulfilled, becauſe it was not that they ſhould neceſſarily obſerve his Commandments or tranſgreſs them: But to their trangreſſions, though contingent death was the neceſſary Doom: So was life the abſolute neceſſary reward of their contingent obſerving them.

Another Objection with the Anſwer thereto.

12. But the Lord hath ſworn, *That he delights not in the death of him that dieth*, but in his repentance: If then he never repent, Gods delight or good pleaſure is not alwayes fulfilled, becauſe he delights in the one of theſe, not in the other. How then ſhall it be true which is written, *God doth whatſoever pleaſeth him in heaven and earth*, if he make not ſinners repent in whoſe repentance he is better pleaſed then in their death?

See this Authors 6 Book (or Attributes) Chap. 16. and Chap. 20.

But unto this *difficulty* the former *anſwer* may be rightly fitted. *Gods delight or good pleaſure may be done two wayes*; either *by us*, or *upon us*. In the former place it is ſet upon our repentance or obſequiouſneſs, to his Will; For this is that ſervice whereto by his goodneſs he ordained us: But if we croſs his good Will or pleaſure as it reſpects this point; that is, if we will not ſuffer our ſelves to be ſaved, the ſame delight or pleaſure is ſet upon our puniſhment, & fulfilled upon us: and if we would but enter into our own hearts, we might ſee the image of Gods Will hitherto manifeſted by his Word diſtinctly written in them; and that the Rule which his infinite Juſtice obſerves in puniſhing the wicked and reprobate, is to meaſure out their plagues and puniſhments, according to the meaſure of their neglecting his Will, or contradicting his delight in their ſalvation: that as the riches of his goodneſs leading them to repentance hath been more plentiful; ſo they by their impenitency ſtill treaſure up greater ſtore of wrath againſt the day of wrath. To this purpoſe doth the Lord threaten the obſtinate people before-mentioned, Iſa. 65. 5. *Theſe are as a ſmoke in my noſe, a fire that burneth all the day. Be-*

See Book 6.

hold it is written before me; I will not keep ſilence, but will recompenſe, even recompenſe into their boſom, your iniquities, and the iniquities of your Fathers together (ſaith the Lord) which have burnt Incenſe upon the mountains,. and blaſphemed me upon the Hils; therefore will I meaſure their former work into their boſom. Both theſe parts of Gods delight are fully expreſſed by *Solomon*, Prov. 1. 21. *Wiſdom crieth without, ſhe hath uttered her voice in the ſtreets; ſhe crieth in the chief place of the Concourſe, in the opening of the gates; in the City ſhe uttereth her words, ſaying, How long ye ſimple ones, will ye love ſimplicity, and the ſcorners delight in their ſcorning, and fools hate knowledg? Turn you at my reproof, Behold I will pour out my ſpirit upon you, I will make known my words unto you.* Theſe paſſages infallibly argue an unfeigned delight in their repentance, and ſuch a deſire of their ſalvation, as the Wiſdom of God hath expreſſed in my Text. But what follows? *Becauſe I have called, and ye refuſed, I have ſtretched out my hand and no man regarded: But ye have ſet at naught all my counſel, and would none of my reproof, I alſo will laugh at your calamity, I will mock when your fear cometh.* Thus his delight remains the ſame, but is ſet upon another object. To the ſame purpoſe, *Iſai.* 65. 12. *Therefore I will number you to the ſword, and ye ſhall all bow down to the ſlaughter, becauſe when I called, ye did not anſwer, when I ſpake ye did not hear, but did evil before mine eyes, and did chuſe that wherein I delighted not.* So then whether by the deſtruction of the wicked, or the ſalvation of his Choſen, Gods name is ſtill alike glorified: His Juſtice exacts what ſhould have been, but was not payed unto his Mercy. He can be no loſer by mans unthankfulneſs or ungratiouſneſs; The Caſe is all one, as if we ſhould take that from a thief with the left hand, which he had picked out of our right hand. *Thus much of the two points propoſed.*

The whole Uſe of this Doctrin.

13. I do deſire no more then that the Tree may be judged by the Fruit. And queſtionleſs the Uſe of theſe Reſolutions, whether for convincing our ſelves of ſin, or quelling deſpere, or for encouraging the careleſs and impenitent unto repentance, by giving them right hold of the means of life, is much greater then can be conceived without admittance of their truth.

Firſt, Seeing the end of our preaching, is not ſo much *to inſtruct the Elect*, as *to call ſinners to repentance*; not ſo much to confirm their faith that are already certain of ſalvation, as to give hope to the unregenerate that they may be ſaved: How ſhall we accompliſh either intendment? By magnifying Gods love towards the Elect? who theſe are, God and themſelves know. How ſhall he which lives yet in ſin perſwade himſelf there is any probability he may be ſaved? Becauſe God hath infallibly decreed to ſave ſome few? Rather ſeeing by the contrary Doctrin, the moſt part of mankind muſt neceſſarily periſh, he hath more reaſon to fear leaſt he be one of thoſe many, then to hope that he is one of thoſe few. The bare poſſibility of his ſalvation cannot be inferred but from indefinite Premiſſes, from which no certain concluſion can poſſibly follow. And without certain apprehenſion or conceit of *Poſſibility*, there can be no ſure Ground of *Hope*. But if we admit the *former extent of Gods unſpeakable love to all*, and his deſire of their eternal ſafety which deſperately periſh, *every man may*, nay *muſt* undoubtedly thus conclude; *Ergo, Gods love extends to me; It is his good will and pleaſure to have me ſaved amongſt the reſt, as well as any other; and whatſoever he unfeignedly wills, his power is able effectually to bring to paſs.* The danger of ſin and terrour of that dreadful day being firſt made known unto our

Auditors; the preſſing of theſe Points as effectually as they might be (*were this Doctrin held for current*) would kindle the Love of God in our hearts, and inflame them with deſires anſwerable to Gods ardent Will of our Salvation, and theſe once kindled, would breed ſure hope, & in a manner inforce us to imbrace the *infallible means* thereto ordained.

14. Without admiſſion of the *former Doctrin*, it is impoſſible for any man rightly to meaſure the heinouſneſs of his own or others ſins. Such as gather the infinitie of ſins demerit from the infinite Majeſty againſt which it is committed, give us the ſurface of ſin, infinite in length and breadth, but not in ſolidity. The will or pleaſure of a Prince in matters meanly affected by him, or in reſpect of which he is little more then indifferent, may be neglected without greater offence then meaner perſons may juſtly take for foul indignities or grievous wrongs. But if a *Princes Soveraign Command*, in a matter which he deſired as much as his own life, ſhould be contemned, a loyal Subject conſcious of ſuch contempt, though happening through Riot or perſwaſions of ill company, would in his ſober thoughts be ready to take revenge upon himſelf, ſpecially if he knew his Soveraigns love or liking of him to be more then ordinary. Conſider then, that as the Majeſty and goodneſs of our God, ſo his love and mercy towards us, is truly infinite. That he deſires our repentance as earneſtly as we can deſire meat or drink in the extremity of thirſt or hunger; as we can do life it ſelf while we are beſet with death; That this our *God manifeſted in our fleſh did not deſire his own life ſo much as our redemption.* We muſt therefore meaſure the heinouſneſs of our ſins by the abundance of Gods love, by the height and depth of our Saviours Humiliation: Thus they will appear infinite not only becauſe committed againſt an infinite Majeſty, but becauſe with this dimenſion they further include a wilful neglect of infinite mercy, and incomprehenſible deſires of our Salvation. We are by nature the ſeed of Rebels, which had lift their hands againſt the *infinite goodneſs of their Creator*, in taking the forbidden fruit, whereby they ſought to be like him in Majeſty. Conſcious of this tranſgreſſion, the firſt Actors immediately hid themſelves from his preſence: And, as if this their terror had imprinted a perpetual *Antipathy* in their poſterity, the leaſt glymps of his glory for many generations after, made them cry out, *Alas we ſhall dye! becauſe we have ſeen the Lord.* We ſtill continue like the off-ſpring of tame creatures grown wild, alwayes eſchewing his preſence that ſeeks to recover us, as the Bird doth the Fowler, or the beaſts of the Foreſt the ſight of fire. And yet unleſs he ſhelter us under the ſhadow of his wings, we are as a prey expoſed to the deſtroyer, already condemned for *fewel* to the flames of hell, or as nutriment to the brood of ſerpents. To redeem us from this everlaſting thraldome, our *God came down into the world diſguiſed in the ſimilitude of our fleſh*, made as a ſtale to allure us with wiles into his net, that he might draw us with the *cords of love*. The depth of Chriſt humiliation, was as great as the difference between God and the meaneſt man, therefore truly infinite. He that was equal with God, was converſant with us here on earth in the form and condition of a ſervant. But of ſervants by birth, or civil conſtitution many live in health and eaſe with ſufficient ſupplies of all things neceſſary for this life: So did not the Son of God, his humanity was charged with all the miſeries whereof mortality is capable, ſubject to hunger and thirſt, to temptations, revilings and ſcornings, even of his ſervants, an indignity which cannot befal ſlaves or vaſſals either born, or made ſo by men. Or to uſe the Prophets words,

See Fol. 343.

See Book 8. ch. 6, 7. *&c.*

words, *he bare mans infirmities*, not ſpiritually only, but bodily. For, *who was weak and he was not weak?* Who was ſick, and he whole? No malady of any diſeaſe cured by him, but was made his by exact and perfect ſympathy. Laſtly, *He bare our ſins upon the Croſs*, and ſubmitted himſelf to greater torments then any man in this life can ſuffer. And although theſe were as diſpleaſant to his humane nature, as to ours, yet were our ſins to him more diſpleaſant. As he was loving to us in his death ſo was he wiſe towards himſelf, and in ſubmitting himſelf to this ignominious and cruel death, did of two evils chuſe the leſs: Rather to ſuffer the puniſhment due to our ſins, then to ſuffer ſin ſtill to reign in us, whom he loved more dearly then his own life. If then we ſhall continue in ſin after manifeſtation of this his love, the heinouſneſs of our offence is truly infinite, in as much as we do that continually which is more diſtaſteful to our gracious God, then any torments can be to us: So doing *we build up the works of Satan which he came purpoſely to deſtroy*. For of this I would not have you ignorant, that albeit the end of his death was to redeem ſinners; yet, *the only means predeſtinated by him for our Redemption is deſtruction of the works of Satan, and renovation of his Fathers Image in our ſouls*. For us then to re-edifie the works of Satan, or abet his Faction, is ſtill more offenſive to this our God, then was his Agony and bloody Sweat. For taking a fuller meaſure of our ſins, let us hereunto add his patient expectation of his enemies converſion after his Reſurrection.

15. If the ſon of *Zaleucus* before mentioned ſhould have pardoned any as deeply guilty as himſelf had been of that offence for which he loſt one eye, and his Father another, the world would have taxed him either of injuſtice, folly, or too much facility, rather then commended him for true juſtice or clemency. But that we may know how far Gods mercy doth over bear his Majeſty, he proceeds not ſtraightway to execute vengeance upon theſe Jews which wreaked their malice upon his dear and only Son, who had committed nothing worthy of blame, much leſs of death. Here was matter of wrath and indignation ſo juſt as would have moved the moſt merciful man on earth to have taken ſpeedy vengeance upon theſe ſpillers of innocent blood, ſpecially the Law of God permitting thus much. But Gods mercy is above his Law, above his Juſtice; theſe did exact the very abolition of theſe ſinners in the very firſt act of ſin committed againſt God made man for their redemption. Yet he patiently expects their repentance which with unrelenting fury had plotted his deſtruction. *Forty years long had he been grieved with this generation after* the firſt Paſsover celebrated in ſign of their deliverance from *Egyptian* bondage, and for their ſtubborneſs *he ſwore they ſhould not enter into his reſt.* And now their poſterity after a more glorious deliverance from the Powers of darkneſs, have forty years allotted them for repentance before they be rooted out of the Land of Reſt or Promiſe. *Yet hath not the Lord given them hearts to perceive, eyes to ſee, or ears to hear unto this day, becauſe ſeeing they would not ſee, nor hearing they would not hear, but hardened their hearts againſt the Spirit of Grace*, Lord give us what thou didſt not give them *hearts of fleſh*, which may melt at thy threats, ears to hear the admonitions of our peace, and eyes to foreſee the day of our viſitation, that ſo when thy wrath ſhall be revealed againſt ſin and ſinners, we may be ſheltred from ſtorms of fire and brimſtone under the ſhadow of thy wings ſo long ſtretched out in mercy for us. Often, O Lord, wouldſt thou have gathered us, and we would not; but let there be (we beſeech thee) an end of our ſtubborn ingratitude towards thee, no end of thy mercies and loving kindneſs towards us. *Amen.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XLVII.

HEBR. 4. 12, 13.

For, the Word of God *is quick and powerful, and ſharper then any two-edged Sword, piercing even to the dividing aſunder of Soul and Spirit, and of the joynts and marrow, and is a diſcerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart. Neither is there any Creature that is not manifeſt in his ſight; but all things are naked and open unto the eyes of him with whom we have to do.*

1. IF a meer Artiſt (altogether unacquainted with the Myſteries contained in Scripture, or with the drift or ſcope of this Epiſtle) ſhould have dipt upon this Text; he would have thought the Author of it had intended ſome *Copia Verborum*, or *Poetical Sylva of Epithites*; the words be ſo many and ſo ponderous. And yet there be as many *ſeveral Propoſitions* almoſt, as there be words: And of all theſe *Propoſitions*, or this weighty ſtructure of words, the Foundation or Subject is but One; to wit, the WORD OF GOD. About the *Attributes* or Epithites of *this Word*, though theſe be many, there is no difficulty or matter worthy of any diſquiſition, which is not meerly Verbal or Grammatical: The *Subject*, though but *One*, admits, or rather requires many diſquiſitions, all truly *Theological*, worthy the ſearch or pains of a true Divine.

See Fol. 413. *&c.* a Diſcourſe upon this Subject.

I muſt crave your patience for the diſcuſſing of *one queſtion*, which is the *principal*, and is briefly this; What is here meant by the *Word of God*, whether *Verbum Domini* only, *the Word of God*, as it was written long ago by the Prophets and Apoſtles, or as it is daily read & preached unto you? Or *Verbum Dominus*, that *Word of God* which *in the beginning was with God*, and which *was God*; to wit, *the Son of God by whom all things were made, & without whom nothing was made* that hath either making or beginning.

The Queſtion. What *Word* is here meant; *Verbum Domini* or *Verbum Dominus.*

2. *Pontificii Scriptores*, &c. The Roman Writers (ſaith *Paræus*) upon the Text, contend, that by the *Word of God*, the Son of God, God bleſſed for ever, is here punctually meant. But by this good Authors leave, I would be loath to grant the Romiſh Church all thoſe to be her Children which ſtand for this Interpretation; And more unwilling I am to make this any *Branch of Controverſie* betwixt us and the Romiſh Church: we have enough beſides of far better uſe and conſequence, even in *Paræus* his judgment. For he himſelf ingenuouſly confeſſeth, *Nil mali continet in ſe hæc interpretatio*, That this Interpretation of Romiſh Writers (as he conceives all thoſe to be, who by the Word of God here underſtand the Son of God) doth contain no harm nor evil in it. And if it contain no evil in it, it will be no ſin in it ſelf, no wrong at all unto *Paræus* or other Modern Writers contrary-minded, to inquire, Whether it doth not contain ſome *Good* in it. Whether it be not the *better* Interpretation of the two controverſed, as well for profoundneſs of Doctrin as for profitable Uſe. *The principal Reaſon* which moved *Paræus* and other modern Writers not to ſubſcribe unto the Interpretation of men more *Antient and Orthodoxal*, is, *Becauſe our Apoſtle no where before, no where after in this Epiſtle, doth call the Son of God, the Word of God.* But this reaſon is a great deal too light to caſt the Scales for his Opinion, ſuppoſing they were otherwiſe even: For the *Evangeliſt S. John*, albeit he had oftner occaſion to mention the Son of God in his Goſpel, then our Apoſtle had to mention him in this Epiſtle, doth no where (to my remembrance) in-

Paræus his Reaſon why he denies it to be meant of *God the Word.*

Yet doth S. *John* 1 Ep. 1. 1. call Him, *The Word af Life*: and Rev. 19. 13. The Word of God.

ſtyle him, *the Word of God*, ſave only in the firſt Chapter. And yet no Orthodoxal Chriſtian doubts, whether S. *John* by *the Word which in the beginning was with God, and was God*, did underſtand any other perſon or Thing whatſoever, beſides the *Son of God*. And if our Apoſtle in the Text had *ſome more ſpecial Reaſon* then he had in any other place of this Epiſtle before or after, to enſtyle the Son of God, *the Word of God*: this will be enough, at leaſt to bring the Scales to an æquipoize; more then enough to Counterpoiz either *Paræus*, or other Modern Writers Opinion whom he did follow, or which follow him.

Two Points propoſed.

3. We are then in the firſt place to prove, That the *Word of God* here in the Text doth neceſſarily denote or import, *the Perſon of the Son of God.*

In the *Second*, To ſhew the Reaſons, Why the *Son* of God is called, *the Word of God*, and what the Word of God in this place doth punctually import.

All the *Iſraelites* were delivered from the Egyptian thraldom by *Moſes*; And all theſe *Hebrews* to whom our Apoſtle wrote, yea all Mankind were delivered from that bond of ſlavery which Satan had gotten over our firſt Parents and us by right of Conqueſt. For the Son of God by his Conqueſt over Satan upon the Croſs, did make us all the Servants of God again *de jure*. That this *firſt part of our Redemption was univerſal*, No man which acknowledgeth Chriſt for his Lord and Redeemer, can deny. Again, our Apoſtle S. *Paul* tells us, 1 *Cor.* 10. *v.* 2. That all the Hoſtes of *Iſrael were under the Cloud, and paſſed through the Sea*, and that *all were baptized unto Moſes in the Cloud and in the Sea.* And ſo had all theſe unto whom our Apoſtle writes, been baptiſed into Chriſt. Now our Apoſtle in this place ſuppoſeth what S. *Jude* in his Epiſtle takes as *a Branch of that Faith which was once delivered to the Saints, That however that Inheritance which we hope for by Chriſt, be much more* Glorious *then the Inheritance which God promiſed to the* Iſraelites *by* Moſes: *yet Gods Promiſes unto us for entering into this glorious Reſt, are ſubject to the ſame Conditions and Proviſoes, which the Promiſes made to the Iſraelites were, for entering into the Land of* Canaan. Now many of them came ſhort of thoſe Promiſes: And ſo our Apoſtle takes as granted; Many of thoſe Hebrews unto whom he wrote this Epiſtle, might fall further ſhort of thoſe glorious Promiſes made unto them in Chriſt. All of them were, as all of us by Baptiſm are, the Sons of God, and Heirs of Promiſe; yet moſt of them, as moſt of us, *Hæredes præſumpti, non hæredes apparentes*, Heirs preſumed or by adoption, not Heirs apparent; that is, not heirs diſ-inheritable, or irreverſibly ordained unto eternal Life. And from this Ground our Apoſtle takes occaſion, and thought it neceſſary to preſs repentance ſo forcibly upon them; firſt by way of *Threatning*; then by *Promiſe*, or incouragement. By *Threatning* Chap. 3. 12. *Take heed Brethren leſt there be in any of you an evil heart of unbelief in departing from the living God, but exhort one another daily whilſt it is called to day, leſt any of you be hardned through the deceitfulneſs of ſin, for we are made partakers of Chriſt, if we hold the beginning of our confidence ſtedfaſt unto the end; whilſt it is ſaid to day if ye will hear his voice harden not your hearts.* And after he had propoſed the fearful example of their rebellious Fore-fathers, whoſe Carkaſſes fell in the wilderneſs, he reſumed his exhortation again Chap. 4. 1. *Let us therefore fear, leſt the promiſe being left us of entring into his reſt, any of you ſhould ſeem to come ſhort of it, for unto us was the Goſpel preached as well as unto them.* And again, ver. 11. *Let us labour therefore to enter into that Reſt* (he means that better Reſt which God had promiſed by Chriſt,) *leſt any man fall by the ſame example of unbelief* or *diſobedience*.

4. But what if they, or any of us fall after the ſame Example; Their Caſe or ours is much worſe then the caſe of thoſe rebellious Iſraelites was; *worſe*, in reſpect of the undoubted diſcovery of our backſliding, how ſecret ſoever that be; and *worſe* again in reſpect of the doom or ſentence which muſt paſs upon the diſcovery of our backſliding. All this is implyed in our Apoſtles Concluſion of his Exhortation or threatning *Caveat* here in my Text, *For the Word of God is quick and powerful, and ſharper then any two edged ſword, &c.* So that there is the ſame Antitheſis or Oppoſition; or rather, the ſame difference of proportion between the Voice of God unto which the Iſraelites would not hearken, and *The Word of God* here in my Text, from whom theſe Hebrewes were almoſt ready to revolt; as is between *Moſes* and *Chriſt*; as is between the Land of *Canaan* and the Kingdom of Heaven; And who, or what then can we imagine this *Word of God* to be? We read ſometimes, that the Voice of God is a *terrible*, a *glorious voice*, a *voice mighty in operation:* But that I take it was not the voice to which the Iſraelites would not hearken, for that voice, ſo often as God ſpeaks by it, will make men hear and fear whether they will or no. But neither *that voice*, nor the voice which called to *Moſes* from the Mercy-Seat, nor the voice of God which did daily call unto the Iſraelites by *Moſes* and the Prophets, are any where in Scripture diſplayed or emblazoned in ſuch propriety of words, as import a *Living ſubſtance endowed with life and ſenſe, with power of Diſquiſition and of Judicature*: the Perfection of all which properties is attributed to this *Word of God* here in my Text. There is no one *Attribute* in this whole Catalogue, which doth not bear a lively Character of Majeſty, of Glory, of Power and Wiſdome ſo truly Divine, that it cannot befit any meer Creature; none but him alone, who is *the brightneſs of Gods glory, and the expreſs Image of his Perſon*. No Living Subſtance, no Living Perſon is able to ſuſtain or undergo all theſe *Glorious Attributes*, ſave he alone *who upholdeth all things by the Word of his Power*; which is the very *Character* of the Eternal Son of God, *Heb.* 1.2. Unto the eyes of this *Word* every Creature, that is, even the moſt hidden Secrets of the heart of man, the thoughts of Angels are moſt clear and conſpicuous. Whence, if by the *Word of God* in this place we underſtand any thing in the world beſides *Him by whom the world was made*, be it the *voice* of God which the Pſalmiſt deſcribeth to be mighty in operation; be it the voice of God which the Iſraelites heard in the Mount when they ſaw no Image; be it the voice which called to *Moſes* from the mercy-Seat? or be it the Word of God as by the Inſtructions of this voice, it was written by *Moſes*, by the Prophets, or Evangeliſts. Or be it the Word of God in general, as it was preached by them, or by the Miniſters of the Goſpel; it can be but a Creature, and being a Creture it is diſcerned by the eyes of *this Word* here in my Text, which can be other then that *Word of God*, by whom all our Writings, all our preaching, all our actions and ſecret thoughts muſt be examined, by whom the perſons of men and Angels, of the Prophets and Apoſtles themſelves muſt one day be judged. *I dare boldly affirm, There is no one paſſage of ſacred Writ, whether in the Old or New Teſtament, of equal length, which hath ſo many Pathetical and Lively expreſſions of Divine Power and Wiſdom, as theſe two verſes in my Text have*; and ſhall we yet doubt whether they be literally, directly and punctually meant of any but *of God himſelf*, or of the Godhead it ſelf, ſave only in that perſon unto whom all power of

Judicature is given in heaven and earth. And this is the proper Character of the Son of God; For as he himſelf tells us John 5. 22. *The Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son.*

5. Some Late Writers notwithſtanding there be, which doubt, whether by *The Word of God* in the Text, the Son of God be punctually meant who yet grant, That thoſe *Attributes*, ver. 13. [*Neither is there any Creature which is not manifeſted in his ſight, but all things are naked and open unto the eyes of him with whom we have to do*] can be meant of none, but of the Son of God, and the ever-living Judge of quick and dead.

But this Interpretation doth contradict it ſelf, doth divide and ſeparate thoſe things which the Spirit of God hath conjoyned; and if it were true, would rend aſunder the *very Subject of all the propoſitions* in my Text, which is *Indiviſibly One*; it cannot abide the touch or teſt of any Logick, unleſs it be of his Logick who oppoſeth *Invention* unto *Judgment*, unto whoſe followers nothing more uſual then to turn the greateſt *Myſteries* in Divinity into bare *Metaphors* or *Rhetorical Tropes*; Nothing more familiar, then to interpret thoſe Prophetical Paſſages by which the Holy Ghoſt doth delinate the Incarnation of the *Word*, to be meant of God only ἀνθρωποπαθῶς, in a common vulgar, not in any myſtical ſenſe: As if they were afraid to grant, *That the humane eyes, the humane ears, the humane words of Chriſt, were truly and properly the eyes, the eares and words of God himſelf.*

An Objection. But it will be objected, That S. *John* did call the Son of God, ὁ λόγος, *The Word* (without addition) but he did not call him the *Word of God*. Whence it will further be demanded, Whether we have any hint or warrant to underſtand the Son of God by the word of God? or, Whether this be any peculiar Character or Expreſſion of his Perſon, as he is the Searcher of all hearts, the Supreme Judge of Men and Angels?

Anſwer. This Objection is fully *Anſwered*, and the Demand upon it clearly ſatisfied by S. *John*, Though not in his Goſpel, yet in the 19 Chapter of his Revelation, *v.* 11, 12, 13, 14, 15. In which places whatſoever is here ſaid of the Word of God in my Text, in a direct aſſertive ſenſe, is delivered by S. *John* either in words directly affirmative, or by way of Embleme or Character, *And I ſaw Heaven opened, and behold a white Horſe, and he that ſat upon him was called faithful and true, and in righteouſneſs doth he judge and make war; his eyes were as a flame of fire, and on his head were many Crownes, and he had a name written which no man knew but himſelf, &c.* And ſeeing this name is ineffable, and only known unto himſelf, it would be a preſumptuous vanity to inquire farther after it or ſeek to expreſs it. But he farther adds, *His Name is called the WORD OF GOD, and out of his mouth goeth a ſharp ſword, that with it he ſhould ſmite the Nations, and on his Veſture and on his Thigh, a Name is written KING OF KINGS, And LORD OF LORDS*, ver. 16. All theſe are Names and Titles of one and the ſame Perſon, and of that Perſon alone who his the Judg of the quick and the dead, that is, *of the Son of God*, who is *God bleſſed for ever*. The ſame *Antitheſis*, or rather exceſs of difference between the *Voice* of God, and the *Word* of God, which our Apoſtle makes, in this fourth Chapter of this Epiſtle was made unto his hand, Iſai. 40. 6. 8. *The voice ſaid, Cry, and he ſaid, What ſhall I cry? All fleſh is graſs, and all the goodlineſs thereof as the flower of the field; Surely the People is graſs, the graſs withereth, the flower fadeth, but the* Word of God *ſhall ſtand for ever.*

6. But

The Second point, Why Chriſt is called *The Word*, or *the Word of God*.

6. But the time calls me to the *Second branch* propoſed. *Why the Son of God is ſometimes inſtyled*, ὁ λόγος, *The Word*; *ſometimes*, ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, *The word of God?*

And concerning this Queſtion there is greater *Variety* then *Diverſity*; or greater *Diverſity* then *Diſcord* of Opinions. And it would be eaſie to accord the ſeveral Opinions (could their Abettors be reſtrained from breathing the Spirit of *Contention* into them, without any apparence of *Contradiction* betwixt them) if we might take their words as they deſtill from their harmleſs pens.

1 Opinion, Becauſe he is the ſcope of all the written Word.

Of Learned Interpreters, ſome are Zealous that the Son of God is therefore called, *The Word*, or *the Word of God*, Becauſe *He* is the *End* and *Scope* of the whole written Word, whether by *Moſes* or by the prophets, or by other Sacred Hiſtorians of the Old Teſtament. And this Opinion we dare not utterly condemn as altogether falſe, becauſe it is ſo conſonant to the Voice of the Son of God himſelf, and to the Apoſtles, for ſo *he himſelf* tels us, that *Moſes* wrote of him, and ſo plentifully of him, *that if the Jews* had *believed Moſes*, *they had believed him*, Joh. 5. 46. *And unto him* (as the Apoſtle avoucheth) *all the Prophets give teſtimony*. And in this reſpect alone; though there were no other, he might be truly enſtyled, ὁ λόγος, *the word* of God, *Verbum Domini*, or as ſome will have it, *Sermo Dei*, *the Speech of God.*

2. Opinion, In reference to his *Eternal Generation.*

But whilſt ſuch as too much adhere to this Interpretation, condemn Others; or reſtrain the Reaſons, *Why he is called the Word of God*, wholly to this Reſpect alone, they do but nurſe contention about words. For many Others more Antient and as Learned, earneſtly contend; That the Son of God is called the Word, with peculiar reference to his *Eternal Generation*; or as he is *Internum verbum mentis Divinæ*, *The Internal Word of his Eternal Father*. For ſo we our ſelves diſtinguiſh betwixt words *uttered* and *conceived* only; or between our ſpeeches and internal thoughts or cogitations: Theſe we call *Conceptus mentis*. And this Interpretation, if the Authors or Abettors of it did not exclude all others, would be as conſonant to Scriptures, as the former, and is indeed the joint Opinion of Orthodoxal Antiquity. The truth is, that the Greek ὁ λόγος, is not *capacious enough* of all that is contained in the Hebrew *Dabar*. Nor is the Latin either *Verbum* or *Sermo*, or both, ſufficient to contain all that is imported in the Greek ὁ λόγος, But as the greateſt veſſel which hath no one of the ſame kind capacious enough to hold all that is contained in it, may without ſhedding or waſt, be drawn out into a number of leſs Veſſels: ſo may the Greek ὁ λόγος, be fully (at leaſt competently) expreſt by two or three Latine words more beſides *Verbum* or *Sermo*. For over and above theſe it imports ſometimes a *Definition* or an Idæal Rule or patern. and according to this importance, (not excluding the two former) we are to underſtand that of *S. John*, 1. 1, 2, 3, Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, *In the beginning was the Word, and the word was with God, and the Word was God. All things were made by him, and without him was nothing made that was made.* How then were all things made by the Word? This he only knows in particular; But thus much we know in general; The Father made all things by him, not as by any *Manual Work-man* (as the houſe which the Architect conceives, is built by Maſons and other Labourers) but *made by him*, as by the expreſs Image of his Father, or as he is the Idæal Rule or Patern of all things which the Father made: Or, all things were *made by the Son*; after ſuch a manner; (but incomparably more excellent) as if we would imagine a curious Architect could erect a ſtately Palace

Λόγος imports *a Definition.*

in a moment without the help of any Hand-Labourer, only by caſting or contemplating the Idæa or Module of it in his own brain.

Juſtin Martyr expreſſes λόγος by *Ratio.*

Rationem reddere.

7. Again; Ὁ λόγος; imports as much as the Latin *Ratio*. And this ſignification or expreſſion of it, is no way oppoſit, rather co-ordinate to all the former. And thus *Juſtin Martyr* with other Antients expreſs the meaning of *S. John* 1. 1. As if he had ſaid, *In principio erat ratio*, *In the beginning was the Rule* or *Reaſon* of all things. Unto all theſe we may add another Importance of the ſame word which ſquares well with all the reſt. For *Ratio* in Latin, ſometimes imports more then can be expreſt by our Engliſh, *Rule* or *Reaſon*. For *Rationem reddere* is more then to *give a reaſon*; it is as much (in Engliſh) as *to render an account*. And in this ſenſe it is fully equivalent to the Greek τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἀποδοῦναι, which is the very phraſe uſed by *Athanaſius in his Creed*, καὶ ἀποδώσουσιν ἐξ ἰδίων ἔργων τὴν ἀπολογίαν, *And ſhall GIVE ACCOUNT for their own works*. This Phraſe or expreſſion of his Belief he took from our Apoſtle, *Rom.* 14 12. *Every one of us ſhal give account of himſelf to God.* Now Chriſt is God: and this Account we are to give to him, as he is ὁ λόγος τῶν λόγων, *the ever-living, all-knowing Rule of that final account which Men and Angels muſt give to God* for all their works, for all their ſayings, for all their thoughts: And according to this ſignification or importance, the *four former Importances* not excluded, but preſuppoſed, the word ὁ λόγος, in my Text, is chiefly and moſt punctually to be underſtood, For however by the *Word of God*, we muſt underſtand only the Son of God, to whom alone theſe *Glorious Attributes* can be aſcribed; yet our *Apoſtles* expreſſion of that which he here intended, is more full & more punctually emphatical by much, then if he had ſaid; *The Son of God is quick and powerful in operation, &c.* For his purpoſe was to diſplay the Attributes of the Son of God, not only as he is the *Supreme Judg* of Quick and Dead, but as he is the *everliving Rule* by which all our actions muſt be examined, by which all accounts muſt either be approved or diſallowed: *He is a Rule endowed with the perpetual ſight and ſenſe of a* Witneſs; *with inceſſant activity of an* Accuſer, *or Solicitor*; *with the Life and Spirit of a* Judge, *yea*, Juſtice *it ſelf armed with power*. All that can be required to the conviction, to the condemnation or abſolution of all men, are in him according to their utmoſt perfections, In that he is ὁ λόγος ζῶν, a *Living Rule*? He is perpetually able to give the Charge home and full, for whatſoever Men and Angels are to account, for every idle word and thought, for ſuch things as the Parties Accomptants cannot think of. In that he is ὁ λόγος ζῶν καὶ ἐνεργής, a *Living* and a *Powerful Rule*; He is able to *exact all arrerages* of ſuch as do not ſincerely acknowledg them, and crave pardon for them, to the utmoſt farthing; *able to ſentence* ungratious ſervants (which have been unfaithful unto him, and cruel unto their fellow ſervants) unto everlaſting impriſonment, without the aſſiſtance of a Jaylor, or other Executioner of Juſtice: *He is the All-ſeeing eye, and Almighty hand of Juſtice it ſelf.*

8. Thus much of the meaning or full importance of the word ὁ λόγος, here in the beginning of my Text: But we meet with the ſame word again in the concluſion of it. And if you will have the Subject of all the propoſitions in my Text, which (as I told you before) ſome Modern Interpreters have rent aſunder, (by making an *Hiatus* or chink between the 12 and 13 verſes) we muſt put the *two firſt words*, and the *four laſt*, together. And ſo the Expreſſion will appear to be not only more full then a great deal more elegant in the *Original*, then it is in the ordinary Latin, or then I know how to make it in our Engliſh: As thus, ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ, πρὸς ὃν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος, ζῶν ἐστι, &c.

About tranſlating the Original in the laſt words of my Text, there is ſome diverſity amongſt Interpreters. The *Vulgar Latin*, which the Romiſh Writers are bound to follow, tranſlate the laſt words thus, *Ad quem nobis eſt Sermo.* that is, as they would expreſs the Hebraiſm, *De quo Loquimur, of whom we ſpeak*; but much amiſs, and far from the meaning of the Original. *Beza* much better, *Cui nobiſcum eſt negotium.* To the ſame effect our Engliſh doth *with whom we have to do.* But the *antient Gloſs* much better then both, *Cui* [*a*] *nobis reddenda eſt Ratio*, to whom we are to render an Account. This indeed is the main buſineſs which we have to do with the Son of God, or he with us. And ſo the *Syriac* renders it, ſave only that He puts it in the *third Perſon plural, To whom men muſt give an account*; which words according to the propiety of that Tongue, (and of the Hebrew) may be taken imperſonally, *to whom account muſt be given.* And this Interpretation I find warranted by the Authority of S. *Chryſoſtom* and *Theophylact*, two of the beſt Expreſſors of the Original or Greek Dialect. And thus the *Original* will run clear without any *Hiatus* or interrution either in the Subject or Foundation, or in the ſtructure of the Attributes or ſeveral Propoſitions.

S. *Chryſoſtom, Theophylact.*

9. According to this *Importance* of the Greek ὁ λόγος, the *Breſt-plate* (*the firſt of Aarons holy Garments, made for glory and for beauty*, wherein the High-Prieſt did bear the names and the judgments of the Sons of *Iſrael*, and wherein the *Urim* and *Thummim* were ſet) was called in Greek λόγιον, or, τὸ λογεῖον; The meaning of which is better expreſt by the Latin *Rationale*, then I know how to render either of them in Engliſh; but ſo called it was with reference to the Son of God, as he is ὁ λόγος, *in the Abſtract*; as he is *Life it ſelf*, and *Light it ſelf*, not carrying Spectacles on his Breſt, as the High-Prieſt did.

All the *knowledg* or Light of diſcovering Secrets, which came by the Breſt-plate or *Rationale*, or by *Urim* or *Thummim*, when it was in its prime uſe, was but a glimmering Type or Shadow of this ὁ λόγος, *Ratio* or *Verbum Dei, The Word of God*, to whoſe ſight and inſpection, the moſt ſecret thoughts, which lurk in the centre of mans heart, the very temper and conſtitution of our ſouls, are more perſpicuous and clear then the inward parts of the Sacrifices were to Legal Prieſts, after they had divided them joint from joint, and broken them up. For unto this *Diſſection* or *Anatomy* of Legal Sacrifices our Apoſtle alludes in this deſcription of the Son of God, ſpecially in thoſe words, πάντα δὲ γυμνὰ καὶ πτραχηλισμένα τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ, *All things are open and naked unto his Eyes.*

Soli Deo Gloria.

A
TREATISE
OF THE HOLY
Catholick Faith
AND
CHURCH.

In Three SECTIONS.

By *THOMAS JACKSON*, D^{r}. in Divinity, Chaplain to His MAJESTIE in Ordinary; and Vicar of St. *Nicholas* Church in the Town of *Newcaſtle* upon *Tyne*.

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[illegible] Church in the
[illegible] Tyne.

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[illegible] N.

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[illegible] DON [illegible]

TO THE
RIGHT WORSHIPFUL
And truly worthy Knight
Sir *RICHARD ANDERSON*
OF
PENDLEY in *HARTFORDSHIRE*,
The Bleſſings of this Life, and of that to come,
be multiplyed.

Right Worſhipful SIR;

YOur unfaigned Love to Learning and true Religion, well known by real teſtimonies to all true Lovers of them, which have the happineſs (as my ſelf for long time have had) to be acquainted with you, drew this ſhort Treatiſe upon its firſt return unto me (to whom it hath been from its firſt birth a ſtranger) to take you for its Foſter-father. Could it ſpeak for it ſelf, it would, I am perſwaded, complain of wrong, if I ſhould direct it to ſeek another Patron, being not acquainted with any Family which bears a more lively image of a well-ordered Church, than your Family doth. Nor is there any other to whom I more heartily wiſh all furtherance in good beginnings and proceedings, then I do to yours, and to that Honorable Family unto which you are happily united. Of this my deſire, and of my beſt reſpect unto your ſelf, and to your Noble Lady, I have no better token for the preſent, then this Treatiſe of the *holy Catholick Faith and Church*. Thus commending both of you, with all yours, and it, unto the bleſſing of *him*, who is the ſole *Fountain of Faith*, and Head of the *Holy Catholick Church*: I take my leave, and reſt,

Yours ever in the ſureſt bonds
of ſincere love and obſervance,

THOMAS JACKSON.

From my Vicarage in *Newcaſtle* upon *Tyne*, this firſt of *January*, 1626.

COURTEOUS AND Chriſtian Reader:

THE ſumme of this Treatiſe was delivered in Catechiſme Lectures for the benefit of younger Students in Pembrook *Colledge in* Oxon, *at the requeſt of the Maſter of that Society, my Reverend and Worthy Friend, and of ſome other good friends; to whoſe religious deſires my hope was to have given better ſatisfaction, if my continuance in that ancient and ſweet Nurſery of Learning had been longer, or my ſtudies there, leſs interrupted with other occaſions. But God be praiſed, that Colledge hath been furniſhed ſince with one of their own body, of whoſe learned and polite Labours, I hope one day to be with others, a partaker. This Treatiſe, as now it is, hath been for the moſt part ſince in the hands of others, being committed by me to the peruſal of that great light of the* Northern *parts, my then Reverend and deareſt Friend, Doctor* Birkhead, *from whoſe judicious cenſure, I hoped then, this and other of my Labours ſhould have received ſome perfection, and I much comfort from his company. But it pleaſed the Lord, (whoſe good pleaſure we muſt obey, not queſtion) to call him from us, (no doubt to his greater good, though to the greater loſs and ſorrow of every true member of the* Engliſh *Church which knew him) before it was my hap (being then abſent from thoſe parts) to hear from him, or ſpeak with him. Since his death, it hath paſt through many hands, but all as it ſeems, good friends, in that it returns unto me intire. And from it, as it is, (I hope) no Orthodox Reader ſhall receive any diſcontent, nor any Adverſaries of the truth much advantage. Wherein it is for the matter deficient, or not ſo fully expreſt, I ſhall have opportunity, whether by the adviſe of Friends, or exceptions of the Adverſary, to amend or inlarge, in other Treatiſes of the ſame Argument, (which by Gods aſſiſtance) ſhall ſhortly be communicated to thee. And for this reaſon in part I have been the more willing to have it publiſhed at this time.*

Thine in Chriſt Jeſus,

THOMAS JACKSON.

A
TREATISE
OF THE HOLY
Catholick Faith
AND
CHURCH.

SECTION I.

IN the Expoſition of the Apoſtles Creed, a work undertaken by me long ago, I did ſequeſter four points from the body of that intended work, now almoſt finiſhed.

The firſt was the Doctrine of the Holy and Bleſſed *Trinity*, which I reſerved for the laſt part of my Labours to be ſet down by way of Prayer or Soliloquies, as being an argument, in my judgment, both then and now, more fit for meditation, then for controverſie or Scholaſtick Diſcourſe.

The ſecond point was, the Article of the *holy Catholick Church.*

The third, the *Communion of Saints.*

The fourth, the *Forgiveneſs of ſins.*

Points, which I knew not how to handle in that rank and order, as they are propounded unto us in the Creed, without manifeſt interruption of my intended method, which I endeavoured ſhould be continuate, each latter part immediately iſſuing out of the former. Nor could I find a commodious entrance into the Article of Chriſts coming to judge as well the dead as the living, before I had treated of the reſurrection of the dead. Nor could I finiſh what I had to ſay, or what was to be ſaid, concerning the laſt Judgment it ſelf, without ſome explication of the ſentence to be awarded, and that is *life everlaſting* to all true believers. and *everlaſting death* to the diſobedient and unbelievers. So then the Articles of *the holy Catholick Church*, of *the Communion of Saints*, of *the forgiveneſs of ſins*, have been out of choice and intended method left altogether untouched, reſerved for peculiar Treatiſes.

CHAP. I.

That it is eaſier to oppoſe, than to anſwer a Romaniſt in this Argument of the Church. The Authors method for meeting with wrangling Sophiſms.

First then of the *Holy Catholick Church.* An Argument, fitting for theſe times, being ſpecially inſiſted upon and inlarged by Prieſts and Jeſuites to our prejudice; they well perceiving, their intricate diſputes and ſophiſtical diſcourſes in this point to be the only net, which *Peters* pretended Succeſſors have left them for catching ſilly and uncatechiſed ſouls, or for intangling men of deep underſtanding, but of deeper diſcontent or diſlike with their preſent Governours or Diſpenſers of preferment. For unto men, either not miſled by diſcontented paſſion, or otherwiſe not uncapable of ſound reaſon, it might eaſily appear that *there is no Hereſie at this day maintained in Chriſtendom*, (at leaſt ſo generally) *which doth either ſo highly offend God and his Chriſt, or ſo grievouſly diſturb the publick peace of Chriſts Church, or ſo deſperately indanger the ſoul of every one that ſubſcribes unto it, as this Hereſie concerning the tranſcendent Authority of the viſible Romiſh Church.* Howbeit, I muſt confeſs, it is a great deal eaſier to diſcover their *blaſphemies*, and refute their *Hereſies*; to pity the ſtupidity of ſome, or to deride the petulancy or raſhneſs of others: then to avoid the contrary errors, into which ſome reformed Writers of good note have fallen, ſome through meer eagerneſs of oppoſition, others through weakneſs and want of Arts. And no marvel; for there is nothing which ſooner or faſter leads Artiſts themſelves into errour, than indentity of names or words, including in them diverſity of ſignifications or importances.

2. The divers ſignifications of one and the ſame word, may be either equivocal, or analogical, or a medly of both. Be the diverſity of this or that kind, or of what kind it may be, until the difference betwixt them be exactly notified or unfolded by ſome commodious diſtinction or artificial explication; they are apt to bring forth ſeeds of ſuch endleſs quarrels betwixt controverſie Writers, as grounds and tenements, not well bounded or ſurvaid, alwaies breed betwixt greedy and wrangling neighbors. As in the one caſe, each man is prone to treſpaſs upon his neighbors poſſeſſion, ſo in the other, each ſeveral *ſignification* or *importance*, is alwaies incroaching upon the attributes or *prerogatives*, which moſt properly appertain to ſome other more prime and *principal.* Now there is no word or terme uſed either in any ſcientifical, moral, or popular diſcourſe, which hath ſo many, ſo much different ſignifications or importances, as the word [*Church*] hath, whether we take it in the Greek, Latine, or Engliſh.

3. For preventing the inconveniencies, whereunto the multiplicity and diverſity of its ſignifications or acceptions expoſe us, the beſt remedy, we can think of will be; In the firſt place, to ſeek out the definition, the nature at leaſt of the principal *Analogatum*, that is, of the

Church κατ' ἐξοχὴν, to take a true terriar or ſurvey of the attributes, prerogatives, or royalties, which belong either ſolely or principally unto it: In the ſecond place, to value the other ſignifications or importances, and rate their ſeveral attributes or properties by the neerneſs or remoteneſs, of their affinity with it, or reference unto it.

Before we come to a perfect view of the nature or properties of that Church, which is entituled *Holy* and *Catholick* κατ' ἐξοχὴν, we muſt enquire the nature or definition of a *Church* in general, or as it is abſtracted from true holineſs or univerſality. For theſe are the proper and *formal* differences of the Church κατ' ἐξοχὴν, that is, of the principal *Analogatum*, comprehended under this word or name, *Church*, taking it in his univerſal or amplyeſt ſignification.

CHAP. II.

The definition of the Church in general gathered from the divers ſorts of union between bodies natural, artificial, or civil.

1. CONcerning the *Name*, it ſhall ſuffice to obſerve thus much only in *tranſitu*, or by way of entry or paſſage into the matter it ſelf, ſignified by this *Name*. The Greek Ἐκκλησία or Συναγωγὴ, and the Engliſh word *Church* do not differ at all in their Grammatical ſignification or importance: and from ſo much of their ſignification or importance, as is only pertinent to our preſent inquiſition, the Latine *Concio* doth no way differ; for all of them ſignifie a certain congregation or company of men. In the manner, how they come to ſignifie one and the ſame thing, this difference perhaps may be obſerved: The Greek Ἐκκλησία and Συναγωγὴ do in the firſt place, or in their radical propriety, ſignifie the perſons met together or aſſembled: In the ſecond or derivative ſignification, they import the place appointed for their meeting or aſſembly, which in Latine we properly call *Ædem aut Templum*, a ſacred Houſe or Temple. To this latter ſignification of Ἐκκλησία or Συναγωγὴ the Latine *Concio*, which anſwers moſt exactly to their prime and radical ſignification, is not flexible. For *Concio* (as far as I have obſerved) is never taken *pro loco aut Æde ubi Concio celebratur*, for the place or houſe wherein the aſſembly is, but uſually for any Speech or Oration made unto the people aſſembled, *or for the* * *place wherein the Orator or Speaker ſtands.* On the contrary, the Engliſh † *Church* doth in the firſt place ſignifie *Ædem* or *Templum*, the *place*, *houſe* or *palace* of the aſſembly; and in the ſecond place it comes to ſignifie or import as much, as Ἐκκλησία, Συναγωγὴ or *Concio* do, in the firſt place, that is, the Congregation or *Company of men aſſembled.*

* *Pro concione*, is as much as *Pro roſtris.*

† For this word *Church*, whether we do according to the moſt uſual and otherwiſe moſt refined Dialect of this Kingdom pronounce it, or as ſome other Dialects would have it *Kurk*, or as the moſt ancient Dialect ſounds it *Kyrke*, all derive their pedigree from the Greek κυριακὴ which in the firſt ſignification is in value the ſame with Βασιλικὴ, that is, the Lords houſe or palace. All the difference in the divers pronounciation of it in our Engliſh, ariſeth from the different manner of pronouncing or expreſſing the Greek Κ or Υ, in the *Latine*, *Engliſh* or modern tongues. Some expreſſing κ by the Engliſh *K*, others by the *Latine C*, which in Engliſh is uſually expreſſed by *Ch*, as *Carolus*, in Engliſh, *Charles*, and *Ciſta* a cheſt: ſo likewiſe κυριακὴ by like corruption of ſpeech, comes to be Church. Such as expreſs the Greek κ by the Engliſh *K*, and the Greek υ by the Latine or Engliſh *V*. pronounce it *Kurke*: ſuch as retaining the true pronunciation of the Greek κ, ſound the Greek υ like unto the Latine or Engliſh *Y*, have propagated the name of *Kyrke*.

2. Omitting *quid nominis*: the firſt inquiry muſt be *quid rei*, what is the *ſummum genus* of the Church, indefinitely or generally conſidered. And

this hath preſented it ſelf unto us without further ſearch : *is an aſſembly or Congregation of men.*

Omnis Eccleſia, omnis concio, eſt cœtus aut multitudo hominum :

Omnis multitudo, omnis cœtus hominum, non eſt Eccleſia, non eſt Concio.

Every Church is a Congregation or Aſſembly of men : Every Congregation or aſſembly of men is not a Church. The next *Quære* therefore muſt be, What it is, that doth conſtitute or formally difference a Church, or *concionem legitimam* or an Eccleſiaſtick Congregation, or at leaſt the *genus proximum* of the Church in general, from an *Aſſembly* taken in general. This cannot be the multitude or number of perſons aſſembled, for theſe are oft-times greater at a horſe-race, bowling, ſhooting, bull-baiting, or other like concourſes of people (which no man would call *concionem legitimam* or *Eccleſiam)* then in thoſe meetings which we properly call *Conciones, Eccleſias,* or Churches. Secondly, that which *formally* differenceth a Church generally conſidered from an ordinary aſſembly or Congregation, is not *juxtà poſitio,* no *vicinity* or union meerly local of the parties ſo aſſembled. For as the multitude, ſo the throng may be greater at a Stage-play, then at a Sermon or Eccleſiaſtical Congregation. And thickeſt crowds leaſt participate of the nature of a Church or *Concio.*

3. Every *Church* herein exceeds an ordinary aſſembly or multitude, in that it is a Society of men or Corporation, and every Corporation or Society corporate ſuppoſeth an union, more then meerly local, between the Members; an unity proportionable to the unity of bodies artificial, natural or vegetable. An aſſembly or multitude, how great, how cloſe ſoever, not thus united or framed into a Corporation; or not united by ſome civil bond, anſwers in proportion to the Latin *cumulus* or *acervus, to an heap or congeſt* of bodies *homogeneal* and *contiguous,* but not *informated* by one and the ſame *form,* not *animated* by one and the ſame ſoul or ſpirit. Every natural body is *ens per ſe, & omne ens, quà ens, eſt unum.* An *heap* or *congeſt* is neither *ens* nor *unum,* but by accident, or by extrinſecal denomination from the Identity of place within which the parts or ingredients of it are contained. So that union meerly local, neither is, nor preſuppoſeth any form either natural or artificial whence it floweth. *Quod non eſt aliquid formatum, non eſt aliquid verè unum,* That which hath no ſet form or faſhion, can have no true real unity : for it is the *form* of every thing, which gives it a diſtinct entity or unity. That which hath no ſet *form,* can have no ſet or proper *name,* whereby to be known; it muſt be deſcribed by addition of quantity. For we do not ſay, a *bread,* a *earth,* a *wax,* or the like, as we ſay, a *loaf,* a *candle,* or a *cloſe*; but a *piece of bread,* a *piece of wax,* if it be not made up into ſome certain *form.*

4. An heap of corn, though every individual part or grain of it be ſpecifically the ſame, as of Wheat, Rye, Oats, &c. cannot ſo properly be termed one body, as a *ſhip* may be ſaid to be one body, although it conſiſts of individuals or material parts, more heterogeneal for their ſubſtance or quality, and more diſlike in outward form or figure, then Rye is from Wheat, or Oats from Barly. The reaſon is, becauſe the union between the ſeveral parts of a ſhip is much greater and more perfect, than the union between the ſeveral grains of Corn in the ſame heap. All the material or individual parts of the ſhip, how different ſoever in their natural *ſubſtance, quality* or *figure,* are all wrought into one artificial *form.* If one ſhould have an heap of corn bequeathed by legacy,

and particularized by the place wherein it is, and by the meaſure which it contains; though the heap were diſſolved, ſo the individuals (though put in divers places) remain the ſame without any alteration or diminution of their meaſure or number, the legacy would ſtand good, and the party unto whom it is bequeathed, would ſuſtain no loſs. But if the individuals ſhould be ſucceſſively taken away, and others put in their places to make up the ſame meaſure, and the ſame heap (for outward faſhion and quantity) which the *Donor* did bequeath, the legacy were loſt; if this were done through his default, to whom it was bequeathed: for the heap is not the ſame, unleſs the individuals be the ſame, becauſe it hath no *form* to give it diſtinct being or union. He that bequeaths a certain meaſure of corn, though diſperſed, is preſumed to have bequeathed the ſame corn, though afterwards it be made into one heap, or *è contra.* He that bequeaths an heap of corn is preſumed to bequeath every individual grain contained in the heap at the time of the bequeſt, though they be afterward diſperſed or put into ſeveral places, before the *Donee* can come to challenge them. But it is not ſo in a Houſe or Ship, for if a man ſhould bequeath a Ship by legacy, which afterwards were diſſolved, albeit no material part were loſt, yet the legacy were loſt, becauſe it is not the ſame body that was bequeathed, as having loſt the form.

So the Lawyers * ſay: *ſi navis legata, diſſoluta ſit, neque materiam, neque navem refectam deberi.* If the Ship which is bequeathed by legacy be taken in pieces, neither the materials nor the Ship which is made of them, is due to the Legatee. For the materials were not bequeathed, but as united into one form, and the form being loſt, the individual bequeathed is loſt. Though the ſame materials were made up again into the like form, yet could it not be reputed the ſame Ship, but another like unto it. But this is to be underſtood in caſe the diſſolution be made, *ſimul & ſemel,* all at once: For if a Ship bequeathed, ſhould before the *Donee* take poſſeſſion of it, be ſucceſſively repaired, as *Theſeus* his Ship was, albeit never a rib, or plank, or other material did remain the ſame, yet the form being not diſſolved or aboliſhed, the Ship ſhould be the ſame it was. For the new materials, although numerically or perhaps ſpecifically diſtinct from the former, yet being for uſe the ſame as the former were, and holding the ſame proportion with the whole, whereunto they were fitted, do no way diſſolve, but rather continue the former unity or Identity of *form.*

6. The ſame caſe is clearer in bodies natural, at leaſt in vegetables. As if a maſter ſhould bequeath a young tree; not of ten years growth, unto his ſervant, giving him leave to cut it down, or to let it ſtand, as long as he pleaſed; though it ſhould ſtand threeſcore years, before he cut it down; yet could no man except, that it was not the ſame tree, which was bequeathed, albeit never a material part could be thought to remain the ſame it was, when the tree was given. For albeit every material part ſhould ſucceſſively periſh, yet in as much as others come in their places, altogether as capable of animation, of nutriment, of growth, or augmentation, as theſe were which have periſhed, the tree or vegetable is ſtill the ſame. And although many vegetables *de facto* retain ſome of the ſame material parts which they had at their firſt plantation, yet it is an undoubted Maxime in true Philoſophy, that *ad identitatem corporis vegetabilis non neceſſario requiritur identitas materiæ;* unto the identitie of a body vegetable, identity of matter is

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* *Aliud enim materia eſt, aliud ſpecies. Cui materia legata eſt, ſpecies ex eâ facta non debetur: ut ſi lana legata eſt, deinde veſtis fiat, aut ex tabulis navis, aut armarium. Similiter traditur, ſi navis legata diſſoluta ſit, neque materiam neque navem refectam deberi.* Hottoman: Quæſt. illuſt. Quæſt. octav.

Tom.III. not neceſſarily required. But of this point, by Gods aſſiſtance, more at large in the Article of the Reſurrection.

7. Anſwerably to theſe degrees of union between materials or corporal ſubſtances (of which ſome are united onely in place, others by form artificial, or truly Phyſical) there be as many degrees of union between multitudes, aſſemblies, or companies of men. Men aſſembled in a Market place, at ſome match of ſport, or merry meeting, are one *multitude*, *not* one *body*; and for this reaſon, being once diſſolved, remain no more the ſame *company*, as having no other bond of *unity*, beſides vicinity of place, or union meerly local. As no man would ſay the ſame company that met at a Horſe-race, this or the laſt year, ſhall meet the ſame again the next year. At leaſt ſuch companies cannot be the ſame they were, unleſs the individuals remain the very ſame. But Societies, Corporations, or Bodies civil, herein reſemble bodies natural, that albeit every particular or individual perſon, that met in their common Hall or place of aſſembly this day, be dead within twenty years following, yet the Company or Corporation ſhall remain ſtill the ſame it was. In this ſenſe it is ſaid, that although all men are mortal, yet Corporations, conſiſting of mortal men, are immortal, becauſe their Laws and Ordinances, are perpetual. The unity of proportion or ſubordination to the ſame Laws, is ſufficient to continue the unity or identity of the Society or Corporation, albeit the parties ſubordinate, do alter, change or periſh.

8. Again, Bodies civil, or ſocieties corporate, exceed not onely other aſſemblies of men, which reſemble heaps or congeſts, but even artificial or natural bodies in this; that the union of Bodies civil is not diſſolved by diſſolution of union local, or of continuity or contiguity. The Company of *Stationers* (for example) after every man hath repaired to his own home, remains the ſame it was, at their meeting in their common Hall; becauſe the union or bond of every member to the ſame Laws and Ordinances, ſtill remains the ſame, or becauſe there ſtill remains the ſame power or authority in their principal Governours to call them together again. And in this point they reſemble thoſe natural bodies, which being reſolved into fume or vapour, their fumes or vapours may be recollected again into the ſame body without any loſs of ſubſtance or quantity. As an Alchymiſt would bate but little or nothing in ſelling the *fume* or vapour of *Quickſilver*, for *Quickſilver* it ſelf. So then unity of Laws and Ordinances, is the *life*, the *ſoul*, and *ſpirit* of every Corporation or Body civil. Oath or other Obligements to the obſervation of the ſame Lawes, or to the maintenance of priviledges beſtowed upon the Society, are as the *Nerves* or *Arteries*, by which motion is conveyed from the head or principal members to every inferiour or particular member of the ſame Society. Thus we have found the *genus proximum* of a Church conſidered in general.

CHAP. III.

Of the nature and properties of the Church taken in its principal ſenſe. How it is differenced from other Bodies civil. Of the peculiar unity which it hath.

1. EVery Church in what uſual ſenſe ſoever it be taken, is a ſociety or body politick; Every ſociety or body politick is not a Church: Every member of the militant Church is ordinarily a member of the Chriſtian Common-weal or Kingdome wherein he lives, *Et è contra:* Yet ſometime it may fall out, by the interpoſition of civil juridical ſentence, that a man may be no member of the Common-weal, and yet remain a member of the Church therein conteined. As a man condemned to dye, is diſinabled to do any civil act, yet not prohibited to receive the Sacraments: Others again cut off from the Church (as perſons excommunicated in ſome ſort are) may be members of the Common-weal. That which differenceth the *Church* properly ſo called from a ſociety or body meerly civil, is the diverſity of Laws and Ordinances, and the different manner of union betwixt the members of it. Howbeit a Church, a Common-weal, or body civil, are not (as the *Romaniſts* often dream or preſuppoſe in their arguments brought for the prerogative of the *Romiſh* Church) two bodies contra-diſtinct or oppoſite, but rather one body endowed with ſeveral powers or perfections. When a Kingdom or Common-weal becomes a *Church*, it loſeth nothing of what it had, but rather acquires a new perfection or accompliſhment. The growth or progreſs is but ſuch, as the Philoſopher notes in men which firſt live *anima plantæ*, like meer vegetables, then the life of ſenſe, and laſtly the life of reaſon or underſtanding. But of this elſewhere.

To find out the nature and properties of the Church κατ᾽ ἐξοχὴν, which is the principal *Analogatum*, and prime ſubject of this our diſcourſe, the branches of method are but two. The former is to find out the qualification or condition of the parties or members united. The later is to find out the nature and manner of their union.

2. With the Church as it conſiſts of men and Angels, we are not to meddle. It ſuffices us to know, that we are called (as our Apoſtle teacheth us, *Heb.* 12. verſe 22.) *Unto the City of the living God, the heavenly Jeruſalem, and to an innumerable company of Angels.* What manner of union is between holy men and Angels, let it be defined by Angels themſelves, or at leaſt by men that are their conſorts in the bliſsful viſion of God and of his Chriſt. The ſubject of our inquiry, was and muſt be, *That Church*, which conſiſts only of men, and of men conſidered in that eſtate, which they now have by God, being made man. Now albeit ſuch men and Angels may be in ſome reſpect truly ſaid one Society; and *though* both may be comprehended under ſome general notion (whether univocal or Analogical:) yet without all queſtion, they do not univocally agree in thoſe attributes, by which the Church, in its prime and principal ſenſe, is uſually ſet forth in Scriptures. We cannot ſay that the Angels are of Chriſts *fleſh* and of his *bones*, as every one is, that is a live member of his true Church. Yea though *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, *Jacob*, *Moſes*, and the Prophets, and all ſuch as had perfect union with them in holineſs of Doctrine, Life, or Diſcipline, were after death, as well as living, live members of the holy Catholick Church;

yet had they not, whilſt they lived on earth, no not alwaies ſince they lived in bliſs, ſuch perfect union (for the manner at leaſt) with Chriſt, as the Saints have which have lived ſince Chriſts Incarnation, Paſſion, and Reſurrection, ſince which time the Patriarchs and Prophets union with Chriſt, hath been perfected. For it is a point not of opinion, but of belief, that the Son of God did take our nature upon him, not onely to the end that he might lay it down for our ranſome, or ſuffer for us in the fleſh, but to the end withal, that having ſuffered for us according to his humanity, he might by it unite us unto himſelf as he is God, in a more peculiar manner, then our humane nature, without ſuch union to his humane nature, was capable of. As we become righteous by the righteouſneſs, which was and is in him, as he is man; ſo muſt we expect the accompliſhment of our future bliſs and glory, by participation of the fulneſs of that bliſs and glory, whereof his humanity is now poſſeſt.

3. By this it is apparent, that every actual member of a Chriſtian common-wealth or viſible Church therein contained, is not a true actual member of that Church, whoſe nature and definition we now ſeek, and whereof every one of us deſires and muſt endeavour to be ſuch a member. For he that would make the Church thus Catholick or univerſal, as to comprehend every member of a Chriſtian Commonweal, ſeeks to make it not to be holy. Now we muſt believe it to be as truly *holy*, as it is *Catholick*. Some there be, who define this Church to be *cœtus predeſtinatorum*, to be the *ſociety or company of the predeſtinate*, but this definition is unperfect, for though it be moſt true, that every live member of the one truly *holy* and *Catholick Church*, is predeſtinated to this life of grace, which he now lives, and to the life of glory which he hopes for; yet every one, which is already predeſtinated to the one, or to the other life, or rather to both, is not as yet a live member of the one holy and Catholick Church. *Saul* was a perſon predeſtinated from the womb, but yet no civil member of the militant or viſible Church, much leſs any true member of the *one holy Catholick Church*, whilſt he remained a perſecutor of it, and a zealous member, or furious inſtrument of the malignant Sinagogue. Others define it to be *Cœtus evocatorum*, the *ſociety or company of ſuch as God hath called out of the world:* but becauſe *many are called, and few are choſen*, ſome others define it to be *cœtus electorum, the ſociety or company of the elect*. Againſt which definition or deſcription, this exception may be taken, that the Authors and Maintainers of it, have intangled this article or point of Belief, neceſſary to all that hope to be ſaved, with intricate and unneceſſary queſtions concerning Predeſtination or Election, with which I do not mean to trouble the Reader in the explication of this Article. It ſhall ſuffice us for the preſent, to conſider, that ſuch as God hath predeſtinated or elected before the foundations of the world, muſt be wrought and ſquared by the powerful hand of God, and the effectual working of his ſpirit, before they can be fit materials for that edifice or ſtructure which we call the Church. There muſt be an alteration in every particular member, before it obtain perfect union with the whole body or edifice, from which it receiveth the ſweet influence and nutriment of never-fading life. Now what manner of alteration this is or wherein this qualification of materials fitting for this edifice (which we call the Church) doth conſiſt, is a *Quære* not ſo neceſſary in this place.

4. The ſecond general thing propoſed, to wit, the manner or union of the members or parts of that ſociety (which is the truly *holy* and *Catholick* Church) will ſufficiently determine the former queſtion concerning the qualification of them.

The queſtions concerning the union, are in general, whether this union come neerer to the nature of union betwixt Bodies civil, natural, or artificial. And to this we anſwer, that each of theſe unions in part reſemble it, all of them do not fully expreſs it; becauſe it is more real, more firm and ſolid, than any union can be betwixt the parts of bodies, civil, artificial, or natural. For this *Church* is a true and real body, conſiſting of many parts, all really (though myſtically and ſpiritually) united unto one head; and by their real union with one head, all are truly and really united amongſt themſelves. The union is wrought between both, by a power ſupernatural, by a ſkill ſuper-artificial, by a wiſdome infinitely ſurmounting the higheſt reach of humane policy. That this *Church* is a true body, the Apoſtle (who in his life time was a live member of it, and (under Chriſt the head) a chief Maſter-builder for his ſkill, and yet withal a moſt painful labourer in faſhioning or ſquaring the parts or materials of this ſtructure,) hath left regiſtred. *I rejoyce in my ſufferings for you, and fill up that which is behind of the affliction of Chriſt in my fleſh, for his body ſake which is the Church.* * *Coloſ.* 1. *v.* 24. Every one then is ſo far a member of Chriſts Church, as he is a member of Chriſts body. He that is not in ſome ſort a member of Chriſts body, can be in no ſort a member of his Church. He that is a true live member of the one, is a true live member of the other; He that is but an equivocal, analogical, hypocritical or painted member of the one, is but an equivocal, hypocritical, painted or analogical member of the other.

* See Col. 1. 18. and Eph. 4. verſ. 11, 12, 15, 16.

5. Now the excellency of the union betwixt Chriſt and his Members, or the Members themſelves (and conſequently of the Members or true parts of the Church) may beſt be gathered from the union of thoſe things, whereby the *Church* or *body of Chriſt* is repreſented or deſcribed unto us in holy Writ. The *Church* or *body of Chriſt* is uſually repreſented unto us, by an edifice, as indeed and truth the material Temple, which *Salomon* built, and which afterwards was reſtored, was but a type or embleme of that Temple, which Chriſt was to erect unto his Father. Chriſt himſelf was the true Temple, and therefore ſpake no metaphor, but a myſtery unto the Jewes, when he ſaid, *Deſtroy this Temple, and I will build it again in three dayes, John* 2. *verſe* 19. As it is the Kings preſence which maketh the Court, ſo it is the extraordinary preſence of God, which makes the true Temple of God. The material Temple of *Jeruſalem*, was therefore called the *houſe of God*, becauſe God did therein manifeſt his glorious preſence, and as it were, keep peculiar reſidence in it, in reſpect of other places. *But in Chriſt* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *Coloſ.* 2. *verſe* 9. *the Godhead dwelleth bodily.* As he is the true Temple, becauſe the Godhead dwelleth in him; ſo all they, and onely they, in whom he dwelleth by faith, are true Temples of God, and live members of the Catholick Church. Now there is no union betwixt the parts of bodies artificial, or made by hands, ſo firm and ſtrong as the union betwixt the parts or materials of a Temple or Stone building; no

union again betwixt the parts of the body natural ſo perfect, as the union of life. Hence the Apoſtle Saint *Peter* tells us, *That by our acceſs unto Chriſt by faith, we are made living ſtones. As new born babes deſire the ſincere milk of the Word, that ye may grow thereby, if ſo be ye have taſted, that the Lord is gracious: to whom coming as unto a living ſtone, diſallowed indeed of men, but choſen of God, and precious; Ye alſo as lively ſtones, are built up a ſpiritual houſe, an holy Prieſthood, to offer up ſpiritual ſacrifice, acceptable to God by Jeſus Chriſt.* 1 *Pet.* 2. 2, 3, 4, 5.

6. Herein this union betwixt the members of the true Church or Temple of God, is truly reſembled by the manner of union betwixt bodies politick, or ſocieties corporate, in that, local union or vicinity of place, is not required to the beginning, to the increaſe, or accompliſhing of this union; for though Chriſts manhood be in heaven, and we on earth, yet are we true members of his *body, of his fleſh, and of his bones*, as truly and as really, as the natural parts of our body are ſaid to be our fleſh, and our bones. *No man,* (ſaith the Apoſtle to the *Epheſians, chap.* 5. *verſe* 29.) *hateth his own fleſh, but nouriſheth it, and cheriſheth it,* after what manner? *as Chriſt doth his Church.* So that every member of the Church, or of Chriſts body; is more neer or dear unto him, than our fleſh is unto us, and more his own, than our fleſh is ours. Herein again this union betwixt the members of the true Church, exceeds all other union of bodies civil, artificial, or natural; that every particular member, once perfectly united unto the whole, becomes immortal in it ſelf. Not the whole body or corporation only, but every individual or material part, remains everlaſtingly the ſame. The whole body is not the ſame only by ſucceſſion or equivalency. As the head, ſo every member is tranſlated from death to life: the very ſelfſame individuals, which are in this life perfectly united unto Chriſt by faith, ſhall be raiſed up at the laſt day unto the life of glory. What it is to be perfectly united unto Chriſt, or what perfection of union with him may in this life be attained unto, falls not ſo properly within the compaſs of this preſent Treatiſe.

CHAP. IV.

Of the preheminences which the Church hath of other bodies or corporations, in reſpect of the Governour of it, and the Laws by which it is governed. Of the two Attributes, Holy *and* Catholick.

THis Church or Kingdom of Chriſt, hath the preheminence of all other bodies politick, or Common-weals, in every reſpect, in every point, any way conducent to their *unity*, *ſtability* or *proſperity*. Firſt, for the form of government it is moſt excellent. It is a *Kingdom* and hath but one Head or Governor, and he is truly *one*, not by ſucceſſion, but by everlaſting continuation of one and the ſame individual life. Secondly, the Laws by which this one Kingdom is governed, are more excellent in themſelves, and more unchangeable, then the Laws of any other Common-weal or Kingdome. Again, the Laws of this Kingdom be not onely the dictates of the eternal God (for ſo were the ceremonial or judicial Laws of the Jews:) but more then thus, they are the unchangeable copies or expreſſions of his immutable and moſt holy will; by whoſe due obſervance the true members of this Kingdom become like unto him. Thirdly, the obligements or conformity of every Citizen or ſubject unto theſe Laws, are far more ſtrict, then in any other Common-weal or Kingdom: for of many priviledges and gracious promiſes, which the Citizens of this Kingdom enjoy, it is not the leaſt, that their everlaſting Lawgiver and Governor, vouchſafes to write his Laws, not in Tables of Stone, or Pillars of Braſs, but in the hearts of them, that are to be governed by them. Now what bond or union betwixt men can be imagined ſo great as that, which the fundamental Law of this Kingdom once written in the hearts of men, doth neceſſarily induce or effect, to wit, that every one ſhould love his Lord and King above all, and love his fellow Citizens as himſelf. And the execution of this Law is the accompliſhment of the felicity and proſperity of this Kingdome: who ſo hath once attained to this perfection, doth joy as much in the good things which his fellow Citizen poſſeſſeth, as in his own good; ſo that the joy of each one is the joy of all, and the joy of all, is the joy of each one.

2. Again, this Church or Kingdom of Chriſt herein hath the preheminence for unity above all bodies natural or artificial, in that it is truly and indiſſolubly one, not by unity onely of the *form*, or by the continued identity of the head, or of ſome or more of the principal members, but by true unity and individual identity of every integral or material part once perfectly united to the whole. And albeit theſe parts before their union were Heterogeneal and moſt diſlike, yet after their union they become uniform and moſt homogeneal to each other. Though ſome were Scythians, others Iſraelites, or Arabians, though ſome were ſlaves, and other Lords, yea Kings and Princes, ſome Lay-men, ſome Prieſts, ſome altogether illiterate, others learned, ſome old, ſome young: yet all of them upon their admiſſion into this Church or Common-weal, become a royal generation, Kings and Prieſts. The leaſt, the meaneſt, or loweſt member of this *univerſal* Church, or Houſe of God, is himſelf a *Temple* of God. Thus the univerſality doth no way impeach, it doth rather ſet forth and commend the unity of this Church.

3. That which gives this Church or Kingdom preheminence for *unity* doth give it likewiſe preheminence for *holineſs* before all other Kingdoms or Societies whatſoever, and that is the participation of the Spirit of Chriſt, or (as the Apoſtle ſpeaks) the participation of the *Divine Nature*, which we have through the operation of the Spirit as agent, but which formally conſiſteth in, or immediately reſulteth from that immediate union which we have, through the Spirits agency, with our Lord and King, who is both God and Man. As this word Church ſo the chief attribute of the Church [*holy*] is πολυσημὸν, a word of many ſignifications or importances. To ſet down all the ſeveral importances which this word *holy* hath in Scripture, would be tedious; and in very truth, they are ſcarce comprehenſible to humane capacity; they may multiply upon new occaſions, and grow diviſible *in ſemper diviſibilia.* It ſhall ſuffice to know in general, that the divers ſignifications of this word *Holy*, are of their number which, as *Ariſtotle* tells us, *dicuntur ad unum*, and may be as many as the references be unto the principal *Analogatum*, from whatſoever ſubject or matter the reference ariſe. As for example, *Sanitas*, or *healthfulneſs* doth properly or *formally* conſiſt in the right temperature, diſpoſition or habit of mans body: but ſome things are ſaid to be *ſana*, *ſound* by perfect *Analogy* or *proportion*, as we ſay *pomum aut*

nux, an Apple or a Nut, or Wood is ſound, which are not rotten, putrified or tainted. We ſay again that *cibus eſt ſanus*, *meat* is *healthfull*, drink is *healthful*, that the ayr wherein we live is *healthful*, that the dyet, that is, *moderatio victus*, that exerciſe, is healthful, and ſo of every thing that is conducent to the procuration or preſervation of *health*. And ſometimes the effects or tokens of internal health do participate of its name, as we ſay there is, *ſaliva*, or *urina ſana*, *ſound* or *healthful ſpittle*, *&c.*

4. In like manner, *holineſs* doth properly and formally conſiſt in the right temperature or diſpoſition of the ſoul, ſpecially towards God. The *Idæa* or exemplar of which temperature, is conformity unto Chriſt our head. Now every thing in Scripture is termed holy, that hath any ſpecial reference to the producing of this temperature or quality of the ſoul, whether as a cauſe, means, or circumſtance. So we ſay the Word preached is *Holy*, becauſe it is the ſeed or means of begetting this *holineſs*, and withal, as it is *indicium ſanctitatis divinæ*, a ſign or character of his holineſs whoſe Word it is. In the ſame reſpect likewiſe the Sacraments are *Holy*, the place wherein the Word is preached, or Sacraments adminiſtred, is likewiſe termed *Holy*. The day likewiſe or time, wherein ſuch aſſemblies are held, are termed *Holy*. But the *Holineſs* meant in this Article, is internal holineſs, or purity of mind. Now the fountain of this *Holineſs* is in the *Head* of the Church Chriſt Jeſus, from whoſe fulneſs ſome branch or ſtream of true and real inherent ſanctity of life, is derived to every true member of this Church. This Church it ſelf is not termed *holy*, *à majori parte*, from the greater part only: Every member of it is inherently *holy*. Howbeit this title of *Holineſs* though common to all, doth not *ex æquo convenire omnibus*, is not equally communicated unto all, but by intrinſecal analogy or proportion. It is more perfect and more pure, in ſuch as are already admitted into the Church triumphant; It doth rather purifie or cleanſe ſuch of Chriſts members as have their habitation in theſe houſes of clay here on earth, then remain pure and perfect in them. *Recipitur ad modum recipientis*, it is received according to the quality of the receiver. The ſame ſtream or water is not for clearneſs or other properties the ſame whilſt it runs in a muddy channel, as it is in a Conduit of lead, or when it runs upon ſtone or gravel. *Chriſt*, ſaith the Apoſtle, *loved the Church, and gave himſelf for it, that he might ſanctifie and cleanſe it with the waſhing of water by the word. That he might preſent it to himſelf a glorious Church, not having ſpot or wrinkle, or any ſuch thing, but that it ſhould be holy and without blemiſh*, Epheſ. 5. verſe 25, 26, 27. Though we be waſhed with the water of Baptiſme, and with the wine of the Euchariſt in this life, yet cannot we be ſo waſhed or cleanſed, as to be left without ſpot, wrinkle, or blemiſh, until we have put off this earthly tabernacle, either by death, or by that change whereunto all are ſubject that ſhall not die. The reaſon why all muſt either dye or be changed is, becauſe *fleſh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of heaven*, and the reaſon of this is, that fleſh and blood is not capable of that purity or conſummation of *holineſs*: which is as the wedding garment, without which none may enter into thoſe Courts of the Temple, within which the marriage of the Lamb and his Spouſe be ſolemnized. Or to give the ſumme of the Apoſtles reaſon in his own words, *We muſt be utterly ſtript of the Image of the earthly man, before we can put on the compleat and glorious Image of the heavenly.* And

as we have born the Image of the earthly, we ſhall alſo bear the Image of the heavenly. But when ſhall that be? *When this corruptible ſhall have put on incorruption, and this mortal ſhall have put on immortality; when the ſaying ſhall be brought to paſs; Death is ſwallowed up in victory.* 1 Cor. 15. ver. 49, 54.

5. The title of *Catholick*, to my beſt remembrance, is not expreſſed in Scripture, but often implyed in terms equivalent. The Church of Chriſt was firſt expreſly enſtyled *Catholick* by the Apoſtles themſelves or firſt compoſers of the Apoſtles Creed, eſpecially in oppoſition to the viſible Church of the Jews, or rather to this peoples factious conceit of the prerogatives which God had beſtowed upon their Nation; miſweening that the whole Family or Houſe of God, the full amplitude of the Meſſias his Kingdom, ſhould be comprized within the Houſe or Family of *Abraham*, or at leaſt, that none ſhould have any title or claim to the Kingdom of God, unleſs he were firſt admitted to be a member of that viſible ſociety, which did meet at *Jeruſalem* as at their common *Hall*, *Houſe*, or place of Parliament. That the Church ſhould be thus *Catholick*, or univerſal, or that the Gentiles ſhould be fellow heirs, or joynt members of the ſame body with *Abrahams* ſeed, was a ſecret, not imparted to many before the Revelation of the Goſpel. *For this cauſe I* Paul, *the priſoner of Jeſus Chriſt for you Gentiles, if ye have heard of the diſpenſation of the grace of God, which is given me to you-ward: How that by revelation he made known unto me, the myſtery (as I wrote afore in few words, whereby when ye read, ye may underſtand my knowledge in the myſtery of Chriſt) which in other ages was not made known unto the ſons of men, as it is now revealed unto his holy Apoſtles and Prophets by the Spirit, that the Gentiles ſhould be fellow heirs of the ſame body, and partakers of his promiſe in Chriſt by the Goſpel*, Epheſ. 3. ver. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. Saint *Peter* himſelf had not fully apprehended this myſtery, until the Lord awaked him out of this dream, by interpreting the viſion which he ſaw concerning this point, *Acts* 10. *ver.* 15. But ſeeing the event anſwerable to Gods word, or to the voice which he heard in the viſion, he burſt out into this confeſſion, *ver.* 34. *Of a truth I perceive that God is no accepter of perſons, but in every nation, he that feareth him and worketh righteouſneſs, is accepted with him:* accepted to be a live member of his *holy* and *Catholick* Church, as *Cornelius* no queſtion either at this time or afterwards was. But the full importance of this term *Catholick* is ſet down, *Revelat.* 5. *verſe* 8, 9. *And the four and twenty Elders ſung a new Song, ſaying, Thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the ſeals thereof, for thou waſt ſlain, and haſt redeemed us to God, by thy blood, out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation: And haſt made us unto our God, Kings and Prieſts, and we ſhall raign on the earth.*

The branches of this title *Catholick* are ſpecially theſe three. Firſt, Gods Church is ſaid to be *Catholick* or *Univerſal* in reſpect of all places. Secondly, in reſpect of all ſorts and conditions of men, national or perſonal. Thirdly, it is ſaid Univerſal in reſpect of time. Some of every Nation, Condition or ſtate are admitted unto it. Some likewiſe are admitted in every Age or Generation of men. From the day wherein the Lord did lay the firſt foundation or corner ſtone in *Sion*, there have been in one place or other daily additions unto this Church without ſubtraction; continual adgeneration without corruption, and a continual growth or augmentation without any the leaſt diminution or decay of any true live particle, which it had before.

CHAP. V.

Containing the frivolous exceptions of Cardinal Bellarmine, *and ſome other Romaniſts againſt the former or like deſcription of the true Church, or that Church which is principally meant in the Apoſtles Creed.*

1. THis notification or circumſcription of the *true* Church by the *true* and live myſtical body of Chriſt, is not lyable to that exception which *Bellarmine* and his followers have taken againſt *Calvines* inviſible Church, as they conceive it. Or in caſe the ſame exceptions be taken againſt the Church deſcribed or notified in the former Chapters, one anſwer will ſuffice for both. Their onely exception is this: *Primum igitur, quòd vera Eccleſia ſit viſilibis probatur primò ex Scripturis omnibus, ubicunque invenitur nomen Eccleſiæ. Nam ſemper nomine Eccleſiæ viſibilis congregatio ſignificatur. Nec unnm ſaltem locum Calvinus proferre potuit, nec protulit, ubi hoc nomen tribueretur congregationi inviſibili.* Bellar. de Eccleſia militante, lib. 3. cap. 12. *That the true Church is viſible, may firſt be proved out of all thoſe Scriptures, in which the name of the Church is found. For by this name a viſible Congregation is alwaies ſignified.* Calvin *neither did nor could produce ſo much as one place, wherein the name* Church *is beſtowed upon any inviſible Congregation.*

2. If his meaning be, that ſo much of the true Church, and live-myſtical body of Chriſt, as is now extant on earth, though altogether unviſible to us, be either excluded, or not principally meant in thoſe places of Scriptures, Creeds, or Councels, in which the true *Church* is notified unto us by theſe or the like attributes, *one*, *holy*, *Catholick*, or *Apoſtolick*, it is groſly and apparently falſe. For all Gods promiſes to the Church principally belong to the principal members of it, who are diſtinctly and individually known to himſelf onely, not ſo to us. To whom notwithſtanding their perſons are viſible, the profeſſion of their Faith is likewiſe viſible. The ſincerity of their hearts, or faith is to us inviſible, and therefore inviſible it is to us, whether they be live-members of the *holy Catholick Church or no.* If his meaning be, that many Individuals which are no *true* live-members of the myſtical body of Chriſt, be literally compriſed under the name and title of the Church: the allegation, though moſt true, is very idle and impertinent. For thus the Jew is able to make proof, as direct and full, as can be required by any ingenuous and learned Chriſtian, that moſt of thoſe types and propheſies which we alledge to evince Jeſus the ſon of *Mary* to be the Chriſt and promiſed Meſſias, are literally and hiſtorically meant and verified, either of the ſacrifice of the Law, or of Gods people; of *David*, of *Salomon*, or of ſome other, *&c.* All this notwithſtanding being granted, doth no way diſprove, but rather ratifie our application of the ſame propheſies or ſacred paſſages unto Chriſt, of whom they are alwaies, in the intention of the holy Spirit, principally meant, and in whom alone they are exactly fulfilled, not onely according to the myſtical, but (for the moſt part) according to the moſt exquiſit literal ſenſe. Not that either all or moſt paſſages of Scriptures, which are firſt literally verified of ſome other, and after exactly fulfilled in Chriſt, (have as ſome great Divines think) two literal ſenſes (albeit this may ſometimes hap-

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Tom.III.

ſence, by the preſence of his Vicar general, as the Kingdom of Naples in the abſence of the King, is by the preſence of his Viceroy. Unto the attributes or prerogatives beſtowed on the Church, in the Apoſtles or Nicene Creed, or unto the promiſes annexed unto it in the Scripture, the viſible Church, as we ſay, taken in the Romaniſts ſenſe, hath no claim or title, ſave onely in reverſion or by reflection: that is, The true myſtical body of Chriſt, is onely inſtated in the bleſſings, prerogatives, or promiſes made unto the Church: from *this Body*, or rather from Chriſt, which is the Head of it, the ſaid bleſſings immediately and ſucceſſively deſcend in different meaſure unto the ſeveral members of it: or unto ſuch as are no ſolid members of Chriſt in practice or converſation, yet true Catholicks in opinion and love unfeigned unto the Catholick Faith. And from individuals, thus habitually qualified, the Church viſible or repreſentative derives its right and intereſt in the promiſes made unto the Church generally or indefinitely taken. Whereſoever *two or three*, thus qualified, are gathered together in Chriſts name; that is, not for any private ends, or ſiniſter reſpects, but for meer love of truth; the preſence of Chriſts Spirit is, by promiſe, annexed unto them. Though a thouſand Biſhops, Prelates, or Clarks, not thus qualified be aſſembled for their own gain or dignities, or if their conſultations be managed by ſuperior power or faction, they have no like intereſt in the former promiſe. For any Church viſible or repreſentative, whoſe individuals are not thus far qualified, the greater part whereof for number, or more principal for authority, may be *infideles aut hæretici occulti*; that is, *Hereticks*, *Infidels*, or *Atheiſts* in hearts. To uſurp an abſolute infallibility in judgment of matters ſacred, is no better then blaſpemy: for any ſuch Church to expect the extraordinary aſſiſtance of Gods Spirit in their conſultations, is but the dregs and reliques of *Simon Magus* his ſin. But of the divers acceptions of this word Church, in what ſenſe it is ſaid viſible or inviſible, true or falſe, we are to ſpeak hereafter, *Sect.* 2. *Chap* 1.

CHAP. VI.

Containing the ſpecial points to be believed concerning this Article of the One, Holy, Catholick Church. *How every one is ſo to moderate his aſſent or belief concerning it, that he neither incline unto preſumption, nor fall into deſpair.*

1. THE ſpecial points which we are in this Article to believe, are theſe. Firſt, that as Chriſt, whilſt he lived on earth was a King, albeit his Kingdome was not earthly, nor of this world: ſo he hath ſtill a Kingdom, or at leaſt a great part of his Kingdom here on earth; the members or citizens of which Kingdom, whilſt living in this world, are not of this world: their πολίτευμα (as our Apoſtle ſpeaks) is in heaven, that is, the Society or Corporation, whereof they are actual and live-members, is tranſlated from earth to heaven, and their demeanour or converſation here on earth muſt be celeſtial, and ſuch as becomes the ſons of God.

The ſecond, that God or Chriſt in the choice or admiſſion of Citizens into this celeſtial Corporation, doth not tye himſelf to any one Kingdom, Nation, or Province, to any viſible Society or Corporation here on earth. But as heaven it ſelf is alike diſtant from every part of the earth; ſo every Nation or Kingdom of the earth are alike free to *ſtand* for, or ſolicite their election or admiſſion unto this heavenly ſociety, which we tearm the holy Catholick Church. Of theſe two branches of belief this third is a neceſſary conſequent, that God hath not beſtowed ſuch priviledges upon any viſible Church or Eccleſiaſtical Society whatſoever upon the face of the whole earth, as divers Founders of Colledges in our Univerſities, have done upon ſome Grammar Schools founded likewiſe by them. Many have been choſen and admitted for perpetual Fellows of the celeſtial Academy, which never were trained up in the doctrine or diſcipline of the Grecian, Engliſh or Romiſh Church. God is the ſole Founder of the univerſal Church, and of every particular true Church. As for particular viſible Churches, all are alike free, all their ſons alike capable of admiſſion into the holy Catholick Church; or if any ods there be, it is in the different meaſure of their obſervance of the laws preſcribed to all, eſpecially the Law of loving God above all in Chriſt, and of loving others as our ſelves for Chriſts ſake.

2. The laſt point is, that of all ſuch as are effectually called, or authentickly admitted into this Society, none ever revolt again to the Synagogue of Satan or to the world. Their effectual calling and ſolemn admiſſion, makes them ſuch pillars in the Houſe of their God, that they cannot be removed; *Him that overcometh, will I make a pillar in the Temple of my God, and he ſhall go no more out, and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the City of my God, which is new Jeruſalem, which cometh down out of heaven from my God. And I will write upon him my new Name*, Rev. 3. 12. So he had ſaid before, *verſe* 5. *He that overcometh, the ſame ſhall be cloathed in white rayment, and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life, but I will confeſs his name before my Father, and before his Angels.* Wherein this victory conſiſts, and how in this life it may be obtained, are points belonging to another Argument, and have been elſewhere diſcuſſed at large. That their names who thus overcome, are whilſt they live on earth, written in the Book of Life, is evident out of the 20. *Chapter, ver.* 12. *the dead were judged out of thoſe things which were written in the books, according to their works.* The difference between that part of Chriſts Church, which is triumphant, and that which is militant here on earth, may be reſembled by the eſtate of a viſible Society or Corporation, of which the greater part or principal members live at home in wealth, in peace and quietneſs, whilſt others of the ſame Society ſojourn as Factors, or Apprentices in forraign lands, yet certain of their admiſſion to the ſame priviledges which the other enjoy, after they have ſerved out their Apprentiſhip and performed all duties and ſervices required by the laws of their Corporations.

3. Two queſtions, or rather two branches of one and the ſame queſtion yet remain, which every one that ſincerely mindeth matter of ſalvation, will often make with himſelf.

Firſt, whether every one that ſincerely profeſſeth belief of this Article of the *Holy Catholick Church*, be bound to believe, that he himſelf is a true live-member of the ſame Church.

The ſecond, whether every one which profeſſeth this Article, be bound to believe, that there is a true poſſibility left him by the founder of this Church or Kingdome, that he may in good time become a true and live-member of it.

Unto the latter queſtion, my anſwer ſhall be out of the words of a Woman to her Husband diſtruſting Gods love and favour towards them, whoſe words became Canonical Scripture; *We ſhall ſurely dye*, ſaith *Manoah* unto his wife, *becauſe we have ſeen God. But his wife ſaid unto him, If the Lord were pleaſed to kill us, he would not have received a burnt offering, and a meat offering at our hands, neither would he have ſhewed us all theſe things, nor would at this time have ſhewed us ſuch things as theſe.* Judg. 13. verſ. 22, 23. All and every one ought to be aſſured that if the Lord had any purpoſe to exclude them from being live-members of this *Holy* and *Catholick Faith*, he would not ſo often, ſo lovingly invite them by the Preaching of the Word, and exhibition of his holy Sacraments; all which he mightily prophanes, whoſoever otherwiſe receives them, then as undoubted pledges of Gods love and favour unto him in particular.

4. To the former queſtion, the anſwer is negative. All are not bound to believe that they are actual or real members of the Catholick *Church*. For none can truly believe thus much of himſelf, but he that hath made his election ſure, and is certain, *that his name is written in the book of Life*. Now though it be moſt true, that whoſoever is elect, was elected from all eternity; whoſoever is reprobated, was reprobated from all eternity; yet will it not hence follow, that every man is at all times either in the abſolute ſtate of election and ſalvation, or in the abſolute ſtate of reprobation and damnation. This is too deſperate a diviſion, to put Novices in faith upon it, a cruel rack for tender conſciences. The beſt advice which I can in this point give, is that no man, eſpecially no novice in faith, how ſtrong a diſputant ſoever he be, ſeek to wind himſelf into this Catholick Church, by ſtrength of ſyllogiſm, leaſt Sathan thence take occaſion to wreſt his hopes out of his hands, by the ſame or like engine. The judicious Reader is to take further notice that many ſyllogiſms, which go currant amongſt ſome good Divines, have many foul, though ſecret flaws, as hard to be eſpied in this ſubject of reprobation, election, and the like, as in any other, for theſe are hardly faſhioned into ſyllogiſtical form. Many propoſitions are often in vulgar matters, taken for univerſal, when they are but indefinite. Firſt, to inſtance in a ſubject wherein the fallacy is more groſs and more eaſie to be diſcerned:

> *Quicunque dicit Alexandrum fuiſſe animal generoſum, is verum dicit.*
>
> *At quicunque dicit Alexandrum fuiſſe Bucephalum, dicit Alexandrum fuiſſe animal generoſum; Ergo,*
>
> *Quicunque dicit Alexandrum fuiſſe Bucephalum, is verum dicit.*

Whoſoever ſaith *Alexander* the great was a generous creature, ſaith true: but he that ſaith *Alexander* was *Bucephalus*, ſaith *Alexander* was a generous creature: Therefore whoſoever ſaith *Alexander* was *Bucephalus*, ſaith true.

Others perhaps may anſwer otherwiſe; but the onely flaw in this Syllogiſme, if we examine it by the rules of Art, is that the Major propoſition is indefinite, although it bear in front, a goodly ſhow of an univerſal note. But how large ſoever the *note* of *univerſality* be, unleſs it do *plene afficere medium terminum*, it leaves the propoſition as indefinite, as it found it. Now the *medius terminus* in the former ſyllogiſme is *animal generoſum.* And to make the former propoſition univerſal, the note of univerſality ſhould have been added to *animal generoſum*; as thus: *Quicunque dicit Alexandrum fuiſſe animal quodvis generoſum, is verum dicit. At qui dicit Alexandrum fuiſſe Bucephalum, dicit Alexandrum fuiſſe animal quoddam generoſum.* Here had been *dictum de omni, quodvis animal de quodam animali:* the Syllogiſme for its *form* had been true, but the major propoſition had been apparently falſe; for *Alexander* was not every generous creature, or a generous creature of every kind. The fallacy is the ſame though not ſo eaſily diſcerned in theſe two ſyllogiſmes following:

Whoſoever mortifies the deeds of the body by the Spirit is certain of life:
But *I mortifie the deeds of the body by the Spirit.*
Therefore I am an actual and live member of the holy Catholick Church, aſſured of ſalvation.

The univerſal note [*whoſoever*] doth not *plene afficere medium terminum*, which is *mortification*, which is in it ſelf a term indefinite, and hath many degrees or parts. To make the propoſition univerſal or concludent, we ſhould ſay thus:

Whoſoever doth in any ſort mortifie the deeds of the body, is a live member of the Catholick Church:
But I do in ſome ſort mortifie the deeds of the body: Ergo,
I am a live-member of the Catholick Church.

The form of this ſyllogiſme is *true*, but now the Major is apparently falſe, otherwiſe he that would admit of this propoſition or concluſion in time of proſperity, or in ſpeculations abſtracted from cogitations of ſins, paſt or preſent, the ſame party in conſciouſneſs of actual ſin or grievous temptations would yield to the premiſes and concluſion following:

Whoſoever lives after the fleſh ſhall dye, and is utterly excluded from being a live member of the holy and Catholick Church.
But I have lived and do live after the fleſh: Ergo,
I am but dead and loſt, I ſhall never be a live-member of the holy and Catholick Church.

Theſe two propoſitions, *Whoſoever lives after the fleſh ſhall dye; whoſoever doth mortifie the deeds of the body by the Spirit, ſhall live*; if we reſolve them rightly, are in value thus much:

1. *There is a degree or meaſure of mortification, whereunto whoſoever doth attain, is forthwith tranſlated from death to life, and becomes a live-member of the holy Catholick Church, a perpetual Citizen of the Jeruſalem which is above without all danger of diſinfranchiſement.*

2. *There is a degree or meaſure of fleſhly or carnal living, which who ſo doth in this life reach unto, doth thereby without Gods extraordinary mercy exclude himſelf from the Communion of Saints, or ſociety of the holy Church.*

So that both propoſitions are univerſal in reſpect of the perſons, both indefinite in reſpect of the thing it ſelf, to wit, *mortification* or *carnal living.* This degree or meaſure of mortification may be accompliſhed in this life. But who they be, that have attained to this perfect mortification, or when they attain thereunto; muſt be left to the judgment of God, and information of their own conſciences. The ſafeſt rule for rectification of our conſciences in this point, is that of Saint *Peter: Brethren, give diligence to make your calling* *and election ſure*, 2 *Pet. chap.* 1. *verſe* 10. The means to make our election ſure are there at large preſcribed by him. The brief or abſtract of it, is this; to follow thoſe practiſes, which our conſcience enlightned by the light of Gods Word ſhall approve. For a good conſcience is the mouth of the Spirit, and will one time or other ſpeak words of comfort to every one that hath it, and ſeeks to keep it. And one voluntary teſtimony of it grounded upon experience or conſtancy of good thoughts, good deeds, or reſolutions, is worth a thouſand teſtimonies or confeſſions rackt from the ſpeculative underſtanding by force of Syllogiſme.

SECTION II.

Of the viſible Church in general. Of its principal Attributes or Priviledges.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Church Militant and Triumphant. In what ſenſe it is ſaid that the true Church is inviſible.

1. Seeing our purpoſe in the former Treatiſe was onely to find out the *formal difference*, by which the *One, Holy, Catholick and Apoſtolick Church* is eſſentially conſtituted and diſtinguiſhed from all other Congregations or Corporations; and there was no difference at all to be obſerved between the ſignifications of the Latine *Concio*, and the Greek Ἐκκλησία: whatſoever formal difference fits the one doth as properly fit the other. If we look upon them, as they lye in predicamental line, they have the ſelf ſame aſpect or ſituation. Their formal ſignifications are as Synonymal as ἄνθρωπος in Greek, and *Homo* in Latine. But being now to ſearch out not the *formal* differences whereby the Church κατ' ἐξοχὴν, or principally ſo named, is diſtinguiſhed from all other Societies, but the ſecondary acceptations or ſeveral brances of *analogy*, contained under the word *Church* or *Eccleſia*. We are in the firſt place to note, that the Greek Ἐκκλησία hath a connotative *ſignification* or importance, which the Latine *Concio*, or Engliſh *Church* hath not. It is as much in effect as *evocata concio*, *a ſociety elected or called out*. This *evocation* or *ſelection* is of divers ſorts, and each ſort admits divers degrees. The whole latitude aſwell of the divers ſorts, as of their degrees, may beſt be taken partly by ſurveying the *terminum à quo*, & *terminum ad quem, that is, the eſtate* or condition of life, whence men are called, and the *eſtate* or condition of life, unto which ſuch men are *called* as make the Church; and partly from the nature, quality or degrees of the evocation or *motion* it ſelf. Some are called from profeſſion of *Paganiſme*, or from *Infidelity*, unto the profeſſion of Chriſtianity *vocatione merâ externâ*, by external vocation onely, as by preaching of the Word, by exhibition of the Sacraments, or other like viſible

or ſenſible invitations, to become members of Chriſt. And if they admit of the invitation and profeſſion of Chriſtianity, they become viſible members of the Church indefinitely taken. But proceeding no further; the former calling through their own default, not in reſpect of Gods intention or purpoſe in calling them, takes no real effect. We may ſay of them as our Saviour ſaith in the parable, *Matth.* 22. *verſ.* 8. *The wedding is ready, but they which were bidden were not worthy.* And men thus far called only, are meer grammatical paſſives, and may be paralleld by the high way upon which good ſeed was beſtowed, though not received.

2. Others are called from Paganiſm, or Infidelity, *vocatione internâ*, by internal touches or attractions, which in ſome produceth no better effects then good wiſhes or deſires of amendment of life, or good motions for the preſent. And theſe may be paralleld by the ſtony ground which received the ſeed beſtowed upon it, and for a while gave it nouriſhment and fair entertainment.

In others, the internal vocation may produce ſome root, that is, ſome temporary reſolution for amendment of life or practices conformable to rules believed; but no *ſetled habit*, no conſtancy in perſeverance. And theſe may be paralleld by the thorny ground, in which the ſeed ſown, took better root, then in the ſtony ground, but was ſtifled in the growth. This internal vocation is in others not only effectual for a time, or for ſome purpoſes, but produceth an habitual conſtant reſolution of adhearing to the truth known, and a converſation anſwerable to this vocation. The infallible conſequent of all which is the gift of perſeverance: the *terminus ad quem* of this their conſtant motion or progreſs perfected in victory, is indiſſoluble union with Chriſt.

3. Of men indiſſolubly united to Chriſt, that is, of ſuch as are though in a different meaſure perfect live-members of the *one, holy and Catholick Church*, ſome are called not only out of the dregs of their native corruption unto the life of the Spirit, but out of this world into a better, and theſe are triumphant members of that *one, holy Catholick Church*, which is the live-body of Chriſt. They are *tuti & ſecuri*, free not only from all danger of Apoſtaſie, but from all poſſibility of any annoyance or incumbrances, which the world, the Devil, or the fleſh can attempt againſt them. *Theſe are they which came out of great tribulation, and have waſhed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. Therefore are they before the throne of God, and ſerve him day and night in his Temple; and he that ſitteth on the throne, ſhall dwell among them. They ſhall hunger no more, neither thirſt any more, neither ſhall the Sun light on them, nor any heat*, Revel. 7. *verſ.* 14, 15, 16. Such as are called out of the fleſh unto the life of the Spirit, but not as yet out of the world, are militant members of the holy Catholick Church and victoriouſly militant. *Tuti ſunt, at non ſecuri*; they are exempted from ordinary danger or probable hazard of Apoſtaſie, but not utterly ſecured from all danger of temptation, no not from all impairment of their preſent eſtate.

4. Such as are called *vocatione internâ*, by an inward calling, *ſed inefficaci*, not effectual, or men not indued with the gift of perſeverance, are militant members of the Church indefinitely taken, but not victoriouſly militant: no perfect members of the One, Holy, Catholick Church, ſo called, κατ' ἐξοχὴν, or by excellency. Such as are called *vocatione externâ*, by external vocation only, are no true members of the

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4. Such as are called *vocatione internâ*, by an inward calling, *ſed inefficaci*, not effectual, or men not indued with the gift of perſeverance, are militant members of the Church indefinitely taken, but not victoriouſly militant: no perfect members of the One, Holy, Catholick Church, ſo called, κατ' ἐξοχὴν, or by excellency. Such as are called *vocatione externâ*, by external vocation only, are no true members of the

Church militant, much leſs any militant members of that true holy and Catholick Church, yet members in their kind of the viſible Church; for ſo, as Cardinal *Bellarmine* acknowledgeth, *occulti hæretici, aut infideles*, diſſembling Hereticks, or Infidels in heart may be. And this ſort of men may be beſt reſembled by ſuch as have been preſt for Souldiers, and taken their pay, but without any reſolution or purpoſe to ſhew themſelves in the day of battail, much leſs to adventure themſelves in any difficult ſervice, but ready upon approach of danger to forſake the field, or revolt unto the enemy. So that the ordinary and uſual diviſion of the Church into triumphant and militant, comprehendeth more then the live members of the holy and Catholick Church; to wit, ſuch members of the viſible Church or Churches, as oppoſe themſelves to the holy and Catholick Church, or are not well affected towards it.

5. The viſible Church is a tranſcendent, and doth neither exclude the members of the *holy Church triumphant or militant*, nor doth it conſiſt only of them, or of men internally, though ineffectually called: but of them and of others called only *vocatione merè externâ*, by vocation meerly external. Every member of the Church triumphant, is viſible to others, members of the ſame Church, though all inviſible to the Church militant here on earth; as, perhaps, the true members of the Church militant, are to them, ſave only ſo far as God hath revealed to them the names of ſuch as ſhall be ſaved. The Church militant likewiſe is viſible to God, and to the ſeveral members of it: But what members of this viſible and militant Church, be live members of the one, holy and Catholick Church, or who hereafter ſhall become live members of it, is known only to God, or to mens private conſciences, after their effectual calling. Every man perhaps may feel or perceive his own, but he cannot diſcern or ſee anothers effectual calling.

6. Though the Church be ſometimes by good Writers inſtiled as well *inviſible*, as *viſible*; we are not from this oppoſition of words or tearms to conceit an opoſition or diſtinction of Churches, as if ſome were viſible others altogether inviſible. Such as moſt uſe theſe tearms, mean no more by them, then we have ſaid, to wit; *what perſons of the militant and viſible Church be true Deniſons of the heavenly Jeruſalem or City of God, is to us inviſible or unknown.* I cannot ſay, whether it were ignorance or malice in the Romaniſts, to conſtrue theſe tearms of *viſible* and *inviſible*, whileſt they found them in ſome of our Writers, for diviſive differences of the Church, as if they had conſtituted two contra-diſtinct or oppoſite Churches; when as it is plain, that they are for the moſt part ſubordinate and coincident. Ordinarily the live members of the *Holy Catholick Church*, or of that part of it which is to us inviſible, are members of ſome viſible Church, but not *è contra*. For neither all nor moſt part of any viſible Church in latter ages, are true and live members of the Holy and Catholick Church, part of which we believe to be here on earth, though it be to us inviſible. Finally, to be *viſible* or *inviſible*, are denominations meerly accidental, no true differences of the Church. Between a viſible Church, and a Church inviſible, there is a mean. Many their be, or may be in moſt ages, which are no members of the viſible Church, and yet better members of the true Church, then the members of the Church viſible for the preſent are. For the true and orthodoxal Church, might be truly viſible in its members ſo diſperſed and ſcattered, as they cannot rightly be ſaid to make one true viſible Church.

7. The inviſibility of the Holy Catholick Church here militant on earth, hath not been in all ages the ſame. The members of this diviſion (if ſo it pleaſe any man to conceit it) were, in the Apoſtles time, in a manner, coincident. Few there were (eſpecially of the Jewiſh nation) which did aſſociate themſelves unto the then viſible Church, which were not even in this life aſſociated to the holy and Catholick Church militant, and made living ſtones in the houſe of God. That ſaying of the holy Spirit, (*Act.* 2. *v.* 47.) was more peculiarly verified of thoſe times, and of that people, then of any other times or people: *The Lord added to the Church daily ſuch as ſhould be ſaved.* This ſaying includes thus much, That all, or moſt of thoſe that profeſſed themſelves members of the then viſible Church, became live members of the holy Catholick Church. And no wonder, for the temptations or dangers, which then hindred the Jews or Gentiles, but eſpecially the Jews from conſociating themſelves to the then viſible Church, were more and greater, then ſuch as hinder the members of later viſible Churches, from entring into the Kingdom of heaven, or from reſolute profeſſion of that doctrine, without which, no member of any viſible Church this day extant upon earth, can enter or be admitted into that one, holy, and Catholick Church.

Until *Bellarmine*, *Valentia*, *Stapleton*, and ſome others, did trouble the ſtream or current of Gods Word; as much as we have here ſaid, was cleerly repreſented to the adverſaries of our Church. Witneſs that *Enchiridion* of Chriſtian Inſtitutions, ſet forth by the provincial Councel of *Colon*, upon this Article of the Creed. The Author of which Enchiridion (were he one or more) having divided the Church into triumphant and militant, ingenuouſly grants, that the Church militant, taken in its proper and ſtrict ſenſe, is inviſible, ſave only to God. He grants withall, that ſome members of the Church militant, *ita ſunt in domo Dei, ut ipſi ſint Domus Dei, they are ſo in the Church of God, as they themſelves are the Churches of God*; that is, as we ſaid before, they are homogeneal and live members of the one, holy, Catholick and Apoſtolick Church, or pillars and living ſtones ſo layed by the hand of God, that they can never be removed. All he had to ſay againſt *Lutherans*, was, *verùm ad eum modum non oportet accipere Eccleſiæ vocabulum, &c. That when Chriſt commands us to hear the Church, or when the Fathers diſpute about the authority of the Church, we are not to take the Church militant ſo ſtrictly*, as *Luther*, *Calvine*, and their followers ſometimes do; to wit, for the live members of Chriſts myſtical body.

Eccleſia duplex eſt, militans & triumphans, utramque complectitur hic articulus. Triumphans eſt, cœtus ille beatarum animarum cum Chriſto regnantium, qui & de mundo, & de Diabolo triumphavit, & regnat cum Chriſto ſecurus in æternum, quem Apocalypſis deſcribit: Hi (inquit) ſunt qui venerant de tribulatione magna, & laverunt ſtolas ſuas, & dealbaverunt eas in ſanguine agni, & ideo ſunt ante thronum, & ſerviunt ei die ac nocte in Templo ejus, & qui ſedet in throno, habitabit ſuper illos: non eſurient neque ſitient ampliùs, non cadet ſuper illo ſol neque ullus æſtus, &c.

Ut ad Eccleſiam militantem veniamus; hæc bifariam conſideratur: primùm ſtrictius, quatenus dicimus eos eſſe in Eccleſia, qui ita ſunt in domo Dei, ut ipſi ſint domus Dei, ſeu Templum Spiritus ſancti, qui conſtituunt urbem illam beatam Hieruſalem de cœlo deſcendentem, à Deo paratam, conſtructam ex vivis lapidibus, de quibus dixit Apoſtolus: Multi unum corpus ſumus in Chriſto Jeſu: quos & alibi vocat populum emundatum ab omni iniquitate, acceptabilem Deo, ſectatorem bonorum operum. Eccleſia vero eatenus accepta, ſoli Deo nota eſt, Quemadmodum idem Apoſtolus ait: cognovit Dominus qui ſunt ejus. Verùm ad eum modum non oportet accipere Eccleſiæ vocabulum, ubi vel Chriſtus de audienda Eccleſia præcipit, vel patres poſt Apoſtolos de authoritate Eccleſiæ diſſerunt. Enchirid. Chriſtian. inſtitut. fol. 65.

All this may be granted; we are not the men which they miſtake us for. We never denied obedience to the viſible Church, which conſiſts of good and bad, which contains in it as well the reprobate as the elect. All the difference betwixt us is about the bounds or the limits of the obedience which we owe unto the viſible Church. We ſay firſt the preſent *Romiſh viſible Church*, doth exact greater and more abſolute obedience, then either * *Moſes*, or ſuch as ſate in *Moſes* chair, then either Chriſt or his Apoſtles did exact of their followers, whilſt he lived here on earth. Secondly, we ſay, that we do not owe the ſame meaſure of obedience to any viſible Church now on earth, as the primitive profeſſors and believers did to our Saviour Chriſt, and his Apoſtles.

See this point handled at large in the third book upon the Creed. Sect. 3. from the 6 chap. to the 15.

CHAP. VIII.

What is required to the conſtitution of a viſible Church. Whence the unity or plurality of viſible Churches ariſeth. What unity may be had or expected between viſible Churches independent one of another for Juriſdiction. The divers acceptions or degrees of the viſible Church.

1. TO the conſtitution of a viſible Church, there is required firſt external profeſſion of one and the ſame Faith. Whether the parties making this profeſſion be many or few, it skills not. Sometimes the Father of the family with his ſons and men-ſervants, were profeſſors of the Chriſtian Faith, taught by the Apoſtles, whilſt the Mothers and the Daughters with others of the ſame Family remained in Paganiſm and infidelity, *&* *è contra.* Now though the houſe ſo divided, were not the *Church* of God, yet was there a viſible *Church* of God, or part of ſuch a Church in that houſe. A viſible *Church* diſtinct from others in place of habitation only, not by diverſity of Faith or diſcipline. For, ſeveral Families of the faithful were called Churches, as being, *partes ſimilares*, Homogeneal parts of ſome more intire or ample viſible Church. Secondly, to the conſtitution of an intire viſible *Church*, there is required (beſides unity of profeſſion, or the unity of Faith profeſſed, or of moral Laws acknowledged) an unity of Laws or ordinances judicial, or an unity of diſcipline, of aſtipulation or obligement unto a peculiar kind of power or authority, before unuſual in other Societies or Corporations.

2. Before the Paſtors or Governors of the Church had any commiſſion or coactive power derived from *Princes*, *States*, or Commonweals, to make Laws for the *Church*, or for puniſhing offenders; every member of the viſible Church in what Realm or Kingdom ſoever ſeated, did renounce or abjure all uſe of ſuch liberty, as every other member of the ſame Kingdom or Common-weal, which was no member of the Church, did enjoy. It was not lawful for one member of the viſible Church to implead another in matter of controverſie or wrong before a forraign Judge. And although this aſtipulation was not legal (that is, nor authorized by any humane Law or cuſtom) yet did it bind them faſter then any legal or civil bond. *Dare any of you* (ſaith S. *Paul*) *having a matter againſt another, go to Law before the unjuſt, and not before the Saints? Do ye not know that the Saints ſhall judge the world?* and if the world ſhall be judged by you, are ye unworthy to judge the ſmalleſt matters? 1 *Cor. cap.* 6. *verſ.* 1, 2. But if ſome member of this viſible Church, had oppoſed this ſpiritual authority, or rejected this diſcipline or aſtipulation,

ſtipulation, what remedy had the Apoſtles againſt them; In primitive times, every one that was partaker of the Word, of the Sacraments, or of ſpiritual bleſſings, did thereby *ſubject* or oblige himſelf unto a peculiar kind of Judicature or tribunal, unto which no other member of the Common weal or Kingdome, which was no participant of the Word or Sacraments, was either *ſubject or obliged.* And this was the ſentence of Excommunication; an extraordinary and peculiar kind of Judicature, which the Apoſtles exerciſed by authority immediately derived from Chriſt; not by commiſſion or warrant from *Princes*, or *Eſtates*, not by the poſitive Laws or ordinances of Any Body civil or eccleſiaſtick. *I verily as abſent in body, but preſent in ſpirit, have judged already, as though I were preſent, concerning him that hath ſo done this deed.* In the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt *when yee are gathered together, and my ſpirit, with the power of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, To deliver ſuch a one unto Sathan for the deſtruction of the fleſh, that the Spirit may be ſaved in the day of the Lord Jeſus,* 1 *Cor. Cap.* 5. *v.* 3, 4. 5. That this Apoſtolical Judicature did extend only to the viſible Church planted by him; that it did extend to all, and might be exerciſed upon every actual member of the ſame Church, is apparant from the 9, 10, and 11. *ver. I wrote unto you in an Epiſtle, not to company with Fornicators.* The *Corinthians* had extended this precept too far; ſo far, as it was not poſſible for them exactly to obſerve it; And upon this occaſion it ſeems they did (as it uſually fals out in like caſes) utterly neglect to practiſe it within its proper bounds or limits. The Apoſtle therefore expreſſeth his meaning not to be, that *they ſhould not keep company with the Fornicators of this world, or with the covetous, or extortioners or with Idolaters; for then muſt ye needs go out of the world. But now I have written unto you, not to keep company, if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an Idolater, or a railer, or a Drunkard or an extortioner: with ſuch a one no not to eat. For what have I to do to judg them alſo that are without? do not ye judg them that are within? But them that are without, God judgeth.*

3. Thus it is true in bleſſings or priviledges eccleſiaſtical as well as civil; *Omnis commoditas ſua fert incommoda ſecum*: Every commodity or convenience is charged with ſome or other incommodious conditions. Such of the Corinthians as were *foris*, *extra matriculam Eccleſiæ viſibilis*, out of the viſible Church in *Corinth*, were not ſubject unto this extraordinary Judicature, or the inconveniences that did accompany it: Unto all which every viſible member of the Church there planted was ſubject. But this ſubjection was like the ſervice of God, a great part of their perfect freedome, and a chaſtiſement, * *not ſweet for the preſent but grievous, yet yielding the peaceable fruit of righteouſneſs to them that were exerciſed by it.* All the Corinthians that were *foris*, that is out of the *viſible Church* there planted, were more then lyable, and more then obnoxious to a more dreadful judgment from God, which one time or other muſt inevitably fall upon every one, that is not found in Chriſt or that is not live member of the holy Catholick *Church.* The only means, at leaſt the ordinary means then poſſible, to be exempted from this fearful judgment, was by aſſociating themſelves unto the preſent viſible, Church, and by ſubmiſſion of their ſoules to this peculiar Judicature of Gods Apoſtles, *Chriſts* Embaſſadours. For this power (as the Apoſtle elſewhere ſpeaks) *was not given them for deſtruction, but for edification.* The members of the Church that were thus judged by them, were *chaſtened by the Lord, that they ſhould not be condemned*

Heb. 12, 11.

condemned with the world. 1 Cor. 11. verſe. 32. Every Apoſtle of Chriſt had the ſame authority which S. *Paul* here practiſed; namely, full authority to ſet down orders for governing the Churches planted by them, and for excommunicating all ſuch perſons, as either contemptuouſly violated their orders, or did otherwiſe ſcandalouſly treſpaſs againſt the moral Law of God.

4. Was it then lawful for any viſible member of the Church planted by Saint *Paul* at *Corinth* in caſe of controverſies, which were to be arbitrated according to the tenor of his reſcript before rehearſed, to appeal from the ſentence of Saint *Paul* or other domeſtick Arbitrators, unto S. *Peter*, or unto any forrain Church or See planted or governed by him? Or contrariwiſe, was it lawful for the Churches planted by Saint *Peter*, to appeal unto S. *Paul*? If thus to do it were not lawful, then queſtionleſs, the Churches viſible of Saint *Pauls* planting, were as truly diſtinct from the Churches planted or governed by Saint *Peter*, as one free State or Common weal is from another, unto which it is not in juriſdiction or matter of appeal ſubordinate. Now it is not the unity or identity of laws or cuſtomes, that makes a Common weal or Kingdome to be one and the ſame, unleſs the perſons which are ſubject unto the ſame Laws, be likewiſe ſubject to the ſame Supream Tribunal. For albeit, aſwel the temporal Laws as the Eccleſiaſtical conſtitutions of *Sweden* or *Ruſſia*, were as like to our Engliſh Laws Eccleſiaſtical or temporal, as one apple is like to another; yet could not *Ruſſia*, *Sweden* and *England* be ſo properly termed one Kingdom and Common weal, as *England* and *Scotland* are: although the Laws by which thoſe Kingdoms are governed be much different.

5. In like manner, admitting the Laws and diſcipline of all the Churches planted by Saint *Peter*, by Saint *Paul*, and other Apoſtles, had been the ſelf ſame: yet could they not in this reſpect be ſo truly and properly ſaid one viſible Church, as the particular Churches planted by Saint *Paul* eſpecially in one and the ſame Province were one Church; albeit their Laws or ordinances had been more different. It is probable then, that there were as many ſeveral diſtinct viſible Churches, as there were Apoſtles, or other Ambaſſadors of Chriſt, immediately indued with this extraordinary judicature which is immediately derived from Chriſt, and independent upon any earthly power or any power whatſoever on earth; whether ſpiritual or temporal. Their opinion is very probable, who think that every Apoſtle had his peculiar circuit allotted him by Chriſt; and that they did diſperſe themſelves into twelve ſeveral parts of the world. According to this tradition of the Ancients, a learned Critick of our times in matters ſacred, doth point and interpret the *v.* 25. of the firſt of the *Acts*, after another manner, then any known Intrepreter (to my remembrance) doth. *And they prayed ſaying, Thou Lord which knoweſt the hearts of all men, ſhew whether of theſe two thou haſt choſen, that he may take the room of this miniſtration and Apoſtleſhip from which* Judas *by tranſgreſſion fell, that he* (to wit *Judas*) *might go unto his own place.* For ſo this place is ordinarily expounded: but the Greek may bear another ſenſe, to wit, that he that took part of the *miniſtration* and *Apoſtleſhip* from which *Judas* had faln, might be ſent that cricuit, which *Judas* (had he not faln) ſhould have gone.

See *Fr. Maſon* of the conſecration of Biſhops, &c. l. 1. c. 4. pag. 24.

ἀνάδειξον ἐκ τούτων τῶν δύο ἕνα, ὃν ἐξελέξω λαβεῖν τον κλῆρον τῆς διακονίας ταύτης καὶ ἀποστολῆς, ἐξ ἧς παρέβη Ἰουδας, πορευθῆναι εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν ἴδιον. If ye put a comma after the word Ἰουδας, the ſenſe of this later interpretation will be full.

I. It is then profeſſion of the ſame faith, participation of the Sacraments, and ſubjection to the ſame Laws and Ordinances eccleſiaſtick, which makes the viſible Church to be one.

II. It is the diverſity of independent Judicature, or ſupream tribunals eccleſiaſtick, which makes plurality of viſible Churches, or diſtinguiſheth one from the other.

III. That which makes every viſible Church to be more or leſs, the true Church of God, is the greater or leſs efficacy or conformity of its publick doctrin and diſcipline for enapting or faſhioning the viſible members of it, that they may become live-members of the Holy Catholick Church, or living ſtones of the new *Jeruſalem*. Every true viſible Church is as an inferiour Free-School or Nurſery for training up Scholars, that they may be fit to be admitted into the celeſtial Academy.

6. There be two queſtions yet remaining of very good uſe, which (if God permit) ſhall be more particularly diſcuſſed hereafter.

Firſt, *Whether there be any Judicature eccleſiaſtick for independency, or otherwiſe, altogether the ſame with that which the Apoſtles in the firſt planting of Churches, had and practiſed.*

Secondly, *Whether independent Judicatures eccleſiaſtick, did or may decreaſe or multiply in ſucceeding ages, or ſo decreaſe for number, that there ſhall be but one left on earth unto which all ought to be ſubject ſo far, that there ſhall or can be but one true viſible Church.*

Concerning the firſt point, *Whether there be any Judicature Eccleſiaſtick altogether the ſame with that which the Apoſtles had:* I am not of opinion with *Eraſtus*, that great Phyſitian and good Divine, that the exerciſe of Excommunication, was then only needful, when no viſible Church had any legal or civil remedy to preſerve its unity, or purge it ſelf of groſs offenders. Or that the right or power of Excommunication, which the Apoſtles and their immediate ſucceſſors had, did utterly expire and vaniſh, after once whole Cities or Common weals became Chriſtian, and the Churches which before had only ſojourned amongſt them, were incorporated into them as live principal members; enabled by full authority derived from the ſupream Majeſty or ſoveraignty of States or Kingdomes, to inflict corporal puniſhment upon offenders, to enact coercive or penal Laws or other means neceſſary for diffuſing the doctrine of life throughout the whole body politick, without let or incumbrance of any particular part or member. But though I be not thus far of *Eraſtus* his mind, that the power of Excommunication did at that time ſpecified by him, utterly expire or determine; yet hath experience made it more then probable, that after the Churches and Common weals, were ſo mutually interwrapt and lincked together, that every member of the Common-weal was inforced to become a member of the Church, and to be ſo admitted by Church-Governours: the edge of the ſpiritual * ſword was much abated, the force of former ſpiritual ordinances became ſtifled with the multitude of perſons againſt whom they were directed. Whether the defect be in the power it ſelf, or in ſuch as have it, but do not uſe it; certain it is, that this branch of diſcipline is not in our dayes ſo effectual as ſometimes it hath been, either for framing viſible Churches unto the rules preſcribed by their great Founders or firſt Planters, or for conforming the members of the viſible Church unto the true, *Holy*, and *Catholick Church*. The meer ſpiritual power with which alone the Apoſtles and their immediate Succeſſors were indued, was of greater efficacy then both the remainder of the like ſpiritual power in later Biſhops and paſtors, and all the

* *Vide Andræam Laurentium in Libello de Excommunicatione.*

ſtrength of ſecular or civil power wherewith Princes, States or Kingdomes, ſince the mutual incorporation of Common-weals and Churches have (as they were in conſcience and *de jure divino* bound) aſſiſted *Prelates* and *Church governors*.

7. To the ſecond queſtion [*Whether there be one or more independent tribunals*] the later Romaniſts unanimouſly anſwer, that there is but one only *Judicature* or ſupream *tribunal* here on earth, the Judge whereof they make the only head of all the Churches, or (as they would ſay) of the whole militant Church here on earth. *Noſtra ſententia eſt*, ſaith * Bellarmine, *Eccleſiam vnam tantum eſſe, non duas, et illam vnam et veram eſſe cœtum hominum ejuſdem chriſtianæ fidei profeſſione et eorundem ſacramentorum communione, colligatum, ſub regimine legitimorum paſtorum, ac præcipue unius Chriſti in terris vicarij, Romani Pontificis. Ex qua definitione facile colligi poteſt, qui homines ad Eccleſiam pertineant, qui vero ad eam non pertineant. Tres enim ſunt partes hujus definitionis. Profeſſio veræ fidei, Sacramentorum communio, et ſubjectio ad legitimum paſtorem Romanum Pontificem. The Church in our opinion, ſaith* Cardinall Bellarmine, *is one not two, and this one true Church is a Company of men linked together by profeſſion of the ſame chriſtian Faith, by communion of the ſame Sacraments, under the goverment of lawful Paſtors, and chiefly of the Biſhop of Rome, Chriſt's ſole Vicegerent here on earth. Out of this definition* (he further adds;) *it may eaſily be gathered what men pertain unto the Church, who pertain not unto it. For the parts of this definition are three; Profeſſion of Faith, Sacramental Communion, and ſubjection to the lawful Paſtor*, viz. *the Biſhop of Rome.* The concluſion which he aymes at is this, that whoſoever either doth not hold the ſame Faith in all points which the Romiſh Church doth, or doth not communicate with that Church in the uſe of Sacraments, or doing both theſe, doth not withall acknowledge the Biſhop of *Rome* for his ſupream Governour eccleſiaſtick, he no way belongs to the true Church. Whoſoever holds all the three parts of the former definition, he is the true ſon of the ſame Church.

* *Lib. 3. de Eccleſ. mil. cap. 2. & in catechiſmo in articulo de ſancta & Cath. Eccleſia.*

The militant Church, ſaith the Author of the Antidote, *is a ſociety or company of men, linked and combined together in the ſame profeſſion of the Chriſtian Faith, and uſe of Sacraments under lawful paſtors, chiefly vnder one Head, and Vicar of Chriſt the Pope of Rome*, the 3. part of the Antidote, cap. 1. p. 17. §. 5.

8. The Church triumphant is more beholding to, or rather leſs injured by this Cardinall and his followers, then it was by ſome former Popes or Councels, which as the * Doctor of famous and bleſſed memory long ſince obſerved, have made the Pope head of the Church trimphant. Cardinall B*ellarmine* and his Epitomiſts, in making the Pope ſuch an head of the vniverſall Church militant, make him an eſſentiall head of all Chriſts actual live and indeficient members here on earth. And thus to doe, is an indignity to Chriſt, not literally or fully expreſſable by any tearms which the tongue or pen of men can invent. It may notwithſtanding, be thus typically repreſented or ſhadowed. Suppoſe a man ſhould put a *Gorgon* or *Saracens* head made of ſtraw or clouts, taken out of a ſinke, or ſome other place not fit to be named, upon the Kings ſtatue or image made by publick authority, of pure gold, having firſt ſtricken off, or ſtollen away the true head, which the Artificer had framed of matter homogeneal and correſpondent for forme or proportion to the reſt of the body.

* *Raynold in Theſ.*

9. Contradictory to Cardinal *Bellarmine* and the Author of the Antidotes definition, we may for the preſent conclude, and the rules as well of nature and reaſon, as of laws ſupernatural and divine, will ratifie our concluſion, *viz.* Firſt, that ſince the Churches and Common-weals abſolutely diſtinct each from other, and independent one of another, have been thus wedded together as ſoul and body, as man and wiſe; there have been as many ſeveral viſible Churches independent each on other, for matter of juriſdiction or ſubjection to one viſible Head, as there be ſeveral free States or Chriſtian Kingdoms independent one of another. Secondly, that the ſubordination of Church to Church, is in proportion the ſame, with the ſubordination of the ſeveral ſtates, wherein the Churches are planted. The beſt union that can be expected between viſible Churches ſeated in Kingdoms or Common-weals independent one of another, is the unity of league or friendſhip. And this may be as ſtrict as it ſhall pleaſe ſuch Common-weals, or Churches to make it. Thirdly, to make the Church ſeated in one abſolute State or Kingdom, live in ſubjection to another Church ſeated in another Kingdom, or to any member of another Church or Kingdom (head or branch) is to erect a Babel, or ſeat for Antichriſt, not to build up one holy Church to Chriſt. This practice or uſurpation of the Romiſh Church, hath been the reaſon why the chriſtian world for theſe many years, hath been more confuſed and diſordered, then the Synagogue of Mahomet. Nor is there any poſſibility that chriſtian States or Kingdoms ſhould ever be ſo united in faith and love, as that their joynt prayers ſhould be acceptable unto God againſt the Turk or other profeſſed enemy of Chriſt, until they have caſt off this heavy yoke of Satanical ſlavery. But of theſe points hereafter.

10. Laſtly, ſince the Church hath been diffuſed throughout all and every part of Kingdoms and Provinces, it is impoſſible that every member ſhould perſonally meet to make laws and orders. And yet all laws are preſumed to be made by univerſal conſent, and in this regard, the Churches have been inforced to have as well *Churches* as *Bodies* politick, *repreſentative.* And inaſmuch as the practice and cuſtome hath been, to admit none but Clergy or Church-men, as members of the Body Eccleſiaſtick or Church repreſentative: the name of the Church hath been in a manner appropriated to the Clergy, Church-men, or Spiritualty.

The Church or Body Eccleſiaſtick repreſentative, that is, the Church inabled to make laws or canons Eccleſiaſtick (of what members ſoever, it doth, may or ought to conſiſt, for their qualification, as whether onely of Clarks, or whether it may admit ſome mixture of the Layetie) is either permanently *exiſtent*, or *exiſtent* onely by viciſſitude or turns. The Church repreſentative which is exiſtent, onely by viciſſitude, or at certain times onely, may be comprehended under the names of *Councels* or *Synods*, whether œcumenical, general or provincial, or of *Convocations* Eccleſiaſtick. The Church repreſentative permanently exiſtent, amongſt the Romaniſts, is the Conſiſtory of the Pope and his Cardinals. Albeit in very deed, the Jeſuites, the Canoniſts, and later Papiſts of their inſtruction, have contracted the Church repreſentative into the Popes breſt alone. *He*, to uſe their own dialect, *is the vertual Church*, that is, *He eminently* comprehends all the authority which is *formally* and ordinarily ſeated or inherent, whether in the Church repreſentative, or in the whole militant and viſible Church of God, whereof *He* claimeth to be the ſole viſible head. *He* hath the ſame reference to the whole body of the Church viſible beſides, as

Plato his ἀυτάνθρωπος had to ἄνθρωπος, that is, he is ἀυτοκκλησία, *the life or quintiſcence* of the viſible Church, or in reſpect of that Church, *all in all.* So Cardinal *Paleotus*, in his book, *de ſacro conſiſtorio*, would perſwade us, that as God Almighty ſometimes governs the world by his ordinary power, or by the miniſtery or coagency of ſecond cauſes, ſometimes by his extraordinary immediate or abſolute power; ſo the Pope ſometimes determines controverſies in Religion and orders the affairs of the Church, by the conſent and aſſiſtance of Councels, or at leaſt of his Conſiſtory; ſometimes by himſelf alone, and by his ſole plenary and illimited power.

CHAP. IX.

That albeit the true Church be alwaies viſible, yet it is a groſs ſophiſme hence to infer, that the viſible Church is alwaies the true Church; or that one viſible Church is more priviledged from erring than another. The ſtrange blaſphemy, by which the Author of the Antidote *ſeeks to ſupport the infallibility of the viſible* Romiſh Church.

1. THE ſubject of our next enquiry, ſhall be ſo to ſhare the titles or attributes given by the Scriptures, orthodoxal antiquity, or other good authority, to the Church indefinitely taken, between that *One*, *Holy*, *Catholick Church* which we believe in this Creed, and the *viſible* Church or Churches, which we ſee or know; ſo as that God and his *Holy Church*, may have their full dues, and Gods deputies here on earth, *Cæſars* or other governours of his viſible Church, may have no wrong. The beſt and moſt general rule for our direction in this ſearch, is that, which will better appear from a Treatiſe concerning the *expoſition of propheſies.* For, as one and the ſame propheſie touching Chriſt, ſo one and the ſame promiſe made unto the Church, may be often literally verified, and in different meaſure ſucceſſively fulfilled of divers parties. Some promiſes may be literally verified of the viſible Church or Synagogue of the Jews before our Saviours Incarnation, and of the viſible Churches planted by his Apoſtles; and be in part fulfilled, throughout every age, of the live-members of Chriſts body to us inviſible, but laſtly to be exactly fulfilled of the Church triumphant or Kingdom of glory.

2. Moſt of the later Romaniſts arguments, are meer Sophiſmes *à dicto ſecundùm quid, ad ſimpliciter;* that is, they take all thoſe glorious titles or promiſes made to the Church in its moſt ample or exquiſite ſignification, to be exactly and intirely fulfilled of the viſible Church throughout all ages; when as they are verified of it in part onely, or at ſome ſpecial times, or by way of type or ſhadow, and unto which ſhe hath at no time any abſolute title, but conditional. In this miſt of ignorance, the Author of the blind *guide of Faith*, in his ſecond chapter, doth ſtrangely wander, not onely from the truth, but from the level which he had taken, not much amiſs, in the firſt chapter of his Treatiſe; and as his cuſtome is, when he hath loſt his way, like a balling Hound, not well entred, falls a barking at Doctor *Whitaker*, whoſe words or meaning, how ſincerely he quotes or recites, I leave it to the unpartial Readers examination.

In his third chapter having propoſed this *Theſis*, *That the true viſible Church is apparently known, and famous to the world*, he labours to prove in the fourth chapter, *that the true viſible and apparantly known Church can never fail.* That the viſible Church was in the Apoſtles time and after, the true Church of God, we never denyed: nor will we contend with him, whether the true Church of God on earth can ever fail, no not whether ever it ceaſeth to be viſible. Where then is the difference? Theſe two propoſitions, *the true Church of God is alwayes viſible*, *the viſible Church is alwayes the true Church of God*, differ as much as a *Mill-horſe, and a Horſe-mill:* or, *as to ſtand with a man, and to withſtand a man.* The whole viſible Church in the dayes of the Emperours *Conſtantius* and *Valens*, did Arianize, as the Romaniſt cannot deny. The beſt anſwer that they can give to this Inſtance is, that theſe Emperours did not raign long, for *Valens* died within three years after the perſecution by him begun. However; the Councel of *Millain*, of *Sirmium*, &c. was the then viſible Church, κατ' ἐξοχὴν. But I hope, they will not ſay, that it was the true Church of God. For though almoſt all the Biſhops and moſt Chriſtians throughout the Roman Empire did ſubſcribe unto theſe *Councels*, yet was not the true * Church of God during theſe three years inviſible, but more remarkably viſible in ſome few which did contradict the then viſible Church, content to ſuffer exile or other martyrdome, in maintenance of the *Holy Catholick Faith*, which is the life and ſoul of the Church of God. In few ages after, wherein worſe beaſts then *Valens* was, were chief Governours of the viſible Church: that is, after the ſucceſſion of Romiſh Biſhops was grown up unto a perfect beaſt, according to the meaſure of Antichriſt; the true Church of God was remarkably viſible in ſuch as that viſible Church did condemn for Hereticks. Inſtances to this purpoſe are plentiful in unpartial Writers. And when the doctrine of Antichriſt was come to his full growth, as in the Councel of *Trent*, although the whole body of *Germany* beſides *Chemnitius* and ſome few others; although the whole viſible Church of *France* beſides *Calvin*, and ſome ſuch, had ſubſcribed unto that Councel; yet the true Church of God had been viſible in *France* and *Germany* in theſe worthies. Enough there was in their writings againſt that Councel, to condemn all ſuch as followed it, that is, the viſible or repreſentative Church of *Rome*, of palpable *Antichriſtian* hereſie. Yet when we ſay, that the true Church of God was viſible in theſe men, and in their writings, or in *John Hus*, *&c.* we do not tye our ſelves to embrace whatſoever they wrote, for truth. We may ſay of the true viſible Church, or of the truth by which we become viſible members of the true *Catholick* Church, as one ſaid of *Truth* philoſophical, That it could not be found intire in the writings of any one Sect of Philoſophers, in the writings of all of them it might. This advantage we have of all the Philoſophers; that we have a ſurer and more perfect rule for examining the writings or doctrines of ſeveral viſible Churches, then they had any for examining truths philoſophical. Abſolutely to aſſent in each particular to any writers or teachers, ſince the firſt conſtitution of the *Apoſtolick* Church, or accompliſhment of the written rule of faith, were to diſſent from them in the main and fundamental point of *Catholick Faith.* For unleſs there be an unfeigned and hearty deſire, a ſpirit of watchfulneſs and of willingneſs to limit our adherence unto whatſoever other writings, according to the greater or leſs evidence of their conſonancy with the written rule; neither *Scholar*, nor *Maſter*, nor *Church* viſible or repreſentative, can be any other then equivocal or dead members of the true Church. The Catholick Faith it ſelf, could it poſſibly be planted in any mans

* See the 17. Chapt. of this Book, eſpecially parag. 6.

heart, without the ſpirit or *Genius* to direct or inform it, would quickly either putrifie or grow crooked.

3. Amongſt other glorious titles wherewith the ſame Author ſeeks to adorn the Church of *Rome*, this, which is the title of his firſt chapter, is one, that the *true Church cannot erre*. A propoſition, I muſt confeſs, as hard for us to diſprove, if he take it *in ſenſu compoſito*, as it is for him to prove, *in ſenſu diviſo*. That no Church, as it is *true*, and whilſt it is true, or in reſpect of thoſe points with reference to which it is denominated *true*, can poſſibly erre, is a truth that cannot be denied. But if by the *true* Church, he mean a *viſible*, or the viſible *Romiſh Church*, there neither is, nor hath been any viſible Church, though planted by the Apoſtles themſelves, which ſince their times hath not either ceaſed to be a viſible *Church*, or elſe continued for a long time as palpably erroneous and falſe, as truly viſible. Whatſoever this *Author* deem or write, his Fellows and Maſters with one mouth confeſs, that *every private* man in their Church *may erre*; that the Biſhops aſſembled in Councel, without the Popes direction or confirmation of their ſentence, *may erre*; that the *Pope* himſelf unleſs he ſpeak *ex cathedra*, *may erre*. And by this confeſſion either the Romiſh Church is no true Church, ſave only whilſt the Pope ſpeaks *è Cathedra*, or elſe the whole body of the true Church (if the *Romiſh* Church be the true Church) may ſometimes erre. For at all times elſe, both head and members of this Church may erre. In this inference, I take it as granted, that the *Pope* doth not alwaies ſpeak *ex cathedra*. Now if in theſe *interims* of his cathedral ſilence, any Biſhop, Prieſt or Jeſuite ſhall take upon them to inſtruct their Auditors; out of the Pulpit or otherwiſe, in points of faith or controverſie; their poor flock by this mans collections againſt us, cannot be made partakers of that true and infallible faith, without which no man can be ſaved; becauſe their Preachers or Miniſters are not infallible, nor (to uſe his words) *undoubtedly fenced from all danger of errour*. * *Finally to what end do Proteſtants ſtrive ſo much for the Churches erring, but onely to deprive themſelves thereby of Church, Faith and Religion? For whereas neither Religion, nor Church can ſtand without ſupernatural faith, nor ſupernatural faith be attained without infallible certainty of the things believed; if their Preachers, their Miniſters, their Church be not undoubtedly fenced from all danger of error, the Articles they believe have not that inerrable warrant, which is neceſſary to faith.* Did this man, may we think, believe that he himſelf was undoubtedly fenced from all danger of errour? If he did ſo believe, the Cardinals of *Rome* ſhall do him much wrong, if they chuſe him not *Pope* the next Election, or appoint him not as coadjutor to the preſent *Pope*. if it be replyed, that the Romiſh inſtructers, be they Biſhops or Prieſts, cannot erre becauſe they neither believe nor teach others to believe any points of faith, but with abſolute ſubmiſſion of their inſtructions to what the Pope already hath ſpoken, or ſhall hereafter ſpeak *ex cathedra* concerning the ſame points; the medicine will be a great deal worſe then the diſeaſe. For this perſwaſion or reſolution is altogether incompatible with the firſt grounds of faith, and is flat *Apoſtacy* from Chriſt, as hath been diſcuſſed at large in the ſecond book upon the Creed; and ſhall be further manifeſted, if occaſion require, in the ſecond book of this Treatiſe. To the former objection, the anſwer on our part is eaſie. For true faith receives its infallibility, not from any infallibility in our immediate and ordinary teachers, but from the infallibility of the truths themſelves, which

they

* *Guide of Faith*, cap. 5. pag. 54.

they propoſe unto us out of the *rule* of truth, and from the infallibility of that internal and ſecret Teacher, without whoſe impreſſions of truths infallible in mens hearts, no true faith can be conceived by the Church it ſelf in what ſenſe ſoever taken, or by any member of it. But this point likewiſe hath been fully diſcuſſed throughout our ſecond book upon the Creed. Concerning this glorious title of *not erring*, wherewith he ſeeks to inveſt the viſible Church, the caſe is eaſie, and the iſſue ſhort. If the true Church which can never erre, be the viſible Church; then that viſible Church, which often hath erred, and doth ſtill erre, cannot be the true Church, nor ſuch a ſupream Judge of controverſies, as he imagines the viſible *Romiſh Church* to be in his 6. chapter. Now whether the viſible Church of *Rome* hath not of later years groſly erred in many points, and moſt grievouſly in this very opinion of their own abſolute infallibility, comes to be diſputed in the ſecond book. In which likewiſe it ſhall (by Gods aſſiſtance) appear, that this vanting *Doctor* hath really danced in that inextricable maze, which he terms but an *Imaginary* circle, *cap. 7.*

4. The ſpecial title or attribute, which in this place requires larger diſcuſſion, whether it belong meerly to the *Holy, Catholick Church*, ſo termed by *Excellency*, or in ſome meaſure alſo unto the viſible *Church*; is that *Maxime* uſual amongſt the Fathers, *Extra Eccleſiam non eſt ſalus*, that is, as the forecited Author propoſeth it, *cap.* 8. *that out of the true Church there can be no hope of ſalvation, in any congregation or ſect whatſoever.* As an additional to this general Teſtimony, they adde that of S. *Hierom. tom.* 2. *Ep.* 57. *ad Damaſ.* & *tom.* 4. *l.* 4. *comment. in cap.* 11. *Iſa. If any one were not in the Ark, he was drowned in the time of the inundation. If any one be not in the Church, he periſheth in the day of deſtruction.* And again, *Gaudentius* a little more ancient then *Hierom* (as this Author cites him;) *It is manifeſt that all men of thoſe times periſhed, excepting onely ſuch as deſerved to be found within the Ark, bearing a type or figure of the Church. For ſo in like manner they cannot be ſaved, who are ſeparated from the Apoſtolick Faith, and Catholick Church. Guide of Faith, cap.* 8.

5. *Pius Quartus* affirmeth that, that *Creed* which he hath patched up out of the *Nicene Creed* and councel of *Trent*, is the *Faith, extra quam non eſt ſalus*, out of which there is no ſalvation. Unto an empty diſcourſe addreſſed to this purpoſe, the ſaid Author of the Antidote in his ninth chapter of the *Guide of Faith*, hath prefixed this ſwelling title, *No Sectary* (ſo he terms us) *can be ſaved by believing general heads.* The mark he aims at, is that we are bound under penalty of damnation to believe whatſoever the viſible Church commends unto us as a point of faith; as firmly, as we believe the general Articles of the Apoſtolick or Nicene *Creed.* And to obtrude this concluſion upon us, which would draw us to a general Apoſtaſie, he hath ſhameleſly transfer'd that royal prerogative of Gods moral Law avouched by St. *James*, [*Whoſoever ſhall keep the whole Law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all*, c. 2. 10.] unto all the mandates of the viſible Church. And laſtly, to accumulate impudency, having once tranſgreſſed the bounds of Chriſtian modeſty, he further adds, [*That it is not enough to believe all the mandates of the viſible Church, unleſs we do communicate with it in practice.*] But in what points we may communicate with the Romiſh Church, in what we may not, ſhall be in particular diſcuſſed hereafter. For a general anſwer to his blaſphemous allegations, we can conceive none better, none ſo good, as that which St.

See the 19. Chapt. of this Book.

James hath framed for us: *He that ſaid, Thou ſhalt not ſteal, Thou ſhalt do no murder, Thou ſhalt not commit adultery, nor bear falſe witneſs againſt thy neighbour*; ſaid alſo in more preciſe and cautelous termes, *Thou ſhalt not make to thy ſelf any graven Image, nor the ſimilitude of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath. Thou ſhalt not bow down to them nor worſhip them, &c.* Now if we ſhall communicate with the preſent Romiſh church, in worſhiping the Images of the Almighty Creator, of the perſons in Trinity, and of every living creature in heaven; or in adoring the ſimilitudes of Bread and Wine, or rather Bread or Wine it ſelf, we ſhould daily draw the guilt of tranſgreſſing the whole Law of God upon us. Were not theſe kind of men further tranſported with their blind zeal unto their own Traditions, and malice towards the Goſpel of Chriſt, then the Jews were; we might refer this point unto the Romaniſts, as the Apoſtles did the like unto the Judgment of the Jews, *Whether it be better*, to obey God forbidding, or the viſible Church commanding the adoration of Images, or the conſecrated Hoaſt, *Judge ye.*

CHAP. X.

In what caſes Arguments of proportion may be drawn from Allegories. A full explication of the Allegory uſed by St. Paul, Gal. 4. *and of the Argument, or concludent proof, in the ſame Allegory contained.*

1. UNto the argument drawn from *Noahs Ark*, I could uſe the common exception, *Senſus allegoricus aut Symbolicus, non eſt ſenſus argumentativus*; *That points of Doctrine are not to be grounded upon the allegorical or Symbolical ſenſe of Scriptures.* But exceptions are then uſeful when they are needful, and they are then only needful, when the Teſtimonies againſt us, are not only true but concludent. And ſome good writers to my apprehenſion, have not in any point given greater advantage to their adverſaries, then by denying Orthodoxal or plauſible antecedents, when they ſhould have examined the Argument, or traverſed the vulgar Judgment, concerning the conſequence. We will not therefore deny, that the argument may be rightly drawn from *Noahs Ark* unto Chriſt his Church, which in *Theſi*, is as much as to ſay, that *ſenſus allegoricus ſeu myſticus eſt aliquando argumentativus: The allegorical or myſtical ſenſe is ſometimes argumentative*; yea it is alwaies ſo, when the Allegory is rightly grounded upon the literal ſenſe, and when the terms are diſtinct and rightly ſuited. For ſuch an allegory, is an argument from proportion, which is the moſt uſual kind of argument amongſt ſacred Writers. I will inſtance in two arguments of St. *Paul*; in the one of which I muſt be ſomewhat longer, becauſe it is more difficult. Yet to recompence this inconvenience, the matter of it rightly explicated, is very Homogeneal or ſuteable to the matter now in hand, and may ſerve as a leading caſe to others which we are hereafter to handle. *Galat. cap. 4. ver. 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26. Tell me, ye that deſire to be under the Law, do ye not hear the Law? For it is written, that* Abraham *had two ſons, the one by a bondmaid, the other by a free woman; but he who was of the bondwoman, was born after the fleſh, but he of the free-woman was by promiſe: which things are an allegory.* As every Analogy or proportion, ſo every Allegory (eſpecially in matters ſacred) if it be explicit and compleat, conſiſts of four diſtict tearms.

In this preſent Allegory of the Apoſtle, as in the like uſed by ſacred Writers, the two firſt tearms have a literal, proper or hiſtorical ſenſe: the other two have a borrowed, metaphorical or ſymbolical ſenſe. Or to ſpeak more ſignificantly, (perhaps to ſome men) the two firſt tearms, beſides their hiſtorical or native ſignification, have a ſymbolical or emblematical importance; that is, the realities or matters hiſtorically related or literally expreſſed, are as types and ſhadows of ſome more principal events, to enſue; though not literally expreſſed or foretold, but by way of *hieroglyfical embleme.* And in this Allegory, the hiſtorical and proper tearms, are *Hagar* the Handmaid, and *Sarah* her Miſtreſs. The Allegorical tearms, by theſe foreſhadowed, are the two Teſtaments, the one from *Mount Sinai*, whereof *Hagar* the Handmaid is the type, the other from *Heaven*, eſtabliſhed by our Saviours blood, whereof *Sarah* the Miſtreſs and the Free-woman, is the type. Thus much is clear from the Apoſtle himſelf.

The difficulty which hath puzled many good interpreters in the expoſition of this Text, herein conſiſts: namely how, and in what manner the other tearms, which are here interſerted, as *Mount Sinai*, or *Hagar* in *Arabia*, *the Jeruſalem that now is*, and the *Jeruſalem which is above*, are reducible to the *four* former tearms wherein the Allegory properly conſiſts. To prove that *Hagar*, *Sarahs* Handmaid, was the type of the Teſtament given upon *Mount Sinai*, the Apoſtle thus infers, or rather interprets, Τὸ γὰρ Ἄγαρ, Σινᾶ ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ, *For this Agar is mount Sinai in Arabia.* This inference to a meer Artiſt, may well ſeem ſtrange: for it is meerly equivocal. And whatſoever *ſenſus myſticus*, *parabolicus* or *allegoricus* be, certainly, *ſenſus æquivocus non eſt ſenſus argumentativus*, *the equivocal ſenſe can bring forth no ſound Argument.*

Gal. 4. 25.

2. To this we anſwer, that many things which are *æquivoca caſu*, in reſpect of men, are *æquivoca à conſilio*, in reſpect of Gods providence: And divers propheſies which have been conceived and expreſſed in tearms equivocal, have been remarkably fulfilled according to the different or contrary ſignifications of one and the ſame prophetical word; as on the contrary, one and the ſame Evangelical word or attribute of Chriſt, may (according to its different or equivocal ſignifications) compriſe the literal ſignifications of two or more propheſies conceived in diſtinct tearms, no way equivocal or coincident in the original. Inſtance was * elſewhere given in the Latine *Nazarenus*, or *Nazareus*, truly verified of Chriſt; both as he was the *rod of Jeſſe*, and as he was the *Idæa* of legal *Nazarites.* To theſe the inſtance of our Apoſtle in this place is parallel. That the ſame *mountain*, which the *Hebrews* call *Sinai*, ſhould by the *Arabians* be called *Agar*, and bear the ſame name which *Agar*, *Sarahs* Handmaid did, was meerly accidental or caſual, in reſpect of men. But that God ſhould promulge his law, and enter a covenant with his people upon this Mount, did, by the diſpoſition of his All-ſeeing providence enigmatically portend what the Apoſtle, (by an Analogy of interpreting Scriptures well known in his time) infers; to wit, that ſuch as did adhere unto the law, or firſt covenant, as to their mother, ſcorning or loathing the ſincere milk of the Goſpel or new Teſtament, ſhould by ſo doing, become rather children of *Abraham*, by *Agar* the Bond-woman, then by *Sarah* the Free-woman, as anon ſhall be declared. But beſides this equivocation of the word *Agar*, and the doubtful ſignification of the Greek συστοιχεῖ, there is an *Amphibologie* in their reference or conjunction, which many good Interpreters

* In a Sermon upon the 31. of *Jer.* v.22.

preters not well obſerving, have left the ſtream or current of the Apoſtles words much troubled in tranſlations, though in a manner clear in the Fountain.

3. Moſt of the Ancient, with ſome modern, make the Mount *Agar*, the intire ſubject of this propoſition: as if he had ſaid in Engliſh, *This Mount Agar bordereth upon Jeruſalem:* whereas the Apoſtles meaning is, that *Agar*, *Sarahs* Handmaid did *border* upon, or anſwer unto the then *Jeruſalem*. The vulgar Latine ſpeaking of this Mount, ſaith, *continuatus eſt*; *Eraſmus*, *confinis eſt Jeruſalem*, which I wonder at, if we have his laſt corrections, ſeeing a * learned man did admoniſh him to amend it. *Aquinas*, to juſtifie the ſenſe of the vulgar Tranſlation, gives this reaſon, why Mount *Agar* might be ſaid to be *continuatus Jeruſalem*, becauſe the journey or pilgrimage from this Mountain was *continual*. But *Sepulveda* very well replies, that there was never any journey leſs continuate, then the Iſraelites journey from mount *Agar* to *Jeruſalem*. For it was a continual wandring up and down, neither was the *Jeruſalem*, whereof the Apoſtle ſpeaks, but the whole land of Promiſe the terme or period of the Iſraelites wandring pilgrimage. Some others whom *Luther* followeth, have taken ſome pains in Geography, to ſhew, that the Mountains in *Arabia*, are continuate unto that part of *Judæa*, wherein *Jeruſalem* ſtands, but how true ſoever this may be in Geographie, it cannot be more true, then impertinent to our Apoſtles meaning. For *Agar* or *Sinai* is not ſuch a general name of the whole Mountain-country in *Arabia*, as *Wold* or *Chilterne* is in Engliſh. It is the proper name of that one famous Mount, on which the Law was given, betwixt which and *Jeruſalem*, there be ſo many other hills and mountains, that it cannot be ſaid, in any Geographical ſenſe, to border upon *Jeruſalem*. True it is, that the Greek συϛοιχεῖ doth ſometime ſignifie as much as to border or trench upon, yet this is but a ſecondary or derivative ſignification. The reaſon of this derivative or borrowed ſpeech is, becauſe ſuch as are properly termed σύϛοιχοι, that is, ſuch as march together in battle array, are *vicini*, or near one to the other. Our two later Engliſh tranſlations render it better, *anſwereth to Jeruſalem*, or as *Beza*, *ex adverſo reſpondet:* But neither, as I think, refer this word *anſwering*, to Geographical ſituation. In which ſenſe the Latine *reſpondet* is (at leaſt by Poets) ſometimes uſed. So *Creet* is ſaid to anſwer to *Athens:*

Contra elata mari reſpondet Cnoſia tellus.

* *Sepulveda* in his Epiſtle to *Eraſmus*.

4. But our later Engliſh by this word *anſwering*, meaneth it to be in the ſame rank with *Jeruſalem*. Howbeit to ſpeak in the proper tearms of *Art military*, ſuch as are in the ſame rank, are called σύζυγοι, they are σύϛοιχοι which are next in the ſame File, that is, *in eadem ſerie, incipiendo à fronte ad tergum, in the ſame line or row from Front to Reer*. As when Souldiers march ten in breaſt, and thirty deep, they are ſaid to be thirty ranks, and ten Files, and yet thirty in File, and but ten in Rank. The firſt and ſecond in the ſame File, are σύϛοιχοι, the firſt and ſecond in the next File to theſe are σύζυγοι with theſe, or ἀντίϛοιχοι unto them. Or as in a teem or draught of Oxen, ſuch as are of the one ſide, are σύϛοιχοι, and with reference to them ſuch as are on the other ſide are ἀντίϛοιχοι, ſuch as are in the ſame yoke are σύζυγοι However, becauſe Souldiers συϛοιχοῦντες, καὶ συζυγοῦντες, that is, *when they march in order*, hold juſt diſtance and proportion one with another; hence it is, that in *Ariſtotle* and other good writers, the ſeveral tearms of any juſt proportion, are called σύϛοιχοι, as *two*, *four*, *eight*, *ſixteen*.

5. The ***termini*** σύστοιχοι in this Allegory, are not Mount *Agar*, but *Agar Sarahs Handmaid and her off-ſpring*, and *the Jeruſalem which was in our Apoſtles time.* On the other ſide, the ***termini*** ἀντιστοιχοῦντες to theſe or σύστοιχοι, betwixt themſelves, were *Sarah*, *Abrahams* wife and her off-ſpring, and the *Jeruſalem which was above.* As for Mount *Agar* or *Sinai*, it is no formal part of the Allegory, no tearm at all in this proportion, but onely *collaterally*, or by way of metonymie interſerted: inaſmuch as the old Teſtament, which is one of the formal and primitive tearms in this Allegory, was given upon this Mount, the old Teſtament or Covenant it ſelf, and *Jeruſalem which then was*, cannot be properly tearmed σύστοιχοι as making but one tearm, and differing onely, as *homo* and *rationale.* So the new Teſtament, and the *Jeruſalem which is above*, make but one tearm, whereof the one is as the ſoul and *quidditie*, the other as the body or *compoſitum*, unto which *Sarah*, *Abrahams* wife is the *terminus* σύστοιχος. Unto this or like kinds of arguments drawn from proportion, there is alwaies ſome ***Common Notion*** or *prolepſis* preſuppoſed as a ground to ſupport them.

The preſuppoſed ground of this argument is, that *Abrahams* family was a type, yea more then a type of the *Militant Church*; the very root of that cœleſtial Vine which God, having brought out of Egypt, did plant in Jewry. This preſuppoſed; our Apoſtles argument may be thus drawn; The ſame proportion which *Agar* the Handmaid had to *Sarah* her Miſtreſs in *Abrahams* houſe, the ſame proportion hath the *Old Teſtament* to the *New*, in the houſe of God; the ſame proportion which *Agars* off-ſpring had to *Sarahs*, the ſame proportion had the Children of the Law, that is, the *Jeruſalem* which then was, unto the *Jeruſalem* which is above, that is, to the children of the Goſpel or ſons of promiſe. Now *Hagar* was ſometime a viſible and principal member of *Abrahams family*, a kind of ſecond wife to *Abraham*, and *Iſmael* her ſon was for a while *Abrahams preſumed* heir: yet after *Agar* did begin to deſpiſe and conteſt with her Miſtreſs *Sarah*, and *Iſmael* to flout or perſecute *Iſaac*, *Abrahams* heir apparant and Son of promiſe; both Mother and Son were caſt out of *Abrahams* houſe, and deprived of all hope of inheritance in the land of promiſe. *Sarah* bearing the type of the true viſible Church then on earth, did pronounce that ſentence of excommunication againſt them; *Caſt out the Bond-woman and her Son*, *Gen.* 21. 10. and God ratifying in heaven what ſhe had bound on earth, injoyns *Abraham* to put her ſentence in execution *Gen.* 21. *verſe* 12. The Covenant likewiſe which God made with this people upon *Hagar*, or mount *Sinai*, was as the betrothing of *Iſrael* unto himſelf. The Law of *Moſes*, whilſt it was lawfully uſed, was the onely Catechiſme or Introduction, without which there was no entrance into the Church of God. The children of this Covenant, did by vertue of it become *hæredes præſumpti*, *the preſumed heirs or children of God.*

6. But when this deputed or nurſing-mother came once to conteſt with the true Spouſe of Chriſt, with the new Teſtament or Goſpell: and after her children, the *Jeruſalem* which then was, began to perſecute the children of the *Jeruſalem*, *which is above*; the mother with her children, that is, the Law, with ſuch as ſought to be under it, were caſt out of the true viſible Church of God, by the Apoſtles, unto whom our Saviour had committed the keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven. There is a ſpecial Emphaſis in that ſpeech of the Apoſtle, τῇ νῦν Ἱερουσαλήμ. This is not all one, as if he had ſaid, the earthly *Jeruſalem* which had continued from *Davids* time till Chriſt; but not the

ſame for condition in our Saviours time, as it was in *Davids*: For it now ſtood in ſuch oppoſition to the Goſpel, as *Hagar* did to her Miſtreſs *Sarah*, at the time when ſhe and her Son committed thoſe miſdemeanours, for which both of them were caſt out of *Abrahams* houſe. The *Jeruſalem* which was on earth, was ſometimes,or in ſome part rather a *conſort* than an *oppoſite* or adverſary to the *Jeruſalem* which was above. So was the old Teſtament or the Law, and all ſuch as lawfully uſed it, rather ſubordinate allies, then foes or adverſaries to the new Teſtament, or heirs of promiſe.

The occaſion which *Agar* took to deſpiſe her Miſtreſs, was her barrenneſs, but the Lord took occaſion from *Agars* contempt and ſcorn, to viſit *Sarah*, as afterwards he did *Hannah* with mercy in the midſt of grief, and gave her ſtrength *to conceive ſeed, and ſhe was delivered of a child, when ſhe was paſt age, becauſe ſhe judged him faithful who had promiſed. Therefore ſprang there even of one, and him as good as dead, ſo many as the ſtars of the skie in multitude: and as the ſand, which is by the Sea ſhore innumerable, Heb.* 11. *verſe* 11, 12, Nor was *Abraham* onely ταῦτα νενεκρωμένος, *as good as dead,* in reſpect of procreation, but *Iſaac* in whom his ſeed was to be called, was by him deſtined to death, and in figure or token of the reſurrection, received to life again, before he became the Father of the glorious off-ſpring, which God had promiſed to *Abraham.*

7. In like manner the preſent *Jeruſalem* or Synagogue, did deride the new *Jeruſalem* when it firſt came down from heaven to abide with men on earth, and flouted the promiſed ſeed, (even whilſt they perſecuted him to death) more bitterly then *Iſmael* had done *Iſaac*: *He ſaved others, himſelf he cannot ſave.* Thus they did, and thus they ſaid, not remembring, that what had been ſaid to *Abraham*, and done to *Iſaac*,was to be fulfilled in Chriſt: therefore he was not onely to be as *good as dead*, or deſtinated to death, as *Iſaac* was; but to taſte of death before his glorious ſeed came to be multiplied as the ſtars of heaven. Thus much beſides the *body* or embleme exhibited in *Iſaac*, was expreſly foretold by the Evangelical || Prophet, *When thou ſhalt make his ſoul an offering for ſin, he ſhall ſee his ſeed, he ſhall prolong his dayes, and the pleaſure of the Lord ſhall proſper in his hand. He ſhall ſee of the travel of his ſoul, and ſhall be ſatisfied.*

But that which ſerves beſt for ſetting out the parallel betwixt the Apoſtle and the Prophet, is this. After the Evangelical Prophet had written the hiſtory of Chriſts paſſion in the 53.chapter,he preſently ſets down that invitation of the new *Jeruſalem* (prefigured by *Sarah* and her barrenneſs) to take up old * *Hannahs* Song; *Rejoyce ô barren, thou that didſt not bear, break forth into ſinging, and cry aloud thou that didſt not travel with child: for more are the children of the deſolate, then the children of the maried wife, ſaith the Lord. Enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them ſtretch forth the curtains of thine habitations: ſpare not, lengthen thy cords, and ſtrengthen thy ſtakes. For thou ſhalt break forth on the right hand, and on the left, and thy ſeed ſhall inherit the Gentiles, and make the deſolate cities to be inhabited,* Iſa. 54. v. 1,2,3. The Apoſtle immediately after his explication of the former Allegory, *Gal.* 4. 27. takes up the firſt part of the Prophets ſong by way of teſtimony or confirmation of his doctrine. *But Jeruſalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all. For it is written, Rejoyce thou Barren that beareſt not, &c.*

|| Eſa. 53. 10.

* *Hannah* prayed and ſaid; My heart rejoyceth in the Lord mine horn is exalted in the Lord, my mouth is inlarged over mine enemies becauſe I rejoyce in thy ſalvation. They that were full, have hired out themſelvs for bread, & they that were hungry, ceaſed: ſo that the barren hath born ſeven, and ſhe that hath many children is waxen feeble. The Lord killeth, and maketh alive, he bringeth down to the grave, and bringeth up. 1 *Sam.* cap. 2. ver. 1, 5, 6.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Of the conſonancy between the promulgation of the old Teſtament, and the New. Of the oppoſition between the Law and the Goſpel, or between the Old Teſtament and the New. The explication of the Apoſtles argument, Heb. 9. ver. 13, 14.

1. BUt when did the *Church* or Spouſe of Chriſt (or children of the new Teſtament). firſt take up this joyful ſong, whereunto the Prophet did invite her? Immediately upon our Saviours death and reſurrection? No: theſe were the dayes of the Churches widowhood, wherein ſhe ſate (for a while) deſtitute and comfortleſs, and wherein her womb was ſhut up from bearing children. The Apoſtles themſelves had as little ſtrength as *Abraham* had, to beget, or *Sarah* had to bring forth children unto God, until they were indued with power from above. The new *Jeruſalem* did not diſcend like a glorious bride from Heaven, until the Bridegroom her Lord, had aſcended from earth to heaven in glory. But within ten daies after, the *Holy Ghoſt* came down upon the Apoſtles and Diſciples in viſible ſhape, in token that Chriſts Church was now betrothed unto him: this was as the ſolemnization of the Mariage. And whereas, for fifty daies after our Saviours reſurrection, we do not read of one ſoul more then their own, begotten to God by the Apoſtles and Diſciples: there *were added* upon the fiftieth day, *three thouſand ſouls unto* the new *Jeruſalem* or viſible *Church*; and every day after *ſuch as ſhould be ſaved.* And theſe being diſperſed throughout every Nation under heaven, did propagate the ſeed, increaſing and multiplying much faſter then the Iſraelites did in *Egypt.*

The ſongs of joy foretold by *Eſaias* the Prophet, were taken up by theſe ſons of the new *Jeruſalem, whilſt they were filled with the Holy Ghoſt, and began to ſpeak with other tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance, Acts 2. ver.* 4. God gave his Law upon Mount *Agar* or *Sinai* fifty daies after the Iſraelites were delivered out of *Ægypt:* and fifty daies after the deliverance of his people from the bondage of ſin and Sathan, the ſame Lord proclaims his Goſpel or new Covenant upon Mount Sion in *Jeruſalem* the Metropolis or royal ſeat of *Abraham* or *Davids* ſeed. The viſible *Jeruſalem* from *Davids* time till Chriſts, is as the middle tearm of proportion, between the Law and the Goſpel; that is, the ſame proportion which the Law, as oppoſed unto the Goſpel, or which *Agar* with her children, had unto *Abrahams* off-ſpring by *Sarah*, in reſpect of civil freedom, or of emblematical or typical prehemineuces; the like proportion had *Abrahams* off-ſpring by *Sarah*, (or the viſible *Jeruſalem* in her greateſt glory) unto the new *Jeruſalem* after the Holy Ghoſt had deſcended upon the Apoſtles, and ſuch as were in their times converted unto Chriſt. And as the Law given upon Mount *Agar* did emblematically import a kind of civil ſervitude unto ſuch as did adhere unto it, whilſt it ſtood in oppoſition to the Goſpel: ſo the Goſpel being promulged in the viſible *Jeruſalem*, did betoken the ſpiritual freedom of all ſuch as abandoning the Law, did embrace it.

2. Of the difference or agreements betwixt the Law and the Goſpel, or (which is all one) betwixt the Old Teſtament and the New, I ſhall have occaſion to treat elſewhere. For this time it ſhall ſuffice

in a word to advertiſe, that the old Teſtament and the new, are ſometimes compared and conſidered by ſacred Writers, *tanquam includens & incluſum*, as the *Husk* and the *Grain*. The Goſpel before Chriſts time, was in the Law as the corn new ſet in the ear. And the Law and the Goſpel, or the two Teſtaments, thus conſidered, are rather one then two, at leaſt there is an unity of ſubordination betwixt them. Unto ſuch as uſed the old Teſtament as they ought, onely as an Introduction to the new, there was indeed but one Teſtament. For, as the Schools ſpeak, *ubi unum propter aliud, ibi unum tantum.* The ſame Teſtaments may be ſometimes conſidered as abſtracted or ſevered each from other. Thus the Goſpel or new Teſtament ſince our Saviours death and reſurrection, is become as pure corn, threſhed and winnowed. The old Teſtament or the Law (thus ſevered from it) remains only as the chaff or husk. If we thus conſider the Law or old Teſtament, as the Jews imbrace it, that is, altogether ſevered from the new, to which alone we Chriſtians adhere by faith; they are not onely two, but two oppoſites or contraries. The Jews *appetitus caninus*, or *womaniſh longing* after the Law, and our conſtant adherence to the Goſpel (thus oppoſed unto the Law, as pure corn unto the putrified chaff or husk) breeds a kind of Antipathy between us. For ſuch as is our ſeveral food and nouriſhment, ſuch our ſeveral diſpoſitions are. We feed upon the pure corn, or rather upon the bread of life it ſelf cleanſed from all bran; the Jew only upon the chaff or husk, and his religion is as loathſome to us, as ſwines fleſh is to him. See *Philip.* 3. *verſe* 7, 8, 9.

3. This oppoſition or ſubordination between the legal or Evangelical Teſtament will further appear from our ſecond inſtance whch was in the ſame Apoſtle, *Heb.* 9. *ver.* 13, 14. *If the blood of Bulls and of Goats, and the aſhes of an Heifer ſprinkling the unclean, ſanctifieth to the purifying of the fleſh: How much more ſhall the blood of Chriſt, who through the eternal Spirit offered himſelf without ſpot to God, purge your conſcience from dead works to ſerve the living God.* The *terms* of proportion likewiſe in this *inference* are *four*. The firſt, not fully expreſſed but implyed, and it is a ſin or treſpaſs meerly committed againſt the Law of ceremonies. The ſecond, which is σύστοιχος to this, is a legal or proper ſacrifice for ſuch a ſin, to wit, the *blood of Bulls and of Goats, and the ſprinkling the aſhes of an Heifer.* The third term typified by the Ceremonial *ſin*, is mans natural corruption, ſins original or actual, or ſin of what kind ſoever committed againſt the moral Law of God. The fourth *term* is the ſacrifice by God appointed, to purifie and cleanſe us from ſuch ſins, and that was the bloody ſacrifice of our Lord and Saviour Chriſt, whereof the legal Sacrifices were types or ſhadows. So that the legal Sacrifices had two uſes or references, the one expiatory, (for their offering did expiate ſins meerly ceremonial:) the other *ſacramental* or *prefigurative*, for they did picture out or repreſent the eternal ſacrifice, whereby our redemption was fully wrought, as the Apoſtle proves at large in the 10. chapter to the *Hebrews*. His argument in this place is in effect thus; The ſame *efficacy* which ſacrifices meerly legal offered by the Prieſt had in cleanſing men from ſins meerly ceremonial [*as from touching of the dead, or ſome creeping thing, &c.*] the ſame, but much greater efficacy, hath the *blood of Chriſt* being offered by the eternal Spirit (that is, by the Godhead perſonally dwelling in him) to cleanſe us from all ſins againſt the moral Law of God, and to purifie us from ſuch dead works, as, not expiated by his blood, would bring forth everlaſting death. Now the Apoſtle takes it

as granted, that the legal Sacrifices did not onely ſufficiently cleanſe men from ſuch ſins, but withal did legally ſanctifie them: and ſo in like manner Chriſts blood was not onely the full price of our redemption, but is withal the fountain of our ſanctification, by which we are qualified for admiſſion into the heavenly Sanctuary.

4. The firſt original of the Jews hypocriſie and malice, was their ignorance in the law of *Moſes*, for they thought, theſe legal ſacrifices were ſufficient to cleanſe them from all ſins whatſoever. And if ſuch ſacrifices could have freed from ſin, the Jew had been moſt free from ſin, of any people living. Moſt of thoſe that perſecuted our Saviour Chriſt, might be, as S. *Paul* was, whilſt he was a perſecutor, ἄμεμπτος *without ſtain* or *blot* in reſpect of the righteouſneſs *which is of the Law*, Phil. 3. 6. In preſumption of this their integrity, with reference to the Law of Ceremonies, and of their being *Abrahams* ſons, not by *Agar* but by *Sarah*; the better ſort of the worſer Jews ſcorned to hear of being ſet free by the truth it ſelf, which they in part believed: *If ye continue in my word, then are you my Diſciples indeed; And ye ſhall know the truth, and the truth ſhall make you free. They anſwered him, We be* Abrahams *ſeed, and were never in bondage to any man: how ſayeſt thou, Te ſhall be made free?* But our Saviour tells them, In as much, as they *committed ſin, they were the ſervants of ſin*, (*and being ſervants, they were in the ſame caſe with* Agar *and her ſon*) *for the ſervant abideth not in the houſe for ever. If the ſon therefore ſhall make you free, ye ſhall be free indeed.* John 8. verſe 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36.

Thus you ſee, that the Apoſtle *Gal.* 4. *v.* 18. *&c.* did teach no other thing, than our Saviour here doth. Theſe Jews by relying upon the prerogatives of the Law, became as ſons of the bond-woman, remaining ſtill ſlaves to ſin. Others by adhering to the new Teſtament, which the ſon of God ratified by his blood, became ſons of the free-woman, or as this Evangeliſt * elſewhere ſpeaks, the *ſons of God*. How exactly the preſent viſible Romiſh Church doth parallel *Agar* and the *Jeruſalem* which then was when our Saviovr and S. *Paul* thus wrote and ſpake, ſhall by Gods aſſiſtance, be declared hereafter. Let us now ſee how ill that Church doth parallel *Noahs* Ark.

* John 1. 12.

CHAP. XII.

The Allegory or Argument of proportion drawn from Noahs *Ark, explicated according to the former rules, and retorted upon the Romaniſt.*

FRom theſe and the like Arguments drawn from the types to their antitypes, we are for concluſion to frame the Argument drawn from *Noahs Ark* after another faſhion, and to a better end then the Romaniſt doth. The terms of proportion in this argument are conſpicuous: Firſt, *Noah*; ſecondly, his *Ark*; thirdly, the *means of ſafety* from the flood by his *Ark*. Tearms to theſe ἀντίστοιχοι, are firſt *Chriſt*, 2. his *Church*, and 3. the *ſalvation* of ſuch as enter into his *Church*. Firſt, to parallel *Noah* and *Chriſt* in ſome few points. *The Lord ſaid unto Noah*, Gen. 7. ver. 1. *Thee have I found righteous before me in this generation*, that is, (as the Apoſtle ſaith of *Abraham*) he had whereof to boaſt with men, but not with God. He was righteous not only *coram hominibus*, but *præ hominibus coram Deo*, *more righteous than any other man living*, *even in the ſight and judgment of God*, yet not perfectly righteous in the ſight of God. This was *Chriſts* peculiar, in whom that which was in ſome meaſure or comparatively verified in *Noah*, was exactly fulfilled: for he onely amongſt all the Generations of men, was altogether pure and righteous before God. Again *Noah* was a Preacher of righteouſneſs, and extraordinarily qualified for this function by the Spirit of *Chriſt*. So much that place of St. *Peter* proveth in his firſt Epiſtle, 3. chapter, verſe 18, 19, 20. *For Chriſt alſo hath once ſuffered for ſins, the juſt for the unjuſt, that he might bring us to God, being put to death in the fleſh, but quickened by the Spirit. By which alſo he went, and preached unto the ſpirits in priſon, which ſometime were diſobedient, when once the long-ſuffering of God waited in the dayes of Noah, while the Ark was a preparing.* Yet *Noah* had but his portion, though a large one of the Spirit: *ſed Chriſto Deus non admetitur ſpiritum, God giveth not the Spirit by meaſure to Chriſt, Joh.* 3. *verſe* 34. *He ſpake but the word, and great was the number of Preachers*, and from his inexhauſtible fulneſs, we *all received grace for grace.*

2. Again, *Noah* built an *Ark* by Gods appointment, for the ſafety of all ſuch as were obedient to his preaching, into which, whoſoever would not enter, was deſtroyed by the Floud, for diſobedience to his preaching. All this was fulfilled of the Church, which Chriſt builded: for whoſoever doth not enter into it, ſhall be devoured by the everlaſting flames, for diſobedience to this authentick Preacher of righteouſneſs. The iſſue then between us and the Romaniſts is, unto *what Church Noahs Ark* anſwers as a figure? to the viſible Romiſh Church, or onely to the Church before defined, which is one, Holy, and Catholick Church, κατ' ἐξοχὴν? We ſay of this later onely, not of any viſible Church, ſave onely ſo far as it is an introduction to this Church. Our reaſon is this: Although it be true that none of the ſons of men, beſides ſuch as entered into *Noahs* Ark, were ſaved from the deluge; yet is not this negative more unqueſtionably true, then the affirmative; That whoſoever entred into the Ark, were ſaved from the deluge. This is ſo expreſly and determinately ſet down in the Scripture, that no Atheiſt can queſtion the meaning or extent of the propoſitions, wherein it is ſet down. *In the ſelf ſame day*, (ſaith the Scripture, *Gen.* 7. *ver.* 11.) *entred Noah, and Sem, and Ham, and Japheth, the ſons of Noah and Noahs wife, and the three wives of his ſons with them, into the Ark.* And in the 8. chap. and the 18. ver. *Noah went forth, and his ſons, and his wife, and his ſons wives with him.* So that eight ſouls came into the Ark, and eight went forth.

3. So then for conclusion, *Noahs Ark* was a type of that *Church*, into which whoſoever enters, ſhall be ſaved; but ſuch a Church is not the viſible Romiſh Church in what ſenſe ſoever it be taken. Firſt, it is not true of the univerſal Church conſiſting of the Layety and Clergy, nor of the Church repreſentative; to wit, their general or provincial Councels. For none will affirm, that all and every one of their Biſhops, or ſuch as give ſuffrage in their Councels, ſhall have the ſuffrage of Chriſt, or their names written in the book of life. They will not *aſtipulate*, that whoſoever is graced with a red hat in *Rome*, ſhall be ſure to wear a Saints or Martyrs crown in heaven. Even the Pope himſelf, whom they make their *vertual Church*, may be a notorious vicious man, and dye the death of the wicked: and therefore neither living was the head, nor at his death any member of that Church, which was prefigured by *Noahs Ark*; becauſe he can neither ſave himſelf, nor ſuch as have committed their ſouls to be waſted over to the new *Jeruſalem*, by this preſumed Pilot of *Peters* pretended ſhip. So that either *Peters* ſhip was

not ſuch a type of Chriſts Church, as *Noahs Ark* was, or elſe the Pope is no Pilot of it.

4. Do we ſpeak this as men? doth not the Scripture ſay the ſame? do we make theſe collections as Sectaries, or hath not St. *Peter* made them unto our hands? For, ſpeaking of the *Ark, wherein few, that is, eight ſouls were ſaved by water*; he ſaith, *The like figure whereunto, even baptiſme, doth alſo now ſave us, (not the putting away of the filth of the fleſh, but the anſwer of a good conſcience towards God) by the reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt*, 1 *Pet. cap.* 3. *verſe* 20, 21. His meaning is, that as *Noahs* Ark was the type of that Church *extra quam nulla ſalus, intra quam ſalus certiſſima*, out of which there is no ſalvation, in which ſalvation abounds: ſo the waters by which the Ark was conſecrated or hallowed to be the receptacle of ſafety to mankind, was a type or figure of that ſacred Laver by which the Church is conſecrated or hallowed to be as the womb or breſt of ſalvation to the faithful. Baptiſme it ſelf anſwereth in proportion to the door or window of *Noahs Ark*. But of what Baptiſme was the water, by which ſuch as entred into the Ark were ſaved, a type? A type of external Baptiſme? No, external Baptiſme, and the waters of *Noah*, were types of the ſame *rank*, both were types or ſhadows of that internal Baptiſme, which is wrought by the Holy Ghoſt, by which we are incorporated into the body of Chriſt, and become more undoubtedly ſafe from the everlaſting fire, then ſuch as entred into *Noahs* Ark, were from the deluge of water.

5. The Apoſtles argument, *Heb*. 9. holds as truly of *Chriſts Church*, as of his *Sacrifice*. If the Ark which *Noah* built, did ſave all ſuch from the deluge, as entred into it; how much more ſhall that *holy* and *Catholick Church*, which Chriſt hath built, and ſanctified by his moſt precious blood, give life eternal to all ſuch as in this world become live-members of it? Such members they are made, not by external Baptiſme, or by becoming members of the viſible Church, but by internal grace or ſanctification. But never did the Jew doat half ſo much on external circumciſion and legal ſacrifices, or the Aaronical Prieſthood, as the modern Romaniſt doth on the Sacraments of the Goſpel, and on his imaginary Prieſthood after the order of *Melchiſedeck*, or other like notes or ſenſible cognizances of the viſible Church. Now it were more then wonder, if the exceſs of this his blind zeal unto theſe externals, did not draw him to much greater, more direct diametral oppoſition unto Chriſt, unto an higher pitch of inveterate malice againſt the members of his *Holy Catholick Church*, or Kingdom ſpiritual, then the high Prieſt or Elders exerciſed againſt his perſon, whilſt he was preſent in the fleſh. Thus much for this time of the allegory or argument of proportion drawn from *Noahs* Ark.

As for the general Maxime, *extra Eccleſiam non eſt ſalus*, [*There is no ſalvation out of the Church*,] although it be abſolutely and punctually true, onely of that one, *Holy, Catholick Church*, which was exactly typified by *Noahs Ark*; yet the ſame Maxime is literally applyable unto, and in certain caſes, undoubtedly true of ſome viſible Church or other. All true viſible Churches have ſome right or intereſt in it.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

How far, and in what caſes, that Maxime uſed by the Fathers, Extra Eccleſiam non eſt ſalus, *Out of the Church there is no ſalvation, is true of the viſible Church, or Churches viſible.*

1. THE perſons that are *extra Eccleſiam,* are of two ſorts. Firſt, ſuch as never were members of any viſible Church, as all Infidels, modern Jews, and Mahumetans, *&c.* Secondly, ſuch as have been members of ſome viſible Church, but have been either cut off from it by Eccleſiaſtical cenſure, or have ſeparated themſelves from the viſible Church or Churches wherein they lived.

In reſpect of the firſt ſort, that is, of all ſuch as never were members of any viſible Church, the Maxime *extra Eccleſiam non eſt ſalus, there is no ſalvation out of the Church*; is not univerſally true: yea, taken univerſally, it is univerſally falſe in reſpect of time; that is, it could never be verified of all and every one that was *extra Eccleſiam viſibilem, out of the viſible Church* in any age.

There was a time, wherein Gods viſible Church was confined to one people or nation, to the off-ſpring of *Abraham.* Now it were an hereſie to ſay, that no ſons of men, beſides of the ſons of *Abraham,* or ſuch as did aſſociate themſelves unto the viſible Church then reſident onely in *Abrahams* family, were ſaved: during the time of the Law, or before the Law was given, righteous *Job* was no ſon of *Jacob,* yet the ſon of God. And it were uncharitableneſs, though no hereſie to ſay, that *Jethro, Rechab,* or *Jonadab,* were all ſons of perdition, or were ſons (as our Saviour ſaid of the Jews) of their father the Devil; becauſe they were not the ſons of *Abraham,* or had not the viſible Church of Iſrael for their mother.

In reſpect of this preſent time, to ſay, We know no means, by which any Inhabitant of *China,* or of *Terra incognita* can be ſaved, is a great deal more ſafe, then to think God hath no means unknown unto us, by which he may and doth ſave ſome, even in thoſe countries wherein there is no viſible Church or Chriſtian Congregation; or whoſe Inhabitants have no commerce with any Chriſtians. We ſee by experience, that God teacheth ſuch as are born deaf and dumb, many things by the eye or other external ſuggeſtion, which ſuch as have the uſe and benefit of ears and tongue, could not learn either by ſight or other external ſenſe. Now albeit the Apoſtles rule, *faith cometh by hearing,* be moſt undoubtedly true; and *true* likewiſe, that *without faith, it is impoſſible to pleaſe God:* yet were it an hard cenſure, hence to conclude, that none ſuch as are born deaf and dumb can be ſaved. The Apoſtles ſaying then, *that faith cometh by hearing,* muſt be limited by its proper ſubject; that is, men to whom God hath given the gift of hearing. So muſt the Maxime now in queſtion, *extra Eccleſiam non eſt ſalus, out of the Church there is no ſalvation,* be limited or reſtrained in its proper ſubject. Howbeit, the exact limitation of it might beſt be made or taken by ſuch as have occaſion to diſpute with the Jews or Heathens. It is onely or eſpecially true, in reſpect of ſuch Jews, Turks, or Heathens, and their ſeveral progenies, as have commerce with Chriſtians. The former Maxime, with reference to ſuch men, is univerſally true; if we take the viſible Church univerſally or indefinitely, unleſs ſuch men aſſociate themſelves to ſome viſible Church or other, they cannot be ſaved. And in ſome caſes it may be undoubtedly true, in reſpect of ſome particular viſible Church, but ſo, true only, *ex accidenti*, or *hypotheſi*, *by accident or upon ſuppoſition*. As if a Jew or Mahumetan by profeſſion and birth, ſhould live in this Kingdom, having no poſſible means of aſſociating himſelf to any other congregation of Chriſtians, than ſuch as conform themſelves to the doctrine and diſcipline of the Church of *England*: it were both ſafe and orthodox to lay the former Law or Goſpel as hard unto him, as the Papiſts do unto us; to tell him in plain and peremptory tearms, that there were no means for him to eſcape the horrors of hell, and miſeries of the world to come; unleſs he would become a member of Chriſts Church, planted here amongſt us. Or in caſe he and other more, ſuch as he is, were to leave us, and to reſide in ſome other State or Kingdom; we were bound in conſcience to apply the like medicine unto him or them, and to tell them there were no hope for them to eſcape the wrath of God, but by becoming the ſons of God, but by becoming the children of ſome viſible Church indued with power and authority to baptize them into Chriſts death, and reſurrection. Of heathens then or infidels, or of whoſoever not as yet profeſſing Chriſtianity, yet having commerce with Chriſtians and living within the call of the viſible Church, that of *Cyprian* is univerſally true; *He that hath not the Church for his Mother, cannot have God for his Father.* Albeit by the Church in this ſaying, we mean a viſible Church.

2. Of ſuch as have been actual members of ſome viſible Church, but have either ſeparated themſelves from it, or have been caſt out of it by Eccleſiaſtick cenſure or *coactive power*: neither of the former Maximes [*extra Eccleſiam non eſt ſalus: Et qui non habet Eccleſiam Matrem non habet Deum Patrem*,] *out of the Church there is no ſalvation: And he that hath not the Church for his Mother, hath not God for his Father*;] is univerſally true, if we ſpeak of the Church viſible, whether particular, indefinite, or univerſal. Both much be limited by the reaſons or occaſions, which did move the parties to forſake the Church wherein they were baptized, or by the cauſes for which they were excluded, or caſt out of it. It is here ſuppoſed, that if the cauſes, why they are excluded from one viſible Church, be juſt and good, and the excluſion it ſelf legal and formal; the parties thus juſtly excluded from one, cannot lawfully be admitted into another viſible Church.

3. *Swarez* in his treatiſe (to my remembrance) *de cauſa formali*, and in that queſtion, *An dentur plures formæ in uno compoſito*, whether there bee more forms then one in one body, mentions a Synod, which anathematizeth all ſuch as dogmatically do hold, *tres animas in uno vivente*, three ſouls in one living body. And had the ſpiritual ſword been put into *Lactantius* his hands, it is very likely, he would have put all ſuch Philoſophers, Geographers, or Aſtronomers, as had held the Antipodes, to have ſought out a viſible Church in that region. At the leaſt, if his arm had been ſo long, as the Jeſuits make the Popes, he would have cut them off from all communion with any viſible Church or congregation of Chriſtians, within the Hemiſphere wherein he lived. And no queſtion, but every viſible Church hath ſuch power and authority, that it may (ſo it will tyrannically abuſe the power, which God hath given it) cut off every inferiour member *de facto*. But being cut off, though from the univerſal Church viſible, upon no greater occaſions or juſter cauſes, then theſe late mentioned; they do not thereby ceaſe to be members of the Church, which is to us inviſible; that is of the Church

which is *Holy*, and *Catholick* κατ' ἐξοχὴν, no, nor to be viſible members of the *Holy*, *Catholick Church* taken in a ſecondary ſenſe, that is, of the *Catholick* Church which is viſible to us. Of which, and of the ground of this diſtinction between an actual member of the preſent viſible Church, and a viſible member of the *Holy*, *Catholick* Church, we ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

But to hold, *tres animas in uno vivente, three ſouls in one living body*, is not ſo great an errour in Divinity, or ſo meritorious of excommunication; as either to *affirm*, that there be two *perſons* or to *deny*, that there be two *natures* in our Saviour Chriſt. He that ſhould dogmatically hold the affirmative or negative ſpecified, deſerveth to be utterly cut off from every viſible Church. And one and the ſame ſtroke of the ſpiritual ſword which cuts him off from being a member of the viſible Church, doth incontinently cut him off from being a member of the *Holy*, *Catholick Church* in what ſenſe ſoever taken: or to ſpeak more properly, he doth deprive himſelf *ipſo facto*, of all communion with Chriſt, or his body the Church, by denying the unity of his *perſon* or by confounding his *natures*. And having thus apparantly excommunicated himſelf from that holy Church, which is only known unto God to us inviſible: the viſible Church ſtands bound in duty of conſcience, and allegiance to Chriſt, to deprive him of all communion with her or any member of hers, either in the hearing of the word of Chriſt, or in the adminiſtration of the Sacraments: bound ſhe is, to withdraw from him all benefits or comfort of Chriſts death and paſſion, which are committed to her diſpenſation, until he repent and be reconciled again unto Chriſt.

4. From this truth, ſome excellent writers againſt the uſurped power of the Romiſh Church in the uſe or exerciſe of *Peters* keys; ſome I ſay, as well before *Luthers* time as ſince, have gathered this general doctrin; *That the viſible Church hath only power to declare, who are ſeparated or excommunicated* ipſo facto *from the holy Catholick Church; ſhe hath no power ſo to ſeparate or excommunicate any* excommunicatione majòri, *by the greater excommunication, unleſs they have firſt excommunicated themſelves, or voided their hopes or intereſt in the holy Catholick Church, by heretical poſitions, or opinion, or by lewd and ſcandalous miſdemeanours.*

Of this opinion was that famous *Weſelius*, which was intituled *lux mundi* before *Luther* aroſe, or the light of the Goſpel which we now enjoy, did break forth. But though the doctrin be true, yet he and ſuch as follow him, extend the truth of it a little too far, and beyond its proper ſubject. There is a mean between this opinion, and the contrary extream of the *Romaniſt*, which cannot be found out, without ſome diviſion of ſuch errours, or other cauſes, as either juſtly deſerve, or at leaſt may be pretended to deſerve excommunication, or utter ſeparation from the viſible Church.

Some errors in Divinity as we ſay, are hereſies ex *ſpecie*; of ſo deadly a nature, that they induce a ſeparation from the *Holy*, *Catholick Faith*, even in their very firſt degree. Of this rank are all ſuch errours in Religion, as are directly oppoſite or contrary to thoſe fundamental points, whoſe poſitive belief is neceſſary to ſalvation; which he that believes not, is *infidelis ſecundùm infidelitatem puræ negationis*, that is, ſuch an Infidel as they are which cannot ſay the Lords Prayer, the Creed, or ten Commandements by heart, or know not the general contents of them: and which peremptorily to deny, or contradict, doth argue *infidelitatem pravæ diſpoſitionis*, an infidelity of contradiction. We ſay in Logick, *Every* *contrariety* if it be direct and full, doth neceſſarily include a contradiction, as he that ſaith *nix eſt alba, Snow is white*; doth as fully contradict him that ſaith, *nix eſt nigra, Snow is black*, as he that ſhould ſay, *nix non eſt nigra, Snow is not black*. For *album eſſe, to be white*, is ſomewhat more then *non eſſe nigrum, not to be black*. The rule is applyable in Divinity, and of good uſe in this preſent argument. If *not to believe there is one God*, if not *to believe that this one God is the Author of goodneſs, and the rewarder of ſuch as ſeek him*, be *infidelitas puræ negationis*, a privative infidelity, and argue an abſolute privation or life ſpiritual: then to believe there be more gods then one, or that God is not the author of goodneſs, but it is all one whether we ſerve him or ſerve him not; is an error *ex ſpecie, in its kind* heretical and deadly. If it be *infidelitas puræ negationis*, an infidelity privative, not to believe the incarnation of Chriſt (as certainly it is; for all ſuch as do not believe it, are Infidels:) then to be but poſitively perſwaded, that Chriſt is not truly man, is an errour *ex ſpecie*, heretical, a deadly hereſie, *infidelitas pravæ diſpoſitionis*, an infidelity of contradiction or contrariety. Again, if not to believe, the Son of God is truly God, or if not to believe, that this true Son of God was incarnate for us, neceſſarily argue a privation of life ſpiritual, and be, (as we ſay) *infidelitas puræ negationis, a privative infidelity*, then if any man, which acknowledgeth Chriſt, be of opinion, that he is not as truly God as he is man, this man by entertaining ſuch an opinion, doth undoubtedly ſeparate and diſunite himſelf from the holy bond of Catholick faith, and by conſequence ſtands excommunicated *ipſo facto* from the *Holy Catholik* Church, and deprived of the communion of Saints whether the viſible Church doth her duty or no, in depriving him of all communion with her ſelf, or with her members: yea, though the Paſtors or Governors of the viſible Church could by bribery, or other ſiniſter reſpects be miſ-ſwayed, if not to abet or maintain him in it, yet to uſe connivance towards him.

Now of all ſuch errours as are *ex ſpecie* heretical and neceſſarily induce a ſeparation or diſunion from the holy Catholick Faith or Church; the former aſſertion of *Weſelius* is true, to wit, *That the viſible Church doth not by her authority cut them off from being members of the holy Catholick Church but only declare them to be no members of that Church.* And of all perſons excommunicated by the viſible Church, or that ſeparate themſelves from the viſible Church for fear of being cenſured upon theſe cauſes or occaſions; the former Maximes are univerſally true. There is no hope of ſalvation for them until they return again into the boſome of the viſible Church by unfaigned ſorrow, and by true ſubmiſſion and repentance. Yet ſuppoſe they never return again to the viſible Church; they are not therefore deprived of Salvation becauſe they are *extra Eccleſiam viſibilem*, out of the viſible Church; but becauſe they were *caſt* or went out of it, upon ſuch cauſes or occaſions, as did firſt make them to be *extra Eccleſiam ſanctam & catholicam*, out of the Holy, and Catholick Church. Or, in caſe by repentance they return again into the viſible Church, whence they were caſt out, and obtain ſalvation: yet are they not therefore ſaved, becauſe they are in the viſible Church, ſave only as it is the mean, or an inſtrument of reuniting them unto the *Holy, Catholick* Church, or of ingraffing them into Chriſt.

Other opinions or errors in religion there be, that be *ex ſpecie* very dangerous, yet not deadly, unleſs they be in a high degree; or perhaps in the higheſt degree not deadly in themſelves, unleſs they be mingled with ſome ſpice of ſome other pertinacy or diſobedient humor, more then ariſeth meerly from the ſtrength or habit of the errour, or from the nature of the object, about which the errour is. To be perſwaded that the bleſſed Virgin did not continue ſo pure a virgin (all her life time) after our Saviour birth, as ſhe was before, is certainly an errour *ex ſpecie*, very dangerous; yet nothing ſo deadly as the errour of *Eutyches*, which held that our Saviour Chriſt did not, after his reſurrection and glorification, continue as truly man, as he was before.

So long as a man holds errours of this ſecond rank only to himſelf, being not ſufficiently enlightned by the meſſengers of truth, to diſcern their danger, nor admoniſhed by paſtoral authority to abandon them: as it cannot be denyed that he is *ſoul-ſick*; ſo it is not ſafe to affirm that he is ſick of them unto death, no not after the ſecond or third monition, unleſs his monitions be ſeaſoned or tempered with a large meaſure of fatherly and loving inſtructions, grounded upon perſpicuity of truth. Frequent contempt or neglect of ſuch admonitions, though it be in matters not altogether deadly, may induce a ſeparation from the Holy Catholick faith unto which nothing is more oppoſite then diſobedience in caſes wherein obedience by the Law of God is due.

5. Every one that is not rooted in faith, and not truly ingraffed in Chriſt, although for ſpeculative opinions, he be an Orthodox, yet is he in reſpect of ſalvation but as an *Embryon*, or as the ſeed or homogeneal Element, from which vegetables or living bodies ſpring. Now among ſuch ſeeds or models of vegetables or ſenſitive bodies, as are not yet organized, or being organized, are not truly *informed*, or quickned; ſome may be ſo inwardly or deeply tainted, that no benignity of native ſoile, no comfort of Sun, no refreſhing of wholſome winds or dew of Heaven, can quicken or give them ſpecifical perfection: Other ſeeds there are of the ſame kind, which though tainted, yet they are not ſo deeply tainted, but that they might be organized or quickned by ſuch comforts or cheriſhments, as could not revive the former: albeit, even the later alſo are certain ſhortly to periſh, if they be tranſplanted from a good ſoil to a bad, or be expoſed to noiſome winds or other uncomfortable occurrences or contagious adherents. Now every errour (as was intimated before) in matters of Religion, is a tainting, or an infection or ſickneſs of the ſoul, and of errors ſome are ſo deadly, that neither the boſome of the Church, nor all the benefits of Chriſts death committed to her cuſtodies, (though imparted in as ample manner, as ſhe can diſtribute,) can revive or quicken the parties tainted with them. Other errors again there be not ſo dangerous in their kind, or not ſo ful grown but that the parties tainted with them, may retain or recover life; ſo they may continue in the viſible Church, and enjoy the communion of Saints, and participate with them in the word of life, in devout prayers, and in the ordinary uſe of Sacraments. Howbeit, even theſe errours alſo become deadly, if the parties in whom they ſettle, be with *Hagar* and *Iſmael* caſt out of *Abrahams* family into the wilderneſs, or be conſtrained to dwel in *Meſech*, or to have their habitation amongſt the Tents of *Kedar*.

Now in reſpect of ſuch as are caſt out of the viſible Church, becauſe they will not abandon or caſt out ſuch naughty, though not deadly opinions, out of their ſouls; the former rule of *Weſelius* concerning excommunication fails, if it be extended as far as ſome have done it. For ſome have taught or by their ſpeeches given others juſt occaſion to conceive their meaning to be, That the viſible Church hath only a declarative ſentence in all excommunications: whereas this rule is to be reſtrained unto excommunications only of the former rank, that is, ſuch as are directed againſt manifeſt hereſies, *ex ſpecie* heretical and deadly. To kill a man already dead in hereſie, the Church cannot, but only declare him to be dead. The viſible Church notwithſtanding hath power ſimply and abſolutely to excommunicate ſome of her members, albeit it doth not fully appear unto her, whether the opinions wherewith their ſouls are tainted, do either neceſſarily induce or argue a ſchiſm or ſeparation from the holy Catholick faith. Yea though this point be doubtful, or though it be more probable, that the opinions as held by them, do not induce a ſeparation from the holy Catholick Church or Faith: yet may the viſible Church uſe her authority of binding them, before they have bound themſelves, and deprive them of all communion with the ſound and orthodox members of the Church; leſt happily they might by their vicinity infect others. It would argue more folly then pitty, or at leſt more pitty then diſcretion or wholeſome diſcipline, if the Church ſhould be indulgent to ſuch as are over indulgent to their naughty opinions or lewd affections; eſpecially if they hurt others either by miſperſwaſion, or ill example.

6. Now of all and every party that is caſt out of the Church upon theſe occaſions, the former Maxime, *extra Eccleſiam non eſt ſalus, out of the Church is no ſalvation*, is moſt true. The moſt wholſome and moſt effectual medicine that can be applyed unto ſouls ſick of this ſickneſs, is to be inſtant in denouncing unto them, that albeit they be not as yet ſpiritually dead, yet there is ſmall hope of life, unleſs they ſeek re-admiſſion with ſighs and tears into the boſome of the viſible Church. And though it be true, that ſuch as do not in time ſeek their re-admiſſion by repentance, do therefore periſh, becauſe they are ſeparated from the viſible Church; yet do they not periſh, *quatenus ſeparantur à viſibili Eccleſia, ſed quatenus ſeparantur ab Eccleſia ſancta Catholica*, that is, their ſeparation from the viſible Church, is a prævial diſpoſition to the ſpiritual death, or ſuch a cauſe of it, as the Pilots abſence is to the paſſengers, whoſe company he hath for their miſdemeanours abandoned: yet doth not their ſpiritual death properly conſiſt in this ſeparation, nor immediately and inſtantly reſult from it, but it conſiſts in, or immediately reſults from their ſeparation from the *Holy Catholick* Faith and Church: unto both which the viſible Church wherein they lived, ſo they had ſtill remained in the boſome of it might have united or wedded their ſouls or yet may reunite them ſo they will with ſubmiſſive or hearty repentance return unto it.

CHAP. XIV.

Declaring by one ſpecial inſtance, the particular manner and opportunities, by which the Church viſible or repreſentative, did firſt incroach upon the royal Attributes of the holy, Catholick *and Apoſtolick Church. For what cauſes Chriſtians may ſeparate themſelves, or ſuffer themſelves to be ſeparated from any viſible Church, whereof they were ſometimes members.*

1. FRom this diſtinction of errours in Religion, which either deſerve, or may be pretended to deſerve the ſentence of excommunication, we may diſcover the manner how the great monſter with ſeven heads and ten horns, the grand *myſtery of iniquity*, was brought forth out of the womb of the viſible, and as the Romaniſts call it, the Catholick Church.

The manner was thus: ſeeing the ancient and orthodox Fathers had in the name and power of the holy, Catholick, and Apoſtolick Church (as they were in duty bound) excommunicated the *Encratiſts*, *Eutychians*, *Arians*, *Neſtorians*, *&c.* which had manifeſtly excommunicated or divorced themſelves from the *holy Catholick* Faith by adherence to their wicked opinions; the Succeſſors of theſe holy Biſhops in place of authority but not in holineſs and underſtanding in matters ſpiritual, took upon them to pronounce the like cenſure upon every opinion which they diſliked, and expected the whole viſible Church ſhould hold the perſons of men whom they excommunicated, though (God wot) upon moſt diſlike occaſions, in as great execration as thoſe whom the ancient Fathers excommunicated.

2. A notable inſtance to juſtifie this aſſertion, we have in the ſeventh Synod or ſecond *Nicene* Council. The point in debate was, whether ſuch Prelates and other Miniſters as had favoured the *Eiconaclaſtæ*, and *withſtood the worſhipping of Images*, were to be received again into the Church, and to be reſtored to their dignity, upon their ſubmiſſion. The books being produced, by which it did appear that *Athanaſius*, *Cyril*, and other ancient Pillars of the orthodoxal Church, had received notorious hereticks into their favour and communion again; a Biſhop of the Province of *Sicilia* learnedly puts in this exception or caveat.

* *The Canons of the bleſſed Fathers which hitherto have been produced, were enacted againſt the Novatians, the Eucratiſts and Arians :* But as for the Maſters of this preſent hereſie, in what rank ſhall we place them?

Upon which a Deacon of the ſame Church and Province, propounds this queſtion:

† *Whether is this new ſprung hereſie greater or leſs then thoſe hereſies which have been before it.*

To all which, the great *Herod* of *Conſtantinople*, *Tharaſius*, being reconciled *quoad hæc* to the Roman *Pilate*, Pope *Adrian*, makes this learned anſwer ; *Evill is alwayes the ſame, alwaies equal.* This is true ſaith * *Epiphanius*, (*the venerable Deacon of the moſt holy Church of Catanes, Vicar or Deputy for the moſt holy bleſſed Thomas, Archbiſhop of Sardinia :*)*but eſpecially true in cauſes eccleſiaſtical or matters concerning the Church, from whoſe decrees to ſwarve in matters great or ſmall, is all one, ſeeing the divine Law is violated in both caſes.* And after him, one *John a venerable Monke* (*Vicegerent for the oriental thrones*) as if his part had been to act the Paraſite in the Comedy, and to turn *magnas* into *ingentes*, gave this verdict: † *This hereſie is worſe then all other hereſies, and of all evils the very worſt, &c.* But was this great Patriarch *Tharaſius*, ſo ſtoically ſenſleſs, as not to be offended with this illiterate rough-ſhod-Aſs, that thus would claw him like a Spaniel ? For if this heriſie were worſe then all other hereſies, or the worſt of evils : the moſt excellently illiterate Patriarch, and the venerable Deacon, were groſly overſeen in their ſentence, *That all errours or hereſies in matters eccleſiaſtick, were equal.* Or will any Chriſtian be ſo ſenſleſly partial, as to think that this illiterate factious Councel, could be Prophets or Doctors infallible in their concluſions, when they bewray themſelves to be groſs hereticks, or more then heatheniſh Stoicks in the premiſes, that *Malum ſemper eſt idem & æquale, that evil is alwayes the ſame, alwayes equal.* Thus by the ſelf ſame ſtroke of Authority, by which this Councel did *de facto* thruſt all other out of the viſible Church, that would not worſhip Images, they have declared themſelves to be excommunicated *de jure*, from the holy Catholick Church.

3. In this aſſertion, the ancient Fathers unanimouſly accord, that de-

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* *Qui hactenus lecti beatorum patrum Canones, de Novatianis, Encratiſtis, & Arianis dati ſunt : hujus autem hæreſis magiſtros quo loco habebimus?*

† *Minorne eſt quæ nunc novata eſt hæreſis, an major illis quæ hactenus fuere? Tharaſius ſanctiſſimus Patriarchas dixit; Malum perpetuo idem eſt & æquale.*

* *Epiphanius venerabilis Diaconus ſanctiſſimæ Catanes Eccleſiæ, & Vicarius, beatiſſimi Thomæ Archiepiſcopi Sardiniæ, inquit ; Maxime autem in rebus Eccleſiaſticis, in quarum decretis tum parvis tum magnis errare idem eſt, ſi quidem in utriſq; lex divina violatur.*

† *Joannes venerabilis Monachus locum tenens thronorum orientaliũ dixit: Hæreſis iſta omnibus hæreſibus pejor eſt, malorum omnium peſſima utpote quæ Oeconomiam ſervatoris noſtri ſubvertat.* Synod. 7. Act. 1.

ection or ſwarving from the Catholick Faith, doth exclude men from the Catholick Church, and by conſequence from ſalvation, but about the extent or preciſe limits of holy Catholick Faith, or about the exact liſt of Articles to be believed, their concord is not ſo general. What particular opinions did induce or argue a defection from Catholick Faith, or divorce from the Catholick Church, was never conſented upon by the ancient Fathers, nor could their joynt authority in this caſe be ſo great, as in the former. The latter ages of ſuch, as in reſpect of us are ancient, are in this point various and ſuperſtitious. But of the uſe and effects or juſt cauſes of excommunication, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more particularly hereafter. The rules moſt pertinent to our preſent buſineſs, and which ſerve as an entry to the main controverſie betwixt us and the Romaniſts, are two.

4. The former immediately concerns Prelates or Church Governours. They are alwayes to remember, that this power is given them, not for deſtruction, or to ſhew their own greatneſs, but for the edification of others; and therefore never to be uſed but upon ſpecial and weighty occaſions. He that ſtrikes fiercely, with his ſpiritual ſword, at feathers, doth alwayes either wound himſelf, or wreſt his arm: neither is it ſafe to meaſure the juſtice of Prelates proceedings, by the event; or to collect, that God doth approve their ſentence, becauſe the party ſentenced by them, may often come to a woful or fearful end. They may dye in their ſins, and Gods juſtice may be manifeſt in the manner of their death, and yet for all this their blood may be required at their hands, which did thus *rule them with a rod of iron, or feed them*, as the Apoſtle ſayes, *with the ſword, when they ſhould have nouriſhed them with the milk of the Goſpel*, or at leaſt have uſed *ſalutari ſeveritate*, wholſome ſeverity towards them. The ſecond caveat concerns private men; and it is, that they be more unwilling to ſeparate themſelves from the viſible Church, then to be cut off from the Common-wealth wherein they live. The occaſions of voluntary ſeparation ought to be more weighty and hainous, in reſpect of the parties from whom they voluntarily ſeparate themſelves; then are the cauſes of excommunication, for which inferiors are violently, yet juſtly ſeparated from the Church by their Governors. *Cato*, as one ſaith, could not have committed ſo hainous a murther by killing another man, as by killing himſelf: for I think it had ſcarce been poſſible for him to have killed any Roman that had leſs deſerved death than himſelf did: yet not in this reſpect only, but ſimply and abſolutely, it was a greater ſin in him, and is more unlawful for any man to kill himſelf, then to kill another. The rule is as true in this point of ſpiritual murther; that is, of unlawful ſeparation (active or paſſive) from the viſible Church. Though it be a grievous ſin in Governors to deprive their inferiours of all communion with the viſible Church upon light and unneceſſary occaſions; yet it is a greater ſin in inferiours to deprive themſelves of the ſame communion upon the ſame or like occaſions, eſpecially if they be not certain elſewhere to injoy the like or equivalent communion without diſturbance. Such as intend a ſeparation, muſt alwayes reſpect, as well *terminum ad quem*, as *terminum à quo*, whom they go to, as from whom they depart. It is a motto better befitting Chriſtians in violent perſecutions, by heathens, then in voluntary ſeparation from Chriſtian Churches: *Quos fugiam habeo, quo fugiam non habeo: I know from whom I flye, but whither to flye, I know not.* To forſake the Church wherin we have been baptized, for the foul abuſes that we know by experience

to be committed in it, before we be certain in what other Church we may be admitted, in which there is not in ſome kind or other the like or worſe abuſes, or more unſufferable grievances: were as deſperate a madneſs, as for a paſſenger to leap into the ſea, becauſe he knew the ſhip wherein he ſayled, and the company with whom he muſt neceſſarily converſe, were deeply infected with a deadly peſtilence. And thus to do, were a deſperate prank, unleſs the party adventuring, had very great skill in ſwimming, and were withal within ken of ſome comfortable ſhore or harbour.

All this may ſeem to make for our Adverſaries, or at leaſt againſt our forefathers, which were ſometimes members of the viſible Romiſh Church, but did either voluntarily ſeparate themſelves from it, or ſuffer themſelves to be thruſt out of it; when as they might have retained communion with it, ſo they would have embraced their doctrine. Beſides the danger of ſeparation from it, both they and we have felt the ſevereſt ſtrokes of the ſpiritual ſword of excommunication, which the Governours of the Romiſh Church could reach us.

5. The branches of the main controverſie betwixt that Church and ours, are two. The firſt, [whether the reaſons which moved our forefathers to depart from that Church, or not to imbrace her doctrines, were juſt and neceſſary.]

The ſecond, [Whether our forefathers, being howſoever ſeparated from it, had commiſſion, full power and juſt authority from God to unite themſelves into a true viſible *Church*; whether they did rightly purſue ſuch warrant or commiſſion as they had, and whether they and we have been and are a true viſible *Church*.] The juſt and neceſſary reaſons, for which men (whether few or many) may and ought to ſeparate themſelves from any viſible *Church*, are in general two. The firſt, becauſe they are urged or conſtrained to profeſs or believe ſome points of doctrin, or to adventure upon ſome practices, which are contrary to the rule of Faith, or Law of God; and are either *ex ſpecie*, or *ex gradu & cumulo*, either for their ſpecifical quality, or for their burthen or number, ſo heretical and deadly, that they neceſſarily induce a ſeparation from the *holy* and *Catholick* Faith, without which the Church can neither be *holy* nor *Catholick*.

The ſecond, in caſe they are utterly deprived of freedom of conſcience in profeſſing what they inwardly believe, or be bereft of ſome other means either altogether neceſſary or moſt expedient to ſalvation, both which may be had in ſome other viſible *Church*. In this later caſe, that rule of our Apoſtle given unto ſervants, is true; *Let every man abide in the ſame calling, wherein he was called. Art thou called being a ſervant? Care not for it: but if thou mayſt be made free, uſe it rather. For he that is called in the Lord being a ſervant, is the Lords freeman. Likewiſe alſo he that is called being free, is Chriſts ſervant. Ye are bought with a price, be not ye the ſervants of men*, 1 Cor. 7. 20, 21, 22, 23. Although we were perſwaded that we could communicate with ſuch a Church without evident danger of damnation: yet in as much as we cannot ſo communicate with it, upon any better tearms then legal ſervants, or bondſlaves do with their Maſters; we are bound in conſcience and religious diſcretion, when lawful occaſions and opportunities are offered, to uſe our liberty, and to ſeek our freedom, rather then to live in bondage.

CHAP. XV.

That our Forefathers ſeparation from the Romiſh Church was moſt lawful and juſt, both in reſpect of Prince and State, and in reſpect of every private perſon which feared God, or ſought to retain the Holy, Catholick and Apoſtolick Faith.

1. WHen we debate the lawfulneſs of our Forſathers ſeparation from the Romiſh Church; we mean the then Romiſh Church as viſible.

Now unto the conſtitution of an entire and compleat viſible Church, there is required, *Firſt*, an unity of Faith and Doctrine: *Secondly*, an unity of diſcipline or coactive Laws, but eſpecially an unity of ſubordination to one independent Judicature.

Unity in points of Faith and Doctrine, is more eſſential to the Church as it is holy and Catholick, that is, as it is Orthodoxal.

Unity of Laws or Diſcipline, or of independent Judicature is more eſſential, and more neceſſary to the Church, as *viſible*. Hence as we ſaid before, there be as many diſtinct viſible Churches, as there be independent Judicatures, or ſupream Tribunals Eccleſiaſtick. Unto a Catholick Church or unto a Church viſibly Catholick, ſuch as the Romaniſts believe their Church to be, both kinds of unity are neceſſary.

Whether this unity of Diſcipline, full power of Juriſdiction, or independent *Judicature*, be ſeated in one perſon or more, that is, whether the form of Eccleſiaſtical government be *Ariſtocratical* or *Monarchical*, is in our Divinity all one. The unity and conformity may be as compleat and perfect the one way, as the other. But the Romaniſts, the Engliſh Prieſts, and Jeſuits, do not onely hold this unity of independent Judicature to be neceſſary to the conſtitution of the viſible, Catholick Church; but that it muſt of neceſſity be *radically* in one perſon, to wit, in the *Pope*, on whom as upon the head and fountain, the unity of the Holy, Catholick viſible Church, doth depend: and for this reaſon they put his Holineſs in the definition of the Holy Catholick Church, as you heard before out of Cardinal *Bellarmine*, and the Author of the Antidote. So that the Popes *ſupremacie* hath the ſame place in the whole viſible *Church*, as every *ſummum genus* in his proper predicament. As nothing can be truly ſaid to be in the predicament, unleſs it participate the nature or definition of the *ſummum genus*; ſo none by this doctrine, can be a true member of the holy Church, unleſs he be ſubordinate to the Pope: Or, as *no man can come to the Father, but by the Son*; ſo none can come unto the ſon, but by this Holy Father, the *Pope*. Every one muſt be viſibly united unto him, and to his Laws, before he can be myſtically or ſpiritually united unto Chriſt.

Howbeit by putting the Pope in the definition of the Holy, Catholick Church, with intention thereby to exclude us from it, who deny his authority; they intangle and fetter themſelves in another point of great conſequence betwixt us and them: of which advantage we ſhall make ſome better uſe hereafter. The ſum of our preſent diſpute is this.

As profeſſing of unity with the Romiſh Church in all points of faith, which that Church teacheth, doth neceſſarily induce a diſunion or ſeparation from the holy Catholick Faith and Church: ſo the ac-

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knowledgment of ſuch ſubordination as is required unto the head of it, in matters of diſcipline or juriſdiction, induceth flat rebellion or high treaſon, againſt all free States or Kingdoms Chriſtian.

2. The reaſons which moved our forefathers to forſake the viſible Romiſh church, or to ſuffer themſelves to be forſaken by it, and withhold us from returning to it, were and are in two reſpects moſt neceſſary and juſt. Juſt they were, and are neceſſary; Firſt on the behalf of every private man that had or hath a care of Conſcience and Religion. Secondly, on behalf of Prince and State, in reſpect of Chriſtian and Religious policie. And firſt of the reaſons in behalf of King and State: Their poſitions which induce rebellion againſt free States and Kingdoms, and which, were they joyntly admitted, would leave ſupereminent or royal Majeſty onely a naked title, without any realty of ſoveraignty or juriſdiction, are two.

Firſt, That the ſpiritual power is above all ſecular or civil power. And this aſſertion, were it rightly limited, is in it ſelf orthodoxal. But the more orthodoxal it is in it ſelf, the more deadly it makes the ſecond poſition, unto which they ſeek to wed it.

The ſecond poſition is, That this ſupream and ſpiritual power is totally ſeated in the Clergy, as in a body diſtinct from the body politick: Yea the moſt of them hold the plenitude of this power, to be in the Pope, from whom all ſpiritual power of juriſdiction is derived to the reſt of the Clergy, after the ſame manner, as juriſdiction in cauſes temporal is derived to inferiour Magiſtrates from the Monarch or ſupream Majeſty in every Kingdom.

The Regiment of the Church, as they ſay, is *Regimen monarchicum*, a viſible Monarchy, of which the Pope is the viſible Monarch. As the ſpiritual power, which the Church of *Rome* or Pope uſurpeth is intentively moſt abſolute and independent: ſo is the object of it for extenſion moſt tranſcendent and illimited. Pope *Innocent* the third by vertue of this ſuppoſed plenary power did challenge to be ſupream Judge in cenſuring or puniſhing mortal ſins: *Intendimus decernere de peccato, cujus ad nos pertinet ſine dubitatione cenſura, &* (or *ut*) *nullus qui ſit ſanæ mentis ignorat, quin ad officium noſtrum ſpectet de quocunque peccato mortali corripere quemlibet Chriſtianum.* cap. novit. de Judiciis. *We intend* (ſaith he) *to determine concerning Sin, the cenſure whereof ſo unqueſtionably appertains to us, that no man well in his wits can be ignorant, that it is a part of our power or office to chaſtiſe or correct every Chriſtian man for any mortal ſin of what kind ſoever.*

But if in this Cathedral conſtitution he did not erre; the Chriſtian world might have as infallible a perpetual rule for guiding Millers hands and Taylors ſheers, and for preventing or puniſhing all cozenage in Trades or Crafts, as it hath for ending controverſies in matters of faith or divinity.

3. It is an idle and frivolous diſtinction which ſome Canoniſts have framed to ſolve the truth of this Popes ſentence. *Aliud eſt de re, actione aut contractu judicare, & aliud judicare de peccato: It is one thing to determine of the action or contract, another to determine or judge of the ſin committed.* For as Father * *Paul* excellently obſerves, *quod inſeparabile eſt diſtinguunt: they put a diverſity without a difference.* For if the Pope may judge of every matter or contract as it is a ſin, I hope he would prohibit it, if it were a ſin, and compel men to obſerve his Edicts or Prohibitions. And doing thus, what remains to be done by any temporal power, whether ſupream or ſubordinate, but

only

* See this point excellently handled by father *Paul*, whoſe Apologie for the ſtate of *Venice*, (as I now perceive) is tranſlated into the Engliſh tongue.

onely to look on, or to be as Sheriffs to ſee his Decrees put in execution, or to be his hangman or executioner. No Magiſtrate doth puniſh but upon ſuppoſal of ſome fault or ſin committed. *Lex non eſt juſtis poſita*, ſaith the Apoſtle, *ſed injuſtis. The Law punitive is not given againſt the juſt, but againſt the unjuſt.* And if the Pope might be ſupream Judge of every mortal ſin, every malefactor might have the benefit of appeal unto him in all matters criminal. He might puniſh Princes for making unjuſt Laws, or for not executing ſuch Laws, as they themſelves have made or have found made unto their hands by their Predeceſſors, or as he ſhall make or appoint them to make.

4. Again, all of them agree in this, that the Pope hath a ſupream independent power to make coactive Eccleſiaſtick Laws for the wellfare of the Church; and in as much as all temporal power is ſubordinate to the power ſpiritual, which, as his ſubjects ſay, is originally and plenarie in himſelf; he may by vertue of this ſupream ſpiritual power, diſanul all ſuch Laws as any temporal State or Kingdom ſhall make, if theſe to his Holineſs unerring ſpirit, ſhall ſeem contrary to the Laws of God, or to the Laws Eccleſiaſtick, made by himſelf, or by his predeceſſors. Now in caſe any Temporal Princes or States, ſhall, after ſome monitions, refuſe to repeal ſuch Laws as they have enacted, but he diſlikes; they ſtand obnoxious *ipſo facto* to the ſentence of excommunication.

The exerciſe of this terrible power hath been within theſe 400 years, frequent in many Kingdoms, and famous of late againſt the *Venitians.* That ancient and renowned State for wiſdome and gravity, and of all States profeſſing Romiſh Faith, alwaies moſt venerable for devotion, had made ſuch a Law, as the Law of Mortmaine here in *England*, for repreſſing the exceſs of *Levies* portion, which was become like a huge deformed wen in a faire and comely body: and being admoniſhed by the Pope to repeal this Law, and another edict neceſſary for the preſervation of peace; whereby the unruly Cleargy within their territories were *ſubjected* to the cenſure of the State; becauſe the *Venetians* would not obey his monitions, and betray their ancient liberties, the Duke and Senate were excommunicated by his Holineſs. I do not well remember, whether that State had made a decree, that no proviſion ſhould be carried out of their territories to *Ancona:* but put the caſe, they had made ſuch a Law, in as much as *Ancona* is a City which belongs to *Peters* patrimony, a a ſegniory or Lordſhip of the Church of *Rome*, this Law muſt be controleable by the Pope, becauſe it is prejudicial to the Church. And the temporal Soveraignty of *Venice*, muſt ſubmit themſelves unto the ſpiritual Juriſdiction of the Romiſh Church, or feel the ſtroke of *Peters* ſword.

5. The like dreadful conſequence, of theſe dangerous principles, about the *ſupremacie*, or Juriſdiction ſpiritual, did cauſe divers Kings of this land, before *Henry* the eight, to ſeparate themſelves and their people from the viſible Romiſh Church in matters of Juriſdiction, though not of Doctrine. For an *Engliſh* man to have received any title of Juriſdiction from the Pope, or any forraign Prelate ſubject unto him, was by the ancient Laws of this land, a *præmunire.* I will onely touch ſo much of the Romiſh Churches practice in this State, as forraign Writers have taken notice of, which was enough to give our Kings juſt occaſion to make ſuch Laws of *præmunire*, as the forecited Author produceth.

See Sir *Edward Cokes* Reports in *Lailors* caſe.

Pope *Innocent* the third (preſuming upon his former rule, that it belonged unto him, *de quocunque peccato mortali corripere quemlibet chriſtianum,*) *to cenſure or puniſh every man, for any mortal ſin*;) charged *John*, King of *England*, and the *French* King, to keep the Churches peace, under pain of his curſe. And in the proceſs, excommunicates the *French* King, for taking arms againſt King *John*. After, the ſame *Innocent* the third, (upon what diſpleaſure I know not) excommunicates King *John*, arms the *French* King with the ſpiritual ſword, to make war, authorizing King *Johns* own natural ſubjects to rebel againſt him; until the poor King was brought ſo low, that he was content to become the Popes Farmer of his own Kingdom: but being once admitted his Tenant, and become Farmer to the Church of *Rome*, his priviledge was greater, and his perſon more ſacred, then it had been by being Gods Vicegerent. For the Councel of *Lateran* excommunicated all ſuch as did or ſhould moleſt or vex him; ſo long as he remained the Churches *Rent-gatherer*. This ſtrange odds, hath the holineſs of that Church, of other things, which by Gods Law was counted holy; that whatſoever doth but touch it, nay whatſoever hath but vicinity with it, and relation or reference to it, ſtraight way becometh Holy, and capable of greater priviledges, then Princes or the Lords anointed are.

6. From this ſuper-excellent Holineſs of their Church, they now pretend that every Clergy or Church-man is exempt from all Juriſdiction temporal; as if their perſons, on whom the Pope or his Biſhops lay their holy hands, become more holy and ſacred, then royal power it ſelf, which as the Apoſtle ſaith, *is from God:* ſo ſacred and holy, that no temporal ſword may touch them, leſt their *calling* ſhould be polluted. Some profeſſed Reformers of their School Divinity, ſince the light of the Goſpel brake forth, have not been afraid or aſhamed to plead that this exemption of the Clergy from ſecular Juriſdiction, is *de jure divino*, *by divine Law*, and ratified by that Text, * *Spiritualis homo dijudicat omnia, ipſe autem à nemine judicatur, He that is ſpiritual, judgeth all things, yet he himſelf is judged of no man.* But were the allegation true or pertinent, either there ſhould be no ſpiritual men beſides the Pope, and ſo the ſubject of the propoſition, ſhould be *homo ſingularis, one man onely*; or, if there be more ſpiritual men, they ſhould all of them be Popes to judge all others, and be judged of none, no not of the Pope of *Rome* himſelf, unleſs he be no body. For theſe are convertible; *Qui omnes dicit, neminem excipit, Qui neminem dicit, omnes excipit. He that ſaith all, excepteth none; and he that ſaith none, excepteth all.*

2 Cor. 2. 15.

But however, if all Clergy men may by the Pope be exempted from all Juriſdiction temporal, and he may make as many Clergy men as he liſt, or liſt to be made by him, and make ſuch Laws for them as it pleaſeth him: who ſees not how eaſily he may bereave Princes of their natural ſubjects. The caſe betwixt them is on the Popes ſide, like a game at Draughts or Cheſts, wherein the one party hath gotten the ſtart or advantage to make as many Kings as he liſt, and the other having loſt his opportunity of taking the like advantage, muſt be ſure to looſe the game, if the play hold.

7. Again, ſeeing they make the Pope to be the ſupream *head* in all cauſes Eccleſiaſtick or ſpiritual, and over all Eccleſiaſtick perſons: I ſee no reaſon but that every Prieſt and Jeſuite of the *Engliſh*, *Scottiſh*, and *Iriſh* Nation, ſhould be indited for mocking his ſacred Majeſty, as often as they inſtile him their Soveraign Lord. For every

one that in good earneſt calls the King his Lord, is preſumed to acknowledge himſelf to be the Kings Subject. Now every Subject, is a Subject in reſpect of Juriſdiction. To be the Kings Subject, and not to be ſubject to the Kings Juriſdiction, implyes a contradiction. So that in final concluſion, for *Engliſh* Prieſts to call the King their Lord, and yet to profeſs and believe, that their perſons belong not properly to his Juriſdiction, but to the Popes; is all one, as if they ſhould ſay: *Noah* indeed was *Japhets* Father, and *Japhet* did well ſo to call him; but *Japhet* was not *Noahs* ſon, nor did he owe him any filial obedience: as certainly he did not, if he had been exempted from *Noahs* paternal Juriſdiction, after the ſame manner, as the Romiſh Prieſts are from Juriſdiction temporal. But to ſubmit the whole temporal power and laws made by it, to the ſpiritual power, as it reſideth in the Pope; is to make all Princes and Monarchs more ſubject unto him, then inferiour or ſecular Magiſtrates are to them: not ſo much as *mean* Lords in *fee*, but meer Tenants at *will*.

Yet is this ſubjection of all temporal power unto the Popes ſpiritual power, not the opinion only of the Romiſh Clergy or flattering Canoniſts: even their Civilians are infected with this heretical and trayterous doctrine. Witneſs that otherwiſe learned and ingenuous *Civilian*, *Balthazar Ayala*, ſometimes chief Juſtice of the *Spaniſh* Army, under the Prince of *Parma*, *Lib.* 1. *de jure & officiis belli*, *cap.* 2. §. 27.

8. If we put both theſe poſitions together, to wit, That the Pope hath power to exempt all Eccleſiaſtick perſons from Juriſdiction temporal, and to ſubject all temporal laws to ſpiritual laws of his making; we may *repeal* or antiquate an ancient and uſual diſtinction of the ſword ſpiritual and temporal. For by theſe devices, they have put ſuch a ſpiritual *handle* upon the temporal ſword, and given the *Pope* ſo faſt hold of it, that if he and Chriſtian Kings ſhould at any time fall at variance, his Holineſs (ſo long as this doctrine ſtands authentick) may be ſure to have the drawing of it, and poor Chriſtian Princes, to whom the ſword by right (more ancient then the Popedom is) properly belongs, muſt be content to defend themſelves with the ſcabbard.

For theſe and many like reaſons, our Foreſathers departure from the viſible Romiſh Church, was moſt juſt and neceſſary on the behalf of Prince and State, and in reſpect of lawful and Chriſtian policie.

9. The reaſons on the behalf of every private man, were in two reſpects, again moſt neceſſary. Firſt, becauſe that Church did and doth utterly deny, even to her own children, the free uſe of means, either altogether neceſſary, or moſt expedient to ſalvation. Theſe ſhe will not give unto her own children: no, nor ſell them at any lower rate, then the Devil ſets upon his wares; that is, *they muſt fall down and worſhip her.*

Secondly and principally, becauſe the Church did and doth rigidly and peremptorily exact our belief and profeſſion of many doctrinal points, and upon ſuch belief injoyn many practices; of both which ſome are *ex ſpecie*, for quality ſo heretical and diabolical; others *ex gradu & cumulo*, *for degree or multitude*, ſo deadly, as they manifeſtly induce a ſeparation from the Holy Catholick Church, or neceſſarily argue a contradiction to the Holy, Apoſtolick and primitive Faith. So that beſides the exceſſive price which the Romiſh Church ſets upon her own childrens neceſſary food, they may not eat it after they have bought it, unleſs it be mingled with deadly poyſon.

The doctrine of the Popes *ſupremacie*, of the Churches or the Popes abſolute *infallibility*, in matters of faith and manners, is an errour in it ſelf, *ex ſpecie*, heretical and more deadly then heatheniſme: and includeth *infidelitatem pravæ diſpoſitionis*, *infidelity of contradiction*, as malignant as the infidelity of the Jews; and the conſequent of it, is an entire Apoſtaſie from the Apoſtolick Faith. This I have * elſewhere endeavoured to ſhew at large; the ſumme of which work, ſhall by Gods aſſiſtance, be recollected in this Treatiſe. I now meddle only with this tranſcendent hereſie, as it is diffuſed through other errours. The very participation of it, is as the Phariſaical leaven, by which all other erroneous opinions or conjectures, which that Church hath ſucked, either from Hereticks of old, or from ſome miſtakings or miſ-readings of ancient Fathers, are malignified and made much worſe then they were in their firſt Authors. Our firſt inſtance ſhall be in the manifold and daily tranſgreſſions of that rule of faith, given by our Apoſtle, *Rom.* 14. *verſe* 5. into all which tranſgreſſions, this doctrine doth lead and draw them blindfold, as the *Philiſtines* did *Sampſon*, after they had put out his eyes. The Apoſtles rule is, *Let every man be fully perſwaded in his own mind.* And this full perſwaſion or aſſurance of faith, is, in the caſes there mentioned neceſſary; *becauſe whatſoever is not of faith, is ſin*, *verſe* 23. This laſt Maxime is moſt undoubtedly true, and the former precept moſt exactly to be obſerved, in ſuch caſes, as the Apoſtle there ſpeaks of: that is, where the poſitive practice (unleſs our warrant be authentick in it ſelf, and evident to us) is very dangerous or deadly; whereas on the contrary, the forbearance of ſuch practice is either ſafe, or not prejudicial to our ſouls, but to our bodies onely, or eſtate temporal. But in what caſes doth the authority of the Romiſh Church, where it bears ſway, draw men to tranſgreſs the former rules of Faith or Conſcience? In many.

* In the third Book upon the Creed, Section the laſt.

10. To rob God of his honour, or do him prejudice in his glorious titles of *mercy*, *bounty*, and the like, is unqueſtionably a grievous ſin: and being ſuch, no doctrine or practice ought to be admitted or impoſed upon us, which with probability may induce or infer it; eſpecially, if the end or benefit for whoſe attainment the ſuſpected doctrine or practice is imagined behoofull or uſeful, may as certainly be obtained by ſome other more ſafe and no leſs effectual or convenient means. If from theſe grounds we ſhould enter friendly conference with an ingenuous Papiſt, and tell him, as the truth is, that we Proteſtants do teach, *That good works are moſt neceſſary to ſalvation; and that the more ſuch works we do, the greater certainly ſhall be our reward, ſo we do them in ſincerity, and acknowledgment of our bounden duty towards God, humbly confeſſing our ſelves (after we have done all, even our very beſt) to be* unprofitable ſervants. If from theſe allegations we ſhall thus infer, that glory, honour, immortality, and eternal happineſs in the life to come, being all that he ſeeks after by well-doing; ſeeing we ſeek for the very ſelf ſame things, by a ſafer and leſs ſuſpicious way, why ſhould he not be content to abandon all conceit of *merit*, and to renounce the *tearm* as an offenſive and ſuſpicious title, for a poor ſuppliant to uſe before the Almighty Majeſty of God. To this and like *Queries*, all the anſwer you ſhall get, is this: & this you ſhall have from the more judicious & ingenious ſecular Papiſts; that for their own parts, they could be well content to relinquiſh the opinion or tearm of *Merit*, ſo they were left unto them-

ſelves; but they muſt uſe the one, and maintain the other in obedience to the *Church*. So ſtrong a hand hath the Church his mother over his faith and conſcience, that he had rather adventure to ſtand upon real *tearms* of *meum* & *tuum*, or come to juridical conteſtation with God his Creator and Redeemer, than diſobey or diſſent from her in the uſe of words, or in matters of conceit or opinion onely.

11. *Again no Chriſtian denies that our Saviour is able to hear our prayers at all times and in all places; that he is more favourable and compaſſionate unto us, then any Saint in Heaven or Earth can be; that his Father alwaies heareth him. It is likewiſe a fundamental article of our belief, that we ought at all times to pray unto him, that he would pray unto his Father for us; that it is our duty to offer up our prayers and the beſt ſacrifice of our ſouls and ſpirits in honour of his* great and glorious name; *that to come unto the Father by his mediation, is to worſhip him in truth and ſpirit.* All theſe poſitions are *ex fide & de fide*, *points of neceſſity to be believed.* And if we were alwayes imployed in ſome of theſe practices, happy were we, although we did nothing elſe. No Saint, we may be ſure, would be offended with us for praying continually unto Chriſt, unto whom they continually pray or give thanks. But whether in praying unto Saints as the *Romaniſts* do, we do not offend both Chriſt and them, is not ſo clear and unqueſtionable.

12. To requeſt the Saints deceaſed to pray for us without expreſs warrant or aſſurance that they can hear our prayers, is ſuperſtitious; to offer up our prayers unto them by way of *Honour* or tribute, without aſſurance of faith, is flat Idolatry. Yet admitting it were lawful not onely to pray, but to offer our prayers unto their Images; yet to fall down before them and worſhip them, is certainly a practice ſo quite contrary to the rule of faith, and Gods holy commandements, that he which feareth God, (who hath expreſſed himſelf in this point above others to be a jealous God) would in ordinary diſcretion and reaſon, before he durſt adventure upon ſo dangerous a practice, demand as expreſs a diſpenſation or countermand to the former precept, as *Abraham* had to aſſure him, he ſhould not commit murder by ſacrificing his only ſon.

Laſtly, admitting the invocation of true and unqueſtionable Saints, (as for example, the Apoſtles) and the adoration of their Images, to be no ſacriledge or wrong to God; yet to honor every one whom the Pope ſhall canonize for a Saint, with all the former points of honour, which they exhibit to S. *Peter*, S. *Paul*, *&c.* is a great wrong unto thoſe glorious Saints, and hereſie, or rather an Idolatry *ex ſpecie* deadly. And yet for adventuring upon all theſe dangerous practices, they have no other aſſurance of faith or warrant of Scripture, beſides their unwarrantable and blind belief of the Church and Popes infallibility. Nor can the ingenuous Papiſts give us any other anſwer to ſuch reaſonable demands, as were now propoſed in this point of Invocation of Saints, or adoration of Images, then was given before, That *He doth all this in obedience to his mother the Church.*

I ſhould proceed to the like faithleſs and deſperate practices in the Maſs, for which they can have no true aſſurance or warrant from God or his Laws; but only rely upon the ſuppoſed infallibility of this Church, which notwithſtanding may be manifeſtly convinced of groſs and ſtupid hereſie, in the doctrine of *Tranſubſtantiation.* But becauſe the doctrine is *ex ſpecie* heretical, and the practice deadly, I ſhall reſerve the refutation of both, and the explication of the ancient and orthodoxal opinions concerning the manner of Chriſts preſence in the Sacrament, or communication of his body and blood, unto a peculiar Treatiſe.

13. Generally, the more dangerous or deadly any practice doth ſeem to be, whilſt we compare it with the ordinary and common rule of mans actions; the more evidently it ought to appear unto him that undertakes it, by what ſpecial rule or warrant it is exempted from the common rule or general prohibition of other facts and practices in nature and appearance like it. If a Judge ſhould charge the Sheriff or other inferiour officer to ſee execution done upon ſome malefactor; it were no wiſdome for the inferior Officer to adventure upon the *Judges* command, unleſs he knew that the Judge had ſpecial commiſſion and warrant from the King to ſentence him to death, and that he had legally ſo ſentenced him. Yet would it be a point of ill manners and indiſcretion for an inferior Juſtice or Officer, to require the like ſpecial warrant or expreſs rule of Law for whipping a vagrant perſon, or putting ſome idle fellow in the ſtocks. The Judges word or command might in this caſe be a ſufficient warrant, eſpecially to one not ſkilful in the Laws, nor too ſcrupulous in yielding obedience to ſuch as are skilful in them. It is nicity, ill manners, and indiſcretion to exact an expreſs rule of Scripture or Faith for ſtanding at the *Creed*, for kneeling at the Lords board, for uſing the Cap and Surplice. In theſe caſes conſent of the Church or tradition will ſuffice; ſo there be not any expreſs Law or Commandment to the contrary. He that exacts in theſe points as expreſs rules of faith, or warrant of Scripture for his obedience to Eccleſiaſtical authority, as he would, or as every man ought to do for adventuring upon worſhipping of Images, invocation of Saints, or the like; hath made his brain or fancy the chief ſeat or manſion of his Religion, which ſhould be ſeated in the heart. To run thus far in ſeeming oppoſition to the *Romaniſt*, is not truly to oppoſe him, but to meet with him in the point of diſobedience to Gods Laws. The one, by diſobeying the Church in theſe caſes wherein it hath authority to command obedience; diſobeys thoſe Laws or mandates of God, which give the Church authority to make Laws in things indifferent, neither expreſly forbidden nor commanded by the Law of God. The other, by vowing abſolute blind obedienee to the Church, diſobey Gods particular and expreſs Laws, even the moſt fundamental Laws of piety and religion, the laws of nature and of Nations.

14. To kill a private man without warrant of authority, is a heynous and fearful ſin, but far more heinous to kill a Prince, or to raiſe tumults in a State, or incenſe the multitude to take arms againſt their Soveraign Lord: yet upon theſe and worſe practices will any well catechized *Romaniſt* adventure, without any further warrant then the Churches command or approbation, which he believes to be infallible. But that the Church hath abſolute infallibility, and full power to command his conſcience, or authorize his action in theſe caſes, what ſpecial warrant hath he from God or his Laws: The beſt they bring, is this, Matth. 16.18. *Tu es Petrus, & ſuper hanc petram ædificabo Eccleſiam meam, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church.* But doth this place either prove *Peter* to be the Rock on which the Church is built, or the Popes to be *Peters* perpetual Succeſſors in that confeſſion, which *Peter* then uttered, which was the rock indeed on which Chriſts Church is built, and which did make *Peter* to be ſuch a rock or living ſtone as he was in the houſe of God? I could be content to try this iſſue with any

Jeſuit, whether he could, by better probability from this Text infer, that *the Pope is Peters ſucceſſor in the infallibility of holy Doctrine*; then I ſhall infer from another Text following in the ſame Chapter, that the *Pope is the firſt born of Sathan*, perpetually obnoxious to the check which our Saviour gave unto *Peter: Get thee behind me Sathan, thou art an offence unto me, for thou ſavoureſt not the things that be of God, but thoſe that be of men*, Matth. 16. 23.

This was but a friendly check of *Peter*; but will prove the judicial cenſure of the Pope and his Diſciples, unleſs they recant this wicked doctrine. Our Saviour beſtowed the name of Πέτρος or Rock upon the ſon of *Iona* (as the Jeſuits will have it) in the former place, whilſt he uttered that worthy confeſſion; *Thou art Chriſt, the Son of the living God.* By faithful adherence to this confeſſion he became a living ſtone, a part of the foundation of Chriſts Church, the firſt in order of twelve. But *nominis omen habuit*, he did beſt brook this name after our Saviours reſurrection. A little after the uttering of the former confeſſion, when out of his kind nature (as we would tearm it) but certainly out of a carnal imagination (as the Spirit would cenſure it) he ſought to diſſwade his maſter from ſuffering death, and ſo to hinder him from diſſolving the works of Sathan, and overthrowing his Kingdom, our Saviour calls him Sathan, as if he had ſaid, *Peter*, thou counſelleſt me to that very thing, whereunto Satan himſelf, ſo I would give him audience, would perſwade me with more Rhetorick then thou haſt. What if I ſhould ſay, That all the Popes are *Peters* ſucceſſors, and that ſo much may be proved out of this 16. chapter of St. *Matthew*, will it therefore follow that none of them are Antichriſts or Sons of Satan? No, *diſtingue tempora, & concordabunt ſcripturæ, diſtinction of times, is the reconciliation of Scriptures.* The firſt and ancient Popes were *Peters* ſucceſſors in the former confeſſion, all or moſt of them living ſtones in the houſe of God. The later Popes are *Peters* ſucceſſors in counſelling Chriſts Church to undertake thoſe practiſes in Chriſts name, whereunto the Devil doth alwaies counſel men by internal ſuggeſtions of the fleſh. *Peters* temporary infirmity, is become their hereditary hereſie. Certainly their ſucceſſion in *Peters* chair doth no more argue them to be his ſucceſſors in the ſtability of faith; than ſucceſſion in *Moſes* chair proves the Scribes and Phariſees to have been *Moſes* true Diſciples, or then the Jews lineal deſcent from *Abraham*, proves then to be *Abrahams* children. The Analogie of faith will warrant this doctrine for concluſion: That theſe later Popes and their followers are of their father the Devil: for they go about to murther Kings and Princes, which take upon them to defend the truth. This did not *Peter*, this would not any Biſhop of *Rome* have done within five hundred years after Chriſt.

SECTION III.

That the preſent viſible Church of *England* retains the *Holy, Catholick* Faith, which the Romiſh Church hath defiled; and by defiling it, hath loſt that true union with the primitive and Apoſtolick Church, which the viſible Church retaineth.

CHAP. XVI.

That our Church was in the Romiſh Church before Luthers *time, and yet in it, neither as a viſible Church altogether diſtinct from it, nor as any native member of it.*

IT is in the firſt place objected, that we had no Church at all before *Luthers* time.

Secondly, that neither *Luther*, nor Chriſtian Princes which imbraced his doctrine, had any authority to erect or found a new Church.

If we ſay, as we muſt ſay and believe, that we had a true Church before *Luther* of a Monk became a Reformer, it will be demanded where our Church was, and of what perſons it did conſiſt.

To the former part of this importunate demand, [*Where was your Church before* Luthers *time?*] the Reverend and Learned Dr. *Field* pithily anſwers: *Our Church was in the ſame place then, wherein now it is.* His explication will juſtifie his meaning againſt all gainſayers. Howbeit, I muſt frame my anſwer according to my former principles, and fit it to ſome captious queſtions or objections made by ſome of our Adverſaries ſince this *Worthy* died.

2. If our Church before *Luthers* time were in the ſame place wherein now it is, it will further be demanded, Whether it were a Church diſtinct from the then Romiſh Church, or a member of it.

That we had a viſible Church before *Luthers* time in this Kingdome, altogether diſtinct from the Romiſh viſible Church planted in this Kingdome before *Luther* was born, or ſo diſtinct as *reſpublica Venetorum* is *à Regno Galliæ*, as the State of *Venice* is from the kingdom of *France*, ſeems very improbable to the Romaniſts, and ſomewhat hard for us to prove; unleſs we will derive our pedigree from the *Albigenſes*, the *Picardi*, or the poor men of *Lions:* which to do I know not how ſafe it is, or how well pleaſing it would be to the preſent viſible Engliſh Church, unleſs we had better records of their tenets, then I have ſeen, or then the viſible Romiſh Church, that *de facto* condemns them for hereticks, was willing to propagate to poſterity. On the other ſide; if our Church before *Luthers* time, was a member of the then Romiſh Church, we ſhall be further queſtioned, what authority our King and State had, either to diſmember their Church, or to make a new intire diſtinct Church of an old diſmembred part of their Church. In theſe and like objections, they alwaies ſuppoſe two things as unqueſtionable, which we utterly deny.

The firſt, that the whole multitude of Chriſtians throughout theſe Weſtern parts, as *England*, *France*, *Germany*, *Italy*, and *Spain*, *&c.* excepting ſuch as were by their Church diſclaimed for hereticks or ſchiſmaticks, were all members of the then viſible Romiſh Church: and that there was ſuch an union betwixt all and every one of this multitude, as ſufficeth to make all individuals within theſe States or Kingdomes, true members of one viſible, or of the then viſible Romiſh Church.

The ſecond, They ſuppoſe that our union with ſome preſent viſible Church, is a native degree or part of our union with the Holy, Catholick Church: or that our union with ſome preſent viſible Church, is neceſſary or eſſential, not accidental to our being, or not being members of the Holy, catholick Church.

For our more orderly and ſafe proceeding, we are in the firſt place to ſhake, and hereafter (by Gods help) to raze theſe two rotten foundations, whereon all their arguments, either for annoying ours, or for ſupporting their Church, are grounded.

3. Our firſt counterfort ſhall be this. All the particular congregations recounted by reformed Writers, which before *Luthers* time, had either ſeparated themſelves from the viſible Romiſh Church of their times, or had been diſclaimed by it for Schiſmaticks or Hereticks, being ſequeſtred from this diſpute: our Church might be, and was in the viſible Romiſh Church (as *Bellarmine* and other profeſſed ſons of that Church define it,) and yet be in it, neither ſo as to make one intire viſible Church, diſtinct from it, nor as any integral part, or natural member of it.

If we take all, which the Romiſh Church doth challenge for her ſons before *Luthers* time; there was in that multitude rather a Church truly viſible, then one true viſible Church, if we meaſure the truth of the viſible Church according to our former principles, and as we ought to meaſure it, by the conformity which it hath with the one, truly holy and Apoſtolick Church. Our meaning is, the whole multitude of Chriſtians in theſe Weſtern parts before *Luthers* time, (all thoſe being excluded, which the Romiſh Church repreſentative did condemn for Hereticks or Schiſmaticks) had no ſuch unity, as truly anſwers to the unity of a body natural, but an unity onely anſwerable to the unity of an heap or congeſt of Heterogeneals. Some had the number onely, others the very character of the Beaſt.

The heap or congeſt which we ſuppoſe as an Embleme of the viſible Romiſh Church (taking that Church in that amplitude which they challenge, before *Luther* by Gods appointment; attempted reformation) ſhall be an heap or *congeſt*, of ſeveral metals, all or moſt part unpurified. In this one heap or *congeſt*, a great part of heterogeneals, though not all, ſhall be ſuppoſed to have had the union of continuation or *concretion*: that is, ſome pieces of unpurified gold, by the negligence or unſkilfulneſs of the Artificer, were made up or ſuffered to make up themſelves, in ſome clod or cake, with an huge quantity of copper, lead, braſs, iron, or other baſer metals, all unpurified from their droſs, the other part of the ſame heap or congeſt conſiſting of ſeveral or leſſer pieces of richer metal, all homogeneal in themſelves, though many unpurified, and wanting the union of *contiguity or concretion*.

4. The parts of a good Mineraliſt or Refiner in this caſe, were firſt to diſſolve the cake or clod, and to ſever the richer metal from the

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4. The parts of a good Mineraliſt or Refiner in this caſe, were firſt to diſſolve the cake or clod, and to ſever the richer metal from the

baſer. Secondly, to purifie homogeneals, ſo ſevered, from their own droſs. Thirdly, to make them up ſo ſevered or purified, into Plate, Wedges, or Bullion; or to put ſome other accidental or artificial form upon them. All this being done, we cannot ſay, there was a true *generation* of any new body or ſubſtance, or that the Refiner did make gold where there was none before, (as ſome Alchymiſts profeſs, that they can turn iron or other metals ſpecifically diſtinct, into gold) here was only a refining of metal præexiſtent, and an addition only of an accidental form.

To parallel the Refiners work, by the reformation wrought by *Luther*, and the chriſtian Princes, that harkened to him: Firſt, it cannot be denyed, but that the viſible Romiſh church, or if you will the faction of the Romiſh court, did bear a great ſway throughout moſt Realms in Chriſtendom, before *Luthers* time. Beſides the Body of the Cleargy, or Church repreſentative, many Potentates, ſome through ignorance, others for hope of gain or advantage againſt their adverſaries, did adhere unto it. This faction or combination, doth in proportion anſwer to the clod or *concreſcence* of Heterogeneals in the *emblematical* congeſt before mentioned. For, there was no true union betwixt them in matters of faith. On the other ſide again, it cannot be denyed, but that many in every Kingdom before *Luther*, did utterly deteſt the tyranny of the court of *Rome*: many as well of their Cleargy, as of their Layety, did in heart and affection wiſh a reformation as well of the Eccleſiaſtical Government, as of the doctrine profeſſed and practiſed in their Church. The States, Princes, or private men thus affected, anſwer in proportion to the ſeveral pieces of homogeneal and richer metal in the former heap or congeſt. All that *Luther*, all that the chriſtian Princes which followed him, did intend or undertake, was; firſt, to diſſolve the clod, or break the faction of the Romiſh church or court, ſpread through their Kingdoms: Secondly, to refine and purifie themſelves and their adherents from the droſs and ſoil which they had taken by their adherence unto, or vicinity with the Romiſh church: Laſtly, to unite themſelves thus refined and purified in matters of faith and doctrine, into a new form of Government Eccleſiaſtick, independent on the tribunal or court of *Rome*.

5. So then it is falſe, which our Adverſaries object, that *Luther* did take upon him to make a new Church. For this ſuppoſeth a plantation of new faith or doctrine never planted before, in which the life and ſoul of the true Church conſiſts. Whereas they ſay we had no church before his time, it is true only, *ſecundùm quid.* Their meaning can be no other, but this, We had no viſible church altogether ſevered and diſtinct from theirs: and this again is true, only in reſpect of thoſe times, wherein the Kings of *England*, or Emperours of *Germany*, did ſubmit themſelves and their Subjects unto the Juriſdiction of the court of *Rome*. Albeit this ſubmiſſion, (being wrought for the moſt part through violence or devilliſh policie) doth not argue our fore-Elders to have been parts or members of the church of *Rome*, from which they were ſevered in heart and affection, and ſevered in form of Government, *de jure*, though not *de facto*. In the times of divers Kings, the Church of *England* was ſevered *de jure*, *& de facto*, from the viſible Romiſh church. So likewiſe were divers churches in *Germany*. But for Chronologie or matter of Hiſtory, I muſt refer them to another place. The queſtion is much what

the ſame, as if they ſhould ask us, Where was King *Henry* the ſevenths Kingdom, where were his Subjects, where was your Common-weal; whilſt *Richard* the third did call Parliaments, and ſway the Scepter of this Kingdom? The Kingdom of *Henry* the ſeventh, and of his Succeſſors, or the *Engliſh* Common-weal, was in the ſame place then, as now it is. The depoſition of the Tyrant, the diſſolution of the tyranny, and the reducing of *Engliſh* Subjects to their true allegiance, did work no eſſential alteration in the Common-weal or Kingdom, but only a reformation of the Government and reducement of it to the fundamental Laws of this Land. No more did the rejection of the Romiſh churches uſurped authority in matters ſpiritual, induce any ſubſtantial alteration in the *Engliſh* Church; but a reformation or reduction of it unto the fundamental conſtitutions of the Primitive church. But to return to our former illuſtration: This argument, *You had no viſible Church before Luthers time*, ergo, *you had no true Church*, is no better then this; There was no Plate or Bullion in the fore-mentioned heap or congeſt before the Refiner did his part; *ergo*, there was no true gold or ſilver. For as every part of gold, is gold, and every part of ſilver is ſilver, but every part of a Wedge or Plate, is not a Wedge or Plate: ſo every member of the true Church of God, is himſelf a true church and temple of God: yet is not every part or member of the true viſible or catholick Church, a true viſible or catholick Church. Or, as eight or ten pieces of gold, into which an Angel may be broken, though they remain for weight, for value, and for ſubſtance the ſame they were; yet can they not be ſaid to be the ſame Angel, becauſe they want the unity of that artificial form, into which they were made: ſo likewiſe, although there were ten thouſand in this Kingdom before *Luthers* time, all true members of Gods holy and catholick Church; yet could they not be properly ſaid, one viſible church, ſo long as they wanted that unity of diſcipline or independent government, which we have, for the moſt part, ſince injoyed.

6. Now as any kind of metal made up into a Wedge or other artificial form, is leſs ſubject to putrefaction, ſoil, or canker, then it was whilſt it lay ſcattered in ſeveral fragments or pieces: ſo the union of chriſtian Profeſſors into one viſible church, is a good means for preſerving every particular member, ſpecially novices in faith, from ſuch errours, hereſies, or other temptations, as if they had been left alone or ſcattered, would indanger their faith: And yet again, as the perfection or purity of gold above other metals, is beſt proved, in that it doth not ſo eaſily take ſoil or ruſt, though it lye ſcattered in little pieces amongſt other baſer metals, or other bodies apt to taint or putrifie: ſo the true members of Chriſts church or *Body*, are beſt diſcerned, beſt approved by living upright in points of Faith, in the midſt of a perverſe or crooked generation, or by continuing undefiled in the boſome of a polluted viſible church; out of which they may not, they cannot, at their pleaſure depart, but are to exſpect the *call* or ſummons of Gods ſpecial providence.

7. So then whether we had for theſe ſix hundred years a viſible church, diſtinct from the viſible Romiſh church or no, is not pertinent to the main point in queſtion; for they falſly aſſume, we juſtly deny, that men are ſaved by being actual or profeſſed members of the viſible church, or that our union with the preſent viſible church is a native degree or part of our union with the holy, catholick Church, whereof *Noahs* Ark was the type. We ſay, the for-

mer union is available to the latter only, *ex accidente*; in as much as the preſent viſible Church doth by doctrine and diſcipline, drawes to a conformity, in points of faith and other means neceſſary unto ſalvation, with the ancient Catholick and primitive Church. This did not the viſible Romiſh Church, for divers hundred years before *Luthers* time: but on the contrary, ſhe did diſcompoſe or misfaſhion them from all true conformity with the ancient Catholick Church. Howbeit, even in the midnight of ſuperſtition and palpable darkneſs, which had overſpread the viſible Romiſh Church, there were within it, though not of it, many viſible members of the Holy, Catholick Church: men by ſo much more true and lively members of the Holy Catholick Church or body of Chriſt, by how much they were leſs true and actual members of the viſible Romiſh Church; that is, by how much their adherence unto the Romiſh Church repreſentative, or to the authority of the Court of *Rome*, was leſs firm or none: as in a general plague, when every city and town throughout the whole Kingdome, is infected; they are moſt ſafe which have ſolitary dwellings in the country, and have leaſt commerce with port Towns or Markets. Such adherence to the viſible or repreſentative Church of *Rome*, as the Jeſuites and others now challenge, doth (as we have often ſaid) induce a ſeparation from the Holy, catholick Church, and is more deadly to the ſoul, then to be bed-fellow to one ſick of the peſtilence, is to the body.

CHAP. XVII.

That men may be viſible members of the holy Catholick and Apoſtolick Church, and yet no actual members of any preſent viſible Church.

1. THE two principal points, whereon we pitch, may be compriſed in theſe two propoſitions: the firſt, *A man may be a true live-member of the holy Catholick Church*, albeit *he hath no union or commerce with any member of the Churches viſible.* And this propoſition is clear from that point formerly diſcuſſed, how far it was true of the viſible Church, *extra Eccleſiam non eſt ſalus*, *Out of the Church there is no ſalvation.*

The ſecond, *A man may be a true and viſible member of the Holy, Catholick Church*, *and yet be no actual member of any viſible Church.* The truth of this later propoſition, may be proved by many inſtances of moſt ages, ſince the Church (whether under the Law or Goſpel) became viſible. For this preſent it ſhall ſuffice to explicate the meaning of it according to my former promiſe, and to confirm the truth of it ſo explicated by one or two pregnant inſtances. Albeit moſt of the tearms in this propoſition or diſtinction contained, have been explicated before in two inquiries; the one, *what was required to the conſtitution of the Holy Catholick Church.* The other, *what was required to the conſtitution of a viſible Church.* To what was then ſaid, I will adde onely thus much: That the Church may be termed Catholick, either in the *prime* ſenſe (or as we then ſaid κατ' ἐξοχὴν,) or in a ſecondary analogical ſenſe.

The Catholick Church in the prime ſenſe conſiſts only of ſuch men, as are actual and indoſſoluble members of Chriſts myſtical body, or of ſuch as have the Catholick Faith, not onely ſown in their brains or underſtanding, but throughly rooted in their hearts.

In a ſecondary Analogical ſenſe; Every preſent viſible Church, which holdeth the Holy, Catholick Faith, without which no man can be ſaved, pure (and undefiled with the traditions or inventions of men;) may be termed an Holy, Catholick Church. When we ſay, a man may be a viſible member of the holy Catholick Church, and yet no actual member of any preſent viſible Church, we take the Catholick Church in the later or ſecondary ſenſe, that is, for a Church wherein no point of Faith or Doctrine is maintained or allowed, which is not conſonant and homogeneal to the Catholick and primitive Faith delivered by Chriſt and his Apoſtles. Who are indiſſoluble members of Chriſts body, is onely viſible or known to him: Many thouſands are and have been true members of it, which are and have been altogether inviſible to us. But who they be, which profeſs the unity of that Faith, which the Apoſtles taught, and without which no man can be ſaved, is viſible and known to all ſuch as either hear them profeſs it *viva voce*, or can read and underſtand their profeſſion of it given in writing.

2. The truth of the ſecond propoſition may eaſily be manifeſted hence, in as much as the union between the members of any Church as viſible, conſiſts in the unity of diſcipline or juriſdiction, or of laws judicial or ceremonial; whereas the union of the Church as holy and Catholick, *formally* conſiſts in the unity of Faith or Doctrine, or of Laws and Myſteries internally ſpiritual and moral. It is clear, that the former union may be diſſolved without the diſſolution of the latter, as the latter likewiſe in ſome caſes may be diſſolved without diſſolution of the former. As for example, a man may be cut off by excommunication or exile from all commerce with the preſent viſible Church, wherein he was bred and born; and yet not thereby cut off from the Holy, Catholick, orthodoxal Church. Again, a man by hereſie or impious opinions, (whether voluntarily and ſecretly imbraced by him, or thruſt upon him by the viſible Church which hath authority of Juriſdiction over him) may ſeparate himſelf from the Holy, Catholick Church; and yet ſtill remain an actual member, a dear ſon of the viſible Church, in whoſe boſome he is willing to live.

Every viſible Church whoſe Laws are ratified by Soveraign Authority, and whoſe Governours are armed with power coactive, may cut off any particular member; beſides the head, from which all power coactive is derived. Suppoſe one or two, or more be actually cut off by excommunication, exile, or the like cenſure, not onely from publick communion in the Church, but from all civil commerce with his neighbours: yet if I know, that he was ſo cut off either upon miſ-information, or *miſtake* of his Judges, as if he had held ſome grievous hereſies, which as appears to me he did not; or that the Church Governors out of ignorance, ſpleen, or faction, or other ſiniſter reſpects, which I may not in particular examine, did condemn theſe opinions held by him for heretical or ſchiſmatical, which are in themſelves, and to my knowledge, orthodoxal and truly catholick: he is to me and to others which know his meaning, a viſible member of the Holy, Catholick Church, though no more a member of the viſible church wherein he did, and we yet remain. And albeit I have no power to reſcind the viſible churches decree, or authoritatively to pronounce him a catholick, whom they, to whom the cognizance of ſuch cauſes belongs, have condemned for an heretick; and albeit, I may not admit him to publick prayers, or to communion at the Sacraments, as being interdicted by authority: yet I may and ought ſtill to retain that communion with him which in this Creed we believe to be betwixt all true members of Chriſts body, or profeſſors of the Holy, Catholick faith, that is, the *Communion of Saints:* ſuch a *Communion* as is betwixt the members of the Church triumphant; and the living members of Chriſts body militant; or rather ſuch as is between the orthodoxal profeſſors of the Engliſh, or other reformed Churches. I am bound to pray for him, and he for me, that we may continue ſtedfaſt in the faith which we have received from the Holy, Catholick Church of former times, from which the Governors of the preſent viſible Church, have ſwearved in this particular. Of this caſe thus propounded in *Theſi*, *Athanaſius* his caſe was the *Hypotheſis.* The then Church repreſentative or viſible κατ' ἐξοχὴν, had condemned him in one or two general counſels for an heretick, and being ſo condemned he was utterly excluded, and perpetually cut off from all communion in things ſacred, with the viſible *Church* or its members, ſo long as he maintained that doctrine which is condemned. Which doctrine it is certain, he neither did nor would recant, whatſoever the then viſible Church did or might determine to the contrary.

3. If either the name *Catholick*, or the thing ſignified by it, be to be valued for the time preſent, by the multitude of ſuffragants, or number of ſuffrages given *ex cathedra*; *Athanaſius* and his followers were no more Catholicks, then *Wickliff*, and *Hus* with their followers in their times, were; For one Biſhop that did maintain or favour *Athanaſius* doctrine, there were more then forty did oppugn it. And yet he boldly pronounceth that the Faith profeſſed by him, was the onely true, catholick Faith, without which no man could be ſaved, which whoſoever did not keep holy and undefiled, was to periſh everlaſtingly. Suppoſe not ten in all the chriſtian world beſides, had reſolutely imbraced the ſame Faith which *Athanaſius* did ſo much magnifie: or ſuppoſe all (were they more or few) which did imbrace or profeſs it, had been with him condemned for hereticks, and utterly cut off from all communion with the viſible Church, all either baniſhed into ſeveral Iſlands, or ſhut up into ſeveral priſons: all this notwithſtanding, they had ſtill remained the onely true viſible members of the Holy, catholick Church, which theſe times afforded. And for this reaſon were they to be accounted the onely true viſible members of the Holy, catholick Church, becauſe they onely were contented rather to be cut off from the preſent viſible church, then to communicate with it in ſuch doctrines or opinions, as either contradict or defile the catholick primitive Faith.

4. That which ſome Romaniſts in this point reply, to wit, that *Julius* then Biſhop of *Rome*, did not conſent to *Athanaſius* his condemnation, but entertained him in his exile; may, for ought I know, or at this preſent have to ſay againſt it, be as true in part, as it is impertinent. Sure I am, that the Biſhop of *Rome* did not ſo reſolutely and manfully oppoſe the Arian faction, or the then erring viſible Church, as *Athanaſius* did. That confeſſion of the catholick Faith, which the *Church* of *Rome* her ſelf retaineth in her Liturgy, as a *Trophy* of the victory, which the catholick Faith in the iſſue obtained over the potent Arian hereſie, was neither conceived, publiſhed, nor commended

to the Chriſtian world, by the Biſhop of *Rome*, but by the exiled *Athanaſius*. This worthy Biſhop ſaw almoſt all the Prelates in the world beſides, for the preſent, to be ſet againſt him. How theſe, or their ſucceſſors, or ſuch as lived after him, would be affected, he knew not; in reſpect of the truth of his doctrine he cared not, as being confident, that his doctrine was truly catholick and authentick, without the ratification or propoſal of the then Biſhop of *Rome* or his ſucceſſors, or of any viſible church ſucceeding: he knew Chriſts Apoſtles and their immediate ſucceſſors had imbraced it. For ſuch as lived with him or were to come after him, at their perils be it, if they imbrace it not. Though not ten of that age, or any age after him, were to be ſaved; yet of theſe few, not one, as he proteſts, could otherwiſe be ſaved, then by believing, as he did, and as former Saints of God had done.

If the then *Biſhop* of *Rome*, did receive *Athanaſius* in the name of an Orthodox or Catholick, and bid *God ſpeed* unto his labours; all that can hence be inferred, is this, That *Athanaſius* was to the Biſhop of *Rome* a viſible member of the holy, catholick Church, and the Biſhop of *Rome* a viſible member of the ſame church to *Athanaſius*. But neither of them, not both of them, the then viſible church, nor any members of it.

As many as after this time became true members of the holy catholick Church, became not ſuch by holding union with the then viſible Church, but by adherence to that catholick faith, which *Athanaſius* and other viſible members of the holy catholick Church then taught. The holy catholick militant Church, hath continued one and the ſame ſince its Foundation, not by continuation of one and the ſame viſible Church, but by continuation of one and the ſame catholick and Apoſtolick faith throughout all ages, which faith hath been ſometimes maintained but often oppugned by churches viſible or repreſentative.

5. It is one thing to ſay, the holy, catholick Church hath been in all ages viſible, another thing to ſay, the viſible Church hath been in all ages catholick: We may and ought to grant; that in every age ſince the Apoſtles time, there have been many not only true but viſible members of the one, holy, catholick Church, that is, ſuch as were able out of Scriptures to make demonſtration unto the obſervant; that their doctrine was orthodoxal and conſonant to the orthodoxal Faith and doctrine of the primitive Church, howſoever contradicted and eclipſed by the preſent viſible churches wherein they lived, till *Luther* and Chriſtian Princes by Gods appointment united the viſible members of the holy, catholick Church into viſible Churches. A * pregnant inſtance of the former diſtinction we have gathered to our hands in that famous Dialogue between *Conſtantius* the Emperor and *Liberius* then Biſhop of *Rome*. The Emperor having (as the Romaniſts ſince have done) miſpictured the regiment of Chriſts body or Church, by the regiment of common weals, wherein Laws are made by the whole conſent or by the conſent of the greater part of the body politick, preſſeth *Liberius* with this argument. *Doth ſo great a part of the world reſide in thee* Liberius, *that thou alone dareſt undertake the defence of this impious man* (Athanaſius) *to the diſturbance of the peace of the Empire and of the world?* Hereto *Liberius* anſwers. *Be it ſo as you ſay, that I alone*

* *Hic tum Epictetus Epiſcopus: non fidei (inquit) cauſa, Imperator, hodie, neq; Judiciorum Eccleſiaſticorum, faciendorum ſtudio adductus Liberius hunc inſtituit ſermonem, ſed quo poſſit apud Senatores Romanos gloriari, ſe rationibus Imperatorem ſuperaſſe.* Conſtan. *Tantane orbis terræ pars, Liberi, in te reſidet, ut tu ſolus homini impio ſubſidio venire & pacem orbis ac mundi totius derimere audeas?* Liberius *Esto quod ego ſolus ſim: non tamen propterea cauſa fidei ſit inferior. Nam olim tres ſolum erant reperti, qui Regis mandato reſiſterent tunc* Euſebius *Eunuchus: Tu (inquit) Imperatorem facis alterum* Nebuchodonoſor? Liberius: *Minime ſane: ſed non minus temere tu hominem condemnas, de quo nullum factum ſit judicium, quam ille olim* Tom. primo Concil. pag. 478.

defend Athanaſius, *yet the cauſe of faith ſhall hereby ſuffer no detriment, for the times heretofore have been, wherein three only were found that durſt reſiſt the Kings command.* To this reply *Euſebius* the Eunuch rejoyns, *Do you,* Liberius *make the Emperor another* Nebucodonozer? *I do not ſo, but thou* Euſebius *dealſt no leſs unjuſtly than* Nebucodonozer *did, in thus condemning a man who hath not had a judicial trial.*

6. So long as *Liberius* ſtood to this confeſſion, he was a viſible member of the Catholick Church. But when he ſought to purchaſe the Emperours favour by ſubſcription to *Athanaſius* his condemnation, and communion with the *Arians*; although he might by this dealing, regain his former dignities, and become a principal member of the then viſible church; yet did he hereby ceaſe to be a viſible member of the Holy, catholick Church. For albeit *Bellarmine* would in part excuſe him, as if that which he did, did not *continere in ſe manifeſtam hereſin,* contain any manifeſt hereſie: yet *Baronius* and others, and amongſt the reſt, *Binnius* confeſs, that for yielding to the Emperour, the catholick did eſchew communion with him. Now theſe catholicks that did eſchew communion with Pope *Liberius* for communicating with the *Arian* faction, were neither the Catholick Church, nor the viſible Church, but at the beſt, viſible members of the holy catholick Church. And the Church as catholick, includes as well univerſality of ſucceſſion and of time, as extenſion of place, or multitude of perſons profeſſing the catholick faith.

Liberius, Romanus, Pontifex, Athanaſio, Hilario *&* **Hier.** *teſtantibus, per vim & minas ſollicitatus, huic primæ fidei formulæ ſubſcripſit,* Athanaſium *condemnavit, & cum Arianis communicavit: idque per literas ad Valentem alioſve ſcriptas ſignificans, ab exilio liberari ſedique ſuæ reſtitui petiit. Itaque contra fidei confeſſionem ac juſtitiæ legem peccans, adeoq; turpiſſimam ſibi morum & vitæ maculam inurens, Arianorum communione pollutus, quanquam infidelis & hæreticus non eſſet, a communione Catholicorum, & ſede Pontificia excidit.* Binnius *in notis ad Sermienſ. Concil. habit. Anno* 357. And again, *Liberius Arianorum communione pollutus, ab unitate Eccleſiæ Catholicæ merito exciderit. Ibid.*

After this defection of the Romiſh church in the Biſhop *Liberius,* the whole Roman Empire was overſpread with Arianiſm. If there were any viſible Church of note, which in thoſe dayes remained catholick, it was in the Eaſt, without the precinct of the Roman Empire, or in this our Iland. The chief pillar or ground of truth which the Roman Empire in thoſe times had was *Gregory* of *Nazianzene,* as may appear out of that ancient Author that writes his life. Though *Conſtantinople* had been held the chiefe watch-tower of the œcumenical church viſible: yet when *Nazianzen* was ſent for thither to ſupport the catholick cauſe againſt the Arians; ſo much of the catholick church as was extant in that great city, was contracted within the narrow walls of the * *Temple* of *Anaſtaſia,* for that church only was permitted them to meet in, (as is thought) in contempt, that the littleneſs of it might upbraid them with their paucity, it being a fit receptacle rather for a private conventicle, then for a juſt and lawful congregation. *Nazianzen* then was the *Luther* of ancient times to reform the viſible church, being overſpred with Arianiſm. *Luther* was the *Nazianzen* of later times, to diſpel the miſts of Popery and Romiſh Idolatry, by the light of the Goſpel, and to reduce the viſible church unto conformity with the ancient church.

* *Exceptus autem a quibuſdam, & generis, & pietatis cognatione cum eo conjunctis, Eccleſiam offendit, quaſi malum in mente, aut quaſi ſignum in colle ut Prophetæ verbis utar, hoc eſt, numero per exiguam atq; obſcuram (quod videlicet piis viris libertus omnis ab eo, qui imperium tenebat erepta eſſet) ſacras etiam omnes domos ſpoliatas, ac per vim occupatas unum ſanctæ Anaſtaſiæ templum orthodoxis patebat, fortaſſe etiam quia propter ambitûs & circumſcriptionis anguſtiam, contemptui habebatur: quemadmodum norunt, qui vetus hoc Templum perſpexerunt. Vita* Nazianzeni a Greg. *præsbit. Conſcripta.*

7. As many as in our Saviours time here on earth, at the inſtigation of the high Prieſt, of the Scribes, and Phariſees, (or of the then viſible

church repreſentative,) or otherwiſe out of their private choice, did perſecute him and his Apoſtles deceivers or authors of new ſects or hereſies; did thereby diſſociate themſelves from the ancient and primitive Church of God eſtabliſhed in *Jewry*, and yet remained true and obedient members of the then viſible or repreſentative church. On the contrary, ſuch as, before our Saviours death or paſſion, did acknowledge him for their *Meſſias*, although for ſo doing they were excommunicated and caſt out of their Synagogues, that is, utterly cut off from being any longer members of the then viſible church, did by this their known ſufferings or martyrdome, become illuſtrious and viſible members of the true primitive and catholick Church, whereof *Abraham*, *David*, *Samuel*, with all the reſt of the holy Patriarks and Prophets, were principal parts. *The Jews had agreed* (ſaith S. *John chap.* 9. *verſ.* 22.) *that if any man did confeſs that he was Chriſt, he ſhould be put out of the Synagouge.* For fear of this heavy cenſure, the Parents of that blind man, which our Saviour had reſtored to ſight, put off the Phariſees with this dilatory anſwer; *We know that this is our Son, and that he was born blind; but by what means he now ſeeth, we know not, or who hath opened his eyes, we know not: he is of age, ask him, he ſhall ſpeak for himſelf:* The Son being asked, boldly replies, *If this man were not of God, he could do nothing.* And for this anſwer, he is caſt out of the Synagogue or viſible church, and yet remains a more conſpicuous and viſible member of that holy Church which *Moſes* had planted in *Iſrael*, then his Parents were, which continued, as they had been, actual or unſeparated members of the preſent Synagogue or viſible church.

Joh. 9. 20. 21.

CHAP. XVIII.

In what ſenſe it may be granted, that the viſible Romiſh Church, at the time of our forefathers ſeparation from it, was a true Church, and yet withall the Synagogue of Sathan, the ſeat of Antichriſt, and common ſink of hereſies.

1. BUt here it will be demanded, whether theſe viſible members of the holy, catholick church, which were as living ſtones or fit materials for erecting *reformed* viſible churches, (as having not their conſciences indelibly branded with the character of the Beaſt) were, before *Luther* began his reformation, ἀυτογονεῖς, or no, that is, whether they were the immediate ſons of God, begotten only by his Spirit, without the miniſtery or travail of any viſible church? To affirm they were ſuch ſons of God, we may not: and if we ſay they were the ſons and daughters of God, and yet withall the ſons and daughters of the viſible Church, which was before *Luthers* time; that viſible church (which by our poſitions can be no other then the Church of *Rome*,) was certainly a true church, in that it brought forth ſons and daughters unto God. All this may be granted, that the Romiſh church before *Luthers* time, was, and at this day is, a true church, *quoad hoc*; that it did and may bring forth ſons and daughters unto God, that is, there are theſe means of regeneration in it, which are not in the Mahumetan or Jewiſh Synagogue. In oppoſition to both which, it may be ſaid a *true* church; though in reſpect of the primitive catholick church, or of reformed viſible churches, it may truly be tearmed the Synagogue of Sathan, or *ſeat* of Antichriſt, in many reſpects, as much worſe, as it is in ſome reſpects better, then the Jewiſh or Mahumetan Synagogue. The Theſis was as diſcreetly propoſed, as learnedly proſecuted by Dr. *Rainolds*, *Romana Eccleſia nec eſt catholica Eccleſia, nec*

ſanum membrum Catholicæ Eccleſiæ; *The Roman Church neither is the Catholick Church, nor any ſound member of the Catholick Church:* In ſaying this he did not deny it in ſome reſpects to be a true Church; which is in expreſs tearms affirmed by *Junius* in his book intituled *Liber ſingularis de Eccleſiâ*; by Doctor *Covell* in his Apology for Maſter *Hooker*, and by Maſter *Forbes*, upon the 14. of the *Revelation*, whoſe teſtimony is ſo much the more to be eſteemed, becauſe he expreſly maintains the Papacy or repreſentative Romiſh Church to be the Kingdome of the great Antichriſt. So that in the judgment of theſe three which have handled this point very diſcreetly, as alſo in the judgment of learned Doctor *Rainolds*; the viſible Church of *Rome* might fitly be compared unto a Mother, which brings forth ſound and healthy Children, but when they come to ſuck her milk, ſhe infects them with ſuch loathſome diſeaſes, as accompany lewd and naughty Strumpets: or if they chance to eſcape infection by the milk which they ſuck from her in their infancy; yet when ſhe comes to feed them with ſtronger meats, if they be content to be fed by her, and ſeek not their food from the ancient, primitive, and catholick Church, like an abominable naſty ſlut, ſhe poyſons all the food which is of her own dreſſing. Some there may be in this Church, (or as yet under her government) which are more cleanly Cooks, and do not ſo pollute the food of life, but that ſuch as are continually fed by them, as by ordinary Paſtors, may eſcape the danger of their Mothers infection, and die members of the holy catholick Church, though not actually ſeparated from the preſent viſible Romiſh Church, nor externally united to any viſible reformed Church.

2. All this I take to be a true branch of the forecited Authors meaning: but in what ſenſe the viſible Church of *Rome* before *Luthers* time, might be ſaid, a *true* Church, and yet withall the Synagogue of Sathan: or in what manner their Cardinals, Biſhops and Prieſts, may be ſaid to exerciſe the miniſtery and ſervice of Chriſt, and yet they themſelves be bondſlaves of Sathan, Prieſts of *Baal*, and native members of Antichriſt; may in my judgment, be moſt punctually expreſſed by that excellent diſtinction of the civil Law, *Aliud eſt Magiſtratum eſſe, aliud eſt in Magiſtratu eſſe, It is one thing to be a true Magiſtrate, another thing to be in the Magiſtracy, or to execute a Magiſtrates office.* From this diſtinction was gathered this general ruled caſe, or ſentence; *That the Acts of him that was a falſe and unlawful Magiſtrate, might be lawful and juſt.*

This reſolution or ruled caſe, did grow upon this occaſion. One * *Barbarius* was by a common errour, choſen *Prætor*, and continued in the place, whereof he was altogether uncapable, as being a bondman. Some there were, which did not only conſent to remove him after the truth was known, as he was indeed by law removed, becauſe he was never lawful Prætor; but withall did queſtion, whether the Acts that he had done, whilſt he unjuſtly uſurped that office, were of any validity, or rather void in Law. It was determined according to the tenor of the former diſtinction, that though he was *falſus Prætor, a falſe Prætor*; yet he was in *vera prætura, in a true Prætorſhip*; and the Acts which he did, did receive their validity from the *Prætorſhip*, not from the *Prætor*.

* *Vide* Hortoman *illuſt. quæſt. Quæſt.* 17. *An quæ a falſo Magiſtratu per Magiſtratus nomen geſta ſunt, rata eſſe debeant.*

One part of the *Prætors* office was to ſet men free, which were bond ſlaves; and in this reſpect it was requiſite that none ſhould be *Prætor*, but he which was a Free-man, and that no bond-ſlaves, though choſen *Prætor* by a common errour, ſhould ever preſcribe by long continuance in the place, but was inſtantly to be amoved, ſo ſoon as the truth was known and declared. So that in reſpect of his perſon, or of right unto his place, that Maxime of Law was ſtill in force, *Quod non valuit ab initio, non poteſt tempore valeſcere*; *that which was of no value from its firſt beginning, cannot acquire any validity, by continuance of time:* yet in reſpect of the perſons which were made free Deniſons by him, that other Maxime (much oft times miſtaken or miſapplyed by ſome modern Lawyers) was true; *Communis error, facit jus, A common errour, makes a Law.* In as much as he was choſen Prætor by a common and full conſent of lawful ſuffragants, though ſo choſen by a common errour; yet the Acts done by him, till the errour was known and declared, were juſt and lawful: ſuch as had been ſet at liberty by him, were as true Freemen, as thoſe that had been ſet free by true and lawful *Prætors.* For their manumiſſions or enfranchiſements took validity not from the condition or perſon of the officer, but from the virtue of his office into which he was an intruder.

In like manner, though *Richard* the third were a Tyrant, no true King; yet the Laws made by him were true and good Laws, and the Earls or Barons created by him, were true Earls, and true Barons: for though he were not *legitimus Rex, a lawful King* yet he was *in legitimo regno conſtitutus, he did manage a lawful Kingdome:* Nor were they Traitors that did yield obedience to the Laws made by him, or ſubmit themſelves unto the Magiſtrates of his appointment: ſave only in caſes, wherein the Laws made by him might prejudice the fundamental Laws of this Kingdome, or cut off the right of Succeſſion to the Crown. But in caſe the Magiſtrates, Earls, or Barons created by him, ſhould have commanded their inferious to take Arms againſt the known and lawful heir to the Crown; to have yielded obedience unto them in this caſe, had been treaſon: as *Richard* himſelf during all the time of his Raign was no bettet then a Traitor.

3. Either from the Analogy of the former ruled caſe in matters civil, or from the general or fundamental rule of equity, whereof that was a branch, did the Church ordain, that Baptiſm adminiſtred by hereticks ſhould not be reiterated. For though no heretick be a true member of the Church, and therefore no true Prieſt; yet ſo long as he is *in ſacerdotio* in the Prieſts place, the acts of his *miniſtery* or Prieſthood be good. Now though the Pope or Biſhop of *Rome* be more then an heretick, even the Antichriſt or man of ſin, the ſupream head though not of all Chriſts enemies (for Jews and Turks are ſuch,) yet of all Rebels or uſurpers of his throne on earth; nevertheleſs ſeeing (as the Apoſtle ſaith) *He ſits in the Temple of God*, even the Acts of his miniſtration or Prieſthood are good: nor are the Biſhops conſecrated by him, ſo polluted by communion with him in their conſecration, but that their Epiſcopal Acts, as the ordination of Miniſters, the adminiſtration of Sacraments and the like, be lawful and good, ſo long as they obſerve the form of ordination or adminiſtration of ſacraments preſcribed by Chriſt and his Apoſtles. The word preached by them likewiſe, hath the force & efficacy of begetting faith in their Hearers hearts: and ſo long as they teach nothing but what Chriſt hath taught, the people or laity owe the like obedience unto them, that the people of the Jews, in our Saviours time, owed to the Scribes and Phariſees. For though perhaps they have in many points degenerated much further from S. *Peters* doctrin & manner of life, then the Scribes and Phariſees had done from *Moſes*; yet ſo long as they ſit in *Peters* or other catholick Biſhops *chairs*, that precept of our Saviour, [*Illos audite, hear ye them,*] binds *them* as much as it

2 Theſ. 2. 4.

did

Tom. III.

Mat. 23. 3.

did the Jews. How far it bound the Jews, I leave it to the Expoſitors of the 23. of S. *Mathew*, and amongſt the reſt to *Maldonat*.

4. It is certain, the people were not by virtue of this precept bound to do all that their high Prieſt with his confederates would *ex cathedra* command them to do, though intended By them, *in ordine ad Deum & ſalutem Eccleſiæ*, with reference to God and to the welfare of his Churh. For *Caiaphas* had delivered this ſentence *ex cathedra*, *It is expedient for us that one man die for the people, and that the whole nation periſh not.* John 11. ver. 49. And upon his authority or warrant, they adventured to put the Lord of glory to death. Had not this falſe Apoſtatical Prieſt, been *in vero ſacerdotio*, a chief officer in the houſe of God: neither could ſo cleer a truth as he uttered, have been inverted to ſuch a pernicious end, as it was ſpoken by him, and apprehended by others? nor could he have conceived or uttered ſo clear a truth of himſelf, as S. *John* inſtructs us he did. *This he ſpake not of himſelf: but being high Prieſt that ſame year, he propheſied that Jeſus ſhould die for the Nation.* John. 11. 51. Other Acts of his prieſthood took their validity from his office, not from his perſon: this ſpeculative truth took its poyſonous operation from his perſon, not from his office; although he could not have born ſo bitter enmity unto Chriſt, unleſs he had been in that office.

Now albeit we grant that *Caiaphas* did propheſie by virtue of his place or Prieſtly office, yet no Romaniſts (as I hope) will deny, that *Caiaphas* in the prepoſterous application of his prophetical ſentence, might well brook the name of Antichriſt; at the leaſt that he was a type or ſhadow of the Antichriſt to come; who was to ſit as *Caiaphas* did in the Temple of God, or if ſo they will have it, in S. *Peters* chair, that he may wreſt divine truths authoritatively to as wicked ends, as *Caiaphas* did.

5. But may it not hence be inferred, that as the Sanedrin was the only viſible Church, which God had here on earth; ſo the Romiſh Church from which *Luther* did ſeparate himſelf, was the only true viſible Church of Chriſt, at the time of his ſeparation? This may be granted *de facto*, but not *de jure*. For there was an expreſs Law of God, that there ſhould be no more viſible Churches, then one, before our Saviours death and reſurrection; after which there were to be as many viſible Churches *de jure*, as there were ſeveral independent Soveraignties. I have heard indeed of ſome French Catholicks (as they would be accounted) which uſe this as an argument, whether intended by them, *ad homines*, to delude the objecter only, or *ad rem*, to the matter it ſelf, I know not: But this argument they uſe, to prove that their Church (as oppoſed to Reformed Churches) is the true Church, becauſe the Pope is Antichriſt, & Antichriſt (as the Apoſtle teacheth) is to ſit in the Temple of God, and the Temple of Cod, no queſtion, is the true Church; whence ſeeing he ſits in their Church, they infer that theirs is the true Church, not ours. But as in moſt other arguments concerning the Church, ſo in this they cozen themſelves with the fallacy, *à dicto ſecundùm quid, ad dictum ſimpliciter*. Firſt both letter of Scripture & analogy of faith, do teach, that Antichriſt is to ſit as *Caiaphas* did, in a true Church, yea to be a chief officer of ſome Church: otherwiſe he could not be a principal Rebel or notorious Traitor againſt Chriſt. But in that he was to be ſuch a rebel and ſuch a Traitor, it is not conceivable, that the Church which wholly ſubmits her ſelf to him, as to her head ſhould be the true Church, much leſs the only Church of Chriſt. The former argument will hold thus far, The Pope is antichriſt; *ergo*, the Church of *Rome* is a true Church *ſecundùm quid*, that is in oppoſition in to the Synagogue of Jews, of Turks, or other profeſſed

Infidels: But if we ſpeak abſolutely, or compare it with Churches truly Chriſtian, it is no true Church of Chriſt, but the Synagogue of Satan. Or, as he ſaid of his ſordid Hoſts entertainment, that there was ſo much fire, as a man could not have truly ſaid in ſtrict propriety of logick phraſe, there was no fire; that is there was ſo much, as if he had been bound by covenant of Leaſe, never to have ſuffered the fire to go out, he might have ſaved his leaſe from forfeiture: and yet there was no fire but a mock-fire to the entertaining of a ſtranger; ſo much, as was a greater eyeſore to him that had ſought comfort or refreſhing from it, then if there had been none at all. In like manner there is ſo much of the true Church in the preſent Romiſh viſible Church, as a man cannot ſay, it is no Church at all; ſo much true doctrine in it as ſufficeth to ſupport the title of Antichriſt, and to make it the very ſeat of all abominations or impieties more then natural. For as the mingling of the Traditions of men with *Moſes* doctrine, did make the leven of Phariſees to be ſo malignant and diſtaſtful to God and all good men; ſo is it the mixture or making up of the doctrine of Chriſt and of Devils, in one and the ſame Liturgy, which makes Antichriſtianiſm in grain. And as * elſewhere is obſerved, the Idolatry of the Romiſh Church, is ſo much worſe then the Idolatry of the Heathens, by how much that Churches general belief of one God, of the glorious Trinity, and of the redemption of mankind, is better then the Heathens belief or knowledg of the ſame points.

* In the third book upon the Creed, Sect. 3. and 4. in divers Chapters.

6. But when it is ſaid that Antichriſt is to ſit in the Temple of God, it is not meant only that he ſhould ſit in the preſent viſible Church, but that he ſhould be an uſurper of that *chair* which ſometimes had been the ſeat of Gods Saints, and be an intruder into that Church, which had been Holy and Catholick before his intruſion, and which ſtill retains the roots and ſtemms of Catholick faith, into which it ſhall be his and his followers continual care, to ingraffe the doctrine of Devils, and to exerciſe their ſpiritual whoredomes in the Oratories of God.

CHAP. XIX.

Whether our Forefathers in ſeparating themſelves or ſuffering themſelves to be ſeparated from the Romiſh Church, did any otherwiſe then Gods Prophets or our Saviours Diſciples, had their caſe and opportunity been the ſame, would have done.

1. BUt here again, the Author of the *Antidote*, or the blind *Guide* of faith, will object, *That neither the Prophets of old, nor our Saviours Diſciples before his death, did ſeparate themſelves from the preſent viſible Church.* If not to believe as the Church viſible and repreſentative for the time preſent did; if not to communicate with her in matters of fact or practice, were to be ſeparated from the preſent viſible Church (as this Authors words * elſewhere imply) the Prophets out of all queſtion, did either ſeparate themſelves, or ſuffer themſelves to be ſeparated from the viſible Church wherein they lived. *Ezekiel* and *Daniel* would never have conſented to the prieſts and Rulers in their perſecutions of *Jeremy* as a falſe Prophet or Traytor. Our Saviours Diſciples before his death ſtood excommunicated by the viſible Church of the Jews, they were as far from communicating with the chief Prieſts and Elders in matters of faith and practice, as we are from communicating with the Romiſh Church or members of the *Trent* Councel. But if this mans meaning be, that

* cap. 9. parag. 5. of this book, his words are ſet down.

that neither the Prophets, nor our Saviours Diſciples before his death did take upon them to erect a new viſible Church altogether diſtinct from the erring Synagogue, the objection is true, but no way prejudiciall to us. For they lived in that Church or common weal as our forefathers before *Luthers* time, which feared God, did in the Romiſh Church or Common weal which had not by publick conſent abandoned the Romiſh Religion; that is neither as abſolute members of the Synagogue, nor yet a viſible Church diſtinct from it, but as viſible members of that primitive Church from which the Synagogue had degenerated.

As for the Prophets and other godly men which lived before our Saviours death, they wanted rather power than willing minds to reform the corruptions of the viſible Church, in which they lived. And the true reaſon why that Church continued ſo corrupt from *Joſias* his death, until the deſtruction of the Temple, and grew ſo wicked again in the age before our Saviours time; was, becauſe, during theſe times, there were either naughty Kings, or no Kings at all in *Iſrael*. Had *Jehoſophat*, *Ezekiah*, *Joſiah*, or any like unto them of *Davids* line, been Kings of *Judah* in *Herods* ſtead: there is no queſtion, but they would have brought the Scribes and Phariſees to better order, or have depoſed them; either have reduced the then viſible Church to its primitive purity, or have erected a new viſible Church, according to the patern preſcribed by *Moſes*. That the Prieſts and Prophets did ſo overbear the true Prophets of God, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, &c. to the ruine of the City and Kingdome, was the fault of *Jehoiakim*, and *Zedekiah*. As at this day again it is the fault and folly of Chriſtian Kings, that the Church of *Rome* is not either reduced to better conformity with the holy, Catholick and Apoſtolick Church, or elſe demoliſhed as the Jewiſh Synagogue was.

But what ſhould move this *man*, I mean the Author of the blind *Guide of Faith*, to make the former objection againſt us, I cannot conceive; unleſs it were to give us and the Chriſtian world to underſtand, *That the viſible Romiſh Church his mother, could be very well content to continue, till Chriſts ſecond coming, as erroneous and antichriſtian as the Jewiſh Synagogue was before his firſt coming in the fleſh; upon condition ſhe may retain her wonted power and authority to tyrannize over us and other Saints of God, as the viſible Jewiſh Church or Synagogue did oft-times over the true Prophets and Chriſts diſciples.*

2. For concluſion of this point; In as much as Chriſtian Princes and free States did ſecond *Luther* in his intended reformation of ſo much of the viſible Romiſh Church, as was ſeated in their Soveraignties or Dominions; this warrants our ſeparation to have been juſt and lawful, and free from all ſuſpition of rebellion or ſchiſm; whereunto the like attempts in *Jury*, though undertaken by Gods Prophets, had been oboxious, unleſs the Princes or chief Magiſtrates had given them countenance and authority. Howbeit neither Prince nor people joyntly or ſeverally, either now have, or at any time had power to make a new church altogether diſtinct from the Catholick Church militant on earth, which hath been one by continuation of the ſame *faith* ſince the Apoſtles time. But in caſe any part of the Church militant or viſible, be infected with hereſie, or overſwaid by faction, to approve ſuch impious and ungodly practices as are incompatible with the Holy, Catholick faith, which hath been profeſſed in pure and uncorrupt times: every free Prince or State, have in this caſe power and authority ſufficient, to diſlink themſelves from the factious combination of the viſible Church or Churches

ſeated in forraign States or Kingdoms, and to unite themſelves into renewed forms of viſible Churches, diſtinct from others. Yet thus to do, ſo they do no more, is not to make a new Church never heard of before, but rather to recollect the ſcattered members of the Holy, catholick Church, in whom the liſe and ſubſtance of the true Church of God conſiſts, and to put a new accidental form upon them.

3. The caſe is altogether the ſame, as if an Army conſiſting of threeſcore thouſand *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Italians*, appointed by joynt conſent of theſe Nations, to invade the Turk, ſhould be miſled by the *Italian* General, to revenge his private quarrels upon the chriſtians. If the *Engliſh*, upon diſcovery of their Generals treachery, ſhould abandon him, and adjoyn themſelves unto the *Hungarians* or other Chriſtians oppreſſed by the Turk; they could not juſtly be blamed, either for defection or revolt, or for levying an Army, or undertaking a war altogether new, without any warrant or commiſſion. Well might they preſume their Prince would approve their proceedings, ſpecially if their ſervice had ſucceſs anſwerable to the godly intentions of their firſt commiſſion.

4. As many of our Fore-fathers as did ſubmit themſelves unto the Juriſdiction of the church of *Rome*, and undertook ſuch ſervices as the Pope or Roman Prelacie did appoint them unto; they did thus only upon preſumption, that the Pope did faithfully execute his commiſſion as the Apoſtles ſucceſſor, or that he did command in *chief* for Chriſt. But when the contrary was notoriouſly known unto this people, that he did but counterfeit the viſage of the Lamb, that he might the more plauſibly effect the deſigns of the Dragon: Our Prince and People, in abandoning his yoke, and breaking off their confederacy with the church of *Rome*, did well. And this being done, they remain the ſame church they were for life and ſubſtance, but the ſame Church better purified and purged from rebellious Antichriſtian humours, the ſame Church ſo much more homogeneal to the ancient Primitive catholick Church, by how much they remained the freer from ſervitude to Romiſh tyranny, whoſe uſurped authority over other Churches, is but Antichriſtianiſm or Apoſtaſie from Chriſt.

CHAP. XX.

Whether the name [Catholick] *can in good earneſt be pleaded or pretended for an unſeparable* mark *of the true viſible Church.*

1. But in all theſe Illuſtrations it will be excepted, that we take ſomething for granted, which the Romiſh Church will utterly diſclaim. This for one, That our Foreſathers at the time of their departure from the Romiſh Church, were true Catholicks, or, in the *interim* between the abandoning of the Prelacie of *Rome*, and the eſtabliſhing a Prelacie or form of Government of their own more refined, were viſible members of the Holy, Catholick Church. For ſo deſtitute is the Roman church of all true and ſolid properties of the true Church of God, that ſhe is fain to plead the *name* and *title* of *Catholick*, to be her proper *note* or Enſign, which no other church may more preſume to challenge, then a Servingman may preſume to wear his Maſters coat or cognizance, after he be diſcharged of his ſervice. In this waking dream, the Author of the *Guide of faith*, was brought to rave,

as followeth: *Now I come* (ſaith he) *to the great Character of our glory, and renowned title of our profeſſion, the name* [*Catholick*] *a name famous in the Primitive Church, famous in the Apoſtles dayes, and inſerted by them among the Articles of our Creed: famous after in all ſucceeding ages, and uſed commonly by the Fathers; not ſo much to make a difference,* (*which ſome think*) *betwixt the Jewiſh Synagogue, and the Chriſtian Church, as to ſever and diſtinguiſh the falſe named Chriſtians themſelves, from the true and unfeigned believers.* And, *Reaſon teacheth, and D.* Whitaker *often confeſſeth, the marks and properties of the Church, to be unſeparable from the Church, whoſe marks they are. Therefore that which once was, muſt ſtill continue a mark of the Church, becauſe the true Church, although it admit ſome accidental change, yet it is alwaies in nature, unvariable; in eſſence, unchangeable: ſo that the properties which flow from the eſſence thereof, as the name* [*Catholick*] *doth, can no more be altered, changed, or ceaſe, then the power of laughing, a property which proceedeth from the nature of man, can ever ceaſe to appertain to man:* c. 18. §. 1. & 4. p. 155. & 138.

Auditum admiſſi riſum teneatis amici?

2. If the power of laughing proceed from the nature of man, and the nature of man conſiſt in reaſon: it will be very hard for any man to refrain laughing, that hath but ſo much reaſon as to conſider the vanity of this aſſertion, *that a name ſhould be an unſeparable property proceeding from the nature of any reality.* God gave names to the firſt Man, and to the firſt Woman, and the firſt man gave names befitting other creatures; but the names proceeded not from the nature of the creatures named, but from the Impoſers; otherwiſe their names ſhould have been the ſame in all nations and languages. And if the name [Catholick] were an unchangeable mark or natural property of any real Church, it ſhould be of the Greek Church or nation, unto which the name or title of *Catholick* is prime and natural. If the real propertie anſwering to this name had belonged to the Romiſh Church, the Holy Ghoſt would have expreſt it by a Roman name, and have called the Roman Church, the *univerſal Church* at leaſt the Romaniſts ſhould have called themſelves *univerſals*, not *Catholicks*. But let us liſten again unto this Raver. *We onely injoy the lively badge, and are inveſted with the Livery of the true Profeſſors of Chriſt. Neither can Mr.* Abbot, *or Mr.* Whitaker *diſmantle us of that royalty, by ſaying, Names may be falſly impoſed to things, or unjuſtly uſurped. For this name is not impoſed by man, nor uſurped by abuſe, but imparted by God, inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt, (as I have proved above) who cannot apparel us with any feigned attire, nor can the Devil take from Gods people their cognizance, or nobilitate his vaſſails with the colours of Chriſt.*

3. Was the name of *Catholick* more immediately inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt, then the name of *Angels* or *Apoſtles* was? or was this title more appropriated to the Church, then the other two titles of Holy and Apoſtolick. Now S. *Paul* tells us, [2 *Cor.* cap. 11. *verſe* 14, 15.] that *Sathan himſelf is transformed into an Angel of light, and it is no marvel if his Miniſters transform themſelves into the Apoſtles of Chriſt.* It is then impoſſible for the miniſters of Sathan to uſurp the name of Chriſts *Apoſtles* or *Catholicks*, though both names were impoſed by God, and inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt? Certainly ſeeing this transformation is not in ſubſtance, but only in colour or ſhew, it muſt needs include the *colour* or uſurpation of the name, whether of *Apoſtles*, or of *Catholicks*.

But he further adds, [*That no Heretick could ever obtain to be called Catholicks by true Chriſtians.*] For this very reaſon, we Proteſtants of reformed Churches, who are, if not the only true Chriſtians on earth, yet the trueſt Chriſtians, and the moſt conſpicuous members of the Holy, catholick Church, as militant here on earth, dare not vouchſafe to beſtow the name of *Catholick* upon any Papiſt, but with ſuch an addition or item, as we give the name of *Angels* to infernal fiends, which we tearm Satans Angels, or collapſed Angels. Now the ſame analogy, which *Gods Angels* or a holy Angel hath to *Sathans Angel*, or to a collapſed Angel, a true and holy Catholick hath to a modern Roman Catholick. For by this tearm we mean ſuch a one, as being a ſervant of Sathan, doth ſeek to transform himſelf into a true and holy Catholick. The point which this *blind guide* was to prove, was this, *That no Hereticks could uſurp the name or title of Catholick* We ſay it is the property of the modern Romiſh Church to counterfeit the faireſt titles given to the Church, by orthodoxal Antiquity, more plauſibly then the ancient Hereticks could. And by this property, we diſcern her to be that mother of Harlots, which can imitate the *Lambs* voice, whilſt ſhe acts the *Woolfs* part. He further objects, that the Jewes and Mahumetans, *when they hear a man named a Catholick*, thereby conceive ſome member of the preſent modern Roman Church, not any of *Luthers* or *Calvines* followers. So we likewiſe, when we hear a people brag and inſtile themſelves a *holy nation*, we preſently conceive the parties that thus inſtile themſelves, to be Jewes. Yet do we not for all this, believe that the Jewiſh Nation is the *Holieſt* of Nations, or the only choſen people of God now on earth. As for both Jews and Turks, it is likely they could be well content to ſuffer the Romaniſt to enjoy the name *Catholick*, as a preheminence above Chriſtians. For, they might well hope to prove their own Religion to be better then the beſt profeſſed amongſt Chriſtians, if once it were granted that the Roman catholick Religion, is the beſt. But to give the chriſtian Reader ſome real ſolace after his pleaſant recreation at this ridiculous Diſcourſes folly; in that he and his fellows can thus ſeriouſly plead for the name *Catholick*, which they ſeek by faction to ingroſs unto themſelves, this is an argument to us, that the floods already approach the ſandy foundations whereon this ſpiritual Babylon is built, and that her downfal is at hand. For unleſs her profeſſed Champions and Pilots were likely to be drowned, they would not ſo earneſtly catch at ſuch ſhadows, or floating bull-ruſhes, as this Guide of Faith hath done. But leaving the ſhadow, let us in the next place ſee whether have better intereſt in the body or ſubſtance, whether we or they do better deſerve the real titles of *Catholicks*.

CHAP. XXI.

That the title of [Catholick] *is proper and eſſential unto the faith profeſſed by the preſent viſible Church of* England, *but cannot truly be attributed to the Faith or Creed of the modern viſible Romiſh Church.*

1. WHether the name *Catholick* were firſt beſtowed upon the Church, or upon that faith which is the life and ſoul of the Holy, Apoſtolick Church, ſhall be no part of our inquiry. It ſufficeth that the name *Catholick* it ſelf is univocal in reſpect both of church and faith. True faith is therefore *Catholick* faith, becauſe it is the only door or way unto ſalvation, alike common unto all without national or topical reſpect. Whoſoever of any Nation have been ſaved, have been ſaved by this one and the ſame faith, and whoſoever will be ſaved, (as *Athanaſius* ſpeaks) muſt hold this *Catholick Faith*, and he muſt hold it *pure and undefiled.* The main queſtion then is, who they be that hold this *Catholick faith*, and whether they hold it *undefiled or no.*

Were *Vincentius* his rules as artificial, as they are orthodoxal and honeſt, the iſſue betwixt us and the Romaniſt would be very eaſie and triable. But let us take them as they are. *Id catholicum eſt quod ab omnibus ubique & ſemper*, &c. *That is Catholick, which is held by all in all places, and at all times.*

The three ſpecial notes of the catholick faith or church, by him required, are *univerſality, antiquity* and *conſent.* Whether theſe three members be different or ſubordinate, and oft-times coincident, I leave it to be ſcanned by Logicians. According to the Authors limitation, all three *marks* agree to us, not to the *Romaniſt.*

2. Firſt concerning *univerſality*, the queſtion is not, Whether at this preſent hour, or in any former age for theſe thouſand years paſt, there are or have been more, which profeſs the preſent *Romiſh Religion* eſtabliſhed in the church of *Rome*; then the Religion eſtabliſhed in the Reformed churches ſince the ſeparation was made. If we ſhould come to calculate voices after this manner, *Whether will you be a Roman Catholick, or a Proteſtant:* They might perhaps have three for one amongſt ſuch as profeſs themſelves chriſtians, ready to cry, *I am not for the Proteſtants; but for the Roman Catholicks will I be.* But it was far from *Vincentius* his meaning, that *univerſality* ſhould be meaſured after this faſhion; for he very well knew that the Arian faction had prevailed eſpecially by this tumultuary kind of canvaſe or calculation. The multitude of voices thus taken for them, may prove their faction to be ſtronger and greater then our Church; it cannot prove their faith to be ſo univerſal as our faith is. The fallacie by which the Romaniſts deceive poor ſimple people, is in making them believe, that our Religion and their Religion, our faith and their faith are *duo prima diverſa*, or ſo totally diſtinct, that part of the one could not be included in the other. But for the *univerſality* of our faith we have every member of the Romiſh church a ſuffragant or witneſs for us. Firſt, nothing is held as a point of faith in our Church, but the preſent Romiſh church doth hold the ſame, & confeſs the ſame to have been held by all orthodoxal Antiquity. So that for the *form* of faith eſtabliſhed in our church, we have the conſent of the Primitive church, of the four firſt general Councels, of all ſucceeding ages unto this preſent

day, the conſent likewiſe of the preſent Romiſh Church, and of our ſelves. Now as *France* is a great deal bigger than *Normandy*, if we compare them as diſtinct and oppoſit; and yet *France*, and *Normandy* is bigger than *France* without *Normandy:* ſo likewiſe though the preſent viſible Romiſh Church be much greater then the Church of *England*, yet ſeing the Romiſh Church, how great ſoever, doth hold all the points of faith which our Church doth, for *Catholick* and orthodoxal; our conſent, and their conſent, our confeſſion and their confeſſion, is more univerſal then their conſent without ours. But if their conſent unto the points of faith believed by us, prove our faith to be univerſal, and our Church by conſequence to be *Catholick*; why ſhould not our conſent unto the points of faith believed by them, prove their faith to be univerſal, or their Church to be *Catholick?* Becauſe it is not enough, to hold all points of *Catholick* faith, unleſs the ſame points be kept *holy and undefiled*. The Romiſh Church, we grant, doth hold all points of catholick Faith, and ſo far as ſhe holds theſe points, we diſſent not from her: yet diſſent from her we do in that ſhe hath *defiled* and polluted the catholick Faith, with new and poyſonous doctrines; for which ſhe neither hath the conſent of Antiquity, nor of reformed Churches. And in reſpect of theſe doctrines, ſhe ſtands convicted of ſchiſme and hereſie, by *Vincentius* his rules. For it is with him a fundamental rule, That no preſent viſible Church, hath any authority to commend any thing as a point of faith to poſterity, which hath not been commended to the ſaid Church by Antiquity derived from the Apoſtles times. A proficiency or growth in faith, he allows and granteth, *modò ſit in eodem genere, ſo it be in the ſame kind, or proceed from the ſame root:* but for additions or new inventions, he takes them for the marks of Schiſm and Hereſie.

3. So then we hold the catholick Faith, and they hold the catholick Faith. And ſeeing they hold the catholick Faith in the ſame meaſure that we do, is it not reaſon they ſhould be termed Catholicks as well as we, though not ſo good catholicks as we? No reaſon they ſhould be tearmed catholicks at all. Where is the difference? In this. We hold it *pure and undefiled*, they have defiled and polluted it for many generations, and do ſtill defile it with many loathſom additions and inventions. Now in this caſe the denomination followeth the worſer part, that is, they are not ſo much to be reputed catholicks for that they hold the catholick Faith, as to be adjudged Hereticks and Schiſmaticks, becauſe they have defiled and polluted it with many new inventions, and being admoniſhed hereof and reproved, will not purifie their faith, will not reform their religion according to the rule of faith and the practice of Antiquity. Their faith not purified from the additions of the ſecond *Nicene* and *Trent* councel, can be no catholick Faith. Their Religion not reformed, can be no true Religion, ſave only in reference to *Paganiſme*, *Judaiſme* or *Mahumetiſme*. For as *Dionyſius* ſaith, *Bonum non eſt niſi ex integra cauſa, malum ex quolibet defectu, Nothing is good which is not intire and ſound, evil ariſeth from every defect.* Every new addition or invention in matters of faith or doctrine, is enough to make that church ſchiſmatical, which before was catholick and orthodoxal. Catholick and orthodoxal no church can be, unleſs it hold all points of faith without admixture of humane inventions or of new articles. The admixture of a great deal of mans meat with a little ſwines meat, makes the whole diſh to be no mans meat, but ſwines meat. Our Church according to

Vincentius his rule admits a growth or proficiency in faith, in that it holds not only thoſe propoſitions which are expreſly contained in Scripture, but ſuch as may by neceſſary conſequence be deduced out of them, for points of faith, and this growth is ſtill *in eodem genere*, from the ſame root. Other points of faith beſides theſe, our Church admitteth none, but ties even her Prelates and Governours to obtrude no other doctrines as points of faith, upon their Auditors, then ſuch as are either expreſly contained in Scriptures, or may infallibly be deduced from them. And this is the fundamental and radical difference between our Church and the Romiſh Church, which admitteth ſuch an illimited increaſe or growth of faith as is in heaps or congeſts of Heterogeneals.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the adinventions or new Articles added to the Creed by the Romiſh Church, by which ſhe hath defiled *the Holy, Catholick and Apoſtolick Faith. Of the difference betwixt the Church of* Rome *and the Church of* England *concerning the rule of faith. What that Eccleſiaſtick Tradition was which* Vincentius Lirinenſis *ſo much commendeth: to what uſe it ſerved in the ancient Councels.*

1. THE pain-worthieſt enquiry in this argument, were firſt to make ſearch what additions or adinventions unto the ancient or primitive canon of Catholick Faith have been made, received or authorized by the Romiſh Church, ſince the councel of *Epheſus* which was ſome three years before *Vincentius Lirinenſis* wrote his admonitions concerning this point; and in what age and upon what occaſions, ſuch additions have been made or received. Secondly, to make proof or demonſtration, how far and in what manner ſuch additions do corrupt or contaminate the Holy, catholick Faith; and how far each or all of them joyntly or ſeverally, do undermine or overthrow the holy catholick Faith.

The firſt addition or adinvention of moment, which comes into my memory, is the * *Invocation of Saints* and *veneration* of Images. Both which points were added as Articles of Faith or parts of the Creed, which all were bound to believe and profeſs by *Tharaſius* Patriark of *Conſtantinople*, and Preſident of that illiterate paraſitical and factious aſſembly, which hath been commonly enſtyled *the ſeventh general or ſecond Nicene Councel.* In theſe and the like abominable decrees the then Biſhop of *Rome* was *Tharaſius* his complice, his inſtigator and abettor, as may appear from the ſpeeches of his Legates in that Councel, and by his own Epiſtles, although part of the Epiſtle may be juſtly ſuſpected to have been framed ſince. But by what ſpirit this Councel was managed, or in whoſe name they met together, I refer the Reader unto that learned Treatiſe in the book of *Homilies* (whereunto we have all ſubſcribed) concerning the *peril of Idolatry*) eſpecially the third part. What ingenuous minds of this Kingdom thought of that councel, before either the Author of theſe *Homilies* or *Luther* was born, may in part be gathered from an * ancient Engliſh Hiſtoriographer, who ſaith the Church of God did hold this decree in execration.

2. The ſelf ſame points with a great many more of like or worſe nature,

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* *Confiteor Ieſum Chriſtum crucifixum pro nobis carne ſepultum & reſurgentem in cœloſq; reverſum, venturum judicare vivos et mortuos præter hæc mortuorum reſurrectionem expecto, & ſecundum unius cujuſq; actionem æternam retributionem bonorum ſimul & malorum obſecrans interceſſionem ſanctiſſimæ intemeratæ Dominæ noſtræ deiparæ et ſemper virginis Mariæ, ſanctorumq; Angelorum, & ſanctorum glorioſorum Apoſtolorum, Prophetarum, martyrum, confeſſorum & Doctorum* ſept. Synod. act. 1. & 3.

* Hoveden, *anno* 792.

all whatſoever any councel which the Romiſh church accounteth general or œcumenical, or any canons which the ſame Church accounteth catholick, even all the decrees whereto the *Trent* councel hath affixt their *Anathemaes*, have been annext by *Pius Quartus* to the *Nicene* Creed, and are inſerted as principal points of that oath which every Roman Biſhop at his conſecration is to take; one part of which oath or ſolemn vow it likewiſe is, that every Biſhop ſhall exact the like confeſſion of his inferiors to be ratified by oath or ſolemn vow. *Cætera omnia à ſacris & œcumenicis conciliis, ac præcipuè à ſacroſancta Tridentina Synodo tradita, definita, & declarata indubitanter recipio atque profiteor; ſimulque contraria omnia atque hæreſes quaſcunque ab eccleſia damnatas, & rejectas, & anathematizatas ego pariter damno, rejicio & anathematizo. Hanc veram catholicam fidem, extra quam nemo ſalvus eſſe poteſt, quam in præſenti ſponte profiteor, & veraciter teneo, eandem integram & inviolatam uſque ad extremum vitæ ſpiritum conſtantiſſimè (Deo adjuvante) retinere & confiteri, atque à meis ſubditis, vel illis, quorum cura ad me in munere meo ſpectabit, teneri, doceri, & prædicari, quantum in me erit, curaturum,* Ego idem N. *ſpondeo, voveo, ac juro, ſic me Deus adjuvet, & hæc ſancta Dei Evangelia.* Onup. de vita pont. pag. 472.

The particular decree concerning Invocation of Saints and adoration of Images, is much inlarged by the *Trent* councel, and by *Pius Quartus*. But of the equivalency of Idolatry in *Rome* Heathen, and *Rome* Chriſtian, * elſewhere at large. In this one point, to omit others, the preſent Romiſh Church far exceeds the Eaſtern Church, in the time of the ſecond *Nicene* councel; in that it ratifies the worſhipping of all ſuch Saints as are canonized by the Pope.

* In the fifth book upon the Creed, or a Treatiſe containing the original of unbelief, &c. ſect.4.

3. The ſecond addition made by the Roman Church unto the ancient canon of faith, is, a tranſcendent one, and illimited; and that is, the making of Eccleſiaſtical Tradition to be an integral part of the the canon of faith. This doth not onely pollute, but undermine the whole fabrick of the holy, primitive and catholick faith. That there is a certain *rule* or authentick canon of faith, is a principle, wherein the ancient primitive Church, the modern Roman, and all reformed Churches agree. The firſt point of difference betwixt us, is about the extent of the written canon, ſpecially of the old Teſtament. The main points of difference are theſe. Firſt, we affirm with antiquity, and in particular with *Vincentius Lirinenſis*, that the canon of Scripture is a rule of faith, perfect for quantity, and ſufficient for quality: that is, it contains all things in it, that are neceſſary to ſalvation, or requiſite to be contained in any rule; and ſo contains them as they may be believed and underſtood, without relying on any other rule or authority equivalent to them in certainty, or more authentick in reſpect of us, then the Scriptures are. The modern Romiſh Church denies the canon of Scripture to be perfect and compleat in reſpect of its quantity, or ſufficient for its quality or efficacy. To ſupply the defect of its quantity, they adde Tradition, as another part of the ſame rule, homogeneal and equivalent to it for quality. To ſupply the unſufficiency aſwell of canonical Scriptures as of Tradition in reſpect of their *quality* or *efficacy* towards us, they adde the infallible authority of the preſent viſible Church. The former addition of unwritten Traditions, as part of the infallible rule doth undermine: this latter addition of the Churches infallible and abſolute authority aſwell in determining the extent, as in declaring the true ſenſe and meaning of the

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the whole rule, utterly pulls down the ſtructure of faith: yet when we reject Eccleſiaſtical Tradition from being any part of the rule of faith, we do not altogether deny the authority or uſe of it. Howbeit that Eccleſiaſtical Tradition, whereof there was ſuch excellent uſe in the Primitive Church, was not unwritten tradition, or cuſtoms commended or ratified by the ſuppoſed infallibility of any viſible Church. That Eccleſiaſtical Tradition which *Vincentius Lirinenſis* ſo much commends, did eſpecially conſiſt in the confeſſions or regiſters of particular churches. Now the unanimous conſent of ſo many ſeveral churches, as exhibited their confeſſions to the *Nicene* counſel, being not dependent one of another, not overſwayed by authority, nor miſled by faction to frame the confeſſions of their faith by imitation, or according to ſome pattern ſet them, but voluntarily and freely exhibiting ſuch confeſſions as had been framed and taught before theſe controverſies aroſe; was a pregnant argument to any unpartial underſtanding man, that this faith wherein they all agreed, had been delivered unto them by the Apoſtles and their followers, by the firſt planters of the churches thus agreeing; a pregnant argument likewiſe, that theſe firſt planters had been inſpired and taught by one and the ſame Spirit. Each particular church was a competent or authentick witneſs of every other churches integrity and fidelity ***in ſervando depoſitum, in careful preſerving the truth committed to their ſpecial truſt.*** On the contrary, in that ***Arius***, ***Eutyches***, ***Neſtorius***, and other Hereticks, did obtrude ſuch conſtructions of Scriptures upon their Auditors, as had no where been heard of before, but ſprung up with themſelves, or from the places wherein they lived; this was an argument more then probable, that if the Apoſtles had delivered the whole form of wholeſome doctrine unto poſterity (a point queſtioned by no Church in thoſe times) theſe men, or the particular churches which abetted them, had not kept the doctrine delivered unto them by our Saviour and his Apoſtles; but had corrupted or defiled it with the idle fancies of their own brains, or with the muddy conceit of their diſcontented paſſions.

To ſpeak more briefly, though perhaps more fully: The unanimous conſent of ſo many diſtinct viſible churches, as exhibited their ſeveral Confeſſions, Catechiſmes, or Teſtimonies of their own and their Forefathers faith, unto the four firſt œcumenical counſels, was an argument of the ſame force and efficacy, againſt ***Arius*** and other Hereticks, for whoſe conviction theſe councels were called, as the general conſent and practice of all Nations in worſhipping ſome Divine power or other, hath been, in all ages, againſt the Atheiſts. Nothing, beſides the ingraffed notion of a Deity or Divine power, could have inclined ſo many ſeveral Nations, ſo much different in natural diſpoſition, in civil diſcipline and education, to affect or practice the duty of adoration. Nothing, beſides the evidence of truth delivered unto the chriſtian world by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, could have kept ſo many ſeveral Churches, as communicated their confeſſions unto the Councel of *Nice* and *Epheſus*, &c. in the unity of the ſame faith.

4. Howbeit this unanimous Tradition Eccleſiaſtick, was not in theſe times held for any proper part of the Rule of faith, but alledged onely as an inducement to incline the hearts of ſuch as before acknowledged the written word for the onely Rule of faith, to believe that the interpretations or deciſions of thoſe Councels, did contain

the true ſenſe and meaning of the Rule acknowledged by all. So that the written Tradition which *Vincentius* ſo much commends, was not by the *Nicene* councel uſed to any ſuch purpoſe as the Romaniſts now uſe unwritten Traditions. The onely uſe of it was to direct the preſent church in her examination of the catholick Truth, or points of Faith. The chief authority which the viſible church then challenged, did conſiſt in the unanimous conſent of the Eccleſiaſtick Tradition, and that (as was ſaid before) but an inducement to imbrace the interpretations of the preſent church, and reject the interpretations of upſtart Hereticks.

5. But was it a received truth in theſe Primitive times, or a truth acknowledged by *Vincentius*, (the pretended patron of Roman catholick Tradition) that the joynt conſent of ſo many Biſhops, as were aſſembled in the firſt councel of *Nice*, or the joynt confeſſions of ſo many ſeveral Dioceſſes as were then delivered to that councel, ſhould unto the worlds end, continue an argument or inducement of like force or validity, as it then was, either for eſtabliſhment of the canons which ſucceeding councels ſhould make, or for condemning ſuch opinions as with the conſent of as many (or more) Biſhops, as were there aſſembled, ſhould be condemned for Hereſies? No, the ſame *Vincentius* hath given poſterity a *Caveat* as full of wiſedome, as of religion; in ſome caſes not to admit of his former admonition, concerning the trial of catholick Faith, either for refelling Hereſies, or for eſtabliſhing of the Truth. The limitation of his former admonition, is, in his own words, thus. ***As for ancient and inveterate Hereſies, they are not in any wiſe to be refuted by the former method, becauſe continuance of time*** (after Hereſies be once ſet on foot) ***may afford Hereticks many opportunities of ſtealing Truth*** out of the writings of the Ancient, or for exchanging orthodoxal antiquity with prophane novelties.

* *Sed neq; ſemper, neque omnes hæreſes hoc modo impugnandæ ſunt, ſed novitiæ recenteſque tantummodo, cum primum ſcilicet exoriuntur, antequam infalſarint vetuſtæ fidei regulas, ipſius temporis vetentur anguſtiis, ac priuſquam, manante latius veneno, majorum volumina vitiare conentur. Cæterum dilatatæ & inveteratæ hæreſes nequaquam hac via aggrediendæ ſunt, eò quod prolixo temporum tractu longa iis furandæ veritatis patuerit occaſio. Atque ideo quaſcunque illas antiquiores, vel ſchiſmatum vel hæreſeon prophanitates nullo modo nos oportet, niſi aut ſolâ, ſi opus eſt, Scripturarum authoritate convincere, aut certe jam antiquitus univerſalibus Sacerdotum Catholicorum Conſiliis, convictas damnataſq; vitare,* &c. Vinc. Lirinenſ. Commonit. c. 39.

Now what opportunities of falſification did theſe 800 years laſt paſt afford, which the Roman church was not alwaies ready to take? The opportunities afforded by diſſolution of the Roman Empire and variance of chriſtian Kings, firſt made the Roman Clergy ſuch ſacrilegious Thieves, as *Vincentius* ſuppoſeth any opportunity may make Hereticks to be. And the Roman church, being fleſht with the ſpoil of Chriſts flock and chriſtian churches through the Weſt, have not been wanting unto themſelves in deviſing new opportunities in coyning a new art of falſifying Antiquity, of ſtealing the conſent and ſuffrages of the chriſtian world, from orthodoxal and primitive Truth. So that if this controverſie may be examined and diſcuſſed by *Vincentius* his rules, *ſince* the firſt acknowledgment of the *Popes ſupremacie*, ſince the making of Edicts for the acknowledging of it, ſince the *exemption* of Clarks from royal or civil juriſdiction; all the written teſtimonies, or unwritten traditions, which the children of the Romiſh church do or can rake together, are void in law, and void in conſcience: there is not ſo much as one legal ſingle Teſtimony, but all are as a multitude of falſe and illegal witneſſes, of parties or conſpirators in their own cauſe.

6. But although Hereſies of long ſtanding and continuance cannot be refuted, nor may not be aſſaulted in *Vincentius* his judgement, by the former method, that is, by multitude of ſuffragants, or joynt conſent of ſeveral Provinces: is there therefore no other means left to convince them, no way left to eſchew them? yes, we may *eſchew them,* (ſaith he) *as already condemned by ancient and orthodoxal Councels*; or we may *convince them, ſo it be needful or expedient, by the ſole authority of Scriptures.* Now if the Scriptures be ſufficient *to convince* Hereſies of long continuance or long ſtanding, and to confute ſuch Hereticks, as want neither wit, will, nor opportunity to falſifie ancient records, and imprint traditions of their own coyning, with inſcriptions of Antiquity; I hope the ſame Scripture was (in *Vincentius* his judgment) a Rule of faith neither uncompleat for its quantity, nor unſufficient for its quality: a Rule every way competent for ending controverſies in Religion, without the aſſumption either of Tradition or decrees of Councel, as any aſſociates or homogeneal parts of the ſame rule.

7. Unto what uſe then did Eccleſiaſtical tradition, or general counſels ſerve for quelling Hereſies? Eccleſiaſtical traditions or unanimous conſent of particular Churches throughout ſeveral Kingdoms or Provinces in points of faith, was in ancient times, and yet may be an excellent means, by which the Spirit of God leads general Councels into the truth. And the Councels whoſe care and office it was to compare and examine Traditions exhibited, were the ſoveraign and principal means under the guidance of Gods Spirit, by which as many as imbraced the *love of truth,* were led into all thoſe truths, which are at all times neceſſary to ſalvation, but were much queſtioned and obſcured by the juglings and falſifications of former Hereticks. Into the ſame truths which theſe Councels were then, we now are led, not by relying upon the ſole authority of the Councels which the Spirit did lead, but by tracing their footſteps, and viewing the way by which the Spirit did lead them. And this was, by neceſſary deductions or conſequences, which reaſon inlightened by the Spirit, and directed by the ſweet diſpoſition of Divine providence, did teach them to make, and doth inable us to judge that they were truly made by them.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the agreement between the Enthuſiaſt or ſome Non-conformitants to the Church of England, *and the Romiſh Church, concerning the manner how the Spirit of* truth, (*as they ſuppoſe*) *doth* lead *men* into all truth. *That the true ſenſe of Scriptures is as determinable by light of reaſon and rules of art, as the concluſions of any other ſciences or faculties are. A general ſurvey of the depraved or more then heretical or heatheniſh infidelity of the modern Romiſh Church.*

1. IGnorance or unadvertence of the manner how the Spirit *leads us into the truth* or true ſenſe of the rule of faith, hath been the mother of two monſtrous twins in later ages; of Enthuſiaſme, and of Romiſh *implicit* or *magical* faith. The Enthuſiaſt preſumes he hath the Spirit for his guide, and knows he hath it, meerly by his breathing or afflation. The Romaniſt obſerving the Enthuſiaſt to run into groſs errours, by relying upon the immediate voyce, the breathing or ſuggeſtion of his private Spirit; thinks it ſafeſt to believe none but publick Spirits, and that the publick ſpirit ſpeaks nothing, or judgeth nothing for authentick, ſave only in publick Aſſemblies, as in general Councels, or in ſuch publick place, as is the Conſiſtory of the Pope and his Cardinals. Neither of them conſider, as the truth is, that either the connexion between principles of faith, and the concluſions or inferences which follow upon the admiſſion of ſuch principles as true, or the non-coherence of inferences pretended from ſacred principles expreſly contained in the Scriptures, may be as clearly demonſtrated to reaſon, though unſanctified; as the connexion or non-coherence between the principles and concluſions of any art or ſcience *whatſoever*. Between ſciences properly ſo called, and the faculty of divinity, this is the only difference: The principles or Maximes of *Sciences*, properly ſo called, may be rightly conceived, and fully aſſented unto, by meer *light of nature*, without ſuch aſſiſtance or illumination of the Spirit, as Chriſt hath promiſed to his Church, and without which no principles of faith, though expreſly contained in Scripture, can be rightly conceived, much leſs firmly believed. So that the concluſions of Arts and Sciences, may by light of nature be abſolutely known; whereas even thoſe concluſions of faith, whoſe connexion with the principles of faith (expreſly contained in Scripture) is as clear and demonſtratively evident to reaſon, not inlightened by the Spirit, as any connexion is between ſcientifical concluſions, and their principles, cannot be abſolutely known or firmly believed, without the aſſiſtance of the Spirit; becauſe the principles whence they are deduced, cannot by reaſon unſanctified, or not inlightened, be abſolutely known or aſſented unto. And unleſs the principles be abſolutely known or believed: the beſt knowledge or belief of the Concluſions, can be but conditional. Every Artiſt knows, that the connexion or non coherence between *a poſtulatum* or *hypotheſis*, (that is, a propoſition not fully known, but taken as granted,) and the concluſion thence rightly deduced or pretended, may be as clear and evident as the connexion between undoubted principle, and the concluſion demonſtratively deduced from it, or pretended to be ſo deduced. He that is no competent Judge of a probleme abſolutely conſidered, may give abſolute and infallible judgment of

the ſame probleme upon the mutual acknowledgement or agreement of the controverſors. As if two Novices in Arithmetick, ſhould move this queſtion; Whether *fifty* were a *ſquare* number, whether *ſixty four* were a *cubick*, and refer the deciſion of both *ore tenus*, to an exquiſite Mathematician, that did not well underſtand Engliſh; it were impoſſible for him to reſolve the probleme before he perfectly underſtood the termes: But upon their mutual acknowledgement, that fifty in Engliſh was as much at *Quinquaginta* in Latine, and a *ſquare* the ſame that *Quadratum* in Latin; he could abſolutely reſolve them that *fifty* could be no *ſquare*, that the next number below it, was a ſquare, although he knew not how to expreſs it in Engliſh. Upon the acknowledgement of both parties likewiſe, that *ſixty four* in Engliſh was as much as *ſexaginta quatuor* in Latine, he could abſolutely reſolve them, that it was both a *ſquare* and a *cubick* number.

2. To propoſe the like caſe in Divinity, which ſhall be this; *Whether Polygamy be lawful, or rather a true branch of adultery:* ſuppoſe this controverſie were to be handled before ſome Heathen Civilian, between two Chriſtians, the one of which had married the others daughter, and intended to marry a ſecond wife in a forraign Country, where the party grieved had no Chriſtian Magiſtrate to do him right. An heathen Judge, that could underſtand the literal meaning of the Scripture, though he did not in any ſort believe them, and made no conſcience of Polygamy himſelf, might in this caſe give as upright judgement, as the Pope and his Cardinals could, and that according to the rule of faith; ſo the parties would both ſubmit themſelves to have the controverſie decided by *that* rule, that is, by the Scriptures of the old and new Teſtament. The party *peccant* might plead cuſtome and tradition, *The practice of the Patriarcks and holy men of God* for his warrant, and that with greater probabality than the Romaniſt can plead for worſhipping Images, or then they excuſe themſelves from ſpiritual Adultery. If the party grieved ſhould againſt cuſtome and tradition, plead or oppoſe that law. *Let every man have his wife, and every wife her husband*, or other like Texts, which ſome great Divines have alleaged for deciſion of this caſe; they would not conclude the cauſe, ſpecially before a Judge not acquainted with the myſtery of the Creation. For he that hath *a wife and a wife*, *hath a wife*; *and ſhe that hath a husband and a husband*, *hath a husband*. But if that precept of our * Saviour, [*Whoſoever putteth away his wife unleſs it be for adultery, and marrieth another, committeth adultery: and he that marrieth her being ſo put away, committeth adultery:*] were once produced; any Heathen Civilian might give this abſolute and infallible ſentence, [*If ye Chriſtians will admit this Law for true and juſt, or for a rule of conſcience? then Polygamy certainly is a natural part of Adultery, and he that had a wife and marrieth another, is to be puniſhed as an Adulterer.*] For what is the reaſon why he that putteth away his wife, though by legal divorce, and marrieth another, commits adultery with the ſecond? or why he that marrieth the firſt being ſo put away, is likewiſe an Adulterer? Is not the reaſon becauſe the bond of matrimony betwixt the husband and the firſt wife, according to this your Chriſtian law is not diſſolved by a legal ſentence of divorce, *extra caſum adulterij*, unleſs in caſe of adultery? Yet as a ſentence of divorce gotten upon ſuſpicion of adultery or ſubornation, or upon other cauſes which humane Laws, and Gods Law unto the Jew did permit; cannot by the Evangelical law altogether diſſolve

* Mat. 19. 9.

ſolve the bond of matrimony: ſo out of all queſtion, it doth rather looſen or weaken it than corroborate or knit it faſter. Wherefore if he that having gotten a ſentence of divorce, by formal courſe of Law, againſt his wife, become guilty of Adultery in the Court of conſcience, and by the Evangelical Law, if he marry another: then much more ſhall he be an Adulterer, who having a wife whoſe chaſtity was never called in queſtion, againſt whom no ſentence of Law hath been obtained, if he ſhall preſume to marry another. Thus far an Heathen, by light of natural reaſon, without the aſſiſtance of Gods Spirit, may go in this and many other controverſies amongſt Chriſtians.

3. Were not moſt Recuſants throughout this Kingdom worſe affected, I will not ſay towards us and our Religion, but towards truth it ſelf, even towards the light of the Goſpel, than any civil Heathen either are or can be; they might as clearly diſcern the uſurped authority of the Romiſh Church, over their faith, and over Scriptures the rule of faith, to be as true a branch of Apoſtaſie from Chriſt, as Polygamy is of Adultery; and that it doth more evidently diſſolve the bonds of matrimony betwixt Chriſt and his Spouſe the Church, than Polygamy or adultery doth the bond of matrimony, betwixt man and wife. Firſt, they make the Scriptures, as was ſaid before, not only an imperfect rule in reſpect of its *quantity*, but this defect being in their opinion ſupplyed by aſſociating unwritten Traditions unto it: in the ſecond place they make both Scriptures and unwritten Traditions to be an unſufficient rule in reſpect of their *quality*. For it is their doctrine, that we cannot know which be Canonical Scriptures, which are not, which be authentick traditions, which not, but by relying upon the authority of the viſible Church. Again, admitting the Church could determine, which were Authentick Traditions, which were not, and that no Traditions ſhould hereafter be received beſides thoſe which ſhe had *determined:* yet if any controverſie ſhould ariſe concerning the meaning of thoſe Scriptures, which ſhe hath determined to be Canonical, or concerning the meaning, limitation or uſe of theſe Traditions which ſhe hath acknowledged to be authentick; no private man may take upon him abſolutely to believe this or that to be the meaning of either, but with ſubmiſſion of his judgment to the Churches ſentence. And this, as I have * elſewhere ſhewed at large, is not only to make the authority of the Church to be above the authority of the Scriptures, but utterly to nullifie the authority of the Scriptures, ſave only ſo far as they may ſerve as a ſtale or footſtool to ſupport or hold up the authority of the Church or Pope. So that the laſt reſolution of the Romaniſts belief, as out of their own compariſons of the Scriptures to *colours*, and the authority of the Church unto the *light* by which colours become viſible to us (as † is elſewhere demonſtrated) muſt be this: *That he abſolutely believes only the infallible authority of the Church concerning the truth of Scriptures and their true meaning:* their truth or meaning he neither abſolutely nor infallibly believes. So that, if he believe any divine truth, it is only *ex accidenti*, that is, in as much as the Church doth not erre in that point of Faith, which ſhe propoſeth unto him: howbeit to believe that which is true, upon no better *motive* or condition then this, is much worſe then the ignorance of truth, or meer unbelief of the ſame truth. How many ſeveral divine truths or articles of faith ſoever he thus believeth; he can be no true Catholick, becauſe he believes no divine truth, but as it is mixt with helliſh

Antichriſtian

* In the third book upon the Creed, ſection the fourth. See ſection the ſecond, cap. 2, 3, 4.

† In the book forecited, ſect. 4. cap. 5. par. 12.

Tom. III.

Antichriſtian falſhood. If we ſhall prove that this ſuppoſed infallibility of the Romiſh Church doth in divers points induce not only hereſie but infidelity, and that infidelity of a worſe ſort, then can be incident to any Heathen; I hope our intended concluſion will be ſufficiently evicted, that whoſoever holds this abſolute infallibility of the preſent viſible Romiſh Church, whatſoever he holds beſides, can be no Catholick. To give you an inſtance for proof of this.

4. If one being a Chriſtian ſhall ſteal, he doth commit a grievous ſin, yet a ſin of one kind or ſpecies, that is *theft:* he doth not thereby ceaſe to be a Chriſtian, he doth not thereby become an Infidel or Antichriſtian. The like we may ſay of fornication, adultery, murder, inceſt, or the like, all which are grievous ſins, and without repentance exclude men from the Kingdom of Heaven. Yet can we not ſay, that they make a man an Infidel, though worthy to be caſt out of the Church, until he give full proof of his humble ſubmiſſion and hearty repentance for his fact. But if any man that hath been baptized and made a partaker of the word, which in many points he believes, ſhall by covetouſneſs, malice, intemperancie, or the like, have ſo far corrupted the ſeeds of Chriſtianity, or Law of God written in his heart; as he ſhall think, that which indeed and truth is theft, fornication, adultery, murder, or inceſt, to be no ſin, he is by the general verdict of the Schools, not only an Heretick, but an Infidel. Now Infidelity is of two ſorts, either *infidelitas puræ negationis*, privative infidelity, ſuch as is in the Heathen, which have not known God or his Laws, as having no commerce with his people; or *infidelitas pravæ diſpoſitionis*, depraved infidelity, of which there be more degrees; as firſt it may be in the Heathen to whom the truth of the Law or Goſpel hath been imparted; but they have impugned both, or had them in deriſion: or it may be in the Jew, which acknowledgeth the truth of Moſaical and Prophetical writings, and yet oppugns the truth of the Goſpel, which is contained in them, with greater ſpight and violence, then the Heathen which acknowledge neither. Briefly, as the contrariety is greateſt, which is betwixt oppoſite qualities of neareſt alliance in the predicamental line; ſuch as have the ſame immediate or *proximum genus:* ſo is their infidelity or enmity unto the Catholick Faith moſt deadly, which communicate with true Catholicks in moſt principles, and yet ſwarve groſly from them, and from the truth, in ſome particular principles or practices thereon grounded. As, for an Heathen to hold murther, or inceſt, to be no ſin, is not a crime ſo heynous, as the like in a Jew: For a Jew to licence or authorize inceſtuous mariages, to allow or reward the murther of Chriſtians, for whom Chriſt ſhed his blood, includes not ſo great an enmity unto Chriſt and his Laws; it argues not ſo high a degree of infidelity, as the like practice or opinions do in him, that profeſſeth himſelf to be a Chriſtian, to be a ſucceſſor of Chriſts Apoſtles, to be Chriſts Vicar here on earth,

5. To prove our intended concluſion by full induction; firſt, let inquiry be made what pillage and ſpoils of Eccleſiaſtical Benefices the Pope, or (which is all one) the Church of *Rome* hath made by Bulls of proviſion throughout this and other Kingdoms; whereby many Chriſtians have been induced to account ſacriledge no ſin. Secondly, what oaths, whether of allegiance from Subjects to their Soveraigns, or of ſolemn leagues betwixt Prince and Prince or free Soveraignties, or of ſolemn contracts betwixt man and wife, have been diſpenſed

withall, and utterly nullified by the Pope; by which means a great part of the Chriſtian world have been ſeduced to eſteem breach of lawfull vowes or perjury joyned with diſloyalty, to be no ſin. Thirdly, what mariages the Pope hath licenced between parties forbidden to marry, not only by the Law of God, but by the civil Law of the Ancient Romans, and other Nations, by which means many great Families, and whole Chriſtian Kingdoms have been induced to account ſuch inceſt or fornication, as was loathſom to the Gentiles, to be no ſin. Fourthly, what maſſacres or cruel butcheries of men never convicted or condemned by courſe of Law, have been either licenced before hand, or commanded, or elſe allowed, approved, and commended after the fact done, by the Pope; whereby many Chriſtians have been ſeduced to account cruel murther no ſin, but a meritorious act, yea an act of mercy and pity towards Chriſts Church. If all ſuch particulars as belong to every branch here ſpecified, and have been related by unpartial Hiſtorians, were duly collected and examined with the circumſtances; we might refer it to any Heathen Civilian, to any whom God hath not given over to *a reprobate ſenſe* to believe lies, whether the ſuppoſed infallibility of the Romiſh Church, or the prerogative given to the Pope by his followers, be not, according to the Evangelical Law and their own tenents, worſe then Hereſie, and worſe then any branch of Infidelity, whereof any Jew or Heathen is capable; yea the very *ακμὴ* or period of Antichriſtianiſme.

Why ſhould we look for a greater Antichriſt in *Rome* or elſewhere, then hath been already revealed, when as the Pope hath herein manifeſted himſelf to be the *firſt born of Satan*, in that he takes authority upon him to execute the prerogative wherein Satan and his Angels moſt delight; that is, *of turning Gods affirmative precepts into negatives, and Gods negative precepts into affirmatives.*

6. Amongſt other explicit Articles of the Roman Creed, which every Biſhop at his conſecration is bound by oath to maintain, this is one; that in the Maſs there is, *ſacrificium verum proprium & propitiatorium pro vivis & defunctis, A propitiatory ſacrifice as well for the dead as for the living.* How far this Hereſie doth contaminate or overthrow the Canon of Catholick Faith, into which it is inſerted by *Pius Quartus*, as it were a toad or ſpider put into the Chalice or Wine of the ſacred Euchariſt, I am not now to meddle. My only purpoſe for this preſent is, to give the Reader to underſtand, that failing in other points about conſecration of Biſhops in *England*, their principal exceptions againſt our Church and Miniſtery is, that our Prieſts in their ordination do not receive the power of *ſacrificing* Chriſts body and blood in the Sacrament. But their inſerting this clauſe into the form of ordination, doth prove their Prieſthood to be Antichriſtian. And as many as received ordination in this form, had the number, though not the character of the Beaſt. And although this clauſe did not nullifie their Prieſthood which had been thus ordained before the doctrine of the preſent Maſs was fully diſcovered to be a part of Antichriſts Liturgy; yet doth it now make all communion with them either in ordination, or in the Romiſh Sacrament of the Euchariſt to be a deſperate Hereſie: and for this cauſe the controverſie about the Maſs muſt be reſerved to the ſecond Book of this Treatiſe.

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TO THE
READER,

WHO in the peruſal of the inſuing Diſcourſes will find, that they are grounded upon *Rom.* xiii. 1. *&c.* verſes. And that they were Sermons upon that Text. The two or three firſt, have *Reſpect* unto the former part of His Twelfth Book. And all have *A Proſpect* to a little Book in Octavo, which ſpeaks great things for the Biſhop of *Rome* : *Ampullas & ſeſquipedalia verba* : printed *Anno Dom.* 1617. (the place where is not ſet down) Intituled, *The Right and Juriſdiction of the Prelate and the Prince, &c.* Compiled by *J. E.* Student in Divinity, *&c:* This *J.E.* (amongſt many other erroneous Opinions in his Book) in his Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Chapters labours to prove, *That Princes, Kings, yea Emperors, have no authority to govern the Church, or to make Eccleſiaſtical Laws, &c. But, that the Pope, though he be not direct temporal Lord of the World, nor of any part thereof by Chriſts expreſs gift— : yet by the ſpiritual power which Chriſt gave him, in his Predeceſſor St.* Peter (Jo. 21.) *may diſpoſe of temporal things, even of Kingdoms, for the good of the Church—*&c. *And in ſome caſes can, even by Deprivation, chaſtiſe Princes who are Rebellious, and do tyrannically perſecute the Church —.* And whereas one, either the true, or a perſonated *Roger Widdrington* and ſome others of Romiſh perſwaſion, had ſo much Conſcience and Loyalty, He, to write for the lawfulneſs of taking *The Oath of Allegiance*, and they to take the ſame: This *J. E.* in his Fifteenth Chapter, ſtrives to prove; *That the Oath can neither be propoſed nor taken without ſin.*

Againſt this bold Author, on the one hand; and on the other, againſt ſuch amongſt us, as yield not due obedience either to *Laws Civil* or *Eccleſiaſtical*; to their *Prince*, or to their *Prelate*, doth our good Author level much of his Diſcourſe.

The Reader may (perhaps) be content to be advertiſed of one particular more: *viz.* That there be two Books which paſs under the name of *Roger Widdrington.* One called, *Diſputatio Theologica de Juramento Fidelitatis*, quoted often by *J. E.* in his Fifteenth Chapter: The other, *Reſponſio Apologetica*, cited by *J. E. pag.* 295. But I have heard a very ancient and moſt learned Man, Mr. *Herbert Thorndike* of *Happy Memory*, ſay, That the reputed Author (at leaſt of one of thoſe Books) was a Prieſt of the Church of *Rome*, called *Father Preſton*, who was priſoner in the *Clink* in *Southwark*, and being afraid of hard uſage, choſe to continue ſo, rather to enjoy a dangerful liberty, eſteeming his Priſon a Caſtle or Sanctuary rather than a Gaol.

CHAPTER I.

The Contents.

The bounds of Chriſtian Obedience moſt neceſſary to be known. Whether the Civil or Eccleſiaſtical power be moſt abſolutely Supream: Whether Regal or Papal be ſo.

CHAPTER I.

ROM. 13. 1, &c.

Let every ſoul be ſubject to the higher Powers, &c.

§.1 FOR holding the unity of The Holy Catholick Faith in the bond of Chriſtian Love, no branch of knowledge is of like avail; as to know the Bounds of *Chriſtian Obedience.* For *Faith* and *Obedience* are ſo near allyed, that he which knows not the limits of the one, muſt needs tranſgreſs the bounds and limits of the other; or at leaſt be defective in obſerving them. The very ſeeds of Chriſtian Faith (as experienced Seeds-men too well know) cannot be ſown in their hearers hearts, until they be molded into Civil *Obedience.* Yet until Chriſtian Faith be not only ſown, but uniformly ſet in mens hearts; their beſt *Obedience* is but blind: and being ſuch, the more zealous it is in the *General*, the more prone it is to ſtumble or fall, into *Particulars* of greateſt danger. As nothing to a blind man is more dangerous, then to intend his ſtrength; to run (as we ſay) his full ſpeed, without a truſty guide to acquaint him with the particular differences of the ground. Nothing again can make ſo wide a rupture in the bond of Peace, and ſet the Pillars of the Church Militant ſo far at odds, as the proneneſs of Superiors to challenge more then is due to them: and the backwardneſs of inferiours to render ſo much Obedience as is juſtly due from them. This hath been the original of all ſedition and mutiny in States or Common-weals; and nothing but this bred that lamentable Schiſm, or Rift in the walls of Gods houſe, *and* is now ready to rend the Roof from the Foundation. Thus by Satans policy it is come to paſs, that the controverſies concerning *Obedience* (which ſhould ſet an end to all other contentions) are become in this laſt Age almoſt endleſs; or at leaſt in human ſight remedileſs.

§. 2. That *Obedience* is moſt due to *Higher Powers*, no inferiour, that bears the name of a Chriſtian, dares deny, *In Theſi.* But this firm agreement in the *General* ſerves only to intend the contrariety, or to abet contentions about *Particulars.* The heat of the contention is either about the meaſure of *Obedience* which is due to any, even to the

Higheſt Powers on earth (and this directly between ſuperiors and inferiors:) Or it is between the Higher Powers themſelves, which of them ſhould be accounted Higheſt, or to whom inferiors ſhould be moſt abſolutely ſubject. *The Branches of this contention are eſpecially two.* The Firſt moſt General and tranſcendent, *Whether the Spiritual or Temporal*, or in other tearms, the *Civil*, or *Eccleſiaſtical Power* be to be eſteemed by all good Chriſtians more abſolutely ſupream? The ſecond, *Whether the Regal* or *Papal Power* be more ſoveraign? To begin with the *Former*.

§.3. The Advocates for the Romiſh Church commonly begin their plea at that point of compariſon, which no good proteſtant can well deny, without diſparagement to the cauſe in hand, without diſadvantage to the main Concluſion, which he is to make good againſt them. That (ſay they) is more Excellent, which is *more immediately from God*, and is for quality *more like unto the moſt excellent nature*, But ſuch is the *power ſpiritual*, by which the Kingdom of heaven is propagated and conſerved, whereas the moſt ſoveraign effects of the higheſt temporal or civil Powers are but the eſtabliſhment or preſervation of Kingdoms or Societies temporal.

That the *Power Spiritual* indefinitely and abſolutely taken, is for *Quality* more excellent Then meer *Temporal Power* ſo taken, may not be denyed. But, *That Temporal Powers are not immediately from God*, will be hard for the Romaniſt to prove. The Inſtances of *Adam*, *Melchiſedeck*, *Moſes*, *Saul*, and *David* prove the contrary. And the Author of the Book entituled, *The Right of the Prelate and the Prince*, granteth, that, in the law of nature, The firſt begotten of every Family were Prieſts and temporal Lords *Melchiſedeck* alſo, and *Moſes*, and the *Maccabees*, were Prieſts and Princes. For which he citeth St. *Hierom. Epiſt.* 126. *ad Evagrium. See Chapter* 6. §. 1. *pag.* 116. That *Power Royal*, or *Government Monarchical*, though immediately from God, is not ſo abſolutely and univerſally neceſſary to the *meer Being of a Chriſtian Church*, as *Spiritual Power* abſtractly and indefinitely taken, or as Power Apoſtolical at firſt was, and as *The ordinary power* thereof in ſucceſſion is, may, without prejudice to *Truth* or to *Royal Majeſty*, be granted.

But yet the Church is never ſo happy, as when Kings (bringing their Power into the Church, to the advancement of Chriſts Kingdom within their Dominions) Become, *Nurſing Fathers* (of the Fathers and Children) of Chriſts Church; providing *that they may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godlineſs and honeſty.* So that part of the argument fails, which ſays, That *power Regal procures onely Temporal Good.*

No man denies but that there may be a Supream lawful Temporal Power or independent Government without *Power Royal* or Monarchical. The *Venetian* Common-wealth is as abſolute and independent as either the Kingdom of *France* or of *Spain.* He that ſhould diſobey the Duke and Senate of *Venice* in any caſe temporal, ſhould be as guilty of diſobedience againſt *This precept* of our *Apoſtle* here in my *Text*, as any *French* man that ſhould diſobey the *French King*, or any *Spaniard* that ſhould appeal from the *King of Spain*, in a cauſe civil or temporal. But as there may be abſolute ſoveraignties or Common-wealths without one abſolute *King* or Monarch; ſo can there not (as ſome learned Prelates think) be any true viſible Church without Epiſcopal Authority.

Yet all this will never infer, that the perſons in whom this *Spiritual*

Power is veſted ſhould have ſoveraignty over ***Kings:*** to whom St. *Peter*, after he had received his ***Power Spiritual*** from his Maſter, gives the Stile and Title of ***Supream***; remembring well that ***Chriſts Kingdom was not of this world:*** and arrogating to himſelf no greater gift of power then Chriſt himſelf was ſeazed on. No more then that part of the Argument [***more like unto the moſt excellent nature***] will infer, That the man who is beſt accompliſhed with ſpiritual Graces, and conſequently moſt ***partaker of the Divine nature***, may, ***de jure***, claim the government of the World; or of the Kingdom, County, or Corporation wherein he lives.

Solomon ſays, ***The Righteous is more excellent then his neighbour.*** Yet yield but once, what is preſuppoſed to the Argument, That the greateſt excellencie qualifies for the challenging of Supremacie; or which is much the ſame, That dominion over the Creature is founded in Grace (by reaſon that ſpiritual Graces be far more excellent then ſpiritual Gifts: and ***ſpiritual power is but a Gift:***) and then tempt the precious Saints to muſter ***Decem Legiones***; and if God ſuffer them to proſper, they will be ***the godly party*** whether man will or no. Prov. 12. 26.

The efficacie and excellence of ***Grace ſpiritual*** is ſeen in qualifying all that have it for the Kingdom of Heaven: but not all for the government of earthly Kingdoms or Churches. But where it is beſtowed upon ſuch as be lawfully endued either with power temporal or ſpiritual, there it ſanctifies their ſeveral miniſtrations to Gods glory, their own account, and to the benefit of all under their reſpective Governments.

And ſo the excellencie of Power Spiritual (even when it is veſted in perſons not ſanctified with ſpiritual Grace) is manifeſted, not in advancing thoſe that have it above the Kings of the earth, but in this rather, That being beſtowed upon inferiors and ſubjects, it enables them with Commiſſion and Gifts to preach Chriſt before Kings; to negotiate ***as Ambaſſadors for Chriſt***, ***as though God did beſeech*** Kings ***by them:*** and they in Chriſts ſtead did pray them to be reconciled to God: and in Chriſts name to prevail ſo with them by Demonſtration of the truth in Chriſt, that being convinced and perſwaded, they embrace the Faith, continue therein, maintain the Power Spiritual not only in its due priviledges, but with ſuch advantages and encouragements ſecular, as may facilitate the Goſpels propagation, and the multiplication of Grace and Peace amongſt Chriſtians. 2 Cor. 5. 20.

§. 4. For further anſwer to the foregoing Argument, it ſhall ſuffice to note, that the Romaniſt makes an unequal compariſon, and ſets the terms of his proportion ***Awry***, when he compares ſpiritual power indefinitely taken with power ***Royal***, or ***Monarchical***, which is but a branch, though the higheſt branch of power civil or temporal. The queſtion ſhould be betwixt ***Authority ſpiritual***, or Eccleſiaſtick, indefinitely taken; and between Power Civil or temporal alike indefinitely taken. Power temporal or civil thus taken, is immediately from God, and government temporal it ſelf in ſome one kind or other (that is, Monarchical, Ariſtocratical, or mixt, or &c.) is ***de Jure divino***, as well as power ſpiritual or Eccleſiaſtick is. They are ſo ***de jure divino*** that without ſubjection to Higher Powers temporal, there can be no Kingdom, no Common-wealth, or lawful Society of men. The compariſon again ſhould be ſet between power Royal, or Monarchical (which is the higheſt branch of Power temporal) and the power Papal or Pontifical which is the higheſt branch (by the Romaniſts acknowledgement) of power ſpiritual. Now that the *Royal power* is more immediately from God then the Papal power, though ſome later Romaniſts have denyed, we ſhall prove by Gods aſſiſtance, in our Anſwer to their Objections. The firſt whereof you heard before, to wit, *That the Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical is more excellent then the temporal*; yet not therefore more excellent in that it is more immediately from God, then the temporal is; but that it is from a more ſpecial beam of celeſtial or divine influence, then the temporal power is. For unto the invention of human Laws or Government, no ſupernatural grace or indowments were neceſſary. Mans natural reaſon by the guidance of Gods providence did begin, erect and eſtabliſh temporal Kingdoms, or Common-wealths; whereas the doctrin of the Kingdom of Heaven, or the ſpiritual Laws, by which the Church of Chriſt is directed, could not be propagated, much leſs could the Kingdom of God be planted in mens hearts without ſpecial Gifts or Graces, or participation of the Spirit, aſwell in the Paſtor or Teacher, as in the Hearer. Kingdoms and Common-wealths were come to their height before our Saviours *Aſcenſion* into Heaven. So was not the Church or Kingdom of Chriſt. Therefore, *when he aſcended* (ſaith St. *Paul*, *Epheſ.* 4. 11.) *he gave ſome Apoſtles, and ſome Prophets, and ſome Evangeliſts, and ſome Paſtors, and Teachers for the perfecting of the Saints; for the work of the Miniſtery, for the edifying of the body of Chriſt.* That which our Apoſtle in this place ſpeaks of, was foretold by the Pſalmiſt, and was accompliſhed in the day of *Pentecoſt*, after our Saviours *Aſcenſion*, as you may read *Acts* 2. 3, 4. And all this was done according to our Saviours promiſe. *He commanded them that they ſhould not depart from Jeruſalem, but wait for the promiſe of the Father*; *which*, ſaith he, *you have heard of me.* And again, *ver.* 8. *Ye ſhall receive power after the Holy Ghoſt is come upon you, and ye ſhall be witneſſes unto me both in Jeruſalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermoſt parts of the earth.* If we conſider the manner how the ſpiritual Power (whereby the Church of Chriſt or Kingdom of God is erected) was firſt communicated unto the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors, we cannot deny, but that as the qualification, ſo likewiſe the donation or communication of it, was more admirable then the donation of the power or qualification which God beſtows upon temporal Kings or Princes. The Concluſion then is, that if we compare the ſpiritual power with the temporal in *Abſtracto* or by themſelves, they differ as much for excellencie as the viſible *Jeruſalem*, which was in *Davids* time, doth from the new *Jeruſalem* which comes down from Heaven.

Pſalm. 68. 18.

Acts 1. 4.

§. 5. But how excellent ſoever the ſpiritual power be in it ſelf, or how far ſoever it excel the power temporal, this will never infer the Concluſion intended by the Romaniſt; which is, that we owe more abſolute Obedience unto ſpiritual perſons or Eccleſiaſtick Governours, then we do unto Kings or Princes, or ſuch as they call ſecular Governours. The *Dolphin of France*, the Prince or *Infanta of Spain* are parties more excellent, then a Burgrave of ſome ordinary City or Freeſtate in *Germany*. Yet there is no German Burger but owes more obedience to the Burgrave or chief Governour of the City wherein he lives, then he doth either to the Dolphin of *France*, or Prince of *Spain*; becauſe how excellent ſoever they be whileſt compared with other men of place or dignity, yet ſuch as live not in their Dominions, are not ſubordinate to their Power or Juriſdiction, and being not ſubject to their Power or Juriſdiction, they owe them only reſpect and reverence no legal Obedience. In like manner how excellent ſoever the power ſpiritual or eccleſiaſtick be in it ſelf, or whileſt compared with temporal dignities, yet will it not hence follow that temporal powers, or dignities, ſhall be in temporal ſubjection, or owe obedience unto it. Otherwiſe the Roman Clergy might challenge Juriſdiction over the great Turk, or other heathen Princes; which yet they do not in word or expreſs termes, but rather diſclaim the Title given to the Pope by ſome Canoniſts as unjuſt and ſcurrilous: But how juſtly or truly, comes hereafter to be examined. We now take that which they expreſly grant; to wit, that the ſuperexcellency of the ſpiritual power in reſpect of the temporal, doth not infer a civil or temporal ſubordination of the one unto the other, without which temporal Governours cannot be convinced to owe obedience, or to be ſubject to Eccleſiaſtick Governours.

§ 6. That all temporal powers and laws are truly ſubordinate to the ſpiritual power or eccleſiaſtick laws, may thus with probability plauſibly be pleaded. Firſt it cannot be denyed but that Kingdoms and Common-wealths, Kings and Princes themſelves were made Chriſtians, or members of Chriſts Church by the Apoſtles, and their Succeſſors, which had received ſpiritual power, immediately from Chriſt. Now it is not to be imagined, that either the Apoſtles or their Succeſſors would admit any into the Church, or make them partakers of the Word and Sacraments, without adminiſtring to them an oath of allegiance *unto the Lord of Lords, and King of Kings*; without that ſolemn care for obſerving of Gods laws, which we do this day take of every Infant, though Heir Apparent to the Crown, by his ſureties, at his Baptiſm; ſo that no King or Monarch, no Potentate temporal can ſo much as plead his title to Chriſtianity, or pretend his right unto the Sacraments of Chriſt, but he muſt withal acknowledge himſelf likewiſe bound to alter, revoke, and repeal, whatſoever laws or conſtitutions temporal, whether made by himſelf or by his predeceſſors, which ſhall be contrary or repugnant to the laws, or inconſiſtent with the ordinances of Chriſt his Lord and God. And if the laws of Kings and Princes, or of every Chriſtian Common-wealth muſt be thus abſolutely ſubordinate to the laws of Chriſt, doth it not ſtand aſwell with reaſon, as with Religion, that the Interpreters of the laws Civil or temporal ſhould be in the like ſubordination, to the interpreters of the Laws ſpiritual, or Ordinances of Chriſt; unleſs perhaps you will ſay, that the Interpreters of laws temporal or civil are better qualified for their function then the Interpreters of laws ſpiritual are for theirs: But to ſay this is void of reaſon: Firſt, becauſe ſkill in every faculty or function doth come by induſtry, or experience in the ſame faculty or function; and it cannot be denyed, but that the Interpreters of Divine Laws, have been and may be, men of as profound judgment and learning, men every way capable of as great improvement in their wits and judgment in matters which they moſt affect or mind, men altogether as indefatigable and induſtrious in their ſtudies, as the Interpreters of temporal laws are, and why then ſhould they not be aſwell believed in their proper faculty, that is in the interpretation of Laws divine, and ſpiritual, as temporal Judges are in their interpretations of Laws temporal? ſpecially ſeeing the interpreters of Laws ſpiritual have more peculiar promiſes for the aſſiſtance of Gods Spirit by whom Gods Laws were firſt written, then the Interpreters of Laws temporal have any. And if the Interpreters of the divine or laws ſpiritual be aſwell or better to be believed in their interpretations, then the Interpreters of laws temporal are, the Interpreters of laws temporal muſt be ſubordinate to the Interpreters of laws ſpiritual, becauſe the laws temporal are ſubordinate to the laws ſpiritual, and by conſequence every good Chriſtian which is ſubject to both muſt owe more abſolute obedience to the Eccleſiaſtical Magiſtrate or Interpreters of laws ſpiritual, then he doth unto the temporal Magiſtrate or Interpreters of laws temporal or civil. Every good Law (as one ſaith) is a ſilent or *tacit* Magiſtrate, and every good Magiſtrate is a ſpeaking Law. Now if the ſilent, or *tacit* Magiſtrate temporal be ſubordinate, or ſubject unto the *tacit* or ſilent Magiſtrate ſpiritual, what reaſon can be imagined why the ſpeaking law temporal ſhould not be ſubordinate or ſubject to the ſpeaking Law ſpiritual or eccleſiaſtick, which is no other then the ſpiritual or eccleſiaſtick Magiſtrate, who, for theſe reaſons, may juſtly ſeem to be the ſupream Magiſtrate in every Common-wealth or Kingdom truly Chriſtian.

§. 7. To theſe Objections ſome learned Proteſtants anſwer, that not only temporal laws, but all temporal power is ſubordinate to the power ſpiritual or eccleſiaſtick; and temporal Magiſtrates ſubordinate likewiſe to the power eccleſiaſtick, or to the Interpreters of Gods Laws, unto Chriſts Embaſſadors, *Quoad poteſtatem directivam*, though not *Quoad poteſtatem coërcivam*: that is, they are bound in conſcience and by allegiance to Chriſt and his laws, to be directed by his Ambaſſadors aſwell in making of laws, as in the managing of many publick affairs; albeit Chriſts Embaſſadors have no power or authority to compell the temporal Magiſtrate to follow their directions, much leſs to execute their deſigns or commands: no not when they command nothing but that which Chriſt already by his Laws hath commanded. To this anſwer we may further add, that the temporal or civil power is ſubordinate to the power eccleſiaſtick, not only as it is *directive*, but as it is in ſome manner *coercive*. For to ſay, There is no manner of eccleſiaſtick *coercive* power on earth, were to derogate from the authority which Chriſt hath given to his Church; and if we grant a power eccleſiaſtick *Coërcive*, we may not ſubmit it to the temporary power *Coërcive*. All this may be granted without any the leaſt prejudice to the Priviledges of ſoveraignties of Common-wealths whether Democratical or Ariſtocratical, or without impeachment or impairment of the prerogatives of *Kings and Monarchs*. And this Aſſertion is ſo far from giving any advantage to the chief enemy of our Church and Common-weal, (I mean the *Romaniſt*) that if it be rightly explicated it will dead the ſtrength of their ſtrongeſt Objections, and quell the poyſon of their odious invectives againſt us. For however they bear the world in hand with the former plauſible premiſſes, concerning the excellencie of the ſpiritual power, in reſpect of the temporal, or with the ſubordination of authority Civil, unto the authority Eccleſiaſtick (as if they intended no more in practiſe then what will follow out of the former premiſſes or ſpeculative principles) yet in the iſſue, theſe cunning Juglers by ſleighty conveighance ſecretly ſhuffle in other principles from which their traiterous concluſions, and rebellious practiſes, are neceſſarily derived, and may clearly be convinced.

§. 8. The premiſſes by which they muſt be convinced of treaſon, and rebellion, are Theſe eſpecially. *Firſt*, they take it as granted (or at leaſt hope to paſs with it uneſpied) that the Eccleſiaſtick power aſwell directive as coercive is intirely ſeated in the body of the Clergy, as it is an order of men diſtinct from the Layitie. *Secondly*, They inveſt the body of the Clergy with all the priviledges and prerogatives of an abſolute independent Common-wealth, able to make Laws by it ſelf, and will not permit the body or community of the Layety, (no not as it conſiſts of Prince, and People, of Magiſtrates and private Men) to be any parts or members of the Church, or of that ſociety which hath power to make Laws Eccleſiaſtick. They hold it as the abomination of deſolation ſitting in the holy place, to permit ſecular Princes or Magiſtrates either to give voyce or ſuffrage in deciding controverſies of Faith, or in making Laws or Canons whether directive or coercive, or to intermeddle in the execution of or diſpenſation with ſuch Canons, otherwiſe then they ſhall be directed and appointed by the Clergy. *Thirdly*, they make the body of the Clergy, (which they thus inveſt with all the prerogatives of a Common-wealth) to be a Kingdom or Monarchical kind of Government: and make the Pope or Biſhop of *Rome* a more abſolute Monarch over all perſons and in all cauſes Eccleſiaſtick over the whole Church repreſentative, then Kings or Emperours are over their Layety in cauſes temporal.

§. 9. Theſe be the Premiſſes, which once granted will neceſſarily bring forth that dangerous concluſion which will inevitably draw all States and Kingdoms as well Heathen as Chriſtian into the Romiſh Net. So that every Pope in his generation is a fiſher of men, and may have a fairer draught at his pleaſure of Princes and Potentates then St. *Peter* had of Fiſhes, when he ſaid unto our Saviour, *Lord depart from me for I am a ſinful man.* But ſeeing the moſt part of Modern Prieſts and Jeſuits do grant that the Pope by being Chriſts Vicar-general in matters ſpiritual hath no dominion or Lordſhip, no Juriſdiction over ſuch as are not in the Church, much leſs over Princes and Potentates heathen, how can their doctrin be juſtly cenſured for tending to the captivation or ſubjection of heathen Princes or Monarchs? *What have I to do,* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *to judge ſuch as are without? do not* ye judge ſuch as are *within the Church? ſuch as are without God ſhall judge.* This ſaying of St. *Paul* the Romiſh Church, doth in words acknowledge for canonical: But St. *Paul* and St. *Peter* were but ſimple Fiſhers; they had not the wit or skill to angle for ſuch great ones, as Modern Prieſts and Jeſuits know to hook; nor to draw ſuch multitudes to their ſpiritual Net, as theſe do into their temporal. The former principle [*That the Church repreſentative or body of the Clergy is by God endowed with all the priviledges of an abſolute independent common-wealth*] preſuppoſed, the firſt and main thred of their temporal Net, is *This:* No ſtate or Kingdom is ſo abſolute in it ſelf, ſo independant on others, or ſo ſupream over ſome others, but that it may make it ſelf inferiour unto ſome other Free-State or Kingdom by doing it manifeſt wrong, without ſecurity of doing it right. For every one that doth wrong to another, doth ſubject, or make himſelf inferior to that other, until he be ready to make an amends, or recompence for the wrongs done. Now in caſe any Nation or Kingdom have openly wronged an other, and will not be as ready to make it recompence; the State wronged may do it ſelf right by open War or other coercive means. And ſeeing the end of all War is juſt Peace, whoſoever hath power to begin a juſt War, hath full power and authority to proſecute the War ſo begun; though it be to the death or depoſition of him, or them, that did the wrong, and would not do right when ſatisfaction was demanded, in caſe that peace (which is the work of juſtice) cannot be obteined or ſetled without the death or depoſition of him them that either did the

1 Cor. 5. 12, 13.

the wrong, or maintein or abet the doers of it. Many States or Nations, which were originally free or independent, have by theſe means become ſubject and tributary unto others. No civil Nation or People did ever pretend to bring others into ſubjection, but upon allegation of wrongs (at leaſt pretended) to have been received from them, without any juſt recompence or ſatisfaction. Now the Title of Conqueſt is held the moſt ſoveraign Title that any King or Potentate can pretend for his abſolute Monarchy, or ſupremacy; and this Title is never ſo juſt and good, as when the conquered puts it into the conquerours hand, by denying him, or his people juſtice or ſatisfaction for his wrong done.

§. 10. But what advantage can the Church or Clergy of *Rome* get by this plea againſt heathen Princes? much every way, if their former principles were true. Other States or Kingdoms how abſolute or free ſoever cannot take any juſt occaſion to captivate their neighbours until their neighbours excite them to it by ſome wrong; but the Pope or Church of *Rome* can both give and take occaſion to invade or ſubdue any Nation or Kingdom upon the earth, as oft as they pleaſe, or ſhall ſee opportunity to effect their deſigns. Their general or tranſcendent Title to ſubdue or captivate Kingdoms is this. Our Saviour Chriſt at his *Aſcenſion* gave this Commiſſion to his Apoſtles, *Ite, prædicate*; *Go teach all Nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the holy Ghoſt.* This Commiſſion did not expire with that age. Our Saviour Chriſt as (ſay the Romaniſts) left the ſame authority with St. *Peter*; St. *Peter* left it in his Chair at *Rome*; and from his Chair it is derived unto all St. *Peters* ſucceſſors, unto every Pope in his generation. Every Pope hath *ſupremum jus prædicandi Evangelium*, ſupream authority to preach the Goſpel, power to deligate ſuch Embaſſadors as he ſhall pleaſe for preaching the Goſpel to all Nations under heaven, to Baptiſe and Catechiſe them in the Roman Catholick Faith. But what if any Nation will not entertain ſuch Embaſſadours as he ſhall ſend, but deny them entrance into their Cities, or puniſh them as ſowers of Sedition or Rebellion, if they ſhall preſume to intrude themſelves into their Dominions? By any of theſe means or the like, the moſt abſolute ſoveraignty or heathen Empire through the world may make it ſelf ſubject to the Pope or Church of *Rome*, or give them a juſt title, (if their principles be true) to ſubdue or conquer them. The caſe is all one as if the State of A. which is alway ſubject to the State of B. ſhould offer violence, or diſgrace to an Embaſſadour of B. or not permit him to receive ſuch moneys, or emoluments as are due unto his Maſter. In like manner what Nation ſoever ſhall deny ſuch Prieſts or Jeſuits, as the Pope ſhall ſend, liberty to preach the Roman Catholick Faith, or ſhall reſtrain their Commiſſion given by the Pope, doth thereby expoſe it ſelf to juſt war; and *whomſoever* the Pope ſhall authorize to manage the war, in maintainance of his right, or for recompencing the loſs or damage done to his ſervants, he may lawfully proceed to the depoſition of the Prince, or Potentate ſo offending. And may ſubject his Kingdom or People to the See of *Rome*; or to any other temporal Prince on whom the Pope ſhall pleaſe to beſtow it. This was the only Title the *Spaniard* could pretend for bringing the poor *Americanes* or *Weſt-Indians* under this heavy yoke; becauſe they would not ſuffer the Romiſh Prieſts to uſe ſuch means as they thought fitteſt for propogating the Romiſh Catholick Faith amongſt them.

§. 11. Suppoſe thoſe of *China* or other Nations of the *Eaſt-Indians* did throughly underſtand the myſtery of this iniquity (as there is no queſtion but ſome of them ſuſpected it) all theſe Fryers and Jeſuits which the Romiſh Church doth celebrate as Martyrs, are juſtly by them put to death as Traitors and Enemies to the State. Howbeit it cannot be ſo great a grief or heart-burning to every Subject or good Patriot, to ſee his Country indangered or brought to ruin, by this pretence of ſubduing them to the Goſpel, as it is to every good Chriſtian (though but a by-ſtander or ſpectator of the proceeding) to ſee and conſider, how the Kingdom of Grace (the Goſpel of Peace which is the power of God unto Salvation) ſhould, by theſe impious Seducers, become a *Stale* to imbrue the World in blood, to work the ruin of Prince and People, and the ſubverſion of mighty Nations.

§. 12. But it will be replyed that if it ſhall happen that any heathen Prince ſhall be depoſed, or any State or Kingdom come to ruin by this means, the fault is their own, for if they would hearken to the Roman Catholick Faith, which theſe men preach they may reſt ſecure, that the Pope will never make war againſt them, or authorize others to invade or conquer them. But ſuppoſe any heathen State or Kingdom, would duly hearken to the Popes Meſſengers or Embaſſadours, and admit of whatſoever they teach, for Goſpel, ſhould they be in any better caſe then they are by denying them entertainment? or ſhould their Kings and Princes be as ſoveraign Rulers after they became Chriſtians as they were before? No, every one that ſo much as liſtens to the Popes Catechiſm, doth thereby become a Son of the Church, and by receiving this favour or bleſſing at the Churches hand, he binds himſelf to the obedience of a Son, and what harm in all this? There were none, if it were ſo with the Sons of the Romiſh Church, as it is with the Sons of God. *If ye be ſons, (to wit, of God,* ſaith the Apoſtle) *then are ye heirs, coheirs with Chriſt.* But heathen Kings or Princes by becoming Sons of the Romiſh Church diſinherit themſelves of their Kingdoms; they are not ſo much as heirs apparent to the Crown, but ſtand in the condition or State of ſlaves, for howſoever theſe Impoſtors acknowledge Kings to be ſupream Governours in cauſes temporal, and with theſe fair titles deceive the people, as if they intended no treaſon or were not Traitors: yet when they ſay they are ſupream Governours only in cauſes temporal, they make them ſupream Governours only in thoſe matters which by their doctrin are eſſentially ſubordinate and ſubject to forraign Eccleſiaſtick power coercive; and this in effect is no more than if they ſaid; *Kings, and Monarchs are the Popes chief ſlaves* or ſupream ſervants; for even amongſt ſlaves, or bond-Men; ſome are of higher, ſome of lower, others of a middle rank; no King or Prince by their doctrin can truly be accounted a Free-man or Deniſon in the State wherein he lives, ſeeing no King can have ſo much as a voyce or ſuffrage in making thoſe Eccleſiaſtick Canons, unto which he, his people, all his Laws temporal are ſubordinate and ſubject. For no man would think him to be a free-man in any corporation, that hath no voyce in making the temporal Laws, by which he is to be governed, or at leaſt in chuſing ſuch of them as have intereſt in the making of publick Laws.

§. 13. Suppoſe any Prince that hath been baptiſed, ſhould take upon him to make any Law with the conſent of his people which might be thought to croſs the Canons of the Church of Rome, as (for example) to reſtrain his ſubjects for giving lands to the maintenance of Romiſh Prieſts, and Jeſuits; this Law is void and muſt be repealed; otherwiſe, the Prince that makes it may be depoſed by whomſoever the Pope ſhall appoint for the execution of his ſentence. And after a King be once blaſted with the Popes breath thundering out an Excommunication againſt him, any man may without danger be his executioner; nay to be the executioner or hangman of ſuch as the Pope condemns, is a more honourable ſervice, than to be a temporal Judge or ſupream Magiſtrate; It is a work by their doctrin *meritorious* of glory. Yet all of them do not hold the temporal Authority to be thus far inſlaved to the Eccleſiaſtick power, as that the Pope may at his pleaſure depoſe ſuch Kings as ſhall contradict his Laws. For ſome Roman Catholicks (as they would be called) will take the *Oath of Allegiance*, and by ſo doing, they ſeem to diſclaim this pretended Authority of the Church of *Rome* as an uſurpation, and not to hold it an Article of their Faith.

CHAP. II.

The Doctrin of the Romaniſt concerning the viſible Churches Conſtitution and Infallibility. The Council of Lateran's *Decree againſt Temporal Lords that did not purge their Lands of Hereticks. Pope* Gregory *the 7th in a rational Council at* Rome *depoſed the Emperor* Henry *the 4th The Queſtion [whether the Pope have power to depoſe Princes] handled. The Kings ſupremacy maintained.*

§. 1. BY the viſible Church (which in the Romaniſts doctrin, *cannot erre*) they alwayes mean either *the Church Repreſentative*, or the *virtual Church*. The Church repreſentative is (in their Language) either a general Council called and approved of by the Pope; or a National or Provincial Council wherein the Pope ſits as Preſident, or the Pope and his Cardinals. The virtual Church (according to their doctrin) is the Pope alone ſpeaking *E. Cathedrâ*. And he alone, whileſt he thus ſpeaks, is as infallible as the Church Repreſentative in the ampleſt extent, *to wit*, a General Council. For that a Council cannot err it meerly proceeds from the virtue of the Popes infallibility ſpeaking *E. Cathedrâ*; who is alwaies preſumed thus to ſpeak in his Ratifications whether of General or Provincial Councils, though not only then; but even when he ſpeaks alone, without the aſſiſtance or ſuffrages of Councils or Cardinals ſo he ſpeaks to all, and exact belief or obedience to his Decrees or Injunctions at the hands of all Chriſtian people.

§. 2. Now if the Romiſh Church (taken in all or any of theſe ſenſes for the Church Repreſentative or Virtual) be infallible, then the Pope may depoſe Princes and give their Crowns to others. For in the Council of *Lateran* (which was as General and Univerſal as any Council ever was, wherein the Pope did either ſit as Preſident, or gave ſuffrage) it was *Decreed, That ſuch temporal Lords, as would not purge their Lands and territories of Hereticks,* and hereticks all were to be accounted, which that Council had condemned for ſuch) *ſhould be excommunicated by their metropolitane, and the reſt of his Comprovincial Biſhops. And in caſe any temporal Lords ſhould not give ſatisfaction within one year, his contempt ſhould be ſignified to the Pope, who from that time forth might denounce his vaſſals freed from all fidelity unto him, and might expoſe his Land to be poſſeſt by Catholicks, who (hereticks being exterminated) might poſſeſs it without any contradiction, and conſerve it in purity of faith, without prejudice to the*

The Author of the Prelate and Prince. Cap. 11. ſect. 2. pag. 229.

principal Lord; *ſo that he put no obſtacle or impediment; The ſame Law notwithſtanding obſerved concerning thoſe which have no temporal Lords.*

§. 3. Again, in a national Councel of *Rome*, held in the year 1076. Pope *Gregory* the ſeventh did excommunicate and depoſe *Henry* the fourth Emperour of *Germany*. Other Popes without conſent of any Councel General, or Provincial, have depoſed Kings and Emperors. *Schuskenius* hath produced Twenty eight Popes that have denounced depoſition againſt Emperors, Kings and Princes. And Queen *Elizabeth* was, as they teach, depoſed *de jure* by *Sextus Quintus*, although ſhe recovered her right again by the Popes ſilence or neglect, to put his Sentence of depoſition in execution. Now every one that believes the Church of *Rome* cannot err in points of faith and manners, muſt acknowledge the Popes power for depoſing Princes to be a *Branch of this Infallibility*, and to be now an Article of faith, as being determined for ſuch by this ſuppoſed infallibility of the Popes and Councils? For as a late Romiſh Writer very well informs us, unleſs this were *A point of Faith*, and ſo purpoſely defined by the Council of *Lateran*, confirmed by *Innocent* the third; and by the Councel of *Rome* confirmed by *Gregory* the ſeventh, and by other Popes in their definitive ſentences to this purpoſe; theſe Councils and Popes had grievouſly ſinned in taking upon them to depoſe Kings and Emperors: yea they had committed the ſin of *Jeroboam* with an high hand, in making all thoſe Chriſtian people to ſin moſt grievouſly, which by their command took Arms againſt their Emperors; or renounc't their Oaths of Allegiance, made to their Soveraign Lord. But that the Pope, or Councils confirmed by any Popes, ſhould by any decree induce or authorize Chriſtian people to commit ſin, were in effect to deny their infallibility, and this is the greateſt ſin that any Roman Catholick can commit. Neceſſary therefore it is (by this Authors collections) for Every Roman Catholick to hold it as a point of Faith, that the Pope or See of *Rome*, hath power to depoſe Princes, and that the *Germanes* did not ſin in renouncing their Allegiance unto ſuch of their Emperors, as the Pope had depoſed; or in taking arms againſt them. Now this laſt Concluſion [*that the Pope may depoſe Kings and diſpoſe of their Kingdoms*] being admitted as a point of Faith it muſt needs be a fearful ſin, for any ſubject of this Kingdom to take the *Oath of Allegiance*, wherein he ſwears to the contrary, or contradictory to this Concluſion; For this (by their doctrin) is to abjure the Faith, and the Churches infallible interpretation of that Scripture, whereupon this power of the Pope is grounded. For to juſtifie this Concluſion, many Popes have ſolemnly avouched thoſe words of our Saviour, *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church, and the gates of Hell ſhall not prevail againſt it.* Againſt the viſible Church of *Rome* the gates of Hell indeed ſhall never prevail in audacious ſhameleſs out-facing impudency. That Pope which depoſed the Emperor, and others of his Succeſſors, have prevailed, I cannot ſay againſt the gates of Hell, but in ſome ſort over them; for by their ſhameleſs Gloſſes upon this text, and falſe pretences of St. *Peters* authoritie, the gates of Hell, within theſe 600 years, have much improved their ſtrength, and found opportunity to ſpend their venom upon Chriſts militant Church, in greater meaſure, then they did or could do, in all the ten Perſecutions under the heathen Emperors, or in all the Oppoſitions which they have raiſed by the Jew, the Turk, or Sarazen.

Prelate and Prince, §. 9. *pag.* 240.

Ibid. cap. 12. *pag.* 248.

§. 4. By this Interpretation of that place, every Pope hath as full authority over Princes and ſecular powers, as Saint *Peter* himſelf had. And it is well that they plead for no more. And that they plead for no more it is evident, becauſe Pope *Gregory* the ſeventh begins his proceſs againſt *Henry* the fourth Emperour, with this ſolemn Prayer unto St. *Peter: Bleſſed* Peter, *Prince of the Apoſtles, we beſeech thee to incline thy pious ears unto us, and to hear me thy ſervant, whom from my infancie thou haſt nouriſhed, and unto this day haſt delivered from the hands of the wicked, who have hated and do hate me for my fidelity towards thee. Thou art my witneſs, as is alſo my Lady the mother of God, and bleſſed* Paul *thy Brother amongſt all the Saints, that thy holy Roman Church drew me againſt my will to her Government,* &c. *Therefore building upon this confidence for the honour and defenſe of the Church, in the behalf of the omnipotent God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, by thy power and authority I do take from King* Henry *the ſon of* Henry, *the Emperour, (who by an unwonted pride never heard of, hath made inſurrection againſt thy Church) the government of the whole Kingdom of the* Almains, *and of* Italy, *and do abſolve all Chriſtians from the bond of oath which they have made or ſhall make unto him, and I do forbid any to ſerve him as King.* Did St. *Peter* get this power and authority, by virtue whereof the Pope (as you hear) depoſeth the Emperour, after his death? or if any ſuch power he had, whileſt he was Prince of the Church militant, Why did he not practiſe it when greater inſurrection was made againſt his perſon, and againſt the Church, than *Henry* the Emperor did make againſt Pope *Gregory*, or the Church of *Rome*? Their uſual anſwer to this *Quærie* is, that St. *Peter* wanted that ſecular power, wherewith the Pope at this time was armed. Yet if St. *Peter* were then the virtual Church, The ſaying he wanted power or means to practiſe his lawful authority, is in effect as much (by their doctrin) as to deny Gods providence. For whereas ſome late Writers, who would be reputed Roman Catholicks, have, in defenſe of the Oath of Allegiance, taught, that after the *Church hath threatned Gods judgements, uſed her ſpiritual arms and weapons, ſhe hath no more to do, having no temporal arms to uſe, but muſt commit all to God. But then ſay I* (they are the words of the Author of the Prelate and Prince) *that Chriſt who was incarnate and lived and died for the Church, had not ſufficiently provided for her defenſe.* And he concludes, *that Withrington and others, who deny the Church all power to defend her ſelf, are unnatural Children, yea merc ileſs and cruel enemies in remitting her to God only, who, though he alwayes hear our prayers and petitions, yet doth not alwayes grant them.* But what if God doth not alwaies grant their prayers? then they muſt ſeek remedy from the Pope. He by his plenary power, muſt do them right, in thoſe caſes wherein God is not willing to do them any; at leaſt until the day of Judgment, which is too long for them to expect. A preſent remedy muſt be had, though God be unwilling to grant it. *It is* (by the way) *a Point worth noting,* that they will not be content with ſuch a remedy as may be had by virtue of prayers, ſeeing it is not certain that God will grant them what they pray for. *Wherefore we muſt* (ſaith this Author) *find out a Sword, and an ordinary ſecond cauſe which may in this caſe defend the Church, and this is no other then her ſpiritual power, by which ſhe can diſpoſe of temporal goods or Kingdoms for the neceſſary conſervation of the ſpiritual good.* But if this ſword were a remedy granted or approved by God; or if God without this remedy, had not (as this man

Prelate and Prince, cap. 11. *Sect.* 9. *pag.* 240 241. & *pag.* 176. 179.

Ibid. cap. 9. *Sect.* 9. *pag.* 214, 215, 216, 218.

Ibidem.

man and moſt of his fellows conclude) ſufficiently provided for the defence of his Church, then either St. *Peter* was provided of this remedy for the Churches defenſe which lived under him, or elſe St. *Peter* and that Church was not a Church of the ſame metal and ſpirit that the modern Romiſh Church is of, or elſe Chriſt had not ſufficiently provided for the Churches defenſe in that age; However, admitting, St. *Peter* had no power to right himſelf for wrongs done unto his perſon or his flock, no ſuch opportunity as the Popes, in late years have had, to depoſe Kings, or to diſpoſe of temporal goods and Kingdoms for the *neceſſary conſervation of the ſpiritual good*, yet, if this doctrin had then been a doctrin of faith, as now it is made, or any true branch of Chriſts promiſe unto *Peter*; St. *Peter* certainly, had been inexcuſably faulty and fouly to blame, in not pleading his right, or the right of his ſucceſſors. He ſhould in reaſon and conſcience, have put that interpretation of our Saviours words, which the Romiſh Chutch now makes of them; as far as it would go, and made proteſtation on the behalf of his ſucceſſors with a *Valeat quantum valere poteſt*. The Apoſtles and true Diſciples of Chriſt, St. *Peter* and *Paul* eſpecially (whatever were likely to befall their bodies) were never afraid or aſhamed publickly to avouch and maintain by ſpeech and pen, any *Article of Chriſtian Faith*, any doctrin of Chriſt, whereof there was either preſent uſe, or whoſe knowledge was neceſſary for poſterity. Now there is no doctrin either of more neceſſary or more general uſe, then this doctrin of *Peters* ſucceſſors power over the whole Church, if it were from God or from Chriſt. Not to have given the Chriſtian world notice of *ſuch a tranſcendent Article of Faith*, as the Romiſh Church now extracts out of our Saviours words to *Peter*, had been a ſin of omiſſion in *Peter*, equal to his ſin of commiſſion in denying Chriſt. Either the modern Romiſh Churches interpretation of that place, is blaſphemous and trayterous, or *Peters* concealment of it, was ſacrilegious.

To diſcover or lay open their *Tenents* in this point, and their neceſſary Conſequences with the weak grounds whereon both root and branch are only planted, is the beſt way in the world to refute them. The bare and naked ſight of their weak dis-joynted conſequences, is to every man (whoſe eyes the god of this world hath not blinded) ſo ridiculous; and the conſequent practiſes of their ſuppoſitions, ſo loathſom to any mans conſcience that is not cauterized, that nothing can be added by the wit or artificial invention of man, to make the one appear more fooliſh, or the other more deteſtable. Their ſpeculations in this point (as a learned Doctor once cenſured their Religion in general) are the very froth of Foolery, and their practiſe no better then the dregs of villany; neither do they expect any greater advantage, then to make other exceptions againſt them beſides thoſe which the nakedneſs of their cauſe being laid open, doth upon the firſt ſight adminiſter. But albeit they dread and fear our ſword hand, yet their hope is, our buckler hand for defenſe of our own cauſe will not be ſo ſtrong: and upon this hope, they will be ready thus to reincounter us.

§. 6. If the Pope, or viſible Church, have not power to depoſe Princes, then the ſecular or civil power coercive, is at leaſt equal to the power coercive Eccleſiaſtick, or the power ſpiritual ſhould not exceed the power temporal. To ſay the ſecular or civil power ſhould not be ſubordinate to the Eccleſiaſtical power, or that temporal power is not inferior to the ſpiritual, will be offenſive and odious to moſt religious minds; and this is the chief advantage which (for ought I can obſerve) they hope to gain of any reformed Writer. But ſuch an advantage as by Gods aſſiſtance, we ſhall never give them, being otherwiſe ready to grant them all they demand in their *Premiſſes*, and only put them to a ſtrict proof of their *Inferences*. The Eccleſiaſtick coercive power (ſay they) is above the Civil. This Antecedent being granted, we demand how they can hence infer, that the power Papal is above the power Royal, or that the Church repreſentative, is above Free-ſtates or Kingdoms?

§. 7. That we may fully prevent them in the proof of this *Inference*, and put by all their Objections againſt us ſo clearly, that they cannot ſo much as touch us, we muſt in the firſt place explain what we mean by *Power Spiritual*, what by *Power Eccleſiaſtick coercive*. The Reference Dependence, or Difference, between *Power Spiritual* and *Eccleſiaſtick coercive power*, are the ſame as were between the *moral* and *judicial* Law of God. For example: Thoſe precepts, *Thou ſhalt not commit adultery*; *Thou ſhalt not ſteal*; were two Branches of the *moral Law*. And theſe did directly bind mens Conſciences, albeit no bodily or temporal puniſhment had been annexed. But that Adultery ſhould be puniſhed with death; and Theft with four-fold, and in ſome caſes with five-fold reſtitution, in ſome caſes with death: This was part of the Judicial Law. *Power meerly Spiritual*, or, Power Spiritual as it is oppoſed to, or abſtracted from, *Power Eccleſiaſtick coercive* (which hath the ſame reference to *power Spiritual* as the laws *judicial* have to Laws meerly *moral*) conſiſts eſpecially in theſe *three things*. *Firſt*; in the preaching of the Goſpel. *Secondly*; in Adminiſtration of the Sacraments. *Thirdly*; in the uſe of the Keys: or in the authority of binding and looſing; or of Excommunicating and abſolving.

All theſe Branches of this power the Apoſtles exerciſed by authority immediately derived from Chriſt, as King and Prieſt; and from the Apoſtles, all the branches of the ſame power are immediately derived unto their Succeſſors the Biſhops and Paſtors of the Church, without the interpoſition or intervention of any authority human or ſecular. Now if queſtion be made, Whether the ſpiritual power, be above the power temporal, or power temporal above it; the anſwer muſt be, neither are above other; if we conſider them as the one is ſeated in men endowed only with power ſpiritual, and the other in men endowed only with power temporal. For thus conſidered, they are of divers kinds and admit no compariſon of ſuperiority and inferiority, although if we compare the kinds betwixt themſelves, they may admit compariſon of mutual excellencie, and ſuch compariſon as may be made, betwixt a Magiſtrate of *England*, and a Prince or Noble man of ſome other Country, that ſojourns amongſt us: the one not ſubordinate to the other in matter of Juriſdiction. But how excellent ſoever this ſpiritual power be in it ſelf, the excellency of it, doth not exempt the perſons of men which are appointed to exerciſe it, from obedience to temporal Lords and Princes, unto whom they are ſubject upon other reſpects; not by the exerciſe of it. Saint *Paul* was a Citizen of *Rome* but no Magiſtrate; though more then a Citizen, a *prime Peer of the new Jeruſalem which is from above*, a great Embaſſadour of the Kingdom of Heaven. To deny men on earth the rites or priviledges of the *new Jeruſalem*, he had as full power (upon juſt occaſions) as any civil Magiſtrate hath to debar men, for miſdemeanours, from the priviledges of the City or Common-weal, whereof they are members. But power St. *Paul* had none, by virtue of his authority in diſpenſing ſpiritual benefits, to take any priviledge or benefit from men, which of right belonged unto them, as they were Citizens of ***Rome***, or of any other temporal Common-weal.

The fulneſs of power ſpiritual as it was communicated to the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors, did neither ſwallow up power temporal, nor abate it, much leſs overthrow it.

§.8. But albeit the ſpiritual power, were immediately from Chriſt, without dependence on power temporal, and the Apoſtles in their times immediately directed by the Holy Ghoſt, in the exerciſe of it: yet after their deaths, the exerciſe or practiſe of it was to be regulated by Eccleſiaſtick Laws or Canons, either made by the Apoſtles themſelves, or deviſed by their Succeſſors. So we ſee there be in every Common-weal, certain rules of Courts or cuſtomary forms of proceeding beſides their fundamental written Laws. Unto theſe Rules civil obedience or obſervance is due; and ſo is Eccleſiaſtick obedience likewiſe due, unto Eccleſiaſtick Canons or Cuſtoms, ſo they be not repugnant to the fundamental ſpiritual Laws, conteined in the written word: And this Obedience, is to be performed, not ſo much for fear of puniſhment, as for conſcience ſake. All the penalties, which the Apoſtles themſelves whileſt they lived, or their Succeſſors in the primitive Church, could, by virtue of their power (which was then meerly ſpiritual) inflict upon offenders, either againſt the fundamental written Laws, or Canons of the Church, was to deprive them of communion with the Congregation of Chriſtians in ſacred Myſteries; or in ſhutting the Kingdom of Heaven againſt them. If any man, which had before profeſſed Chriſtianity, were in time of perſecution diſpoſed to return unto his old Religion, as to Judaiſm or heatheniſh Idolatry; the Apoſtles themſelves, might not put the party thus offending, to death, or puniſh him with the loſs of limbs, of temporal goods or poſſeſſions. Though to puniſh Idolaters with death was not permitted only but commanded by *Moſes's* Law; yet were not the Apoſtles of Chriſt permitted to put the judicial laws of *Moſes* in execution upon the Gentiles, or to exerciſe ſuch authority coercive upon the members of any Common-weal or Kingdom. For this belonged only to that authority coercive which the Church at that time had not. Or if any man after his admiſſion into the Church, ſhould obſtinately deny any Article of Chriſtian Faith, or fall into Hereſie, or commit Blaſphemy againſt God or Chriſt, it was not within the Apoſtles power or commiſſion, much leſs in their Succeſſors, to put ſuch a man to death, to baniſh or impriſon him; no not to take any part of his goods or poſſeſſions from him. Yet is Hereſie, a cauſe meerly Eccleſiaſtick, and the cognizance of it belongs to perſons Eccleſiaſtick only. Howbeit, to inflict any temporal puniſhment upon any Heretick, be it baniſhment, death, impriſonment, or loſs of ſecular honour, is an Act of ſuch power coercive, as belongs unto the Common-weal or Kingdom whereof the party offending is a member. Such as are indewed with power ſpiritual, are not to meddle in the Execution of ſuch puniſhments, ſave only ſo far as they are authorized by the Kingdom or Common-weal, whereof they are members, to ſee ſuch puniſhments put in execution. So that this power coercive, or authority to inflict temporal puniſhments on others offending againſt the Laws of Chriſt or power ſpiritual, is not proper to the Church as it is a diſtinct body from the Common-weal or Kingdom, whereof the party offending is a member; although the body of the Church, ſo diſtinct from the Common-weal, do not conſiſt of the Clergy or Eccleſiaſtick perſons only, but of them and of the Layety joyntly.

§. 9. The Church militant, for the moſt part of 300 years after Chriſt, was extraordinarily aſſiſted by the Holy Ghoſt. The uſe of miracles was frequent in it; the ſpiritual power was then as full as now it is, and the exerciſe of it a great deal more free and uſual. And albeit, moſt members of the Church then were members withal of ſome Common-weal or Kingdom, yet neither, the whole body of the Church, or intire multitude of Chriſtian men, nor any whole viſible Church, had any coercive Laws Eccleſiaſtick authorizing them to inflict corporal puniſhments upon any member of the Common-weals or Kingdoms wherein they lived, which were then altogether or for the moſt part heatheniſh. If ever there were a time, wherein our Adverſaries objections againſt us, were in force, this time was, during the firſt 300 years after Chriſt; in which as many as made profeſſion of Chriſtianity (whether they were Clericks or Laicks, Prieſt or People) were daily expoſed to more grievous injuries and greater diſgraces, then they have been in any Age ſince. What ſhall we ſay then? That the Chriſtians of that age were more cowardly or daſtardly then modern Roman Catholicks are? Nay, amongſt all the brave Reſolutoes of *Rome* heathen, though many of them were more prodigal of life in their hot blood, yet never any was ſo truly valorous in contemning death in what ſhape ſoever it did preſent it ſelf, or in the right valuation of bodily life, as the moſt abject chriſtians of that age generally vvere, and by real proof did ſo declare themſelves to be. Shall vve ſay then (as the Author of the Prince and Prelate doth) that *Then Chriſt who was incarnate, who lived and died for his Church, did not ſufficiently provide for it in thoſe times*, becauſe it had not that uſe and exerciſe of the ſpiritual ſword which the Romiſh Church, that is, the Clergy of *Rome* hath for theſe many years challenged and practiſed? This the Romaniſts muſt ſay; but at their peril. Certain it is that the Chriſtians, in that age could not right themſelves by depoſing Kings and Princes or meaner Lords, that did moleſt them, or by beſtowing Kingdoms or Principalities upon Chriſtians, aſwell qualified otherwiſe for government, as any Roman Catholicks now are. So that the main objection in this argument is altogether impertinent, and their doctrin injurious to Chriſt, to all Kingdoms and Common-weals Chriſtian, who cannot be (unleſs it be by the inſtigation of the Church of *Rome*) ſo injurious to the Church militant, as the Roman Empire, or other heathen Kingdoms were. Yet is it matter of injury only, that can afford juſt cauſe of war betwixt Nation and Nation, whether Chriſtian or Heathen.

§. 10. During the time of the firſt 300 years after Chriſt, we read that Chriſtians, did ordinarily ſerve in wars under the Roman Emperors, and under other Princes or States (whether ſubject to the Roman Empire or without the precincts of it.) This queſtionleſs few or none of them would have done, at leaſt, for ſo doing they ſhould have been condemned by the Church, if it had been unlawful for Chriſtian men to go to war, either with the Heathen or for the Heathen. For moſt Chriſtians, in that age, were readier to dye, then to do any thing which was contrary to the Rules of Chriſtianity, or to incur the juſt cenſure of the Church; which we never read that any Chriſtian did undergo for bearing arms under Heathens. For, inaſmuch, as the Chriſtians which then were, were members of the Common-weals wherein they lived, they knew it for a part of Chriſtian obedience, to ſuffer their bodies to be at the command or diſpoſal of their lawful Governours. But it is a point worth your Obſervation, that during the ſpace of 300 years after Chriſt, ye ſhall never read, that the Chriſtians which were then many did ever undertake any war, either offenſive to revenge themſelves of ſuch as wrong'd them; or defenſive, only to repel wrongs offered them by heathen Magiſtrates. Howbeit, to have taken arms only in their own defenſe; had been far more warrantable, by the Laws of God and by conſent of all nations, then to make war againſt Kings and Princes; then to depoſe Kings and Princes,(as the Romaniſts teach) which did injuriouſly moleſt them. It may ſeem ſtrange, that they who were ready to adventure their lives either in offenſive or defenſive wars, undertaken for the good of the heathen Common-weals, which did wrong their chriſtian brethren, would not adventure their lives in their own defenſe, to prevent the violence of their lawful Magiſtrates, but were rather willing to lay down their bodies for the preſervation of their ſouls; reſolving rather to dye like Martyrs than like Soldiers, whileſt controverſie was betwixt them and their own Citizens, or Magiſtrates. What then was the ground or reaſon of this reſolution? only this, that the Church in theſe times (that is,the whole Congregation of chriſtian men) was no compleat Common-weal: it was not endowed with ſuch power temporal or coercive. Every Chriſtian, in reſpect of ſuch coercive Laws, was ſubject to the Common-weal wherein he lived. And to begin or undertake a juſt war, whether offenſive or defenſive, is proper only to a perfect community or Common-weal, or unto a Prince or King, and unto ſuch only, the power of making punitive coercive Laws by right appertains. And ſuch power the Church for 300 years after Chriſt had none; howbeit all this time, the exerciſe of the ſpiritual power was moſt intire; and exerciſed it was without partiality or reſpect of perſons.

§. 11. Many Chriſtians there were in thoſe times, which were men of place and note in the Roman Empire; and who, by reaſon of their Lands and Patrimonies, were charged with annual offices in their courſes; as men of means and revenues are with Sheriffries in this Land. If they undertook theſe offices, which the Common-weal or Prince did put upon them; they could not chuſe but communicate with the heathen in ſome practiſes of Idolatry. Yea they were to exhibit playes and ſpectacles unto the people (which were Idololatrical) at their own coſts and charges. Some of theſe Chriſtians, unwilling to loſe their Lands or Dignities, did for their years or turns,undertake ſuch offices as were thus charged: but as many as undertook them, were excommunicated or ſuſpended from all communion with the Church or Congregation of Chriſtians, until they had made ſatisfaction by publick penance, which was then moſt ſolemn and ſevere. Many of them, after long teſtification of their ſorrow for their offences, were not permitted to receive the Sacrament, until death did ſummon them to depart out of this world. This ſpiritual power the Church did daily practiſe; But to puniſh ſuch Chriſtians as did bear heathen offices of Prieſthood or the like, with loſs of Lands or goods, or any way to diſenable them for doing bodily ſervice to the Church or Common-weal, wherein they lived, the Church (or whole Congregation of Chriſtians, aſwell Layicks as Clericks) did not ſo much as attempt. Many good ſpiritual or eccleſiaſtick Laws they had, but no ſuch eccleſiaſtick Laws coercive, no authority to make ſuch Laws, which cannot be made but by the authority and conſent of the Prince or Common-weal.

§. 12. But after whole Kingdoms and Common-weals were converted

ted to Chriſtianity, after Kings and Emperors held it their greateſt dignity, to be Protectors and Defendors of the Chriſtian Faith; It was as lawful and commendable for the Church (whereof the Common-weal or chief Magiſtrates were now apart) to undertake any war, either offenſive or defenſive, as it was for any other Empire or Kingdom, wherein no Church was. As lawful to puniſh all Chriſtians which offended againſt the Laws of God, or of Chriſtianity, with loſs of goods, with death or exile (according to the quality of the fact) as it had been for any Common-weal to inflict like puniſhments upon Malefactors or Tranſgreſſors of their Laws. For the converſion of Common-weals or Princes unto Chriſtianity, did take no authority from them, which they had before, but did rather direct and ſtrengthen them in the right uſe of all lawful authority. The Church being now wedded unto the Common-weal or Kingdom, was endowed with the free uſe or exerciſe of coercive Laws; and all thoſe Laws vvhich properly belong to the Government of the Church, or unto men as they are Chriſtians, not as they are mere civil members of the Common-vveal, vve call *Laws Eccleſiaſtick.* And moſt fitting it was that all which profeſs the knowledge of Chriſt and of his Goſpel; all that receive the benefit of the Word and Sacraments, ſhould by the force of Laws punitive or coercive, be compelled to as ſtrict obſervance of Chriſts commandments or laws ſpiritual, as they are unto the laws meerly civil or made by Heathens. Fitting again it was, and moſt neceſſary, that all laws temporal and meerly civil, (whether directive only, or coercive, and penal) ſhould be ſubordinate to laws Chriſtian and Eccleſiaſtick, whether directive or penal and coercive. The neceſſary conſequence of which it is, that all power coercive meerly civil, muſt be ſubordinate to eccleſiaſtick coercive power. If this could content the advocates of the Romiſh Church, there is no ingenious Chriſtian, whether of meaner or of higher rank, but might eaſily be perſwaded to accord with them *in Theſi*, or in the general. Where then lies the differences *in Hypotheſi* or in the particulars? In theſe points eſpecially: *Firſt*, The Romiſh Church will have this power coercive eccleſiaſtick, to be originally and entirely ſeated in the body or company of the Clergy, as it is a body diſtinct from the Layety or Common-weal meerly civil. *Secondly*, they make the Clergy to be a perfect Common-weal Eccleſiaſtick of it ſelf. *Thirdly*, they make the whole body of the Clergy to be ſubject to the Pope, as to their ſupream Monarch. And this is in effect, (as you heard before) to make all the Layety, Prince and People, meer ſlaves or ſervants to the Clergy, and then to turn the body of the Clergy into a meer Tyranny. The greateſt Prelates ſhould by this means be more abſolute Vaſſails to the Pope, then the Turkiſh Baſhawes, are to their grand Segnior.

§. 13. The true *orthodoxal Doctrin* is, that this *Power Eccleſiaſtick coercive* is not monarchical in reſpect of all Nations or Kingdoms which profeſs Chriſtianity: But every Chriſtian Free-ſtate or Kingdom hath a ſupream Tribunal Eccleſiaſtick within it ſelf. *Secondly*, that this *Power coercive Eccleſiaſtick*, which hath its ſupream tribunal under Chriſt in every Chriſtian Free-ſtate or Kingdom, is originally ſeated (as in the fountain) in the *ſupream Majeſty* of that Free-ſtate or Kingdom. As if the State or Common-weal be an Ariſtocracie (that is, governed by Peers, whether temporal or ſpiritual, or mixt) the Eccleſiaſtick power coercive, is originally in thoſe Peers. If the Free-ſtate be a Democracy or popular Government, as *Switzerland* is, the Eccleſiaſtick power coercive,

ercive, muſt be derived from the whole community as from its fountain. If the State or Common-weal, be a Kingdom or Monarchy, the *Power coercive Eccleſiaſtick*, muſt be derived from the King, as from its Fountain. Or, if the Free-ſtate or Common-weal, admit a mixture of all the former three ſorts of Government, (as the State of *Germany* ſeems to do) the power Eccleſiaſtick coercive, muſt be denied from Prince, Peers, and People.

§. 14. From this diſtinction of Common-weals, it cannot be interpreted as injurious to any ſort of them, to ſay, the Eccleſiaſtick Authority is in all of them, above the Civil; ſeeing we ſay withal, that the Eccleſiaſtick coercive aſwell as the Civil, is ſeated in the ſupream Majeſty or Magiſtrate of every Free-ſtate. Nor ſhall we any way prejudice our Soveraign Lord, in ſaying the Eccleſiaſtick Authority of this Land, is above the temporal, ſeeing we do not acknowledge any authority upon earth to be ſupream or equal unto his within this Land, but only affirm that his Eccleſiaſtick power is above his temporal; that he is bound by the Law of God, and by his Allegiance unto Chriſt, ſo to make and moderate his temporal laws, that they no wayes contradict or croſs Gods laws or any ſuch Eccleſiaſtick laws, as have been made for the maintenance or propagation of the Holy Catholick Apoſtolick Faith or Religion. Againſt this reſolution I hope no good Proteſtant hath ought to ſay. And all that the oppugners of Kings Supremacies in cauſes Eccleſiaſtick have to ſay againſt it to any purpoſe, is but this, that Kings ſometimes for want of years, ſometimes for want of judgment, experience, or capacity, are unfit to judge of Laws Eccleſiaſtick; unable to determine Controverſies in Divinity. But this exception will infer *aut nihil aut nimium*, either nothing at all againſt us, or a great deal more then they are willing to acknowledge. For Kings and Princes of what Religion ſoever, are oft-times as unexperienced in, as unable to judge of temporal Laws, or to determine all controverſies or ſuits ariſing in their Kingdoms, between Subject and Subject concerning titles of inheritance or other matters of right or wrong, as they are to judge of Eccleſiaſtick Controverſies, which are not, which would not be (ſo theſe men would give Royal Authority leave to interpoſe) ſo many by an hundred fold in any Kingdom, as Controverſies temporal are, and will be without help or remedy, although the Pope would lend his helping hand to Princes, either to prevent their occaſions, or to decide them being occaſioned. The ordinary Judges of this Land, do further exceed moſt Princes, for ſkill in their own faculty (be it the Civil, the Common, or the Canon Law) then the Pope doth them, for his ſkill in Divinity. Yet no Writer in the Romiſh Church (to my remembrance) doth hold it neceſſary or expedient, much leſs a point of Faith, that the moſt learned Judges in the Land, ſhould be ſupream Magiſtrates or Kings in tryal of titles of Inheritance; or that the learnedeſt Civilian in the Kingdom, ſhould be high Admiral of *England*, much leſs the Monarch of the Engliſh Seas. But on the contrary, all of them acknowledge Kings (eſpecially Kings by deſcent or inheritance, who oft-times come to their Crowns in their Nonages) to be ſupream Governours in all cauſes meerly temporal. For to be ſupream Governours, whether in cauſes temporal or Eccleſiaſtick, or in both, doth not neceſſarily ſuppoſe or require, more ſkill in deciding controverſies, or in making Laws of either kind, than may ordinarily be found in many which live under their Government. Nor doth the Church of *Rome* alwayes make either the beſt Scholars, or beſt experienced Canoniſts or Civilians, in Chriſtendom, Popes. Wherein then conſiſts the Kings Supremacie in all cauſes and over all perſons, or the right exerciſe of it? It conſiſts eſpecially, *Firſt*, In imploying ſuch, as are men of known ſkill in every faculty, and men withal of ſincerity and courage, either in making of Laws, or for repairing the defect of Laws, whether temporal or eccleſiaſtick. Or *Secondly*, in ratifying the Laws ſo made by his *Royal Aſſent:* Or *Laſtly*, in compelling Judges and Governours, in their ſeveral places, to put the Lawes, ſo made and ratified, in execution under penalty by the Laws inflicted for their negligence, or unſincerity, or under penalties reſerved to himſelf, or upon penalty of his diſpleaſure. *Briefly*, when we acknowledge the King to be *ſupream Governour in all cauſes, and over all perſons*, our meaning is, that the exerciſe of the Kings coercive power, extends aſwell to cauſes and perſons Eccleſiaſtick (whether Inferiors or Superiors) within his Dominions, as unto cauſes and perſons temporal. If any Governour of either rank (eccleſiaſtick or temporal) chance to fail in the execution of his office, it is in the power of the King (according to the quality of his offence) either to put another in his place, or to appoint him a Coadjutor, Overſeer, or Aſſiſtant. All this, and whatſoever elſe belongs to the peace and happineſs of the Church and Common-weal, any ordinary Prince may more exquiſitely perform within his own Dominions, than the wiſeſt Pope that ever ſate in *Peters* chair, could or can perform the like, unto all the Kingdoms and Churches, over the face of the whole earth.

CHAP. III.

About the Title of Supream Head over the Church, *given to King* Henry *the Eighth, by the Parliament of* England.

§. 1. THE ſum of our former Diſcuſſions was, that the ſubordination of *Civil Power* to the *Power Eccleſiaſtick coercive*, can no way infer the power Papal to have any ſuperiority of Juriſdiction over the Royal Power of this Kingdom: or other Free-ſtates or Kingdoms to be (in caſe of hereſie or the like) at the diſpoſal of the Pope or the Church Repreſentative. The Ground or Root of this Concluſion is not denyed by our Adverſaries themſelves. For they grant, that not only the powers Civil and Eccleſiaſtick, but power (withal) meerly ſpiritual, were all united in one perſon under the Law of nature, or before God gave his Law to *Moſes*. Then one and the ſame man was both King and Prieſt as *Melchiſedeck* was. *Abraham, Iſaac* and *Jacob* were Lords temporal and ſpiritual over their own Families. And we further ſay, That the ſame ſubordination both of all perſons Civil and Eccleſiaſtick to one Head or Governour or at leaſt to the ſupream Magiſtrate to the State (which we at this day practiſe) was continued in Gods people under *Moſes* his Government, under *Joſhua*, under the *Judges* of *Iſrael*, and under the Kings of *Judah*. This will more plainly appear in our anſwer to the particular inſtances pretended by our adverſaries for the Churches Authority in depoſing Princes.

See *The Author of the Prelate and Prince, pag.* 116, 117.

§. 2. That wherewith they ſeem to be moſt offended, is that the Title of *Supream Head* over the Church is given by our high Court of Parliament to King *Henry* the Eighth. And with this title not only the Romiſh Clergy of that time, but *Calvin* himſelf was much offended. But to this we anſwer, *Firſt*, So we could agree upon the matter, we are not forward to contend with them or others about Names or Titles, in framing of which we do not acknowledge either our Church or Parliament to be *Infallible.* Neither was this Title decreed by Parliament, as neceſſary to be continued for all poſterity. *Queen Elizabeth* was better content with the Title of *Supream Governour.* And this Title moſt of our Divines at this day uſe. *Secondly*, we ſay, that as many other things, ſo this *Title* of being Head of the Church, may be far worſe taken by captious Interpreters, then it was intended or meant by them which at firſt did uſe it. If any fault there were in aſſigning this Title to *King Henry the Eighth*, it was in the Popes which before him had aſſumed it; or in thoſe of the Romiſh Religion in other points, which gave it to that King. The Parliament intended no more in putting this Title upon *King Henry the Eighth*, than to reſtore that dignity to the Crown and Scepter of this land, which the Church of *Rome* by forgery or falſifications of theſe and the like Scriptures, *Tu es Petrus: Petre paſce oves*, had flatly cozened this and other Kingdoms of. And no great harm there was in giving a Title unto *King Henry the Eighth* a little too big, only to the end that he might keep the Pope from continuing his uſurped authority over the Church and State of *England*, which then was a great deal too much, and more then was fitting for any mortal man to have.

§. 3. That we may more clearly perceive in what ſenſe our Fore-elders might give this *Title* of *Supream Head over the Church* unto our Kings, and in what ſenſe we are to diſclaim or relinquiſh it; we are *Firſt* to explicate, of what Church our Kings may be ſaid to be the *Head: Secondly*, in what reſpects they may be called *Heads*, or wherein their headſhip conſiſts. *The Church is* properly taken for *A Congregation of men united by profeſſion of the ſame common Faith, and by the Sacraments.* Again, the Church may be taken, either for the univerſal Congregation of men thus united: And the Church taken in this Extent, hath no one Head viſible: no one Head viſible or inviſible beſides our Lord Chriſt. Or it may be taken for the Congregation of Chriſtian men within one Dominion, State, or Kingdom: And further then this, our *Fore-elders* did not extend the Title of headſhip unto *King Henry the Eighth.* No man ever inſtyled him Head of the Church militant, but Head, meaning *viſible Head* of the Church only within his Realms and Dominions. Laſtly, the Church may be taken for the company of men united not by profeſſion only of the ſame common Faith, but by the bond of true and lively Faith, or by the Spirit of ſanctification; and in this ſenſe, or in reſpect of this bond, our *Fore-elders* did not acknowledge *King Henry the Eighth* to be Head of the Engliſh Church. Now to be Head of the whole Congregation of men within his Dominions united by profeſſion of the ſame faith, is a Title not proper but metaphorical, *viz.* borrowed from the ſimilitude, which the King or ſupream Magiſtrate, in any State or Kingdom, hath with the properties or offices of the head, of any natural body. And this ſimilitude conſiſts eſpecially in theſe two Particulars.

§. 4. *Firſt*, As the Head is the higheſt part of the human body: ſo is the chief Magiſtrate of every Nation the higheſt and moſt ſupereminent in dignity. Specially Kings being the higheſt Magiſtrates under Heaven, may be truly enſtiled *Heads*, not of their Kingdoms or Common-weals only, but of the whole viſible Congregation of Chriſtian men within their Kingdoms. For Chriſtians they were, yea good Chriſtians

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1 Pet. 2. 13.

for the moſt part, not meer moral or civil men, to whom St. *Peter* ſay *Submit your ſelves to every ordinance of man for the Lords ſake, whether it be to the King as ſupream, or unto Governours as unto them that are ſent by him. The ſecond Prerogative* which the Head of every natural body hath in reſpect of other members, is this, That all motion is derived from it. Or that it is the immediate Fountain of all progreſs, motion, or activity. And in reſpect of this prerogative Authority Royal or Supream in every Nation, is in *part* like, in part *unlike* unto the head of a natural body. The power by which the Church (however taken) is directed or governed, anſwers in proportion to the motive faculties of the body. Now the motive faculties or powers, by which the Church is governed are *Two.* Firſt the motions of Grace, or power internally ſpiritual; and to derive theſe motions from the King or ſupream Magiſtrate, as from their Fountain; or to ſay, the King is, in reſpect of theſe motions, or in reſpect of the food of life by which they are bred, by which the power of the ſpirit is nouriſhed, is *Head* of the Church, were blaſphemy. But a blaſphemy it is of no leſs height, and for extent a great deal more ample, to ſay the Pope is Head of the Univerſal Church militant according to this propriety of headſhip. And for this reaſon we deny the Pope to be *the Rock on which the Church is built, againſt which the gates of Hell ſhall never prevail.* For this were to derive the Gifts of the Spirit, by which only the gates of Hell can be withſtood, from him as from their Head or Fountain. *Secondly*, The power or motive faculty, by which the Church militant or viſible in any Kingdom is guided, is the Law Eccleſiaſtick coercive. Not only the exerciſe of ſuch Laws, but the power to make them ſo as to diffuſe the virtue or force of them throughout the whole body of the Church viſible within any Realm or Kingdom, is derived from the King or ſupream Magiſtrate, as from their Head or Fountain. Now all thoſe Laws which concern not matters temporal, but ſpiritual, are often called Laws ſpiritual; and ſo is the power by which they are made or practiſed called *Spiritual Power*, not in reſpect of the Fountain whence they are derived, but in reſpect of their proper end which is the edification of the ſpiritual Temple of God. So the Clergie is generally called *The ſpirituality*, not ſo much in reſpect of internal qualifications of their perſons, which are oft-times as carnal as the Layety, but in reſpect of the end of their function, which is to make others aſwell as themſelves truly ſpiritual. But beſides the internal Graces of the ſpirit, and the exerciſe of the Eccleſiaſtick power coercive, for the better planting of Grace in mens hearts, there is *A Power meerly ſpiritual* (as you heard before) which conſiſts eſpecially in the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and in the right uſe of the Keys. The exerciſe of all theſe Functions is preſuppoſed to the Being of a Church viſible, and is *de jure Divino*, authorized by Gods own Laws. And for this reaſon to derive the power of adminiſtring the Sacraments, of ordaining Miniſters, of Excommunication or Abſolution, from Kings, or from any beſides Chriſt, were to derogate from his authority.

§. 5. From this diſtinction of properties in the head, and from explication of what power it is which we derive from the King or ſupream Majeſty of every State as from his proper Fountain, we may eaſily put by a frivolous Objection of our Adverſaries; *to wit*, If the King be Supream Head or Governour of the Church, then he may miniſter Sacraments or ordain Biſhops, decide Controverſies of Faith, excommunicate and abſolve, and finally exerciſe all the branches of ſpiritual Authority.

thority. But this, or the like Inference, is no better, than this following. The King is Supream head of the Merchants, of the Stationers, of all the ſeveral Companies in this Kingdom, *Ergo*, he muſt practiſe Merchandiſe, he muſt have ſkill in Printing, in making Apparel, and in all other ſeveral Myſteries or Profeſſions. If it be replyed, that Kings may practiſe in all theſe kinds if they pleaſe, ſo we ſay they may adminiſter Sacraments, ordain Miniſters, and give their votes or *placets* in deciding controverſies of Religion, ſo they would be pleaſed to become Prieſts or Biſhops. For it is to be preſumed that no Kings will practiſe in any profeſſion, or authorize others to practiſe in them, but by firſt making him or them free of the ſame Company. And any man being once made free of any Myſtery, may lawfully do all things that properly belong to that Myſtery or Faculty. And ſo may Kings or ſupream Magiſtrates by inheritance, perform all the offices of Prieſts or Biſhops, ſo they would be pleaſed to be lawfully conſecrated to theſe ſacred Functions. And as by ſuch conſecration they ſhall looſe no authority, which before they had, ſo neither ſhould they gain any new ſupremacie which they had not. A King that would be pleaſed to be made Biſhop, ſhould not thereby become Head of the Church in any other ſort, than by his Kingly Office he already is. For that there is any Head of the Church beſides Chriſt, from whom as from the Fountain, the power of adminiſtring the Sacraments, of excommunicating or abſolving is derived, this is that which we deny; And further affirm, that to make any mortal man Head of the Church in this ſenſe, is to make him or to acknowledge him to be Antichriſt. How then is the power of conſecrating Biſhops, or power Epiſcopal in ſucceeding Biſhops derived from power Epiſcopal in their Predeceſſors? Not as from a Fountain. Succeſſion it ſelf in power Epiſcopal, is but as a continuation of the ſame ſtream or current which hath no other fountain or feeder, beſides one, *from whoſe fulneſs we all receive, and grace for grace.* He that conſecrates another hath no power or ſuperiority over him by title of conſecration; otherwiſe Biſhops ſhould have authority over Arch-biſhops, ſo ſhould Cardinals be above the Pope; much leſs can the power of conſecration or adminiſtration of the Sacraments give any ſupremacy or headſhip to Kings or Princes over the Church, which before they had not, and if it can give them none, then they may be ſupream Heads or Governours of the Church, as well without the power of conſecration or adminiſtration of Sacraments, as with it.

§. 6. But how do we ſay, that the King is ſupream Governour *in all cauſes.* Unleſs we acknowledge him to be ſupream Governour in cauſes meerly ſpiritual? Even *in theſe* he is ſupream Governour aſwell as in cauſes Civil or Eccleſiaſtick only: But not Governour *over them* as he is *over all perſons* Eccleſiaſtick, Civil, or of what rank ſoever beſides, if any other there be beſides, either ſingle or mixt. When we aknowledge him ſupream Governour in *All cauſes*, we do not acknowledge it to be in his power to change or alter any thing that is inſtituted by *Chriſt*; as either to aſſign the power of Ordination to ſuch as are not Biſhops, or to authorize any to adminiſter the Sacraments which are not lawfully ordained Presbyters, or to diſpenſe with the manner of adminiſtring Sacraments, as the Pope hath done. To do any of theſe, we deny to be in the power of any man or congregation of men; and we affirm, that to grant this to the King, was to make him ſuch an head *in all Cauſes*, as no mortal man lawfully can be. But how (for Inſtance) do we make him ſupream Governour in Cauſes meerly ſpiritual? Whether the Sacrament of Chriſts body and blood be to be adminiſtred to the Layety in both kinds, is a cauſe or controverſie meerly ſpiritual; and in every State or Kingdom wherein this point is controverſed, the ſupream Magiſtrate or Prince of that State hath full power and authority, immediately derived from Chriſt, to call a Council, Synod or Convocation of Biſhops and other Clergy, throughly to diſcuſs and examin, whether the miniſtration of the Sacrament under one kind be not repugnant to the inſtitution of *Chriſt*, and upon declaration or deciſion made by the Clergy, to compel every Biſhop and Prieſt to adminiſter the Sacrament, and every Layman to receive it in both kinds, under penalty of exile, of impriſonment, or other puniſhment ratified by his royal aſſent. The truth of the doctrin being reſolved upon by the Synod or Convocation, and the contrary error being detected for Hereſie, he hath a coercive power over every Biſhop, to cauſe him convent and cenſure every delinquent (againſt the Law or Canon) that ſhall be ſubject to his Juriſdiction.

§.7. Again, if after this controverſie (concerning the adminiſtration in both kinds) were decided by a National Council of this Kingdom; any Subject ſhould preſume to plead, That the viſible Romiſh Church had practiſed the contrary for divers hundreds of years, and taught the practiſe to be lawful; and that it were no Hereſie to believe the adminiſtration of the Sacrament in one kind were lawful, becauſe the Romiſh Church which ſo believed and practiſed, cannot err; it is in the power of the King or ſupream Magiſtrate, to call a Synod or Council for examining and determining this point, whether the pretended Infallibility of the preſent Romiſh Church, be not a groſſer error than the former, or more than an Hereſie, even a tranſcendent blaſphemy. And this point being clearly determined (as it eaſily might be) by plain demonſtrative and evident deductions out of Scripture and out of the Fundamental Principles of Catholick Faith, for a tranſcendent Hereſie or Blaſphemy: it is in the power of the King or Supream Magiſtrate in any Common-weal, to puniſh every perſon whether of the Layety or of the Clergy, that ſhould appeal from the determination of a National Synod to the Pope of *Rome*, either concerning the former Controverſies about the Adminiſtration of the Holy Sacrament in both kinds; or about the Popes power to depoſe Kings;) as an Heretick or Traytor: and to puniſh ſuch as maintain the abſolute Infallibility of the Pope, with the heavieſt puniſhment that either the Laws of God or of any Chriſtian Nation have inflicted upon the like offences.

The caſe concerning the ſupream Magiſtrates coercive power in the forementioned or other like cauſes ſpiritual, is the very ſame with other cauſes of temporal conſequence, as for deciding matters of Controverſie, between Subject and Subject, between Landlord and Tenants, between Oppreſſors and the oppreſſed: in all which it is neither neceſſary nor expedient, that the King or ſupream Magiſtrate, ſhould perſonally meddle, or ſit as Judge, but only to authorize and compel them to whom the cognizance and examination of ſuch cauſes properly belongs to puniſh Delinquents, and ſettle peace throughout his Dominions.

§. 8. Again, it will be objected, That Kings and Princes by the confeſſion of the learned in the Reformed Churches may be excommunicated themſelves. And if they may be excommunicated and cannot perſonally exerciſe the cenſure of excommunication upon others, how can they be accounted heads or ſupream Governours of the Church? This indeed is the prerogative which the Pope doth challenge by virtue of his univerſal headſhip, and wherein one of the Popes *Urbanes* did congratulate his own advancement to the Popedom as being thereby enabled to excommunicate others, himſelf being not lyable to excommunication: But this they take as granted being not able to prove it: And whatſoever reaſons they can bring why the Pope may not be excommunicated by the Clergy of *Italy* or by a general Council, we ſhall uſe the benefit of the ſame reaſons to prove, that Kings or ſupream Magiſtrates in Free States, cannot be excommunicated. But the objection continues: ſome Proteſtants grant, that even Kings themſelves are not exempted from all cenſure of excommunication. And ſome others deny it, holding, that as King *David* was free from the puniſhment by Gods Law appointed for Blood deliberately ſhed, becauſe he had no Superior on earth to judge or condemn Him: ſo the King having no ſuperior legally to convent Him in open Court is free from the great ſolemn excommunication. And it hath been publickly maintained in Diſputation in one of the Univerſities of this Land: *That the ſupream Majeſty is not excommunicable,* yet the former objection being given (not granted) will only infer That the exerciſe of the power meerly ſpiritual which is immediately derived from Chriſt is not ſubordinate to Power Royal or Monarchical, *de jure*; it will never infer, that the Royal power or ſupream Majeſty of any Common-weal or Kingdom is ſubject to Tribunals meerly Eccleſiaſtick which have no coercive power formally to convent a King or ſupream Magiſtrate, or to excommunicate a perfect Community or whole Common-weal. By what authority then did *Saint Ambroſe* excommunicate the Good Emperour *Theodoſius* or in what manner was he excommunicated? Not by legal convention or conviction of him in the open Court Eccleſiaſtical: But the Emperour's Fact being notorious; not only preſented to the good Biſhop by publick fame(and clamorous inſinuation of much blood illegally ſhed by the Emperors command, without a lawful conviction of the Delinquents) but moſt certainly known, upon diligent inquiry and true information, The H. Biſhop, as it well became him, out of a moſt tender care of the Emperours ſalvation (with ſome regard alſo to Chriſtian Diſcipline) did perſwade and convince him, that till his hands were waſhed from blood, his prayers would be turned into ſin; That to eat the bread and drink the cup of the Lord, before he had truly repented, would make him guilty alſo of the Body and Blood of the Lord. And ſo by force of Argument which *Theodoſius* could not reſiſt (not of arms or coercive power which he might eaſily have reſiſted) did perſwade the Emperor to delay his entrance into the Houſe of Prayer, and to forbear communicating in the H. Sacrament, until he had teſtified his repentance for that Deed.

And in this, the good Biſhop did no otherwiſe deny him, then a good Phyſitian or Servant to the Emperour were bound in conſcience to have denied Him; if being in an high Feaver he had deſired ſome ſuch food or wine as in all probability would have been preſent Death; at this time, his certain poyſon: but delayed till his ſtomach and temper were fitted to receive them, would be his comfortable nutriment.

After this manner, St. *Chryſoſtom* (who lived ſome while after St. *Ambroſe*) in his 83. Homily upon St. *Matthew*, profeſſeth, that he would rather give his own life and blood, then deliver the blood of Chriſt to any whoſe unworthineſs (to receive) was notoriouſly manifeſt. And he charges others, whoſe office it is to adminiſter that H. Sacrament, to be mightily careful of giving it to any perſon, of what rank ſoever, whoſe unfitneſs to partake of that dreadful myſtery was ſufficiently manifeſted to them: for (ſays he) God will require that perſons blood at the hands of him, that adminiſtreth it to him.

For, though Prieſts and Deacons have no power or Authority over Kings, yet have they power over themſelves, not to yield themſelves treacherous miniſters of condemnation unto Kings, not to prophane their office or the ſacred myſteries committed to their truſt by communicating them unto thoſe who have openly and ſcandalouſly tranſgreſſed the Laws of God, and have not repented of their ſin.

The like power every good Chriſtian hath over himſelf. A power not to be a miniſter or inſtrument of greateſt Kings in any known iniquity, or practiſe forbidden by the Law of God. But this power which men have over themſelves in not obeying ſuperiours in things unlawful, doth not argue that they have power over Kings; but only that Kings, in ſome caſes, have not power over them. That in ſome caſes, they may lawfully *not-obey* Kings: or, refuſe to do that which by them they are commanded to do.

It is a vain argument then which our Adverſaries uſe, That Kings are inferiours to the Paſtors of the Church, becauſe they may, by the Paſtors of the Church, as they ſay, be excommunicated; as we ſay, in ſome ſpecial Caſe, *non-communicated:* that is, when to communicate to the H. Myſteries, the bleſſed means of Salvation, would bring them in danger of condemnation. Kings may be inferiour to the Church *Quoad cauſam*, in that particular Cauſe for which they are delayed, or for a time diſ-ſwaded from receiving; that is, only ſo long as it would be dangerous and deſtructive for them to receive. As the King, is *inferior cauſâ* to every Subject that obtains any plea or ſentence of Right, in matter of money, lands, or poſſeſſion againſt him: yet will it not hence follow, that either the Subject, or the judge that determineth for the Subject againſt the King in any Temporal Court, is the Kings Superior, But theſe two conſequences do plainly follow; *That the King is a moderate Prince*, not making his own Will the Law of Juſtice, but preferring the Subjects Right before his own profit: and That the Subjects cauſe or Title was in Right or Law ſuperior or better then the Kings cauſe in this particular. And ſo no doubt was Chriſts cauſe, or the Churches cauſe much better then *Theodoſius* the Emperours cauſe (in the former caſe) that deſerved excluſion from Sacred Rites and Aſſemblies, yet this no way infers that *Theodoſius* his Imperial Right or perſon was inferior to S. *Ambroſe*.

§. 9. Another general *objection* yet remains which is rather *A Recrimination* then any poſitive proof for them or argument againſt us. The queſtion (ſay they) between the Proteſtants and the Romiſh Church, is not ſo much, whether the Pope can depoſe Princes, as whether the Pope or their Miniſters can depoſe them; and they inſtance in divers Writers of reformed Churches, which teach that Kings and Princes may be depoſed. If ſome which call themſelves Proteſtants, and which rely as ſtrongly upon the infallibility of their own private Spirits, as the Roman Catholicks do upon the infallibility of the Pope or Romiſh Church do agree with the Jeſuits in doctrin and practiſe, it is not ſtrange. A wonder it were, they ſhould not joyn in the iſſue, how far ſoever they ſtart aſunder in their firſt principles.

But this abſolute infallibility of the Spirit without evidence of reaſon or undoubted experiment to aſſure the meaning of it, we condemn as much in the *Enthuſiaſt* as in the Romaniſt; both of them are enemies to our Churches peace, and better friends one to the other then either of them are to us. But many beſides the Separatiſt or Enthuſiaſt, many of note in ſome reformed Churches, have publiſhed in writing that Kings and Princes may in ſome caſes be depoſed. If this they ſpeak *univerſally*, their doctrin is falſe and dangerous, and for ſuch condemned by our Church. If thus they taught *indefinitely* only, as that *ſome Kings*, *ſome Princes* or chief Magiſtrates may be depoſed, I know no Church, that juſtly can condemn them. For all Kings and Princes are not ſo abſolute Monarchs as the Kings of *England* and ſome others are. Now as it is a great wrong to ſome Chriſtian Kings, to ſay *they may be depoſed*: ſo it may be a manifeſt wrong to divers Chriſtian States, to teach *that no Prince or chief Ruler may be depoſed.* To maintain, The Duke of *Venice* may in no caſe be depoſed, would be a point of as high Treaſon in the State of Venice, as it could be in any Chriſtian Kingdom to ſay, The King or Monarch of it might in ſome caſes be depoſed. But for Divines to determine or diſpute what Princes in particular may be depoſed or in what caſes, is a matter without their Commiſſion; unleſs it ſhall pleaſe Free-States or Princes unto whom they are ſubject, to imploy them in ſuch buſineſſes, for reſolution of private conſciences without diſturbance of publick peace. Have then Reformed Churches or any Miniſters in Reformed Churches erred ſo groſly or ſo dangerouſly as the Romiſh Clergy in this point generally doth? This the greateſt enemies of ſome reformed *forreign* Churches, cannot pretend; or if pretend it they may, out of malice and ignorance; yet to caſt any colour of reaſon upon it they cannot. For no reformed Church or writers otherwiſe generally approved, did ever affirm that it is in the power of the Church repreſentative or Clergy of any Kingdom or Commonweal, to depoſe ſuch Princes or temporal Magiſtrates, as in ſome caſes may be depoſed. *This is the peculiar hereſie of the modern Romiſh Church*, and the extent of this hereſie is, that not only ſome Kings or Princes, but even the greateſt monarchs of the Chriſtian world may be depoſed by the Pope alone, either for hereſie or for rebellion againſt the Clergy, or wrongs done unto the Church, either againſt the perſons of Clergy men or in diminiſhing their temporal maintenance or revenues. It is again an opinion maintained by moſt great Doctors in the Romiſh Church, that all Kings and Monarchs whether Chriſtians or not Chriſtians, may be depoſed by their ſubjects for intollerable tyranny albeit the Church or Clergy be no party in ſuch wrongs or tyrannical oppreſſion. So then for Concluſion of this point of *Recrimination* againſt Reformed Churches: Albeit we no way take upon us to excuſe ſome writers in reformed Churches, of rebellious doctrin againſt Kings or Princes; yet herein they come far ſhort of Romiſh Prieſts or Jeſuits, whoſe doctrin concerning the ſubordination of all civil power unto the Eccleſiaſtick power, as it is ſeated in the Clergy or Church repreſentative or virtual, is a tranſcendent rebellion, not only againſt all Chriſtian Kings and Monarchs, but againſt all Kingdoms or Commonweals Chriſtian. It is a rebellious doctrin againſt all theſe directly; and indirectly (or by way of neceſſary conſequence) againſt all Kingdoms or Commonweals mahumetan or heatheniſh.

§. 10. Unleſs they can prove by better reaſons than any they have yet brought, the pretended Authority of the Pope to be a point of Faith, and the practiſe of it to be commanded by Gods Law: the practiſes of the Romiſh Church in latter ages, in compelling temporal Lords to put to death or exile, all whom ſhe condemns for hereticks, or in depoſing temporal Lords or Princes for not conforming themſelves to her rites or diſciplin, have been eſſential and proper exerciſes of Antichriſtian pride or Tyranny. No Type doth better fit the ſubſtance which it repreſents, then the bloody perſecutions of *Antiochus* againſt the Jews, (then Gods only people) doth the bloody Tyranny which the Romiſh Church did practiſe upon the *Albigenſes* or others that did queſtion or contradict her authority either in general, or in thoſe particulars which ſhe obtruded upon them as points of Faith; not only without all warrant from but contrary to the word of God. And becauſe Her practiſes in compelling Princes and temporal Lords, to be her Butchers and Executioners in ſhedding innocent blood are ſo odious and apparantly Antichriſtian in themſelves, hence it is that Prieſts and Jeſuits ſtrain their wits ſo much, to caſt a colour of truth upon their doctrin, and to qualifie the loathſomneſs of their practiſes by ſome examples in ſacred ſtory wherein (as they pretend) the high Prieſts have depoſed Kings. The ſpecial inſtance which they bring for this purpoſe, is that of *Vzziah* King of *Judah*, who (as they allege) was depoſed by *Azariah* the high Prieſt for entring into the Sanctuary of the Lord, to burn Incenſe. But as our Divines very well obſerve, *Vzziah* was not depoſed at all; much leſs was he depoſed by the Prieſt; if it had pleaſed God to have removed the Leproſie (wherewith he was ſmitten) from him, his right to the adminiſtration of the Kingdom had been as intire as it was before. No Prieſt or Prophet in *Judah*, durſt have adventured to hinder him from aſcending into his Throne, as they did from burning Incenſe in the Sanctuary. For the high Prieſt himſelf had as little to do in the Kings Office, as the King had to do in his. *Vzziah* being ſmitten with Leproſie was deprived (as we ſay) *ipſo facto*, from actual adminiſtration of the Kingdom, and of all civil commerce with men, all that the high Prieſt had to do in this buſineſs, was (at the moſt to declare him to be a Leaper, for the judgement of leproſie belonged unto the Prieſt. But even in this part of his Office, the Lord himſelf doth in a manner prevent him for the leproſie riſing upon his forehead after a ſtrange and unuſual manner, did declare it ſelf to all that looked upon him. And although it be ſaid the *chief Prieſts* and other *Prieſts*, thruſt him out from the Altar of Incenſe, yet it is added withall *that he himſelf haſted to go out becauſe the Lord had ſtricken him.* 2 Cron. 26. Chap. ver. 19, 20.

Joſephus, in the 9th Book of Jewiſh Antiquities, chap. 11. ſets down the Story at large; But mentions not any act of violence done to the King; yet had *Azariah* 80. Prieſts with him at that time. He tells a ſad Story of a frightful accident which might make all both King Prieſt and People, run with ſpeed and in confuſion out of the Temple, and ſo thruſt the King out. At the very time when the King was burning Incenſe, God ſent an Earthquake, which moved *per quatuor ſtadia* half a Mountain into a publick way, and the Kings Gardens; and made a chaun or rift in the Roof of the Temple; at which rift the Beams of the Sun darted in upon the face of the King, on which, if it did not raiſe, yet it did diſcover the Leprie. This Earthquake is mentioned, *Amos* 1. 1. and *Zach.* 14. 5. So then *Vzziah* was cut off from the houſe of the Lord all the dayes of his life, but not cut off by the Prieſt but by the hand of the Lord which had ſmitten him with perpetual Leproſie, and being ſo ſmitten he was cut off from exerciſe of his royal power, yet not from his royal right, for *Jothan* his ſon raigned four years not in his own perſonal right but in the right of *Vzziah* his Father, as is well obſerved by the judicious and learned Doctor *Field*, unto whoſe anſwers to all the reſt of the examples which they bring for Churchmens depoſing Princes, nothing need to be added, until the adverſarie bring other exceptions againſt them then hitherto have been brought.

§. 11. It will be worth your labour when you read their writings to obſerve, how they are ſtill inforced to ſupport this their rebellious and traiterous doctrin againſt Kings with blaſphemy againſt Chriſt. The Author of the right of the *Prelate and Prince* with others his fellows being conſcious that this example of *Vzziah* and *Azariah* the Prieſt, will not ſtretch far enough to reach the point in queſtion in any indifferent mans ſight or judgement; they labour to lengthen it with this weak and rotten ſuppoſition. If it were lawful for the high Prieſt of the Law thus to withſtand a King of *Judah* (if not to depoſe him) much more lawful it is for the high Prieſt of the Goſpel, to exerciſe the like authority or juriſdiction more ſevere upon Chriſtian Kings; eſpecially in caſe of hereſie which is wors than leproſie; being the leproſie of the ſoul. If God Almighty would write hereſie in as plain letters in Princes foreheads, as he did leproſie in King *Vzziahs*, the judgement or declaration of them to be hereticks would be more eaſie. But ſo beſotted or blinded in judgement theſe men are, who take upon them to judge of hereſies, and to depoſe Princes whom they have judged hereticks, that they are not afraid to imagin, or aſhamed to profeſs, that the high Prieſt of the Old Law was but a Type or ſhadow of the high Prieſt of the New Law, to wit, the Pope. Now I would demand of any good Chriſtian, of any indifferent man Jew or Gentile that knows the general *Tenets* either of Chriſtians concerning *Chriſt Jeſus*, or of the Jews concerning their expected *Meſſias*, what greater affront could be offered unto *Chriſt* as he is the high Prieſt of our ſouls, than for any mortal man to challenge the title of *that high Prieſt in the Goſpel whereof the high Prieſt in the Law was but the Type?* What greater affront again could be offered unto *Chriſt* as King, than that the Pope, by virtue of this pretended high Prieſthood ſhould uſurp or challenge an univerſal ſuperiority of juriſdiction, or of power coercive over Kings and Kingdoms? If this be granted, then he may be Lord of Lords and King of Kings, the only ruler of Princes, and if theſe be Titles which God hath given him, then doubtleſs he hath given to him, the *utmoſt parts of the earth for his poſſeſſion.*

§. 12. To prove this tranſcendant authority of the Pope and to exalt him far above all that is called God, his Engliſh Factors are not aſhamed to apply that propheſie, *Eſay* 49. *ver.* 23. unto the viſible Church of *Rome*, as it is under the government of the Pope. *Kings ſhall be thy nurſing Fathers and their Queens thy nurſing mothers.* But this may ſeem to argue Kings and Queens ſhould have authority over the Church in that they are *Fathers* and *Mothers* of it; but therefore (ſay theſe Ghoſtly Fathers of modern Romiſh Catholicks) it is added in the words immediately following, *they* (to wit, Kings and Queens) *ſhall bow down to thee with their faces towards the earth, and lick up the duſt of thy feet, and thou ſhalt know that I am the Lord, for they ſhall not be aſhamed that wait for me.* To what end are theſe words added by the Prophet, to expreſs (ſay they) that great reverence and obeyſance, which even Kings and Queens owe unto the Pope, who is the head and governour of the Church here meant. A late Romiſh writer to win the Engliſh thus to adore the Pope, as infinitely ſuperior to their ſoveraign

Iſa. 52.7.

ſoveraign Lord, would perſwade them by applying that Propheſie, *How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publiſheth peace?* to the ceremony of kiſſing the Popes feet and other homage which (ſays he) no good Chriſtian though King or Emperour hath ever diſdained; and that herein they follow the example of the three Kings who adored Chriſt, and of the prime Chriſtians who *brought the price of their Lands to the Apoſtles feet*, and of *Cornelius* who *fell at* Peters *feet*.

Prince and Prelate, Cap. 5. ſect. 14. p. 112.

§. 13. Hitherto I have acquainted you with the ſtrength of our Adverſaries Objections againſt our Church, and unfolded the brief or ſum of the Romiſh Churches Doctrin concerning the Civil and Eccleſiaſtick Power. Now of ſo bad a doctrin as that is, it will be very hard for us to make any good uſe or Application. The beſt application that I can make of what in this point hath been ſaid, is to beſeech you ſeriouſly and heartily to conſider, what a fearful ſcourge it would be to this Land and People, if God in juſtice ſhall appoint theſe ſons of pride and cruelty to handle or exerciſe the Rod of his Wrath which hath been a long time kindled againſt this Land. Now albeit the ſins of this Land are many and grievous, and the leaſt of them through long continuance doth more then deſerve, even beg and ſolicit, ſome fearful plague, yet is there no one ſin, that doth ſo probably threaten our plague and ſcourge by theſe ſons of pride, as the extremity of oppoſition unto their doctrin concerning Obedience to Eccleſiaſtick power. They are altogether for *abſolute illimited Obedience*. And a great part of men (otherwiſe more zealous profeſſors) in this Land, are altogether for *Abſolute liberty*, or exemption from Eccleſiaſtick Cenſure or Coercive Authority. The ordinary courſe of Gods punitive Juſtice in caſes extraordinary, is *per legem talionis*, to puniſh every one in that kind wherein he hath offended; or, to do to him as he hath done to others, or to the Laws unto which he was ſubject: The proper and *native Award* of this courſe of juſtice *will* be to puniſh the abuſe of ingenuous liberty or contempt of wholſom and moderate Laws Eccleſiaſtick, with impoſition of Laws tyrannical and the exerciſe of Eccleſiaſtick Power illimited. Which God of his mercy ever avert from this Land and Nation, for the merits and through the mediation of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, and only Saviour.

CHAP. IV.

The Diviſion of the Text: A Precept, *and a* Reaſon. *The* univerſality of Perſons *under the Command. All Clergy and Laity. The* Quality of the duty *Subjection.* Subjection *differs from* Obedience. *Subjection to Higher Powers muſt neceſſarily be yielded, even in Caſes where Obedience is ſinful. Whether Human Laws bind the Conſcience. A Groſs Error diſcovered:* viz. *That we are not bound to obey the Magiſtrate ſave only in ſuch things for which He can ſhew warrant out of Scripture.*

§. 1. HAving hitherto only ſquared my Text, and diſſolved the main knot concerning the diſtinction and ſubordination of Power Civil and Eccleſiaſtick Coercive. I may now proceed to the *Diviſion* of it. And it is eaſily divided into *two parts*. Firſt, A Precept, *Let every ſoul be ſubject unto the Higher Powers.* Secondly, *The Ground or reaſon of this Precept. For there is no power but of God.* This is a ſpiritual Truth, and would work upon the conſcience of any man that truly loved God. Yet to ſtrengthen this part of the moral

Law with the Law judicial or coercive, the Apoſtle adds, *The Powers that be are ordained of God. Whoſoever therefore reſiſteth the power reſiſteth the Ordinance of God, and they that reſiſt ſhall receive to themſelves damnation. The Precept* again divides it ſelf into *Two Conſiderations.* Firſt, the *Univerſality* of the perſons to whom it is directed: *Let every ſoul.* Secondly, the *Quality* of the duty injoyned or commanded, that is *Subjection.* To begin with the *Univerſality* of the perſons.

§. 2. Chriſtians they were, and the beſt Roman Catholicks that ever were, which are here commanded *To be ſubject to Higher Powers.* And of theſe good Chriſtians, and beſt Roman Catholicks, ſome were Church men; All were not Laicks, otherwiſe there had been no Church then in *Rome.* And yet none are exempted from this ſubjection, albeit the higher powers unto whom they are commanded to be ſubject were altogether heatheniſh; The Roman Emperor was then an Heathen, his Deputies or Vicegerents were Heathen, yet unto both, they were to ſubmit themſelves, as St. *Peter* infers, *Submit your ſelves unto every ordinance of man for the Lords ſake, whether it be to the King as ſupream, or unto Governours as unto them that are ſent by him for the puniſhment of evil-doers, and for the praiſe of them that do well.* I ever took it for an Argument beyond exception, thus to infer, If the Chriſtians of theſe primitive times, the beſt Chriſtians and Roman Catholicks, better then the beſt that have been ſince, were ſubject to Kings or higher powers heathen, much more ought Chriſtians and Catholicks of later times to profeſs ſubjection unto Kings or higher Chriſtian powers. But now I perceive the former knot falls again within this diviſion of my Text. For thus the modern Roman Catholick argues againſt the ſupremacie of Chriſtian Kings. Kings before baptiſme have no ſupremacie in Eccleſiaſtick cauſes; by baptiſme they get none. *Ergo,* they are not ſupream Governours or higher Powers at all in reſpect of cauſes or perſons Eccleſiaſtick. If we ſay that Kings before baptiſm might be ſupream Heads or Governours in cauſes Eccleſiaſtick or concerning the Church, then heathen Kings might be ſuch Governours. Now it were very harſh to ſay, and harder to prove, that heathen Kings which are no members of the Church ſhould be Heads or ſupream Governours of the Church. That any heathen Emperours were ſupream Heads and Governours of the Church, we do not affirm. But that they might have been ſupream Governours of the Church within their Dominions, and Heads of the Church in a better ſenſe than the Pope now chalengeth to be, no Roman Catholick can diſprove. As if it had pleaſed them to have permitted the Chriſtian Churches within their Dominions not only the free exerciſe of power meerly ſpiritual, but authorized them withal to have made Eccleſiaſtick coercive Laws, not to compell others to become Chriſtians, but to keep ſuch as willingly profeſſed themſelves ſo to be, within the pale or bounds of Chriſtianity; They had been in part true Governours or Heads of the Church, ſo far as they communicated this liberty of exerciſing ſpiritual power, or power of making Laws coercive. Much better heads they had been, then he now is, who taketh away all authority from the Church, of making laws, and only impoſeth Laws upon her of his own making.

1 Pet. 2. 13, 14

§. 3. But to the later part of their Exception, *That Kings by baptiſm get no ſupremacie which before they had not.* This they prove, becauſe Kings by baptiſm become ſons of the Church, and being ſons they are rather in ſubjection to their mother, than Heads over her. As many indeed

deed as are baptized become ſons of the Church, but the queſtion is, of what Church, or of what perſons in the Church, if of any determinate perſons they be ſons. The Church is called our Mother in reſpect of life ſpiritual, after the ſame manner, that our Country is called our Mother in reſpect of life natural. Now it is ſaid, *Patria communis eſt parens. Our Country is a common Mother to all that are born in it,* even to Kings themſelves; yet no man for this reaſon denyes, that Kings are *Patres patriæ*, and ſupream Governours over all perſons within their Dominions, that live in their times, yea even over the Mothers of their bodies. Kings Chriſtian in like manner may be ſons of the Church Catholick or Univerſal, or of *The Jeruſalem which is above; which* (as our Apoſtle ſaith, *Gal.* 4 *ver.* 26.) *is the Mother of us all*; and yet withal be ſupream Lords and Governours over all perſons or members of the Church, that ſojourn within their Dominions. It is a conſequence impoſſible ever for our Adverſaries to prove, that Chriſtian Kings, in that they are ſons of the Church their common Mother, are therefore ſubjects or inferiors to the Pope, or may in cauſes concerning the Church, be diſinherited by him. If this doctrin concerning the Popes power to diſinherit all ſuch Chriſtian Kings, as ſhall rebell againſt the Church their Mother, that is the Church of *Rome*, be now to be held a Catholick doctrin, then without all queſtion it was ſuch, and ſo eſteemed in the primitive Church: For, *That only is Catholick, which hath been true and Orthodoxal in all ages*, and which in all ages of the Church might ſafely, and without ſcandal, be profeſſed and taught. Now ſuppoſe the Apoſtles had either taught the Roman Emperours which lived in their times; or ſuppoſe the *Emperour Conſtantine*, or ſome others that lived long after the Apoſtles, hand upon exact inquiry, learned all the Tenets of Chriſtian Catholick Faith, and amongſt the reſt have learned this to be one; That all Kings and Emperours before baptiſm were ſupream Governours over all perſons within their Dominions, but after baptiſm were to become Subjects to the Pope or Church repreſentative, which gave them Chriſtendom; This had been doubtleſs a ſcandalous doctrin, and would have hindred Kings and Emperours either from being Chriſtians themſelves, or for ſuffering Chriſtians to live in their Dominions. Yea, if this doctrin had been any native branch of Chriſtianity; Chriſtianity it ſelf might juſtly have been condemned of High Treaſon againſt the perſons of Kings and Emperours; or againſt the Crowns and Dignities of all Soveraignties or Free-ſtates. So might the Profeſſors of Chriſtian Religion; eſpecially ſuch as did miniſter the Sacrament of Baptiſm, have been condemned as plagiary Traytors, that is, for robbing Kings and Emperours or Soveraignties of their native ſubjects. For if Kings and Emperours themſelves do by baptiſm become Subjects to the Biſhop of *Rome*, or other Paſtors; much more ſhall their ſubjects become more then ſubjects, meer vaſſalls to the Church or Pope by receiving baptiſm from the Church. Now no man can be a good ſubject unto two ſupream Lords, to the one as ſupream in cauſes temporal, and to the other as ſupream in cauſes ſpiritual. This were more impoſſible then for one man to ſerve two maſters.

§. 4. Kings and ſupream Magiſtrates (ſay they) by being baptiſed become ſons of the Church, *Ergo*, they are in ſubjection to the Church virtual or repreſentative, that is to the Pope or to a Council. Betwixt this *Antecedent* and the *Concluſion*, theſe *Two points* muſt be interpoſed, or elſe they will not hang together. *The firſt point*; That ſome one or few men in the Church (as either the Pope alone, or with ſome few aſſiſtants) have the Monopoly of baptizing by Succeſſion. *The ſecond*; That he or they (from whom the now living Prelates do derive their right unto this Monopoly) did ſo contract with thoſe Kings or Emperors which firſt ſubmitted themſelves to the Goſpel; that neither they nor any ſucceſſors of theirs, ſhould enjoy the benefit of baptiſm upon any other Terms or Conditions, than ſubjection of their temporal ſwords unto the Churches ſpiritual ſword; then ſubmiſſion of their Crowns and Diadems to the Popes Mitre; of their Scepters to his Paſtoral Staff; and his Paſtoral Staff ſhould be to their Scepters as *Aarons* Rod was to the Rods of the Inchanters. So much as they ſhall be able to prove of this later, ſo much labour ſhall they ſave us in proving another point, wherewith divers of our Writers have charged the Pope, *to wit*, that he makes the ſame proffer of ſale, and ſets the ſame price upon the Sacraments and other means conducent to the Kingdom of Heaven, as Sathan did upon temporal Kingdoms: yet not upon ſo fair or merchant-like terms as Sathan uſed, for he ſaid, *All theſe will I give unto thee, ſo thou wilt fall down and worſhip me.* The Tenor of the Popes contract is this, *None of all theſe will I give to any of you Kings and Princes of the Earth, no Baptiſm, no Sacrament, unleſs you will fall down and worſhip me as your ſpiritual King and Father.* If it be replyed, that Chriſtian Kings are ſubject to the Pope, or to the Church virtual or repreſentative, not upon any ſuch contract or covenant implicit or expreſs, but immediately by the benefit of baptiſm received from him, we muſt put them to a further Queſtion; Whether the Popes or other Prelates (which make the Church in their language) be baptized at all, or whether they do baptize themſelves. If the Popes be baptized, and be not baptized by themſelves, they are in as much ſubjection to the Church or to thoſe perſons who baptize them, as any Chriſtian Kings by virtue of baptiſm can be. Every Pope hath the Church for his Mother, or otherwiſe he cannot have God for his Father; and if the Church be his Mother, he ows the ſame filial obedience to the Church, which he requires of other Princes or Prelates in the Churches name.

§. 5. *Let every ſoul be ſubject unto the higher Powers.* Is this all one, as if he had ſaid; Let every ſoul be *Obedient* to the higher Powers? No, no! Albeit there can be no *Obedience* without ſubjection, yet may there be ſubjection without *Obedience*. *Obedience* and *ſubjection* are not all one. Sometimes they are ſubordinate; ſometimes coincident; oppoſite they never are. Subjection hath ſometime more ſpecial reference to the body or outward man. *Obedience* includes theſe *Two Parts* in it; Firſt Attentive Audience to that which is commanded; Secondly a willingneſs upon ſuch attention to do what is commanded. And in this later conſiſts the accompliſhment of *Obedience* without doing (as much as in us lyes) what is commanded us, without forbearing to do what is forbidden us, there is no *Obedience* ſhewed to the power or party which commands or fordids. Yet oft-times where *Obedience* to human powers is dangerous, *Subjection* is due, and cannot be denyed without the juſt cenſure of diſobedience.

§. 6. *Annas* the High Prieſt and *Caiaphas*, and as many as were of the kindred of the High-Prieſt, commanded the *Apoſtles not to ſpeak at all, or teach in the Name of Jeſus.* But the Apoſtles in this obeyed them not; but gave them this reſolute Anſwer, *Whether it be right in the ſight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye: For we* Acts 4.16,18

Tom. III. *cannot but ſpeak the things which we have ſeen and heard:* So far are they from doing what was commanded, which is the *ſecond part of obedience,* that they refuſe to hearken unto ſuch a Propoſal; yet were they ſtill *ſubject* unto their power whom they refuſed to obey; for they ſuffer themſelves to be impriſoned by them without reſiſtance; and yet withal they obey the Angel of the Lord, which opened the *Priſon-door by night, and commanded them to ſpeak the words of life unto the people in the Temple.* (Acts 5. 18.) After all this, being the ſecond time convented without violence offered, they *ſubject* themſelves unto their power, and do not appeal unto the Angel which had delivered them out of priſon, or implore his aid to reſiſt their power. Subject they were unto their power no leſs then they had been, and yet more reſolutely reſolved, not to obey their Injunctions than before. For unto this Interrogation [*Did not we ſtraitly command you, that you ſhould not teach in his name? and behold ye have filled Jeruſalem with your doctrin, and intend to bring this mans blood upon us:*] *Peter* and the other Apoſtles return this joynt Anſwer; *We ought to obey God rather then men.* And a part of their obedience unto God, was to preach Chriſt even unto this Council or Church repreſentative, *ver.* 29, &c. Yet with this flat denial of *obedience* to their Injunctions, they do not deny or queſtion *ſubjection* to their *coercive Power*; nor do they repine at the exerciſe of it, or rail upon the Actors. *When they had called the Apoſtles, and beaten them, they commanded that they ſhould not ſpeak in the Name of Jeſus, and* (following *Gamaliels* Counſel) *let them go. And they departed from the preſence of the Council, rejoycing that they were accounted worthy to ſuffer ſhame for his Name:* And yet for all this retaining their *obedience* unto *Chriſt*, as entire and untouched as their *ſubjection* was unto the Council. For as it follows, *ver* 42. *Dayly in the Temple and in every houſe, they ceaſed not to teach and preach Jeſus Chriſt.*

§. 7. What was the true reaſon of the Apoſtles chearful *ſubjection* unto the Councils power, and of their reſolution not to *obey* their commands? The true Rule and reaſon of the ſubjection of their bodies, without ſubjection of their conſciences, was that Commandment of our Saviour, *Fear not them that can kill the body only, and when they have done this, can do no more; but fear him, which can caſt both ſoul and body into Hell fire: Yea, I ſay unto you, Fear him*; (Luke 12. v.4.) And he whom all muſt fear moſt, all muſt obey, though in oppoſition to the expreſs commands of any earthly power: Yet in as much as God had given the High Prieſt and Council power over the Apoſtles bodies, they muſt be ſubject unto them, whom to reſiſt had been to diſobey God, yea to reſiſt his ordinance. But to have done that which the Council commanded them to do; or to have left that undone, which they forbad them to do, (whether out of their own perſwaſions, or for fear of bodily danger that might enſue upon diſobedience to their poſitive injunctions or prohibitions) had been to have wounded their own conſciences. It was then a Reſolution in theſe *Apoſtles* commendable, and to all good Chriſtians neceſſary, to uſe their bodies, as bucklers for the defenſe of their ſouls & conſciences. To have feared the blows or ſtripes of their Adverſaries more, then neglect of their duty and obedience unto Chriſt, had been in effect to have laid their Conſciences open to the Adverſary. Every blow which upon theſe terms they had eſcaped, had given a more grievous wound to their Conſciences than the blows they received did to their bodies. The caſe then is clear, that there is a *ſubjection* of body due unto thoſe powers, unto which ſubjection or *obedience* of ſoul and conſcience is not due, at leaſt not due in thoſe caſes wherein ſubjection of the body is due. But albeit the Conſcience be not ſubject to Laws human, whether Civil or Eccleſiaſtick, which are (as the injunctions of this Council were) apparently repugnant to the Laws of Chriſt; is it therefore univerſally true, *That the conſcience is not ſubject to any human Laws?* Or, that ſuch Laws do not at all bind the Conſcience? This is a *Main Caſe of Conſcience*, the full *Reſolution* or determination whereof, is of as good and *General Uſe*, as the reſolution of any other almoſt beſides.

§. 8. Every binding includes a reſtraint of the part or partie that is bound, and takes away ſome liberty, which it had before. As a man whoſe hands are bound, hath not that liberty, which before he had, either to defend himſelf or offend his enemy. He whoſe feet are bound in chains, perhaps hath ſome liberty to walk, but none to run. He that is chained to a poſt or to other fixed place, hath no liberty either to walk or run, further then the length of the chain will give him leave. The like reſtraint which chains or bonds do lay upon the body, any human Law may lay upon any perſon, that is ſubject to it. Lawful it is *De communi Jure, by the General Law of Nations, for any free* Merchant to traffick with forraign States; for any man to travel through his native Country. Yet the Law-givers of every Nation, or the ſupream Magiſtrate, who is by his place the moderator of Laws made, may inhibit Merchants to traffick with the enemy, and confine ſubjects to certain places within their Realms. And this reſtraint of general Liberty is a kind of civil binding. And that will tranſgreſs the bounds or limits ſet him, is bound in conſcience to ſubmit his body and goods to the penalty under which he is bound not to tranſgreſs. And albeit the reſtraint may be tyrannical or unjuſt, yet the *ſubjection* of our ſelves unto this human Ordinance, is juſt and neceſſary ſo far as it concerns our bodily ſubſtance or outward man. But if any Lawgiver or Magiſtrate ſhould command us, under pain of mortal ſin or the like, not to think of thoſe forraign Countries or other places, into which we may not tranſport our bodies: the Law were void, and could hurt no man, but thoſe that made it. For thought (as we ſay) is free, certainly free from all reſtraint of human Laws or Injunctions. No man is bound to think that every Law is juſt for whoſe tranſgreſſion he muſt yield his body if it be demanded, without oppoſition of contrary force and reſiſtance, albeit he hath bodily ſtrength or power to reſiſt the execution of it.

§. 9. Now if human power may bind the body, but leave the thoughts of man free, what bond can it lay upon the conſcience? None directly! Are not human Laws then (ſome at leaſt) to be obeyed for conſcience ſake? This no good Chriſtian will deny. And yet in granting this, [*That ſome human Laws are to be obeyed for conſcience ſake*:] And in denying [That any human Law can bind the conſcience] we neceſſarily acknowledge *A Mean* between the obeying of human Laws for conſcience ſake, and the Bond of conſcience, which no human Law can lay upon us. And this Mean we are to ſeek out by theſe *Rules* following. Firſt; *Whoſoever doth in any ſort diſobey Gods Law or any branch thereof, doth commit ſin: For ſin is the tranſgreſſion of the Law*; and without diſobedience to the Law of God, there is no ſin. This Rule no Chriſtian denyes. The ſecond Rule is; *A man, eſpecially a private man, by diſobeying ſome human Laws, ſhall neceſſarily*

Acts 5. 18.

cannot but ſpeak the things which we have ſeen and heard: So far are they from doing what was commanded, which is the *ſecond part of obedience*, that they refuſe to hearken unto ſuch a Propoſal; yet were they ſtill *ſubject* unto their power whom they refuſed to obey; for they ſuffer themſelves to be impriſoned by them without reſiſtance; and yet withal they obey the Angel of the Lord, which opened the *Priſon-door by night, and commanded them to ſpeak the words of life unto the people in the Temple.* After all this, being the ſecond time convented without violence offered, they *ſubject* themſelves unto their power, and do not appeal unto the Angel which had delivered them out of priſon, or implore his aid to reſiſt their power. Subject they were unto their power no leſs then they had been, and yet more reſolutely reſolved, not to obey their Injunctions than before. For unto this Interrogation [*Did not we ſtraitly command you, that you ſhould not teach in his name? and behold ye have filled Jeruſalem with your doctrin, and intend to bring this mans blood upon us:*] *Peter* and the other Apoſtles return this joynt Anſwer; *We ought to obey God rather then men.* And a part of their obedience unto God, was to preach Chriſt even unto this Council or Church repreſentative, *ver.* 29, &c. Yet with this flat denial of *obedience* to their Injunctions, they do not deny or queſtion *ſubjection* to their *coercive Power*; nor do they repine at the exerciſe of it, or rail upon the Actors. *When they had called the Apoſtles, and beaten them, they commanded that they ſhould not ſpeak in the Name of Jeſus, and* (following *Gamaliels* Counſel) *let them go. And they departed from the preſence of the Council, rejoycing that they were accounted worthy to ſuffer ſhame for his Name:* And yet for all this retaining their *obedience* unto *Chriſt*, as entire and untouched as their *ſubjection* was unto the Council. For as it follows, *ver* 42. *Dayly in the Temple and in every houſe, they ceaſed not to teach and preach Jeſus Chriſt.*

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§. 7. What was the true reaſon of the Apoſtles chearful *ſubjection* unto the Councils power, and of their reſolution not to *obey* their commands? The true Rule and reaſon of the ſubjection of their bodies, without ſubjection of their conſciences, was that Commandment of our Saviour, *Fear not them that can kill the body only, and when they have done this, can do no more; but fear him, which can caſt both ſoul and body into Hell fire: Yea, I ſay unto you, Fear him;* And he whom all muſt fear moſt, all muſt obey, though in oppoſition to the expreſs commands of any earthly power: Yet in as much as God had given the High Prieſt and Council power over the Apoſtles bodies, they muſt be ſubject unto them, whom to reſiſt had been to diſobey God, yea to reſiſt his ordinance. But to have done that which the Council commanded them to do; or to have left that undone, which they forbad them to do, (whether out of their own perſwaſions, or for fear of bodily danger that might enſue upon diſobedience to their poſitive injunctions or prohibitions) had been to have wounded their own conſciences. It was then a Reſolution in theſe *Apoſtles* commendable, and to all good Chriſtians neceſſary, to uſe their bodies, as bucklers for the defenſe of their ſouls & conſciences. To have feared the blows or ſtripes of their Adverſaries more, then neglect of their duty and obedience unto Chriſt, had been in effect to have laid their Conſciences open to the Adverſary. Every blow which upon theſe terms they had eſcaped, had given a more grievous wound to their Conſciences than the blows they received did to their bodies. The caſe then is clear, that there is a *ſubjection* of body due unto thoſe powers, unto which ſubjection or *obedience* of ſoul and conſcience is not due, at leaſt not due in thoſe caſes wherein ſubjection of the body is due. But albeit the Conſcience be not ſubject to Laws human, whether Civil or Eccleſiaſtick, which are (as the injunctions of this Council were) apparently repugnant to the Laws of Chriſt; is it therefore univerſally true, *That the conſcience is not ſubject to any human Laws?* Or, that ſuch Laws do not at all bind the Conſcience? This is a *Main Caſe of Conſcience*, the full *Reſolution* or determination whereof, is of as good and *General Uſe*, as the reſolution of any other almoſt beſides.

§. 8. Every binding includes a reſtraint of the part or partie that is bound, and takes away ſome liberty, which it had before. As a man whoſe hands are bound, hath not that liberty, which before he had, either to defend himſelf or offend his enemy. He whoſe feet are bound in chains, perhaps hath ſome liberty to walk, but none to run. He that is chained to a poſt or to other fixed place, hath no liberty either to walk or run, further then the length of the chain will give him leave. The like reſtraint which chains or bonds do lay upon the body, any human Law may lay upon any perſon, that is ſubject to it. Lawful it is *De communi Jure, by the General Law of Nations, for any free* Merchant to traffick with forraign States; for any man to travel through his native Country. Yet the Law-givers of every Nation, or the ſupream Magiſtrate, who is by his place the moderator of Laws made, may inhibit Merchants to traffick with the enemy, and confine ſubjects to certain places within their Realms. And this reſtraint of general Liberty is a kind of civil binding. And that will tranſgreſs the bounds or limits ſet him, is bound in conſcience to ſubmit his body and goods to the penalty under which he is bound not to tranſgreſs. And albeit the reſtraint may be tyrannical or unjuſt, yet the *ſubjection* of our ſelves unto this human Ordinance, is juſt and neceſſary ſo far as it concerns our bodily ſubſtance or outward man. But if any Lawgiver or Magiſtrate ſhould command us, under pain of mortal ſin or the like, not to think of thoſe forraign Countries or other places, into which we may not tranſport our bodies: the Law were void, and could hurt no man, but thoſe that made it. For thought (as we ſay) is free, certainly free from all reſtraint of human Laws or Injunctions. No man is bound to think that every Law is juſt for whoſe tranſgreſſion he muſt yield his body if it be demanded, without oppoſition of contrary force and reſiſtance, albeit he hath bodily ſtrength or power to reſiſt the execution of it.

§. 9. Now if human power may bind the body, but leave the thoughts of man free, what bond can it lay upon the conſcience? None directly! Are not human Laws then (ſome at leaſt) to be obeyed for conſcience ſake? This no good Chriſtian will deny. And yet in granting this, [*That ſome human Laws are to be obeyed for conſcience ſake*:] And in denying [That any human Law can bind the conſcience] we neceſſarily acknowledge *A Mean* between the obeying of human Laws for conſcience ſake, and the Bond of conſcience, which no human Law can lay upon us. And this Mean we are to ſeek out by theſe *Rules* following. Firſt; *Whoſoever doth in any ſort diſobey Gods Law or any branch thereof, doth commit ſin: For ſin is the tranſgreſſion of the Law*; and without diſobedience to the Law of God, there is no ſin. This Rule no Chriſtian denyes. The ſecond Rule is; *A man, eſpecially a private man, by diſobeying ſome human Laws, ſhall neceſſarily* *diſobey the Law of God, and by ſuch diſobedience neceſſarily commit ſin; yea ſuch a ſin of diſobedience, as he ſhould not, he could not commit without the interpoſition of ſome human Law, albeit he did the ſelf ſame fact, which human Law only doth in particular forbid.* So that albeit the Law of God be eternal, yet a man may diſobey this Law of God, and ſo ſin this day, by doing the ſelf ſame fact, which to have done a year or ſome few dayes ago, had been no ſin, no diſobedience to Gods Law; it being ſuppoſed that there is, at this day, ſome human Law, which forbids the ſame fact, being not forbidden by any human Law (whereto he was ſubject) before. Out of theſe *Two Rules*, there ariſeth *A Queſtion*, whoſe determination or reſolution will cleer the point in queſtion, and many other queſtions, uſually propoſed in terms either ſlippery and ambiguous, or too ſubtile and curious for ordinary capacities. The Queſtion is this, *Whether in theſe caſes wherein we commit ſin or diſobedience againſt Gods Laws, by diſobeying human Laws, there be Two ſins; one againſt Gods Law, and another againſt human Laws?* The caſe is clear, there is but one ſin, not two ſins: and this one ſin is intirely againſt Gods Law. Unleſs this be granted; that Definition of ſin given by St. *Auſtin* (and acknowledged, by School Divines and Caſuiſts, to be moſt compleat) would be imperfect. His *Definition* is this: *Every ſin is a thought, a word, or deed, againſt Gods Law*; and every thought, word, or deed againſt Gods Law is a ſin. For Gods Law doth bind the very thought and conſcience, and to tranſgreſs this bond, though but in a ſecret thought, is a degree of diſobedience truly and properly a ſin. Now in if thoſe caſes wherein we ſhould not diſobey Gods Laws but by diſobeying human Laws, there were two diſtinct ſins, one againſt Gods Law, and another againſt mans Law, this later ſin (which is ſuppoſed to be only againſt mans Law) ſhould not be *A thought, word, or deed againſt Gods Law.* Whereas, it is ſuppoſed in the former *Definition*, there can be no ſin but it muſt be either ſome *thought, word or deed againſt Gods Law.* The Concluſion then is certain, That no man can ſin by diſobeying human Laws, ſave only ſo far as by diſobeying them, he diſobeys Gods Laws: and in this later diſobedience, doth ſin properly conſiſt. It is perhaps a ſchool ſoleciſm to ſay that any human law can bind the Conſcience; but it is a greater ſoleciſm or error in Practiſe to ſay or think, That Gods Laws do not bind the conſcience to obey ſome human Laws. For your better information in the duty of obedience, take this Rule with you. *Albeit no man can ſin by diſobeying any human Law, but only ſo far, as by diſobeying it, he diſobeys Gods Law, yet his ſin or diſobedience againſt Gods Law, may be in divers caſes greater or leſs, for degree, according to his greater or leſs diſobedience unto human Laws.* It may be likewiſe greater or leſs, not in reſpect of degrees only, but for its nature or ſpecifical quality, according to the different nature or quality of the human Laws, whoſe diſobedience doth induce ſin or diſobedience unto Gods Law.

§. 10. Some human Laws there be, which command things evil, or forbid things in their nature good, and by Gods Law required. And all Obedience unto ſuch Laws, is truly and properly a ſin againſt Gods Law. And this neceſſarily infers, that neither our obedience, nor diſobedience to human Laws, are any true and proper ſins, ſave only ſo far as they include ſome diſobedience, unto Gods Laws. Other human Laws there be, which command or forbid, things neither commanded nor forbidden by the Laws of God; *things meerly indifferent* not only in themſelves, but in reſpect of any good end, of any benefit or harm likely to redound either to private men, or to the Church or

Common-weal, by obſerving or not obſerving them, yet to diſobey or neglect ſuch Laws, is a degree, though the loweſt degree of diſobedience, that can be committed againſt the Law of God. For by diſobeying ſuch Laws we ſhall certainly diſobey thoſe *branches* of Gods *Law which command* us to obey human Laws or ordinances of men. For though the things commanded or forbidden, be (as is ſuppoſed) altogether indifferent, in themſelves neither good nor bad; yet diſobedience to them, is therefore evil becauſe the things commanded or forbidden are not evil. And unto thoſe ſpecial branches of Gods Law, which command obedience to higher powers, our obedience or diſobedience is firſt and clearlieſt manifeſted, by our obedience or diſobedience, to ſuch human Laws, as theſe laſt mentioned, which command or forbid things moſt indifferent, leaſt beneficial, or not required by any ſpecial Law of God. For as *Touch*, though the moſt ignoble of all the five Senſes, doth primarily and formally diſtinguiſh ſenſitive creatures from inſenſitive: So by human Law and human perſwaſion, a Magiſtrate, and a private man, are primarily *differenced*; by that obedience which in matters meerly indifferent is due to an human Law or Magiſtrate, albeit they give no reaſon, or uſe no earneſt perſwaſions; but is not due to the earneſt perſwaſions, or reaſons of a private man. For one private mans negative is as good as anothers affirmative, his reaſons may be counterpoiz'd with contrary reaſons, as wanting the ſway of authority which is proper to the Law or Magiſtrate. Their error is very groſs and dangerous unto the Common-wealth, who think they are not bound to obey the Law, or Magiſtrates, ſave only in thoſe things, for which they can ſhew reaſon or warrant out of the word of God.

§. 11. But though our *Obedience*, to this precept in my Text (and the like) is firſt ſeen and clearlier diſcerned, by obeying ſuch human Laws, as concern matters leaſt beneficial or moſt indifferent: *Yet we ſin more grievouſly againſt Gods Laws, when we diſobey ſuch human Laws, as injoyn things uſefull and in all probability profitable, for the Church or Common weal, or for ſetting forth the true ſervice and glory of God.* For inſtance, there is a Law politick in this Land (for with the Eccleſiaſtick Law I will not now meddle) which forbids the eating of fleſh upon certain dayes. The penalty is in the Law ſpecified, and is meerly temporal. The Queſtion then is, whether the Law of God, doth only bind our Conſciences to ſubmit our ſelves to the *Penalty*, but not to obey the *Precept*. Certainly the *Penalty* is required for diſobedience to the *Precept*; for the *Tenor* of this Law (as far as I conceive) is not *Disjunctive*, as many other Laws temporal are; in not obſerving the former part of which Laws, no man ſhall offend Gods Law ſo he be willing and ready to pay the mulct, or to ſubmit himſelf unto the Sanction. Thus it oft-times may fall out, but then eſpecially, when we are not tyed unto the obſervance of the Law, by any other reaſon or motive, beſides the meer will or intention of the Law-giver, which ſometime may be only to raiſe money for publick uſe, or to have a power to keep men in order, who otherwiſe would offend by too much uſe of lawful liberty. But this particular Law concerning Faſting or Abſtinence from fleſh, doth not bind men only *ex voluntate legiſlatoris, ſed ex utilitate & ratione legis* The true end or reaſon of the Law, though but a temporal, is yet a publick good, as the maintenance of fiſhing, of ſhipping, &c. Now though the makers of this Law, could not bind mens Conſciences to obſerve it, or make eating of fleſh upon any faſting day, a ſin: yet Gods Law doth bind mens Conſciences to obſerve not only the *Sanction*, or later part of this Law which inflicts the mulct, but the former part or *Precept* with bindeth not only under penalty of the mulct, or from the will of the Law-giver, but in the force or virtue of the Law of nature, by which even heathen men are bound to tender the publick good, and wellfare of their native Country. But though Gods Law doth bind us to the obſervance of this precept, or former part of this human law, yet doth it not tye us ſo ſtrictly to obſervance of the *Precept*, as it doth to obſervance of the *Sanction*; much leſs doth it ty us ſo ſtrictly to the obſervance of the precept, as we are tyed to every particular branch of Gods precepts. Gods negative precepts *obligant ſemper & ad ſemper*, They alwayes bind, and they bind us to all times, that is, their bond is univerſal. No man at any time can do that which Gods law forbids, but doth thereby neceſſarily ſin. The bond of this and like human laws, is not univerſal but indefinite, or, *ut plurimùm*. Though many men often ſin againſt Gods law, by neglect or non-obſervance of this human Law, yet may we not ſay, that every man doth ſin, or that any man doth ſin at all times, and in every moment, wherein he doth not obſerve this human law. And it would be a hard ſaying to avouch that it were a ſin to deſire the meats forbidden upon the dayes wherein they are forbidden, or to wiſh the law might at leaſt be mitigated; yet thus to wiſh or deſire, would be a ſin if human laws did ſo bind the Conſcience, or if their prohibitions or negative precepts, were as univerſal in reſpect of all times, perſons or occaſions, as Gods negative precepts are, albeit the puniſhment for not obſerving human laws were infinitely leſs. A liberty of diſpenſation this law it ſelf in certain caſes expreſſeth, and otherwiſe then by diſpenſation or licence had, no man is free from the temporal puniſhment by the law inflicted; yet from guilt of ſin or tranſgreſſion of Gods law, many men are free, which ſometime do that which this law forbids, albeit ſo they do, without diſpenſation. In this and other human laws intended only for the temporal publick good, every private man carries a Court of Conſcience or Chancery in his breſt, which upon occaſions known to God and himſelf to be ſincere and not pretended, may moderate the rigour of the precept, though it cannot free them from the mulct or penalty, which higher powers (whom he may not reſiſt) may at their pleaſure put in execution. Even Law-makers themſelves are ſubject to that fundamental law of doing to others as they would be done unto. And upon our charitable conſtruction of their intentions, not to tranſgreſs this *Fundamental Law of God*, in making particular laws for others, their inferiors may preſume of a Diſpenſation tacitly included in the law it ſelf, in ſome caſes, wherein the licence or legal diſpenſation of the Magiſtrate, cannot, without hurt or inconvenience, be had.

§. 12. Other laws there be enacted by men, which more immediately concern the good of the Church, the advancement of Chriſtianity, or the publick ſervice of God and in tranſgreſſing theſe laws, we ſin more grievouſly then in tranſgreſſing human laws, which meerly concern the temporal good: And ſin more grievouſly we may by tranſgreſſing ſome laws of this rank, than others. There is a law enacted againſt raſh or prophane ſwearing; the law or *Negative Precept* is not meerly human, for it is an eſſential part of the divine moral Law. The *Sanction* or penalty is human, yet not ſo meerly human as the penalty inflicted by the former law. For the penalty, though it were a great deal more grievous, were rather a revival of the judicial law of God, than a meer human *Sanction*. Though the meaſure of puniſhment inflicted by the judicial law of God, were altered or abrogated at the tranſlation of the Prieſthood, yet is not the puniſhment it ſelf altogether abrogated. Some temporal puniſhment ought to be inflicted upon the known tranſgreſſors of any moral precept of God, or branch of the ten Commandements; there may be *Commutatio pœnæ*, but no total Remiſſion of the temporal puniſhment inflicted, by the law of *Moſes* upon tranſgreſſors of the moral law. Thoſe branches of the judicial law of God which concern the puniſhment for tranſgreſſing of Gods moral law, are dead *quoad tantum*, not *quoad totum*. And therefore Chriſtian Magiſtrates, have not ſuch power to diſpenſe with the penalty, by this law enacted, upon raſh or prophane ſwearers, as they have in other laws, which in reſpect of their end or ſubject are but temporal. The party offending, is more ſtrictly bound to obſerve this *Sanction*, and to ſubmit himſelf unto the penalty, then he is in moſt other caſes; bound he is to pay the mulct, although it be not demanded, or at leaſt to beſtow as much upon the poor: or to inflict ſome puniſhment upon himſelf, that ſhall be equivalent to the penalty which the Law requires.

§. 13. Other human laws there be, which command ſet performances of duties expreſly required by the law of God in the general or indefinitely; and bind men by temporal mulcts, or penalties, or by cenſures Eccleſiaſtick, to certain and definite times of performance. Thus Gods law injoyns us to *pray continually*, not only in private, but to meet together (at leaſt at certain times) for preſenting our joynt prayers unto God. Now, ſeeing the Canons of the Church, bind all without exception, to frequent publick Prayers, twice at leaſt upon the Lords day, and upon other Feſtivals,and once upon other dayes in the week: The tranſgreſſion of this Law or Canon, or any branch of it, doth argue an higher degree of tranſgreſſing Gods laws, than the tranſgreſſion of any laws meerly temporal, can do: and the reaſon is, becauſe we are bound in more reſpects to obſerve theſe Laws and Canons, then we are to obſerve laws meerly temporal. Firſt, we are not bound only *ex voluntate legiſlatorum*, out of the meer will of theſe Law makers, albeit their will or power, doth bind as much as the will of any Lawgivers in cauſes meerly temporal. And he that doth not perform obedience unto the Canons of the Church repreſentative, concerning matters indifferent, doth as evidently tranſgreſs this precept in my Text and the like, as he that diſobeys any temporal Magiſtrate or Law giver though Supream. But beſides the tranſgreſſion of this divine precept, which concerns all ſorts of powers, whether meerly temporal, meerly Eccleſiaſtick,or mixt: whoſoever tranſgreſſeth the Canons mentioned, doth likewiſe tranſgreſs thoſe branches of Gods law, which injoyn obedience in ſpecial to Paſtors or Eccleſiaſtick Governours, as that. *Obey them that have the rule over you and ſubmit your ſelves, for they watch for your ſouls, as they that muſt give account; that they may do it with joy and not with grief; for that is unprofitable for you.* By diſobeying the former Canons, they likewiſe incur the penalty annexed to that Maxim of our *Saviours*, which is more expreſs and more direct for performance of obedience in the caſe propoſed unto ſpiritual Governors or Paſtors, than any Injunction in the law of God, is for Obedience unto Governors or ſupream Magiſtrates temporal. *He that heareth you* (ſaith our Saviour to his Apoſtles and Diſciples) *heareth me; and he that deſpiſeth you deſpiſeth me.* And this ſaying or Injunction is then moſt

Hebr. 13.17.

Luke 10. 16.

punctually and peremptorily true, when the duties enjoyned by ſpiritual Governours, are indefinitely required by the law of God in expreſs terms for their ſubſtance, and the times only, or the manner of their performance, are injoyned by publick Governours, with unanimous conſent, and not by way of Exhortation, but under form of law or Canon. Of this rank are thoſe Canons which enjoyn men to ſtand up at the publick profeſſion of the Articles of our Faith, to kneel whileſt the Miniſter prayeth, or exhibiteth the Sacrament of Chriſts body and bloud unto them. Now albeit our Church do not command men to obſerve theſe Canons as the Romiſh Church doth under pain of mortal ſin, of forfeiture of Grace (puniſhments which none but God hath power to inflict;) yet the law of God doth bind our conſciences to obſerve theſe Canons or Eccleſiaſtick Conſtitutions concerning ſet time of prayer, and the manner of ſetting forth Gods ſervices, more then it doth our ſouls and conſciences to any laws whoſe matter or ſubject is meerly temporal. None of theſe Canons do bind only *ex voluntate legiſlatoris, ſed ex utilitate Canonum*, out of the Law-makers will in reſpect of the publick good. For the life and welfare aſwell of Church as of Common-weal, depend next under God, upon the frequent and fervent prayer of the Church. And to neglect ſuch laws or Canons (though made by men) as injoyn us to frequent and decent performances of ſuch duties, is to tranſgreſs all thoſe branches of Gods law, which commands us to ſeek the peace and welfare of the Church and Common-weal wherein the ſafety of the King and State, under whom we live, and (which is above all) the advancement of Gods Glory is concerned. Neither are theſe Canons, unto which obedience (upon all theſe and many other reſpects) is due, in regard of their end and ſubject, ratified only by the body or company of the Clergy, albeit even ſo ratified only; their tranſgreſſion were more dangerous then the tranſgreſſion of laws meerly civil: but ratified theſe Canons are by the ſupream Majeſty of this Kingdom, by the Royal Aſſent of Kings and Queens in their High Courts of Parliament, and ſo ratified, not indefinitely only, or in the general, but in ſpecial, or particular. For firſt, the High Court of Parliament, gives authority or power coercive unto the Clergy or Church repreſentative, to make Canons, ſo they be not prejudicial to the Kings Prerogative, or to the Fundamental laws or cuſtoms of this Land. And ſuch queſtionleſs, ſtanding at the Creed, kneeling at the Communion, or other decent behaviour at Divine Service, or frequenting of Divine Service upon other dayes beſides the Lords day, are not. And beſides this General Power, the Communion-book, and Rites, and Prayers in it expreſſed, are ratified in particular by the ſame Supream Power and Act of Parliament.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Generally, Laws conſiſt of Precepts *and* Sanctions. *Sanctions, of* Penalties *and* Rewards. *Though the* Precept *be unjuſt, yet is a Chriſtian bound to ſubmit to the* Penalty *without Reſiſting either the Law-maker or the Executioner of Law. No diſobedience to* Laws Disjunctive, *if either the* Precept *be performed or the* Sanction; i. e. *The Penalty paid. As moral Virtue, ſo Obedience, is beſet with* Two Extremes: *one in* Exceſs, *conſpicuous in the Romaniſts Doctrin of* Abſolute Obedience. *The other in* Defect, *proper to the Noveliſt, holding, that no Obedience is due to Human Laws, unleſs the makers can prove the particulars commanded by them to be commanded alſo by God. This later extreme is handled in the next Chapter.*

§. 1. EVery Law generally conſiſts of *Two Parts:* A *Precept* and a *Sanction. The Precept* again may be either *Negative* or *Affirmative,* that is, it may either forbid us to do ſome things, or command us to do other things, or both forbid and command. The *Sanction* always includes the *Penalty* annexed to the tranſgreſſion or non-performance of the *Precept,* whether Negative or Affirmative; or the *Reward* propoſed to the obſervance of it. The *Penalty* is ſometimes expreſly determined by the *Sanction:* ſometimes left indefinite, and referred to the diſcretion of the Judge or Magiſtrate. The *Precept* in the third Commandment is Negative. *Thou ſhalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain:* the *Penalty* inflicted by the *Sanction* is indefinite; *For the Lord will not hold him guiltleſs that taketh his name in vain.* The *Precept* of the fifth Commandment is Affirmative. The *Reward* or *Sanction* is expreſt, *That thy dayes may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.* In every human law, there is alwayes ſomething forbidden or commanded; and ſome penalty uſually inflicted upon the tranſgreſſors either in termes diſtinct or indefinite.

§. 2. *The Rule is General;* That unto the Penalty or *Sanction* of every human Law or Ordinance, paſſive obedience or ſubjection of the outward man is due, whether the law be juſt or unjuſt: Higher Powers, and higher Powers ordained by God are all, unto whom God hath given Authority either to make laws, or to put laws made in execution: And to reſiſt either Law-makers or the Executioners of laws made, though unjuſtly made, or unjuſtly executed, is to reſiſt the *Ordinance of God.* But what it is to *reſiſt Higher Powers,* or human ordinances will fall more directly within the ſecond part of my *General Diviſion,* to wit, the *Grounds or Reaſon of this Precept.* This we now ſuppoſe, that no human Law or Ordinance, can be more unjuſt then that injunction which *Annas* and *Caiphas* with the reſt of the Jewiſh Council did lay upon the Apoſtles, *not to teach in the name of Chriſt;* and yet the Apoſtles were ſubject to the *Penalty* or *Sanction* of this Injunction; and that was ſtripes or impriſonment; neither of which could be more unjuſtly inflicted upon any men on earth, then upon theſe great Ambaſſadors of the Kingdom of Heaven. Now if our Conſciences be bound by Gods Law to yield Subjection or *Obedience Paſſive* unto the *Sanction* of unjuſt Laws, the ſame bond will tye our conſciences more ſtrictly to yield the like *Paſſive Obedience* unto *Sanctions* not unjuſt, or juſt and profitable. All the difficulty is concerning the *Obedience* which Acts 5.

is due to the *Precepts of unjuſt laws*, or whether any Obedience be due to the Precepts or former parts of human laws indifferent or indefinite, neither altogether unjuſt, nor juſt.

§. 3. A Law or *Precept* may be *Two wayes unjuſt*; Either in reſpect of its Form or Tenor; As in caſe it either commands us to do thoſe things which Gods Law univerſally forbids us to do; or forbids thoſe things which Gods law univerſally commands us to do. There is no human law can be unjuſt, unleſs it enjoyn ſomewhat which contradicts ſome part or branch of Gods law. Every law is ſo far unjuſt, as it contradicts the law of God, or ſo far as the matters commanded or forbidden by it are incompatible with matters commanded or forbidden by God. The *Rule is General*; that all ſuch laws as injoyn or command us to be Actors (either by conſent or practiſe) in any injuſtice by Gods law expreſly forbidden, are eſſentially and formally unjuſt, and in no caſe to be obeyed, whatſoever Penalty be in the *Sanction* inflicted upon the tranſgreſſors or diſobedient. For the greateſt Penalties which human Sanctions can inflict, are but bodily and temporal; whereas the Penalty by Gods Law inflicted upon all workers of iniquity (without reſpect of any mans perſon, whether Actor, or Commander) is ſpiritual and everlaſting. Secondly, *A Law* may be unjuſt not for its *Form* or Tenor, or not in reſpect of any or all particulars which it commands or forbids, but unjuſt only for its *Extent*; as either becauſe it layes too heavy a burden upon particular perſons, or ſome burden (though not heavy) upon ſome perſons in equity exempted from it; And yet doth exact Obedience of all under more grievous Penalty, then the grievance which the Precept layes upon any: The law or precept for paying tribute unto Kings or higher Powers is juſt, and to be obeyed as our Apoſtle in the fifth verſe of this Chapter inſtructs us; *not only for fear of wrath*, or greater Penalty to enſue, *but for conſcience ſake*; yet if the whole body repreſentative of a Common-wealth or Kingdom, ſhould by law lay a far heavier Tax upon their inferiours, then they are able to bear, this law were unjuſt and contrary to the laws of God, which denounce woes to ſuch as lay heavy burthens upon others ſhoulders; and expreſly forbids even Kings and higheſt powers on earth under any pretence of law or cuſtom to oppreſs the poor, the widow, or the fatherleſs. Yet inaſmuch as the expreſs perſonal conſent of the oppreſſed is not required or included in the making of this law, how peremptory ſoever it be, or how unjuſt ſoever in reſpect of the Lawmakers or Executioners, it compels the oppreſſed only to ſuffer wrong, not to be actors in wrong or oppreſſion. Now with patience to ſuffer wrong, or to be oppreſt without reſiſtance or oppoſition of violence, is not unjuſt, it is moſt commendable, and the proper fruit of *Subjection* or *Obedience*, and hath a *Reward* promiſed by the *Sanction* of thoſe Divine Laws which forbid the doing of wrongs or violence, and injoyn patient ſuffering of them. So that albeit the law be unjuſt, yet the obedience to it is not unjuſt. The caſe of *Obedience* unto the *Precepts* of ſuch laws is the very ſame it was of Obedience unto the *Sanction* of laws formally unjuſt. For no Obedience is in either caſe required beſides *Obedience Paſſive*, or *Subjection* of the outward man with his appurtenances. He that is bound to this obedience, is not bound to acknowledge either the *Precept* of the one law, or the *Sanction* of the other to be juſt.

§. 4. Sometimes again the *Precept* or former part of the law may be juſt and moderate in reſpect of moſt parties whom it concerns; and yet be unjuſt in reſpect of ſome particulars unto whom the execution of it is extended contrary to the Rule of common equity. The queſtion is whether the parties in reſpect of whom the execution or *Extent* of the Law (otherwiſe moderate) is unjuſt, ſhall ſin more in obeying *the Precept* when they may *avoid* it, or in not obeying it in thoſe things which it hath no authority to command them. This queſtion is impoſſible univerſally to be determined, or otherwiſe to be determined in particular caſes, then by due calculation and ballancing of preſent circumſtances or occurrences. Sometimes a man may do better in obeying the precept, which in equity he is not bound to obey; and ſometimes again he may do better in not obeying it, then in obeying it. As for inſtance. We will in charity ſuppoſe it to have been a juſt and moderate Law by which that tribute money whereof we read S. *Matth.* 17. 24. was demanded; and that they did ill for the moſt part that denyed it, or were unwilling to pay it. Yet to demand this tribute-money of the Son of God, who was not comprehended in the Law, was unjuſt. He might with a leſs miracle have avoided the Penalty by the *Sanction* inflicted upon ſuch as refuſed to pay, then he did perform the *Precept*. Was it therefore unlawful for him willingly to pay that which was unlawfully demanded of him? No! his practiſe proves the contrary; yet is not his practiſe in this particular caſe alwaies to be drawn into example. His example is then only followed by us, when our imitation of it is regulated by the Rule which there he gives. Now his Rule is, *that in this and like caſes, we be willing to do thoſe things which otherwiſe we would not, or are not bound to do, rather then to give offence or ſcandal.*

§. 5. Sometimes again, the Tenor of the whole Law, as it conſiſts of *Precept* and *Sanction*, may be disjunctive, and then no diſobedience is committed either againſt Gods Law or mans law, although the *Precept* be not obeyed. It is ſufficient if either part be obſerved, if either that be done which the Law in the firſt part requires, or that being not done, if the mulct or *Penalty* be payed. This *Disjunctive Tenor* of human Laws is then uſeful, when the end of the Law may be attained by variety of means alike equivalent in reſpect of the common Good: or when the Univerſal obſervance of the precept, would be leſs, or not more beneficial then the indefinite or frequent obſervance of it. Many Laws or Orders there be aſwell publick as private, which enjoyn men of quality or means to undergo *Annual Offices*, or in caſe they refuſe to undergo them, to be *Fined* as the *Sanction* of the Law injoyneth, or at the diſcretion of the Magiſtrate. Many have refuſed to bear ſuch offices without any diſobedience to the Law or Order, ſo they were willing to pay the *Fine*. And the reaſon why the refuſing to do that which the Law, in the firſt place requires, is no ſin, no diſobedience unto Gods Law, is, becauſe the Form or *Tenor of the Law is Disjunctive*. And as we ſay that a Disjunctive Propoſition is alwayes true if either part be true, ſo thoſe Laws whoſe Form or *Tenor* is *Disjunctive* are alwaies truly obeyed, if either part *Precept* or *Sanction* be obeyed. And in the caſe concerning annual offices, ſome men do better obey the Law by obeying the *Sanction* only, then if they had obeyed the *Precept*: ſeeing more benefit may redound to the publick ſociety, out of their purſes, then could have been expected out of their brains or breaſts. *Salus populi ſuprema lex eſt.* The ſafety and welfare of the whole ſociety and community is the chief or ſupream Law. In ſome ſocieties wherein the choice of Officers is not ſo great, men of Condition or quality are bound by oath to undertake ſuch offices as they ſhall be deſigned ed unto by lawful election. And in this caſe *Obedience* is due unto *the Precept.* No man can lawfully accept the penalty of the *Sanction*, for that is perjury: A penalty in many Societies either too often inflicted by the Law-givers, or more then too often incurred by ſuch as are tyed by oath to obſervance of the Laws or Statutes. It is a weak and broken read, whereupon ſome men otherwiſe acute and conſcionable have ſought to ſtay the conſcience; *Ubi pœna eſt, perjurium non eſt.* Where there is a mulct or penalty inflicted there is no perjury, unleſs in ſuch as do not exact the mulct. If this Rule were univerſally true, then breach of an aſſertory or promiſſory oath ſhould be no perjury. The former Rule being inverted is a great deal more true: In all Laws unto whoſe obſervance men are bound by oath. *Perjurium eſt ubi pœna non eſt*, by tranſgreſſing the particular laws which have no particular mulct or penalty inflicted, the penalty which men incur is perjury. The former *Rule* is then only true when the *Precept* and *Sanction* of the Law are disjunctive. As when one ſwears or vows to obſerve the Laws or Statutes of a Society, or elſe to undergo the temporal mulct or penalty, by the *Sanction* inflicted. It is not the penalty inflicted in the *Sanction*, but the *Disjunctive* Tenor of the Law to which he ſwears, which exempts ſuch from perjury as tranſgreſs the *Precept*: and it is the matter or ſubject, or the condition of the things to which men ſwear which makes the Form or Tenor of the Law to be *disjunctive*. For though the Statutes of moſt collegiate Societies, to whoſe obſervance Students uſually are ſworn, preſcribe more then ordinary integrity of life and converſation, and diligence more then ordinary for proficiencie in good learning, yet no wiſe or moderate Law-giver tyes men preciſely to the obſervance of ſuch *Precepts*, ſeeing it is not in mens power to obſerve them. To what then are they preciſely ſworn? either to obſerve ſuch precepts, or to undergo the penalties inflicted for particular tranſgreſſions or neglects of them. But unto other precepts, which neither concern integrity of life nor proficiencie in learning, a man may ſwear directly and preciſely, and every tranſgreſſion of ſuch precepts as men have no temptations not to obſerve is a breach of Oath, and oft-times hath no other penalty inflicted beſides perjury; which being inflicted by human Laws how far it binds the conſcience, I leave it to the Schools, or unto other collegiate Societies, whom it moſt concerns, to determin. Thus much of *Obedience* unto human Laws in General.

§. 6. Now as all other Moral Vertues, ſo *Obedience* to human Laws (which is the mother of Virtues Moral and Politick, or nurſe of Virtues Spiritual) is beſet and oppoſed with two Extremes, the one conſiſting in *Exceſs*; the other in *Defect*, proper to the Sect of the Noveliſt or Non-conformitan. To begin with the *Exceſs*, which is moſt conſpicuous in the Doctrin of the Romiſh Church. That Church requires *Abſolute Obedience*, not to the *Sanction* only, but to the *Precept* of all Laws which are made by the Church Repreſentative or Virtual, that is, by a Council confirmed by the Pope; or by the Pope alone ſpeaking *è Cathedrâ*. This *Obedience* is termed *Abſolute*, Two wayes. Firſt in reſpect of its *Extent*; and by that Church it is extended aſwell to matters of *Faith* or manners, as unto particular matters of *Fact*. Secondly, it is termed *Abſolute*, as it is oppoſed to *Obedience Conditional*. For that Church requireth that our Obedience in matters of *Faith* or *Fact*, ſhould be illimited without any reſervation or condition, either precedent or ſubſequent; we may not queſtion whether that which the Church commands, be contrary to the Law of God, but muſt abſolutely believe it to be commanded by God. Every Article of the *Trent* Council if the authority of that Church be infallibily true, is a point of Faith; and every Chriſtian ſubject to that Church is bound (ſome by Oath) to believe it ſo to be. That Churches interpretation of theſe words of Chriſt, [*Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church*] and of theſe, [*Peter feed my Sheep,*] bequeaths all that authority unto the Pope or Church virtual, which *Chriſt* himſelf had, or could have over the Church militant were he now viſibly reſident in it. To obey the Pope in all things, is to obey *Chriſt* in all things: to diſobey his Cathedral conſtitutions in any thing, is to diſobey *Chriſt* in the ſame particular; The neceſſary conſequent of this belief or *Obedience* is not a tranſgreſſion only of Gods whole Law, but an utter inverſion of it. For by this illimited power, the Pope may turn all Gods negative precepts into affirmative, and all his affirmative Precepts into negatives: and this is all that the Devil himſelf could deſire, if he could by Symony or other indirect means, obtein ſolemn perſonal admiſſion into S. *Peters* Chair to govern Gods Church. For all that Satan ever ſought for, was to deface Gods image in our Souls, and to inſtamp them with his own: to make us to do only that which he would have us to do, and to do that which God hath forbidden us to do: or not to do that which God commands us to do. Yet all this the Pope may do if ſuch abſolute *Obedience* as is demanded were due unto him, and all this he may do in as vile a manner, as the Devil could deſire to do it. But hath the Pope done ſo, or is it likely that he will do ſo, if ſuch abſolute *Obedience* as he demands were once yielded unto him? To this we muſt anſwer by degrees. Firſt the Jeſuits confeſs, that if the Pope in his Cathedral conſtitutions may erre, then the whole Church may erre, yea are bound to erre with him. Now that the Pope hath erred as groſly and perniciouſly in many points of greateſt conſequence, as the Devil himſelf could deſire he ſhould erre in any, we ſhall eaſily prove by theſe inſtances following of his inverting Gods principal Laws.

§. 7. The Firſt and Fundamental Law of God is this, *Thou ſhalt have no other Gods but me.* But he that believes the Pope cannot erre in any decree, doth make the Pope a God, a greater God then any Heathen did conceive the greateſt God whom they worſhipped to be. The heathen transformed the glory of the immortal God into the ſimilitude of man or earthly creatures. The Romaniſt tranſforms a mortal man, yea monſters of mankind (ſuch ſome of their Popes by their own confeſſion have been) into the ſimilitude of the only wiſe God. As they make the Pope a greater God for wiſdom and infallibility, then the Heathens conceived Jupiter or any other God to be: ſo they give him a greater power of making Saints or leſſer Gods then the Heathens acknowledged any, either in Jupiter, or in the whole ſociety of Gods, whom they worſhipped. For every one whom the Pope ſhall canonize for a Saint, the whole Chriſtian World is bound to believe, that he is a Saint, and ſo to worſhip him. And this is to make his authority over *Chriſts* Church greater then Gods own authority is; for that authority is alwayes greater which is to be equally or more obeyed, upon leſs evidence of reaſon, then other authority is, with which it is compared. Such as God commends unto us for true Saints, we ſo acknowledge, as being aſſured that God doth commend none unto us for ſuch, but them whoſe hearts he knows as knowing all things. Yet to worſhip Saints deceaſed, God himſelf by his Prophets or Apoſtles did never command us. But the Pope commends them to the Church militant for Saints, and commands all Chriſtian People to worſhip them as Saints, whoſe hearts he knows not, whoſe faces he never ſaw, much leſs was acquainted either with their manner of lives or converſations, the manner of whoſe death he knows not but by hearſay: and which is of all others the ſtrangeſt doctrin, He may authorize one mans teſtimony of other mens death, to be infallible, and of authentick credit more then ordinary.

§. 8. Again; God in his ſecond commandement forbids us to worſhip any *graven Image, or the ſimilitude of any thing in the heavens above, or in the earth beneath*, proteſting his ſpecial jealouſie in this part of his ſervice, thereby to make us more wary and cautelous of all ſuſpicious behaviour or occaſions of Idolatry, then a woman ſuſpected by her husband, ought to be of her carriage, or for avoiding familiarity with ſuſpitious men. This *negative precept of God*, thus fenced with that terrible *ſanction of viſiting the ſins of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation*, the Pope hath turned it into an *affirmative*, commanding all under pain of curſe to fall down & worſhip the Images not only of true Saints, but of ſuch as he ſhall make Saints, or decree ſo to be worſhipped. And what could hell in the height of her vaſt deſires wiſh more then this? Now albeit the Heathen did adore ſome men deceaſed which were as bad conditioned whilſt they lived, as any of thoſe were whom the Pope after death hath declared to be Saints, yet this Idolatry could not be half ſo groſs in the Heathen, as it is in the modern Romaniſt, becauſe the Heathens did not bind men to believe that their decrees concerning ſuch practiſes were authorized by the Law of the true God, whom they knew not, whereas the Romaniſt believes that his worſhipping the Images of Saints is allowed of by authority of God himſelf incarnate, and bequeathed unto *Peter* and his ſucceſſors in theſe words, *Thou art Peter and upon this rock will I build my Church.* And this is the fouleſt aſperſion, that Sathan could deſire to be caſt upon Gods Law: the fouleſt *deſpight* that he could conceive againſt ths Spirit of God, to make men believe, that his Service and the Liturgy of Hell ſo ſtrictly forbidden by *Moſes* Law ſhould be authorized by the Goſpel, by the mouth of God incarnate. This is a ſin of which the worſt of the Heathen were not capable.

§. 9. If we deſcend unto the *ſecond Table*, the firſt and chief Precept of it, is that Affirmative, *Honour thy Father and thy Mother*, and this Precept is ratified with that ſanction of comfort *that thy dayes may be long in the land which the Lord thy God hath given thee*, that [illegible] it hath reſpectively the promiſe of this Life, and of the life to come. Yet the Affirmative Precept, the Pope or Church of *Rome* hath turn[illegible]o a negative, as oppoſite to it as the wit of Hell could deſire or wiſh. Exempting not Children only from the bond of Obedience to their natural Parents, but ſubjects from the tye and oath of Allegiance to their King, and Country, whom all, as well Parents, as children are by this Precept bound to honour, the one as their ſupream Father, the other as their ſupream Mother under heaven. Nor doth he exempt Subjects only from relieving or ayding their ſoveraign Father or ſoveraign Mother after ſuch a manner as the Scribes and Phariſees did by their unwritten Tradititons free ſuch as would ſacrifice unto their Corban, from this duty of relieving or being any way beneficial unto the Parents of their bodies, but binds them withall, to account diſobedience unto King and Country, to be a part of Gods ſervice, if he who is the ſpiritual Father have condemned them of hereſie, or of rebellion againſt the Church. In theſe Caſes to work the ruin or diſhonour of King or Country is to honour God. And what greater deſpight could Sathan wiſh to be done to God by ſinful men, then this, to turn the point of his own ſword upon him, and to eſtabliſh murther of Kings and deſolation of our native Country, (of both which he is the Father and Author) by this divine precept of Obedience unto them? That this precept doth eſpecially concern that honour which is due to Magiſtrates or ſuperior Powers, the Romaniſts themſelves do not deny; but they, taking it as granted that the Pope is the ſupream Power or Magiſtrate on earth, think, no other Parents whether natural or civil, can be unjuſtly diſhonoured by any practiſe that ſhall tend to the honour of their holy Father the Pope.

§. 10. God in the third commandment Forbids us, *To take his name in vain*; and in the ninth, *To bear falſe witneſs againſt our neighbour.* The higheſt branch of any diſobedience that can be attempted againſt either commandment is blaſphemy or perjury. Now the very dregs of both theſe ſins, the Pope by this illimited Power, hath eſtabliſhed, and made current for the water of life. For to doubt, whether breach of Oath or recalling of Powers ſolemnly made be any ſin, if it ſhall pleaſe the Pope to diſpenſe with either, or to exact a contrary vow or oath, is a point of hereſie. To ſwear one thing and mean another, ſo it may tend to the Churches good, is no ſin. For a man ſolemnly betroathed unto a woman in the ſight of God and of the Congregation, ſo he proceed no further, to recall or retract his faith plight, ſo he will vow a monaſtical or ſingle life and enter into a Religious Order, is ſo far from being a ſin, that it is a point of perfection, at leaſt an approach or way unto it. Now to make the true God to be the Author and approver of all theſe practiſes againſt his own ordinances: to believe or teach that all the canons, interpretations, or Injunctions of Popes for authorizing, abetting or countenancing theſe or the like practiſes, are the immediate dictates and oracles of the holy Ghoſt, is the greateſt blaſphemy that in point of doctrin can be committed or conceived againſt him; A ſin whereof the Jew or Heathen (how wicked ſoever they otherwiſe be) are guiltleſs, and altogether uncapable.

11. §. So then the Heathens were all Idolaters; many of them (not all) were diſobedient to Father and Mother; many of them trucebreakers, ſome perjured, others murtherers, but they did not make murther perjury or diſobedience to Father and Mother; treaſon againſt their King and native Country Acts of Piety and Religion; they did not, they could not poyſon the Fountain of living waters (which were not open to them) with the doctrin of Devils. This is peculiar to the Roman Catholick, or to the Romiſh Religion. The Jew indeed did corrupt the doctrin of the old Teſtament with unwritten Traditions; which he did obtrude upon the people, not as human Traditions, authorized by the Synagogue only, but by authority derived from God. Yet if we compare the Tradition of the Romiſh Jews at or before our Saviours time, with the Traditions of the modern Church; the one is *ſignanter* expreſſed by our Saviour, with this Title of *Traditions of men*, the other emphatically enſtiled by his Apoſtle, *the doctrin of Devils.* Beſides this odds in the doctrins themſelves, the Romiſh Church poyſoneth not the Old Teſtament only, but the Fountain of Life and Salvation (which hath been ſhut up from the Jew, but open to us Chriſtians in the Goſpel) with theſe doctrins of Devils. The

impieties and practiſes of the Jew, of the Mahumetan or Heathen, are plain and open; their doctrins are full of iniquity, yet *Myſteries* of iniquities they cannot be. This is the peculiar character of Romiſh Religion whoſe doctrin could not be ſo deadly or deviliſh, unleſs it did thus cloſely wrap and intwine it ſelf, with the doctrin of the Goſpel, and ſo cunningly mingle Chriſt's commandments and the Popes commandments, that none without the ſpirit of judgement and diſcretion can eaſily diſcern the one from the othet.

§. 12. In as much as it is a myſtery of iniquity ye cannot expect the full explication or unfolding of it, ſpecially in this ſcantling of time; it ſhall therefore ſuffice thus far to have taken a general ſurvey of root and branch. The root is this pretended infallibility of the preſent Romiſh Church: The branches are the impious practiſes which have iſſued, and yet may iſſue out of this poyſonous perſwaſion. If we ſpeak of times paſt, the practiſes which this miſperſwaſion hath bred, have been (within theſe 600 years laſt paſt) ſo many and ſo deviliſh within Europe, that no Jeſuit though we allot him the whole world for his ſtage, and the whole ſucceſſion of time from Adam to Pope *Hildebrand* for his ſcene, ſhall ever be able to match or paralel them. In reſpect of what hereafter may be, if the Jeſuit (as he is cunning in contrivance or imaginations of poſſibility) yet let the cunningeſt Jeſuit in the world ſet his imagination a working to contrive, or frame an impious Religion, as impious as he can conceive; if it might be, out of the dregs of heatheniſm, Judaiſm and Mahumetaniſm put together, alwayes provided that this abſolute Infallibility of any viſible company of men be no ingredient in the mixture, and he ſhall eaſily find that all the hereſies or falſe doctrins in the world either formally extant or imaginable, cannot make up that meaſure of Antichriſtianiſm which is contained in the Fundamental Article of his belief, that is, of the Popes *Abſolute Infallibility* with the conſequences and ſuperſtructures thereupon. No Jeſuit or favourer of the Doctrin will (I preſume) deny the truth of this Conſequence, if it be poſſible for the Church to erre in points of Faith and manners, or if it hath erred, or may erre in their interpretations of the fore-cited commandements, then this doctrin of her *Abſolute infallibility*, and of *Abſolute Obedience* to all her Doctrins or Injunctions is ſo much worſe then heatheniſm, as the Doctrin of the Old Teſtament is better, then any Religion or Doctrin which the heathens knew; ſo much worſe then Judaiſm, or Mahumataniſm as the glory of the Goſpel is greater then the glory of the Old Teſtament. To conclude; the Heathens did corrupt the Law of Nature, and to this corruption the Jews added the corruption of the Law of God by unwritten traditions: The Romaniſt defiles not only the Law of Nature, and of God in the Old Teſtament, but the moſt Fundamental Precepts of the New, making all the Promiſes which God hath made unto his Church in either Teſtament to ſerve but as a ſtale to bring in the Popes tranſcendent authority over all Chriſtians: Thus much of that *Extream* which conſiſts in *Exceſs*.

§. 13. *England* for that blind and ſlaviſh *Obedience* which in reſpect of other Nations ſhe did perform unto the See of *Rome*, was by Italians and other forraigners not unfitly termed the *Popes Aſs*. Howbeit the brutiſh ignorance of our foreſathers in the myſteries of their Salvation did make that meaſure of Obedience to the Romiſh Church parly excuſable in them, which in us (to whom the Goſpel hath long time ſhined) would be altogether damnable. But it would be ignorance more then brutiſh, ignorance ſo far from excuſing other ſins that it ſelf would be a ſin inexcuſable, if we ſhould hope or preſume that the Romiſh yoke would not be made ten times heavier unto us, then it was upon our forefathers, if God in his juſt judgement ſhould ſtrengthen the Enemies of our Peace to lay it again upon this Iſlands Neck. For the Church of *Rome* ſince our Forefathers departure from her, hath multiplied her doctrins of Devils and mingled her cup with ſuch Abominations, as would make the taſte of it, to ſuch as have been accuſtomed to the ſincere milk of the Goſpel, altogether deadly, and yet hope there is none that we ſhould not be urged to drink more deep of it then our Forefathers were, if this cruel Step-mother ſhould once recover her pretended title of Dominion over us. No choice would be left but either torture of conſcience, or torment of body, we muſt make account to ſit down with loſs either of preſent poſſeſſions or of our hopes of inheritance in the world to come. But many of us in the pride and preſumption of our hearts will ſay, had we been or were we in place of authority or command, the neceſſity of this miſerable choice had ere this time been removed, or ſhould quickly be prevented. If I ſhould here take upon me ſo far to apologize for higher Power as not to attribute a great part of the miſery which hath lately befallen this Land and yet hangs over it unto their errours or overſight, I ſhould undergo the cenſure (without apology or appeal) of a Paraſite or time-ſerver. As I will not therefore ſpeak any thing againſt higher Powers, ſo neither will I at this time, ſpeak for them. Only give me leave to tell you, that God in his providence doth never ſuffer higher Powers to be at any groſs default, of negligence, overſight, or wilfulneſs, but for the like groſs defaults in thoſe that are ſubject and ſhould be obedient to them. If the eyes of State be at any time weak or dim, it is a certain ſign, that the whole body is either feeble or much diſtempered. The beſt advice that I can give unto you is, that every one of us ſo oft as we ſhall though but in heart or ſecret thought repine or murmur at the negligence, overſight or wilfulneſs of higher Powers, would preſently and peremptorily inflict this penance upon himſelf, to multiply his ſorrow for his own ſins paſt; to multiply his Prayers and alms-deeds with all other practiſes of Piety that ſo we may all at theſe our publick meetings lift up pure Hearts and Hands unto the Father of Spirits, and God of all Power and Wiſdom, that he would ſo inlighten the Eyes and Head of our State, that they may find out the ſpecial ſins which have procured his wrath againſt this Land, and ſo inſpire their Hearts with reſolution and conſtant courage that they may cruſh this Serpents brood whereſoever it neſtle. Hear us O heavenly Father in theſe and all other our Prayers for *Jeſus Chriſt* his ſake, Amen.

CHAP. VI.

The Inferiors are bound to obey Laws of the Land, and Canons of the Church, whether commanding ſuch particulars as are not expreſly commanded in Gods Word; or forbidding ſuch Particulars as are not expreſly forbidden in the ſame. The mean *betwixt the Abſolute* Obedience *of the Romaniſt; and the* Condional Obedience *of the Noveliſt.*

§. 1. IF *Abſolute Obedience* (as Oppoſed to *Conditional*) be not due to the Church or Conſtitutions Eccleſiaſtick, then the probability is great, that only *Obedience Conditional* is due. And if to Eccleſiaſtick Canons or Conſtitutions, ratified by publick ſupream Authority, we owe no other Obedience beſides *Conditional*, it may ſeem to follow with great probability, that we are not bound to obey the makers or interpreters of them, otherwiſe then *upon Condition*, that they ſhew or prove the particulars by their conſtitutions commanded, to be commanded likewiſe by the Law of God, which is the Rule, as of Faith towards God, ſo of *Obedience* towards men or Laws human. Upon theſe and the like collections, ſome (neither of great place nor Authority either in Church or Common-weal) have malepertly demanded of Church Governours, *What Scriptures have you for divers Rites and Ceremonies in your Church? as for ſtanding at the Creed, for kneeling at the Communion, for uſing the ſign of the Croſs after Baptiſm?* Now, if we anſwer as we muſt needs anſwer, that we have no expreſs command or warrant in Gods word for all or any of theſe particulars: they forthwith conclude, that, as no man is bound to pay money, until the Condition, upon which he is to pay it, be performed, and proof or evidence made of its performance; ſo they are not bound to obey the Churches Conſtitutions in theſe particulars, but upon Condition that they which demand Obedience to ſhew their particular warrant out of Scripture; ſeeing they owe no *Abſolute Obedience* ſaving only unto Gods Laws, and to human Laws, no *Obedience but Conditional.* Yet if theſe collections were legitimate, there ſhould be no *Diſtinction* of Higher and Lower Powers, no *Difference* between Magiſtrates and private men; none between Paſtors and Sheep. No man ſhould be bound to obey another, but all men bound, and equally bound, only to obey the expreſs Law of God.

§. 2. If any man ſhould preſume to ſay that the whole Church or State repreſentative, hath no more authority over a private man (ſuppoſe a Tinker) then every private man, then every Tinker hath over them; there is not one, I am perſwaded, either in this or in any other Congregation within this Corporation or County, but would diſclaim the Aſſertion as ridiculouſly impious and ſeditious. And yet for any man, that hath once granted the former premiſſes, to wit, [*That we are not bound to obey the Church in ſtanding at the Creed, &c. but upon condition, that ſhe ſhew expreſs warrant for theſe particulars out of Scripture;*] I ſay, after this once granted, to deny the former Concluſion, to wit, [*That Church and State have no more authority over private men, than private men have over them*] would be more palpably groſs, than to hold this *Concluſion* poſitively and affirmatively as a Principle of Faith, or a neceſſary conſequent of our freedom or liberty of the Spirit. To do that which the Law of God expreſly commands them to do, Kings and Princes, Church and State are bound as ſtrictly, as immediately, as meaneſt

eſt Subjects are. Whence, if the meaneſt ſubject could out of Gods Law, ſhew King, Church, or State, what they ought to do in particular, all of them were abſolutely bound to obey the commandment of God, by whomſoever, or by what means ſoever, it were manifeſted unto them. Now if inferiors were bound to obey ſuperiors upon no other termes, then that they ſhew the particulars injoyned, to be commanded by the Law of God, the former Concluſion [*That nor King, nor State, nor Church, have any more authority over private men, than private men have over them*] would follow more immediately and directly than any Inconvenience or abſurdity that can be infer'd out of this Concluſion once granted. For Kings, Church and State, are alwayes to obey the word of God, though manifeſted unto them by private men; but thus to obey the word of God manifeſted unto them in particular, is to obey it only, not them that manifeſt it. Now if private men were not to obey the Church or State, but upon condition, that they bring ſome Rule of Scripture or Gods Law for the particulars in which they require obedience; the Caſe is clear, that in yielding obedience only upon theſe terms, they in effect deny all Obedience to the Church or State, and yield it only to the Law of God. Whereas the Law of God (out of all queſtion) binds the conſcience of private men, to perform ſome more obedience unto Magiſtrates or higher Powers (whether Civil or Eccleſiaſtick) then ſuch Magiſtrates owe to them, although they were as ſkilfull in Scripture or Gods Laws, as the *Higher* Powers are. There is not one Scruple or Quillet, not ſo much as any colour of reaſon that can be pretended for Non-conformity or denyal of Obedience to the Rites and Ceremonies of this Church, but, (if it be well ſcanned) will conclude more againſt the Crown and Dignity of our Soveraign, againſt all Magiſtracie civil or temporal, than it can do againſt Church Governours or Canons Eccleſiaſtick.

§. 3. Firſt, the word of God, doth as immediately authorize Church Governours to make Rules or Canons, for the Order and Government of the Church, as it doth authorize and warrant the Civil Magiſtrate, to enact Laws and Statutes for Government of the Common-weal. And (as you have heard before) Gods Laws are as much and as immediately diſobeyed by diſobedience to Canons Eccleſiaſtick, as by diſobedience to Laws temporal. Again; admitting the Clergy and Layety to be alike obnoxious to error in making of Laws; yet the practiſes commanded by the Canons Eccleſiaſtick, are neither ſo many, nor, (for the moſt part) of ſo dangerous conſequence as the practiſes injoyned by Laws temporal are, admitting our doubts or ſcruples of the lawfulneſs of both Laws and practiſes, were the ſame or equal. Say then, ſome private men make doubt or ſcruple, whether ſtanding at the Creed, whether kneeling at the Communion, be not ſuperſtitious; whether the Croſs after baptiſm be not worſe then theſe; All of them vehemently ſuſpected to be either occaſions of ſcandal or offence to weak conſciences, or acknowledged (at the beſt) to be but things in themſelves indifferent, which have been and may be abuſed: Yet however, they may frame ſuch doubts unto themſelves; they cannot conceive the danger ariſing from ſuch doubts, concerning the lawfulneſs of theſe practiſes, to be any way comparable to the danger that may ariſe, from doubt or ſcruple of being guilty in ſhedding Innocent blood. Of ſuch then as refuſe to obſerve the former Rites, becauſe they cannot be ſecur'd by any Rule of Faith, whether they be lawfully commanded or no, I would demand, by what warrant or Rule of Faith, any Sheriff in this

Com. III.

Land, can ſee or command the Execution of all ſuch as are ſentenced to death. The Word of God or Rule of Faith, doth not aſſure him, that neither Witneſs, Jury, or Judge were corrupted, nay, he may ſometime have more poſitive reaſons to ſuſpect ſome malice or injuſtice, in part of the proceſs, than any private man, can have to ſuſpect the forementioned Rites or Ceremonies of ſuperſtition. What then muſt warrant the Sheriff or other Attendant of Juſtice in theſe caſes, from guilt of Innocent blood, only this; That Gods Law authorizeth *Higher Powers* to make Laws in matters capital, and to take away life from men, by legal Proceſs condemned to dy; and that the ſame Law of God doth likewiſe injoyn inferior powers to be obedient and ſubject unto the *Higher Powers*, as in other caſes, ſo eſpecially in the execution of Laws. Lawfull it is for the Sheriff, or other inferior Officer in the forementioned caſe, to doubt, whether the party were juſtly condemned or no; but the lawfulneſs of this doubt will not warrant his refuſal to ſee the Law executed. He may ſafely doubt, whether the condemnation be juſt, and yet is not thereby bound to doubt, whether his execution of the party condemned be juſt: or whether he may with ſafe conſcience ſee the Law executed. For his own ſubjection and obedience to the Law is unqueſtionable, as being undoubtedly commanded by the Law of God. And if he had no hand in the parties unjuſt condemnation, or in wreſting the Law to wreak private revenge, he is free from guilt of blood; although by his power and means the Law or Sentence be executed.

§. 4. The caſe is the ſame in matter of war. It is not enough for a Soldier or Leader, being by the State or higher Powers deſigned unto ſome exploit or ſervice, to anſwer, *I doubt much whether the War and Quarel be on your part juſt; and it is a fearful thing to ſhed innocent blood, or to have mine own blood ſhed in an unjuſt Quarel.* Now, for Soldiers or Captains to be ſecured by Rule or warrant of Faith, that the particular wars, in which they ſerve: are alwayes juſt, or by Gods Law approvable, is a matter neither uſual, nor almoſt poſſible. And yet not being ſecured by warrant of Faith, that the war is juſt, they cannot be freed from doubt or ſcruple that it is unjuſt. But this doubt, though juſt, doth not warrant them to doubt, whether their refuſal to ſerve in ſuch wars, be lawful or no; or whether their ſervice be not a ſin, becauſe it is not performed out of a full perſwaſion, that the war is juſt and lawfull. Rather, in that it is to him doubtful, but no more than doubtful, not manifeſt, that the war is unjuſt; his peremptory refuſal to ſerve in it, would be a ſin, and an action properly not of Faith. And ſuch no human action can be, unleſs it be committed againſt ſome expreſs Rule of Faith, at leaſt to the apprehenſion of the party doubting. So that it is not ſimply our doubting, whether the actions or things commanded us be lawful or no, in reſpect of the Commanders: but our doubting whether our doing of them, be againſt ſome expreſs Rule of Faith, which makes our Actions to be *not of Faith.* Now that the *Higher Powers* have authority to make war, is *A Rule of Faith* unqueſtionable. That their authority in this and like caſes, is to be obeyed, is likewiſe *A Rule of Faith* undoubted. But, whether the higher Powers in this particular caſe do abuſe their Authority, or whether they erre in Judgment, this ordinarily cannot be certain, *certitudine Fidei,* by a certainty of Faith or Evidence of reaſon to inferiors not intereſted in conſultations of State. And for this reaſon, refuſal of obedience cannot be *an Action of Faith*, but rather an action *not of Faith*, in ſuch inferiors as have a general lawful calling to ſerve in wars. As for the ſupream Magiſtrate, for the Council of war, it neerly concerns them to be fully reſolved, and in conſcience (rightly informed) fully perſwaded, that the wars which they undertake be lawful and juſt; otherwiſe their acts are ***not of Faith,*** but fearful and grievous ſins. For guilty they ſhall be, not only of their enemies, but of all the blood (whether of friends or foes) that ſhall be ſhed in wars unjuſtly begun or managed by them. But inaſmuch, as the conſent of inferiors is not required to the undertaking, nor their votes or *placets* demanded in the Conſultations of war, they are rather compelled to ſuffer wrong then to be any Actors in wrong or Injuſtice, although the war, (though not ſo fully known to them) be unjuſt. Albeit they be *Active* in fight, yet their *Obedience* is rather *Paſſive* then *Active,* A ſubjection only of the outward man; and ſo long as they obſerve the Laws of Arms, and of Nations, they are no workers of Iniquity, though others dye by their hands. So long as their intentions are free from robbery or thirſt of blood, none dye by their ſwords, but ſuch as God hath given into their hands.

§. 5. Now, if that unqueſtionable Obedience, which inferiors owe to higher powers, may ſecure an executioner of publick Juſtice, or a Commander in the work, from guilt of ſin or blood; albeit the one much doubt whether the party whom he cauſeth to be executed, were juſtly condemned, and the other, whether the war wherein he ſerves, be lawful: much more may that undoubted *Obedience,* which every private man owes unto his Biſhop, his ordinary Paſtor, moſt of all, that which all ow unto the publick Laws or Conſtitutions of the Church their Mother, warrant their conformity to all the Rites and Ordinances, which the Church of *England* requires; albeit the parties thus conforming themſelves, may doubt or vehemently ſuſpect that the Rites themſelves be unneceſſary, or the Canons which injoyn them, be partly unjuſt, partly ſuperfluous. It is ſufficient for them, that their conſent was not required or included in the ordaining ſuch Rites. If they had been called to give their voice or ſuffrage for the making of ſuch Canons, it had been free for them to have given A *Negative* or an *Affirmative*; yet bound they had been, by the Rule of Faith, to have been fully perſwaded in their Conſcience, that this their own Act had been lawful and juſt, and no way againſt any branch of Gods law. But theſe Canons, being not their own acts, but the acts of men in authority unto whom they owe Obedience, their Obedience to the Canons and Conſtitutions, is ſafe and warrantable, albeit they ſtill doubt, whether the makers of theſe Canons or Conſtitutions, did not grievouſly ſin in making them. It being referred to the Judgment of God, Whether ſo they did or no, their refuſal of conformity to the Canons themſelves, muſt needs be ***non ex Fide, not of Faith,*** unleſs they can, by neceſſary and concludent reaſons, prove, that the Rites or practiſes in the Canons contained, are ſimply evil, and forbidden by the Law of God, not only to be commanded by the Law-makers, but, being ſo commanded, to be obeyed by inferiors. For in many caſes, the ſuperior may be forbidden to command that, which, being commanded, the inferior is not forbidden, but commanded (by the Law of God) to obey. It is *A Rule of Faith*, that human ordinances (Eccleſiaſtick eſpecially, which are oft-times more than human, in reſpect of their ſubject or matter; though but human in reſpect of their authors or makers) are to be obeyed for conſcience ſake. The *Rule of Faith* and conſcience injoyns *Obedience* in the general; and from *Obedience* unto them in particular, no private man can be exempted, ſave only by ſome *Rule of Faith*, which to his certain knowledge they thwart or croſs.

§. 6. He that cannot prove this contrariety or diſſonancie between the particular ceremonies at which he ſtumbles or ſpurns, and ſome *Rule of Faith*, is no way excuſable by pretended fear or ſtrong ſuſpition that the Ceremonies or Rites injoyned are occaſions of ſcandal, or of ſeduction unto others. He that makes this Apology for himſelf, ſhould firſt conſider, whether his diſobedience or non-conformity do not offend them more, to whom he is bound to give no offence, both as private perſons and Governours, then his conformity could. If he be afraid of ſcandal paſſive (as, leaſt others ſhould be emboldened by his example to ſin againſt their conſciences) his fear is vain: For none but ſuch as make ſcruple themſelves, could take this offence. And it may be there are not many which would be much mov'd by his example, one way or other. Or if his example might ſway much with ſome one or other, it is as likely to ſway them to diſobey Gods Laws by diſobeying, as by obeying the Churches Laws. If he be afraid of offending, that is of diſpleaſing others, this fear is more vain and fooliſh than the former: For not only the Governours, but the major and better part of the Church wherein he lives, would be much better pleaſed with his conformity, then with his diſſention from them. And why he ſhould ſeek to pleaſe ſome forraigners (if happily they will be pleaſed) by diſpleaſing the greater part of the Church and State wherein he lives, I am ſure he hath no reaſon. But afraid he is, leaſt himſelf, and others by his example, ſhould fall into Superſtition by obſerving the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church his Mother: Whereas the Adverſaries of the Truth (Superſtition and Idolatry it ſelf) get wideſt and eaſieſt entrance into the Church and State, and make their party ſtrongeſt, by this diviſion and difformity which he and his fellows only occaſion.

§. 7. It had been happy for this Church and Sate, if thoſe forraign Writers, who ſought to diſſwade the Ceremonies of our Church from this *General Topick* of giving *ſcandal* unto others, had not themſelves given greater occaſion of ſcandal and offence unto thoſe very men for whoſe benefit and ſecurity from ſcandal, they wrote. Free it was for theſe Forraigners to diſſwade the making or continuing many Canons of our Church, leſt happily they might give offence or ſcandal unto others. And herein happily, they did not much tranſgreſs the rules of Charity or Diſcretion. But they ſhould have taught them for whoſe good they wrote (being men more apt and docil to learn any good Leſſon from them, then from any others) that it was not ſo free for them, being Subjects to the Crown, and Children of the Church of *England*, to deny *Obedience* to the Canons being made, as it was for the Governours of other Churches to diſſwade their making. But theſe great forraign Maſters, having left this good leſſon out of their Catechiſms; ſuch as gloried moſt in being their Diſciples, and ſought more earneſtly to hold conformity with them, then with their Mother in point of Ceremony, have loſt conformity not with their forraign Maſters only, but with the whole Church of God, in that which is more than ceremonial. For no forraign Church permits her children to conform themſelves to other Churches, more than to her ſelf, or unto thoſe with which ſhe holds conformity. If ſome Churches permit a promiſcuous uſe of ſome Ceremonies, ſuffering ſome to ſit, others to ſtand, others to kneel, or every man to uſe what geſture he pleaſe, at the Communion: yet this freedom is decreed by ſome Canon or approved cuſtom: and every man in doing as it liketh him beſt, without quarelling or contradicting others, obeys the Laws and Canons of that Church wherein he lives. For I ſuppoſe no Church will permit or authorize diſſention or ſtrife within her own bowels, but rather ſeek by wholſom Laws to prevent the original, or quell the out-burſtings of all diſſention. If any ſhould queſtion, flout, or cenſure another for ſitting or ſtanding at the Communion in thoſe Churches which permit a liberty for every man to uſe which of theſe geſtures he pleaſe, he ſhould be queſtioned and puniſhed for diſobedience: If any Church forbid kneeling at the Communion; the ſame Church will not ſuffer ſuch as kneel at it, to eſcape without cenſure, becauſe this kind of geſture is, by the Canon or cuſtom of that Church, forbidden. For this reaſon, if any profeſſed member of the Church, or Subject of the Kingdom of *England*, ſhall either ſit or ſtand at the Communion, at which his Mother commands him to kneel, he, in thus doing, holds no conformity with thoſe very Churches, which forbid kneeling, and permit ſitting or ſtanding. For they of other Churches, refuſe to kneel, out of obedience to their Mother, and conformity to their brethren. Theſe men, with whom we have to deal, refuſe to kneel out of diſobedience to their Mother, and chuſe rather to ſit or ſtand; though this geſture manifeſtly breed a difformity to the Congregation of their brethren. The men thus affected, might aſwell (if not better) hold conformity with other Free-ſtates, Kingdoms or Common-weals, in practiſe of Juſtice or form of temporal Government, as in manner of Diſcipline or Government Eccleſiaſtick. But would any Free-ſtate or Kingdom ſuffer diſobedience to their temporal Laws, to paſs unpuniſhed upon pretences or allegations, that the temporal Laws or form of Government in other States were much better. Now he that can find in his heart, to conform himſelf unto the temporal Laws and Government of his native Country (albeit he like or fancy the Laws or form of Government uſed in other Countries, much better) and will not hold conformity with himſelf in practiſing the like *Obedience* to the Laws and Government of the Church wherein he lives, albeit he like the Diſcipline of other Churches better, he either obeys neither out of conſcience, or hath a conſcience (doubtleſs) of no equable temper or homogeneal conſtitution, but a conſcience ſo pieced out of the fluctuant fancies of his brain, as if one part of it were of wax, and another of horn; otherwiſe it were impoſſible it ſhould be ſo plyable to temporal Laws, and ſo obdurate and unpliable, in reſpect of Laws Eccleſiaſtick.

§. 8. But admitting ſome mens conſcience, out of ill cuſtom rather than from any Rule of reaſon, is really offended with ſome particular Ceremonies of the Church, as with kneeling at the Communion; ſafeſt it were for ſuch a man, whilſt this infirmity remaineth, to refrain communion at leaſt in publick with ſuch as kneel. For if either his ſcruples were grounded on reaſon, and not upon affected ignorance; or the danger feared, were material and weighty; the ſame motives which withdraw him from communion with others in kneeling, would reſtrain him from communicating at all with ſuch as kneel. If kneeling in his judgment, pollute this ſervice of God, he is a Communicant in polluted ſervice, and a participant of others ſins. If kneeling in his judgment doth not pollute the ſervice of God, it is a matter meerly indifferent, and not to be refuſed and ſtumbled at, by any that makes conſcience of obeying or diſobeying human Laws, whether Eccleſiaſtick or

Civil. For, as the leaſt waight that can be added to the one ſcale of a juſt and equal ballance, will caſt it: ſo if there be but the leaſt dramm or ſcruple of right conſcience, it will ſway the party in whom it is, to yield *Obedience* unto human Laws in things indifferent. And, whoſoever doth aſſume the ſame liberty to himſelf in things indifferent, after a Law or Canon made, which he did before; his wits have forſaken him, if he can perſwade himſelf, that he makes any conſcience of *Obedience*, or that he obeys any Laws for conſcience ſake. But ſome happily will ſay, that the Law is unjuſt, that takes away mens Chriſtian Liberty. But permitting that ſome Eccleſiaſtick Canons may take away ſome part of that liberty from *Chriſtians* which might better have been left unto them; yet after the Canon be once made, the uſe of this liberty is not *Chriſtian*, but licentiouſneſs or Libertiniſm, and a ſin which contains more degrees in it, than moſt are aware of.

§. 9. Not to receive the Sacrament at all, or not to receive it as the Church injoyns, is a point of diſobedience, and therefore truly and properly a ſin, yet a *ſin*, which might have ſome pretence of conſcience, in ſuch as heretofore have been miſled by *Brown* or *Barow*, or the like. For albeit the doubts or ſcruples, which theſe men caſt into their followers conſciences, were erroneous: yet ſo long as theſe ſcruples were unremoved, they did not commit another ſin in ſeparating themſelves from the Engliſh Church, or in removing unto other places, wherein that liberty which here could not be obtained, was granted them. But for any, that holds communion with the Church of *England*, and can be content to enjoy the benefit of her Laws, whether Eccleſiaſtick or Civil, in other caſes: for any ſuch to intrude themſelves into any Congregation, without conforming themſelves unto it in Rites and Ceremonies, wants all pretence of any true Rule of conſcience or of moral honeſty. It is no better than a real ſcurrility, a profane and malepart diſobedience; and a ſcandal *Two wayes* malitious. For how can any party, thus affected, imagin that he who conſecrates and miniſters the Sacrament according to the Rites and cuſtom of our Church, to which he ſubſcribes, ſhould not be grieved in ſoul and heart to ſee them openly and publickly tranſgreſt; albeit no penalty were inflicted either upon the tranſgreſſor or non-conformitant, or upon the Miniſter for his connivance. This is one part of the ſcandal. The other is that the Non-conformitant doth hereby indanger both him that miniſters the food of life unto him, and others that are appointed Overſeers of Church orders, aſwell in matter of temporal as of ſpiritual conſequence. For, the penalty enacted in the Sanction of the Canon upon the Prieſt, which ſhall exhibit the Sacrament to others not kneeling, is ſuſpenſion, and may prove loſs of his place or livelihood: and for the Prieſt and Churchwardens to ſee the abuſe continued and not preſented, is breach of oath. Admit then any refractory Non-conformitant could, upon favour or Potencie with great ones, juſtly preſume of immunity from any temporal puniſhment likely to befall him, for his refuſal of conformity, yet ſeeing others are tyed by Oath and by other Penalties, to obſerve and preſent his Non-conformity; if pride, or malice and hypocriſie, did not bear greater ſway in his heart, than any conſcience of *Obedience* either to Gods Laws or to mans, he would chuſe to live an Exile from his native Country, or to die at home, rather then to endanger other mens eſtates, or wound their conſciences by their connivance at his open diſobedience. Thus much of the *Second Extream* wherewith true *Chriſtian Obedience* is beſet or oppoſed, which extream being proper to the Noveliſt or Non-conformitant, is oppoſed to the other Extream (which conſiſteth in *Exceſs*, and is proper to the doctrin of the Romiſh Church) by way of contrarietie. Now as in all other virtues, ſo it falls out in this virtue of *Obedience*, that albeit the contrarietie or difference between the two *Extremes*, be wider and greater; yet the true oppoſition of the two *Extremes* unto the *Mean*, is more direct and perpetually certain, than the oppoſition between the two Extremes. The two Extremes wherewith every virtue or golden mean is beſet, are alwaies contrary, and two contraries may be falſe. But the virtue or golden mean is oppoſed to both the Extremities, or vices wherewith it is beſet, by way of contradiction. And it is impoſſible that both parts of a contradiction ſhould be falſe: the one part muſt of neceſſity be true. For every liberal man is neither covetous nor prodigal. But every prodigal man layes a neceſſity upon himſelf of being ſometimes covetous. And there is no niggardly or covetous man, but will be ſometime prodigal. A niggards Feaſt (as the Proverb is) is oft-times ſauced with Luxury. Both the *Extremes* wherewith *Chriſtian Obedience* is beſet, agree in this, that they neceſſarily include a practiſe of diſobedience to Gods Laws, which the Mean (to wit, true *Chriſtian Obedience* to human Laws) doth not include.

§. 10. But ſeeing the Romiſh Church can challenge no more than *Abſolute Obedience*, and the Non-conformitant grants *Obedience Conditional* to divers human Laws, what *Poſitive mean* is there left between them? Is there any *Obedience* to human Laws, which is neither *Abſolute* nor *Conditional*? Or any *Obedience* which is *partly Abſolute, partly Conditional*, or a *medley* of both? One of theſe *Means* muſt needs be granted. For every *Mean* between two *Extremes* or oppoſite terms (of what kind ſoever the Oppoſition be) is either *Medium Abnegationis*, or *participationis*. There is no third *Mean* between them. And every *Mean* (as was ſaid) between two *Extremes* or oppoſit terms, includes a direct contradiction of them both. Contradictory oppoſits or *Extremes* admit no *Mean* at all either of Abnegation or Participation. Termes privatively oppoſit admit *A mean of Abnegation*, not a mean of Participation. Many terms contrarily oppoſit admit *A mean of Participation. Neceſſe eſt quodlibet affirmari, aut negari de eodem.* There is no *Mean* between a Denyal and an Affirmation of the ſame attribute upon the ſame ſubject: As if you ſhould ſay, That every Creature in the world doth either ſee or not ſee, your ſpeech would be true, becauſe there is no *Mean* imaginable between ſeeing and not ſeeing; for theſe are contradictory. But if you ſhould ſay that every Creature in the world doth either ſee, or is blind, this aſſertion is falſe. For that only can be truely ſaid blind, which is capable of ſight; ſo are not ſtocks or ſtones, ſo are not many living Creatures, which for this reaſon can neither be ſaid to ſee or to be blind. Nor can we properly ſay that all Creatures capable of ſight, are at all times either blind, or indued with ſight. For ſome kinds of ſeeing creatures, as Whelps (or at leaſt ſome kind of Whelps) can neither be ſaid to be blind, nor to be indued with ſight, until the ninth day; becauſe before that time they are not by courſe of nature capable of ſight. So then between ſight and blindneſs which are privatively oppoſit, there is *Medium Abnegationis*, that is, there be ſome creatures which can neither truly be ſaid to be blind, or to be indued with ſight. For ſtocks and ſtones cannot poſſibly be imagined to ſee, nor can they be ſaid to be blind, becauſe they cannot be deprived of ſight, of which they are not capable, of which they never were poſſeſſed, nor had any right unto it: Nor is there any other *Mean* or middle temper beſides this *medium Abnegationis*, between ſight and blindneſs, or between other terms, whereof the one includes the abſolute privation of the other. But between two contrary qualities, there may be *A mean of Participation*; or a temper compoſed of both Extremes. As for example; though moſt Sublunary bodies be capable both of heat and cold, and may be truly ſaid to be ſometimes hot, and ſometimes cold; yet cannot we ſay, that every body is alwaies hot or cold. For bodies capable both of heat and cold, may be ſometimes of ſuch a middle temper betwixt both (ſuch a temper as we call luke-warm) that they may have as much heat as cold in them, and as much cold as heat; and whilſt they are ſo, they are neither hot nor cold. And this is that which we call *medium Participationis*, that is, a medley or compoſition of both *Extremes*.

§. 11. The Queſtion is, Whether that *Chriſtian Obedience* which we plead for as A *Mean* between the *Abſolute Obedience* of the Romiſh flock, and the *Conditional Obedience* of the Non-conformitant, be *medium Abnegationis*, that is, an Obedience *neither Abſolute*, nor *Conditional*, nor a mixture of them; or *medium Participationis*, that is, partly *Abſolute*, partly *Conditional*. But leaving this Queſtion in theſe terms propoſed unto the Schools: It ſhall ſuffice to ſhew, That this *Chriſtian Obedience* which the Church of *England* requires of her Children, doth truly differ from that *Abſolute Obedience* which the Church of *Rome* demands, and from that *Conditional Obedience* which the Non-conformitant will only grant. It differs from that *Obedience* which the Romiſh Church demands; *Firſt*, in reſpect of it's *ſubject* or extent: The Romiſh Church demands Obedience to *All her doctrins* in matters of Faith, or eſſential parts of Gods worſhip. The Church of *England* demandeth not of her Children Obedience in ſo large extent. Indeed ſhe injoyneth them all to obey all the Laws of God. For it is a Fundamental Point of this Church, to which every Biſhop at his Conſecration aſſenteth, that nothing ſhall be by him propounded unto the people, as a point of Faith, unleſs it be either contained in Scripture *totidem Verbis*, or may from Scriptures be evidently and neceſſarily deduced to the capacity of the party, which is to believe it. If the party be not capable of the Deduction or Collection made by the Biſhop or Miniſter, or if he cannot apprehend the point propounded to him to be evidently or neceſſarily contained in the Scripture, he is not bound to believe it inſtantly, but only upon condition, or in caſe it be made evident unto him hereafter. And thus far the Non-conformitant is orthodoxal, and agrees with the Church of *England*, and both with the truth. So then the Romaniſt ſwerves from the *Mean*, in attributing as much authority to the Church of *Rome* in matter of Faith, as ſhe undoubtedly hath in matter of Ceremony. The Noveliſt ſwerves from the ſame *Mean*, in granting no more authority to the Church in matter of Ceremony, then ſhe hath in matters of Faith. And herein he differs from the doctrin of the Church of *England*. For moſt certain it is, that the viſible Church hath more authority in matters of Ceremony, then ſhe hath in matters of Faith, or in the ſubſtantial parts of Gods worſhip. *Secondly*, the Church of *England* differs from the Roman Church in the *Tenor* of that Obedience which ſhe requires of her Children in matter of Rites or Ceremonies, or in duties not eſſentially belonging to the ſervice of God. For albeit the Church of *England*, in thoſe caſes, demand preſent obedience unto her decrees, without *Iffs* or *Ands*, or dilatory interpoſition of conditions:

ditions: yet doth ſhe not demand ſuch abſolute or perpetual *Obedience*, as if ſhe her ſelf were exempt from all poſſibility of Error in making Laws concerning Rites or Ceremonies, or things indifferent. And in this ſhe differs from the Non-conformitant, in that ſhe leaves it not free for her Children to deny *Obedience*, until ſhe prove the Rites commanded by her to be commanded by the Law of God, but exacts preſent obedience and that peremptorily; yet not *Abſolute Obedience*, but Obedience *Cautionary* or with *A proviſo, that if either time ſhall diſcover her Injunctions to be inconvenient*, ſhe may repeal them (as being not aſhamed to confeſs that ſhe is not in theſe leſſer points of Ceremonies altogether infallible:) or, that if the parties of whom *Obedience* is demanded, can hereafter ſhew themſelves exempted by the Law of God from performance of *Obedience* in any particular, it is free and ſafe for them to refuſe it. But until they can diſcover ſome contradiction between the Church Laws and the Laws of God, or can ſhew the matters commanded by the Churches Laws to be incompatible with ſome matters of Gods Law injoyned, all are bound to obey. Whilſt the controverſie lyes betwixt private men, *Affirmanti incumbit probatio.* But whilſt Superiors demand Obedience of Inferiors to publick Canons, *Neganti incumbit probatio.*

CHAP. VII.

See the Points propoſed (to be diſcuſſed) in the beginning of the firſt Paragraph; in the handling whereof, there be ſeveral emergent Queſtions diſputed. Amongſt others this; Whether, and how far, an uſurper of Regal power may be reſiſted, in the eighth, ninth, and tenth Paragraphs. The order of Superiority, and Subjection founded in nature: without Government, no living in the World, Paragr. 4, 5, 6. *The Romaniſts Doctrin drawn from the Example of* Jehoiada *his Depoſing* Athalia, *confuted, Paragr.* 14.

ROM. 13. ver. 1, 2.

For there is no power but of God: the Powers that be are ordained of God. Whoſoever therefore reſiſteth the power, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God: and they that reſiſt ſhall receive to themſelves damnation.

§. 1. THE *Points* to be diſcuſſed are *Three. Firſt*, what Powers are here meant. *Secondly*, in what ſenſe the Powers here meant are ordained of God. *Thirdly*, what it is to reſiſt theſe Powers. Out of the diſcuſſion of theſe *Three Points*, *A Fourth* will ariſe which will eaſily be determined, if God ſhall enable us to determin theſe three points aright, And the *Fourth* Point is this, *What damnation is here meant*, whether *Temporal* only, or both temporal and *Spiritual* reſpectively.

The Firſt, *What Powers are here meant*, may well ſeem a needleſs demand, ſeeing the Apoſtles ſpeech is *Univerſal. There is no Power but of God.* It would be more pertinent to inquire what *Power is*, or how many *ſorts of Power* there be; if all Power ſimply, or all kinds of Power be here meant. Yet to make inquiry after all the branches of Real Power, or after the divers acceptions of this word *Power*, would better befit a *Metaphyſical Reader* in the Schools, than a Divine in the Pulpit. For there is *potentia* or *poteſtas Logica, Phyſica, & Mathematica*; A power Logical, a power Phyſical and Mathematical, and all theſe ſo diſtinct, that a man may underſtand one of them aright, and be never a whit nearer the Underſtanding the other. But to omit theſe, ſeeing the Apoſtle ſpeaks not of them, and yet ſpeaks of all the degrees, ſorts or parts, of another *Power*, which cannot be fully expreſſed by *Civil Power.* The word in the original is not ἰσχὺς or δύναμις, not ſtrength of body, or vigour of motion, which may be far greater in Thieves and Robbers, than in true men; much greater in wicked ſpirits, than in men truly ſanctified. For though it be univerſally true, That all phyſical power or ſtrength of body, or all power more then natural, is from God, yet the Apoſtles ſpeech in this place muſt be reſtrained unto that power only whereunto we are commanded to be ſubject, but unto the power of Thieves or Robbers we are not commanded to be ſubject. And powers infernal we are commanded to reſiſt. The word in the original is ἐξουσία, and this ſometimes imports only an *Excellency of quality* or dignity, no ſuperiority of Command or Rule. So it is ſaid *John* 1. 12. *As many as received* the ſon of God, *to them he gave* ἐξουσίαν, that is, this *priviledge* (title or dignity) *to be called the ſons of God.* For the wiſer or more learned amongſt the Romaniſts do grant, That freedom of will or power to make our ſelves the ſons of God, cannot from this place be gathered. To be the ſons of God is a dignity (as they grant) which *Chriſt* beſtowes upon believers.

§. 2. But by the ſame word ἐξουσία, ſomewhat more is in this place meant then dignity of perſon, or excellencie of quality only; unto which reſpect or *Reverence* only is due, no *ſubjection.* To have been, as moſt of theſe Romans (to whom our Apoſtle writes) then were, the ſons of God, was a greater dignity than to have been the Roman *Cæſar*; their ſpiritual excellencie was much better than his temporal dignity. And yet they are commanded to be ſubject, not to his Majeſty only, but to his Deputies or Vicegerent, to his inferior Officers. The original notwithſtanding is rightly rendred by the Engliſh word *Power*, or the Latin *Poteſtas*, and is to be underſtood of ſuch excellencie of perſon or dignity, as hath *A Power of Juriſdiction* annext unto it. There is then no power of Juriſdiction, but it is from God, *All lawful Juriſdiction or Authority is the Ordinance of God.* All the degrees or branches of this *Power*, though ſeated or planted in inferior Magiſtrates, are ordained by God; and he that reſiſteth them *reſiſteth the ordinance of God*, aſwell as he that reſiſteth the ſupream Magiſtrate, or higher Powers. And for this reaſon ſome good Interpreters have blamed the vulgar Tranſlation as ſomewhat *partial* or injurious to inferior Magiſtrates, in rendring the Precept of our Apoſtle, Thus, *Omnis Anima ſublimioribus poteſtatibus ſubdita ſit:* Let every ſoul be ſubject to the *ſublimer* powers. Whereas the Apoſtle in laying down the ground or reaſon of this Precept, expreſly ſaith, *The Powers that be* (aſwell the loweſt as the higheſt) *are ordained of God.* And for this reaſon every ſoul, over which any power of Juriſdiction is given, ought to ſubject unto it.

§. 3. For your better apprehending of the *Second* and the *Third Points* which are moſt material, you are to diſtinguiſh between Powers in the *Abſtract* and the *Perſons* inveſted with the Powers; or between the *Magiſtrate* and the *Magiſtracie*, whether ſupream or ſubordinate; and between the *Magiſtracie* as lawfully annexed to any perſon or perſons, and the *Exerciſe* of it by the perſons unto which it is ſo annexed.

That the Magiſtracie or power of Juriſdiction coercive over others is from God, or Gods ordinance, all Chriſtian Profeſſors do grant, beſides the Anabaptiſt, who will not acknowledge that this coercive Power or Magiſtracie is any otherwiſe from God, or ordained by God, than murder, cruelty and plagues are; none of which, as they acknowledge, can befall men without Gods Providence, or without his permiſſion, or be without the Reach of his Almighty Power: But if their doctrin were true, no man ſhould reſiſt Gods ordinance, but ſuch as directly and immediately reſiſted God himſelf; by fighting againſt him; or by repining or murmuring at his proceſs, or ſufferance of ſtronger powers to moleſt them. Now, although it be true, that whoſoever repines or murmurs againſt God in calamity, or calls his Juſtice in queſtion when he ſuffers manifeſt wrong by men, doth ſin: yet many reſiſt his Ordinance, which never repine againſt God, nor call his juſtice in queſtion, for ſuffering *Higher Powers* to moleſt or wrong them; but rather rejoyce in that they hope God will enable them to reſiſt ſuch powers; and oft-times pray to God for ſucceſs in their Reſiſtance. Howbeit, by our Apoſtles doctrin in this place, men *reſiſt the Ordinance of God* by reſiſting the *Higher Powers*, with what mind ſoever they reſiſt them; though with perſwaſion that God in thus doing will aſſiſt them, or albeit they offer the ſacrifice of Prayer and Thankſgiving for their ſucceſs or prevailing. Now men thus minded could not reſiſt the *Ordinance of God*, by reſiſting Higher Powers, unleſs theſe Powers, which they directly and expreſly reſiſt, were otherwiſe ordained by God, than any violence, wrong, or miſchief, which they ſuffer by the hands of men, are ordained by him. And out of all queſtion, men reſiſt the Ordinance of God *in another ſort*, whilſt they reſiſt human Laws or Magiſtrates, than they do by reſiſting Thieves or Robbers, or whilſt they ſeek medicines againſt the Plague or Peſtilence. For no Thief or Robber can aſſault us, no croſs or plague can befall us, nothing can hurt us without the concurſe or co-operation of Gods Power. And will any man ſay, *That he which reſiſts a Thief, a Robber, a Rebell, or Traytor doth reſiſt the Ordinance of God, albeit no Rebell or Traytor can lift up his hand againſt his King or Country, without the general concurſe of the hand of God?* The concluſion then is undoubted, that the Higher Powers or Magiſtracie *are otherwiſe ordained by God*, than the Power of Thieves and Robbers, or of prevailing Rebels. For albeit neither of them can be without Gods concurſe or power; yet *The one is by Gods poſitive and primary Ordinance*, and hath that approbation from God which the other cannot attain.

§. 4. The *Second Queſtion* is, After what manner the *Higher Powers* here meant are from God. *Firſt*, this order of ſuperiority and ſubjection is from God, *mediante Lege naturæ*; it is implanted in the heart of man as a branch of the Law of Nature, and goes ſomewhat deeper or further than the prints or reliques of the image of God which remain in our corrupted nature. For of all viſible creatures, man only was inſtamped with the image of God; whereas this order of ſuperiority in ſome, and of ſubjection in others, is by a ſecret inſtinct of nature, obſerved by creatures void of reaſon; by all ſuch creatures as are ſociable, that is, which flock, or heard, or ſort together; and by divers fiſhes in the Sea which go in ſholes; by the Cranes amongſt the fowls of the air; and amongſt domeſtick creatures, moſt remarkably by the Bees. No man (as the Philoſopher obſerves) is by nature more ſociable than the Bee: and the more ſociable he is by nature, the more natural and neceſſary to him is this order of ſuperiority and ſubjection. The imperfection of mans corrupted nature makes the ſociety and help of others more neceſſary to him, than it is to any other creatures by nature ſociable. For every one of them can more ſufficiently provide each for himſelf, or for preſervation of ſuch life and eſtate as they are capable of, within the compaſs of one or few years, than any one moſt experienced man, albeit he ſhould live in ſtrength of body as long as *Methuſalah* did. So he deſire to live but as a man, not as a beaſt. Firſt, if we conſider but the preparation of that food, which is neceſſary to every one that will live as a man, this alone is a greater taſk than any one man can perform. To till the ground that it may be a fit receptacle for ſeed, to prepare and ſow the ſeed, to husband it being ſowen, to reap it being rightly husbanded, and after it is reaped to make it ready for mans eating, the help or miniſtry of many men is required. The help or miniſtry of as many is no leſs neceſſarily required for proviſion of ſuch apparel and other neceſſaries as are requiſite for him that will live as a man. And the more help that is in all theſe reſpects required for maintaining the life of man: the more ſtrictly is every man bound, than other creatures are, to obſerve the *Rules of Society* with others of his own kind. And yet the greater need men have of ſociety or of intercourſe with others for providing things neceſſary, the more obnoxious they are than other creatures to ſtrife and debate unquenchable, without ſome indifferent Umpires, to quell, abate, or prevent them by the invention and execution of wholeſom and indifferent Laws. Every mans affections being principally ſet upon himſelf and his, there could be no hope of concord between the affections or deſires of ſeveral families, without ſome *Rector Chori*, without ſome Maſter-Muſician to ſet them in tune when they jarr. So then the imperfection of human nature, the neceſſity of Society which this imperfection requires, and the occaſions of diſcord which this neceſſity breeds, do all by Gods Providence and Ordinance impell men to ſeek after and admit ſome *Power of Juriſdiction* which may compell or inforce all and every one to obſerve the *Rules of Society* in peace. And the Power of Juriſdiction or Superiority in ſome one or few neceſſarily implies a diſtinction of orders of ſome to command and others to obey.

§. 5. So natural is this order unto man, that our nature in its original integrity, did not admit a paritie between all that were, or might have been partakers of the ſame uncorrupted nature. The woman, though created as a conſort to man, had been ſubordinate to her husband; ſo had children been to their parents, though neither parents nor children had deſerved puniſhment. So that this *Power of Juriſdiction* or ſuperiority in ſome, and *ſubjection* in others is in another ſort *the Ordinance of God*, than puniſhment or any other evil is. Again after the fall of our firſt Parents, the ſubjection of the woman unto her husband is by poſitive Law injoyned. So is the ſubjection of Children to their Parents expreſly injoyned in the Fifth Commandement, and ſo is *Obedience* to Civil Magiſtrates of what rank ſoever, in the ſame Commandement and elſewhere, expreſly injoyned. And (as the Philoſopher obſerves) the *Regal Power*, which in proceſs of time did ſpread it ſelf over whole Nations and Countries, had its firſt root from that power which the Fathers of Families had over their Children, their Grand-children, and their Poſterity: which power did extend it ſelf much farther in ancient times, than now it can, becauſe the age of men was much longer, and mankind did multiply much faſter than now it doth. As the ſubordination

Gen. 3. 16.

nation of divers perſons to their Father or firſt Progenitor (as to one head) did make one Tribe or Family: ſo the ſubordination or ſubjection of divers Tribes or Families to one chief did make a Kingdom. And how great ſoever a Kingdom may be for circuit of Lands, or multitude of perſons; yet *Kingly Authority* and *Fatherly Authority*, as they are both *the Ordinance of God*, differ not in nature or *quality*, but only in *quantity* or extent. For this reaſon the Government Royal is of all other kinds the moſt agreeable to nature, as taking its original moſt immediately from the courſe of nature. Howbeit it cannot be denyed, but that in proceſs of time, or continuation of deſcents from one prime or famous Progenitor, worthy to govern all his progeny whileſt he lived, there uſually aroſe more ſeveral collateral Families, which did grow nearer to a paritie between themſelves, than any of them had in compariſon of their firſt Founder or Progenitor, or then had been between ſuch as firſt diſcended from him. So that no one of them was held fit to bear Rule or Soveraignty over all the reſt, but all were well fitted for a ſocial league or confederacie. And from this root of nature did ſpring *Ariſtocracie*, or the form of Government by Peers and Nobles. And this kind of Government, as alſo the popular Government, may be continued either by inheritance or right of deſcent, or by annual Magiſtrate, or Magiſtrates choſen for term of life.

§. 6. Of what kind ſoever the Government be, or upon what condition ſoever the Magiſtrates be choſen or admitted, or howſoever their power be limited, the Power or Magiſtracie is from God, is the Ordinance of God, and may not be reſiſted. That this Nation ſhould be Governed by *A King*, another by Peers and Nobles, another by the people, or by Magiſtrates of the Peoples chuſing either annual, or for term of life, this is not determined *Jure Divino*, by any expreſs or poſitive Law of God, but is reſerved unto the Guidance of his ordinary Providence, who ſometimes directs one People or Nation to make choice of this form, another to make choice of that. But the choice of Government being made by the people, or impoſed upon them by right of war; to yield Obedience to the form of Government or of Power eſtabliſhed; this is *de Jure Divino*, poſitively and peremptorily determined and injoyned by the Law of God. And whoſoever doth reſiſt the form of Government eſtabliſhed in the Common-weal whereof he is a member, be it of this form or that, he doth reſiſt the *Higher Powers*; and, by reſiſting them, *reſiſteth the Ordinance of God*.

§. 7. But doth this *Rule* of our Apoſtle hold as punctually of the *Magiſtrate* as of the *Magiſtracie?* Doth every one which reſiſts the Magiſtrate, or men inveſted with the *Power of Juriſdiction* reſiſt the Ordinance of God as directly, or in as high a degree, as he that reſiſts the power it ſelf wherewith he is inveſted, or as he that ſeeks to overthrow the Magiſtracie? It is the Obſervation of St. *Chryſoſtom* and of *Oecumenius* upon this place, that St. *Paul* doth not ſay, that there is *no Magiſtrate* but from God; or, that the Magiſtrates that be, be Ordained by God; but that there is *no Power which is not from God*, and that *The Powers which be are ordained of God*; that he purpoſely ſpeaks not of this or that Magiſtrate in particular, or of the perſons unto whom the *Power* is annexed, *ſed de re ipſa*, but of the Power it ſelf. But here a man might well demand of them; Is there any Power here meant by the Apoſtle, which is not inherent in ſome mens perſons? Is there any Magiſtracie without a Magiſtrate? Or how can the *Power* be reſiſted, unleſs the party be reſiſted in whom it is ſeated? And however St. *Paul* his form of ſpeech here run in the *Abſtract*, and directly points at the *Power it ſelf* or Magiſtracy, yet in the verſes following he ſpeaks as directly of the perſon unto whom the *Power* is annexed; And S. *Peter* expreſly injoyns *Obedience* unto the King and his Deputies, as unto *Ordinances* though *made by men*, yet *Approved by God.* So approved, that whoſo reſiſteth them *reſiſteth the Ordinance of God. Nero* the Roman Emperor in whoſe dayes S. *Paul* wrote, and under whoſe Government theſe Romans lived unto whom this Precept is in particular directed, was as wicked an Emperor, as cruel a Tyrant, an enemy as malitious to Jews or Chriſtians as any that hath born rule in any Nation ſince. Yet ſeeing he was inveſted with Imperial or Royal power; theſe Romans (as all other Chriſtians which lived within the Roman Empire) were by Gods law injoyned to acknowledge ſubjection and perform ſincere Obedience to him. And S. *Paul* himſelf (though inveſted with power Apoſtolical) was contented to appeal unto his tribunal in caſe of Juſtice. So then the point is clear that ſubjection is due as well to wicked Magiſtrates, as to the power or magiſtracy which is lawful and juſt, and from God.

§. 8. For reſolution of doubts that may ariſe in mens minds about the *Acquiſition* or Exerciſe of Power, as whether Power unjuſtly gotten or unjuſtly exerciſed be Gods Ordinance, the former Obſervation of S. *Chryſoſtom* and *Oecumenius* is not impertinent: and according to their meaning or intention we may ſay, that our Apoſtles Rule doth not ſo punctually hold of the means, or *Acquiſition* of the Power, or the *Exerciſe* of it, as it doth of the *Power* or Magiſtracy it ſelf. Or more fully thus. Albeit the *Power* or Magiſtracy of what rank ſoever (be it Royal, Imperial, Ariſtocratical, or Popular) be alwayes Gods poſitive and primary Ordinance, alwayes an effect of his gracious providence, alwayes a bleſſing towards any Land or People, or *the Award of his Antecedent Will:* yet the manner of acquiring this Power, or the annexing it to this or that perſon one or more, is not alwayes *the poſitive Ordinance of God*; no effect of his bounty or benignity; no Conſequent of his *Antecedent Will*; but ſometimes rather the *Award* of his *Conſequent Will*, and an act at leaſt permiſſive of his punitive Juſtice. Again; Albeit the manner of acquiring this Power be juſt and lawful, as ordained and appointed by God: yet the *Exerciſe* of the power thus gotten may oft-times be no part of Gods poſitive or primary Ordinance; no gift of his bounty or bleſſing upon his People, but rather the exerciſe of his Punitive Juſtice. And in both theſe ſenſes God is ſaid to give Kings in his wrath, to ſuffer Tyrants to bear Rule over his People. Some Kings by lawful ſucceſſion or election, through the permiſſion of his providence, or of his punitive Juſtice, Rule not according to his Ordinance but tyrannically. This falls out often, yet not alwayes, not for the moſt part. But of Uſurpers or Tyrants by Title, the Hiſtorians cenſure is moſt general, *Imperium malis artibus acquiſitum nemo unquam benè exercuit.* He that will become diſhoneſt for the gaining of ſupream authority, will never be extraordinarily honeſt or honourable in the uſe or exerciſe of it. How much more *Chriſtian* was the obſervation of this Heathen Roman Politician, then is the doctrin of the modern Roman Chriſtian, or of the principal Faction in that Church, the Jeſuits or Jeſuited Romaniſts, who are not aſhamed to maintain it, is an Article of Faith, that ſuch as can be content to become Devils incarnate for getting the Popedom ſhall become Saints in the uſe or exerciſe of it? But by what means ſoever the Election be wrought by Symony, by Necromancy; or what manner of life ſoever the Pope ſhall lead after he be ſolemnly Elected, he ſhall notwithſtanding exerciſe authority Apoſtolical, as infallibly, and as beneficially for the good of the Church, as S. *Peter* did. Not only his Power muſt be reputed the Ordinance of God, but all his Cathedral doctrins or conſtitutions muſt be believed as the Oracles of the Holy Ghoſt. Not to believe or obey his Decrees is a great deal more than to reſiſt the Ordinance of God. But with the impiety of this Opinion, and with the dangerous conſequences of the Popes ſuppoſed Infallibility I have heretofore acquainted you.

§. 9. Three knots yet remain concerning the *third Point* propoſed. *The Firſt*, How far any man which without juſt title doth take upon him, and by fraud or violence gets opportunity to exerciſe Royal authority over others may be reſiſted. *The ſecond*, Whether he that is by juſt title inveſted with *Royal Power* may be reſiſted in the unjuſt or tyrannical exerciſe of it? To theſe two Queſtions the anſwer hath been long ſince given by ſome moral Philoſophers, and approved of by beſt Divines. Firſt, he which is a meer Uſurper or a Tyrant by Title may be reſiſted by violence even to depoſition or death, albeit he happen to exerciſe his Power with ſuch moderation as would become a juſt and lawful King. He that is a King, or ſupream Magiſtrate by juſt and lawful title, may not be thus reſiſted, albeit he exerciſe his power tyrannically. Touching the former; it is a truth unqueſtionable, that a Tyrant by title, or a mere Uſurper of ſupream power, or an intruder into the Office Royal, may be reſiſted without reſiſting the Ordinance of God, and the reaſon is plain, for that he could never uſurp or continue his power otherwiſe than by reſiſting ſome higher powers, or without reſiſting the ordinance of God. Firſt, if he Uſurp Authority Royal or Monarchical over ſuch as have been formerly governed by power Ariſtocratical or Democratical, that is, either by Peers or by Magiſtrates choſen out of the People, he doth reſiſt theſe powers which are in that People ſupream, and were ordained by God. Or in caſe he uſurp or exerciſe Royal authority over ſuch as have been formerly governed either by Royal ſucceſſion or by Kings elective, *he openly reſiſts Power* much higher than his own, whether this *Power* be yet actually annexed to ſome known perſons that have right or title to the Kingdom by ſucceſſion, or whether in defect of the ancient Royal Iſſue the ſupream power of electing or making Kings have reverted to the Peers or People that are to be governed. Lawful it is either for thoſe perſons in whom the right and title to the Kingdom reſides, or for thoſe to whom the Right of electing Kings in defect of right heirs appertains, not only to reſiſt but to depoſe or condemn an Uſurper, or one that hath inveſted himſelf with Royal Power without juſt title to it, or by means unlawful.

§. 10. So then a Tyrant or Uſurper may be depoſed or reſiſted; but *Thus* reſiſted or depoſed he may not be by every man which knows him to be an Uſurper. For a man may tranſgreſs this Rule of our Apoſtle, and reſiſt Gods Ordinance, by reſiſting the Power wherewith he is inveſted, though not ſimply by reſiſting him. *Aliud eſt Magiſtratum eſſe, aliud eſt in Magiſtratu eſſe, aut Magiſtratum gerere:* It is one thing to be a true or lawful Magiſtrate, another thing to bear or execute the Office of a true Magiſtrate. The Acts of a falſe Magiſtrate or Intruder, whileſt he is *in Magiſtratu* in the Office it ſelf are of validity. His perſon is to be obeyed not reſiſted by every man until he be declare to be an Uſurper or Intruder by ſome *Higher Power* or authority. Few Tyrants or Uſurpers have gotten inveſtiture or admiſſion to Royal Power by more indirect means than *Richard the third* in this Kingdom did; yet many Acts or exerciſes of Royal Power, though proceeding from him, were legal and of validity. Nor did they reſiſt the Ordinance of God that bore Offices under him, that obeyed his Summons, whether for Parliament, or other buſineſs of State. *It had been a ſin for any Private man of his own head to have killed him,* albeit all the ſpace of his raign he did reſiſt the Ordinance of God: For every man is not an Avenger of ſuch as *reſiſt the Ordinance of God:* this belongs unto the *Higher Powers* only, or unto them to whom the ſupream Power is by right annexed. And ſo *Henry of Richmond* was authorized by Gods Ordinance to execute vengeance or bring condemnation upon this Tyrant which every one might not have done, which perhaps no other might have done ſave only in his right or intereſt, and by his Commiſſion and Command.

§. 11. The third Queſtion is, whether he which is lawfully inveſted with ſome power which is ordained by God (whether ſupream or ſubordinate) may be reſiſted, not in the exerciſe of it over ſuch as belong to his Juriſdiction, but in extending it unto others which are by right exempted from it.

The power which *Pilate* had in *Judea* was from God; *it was ordained by God.* And whether out of this notion, or out of a general perſwaſion that his power was lawful, he expoſtulates with our Saviour; *ſpeakeſt thou not unto me? knoweſt thou not that I have power to crucifie thee, and have power to releaſe thee?* But our Saviour anſwered *thou couldſt not have any power at all againſt me, except it were given thee from above.* And if this power were given him from above was it not lawful for him to put this power in execution? Surely thoſe men were very ill adviſed which brought this place to prove that Eccleſiaſtical perſons of what rank or quality ſoever (ſeeing none can be greater or better than their Maſter) are ſubject to the civil Power, or that the ſuperiority of the Laiety above the Clergy, is here authorized: I am the bolder to give you notice of this inadviſed collection, becauſe the parties which make, or favour it, do wrong the Laiety or Civil Power much more than the Clergy; for if the Civil power (be it Royal or ſubordinate) were no otherwiſe from God than *This Power* which at *this Time* was given to *Pilate* from above, over our Saviour, the exerciſe of this power over any Clergy man could neither be ordinary nor uſual, but at ſome ſpecial times only, when it ſhould pleaſe God to permit, or give ſome extraordinary diſpenſation. The exerciſe of *Pilates* power, though given at this time by ſpecial diſpenſation from above, was no part of Gods Ordinance, but a branch of Satanical power (or ſuch power as God gave Satan over his Servant *Job:*) of that power which at this time, and at no other, out of Gods love to mankind was permitted to the Prince and Powers of Darkneſs. Thus much our Saviour in this very anſwer, and in his anſwer to ſuch as apprehended him did import, *Be ye come out as againſt a thief with ſwords and ſtaves? when I was dayly with you in the Temple ye ſtretched out no hands againſt me, but this is your hour, and the Power of darkneſs.* To put this power in execution, *Pilate* (though in ſome ſort againſt his will) was in concluſion, wrought upon by the malitious Jews; and therefore cannot be excuſed, though more excuſable than theſe Jews, as our Saviour intimates in his anſwer to him, *Therefore he that delivereth me unto thee hath the greater ſin.* He was

Luke 22 52, 53.

John 19. 11.

was not without ſin in being the Jews inſtruments to put the powers of darkneſs, (with whom they had entred confederacy) in execution upon him. And no man I think will deny, that *Pilate*, by exerciſing this power, did reſiſt the higheſt power in heaven and earth. That meſſage which his wife ſent to him, ***have thou nothing to do with that juſt man***, was from the Lord; and in not hearkning unto her counſel, he *did reſiſt the Ordinance of God.* By reaſon of this extraordinary permiſſion or diſpenſation, at this time granted to the powers of darkneſs, our Saviour was ſo far from reſiſting it, that he did not (as at other times) ſeek to eſcape it. Such Obedience or ſubjection, as our Saviour now exhibited both to the Temporal and Eccleſiaſtick Power, the meaneſt ſubject of any Nation doth not owe unto the exerciſe of any power Eccleſiaſtick or Civil whether ſupream or ſubordinate. No man is bound to expoſe himſelf unto the puniſhments which juſt Laws inflict, but only not to reſiſt the hand of Juſtice when the eye of Juſtice hath found him out, and the mouth of Juſtice given ſentence upon him.

§. 12. The power which the High-Prieſt exerciſed in apprehending our Saviour was unjuſt and Satanical, was it therefore lawful for Chriſts diſciples to reſiſt it? To oppoſe violence unto it was unlawful. And if *Peter* had continued to do as he begun, he had fallen under the ſanction of this Law, *They that reſiſt ſhall receive damnation.* And ſo our Saviour did forewarn him, *put up thy ſword into his place, for all they that take the ſword ſhall periſh with the ſword.* Doth this inſtance, or any other in Scripture like unto it infer (that which ſome would hence collect, to wit) that it is not lawful for ſuch as *Peter* was, a Clergy-man, and one of Chriſts Diſciples. to reſiſt violence, or to protect the Innocent, though with the effuſion of blood? No! this inſtance (as the former) was peculiar to theſe times, to *Peters* condition of life, and our Saviours purpoſe at this time, to ſuffer all the dignities which the powers of darkneſs could deviſe againſt him. Thus much our Saviour gives us to wit, in his anſwer to *Peter*, *Thinkeſt thou that I cannot now pray unto my Father, and he ſhall preſently give me more than twelve legions of Angels? but how then ſhall the Scripture be fulfilled, that thus it muſt be?* Neither this inſtance, nor any other of ſacred writ, doth prohibit any man in that he is a Clergy man or Prieſt, for uſing all the lawful means or remedies either in his own defenſe, or for the defenſe of the Innocent, which any other good Chriſtian may uſe. There was a time, wherein it was unlawful for *Peter* (though not as yet fully conſecrated to his Prieſtly function;) to defend his Lord and Maſter (over whom no Prince on earth could lawfully exerciſe any Authority coercive) by the ſword or oppoſition of violence; and yet there was a time wherein it was lawful for *Jehoiada* (a conſecrated high Prieſt) not only to reſiſt the violence of *Athalia*, who had gotten poſſeſſion of the Royal Scepter, but to put her to a violent death. Was this lawful only to the high Prieſts of the Law, but in no caſe lawful to Prieſts or Prelates of the Goſpel? Yes! if the times and occaſions were the ſame, the like practiſe would aſwel become a Prieſt or Prelate under the Goſpel, as it did the Prieſt of the Law.

Mat. 26. ver. 23.

§. 13. One ſort of men there is, which by the example of our Saviour and S. *Peter*, by the practiſe of Biſhops and Miniſters in the primitive Church, would debar the Miniſters of the Goſpel from all intermedling with the affairs of the Common-weal, or of ſuch Priviledges, or dignities as other ſubjects are capable of. But of theſe men I might ſay, as our Saviour doth in another caſe, *either make the tree good and* *the fruit good, or the fruit bad and the tree bad.* If Heathens they be in heart and affection or deſire to have the Common-weal wherein they live continue heatheniſh, their doctrin is Chriſtian, and would be ſo followed by Chriſtian Miniſters. But if Chriſtians they be in heart, and deſire the Common-weals wherein they live may be (not as *Agrippa* was *propemodum, not almoſt but altogether Chriſtian* They ſpeak like Heathens. *Chriſtian* Emperours, who took themſelves to be ſupream Governours in all Cauſes and over all Perſons, did uſe the aſſiſtance of their Clergy more then of any other in their chief conſultations as well of War as of Peace. And either corrected or faſhioned their temporal Laws (which their Heatheniſh Predeceſſors had made) unto the ancient Canons of the Church which the Clergy had made, whileſt they lived under Heathen Emperours.

§. 14. Another ſort of men there be, the Factors for the modern Romiſh Church, which draw more dangerous Doctrin from the example of *Jehoiada*, than the others did from the example of our Saviour, of S. *Peter*, and of the practiſe of the primitive Church: Becauſe *Jehoiada* was the high Prieſt, and did depoſe *Athalia*, therefore ſay they, the Church, that is, the Pope or high Prieſt of the New-Teſtament hath power to depoſe Kings and Emperours. This fooliſh collection though often anſwered and retorted, the Author of the *Prelate and Prince*, is not aſhamed to reſume, but how unfitly and prejudicially to the cauſe which he maintains, the diſſimilitude or contrariety of the Popes practiſes, and *Jehoiada*'s, will eaſily inform you. *Firſt, Jehoiada*, in that he was high Prieſt, was a prime Peer in the Realm of *Judah*, and inveſted with power of Juriſdiction next in Order and Dignity to the Power Royal. *Secondly*, the power Royal, or ſupream; was by right, by the expreſs Ordinance and poſitive Law of God, annexed unto the Infant Prince whom *Jehoiada*'s Wiſe had ſaved from the tyranny of *Athaliah*, as being next heir now alive unto *David.* In the right of this Prince, and for the actual annexion of the ſupream power unto his perſon (unto whom it was *de jure* annexed) *Jehoiada* being the chief Magiſtrate in the vacancy did by force and violence depoſe her who had uſurpt the Royal Scepter by violence and cruel murder of her Seed Royal. Is it then all one, in theſe mens divinity, for a Subject or Peer of any Realm to ſtand for the right of his Leige Lord, and for the Ancient liberties of his native Country, againſt a Stranger or Uſurper? and for a Stranger, no native member or part of this or the like Chriſtian Common-weal, to throw down the lawful King from his Throne? or to authorize his Subjects or others to do to him as *Jehoiada* did to *Athalia?* and to bring in a Stranger or Alien, as he caſt out a Stranger or Uſurper? The caſes are as unlike and contrary as two caſes can be. The practiſe of *Jehoiada*, and the occaſions of it would rather prove that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* or *York*, or other loyal Prelate of this Kingdom, might execute the Popes Nuntio or any that ſhould bring an Excommunication againſt the King, or come armed with Papal power to abſolve the Kings Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance; or to Uſurp or challenge any authority, or exerciſe any juriſdiction in this, and as nominating of Biſhops, beſtowing Dignities or the like which belong unto the Crown and Scepter of this Kingdom; and may not be practiſed by any without leave or licence of the Supream Majeſty. If it ſhould pleaſe the Supream *Power* of this Kingdom to delegate ſuch power of Juriſdiction, over foraign intruders, to any Prelate within his Dominions, to every Prelate within his Dioceſs, the Power delegated ſhould be *Gods Ordinance*, the manner of annexing it, though to perſons Eccleſiaſtick, ſhould be *Gods Ordinance*, and the exerciſe of ſuch *Power* even to the taking away of life, would be warrantable by the like practiſe of *Jehoiada*. But this I ſpeak not, as if I wiſhed any ſuch power might be delegated to Biſhops and Prelates, but only to give you notice (by the way) that there is no argument that can be drawn from the example of our Saviour, of our Apoſtles, or from Biſhops or Paſtors within three hundred years after *Chriſt*, but will conclude as much againſt all Chriſtians of what rank ſoever, as againſt Clergy men in particular, for intermedling in the affairs of Kingdoms or Common-weals. For no Chriſtians within theſe times might ſo much as take arms in their own defenſe, and yet many ſerved in the wars in defenſe of their Heathen Governors.

For Concluſion; we of this land are bound above all others to bleſs God for that our ſupream Magiſtracy is of the beſt Form; not only in that it is *the Ordinance of God*, but that the annexion of it to his Royal perſon in whom it reſides, is likewiſe the *Ordinance of God*. A bleſſing of God, and a pledge of his mercy and bounty. What then remains, but that we daily beſeech God ſo to direct his heart for the exerciſe of this ſupream Power, that it likewiſe may be the approved *Ordinance of God*; that he may alwayes be not only the Executioner of Gods wrath or punitive Juſtice againſt evil doers, but the diſtributer and Aſmoner of Mercy and Bounty to his People, that do well.

CHAP. VIII.

This Sermon was preached upon the Fifth of November, *as appears* §. *the fifth, ſixth, ſeventh. What it is to Reſiſt*, §. 2. *The difference betwixt Non-obedience, Diſobedience, and Reſiſtance. Two ſignal Quæries propounded in the end of the ſeventh Paragraph: Anſwered in the eighth.*

ROM. 13. 2.

Whoſoever therefore reſiſteth the power, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God: and they that reſiſt ſhall receive to themſelves damnation.

§. 1. MY intended Expoſition of this Text is haply prevented with ſome mens Cenſure of it or me, as if it did not ſute ſo well with the ſolemnity of this preſent day, as divers others might have done, of which there is choice (as we ſay) Gods plenty in this book of God. Howbeit (in my opinion) no portion of Scripture ſuits better with theſe preſent times, whereof this day is a part, than this doth. And how well it fits in particular aſwell the firſt inſtitution as the preſent ſolemnity, will better appear upon the opening or unfolding of it. The moſt, aſwell of the ſingle terms or words, as of the propoſitions, contained in theſe two Verſes, have been explicated at large before. As Firſt it hath been explicated *What Powers are here meant*; not Civil only, but Eccleſiaſtick aſwell as Civil; not Eccleſiaſtick coercive only, but Power meerly Spiritual; and that *Obedience* is due to all theſe Powers reſpectively, *not for fear of puniſhment only, but for conſcience ſake*. Of the diſtinction of theſe Powers, of their ſubordination one to another

ther, of their co-ordination or combination within the ſame Soveraignty, Free-ſtate or Kingdom. And in what ſenſe all Powers reſpectively are ſaid to be from God, hath been diſcuſt at ſeveral times. So that there now remain only *Two termes* or words to be unfolded. *Firſt*, What it is *to Reſiſt*. *Secondly*, *What* Judgment or *Condemnation* here is meant, whether temporal, or eternal as well as temporal: The Apoſtles Concluſion ſeems *Peremptory*, *They that reſiſt ſhall receive to themſelves damnation.* Firſt, *What it is to Reſiſt?*

§. 2. Some there be (very good Expoſitors in their kind) which have put no difference in this place between *Non obedire* and *reſiſtere*; as if *not to obey* the higher Powers were *to reſiſt* them. Yet for our more clear apprehenſion of the Apoſtles full meaning, we may diſtinguiſh between theſe Three, *Non-obedience*, *Diſobedience*, and *Reſiſtance*. True it is, that whoſoever doth *reſiſt* the higher Powers, doth *diſobey* them; and as true again, that whoſoever *diſobeys* them, doth *not obey* them. But theſe propoſitions, though moſt true, yet are not (as we ſay in Schools) Convertible. The truth of them is not the ſame backwards and forwards, as it is but one and the ſame way from this Town to *London*, and from *London* to this Town. There may be a *Non-obedience* without *diſobedience*, and there may be a *Diſobedience* without *Reſiſtance*. Unto the higheſt Powers on earth we may in ſome Caſes refuſe or deny *Obedience*, without any touch of ſin. *Diſobedience* alwayes includeth or præſuppoſeth ſome ſin; and ſo doth *Reſiſtance* in this place, include an higher degree of ſin than meer *Diſobedience*, without participation of *Reſiſtance*, doth.

§. 3. The Sanedrim, Synagogue or viſible Church of the Jews (the higheſt Power coercive in cauſes Eccleſiaſtick then on earth, unto whoſe Doctrin our Saviour himſelf had commanded obedience and obſervance) did twice convent and command the Apoſtles, not to *ſpeak at all, nor teach in the name of Jeſus. But* Peter *and* John *anſwered and ſaid unto them, Whether it be right in the ſight of God, to hearken unto you more then unto God, Judge ye; for we cannot but ſpeak the things which we have ſeen and heard.* And unto the like charge or command laid upon them again by the ſame Powers, *Peter* and the other Apoſtles replyed; *We ought to obey God rather then men.* Thus reſolute they were not to obey theſe higher Powers, whom yet they did not *diſobey*, much leſs *reſiſt* (as reſiſtance is here taken:) For they were willing to ſuffer whatſoever theſe Powers were ready to inflict upon them, without oppoſition of contrary force or violence. This their *paſſive Obedience*, or ſubmiſſion of their bodies unto their authority, unto which they would not ſubject their conſciences, doth exempt their *Non-obedience*, or denyal of Obedience active, from all juſt cenſure or imputation of *Diſobedience*. For *Diſobedience* in its loweſt degree, ſuppoſeth a denyal of Obedience to higher Powers in caſes wherein Obedience is due, and all is one whether the Obedience denyed be active or paſſive. Denyal of *Obedience Active*, in caſes wherein it is due, is properly a *Diſobedience*; but a diſobedience without Reſiſtance. *Obedience paſſive* can hardly be denyed without flight or reſiſtance. Obedience paſſive in the former Caſes was due from the Apoſtles themſelves, to thoſe Governours of the Church or Common-weal Eccleſiaſtick. And therefore, they did not deny this Obedience, but willingly ſubmitted their bodies unto ſtripes and impriſonment, even whilſt they ſo reſolutely and peremptorily denyed *active Obedience*, that is, forbearance to *teach* *in the name of Jeſus.* In this point to have obeyed them had been to have diſobeyed God. Now ſeeing God is the higheſt and only ſupream Power, there can be no denyal of Obedience: no Non-obedience unto him, without ſin. No man can ſin in obeying him, albeit in obeying him he expreſly deny Obedience to higher Powers. He that appeals from the ſentence of an inferior Court doth *not obey* the ſentence, and yet he doth not *diſobey* it, ſo the matter of his appeal be juſt, and the manner of proſecution legal. But not to undergo the juſt and legal cenſure of any inferior Court, unto whoſe Juriſdiction we are ſubject, without appealing unto ſome higher Court, is to *diſobey* the higher Powers, albeit no open reſiſtance be made. Who then are properly ſaid to reſiſt the *Higher Powers*? they which oppoſe either force or violence againſt the execution of their decrees, or elſe implore the aid and aſſiſtance of ſome other contrary authority (unto which the higher Powers, which exerciſed Juriſdiction over them, is not ſubordinate) to controll or confront the decrees themſelves, or any way to debaſe or prejudice the authority by which they are made.

§. 4. Now it is to be preſumed, that all *higher Powers*, ſpecially the higheſt earthly Powers, will carry a more watchful eye, and awful hand over all ſuch as are prone to make this *Reſiſtance.* And hence it is that Judgment or Damnation temporal, doth not more frequently befall any ſort of Malefactors, then it doth the rebellious or ſeditious. So that our Apoſtles threatnings or fore-warnings, indefinitly taken, are moſt pertinently true in reſpect of Judgment or Damnation temporal. *They that reſiſt ſhall receive damnation.* Or in caſe ſome diſobedient and rebellious ſpirits eſcape the hands of Civil Juſtice, or ſet themſelves beyond or above the reach of the higher Powers which they reſiſt, yet *the right Hand of the Lord ſhall find them out.* But as for Judgment, or Damnation eternal, that is no otherwiſe awarded by the ſupream Judge unto the ſeditious or rebellious, than it is to other Malefactors or grievous tranſgreſſors. The ſentence of damnation-denounced againſt the diſobedient or ſeditious, becomes diſpenſable or indiſpenſable; the doom is avoidable or unavoidable, according to the tranſgreſſors penitencie or impenitencie in his ſins. Diſobedience indeed is as the ſin of witchcraft, and reſiſtance, which alwayes preſuppoſeth diſobedience to higher Powers, is a ſin alwayes damnable in the judgment of God and man, yet are both ſins not altogether unpardonable; they are not like the ſin againſt the *Holy Ghoſt.* And thus much briefly of the Two general doctrinal points propoſed, *What it is to reſiſt* the higher Powers, and how far ſuch as reſiſt them are lyable to damnation, whether temporal or eternal.

§. 5. Now to examin, *Firſt*, The Attempts or practiſes of ſome Romiſh Catholicks (as they term themſelves) againſt the *Higheſt Powers* in this Kingdom, as upon this day: *Secondly*, the Doctrin of the modern Romiſh Church, as it is now profeſſed by the Jeſuites, the chief agents for that Churches authority, and principal authors of *Reſiſtance* to all higher Powers, which will not acknowledge the power of the Romiſh Church to be the higheſt and moſt ſupream on earth, according to theſe Rules of our Apoſtle in this place. The principle wherein the Romiſh Church, the Jeſuits, and we agree, is this: That none may Reſiſt the higher Powers; that Obedience, at leaſt paſſive, or ſubmiſſion of the outward man of our bodies, lives, and eſtates, is due unto the higher Powers: The Queſtion is (as you have heard before) which be the higheſt Powers on earth. The higheſt Court of this Kingdom, that is the Parliament, which conſiſts aſwell of Eccleſiaſtick as Civil Power, had by a ſoveraign Law ratified by the Royal aſſent of Three Kings and one Queen, ſubjected all perſons, aſwell temporal as ſpiritual, to the Juriſdiction of the Prince or Soveraign for the time being; and all cauſes aſwell Eccleſiaſtical as Civil, to the cognizance of the Courts within this Realm eſtabliſhed by Parliamentary Power, or the Prerogative Royal. The ſame ſupream Power for many years before that furious attempt (as upon this day) made againſt the higheſt Powers of this Kingdom, had laid a neceſſity upon all the ſubjects of this Realm to conform themſelves unto the doctrin of the Church herein eſtabliſhed. For not obeying the ſupream Power of this Kingdom in points of Religion or Church-diſcipline, the Roman Catholicks of this Kingdom (as ſome others moſt oppoſit to them do) pretend the liberty of Conſcience. And if the Romaniſts had only denyed the performance of *Active Obedience* in matter of meer Religion, or could have reſted within the limits of pure *Non-obedience*, until their conſciences had been better informed, they rather deſerved pity than preſent puniſhment or condemnation. But if this their refuſal of *Active Obedience* to all or any of theſe Lawes by ſoveraign Authority enacted againſt them, had truly proceeded from meer conſcience, rather then from meer pretence of conſcience: the ſame Rule of conſcience which did withhold them from performance of *Active Obedience* in the things by higher Powers commanded, would as forcibly have ſwayed them to yield *Paſſive Obedience*, that is, to have ſubmitted their bodies, their goods, or other externals unto the cenſure of *higher Powers*, without any attempt of *Reſiſtance*. We may then conclude, that it was not *pure conſcience* nor meer *non-obedience* unto the *higher Powers* of this Kingdom, but the ſpirit of faction, of diſobedience and rebellion, which moved them unto ſuch violent and before unheard of Reſiſtance. And Gods name be ever praiſed, that the violence or reſiſtance attempted by them was never heard in its own voice or language intended by them. This terrible Reſiſtance was not directed only againſt the execution of Decrees or Laws made againſt them, it was not levelled againſt the inferior Miniſters of Juſtice only, but againſt the *ſupream Powers* of this Kingdom themſelves, againſt the *Authors* of Juſtice, againſt the ſeat of Juſtice, againſt the very fountain of Juſtice, from which all power coercive, that can lawfully be exerciſed within this Land, muſt be derived. But theſe men haply (will ſome ſay) did thus far proceed out of their private pride, or in the boyling heat of diſcontented paſſions, without all ground, or poſſible pretence of that Religion which they profeſſed, That many of them, though not all of them were men of high ſpirits, men paſſionate and diſcontented, though more diſcontented than paſſionate, cannot be denyed. For if they had not been ſuch, their underſtandings, their birth, ingenuous education, and other good qualities, would have withheld them from drinking ſo deep of the Romiſh Cup, or for ſwallowing the dregs of Romiſh Religion in ſuch meaſure as they did. But taking them as they were, that is, men diſcontented, yet well affected to the Church of *Rome*, their attempt or practiſe againſt the State, as upon this day, was but ſuch a deſcant upon the Grounds of Romiſh Religion (as it is now taught) as moſt men of their diſpoſition for Religion, though of meaner birth or ſpirit, or leſs diſcontented then they were, will be ready to make, whenſoever opportunity, (ſpecially ſeconded with hope of applauſe) ſhall be offered. Their very attempt or project it ſelf, was but a real uſe or practical

Comment upon the doctrinal part of my *Text*, framed in the ſpeculative doctrin of the Romiſh Church. And thus much will clearly appear to to any that will compare the model with the mould.

§. 6. The plot or practiſe was by *Catesby* and his Complices (whether explicitly or implicitly I will not ſay) thus moulded within the narrow circumference of this my Text: They *that reſiſt the higher Powers, ſhall receive to themſelves judgment or damnation*, for God hath ſaid ſo by St. *Paul*, and he will be as good as his word. *But the King and State of* England, *the Lords ſpiritual and temporal, with the Commonalty, the whole Body repreſentative of the Kingdom, by enacting and not repealing ſevere Laws againſt the Roman Catholicks, have ſhamefully reſiſted the higher Powers*; Ergo, *They ſhall and muſt receive to themſelves damnation.* So confident they were in theſe and the like collections, that they preſumed God Almighty was fully concluded in the Sylogiſm, and was bound by the laws of Logick and of Juſtice, to put to his helping hand for the ſpeedy execution of that vengeance upon our King, upon the State and Kingdom which their malicious and miſinformed conſciences had projected. Out of this confident preſumption one of the Conclave or vault-Council waxed bold to admoniſh his honourable Friend, whoſe exemption from the common deſtruction he wiſhed, to abſent himſelf from the preſent Parliament, becauſe God and man had concurred to give a *terrible blow* unto the *Iniquity of theſe times*. He might (according to the principles of his Catechiſm and Religion) ſo his leaſure and memory had ſerved him, have added *unto the iniquity of that place* wherein the Parliament was to be kept. For ſo his Maſter and Arch-plotter, after much agitation and variety of projects for procuring the liberty of Roman Catholicks, by taking away the King and his Race, had before reſolved, That there was no *PLACE* ſo fit for the execution of what they intended, as the Houſe of Parliament, becauſe in that place the impious Laws (ſo he termed them) were enacted, by which the Roman Catholicks were reſtrained from uſing the liberty of their conſciences. This was the ſum of *Catesby* his reſolution. But God in his wiſdom and juſtice did bring that very head (the ſhell of that politick but infatuated Brain) which was the Author of this device, for planting the Forts of their reſiſtance againſt this Palace of Juſtice and Fountain of Power coercive for this Church and Kingdoms good, to be placed as a perpetual ſpectacle of terror and ſhame upon the top of that Houſe, whoſe Foundations and Roof, with all the neighbour Palaces and Lodgings adjoyning, he and his fellows hoped in an inſtant to have defaced and razed. And even ſo, O Lord, make all thine Enemies, even all the enemies of thy Goſpel, and of this Kingdoms peace to periſh; Bring all their deviſes to a fearful and a ſhameful end. As for the eye which waiteth for the deſtruction of the Church and State, let the Ravens of the Valley (or Brook) pluck it out, let the Fowls of the ayr feed upon their fleſh, let the wild Bees make their Hives in their Sculls, and the Waſps their neſts in the brains of them, which ſhall plot the like miſchief againſt this State and Kingdom; or attempt the like Reſiſtance againſt the *higher Powers* which by thine Ordinance are placed over us.

§. 7. Another remarkable Document of Gods Juſtice upon theſe Reſiſters of his Ordinance there is, which hath been obſerved by many, which cannot be too often repeated or reobſerved, becauſe never to be forgotten by us or by our Succeſſors; and it was this. That God ſhould make thoſe very Elements or Creatures, which theſe rebellious Reſiſters of *higher Powers* had conſecrated as their inſtruments for blowing up the State and Kingdom, to be the Heralds or forerunners of that damnation which from his hands they ſhortly were to receive unto themſelves. Thoſe four which dyed deſperately by the bullet or ſhot, might have ſeen all hopes of further reſiſtance utterly blaſted by the ſtrange diſaſter which a little before had befallen four of their principal Aſſociates, in whoſe viſages, ſtrangely diſfigured by Gun-powder, they might (unleſs their hearts had been blinded) have read the deſtiny of themſelves and of their plot; That ſhame and confuſion of face was decreed to them, to their Aſſociates, and Abettors. All theſe eight with other their Aſſociates did receive damnation temporal to themſelves. Their death was fearful and ſhameful, and their memory is had in everlaſting abomination: So admirably did the wiſdom of God falſifie and invert that concluſion which they had made unto themſelves out of my Text. Two Queries yet remain. *The Firſt. Whether the like reſiſtance be yet intended, or included in the doctrin of the Romiſh Church, or in the Commentaries of Jeſuits or Jeſuited Romaniſts upon my Text? The Second. How far we may hope or expect, that all ſuch as in times enſuing ſhall actually intend or attempt the like Reſiſtance againſt this Church and State, ſhall receive to themſelves the like damnation?*

§. 8. *To the firſt Quærie*, I could not have conceived ſo much, nor durſt I ſo boldly have avouched what I conceived, unleſs I had found the caſe, though not in this very particular, yet in the general diſcuſt at large by one of their own Writers, whoſe writings were purpoſely intended for reſolving the conſciences of Engliſh Catholicks. Many of you know, and the reſt of you may eaſily ſuffer your ſelves to be informed, that upon the freſh and ſerious apprehenſion of the ineſtimable danger whereunto the King and Kingdom, as upon this day was brought, by thoſe diſobedient reſiſting Romaniſts, the *Oath of Allegiance* was by the adviſe and conſent of juſt Authority conceived. The end or intention of the Oath was to ſecure our King, our Church, and State, from the like conſpiracies, under pretence of zeal or affection to the Romiſh religion: yet is this Oath ſtrongly oppugned by the chief Agents for that Church, as unlawful to be either given or taken, eſpecially to be taken by Roman Catholicks. In this general Principle the Romiſh Church and we agree, That the Civil Chriſtian Magiſtrate may lawfully exact an Oath of ſuch as are ſubject to his Juriſdiction; Kings eſpecially of their Subjects for the ſafety of themſelves, of their poſterity or Kingdoms. Both we and the Romaniſt condemn the Anabaptiſt for denying the publick uſe of ſolemn Oaths amongſt *Chriſtians.* We both agree likewiſe, That every lawful Oath muſt be given and taken *in Truth, in Juſtice, in Judgment.* And ſo given and taken (as *Jeremy, chapt.* 4. *v.*2. preſcribes) It is ſo far from being unlawful, that it is a part of Gods honor. Where then is the difference? The Romaniſts contend, That this Oath of Allegiance wants all theſe three properties of a lawful and religious Oath; although if it want but any one of them, it were unlawful and irreligious. Firſt then in their Divinity and Religion, it is falſe to ſay or think, That the Pope neither by himſelf, nor by virtue of the See of *Rome*, hath any power or lawful authority to depoſe the King of Great *Britain*, or to diſpoſe of his Kingdoms; Therefore he that ſwears to this clauſe in the Oath cannot ſwear *in truth:* and if he be a Roman Catholick he incurreth the ſin of perjury. Now he that doth not ſwear this *in truth*, cannot ſwear *in juſtice:* For if it be true that the Pope hath (or in many caſes may have) power to depoſe

poſe the King of Great *Britain*, or to diſpoſe of his Kingdoms; to ſwear the Contradictory muſt needs be an open wrong to the Pope, a manifeſt injuſtice to the Apoſtolick See. *Laſtly*, albeit men might be morally perſwaded of the *Truth* in this cauſe conteined to which they ſwear, yet an Oath is not to be given or taken, for confirmation of every truth, but of ſome ſpecial truths, or upon ſome weighty occaſions, or to ſome good purpoſe. Oaths without this obſervance can neither be exacted nor given *in Judgment*. This laſt in general is true; but from this general which we grant, they erroneouſly aſſume, That this Oath of Allegiance wants the third property of a lawful Oath, to wit, *Judgment*, as well on the behalf of the propoſer, that is, of the King and State, as on the behalf of them to whom it is tendred. But why cannot this Oath be propoſed or tendred in *Judgment*? Some late Romaniſts ſtick not to publiſh in print; what others upon the firſt propoſal of this Oath, did ſecretly mutter, to wit, that the King or State, can have no ſecurity by this Oath from the like attempts or conſpiracies, againſt their perſons or dignities. To this purpoſe a late Engliſh Romaniſt hath penned a ſawcy Lecture of modern *Romes* Chriſtian Divinity, and of *Rome* Heathens ancient policie unto his late Soveraign Lord (as he inſtiles him) King *James* of famous memory; (But as oft as any Engliſh Prieſt or Jeſuit ſo enſtiles their native Kings, they do but mock them, and might lawfully by every temporal Magiſtrate be whipped and ſcourged for this their mockery) but in words to this or like effect, this ſawcy companion writes as if King *James* had been to be catechiſed by him in point of State or Religion. *As St.* Paul *ſaith*, Rom. 13. Vis non timere poteſtatem? *&c. ſo ſay I, if Princes will be free from all fear of the Popes power, let them do good, and they ſhall have praiſe before God and men; for the Pope is appointed Paſtor unto them for their good. But if they will do evil, if they will perſecute the Church, her Faith, and faithful Children; then let them fear, for he is Gods Miniſter, and hath the ſpiritual Glaive put into his hand to chaſtiſe, and correct all rebellious Chriſtians. And therefore as he that taketh a mans purſe from him by violence, hath no juſt cauſe to compel him to ſwear, that he will not bewray him, becauſe he might, and ſhould have abſtained from the injury, and then an oath had not been neceſſary: ſo the Prince or Magiſtrate hath no urgent cauſe to propoſe this oath to the Catholick ſubject, becauſe if he abſtain from perſecution, as he ought to do, he needeth not fear the Popes power, and ſo hath no ſufficient cauſe to urge his Subjects by oath to abjure the Popes authority, that he in the mean while may perſecute* impunè. And again: *That this oath cannot ſecure the King, it is manifeſt, becauſe the moſt that take this oath, take it againſt their conſcience, and not ſo much out of opinion, as for fear; yea they think they do ill in taking it, and conſequently they think they are not bound to obſerve the ſame, for to ſwear to do an evil thing, and after to fulfill the oath, is a double ſin; one in ſwearing, another in fulfilling.* And again: *I know the Polititians ſay*, Oderint, dum metuant, *Let them hate, ſo they fear alſo. But yet true is that which* Seneca, *a no leſs expert Polititian allegeth*, Neceſſe eſt ut multos timeat, quem multi timent. *He muſt of neceſſity fear many, who cauſeth many to fear him. Becauſe, as* Cicero *ſaith*, quem metuunt, oderunt, *men hate whom they fear. And what ſecurity hath a Prince amongſt them that hate him? when Subjects hate their Prince, they are diſcontented, when they are diſcontented, they are deſperate, when they are deſperate, they care not for their own lives, when they care not for their own lives, let then the Prince fear his. For (as* Seneca *ſaith)* Qui ſuam vitam contemnit, tuæ dominus erit. *He that contemneth his own*

The Author of the Prelate and Prince, *pag.* 267, 268.

Ibid. pag. 268

Ibid. pag. 269, 270.

life, will be maſter of thine. And from this ſource proceeded the late Gun-Powder Plot. For concluſion, what a ſtrong guard, what armies can do to defend a Prince that is hated, we have ſeen by the example of the two Henries, *the third and fourth of* France, *whereof the firſt was killed by a ſilly Fryer; the other by a poor Companion, in the midſt of their armies.* And ſo the third condition required to propoſe this Oath, with his judgement that dictateth, that an Oath is neither to be propoſed nor taken without juſt cauſe, is wanting.

§. 9. As for him that ſlew *Henry* the fourth, the French King, how mean a man ſoever he was, it skills not. It is well known that he took his leſſon from a Spaniſh Jeſuit of no mean note, from *Mariana* a man famous in his Country for writing the Spaniſh Hiſtory, and famous in the Romiſh Church for his Comments upon the Bible. And by this famous Jeſuits inſtructions, in what caſes, and how Kings may be killed, neither *Ravilliac* nor any other private man was to meddle with *Henry* the fourth the French King, nor with any other King without the warrant or direction of ſome higher powers Eccleſiaſtick. Concerning the death of *Henry* the third, ſome Roman Catholicks think it was an act of Gods own ſpecial contrivance. So *Fitz-herbert* tells us, (who was then preſent in the French Court) that the watchword given to thoſe that by the appointment of *Henry* the third, ſlew the Duke of *Guiſe*, was *St. Clement*, and this King was afterward by Gods ſpecial providence ſlain by a *Jacobin Fryer*, whoſe name was *James Clement*. But the truth of both obſervations being granted; may we not demand as *David* in another caſe did, was not the finger of ſome more ſubtle *Joab* (ſome greater Agent for the Romiſh Church, than a Jacobin Fryer) in all this buſineſs? *James Clement*, we deny not, was Gods inſtrument in bringing his Judgments upon *Henry* the third, and yet might for his very names ſake be choſen or appointed ſo to do by ſome great Commander in cauſes Eccleſiaſtick, and ſo choſen to this end, that the Church might caſt a fair colour upon this murther, as if it had been brought about both by Gods immediate providence and approbation without any other conſultation or contrivance of men, beſides ſuch as ſecret inſtinct did privately ſuggeſt unto this poor Fryer. This is a miſtery of that Religion which will not ſuffer it ſelf to ly any longer hid, that even ſuch plots and deviſes, as have been conceived in the nethermoſt Hell, and have been acted by the Agents of Hell, if once they take ſucceſs for the Churches manifeſt advantage, ſhall be approved *poſt factum* (though not Licenced before) even ſo hallowed and Deified, as if they had been brought to paſs by the immediate operation or influence of the Holy Ghoſt, by which the Roman Church is guided. Witneſs that cruel Maſſacre, or Butchery of ſo many thouſand innocents at *Paris* and *Lions*, in the year, 1572, the Plotters and Actors of which did give fuller proof unto the world of their treachery, and of their unrelenting cruelty, than God would permit the *Powder Plotters* to give. This Plot and Practiſe notwithſtanding was better approved and more magnified at *Rome* then it was by the moſt partial Spectators at *Paris*; and although it was plotted and acted by the French Catholicks, yet the Popes Embaſſadour, a Cardinal of *Rome*, labours to perſwade the French that the ſucceſs of the plot and of the action was from the virtue and influence of that Catholick Faith which is contained in the *Trent Council*, and one ſpecial part of his Embaſſage was, that the Decrees of the *Trent Council* might upon this joyful experiment of their force and efficacy be received in *France*, as they had been in other Catholick Kingdoms. And that which moſt plainly evinceth that Churches readineſs to approve thoſe villanies *poſt factum*, being done, which ſhe would not for ſhame licence before hand, to be done, One ***Boyden*** which of his own accord without any warrant or intimation from the King or State had committed the like Butchery at *Lyons* which the King and his Nobles had done at *Paris*, received the Popes bleſſing by his Embaſſador or Legat *cum plenitudine poteſtatis*.

§. 10. Would the Powder Treaſon (may we think) have found leſs approbation or applauſe at *Rome* (in caſe it had taken effect) than the *Pariſian Maſſacre* did, though haply it was not firſt plotted or contrived or in particular licenced at *Rome*? The praiſe or invention of this ſtratagem (ſo ſucceſs had anſwered to their hopes) ſhould have been aſcribed unto the Plotters or Pioners, they ſhould have had the Popes bleſſing for their invention and pains, but the ſucceſs it ſelf muſt have been aſcribed unto the Popes Holineſs, as to their Lord of Hoſts. For as they have inveſted Him with the moſt choice and ſoveraign titles, which *David* after all his Victories over his Enemies had to beſtow upon the Lord that gave him Victory, (for they have made the Pope the *Rock* on which the Church is built; and the Rock of Salvation is one of the moſt ſoveraign Titles of God Incarnate,) ſo doubtleſs if this Plot had taken ſucceſs the Popes holineſs ſhould have ſhared with God in thoſe Attributes or characters of his revenging power deſcribed, by *David*, in 18. Pſal. ver. 7, 8. *Then the earth ſhook and trembled; the foundations alſo of the Hills moved, and were ſhaken, becauſe he was wroth; there went up a ſmoak out of his noſtrils, and fire out of his mouth devoured, coals were kindled by it.* But is it any eſſential part of Romiſh Religion, that it is lawful for Prieſts or Jeſuits or other Factors for the Romiſh Church, to practiſe ſuch ſtratagems of War, as the Powder-plot was in the time of peace, and to practiſe them againſt their native King and Country? Yea! he is either a Novice, altogether unacquainted with the fundamental points of Romiſh Religion, as it is now taught; or an Ambodexter betwixt us and them, which can either perſwade himſelf or go about to perſwade others that any Romiſh Prieſt or Jeſuit doth think himſelf bound in conſcience to hold or obſerve any ſuch fair quarter of hoſtility or enmity with his native King or Country, as the *Turk*, the *Perſian*, or other Mahumetans or Heathens do take themſelves bound in conſcience, and by the Law of Arms, and the Laws of Nations, to hold either with their Chriſtian Enemies, or with enemies whether of the ſame, or of contrary Religion. If once we grant the Common-weal or Kingdom (how abſolute ſoever) to be ſubordinate to the Church or Clergy, as it is a Common-weal Eccleſiaſtick diſtinct from it, the former concluſion or imputation will follow by the fundamental principles of the Civil Law, of the Law of Arms, and of Nations. For by the Law of Nations, no abſolute King or Prince, no free Soveraignty or State, are bound to obſerve the Law of Arms or Hoſtility, with their Subjects if they prove Rebels or profeſſed Traytors. The Law of Arms or Hoſtility is neceſſary to be obſerved only *inter juſtos hoſtes* between ſuch as have power to denounce or exerciſe hoſtility one againſt another as between Nation and Nation, or between Free-States, or Soveraignties independent. Now by the fundamental principles of the Romiſh Religion, All Hereticks be they more or few, (that is all Chriſtians which will not ſubſcribe to the Romiſh Religion, and acknowledg Allegiance to the Pope as Chriſts Vicar General in Cauſes Spiritual) are more than Rebels, more than Traytors, and in caſe they will not deſiſt being admoniſhed, be they Kings or be they Emperours, they and all their adherents may be taken out of the way without any obſervance of the Law of Arms, of Nations, or of hoſtility: They may be poyſoned, they may be ſtab'd, they may be blown up by Powder, or be diſpatched by what means ſoever ſhall ſeem expedient for the Churches good; and the fact, though not Licenced or Authorized before it be done, may be approved as meritorious after it be done.

§. 11. But ſome perhaps will reply that all ſuch amongſt us as delight and glory in the name of Roman Catholicks are not of this temper or reſolution. And God forbid I ſhould charge all of them with it; yet unto as many of them as are otherwiſe affected, I dare boldly ſay, and by Gods aſſiſtance ſhall make my ſayings good, that either they are not, as they would be accounted, true Roman Catholicks, or elſe Roman Catholicks are no true Catholicks; the Roman Church is not the Catholick Church; the Roman Faith is not the Catholick Faith. For, Unity in point of Faith, or Doctrin concerning manners of greater conſequence, is (by their own confeſſion and plea,) A Principle Note of the Catholick Church and Faith. It is evident again, that the principal members of the modern Romiſh Church, of ſuch as our Engliſh Lay Catholicks eſteem as their Fathers in Chriſt, and in points of Faith do teach it as a point of Faith and Chriſtian manners, that the Pope hath full power from God to depoſe Chriſtian Kings, to kill them and to diſpoſe of their Kingdoms and Subjects. Now if any Engliſh Roman Catholick do not herein aſſent unto their Fathers and Inſtructors, the former concluſion will neceſſarily and inevitably follow, to wit, that theſe Lay Catholicks and Romaniſts either are no true Roman Catholicks, or elſe that the Roman Faith (as it is taught by their Fathers or Inſtructors) is no Catholick Faith. This is a point of greateſt conſequence in Religion, whence, if the Inſtructors, and the inſtructed, the Paſtors and the Sheep hold any unity of Faith rather than of Faction, either muſt the ſheep or inferior Roman Catholicks ſubſcribe when opportunity ſerves unto their Paſtors or Superiors, or their Paſtors muſt abandon this damnable poſition, and ſubſcribe to their Flock, who think it unlawful to kill their King, and to diſpoſe of his Countries and Kingdoms. And thus much of the *Former Quæry.* The *ſecond Quæry* was, how far or upon what terms, we of the Church of *England* may hope, that they which reſiſt the *higher Powers* of this Kingdom ſhall receive ſuch Judgment or damnation to themſelves, as theſe powder Plotters have done.

§. 12. We hold it as a point of Faith or Chriſtian manners, that the *Power Royal,* (ſpecially in Parliament) is the higheſt power under God in this Land, and our Apoſtles words you ſee are plain, that *they which reſiſt the higher Power* of any Land or Kingdom *ſhall receive to themſelves damnation.* And ſo undoubtedly they ſhall, unleſs we of this Church and Land become guilty of the ſame ſin of reſiſting or diſobeying the *higher Powers.* But let us ever remember, that they which reſiſt the *higher Powers* are therefore lyable to this damnation, becauſe in reſiſting them, they reſiſt the *Ordinance of God.* This is the higheſt Power of all, unto which the Power both of Prince and People is perpetually ſubject. If then either Prince, or People, or both, ſhall reſiſt or continue in diſobedience to the ſacred Ordinance of God, they ſhall certainly receive Judgment to themſelves from God himſelf. And if it be his will to execute Judgment though upon the higheſt Powers on earth, it is in his ſole choice and power to appoint whom he pleaſeth to be the Executioners of his Judgement. And he may exempt the Executioners of his Judgments, though they demean themſelves as *Jehu* did, from any Judgment temporal albeit they openly reſiſt or violently aſſault the higheſt powers that are on earth. Now it is a courſe of Gods providence moſt frequent, to puniſh ſuch as will not faithfully ſerve or obey him in a true Religion, by the zealous or diligent profeſſors of a falſe Religion. So he puniſhed the Rebellious houſe of *Judah* and *Iſrael* by the wickedeſt of the Heathen, that is by the moſt zealous profeſſors of Idolatry, or devouteſt worſhippers of falſe Gods. It is an excellent obſervation which *Salvianus* hath made upon the courſe of Gods Juſtice in puniſhing moſt Chriſtian Nations by the inundation of Heatheniſh, Heretical, or Barbarous Nations, about ſome four or five hundred years after Chriſt. The *Spaniſh Nation* was at that time as orthodoxal and valorous as any other Nation of Chriſtendom whatſoever ; and yet pitifully over-run by the *Gothes ;* the beſt part of whoſe Religion was but a rude tincture of the *Arian hereſie.* This Good Father demands whether God might not have choſen a more valorous people then the *Goths* to execute his Judgment upon the Orthodoxal and valorous *Spaniard ?* and in concluſion he reſolves us that there was not a more cowardly people amongſt all the *Barbarians* that then invaded Chriſtendom. What then was the reaſon why the valorous and Orthodoxal *Spaniard* ſhould be over-run by the heretical, cowardly and perfidious *Goth.* The *Spaniard* (ſaith this good Father) were at that time infamous for Laſciviouſneſs and Luſt, and the *Goths* remarkable for their chaſtity and temperance. The ſame Father reckons up ſome one good quality or other in every one of thoſe barbarous Nations, which God had then appointed to plague the true profeſſors of Chriſtianity for their contrary vices or evil manners ; *Gothorum gens perfida, ſed pudica eſt,* And therefore deſigned, as you heard before to plague the *Spaniard* for his Luſt. *Alanorum gens impudica, ſed minus perfida,* and therefore deſigned by God to plague ſuch as were perfidious. *Franci mendaces,* the Franks were a lying People, *ſed hoſpitales,* yet given to hoſpitality, and therefore deſigned to root out the covetous and cut-throat *Gaules. Saxones crudelitate efferi,* the Saxons were fierce and cruel *ſed caſtitate venerandi*, yet venerable for their chaſtity, and therefore aſſigned to be Lords over civil and warlike, but unchaſte *Chriſtians.* For application then ; ſay we, or think we, the worſt that can be ſaid of *Jeſuits*, and Jeſuited Roman Catholicks admit they were as perfidious as any of theſe forementioned Heathens or Hereticks, as cruel and bloody as the heathen *Saxons* ; as unchaſt as the *Alans*, more mendacious then the heathen *Franks*, as far ſhort of us for purity of Religion or the Orthodoxal Faith as the worſt of theſe Heathens or Heretical Nations were of the Orthodoxal Chriſtians whom they over-run in *Salvians* time ; yet one good quality the Jeſuits have, they are not perfidious, they are not diſobedient to their ſuperior, zealous obſervers they are of that Religion which they profeſs and induſtrious practiſers of thoſe rules to which they ſubſcribe, And being ſuch, may we not juſtly fear, leſt God in time appoint them the executioners of his Judgments upon this People for their diſobedience to Superiors, for their perpetual neglect or contempt of all Canons Eccleſiaſtick, for cloaking their proud or factious humours with the pretended *Liberty of Conſcience.* As for you of this Congregation and place, let me in the Bowels of *Chriſt Jeſus* beſeech you, even as you deſire that your thankſgiving for our mighty deliverance as upon this day ſhall be acceptable unto God ; As you deſire and wiſh that your prayers for averting the like fearful vengeance from this State and Kingdom or for the removal of the preſent viſitation ſhall be heard of God ;

Tom. III.

Let me, upon theſe, and whatſoever you equally or more reſpect, intreat you not to nurſe a Faction between publick preaching and publick praying. Let me tell you that extraordinary forwardneſs to hear God ſpeak with the tongues of men, and extraordinary backwardneſs to ſpeak to God with the heart, doth more truly witneſs an exceſs of hypocriſie, than any fruits or ſeeds of true Religion or devotion. And as for you which purpoſe to offer the ſacrifice of thankſgiving, and receive the Cup of Salvation, Let me once again intreat you to make your ſerious reſolution for amending this fault, one ſpecial part of that vow or covenant which you purpoſe to render unto the Lord whilſt you receive the Cup of Salvation from him, That ſo the Bleſſing of God the Father Almighty, the Bleſſing of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, and the Bleſſing of the Holy Ghoſt may reſt upon this Land and People for ever. *Amen.*

FINIS.

A
TABLE
OF
CONSIDERABLE MATTERS
IN THE
Three TOMES.

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A.

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